ZEUS
A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION
Zeus from a Pompeian wall-painting.

See page 34 ff.
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A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

BY
ARTHUR BERNARD COOK

VOLUME I
ZEUS GOD OF THE BRIGHT SKY

Cambridge: at the University Press
1914
Zeus from a Pompeian wall-painting.

See page 30 h.
ZEUS
A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

BY

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READER IN CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

VOLUME I
ZEUS GOD OF THE BRIGHT SKY

χῶ ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἰθρίος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὑεί
Theokritos 4.43

Cambridge:
at the University Press
1914
Ζεῦς, ὅσιε ποι' ἐστίν,—εἰ τὸς ἄγγελον κεκλημένον,
τοῦτον νῦν προσενέποιον—
οὐκ ἔχει προεικόλα
πάντα ἐπισταθμισμένον.
πλὴν Διὸς, εἰ τὸ μάταν
ἀπὸ φροντίδας ἄρχει
ὑμῖν βαλεῖν ἐνθύμιον.

Aischvlos Agamemnon 160 ff.
TO

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

Changed conditions have brought with them a great influx of material, much of which bears directly on the main topic of this book. Important sites where Zeus was worshipped have been identified and examined. His caves on Mount Dikte and Mount Ide, his precinct on the summit of Mount Lykaion, his magnificent altar on the Pergamene Akropolis, his temples at Olympia and Athens and many another cult-centre, have been planned and published with the minutest care. Inscriptions too are discovered almost daily, and not a few of them commemorate local varieties of
this ubiquitous deity—now thirty or forty questions scratched on slips of lead and addressed to his oracle at Dodona, now a contract for the building of his temple at Lebadeia, now again a list of his priests at Korykos, odd details of his rites at Iasos, a hymn sung in his service at Palaikastro, and votive offerings to him from half the towns of Greece. Such information, fresh and relevant, accumulates apace. Moreover, those who can neither dig nor travel carry on the quest at home. Year in, year out, the universities of Europe and America pour forth a never-ending flood of dissertations and programmes, pamphlets and articles, devoted to the solution of particular problems in ancient religion; and a large proportion of these is more or less intimately concerned with Zeus.

To cope with an output so vast and so varied would be beyond the strength of any man, were it not for the fact that intensive study follows hard upon the heels of discovery. On many aspects of what K. Schenkl called die Zeusreligion standard books have long since been penned by well-qualified hands. And more than one admirable summary of results is already before the public. Greek and Latin literature has been ransacked by writers galore, who have sketched the conceptions of Zeus to be found more especially in the poets and the philosophers: it would be tedious to enumerate names. Others again have dealt with the worship of Zeus as it affected a particular area: recent examples are Maybaum Der Zeuskult in Boeotien (Doberan 1901) and E. Neustadt De Jove Critico (Berlin 1906). Yet others have written on some specialised form of Zeus: C. J. Schmitthenner De Jove Hammone (Weilburg 1840), H. D. Müller Ueber den Zeus Lykaios (Göttingen 1851), and A. H. Kan De Jovis Dolicheni cultu (Groningen 1901) will serve as specimens of the class. Notable attempts have been made to cover parts of the subject on more general lines. Inscriptions about Zeus are grouped together by W. Dittenberger Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum (ed. 2 Leipzig 1898, 1900, 1901), C. Michel Recueil d'inscriptions grecques (Paris 1900, 1912), and H. Dessau Inscriptiones Latinae selectae (Berlin 1892, 1902, 1906, 1914). Descriptions of Zeus in Greek and Latin poetry are analysed by C. F. H. Bruchmann Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Graecos leguntur (Leipzig 1893) and J. B. Carter Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Latinos leguntur (Leipzig 1902). The festivals of Zeus in Athens and elsewhere are discussed by A. Mommsen Feste der Stadt Athen (Leipzig 1898) and, with greater circumspection, by M. P. Nilsson Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen (Leipzig 1906).
The monuments too have received their fair share of attention. Statues and statuettes, reliefs, vase-paintings, coins, and gems are collected and considered in primis by J. Overbeck Griechische Kunstmynologie (Besonderer Theil i. i. Zeus Leipzig 1871 with Atlas 1872, 1873)—a book that is a model of archaeological erudition. Further, every worker on this or kindred themes must be indebted to the Répertoires of S. Reinach, whose labours have now reduced chaos to cosmos, not merely in the reproduction of previously known sculptures and vases, but also in the publication of much unpublished material. For surveys of the whole subject we turn to the handbooks. And here again good work has been done. C. Robert's revision of L. Preller Griechische Mythologie (Theogonie und Goetteder Berlin 1894) deals with Zeus in a clear conspectus of 45 pages. O. Gruppe, the greatest mythologist of modern times, compresses the Father of gods and men into 22 of his well-packed pages (Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte München 1897, 1906). Probably English readers will derive most benefit from the lucid chapters of Dr L. R. Farnell, who in his Cults of the Greek States (Oxford 1896, 1896, 1907, 1907, 1909) spends 144 pages in discussing 'Zeus,' 'The Cult-monuments of Zeus,' and 'The Ideal Type of Zeus' with a wealth of learning and aesthetic appreciation that leaves little to seek. Other treatments of the topic are no doubt already being designed for two at least of the three huge dictionaries now approaching completion. The Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines edited by C. Daremberg and E. Saglio (Paris 1877– ) has given some account of Zeus in its article on 'Jupiter' (vol. iii pp. 691—708 by E. P[ottier], pp. 708—713 by P. Perdrizet). But W. H. Roscher's Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie (Leipzig 1884– ), though it includes an excellent article on 'Juppiter' by Aust (vol. ii pp. 618—762), is not likely to reach 'Zeus' for some years to come. And the great syndicate of scholars who are re-writing Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (Stuttgart 1894– ) have not yet got as far as 'Juppiter,' let alone 'Zeus.'

The present volume is the first of two in which I have endeavoured to trace the development and influence of Zeus. It would seem that the Greeks, starting from a sense of frank childish wonder, not unmixed with fear, at the sight of the animate sky, mounted by slow degrees of enlightenment to a recognition of the physical, intellectual, and moral supremacy of the sky-god. Dion
Chrysostomos in a memorable sentence declared Zeus to be 'the giver of all good things, the Father, the Saviour, the Keeper of mankind.' On the lower levels and slopes of this splendid spiritual ascent the Greeks found themselves at one with the beliefs of many surrounding peoples, so that a fusion of the Hellenic Zeus with this or that barbaric counterpart often came about. On the higher ground of philosophy and poetry they joined hands with a later age and pressed on towards our own conceptions of Deity. I have therefore felt bound to take into account not only the numerous adaptations of Levantine syncretism but also sundry points of contact between Hellenism and Christianity. It is obvious that the limits of such an enquiry are to a certain extent arbitrary. I shall expect to be told by some that I have gone too far afield, by others that I have failed to note many side-lights from adjacent regions. Very possibly both criticisms are true.

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

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

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

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

There remains the pleasant task of thanking those that have in a variety of ways helped towards the making of this book. It was Sir James G. Frazer who first advised me to put together in permanent form the materials that I had collected: he has seen about a third of the present volume, and, though well aware that I differ from him on certain vital issues, he has with characteristic generosity more than once encouraged me to persist in my undertaking. I am conscious that I owe much also, both directly and indirectly, to Dr O. Gruppe, who in his Handbuch and elsewhere has set up a standard of thoroughness that must for many a long day be kept in view by all writers on the subject of classical religion. Prof. G. Murray, with proofs of his own on hand, has yet given time to reading mine and has sent me a flight of pencilled marginalia, which I have been glad here and there to incorporate. Most of this book has been perused, either in manuscript or in slip, by Miss J. E. Harrison, to whose wide range and quick synthetic powers I am indebted for several valuable suggestions: I am the
more anxious to acknowledge this debt because on matters of the
deepest import we do not see eye to eye. Other helpful criticisms
have reached me from my friend Dr J. Rendel Harris, whose studies
of 'Dioscurism' have obvious bearings on certain aspects of Zeus,
and from Mr F. M. Cornford, especially in connexion with Dionysiac
drama, a subject which he has made peculiarly his own.

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

In a book of this character, with its constant appeal to the
monuments, textual illustration is not a luxury but a necessity.
And here again many friends have laid me under lasting obliga-
tions. Photographs of unpublished scenes or objects have been
sent to me by Mr K. Kourouniotes, Dr C. G. Seligmann,
Mr E. M. W. Tillyard, Mr P. N. Ure, Mr A. J. B. Wace, and by
my brother Dr A. R. Cook. Mr A. H. Smith, Keeper of Greek
and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, has allowed me to
have photographs and drawings made of numerous art-treasures in
gold and silver, bronze, marble, and terra cotta: not a few of them
are figured here for the first time. I am specially indebted to
Mr H. B. Walters, Assistant-Keeper of the same collection, who
has compared the drawings of vases with the vases themselves, and to Miss P. B. Mudie Cooke, who has verified illustrations and references for me in the Reading Room. In the Department of Coins and Medals Mr G. F. Hill and the late Mr W. Wroth likewise gave me valuable help, partly by discussing various numismatic problems, and partly by supplying me with scores of casts taken from the coins under their charge. Mr F. H. Marshall, formerly of the British Museum, has sent me impressions of gems in the Gold Room, and Monsieur E. Babelon has furnished me with the cast of an unpublished coin in the Paris cabinet. Permission to have drawings made from objects in their possession was granted to me by Mr R. M. Dawkins, Mr F. W. Green, and Dr W. H. D. Rouse; permission to reproduce blocks, by Messrs F. Bruckmann and Co., Monsieur l'Abbé H. Breuil, and Sir William M. Ramsay. Mr J. R. McClean, who was always eager to put his magnificent collection of Greek coins at the service of classical scholarship, generously allowed me to anticipate his Catalogue by figuring several of his most interesting specimens, and but a few weeks before his death contributed a large sum towards the better illustration of this work. Another liberal donation to the same object, enhanced by a letter of rare kindness, has reached me from my friend and fellow-lecturer the Rev. Dr A. Wright, Vice-President of Queens' College.

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

The Syndics of the University Press by undertaking financial responsibility for the whole work have shouldered a heavy burden with little or no hope of ultimate remuneration. Apart from their timely assistance this book would have remained a pile of musty manuscript. Moreover, at every stage of its production I have
met with unwearyed courtesy and consideration from the Manager and Staff of the Pitt Press. In particular I wish to express my obligation to Mr N. Mason, whose resourceful skill has frequently surmounted obstacles in the way of satisfactory illustration, and to Mr W. H. Swift, whose vigilance and accuracy in proof-reading have been to me a perpetual marvel.

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

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

19 CRANMER ROAD, CAMBRIDGE.
22 July 1914.
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ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

Ant. Denkm. = Antike Denkmäler herausgegeben vom Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Institut Berlin 1886—
'Αρχ. 'Εφ. = See 'Εφ. 'Αρχ.
Archiv f. Rel. = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft Leipzig 1898—
Ath. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts: athenische Abtheilung Athen 1876—
Abbreviations


Babelon Monn. rép. rom. = E. Babelon Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la république romaine vulgairement appelées monnaies consulaires i ii Paris 1885, 1886.


Bekker anec. = I. Bekker Anecdota Graeca i—iii Berolini 1814—1821.


Berti. philol. Woch. = Berliner philologische Wochenschrift Berlin 1885—

Boetticher Baubildt. = C. Boetticher Der Baumbildt der Hellener nach den gotte-
dienstlichen Gebrauchen und den überlieferten Bildwerken dargestellt Berlin 1856.

Boisacq Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr. = É. Boisacq Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque étudié dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes Heidelberg et Paris 1907—


Bonner Jahrbücher = Bonner Jahrbücher (Continuation of the Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande) Bonn 1895—


Italy 1873 by R. S. Poole; Sicily 1876 by B. V. Head, P. Gardner, R. S. Poole; The Tauric Chersonese, Sarmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Thrace, &c. 1877 by B. V. Head, P. Gardner; Seleucid Kings of Syria 1878 by P. Gardner; Macedonia, Etc. 1879 by B. V. Head; The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt 1883 by R. S. Poole; Thessaly to Aetolia 1883 by P. Gardner; Central Greece 1884 by B. V. Head; Greece and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India 1886 by P. Gardner; Crete and the Aegean Islands 1886 by W. Wroth; Peloponnesus 1887 by P. Gardner; Attica—Megara—Aegina 1888 by B. V. Head; Corinth, Colonies of Corinth, Etc. 1889 by B. V. Head; Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and the Kingdom of Bosporus 1889 by W. Wroth; Alexandria and the Nomes 1892 by R. S. Poole; Ionia 1893 by B. V. Head; Lydia 1892 by W. Wroth; Thrace, Aeolis, and Lesbos 1894 by W. Wroth; Caria, Cos, Rhodes, &c. 1897 by B. V. Head; Lydia, Pamphylia, and Paphlagonia 1897 by G. F. Hill; Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria 1899 by W. Wroth; Lycaonia, Ionia, and Cilicia 1900 by G. F. Hill; Lydia 1901 by B. V. Head; Parthia 1903 by W. Wroth; Cyprus: 1904 by G. F. Hill; Phrygia 1906 by B. V. Head; Phoenicia 1910 by G. F. Hill; Palestine 1914 by G. F. Hill.

Abbreviations


Class. Philol. = Classical Philology Chicago 1906—

Class. Quart. = The Classical Quarterly London 1907—

Class. Rev. = The Classical Review London 1887—

Cohen Monn. emp. rom. = H. Cohen Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain communément appelées médailles impériales Deuxième édition i—viii Paris 1880—1892.


Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial. Inschr. = Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften von
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Abbreviations


Corp. inscr. Att. = Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum

i Inscriptiones Atticæe Euclidis anno vetustiores ed. A. Kirchhoff [Inscriptiones Graecæ i] Berolini 1873.


iii Inscriptiones Atticæ ætatis Romanæ ed. W. Dittenberger [Inscriptiones Graecæ iii] 1—2 Berolini 1878, 1891.


Appendix continent defixionum tabellas in Attica regione repertas, ed. R. Wuensch [Inscriptiones Graecæ iii. 3] Berolini 1897.


Corp. inscr. Gr. sept. = Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae septentrionalis

i Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae ed. W. Dittenberger [Inscriptiones Graecæ vii] Berolini 1892.


Corp. inscr. Lat. = Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum


ix Inscriptiones Calabriae, Apuliae, Sannii, Sabinorum, Piceni Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1883.

x Inscriptiones Bruttiorum, Lucaniae, Campaniae, Siciliae, Sardiniae Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1883.

xi. 1—2. 1. Inscriptiones Aemiliæ, Etruriae, Umbriæ Latinae, ed. E. Bormann Berolini 1888, 1901.

xii Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae, ed. O. Hirschfeld Berolini 1888.
 Abbreviations


Corp. inscr. Sem. = Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum ab Academia Inscriptionum et Litterarum Humaniorum conditum atque digestum. Pars I— Tom. i— Parisii 1881—


Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. = Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines d’après les textes et les monuments...ouvrage rédigé par une société d’écrivains spéciaux, d’archéologues et de professeurs sous la direction de Mm. Ch. Daremberg et Edm. Saglio i— Paris 1877—

Δλυτ. Αρχ. = Διλυτικὸς Ἀρχαιολογικὸς ἐκδοτικὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ γενικοῦ ἐφόρου Π. Καββαδία ἐν Ἀθήναις 1885—


Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. = H. Dessau Inscriptiones Latinae selectae i, ii. 1, ii. 2, iii. 1 Berolini 1892, 1903, 1906, 1914.

De Visser De Gr. dii non ref. spec. hum. = M. W. de Visser De Graecorum diis non referentibus speciem humanam Lugduni-Batavorum 1900.

De Vit Lat. Lex. = Tottius Latiniatiatis Lexicon opera et studio Aegidii Forcellini lucubrato et in hac editione post tertiam auctam et emendatam a Josepho Furlanetto... novo ordine digestum amplissime auctum atque emendatum cura et studio Doct. Vincentii de-Vit... i—vi Prati 1888—1879.

De Vit Onomaticon = Tottius Latiniatiatis Onomaticon opera et studio Doct. Vincentii de-Vit lucubrato i—iv Prati 1859—1887.


Abbreviations


Eckhel Doctr. num. vet. = Doctrina numerorum veterum conscripta a Iosephi Eckhel i Vinodobane 1792, ii—viii Editio secunda Vinodobane 1839, 1828, Addenda ad Eckhelii Doctrinam numerorum veterum ex eiusdem autographo postumo Vinodobane 1826.


'Eph. 'Αρχ. = Εφημερις 'Αρχαιολογικης εκδομής υπό της εν 'Αθήναις 'Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας εν 'Αθήναις 1837—1843, 1852—1860, 1862, 1883—1909 continued as 'Αρχαιολογικης Εφημερις εκδομής υπό της 'Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 'Αθήναις 1910—

Ephem. epigr. = Ephemeris epigraphica, Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum, edita jussu Instituti archaeologici Romani Romae 1872—


Part II. Taboo and the Perils of the Soul London 1911.

Part III. The Dying God London 1911.

Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild* i ii London 1912.
Part VII. *Baldur the Beautiful* The Fire-festivals of Europe and the Doctrine of the External Soul i ii London 1913.

(General Index London 1914.)


Frager Pausanias = Pausanias's Description of Greece translated with a commentary by J. G. Frazer i—vi London 1898.


Fröhner Sculpt. du Louvre = Musées Nationaux. Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée national du Louvre par W. Fröhner i Paris s.a.


Furtwängler Samml. Sabouroff = La Collection Sabouroff Monuments de l'art grec publiés par Adolphe Furtwängler i ii Berlin 1883—1887.


Gaz. Arch. = Gazette Archéologique Recueil de monuments pour servir à la connaissance et à l'histoire de l'art antique publié par les soins de J. de Witte...et François Lenormant... Paris 1875—1889.

General-Karte von Griechenland = General-Karte des Königreiches Griechenland im
Abbreviations


Harrison Themis = Themis A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion by Jane Ellen Harrison with an Excursus on the Ritual Forms preserved in Greek Tragedy by Professor Gilbert Murray and a Chapter on the Origin of the Olympic Games by Mr F. M. Cornford Cambridge 1912.

Head Coins of the Ancients = Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum. Depart-
Abbreviations


*Hermathena* = *Hermathena, a Series of Papers on Literature, Science, and Philosophy,* by Members of Trinity College, Dublin. Dublin-London 1874—

*Hermes* = *Hermes Zeitschrift für classische Philologie* Berlin 1866—

Herrmann *Donum. a. Malerei = Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums herausgegeben* von Paul Herrmann München 1906—


*Hoops Reallix. = Realelexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter herausgegeben von Johannes Hoops i—Strassburg 1911—

*Hunter Cat. Coins = Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection University of Glasgow* by George Macdonald i—iii Glasgow 1899, 1901, 1905.

i Italy, Sicily, Macedon, Thrace, and Thessaly.

ii North Western Greece, Central Greece, Southern Greece, and Asia Minor.

iii Further Asia, Northern Africa, Western Europe.

Imhoof-Blumer *Choix de monn. gr.* 1, 2 = *Choix de Monnaies grecques du cabinet de F. Imhoof-Blumer Winterthur 1871,* *Choix de Monnaies grecques de la collection de F. Imhoof-Blumer Deuxième édition.* Paris-Leipzig 1883.


Abbreviations

**Inscr. Gr. Deli** = Inscriptiones Deli editae consilio et auctoritate Academiae inscriptionum et humaniorum litterarum Franco-Gallicae.


iii Inscriptiones Deli liberae. Tabulae hieropoecorum ann. 250–166, leges, pactiones [Inscriptiones Graecae xi. 3] ed. F. Dürrbach.


**Inscr. Gr. ins.** = Inscriptiones Graecae insularum maris Aegaei


viii Inscriptiones insularum maris Thracici [Inscriptiones Graecae xii. 8] ed. C. Fredrich Berolini 1909.

**Inscr. Gr. sept. = Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae septentrionalis**


**Jahrb. f. class. Philol. = Jahrbücher für classische Philologie** (Continued as the Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum Geschichte und deutsche Litteratur und für Pädagogik) Leipzig 1855—1897.


**Jahrh. d. arts. arch. Inst. = Jahresthese des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien Wien 1898—**


**Journ. Intern. d’Arch. Num. = Δημόσια Εφημερίς της Νομισματικής Αρχαιολογίας Journal International d’Archéologie Numismatique** dirigé par J. N. Svoronos Athènes 1898—

Abbreviations


Mnemosyne = Mnemosyne Tijdschrift voor klassieke Litteratuur Leyden 1852—.

Mommssen Festv d. Stadt Athen = Festes der Stadt Athen im Altenr, geordnet nach attischem Kalender, von August Mommssen. Umarbeitung der 1864 erschienenen Heortologie. Leipzig 1898.


Mon. d. Lincei = Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei Milano 1889—.


Morell. Thes. Num. Imp. Rom. = Theaauri Morelliani tomus primus (seundus, tertius), Sive Christ. Schlegelii, Sigeb. Havercampi, & Antonii Francisci Gori Commentaria In XII. Priorum Imperatorum Romanorum numismata aurea, argenta, & aerae, Cujuscunque Moduli, diligentissime conscripta, & ad ipsos Nummos accuratissime delineata, a Celeberrimo Antiquario Andrea Morellio...Cum Praefatione Petri Wesselingii i— iii Amstelaeadi 1753—.


Musée Belge = Le Musée Belge Revue de philologie classique Louvain 1897—.

Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Alterthum=Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik (Continuation of the Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie) Leipzig 1898—


Not. Scavi=Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, comunicate alla R. Accademia dei Lincei per ordine di S. E. il Ministro della pubb. Istruzione Roma 1876—


Olympia= Olympia Die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung im Auftrage des königlich preussischen Ministers der geistlichen Unterrichts- und Medicinal-angelegenheiten herausgegeben von Ernst Curtius und Friedrich Adler.


iv Die Bronzen und die übrigen kleineren Funde von Olympia bearbeitet von Adolf Furtwängler. Textband Tafelband Berlin 1890.


Or. Lat. = Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung Berlin 1898—


Abbreviations


Pergamon = Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Altertümer von Pergamon herausgegeben im Auftrage des königlich preußischen Ministers der geistlichen und Unterrichtsangelegenheiten Berlin 1885—


viii, 1 Die Inschriften von Pergamon unter Mitwirkung von Ernst Fabricius und Carl Schuchhardt herausgegeben von Max Fränkel. 1—2. 1890, 1895.

Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art = Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité...par Georges Perrot... et Charles Chipiez... i— Paris 1881—

Abbreviations

PhiloLogus = Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Alterthum. Stolberg 1846—

Göttingen 1847— , Neue Folge Göttingen 1889— , Leipzig 1897—

Poet Lat. min. = Poetae Latin. miniatures. Recensuit et emendavit Aemilius Baehrens

i—vi Lipsiae 1879—1886.


i—iii Lipsiae 1878—1882.

Pottier Cat. Vases du Louvre = Musée National du Louvre. Catalogue des vases antiques
de terre cuite par E. Pottier. Études sur l'histoire de la peinture et du dessin dans l'antiquité.
i Les origines, ii L'école ionienne, iii L'école attique Paris 1896, 1899, 1906.

Preller—Jordan Röm. Myth. 1 = Römische Mythologie von L. Preller Berlin 1858, Zweite Auflage

von R. Köhler Berlin 1865.


H. Jordan i—ii Berlin 1881, 1883.


Prellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. 2 = Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Griechischen

Sprache von Prof. Dr. Walther Prellwitz...2. verbesserte Auflage. Göttingen 1905.

Priene = Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Priene Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Unter-
suchungen in den Jahren 1895—1898, von Theodor Wiegand und Hans Schrader


Rasche Lex. Num. = Lexicon universalis vo nummariae veterum et praeceps Graecorum et

Romanorum cum observationibus antiquariis geographici chronologicii historici
critici et passim cum explicatio monogrammatum edidit Io. Christophorus Rasche

i—xi (Tomi i—vi, i) Lipsiae 1785—1795, Supplementorum i—iii (Tomi vi, 2—
vii, 2) Lipsiae 1802—1805.

Reinach Bronzes Figurels = Antiquités Nationales. Description raisonnée du Musée de

Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine par Salomon Reinach...

Paris 1892.

Reinach Pierre Gravées = Bibliothèque des monuments figurés grecs et romains. Pierre

gravées des collections Marlborough et d'Orléans, des recueils d'Eckhel, Gori,

Levesque de Gravell, Mariette, Millin, Stoch réunies et rééditées avec un texte

nouveau par Salomon Reinach...Paris 1892.


Reinach Rép. Peintures = Salomon Reinach Répertoire de peintures du moyen âge et de la


Reinach Rép. Reliefs = Salomon Reinach Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains i—


Reinach Rép. Stat. = Salomon Reinach Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine

i. Clarac de poche, contenant les bas-reliefs de l'ancien fonds du Louvre et les

Statues antiques du Musée de sculpture de Clarac, avec une introduction, des notices

et un index. ii Sept mille statues antiques, réunies pour la première fois, avec des

notices et des index. iii Deux mille six cent quarante statues antiques, réunies

pour la première fois, avec des notices et des index des trois tomes. iv Quatre mille

statues antiques avec des notices et les index des quatre tomes. Paris 1897, 1897—


Reinach Rép. Vases = Salomon Reinach Répertoire des vases peints grecs et étrusques

i Peintures de vases gravées dans l'Atlas et le Compte-rendu de St.-Pétersbourg, les

Monuments, Annali et Memorie de l'Institut de Rome, l'Archaeologische Zeitung, le

Bullettino Napoletano, le Bullettino Italiano, l'Éphéméris (1883—1894), le Museo

Italiano, avec des notices explicatives et bibliographiques. ii Peintures de vases

gravées dans les recueils de Millingen (Coghill), Gerhard (Ausserl. Vazenbilder),

Laborde, Luynes, Roulez, Schulz (Amazonenraete), Tischbein (Tomes i—v) avec des
notices explicatives et bibliographiques, une bibliographie de la céramique grecque et étrusque, et un index des tomes i et ii. Paris 1899, 1900.

Reinach Vases Ant. = Bibliothèque des monuments figurés grecs et romains. Peintures de vases antiques recueillies par Millin (1868) et Millingen (1813) publiées et commentées par Salomon Reinach...Paris 1891.

Rendiconti d. Lincei = Rendiconti della reale accademia dei Lincei Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Serie Quinta. Roma 1892—


Rev. Belge de Num. = Revue belge de numismatique (Continuation of the Revue de la numismatique belge Bruxelles 1841—1874) Bruxelles 1875—


Rev. Philol. = Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes Paris 1845—1847, Nouvelle série Paris 1877—

Rhein. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Geschichte und griechische Philosophie Bonn 1817— Rheinisches Museum für Philologie Bonn 1832— Neue Folge Frankfurt am Main 1842—


Roberts Gh. Epigr. = An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy. Part I The Archaic Inscriptions and the Greek Alphabet. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press by E. S. Roberts...Cambridge 1887.

Roberts—Gardner Gh. Epigr. = An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy. Part II The Inscriptions of Attica. Edited by E. S. Roberts...and E. A. Gardner...Cambridge 1905.


Röm. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts: romische Abtheilung Rom 1886—

Roscher Lex. Myth. = Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie im Verein mit...herausgegeben von W. H. Roscher i— Leipzig 1884-1890—

Roulez Vases de Léde = Chois de vases peints du Musée d'Antiquités de Léde; publiés et commentés par J. Roulez...Gand 1854.


Berlin 1882—


Smith—Cheetham Dict. Chr. Ant.=A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities comprising the history, institutions, and antiquities of the Christian Church, from the time of the Apostles to the age of Charlemagne. By various writers, edited by Sir William Smith...& Samuel Cheetham...Fifth impression. i ii London 1908.

Smith—Marindin Class. Dict.=A Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology, and Geography based on the larger dictionaries by the late Sir William Smith...Revised throughout and in part rewritten by G. E. Marindin...London 1899.


Stephani Vasmensaml. St. Petersburg=Die Vasensammlung der kaiserlichen Ermitage i ii St. Petersburg 1869.


Stevenson—Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins=A Dictionary of Roman Coins, republican and imperial: commenced by the late Seth William Stevenson...revised, in part, by C. Roach Smith...and completed by Frederic W. Madden...London 1889.


Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus.=Das athener Nationalmuseum phototypische Wiedergabe
seiner Schätze mit erläuterndem Text von J. N. Svoronos... Deutsche Ausgabe besorgt von Dr. W. Barth Heft i—xxiv Athen 1903—1912.


**Tyrryn** = Kaiserlich deutsches archaisches institut in Athen. Tyrryn. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Instituts.


ii Die Fresken des Palastes von Gerhart Rodenwaldt mit Beiträgen von Rudolf Hackl† und Noel Heaton. Athen 1912.

**Vasos griegos Madrid** = Francisco Alvarez-Ossorio Vasos griegos etruscos e italo-griegs que se conservan en el Museo Arqueologico Nacional Madrid 1910.


Villoison anec. = Anecdoten Graecæ E Regia Parisiensii; & e Veneta S. Marci Bibliothecis deprompta Edidit Johannes Baptista Caspar d'Ansse de Villoison... i ii Venetiis 1781.


Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. = Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch von Dr. Alois Walde... Heidelberg 1906.


ii Basrelief und geschnitzte Steine. Göttingen 1850.

iii Griechische Vasengemälde. Göttingen 1851.


Abbreviations

Wilmanns Ex. inscr. Lat. = Exempla inscriptionum Latinarum in usum praecepae Academicum composuit Gustavus Wilmanns. i ii Berolini 1873.


CHAPTER I

ZEUS AS GOD OF THE BRIGHT SKY.

§ 1. Zeus and the Daylight.

(a) Zeus the Sky.

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


2 This series as collected by Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. s. v. deus, dies, and Hirt op. cit. ii. 734 f. includes the following forms: Greek ἐρευς 'at mid-day,' ἑλλα 'clear sky'; Latin sub dieo 'under the open sky,' dies 'day'; Welsh dyw dyw dydd 'day,' Breton dez 'day,' Cornish de 'day,' Irish indiu 'to-day'; Gothic sin-teins 'daily'; Lithuanian dienē 'day,' Slavonic dいni 'day'; Albanian dit 'day'; Armenian tir 'day'; Old Indian dītī 'on the day,' dīvām, 'day, sky.'

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

4 (1) Frazer Golden Boght i. 369, ib. ii. 426 f., suggested that Zeus was named 'Bright' as being the oak-god, i.e. god of the tree whose wood was used in fire-making. Against this view I protested in the Class. Rev. 1902 xvi. 372, as did Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1100 n. 2. And Frazer op. cit. ii. 358 n. 1 admits that he 'was disposed to set aside much too summarily what may be called the meteorological side of Zeus and Jupiter,' though he still regards the oak-tree as the primary, not a secondary, element in their composite nature (ib. ii. 373 f.). I now hold, and shall hope in vol. ii of the present work to show, that the oak was originally the tree of the earth-mother rather than the tree of the sky-father, and that the latter acquired it in the first instance through association with the former.
Zeus the Sky

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

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

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

It is probable that Pheidias' chryselephantine Zeus and its copies had hair and beard of gold; for Lucian makes Zeus complain that a couple of his curls, weighing six minas apiece, were cut off and stolen from Pisa by burglars (Loukan. Iup. trag. 23), and Pausanias states that Theokosmos of Megara, helped by Pheidias, made for the Megarian Olympeion a statue of Zeus, which had πέρατον ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσόν (Paus. 1. 40. 4). But it would be rash to infer from this that the god was essentially fair-haired. The Minoans of Knossos made ivory statuettes of athletes with hair of gilded bronze (Anu. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1901—1902 viii. 72 f. pls. 2 f.). Were they blondes? Herodes Attikos erected a chryselephantine statue of Poseidon in the Isthmian temple (Paus. 2. 1. 7 f.). But Poseidon was not xanthotrichous.

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

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

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

Ambrosial, on his immortal head
Shook—at their shaking all Olympos quaked.¹

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

Closely akin to the substantive Ζεύς is the adjective δόξα, which denotes properly ‘of’ or ‘belonging to Zeus’.² This meaning it actually bears in Attic drama.² But how comes it that in the much earlier Homeric poems it has the force of ‘bright’ or ‘glorious’ without any such restriction to the property of a personal Zeus³? Probably because the word was formed before Zeus became a personality, when as yet he was the Zeus, the radiant sky credited with an impersonal life of its own. Δόξα in fact meant at first ‘of’ or ‘belonging to the bright sky’; and a vestige of its primary meaning is to be found in the frequent Homeric phrases ‘the bright upper air’ and ‘the bright dawn’.³ The transition from brightness in this sense to glory or splendour in general is not hard to follow. Further, when Zeus came to be regarded as an individual sky-god, the way was open for δόξα, ‘of the bright sky’, to take on the more personal meaning, ‘of the

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

¹ II. 1. 528 ff., cp. 8. 189 (of Hera). For a similar explanation of earthquakes in modern Greece see infr. ch. ii. § 5.

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


⁵ According to H. Ebeling Lexicon Homericum Lipsiae 1885 i. 371 f. Homer has δόξα in the sense ’bright’ or ’glorious’ of goddesses (but not gods, though in frag. h. Dion. 2 δόξα γέρος is Dionysos son of Zeus, and in II. 17. 582 Zenodotos wrote δόξα’ Ἀργη), nymphs, men and women, peoples and places, divine horses, rivers and mountain-peaks, land and sea.


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

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

At mid-day (ēndios) came we to the sacred stream
Alpheios.

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

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

And fifty lines further on her word is made good:

At mid-day (ēndios) came the Ancient from the sea.

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

2 A. Körte in the Gött. Gel. Anz. 1897 clix. 409 f. publishes (after G. Radet 'En Phrygie' in the Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques Paris 1895 vi. 425—494) a limestone altar at Eskihehir in the Kütschik-Han inscribed 'Αγαθή τόχυ | Σέλων τερόκος | кар τα έπταγμα τύχων | Ι Δίων τεχνηρή | ο χείμαρρος ζών. On the upper part of the altar are two bunches of grapes; on the base, a plough of a kind still much used in Anatolia. Körte observes that the quantity of i in D̄ios is doubtful, and suggests that we have here perhaps 'den uralten Himmelsgott D̄ios' (an ancient nominative assumed by H. Usener Güternamen Bonn 1896 pp. 43. 70 f. to account for Δυσανα, Δios Κάρυθος, ὁ-ναίτος, D̄ios fidus, Διολλος). This, however, is highly precarious. I prefer to write D̄ios with Sir W. M. Ramsay Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire Aberdeen 1906 p. 275, who notes that Solon, servitor of Zeus Δ̄ios, discharged a vow to his god and by the same act of devotion made a tomb for himself.


4 II. 11. 726 with Eustath. in II. p. 881, 5 κατά μεσημβρίαν: schol. V. ad loc. says διὰ βλεψιν.

5 Od. 4. 400 f.

6 Il. 450 with scholl. V.B.E. τ. τ. μεσημβρίαν.
Similarly Soudias cites the following couplet, perhaps by Kallimachos:

So, while mid-day (ένδιος) endured and earth grew hot,
More brilliant than crystal shone the sky.\

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

Lastly, there is the adjective εύδιος 'with a clear sky, tranquil', the substantive εύδια 'a clear sky, calm weather', and the verbs ευδιάνει, ευδιαζέσθαι 'to be serene'. These all spring from the same root as δός, εύδιος\(^{10}\), and alike bear witness to the fact that

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\(^{1}\) Soud. t.v. ένδιος = Kallim. frag. an. 24 Schneider. Hellenistic poets affected the word, e.g. Kallim. h. Dom. 39 ποτι ρπίδιος with schol. το μεσημβρίας, id. frag. 124 Schneider ένδιος ενδίων, id. Hekale frag. pap. col. iv, 2 ἀλλ' ἦν ἐν άνδιοι ἦν εν άνάρ, Ap. Rhod. i. 603 ἐν ένδιων φέρει μεσημβρίας, id. 4. 1310 ένδιοι ἦμαρ εν τοις ἤματοι, τοις ἄνοιξιν ἔφευγενες τοις αὐγά εἴλας Δήμων, Theokr. 1. 95 ρομάνοις ένδιοις with schol. ουτα τοις μεσημβρίας and gloss M. ἐκλεων (imitated by Antiphilos in Anth. Pal. 9. 71), Anth. Phe. 498 πολε γενέας ένδιοι στρέφεται καθ' υπέρτεθει γαίης with schol. το δι εύδια ήμερα, υψαλ' ὑπ' ἱερ' γης, παρά τοις ένδιοις τοις μεσημβρίαις, ib. 954 λ. και βίος ἄησαν το πάρο τάσσεται ένδιοις ἀφοίαν εισανδάντης αὐτ' αἴθεροι ἄφροφαντο with schol. το δι ζόοις ένδιοις ήμερας μεσημβρίας και οφάνιοι.


\(^{3}\) Εύδιος: Theokr. 16. 38, 52, 99, Anth. Pal. 9. 291, 6 Agathias. The verb came to mean simply 'to dwell': 'Anth. Pal.' 2. 122 Christodoros, ib. 4. 4. 10 Agathias, ib. 5. 269. 10 Paulus Silentarius. The (Alexandrine?) author of the Homeric k. Selc. says of the full moon 6 αὐχένιες δε ευδιαπεν, which E. E. Sikes ad loc. would render: 'are as bright as day.'


\(^{5}\) Ευδίος is related to εν Δι as is ενύγχος to εν νυκτί or ενδιος to εν δλι: see L. Meyer Handb. d. gr. Etym. i. 423, Prellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. p. 121, Boisacq Dict. énym. de la Langue Gr. p. 250.

W. Prellwitz Eine griechische und eine lateinische Etymologie Bartenstein 1895 p. 8 notes that ευδιος is for ενδιος and ενδιος for ενδιος, both being derived from εν Δι, 'in Zeus, in the lichent Tage.'


\(^{7}\) E.g. Arat. phain. 823 ευδίων... ήματος, Gig. p. 18. 3. 6 ήματα ευδίων, Orph. h. Ath. 5. 5 λογον τα (κα αθήνη) ζεστομένου ευδίων εχει, id. h. Hes. 8. 13 έν αθήναι τι, ευδίων σαφείς τους ήματος τους, Arat. phain. 784 ευδίων κ' έφη τους ευδίων τους, Anth. Pal. 9. 806. 3 παναφέρεται κα καί ευδιος of a space cleared for a sun-dial.

\(^{8}\) E.g. Pind. Isthm. 7 (6). 37 f. ευδίων διασφάσις, έν ευδίων, Theophr. caust. pl. 3. 23. 5 έν αυτ' ευδίων κα τα νύχτα ενυχώποι.

\(^{9}\) E.g. Arat. phain. 899 πάντα κα αυτά ευδιώπως, with schol. ευδίως άδος, Plat. Aχίλλης 370 έν δίνα, εν αυτής κα ευδίως ενυχώποι.

\(^{10}\) Prellwitz op. cit. p. 162, Boisacq op. cit. p. 293.
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Zeus once signified the animate sky. It is interesting to observe that the tenth-century scholar, who compiled the great Greek lexikon known as the Etymologicum Magnum, seems to have had an inkling of the truth; for in discussing the words εὐδία and θέλω, he suggests as a possible derivation—‘or because Zeus denotes “the sky” also’.

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

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

The remark gains in point, if we may suppose that ‘towards Zeus’ was a popular expression for ‘sky-wards’.

It certainly appears to be used in that sense by Euripides: he has in his Kyklops the following conversation between Polyphemos, who has returned home unexpectedly, and the Chorus of Satyrs, who are caught idling and so face their ferocious master with hanging heads:

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

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

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

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2 Aristoph. Tugenistae frag. 1. 1—5 Meineke ap. Stob. flor. 121. 18 (ed. Guarini iii. 417): the last clause is δημαίνεται τοῦ ταλάντου τὸ βέτον | κατὸς βαβιζεί, τὸ δὲ κεκοιπημένον τῶν Δίων Δία.

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

4 Eur. Cyc. 211 ff. ΚΤ. βλέπει δὲ καὶ καὶ καίτω. | ΧΟ. ἵδοι, πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν Δίων ἀνακοίμησεν, | καὶ τάστρα καὶ τῶν Ἡρώων δέρκομαι.
Zeus the Sky

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

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

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

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

No longer in the light of Zeus.

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

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

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

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1 Plout. de Alex. mag. 1. 9, 2. 2 (= Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 3. 53) αὐθαίρετοι δ' ἔσεσθαι ὁ χάλκεος εἰς Δία λέεινον;  
2 Π. 12. 387 ηῆξ γάρ ἄμφοτέρων ἵπποι αἰθέρα καὶ Δίως αὐγάς.  
3 H. 50. 437 δὲ ἄμφοτέρων ίπποι αἰθέρα καὶ Δίως αὐγάς.  
4 Id. I.A. 1505 ff. ὁ λύσις ἀμέρα | Δίως τε φέους, k.t.l.
5 Id. Rhes. 311 τούτους άθλαν θεού = 'to-morrow.'
6 Id. ib. 355 ξείνα ὥστε Φανάαιοι. Perhaps we should rather render 'He that Appeareth';
7 cp. ib. 370 φανήθη. The same title was borne by Apollo in Chios (Hesych. s.v. Φανάιοι), and is thus explained by Macrobius. Sat. 1. 17. 34: Φανάιοι (MSS. Φαναίοι) ἐτοιμα φανηται νόσοι, quia sol collidit renovat sesa. Cornut. theol. 32 p. 67, 3 f. Lang has ('Ἀπόλλωνας') Φανάιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ δηλωθήθαι δε' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅτα καὶ φωτίζεσθαι τοῦ κόσμου. But, as applied to the Chian Apollo, and presumably also to Zeus, the epithet was at first a mere εἶθες, 'the god of Phanai'; for Strab. 645 in describing Chios mentions Φάναι, λυμή βαθῆς, καὶ νεῖν 'Ἀπόλλωνας καὶ Ἑλλὸς φωικῶς, though Steph. Byz. s.v. Φάναι says αἰσθηθήμα τῆς Xios, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείθεν ἀναφαίνεται τῇ Ἀργοὶ τῆν Δήλον. οἱ οἰκήτορες Φανάαιοι k.t.l. The port and promontory are referred to by other writers (Aristoph. av. 1694 with schol.,
Zeus the Sky

For fifteen hundred years and more, in fact till the decay of paganism, the anthropomorphic conception of Zeus held the field. Yet the older view was never very far below the surface, and from time to time, as we shall see, it cropped up in a variety of ways. Even in the extreme decadence of Greek letters there was a scholastic resuscitation of it. Thus, the original Zeus was simply the radiant day-light Sky. With the rise of anthropomorphism this belief was obscured and overlaid. The Zeus of Hesiodic mythology is described as grandson of an older god Ouranos, the starry midnight ‘Sky’.

In Hellenic times the two Spartan kings were respectively priests of Zeus Lakedaimon and Zeus Ouránios (‘of the Sky’). In the Hellenistic age the latter title was much used by the poets: it afforded a point of contact between the Greek Zeus and the Semitic Ba’al-šamin, ‘Lord of Heaven’.

Finally, Byzantine learning spoke of Zeus ouranos, Zeus the ‘sky’, a title which in letter, though not in spirit, recalled the primary idea of the animate Sky.

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

Orphic writers occasionally gave the name Zeus to their first-born deity (Damaskios quast. de primis principiis p. 320 = Orph. frag. 48 Abel Ἀργοσύνος ἀμμοῦρι isti kai ἸΔΟΣ κακτάς διαδότορα, Euseb. praep. ev. 3. 9. 1 f. = Stob. el. 1. 1. 23 = Orph. frag. 113 Abel ΖΕΟΣ πρῶτος λέγετο ε. θ. λ. : see O. Gruppe in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2169), whose own name was explained sometimes as referring to Light (Io. Malal. chron. 4 p. 74 Dindorf, Soud. s.v. Ὅρασις 7 φως) or to Day (Theon Smyrn. expor. rerum mathemat. ad legendum Platonem utilissimum p. 105 = Orph. frag. 171 Abel Φανή τε μέγαν καὶ κύρια ρήματα), but usually as a description of the Sun (Macrobi. Sat. 1. 18. 13. Diód. i. 11. 1, Iamb. theol. arith. p. 60: see E. Zeller A History of Greek Philosophy trans. S. F. Allynne London 1881 i. 106 n. 4. O. Gruppe in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2155 f.). On a relief at Modena representing Phanes with a thunderbolt in his right hand see R. Eisler Weltentanz und Himmelszahl München 1910 ii. 399 ff. fig. 47.

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

2 Hdt. 6. 56. Wide. Lkiste. Kulte p. 3 cites Corp. inscr. Gr. i no. 1241, 8 ff. (ἀγαθοθέτητι | τῶν | μεγάλων Ὀβρανίων, no. 1238, 6 ff. [ι]περεεῖ γενόμενον? | Διὸς Ὀβρανίου, no. 1276, 9 f. iperseis | Ὀβρανίου, Lebas-Foucart Peloponnese no. 179 a, 3 f. νεκροτοτα ταξιγυμνα Ὀβρανίαδα γ’ (= Corp. inscr. Gr. i no. 1420, cp. nos. 1421, 11 f., 1429, 4 f., 1473, 3, 1719, 6), Corp. inscr. Gr. i no. 1244, 1 ff. τῶν μεγίστων Ὀβρανίων | Σχετικῶν Νομονομεῖων).


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

The Transition from Sky to Sky-god

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

The precise steps by which men advanced from a belief in Zeus the Sky to a belief in Zeus the Sky-god are hidden from us in the penumbra of a prehistoric past. The utmost that we can hope is to detect here and there survivals in language or custom or myth, which may enable us to divine as through gaps in a mist the track once travelled by early thought\(^1\). In such circumstances to attempt anything like a detailed survey or reconstruction of the route would be manifestly impossible. Nevertheless the shift from Sky to Sky-god was a momentous fact, a fact which modified the whole course of Greek religion, and its ultimate consequence was nothing less than the rise of faith in a personal God, the Ruler and Father of all. In view of this great issue we may well strain our backward gaze beyond the point of clear vision and even acquiesce in sundry tentative hypotheses, if they help us to retrace in imagination the initial stages of the journey. I shall make bold, therefore, to surmise that in Greece, as elsewhere, religion effected its upward progress along the following lines.

When those who first used the word Zeus went out into the world and looked abroad, they found themselves over-arched by the blue and brilliant sky, a luminous Something fraught with incalculable possibilities of weal or woe. It cheered them with its steady sunshine. It scared them with its flickering fires. It fanned their cheeks with cool breezes, or set all knees a-tremble with reverberating thunder. It mystified them with its birds winging their way in ominous silence or talking secrets in an unknown tongue. It paraded before men's eyes a splendid succession of celestial phenomena, and underwent for all to see the daily miracle of darkness and dawn. Inevitably, perhaps instinctively, they would regard it with awe—that primitive blend of religious feelings\(^3\)—and would go on to conciliate it by any means in their power. This is the stage of mental and moral development attributed by Herodotus to the ancient Persians. 'I am aware,' he says\(^3\), 'that the Persians practise the following customs. They

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


\(^3\) Hdt. i. 131. The passage is paraphrased also in Strab. 737.
The Transition from Sky to Sky-god

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

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

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

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1 Hdt. i. 131. οὐδὲν νομίζεις Δᾶμεν ὀντὶ τὰ ὕψοι ὑποτατά ὁμοίως ἀναβάνωσας θυτίας ἔδει, τὸν κόσμον πάντα τῷ θεῷ δῶν Νᾶα καλέως.

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

Auramazda appears in later Greek authors as Ζεὺς μέγας (Xen. Cyrl. 5. 1. 29, cp. pseudo-Kallisthenen. 1. 40) or Ζεὺς βασίλευς (Xen. Cyrl. 3. 3. 21, 7. 5. 57, anabh. 3. 1. 12, 6. 1. 22, Arrian. 4. 20. 3 ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἄναταῦ λαοὶ ἐν τοῖς οὐράνοις τὰ κύρια καὶ κυριαία φῶς οὐκ ἄλλος ἦν Ζεὺς βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ θυτίας ὑποτατάτα ἄνατας τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα ἐν ἀνθρώποις, κ.τ.λ.—Soudi. i. e. Αλεξάνδρος) or Ζεὺς καὶ Προμαχής (Aristot. frag. 8 Rose ap. Diog. Laert. proem. 8) or Ζεὺς Προμαχής (Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 735 = Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 383, 41 1. πρὸς ὁμόνως Δᾶμεν 1. Προμαχῆν θρόνων, 54 Δᾶμεν τῷ Προμαχῆν κ.τ.λ.). Cp. Agathias hist. 2. 24 τὸ μὲν γὰρ παλαιόν Δᾶς τῇ καὶ Κρόνων καὶ τόσον δὴ ἀναταῦ τούτων παρ' Ἑλλην. θρολουμένων ὀγιῶν (καὶ Πύρων) θεοῦ, πάνιν γε ὃς δὲ αὐτοὶ ἡ προσευχήρα μὲν ὄρως ἐνώπιον άλλ' ἐνωπίων μὲν τὸν Δᾶς τυχόν Σάνδην τῇ τῶν Ἑλλην. καὶ Ἀραπίδα τῷ Ἀρδείθων καὶ Ἀλλων τοὺς Αἰλοὺς ἔκαλεν.

1 I have collected the evidence in Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 160 ff.

2 Ennius ap. Cic. de nat. deor. 2. 4 and 65 aspice hoc sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Iovem.
Italian in its transitional phase. Behind him is the divine Sky, in front the Sky-god Iupiter.

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

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

But the poet explicitly repudiates anthropomorphism:

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

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

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

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1 Aristot. metaph. 1. 5. 986 b 21 ff. Xenophanes δὲ...δὲ τὸν ἄθλον ὀφθαλμὸν ῥέθηκεν τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν. J. Burnet Early Greek Philosophy London and Edinburgh 1892 prefers to translate: 'Xenophanes...said, with reference to the whole universe, that the One was God.' But this, I believe, misses the point. Xenophanes, like Pythagoras and many another reformer, starts with a revival of half-forgotten beliefs.


4 The Greeks persistently attempted to connect Ἴδεν, Ἴδεν, etc. with ἰδεῖ. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1101 n. justly remarks that their attempts, though etymologically mistaken, have a certain value as throwing light on their conception of the god. He distinguishes: (1) Zeus as the only living son of Kronos (et. mag. p. 408, 55 f., cp. et. God. p. 230, 16 F.); (2) Zeus as the world-soul (Cornut. theol. 2 p. 3, 3 ff. Lang. et. mag. p. 408, 51 f.); (3) Zeus as the cause of life to all that live (Aristot. de mund. 7. 401 a 13 ff. = Apul. de mund. 57, Chrysippus infra p. 29 n. 4, Cornut. theol. 2 p. 5, 6 Lang. Diog.
control its sunshine, its winds, above all its fructifying showers by a sheer assertion of his own will-power expressed in the naïve arts of magic. Modern investigators have shown how great was the rôle of the magician, especially of the public magician, in early society. And not the least of Dr J. G. Frazer’s services to anthropology has been his detailed proof ‘that in many parts of the world the king is the lineal successor of the old magician or medicine-man.’ ‘For sorcerers,’ he urges, ‘are found in every savage tribe known to us; and among the lowest savages...they are the only professional class that exists. As time goes on, and the process of differentiation continues, the order of medicine-men is itself subdivided into such classes as the healers of disease, the makers of rain, and so forth; while the most powerful member of the order wins for himself a position as chief and gradually develops into a sacred king, his old magical functions falling more and more into the background and being exchanged for priestly or even divine duties, in proportion as magic is slowly ousted by religion.’ But if so, it becomes highly probable, nay practically certain, that the real prototype of the heavenly weather-king was the earthly weather-king, and that Zeus was represented with thunderbolt and sceptre just because these were the customary attributes of the magician and monarch.

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

Laert. 7. 147; Arist. et. mag. p. 408, 54, et. Gud. p. 230, 18 f., salmon. II. 15. 188 f., cp. Athen. 289 A, Eustath. in Il. p. 436, 11 ff.; (4) Zeus as life-giving breath, i.e. ἑρ̣ ἁσ (et. mag. p. 408, 57 f.).


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

In Folk-Lore 1903 xiv. 278 f. I attempted to show that magic, whether ‘mimetic’ or ‘sympathetic,’ ultimately depends upon a primitive conception of extended personality—a failure to distinguish aight the I from the nat-I.

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

3 Id. ib. i. 430 f.
about. If, then, the magician or king imitated a storm made by Zeus, how did Zeus make it? The spirit of enquiry was awake (with the Greeks it awoke early), and the obvious answer was that Zeus must be a Master-mage, a King supreme, beyond the clouds. Doubtless, said nascent reflexion, Zeus makes his thunder in heaven much as our magician-king makes it upon earth, only on a grander, more sonorous scale. But observe: if this was indeed the sequence of thought, then the change from Sky to Sky-god was occasioned not by any despair of magic— for people might well come to believe that Zeus the Sky-god made thunderstorms and yet not cease believing that the magician-king could produce the like—but rather by the discovery that magic, whether effective or not, was a matter of imitation. In short, the transition from Sky to Sky-god was a result, perhaps the first result, of conscious reflexion upon the *modus operandi* of primitive magic.

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

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

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

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

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

(c) Zeus Amáriós.

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

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

To this I should reply (1) that the Homeric poems as we have them bear ample traces of earlier expurgation affecting many savage practices (see the convincing chapter of Prof. G. Murray The Rise of the Greek Epic Oxford 1911 pp. 141—166), and (2) that such expurgation has in point of fact failed precisely where failure might have been expected, viz. in eliminating the pre-Homeric ‘fixed epithets’ of Zeus. These are simply redolent of the magician. Zeus is often Κρόνος παῖς ἄγκυλομο̣νε̣ω̣ς, ‘son of the wizard Kronos.’ He is himself μαγός, a ‘mage’ rather than a ‘sage.’ The word μαγός is used thrice, in h. Ap. 344 and h. Heut. 5 of Zeus (so Hes. o. d. 51, theog. 457, Moiro ap. Athen. 491b), in Od. 4. 227 of magic herbs prepared by the daughter of Zeus. Again, Zeus alone is ἄφθων μαγός σιβώς (I. 24. 88, h. Aplhr. 43, Hes. theog. 545, 550, 561, frag. 35, 2 Flach), cp. the names of the sorceresses Medeia, Agamede, Perimele, Mestra. Thirty-six times in the II. and Od. he is described as ἄφθωγορς, a transparent synonym of ‘rain-maker.’ And what of his constant appellation αἰγίς? The αἰγίς, when shaken, produced a thunderstorm (I. 17. 593 ff., cp. 4. 166 ff.), and Virgil at least seems to have regarded it as part of the rain-maker’s paraphernalia (Aen. 8. 352 ff. Arcades ipsum | credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigranter | aegida concuteret | dextra nimbosque cieret, cp. Sili. It. 12. 719 ff.). It was presumably as a magical means of securing fertility that at Athens the priestess brought the sacred αἰγίς to newly-wedded wives (Suid. s.v. αἰγίς). Further, Zeus causes an earthquake by nodding his head and shaking his hair (ὑπενθα π. 2 l.)—a procedure that savours strongly of the magician’s art.

Lastly, the frequent mention of the βούλα or βουλαί of Zeus (from I. 1. 5 Δίως ὀφθαλμόν βούλας onwards: see H. Ebeling Lexicon Homericum Lipsiae 1885 i. 236) gains fresh meaning, if seen to imply the will-power characteristic of the magician-king.

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

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

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

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

Hail, greatest Lad of Kronos’ line,

Almighty Brilliance, who art here

Leading thy followers divine:

To Dikte come for the new year

And dance with joy this dance of mine.


1 Macrobr. Sat. 1. 15. 14 Cretenses Δια τηρ ἡμέραν vocant.
2 Od. 19. 178 ff.
4 G. Murray, ib. xv. 364 ff.
5 With κούρε ... Κρόνος cp. Aisch. P. v. 577 f. ὁ Κρόνος | παῖ, Pind. Ol. 2. 22 ὁ Κρόνος παῖ Πελ. For κούρε = παῖ, see Stephanus Theor. Gr. Ling. iv. 1895 Δ.
6 ἥ, μέγατε κούρε, χαῖρε μοι. | Κρόνος, παγκρατές γάνος, | βῆβαζε | δαιμόνων ἄγωμεν | Δίκταν ὑδε ἐναπτὸν ἐπὶ πεῖ καὶ γάγαθι μολτη. Two copies of the hymn are engraved on the back and face of the same stone. The back, which contains a text full of blunders, nowhere preserves the termination of the word γάνος. The face has in line 2 πατικρατές γανός altered into πανκρατές γανός, and in line 20 πανκρατές γανός. This suggests an attempt to make sense of an old defective copy, and on reading it I conjectured (see Trinity College Lecture Room paper of Nov. 4, 1910) that the original phrase was παιγκρατές γάνος, cp. Enn. ap. Cic. de nat. deor. 2. 4 aspice hoc sublime candens, quem invocavit omnes Iovem (Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 261). Prof. G. Murray printed παγκρατές γάνος in his restored text and translated it ‘Lord of all that is wet and gleaming.’ He now (Aug. 15, 1911) writes to me ἀ propos of γάνος: ‘I think it a very probable suggestion but do not on the whole think there is sufficient reason for altering the text.’ He adds that in a letter to himself Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff had independently made the same correction.
Zeus Amários

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

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

1 W. Deecke 'Die griechisch-kyprischen Inschriften' in Collitz-Bechert *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 27 ff. no. 60, 10, 23, 28 θαῖσι σᾶν.
2 O. Hoffmann 'Die griechischen Dialekte' Göttingen 1891 i. 68 ff. no. 135, 10, 23, 28 θαῖσι σᾶν. *Id. ib. i. 71 ff.* rejects Meister's view that σᾶν = epic δή and translates 'für alle Zeit', taking ὁ-θαῖσ = ἐν τέλε (alt accus. for *all* cp. Indian ḍvam 'life-time') and σᾶν as akin to ὅσιν, δικαστήριο. But all this is very doubtful, as Hoffmann himself (ib. p. 228) admits.
3 C. B. Buck *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* Boston etc. 1910 p. 182 n. says: 'σᾶν is possibly connected with σῶς and σῶς, live, on the basis of a third by-form σᾶς.'
4 O. Foulcart 'Fragment inédit d'un décret de la ligue achéenne' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1876 N.S. xxxii. 3. 98—103 first propounded the explanation, now commonly accepted, of θαῖρος as 'le dieu de l'atmosphère lumineuse.' (ib. p. 100). 'Αμάριας = θαῖρος is found in Locrician inscriptions (Collitz-Bechert *Gr. Dialekt.* nos. 1478, 1479, 5, cp. 1478, 33), and ἄναραραράρειον in a Delphian inscription (ib. no. 3561, D. 16, = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* nos. 438, 183). 'Αμάριας = ἄναραραι may well have been in use on the other side of the Corinthian Gulf also.
5 G. Kramer on Strab. 389 and F. Hultsch on Polyb. 3. 29. 6 (praef. p. lv) hold that the name was 'Αμάριας = *Oμάριας, cp. άναραράραρα = ἄναραράρα*. *Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1116 n. 3, following Collitz and Schulze *Questions* *frêcism.* p. 500 n. 1, takes 'Αμάριας = Ομάριας.
7 Strab. 387. MSS. and ejj. as before.
8 Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* nos. 229 = *Michel Recueil d'Instr. gr.* no. 199.
on a tablet and set up beside an altar of Hestia in the Amárion\(^1\). This is in all probability the spot described by Pausanias in the following extract: 'Near the sea at Aigion is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, after that one of Poseidon, one of Kore Demeter's daughter, and in the fourth place one to Zeus Homagýrios. Here there are statues of Zeus, Aphrodite and Athena. Zeus was surnamed Homagýrios, "the Assembler," because on this spot Agamemnon gathered together the chief men of Hellas to consult how they should make war on the kingdom of Priam....Adjoining the sanctuary to Zeus Homagýrios is one of Demeter Panachaidi, "goddess of all the Achaean?", Zeus Amários was on this showing one with Zeus Homagýrios; and it is possible that the former title was, owing to the influence of the latter, popularly changed into Homários, which might be understood as 'the Joinertogether\(^\text{b}\). However that may be, it is clear that from Aigion the cult made its way to Magna Graecia, where Kroton, Sybaris and Kaulonia, in awoved imitation of the Achaean, erected a common temple to Zeus Amários\(^4\).

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

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1 Polyb. 5. 93. 10. MSS. Ὄμαριω. Foucart restored Ἀμάριω, cp. J. L. Strachan-Davidson Selections from Polybius Oxford 1888 p. 145. On the connexion of Hestia with Zeus, see infra ch. iii § 1 (a) ix (a).
2 Paus. 7. 24. 2 l. O. Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1741 would distinguish between the Ἀμάρις and the precinct of Zeus Ὄμαργος; but Frazer Pausanias iv. 162 identifies them.
3 Dittenberger Syll. insc. Gr.\(^2\) p. 370 thinks that Ὄμαργος is a corruption of Ἀμάρις; but this is not necessary. Ὀμάριος (Polyb. 1. 29. 6 with π. l. ὀμαρίου σικ Α ὅμαριου C, 5, 93. 10) suggests comparison with Hesych. ὀμάριον ὁμιός, συμφώνοις. Those that take it to be the original form will quote Steph. Byz. Ὀμάριον. πόλη Θετηλίδας. Ὀμαρίωτος φιλαρτικὸς εἰς τὴν δυτικὴν Ἰλυκήν. ἐν ταύτῃ τιμᾶται Ζεῦς καὶ ἄθρως. τὸ θεῖον Ὀμάριον Ὀμαρεῖς.
4 Polyb. 2. 39. 6. The MSS. vary: ὀμαρίου σικ Α. ὀμαρίου C. Foucart restored Ἀμαρίων.
5 W. Wroth in the Num. Chron. Fourth Series 1902 ii. 324 ff. pl. 16, 4, G. F. Hill Historical Greek Coins London 1906 p. 73 ff. pl. 5, 38, Head Hist. num.\(^2\) p. 416 ('the reverse type of Zeus seems to have been suggested by the seated Zeus on the early Arcadian coins.' Cp. infra ch. i § 3 (b)). The coin is now in the British Museum.
with his left hand on a long sceptre (fig. 2). The later silver coins, from some date earlier than 330 B.C., show a laureate head of Zeus as their obverse (fig. 3), a wreath of bay as their reverse design. Such representations drop no hint of Zeus as a day-light deity. The physical aspect of the god had long been forgotten, or at most survived in a cult-title of dubious significance.

(d) Zeus Panámaros, Panémeros, Panemérios.

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

4 Πανάμαρος without Ζεὺς occurs in Bull. Corr. Hell. 1888 xii. 85 no. 9, 11, ib. p. 86 no. 10, 15, ib. p. 88 no. 11, 5. Πανάμαρος (sic) was one of the Carian Kouretes along with Δαμάρων and Πανακις or Παναχής (et. mag. p. 389, 55 ff.).
7 Ζεὺς Πανάμαρος, sometimes Ζεὺς ὁ Πανάμαρος or ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Πανάμαρος, is the common form of his name in the inscriptions (Höfer loc. cit. 1492, 1 ff.).
Zeus Panámaros, Panémeros, Panemérios 19

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

Imperial coins of Stratonikeia, both in silver and in bronze (fig. 4), exhibit a bearded horseman, who carries a long sceptre over his left shoulder and apparently a phidie in his right hand\(^4\). On one specimen in the British Museum (fig. 5)\(^5\), probably struck in Hadrian’s time, this equestrian figure is radiate. Dr B. V. Head conjectures that it is not the emperor, but Zeus Panámaros conceived as a solar deity\(^6\). The identification of the rider as Zeus might be supported by the fact that some imperial bronze coins of Stratonikeia have as their reverse type Zeus enthroned with a sceptre in one hand, a phidie in the other (fig. 6)\(^7\). And the radiate crown would be appropriate to Zeus 'of the live-long Day,' whether he was regarded as a sun-god or not.

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

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3 Hesych. panámeros\(\text{δ}'\) δοξη ήμερας, Phot. lex. panámeros: δε' δοξη της ήμερας, Aisch. P.f. 1024 δεκτος ήτως δαμαλετος ήπαμέρος, Ι. 1. 472 οδ της Πανεμέρου μαλι

4 Not the god 'of the Day-light' (E. Meyer), nor the god 'of the luminous atmosphere' (P. Foucart), nor merely 'a divinity of the light' (L. R. Farnell): see Hüfer loc. cit. 1493.


6 Ib. pp. lxxiii, 152 pl. 24, 4.

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

three temples, that of Zeus Panámaros, that of Hera Teleia, and a building called the Komýrion, the name of which recalls the title of Zeus Kómyros at Halikarnassos. Corresponding with the two temples of Zeus and the one of Hera were three public festivals, the Panamareia, the Komyria, and the Heraia.

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

1 Bull. Corr. Hell. 1887 xi. 389 no. 5, i f. Διὸ Παναμάρω και Ἡρα Τελεία, 1888 xii. 256 no. 36, 2 f. [Δι...] Παναμάρω [και] Ἡρα Τελεία (iiic), 1891 xv. 426 no. 8 "Ἡρας Τελεία (ii).
5 Here Zeus Πανάμαρος and other deities had statues (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1888 xii. 85 no. 9, 10 f. ἀγάλματα θεῶν Παναμάρου, Εκατερίνης, Ἀρτέμιδος, Αἰσχρηνος, Τηνατος, Corr. inscr. Gr. ii no. 3715a 2 ff. [Διὸ τοῦ Παμαμάρου καὶ Εκατερίνης...καθίσσαται ἐν τῇ σεβαστῇ βοιλητηρίῳ τῶν προσαρμοσμένων θεῶν]. Stratoniikeia was under the special protection of Zeus Panamáro and Hekate (O. Hőfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1494 f.).
8 O. Hőfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1494.
Zeus Panámaros, Panéméroς, Paneméřios 21

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

The Heraia was another important festival involving a long programme of games, religious shows, and mystic rites. It seems to have been celebrated yearly and on a grander scale once every four years. The rendez-vous was the temple of Hera. The

3 Bull. Corr. Hell. 1887 xi. 384, 10 τῇ ἀνόδῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, 1891 xv. 186 no. 130 a, 15 ff. ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ τῇ ἐν τῷ θεῷ, 188 no. 131, 5 ἐν τῇ ἀνέβοντι ἐν τῷ θεῷ, 203 no. 144, 10 ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῷ Θεῷ.
5 Nilsson Gr. Feite p. 29.
12 This is deduced by M. P. Nilsson cp. cit. p. 28 from the fact that the inscriptions employ two distinct formulars, τις ἱππός (ἱερατεύς, κ.τ.λ.) ἐν Ἵρῳς καὶ ἱερεῖς (ἱερατεύς, κ.τ.λ.) ἐν Ἵρῳς κατὰ πενταετεῖα.
priest and priestess invited all the women, whether bond or free, and gave them a banquet with plenty of wine and a present of money for each guest. They also furnished a repast for the men. It is at first sight puzzling to find this apparent duplication of the Komyria. But, if—as we shall later see reason to suppose—Zeus was not originally the consort of Hera, it is likely enough that he had his own marriage-feast to attend and she hers. At Panamara, even when Zeus was paired with Hera, the two celebrations were on the foregoing hypothesis kept up side by side. This bizarre arrangement had its practical advantages, and it obviously made a powerful appeal to the appetites of the mob.

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

3 Infra ch. iii.
4 The evidence of the published inscriptions suggests, but does not prove, that the Heraia at Panamara was a marriage-feast. Such was in all probability the character of the Heraia at Argos (infra ch. iii).
12 Suet. v. Domit. 4. Tertull. de cor. militiae, 12, Athen. 311 b.
15 Darenberg-Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 1523 and 1525 fig. 1986 (a priest of Bellona);
Zeus Panámaros, Panémeros, Panemérios

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

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

Helbig Guide Clasi. Ant. Rome i. 151 f. no. 721 = A. J. B. Wace in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1905 xxv. 94 f. ('a priest of the cult of one of the later Diadochi') = Amelung Sculpt. Vatic. ii. 472 f. no. 275 pl. 63; Helbig op. cit. i. 309 f. no. 425 (an archigallus); D. Simonsen Skulpturer og Indskrifter fra Palmyra i Ny-Carlsberg Glyptothek Kjøbenhavn 1889 p. 16 f. pl. 7 f.

1 Bull. Corr. Hell. 1888 xii. 487 ff. nos. 60—120.
2 Ib. p. 480.
3 The conjecture of Frazer Pausaniás iii. 280 f. is, therefore, in part mistaken.
5 Ib. p. 487.

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

I incline to think that we have in this custom the relics of a puberty-rite once...
with marriage or with arrival at a marriageable age. As such it widespread throughout Greece, and that further proof of the practice may be found in the terms κόρος, κόρη for 'young man, young woman;' literally 'shaveling' (κεφαλά, 'I shave'). My friend Dr. R. G. Ports kindly informs me that this derivation is quite possible, and that the words in question should be grouped as follows: κόρος, Ionic κόρος, Doric κόρος, etc. <κόρ-ος; κόρη, Ionic κορη, Doric κωρη, etc. <κόρ-ία (Collitz-Bechtel Gr. Dialekt. I. 145 no. 373 τίνι Κόρια). And κουρές 'barber' <κορο-ες (Hesych. s.v.); κουρά 'haircutting' 'tress' <κορα-ία. He refers me to F. Solmsen in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1888 xxii. 128 f., who conjectures that κωρά (κεφαλή) became κορά by analogy with κουρές <κορεῖς. That this whole series of words was interrelated had already been guessed by the ancients: see et. mag. p. 534, 4 ff. κωρά-άρη τού κεφαλά κεφαλαία καὶ κορά- κορή...δι' αὐτὸ τὸ κεφαλό, τὸ κουράσα, κωρά καὶ κωρά κ.τ.λ., ib. p. 533, 57 f. Μεγας δὲ καὶ ὁ ζυγός αὐτοῦ τὸ γένεσιν (κεφαλά). So ib. p. 529, 36 f., et. Gud. pp. 336, 8 ff., 341, 40 ff.

The foregoing derivation strongly supports Miss J. E. Harrison's contention that the Κουρές were the young initiates of the tribe (see her cogent article in the Ann. Brit. Arch. 1908—1909 xvi. 308—338). Archæomachs of Euboia frag. 8 (Fragm. hist. Gr. iv. 315 f. Müller) ap. Strab. 465 states that the Kouretes of Chalkis ὅπου ἦσαν κοράτας γενέσθαι, τα ̀δε ἐμπροσθεν κεφαλῆς, διὸ καὶ Κουρῆς ἄνω τῆς κωρᾶς κληθεῖν. This may be a speculation based on the Ἀκραταὶ ἀνδρῶν κουράτων (II. 2. 542). But it was certainly believed in the fifth century B.C. that the Kouretes got their name from their peculiar coiffure: Aisch. frag. 313 Nauck, ἀλίκου τε πλάκαμοι ὅπτε παρθένοι ἄφαντα | δήν καλεῖν Κορή θείας ἄνευς, Agath. Thysistas frag. 3 Nauck κάμα κεκεκάκασα μάρτυρα τρόφιμο, ὁ πον ἄδημοις ἀθρόγειον φρέμι. ἐπάνων γαρ ἄνθρωπος κωράς, κύρης κωράς εἶναι, κωράς χῶρος τραχύ. Cr. et. mag. p. 534, 14 ff. Κουρές...ἀρχ' αὐτοῦ τῆς κωρᾶς, παρὰ τὸ μη κεφαλαία...et. Gud. p. 342, 1 ff., Hesych. s.v. Κουρές...διὰ τὸ κοράκως ἀναδεδείη τὰ κόμας, Eudok. νεάν. 518 εὶ δὲ των τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄντων ἄνθρωποι κυρκυκωματεί, παρατηρησανωντο ἀυτῶν ἢ ἑτορία, Κουρής αὐτῶν ἄνθρωπας ἀνακεφαλαία γένους κ.τ.λ. = Eustath. in II. p. 165, 8 ff.

At Athens the third day of the Apaturia was called κουρές—say the lexicographers—not merely because the κωρά and κορά were then enrolled on their phratry-lists (Soud. s.v. Ἀπατοῦρα), but also because on that day children's hair was cut and dedicated to Artemis (Hesych. s.v. κουράτως) or the κορές had their hair cut and were enrolled in their phratry (Soud. s.v. κορεῖς). The sacrifice offered for those of full age (εἰς ἓλκου εἰρηκτάνων) was termed κορώνας in the case of the boys, γαμήλία in that of the girls (Poll. 8. 107). These terms point to an original puberty-rite of hair-clipping. Further, Miss Harrison notes that the Athenian ἕφημος presented Herakles with a big cup of wine (ὕπνωριά) and then clipped their hair (Athen. 494 f., Hesych. s.v. ὑπνωρία, Phot. lex. s.v. ὑπνωρία, Eustath. in II. p. 907, 19, Favorin. lex. p. 469, 20 f.; cp. Poll. 3. 52. 6. 22, who connects the rite with the Apaturia).

The exact character of such tonures can seldom be determined. Yet there is a certain amount of monumental evidence available. In Minoan art youthful figures, both male and female, often have a single curl hanging over the forehead (e.g. Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1900—1901 vii. 56 f. fig. 17, Mon. d. Linc. 1908 xii. 15 ff. pl. 1 f.): was this the χιλιδόν πλάκαμος of the Kouretes? The δίνθεν κοράτωρι appear on an archaic sherd from Aigina, which shows a man's head beardless and bald on top, but with bushy hair behind tied in a bunch on the neck (F. Dümmler in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1887 ii. 20 f. pl. 3, 3), and also on certain oblong plates of gold found at Corinth, which represent Theseus slaying the Minotaur and Ariadne standing at his back, both figures being bald on top, but long-haired behind (A. Furtwangler in the Arch. Zeit. 1884 p. 106 ff. pl. 8, 2—7): this was known as the θηρίον κορά, since Theseus at Delphi shaved the front of his head only (Plout. v. Thea. 5, Eustath. in II. p. 165, 7 f.). The head of a Lapith from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia has a smooth surface reserved in the hair above the middle of the forehead (Olympia iii. 85 fig. 136): G. Treu ib. assumes an
Aithér as the abode of Zeus

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

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


(a) Aithér as the abode of Zeus.

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

Zeus' portion was

Broad heaven in the aithér and the clouds.

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

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

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

1 In Anth. Pal. 6. 242 Krinaugoras records the dedication of his brother's first beard πελωρισμ | Қори кай қўшим меклъиқъ Аргъмъа. Dr Rouse op. cit. p. 244 says: 'Agamemnon in perplexity tore out handfuls of hair as an offering to Zeus' (II. 10. 15). ξόνολλα εκ κεφαλῆς προθελόμενοι ελέγχονε ταῖαν | εφόθε εκείνη Δί. But this strange couplet has been variously interpreted. Eustath. in II. p. 786, 46 ff. presses the preceding metaphor to mean that, just as Zeus thundered, rained, and snowed, so Agamemnon groaned, shed tears, and scattered his hairs broadcast! Probably the whole passage is due to some bombastic rhapsode, who was trying to outdo the more commonplace phrase Δι ξήρας ἄναξείων (W. Leaf ad loc.).

2 Supra p. 18. A puzzling epithet, perhaps another example of the same interlinguistic phenomenon, is that given in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1891 xv. 186 no. 130 A, i [Δι Παρηγέρων Αργύρων και Ηρα]. MM. Deschamps and Cousin take Αργύρων to be an indeclinable divine title, which has given rise to such personal names as Bull. Corr. Hell. 1888 xii. 487 no. 60 (Panamara) Εφαρμ. [χαμνο Αργυροι, Bull. Corr. Hell. 1887 xi. 12 no. 6, 5 f. (Lagina) ἑρμμ. η γενε αληφρου Αργυροι Κ(ωρος) (ii), Corp. inscr. Gr. iv no. 8753 (Pergamon) Αργυροῖο. But to Greek ears 'Αργυροῖ spelled 'Silver,' and silver was the metal specially assigned to Zeus by the Byzantines (infra ch. i § 6 (g) on Jupiter Dolichenus).


4 Il. 2. 414, 4. 166, Od. 15. 523, Theogn. 757 αἰθήρα ναυὸν.

5 Il. 15. 192 Καί τοῦ Δήλου εἰρήνα εἰρήν ἐν αἰθήρα καὶ νεφέλησι. See infra ch. ii § 6.
Zeus Aithéiros, Zeus Aithrios

the clouds. On one occasion he sent a portent to the Achaean "out of aithér," on another he helped Hektor "from aithér," on another he came near to flinging Hypnos "from aithér" into the sea. Euripides in his Melanippe the Wise made one of the characters cry:

I swear by holy aithér, home of Zeus.

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

Mightiest Earth and aithér of Zeus—

and in another fragment described Perseus as—

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

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

(b) Zeus Aithérios, Zeus Aithrios.

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

1. Il. 15. 18 ff. 2. Il. 11. 54. 3. Il. 15. 610 interpol. 4. Il. 14. 228.
6. Aristoph. thesem. 272 quotes the line correctly, but ran. 100 and 311 substitutes ἀλθέα, Δίως δοκεύω, which reduces the sublime to the ridiculous.
7. Eur. Chrys. frag. 839 Nauck2, quoted infra ch. ii. § 9 (e) ii. For the combination cp. frag. 1023 Nauck2 ἀλθέα καὶ Γαῖας πάνων γενέτευρον ἀλίθευω.
11. Ampel. 9 cited infra p. 27 n. 3.
13. Aristot. de mund. 7. 401 a 17 καὶ ἀλθείη καὶ ἀλθείη...
Zeus identified with *Aithér* 27

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

\[ \Delta \dot{\omega} \]
\[ \text{Of Zeus} \]
\[ \text{Aithrios}^1. \]

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

\[ \Theta \mu \mu \varepsilon \tau \sigma \tau \kappa \lambda \varepsilon \]
\[ \text{Themistokles} \]
\[ \text{son of Menandros} \]

\[ \textit{M} \varepsilon \nu \iota \acute{n} \dot{i} \dot{d} \rho \iota \nu \]
\[ \text{to Zeus Aithrios} \]
\[ (\text{in fulfilment of) a vow}^2, \]

\[ \Delta \dot{i} \textit{A} \iota \dot{h} \dot{r} \dot{i} \dot{o} \iota \]

\[ \text{c) Zeus identified with *Aithér* (sometimes with *Aér*) in Philosophy and Poetry.} \]

Lying at the back of such usages is the half-forgotten belief that *Aithér*, 'the Burning Sky,' itself is Zeus. \[ Zoism^4 \] dies hard; and this belief can be traced here and there throughout the whole range of Greek literature. In particular, it has left its impress on philosophy and poetry.

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

\[ ^1 \text{F. Hiller von Gaertringen, Inschriften von Priene Berlin 1906 no. 184.} \]
\[ ^2 \text{Id. id. no. 185.} \]
\[ ^3 \text{As Zeus 'Ámφeus presupposed émφe =Zeús, so Zeus Álíthepos presupposes ál̩h̩e =Zeús.} \]
\[ ^4 \text{Hes. theog. 124 (Cornut. theol. 17 p. 28, 6 f. Lang) makes Aither the brother of Hemera, as does Hyg. fab. prof. p. 9, 2 Schmidt (Dies and Aether), cp. Cic. de nat. deor. 3. 44.} \]
\[ ^6 \text{By zoism I mean what Mr J. S. Stuart-Glenie means by 'zoism' and Mr R. R. Marett by 'animatism'—the primitive view that things in general, including inanimates, possess a mysterious life of their own.} \]
\[ ^7 \text{Hermias *irrisio gentilium philosophorum* 12 = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini} \]
Zeus identified with Aithér

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

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

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

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

1879 p. 654, 7 II. Φερεκλήνες        μὲν ἄρχας οἶναι λέγον Ζῆνα καὶ Χιοῦνις καὶ Κρόνως. Ζῆνα μὲν τὸν αἰθήρα, Χιοῦνις δὲ τὴν γῆν, Κρόνως δὲ τὸν χρόνον. δὲ μὲν αἰθήρ τὸ ποιεῖν, γ' δὲ γῆ τὸ πάσχον, δ. δὲ χρόνον ἐν τῷ γαμεύσει. Probus in Verg. ecl. 6. 31 p. 355 Lion Pherecydes...

Ζῆνα, inquit, καὶ Χιοῦν <α> καὶ Κρόνως, ignem ac terram <ac> tempus significans; et esse aethera, qui regat terram, qua regatur tempus, in quo universa paras moderetur.

1 This was seen by E. Zeller op. cit. i. 91 n. 3.
2 Aristot. de anima 1. 5. 41 a 8, Plat. legg. 899 B, Diog. Laert. 1. 27, Aét. 1. 7. 11.
3 Diog. Laert. 1. 24, Aristot. de anima 1. 2. 405 A 20 f.
4 Herakl. phil. Strab. 3 αὑτὸν τὴν ἀρχήν ὁδῷ αἰθήρλον Διὸς = frag. 30 Bywater, 130 Diels.

On the interpretation of these words consult E. Zeller A History of Greek Philosophy trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 ii. 46 n. 1, who renders ‘the sphere of bright Zeus’, and J. Burnet Early Greek Philosophy London and Edinburgh 1892 p. 136 n. 93, who says: ‘It seems to me to be simply the clear noon-day sky, put for μεσημβρία.’

II τρεῖς Herakl. frag. 30 Bywater, 30 Diels.

Infra ch. ii § 3 (2) i.

Probably Ζηρός, for Διὸς, in order to suggest a connexion with γῆν, ‘to live’ (infra p. 11 n. 5).

That Herakleitos called his first principle Zeus, appears also from Chrysipp. ap. Philodem. περὶ εἴσπεσθαι 14 p. 81 Gomperz τῶν Πάλαμων καὶ τῶν Δία τῶν αὐτῶν εἰσι, καθ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἡρακλείτου λέγειν, Clem. Al. prob. 1. 5 p. 103, 6 Stählin τοιοῦτον τῶν παϊσκ. τοιαῦτα ἡμῶν Ἰησους πρὸς τοῦ Δια Ἡρακλείτου λέγει.
The style and the tenets of the enigmatic Herakleitos, when he declares:

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

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

1 Hippokt. de vicctu 1. 5 (vi. 476 Littre = i. 633 Kuhn) πάντα ταύτα καί ὁ τά αὐτά· φῶς ἦν, ὁτέραν Ἀἴθη, φῶς Ἀἴθη, ὁτέραν ἦν.

2 Ἡρ. τεχνική Stob. ecl. 1. 25. 5 p. 213, 15 ff. Wachsmuth, ib. 1. 26. 4 p. 219, 12 ff. Wachsmuth = Zenon frag. 71 Pearson; ib. 1. 1. 29 p. 37, 20 ff. Wachsmuth, Clem. Al. strom. 5. 14 p. 393, 1 ff. Stählin, Diog. Laer. 7. 156, Cic. de nat. deor. 2. 57 ignem... artificiosum, cp. ib. 3. 37 naturae... artificiosae ambulantis, Acad. 1. 39 ignem, Tert. ad nat. 2. 2 cuius (ignis) instar vult esse naturam Zenon = Zenon frag. 46 Pearson.

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

3 Cic. de nat. deor. 1. 36 Zenon... aetheria deum dicit, Acad. 2. 136 Zenoni et reliquis fere Stoicis aether videtur summus deus, Minuc. Fel. 19. 10 Cleanthes... modo aetheria... deum disseruit... Zenon... aetheria interim... vult omnium esse principium, Tert. adv. Marcion. 1. 13 deos pronuntiaverunt... ut Zenon aerem et aetherem = Zenon frag. 41 Pearson; Cic. de nat. deor. 1. 37 Cleanthes... aetherem, qui aether nominatur, certissimum deum iudicat, Lact. div. inst. 1. 5 Cleanthes et Anaximenes aethera dicit esse summum deum = Kleanthes frag. 15 Pearson; Chrysippus ap. Cic. de nat. deor. 1. 39 deum dicit esse... aetheria. Cp. Stob. ecl. 1. 1. 29 p. 38, 2 ff. Wachsmuth ἀνατάτω ὁ πάντως τοὐν έναθέριον εἶναι θεόν.

4 Cic. de nat. deor. 1. 36 neque enim Iovem, neque Iunonem, neque Vestam, neque quemquam, qui ita appellatur, in deorum habet numero (sc. Zeno), sed rebus inanimis atque mutis per quandam significationem haec docet tributa nomina = Zenon frag. 110 Pearson; Minuc. Fel. 19. 10 Zeno... interpretando Iunonem aera, Iovem caelum, Neptunum mare, ignem esse Vulcanum et ceteros similiter deos elementa esse monstrando = Zenon frag. 111 Pearson; Chrysippus ap. Philodem. peri oρενείας 13 = H. Diels Doxographii Graeci Berolini 1879 p. 546 b 24 f. Δια δε των αἰθέρας; Diog. Laer. 7. 147 Δια μεν γὰρ φασί δι’ δε τά πάντα, ζῆνα δε κάλον παρ’ δεσιν τοῦ γίγνει αἰτίας ὡστε διὰ τοῦ γίγνος ἔκχωρειν, Ἅρων δε κατὰ τὴν εἰς αἰθέρα διάτασιν,... Ἡρας δε κατὰ τὴν εἰς αἰθέρα, καὶ Ἡφαίστως κατὰ τὴν εἰς το τεχνικὸν τόπο, τ. τ. Λ.; Chrysippus ap. Stob. ecl. 1. 1. 26 p. 31, 11 ff. Wachsmuth Zenos μεν οὖν φασίνα δοκιμάσαι αὖτο τῶν παρθένων τοῦ γίγν. Δια δε αὐτῶν λέγων, δι’ τῶν πάντων εἰτίμας καί δ’ αὐτῶν πάντας; Chrysippus ap. Cic. de nat. deor. 1. 40 aetheria esse eum, quem homines Iovem appellantem, etc.


added that it was reasonable to invoke the aér and aither, since in them were the stars: Homer—he said—had called the sky Zeus\(^1\), as had Aratos elsewhere\(^2\); Hesiod\(^3\) and Philemon\(^4\) had used the same word of the aér. Other rationalists propounded similar explanations\(^5\); for allegory is ever popular with those who have outgrown their creeds. Thus what had once been a piece of genuine folk-belief was first taken up into a philosophical system by Herakleitos, then pressed into the service of various Stoic speculations, and finally treated as a commonplace by allegorists and eclectics.

The comedians of course lost no opportunity of deriding such vagaries. Philemon, the first representative of the New Attic Comedy, is known to have penned a play called The Philosophers in which he made mock of Zenon the Stoic\(^6\). When, therefore, we find that the prologue to one of his other comedies was spoken by a personage named Aér and identified with Zeus, we may fairly suspect a travesty of Stoic teaching. The personage in question announces himself as follows:

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

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\(^1\) II. 19. 357.
\(^2\) Arat. phaen. 223 f. aëtr aither ó πνεύμα | εν Δίως ενείραι, 275 Ψηλο γάρ και Ζωυ παραπέχει
\(^3\) Hes. o.d. 267, cp. schol. Arat. phaen. 1 p. 49. 24 Bekker.
\(^4\) Philemon frag. incert. 2. 4 Meineke: infra p. 30.

A last echo of Herakleitos the Ionian is audible in Lyd. de mens. 4. 21 p. 80, 4 τόν δὲ Δία ὡς τὰ πνεύμα, Cornut. theor. 19 p. 33, 12 ff. Lang ὃ μὲν γάρ αἰθὴρ καὶ τὸ διανόητον καὶ καθαρὸν πνεύμα ὡς κατὰ κ.τ.λ., Tert. adv. Marcion. 1. 13 vulgaris superstition...figuram IOven in substantiam fervidam et Iunonem eius in aeriam, etc.


Zeus identified with Aíther

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

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

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

1. 176 p. 183. 9 Wünsch Ζεύς γὰρ ὁ ἄφρ κατὰ τοὺς φυσικούς λέγεται κ.τ.λ., i. 1. 12 p. 6,
2. 25 Δῶ τὸν ἄφρος.

Diogenes of Apollonia, a belated follower of Anaximenes, likewise equated Zeus with Ἄφρ: Philodem. peri eisbei tis θεον. p. 536 fr. 2 ff. Ἀποδείξεις ἐν τοῖς Ὀμήροις, ὡς θεοκριτικὸς ἄλλος ἀλήθως ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου διελεχθείν. τὸν ἄφρα γὰρ αὐτὸ ἔνα ζωμένη φοῖνις, ἐπεῖθε πάντων εἰδῶν τὸν ἄφρος.

The same equation is found many centuries later in Teet. allog. Od. 6. 132 πάντα τὰ διάφανα γὰρ ὁ Ζεύς ἦσθων ἄφρα ἐκτρέφει, 8. 76 Ζεύς δὲ ἄφρ ό τις κ.τ.λ.

1. Empedokl. frag. 6 Diels τὰ τᾶσαρ γὰρ πάντων μίαντα πρῶτον ἀκόνον· | Ζεύς ἄργην Ἡμε τε φιλόσοφοι ἄφρ' Ἀλκαίους | Κρατίθι β' ἄ τοιν τὸν τῆς κρύσιμα βράσκων.

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

3. Plout. de plac. phil. 1. 3. 20 Ζεὺς άλθυρ MSS. The passage is cited from Plutarch by Euseb. praep. ev. 14. 14. 6, where the MSS. have ἄφρη. Herakleitos the Stoic in his exposition of the line (quaeat. Hom. p. 38, 1 ff. Soc. Philol. Bonn.) says Ζέανα μὲν εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα. But there is no doubt that ἄφρη is the true reading: see H. Diels Porosorum philosophorum fragments Berolini 1901 p. 108. With the pseudo-Plutarch's comment Διὰ μὲν γὰρ λέγει τὸν ζέαν καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα cp. the erroneous derivation of Ζεύς from ζέα in et. mag. p. 409, 4 ff., et. Gud. p. 230, 30, Clem. Rom. hom. 4. 24 (ii. 173 Migne), 6. 7 (ii. 201 Migne), Athenag. advers. pro Christianis 6. 7. 7 Schwartz and 22 p. 26 Schwartz, Prob. in Verg. ecl. 6. 31 p. 351, interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 1. 47, cp. Arnob. adv. nat. 3. 30 flagrantem vi flammeae atque ardoris inextinguibilis vestitatem, Lact. div. inst. 1. 11 a fervore caelestis ignis, Myth. Vat. 1. 105 Iovem...id est ignem; unde et Ζεύς (quod est vita sive color) dicitur, ἵθ. 3. 3. 1 Iovem...id est ignem... Graece Iuppiter Ζεύς dicitur, quod Latinè color sive vita interpretatur, quod videlicet hoc elementum calent; et quod igni vitali, ut Heraclitus vult, omnia sint animata. See also supra p. 30 n. 5.

Zeus identified with Aithér

raiment worn by Helen¹, and twice in a slightly different form of white glistening fat². From the same root springs the word argós, 'bright, glittering, shimmering'³—a fact which raises the question, In what relation did Zeus stand to the various mythical persons named Árgos⁴? This complicated problem, which in one shape or another has exercised the minds of mythologists for the last seventy years⁵, has been recently attacked with the utmost care by Dr K. Wernicke⁶ and Dr O. Jessen⁷. They arrive at substantially identical results, viz. (1) that the numerous personages named Árgos are, for the purposes of serious investigation, reducible to two—the eponymous hero of the town Argos and the sleepless watcher of Io; (2) that these two were originally one and the same; and (3) that the ultimate Árgos was a sky-god, 'a sort of Zeus' says Dr Wernicke⁸, 'essentially similar to Zeus' as Dr Jessen puts it⁹. If this be so, it is permissible to regard Árgos 'the Glittering' as another name of Zeus 'the Bright One'¹⁰, and we obtain confirmation of our view that Empedokles, when he spoke of Fire as Zeus argés, Zeus 'the Brilliant,' was utilising a popular and originally zoistic conception of the bright sky-god.

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

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

Or again:

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

¹ Il. 3. 419.
² Il. 11. 818, 21. 137.
⁴ Prob. in Verg. ecl. 6. 31 p. 351 Lion already connects Zeus ápynhs with 'Argos.' See further infra ch. i § 6 (g) ix.
⁵ T. Panofka Argos Panoptes Berlin 1838 pp. 1—47 (extr. from the Abb. d. berl. Akad. 1837 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 81—125) was the first to deal in detail with the subject.
⁷ In Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1540—1550 (1902).
⁸ Wernicke loc. cit. p. 798, 24 f. 'eine Art von Zeus.'
¹⁰ I called attention to this equation in the Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 82 n. 3, cp. ib. p. 75, and in Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 365.
¹¹ Eur. frag. incert. 877 Nauck³ ἄΛΧ ΑΙΘΗΡ ΤΙΚΣΕ ΣΕ, κόρα, | ΖΕΘΕ ΔΕ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ ἘΝΩΜΑΧΕΤΑΙ.
¹² Eur. frag. incert. 941 Nauck³ ὄφη κ' ὄφη τ' ξυπό τ' ἡγ' ἀνυπέρον αἰθῆρα | καὶ γ' τ' ἐρέξ ἡγοῦ, ἐν ἀγάλαια; | τούτω νόμισε Ζώνα, τ' ἡγ' ἡγοῦ θεόν. Cp. Euripides' prayer to αἴθήρ in Aristoph. ran. 892.
Zeus as god of the Blue Sky

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

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

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

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

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

3. Orph. frag. 123, 10 ff. Abel πῦρ καὶ ἄδικορ καὶ γαία καὶ αἰθήρ, νικε τε καὶ ἀμαρ, | ...
4. Aisch. Heliades frag. 70 Nauck Ζεύς ὦ τόις αἰθήρ. Ζεύς δὲ τῆς Ἡλίαις, Ζεύς δ' ὀφρανός, | Ζεύς τοῦ
tα πάντα χεῖτι τῶν' ὑπέρτερον.
6. Orph. h. Aith. 5. 1 Abel.
The Blue Nimbus

i. The Blue Nimbus.

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

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


My pl. i. is a reproduction of Zahn’s drawing on a smaller scale. My Frontispiece is a restoration of the painting based, partly on the full notes as to colouring given by Zahn, partly on a study of the much better preserved paintings from the same atrium (Hellwig Wandgem. Camp. p. 50 no. 175, p. 98 no. 392, cp. p. 47 no. 163), especially of the wonderful enthroned Dionysos (Herrmann Denkm. d. Malerei col. pl. 1).


3 Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 190 compares the thoughtful attitude of Zeus on the Naples well-mouth (infra n. 4) and on a medallion of Lucius Verus (infra ch. i § 5 (b)). Wernicke op. cit. i. 48 f. objects that in the Pompeian painting the arm of Zeus is not supported on the back of the throne, but raised to his head in a Roman gesture of meditative care (sinnende Füersorge) like that of Securitas on imperial coins (e.g. Müller-Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst i. 80 pl. 67, 362: list in Rasche Lex. Num. viii. 333—402, Stevenson-Smith-Madden Dict. Rom. Coins pp. 726–728) or that of Minerva in the pediment of the Capitoline temple (Wernicke op. cit. i. 43, 52 pl. 5, 1, Overbeck op. cit. Atlas pl. 3, 20, Durm Baukunft d. Etrusk. p. 103 f. figs. 112 f.). For more pronounced, but less dignified, gestures of the sort see C. Sittl Die Gebirten der Griechen und Römer Leipzig 1890 p. 47 f.

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

See page 34 ff.
Zeus on a well-mouth at Naples.

See page 34 ff.
beside him: on it rests his eagle, the lightning-bearer, turning towards him and spreading its wings for instant flight.

Both designs are clearly variations (the one chromatic, the other plastic) of a common original by some sculptor of repute, who—to judge from the abundant but not as yet exaggerated locks of the god, his earnest deep-set eyes, his broad athletic shoulders, the naturalistic gesture of his right hand, and the multifac-  

cial character of the whole work—may well have been Lysippos. The Italian provenance of the wall-painting and the well-mouth suggest that this Lysippean masterpiece was executed for some city in Italy. Our only further clue is the presence of the pillar as an essential feature of the composition. Now pillar-cults of Zeus lasting on into the classical period are of extreme rarity. There was, however, one such cult, of which I shall have more to say, at Tarentum in south Italy. If it could be shown that Lysippos made an image of the Tarentine pillar-Zeus, it would be reasonable to regard that image as the prototype of our later figures. At this point Pliny may be brought forward as a witness. A propos of colossal statues he says: ‘Yet another is that at Tarentum, made by Lysippos, forty cubits in height. It is noteworthy because the weight is so nicely balanced that, though it can be moved by the hand—so they state,—yet it is not overthrown by any gale. The artist himself is said to have provided against this by placing a pillar a little way off on the side where it was most necessary to break the violence of the wind.’ Lucilius and Strabon mention that the statue in question represented Zeus and was set in a large open market-place. Whether it was seated we are not definitely told and cannot certainly infer. On the one hand, its great height and carefully calculated balance suggest a standing figure (cp. fig. 8). On the other hand, Lysippos’

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1 *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (8).
2 *Plin. nat. hist.* 34. 40 talis et Tarenti factus a Lysippo, xl cubitorum. mirum in eo quod manu, ut ferunt, mobilis ea ratio libramenti est, ut nullis convellatur procellis. id quidem providisse et artifex dicitur modico intervallo, unde maxime statum opus erat frangi, opposita columna.
4 Strab. 278 *ετε (συ. Tarentum) γυμνάσατο τε κάλλιστον και άγοράν ευμεγέθη, εν γά και ο τοῦ Διόν ίδρυμα κολοσσοί χαλκοί, μέγαστος μετά τοῦ Ρόδιου.
6 Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 58 pl. 5, 11, a brown paste of late Roman work at Berlin (Furtwängler *Geschnitzte Steine Berlin* p. 122 no. 2642 pl. 24) shows Zeus leaning his left arm on a pillar and holding a phiale in his right hand. Upon
intention may well have been to eclipse the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias by a seated colossus of yet vaster bulk. Moreover, both Strabon\(^1\) and Pliny\(^2\) speak in the next breath of another colossal bronze made by Lysippus for the Tarentines: this represented Herakles without weapons, seated and resting his head on his left hand\(^3\)—a fitting pendant to a Zeus in the Pompeian pose. Pliny's curious remark about the weight being moveable by hand might refer to some accessory such as the eagle of Zeus\(^4\); and his idea that the pillar set up beside the statue was intended to break the force of the wind is due to an obvious misunderstanding of the sacred stone. In short, the evidence that our painting and bas-relief presuppose Lysippus' famous work, though not conclusive, is fairly strong.

In this connexion it should be observed that Apulian vases—Tarentine vases, as Prof. Furtwängler called them on the ground that they were much used, if not manufactured, at Tarentum\(^5\)—more than once represent an ancient cult of Zeus by means of a simple pillar closely resembling that of the Pompeian painting or that of the Neapolitan relief. Thus a vase in the Louvre (fig. 9)\(^6\) depicts Hippodameia offering a phiale to her father Oinomaos, who is about to pour a libation over a primitive squared pillar before starting on the fateful race with Pelops. An amphora from Ruvo, now in the British Museum (pl. iii.)\(^7\), has the same scene with

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

1 Strab. 178.
2 Plin. nat. hist. 34. 40.
4 Cp. what he says about the stag of Kanachos' Apollo in nat. hist. 34. 75.
5 Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gr. Sculpt. p. 109 f., Furtwängler-Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 47, ii. 107 (giving both appellations), 139 (reverting to the older nomenclature). See further H. B. Walters History of Ancient Pottery London 1895 i. 486.
6 Arch. Zeit. 1853 xi. 44 f. pl. 54, 2.
7 Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iv. 164 f. no. F 331, Ann. d. Inst. 1849 xii. 171 ff., pls. N, O, Arch. Zeit. 1853 xi. 42 ff. pl. 54, 1. Class. Rev. 1853 xvii. 271 ff. fig. 1. These illustrations being inexact, I have had a fresh drawing made. My friend Mr H. B. Walters in a letter dated May 15, 1911 writes—'The following parts of the principal subject are restored: Oinomaos from waist to knees and left side of chlamys. Myrtiles all except head and shoulders, right hand and part of left arm. Aphrodite lower part of right leg and knee with drapery. There are also bits of restored paint along the lines of fracture. All the rest is quite trustworthy, except that I am a little bit doubtful about the ΔΠΟΣ inscription. The Δ is certainly genuine, but the other letters look suspicious, especially the Σ.'
further details and names. In the centre a four-sided pillar with splayed foot and moulded top bears the inscription Δίος, ‘(the pillar) of Zeus’. It rises above, and probably out of, an altar,

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

1 ΔΙΟΣ here is commonly supposed to mean ‘(the altar) of Zeus.’ Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 51 f. fig. 1 objects that in this case the word would have been written on the blank side of the altar, and prefers to supply Δίας (ἀγαλμα or ἣν). If, however, the pillar actually rises out of the altar (as does the female horn on the Dareios-vaše; Furtwängler-Reichhold op. cit. ii. 148 pl. 88), the distinction ceases to be important; the altar is virtually the base of the pillar.

An interesting parallel is furnished by a series of bronze weights found at Olympia—the very spot represented on the vase (Olympia v. 801—824). They are shaped like an altar of one, two, three, or four steps, and are regularly inscribed ΔΙΟΣ, sometimes ΔΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΝ, or with the addition of a cult-title ΔΙΟΡ ΟἈΤΝΙΠΩ, ΔΙΟΡ ΟΛΜΙΠΩ, ΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΛ(κρεον? Miss J. E. Harrison), ΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΛ(δαν? cp. Paus. 5. 10. 7. H. B. Walters in Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 361 no. 3608, followed by E. Michon in Darenberg-Saglio Dict. Ant. iv. 553 n. 50, suggests Καλλον). Some of them are further decorated with a thunderbolt, or with an eagle attacking a snake. If these weights really represent an altar and not merely—as is possible—a pile of smaller weights, that altar was presumably the great altar of Zeus, which is known to have been a stepped structure formed from the ashes of the thighs of the victims sacrificed to Zeus (Paus. 5. 13. 8 ff.). Fig. 10 is a specimen inscribed ΔΙΟΣ (Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 49 no. 327).

Copper coins of Nikala in Bithynia, struck under Domitian, show a flaming rectangular altar inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΑΓΟΡΑΙΟΥ (Morell. Thes. Num. Imp. Rom. ii. 483 f.)
her mother—leads forward by the wrist. Aphrodite and Eros appropriately complete the group. On the wall in the background hangs a white pilos with a sword, and to either side of it two human heads—one that of a young man named Pelág(ον)² wearing a Phrygian cap with lappets, the other that of a youth called Períphas: these are the heads of former suitors vanquished and slain by Oinomaos.

iii. pl. 21, 21, cp. ii. 502 iii. pl. 26, 26; Waddington-Babelon-Reinach Monn. gr. d'As. Min. i. 406 pl. 67, 16). Others, struck under Trajan, have a large altar ready laid with wood: there is a door in the front of the altar and beneath it the word ΔΙΟC (Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 247). Others again, under Antoninus Pius, have a flaming altar inscribed ΔΙΟC with ΑΙΤΑΙΟΥ in the exergue (Waddington-Babelon-Reinach op. cit. i. 407 pl. 68, 3).

Other vases, which repeat the scene with variations, show a more developed form of the pillar-Zeus. A krater with medallion handles from Apulia, likewise in the British Museum (pl. iv, 1)³, again illustrates the compact of Oinomaos with Pelops before the altar of Zeus. Here too the central figures are flanked by Myrtilos and Hippodameia⁴; the former bears armour, the latter a bridal torch.

Early altars were often inscribed with the name of the deity in the genitive case (E. Reisch in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1681).


2 Paus. 6. 21. 11.


4 Not Aphrodite, as S. Reinach supposes (Rep. Vases i. 492).
Plate IV

1. Pillar-cult of Zeus on a krater from Apulia (obverse).
See page 38 f.

2. Pillar-cult of Zeus on a krater from Apulia (reverse).
See page 39 n. 2.
Pillar-cult of Zeus on a krater from Lecce (the 'Cawdor vase').

See page 39.
Heraclès is present as founder of the Olympic games. The Ἀλλις or ‘Grove’ is indicated by a couple of tree-stumps to right and left, while the two doves hovering above them are probably the equivalent of Aphrodite and Eros in the last design. It will be noticed that the four-sided pillar with its altar-base is now topped by a statue of Zeus, who stands clad in chiton and himation, his left hand leaning on a sceptre, his right raised as if to hurl a bolt. A second krater of the same sort, found in 1790 near Lece and known as the ‘Cawdor vase’ because purchased for a thousand guineas by Lord Cawdor, is now in the Soane Museum at 13 Lincoln’s Inn Fields. It exhibits a somewhat later moment—the sacrifice by Oinomaos (pl. v). Pelops and Hippodameia have started. But the king still stands at the altar, holding a phiale, a wreath and a flower in his right hand, a spear in his left, while a youth (Myrtilos?) brings up a ram for the sacrifice. On the right of this group sits a retainer with armour; on the left a female figure wearing diadem, ear-ring, and necklace (Sterope?) approaches with a basket, a fillet, and three épichýseis. The altar is horned, and above it rises a pillar with moulded top, on which is placed a small undraped image of Zeus advancing with uplifted bolt. Between Zeus and Oinomaos a small prophylactic wheel is seen suspended.

Similarly on a Campanian amphora from Capua, now at Dresden, Orestes stabs Aigisthos in the presence of Elektra (fig. 11). Aigisthos has apparently fled for refuge to an altar-base of Zeus, infra n. 6.

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

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


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

4 On these prophylactic wheels see infra ch. i § 6 (d) i (c).
6 The scene as conceived by the vase-painter differs from the literary tradition (ep.
whose archaic statue holding thunderbolt and eagle surmounts a pillar on the right. Before it upon the wall hangs a shield.

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

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

Christian art retained the symbol with a like significance. A fourth century painting from the top of an arcosolium in the Roman Catacombs shows Elias ascending to heaven in his chariot of fire. The saint however Eur. El. 839 fl.) it was perhaps inspired by the death of Priamos at the altar of Zeus Herkelos (supra p. 39 n. 1).

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


3 Bull. d. Inst. 1841 p. 103 'Tra le altre divinità è specialmente il Giove quasi sempre fregiato di quest’ornamento, al quale come ad una divinità universale e rappresentante l’etere viene per lo più attribuito il nimbo azzurro. Così lo vediamo tra altri esempj in un dipinto del Museo borbonico ed in un altro esistente nel cavedio della casa delle Baccanti,' with n. 'Mus. borb. vi. t. 53.'

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

4 Blue nimbi are attached to the following deities: Aphrodite (Helbig Wandgem. Camp. nos. 1187, 291, 317), Apollon (Helbig nos. 189?, 232, 4), Sogliano Pitt. mur.
has a blue nimbus about his beardless head and obviously perpetuates the type of Helios\(^1\). An interesting miniature on linen of about the same date comes from a priestly mitre found at Panopolis (Achmim). On it we see Christ as a youthful brown-haired figure, standing in a blue robe trimmed with carmine and holding a cross in his right hand: he too has a blue nimbus round his head\(^2\). A clavus of polychrome wool-work, found on the same site but in a Byzantine grave of the sixth century or thereabout, represents a white-robed saint between two trees: his left hand holds a staff, and his head is circled by a blue nimbus\(^3\). The magnificent mosaic on the triumphal arch of S. Paolo fuori le mura at Rome, which was designed in the middle of the fifth century but has undergone substantial restorations, culminates in the bust of Our Lord wearing a golden radiate nimbus rimmed with dark blue\(^4\).

ii. The Blue Globe.

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

Camp. no. 164\(^7\), Demeter (Helbig no. 176 'bläulich'), Dionysos (Helbig no. 388), Helios (Sogliano no. 164\(^7\), Hypnos (Helbig no. 974 'bläulich, zackig'), Kirke (Helbig no. 1329), Leda (Helbig no. 143), Selene (Sogliano no. 457 'azzurogno'), young god with white or golden star above him (Helbig nos. 964, 971), young radiate god (Helbig no. 969, Sogliano no. 458, cp. Helbig no. 965 youth with blue radiate crown and white star above), mountain-nymphs (Helbig no. 971), wood-nymph (Sogliano no. 119), radiate female figure with bat's wings (Sogliano no. 499) or bird's wings (Sogliano no. 500). See also Stephani op. cit. pp. 19, 23, 47, 49, 65.

1 J. Wilpert *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* Freiburg 1903 pl. 160. 2, infra ch. i § 5 (f).
2 Forrer Reallex. p. 485 fig. 401.
3 Id. ib. p. 939 pl. 292. 1.

On the blue nimbus in Christian art see further O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 682.

The word is found in the description of a silver statue of Iupiter Victor, which stood on the Capitol of Cirra: *Corpus inscr. Lat.* viii no. 6981 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat.* s.1. no. 4916 (Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 2736) SYNOPSIS | IOVIS • VICTOR • ARGENTEVS | IN KAPITOLIO • HABENS • IN • CAPITE • CO • RONAM • ARGENTAE • QUERQUEAM | FOLIOR • XXV • IN • QVA • GLANDES • N • XV • FE • RENS • IN • MANVS • DEXTRA • ORREM • ARGEN • TEVM • ET • VICTORIA • PALMAM • FERENTEM | [spinare] • XX • ET • CORONAM • FOLIOR • XXXX • [in manu] SINISTRA • HASTAM • ARG • TENENS • • Cps., however, Amm. Marc. 21. 14. 1 sphaeram quam ipsa (sic. Constantius ii) dextra manu gestabat, 25. 10. 2 Maximiani statua Caesaris...amisit repente sphaeram aeream formatam in speciem poli quam gestabat. Souill. *s.v.* 'tovourinopos also uses the term sphaera (infra p. 52 n. 4).
The Blue Globe

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

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

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

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


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


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

See page 43 ff.
Zeus enthroned on the *ara Capitolina*.

See page 43.
The Blue Globe

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

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


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

3 The colossal statue of Nerva seated as Jupiter in the Rotunda of the Vatican (Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 217 no. 303) looks like an adaptation of the same type, as Miss M. M. Hardie of Newnham College pointed out to me. But both arms with the mantle covering the left shoulder are restorations by Cavaceppi, and the lower half belongs to another seated male figure. A similar adaptation of the type may be seen in the Berlin ‘Trajan’ (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 144 no. 354), a seated emperor of the first century A.D. (head not belonging; arms, feet, etc. much restored). Cp. also the Augustus of Ankyra (*Gaz. Arch.* 1881—1882 vii. 73 ff. pl. 13).
the gable of which supports a solar chariot. Jupiter again holds
a sceptre in his left hand, a globe in his right (fig. 15). It seems
likely that in the Capitoline temple at Rome Victory still held
her wreath over the head of the god; for not only do coins of
Antoninus Pius and others show the emperor seated on a curule
chair with a globe in one hand and a sceptre in the other, but
such coins sometimes add a Victory hovering behind him with
a wreath in her outstretched hand (fig. 16). Gold coins of the
later Roman emperors frequently exhibit a design of kindred
origin. For example, Valentinianus i and his son sit side by side
holding a starry globe between them, while Victory with spread
wings is seen in the background behind their throne (fig. 17).

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

1 H. Norisius Chronologica (Opera omnia: tomus secundus) Veronae 1729 p. 338
fig., Eckhel Doctr. num. vet. iii. 319, Rasche Lex. Num. ii. 341, Suppl. i. 1626. The
specimen here figured after Norisius is a copper coin of Alexander Severus inscribed
ΚΑΤΙΤΩΝ (Neron) 1εράς ΑΧ(μων) ΑΥ(των θεον) ΗΡ (= the date, reckoned from 97/98 A.D.).
The British Museum possesses a very similar specimen, but in poor preservation.
2 K. Sittl Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribut des Zeus (Besonderer Abdruck
aus dem vierzehnten Supplementbande der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie) Leipzig
1884 p. 49.
3 Rasche Lex. Num. x. 1300. The illustration is from a first brass of Antoninus Pius
in my collection. TR POT XV COS IIII and S C.
rom. viii. 93 no. 43, Stevenson-Smith-Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 867. VICTORIA
AVGG and TR OR.
5 Rasche Lex. Num. iii. 1464, Sittl op. cit. p. 49. The illustration is from a coin of
Probus in my collection. IOVI CONSERVAT(ori) and VXXT.
The Blue Globe

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

Yet another modification of the same cult-statue produced the type of Iupiter enthroned with his left foot planted on the globe. This may be seen from sundry late sarcophagus-reliefs supposed to portray the birth of Apollon\textsuperscript{2}. The best-preserved of them is that of a sarcophagus-lid in the Villa Borghese. The central scene (fig. 20)\textsuperscript{2}, with which alone we are here concerned, shows Iupiter enthroned in heaven. Once more he sits facing us, with a sceptre in his raised left and a thunderbolt in his lowered right hand\textsuperscript{4}. But this time the globe is transferred from his left side to a new position beneath his left foot. On either side of him are a boy and a girl interpreted as the youthful Apollon and Artemis\textsuperscript{3}. They in turn are flanked by Iuno with her sceptre and Minerva with her helmet and spear. In short, we have before us the heavenly region represented by the three Capitoline deities and their new protégés.

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

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

\textsuperscript{2} Raoul Rochette \emph{Monumens inédits d’antiquités figurées} Paris 1833 p. 401 ff. pl. 74, 1 and 2 (birth and death of an Eleusinian mystic), H. Heydemann in the \emph{Arch. Zeitt.} 1869 xxvii. 21 f. pl. 16, 1—4 (the story of Eros and Psyche), C. Robert in \emph{Hermes} 1887 xxii. 1460—464, \emph{id. in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.} 1890 v. 220 n. 6, \emph{id. Sark.-Reif}. III. 1. 39 ff. pl. 6—7, 33, 33‘a (scenes relating to the birth of Apollon). Robert’s view is accepted by Helbig \emph{Guide Class. Ant. Rome} ii. 145 f. no. 921 and, in part at least, by Overbeck \emph{Gr. Kunstmyth.} Apollon pp. 368—370 Atlas pl. 3, 18, K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa \emph{Real-Enc.} ii. 108, B. Sauer in Roscher \emph{Lex. Myth.} ii. 1975 f., H. Steuding B. ii. 2091, 2118.

\textsuperscript{3} Redrawn from \emph{Arch. Zeitt.} 1869 xxvii pl. 16, 3 with the help of Overbeck \emph{Gr. Kunstmyth.} Atlas pl. 3, 18. The lines of restoration are taken from Eichler’s drawing in C. Robert \emph{Sark.-Reif}. III. 1. 40 fig. 33.

\textsuperscript{4} The thunderbolt is due to the restorer (Robert \emph{op. cit.} iii. 1. 41), but is probably correct.

\textsuperscript{5} Large parts of the Artemis are modern, \textit{viz.} the head, the left fore-arm with its \textit{juvix}, the right fore-arm, the left leg, and the right foot.
Zoega. He states that on the background (between the head of the supposed Artemis and that of Jupiter) were still to be seen the shoulder and bare right arm of some formerly existing figure. These were subsequently chipped away by the zealous restorer. But very fortunately the missing figure can be determined by means of a *replica* in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 21), which exhibits Victory

1 Robert *op. cit.* iii. 1. 42.
2 Raoul Rochette *op. cit.* p. 401 ff. pl. 74, 2, Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 173, Hera p. 131 Atlas pl. 10, 23. A drawing by Eichler is given in Robert *op. cit.* iii. 1. 42.
holding a shield above Jupiter and the globe—later transformed into a vase—resting on a high base to the left of Juno. It would thus seem that the Jupiter *Capitolinus* of the Borghese relief presupposes a statue with Victory behind and a pedestalled globe at its side. That *Vorbild* can hardly have been other than the cult-image of Vespasian’s temple.

The god enthroned with the globe as his footstool was a type readily adopted by Christian art. A gilded glass of the fourth century, found in one of the Roman catacombs (fig. 22)², shows a beardless figure of Our Lord (CRISTVS) seated with his foot on a starry globe. He takes a scroll from its case at his side and instructs S. Stephen (ISTE FANVS). The Godhead with a *nimbus* in the background, who raises his hands to bless both Master and disciple, recalls the Victory appearing behind Valentinianus i and his son.

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

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

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C.
The Blue Globe

A somewhat similar type, that of the Father or the Son seated on a large globe, occurs in church-mosaics of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries. For example, the right lateral apse in the Mausoleo di S. Costanza near the Via Nomentana at Rome—a work

Fig. 23.

Fig. 24.

1 J. Ciampinus *Vetera Monimenta* Rome 1747 i. 271 f., pl. 77 (S. Agatha in Subura = *S. Agata dei Goti* at Rome, 460—468 A.D.), ii. 71 f., pl. 19 (S. Vitalis= *S. Vitale* at
dated by de Rossi shortly after 360 A.D.—shows God the Father, not only with a blue nimbus and a blue robe, but also seated on a blue globe, as he presents the scroll of the law to Moses (fig. 23).

Similarly the apse of the church of S. Teodoro at the foot of the Palatine—cir. 600 A.D.—has God the Son seated on a blue globe spangled with gold stars between St Peter, who presents S. Teodoro, and St Paul presenting another saint hard to identify (fig. 24).

This type too in all probability derives from a pagan prototype.

Silver and copper coins of Ouranopolis, a town founded by Alexarchos, brother of Kassandros, on the peninsula of Akte, represent Aphrodite Ourania seated on a globe (fig. 25).

On autonomous copper coins of Klazomenai the philosopher Anaxagoras is seen sitting on a globe (fig. 26): on an imperial copper of the same town he holds a small globe in his extended right hand, while he sets his left foot on a cippus. A silver coin of Domitia Longina, wife of the emperor Domitian, shows a child seated on a globe and surrounded by seven stars (fig. 27). The child has been identified as the emperor's son, who was born in 73 A.D. and died young. He is here represented as the infant Zeus of Crete. A Cretan copper, struck under Trajan, has the

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

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

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

2 Id. ib. pl. 17.

3 Demetrios Poliorcetes was represented on the proskynion of the theatre at Athens eiri τῆς ὀκουμήνης δώρου. (Douris frag. 31 = Frag. Gr. ii. 477 Müller ap. Athen. 536 a, Eustath. in II. p. 570, 91 f.). This, however, does not imply that Demetrios was seated on a globe (Sittl op. cit. p. 44), but that he was upborne by an anthropomorphic figure of Oikoumene: cp. the relief by Archelaos (infra ch. 1 § 5 (b)), the gemma Augustea at Vienna (Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 56, ii. 257), and above all the great Paris cameo (Id. ib. i pl. 60, ii. 269).


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


8 Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1513 f.
same motif (fig. 28)\(^1\): Zeus as a child sits on the globe with a goat at his side and seven stars above his head. The idea was popularised by coins of Antoninus Pius (fig. 29)\(^2\) and Commodus, on which occurs the fine figure of Italia enthroned on a starry globe as mistress of the world.

The symbol of the globe was still further Christianised, when Valentinianus I added a cross on the top of it\(^3\). In this form it occurs on the coins of many of the later Roman emperors\(^4\). An obvious exception is afforded by Julian the Apostate, who sub-

![Fig. 27.](image1)

![Fig. 28.](image2)

![Fig. 29.](image3)

stituted a small figure of Victory for the cross\(^5\). The globus cruciger, or globe and cross, is again a constant emblem of Christian sovereignty on Byzantine coins\(^6\). As the ‘orb’ of mediaeval and modern regalia it has survived to our own times\(^7\).

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

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

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\(^3\) Sittl op. cit. p. 49 f. states that Constantine had already placed the Christian monogram upon the globe (but Cohen Monn. emp. rom. ii. 231 no. 14 was struck after his death). On coins of Nepotianus (350 A.D.) etc. we see Roma enthroned holding a globe surmounted by the monogram (Cohen op. cit. iii. 82 no. 2 fig., W. Lowrie Christian Art and Archaeology New York 1901 p. 241 fig. 81, a, Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 153).

\(^4\) A list is given by Kasche Lex. Num. iii. 1464. Cp. Souid. i.y.v. 'Ἰωνιστιανός'...καὶ ἄντωθεν οἱ ηὐαυτὸς ἑαυτῶν ἐπὶ κιόνος ἐβαπτιζόμενοι καὶ τῇ μὲν ἀμμερή χείρι φέρει σφαίραν, ἐπάνω γώνιος ἡμετέρων οὐ διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ σταυροῦ πίστις τῆς γῆς ἐγκατά τῆς γένους. σφαίραν μὲν γὰρ ἢ γὰρ διὰ τὸ σφαιρεῖσθαι τοῦ αὐτῆς σχῆματος, πίστει δε ὁ σταυρός διὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ σαρκὶ προσδοθήθητα θεόν.

\(^5\) Kasche loc. cit.

\(^6\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Byz. Coins ii. 654 i.y.v. 'Globus,'

\(^7\) Ducange Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. ed. 1886 vi. 111 i.y.v. 'palla' cites from Gotefridus Viterbiensis the couplet—Aureus ille Globus Pomum vel Palla vocatur, | Quando coronatur, Palla ferenda datur.
type of the infant Zeus seated on a globe surrounded by stars is of Greek extraction. On the other hand, most of the representations considered above can be legitimately derived from the cult-statue of Iupiter Capitolinus, which had at its left side a ball resting on a pedestal or pillar. This was a definitely Roman adjunct: it had no counterpart in the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

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

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

2 Raoul Rochette op. cit. p. 404 f. pl. 75 (a funeral urn in the museum at Volterra): G. Körte i Rilievi della Urne Etrusche Berlino 1899 ii. p. 97 pl. 38, 3 describes and figures the object on the pillar as 'un vaso tondo.' Cp. the stone balls on our lodges (see, however, S. Baring-Gould Strange Survivals London 1905 p. 53).


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


6 Dion. Hal. 3. 69 πλατύνω τοῦ ἐθνοῦς.
was that which Saturn was said to have swallowed in place of Jupiter\(^1\). This confusion suggests that Terminus' stone had a round top to it\(^2\)—as was in fact the case, if I am right in my conjecture with regard to the globe of Jupiter *Capitolinus*.

But, it will be asked, if this globe was originally the stone of Terminus, how came it to be regarded as a symbol of the sky? Partly, I suppose, because it was a round object standing under the clear sky; but partly also because a globe on a pillar was used by Greek astronomers as a model of the sky\(^3\). Thus imperial

\(^1\) *Lact. div. inst.* 1. 10.

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

\(^3\) See F. Hultsch in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1853 f.
copper coins of Samos figure Pythagoras seated or standing before a globe, which rests on a pillar, and pointing to it with a rod.

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

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he is, as J. J. Bernoulli points out, a decidedly Zeus-like personage (fig. 32). Similar in pose and pretension is the figure of Hipparchos on imperial coppers of Nikaia in Bithynia. And analogous scenes could be cited from Roman mosaics.

Lastly—to pass from the origin to the significance of the symbol—we observe that the globe is coloured blue in the Pompeian painting, blue or blue-green in the Roman mosaics. Obviously therefore it signifies the sky rather than the earth, a conclusion confirmed by the fact that it came to be banded with the astronomical zones (figs. 25, 27), or quartered into templo and spangled with stars (figs. 22, 24, 29, 33).

iii. The Blue Mantle.

A third method of characterising Zeus as god of the blue sky may perhaps be detected in the practice of giving him a blue or bluish mantle.

Zeus with the blue nimbus had his knees enveloped in a himation of gleaming violet lined with blue. Zeus with the blue globe wore a violet-blue cloak with a blue gold-embroidered border and sat on a throne mantled in greenish blue. A decorative panel

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1 Bernoulli op. cit. i. 75 ‘in zeusartiger Haltung’ Münztaf. 1, 21.
3 E.g. one from Pompeii now at Naples, and another from Sarsina now in the Villa Albani (Bernoulli op. cit. ii 34 ff. figs. 3 f.). One at Brading in the Isle of Wight is published in the Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects 1880—81 p. 138 f. with pl.
6 J. Campanus Vetus Monimenta Rome 1747 ii. 101 ff. pl. 28 (S. Lorenzo fuori le mura).
7 From a third brass of Constantine the Great (Cohen Monn. emp. rom. vii. 231 f.) in my collection. The globe, with three stars above it, rests on an altar inscribed votis x (votis vicennalibus). The legend is BEATA TRANQUIVILLITAS. In the exergue str (signata Treveris) is the mint-mark of money struck at Trèves. See further Stevenson-Smith-Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 125.
8 Supra p. 34.
9 Supra p. 42.
The Blue Mantle

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

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

1 So Zahn Die schönsten Ornamente etc. ii pl. 54 (coloured). According to Helbig Wandgemälde etc. p. 31 no. 103, his garment is reddish and his seat covered with a blue robe.
2 Helbig op. cit. p. 33 f. no. 114, infra ch. iii § 1 (a) iii.
3 Soglio op. cit. p. 19 f. no. 73, Arch. Zeit. 1868 xxvi. 35 pl. 4.
4 So A. Soglio in the Mon. d. Linc. 1898 viii. 263 f. fig. 11 ('le gambe cope di mantello paonazzo'). A. Mau in the Röm. Mitth. 1896 xi. 33 had stated that the robe was red with a blue border ('in veste rossa con margine turchino'). A fine, though uncoloured, photographic reproduction is given by Herrmann Denkm. d. Malerei pl. 46, 2.
6 Soglio op. cit. p. 21 no. 75.
7 Id. ib. p. 20 no. 74.
9 'Eph. Ἀρχ. 1888 pl. 5, supra p. 2 n. 2, Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. i. 328 says:
10 Le bas du corps couvert d'un himation bleu.'
11 Ephippios op. Athen. 537 E Ἐφιππίος δὲ φησὶν ὃς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὰς λείας σπάσεις ἐφάρσε ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις, ὥστε μὲν τὴν τοῦ "Ἀμμιλοῦ πορφυρία καὶ περαχθεῖσα καὶ κέρατα καθάπετα ὅθεν, ὥστε δὲ κ.τ.λ.
12 Strab. 648, infra p. 58 n. 6.
The Blue Mantle

a Roman dedication to Jupiter Purpurio may be taken to imply that the god wore a purple garb 1.

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

But, whatever the ultimate significance, it is probable that by Hellenistic times, if not earlier, a fresh meaning had been read into the ancient custom, the purple or blue robe of Zeus and of his earthly representative being interpreted as a symbol of the sky 3. Hence in both cases it came to be spangled with golden stars. At Elis the god Sosipolis was painted as a boy clad in a starry chlamys 4. His name recalls the Zeus Sosippus of Magnesia on the Maiaandros 5, who is known to have had a sacred purple robe 6. It is highly probable that these two divinities were alike related to the Cretan Zeus 7. Again, Demetrios Poliorcetes, who posed as Zeus 8, had a dark-tinted chlamys inwoven with stars of gold and with the twelve signs of the zodiac 9. Scipio, when he triumphed in 201 B.C., was 'dressed according to ancestral custom

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

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LICINIA LICINIA OCTAVIA
QVINTA PVRPVRIS SATVRNIN
(A thunderbolt) (Three female figures standing) (A patera)
IOVI OPTIMO MAXIMO
PVRPVRIONI
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It is commonly assumed that Jupiter Purpurio took his name from one of the three dedicants, Licinia Purpura (Priller-Jordan Röm. Myth. 3 i. 208 n. 1): it should be further assumed that the god was clad in purple.


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

4 Paus. 6. 25. 4, cp. 6. 20. 2 ff.

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

6 Anaxenor the kithara-player of Magnesia as a token of high honour was painted in the purple robe of Zeus Zωντάνωτ (Strab. 6.48), supra p. 57.


8 Plout. v. Demetr. 10. 41, Clem. Al. protr. 4. 54. 6 p. 43, 24 ff. Stählin. See Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 301 f.

9 Douris frag. 31 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 477) ap. Athen. 535 β, Plout. v. Demetr. 41.
in a purple garment with golden stars woven into it; and, as triumphing general, he would be clad in the *tunica palmata* and the *toga picta* of Jupiter. Nero after his Greek agonistic successes entered Rome in the triumphal car of Augustus, wearing a purple robe and a *chlamys* sprinkled with golden stars. These are but a few out of many who in their day, as victorious kings or kingly victors, aped the style and claimed the honours of the sky-god. Martianus Capella in his high-flown way tells how Jupiter himself, when assuming his robes of state, ‘over a garment of glittering white drew a glassy vesture, which, dotted here and there with starry eyes, shone with quick quivering fires.’

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

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1 Appian. *Pun.* 66.
3 Suet. *Ner.* 25. Dion Cass. 63. 20 calls it ἔλωφηλα χρυσόταυρον, which—as J. E. B. Mayor on Iuv. 10. 38 points out—is the phrase used by Plout. *v.* *Aem. Paul.* 34 of the triumphal robe.
4 Mart. *Cap.* 66 dehinc vesti admodum candidae obducti amictus hyalinos, quos stellantibus oculis intinstinctos crebris vibratus ignium luminabant.
6 H. Dressel *Fünf Goldmedaillons aus dem Funde von Abukir* Berlin 1906 pp. 25—31 (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1906) makes it highly probable that the superb portrait of Alexander the Great on the obverse of a gold medallion found in Egypt (ib. p. 9 f. pl. 2, C), though executed in the third century A.D., reproduces with fidelity a cameo of the Hellenistic age. If so, then, as Eisler *op. cit.* i. 65 points out, the sky-god in the centre of Alexander’s shield is our earliest monumental evidence of the type.
8 Matz-Duhn *op. cit.* iii. 5.
9 G. Wissowa in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1276 f.
10 F. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 696 f.
11 *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 81 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat.* sel. no. 3949 OPTVMVS • MAXIMVS •
of Jupiter, who on the column of Trajan appears as a half-length figure with arched mantle launching a thunderbolt against the Dacians (fig. 34)—a design destined to influence both Raphael\(^2\) and Michelangelo\(^3\).

By a curious duplication, not to say triplication, Cælus with his mantle spread above him is seen immediately beneath the throne of Jupiter on a sarcophagus at Amalfi (fig. 35)\(^4\) and on another in the Villa Medici at Rome\(^5\). This conception too was taken over by Christian art\(^6\). The famous sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, a prefect of Rome who died in 359 A.D., shows the same

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

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**Fig. 34**

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4. M. Camerlo *Istoria della città e costiera di Amalfi* Napoli 1836 p. 49 ff. pl. 3 (poor), E. Gerhard *Antike Bildwerke* München Stuttgart & Tübingen 1828–1844 p. 371 pl. 118 (Cælus with a rayed crown rises from the sea, adjoining which is the figure of Mother Earth.)
7. The sarcophagus stands now in the crypt of the Vatican and in such a position that
it cannot be well photographed. Illustrations of the whole front side are given e.g. by A. Bosio *Roma Sotterranea* Roma 1632 p. 45 (good), G. Bottari *Sculture e pitture sotterranee* Roma 1737 i. 35 ff. pl. 15 (fair), E. Pioselesi *Il Vaticano descritto ed illustrato* Roma 1829–1838 ii pl. 19, E. Guhl und J. Caspar *Denkmäler der Kunst* etc. Stuttgart 1851 ii. 56 f. pl. 36, 8, W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archeology* New York 1901 p. 262 fig. 100, K. Woermann *Geschichte der Kunst* Leipzig and Vienna 1905 ii. 58 pl. 10, and of the
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Lateran Museum repeats the type, which was probably a stock-pattern. A last trace of it may be detected in a painting at Lucca by Fra Bartolommeo. God the Father, enthroned in heaven, uplifts his right hand in blessing and holds in his left an open book inscribed A ω. Beneath his feet is a small cherub over-arched by drapery.

Fig. 37.  

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


1 W. Lowie op. cit. p. 266 fig. 103.
2 S. Reinach Répertoire de peintures du moyen âge et de la renaissance Paris 1905 i. 666, 1.
3 Cohen Monn. emp. rom. ii. 427 no. 185 fig. My illustration is from a cast of a specimen in the British Museum.
4 Ant. Skulpt. Berlin p. 364 f. no. 900, a fragmentary relief of white Italian marble. The subject is uncertain: two female figures approach Jupiter, and one of them clasps his knees (in supplication?) the god is seated on the top of a square pillar, Caelus appearing below his footstool.
§ 3. Zeus Lýkaios.

(a) Wolf-god or Light-god?

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

2 P. Weissäcker in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2173.
3 A. Fick Vorgriechische Ortsnamen Göttingen 1905 pp. 92, 133.
5 Infra pp. 70 ff., 77 ff.

Others with more circumspection abandon the slippery path of symbolism. W. Mannhardt Wald- und Feldkulte ii. 335 ff. explains the Lýkaos as a solstice-festival involving a procession of ‘Harvest-wolves’ (cp. the Hērpi Sornii). W. Robertson Smith in The Encyclopaedia Britannica Edinburgh 1886 xxi. 136 s.v. ‘Sacrifice,’ Lectures on the Religion of the Semites London 1907 p. 366 n. 5, regards Zeus Lýkaios as the god
be derived from *lykos*: it must be an adjective formed from a substantive *lyke*. But there is in Greek no such word as *lyke*, 'wolf'; and, if there were, it would mean a 'she-wolf', whereas the myths of Mount Lykaion mention none but he-wolves. Far more probable is the theory of those who understand *Lykaios* as 'god of Light'. The word *lyke* is quoted by Macrobius as an old Greek word for 'day-break', and its compound *amphi-lyke* is used in the *Iliad* of 'twilight'. They belong to a well-known family of words with

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

1 Adjectives in *-aioi* naturally derive from *a-* stems. The only exceptions are words like *dais*oς, *xairos*, *kairos*, which have been formed on the analogy of *aroia*ς etc. and so go back to locatives in *-ai* (K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik* München 1900 p. 181: see also F. Bechtel in Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 507 no. 5295 and O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen* Göttingen 1906 p. 173 f.). But *Akaioi*, even if we write it as *Akaioi*, can hardly be thus explained as a locatival formation.

2 'A she-wolf' is regularly *lókaw* (cp. *kárw*), never *Ako*o. See W. Pape *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, zur Überarbeitung der Wortbildung nach den Endzyklen Berlin 1836 p. 36. Lyk. Al. 481 Akawmofn Naxwv i-khkiwv is criticized as a gross blunder by Tzetzes ad loc. ὁ τράγος (sic) κακίς ἐφ’ λυκομφών γὰρ ἀφελεῖς εἴπας αὐτὸν τὸν λόκων, ἀλλὰ λέκος γεγόνας αὐτὸν λυκάων παίδες κατὰ τούτον.


5 *II. 7. 433 ἡμῶν δ’ ἄνων ἄρ πως ἔσθι, ἐτε δ’ ἀμφιλέκον νῦς with school. A. D. V. τὸ καλοῦμεν λυκόφως, τὸ πρός ὅρθρον, τοντάτιν ὁ βαθὺ ὁρθὸς, πάρᾳ τῷ λόγει (Λύγει D. V.), δ’ ἐστι σχολάων (αἰχαλ V.), οἰονει λυκόφως τι ἄρ, τὸ μὴ καθάρον φῶς ἀλλὶ ἐστὶ σκοτώδες, schol. τ. παρὰ τῷ λόγγῃ, δ’ ἐστι σκοπός τὸ μεταξά σκοτών και φωτός, και Ευσταθ. in *II.* p. 689, 15 ff. τοι ἡμῶν ἰδιωτικῶτερον λεγόμενον λυκόφως, adding derivations from λογίν 'darkness' and λυκée 'a wolf-skin' as also id. p. 809, 40 ff.
Wolf-god or Light-god?

numerous relatives in both Greek and Latin. Indeed, our word ‘light’ is of kindred origin.

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


2 Infra p. 76.


W. H. Roscher in the Jahrh. f. class. Philol. 1892 xxxviii. 705 supposes that ἀστέρως denotes ‘the god of lightning’ (ἀστέρως, ἀστερωτός).

4 Eur. Ion 1078 f. Δῶι ἀστερωτός ἄνεχθρων αἰθήρ, cp. Kritias Sisyphus frag. 1. 33 Nauck ap. Plout. de plur. philos. 1. 6 and Sext. adv. math. 9. 54 τὸ τ’ ἀστερωτῶν ὀφρᾶν θέλα (so Plout. ὀφρᾶν Sext.).

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

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

7 Infra ch. i § 7 (d).


9 Paus. 8. 38. 1.
Wolf-god or Light-god?

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

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2 Paus. 8. 38. 6.


5 Plout. ib. On shadowless ghosts see J. von Negelein in the Archiv f. Rel. 1903 v. 18 ff.
building. Trespassers on the precinct of Zeus Lykaios not only lost their shadows, but were actually put to death. Plutarch states that such persons were called ‘deer’ (élaphoi), that if they had entered the precinct voluntarily they were stoned to death, and that if they had entered it through ignorance they were sent away to Eleutherai. But, if the ultimate explanation of the shadowless precinct on Mount Lykaion lies in the connexion once thought to exist between shadow and soul, it by no means follows that this was the explanation given by Greeks of the classical period. They may well have forgotten the real meaning of a belief to which they still clung and have attributed it to some irrelevant cause. That is what in point of fact they did. Polybios the historian, who as a native of Megalopolis would take a personal interest in matters Arcadion, writes as follows anent certain Carian superstitions: ‘It appears to me that such tales are only fit to amuse children, when they transgress not merely the limits of probability but those of possibility as well. For instance, to assert that some bodies when placed in light cast no shadow argues a state of extreme obtuseness. Yet Theopompos has done this; for he declares that those who enter the holy precinct of Zeus in Arkadia cast no shadow, which is on a par with the statements that I mentioned just now. Theopompos, then, the historian of Chios, explained the miracle of Mount Lykaion by saying that beasts and men on the summit cast no shadow because they were there ‘placed in light’. This can only mean that a divine light encircled the mountain-top and made all shadows impossible. Mount Lykaion, in fact, resembled

1 J. G. Frazer on Paus. 8. 38. 6 (iv. 384), citing B. Schmidt Das Volkstum der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 166 f. See also infra ch. i § 6 (g) vi. The way for this explanation was prepared by Plout. loc. cit., F. G. Welcker Kleine Schriften Bonn 1850 ii. 161, E. L. Rohrholz Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit Berlin 1867 i. 119, H. D. Müller Mythologie der griechischen Stämme Göttingen 1869 ii. 96 f. On the identification of soul with shadow see further E. B. Tylor Primitive Culture London 1891 i. 430 f., cp. 85 f., W. Wundt Völkerpsychologie Leipzig 1906 ii. 2. 40 ff., 84 ff.


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

4 Plout. quaestt. Gr. 39.

5 Polyb. 16. 12. 6 ff.

6 Id. 16. 12. 7 ἐν φωτὶ τῷ μενα.
Wolf-god or Light-god?

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

(b) Peloponnnesian coin-types of Zeus *Lykaios*.

It is almost certainly Zeus *Lykaios* whose figure appears on the federal silver coinage of Arkadia throughout the greater part of the fifth century B.C.⁴ These coins bear on their reverse side the legend *Arkadikón*, more or less abbreviated, and appear to have been struck by the Heraeans as presidents of the national Arcadian games held on Mount *Lykaion⁵*. Early specimens show Zeus seated on a throne with a *himation* wrapped about his waist: he holds a sceptre in one hand, and over the other flies an eagle (figs. 39, 40)⁶. On later specimens the back of the throne terminates in a swan's neck (figs. 41, 42)⁷, and the eagle occasionally flies towards Zeus (fig. 43)⁸. Sometimes a thunderbolt is held on the lap of the god (figs. 43, 44)⁹. Sometimes, but rarely, he is repre-

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¹ *Od.* 6. 41 ff. Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1550. 63 αὐλήθεια γὰρ τὰ ἔκει καὶ μεστὰ αὕρη καὶ νεφέλως ἀείκαστα.
⁵ This was first shown by Imhoof-Blumer *Monn.* gr. p. 196.
⁷ Fig. 41 is from a specimen in the British Museum, fig. 42 from another in my collection.
⁹ Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 843 ff. pl. 38, 13 describes a specimen in the Laynes collection on which Zeus holds corn-ears (fig. 44). I take the object in his right hand to be a thunderbolt, as did F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1876 iii. 390 pl. 7, 2.
Peloponnesian coin-types of Zeus *Lýkaios* 69

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

![Fig. 39](image1)  ![Fig. 40](image2)  ![Fig. 41](image3)  ![Fig. 42](image4)

![Fig. 43](image5)  ![Fig. 44](image6)  ![Fig. 45](image7)

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

![Fig. 46](image8)  ![Fig. 47](image9)  ![Fig. 48](image10)  ![Fig. 49](image11)

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

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4 F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1874 i. 128 n. 3, 8, 1876 iii. 288 f. pl. 7, 1 (in the Hague collection), cp. 8b. 1875 ii. 1639 f., 246 ff., and in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1884 xvi. 264 pl. 5, 7 (at Klagenfurt, from the same die). I figure the latter specimen.
be commonly supposed that the rock inscribed Oly- or Olym- was the Arcadian Olympos, i.e. Mount Lykaion. Prof. Brunn alone maintained that the inscription was the signature of the die-engraver. Since the publication of the specimens reading Chari- Brunn's view has met with almost universal acceptance. Recently, however, Dr Head has suggested that Olym- and Chari- may be abbreviated names of festivals for which the coins were issued. Still, the old view is not definitely disproved. It remains possible that the name of the mountain, placed on the coin for purposes of identification, was afterwards replaced by the name of a self-satisfied engraver.

(c) Human sacrifice to Zeus Lykaios.

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

1 H. Brunn Geschichte der griechischen Künstler Stuttgart 1859 ii. 437.
2 E.g. F. Imhoof-Blumer locc. cit., Head Hist. num. i p. 373.
3 Head Hist. num. ii p. 445 cp. ΟΑΥΝΠΙΚΟΝ on coins of Elis, and suggests the 104th Olympiad celebrated by the Arcadians in 364 B.C. He interprets ΧΑΠΙ of the Charisias or Charistias, festivals of the Charites, and notes that Charisios was the founder of Charisias in Arkadia (Paus. 8. 3. 4).
4 Cp. ΠΕΙΙΙΩΝ on a coin of Ephesus figured infra ch. i § 5 (b). It should also be noticed that the reverse-type of a unique tetradrachm of Messana, now at Berlin, shows a similar figure of Pan, with his ιαγοβίλων and a hare (symbol of the city): the god is seated on a rock, over which he has thrown his fawn-skin, and by him is the inscription ΠΑΝ (G. F. Hill Coins of Ancient Sicily London 1903 p. 130 f. pl. 8. 15). If ΠΑΝ describes Pan, presumably ΟΑΥΜ may describe Olympos.
5 Plat. rep. 565 D, cp. Polyb. 7. 13. 7, Isid. origgs. 8. 9. 5.
6 Plat. Min. 315 C.
7 Theophr. αρ. Porphy. de abst. 2. 27 and Euseb. praep. ev. 4. 16. 10. But see infra p. 76 n. 3.
veils the ugly fact by a decent circumlocution: 'On this altar they offer secret sacrifices to Lycaean Zeus, but I did not care to pry into the details of the sacrifice. Be it as it is and has been from the beginning.'

The concurrent testimony of these writers may be held to prove that Zeus Lîkâios was indeed served with human flesh, but it hardly enables us to determine how long this hideous custom survived. Theophrastos, who succeeded Aristoteles as head of the Peripatetic school in 322 B.C., says—'up to the present time'; and he is in general a trustworthy witness. But whether we can infer from the guarded language of Pausanias that five centuries later, in the reign of the refined and philosophical Marcus Aurelius, the same gruesome rite was still kept up seems to me at least very questionable.

It would of course be talked about for many generations after it had been as an actual practice mitigated, superseded, or simply discontinued.

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

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**PLINY**

*nat. hist.* 8. 81—82.

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

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**SAINT AUGUSTINE**

*de civ. Dei* 18. 17.

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

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**PAUSANIAS**

6. 8. 2.

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1 Paus. 8. 38. 7 trans. J. G. Frazer.

2 From Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 81 Scopas qui Olympionicas scripsit narrat Damaenetum Parrhasium in sacrificio, quod Arcaides Iovi Lycaeo humana *etiam tum* hostia faciebant, immolati pueri exta degustasse etc. (*infra* p. 72 n. 3) E. Meyer *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* Halle 1893 i. 53 n. 1 infers that the human sacrifice, still kept up in the days of Demainetos, had been already abandoned when the *Olympionicae* was written.
other wolves of the same sort. If during this time he has abstained from attacking men, he returns to the same pool and, having swum across it, gets back his shape looking nine years older than before. The story adds that he resumes the same clothing. The lengths to which Greek credulity will run are really amazing. Any falsehood, however outrageous, has its due attestation.

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

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

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

² Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 357 no. 1347 B 3 cp. 30.
³ C. Müller *Frag. hist.* Gr. iii. 11 no. 33 would read *Neanthes* for *Euanthes*. But see Jacoby in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 846.
Human sacrifice to Zeus Lükaios

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

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

Be that as it may, Euanthes has preserved various details of primitive import. He tells us that those who thus cast lots among themselves (and therefore, presumably, those who at an earlier date gathered about the banquet of human flesh) belonged to a clan descended from a certain Anthos. Now H. W. Stoll and J. Töpffer have pointed out that the names Anthos, Anthas, Anthes, Äntheus were given in sundry parts of the Greek world to mythical figures of a common type—the handsome youth who comes early to a cruel death just because he personifies the short-lived vegetation of the year. One of these 'Flower'-heroes, Anthas or Damarchos from Euanoridas of Elis, whose Ολυμπιώνιας he had just mentioned (Paus. 6. 8. 1). Müller further conjectures that in Plin. nat. hist. 8. 82 we should read ίτακε Euanoridas qui Olympianicas scripsit (MSS. ίτα ή ίται ή ίταις copias, whence Jan cj. Scopas, Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 866 Harpocras, Gelenius Agriopa). But again see Jacoby in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 845, and cp. Plin. nat. hist. index to 8 Euanthe σποτα η αποικία (so MSS.: Scopa Jan, Agriopa Gelenius, Agrippa vulg.) qui Ολυμπιώνιας. Immerwahr Kult. Myth. Archad. p. 13 f. pushes Müller's speculation one stage further and proposes to identify Euanthes with Euanoridas, whom he calls

1 Euanoridas-Eagriopas-Eanthes Agrippa!

1 Paus 6. 8. 2. Both Δαμαρχος (Collitz-Bechtel op. cit. i. 352 no. 1231 B 26, 32, C 32) and Δαμαρχός (ib. i. 341 no. 1189 Α minor 15, 358 no. 1246 D 4) are Arcadian names.

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

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

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

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

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

Thompson A Glossary of Greek Birds Oxford 1895 p. 33). Anthis, eponym of Anthedon or Anthedonia the old name of Kalaureia, was lost as a child but found again by his brother Hyperes acting as cup-bearer to Akastos or Adrastos at Pherai (Mnaisigelton ap. Plout. quaest. Gr. 19). Anthes, son of Poseidon and eponym of Anthis, was slain by Kleomenes, brother of Leonidas, who flayed him and wrote on his skin τόν χρυσόν τοὺς τριπτολέμους (Philostephanos frag. 8 ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀνθής: but see C. Müller's note in Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 30). Anthelas, son of Eumelos, was killed by falling from the car of Triptolemos (infra ch. i § 6 (d) (b)). Antheso, son of Antenor, was a beautiful youth loved by Deiphobos and Alexandros, but accidentally struck and slain by the latter (Tzetzes in Lyk. Al. 132). Antheseus, a prince of Halikarnassos, served as a hostage under Phobios, ruler of Miletos: Kleoboea or Philaichme, wife of Phobios, loved him and, unable to compass her desires, asked him to recover a tame partridge or a golden trinket for her from a deep well, and while he was doing it dropped a heavy stone on the top of him (Parthen. narr. am. 14).
eponym of Anthodon in Boiotia, or more probably as a cult-title of Zeus comparable with that of Zeus Anthaleus, who is mentioned in a sacrificial calendar from the Epakria district. The cult would thus be one of a Zeus presiding over animal and vegetable fertility, a god presumably worshipped by a guild of farmers. Mr Anderson’s conclusion is sound, though his premises are shaky. I doubt whether Zeus Keraites is a mere synonym of Zeus Ammon. His ‘horns’ may be those of a bull, not a ram. In that case he resembled Zeus Îlbios, a god of fertility who in northern Greece had bovine horns, or Zeus Xénios (?) of Kypros, to whom the horned Kerástoi were wont to sacrifice strangers till Aphrodite, offended at their savagery, changed them all into bullocks. Again, O. Höfer objects that, if Anthas had been merely a cult-epithet, we should have expected a repetition of the name Zeus before it. But this objection only brings into clearer light the indisputable fact that in Attike the hero Anthas stood in intimate relation to Zeus. Anthos occupied a like position on Mount Lykaion.

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

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

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1 He is called Anthas (Paus. 9. 22. 5, Steph. Byz. z.e. 'Ἀνθώδης'), Anthios (schol. Il. 2. 508, Eustath. in Il. 271, 13 fl.), Anthenon (Steph. Byz. and Eustath. locc. cit.), and Anthes (Herkleid. Pont. ap. Plout. de musica 3); for all these local heroes are obviously one and the same.


Fasti sacri p. 46 ff. no. 36. 47 ... ψ κρύς Διω. Δι Ανθελεί οἱ Δί ιεράνοια ιππαν

3 Infra ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (3).

4 Ov. met. 10. 230 ff., Lact. Plac. narr., fab. 10. 6, infra loc. cit.

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

6 Supra p. 73 n. 4.

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

8 Infra p. 85.

9 J. G. Frazer on Paus. 8. 38. 2 (iv. 384).
drought Zeus Lỹkaios was placated with the sacrifice of a boy. Theophrastos indeed is reported to have said that this took place ‘at the Lykaia’\(^1\)—an expression which, strictly taken, denotes the regular festival celebrated probably at the beginning of May\(^2\). But the context of that very passage implies that human sacrifice, at least as exemplified by the cults of the Arcadian Zeus and the Carthaginian Kronos, was not a rite recurring at stated intervals but the last resort of a starving populace, practised only when crops failed and famine was imminent\(^3\). Even then the responsible clan devolved its blood-guiltiness upon a single man, who expiated his crime by disappearing from the neighbourhood. He hung his clothes upon a certain oak, swam across an adjoining pool, and was lost to sight in the wilderness beyond. What happened to him there nobody knew. It was whispered that he became a were-wolf.

The same combination of drought, oak-tree, and water occurs again in Pausanias’ account of rain-magic on Mount Lykaion. It appears that, when the ground was parched and the trees blasted by the heat, the priest of Zeus Lỹkaios took the branch of an oak-tree, stirred with it the water of the spring Hagnos, and so caused the long-desired shower to fall\(^4\). It can hardly be doubted that the oak-tree and the pool of the one case are the oak-tree and the spring of the other. If so, we have every right to say that

\(^1\) *Supra* p. 70 n. 7.
\(^2\) P. Weisel *De Iove et Pane dis Arcadiciue Vratslaviae* 1879 p. 23 n. 5 on the strength of Xen. 1. 2. 10 ἐσταθ’ (at Peltai) ἐρείμεν ἥμερας τρεῖς’ ἐν αὐτῇ Ζευς ὁ Ἀρκαῖς τὰ Ῥάκαν ἔθεεν καὶ ἁγώνα ἥθεκεν τὸ δὲ ἄθλα ἴσσαν στηγγίνεις χρώσα; θεωρεῖ δὲ τὸν ἁγώνα καὶ Κύρος. See also Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 20 f.

\(^3\) Theophrast. *ph. Porph. de abst.* 7. 27 ἀν’ ἄρχητι μὲν ἄρ’ αἱ τῶν κάρσων ἐγίνοντο τοῖς θεοῖς θυγία: χρόνῳ δὲ τῆς ὀστύστος ἡμῶν ἐξαμελοῦσάντως, ἔτει καὶ τῶν καρσῶν ἐπάλαζαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην πτοφήν ἐθείαν εἰς τὸ σαρκοφαγεῖο ἄλλον ἀφαίρεσαν, τότε μετὰ τολλῶν λιτῶν ἱερεύοντο τὸ δαμάναιον σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀνάρχον τοῖς θείοις πρώτοις, οὖ μόνον διὰ κάλλιστον ἔνιον αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτῳ τοῖς θείοις καθοικοῦντε, ἅλλα καὶ πέρα τῶν καλλιστῶν προσεπλαμβάνοντο τοῦ γένους: ἂρ’ οὖ μέχρι τοῦ γίνοντο ἔκ τοῖς Λυκαίοις αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν Καρκηδών τῷ Κράνῳ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωποθετοῦν, ἅλλα κακὰ περίοδον, τῆς τοιούτων κάρσων μακρὰς ἡμέρας ἐμφανίσι μᾶκαρ βαῖνοντο πρὸς τοὺς βασιλείας, καίτερ τὴν παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὀστίας ἐξεφυγόσθη τῶν ἱερῶν τοὺς περιπατητέους καί καί προκύπτει, ἢ τὶς αἴματος ἀνθρωποῦ μετατίθη. The excerpt in Euseb. *palex.* 14. 16. 10 agrees with this *verbatim*, but is shorter, including only *ἄφ’ οὖ μέχρι τοῦ γίνοντο... πρὸς τοὺς βασιλείας.* The words τῶν Λυκαίων are, I think, either a loose expression for ‘in the rites of Zeus Lỹkaiōn’ or—less probably—a blunder for τῶν Λυκαίων Δίων, due to haste and inattention on the part of Porphyrios, who did not realise that τῶν Λυκαίων Δίων is needed to balance τῆς Κράνος and that both together are contrasted as extraordinary sacrifices with the ordinary ritual described in the words κατὰ περίοδον κ.τ.λ. On the other hand M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii 1503 f. holds that the words κατὰ περίοδον are corrupt and have expelled the name of some locality.

\(^4\) *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (2) iii.
an oak-tree sacred to Zeus *Lykaios* grew beside the spring Hagno. The primitive cults of Greece, as of other lands, constantly associated a holy tree with a holy well.

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

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

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

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

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2 Paus. 8. 1. 6 trans. J. G. Frazer.

3 Plout. quaeult. Rom. 92 ὑ παλαιὸν ἀν' Ἀρκαδῶν τὸ ἱθος, ὡς ἄκτι τις συγγένεια πρὸς τὴν δρῦς; πρὸτον γὰρ ἄνθρωποι γενοῦνται διούσιν ἐκ γῆς, ὡστε ὁ δρῦς τῶν φατῶν. That this ‘kinship’ with the oak was no mere metaphor appears from Lykophron’s mention of the Arcadians as *τούναυς δρῦς* (Al. 480: *Tzet. ad loc. has ἀνθρώποι δρῦς*) and the myth of Arkas and the oak-nymph Chrysopeleia (Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 185).
national cakes which the Athenians to this day call pēlanoi. Whereas Lycaon brought a human babe to the altar of Lycaean Zeus, and sacrificed it, and poured out the blood on the altar; and they say that immediately after the sacrifice he was turned into a wolf. For my own part I believe the tale: it has been handed down among the Arcadians from antiquity, and probability is in its favour. For the men of that time, by reason of their righteousness and piety, were guests of the gods, and sat with them at table; the gods openly visited the good with honour, and the bad with their displeasure. Indeed men were raised to the rank of gods in those days, and are worshipped down to the present time....But in the present age, when wickedness is growing to such a height, and spreading over every land and every city, men are changed into gods no more, save in the hollow rhetoric which flattery addresses to power; and the wrath of the gods at the wicked is reserved for a distant future when they shall have gone hence. In the long course of the ages, many events in the past and not a few in the present have been brought into general discredit by persons who build a superstructure of falsehood on a foundation of truth. For example, they say that from the time of Lycaon downwards a man has always been turned into a wolf at the sacrifice of Lycaean Zeus, but that the transformation is not for life; for if, while he is a wolf, he abstains from human flesh, in the ninth year afterwards he changes back into a man, but if he has tasted human flesh he remains a beast for ever.

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

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1 Paus. 8. 2. 2—6.
5 Serv. in Verg. Aen. 1. 731, Myth. Vat. 2. 60.
6 Ov. met. 1. 326 f.
7 Paus. 8. 2. 3 βραχο...τρόπων, Nikol. Dam. and Souid. locc. cit. θηρατής των χιλίων.
neighbourhood, more often still as Lykaon's son Nyktimos or grandson Arkas. The child was according to one account sacrificed on the altar of Zeus, but according to the usual version dashed up for his consumption at table. Punishment for this impious act fell on Lykaon, who was transformed into a wolf, or struck by lightning, or had his house struck by lightning while he himself became a wolf. Some said that his sons suffered with him, all alike being killed by lightning, or that they were killed by lightning and he changed into a wolf; some even said that the sons were punished as guilty and not the father. Many added that the flood followed in consequence of the crime.

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

1 Apollod. 3. 8. 1 ἐν τῶν ἐπτυχιορίων παιῶν, Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 481 ἐπτυχιόρων παιῶν, pseudo-Hekat. loc. cit. ἐν τῶν ἐγχύσιον παιᾶσων.
2 Interp. Serv. in Verg. ecl. 6. 41, Arnob. adv. nat. 4. 74.
3 Clem. Al. prodr. 2. 36. 5 p. 27, 19 ff. Stählin, Nonn. Dion. 18. 20 ff., schol. Lyk. Al. 481.
5 Paus. 8. 2. 3.
6 Zeus had come in the guise of a working-man (Apollod. 3. 8. 1, Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 481, pseudo-Hekat. loc. cit.) or stranger (Nikol. Dam. and Souid. locc. cit.).
7 Paus. 8. 2. 3, Serv. in Verg. Aen. 1. 731, Myth. Vat. 1. 17, 2. 60.
8 Interp. Serv. in Verg. ecl. 6. 41.
10 Apollod. 3. 81, Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 481. The youngest, Nyktimos, escaped, for Ge held up her hands, clasped the right hand of Zeus, and assuaged his anger.
11 Hyg. fab. 176.
12 Nikol. Dam. and Souid. locc. cit., schol. Lyk. Al. 481. A second version given by schol. Lyk. ib. states that Zeus destroyed the sons of Lykaon with lightning till Ge stretched forth her hand and interceded for them, and that he turned some of them into wolves (cp. pseudo-Hekat. locc. cit.).
13 Apollod. 3. 8. 2, Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 481, interp. Serv. in Verg. ecl. 6. 41, Myth. Vat. 1. 189.
14 Frazer Golden Bough 2 i. 154 ff., The Magic Art i. 396 ff.
15 Id. ib., 2 i. 158 ff., The Magic Art i. 352 ff.
16 Id. ib., 2 ii. 55 ff., The Dying God p. 160 ff. See also Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 392 ff.
sacrifice his son, or grandson, or the son of one of his subjects, or even, by a further relaxation, a stranger from afar in lieu of his own life. He thus discharged his original debt; but only to incur another of equal magnitude. For by slaying his son or grandson or subject he would render himself liable to the early law of bloodshed. If a man slew a member of an alien tribe or city, he must either be slain himself in return or else pay a sufficient blood-price. But if he slew a member of his own tribe or city, no blood-price was allowed: he must be put to death, or—it was the only possible alternative—flee into perpetual exile. The king, therefore, taken in this dilemma, sought to escape by the expedient of the common feast, which enabled him to share his guilt with others. The feasters in turn transferred it to a single member of the 'Flower'-clan. And he had forthwith to pay the penalty otherwise incumbent on the king; he had, that is, either to die the death or to flee the country.

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

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

2 Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 385 f., 1905 xvi. 324 f.

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

Note also that, according to Macrini De valle Hadramaut Bonn 1866 p. 19 f. (quoted by W. Robertson Smith Lectures on the Religion of the Semites London 1907 p. 88, R. Campbell Thompson Semitic Magic London 1908 p. 57 n. 1), the Sh’ir in Hadramaut can change to were-wolves in time of drought.

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

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

(d) The Precinct of Zeus Lύkaios.

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

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


1 T. C. Lawson Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion Cambridge 1910 p. 240. On the were-wolf in modern Greece generally consult N. G. Polites Πέρι Λυκοκαθάρων in the journal Παράδοσ 1866 xvi. 453 ff., Μελετή τοίχων τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἐλληνων Athens 1871 i. 67 ff., and Παράδοσις Athens 1904 ii. 1240 ff., where a full bibliography is given.

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

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


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

6 Αὐτ Λίας = Αὔτος Ἡλίας.
The altar of Zeus forms the apex of Åe Lids. It is circular in
shape and flat like a threshing-floor, measuring 97 ft 6 ins. across.
It is composed mainly of the remains of sacrifices, the rock being
covered to a depth of 5 ft with a layer of ashes etc. In this layer
are numerous bones, mostly those of small animals, but also of
oxen and pigs: no human bones were recognised. All the bones
had been burnt. Among the débris are large charred stones at
irregular intervals, lying singly or gathered together in small heaps.
These served to prevent the ashes from being blown away from the
exposed and wind-swept height. Small fragments of phialai and
skýphoi dating from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. were found
in the sacrificial stratum, also two small kotyliskoi, sundry portions
of lamps, chips of roof-tiles—one inscribed ΑΠΟΕΙ in lettering of the

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

Proof of the sanctity attaching to ashes has come to light at Orchomenos in Boiotia.
Inside the houses of the second pre-Mycenaean stratum H. Bulle found numerous βθος,
carefully lined with yellow clay. These pits were circular in plan and U-shaped in
vertical section. They were for the most part filled with ashes, which appear to have
been kept for religious reasons (H. Bulle Orchomenos München 1907 i. 25 ff.).
The summit of Mount Lykaion. In the foreground are the bases of the two eagle-bearing columns of Zeus.

See page 83 f., ib. page 81 n. 5.
fourth century—and an almost shapeless terra cotta bird. The metal finds included a silver coin of Aigina (c. 500 B.C.), two small tripods of beaten bronze, and an iron knife—altogether a meagre and disappointing collection.

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

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

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1 Eph. 'Arxh. 1894 p. 159 f. fig. 1.
3 Eph. 'Arxh. 1894 pls. 9—10.
4 Supra p. 66 n. 1.
5 Eph. 'Arxh. 1904 p. 173 f. fig. 7, cp. pl. 8, 1.
6 Paus. 8. 38. 1 ἵππος ἓν τοῦ βωμοῦ ἔστει δῶν ἵνα ἰσοχώντα ἰσοθήκασι ἥλιον, ἀετοὶ δὲ ἐκ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιχρύσωσα τά γε ἐτι παλαιότερα ἑποιήσατο.
7 Paus. 8. 30. 2 περιβάλλοι δὲ ἔστω ἐν ταύτῃ λίθῳ καὶ λειψε Λυκαίον Δίος, ἵπποι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ὄνομα ἔστω τά γέρα ἐντοί ἔστι δη σύνοντα, βωμοὶ τέ ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τράπεζαι δῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις ἑσοῦ.
eagles had been carried off from the precinct on Mount Lykaion. However that may be, digging close to the northern base on the mountain-side, Kourouniotes came upon an interesting series of bronze statuettes illustrative of the cult.1

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

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

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1 In addition to the bronzes here described there were found two figures of Hermes, showing traces of Polykleitos' style (εφ. Αρχ. 1904 p. 200 ff. figs. 20—23), another in the attitude of a runner (ib. p. 206 fig. 24), a coiled snake with two heads (ib. p. 211 fig. 27), and a votive δακτύλ (ib. p. 212 fig. 28). The fact that at least three, probably four, statuettes of Hermes were found in or near the precinct requires explanation. Was there a cult of Hermes on the spot? For the dedication of one deity in the temple of another see the careful collection of facts in W. H. D. Rouse Greek Votive Offerings Cambridge 1902 p. 391 ff. But, as Miss Harrison has pointed out to me, T. Zielinski in the Archiv f. Rel. 1906 viii. 321 ff., ix. 25 ff. shows that the Hermes of the Hermetic cosmogony came to Kyrene from Arkadia. The remaining finds included ten engraved rings, one of bronze, the rest of iron.

2 Εφ. Αρχ. 1904 p. 181 f. figs. 8—10.

3 Ιη. p. 185 fig. 11.
exemplify a type current about 480 B.C., have been found at Olympia (fig. 53) and at Dodona (fig. 54).

Thirdly (fig. 55) we have Zeus seated squarely on a throne, which is now lost. His hair is long and falls over his back; his beard is pointed; and his lips are drawn up in the usual archaic expression. He wears a chiton with short sleeves, and a himation draped under his right arm and over his left shoulder. His feet, which are bare, rest on a footstool. Both arms are bent at the elbow, and both hands hold attributes. In the left is the lower half of a thunderbolt; in the right—not, as we should have expected, a sceptre—but a short rod with a knob at the bottom and a crook at the top closely resembling the Roman lituus, the direct ancestor of the pastoral staff still borne by our ecclesiastical hierarchy.

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

5 On the derivation of the pastoral staff from the lituus see the Rev. H. T. Armfield in Smith-Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 156 ff.
The Precinct of Zeus Lýkaios

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

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1 Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 839 ff.
2 E. Saglio in Daremberg-Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 639 ff. A black-figured amphora shows Zeus enthroned with a crooked stick as sceptre (Mus. Etr. Græg. ii pl. 48, 2, 2 b).
3 Serv. in Verg. Aen. 7, 187 litum, id est regium baculum, in quo potestas esset dirimendamur lium.
4 H. Thédenat in Daremberg-Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1771 l. L. Siret in L'Anthropologie 1910 xxi. 303 would connect it with neolithic axe-handles: he sees in its form and theirs the arm of a cuttle-fish!
6 Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. p. 345 derives litus, Gothic līpys, Old High German lid, 'limb,' from a root *lei-, 'to crook or bend,' which with another determinative gives the Old Icelandic limr, 'limb,' līm, 'branch,' and the Anglo-Saxon lim, 'limb, branch.'
7 On the royal sceptre as a conventionalised tree see Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 370 ff.
8 Supra p. 65; infra ch. ii § 9 (a) iii.
9 Supra p. 68. Specimens were found by Kourouniotes on Mt Lykaion.
10 The lituos is not elsewhere known as an attribute of Zeus. A bronze statuette found at Olympia shows him holding in his left hand a broken object, which ends below in a stud or knob. This Furtwängler Olympia iv. 17 pl. 7, 46, 49 a took to be the handle of a sword; Kourouniotes would restore it as a lituos (so also Stais Marbrées et Bronzes: Athènes p. 289 f. no. 6163).
A fourth figure, more clumsy in style, gives us Zeus standing on a square base. He is clothed in a long himation. In his clenched right hand he holds the remains of a thunderbolt; in his clenched left, no attribute at all (fig. 56).

Fig. 56.

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

1 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904 p. 193 fig. 15.  
2 Ib. p. 194 fig. 16.  
3 Ib. p. 195 f. figs. 18—19.  
4 It may here be mentioned that the British Museum possesses a silver ingot, said to have been found in Sicily, which is inscribed ΔΙΟΣΕΛΥΚΑ on one side, ΤΡΥΓΟΝ on the other, and was doubtless dedicated to Zeus Lýkaios by one Trygon (Brit. Mus. Guide Gr. Rom. Life 1908 p. 37 f. no. 70, Inscr. Gr. Sic. II. no. 597). The romance imagined by Roehl Inscr. Gr. ant. no. 523 is baseless.
(e) The Cult of Zeus *Lýkaios* at Kyrene.

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

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

Herodotos relates that the Persian army, on its return from the capture of Barke (512 B.C.), encamped upon the ‘hill of Zeus Λύκαιος’ near Kyrene. This certainly implies a Cyrenaic cult of that deity. Moreover, Ludvig Müller pointed out that the figure of Zeus Λύκαιος on the early silver coins of Arkadia (fig. 43) is reproduced on a gold statér of Kyrene (fig. 58). Here too we see the god enthroned towards the left with a sceptre in his right hand, while an eagle flies directly towards him. Other specimens of the Cyrenaic statér vary, as did the Arcadian coins, only with more freedom, the position of the eagle, which sometimes flies before Zeus with a snake in its talons, sometimes rests on the right hand of the god, sometimes perches behind him on a stem or branch curved like a lituus (figs. 59, 60), and sometimes is absent altogether. The remarkable adjunct of the eagle on a lituus-shaped branch cannot, so far as I know, be precisely paralleled.

1 Hdt. 4. 203.
2 Cp. supra p. 68 f.
3 L. Müller Numismatique de l’Ancienne Afrique Copenhagen 1860 i. 48 no. 184 fig. 184, ib. p. 67.
4 Id. ib. i. 49 no. 188, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 568 (cp. ib. pl. 92, 2).
5 L. Müller op. cit. i. 49 no. 190, Supplément p. 9 pl. 1, 190, Bunbury Sale Catalogue 1896 ii. 95 no. 717, Montagu Sale Catalogue 1896 i. 104 no. 801 pl. 10.
6 L. Müller op. cit. i. 49 nos. 185–187 fig. 185 (my fig. 59). Fig. 60 is from a specimen in the British Museum.
In the Montagu Sale Catalogue 1896 i. 104 no. 799 pl. 10 the eagle appears to be seated on a rock. Cp. O’Hagan Sale Catalogue 1908 p. 79 no. 786 (?).
7 L. Müller op. cit. i. 49 no. 189 fig. 189.
The Cult of Zeus *Lýkaios* at Kyrene

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

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

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1 P. Paruta *Sicilia Numismatica* Lugduni Batavorum 1723 pl. 3, 23.
3 *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus etc. 8 pl. 1, 15; 11 pl. 9, 7 (=my fig. 63) Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Menn. gr. d’As. Min.* i. 35 pl. 5, 11; 40 pl. 6, 5. On the oaks of Zeus *Σεράφιας* see *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 79 f., 371 fig. 5; *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 296, 306 f.
4 *Supra* p. 83 ff.
pose of Zeus in the Parthenon frieze (fig. 64). It is, therefore, highly probable that the cult-statue of Zeus Lýkaios existing at Kyrene in the period to which the gold coins belong was the work, if not of Pheidias himself, at least of some sculptor much under his influence. If further evidence be required, one may point to the fact that in a temple of Helios and Selene at Byzantium there was preserved as late as the eleventh century a white marble statue of Zeus ascribed to Pheidias, of which we are told that it 'seemed to be seated on a sofa.' Whether the product of Pheidic art or not, Zeus at Kyrene reclined on his throne in an attitude of unusual repose. This, if I am not mistaken, earned for him the curious sobriquet of Elinýmenos, Zeus 'Taking his Siestā.'

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

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


2 Kedren hist. comp. 323 c (i. 567 Bekker) αὖστο δὲ πρὸς γῆν ὑπὸ βρέτας Δίων ἐκ λευκοῦ ὄμοιον ἤγεν Φαίδων, ἐξάνε τῷ δικεῖν ἐκ τῆς κλῆσίν.

3 Hesych. 'Ελυκώμος: Ζεὺς ἐν Κυρήνῃ.

4 Hesych. ὑμέρων: ἀνασκαφήνως. L. Müller op. cit. i. 67 f. regards the ἱμοο- shaped branch of the Cyrenaic coins as a vine-shoot, and conjectures that Zeus Ἐλυκώμος meant not only 'the deity who repose,' but also the god 'of the Vine-shoot,' (et. mag. p. 330, 39 f. ὅπως... τὸν κλάδον τῆς ἀμπέλου). But the epithet is obviously a participle.

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


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

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

Fig. 65.

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

1 Alkman, frag. 1 ff. Bergk⁴. Himer. or. 5, 3 (Alkman) ἐγὼ χωρίς μὲν διὰ τὴν Σώφρην
eis Διὸς Λυκαιων κατιγων ἀπαρά, κ.τ.λ.
2 See W. Reichel Über vorhellenische Götterculle Wien 1897 p. 40 f.
3 W. Ridge in Anthropological Essays Presented to Edward Burnett Tylor Oxford
1907 p. 305.
found. But the bird behind the throne is, as J. Boehlau remarked, merely put in to fill up the blank space and cannot pass muster as the eagle of Zeus. Moreover the vase is not to be dissociated from two others of the same sort. One of these, a kylix in the Munich collection, again depicts a male figure on a lion-legged throne, conversing with similar gestures. His interlocutor is a female figure, conceived on a smaller scale and enthroned over against him. The supports of the larger throne are in the shapes of a tree and an animal—species difficult to determine (fig. 67). The second vase, a fragmentary kylix in the British Museum, once more shows a man on a lion-footed throne. Before him stands a woman, who raises her left hand with a gesture of reverence and in her right hand presents a pomegranate (fig. 68). This last vase fortunately enables us to fix the character of the other two; for its resemblance to the contemporary funereal reliefs of Lakonike is quite unmistakeable. Indeed, further inspection reveals numerous points of contact between all three vases and the reliefs in question. I conclude, therefore, that what the reliefs were in sculpture the vases were in ceramic art—a memorial of the divinised dead. This satisfactorily accounts for the enthronement

1 Supra p. 83.
2 Jahrb. etc. loc. cit.
3 Jahn Vasenansamml. München p. 229 f. no. 737, Arch. Zeit. 1881 xxxix pl. 13, 8, F. Studniczka op. cit. p. 8 fig. 3.

This vase is commonly thought to represent a genre scene—a man talking with a woman. But on 'Cyrenaic' ware religious or mythological types predominate (H. B. Walters History of Ancient Pottery London 1905 i. 341), and we may fairly suspect a deeper meaning. Studniczka op. cit. p. 23 suggests Apollon with the Hesperid Kyrene.

The animal supporting the throne has been variously interpreted as a hare (O. Jahn loc. cit.) or a dog (A. Dumont—E. Pottier Les céramiques de la Grèce propre Paris 1884 i. 302, Reinach Rép. Vases i. 434).
4 Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases ii. 51 no. B 6 (Apollon and Kyrene), Studniczka op. cit. p. 23 fig. 18 (Apollon or Aristaios? or Battos? and Kyrene) and in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1729 (Battos and Kyrene).

Zeus-like deities in wolf-skin garb

of the man and the woman, for the presence of Hermes the 'Conductor of Souls,' for the reverential attitude of the worshipper, and for her gift of a pomegranate. Finally, just as the funereal

reliefs tended towards simplification of type\(^1\), so a 'Cyrenaic' \textit{kýlix} in the National Museum at Athens reduces the whole scene of the enthroned dead to a mere head and shoulders (fig. 69)\(^2\).

(g) Zeus-like deities in wolf-skin garb.

A small bronze statuette, found in the Rhine-district and procured by F. G. Welcker for the Museum of National Antiquities at Bonn, was believed by J. Overbeck to represent \textit{Zeus Lýkaíos}. The god stands erect holding a deep bowl or pot in his outstretched right hand and leaning with his raised left hand on some object now lost. He is clad over head, shoulders, and back in a wolf-skin, the fore-paws of which have been cut off, sewn on inside, and

\(^1\) M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace \textit{op. cit.} p. 107 f.
Zeus-like deities in wolf-skin garb
Zeus-like deities in wolf-skin garb

Fig. 72.

Fig. 73.
knotted round the wearer's neck (fig. 70). It will not be denied that this interesting bronze shows a Zeus-like god wearing a wolf-skin. But we shall not venture to describe him as Zeus Ἀργής. For there is neither literary nor epigraphic evidence to prove that the Arcadian Zeus travelled as far north as he did south. And, even if that had been the case, his cult-type was widely different from this. Rather we shall agree with S. Reinach, who ranges the Bonn statuette along with a whole series of bronzes representing the Gallo-Roman Dis pater, the ancestor—Caesar tells us—of all the Gauls. Such figures regularly hold a bowl in one hand and rest the other on a long-handled mallet. Many of them also wear a wolf-skin hood (fig. 71), though the nature of the skin is seldom so clearly marked as in this example. Reinach himself suggests that the Gaulish mallet-god may have got his wolf-skin from some Greek identification of him with the Arcadian Zeus Ἀργής. But it must not be forgotten that in Etruscan tomb-paintings at Orvieto (fig. 72) and Corneto (fig. 73) Hades likewise is coiffed in a wolf-skin; and from the Etruscan Hades to the Gallo-Roman Dis pater there is but a short step.


2 Reinach Bronzes Figurés pp. 137-185.

3 Id. ib. p. 181.

4 Caes. de bell. Gall. 6. 18.

5 Drawn from a cast of the bronze found at Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux (Drôme) and now in the Museum at Avignon (Reinach op. cit. p. 141 no. 146, Rép. Stat. ii. 21 no. 8). Another fine specimen from Vienne (Isère) is in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 142 no. 788, Gaz. Arch. 1887 xii. 178 pl. 26).


7 G. Conestabile Pitture murali e suppelllettli etruschi scoperte presso Orvieto nel 1863 da Domen. Cofini Firenze 1865 pl. 11, Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1897 f.


9 W. H. Roscher in the Abbh. d. sächs. Gesellsh. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 xvii. 3. 44 f., 60 f. compares Lykas the hero of Temesa, who was 'horribly black' and wore a wolf-skin (Paus. 6. 6. 11) and Lykos the hero of Athens, who had the form of a wolf (Eratosth. ap. Harpocr. s.v. δεικταίον, alibi.), arguing that in Greece as elsewhere 'die Todtengeister Wolfsgestalt annehmen.' A gold pendant seal of the sixth century B.C. from Kypros shows a male figure with the head and tail of a wolf thrusting a sword through a panther or lion (Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery p. 167 no. 1599 fig. 49 pl. 26). Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt. p. 86 n. 1 recognises as Thanatos a winged head with a wolf-skin or dog-skin cap, who carries off a girl on an Attic statuette-vasel belonging to the end of the fifth century B.C. (Ath. Mitt. 1882 vii. 351 ff. pl. 12). A beardless head wearing a wolf-skin occurs on a copper coin of Sinope (H. Dressel in the Zeitschr. f. Num. 1898 xxi. 318 pl. 5, 6, Waddington-Babelon-Reinach Monn. gr. d'As. Min. i. 196 pl. 26, 18); but this, to judge from a copper coin of Amisos (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus etc. xvi. 20 pl. 4, 3, Head Hist. num. 3 p. 497 [Amazon Lykadia?], Imhof-Blumer Gr. Münzen p. 46 pl. 3, 20), is probably female. Furtwängler loc. cit. interprets

(a) The cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos.

Olympos was an ancient, perhaps a pre-Greek, name for a whole series of mountains in Greece and Asia Minor. Of the Arcadian Olympos I have already spoken. Lakonike had its Olympos near the town of Sellasia. Pisa in Elis was situated between two mountains named Ossa and Olympos, homonyms of the greater Ossa and Olympos in Thessaly and Makedonia. A mountain near Laurion in Attike is still called Olympos, as is another and loftier height near Eretria in Euboa, and a third in Skyros. A mountain-village in Karpathos bears the same name. The Mysian Olympos is a mountain-chain forming the boundary between Bithynia and Mysia. It was sometimes confused with Mount Ide: indeed four peaks of Mount Ide opposite to the town of Antandros bore the name Olympos. There was another Olympos in Galatia, unless we should identify it with the Mysian range, another in Lydia, another in Lykia, yet another in Kilikia. Lesbos too had its Mount Olympos, and Kypros had two heights that bore that name. Finally Panchaia, the fabulous island of Euhemeros, had an Olympos of its own.

the head on the Amisos coin as that of Perseus wearing the cap of Hades, and similarly explains the wolf-skin or dog-skin cap of Athena in the Villa Albani (Helbig Guide Class. Ant. Rome ii. 46 no. 781, Brunn-Bruckmann Denkm. der gr. und röm. Skulpt. pl. 236) and on two Roman monuments found near Trèves (F. Hettner Die römischen Steinendkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier Trier 1893 p. 20 f. no. 27 d, p. 40 f. no. 53). Cp. also the antefixes from Ruvo (Mon. d. Inst. iii pl. 8, b, Ann. d. Inst. 1839 xi. 325 ff.) and Tarentum (British Museum, Terracotta Room, case 43—uncatalogued) showing the Gorgon’s head in a skin cap. For a late (s. xiii?) relief of a man with a wolf’s or dog’s head see O. M. Dalton Byzantine Art and Archaeology Oxford 1911 p. 160 fig. 92.

A. Fick Vorprüngliche Ortsnamen Göttingen 1905 pp. 77, 127, 164 suggests that it may have been a Phrygian name. Id. Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland Göttingen 1909 prefers to regard it as ‘Pelasgian.’

2 Polyb. 2. 63. 8 ff., 66. 8 and 10, 69. 3; 5. 24. 9.
4 K. Baedeker Greece Leipsic 1889 p. 131.
8 Strab. 470, Eustath. in ll. p. 27, 44 f.
9 Polyb. 21. 37. 9, Liv. 38. 18 ff., Val. Max. 6. 1. 2 ext., Flor. 1. 27. 5, Oros. 4. 20. 25, Amm. Marc. 36. 9. 2, Sex. Ruf. 11.
10 Athen. 38 f., Plin. nat. hist. 5. 118, Val. Max. 1. 7. 4 ext.
De Vit Onomasticon iv. 796 f.
13 Plin. nat. hist. 5. 140.
14 Strab. 682 f., Eustath. in ll. p. 27, 40 f.
1

Mount Olympos (the Homeric μακρός Ἄλυμπος) from the port of Litokhoro.

[This photograph was taken by Mr A. J. B. Wace about 7.30 o'clock on an August morning, when there was still a little snow on the summit.]

See page 101.

2

Diagram showing Mount Olympos rising through the ἀέρ into the ἀιθήρ.

See page 101 ff.
The cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos

Of all these mountains the most important, from a religious and mythological point of view, is the great Macedonian ridge that culminates in a peak still known as Élymbo. Soaring to a height of 9,754 feet above sea-level, it affords a wide panorama: the eye travels south to Mount Parnassos; south-west to the range of Pindos, north to the confines of Makedonia, east to Mount Athos and the sea beyond. Equally striking is the view of the mountain from below. Dr Holland, who saw it from Litókhoro, writes: 'We had not before been aware of the extreme vicinity of the town to the base of Olympus; but when leaving it... and accidentally looking back, we saw through an opening in the fog, a faint outline of vast precipices, seeming almost to overhang the place; and so aerial in their aspect, that for a few minutes we doubted whether it might not be a delusion to the eye. The fog, however, dispersed yet more on this side, and partial openings were made; through which, as through arches, we saw the sunbeams resting on the snowy summits of Olympus.' Dr Holland adds that these summits 'rose into a dark blue sky, far above the belt of clouds and mist that hung upon the sides of the mountain.'

The ancients were much impressed by the fact that Olympos rears its crest above the rain-clouds. They fancied that birds could not fly over it, and that at such an altitude the air was too thin to support human life. In short, Olympos penetrated the aér or 'moist sky' and reached the aither or 'burning sky' (pl. ix 1, 2). It was in the Greek sense of the term an 'aetherial'

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2 The same form of the name Élymbo or Élymbos is given by the modern Greeks to the mountains in Attike and Euboa (supra p. 100 nn. 4, 5).


4 E. Dodwell *Views in Greece* London 1821 ii. 105 has a coloured plate of Élymbo as seen from the south between Larissa and Baba. The views given in most books of travel and topography are very inadequate. Heuzeu devotes a large illustrated volume to the mountain, but provides no picture of it at all.


8 *Aug. de Genesi ad litt.* 3. 2.

9 The schol. A. T. *Il.* 8. 13 gives the diagram here reproduced (fig. 74).
height, and therefore formed a fitting abode for Zeus the 'aetherial' god. It is sometimes stated that the only evidence of a Zeus-cult on Mount Olympos is the name of the town Dion at its foot. But that is a mistake. Maximus Tyrius informs us that 'in primitive times men dedicated to Zeus likewise, in place of statues, the tops of mountains, Olympos and Ida and any other mountain that nears the sky.' An anonymous Latin mythographer records an actual cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos. And sundry details concerning it are mentioned by Solinius, Plutarch and Augustine. On the summit of the mountain there was an altar to Zeus, and it was believed that offerings left upon it would not be affected by

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1 Cp. *aetherius* used of Olympos by Verg. *Aen.* 8. 319, 10. 621, 11. 867, Mart. cf. 9. 3. 3.
3 Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 51.
4 At Δίων Archelaos king of Makedonia established a festival of Zeus *Olóμπιος* (Diod. 17. 16, Arrian. 1. 11. 1, Ulp. in Dem. de fals. leg. p. 242, cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. Δίων, Dion Chrys. or. 2 p. 73 Reiske), which was celebrated also by Philippus ii (Dem. de fals. leg. 192, Diod. 16. 55, Dion Chrys. or. 2 p. 73 Reiske), and by Alexandros iii (Diod. 17. 16, cp. Arrian. 1. 11. 1), who intended to rebuild the temple there (Diod. 18. 4). The existing temple was pillaged by a band of Aetolians under Skopas in the reign of Philippus v (Polyb. 4. 67, 5. 9). In 169 B.C. the Romans under the consul Philippus treated the temple with greater respect (Liv. 44. 7). Later a Roman colony was founded at Diimi (Ptolem. 3. 13. 15, Plin. nat. hist. 4. 35); and coins struck there in imperial times show Zeus standing with *φίδας*, sceptre, and eagle (Brit. Mus. Cat. *Coins Macedonien* etc. p. 71, Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 349 f. cp. 351, Suppl. ii. 605 ff.), with a snake erect before him (fig. 84) or on either side of him (Rasche op. cit. iii. 350, Suppl. ii. 607), with thunderbolt and sceptre (id. ib. Suppl. ii. 606), standing in a distyle temple (id. ib. iii. 349 f., Suppl. ii. 606). The snakes occur also with the figure of Athena (Brit. Mus. Cat. *Coins Macedonien* etc. p. 71, Rasche op. cit. iii. 350, Suppl. ii. 605 f., 608). L. Heuzey—H. Daumet *Mission Archéologique de Macedoine* Paris 1876 Texte p. 268 identify the site of the temple of Zeus at Dion with that of the church of Hagia-Paraskevi.


We must distinguish from this dedication of a mountain to a definite deity the old and originally zoistic belief that the mountain had a divine life of its own: Dion Chrys. or. 12 p. 405 f. Reiske *πολλοί τῶν βαρβάρων πείρα τε καὶ πεπόνησα τὰς τέχνας τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπισώματε, Max. Tyr. *diss.* 8. 8 Dúbnér ὄρος Καππαδόκης καὶ θεός καὶ ὄρος καὶ ἄγαλμα, cp. the ἄγαλμα of Mount Argaioi on the coins of Kaisareia in Kappadokia (Brit. Mus. Cat. *Coins Galatia* etc. p. xxxviii ff., G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 pp. 167 ff., 216). On the later personification of mountains in general see A. Gerber *Die Berge in der Poesie und Kunst der Alten Münchener 1882, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 199 n. 2, and on that of the Mysian Olympos in particular, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 859 f. Fig. 75 shows Mt Sipylos on a copper coin of Magnesia ad Sipylum in my collection (cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. *Coins Lydia* p. 141 f.): the type is probably derived from that of Zeus (see ib. p. 139 f. pl. 16, 2 f.).

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Fig. 75.

8 Myth. Vat. i. 192 Iovis Olympici, id est caelestis; qui dictus Olympicos ab Olympo monte, ubi coelebatur, et poetae pro caelo ponere solent; est enim mirae altitudinis.
The cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos

wind or weather, but would be found again after a year's interval precisely as they had been left. Every year victims were led in procession up the mountain-side, and those who led them, on reaching the top, found intact certain letters formed in the ashes on the occasion of their last visit. The same beliefs attached to Mount Kyllene in Arkadia and to Mount Athos in Chalkidike. The Zeus-cult of Mount Olympos has even survived, in a modified form, to the present day. On the highest peak of the mountain is a small chapel of Saint Elias, built of rude stones collected on the spot. To it once a year go the monks from the monastery of Saint Dionysios in the ravine of Litókhoro. Their procession starts at night by torch-light, and they say a mass in the chapel on the summit. Here, as elsewhere, Zeus himself has been replaced by Saint Elias. But his eagle still haunts the height, at least in the popular imagination. A folk-song heard by Mr J. S. Stuart-Glennie, when ascending from the pass of Petra, makes Olympos exclaim:

3 Plout. loc. cit., Gemin. elem. astr. 1. 14 (the thigh-pieces and ashes of the yearly sacrifice to Hermes on the top of Mount Kyllene are found undisturbed by those who take part in the next year's procession, because the summit is cloudless and windless).

3 Solin. 11. 33 (Mount Athos is believed to be too high for rain to fall on its summit, because the altars there have none of their ashes washed away and lose nothing of their bulk).


infra ch. 1 § 5 (f).
Dionysiac traits in the cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos.

The Zeus of Olympos was associated with other mountain powers. Such were the Muses, whose name—as Prof. J. Wackernagel has shown—is most simply derived from *mont- 'mountain.' According to the orthodox tradition, the Muses were daughters of Zeus, the Zeus of Olympos, by Mnemosyne; but variants are not wanting, and it is permissible to suppose that in the far past Zeus had as his consort the *Moûsa* or 'Mountain'-mother, whose pipes and timbrels were borne by a band of inspired female followers. Zeus, says Ovid, took the form of a shepherd when he met Mnemosyne—a tale which recalls that of Attis and Kybele; indeed hundreds of terra-cottas representing Attis as a shepherd

1 L. M. J. Garnett—J. S. Stuart-Glennie Greek Folk Poësy London 1896 i. 51 f.

The mirror probably stands for the sun. The eagle’s test of its genuine offspring was that it should look straight at the sun (D’Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 6 collects the evidence, from Aristot. *hist. an. 9. 34. 620 a 1 ff. onwards); and certain philosophers, very possibly following popular belief, conceived the sun to be a sort of mirror (so Philolaos the Pythagorean in *Stob. ecl. phys. 1. 25. 3 d* Wachsmuth and in Plout. *de plac. phil. 2. 20 ἐσπαρτοῦσ’*; Empedokles *frag. 44* Diels ap. Plout. *de Pyth. or. 12. cp. Plout. *de plac. phil. 2. 20* and ap. Euseb. *praep. ev. 1. 8. 10*).


This derivation (which occurred independently to Dr Gills, to myself, and doubtless to others also) is supported by the fact that all the most important cult-centres of the Muses were on mountains or hills. O. Bie in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3239 ff. shows that their worship originated on Olympos and spread thence to Helikon (Strab. 471, Paus. 9. 29. 1—4), Delphoi, Athens, etc. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1077 n., though not accepting the derivation from *μοῦς* 'mountain,' cites in its support Cornut. *theol.* 14 p. 17, 16 Lang εν δὲ τοῖς ἄρσει φασὶ χαραϊν, κ.τ.λ. Cp. also Hes. *theog.* 54 Ἰμησοῦν γανοίου Ἀλετῆρος μετέωσα with schol.

3 Already in the Homeric poems they are κοίμαι Διός αἰγίρχοος (*Il. 2. 598*), κοίμαι Κρανιδείων Διός (*h. Sel. 2*), κοίμαι Διός, ἀγαλά τέκνα (*Hom. ep. 4. 8*), Διὸς αἰγίρχοος ἐ πτερίδες (*Il. 2. 491 f.*), Διὸς θυρατήρα μεγάλου (*h. met. th. 2*), Διὸς πᾶι (*Od. 8. 408*).

4 Ὀλυμπιάδες (*Il. 2. 491* and *Zenodot. in Il. 2. 484*), Ἕλλακτα δίκαια Ἰχνοσια (*Il. 2. 484, 11. 218, 14. 508, 16. 112*).


7 It was as a shepherd that Zeus wooed Mnemosyne (*Ov. met. 6. 114* Clem. Rom. hom. 5. 14 (ii. 184 Migne)), with whom he passed nine nights (*Hes. theog.* 56 f. with schol., Cornut. *theol.* 14 p. 17, 20 ff. Lang, *Nonn. Dion.* 31. 168 ff.).
Dionysiac traits in the cult of Zeus were found by Monsieur P. Perdrizet at Amphipolis. Again, not only in the Muse-mother Mnemosyne, but also in the prominence originally accorded to one of the Muses, Kalliope or Thaleia, we may detect a trace of the ancient goddess, whose glory had paled before the rising light of Zeus. Kalliope was said by some to have borne children to Zeus. And as to Thaleia we have evidence both monumental and literary. A red-figured vase-painting from Nola.

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2 O. Bie in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3243 notes that in Hes. theog. 79 Kalliope is ἡ ἑφραστάρη...ἄναστον, and that on the François-vasse (600—550 B.C.) she is distinguished from the other Muses by her full-face position and her syrinx (Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 3 pl. 1—2 KALIΩΓΕ). She is not named by Homer (H. Hel. 1 if. is late), though Eustath. in Il. pp. 10, 9 f. and 161, 32 ff. cp. Il. 1. 604 ὀντὶ καλύ.
3 Infra p. 105 f.
4 Strab. 473, infra p. 106.
former in the Hamilton collection (fig. 76) shows Zeus as a mighty eagle and in a blaze of celestial splendour carrying Thaleia from earth to heaven. The maiden has been playing at ball and picking flowers on a mountain-side. The mountain is indicated by the little Satyr on high ground. To the right are the ball and the basket of Thaleia; to the left, the flowers and the altar of Zeus, too near to which she had ventured. The myth, as preserved for us by Clement of Rome, Rufinus, and Servius, makes this Thaleia a nymph of Mount Aitne in Sicily, whom Zeus in the form of a vulture (or eagle?) wooed and won. He subsequently entrusted her to the earth-goddess, in whose domain she brought forth the twin Palikoi. In all probability Thaleia the mountain-nymph is only the romanticised Sicilian form of Thaleia the mountain-muse; and, if so, her story hints at a relationship between Zeus and the Muses other than that of the Homeric and Hesiodic tradition.

Thaleia the muse became by Apollo mother of the Korybantes. Another account made their parents Zeus and Kalliope, and explained that the Korybantes were one with the mystic Kabeiros. Others declared that Korybas, eponym of the Korybantes, was a son of Iasion by Kybele, the Asiatic mountain-goddess. Others again—for the theme had many variations—spoke of the


2 Clem. Rom. hom. 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) “Ἐραῖος νύμφη, γενόμενος γυνή, εἰ ἦτο οἱ ἐν Σακελλαῖς πάλαι σοφοί. Ἐραῖος has been amended into Αἴτνα (Valckenaar) or Αἴγυ (Migne) or Ἡφαίστου (Bloch) or Ἐραία (Lévy); πάλαι σοφοί, into Παλαιοί.


5 Apollod. 1. 3. 4, Tzetza *Lyk. Al.* 78.

6 Strab. 472.

7 Dio. 5. 49, cp. interp. Serv. in *Verg. Aen.* 3. 111.

8 The Korybantes were sons of Kronos and Rhea (Strab. 472 *ὁ τε Κρόνου τιμής ἐκ τοῦ Πέτρου*); the last two words have been expelled by τοῦ Καρθαγνας repeated from the line below. Cp. schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 558 ἦσαν ἐς τῆς Πετρος ταιδεῖς = Souid. s.v. Καρθαγνας), sons of Apollo and Rhyta (Pheriekyd. ap. Strab. 472: see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 127), sons of Helios and Athena (a Rhodian version ap. Strab. 472), sons of Sokos and Kombe (Nenn. *Dion.* 13. 135 f.). The Korybas was the son of Kore without a father (interp. Serv. in *Verg. Aen.* 3. 111).
Dionysiac traits in the cult of Zeus

Korybantes as the first men, who had sprung from the ground in the shape of trees. It all comes to the same thing. The Korybantes were akin to the great mountain-goddess or earth-mother, whom they served with wild enthusiastic rites. Their name, if I am not mistaken, is derived from *korybé the Macedonian form of koryphé, 'a mountain-peak,' and means the 'Peak'-men. In Roman times, if not earlier, the Korybantes were connected with Mount Olympos. According to Clement of Alexandria, they were three brothers, two of whom slew the third, wrapped his head in a crimson cloak, decked it with a wreath and buried it, bearing it on a bronze shield to the foot of Olympos. Bloodshed and burial were the essential features of their mysteries. The priests of the mystics, who were known as Anaktotelestai or 'initiates of the Kings,' forbade wild celery (selinon) with its roots to be placed on the table, believing it to be sprung from the blood of the slain Korybas. Further, these Korybantes—says Clement—were called Kaberoi; and the story told of them was that the two fratricides took up the basket containing the member of Dionysos and brought it to Etruria, where they lived in exile teaching the Etruscans to worship the

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2 Dr. Giles, whom I consulted on the matter, writes (July 15, 1911): Κορώβατες 'might as you say be Macedonian. The formation is odd. It looks like a participle from κορώφει—αν not κορώφω—if, as Hoffmann argues, Macedonian was a kind of Aeolic.' A. F. Pott in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1858. vii. 241 ff. derived Κορώβατες from κορώφη, 'crown of the head,' and rendered the word: 'im wirbel sich drehehend, 'taumelnd,' 'in orbem saltantes' (cp. Κόρφας, κόρφας). He is followed by O. Immisch in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1607. Gruppe too (Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 257 n. 13, p. 899 n. 1) favours the connexion of Κορώβας with κορώφη, but appears to interpret the name of a 'peaked' head-dress. He compares the alternative form Κόρφας (Soph. frag. 778 Nauck, Kallim. h. Zeus 46, Lyk. Al. 78, Strab. 472, Orph. h. Koryb. 39-4, Nonn. Dion. 14. 35. Soud. άν. Κόρφας, Hesych. άν. Κόρφατες, et. mag. p. 547. 39 ff.) with κυριαία (used of a cock's crest, the upright tiara of the Persian king, the conical cap of the Salii, etc.): see Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. iv. 2137 A–C).


4 So the Korybantes found the infant Bacchos, left as a horned child among the rocks, πορφυρός κεκαλυμμένος αισθήματος τούτων πέτλη (Nonn. Dion. 13. 139).

5 Orph. h. Koryb. 39. 6 φαίνεται, αιμαθέταα καιροφείαν εντός ἀθανών.

6 Hesych. άνάκτοροιν (leg. άνάκτορελται) άν τάς τελευτάς (leg. τελευτάς) ἐπιτεληθεὶς τῶν λειτών (1 τός τῶν Καθάρων οτί τῶν λειτῶν <άνάκτων>.


8 The wreath of φέλινος worn by the Nemean and Isthmian victors perhaps originally marked them out as re-incarnations of the dead—a point to which I must return.

9 See further Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1621 ff.
Dionysiac traits in the cult of Zeus

basket and its contents. Note that the dead Kabeiros is here termed Dionysos and that a portion of him is kept in a basket to serve as a nucleus of fresh life.

Firmicus Maternus adds that the slain brother 'consecrated beneath the roots of Mount Olympos' was 'the Kabeiros to whom the inhabitants of Thessalonike used to make supplication with blood-stained mouth and blood-stained hands.' This Kabeiros is known to us from coins (figs. 77, 78) as a young man with a large ring or rings round his throat, who holds a species of double-axe and a rhytön or drinking-horn. The rhytön ends in the forepart of a goat—a fact which leads us to conjecture that it was a cornu copiae, like the horn of Amaltheia. Indeed, a horn or horns must have been part of the ritual furniture of the cult; for some coins show the Kabeiros with a horn apparently planted in the ground beside him (fig. 79), others with a horn erect on a base to the right and a flaming altar to the left (fig. 80), others again with a pair of horns set in bases on either hand (fig. 81). The double-axe, the

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1 When the usurper Amphitrites was besieging the sons of Leodamas at Assesos, ἀφανίσσεται νεκρόν, Τόπτη καὶ Ὀμη, έκ Φωκίας, ἱερά ἔχον τα Καβείρων ἐν εἴδος κεκαλυμμένα, taught the people their rites and helped them to rout the besiegers; see Nikol. Damask. frag. 54 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 388f. Müller).

2 Firm. Mat. 11.

3 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia etc. p. 113 fig., pp. 114, 121 ff., Hunter Cat. Coins i. 368 ff., 373 ff., pl. 25, 51; Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 7534 fig. 1, Darmberg-Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 770 fig. 911 (Nero as Kabeiros).

4 T. Panofka Die griechischen Trinkhörner und ihre Verzierungen Berlin 1851 p. 1 pl. 1, 2.

5 On the horn of plenty held, not only by Amaltheia, but also by Hades, Ge, the chthonian Hermes, the Horai, the Hesperides, the Naiades, river-gods, Eniautos, the Agathos Daimon, Tyche, Sospolis, etc., see K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1721 ff.


horns, the goat, the feast of raw flesh, all suggest a religious context resembling that of the Cretan Kouretes.

Elsewhere too the Kabeiroi were marked by the same characteristics. One of Strabo's sources, after identifying the Korybantes, children of Zeus by Kalliope, with the Kabeiroi, states that the latter departed to Samothrace, previously called Melite, and adds that their doings were of a mystical nature. The names borne by the Samothracian Kabeiroi—Axieros, Axiokerka, Axiokeros—are probably to be connected with a word for 'axe'. An amulet found at Vindonissa (Windisch) represents the head of a double-axe or hammer inscribed with these three names reduced in each case to the significant abbreviation AXE (fig. 82). The initiates wore purple waist-bands and rings of iron and gold. Statius definitely compares the sacred dances of the Samothracians to those of the Kouretes. A relief of imperial date from Hierapolis in Phrygia, now at Berlin (fig. 83), shows three youths advancing side by side: they have bushy hair, a thick ring round the neck, a loin-cloth about the waist, and a heavy double-axe or hammer resting on the right shoulder; part of a fourth youth is visible beside them. O. Kern


2 So at least I have argued in the Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 194, infra ch. ii § 3 (c) i (o).

3 Orelli Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 440. Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 742. Darenberg-Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 759 fig. 906. Besides the threefold AXE (= Axieros, Axiokerka, Axiokeros) the amulet is inscribed CASM (= Cassmilius) and, in scattered letters, TIEIA (Tyeia). T. Mommsen in the Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich 1854 x. 115 no. 30 says: 'vide ne lusus magis quam fraus subsit huic Cabirorum enumeratione.'


5 Lucr. 6. 1044. Plin. nat. hist. 33. 23, Isid. orig. 19. 32. 5.

6 Stat. Ach. 1. 831 f. (2. 157 f.).

Dionysiac traits in the cult of Zeus

in 1900 recognised these youths as the Kabeiroi wearing their Samothracian rings: their loin-cloths too are clearly the Samothracian bands. Kern further adduced another relief, which he had seen in 1893 at Üzümülü, a village near Magnesia on the Maiandros: this represented four nude males, each carrying a hammer on the right shoulder and moving to the left, led by a fifth, draped and hammerless. A. Conze and O. Puchstein have made it probable that yet another Kabeiros swinging a double-axe or hammer is to be seen in the nude bearded god attacking a bovine giant on the southern frieze of the great Pergamene altar. At Pergamon, as Puchstein observes, the Kabeiroi were said to have witnessed the birth of Zeus. Their general resemblance to the Cretan Kouretes is, in fact, beyond dispute; and we are free to contend that in the district of Olympos the Korybantes and Kabeiroi were essentially Curetic.

Their cult was flourishing in the third Christian century. Cyprian, bishop of Antioch, was as a youth of fifteen initiated for forty days on Mount Olympos by seven hierophants into certain obscure mysteries. In this home of the gods he was taught the meaning of musical notes and sounds. He had a vision of tree-trunks and herbs of divine potency. He witnessed the

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1 O. Kern in the *Strena Helbigiana* Lipsiae 1900 p. 158 f. He cp. the coins of Thessalonike, a bronze at Rumelli-Hissar, and the frieze of the Pergamene altar.
3 O. Puchstein ib. 1889 p. 330 f.
succession of seasons and the difference of days, the changing spirits that caused the former and the opposing influences that determined the latter. He beheld choruses of daimones chanting, warring, lying in ambush, deceiving and confounding each other. He saw too the phalanx of each several god and goddess. After sundown he fed on fruits (not meat). And, generally speaking, he was initiated into the decay and birth of herbs, trees, and bodies. It is altogether a singular recital, but we can hardly be wrong in supposing that these were puberty-rites, Corybantic or Cabiric in character.

It would seem, then, that from first to last certain orgiastic quasi-Dionysiac elements appear in the cults of Olympos, and it is highly probable that throughout the worship of Zeus was affected by them. In early days the Muses were to Zeus what the mountain-roaming Maenads were to Dionysos. This explains Hesychios' statement that the Macedonians called the Muses thourides—a name elsewhere given to the Maenads. Eustathios' assertion that the Muses, like the Maenads, were nurses to Dionysos may be a Byzantine blunder; but the very possibility of such blundering proves the similarity of Muse and Maenad. At Dodona,

1 L. Preller in Philologus 1846 i. 349 ff. argues that the reference is to Orphic rites in the neighbourhood of Olympos. Orphic admixture is indeed likely enough. Orpheus, himself the son of one of the Muses, played for them on Olympos (Eur. Bacch. 563 ff.), there taught Midae (Konon narr. i), and there according to many met his death (Hyg. poet. astr. 7. 4) and was buried (Anth. Pal. 7. 9. 1 f. Damagetos, cp. Apollod. i. 3. 2): see further O. Gruppe in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1082 f. L. Heuzey — H. Daumet Mission Archéologique de Macédoine Paris 1875 Texte p. 270 f. identify Orpheus' tomb with a tumulus near the village of Karitza.

2 Hesych. θουρίδες, νύμφαι, μοῖραι. Μακεδόνες.

3 O. Hoffmann Die Makedonen Göttingen 1906 p. 97 v. 132 argues that θουρίδες is a Thessalian or Macedonian form of θεῷδες (Hesych. θεῷδες; απ. θεῖον Διόνυσον βάχου, cp. Nomn. Dion. 9. 261 and probably Soph. frag. 698 Nauck ap. Athen. 592 b).

4 Eustath. in Od. p. 1816. 4 ff. λέγεται δὲ, φασὶ, καὶ Μοῖραι Διόνυσον τροφαί, νύμφαι των ὠναί καὶ αὐταί, ὡς καὶ παρὰ Άιολφου εὐφηματι.

5 Yet Dionysos was often associated with the Muses: see Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 76 n. 9, 213 L, 245 n. 6, 743 n. 3, 829 n. 3, 1427 n. 7, 1435 n. 1.

6 Six nymphs of Dodona, identified with the Hyades and named Kisseis, Nysa, Erato, Eriphia, Bromie, Polymhyno, or Arsinoe, Ambrosie, Bromie, Kisseis, Koronis, were by some apparently regarded as the nurses of Zeus (Hyg. fab. 182), though others explained that Zeus had given them Dionysos to tend (Pherekyd. frag. 45 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 84 Müller) ap. schol. ll. 18. 486, Myth. Vat. 1. 120, αἰθ.). See Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 825 n. 4: 'Die Hyaden sind Erzieherinnen des Bakkhos... in verschollenen donolidischen Legenden vielleicht auch des Zeus, wie ihre Gleichsetzung mit den Dodo- nides... und der N. der Hyade Dione nahelegen.'

Strab. 329 relates on the authority of Soudias the historian (Δικέας frag. 3 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 463 Müller)) that the cult of the Dodonaeon Zeus came originally from the Pelasgian district about Skotoussa, that most of the women of Skotoussa followed along with it, and that the priestesses of Dodona were descended from them.
at Tegea, at Megalopolis, on Mount Ide near Gortyna, on Mount Arkon near Kyzikos, Zeus had his troop of nursing nymphs. Why not on the slopes of Mount Olympus? In late times the Dionysiac connexion was intensified. Korybantes and Kabeiroi came to the fore; and certain shrewd persons recorded their conviction that the original Kabeiroi had been two in number—Zeus the elder and Dionysos the younger.

1 The altar of Athena 'Ade at Tegea, made by Melampous, was decorated with figures of Rhea and the nymph Oinoe holding the infant Zeus, flanked by two groups—Glaue, Neda, Theisoa, Antharkia on the one side; Ide, Hagnos, Alkinos, Phrixos on the other. Near it were statues of the Muses and Mnemosyne (Paus. 8. 47. 3).

2 In the precinct of the Great Goddesses at Megalopolis on a table set before Herakles the Idaean Daktylos were represented not only two Horai, Pan, and Apollo, but also Neda holding the infant Zeus, Antharkia another Arcadian nymph with a torch, Hagnos with hydras and phileis, Anchiroe and Myroessa with hydras from which water was flowing. Within the same precinct was a temple of Zeus Phillios. The statue, by Polykleitos of Argos, represented Zeus in the guise of Dionysos: he was shod with buskins, and held a cup in one hand, a thyrsos with an eagle perched upon it in the other (Paus. 8. 31. 4).


F. W. Hasluck *Cyclopes* Cambridge 1910 p. 211 in this connexion remarks that both Adrasteia (Ap. Rhod. 1. 1116 πεδίων Νυμφῶν 'Ἄρσενετοι) and Kynosoura (Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 3679, 5 a society of Βάρκων Κυνουρείται at Kyzikos) appear to have been local goddesses. See also Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 942 n. 8.

Development in the meaning of Όλυμπος

If the Zeus worshipped at Dion was thus Dionysiac in character, akin to the Phrygian Zeus Sabásios, we can understand why he has the snake as his attribute (fig. 84): the slain Korybas became a snake, and snakes were all-important in the mysteries of Sabásios. Twelve miles south of Dion was a town, which the Tabula Peutingeriana calls Sabatium, i.e. Sabásion, a cult-centre of Sabásios. It may even be suggested that the monastery of Saint Dionysios, from which starts the modern counterpart of the ancient procession to the altar of Zeus, has in the name of its patron saint preserved a last echo of the Dionysiac cult.

Whether these Dionysiac traits in the worship of Zeus were original and essential, or whether they are to be explained as merely the result of contamination with an alien cult, is a large problem that still awaits solution. It will be convenient to deal with it, not at the present stage of our argument, *à propos* of Olympos, but in a later chapter, when we shall be taking a more comprehensive survey of the relation of Zeus to Dionysos.

(c) Development in the meaning of Όλυμπος.

Zeus Ολύμπιος.

In the Homeric, the Hesiodic, and the Orphic poems Olympos, the seat of the gods, is to be identified with the Macedonian mountain; and the same identification holds good for the Alexandrine epic of Apollonios Rhodios. The poet of the *Odyssey* describes Olympos in a passage of surpassing beauty:

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3 Orph. *h. Koryb.* 7 f. Δούλοι δι’ γρόμους ἐν τῆλαξια δέμας ἄγων, ἔθνεια τὸ μοιρήμα δράκων.
5 F. C. de Scheyb *Tabula Itineraria Peutingeriana* Lipsiae 1834 segm. 7 b, K. Miller *Weltkarte des Castorius genannt die Peutingerische Tafel* Ravensburg 1888 segm. 8, 1.
7 Supra p. 103.
8 The evidence is collected and considered by Mackrodt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 849 ff. He holds that only in two Homeric passages (*II. 8. 18–27* and *Od. 6. 41–46*) does the later conception of *Oμάρα* as ‘heaven’ or ‘sky’ occur. But, to my thinking, even in these passages the mountain is meant. In *II. 8. 18 ff.* Zeus boasts that if he let down a golden rope from heaven and all the other gods and goddesses hung on to it, they could not pull him down from heaven to the plain, but he could pull them up, land and sea and all, bind the rope about a peak of Olympos and let them dangle there. Whatever
Development in the meaning of Ólympos

So spake bright-eyed Athena and withdrew
To Ólympos, where men say the gods' sure seat
Stands firm for ever: neither wind can shake,
Nor rain can wet, nor snow come nigh the same.
Cloudless the brilliance that is there outspread
And white the glitter that is over all.
Therein blest gods have joyance all their days.

This is the literary echo of the folk-belief that attributed a windless, cloudless aithér to the mountain-top. Homeric and Hesiodic poetry spoke of 'the palace of Zeus,' sometimes 'the palace of Zeus with its floor of bronze,' as built by Hephaistos upon Ólympos. And here too we may detect the cred of the country-side. For L. Heuzey, writing in 1860 of the villagers from the neighbourhood of Ólympos, says: 'If you tell them that you have ascended the highest peaks, they always ask—"Well, what did you find there?" Some of them described me a mysterious palace adorned with columns of white marble, adding that these had been seen long ago by a shepherd, but that they would not be seen now-a-days. Others spoke to me of a huge circus in which the ancients held their games. The Klephs too have always attributed marvellous virtues to the fresh air of Ólympos, its snows, and its icy mountain-springs. It figures in their songs as a paradise, whither they go to recover from the contests of the plain below: here the body gets stronger, wounds heal themselves, and limbs grow lithe for fresh fighting. Throughout the rest of Greece a magic potency attaches to the following words:

From Ólympos, the summit,
From the three peaks of Heaven,
Where are the Fates of Fates,
May my own Fate
Hearken and come!

may be the precise picture here intended, the phrases πεδίωνθε καὶ προί ἸΑΝ Ὑλόμπου surely prove that the poet is contrasting the gods on the plain with Zeus on the mountain.

As to Ód. 6. 41 ff., cited on p. 114, the absence of wind, rain, snow, and cloud, there described as characteristic of Ólympos, agrees well with Greek beliefs about the mountaintop (supra p. 102 f.), while the presence of 'bright sky' and 'white glitter' is no less suitable; indeed αἰγύλη recalls αἰγύλαι, which Mackrodt takes to be an epithet of the earthly mountain in Í. 1. 533, 13. 243, Ód. 20. 103.

1 Ód. 6. 41 ff.
2 Supra p. 101 ff.
4 L. Heuzey Le Mont Ólympe et l'Acarnanie Paris 1860 p. 138 f., N. G. Politis Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 i. 97 no. 173, ii. 777. My friend Mr A. J. B. Wace, when at Salonika, was told by a man from the neighbourhood of Ólympos that somewhere on the mountain there are said to be the remains of a temple with columns.
5 Ἀπὸ τῶν Ὑλόμπων τῶν κόρυμβων | τὰ τρία ἄκρα τῶν Ὑπαρνοῦ | ἄτων τῶν Μαῖρα | καὶ ἡ ιερὰ μονὴ Μαίρα | δυσ θαυματω ἐλκτικα καὶ δε ΕΝΩ | B. Schmidt Das Volkseichen der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 219 n. 1 would read Ἦνω for Ἀπὸ τῶν, τῷ Ὑπαρνοῦ for τῶν.
Development in the meaning of Ὄλυμπος

By the fourth, and even by the fifth, century before our era the word Ὄλυμπος had acquired a further significance. It meant no longer the mere mountain, but the 'sky' above it. Thus Sophokles in his Antigone makes Kreon, when at Thebes, swear 'by yon Olympos', and Euripides in his Andromeda makes the heroine apostrophise Night as follows:

O holy Night,  
How long the course thou drivest, 
Charioting the starry ridges  
Of holy aither  
Through dread Olympos.

Both poets contrast Olympos in the sense of 'sky' with 'earth'. The same usage is found in prose. The author of the Platonic Epinomis speaks of the visible heaven as 'the κόσμος or Olympos or sky, whichever you choose to call it', while the author of the Aristotelian treatise On the Universe declares that God 'being pure has his station above in a pure place, even that which we truly name oouranós, since it is the "boundary" (hóros) of things "above" (áno), and Ὄλυμπος as "wholly-shining" (holo-lampés) and separate from all such darkness and disorderly movement as arises among us by means of storm and stress of winds.'

The change in meaning from Olympos the 'mountain' to Olympos the 'sky' would readily follow from the belief that the mountain rose into the aither. And for the prevalence of this belief there is abundant evidence. It is even probable that in ancient days the inhabitants of the district actually spoke of the

Oδηναύ, Μώιρα for Μῶρα. N. G. Polites Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων 'Ελλήνων Athens 1874 ii. 218 gives κ’ ἵ for καὶ ἵ. J. C. Lawson Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion Cambridge 1910 p. 128 prints the third line as διὸν ἵ Μῶρας τῶν Μωῖρα. He justly draws attention to the ancient word κόρυμβος, citing variants with κόλυμβος (a dialectic form, or else a corruption due to assonance with Ὄλυμπος) and Κόρυμβος (for which he proposes κόρυμβος). The word κόρυμβος is akin to κόρυφη, which was used of Olympos (e.g. Il. 1. 499, Aristoph. Nav. 270) and gave rise to its Κόρυφαντες (ὑπηρησκευή p. 107).


6 Σύρρα p. 101 f.
Development in the meaning of Ólympos

summit of Mount Olympus as 'heaven'. Modern peasants call it 'the three peaks of Heaven'. And a primitive notion that has left traces of itself in almost every country of Europe regards a mountain as the natural abode of souls.

Mount Ida in the Troad, which also bore the name of Olympus, was likewise supposed to rise into the aíther. Aischylus in his Niobe mentions Tantalos and his family as—

near akin to gods
And nigh to Zen, men who on Ida's height
Have built an altar of Ancestral Zeus
In aíther and still vaunt the blood divine.

Zeus was worshipped under the title Olympos not only at the foot of the Macedonian Mount Olympus, at Pisa near the Elean Olympus, and on the slopes of the Mysian Olympus, but also far

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2 Supra p. 114.
5 Supra p. 102 n. 4.
6 As lord of Olympia and patron of the famous Olympic games (Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 844).
7 Mnaseas frag. 30 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 154 Müller) ap. schol. II. 20. 234. A copper coin of Prousai ad Olympum (at Berlin), struck in the reign of Commodus, has for its reverse type a bearded god reclining on the Mysian Olympus (fig. 85). He has a mantle wrapped about his legs, and his left arm rests on the rock. Trees and a gorge with a
and wide throughout the Greek area (fig. 86)¹, even where there was no mountain with which his cult could be associated².

§ 5. The Mountain-cults of Zeus.

(a) Chronological Development of the Mountain-cults.

The mountain-cults of Zeus may be grouped roughly in chronological order according as they centred round (1) a simple altar, (2) an altar with a statue of the god, (3) an altar with a statue enclosed in a temple³.

Examples of the earliest type occur in several Greek myths. Deukalion, for instance, according to one version of his legend, was borne safely over the waters of the flood to a mountain-height above Argos and in gratitude for his escape built upon it an altar to Zeus Aphésios⁴. Althaimenes, who fled from Crete to Rhodes lest he should unwittingly become the slayer of his father Katreus, put in to shore at a place which in memory of his former home he named Kretenia: on climbing Mount Atabyrion he got a distant view of Crete and, thinking still of Cretan cults, there set up an altar to Zeus Atabyríos⁵. Herakles, after sacking Oichalia and carrying off Iole the daughter of king Eurytos, went to Mount Kenaion the north-western promontory of Euboia, and there dedicated altars and a leafy precinct to Zeus Patróios⁶. On Mount Helikon, near the spring Hippokrene, Zeus Helikónios had an altar, round which the Muses were believed to dance⁷. On the peak of Mount Ide called Gargaros there was an altar and a precinct of Zeus Idaíos, where Hektor was wont to sacrifice⁸. Mount Arachnaion in Argolis had altars of Zeus and Hera⁹. The singular ritual of Mount river flowing to the right show the nature of the mountain-side. This god has been taken to be Zeus (Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus pp. 155, 161, Münztaf. 2, 16, Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke Ant. Denkm. i. 89 pl. 9, 5; Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 80). But Imhoof-Blumer Gr. Münzen p. 82 f. no. 144 pl. 6, 16 regards him as the mountain-god Olympos. Infra p. 124. Another coin of the same town has a seated Zeus inscribed ΠΡΟΥΣΑΕΙΔΑ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΝ (Head Hist. num.² p. 444).

¹ Inschr. Gr. ins. iii Suppl. no. 1545 (a rock-cut inscription of the third century B.C. in the precinct of Artemidoros at Thera: see F. Hiller von Gaertringen Die Insel Thera Berlin 1904 iii. 89 ff.) Διὸ Ὀλυμπῷ, ἄθων ψυχῆς Διὸς ἄγγελον Ἀρεμίδωρον | ἄναυν τάλει θείας καὶ ἀθανάτους θεός: | ἄθων, ἄθανατοι καὶ ἀγέρως ἄναυν τε | βομοῦ, ἄθων τερένης τῆς ψυχῆς Ἀρεμίδωρος.

² See the list given in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 840—847, cp. Farnell Cults of Gr. States i. 155 f.

³ The evidence is collected in Append. B, where the arrangement of it is topographical.

⁴ Ib. Phliusia.
⁵ Ib. Rhodes.
⁶ Ib. Euboia.
⁷ Ib. Boiotia.
⁸ Ib. Troad.
⁹ Ib. Argolis.
Sequence of the Mountain-cults

Kithairon, which will claim our attention later, involved the erection on the mountain-top of temporary wooden altars destined for the bonfires of Zeus Kithairónios. High up on the Cretan Mount Ide was a permanent rock-cut altar of Zeus Idatos. Thus with some variety of detail, according to local circumstances, the primitive cult of Zeus required an altar on the summit or as near it as might be.

Even where that cult was celebrated

On a tall mountain, citied to the top,
Crowded with culture!

hierarchical conservatism was apt to maintain the open-air altar. A case in point is furnished by Pergamon. The Akropolis of that marvellous city crowns a hill that rises a thousand feet above sea-level and commands a view of unequalled beauty over the valleys of Teuthania. Thanks to the excavations begun by A. Conze and K. Humann on behalf of the Prussian government in 1878, a fairly accurate picture may be drawn of Pergamon in its glory, as it was when Pliny called it 'by far the most famous town in the province of Asia.' The silhouette of the city seen from below against the sunrise (pl. xi) shows the sky-line cut by two magnificent temples. In the centre rises the Doric fane of Athena Polias or Nikephóros, a building of greyish trachyte, flanked on its northern and eastern sides by a two-storeyed stoá or 'colonnade.' Immediately behind the northern stoá are the halls in which the Pergamene Library was lodged. Further north, and therefore in our illustration more to the left, stands out the huge temple of the deified Trajan, a sumptuous Corinthian pile of white marble, surrounded on three sides by airy colonnades. Athena, then, had her temple, and Trajan had his. But Zeus was content with the altar that smokes

1 Append. B Boiotia.
2 ib. Crete.
3 Plin. nat. hist. 5. 126. The most convenient summary of what is known about Pergamon is still that contained in Baumeister Denkm. ii. 1206—1227 (history, topography, and architecture by E. Fabricius), ib. 1237—1287 (art by A. Trendelenburg). But the great Berlin publication (Altertümer von Pergamon, here cited as Pergamon) is slowly approaching completion: two volumes have already been devoted to the altar built by Eumenes ii (197—159 B.C.), viz. Pergamon iii. 1. 1—138 (Der grosse Altar. Der obere Markt. Berlin 1906) with an Atlas of 34 plates, by J. Schrammen; Pergamon iii. 2. 1—250 (Die Fries des grossen Altars Berlin 1910) with an Atlas of 36 plates, by H. Winnefeld.
4 Based on the Berlin panorama by A. Kips and M. Koch (Baumeister Denkm. ii pl. 36), which in turn utilised the drawing by R. Bohn in Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon Berlin 1888 iii pl. 2. See also E. Pontremoli and M. Collignon Pergame, restauration et description des monuments de l'acropole Paris 1900.
5 J. Schrammen in Pergamon iii. 1. 83 points out that the name of the deity to whom
Sequence of the Mountain-cults 119

on the terrace adjoining the Akropolis. True, it was an altar on a colossal scale (fig. 87). A substructure, measuring about 100 feet square by about 18 feet in height, was mounted by means of a broad staircase and adorned all round with a frieze, which represented in high relief the battle of the Gods and the Giants. The substructure was topped by an Ionic colonnade, the back wall of which was decorated with a smaller frieze depicting scenes from the mythical history of the town. Above all rose the actual altar of burnt offering, which, to judge from our only representation of it, a Pergamene coin struck by Septimius Severus (fig. 88), was protected by a soaring baldachin; the adjoining colonnades were surmounted by statues of deities, and the flight of steps was the great altar was dedicated is not attested by the extant blocks of the votive inscription. M. Fränkel in Pergamon viii no. 69 supposes that the altar was that of Zeus and Athena Nikêphoros; A. Brückner in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1904 xix Arch. Anz. p. 218 ff., that it was dedicated to all the gods. But it is commonly regarded as the altar of Zeus alone.

1 Pergamon iii. 1 pl. 19. Ground-plan ib. pl. 15. Elevation of west side ib. pl. 18.

flanked by two figures of humped bulls on large pedestals. The whole complex of marble was reckoned one of the wonders of the world\(^1\). Built into and concealed by its foundations was a previously existing building with an apse at one end\(^2\). It bears so close a resemblance to the apsidal Kabeiiron of Samothrace\(^3\) that I would venture to see in it a shrine of the Kabeiroi, who appear on another coin of Pergamon\(^4\) and are said to have witnessed the birth of Zeus on this very hill\(^5\). But, if the site of the great altar was once occupied by a Kabeiiron, where was the former altar of Zeus?

![Diagram](Fig. 89)

Just where we should have expected it to be—higher up, on the actual summit. J. Schrammen observes that the extreme point still shows traces of a square structure (fig. 89)\(^6\), and acutely

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5. *Supra* p. 110 n. 5.
6. *Pergamon* iii. 1. 74 f. fig.
conjectures that the altar of Zeus mentioned by Pausanias was not
the gorgeous monument of Eumenes ii but this more homely
place of sacrifice1. If so, it was impressive from its sheer simplicity.
Like the altar of Zeus Olympos in the Altis at Olympia, it was
a mere heap of ashes, consisting entirely of the calcined thighs of
victims sacrificed to Zeus2.

The dedication of an altar with neither temple nor statue of the
god is characteristic of the early so-called aniconic stage of Greek
religion. But it must not be supposed that the absence of a visible
representation of Zeus was due merely to the backward state of
sculptural art at the time when the cult in question was founded.
Rather it must be traced back to the primitive conception of Zeus
as the Bright Sky, alive and potent, but not as yet anthropomorphic3,
and therefore not as yet represented by a statue.

With the change to anthropomorphism came the introduction
of statues into the mountain-cults of Zeus. Where there had been
an altar and nothing more, there was now, if the cult moved with
the times, an altar and a statue of the god standing beside it. Thus
on the top of Mount Hymettos there was an altar and statue of
Zeus Hymettios4. On Mount Parnes Zeus was worshipped under
several names: as Ombrions and Apemios he received sacrifices on
one altar, as Semalios on another; and, apparently beside this
latter, was a bronze statue of Zeus Parnethios5. Mount Laphystion,
near Orchomenos in Boiotia, had a precinct and a stone statue of
Zeus Laphystios: tradition told how king Athamas was here on
the point of sacrificing his own son and daughter, Phrixos and
Helle, when in the nick of time Zeus sent the ram with the golden
fleece to aid their escape6. The summit of Mount Athos was sacred
to Zeus Athbios, who had there one or more altars and a (bronze?)
statue7. Doubtless too the statue of Zeus Aitnatos on Mount Aitne8,
that of the Chaeronean Zeus on the crag called Petrachos9, and that
of Zeus Anchesiumos on Mount Anchsmos near Athens10 had altars
of their own.

A third and final stage in the evolution of the cult was reached,
when the figure of the god came to be suitably housed in a temple.
But this was an innovation not brought about all at once. Zeus
Ithomatas, for example, was worshipped on the top of Mount Ithome

1 Id. ib.
2 Append. B Mysia. On altars made of ashes see E. Reisch in Pauly-Wissowa
Real-Enc. i. 1668 f., J. G. Frazer on Paus. 5. 13. 8 (iii. 556 f.).
3 Supra p. 1 ff.
4 Append. B Attike.
5 Id. Boiotia.
6 Id. Makedonia.
7 Id. Sicily.
8 Id. Attike.
in Messene; but the statue of the god, made by the famous Argive sculptor Hageladas, was kept in the house of a priest annually appointed for the purpose. At last Zeus was installed in a house of his own. And splendid indeed must have been the effect of a Greek temple with its ivory-white columns and its richly-coloured entablature seen against the dazzling blue of a southern sky. Hardly less beautiful would it appear when its marbles glimmering in the moonlight contrasted with the mysterious shadows of its colonnade. The first temple built upon a height for Zeus of which we have any record is the temple of Zeus Polieus constructed by Phalaris in the first half of the sixth century on the Akropolis of Akragas some 1200 feet above sea-level. Polyainos tells the following tale with regard to its foundation:

'Phalaris was a contractor of Akragas. The citizens of that town desired to make a temple of Zeus Polieus at a cost of 200 talents on their Akropolis: the site was rocky, the foundation very solid, and moreover it would be the right thing to establish the god on the highest available point. So Phalaris tendered an offer that, if he were appointed as overseer of the work, he would use the best craftsmen, furnish materials without extravagance, and provide satisfactory sureties for the funds. The people, considering that his life as a contractor had given him experience in such matters, entrusted him with the task. On receipt of the public moneys, he hired many strangers, purchased many prisoners, and brought up to the Akropolis plenty of materials—stones, timber, and iron. While the foundations were being dug, however, he sent down a crier with this proclamation: "Whosoever will denounce those persons that have stolen stone and iron from the Akropolis shall receive such and such a reward." The people were angered at the theft of the materials. "Well then," said Phalaris, "suffer me to fence in the Akropolis." The city granted him permission to fence it in and to raise a circuit-wall. Hereupon he freed the prisoners and armed them with his stones, axes, and double-axes. He made his attack during the festival of the Thesmophoria, slew most of the citizens, secured the women and children, and thus became tyrant of Akragas.'

Again, on the summit of the Larisa or Akropolis of Argos, a rocky cone rising abruptly from the plain to a height of 950 feet, there was a cult of Zeus Larisatos. Pausanias, who visited the spot

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1 Append. B Messene.
2 Time has broken and defaced all existing Greek temples. Among the least imperfect are the 'Theseum' at Athens, a temple of unknown dedication at Segesta, the temple of 'Concordia' at Girgenti. But though these have preserved the form, they have lost the colour, of a Doric structure. Nor is there to be seen any really accurate model or even complete picture, say of the Parthenon, showing its shapes as they were, optical corrections and all, and its colouring as it probably was. Doubtless some details would be conjectural, but the facts are so far certain that an attempt at adequate representation might be, and ought to be, made.
3 Polyain. 5. 1. 1. See further Append. B Sicily. The site of the temple is shown in W. Wilkins The Antiquities of Magna Gracia Cambridge 1807 Agrigentum pl. 1 view, Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1189 f. plan.
in the second century of our era, says that the temple of Zeus Larisatos had no roof and that his statue, made of wood, was no longer standing on its base\(^1\). This implies that the temple was then a ruin; but when it was first founded is not known. Mount Sagnatas, the ancient Mount Hypatos, is a bold, rocky eminence above Glisias in Boiotia, attaining a height of 2434 feet. 'From the summit,' says Dr Frazer, 'the view is extensive and fine, embracing the great expanse of the Copaic plain (a lake no longer), the dark blue water of the deep lake of Hylica environed by barren and rugged mountains, the Euboean sea, and on the horizon the peaks of Parnassus, Helicon, and Cithaeron\(^2\). Upon the flat top of this mountain Pausanias found a cult-statue and temple of Zeus Hypatos\(^3\); but again we cannot tell the date of its foundation. The same is true of the temple of Zeus Akralos on the Pindos range between Thessalia and Epeiros\(^4\), of the temple of Zeus Kásios built by the descendants of the Dioskouroi on Mount Kasion in Egypt\(^5\), and of the temple dedicated to Zeus Kásios at Kasiope in Korýra\(^6\). Probably they were all comparatively recent. The temple of Zeus Solymeús on Mount Solymos in Pisidia does not appear to have been a very ancient structure\(^7\). And in several cases it is clear that the primitive altar of Zeus received the additional glory of a temple at a much later date. Althaimenes, we saw, set up a simple altar to Zeus Atabyrios on the Rhodian Mount Atabyrion: but Mr C. Torr notes that the temple-walls and precinct-wall of Zeus are still to be seen on the mountain 4070 feet above the sea\(^8\). Herakles, we said, dedicated altars and a leafy precinct to Zeus Patróios on the headland of Mount Kenaion: but Seneca in his tragedy Herakles on Oitê writes—

Here on a soaring rock no cloud may strike
Shines the old temple of Kenaian Zeus\(^9\).

The precinct of Zeus Kynthios and Athena Kynthia on the top of Mount Kynthos in Delos included a small temple, the position of which can still be traced; but this is expressly said by M. Lebègue to be of late date\(^10\).

\(^1\) Append. B Argolis.  \(^2\) J. G. Frazer on Paus. 9. 19. 3 (v. 61 f.).  
\(^3\) Append. B Boiotia.  \(^4\) Ib. Thessalia.  
\(^5\) Ib. Egyptos.  \(^6\) Ib. Pisidia.  
\(^8\) Ib. Rhodes.  
\(^9\) Ib. Boiotia. Sen. Herc. Oct. 786 f. hic rupe celsa nulla quam nubes fert annosa fulgent templo Cenaei Iovis. Mr G. A. Papasileiou, who most courteously travelled from Chalkis to the Kenaian promontory on my behalf, reports (Oct. 17, 1911) that at Dion in a spot named after a church of Saint Konstantinos he could trace the foundations of a temple and fair-sized precinct with a circular base of three steps at the east end. These remains he took to be those of a temple and altar of Zeus built in historic times on the site consecrated by Herakles.  
\(^10\) Append. B Delos.
The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus

The mountain sacred to Zeus was sometimes regarded as his seat or throne. Coins of Gomphoi or Philippopolis from about 350 B.C. onwards show Zeus Akralos seated on a rock and holding a sceptre in his right hand (fig. 90): in place of the rock, which must represent Mount Pindos, later specimens substitute a throne (figs. 91, 92). Again, coins of Kyrrhos in Syria struck by Trajan and other emperors have Zeus Kataibates sitting on a rock with thunderbolt, sceptre, and eagle: the rock is presumably some neighbouring height. Similarly a coin of Ankyra in Galatia struck by Antoninus Pius represents Zeus, with a sceptre in his right hand and a Victory in his left, seated on a rock: Ankyra too was situated in a mountainous district. We have already noted an imperial coin of Prousa in Bithynia, which shows Zeus or a Zeus-like mountain-god reclining on the summit of the Mysian Olympos (fig. 85).

I add a few other numismatic examples, the interpretation of which is more doubtful. Copper coins of Larisa on the Orontes, struck in the first century B.C., have the head of Zeus as their obverse and the throne of Zeus as their reverse type (fig. 93). This perhaps implies that a neighbouring height was regarded as

2 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc. p. 19 (1 figure no. 3) pl. 3, 4, Hunter Cat. Coins i. 450, Head loc. cit. Fig. 92 is an unpublished variety (with the Thessalian form ГОМΦΙТОЙН) in my collection.
3 Infra ch. ii § 3 (a) ii.
4 Rasche Lex. Num. Suppl. i. 663, iii. 252.
5 Supra p. 116 n. 8.
the god’s seat. Similarly the throne and thunderbolt of Zeus on coppers of Olba in Kilikia, struck probably at the end of the first century B.C. (fig. 94)¹ and the beginning of the first century A.D. (fig. 95)², may mean that Usundja-Burдж, ‘Tall Castle’ (3800 ft. above sea-level), on which Zeus Ὀλβιός had his ήερόν³, was conceived as his sacred seat, though here an allusion to an actual throne occupied by the priestly king⁴ is equally possible.

Vase-painters of the fourth century B.C. sometimes represent Zeus seated or reclining on a mountain in the upper register of their design. Thus a fine hydria from Ruvo, painted in the style of the potter Meidias⁵ and now preserved at Karlsruhe⁶, introduces the god as part of a Polygotan background to a familiar scene—the judgment of Paris (pl. xi)⁷. In the midst sits Paris himself, here as often named Alexandros. As a Phrygian he wears a rich Oriental costume; but as a shepherd he carries a short thick staff and is accompanied by his dog. He turns to speak with Hermes, who has brought the three goddesses to Mount Ida. The laurels and the rocky ground mark the mountain-side. Aphrodite, ⁸

³ G. F. Hill in the Num. Chron. Third Series 1899 xix. 189 f. no. 3 γ (no. 3 β has throne turned to left), Anson Num. Gr. i. 137 ff. nos. 1354 f. pl. 26. The legend of the specimen here figured is ΔΥΝΑΣΤΟ[Y] ΟΛΒΕ[ΩΝ] ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ
⁴ KENNAT | ΚΑΙ-ΑΛΑΣΣΕΩΝ = ΑΙ(ε-ερε-ερα
⁵ J. T. Bent in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1891 xii. 220 ff., R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm ‘Reisen in Kilikien’ (cited infra ch. ii § 9 (b) ii (f)).
⁶ Infra ib.
⁹ Furtwängler-Reichhold Gr. Vasenalerei i. 141 ff. pl. 30.

In sarcophagus-reliefs etc. representing the judgment of Paris this seated Zeus is sometimes transformed into a seated mountain-god: see Robert Sark.-Relfz. ii. 11 ff. pl. 4, 10, 10† (Villa Pamfili)=Mon. d. Inst. iii pl. 3, Ann. d. Inst. 1839 xi. 214 ff. pl. H, Overbeck Gall. her. Bildw. p. 240 f. pl. 11, 5; Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1624 fig. 9, 9 a; Robert op. cit. ii. 18 pl. 5, 12 (Palestria); cp. Robert op. cit. ii. 17 fig. (Villa Ludovisi)=Mon. d. Inst. iii pl. 29, Ann. d. Inst. 1841 xiii. 84 ff., Overbeck Gall. her. Bildw. p. 238 ff. pl. 11, 12.
confident of success, is seated quietly behind Hermes. She rests one hand on a sceptre, the other on a little Eros, whose brother she has already sent forward to whisper seductive words in the ear of the judge. Above her we see Eutychia, the goddess of good luck, and an attendant maiden preparing wreaths for the coming victory. In front of Paris, but wholly disregarded by him, stands Athena—a majestic figure closely resembling the Parthenos of Pheidias. Hardly less majestic, and not a whit more successful in attracting the notice of Paris, is Hera, who draws near on the left supported by her maid Klymene. In the background appears Eris, who first brought about the strife and now would watch its dénouement. On the right Helios drives up his four-horse chariot from behind the mountain, recalling an analogous figure in the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. On the left sits Zeus, leaning on the rocky slope. He wears a laurel-wreath in his hair and a himation wrapped about his knees. His right hand holds a sceptre; his left, a winged thunderbolt. Helios and Zeus give the setting of the scene in time and place. For Ide is the home of Zeus Idatos. Moreover, it was in obedience to the bidding of Zeus that Hermes brought the goddesses before Paris.

Equally essential is the relation of Zeus to the main design in the case of the Poniatowski vase—a great Apulian krater with medallion handles, which was found near Bari and is now in the Vatican collection. Its obverse (fig. 96) shows Triptolemos on his winged car drawn by two serpents. He is wreathed with myrtle, and holds in his left hand a sceptre and a bunch of corn. One of his serpents is feeding from a phiale held by a seated goddess, possibly one of the Horai. The other turns towards a standing goddess, almost certainly Demeter, who holds a wheel-torch under her left arm and is offering more corn to Triptolemos. Behind her at a lower level stands another goddess, probably Hekate, bearing a lighted torch. Above and beyond these figures rises a mountain, indicated by broken dotted lines, upon which we see two goddesses and higher up two gods. The goddesses cannot be identified with

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2 Append. B Troas.
The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus

certainty, but are in all probability meant for Aphrodite and Peitho. The gods are Hermes and Zeus. Hermes has his usual attributes, and, with one foot raised on the rocky ground, balances the similarly posed figure of Peitho. Zeus, crowned with laurel, reclines on the mountain-top. He has a himation folded about his legs, shoes on his feet, a bracelet on his left arm, and an eagle-sceptre in his left hand. The moment depicted seems to be this. Zeus has

sent Hermes to bring back Persephone from the Underworld. Demeter—her wrath thereby appeased—is instructing Triptolemos in the art of agriculture and sending him forth on his mission of

1 The identification of the goddesses on this vase has been much canvassed; see Overbeck *op. cit.* pp. 543—562. I have relied on another Apulian vase, now at St Petersburg (*infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (θ)), which represents the same scene in a very similar fashion and fortunately supplies us with the inscribed names ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ (in serpent-car), ΔΗΜΗΤΗΡ (on the left filling a phide for him), ΤΗΡΑΙ (further to the left, one standing, the other seated), ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ (on the right at a higher level, seated), ΝΕΙΛΟΣ (further to the right, standing beside Aphrodite with knee raised on rock), ΝΕΙΛΟΣ (river at foot of main design).

2 *H. Dem.* 334 ff., *alib.* (see R. Foerster *Der Raub und die Rückkehr der Persephone* Stuttgart 1874 pp. 29—98 'Der Mythus in der Dichtkunst').
The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus

civilisation. On this showing the mountain upon which Zeus reclines is the Macedonian Olympos.

An Apulian pelike from Ruvo, now at Naples, has on one side a design (pl. xii), the background of which somewhat closely resembles that of the vase just described. The scene is laid on a mountain near the Phrygian Kelainai, where Marsyas the flute-playing Silenos was defeated and flayed by Apollon. In the centre of the composition sits Apollon, wreathed with laurel and wearing a himation drawn up over the back of his head. He is already victorious, and a winged Nike is presenting him with the victor’s fillet, but his fingers still play with the four chords of his lyre. Below him on a spotted skin sits the defeated Silenos. His skin flute-case lies behind on the ground. He holds the flutes in his left hand and leans his head on his right in deep dejection. And no wonder. For of the three Muses, who are present as judges of his skill, one, though she has flutes herself, stands spell-bound listening to Apollon’s strains, another is seated harp in hand chanting the victor’s praises to the delight of a pet-dog from Malta, while the third has risen from her judgment-seat and is reading out of a roll the fearful penalty prescribed for the vanquished. Behind her a girl is already bringing up a basket with flowers and a fillet, as though for a sacrifice. Marsyas himself will be the victim. On the mountain-top are three seated deities; but not one of them is likely to help. Zeus naturally sympathises with his son, Artemis with her brother. Aphrodite, who scoffed at the effects of flute-playing, is unconcernedly holding a phial to serve as a divining-glass for Eros. Still less does the she-goat cropping its food in the corner take thought for Marsyas’ fate. Confining our attention to Zeus, we note that his connexion with the tragedy is but slight. He is here mainly as the divine dweller on the

1 H. Dem. 331, 341, 449, 484.
5 O. Jessen ib. ii. 2442.
6 Hyg. fab. 165.
7 A. Michaelis Die Verurtheilung des Marsyas etc. p. 13 f., Arch. Zeit. 1869 xxvii. 46, and Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Apollon pp. 431, 442 argue that Aphrodite, in whose cult the flute was used, is present on the side of Marsyas. If so, she is strangely apathetic: cp. other vase-paintings of the same scene in Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. cér. ii pl. 64, the Arch. Zeit. 1884 xiii pl. 5, Overbeck op. cit. p. 433 no. 11 Atlas pl. 25, 3.
8 Overbeck op. cit. p. 441 holds that Zeus is present as witness of things in general and of his son’s victory in particular.
Relief signed by Archelaos of Priene.

See page 129 ff.
heights above Kelainai, and he adopts the attitude now familiar to us as that of the mountain-god.

This type of Zeus reclining occurs again on a relief signed by Archelaos son of Apollonios, a native of Priene. That well-known work of art, referable to the end of the third century B.C., was found near Bozilae about 1650 A.D. and is now in the British Museum (pl. xiii). Its subject is usually described as the apotheosis of Homer. Before us rises a steep mountain-side, at the foot of which Homeros is seen enthroned. He holds a roll in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. His throne is supported by two kneeling female figures inscribed Iliás and Odysseia: the former carries a sheathed sword, the latter holds up the stern-ornament of a ship. In front of Homer's footstool lies another roll with a mouse at one end of it, a frog (?) at the other, to indicate the Battle of the Frogs and Mice. Behind the poet stands a woman named Oikouné, 'The World,' who is holding a wreath above his head, and a man, named Chrónos, 'Time,' who is uplifting a roll in either hand. Since in features and hair these two figures (fig. 97) resemble Ptolemy IV Philopator and his wife Arsinoe, it has been conjectured that we have here the king and queen of Alexandria portrayed as allegorical personages. Before the poet is a lighted altar inscribed Α, behind which stands a humped bull. The sacrificial attendant with jug and bowl is Mytños. Historia strews incense on the altar, Polesis holds up two flaming torches, while Tragodia, Komodia, a smaller figure named Physis, 'Nature,' and a group of Areté, 'Virtue,' Mnémé, 'Memory,' Pístis, 'Faith,' and Sophía, 'Wisdom,'

1 Inscr. Gr. Sic. Ιt. no. 1395.
3 C. Watzinger op. cit. p. 17 ff. figs. 8–9, following and improving upon the identifications proposed by S. Sharpe, vis. Ptolemy vi Philometor and his mother Kleopatra. Both E. Braun and Sir C. T. Newton remarked a family likeness between the head of Xpófor and those of the later Ptolemies. F. Hauser in the Jahresh. d. ost. arch. Inst. 1905 viii. 83 ff. fig. 28 (=Imhof-Blumer Monn. gr. pl. 11, 13, cp. Num. Chron. Fourth Series 1904 iv 307 ff. pl. 15, 11) proposes a fresh identification based on the coin-portraits of the Syrian king Alexander i Balas and his wife Kleopatra. The alleged likeness is to me, I confess, hardly convincing. Mr A. H. Smith, however, whom I consulted by letter, kindly writes (Oct. 17, 1911): 'I think Hauser has a better case than Watzinger. His coin is surprisingly like. But I gather, from what Hauser says, that the other version of the coin rather shook his own faith.'
draw near with gestures of acclamation. The whole scene takes place in front of a curtained colonnade. Above it stands Apollon in a cave with a kithára in his hand and an omphalós at his feet: against the omphalós lean the bow and quiver of the god, and one of the Muses raising a roll stands before him. To the right of the cave and immediately in front of a large tripod with domed cover is the statue of a man holding a roll, which statue—as Goethe was the first to suggest—probably represents a poet who has won a tripod in some poetical contest and has celebrated the event by dedicating this votive relief. To the left of the cave and above it, winding up the mountain-height, are the eight remaining Muses,

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1 This figure has often been called the Pythian priestess. Her true character was determined by S. Reinach, and replicas were cited by W. Amelung: see C. Watzinger op. cit. p. 6.

2 Others have interpreted the figure as Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus. But, had a famous poet of ancient date been meant, his name—as in the case of ΟΜΗΡΟΣ—would have been inscribed below him. The existing head is a restoration.

3 C. Watzinger op. cit. p. 21 cp. Paus. 9. 31. 3. Brückner ib. cites a yet closer parallel, viz. an inscribed slab from Teos (middle of 2nd cent. B.C.), now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, which concludes a decree in honour of the flute-player Kraton thus: παρατίθεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς θείαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ποιμαίς παίρναι τὸν ἀθρόιστον τὸν Κράτωνα, τὸν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ πρῶτον τε καὶ θυματίαν κ.τ.λ. (Corp. Inscr. Gr. ii no. 3068, 22 ff. = Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 1016, 22 ff.).
The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus

arranged in typical attitudes and furnished with conventional attributes. Higher still, and on a larger scale than the Muses, is their mother Mnemosyne\(^1\). All these lead upwards to Zeus himself (fig. 98), who is seated or reclining on the mountain-top with a himation wrapped about his legs, a sceptre in his right hand, and an eagle at his feet.

The significance of the whole design is tolerably clear. The ideal poet, inspired by Apollon and the Muses, ultimately derives his message from their omnipotent sire; he delivers to mankind the oracles of Zeus. Nay more, in a sense he is Zeus. Enthroned as a divine king on earth he is a human counterpart of the divine king enthroned in heaven\(^2\), heaven being located on the summit of the mountain. Nor was this a mere fancy-flight of Hellenistic imagination. It was, as we shall see in due course, a religious conviction inseparably bound up with immemorial Hellenic customs.

But the relief before us has a special as well as a general significance. C. Watzinger, who follows W. Amelung in ascribing the types of Apollon and the Muses to Philiskos of Rhodes\(^3\), and further attempts to explain the reclining Zeus as a Rhodian development of an originally Dionysiac motif\(^4\), suggests the following possibilities. Apollonios Rhodios, or some other epic poet

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\(^1\) C. Watzinger _op. cit._ p. 17 justly says: 'In zeusähnlicher Haltung sitzt Homer,' and _ib._ p. 20 calls attention to the actual cult of Homer established at Alexandreia by Ptolemy iv Philopator (All. _var. hist._ 13. 22) and existing also at Smyrna (Strab. _640_).

\(^2\) C. Watzinger _op. cit._ p. 4 ff.

\(^3\) _Id._ _ib._ p. 14 ff.
of the Rhodian school, was successful in a poetical contest, held at Alexandreia on behalf of Apollon and the Muses. He commemorated his victory by dedicating in a temple at Rhodes a votive relief made for him by Archelaos of Priene, a sculptor belonging to the Rhodian school of art. The locality of the contest thus accounts for the portraits of Ptolemy iv and Arsinoe, for the divine honours paid to Homer, and for the emphasis laid on Apollon and the Muses, while the nationality of the poet and the artistic traditions of the sculptor explain the adoption of Philiskos' types. Zeus, himself of a Rhodian type, is Zeus Atabyrios reclining on the highest peak of the island. He was worshipped also on the akropolis of Rhodes, as was Apollon, in whose sanctuary Philiskos' group presumably stood.

Watzinger's reconstruction of the circumstances is attractive and hangs well together. But it is beset by uncertainties. We do not know that these types of Apollon and the Muses were those devised by Philiskos, or that the motif of a reclining Zeus originated in Rhodes. The former is at most a probable guess; the latter is at most an improbable guess. Again, we do not know that Archelaos the sculptor belonged to the Rhodian school of sculpture, or that the supposed poet belonged to the Rhodian school of poetry, or that the contest took place at Alexandreia, or that it had anything to do with the cult of Apollon and the Muses. In short, the whole explanation is hypothetical. And other hypotheses are equally possible. For example, it might be maintained that an epic poet of the Alexandrine school won a prize-tripod at the Panonia, the great festival of Poseidon Helikonos held in the territory of Priene. He naturally got a local sculptor to carve his votive tablet. The sculptor of course introduced Homer as the prototype of all epic poets, paid the customary compliment to the king and queen of his patron's town, and—possibly prompted by the epithet Helikonos—represented Mount Helikon with Zeus Helikonios on its summit and the Muses descending its side. The Muses suggested Apollon, and, at the expense of topographical accuracy, Mount Helikon is merged in another height of the same range and reveals Apollon, omphalos and all, standing in his Delphic cave.

1 Vitr. 7 ppa. 4. 
2 Supra p. 131 n. 2.
3 Append. B Rhodes. 
4 Plin. nat. hist. 36. 34 f.
5 Bronze tripods were given as prizes at the games of Apollon Tykonos (Hdt. 1. 144).
6 Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 74 ff.
7 Append. B Boiotia.
8 A. H. Smith in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpure iii. 248: 'It has been generally supposed that the rocky terraces on which the Muses appear in this relief represent
But guess-work is fatally facile. It will be more profitable to notice a point which, so far as I am aware, has escaped the observation of Watzinger and his predecessors—the extraordinary similarity of the Archelaos relief to the Marsyas vase from Ruvo. In both the artist has portrayed success in a contest of poetry or music. In both we see a mountain-side with Apollon half way up it playing the kithára or lyre. In both there are the Muses arranged at different levels on the slope—one holding two flutes, another seated to play the kithára or harp, a third standing with a roll in her hand. Lastly, in both the mountain is topped by a strikingly similar figure of Zeus. I would infer that Archelaos was indebted for his design, or at least for essential elements of his design,—not indeed to vase-painters of the fourth century B.C.—but to contemporary fresco-painters, who like their humbler brethren of the potter’s trade were still at work under the far-reaching influence of Polygnotos.

Fig. 99.

There are extant two other representations of Zeus on the mountain to which allusion must here be made. A bronze medallion of Lucius Verus shows Zeus seated on a mountain, holding a thunderbolt peacefully on his knee with his left hand, while his right arm leaning on the mountain-top supports his head. The emperor in military costume and himself crowned by Parnassus, and in this case the cave within which Apollo is standing would be the Corycian cave on that mountain. Not necessarily: it might be the actual μαστίγος at Delphi, which is described as ἀργός (Strab. 419, Eur. Phoin. 233 cp. I.T. 1242 ff.; A. P. Oppé in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1904 xxiv. 314 ff. has not said the last word on the subject).

1 Thus in the case of the art-type of Zeus reclining on a mountain-top the vase-paintings appear to form a link between some lost fresco of Polygnotos in the fifth century B.C. and the relief of Archelaos in the third. Later (ch. iii § 1 (a) iii) we shall see, in the case of the art-type of Zeus seated on a rock with Hera standing before him, how the vase-paintings bridge the interval between a Selinuntine metope of the fifth century B.C. and a Pompeian fresco of the first century A.D.
an armed figure of Roma is offering to the god a small wreath-bearing Nike (fig. 99). The inscriptions on this medallion prove that it was struck in the year 167 A.D. and commemorates the victories won for Verus in the east by his stern lieutenant Avidius Cassius. Not improbably the artist hinted at the name of the actual victor by depicting the emperor making his presentation to the mountain-god Zeus Kàsios. Lastly, a bronze coin of Ephesos, struck under Antoninus Pius, represents Zeus seated on a throne, which is set upon the flat summit of a mountain. Beneath this mountain lies another mountain-god holding a horn of plenty and inscribed Pelon. Over his head descends a shower from the raised right hand of Zeus, while the left hand of that deity supports a thunderbolt. At the foot of the mountain on which Zeus sits enthroned is a temple; at the back of the same mountain, a three-storeyed building; and in the distance, perched upon rocks, appear two similar buildings and a clump of cypress-trees between them (fig. 100). There can be no doubt that Zeus is here represented as enthroned on Mount Koressos, a height which dominates the whole valley of Ephesos and looks down on its neighbour Mount Peion.

The foregoing examples of a mountain conceived as the throne of Zeus must not be attributed to any original effort of imagination on the part of the Hellenistic artist. Behind the die-sinker and the sculptor lay popular belief and long-standing ritual practice. Those who in ancient days visited Argos to see the famous statue of Hera, made by Polykleitos of ivory and gold, found the goddess in her temple seated on her throne. In one hand she carried a pomegranate, in the other a sceptre; and about both of them stories were told. The story about the pomegranate was mystic in character and too sacred to be rashly bruited abroad. That about the sceptre aimed at explaining the odd fact that a cuckoo was perched on the tip of it, and was as follows. When Zeus was in love with the maiden Hera, he transformed himself into a cuckoo, was caught and petted

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3 Append. B Syria.
4 Ith. Lydia.
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by her, and so gained his desires. The scene of this idyll was Mount Kokkygion, or the ‘Cuckoo’ Mount, near Hermione, on the top of which there was a sanctuary of Zeus, while on the top of the neighbouring Mount Pron was a corresponding sanctuary of Hera. Now the older name of Mount Kokkygion was Thórnax or Thrónax, which means the ‘Throne.’ It seems, therefore, highly probable that this mountain was regarded by the Greeks as the throne of Zeus. Indeed, it is possible that an actual throne, reputed to be that of Zeus, was visible on the mountain. When Pythagoras made a pilgrimage to Crete, he entered the cave near the top of Mount Ide wearing black wool, stayed there according

Fig. 101.

to custom thrice nine days and, among other ritual acts, inspected the throne which was strewn for Zeus once a year. It is noticeable, too, that Pergamon, whose altar to Zeus we have already considered, is described in The Revelation of S. John the divine as the place ‘where Satan’s throne is.’

It is not, then, to be wondered at, if the Greeks brought into connexion with their Zeus a remarkable series of cult-monuments scattered up and down the mainland of Asia Minor, the islands of the Archipelago, and even Greece itself. Throughout these districts the tops of mountains and hills have been by some unknown people

1 Append. B Argolis.  
2 Ἰ. Crete.  
3 Ἰ. Mysia.
at some unknown date—possibly by the Hittites in the fourteenth and following centuries B.C.—adorned with thrones, large or small, cut out in the living rock. H. Gelzer records a ‘throne of Nahat’ on a mountain in Armenia. Near Ikonion in Lykaonia F. Sarre climbed an isolated rocky mound named Tuzuk-Dagh, some 150 feet above the level of the plain, and found on the summit a rock-cut seat or throne with traces of steps leading up to it. On the Kara-Dagh or ‘Black Mountain,’ an outlying ridge of Taurus, is an isolated hill the Kizil-Dagh, which rises sharply from the plain to a height of about 360 feet. Here in 1907 Prof. Sir W. M. Ramsay and Miss G. Bell found a pinnacle of rock forty feet high, roughly carved into the shape of a seat or throne with high back (fig. 101). ‘On the throne is incised a figure of the god, sitting, holding a sceptre in the left hand and a cup in the right.’ Prof. A. H. Sayce regards the seated figure as that of a king and interprets the Hittite inscription that accompanies it as the royal name Tarkyanas (fig. 102). Dr J. Garstang accepts this reading as against Prof. Ramsay’s Tarkuatesses, but adds: ‘it is conceivable that we have here a representation of the deity called by a name which was that used also by the priest.’

The priestly king thus postulated was doubtless the dynast of Barata at the mountain-foot. Rock-cut thrones have been repeatedly seen in Phrygia by A. Körte. The rock-cut

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2 Arch.-ep. Mitth. 1896 xix. 34.


6 A copper of Barata struck by Odaecilia Severa shows Tyche with kalathos, branch (?) and cornu copiae seated on a rock, a river-god at her feet (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia etc. p. 2 pl. 1, 3). Another noteworthy coin-type of the same town is a standing Zeus, who rests on a sceptre and holds a phiale or globe, with an eagle beside him (ib. p. xix). Head Hist. num. p. 713. Is Tyche enthroned on a rock the successor of a pre-Greek mountain-mother?

7 W. Reichel Über vorhellenische Götterkulte Wien 1897 p. 31.
altars of Kybele discovered by Prof. Sir W. M. Ramsay on the plateau of Doghanlu, the Phrygian town of Midas, resemble thrones at least as much as altars. The most striking example of these rock-cut thrones is, however, one on Mount Sipylos in Lydia. Pausanias, a native of the locality, calls it the 'throne of Pelops.' And Dr Frazer in his commentary describes the scenery as follows: 'On the south side of the fertile valley of the Hermus, Mount Sipylos (Manissa-dagh) towers up abruptly, like an immense wall of rock. Its sides are very precipitous, indeed almost perpendicular. The city of Magnesia, the modern Manissa, lies immediately at its foot. About four miles east of Magnesia the mountain wall of rock is cleft, right down to the level of the Hermus valley, by a narrow ravine or cañon, which pierces deep into the bowels of the mountain. It is called by the Turks the Yarik Kaya or "rifted rock." The cañon is only about 100 feet wide; its sides are sheer walls of rock, about 500 feet high; there is a magnificent echo in it. A small stream flows through the bottom; it is probably the Achelous of Homer (Iliad, xxiv. 616). It is plain that the ravine has been scooped out in the course of ages by the stream wearing away the limestone rock; but it would naturally be regarded by the ancients as the result of a great earthquake, such as are common in this district. On the western edge of the cañon, half-way up the mountain-wall of Sipylos, there shoots up a remarkable crag, which stands out by itself from the mountain-side. On one side it is possible from its summit to drop a stone 900 feet sheer into the cañon; on all other sides it rises with a perpendicular face 100 feet from the mountain. Even to reach the foot of this crag from the plain, stout limbs and a steady head are needful; for the ancient mule-path, partly hewn out of the rock, partly supported on walls on the edge of precipices, has mostly disappeared; and there is nothing for it but to cling as best you can to the bushes and the projections of the rock. In this way you at last reach the foot of the cliff, the sheer face of which seems to bar all further advance. However, on the western side of the crag there is a cleft or "chimney" (cheminée), as they would call it in Switzerland, which leads up to the top, otherwise quite unapproachable, of the crag. In antiquity there seems to have been a staircase in the "chimney." The first few steps of it may be seen under the bushes with which the rocky fissure is overgrown. The upper surface of the crag, reached


2 Append, B Lydia.

3 J. G. Fraser on Paus. 5. 13. 7 (iii. 552 f.).
through this cleft, is nowhere level; on the contrary, it slopes like
the roof of a house and is indeed so steep that to climb up it is
difficult. There are, however, twenty or thirty foundations of
houses cut in the rock and rising one above the other like the
steps of an immense staircase. Also there are seven or eight
bell-shaped cisterns.

The ancient settlement on the summit of this remarkable crag
would seem to be that to which classical writers gave the name of
Tantalis or the city of Tantalus. They affirmed, indeed, that the

city had disappeared into a chasm produced by an earthquake;
but probably the immense ravine beneath suggested the idea of
the earthquake, and popular mythology completed the legend by
asserting that the old city had been hurled down into its depths.
See Pausanias, vii. 24. 13; Pliny, Nat. Hist. ii. 205, v. 117; Aristides,

On the very topmost pinnacle of the crag there is a square
cutting in the rock, resembling the seat of a large armchair, with
back and sides complete. It is about 5 feet wide, 3 feet from front
to back, and 3 feet high at the back. The back of the seat (as it
may be called) is simply the top of the precipice, which falls straight
down into the ravine, a sheer drop of 900 feet. Across the ravine
soars the arid rocky wall of Sipylus. On the other side the eye
ranges over the valley of the Hermus, stretched like a map at one's feet. There seems to be little doubt that this remarkable rock-cut seat, perched on the pinnacle of the dizzy crag, is no other than the "throne of Pelops" mentioned by Pausanias in the present passage. What the original intention of the cutting may have been, is a different question. Professor W. M. Ramsay thinks it was probably an altar on which offerings were laid.1

C. Humann, who discovered this throne in the year 1880, gives a most graphic account of his experiences in reaching it; and I am indebted to his article for the accompanying sketch (fig. 103).2 W. Reichel adds the suggestion that the houses built on the upper part of the peak belonged in reality to a colony of priests, whose duty it was to serve the god represented by the throne above them. He also conjectures that this god was Apollo or some other form of the sun-god, if not Hyäpsitos himself, and that the name of Pelops became attached to the throne as did that of Danaos to the throne of Apollo Lykios at Argos, or that of Midas to the throne at Delphi.3 Reichel holds that in all these cases the empty throne was by rights the throne of a god, which came to be regarded wrongly as the throne of a by-gone king. Its transference from a god to a king is—I would point out—much facilitated, if we may suppose that the king was viewed as the god incarnate. And in the case before us there are good reasons for suspecting that Pelops was regarded as in some sense a human Zeus.4 Thus a rocky seat connected by the Greek inhabitants of Magnesia with Zeus, the chief Magnesian god, would readily come to be called the 'throne of Pelops.' This does not of course preclude the possibility that the original possessor of the throne was neither Pelops, nor Zeus, but some other pre-Greek occupant such as Plastene, Mother of the Gods, whose primitive rock-cut image is still to be seen in its niche on the mountain-side 300 feet above the plain.5

1 C. Humann 'Die Tantalosburg im Sipylos' in the Ath. Mitth. 1888 xiii. 32-41. The measurements of the throne, as given by him, are: height above sea-level 350 m or 1150 feet, length 1.55 m, depth 1.30 m, height 1.20 m.
2 W. Reichel Über vorhellénische Götterculte p. 32 ff. For the throne of Danaos in the temple of Apollo Lykios at Argos (Paus. 2. 19. 5) see ib. p. 18, and for that of Midas at Delphi (Hdt. 1. 14) ib. p. 17.
3 Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 271 ff., Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 308 ff. See further an important chapter on the origin of the Olympic games by Mr F. M. Cornford in Miss J. E. Harrison's latest book Themis (ch. vii).
5 W. M. Ramsay in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1883 iii. 33 ff., C. Humann in the Ath. Mitth. 1888 xiii. 26 ff. with map and pl. 1, 2; J. G. Frazer on Paus. 5. 13. 7 (iii. 553 ff.).
However that may be, the Greeks do seem to have associated these rock-cut thrones with Zeus. High up on the south-eastern slope of Mount Koressos at Ephesos is another example of them. At the top of a precipitous cliff two steps are hewn out, which give access to a large oblong seat with end-pieces or arms and a high vertical back. In the angle made by this seat and its back another step is contrived, standing on which a man can easily reach a hole, presumably a receptacle for offerings, excavated behind the back in a second and higher horizontal surface. The whole arrangement is clearly seen in a sketch and section by Niemann (figs. 104—105).^1^ There is no traditional name attached to this throne; nor is there

^1^ From O. Benndorf *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1906 p. 56 f. figs. 19, 20.
any inscription showing to what deity it was dedicated. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the coin of Antoninus Pius cited above (fig. 100) actually represents Zeus enthroned upon Mount Koressos, it will hardly be denied that the Ephesians must have deemed this rock-cut seat the throne of Zeus. Whether the throne itself was the work of a Hellenic or of a pre-Hellenic population remains, as before, an open question. Possibly it had once belonged to the Amazonian mother-goddess, who continued to be worshipped at Ephesos as Artemis Prototrochion, 'She of the First Throne'.

Sometimes the name of the god to whom the Greeks referred the throne is happily settled by means of an inscription. Off the west coast of Rhodes lies the little island Chalke, where on a hilltop are to be seen numerous traces of an ancient Greek Akropolis. Among these traces F. Hiller von Gaertringen noted a double rock-cut throne (fig. 106). A single step leads up to two seats with a common arm between them. The seats exhibit a circular smoothing or polish; and on their front surface in late and rude characters is an inscription recording the names of Zeus and

1 Rauz. 10. 38. 6 ὄνειρο τοῦ βασιλέα τῆς Πρωτοθρονίης καλεμένης Ἀρτέμιδος, cp. Kallim. h. Arim. 318 πρωτόθρονον.

2 Arch.-cp. Mitth. 1895 xviii. 3f. fig. 2. The dimensions are: width about 1.30 m, height 0.95 m (= back 0.40 m + seat 0.55 m), depth of seat 0.55 m, height of step 0.14 m.
The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus

Hekate\(^1\). In Rhodes itself, not far from Lartos, there is a rock-cut throne some nine or ten feet above the road-way: over against this throne, on the opposite side of the road, is an inscription carved on the face of a steep rock, eighteen feet or so above the ground, in letters not later than the third century B.C.; the inscription is a votive couplet dedicating a tablet (now lost) to Hekate\(^2\). Again it must be considered doubtful whether Zeus and Hekate were the original occupants of these thrones.

That doubt hardly arises in connexion with a remarkable series of rock-cuttings accompanied by inscriptions found at Thera in 1896\(^3\). At the south-eastern end of the ridge on which the town of Thera stood, and fully 1000 feet above sea-level, are the ruins of a very ancient building in polygonal masonry, possibly a herōion of the eponym Theras\(^4\). Below the floor of this building, and therefore older yet, is a group of inscriptions graved on the underlying rock\(^5\). Three of them give the name Zeus\(^6\), two Kourēs\(^7\), one both Zeus and Kourēs\(^8\), the rest Apollon\(^9\), Boreatos\(^10\) i.e. Zeus Boreatos, Deuteros\(^11\), Diōskouroi\(^12\), Kthon\(^13\), Lokhata Damia\(^14\), Hādias or Potidās\(^15\), Pelorios\(^16\) and Polieus\(^17\) i.e. Zeus (? Pelorios and Zeus Polieus. Out-

1. Inschr. Gr. ins. i no. 938 Δεότι Εατας\([\ldots]\).
4. Id. ib. i. 284.
8. Inschr. Gr. ins. iii nos. 350 Ζεθ τον μη- near the figure of a small ladder and Ψαμη by the rock-cutting = Collitz-Bechtle ib. nos. 4707 a (where it is suggested that τουμε.. probably belongs to a different inscription), 4707 b. Possibly we should read Ζεθ του Συμη[θ] (or the like.
11. Inschr. Gr. ins. iii no. 358 and Suppl. Δετερος (by mistake for Δετερος) = Collitz-Bechtle ib. no. 4715. On the significance of this name see infra p. 144 n. 9.
12. Inschr. Gr. ins. iii no. 359 Διος (υρος) = Collitz-Bechtle ib. no. 4716.
13. Inschr. Gr. ins. iii no. 360 Κιπωρ = Collitz-Bechtle ib. no. 4717.
17. Inschr. Gr. ins. iii no. 363 and Suppl. Πολ(ες) το (the first three letters alone certain) = Collitz-Bechtle ib. no. 4720.
side the ancient building, but close to it, are other similar inscriptions naming a variety of gods—Apollón, Árta, Athanatá, Birit, Erinyes, Ga, Hermá, Koéra, Khárítés, and perhaps Théró. In this miscellaneous company Zeus or some epithet of Zeus is of frequent occurrence. We find Zeús in letters of the seventh century together with lines of uncertain meaning (fig. 107) 11, Hickésios i.e. Zeus Hickésios in sixth-century script, 12 Zeús again from the beginning of the fifth century onwards, 13 perhaps Zeús Policós or Zeús Patróbios 14 and certainly Stoichaitos i.e. Zeus Stoichaitos in the fifth century. 15

1 Inscr. Gr. ins. iii no. 372 'Ἄπαξ Ἀρταίας Μαλέ άτα Ξάρας' = Collitz-Bechtel ib. no. 4737.
2 Inscr. Gr. ins. iii no. 373 'Ἀπραμ' = Collitz-Bechtel ib. no. 4738.
3 Inscr. Gr. ins. iii no. 364 'Ἤθελας' = Collitz-Bechtel ib. no. 4739.
4 Inscr. Gr. ins. iii no. 365 'Βρίς' = Collitz-Bechtel ib. no. 4740. For Birit cp. Paus. 3. 19. 3 and see Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 490.
5 Inscr. Gr. ins. iii no. 362 'Βρεῖτε' (so Kern, cp. Hdt. 4. 149) = Collitz-Bechtel ib. no. 4741.
6 Inscr. Gr. ins. iii no. 374 'Γαρ' | λαοῦ = Collitz-Bechtel ib. no. 4742.
7 Inscr. Gr. ins. iii no. 370 'Ηέρας' = Collitz-Bechtel ib. no. 4743.
8 Inscr. Gr. ins. iii no. 371 and Suppl. no. 131 'Γορας or Χεράς' = Collitz-Bechtel ib. no. 4744.
9 Inscr. Gr. ins. iii Suppl. no. 1312 Κάρπες = Collitz-Bechtel ib. no. 4745.
10 Inscr. Gr. ins. iii no. 306 Φερεμός and Θέρος (so Wilamowitz) = Collitz-Bechtel ib. no. 4746. Θέρος, gen. of Θερός, would refer to the 'Bear' Chiron (Hdt. 4. 142 n. 13). But F. Hiller von Gaertringen ad loc. notes that in the reign of Pherecime a tribe of Θεροί was established at Kyrine (Hdt. 4. 161). This suggests that Θέρος may be Θερός, gen. of Θερός, an eponymous nymph (cp. Paus. 3. 19. 8, 9. 46. 5 f., and see L. Malten Kyrine Berlin 1911 p. 76).
11 Inscr. Gr. ins. iii Suppl. no. 1313, F. Hiller von Gaertringen Die Insel Thera iii. 63 f. fig. 45.
12 Inscr. Gr. ins. iii nos. 402 [Ἡκίστιος, 403 Ηεκιστιος], 404 Ηεκίσιος = Collitz-Bechtel ib. nos. 4741—4742.
14 Inscr. Gr. ins. iii no. 375 Ζερο[σ] | Π[άλατος] or Π[αραθύμο] (the initial Π alone was engraved and possibly represents the name of a dedicant) = Collitz-Bechtel ib. no. 4740a.
The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus

Lastly Melichios in the fourth and Zeus Melichios in the fourth or third century. Beside most of these inscriptions, both within and without the old building, certain small sinkings, round, square, or irregularly shaped, and hardly more than a foot in length and breadth, are made in the rock. These look as though they had been intended to receive altars or dedications of some sort, or perhaps, as F. Hiller von Gaertringen suggests, to serve instead of altars themselves. P. Wolters, however, describes them as 'seat-shaped cuttings' (sitzartigen Einarbeitungen), and W. Reichel goes so far as to call them 'rock-thrones' (Felsthrone). The principal deities worshipped at an early date in this 'agera of the gods' were clearly Zeus and Koures. Not improbably—as E. Maass has argued—Koures was a cult-epithet of Zeus himself. If so, the Curetic cult of Thera was analogous to the Curetic cult of Crete. In this connexion a dedication of hair to the Dymanian nymphs is noteworthy. Moreover, it can hardly be accidental that the same site was later occupied by the Gymnasium of the éphèboi. It is likely too that the cult stood in some relation to the adjoining grotto, where warm currents of moist air issue from two holes in the rock-wall and an intermittent roar—perhaps that of the sea far below—can be faintly heard. The explorers' workmen would not risk sleeping in the cave. If it was to the Kouretes of Thera what the Dictaeans and Idaean caves were to the Kouretes of Crete, we may legitimately suspect that it once contained a throne of Zeus.

2 Inscr. Gr. ins. iii Suppl. no. 1316 Zeus Μπιξο εως | περι Πολυ|ξεο|p.
3 F. Hiller von Gaertringen on Inscr. Gr. ins. iii nos. 350—393.
5 W. Reichel Über vorhellenische Götterculte Wien 1897 p. 31.
6 On the deities named in the rock-inscriptions of Thera see F. Hiller von Gaertringen Die archaische Kultur der Insel Thera Berlin 1897 p. 17 ff. and Die Insel Thera i. 149 ff., iii. 63 ff.
7 E. Maass in Hermes 1890 xxv. 406 n., taking Κουφής to be for Κουφόφως (which is improbable) and comparing Apollo Apollas of Teos (Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 445 'Απόλλωνος | Κουφήν | Πολυδόν | καὶ Φαιειδί, cp. Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 807 = Bull. Corr. Hell. 1880 iv. 168).
8 Cp. supra pp. 15, 104 ff.
9 H. Usener in F. Hiller von Gaertringen Die Insel Thera i. 149 n. 34 compared the κουφής of Thera with the πρωτοκόφης of Ephesos and most ingeniously suggested that the enigmatic personage Δεστερός may have been the 'second' in command of a band of human κουφής. I incline, however, to think that Δεστερός means 're-born' (βενερότηριος) and is an epithet of Kouphes, the youthful Zeus.
10 Inscr. Gr. ins. iii no. 377 [Δ][ε][σ][θ] | [Νέιο]βρα | κό(ο)(α)|β = Collitz-Bechtel ib. no. 4741. See F. Hiller von Gaertringen Die Insel Thera i. 284.
11 Id. ib. i. 33 ff., 389 ff., iii. 115 ff.
12 Append. B Crete.
The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus

Between Megara and Eleusis lies the mountain-range of Kerata. The highest of its four peaks (1527 ft)—as Prof. A. Milchhöfer first noted—is thought by the peasants of Megara to have been the spot whence Xerxes on his throne watched the battle of Salamis. Since the site agrees with Akestophoros' description, W. Reichel twice visited it in order to verify Milchhöfer's report. At the south-east corner of the little plateau that crowns the topmost peak he found an isolated rock partially hewn into the shape of a seat with rounded back and projecting footstool (fig. 108). The seat commands a wide view, but is so placed that one sitting on it would face north and look directly away from Salamis! Reichel concludes that it is a very ancient mountain-throne, to which in popular belief the story of Xerxes has become attached.

In an angle of the Mouseion Hill at Athens there are no less than seven such seats (figs. 109-110). Carefully cut in the rock along one side of a platform or terrace, with a single step in front of them, they give the impression of being a row of seats

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1 See W. Reichel Über vorhellenische Götterculte Wien 1897 p. 21.
4 The actual throne was a golden chair (Akestophoros loc. cit.) with silver feet, preserved on the Akropolis at Athens (Dem. in Timocr. 129 with schol.) in the Parthenon (Harpokr. τὐν ἀργοκόρον δίφωνον).
5 E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert Atlas von Athen Berlin 1878 p. 19f. description, plan, and section; pl. 6, 4 view.

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C.
for judges or the like, forerunners perhaps of the Council on the Areiopagos. They are about two hundred yards from the rock-cut niche in the Pnyx where Zeus Ἰὑπσίστος was worshipped. It seems possible, therefore, that we have here an open-air tribunal at which decisions were delivered under the inspiration of Zeus. In fact, I incline to identify the seven seats with the so-called 'Seats of Zeus,' the place at Athens where, according to old tradition, Athena when she contended with Poseidon for possession of the Akropolis, begged Zeus to give his vote for her, promising on her part to sacrifice the first victim on the altar of Zeus Polieus.

At Phalasarna in western Crete three sandstone thrones are hewn in the lower slopes of a coast-hill near the necropolis. The best-preserved of them was described by R. Pashley in 1837 as 'a great chair—cut out of the solid rock: the height of the arms above the seat is two feet eleven inches; and its other dimensions are in proportion.' But the most interesting feature of this throne, the pillar carved on the inner surface of its back, was first observed and drawn by L. Savignoni and G. de Sanctis in 1901 (figs. 111,

1 Infra Append. B.
3 R. Pashley Travels in Crete Cambridge and London 1837 ii. 64 fig. Cp. T. A. B. Spratt Travels and Researches in Crete London 1865 ii. 234 f. fig. (‘the monolith bema of Phalasarna’).
If we may press the analogy of other Cretan pillar-cults, the divine occupant of the throne was either Rhea or Zeus.

(c) The Mountain as the Birth-place of Zeus.

The Zeus-legends that clung about the mountain-tops related to the birth or infancy of the god, his marriage-unions, his sons, and his death.


3 A. J. Evans loc. cit. pp. 163 ff., 170 ff. Cp. *infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (θ) and, for the association of a pillar with the throne of Zeus, *supra* p. 34 f.

Recently A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1911 xlv. 341 ff. has drawn attention to Hesych. Ἐλλάς καθάρα. Δάκων, καὶ Δόσ ἤρων ἐν Δωδώνῃ. He points out that ἐλλάς (for *έλλα*, as *sella* for *σέλλα*) is 'ein uraler Wort,' which survived in Laconian till late times, cp. Hesych, καιρός καθάρα, and suggests that Dodona was called 'Ελλάς as being the 'Seat' or 'Throne' of Zeus. In support of this view he
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Zeus Kretagénés (figs. 113, 114, 115) or Kretogenés was 'Born in Crete,' his birth being located first in a cave of Mount Dikte (on

Fig. 113.

Fig. 114.

Fig. 115.


1 J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crette ancienne Macon 1890 i. 194 no. 45 pl. 18, 2 a copper of Hierapytna struck by Augustus (Gotha) with head of Zeus to right wearing fillet and legend ΤΑΝ ΚΡΗΤΑΙΕΝΗΣ ΕΠΑ (fig. 113), ib. i. 284 no. 52 pl. 20, 30 a copper of Polyhrenion struck by Augustus (Paris) with laureate head of Zeus to right, thunderbolt below, and legend ΤΑΝ ΚΡΗΤΑΙΕΝΗΣ ΠΟΛΥΕΡΕΙ (fig. 114), ib. i. 342 no. 45 pl. 33, 10 a copper of Crete in general struck by Titus (Paris and Vienna) with a nude Zeus erect, thunderbolt in raised right hand, chlamys round left arm, surrounded by seven stars and legend ΖΕΤΩ ΚΡΗΤΑΙΕΝΗΣ (fig. 115), Head Hist. num. II pp. 469-475, 479. Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus pp. 107, 216 Münztaf. 1, 38, 3, 19, cp. Svoronos in the Eph. 'Aph. 1893 p. 203 f. pl. 1, 8; Lebas-Waddington Asie Mineure no. 394 (cp. no. 406) Mylas=Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 473, 10 sklēs Δωδώνη Κρήτας ζηρόν καὶ Κορηήν, cp. W. Jädelich in the Ath. Mitth. 1889 xiv. 395; Steph. Byz. I. v. Γάζα... καὶ Μίνα, δῆ τις Μίνας τοις δήθεν δί καὶ Ριπαμάνες οὗτος καὶ αὐτοῦ τάχυν ἐκάλος, ἀπ' Της Κρηταίας Δώδη παρ' αὐτοῦ εἶναι, δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕμας ἐκάλους Μαρώνας, εἰρηκονδοὶ Κρηταγένης, τοῖς παρθένοις γὰρ φήμω Κρήτης προσαγερεύοντι Μαρώνας (παρεις κτ.) T. E. Schmidt in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1863 xii. 220, Marcus Diaconus v. Porphyrii episcopi Gazænsis 64 (Abb. d. Berlin. Akad. 1874 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 199, 22 ff.) ἤταν δὲ ἐν τῷ πόλει ναυτικοῦ εἰσόδου δημόσιον ὁ καθ' τὸν Ἕλλην καὶ τοῦ Ἀρκαδοῦ καὶ τῆς Κρήτης καὶ τῆς Κατάρας καὶ τῶν ἔρημων ἀριθμῶν καὶ τῆς τῆς Παράκλητος καὶ τῆς Μαρώνας καὶ τῶν ἐκαλούς τόπων (Σταύρων Μ. Χαρίτου), καὶ τοῦ Μαρώνας, δὲ Παράκλητος τῷ κράτε. γένοι. (Κρηταγένης M. Χαρίτου) Δώδης, δὲ ἐσόμενον δὲ ἐν Κρήτας πάντων τῶν ἐργῶν τῶν ἀριθμῶν τοῖς, μετατρέποντας τὴν Χρήσιν καὶ τῶν Χρήσεως τῶν Κρηταγένεσι καὶ τῶν Ἡρώων καὶ Χρήσεως κτ.λ. = Collitz-Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. iii. 2, 333 ff. no. 5075, 73.

2 Corp. inscr. Gr. ii. no. 2554, 176 ff. (oath between Latos and Olous) διμήντος τῶν Ἡρώων καὶ τῶν Χρήσεως τῶν Κρηταγένεσι καὶ τῶν Ἡρώων κτ.λ. = Collitz-Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. iii. 2. 333 ff. no. 5075, 73.

2 Append. B Crete.
The Mountain as the Birth-place of Zeus

which he is said to have built a city\(^1\) and, later\(^2\), in a cave high up on the side of Mount Ide\(^3\). Both districts had strange stories to tell of the way in which the divine child had been nurtured by doves or bees, a goat or a pig, while Kouretes and Korybantes clashed their weapons to drown his cries (figs. 116, 117)\(^4\). But Lydia


\(^2\) There is evidence that the cult of the Dictaean cave was in time superseded by that of the Idaean cave. 'With very rare and sporadic exceptions, the Dictaean antiquities do not come down lower than the Geometric period, i.e., probably the opening of the eighth century B.C.' (D. G. Hogarth in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1899—1900 vi. 113). Further, a treaty between Lyttos and Olous (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 no. 549 b, 5 = Collitz-Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. iii. 2. 380 f. no. 5147 b, 5) makes the Lyttians swear by Ζεὺς Οἶνος, Zeus of Idæa, while another inscription (ib. iii. 2. 301 ff. no. 5024, 22 f.) mentions a temple of Ζεὺς τὸ βαθάρως on the frontier of Prieans; Lyttos and Prieans are so near to Mt Dikte that, had the Dictaean cult still been flourishing, Zeus would presumably have been invoked as Δίκτανος, not Bâðar (R. C. Bosanquet in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1908—1909 xv. 349).

\(^3\) Append. B Crete.

\(^4\) Von Rohden-Winnefeld Antt. Terrakotten iv. 1. 8 f., following E. Braun (Mon. d. Inst. iii pl. 17, Ann. d. Inst. 1840 xii. 141 ff. pl. K), distinguish two types of terra-cotta reliefs: (1) the Caeretan type shows the infant Zeus in the arms of a female seated on a throne with two Kouretes to right and left; the best example is in the Ny Carlsberg collection (Antt. Terrakotten pl. 10). (2) The Roman type, referable to the Augustan age, shows the infant Zeus seated on a rock and introduces a third Koure; the best
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was prepared to dispute with Crete the honour of having been his birth-place\(^1\): Mount Sipylos\(^2\), Mount Tmolos (fig. 118)\(^3\), and Mount Messogis (figs. 119, 121)\(^4\) were in that respect rivals of Dikte

and Ide. It is probable that the legends of Zeus' birth and infancy were localised on the mountains of Phrygia also; for coins of Akmonia (figs. 122, 123)\(^5\), Apameia (fig. 124)\(^6\), Laodikeia on the

example is in the British Museum (Ant. Terracotta pl. 25, cp. pl. 135 a variant of the second century in the Louvre).

I figure two specimens of the second type: (a) fig. 116 (after O. Bensdorf in the Jahrb. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1892 v. 151 f. fig. 38) a fragment of terra-cotta, the design of which differs in some respects from that of the reliefs enumerated by Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 336 f. Atlas pl. 4, 4: the infant is named ZEYC and is seated on a rock with a wingless thunderbolt behind him.—(b) Fig. 117 the corresponding part of the above-mentioned relief from Cervetri (?) acquired by the British Museum in 1891 (Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 379 no. D 501 pl. 39, H. B. Walters The Art of the Romans London 1911 p. 136 pl. 58): the inscription is here ZEY[C].

\(^1\) Lyd. de mens. 4, 71 p. 123, 12 ff. Wünsch.

\(^2\) Append. B Lydia.

\(^3\) The coin of Tralleis here figured for the first time (fig. 119) is at Paris (Mionnet Descr. de méd. ant. Suppl. vii. 471 no. 715): I am indebted to M. Babelon for the cast from which my illustration was made. ...ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ and ΔΙΟΓΩΝΑΙ.

\(^4\) The coin of Tralleis here figured for the first time (fig. 119) is at Paris (Mionnet Descr. de méd. ant. Suppl. vii. 471 no. 715): I am indebted to M. Babelon for the cast from which my illustration was made. ...ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ and ΔΙΟΓΩΝΑΙ.


Lykos (fig. 129), and Synnada (fig. 120), represent Zeus as a babe nursed by Rhea with the goat beside him and the Kouretes grouped around. To judge from a coin of Maonia (fig. 125), a similar tale was told of some mountain in the volcanic region known as Katakekaumene. And an almost identical type occurring at

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1 Mionnet Descr. de méd. ant. iv. 330 nos. 781, 782, Overbeck Gr. Kunsthym. Zeus p. 336, F. Imhoof-Blumer in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1888 iii. 290 pl. 9, 19, W. M. Ramsay op. cit. ii. 432 f. pl. 1, 3: a copper struck by Caracalla (Venice, alb.) showing a similar group with three Kouretes, an eagle above, the genius of the town with a steering-paddle, and two river-gods, the Kapros and the Lykos.


3 Eckel Doctr. num. vet. iii. 160 notes that, according to the author of the Sibylline books, the new-born Zeus was entrusted to three Cretans to be reared in Phrygia (vrand. Sib. 3. 138 ff. Geffcken).

The Mountain as the Birth-place of Zeus

Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos (figs. 126, 127) may have reference to the Corycian Cave in Mount Korykos. It is not, however, certain that the child seated on a throne and surrounded by dancing Kouretes is Zeus, at least in the ordinary acceptance of that name. It may be that the Greeks would rather have termed him Dionysos; for a coin of the Ionian Magnesia (fig. 128) shows

Fig. 128.

the same childish figure seated in like manner on a princely seat with a covered basket and snake visible beneath it. But we have not yet exhausted the list of mountains where Zeus was said to

1 Imhoof-Blumer Kleinas. Münzen ii. 484 no. 13 pl. 18, 21 a copper struck by Caracalla ΚΕΛΕΥΧΕΩΝ | ΤΩΝ | ΠΡΟ[Κ] ΚΑΛΑΚΚ.


4 Imhoof-Blumer Gr. Münzen p. 121 no. 318 pl. 8, 33 a copper struck by Caracalla (Paris) with legend ΕΠΙ Γ · Μ · ΑΨ · ΒΑΛΟΥ · ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ · and ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ.

5 Cp. Imhoof-Blumer ib. p. 126 ff. no. 314 pl. 8, 34, no. 316 pl. 8, 32, no. 317, no. 318 pl. 8, 31, no. 318 a.


Another relief (E. Gerhard Antike Bildwerke München Stuttgart & Tübingen 1828—1844 p. 348 pl. 104, 1), said to be in the Vatican (but see F. Matz in the Ann. d.Inst. 1870 xliii. 100 n. 3), represents him seated on a shield, while Kouretes clash their weapons about him: to the right a snake crawls out of a half-open basket on the lid of which a goat-footed Pan is stamping; beyond Pan is a shaggy Silenos.
have been born. Pergamon\(^1\) certainly, and possibly Mount Ide in the Troad\(^2\), were of the number. Among the Greek islands Naxos had its own story of the birth of Zeus\(^3\), connected perhaps with Mount Drios\(^4\). Kronos was said to have swallowed the stone that Rhea gave him instead of Zeus at Chaironeia in Boiotia, on a rocky height called Petrachos\(^5\): Thebes too claimed to be the birth-place of Zeus\(^6\) and could point to a place that took its name from the event\(^7\). In Messenia local piety declared that Zeus had been, if not born, at least brought up by the nympha upon the summit of Mount Ithome\(^8\). But of all the non-Cretan districts Arkadia had established the strongest claim to be considered the cradle of Zeus\(^9\): here on Mount Thaumasion Kronos had swallowed the stone\(^10\), and here on Mount Lykaion Zeus was born\(^11\) and reared\(^12\).

(d) The Mountain as the Marriage-place of Zeus.

The union of Zeus with Hera was likewise referred by the Greeks to a variety of mountain-tops. The Iliad in a passage of more than usual beauty describes how the two slept together on a peak of the Trojan Ide:

So Kronos' son, and clasped his bride to his breast.
Beneath them Earth divine made grass to grow
New-nurtured, and the dewy lotus-bloom,
Crocus and hyacinth, thick and soft withal,
Which raised them from the ground. Thereon they lay,
And o'er them spread a cloud magnificent
And golden: glittering dew-drops from it fell.
Thus slumbered still the Sire on Gargaros' height,
Vanquished by sleep and love, his wife in his arms\(^13\).

1 Append. B Mysia.
2 Prop. 3. 1. 27 Idaeum Simoenta Iovis cunabula parvi—if that is the right reading of the line, and if Propertius is not guilty of confusing Mt Ide in the Troad with Mt Ide in Crete.
3 Aglaosithenes Naxica frasg. 1, 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 293 Müller).
5 Ib. Boiotia.
6 Lyk. Al. 1194 with schol. and Tzetz. ad loc.
8 Append. B Messene.
9 See e.g. Clem. Al. probr. 2. 26. 1 p. 20. 30ff. Stählin, Cie. de nat. deor. 3. 53, Ampel. 9. 1.
10 Steph. Byz. s.v. Θαυμάσιος, Paus. 8. 36. 2 f.
11 Kallim. H. Zeus 4 ff., Strab. 348, Paus. 8. 36. 2. Zeus was washed at his birth in the cold waters of the river Lousios (Paus. 8. 36. 2), and swaddled at Geraistion (et. mag. p. 237, 44 f.).
12 Paus. 8. 38. 2 f.
Mount Taygeton as seen from Sparta.

[Mount Taleton is the highest point towards the southern (left-hand) end of the range.]
The Mountain as Marriage-place of Zeus

Others named Mount Oche in Euboia, Mount Kithairon in Boiotia, Mount Kokkygion in Argolis, as the scene where Zeus took Hera for his bride. It was said too that Zeus met Semele on Mount Sipylos, that he consorted with Leto in a shady nook and natural bower on Mount Kithairon, that he seduced Kallisto in the neighbourhood of Mount Lykaion, that he carried off Europe to his cave in Mount Dikte. He formed liaisons, moreover, with more than one mountain-goddess or mountain-nymph. Mount Agdós, a rocky summit of Galatia, bore to him a bisexual child Agdistis, about whom one of the wildest and most archaic of all Greek tales was told. According to the Orphic cosmogony, the original rulers of ‘snowy Olympos’ were Ophion and the Oceanid Eurynome: the former gave place to Kronos, the latter to Rhea, who in their turn were eclipsed by Zeus. But Eurynome became by Zeus the mother of the Charites and of Asopus the river-god. Again, the ancient systematisers of mythology, who recognised five different Athenas, distinguished one as the daughter of Zeus and Koryphe, adding that this, the fourth, Athena was identical with the inventress of four-horse chariots, whom the Arcadians called Kore. Pausanias speaks of the Arcadian temple of Athena Kore as standing on the koryphé or ‘peak’ of a mountain. It is, therefore, practically certain that in Arkadia Zeus was paired with a mountain-goddess or mountain-nymph named Koryphe. Another of his amours was with Taygete, Atlas’ daughter, of whom was born Lakedaimon, the eponym of the Lacedaemonians. But Taygete was herself the eponym of Mount Taygeton, the fine range which stretches some seventy miles from Belbina to Tainaron and culminates in Mount Taleton (7902 feet) above Sparta (pl. xiv). Colonel Mure says of this majestic mountain-mass: ‘Whether from

1 Append. B Euboia, Boiotia, Argolis.
2 Ib. Lydia.
3 Euseb. proep. ev. 3. 1. 3.
4 Pseudo-Eratosth. catast. 1. 8, schol. Arat. phaen. 91.
5 Append. B Crete.
6 Ib. Galatia.
8 Hes. theog. 997, Paus. 9. 35. 5, Orph. h. Char. 60. 1 ff.
9 Apollod. 3. 12. 6.
10 Cic. de nat. deor. 3. 59; cp. Clem. Al. propr. 2. 28. 2 p. 21. 1 f. Stühlin, who states that the fourth Athena was the daughter of Zeus and derived her Messenian title of Kepopásia from her mother.
11 Paus. 8. 21. 4.
12 Schol. Pind. Ol. 3. 53.
13 Hellanikos fragg. 56 (Fragr. hist. Gr. i. 52 Müller) ap. schol. Il. 18. 486, Apollod. 3.
14 Paus. 3. 1. 2.
The Mountain as Marriage-place of Zeus

its real height, from the grandeur of its outline, or the abruptness of its rise from the plain, (it) created in my mind a stronger impression of stupendous bulk and loftiness than any mountain I have seen in Greece, or perhaps in any other part of Europe. Here surely was a mountain-bride worthy of Zeus himself. Pelasgos, the forefather of the Pelasgians, was, according to one account, the son of Zeus by Larissa, whose name repeatedly occurs as that of a Pelasgian burgh or rock-fortress. And lastly a Sicilian myth told how Aitne, the name-sake of Mount Aitne, had been embraced by Zeus and then, through fear of Hera, hidden away in the Earth till she bore twin sons, the Palikoi, whose strange volcanic springs still interest travellers that visit the Lago dei Palici near the town of Palagonia.

Mountain-eponyms were either female or male. Zeus not only consorted with the former, but also became the father of the latter. Thus Garagaros Geraistos, Olympos (?), Solymos, Tinaros, were all regarded as his sons. Atlas, the supporter of the sky, who as early as the middle of the fifth century B.C. was identified with a great mountain in north-western Africa, was, according to one genealogy, the son of Zeus. A daughter of Atlas named Plouto bore to the same god Tantalos, whose name was given to

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1 W. Mure Journal of a Tour in Greece Edinburgh and London 1842 ii. 221.
2 Serv. in Verg. Aen. i. 624: cp. Rufin. recognit. 10. 23, who makes Tityos the son of Zeus ex Larisse...Orchomeni, unless we should read ex (E)lar(is), as O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 940 suggests on the strength of Pherekydes frag. 5 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 71 Müller) ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 761 = Eudok. viol. 338 and Apollod. i. 4. 1, Eustath. in Od. p. 1581, 56 ff.
3 A. Fick Vorgriechische Ortsnamen Göttingen 1925 Index p. 165 x. v. Δάφνα, Δάφνειας πέτρας.
4 Append. B Sicily.
5 ib. Troas.
6 ib. Euboia.
7 De-Vit Onomasticon iii. 729 without citing his source. If this was the epigram in Oros. 4. 1. 14 pater optime Olympi, it is far from convincing, since Olympus may be merely a poetic term for the gods collectively (see Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 857).
8 Append. B Pisidia.
9 ib. Lakonike.
10 Hdt. 4. 184: see also Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 2119.
11 Rufin. recognit. 10. 25.
a mountain in Lesbos and whose town was situated on an almost inaccessible crag of Mount Sipylos.

The remarkable tradition, current in the vicinity of Mount Olympos, that heaven and earth once met upon the summit will be discussed in another connexion.

(c) The Mountain as the Burial-place of Zeus.

The Cretans declared that Zeus was a prince, who had been ripped up by a wild boar and buried in Crete,—an assertion which is supposed to have earned them their traditional reputation as liars. Numerous writers of Hellenistic and Byzantine times mention the tomb of Zeus as an object of interest in Crete, though they do not agree as to its exact locality. Ennius places it at Knossos, Varro and Porphyrios on Mount Ide, Nonnos on the top of Mount Dikte. Conceivably more districts than one had a local legend of Zeus dead and buried on a mountain. His tomb

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1 Steph. Byz. s.v. Τάφων, cp. s.v. Πάνω.
2 Supra p. 137 ff.
3 My friend Dr J. Rendel Harris 'The Cretans always Liars' in the Expositor 1906 pp. 305–317 cites from the Gannat Butumé or ‘Garden of Delights’ (a Nestorian commentary on Scripture full of extracts from Theodore of Mopnustia etc.) the following note on Acts 17. 28: "In Him we live and move and have our being." The Cretans used to say of Zeus, that he was a prince and was ripped up by a wild boar, and he was buried: and lo! his grave is with us. Accordingly Minos, the son of Zeus, made over him a panegyric and in it he said: "A grave have fashioned for thee, O holy and high One, the lying Cretans, who are all the time liars, evil beasts, idle bellies; but thou diest not, for to eternity thou livest, and standest; for in thee we live and move and have our being." Dr Rendel Harris suggests that the panegyric in question may be the poem by Epimenides of Minos and Rhadamanthus (Diog. Laert. 1. 112) and cp. Kallim. Ζεὺς 8 f. Κρήτης δεί χειρέσσει: καὶ γὰρ τόφον, ὃ δύνα, σείο | Κρήτης ἐκκαθαρεῖ. σοι ἐστιν ἔλεος, ἐστιν γὰρ άτελ. Another explanation of the proverb is given in Athenodoros of Eretria frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 345 Muller): cp. also Io. Malal. chron. 4 p. 88 Dindorf.

6 Enn. sacr. hist. ap. Lact. div. inst. 1. 11.
7 Varr. ap. Solin. 11. 7.
9 Nonn. Dion. 8. 114 ff.
The Mountain as the Burial-place of Zeus

appears to have been marked by a stone¹, and to have borne an inscription, which is variously recorded². In the first century of our era Pomponius Mela says that the tomb with its inscribed name affords 'hardly a clear trace of Zeus who is there buried³.' But a thousand years later Michael Psellus notes the legend as still living, and relates that the Cretans show a hill or cairn above the grave of Zeus⁴. Buondelmonti, who visited Mount Juktas in 1415, speaks of a cave on the right hand side of a road leading thither and states that at the upper end of the cave is the tomb of Zeus bearing an illegible inscription⁵. Belon in 1555 reports that the sepulchre of Jupiter as described by the ancients is yet to be seen on the mountain of the Sphagiotes⁶. Modern travellers have the same tale to tell. When R. Pashley visited Crete in 1834, he stayed at Arkhanes on the eastern side of Mount Juktas. ¹ I was

¹ Loukan. Ιππ. τριγ. 45.
² Ενν. loc. cit. ZAN ΚΡΟΝΟΣ, Chrysost. loc. cit. εν αυτῇ Ζαυ κείται οῦ Δία κυκλόσκευειν. Porph. loc. cit. ΠΘΕΑΙΟΡΑΣ Τῇ ΔΙῴ followed by an epigram beginning ὢδε θανὼς κεύεις Ζαύ ὀν Δία κυκλόσκευειν (Kyrill. cites it with μέσα for θανὼς), schol. Kallim. h. Ζεύς 8 Μύσος τοῦ Δίῳ τάφος with the first word obliterated through age, Kidren. loc. cit. ἐνθάδε κεύεις θανὼς Πίτου ὁ καὶ Ζεύς (Soudi. reads Πίθος).
³ Mel. 2 112.
⁵ E. Legrand Description des îles de l'Archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti Paris 1897 i. 148 f. = Christophorus Bondelmontius description Cretae: 'Versus autem trinemon per tria milia iuxta viam eumdem ad montem Jurtam (Iuctam Legrand) ad dexteram spileum in saxo parvo ore est, cuius longitudo xli, latitudo vero iv passuum, in cuius capite sepulcrum Iovis maximi est cum litteris deletis. Haec autem spelenca in durissimo silice fabricata sine aliqua figura; super eundem tumulum, magna circum aedification quasi per quartin in circuitu unius milliaris hodie per totum campum frumentum et prata crescent. Post hoc ecce ad meridiem viam capiendo ad montem hodie Jurtam (Iuctam Legrand) devenitur per periculosissimum viam. Hic Mons a longe facie effigiem habet, in cuius fronte templum Iovis usque ad fundamenta deletum inuentur; in naso tres ecclesiae sunt congregae, silicet Salvatoris, Pandon Aghion, id est ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum, et Sancti Georgii. Versus austrum, prope Iudeum montem, ubi est barba, sub monte atro, Tegrimium castrum inexpugnabile videtur, et prope ipsum est tus Sancti Basili amplissimum. Ab alia parte, versus orientem, planum est bachi fertilissimum Archanes nomine, in quo plura et ampla rura manent. Versus trinemon, in radicibus montis hunc monasterium Dominarum existit.' Id. ib. i. 20 f. = Christophorus Bondelmontius per τῶν νῆσων 11 'Ἀποθανὼς δὲ (εἰς ὃ Ζεὺς) ἥθανται τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώμα ἐγένετο τοῦ φρουρίου του καλομένου Αδαμαρα, εἰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ μεγάς αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἀποθεοτυκής. Ἐπὶ ταῦτῃ τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ὅτι ἐκ τῆς Δίῳ ταύτῃ οἰκωμενίᾳ, per δὲ τοῖς πρόσοδοις αὐτῶν πρὸ τοῦ ἄρτι κυρίων, ὡς ὁ Πιστολοικός διαλαμβάνει, σπηλαίων χερος κατακαταρισμοῖν εὑρίσκεται, λεκκόν δελόν, τεσσαράκτια πέχεσι τὸ μίκρο, καὶ τὸ πλέον τεσσάροι, στῶμα ἔχων στερνό. Ἐν γούν τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῖς τάφῳ Δίῳ τοῦ μεγάλου, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑκακολαμβανοῦν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιτράπετο, ὡς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὡθε ἐπιθαμβηθοῦν, ἐγορμηθει εὐρίσκεται. Ἐκ τοῦ δὲ τοῦ σπηλαίων οἰκοδομοῖ τοῦ ἵππῳ μεγάς καταφαίνεται.'
of course anxious,' he says\(^1\), 'to hear something of the sepulchre of Zeus; but it was in vain that I inquired of my host...for any cave on the mountain. He knew of nothing of the kind; and all that I could learn from him was that, about a mile off, there is a fountain with an inscription on it. When I had thus failed in obtaining any information about the cave, I said, rather meaning to tell him an old story, than supposing that I should learn any thing, that one Zeus, a god of the Hellenes, was said to have been buried there; and that it was his tomb that I wished to see\(^2\). I had pronounced the very name by which a place on the summit of the mountain is known to all the people in the neighbourhood, although only a few shepherds have ever seen it. My host had never heard it called by any other name than the tomb of Zeus, and therefore had not understood me at first, when I inquired after a cave.... I found, as a guide up the mountain, a shepherd, who had become acquainted with the tomb of Zeus in tending his flock. A good hour was spent in reaching the summit, towards the northern

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\(^1\) R. Pashley *Travels in Crete* Cambridge 1837 i. 211 ff.

\(^2\) *Id. ib. i. 211 n. 2* says: 'Τοῦ Δία τὸ μνημεῖον, or τοῦ Δία τὸ μνήμα, were my words,' N. G. Politis Παραθέσει Athens 1904 i. 97 no. 174 gives the name in actual use as 'τοῦ Δία τὸ μνήμα.'
extremity of which I observed foundations of the massive walls of a building the length of which was about eighty feet. Within this space is an aperture in the ground, which may perhaps once have led into a moderate-sized cave; but, whatever may have been its former size, it is now so filled up, that a man cannot stand in it, and its diameter is not above eight or ten feet.'

In 1899 Mr A. Taramelli published a sketch-plan of Mount Juktas (fig. 130), marking a grotto near its southern summit and the precinct-wall on its northern summit. The grotto is a natural cavern facing west and known as the Nostò Nerò. It is about six metres from front to back and has two small fissures running left and right into the rock (fig. 131). The earth on the floor of the cavern, perhaps a metre in depth, has yielded terra cotta figures of animals and fragments of pottery. The precinct-wall forms an irregular square of 'Cyclopean' masonry (fig. 132). On the north, where it rises to an average height of three metres and at a few points to five metres (fig. 133), there seems to have been a gateway.

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1 A. Taramelli in the Mon. d. Linec. 1899 ix. 350 fig. 23.
2 Id. ib. 1899 ix. 357 fig. 27.
3 My friend Prof. R. C. Bosanquet writes (June 9, 1911): 'There is a cave on Mt Juktas, a long narrow cleft, into which I have crawled and in which I have found Hellenic pottery. It is on the left of the present path from Arkhanais to the peak on which Evans has begun to explore a Minoan sanctuary. There was a monastery of some importance on the peak in Buondelmonti's time; he obtained a manuscript from it. See Legrand's edition of B. (preface, I think) [É. Legrand op. cit. p. xxv Anno Domini M.CCCC.XV, v mensis septembri, ego presbyter Christoforus de Buondel- montibus de Florentia eni hunc librum in monte Iucta in monasterio S. Salvadoris insula Cretae, hysperperis xii.].
4 A. Taramelli in the Mon. d. Linec. 1899 ix. 353 ff. fig. 25.
5 Id. ib. 1899 ix. 353 fig. 24.
The Mountain as the Burial-place of Zeus

To the south the wall abuts on a rocky elevation, which forms the highest peak of the mountain and shows clear traces of artificial cutting. Mr Taramelli, who notes 'scanty traces of a building in the middle of this precinct,' inclines to regard it as a stronghold. He found in it much broken pottery of various dates, including pieces of Minoan *pithoi*.

This account is confirmed by Sir Arthur Evans, who was told by Dr J. Hazzidakis, president of the Cretan Syllologos at Kandia and now ephor of antiquities, that the remains on the top of Mount Juktas are still known to the country folk as *Mnéma toû Zia*, 'the Tomb of Zeus.' Sir Arthur Evans himself explored the summit twice, and says: 'All that is not precipitous of the highest point of the ridge of Júktas is enclosed by a "Cyclopean" wall of large roughly oblong blocks, and within this enclosure, especially towards the summit, the ground is strewn with pottery dating from Mycenaean to Roman times, and including a large number of small cups of pale clay exactly resembling those which occur in votive deposits of Mycenaean date in the caves of Dikta and of Ida, also intimately connected with the cult of the Cretan Zeus. No remains of buildings are visible in this inner area, which tends to show that the

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1. *Id. ib. 1899* ix. 355. 'dalle sparse traccie di un edificio sorgente nel centro di questo recinto si può pensar ad un *temenos* fortificato, dove, in caso di pericolo, fosse possibile agli abitanti del piano di rifugiarsi e difendere le provviste ed i tesori del tempio,' etc.


3. *Ib. 1901* xxi. 121 f.
primitive enclosure was the temenos of a sanctuary, rather than a walled city. On the uppermost platform of rock, however, are remains of a building constructed with large mortarless blocks of which the ground-plan of part of two small chambers can be roughly traced. A little further on the ridge is the small church of Aphendi Kristos [sic], or the Lord Christ, a name which in Crete clings in an especial way to the ancient sanctuaries of Zeus and marks here in a conspicuous manner the diverted but abiding sanctity of the spot. Popular tradition, the existing cult, and the archaeological traces point alike to the fact that there was here a "holy sepulchre" of remote antiquity.

Mount Juktas is not the only Cretan locality that claims connexion with Zeus. A. Soutzo, writing in 1829, states that a village situated at the foot of Mount Ide is called Zoiilakkon, 'the Valley of Zeus,' and records the local tradition that the god, when he came to visit the summits of Ide, used to descend here. Soutzo adds that the inhabitants of the country still invoke Zeus by using the ejaculation 'Hear me, god Zinos!" This is confirmed

1 Sir Arthur Evans adds in a footnote: 'See Academy, June 20, 1896, p. 513. The eastern and western ranges of Dikta, the sites respectively of the Temple and Cave of Zeus, are known as the Aphendi Vouno, from ἈΦΕΝἀς Χρωτός, or "Christ the Lord." A votive deposit, apparently connected with some Zeus cult, on a peak of Lasethi is also known as Aphendi Christos. It is, perhaps, worth noting in this connexion that at "Minōān" Gasia Zeus Krētogenous was known as Marnas, a form of the Syrian word for "Lord." B. Schmidt Das Volkliche der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 27 thinks it possible that Efishy-bous, the local name for a high peak is the easternmost part of Crete (eparchy Siteia), has reference to a former cult of Zeus, and ib. n. 4 cites ᾲφαινας as the name of a summit in the eparchy of Lasithi. These are the 'eastern and western ranges' mentioned by Sir Arthur Evans.

2 A. Soutzo Histoire de la révolution grecque Paris 1829 p. 158 'D'après une tradition orale des Crétois, Jupiter avait coutume d'y descendre lorsqu'il venait visiter les sommets de l'Ida: c'est pour cette raison qu'on le nomme Ζοίλακκος, "vallée de Jupiter," et, ce qui n'est pas moins curieux, les indigènes du pays conservent encore l'invocation suivante de leurs ancêtres, corrompue par le temps Ηκατό μου Ζώε θεί! "Exauce-moi Jupiter!"


With Ζοίλακκος B. Schmidt op. cit. i. 27 n. 3 compares Σωσούλάκο (another name of the same village in the eparchy Mylopotamo), Ζού (in Siteia), Ζώρα (in Arkadia). The last of these has, he considers, most claim to be connected with Zeus.

I have failed to find either Ζοίλακκος or Σωσούλάκο on the Admiralty Chart of western Crete. There is, however, a Zutuliana in Mylopotamo, the position of which is approximately 24° 50' E. by 35° 18' N. Is this a third name of the same place? The German reduction of Capt. Spratt's map (Die Insel Candia oder Creta) marks Zutulako about 1½ miles S.W. of Axos.

On Mt Kefiro in the eparchy Amario is a field called Ζού κάμνος (N. G. Polites Παραδοσις Athens 1904 i. 98 no. 174).

4 With Ηκατό μου Ζώε θεί C. Wachsmuth cp. the Albanian oath περί τάν ζών. * By
Zeus superseded by Saint Elias

by A. Papadakes, who in 1879 reports that at Anoigea in Mylopotamo there is a place named Zov tò lakkko after the tomb of Zeus. The dwellers in the district, if troubled or displeased at what they hear, will sometimes throw up their hands and cry ‘Hear me, god Zònos!’ or ‘Hear me for the sake of God’s seat!’ or ‘for the sake of God’s throne!’ I. D. Kondylakes in 1896 gives their exclamation in the form ‘God Zònos’!

If these names are indeed to be connected with that of Zeus, they must be regarded as masculine forms corresponding with the feminine Díone⁶. In that case we should obtain a Greek parallel to the Latin Dianus, Diana.

(f) Zeus as a Mountain-god superseded by Saint Elias.

Apart from the tomb of Zeus in Crete, the surviving traces of these mountain-cults in the place-names of modern Greece are few in number.

In the centre of Naxos rises a conical mountain, 3737 feet in height, from the summit of which it is possible to count some twenty-two islands and to see on the horizon the mountain-chains of Asia Minor. This peak, known as Drios in ancient times, now bears the name Zia or Dia—a name which connects it not only

our Lord,’ or πορ τε ἑκών, ‘By the Lord, by God’ (Das alte Griechenland im neuen Bonn 1864 p. 50, J. G. von Hahn Albanische Studien Jena 1854 ii. 106, iii. 37).

The expressions θεός τῆς Κρήτης or ἄ θεος τῆς Κρήτης or γά το θεό τῆς Κρήτης, often used at Arachova on Mt Parnassos and elsewhere in the sense of ‘Tell that to the marines!’ are explained by B. Schmidt op. cit. i. 28 as a survival from the days when the Christians ridiculed the Cretan belief in a buried Zeus (Orig. c. Cels. 3. 43 καταγγέλλειν τὸν προσκυνητὸν τῷ Δίῳ, ἐκεί τάφον αὐτοῦ ἐν Κρήτῃ δείκνυμι).

¹ Prof. R. C. Bosanquet informs me that Anoigea is the nearest village to the Idaean Cave. It lies very high on Ida, and the natives, shepherds and snow-carriers, are different from their neighbours in dress, customs, etc.

² Ἡκών μου, Ζώνε θέος, or Ἡκών μου γά τα θανάτα τοῦ θεοῦ or γά το θάνατο τοῦ θεοῦ (N. G. Polites Paraphrasis Athens 1904 i. 97 f. no. 174, ii. 777 f.)


⁴ Zeus is paired with Dione at Dodona, and the oath πορ τῶν ζών is described as Albanian (supra p. 162 n. 4). The geographical coincidence is noteworthy.

My friend Mr R. M. Dawkins kindly tells me that a priori he would have expected the name Zeus to survive in modern Greek as Δάς. The acc. Δία would normally become Δία or Δάς, pronounced Δά or Δάς, whence a new nom. Δάς with gen. Δάς would be formed.

⁵ Smith Dict. Geogr. ii. 406.

⁶ Diod. 5. 51. See further A. Meliarakes Κοκλάδικα Athens 1874 p. 18 n. 51.

⁷ Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 298.

⁸ ḇ. v. 1709.
with Δία or Δίν, the early name of Naxos, but also with that of Zeus. Mr J. T. Bent describes the mountain as follows: ‘Its slopes, he says, ‘are rugged and covered with the holly oak (Ilex aquifolium), with the prickly leaves of which the peasants feed their cattle. We first climbed up to a steep cave, which goes deep into the heart of the mountain: at its entrance is an altar called the “church of Zia,” where a priest goes once a year in the summer time and holds a liturgy for the mountain shepherds; around it are a few incense pots and bits of wood which have been sacred pictures in days gone by. At this altar a shepherd is accustomed to swear to his innocence if another charges him with having stolen a sheep or a goat. An oath by the altar of Zia is held very sacred by the mountaineers, and is an earnest of innocence. It is curious still to find the actual word [Zeus] existing in this form.... The old myth related how the king of the gods was brought from his birthplace in Crete to Naxos, where he was brought up...is it not highly probable that this is the cave in which Zeus was supposed to have spent his youth? It runs a very long way into the rock, and we had it lighted up for us by brushwood, but it contains nothing remarkable, save a spring of hot water, which in ancient times may have given rise to superstition.’ Upon the northern slope of the mountain, beside a spring on the road towards Philoti, is a rough rock inscribed:

**ΟΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΣΜΗΛΑΣΙΟΥ**

The title Mélōsios is usually taken to denote ‘Guardian of sheep’ (mēla). It might, however, signify ‘Clad in a sheep-skin’ (melōtē); in which case the cult probably resembled that of Zeus Aktatos on

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1 Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 298, after L. Ross Keisen auf den griechischen Inseln des ägäischen Meeres Stuttgart and Tübingen 1840 i. 43.
2 Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. loc. cit. admits that Δία must be related to δῖος (on which see supra p. 3 f.).
4 Zeus in the form of an eagle came from Crete to Naxos, where he was nurtured. On reaching manhood he became king of the gods. When he set out from Naxos to attack the Titans, he offered sacrifice and received a good omen from an eagle, which appeared bringing him thunderbolts. He placed the bird among the stars (Aglaosthenes Naxiana frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 293 Müller) ap. pseudo-Eratosth. catast. 36, schol. Caes. Germ. Aratus p. 441, 19 ff. Eyssenhardt, Lact. div. inst. 1. 11, Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 16).
5 Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2418. J. T. Bent loc. cit. read the last word as ΜΗΛΑΣΙΟΤ and translates ‘the mountain of Milesian Jupiter!’ Cp. a conical stone at Korksna inscribed ΔΙΟΣ | ΜΗΛΑΣΙΟΤ (Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 1870=Collitz-Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. iii. 1. 100 no. 3215). There was also a precinct Δῖος | Ὀλυμπία in Naxos (Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2417).
6 O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2649.
Mount Pelion. Perhaps in the service of shepherds held once a year in the summer we may venture to find the continuation of a rite comparable with the procession of men clad in sheep-skins, which once a year in the summer ascended Mount Pelion.

Mount Zia in Naxos is sometimes called Ozia. This recalls Ozea, the modern name of Mount Parnes, which in classical times had more than one cult of Zeus upon it. But the history of these names needs further investigation.

More certainly connected with Zeus is Dia or Día, an island off the north coast of Crete, which has preserved its name in the forms Dia and Standa. Not far to the west of this island is Cape Dia, the Dion ákron of Ptolemaios, adjoining the now ruined town of Dion.

Lastly, a rock off the coast of Kephallonia is called Dias. In view of the famous cult of Zeus on the neighbouring Mount Ainos the name is significant. Nowadays there is a monastery on Dias; but it may have replaced a pagan sanctuary, and there are remains of an ancient building on the spot.

All told, these are but trifling relics of a once ubiquitous worship; and their very paucity demands an explanation. The recorded mountain-cults of Zeus number nearly one hundred. What—it may fairly be asked—has become of all the rest? The Nereids and Charon are still familiar figures in the imagination of the modern Greek peasant. Why has Zeus vanished from the land, leaving scarce a trace behind him? Fully to answer this question would be to survey afresh the whole field of Hellenic decadence. I must not attempt such a task even in barest outline, but content myself with indicating a few salient features of a region long since measured and charted by others.

Albrecht Dieterich in a brilliant essay published some years after his death sought to prove that the worship of the Olympians was shaken, if not overthrown, by the combined attack of three great movements. The first was what he terms a revolution from above—the rationalism of Greek philosophic thought, originating in the higher strata of society (a Thales here, a Kritias there) and gradually working its way downwards through the masses. The

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1 Infra ch. 1 § 6 (f) viii.
3 Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 298. Σταρβία = εἰς τὰν Διαν.
4 Ptol. 3. 17. 7.
5 Euseb. praep. ev. 5. 31. 2, Plin. nat. hist. 4. 59.
7 B. Schmidt op. cit. i. 28.
8 A. Dieterich Kleine Schriften Leipzig and Berlin 1911 pp. 449—539 'Der Untergang der antiken Religion.'
second was a revolution from beneath—the spiritual unrest and upheaval of the lower orders, which found expression in many an upward effort, the passionate cult of Dionysos with its rites of death and rebirth, the pure precepts of Orpheus bringing hopes of a bright hereafter, the Pythagorean propaganda eager to explain the true course of human life, the sacramental mysteries claiming to guard men’s souls through the grave itself. Thirdly there was a revolution from without—the influx of foreign faiths from Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, which in bewildering succession poured into the Mediterranean area till Mithraism, modified into the solar monotheism of Aurelian, seemed like to merge all other creeds in that of Sol Invictus, ‘the Unconquered Sun.’ These were indeed Titanic forces. But Zeus, who had vanquished the Titans, somehow still held his own. Philosophers, elaborating the presuppositions of popular belief, found it convenient to give the name of Zeus to their ultimate principle or at least to one of their cosmic elements. Again, points of contact between the Orpheo-Dionysiac rites and the religion of Zeus were not wanting. If Orpheus was priest of Dionysos, and if Dionysos was son of Zeus, a modus vivendi was after all not impossible. Further, the importers of strange cults from the east inevitably began by identifying their unfamiliar sanctities with the familiar gods and goddesses of Greece, and in an age of syncretism soon obtained recognition for various types of solar Zeus. In short, the Hellenic sky-god, thanks to his own all-embracing character, was not readily submerged by the rising waters of rationalism, mysticism, and orientalism.

The revolution from above, the revolution from beneath, the revolution from without, had alike ended in something of a compromise. Then for the first time—and here I desert the lead of Dieterich—came a revolution from within. It was in its essence a movement of great simplicity, nothing more than the response of human hearts to the call of Jesus Christ. Nothing more, but also nothing less. And that call, once heard, left no room for compromise. ‘They forsook all,’—we read—‘and followed him.’

Had they but continued as they began, the victory was already assured. There is a sound of coming triumph in the words

1 Supra p. 27 ff.
2 Supra pp. 104 ff., 153, alib.
3 Infra p. 186 ff.
4 Dieterich op. cit. p. 480 says ‘Die Revolution von unten ist zugleich aber auch eine Revolution von innen.’ That is in a sense true; and accordingly we find the nearest approaches to Christianity neither in the rationalism of Greece nor in the orientalism of Rome, but in the heart-felt aspirations of Orphic and Dionysiac devotees. It was by no accident that the art of the Catacombs repeated again and again the figure of Orpheus, or that the literature of the dark ages described the tragedy of Calvary in language borrowed from the Bacchantes of Euripides.
of Paul: 'The weapons of our warfare are not of the flesh, but mighty before God to the casting down of strong holds.' His converts should have gone on conquering and to conquer. But, alas for champions who knew not of what Spirit they were. Fain to reinforce that Spirit's sword, they turned aside to the old armoury of argument, altercation, and abuse. Pagan attacks were met by Christian counter-attacks, and the apologists with all their merits were in some cases men mainly remarkable for their erudition. As the new religion spread, matters were equalised externally and more than equalised: the persecuted became the persecutors. Gratian urged on by the influence of Ambrose began to plunder heathen temples for the benefit of Christian priests. Theodosios prohibited under the severest penalties the perpetuation of pagan worship. Justinian carried on and completed the outward victory. But meantime those who thus tried to secure an intellectual and temporal ascendency were shrewd enough to perceive that the scathing periods of church-fathers and even imperial mandates of extermination were powerless to suppress the long-standing rites of paganism. They concluded that definite substitutes must be found for the discredited objects of popular cult. And found they were. Indeed, it is not too much to say that in the fourth century of our era a momentous transformation was already in progress, by which Christian saints gradually usurped the position of pagan gods and demigods.

How far this process of substitution was due to deliberate policy and official action on the part of church or state, is a question hotly disputed, and in the comparative dearth of contemporary evidence hard to decide. A priori arguments of course are not wanting. On the one hand the great majority of Christians then, as now, were 'corrupted from the simplicity and the purity that is toward Christ.' Such persons presumably followed the dictates of worldly wisdom. On the other hand we have also to reckon with a cause less conspicuous than ecclesiastical interference, but

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1 The Christian apologists largely ignored the small fry of Greek mythology and saved their finest scorn for the inconsistencies and immoralities of Zeus: see e.g. Clem. Al. prodr. 2. 36; 2. 37; 4 p. 27, 19 ff. Stählin, Arnob. adv. nat. 5. 20—23. Firm. Mat. 17. 9—9. Rufin. recogn. 10. 20—23. Aug. epist. 5. de civ. Dei 4. 25, alibi.

2 See, however, Beda hist. eccles. 1. 30, Iou. epist. 78 Hertlein, Leo Magnus serm. 8. 9 cited by Miss M. Hamilton Greek Saints and Their Festivals Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 4 ff. Add cod. Theod. 16. 10. 3.

3 An instructive case is the proposed rebuilding of the Marneion at Gaza as a Christian church with the old pagan ground-plan: φιλοτείχεις φοινικών ου τινες κτισθέναι αὐτίν κατὰ τῷ θεῷ τού εἰσινείον (Marcus Diaconus v. Porphyr. episcopi Genseni 78) — a course eventually disallowed (infra ch. ii § 9 (g)).
even more potent—the incalculable force of old associations. These affected at once places, circumstances, and names. Men would resort to the familiar cult-centre and expect the new occupant of the shrine to bestow the customary blessing. Again, folk-tales, even if raised to the rank of myths by the sanction of literature, would readily attach themselves afresh to new heroes, provided that these in their doings and sufferings bore some resemblance to the old. Especially would Christian saints whose names happened to be derived from those of heathen deities tend to acquire powers and prerogatives properly belonging to the said deities. In these and other such ways the old order changed; or rather, the old order did not change, but at most submitted to a new nomenclature. Causation apart, the practical result was this: the old gods and goddesses, the old heroes and heroines, often with their precincts, their temples, and their very statues\(^1\), were re-christened and re-consecrated in the service of the new religion\(^2\). For a second time and in a subtler sense \textit{Gracia capta ferum victorem cepit}.

A few typical cases will be in point. At Byzantium the pagan twins Kastor and Polydeukes had been wont to cure the sick by means of incubation. The Christian twins Kosmas and Damianos followed suit, doing the same thing at the same place; indeed, unconverted Greeks are reported to have called them Kastor and Polydeukes and to have been solemnly rebuked by them for the very pardonable misnomer. These Christian Dioskouroi, like their pagan predecessors, appeared to persons imploring their aid as

\(^1\) Examples are collected by L. Friedländer \textit{Erinnerungen, Reden und Studien} Strassburg 1905 i. 320 ff., \textit{who inter alia} cites from E. Müntz \textit{Histoire de l'art pendant la renaissance} 1889 i. 21 a mediaeval misinterpretation of Jupiter with his eagle as John the Evangelist.

Zeus superseded by Saint Elias

horsemens, and even as stars[1]. Other cases are recorded by Ioannes Malalas[2]. After telling how the Argonauts founded at Kyzikos a temple of Rhea Mother of the gods, which the emperor Zenon transformed into a church of Mary Mother of God, he continues:

‘The Argonauts...were next attacked by Amykos, and fearing his might took refuge in a certain bay thickly covered with wildwood. Here they saw in a vision a man of dreadful aspect with wings as of an eagle on his shoulders, a spirit who came to them from the sky and announced that they should conquer Amykos. So they took heart and attacked him. Having conquered him they showed their gratitude by founding a sanctuary on the spot where they had beheld the vision and erecting there a statue of the spirit seen by them. They called the place or the sanctuary itself Sosthénéς, because they had fled thither and been saved; and the place still bears the name. When Byzantion had become the seat of empire, Constantine the Great saw this sanctuary, in fact he left home in order to restore it. Being now a Christian, he observed the statue standing there on its pillar and remarked that from the Christian point of view it looked like an angel in the garb of a monk. Awed by the place and its fame, he went to sleep there after praying that he might learn what angelic spirit the statue represented. He was told in a vision the name of the spirit, offered prayer towards the east, and called the place of prayer, or the locality, by the name of the holy archangel Michael.’ Again, one of the principal deities of Byzantion was, as we might have expected, Poseidon[3]. The emperor Justinian selected a spot on the Golden Horn and there built a church to Saint Priskos and Saint Nikolaos, laying the foundations of it actually in the water[4]. Similarly at the entrance to the harbour of Mykonos—another centre of Poseidon-worship[5]—stands a shrine of Saint Nikolaos, who calms the waves[6]. It may be supposed that in these and many other places the saint has succeeded to the god, but the continuity of the mariner’s cult remains unbroken. ‘There is no vessel, great or small, upon

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2 Io. Malal. chron. 4 p. 78 f. Dindorf. E. Maass ‘Boreas und Michael’ in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1910 xiii. 117 ff. argues that Σωσθήνης was a cult-epithet of Boreas, denoting the ‘Fresh’ north wind.
4 Procop. de aedificiis 1. 6 (iii. 193 Dindorf). The house of Basilides, a quaestor of Justinian, was also turned into a church of St Nikolaos (Codinus de aedificiis Constantinopolitans 62 b), who was in fact titular saint of four churches at Byzantion (C. d. F. Ducange Constantinopolis Christiana 4. 6. 67—70 p. 130 ed. Paris. 1680).
5 Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 7 no. 615, 8 ff. = Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 714, 8 ff.
6 N. G. Polites Melēτη χρί τοίς βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1871 i. 58 n. 4.
Greek waters,'—says Mr G. F. Abbott—'which has not the saint's icon in its stern, with an ever-burning lamp in front of it, or a small silver-plated picture of the saint attached to its mast. In time of storm and stress it is the name of St Nicholas that instinctively rises to the lips of the Greek mariner, and to him candles are promised, and vows registered. He is to the modern sailor all that Poseidon was to his ancestors.'

As in cult, so in legend pagan elements are still to be traced. Saint Niketas has a cavern with a painted roof by way of a chapel near Cape Sudsuro in south-eastern Crete. Four or five centuries ago, says local tradition, a girl was carried off from the chapel by a Barbary corsair but miraculously restored on the anniversary of her captivity by Saint Niketas. He flies through the air on a white-winged horse, and marks on the rock still show where the horse alighted. Captain T. A. B. Spratt, who visited the chapel, mindful of Pegasos and Hippokrene, justly concludes that the saint is 'a sort of Bellerophon.' Again, many well-known figures in classical mythology are said to have been saved from the sea by riding on the back of a dolphin (Arion, Eikadios, Enalos, Koiranos, Phalanthos, Taras, Theseus, etc.): others had their corpses brought ashore by a dolphin, which itself expired on reaching land (so with minor variations in the case of Palaimon or Melikertes, Dionysios and Hermias of Iasos, Hesiod, and an anonymous boy at Naupaktos). Both incidents reappear in the records of the hagiographers. Saints Martinianos of Kaisareia, Kallistratos of Carthage, Basileios the younger of Constantinople, were each rescued from a watery grave by a couple of dolphins; and the corpse of Saint Loukianos of Antioch was brought ashore by a gigantic dolphin, which breathed its last on the sand. Or again,—to take an example that will appeal to students of Homer—'Saint Elias had been a sailor, but left the sea repenting of the evil life he had led. Others say he left because of the hardships he had suffered. He determined to go where it was not known what the sea or boats were. Shouldering an oar, he went on asking people what it was. When he came to the top of a hill he was told it was wood. He saw that they

1 G. F. Abbott Macedonian Folklore Cambridge 1903 p. 241. See also B. Schmidt Das Volkstum der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 37, N. G. Politis op. cit. i. 57 ff., D. H. Kerler Die Patronate der Heiligen Ulm 1905 p. 306.


had never seen boats or the sea, and he stayed on the hilltopst." Who fails to recognize Odysseus?

Sometimes the shift from heathen deity to Christian saint is barely disguised by a slight deflection of the ancient name; sometimes it dispenses with any disguise at all. At Athens the Tritopatreis were superseded by the Trinity. Dionysos lives on in the person of Saint Dionysios, to whom his cult and myth

1 Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 356 n. 1 after N. G. Polites *Paradoxes* Athens 1924 i. 116 no. 207, ii. 801 f. My friend Dr W. H. D. Rouse in *The Cambridge Review* 1905—1906 xxvii. 414 tells how he heard the same tale from an old Cossack skipper:—'*Ah well,' says Giorgis, 'tis a poor trade this, as the holy Elias found.' 'What was that?' I asked. 'The prophet Elias,' quoth he, 'was a fisherman; he had bad weather, terrible storms, so that he became afraid of the sea. Well, so he left his nets and his boat on the shore, and put an oar over his shoulder, and took the hills. On the way, who should he see but a man. 'A good hour to you,' says he. 'Welcome,' says the man. 'What's this, can you tell me?' says St Elias. 'That?' says the man, 'Why that's an oar.' Eh, on he goes till he meets another man. 'A good hour to you,' says St Elias. 'You are welcome,' says the man. 'What's this?' says St Elias. 'Why, that's an oar, to be sure,' says the man. On he goes again, until he comes to the very top of the mountain, and there he sees another man. 'Can you tell me what this is?' asks St Elias. 'That?' says the man, 'Why, that's a stick.' 'Good!' says St Elias, 'this is the place for me, here I abide.' He puts his oar in the ground, and that is why his chapels are all built on the hilltops.'

2 *Od. 11. 119ff., 23. 266ff.* 3 A. Struck *Griechenland* Wien u. Leipzig 1911 i. 134f.

4 The ancient deme of Ikaros is habitually called by the peasants *Dionysos*—a clear trace of the god Dionysos. When Chandler visited the place in 1766, its church was dedicated to St Dionysios, presumably Dionysios the Areopagite. (C. D. Buck in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1886—1890 v. 47 ff.; see also Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 43 f.).

Mr J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 43 says: 'It is perhaps noteworthy too that in Athens the road which skirts the south side of the Acropolis and the theatre of Dionysus is now called the street of S. Dionysios the Areopagite. I was once corrected by a Greek of average education for speaking of the theatre of Dionysus instead of ascribing it to his saintly namesake.'

3 Prof. C. Siegel of Hamburg at Kokkino in Boiotia in 1846 heard the following folk-tale:—'When Dionysios was still a child, he travelled through Hellas on his way to Naxia. But, since the road was long, he got tired and sat on a stone to rest. As he sat there, looking in front of him, he saw a little plant spring from the ground at his feet, and thought it so pretty that he at once resolved to take it with him and plant it. He pulled it up and went on with it. But the sun was so hot that he feared it might wither before he reached Naxia. Thenceupon he found a bird's leg, stuck the plant in it, and went on. However, in his holy hand the plant grew so fast that it soon came out at both ends of the bone. Again he feared it might wither, and thought what he could do to prevent it. He found a lion's leg, which was bigger than the bird's leg, and stuck the bird's leg with the plant into the lion's leg. But the plant soon grew out of the lion's leg also. Then he found an ass's leg, which was still bigger than the lion's leg, and stuck the plant with the bird's leg and the lion's leg into the ass's leg, and so came to Naxia. When he wanted to plant the plant, he found its roots twined fast about the bird's leg, the lion's leg, and the ass's leg. As he could not pull the roots out without hurting them, he planted the plant just as it was. It sprang up quickly and to its delight bore the finest of grapes. Of these he ate once made wine for the first time and gave it to men to drink. But now what wonders followed! When men drank of it, at
have inevitably passed. Saint Merkourios, who nowadays cures ear-ache in Samos, is described by Malalas in terms of Mercurius—as a divine messenger commissioned to slay the emperor Julian.

Another Latin deity first canonised in Italy and then naturalised in Greece is Venus, who is known as Saint Venere in western Albania and as the Holy Mother Venere among the Vlachs of Pindos. The myth of Hippolytos is told afresh of his Christian name-sake, while his consort the virgin goddess has handed over her festival to the Virgin of the victorious faith. Even gender proved no bar to such reformations. Saint Artemidos in Keos is the protector of ailing children, being—as Mr J. T. Bent was the first to observe—credited with the attributes of Artemis.

first they sang like birds. When they drank deeper, they became strong as lions. When they drank deeper still, they resembled asses. The tale is published in translation by J. G. von Hahn Griechische und albanische Märchen Leipzig 1864 ii. 74 ff. no. 76, N. G. Polites Μήλη έτι τοί βίου των Νεώτης Ήλληνων Athens 1871 i. 43 f., H. Carnoy in La Tradition 1887 i. 89. For parallels see O. Dähnhardt Naturgesagen Leipzig and Berlin 1997 i. 308 ff. Cp. also C. Wachsmuth Das alte Griechenland im neuen Bonn 1864 p. 24 f., and Miss M. Hamilton in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1906 i. 1907 xiii. 350 ff. and in Greek Saints and Their Festivals p. 16 f., who concludes that the Dionysios in question was the monk of Meteoron of the twelfth century because—according to N. G. Polites Παράπτωσις i. 98 f. no. 175, ii. 778 ff.—the saint was journeying to Naxos from Mt Olympus.

1 Miss M. Hamilton Greek Saints and Their Festivals p. 37, citing Σαμιακά p. 6 n. (a).

2 Io. Malal. chron. 13 p. 333 f. Dindorf έν αυτη δε τη γυνη εδεν έν αράματι και δισώπητον ἐπίσκοπον. Βασιλείου ο Καυσαρείας Κατακόκκια τοις οθρονίς φευγόμενον και τω σωτήριος Χριστον εν θρόνω καθήμενον και ειπότα κραυγή, Μερκαρίας, ἀκτίλων φῶνενος Ιουλιανὸν τὸν βασιλέα τὸν κατά των Χριστιάνων. ο δε ἀγιος Μερκυρίους ἐξερευνήσαν τού κυρίου εἵριδες θυρίκες συνεχρών ἀποτελώντα και ἀκούσαν τῆς κλείσας ἀφαίρετης ἀγίνετο και τάλα κόρης ἐκείστης ἐξερευνήτων τού κυρίου καὶ ἄρα μετεξοι, Ιουλιανὸς ο βασιλείου ἀκτίλως ἀκτύλους, ὡς ἐκλείσας, κύρε. καὶ προτεινός ἐκ τῆς κραυγῆς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Βασιλείου δυσκόητας πεποναγμένον.

3 Miss M. Hamilton op. cit. p. 33 f.

4 S. Reinach Cultes, Mythes et Religions Paris 1908 iii. 56 f., who gives references to earlier writers on the subject.

5 J. Rendel Harris The Annotators of the Codex Bezae London 1901 p. 102, Class. Rev. 1902 xvi. 368 f.

The ground-plan of the precinct at Lousoi in Arkadia published by W. Reichel and A. Wilhelm (Jahrsh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1901 iv. 26 f. fig. 16, cp. ib. p. 23 fig. 13 section and p. 32 fig. 19 view) shows in direct superposition: (1) the temple of Artemis Ημήρα, (2) a Byzantine church, (3) a chapel of the Panagia built c. 1850.

6 J. T. Bent The Cyclades London 1885 p. 457: "In Keos St Artemidos is the patron of these weaklings, and the church dedicated to him is some little way from the town on the hillslopes; thither a mother will take a child afflicted by any mysterious wasting, "struck by the Nereids," as they say. She then strips off its clothes and puts on new ones, blessed by the priest, leaving the old ones as a perquisite to the Church; and then if perchance the child grows strong she will thank St Artemidos for the blessing he has vouchsafed, unconscious that by so doing she is perpetuating the archaic worship of Artemis, to whom in classical times were attached the epithets παιδότερος, κοινοτρόφος, φιλαμείρας [πλγ. παιδότροφος, κοινοτρόφος, φιλαμείρας]; and now the Ionian idea of the
Kistophoros from Eleusis, known as Saint Demetra.

See page 173 n. 1.
Zeus superseded by Saint Elias

Similarly Demeter changed her sex, but retained her sanctity, in the cult of Saint Demetrios; Eileithyia in that of Saint

fructifying and nourishing properties of the Ephesian Artemis has been transferred to her Christian namesake. We found traces of the worship of Artemis having existed in Keos along with that of Apollo in ancient times, for Barba Manthos had a little image of the Ephesian Artemis in his collection, which he had found in a temple at Karthaia. See farther J. T. Bent in The Journal of the Anthropological Institute 1885-6 xv. 391, J. C. Lawson Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion p. 44, Miss M. Hamilton Incarnation London 1906 p. 174, in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1906-1907 xiii. 355, and in Greek Saints and Their Festivals p. 17f.

1 At Eleusis the cult of Demeter was hard to kill, as will be admitted in view of the following facts. In the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge is the upper half of a colossal παρθένος in Pentelic marble, referable to the fourth or third cent. B.C. (pl. xv). It was found at Eleusis in 1801 by E. D. Clarke and J. M. Cripps, on the side of the road, immediately before entering the village, and in the midst of a heap of dung, buried as high as the neck, a little beyond the farther extremity of the pavement of the Temple. Yet even this degrading situation had not been assigned to it wholly independent of its antiquity. The inhabitants of the small village which is now situate among the ruins of Eleusis still regarded this Statue with a very high degree of superstitious veneration. They attributed to its presence the fertility of their land; and it was for this reason that they heaped around it the manure intended for their fields. They believed that the loss of it would be followed by no less a calamity than the failure of their annual harvests; and they pointed to the ears of barley, among the sculptured ornaments upon the head of the figure, as a never-failing indication of the produce of the soil (E. D. Clarke Travels in various countries of Europe Asia and Africa London 1818 vi. 601). ‘The Eleusinians, whose superstitions’ [It was their custom to burn a lamp before it, upon festival days] respecting it were so great that Dr. Chandler paid a large sum for permission to dig near it, relate, that as often as foreigners came to remove the statue, some disaster ensued. They believed that the arm of any person who offered to touch it with violence, would drop off; and said, that once being taken from her station by the French, she returned back in the night to her former situation’ (E. D. Clarke Greek Marbles brought from the shores of the Euxine, Archipelago, and Mediterranean, etc. Cambridge 1809 p. 32f.). On the evening preceding the removal of the statue an ox, loosened from its yoke, butted with its horns against the marble and then ran off, bellowing, into the plain of Eleusis. This roused all the terrors of the peasantry, whose scruples were not removed till the priest of Eleusis arrayed in his vestments struck the first blow with a pickaxe. Even then the people maintained that no ship would ever get safe to port with the statue on board. Curiously enough the Principia, a merchantman conveying it home from Smyrna, was wrecked and lost near Beachy Head, though the statue itself was recovered. As to the notion that the absence of the statue would cause the crops to fail, E. D. Clarke adds: ‘The first year after the departure of the Goddess, their corn proved very abundant, and they were in constant expectation that Ceres would return. The next year, however, was not so favourable; and they begin to fear she has deserted them.’ He justly ep. Cic. in Verr. 2. 4. 114 Cerere violata, omnes cultus fructuoso Ceres in hoc locis interirisse arbitrantur (ib. ib. p. 35 ff.). The statue—on which see also A. Michaelis Ancient Marbles in Great Britain trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1883 p. 242 ff.—has been called successively Demeter, a καυτεροφόρος, a καυτεροφορος, and more accurately a καυτεροφόρος. Lenormant states that the inhabitants of Eleusis spoke of it as ‘Ἀγια Δήμητρα and, in order to secure good harvests, used to present it with garlands of flowers (F. Lenormant Monographie de la vie sacrée Elesienne Paris 1864 i. 398 n.). In 1860, when he undertook his excavations at Eleusis, he made careful enquiries concerning this Ἀγια Δήμητρα—a saint unknown to the calendar. An Albanian παπας or priest, who was said to be
114 years old and was certainly a centenarian, told him the tale here summarised

(St. dhimitra was a charitable old woman, who lived at Athens. She had a
daughter of wondrous beauty: none so fair had been seen since mistress Aphrodite
(Kapó fподиβη). One day as the girl was combing her hair, which was golden in
colour and reached to the ground, a Turkish aga from the neighbourhood of Souli
saw her and fell in love with her. He was a wicked man and a magician. When
she rejected his advances, he resolved to carry her off to his harem. So one Christmas
night, while Dhimitra was at church, the aga burst open the house-door, seized the
maiden, and despite her cries of distress rode off with her on his horse. The horse
was a marvellous creature: it was black with fiery nostrils, and could in a single
bound spring from east to west. In a few moments it carried the ravisher and his
victim into the mountains of Epeiros. Dhimitra on her return from church was broken-
hearted at the loss of her daughter. She asked the neighbours, who, dreading Turkish
vengeance, dared not tell what they knew. She questioned the Tree that grew in front
of the house, but the Tree could give no information. She enquired of the Sun, the
Moon, the Stars, but all in vain. At last the Stork that nested on the roof of her
house said: "We have long been living side by side. You are as old as I am, and
have always been kind to me. Once you helped me to drive off a bird of prey, which
wanted to steal my little ones. So I will tell you what has happened. A Turk on
a black horse has carried off your daughter towards the west. Come, I will help you
look for her." They set out together over the snowy mountains. But those whom
they met by the way either mocked at them or gave no answer to their questions.
Dhimitra wept and wailed, and men—since they do not care for sorrow—closed their
doors against her. On reaching Lepsina (Eleusis) she fell, overcome with fatigue;
indeed she would have died, had not Marigo, wife of Nicolas the khodja-bachi or
headman of the village, seen her by the road-side and taken her in. In return for
the hospitality of Nicolas and Marigo, Dhimitra blessed their fields and made them
fruitful. Nicolas' son, the smartest pallikar in the district, pursued the quest, on con-
tion that he might wed the stolen girl. Accompanied by the faithful Stork, he walked
for many days, and one night in the heart of the mountains found forty dragons watching
a great cauldron, which was boiling on a fire. He lifted the cauldron with one hand,
lighted a torch at the fire, and replaced the pot. The dragons, astonished at his strength,
took him with them to help in getting possession of a maiden kept by a magician in a
very high tower. Nicolas' son drove nails into the tower, climbed up withdrawing
the nails after him lest the dragons should follow, and squeezed through a narrow
window at the top. He then told the dragons to do the same. This gave him time
to kill them one by one as they entered and to throw their bodies down on the other
side of the tower, where there was a large court-yard and a magnificent garden and
castle. He afterwards went down into the tower and found Dhimitra's daughter.
While he was making love to her, the aga fell upon him, and they wrestled together.
The aga transformed himself into a lion, a serpent, a bird of prey, a flame, and in
these various disguises struggled for three days, till at last he slew and quartered the
young pallikar. He then forced the daughter of Dhimitra to yield to his desires,
though he had hitherto respected her virginity. But in the night the Stork flew off,
fetched a magic herb, and rubbed it on the lips of the dead youth; whereupon he
came to life again, and attacked the aga with greater fury than before. He invoked
the aid of the Panaghia, vowing that, if successful, he would become a monk in the
monastery of Phaneromeni (in Salamis). He thus prevailed and overthrew his adversary.
The Stork pecked out the aga's eyes and also a white hair from his black top-knot—the
hair on which the magician's life depended. The pallikar brought the girl back to
Lepsina just at the beginning of spring, when the flowers first appear: he then became
a monk in accordance with his vow. St. Dhimitra with her daughter quitted the place,
and no one knows where they have gone; but ever since, thanks to her benediction,
the fields of Lepsina have been fertile.'
Eleutherios'. Sometimes the actual name of the deity was dropped, but the cult-title preserved and the distinctive characteristics that went with it assigned to the Christian homonym. Thus H. Usener has made it probable that behind Saint Pelagia lurks the goddess Aphrodite Pelagia, behind Saint Typhon the god Hermes Typhon.

This folk-tale has been impugned by J. Psychari Études de philologie néo-grecque Paris 1892 i. lxxxix, but is justly vindicated by L. M. J. Garnett Greek Folk Poesy London 1896 ii. 171 ff., 451 ff. and J. C. Lawson Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion Cambridge 1910 p. 79 ff. N. G. Polites Ménèttes ιτι τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεώτερων Ἐλλάδων Athens 1871 i. 46 ff. cites as partial parallels J. G. von Hahn Griechische und albanische Märchen Leipzig 1864 ii. 33 ff. no. 68 and 112 ff. no. 97. It would seem, then, that the rape of Persephone by Hades (transformed under Ottoman misrule into a Turkish aga), the wanderings and woes of Demeter, the hospitality of Metaneira and Keleos (here Marigo and Nicolas: the latter name—as Lenormant remarks—has in Albanian the diminutive Kelho), and the travels of Keleos’ son Triptolemos, all survive in the long-lived memory of the people.

Lenormant op. cit. i. 402 n. supposes that a shift of sex has taken place in the legend of St Demetrios, a young man who on account of his good looks was carried off by a tekfîb-hachî named Kara-Scheitûn (‘Black Devil’) and done to death for refusing his infamous desires. The cult of this saint originated near Jannina. J. G. Fraser Panasianis v. 6 records G. B. Grundy’s conjecture that the church of St Demetrios or Demetron about a mile to the north of Kriekouki in Boiotia occupies the site of a sanctuary of Demeter mentioned by Hdt. 9. 57, 62, 65 and Plut. v. Aristid. 11. Miss M. Hamilton in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1906—1907 xiii. 350 = Greek Saints and Their Festivals p. 13 f. writes: ‘St Demetrios is the popular patron of Greek husbandmen and shepherds, and the protector of agriculture in general. The functions of the Earth-Mother are perpetuated in him, and his festival in October [Oct. 26] just before sowing-time, has great importance in the land of peasant-farmers. All over the country, at Eleusis as in every other district, his churches are found.’ Miss Hamilton does not, however, consider it proved ‘that St Demetrios was given to the new converts as representative of the banished Demeter.’ But, whether this is a case of ecclesiastical policy or not, J. T. Bent is at least justified in ascerting that ‘the attributes of Demeter have been transferred to St Demetrios’ (The Journal of the Anthropological Institute 1885—6 xv. 391). The same writer elsewhere observes: ‘Demeter, in the present order of things, is also represented by a man, St Demetrius, who in certain places is the special protector of flocks, herds, and husbandmen, and in this capacity is called “of the dry land” (Στερεωθή), as opposed to St Nicholas, the saint of the sea’ (The Cyclades London 1885 p. 339): cf. J. C. Lawson op. cit. pp. 43 f., 79.

1 The old metropolitan church of Athens is called not only after the Panagia Gorgoipekoos (infra ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (a)) but also after St Eleutherios, a saint invoked by women in childbirth (ἐλευθηράεις ταῖρ γυναῖκες, they say). The church stands on ground once occupied by a cult of Eileithyia (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 1585. cf. Paus. i. 18. 3). Popular etymology transformed Ἐλευθηράς into Ἐλευθέρα, Ἐλευθερία, Ἐλευθής etc. (Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 3102 f.), whence the transition to Ἐλευθερία was simple: see B. Schmidt Das Volk Leben der Neuzeitischen Leipzig 1871 i. 38 no. 7 and especially K. Michel and A. Struck in the Ath. Mitth. 1906 xxi. 314 ff. In Crete too Eileithyia has been succeeded by St Eleutherios (E. Byhilakis Neuzeitisches Leben Berlin 1840 p. 2). Indeed, the same thing has happened throughout the archipelago (J. T. Bent in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute 1885—6 xv. 393). See further Miss M. Hamilton Greek Saints and Their Festivals p. 18 f.

or Aphroditos Ῥύχων; and Dr J. Rendel Harris has shown some reason for believing that Saint George himself is but Zeus Georgós in a thin disguise.

457 ff.) argues that the cult of Aphrodite in the Levant produced a whole crop of saints. These include among others of like origin (1) Pelagia nicknamed Margarita, a dancer of Antioch, who being converted by Bishop Nonnos donned male attire and lived for three years on the Mount of Olives as the monk Pelagios. Festival Oct. 8. (2) Margarita, who fled from her bridal chamber in male costume to become the monk Pelagius. On account of her blameless conduct she was made prior of a nunnery; but, when the nuns' female porter was found to be with child, the prior was accused and driven out. She now retired to a cave and led the hard life of a hermit. Shortly before her death, however, she avowed her sex, thereby proving her innocence, and was thenceforth known as St Reparata. The legend probably belongs to the Maronite monastery of Kanobin on Mt Lebanon. On Oct. 8 the Romish church worships a St Reparata, a virgin of Kaisareia in Palestine, of whom it is said that, when she was beheaded by Decius, her soul flew up to heaven in the form of a white dove. (3) Porphyria, a prostitute of Tyre, who became the nun Pelagia. (4) Pelagia, a virgin of Antioch, who finding her house surrounded by troops dressed herself as a bride and committed suicide probably by leaping from the roof. Festival, according to the Roman calendar June 9; according to the Greek synaxaria June 9, June 10, or more often Oct. 8. (5) Pelagia of Tarsos, who was betrothed to a son of Diocletian, but became a Christian and was baptised by Klinon. The news of her baptism caused the young man to kill himself; whereupon Pelagia, after refusing to marry his father, was done to death in the jaws of a red-hot bronze bull. Festival May 4, May 5, Oct. 7, or more commonly Oct. 8.

For Πελαγία as an epithet of Aphrodite see Artemid. oner. ii. 27 Αφροδίτη ἡ πελαγία, Lyd. de mens. 4. 64 p. 117, 21 Wünsch πελαγία δὲ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, Corp. inscr. Lat. iii no. 3066 (Dessau Iscr. Lat. sel. no. 3179) Veneri Pelagiae. For Porphyria, Anakr. frag. 2, 3 Bergk4 πορφυρή τ' Ἀφροδίτη, interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. i. 720 Venus...dicitur...et Purpurissa. For Μαργαρίτα, Μαργαρίτα, Plin. nat. hist. 9. 116 divus Iulius thoracem quem Veneri Genetrici in templa eius dicitavit ex Britannicis margaritis factum voluerit intellegi (cp. ib. 37. 11). The shift from Πελαγία to Πελάγιος suggests the shift from 'Ἀφροδίτη' to 'Αφροδίτης and the cult of the masculine Venus, on whom see K. TümpeI in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2794 f. and Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1359 n. 3.

1 H. Usener Der heilige Typhon Leipzig and Berlin 1907. St Typhon was bishop of Amathous in Kypros. The central incident in his career is the following. He was present, when certain vine-dressers were pruning vines at a place called Ampelo. Taking one of the withered branches rejected by them, he prayed that it might have ἑκατά τωι, εὐφορίαν καρπών, αὐταφική ἡδόνη καὶ πρόμοι βλάστησιν. He then planted it with his own hands and bade the vine-dressers witness the result. It sprang up to be a memorial of him; and on his festival, June 16, when grapes are not yet fit to eat, the vine of St Typhon bears clusters that are either ripe or rapidly ripening. Indeed, when laid on the holy table and distributed to the communicants, they at once become dark and sweet, though a moment before they may have been light and bitter.

Usener detects as the heidnische Unterlage of this saint the minor Dionysiac divinity Τύχων, sometimes identified with Hermes (O. Kern Die Inschriften von Magnus am Miisenber Berlin 1900 p. 136 no. 203 Ἐρμῆς εἰς Τύχω τ. τ. λ., Clem. Al. prot. 10. 102. 1 p. 73, 17 Stählin τῶν Τύχων Ἐρμῆς—so Meurisius for MSS. τυφών, cp. Theognostos in Cramer anec. Oxac. ii. 33, 31 Τύχου τύχιον Ἐρμῆς, Ἡσυχ. Τύχων ἔνω τὸν Ἐρμῆ, ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην), sometimes with Aphroditos (Papadopolos-Kerameus Lexicon Sabinicum St Petersburg 1897 p. 3, 19 Αὐταφικήν Ἐρμῆν· 'Ασκληπιόν Κόνινα, 'Αφροδίτου Τύχων).

2 Zeus Δειοδοτάς was worshipped at Athens on Maimakterion 20 with bake-meats and a dish of mingled grain (Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 77, 13 ff. Μαιμακτηρίων Δις Δειοδοτάς τοῖς ἐπιτελασμένοις, χοικιαῖοι ὁμοθεσαφαῖς διδοκισφαῖς, ναστῶν χοικιαῖοι ἑπιτελασμένοι).
Zeus superseded by Saint Elias

Cases of this kind could be multiplied without much difficulty. But the facts are sufficiently notorious. Confining our attention to the mountain-cults of Zeus, we note that as a rule they were transferred to Saint Elias. The precise extent to which this was done on Greek soil will be seen from the map accompanying Appendix B. Inspection shows that Saint Elias has succeeded to

τακτικής τῆς ἐνθάλμως). His import was obviously agricultural, and his festival fell in the season of sowing; see Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 115.

St George too is an agricultural power. F. C. H. L. Pouqueville Voyage de la Grèce² Paris 1827 vi. 142 f. says: 'saint Georges protège les laboureurs et les moissons.' G. F. Abbott Macedonian Folklore Cambridge 1903 p. 44 quotes a folk-song from Sochos, in which St George carries 'wheat and barley, and grains of pearl,' and is asked to 'Give to the bride chestnuts and to the groom walnuts.' J. Rendel Harris The Annotators of the Codex Bezae London 1901 p. 83 shows that in south Italy St George 'is the protector of cattle' with an 'agricultural and pastoral value,' and op. cit. p. 100 f. cites from Frazer Golden Bough² ii. 209 ff. [18 The Magic Art ii. 75 ff. sp. 79 for a Russian parallel] evidence that in Carinthia and among the gypsies of Transylvania and Roumania the chief figure on the festival of St George (April 23) is a 'Green George' clad in leaves and blossoms, who is carried in procession along with a tree, or officiates beside a young willow tree set up in the ground, and is finally ducked in person or in effigy with the express intention of securing rain and food for the cattle.

Dr Rendel Harris can therefore urge similarity of name and similarity of function in favour of his proposed identification. Yet we must not jump to hasty conclusions with Mr J. O'Neill, who in his book The Night of the Gods London 1893 i. 198 wrote: 'Of course we have...a supreme antique origin for St George's Day in the Athenian pagan calendar which put the feast of Zeus Georgos [sic] in the month of Mēmaktēron [sic] (Nov.-Dec.).' Dr Rendel Harris op. cit. p. 100 does not thus blink the difficulty: 'the confirmation is lacking of a connexion between Zeus Georgos and April 23rd, the inscription being incomplete, and we must leave this part of the problem unsolved, merely remarking that on the Latin side of the house the date in question is that of the Vinalia, which can be demonstrated to be sacred to Jupiter.'

Further evidence is, however, available. The chief centre of the cult of St George was Lydda or Diospolis—the city of Zeus'—in Samaria. Here he was born; here, after his martyrdom at Nikomedea, he was buried; and here a church was subsequently erected in his honour (E. Robinson Biblical Researches in Palestine etc. London 1841 iii. 51). The saint stood in some relation to a sacred pillar. According to the Greek menaia as reported in the Acta Sanctorum eadd. Bolland. Aprilis iii. 142, when the church at Ramleh was being built, a pious widow wished to contribute a column. She had bought it and conveyed it as far as the coast, when the prefect or curator Palatinus refused her gift and would not transport it by sea with the other columns. Hereupon the widow besought St George, who appeared and, after writing on the marble with his finger 'Let this column of the widow occupy the second place on the right hand side of the church,' helped her to fling it into the sea. Next day it was found lying in the mouth of the harbour, having reached its destination before all the other columns, to the amazement of Palatinus, who acknowledged his error. Arculfus de locis sanctis 3. 4. a work written down by Adamnan c. 688 A.D. and translated by J. R. Macpherson (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society London 1895 iii. 1 ff.), states that in a house at Diospolis there was a 'marble column of George the Confessor, to which, during a time of persecution, he was bound while he was scourged, and on which his likeness is impressed.' An unbeliever, mounted on horseback and instigated by the Devil, struck with his lance at the saint's likeness. The head of the lance penetrated the marble as if it were mere snow and could not be withdrawn; its shaft was broken against the outside. The horse too fell dead on the

C.
Zeus at many, not to say most, of the important cult-centres both on the mainland (Mount Olympos, Mount Lykaion, Mount Arachnaion, Mount Taleton, etc.) and in the archipelago (Mount Kenaion, Mount Oche, Mount Kynados, etc.).

Mr N. G. Polites in a valuable monograph on the sun in modern Greek folk-tales has argued that Saint Elias represents, not only the mountain-Zeus, but Helios as well. There is, to pavement, where the bloodmarks from its haunch were still to be seen. Its rider put out his hands to the marble column and his fingers stuck fast in it. He was released by prayer and penitence; but his finger-prints remained, and Arculfus had seen them. Again, a layman on horseback, before starting on an expedition, vowed that, if he returned in safety, he would present St George with his horse. He did return in safety, and tried to cheat the saint by depositing 30 solidi of gold as the price of his horse; but he found that the horse remained rooted to the spot. A second time he tried, depositing 30 solidi, with the same result. Four times he mounted and dismounted, till 60 solidi lay before the column. At last he offered the saint the 60 solidi and the horse; after which he departed with joy. It seems probable that the column represented St George as a horseman armed with a lance, and by no means impossible that it portrayed his triumph over the dragon; for as early as 346 A.D. an inscription from Ezr ‘or Edhr’ in southern Syria speaks of him as τῷ καλήντον ἄγιον μάρτυρα θεοῦ (Corp. inscr. Gr. iv no. 8627, 7), and, when the race of the Bagratides ascended the throne of Georgia towards the end of the sixth century, one of the devices that they emblazoned on their arms was that of St George slaying the dragon (Rev. S. C. Malan A Short History of the Georgian Church London 1866 p. 15 n. 10, p. 28 n. 19); see the Rev. G. T. Stokes in Smith-Wace Dict. Chr. Biogr. ii. 646.

If the column at Diospolis was of this type, it must have resembled the Jupiter-columns of Germany, Belgium and France, which are commonly surmounted by a sky-god, probably Ziu, conceived as a warlike Jupiter on horse-back spearin a serpent-legged giant (E. Wagner Neptun im Gigantenkampf auf römischen Monumenten in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 1884 i. 36 ff., F. Heßnert Jupiterstöcke ib. 1885 iv. 355 ff., Haug Die Wochengöttersteine ib. 1890 ix. 17 ff., ibid. Die Viergöttersteine ib. 1891 x. 9 ff., 125 ff., 295 ff., A. Prost Les travaux consacrés au groupe de l’Anguipède et du Cavalier jusqu’en 1891’ in the Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France 1891 pp. 15—54, Friedhof Die sogen. Gigantenstöcke (Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Lyceums Metz 1892), G. A. Müller Die Keuperringe auf den römisch-germanischen Gigantenstöcken Strassburg and Bühl 1894. A. Riese Über die sogen. Jupiterstöcke in the Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für lithographische Geschichte und Altertumskunde 1900 xii. 324 ff., Forrer Reallex. p. 389 f. s.v. Jupiterstöcke, and especially F. Hertlein Die Jupiterstegigantenstöcke Stuttgart 1910). However that may be, the legend of St George and the dragon suggests comparison with that of Zeus and Typhoeus, and furnishes a fresh point d’appui for the conjecture that St George is a modification of Zeus Georgios.

I may here note one or two recent works bearing on the subject. The monograph by E. Siecke Drachenkämpfe: Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sagenkunde Leipzig 1907 must be used with the greatest caution (see R. Wünsch in the Archiv f. Rel. 1911 xiv. 561 ff). C. S. Huist St. George of Cappadocia in Legend and History London 1909 is chiefly of value for its list of monuments (pp. 135—149) and bibliography (pp. 150—156). J. F. Campbell The Celtic Dragon Myth with additions by G. Henderson Edinburgh 1911 includes many Celtic folk-tales. The most important contribution of late years is that of Dr J. G. Frazer Golden Bough The Dying God pp. 105—112 ‘The Slaughter of the Dragon’ (a suggested reconciliation of the totemic with the cosmological interpretation).

1 N. G. Polites Ο’ Πλος κατα τον θεόδωρον θείον Αθήνης 1882 p. 45 ff., cp. Μελέτη είς τον βίου τοῦ Νευτέρου Ελλήνων Αθήνης 1871 i. 19 ff. Others too have held that St Elias is the successor of Helios (eg. T. Trede Das Heidentum in der römischen Kirche
Zeus superseded by Saint Elias

begin with, the obvious fact that Elias or Hellas and Helios sound much alike—a fact expressly noted by Sedulius, a Christian poet writing c. 430 A.D.¹ Again, Christian art in the fourth century portrayed the translation of Saint Elias under the type of Helios driving his chariot up the sky (fig. 134).² When in the course of

Gotha 1889 i. 315, cp. ii. 143, G. F. Abbott Macedonian Folklore Cambridge 1903 p. 240 f., Miss M. Hamilton Greek Saints and Their Festivals p. 19 ff.), but without advancing any fresh arguments in support of that view.

¹ Sedul. carm. pasch. 1. 168 ff. (after describing the translation of Elijah) quam bene fulmineae praelucens semita caeli conventit Heliae, merito qui et nomine fulgens aethere dignus erat: nam, si sermonis Achivi una per accentum mutetur litera, Sol est. On the forms 'Hlias,' 'Hlisar,' 'Hmar,' 'Hlesar' see Grimm-Thayer Gk.-Eng. Lex. of the New Test.

² F. Piper Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst Weimar 1847—1851 i. 1. 75 f. 2. 504 f. (a sarcophagus in St Peter's at Rome = Bottari Scultura e pitture sacre estratte dai cimiteri di Roma Rome 1737 i pl. 29; another in the Louvre at Paris = Clarac Mus. de Sculpt. pl. 227 fig. 356 = my fig. 134; Reinach Rép. Stat. i. 117; a third at Milan = G. Allegranza Spiegazioni e reflexioni sopra alcuni sacri monumenti antichi di Milano Milano 1757 pl. 5), G. Bottari op. cit. Rome 1746 ii pl. 52 (sarcophagus),

Fig. 134.
the same century Chrysostom declared that poets and painters had borrowed their conception of Helios' car from the scriptural account of the prophet Elias', his blunder was not unnatural. Finally, rites that are probably derived from a primitive sun-worship are still celebrated in honour of Saint Elias. On July 20—a day described in the Greek calendar as that of 'The fiery ascent to heaven of the holy and glorious prophet Helias the Thesbite'—pious folk toil up to the topmost peak of Mount Taygeton, now known as Ηάγιος Ειλιας or Ηαγιολιάς. Here, when it gets dusk, they kindle numerous bonfires and throw plenty of incense on to them as an offering to Saint Elias. The dwellers of the district, especially those inhabiting the village of Kardamyle, as soon as they see the blaze on the mountain-top, set light to heaps of hay and straw, and keep the day by dancing round or leaping over them. This custom takes the place of the midsummer fires kindled elsewhere in Greece, and indeed throughout Europe, on June 24, the festival of Saint John the Baptist. Miss M. Hamilton notes 'that the ikon of St Elias in the shrine on the top of Taygetos bears the inscription, "The Prophet of the Sun".'

The foregoing arguments may be held to prove that in the fourth century and later Saint Elias was sometimes viewed as the Christian counterpart of Helios. But they do not suffice to prove that Saint Elias is worshipped on mountain-tops in virtue of his equation with that deity. For of all the heights on which Saint Elias has a chapel, and they are very numerous, the only one possessing a definite tradition of Helios-cult is Mount Taleton in Lakanike, where horses used to be sacrificed to the sun.


1 Io. Chrys. ὄμω, γ' ἐς Η. 27 cited by N. G. Polites. The statement of E. Burnouf La science des religions Paris 1872 p. 266 ff. that in early Christian art, e.g. in the sixth century mosaic of St Apollinarius at Ravenna, Elias and Moses flanking the cross represent the sun (φως) and the moon (Σκ. μάς), is rashly accepted by Polites, but must be regarded as quite chimerical.

2 N. Nilles Kalendarium manuale utrinque ecclesiae orientalis et occidentalis Ἐπιποτε 1806 i. 218 'Ἡ πυρόφορος ἀνδραίης εἰς οἴνοντος τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου προφῆτην Ἡλίου τοῦ Θεοβιτοῦ.

3 N. G. Polites ὁ Ἡλίου κατὰ τῶν δημοτῶν μάθουσα Athens 1882 p. 45 f.

4 Miss M. Hamilton Greek Saints and Their Festivals p. 21 'Ὁ προφήτης τοῦ Ἡλίου (μετ'), citing Ἀγιο Θανατο, διοικητική Παρακλήτ, p. 11.

5 Append. B Lakanike. A text which appears to have escaped notice in this connexion is Fest. p. 181 a 2 ff. Müller multis autem gentibus equam hostiarum numero haberi
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other hand, a fair number of the heights in question, including Mount Carmel, were well known as centres of Zeus-worship. It appears, therefore, that on the mountains Saint Elias is the successor of Zeus rather than of Helios. But we have yet to ask why the mountain-Zeus was replaced by this saint in particular. Probably, in the first instance, the memorable scene on Mount Carmel, where Elijah prevailed over the priests of Baal, impressed the popular mind with a vivid picture of the prophet as a mountain-power. The still more majestic scene of Elijah on Mount Horeb doubtless deepened the same impression. And the final appearance of Elijah on the Mount of Transfiguration would give a Christian sanction to the Jewish tradition. Again, Elijah, like Zeus, controlled atmospheric testimonio sunt Lacedaemoni, qui in monte Taygeto equum ventus immolant, ibidemque adolent, ut eorum flatu cinis eius per finis quam latissime differatur. et Sallentini, apud quos Menzanae Iovi dicatus vivos conicitur in ignem, et Rhodi, qui quod annis (quotation Lindemann) quadrigas soli consecratae in mare iacuunt, quod est tali curriculo furtur circumvehij mundum. This passage not only gives us fresh and interesting information with regard to the burnt-sacrifice of a horse on Mt Taygeton, but also compares it with the burning of a live horse for Jupiter Menzana by the Sallentini. Now these Sallentini were Messapians (K. Penka Die vorhellenische Bevölkerung Griechenlands Hildburghausen 1911 p. 351) or, more exactly, a Cretan colony settled in south Italy by Idomeneus of Lytto (Strab. 282, Varro ap. Prob. in Verg. ecd. 6. 31 p. 352 f. Lion and Fest. p. 329 a 32 ff. Müller, Paul. ex Fest. p. 328 Müller, Verg. Aen. 3. 400 f.). I should conjecture that their Jupiter Menzana (perhaps = Montanus, c.p. mentum, mentula, etc. as related to mou) was a mountain-god closely akin to the Cretan Zeus, whose solar character is shown by his cult-title Talaiois, Talaioer (infra ch. i § 6 (h) v). On this showing the horse burnt on Mt Taygeton was originally a sacrifice to Zeus Talaioer (Append. B Lakonike), a Cretan solar Zeus. The Rhodians' annual rite of flinging a solar team into the sea can be paralleled from Illyricum: nonnulli Saturno, cum suis devoraret, pro Neptuno equum oblatae devorantur tradunt, unde Illyricos quotannis ritu sacrorum equum solere aquis immergere: hoc autem ideo, quod Saturnus humoris totius et frigoris deus sit (interp. Serv. in Verg. georg. l. 121), vel quod equus, ut putant, loci eius suppositus Saturno fuerit, quem pro Neptuno devoraret;...cui ob hoc in Illyrico quaternos equos 1aciebant nono quoque anno in mare (Paul. ex Fest. p. 101 Müller; see G. Wentzel in Philologus 1891 l. 389).

1 Zeus was in Hellenistic times not infrequently identified with Helios, especially with the solar Sarapis and Mithras (infra p. 186 ff.). But it is reasonable to suppose that the early Christians would have based their substitution of St. Elias for Zeus on some universally recognised characteristic rather than on some exceptional aspect of the latter. Besides, we have no cause to think that Zeus Helios was worshipped on mountains.

2 We cannot here assume any verbal confusion. Of Zeus Βελεής nothing is known beyond Hesyc. Εκεύς. Ζεώς εἰς Ὑφίστας.

3 1 Kings 18. 18-40. Mount Carmel became known as Mount St Elias, and behind the high altar in the chapel is shown the grotto in which St Elias is said to have dwelt. Pilgrimages to this place have always been made, and on return home pilgrims would in many cases piously erect a local Carmel, dedicating the chapel to the saint (Miss M. Hamilton in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1906-1907 xiii. 355).

4 1 Kings 19. 8-18.

Zeus superseded by Saint Elias

phenomena. 'He prayed fervently that it might not rain; and it rained not on the earth for three years and six months. And he prayed again; and the heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit.' On the former occasion 'the heaven was shut up'; on the latter, as a Greek liturgy has it, 'Elias by his fasting opened the heavens.' Carmel was connected with 'clouds and wind, and...a great rain'; Horeb, with 'a great and strong wind': even on the Mount of Transfiguration 'there came a cloud overshadowing them.' During the time of drought Elijah was fed by ravens, as Zeus was fed by doves. Lastly, Elijah, like Zeus, was associated with various manifestations of celestial brightness. On Carmel 'the fire of the Lord fell.' Horeb witnessed 'after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice.' Twice Elijah, from the hill-top on which he dwelt, called down fire from heaven and destroyed the troops of Ahaziah king of Israel. When the end came, 'there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire,...and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven.' Such an one fitly shared in the glory of the Transfiguration. And such an one, we may add, was not unsuitably substituted by the Christian church for the Greek sky-god Zeus.

'This hilltop saint,' says Miss M. Hamilton, 'is believed by the peasants to be lord of sunshine, rain, and thunder. In several ways these powers are indicated in his worship; the site of his chapels is the place where the sun shines longest from its rising to its setting, and where rain is first seen and felt...On the island of Kastellarizo...the festival of St. Elias is celebrated by the

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1 James 5. 17 f., cp. 1 Kings 17. 1, 18. 1—46.
3 N. Nilles Kalendarium manuale utriusque ecclesiae orientalis et occidentalis (Enipone 1884 ii. 105 Ηλας νηρευχας οβρανοις ἄδελφοι.
4 1 Kings 18. 45.
5 1 Kings 19. 11.
6 Mark 9. 7.
7 1 Kings 17. 3—6. St Elias has a raven as one of his attributes, and is invoked against drought (D. H. Kerler Die Patronate der Heiligen Ulm 1905 p. 71 f.).
9 1 Kings 18. 38.
10 1 Kings 19. 12.
12 2 Kings 3. 11. The attribute of St Elias at Naples, viz. a wheel (T. Trede Das Heidentum in der römischen Kirche Gotha 1890 ii. 143), presumably refers to the chariot of fire.
14 'Eoria 1889 p. 63 cited by Miss M. Hamilton ib.
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performance of a rain-charm wrought through the imitative magic of vicarious drenching. In the morning all the children throw each other into the sea, and later on old men and young join with them, until no person clad in dry clothes can walk through the streets with impunity. Those who resist are dealt with by strong fishermen. This compulsory bathing continues till Vespers, and then the bells call the drenched multitudes to church. The town itself looks as if a heavy rain-storm had fallen. And then the dwellers on that island, where drought causes the greatest suffering, pray to St. Elias for a good wet season.

At Constantinople and in its vicinity people think that thunder is caused by the prophet Elias speeding across the sky on his chariot—a relic of the belief, which in the middle ages was common throughout Greece, that thunder was due to God or Saint Elias pursuing a dragon in heaven. Another relic of the same belief is the frequent phrase: 'The lightning is chasing the snakes.'

A manuscript at the monastery of Leimon in Lesbos records the following conversation between Epiphanius and Andreas with regard to Byzantine notions on the subject:

**Epiphanius.** Do they speak truly who declare that the prophet Elias is in his chariot thundering and lightening among the clouds, and that he is pursuing a dragon?

**Andreas.** Far from it. To accept such a statement on mere hearsay is utter folly. Men bereft of sense have concocted the tale out of their own imagination, as also the story that Christ made sparrows out of clay in the sight of the Jews, threw them into the air, and away they flew, or that he turned snow into flour. Those stories are false, and so is this, and all the extravagant doctrines forged by heretics. Elias, then, did not go up to heaven (far from it!), nor does he sit on a chariot; but he has power over the rain, and can ask God that in time of drought he will give rain to the earth. As to the fact that lightning burns a dragon, I have no doubts. The thing is true. Only, the hurler of the lightning is not Saint Elias but the angel of the Lord appointed for the purpose. A dragon is produced thus: the Devil observes etc.

Saint Elias has taken the place of the thunder-god not only in Greece but throughout a wide area of Europe and even of Asia. A folk-tale from Bukowina in Austria makes Saint Elias steal thunder and lightening from the Devil, who had misused them. Another from the same place, current also in Hungary, tells how

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1. N. G. Polites Δημόδεις μετεωρολογικοί μύθοι (extract from Παρασκεύα) Athens 1888 p. 4 ff., where further evidence bearing on the phrase ἡ ἀστραπὴ κυνηγᾷ τὰ φίδια is collected.

2. Id. ib. p. 7 f. and earlier in his Μελέτη ἐν τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεώτερων Ἔλληνων Athens 1871 i. 23 f. (after D. A. M. Charikles in Σιδério Aug. 6, 1871), J. T. Bent The Cyclades London 1885 p. 87.

3. O. Dähnhardt Naturzagen Leipzig and Berlin 1907 i. 139.
Elias drove all evil spirits out of heaven by causing thunder, lightning, and a torrent of rain for forty days and nights. In a Rumanian tale Judas steals the sun and moon from heaven, while Petrus is asleep: Elias offers to vanquish him, is armed with lightning and thunder, and succeeds in binding him to a column with iron fetters. In Servian songs Elias is expressly called *gromovnik Illya*, the 'thunderer Elias': he controls lightning, thunder, and the clouds of heaven. According to Mr W. R. S. Ralston, 'The Servians say that at the division of the world Ilya received the thunder and lightning as his share, and that the crash and blaze of the storm are signs of his contest with the devil. Wherefore the faithful ought not to cross themselves when the thunder peals, lest the evil one should take refuge from the heavenly weapons behind the protecting cross. The Bulgarians say that forked lightning is the lance of Ilya who is chasing the Lamia fiend: summer lightning is due to the sheen of that lance, or to the fire issuing from the nostrils of his celestial steeds. The white clouds of summer are named by them his heavenly sheep, and they say that he compels the spirits of dead Gypsies to form pellets of snow—by men styled hail—with which he scourges in summer the fields of sinners.' Mr Ralston further shows that Elias has inherited the attributes of the old Slavonic thunder-god Perun. The Russians hold that 'the Prophet Ilya, thunders across the sky in a flaming car, and smites the clouds with the darts of the lightning. In the Vladimir Government he is said "to destroy devils with stone arrows.".... On his day the peasants everywhere expect thunder and rain, and in some places they set out rye and oats on their gates, and ask their clergy to laud the name of Ilya, that he may bless their cornfields with plenteousness. There are districts, also, in which the people go to church in a body on Ilya's day, and after the service is over they kill and roast a beast which has been purchased at the expense of the community. Its flesh is cut up into small pieces and sold, the money paid for it going to the church. To stay away from this ceremony, or not to purchase a piece of the meat, would be considered a great sin; to mow or make hay on that day would be to incur a terrible risk, for Ilya might smite the field with the thunder, or burn up the crop with the lightning. In the old Novgorod there used to be two churches, the one dedicated to "Ilya the Wet," the other to "Ilya the Dry."

1 O. Dänhardt *Naturwagen* i. 133 f.
2 Id. ib. i. 145.
Zeus superseded by Saint Elias

To these a cross-bearing procession was made when a change in the weather was desired: to the former in times of drought, to the latter when injury was being done to the crops by rain. Diseases being considered to be evil spirits, invalids used to pray to the thunder-god for relief. And so, at the present day, a zagovor or spell against the Siberian cattle-plague entreats the "Holy Prophet of God Ilya" to send "thirty angels in golden array, with bows and with arrows" to destroy it. Similarly J. Grimm argued that Saint Elias had stepped into the shoes, not only of the Slavonic Perun, Perkun, but also of the Germanic thunder-god Thor or Donar. As Thor overcame the Midgardh-serpent and yet, touched by its venomous breath, sank dead upon the ground, so in the ninth-century Bavarian poem Muspilli Elias does indeed destroy Antichrist, but in the act himself receives a deadly wound. "The comparison," says Grimm, "becomes still more suggestive by the fact that even half-Christian races in the Caucasus worship Elias

1 W. R. S. Ralston Russian Folk-tales London 1873 p. 337 ff., cp. his earlier work The Songs of the Russian People London 1872 p. 146 ff., where however the date of Ilya's festival should be given as July 20, not July 29.

as a god of thunder. The Ossetes think a man lucky who is *struck by lightning*, they believe *Ilia* has taken him to himself; survivors raise a cry of joy, and sing and dance around the body, the people flock together, form a ring for dancing, and sing: *O Ellai, Ellai, eldaer tchoppei!* (O Elias, Elias, lord of the rocky summits). By the cairn over the grave they set up a long pole supporting the skin of a black he-goat, which is their usual manner of sacrificing to Elias...They implore Elias to make their fields fruitful, and keep the *hail* away from them¹. Olearius already had put it upon record, that the Circassians on the Caspian sacrificed a goat on *Elias's day*, and stretched the skin on a pole with prayers (fig. 135)². Even the Muhammadans, in praying that a thunder-storm may be averted, name the name of *Ilyas*³.

In view of the wide popularity of Saint Elias both within and without the confines of Greece, it is not surprising that the very name of Zeus has been erased from the memory of the people or at most drags on a hole-and-corner existence in out-of-the-way islands.


(a) *Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun.*

That Zeus as god of the bright sky was essentially connected with the sun is *à priori* probable enough. But in the domain of religion *à priori* argumentation is apt to be misleading; and, owing to the notorious vagaries of solar mythology, it must be rigorously excluded from the present section of our subject.

Philosophical writers of Hellenistic and Byzantine times definitely identify Zeus with the sun. Thus Cornificius Longus, a grammarian of the Augustan age, said that, when Homer spoke of Zeus visiting the Aithiopes, he really meant the sun⁴. Diogenes Laertios about the year 200 A.D. commemorates the death of Thales in the following epigram:

Thales the sage once watched the racers' strife When thou, O Zeus the Sun, didst snatch his life Hence to the very heaven: I praise thee, for Grown old on earth he saw the stars no more⁵.

³ [Cp. *Voyages...faits en Muscovie, Tartarie et Perse Par le Sr. Adam Olearius traduits...et augmentez Par le Sr. De Wicqufort* Amsterdam 1727 i. 1683—1684, where an illustration of the *Sacrifices des Tartares Circassiens* (my fig. 135) is given.]
⁴ A. Olearius *Reisebeschreibung* 1647 p. 532 f.
⁵ Cornific. *frag. 6* Funaioli *ap.*Macrobi. *Sat.* i. 23. 1 f.

A century later Arnobius describes the identification of Zeus with the sun as a tenet of the philosophers. The emperor Julian, a neo-Platonist of the Syrian school, who wrote his remarkable oration in praise of The Sovereign Sun for the Saturnalia of 361 A.D., is a case in point. He notes that the Cypriote priests had common altars and common precincts for the Sun and for Zeus; nay more, that Apollo himself had declared—

Zeus, Hades, Helios Sarapis—one.

About 400 A.D. Macrobius, an equally enthusiastic advocate of solar cult, devotes a whole chapter to proving that Zeus must be the sun. Ioannes Laurentius the Lydian in his work on the Roman calendar, which was written in the early part of the sixth century, repeatedly takes that view. And Eustathios, archbishop of Thessalonike, who lived during the latter half of the twelfth century, does the same in his learned commentary on the Iliad and Odyssey. These authors and others like them attempt to justify their opinion by citing certain passages from Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus, Pherekydes, Sophokles, and Platon. But it is obvious that speculations of this sort, whether ancient or modern, deserve no credence whatever unless they are supported by evidence of actual cult.

1 Arnob. adv. nat. 3. 30.
2 See Ioul. or. 4. 136 A, 143 D, 144 C, 149 B and C.
3 Id. ib. 135 D.
4 Id. ib. 135 D. f. els Zeis, els Λίθος, els Ηλίως εστι Σάραπις. Cp. the Orphic verse els Zeis, els Λίθος, els Ηλίως, els Δίανων θεός (frag. 7, 1 Abel ap. Ioum. cohors. 15 and frag. 169 Abel ap. Macrobus. Sat. 1. 18. 18).
5 Macrobus. Sat. 1. 23. 1 f. 
6 Lyd. de mens. 3. 10 p. 45. 20 f. Wünsch, ib. p. 47. 8 and 10 f., 4. 3 p. 67, 3 f. and 10.
7 Eustath. in H. pp. 40, 39, 128, 14 ff., 728, 16, id. in Od. pp. 1387, 36, 1713, 14 f., 1726, 61 f.
8 H. 1. 473 ff. (the visit of Zeus, escorted by the other gods, to the Aithiopes) is interpreted in this sense by Macrobus. Sat. 1. 23. 1 ff., somn. Seip. 2. 10. 10 f., Eustath. in H. p. 128, 14 f. H. 1. 837 τεκτονία αἰθέρα καὶ Δίου αὐγάς (on which see infra p. 7 n. 3) is similarly understood by et. mag. p. 409, 9: cp. infra ch. i § 6 (g) ix. H. 2. 134 Δίος μεγάλον ἐνυπνοίας has schol. B. L. Δίος δὲ τοῦ ἁλών ἦ τοῦ ἄνθρωπον χρόνον, schol. T. τοῦ ἁλὼν ἦ τοῦ χρόνου.
9 Macrobus. Sat. 1. 23. 9 explains: Hes. o. d. 267 πάντα ἰδὼν Δίος ὀφθαλμός καὶ πάντα νόειμαι (infra p. 196 n. 6) by H. 3. 277 Ἡλίως ἦ δὲ πάντα ἄρφος καὶ πάντι ἐπαφεῖναι: cp. infra ch. i § 6 (g) ix.
10 Macrobus. Sat. 1. 23. 23 cites Orph. frag. 235 Abel, of which the last couplet runs: ἄγαλη Ζεὺς ἀνωτέρω, πάντα πάντων, πάντα αὐθί, Ἡλίως παγγενέτοραν, πανταξιόδον, χρυσοφεγγέας. Cp. infra p. 197 n. 2 f.
11 Lyd. de mens. 4. 3 p. 67, 3 f. Wünsch τοῦ Διὸ—καὶ γὰρ Ἡλίως αὐτὸς κατὰ Φερεκέδην.
12 Soph. frag. 1017 Nauck: see infra ch. i § 6 (g) ix.
Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun

And, even if such evidence is forthcoming, we must not at once conclude that Zeus was a sun-god in his own right. It may be merely a case of international worship, the syncretistic identification of Zeus with a foreign solar deity.

For instance, among the religious phenomena of the Hellenistic age few are more remarkable than the vogue of Sarapis or Serapis. This deity, whatever his origin, was regarded by Egyptians of the Ptolemaic period as the Apis of Osiris (Asār-Hāpi), a human mummy with a bull's head and the sun's disk between his horns. The Greeks conceived him as a chthonian Zeus (fig. 136) and indicated his solar powers by means of a rayed crown (fig. 137). All round

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1 In recent years there has been much discussion as to the origin of Sarapis (see e.g. the résumés of Gruppe Myth. Lit. 1908 p. 611 ff. and of R. Wünsch in the Archiv f. Rel. 1911 xiv. 579 n. 1). Three possible views have been mooted: (i) that Sarapis was from the first an Egyptian deity, who arose from the fusion of Osiris with the Apis of Se-n-hapi, the 'Place of Apis,' near Memphis. This is held to explain not merely the compound names 'Asār-Hāpi, Osār-Hāpi, Oesār-Hāpi, etc. (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1576 n. 1), but also the tradition that the statue of Sarapis was brought to Alexandria from Sinoe (Plout. de Is. et Os. 28 f., Tac. hist. 4. 83 f.), since Se-n-hapi was known to the Greeks as Sιραπιος (Dionys. per. 254 f., Makaridou πολιτευον, ἵνα Σιραπιον Διὸς μεγαλου μπαδρον with Eustath. ad loc. Σιραπιοι δη Ζευς ο δ Μεμφιτης Σιραπιοι γαρ δρος Μεμφι-φοδος ή ἄπο Σιραπιος της Ποικιλης, etc.). So A. Bouché-Leclercq in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1902 xlvi. 1 ff., I. Lévy ib. 1909 lx. 285 ff., 1910 lxii. 163 ff., G. Lafaye in Daremberg-Saglio Dict. Ant. iv. 1248 ff.

2 That Sarapis was originally the Babylonian god Ea, whose cult-title iar apī, 'King of the Ocean, King of the Deep Sea,' became by a series of normal changes iar apī, *iār apī, *iār apī, iar apī. Sarapis is first mentioned in connexion with Babylon (Plout. v. Alex. 73, 76, Arrian. 7. 16. 2). His ancient cult at Sinoe may go back to an early Assyrian occupation of the town. His worship was introduced into Egypt by Ptolemy I Soter, who deliberately identified him with Osiris-Apis. This arrangement of the facts explains inter alia the relation of Sarapis to Iao, whose name is the final form of the Babylonian Ea (Ea ou Eā, later Ia ou Ia). So C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 338—364, cp. A. Dieterich Kleine Schriften Leipzig and Berlin 1912 p. 159 ff.

3 That Sarapis was a barbarian European deity known to the Macedonians and by them equated with the Babylonian god (evidence discussed in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 352 ff.).


5 Plout. de Is. et Os. 28 του Ἰδούταρων, Tac. hist. 4. 83 Ioviis Ditis; Dessau Inscriptiones Lat. sel. no. 4391 Lambaisa in Numidia (Iovis Plutonis Sarapis sacer).  

6 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia p. 359 pl. 39, 4 a copper of imperial date struck at Tripolis in Lydia: ΣΕΡΑ CAPATIAC wearing a modius on his head and extending his right hand over Kerberos at his feet. A similar figure and legend appear on coppers of Alexandria struck by Vespasian, both as a seated and as a standing type (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 31).

the Mediterranean are found frequent dedications to 'Zeus the Sun, the mighty Sarapis', or simply to 'Zeus the Sun, Sarapis'.

Examples of Sarapis with a rayed crown, including a marble bust, lamps, gems, coins, etc., are collected by L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkrone* St Petersburg 1859 p. 43 ff. (extr. from the *Mémories de l’Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 361 ff.).


So Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4395 Lutri in Crete (Iovi Soli optimo maximo Sarapidis), 4396 Rome (I. o. m. Soli Sarapidii).

2 Διὸ Ἡλίῳ Σαράπειῳ: *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2716 Stratonikeia (Διὸ Ἡλίῳ Σαράπειῳ), iii nos. 4042 Ankyra in Galatia (Διὸ Ἡλίῳ Σαράπειῳ), 4262 Sidyma in Lykia (Διὸ Ἡλίῳ...
190 Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun

A papyrus of the second century A.D. found at Oxyrhynchus preserves the following question addressed to his oracle:

To Zeus the Sun, the mighty Serapis, and to the gods that share his temple. Nike asks whether it is expedient for her to buy from Tasarapion her slave Sarapion also called Gaion. Grant me this.

The so-called Anastasy papyrus in the British Museum, a book of magical formulæ written probably in the fourth century A.D., equates Zeus the Sun not only with Sarapis but also with the ancient Indo-Iranian god Mithras, who under Chaldean influence came to be regarded as the sun, commencing one of its mystic sentences with the words:

I invoke thee, O Zeus the Sun, Mithras, Sarapis, the Unconquered, etc.

Σεράπις, Inscr. Gr. Sic. It. no. 3244 Auxim in Pecenum (Iovi Soli Sarapi Δι Ηλιος Σεράπις).

So Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. nos. 4398 Apulum in Dacia (Sarapidi Iovi Soli), 4399 Rome (Sol. Sarapi Iovi). Cp. ib. no. 4397 Sassoferrati in Umbria (Iovi Soli invicto Sarapidi).

1 A. S. Hunt in The Oxyrhynchus Papyri London 1911 viii. 350 no. 1149 Δι Ηλιος μεγάλος Σεράπις i.e. et al., cp. ib. viii. 249 f. no. 1148.


3 Dr J. H. Moulton Early Religious Poetry of Persia Cambridge 1911 p. 36 f. An extremely important Aryan god whose province came very near that of Dyaus was Mithra (Skt. Mitra, Av. Mitra etc.). He seems to have belonged to the upper air rather than to the sun. Prof. E. V. Arnold says there is little support in the Veda for the solar connexion, unless it be in hymns which compare Agni to Mitra. Nor is the Avestan Yasata decisively sun-like. His name has no very convincing cognates in Indo-European languages, and we are rather tempted to speculate on a prehistoric link between the Aryans and Babylon, or some source influenced by Babylon. The "firmament" of the first chapter of Genesis was very prominent in early Semitic mythology, and it is remarkable that the Assyrian metu, "rain," comes so near to Mithra's name.

4 F. Cumont Die Mysterien des Mithra trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 1 ff. is still content to regard Mithra as an Indo-Iranian god of light (Beide Religionen erblicken in ihm eine Lichtgottheit, welche zugleich mit dem Himmel angereufen wird, der dort Varuna, hier Ahura heisst etc.).

The now famous cuneiform records of Kappadokia show that Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and Nasatyas were already worshipped by the Mitani, an Indo-Iranian people dwelling next to the Hittites in the north of Mesopotamia, as far back as c. the fourteenth century B.C. (E. Meyer Das erste Aften der Arier in der Geschichte in the Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin 1908 p. 14 ff. and in his Geschichte des Altenrums Stuttgart 1907 i. 579, 829, 837).

5 F. Cumont in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3056 ff. Dr J. H. Moulton op. cit. p. 35: Mithra...is sufficiently solar to give his name to the Sun in modern Persian (Mehr).

6 C. Wessely Griechische Zauberpapyri Wien 1888 p. 103. 5 f. τυχαλομαι σε ζων- μήδα παραποναρει τη νύσα

Cp. F. Cumont Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra Bruxelles
Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun

Philon of Byblos, who flourished c. 100 A.D., wrote what purported to be a translation of an ancient Phoenician history by a certain Sanchouniathon of Berytos. An extract from the translation preserved by Eusebios states:

The descendants of these men (Aion and Protagonos) were called Genos and Genea, and dwelt in Phoinike. When a drought befell, they stretched their hands to heaven towards the sun; for he was the one god that they worshipped as lord of heaven, calling him Beelsâmen, which signifies 'Lord of Heaven' among the Phoenicians or 'Zeus' among the Greeks.

Zeus is here the Greek equivalent of the Phoenician Ba‘al-kamin, 'Lord of Heaven,' who was honoured not only in Phoinike and its colonies but throughout the whole of Syria, and was sometimes at least conceived as a sun-god. It is he who appears on a fine bronze disk at Brussels published by Monsieur F. Cumont (fig. 138).

1896 ii. 134 no. 256 a Mithraic relief at Dorstadt (figured ib. ii. 307 f. no. 191) inscribed Io(vi) S(oli) invi(icto) deo genitori r(upe) n(ato) etc., ib. ii. 140 no. 319 Dalmatia? D(eo) S(oli) I(ovi?) op(timo) m(aximo?) aeterno etc., ib. ii. 174 no. 556 Rome I(ovi?) S(oli?) I(nvicto?) P(uestissimo?) etc.

4 C. J. M. de Vogüé Inscriptions sémithiques Paris 1868 p. 19 no. 16 a bilingual inscription in Aramaic and Greek from Palmyra, [יוו] [בַּלעַת] being rendered by [יוו] 'H'Neov.
Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun

The mask of Zeus wearing an oak-wreath is seen between the spread wings of an eagle, which stoops its head and grips with its talons a snake coiled in a circle. The tail of the reptile, first seized by its jaws and then passed round its neck, symbolises both the universe and eternity1, and attests the character of the Syrian Zeus.

At Tripolis in Phoinike the local Baal was Hellenised as a celestial and probably solar Zeus Hágios. Coins of imperial date show a square-topped and sometimes battlemented structure with a radiant bust of the god in a pediment and a lighted altar below between figures representing the sun and moon (figs. 139, 140)2. This is perhaps a great altar of semi-oriental form, comparable with the Persian fire-altars3.

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1 Horapoll. hiealg. i. 1 aíoun...γράφαι βουλόμενοι ὤρν ὡγραφοῦσιν ἔχουσα τὴν οὐρὰν ὑπὸ τὸ λευκὸν σῶμα κρυστόλυτον, ib. i. 12 κύκλων βουλόμενοι γράφαι οὕρν ὡγραφοῦσι τὴν έαυτοῦ ἐσθητον οὐρὰν, Macrob. Sat. i. 9. 12 hinc et Phoenices in sacris imaginem eius expresserunt draconem sinxerunt in orbe...redactum caudamque suam devorantem, ut appareat mundum et ex se ipso alii et in se revolvi, Lyd. de mens. 3. 4 p. 39. 1 ff. Wünsch ἐναπτι...κύκλων ἐπὶ ἐκείνη ἐπὶ ἐαυτοῦ εἰς ἑορτάσμενον...δὲν καὶ Αὔγουστον καθ' ἕρων λόγων ἵδακτων οὐραῖον τοῖς τυπικάις ἐγχειρίδιοι, Myth. Var. i. 1 Saturnum... draconem etiam flammivomum, qui caudae suae ultima devorat, in dextra tenentem inducent—collected by Cumont, who cites also a Mithraic relief showing a bearded serpent of this sort with rays on its head and a crescent on its tail (F. Cumont Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra Bruxelles 1896 ii. 208 no. 25 fig. 36). The same idea recurs in the magical papyri: G. Parthey Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri Berlin 1866 p. 124 p. 1, 143 f. κύκλων ἐπὶ ἐαυτοῦ ἱδακτὼν | οὐραίον in a charm πρὸς ἵλοιν, C. Wessely Neue griechische Zauberpapyri Wien 1893 p. 39 p. Lond. 131, 596 f. o ὥγραφο | οὐραίον = F. G. Kenyon Greek Papyri in the British Museum London 1893 i. 101 f. no. 121, 306 f. in a charm πρὸς δαίμονας, πρὸς φαντάσματα, πρὸς τέων νοσών καὶ τάκτων, cp. Corp. inscr. Att. App. defix. p. xii tab. Berol. 1 a 7 ἄρωροβολή with R. Wünsch's n. ib. p. xx b.

Many illustrations may be found in the Abraxas-gems published by Montfaucon Antiquity Explained trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 ii. 227 ff. pl. 48 ff., e.g. p. 330 pl. 50 no. 8 (my fig. 141) after Chiflet, obviously a solar talisman.

2 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia pp. cxxii 244 ff. pl. 77, 14.17, 28, 3. 4. 43, 11 (my fig. 140), 12 (my fig. 139), Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 262 pl. 76, 26, 30.

Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun 193

Again, a series of inscriptions from Trachonitis establishes the cult of a deity, whose full title was ‘Zeus the unconquered Sun, the god Aumos.’ Thus a stone over the door of a cell in the monastery of Deir el Leben records the following act of piety:

Of Zeus the unconquered Sun, the god Aumos. The enclosure of the court was founded by Kassios Malichathos of the village of Reimea and by Paulos Maximinos of the village of Faithful Mardochoi.

Fig. 142.

Passing from Palestine to Asia Minor, we still find local sun-gods identified with Zeus. A sample will serve. A stèle from Maonia (Menneh) now at Koloe (Koula) associates the radiate bust of a Lydian sun-god, here called Zeus Masphalatenos, with that of the moon-god Men (fig. 142).

1 Zeus deiktos Ἑλέως θεὸς Λέμων Λεβας-wäddington Asie Mineure etc. nos. 2392–2395 Deir-el-Lében, 2441 Acrita, 2455 Agraina, 2390? Merochoa.
2 Corp. inscr. Gr. iii no. 4550 Δῖος δυνηθησίου Ἡλεως θεοῦ Δισθεα, where for Δισθεα we must read Λέμων (Lebas-Waddington op. cit. no. 2394, W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2164).

At Balaklauu, a day’s ride south from Lystra, W. M. Calder and Sir W. M. Ramsay found a dedication of the first century A.D., which associates Ἑλεως | Μέγας with Δι
Obviously these and other such identifications\(^1\) do not suffice to prove that Zeus himself, the Greek Zeus, was essentially solar in character. At most they show that his attributes permitted of his being identified roughly and for practical purposes with a variety of barbaric sun-gods. The only example of Zeus being worshipped as the Sun on Greek soil is to be found at Kastri, on the site of Arkesine, in Amorgos, where a very early rock-cut inscription reads (fig. 143):

\[
\text{Zeus} \\
\text{"HAI[ο]\text{e}} \\
\text{the Sun?}
\]

If the second word has been rightly deciphered by Monsieur Dubois,\(^2\) we are driven to conclude that at least as early as the fifth century B.C. the inhabitants of Amorgos recognised a solar Zeus. This isolated case must then be due, as Dr Farnell saw, to 'some peculiar


\(^1\) Zeus Ádados (Jupiter Heliopolitanus), Zeus Dolichaios (Jupiter Dolichenus), Zeus Talaios, Talaios, Tallaicos, Zeus Ammon, Zeus Asklaicos, etc. will be separately considered in later sections.

A seated Zeus radiate occurs on silver coins of Antikythera (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 25 f, pl. 7, 9, 14) and Hermiaios (ib. p. 62 pl. 15, 1, 2, 3, 5) and on copper coins of Manes (ib. p. 70 pl. 16, 9) and Spaliries (ib. p. 101 pl. 22, 2); a standing Zeus radiate on silver coins of Heliodorus (ib. p. 21 pl. 7, 3; p. 23 pl. 7, 5 f.), Aces (ib. p. 73 pl. 17, 8—11), Spalairos with Vonones (ib. p. 98 pl. 21, 7 f.), Spalagardes with Vonones (ib. p. 99 pl. 21, 10), and Spalirites (ib. p. 100 pl. 22, 1). The majority of these are described as laureate, not radiate, by Prof. P. Gardner loc. cit.; he admits, however, that pl. 17, 8 Aces and pl. 22, 2 Spalirites are radiate, and such may well be the character of them all.


\(^2\) H. Roehl Imagines inscriptionum Graecarum antiquissimorum Berolini 1898 p. 55 no. 28, E. S. Roberts An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy Cambridge 1887 i. 191 no. 160f.
Cult-epithets of Zeus that may be solar

local syncretism or foreign influences. But unfortunately it is far from certain that Monsieur Dubois' restoration of the second line is sound. Monsieur Delamarre, who has recently edited the inscription for the Berlin Corpus, argues from the analogy of dedications in Thera that we need rather the name of the dedicator in the genitive case. And, if that be so, the inscription is no longer in point.

(b) Cult-epithets of Zeus that may be solar.

But, if it must be admitted that the Greeks did not directly identify Zeus their sky-god with the sun, it can hardly be denied that indirectly Zeus was connected with solar phenomena. Some of his cult-epithets are suggestive of such a connexion. Thus at Chios Zeus was entitled Aithiops, 'He of the Burning Face,' a name elsewhere given to a son of Hephaistos, eponym of Aithiopia, and to one of the horses of the Sun. Conceivably, however, Zeus may have been termed Aithiops in his character of Aither, 'the Burning Sky,' rather than in any solar capacity. Again, at Thorikos on the south-east coast of Attike, an unworked block of stone has been found bearing the inscription:

Hópoς Boundary
lēpov of the precinct
∆ίς of Zeus
Αἰαντή- Αuante-
r.

This Zeus Auante'r, 'the Scorcher,' is explained by Mr N. G. Polites as the god of summer heat—a conception which might refer to the glowing sky in general, but with more probability attaches to the sun in particular.

1 Farnell Cults of Gk. States i. 44.
2 J. Delamarre in Inscr. Gr. ins. vii no. 87, citing ib. iii nos. 400 ff.
5 Hyg. fab. 183 Aethiops quasi flammeus est, concoquit fruges...huic rei auctor est Eumelus Corinthinus. M. Schmidt reads Aethops, a conjecture based on the fact that Eur. frag. 896 Nauck 2 ap. Athen. 465 b and ap. Eustath. in Il. p. 883, 62 called one of the Sun's horses Aldeph in the lines Βαχχίου φλαμβεύον παθών σου, | κε φροτο λαλούν αλών αθρα. Cq. Nonn. Dion. 29. 301 αθρα οι Μεθιως. 6 καταθλων.
6 Supra p. 27 ff.
7 Δαν. 'Athen. 1890 p. 140 f. in letters of the fourth century B.C. ΑΤΑΝΘΙΡΟΣ is a blunder for ΑΤΑΝΘΙΡΟΣ.
8 N. G. Polites 'Zeus Mallirho' in 'Eia 1890 no. 41 (see Ath. Mitth. 1890 xv. 443, Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 2264) derives Αἰαντή with the same root as αἰαίω, 'I scorch' or 'parch,' cp. Aristoph. ran. 194 τῶν Αἰαίων λίθων.
(c) The Sun as the Eye of Zeus.

Fortunately evidence of a less equivocal nature is to hand. There is reason to think that the Greeks, like various other peoples\(^3\), at one time regarded the sun and moon as the eyes of the animate sky\(^2\). The sun especially was the eye of \textit{Aithér}, ‘the Burning Sky’, and might therefore be called the eye of Zeus. Euripides in his tragedy \textit{The Mysians} spoke of Zeus as ‘sun-eyed’! A magical hymn preserved in a papyrus of the Berlin Museum addresses the sun-god thus:

\begin{quote}
Sun famed-for-steeds, Zeus' earth-embracing eye,
All-bright, high-travelling, fallen-from-Zeus, heaven-ranging\(^5\).
\end{quote}

And Macrobius states that ‘antiquity calls the sun the eye of Zeus’\(^6\). The phrase seems to have been current in the jargon of later oracles also—witness sundry responses of Apollo first published by N. Piccolos\(^7\). The god bade one Poplas attain his ends—

\begin{quote}
Praying the ageless eye of all-seeing Zeus\(^8\).
\end{quote}

On another occasion he advised the same man to propitiate—

\begin{quote}
The brilliant eye of Zeus, giver of life\(^9\).
\end{quote}

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\(^5\) H. mag. 2. 13 (Abel \textit{Orphica} p. 288) \textit{φίλε κλαυόμελε, Δίις γαυηχόχοι (γαυηχόχος c). Schenkl} \textit{δύμα}.

\(^6\) Macrobr. \textit{Sat.} 1. 21. 12 solem Iovis oculus appellant antiquitas. Whether Hes. \textit{o. d.} 267 πάντα ἄϑων Δίως ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ πάντα νόημα can be referred to the sun, is doubtful: cp. Soph. \textit{O. C.} 704 f. ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸν ὀρέων κύκλος | λειψάει \textit{kλιρον Δίως}, schol. p. 187 n. 9. To judge from Hesych. ὅσπερ ὀφθαλμοὺς Δίως ὁ ἀστραπῆ, ‘the eye of Zeus’ was an expression used also of lightning; on which conception see \textit{infra} ch. i § 6 (d) vi, (g) xx (γ), ch. ii § 1.

\(^7\) N. Piccolos \textit{Supplément à l'Anthologie Grecque} Paris 1853 p. 183 ff.

\(^8\) Cougny \textit{Anth. Pal. Appr.} 6. 152. 2 λυσομένῃ Ζηρῆς πανθερίδος ἄφθιτων δύμα.

\(^9\) \textit{Id. ib.} 6. 153. 1 Ὑλάκου Ζηρῆς βιοδότηρος ἄγλαιον δύμα.
The Sun as a Wheel

And again he announced to a second worshipper, Stratonikos by name:

Thou still hast long to live; but reverence
The eye of life-giving Zeus with offerings meet.¹

An Orphic hymn, after identifying Zeus with various parts of the cosmic whole—the sun and moon included, goes on to say more expressly:

As eyes he has the sun and the shining moon².

Another Orphic hymn likewise describes the sun as at once the eye of the world and Zeus:

Immortal Zeus,
Clear-skied, all-radiant, circling eye of the world.³

In a somewhat similar vein Nonnus of Panopolis in Egypt, a poet who wrote about the year 400 A.D., makes Dionysos address to the sun-god of Tyre a remarkable hymn, in which that divinity is saluted not only as ‘Sun’ and ‘all-bright eye of Aithér,’ but also by a fusion of religious ideas as ‘the Assyrian Zeus’ and ‘the cloudless Zeus of Egypt.’¹⁴

It may be added that the Greeks of the Peloponnese still speak of the sun as ‘God’s eye,’ and that the eye of the sun or the star⁶.

(d) The Sun as a Wheel.

i. The Solar Wheel in Greece.

Another conception of the sun that has left its mark upon Greek mythology and religion is that of a revolving wheel.⁷

¹ Cougny ἔβ. 6. 154. 1 ff. ἄλλα σεβάζον | καταβάτων Δίας ὄμνα θευτόλιας ἀγαπησ.
² Orph. frag. 123, 6 Abel Ζεὺς ἐλεύθη, ἡδὲ σελήνη, ἠβ. 18 ὄματα δ’ ἡδίως καὶ παμφανὼς σελήνη.
³ Orph. h. Heli. 8. 13 f. ἀθάνατος Ζεὺς, | εὐδεία, πανοβία, κάμον τὸ περίθρων ὄμα.
⁴ Cp. supra p. 187 n. 10.
⁵ Nonn. Dion. 40. 370 Ἑλὲ... 379 παμφαλὲ αἰθέρος ὄμα... 393 Ἀσσυριως Ζεὺς... 399 εἶτε Σαραυις ἐφευρὶ, Διγοῦτιος ἀνθέφελος Ζεὺς. Count de Marcellus ad loc. cp. Mart. Cap. 185 ff., where Philologia addresses the sun-god in an equally syncretistic strain.
⁶ N. G. Polites op. cit. p. 33.
⁷ J. G. von Hahn Albanische Studien Jena 1854 ii. 106.
Euripides the poet-philosopher is represented by Aristophanes as declaring that Aithér at the creation devised—

The eye to mimic the wheel of the sun.  

Again, Aristophanes, who makes fun of everybody including himself, in his comedy Daidalos seems to have shown the sun as a wheel spinning in the air, and puts into the mouth of one of his characters the illusion-destroying couplet:

Stage-carpenter, when you want to send the wheel
Spinning aloft, say, 'Hail, thou light of the sun!'

The conception of a solar wheel is, however, seldom expressed in extant Greek literature. For the most part it has been obscured by progressive civilisation and lies half-hidden beneath later accretions. For all that, it can be detected by patient search as the ultimate explanation of not a few myths, ritual objects, and divine insignia.

(a) Ixion.

I begin with the myths—and in primis that of Ixion, a personage of paramount importance for the proper understanding of early Greek beliefs. The orthodox tale with regard to him is told succinctly by the scholiast on Euripides: 'Ixion was a Lapith by race, and married Dia the daughter of Eioneus. He plotted against his father-in-law, when he came to fetch the bridal gifts. He dug a pit in his house, filled it with fire, and flung Eioneus into it. Wherefore he incurred the wrath of heaven. But Zeus took pity on Ixion and received him and let him be in his own holy place, giving him a share of immortality too. He in his wantonness saw Hera and was enamoured of her. She, not brooking his mad desires, told Zeus. Whereupon Zeus was wrathful and, wishing to learn whether the thing was true, made a cloud (nephelé) in the likeness of Hera. Ixion on seeing it thought it to be Hera and lay with it and begat a child of double nature, part man, part horse, wherefrom the rest of the Kentauroi are sprung. But Zeus in anger bound Ixion to a winged wheel and sent him spinning through the air. Ixion under the lash repeats the words: "We must honour our benefactors." Some say that Zeus hurled him into Tartaros. Others, again, that the wheel was made of fire.'

1 Aristoph. theta. 17. In Soph. Ant. 1065 τρόχους ὄμολαγης ἡλιον all the MSS. have τροχούς, 'wheels'; but Jebb rightly accepts Eretudt's cj. τρόχους, 'courses.'
3 Schol. A. C. M. Eur. Phoen. 1185. The ultimate source of the scholion appears to be Pherekydes frag. 103 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 96 f. Müller).
To Ixion and his offence we must return at a later stage of our argument: it is the peculiar character of his punishment that is here in point. Since Theodor Panofka first discussed the matter in 1853, it has been commonly agreed that Ixion bound to his blazing wheel and sent spinning through the upper air or under the nether gloom must be the sun-god and no other. Hence his constant association with fire: he was called the son of Phlegyas, the 'Flaming,' by Euripides, the son of Aithon, the 'Glowing,' by Pherekydes; and it was by means of a fiery pit thinly covered with logs and dust that he entrapped and slew Eioneus the father of Dia.

Moreover, Ixion's wheel as represented in Greek, Etruscan, and Roman work is possibly solar. At least, its claims to be regarded as solar are deserving of further investigation. The extant representations include the following:

A brown chalcedony scarab from the Castellani collection, now in the British Museum, shows Ixion as a nude bearded figure, whose hands are bound to the rim of a large wheel. Between the spokes is the Etruscan inscription Ichsiun. This gem (fig. 144) may be assigned to the second half of the fifth century.

Contemporary with it, if not somewhat earlier (about 450—440 B.C.), is a red-figured kantharos of fine style, likewise in our national collection. Its reverse design (fig. 145) depicts the preparations for the punishment of Ixion. The culprit, held fast by Ares and Hermes, stands before the throne of Hera, while Athena brings up a four-spoked wheel fitted with a pair of wings.

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2 Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 770. L. Laistner Das Rätsel der Sphinx Berlin 1889 i. 299 ff. holds that the myth of Ixion is essentially akin to German folk-tales of elves appearing in the form of a fiery wheel, which creaks, pipes, screams etc. But such tales are themselves meteorological in origin (E. H. Meyer Germanische Mythologie Berlin 1891 p. 61).
4 Pherekyd. loc. cit. Mühr, which Müller corrected into Mühroros.
5 Pherekyd. ib.
7 Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 143 f. no. E 155. The most satisfactory interpretation of the vase as a whole is that propounded by Sir Cecil Smith in the Class. Rev. 1895 ix. 277—280. I have borrowed his fig. b, which is more accurate than Raoul-Rochette Monuments inédits d'antiquités figurées Paris 1833 pl. 40, 1, being based on a tracing by Mr F. Anderson.
8 Infra p. 231 n. 8.
A great Apulian amphora with volute handles, found at Ruvo and now preserved in the Hermitage at St Petersburg, has for its obverse decoration a pair of contrasted scenes. The body of the vase shows Hades enthroned in his palace between Persephone and Hermes. Grouped near by are Apollon and Artemis on the one side, Aphrodite, Eros and Pan on the other. And below are six of the Danaïdes with their water-pots. The neck (fig. 146) gives us the upper, not the under, world. Here in the centre we see Ixion, clothed indeed, but fast fettered to a triple wheel, from whose outer rim rays dart forth in all directions. On the right Hephaistos leans against a tree-trunk, still holding the hammer with which he has riveted the fetters. On the left a winged Erinys with snakes in her hair is engaged in turning the wheel. Two other figures complete the scene—Iris the counterpart of Hermes, and Zeus the counterpart of Hades. Iris with wings and a caduceus occupies the

1 Infra ch. ii § 9 (d) ii (γ), where the bibliography of the vase is given.
2 Raoul-Rochette op. cit. pl. 45.
3 'Le Charon grec' (Raoul-Rochette op. cit. p. 179 n. 3), 'Éaque (?)' (Reinach Rép. Vasen i. 355).
4 'Iris (?) ou Érinys (?)' (Reinach loc. cit.)!
5 'Érinys' (Reinach ib.)!
6 'Aias' (Raoul-Rochette loc. cit.), 'Hadès (?)' (Reinach loc. cit.). But these suggestions miss the intended contrast between the Upper- and the Under-world. Apulian vases that have the Under-world on the body normally have the Upper-world on the neck, either on the obverse or on the reverse side. Thus Karlsruhe 388 (Reinach op. cit. i. 108) has obverse Helios in his quadriga (ib. i. 258). Munich 849 (ib. i. 258) has obverse Helios and Heos in quadrigae conducted across the sea by Phosphoros (Furtwängler-Reichhold Gr. Vasenmaleri. i. 51). Naples 3222 (Reinach op. cit. i. 167) has reverse Helios in his quadriga, Selene on horseback, and Eros between them, crossing the sea (ib. i. 312). St Petersburg 426 (ib. i. 479) has obverse Eros in a quadriga—presumably the sun's chariot (ib.). In fact, the only exception among the large-sized Under-world
extreme right; Zeus enthroned and holding his eagle-sceptre, the extreme left.

A Campanian amphora from Cumae, now at Berlin, has another striking representation of the scene as its principal design (pl. xvi). The figures composing it have been first drawn in accordance with the usual technique of the vase-painter and subsequently coloured in more or less natural tints—the result being a polychrome decoration suggestive of fresco-work. Raised aloft in mid air is Ixion. He is naked and bound, spread-eagle fashion, to the four spokes of a double wheel. His bonds are so many serpents; and two of them, twining about his legs and body, raise their heads to bite him on the shoulders. The rims of his wheel, which are painted a whitish yellow, a bright and a dark red, send forth red tongues of flame; these, however, do not radiate light outwards, but heat inwards, and so add to the anguish of the sufferer. Immediately beneath him a winged Erinyes rises from the ground with snaky hair and uplifted torch. Ixion's wheel is turned by a couple of winged female figures, who have been interpreted as Nephelai. Hephaistos, having completed his ghastly work, stands back to survey it, cap on head and hammer in hand. He is balanced by a second spectator, Hermes, who turns his back upon the scene but, fascinated by it in spite of himself, glances upwards in the direction of Ixion.

A wall-painting, which still adorns a dining-room in the house of the Vettii at Pompeii, provides us with yet another type (fig. 147). The artist, realising that the agony of Ixion must be suggested to the mind rather than presented to the eye, has given us but a glimpse of the hero fastened face downwards on a mighty eight-spoked wheel. Behind him stands the grim figure of Hephaistos, who lays his left hand on the wheel and with his right is about to grasp a spoke and set it in motion. His anvil, hammer and pincers are near him on the ground. At this supreme moment, when the torture is on the point of commencing, Hermes the mandatory of vases is Naples Santangelo 709 (ib. i. 455), which has obverse a female head in a floral device, reverse a horse attacked by griffins.

1 Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin ii. 840 f. no. 3023. The best reproduction is that by A. Klugmann in the Ann. d. Inst. 1873 xlv. 93—98 pl. I—K (badly copied in Baumeister Denkm. i. 767 fig. 831 and Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 769 f.).


Amphora from Cumae: Ixion on his wheel.
Zeus\(^1\) arrests the wheel and looks round to see if there is any sign of relenting on the face of Hera. Hera, however, is already enjoying her anticipated triumph and, prompted by Iris\(^2\) at her elbow, hardens her heart: the dread sentence will be duly carried out. In the foreground sits a swathed figure, who turns with an imploring look and gesture, not indeed towards Hera—that would be useless,

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Fig. 147.

—but towards the more sympathetic Hermes. She has been justly regarded as Nephele\(^3\) interceding for her lover. The whole picture

\(^1\) Hyg. *fab.* 62.

\(^2\) Iris is neatly characterised by the nimbus round her head.

\(^3\) See Herrmann *loc. cit.*, who successfully disposes of the rival interpretations—Erinys or Nemesis (Herrlich), the mother of Ixion (Sogliano), ‘a personification of the spirit of one who has died’ (Mau). Wagner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 182 argued that she must be Nephele on account of her swathed form.
is finely conceived and almost certainly repeats a Greek *motif*. Indeed, we have seen the same *dramatis personae* in the vase-
paintings already reviewed—Hera seated on her throne, Iris standing with raised right hand, Hephaistos with his hammer beside the wheel, Hermes with his *caduceus* glancing round, and even Nephele, though here by a fine original touch she is repre-
sented as doing her best to avert, not to forward, the punishment of Ixion. It seems possible to go one step further and to determine the date of the Greek prototype. Here much help is afforded by the style of Hermes, its most prominent figure. He might well be a bronze statue by Lysippos. The proportions of head, trunk, and legs, the pose of the feet, the attitude of the head turned away from the leg that bears the weight, would all support this conten-
tion. And the resemblance of the whole figure to the Lansdowne Herakles, pointed out by G. Rodenwaldt¹, would go to confirm it, if—as Prof. P. Gardner has urged²—the Herakles is essentially Lysippian in character. On this showing we may concludel that the Pompeian picture had as its direct ancestor a Greek fresco dating from the age of Alexander the Great.

An Etruscan mirror recently acquired by the British Museum and hitherto unpublished³ (pl. xvii) figures Ixion bound to a great winged wheel in the early ‘running’ attitude⁴, which here denotes rapid revolution. He is nude except for the fillet about his hair and the bands that fasten him to the eight-spoked wheel. The flower twice introduced between adjacent spokes serves as a stop-
gap and has no special significance. The mirror is referred by Mr H. B. Walters to the third or possibly to the fourth century B.C. The ivy-wreath and the rendering of hands, feet, etc. suffice to prove that it is archaistic, not archaic.

Finally, a Roman sarcophagus, found in a brick sepulchral monument behind the second mile-stone on the *Via Appia Nuova* and now in the *Galleria dei Candelabri* of the Vatican, has its right end decorated with reliefs symbolic of the Under-world (fig. 148)⁵.

¹ G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 p. 178.
³ Exhibited now in Case C of the Bronze Room at the British Museum.
Etruscan mirror: Ixion on his wheel.
See page 204.
Sisyphos raises the stone above his head. Tantalos lifts the water towards his mouth. And between them Ixion revolvs on a strong seven-spoked wheel, his attitude recalling the earlier representation of him on the Etruscan mirror (pl. xvii).

Fig. 148.

It remains to enquire how far the foregoing figures bear out the suggestion that Ixion’s wheel was solar. A wheel, a winged wheel a wheel darting rays outward, a wheel flaming inwards and bound about with snakes—all these are beyond question conceivable ways of depicting the sun. For example, the Egyptians used to place a winged solar disk flanked by two uraeus-snakes over the gateway of every temple-court (fig. 149)\(^1\). This custom was explained by

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\(^1\) On the origin of the winged disk see S. Reinach ‘Aetos Prométheus’ in the *Rev. Arch.* 1907 ii. 59—81 = id. *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 68—91, infra ch. i § 6 (d) i (e); and on its development Count Goblet d’Alviella *Recherches sur l’histoire du globe ailé hors de l’Égypte* Bruxelles 1888 (extr. from the *Bulletin de l’Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* iii Série 1888 xvi. 623 ff. no. 13). Cp. also Stevenson ‘The Feather and the Wing in Mythology’ in *Oriental Studies* (Oriental Club of Philadelphia) Boston 1894 pp. 236—239. In Egypt the winged disk is found as early as the sixth dynasty, e.g. on a triumphal stèle of Pepi i in Wadi-Maghara (Sinait) published by J. de Morgan *Recherches sur les origines de l’Égypte* Paris 1896 i. 235 fig. 296. I figure a fine eighteenth-dynasty example from the door to the chapel of Thothmes i at Deir el Bahri, drawn by R. E. F. Paget for A. Wiedemann *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1897 p. 75 fig. 14. The wings are probably those of the falcon (*falko peregrinus*), not the sparrow-hawk: see G. Béhédite in the *Mon. Piot* 1909 xvii. 5 ff.
means of the following myth. Ṣeru-behuṭet, the Horos of Edfu, when he fought the enemies of his father Ra, changed himself into a winged disk of many colours. As such he flew up to the sun, sighted his foes, and started in pursuit. He took with him Nekhebet the goddess of the South and Uachtit the goddess of the North in the form of two snakes that they might destroy the adversaries. Having gained the day, Ṣeru-behuṭet was thenceforward called ‘the Darter of Rays who emergeth from the horizon’; and Ra ordained that the winged solar disk should be set over every sacred spot for the banishing of evil.

The winged disk is found also, with slight modifications, in Phoinike, where it was similarly used to consecrate the lintels of temple-buildings. An interesting example, discovered by E. Renan

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3 Count Goblet d'Alviella op. cit. p. 5 ff.

at Ain el-Hayât, the 'Fountain of the Serpents,' is confronted by an eagle with spread pinions (fig. 150). This arrangement suggests that the solar disk was regarded as a sort of bird.

Without attempting to trace in detail the further fortunes of the winged disk—a task which has been undertaken by Count Goblet d'Alviella—we may glance for a moment at its oriental analogue. The symbol has two main varieties in Mesopotamian art. One is a disk, sometimes transformed into a rosette or a wheel, with open wings and a fan-shaped tail: this disk is surmounted by a scroll resembling a pair of inverted volutes, from which depend two undulating streamers (fig. 151). The other shows a half-length human figure emerging from its centre: the tail serves him for a kilt, and the scroll appears on either side of his head (fig. 152).

This is the well-known sign of Ashur (Zeus Assyriós), patron god of the city Ashur and head of the Assyrian pantheon. On sculptured slabs and cylinders it is commonly seen hovering above the king or priest. And, mounted on a pole, it was actually borne as a sacred standard into battle.

From Assyria both varieties of winged disk passed into Persia. The first lost its scroll, but retained its two undulating appendages.

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1 *infra* ch. i § 6 (e).
2 Count Goblet d'Alviella *op. cit.* p. 8 ff. I have followed this lucid and well-informed writer in the main lines of his classification.
4 *Id. ib.* First Series pl. 13.
5 Nomn. Dion. 40. 393. *supra* p. 197 n. 4.
6 M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 194 n. 1 cites a description of this symbol given in a text of Sennacherib (Meissner—Rost *Bauinschriften Sしherib's* p. 94). While not committing himself to the view that Ashur was ever a nature-god, Dr Jastrow concludes (*op. cit.* p. 195 f.) 'if we are to assume that Ashur personified originally some natural power, the symbol of the winged disc lends a strong presumption in favor of supposing him to have been some phase of the sun.'
The second with equally little alteration served as the emblem of Aoramazda (Zeus Oromasdes)\(^1\). He appears in the reliefs of Persepolis encircled by the same solar\(^2\) ring, which is winged and furnished with the like appendages: his royal robe (k\(\text{\d{a}ndys}\)) as before, passes into the tail-feathers\(^3\). A specimen figured by F. Lajard illustrates both types at once, the latter being superposed on the former (fig. 153)\(^4\). Cilician coins struck by the Persian satrap Tiribazos (386—380 B.C.) show the same deity Aoramazda rising from a similar ring or wheel: he holds a wreath in one hand, a lotus-flower in the other (fig. 154)\(^5\).

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1 Supra p. 10 n. 1.
2 Sepulchral reliefs from Persepolis give the symbol a lunar significance, the crescent moon being inscribed in the ring (see G. Hüsing ‘Iranischer Mondkult’ in the Archiv f. Rel. 1901 iv. 349—357).
4 F. Lajard Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs, et les monuments figurés de Vénus Paris 1837 pp. 156 f.
5 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia etc. Issos p. 90 pl. 15, 3; Mallos p. cxxii (cp. Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 537 pl. 39, 15); Soloi p. 148 pl. 26, 3; Tarsos p. 164 pl. 29, 1. I have figured the coin of Tarsos. Head Hist. num.\(^2\) pp. 722, 724, 728, 730.
Sir G. Rawlinson¹ and Monsieur J. Menant² have argued that the winged disk of Mesopotamia had its prototype in a sacred bird. And it is certainly possible to arrange an evolutionary series of extant forms, if we may assume the successive loss of head, legs, and tail (fig. 155)³. But it is doubtful whether such a series affords the best explanation of the scrolls and curvilinear appendages noticed above. These suggest rather a combination of snake-forms with bird-forms, as was demonstrably the case in Egyptian art.

However that may be, the various types of solar disk do make it possible to believe that Ixion’s wheel stood for the sun. And this possibility is raised to a probability, when we take into account certain other features of his myth to be discussed later and certain other myths to be considered almost immediately.

Assuming, then, that Ixion’s wheel in some sense stood for the sun, we have yet to explain the peculiar use that is made of it in the myth. A mortal man, raised to the abode of Zeus and gifted with immortality, aspires to the hand of Hera. He expiates his sacrilege by being bound to a solar wheel, on which he is both lashed with a whip and burnt with fire. Prof. G. Lafaye has recently argued that the punishment meted out to Ixion was but the mythological echo of a punishment actually inflicted on delinquents⁴. The culprit was stretched upon a wheel and, while it revolved, was flogged, burnt, and on occasion beheaded. This

¹ Sir G. Rawlinson The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World London 1862—1867 ii. 235.
² J. Menant Les pierres gravées de la Haute-Asie Paris 1883—1886 ii. 17.
³ Fig. 155 contains five of the symbols collected by F. Lajard in the Mon. d. Inst. iv pl. 13, viz. (a) = no. 1 from the cylinder figured ib. no. 34, (b) = no. 8 from a relief at Persepolis (b) supra fig. 153; (c) = no. 2 from a cylinder (?), cp. ib. no. 26, (d) = no. 9 from a cylinder formerly owned by Lajard, (e) = no. 5 from a relief at Nakhch-i-Roustam. See further Ann. d. Inst. 1845 xvii. 13 ff.
⁴ G. Lafaye in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iv. 896 n. p. ‘rota.’
mode of torture, which can be traced back to the fifth\(^1\) and even to the sixth century B.C.\(^2\), is often mentioned by Hellenic and Hellenistic writers. Aristophanes, for example, in his *Peace* makes the chorus curse any man that seeks war for his personal profit:

May he be stretched and flogged upon the wheel\(^3\).

Similarly in the romance of Achilleus Tatos the ill-starred Leukippe, brought to bay by her tyrannical master, defies him in the following terms: ‘Order up your tortures. Bid him bring a wheel. Here are my hands; let him stretch them out. Bid him bring whips too. Here is my back; let him lay on. Bid him fetch fire. Here is my body, ready to be burnt. Bid him bring a sword as well. Here is my throat; let him cut it! Behold a novel sight—a single woman pitted against your whole array of tortures and triumphant over all!’ Later, her lover Kleitophon finds himself in an equally sensational plight: ‘I, as a condemned criminal, was to be tortured that they might discover whether Melitte had been privy to the murder. Already I was bound, stripped of my clothing, and hoisted up by nooses. Some were fetching whips, others fire and a wheel. Kleinias with a groan was calling upon the gods, when lo, the priest of Artemis, wreathed with bay, was seen approaching.’ Etc.\(^4\) The verb commonly used of this torture, *trockhsein*, ‘to punish on the wheel,’ is employed by the epigrammatist Asklepiades in an allusion to Ixion;\(^5\) and the emperor Elagabalos, who bound parasites to a water-wheel, spoke of them as ‘Ixions of the stream.’ Torture by the wheel, regarded by the Romans as a specially Greek institution,\(^6\) is well known in connexion with Christian martyrdoms and mediaeval punishments. The final relic of it—the ‘Catharine wheel’ of our November fireworks—by a curious reversion, or rather by an interesting survival, still brings before us, if we have eyes to see it, the blazing wheel of Ixion.

But, while fully admitting Prof. Lafaye’s contention that the

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1. Antiph. *or. 1. 20.
2. Anakreon *frag. 21, 9 Bergk* ap. Athen. 534 A.
5. *Id. 7. 12*, cp. Chariton *de Chaeroe et Callirhoe* 3. 4. 3. 9.
6. *Anth. Pal. 5. 180. 3 f. ἀν \\ ὀρχεῖ τιν | τὼν Λακηδηνιο.;
8. Apul. *met. 3. 9 nec mora cum ritu Graeciani ignis et rota, tum omne flagrorum genus inferuntur, 10. 10 nec rota vel eceleus more Graecioris tormentis eius apparata iam deernant sed affirmatus mira praesumptione nullis verberibus ac ne ipso quidem succumbit igni. Plaut. *cit. 106 ff. is probably based on a Greek original. And in Gic. *Tusc. 5. 9. 24 rotam is glossed by the word Graec.*
Triptolemos was the torture-wheel of real life, I would urge that we have not thus got to the bottom of the matter. Why were men burnt upon a revolving wheel? Why on a engine of this particular shape? Why not tied to a stake, or cross-bar, or triangles, for instance? Because—I venture to reply—this form of punishment, like so many others (impaling, hanging, crucifixion, perhaps even ordinary flogging), originated in the service of religion, or at least in a definitely religious idea. And the idea in the present case was that the victim represented the sun. The mythical Ixion, if I am not mistaken, typifies a whole series of human Ixions, who in bygone ages were done to death as effete embodiments of the sun-god. Evidence in support of this view will be forthcoming in subsequent sections.

(β) Triptolemos.

Triptolemos is first mentioned in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, a poem referable to the seventh century B.C., as one of the 'kings' or chiefs at Eleusis, whom Demeter instructed in mystic rites for the fertility of the soil. Apart from the fact that his name thrice heads the list, there is nothing to distinguish him from the other chieftains of the place—Diokles or Dioklos, Dolichos, Eumolpos, Keleos, Polyxœinos. The position of divine nurseling and favourite is reserved for Demophon, son of Keleos and Metaneira. But in course of time Triptolemos appears to have usurped the place of Demophon. His story is thus told by Apollodoros: 'Metaneira the wife of Keleos had a child, whom Demeter took and reared. Wishing to make the babe immortal, she put it down every night in fire and so took off its covering of mortal flesh. Demophon—for that was the child's name—grew so fast by day that Metaneira kept watch, found him plunged in fire, and shrieked aloud. Consequently the babe was destroyed by the fire, and the goddess revealed herself. But for Triptolemos, the elder of Metaneira's children, she made a chariot-seat (diphros) of winged snakes. She gave him grain, and he, soaring aloft through the sky, sowed the whole world with it.' Others make Triptolemos the son of Eleusis.

1 H. Dem. 474 ff., cp. 153 ff.
2 Apollod. 1. 5. 1—2.
3 In the h. Dem. 250 ff. (cp. Orv. fast. 4 555 ff.) the child is not destroyed by the fire, but only robbed of immortality through his mother's interruption of the rite—a ceremony of purification (F. B. Jevons An Introduction to the History of Religion London 1896 p. 395, E. E. Sikes on h. Dem. 239) and initiation (W. R. Halliday in the Class. Rev. 1911 xxv. 8 ff).
4 Panyasis frug. 24 Kinkel ap. Apollod. 1. 5. 2.
or of Eleusius by Hioma1, or of Eleusinus by Cathonea2 or Cyntania3—variants which attest his connexion with Eleusis. The hero Eleusis was said by some to be the son of Hermes by Daeira, daughter of Okeanos4; and it is noteworthy that another account represented Triptolemos as the child of Okeanos and Ge5. Verses ascribed to Orpheus asserted that Eubouleus and Triptolemos were sons of Dysaules, and that Demeter, as a reward for information given her about her daughter, entrusted them with grain to sow6. Dysaules, Triptolemos, and Eubouleus were reckoned by the Orphists among the ‘earth-born’ dwellers of Eleusis7. Choirilos, an early tragedian of Athens, took Triptolemos to be the son of Raros8. Others made him the son of Varos9, or the son of Keleos son of Raros10—names which point to the Rarian Plain near Eleusis. One late writer, doubtless by a mere confusion, has him as the son of Icarus (sic), eponym of the Attic deme Ikaria11. But in the time of Pausanias there was only one real rival to the Athenian tradition, namely that of the Argives, who maintained that Trochilos, a priest of the mysteries, had fled from Argos to Attike and had become by an Eleusinian wife the father of two sons—Eubouleus and Triptolemos12.

In this tangle of names Aristophanes found ample material for a parody of the divine pedigree13. But it will be observed that, so far as Triptolemos is concerned, all roads lead to Eleusis. His cult left traces of itself from Syracuse to Gordyene, from Scythia to Egypt; but all such traces are compatible with the belief that Eleusis was its prime centre14. It is, therefore, to Attic art that we naturally turn for further light on the wheeled seat of Triptolemos15.

1 Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 2. 382.
2 Interp. Serv. in Verg. georg. 1. 19.
4 Hyg. fab. 147.
5 Paus. 1. 38. 7.
9 Phot. lex. i. 15. Pdp.
10 Souid. s.v. Papás.
11 Interp. Serv. in Verg. georg. 1. 19.
12 Paus. 1. 14. 2.
13 Aristoph. Achi. 47 ff.
15 The vases, sculptures, wall-paintings, coins, and gems, illustrating the myth of Triptolemos have been collected and studied by Gerhard Auvel. Vasensb. i. 211 ff. pls. 41—45, id. Uber den Bilderkreis von Eleusis Berlin 1865 ii Beilage A (Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen Berlin 1868 ii. 370 ff., 415 ff.), Lenormant—de Witte Ét. mon. cér. iii. 97 ff. pls. 46—48, L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Prt. 1859 p. 82 ff., 1862 pp. 32, 58, 1873 p. 115 n. 1, C. Strube Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis Leipzig
Vase-illustrations of the sixth century differ in some respects from those of the fifth, and again from those of the fourth. Sixth century vases, of which some seven are known, show Triptolemos as a bearded man holding a bunch of corn and sitting on a wheeled seat. The seat is a more or less simple affair, and is arranged in profile towards the right. Hence one wheel only is visible. This has four spokes and sometimes rests on the ground, sometimes rises into the air (fig. 156). Wings and snakes are wholly absent.


1 Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i pl. 44, Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* iii pl. 67, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 15, 1, Reinach *Rf.* *Vase* ii. 38, 7 f. This black-figured amphora, once in the Fontana collection at Trieste, is now at Berlin.

2 A black-figured *lekythos* from Boiotia now at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d’Athènes* p. 308 no. 967) shows Triptolemos with a sceptre in a car winged and drawn by a snake. This vase is presumably a belated example of the black-figure technique like the pseudo-archaic Panathenaic prize-jars, on which the columns of Athena are sometimes surmounted by a small representation of Triptolemos holding corn-ears in
Further, there is a remarkable similarity between the equipment of Triptolemos and that of Dionysos. A small *amphora*, formerly in the collection of M. Lenormant, has Triptolemos with corn-ears and sceptre on its obverse, Dionysos with *kántharos* and vine-branches on its reverse, side. Both are seated in the same attitude on approximately similar thrones, and are obviously travelling across the world to dispense their respective bounties of corn and wine (fig. 157 *a* and *b*). Another *amphora*, which passed from the collection of Viscount Beugnot into the Musée Vivenel at Compiègne, represents Triptolemos conducted by Hermes on one side, Dionysos conducted by Seilenós on the other. Triptolemos has corn-stalks; Dionysos, a *kántharos* and a vine with grape-branches. Their travelling seats are similar, but not identical; for that of Dionysos has old-fashioned spokes² and is fitted with wings.

Fig. 157 *a.*

Fig. 157 *b.*


¹ Lenormant—*De Witte* op. cit. iii pl. 49 *a*, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 15, 5 *a* and 5 *b*. C. Strube *Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Leipzig 1870 p. 8 takes the figure with the *kántharos* and vine-branches to be Ikarios, not Dionysos. The hero favoured by Dionysos would then balance the hero favoured by Demeter.

(fig. 158 a and b). A propos of this resemblance between Triptolemos and Dionysos we must here notice a red-figured kylix from Vulci, now at Berlin (fig. 159). Dionysos is again seen sitting on a winged and wheeled seat. As on the Lenormant and Beugnot vases, he is wreathed, wears a chiton and a himation, and carries a kinharios. Only, in place of a vine he grasps a double axe, the 'ox-slaughtering servitor of king Dionysos,' as Simonides termed it.

1 Gerhard op. cit. i pl. 41, Lenormant—de Witte op. cit. iii pls. 48 f., Overbeck op. cit. Atlas pl. 15, 4, Reinach op. cit. ii. 32, 4—6. For Strube's view see supra p. 214 n. 1.
2 Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin ii. 348 no. 2173, Gerhard op. cit. i pl. 57, 1 f., Lenormant—de Witte op. cit. i pl. 38, Reinach op. cit. ii. 38, 8 f. The inscription according to Furtwängler, reads KEDICTOSKAOS, i.e. perhaps Kaphos xalos, not—as had been previously supposed—Hephaistos xalos. The god with a double axe on a mule, escorted by a Satyr and two Maenads in Laborde Vases Lamberg i pl. 43 (=Inghirami Vas. fig. 3 pl. 263) is probably Hephaistos rather than Dionysos, cp. Tischbein Hamilton Vases iv pl. 38 (=Inghirami op. cit. iii pl. 265, Lenormant—de Witte op. cit. i pl. 43).
3 Simonid. frag. 172 Bergk op. Athen. 84 c ff. For further evidence connecting Dionysos with the double axe see infra ch. ii § 3 (c) i (o).

Furtwängler loc. cit. takes this axe-bearing figure to be Triptolemos, not Dionysos, a most improbable view, though accepted by Reinach op. cit. ii. 38.

Triptolemos and Dionysos dispensing their several bounties of corn and wine from a two-wheeled throne suggest comparison with a spring custom observed at Kosti in northern Thrace. A man, called the χωκαστες or κουκυρίος, dressed in sheep or goat.
Passing from the sixth century to the fifth, or at least from black-figured to red-figured vases, we find Triptolemos invariably depicted as a beardless youth, not a bearded man. His seat is always winged and sometimes, especially on the later vases, furnished with snakes. In the great majority of cases the scene represented is that of Triptolemos starting on his long journey. Demeter for

the most part fills him a phiale, that he may pour a libation before he goes. Two vases, out of many, will serve as illustrations. A skins, wearing a mask and with bells round his neck, and in his hand a broom of the kind used for sweeping out ovens, goes round collecting food and presents. He is addressed as king and escorted with music. With him is a boy carrying a wooden bottle and a cup, who gives wine to each householder, receiving in return a gift. They are accompanied by boys dressed as girls. The king then mounts a two-wheeled cart and is drawn to the church. Here two bands are formed of married and unmarried men respectively, and each tries to make the king throw upon themselves the seed which he holds in his hands. This he finally casts on the ground in front of the church. He is then thrown into the river, stripped of his skin clothes (δέρματα), and then resumes his usual dress¹ (R. M. Dawkins in the Joum. Hell. Stud. 1906 xxvi. 201 f.).

¹ Cp. an electrum statér of Kyzikos c. 450—400 B.C., which shows the hero with his corn-ears drawn by two winged snakes (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysie p. 36 pl. 6, 9, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 1425 f. pl. 175, 1, W. Greenwell in the Num. Chron. Third Series 1887 vii. 53 f. no. 16 pl. 1, 17). I figure a specimen in the M'CLean collection, Cambridge (fig. 160).
kálpis at Munich, from the Canino collection, shows him with sceptre, corn-ears, and phidé, seated on a wheeled and winged throne between Demeter and Persephone: the former holds an oinochoe, the latter a necklace (fig. 161). A kratér at Palermo found in a tomb at Girgenti in 1841, has much the same scene amplified by the addition of Keleos on the right and Hippothon on the left. Keleos is present as the father of Triptolemos and king of Eleusis; Hippothon, as the representative of the tribe Hippothontis, to which the deme Eleusis belonged. The wheeled throne is here provided with snakes as well as wings. The column behind Keleos (pl. xviii)², which occurs sometimes duplicated, on other vase-paintings of the scene³, may stand for his palace or for the temple of Demeter, but more probably represents—as Lenormant suggested⁴—the Telestério at Eleusis with its forest of columns. Indeed, it seems reasonable to suppose that this very popular type, the departure of Triptolemos⁵, is based on an actual rite, part of the sacred drama performed at Eleusis, in which the protégé of the goddess, mounting his winged seat was swung aloft by means of a geranos or scenic crane⁶. Claudian in his description of the Eleusinian rites plainly alludes to such a scene:

Triptolemos' snakes are hissing. Lo, they raise
Their scaly necks beneath the bended yokes,
And smoothly gliding rear their rosy crests
To the sound of hymns⁷.

Thus uplifted into the air, Triptolemos both in ritual and in myth commenced his triumphant progress, scattering grain broadcast wherever he went. A red-figured kylix from the Pourtales collection, now at Berlin, shows him in mid course shedding a whole shower of seeds, while Nike hovering in front greets his advent (fig. 162)⁸.

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¹ Jahn Vasenamml. München p. 105 f. no. 340 ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ, ΔΕΜΕΤΕΡ,
ΠΕΡΟΘΛΕ (sic), Inghirami Vas. sitt. i pl. 35, Lenormant—de Witte op. cit. iii pl. 50, Overbeck op. cit. Atlas pl. 15, 9, Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei ii. 233 f. pl. 106, 1.
² R. Politi 'Cinque vasi di premio' in the Sicilian journal La Concordia 1841 ii. 109 f. pls. 7 f. ΗΗΠΟΟΟΝ ΑΣΑΦΕΙΘΟ SOMENOTIΡΣ ΔΕΜΕΤΕΡ ΚΕΛΟΙ,
Lenormant—de Witte op. cit. iii pl. 62, Overbeck op. cit. Atlas pl. 15, 30.
³ See Overbeck ib. pl. 15, 16—18, 24, pl. 16, 1 a.
⁴ Lenormant—de Witte op. cit. iii. 176.
⁵ H. B. Walters History of Ancient Pottery London 1905 ii. 27 f.
⁶ This was the view of C. A. Böttiger and F. G. Wecker: see Overbeck op. cit. p. 534. Cp. also E. Bethe Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Alterthum Leipzig 1866 p. 142 ff. 'Flugmaschinen.'
⁷ Claud. de rapt. Pros. 1. 12 ff.
Krater from Agrigentum: Triptolemos.

See page 218.
Fourth-century vase-paintings of Triptolemos may be subdivided into an earlier and a later group. The earlier group, comprising two specimens referable to the first half of the century,

represents the initiation of Herakles, or of Herakles and the Dioskouroi, either into the lesser mysteries at Agra\(^1\) or Melite\(^2\), or


\(^1\) Steph. Byz. \textit{i. xv.} \textit{"Alp\; kai \"Agra\;}. The schol. Aristoph. \textit{Plout.} 1013 states that the \textit{μυκτὴρ} \textit{μυστηρα} were devised by the Athenians in order to provide for the initiation of Herakles, who as a stranger could not otherwise have been initiated, but does not mention Agra.

(more probably) into the greater mysteries at Eleusis. A pelike from Kertsch, now at St Petersburg (fig. 163), shows Demeter seated in the centre with Persephone standing beside her. The former has a high head-dress and a sceptre; the latter leans on a column and holds a long torch. Between them stands the youthful Ploutos with a horn of plenty. To the left we see Aphrodite, Eros, and a male figure holding two torches—probably Eumolpos rather than a mere daidotichos; to the right, a seated female figure, whom we cannot identify with any assurance, and Dionysos characterised by his ivy-wreath and his thyrsos. In the background, on the left, Herakles approaches. He carries his club in his right hand, but as an initiate wears a myrtle-wreath and holds in his left hand a baxchos or bundle of sacred boughs. Above all—like the

1 Apollod. 2. 5. 12, Diod. 4. 25, cp. Soranos v. Hippocrates (iii. 853 Kühn), Corp. inscr. Gr. 1no. 434, 71. = Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 1. 324, 7 f. Xen. Hell. 6. 3. 6 λέγεται μὲν τριπτόλεμος ὁ ημετέρος πρόγονος τὰ Δάμητροι καὶ Κόρη ἄρρητα ἠνά πρῶτοι ξένους δέξαν Ἡρακλεὶ τὸν ὑμετέρων ἀρχηγήτου καὶ Δωρεάντων τῶν ὑμετέρων πολιτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Δήμητρος δὲ καρποῦ εἰς πρῶτον τὴν Πελοπόννησον σπέρμα διαφθορᾶται is spoken by Kallias ὃ διάδοχος to the Spartans and probably refers to Eleusis. See further A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2185 f., Mommsen Fest d. Stadt Athen pp. 411 f., 415, and infra ch. i § 6 (f) ix.


3 Schol. Aristoph. cv. 408, Eudok. viol. 215, Suid. v.v. βάκχος, Bekker anecd. i. 224, 32 f., et. mag. p. 185, 13 f., Hesych. v.v. βάκχος, Favorin. lex. p. 349, 17 ff. The
sun-god in the sky—hovers Triptolemos on his winged car. A bell-
krater from Santa Agata de' Goti, now in the British Museum
(fig. 164)\(^1\), again depicts Demeter seated and Persephone standing
beside her—the one with a sceptre, the other with a torch. Tripto-
lemos on his wheeled seat, which is fitted with large wings and
snakes, faces towards and converses with Demeter. To this
Eleusinian company two daidolchoi (perhaps we may venture
to regard them as Eubouleus and Eumolpos) are about to
introduce Herakles and the Dioskouroi. Herakles has his club;

one of the Dioskouroi is accompanied by his star; all three wear
wreaths and carry the mystic bάχχοι. In the background, over a
hill, appears a Doric building and two Doric columns: these may
be taken to represent the Telestério. In the foreground is set a
stool (?), near which lie two uncertain objects of oblong shape,
possibly tablets (?) required by the initiates.

The later group of fourth-century vases is decorated with a
scene probably drawn from the theatre, not the Telestério, though

\(\delta\acute{a}χχος\) appears on silver (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica, etc. p. 29 pl. 3, 3, p. 73 pl. 13, 6)
and copper coins of Athens (ib. p. 23 pl. 6, 14 f., pp. 81, 91 pl. 15, 17), and on copper
coins of Eleusis (ib. p. 112 ff. pl. 20, 1–4). It is also carved on the frieze of the small
Propylaea (Durm Baukunst d. Gr.\(^2\) p. 118 coloured plate) and on that of the great altar
at Eleusis (Daremberg-Saglio Dict. ant. ii. 361 fig. 2633), as well as on that of the altar
from the Eleusinion at Athens (ib. ii. 570 fig. 2638).

\(^1\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iv. 45 f. no. F 68, Lenormant—de Witte op. cit. iii. 180 f.
pl. 63 A, E. Gerhard Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen Berlin 1868 pl. 71, 1,
Overbeck op. cit. Atlas pl. 18, 19.
attempts to connect it with the *Triptolemos* of Sophokles have failed for lack of evidence. These vases, of which four are known, regularly exhibit the departure of Triptolemos, though with considerable variations and innovations as to the surrounding figures, landscape, etc. A common feature is their treatment of the hero's wheeled seat, which in three out of the four cases has become a chariot facing us full-front and drawn by two monstrous snakes. As the snakes increase in size, the wings diminish and on two of the vases are absent altogether. One of these, an Apulian amphora from the Pizzati collection now at St Petersburg, is here reproduced (pl. xix). It shows Demeter, as on the earlier red-figured vases, filling the phidyle of Triptolemos, who richly clad in a stage costume stands erect in his chariot. A trait new to the vase-painters is that two ears of corn are visible in his hair, which is confined by a white band. Close to Demeter and Triptolemos are two Horai appropriately holding corn-stalks. The background is occupied by figures frequent on Apulian vases and of no special significance here, _viz._ a group of Aphrodite, Eros, and Peitho on the right, and Pan with his _syrfinx_ leaning against a tree-trunk on the left. In the foreground flows a river inscribed _Netlos_, 'the Nile.' The locality is further indicated perhaps by the flora, certainly by the fauna. Lotiform plants are growing on the river-bank, and a lynx-cat with a bird in its mouth is decidedly reminiscent of Egypt.

With the St Peters burg amphora F. Matz and O. Kern justly compare two other monuments that exhibit Triptolemos in an Egyptian setting—the *tassa Farnese* of the Naples Museum, a magnificent sardonyx cup probably fashioned at Alexandria in the Ptolemaic period, and the Petrossa cup of the Vienna collection, a gold phidyle of later, clumsier workmanship found in 1837 by a

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1 See Overbeck _op. cit._ p. 552.
3 _Supra_ p. 126 fig. 96.
4 _Supra_ n. 2 no. 4.
5 Cp. the head of Triptolemos on an 'Underworld' vase at Munich (Jahn _Vasenamml. München_ p. 273 ff. no. 849, Furtwängler—Reichhold _Gr. Vasenmalerei_ i. 48 pl. 10).
7 F. Matz 'Goldschale von Pietraossi' in the _Arch. Zeit._ 1872 xxix. 136.
9 Furtwängler _Ant. Gemmen_ i pls. 54—55, ii. 253—256.
Krater from Cumae: Triptolemos.

See page 223.
peasant between Jassy and Bucharest. Both these cups associate Triptolemos with Isis and the Nile-god, the inference being that on Egyptian soil the Greek agricultural hero was identified with Osiris.

On the *tazza Farnese* Triptolemos has not only a bag of seed on his left arm, but a plough-pole and yoke in one hand, a plough-share in the other. On the Petrossa *phiale* he holds a couple of ploughs. O. Kern argues that all the evidence, whether literary or monumental, connecting Triptolemos with the plough is comparatively late, in fact that he first became a ploughman in the Alexandrine age owing to his identification with Osiris, who was regarded by the Greeks and Romans as the inventor of the plough. This view has, however, been successfully refuted by O. Rubensohn, who points out that in genuinely Egyptian sources Osiris is never conceived as a ploughman, so that in Hellenistic times he must have got the plough from Triptolemos, rather than Triptolemos from him. Moreover, Rubensohn is able to adduce two vases of the pre-Hellenistic period, on which Triptolemos is definitely associated with a plough. One is a bell-*krater* of Attic make, which may be dated about 450 B.C. It was found at Cumae and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. On it we see (pl. xxvii) Triptolemos, who has had his lesson in ploughing from Demeter and is about to start on his tour of instruction. He is in the act of mounting his winged seat, the high back of which terminates in a griffin's head. He takes with him his sceptre and a bunch of corn, but turns for a final word of advice or farewell to Persephone, who carries two torches, and her mother, who still holds the plough. The other vase cited by Rubensohn is a *skýphos*

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1 F. Matz loc. cit. pp. 135—137 pl. 52.
8 So Gerhahd, Lenormant and de Witte, Rubensohn, de Ridder. Overbeck thought that the holder of the torches was meant for Demeter, the holder of the plough for Persephone. But cp. Soudi, i.a. *Παπάτα... τῆς Δημήτρι τῶν ἄμφωνον Πάρων Τριπτόλεμον*
of Boeotian fabric at Berlin, referable to the fifth century or at latest to the early decades of the fourth century B.C. Triptolemos here (fig. 165) holds the plough himself, while Demeter presents him with the corn-stalks and Persephone, as before, carries a couple of torches. The skyphos thus forms a pendant to the krater. On the krater the goddess grasped the plough, her protégé the corn. On the skyphos their positions are precisely reversed. But it can hardly be doubted that both vases alike represent Triptolemos about to start on his mission. The winged car is absent from the skyphos, either because this vase depicts a slightly earlier moment

Fig. 165.

than the other, or perhaps merely by way of simplifying a somewhat ambitious design.

However that may be, it is plain that Triptolemos' association with the plough is not only Hellenistic, but Hellenic too. We need not, therefore, hesitate to accept the derivation of his name put forward by Agallis of Korkyra in the third century B.C. Triptolemos is indeed the hero of the 'thrice-ploughed' (tripolos) field. And Dr P. Giles has argued from the form of his name...
with its \( -\text{pt} - \), not \( -\rho - \), that his worship came to Eleusis along with improved methods of cultivation from the fertile plains of northern Greece.

If such be the name and nature of Triptolemos, what are we to make of his wheeled seat? I believe it to have been simply an early expression to denote the sun. Just as Herakles, when he crossed the sea, voyaged in the solar cup lent him by Okeanos or Nereus or Helios himself\(^2\), so Triptolemos, when he crosses the earth, travels on the solar wheel received at the hand of Demeter. It will be observed that this explanation of the myth squares well with its progressive representation. The earliest vase-paintings showed Triptolemos sitting on a one-wheeled seat. This we naturally took to be a two-wheeled seat seen in profile\(^3\). But I now suggest that it arose from a yet earlier religious conception, that of the hero sitting on the single solar wheel. A possible survival of this conception occurs in the Astromonica of Hyginus, where we read that Triptolemos is said to have been the first of all to use a single wheel, that so he might avoid delay on his journey\(^4\). It is noteworthy, too, that in the Argive tradition\(^5\) the father of Triptolemos was Trochilos, 'he of the Wheel' (trochós), the inventor—

\[\text{Σκιρα τοις παλαιοτάτοι τῶν σπόρων ὑπάμεια: δεύτερον ἐν τῇ Ραρίδῃ τρίτον ὑπὸ πόλιν τῶν καλοσμενῶν Βούβενων. τοῦτον δὲ πάνω λειτατότις ἔστω ὁ γαμήλιος σπόρος καὶ ἄροτος ἐπὶ παύσων ὑπάμειας.}\]

\[\text{ἐν τοῖς ἀροτοῖς ἐποιεῖ.}\]

\[^{1}\text{P. Giles in the Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society 1908 p. 16.}\]
\[^{2}\text{Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 468 n. 6.}\]
\[^{3}\text{Supra p. 213.}\]
\[^{4}\text{Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 14 qui primus omnium una rota dicitur usus, ne cursu moraretur.}\]
\[^{5}\text{J. Déchelette Manuel d'archéologie Paris 1910 ii. 1. 416 n. 3 calls attention to a passage in the Rig-veda i. 164, 2, which describes the solar chariot 'of the single wheel' drawn by 'the single horse' of seven-fold name.}\]

This raises a suspicion that more than one mythical charioteer, who lost a wheel and thereby came to grief, was originally a solar hero. Myrtilos, the charioteer of Oinomaos, who compassed his master's death by inserting a linch-pin of wax, or by not inserting a linch-pin at all, and was subsequently thrown out of Pelops' car into the sea near Gerasion, is a figure comparable with Phaethon; indeed, according to one version he was the son of the Danad Phaethousa (schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 752, schol. Eur. Or. 998) on Apulian vases he often has as his attribute a wheel (Reinach Rép. Vases i. 128, 3. 149, 7. 290) or a couple of wheels (ib. i. 167, Heydemann Vasensamml. Neapel p. 514 f. no. 3227). In a parallel myth (Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 270 f.) from Thrace Dryas, like Oinomaos, is killed through the removal of his linch-pins (Parthen. narr. anm. 6, cp. Konon narr. 10).

K. Tümpel in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3318, 3320, Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1261 has drawn up a list of handsome young charioteers, who came to an untimely end. He regards them all as various forms of the solar hero common to the coast-districts of the eastern Aegean. They include the following names—Apsytos, Atymnos, Killas, Malaois, Myrtillos, Phaethon, Tenages. To these we may add Sphairos, a suggestive name given by the Trozzenians to Killas (Paus. 5. 10. 7), and the great Trozzenian hero Hippolytos himself, not to mention his alter ego Virbius.

\[^{5}\text{Supra p. 212.}\]
some said—of the first chariot. But the word *trochilos* means also 'a wren.' And it can hardly be fortuitous that the Athenians made Triptolemos the son of *Keloös*, the 'Green Woodpecker,' while the Argives made him the son of *Trochilos*, the 'Wren.' Conceivably both birds were bound to a wheel, like the *lynx*, and used as a solar charm. But, to return from fancy to fact, red-figured as distinct from black-figured vases added wings and snakes to Triptolemos' seat. In this again it followed the example of the solar vehicle; for a whole series of black-figured Attic vases at Cambridge, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Athens, Boston, represents

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1 Tertull. de spectac. 9. 2 The matter is discussed infra ch. i § 6 (d) i (e). 3 *Suida* p. 217. The snakes themselves are not winged till the second century B.C. (Apollod. 1. 5. 3 διψα...πτηνον δρακόντων). The earliest extant monuments that so represent them are of Roman date (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 554 Atlas pl. 16, 11, 12: infra p. 248 n. 7). See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 307 n. 2. 4 E. A. Gardner *Cat. Vases Cambridge* p. 53 no. 100 fig. The reproduction in E. Gerhard *Über die Lichtgottheiten auf Kunstdenkmälern* Berlin 1840 pl. 1, 5 after Stackelberg *Gruber der Hellenen* pl. 15, 5, and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1995 from the same source, is inadequate. I figure the central portion of the scene infra ch. i § 6 (d) xii. 5 De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 128 f. no. 220, Lenormant—de Witte *El. mon. écr.* ii. 386 f. pl. 115. This vase has four unwinged in place of two winged horses. 6 Furtwängler *Vasensamml.* Berlin i. 431 no. 1983, unpublished. 7 Laborde *Vases Lamberg* ii Frontispiece, Lenormant—de Witte *El. mon. écr.* ii. 387 f. pl. 116, Reimach *Rép. Vases* ii. 211, 1. 8 L. Savignoni in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 264 ff. pl. 9. 9 Robinson *Cat. Vases Boston* no. 335.
Helios rising as a draped male figure standing between (i.e., on a
car drawn by) two winged horses, the solar disk being visible over
his head. The Berlin vase joins to the disk a couple of serpent-
iform appendages, thereby recalling the winged and snaky disks of
Egyptian and Assyrian art1. Indeed, a late bas-relief in black stone
brought by E. Renan from Gharfin near Gábeil, the ancient Byblos,
shows Triptolemos, who stands in a car drawn by two snakes and
scatters grain, within a naïskos actually decorated with the
Egyptian disk (fig. 166)2. This, however,—as F. Lenormant was
careful to point out—may be a matter of mere decoration. The
crescent moon associated with the hero suggests rather that
Triptolemos was here identified with the Phrygian god Men3, as
elsewhere with the Egyptian Osiris4, the Lydian Tylos5, and the
Cilician Baal-tarz6. Finally, the corn-ears borne along on Tripto-
lemos’ wheeled seat are comparable with the corn-ears attached to
the triskelés on the coins of Panormos, etc.—a symbol which, as we
shall see, was solar in origin and, moreover, equipped with both
wings and snakes.

In the foregoing section we have traced the gradual development
of Triptolemos’ snake-drawn chariot from the simple solar wheel.
This derivation is emphatically confirmed by the myth of Antheias,
as told in Pausanias’ account of Patrai:

‘Those who relate the earliest traditions of Patrai declare that Eumelos, a
native of the soil, was the first to dwell in the land as king over a few people.
When Triptolemos came from Attike, Eumelos received cultivated crops and,
being taught to build a city, named it Aroie after the tilling of the ground. They
say that once, when Triptolemos had fallen asleep, Antheias the son of Eumelos
was minded to yoke the snakes to the chariot of Triptolemos and to try his own
hand at sowing. But fate overtook him and he fell out of the chariot. There-
upon Triptolemos and Eumelos founded a city in common and called it Antheia
after the name of Eumelos’ son8.

Antheias falling off the car of Triptolemos is, as O. Gruppe

1 Supra p. 705 f.
2 F. Lenormant ‘Triptoléme en Syrie’ with fig. in the Gaz. Arch. 1878 iv. 97—
100.
3 So O. Rubensohn in the Ath. Mitt. 1899 xxiv. 61 n. 1. Lenormant had thought
of Amynos and Magos of xarébeis av kómas kai xal vómas (Philon Bybl. frag. 2. 11 (Frag.
hist. Gr. iii. 567 Müller)).
4 Supra p. 352 f.
5 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia p. cxiii, 260 pl. 27, 4. Head Hist. num.3 p. 657,
Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 79 pl. 10, 114, Overbeck op. cit. p. 582.
6 M. Mayer in the Verhandlungen der XI. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und
7 Infra ch. 1 § 6 (d) v.
8 Paus. 7. 18. 1—3.
observes, 'a genuine variant of the Phaethon legend,' and supports our contention that Triptolemos' car was of solar origin.

Triptolemos was said to have received his car from Demeter—an statement which cannot be traced back beyond the second century B.C. It must, however, have been commonly accepted in Roman times, for a cameo at Paris (fig. 167) shows Claudioius and Messalina in the guise of Triptolemos and Demeter; the former scatters the grain from his paludamentum, the latter leans forward with corn-ears and poppies in her left hand, a roll in her right.

Moreover, later literature makes Demeter travel in a snake-drawn chariot when in search of her daughter Persephone. In this way

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Possibly Demeter Πολύλειπος of Antheia (Athen. 460 D) was a figure analogous to the drink-bearing Demeter of the Triptolemos vases (supra p. 217 f.).


3 Apollod. 1. 5. 2 is our earliest authority.

4 Babelon Cat. Camées de la Bibl. Nat. p. 144 f. no. 276 Album pl. 30. Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst i. 92 f. pl. 69, 386 identify the divinised pair as Germanicus and Agrippina, arguing that Germanicus appears again as a Roman Triptolemos on the silver patera from Aquileia at Vienna (Mon. d. Inst. iii pl. 4, Ann. d. Inst. 1839 xi. 78—84). In the middle ages this cameo was thought to represent the triumph of Joseph in Egypt!
she approached Eleusis\(^1\), and in this way she quitted it again\(^2\). Art follows suit. Demeter in her snake-chariot appears first on Roman *denarii* of the moneyer M. Volteius about the year 88 B.C.\(^3\), then on those of C. Vibius Pansa in 43 B.C.\(^4\), and not infrequently on late Greek coins\(^5\). Occasionally she holds corn-ears and a sceptre\(^6\), or a poppy-head and a sceptre\(^7\), more often a couple of torches (fig. 168)\(^8\), rarely corn-ears and torches too\(^9\). The scene of her quest was common on *sarcophagi* of Roman date;

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\(^2\) Ov. *fast.* 4. 561 f. In Ov. *met.* 8. 794 ff. Ceres sends an Oread in her snake-chariot to fetch Fames from Scythia. But the mode of conveyance may be a touch due to Ovid himself.

\(^3\) Babelon *Monn. r. p. rom.* ii. 566 no. 3.

\(^4\) Id. ib. ii. 545 f. no. 17.


\(^6\) So on late bronze coins of Athens (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 98 pl. 15, 15, p. 91 pl. 15, 17, cp. p. 89). The earlier bronze coins of Eleusis, which are said to represent Demeter or Triptolemos seated in a winged car drawn by two serpents, and holding in r. two ears of corn (ib. Attica etc. p. 112 pl. 20, 1), show Triptolemos rather than Demeter (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 581 ff., Head *Hist. num.* p. 391: yet see E. Beulé *Les monnaies d’Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 280 ff.).

\(^7\) So on an imperial coin of Nikomedes in Bithynia (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 81 no. 135).


The goddess has one torch only on imperial coins of Kretia-Flaviopolis (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *op. cit.* i. 337 no. 75 pl. 54, 10), Claudio-Seleucia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. p. 254).

and here she is seen holding a torch and drawn by two monstrous snakes usually winged near the chariot-wheels\(^1\), or in more agitated guise holding two torches and drawn by snakes winged at the neck\(^2\). *Sarcophagi* of the former type show the snake’s tail twined about the hub of the wheel, which takes the form of a lion’s head (fig. 169)\(^3\). This detail perhaps points to the solar character of the vehicle in question\(^4\). For Greeks and Romans alike, therein agreeing with the Egyptians\(^5\) and the nations of the nearer east\(^6\), looked upon the lion as an animal full of inward fire and essentially akin to the sun\(^7\). The lion on Roman military

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3 Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 17, 3.
4 Against this explanation is the apparent presence of a leonine head on the hub of Hades’ chariot-wheel (*Ann. d. Inst. loc. cit.* pl. EF 1—it is not clearly seen in Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 17, 1). Yet Hades too may well have been credited with a fiery, if not with a solar (*Class. Rev. 1903 XVII. 176*), car.
6 F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo universo* Oenipontes 1908 pp. 201 f., 268, F. Cumont in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3041, A. Jeremias *ib.* iii. 255.
Triptolemos

standards was interpreted as a solar emblem. The Mithraic sun-god was figured with a lion's face. The sign Leo was called 'the house of the sun,' and—be it noted—the sun was in Leo when Persephone was carried off. What is perhaps more to the point, it was Helios that took pity on Demeter and told her where her daughter was to be sought. Did he not also lend her his chariot for the search?

Other deities too on occasion appear in a like conveyance. Dionysos, according to certain ceramic artists of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., roamed the world à la Triptolemos on a wheeled and winged seat. And even Athena is represented, on a red-figured kylix of fine style at Copenhagen, as drawn in a chariot by yoked snakes to the judgment of Paris.

1 Lyd. de mens. 1. 22 p. 12, 15 Wünsch.
3 Porphy. de aeth. 4. 16.
4 Ait. de nat. an. 12. 7, Macrobr. Sat. 1. 21. 16, Serv. in Verg. georg. 1. 33.
5 Schol. Arat. phæn. 150.
6 In h. Dem. loc. cit. 63. 88 Helios has a chariot drawn by horses. So has the questing Demeter on many sarcophagi (Overbeck op. cit. p. 617 ff. Atlas pl. 17. 4, 8, 10, 11, 17, 18, 19, 23). But another line of tradition gave Helios a snake-drawn chariot: see infra ch. i § 6 (d) i (y, 8).

Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 130, 538 n. 3, 546, 1138 n. 3, 1145, 1149, 1167 n. 1 suggests that Helios was often associated in cult with Demeter. But of this I find no convincing proof.
7 Supra p. 214 ff.
8 A. Conze Herren- und Güttergestalten der griechischen Kunst pl. 102, 1. A. Dumont—J. Chaplain—E. Pottier Les céramiques de la Grèce propre Paris 1888 i. 368 f. pl. 10 = Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1617 f. fig. 7. Hera's chariot on this vase is drawn by four horses; that of Aphrodite by two Erotes. Probably the artist gave Athena a team of snakes because the snake was associated with her on the Akropolis at Athens: cp. also the cults of Athene Iapetia on the road from Sparta to Arkadia (Paus. 3. 20. 8), of Athena 'Tyia at Acharnai (Paus. 1. 31. 6) and Athens (Paus. 1. 23. 4 with J. G. Frazer ad loc.), and the word ἀσκόανα used of Athena in Orph. h. Ath. 32. 11.

Athena is not normally connected with the solar wheel. In a vase-painting already described (supra p. 199) she brings up the winged wheel of Ixion and may perhaps be regarded as Athena Ἐπυρίς later replaced by Hephaistos (supra p. 200 ff.). Certain small silver coins of Lambsakos (fig. 170) have as their reverse type a head of Athena, whose helmet is marked with a wheel (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia p. 80 no. 21). The specimen figured is from my collection: cp. a silver obol of Massalia c. 500 B.C. with obv. archaic head wearing a helmet on which is a wheel, rev. a four-spoked wheel (E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale Paris 1889 p. 12, H. de la Tour Atlas de monnaies gauloises Paris 1892 no. 520 pl. 2, Head Hist. num. 3 p. 6), and a barbarised copy of it—both found at Morella in Spain (E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet loc. cit., H. de la Tour op. cit. no. 534 pl. 3, R. Forrer Keltsche Numismatik der Rhein- und Donauande Strassburg 1908 p. 81 figs. 154, 155 pl. 7). A. de Ridder Collection de Clercq Paris 1905 iii (Les Bronzes) 266 f. no. 206 pl. 48 publishes a bronze statuette of Athena holding lance and owl. The crest of her helmet is supported by 'une rouelle,' as on Panathenaic amphoras found in Kyrenaike (ib. p. 203; but see G. von Brandtsch Die panathenäischen Pristamphoren Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 46 ff.).
The Solar Wheel in Greece

In this connexion we must take account of a unique silver drachmé or quarter-shekel, which has been for many years in the British Museum (pl. xxii and fig. 171 a, b). It is struck on the Phoenician standard. The obverse shows a bearded head in three-quarter position (not double-struck) facing towards the right and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet with a bay-wreath upon it. The reverse has a square incuse surrounded by a spiral border, within which we see a bearded divinity enthroned. He wears a long garment, which covers his right arm and extends to his feet. He is seated on a winged and wheeled seat: the wing is archaic in type and rises high behind his back; the wheel has six spokes and an inner ring round its axle. The god has an eagle (or hawk?) on his outstretched left hand. Before him in the lower right hand corner of the square is an ugly bearded head. In the field above the seated deity are the Phoenician letters ΛΑΛ, that is, YHW.

The credit of being the first to decipher and to interpret aright the inscription belongs to Monsieur C. Clermont-Ganneau. As far back as 1880 he suggested to Prof. P. Gardner and Dr B. V. Head that it was the triliteral form of the divine name Jehovah; and in

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2 Pl. xxii is an enlarged photograph of a cast of the reverse.

3 It weighs 507' grains (3'5 grammes), and is therefore somewhat lighter than the average quarter-shekel. It is a well-preserved specimen.

4 The bird is described as a hawk by Taylor Combe, J. P. Six, and E. Babelon (with a query).

5 See e.g. the comparative tables of Phoenician, Egyptian Aramaic, Old Hebrew, etc., forms given by J. Euting TABULAE SCRIPTURAE HEBRAICAe Argentorati 1882, Forrer Reallex. p. 714 pl. 202.
Quarter-shekel of Gaza showing the Hebrew Godhead as a solar Zeus.

See page 232 ff.
1892, when lecturing at the Collège de France he treated it as such\(^1\). Dr Ginsburg's rival attempt to read it as the name of Jehu, king of Israel, makes shipwreck—as A. Neubauer was prompt to point out—on the chronology, the coin being nearly five centuries later than Jehu's reign\(^2\). There can, in fact, be little doubt that we have here a gentle representation of the Hebrew Godhead.

Now a bearded god enthroned with an eagle on his hand is a common art-type of Zeus. And it will be remembered that in 168 B.C. Antiochus iv Epiphanes transformed the temple at Jerusalem into a temple of Zeus Olympios and the temple on Mount Gerizim into a temple of Zeus Xénios\(^3\) or Hellenios\(^4\). Further, the winged wheel is, as we have seen, solar in its origin. It follows that the coin represents Jehovah under the guise of a solar Zeus\(^5\).

This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that Ido—the form usually taken by Jehovah's name in magical texts of the Hellenistic age\(^6\)—was equated sometimes with Zeus, sometimes with Helios. A papyrus at Berlin, acquired by Lepsius at Thebes in Egypt and published by Parthey in 1866, records an incantation, which begins by summoning Apollon in company with Paian to quit Parnassos and Pytho, and then continues in a quasi-Semitic strain:

Come, foremost angel of great Zeus Ido,
And thou too, Michael, who holdest heaven,
And, Gabriel, thou the archangel, from Olympos\(^7\).

The Anastasy papyrus of the British Museum, published by Wessely in 1888, includes among other magical formulæ the following prose invocation: 'I summon thee the ruler of the gods—Zeus, Zeus,

\(^1\) In the Judaic-Aramaean *papyri* recently found at Elephantine (Assuan) the name of Jehovah is similarly triliteral (A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan London 1906 pp. 37 n. on pap. B. 4, E. Sachau Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus...Elephantine Leipzig 1911 p. 277 Index).

\(^2\) C. D. Ginsburg and A. Neubauer loc. cit.

\(^3\) Maccab. 6. 1 f., Euseb. chron. ann. Abr. 1850 (v. l. 1848) ii. 126 f. Schoene.


\(^5\) Mrs H. Jenner Christian Symbolism London 1910 p. 67 states that in the convent church of Kaisariani on Mt. Hymettos 'the winged fiery wheel is a throne for the Divine feet of Almighty God.'

\(^6\) W. W. Baudissin Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte Leipzig 1876 i. 179—254. G. A. Deissmann Bibelstudien Marburg 1895 pp. 1—20, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1603 n. 2 ff. This is not, of course, necessarily inconsistent with the view that Iao is the final form of the Babylonian god Ea (see C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 358 ff., supra p. 188 n. 1).

\(^7\) G. Parthey Zweif griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums Berlin 1866 p. 128. Pap. i. 300 ἄγγελον του τρωτοῦ (so Kirchoff for MS. τρωτοῦ τις) Ζεύς μεγάλου Ίδων κ.τ.λ. Baudissin op. cit. i. 198 observes that ἄγγελον here refers to Apollon, the theme of the preceding lines. Zeus is identified with Jehovah, and Apollon his mouthpiece with the angel of Jehovah.
that thunderest on high, king Adonaï, lord Iaooeet1. Apollon Kλαιριος, whose ancient oracle near Kolophon in Asia Minor enjoyed a new lease of life in Roman times2, was once questioned concerning the nature of the dread mysterious Iao3. His answer has—thanks to Macrobius—been preserved:

They that know mysteries should conceal the same. But, if thy sense be small and weak thy wit, Mark as the greatest of all gods Iao—
In winter Hades, Zeus when spring begins, Helios o' the summer, autumn's soft Iao4.


3 Hardly less remarkable was the romance given by Apollon Kλαιριος touching his own godhead (Cougny *Anth. Pal.* *Append.* 6. 140, cp. the Tübingen *Xρυσοί τῶν Ἑλληνίκων θεῶν* in Buruesch *op. cit.* p. 97 ff.; *Lact. div. inst.* i. 7). The two oracles are confused in Kedren, *hist. comp.* 41 c f. (i. 73 f. Bekker).

4 *Orac.* (Cougny *Anth. Pal.* *Append.* 6. 135) *op. Macrob.* Sat. i. 18. 19 ff. Macrobius introduces the oracle as follows: εἰς Ζεῦ, εἰς 'Αδήν, εἰς Ήλίου, εἰς Δίωνος. havior versus auctoritas fundatur oraculo Apollinis Clarisii, in quo aliud quoque nomen soli adicitur, qui in isdem sacrif versibus inter cetera vocatur Iao. Clearly, then, the autumn-god of the oracle must be some form of Dionysus. Hence for the concluding words ἄβρων Ἡα The C. A. Lobeck *Aegyptiaca* p. 461 ingeniously conjectured ἄβρων 'Δανος and L. Jan *ad loc.* yet more ingeniously ἄβρων 'Ιακχος. Baudissin *op. cit.* i. 213 quotes in support of Jan's emendation a gem inscribed ΙΑΩ ΙΑ Η ΑΒΡΑ ΙΑΧΗ ΙΑΒ suggest the deity described above. But Buruesch *op. cit.* p. 52 f. surmises that the gem should be read ΙΑΌ ΙΑΗ ΑΒΡΑΞΑΕ ΗἸΩ etc. i in which case Baudissin's argument collapses. Indeed, Baudissin now (*Adonis und Esmin* Leipzig 1911 p. 124) supports Lobeck's conjecture. Buruesch himself *op. cit.* p. 49 and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1603 n. 4 defend the text ἄβρων 'Iao, on the ground that the epithet ἄβρων suffices to describe the Dionysiac character of the Jewish deity.

This identification of Jehovah with Dionysos is later than the identification with Zeus. In fact it seems possible to trace the steps by which the transition was effected. On the Phoenician coin under discussion Jehovah appears as a solar Zeus (*supra* p. 232 f.). To Antiochus Epiphanes he was Zeus Ολυμπιας, Χνήσου, Ηλείας (*supra* p. 232). Varro, perhaps following Poseidonios, equated him with Jupiter Capitolinus (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1603 n. 4, quoting Reitzenstein *Zwei religionsgesch.* Fr. p. 78 n.). The first hint of the new comparison occurs in the age of Tiberius (Val. Max. 1. 3. 3. Cn. Cornelius Hispanus... Iudaicos, qui Sabazi Iovis cultu Romanos inficere mores comati erant, repetere domos suas coegit). After this we find successive identifications with Bacchos (Plaut. *symb.* 4. 6. 2), Liber pater (Tac. *hist.* 5. 5), Dionysos (Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 53 p. 111. 7 ff. Wünsch).

The connexion of Jehovah with Helios may have been facilitated by the belief that Ιαβ meant 'Light' (Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 53 p. 110. 25 ff. Wünsch ὥθε τοῦ Ρωμαίου Βάπτων τῷ αὐτοῦ διαλαθήνων φθορᾷ τοῦ Χαλλαίου ἐν τοῖς νυκτίοις αὐτοῦ δείκτα τῷ Ἰάου ἐκ τοῦ φῶς) γωνίων τῆς φωτικῆς γλώσσης, ὧν φθορὰ Ἐρενίδης, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 169 A (i. 236 Bekker) ὡς Ηα τοῦ Χαλλαίου ἐργανότα φῶς κορόκων τῆς φωτικῆς γλώσσης where for Ιαβ Baudissin rightly read 'Iao'. The gem cited above has φαξ for φως, as another gem gives Μπρως for Μπρως (Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* i. 215). The Anastasy papyrus invokes φωσφόρον 'Iao (C. Wessely *op. cit.* Brit. Mus. pap. 46.
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Iao is here expressly identified with both Zeus and Helios. These identifications might be illustrated by some of the bizarre devices to be seen on Gnostic amulets. For example, an onyx published by Spon (fig. 172)\(^1\) represents a youthful, beardless Zeus enthroned with sceptre, thunderbolt, and eagle, the legend on the back being *Iao Sabao(th)*\(^3\).

The Phœnician quarter-shekel—to judge from its weight, style, and fabric—was struck about 350 B.C., and therefore furnishes our earliest evidence of Jehovah conceived by the gentiles as Zeus. Unfortunately we do not know where the coin was issued. The eminent numismatist J. P. Six ascribed it, along with a series of somewhat similar pieces, to Gaza *Mimba* in southern Palestine\(^4\). If this attribution is sound—and it has been widely accepted\(^5\)—I would suggest that the helmeted head with a bay-wreath on the obverse is that of Minos the eponymous founder, who figures as a helmeted warrior holding the branch of a sacred bay-tree on later coins of the town (fig. 174)\(^6\). The grotesque face or mask on the

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1. F. G. Kenyon *op. cit.* i. 70 no. 46, 175 f.) and *βέσωρ* Ίαο φωσφόρος (Wessely *ib*. 46. 304 f. = Kenyon *ib*. i. 74 no. 46, 300 f.) see H. van Herwerden in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1888 xvi. 323 f. Finally, in the Gnostic gospel *Pistis Sophia* 26, 34, 193, 322 we get *Iaô* (who is distinguished from three several divine powers named *Iaô*; see Bandissin *op. cit.* i. 186) described as the *εὐσωρος of Light,* cp. the prayers *ib*. 357 ἄπεραντος Light: *αενονα, ἰαο, ἰαο, ἰαο...Ιεω, Σαβάου*, 375 ἄπεραντος Light: ἰαο ἰαου· ἰαο· ἰαο· ἰαο...Ιαο· Ιαο. The ultimate source of these conceptions is, doubtless, 'the glory of the Lord' familiar to us from the Old Testament (B. Stade *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* Tübingen 1905 i. 94 f.).

2. J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1877 xvii. 299 f., *op. ib.* 1878 xviii. 125 'dans le sud de la cinquième satrapie.'

3. J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1877 xvii. 299 f., *op. ib.* 1878 xviii. 125 'dans le sud de la cinquième satrapie.'


reverse is probably, as E. Babelon surmised, that of Bes; and the bust of Bes too is a known type on autonomous silver coins of Gaza. Further, there was at Gaza an image of Io the moon-goddess with a cow beside it. And Iao, the supposed sun-god, was early represented as a golden calf. Is it not permissible to think that the inhabitants of Gaza imported the cult of the Jewish deity as a pendant to that of their own Io? Certainly their Cretan ancestors had worshipped the sun and the moon as a bull and a cow respectively. Nor need we be surprised at their borrowing the type of Triptolemos' throne, wheeled and winged. Triptolemos, according to Argive tradition, was the son of Trochilos, the 'Wheel'-man; and Trochilos in turn was the son of Kallithéa, another name of Io. Moreover, Triptolemos is said to have gone eastwards in quest of Io, taking with him a company of Argives, who founded Tarsos in Kilikia, Ione or Iopolis on Mount Silpion

1 E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. lxvi. E. J. Filcher's contention (infra p. 232 n. 1) that this is the promontory near Tripolis called τὸ ροῦ Θεὸς τρησομον (Strab. 7.54, 755, Eustath. *in Dionys. per. 914* or *Theoprosopon* (Mel. 1.67) is ingenious, but unconvincing.


3 Steph. *Byz. i. vv. Ἴδας, Ἰδώρας*, Eustath. *in Dionys. per. 92*. On imperial coins of Gaza representing ΕΙΩ (fig. 175) see Eckhel *op. cit. iii.* 449 ff., Rasche *op. cit. iii.* 1334 ff., Suppl. ii. 1198 ff., *Head Hist. num.* 3 p. 805, Stark *op. cit.* 585 ff. These coins (figs. 176, 177) often show the Tyche of Gaza with a bull or cow or cow's head at her feet (Eckhel *ib. iii.* 450, Rasche *ib.* iii. 1333 ff., Suppl. ii. 1199 ff., *Head ib.*, Stark *ib.* p. 585 ff. pl. 1, 4)—a type inspired, as Eckhel pointed out, by the image of Io.

4 B. Stade *op. cit.* p. 120 ff.

5 *Infra ch. i § 6 (g) xi.*

6 Supra pp. 212, 225 f.

7 *Schol. Arat. phaen.* 161.

8 *Strab.* 673, 750.

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in Syria—better known as Antiocheia on the Orontes, and even settled in Gordyene beyond the Tigris. If Triptolemos followed Io thus far afield, he may well have pursued her to Gaza.

(i. 453 Foerster) states that Triptolemos founded at Ione a sanctuary of Zeus Ñémeos, whom the inhabitants after learning agriculture called Zeus 'Éπικτηριος.

1 Io. Malal. chron. 2 p. 28 ff. Dindorf, Chron. Paschale i. 74 ff. Dindorf, cp. Io. Antioch. frag. 6. 14 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 544 Müller), Kedren. hist. comp. 20 D ff. (i. 37 f. Bekker), Soud. s.v. 'Iō, Exc. Salmasi in Cramer aned. Paris. ii. 387, 32 ff. The narrative of Ioannes Malalas, our fullest source, is as follows:—In the days of Pikos Zeus a certain man named Inachos, of the tribe of Japheth, arose in the west. He was the first king over the land of Argos, where he founded a town and named it Iopolis; for he worshipped the moon, and 'Iō is a mystic name by which the Argives have known the moon from that day to this (infra, ch. i § 6 (g) viii). Inachos, then, built a temple to the moon with a bronze stèle inscribed 'Iō μάκαρα λαμπαδόφρος. His wife Melia bore him two sons, Kasos and Belos, and a fair daughter called Io after the moon. Pikos Zeus, king of the west, sent and carried off Io, by whom he became the father of Libye. Io, in shame and anger, fled to Egypt and stayed there; but on learning that Hermes, son of Pikos Zeus, ruled over Egypt she was afraid and went on to Mt. Silpion in Syria, the site of the later town of Antiocheia. According to Theophilus, Io died in Syria; according to others, in Egypt. Inachos meantime sent her brothers and kinsfolk in search of her under the guidance of Triptolemos. The men from Iopolis in Argos heard that she had died in Syria. So they went and sojourned there awhile, knocking at the door of each house and saying Ψυχή Ἰωσ σωτήριον. But, when they had a vision of a heifer that spoke with human voice and said to them Ἠσαυράθει έλευ έρω ἴω, they decided to stop where they were on Mt. Silpion, arguing that Io must be buried on that very mountain. They therefore founded a sanctuary for her there and a town for themselves, named Iopolis. They are in fact still called Ionitai by the Syrians of the district. And to this day the Syrians of Antiocheia, in memory of the search-party of Argives sent out to find Io, year by year at the self-same season knock on the doors of the Hellenes. The reason why these Argives took up their abode in Syria was because Inachos had hidden them either return with his daughter to Argos, or not return at all. So the Ionitai aforesaid founded a sanctuary of Kronos on Mt. Silpion. The sources other than Malalas give no important variants (infra Κρανιονας for ιπερ Κρονου Chron. Paschale: κρονοντις είς τάς ἄλλης ἅμας κρανός κατ’ ένος έσθεν ἴω 'Iō Σουίδ.).

In this, as in other Levantine stories of Io, we may suppose that the Argive heroine was but the Greek equivalent of a foreign deity. In Egypt she was identified with Isis, cow-goddess and moon-goddess (infra ch. i § 6 (g) viii); in Syria, with Astarte, whose art-type with cow-like horns and lunar disk was determined by that of Isis (E. Meyer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 653). Cp. Philon Bybl. frag. 2. 24 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 569 Müller) Ἀστάρτη δὲ ἡ μεγάλη καὶ Ζεὺς Δημιουργὸς καὶ Ἀδαμὸς βασιλεύει θέων ἐμπεδων τῆς χώρας Κρόνου γενύματι. ἦ δὲ Ἀστάρτη ἐνθέος τῆς ιδιότητας ἐκεινὴς τῆς ημέρας καθάπερ επικάλλεν τῆς τάφας ττοστότοστα δι τήν οἰκουμένην κ.λ. (infra ch. ii § 10 (b)). The θυρισματικα of the Antiocheios probably involved a ritual search for Astarte as a goddess of fertility annually lost and found (cp. Group Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 970 n. 8, infra ch. iii § 3 (a) i). The Babylonian form of this incident was the well-known 'descent of Ishtar,' daughter of the moon-god Sin, into the nether world (M. Jastrow The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria Boston etc. 1898 p. 363 ff.).

2 Strab. 750.


Others told how Inachos sent out Kynos (not Triptolemos), who founded Kynos in Karia (Diod. 5. 60), and Lyركos, son of Phoroneus, who settled at Kaunos in Karia (Parthen. narr. am. 1. 1 ff. = Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 313 f. Müller).

4 That the influence of Triptolemos was felt at Gaza might be inferred from the fact
Another mythological personage that travelled in the sun's wheeled chariot was Kirke, the first mistress of magic. In the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus she is carried off from Kolchis by a team of winged snakes⁴ and Aphrodite, personating Kirke, is believed to have returned thither in the same equipage⁵. O. Gruppe thinks that this trait was borrowed by the poet from the myth of Medea⁶; and that is certainly a possibility to be reckoned with⁷. At the same time it must be remembered that Kirke was the daughter of Helios and as such might well claim to use the solar car. Apollonios of Rhodes had in fact described how Helios once took her in his own car from east to west, from Kolchis to Etruria⁸; and Apollonios, according to a Greek commentator, was but following the still earlier narrative of Hesiod⁹. So that, whether Valerius Flaccus was or was not the first to mention Kirke's team of snakes, Kirke riding in the solar chariot is a much older conception. Conformably with it the author of the Orphic *Argonautika* invests her with a solar halo:

Straightway a maiden met them face to face,
The sister of Aietes great of soul,
Daughter of Helios—Kirke was the name
Asterope her mother and far-seen
Hyperion gave her. Swift to the ship she came,
And all men marvelled as they looked upon her;
For from her head floated the locks of hair
Like glittering sunbeams and her fair face shone,
Yea, gleamed as with a gust of flaming fire⁰.

In a Pompeian wall-painting Kirke's head is surrounded by a circular blue nimbus¹. But a Roman lamp and a contorniate medal that Dagon the chief god of the Philistines is described as Zeus *Arótrios* in Philon Bybl., frag. 2. 20 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 568 Müller) ἀ δὲ Δαγών, ἑπεδή ἐφε σώσε καὶ ἠρώτως, ἐκλήθη Ζεὺς Ἄρότρωας, cp. ib. 14 (iii. 567) Δαγών, ὅτα ἐστι Σίτων with F. Cumont's note in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 1985 f.

¹ Val. Flacc. 7. 120 ut aligiri Circe rapuere dracones.
² Id. 7. 217 ff. o tandem, vix tandem reddita Circe | dura tuis, quae te blingis serpentibus egit | hinc fugas?
show her wearing a rayed crown\textsuperscript{1}, the proper attribute of a solar power, whose island-home is placed by Homer precisely at the sunrise\textsuperscript{2}.

That Kirke was in some sense solar is further shown by the parallels to her myth which can be adduced from various quarters. Thus in the Celtic area we have many accounts of the Otherworld-visit. These fall into two well-defined groups. On the one hand, in such tales as The Voyage of Bran, The Adventures of Conula, Oisin, The Sick-bed of Cuchulain, and Laegaire mac Crimthainn the hero crosses the sea to an Elysian island, where he mates with a divine queen and so becomes its king. On the other hand, in such tales as The Adventures of Cormac, The Adventures of Tadg, and The Bálé an Scáil he is entertained, but not married, by the queen, and receives at her hands a magic cup, after which he returns home in safety. Intermediate between the two groups is The Voyage of Mael-Duin, where we get at once the marriage, the entertainment, and the safe return. I have discussed these tales elsewhere\textsuperscript{3} and here would merely point out that the goddess-queen inhabiting with her maidens the Otherworld island is regularly solar\textsuperscript{4}. Indeed, in the story of Laegaire mac Crimthainn she bears the appropriate name Deorgreine, 'Tear of the Sun.' J. G. von Hahn compared the Kirke-myth with a modern Greek folk-tale from Wilza in Çagori, in which a princess living with her maidens in an island mates with a prince described as 'sprung from the sun' and subsequently tries to kill him through the machinations of an iron dervish\textsuperscript{5}.

But the closest parallel\textsuperscript{6} to the Homeric story is cited by


\textsuperscript{1} Arch. Zeit. 1865 xxiii pl. 194 figs. 4 and 3, J. E. Harrison Myths of the Odyssey London 1882 p. 77 f. pl. 24 d, b, Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1197—1199 figs. 3, 4.

\textsuperscript{2} Od. 12. 31. ἔποιες ἁλίσθη, ἐδρὰ ἠργασθεῖσι | αἰδείδα καὶ χοροὶ ἀπὸ καὶ ἀντωλαὶ Ἡλιαοῦ.

\textsuperscript{3} In Folk-Lore 1906 xvii. 141—173. The latest writer on the Celtic island-Elysium is the Rev. J. A. MacCulloch The Religion of the Ancient Celts Edinburgh 1911 p. 385 ff.

\textsuperscript{4} Folk-Lore loc. cit. p. 126 ff. For a criticism of my view see G. L. Gomme Folklore as an historical science London 1908 p. 106 ff.

\textsuperscript{5} J. G. von Hahn Griechische und albanische Märchen Leipzig 1864 i. 79 ff. no. 4, ii. 186 ff. In another Greek folk-tale, translated by E. M. Geldart Folk-Lore of Modern Greece London 1884 p. 22 ff. 'My lady Sea' (Thera) from the original text in the journal Παραφυσικά, the prince marries a beautiful maiden whose sire is the Sun and whose mother is the Sea. On children of the Sun in Greek folk-lore see N. G. Polites 'ΟΗλος καρά τοὺς δεμωδεὶς νότου Αθῆναι 1882 p. 24 f.

\textsuperscript{6} For Indian parallels see G. Gerland Altgriechische Märchen in der Odyssee Magdeburg 1889 p. 35 f., E. Rohde Der griechische Roman und seine Verläufe Leipzig 1876 p. 173 n. 2; for a Mongolian parallel, F. Bender Die märchenhaften Bestandtheile der
Miss J. E. Harrison and K. Seeliger from *The Thousand and One Nights,* *viz. The Tale of King Bedr Bāsim.* I quote Miss Harrison's summary of it:

'King Bedr Bāsim, like Odysseus, is seeking to return to his kingdom. He is shipwrecked, and escapes on a plank to [a tongue of land jutting out into the deep, on which is a white city with high walls and towers]; he desires to go up to it. But as he tries to approach, “there came to him mules and asses and horses, numerous as the grains of sand, and they began to strike him and prevent him from going up from the sea to the land.” Later on a sheykh, who plays the part of Hermes, tells him that this is the city of the Enchanters, wherein dwells Queen Lab, an enchantress, who is like to a she-devil. A curious, and, I think, significant fact is, that the [Old] Persian word “lab” means sun. We remember that Circe was daughter of Helios. The conceptions of magic and sun-worship seem to have been closely interwoven, and this seems the more natural if the Greek myth were of Eastern origin. The sheykh tells Bedr Bāsim that the strange mules and horses and asses are the lovers of this wicked witch. With each of them she abides forty days, and after that enchants them into beast-shapes. Queen Lab sees Bedr Bāsim, and falls in love with him. He goes up to her castle, but after some suspicious experiences begins to fear that his appointed day is drawing nigh. [He has seen a white she-bird consorting with a black bird beneath a tree full of birds, and has learnt that this was Queen Lab with one of her many lovers.] His friend the sheykh gives him a magic “sawekh.” This “sawekh,” which he is to give to the queen in place of her own magic potion, is the meal of parched barley made into a sort of gruel—thick, but not too thick to drink—a curious parallel to the “mess of cheese and barley meal and yellow honey mixed with Pramanian wine.” Queen Lab fares worse for her evil deeds than did Circe. Bedr Bāsim gives her the “sawekh,” and commands her to become a dappled mule. He then puts a bridle in her mouth and rides her forth from the city, and the sheykh thus addresses her:—“May God, whose name be exalted, abide thee by affliction.”

The name *Kirke* denotes a ‘Hawk’ (*kirkos*). But this does not militate against our solar interpretation of the myth. For not only in Vedic mythology is Sūrya, the sun, sometimes conceived as a bird, but Mithraic worshippers spoke of Helios as a hawk? In

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2 J. E. Harrison *op. cit.* p. 86 f.
3 K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1195 f.
4 J. A. MacCuolloch *op. cit.* p. 385 f.
5 *Nights* 751 ff. ed. Captain Sir R. F. Burton. The name *Badr Bāsim* means ‘Full moon smiling.’
6 So Burton; but Profs. E. G. Browne, A. A. Bevan, and J. H. Moulton, to whom I have applied, all view the statement with the greatest suspicion. The last-named wittily declares that *lab* is ‘moonshine’!
7 This rather obvious derivation has, I find, been anticipated by C. de Kay *Bird Gods* New York 1898 p. 164, of whose ornithological interpretations (‘Æetes’=eagle, ‘Oulixes’=owl, etc.) the less said, the better.
9 Porph. *de abst.* 4. 16 τον δε Πλευρον, Νεοτα, δρακοντα, Ίρακα with the preceding context.
Kirke

Egypt too the hawk was sacred to the sun, or to Horos, Râ, Osiris, Seker, and other solar deities; it was here regarded as the only bird that could look with unflinching gaze at the sun, being itself filled with sunlight and essentially akin to fire. These beliefs certainly found an echo in Greek literature; and they may serve to explain the frequent association of the hawk with Apollo. To Homer the hawk was the 'swift messenger of Apollo,' who himself on occasion took its form. Aristophanes implies that Apollo was sometimes represented with a hawk on his head or on his hand. The mythographers told how Apollo had transformed Daidalion son of the Morning Star into a hawk. And later writers agreed that the hawk was the sacred bird of Apollo or of Helios Apollo. All this goes to make it probable that Kirke was originally a solar power conceived as a 'Hawk.' A relic of her ornithomorphic state may perhaps be traced in the curious Homeric description of her as a 'dread goddess endowed with human speech.' Had she been purely anthropomorphic, the phrase would have been superfluous, not to say impertinent. Given that her name betokened her nature, the explanation is not only pardonable, but necessary. Again, it might fairly be urged that the Italian myth of Kirke's love for Picus becomes more intelligible if the

1 Porph. de abst. 4. 9, Euseb. praep. ev. 3. 12. 3.
3 All. de nat. an. 10. 14.
4 Porph. de abst. 4. 9 ἐν οἷς τὸ ἡλικόν κατοικεῖν πεποιθεὶσα φῶς.
5 All. de nat. an. 10. 24.
6 Infr. ch. i. § 6 (e).
7 All. de nat. an. 10. 14 expressly equates Horos the hawk-god with Apollo.
8 Od. 15. 536 ἱρκος, Ἀπόλλωνος ταχύτι ἀγαθός.
9 Ἡ. 15. 237 ἑπεκ ἐξακόλοντος.
10 Aristoph. av. 516, schol. ad loc.
11 Ov. met. 11. 339 ff., Hyg. fab. 200, infra ch. i. § 6 (e).
12 Porph. de abst. 3. 5; Eustath. in Ἡ. p. 1014, 22.
13 Eustath. in Ἡ. p. 87, 6 ἑπεκάτι ἑρσαὶ Πηλίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι κ.τ.λ.
14 Od. 10. 136, 11. 8, 12. 120 εὐαγγέλιον ἀγάθησα. The same expression is used of Kalypso (Od. 12. 449), who in various respects is the doublet of Kirke (O. Immisch in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 940 f.) and may well have borrowed an epithet belonging to her. Similarly of the horse Xanthos, gifted with human speech, we read: Ἡ. 19. 407 ἀγάθησα δ' ἐπεκάτι τελέον λειακάλνον Ἡρα. Conversely Leukothoe, ἡ πρόπτερος ἡν ἐπεκατε ἀγάθησαι (Od. 5. 334), dives into the sea ἀγάθησαι εἰς (ib. 335, cp. 337).
15 K. Seeliger in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1202, 22 ff. collects the evidence. Πευχλός, the giant who fled to Kirke's isle and was there slain by Helios—the plant ἱέρικειον springing from his blood—(Alexandros of Paphos ap. Eustath. in Od. p. 1638, 49 ff.), is possibly related to the Lithuanian deity Pikelas or Pikelus (H. Usener Götternamen Bonn 1896 p. 98).
former was, like the latter, a humanised bird. And the parallel of the ‘Speaking Bird,’ which in a Sicilian folk-tale turned men into statues¹, is at least worth noting.

The exact species of the kirkos cannot be determined from the casual notices of it found in ancient authors². But the same word is used by the modern Greeks³ of the gyr-falcon (falcō gyrifalco Linnaeus), a bird so called from its wheeling flight. Now there was another word kirkos in ancient Greek, which was akin to the Latin circus, circularus, and meant ‘circle.’ It is, therefore, tempting to suppose with A. Kuhn⁴ that the bird kirkos derived its name from the circularity of its motion. Circular motion would make it all the more appropriate as a symbol of the sun. Still, in view of the enormous number of purely onomatopoeic bird-names, it is safer to assume⁵ that kirkos the ‘hawk’ was so called on account of the shrill cry kirk! kirk! with which it wheels its flight⁶. If so, any connexion with kirkos a ‘circle’ must be due to popular misconception⁷.

J. F. Cerquand long since surmised that Kirke’s name was related to circus, a ‘circle’; but he regarded Kirke as a moon-goddess and Odysseus as a sun-god⁸. Obviously, however, the connexion with circus would suit a sun-goddess as well as, if not

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¹ Append. F
³ All. de nat. an. 4. 5. 6. 38 distinguishes the kiriν from the κηρως, as does Eustath. in II. p. 1261, 50 f., id. in Od. p. 1613, 65 f. But one author is late, the other later.
⁴ N. Contopoulos Greek-English Lexicon⁵ Athens 1903 p. 330.
⁹ L. Hopf op. cit. p. 93.

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Since this paragraph was written A. Fick has discussed the word κηρως in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1911 xliv. 345 ff. He rejects the rendering ‘der Kreisende’ and inclines to the onomatopoeic explanation ‘der Kreischer.’ He adds, however, a third possibility, that the bird was so called from its ‘crooked’ claws, cp. Aristoph. neut. 337 γαμψότως ολανότινος for γαμψόνωμεναι, Paul. ex Fest. p. 88 Müller falconis... a simulitudinis falcis, Hesych. ἄρχων εἰδος ὀρέων, καὶ ὄρατω... ἀεικτινὸς Κρήτης. After this he gives free rein to his fancies. Kiriν Αἰαίς is the goddess of the circular or rather semicircular path described by Eos and Helios in the course of the year. She is inconstant, because the point at which Eos rises is always shifting. As mistress of the zodiac she is surrounded by the lion (summer), the swine (winter: ἔτι suggests ἔτει, the wolf (κύκλος plays on κύκλος, λοκάδας). Her four maidens are the four Seasons. Etc. etc.

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better than, a moon-goddess. Moreover, it is easy to imagine more ways than one in which a circle might be fittingly attributed to a solar Kirke. She was a ‘Hawk,’ and the hawk may have been fastened ἵνα-like to a solar wheel. She was a magician, and magicians have always dealt in magic circles. But above all she was a goddess comparable with the island-queen of Celtic myths, and Celtic myths—especially in their Welsh form—spoke of the island-palace as the ‘Revolving Castle.’ In that castle was a mystic vessel, the pagan original of the Holy Grail. And it is to be noticed that the heroes best qualified to seek the Grail on the one hand are the chief representatives of the ‘Table Round,’ and on the other stand in intimate relation to the hawk. Thus Arthur’s favourite knight was Gwalchmei, the ‘Hawk of May,’ whose brother, even stronger than himself, was Gwalchauged, the ‘Hawk of Summer.’ The latter is better known to us as Galahad; the former, as Gawain—a name which Sir John Rhŷs derives from Gwalch-gwyn, the ‘White Hawk,’ or Gwalch-hevin, the ‘Summer Hawk.’ Now in the myth of Kirke it is easy to recognize the mystic vessel and the human Hawk. But can we also detect any trait to correspond with the ‘Revolving Castle’ or the ‘Table Round’? In short, has the notion of circularity left any mark upon it? Not, I think, on Greek soil, real or imaginary. But it is to Italy rather than to Greece that we should look for correspondence with Celtic myth; and the Italian Kirke seems to have dwelt on a circular island. In the territory of the Volsci—whose name may be akin to that of the Welsh

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1 Io. Antich. frag. 24. 10 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 551 Müller) Καλυψάος καὶ Κιρής Ἡλίου καὶ Ζεύς ὁ ἐξελεύσει is indecisive.


3 A wall-painting from the Casa dei Dioscuri at Pompeii shows a peasant consulting a sorcerer, who is seated in the middle of a circular base, holding her wand and presenting him with a cup (Helbig Wandgem. Camp. p. 392 f. no. 1565, Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1500 fig. 4781). This sorcerer has been sometimes identified with Kirke (e.g. Smith—Marindin Class. Dict. p. 233), but the identification is precarious.

Supra p. 239.


6 Peredur Paladur-hir, the ‘Spearman of the Long Shaft’ (Sir Percival), is not so related to the hawk. But then Miss J. L. Weston The Legend of Sir Percival London 1906 i. 171 ff., 1909 ii. 201, 305 ff. proves that Percival was not the original hero of the Grail.


and consequently denote a ‘Hawk’ tribe—was the coast town of Cercei, later called Circei (the modern Circeii), at the foot of the Cerceius or Cerceius mons (Monte Circeo). This calcareous and cavernous mountain was originally an island; and here the myth of Kirke, the ‘Hawk,’ was localised, where her image was said to catch the first rays of the rising sun. Nonnos makes her as the mother of the Italian Faunus inhabit—

Deep-shaded circles of a rocky home.

He is presumably referring to Monte Circeo and, if I mistake not, intentionally hinting at its circularity.

On the whole I am disposed to conclude that Kirke began life as a solar hawk, that originally and in Greece she had nothing to do with Revolving Castles or Tables Round, but that later and in Italy, under the influence of folk-etymology, she may have been brought into connexion with Celtic ideas of the solar circle.

(6) Medea.

We come now to Medea, the niece or, according to some, the sister of Kirke. As grand-daughter of Helios she too could summon the solar chariot at need. Diodoros relates that Medea, when she fled from Kolchis with the Argonauts, put in to Iolkos and there plotted the death of king Pelias. She made a hollow image of Artemis, stuffed it with all sorts of charms, and passed herself off as a priestess of the goddess. She declared that Artemis had come from the country of the Hyperboreoi, travelling through the air in a car drawn by serpents and seeking the world over for the most pious of kings, in order that she might establish her cult with him and bless him with renewed youth. As proof of her

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1 Walnut, J. Rhys op. cit. p. 13 n. 1, and A. Nutt in Folk-Lore 1910 xxi. 233 n. 3. The Volcae were a tribe of southern Gaul (Tolosa, Nemausus, etc.). Cf. Volcei in Etruria and Volceii in Lucania. On Volcei (for *Volk-sei*) corresponding with the Celtic Volcae see H. Hirt Die Indogermanen Strassburg 1905 i. 164, cp. ib. 127, 169.


3 Eustath. in Od. p. 1705, 31 f. ἐγκλωμα φαινέω δόντος τοῦ Κηρκάνων Ἡλίων ἐκ νυκτός ἐπιλάμβανε τὸ τῆς Κηρκας ἔσαρνος.

4 Nonn. Dion. 13. 332 Ὑμεῖς πετραίας βαθύκοιτα γύλα μελάθρον.

5 Near Luna in northern Etruria was an ákeron Σελῆνη (Ptol. 3. ii. 4). W. H. Roscher Über Scilie und Verwandtes Leipzig 1890 p. 15 identifies this with the Σεληναίων δρος, on which were shown the mortars used by Medea and Kirke for pounding their charms (schol. Theokr. 2. 15). This supports a lunar rather than a solar connexion.

6 Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2482.

7 Diod. 4. 51 f.
words, Medea changed her own looks from those of an old woman to those of a maid, and further by means of her enchantments caused the alleged serpents to appear in visible form. The king, convinced of her powers, bade his daughters do whatever she commanded. Medea came by night to the palace and ordered them to boil the body of their sleeping father in a caldron. When they demurred, she took an old ram, bred in the house, cut it limb from limb, boiled its body, and by her magic art produced out of the caldron the figure of a lamb. The maidens, thus persuaded, slew their father, whom Medea cut up and boiled. She then sent them up to the palace-roof with torches, saying that she must offer a prayer to Selene. The torches served as a fire-signal to the Argonauts, who were lying in wait outside the city. They at once attacked it, overcame all resistance, and secured the palace. In this romantic narrative Diodoros is following the Argonautai or Argonautika of Dionysios Skytobrachion, an Alexandrine grammarian of the second century B.C.¹ The snaky chariot is here that of Artemis the moon-goddess, as on a copper coin of Aureliopolis in Lydia, struck under Commodus, which shows Artemis with a crescent moon on her head in a chariot drawn by two serpents². But Artemis, thinly disguised as Hekate³, is in this story made the mother of Medea and daughter of Helios. The serpent-chariot, therefore, may have been either solar or lunar in its origin.

Ovid, after recounting the murder of Pelias, adds that Medea would have had to pay the penalty of her crime, had she not forthwith mounted into the air on her winged snakes⁴ and made her way by a devious track to Corinth. His version of her escape seems modelled on the common account of her disappearance from Corinth, not without some admixture of Triptolemos' tour.

As to what happened at Corinth, various tales were told⁵. According to our oldest authority, Eumelos⁶, whose Korinthiaka was composed about 740 B.C., Helios had by Antiope two sons, Aloeus and Aietes; Helios gave Arkadia to the former, Corinth to

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¹ Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 929 ff.
² Rasche Lex. Num. i. 1359, viii. 713, Head Hist. num.³ p. 659.
³ Diod. 4. 45 Εκατόν...φωλικήν...ανθρώπους...απεσεντες...τιμώρησε...κατακλώσεις...ἐκεῖ
⁴ Ἀρτέμιδος ἔριν ἔρωτικόν τόι κατακλώσεις ἐκ τοῖς τάσσεσθαι τῷ θεῷ καταδείξασαι ἐν
⁵ ὀμοτέτι διωνυσίαν. Medea herself was said to have founded a sanctuary of Artemis on one of the islands in the Adriatic, whither Iason had sailed vid the river Istros (Aristot. mit. aure. 105).
⁶ Ov. met. 7. 350 f. quod nisi pennatis serpentibus isset in auras | non exempla fore poeneae. fugit alta etc.
⁷ These are collected and discussed by K. Seeliger in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2491 ff.
⁸ Eumel. frag. 2, 3, 4 Kinkel.
the latter. But Aietes, dissatisfied with his portion, went off to Kolchis, leaving Bounos, a son of Hermes by Alkidameia, as regent on behalf of himself and his descendants. On the death of Bounos, Epopeus, son of Aloeus, succeeded to the throne. Marathon, son of Epopeus, fled to Attike to escape the lawless violence of his father, and, when Epopeus died, divided the kingdom between his own two sons, Sikyon and Korinthos. Korinthos leaving no issue,

the Corinthians sent to Iolkos for Medeia, daughter of Aietes, to come and reign-over them. Iason was king in virtue of his wife's descent. The children born to them Medeia hid in the sanctuary of Hera, thinking to make them immortal. In this she failed. Iason detected her action and would not forgive it, but sailed away to Iolkos. So Medeia too took her departure and left the kingdom to Sisyphos.

1 The eponymous founder of the sanctuary of Hera Bouwaia (Paus. 2. 4. 7), 'of the Hill' (bouâs), = Hera 'Akraia (Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1193).
This genealogy throws some light on early Corinthian religion; for it enables us to see that the kings of Corinth were regarded as near akin to Zeus, or perhaps even as successive incarnations of him. Korinthos, the eponym of the town,—who must be carefully distinguished from Korinthos, the personification of the town,—is represented on a bronze mirror, found at Corinth and now in the Louvre, as a majestic Zeus-like man seated on a throne and holding a sceptre. A himation is wrapped about him, and Leukas the Corinthian colony is in the act of placing a wreath upon his head (fig. 178)². This Korinthos, according to Eumelos, was the son of Marathon. But Pausanias, who cites the Eumelian pedigree, begins by the following naïve admission: 'That Korinthos was the son of Zeus has never yet, to my knowledge, been seriously asserted by anybody except by most of the Corinthians themselves!'³ The claim of the Corinthians was indeed so well known to the Greeks in general that it passed into the proverb 'Korinthos son of Zeus' used in cases of wearisome iteration⁴. If then the Corinthian populace regarded Korinthos, son of Marathon, as the son of Zeus, it is not unlikely that Marathon was held to be an embodiment of Zeus. Indeed, a scholiast on Aristophanes—if the text of his scholion is sound—declares: 'This "Korinthos son of Zeus" was the son of Zeus a king of Corinth!'⁵. Again, Marathon in his turn was the son of Epopeus; and an epic poet, probably of the seventh century B.C., informs us that Epopeus had the same wife as Zeus⁶. It would seem then that, when Medea came to Corinth, the kings of the town had for three successive generations (Epopeus, Marathon, Korinthos) stood in a relation of peculiar intimacy to Zeus. What

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¹ The former is masculine (Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1381 f.), the latter feminine (Athen. 201 D).
³ Paus. 2. 1. 1.
⁵ Schol. Aristoph. *ran. 439* ὁ δὲ Δίος Κόρινθος ταῖς Δίοις βασιλέως Κορίνθου. Unfortunately the text is not free from suspicion. Cod. V omits the word βασιλέως; and F. H. M. Blaydes ad loc. would read βασιλέως. Blaydes' emendation may be right, for another scholion on the same passage has ὁ δὲ Δίος Κόρινθος ταῖς Δίοις βασιλεῖι Κορίνθου.
⁶ *Infra* ch. i. § 7 (d).
now of Medea herself? 'Zeus,' says the old scholiast on Pindar, 'was enamoured of her there; but Medea would not hearken to him, as she would fain avoid the wrath of Hera!.' Curiously enough the love of Zeus for Medea was balanced by the love of Hera for Iason. Analogous cases, to be considered later, suggest that this reciprocity implies the Zeus- hood, so to speak, of Iason and the Hera-hood of Medea.

Thus the myth of Medea as told by Eumelos serves to connect the earliest dynasty of Corinth with Zeus; but it does not help us to decide whether the serpent-chariot was of solar or lunar origin. On this point Euripides is the first to satisfy our curiosity. His Medea, when about to be banished from Corinth by king Kreon, makes her escape to Athens in the car of Helios—a device somewhat unfairly criticised by Aristotle. Ere she goes, she flings the following defiance at her husband:

Cease this essay. If thou wouldst aught of me,
Say what thou wilt: thine hand shall touch me never.
Such chariot hath my father's sire, the Sun,
Given me, a defence from foeman's hand.

Euripides does not, indeed, definitely state that the Sun's chariot was drawn by serpents. But later writers are unanimous. Medea, say they, received from the Sun a chariot of winged snakes and on this fled through the air from Corinth to Athens. That her

1 Schol. Pind. Ol. 13. 748 ἐκεὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ὁ Ζεὺς ὡμάθη, οἷς ἐπίθετο δὲ ὁ Μήδεια τῶν τῆς Ἡρας ἐκχλίνουσα χόλον. κ.τ.λ.
2 Od. 12. 72 ἄλλ᾽ Ἡρη παρῆτεμφει, ἐπὶ φίλος ἐν Ἰθέων. Ἀρ. Ροδ. 3. 66 ἐτὶ καὶ πρὸν ἐμόλ (καὶ Ἡρα) μηνα φίλον Ἰθέων, schol. Pind. Ῥοθ. 4. 156 β δὲ τι διεχερώθη ὑπὸ Ὀλύμπου, δήλον ἐκ τοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἡρας κατὰ τινας αὐτῶν ἐπιμαχώθω. cited by K. Seeliger in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 68.
3 See Class. Rev. 1906 xx. 378.
4 For Δομορίς as the alleged older name of Iason see K. Seeliger op. cit. ii. 64 and C. von Holzinger on Lyk. Al. 632.
5 Aristot. poët. 15. 1454 b 1 f., with the comment of A. E. Haigh The Tragic Drama of the Greeks Oxford 1896 p. 289. See, however, E. Bethe Prologomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Althenum Leipzig 1896 p. 143 ff.
In Sen. Med. 1031 ff. squamosa geminis colla serpentem igo | submissa præbent, recipe iam gnatos pares. | ego inter auras aliti curru vehar we have a description of the older type of solar vehicle, in which the chariot is winged, not the snakes (ὑπὲρ p. 136 n. 3.)
peculiar conveyance was long felt to be of a specially fiery sort, may be gathered from a high-falutting description of it by Dracontius, who wrote at the close of the fifth century A.D.:

Then came the snakes
Raising their combs aloft and viperous throats
Scaly; and lo, their crested crowns shot flame.
The chariot was a torch, sulphur the yoke,
The pole bitumen; cypress was the wheel;
Yea, poison made that bridle-bit compact,
And lead that axle, stolen from five tombs.

In art, as in literature, Medea escapes from Corinth on a serpent-chariot. Roman sarcophagi, which date from the second century of our era, represent her mounting a car drawn from left to right by two winged snakes of monstrous size. In her right hand she grasps a short sword. Over her left shoulder hangs the body of one of her children. The leg or legs of the other child are seen projecting from the car. Of this type there are two varieties. In the first, of which but a single specimen is known, Medea has a comparatively quiet attitude. In the second, of which there are seven examples, she adopts a more tragic and pathetic pose, raising her sword aloft and turning her head as if to mark Jason's futile pursuit (fig. 179). There can be little doubt that this sarcophagus-type was based on the tradition of earlier paintings. In fact, almost identical with it is the scene as shown on an amphora from Canosa now at

2 The sarcophagi are collected, figured, and discussed by Robert Sarks Relfs ii. 205 ff. pl. 62—65. See also K. Seeliger in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2508—2511.
3 Robert op. cit. ii. 205 pl. 62 no. 193, a fragment formerly at Florence in the Palazzo Martelli. Robert notes that the purse in Medea's right hand is due to a mistake of the draughtsman or of the restorer—it should be a sword—, and that the scalloped side of the chariot probably implies a misunderstanding of the second dead child's leg. The attempt to distinguish the male snake (bearded and crested) from the female is likewise a suspicious trait.
4 Id. ib. ii. 213 f. pl. 64 no. 200, formerly at Rome in possession of an engineer named Cantoni; now in the Berlin Museum. This sarcophagus was found in 1887 near the Porta S. Lorenzo. See further the monograph by L. von Urlichs Ein Medea-Sarkophag Würzburg 1888 pp. 1—22 pl.
Naples (fig. 180). Medea on a car drawn by two snakes, which are not winged, holds the reins in her left hand and one end of a fluttering sail-like himation in her right. She turns her face towards Iason, who pursues her hotly on horseback. He is accompanied by a couple of followers, probably the Dioskouroi, for one of them wears a pilos and above them we see two stars. Of the children, one lies dead upon the ground, fallen on his face beside the fatal sword; the other, dead also, is with Medea in the car; the back of his head and one arm being visible beside her. In front of and facing Medea stands Erinys, a nimbus round her head; she holds a sword in one hand, a torch in the other. Lastly, on the extreme right Selene rides her horse: she too has her head circled with a nimbus, which is painted red-brown and yellow. She is present possibly as a goddess of magic, who might naturally be associated with Medea, but more probably to furnish a variation on the hackneyed sun-and-moon theme, Selene on the lunar horse forming a pendant to Medea on the solar car. There is every reason to think with L. von Urlich's and C. Robert that the above-mentioned sarcophagi—and this amphora cannot be separated from them—present us with a scene ultimately derived from Euripides' play. Mr J. H. Huddilston says with justice: 'I know of no monuments of ancient art that grasp the spirit of a Greek tragedy more effectually than the Medea sarcophagi. The strange and secret power of the sorceress hovers over and pervades the whole. The dreadful vengeance exacted by the slighted queen is shown in the most graphic manner. Standing before the Berlin replica, which is the best preserved and most beautiful of all the sculptures, one cannot

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4 Supra p. 245.
but feel that he is face to face with a marvellous illustration of the
great tragedy. The marble all but breathes; the dragons of
Medeia’s chariot may be heard to hiss.’

Euripides was not the last to compose a drama about Medeia;
and it is in all probability a post-Euripidean play that is illustrated
by another Apulian vase, the famous Medeia-krater of Munich. This
magnificent example of later ceramic art has for its principal
theme a representation of the vengeance taken by Medeia on Iason,
who in her despite contracted wedlock with king Kreon’s daughter
(pl. xxii). In the centre of the scene rises the royal palace con-
taining a throne surmounted by two eagles and a pair of circular
shields slung from the roof. The king’s daughter Kreonteia
(Kreonteia) has just received from Medeia the fatal gift of a
poisoned crown. The casket in which it came stands open on the
ground before her. But the poison is potent and is already doing
its deadly work. The princess falls in her agony across the throne.
Her father (Kre’on), dazed with grief, drops his eagle-tipped
sceptre, and with one hand clutches at his grey locks, while he
supports her prostrate form with the other. From right and left
two figures hasten to the rescue. Kreon’s son (Hippotes) is first to
arrive and vainly attempts to pluck the crown from his sister’s head.
The queen too (Merope) hurriedly approaches with gestures of grief
and alarm. Behind her are an old paidagogos and a young hand-
maid; the former cautiously advancing, the latter disposed to pull
him back. Behid Hippotes is an elderly veiled woman, evidently
the princess’s nurse, who hastens to escape from the horrible sight.

hold that this vase was intended to illustrate the Medeia of Euripides, and that the points
in which its design differs from the subject as conceived by Euripides are to be regarded
as natural and legitimate additions or subtractions on the part of the painter. A. Furt-
wängler in his Gr. Vasenmalerei ii. 164 ff. refutes their view and concludes that the vase
echoes the work of some unknown poet.

161—166 pl. 90 (which supersedes all previous reproductions). The vase was found in a
tomb near Canosa, Sept. 16, 1813.

3 Kreonteia is her name, not an abbreviation of Kreoneia (παι), nor of Kreoneia
 Kırateia, nor yet the title of a drama comparable with Odipodeia, Orpenteia, etc. Other
sources name her Daisyn (Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1676 no. 4) or Krouna (ib. ii. 1426 f.
no. 3). In Euripides she is nameless.

4 Hyg. fab. 25 coronam ex venenis fecit auream camque muneri filios suos iussit
novercare dare.

5 The name Hippotes is attested by Diod. 4. 55, schol. Eur. Med. 20, Hyg. fab. 37,
though none of these authors describes him as playing the part here assigned to him.

6 The painter of this vase is our sole authority for Merope as the mother of Iason’s
bride, though elsewhere she is mentioned as the wife of Sisyphos or as the wife of Polybos
(Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2838 f.).
Meantime still greater horrors are in progress before the palace. Medea (Médeia), wearing a Phrygian cap and an embroidered oriental costume, has grasped by the hair one of her two boys and is about to run him through with a sword, in spite of the fact that the little fellow has taken refuge on a square altar. He is making desperate efforts to reach his father (Iäson), who with spear and sword, followed by an armed retainer, is hurrying towards him—but just too late to prevent the murder. Another retainer behind Medea's back safeguards the second boy, who otherwise would share his brother's fate. Between Iason and Medea is the chariot drawn by two monstrous snakes, which will carry her beyond reach of his vengeance. In it stands her charioteer, a sinister-looking youth with snakes in his hair and torches in his hands. His name Olstros shows that the artist, doubtless copying the dramatist, conceived him as a personification of Medea's frenzy, past, present, and future. Standing on a rocky eminence at the extreme right and pointing with a significant gesture to the over-turned bridal bath and the whole tragic scene before him is a kingly figure draped in a costume resembling that of Medea. The inscription eidoiôn Aelou, the 'ghost of Aetes,' suggests that in the play Medea's father, who during his lifetime had done his best to thwart her marriage, appeared after his death to point the moral. If so, he probably spoke from the theolegeton, a raised platform here indicated by the rock. Finally, in the background by way of contrast with all the human action and passion we get the tranquil forms of the gods—Heraclès and Athena on one side, the Dioskouroi on the other. Their domain is bounded by a pair of Corinthian columns supporting votive tripods, perhaps a hint that the whole painting was inspired by a successful play.

1 J. H. Huddilston op. cit. p. 149 inclines to think that Medea has lifted the boy on to the altar in order to slay him there. That is certainly a possible interpretation.

2 Cp. Diod. 4. 54 πλην γάρ ἐν τῷ διαφυγόντος τοις ἀδελφοίς εἰς τοὺς ἄνοιγμα.

3 Poll. 1. 142 includes Olstros among a list of ἔκκενου φόρων (along with Δικη, Οἰνόμας, Ἐρμής, Λόσσα, Τῆμας etc.). See also E. Bethe Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Alterthum Leipzig 1896 p. 147 ff.

4 This figure is usually taken to represent the mad rage that drove Medea to commit the desperate deed. Furtwängler op. cit. ii 165 f. prefers to regard it as the embodiment of Medea's remorse, at least of the torments that await her as a murderer of her own child. He holds that, whereas Euripides had allowed his Medea to escape, exulting and unpunished, the later dramatist thus hinted at repentance to come. Furtwängler may well be right; but it must be remembered that, from a Greek point of view, the infatuation that instigates to the deed and the punishment that avenges it are one and the same. See e.g. K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1898 s.v. Ate, 1 Personification der Unheil bringingen Verblendung, ebenso aber auch eines durch diese herbeigeführten Frevels und des ihm als Strafe folgenden Unheils.'

5 Furtwängler op. cit. ii. 163 n. 1.
Kratër from Canosa: the vengeance of Medea.

See page 251 f.

[From Furtwängler-Reichhold Griechische Vasenmalerei pl. 90 by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.]
Iynx

(e) Iynx.

When the Argonauts first came to Kolchis, Aphrodite helped Jason to win Medea by means of an *iynx* or ‘wry-neck’ fastened to a magic wheel. Pindar describes the incident in a noteworthy passage:

Kypnegeneia, queen of the quick shaft,
Down from Olympos brought
The wriggling wry-neck bound beyond escape—
The mad bird—to a wheel of four-spoked shape,
And then first gave it unto men and taught
The proper craft
To the son of Aison, that he might be wise
With all the wisdom of her sorceries
And thereby steal Medea’s shame
Of her own parents,—yea, the very name
Of Hellas her desire
With Peitho’s whip should spin her heart on fire.  

We are nowhere told that this *iynx*-wheel stood for the sun. But that it did, is,—I think,—a possible, even a probable, inference from the following facts. To begin with, the heroes had after a long series of adventures reached their goal—Aia, the land of the sunrise, ruled by Aietes the offspring of Helios,—and more than one event that befell them in this locality is susceptible of a solar interpretation. Again, Aphrodite is stated to have brought the *iynx*-wheel ‘from Olympos,’ an obvious source for celestial magic. In his description of the bird on the wheel Pindar uses a peculiar, indeed broadly logical, phrase, to which only one precise parallel

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1 Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 213ff. It should be noticed that there is a certain parallelism between the beginning and the end of this extract. As Jason spins the magic *iynx*-wheel, so Peitho with her whip spins the heart of Medea (ποιείς δ’ Ἔλληνα αὐτήν | ἐν φρεατικῇ καυμαίνα | δοκεῖς πάσην Ἡλλάδα). One form of magic wheel is said to have resembled a whip-top (schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 1139 ῥόμβος δὲ ἐστὶ τροχίσκος ὡς στρέφοις ἵππας τύπτοτε, καὶ ὠθῶν κτένων ἀποτελόνται, id. ib. 4. 144 citing Eupolis *Baptæ frag.* 15 Meineke ῥόμβοις μαστίγας ἴματω, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1387, 42 ff. τροχίσκος ὅλη τὸν καὶ ῥόμβον καλώμενον, διὰ τύπτοτε ἵππας καὶ στρέφοτες ἵππον διανείσθαι καὶ ὀψών ἀποτελέσσας, et. mag. p. 706, 39 ff. τροχίσκος, διὰ τύπτοτε ἵππας καὶ στρέφοτες ποιούσι περιστερεῖσθαι καὶ ὀψών ἀποτελέσσαι) see P. C. Lévesque in *Histoire et mémoires de l’institut royal de France, classe d’hist. et de litt. anc.* Paris 1818 iii. 5 ff., who argues that the ῥόμβος ‘avoir le plus souvent la forme du jouet nommé parmi nous sabot ou toupie,’ and O. Jahn in the *Berichte d. sächs. Gesellsh. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1854 p. 257. A vase representing such a top is figured by G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1154 fig. 3087.


3 Prof. J. B. Bury in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1886 vii. 157 ff. argues that the ἰφέλι was originally a moon-charm or invocation of the moon-goddess Ἰάτη. But it is very doubtful whether Ἰο was ἀο ἵφελι a moon-goddess (infra ch. i § 6 (g) viii), and quite impossible to connect her name with ἰφέλι (iēphē). See also the criticisms of D’Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 73.
could be quoted; and that occurs in the same poet’s previous description of Ixion. But Ixion’s four-spoked wheel, as I have already pointed out, probably represented the sun. It may, therefore, fairly be surmised that the four-spoked ἵμνα-wheel also was a mimic sun. We have in fact definite evidence that on the shores of the Euxine Sea the sun was conceived as a four-spoked wheel. Coins of Mesembria in Thrace c. 450–350 B.C. have the name of the town (ΜΕΣΩΙΑ or ΜΕΣΩΙΑΣ) inscribed between the four spokes of a wheel, which is surrounded by rays diverging from its rim (fig. 181). This, as Dr B. V. Head observes, is the radiate wheel of the midday

Fig. 181.  
Fig. 182.  
Fig. 183.

Fig. 184.  
Fig. 185.

(mesembria) sun. Again, coins of Kalchedon in Bithynia c. 480–400 B.C. show a four-spoked radiate wheel (fig. 182), which on other specimens c. 400 loses its rays (fig. 183): this example is

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1 Cp. Pind. Pyth. 4. 214 πανίλας ἄγα τετράκτι ναυς (462 B.C.) with Pyth. 2. 40 τῶν δὲ τετράκτι ναυων θραξ θεμέλ (475 B.C.). B. L. Gildersleeve’s remark—'It was poetic justice to bind Ixion to his own ἴμνα wheel'—is ingenious, but misleading.

2 Supra p. 305 ff.


instructive for the light that it sheds on a numerous series of wheel-types in the coinage of Greece and Italy. The toothed or radiate wheel is found once more as a countermark on a coin of Populonia in Etruria (fig. 184). It is also known as a motif on

'Dipylon' pottery (fig. 185), where again it may well have denoted the sun.

The magic wheel as seen on Greek vase-paintings (fig. 186) has

1 See Appendix D.
2 Garrucci Mon. It. ant. p. 55 pl. 74.
likewise a jagged or more probably a pearled edge. This little object was strung on a double cord passing through its centre and was set spinning with a jerk: made of glittering bronze and rotating rapidly on its axis, it would provide the magician with a very passable imitation of the sun (fig. 187).

On this showing the magic wheel of the Greeks was the western analogue of the eastern 'praying-wheel,' whose essential relation to sun-worship has been satisfactorily established by W. Simpson.

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1822 i pl. 16. (d) J. V. Millingen Peintures antiques et intérieues de vases grecs Rome 1813 pl. 45 an Apulian krater.

For other varieties see Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iv. 164 ff. no. F 331 = Arch. Zeit. 1853 xi. 42 f. pl. 54. i an Apulian amphora, ib. iv. 110 no. F 223 pl. 9, i a Campanian hydria.

1 E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iv. 863 f.

2 Theokr. 2. 30.

3 W. Simpson The Buddhist Praying-Wheel London 1896 passim.
It remains to ask why a wry-neck was attached to the solar wheel. And here we are naturally reduced to mere conjecture. Two main reasons suggest themselves. On the one hand, the bird can and does twist its head round in a most surprising fashion; hence its names wry-neck or writhe-neck in our own country, Drehhals or Wendehals in Germany, torcol, tourlicou, tourne tête, etc., in France, torcicollo in Italy, capu tortu in Sicily. This odd faculty of rotary movement may well have been thought to quicken or intensify the rotation of the solar wheel. On the other hand, the wry-neck breeds in the hole of a tree and, if disturbed, utters a peculiar hissing noise calculated to make the observer believe that its hole is tenanted by a snake: this reason, added to the mobility of its neck and tongue, has earned for it the sobriquet of snake-bird in Sussex, Hampshire, and Somerset, Natterwendel in Switzerland, Nattervogel in Germany, cö de couleuvre in the department of Meuse. Now the solar wheel, as we have had occasion to note more than once, tends to be represented with the wings of a bird and a couple of snakes. The wry-neck, combining as it did the qualities of both bird and snake, was a most desirable appendage.

Alexandrine wits were busied over the task of providing the wry-neck with a suitable myth. According to Zenodotos, Iynx was called by some Mintha, being a Naiad nymph whose mother was Peitho. Kallimachos in his work On Birds made Iynx a daughter of Echo, who by her spells attracted Zeus to Io and suffered the feathery change at the hands of Hera. Nikandros told how Pieros, king of Pieria, had nine daughters, who vied with the nine Muses in dance and song. A contest was arranged on

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3 C. Swainson and E. Rolland locc. citat.
4 Supra pp. 205 ff., 217, 228 ff., 248 f.
5 Zenod. ap. Phot. lex. s.v. μήθρα. Menthe or Minthe was beloved by Hades and, when maltreated by Persephone or Demeter, was changed by him into the herb 'mint' (Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2801, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 851).
Mount Helikon. The mortals, vanquished by the immortals, were transformed into birds; and the ἵνωξ was one of these.

But the earlier unsophisticated view saw in the wry-neck merely a bird appropriate to the solar wheel, and useful therefore as a fertility-charm. This explains its connexion with Dionysos, who bore the titles ἱγνίς and ἱγγύς. Finally, the fertility-charm, as so often happens, dwindled into a love-charm, and the ἵνωξ or ἵνωξ-wheel was associated with the deities of soft emotion—Aphrodite and Eros, Himeros and Peitho.

If the ἵνωξ-wheel was indeed a representation of the sun, we might reasonably expect to find it in the entourage of Apollon. For this god, though not himself primarily or originally solar, can be shown to have absorbed into his cult certain features of early sun-magic. In point of fact there is some ground for thinking that the ἵνωξ was admitted into the Apolline cult at Delphoi. That past master in magic Apollonios of Tyana, when wishing to prove that the Delphic god did not disdain wealth and luxury, remarked that at Pytho Apollon had required temple after temple, each greater than its predecessor, and added that 'from one of them he is said to have hung golden ἱγνίς which echoed the persuasive notes of siren voices.' This obscure passage has been brought into connexion with another equally obscure. Pausanias, à propos of the third or bronze temple at Delphoi, states: 'I do not believe that the temple was a work of Hephaestus, nor the story about the golden songstresses which the poet Pindar mentions in speaking of this particular temple:

And from above the gable
Sang charmers all of gold.

Here, it seems to me, Pindar merely imitated the Sirens in Homer.'

1 Nikandros op. Ant. Lib. 9.
2 Hesych. ἤνωζα ὀ Διόνυσος and ἤνωζα ὀ Διόνυσος. M. Schmidt suggests ἤνωζα as <em>ejulator</em> in both cases.
3 The names καθίδων (schol. Theokr. 2. 17), καθίδων (schol. Plat. Gorg. 494 b, Phot. lex. s.v. Τιγης, Hesych. τιγης, καθίδων, Σούις, τιγης, and σαμονόμεσις (Soud. s.v. Τιγης) imply that the wry-neck was confused with the wag-tail, but afford no proof of 'phallic symbolism' (D'Arcy W. Thompson op. cit. p. 71).
4 E. Saglio op. cit. iv. 864, R. Engelmann in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 773 f.
5 See the excellent discussion by Farnell Cults of Gr. States iv. 136 ff., especially pp. 143, 285.
6 Philostr. v. Apoll. 6. 11 p. 221, 32 ff. Kayer ένθα ἐδώ αὔτῶν καὶ χρωματίζων ἱγγας ἀνάφαι ἀ λέγσαι Σαμιάδομον τινά ἐπιχώσας (leg. ἐπιχωσάς) τειχώδεια (supra). Prof. G. Murray thinks that ἐπιχώσας might be rendered 'exerting a kind of Siren persuasion,' but himself suggests ἐπιχώσας, 'shedding a kind of Siren spell.'
7 Paus. 10. 5. 12 trans. J. G. Frazer. The fragment of Pindar is here cited in the
Now Monsieur S. Reinach in an ingenious and penetrating article has argued that the early Greeks, conforming to a custom widespread throughout western Europe, sought to protect their temples against lightning by means of an eagle, the lightning-bird *par excellence*, bound and fastened to a post in either pediment: the pediment in fact thence derived its name *acőς, αὐτόμα*. I would suggest that on or in both pediments of the primitive temple at Delphoi was another bird bound and fastened with like intent—the ἵνξ on its wheel (later replaced by a simple ἵνξ-wheel), which secured the protecting presence of the sun itself. This suggestion may be reinforced by two lines of argument. On the one hand, when we come to deal with the solar disk, we shall find that the pediment of a sacred edifice was the favourite place for that symbol. On the other hand, Apulian vases often depict a pair of four-spoked wheels hanging from the roof of a temple or chieftain’s hut. These wheels are commonly supposed to be chariot wheels. But, although in heroic days the wheels of a chariot when not in use might doubtless be taken off and kept separately, we should hardly imagine that they were habitually following form: χρύσαν ὅ’ ἐξ ὑπερήφ’ (or ὑπερήφ’) δειδον κηληδόνες. But Galen. in Hippocr. de artificiis 3-35 (xviii. 1. 519 Kühn) has και ὁ Πνεῦμα οὗτος ἐν τῷ Πιεδών (log. τοι λαμbris) χρύσαν ὅ’ ἐξεπερα ἀιτον δειδον κηληδόνες. Hence Schneidewin proposed ἐξ ὑπερ ἀιτον, Bergk ἐξεπερα ἀιτον, Casaubon κηληδόνες. Of recent editors C. A. M. Fennell frag. 30 prints Χρύσαν ὅ’ ἐξ ὑπερ ἀιτον | δειδον κηληδόνες, W. Christ frag. 33 Χρύσαν ὅ’ ἐξεπερα ἀιτον | δειδον κηληδόνες, O. Schroeder frag. 53 Χρύσαν ὅ’ ἐξεπερα ἀιτον | δειδον κηληδόνες. The fragment is referred to by Athen. 290 ε τῶν παρά Πιεδών κηληδόνες, αἱ κατὰ τὸν αὐτῶν τρόπον τῶν Σειρήν τοῖς ἀκρομένωσι ἐποιεῖν ἐπιλαμβανόμενον τῶν τρόφων διὰ τῷ ἄδημο συναλλασσθαί. The passage from Athenaeus in turn is alluded to by Eustath. in Od. pp. 1689, 33 f., 1709, 58 ff.


2 Intra p. 292 ff.


4 The palace of Hades (Id. ib. i. 288, 4 = infra ch. ii § 9 (d) ii (γ), i. 355 = supra p. 300, i. 455, 1). The palace of Lykourgos at Nemea (Id. ib. i. 335).


6 Raoul-Rochette Monuments inédits d'antiquité figurée Paris 1831 p. 210 n. 3. Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 895 n. 1. In the Class. Rev. 1905 xvii. 176 I adopted this explanation myself, but too the chariot in question to be that of the sun. I was, as I now see, half-wrong, half-right.

7 Il. 5. 721. "Ηὔδα δ’ ἄμφ’ ὀχέσωσι θαῦμ βαλε καμφύλλα κίκλα, χάλλεκα ἐκτάκημα, στυρῆρ δέον ἄμφιλο. The chariot itself, as distinct from the wheels, was put on a stand and carefully covered with a cloth (Il. 8. 441, cp. ib. 2. 777 f.) Before the wheels were removed the chariot might be set still against the front wall of the building (Il. 8. 435, Od. 4. 43).
hung from the ceiling of a palace, still less from that of a temple. And why—we may pertinently ask—is the rest of the supposed chariot never shown? A wheel can perhaps serve on occasion as a tachygraphic sign for a chariot. But the painters of these great Apulian vases would surely sometimes have represented the vehicle as a whole had that been their meaning. It is therefore permissible to conclude that the wheels depending from the roof of temple and palace are rather to be interpreted as magic wheels of a

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1 Raoul-Rochette loc. cit. adduces Paus. 2. 14. 4 τοῦ δὲ Ἀνακτοροῦ καλομέτων πρὸτε τῷ ὀρφεῷ Πέλοπος ἀρµα λήγοντι ἀνακτορῆθαι. But J. G. Frazer translates: 'On the roof of what is called the Anactorum stands a chariot which they say is the chariot of Pelops.' And, if the Αρδαξρωθ at Keleai resembled that at Eleusis (cp. Paus. 2. 14. 1), this may well be right.

2 On an Apulian amphora from Ruvo at St. Petersburg (Stephani Vasensamml. St. Petersburg i. 215 ff. no. 432 and in the Comptes-rendus St. Pet. 1863 p. 267 n. 4, Mon. d. Inst. v pl. 11 ff., Ann. d. Inst. 1849 xxi. 240 ff., Overbeck Gall. her. Bildw. i. 472 ff. Atlas pl. 20, 4, Reinaich Rép. Vases i. 138, 3, 139), which shows the ransomng of Hektor's body (Ann. d. Inst. 1866 xxxviii. 246), a chariot is apparently suspended in the background along with a pair of greaves, a shield, and a pilos; but, though the scene is probably laid before Achilles' hut, there is no indication of architecture.

3 E.g. the wheel of Myrtilos, on which however see infra p. 215 n. 4, or the wheel in the exergue of a Syracusan coin signed by Euainetos (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily pp. 166, 173, G. F. Hill Coins of Ancient Sicily London 1903 p. 63, Head Hist. num. p. 173), or the wheel held by a reclining female figure named Via Traiana on coins of Trajan (Rasche Lex. Num. x. 1116, Stevenson—Smith—Madden Dist. Rom. Coins p. 882 fig.), or that held by a figure commemorating the Circus-games of 121 A.D. on a medallion and coins of Hadrian (Gnezchi Medagl. Rom. iii. 16 no. 56 pl. 144, 5, Rasche op. cit. i. 648 ff. Suppl. i. 691 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden op. cit. p. 46 f. fig.).
prophylactic sort, in a word as *tynges*. However that may be, the Delphic *tynx* is evidenced by other works of art. A series of Etruscan funerary reliefs at Florence, Volterra, etc., represents the death of Neoptolemos. A *cista* in the Museum at Volterra (fig. 188) will serve as an example. The hero, suddenly attacked by Orestes, has fled for refuge to the altar in front of the Delphic temple, and, in order to put himself still more effectually under the protection of the god, clasps with uplifted hand a six-spoked

Fig. 189.

wheel apparently conceived as hanging from the entablature. A priestess on the left would wrest the sacred wheel from his grasp. A priest on the right is horror-struck at the murder. And the scene is completed by the presence of a winged Fury. The wheel,

1 A list of these reliefs is drawn up by Raoul-Rochette *op. cit.* p. 309, Overbeck *Gall. der Bildw.* p. 746 f. pl. 30, 15, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 176, and above all by Körte *Rituali delle Urne Etrusche* 1890 ii. pl. 53 ff.

2 Körte *op. cit.* ii pl. 54, 4.

3 Cp. the scene of the tragedy as depicted on an Apulian *amphora* in the Jatta collection (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1868 xi. 335 ff. pl. E = Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 1009 fig. 1215 = Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 175-176 fig. 5).
with which alone we are concerned, has been very variously interpreted. It is—I submit—none other than the Delphic ἕνξ. That this symbol should be found so far west as Etruria need not surprise us. We have here again to reckon with the possibility of Celtic influence. A silver disk forming part of a hoard unearthed in 1836 at Notre-Dame d’Alençon near Brissac (Maine-et-Loire) and later acquired by the Louvre brings the wheel—presumably the Gallic solar wheel—into close relation with Apollon (fig. 189).

Philostratos, who in his Life of Apollonios spoke of the golden ἔνγξει that hung from the Delphic temple as ‘echoing the persuasive notes of siren voices,’ records an interesting parallel from the far east. In describing the palace of the king of Babylon he mentions ‘a hall, whose ceiling was vaulted like a sky and roofed with sapphire, a stone of the bluest and most heavenly colour. Images of the gods whom they worship are set up above, and appear as golden figures emerging from the upper air. Here the king passes judgment; and ἔνγξει of gold are hung from the roof, four in number, assuring him of divine Necessity and bidding him not to be uplifted above mankind. These the Magians declare that they themselves attune, repairing to the palace, and they call them the voices of the gods.’ We should, I think, attempt to elucidate Philostratos’ account in the light of a stone tablet found by the veteran explorer Mr Hormuzd Rassam at Abu-Habbah, the site of the old Babylonian city Sippar (fig. 190). This monument, which is now in the British Museum, is officially described as follows:

1 Köače ep. cit. ii. 130 argues that the figure holding the wheel must be Myrtilos, not Neopolemos at all, because in one example (pl. 56, 8) four horses are present. But the horses may quite well be those of Neopolemos or Orestes, or may even represent the race-course at Delphi, where Orestes according to the feigned tale (Soph. El. 681 ff.) was killed by his own restive team. The pillar in the background of our illustration is equally indecisive: it stands, I think, for the Delphic omphalos, though it might perhaps be explained as the goal-post of Oinomaos’ race. Our real and conclusive reason for regarding the scene as the death of Neopolemos, not Myrtilos, is that the former was notoriously slain at the altar of Apollon (Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 173), while the latter was no less notoriously flung into the sea by Pelops (ib. ii. 3315 ff.).

2 Infr知情 p. 288 ff.

3 Philostr. v. Apoll. i. 25 p. 29, 1 ff. καὶ δὲ ἔνγξει μὲν δὴ ἄστρολος ἔτηχε, χρυσαῖς δὲ χρυσά τοῦ ἄρατος τέταρτος τοῦ Ἀδραστείαν αὐτός παρεγέρισε καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀφέτεθα, τούταιροι μὲν αὐτῷ φανεὶ ἄμορφοτεθεὶ φοινώτεροι ἐς τὰ βασιλεία, καλῶντες δὲ αὐτὰς θεῖον γλύττας.

'Tablet sculptured with a scene representing the worship of the Sun-god in the Temple of Sippar, and inscribed with a record of the restoration of the temple by Nabu-pal-iddina, king of Babylonia, about B.C. 870. In the upper part of the tablet the Sun-god is seen seated within a shrine upon a throne, the sides of which are sculptured with figures of mythical beings in relief; in his right hand he holds a disk and bar, which may be symbolic of the sun's orbit, or eternity. Above his head are the three symbols of the Moon and the Sun and the planet Venus. The roof of the shrine is supported by a column in the form of a palm-trunk. Before the shrine upon an altar or table stands the disk of the sun, which is held in position by means of ropes tightly drawn in the hands of two divine beings who form part of the celestial canopy. Approaching the disk are three human figures; the first of these is the high priest of the Sun-god, who is leading by the hand the king to do worship to the symbol of the solar deity, and the last figure is either an attendant priest or a royal minister. The shrine of the god stands upon the Celestial Ocean, and the four small disks upon which it rests seem to indicate the four cardinal points. The text describes the restoration of the Temple of the Sun-god by two kings called Simmash-Shikhu (about B.C. 1050) and E-ulbar-shakin-shum (about B.C. 1020). It then goes on to say that Nabu-pal-iddina, king of Babylonia, found and restored the ancient image of the Sun-god and the sculptures of the temple, which had been overthrown by the enemies of the country....He also beautified the ancient figure of the Sun-god with gold and lapis-lazuli....This tablet was made by Nabu-pal-iddina in the ninth century before Christ, but he probably copied the sculptured scene at the top from a relief of a very much older period.'

Comparing now the tablet with the words of Philostratos, we note that it exhibits a throne-room with a ceiling vaulted like the sky, from which emerge certain divine figures. It also mentions lapis-lazuli and gold, thereby recalling the sapphire vault and golden images of the Greek author. Above all, the solar disk suspended by cords and the emblems of sun, moon, and star seen beneath the ceiling are analogous to the four ἑγγες said to have been hung from the roof. I shall venture to conclude that Philostratos was not talking at random, but was describing an actual chamber in the Babylonian palace, such as we know to have been constructed by various grandees from that day to this. Golden disks representing the principal heavenly bodies there dangled from a mimic sky. That of the sun, upheld by two genii of gold, announced by its mobility and resonance the divine will. Indeed, all alike were known as 'the voices of the gods.'

We have thus won our way to an explanation, which further clears up the only difficulty remaining with regard to the Delphic ἑγγες. They—we argued—were wheels on or in the pediments of the early temple at Delphi. Now if, as Philostratos says, these golden ἑγγες 'echoed the persuasive notes of siren voices' (literally, 'echoed a certain persuasion of Sirens'), and if, as Pindar says, 'from above the gable sang charmers all of gold,' we may suppose that the Delphic wheels were suspended from the hands of siren-like figures placed upon the roof much as we see the solar disk suspended on the Babylonian tablet.

That the ἵντως as a bird was sacred among the ancient Babylonians and Persians has been inferred by Dr L. Hopf and Prof. D'Arcy Thompson. This inference, so far as it is based on the Philostratos-passage above discussed, is obviously precarious. Marinos, it is true, states that Proklos was familiar with Chaldean rites 'and by moving a certain ἵντως in the correct manner caused a rain-fall and freed Attike from a destructive drought.' But that this charm was strictly Chaldean, may well be doubted. And, even if it was, the wheel rather than the bird is probably meant. The

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1 See R. Eisler Weltumantel und Himmelssel München 1910 ii. 614 n. 1.
2 Supra p. 258 n. 5.
3 Supra p. 258 n. 6.
7 Yet L. Hopf loc. cit. notes that near Radolfzell on the Bodensee wry-necks are called 'Rain-birds' (Regentsögel)
same consideration disposes of an allusion to the *fynx* in a supposi-
titious fragment of Zoroastres\(^1\). The Rev. W. Houghton, who has
minutely studied the birds of the Assyrian monuments and records,
discusses no fewer than fifty-seven species; but the wry-neck is not
among them\(^2\). Clearly, then, we cannot without further proof assert
that the wry-neck was a sacred bird in Babylonia and Persia. At
most we might maintain that the bird-like solar wheel or disk or
ring of Assyrian and Persian art\(^3\) originated in the custom of
binding a bird, some bird, not necessarily the wry-neck, upon a
revolving wheel to serve as an imitative sun-charm.

(?) Isis, Nemesis, Tyche, Fortuna.

The *fynx*-wheels suspended at Delphoi suggest comparison with
other temple-wheels. Aristotle in his treatise on *Mechanics* alludes
to certain revolving wheels of bronze and iron as dedicated in
sanctuaries\(^4\). Dionysios the Thracian (c. 170–90 B.C.) wrote a book
on the symbolism of wheels; and Clement of Alexandreia cites
from it a passage in which mention is made of ‘the wheel that turns
in the precincts of the gods, being derived from the Egyptians’\(^5\).
Plutarch too has a reference to these Egyptian wheels. By way of
explaining Numa’s precept that men should turn round when they
pay adoration to the gods, he remarks: ‘The turning round of the
worshippers is said to be an imitation of the rotatory movement of
the world. But the meaning would rather seem to be as follows.
Since temples face the east, the worshipper has his back to the
sun-rise. He here changes his position and turns round towards
the (sun-) god, completing the circle, and with it his prayer, by
means of both deities (*i.e.* by turning from the sun-god to the god
of the temple again). Unless indeed the Egyptian wheels have a
hidden significance and this change of position in like manner
teaches us that, inasmuch as no mortal matter stands still, it is
right to accept with contentment whatever turns and twists God
gives our life\(^6\). Still more explicit is Heron, an Alexandrine
mathematician of the third century B.C., who twice describes the
wheels in question. ‘In the sanctuaries of the Egyptians,’ he says,

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1 Pseudo-Zoroastres *frag.* 34 Cory\(^5\) νοούμενας θυγυνεις πατρόδεν νοοίνοι καὶ αὐτάς
βουλέας ἀφθέγκως κυρουμενα ὡσε νοσελα.

2 W. Houghton in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1885 viii.

342–142.

3 *Supra* p. 207 ff.

4 Aristot. *mech.* 1. 848a 24 f.


'by the door-posts are bronze wheels that can be made to revolve, so that those who enter may turn them about, because bronze is believed to exercise a purificatory influence. There are sprinklers too so that those who enter may sprinkle themselves.' Heron proposes to make a wheel, which, if turned round, shall emit water for the sprinkling\(^1\). Again, another of his problems is the 'construction of a treasury provided with a revolving wheel of bronze, termed a purifier; for this those who come into the sanctuaries are accustomed to turn round.' Heron's idea is to decorate the treasury with a bird, which, as often as the wheel is turned, shall turn itself about and whistle\(^2\). The first of these passages is accompanied by a diagram of the wheel, or rather disk, which is thin, solid, and vertical. In the second the wheel is thin and vertical, with six spokes.

In 1900 Prof. A. Erman drew the attention of Egyptologists to these alleged Egyptian wheels\(^3\), and with excellent result; for the next year Prof. F. W. von Bissing published a wheel of the sort that he had procured at Thebes (fig. 191)\(^4\). It is a copper disk revolving on an iron pin in such a way as to project from a copper box once sunk in a wall or gate-post. The box bears an inscription hard to decipher, but apparently referring to the wheel as a 'golden ring (or disk)'; hence the discoverer infers that the wheel was formerly gilded.

Whether these wheels were Egyptian in origin or imported into Egypt from some foreign religious system, is a further question. Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie surmised that Buddhist missionaries in the time of Asoka must have found their way to the valley of the Nile; and Mr W. Simpson, who has done so much for the

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2 Id. ib. 2. 32 p. 198 Schmidt.
3 A. Erman 'Kupferringe an Tempelthoren' in the Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 1900 xxxviii. 53 f.
4 F. W. v. Bissing 'Zu Erman's Aufsatz "Kupferringe an Tempelthoren"' ib. 1901 xxxix. 144 f. with fig.
elucidation of ritual wheels, inclines to accept that view¹. Count Goblet d’Alviella suggests the following lines of transmission²:

None of these authors call in question Plutarch’s statement that the Greeks derived their temple-wheels from Egypt. J. Capart, however, thinks that the current may have set the other way, the custom being introduced into Egypt by the Greeks³. Decisive considerations are not as yet to hand. But, whatever the precise lineage of these Graeco-Egyptian temple-wheels may have been, it can hardly be doubted that they were akin to the ‘wheel of Fortune’ — a common sight in mediaeval churches, where it was made of wood, hung up to the roof, worked with a rope, and regarded as an infallible oracle⁴. Indeed, it seems probable that the automatic gypsy-wheel of our railway platforms is a degenerate descendant of the same respectable stock.

³ J. Capart in the Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 1901 xxxix. 144 f.
⁴ H. Gaidoz in the Rev. Arch. 1884 ii. 142 ff. Such wheels are still, or at least were recently, to be found in some continental churches (W. Simpson The Buddhist Praying-Wheel London 1896 p. 229 n. 1).
The wheel as a cult-utensil gave rise to the wheel as a divine attribute. Fortune's wheel is often mentioned in Latin literature from the time of Cicero onwards, but is comparatively seldom seen on the monuments. An example or two from imperial coin-types will serve to illustrate the conception. Thus a coin of Elagabalos shows Fortuna with a rudder in her right hand, a cornu copiae in her left, seated on a throne beneath which is a four-spoked wheel (fig. 192). On another of Gordianus Pius the throne has almost vanished and we have Fortuna Redux seated apparently upon a mere wheel (fig. 193). On a third of Gallienus her attributes have passed by a somewhat cynical transition to Indulgenta Augusti, who stands leaning on a short column and holding a rod in her right hand (fig. 194).

1 Cic. in Piso, Tib. 1. 5. 70, Tac. dial. de or. 23, Fronto de orat. p. 157 Naber, Amm. Marc. 26. 8. 13, 31. 1. 1, Boeth. de cont. phil. 2 pr. 1, 2 pr. 2, cp. Sen. Agam. 71 f. So Hor. ad. 3. 10. 10 ne currente retro funis equa rota, according to Acron and Comm. Craq. ad loc.; but see W. Hirschfelder's note on the passage. Later references are collected by J. Grimm Teutonica Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass ii. 866 ff., iv. 1567 ff.

2 Fortuna standing—a bronze statuette (K. Friedericha Berlin: antike Bildwerke Düsseldorf 1871 ii. 424 no. 1978 cited in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1506). Fortuna, with rudder in right hand and cornu copiae in left, seated over a wheel—a brown paste at Berlin (Furtwängler Gesch. Steine Berlin p. 87 no. 1510 pl. 16; id. Ant. Gemmen i. pl. 27, 61, ii. 137). Fortuna standing with rudder and cornu copiae in her hands and a wheel at her feet—two gems (Montfaucon Antiquity Explained trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 197 pl. 89 nos. 16, 17 after A. Gorlay. Modern work?). Cp. Fatum personified as a female standing with left foot raised on a six-spoked wheel and body inclined in the act of writing (Fata Scribunda)—a grave-relief (Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1448 after Zoega Bassiricii i pl. 15).

The coin-types of Fortuna are most fully listed by Rasche Lex. Num. iii. 1135—1179, Suppl. ii. 1089—1110. I figure three specimens from the Cambridge collection.

3 Cohen Mon. emp. rom. iv. 338 no. 147. A similar design is found on the reverse of a bronze medallion of Albinus (W. Kubitschek Ausgewählte römische Medaillen der bayerischen Münzsammung in Wien Wien 1909 p. 8 no. 71 pl. 5, Gnecci Medagli. Rom. ii. 73 nos. 1, 2 pl. 92, 1—3).

4 Cohen op. cit. v. 31 no. 98. Id. ib. no. 96 (the same type in gold) is well figured in the Sale Catalogue of M. le Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt Monnaies d'or romaines et byzantines Paris 1887 p. 71 no. 451 pl. 18. Mr F. W. Lincoln has a fine specimen of it. A very similar reverse occurs on coppers of the same emperor (Cohen ib. nos. 99, 100).

5 Cohen op. cit. v. 337 no. 331. On a bronze medallion of Gallienus Fortuna Redux is standing with a rudder in her right hand, a cornu copiae in her left, and a wheel at her feet (Gnecci Medagli. Rom. ii. 107 no. 8 pl. 113, 9).
The wheel of Nemesis, on the other hand, though rarely alluded to in literature, is common enough in art. A marble relief, found in the Peiraiæus and now in the Louvre (fig. 195), represents the goddess as winged and standing on the back of a naked man. In her left hand she holds a measuring rod; beneath her right is a large four-spoked wheel. Beside her a bearded snake raises its head. This sinister figure occupies the interior of a little chapel and is accompanied by the following epigram:

I am—you see—the Nemesis of men,
    Well-winged, immortal, dwelling in
    the sky.
I flit throughout the world exultingly
And have all mortal tribes within my ken.
Artemidoros, proud and wise—I trow,
Wrought me in stone and duly paid his vow.

1 Mesomedes h. Nemes. 1 ff. Νεμεαὶ πτερόωσα... | ...ὅτι σῶν τρόχον ἄστατον, ἀστιβῇ | χαριτὶ μερὸς στρέφεται τίχα, Nonn. Dion. 48. 375 ff. Νέμεας ὁ δὲ μετέχει... | καὶ τρόχος αὐτοκτιστός ἐγὼ παρὰ τοὺς ἀνάσαντας, | σημαίνοι μὴ πάντα ἄγριον εἰς πῖδον ὕλει | ὑβότεν εἰσπρῶσα δίκη τικότορα κύκλω, | δαίμων παραμάθηρα, βίου στροφῶσα ποιήσῃ, | Amm. Marc. 14. 11. 25 f. Aedrastra...quam vocabulo duplici etiam Nemesin adpellamus: ius quoddam sublime numinis efficacis, humanarum mentium opinione lunari circulo superpositum...pinnas autem ideo illi fabulosa vetustas aptavit, ut adesse velocitate volucri cunctis existimetur, et pretendere gubernaculum dedit, eique subdidit rotem, ut universitatem regere per elementa discurrens omnia non ignoretur, Claud. de bello Cetico 631 f. sed dea, quae nimiris obstat Rhammusia votis, | ingemuit flexitque rotem.

2 O. Rossbach in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 144 ff., 156 ff., and in greater detail H. Posnansky Nemeis und Adrasteia (Breisauer philologische Abhandlungen v. 2) Breisau 1890 pp. 109 ff.

A limestone relief in the museum at Gizeh (fig. 196) shows Nemesis in the act of flitting through the world. The sculptor has made a clumsy attempt to combine three different modes of progression—wings spread for flight, limbs in the attitude of running, and a wheel as a vehicle. Beside the goddess is her familiar animal, the griffin, one of its forepaws likewise resting on a wheel. Griffin and wheel are frequently associated with Nemesis on coins and gems. An interesting development of the type occurs at Smyrna, where there was an ancient cult of two wingless Nemeseis. On the reverse of a coin struck by Commodus (fig. 197) we have a corresponding duplication of attributes; the two Nemeseis are drawn by a pair of griffins in a two-wheeled car. The wheel has become a chariot. The same thing has happened on a red jasper in the British Museum (fig. 198). A winged Nemesis holding her robe with her right hand and an apple-branch in her left is standing in a car drawn by a large snake. The transformation of the wheel into a chariot

2 H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 131 ff. pl. 1.
4 H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 136 pl. 1, 2.
5 *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gemm.* p. 138 no. 1141, H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 166 pl. 1, 40. Posnansky would here recognize 'eine Verschmelzung der Nemesis mit Hygieia.' This is hardly necessary. Nemesis had a bearded snake on the Peiraeus relief (*infra* p. 269); and Zeus, according to one version, wooed her in the form of a snake (schol. Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 37. 2 p. 308, 13 Stählin cited *infra* p. 279 n. 4).
even led to the total disappearance of the former. On a small prase at Berlin the goddess with a wreath or branch in her left hand and a measuring-rod in her right is drawn by a couple of snakes in a car, the wheels of which are not visible at all.

Isis too was occasionally represented with a wheel. A billon statuette found in France and formerly in the Charvet collection shows the goddess fairly laden with attributes. On her wings are the busts of Sun and Moon. In her left hand she holds a twofold *cornu copiae*; in her right a rudder, corn-ears, fruit, and a purse. Round her right arm coils a snake; and at her feet is a wheel with projecting hub. Again, on an engraved cornelian she is recognisable by her characteristic head-dress. A snake in her right hand is feeding out of a *phiále* in her left; and at her feet, as before, is the wheel.

It is supposed that Isis borrowed her wheel from Nemesis, and that Nemesis in turn borrowed it from Fortuna. These borrowings would be facilitated by the general resemblance subsisting between the deities in question.

Fortuna is commonly regarded as the goddess of luck or destiny, and such she undoubtedly became. But that this was her original character can be maintained only by those who are prepared to leave many features of her cult unexplained. Mr Warde Fowler in his admirable book on *The Roman Festivals* hinted that Fortuna might be ranked among 'deities of the earth, or vegetation, or generation', being 'perhaps not only a prophetess as regards the children, but also of the good luck of the mother in

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1. Furtwängler *Geschm. Steine Berlin*: p. 115 no. 451 pl. 22, O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 164. Furtwängler, however, regarded this gem as figuring Nike with wreath and staff standing behind a round altar on the forepart of a ship (?).
6. For *Néauros* in relation to *Téxy* or *Fortuna* see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 135 ff., H. Posansky *op. cit.* pp. 38 n. 1, 53 ff., 166.
childbirth." This suggestion was published in 1899; and in 1900 Prof. J. B. Carter considered the problem of Fortuna's origin 'unsolved as yet.' Nevertheless in 1905 I felt justified in urging that she was at the first no mere personification of luck, but rather a great goddess of fertility. And that is still my conviction, based on a variety of accepted facts—the derivation of her name from the root of ferre, 'to bear,' the agricultural and horticultural character of her reduplicated self Fors Fortuna, her own intimate association with the Mater Matuta, her worship by women under the titles Virgo or Virginalis, Muliebris, Virilis, Mammosa, by man as Barbata, her cult at Praeneste as Primigenia, at Rome as Viscata, her tutelage of latrines, her attributes the cornu copiae, the modius or grain-measure, and the ears of wheat. The transition of meaning from fertility to luck, and from luck to destiny, is not hard to follow.

Némesis is popularly conceived as an embodiment of divine indignation or vengeance, her name being explained as the verbal substantive from némo, 'I impute.' H. Usener regarded her as

3 Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 285 n. 4.
4 Walde Lat. etym. Worterb. p. 239 s. v. 'fors,' 'fortúna,' etc.
5 Wissowa op. cit. p. 206 f.
6 Id. ib. p. 207.
7 Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1519.
9 Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1518 f.
10 Ib. 1520. J. B. Carter op. cit. p. 62 n. 1 suggests that this epithet 'was probably merely the popular name for a statute with many breasts, very likely a statue of the Ephesian Diana.' But? 11 Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1519. J. B. Carter op. cit. p. 66: 'Whether the cognomen arose out of a popular epithet applied to a bearded statue of an effeminate god or hero (possibly Dionysius [sic] or Sardanapalus), which, by a mistake in the gender, was called 'Fortuna with a beard,' we cannot decide.' Again? 12 Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1541 ff., cp. 1516 f., J. B. Carter op. cit. p. 66 ff., Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 420 f., 1904 xviii. 361, Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 280 f., 296 f. 13 Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1515, Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 421, Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 283.
the personification of distributive rather than retributive fate, connecting the name with nέμo, 'I assign'. In so doing he revived an etymology already current in Graeco-Roman times. There are, however, grave objections to any such abstract interpretation. The cult of abstractions was comparatively late. The cult of Nemesis was comparatively early. Thus at Rhamnous it was flourishing in the fifth century B.C., and at Smyrna in the sixth. Moreover, the attributes of the goddess at Rhamnous and her twin statues at Smyrna do not suggest a transparent personification of the sort required by these hypotheses. There is more to be said for O. Gruppe's view that Nemesis was an earth-goddess, essentially 'wroth' (nemesisomai) with those who annually oppressed her, but willing at the same time to give them oracles. Nevertheless this explanation too has its weak spot. We must not derive Nέmesis from nemesisomai, but nemesisomai from nέmesis. Thus Nέmesis will not mean 'wroth,' but 'wrath.' In short, we are once more involved in the difficulty of supposing that Nemesis was a personification.

In seeking an escape from this impasse we should, I think, start from the analogy of Lachesis. As Lάchēsis was a goddess of the lot (lαchēṭn, 'to get by lot,' lαchos, 'lot'), so Nέmesis was a goddess of the Greenwood (nέmo, 'I pasture,' nέmos, 'glade')—a patroness of animal and vegetable life. As such she would correspond with Nεmētona, a Diana-like deity of the Celts (Celtic nemeton, 'sacred wood')

Indeed, she would be the Greek counterpart of the Italian Diana Nεmοrensis (Nemus, 'the Glade'). This is no merely speculative philological equation, but a fact borne out by a comparison of cult with cult. Diana Nεmοrensis as a woodland goddess had

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1 H. Usener Götternamen Bonn 1896 p. 371.
3 Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 124 ff.
4 ib. iii. 121 ff.
6 On Nemeton see M. Ihm in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 166 ff., A. Holder Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz Leipzig 1904 ii. 713. She is compared with Diana by A. Bacheimer Keltsche Briefe ed. O. Keller Strassburg 1874 p. 47.

The word nemeton appears in place-names such as Augustonemeton, Δρυνέως, Mediometemut, etc. See Holder op. cit. ii. 713, who cites also from the Cartulaire de Quimperlė n. 1931 silica quae vocatur Nemetum. Hence the Old Irish nemed, 'sacred grove, sanctuary,' the Old Frankish nimid, 'sacred place in the wood,' and other related words (Holder loc. cit., L. Meyer Handb. d. gr. Etym. iv. 775 ff., Frellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. p. 309, Walde Lat. Etym. Wörterb. p. 409 ff., M. Schönfeld Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen Heidelberg 1911 p. 171 s.vv. 'Nemetes,' 'Nemetales').
both beasts and trees in her charge. On the one hand, many bronze statuettes from her precinct at Nemi represent her as a huntress, and two bronze figures of hinds were found at the entrance of her temple. On the other hand, Grattius in his poem on hunting describes as follows the huntsman’s festival: ‘In the glades beneath the sky we fashion cross-road altars; we set up split torches at Diana’s woodland rite; the puppies are wreathed with their wonted adornment; and in the midmost part of the glade men lay their very weapons upon flowers, weapons that are idle during these rites and the festal time of peace. Then comes the cask; the cakes that smoke on their green tray are brought forward, the kid with horns just budding from his gentle brow, and the apples still hanging on their boughs, after the manner of the lustral rite, whereby our whole company purifies itself for the goddess and praises her for the year’s capture.’ It is a legitimate inference from this passage that apple-branches played an important part in the ritual of Diana Nemorensis. A. Furtwängler has acutely recognised the goddess on a whole series of Italian gems and pastes. The specimen here figured exhibits her as a draped female standing by a wreathed altar with a stag at her side; she holds an apple-branch in her right hand, a bowl of apples in her left (fig. 199). Furtwängler was at first disposed to identify the goddess on this and other examples of the type with Nemesis—an identification justified in one case at least, where she is lifting her hand towards her chin in the regular Nemesis-attitude (fig. 200). This raises the question whether we have here Nemesis contaminated with Diana Nemorensis, or whether Nemesis in her own right could have apple-branch and stag. Pausanias'...
Nemesis at Rhamnous:

1. Restoration of the cult-statue.
2. Extant fragment of the head.

See pages 275, 281.
account of Nemesis at Rhamnous enables us to decide in favour of the latter alternative: ‘On the head of the goddess is a crown decorated with stags and small figures of Victory; in her left hand she carries an apple-branch, and in her right a bowl, on which are wrought Aithiopes (pl. xxiii, 1)’. Thus Nemesis at Rhamnous had the same insignia as Diana at Nemi, to wit, an apple-branch and stags; and presumably for the same reason, because the Greek, like the Italian, goddess was a woodland power controlling both vegetable and animal life. After this we are not surprised to find that Nemesis was in Roman times identified with Artemis or Diana. Of their identification we have both literary and monumental evidence. A metrical inscription found in 1607 on the Appian Road and commemorating the munificence of Herodes Attikos invokes Nemesis in the following hexameter line:

Thou too that watchest the works of men, Rhamnusian Olypis.

Olypis, as Dr Farnell remarks, ‘was an ancient and half-forgotten name of Artemis…resuscitated by later poetry’ and interpreted by the Greeks as the ‘Watcher’ (opizeithai). The cult-image at Rhamnous is described by Pomponius Mela as ‘Pheidias’ Nemesis’ and by Julius Solinus as ‘Pheidias’ statue of Diana’! Adjoining the amphitheatre at Aquincum (Alt-Ophen) in Lower Pannonia was a chapel to Nemesis. Here a dedication ‘To the

1 Paus. 1. 33. 3. Pl. xxiii, 1 is a restoration of the statue based on the extant fragment of the head (1st and 2nd, Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture i. 264 f. no. 460) and on the coin described infra p. 281. See further O. Rossbach in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 147—155 with fig. 2.

2 Nemesis lifting her drapery in one hand and holding an apple-branch in the other occurs on Graeco-Roman gems (Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems p. 138 nos. 1140—1142, H. Posansky op. cit. p. 161 f., 166 pl. I figs. 23, 24, 27, 40). Quasi-autonomous bronze coins of Smyrna show a somewhat similar figure lifting her drapery in one hand and holding a filleted branch in the other; she is recognized as Nemesis by H. Posansky op. cit. p. 133 pl. I fig. 21, but is called Demeter (!) by B. V. Head Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia p. 249 pl. 26, 6.

Mr F. M. Cornford points out to me (May 10, 1911) that, according to Hes. o. d. 223 cp. 215 f., Nemesis was of the same family as the apple-guarding Hesperides.

3 Diana was often paired with Silvanus (e.g. Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. nos. 3266—3268; see further A. v. Premerstein in Philologus 1894 lxi. 409). So on occasion was Nemesis (Dessau op. cit. no. 3747 a, b).

4 See A. v. Premerstein loc. cit. p. 407 ff., who has collected most of the relevant facts.


6 Farnell Cults of Gr. States ii. 488.

7 Mel. 2. 3. 46 Rhamnus parva, inauliis tamen, quod in ea fanum est Amphiarai et Phidiae Nemesis.

8 Solin. 7. 26 Ramne quoque, in qua Amphiarai fanum et Phidiaeae signum Dianae.
goddess Diana Nemesis Augusta' came to light, dated in the year 259 A.D.¹ Similarly at Carnuntum (Petronell) in Upper Pannonia the amphitheatre had attached to it a sanctuary of Nemesis, the excavation of which in modern times has led to some remarkable finds². In the apse of the building, on an inscribed base, stood the statue of Nemesis herself (fig. 203)³. The goddess conforms to the late Roman type of Artemis or Diana. She is dressed in a short chitón, which leaves the right breast bare, and an outer garment worn like a girdle round the upper part of her figure and falling over her left arm. On her head is a crescent moon with a small disk above it. On her feet are high hunting-boots. She has a winged griffin on one side, a wheel on the other. Her right hand holds both a rudder and a whip; her left hand, a sheathed sword⁴. Close to her, and sheltered by the same apse stood a second statue, that of Commodus, on a base which was inscribed in the year 184 A.D. but was subsequently, owing to the official condemnation of the emperor's memory, turned with its face to the wall. The statue seems to have represented Commodus as Jupiter with an eagle at his feet⁵. If he was king, Nemesis was queen; for a neighbouring altar erected in 199 A.D., was inscribed as 'Sacred to Nemesis the

¹ Corp. inscr. Lat. iii Suppl. no. 10440 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 3742.
⁴ The nearest parallel to this statue with its complex symbolism is a relief dedicated to Nemesis Regina found at Andautonia in Upper Pannonia and now in the Agram Museum (ib. p. 239 ff. fig. 354). Cp. also a sarcophagus from Ternia in Noricum (Philologus 1894 liii. 408).
⁵ Arch.-ep. Mitth. 1897 xx. 211, 237 ff., 243 ff. Coins of Commodus show not only Iuppiter Conservator protecting the emperor (fig. 201), but also the emperor himself

![Fig. 201](image1)
![Fig. 202](image2)

as Jupiter standing with thunderbolt in right hand, spear in left, and eagle at his feet (fig. 202) inscribed IOVI IUVENI etc. (Rasche Lex. Num. iv. 885 f., cp. Gnecci Medagl. Rom. ii. 56 no. 43 pl. 84, 3), or advancing with thunderbolt in right hand and spear in left, surrounded by seven stars (Rasche ib. iv. 878 f. IOVI DEFENSORI etc.), or seated with branch in right hand, spear in left, or again with patera in right hand and eagle at his feet (id. ib. iv. 883 f. IOVI EXSVPR or EXSVPER etc. See Dion Cass. 18.715, Lamprid. v. Commod. 11. 8).
Fig. 303.
Queen and Diana. It thus appears that at Carnuntum the
c consort of this Diana-like Nemesis was a human Jupiter—a fact
to be borne in mind when we are comparing the cult of Nemesis
with that of Diana Nemorensis. It may be objected that the cult
of Nemesis at Carnuntum was late, that emperor-worship was
ubiquitous, and that therefore the combination of the former with
the latter was accidental and of no special significance. But the
same combination occurs elsewhere and has antecedents that deserve investigation. A
copper coin of Akmoneia in Phrygia (fig. 204) shows the emperor Septimius Severus galloping
towards a mountain. He holds a whip in his right hand, and before him flies an
eagle apparently grasping a thunderbolt. On
the mountain are two female figures in the attitude of Nemesis; at its base is a re-
cumbent youth, naked to the waist, who is
probably meant for the local river-god. The interpretation of this
scene is difficult and in some points doubtful; but at least it is
clear that the emperor, regarded as Zeus, was at Akmoneia brought
into connexion with the Nemeseis. Confirmation is afforded by
a somewhat analogous coin-type of Smyrna. Pausanias à propos
of the Smyrneaeans writes: 'The present city was founded by
Alexander, son of Philip, in consequence of a vision which he had
in a dream. They say he had been hunting on Mount Pagus, and
when the chase was over he came to a sanctuary of the Nemeseis,
and there he lighted on a spring and a plane-tree before the
sanctuary, the tree overhanging the water. As he slept under the
plane-tree the Nemeseis, they say, appeared to him, and bade him
found a city there and transfer to it the Smyrneaeans from the old
town. So the Smyrneaeans sent envoys to Clarus to inquire about
the matter, and the god answered them:

Thrice blest, yea four times, shall they be
Who shall inhabit Pagus beyond the sacred Meles.

So they willingly removed, and they now believe in two Nemeseis
instead of one.' Copper coins of Smyrna struck by Marcus
Aurelius and Philippus Senior (fig. 205) represent this vision of

1 Arch.-ep. Mitth. 1897 xx. 241 f. Nemesei Reginae et Deae Sa(e)crum etc.
2 Imhoof-Blumer Mhnn. gr. p. 391 f. no. 50 pl. G. 24 (Vienna). Cp. similar coins,
but without the eagle, struck under Volusianus (Imhoof-Blumer op. cit. p. 392 no. 51
3 Paus. 7. 5. 1 ff. trans. J. G. Frazer.
5 Ib. p. 296 pl. 29, 16, G. Macdonald Coin Types Glasgow 1905 p. 171 f. pl. 6, 14.
Alexander. The king, a recumbent youth naked to the waist, is sleeping beneath a plane-tree, at the foot of which is a bucranium. Beside him lie his shield, spear, and greave. Beyond him stand the two Nemeseis holding a bridle and a cubit-rule respectively, and making their customary gesture. The significance of this gesture has been much discussed. I take it to have been originally that of a bride, comparable with Hera's handling of her veil. The goddess, in short, needed a partner; and Alexander, whom Apelles painted at Ephesos with a thunderbolt in his hand, may have passed muster as her divine consort. This is of course mere surmise. But, if we follow the figure of Nemesis back into the past as far as we are able, we still find her paired with Zeus, not to say with a human Zeus. For the Kypria, an early epic of uncertain authorship, told how 'Zeus king of the gods' became by her the father of the Dioskouroi and of Helene. Moreover, since the Dioskouroi and

1 C. Sitte Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer Leipzig 1890 pp. 120, 301, Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 146.
2 Infra ch. iii.
4 Cypria frag. 5 Kinkel ap. Clem. Al. probr. 1. 30. 5 p. 22, 22 ff. Stählin and frag. 6 Kinkel ap. Athen. 334 b-D. According to frag. 6, Nemesis, when pursued by Zeus, fled across sea and land transforming herself into a fish and other animals to escape his embraces. Cp. Eustath. in II. p. 1321, 38 f. λέγεται διά τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ Κύπρα ὄρος και Ἑλεών ἢ Νεμέως ἔτεκε, ἤ διακόμησε, φοίην, ὅτι Δίς μεταμορφούσα. O. Rossbach in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 119 thinks that the end of the story as told in the Cypria is preserved for us by Apollod. 3. 10. 7 λέγεται δέ τοι Νεμέως Ἑλεών εἶναι καὶ Δίς. τούτῳ γάρ την Δίαν φιλόφυλλον συνόνοιαν εἰς χῆμα την μορφήν μεταβάλειν, ὑμοιωθέντα δὲ καὶ Δίς κέρατο συνεθεῖν· τήν ἐπὶ φάνον ἐς τήν συνόνοιαν ἄπονηκεν, τούτῳ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄλεσιοι (ἄλεσιον except. Sabb., Æneas cj. Preller cp. Ptol. Hebr. ap. Phot. bibl. p. 149 b 5, Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 88, δασανβ. cj. Becker) ὑπήκοα τινὰ ποιμένα Λόθρα κοιμίαν δούνα, τήν ἐκ καταλαμβάνειν εἰς λαώνα κεφαλασσω, καὶ χρόνῳ καθήκοντι γεννηθένταν Ἑλεών ὦτ ἐς αὐτὴν δύνατέρα τρόφειν. If so, the myth was not yet localised: ἄλεσιοι (= νέμεος) may have been suggested by Νεμέως, as ἄλεσιοι by Ἑλεών. Others (U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf in Herm. 1883 xviii. 167 n. 1, R. Kekulé Festschrift zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Bestehens des archäolog. Instituts zu Rom Bonn 1879 p. 9, H. Posnansky ap. cit. p. 17) suppose that the final scene of the Cypria was laid at Rhamnous.

The love of Zeus for Nemesis is variously told. Almost all accounts agree that Zeus took the form of a swan (Clem. Rom. hom. 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne), however, has Νεμέως τῇ τοῦ Θεσπ. τῇ καὶ Δόρα μομαθείσης, κόκυον ἢ χρῖν γεγὼν κ.τ.λ. = infra ch. i § 8 (d) and schol. Clem. Al. probr. 2. 37. 2 p. 308, 13 Stählin says δράκων· ὥτι Νεμέων = οὐρά p. 270 n. 5). Hyg. poét. astr. 2. 8 adds that Zeus as a swan was fleeing from Aphrodite as an eagle. Nemesis was secured in the form of a goose (Apollod. 3. 10. 7, Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 88) or of a woman (Isokrat. 10 Helene 59, Hyg. poét. astr. 2. 8).

A red-figured krater from Gnathia, now at Bonn (fig. 206), shows the egg deposited on an altar in the precinct of a pillar-Zeus (ὑπέρ p. 40 n. 1), where Leda—originally a
Helene are elsewhere termed the children of Tyndareos, it seems reasonable to conjecture that the original consort of Nemesis was a king who bore the part of Zeus. Be that as it may, Nemesis was already associated with Zeus in epic times. The myth was localised at Rhamnous by the comedian Kratinos in his Nemesis; and it is a curious coincidence, if no more, that the same poet in

the same play spoke of Perikles as a human Zeus. The fact that this myth first emerges in the Kypria recalls a famous statér of doublet of Nemesis—discovers it with a gesture of surprise. To the right stand the Dioskouroi, brothers of the unborn Helene; to the left, Tyndareos, reputed father of all three. See further R. Kekulé Über ein griechisches Vasengemälde im akademischen Kunstmuseum zu Bonn Bonn 1879 pp. 1—26 with figs. and pl.

1 Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1138 ff.
2 Were Zeus Neius and Neuda (infra ch. i § 6 (g) viii) originally an analogous pair of woodland deities?
Kypros (pl. xxiii, 2)\(^1\), which has Zeus enthroned as its obverse, Nemesis standing as its reverse type. In the former J. P. Six detected a modification of the masterpiece at Olympia; in the latter, a copy of the cult-statue at Rhamnous. The god has a phiale (?) in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. The goddess is wearing a head-dress, which may no doubt be a mere wreath but is possibly\(^2\) the Rhamnusian crown of stags and small Victories. The fibula on her right shoulder is decorated with the head of a griffin, her favourite animal. In her lowered left hand she holds the apple-branch\(^3\); in her extended right, a phiale with a thymia-térion beneath it.

The final proof that Nemesis was near akin to Diana Nemorensis may be found in a consideration of the term Nemesiaci. Commodianus, a Christian poet of the fifth\(^4\) century, describes the devotees of Diana as Nemesiaci\(^5\) or ‘followers of Nemesis’—a


\(^2\) G. F. Hill ib. p. lxxiv.

\(^3\) G. F. Hill ib. p. 43 ‘a branch (of apple).’ J. P. Six in the Num. Chron. Third Series 1883 ii. 90 n. 3 says: ‘Sur le statère les feuilles et les fleurs font penser à ceux du grenadier.’ For μηλῶν = ‘pomegranate’ see infra ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (λ).

\(^4\) See the Class. Quart. 1911 v. 268.

\(^5\) Commod. instructiones i. 19 an acrostic NEMESIACIS VANIS—

N on ignominium est urum seduci prudentem
Et colere tale(a)mn aut Dianam dicere lignum?
M ane ebrio, crudo, perituro creditis uno,
E x arte qui finite loquitur quod illi uidetur);
S euere (diinumum) dum agit, sibi uscera pascit.
I ncopriat cines unus detestabilis omnes
A dplcuitique sibi similis colloqio facto,
C um quibus historiaim fingit, ut deum adornet.
I pse sibi nescit diuinare, ceteris audet.
S uccollat, quando libet, eum, et quando, deponit ;
V errituras a se(ce) rotans cum ligno bifurci,
A c si putes illum adflatum numine ligni.
N on deos nos colitis, quos isti false prophetant ;
I pseu sacerdotes colitis in uano tinentes.
S ed et corde uiges, fugie iam sacraria mortis.

I print the poem as it stands in the latest edition, that of B. Dombart (Corpus scriptorum
metathesis of names intelligible on the assumption that the Diana in question was Diana Nemorensis. That assumption is borne out by the wording of the poem:

Is it not infamous that a prudent man
Should be seduced to worship a cut branch
Or call a log Diana? Ye believe
One drunk at dawn, full-fed, and doomed to die,
Who speaks just what he thinks with feigned art
And, whilst he plays the god full solemnly,
Feeds his own entrails. Thus abominable,
He fouls his fellow-citizens wholesale,
Gathers a brotherhood akin to himself
And with them feigns a tale to adorn the god.
He knows not how his own fate to foretell,
Yet dares to do the like for other folk,—
Shoulders the god at times, at times just drops him.
He turns himself about revolving still
With a two-pronged stick, till you might think he were
Inspired by the godhead of the same.

ecclesiasticorum Latinorum xiv) Vindobonae 1887 p. 24 f. The chief variants are mentioned in the following notes.

1 The manuscript reading in the first line is virtum C. A. ebd. antt., virtum B. A marg., and in the second line talem C. B. A. ebd. antt. Two brilliant emendations have been proposed. E. Ludwig in the Teubner text (1878) adopts his own cj. Non ignominium est Virbiun seduci prudentem et colere talem aut Dianaem dicere lignum? and comments (p. xxxiv): hoc 1. nomen proprium desiderari ex ubris hisce colere talem aut Dianaem dicere lignum? adaparet; neque vero deae nemoris nomen quodlibet coniungi potest, sed solus deus nemoris ac uenationis Dianae similis uel eiusdem deae sacerdos, quem esse Virbiun, antiquissimum Regem Nemorensem ac sacerdotem Dianae in nemore Ariciensi cultae, codicum scriptura probatur. B. Dombart keeps virtum, which has the support of C (cod. Cheltenhamensis, s. xi) our best MS., and very ingeniously cj. talem, 'a cut bough' or 'branch.' In favour of retaining talem is Commod. instr. 1. 14. 6 non te pudet, stulte, tales adorare tabellas? 1. 17. 12 sed stipem ut tollant ingenia talia quae runt, 1. 18. 18 gestabant enim, et aruit tale gigillum, 2. 17. 1 ff. Christianum talem esse. The word is, in fact, something of a mannerism in this poet.

2 B. Dombart cp. Arnob. adv. nat. 6. 11 coluisse...lignum Carios †30 MSS.; but the text has been corrected to Icaros by the aid of Clem. Al. prostr. 4. 46. 3 p. 35. 17 f. Stählin and Strab. 639) pro Diana indolatum.

3 Dombart ad loc.: peritus ideo dicitur sacerdos Dianae Ariciae, quia cogebatur cum eo certamen singulare inire, qui locum eius petebat."

4 F. Oehler (ed. 1847), content to follow the MSS. (ad C. dum B. A. ebd. antt.), prints: Seuere dum agit. E. Ludwig cj. Seuere dum agit. B. Dombart, after Hanssen's cj. disauniam, reads: Seuere (divinum) dum agit. We are not elsewhere definitely told that the priest of Diana acted the part of a god; but cp. 14 ipsos sacerdotes colitis.

5 The MSS. have pascit (so C. A.: pascit B.) which gives a possible sense—'begrts entrails for himself.' But all the editors adopt the reading pastit: this probably means 'feeds his own entrails, gorges himself' (cp. 3 crudo).

6 Since every moment he is liable to be attacked by his would-be successor (cp. 3 peritura).

7 The poet appears to mean that the priest of Diana held a forked stick, 'like a dowser's divining-rod, and spun himself round as though inspired by the movement of
Nemesis

These are no gods ye worship: false the claim
Their priests put forward: 'Tis the priests themselves
Ye worship with vain fears. Nay, if thou art wise,
Flee even now the sanctuaries of death.

A decree of Honorius and Theodosius, dated 412 A.D., after providing for the recall of runaway slaves, deals with several societies and sects among which runaway slaves might be sought. One such sect is that of the Nemesiaci or fanatic followers of Nemesis. They are mentioned again, and for the last time, about the middle of the fifth century by Maximus, bishop of Turin, who in one of his sermons gives an interesting account of their rustic cult and crazy priest (Dianaticus).

Dr Farnell has argued that Nemesis was from the first no

his stick. 'Nearly all dowsers assert that when the rod moves in their hands...they experience a peculiar sensation, which some describe as felt in the limbs like the tingling of an electric shock, others as a shivering or trembling, and others as an unpleasant sensation in the epigastric region. With all there is more or less of a convulsive spasm, sometimes of a violent character' (Sir W. F. Barrett in the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research xi. 299 cited by F. W. H. Myers Human Personality London 1904. i. 481). This seems to be the first explicit mention of the dowser's rod. But I have elsewhere suggested that it was the origin of the Pythagorean γ (Class. Rev. 1902 xvi. 375 f.).

For similar θεοφοροςθεος see J. E. B. Mayor on Juv. 4. 133.
1 The phrase sacrum mortis would be especially appropriate to such a cult as that of Diana Nemorensis, whose priest was ever the murderer of his predecessor.
2 Cod. Theod. 14. 7. 2 collegiatis et vitutarios et Nemesiacos signiferos cantabrabios et singularum urbium corporatos simili forma praecipimus revocari. quibus etiam suppli-candi inhendam facultatem esse censimus, ne originem (quod fieri non potest) commutare ulla iussio videatur; ac si forte per sacram auctoritatem cognoscitur aliqui liberatus, cessante beneficio ad originem revertatur. dat. vi kalend. Decembr. Rav. Hongr. ix et Theod. v AA. Coss.

It will be remembered that the vex Nemorensis was regularly a runaway slave (Frazier Lect. Hist. Kingship p. 16).

2 Maximus Taurinensis sermon. 101 (livii. 734 Migne) nihil ibi liberum est a scelere, ubi totum versatur in scelere. cum cellam ingressus fueris, reperies in ea pallentes cespites mortuosque carbones, dignum sacrificium daemonis, cum mortuo numini rebus mortuis supplicatur. et si ad agrum processeris, cernis aras ligneas et simulacra lapidea, con-gruens ministerium, ubi diis insensibilibus aris putrescentibus ministratur. cum maturius vigilaveris et videris saeculum vino rusticum, scire debes quoniam, sicut dicunt, aut Dianaticus aut aruspex est; insanum enim numen amentem solet habere pontificem; talis enim sacerdos parat se vino ad plagas deae suae, ut dum est ebrius poenam suam ipse non sentiat. hoc autem non solum de temperamentia, sed et de arte facient, ut minus vulnera sua doleant, dum vini ebrietate iactantur. vanus plane vates est, qui putat crudeli-tate austrere pietatem. quam misericos in alienos deos ille qui in suis est pontifices tam cruentus! nam ut paulisper describamus habitum vatis huiusce: est ei adulterinis criniculis hisratum caput, nuda habens pectora, pallio crura seminicta, et more gladiatorum paratus ad pugnae fervum gestat in manibus, nisi quod gladiatore peior est, quia ille adversus alterum dimicare cogitur, iste contra se pugnare compleritur. ille aliena petit viscera, iste propria membra dilaniat, et, si dici potest, ad crudelitatem illum lanista, istum numen hortatur.
vague personification of a moralising sort, but a definite figure of ancient religion. Her name—he thinks—was a title given at Rhamnous to a goddess of birth and death resembling Artemis, and at Smyrna to two goddesses (originally to one goddess) of vegetation resembling Aphrodite. He holds that the appellative, if Homeric or post-Homeric in date, marked 'the goddess who feels righteous indignation at evil acts and evil words,' if pre-Homeric, 'denoted distribution of any lot, the lot of life to which each is born.' I agree with this able scholar in thinking that Nemesis was a substantial deity of early date akin to Artemis, if not also to Aphrodite; but for that very reason I cannot be content to saddle her with a cult-title denoting either 'indignation' or 'distribution.' The cult of -ations and -utions is late, not early. I incline to believe that Némesis, a concrete 'goddess of the

1 Farnell Cults of Gr. States i. 487—498.
Greenwood' (nēmos), became a goddess of vengeance simply through an illogical but almost inevitable confusion with the abstract substantive nēmesis meaning 'righteous wrath.' Nēmesis and nēmesis, so far as etymology is concerned, were doubtless sprung from the same parent stem, but in point of usage they belonged to widely divergent branches of it. In the apple-bough held by Nemesis at Rhamnous, perhaps too in the plane-tree before the sanctuary of the Nemesis at Smyrna, we may detect a last trace of the original character of the woodland goddess.

Returning now to the main topic of the present section—the ritual wheels of Isis, Nemesis, Tyche, and Fortuna—we have yet to notice one extant specimen of a different but analogous sort. It is a wheel of cast lead from the Millingen collection in the British Museum (fig. 207), which was in all probability used for purposes of divination. It revolves upon a central pin, and has four spokes radiating from the angles of an inner square. Between every pair of adjacent spokes is a standing male figure, who holds a wreath in his right hand, a spear or sceptre in his left1. Round the rim are Roman numerals (VI VII etc.) and groups of letters. Some of these are to me illegible; but over the figure uppermost in my illustration can be clearly seen PREPE, presumably the Greek πρέπει, 'it is fitting,'—a word appropriate to the diviner's art2.

It is probable, though not quite certain3, that all such wheels of Fortune were once intended to figure forth the sun. For—apart from the fact that the sun was sometimes, as we have seen, conceived as a wheel by the Greeks—there is the noteworthy circumstance that the dedication-day of the temple of Fors Fortuna was June 244, the summer solstice5. Moreover, on the third Sunday in June, which would correspond approximately with Midsummer Day, at Douai a large wheel called the roue de fortune used to be carried in procession before a wicker-work giant known

1 Mr F. H. Marshall in a note dated May 4, 1911 compares the magical disk published by R. Wünsch Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon (Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. Ergänzungsheft vii) Berlin 1905 p. 45 ff. pl. 2, figs. 8 f.—a convex plate of bronze fitted with a swing handle and engraved with concentric circles and two series of radii, between which are numerous Greek and Egyptian characters and cabalistic signs. 'The figure with parted arms on the Pergamon disk recalls,' says Mr Marshall, 'those on the lead disk.'


4 R. Peter in Koscher Lex. Myth. i. 1501.

5 H. Guido justly emphasised this fact: see W. Warde Fowler op. cit. p. 169 f.
as *le grand Gayant* and other figures termed *les enfants de Gayant*. This enables us to bring the wheel of Fortune into connexion with a whole series of customs observed by the peasants of central Europe. Dr Frazer has shown that at Midsummer a blazing wheel is trundled down hill; burning disks or wheels are flung into the air; a tar-barrel is kindled and swung round a pole; and fresh fire is made by rotating a wheel on a wooden axle. A clue to the meaning of these rites is furnished by G. Durandus in his account of the feast of Saint John the Baptist (Midsummer Day):

“At this festival three special rites are performed. For in some districts on the eve of the feast men and boys, in accordance with ancient custom, collect bones and certain other unclean things, and burn them together, so that a smoke rises from them into the air. Moreover, they bring brands or torches, and with them go the round of the fields. There is a third rite too; for they roll a wheel. Those who burn the unclean things and make the smoke rise aloft derive this practice from the heathen. For in ancient days dragons, stirred to lust at this time of year on account of the heat, used to fly through the air and often let fall their seed into wells and springs. Thus the waters were infected; and the year was then deadly by reason of the corruption of the air and the waters, for whosoever drank of them died or suffered some grave disorder. Philosophers, remarking this, bade fire be made frequently and everywhere round wells and springs, and any unclean things likely to cause an unclean smoke be burnt there; for they were aware that dragons could be put to flight by a smoke of that sort. And, since such things took place especially at this time of year, the custom is still kept up by some. For dragons are actual animals, as it says in the psalm ‘Praise the Lord from the earth, Ye dragons,’ not *thracones*, that is passages of the earth, as some have asserted. These animals fly in the air, swim in the waters, and walk through the earth. They cannot abide anything unclean and flee before a stinking smoke, like elephants before the grunting of swine. There is another reason why the bones of animals are burnt, to wit in memory of the fact that the bones of John the Baptist were burnt by the heathen in the city of Sebasté. Or this may refer to the New Testament; for the boys cast away and burn what is old to signify that, when the new law comes, the Old Testament must cease; for it is said ‘Ye shall not eat the oldest of the old, and when the new comes in ye shall cast out the old.’ Brands too or blazing torches are brought and fires are made, which signify Saint John, who ‘was a burning and a shining light,’ the forerunner who came before ‘the true light, even the light which lighteth every man that cometh into...

1 H. Gaidoz in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 33 ff. These wicker giants may be descended from the Druid divinities, whose colossal images of wicker-work are described by Caesar. *de bell. Gall.* 6. 16.
2 Frazer *Golden Bough* iii. 268 f., 271, 273.
3 *Id. ib.* iii. 270 f., 273, 278.
4 *Id. ib.* iii. 272.
5 *Id. ib.* iii. 276 f.
6 G. Durandus *Rationale divinorum officiorum* Lugduni 1612 lib. 7 cap. 14 no. 10 ff. This important book was first printed at Mentz in 1459.
the world." As it is said in John vi, He is a burning light, shining before the Lord, who hath prepared a way for the Lord in the wilderness. In some places a wheel is rolled, to signify that just as the sun comes to the highest parts of its circle and can get no higher but then descends in the circle, so too the glory of John, who was thought to be the Christ, descends, according to the witness that he himself bore when he said "He must increase, but I must decrease." And some say that this was said because the days then begin to decrease and at the nativity of Christ to increase. But as to their decreasing before the feast of Saint John and increasing before the birthday of Our Lord, this we must understand of their nativity in the mother, that is to say, of the time when each was conceived; because John was conceived when the days were decreasing, as in September, Christ when they were increasing, as in April. Or take it of the death of each; for the body of Christ was uplifted on the cross, whereas the body of John was cut short by being beheaded.

From this singular medley of superstition and piety, which agrees with the accounts given by other mediaeval Latinists and can be traced back to the twelfth century¹, one fact stands out clearly. The Midsummer wheel represented the sun. Dr Frazer, after recording in detail a large number of examples, concludes as follows²: 'The best general explanation of these European fire-festivals seems to be the one given by Mannhardt, namely, that they are sun-charms or magical ceremonies intended to ensure a proper supply of sunshine for men, animals, and plants....This view of the festivals is supported by various arguments drawn partly from the rites themselves, partly from the influence which they are believed to exert upon the weather and on vegetation. For example, the custom of rolling a burning wheel down a hillside, which is often observed at these times, seems a very natural imitation of the sun's course in the sky, and the imitation is especially appropriate on Midsummer Day when the sun's annual declension begins. Not less graphic is the mimicry of his apparent revolution by swinging a burning tar-barrel round a pole. The custom of throwing blazing discs, shaped like suns, into the air is probably also a piece of imitative magic. In these, as in so many cases, the magic force is supposed to take effect through mimicry or sympathy; by imitating the desired result you actually

¹ John Beleth, a Parisian divine, who wrote his *Summa de divinis officiis* about 1161 A.D., appears to have been the immediate source of G. Durandus; for the extract, which J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass ii. 610 f. gives from Beleth *Summa Dillingen* 1572 cap. 137 fol. 256, agrees substantially, in part even verbally, with the corresponding sections of Durandus *Rationale*, which was written in 1286 A.D. Very similar again is cod. Harleian. 2345 art. 100 cited by J. Brand *Popular Antiquities* rev. Sir H. Ellis London 1849 i. 298 n. 1 and more fully by J. M. Kemble *The Saxons in England* 2 London 1876 i. 361 f. See further E. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks* Gütersloh 1886 p. 47 ff., W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte* 2 Berlin 1904 i. 509, Frazer *Golden Bough* 2 iii. 167.

² Frazer *Golden Bough* 2 iii. 300 f.
produce it; by counterfeiting the sun's progress through the heavens you really help the luminary to pursue his celestial journey with punctuality and despatch. The name "fire of heaven," by which the midsummer fire is sometimes popularly known, clearly indicates a consciousness of the connection between the earthly and the heavenly flame.


But—it may be objected—although it is certain, or almost certain, that the wheel in such ceremonies stands for the sun, what reason is there to suppose that the solar wheel was in any special way connected with Zeus? That is a question to which a full and complete answer can be returned only when we shall have discussed further the relation of Ixion to Zeus. Meantime it may be shown that Jupiter on Celtic soil and Zeus among the Greeks were somehow associated with the wheel.

A Celtic god, whose solar character was determined by Monsieur H. Gaidoz, is represented as holding a wheel on his shoulder. He is sometimes equated with the Roman Jupiter, and then holds the wheel either on a support beside him (fig. 208) or on the ground at his feet.

1 A. Birlinger Volkstümliches aus Schwaben Freiburg im Breisgau 1861 ii. 57, 97. W. Mannhardt op. cit. i. 510, cp. F. Panzer Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie München 1855 ii. 240 cited by Dr Frazer.
2 H. Gaidoz in the Rev. Arch. 1884 ii. 7 ff. figs. 1—5.
3 A bronze statuette (height 227 m.) originally silvered over. It was found in 1872 at Landonay-la-Ville (Aisne) and is now in the Musée de Saint-Germain. The god, whose head and neck resemble Hercules rather than Jupiter, held in his right hand some attribute now lost: this may have been a thunderbolt (so A. Héron de Villefosse, comparing fig. 209) or some object with a long staff-like handle (so S. Reinach, noting a possible trace of it on the upper surface of the base). The left hand holds a six-spoked wheel resting on the capital of a pillar. The base is inscribed IOM | ET N AVG | (rev) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | et n(uminis) A(nu$tis). See further A. Héron de Villefosse in the Rev. Arch. 1881 i. 1 ff. fig. 1 pl. 1, Reinach Bronzes Figuret p. 31 ff. no. 4.
Zeus and the Solar Wheel

(fig. 209) Altars dedicated to Jupiter and marked with one or more wheels, a wheel and a thunderbolt, a wheel between two thunderbolts, etc., are not uncommon in the Celtic area and attest the widespread worship of the same solar deity.

In Greece the evidence is literary, not monumental. Lykophron the pedant, who c. 274 B.C. composed his outrageously obscure tragedy the *Alexandra*, included in it the following comparatively lucid lines:

Howbeit one there is, who past all hope
Helpeth us friendly, he the Oak-tree-god

Promantheus Aithiops Gyrapsios called.

A colossal stone statue found in 1876 at Séguret (Vaucluse) and now in the Museum at Avignon shows Jupiter in Roman military costume. His lowered right hand grasps a ten-spoked wheel resting on a support. Beside his left foot is his eagle, behind which a snake issues from a tree-trunk (Rev. Arch. 1884 ii. 11 f. pl. 1).

1 A bronze statuette (height 1 m.) found in 1774 at Le Châtelet near Saint-Dizier (Haute-Marne) and now in the Musée de Saint-Germain. The god holds a thunderbolt in his raised right hand, a six-spoked wheel in his lowered left. On a brass hoop, which passes over his right shoulder and through a handle affixed to his back, are slung nine S-shaped pendants of bronze. See further A. Héron de Villefosse loc. cit. i. 3 ff. fig. 2, Reinaclh op. cit. p. 33 ff. no. 5. J. Déchelette *Manuel d’Archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 466 fig. 196.

An altar from Vaison shows Iuno with patera and peacock, Jupiter in military costume with a thunderbolt in his right hand, a wheel in his left, and an eagle at his feet (Rev. Arch. 1884 i. 5 f. 1884 ii. 12).

On an altar from Theley in the Museum at Trèves a youthful deity with cloak and crown held an object now lost in his right hand, and raises a six-spoked wheel like a shield in his left hand; a small bird is perched at his feet (Rev. Arch. 1884 ii. 10 f. fig. 7 after F. Hettner ‘Juppiter mit dem Rad’ in the Westdeutsche Monatschrift 1884 iii. 27–30).

With the foregoing monuments Reinaclh op. cit. p. 35 compares two others not definitely identified with Jupiter: (1) A bronze statuette found at Hartsbourg, formerly Saturbourgh, shows the Germanic god Chredo (*Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personenn- und Völkernamen* Heidelberg 1911 p. 142 t.e., ‘Chrodebertus’) standing on a fish; he holds a six-spoked wheel in his uplifted left hand, a basket of fruit and flowers in his lowered right (Montfacon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 ii. 261 pl. 56, 3 after H. C. Henninius, cp. M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1481). (2) On the marvellous silver bowl found at Gundestrup in Jutland a bearded and partly bald or tonsured god raises both hands and thereby eclipses half of a many-spoked wheel, which is apparently turned by a beardless male figure in a horned helmet (S. Müller ‘Det store solukar fra Gundestrup i Jylland’ in the Nordiske Fortidsminder 1893 pl. 5, A. Bertrand *La Religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 368 f. fig. 58).

2 To the lists in the Rev. Arch. 1881 i. 5 ff. 1884 ii. 13 f., Reinaclh op. cit. p. 35, J. Déchelette op. cit. ii. 467 f. add now J. Curle *A Roman Frontier Post and its People* Glasgow 1911 p. 334 f. fig. 49 an earthenware mould showing Jupiter with helmet, shield, club, and eight-spoked wheel.

3 Lyk. *Al.* 333 ff. άλλα δένη γάρ τιν, δένη ει τι παρ' έλβίδα | ήμιν δραγάς προφανής ο Ωρίμιος | δαίμονι Πομακλέθην Αθηναίως Τυράφιος.

C.
Zeus and the Solar Wheel

Isaac Tzetzes in his twelfth-century commentary on Lykophron's work informs us that the deity here in question was Zeus, and adds that he was named 'the Oak-tree-god' in Pamphylia, *Promanteús* at Thourioi, *Aithiops* and *Gyrápsios* in Chios. Not much is known about the Zeus-cults of Chios; but there are traces of solar deities in the myths of the island, and the name *Aithiops* or *Aithops*, 'He of the Burning Face,' is applied elsewhere to one of the sun-god's horses. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that *Aithiops Gyrápsios* denoted Zeus in his solar aspect. But *Gyrápsios* means 'He of the Round Wheel,' so that the Chian Zeus is here described as 'He of the Burning Face, He of the Round Wheel' —a combination of epithets that may fairly be referred to the conception of the sun as a glowing wheel. Nevertheless it would be unwise to infer from this passage an early cult of a solar Zeus in Chios. Lykophron, writing in the third century B.C., not improbably found the local worship influenced by that of some Asiatic sun-god. After all, it is but a few miles from Chios to the coast of Asia Minor, where Zeus-cults in general tended to take on a solar character. And the title *Gyrápsios* has the air of being a late and erudite compound rather than an early and popular formation.

1 Tzet. *ad loc.* Δρόμωνις ο Ζεὺς διεύθυντον ὑπὸ τοῦ Παμφύλου, Προμανθεῖς δὲ παρὰ Θουρηνί. Αἰθιόπ δὲ καὶ Πυράγων παρὰ Χίου.

2 Zeus *Ερυκών* (Hesych. s.v. "Ερυκών") has been regarded as a god who presided over ovens (ἐπόχος): see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2853, Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* *Rel.* p. 932 n. 3, Boisacq *Dict. Étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 379 f. There were also cults of Zeus Μεῖξιος (*Ath. Mitt.* 1888, xiii. 223) and Zeus Πυραγός (Dittenberger *Syll. Inscr. Gr.* no. 571, 35); and Zeus Πυραγός was worshipped on Mt. Pelinanelon (Append. B Chios).


4 *Supra* p. 195 n. 5, *infra* p. 337 n. 3.

5 J. Potter on Tzetz. *in Lyk.* *Al.* 336 'qui formae est orbicularis, et circularem motum circa terram nostram quolibet die et anno peragit.' The epithet is compounded of γυρών, 'round,' and ἄφωτος, 'the felloe of a wheel,' which (as I pointed out in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 419) is used of the wheel of the Sun's chariot (Enn. *Phaethon frag.* 789, 3 f. Nancke *αβίδα τόπων | κάτω διήκει, Ion* 83 f. *τοῦ θυρσιᾶς | ἄφωιτα* or of the curved course described by the Sun (*Archestratos frag.* 33 Brandt *Ap.* Athen. 326 b *στὸν Φαεθῶν πυκνάτων ἄφωιτα δαράντει*).

6 *Folle's-Lore* 1904 xv. 273 f.
Zeus and the Solar Disk


Closely akin to the wheel is its genetic precursor\(^1\) the disk. 'The Paiones,' says Maximus Tyrius, 'worship Helios, and the Paeanion image of Helios is a small disk on the top of a long pole\(^2\). With this ritual object I have elsewhere\(^3\) compared the sceptre surmounted by a circle held by Aphrodite Ourania on coins of Ouranopolis in Makedonia\(^4\) (fig. 210) and the kopô or olive-wood staff topped by a bronze ball representing the sun in the Boeotian Daphnephoria\(^5\). But indeed the same conception could be traced much further afield: it accounts satisfactorily, as I shall hope to show on another occasion, for the various forms taken by Maypoles and 'Celtic' crosses throughout Europe.

Confining our attention to Greece, we note that a revolving disk of bronze, originally mounted on a long columnar handle, was

\(^{1}\) On the evolution of the wheel from the disk see A. C. Haddon The Study of Man London 1898 p. 168 ff., cp. Schrader Reallex. p. 929 ff., H. Hirt Die Indo-germanen Strassburg 1905 i. 354 f., M. Hoernes Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen Vienna and Leipzig 1909 ii. 475 ff. N. Gordon Munro in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan 1911 xxxviii. 3. 37 f. rightly assumes the sequence □ □ + i.e. the pictograph of the sun, the solar disk, the solar wheel.

\(^{2}\) Max. Tyri. diss. 8. 8 Dümmer Paiones σήλους μὲν Ἡλίου, ἀγάλμα δὲ Ἡλίου Παιανικὴν βασιλεύοντα ἑτέρ μακροῖ σέλου.

\(^{3}\) Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 410 ff. 231.


Zeus and the Solar Disk

found at Corinth, and is now in the Berlin Museum. It is decorated on both sides with a love-scene in relief (fig. 211)\textsuperscript{1}. A very similar disk, likewise found at Corinth, is in the Louvre\textsuperscript{2}. Almost the only difference between the two is that on the Paris specimen the young man and the maiden have each a \textit{thyrsos} in hand. The fact that both disks hail from Corinth, where Helios and Aphrodite held the citadel in succession\textsuperscript{3} and were worshipped in the same temple\textsuperscript{4}, is suggestive of solar magic. Nor need the intrusion of a Dionysiac \textit{motif} make difficulties. A well-known Orphic verse identified Dionysos with Helios\textsuperscript{5}. However, the exact purpose to which these implements were put, and indeed the precise name by which they were called, escapes us.

Sometimes the solar disk was affixed to buildings by way of prophylaxis\textsuperscript{6}. O. Benndorf has shown that the earliest Greek \textit{akrotéria} were developments from the ornamented end of the ridge-pole and consequently were circular or nearly circular in form\textsuperscript{7}. He further observes that they were patterned in a variety of ways. The oldest example known to us, that of the Heraion at Olympia (c. 700—650 B.C.), is a great disk of terra cotta measuring some seven and a half feet in diameter. Its interior is strengthened with spoke-shaped ribs. Its exterior is painted with concentric zones and has a radiate rim\textsuperscript{8}. Another \textit{akrotéria} from the same precinct was the golden \textit{phiale} with a relief of Medousa, which the Lace-daemonians and their allies set up over the temple of Zeus after the battle of Tanagra (457 B.C)\textsuperscript{9}. In other cases too the disk of terra cotta or marble bore an apotropaic face\textsuperscript{10}. Thus an Apulian \textit{krater} in the Louvre shows both gables of a richly decorated


\textsuperscript{3} Paus. 2. 4. 6.

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Id.} 2. 5. 1. See also Gruppe \textit{Gr. Myth. Rel.} p. 132f.

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Supra} p. 187 n. 4.

\textsuperscript{6} Northern parallels are not wanting: see S. Baring-Gould \textit{Strange Survivals} London 1905 pp. 36—61 ‘On Gables’ with frontisp, and figs. 2—13.


\textsuperscript{8} A. Boetticher \textit{Olympia: das Fid und seine Stütze} Berlin 1886 p. 201 ff. fig. 44 and pl. 4. R. Bormann in \textit{Olympia} ii. 190 ff. col. pl. 115, cp. ib. pls. 84 f. and 129, A. Marquand \textit{Greek Architecture} New York 1909 p. 238 ff.

\textsuperscript{9} \textit{Olympia} v. 370 ff. no. 253, Roberts \textit{Gk. Epigr.} i. 125 f. no. 93. Paus. 5. 10. 4 cites the inscription \textit{nous men phalan xronian eis k.t.l.}, but describes it as being \textit{ei} τη \textit{dervis}. Benndorf \textit{loc. cit.} p. 8 cp. Paus. 6. 19. 13 \textit{dervis eis k. ῖν} του \textit{dervis} of the Megarian treasury at Olympia.

\textsuperscript{10} Benndorf \textit{loc. cit.} p. 10 f., \textit{cp. Ant. Denkm.} ii. 5. 7 f. pls. 53, 53 A (antefixes from Thermos).
building surmounted by a round Gorgoneion (fig. 212)\(^1\). Finally, two Doric temples of a late date near the monastery of Kourno on the Taygeton promontory have akroteria shaped like a ring with an inner wheel or rosette\(^2\). Now all these forms are intelligible as variations of the solar disk; and that they really symbolised the sun may be inferred from the fact that in Roman times they were often replaced by the four-horse chariot of the sun-god himself\(^3\).

Again, when we remember the Egyptian custom of putting the solar disk with its uraean snakes over every sacred doorway\(^4\), we shall be boldened to assign a solar origin to the phiale or circular shield so frequently found in representations of classical pediments. This phiale or shield is at first flanked by a couple of snakes (fig. 213)\(^5\). But the snakes gradually degenerate into

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Occasionally the quadriga of the sun-god occupies the pediment: so on a bronze-relief of Zeus Sabazios in his shrine (infra p. 392 n. 1).

4. Supra p. 205 f.


Early Greek architects commonly filled the angles of their pediments with the tails of snaky or fishy figures, and their example was followed far and wide (see e.g. A. Foucher
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Fig. 213.

Fig. 214.

Fig. 215.
Zeus and the Solar Disk

Fig. 216.

Fig. 217.

Fig. 218.
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a mere pattern (figs. 214—217)\(^1\), and end by vanishing altogether (fig. 218)\(^2\).

Whether the disks or shields suspended in temples\(^3\) and palaces\(^4\) were ever regarded as *apotrópaea*, we do not know. But at least they afford a close parallel to the wheels hung in like positions, which we took to be *thyidges*\(^5\).

On an early silver coin of the Thraco-Macedonian region a disk is borne through the sky by a winged and long-haired figure in the attitude of *Knielauf*\(^6\) or speedy flight (fig. 219)\(^7\). This figure is best interpreted as that of the local sun-god\(^8\). Its nearest

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\(^1\) L’Art gréco-bouddhique de Gandhara* (Paris 1905) p. 241 ff. Figs. 119—123, 125. I surmise that this practice originated in the representation of a solar disk with a snake on either side of it. Artistic convenience may have dictated that the snakes should turn towards the disk, not away from it. But the device was from the first intended to serve a practical purpose, that of safe-guarding the edifice.

\(^2\) Fig. 214 is from an Apulian *pélte* at Naples, which depicts the rape of the *Palladion* from the temple of Athena (Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 529 ff. no. 3231, Ann. d. Inst. 1858 xxx. 246 ff. pl. M).

\(^3\) Fig. 215 is from an Apulian *krater* in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 143 f. no. F 284, Inghirami *Vas. fitt. i.* 41 ff. pls. 19, 20).

\(^4\) Fig. 216 is from an Apulian *kalpis* at Cambridge (E. A. Gardner *Cat. Vases Cambridge* p. 83 no. 247 pl. 39).


\(^6\) Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 161 ff. pl. 90 the Medea-vas in Munich, on which see *supra* p. 251 ff. Many other examples could be cited, e.g. Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit*. i pl. 10, *Mon. d. Inst.* x pl. 27, *Bullettino Italiano* 1862 i pl. 7, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* iv. pl. 27.

In numismatic art too a similar sequence of types could be made out: a good collection of materials is in Anson *Num. Gr.* v pl. 4—13, cp. Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* pp. 128, 458, 485, 526 f., etc.

The pediment of the Ionic *prophyton* at Magnesia was ornamented with a round shield (*Magna Graecia* 1906 p. 133 with p. 127 fig. 133).


\(^8\) E.g. Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii pl. 90 (palace of Kreon at Corinth), *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 9 (palace of Hades).

\(^9\) *Supra* p. 259 ff.


\(^1\) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 136 fig., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1257 f. pl. 59, 6. B. V. Head’s suggestion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. pp. 86 ff., 223 ff.) ; but see *Hist. num.* 2 p. 203) that the object carried by the running figure may be ⊙, the initial of the town Thera, is most improbable (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 105 ff.). E. Babelon *loc. cit.* describes it as ‘une couronne’ : but this is ruled out by the central dot.

A silver coin at Paris nearly related to the foregoing shows a similar figure clad in a long *chiton* (Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 1. 1255 ff. pl. 59, 5).

\(^8\) So P. Gardner in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1880 xx. 58.
analogue occurs on silver coins of Mallos in Kilikia c. 425—385 B.C. (fig. 220). Here we see a beardless god, draped from the waist downwards, winging his way in hot haste and holding in both hands a disk, on which is an eight-rayed star. Two details deserve attention. The spiral on the top of the god’s head recalls the similar adornment of other winged figures and is suggestive of a feather head-dress: as such it would point us towards Crete and north Africa. The god’s skirt too might be compared with those of the young men on the Haghia Triada sarcophagus. Now Talos the sun-god appears on coins of Phaistos as a beardless youth, winged and hastening along with a round stone in either hand. And the Minotaur, another solar personage, is a very similar figure on coins of Knossos. I should conjecture, therefore, that the disk-bearing god on the coins of Mallos is a solar deity akin to the Cretan Talos or Minotaur. Fortunately it seems possible to trace his type back to earlier forms. A statère at Berlin shows him with Janiform


4 Infra ch. ii § 3 (c) i (d).

5 Infra ch. ii § 6 (b).

6 Infra ch. i § 6 (g) xv.
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head, holding a disk which is not stellate\(^1\). A *statēr* in the Hunter collection gives him four wings and a plain disk (fig. 221)\(^2\). Another in the same cabinet makes him both Janiform and four-winged, placing beneath him the front part of a man-headed bull (fig. 222)\(^3\). Yet another from the same collection adds a bull’s head facing us upon the disk (fig. 223)\(^4\). It may fairly be claimed that these coins go some way towards connecting the Cilician god with the Minotaur. F. Imhoof-Blumer would see in him Kronos\(^5\), whose head he identified on a later silver coin of Mallos\(^6\). And certainly this explanation suits the bull’s head borne by the Janiform figure; for Kronos appears elsewhere with that attribute\(^7\). But we need not therefore disallow the comparison with Talos and the Minotaur. Kronos is essentially connected with both\(^8\). Perhaps we may venture to regard the older disk-bearer as a solar Kronos, the younger as a solar Zeus. Further, it has been argued by J. N. Svoronos\(^9\) that Mallos in Kilikia was a colony of Malla in Crete, where the principal cult was that of Zeus *Moynthios*\(^10\). If Svoronos is right, we are justified in pressing the analogy of the Cretan solar deities.

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1. Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinat. Münzen* ii. 467 no. 2 pl. 18, 3. Babelon *Munn. gr. rom.* i. 3. 871 f. no. 1391 fig.
4. *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 536 pl. 59, 12. Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 869 ff. pl. 137, 16 f. See also E. Gerhard *Über die Kunst der Phönici* Berlin 1848 p. 31 pl. 3, 23.
5. Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinat. Münzen* ii. 467.
7. On an octagonal altar found at Havange in 1825 and now in the museum at Metz (P. C. Robert *Épigraphie gallo-romaine de la Moselle* Paris 1873—1888 p. 37 ff. pls. 2, 3; 3, 4—10). Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 172 fig. 2403).
8. M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1595 f., *infra ch. i § 6 (h) ii.
Zeus and the Solar 'Disk'

Hellenistic literature once or twice connects Zeus with the solar disk. Lykphoron describes how the body of Aias, cast up on the beach, will be parched by "the ray of Seirios" and hidden in the sea-weed by Thetis—

Helper of Diskos, mightiest power, Kynaiteus 1.

The scholiast states that the word Setrios, which properly denotes the Dog-star, is here used improperly of the sun; that Diskos means Zeus, who was so called in memory of the diskos or stone swallowed in his stead by Kronos; and that Kynaiteus was a cult-title of Zeus in Arkadia 2. The scholiast's comment is repeated by Tzetzes 3 and apparently postulates a solar Zeus known as Diskos. This squares with Nonnos' hymn to the sun, in which the poet invokes that luminary not only as the Assyrian and Egyptian 'Zeus' 4, but also as—

Driving around all heaven with fiery disk 5.

Finally, it may be suspected that, when Mithraic (?) sun-worshippers spoke of the Diskos as 'Father' and 'god' 6, they were not independent of the same religious conception.

iv. The Lycian Symbol.

Lycian coins of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. are characterised by a symbol, which might be called indifferently a wheel or a disk. It consists of a central ring or circle, from which radiates a

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1 Lyk. Al. 397 δίκεκατε Σειρων, 400 Δισκον ακριη. 400 Δισκον ακριη. Τάρρεθος Κυνάθες.
2 Schol. Lyk. Al. 397 επ. Σειρων is used of the sun by Archil. frag. 58 Hiller ap. Plout. supp. 3. 10. 2 and ap. Hesych. in. v. Σειριον κυνός δισκός, cp. Hesych. in. v. σειριον. κυνός οίκος. και σειριον ακτή, Orph. Arg. 120 εις. Σειρων... κυνός, Soud. in. v. σειριον, σειριον κυνον κυνον οικου την Κυνα. οτι δε και των ηλιων. See further L. Meyer Hamil. d. gr. Etym. iv. 49 f., Prellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. 7 p. 407. Κυναθες is understood by Weleker Gr. Göttler. ii. 197 as an epithet of Zeus in the Dog-days, cp. C. von Holzinger on Lyk. Al. 400. Paus. 5. 22. 1, 8. 19. 1 describes a statue of Zeus dedicated at Olympia by the Κυναθες of Arkadia as holding a thunderbolt in either hand—which hardly supports the connexion with the Dog-star (see, however, Paus. 8. 19. 2 f.).
3 Tzet. in Lyk. Al. 397. 400.
4 Supra p. 197.
5 Nomn. Dion. 40. 371 ἐπεντόν ὕληδον διον πολλον αἴθων δίσκον.
6 A. Dieterich Eine Mitbrasilliciturgie 2 Leipsig and Berlin 1910 p. 6, 9 f. ὅφει γάρ ἐκέινη τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς ὀρασίας, τῶν πολλῶν ἀναβαίνοντων εἰς οὐρανὸν θεοῦν, ἄλλως ἔτι καταβαίνοντα τῇ πορείᾳ τῶν θεωμένων θεῶν διὰ τοῦ δίσκου, πατρός μου, θεοῦ, φανερών ὡμοίων ὅσιον καὶ ὁ καλομένος αἰών, ἡ ἄρχη τοῦ λειτουργοῦντος ἀνέων. ὅφει γάρ ἕτοι ἕτοι τῶν δίσκου ὡς αἰώνων κραμάτων, κ.τ.λ., ib. p. 8, 9 f. σφέρων διὰ τῆς πόλεως τῆς καὶ τῆς πόλεως μὲν καὶ εὐθείας ὅφει ἕτοι ἔτοι τῶν δίσκου ἀνεξάρτητος προσερχομένου πεποιθοῦσιν πλείστους καὶ πιστευοντας διὸ τῶν ἀσέριας συγκρινόντας πλείστους καὶ πιστευοντας διὸ τῶν ἀσέριας αἰώνων πλείστους καὶ θεοῦ πατρᾶς πεποιθοῦσιν πλείστους.
The Lycian Symbol

variable number of lines curving either to the left or to the right, but never straight. Of these lines there are usually three\(^1\) (fig. 224), sometimes four\(^2\) (fig. 225), occasionally two\(^3\) (fig. 226), and in a single exceptional case but one\(^4\) (fig. 227). The symbol in question is now and again subjected to further complications. An example in the Paris collection\(^5\) (fig. 228) has the ring with three radiating lines mounted on a round shield or disk from behind which appear four similar lines curving alternately to left and right. Or, again,

Fig. 224.  Fig. 225.  Fig. 226.  Fig. 227.

animal forms are introduced. One branch may end in the head of a monster\(^6\) (fig. 229), or snake\(^7\) (fig. 230); or all the branches may be furnished with the heads of cocks\(^8\) (fig. 231), or of swans or

\(^1\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc. pp. xxvii f. 6 f. pls. 2 ff., Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 493 ff., 509 ff., pls. 21, 20 ff., 22, 1 ff., Head Hist. num.\(^3\) p. 688 ff.


\(^3\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc. p. 23 pl. 6, 7, p. 24 pl. 6, 8, 9, 11, p. 26 pl. 6, 16, p. 28 pl. 7, 10, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 225 f. pl. 95, 12 ff., 303 f. pl. 101, 18. Sometimes this type appears as $ with an appendage like a handle affixed to its centre (id. ib. ii. 2. 201 f. pl. 93, 13 ff.)


\(^5\) Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 501 ff. pl. 22, 17.

\(^6\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc. p. 12 pl. 3, 14, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 233 f. pl. 96, 1, Head Hist. num.\(^3\) p. 690.

\(^7\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins etc. p. 18 pl. 8, 3, Head Hist. num.\(^3\) p. 690 (‘serpent’).

\(^8\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc. p. 9 pl. 3, 1—4, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 497 ff., pl. 22, 8—10, Head Hist. num.\(^3\) p. 689 ff.
The Lycian Symbol

ducks¹ (fig. 232). On occasion an owl occupies the central ring² (fig. 233). But on the Lycian series the radiating lines are never modified into human legs. The significance of this symbol has been frequently debated. Monsieur Babelon, after passing in

Fig. 231.

Fig. 232.

Fig. 233.

review the various hypotheses that have been put forward, concludes in favour of the solar explanation advanced by L. Müller and Mr E. Thomas³. L. Müller, comparing analogous symbols throughout the west of Europe⁴, and Mr Thomas, doing the same for India and the east⁵, arrived independently at substantially similar results. Both regard the Lycian sign and its parallels as representations of the sun. Mr Thomas sums up in the following sentence: 'As far as I have been able to trace or connect the various manifestations of this emblem, they one and all resolve themselves into the primitive conception of solar motion, which was intuitively associated with the rolling or wheel-like projection of the sun through the upper or visible arc of the heavens, as understood and accepted in the crude astronomy of the ancients⁶.' This verdict, for Lykia at least, is confirmed by the fact that on Lycian coinage after the time of Alexander the Great the radiate head of Helios is a constant type⁷. But, when we seek to define the deity to whom the Lycian wheel originally belonged, we are deserted by the evidence. The conjecture of C. von Paucker⁸ and E. Curtius⁹, that it marked the worship of a three-fold Zeus, is disposed of by the examples with one, two, and four branches.

¹ Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc. pl. 44, 5, E. Babelon Les Perses Achéménides Paris 1893 nos. 476, 532, pls. 12, 11, 15, 5; id. Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 227 f. pl. 95, 16, 235 ff. pl. 96, 5, Head Hist. num.⁵ p. 690 ('cygnet').
² Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc. p. 23 pl. 6, 6, pl. 44, 9, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1, 510, ii. 2. 275 ff. pl. 99, 34 ff., Head Hist. num.⁵ p. 691.
³ E. Babelon Les Perses Achéménides p. xc f.
⁴ L. Müller La croix gommée Copenhagen 1877.
⁶ E. Thomas ib. 1880 xx. 19.
⁷ Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 482.
⁸ Arch. Zeit. 1851 ix. 380.
⁹ ib. 1855 xiii. 11, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 510 f.
There is more to be said for Monsieur Babelon's view that it was the symbol of a national god of light, who perhaps originated in Crete, perhaps came from the east, but in any case at a later date entered the Greek pantheon and was assimilated to Apollon, being famed throughout the classical world as Apollon Lykios.

v. The Lycian Symbol and the Kyklops.

This, however, is to leave unsolved the problem—who or what was the national light-god before the advent of the Greek Apollon? I am disposed to think that he was, or became, the monstrous form known to the Greeks as the Kyklops. Objections will at once occur to readers familiar with the Odyssey and its myth of Polyphemos. How is the plural Kyklopes to be reduced to a singular Kyklops? What had the Kyklopes who kept sheep on the mountains of Sicily, or for that matter the Kyklopes who worked at the underground smithy of Hephaistos, to do with a sun-god? How are we to bridge the distance from Magna Graecia in the west to Lykia in the east? And by what process did a solar wheel develop into a ferocious giant? These are questions that must be answered, if my hypothesis is to be regarded as tenable at all.

To begin with, then, Hellanikos asserts that 'the Kyklopes derived their name from one Kyklops, son of Ouranos.' It follows that his readers in the fifth century B.C. knew of certain Kyklopes, different from the Kyklopes of the Homeric tradition, inasmuch as they were named after a single Kyklops, who passed as being the son of 'the Sky.' This sky-connexion is elsewhere insisted on. The scholiast on Aristeides the rhetorician writes: 'They say that there are three kinds of Kyklopes, those in the Odyssey, who are Sicilian; the Cheirogastores; and the so-called Sky-dwellers.'

1 N. Gordon Munro in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan 1911 xxxviii. 3. 52 ff. supposes that this symbol, as emblem of the solar god Sandas, Sandes, Sandon, travelled across Asia from the west to the farthest east. But he adduces no valid evidence of its connexion with Sandas.
2 Babelon op. cit. ii. 1. 482, 509.
3 Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 326 f.
4 Hellanik. frag. 176 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 69 Muller) op. schol. Hes. theog. 139 'Ελλανικός δὲ τόν Κύκλωπαν ονομαζόντα ἀνδ Κύκλωπος υἱὸν Οὐρανοῦ, οὐ περὶ τῶν παρ᾽ Ὀμήρῳ Κυκλώπων λέγει.
5 Schol. Aristeid. p. 408, 36 ff. Dindorf τριά γὰρ γένη φανέρω ἦν τοῖς Κυκλώπως, τοῖς κατὰ τῶν Ὀδυσσεα, Σκύλων ὧνα, καὶ τοῖς Χειρογάστορας, καὶ τοῖς καλομενῶν Οὐρανίων. M. Mayer Die Giganten und Titanen Berlin 1887 p. 110 f. thinks that the scholiast drew his information from Hellanikos, because the schol. Hes. theog. 139 after the passage quoted in p. 3 immediately continues Κυκλώπων γὰρ γένη τριά: Κύκλωπες οἱ τῶν Μυκῆνων, τεχνάντες, καὶ οἱ περὶ τῶν Πολύφορων, καὶ αὐτῶι οἱ θεοὶ. But it is far from clear that this last sentence was taken from Hellanikos: C. Müller Frag. hist. Gr. i. 69 does not include it in the excerpt.
The Lycian Symbol and the Kyklopes

Nor can we dismiss this as the figment of a late grammarian; for Hesiod\(^1\), perhaps a thousand years earlier, had spoken of the Kyklopes as *Ourainidae*, 'sons of the Sky', and Zenon the Stoic c. 300 B.C. gave a physical explanation of the name\(^2\).

Again, there is reason to connect the Kyklopes with Lykia. The seven Kyklopes, who built the great walls of Tiryns for king Proitos, were brought over for the purpose from Lykia\(^3\). Thus, whereas Theophrastus declared that towers were invented by the Tirynthians, Aristotle referred their invention to the Kyklopes\(^4\). Towers to the modern ear are not suggestive of a sky-god; but we must bear in mind Pindar's mysterious statement that the souls of the righteous—

> travel the road of Zeus to Kronos' tower\(^5\),

and also the names applied by the Pythagoreans to the central fire of the universe, *viz.* 'the tower of Zan,' 'the watch-tower of Zan,' 'the house of Zeus'\(^6\). A revolting tower, as we have seen\(^7\), was a Celtic conception of the Otherworld. Some such belief may underlie the reputation, which the Kyklopes enjoyed in ancient times\(^8\), of being master-builders. We still speak of 'Cyclopean' masonry.

Next we have to consider the possibility of deriving the one-eyed giant of Sicily from the solar wheel of Lycia in point of actual shape. The Lycian symbol appears to have developed in two very different directions. On the one hand, by the beginning of the fourth century B.C. it had become reduced to a simpler combination of lines\(^9\). The central circle had dwindled to a dot, from which

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2. Zen. *frag.* 116 Pearson *ap. schol.* Hes. *theog.* 139 παίδας δὲ φρων ἀυτῶν τοῦ Ὀὐρανοῦ ἐκεῖθε πάντα πάντα τὰ πάθη περὶ τῶν φρωνικῶν εἰς. The reference is to the names Βρότης, Στεφάνως, Ἀργή, which Zenon may have found in Hes. *theog.* 140.
7. *Supra* p. 243:
9. *The change is already noticeable on a coin of the Lycian dynasty Thibd.* (Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 311 f. pl. 94, 12).
radiated three curved lines or crescents. This form occurs at Olba in Kilikia\(^1\) (fig. 234); at Thebe in Mysia\(^2\); at Abydos\(^3\), Birytos\(^4\), and Khoioi\(^5\) in the Troad; in Makedonia\(^6\); at Argos\(^7\); and at Megara\(^8\). On the other hand, the tendency towards theriomorphism and anthropomorphism was also at work.

The addition, already observed, of animal heads to the component members of the symbol\(^9\) was but the commencement of changes, which were carried further in neighbouring lands. Thus the silver coins of Aspendos in Pamphyria from about 500 B.C. onwards are characterised by three human legs, turned either to the right or to the left, but radiating from a common centre and so constituting a genuine *triskelés*\(^10\). Sometimes this *triskelés* is centred about a small four-spoked wheel\(^11\) (fig. 235). Occasionally it is superposed on a lion\(^12\) (fig. 236) or an eagle\(^13\) (fig. 237). But usually it consists of three human legs


3. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas etc. p. 2 pl. 1, 8 on a silver coin c. 411—387 B.C.; the three curves radiating from a common centre are inscribed in a circle.

4. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas etc. pp. xiv, 41 pl. 8, 5, Head Hist. num.\(^2\) p. 541, on a bronze coin c. 300 B.C.; the three curves are enclosed by a circle.


8. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica p. 118 pl. 21, 2 f., Head Hist. num.\(^2\) p. 393; on silver coins of the fourth century B.C.; five or three crescents radiating from a central dot and enclosed by a circle.


11. Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1, 525 ff. pl. 23, 12; 527 f. pl. 13, 16.


13. Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 597 pl. 58, 1, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1, 529 f. no. 868. On the three-legged crow of Chinese legend and the eight-handed (= many-handed) crow of
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and nothing more. The same design recurs at Selge, Etenna, and Adada in Pisidia; at Hierapytna in Crete; in Melos, at Athens, in Aigina, at Phlius; at Syracuse, at Kaulonia and Terina in Bruttium; at Suessa Aurunca in Latium; and probably elsewhere too (fig. 238). Some of these examples exhibit a well-marked central disk; for instance, a recently discovered silver coin of Melos c. 500–450 B.C. (fig. 239), a unicum of Aigina c. 480 B.C., or certain Kojiki and Nihongi tradition see N. Gordon Munro in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan 1911 xxxviii. 51 fig. 40, 63.

4 J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crête ancienne Macon 1890 i. 188 pl. 17, 6, Head Hist. num. p. 468.
5 Infra n. 14.
6 Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 717 f. pl. 33, 10 ff. notes other examples of the triskelés occurring at Athens, on lead tokens and small bronze counters. On the pre-Solonian silver coinage it is inscribed in a circle.
7 Infra n. 15.
8 Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 718, 811 ff. pl. 33, 12, Head Hist. num. p. 408.
9 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily p. 191 ff., ib. Corinth etc. p. 98 ff. pl. 25, 5–9, Head Hist. num. p. 180 f. G. F. Hill Coins of Ancient Sicily London 1903 p. 153 f. suggests that the triskelés, which appears first on the coins of Agathokles, from 317 B.C. onwards, was originally his private signet, adopted at a later date, perhaps by the Romans, as the emblem of all Sicily. Cp. Hill ib. p. 153 ff. fig. 44 pl. 11, 8, 9 and 14, Babelon Monn. rép. rom. i. 191, 351 f., 401 f., 414, 427, ii. 7 (no. 175), 66, 277 f., 499, 539. A. Allienus, proconsul in Sicily in 48 B.C., struck a denarius, which shows Trinacrus, son of Neptunus, holding the triskelés in his hand: see Hill op. cit. p. 224 f. pl. 15, 5, Babelon Monn. rép. rom. i. 137 f., ii. 13.
scarce specimens of pre-Solonian coinage at Athens¹. The Thraco-Macedonian tribe of Derrones added palmettes between the legs² (fig. 240). The Pisidians of Selge³ (fig. 241) and the Lucanians of Velia⁴ fitted the ankles with wings. Elsewhere the humanising tendency transformed the central disk into a face⁵. That was the case in Sicily⁶. Silver and copper coins of Agathokles, issued between 317 and 310 B.C., have for their reverse type a triskelēs with wings attached to the feet and a Gorgon's head in the middle⁷.

¹ Supra p. 305 n. 6.
² Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia etc. p. 150, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 1039 ff. pl. 44. 6—9, Head Hist. num.² p. 301. I figure the specimen in the M'CLean collection at Cambridge.
⁵ At Astros in Lower Moesia occurs the strange type of two young male heads in juxtaposition, one of the two being upside down (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thrace etc. p. 25 ff., Head Hist. num.² p. 274). Head ib.¹ p. 235 held that this design 'probably refers to the cult of the Dioskuri, which was very prevalent on the coasts of the Euxine,' but ib.³ p. 274 suggests that it 'may be meant for the rising and the setting sun-god' and compares 'the rayless Helios on the early coins of Rhodes.' Since other coins of Astros show a four-spoked wheel (Append. D), I would rather conjecture that the two heads in question are a naïve attempt to represent the face of the sun-god in actual rotation.
⁶ Babelon Monn. rép. rom. i. 192 a bronze coin of M. Antonius showing as symbol a triskelēs, the central dot of which is marked like a face: the coin is of Sicilian mintage.
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(fig. 242). On an aureus struck by the Roman moneyer L. Aquillius Florus in 20 B.C. to commemorate the Sicilian exploits of M. Aquil-lius eighty years earlier there is a similar device, but the winged Gorgôneion is larger1 (fig. 243). Bronze coins of Panormos from 254 B.C. onwards adopted the same combination of triskelés and aigis: moreover, they complicated it still further by the introduction of three ears of barley between the revolving legs2 (fig. 244). The design recurs on late copper coins of Iaita3; and on the denarii struck in Sicily by L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus, the consuls of 49 B.C., who fled from Rome at the approach of Caesar4 (fig. 245). From a numismatic point of view, therefore, Mr G. F. Hill is justified in describing this ‘contamination’ of the triskelés with the Gorgôneion as ‘of Agathoclean origin’.5 But it would be interesting to know whether the combined device was invented by Agathokles himself, or borrowed from elsewhere. It may be surmised that Agathokles, who was a soldier rather than an artist, saw it first on the shields of some of his numerous foreign mercenaries. For, not only was the simple triskelés a frequent emblem on shields6, but Dioskourides, an Alexandrine epigrammatist of the third century B.C., represents a Cretan warrior as dedicating a shield that was adorned with precisely this combination of triskelés and Gorgôneion:

Not vain, methinks, the blazon that Polyllos’ son doth please,
Hyllos, who bears his buckler as a mighty man from Crete.
The Gorgon that turns men to stone and eke the triple knees
He bade them paint: you’ll find them there, saying to all they meet—
‘Look not thou down on me, my foe; that look of thine will freeze’
Or ‘Flee the man who runs apace with these his threefold feet.’7

However that may be, it is practically certain that the central face was originally not that of the winged and snaky-tressed Gorgon, but that of the sun-god pure and simple—witness a Punic stèle, dating from about the time of Iuba, which was found in 1823 near

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1 Babelon Monn. rep. rom. i. 214, 218; ii. 71.
5 G. F. Hill op. cit. p. 208.
6 P. Hartwig in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1891 xii. 341 n. 1 writes: ‘The triskelos is very often used as the device on shields on black-figured vases (cf. K. W. Goettling Commentatio de cruce allo in clipeis vaesorum Graecorum Jena 1855); more rarely on red-figured (cf. End. Cér. 13, 9, where it is painted black, as here).’ See further H. B. Walters History of Ancient Pottery London 1906 ii. 198 f.
7 Anth. Pal. 6. 126.
Vacca (Bedja) or Sicca Venerea (Kef) in Tunis and is now in the museum at Lyon. This stone was erected as a votive offering to Ba‘al-hammān, the principal Punic deity of north Africa, who, though the word hammān probably does not mean ‘Fiery’, appears to have been a sky-god or sun-god of some sort. W. Gesenius translated the accompanying inscription as follows:

To Lord Baal the Sun-god, king eternal,
who hath heard the words of Hicmath-
o and of thy servant Hicembal the governor...

Baal had blessed the cattle of this Hiempsal (so his name should be written), governor of a Numidian province. Hiempsal, therefore, by way of a thank-offering caused a representation of himself to be carved (fig. 246) with a cow standing beneath it. The intervening symbol, which for us has the main interest, Gesenius does not attempt to elucidate. But it may fairly be regarded as a sign and token of Baal himself, the sky-god or sun-god, and cited in support of the contention that the triskelēs had a solar significance. The same explanation probably applies to a very similar triskelēs.

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1. *Infra* ch. 1 § 6 (f) i (y).
found on copper coins of Eboracum, one of the chief towns of the Turduli in Hispania Baetica (figs. 247—248); for the district,

according to M. Agrippa and M. Varro, was over-run by Carthaginians, who would presumably bring the cult of their Punic Baal with them.

vi. The Kyklops of the East and the Kyklops of the West.

Taking into account these zoöomorphic transformations of the solar wheel, I shall venture to propound a fresh classification of the Kyklopes in Greek mythology. Let us distinguish the Kyklopes of the eastern Mediterranean (including the Aegaean) from those of the western Mediterranean (especially Sicily). What is common to the two groups, what in fact enables them to be considered species of a single genus, is the central disk representing the actual orb of the sun: hence the appropriate name for both was Kyklopes, 'the Round One,' or more exactly, 'He of the Round Aspect.'

The eastern Kyklopes were called also Cheirogástores or Gastérocheires, that is, 'Arm-bellies' or 'Belly-arms,' in connexion with Lykia and Tiryne; Encheirogástores or Eugastrócheires, that

1 A. Heiss Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne Paris 1870 p. 322 ff. pl. 47. Turduli 3, 4, 5, 10. I reproduce no. 3 with a Celtiberian legend to be transliterated ISBOVRI (genitive of ISBORA) and no. 10 with a Latin legend read by Heiss (EBORIA) (SI). See also G. D. de Lorichs Recherches numismatiques concernant principalement les médailles celtibériennes Paris 1852 pl. 76, 12.


3 Eustath. in II. p. 286, 36, apparently quoting Strabon either from memory or in a text different from ours. A comparison of schol. Aristid. with schol. Hes. (intra p. 302 n. 4) shows that the Kyklopes who built Mykenai were sometimes at least known as Cheirogástores.

4 Strab. 372 and ap. Eustath. in Od. p. 1622, 53 f.

The Kyklops of the East and West

is, 'Bellies-in-arms' or 'Arms-in-bellies,' in connexion with Thessaly, Kyzikos, Thrace, Euboea, and Mykenai. Such names would be not unsuitably given to giants, who represented in anthropomorphic guise the solar symbol with its central ring and radiating members.

A distant echo of this mythopoëtic stage may be heard in Platon's *Symposium*, where Aristophanes, as usual half in jest and half in earnest, makes a speech in praise of Love and in the course of it describes humanity as it was in the remote past:

'Our nature long ago was not what it is now, but otherwise. In the first place, mankind was divided into three sexes. It comprised not only the present two, male and female, but a third as well, which was a compound of them both. The name of this third sex still survives, though it has itself become extinct. In those early times the androgynous was at once a name and a species, being a blend of male and female in one common nature; whereas now-a-days it is merely a name given by way of reproach. Then again, every man's shape was rounded throughout, his back and sides being in the form of a circle. He had four arms, and as many legs as arms, and two faces on a round neck, resembling each other in every respect. On his two faces, which looked opposite ways, he had a single head with four ears. Moreover, he had two sets of generative organs, and everything else to match. He walked upright, as he does still, in whichever of the two directions he pleased. When he started to run fast, he looked like tumblers who bring their legs round so as to point upwards and tumble along in a circle: just in the same way did the men of those days move rapidly along in a circle, resting their weight on their limbs, which were eight in number. The reason why the sexes numbered three may be put thus: The male was originally the offspring of the sun; the female, of the earth; the common sex, of the moon, for the moon too shares the nature of both. They and their mode of progression were alike circular because they resembled their parents. So it came to pass that in point of power and strength two attached to their shoulders and four to their ribs (*ib. 944 ff.*), who dwelt about the

*Aρκτων βρος,* a mountainous island in the Propontis, and, coming from their mountain, essayed to block the *Χαλκα των λιμης* at Kyzikos with rocks and so secure the Argonauts. The scholast adds that Polygnostos (vulg.) or Polygnostos (cod. Paris.) in his work *On Kyzikos* rationalised them into pirates, but that tradition made them the offspring of the Nemean lion. According to the latter part of schol. *Or. 963* the walls of Mykenai were built by Kyklopes called *γχχειρογάστορες,* who were said to have made the thunderbolt for Zeus. Other schol. on the same verse derive the Kyklopes, who came to aid Proitos, from Kouretis (= Euboea) and ultimately from Thrace, where there was a tribe of Kyklopes with an eponymous king Kyklops. See further G. Knaack 'Encheirogastes' in *Hermes* 1903 xxxvii. 293 ff., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 441 f.

*1* Plat. *Symph.* 189 D—190 C.

*2* *Id. ib. 189 E* ἓκατον ἔλεος *ποι ἀνθρώπων τοι τὸ εἶδος στρογγυλον,* *νῦτον καὶ πλευράς κύκλος ἔχον.* That is, every man had the shape of two men joined back to back, so that his body was cylindrical, being circular in horizontal section. The words can hardly be taken to mean that his body was a sphere or disk. *Cp. Tim. 44 D—E,* 73 C—D, where he contrasts the globular (*σφαιροειδής*) brain in its spherical (*σφαιροειδής*) cranium with the cylindrical (*στρογγυλον καὶ προμήχησι*) spinal marrow in its vertebral column, and my comment in *The Metaphysical Basis of Plato's Ethics* Cambridge 1895 p. 138 f.
they were terrible; and in their pride they attacked the gods. Indeed, what Homer says of Ephialtes and Otos refers in reality to these; I mean, that they attempted to scale the sky, intending to make an assault upon the gods. 1

Aristophanes goes on to tell how Zeus frustrated their efforts and punished their pride by cutting them in halves like so many eggs. Ever since that fell catastrophe man has gone about the world in search of his other half. And, if Zeus hears much more of his insolence, he will cut him in halves again, so that in future he will go hopping on a single leg! This interesting recital, despite the humorous turn given to its dénouement, is evidently based on the serious beliefs of the past. When Platon speaks of a third sex compounded of the other two, he has in mind the 'whole-natured types' of Empedokles, 2 that is to say, types neither male nor female, but both. And, when Platon relates his human Catherine-wheels to the sun, the earth, and the moon, he recalls the same philosopher-poet's expression 'the swift limbs of the Sun'. 3 But he is also throughout thinking of Pherekydes' twin Moliones 4 and of the Orphic Phanes, first-born of the gods, a strange bi-sexual being, 5 perhaps two-bodied, 6 certainly four-eyed, 7 and commonly identified with the sun. 8 According to one account, Phanes had the heads of rams, bulls, a snake, and a lion, 9 together with golden wings: according to another, golden wings on his shoulders, heads of bulls attached to his sides, and on his head a monstrous snake resembling all manner of wild beasts. 10 This composite conception suggests comparison with the various theriomorphic and anthropomorphic modifications of the Lycian solar wheel. 11

In the western Mediterranean anthropomorphism went a step further. We hear of no Cheirogêsthoi with multiple limbs. The

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1 Emped. frag. 62, 4 Diels οἴκονομικ ...γόχων.
2 Id. frag. 27, 1 Diels Ηελιοκοπ ...δύνα μυθί.
3 Append. F (f).
4 Orph. frag. 62 Abel ap. Prokl. in Plat. Tim. i. 429, 28 ff. Diehl (cp. ib. i. 450, 22 ff.) and Lact. div. inst. 4, 8, Rufin. recognit. 10, 30. With Plat. symp. 191 B cp. the Orphic texts cited by Lobeck Aglaophamus i. 491 f.
5 In Orph. frag. 36 Abel ap. Damask. quaest. de primis principiis p. 387 ὁθὲν ἀρχήμενος was corrected to ὁθὲν ἀρχήμενος by Lobeck Aglaophamus i. 486 n.: see further O. Gruppe in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2251 f.
6 Orph. frag. 64 Abel ap. Herm. in Plat. Phaedr. p. 133 τετράων ὄφθαλμων ὀρθῶν ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα. Lobeck op. cit. i. 491 remarks that the same verse was used to describe Argos by the author of the Aigimios (schol. Eur. Phoen. 1116). Is it accidental that Φάρος and Αργός are names of similar meaning? See further infra ch. i § 6 (g) ix.
7 Supra p. 7 n. 6.
8 Orph. frag. 63 Abel.
9 Orph. frag. 65 Abel.
10 Orph. frag. 36 Abel.
11 Supra pp. 399 ff., 394 ff.
Kyklopes of Sicily and Italy had originally one large circular eye in the middle of the forehead\(^1\) (fig. 249). This is throughout the prevailing type of the Kyklopes in Greek and Latin literature. But with vase-paintings, wall-paintings, engraved gems, bas-reliefs and sculpture in the round the case was different. Here a growing sense of artistic fitness prescribed, first that the Kyklopes should have his normal eyes, whether shut or open, as well as his abnormal eye\(^2\), and last that his abnormal eye should dwindle away into nothing, leaving him two-eyed like other folk\(^3\). Thus it comes about that Servius in the fourth century A.D. can write: 'Many say that Polyphemos had one eye, others that he had two, others

again that he had three; but the whole tale is a make-belief.' Virgil, in the passage on which Servius was commenting, adheres to the original conception of the western Kyklopes and speaks of his eye as—

\(^1\) In the case of Polyphemos this is implied by Od. 9. 333; 383; 387; 394; 397; 453; 503; 516; 525; and stated in Kratin. Odyss. frag. 14 Meineke, Eur. Cycl. 77, Lyk. Al. 659 f. with Tzetz. ad loc., Theokr. 6. 22, 36, 11. 33, 53. Philostr. mai. imagg. 2. 18. 2, Anth. Pal. 14. 132. 2. 7, Ov. met. 13. 772 f. The Homeric Kyklopes in general had one eye, according to Strab. 21. The Kyklopes of Alcme are one-eyed in Eur. Cycl. 21 f.; those of Lipara in Kallim. h. Artem. 32 f.; Brontes, Steropes, and Arges in Hes. teog. 144 f. Eustath. in Od. pp. 1392, 36 ff., 1672, 39 ff. inclines to regard Polyphemos as \(\tau\acute{e}r\phi\beta\acute{h}\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\), not \(\mu\alpha\nu\phi\beta\acute{h}\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\); cp. Guido de Columna (1387 A.D.), who in his account of the Trojan war gives Polyphemos two eyes and makes Odysseus pluck out one of them (W. Grimm in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1857* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 27).


\(^3\) Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1588, ii. 1685, iii. 2703 ff., 2711 f.

\(^4\) Roscher *ib.* ii. 1685, Darenberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1695.

Huge, lurking there alone 'neath his fell brow,
Like to some Argive shield or torch Phoebean. ¹

This last line draws from Servius the just remark that the one simile refers to the size (and shape), the other to the glow, of Polyphemos' eye: the 'Argive shield' was circular, and the 'torch Phoebean' must be either the moon or the sun. ² Parmenides in one of his fragments mentions 'the round-eyed (literally κυκλόφος) moon.' ² But it is more probable that Virgil is comparing the eye of the Kyklops with the sun. Ovid does so expressly in the Metamorphoses, where Polyphemos defends his claim to good looks in the following lines:

One only eye my midmost forehead bears,
But like a mighty shield. Yea, all these things
Yon sun beholds, and with one only orb ⁴.

Of course no simile or collection of similes can prove that the Kyklops' eye stands for the sun in heaven. But we ⁵* have seen that according to one version, which can be traced back to Hesiod, the Kyklopes were known as 'children of the Sky'; ⁶ that, in the words of Hellanikos, they ⁷ derived their name from one Kyklops, whose father was the Sky; ⁸ and that the Greeks regarded the sun as the eye of the animate sky. ⁹ A presumption is thus raised that we are on the right track in investigating the story of the Kyklopes as though it were a nature-myth and in identifying the round eye, from which he took his name, with the shining orb of the sun. ⁹

The distinction that I have drawn between the many-armed Kyklopes of the east and the one-eyed Kyklopes of the west

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¹ Verg. Aen. 3. 636 f.
² Serv. in Verg. Aen. 3. 637.
³ Parm. frag. 10, 4 Diels έγγυ τε κυκλόφος περάεται σελήνη.
⁴ Ov. met. 13. 851 ff.
⁵ Supra p. 301.
⁶ Supra p. 301.
⁷ Supra p. 196 f.
⁸ L. Frobenius Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes Berlin 1904 i. 367–412, after a wide survey of analogous myths all the world over, comes to the conclusion that the man-eating ogre (or ogress), who lives in a cave and is a famous builder, must be regarded as a star if he has one eye, as a constellation if he has many heads and arms: he is attacked by the solar hero or sun-god, who wrests from him the means of making fire. On this showing Odysseus would be the sun-god and Polyphemus a star! W. Schwartz Indogermanischer Volksblind Berlin 1885 p. 169 ff. argues that one-eyed beings such as the Kyklopes are storm-powers, their fiery eye denoting the lightning (see infra ch. ii § 3 (b)). W. H. Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1689, 59 ff. suggests that the one eye of the Kyklopes refers to the crater of Mt. Aline, and V. Bérard Les Phéniciens et l'odyssée Paris 1905 ii. 130 has given a similar volcanic explanation: cp. R. Browning Paracelsus sc. 5 'groups' Of young volcanos come up, cyclops-like, | Staring together with their eyes on flame.' I follow W. Grinn 'Die Sage von Polyphem' in the Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1857 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 27 and A. Kuhn Die Herkunft des Feuers und des Göttertrunks Gütersloh 1886 p. 63.
The Kyklops of the East and West

corresponds fairly well with a difference indicated in Hesiod's *Theogony*. The poet, enumerating the children of Earth (*Géa*) and Sky (*Ouranos*), writes:

She brought forth too Kyklopes proud of heart,
Brontes and Steropes and strong-souled Arges,
Who gave the thunder and wrought the bolt of Zeus.
They verily in all else were like the gods,
But had one eye amid their forehead set.
[Kyklopes were they named by reason of
A round eye, one, upon their forehead set.]
Power, violence, and guile were in their deeds.

Others again from Earth and Sky were sprung,
Three sons of size and strength, not to be named,
Kottos, Briareos, Gyes, prideful brood.
A hundred arms were waving from their shoulders,
All unapproachable, and fifty heads
Grew from the shoulders on each stalwart neck.
Monstrous their power, strong to match their size.

The one-eyed Kyklopes are here mentioned side by side with certain many-armed giants of the self-same parentage. If we may regard these *Hekatóchêires* as analogous to the *Cheirogástores*, Hesiod's division is just that between the Kyklopes of west and east.

Nor need we be surprised to find the sun conceived in two forms so widely different by people residing within the same area of civilisation. A useful parallel is afforded by the religion of ancient Egypt. The oldest group of Egyptian deities was headed by a divine pair named Nu and Nut, god and goddess respectively of the watery mass of the sky. The pyramidal text of Pepi i addresses 'Nut, in whose head appear two eyes'—presumably the sun and moon. Similarly a late papyrus in the British Museum makes Nu speak of his Eye in terms which can only refer to the sun. Again, when the attributes of Nu were transferred to the god Râ, the Eye of Râ was identified with a variety of solar

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1 Hes. *theog.* 139 ff.

3 Pap. 10, 188, written for Nes-Amu, or Nes-Min, priest of Panopolis, c. 312 B.C.
4 E. A. Wallis Budge *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* London 1911 i. 126.
6 E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* i. 135. According to G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilisation* London 1901 p. 88 n. 1 the name Râ 'means the sun, and nothing more.'
powers. Rā himself was fused with the Theban deity Âmen, and a hymn written in the time of the twentieth or twenty-first dynasty for the great resultant god Âmen-Rā says:

"Thou art the beautiful Prince, who risest like the sun with the White Crown, and thou art the lord of radiant light and the creator of brilliant rays.... Thy flame maketh thine enemies to fall, and thine Eye overthoweth the Sebhu fiends."

Rā was likewise fused with Tem the local sun-god of Ânnu, that is On or Heliopolis, thus forming the double god Rā-Tem: accordingly we hear of the Eye of Tem as another designation of the sun. Lastly, Rā was fused with Horos (Heru), who was regarded as the Face (Her or Hrā) of heaven, and said to have two eyes, the sun being the right eye, and the moon the left. But these numerous descriptions of the sun as the eye of this, that, or the other deity by no means prevented the Egyptians from depicting it in curiously incongruous ways. For example, Âmen-hetep iv or Amenophis iv, the Hōros of Manethon, about the year 1430 B.C., despite the first element in his own name, cut himself off from the old capital Thebes and the Theban cult of Âmen. He adopted a new name, Khut-en-Âten, and founded a new capital, Khut-Âten, some two hundred miles south of Cairo on the east bank of the Nile: the site of his foundation is now marked by the Arab villages of Haggi Khandil and Tell el-Âmarna. Khut-en-Âten means the 'Spirit' or 'Glory of Âten'; and Khut-Âten, the 'Horizon of Âten.' This Âten was a very old Egyptian deity, whose original home was near Ânnu or Heliopolis. 'Âten,' says Dr Wallis Budge, 'was the physical body of the Sun.' And monuments of Khut-en-Âten often show the king, with or without his family, illuminated by the sun's rays. In these representations the rays

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1 E. A. Wallis Budge The Gods of the Egyptians i. 422 f. Meĥ-urt, ib. i. 365 Hathor, ib. i. 446 Bast, ib. i. 517 Sekhet. Id. Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection i. 144, 340, ii. 172, 203, 277, 328.
2 E. A. Wallis Budge The Gods of the Egyptians ii. 8.
3 E. A. Wallis Budge ib. i. 330, ii. 87.
4 E. A. Wallis Budge ib. i. 158, 305, 446 identified with Bast.
5 G. Maspero op. cit. pp. 100, 137.
of Aten are made to terminate in human hands (fig. 250), which sometimes hold emblems of life and sovereignty in their grasp.

Such solar symbols are, indeed, deep-seated in human nature, and, like many other natural phenomena, contrive to coexist in spite of obvious inconsistencies. A Greek of the classical period at least might speak of the sun as a revolving wheel and yet credit tales of the Kyklopes and the Cheirogástores, though logically the former should have forced him to identify the disk with the eye of a giant and the latter should have called up the image of a monster's circling hands. Of course, the further we are removed

from the exclusiveness of primitive religion, the easier it is to hold simultaneously ideas that in their origin were incompatible. For, as belief wanes, convictions become views, and views pass into a


An Assyrian obelisk shows two hands issuing from a solar disk, the right hand open, the left holding a bow (Count Goblet d'Alviella The Migration of Symbols London 1894 p. 26, after G. Rawlinson The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World London 1879 ii. 233).
mere succession of pictures or metaphors. A fin-de-siècle poet opens his *Sunset in the City* with the lines—

Above the town a monstrous wheel is turning,
With glowing spokes of red,
Low in the west its fiery axle burning¹—

but at a distance of half a dozen pages changes the scene—

The sun has shut his golden eye
And gone to sleep beneath the sky²—

while elsewhere in the same little volume he prefers to speak of the sunbeams as—

the curious fingers of the day³.

vii. The Kyklops and Zeus.

But, to return to the Greeks, we have next to enquire in what relation the Kyklopes, whether eastern or western, stood towards Zeus. So far as the eastern Kyklopes are concerned, the evidence is of the scantiest. The scholiast on Euripides, probably confusing the many-armed with the one-eyed Kyklopes, states that the former, the *Encheirigastores*, fashioned the thunderbolt for Zeus⁴. And the Platonic Aristophanes in his whimsical narrative tells how certain wheel-shaped and quasi-human beings, who might have been, but are not, called *Cheiroigastores*, made an attack upon Zeus and the other gods⁵. Clearly no conclusion can be based on such premises. At most it may be said in quite general terms that the *Cheiroigastores* belong to the same category as the *Titânes*. They are, that is, elder and unsuccessful rivals of Zeus.

In dealing with their western compeers, the Kyklopes *par excellence*, we are on firmer ground.⁶ Hesiod speaks of the Kyklopes that made the thunder and the thunder-bolt for Zeus as ‘like the gods⁷.’ And the names that he gives them⁸—*Brôntes, Sterôpes, Arge*—are all but identical with sundry titles of Zeus, namely

¹ R. Le Gallienne *English Poems* London 1895 p. 89.
² *Ib. id.* p. 83.
³ *Ib. id.* p. 18. Mr Owen Seaman in *The Battle of the Bays* London 1896 p. 39 has an altogether delightful parody entitled ‘An Ode to Spring in the Metropolis. (After R. L. G.),’ in which occurs the following allusion to our metaphor: ‘And O the sun! | See, see, he shakes | His big red hands at me in wanton fun! | A glorious image that! it might be Blake’s, | Or even Crackanthorpe’s!’
⁵ *Supra* p. 310 f.
⁶ *Supra* p. 314.
The Kyklops and Zeus

Brontön, ‘the Thundering’, steropegerëta, ‘the lightning-gatherer’, argês, ‘the brilliant’. Again, the Kyklopes not only made the thunder and lightning of Zeus, but could on occasion wield his weapons on their own behalf. The late epic of Nonnos describes in bombastic style how Argilipos, Sterôpes, and Brôntes fought on the side of the gods against the Indians:

The stout Kyklopes circled round the foe,  
Helpers of Zeus. Above that murky throng  
Argilipos was flashing as he swung  
A radiant brand and, armed with chthonian bolt  
Fire-tipped, took torches for the fray. Thereat  
Quaked the dark Indians, mazed at such a flame  
That matched the fiery whirl-wind from the sky.  
He, blazing, led the way: 'gainst hostile heads  
Sparks from his earth-born thunderbolt were shot.  
Ash spears he beat and many a blade, that Kyklopes,  
Swaying his hot shafts and his burning pike,  
A brand his dart, and, man on man destroying,  
Still scorched the Indians with his archer flame.  

[Not one Salmoneus only he convicted  
Of bastard bolts, not one god’s-enemy  
Alone he slew, nor only one Euadne  
Made moan for Kapanes extinguished there.]  
Steropes next had armed him and was wielding  
A mimic blaze, a gleam that echoed back  
The lightning of the sky, both flash and fade,  
Sprung into being from the western flame,  
Seed of Sicilian fire and glowing hearth.  
A cloud-like robe he wore, within whose fold  
He hid his sheen and then the same revealed  
With double quivering, like the light of heaven;  
For lightning’s gleam now goes, now comes again.  

Then Brontes went a-warring and beat out  
A song sonorous, while he bellowed back  
The clappings of the thunder and with spray  
Unwonted, made of earth-born snow, shed water  
False-fashioned, little-lasting, from the sky—  
He and his drops, a bastard, cloudless Zeus.  
But Zeus the Father marked the Kyklops aping  
His own fell din and laughed amid his clouds.

On terra-cotta brasiers of Hellenistic date there is often stamped a grotesque bearded head, sometimes wearing a pointed cap and

1 Infra ch. ii § 4 (d).  
2 Infra ch. ii § 3.  
3 Supra p. 31.  
4 Nonn. Dion. 38. 172—201, cp. ib. 14. 52—60 where Brôntes, Sterôpes, and Argês are named among other Kyklopes opposed to the Indians. For the Kyklopes’ imitation of Zeus’ thunder see Eur. Cyc. 327 f.
accompanied by a thunderbolt or thunderbolts\(^1\) (figs. 251—253). W. H. Roscher\(^2\) follows A. Furtwängler in regarding this type as that of the Kyklopes. If they are right—and Furtwängler’s arguments are plausible\(^3\)—, we have here monumental evidence of the Kyklopes conceived as the owner of the thunderbolt.

Again, a connexion of some sort between the Kyklopes and Zeus is implied by the myth of Geraistos. Minos, after the death of Androgeos went to war with Athens, the direct or indirect cause of his bereavement. When the war dragged on and he failed to capture the town, he prayed to Zeus that he might be avenged on the Athenians. Thereupon famine and pestilence befell them, and, at the advice of an ancient oracle, they first slew the daughters of the Lacedaemonian Hyakinthos on the tomb of Geraistos the

Fig. 251.

Fig. 252.

Fig. 253.

Kyklopes (or the son of the Kyklopes). This proved unavailing; and they had in the end to listen to Minos’ demand of seven youths and seven maidens as food for the Minotaur\(^4\). But Geraistos, the eponym of the village and promontory in Euboia\(^5\), who is presumably to be identified with the Geraistos of the Athenian myth, is said to have been the son of Zeus\(^6\). Thus either Geraistos the

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\(^2\) Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1681, 1685.


\(^4\) Apollod. 3. 15. 8 εἰτι τῶν Γεραιστοῦ τοῦ Κόκλωτος τάφων κατέσφαξαν, cp. Steph. *Byz. s.v. Λεωνία*, Harpokr. and Soud. s.v. *Ταύρωθιδεῖ*, *Hyg. fab.* 238.

\(^5\) *Suidra* p. 156 n. 6, Append. B Euboia.

\(^6\) Steph. *Byz. s.v. Γεραιστός, Ταύρωθι*. 

The Kyklops and Zeus

Kyklops was the son of Zeus; or Geraistos was, according to some, the son of the Kyklops, according to others, the son of Zeus. Both inferences presuppose that the Kyklops was somehow related to Zeus.

Lastly, T. Panofka¹ and W. Grimm² long since pointed out that the three-eyed Kyklops of Sicily bears a striking resemblance to an extremely archaic statue of Zeus with three eyes seen by Pausanias on the Argive Larisa³. M. Mayer⁴ arrived independently at a similar conclusion. He holds that the original Kyklops was one with the three-eyed Zeus of Argos, who in turn is strictly comparable with other three-eyed figures in Greek mythology in particular with the three-eyed Argos Panóptes⁵, with the three-eyed guide of the Herakleidai⁶, and with the various heroes named Triops or Triopas⁷. On this showing, then, the three-eyed Kyklops is but another form of the three-eyed Zeus. When, however, M. Mayer over the section of his work devoted to this question prints the words ‘Zeus Kyklops’, he is going too far. Polyphemos, it is true, boasts that the Kyklopes care nothing for Zeus, deeming themselves superior to the gods, and that he, the speaker, would not refrain from laying hands on Odysseus through any fear of incurring Zeus’ enmity⁸. But nowhere in Greek literature do we get a definite identification of the Kyklops with Zeus. The nearest approach to it is Nonnos’ description of the Kyklops Brontes as ‘a bastard Zeus’⁹. Rather, we must suppose that the Kyklops was originally a sky-god like Zeus, his round eye being the sun and his weapon the thunderbolt. He was, in fact, analogous to, but not identical with, the Hellenic god.

It is not at present possible to determine the race to which this

¹ T. Panofka Archäologischer Commentar zu Pausanius Buch II. Kap. 24 p. 30 ff.
⁵ Cl. Rev. 1904 xviii. 75, 325, Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 287.
⁶ Cl. Rev. 1904 xviii. 87, 325, Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 289 ff.
⁷ Cl. Rev. 1904 xviii. 75 ff., 325, Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 288 ff.
⁸ M. Mayer op. cit. pp. 113, 115.
⁹ Od. 9. 375 ff. Dr W. W. Merry ad loc., taking a hint from the scholiast, observes: ‘This is inconsistent with what the Cyclopes acknowledged about the power of Zeus, inf. 410; and with Polyphemus’ boast that Poseidon was his father.’ D. Muehler ‘Das Kyklopengegendich der Odyssee’ in Hermes 1903 xxxviii. 431 ff. draws attention to the similar inconsistences of Od. 9. 107, 111, 358. Eur. Cyc. 320 f. Ἐντὸς ὑμῖν εὐφέρεσθαι ὁ φίλος ἔστω, ἔτι, ἵνα ὑμῖν ἐπάνω τοῦ κράτους θείων is following the Homeric passage.
¹⁰ Supra p. 318.
The Blinding of the Kyklops' Eye

one-eyed sun-god properly belonged. Precisely similar figures are to be met with in Celtic and Germanic mythology—a fact which is suggestive of a remote origin in the past. Moreover, in the Celtic area at least the one-eyed giant is regularly black-skinned. Does this point to his connexion with a melanochrous race?

viii. The Blinding of the Kyklops' Eye.

Polyphemos' claim that the Kyklopes were 'much superior' to the gods has in one respect been substantiated. For Zeus, as we have seen, lives no longer in the mind of the modern peasant, whereas far and wide through southern and central Europe folk-tales still tell the old story of the Kyklopes and his lawless deeds. In Appendix E I have collected a number of such tales, and shall here say something by way of comment upon them.

A constant feature of the Kyklopes-Märchen is the boring out of the giant's eye by means of a red-hot stake. This incident is repeated in a variety of slightly differing forms: we hear of a sharp

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1 According to the schol. Eur. Or. 968 the Kyklopes, a Thracian tribe (cp. Aristot. mir. anœc. 121) named after its king Kyklopes, were driven from their land by war and settled in various parts, most of them in Kouritis: from Koutretis they came to help Priamos and built the walls of Troy for him, those of Argos for Akrisos. Lobecch Aglaophamus ii. 1132 noted identified this Koutretis with Euboa, where there are other traces of the Kyklopes (supra p. 319 f., Istros ap. schol. I. 10. 439). Maass in Hermes 1889 xxiv. 644 f. thinks that colonists from Chalkis in Euboa brought the Kyklopes-myth to Chalkidike, arguing that the mother of Polyphemus, *Tis. Thoosa daughter of Phorkys (Od. i. 71 f.), who according to one account seems to have lived on the coast of Euboea (Lyk. Al. 376 ἐφεσως οἰκήσατο), was a nymph of Mt. Athos (Θεώρα from 'Δῆλος = 'Δῆλος). W. H. Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1689, 47 ff. further observes that the Sicilian Kyklopes are located in the Chalcidian colonies Naxos and Leontinoi (Strab. 20, Eustath. in Od. pp. 1618, 2, 1644, 42). But these combinations, however ingenious, are altogether too speculative.

Timaios frag. 37 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 200 Müller) ap. et. mag. p. 200, 5 f. states that Galatia took its name from Galates, son of Kyklopes and Galatia. Appian. Illyr. 2 says that Polyphemus the Kyklopes had by Galatea three sons, Keltos, Illyrios, and Galas, who ruled over the Keltaï, Illyrioi and Galatia respectively.

Io. Malal. chron. 5 p. 114 Dindorf asserts that Sikanos, king of Sicily, had three sons, Kyklopes, Antiphantes (πατρι), and Polyphemus, who divided the land between them.


4 Append. E. J. Grimm op. cit. ii. 516 n. 2 speaks of 'sooty Cyclops' on the strength of Kallim. h. Artem. 66 ff.

C.
red-hot pole (Athens), of a sharp piece of wood (Servia), of red-hot spits (France, Abruzzo, Zakynthos, Kappodokia, Kypros, Sindbad), of a red-hot iron (Harz Mountains, Finland), of a red-hot poker (Erice), of a red-hot knife (Oghuzians), of a stabbing in the eye (Carelia, Yorkshire), or of a molten mass poured in the eyes (Dolopathos, Roumania, Esthonia).

The oldest obtainable version of the story is of course the Kyklops-myth of the *Odyssey*, which in its present shape must be placed at least as early as the year 800 B.C.¹ and in its original form goes back doubtless some centuries further. D. Muelder, after a minute and painstaking criticism of the myth, sets aside all later accretions and interpolations and prints what he conceives to have been the primitive Kyklops-poem². In this the episode of the red-hot stake is of fundamental importance. The passage, as reconstituted by Muelder, runs thus:

This to my thinking seemed the best advice.  
Beside the fold the Kyklops' great club lay  
Of olive-wood yet green, which he had felled  
To bear when dry. We, looking on the same,  
Likened its size to the mast of a black ship,  
Some merchantman broad-beamed and twenty-oared  
That gets to harbour far across the main,  
So huge its length, so huge its girth to view.  
Therefrom I, standing close, cut off a fathom,  
Gave to my men, and bade them fine it down.  
They smoothed it: I stood by and pointed it,  
And took and turned it in the blazing fire.  
Then 'neath the heap of embers I thrust in  
The bar to heat it; and my comrades all  
I heartened, lest in terror they should fail me.  
But, when the olive-bar was like to catch,  
Green as it was, and glowed with dreadful light,  
I fetched it from the fire, while they stood round.  
And some god breathed great courage into us.  
They took the olive-bar, so sharp at the point,  
And full in his eyeball plunged it. I uplifted  
Twirled it above, as a man drills with a drill  
A timber for ship-building, while below  
His fellows spin their strap and hold amain  
Its either end, and still the drill runs on.  
Just so we took the fiery-pointed bar,  
And twirled it in his eye: the blood flowed round  
Its hot end, and the blast singed all about  
His lids and eyebrows, as the ball was burnt

¹ A. and M. Croiset *Histoire de la littérature grecque*² Paris 1896 i. 402, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*³ München 1908 i. 62.
² D. Muelder ‘Das Kyklopedgedicht der Odysee’ in *Hermes* 1903 xxxviii. 414—455.
Till even its roots were crackling in the fire.
And, as a man that is a coppersmith
Dips a great axe or adze all hissing hot
In water cold to temper it, for this
Is the strength of steel; so hissed the Kyklops’ eye
About that bar of olive; and he groaned
A ghastly groan—yea, round us rang the rock—
And we in a panic fled, while he from his eye
Plucked out the bar bedabbled with much blood.

Now, if we have been right in supposing, with W. Grimm and A. Kuhn, that the single eye of the Kyklops was an early representation of the sun in the sky, it remains to enquire what was the original significance of this rather gruesome scene? Why should the hero thrust a sharp stake into the solar eye? And why is that stake regularly described as being red-hot?

ix. Prometheus’ Theft of Fire.

An answer to these questions would hardly have been forthcoming—since even in the Odyssey the incident has been already worked over and incorporated into a wonder-voyage—had it not been for the fortunate preservation of a more or less parallel myth, that of Prometheus. He is said to have stolen fire from Zeus ‘in a hollow fennel-stalk’—an expression cleared up by J. T. Bent, who, writing of the Greek islands, says: ‘One can understand the idea well: a peasant to-day who wishes to carry a light from one house to another will put it into one of these reeds to prevent its being blown out.’ As to the manner in which Prometheus obtained the

1 Od. 9. 318—328, 375—397.
2 Supra pp. 313 n. 8, 320, infra ch. i § 6 (b) i.
3 Hes. theog. 565 ff. ό d. 50 ff. τῷ καλῷ ράβδῳ, Plin. nat. hist. 7. 178 ignem...adser- vare ferula Prometheus, Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 15 devenit ad Iovis ignem; quo deminuto et in ferulam coniecto, etc., fab. 144 Prometheus in ferula detulit in terras, interp. Serv. in Verg. ecl. 6. 42 ferula ignem de caelo subripuisse, Acron in Hor. od. 2. 13. 37 raptor per ferulam ignis divini.
4 J. T. Bent. The Cyclades London 1885 p. 365. Id. ib.: ‘In Lesbos this reed is still called ράβδως (ράβδως).’ Id. in the Journ. Anthrop. Inst. 1885—6 xv. 401 (in Karpathos) ‘If a woman wishes to carry a light from one house to the other she puts it into a reed, which here alone have I heard termed ράβδως or ραβδῆς, the same word and the same use for the reed which mythology teaches us Prometheus employed when he brought down fire from heaven.’ The same custom is found in Kypros, according to Sttil on Hes. theog. 567, cited by E. E. Sikes in his ed. of Aisch. P. v. p. xvii n. 1, where a further reference is given to Miss M. H. Kingsley Travels in West Africa London 1897 p. 600: ‘In most domesticated tribes, like the Efikas or the Igalwa, if they are going out to their plantation, they will enclose a live stick in a hollow piece of a certain sort of wood, which has a lining of its interior pith left in it, and they will carry this “fire box” with them.’ The schol. Hes. theog. 566 and Proklos in Hes. o. d. 52 observe that the ραβδῆς, having a soft pith, will keep a fire smouldering within it; and Plin. nat. hist. 13. 126 says that
Prometheus' Theft of Fire

stolen fire, different accounts were current in antiquity. Aischylos
possibly, and Accius certainly, represented the fire as stolen from
Mount Mosychlos, a wooded volcano in Lemnos now submerged
by the sea. Platon supposes that Prometheus stole it from ‘the
common abode of Athena and Hephaistos’, in fact from the
celestial Erechtheion, where presumably, as in its terrestrial counter-
part, a perpetual fire was kept burning. Platon, however, is
philosophising, and an obviously older explanation is given by
Servius:

'It is said that Prometheus, when he had made mankind, ascended by the
help of Minerva into the sky, and, applying a small torch to the wheel of the
sun, stole fire, which he showed to men.'

An anonymous mythographer of the ninth or tenth century,
plausibly identified by Angelo Mai with a certain Leontius men-
tioned in J. Brassicanus' commentary on Petronius, expands this
meagre statement:

'Prometheus was helped by Minerva; and about him the following tale is
composed. Prometheus made man out of clay, and moulded him without life
or feelings. Minerva, admiring Prometheus' handywork, promised him whatever
heavenly gift he would to help him with his work. He said that he did not
know at all what good things there were in heaven, but asked whether it was
possible for the goddess to raise him to the gods above, in order that he might
see with his own eyes and choose what suited his work. So Minerva placed him
on her shield and took him to the sky. When he saw there the heavenly bodies
animated and invigorated by their flaming heat, he secretly applied a reed to
the wheel of Phoebus and stole the fire, which he applied to the breast of man,
thereby making his body alive.'

Egyptian *ferulae* are best for the purpose. See further Frazer *Golden Bough*:
The Magic Art ii. 360, who notes that Bent is mistaken in calling the *vapthi* or 'giant fennel'
a reed.

2 *Plat. Prot.* 321 D—E. Hephaistos in Loukian. *Prom.* 5 says to Prometheus: τὸ πῦρ
335 Nauck, etc. ap. *Ait. de nat. an.* 6. 51 prefaced by τὸν Προμηθέα κλέψας τὸ πῦρ
*Ἡφαίστου κτ.λ.*
3 *Serv. in Verg. eccl.* 6. 43 Prometheus, [Iapeti et Clymenes filius:] post factos a se
homines dicitur auxilio Minervae caelum ascendisse: et adhibita facula ad rotam Solis
ignem faratas, quem hominibus indicavit. The same statement in almost the same words
occurs in Myth. Vat. 2. 64, and is quoted from Servius in Myth. Vat. 3. 10. 10.
4 See G. H. Bode *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini tres Romanae nuper reperti*
Cellis 1834 pp. x f., xx f.
5 Myth. Vat. 3. 10. 9 clanculum *ferulum* rotae Phoebi applicans, but later ϊκ. a sole
faculam accendit. This version of the myth, which occurs with some slight variations
also in Myth. Vat. 2. 63 Phoebiacis rotis applicans faculam, can be traced back to Fulgent.
6. 9 clam *ferulum* Phoebiacis applicans rotis, *i.e.* to a date *c.* 480—550 A.D. For the reed
ep. a Zephythian tale *infra* ch. ii. § 3 (c).
x. The Fire-drill in relation to Prometheus, the Kyklops, and Zeus.

A. Kuhn in his remarkable study on The Descent of Fire has made it probable, not to say certain, that this myth of Prometheus thrusting a torch into the solar wheel rests upon the actual custom of obtaining fire by the use of a fire-drill\(^1\). If so, Diodoros was not far wrong when he wrote:

\[1\] Prometeus son of Lapetos is said by some mythographers to have stolen fire from the gods and given it to men; but in truth he was the inventor of the fire-sticks, from which fire is kindled\(^2\).

The fire-drill, an instrument employed by primitive or backward tribes all the world over\(^3\), consists essentially of two sticks, the one vertical, the other horizontal. The former is commonly made of harder wood and regarded as male, the latter of softer wood and regarded as female, the production of fire between them being spoken of as a sexual act. The Rev. J. G. Wood states that the fire-drill may be seen any day in South Africa:

\[4\] The operator lays one stick on the ground, and holds it down with his feet, while he places the pointed end of the other stick upon it. This second stick is mostly of harder wood than the first. He then twirls the upright stick between his palms, pressing it slightly downwards, and in a short time he works a small conical hole. Presently, the sides of the hole begin to darken, and a quantity of fine dust falls into it. By the continuous friction so much heat is evolved that the sides of the hole become black, the dust becomes red hot, and, when blown upon, bursts into an evanescent flame. A little fine and very dry grass is then carefully laid upon it, and the blowing continued until the grass takes fire. It is then covered with small dry sticks, and those again with larger, until a good fire is made.

My illustration (fig. 254) shows a couple of fire-sticks of this sort obtained for me from a Mutoro of Central Africa by my brother-in-law the Rev. H. E. Maddox: three holes have already been drilled in the under stick and a fourth has been commenced. Sometimes the

\(^{1}\) A. Kuhn Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks\(^{2}\) Gütersloh 1886 pp. 18 ff., 35.

\(^{2}\) Diod. s. 67.


upper stick is made to rotate by means of a cord or strap. Thus the Rev. J. Stevenson describes the Brahman’s method of getting fire from wood:

"It consists in drilling one piece of araffi-wood into another by pulling a string tied to it with a jerk with the one hand, while the other is slackened, and so on alternately till the wood takes fire. The fire is received on cotton or flax held in the hand of an assistant Brahman."

This type of fire-drill has survived as a toy among the Swiss in the canton of Neuchatel, and as an implement of every-day use among the Eskimo and the inhabitants of the Aleutian Isles (fig. 255). Further modifications are occasionally introduced, such as the employment of a bow instead of a strap, or the weighting of the spindle with a heavy disk: the former may be seen in a Dacotah fire-drill (fig. 256), the latter in an ingenious self-winding apparatus used by the Iroquois Indians (fig. 257). This Iroquois drill bears some resemblance to an eye pierced with a stake. And primitive folk are quick to catch at quasi-human features. Thus Dr Frazer reports that the fire-boards of the Chuckchees in the north-east extremity of Asia


2 J. Romilly Allen ‘Need-Fire’ in The Illustrated Archaeologist 1894—1895 ii. 77 f. figs. 1, 2.

3 E. B. Tylor op. cit. p. 242 fig. 25 from an example in the Edinburgh Industrial Museum, N. Joly op. cit. p. 193 fig. 69.


The Fire-drill

are roughly carved in human form and personified, almost deified, as the supernatural guardians of the reindeer. The holes made by drilling in the board are deemed the eyes of the figure and the squeaking noise produced by the friction of the fire-drill in the hole is thought to be its voice. At every sacrifice the mouth of the figure is greased with tallow or with the marrow of bones!

Now, if uncivilised people can regard the fire-stick in its hole as turned about in the eye of a voracious and supernatural herdsman, who squeaks at the process, it becomes—I think—credible that the myth of Odysseus plunging his heated bar into the Kyklops' eye originated in a primitive story concerning the discovery of the same simple utensil. Is it a mere coincidence that the Homeric episode culminates in a simile drawn from a strap-drill?

On this showing the hero of the Kyklops-adventure must have been originally a divine or semi-divine figure comparable with that of Prometheus. Recently K. Bapp has sought to prove that Prometheus was an appellative or cult-title of the Titan whose true name was Ithas or Ithax. He relies on two glosses of Hesychios. One of these informs us that Ithas or Ithax was Prometheus the herald of the Titans. The other enables us to connect the name with a verb meaning 'to be heated' (iθανεσθαι). The root of this verb is iθε-, the weak grade of aιθε-, from which aιθο, 'I burn,'

1 Frazer *Golden Bough*: The Magic Art ii. 225.
2 *Supra* p. 322. Nonnos unconsciously hit the mark, when he described the Kyklops' blaze as, 'Seed of Sicilian fire and glowing hearth' (*supra* p. 318).
3 K. Bapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3034.
4 Hesych. *s.v.* Ιθάς - δ ι θ κ αν ως κ η ν ως Προμ η θ ε θ. τ ι ς Ιθάς.
5 Hesych. *s.v.* ιθανεσθαι, θερμανεσθαι, cp. *s.v.* ιθανεν, ευθροιν and ιθαρ, 'pure, clear.'
The Fire-drill

aitheros, 'the burning sky,' etc. are formed. It thus appears that Prometheus was essentially a 'Fire'-god—a conclusion that suits well his relations to Hephaistos and the Kabeiroi. But his name Ithax can hardly be dissociated from Ithake, the home of Odysseus Ithakésios or Ithakos. In short, I suspect that behind Odysseus the hero stands an older and more divine personage akin to Prometheus the fire-god. It is surely significant that Odysseus, when pressed by Penelope on his return to declare his lineage, gives himself out as the grandson of the Cretan Minos and says totdem verbis:

My famous name is Aithon.

Further, I would suggest that this is the reason why the art-type of Odysseus, e.g. on coppers of Ithake (fig. 258), is indistinguishable from the art-type of Hephaistos, e.g. on coppers of Methana (fig. 259), and virtually identical with that of the bearded Kabeiros, e.g. on coppers of Birytos (fig. 260).


2 Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 3040 f.


5 Od. 19. 183 ὣς ἄνω κλαμάν Αἴθων, cp. Lyk. Al. 432 with Teetz. ad loc., Eustath. in Od. p. 1861, 36 ff. F. F. Zielinski in Philologus 1891 l. 146 ff. argues that Odysseus assumed the name Αἴθων because his mother Antiklea, daughter of Autolycus and Mestra (Ov. met. 8. 738), was granddaughter of Mestra's father Aithon (Nik. ap. Ant. Lib. 17) son of Helios (Soud. s.v. Aithon): see Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1106. It has been conjectured that Achaios' satyric drama Aithon (Trag. Gr. frag. p. 747 ff.) Nauck had reference to Odysseus: but?

6 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus p. 105f. pl. 21, 8, 9, 11, 13 (my fig. 258), Head Hist. num. p. 428.


8 A votive vase from the Theban Kabeirion is inscribed Ὄλυμπης καθήμι (Ath. Mitth. 1890 xv. 399).


I figure a specimen in my collection. See also Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 680.

Other points of resemblance between the hero of the Kyklops-tale, Prometheus, and
The Fire-drill

The Sanskrit word for ‘fire-drill’ is pramantha, and persistent attempts have been made to bring the name Prometheus into connexion with it. Strictly speaking, however, we cannot regard Prometheus as the phonetic equivalent of pramantha; and it is only by invoking the uncertain aid of popular etymology that we are enabled to set the two side by side. On the other hand, it is highly probable that pramantha the ‘fire-drill’ does explain the Kabeiros are not lacking. Several versions of the Klykops-tale make the giant give the hero a ring that binds him to the spot etc. (Append. E Abruzzo, Dolopathos, Oghuzian, Roumania). Zeus, when he fastened Prometheus to Mt. Kaukasos, swore never to release him from his chains; but, on being warned by Prometheus not to marry Tethys, lest he should beget a son to dethrone him as he had himself dethroned Kronos, he did out of gratitude release Prometheus, and, to keep his oath, gave him a ring to wear fashioned out of his chains, in which was set a stone from Mt. Kaukasos (interp. Serv. in Verg. ecl. 6, 42, cp. Hyg. poet. astr. 2, 15, Plin. nat. hist. 37, 2, Isid. orig. 19, 32, 1). Aisch. fragr. 202, 235 Nauck ap. Athen. 674 D appears to have given Prometheus a garland instead of a ring. An Etruscan mirror shows him wearing a willow-?-wreath and presented by Herakles and Kastor with two rings (Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iii. 131 pl. 138, Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 3094 f. fig. 5 b). On the rings of the Kabeiroi see supra p. 108 f.

Again, Prometheus, like the Kabeiros (supra p. 108 ff.), was an axe-bearer (infra ch. ii § 5 h ii (i)); and K. Bapp in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 3041 acutely compares Aiotheus the name of his wife (Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 1283) with the Càbic names Axieron, Axiokersa, Axiokersos (supra p. 109). Odyssey's wife too is famous for her ordal of the ‘axes’ (Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions: Oxford 1908 ii. 194, infra ch. ii § 3 e i (x)).


Miss J. E. Harrison has kindly drawn my attention to W. Schatzt 'Das Hakenkreuz als Grundzeichen des westsemitischen Alphabets' in Memnon 1909 iii. 175 ff. This ingenious, but over-venturous, writer attempts to connect Prometheus as inventor of the fire-drill with Prometheus as inventor of the alphabet, the link being the swastika.

2 J. Schmidt Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vocalismus Weimar 1871 i. 118, A. A. Macdonell Vedic Mythology Strassburg 1897 p. 91.

3 E.g. by assuming that Prometheus' name was originally Προμηθέας or *Προμηθέας, 'He of the fire-drill,' and that it was distorted into Προμηθεύς to suit the supposed connexion with προμηθεύς, 'fore-thought.'

4 Pramantha, the ‘fire-drill,’ can hardly be separated from Pramanthu, the younger brother of Manthu and son of Vira-vrata, the son of Madhu and Sumanas (Sir M. Monier-Williams A Sanskrit-English Dictionary new ed. Oxford 1899 pp. 685, 1006), who is mentioned in the Bhagavata Purâna. My friend Prof. E. J. Rapson writes to me: 'The names Manthu and Pramanthu occur in a long genealogy of one Priyavrata, a kingly sage, but none of their achievements are recorded. It is quite possible that they may occur elsewhere in the Purâpas, but at present I have failed to find them mentioned anywhere else. They belong to a class not of deities, but of mighty men of old who as kings and priests became almost gods on earth.' It is certainly tempting to suppose that the brothers Pramanthu and Manthu correspond with the brothers Prometheus and Epimetheus; but evidence is lacking.
The Solar Wheel combined with Animals

Promanthéus, a title under which Zeus was worshipped at Thourioi. Lykophron mentions him in juxtaposition with Zeus Aithlóps Gyrápsiós of Chios—a combination that strengthens his claim to be considered a god ‘of the Fire-drill.’ Dr Frazer has cited examples from south-west Africa (the Herero) and north-east Asia (the Koryaks and Chuckchees) of the male fire-stick or fire-board being identified with an ancestor, addressed as ‘Father,’ and venerated as the supernatural guardian of the hearth and home. He has further suggested a like origin for the association of Jupiter with Vesta in Italian religion. It is not, therefore, difficult to believe that at Thourioi, a Greek colony in south Italy, analogous ideas expressed themselves in a cult of Zeus.

xi. The Solar Wheel combined with Animals.

From the vantage-ground gained in preceding sections we can explain a whole series of bronzes found by Messrs Saltzmann and Biliotti at Kameiros and now in the British Museum. The graves


K. Bopp in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 323 f., following Gerhard Gr. Myth. p. 97, would read Προμαθεύς for Προμαθεύς in Lyk. Al. 537 and recognise a Zeus Προμαθεύς at Thourioi. But the ‘early variant’ on which he relies is merely a bad reading in Tzetzes’ note ad loc. (προμαθεύς: ed. Müller i. 97 f., 674 ‘fors. rectius’), not even recorded by E. Scheer (ii. 191).

2 Supra p. 289 f.

3 Frazer, Golden Bough: The Magic Art ii. 222 ff.

4 Id. ib. ii. 227 ff. On the similar coupling of Zeus ~ Hestia see infra ch. iii § 8 (a) ix (a). Note also the Pythagorean identification of the οῦτα τῶν παρῶν with the Δῶς Ωκεανα (supra p. 303 n. 6).

5 The name Προμαθεύς recalls Ραδάμανθος (Αεολικ Ραδάμανθος for Ραδάμανθος), which might be explained as the ‘Rod-twirler,’ a compound of the digrammatized root of ραδίω, ράδις, ράδις (L. Meyer Handb. d. gr. Epym. i. 562, iv. 471 ff., Frellwitz Epym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. P. 393 f., Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. p. 531 f.) and of the root that appears in Sanskrit as math or manth, ‘to stir or whirl about’ (Sir M. Monier-Williams op. cit. p. 777). A. Kuhn in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1855 iv. 90, 133 f. long since anticipated this derivation, but took the Rod-twirler (‘Gertenschwinger’) to be Rhadamanthys as judge of the dead. Certainly in that capacity he had a ράθων (Plat. Gorg. 526 c) or σκύπρον (Inscr. Gr. Sic. II. no. 1389 i 47); and Miss J. E. Harrison reminds me of Pind. Ol. 9. 33 ὄνθ’ Ἀλδεν ἀχίων ἐξ ἀθονορ (see her Proleg. Gr. Rel. 9 P. 45). Yet the second element in Rhadamanthys’ name suits my interpretation better. If he was thus connected with the fire-drill, we can understand his genealogy as set forth by Kinaithon frag. 1 Kinkel ap. Paus. 8. 53. 5 «ω» Ραδάμανθος μὲν Ἡραίον, Ἡραίον δὲ ἐν Τήλῳ, Τήλῳ δὲ εἶναι Κρητῶν ταύτα. But further evidence deest.
The Solar Wheel combined with Animals

from which these little objects came contained geometric pottery of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. The bronzes themselves are in the form of a wheel with four, six, seven, eight, or nine spokes, from the centre of which rises a shaft supporting either a duck (fig. 263)\(^1\) or the heads of two animals \textit{adossés}. The animals thus combined are mostly goats (figs. 261, 262)\(^2\), but cows\(^3\), rams\(^4\), and asses (?)\(^5\) also occur. In one case (fig. 261)\(^6\) the wheel has become a square base, but remains four-spoked. In another the central shaft terminates in a mere loop, no animals being added to it\(^7\). In yet another we have a rude human figure winged and mounted on

\[\text{Fig. 261.} \quad \text{Fig. 262.} \quad \text{Fig. 263.}\]

a similar wheel\(^8\). Since the principal cult of the early Rhodians was that of Helios\(^9\), it can hardly be doubted that the wheel represents the sun. And it is reasonable to conjecture that the


\(^3\) \textit{Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes} p. 13 nos. 168f.


\(^5\) \textit{Ib.} p. 13 no. 167.

\(^6\) \textit{Ib.} p. 12 no. 161.

\(^7\) \textit{Ib.} p. 13 no. 175.

\(^8\) \textit{Ib.} p. 11 no. 136.

animals placed upon the solar wheel are in some sense devoted to Helios. If so, the absence of horses is noteworthy.

An early colony of the Rhodians was Rhode, the modern Rosas, in the north-east corner of Spain. It was founded, according to

1 J. Déchelette 'Le culte du soleil aux temps préhistoriques' in the Rev. Arch. 1909 i. 305 ff., ii. 94 ff. and Manuel d'archéologie Paris 1910 ii. 1. 413 ff. claims to have discovered dozens of swans or ducks associated with the solar wheel in the art of the bronze age throughout Europe.
2 Supra p. 180 n. 5.
Strabo¹, many years before the establishment of the Olympic festival (776 B.C.). In its neighbourhood therefore we might look to find a parallel for the Rhodian bronzes. In point of fact it was near Calaceite in the province of Teruel that a farm-labourer in 1903 discovered, along with a bronze cuirass and two iron swords, the remarkable bronze here shown (fig. 264)². It is a horse which stands on a wheel and bears on its back a column topped by a similar wheel, the whole being some 20 cm. in height. Column and wheels alike are decorated with guilloche-patterns. The former has a bell-shaped capital and base; the latter have smaller wheels serving as spokes. The body of the horse is connected with the wheel-base by means of a stay or support with spreading foot. This Iberian bronze may be referred to the 'Dipylon' or 'Villanova' period of the Early Iron Age, i.e. approximately to the same date as the Rhodian bronzes. Like them it represents an animal on the solar wheel, or rather in between a pair of solar wheels. We are well on the road towards the conception of the solar chariot.

xii. The Solar Chariot.

The transition from solar wheel to solar chariot was perhaps facilitated by a half-forgotten belief that the sun itself was a horse. That belief meets us in the mythologies of various Indo-European peoples³ and very possibly underlies the Greek practice of offering horses to Helios⁴. When the growth of anthropomorphism made men no longer content to regard the sun either as a wheel or as a horse, it needed no great effort of imagination to combine both ideas and henceforward to believe in the driver of a celestial chariot⁵.

1 Strab. 654.
2 J. Cabrè 'Objetos ibéricos de Calaceite' in the Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona 1908 p. 400 pl., Rev. Arch. 1909 i. 370 f. fig. 10, Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. p. 294 f. fig. 7 (from a photograph of the bronze as pieced together in the Louvre. Its discoverer, believing it to be of gold, had broken it into fragments; but fortunately J. Cabrè had seen it while yet entire).
4 Supra p. 180 n. 5.

The conception of Helios as a rider on horse-back is not Greek (pace Rapp loc. cit. p. 1999), but hails from Asia Minor (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 381 n. 13 and p. 1532
Evidence of the combination has been found here and there in Greek art. A silver band from a prehistoric grave at Chalandriane in Syros (Syra) shows a horse with a collar, a solar disk, and a bird-like human figure (?) side by side (fig. 265). Monsieur J. Déchelette claims that this is the pre-Mycenaean prototype of

the solar equipage. Again, bronze tripods of geometric style from Olympia have two large ring-shaped handles, on which is set a

n. 4 quotes Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 2 no. 754. 3 Ηλιόν ἐφ' ἵππῳ at Pergamon and the numerous representations of a solar rider whose type is discussed by R. Dussaud in the Rev. Arch. 1903 i. 369 ff.

1 Ch. Tsountas in the Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1899 p. 123 f. pl. 10, 1.
horse (fig. 266), more rarely a bird² or bull’s head³ or lion⁴. Since the Delphic tripod is sometimes treated as a winged vehicle bearing Apollon across the sea⁵, it is conceivable that tripod-handles were assimilated to the sun. But neither of the band from Syros nor of the handles from Olympia can we say that they must be solar; they may be merely decorative. More to the point is the earliest type of Helios as a charioteer on Attic black-figured vases⁶ (figs. 267, 268)⁷. The god emerges from the sea with a team of two or four horses. But the only wheel visible is the disk above his head; and his horses turned inwards or outwards, as the case may be, recall in effect the back-to-back arrangement of the Rhodian bronzes (figs. 261, 262)⁸.

1 A. Furtwängler in Olympia iv. 72 ff. c. g. no. 574 pl. 30, no. 607 pl. 33, no. 614 pl. 30, no. 640 pl. 30, and the restorations pl. 34. c, d, e, I figure pl. 33, a.
2 Id. ib. p. 73 no. 539 pl. 27, p. 79 no. 573 pl. 28 (two birds), p. 93 no. 638 pl. 29, and the restoration pl. 34. b.
3 Id. ib. p. 79 no. 572 pl. 29, cp. no. 576 fig.
4 Id. ib. p. 93 no. 641 pl. 30.
6 Supra p. 226 f.
7 Fig. 104 = Supra p. 226 n. 4; fig. 105 = ib. n. 5.
8 Doubtless the grouping of the horses is primarily due to the fact that the artist could not as yet correctly foreshorten his chariot: cp. the metopes from temple C at Selinous (Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l’Art viii. 483 ff. fig. 245; Brunn—Bruckmann Denkm. der gr. und
Later this type of Helios and his chariot came to be enclosed in the solar disk. A fine example is furnished by a silver-gilt plaque found in a tomb at Elis and acquired in 1906 by the British Museum (pl. xxiv, 1). Its embossed design shows Helios with radiate head driving his horses up from the sea. His cloak is fastened with a big circular stud. A curved exergual line represents the horizon, and two plunging dolphins the sea. Nothing of the chariot is visible. But the whole disk with its shining concave surface and its divergent lines suggests the on-coming sun in a marvellously successful manner. A crescent of bronze (pl. xxiv, 2) likewise embossed with acanthus-leaves, lotus-work, and two large lilies, equally well suggests the quiet moon. This latter plaque was found in another tomb at Elis along with a whole series of phalara or 'horse-trappings'; and such no doubt was the character of our solar disk also. Mr F. H. Marshall dates them all c. 300 B.C. These phalara, as L. Stephani pointed out, had an apotropaic value. Indeed, they have it still. My brother-in-law Mr C. H. C. Visick, who owns a good collection of modern horse-amulets ('horses' money'), informs me that most of them are demonstrably derivatives of the sun or moon.

On a red-figured krater from Apulia now at Vienna (fig. 269) the complete chariot appears surrounded by a rayed disk. The oval shape of this disk was determined by the turn of the horses to right and left, and can hardly have been meant to reproduce the optical illusion of the sun's orb flattened on the horizon. An interesting reminiscence of the solar wheel is the swastika on the

röm. Sculpt. pl. 287 a); many black-figured vases (Gerhard Ausserl. Vasenb. i pls. 1, 2, 62 and 106, 6, P. Gardner Cat. Vases Oxford p. 6, no. 190 pl. 1, E. A. Gardner Cat. Vases Cambridge p. 28 no. 53 pl. 15, Masner Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien p. 31 pl. 270 fig. 14, p. 35 no. 223, p. 29 f. no. 235, p. 30 f. no. 237 pl. 4, Nicole Cat. Vasen d' Athènes Suppl. p. 167 f. no. 889 pl. 8, in ib.); bronze plates from Athens (A. G. Bather in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1892—3 xiii. 257 f. pl. 8); Eleutherai (id. ib. p. 255 pl. 9, 2), Dodona (C. Carapanos Dodona et ses ruines Paris 1878 p. 36 pl. 19, 1, 2, 4), Olympia (A. Furtwängler in Olympia iv. 104 f. no. 706 pl. 39). But the Rhodian bronzes too were presumably meant to represent a pair of animals apiece.

4 T. Panofka 'Helios Atabyrios' in the Arch. Zeit. 1848 ii. 305 ff. pl. 20, 1, 2, F. G. Welcker Alt. Denkm. iii. 66 ('Helios steigt während eines Gewitters, das durch den Blitz angedeutet ist, empor'), Reinaich Klp. Vasen i. 368, 3, A. Bertrand La religion des Gaulois Paris 1897 p. 171 f. fig. 28.
Phalara from tombs at Elis:

1. Helios rising, on a silver-gilt disk.
2. Lily-work etc., on a bronze crescent.

See page 336.
The Solar Chariot

driver's breast. The addition of a thunderbolt to the left of the disk requires explanation. At first sight it is tempting to interpret the scene as that of Phaethon in his father's chariot struck by the bolt of Zeus. But, as T. Panofka long ago observed, this would ill suit the peaceful pose of the charioteer, who extends his hand in greeting, not in terror. Rather we should recollect that two of the sun's steeds, according to the oldest tradition, were named Bronté and Sterope, 'Thunder' and 'Lightning.' The sun-god has much in common with the thunder-god.

1 On the derivation of the swastika from the solar wheel see T. Wilson The Swastika Washington 1896 passim (bibliography pp. 984—996) and recently J. Déchelette in the Rev. Arch. 1909 i. 314 ff. and Manuel d'archéologie Paris 1910 ii. 1. 453 ff.

Miss J. E. Harrison kindly sends me the following criticism: 'I am open to conviction, but I cannot help thinking that the swastika precedes the solar wheel and simply represents the four points of the compass in motion. The four points seem to influence tribal arrangements among very primitive people at early stages—see Durkheim et Mauss Année Sociologique 1902 p. 1 and 34.'

2 Panofka loc. cit. p. 305 f. cp. a vase from Apulia of like design and style then in the Betti collection at Naples.

3 The sun's horses bear the following names:

Eumelos ap. Hyg. fab. 183 Eous
Schol. Eur. Phoen. 3. Xpēos
Schol. Eur. Phoen. 3 b. Ἀπαντωκ
Schol. Soph. El. 825 Phabw
Ov. met. 2. 153 f., cp. Hyg. fab. 183 Pyrois
Mart. ep. 8. 21. 7, cp. 3. 67. 5 Xanthus
Fulgent. myth. 1. 11 Erythraeus
Homerus (i) ap. Hyg. fab. 183 Abraxas

Aethops Bronte Sterope
Alēo 'Ἀστράκηθ' Βρωτή
Phabw

Eous Aethon Phlegon
Aethon
Actaeon Lampos Philogaeus
Soter Bel Iao
The Solar Wreath

Zeus too was sometimes conceived as driving a chariot. But his chariot, in the Greek area at least, is regularly connected with storm, not sunshine. It cannot, therefore, be maintained that Zeus the charioteer was directly identified with the sun.

The Solar Wreath.

The first of May is kept as a day of jest and jollity by the modern Greeks. Parties go to picnic in plains and meadows, returning with sprays of the fragrant protomaia. The young folk make wreaths of flowers and corn. These must be left hanging over the door of the house till May-day comes round again. They are then replaced by next year’s garlands, and the withered relics are burnt. I figure (pl. xxv) a wreath of the sort, which I obtained in 1901 at Eleusis, where it was hanging over the door of an inn. The inn-keeper told me that such wreaths are thrown on to the bonfire of Saint John the Baptist (June 24), and that the master of the house is expected to jump over the flames. We have already

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1 First in II. 8. 438 ff. Zeus δὲ πατὴρ Ἴδηθεν ἄναρχων ἄρμα καὶ ἵπποι | Οδηγός δὲ ἐδώκεν Ἐλευσίνας κ.τ.λ., cp. Tib. 4. 1. 130 f. This conception is utilised by Plat. Phaedr. 246 ε ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἤγανεν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς ἐλάλησεν πτωχὸν ἄρμα πρῶτον πορευεῖ διακοσμῶν τέχνην καὶ ἐπιμελημένοι κ.τ.λ.

2 The Persians, who called the whole circle of the sky ‘Zeus’ (infra p. 10 n. 1), had a chariot sacred to him. When Xerxes’ army was on the march, this chariot went immediately in front of Xerxes himself (cp. Longin. de sublim. 3. 3 τὰ τῶν Λεωντίνου Γοργών γελάται γράφοντο Ζέρατις ὢ τῶν Περσῶν Ζεύτη); it was drawn by eight white horses, and their driver followed them on foot, since no man might ascend the chariot-throne (Hdt. 7. 40. cp. 7. 55, 8. 115). When Kyros the elder went in procession from his palace, first came four fine bulls for sacrifice to Zeus etc.; then horses for sacrifice to the Sun; next a white chariot with a golden yoke, adorned with garlands, sacred to Zeus; after that the white chariot of the Sun similarly adorned; then a third chariot, the horses of which were spread with scarlet cloths; behind it a fire on a great hearth or portable altar; and lastly Kyros himself in his chariot (Xen. Cyr. 8. 3. 11 ff.). In the time of Alexander the Great it was the custom of the Persian kings to set out in procession at sunrise: first went the sacred eternal fire borne on silver altars; then the Magi chanting; after them 365 youths in scarlet cloaks; next a chariot sacred to Zeus, drawn by white horses and followed by a magnificent horse called the horse of the Sun—the leading horses being decked with gold rods and white cloths (Curt. 3. 3. 9 ff.). The sumptuous chariot of Dareios iii is well shown in the great mosaic from Pompeii (F. Winter Das Alexandermosaik aus Pompeji Strassburg 1909 col. pl. 1, J. Overbeck—A. Man Pompeji Leipzig 1884 p. 613 ff. with col. pl.). Note that the chariot of Zeus is throughout distinguished from the chariot of the Sun.

3 Infra ch. ii § 4 (c).

4 A copper coin of Alexandria struck by Trajan has for reverse type Zeus Ammon in a chariot drawn by two rams (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria pp. xl. 49 no. 495, Head Hist. num. p. 861). This may be solar (infra ch. i § 6 (f) i).


6 See further Miss M. Hamilton op. cit. p. 157 ff.
May-garland of flowers and corn from Eleusis.

See page 338.
seen that Saint John's bonfire was in all probability a sun-charm. If so, the wreath burnt upon it may well have represented the sun itself—another case of the solar apotropaion being fixed above the lintel.

Analogous customs are, of course, common throughout Europe. Here in Cambridge the children are out early on the first of May begging all and sundry to 'Remember the May Lady.' They carry garlands, which vary much in shape. The most complete form that I have come across consisted in two hoops set at right angles to each other and decorated with a branch of may: from the point of intersection dangled a doll (fig. 270, a). Other forms in use are a single hoop of flowers or coloured tags with crossed strings and a doll in the centre (fig. 270, b), a hoop without the cross and doll (fig. 270, c), a cross and doll without the hoop (fig. 270, d), a mere cross without hoop or doll (fig. 270, e). All alike are dubbed 'the May Lady.' The several shapes attest a progressive degradation (globe, wheel, hoop) and ultimate confusion with a different type (cross). Is it rash to conjecture that the May-garland once stood for the sun, the doll in the flowery hoop being an effigy of the earth-goddess blossoming beneath his rays?

The wreath of protomaiai hung over the doorway in modern Greece had its ancient counterpart in the eireisione. This is commonly described as a branch of olive (or bay) twined with wool and decked with fruits etc., which was paraded from house to house, hung over the lintel for a twelvemonth, and ultimately burnt. But it is noticeable that the same name was given to 'a wreath of flowers'—a May-garland rather than a May-pole. The festivals with which the eireisione was connected are the Panathenaia, the Pyanepsia and the Thargelia, i.e. festivals of the greater city deities. But E. Pfuhl and A. Dieterich have shown that the private rite attracted to and absorbed by these public festivals was performed—as the scholiast on Aristophanes affirms—for

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1 Supra p. 286 ff.
2 Supra pp. 205 ff., 292 ff.
3 The first of the shapes here shown (fig. 270, a) can hardly be separated from that of the intersecting hoops which topped the May-pole, and these appear to have represented the sun (supra p. 291).
4 Cp. infra ch. 1 § 6 (g) xviii (the garland of Helleis).
7 E. Pfuhl De Atheniensium pompos sacris Berolini 1900 pp. 86—88.
8 A. Dieterich Kleine Schriften Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 338 n. 2.
Helios and the Horaí. It is, therefore, open to us to maintain that of old, as to-day, the worthy Greek householder hung over his doorway a solar wreath destined to be burnt as a sun-charm on the midsummer fire.

(e) The Sun as the Bird of Zeus.

In Egypt the sky-god Horos was early confused with the sun-god Râ. 'One by one all the functions of Râ,' says Prof. Maspero, 'had been usurped by Horus, and all the designations of Horus had been appropriated by Râ.' Thus the sparrow-hawk,—or, as Monsieur G. Bénédicte has recently contended, the falcon—which was originally conceived as the embodiment of Horos, came to be regarded as the symbol of Râ, or in other words was transferred from the sky to the sun, and was further developed into the phoenix, whose solar connexions are notorious. Moreover, the Horos of Edfû (Heru-behutet) was known far and wide as the winged solar disk. Now Aischylos in his Suppliants, a play dealing with a Graeco-Libyan myth, makes Danaos, the twin-brother of Aigyptos, say to his daughters—

Call now likewise on yonder bird of Zeus.

1 Schol. Aristoph. op. 729, Plut. 1054, Soul. i.w. εἰρησίων, cp. Theophrast. op. Porph. de abst. 2. 7.
4 G. Bénédicte in the Mon. Piot. 1909 xvii. 5 ff.
5 G. Maspero op. cit. p. 86, E. A. Wallis Budge op. cit. i. 466.
7 So in the Veda the eagle is connected primarily with Indra the thunder-god (A. A. Maclachlan Vedic Mythology Strassburg 1897 p. 152), but secondarily with Sûrya the sun, which is not only compared with a flying eagle, but directly called an eagle (id. ib. p. 31).
8 G. Maspero op. cit. p. 136 n. 5, cp. Hdt. 2. 73 (of the phoenix) τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσόκομα τῶν τερόν ἀπὸ δὲ ἐφθα ἐκ ταῦτα τέ χεῖ χρυσόκομα νήματα καὶ τὰ μέγαβος, Plin. nat. hist. 10. 3 aequiae narratur magnitudine, auri fulgere circa colla, cetero purpureus, caeruleum roseis caudam pinnis distinguentibus, cristis fauces caputque plumeo apice honestari, Solin. 33. 11 (copies Pliny). Others (H. Brugsch Nouvelles recherches sur la division de l’année p. 49 f., A. Wiedemann ‘Die Phönixsage im alten Agypten’ in the Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 1878 xvi. 89–106, id. Hermes zweites Buch p. 314 ff., A. Erman op. cit. p. 73) derive the phoebis from the heron (benu) of Heliopolis. As represented in Egyptian (Lanzoni Diss. di Mitol. Egiz. p. 198 ff. pl. 70, t–w), classical and post-classical art (Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 3465 ff.), the phoenix is more like a heron than a sparrow-hawk, but does not closely resemble either. Türk in Roscher Lex. cit. p. 3450 is content to describe it as ‘ein Wundervogel.’
10 Supra p. 105 ff.
11 Infra ch. ii § 9 (d) ii (a).
The Danaïdes do so in the words—

Lo, thus we call on the saving rays of the sun. This invocation of the sun as the 'bird of Zeus' is probably a deliberate Egyptism on Aischylos' part, and must not in itself be taken to prove that the Greeks entertained the same idea. There are, however, certain beliefs and practices current in ancient Greece which become more intelligible on the assumption that the sun was once viewed as a bird.

The Orphists, jealous guardians of antiquated ideas, opened their Rhapsodic Theogony with a somewhat similar invocation:

Sun that soarest aloft on golden wings.

The solar wheel upon which Ixion was bound is not unfrequently figured with wings; and the solar chariot that took Triptolemos across the world is winged likewise. A bird was on occasion affixed to the ἕνωμεν-wheel. The Lycian symbol is sometimes furnished with bird-heads. The triskeles is superposed on a bird, or itself fitted with wings. And the Greeks were familiar with a variety of winged solar deities.

Apart from these examples of the winged sun, several myths merit attention. That of Kirke, as we have seen, presupposes the belief in a solar hawk. Ovid tells how Daidalion, grieving for the death of his daughter Chione, flung himself from the summit of Parnassos and, as he fell, was transformed by Apollon into a hawk. Hyginus adds that daedalio means 'a hawk.' More probably the name is a mere patronymic, the 'son of Daidalos'; for parallels occur in various versions of the Daidalos-myth. According to Athenian tradition, Talos son of Daidalos' sister was hurled from the Akropolis and in mid air changed by Athena into a partridge. But Talos is definitely identified by Hesychios with the sun. It would seem, then, that behind the stories of Daidalion

1 Aisch. suppl. 212 f. Δ. καὶ Ζηῆς ὁμοίως τῆς τῶν κυκλῆσκετο. | Χ. ταῦτα αὐτὸν ἄγαν ἦλθον εὐτυχίαν. The cj. ἔνων ἄγαν is improbable.
3 Supra p. 198 ff.
4 Supra pp. 213 n. 2, 217 ff.
5 Supra pp. 232, 257.
6 Supra p. 300 f.
7 Supra p. 304.
8 Supra p. 306 f.
9 Supra p. 296 ff.
10 Supra p. 240 ff.
12 Hyg. loc. cit.
13 Ov. met. 11. 271 ff., 294 ff. makes Daidalion son of the Morning Star (Lucifer).
14 Supra ch. i § 6 (b) iv.
15 Supra ch. i § 6 (b) i.
turned into a hawk and of Daidalos' nephew Talos turned into a partridge lay the old conception of the solar bird. Again, in another version, which has been traced back to the *Cretans* of Euripides\(^1\), Daidalos imprisoned in the Labyrinth made wings for himself and his son Ikaros: Daidalos got safely away, but Ikaros soaring too high had his wings melted off by the sun and fell into the sea. Many mythologists, arguing from the analogy of Phaethon etc., have concluded that Ikaros was the sun conceived as falling from the height of heaven\(^2\). If this conclusion, which squares well with the foregoing account of Talos, is valid, we have once more the sun represented by a bird-like figure. A folk-tale from Zakynthos, in which B. Schmidt recognised certain traits of the Ikaros-myth\(^3\), is here to the point:

> In the time of the Hellenes there once lived a king, who was the strongest man of his day; and the three hairs on his breast were so long that you could take them and twist them twice round your hand\(^4\). Another king once declared war against him, and on a certain month the fighting began. At first the other king was victorious; but afterwards the strong king with his army beat the enemy and pursued them to their town. He would there and then have destroyed them all, had they not given 400,000 dollars to his wife, who betrayed him and cut off his three hairs. This made him the weakest of all men. The enemy then took him prisoner, bound him, shut him up in a fortress, and gave him only an ounce of bread and an ounce of water a day. However, his hairs soon began to grow again. So Captain Thirteen—that was his name—and thirteen of his companions were flung by the enemy into a pit. As he was the last to be flung in, he fell on the top of his companions and escaped death. But his enemies then covered the pit with a mountain. On the second day

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\(^{4}\) B. Schmidt *op. cit.* p. 239 and *Das Volkstum der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 306 n. 2 cp. a tale from Syra in J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 279 ff. and another from Kypros in A. A. Sakellarios Τα Κυπριακά Athens 1855 no. 8, in both of which the hero’s strength is vested in three golden hairs on the top of his head. So in a tale from Epeiros (J. G. von Hahn *op. cit.* i. 215 ff.). See further Frazer *Golden Bough*\(^3\) iii. 358 f., 390 f., *ib.* Taboo p. 293 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 883, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 326 f.
after he was thrown into the pit he found a dead bird somewhere. He stuck its wings on to his hands and flew up. He knocked his head on the mountain and sent it spinning up to the sun. He then flew further afield and soared high into the air. But a rain-storm came on and softened the clay, with which he had stuck the feathers on. So Captain Thirteen fell into the sea. Out came the sea-god¹ and with his three-pronged fork gave him such a blow that the sea turned red with his blood, and changed him into a big fish, a dolphin. He told him too that he could never change back again till he found a girl willing to marry him. Now the sea in which the dolphin lived was of such a sort that no ship entering it could get out again. It so happened that a king and his daughter came that way. They got in easily enough but couldn't get out again; and so fearful a storm overtook them that their ship broke up. Nobody was saved but the princess and the king; for the dolphin took them both on his back to a small island, and then set them ashore on the coast they had come from. The princess resolved to wed the dolphin, and, to get him up to her castle, had a big canal dug from the sea to it. When all was ready for the wedding, the dolphin shook off his skin and changed into a young man of gigantic strength and great beauty. He married the princess, and they lived happily ever after—but we here more happily still.¹

This tale combines the characteristics of Ikaros with those of Pterelaos, the Taphian hero whose life depended on a golden hair. Amphitrion and his allies could not capture Taphos till Komaitho the daughter of Pterelaos, in love with the hostile chief, plucked or cut the fateful hair from her father's head². O. Gruppe³ infers from the name Pterélaos that a bird played an important part in the Taphian legend⁴, and justly compares the Megarian myth of Nisos and Skylla, which not only contained the same episode of the purple or golden life-lock but also involved the metamorphosis of the father into a sea-eagle and of the faithless daughter into a heron⁵.

Ikaros' tomb was shown on a headland of Ikaria, the island west of Samos⁶. Daidalion and Talos were both precipitated from a rocky eminence. And the story of Skylla was associated with the point Skyllaion near Hermione⁷. This recurrence of a headland suggests comparison with the ritual of the Leucadian promontory. The 'White Rock,' as Homer calls it⁸, is a cliff that

¹ ὅ διαμοζαὶ τῆς θάλασσας.
² Apollod. 2. 4. 7. Tzetze in Lyk. AL. 932, Dion Chrys. or. 64 p. 341 Reiske, Ov. ibid. 361 f.
⁴ O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 3166 conjectures that Pterelaos was changed into a κρέα, Komaitho into an αἰώνα (so M. Mayer in Hermes 1892 xxvii. 489), its natural enemy (Aill. de nat. an. 4. 5). But this is hardly to be got out of Σουίδ. i.e. κρέα: τὴν πρίχανα πουρεφέρ̄ ἡμείς κρέα, which may refer to Nisos and Skylla.
⁵ Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 425 ff.
⁶ Paus. 9. 11. 5.
⁷ Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 426.
⁸ Od. 24. 11 Δεινόκαδα πέτρην.
rises on one side perpendicularly from the sea to a height of at least 200 ft and has on its summit remains of the temple of Apollon Leukidas. Once a year at the festival of Apollon the Leucadians, to avert evil, flung a criminal from the top of their cliff. Wings of all sorts and birds were attached to him in order to lighten his 'leap'; and many persons in small boats waited down below to pick him up and, if possible, get him in safety beyond the boundary. Dr Frazer regards 'these humane precautions' as probably a mitigation of an earlier custom of flinging the scapegoat into the sea to drown. But this hardly explains the peculiar feather-garb, which surely implies that the victim was a quasi-bird like Ikaros. It is significant that the eponym Leukadios was the son of Ikaros. Further, the Leucadian 'leap' was persistently connected with Sappho's love for Phaon, the favourite of Aphrodite, who was said to have founded a temple for his goddess on the Leucadian rock. But Phidon, as K. O. Müller pointed out, is simply a doublet of Phaethon, 'the Shining One.' There is, therefore, much to be said for the view recently advanced by A. Fick that the Leucadian 'leap' was the ritual of a solar festival, that

1 Strab. 452. Cp. Phot. lex. s.v. Leukatès; skópelos têr 'Hê térου, ἀφ’ oβ μιττουνων αἰθανει eιν τού πέλαγος αι λευκαί (so MS., Schleusner cf. ἱππατά) K.T.L.
3 Alcaeois frag. 5 Kinkel and Ephoros frag. 37 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 248 Müller) ap. Strab. 452, cp. ib. 461, Eustath. in Od. p. 1064, 52. This Ikaros is called Ikaros by Eustath. in Il. p. 293, 12 f., schol. B. L. II. 2. 581, schol. Eur. Or. 457.

Others declared that the 'leap' had first been taken by Kephalos son of Deioneus out of love for Pireelas (Strab. 452, cp. ib. 461), or by Leukates to escape the love of Apollon (Serv. in Verg. Aen. 3. 279).

Ptol. Hephais. ap. Phot. bibli. p. 153 a 7 ff. Bekker gives a long list of lovers who had leapt from the rock, commencing with Aphrodite herself. She thereby got rid of her love for Adonis: ἠργοῦσι δὲ τῷ αἰθανεῖς εἰπόν ἔμερει τὸν Ἀτταλίων, ὡς μάνται ὧν ἐγκάθωσεν δύον ὁ Ζεὺς ἵπτει ἔρως ἔφηκον ἵπτει τῷ πέτρῳ βαθύτατο καὶ ἀναβάντα τῷ ἄρατοι!

Serv. loc. cit.
8 On a copper of Nikopolis in Epeiros (?), struck by Trajan, Apollon Leuditès (Ἰωλομπία, Λευκαθής) is shown, a nude figure on a pedestal with volutes: he
The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

Ikaros, Nisos, Pterelaos are so many mythical expressions of one belief, and that all alike imply the primitive conception of the sun as a bird.

(f) The Sun and the Ram.

i. The Ram and the Sun in Egypt. Zeus Ámmon.

(a) Khnemu and Ámen.

Another animal that came to be associated with the sun in Egypt was the ram. Khnemu, the great god of Elephantine, was represented originally as a ram, but in historical times generally as a ram-headed human figure. From the beginning of the New Kingdom (c. xvi B.C.) onwards he was fused with the sun-god Râ and worshipped throughout southern Egypt as Khnemu-Râ, a ram-headed deity often depicted as wearing the solar disk. Râ himself was on occasion addressed as a ram, to judge from one of The Seventy-five Praises of Râ found at Thebes on the walls of royal tombs of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties:

'Praise be to thee, o Râ, exalted power. Thou raisest thy head, and thou makest bold thy brow, thou ram, mightiest of created things.'

At Herakleopolis (Hemen-su) Khnemu was equated with the local solar god Her-shef, who not only receives many of the titles of Râ but is also represented with a ram's head. At Mendes too Khnemu has a quiver and holds a bow in his lowered left hand, a torch in his extended right (J. Friedländer in the Arch. Zeit. 1869 xxvii. 103 pl. 23, 21, Imhoof-Blumer Monn. gr. p. 141, Head Hist. num. p. 321). The torch suggests that the cult was solar.


2 This is inferred from the hieroglyphic form of his name (Sethe loc. cit. p. 2350).


A coin of the Hypselite nome, struck under Hadrian, shows Isis holding in her hand a ram with a disk on its head (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 363), i.e. Khnemu-Râ in the form of a ram (ep. Sethe ib.).

4 E. A. Wallis Budge op. cit. i. 342.

5 Id. ib. ii. 58 ff., Drexler loc. cit. i. 1848 ff. and ii. 1252, R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1271 f. Cp. Ariston Alex. frag. 3 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 324 f. Müller) ap. Plout. de Is. et Or. 37 'Αριστων τούτων ο γεγραφώς Ἀθηναίων ἀποκλεῖστη εὐκαλύπτη γιν Αλεξάρχου περιέσπεσα, εν τ' ἔως ἑτορεῖται καὶ Ἰσαίς υὸν ὁ Διόνυσος ὡς Ἀθηναίων, ὅσα Ὀσίρης, ἀλλὰ Ἀπσαφή (ἐν τ' ἄλφα γράμματι) λεγόμενη, διελθότοι τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἑράφαις δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Ἰσαίς, ἐν τ' ἐπαγ. ἔπει τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Οὐμερμον γὰρ φηξι μεθερμενεύομεν ἐκ τῶν Ὀσίρων (Hermes in Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 427 Müller).

A magnificent gold statuette of Her-shef with a ram's head was found by Prof. Flinders Petrie at Herakleopolis: it dates from the twenty-fifth dynasty, s. viii B.C. (Man 1904
was identified with another local form of Ra, namely Ba-neb-Tet, 'the Ram, lord of Tetu'.

Amen, the provincial god of Thebes, who rose with the rise of Theban power till as Amen-Ra he became 'King of the Gods' of all Egypt, was another ram-divinity. He was figured sometimes as a ram, more often as a ram-headed or ram-horned god wearing the solar disk. But, whereas the ram of Khnumu belonged to a very ancient Libyan species with goat-like horns projecting horizontally from its head, the ram of Amen, like the rams of 'Minoan' art, had horns curving sharply downwards—a fact of which we are reminded by the 'ammonites' of our geologists. In the time of the eighteenth dynasty (s. xvi B.C.) Khnumu acquired the horns of Amen in addition to his own, while en revanche Amen acquired those of Khnumu and was even represented as a ram of the Khnumu-species.

**Amen and Zeus Thebaicus.**

Herodotus, who speaks of Amen-Ra more than once as the Theban Zeus, reports a remarkable myth concerning him:

'All who have a temple of Zeus Thebaicus or belong to the Theban nome abstain from sheep and sacrifice goats. But those who possess a temple of Mendes or belong to the Mendesian nome abstain from goats and sacrifice sheep. The Thebans, then, and those who on their account abstain from sheep explain that this custom of theirs arose in the following way. Herakles was very eager to set eyes on Zeus, and Zeus did not wish to be seen by him. At


3 R. Pietschmann ib. i. 1874 s.v. 'Amonrasonther.'

4 O. Keller Die antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1909 p. 309 ff., who holds that the tradition of Herakles importing sheep from north Africa into Greece (Palaiph. 18 (19), Varr. rer. rust. 2. 1. 6) corresponds with a cultural fact.

5 K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 2350. Cp. Euseb. prap. ev. 3. 12. 1 κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνιστικὴν τῶν τεῖχων ἀγαλμα, πεπλασμὸν μὲν, ἀλλὰ ἀνθρωπόν καὶ καθύπνον, κινοῦν τῆς χροᾶς, κεφαλῆς δὲ κραυκήπεδον, καὶ βασιλέως, κέρατα τρίγυλα ἔχουν, καὶ ἐστὶν κέλευ διακοειδῆ. κάθηται δὲ παρακεκλιμένων κεραυνοῦ ἄγγελου, ἐφ' ὧν ἀνθρωπόν ἀναπλάσων (see Lamzone op. cit. pl. 336, 3). δῆλος δὲ ἀπο μὲν τῆς κραυκῆς τῶν ἐκ τῶν σύνων ἄγγελος καὶ σελήφη· τό δὲ ἐκ κινωνία ἀρχόμενο, ἀνθρώπου ἀνακαλοῦντος ἁθρόμενον ἑτερομηθήνην..

6 R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1855, A. Wiedemann op. cit. p. 118 ff.

7 Hdt. 2. 182, 2. 47, 2. 54, 4. 181, cp. Eudok. viol. 75 τοῦ Θεοσάβου Διον.

8 On the goat-cult of Mendes see Find, frag. 201 Christ with n., Hdt. 2. 46, Plout. Gryll. 5, Squid. i. 2. Μενων.
last, when Herakles was importunate, Zeus thought of this device. He flayed a ram, cut off its head, donned the skin, held the head in front of him, and so showed himself to Herakles. From this circumstance the Egyptians make the statue of Zeus ram-faced; and the Ammonians have got it from the Egyptians, since they are settlers of the Egyptians and Ethiopians and speak a patois of both languages. In my opinion, the Ammonians took their name too from the same event, Amôn being the Egyptian term for Zeus. The Thebans for the reason I have stated do not sacrifice rams but treat them as sacred. However, once a year, on the festival of Zeus, they, like their god, cut up and flay a ram: they thus clothe the statue of Zeus and then bring it before it another statue, that of Herakles. When they have so done, all who are round about the temple beat themselves in mourning for the ram and then bury it in a sacred sarcophagus.

The rite implied by this myth has not hitherto been found represented on the monuments. But it is by no means improbable that Âmen-Râ (Zeus Thebæiús) was annually confronted with Shu (Herakles), who is often called ‘the son of Râ’ and as god of the atmosphere ‘draws the air before Râ’, ‘brings the sweet breath of life to the nose of Osiris’, etc. The great hymn to Âmen-Râ in the Oasis of El-Charge even identifies that god with ‘the soul of Shu’.

(γ) Âmen and Zeus Âmmon.

Herodotos, therefore, did not hesitate to identify the Greek Zeus with Âmen-Râ, the Theban ram-god and sun-god. Doubtless, when Lucian in the second century of our era makes Mônos, the

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1 Hdt. ii. 42, cp. 4. 181. Zeus Ógâaeús had a human consort, who slept in his temple (Hdt. i. 182): she was a woman chosen for good looks and good birth; and she gave her favours to whom she would till she was past the age for child-bearing, when lamentation was made for her and she was bestowed upon a husband (Strab. 816). The journey of Zeus to Athioipia (Il. i. 423 f.) and his union with Hera (supra p. 154 ff.) were localised at Thebes. Every year the shrine of Zeus was taken across the river into Libye, returning after certain days, as though the god had come from Athioipia; and on the occasion of great public festivals two shrines, presumably for Zeus and Hera, were carried up a mountain, which was strown by the priests with all kinds of flowers (Diod. 1. 97, schol. Il. 1. 425). Thebes had a temple dedicated to the parents of Zeuss and Hera; and two golden shrines of Zeus, the larger of which belonged to Zeus the sky-god, the smaller to Ammon the former king and father of the people (Diod. 1. 15). On account of this popular cult Thebes came to be called ∆ιόσκορες or ∆ιόσκορης μηγαλή (Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1144 ff.).

On the connexion between Âmmon and Herakles see Arrian. 3. 3. 1, Eustath. in Dionys. per. 11, interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 4. 196, Vopisc. Aug. 22 ff. (the name Heraclammon), and Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1506 n. 1.

2 H. Brugsch cited by H. Stein on Hdt. 2. 42.


4 E. Naville Book of the Dead ch. 55 and 38 ff. 1. For these and the following references I am indebted to Koeder in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 571.


6 H. Brugsch Reise nach der grossen Oase El Khargeh in der Libyschen Wüste Leipzig 1878, pl. 15, 5.
god of 'Mockery,' ask Zeus how he can permit ram's horns to be affixed to him and makes Zeus apologise for the disgrace, Greek refinement had come to despise these barbaric identifications. But in earlier days and with simpler folk it was not so. The Greeks in general delighted to trace an analogy, sometimes quite unessential, not to say far-fetched, between their own deities and those of the foreigners among whom they were sojourning. It was a cheer to meet a familiar face in a strange country, even if the garb was outlandish and some of the accessories novel. If the Egyptian Âmen

was 'King of the Gods,' pious Greeks would regard him as their own Zeus and would readily discover further points of resemblance. In fact, they would be glad to worship him under his new-found

Fig. 271.

\[1\] Loukian, deor. concil. 10 f.

\[2\] A. Wiedemann op. cit. p. 118 remarks that Âmen-Râ 'was sometimes coloured blue, probably because that was the colour of the heavens in which he ruled as Sun god' (ib. n. 3 'Amen is coloured green in the tomb of Seti I'). If so, we may cp. the blue nimbus, globe, and mantle of Zeus (supra p. 33 ff.). But Khnemu was coloured blue as a water-god or Nile-god (supra p. 347 n. 5, K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 2351). The two alleged reasons are not necessarily incompatible: Homer speaks of the Nile as δαυτής τομημον (Od. 4. 477 with schol.).
aspect as Zeus Άmmon. They did not indeed represent him as a ram or even give him a ram's head; for the whole trend of Greek religious art was away from theriomorphism. But they hinted at the animal-conception by adding to the divine head ram's ears and downward-curving horns. The Naples bust (fig. 271)\(^3\), which goes back to a fifth-century original of quasi-Pheidian type\(^3\) perhaps existent once at Kyrene\(^4\), shows how far they succeeded in combining the infra-human with the supra-human, the ram with Zeus.

So Zeus through contact with Αmen became Zeus Άmmon. Where the change first took place, we cannot with certainty determine. It may have been at Thebes, the original nidus of the Αmen-cult; for Herodotos definitely states that the Ammonians got their worship from that of Zeus Thebaieis\(^5\). On the other hand, the fact that he calls the Theban god Zeus Thebaieis rather than Zeus Άmmon makes it more probable that we should look away from Thebes to the Αmmóneion—the remote Oasis of Siwah, where the Theban Pharaohs planted their favourite religion\(^6\) in a spot destined to become famous throughout the ancient world. Hence the cult radiated, perhaps southwards to Meroe, where the oracular Άmmon is known to have been worshipped\(^7\), certainly northwards to Kyrene, where Zeus was honoured under a variety of titles\(^8\) and Άmmon came to be reckoned as a patron-god\(^9\).

There is, further, some little uncertainty as to the date at which

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1. On the various forms of this name see R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1853 ff.
7. Zeus *Ευφημιός* (infra p. 92), *Δίκας* (infra p. 89 ff.), *Σωρή* (R. Murdoch Smith—E. A. Porcher *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene* London 1864 p. 113 inscr. no. 11). Euphemios too, a figure intimately connected with Kyrene, recalls the Zeus *Εφημιος* of Lesbos (Hesych. *Εφημιος*; διὰ Ζεύς καὶ Διός, *ep. Εφημιος*; διὰ Ζεύς) and the Zeus *Φαινας* of Erythrai (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr.* Gr. 1660, 26 f. Ζώνος [Φαιναος και Αθηνας Φαινας]).
this Egyptising Zeus arose. At Kyrene his head first appears on silver coins about the year 500 B.C. The cult seems to have spread as early as the sixth century to Lakonike. A herm of bluish marble found beneath the mediaeval fortress Passava, the ancient Las, near Gythion shows a pillar surmounted by a simple ram's head (fig. 272). Whether this is, as Miss Harrison has suggested to me, an indigenous ram-god, or whether it should rather be classed as a theriomorphic Ammon, we have at present no means of deciding. At Gythion itself Pausanias found a sanctuary of Ammon along with Apollon Kärneios, a bronze statue of Asklepios, a spring of the same god, a holy sanctuary of Demeter, and a statue of Poseidon Gaiaëchos. Ammon was here in excellent company, Apollon Kärneios, Demeter, and Poseidon Gaiaëchos being old and honoured deities of the land; besides, he was appropriately placed next to Apollon Kärneios, whose cult-title marks him as an ancient ram-god, and to Asklepios, who stood beside him at

3 B. Schröder in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1904 xxix. 21—24 fig. 1. Height '57 m. The pillar ends below in a tenon. The shaft is square in section, slightly tapering, and somewhat rounded in front. About 18'5 cm. below the chin is a shallow hole perhaps meant for an inset phallos, unless this was the navel and the phallos was added lower down.
4 See S. Eteme Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte i. Der vor-dorische Widdergott Christiania 1910.
5 Wide op. cit. p. 263.
6 Wide op. cit. p. 263.
7 S. Wide in Koscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 961 ff. and O. Höfer ib. 964 ff. Hesych i. 21v, käri,... prōbathos, kära,...'Iwes tē prōbath, Kærneios' építhetos 'Apóllanov' lēwos ap' tē Kärnov tōv Δios kai Elōphē, kärois',...bóskma, prōbathos, karpotatēsōn' dōn tē käroin lógetai. The whole group of words is ultimately connected with kära, 'horn,' the kärois being the 'horned' sheep (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* ii. 361, Prollwitz *Etym. Wörterb. Gr.* Spr. p. 216 f., Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* pp. 414, 437 ff., 498 f.) : κρύς, 'ram,' is referable to the same root (L. Meyer op. cit. ii. 498 f., Prollwitz op. cit. p. 245, Boisacq op. cit. p. 519). At Sparta Kärneios was named Oktēs (op. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1446) was worshipped before the return of the Herakleidai, having a shrine in the house of Krios, son of Theokles, a sooth-sayer (Paus. 3. 13. 3). Apollon Kärneios was worshipped by all the Dorians from the time of Karmos an Akarnanian, who was inspired with the gift of sooth-saying by Apollon (id. 3. 13. 4. schol. vet. Theokr. 5. 83). A countryman, who claims to be beloved by Apollon, is feeding a fine ram for him against
Kyrene also. At Sparta there was another sanctuary of Ammon, concerning which Pausanias remarks:

"From the earliest times the oracle in Libye is known to have been consulted by the Lacedaemonians more frequently than by the rest of the Helleses. It is said that when Lysandros was besieging Aphytis in Pallene, Ammon appeared to him by night and foretold that it would be better for him and for Lakedaimon to desist from the war with the Aphytaeans. So Lysandros raised the siege and induced the Lacedaemonians to revere the god more than ever; and the Aphytaeans are not a whit behind the Ammonian Libyans in their respect for Ammon."

Certainly Aphytis possessed an oracle of Ammon, whose head appears as the principal type on its coinage from 424 B.C. onwards. Lysandros himself had a brother named Libys after a Libyan king, who was a friend of the family. And, when Lysandros found it expedient to be absent awhile from Sparta, he obtained permission to go on a pilgrimage to Libye. He even attempted to bribe the oracle of Ammon in the Oasis, hoping to obtain its support for certain revolutionary measures that he was contemplating; but the god sent emissaries to accuse him before the Spartans. On his acquittal the Libyans withdrew, protesting that, when, in accordance with an ancient oracle, Lacedaemonians came to settle in Libye, Libyan justice would be found superior to that of Sparta.

The Spartans, apparently, were in the habit of consulting various oracles, that of Ammon among them, on matters of importance; and it was said that the oracle of Ammon preferred the laconic brevity of the Spartans to the elaborate ritual of the other Greeks.

Another town that had established relations with the Oasis as early as the first half of the fifth century was Thebes. Pausanias speaks of a temple of Ammon as built there, and adds:

"The image was dedicated by Pindar: it is a work of Kalamis. Pindar also sent a hymn in honour of Ammon to the Ammonians in Libye. This hymn was still to be seen in my time on a triangular slab beside the altar which Ptolemaios, son of Lagos, dedicated to Ammon."

the festival of the Karneia (Theokr. 5, 83). Altogether, the ram-connexion is well-established.

See further S. Eitrem Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte i. Der vor-chorische Widdergott Christiania 1916 pp. 1–24.


2 Paus. 3. 18. 3, cp. Plout. v. Lys. 20.

3 Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Δφότις 'Δφότις.


5 Dioii. 15. 13.

6 Plout. v. Lys. 20.


8 Cic. de div. 1. 95.

9 Plat. Alcb. ill. 1496.

10 Paus. 9. 16. 1.
Ba'āl-ḥammān and Zeus Ἀμμών

A brief fragment of it containing the invocation—

Ἀμμών, lord of Olympos,—

is quoted by a Greek commentator on the Pythian odes. Perhaps, as O. Gruppe supposes, a belief that Thebes in Boiotia was connected with Thebes in Egypt may have led the inhabitants of the one to honour with a temple the chief divinity of the other.

Having thus secured a firm footing on Greek soil, the cult of Zeus Ἀμμών continued for some centuries to flourish, though it never spread much further afield. Its most brilliant episode was undoubtedly the visit of Alexander the Great to the Oasis, when the victor was recognised by the god as his very son. This was indeed a memorable moment. No other mortal could claim the allegiance of Europe, Asia, and Africa. No other god united in himself the ideals of the same three continents. The former did well to seek the sanction of the latter when inaugurating for the first time in history a world-wide empire. But the climax marked by Alexander’s visit was followed by a decline protracted throughout the Graeco-Roman age. Strabo in the time of Augustus already speaks of the oracle as fallen into much contempt and in fact as well nigh forgotten.

(6) Ba’āl-ḥammān and Zeus Ἀμμών.

In the last paragraph I described Zeus Ἀμμών as at once European, Asiatic, and African. The description stands in need of further proof; for hitherto we have considered the god only as a blend of the Greek Zeus with the Egyptian Ἄμεν. It is, however, certain that his cult was not altogether free from Semitic influence.

This appears in primis from the fact that, whereas Greek writers invariably call him Zeus Ἀμμών, Latin authorities commonly speak of Iupiter Hammon. The aspirate has come to him through confusion with Ba’āl-ḥammān, a Phoenician deity greatly

1 Pind. frag. 36 Schröder *Ἀμμών Ὀλυμποῦ δέσποτα αὐτ. schol. Pind. Pyth. 9. 89. On another possible fragment of the hymn see infra p. 366 f.
3 See the list of cult-centres in G. Parthey ‘Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon’ in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1862* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 154—156, and coins in Head *Hist. num.* p. 963 Index.
4 Latin inscriptions rarely mention the god: Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel. nos.* 4424 (from a quarry near Syene) I. o. m. Hammoni Chnubidi, | Lunoni Reginae, quor. sub | tutela hinc mons est, etc. 4425 (Carnuntum) I. o. m. | Ammoni etc., 4426 (Rome) Iovi | Hammoni | et Silvano | etc., 4427 (Carthage) Iovi Hammoni | barbaro Silvano | etc.
6 Strab. 813.

C. 23
venerated along the north coast of Africa. The meaning of Ba'alahmān is disputed; some Semitic scholars translate ‘Fiery Lord’ or ‘Lord of Heat’; but the more probable rendering is ‘Lord of the Stone Pillars’. In any case the name not unnaturally modified that of ‘Amun or Zeus ‘Ammon’. Nor was the borrowing all on one side. If Ba’alahmān lent his initial H to Zeus ‘Ammon, Zeus ‘Ammon lent his horns to Ba’alahmān. In 1879 Prof. Berger published a short series of monuments which represent Ba’alahmān with undeniable ram’s-horns. A Cypriote terra cotta formerly in the Albert Barre collection portrays him enthroned, his hands resting on a couple of rams (pl. xxvi, 1). A leaden plate found in the Baths of Iuba II at Caesarea Iol (‘Cherchei’) in Mauretania shows his head four times repeated (pl. xxvi, 2). At Carthage, where the ram is his constant attribute, he was associated with Tanit, a north-African form of the great Phoenician mother-goddess Astarte. As chief god and goddess of the district they are the central ornament of a silver band, probably once a priestly diadem, found in a tomb near Batna in Algeria (pl. xxvi, 3). The bust of Tanit with a mural crown and that of Ba’alahmān with ram’s-horns are placed on either side of a star (sun?) and flanked by the serpents of Esmun twisted round a pair of pillars to right and left; beyond these are the figures of a goat and a ram ridden by two Erotes, and a further succession of religious symbols with which we are not here concerned. Again, Count Baudissin cites an inscription from Mauretania Caesariensis, in which Tanit, there called Panthea, is invoked as ‘partner in the rites of the horned

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1 E. Meyer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 291, R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1886.
2 So E. Meyer loc. cit. (but see infra n. 4), F. Baethgen Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte Berlin 1888 p. 22 f., Wolf—Baudissin in J. J. Hersog Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche Leipzig 1897 ii. 351.
3 So H. R. Hall The Oldest Civilization of Greece London 1901 p. 230 n. 3.
6 Id. ib. 1879 v. 138 ff. fig.
7 Id. ib. 1879 v. 137 fig. fig.
8 Id. ib. 1879 v. 222 ff.
9 E. Meyer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 291 and 1871.
10 On Tanit and Astarte see W. W. Baudissin Adonis und Esmun Leipzig 1911 pp. 18, 267 ff.
12 Id. ib. p. 273.
Baʿal-ḥammān and Zeus Ammon 355

Thunderer...Iuppiter Hammon. Baʿal-ḥammān was in fact completely assimilated to Zeus Ammon.

Semitic influence penetrated to the Ammonieon itself. Of its ritual in the fourth century B.C. a twofold account has come down to us:

Diodoros 17. 50.

‘The image of the god is surrounded with emeralds and certain other objects, and has a method of divination quite peculiar to itself. It is taken round on a golden boat by eighty priests. They carry the god on their shoulders, proceeding mechanically in whatever direction the will of the god leads their steps. Together with them follows a crowd of girls and women, singing paean songs all along the road and chanting traditional hymns to the god."

Curtius 4. 7. 23f.

‘That which is worshipped as a god has not the same shape as artists have commonly given to deities. It looks most like an omphalos set with emerald and gems. When a response is desired, the priests bear this deity on a golden boat, many silver saucers hanging on either side of the boat. Women and girls follow them, raising an artless chant in accordance with traditional custom, whereby they think that Zeus will be propitiated and deliver a true oracle."

Both of these statements were doubtless drawn from the lost work of Kallisthenes, Aristotle’s kinsman, who himself took part in Alexander’s expedition. H. Meltzer by a detailed study of discrepancies has made it probable that the Roman writer is more accurate than the Greek: thus, whereas Diodoros uses the vague term ‘image’ (xilainon), Curtius describes the cult-object as most nearly resembling an omphalos. Meltzer would see in it the baṭṭilos or battilion of Baʿal-ḥammān, a sacred stone, half-fetich,


3 Curt. 4. 7. 23f. id quod pro deo colitur non eandem effigiem habet quam vulgo diis artifices accomodaverunt: umbilico maxime similis est habitus, smaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus. hunc, quum responsum petitur, navigio aurato gestant sacerdotes, multis argentieis paternis ab utroque navigii latere pendentibus. sequuntur matronae virginesque patrio more inconditum quoddam carmen canentes, quo propitiari Iovem credunt ut certum edat oraculum.

4 H. Meltzer *Der Fetisch im Heiligtum des Zeus Ammon* in Philologus 1904 lxiii. 186—213.
The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

half-idol, mid-way between the aniconic block and the anthropomorphic statue. He reminds us that Ba'âl-hammân appears to have taken his name from such sacred stones, and notes that the Cypriote Aphrodite was likewise 'worshipped in the form of an omphalos'.

I am disposed to accept Meltzer's conclusion and to support it by two further considerations. In the first place, Ba'âl-hammân was akin to the Baal of Tyre, better known as Melqarth or the Tyrian Herakles. If, therefore, the Tyrian Herakles can be shown to have had a cult-object similar to the emerald-set omphalos of Zeus Ammon, it will—in view of the rarity of such objects—become highly probable that the example in the Oasis belonged by rights to Ba'âl-hammân and that its usage attests his influence on the cult of Zeus Ammon. Now Theophrastos à propos of emeralds has the following paragraph:

'This stone is scarce and of no great size,—unless we are to believe the records concerning the kings of Egypt. Certain writers declare that the king of Babylon once sent to Egypt as a gift an emerald four cubits in length and three in breadth, and that in the sanctuary of Zeus too there were dedicated four obelisks of emerald forty cubits long and from four to two cubits broad. This is what the writers in question assert. Of the so-called Bactrian emeralds the one at Tyre is the largest. It is a good-sized stèle in the sanctuary of Herakles,—unless indeed it is of pseudo-emerald, for that species too is to be found.' Etc. etc.

This passage proves that the Tyrian Herakles had an ágalma of emerald. It is, I suspect, represented on imperial coins of Tyre, which show a portable shrine containing a sacred stone shaped much like an omphalos (fig. 273). However that may be, our passage further indicates that such emerald-blocks had reached Egypt and that obelisks of the sort were to be seen there in a precinct of Zeus, i.e. of Amen-Râ. Since

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1 Serv. in Verg. Aen. 1. 720 apud Cyprios Venus in modum umbilici vel, ut quidam volunt, metae colitur.
4 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia p. 283 no. 435 Gordianus iii. p. 290 nos. 471 f. Valerianus Senior pl. 34. 14. Mr G. F. Hill ib. p. cxxl suggests that the type 'may perhaps...be connected with Astarte.'
5 Theophr. lap. 24 ἀνακειότατι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Δωρ ὀβελίσκους σμαράγδου τέτταρας, μῦκος μὲν τετταράκωνα πηχῶν, εἴρος δὲ τῷ μὲν τέτταρας, τῷ δὲ δῶο. But
Ba'el-ḥammān and Zeus Āmmon

Āmen-Rā in the tomb of Seti i was himself coloured green\(^1\), it is clear that the choice of emeralds was deliberate. Certain magical virtues belonging to this stone\(^5\) were connected by Theophrastos with the fact that it is coloured like water\(^2\); and it was probably this resemblance to the watery sky that made it appropriate to the service of Zeus Āmmon\(^4\). Perhaps it was as the son of Āmmon that Alexander the Great had his portrait engraved by Pyrgoteles on an emerald\(^3\).

In the second place, the method of divination practised at the Ammòneion was not, as Diodoros and Curtius thought, unique. At Ba'elbek the image of Zeus Ādados\(^6\) and at Bambyke that of a Zeus-like Apollon\(^7\) indicated the divine will in the selfsame manner. Both these cults were Syrian, and we may fairly infer that the usage of the Oasis was Semitic too.

Yet, while admitting H. Meltzer's contention that the omphalós of Zeus Āmmon was Semitic, I would point out that the golden boat on which it journeyed is hardly to be explained by oriental

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Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 74 et fuisse apud eos in Iovis delubro obeliscum e quattuor zmaragdis quadrarquinta cubitorum longitudine, latitudine vero in parte quattuor, in parte duorum est much more credible.

\(^1\) *Supra* p. 132 n. 3.

\(^2\) The term *σμαράγδος*, strictly used, denotes a crystalline green quartz: it was, however, loosely applied to other green stones (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 394, cp. 388).


\(^4\) Similarly the non-crystalline green quartz (δ χιλεδός *λαστίς* known to us as 'plasma' or 'plasma di smeraldus' would conciliate the gods and secure a plenteous rain-fall (Orph. *lith.* 267 ff.). It was credited also with medicinal powers, especially if engraved with the Khnemu-snake (Galen. *de simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 9. 19 (xii. 207 Kühn)): many 'Gnostic' examples are extant (Furtwängler *op. cit.* iii. 388, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1358).

\(^5\) 'Plasma' was occasionally used for the figure of Zeus enthroned (Furtwängler *Geschnitz. Steine Berlin* p. 111 no. 2355 pl. 22, p. 266 no. 7134) or for that of Asklepios enthroned as Zeus (id. ib. p. 111 no. 2356, T. Panofka in the *Abb. d. berl. Akad. 1845* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 389 pl. 1, 10). I append a laureate head of Zeus carved in high relief out of 'plasma,' from a ring in my possession (fig. 274, enlarged \(\frac{1}{10}\)): the stone is good work of Roman date.

Plat. *Phaed* 110D describes ἀρδή τε καὶ ἱδάτδας καὶ σμαράγδον καὶ τάντα τά ρυαδία as fragments of the earth's true surface, which have slipped from the *aithēr* into the *aēr*—a notion probably based upon folk-belief. *Cp. Ex.* 24. 10, *Ezek.* 1. 26, 10. 1, Rev. 4. 3.


\(^7\) *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xx (a).

\(^8\) *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xx (b).
ideas of a cosmic ship, but is simply the Egyptian solar barque. Ammon was identified with 'the setting sun of Libya'; and the Egyptians believed that the sun-god, after travelling all day in his morning barque, at night-fall reached the Mountains of the West, where he was received by the goddess of the West and entered his evening barque to begin his nightly voyage through the underworld. Sesoösis, i.e. Sesostris (Rameses ii), is even said to have dedicated in the temple of Amón-Rá at Thebes a boat of cedar wood, 280 cubits in length, gilded without and silvered within. If, then, we assume a combination of the Semitic omphalós with the Egyptian boat, the whole ritual becomes intelligible.

(e) Zeus Ammon and the Snake.

Ammon was said to have transformed himself into a snake in order to win his bride; and snakes at Kyrene were called by the

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1 See R. Eisler Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt München 1910 ii. 576 n. 4, 622, 725 ff.
2 Macrobi. Sat. i. 21. 19 Ammonem, quem deum solem occidentem Libyam existimant.
4 There are but few certain traces of the solar barque in Greek literature or art. The Pythagorean Ἀδαρ was cosmic, not solar (Philolaos frag. 12 Diels). Herakleitos described sun and moon as σκαφωστής...τοις σχήμασι (Ät. 2. 22. 2, 24. 3, 27. 2, 28. 6, 29. 3 = H. Diels Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker Berlin 1906 i. 59. 4 ff.). An Apulian kratér from Basilicata, now in the Louvre, shows Helios and Selene in a four-horse chariot, which rises out of a boat: on the left Phosphoros (?) acts as leader; on the right a Kouræ brandishes his sword (E. Gerhard Über die Lichtgottheiten auf Kunstdenkmälern Berlin 1840 p. 8 ff. pl. 3, 3 (extr. from the Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1838 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 383 ff.), Welcker Alt. Denkm. iii. 67—71 pl. 10, 1, A. M. Migliarini in the Ann. d. Inst. 1853 xiv. 97 ff. pl. F, 3, Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. cér. ii. 384 ff. pl. 114, Reinhach Rép. Vases i. 291, 1, Miss J. E. Harrison in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1908—1909 xv. 335 fig. 8).
5 The solar cup in which Herakles crossed Okeanos (Athen. 469 c—470 b): a black-figured vase in the Röm. Mitt. 1903 xvii. 107 ff. pl. 5; the red-figured Vatican kýlix in E. Gerhard op. cit. p. 9 pl. 1, 4 and Ausserl. Vasenb. ii. 84 ff. pl. 109, Reinhach Rép. Vases ii. 59, 6) is, however, comparable with the cup-shaped boats of Assyrian art (Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 435 n. 4).
6 Diod. i. 57.
7 Monsieur É. Naville, the distinguished Egyptologist, has recently ('Le dieu de l'oasis de Jupiter Ammon' in the Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1906 pp. 25—32) suggested that the schist palettes referred by him to the first three dynasties, which are often shaped like shields and have on one side a nearly central circular sinking, were intended to serve as base for a precious stone or perhaps a piece of metal or wood representing the omphalós or boss of the shield and worshipped as 'le dieu umbilic'. This somewhat bizarré view must be left for other Egyptologists to criticise. But it can hardly claim the support of Curt. 4. 7. 23 umbilico maxime similias; for Curtius' umbilicus is presumably a translation of Kallisthenes' ὀμφαλός, and ὀμφαλός would not convey to any classical reader the idea of 'shield-boss' unless there were an express allusion to a shield in the immediate context (see Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. v. 2001 c—d).
Zeus Ἄμμων and the Snake

name of Ἄμμων\(^1\). The association of the god with this reptile was probably due not so much to Semitic as to Egyptian influences.

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\(^1\) Heisych. Ἄμμων (Ἀμμώνια cj. Bockh) ἑορτὴ Δήμητρας ἀγωνεύοντι και ὀφείλει Κυριακάον.
The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

True, we have already seen the snakes of Esmun, the Punic Asklepios¹, brought into connexion with the horned Ba'al-hammān²; we cannot, therefore, exclude the possibility that the snake of Zeus Ammon owed something to the Semites.

But snakes undoubtedly played a large part in Egyptian religion³. Of the vipera cerastes, which has been found at Thebes in mummified form⁴, Herodotos writes:

"In the neighbourhood of Thebes there are sacred snakes, which do no harm to man. They are small of size and have two horns springing from the top of the head. When they die, they are buried in the sanctuary of Zeus; for they are deemed sacred to this god⁵."

It is very possible, then, that the snake of Âmen, the Theban Zeus, was transferred to Zeus Ammon⁶.

Again, Isis and Sarapis were often represented as a pair of human-headed uraeus-snakes or asps⁷. Sarapis alone appears in the same shape on imperial coins of Alexandreia⁸. A handsome bronze formerly in the Demetriou collection and now at Athens (fig. 275)⁹ shows a Sarapis of this sort equipped with the horns of Ammon¹⁰. The god raises himself from an oblong base perhaps meant for his kiste or sacred 'chest'¹¹. On his head are traces of the usual kalathos or modius. Over his shoulders is a cape incised with a net-work pattern, probably a form of agrenon. Round his neck hangs an amulet shaped like a small shrine. The arms are missing. The body is that of a scaly asp, adorned in front with

¹ At Kyrene (supra p. 351 f.) and at Gythion (supra p. 351) Ammon was linked with Asklepios; see Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1558 n. 5. Cp. the pantheistic type figured infra p. 361.
² Supra p. 354.
⁴ H. Brugsch cited by H. Stein on Hdt. 2. 74.
⁵ Hdt. 2. 74.
⁶ Ptolemaios ap. Arrian. 3. 3. 5 states that two snakes guided the army of Alexander the Great across the desert towards the Ammonion.
⁷ W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 536 ff. fig., H. P. Weitz ib. iv. 378 fig. 10.
¹⁰ P. Kabbadas and S. Reinach loci. ctit. prefer to describe him as Zeus Ammon.
¹¹ Cp. fig. 276 = Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 81 no. 677 Hadrian pl. 1 (bust of Zeus Ammon with a solar disk on his head, the whole set on an oblong base or box dotted to indicate an inscription).
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four inlaid eyes and ending in a bearded snake's-head. The aesthetic effect of this complex whole is surprisingly good. If man and beast are to be blended at all, the Greek method of representing a snake's body with a human head was infinitely preferable to the Egyptian method of representing a snake's head with a human body.

But syncretism went further even than this. The pantheistic type of Sarapis, as it is commonly called, or the pantheistic type of Ammon, as P. Kabbadias would term it, appears on gems and coins of imperial date. For example, a coin of Alexandria struck by Hadrian (fig. 277) represents Zeus with the rays of Helios, the modius of Sarapis (Zeus Helios Sarapis), the horizontal ram's-horns of Khnum, the spiral ram's-horn of Ammon, the cornu copiae of Neilos, and the trident of Poseidon combined with the serpent-staff of Asklepios.

(5) Zeus of the Oasis a Graeco-Libyan god.

Stripping off these later accretions and subtracting also the earlier Semitic traits, we are left with the Greek Zeus and the Egyptian Ân-Râ, who at some period prior to the fifth century B.C. and probably in the Oasis of Siwah coalesced into the sun-god Zeus Ammon. But we have yet to ask how Zeus found his way into the Oasis, and what was the original aspect of his worship in that isolated spot.

Here we must take account of a startling hypothesis put forward in 1871 by J. Overbeck. That admirable scholar argues at length

2 P. Kabbadias in the 'Ep. 'Apx. 1893 p. 189.
4 Fig. 4 = Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 88 no. 744 pl. 15, cp. ib. p. 130 no. 1103 Antoninus Pius pl. 15, p. 168 no. 1362 Lucius Verus pl. 15, p. 351 no. 1445 Philippus i pl. 15.
5 Supra p. 188 ff.
7 On the controversy, to which this hypothesis gave rise, see H. Meltzer in Philologus 1904 lxxiii. 213 f.
in support of the view that Zeus Ammon was essentially a Greek god, whose cult had spread from Europe to Africa, not vice versa. His conclusion rests largely on the alleged fact that Amun was never represented by the Egyptians as ram-headed. But that fact we now know to be no fact. Overbeck was misled by G. Parthey and Lepsius was able to prove that such representations occur as far back as the reign of Seti I (c. 1300 B.C.)

This blunder has unfortunately blinded the eyes of subsequent critics to the force of other arguments adduced by Overbeck. He justly lays stress on the early appearance of Zeus Ammon among the accepted gods of Greece and on the wide popularity that in course of time he achieved. Of what really barbaric god could it be shown, for example, that he was portrayed for cult-purposes by Kalamis and other fifth-century artists, or that he was honoured with public rites at Athens in 333 B.C.? In view of these circumstances it is worth while to enquire whether after all there was not some long-standing affinity between the Zeus of the Oasis and the Zeus of continental Greece.

Now it is a well-established fact that during the nineteenth dynasty Egypt was twice attacked by a combination of northern tribes. Rameses II c. 1300 B.C. had to fight the Hittites (Kheta) and their allies, who included Lycians (Luka), Dardanians (Dardenii), Mysians (Masa), Maecionians? (Maunna?), or Ionians? (Yaunna?), Pedasians (Pidasas), and Cilicians (Qalaqias). Again, in the reign of Menephtah c. 1250 B.C. Egypt was invaded by Achaeans (Aquaiuasas), Tyrsenians (Thuirisa), Sardinians? or Sardians? (Sardina), Sagallassians (Sakalasa), and Libyans (Labu). Similarly during the twentieth dynasty Rameses III between 1200

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1 In Soud. Άμμων 'Άμωμα θεός 'Ελληνικός Küster would read Αυκηκού (cp. Dionys. per. 212 with Eustath. ad loc. τίμησιν Δίικων θεός, Nonn. Dion. 40. 392 Λίβης καλληνίκος Άμμων, Enolok. vio. 75 'Άμμων Αυκηκού ἐστι θεός κ.τ.λ.; Prop. 4. 1. 103, Ov. i.d. 313), or else understand 'Ελληνικός as ιθνικό, 'gentile': see G. Bernhardy ad loc. The latter is the right alternative.


3 C. R. Lepsius in the Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 1877 xv. 8 ff.

4 Paus. 9. 16. 1 (at Thebes in Boiotia) οδόν θηρόν δέ ἔστι νομίς Άμμωνος, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀκαθόριστο μεν Πόρονεος, Κάλλαμον δέ ἐστιν ἔρροον.


6 Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 3 no. 580, 14 ff., 37 ff., no. 560, 19, no. 620, 32 f.


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and 1150 B.C. witnessed yet another attempted invasion by northerners, among whom were Philistines (Pulûsatha), Siculo-Pelasgians? (Zakkala), Oaxians? (Waaäšaä), Teucrians (Täkarai), and Danaans (Daänäu, Danauna) 1. Several of these identifications are doubtful; but that Egypt was thus repeatedly exposed to a general movement of Mediterranean peoples, many of whom were forefathers of the historical Greeks, is fortunately beyond all question. Prof. Flinders Petrie would even carry back the said Graeco-Libyan league well into the third millennium B.C. 2 This extreme view must be left for Egyptologists to criticise. But on the strength of the ascertained facts I have elsewhere suggested that the invaders may have planted in the Oasis a cult of their sky-god Zeus, who at some later date was fused firstly with the Theban Amen-Ra and secondly with the Punic Ba‘al-ḥammān 3. If so, we should expect to find that the cult of Zeus in the Ammôneion resembled the most archaic cults of the same god on Greek soil, e.g. that of Zeus Naïos at Dodona. Was this actually the case?

The Zeus of the Oasis is by Nonnos termed Zeus Asbîstes after the Asbystai, a Libyan tribe occupying the Hinterland of Kyrene, and under that denomination is compared with the Zeus of Dodona:

Lo, Zeus Asbîstes' new-found answering voice  
The thirsty sands oracular sent forth  
To the Chaonian dove 4.

The same comparison of the Libyan with the Dodonaean Zeus was made some 850 years earlier by Herodotos, who not only declares that—

'The oracular usage of Thebes in Egypt and the oracular usage of Dodona in point of fact resemble one another 5."

— but also reports at first hand with every appearance of fidelity the local myths of both cult-centres:

'‘This is the tale that the Egyptians tell concerning the oracles of Hellas and Libye. The priests of Zeus Thebaïcüs stated that two priestesses were

2 W. M. Flinders Petrie in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1890 xi. 271—277. The sherds of Middle 'Minoan' and Late 'Minoan' ware found by him in the Fayum (ib. pl. 14) are not necessarily the deposit of hostile invasions; they may surely be due to peaceful trading.
3 Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 403 ff.; cp. Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 295.
4 Nonn. Dion. 3. 292 ff. καί Δώς Ήροδωτος τέκνων απαρισταν ὀμφήν | Χαντί βούκοι τελείως διψάς ἄμων | μαντιστῶν (v.l. μαντιστῶν), cp. 13. 370 ff. καί Δώς Ήροδωτος μεσημβρίων ἐνάκλης, καὶ μαντιστῶν κρινότος, δὴ τοῦ τολλᾶσι Ἀμών | ἀμειβόν τρίλεκτον ἐγὼν ἱδαλμα καράη | ὀμφαῖοι στομάτεσσιν ἐθέπτασον Ἐστέρος Ζεύς.
5 Hdt. 2. 58.
carried off from Thebes by Phoenicians, that one of them—so they had heard—was sold into Libye, the other into Hellas, and that these women were the original founders of the oracles among the aforesaid peoples. When I asked them of the evidence on which this definite statement was based, they said in reply that a great hue and cry had been made by them for these women, and that they had been unable to find them, but that they had subsequently learnt about them just what they told me. The foregoing account, then, I heard from the priests at Thebes. The following is the statement made by the prophetesses at Dodona. Two black doves started to fly from Thebes in Egypt. One came to Libye, the other to Dodona, where it settled on an oak and announced with human voice that on that very spot must be established an oracle of Zeus. Deeming this a divine injunction, they had acted accordingly. They say that the dove which went to Libye bade the Libyans make an oracle of Ammon; and that too belongs to Zeus. This was the tale told by the priestesses of Dodona, the eldest of whom was named Promeneia, the next Timarete, the youngest Nikandra; and the other Dodonaeans dwelling about the sanctuary agreed with them.1

Herodotos, who—if any man—was acquainted with the facts, clearly believed that the cult of the Oasis and the cult of Dodona were akin. Two priestesses according to the Egyptian version, two doves according to the Greek version, had simultaneously founded the twin oracles of Zeus. This testimony on the part of one who had himself visited both Thebes and Dodona is not lightly to be set aside or explained away as a case of Aigypto-mania.

The same story with some interesting differences of detail occurs in later writers. Thus Silius Italicus in the first century of our era relates that Hannibal after the capture of Saguntum sent Bostar to enquire of Ammon what the issue of the war would be, and that Bostar on reaching the Oasis was welcomed by the Libyan Arisbas:

' These shady woods and tree-tops heaven-high,
Groves trodden by the foot of Jupiter,
Worship with prayer, friend Bostar. All the world
Knows of his bounty, how he sent twin doves
To settle in mid Thebes. Whereof the one
That winged her way to the Chaonian coasts
Fills with her fateful coo Dodona's oak.
The other, wafted o'er Carpathian waves,
With the same snowy pinions crossed to Libye
And founded this our fane—Cythereia's bird.
Here, where ye see an altar and dense groves,
She chose a ram (I tell the miracle)
And perched betwixt the horns of his fleecy head
Chanted her answers to Marmaric tribes.
Then on a sudden sprang to sight a wood,

1 Hdt. 2. 54—55.
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A grove of ancient timber, and the oaks
That now touch stars came from that primal day.
Hence our forefathers feared; for lo, the tree
Hath deity and is served with altar-flames.1

It will be noticed that Silius is not simply paraphrasing Herodotos. He makes the doves start from Thebes in Greece, not from Thebes in Egypt, as is clear from his reference to the Carpathian sea, and he adds the episode of the dove settling on the ram. The latter feature, if not the former, reappears in the learned scholia on Servius2 and points to the existence of a non-Herodotean tradition. Silius’ statement about the ancient grove and the oak-tree with altars burning before it is of considerable moment, because—if true—it goes far towards proving the essential similarity of the Dodonaean and the Libyan cults. We cannot, I think, reject the statement on the ground of botanical improbability. Authorities both ancient and modern mention several species of oak as growing in north Africa4; and Pliny even states that in the neighbourhood of Thebes at a distance of 300 stades from the Nile was a wooded tract with springs of its own (an oasis?) producing oaks, olives, etc.6 Again, Ammon appears to have had a sacred grove on the shores of the Syrtis8; and various writers attest the existence in

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2 Interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 3. 466 Iuppiter quondam Hebae (leg. Thebae) filiae tribuit duas columbas humanam vocem edentes, quorum altera provolavit in Dodonae glandiferam silvam Epiri, ibique consedit in arbore altissima, præcepiquæ ei qui tum eam succedebat, ut ab sacra quercu ferrum sacrilegum submoveret: ibi oraculum Iovis constitutum est, in quo sunt vasa aenae, quae uno tactu universa solebant sonare. altera autem columba pervenit in Libyam, et ibi consedit super caput arietei, præcepiquæ ut Iovis Ammonis oraculum constitueretur.

3 L. Beger Thesaurus Brandenburgicus selectus Coloniae Marchicae 1696 iii. 221 (Montfaucou Antiquity Explained trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 28 f. pl. 10 no. 4, Reinach Rip. Stat. ii. 771, 8) published a bronze at Berlin, which according to him represents the dove on the head of the Ammonian ram. More probably it is a variation of the type of an eagle on a ram’s head (Babelon—Blanchet Cat. Brumes de la Bibl. Nat. p. 494 no. 1353 fig., Reinach op. cit. ii. 771, 7).

4 Plin. nat. hist. 16. 32 (parva aquifolia ilex = quercus coccifer a Linn.); La Grande Encyclopédie x. 1665 b, 1666 a, b (gu. balleta Desf., gu. suber Linn., gu. Mirbeckii Durieu).

5 Plin. nat. hist. 13. 63 circa Thebas haec, ubi et quercus et perseu et oliva, CCC a Nilo stadiis, silvestri tractu et suis fontibus riguo.

6 Skyl. por. 109 (Geogr. Gr. min. i. 85 Muller) ἐν δὲ τῷ καλοστάτῳ τῆς Σέρπιδος (ἐν τῷ μυχῳ) Φαίανος βουνό, ἑπὶ τῶν ἀμμον τῆς Σέρπιδος (leg. ἑπὶ τῶν ἀμμον ἀπὸ τῆς Σέρπιδος). The great Ammoneion is loosely connected with the Syrtis by Lucan. 4. 673, 10. 38, Prudent. apoth. 443.
the *Ammèneion* of an oracular grove without specifying oak-trees. Finally, Clement of Alexandrea and Eusebios allude to an ancient oracular oak as worshipped amid the desert sands. This can be none other than the oak of *Ammon*. I conclude, therefore, that Silius’ statement is not to be dismissed as a mere poetical fiction, but to be accepted as a fact.

If Zeus had an oak-cult of immemorial antiquity in the *Ammèneion*, we might reasonably expect that it would figure in the earliest traditions of the Libyan tribes. Now the Oases of the eastern Sahara were occupied in classical times by the Garamantes, whose eponym was Garamas—also called Amphithemis—the son of Apollon by Akakallis daughter of Minos. Of the Garamantes in general it is recorded that they were pious folk, who had a temple or temples established in their midst; but of Garamas in particular we fortunately possess an older and more definite account. A lyrical fragment attributed by Schneidevin to Pinard and recognised by Bergk as coming from the *Hymn to Zeus* *Ammon* declares that in the beginning men sprang from Mother

1 Curt. 4. 7. 20 incolae nemoris, quos Hammonios vocant, dispersis tuguriiis habitant: medium nemus pro arce habent, etc., ib. 22 est et aliud Hammonis nemus: etc., Lucan. 9. 522 ff. esse locis superos testatur sylva per omnem: sola virens Libyen...solus nemus abstulit Hammon. illam varum fons causa loco, etc., Sil. It. 1. 414 quae quoque fatidicis Garamanticis accola lucis: etc., Stat. Theb. 8. 201 quo et cornigeri vatis nemus atque Molossi: quercus anhela Iovis, Avien. desc. orb. terr. 317 mugit arenosis nemus illic denique lucis.

2 Clem. Al. proën. 2. 11. 1 p. 10, 22 ff. Stählin γεράδραυν δὲ ἡμῶν ὑπῆρχει τετηρημένον (τετηρημένον εἴη Μάυρος) καὶ τὸ ἀρθροῖς μακαριῶν αὐτῆς δείκτει μεμαρασμένον μόνος γεγενηκώς ενταλώσαντες: Euseb. præf. ev. 2. 3. 1.


3 This important piece of evidence was clearly pointed out by E. H. Toelken in his notes to H. von Minutoli *Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon* Berlin 1824 p. 377, by C. J. Schmitthenner *De Jove Hammon* Weilburgi 1840 p. 30 n. 2, and independently of them by me in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 403 and in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 295; but it appears to have escaped the notice of all recent writers on the cult of *Ammon*.


8 *Supra* p. 352 ff.
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Earth, though it is hard to discover who was the first of her sons. After naming in true Pindaric fashion various possible claimants our fragment proceeds:

The Libyans say that first-born Garamas
Rose from parched plains and made his offering
Of Zeus' sweet acorn.

May we not venture to see in these lines another confirmation of Silius' statements concerning the oaks of the Oasis?

Again, the fauna as well as the flora of the two oracular centres was alike. Birds, according to Aristophanes, were an essential feature of both. The doves of Dodona are sufficiently notorious. But, as we have already seen, the sister oracle in the Oasis was likewise founded by a dove from Thebes. Moreover, Semiramis is said to have learnt her destiny from Ammon and to have fulfilled it by becoming a dove. Finally, small wild doves are numerous in the Oasis nowadays.

The institution of both oracles was also connected with a shepherd. Proxenos, a contemporary of king Pyrrhos, in his History of Epeiros wrote:

"A shepherd feeding his sheep in the marshes of Dodona stole the finest of his neighbour's flocks and kept it penned in his own fold. The story goes that the owner sought among the shepherds for the stolen sheep, and, when he could not find them, asked the god who the thief was. They say that the oak then for the first time uttered a voice and said—"The youngest of thy followers." He put the oracle to the proof, and found them with the shepherd who had but recently begun to feed his flock in that district. Shepherds go by the name of followers. The thief was called Mandylyas. It is said that he, angered against the oak, wished to cut it down by night; but that a dove showed itself from the trunk and bade him desist from so doing. He in fear gave up the attempt and no longer laid hands on this sacred tree. The Epeirotes, however, were wroth with him for his rash deed." Etc.

Similarly with regard to the Oasis Leon of Pella, a contemporary

1 Aristoph. av. 716 ἐς κέν δ' ὑμῖν Ἀμμών...Δωδώνη. Alexander the Great was guided to the oracle of Ammon by two or more ravens (Aristoboulos ap. Arrian. 3. 3. 6; Kallisthenes ap. Plout. v. Alex. 27, Strab. 814; Diod. 17. 49, Curt. 4. 7. 15, Eustath. in Dionys. per. 211).
2 Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 185 f.
3 Diod. 3. 14.
4 Id. 3. 20.
5 G. Rohls Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien Bremen 1882 ii. 115 ff., 121 mentions that the Fountain of the Sun is known locally as Ain el hammam, which he renders 'the Doves' Bath.' But this appears to be a mistranslation:infra p. 382.
7 Μαρδίας Q. Μαρδίας V. Μαρδίας cf. C. Müller.
8 The concluding sentence δὲν καὶ λαβόντας δίκην ταύτην εἰσπράξας τῇ ἀν' αὐτοῦ ὑπομονῇ (ὑπομονῆς cod. Barnes,) τὸν μάλιστα προέχει stands in need of emendation.
The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

of Alexander the Great, in his treatise *On the gods of Egypt* observed:

‘When Dionysos ruled over Egypt and all its borders and was said to have been the original inventor of everything, a certain Hammon came from Africa and brought him a vast flock of sheep, partly to secure his favour and partly to win the credit of having invented something himself. In return for this present Dionysos is said to have granted him a domain over against the Egyptian Thebes; and those who make effigies of Hammon furnish him with a horned head in order that men may remember how he was the first to discover sheep.’

Etc.

It was probably this Hellenistic romance which led Pausanias to remark: ‘*Ammon* derived his name from the shepherd who founded the sanctuary.’ Nor must we forget the tradition noticed above which makes the foundress dove settle on the head of a ram.

Both sites possessed a miraculous spring. Pliny observes:

‘At Dodona the spring of Zeus is cold and puts out torches in it, but kindles such as are put out and brought near to it. It always fails at midday, wherefore they call it the Resting Water; but it soon increases till it is full at midnight, from which time onwards it again gradually fails.’

...The pool of Zeus *Hammon*, cold by day, is hot by night.

Many other writers from Herodotos to Eustathios describe this pool as ‘the Fountain of the Sun’ and assert that throughout the morning it grows cooler and cooler till at midday it is quite cold, but that as the day declines it gains in warmth becoming tepid at sundown and fairly bubbling with heat at midnight. The current explanation of the phenomenon was that by night the sun went below the earth and there boiled the water—a view which Lucretius is at pains to disprove.

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1 Leon περὶ τῶν κατ’ Ἀγαμηνοῦ βιῶν frag. 6 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 332 Müller) ap. Hyg. poét. astr. 2. 20. The sequel is quoted infra p. 373 n. 9.
2 Paus. 4. 23. 10. So in Byzantine times Eudok. viol. 75, Eustath. in Dionys. per. 211.
3 Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 166 f. suggested rather vaguely that the ram-symbolism properly belonging to some old Greek cult led to the confusion of a Greek with an Egyptian ram-god. It is by no means unlikely that the ram was sacred to a Graeco-Libyan Zeus before this god came to be identified with Åmen-Râ. But the indications recorded in the text do not suffice to prove it.
5 Plin. nat. hist. 2. 228, cp. 5. 31.
7 Lucr. loc. cit.
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In short, it appears that the whole apparatus of the oracle at Dodona—its grove, its oak of special sanctity, its doves, its holy well—was to be matched in the Oasis of Ammon. Strabo adds that both oracles gave their responses in the self-same manner, 'not by means of words, but by certain tokens' such as the flight of doves.

Nor was the character of Zeus himself different at the two cult-centres. Zeus Naxios of Dodona was essentially a god 'of Streaming Water': the oracular spring—we are told—burst from the very roots of his famous oak. So with Zeus Ammon. The close connexion between his cult and water comes out clearly in Diodoro's description of the Oasis:

'The Ammonians dwell in villages, but have in the midst of their territory an akrópolis secured by a threefold wall. Its first rampart encloses a palace of the ancient rulers; the second, the women's court, the apartments of the children, wives, and kinsfolk, together with guard-houses, and besides the precinct of the god and the sacred spring, which is used to purify all that is offered to him; the third includes the quarters of the king's body-guard and their guard-houses. Outside the akrópolis at no great distance is built a second temple of Ammon shaded by many large trees. Near this temple is a fountain, which on account of its peculiar character is called the Fountain of the Sun.'

Etc.

The same association of the desert-god with water occurs in a tale for which our earliest authority is Hermippus the pupil of Kallimachos (c. 250 B.C.). When Dionysos in the course of his

1 Strab. 329 frug. 1 αὐξ ὑπὲρ ἔν Δελφοῖς καὶ Βραχυδαί τὰς ἀντωνίστες διὰ λόγων, ἀλλὰ νέομαι καὶ συμβόλω τὸ γλύσι, ὡς καὶ παρ᾽ Ὠμήρῳ. Οὔ ἔτι φησὶν τὴν Κρονίων. To the same effect Eudok. viol. 75 of τοὺς αἱ μάντεις διὰ συμβολῶν γίνονται, ὡς διὰ σχημάτων τυχόν καὶ επιστήμων καὶ ἀναντίων = Eustath. in Dionys. per. 211. See also Hdt. 2. 58 cited supra p. 363.


3 Supra p. 368 n. 4.

4 Diod. 17. 50. This and the parallel passage in Curt. 4. 7. 20—22 are derived from the same source, presumably Kallisthenes.

5 Diod. loc. cit. συγγενώς: Curt. loc. cit. pellicibus. Curtius has again (supra p. 355) preserved a detail dropped by Diodoros.

The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

Triumphant progress came into Africa, he was overtaken by thirst in the desert and like to perish with all his host. A ram appeared to them in their extremity and having led them safely to a plentiful pool in the Oasis there vanished. Dionysos founded on the spot a temple of Zeus Ammon, and set the helpful ram among the stars, ordaining that when the sun was in Aries all things should revive with the fresh life of spring. In this connexion it should be observed that from Berytos in the east to Pompeii in the west Ammon-masks were used as fountain-mouths.

Finally, as Zeus Naios was paired with Dione, so Zeus Ammon had a female partner worshipped at Olympia as Hera Ammonia* and associated with him on certain extant gems (fig. 278). Or, if

Fig. 278. Fig. 279.

it be urged that the original consort of Zeus at Dodona was Ge rather than Dione, I would point to the fact that in the Libyan Oasis too we have found a tradition of Mother Earth—a tradition the more noteworthy because in purely Egyptian religion the earth-deity was not a goddess, but a god.

The conclusion to which the evidence here adduced appears to

1 The ram was presumably Zeus himself in animal form. Another late aetiological tale told how the gods, when attacked by Typhoeus, fled in a panic to Egypt and disguised themselves as animals, Zeus becoming a ram, etc. (Ov. met. 5. 327 f., Lact. Plac. narr. fab. 5. 5, Myth. Vat. 1. 86, cp. Apollod. 1. 6. 3, Diod. 1. 86, Plout. de Is. et Os. 72, Loukian. de sacrif. 14, Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 28).
3 Pans. 5. 15. 11 with J. G. Frazer's n. ad loc. (iii. 584). On the association of Zeus with Hera at Thebes in Egypt see supra p. 348 n. 1.
4 I figure a garnet in the Berlin collection: the original is inscribed ΑΛΓΑ in careless lettering (Furtwängler Geschützt. Steine Berlin p. 73 no. 1121 pl. 14, Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 40 pl. 5. 65 omitting inscr., Overbeck Gr. Kunsthymn. Zeus p. 301 Gemmamentaf. 4, 13). Cp. also a prase at Florence (fig. 279), on which the female head has no stephane and is rather Dionysiac in character (Overbeck op. cit. Zeus p. 301 Gemmamentaf. 4, 11). The existence of double busts representing Zeus Ammon and Hera Ammonita is more problematic (id. ib. p. 288 f.).
5 Class. Rev. 1903 xvi. 179 f.
6 Supra p. 366 f.
point is that the cult of Zeus in the Oasis was, as Herodotos declared, really akin to the cult of Zeus at Dodona. I submit that it was a relic of an early Graeco-Libyan occupation of north Africa.

(η) The youthful Ammon.

On gold, silver (figs. 280—283), and copper coins of Kyrene struck c. 431–285 B.C. we have not only a bearded but also a beardless type of Ammon. The same mature and youthful heads with a downward-curving ram's-horn appear on electrum hektai of Lesbos c. 440–350 B.C., on coppers of Aphytis c. 424–358 B.C., on silver

1 The myth of Danaos and the Danaides belongs to the same Graeco-Libyan stratum (infra ch. ii § 9 (d) ii (a)). Diod. 17, 50 states that the precinct of Zeus Ammon was founded by Danaos (τῷ μὲν οὖν τῷ τιμαίῳ φασὶν ἱδρύσαντας Δαναῶν τὸν Δαγότταν).

2 Bearded: Head Coins of the Ancients p. 53 pl. 36, 44 (= my fig. 280), id. Hist. num., pp. 865, 869 ff., Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 570 pl. 92, 7 f., 573, 574 pl. 92, 16. Fig. 281 is from a specimen in the McClean collection, fig. 282 from another in the Leake collection, at Cambridge (W. M. Leake Numismata Hellenica London 1856 African Greece p. 3).

Beardless: Head Coins of the Ancients p. 69 pl. 35, 40 (= my fig. 283), id. Hist. num., pp. 865, 869, 871 fig. 388, Hunter Cat. Coins iii 569 ff. pl. 92, 6, 10–12.


All these heads have in front a curious set of upstanding curls (?), perhaps derived from an Egyptian head-dress misunderstood (cp. the coin of Kyrene discussed by L. Müller Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique Copenhagen 1860 i. 85, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 295 Münztaf. 4. 16).


The Ram and the Sun in Egypt

(figs. 284, 285) and copper coins of Tenos from the fourth to the second century B.C., and on copper of Mytilene in the second and first centuries B.C. Similarly in the west on silver coins of Metapontum c. 400—350 B.C. both types occur (fig. 286), and on silver coins of Nuceria Alfaterna after c. 308 B.C. the younger without the older head.

The identification of this youthful figure is a matter of some difficulty. The general trend of fourth-century religious art is doubtless towards juvenile forms. But the usual succession of bearded and beardless types hardly accounts for the simultaneous recognition of a senior with a junior Ammon. The latter must be either a different god from the former, or at least a distinct phase of his personality. Among names suggested are Aristaios and Apollon Karneios. Aristaios was worshipped as Zeus in Arkadia and bears a name which appears to have been a cult-title of Zeus; he was also an important figure in the mythological history of Kyrene, and he not improbably passed for a shepherd-god. But we have not the least

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5 Head Hist. num. p. 865 Kyrene ("perhaps...Aristais").

6 Head Hist. num. p. 77 Metapontum ("possibly Apollo Karneios").

7 Interp. Serv. in Verg. georg. i. 14 huic opinioni Pindarum [frag. 251 (Pest. lys. Gr. i. 461 Bergk)] refragatur, qui eum ait de Caea insula in Arcadiam migrasse, ibique viam coluisse... nam apud Arcadas pro love colitur, quod primus ostenderit, qualiter aper debant reparari. See further Immerwahr Kult. Myth. Arkad. p. 251 ff.


9 L. Malten Kyrene Berlin 1911 passim.

10 supra n. 8 ὤπαυμα μήλων. F. Studniczka Kyrene Leipzig 1890 p. 105 f. translates
reason to suppose that he was himself ever regarded as a ram or represented with ram's horns. There is more to be said for the proposed identification of the youthful horned head with that of Apollon Karneos. This deity too was worshipped as Zeus at Argos; moreover, he was essentially a ram-god, and one who, as we have already seen, was associated at Gythion with Zeus Ammon. Nevertheless a comparison of the towns issuing coins of the youthful Ammon type with the known cult-centres of Apollon Karneos is disappointing. Kyrene is the only name common to the two lists.

L. Müller in his great work on the coinage of north Africa was the first to set this question on a more satisfactory basis by adducing the available literary evidence. He pointed out that Zeus Ammon was connected with Dionysos, partly by certain tales recorded above—how the former brought sheep to the latter, how the latter founded the temple of the former—but partly also by the definite belief that Dionysos was the son of Ammon and horned like his father. Hence L. Müller and subsequently L. Stephani did not hesitate to identify the youthful Ammon of the coins with the Libyan Dionysos. By way of confirmation they note that on the coins of Aphytis, Tenos, and Mytilene the reverse type is

the οὐδόκως δαίμων of Pind. Pyth. 4. 49 f. as 'a sheep-pasturing god' and identifies him with Aristaios. Welcker Gr. Götterl. i. 489 cites from J. R. Pacho Relation d'un Voyage dans la Marmare, la Cythénique, etc. Paris 1827—1829 pl. 51 a Cyrenaic tomb-painting, which shows Aristaios with a ram on his back, a pedum in his hand, surrounded by sheep and encircled by fish.

1 Theopomp. frag. 171 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 307) ap. schol. vet. Theokr. 5. 83 ὄν τὸν αὐτὸν (εἰς Κάρυεις Α' Ἀθλινα) καὶ Δία καὶ Ἡγήσειρα καλοῦσαν Ἀργείοις, διὰ τὸ κάθεν ἡγήσασθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ. Perhaps, however, Theopompos merely meant that at Argos Apollon bore the title Ἀγήσειρα (Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 41) as Zeus did at Sparta (Wide Labon. Kulte pp. 1, 13).

2 Supra p. 351 n. 7.
3 Supra p. 371 f.
4 K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 55 f.
5 L. Müller Numerismatis de l'Ancienne Afrique Copenhagenae 1869 i. 101 f.
6 Supra p. 367 f.
7 Supra p. 369 f.
8 Diod. 3. 73 elai δὲ οἱ μυθολογίωτες αὐτῷ (εἰς τὸ Αμαμάτιον) πρὸς ἄλληθρων γενέσθαι καθ' ἐκάτερον μέρος τῶν κροτάρων κεράτια ὣς καὶ τῶν Δίανων, ὡς αὐτῶν γεγονότα, τὴν ὄμοιαν ἔχουν πρόθοφην, καὶ τοὺς ἑπταψήλαντά τῶν ἁρτῶν παραβέβηκαν τοῖς θεῶν τούτων γεγονότα κεράτια. Cr. Leon περὶ τῶν κατ' Ἑγίστην ἄνθρωπον frag. 6 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 332 Müller) ap. Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 20 qui autem Libero factum voluerunt adsignare, quod non petierit ab Hammone, sed ultro ad eum sit adductum, simulacra illa cornuta facient et arietem memoriae causa inter sidera fixum dicunt. The context is given supra p. 358.
9 L. Müller loc. cit.
10 L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pit. 1862 p. 76 f.
11 The first to suggest Dionysos was Eckhel Dictr. num. vet. 2 iv. 118; and his suggestion has been widely accepted (see L. Müller op. cit. i. 102 f.).
commonly Dionysiac—a *kántharos*, a bunch of grapes, a herm of Dionysos. But this is an argument on which it is easy to lay too much stress.

Stephani further drew attention to a series of double busts which combine the head of *Ammon* with that of a more or less certain Dionysos. Sometimes a bearded head with ram's horns is joined to a bearded and hornless head. Where the latter is wreathed with vine-leaves or ivy-leaves, it undoubtedly represents Dionysos. Where the wreath is absent, we cannot feel the same assurance. Again, a bearded head with ram's horns is joined to a beardless head with short bovine horns. Here opinion is divided, some supposing that *Ammon* is combined with a semi-bovine Dionysos, others that he is linked to a second water-god, the Libyan Triton. Exceptional is a double bust in the Vatican, which yokes two youthful heads, one having ram's horns and a slight beard, the other small bovine horns. Stephani concludes that the artist wished to unite the Libyan with the Greek Dionysos; Overbeck, that the head with ram's horns is more probably a portrait in the guise of *Ammon*. Another isolated example is a double herm of *Ammon* and a satyr at Berlin, surmounted by a capital in the form of a *kálathos*. On the whole, a survey of these double busts makes it clear that *Ammon* stood in close relation to the Dionysiac circle.

Finally, Stephani published an Apulian bell-*kratér* at Saint

1 L. Stephani loc. cit. p. 77 f.
3 Amelung loc. cit.
4 Maffei loc. cit.
7 So e.g. J. de Witt in *Ann. d. Inst.* 1858 xx. 82, L. Stephani loc. cit. p. 78.
8 So e.g. K. Bötticher *Nachtrag zum Vereiniss der Bildhauerwerke in Berlin* 1867 no. 985 ff., especially no. 988.
10 L. Stephani loc. cit. p. 77 f.
11 Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 289 f., quoting Pistolesi's interpretation 'Lisimaco.'
12 Overbeck *ib.* p. 288.
The youthful Ammon

Petersburg, on which is a scene of considerable interest (fig. 287)\(^1\). A youthful god with ram's horns stands leaning on a pillar, a bay-branch in his left hand. He is conversing with a matronly female figure seated before him. Behind him Pan with goat's horns holds a larger branch of bay with leaves and berries. He is balanced by a second female figure raising a phiale. The sanctity of the place is shown by the bucranium and fillet hung in the background, by the incense-burner visible between the two principal persons, and perhaps by the sprigs of bay etc. in the foreground. Stephani, followed by S. Reinach, suggests that we have here the horned Dionysos of Libye\(^2\) promising pardon.

\(^1\) Stephani Vasensamml. St. Petersburg i. 380 ff. no. 880, Compte-rendu St. Péit. 1862 p. 79 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 1 and 3, Reinach Rép. Vases i. 1, 1 f.

\(^2\) This identification is confirmed by an unpublished Apulian jug at St Petersburg [Stephani Vasensamml. St. Petersburg ii. 28 ff. no. 1119, though F. Wieseler in the Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsc. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe 1893 p. 226 ff. says Apollon Kardelo], which represents a definitely Dionysiac scene. In the centre sits a young man (Dionysos) with ram's horns, originally painted yellow, on his head: he wears an upper garment, which has slipped on to his lap, and yellow shoes. In his right hand he holds a cup, in his left a lyre, both partly yellow. Before him stands a woman (Ariadne?) in chiton and himation, who offers him a bunch of grapes with her left hand, a white wreath with her right: her arm-bands and necklaces are yellow. Behind Dionysos stands a second woman leaning on a pillar, which is yellow in part. She wears a chiton, a small fluttering garment, shoes, arm-bands and necklaces, and holds in her right hand an alabaster (?) At her back is a fillet; and in the field are four partly yellow rosettes.
to Rhea. If so, the scene is presumably laid in the Ammòneion. The bay-branches suggest that the Apulian artist based his conception of this far off spot on the more familiar oracle of the Delphic Apollo. But it may be remarked that the elder Ammon wears a bay-wreath on coins of Kyrene, Tenos, and Metapontum, as does his younger counterpart on coins of Metapontum and Tenos. We are not, therefore, forced to assume a confusion or contamination of cults.

In view of the foregoing evidence it would, I think, be unsafe to conclude that the connexion between Zeus Ammon and Dionysos was essentially late. Herodotos states that at Meroë, where Zeus Ammon had an oracle, the only gods worshipped were Zeus and Dionysos. And the coins at least suffice to prove the existence of a youthful Ammon as early as the fifth century B.C.

(8) The Oasis of Siwah.

The last glimpse that we get of the Ammòneion in classical times is a sad one. Athanasios states that in 356 A.D. many elderly bishops of the Egyptian church were driven out by Georgios the Arian persecutor; those from Libye were banished to the Great Oasis, those from the Thebaid to the Ammonian district. After this, darkness descends and shuts out the view.

From the fourth to the eighteenth century we know nothing of the Ammòneion beyond a few casual and partly fantastic references

1 According to the romantic version of Diod. 3, 71—73, Rhea and Kronos took with them the Titans and attacked Ammon, who thereupon fled to Crete and, having married Krete the daughter of one of the reigning Kouretes, became lord of the district. Meanwhile Kronos and Rhea had usurped the realm of Ammon. But Dionysos, helped by the Amazons and Athena, vanquished the Titans and reinstated his father. He took the usurpers captive, but promised them forgiveness and exiled them to be reconciled with him. Rhea loyally accepted his overtures: Kronos was insincere. After this, Dionysos founded the oracle of Ammon, and made the child Zeus king of Egypt. Etc., etc.

2 Hdt. 2. 29. We must, however, remember that Dionysos may mean Osiris (id. 2. 42, 144).

3 Cp. Hdt. 2. 42 'Αμμόν γὰρ Ἀλγόττωι καλέων τῷ Δίᾳ, Plin. nat. hist. 6. 186 (of Meroë) delubrum Hammonis et ibi religiosum et toto tractu sacella.

in Arabic geographers. The Arabs obtained possession of Egypt and presumably of the Oases also in the seventh century. A certain king Kofthim—we are told—built two towns in remote Oases and equipped them with palaces, fountains, pools, brazen pillars and magic idols: the traveller who set eyes upon the idols stood rooted to the spot until he died, unless one of the natives released him by blowing in his face. Another king Ssa, son of Assad, established a town in a distant Oasis (probably that of Ammon), which was attacked in 708 A.D. by Musa, son of Nosseir. Musa marched his troops for seven days through the desert, but found the town protected by walls and gates of brass. He made a futile attempt to take it, and was forced to retire with heavy losses. In 943—944 A.D. the king of the Oases was Abdelmelik Ben Meruan, of the Lewatah tribe, who had several thousand riders under his command. Seven years later the king of the Nubians came, explored the Oases, and carried off many prisoners. The devastation must have been great; for Edrisi, the Geographus Nubiensis, says that in his day (s. xii) the small Oases had no inhabitants, though water, trees, and ruined buildings were still to be seen. It was otherwise with the Oasis of Santariah or Siwah, which in Edrisi’s time was occupied by Mohammedans with a resident Imam. Abulfeda (1273—1331 A.D.) describes the Oases with their palm-groves and springs as islands in the sand. Makrisi (1364—1441 A.D.) has more to say:

The town Santariah forms part of the Oases and was built by Minakiush, one of the old Coptic Kings, founder of the town Achmim. . . . He built it (Santariah) in the form of a square of white stone. In each wall there was a gate, from which a street led to the opposite wall. Each of these streets had gates right and left, leading to streets that traversed the town. In the middle of the town was a circus surrounded by seven rows of steps and crowned by a cupola of laquered wood resting on costly marble columns. In the middle of the circus rose a marble tower supporting a statue of black granite, which every day turned on its axis, following precisely the course of the sun. Under the dome on every side figures were suspended, which whistled and spoke in diverse languages. On the highest step of the circus the king took his place, and beside him his sons, his kinsfolk, and the princes. On the second step sat the high priests and the viziers; on the third, the commanders of the army; on

1 These were collected by Langlès ‘Mémoire sur les oases d’après les auteurs arabes’ in F. C. Hornemann Voyages dans l’extérieur de l’Afrique Paris 1802 Appendice no. 2, and are conveniently summarised by G. Parthey ‘Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon’ in the Abh. d. berl. Acad. 1802 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 172 f.
2 Langlès op. cit. ii. 364, Parthey op. cit. p. 172.
3 Langlès op. cit. ii. 368, Parthey op. cit. p. 172.
4 Langlès op. cit. ii. 350, Parthey op. cit. p. 172.
5 Langlès op. cit. ii. 398, Parthey op. cit. p. 172.
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the fourth, philosophers, astronomers, physicians, and masters of learning; on
the fifth, builders; on the sixth, foremen of guilds; and lastly on the seventh,
the bulk of the commoners. Each class was bidden "to look upon those only
that were below it, not those that were above it, for they would never be on an
equality with their betters." This rule was an education in itself. The wife
of Minakiush slew him with a knife: so he died after a reign of sixty years.1

Makrisi further tells at third hand how the officer of a certain
Emir saw in the country of the Oases an orange-tree, which every
year bore 14,000 ripe fruit. The Oasis of Santariah or Siwah was
in his own day inhabited by 600 Berbers, who spoke a dialect akin
to Zialah or Zenatah and suffered much from fevers and evil spirits.2
Leo Africanus (c. 1517 A.D.) speaks of the Oases as a district
situated to the west of Egypt in the Libyan desert. The district
comprised three fortresses, numerous houses, fruitful fields and
dates in great abundance. Its inhabitants were almost wholly
black, very rich, and remarkably avaricious.3

The first Europeean to reach the Oasis of Siwah in modern
times and to recognise in it the long-lost Ammonion was the
English traveller W. G. Browne, who left Alexandria with a
caravan of Arab traders on February 24, 1792, and, following much
the same route as Alexander the Great, entered Siwah on March 9.
Here he stayed four days, making geographical, ethnographical,
and archaeological notes. A few years later came the German
F. C. Hornemann, who, obtaining a permit from General Bonaparte
then in Egypt, joined a large company of pilgrims returning from
Mecca via Cairo to the west of Africa and spent eight days in
Siwah, September 22—29, 1798. His observations confirmed those
of Browne.4 The French were next in the field. The incautious
and ill-starred engineer Boutin or Butin towards the middle of
18175, and the more careful and successful traveller Caillaud at

1 G. Steindorff Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Ammonse Bielefeld und Leipzig 1904
p. 79 ff.
2 Langlès op. cit. ii. 384, Parthey op. cit. p. 173.
3 Langlès, op. cit. ii. 354, Parthey, op. cit. p. 173. Wansleben, who visited Egypt in
1664, 1672, and 1673 A.D., praised the dates of Siwa as the best (S. Ideler in the Fund-
4 W. G. Browne Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria, from the year 1792
to 1798 London 1799. There is also a German translation (Leipzig und Gera 1800).
5 Fr. Hornemanns Tagebuch seiner Reise von Cairo nach Murzuck, der Hauptstadt des
Königreichs Fossan in Afrika in den Jahren 1797 und 1798, aus der deutschen Handschrift
des selben herausgegeben von Carl König, Weimar 1802. Hornemann himself, having
been commissioned to explore north Africa by the London Association for promoting
the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, continued his route westwards from Siwah
and never returned home. But his letters were forwarded to England by Bonaparte. The
minute-book of the African Association containing an account of them formed part of the
Leake collection and is now preserved at Cambridge.
6 Parthey op. cit. p. 177. Boutin took with him a portable boat, in which to navigate
The Oasis of Siwah

its close\(^1\), both reached their distant goal. Others followed suit, among whom may be specially mentioned the Prussian general H. von Minutoli and his party (1820)\(^2\), the Englishmen G. A. Hoskins (1835)\(^3\) and Bayle St John (1847)\(^4\), the Scot J. Hamilton (1853)\(^5\), and the German G. Rohlfs (1869, 1874)\(^6\). But the journey even now-a-days is seldom undertaken\(^7\); the desert is a serious deterrent\(^8\), and the inhabitants have no great love for strangers\(^9\).

the mysterious Lake Arashieh; but the inhabitants of Siwah burnt his boat, and did their best to rob and murder the explorer—a fate that ultimately overtook him in the mountains of Syria.


5 J. Hamilton Wanderings in North-Africa London 1856.


A. Silva White (1898) From Sphinx to Oracle. Through the Libyan Desert to the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon London 1899.


8 Archonides or Ardron of Argos, a man who all his life ate plenty of dry salt food without feeling thirsty or drinking, travelled twice to the Oasis of Ammon on a diet of dry meal; and Magon of Carthage did so thrice (Aristot. frag. 99 Rose 1494 a 7 ƒ.). Their 'record' remains unbroken!

9 A certain Mr Blunt, who came to Siwah disguised as an Arab, was detected and
The situation of Siwah was determined by Browne, Caillaud, and W. Jordan. It lies 29° 12' north of the equator by 25° 30' east of Greenwich¹, and—as Rohlf⁵ has pointed out—forms part of the vast depression, which runs without a break from the Greater Syrtis to Egypt⁵. According to W. Jordan's reckoning, the Oasis is actually 29 metres below the level of the Mediterranean⁶. Aristotle, indeed, shrewdly conjectured that the Ammonian district and other low-lying patches were due to the gradual evaporation of an arm of the sea⁴. Similarly Eratosthenes in his Geography remarked that the precinct of Ammon and the route leading to it were strewn with shells and a deposit of salt⁵: he even hazarded the guess that this remote oracle acquired its fame at the time when

Fig. 288.

it was an accessible coast-town⁴! In point of fact the Oasis is dotted with lagoons (sebcha), which overflow in winter and, partially drying up in summer, leave an incrustation of salt several inches thick. In early days special sanctity attached to this pure

had to flee for dear life: his camp was plundered and his tent was burnt (G. Steindorff Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Ammonoase p. 35).

¹ G. Rohlf Drei Monate in der libyschen Wüste p. 185 gives the position as determined by W. Jordan at 29° 12' north of the equator by 25° 30' east of Greenwich. Browne had fixed it at 29° 12' and some seconds north of the equator by 24° 54' east of Greenwich. Caillaud had made the longitude 23° 38' 6'' east of Paris (= 28° 58' 13'' east of Greenwich).

² G. Rohlf Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien ii. 113.

³ G. Rohlf Drei Monate in der libyschen Wüste p. 185. Rohlf's earlier calculation showed a mean depth of 32 metres (Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien ii. 113).

⁴ G. Rohlf Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien ii. 113.

⁵ Eratosthenes ap. Strab. 49.

⁶ Eratosthenes ap. Strab. 50.
white salt: it was dug up in large crystals, packed in palm-baskets, and taken by certain priests of Ammon to Egypt as a gift for the Persian king or other favoured individual, being in request for sacrificial purposes. It is still an article of export. As to the shells mentioned by Eratosthenes, G. Rohls found and figured a variety of fossils, including astroïde, ostracite, etc. He also obtained from a running ditch near Siwah a number of small fish, which K. A. Zittel identifies with the Cyprinodon dispar discovered by Desor in the artesian wells of Algeria and regards as a relic of the primeval Sahara-lake.

Despite the saline character of its soil, the Oasis can boast more than thirty springs of fresh water. Of these the most famous, though no longer the most copious, is Ain el hammam (fig. 289).

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1 Arrian 3. 4. 5 f., itin. Alex. 52 p. 160 Müller, Deinon Persica frag. 15 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 92 Müller) ap. Athen. 67 a—b, Eustath. in Od. p. 1300, 2. On sal Hammoniacus see further Plin. nat. hist. 31. 78 f., Ov. medic. fac. fam. 94, Colum. 6. 17. 7, Cels. de med. 6. 6. 39. The name has passed into the modern pharmacopoeia as 'sal ammoniac,' Salmiash, etc. G. Rohls Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien ii. 121 pl. 4, 2 describes and illustrates a salt-crystal from the Oasis.

2 Id. ib. pls. 3 f.


4 G. Steindorff Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Ammonose pp. 58 fig. 43, 62, 101 f.
traditionally identified with the Fountain of the Sun\(^1\). It measures about 110 paces in circumference, and is enclosed by an early wall still in excellent repair\(^2\). The ancients believed that its temperature varied inversely with the height of the sun\(^3\)—an error refuted by modern thermometers\(^4\) and due to the fact that the observers were themselves warmer by day than by night. G. Rohls took *Ain el hammam* to mean ‘the Fountain of the Doves’; but G. Steindorff points out that it is rather ‘the Fountain of the Bath’—he himself saw women and children bathing in it. I may add that *hamnam*, ‘bath,’ is in reality the same word as that which forms the second element of *Ba'al-hamman*, so that the name of Zeus *Ammon* still haunts the Oasis at least in this modified and unrecognised shape.

\[1\quad Agermi,\ containing\ the\ chief\ temple\ of\ Ammon.\]
\[b\quad Umma beida,\ ruins\ of\ the\ second\ temple\ of\ Ammon.\]
\[c, c\quad Remains\ of\ the\ precinct-wall.\]
\[d\quad Ain el hammam,\ the\ ancient\ Fountain\ of\ the\ Sun.\]
\[e\quad Ain Mûza,\ the\ Fountain\ of\ Moses.\]

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Fig. 290.

To the north of *Ain el hammam* is *Umma beida* (fig. 290)\(^5\), where remains of

\[1\quad \text{Supra p. 368 f.}\]
\[2\quad G. Rohls *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien* ii. 115.\]
\[3\quad \text{Supra p. 368.}\]
\[4\quad \text{The temperature of the water is constant—84° Fahrenheit (Bayle St John), 85° Fahrenheit (J. Hamilton), 29° Centigrade (G. Rohls, whose observations were taken at all times of day and night, and G. Steindorff, who made repeated experiments always, with the same result).}\]
\[5\quad \text{H. von Minutoli *Reise* etc. p. 372 Atlas pl. 6, 1: a=the village Agermi, b=the}\]
the second or smaller temple of Ammon\(^1\) are still to be seen. It is, however, falling more and more into decay. W. G. Browne (1792) saw five of its roofing stones yet in position and one on the ground. He gives the inside dimensions of the building as 32 ft long by 15 ft broad. F. C. Hornemann (1798) estimates the length roughly at 10 to 12 paces, the whole breadth at about 24 ft. But it is to H. von Minutoli (1820) that we owe the first detailed description of the temple\(^2\). It appears from his account that the precinct, 70 paces long by 66 wide, was surrounded by a wall, of which the great corner-stones were *in situ*. Within this wall were traces of other walls—direction and purpose uncertain. In the middle of the precinct rose a mass of limestone rock, artificially shaped to serve as a platform or stylobate some 8 ft high. The temple itself was built of limestone blocks, large and small, bonded with mortar. Orientated north and south, it comprised two parts—a *prōnaos* and a *naós*. On the north the extant portion of the *prōnaos*-wall was not quite 9½ ft in length, and the larger of its side-walls was of about the same size. The temple-doorway was still standing. Minutoli sketched it from the

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Fig. 291.

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*Umma beida, c = remains of the precinct-wall, d = the Fountain of the Sun, e = another spring connected with it and forming a marsh to the south of the ruins.*

\(^1\) *Supra* p. 369.

\(^2\) H. von Minutoli *op. cit.* p. 95 ff.
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north-east (fig. 291)\(^1\) and from the south with the village *Agermi*
in the distance (fig. 292)\(^2\): he also had copies made of its reliefs,
which represent *Ammon* in Egyptian form (fig. 293)\(^3\). In addition
to this main doorway the *prónaos*, to judge from the gaps in
its walls, had two side-entrances opposite to each other. The
walls of the *naós* to east and west were still 15\(\frac{1}{2}\) ft long, 4\(\frac{3}{4}\) ft
thick, and over 19 ft high\(^4\). The south wall had completely dis-
appeared, so that the original length of the structure could not be
determined. Three of the huge roofing stones, 5 ft broad by 3 ft
thick, still spanned the entire breadth of the building (24\(\frac{1}{4}\) ft): of

the five seen by Browne two had been overthrown through an
earthquake in 1808\(^5\). The whole temple was covered, inside and
outside, with reliefs and hieroglyphs. On the exterior and on the
larger figures of the interior all traces of colour had vanished.
Elsewhere the prevailing green and blue was fairly well preserved.
Near the main entry was a ruined vault, which, Minutoli thought,
might perhaps have belonged to a secret passage giving access to

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2. *Id. ib.* Atlas pl. 7, 2—taken from the hill *Gebel Draa-Enbrit*, where the quarries
   are situated.
3. *Id. ib.* Atlas pl. 10, 2—designs on the left of the main entry (pl. 7, 1).
4. Hornemann put the height at 27 ft; probably, as E. H. Toelken suggests, this
   included the stylobate of rock.
5. Cailliaud dates the earthquake in 1811.
The Oasis of Siwah

the inner shrine. His guides spoke of an underground way from the temple to a hill full of catacombs just beyond the Fountain of the Sun. But the vault could not be explored without pumping apparatus.

G. Rohlfs¹ in 1869 found nothing of the precinct-wall left save the huge blocks forming its south-east angle. He reports that 'the upper part of the limestone rock, either by art or by nature, exhibits great blocks of alabaster, in which are curiously crystal-lized rosettes in many cases a foot in diameter.' The precise orientation of the temple was $348^\circ$ with a deviation of $15^\circ$. No

![Fig. 293.](image)

subterranean corridors are now to be seen, though the people talk of secret passages to Agermi and Siwah. Rohlfs further notes that the doorway seen by H. von Minutoli (1820) and by Bayle St John (1847), and with it the whole prônaos, have gone. He found, however, the side-walls of the naôs standing to a height of about 25 ft and separated by a space of 16 ft. The extant walls were 14 and 10 ft long respectively, and were roofed in by three colossal monoliths, which on their under surface showed well-preserved eagles (sic) with outspread wings. Two roof-stones lay on the ground and fragments of perhaps two others. The outside of the naôs appeared never to have had any hieroglyphs on it; and

¹ G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*² ii. 128 ff.
its reliefs were wholly weather-worn. But the inside still exhibited on the east wall 53 columns of hieroglyphs, of which the middle 47 were complete, and on the west wall 52, with 49 complete. The small blocks of the lower courses and the large blocks of the upper courses were alike covered with them. Below and above them were symbolic designs, between which in many places the original colouring, especially green and blue, could be seen. The best-preserved figure was that of the horned Ammon seated at the south end of the temple to receive the homage of human figures with the heads of jackal and sparrow-hawk. Within the temple was a great block of marble, which on all four sides showed a large human head with ram's horns: this may have been the base on which stood the statue of Zeus Ammon. The head, a hideous fright of twice life-size, doubtless had reference to him. Rohlf's was told by the natives that the temple had been built by Iskender (Alexander), the founder of Skendria (Alexandria).

Thirty years later (1899) G. Steindorff was still able to do good service by making an accurate survey of the rapidly dwindling ruin and a transcript of its hieroglyphs. The west side-wall of the inner chamber has now collapsed, and with it the last of the roof-blocks have fallen. These blocks, of which several strewed the ground, were decorated on their under surface with two rows of uraeus-snakes and vultures, representing Uatchit the goddess of the North and Nekhebet the goddess of the South: the reliefs were enclosed by three bands of inscriptions dealing with the erection of the temple. The east side-wall, though damaged at the top, is standing to a height of 6.12 m. It consists of 26 limestone blocks, which attain a maximum length of 7 m. Its upper part had originally an ornamental frieze, sparrow-hawks sheltering the king's name with their wings, and below a series of sacrificial scenes in which the ruler of the Oasis also took part. Beneath these comes a lengthy ritual text in 51 columns. It speaks of the princely builder of the temple as 'the chief of the foreigners, Un-Amon, the blessed, the son of Nefret-ronpet.' Under the ritual text are reliefs in three registers. The highest tier shows a ram-headed Egyptian deity enthroned beneath a canopy. He has the horns of both Khnemu and Amen, the double plumes, the

1 G. Rohlf's ib. ii. 105 f. R. Pietschmann in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1888 points out that Ammon is often figured in Egyptian art with four ram's heads.
2 Id. ib. ii. 107.
3 G. Steindorff Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonaue pp. 60, 62, 118, 119—121 with figs. 69, 70, 71, 72.
4 Cp. supra p. 306.
5 Supra p. 347.
The Oasis of Siwah

solar disk and uraeus on his head. In his right hand he holds a sceptre, in his left the symbol of life, which he extends to a man kneeling before him. The deity is 'Åmen-Râ, the lord of the councillors', the great god, who dwells in the Oasis.' His suppliant, Un-Amon, has an ostrich-feather upright on his brow, therein resembling the Timihû or Libyans as depicted in Egyptian art. Behind Åmen-Râ stands his wife Mut, the 'Mother'-goddess, wearing the united crowns of the South and the North. Behind Un-Amon are seen several other deities including the human-headed Åmen-Râ of Thebes (Zeus Thebaicus) and his consort Mut. The next tier of reliefs shows a god with the head of a sparrow-hawk, Shu (Herakles) representing the dry atmosphere and his wife the lion-headed Tefnut representing the moisture of the sky, Set (Typhon), the earth-god Seb with his wife the sky-goddess Nut; and another goddess whose name is lost. The lowest tier figures Horus with the head of a sparrow-hawk, Uachtit and Nekhebet, and the ram-headed Khnemu of Elephantine. Steindorff notes that Un-Amon appears to have built this temple in the reign of Neḥtharheb (Nektanebes), a king of the thirtieth dynasty, who reigned 378—361 B.C., and points out that it was therefore standing in all its glory at the time of Alexander's visit.

The chief temple of Åmon was however that situated on the Akropolis of the Ammonians, now known as Agermi. This limestone hill has on its summit an open piazza surrounded by houses, in one of which lives the sheikh, the richest man of the whole Oasis. H. von Minutoli caught a glimpse of the temple wall, which crowns the precipitous northern side of the hill, but was prevented from entering the place and did not discover its true character. J. Hamilton made his way into the building, and was the first to report that it is an Egyptian temple with prônaos and naôs complete. He also found near by an ancient well some 50 ft deep. A more detailed account of this temple was given by G. Rohlfs, who recognised in it the great temple of Ammon. He had many obstacles to overcome. Grime, smoke and darkness combined to make investigation difficult. And, worse still, the temple had been largely filled in and blocked by the houses of a crowded modern population. Nevertheless this indefatigable explorer contrived to make out the main outlines of the ancient structure. Its

1 This title marks Åmen-Râ as a giver of oracles.
4 Supra p. 347 f.
5 Supra p. 348.
6 This identification was first made by the French consul-general Drovetty in 1820.

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prónaos, now roofless, is a chamber 15 ft long by 10 ft broad, with a single great doorway as the main entry on the south side (fig. 294). No hieroglyphs were here to be seen. On the north two large doors of Egyptian design 18 ft high lead into the naós. This measures 24 ft long by 18 ft broad and is 18 ft in height. In it Rohlfis found numerous hieroglyphs and reliefs. With the help of several candles he copied some of them and in due time submitted them to the Egyptologist H. Brugsch. Brugsch reported that the texts are written in old Egyptian script, that they refer to a series of male deities which, to judge from their extant crowns,
represent Ámmon and the ram-headed Harschaf the Arsaphes of the Greeks, and lastly that the texts contained speeches of those deities addressing a god named Urtestu that is Lord of the nations. This appellative proves that the king was not a native but must have belonged to a foreign dynasty. Here again more exact results were obtained by Steindorff. The reliefs are accompanied by inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. On one side of the naôs stands Set-erdâîs, 'chief of the foreigners, the son of the chief of the foreigners, Retneb,' and pays homage to a row of deities with Ámen himself at their head. The chief, whose figure is much damaged, wears the costume of an Egyptian king but, like the light-skinned Libyans mentioned above, has an ostrich-plume in his hair. On the other side of the naôs a similar scene shows the real Pharaoh making an offering to the gods. He wears the crown of Lower Egypt; and the name inscribed in his cartouche may be completed as Khenemna-Re, the first name of Akoris or Hakoris, a king of the twenty-ninth dynasty, who reigned at Mendes 396—383 B.C. and succeeded in freeing his realm from the Persian yoke. Whether he actually built this templê or merely redecorated it, can hardly be decided.

Rohls also discovered in the thickness of the inner long wall on the east side a secret passage 2 ft broad leading to a great spring on the south side of the piazza. This spring filled a deep and roomy cutting in the rock. Looking down into it, he could see just above the level of the water a small platform on which the priests' passage ended. To the south of the temple he found a great wall of colossal blocks, but was unable to trace it far. Outside Agermi on the south-west are other remains of walls, perhaps those of an outer precinct. The net result of these discoveries was fully to confirm the accuracy of the description cited above from Diodoros.

About a furlong to the south of Agermi Rohls detected the ruins of a Greek temple lying east and west. Its outline could be made out by means of blocks projecting from the soil; but of the upper part of the structure nothing was to be seen beyond the shafts of two fluted columns. The débris formed a mound 18 paces long by 14 broad.

Some twelve kilometers to the east of Agermi Steindorff found the remains of another building known as Qasr el-Ghashashâm.

1 G. Steindorff Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase pp. 66, 118 with figs. 67, 68 (here reproduced as fig. 294).
2 Supra p. 369.
3 G. Steindorff Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase p. 125 f. with fig. 78.
The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia

A single wall faced with limestone blocks is *in situ*. But a lintel decorated with the winged solar disk and a few lengths of dentils suffice to prove that here stood a Graeco-Egyptian temple. An adjacent mound yielded Greek sherds and copper coins, while away to the east stretch the relics of a once flourishing Greek community.

Lastly, at a distance of 1½ hours to the south-west of Siwah, on the edge of the oasis and the sand dunes, Rohlfs discovered a mound 12 ft square on which are sundry limestone blocks. The name *Bab el medina*, 'the Town-gate,' suggests that here once stood a triumphal arch. A marble ram (fig. 295) obtained from this remote spot was brought back in triumph to the Berlin Museum.

ii. The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia. **Zeus Sabáziós**

Another cult in which the ram played an important part was that of the Phrygian Zeus *Sabáziós*.

The extant representations of this deity have been carefully collected and discussed first by C. Blinkenberg and subsequently by Eisele. The latter concludes that, though they may all belong to the Roman imperial age, yet in most cases they imply an older Phrygian type, probably that of some famous cult-image. The

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1 The ruins of *Bled el ram* in the extreme west of the oasis, regarded by W. G. Browne as a Doric temple (i) and first recognised by Bayle St John as a copy of the temple at *Umma beida*, are described by G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien* i. 92 f. and by G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Ammonsoaze* p. 116 f. with figs. 79, 80, 81.
2 G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien* i. Frontisp. and ii. 137, cp. 106.
The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia

series includes bronze votive hands, which sometimes bear the name of Sabázios\(^1\) or Zeus Sabázios\(^2\), and sometimes represent him seated or standing with his feet on a ram’s head (fig. 296)\(^3\); a few bronze statuettes, which portray him in similar attitudes on the same support (fig. 297)\(^4\); and a couple of bronze reliefs, possibly breastplates worn by priests of Sabázios\(^5\), which figure him standing amid a crowd of attributes with his right foot.

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\(^1\) E.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 159 f. no. 874 CABAZI[\(\omega\)] on a specimen from Lord Londesborough’s collection.

\(^2\) E.g. ib. p. 377 no. 3116 ΔI[\(\alpha\)]CABAZ[\(\omega\)] on a specimen from Asia Minor.

\(^3\) Antichità di Ercolano Napoli 1767 v (Bronzi i) p. xxxvii, Real Museo Borbonico Napoli 1868 xvi pl. 9, 1, Reinač Rép. Stat. ii. 477 no. 2, an example from Resina. The god wears a Phrygian cap and raises both hands in the attitude of the benedicatio Latina. For other examples see Eisele loc. cit. p. 246 ff.


\(^5\) Eisele loc. cit. p. 248.
The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia

on the ram’s head (pl. xxvii)\(^1\). The persistence of the ram as a footstool is most noteworthy. In the art of the Babylonians, Hittites, etc\(^2\), a god standing on an animal is commonly explained as a superposition of the later on the earlier form of the same divine being. Similarly I should conjecture that the Phrygian Sabáziós was originally conceived as a ram and remained essentially a ram-god.

But, just as the Egyptian ram-god Ammon had sacred snakes, and was said to have become a snake to win his bride\(^3\), so the Phrygian ram-god Sabáziós had sacred puff adders\(^4\) and was himself said to have taken their form for the like purpose. Both animals figure in his myth, which has come down to us with some rhetorical embellishment in the pages of Clement and other apologists\(^5\). Their accounts, printed in full below, may be thus

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\(^{1}\) C. Blinkenberg Archäologische Studien Kopenhagen and Leipzig 1904 p. 90 ff. pl. 2 (to a scale of 3) in the Nationalmuseet at Copenhagen. In the centre stands Sabáziós wearing Phrygian costume. His right hand holds a pine-cone; his left, a sceptre tipped with a votive hand. His right foot rests on a ram’s head. Round him are numerous attributes etc., including the thunderbolt and eagle of Zeus. All these are placed in a distyle temple, the pediment of which contains the sun-god’s chariot between two stars. The upper angles of the plate are occupied by the Dioskouroi with their horses.

\(^{2}\) See H. Prinz in the Arch. Mitt. 1910 xxxv. 167 f.

\(^{3}\) Supra p. 358 n. 6.

\(^{4}\) Dem. de ior. 259 f. ἥν ἐξ ἐνεκείστω (θεοὶ Ἀισχίνης) τῇ μυχρὶ τελονάς τὰς βίβλους ἄνεγρυσκες καὶ τὰλα συνεκεφαλὰς, τὴν μὲν κοῦτα νεκρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων, καὶ καθαίρει τοὺς τελομένες κατομάκτων τῷ πυρὶ καί τοῖς πιτόροις, καὶ ἀνάει ἄνω τοῦ καθαροῦ κελέτου λεγόν "ἔφηγα κακῶν, τίνος ἀμαςων," ἐπὶ τῷ μεθύμνων πάλιν τοὺς τυπούντος ἀκολούθησεν... ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τούς καλοὺς θάνατος ἀγών διὰ τῶν δοκῶν, τοὺς ἐστήμασον τῷ μαρτυρὶ καί τῇ λείψει, τοὺς δραμα τούς παρέας ἀλῆμω καί ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βους ἔνιοι σαβόι, καὶ ἐπορχομένους ὑπὲρ ἄσθενος ὑπὸ θανάτου, ἐπορχυρίσκει καὶ προηγομένων καί κυττάροις (κυτταροῖς, a variant in Harpocr. s. w. κυτταροῖς and in schol. Patm., is adopted by Dindorf and others) καὶ λυκόφοροι καί ταυτῷ ὑπο τῶν γράμμινοντων, μαθῶν λαβάνων τῶν ἔνθερκτα καί στρεπτῶς καί νεκράτα, ἐφ’ οἷς τῷ οὐκ ἐν ὑπὸ ἄλλης ἀντῶν εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τύχης; On this passage see Eisele loc. cit. p. 251 f., and for the adders cp. Theophr. char. 16 καί ἐν θῇ δραμ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἐκν παρέαν, Σαβάζιον καλεῖν, ἐκ δὲ λείψων, ἐνταῦθα ἕρων εὐθὺς ἱδρυσαντᾶς, Artemid. onestocr. 2. 13 καί ἐφιάλετο πάντα (ἰδ. δράκων ὄρμας σημαίες), οἷς ἐκτὸς ἔριος. ἐκά ποτὲ Ζεὺς Σαβάζιος, Ἡμιος, Διόμητρι καὶ Κόρη, Ἐκάττι, Ἀσκληπιος, Ἡμιος... ἔρωται δὲ καὶ παρεέα καὶ φόβους πονηροὶ πάντες (ib. 4. 56).

\(^{5}\) Clem. Al. probr. 2. 15. 1 ff. p. 13, 2 ff. Stahlin Δημήτρι καὶ ματηρία [καὶ] Διὸς πρὸς μεντήρα Δάμητρας ἀμφίδοσος καὶ μῖνας (οὐκ οὖν δ’ ἐπὶ ψω λατείς, μητρὸς ἡ γυναικὼς) τῷ Δημέτρι καί δ’ ἐν ψω ὅρμω προσαφερθέντα λέγεται, <καὶ> εἰκονίζεται Διὸς καὶ σύμα χαλάρα καὶ καρδιώσκει καὶ ἀφοτηρίζεται: ταῦτα οἱ Φρονεῖς τελείωσαν Ἀστικὸς καί Κυβέλαις καὶ Κραθέας τεντούλισκαν δὲ ὡς θρήνος ἢ βιέτις ἢ διά τοῦ εὐθυγράμμου καὶ ποιητού. τοῦ δὲ ἐκείνου τοῦ παραδοτοῦ μὲν δεμόρας  ἀρετῶν ἐν μέσοι οἱ ἐφήμενοι τοὺς κόλπους τῷ Δημέτρι, τιμωρώς, ἐκτὸς τῆς μακριας συμπλεγματοὺς ἐκτεμών, ὃς ἐκεῖνος δέθην εἰστίν. τὰ κύμβαλλα τῆς μοίρας ταῦτα ἐκ περιφέρεια παραπέμπεται οὖν ἢ διὰ τής γελοίας καὶ μὴ γελασάντων ἀλλ’ διὰ τοῦ δέλαχθος: "ἐκ τυμπάνῳ ἀραγων’ ἐκ κυμβάλου ἐπηκαίθητο ὑπὸ τοῦ παραδόν αὐτοῦ" ταῦτα οὖν ὑπῆρετα τὰ κύμβαλα; οὐ χρεία τά ματηρία; τί δ’ οὖν καί τά ἐπέλασα προτεινόγον; καί μεν καὶ Διόμητρα, ἀνεφράστη εἰς εἰς ἑαρά, κύριος εἰς αὐτής ἐν εὐθυγράμμω ζεύς τῇ Ψευδάρτῃ, τῇ ἱδίᾳ θυγατρί, μετά τὴν
Zeus Sabazios on a bronze relief at Copenhagen.

See page 392 n. 1.
The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia

summarised:—Zeus, desiring to consort with his own mother Deo or Demeter, turned himself into a bull and so compassed his end.

\[\text{μετέρα τήν Δηνά, ἐκλαθόμενος τοῦ προτέρου μύσων [πατήρ καὶ φθορείς κόρης ὁ Ζεύς] καὶ μίγνυται δράκων γενόμενος, δε ἔστε, ἑλέγχεις. Σαραβίνιν γούν μυτεριών σύμβαλαν τοῖς μοιμένοις ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεό: δράκων δὲ ἔστιν ὦτος, διελκυόμενος τὸ κόλπον τῶν τελωνείων, ἔλεγχος ἀκράσιας Δίως. ἔνει καὶ ἡ Φερέφατα παῖδα ταυρόμορφον: ἄμελει, φησι τις ποιητής ἐδολικὸς, ταύρος δράκωτος καὶ πατήρ ταύρον δράκων. ἐν ὑπερ τοῦ κρόσου, βουκόλος, τὸ κέντρον (κέντρῳ? Dieterich), βουκολικὸς, οἴμα, κέντρον τὸν νάρθηκα ἑπικαλῶ, δε ἡ ἀνεστέφουσιν οἱ βάχακοι. Arnob. adv. nat. 5. 20f. erat nobis consilium praeterire, praeterveni illa etiam mysteria, quibus Phrygia initiatur atque omnis gens illa, nisi nomen interpositum his Io vis prohiberet nos strictim iurias eius ignominiasque transire...quondam Diespiter, inquirunt, cum in Cerere (innicer codd.: innire Scaliger) suam matrem luidibinus improbis atque inconcessis cupiditatis aestuaret, (nam genetrix haec Io vis regionis eius ab accolis tradit) neque tamen auderet id quod procaci adpertitione conceperat apertissima vi petere, ingeniosas comminiscitur captiones, quibus nihil tale metuente castitatem immunoerat genetricem: fit ex deo taurus et sub pecoris specie subcessoris animum atque audaciaem celans in securam et nesciam repentina immittitur vi fuerens, agit incestus (v. l. incestus) res suas et prodita per libidinem fraudem intellectus et cognitum evolat: ardescit furius atque indignationibus mater, spumat, anhelat, exaequatur, nec fremitum continere tempestatemque irarum valens ex continua passione Brimo (primod codd.) deinceps ut appellaretur adsupsit, neque alia cordis res eis, quam ut (quin codd.) audaciaem filii poenae quibus potis est persecurat. Iuppiter satagit fractus metu nec quibus remedii leniat violentae animos reperit. fundit preces et supplicat: obstructae sunt dolentes (v. l. dolentés) aures. adlegatur deorum universus ordo: nullius auctoritas tanta est ut audiat: at postremum filius vias satisfacit inquirens comminiscitur remedium tale: arietem nobilium bene grandibus cum testiculis deligit, exsecat hos ipse et lanato exuit ex folliculi tegmine. accedens maerens et summissus ad matrem et, tamquam ipse sententia condemnasset se sua, in gremium proicit et facit (iacit codd.) hos eius. virilitate pignoris visa sumit animum mitiore et concepti fetus revocatur ad curam: parit mense post decimum luculentili filiam corporis, quam actas mortalium consequens modo Liberam, modo Proserpinam nuncupavit. quam cum veveceus (veveceus codd.) Iuppiter bene validam, floridam et suci esse conspiceret plenioris, oblitus paulo ante quid malorum et scelleris esset agressus et temeritatisquantum, redit ad priores actas, et quia nefarium videbatur satis patrem cum filia comminus uxoria coniugatione misceri, in draconis terribili formam migrat, ingentibus spiritis paevfactam colligat virginem et sub obtenta fero mollissimis ludit atque adulatur amplexbus. fit ut et ipsa dea fortissima compleatetur Iovis, sed non eadem condicioe qua mater: nam illa filiam reddidit liniamentis descriptam suis, ut ex parte virginis tauri species (specie codd.) fusa, Iovialis monumenta pelliciae. auctorem aliquis desiderabit rei: tum illum citabimus Tarentinum notumque senarium, quem antiquitas canit dicens: taurus draconem genuit, et taurum draco. ipsa novissime sacra et ritus initiationis ipsius, quibus Sebadiis nominis, testimonia essu poterunt veritati, in quibus aureus colubrum in sinum demittitur (dimittitur codd.) consecratis et eximitur rursus ab inferioribus partibus atque imis. Id. id. 5. 37 Iuppiter, inquit, in taurum versus concubitum matris suae Cereris adpetivit: ut expositum supra est, nominibus his tellus et labens pluvia nuncupatur. legem allegoricam video tenebrosis ambiguitatibus explicatam. irata Ceres est et exarit et arietis proles pro poena atque ultione suscept. hoc iterum video communibus in proloquis promptum; nam et ira et testes, satisfactus, suis in moribus et conditionibus dicta sunt. quid ergo hic accidit, ut ab love, qui pluvia, et ab Cerere, quae appellata est terra, res transferit ad verum Iovem atque ad rerum simplicissimam dictionem?

Firm. Mat. 10 Sebaeum coletones Iovem anguem, cum initiant (v. l. initiantur), per
Deo in fierce anger took the title Brimó, 'the Wrathful,' and would not be appeased till Zeus came before her in a mood of mock-repentance, pretended to have made a eunuch of himself, and in proof of his words flung the severed parts into her lap. In reality they were those of a fine ram, which he had gelded. The issue of his union with Deo was Kore or Pherephatta, with whom he again had intercourse under the form of a monstrous snake. This time the offspring was shaped like a bull. Hence the well-known line:

Bull begat Snake, Snake begat Bull.

Hence too the practice of those who were initiated into the rites of Zeus Sabáziós by passing a golden adder through their bosoms and out below.

In this crude, not to say repulsive, tale we have beyond a doubt the aetiological myth of the Sabáziós-cult. The devotees of the great mother-goddess sacrificed to her their own virility or, failing that, the virility of a ram. Why they did so, we do not know for certain. Dr Farnell suggests that they wished to assimilate themselves to her and took this desperate way of becoming feminine, or at least non-masculine. But this explanation hardly fits all the facts. More probably the worshippers sought to increase the

sinum ducunt, id. 26. 1 sequitur adhibit aliqui symbolum, quod pro magno miserrum hominum ceduibus auribus traditum: ταῖρος δράκων καὶ ταῖρον δράκων (δράκων ταῖρον ἤ ἤ ταῖρον ἤ ἤ ταῖρον) παράρη.


2 Farnell Cults of Gk. States iii. 300 ff. (of the Ἑλλάδα): 'Even the self-mutilation necessary for the attainment of the status of the eunuch-priest may have arisen from the ecstatic craving to assimilate oneself to the goddess and charge oneself with her power, the female dress being thereupon assumed to complete the transformation.' Cp. also W. Leonhard Hetttiter und Amazonen Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 131 ff.

Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 154 ff. 1 is content to explain the rite as primarily 'eine Poesitzen' and cp. Arnob. adv. nat. 5. 7 mammas sibi demetit Galli filia pellicis, id. 5. 13 quid admirerat Gallus, quid pellicis filia, ut ille se vire, haec mammaram honestate privaret? But this aetiological tale is equally intelligible on Farnell's showing (assimilation to the Amazonian goddess). Nor can we lay stress on the view of the Naassenes (Ophites) that the emasculated Attis symbolises the soul freed from sensuality (Hippolyt. ref. haeres. 5. 7 p. 99 Müller). Other practices of the Ἑλλάδα Gruppe regards as vices arising 'aus den niedrigsten Motiven.' Yet even these might be covered by Farnell's charitable hypothesis.

E.g. the deposition of the genitalia in the 'chambers' of Rhea Labrón (schol. Nik. alex. 8 Λούσιας Λαμάτως (λαμάτως κόκκ.): τότε ιερί ναογεου, ἀνακειμένω τῷ 'Ρή, ὧν ἐκτερυχτὼ τά μακανε κατεΐπαντο οἱ τῷ "Αττη καὶ τῷ 'Ρή λατρεύσεις. εἰτε δε τὰ σύμβωλα ἅρη θρυγαὶ ὧ τῶν Κυλκῖν κ. τ. ὅ.). On Mt. Labrón see F. W. Hasluck Cyzicus Cambridge 1910 p. 219. Apparently the relics were buried in the ground and stelai,
fertilising powers of their goddess by thus thrusting upon her their own fertility. As Dr Frazer has argued *ad propos* of eunuch priests in the service of Asiatic goddesses generally,—* These feminine deities required to receive from their male ministers, who personated the divine lovers, the means of discharging their beneficent functions: they had themselves to be impregnated by the life-giving energy before they could transmit it to the world.* Further reflexion will, I think, show that herein lies the true explanation of the Phrygian rite. *Sabázios-mystics referred their action to the example of the god,—this wether-sheep Zeus* (*vervceus Iuppiter*), as Arnobius contemptuously calls him. Nay more, they were believed to have borrowed his name and to have been dubbed *Sabot* because he was *Sabós*. It is therefore hard to resist the

possibly of phallic form, erected over them: this I infer from Hesych. *θαλαμα: εντεικήναι τοις αἰδοῖς τῶν ἀντικότων.* See further the passages quoted by Hepding *op. cit.* p. 164. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1545 f. justly observes that such practices attest *die alte Vorstellung von der Ehe mit der Göttin.*

1. *Frazer Golden Bough.*
3. A. de Gebneratis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 ii. 414 gives an interesting parallel from the legend of Ahalýa in the *Rámáyana:* *It is said in this passage that the god Indras was one day condemned to lose his testicles by the maldection of the rishiis Gántamas, with whose wife, Ahalýa, he had committed adultery. The gods, moved to pity, took the testicles of a ram and gave them to Indras, who was therefore called Meshápadas; on this account, says the *Rámáyana,* the Pittaras feed on wethers, and not on rams, in funeral oblations.* Indras is himself called a ram in a Vedic hymn (*Rig-veda* i. 51. 1 cited ib. i. 403).

It is obvious that such passages would lend themselves indifferently to two opposite views: (a) that the *Sabot* were called after *Sabos,* (b) that *Sabos* was called after the
conviction that the initiate actually posed as the divine consort of the mother-goddess. Nevertheless, as A. Dieterich has pointed out, the culminating rite of Sabazios was a sacred marriage in which the god, represented by the golden adder, was drawn through the bosom of his worshipper; and here the worshipper, whether man or woman, is conceived as female, being none other than the bride of the god. We have, then, in this difficult and complex cult to reckon with the amazing fact that the mystic was identified first with the god, and then with the goddess! Two ways of escape from this improbable situation present themselves. Either we must fall back after all on Dr Farnell’s explanation; or—and this I should prefer—we must assume that in course of time, perhaps with the shift from mother-kin to father-kin, the ritual had altered. The old rite, in which the initiate played the part of the god, was indeed retained, at least in a mitigated form; but its meaning was forgotten, and it was supplemented by a new rite, in which the initiate played the part of the goddess.

That development of some sort had taken place within the cult seems clear. Originally, as we have said, Sabazios appears to have been a ram-god. But in later times it was the snake not the ram that characterised him in the eyes of the multitude. Agreeably with this, the ram figures in the relations of Zeus Sabazios to the older goddess Deo or Demeter, the snake in his relations to the younger goddess Kore or Pherephatta. Behind both goddesses looms the venerable form of the earth-mother, from whom they were alike differentiated. For most scholars will certainly accept the well-considered verdict of Dr Farnell, who insists that in Demeter and Kore the single personality of the earth-goddess is dualized into

Sabazios. Broadly speaking, we may say that the former is the ancient and the latter the modern interpretation.


A Corn-maiden from Lesbos.

See page 397 n. 4.
two distinct and clearly correlated personalities;
'pre-Homeric offshoots of Gaia.' He further notes the significant fact that
Demeter was often worshipped without her daughter, Kore rarely
without her mother. It is therefore permissible to suggest that
there was a time when the Phrygian cult recognised one goddess
not two, the earth-mother rather than the corn-mother and corn-
daughter. Whatever the origin of the corn-daughter, she may
well have been later than the earliest form of the said cult.

I am therefore emboldened to hazard the provisional guess
that ab initio the Phrygians worshipped a fertilising sky-father and
a fertilised earth-mother; that originally and for long the goddess
was of more importance than the god, being duplicated for the
sake of fuller recognition; but that ultimately their positions came

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1 Farnell Cults of Gr. States iii. 114.
2 Id. ib. iii. 119.
3 Id. ib. iii. 117.
4 Dr. F. R. Jevons in his able book An Introduction to the History of Religion London
1896 p. 364 f. suggested that in the primitive rites of Eleusis a sheaf of ripe corn was
dressed up as an old woman (ep. h. Dem. 101 γρότ παλαιοντι εναλγεσ of Demeter)
and preserved from harvest to seed-time as the Corn-mother, and that the green blade
or young plant when it appeared above ground was known as the Corn-maiden. He
argued ib. p. 239 that rites appropriate to Kore were celebrated in the spring, rites
appropriate to Demeter later in the year. Dr. J. G. Frazer Golden Bough ii. 216 f.
advocates a similar view: 'It is probable, therefore, that Demeter and Proserpine, those
stately and beautiful figures of Greek mythology, grew out of the same simple beliefs
and practices which still prevail among our modern peasantry, and that they were
represented by rude dolls made out of the yellow sheaves on many a harvest-field long
before their breathing images were wrought in bronze and marble by the master hands
of Phidias and Praxiteles. A reminiscence of that olden time—a scent, so to say, of the
harvest-field—lingered to the last in the title of the Maiden (Kore) by which
Proserpine was commonly known. Thus if the prototype of Demeter is the Corn-mother
of Germany, the prototype of Proserpine is the harvest-Maiden, which, autumn after
autumn, is still made from the last sheaf on the Braes of Balquhidder. Indeed if we
knew more about the peasant-farmers of ancient Greece we should probably find that even
in classical times they continued annually to fashion their Corn-mothers (Demeters) and
Maidens (Proserpines) out of the ripe corn on the harvest-fields.'

These opinions gain much in probability from a discovery made by my friend
Dr. W. H. D. Rouse, who obtained in Lesbos an actual Corn-maiden of strikingly human
shape. By his kind permission I have had a drawing (pl. xxviii) made from the original,
now deposited by the Folk-Lore Society in the ethnographical collection at Cambridge.
Dr. Rouse in Folk-Lore 1896 vii. 147, pl. 1 writes: 'The first ears are plaited into a
curious shape; they call it φαθα, or 'mat,' and no one could (or would) tell me any
more about it. But its shape strikes me as very odd, and it bears no small resemblance
to a human figure in a cloak, with arms outstretched... In some of them the neck is
adorned with a necklace of beads. I saw these in all parts of Lesbos, always with the
same shape; and also on the mainland of Greece, where they called it σταρα ("corn").
Is it fanciful to imagine that this is really a corn-baby? It ought, however, to be made
of the last sheaf, not the first.' The scruple here expressed by Dr. Rouse is surely of
little import. If Kore was the young corn as distinguished from the old corn, her puppet
might well be made of the first ears.
to be equalised or even reversed. Certain wiseacres in antiquity, venturing to expound the true inwards of the Sabazios-mysteries, asserted that Zeus was the rain and Demeter the earth. Arnobius takes them to task; but perhaps they were not after all so utterly misguided. Whether the bull-shaped offspring of the sky-father and the earth-mother was from the first a sharer in their cult is a question that may for the moment be postponed. There is no a priori reason to doubt it.

The Sabazian myth has much in common with Orphic tradition. For Orpheus too represented Zeus as united successively with his mother Rhea or Demeter and his daughter Phersephone or Kore. Rhea, to avoid him, turned into a snake. Thereupon he became another snake, and twined about her with the so-called Heraclean knot, which is symbolised by the caduceus of Hermes. Rhea bore to him Phersephone, a horned child with four eyes, two in their normal position, two on the forehead, and an extra face on the back of her neck. Zeus, again taking the form of a snake, consorted with his own monstrous progeny. The child born of this second union was Dionysos, i.e. the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus. Nonnos in Orphic vein describes him as a horned infant, who mounted the throne of Zeus himself and sat there grasping the thunderbolt in his tiny hand. But Hera soon roused the Titans to smear their faces with gypsum and to attack him as he was looking in a mirror. In his efforts to escape he took the forms of a youthful Zeus brandishing the aigis, an aged Kronos dropping rain, a babe of shifting shape, a wildly excited youth (kotiros), a lion, a horse, a horned snake, a tiger, and a bull; in which final disguise he was cut to pieces by the knives of the Titans. Elsewhere the same poet makes Dionysos himself recall his former exaltation:

Grant to my love one grace, of Phrygian Zeus,
Rhea my nurse told me while yet a child
How Zagreus—Dionysos long ago—
Once lisped thy name, and lo, thou gavest him

1 Supra p. 392 n. 5 sub fin.
3 Hesych. s.v. Ζάγρεος, et. mag. p. 406, 46 f. For a full collection of authorities see Lobec Aglaophamus i. 547 f.
4 Nonn. Dion. 6. 155 f. Orphic influence again underlies Nonnos's statement (Dion. 7. 309 f.) that Zeus, when he wooed and won Semele at Thebes, became successively a human form with bull's horns, a lion, a leopard, and a snake. The ménagerie was simultaneous, not successive, in the case of the Orphic Phanes, who combined in his own person the heads of rams, bulls, a snake and a lion (supra p. 92).
The lightning, thine own fiery shaft, and with it
The roaring thunder and the rushing drops.
So, still a babe, he was a second Zeus
And sent the rain-storm.  

With the details of this myth and their ritual implications we are not here concerned. But in passing we note one point of importance: Dionysos was conceived as in some sense Zeus reborn. This squares with the Sabásios-myth, in which the tauriform offsprings of Kore duplicated the tauriform Zeus.

It would seem, then, that the myth of the Phrygian Zeus Sabásios and the myth of the Orphic Zeus were closely related but not identical. Reciprocal influence between the kindred cults is probable enough; and a certain assimilation to that of Attis will not be denied. But, broadly speaking, we may claim that the parallelism of the Phrygian and Orphic traditions is best explained on the assumption that both alike were rooted in the religion of the old Thraco-Phrygian stock. Nor need we hesitate to describe the early Thraco-Phrygian god as Zeus, provided that we recognise once more the Dionysiac character of his cult. For we have already found evidence in north-eastern Phrygia of a very primitive

1 Id. ib. 10. 392 ff., cp. 39. 71 f.
2 This made it easy for the systematisers to identify Dionysos, son of Zeus by Phereope, with Sabásios; Diod. 4. 4 mevthálooubei dé tine kai éteron Dámevnta genwntai pollo tois xroíois prwterwnta tauton. faoi ydgr ék Dáme kai Persefóne Dámevnta genvntai tóv ópou twn Sabásiov wuvmaizómenw, ói tih te génsw kai tás thesias kai tímás nekteróis kai krwpou parwváqoun dia tiv aixhíen tiv ék tiv sionwia évparákgounw. Légonv oú evn ágwnia. dierékghw, kai pwtwv entíchrhoosi bóte xenwv kai dí tautwv tivn aútwn tivn evpaipwv kai ná krfwv xeripwv, cp. Lyc. dé men.
3 Farnell Cults of Gr States v. 185, Eisele in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 261 f.

Attis is identified with the Phrygian Zeus by Psell. peri twn wuvmátov twn dikwv p. 109 Boissonade éstí ydgr o mén átis (Dem. de cor. 250) tiv phrýgh wuvvága tiv Dáme, tó de diw éctwv éstí, tó de sámba ethnikw. ói tih thn evkhí tonvnta énwn: "ó oú éth ou sámba étis." Similarly Arrian. frag. 30 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 592 Müller) ap. Eustath. in II. p. 265. 4 ff. éntwáv tó chrístwv kai tiv tiv krinhn évphsios én Béthwvnikov óti aútwes eis tó ákra tivn órwv Béthnov ékhlwv Pávastiv tivn Dían kai 'Attiv tivn aútwn. The statement that Attis was called Pávastis is borne out by Diod. 3. 58 tivn pros éntwwegewnuv wuvn 'Attiv éntwwegewnuv tó epákhrhthta Pávastis, Hippolyt. ref. haeres. 5. 9 p. 118 f., Miller 'Attiv: ék katówv ... oí chrístwv élltwv wuvn Pávastis k.t.l., Corp. inscr. Lat. v no. 766 (Aquiléia) Atti Pávastis etc.; see F. Camont in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 2180, H. Hepding Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult Giessen 1903 p. 112 n. 5. That the Phrygian Zeus too was Pávastis appears from inscriptions: Journ. Hell. Stud. 1884 v. 260 no. 12 near Nakoleia Dí Pávastis évkhí, Corp. inscr. Gr. iii no. 3817 Pávastis Dí Sarthwv évkhí kai 'Hraelh 'Axiófhtwv.

In the Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 79 I drew attention to these equations, and suggested that 'Attis and Pávastis alike meant 'Father,' the one being related to árra, the other to pávastis. The Phrygian Zeus Brontes was entitled Pávastis (Journ. Hell. Stud. 1882 iii. 123 f., infra ch. ii § 4 (d)). See further Hepding op. cit. p. 187 f.
Zeus, whose Dionysiac nature was clear from his altar adorned with two grape-bunches and a plough. Moreover, the name Sabazios is, as all admit, a mere ethnic. The Saboi are called by Eustathios Thrarians, by Stephanos Phrygians. Their god Sábos or Sabáios was a Thraco-Phrygian Zeus, whose avatar was a Thraco-Phrygian Dionysos.

Finally Zeus Sabáios came to be identified with the sun. An inscription from Nikopolis in Moesia records a dedication to 'Zeus Helios the Mighty Lord, the Holy Sebaziou.' And in Thrace on the hill Zilmissos there was a circular hypaethral temple of Sol Liber Sebadius, the Dionysiac form of the same deity.

1 Supra p. 4. Note also Hesych. s.v. Bayaioi...Zeis Phrýgios. P. Kretschmer Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache Göttingen 1896 p. 81 'von 'baga, gr. φαγεῖ' showed that this epithet implied an early 'Oak'-god: cp. Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 79.


3 Eustath. in Dionys. perr. 1060 Ἡσυν ὅσον δὲ καὶ Θνοὺς Ὀρμικοῦς Σάβδος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βάκχου ἤπειρος Φηνίγιν διαλέγεται.

4 Steph. Byz. s.v. Σάβδος θνοῦ Φηνίγας. Ἀνάγουται καὶ ἄτι τοῦ Βάκχου παρὰ Φηνικί.

5 P. Fernriet in the Bull. corr. hell. 1896 xx. 101 holds that Sabazios as a sun-god was the Phrygian counterpart of Men the moon-god, with whom he was certainly brought into connexion (see Eisele in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 382 and especially Prokl. in Plat. Tim. iii. 41. 10 f. Diehl παρειληφθας καὶ παρὰ Φηνίκι Μήνα Σαβάδος ωραύμενον [καὶ] ἐν μῆναι ταῖς τοῦ Σαβάδου τελεταῖς). But Eisele loc. cit. p. 255 views the solar aspect of Sabazios as due to Orphic influence in the case of the Thracian cult and perhaps to late solar monotheism in the case of the Moesian inscription.

6 Arch. cp. Mitth. 1886 x. 341 no. 6 an altar from Nikopolis (Ieni—Nikup) inscribed [ιένιοι θείοι] 'Ιδειας μεγάλης [μεντρ] Δι' Ἡλιός μεγάλος κυρίως Σαβάδος άγιως. For the cult-title 'Αγιω cp. the solar Zeus 'Αγιως at Tripolis (supra p. 192).

7 Macrob. Sat. 1. 18. 1 item in Thracia eundem haberi solem atque Liberum accipimus, quem illi Sebadium nuncupantes magnifica religione celebrant, ut Alexander
The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia

If the foregoing considerations are well founded, it follows that there was no small resemblance between Zeus Ammon and Zeus Sabázios. In both cases a ram-god developed into a sun-god. In both the deity became a snake. The Libyan Zeus had his sacred oak: the Phrygian Zeus as Bagatos was an oak-god. Zeus Ammon had a goddess to wife, possibly Mother Earth herself, and begat a youthful Ammon most probably identified with the Libyan Dionysos. Zeus Sabázios consorted with Demeter and Kore, perhaps before them with the earth-mother, and likewise begat a Phrygian Dionysos.

Now there are strong reasons for believing that the Graeco-Libyans were near akin to the Thraco-Phrygians, and that both sets of tribes had relatives among the early Cretans. It is therefore of interest to find in Crete, the half-way house between them, sundry traces of the same worship. We do not, it is true, get here any Minoan evidence of Zeus as a ram-god, unless indeed we may see with Sir Arthur Evans in a clay sealing from the palace at Knossos (fig. 298) the infant Zeus nursed by a horned sheep. But observe that in Crete the ram gave place to other animals of a like significance, especially to the agrimi or wild-goat and to the bull.


1 Supra p. 364 ff.
2 Supra p. 400 n. 1.
3 Supra p. 370.
4 Supra p. 371 ff.
5 The evidence is persuasively marshalled by Sir Arthur Evans in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1897 xvii. 372 ff. (‘Crete the Meeting-point of Thraco-Phrygian and Libyan Elements’). For a review of recent research in the same direction see K. Penka Die vorhellenische Besiedlung Griechenlands Hildburghausen 1911.
7 Infra ch. i § 6 (g) xvi.

At Gortyna there appears to have been an annual festival (Tiropoi), in which Zeus as a Satyr (Tiropoi) consorted with the earth-goddess Europe (infra ch. i § 6 (g) xviii.). Now, according to Serv. in Verg. Æl. 1 proem., Laconum lingua Tityrus dicitur aries
The well-known fragment of Euripides' Cretans suffices to prove that the mysteries of Zeus Idaios, the mountain-mother, and Zagreus were already connected with that island in the fifth century B.C. Not improbably they had been celebrated there from time immemorial. Silver coins of Priamos in Crete from 430 B.C. onwards represent a goddess enthroned beneath a palm-tree, who caresses with her hand the head of a great snake (fig. 299). F. Lennormant, Prof. P. Gardner and Mr W. Wroth have made out a strong case for regarding this goddess as Persephone the mother of Zagreus. J. N. Svoronos would see in her Hygieia. Dr B. V. Head cautiously observes: 'The goddess fondling the serpent may be Persephone approached by Zeus in the likeness of a serpent... or possibly Hygieia'. Whatever her name, she could doubtless claim kinship with the snake-goddess of Knossos, Gournia, and Palaikastro. Other silver coins, probably struck at Gortyna between 66 and 31 B.C., belong to the large series of kistophóroi. This quasi-federal currency had on its obverse side

Fig. 299.  Fig. 300.  Fig. 301.

maior qui gregem anteire consuevit: sicut etiam in comediis inventum. And Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1388 n. 8 thinks that this use of τιτρόπος came to Sparta from Crete. It is therefore just possible that at Gortyna Zeus was originally a ram-god. But?

The head of Zeus Ammon, both bearded and beardless, occurs on coins of the Cretan towns Arkadia c. 300 B.C. (J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crète ancienne Macon 1890 i. 26 f. pl. 2, 16—21, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 12 pl. 3, 7 fig. Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 176, Head Hist. num. 3 p. 458) and Knossos c. 200—100 B.C. (Svoronos op. cit. i. 78 f. pl. 6, 24, 15, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 23 pl. 6, 9, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 176 pl. 41, 4, Head Hist. num. 3 p. 463).

2 J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crète ancienne Macon 1890 i. 295 f. pl. 28, 21—23, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 73 pl. 18, 6 (=my fig. 299), 7, Head Hist. num. 3 p. 476.
4 P. Gardner Types of Gr. Coins p. 162 pl. 9, 5.
6 J. N. Svoronos loc. cit.
7 Head loc. cit.
8 The examples of a 'Minoan' snake-goddess are listed by H. Prinz in the Ath. Mitth. 1910 xxxv. 157 f.
an ivy-wreath enclosing a kiste with half-open lid, from which a snake creeps out, and on its reverse two snakes twisted together with a bow-case between them. The Cretan modification of the latter type introduces Zeus with thunderbolt and eagle in place of the bow-case (fig. 300). The early Cretans are known to have carried their civilisation westwards as far as Sicily and south Italy. They took with them their cult of a god identified with Zeus. For this among other reasons we may accept Eckhel's interpretation of a type occurring on certain small fifth-century silver coins of Selinus (fig. 301): Persephone seated on a rock, as befits the daughter of a mountain-mother, coquets with Zeus, who approaches her as a bearded snake. The same type is found on a small silver coin of Segesta. No wonder Orphic and Pythagorean doctrines received so ready a welcome in Magna Graecia. It was their old, though not their oldest, home.

iii. The Golden or Purple Ram of the Etruscans and Italians.

Etruscan books declared that a ram born of a remarkable or unusual colour portended universal prosperity to the emperor. Tarquinius, who translated into Latin an Etruscan collection of omens, wrote: 'If a sheep or ram be sprinkled with purple or golden colour, it increases plenty and great prosperity for the prince of the order and clan; the clan continues to have illustrious descendants and becomes more flourishing in them.' Hence

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2 Infra ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (8).
4 Eckhel Doctr. num. vet. i. 240 f.
6 Head Hist. num. p. 166, citing G. Tropea Numismatica Siciliana del Mus. Mandralica in Cefalu 1901 p. 29 no. 5. Eisele in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 260 notes a similar type at Gela; but his reference to Monnet Descr. de midi. ant. i. 236 is mistaken. Cp. also denarii of C. Memmius c. 60 B.C., on which Ceres appears enthroned with three corn-ears in her right hand, a torch in her left, and a snake at her feet (Babelon Monn. rép. rom. ii. 218 fig. 1)—a type revived in imperial times (Rasche Lex. Num. viii. 696).
7 Serv. in Verg. ecl. 4. 43. Macrobr. Sat. 3. 7. 2.
8 Macrobr. loc. cit. Rheginos ap. Tzet. chil. 1. 468 f. cites from Isigonos (frag. 5 Westermann) the statement that sheep have wool of a golden colour.
Virgil in his famous fourth Eclogue, anticipating the dawn of a brighter age, says:

Nor wool shall learn its parti-coloured lies;  
But in the meadows of himself the ram  
Shall change his fleece for sweetly-blushing purple  
Or saffron stain, and of its own accord  
Scarlet shall clothe the lambs what time they graze.¹

One of the omens portending the accession of Diadumenes was that twelve purple sheep, one of them parti-coloured, were born on his father's estate.²

In the folk-tale of Cupid and Psyche the second task imposed on the unhappy Psyche is thus described by Apuleius:³

¹ Just as Aurora drove up, Venus called Psyche, and began: "Do you see that wood, all along the banks of the river that flows past, with its lower waters falling into the fountain close by us? There are sheep there with gleaming fleeces that grow with the colour of gold, grazing and wandering about, with no one looking after them. Seek out one tuft from all that growth of costly fleece, any way you like, and bring it to me: that is my command." Psyche went off with a will, not however with the intention of doing as she was bid, but to seek rest in her misfortunes by hurling herself from the cliff over the stream. But the green reed by the river, the nursling of soft music, was divinely inspired by the gentle rustling of the balmy breeze, and gave its oracle forth. "O Psyche, exercised by great and numerous woes, pollute not my sacred waters by thy most wretched death, nor yet approach the formidable sheep on yonder bank. For they are wont to become heated from the raging sunshine and rush about madly and savagely, bringing death to mortals in their fury, with their sharp horns and stony foreheads and, sometimes too, envenomed teeth. But when midday has assuaged the heat of the sun, and the cattle have settled down to rest in the cool that comes up from the river, thou canst hide thyself secretly beneath that giant plane-tree, which drinks from the same current as myself: and then, when the sheep have passed from their first fury and are relieved of mental tension, strike the foliage of the neighbouring wood: there thou shalt find the golden wool, which is everywhere clinging and cleaving to the undergrowth." So spake the reed, so frankly and humanely, and taught poor Psyche the way of health, though her sickness was unto death. She did not fail to put in practice the instruction she had received through her hearing, and of which she had no cause to repent. She was careful in everything, and, by an easy exercise of petty theft, she filled her bosom with the soft yellow gold, and brought it back to Venus.⁴

Fulgentius, writing about the year 500 A.D., describes these sheep with golden fleece as 'the flocks of the Sun.' And he is probably right; for their fury varied, as Apuleius says, with the heat of that luminary. Psyche finding the fleece of gold adhering

¹ Verg. ecl. 4. 42 ff.
² Ael. Lampr. Ant. Diadum. 4-5, cp. ib. 3-3 quasi sidereus et caelestis emicuit.
³ Apul. met. 6. 11-13 trans. F. D. Byrne.
⁴ Fulgent. myth. 3. 6 p. 718 van Staveren.
to the tree-stems near the big plane-tree will—I suspect—prove
to be a doublet of Iason finding the fleece of gold hung on an
oak-tree in the grove of Ares1.

iv. The Golden or Purple Lamb of Atreus.

Analogous beliefs in Greece appear to connect the purple or
golden ram not only with the prosperity of the ruler but also with
the sun. A Greek commentator on the *Iliad* tells the following
tale:

‘Atreus, son of Pelops and king of the Peloponnese, once vowed that he
would sacrifice to Artemis the fairest offspring of his flocks. But, when a golden
lamb was born to him, he repented of his vow and kept the lamb shut up in a
chest. Proud of his treasure he used boastful language in the market-place.
Thyestes, vexed at this, made love to Aërope and induced her to give him the
treasure. Having secured it he told his brother that he had no right to boast
in that way, and asserted in the hearing of the multitude that the man who had
the golden lamb ought to have the kingdom. When Atreus had agreed to this,
Zeus sent Hermes and bade him make a compact about the kingdom, informing
him that he was about to cause the sun to travel backwards. Atreus made the
compact, and the sun set in the east. Wherefore, inasmuch as heaven had
borne witness to the avarice of Thyestes, Atreus received the kingdom and-
drove Thyestes into banishment.2

This tale was celebrated in antiquity. It can be traced back to
the *Alkmaionis*3, an Argive epic probably written in the sixth
century B.C. And Euripides, who took a special interest in primi-
tive religious ideas, has repeated allusions to it.4 The myth has
come down to us with the usual number of slight variations5.

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1 Apollod. 1. 9. 6.
   fab. p. 26 ff.
5 The lamb was brought to Argos by Ant[ops?] (*Alkmaion* frag. 6) or Hermes (Eur.
   Or. 993 ff.) or Pan (Eur. *El. 700 ff.*); or was found in the flocks of Atreus through the
   wrath of Hermes, who wished to avenge the murder of his son Myrtilos (schol. Eur. Or.
   1. 433 ff.), or through the wrath of Artemis (Therekydes *ap. schol. Eur. Or. 997 A. B. I.*);
   or was simply born in the flocks of Atreus (schol. Eur. Or. 812 Fl. 33; A, schol. II. 2.
   106 A. D.). The sun and the Pleiads reversed their usual course for a single day (schol.
   *politic.* 268 r—269 A). The myth is sometimes combined with that of Thyestes’ feast
   106). One account makes Atreus strangle the golden lamb that appeared and then keep
   it in a box (Apollod. *epit.* 1. 101 f., Apollonios *ap. Tzetz. chil.* 1. 436 ff.); another
   makes him sacrifice to Artemis the flesh of the golden lamb born in his flocks, but save
among which the most interesting are perhaps Simonides' statement that Atreus' golden lamb was purple, and Seneca's mention of a ram, not a lamb:

Pelops' high steading hath a noble beast,
A magic ram, leader of that rich flock.
Over and o'er its body hangs the hair,
One wave of gold; and from its back new kings
tantalean their golden sceptres bear.
Its owner reigns—the whole line's fortune follows it.
Safely it grazes in a place apart,
A thing of sanctity shut in by stone².

Atreus' golden lamb was regarded by some ancient writers as a silver bowl or cup enriched with a gold lamb in the centre of it³.

Fig. 202.

Others perhaps identified it with the sceptre 'which Hephaistos made for Zeus, and Zeus gave to Hermes, and Hermes to Pelops, and Pelops bequeathed to Atreus, and Atreus to Thyestes, and Thyestes passed on to Agamemnon⁴.' For an ἀσπέδ by the painter Amasis (550—530 B.C.) shows Herakles holding bow and arrow in his left hand and extending his right towards a king, whose

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¹ Simonid. frag. 200 A Bergk⁴ ap. Tezze. chil. 1. 430 f. Bergk ad loc. cites Schneidewin's opinion that Tezze is importing into the story of Atreus a statement that Simonides really made about the Colchian fleece (see infra p. 419 n. 4).


³ Herod. Herakleia frag. 61 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 41 Müller) ap. Athen. 231 c φᾶλην, Eustath. in H. p. 868, 49 f. φᾶλαιων, ib. p. 1319, 47 f. πορθεμένων. For royal gold cups adorned with special animal forms see Folk-Lore 1906 xvii. 168 n. 3.

⁴ Paus. 9. 40. 11, on which see Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 371.
sceptre ends in a ram's head (fig. 302). This may be interpreted as Herakles with Eurystheus, whose successor was Atreus of the golden lamb.

But such *regalia* cannot explain the myth; at most they presuppose it. It seems certain that the golden lamb (or ram) belongs to a very ancient *stratum* of Greek religion. And in view of the ram-Zeus, whom we have found among the Graeco-Libyans and Thraco-Phrygians, I shall venture to suggest that the golden lamb was a theriomorphic epiphany of Zeus, the forefather of the Pelopidai. This might account for the repeated mention of a ram in connexion with the family. Pausanias, when describing the route from Mykenai to Argos, says:

' We come to the grave of Thyestes on the right. Over the grave is the stone figure of a ram, because Thyestes obtained the golden lamb, after he had committed adultery with his brother's wife."

A little further on he speaks of Thyestes' tomb as 'the Rams' in the plural. At Olympia the annual magistrates used to slay a victim into a pit for Pelops, the father of Atreus and Thyestes, and the victim was a black ram, the neck of which was given to the 'woodman' of Zeus. Pelops himself had won the kingdom from Oinomaos, king of Pisa, whose practice it was to sacrifice a ram to Zeus before starting on the chariot-race with the competitor for the hand of his daughter Hippodameia. The scene is


Note that a ram's head was a frequent design on thrones, e.g. that of Zeus on the *krater* of the Villa Papa Giulio and on the Madrid *pudeal* (infra ch. ii § 9 (h) i (v)), or that of Damasistrate on her *stèle* (Stais *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes* p. 134 f. no. 743; *Reinach Rép. Reliefs* ii. 401 no. 3).

2 *Paus.* 2. 18. 1. On ancient Phrygian and modern Armenian tombs marked by stone rams see J.-G. Frazer *Ad loc.*

3 *Paus.* 2. 18. 3.

4 *Paus.* 3. 13. 2 f.

Cp. the black sheep, male and female, slain into a pit by Odysseus for Teiresias etc. (*Od.* 10. 515 ff. 11. 23 ff.) : Polygnotos in the Cnidian *Léuch* at Delphi represented the victims as black rams (*Paus.* 10. 39. 1) ; a vase at Paris shows a black-striped sheep and a ram's head by the mouth of the pit (*Furtwängler-Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 300 pl. 69, *Reinach Rép. Vases* i. 126, 1 f., Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 671 f. fig. 10). So at Lebadeia a ram was sacrificed over a pit for Agamedes (*Paus.* 9. 39. 6). Those who consulted the oracle of Kalchas on a hill called Drion in Daunia sacrificed to him a black ram and slept on its skin (Strab. 284). Near the foot of the same hill was a sanctuary of Podaleirios (Strab. ib.) and his tomb: Daunians who slept there on sheep-skins received oracles in dreams (*Lyk. Al.* 1050 ff., *Timaiaor frag.* 15 ap. *Tzetzs. in Lyk. Al.* 1050). At the sanctuary of Amphiarao near Oropos enquirers slew a ram and likewise slept on its skin (Paus. 1. 34. 5). The nymph Albunea had a dream-oracle near Tibur: those who consulted it slept on the skins of sheep (Verg. *Aen.* 7. 81 ff.). See further Loukian, *de dos Syr.* 55 on a similar practice at Hierapolis, and Hieron. *comm. in Ies.* 65 (xxiv. 657 Migne) on incubation in the cult of Aesculapius.

5 *Diod.* 4. 73.
The Golden or Purple Lamb of Atreus

represented on a vase from Ruvo (fig. 303). Pelops in Phrygian attire clasps the hand of Hippodameia over a flaming altar. By the bride stands her father Oinomaos in full armour. Behind him a wreathed attendant, perhaps Myrtilos, brings the ram for the sacrifice: the wheel at his feet is a short-hand indication of the approaching chariot-race. The Fury on the right and Aphrodite with Eros on the left suggest the two alternatives of death or victory. A fine polychrome vase from S. Agata de' Goti, now in the Naples collection, depicts the scene as viewed a few moments later (fig. 304). Pelops and Hippodameia, already mounted on the four-horse car, are glancing backwards at Oinomaos, who,

![Fig. 303.](image)

helped by a couple of wreathed attendants, is about to sacrifice the ram at an altar burning before a high pedestalled statue of Artemis. The goddess carries in either hand a bow and a *phialè*; her head-dress is topped by three letters, which yield no intelligible sense. Behind the ram is a youthful, but unnamed, spectator with two spears and a shield; he too is wreathed and sits upon his *chlamys*. In the upper register Myrtilos, wearing a wreath and the long *chitôn* of a charioteer, brings up the four-horse car of Oinomaos. The statue of Artemis is flanked by the figures of Poseidon and Athena, the remaining corner being filled in by a group of Zeus with the boy Ganymedes, hoop and hoop-stick in hand, and a daintily-dressed Aphrodite. P. Weizsäcker suggests that the attitude of Zeus, who turns his back upon the sacrifice, is

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2 *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 49 ff. pl. 55. See also Reinach *Rép. Vasès* i. 379, 1; Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 779 f. fig. 5.
meant to imply that the god will not hear the prayer of Oinomaos. If so, the artist is guilty of some confusion; for the statue before which the offering is about to be made is certainly not a Zeus, but an archaic Artemis. However, other representations of the same scene—and they are fairly common—consistently show the pillar or statue in the central position to be that of Zeus; and this agrees with the literary tradition.

In the myth of Atreus possession of the golden lamb and control of the sun's course were alike accepted as proofs of fitness to reign. Hence I formerly conjectured that the golden lamb symbolised the sun itself. This, however, is an ill-supported guess: solar symbolism was at best a secondary development of the myth, not its primary meaning.

v. The Cattle of the Sun.

In Homeric times the Sun-god was looked upon as the owner of cattle both great and small. He had seven herds of oxen and seven fair flocks of sheep in the island of Thrinakie. In each herd

1 P. Weizsäcker in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 777.
2 Supra p. 36 ff., pls. iii, iv, 1, v.
3 Diod. 4. 73. On the Argive identification of Apollon Kilينةs with Zeus see supra p. 373 n. 1.
4 Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 184, Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 271.

Later rationalists explained away the golden lamb and the reversal of the sun's course by saying that Thyestes discovered the constellation of Aries and that Atreus pointed out the difference between the real and apparent motions of the heavenly bodies: see Eur. frag. 861 Nauck ap. Achill. Stat. ian. in Arat. phæn. 123 ε, Polyb. ap. Strab. 73, Loukian. de astrolog. 12. Tzetz. chil. 1. 470 takes Hermes to be the planet Mercury and Artemis to be the moon.
or flock were fifty oxen or sheep, as the case might be. They were not subject to birth or death; and they were tended by Phaethousa and Lampetie, two nymphs, whom Neaira bore to the Sun-god himself. Apollonios Rhodios describes Phaethousa as shepherding the sheep with a silver staff in her hand, while Lampetie kept the oxen with a crook of shining mountain-bronze: the oxen themselves were milk-white with golden horns. Aristotle gave what the Greeks called a 'physical' explanation of this myth, referring the 350 (= 7 × 50) oxen to the days of the lunar year: the scholiast on the *Odyssey* grasps at the clue and surmises that the 350 (= 7 × 50) sheep in like manner denote the corresponding nights. F. G. Weleker half a century since defended and reinforced this view. But are we prepared to interpret in the same way the oxen of the Sun-god, which the giant Alkyoneus drove from Erytheia and kept at Phlegrai on the Thracian Isthmos? And what of the cattle lifted by Hermes, which, according to one account, belonged to the Sun? It is surely of more moment to observe that, even in historical times, actual flocks and herds were kept for the Sun-god in various parts of Greece. There were cattle of the Sun at Gortyna in Crete. The Homeric hymn to the Pythian Apollon, which cannot be later than the year 586 B.C. and may be much older, relates that certain Cretans—

Passing Lakonis reached the sea-girt town
And fields of the Sun that brings delight to men,
Even Tainaron, where the deep-fleeced sheep are fed
Of the kingly Sun and range a lovely land.

Lastly, at Apollonia in Illyria the Sun-god had flocks about which we are better informed. Herodotos in one of his delightful digressions gives us the following narrative:

1 Od. 12. 127 ff., 361 ff.
4 Schol. Od. 12. 129.
5 Weleker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 405 f.
6 Apollod. 1. 6. 1.
9 Serv. in *Verg. cat.* 6. 60.
12 Hdt. 9. 93 f. and ap. Eustath. in Od. p. 1717, 45 f. Konon the mythographer, who
The Cattle of the Sun

At this same Apollonia are sheep sacred to the sun. By day they feed beside a river, which flows from Mount Lakmon through the district of Apollonia and enters the sea near the harbour of Orikos. But by night they are guarded by certain chosen men, the richest and noblest of the citizens, each guardian keeping watch for a twelvemonth. For the Apolloniates set great store by these sheep in consequence of an oracle. And the flock is folded in a cave at a distance from the town. Here then on the occasion of which I speak this man Euenios, chosen for the post, was mounting guard. One night he fell asleep while on duty; and wolves, creeping past into the cave, destroyed some sixty of the sheep. He, when he saw what had happened, kept his counsel and told no man, intending to buy other sheep and substitute them. However, the Apolloniates discovered the facts, and, on ascertaining what had occurred, brought him before a tribunal and condemned him to forfeit his eyesight, since he had slept at his post. But, as soon as they had blinded Euenios, their sheep ceased to have lambs and their land no longer bore crops as before. Responses were given them both at Dodona and at Delphi, when they enquired of the priests the reason of their present misfortune, to the effect that they had sinned in depriving of his eyesight Euenios, the guardian of the sacred sheep, for that they (the gods) had sent the wolves, and now would not desist from avenging him till the citizens had paid for their misdeeds whatever penalty he himself chose and deemed right; but that, if this were duly done, the gods on their part would bestow upon Euenios a gift that would make many a man call him blessed. These were the oracles delivered to the Apolloniates. They kept strict silence about the matter, and entrusted the management of it to certain citizens, who acted in the following way. When Euenios was sitting on his seat, they came and sat beside him. They began to talk of one thing and another, and at last fell to sympathising with his calamity. Thus taking him in, they asked what penalty he would choose, supposing the Apolloniates were minded to promise reparation for their misdeeds. He, not having heard the terms of the oracle, made the following choice: if they would give him fields that belonged to such and such citizens—and here he named those whom he thought to possess the two finest plots in Apollonia—and in addition a house, which he knew to be the best in the town, why, once possessed of those, he said, he would have no grievance left and would be well content with that as a penalty. So he said his say, and the men sitting beside him replied: "Euenios the Apolloniates hereby pay you this as a penalty for the blinding of your eyes, in accordance with oracles that they have received." At this he was much put out, realising the whole plot, and how he had been deceived: but they bought the property from its owners and gave him what he had chosen. And from that time onwards he had prophetic powers implanted in him, so that his fame spread far and wide.

The story of Euenios, who kept the sheep of the Sun-god in a cave and was blinded for losing them by sleeping at his post, bears a superficial resemblance to the myth of Polyphemos. But lived in the time of Julius Caesar and dedicated his work to Archelaos, king of Kappadokia, told the same story, except that he spoke of Βούνιος as Ηεθηνιών (Konon narr. 30 ap. Phot. bibl. p. 136 a 6 ff. Bekker).

1 Hdt. 9. 95 states that Deiphonos, the son of this Euenios, was seer of the Greek fleet before the battle of Mycale (479 B.C.), but adds, on hear-say, that the former was a pretender who travelled through Greece usurping the name and fame of the latter.
the inference that I wish to draw from it is this. If, about the year 500 B.C., the inhabitants of Apollonia jealously guarded a flock of sheep under the belief that they belonged to the Sun-god and ensured the fertility of their own flocks and fields, it seems highly probable that the myth of the golden lamb presupposes a similar custom in the heroic age. The luck of the Pelopidaí depended on the safe-guarding of a particular sheep, believed to be— if I am right in my surmise—not merely the property, but the visible embodiment, of Zeus.

vi. The Golden Lamb in a folk-tale from Epeiros.

This connexion between the golden lamb and Zeus goes far towards explaining a remarkable folk-tale heard by Dr J. G. von Hahn at Kapéssovo, a village in the district of Zagóri to the north-east of Jáninná in Epeiros1:

'There was once a king, who had three sons and great riches; and, before he died, he divided his substance among his sons. The two elder sons lived a merry life, year in year out, squandering and scattering their father's treasures till there was nothing left and they were reduced to poverty. The youngest on the other hand kept house with his share, took a wife, and had by her a most beautiful daughter. When she grew up, he built for her a big underground palace, and killed the architect who had built it. Then he shut up his daughter in it, and sent heralds throughout the world to announce that, whosoever could succeed in finding the king's daughter, should have her to wife; but that, if he failed to find her, he must be put to death. So many young men came to essay the adventure. But all their efforts were in vain: they could not find the princess, and they lost their heads.

After many had already met their deaths, there came one young man, as clever as he was handsome, bent on pursuing the quest. He went therefore to a herdsman and begged him to hide him in a sheep-skin with a golden fleece and to bring him in this disguise before the king. The shepherd agreed to do so, took a sheep-skin which had a golden fleece, sewed up the fellow inside it, gave him also food and drink and sheep's-droppings, and so brought him before the king. The king, on seeing the golden lamb, asked the herdsman: "Have you got that lamb for sale?" But the herdsman rejoined: "No, sire, not for sale; but, if it takes your fancy, I will gladly do you a service and lend it you without pay for three days. But you must then give it back to me."

The king promised to do so, and repaired with the lamb to his daughter. Having led it into his castle and through many chambers, he came to a door and cried: "Open, Tartara Martara of the earth!" Thereupon the door flew

1 The modern Greek text is printed from J. G. von Hahn's manuscripts by J. Pio NEOELENNIKA ΠΑΡΑΜΩΤΙΑ Contes populaires grecs Copenhagen 1879 p. 52 ff. There is a German translation by J. G. von Hahn Griechische und albanesische Märchen Leipzig 1864 l. 124 ff.

2 Ἀνοίξτε τάρταρα μαρταρά τῆς γῆς! For the phrase Τάρταρα τῆς γῆς cp. A. Passow
open of itself; and, after they had gone through many more chambers, they came to a second door. Here the king again cried: "Open, Tartara Martara of the earth!" Then the door flew open of itself; and they came to the room, where the princess lived. Its floor, walls, and ceiling were of solid silver. The king, when he had greeted the princess, gave her the lamb. She was delighted with it: she stroked it and fondled it and played with it. But when, shortly afterwards, the lamb eased itself, the princess said to the king: "Father, the lamb has eased itself!" And he replied: "It is just a lamb, why should it not?" Then he left the lamb with the princess and went his way.

During the night the young fellow drew off the skin. And the princess, seeing that he was so handsome, fell in love with him and asked: "Why did you hide in the skin and come here?" He replied: "When I saw that so many failed to find you and lost their lives, I contrived this trick and came to you." Then the princess exclaimed: "Ah, you have done well! But you must know that, even if you have found me here, your wager is not yet won. For then my father changes me and my maidens into ducks and asks you: 'Which of these ducks is the princess?' But I will turn my head round and plume my feathers with my beak, so that you can recognise me."

When they had prattled away for three days together, the herdsman came back to the king and demanded his lamb. And the king went to his daughter to fetch it. She was woe-begone at her sporting with the lamb being so soon over. But the king said: "I cannot leave it with you, for it is only lent." He took it away and returned it to the herdsman.

The young fellow now pulled off the skin, went to the king and said: "Sire, I can find your daughter." The king, seeing the handsome lad, answered him: "I'm sorry for your youth, my boy. This adventure has already cost so many their lives, and it will be the death of you too." "I stand by my word, sir king; I will either find her or lose my head." So saying, he went in front of the king, and the king followed him till they came to the great door. Then said the young man to the king: "Speak three words, and it opens." And the king made answer: "What words are they? Shall I say: Lock, Lock, Lock?" "No," cried he, "say: Open, Tartara Martara of the earth!" The king did so, and the door opened. They went in, and the king bit his moustache for anger. Then they came to the second door, where the same thing happened over again. They entered, and found the princess.

Next the king said: "Well done, you have found the princess. But now I am going to turn her and her maidens into ducks; and, if you can guess which of them all is my daughter, then you shall have her to wife." And without more ado the king changed all the maidens into ducks, brought them before the young man, and said to him: "Now show me, which is my daughter." Then the princess, as she had agreed to do, plumed her wings with her beak; and the young man answered: "The one yonder, pluming her wings, is the princess." There was then no help for it; the king had to give her to him for a wife, and he lived with her in grandeur and in happiness.

*Popularia carmina Graccia recentioris* Lipsiae 1860 no. 368. 1 Κάτω στὰ Τάρπαρα τῆς γῆς, κάτω στὸν κάτω κόσμον, J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 98. The same word Tārpa survives in Rhodes as a name for the deepest part of Hades (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen i.* 235 citing Benetoklis in the *Εφημερίς τῶν Φιλομαθῶν* 1860 p. 1257). Μάρταρα is a meaningless jingle formed on the analogy of Tārpa (J. Pio *op. cit.* p. 238).
Dr J. G. von Hahn points out—and indeed it is sufficiently obvious—that the folk-tale recalls the myth of Danaë. It is instructive to summarise the two in parallel columns:

**The myth of Danaë.**

Akrisios, king of Argos, kept his daughter Danaë shut up in an underground chamber of bronze.

Despite the king's precautions, Zeus visited her in a shower of gold, and became by her the father of Perseus.

The king enclosed Danaë and Perseus in a chest, and flung them into the sea.

**The folk-tale from Epeiros.**

A certain king kept his daughter shut up in an underground chamber of silver.

Despite the king's precautions, a young man visited her in the fleece of a golden lamb, and won her for his wife.

A comparison of the myth, localised at Argos, dated in the reign of king Akrisios, and throughout marked by definite names, with the folk-tale, which, like so many Märchen, is placeless, timeless, nameless, shows at once that the former is more developed than the latter. In particular, the whole episode of Danaë and Perseus in the chest, which forms so striking a feature of the myth, is a sequel added to the original tale. It re-appears in quite a different connexion in another folk-tale from the same village of Kapéssovo. But the first part of the Danaë-myth is strictly parallel to the first folk-tale, and the gold-showering Zeus of the one is comparable with the golden lamb of the other. This variation is intelligible, if, as I have supposed, the golden lamb of Atreus and Thyestes was the epiphany of Zeus himself.

vii. The Golden or Purple Ram of Phrixos.

The golden lamb of the Pelopidai, with its relations to Zeus on the one hand and to the sun on the other, can hardly be discussed without reference to the golden ram of Phrixos and Helle. The myth in question has come down to us through a large number of channels, good, bad, and indifferent. The oldest version

1 J. G. von Hahn *op. cit.* ii. 206. Other resemblances to the Danaë-myth are noted *ib.* ii. 301, 310 f.

2 'Ο μεσβός ἄρωτος, 'The Half-man': text in J. Pio ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΙΑ p. 21 ff., German translation in J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* i. 102 ff. The princess, her child, and the Half-man, who is suspected of being its father, are enclosed together in an iron vessel with a lid and sent adrift on the sea, but are rescued by magic means. The situation is that described by von Hahn as the 'Danaë-formula' and illustrated by him from Walachian and Italian tales (see J. G. von Hahn *op. cit.* i. 49).

accessible in its entirety is that of Sophokles, who told the tale in the following form. Athamas had two children, Phrixos and Helle, by the goddess Nephele. Afterwards he deserted her and took to him a mortal woman in her stead. Nephele out of jealousy flew up to the sky, and punished him by sending a drought upon his realm. Envoys dispatched to consult the Pythian Apollo were bribed by the step-mother to bring back word that the drought could be stayed only if Athamas sacrificed Phrixos and Helle. Athamas, on hearing this, sent to fetch his children from the flocks, when a ram speaking with human voice warned them of their danger. They fled with the ram. Helle, in crossing the strait at Abydos, fell from the ram and was drowned in the sea, called after her Hellespontos, ‘Helle’s sea.’ But Phrixos, riding on the ram, got safely to the country of the Kolchoi. Here he sacrificed the ram, which by the agency of the gods had become golden-fleeced, to Ares or to Hermes. Phrixos settled in these parts, which in memory of him were named Phrygia, ‘Phrixos’ land.’ Meantime Nephele proceeded to avenge her children. Athamas in his turn, garlanded like a victim, was led out to be sacrificed at the altar of Zeus. But in the nick of time Herakles appeared and rescued him.

In Sophokles’ version the step-mother is anonymous. But names were easy to supply. Pindar called her Demodike, Hippias Gorgopis, and Pherekydes of Leros Themisto. More popular, however, than any of these was Ino, the daughter of Kadmos and Harmonia, king and queen of Thebes. Her story was linked with that of Athamas at least as early as the fifth century B.C. The resultant myth is thus set out by Apollodoros:

1 Of the sons of Aiolos Athamas, ruler of Boiotia, became by Nephele the father of two children, Phrixos a boy and Helle a girl. Again he married Ino, of whom were born to him Learchos and Melikertes. Ino, plotting against the

1 Schol. Aristoph. was 257, Apostol. 1. 58, Euodok. viol. 28, cp. schol. Aisch. Pers. 70.
2 Schol. Pind. Pyth. 4. 388. For the MSS. Δημοτική (Δημοτική Gott.) A. Boeckh ad loc. (cp. Pind. frag. 49 Christ. 49 Schroeder) restores Δημοτική, cp. Hyg. πέτ. astr. 2. 20 Crethea autem habuisse Demodice uxorem, quam alii Diadice dixerunt. On the name Γερέβες (Hippia frag. 13 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 62 Müller)) see E. Wilisch in Roscher Lex. Myth. 1. 727 ff. Θερεκύδα (Pherekyd. frag. 52 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 86 Müller)) occurs in several versions of the myth (as first wife in Herodotus ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 1144, Athen. 560 d, as second wife in Eur. ap. Hyg. fab. 4, Hyg. fab. 1, as third wife in Apollod. 1. 9. 9, Nonn. Dion. 9. 302 ff.).
children of Nephele, persuaded the women to parch the wheat. They took it without the knowledge of the men and did so. The earth receiving wheat that was parched failed to give her yearly crops. Consequently Athamas sent to Delphi to ask how he could be rid of this barrenness. But Ino induced the messengers whom he had sent to declare that, according to the oracle, the curse upon the crops would be removed, if Phrixos were sacrificed to Zeus. Athamas, hearing this, was compelled by the inhabitants of the land to obey, and set Phrixos beside the altar. But Nephele caught him up along with her daughter, and, having obtained from Hermes a ram with a golden fleece, gave it to them. Carried by the ram through the sky, they traversed land and sea. But, when they were over the sea that lies between Sigeion and the Cherronesos, Helle slipped off into the deep; and, as she perished there, the sea was called Hellespontos after her. Phrixos came to the Kolchoi, whose king was Aietes, son of the Sun-god and of Perseis, and brother of Kirke and Pasiphae the wife of Minos. Aietes welcomed him and gave him Chalkiope, one of his daughters. Phrixos slew the ram with the golden fleece as a sacrifice to Zeus Phrixios and gave its skin to Aietes: he nailed it round an oak-tree in a grove of Ares. Phrixos moreover had by Chalkiope the following children, Argos, Melas, Phrontis, and Kyritis. At a later date Athamas, owing to the wrath of Hera, was deprived of his children by Ino also. For he himself went mad and shot Learchos, while Ino flung herself and Melikertes with her into the sea. Driven out of Boiotia, Athamas enquired of the god where he should dwell. The oracle replied that he should dwell wherever he was entertained as a guest by wild beasts. So he travelled through much country, till he fell in with wolves dividing sheep among themselves: they, when they caught sight of him, left their shares and fled. Athamas settled there, called the land Athamantia after his own name, married Themisto, the daughter of Hypseus, and begat Leukon, Erythros, Schoineus, and Ptoös.  

The myth of the golden ram was connected with two cult-centres of Zeus Laphystios, one at Halos in Thessaly¹, the other near Orchomenos in Boiotia². In both localities there was an Athamantine Plain³; and it is reasonable to assume that a Thessalian tribe, of whom Athamas was the eponymous king, had migrated into Boiotia⁴, and that there the story of Athamas had been blended with that of the Boeotian heroine Ino. Another cult-centre brought into connexion with the same myth was in the territory of the Moschoi, at the eastern end of the Black Sea, where Strabon records a sanctuary of Leukothea (that is, Ino) founded by Phrixos and possessing an oracle once wealthy but plundered by Pharmakes and Mithridates: there, he says, no ram is offered in sacrifice⁵. Tacitus adds that the neighbouring tribes

¹ Append. B Thessalia.
² Append. B Boiotia.
³ Ap. Rhod. 2. 516 ἀμ. πεδίων Φξησ' Ἀθαμάντιων with schol. ad loc. εἰς Ἀλυρ and εἰς Ἀλυρικησ, mag. p. 24, 10 f.: Paus. 9. 24. 1 ἐκ Ακρασφούθου ἔτη ἑπτά εὐθείαν ἐπὶ ἱμνη ἐν Ἰπποδίδα... πεδίων καλαμάκων ἐστὶν Ἀθαμάντιων.
⁴ Cp. Paus. 9. 34. 6 f.
⁵ Strab. 498.
of Hiberi and Albani regarded themselves as descended from Iason and his Thessalians\(^1\).

But, without attempting to determine the ethnology of this myth, for which task the data available are hardly sufficient, we may at least note that the golden ram has something to do with Zeus. Athamas is about to sacrifice Phrixos to Zeus, when the ram appears and carries him in safety through the air to a land in the far north-east\(^2\). Much the same thing happened to Iphigeneia when she was on the point of being sacrificed to Artemis at Aulis\(^3\): the goddess suddenly substituted for her a stag, according to the usual tradition, or a bear\(^4\), or a bull\(^5\), or an old woman\(^6\), and carried off the intended victim in a cloud to be her own priestess among the Tauroi. Now these animals, the stag, the bear, the bull, are precisely those that were regarded as most sacred to Artemis herself\(^7\). It is therefore highly probable that the golden ram was the sacred animal—whatever that implies—of Zeus La-phystios. This accounts for the belief, current in the vicinity of the Boeotian Mount Laphystion, that it was Zeus who sent the ram with the golden fleece\(^8\). The commonly received version of the myth makes Phrixos sacrifice the ram that has saved him to Zeus Phyxios, the god of escape\(^9\). Hyginus says simply 'to Zeus,' and adds that the hero 'fastened the skin in the temple,' that is, in the temple of Zeus\(^10\). The Latin commentary on the Aratea of Germanicus Caesar states that Phrixos ‘sacrificed the ram, and dedicated its golden fleece to Zeus.' Finally, we are told by Apollonios that Aietes would not have received Phrixos in his halls, had not Zeus himself sent Hermes from heaven to prepare the way before him\(^11\). Clearly Zeus had his share in the action throughout\(^12\).

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1 Tac. ann. 6. 34. Iust. 42. 3. 12. 2 Supra p. 415 f.
4 Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 183, Ant. Lib. 27.
5 Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 183, 194.
6 Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 183, 194.
8 Pans. 9. 34. 5, cp. Myth. Vat. 3. 15. 1.
11 Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 20.
12 Türk in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2462.
14 Other deities involved are Ares, Hermes, and Poseidon. The fleece was hung on an oak in the grove of Ares (Apollod. 1. 9. 1, Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 22, Val. Flacc. 5. 228 ff., cp. 1. 528.), Ap. Rhod. 2. 1147 f., Hyg. fab. 188) or in the temple of Ares (Hyg. fab. 3, Myth. Vat. 1. 23, 3. 134). Hermes supplied the ram (Apollod. 1. 9. 1, Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 21), or gilded its fleece (Ap. Rhod. 2. 1146 f. with schol.): it was sacrificed to Zeus.
418 The Golden or Purple Ram of Phrixos

But, while recognising that the golden ram was intimately related to Zeus, we have yet to ask—what was the significance of the ram itself? In ancient times this question called forth an amazing crop of rationalistic replies, stupid, stupider, and stupidest. The only one worth weighing at all is that put forward by Strabon, who, in his account of Kolchis, writes as follows of the Soanes, a tribe inhabiting the heights of Mount Kaukasos above Dioskourias:

'In their country, so it is said, the torrents bring down gold, which is caught by the barbarians in vats pierced with holes and on fleecy skins; from which practice arose the myth of the golden fleece.'

But religion in general, and mythology in particular, has suffered much at the hands of would-be rationalists. The only really reasonable method of solving such problems is to abjure ingenious guesses, get back to the earliest ascertainable form of the myth and seek to understand it in comparison with other analogous myths. Now the earliest ascertainable form of the myth in question is that utilised by Sophokles. In his version Phrixos and Helle were with the flocks of Athamas, when they were warned

Φάτος at his bidding (Ap. Rhod. 4. 119 ff.), or to Ares or Hermes (Sophocean version: *supra* p. 156, cp. Eudok. *viol.* 954): Phrixos was brought home to Athamas by Hermes (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 20). The ram was the offspring of Poseidon and Theophane (Hyg. *fab.* 3. 188), daughter of Bisaltis; when she was besieged by a multitude of suitors, he carried her off to the island of Crumissa, changed her into a sheep, himself into a ram (cp. Ov. *met.* 6. 117, Paus. 8. 8. 2, and see further Overbeck Gr. *Kunstmyth.* Poseidon pp. 344—347), the inhabitants of Crumissa into flocks, the suitors into wolves, and consorted with her in animal form (Hyg. *fab.* 188): he also rescued and had intercourse with Helle (Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2028).

1 Dionysios of Myilene, an Alexandrine grammarian of the second century B.C., in his mythological novel *The Argonauts* represented the ‘Ram’ as a *palaedagogy* named *Krios*, who warned Phrixos of Ino’s plot (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 356, 2. 1444. 4. 177, Eudok. *viol.* 263, cp. Palaip. 30, Apostol. 11. 58, Eudok. *viol.* 344, 954). When Phrixos was captured by the Kolchoi, Krios was sacrificed to the gods, and his skin, in accordance with an old custom, was nailed to the temple: Aites, being warned by an oracle that he would perish as soon as strangers landed and carried off the skin of Krios, built a wall about the precinct, established a guard there, and covered the skin with gold to make it seem worth guarding (Diod. 4. 47). Others preferred to suppose that the ram was the figure-head of Phrixos’ ship, and that Helle, while suffering from seasickness, leaned overboard and fell into the sea! (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 356, Diod. 4. 47, Eudok. *viol.* 954). This must surely have been the theme of some farcical performance such as the *Athamas*, a satyric play by Xenokles (Aul. *var. hist.* 2. 8), or the pantomimes written about the flight of Phrixos and Helle etc. (Loukian. *de saltat.* 47, 67). Further choice samples may be found in Eudok. *viol.* 263: the golden fleece was a treatise on alchemy written on skins, or, according to Charax of Pergamon *frag.* 14 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 639 Müller), a hand-book on the art of writing with gold ink bound in parchment (cp. Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* 689). See further Soudi. *inv. stigmas*, anon. *de incredib.* 3 p. 211 f. Westermann, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1877, 5 f.

The Golden or Purple Ram of Phrixos

and rescued by the miraculous ram. In fact, the golden, or subsequently gilded, ram was found among the flocks of Athamas, just as the golden lamb was found among the flocks of Atreus. Another point of resemblance between the two is that Simonides, who spoke of Atreus' golden lamb as purple, spoke also of Athamas' golden ram as white, and again as purple. I am therefore disposed to see in the golden ram of Athamas, as in the golden lamb of Atreus, a theriomorphic epiphany of Zeus. This, in fact, is definitely stated by the first Vatican mythographer, who says that Pelias sent Jason to Kolchis 'in order that he might fetch thence the golden fleece in which Zeus climbed the sky.' The words that I have italicised are indeed, as G. H. Bode observes, foreign to the usual tradition; but they are not on that account open to suspicion, and they must be accepted as a record of the belief that the golden ram, when he ascended the sky, was none other than Zeus in animal form.

Again we may suspect a solar interpretation as a secondary development of the myth. Thus the analogy between Helle, who fell from the golden ram into the Hellespont, and Phaethon, who fell from the sun's chariot into the river Eridanos, becomes intelligible. And the elevation of the ram to a position among the signs of the zodiac is seen to be appropriate. It is noticeable that the constellation of Aries 'rules the season of the year when wheat is sown' or 'when all things are born anew.' Medea, the grand-daughter of the Sun-god, naturally chose a ram for her experiment in rejuvenation.

1 Supra p. 415. 2 Supra p. 405 n. 5. 3 Supra p. 406.


5 Myth. Vat. 1. 24 ob hanc causam eum Colchos misit, ut inde detulisset pellem auream, in qua Iuppiter in caelum ascendit.

6 G. H. Bode Scriptores rerum mythicarum etc. Cellis 1834 ii. 12 ad loc.

7 Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2175 ff.


9 Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 20 arietis ipsius effigiem ab Nube (ab Iove Scheffer) inter sidera constitutam habere tempus anni quo frumentum seritur, ideo quod horum (quod id Ino tostum Muncker) severit ante, quae maxime fugae fuit causa.

According to Hermippus ap. Hyg. loc. cit., the constellation is the ram that once led the army of Liber, when perishing of thirst in Africa, to the spring of Jupiter Hammon. Liber 'arietem inter sidera figuravit itu ut, cum sol in eius foret signo, omnia nascentia recrearentur, quae veris tempore confundit, hac re maxime quod illius fuga Liberi recreavit exercitum.'

10 Supra p. 245. In Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 325 n. 1 I have compared this incident with the boiling of Pelops in a caldron. Again, ή Ἡραία εἰς λέβητα ὑδατος ζύφοτα ἐνείριετε τοῦ
Zeus Aktaios or Akraios and his Fleeces

viii. Zeus Aktaios or Akraios and his Fleeces.

But, if the myth of the golden lamb and that of the golden ram imply animal epiphanies of Zeus, we are encouraged to look round for further evidence of him as a ram-god in the actual rites of the Greek area.

And here we must first turn our attention to Mount Pelion in Magnesia. On the summit of this mountain there was a sanctuary of Zeus Aktaios, to which once a year a peculiar procession wended its way. When the dog-star rose and the heat was at its greatest, the priest of Zeus chose out the chief men of the district, being careful to select only those that were in the prime of life. They proceeded to make the ascent of the mountain, clad in fleeces that were thick and fresh. Why they did so, they probably could not have explained. Dikaiarchos, the disciple of Aristotle, thought that they wore the skins as a protection against catching cold on the mountain heights. But it is certain that the details of the rite were determined by religious, not hygienic, considerations. I would suggest that those who took part in the procession were originally endeavouring to assimilate themselves to Zeus the ram-god. Zeus scaled the sky as a ram with a golden fleece, and his worshippers put on thick new fleeces when they mounted to his abode. If I am

1 EK Πηλεώς γενομένου αὐτῇ παιδας, θυσιάδιν οἰδέναι, ι τυπτωτι είναι (Aegim. frag. 2 Kinkel ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 816). Lastly, a dedication found at El-Burjāf below Kalaat-fendal on the east slope of Mt Hermon runs: ὕπερ σωτηρίας αὐτοκράτορος | Τραίανος | Νέρων Σεβαστού | οὗ Σεβαστός Γερμανικός | Δαυιδος | Μονταν Βελλάβου | τοῦ Βεσπάννου | πατρὸς Νετείρου, τοῦ ἀποκεφάλησαν | ἵνα τῷ λέγετο δι' αὐτον δόξαν, πεπέφυμος πάνω τῶν ἐνθάδε γεγέντων ἐρωμεν κατ' εὐφημίας ἀνθηκέν θεον Λευκοῦθα Σεβδίσου (C. Clermont-Ganneau Recueil d'archéologie orientale Parix 1898 ii. 74 f., 1901 iv. 250), sees in this a survival of human sacrifice: C. Fossey in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1895 xix. 303—306 thinks that ἀποκεφάλησαν means merely 'enterrer' and that the ashes of Neteiras were 'déposées dans un vase sacré': Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. ed. no. 611 follows Fossey, but refers δι' αὐτον κ.λ. to the man, not to the caldron. These passages might be used to support the conclusions of Mr F. M. Cornford, who detects in the Pelops-myth the ritual of a New Birth (J. E. Harrison Themis Cambridge 1911 p. 243 ff.).

2 Append. B. A possible parallel to this rite in the Naxian cult of Zeus Μηλώνος (‘Clad in a sheep-skin’?) has been already noted (supra p. 164 f.). Mr A. J. B. Wace in his interesting account of 'The Mayday Festival on Pelion' (Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1909—1910 xvi. 244—249) observes that the γίρος or 'old man,' who is killed and brought to life again, wears a black sheep-skin mask. Mr Wace (ib. p. 251) holds that this character 'is in all probability the representative of Dionysos, of whose worship...these festivals are to be regarded as a survival.'

3 Dikaiarch. 2. 8 (Geogr. Gr. min. i. 107 Müller).

4 Gilbert Gr. Götterl. p. 148 thinks that the fleeces were worn on the mountain in order to imitate, and thus produce, the fleecy rain-clouds for which the country-side was thrusting. If so, cp. the means by which the rain-maker elsewhere assimilates himself to rain (Frazer Golden Bough 3; The Magic Art i. 260 f., 269 f.) and the use of a fleece in the modified rain-charm (l) of Judges 6. 36—40. But Gilbert's whole explanation of the rite is precarious.
right in holding further that the golden ram came to symbolise the sun, it is easy to see why the procession made the ascent of the mountain at the hottest season of the year.

The Zeus of Mount Pelion was honoured, not only as Aktaios ‘He of the Point,’ but also as Akratos, ‘He of the Summit.’ It appears from an inscription that white victims without blemish were sacrificed to him as Akratos, and further that their skins were sold on the sixteenth day of the month Artemision by sundry important officials including his priest. The sixteenth of Artemision, according to the Attic calendar, would be the sixteenth of Mounichion. Hence we might look to find fresh light on the cult of Zeus Akratos from ceremonies observed in Attike on Mounichion the sixteenth. It is therefore of interest to remark that the day was considered as in some respects critical for the sun and moon. Cakes called amphiphontes were then brought to the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia and to the shrines of Hekate at the cross-roads. They were called amphiphontes, ‘shining on both sides,’ because they were made when the sun and moon were both shining in the morning, moon-set being, so to speak, caught up by sun-rise and the sky lit with a two-fold illumination. Apollodoros preferred to derive the name from the fact that the cakes, which were made of cheese, had small torches stuck in them round about and kindled for the occasion—a custom surviving still in the bcandled loaves of the Greek Church. The festival of Artemis Mounichia was so far analogous to that of Artemis Brauronia that A. Mommsen treats the two as one and the same. It is, then, noteworthy that at the Brauronian celebration girls between

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1 Append. B.
2 H. van Herwerden Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum Lugduni Batavorum 1902 p. 114 s.v. 'Ephesouciv.
3 Soud. s.v. άνδραστανος, Poll. 6. 75.
4 Philochoros ap. Athen. 645 A. Methodios ap. et. mag. p. 95, 1 ff. The last-named authority states that they were sent to Hekate when the moon was full, cp. Plout. de glor. Atl. 7 την ιτι ιτι ιτι δεκα τοι Μονομυςον Αρτεμίδο καθεωςαν, εν τοις βηθοις περί Σαλαμώνα κεκοιτών εταλασαν η θεομ πνευματος.
6 Philochoros ap. Athen. 645 A.
9 Lobbeck Aglaophamus ii. 1061, citing Goets de Pistrin. Vet. p. 317. S. Xanthoudides in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1905—1906 xii. 20 ff. fig. 6 describes and illustrates the loaves decked with seven lighted candles (and sometimes, like the ancient κερυς or κήρυς, furnished with receptacles for corn, wine, and oil), which are blessed by the priest as first-fruits of the earth in the Αποσκευαστ α of the Orthodox Greek Church.
10 Mommsen Festes d. Stadt Athen p. 453 ff.
The Fleece of Zeus

the ages of five and ten, selected for the purpose, acted as bears before the goddess and in that capacity wore saffron robes. For we are thus enabled to complete the correspondence of the Attic with the Thessalian cults. The parallel traits are as follows:—

**Thessaly**
*Ram-cult.*
Zeus, once regarded as himself a ram, wears the golden fleece belonging to the ram.
Men clad in new fleeces honour Zeus with a procession. The skins of white victims (rams?) slain for Zeus are sold on Artemision the sixteenth.

Solar significance probable.

**Attica**
*Bear-cult.*
Artemis, once regarded as herself a bear, is called *Chitōn* or *She who wears the chiton*.
Girls clad in saffron robes honour Artemis with a mimicry of bears. The festival takes place apparently on Mounichion the sixteenth.

Lunar significance probable.

On this showing the saffron robes of Artemis’ devotees would hold to the cult of the moon-goddess the same relation that the new fleeces of Zeus’ worshippers held to the cult of the sun-god. It seems possible that in both cases the colour of the ritual-garb was determined by the colour of the celestial body. However, other views are tenable, and the point cannot be pressed.

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The skin of a victim sacrificed to Zeus was used by the Greeks in various purificatory rites. Individuals, who were to be purified, stood upon it supporting themselves on their left foot only. When a multitude or a locality was to be cleansed, it is more probable that the skin was carried round in procession. This was done towards the close of the month Maimakterion, the victim having been slain for Zeus *Meilichios*.

Further, the skins of

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4 See e.g. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 44 n. 4.
7 Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1935, 8ff., καὶ τὸ διεσπάτως ὑπὰ ἐφυαστέον ψαλτὰ καὶ τὸν ἐκαλού ψαλτὰν τιθέοντο (καὶ τοὺς τεκνικοὺς τὸν τοῦτον τὸν τοῦτον τὸν τὸν ἐκαλού ψαλτὰν τιθέοντο, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἐπὶ ἑτορλίας, ἀλλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς τεκνικοὺς καὶ ἀποδιαμένας ψαλτὰν τὸν τὸν ἐκαλού ψαλτὰν τιθέοντο).
animals sacrificed to Zeus Meilichios and to Zeus Ktésios were kept and used by those who marshalled the procession of the Skirephoria, by the torch-bearer at Eleusis, and by others who directed rites of purification. It follows that this purificatory skin, though used in a variety of ceremonies, was in every case the skin of a victim sacrificed to Zeus. Moreover, it was regularly called the ‘fleece of Zeus’ or the ‘Zeus-fleece’. These names may be taken to imply that Zeus was originally believed to be, not merely the god to whom as to an owner the fleece belonged, but the very animal from which the fleece was stripped. Hence to stand upon the fleece, or to have the fleece carried round one, was to claim identification with the deity and consequent freedom from guilt. The same idea may underlie the old Roman custom that a man who had unwittingly perpetrated a homicide must take his stand upon a ram. The Romans themselves derived their custom from that of the Athenians.

A few representations of the ‘fleece of Zeus’ have come down to us in Greek vase-paintings and Roman reliefs. A red-figured hydria in the Lambert collection (fig. 305) shows a scene of initiation, probably at Eleusis. In the centre a nude youth crouches beside a large shallow bowl with his left foot on a spotted object. This object is plausibly regarded by F. Lenormant and J. de Witte.

1 Soud. i.e. Διός κόνιον. οδὸν τοῦ Ιερείου Διοί τέθυται: θύσω τε τῷ τῷ Μελιχύῳ καὶ τῷ Κτρυσίῳ Διοί. τὸ δὲ κόνιον τῶν φυλάσσοντος, Διον (δί Ι. E. Harrison, Διός Τ. Gaisford) προσαγορεύεται. χρήσται δ’ αὐτοῖς οἱ τῇ Συκοφανίᾳ τῆς πομπῆς στέλλοντες καὶ διδόντες ἐν Ελευσίνῃ καὶ Αἴθους τοῖς ἑπνοιντοῖς αὐτά τοις τοῖς ἐνεπιγώ.

2 I cannot, therefore, but regard as somewhat misleading Miss J. E. Harrison’s statement (Proleg. Gr. Rel. p. 24): ‘this fleece was by no means confined to the ritual of Zeus.’ Indeed, I dissent wholly from her view (ib. p. 23) that the Διαία of Zeus Meilichios and the Διον of Κτρυσία of Zeus Meilichios and Zeus Κτρυσίως had originally nothing whatever to do with Zeus, but are rather to be referred to the root that appears in Latin as dīros- (Greek διος- δος-) and denote consequently a ‘festival of curses’ with its associated ‘rites of placation and purgation.’ True, we cannot derive Διαία from Δίος; but we can and ought to derive it from Διαί, the adjective meaning ‘of’ or ‘belonging to Zeus’ (supra p. 3 n. 3). I would explain in the same way the Διαία of Teos (Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 1318, Nilsson Gr. Fest. p. 33) and the Πάρθια of Athens (Phot. lex. s.v. Πάρθια, Bekker aned. i. 291. 10 f., Harpocr. s.v. Πάρθια, Mommsen Fest. d. Stadt Athen p. 432 ff.). The termination of the word Διαία may be due, as my friend Dr P. Giles suggests, to the analogy of Διαφθονία, Δειοθεία, Νεκρία, Νεφώμενα, etc.

3 Διός κόνιον or Διον κόνιον. The latter phrase gave rise to the verbs διαφθοραίειν (supra p. 422 n. 7), to send away evil by means of the Zeus-fleece; see Stephanus Thet. Gr. Ling. ii. 1528 D—1539 A, i. 2. 1420 D—1421 C.

4 Cic. top. 64, Serv. in Verg. ecl. 4. 43, Georg. 3. 387.


6 Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 265 fig. 3450 (E. Pottier).

7 F. Lenormant in the Contemporary Review 1880 ii. 137.

8 J. de Witte Description des collections d’antiquités conservées à l’Hôtel Lambert Paris 1886 p. 68 pl. 22.
as the skin of the sacrificed ram. Behind the youth are three women holding torches and a *plemochoe* (a top-shaped vase used for libations in the Eleusinian ritual); before him are two others with uncertain objects in their hands, a pot on a brazier and a pitcher in a high receptacle. Another red-figured vase formerly in the Hamilton collection (fig. 306)\(^2\) has a somewhat similar design. A nude youth, wearing a string of amulets, kneels upon his right knee and seems about to catch a mouse in the presence of two women. Monsieur S. Reinach\(^3\) has suggested that we have here a fragmentary scene resembling that of the Lambert *hydris*, *i.e.* the purification of an *éphèbos* before the Eleusinia by means of the 'fleece of Zeus.' Since, however, the mouse figured among

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1. C. Michel in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 509 f. fig. 5708.
the attributes of Zeus Sabáziós, I would rather suppose the scene taken from the mysteries of that god. Nor do I feel at all confident that the line upon which the youth kneels is meant for the contour of a fleece.

The Roman evidence is less shaky. Terra-cotta reliefs of the Augustan age exhibit the initiation of Herakles into the Eleusinian mysteries as a pair of pendant panels. In one we have the assembled deities. Demeter is seated on a kiste, which is covered with a fleece: round the goddess and her seat twines the sacred snake. Behind her stands Kore; before her, Iakchos in fringed chiton and nebris, leaning upon his leafy bacchos and caressing the snake (fig. 307). In the other panel we have the purification of Herakles.

1 Supra p. 391 f. pl. xxvii.
2 Sabáziós was sometimes confused with the kómos Σαβαζόθ (supra p. 234 n. 4: see O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 231 and especially Eisele ib. iv. 263 f.): hence presumably the cult-title μεγάλος κυρίων Σαβαζιών ἀγίου (supra p. 400 n. 6).
3 My friend and colleague Prof. R. H. Kennett The Composition of the Book of Isaiah (The Schweich Lectures 1909) London 1910 p. 61 suggests that ritual mouse-eating (Isa. 66. 17) was a heathen practice introduced into Jewish worship, in the days of Menelaus, perhaps from the Greek area. Possibly it was derived from the Sabázios-mysteries of Asia Minor.
4 I have reproduced the line as it appears in Lenormant—de Witte loc. cit.; but Tischbein and Inghirami loc. cit. show a mere ground-line.
5 Von Rohden—Winnefeld Ant. Terrakotten iv. 1. 7 f., 261 f. pls. 45 f.
7 So Hauser ib. p. 289.
8 Supra p. 220 n. 3.
9 I figure the example in the Louvre no. 4154 after G. P. Campana Antiche opere in
The Fleece of Zeus

He sits on a stone seat spread with a skin, which in the most authoritative examples of the type appears as a lion-skin. At his feet is a ram’s head, representing—as F. Hauser has pointed out—the ‘fleece of Zeus,’ and recalling—as we may add—the Sabazian foot-stool. The hero holds a torch in his left hand. Above his bowed and veiled head a priestess raises the ἱκνον. A priest bears poppy-capsules in a phiale and pours a libation over a pig held by an attendant. Later variants in marble modify the figures to right and left (figs. 308, 309). They also combine the two panels in a

plastica Roma 1842 p. 70 ff. pl. 17, reversing his design in accordance with the photograph published by Von Rohden—Winnefeld op. cit. iv. i. 8 fig. 9. Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Demeter-Kora pp. 510, 564, 579 Atlas pl. 16, 10 and F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 1070 fig. 1311 perpetuate Campana’s error. The lower part of Kore belongs to another relief of the same type; and the middle part of her is a faulty modern restoration. The best specimen, that in the Museo delle Terme at Rome, no. 4358 (Von Rohden—Winnefeld op. cit. pl. 45), is unfortunately defective as regards Demeter’s seat.

1 G. E. Rizzo in the Röm. Mitth. 1910 xxv. 121 ff. claims this skin as the Δίου κώδικαν. But see F. Hauser ib. p. 287 f.


3 Supra p. 391 f.

4 Here again the best specimen in terra-cotta, that of the Museo delle Terme no. 4357 (Von Rohden—Winnefeld op. cit. pl. 46), fails us at the critical point—the ram’s head. Indeed, all terra-cotta examples are fragmentary. I have therefore figured a marble relief at Naples (Guida del Mus. Napoli p. 167 no. 268), of post-Augustan date, perhaps part of a sarcophagus-front, which was published in reverse by G. Winckelmann Monumenti antichi inediti Roma 1821 ii pl. 104 and with extensive modern restorations in the Real Museo Borbonico Napoli 1829 v pl. 23, Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma 1879 pl. 4—5. 2 (see Von Rohden—Winnefeld op. cit. iv. i. 8 n. 1 bis, G. E. Rizzo in the
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single frieze of ample dimensions. This is the case with an urn of Greek marble found in 1878 near the Porta Maggiore at Rome and perhaps derived from the columnarium of the gens Statilia. But the finest example of the frieze is the front of a splendid sarcophagus of Pentelic marble found in 1903 at Torre Nova on the via Labicana (fig. 309). With regard to the prototype of the whole series, H. von Rohden and H. Winnefeld assume a date not earlier than the second century B.C., while Schreiber, Pringsheim, and others argue that it represented the Alexandrine rather than the Attic Eleusinia. Recently, however, J. N. Svoronos has made a most ingenious attempt to prove that the Torre Nova sarcophagus

Fig. 309.

together with certain Athenian reliefs, coins, etc. preserves the types of the Eleusinian triad (Demeter, Kore, Iakchos) designed by Praxiteles for the Iakcheion at Athens.

Röm. Mitth. 1910 xxv. 103 ff. figs. 5 f., and J. N. Svoronos in the 'Eph. 'Arx. 1911 p. 44 fig. 2).


5 Pringsheim Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Cults p. 9 ff. The vertical plume of wheat-ears worn by Demeter resembles the head-dress of Isis; and the flowery fillet of the priest is quasi-Egyptian: etc.


7 J. N. Svoronos in the 'Eph. 'Arx. 1911 pp. 39–52.
The Significance of the Ram

Analogous customs are still observed here and there on Greek soil. Sir Arthur Evans in his remarkable account of a pillar-shrine at Tekekiö, a Turkish village between Skopia and Istib in Macedonia, says:  ‘The floor is strewn with the fleeces of sacrificed rams.’ And Dr W. H. D. Rouse, describing another Moslem shrine on the highest point of the citadel at Mytilene, notes: ‘They keep sheepskins here, and the worshippers wrap themselves in these when they pray.’ He justly suggests comparison with the ‘fleece of Zeus.’

It will be seen that these scattered indications of a divine ram in the cults of Zeus Meilichios, Zeus Ktésios, etc. fit on to and corroborate the already adduced of a Graeco-Libyan and Thraco-Phrygian Zeus, who appeared sometimes as a ram, sometimes as a snake. For both Zeus Meilichios and Zeus Ktésios were likewise anguiform, as we shall have occasion to note when we come to discuss their cults. Moreover, just as Zeus Ammon and Zeus Sabázos had a secondary Dionysiac form, so Zeus Meilichios was replaced in Naxos by Dionysos Meilichios.

The Significance of the Ram in the cults of Zeus

We have now passed in review the various cults in which Zeus appears as a ram-god, and it is time to draw conclusions. From the welter of detail and local divergence two or three facts of constant import emerge. In the first place it is clear that over a wide area of the ancient world, from Meroe in the south to Moesia in the north, Zeus was intimately associated with the ram: the Graeco-Libyan Zeus Ammon, the Thraco-Phrygian Zeus Sabázos, the Thessalian Zeus Laphyōstos, the Zeus Aktalos or Akraños of Mount Pelion, the Zeus Meilichios and the Zeus Ktésios of Athens, are cases in point. Secondly, it would seem that in the long run most of these cults took on a solar character; but that

3 Supra p. 358 ff.
4 Supra p. 390 ff.
5 Supra p. 371 ff.
7 Andriskos frag. 3 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 304 Müller) and Aglaosthenes frag. 5 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 294 Müller) ap. Athen. 78 c, Plout. v. Ant. 24, de exu carn. 1, 2, quaest. conviv. 1. 1. 3, non passe suav. vivi sec. Epic. 22, Eustath. in Od. p. 1964, 18 f., F. Creuzer Meletemata e disciplina antiquitatis Lipsiae 1817 p. 23, Schöll—Studemund anec. i. 268, 276, 282.
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this aspect of them was usually late\(^1\), seldom early\(^2\), and never original. Thirdly, it will not be denied that there was a well-marked tendency for the ram-Zeus to mate with the earth-mother and to beget a son in his own likeness—a god commonly known as Dionysos.

These are the broad facts; and they do not countenance the idea that the ram was a solar animal\(^3\) and on that account associated with Zeus. Rather it was the principal beast of a pastoral population, an obvious embodiment of procreative power\(^4\), and as such

1. E.g., the cult of Zeus Helios Sebásios belongs to Roman times (supra pp. 390, 400).
2. Zeus was already identified with Amen-Ra in the sixth century B.C. (supra p. 350ff.).

The curious statement that the ram sleeps on its left side from the autumal to the vernal equinox, but on its right side during the other half of the year (All. de nat. an. 10. 18, Macrob. Sat. 1. 21. 18, Myth. Vat. 2. 15. 1, cp. Plout. terrest. an aquat. anim. sint callidiora 21), at most proves that a bond of sympathy was believed to unite the earthly ram with its heavenly counterpart, the constellation Aries.

4. To the Greeks, as to others, the ram was von Haus aus a fertilising force. On the amatory propensities of the creature see Aristot. hist. an. 6. 19. 573 b 17 ff., Varr. rer. rust. 2. 1. 17, 2. 2. 13 ff., Colum. de re rust. 7. 3, Plin. nat. hist. 8. 188. A strip of ram's skin was used in a love charm (Plin. nat. hist. 39. 141); ram's wool, as an aid in child-birth (id. ib. 20. 6) and female disorders (id. ib. 29. 32). A ram was said to have been enamoured of Glauke a Chian citharist (Theophr. ap. schol. Theokr. 4. 31, All. de nat. an. 1. 6, 5. 99, 8. 11, Var. hist. 9. 39, Plout. terrest. an aquat. anim. sint callidiora 18, Plin. nat. hist. 10. 51). The tomb of Lais at Corinth was surmounted by a lioness standing over a prostrate ram (Paus. 2. 2. 4. cp. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. i. 19 pl. 23, 72—76, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Corinth, ed. p. 92 pl. 23, 11, Head Hist. num. p. 405). The same idea probably underlies the widespread use of the ram as a decoration of tombs in general (Frazer Pausanias iii. 187).

Its employment for fountain-jets etc. (L. Stephani in the Compt-rendu St. Pit. 1863 p. 138, cp. supra p. 370) is of like significance: the spring at the monastery of Kaisariani on Mt. Hymettos, which has been identified with the Κολλού Πόρα of the ancients (Soud. Κολλός, Κολλός Πόρα, Hesych. Κολλίνα, κολλον πόρα, Phot. lex. Κολλίνα, Κολλός πόρα, Makar. 5. 41, Append. prov. 3. 52, Οv. ara am. 3. 687 ff.), still gushes out through an old ram's head of marble and as of yore is believed to aid conception, pregnancy, and delivery (L. Ross Archäologische Aufsätze Leipzig 1855 i. 220—221, Miss M. Hamilton Greek Saints and Their Festivals Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 151f.).

Hence the ram was associated with the deities of generation, Hermes, Aphrodite, Dionysos, Attis, etc. The evidence, literary and monumental, has been collected by E. Gerhard Widdersgottheiten in the Arch. Zeit. 1850 viii. 149—160 pl. 15, 1—7, L. Stephani in the Compt-rendu St. Pit. 1869 pp. 18—139 Atlas pl. 1. 13. 15, S. Eitrem Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte i. Der vor-dorische Widdersgott Christiania 1910 pp. 1—24.

Conclusive is the fact that the phallos itself is sometimes made to terminate in a ram's head. So with a bronze pendant representing Hermes found at Herculanenum (Antichità di Ercoleano Napoli 1771 vi (De Bronzi di Ercoleano ii) p. 389 ff. pl. 96, Roux—Barré Herc. et Pomp. viii Musée Secret p. 197 ff. pl. 46) and a bronze statuette of the pantheistic Khnemu at Marseilles (G. Maspero Catalogue du musée égyptien de Marseilles p. 131 no. 562, W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1257).

This combination of ram with snake in the cults of Zeus (supra pp. 328 ff., 390 ff.,
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associated both with the fertilising sky-god\(^1\) and with the all-generating sun\(^2\). The ram thus supplied the tertium comparationis, which on occasion served to bring together the Hellenic Zeus and the barbaric sun-god.

Nor need we hesitate to admit that the Greeks themselves, quite apart from foreign influence, regarded the ram as a possible manifestation of Zeus. Theriomorphic epiphanies of this god are of frequent occurrence in mythology. And the myths, though manipulated as so much artistic material by the poets of a literary age, indubitably attest the serious beliefs of the past. We are therefore well within our rights in maintaining that the golden lamb of Atreus and the golden ram of Phrixos were but animal forms of Zeus.

\section{The Sun and the Bull.}

\subsection{The Bull and the Sun in Egypt.}

As Zeus was related to the ram, so or nearly so was he related to the bull. There is indeed a curious parallelism between the two animal-cults, which must have existed side by side from a remote Indo-Europæan past\(^3\). Shepherds and neatherds expressed their religious beliefs in closely analogous forms, of which many similar traces have survived in ancient literature and art. It is therefore both desirable and possible in dealing with Zeus and the bull to adhere to the same lines that we followed in dealing with Zeus and the ram. As before, we shall begin by noticing certain Egyptian, and therefore non-Indo-European, cults, which were at an early

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1. Infra ch. ii § 8 and § 9.
2. Bruchmann Episth. deor. p. 144 ff. ξενότητα, ξενότης, ανεκτός, ανεκτίν λεφτά, λεφτίν
date more or less assimilated by the Greeks. As before, we shall end by showing that the Greeks themselves had inherited from their own Indo-European ancestors ideas so similar that they were readily fused with those of surrounding foreigners.

We begin, then, with Egypt. Here from a remote past bulls and cows had been regarded as objects of peculiar veneration. Evidence of their divinity is forthcoming even in the predynastic age. The two most famous bulls of Egypt were Ur-mer at Heliopolis and Hāp at Memphis. The Greeks, who transliterated these names as Mnevis and Apsis respectively, describe the former as sacred to the Sun, the latter as sacred to the Moon. Mnevis was the biggest of bulls: he was jet-black, for exposure to the sun blaxkens the body: the hairs of his tail and of his whole body stood erect, unlike those of other bulls, just as the sun runs counter to the sky: his testicles were very large, since desire is aroused by heat, and the sun is said to engender nature. His cult was established by king Kaiechos of the second dynasty, according to Manethon, and lasted on into Ptolemaic times, as appears from the Rosetta stone. After death he was identified with Osiris as Osiri-Ur-mer, the Greek Osoromneus or Osormneus. Egyptian monuments represent him as a bull with the solar disk and the uraeus between his horns, or as a human figure with a bull's head. Of myths connected with him we know little. Indeed, Ammianus Marcellinus remarks that 'nothing worth mentioning is said of him.' Aelian, however, relates that a certain Bokchoris, king of Lower Egypt, who had a reputation for justice and piety that he did not deserve, being minded to annoy the Egyptians, brought in a wild bull to fight with Mnevis. Both bellowed, and the wild bull charged, but, missing his aim, struck his horn into the trunk of a perseia-tree, where Mnevis gored him to death. Bokchoris

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2 Ail. de nat. an. ii. 11, Porphyrios ap. Eus. praep. ev. 3. 13. 1 f., Souid. i. u. "Aptēs,
Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 7.
3 Porphyrios ap. Eus. praep. ev. 3. 13. 1, Plout. de Is. et Os. 33.
4 Maneth. frag. 8, cp. 9 f. (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 542 ff. Müller).
5 Corp. inscr. Gr. iii no. 4697, 31 f. = Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 90, 31 f.
6 Dittenberger ib. 56. 9.
7 Corp. inscr. Gr. iii. 304. See further W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3081 f.
8 Corp. inscr. Gr. iii. 304. See further W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3081 f.
Plout. de Is. et Os. 33 describes Mnevis as 'sacred to Osiris.'
9 Lanzaire Disson. di Mitol. Egiz. pl. 55. 2.
10 Id. ib. pl. 55. 3. On Greek and Roman representations of Mnevis see W. Drexler loc. cit.
11 Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 7.
thereupon did reverence to the victor, but he had earned for himself the hatred of the Egyptians. And—to conclude in the words of Aelian—"if any one thinks it a scandal to drop from a zoological discussion into an occasional folk-tale, he is a fool."

Apis too (fig. 310) had to be black beyond other bulls. He was moreover distinguished by as many as twenty-nine bodily marks, of which a few are reported by classical authors. Thus Herodotus states that Apis had a white triangle on his forehead, a beetle under his tongue, an eagle on his back, and double hairs in his tail. Various marks brought him into connexion with the sun and moon. Since he was sacred to the moon rather than the sun, this twofold characterisation might have been thought superfluous. But some persons regarded Mnevis as the father of Apis. And Porphyrios explains that, as the moon gets her light from the sun, so Apis must needs have the tokens of both luminaries: the sun, he adds, is evidenced by the blackness of the bull's body and by the beetle under his tongue, the moon by the halved and the gibbous signs. Others say that the most important mark of all

1 All. de nat. an. 11. 11. Id. ib. 12. 3 (cp. Maneth. frag. 65 [Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 593 f. Müller] and G. Maspero The Passing of the Empires London 1900 p. 246 n. 5) states that in the reign of this Bokchoris a monstrous lamb with two heads, four horns, eight legs and two tails spoke in human speech and predicted that Upper and Lower Egypt would be disgraced by the rule of a stranger.

2 Drawn from a bronze statuette in the possession of Mr F. W. Green. Total height 3½ inches.


4 All. de nat. an. 11. 10.

5 Hdt. 3. 28.

6 For λευκῶν τετράγωνων of the MSS. we should read, with Stein, λευκῶν τε τρίγωνων. The description of the historian is thus brought into agreement with extant figures of Apis: see Stein ad loc. Strab. 807 says merely διά καθενος το μέτωπος.

7 For ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ γλώσσα κάνταρον of the MSS. we should read, with Jablonski and Stein, ἐπὶ δὲ κατὰ: cp. Porphyrios ap. Eus. praep. ev. 3. 13. 2 ὀ ὑπὸ τὴν γλώσσα κάνταρον. Plin. nat. hist. 8. 184 nodus sub lingua quem cantharum appellat.

8 Mela i. 9 cauda linguaque dissimilis aliorum, Soud. i. 11. Ἀπεδέχοντα, ἀπείρων ἄκουσεν περὶ τὴν ὀψιν καὶ τῆς γλώσσας. Larcher cites from scho! Ptolem. tetrabibi. p. 2 the statement that a cow's tail waxes and wanes with the moon: cp. supra p. 429 n. 3 of the ram.

9 Macrobi. Sat. 1. 11. 20 ἄπυτι Απει ποισιν ἐμπιστο καταφυγιον is a partial and misleading assertion. See supra p. 431 n. 3. But cp. ins. iv 435 f. Kyrillos in Oecum. 5. 8 f. (cp. 10. 5) states that the Egyptians regarded Apis as ἅνθημα μεν τέκνων, ἡλιόν δὲ ἀκρών.

10 Plout. de Is. et Os. 33.

11 Porphyrios ap. Eus. praep. ev. 3. 13. 2, Kyrillos in Oecum. 5. 8 f.
was a white crescent on his right side, which denoted the moon. Apis was the calf of a cow not suffered again to conceive offspring. It was believed that this cow had been impregnated by a ray of light from heaven, or, according to some, from the moon. When a new Apis was discovered, the Egyptians put on their best clothes and fell to feasting; for his appearance portended good crops and other blessings. Aelian states that honours were heaped upon the lucky man in whose herd he had been born. Sacred scribes with hereditary knowledge of the requisite signs came to test his credentials. A special house was built for him in accordance with the most ancient prescriptions of Hermes (that is, Thoth), a house facing the sun-rise and large enough to contain stores of milk, on which for four months he was reared. After that time, he was, during the rise of a new moon, taken by the sacred scribes and prophets, in a barge yearly adorned for this purpose, to Memphis. Diodorus gives a somewhat different account of what took place. According to him, the Apis-calf was first brought to Neiloupolis, where he was kept for forty days. During this period, but never afterwards, women came into his presence and exposed their persons before him. Then he was put on board a barge with a gilded cabin and conveyed as a god to the precinct of Hephaistos (that is, Ptah) at Memphis. Once at Memphis, he was maintained in the lap of luxury. His stall had a window in it, through which strangers could see him. But, since they desired a better view, the Egyptians had arranged an adjoining court-yard, into which he was driven on stated occasions. The court-yard contained another stall for his mother. The shrine of Apis stood beside the large and wealthy temple of Hephaistos (Ptah). The latter had a drómoς or 'approach,' in which stood a colossus made of a single block of stone. Here bulls, bred for the purpose, were pitted against each other, a prize being awarded to the victorious bull.

2 Ἀπίδος, περιμεμβαμένου τὰ λαμπρὰ τῶν σκυφῶν.
3 Hdt. 3. 28. 4 Plout. de Is. et Os. 43, Soud. s.v. Ἀπίδος.
5 Hdt. 3. 27, cp. Ail. de nat. an. 11. 10.
6 Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 6.
7 Ail. de nat. an. 11. 10.
8 Diod. 1. 85, ἀργύρῳ ἀυτῶν ἀι γυναῖκες κατὰ πρόσωπον ιστάμεναι καὶ δεινούσας ἀναψαρ- ράμεναι τὰ ἐνυφτὶ γυναικῆς μάρα. The passage is quoted by Eus. βεβ. ev. 2. 1. 50.
9 Ail. de nat. an. 11. 10, Diod. 1. 84.
10 Strab. 8. The description of the court-yard built for Apis by Psammetichos is given in Hdt. 2. 133.
attendants and priests declared that Nile-water was too fattening. He had also a seraglio of fine cows. Once a year a cow, distinguished by a special set of signs, was exhibited before him: tradition said that she was always found and destroyed on the same day. During one week in the year Apis' birthday was celebrated: a gold and a silver bowl were sunk in the Nile at a place in Memphis called from its configuration Phiala, 'the Saucer'; and the crocodiles of the river harmed no one till noon on the day following the birthday week. The stele of Palermo records the first celebration of another festival, the 'Running round of Apis,' but gives us no indication as to its character. Omens and oracles were drawn from the bodily movements of Apis. When he licked the himation of Eudoxos the Cnidian, the priests averred that the astronomer would be famous but short-lived. When he turned away from Germanicus Caesar, who was offering him food, that meant that Germanicus was a doomed man. Apis had two chapels called bridal-chambers: if he entered the one, it was a good sign; if the other, mischief was brewing. He was attended by choirs of boys, who sang his praises and then, suddenly becoming possessed, would burst out into predictions of the future. Omens were also drawn from the first words heard on quitting his sanctuary. Thus Apis lived for the mystic number of five times five years. After his allotted span, the priests drowned him in their sacred spring, and mourned with shrn heads till they found his successor. Large sums of money were spent on his obsequies; his burial place was kept a profound secret; and all Egypt lamented his

1 Ail. de nat. am. 11. 10, Diod. 1. 84.  
3 Plin. nat. hist. 8. 186, Solin. 32. 21, Amm. Marc. 22. 15. 17. According to Timaios the mathematician ap. Plin. nat. hist. 5. 55, Phiala was the source of the Nile.  
4 E. A. Wallis Budge Oiris and the Egyptian Resurrection London and New York 1911 i. 398.  
6 Favorinus Arelatensis frag. 16 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 579 Müller) ap. Diog. Laert. 8. 90.  
7 Plin. nat. hist. 8. 185, Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 8, Solin. 32. 19.  
9 Ail. de nat. am. 11. 10, Plin. nat. hist. 8. 185, Solin. 32. 20, Myth. Vat. 1. 79.  
10 Paus. 7. 22. 3 f.  
11 Plout. de Is. et Os. 56. See, however, R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2808.  
12 Plin. nat. hist. 8. 184, Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 7, Solin. 32. 18, Myth. Vat. 1. 79.  
13 Diod. 1. 84 f.  
14 Arnob. adv. nat. 6. 6: but see Aug. de civ. Dei 18. 5. Hdt. 3. 29 lαθρευτικον Καυματον is indecisive. On the Apis-tombs of the Σαπάριον (Strab. 807) of Σακλακάρα see A. Mariette Le Strepòum de Memphis Paris 1857 rev. by G. Maspero 1882 or the brief accounts in
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deadth. So the cult of Apis went on from the days of Menes (Minh), the first king of the first dynasty, to the downfall of paganism. Apis was commonly identified with Osiris. Most of the priests taught that the former must be regarded as a comely image of the soul of the latter. More exactly, on the death of Osiris his soul passed into Apis and was re-incarnated in the succession of bulls that bore that name. Others said that, when Osiris was slain by Typhon, Isis gathered up his remains and deposited them in a wooden cow (bolus) wrapped about with fine linen (byssos), from which fact the town of Boisiris was supposed to have drawn its name. Osiris-Apis (Asar-Hapi) under the name of Sarapis was worshipped far and wide throughout the countries bordering on the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic age, till Tertullian exclaimed indignantly: 'It is not Egypt nowadays, no, nor Greece, but the whole world that swears by this African!' He was regarded as lord of the underworld, an Egyptian Hades. But his powers were not merely chthonian, as appears from the fact that he was frequently identified with Zeus and with Helios. This last identification squares with the opinion of those who assert that Apis, if we could but recover the Egyptian conception of him and get rid of the comparatively recent classical tradition, would prove to have been a solar before he became a lunar deity. That is the view of O. Gruppe, of E. Meyer, and of W. H. Roscher, who all lay stress on the disk.


2 Diod. i. 85, Loukian. de sacrif. 15, de dea Syr. 6, Tib. i. 7, 28, Amm. Marc. 22. 14.
7, Solin. 32. 18, Myth. Vat. i. 79.
3 All. de nat. an. 11. 10. The Apis-cult, like the Mnevis-cult, was founded by king Kaechos of the second dynasty, according to Manethon (supra p. 431 n. 4).
4 E. A. Wallis Budge The Gods of the Egyptians ii. 351.
5 Apis was also compared with Horos, whom the Egyptians deemed the cause of good crops and prosperous seasons; and the diverse colouring of Apis was taken to symbolise the diverse crops (All. de nat. an. 11. 10).
8 Strab. 807.
6 Plout. de Is. et Os. 29, cp. ib. 30. 43. At Memphis Apis was regarded as the 'second life of Pth.' (E. A. Wallis Budge The Gods of the Egyptians ii. 350).
9 Diod. i. 85.
10 Tertull. ad nat. 2. 8.
11 Supra p. 188 ff.
12 Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1572 n. 9: 'Nun ist dies allerdings eine Neuerung; der altägyptische Apis tragt zwischen den Hörnern die Sonne und scheint dieser geweiht gewesen zu sein.'
13 E. Meyer and W. H. Roscher in Lex. Myth. i. 426: 'Daher hat auch Apis (wie übrigens alle Stiergottheiten Ägyptens) eine solare Natur; als Symbol wird ihm der Sonnendiskus zwischen die Hörner gesetzt. [Die Scheibe zwischen zwei Hörnern ist in Ägypten immer die Sonne, nie der Mond.]'

28—2
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that is seen between the horns of Apis in extant Egyptian representations as symbolising the sun, not the moon. The matter is one for Egyptologists to decide.

At Hermouthis, eight miles to the south-west of Thebes, Strabo records a cult of Apollon and of Zeus, adding: 'Here too an ox is kept.' Macrobius, after mentioning Mnevis and Apis as proofs that in Egypt the sun was represented by a bull, continues: 'At the town of Hermunthis they worship a bull, which is consecrated to the sun in the magnificent temple of Apollo. They call it Bacis (v.l. Bacchis). It is distinguished by certain miraculous signs which suit its solar character. For it changes its colour every hour, so they declare; and the hairs, they say, with which it is covered, grow the opposite way to those of all other beasts, so that it is regarded as

an image of the sun opposing the movement of the universe.' E. A. Wallis Budge comments as follows: 'The Egyptian equivalent of the name Bacis, or Bacchis, is BAKHA,...and this bull is

1 A. Erman A Handbook of Egyptian Religion trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 23 fig. 31, Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 420 fig., H. Stein on Hdt. 3. 28 fig.
2 Strab. 817.
3 Macrobi, Sat. i. 21. 20 f. (Bacin most MSS. bachin cod. A. Bacchin cod. 'Angl.') The expression (ib. 21) imago solis in adversam mundi partem nitetis is rightly explained by L. Jan ad loc. with the help of Macrobi, comm. in somn. Scip. 18 as an allusion to the difference between the real and the apparent movement of the heavenly bodies. E. A. Wallis Budge The Gods of the Egyptians ii. 352 says: 'an image of the sun shining on the other side of the world, i.e., the Underworld.' But nitetis is the participle of niti, not nitiere.
4 E. A. Wallis Budge op. cit. ii. 353 f. W. Spiegelberg, however, in the Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete 1901 i. 339 ff. infers from the names Πετρούρχης Πετρούρχης, Πετρούρχης, Πετρούρχης, Πετρούρχης that there was a god Βαδίς, and publishes a mummy-ticket (i.e. or 5 A.D.), now at Strassburg, which directs that the body of one Thaesis be sent to Hermouthis and there deposited εἰς τὸ Βαδίς (= Βαδίς) | Ψευδοῦρχη ταστοφόρου ὑπὸ τὸν θεὸν θανῶν Βαδίς (sic). Hence in Macrobi. loc. cit. he says Bacin.
styled the "living soul of Râ,"...and the "bull of the Mountain of the Sunrise (Bakhau), and the lion of the Mountain of the Sunset." He wears between his horns a disk, from which rise plumes, and a uraeus; on his forequarters is a peculiar growth of hair, and 'over his hindquarters...a vulture with outspread wings (fig. 311)."

The Egyptians worshipped a black bull called Onouphis at a place whose name was too awkward for Aelian to transliterate. He tells us, however, that this bull was the largest of bulls, that its peculiarity was the unique direction taken by its hairs, and that it was fed on Median grass. E. A. Wallis Budge identifies it with the bull of Hermouthis, and thinks that Onouphis 'is probably a corruption of some Egyptian name of Osiris Un-nefer.'

At Momemphis, in the Delta, there was a cult of Aphrodite (Hathor) and a sacred cow. Aphroditopolis, in the Heptanomis, on the east side of the Nile, was originally called Depêhet, that is, the 'Cow's head': its inhabitants kept a sacred white cow. Many other Egyptian towns, both in the Delta and outside it, kept a sacred bull or cow, as the case might be.

ii. Zeus, Io, and Epaphos.

Now the Greeks at an early date came into contact with all this Egyptian zoölatry and were much impressed by the cattle sacred to the sun and moon.

Herodotos, the first student of comparative religion, boldly identifies Dionysos with Osiris and asserts that the so-called Orphic and Bacchic rites were in reality Egyptian and Pythagorean. Whatever the precise value of such generalisations may be, we can at least infer that there were substantial points of agreement between the Dionysiac religion and its Egyptian counterpart. Among these would be (as the whole of the present section attests) the worship of a great fertilising bull, which tended to

1 Lanzone Dizion. di Mitl. Égiz. p. 201 f. pl. 70. 4. cp. K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1801 f. Coins of the Hermouthite nome show the bull Bakis butting; or, a bearded god with himation and sceptre, who holds on his extended left hand a small figure of the bull Bakis butting (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 363).
2 Alt. de nat. an. 12. 11.
3 E. A. Wallis Budge op. cit. ii. 352.
4 Strab. 803.
5 R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2793.
6 Strab. 809. 7 Strab. 809. * Supra p. 376 n. 2.
8 Hdt. 2. 81 τῶν Ὠρφικῶν καλομέμνων καὶ Βακχικῶν, ἑως ἐπ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ

9 Hdt. 2. 81 τῶν Ὠρφικῶν καλομέμνων καὶ Βακχικῶν, ἑως ἐπ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ

acquire solar powers. It is, therefore, allowable to conjecture that the obscure and presumably non-Greek name Βάκχος was in fact borrowed from that of the Egyptian bull Βάκχα. The name thus taken over, say by the Libyo-Greeks, appears to have passed into Crete and Asia Minor, thence finding its way into Europaean Greece. Hesychios' statement that βακχος was a Phoenician word for 'lamentation' is hardly more than an etymological guess.

Less problematic is another and a better-known case—that of Apis. The Greeks named him Ἐπαφός and brought him into connexion with their own mythology, declaring that he was the son of Io by Zeus, who impregnated her by a touch at Kanobos. The story is summarised by Aischylus in the earliest of his extant plays, the Suppliants, where the fifty daughters of Danaos fleeing from the fifty sons of Aigyptos seek the protection of Pelasgos, king of Argos, on the ground of kinship. The passage was thus rendered by Prof. L. Campbell:

Chorus. 'Tis said that in this Argive land erewhile Io was doorkeeper of Hera's Fane.

King. Certes she was; strong Rumour makes us know.

Is't said that Zeus to mortal maid came near?

Cho. Yea, and that Hera knew, and would prevent.

King. How ended such a high-ennkindled feud?

Cho. Your goddess turned the woman to a cow.

King. But was the hornèd heifer safe from Zeus?

Cho. He took the likeness of a leaping bull.

King. What then contrived the mighty Queen of Heaven?

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2 The loan would be facilitated not only by the bovine form of the god and his fertilising function, but also by his snake and his sacred mountain.
3 My suggestion has, I find, been anticipated by F. Creuzer Symbolik und Mythologie Leipzig and Darmstadt 1840 ii. 203 ('Batit, worin vielleicht bedeutende Spuren liegen des Einfusses Aegyptischer Vorstellungen auf die Baccische Religion der Griechen,' cp. ib. 1842 iii. 641 n. 2).
5 Farnell Cults of Gr. State v. 300 n. 73.
7 Hesych. βακχος κλαυθμόν. Φαινεται. Cp. the Hebrew בַּקֹחַ, 'he wept.' But it seems more probable that the name Βάκχος hails from north Africa like Βόκχος = Βακουμιλιουf king of Lower Egypt (supra p. 431), Βόκχος or Βακχος king of Mauretania (infra p. 501), etc.
8 Hdt. 2. 38, 2. 153, 3. 28.
9 See J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 2708 f.
10 Aisch. P.x. 849 ἐπαφῶν ἀπερίξ χειρι καὶ θυγα τῶν μονῶν, suppl. 18 f. ἐς ἐπαφὴν καὶ ἐπαφοία | Διός, 45 f. ἐς ἐπαφοίας | Ζαμβίς ἐπαφής, 1066 χειρὶ παιωνία καταπελειν, Απολλ. 2. 1. 3 ἀφάνειον, Nomn. Dion. 3. 284 f. ἀγκράσιον ὑπὶ κάλπων | ἔναγκες τιμημάτις ἐπαφής ταιόν ἀκατηθί | χειρὶ ἐμμακενην, schol. Eur. Phoen. 678 ὅ Ζειν ἐπαφιμένους τῆς 'Ἰους (μ.μ.1.), ἀνὸ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ Δίων ἐπαφῆς πρὸς 'Ἰω Ἐπαφὸς ἐγένετο (Gu.), Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 630 ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Δίων ἐπαφῆς.
Zeus, Io, and Epaphos

Cho. She set a sleepless watch, with myriad eyes.
King. What all-seeing herdmam of one heifer? Say.
Cho. Argus, the child of Earth,—whom Hermes slew.
King. What framed she more for the poor cow’s annoy?
Cho. A goading gad-fly, giving her no rest.
King. ’Tis called the “breese” by neighbours of the Nile.
Cho. This drave her, banished, on a distant course.
King. Your tale fits smoothly with the truths I know.
Cho. Canopus and then Memphis saw her come.

Cho. Zeus with a finger-touch begat a child.
King. How then was named the heifer’s birth divine?
Cho. Named from the touch that gat him, Epaphus.

Cho. Libya that holds a wide extent of earth.
King. What other child of hers hast thou in mind?
Cho. Bel, with two sons, sire of my father here.
King. Of thrilling moment is this name. Declare it.
Cho. Danaïs, whose brother fifty sons begat.
King. His name, too, let thy liberal words reveal.
Cho. Ἀγύπτις. Now thou knowest my primal race.
Act therefore as toward Argive visitants.
King. In truth ye seem to me to be of kin
Ancestrally to Argos.¹

This version of the myth involves a sort of thrust and parry between Zeus and Hera, which appealed to the dramatic instinct of Aischylos and is well expressed in the rapid exchange of his short, sharp, single lines. Zeus deals the first blow by falling in love with Hera’s priestess, Io. Hera thwarts Zeus by changing Io into a cow. Zeus outwits Hera, becoming a bull to prosecute his amour. Hera, not yet vanquished, sets Argos Panóptes, the ‘All-seeing,’ to guard the cow. Hermes, presumably at Zeus’ bidding, slays Argos. Hera, as a last resource, drives the cow by means of a gad-fly to the furthest limits of the world. Even at the furthest limits of the world Zeus touches her and gains his end. Thus the omnipotence of Zeus is vindicated: play-wright, performers, and audience return home well-content.

Not so we. Aischylos’ plot is obviously put together out of old, indeed primitive, materials. And we are, for the moment, mainly interested in recovering the original form of the story. This may be, probably is, a task beyond our powers. Nevertheless it will not do to neglect divergent accounts that have reached us from other sources. They may at least help towards the reconstruction of an earlier version.

Zeus, Io, and Epaphos

More than one writer, for example, assumes that Io was changed into a cow by Zeus, not by Hera. According to Apollodorus, who in his great ‘Library’ of Greek myths has preserved, so to speak, a variorum edition of this tale, Zeus attempted to divert Hera’s suspicions from his own intrigue with Io by transforming the latter into a white cow and swearing that he had never had intercourse with her. Hera thereupon asked Zeus to make her a present of the cow and stationed Argos Panoptes as its guardian. Argos bound the cow to the olive-tree that was in the sacred grove of the Mycenaeans. Zeus bade Hermes steal the cow. Hiērax, the ‘Hawk,’ revealed the design. And Hermes,

1 Apollod. 2. 1. 3.
3 Hence the belief that lovers might perjure themselves with impunity (Hes. frag. 5 Flach ap. Apollod. 2. 1. 3. schol. Plat. symp. 183 b, Hesych. i.e. Aphroditos θρωπος, cp. Kallim. cp. 27. 3 f. Wilamowitz—Stob. fler. 28. 3 (ed. Gaisford i. 383)).
4 Plin. nat. hist. 16. 239 Argis olea etiamnum durare dicitur, ad quam Io in taurum mutatam Argus alligaverit. This olive-tree is shown on a black-figured amphora at Munich (Sieveking—Hackl Vaseomsamml. München i. 58 ff. no. 584 fig. 69 pl. 21, Overbeck Gr. Kunstdruck. Zeus p. 474. T. Panofka ‘Argos Panoptes’ in the Abb. d. berl. Akad. 1837 Phil.-hist. Classe pl. 5), a red-figured amphora of the Coghil collection (Overbeck op. cit. p. 466 f., Panofka op. cit. pl. 4. 1), a stamnos from Caere now at Vienna (Masner Samml. ant. Vase u. Terracotten Wien p. 52 no. 338, Overbeck op. cit. p. 477 f., Ann. d. Inst. 1865 pl. i—k, Reimach Rep. Vas. i. 314, Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 279 f.), a green jasper of which a replica in paste was in the Stosch collection (fig. 312, Overbeck op. cit. p. 493 f., Panofka op. cit. pl. 3. 1), a wall-painting from the Casa di Melagro at Pompeii (Overbeck op. cit. p. 470 f., Panofka op. cit. pl. 1. 6).

Soph. El. 4 f. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν Ἀργος ὀμπόθες τὸδε, | τὸ τιστροπλῆγος ἅλυσον Ἡρακλῆος

6 Cp. Poll. 4. 78 Ἡρακλών δὲ (μέλος) τὸ Ἀργολικὸν, δ ὀϊς ὀμπόθροις ἐστὶ Πανοπτέος.
7 Two other birds were brought into connexion with the myth. (1) Ἰμώξ the ‘wry-neck,’ daughter of Echo or Peitho, sacred to Nike and Aphrodite, by magic means inspired Zeus with love for Io, and was punished by Hera, who transformed her into a stone (Phot. lex. s.v. Ἰμώξ) or into a wry-neck (Kallim. frag. 106 f. 8 Schneider ap. schl. Theokr. 2. 17, cp. schol. Pind. Nem. 4. 56): (2) When Argos was slain, Hera transformed him into a peacock (schol. Aristoph. avv. 102, anon. miscell. 6 in Myth. Graec. ed. Westermann p. 347, Nonn. Dion. 12. 70 f., Mart. 14. 85. 1 f., Myth. Val. 1. 18, 2. 5. 2. 89) or decorated the tail of her peacock with his eyes (Ov. met. 1. 722 f.), or the peacock sprang from his blood (Mosch. 2. 38 f.) or was sent up by the Earth where he fell (Ovs. de anp. 1. 24). The peacock appears on the gem mentioned above (n. 4), cp. Boetticher Baumkultur fig. 35 and the peacocks kept in the temple of Hera at Samos (Antiphanes Homopatrie ap. Athen. 615 b, Eustath. in II. p. 1035. 47 f., Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia pp. 359—372, 386, 390 f. pl. 36, 11, 13, 37, 15, Head Hist. num. 3 p. 606): At the Argive Heraion Hadrian dedicated a peacock of gold and shining stones (Paus. 2.
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when he could not be hidden, slew Argos with a stone. Hera then sent the gad-fly to drive the cow far away. The cow, after traversing the Ionian Gulf, Illyria, Mount Haimos, the Bosporos, Skythia, Kimmeria etc., at length reached Egypt, where it recovered human form and gave birth to Epaphos on the banks of the Nile.

Again, opinions differed as to the colour of the cow. Soudidas identifies Isis with 'Io, whom Zeus carried off from (the town of) Argos and, fearing Hera, changed now into a white, now into a black, and now into a violet cow.' Moschos, a bucolic poet of the third century B.C., adorns the golden basket of his Europe with a device representing Io as a golden cow. And Virgil arms Turnus, king of the Rutuli, with a shield on which was a golden cow likewise denoting Io.

iii. Priests and Priestesses with Animal Names.

But, whether Io was transformed into a cow by Hera or by Zeus, and whether the colour of the said cow was white or black or violet or golden, are, after all, questions of minor importance. What we want to know is the original relation subsisting between the principal figures of the myth, Zeus, Hera, Argos, Io, and the significance of the bull and the cow in regard to each.

Io, the kleidochoi or 'key-keeper' of Hera, was changed by her goddess into a cow. This, the Aeschylean form of the myth, suggests, if I am not mistaken, that the priestesses of the Argive Hera were known as 'cows.' Examples of priests and priestesses bearing animal titles are fairly frequent. Dionysos often had a bovine character, and Dionysiac mysteries were celebrated by a class of priests called 'cow-herds.' Their name presupposes that

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1. So et. mag. p. 136, 57. According to the usual version, Hermes approached Argos as a herdsman playing on his pan-pipes, charmed him to sleep with music and his magic wand (Ov. met. 1. 671 ff., Val. Flacc. 4. 384 ff.), and then slew him by cutting his throat with the kerdhe (Ov. met. 1. 717 ff., Lucan. 9. 663 ff., Val. Flacc. 4. 390), or by putting out his eyes with it (Myth. Vat. 3. 3. 3) or with his wand (Nonn. Dion. 13. 25 ff.).

2. Soud. t.v. 'Io...πωτό μέν εἰς λευκὴ βοῦν, πωτό δὲ εἰς μελαινὰ, πωτό δὲ λάμψων (probably to suit the name 'Io').


5. The evidence is cited by Rohde Psyche p. 15 n. 3 and more fully by O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1013—1017. The latter concludes: 'Bovēlaa are sacred officials in the service of Dionysos. Their name refers to the bovine form under which
Priests and Priestesses with Animal Names

the god, or his worshippers, or both, were 'cows.' Similarly Poseidon was sometimes a bull-god, and the young men who served as his cup-bearers at an Ephesian feast were 'bulls.' A sanctuary of Artemis Poló, 'the Colt,' constructed c. 200—150 B.C., has recently come to light in Thasos. A Laconian inscription commemorates an 'Aurelia Epaphro, who was colt of the two most holy deities, Demeter and Kore.' In a rite at some unspecified place, probably in Lakonike or Messene, two girls were called 'the colts of the Leukippides.' And the term 'sacred colt' was applied to a priest or priestess in Ptolemaic Egypt. Among the Iobacchoi of Athens officially appointed by the priests to act as 'chuckers-out' were named 'horses.' At the Peiraieus one Chryseros, a man of humble estate, was 'horse' for the orgebounai or 'worshippers' of Euporia Belila, Oraia, Aphrodite, and the Syrian goddess. The girls who, clad in saffron robes, joined in the ritual of Artemis Brauronia were 'bears.' Those

their god was originally worshipped. They are found occasionally in other cults too, e.g. in Crete in the cult of the cthonian Zagreus and the Kourletes and in the service of Hekate. An ἄργιοβουκόλος of Apollon Sminthios in mythical times is mentioned by Polemon frag. 31 Preller.

1 Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 3605, 31 f. Bunarbashî tās τε βότα καὶ τοὺς βουκόλους was thus interpreted by R. Schöll Satura philologiae in hon. H. Sauppii p. 177 and A. Dieterich De hymnais Orphicis Marburg 1891 p. 5 (= Kleine Schriften Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 71 f.). They were probably mistaken: see M. Fränkel Die Inschriften von Fergamon Berlin 1895 ii. 485. O. Kern, however, in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1914 infers the existence of human βότα from that of the priestly βουκόλος. See also infra ch. i § 6 (g) xx (f) on children called βότα at Hierapolis Bambiske.


3 T. Macriddy 'Un hieron d'Artemis philologos à Thasos' in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1912 xxvii. 1—19 pls. 1—4 with inscr. no. 2 Φιλαί Φωνόλεε | τῷ ἄνωθεν γνωτεῖ | Κόλων Διονυσιοδόρων | Ἀρτέμιδι Παιλοῦ | καὶ τῶν άνωθεν μνημεία | Ἀρτέμιδι Αρτέμιδι Παιλοῦ | Φιλαίκος Πολυχάρων | Ρίδων ἑκατόροισ. The first part of this notice remains enigmatic. See also infra ch. i § 6 (g) xx (f) on children called βότα at Hierapolis Bambiske.

4 Corp. inscr. Gr. i no. 1449. Wide Labon. Kulte pp. 79 n. 1. 179, 331 regards this ταῖρος as a priestess or attendant of the goddesses.

5 Hesych. s.v. πῶδα: χαλκοῦν πχμα τι. φθορὰ δὲ έπὶ τῶν ἄρων τάς τῶν λεικτιπθῶν πῶδον. δό δὲ εἶναι παρθένου φασίν. The first part of this notice remains enigmatic. See also infra ch. i § 6 (g) xx (f) on children called βότα at Hierapolis Bambiske. The first part of this notice remains enigmatic. See also infra ch. i § 6 (g) xx (f) on children called βότα at Hierapolis Bambiske.


7 Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. ii no. 737, 144 f. ἔσπερον, J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen Liges Graecorum sacrae ii. no. 46, 144 f. The inscription is referred by E. Maass and W. Dittenberger to a date shortly before 178 A.D.

8 Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. ii no. 739, 17 f. ἔσπερον, who dates the inscription between 100 and 211 A.D.

9 Supra p. 421 f.
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who were initiated into the leontiká or 'leonine' mysteries of Mithras adopted a variety of animal disguises and animal names. The men were called 'lions,' the women 'lionesses,' the attendants 'ravens.' The fathers were 'eagles' and 'hawks.' The 'doves' at Dodona were by many of the ancients held to be priestesses. The histiátores or 'entertainers' of Artemis Ephesia, who observed rules of ceremonial purity for a year, were called by the citizens essènes, a title that properly denotes 'king bees.' Aischylos in his Priestesses spoke of the 'bee-keepers,' who opened the temple-gates of Artemis. The priestesses of Demeter were known as 'bees.' So too were women initiated into her mysteries.

1 Porph. de abst. 4. 16 ὃς τὸν μὲν μετέχοντας τῶν αὐτῶν ἄργλων μόστας λείτως καλεῖ, τάς δὲ γυναῖκας υἱάνας (Felicianus c. leuca), τοὺς δὲ ἐπηρετοῦντας κόρακας. ἕτε τῶν πτητών...ἀγολ γὰρ καὶ ἱμακες φύοι προσαρχοῦσαν. δὲ τὰ λεοντικά παραλημβάνων περιεῖται παντοδατάς βρεφοῦς μορφάς. See further Journ. Hell. Stud. 1894 xiv. 117 f., and especially F. Cumont Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra Bruxelles 1899 i. 314 ff., 1896 ii. 535 Index. Die Mysteries des Mithra trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 138 ff., and in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3062, who cites much additional evidence from inscriptions etc. and arranges the initiates from lowest to highest in the following order: corax, gryphus, miles; leo, Perses, heliodromus; pater; pater patrum or pater patris. A relief from Konjica in Bosnia shows a Mithraic commemoration attended by a corax, a Perses, a miles, and a leo: the first and the last of these wear masks representing a raven's head and a lion's head (F. Cumont Die Mysteries des Mithra p. 139, pl. 3, 7, Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1949 fig. 5087).

2 Hdt. 2. 55—57, Strab. 7 frag. 1 p. 73, Kramer, Eustath. in Od. p. 1760, 43 f., Paus. 10. 12. 10, schol. Soph. Trach. 172. But the evidence is far from conclusive. Herodotos offers it only as his personal opinion that the πελεάδες were barbarian women who trucked like doves; Strabon remarks that in the language of the Molottians and Thesprotians old women were called πέλαι, old men πέλαιοι, and surmises that the πελεάδες were three old women; Eustathios quotes Strabon's view: Pausanias has τὰ Πελεάδα...Lambdai...δι' γυναικὸς πρώτας κ.τ.λ.; and the scholiast on Sophokles prefixes a vague οὐ δὲ ὄνω.

3 Paus. 8. 13. 1, Dittenberger Syll. Inscr. Gr. ii. no. 175, 6 f. [ἀγολ δὲ καὶ εὐβατίλια τῷ Ἀρτέμιδι τοῖς ἐσφαγαῖ κ.τ.λ., no. 548, 8 f. ἐπεκλήσαται δὲ [ἀυτὸν τοὺς ἐσφαγαί εἰς φολήν καὶ χιλιστὶς κ.τ.λ.], J. T. Wood Discoveries at Ephesus London 1877 Append. 4. 2 ἐσφαγαῖς ἀγολιν καὶ εὐβατίλια, cp. E. L. Hicks The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum iii. 85 Oxford 1890 nos. 447, 448, 451, 457, 467, 578 c.


6 Schol. Pind. Pyth. 4. 106 c. μελίσσας δὲ τὰς ἱερείας, κυρίως μὲν τὰς τῆς Δήμητρος, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ τὰς πάντας, διὰ τὸ τοῦ ζώου καθάρον, Porph. de antr. myth. 18 καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερείας ὡς τῆς χάριν της μόσταδα μελίσσας οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐκάλουν αὐτήν την τήν Κόρην μελίσσα, Theocr. 15. 94 μελισσαῖς with schol. ad loc. μελισσαὶ δὲ τὴν Περσεφόνη φορεῖ· ἑνίκαντες δὲ τὰς ἱερείας αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος μελίσσας λέγεσαι.

7 Hesych. s.v. μελίσσας· αὐτὴ τῆς Δήμητρος μόστις, Kallim. h. Arp. 110 f. Δήμητρι 6' ὁδ' ἀπὸ πάντων δέθη φησὶν μελίσσας, ἄλλο ἡτα καθαρῇ τε καὶ ἀξιόλογοι ἄνερτης κ.τ.λ., Pind. frag. 158 Christ (158 Schoeder) ap. schol. Pind. Pyth. 4. 106 a τὰς περὶ τὰ θέα καὶ μετοχικὰ μελίσσας καὶ ἔτρωθι· ταύτι ἱερεῖ μελίσσαι τέρπεται.
Hera and the Cow

alludes to the Pythian priestess as a ‘Delphic bee’;" And, lastly, the chief-priestesses of the Great Mother (Kybele) were still being called ‘bees’ at the commencement of our era. Such titles imply that the deity worshipped was originally believed to appear in animal form, and that the worshipper, from motives that cannot readily be proved and must not hastily be assumed, pretends to be the animal in question.

iv. Hera and the Cow.

Now Hera had much to do with cows. The word boîpis, which strictly signifies ‘cow-eyed, cow-faced, of cowlike aspect,’ had already in Homeric days come to be used as a complimentary epithet meaning ‘large-eyed, fine-eyed’ applicable to nymphs and even to mortal women. But it is noticeable that fourteen times in the Iliad—for the word is never found in the Odyssey—occurs the phrase ‘cow-eyed lady Hera.’ This stereotyped description always occupies the second half of the hexameter line, and is in fact a tag from a pre-Homeric system of versification, in which it formed a complete dactylic line. It is, therefore, a reasonable conjecture that boîpis as an epithet of Hera had come down to the epic minstrel from a distant past, when it was used in the sense of ‘cow-eyed’ or ‘cow-faced’ and presupposed the primitive conception of Hera as a cow.

Traces of the same conception appear at the principal cult-centres of the goddess. Thus at Samos her image, to judge from coin-types of imperial date (figs. 313, 314), was a dressed up wooden

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3 II. 18. 40 Ἀλεξη βοῦπος the Nereid. In the late Homeric hymn 31. 2 the mother of Helios is Ἐρυθόποσα βοῦπος.
4 II. 3. 144 Klymene, 7. 10 Phylomedousa. On βοῦπος in the sense of ‘large-eyed’ see a recent article by A. Reichel in the fahrh. d. kati. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1910 xxv. 9—13.
5 II. 1. 557; 568. 4. 50. 8. 471. 14. 159. 223. 263. 15. 34. 49, 16. 439, 18. 239. 357. 360. 30. 309 βοῦπος τύπος Βησ.
7 For the analogous case of τὸ θαλάσσων Αἴθηι see infra ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (λ).
8 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia p. 393 no. 375 Gallienus (wrongly described—‘serpent? coiled round modius of Hera’).
9 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia p. 381 pl. 37, 6 Gordianus Pius (wrongly described—
post with a pair of cow's horns attached near the top of it. Hera, in fact, bore some resemblance to the horned Astarte of the Semites. And her originally bovine character doubtless facilitated the later identification of her with Isis—witness the Ovidian story that, when the gods fled before Typhoeus into Egypt, Hera became a snow-white cow. Again, the great Argive Heraion was situated at the foot of a mountain (1744 ft in height), which in ancient times was called Euboeia and is still known as Euvia. Pausanias was told that the neighbouring river Asterion had three daughters Euboeia, Prósymna, and Akraia, that they were the nurses of Hera, and that the ground about the Heraion, the district below it, and the mountain opposite to it were named after them. Dr Farnell, however, points out that Prósymna, 'She to whom the hymn is raised,' and Akraia, 'She who is worshipped on the summit,' were two cult-titles of Hera in the Argolid, and "modius, round which serpent twines"). The notion that Hera's head is surmounted by a snake seems to be based on a few examples (e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia p. 380 pl. 37, 5, Iulia Mamaea), which show one horn pointing up and the other down—as on coins of Lappa (J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crite ancienne Macon 1890 i. 211 f. pl. 19, 28—36). It must, however, be admitted that the head-gear of the Samian Hera is very variously represented on the coins (Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Hera p. 15 Münztab.

3 Ov. met. 5. 330 nivea Saturnia vacca (laituit).
4 Paus. 2. 17. 1 with J. G. Frazer ad loc.
5 Plout. symp. 3. 9. 2 makes Eōsēa the sole nurse of Hera, cp. et. mag. p. 388, 54 ff.
6 Paus. 2. 17. 1. On Prósymna see further A. Frickenhaus in Türist i. 118—120.
7 Farnell Cults of Gr. States i. 182.
8 Strab. 373 ταύτη δ' ἀναφέρει Πηλαῦν ημα ἐστὶν, καὶ αὐτῇ λεῖτον έχονα Ηρα, Plout. de flum. 18. 3 κείται δὲ καλλι (sc. stones like beryls, which turn black when the man holding them is about to forswear himself) ἐν τῷ τεμпе τῆς Πρόσυμανας Ηρας, καθώς λετορι Ἰωνίαν ἐν τοῖς Ἀργολίδοις (Frag. hist. gr. iv. 532 Müller), Stat. Theb. i. 383 celsae Ιονιαία τεμπλα Prósymnae with Lact. Plac. ad loc. Prósymnae civitas est, ubi colitur Iuno.
9 Paus. 2. 24. 1 states that on the way up to the akropolis of Argos there was a
suggests that Eũboia, 'She who is rich in oxen,' was a third. Nemēa, a few miles away from the Heraion, was said by some to have taken its name from the cattle sacred to Hera, which were there 'herded' by Argos. The first systematic exploration of Tiryns and Mykenai yielded an extraordinary number of small terra-cotta cows, as many as 700 being found on the akropolis of the latter town alone. These Schliemann took to be figurines of Hera herself in the form of a cow, Hera boðpis; but more critical investigators regard them as votive substitutes for actual cattle. Sir Charles Waldstein, on the site of the Heraion, discovered some interesting examples of bronze cows, one of which, as Mr. D. G. Hogarth observed, shows markings indicative of a sacrificial fillet. In Seneca's Agamemnon the chorus, consisting of Mycenaean women, chant to their goddess Hera:

At thy fane the bull's white wife
Falls, who never in her life
Knew the plough nor on her neck
Bore the yoke that leaves the fleck.

At Argos the festival of Hera was known as the Héraia or Heka-tomboia or as 'The Shield from Argos.' The first name explains itself. The last refers to the fact that, at the accompanying athletic contest, the prize was a bronze shield. The festival was sanctuary of Hera 'Aeλa, cp. Hesych. s.v. 'Aeλa. On the cult of Hera 'Aeλa at and near Corinth, and also on the Bosporos, see G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1193. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 128 n. 8, 183 n. 7, thinks that the Corinthian cult was modelled on the Argive.

2 H. Schliemann Mycena London 1878 p. 73 f.
3 Id. ib. p. 19 ff.
4 Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art vi. 819.
6 Sen. Ag. 364 ff. In Kos a choice heifer was sacrificed to Hera 'Aργες, 'Ελεα, Basilica (Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. ii no. 617, 5 f.).
8 Fīnd. Ol. 7. 83 6 r' et 'Aργες χαλεψ την νυ. The schol. vet. ad loc. 152 a explains that the prizes were not bronze in the mass, but tripods, cauldrons, shields, and bowls. Id. ib. 152 b says simply: 'the bronze that is given at Argos as a prize to the victor.' Id. ib. 152 c: 'The prize was a bronze shield, and the wreaths were of myrtle.' Id. ib. 152 d: 'Bronze is given as the prize, because Archinos king of Argos, who first established a contest, being appointed to look after the supply of arms, made the award of armour from his store.' Ptolema. 3. 8 states that Archinos was put over the armoury at a time when the Argives were arming: he offered a fresh weapon to each citizen, receiving in exchange the old weapons, so as to dedicate them to the gods; but, having collected all the old without supplying the new, he armed a mob of mercenaries, aliens, etc. and so became tyrant of Argos. If this is rightly referred (Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 541) to the period of the Chremonidean War (366—263 B.C.), it is clear that the scholiast on
Kleobis and Biton

called *Hekatombaia* because it included a great procession headed by a hundred oxen, which were killed, cut up, and distributed to all the citizens. Was it as devotees of Hera *Argeta* that the Coan women, when Herakles left Kos, wore horns?

v. Kleobis and Biton.

Further details concerning the Argive cult may be gathered from Herodotos' tale of Kleobis and Biton. These were two Argive youths of exceptional strength. When Hera's festival came on, their mother had to be drawn in a car to the temple. But the oxen did not arrive in time from the field. So the young men harnessed themselves to the car and drew their mother five and forty furlongs to the temple. The Argives stood round about and congratulated them on their strength, the women complimenting her mother on her sons. She, over-joyed, stood before the statue of the goddess and prayed her to grant the lads, who had shown her such honour, that which was best for man to obtain. After this prayer, when they had sacrificed and feasted, the young men were put to sleep in the temple itself and never woke again. The Argives had statues of them made and dedicated at Delphoi on account of their valour.

Herodotos' account is supplemented in some points by that of others, for the story was a favourite one with ancient writers. Thus we learn that the mother's name was Kydippe or Theano; that she was priestess of the Argive Hera; that it was not lawful

Pindar is guilty of an anachronism. See further Pind. *Nem.* 10. 40 f. άγών τοι χάλλας δώμων δοράνει ποτί βαυθιάντα Πρας άδελφων τοίς κράτισιν with schol. vet. ad loc. χάλλας δε φροι τοις ἄγων, δόμω δι' αὐτοὺς εἰσιν, ὡ όι χάλλας δολον το ιππαθος and the passages cited *infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) viii (γ).


2 *Hdt.* 1. 31.

3 *Ov.* met. 7. 363 f.

4 The French excavators of Delphoi found to the west of the Athenian Treasury two nude male figures which, as Homolle at once conjectured (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 445-452 pls. 18-21, cp. *Fouilles de Delphes* iv. 1. 5-18 pls. 1 f.) and as A. von Premerstein subsequently proved (*Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1910 xiii. 41-49 ff.), are the very statues mentioned by Herodotos. On them see further Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 453 ff. pls. 9 f. fig. 226.


6 Soudi. s.v. Κρούστος.

Kleobis and Biton

for her to go to the temple except on an ox-car drawn by white oxen; that, if she had not performed the rite to time, she would have been put to death. Kleobis and Biton, otherwise called Kleops and Bitias, when no oxen could be had because a plague had killed them all, are said to have stripped off their clothes, anointed themselves with oil, and stooped their necks to the yoke. After sacrificing at the temple they drank and feasted with their mother before going to sleep. In another version they bring the car and their mother safely home, and then worn out with fatigue succumb to their fatal sleep, while Kydippe, having learnt wisdom from their example, puts herself to death.

A second tale of Biton’s prowess was told in verse by Lykeas, an antiquary of Argos. It was to the effect that once, when the Argives were driving certain beasts to Nemea in order to sacrifice to Zeus, Biton full of vigour and strength caught up a bull and carried it himself. A statue of him bearing the bull was set up at Argos in the sanctuary of Apollon Lykios. Biton’s exploit has commonly been regarded as a mere athletic feat; but, as we shall see later, it is highly probable that a definite ritual practice lay behind it.

Returning to the joint performance of the two brothers, we note that at Argos opposite the sanctuary of Zeus Nemeios there was a stone relief of Kleobis and Biton in the act of drawing their mother to the Heraion. An imperial Argive coin, now in the Berlin collection (Fig. 315), shows the scene and may perhaps be

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Fig. 315. Fig. 316.

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1 Philarg. in Verg. georg. 3. 532, cp. Serv. in Verg. georg. 3. 532, Myth. Vat. 1. 29, 2. 66.
2 Palaiph. 50 (51), Eudok. viol. 435. Plout. consol. ad Apoll. 14 wrongly says 'mules.'
3 Hyg. fab. 254. Cp. Tert. ad nat. 2. 9 ne in sacris pia culm committeret.
4 Hyg. fab. 254.
5 Serv. and Philarg. in Verg. georg. 3. 532, Myth. Vat. 1. 29, 2. 66.
6 Cic. Tusc. 1. 113.
7 Cic. Tusc. 1. 113.
8 Paus. 1. 13. 8 f.
9 Infra ch. i § 6 (g) xvi.
10 Arch. Zeit. 1869 xxvii. 98 pl. 23.
11 Paus. 2. 19. 5.
12 Paus. 2. 20. 3.
considered a copy of this relief. An ancient glass-paste, however, also at Berlin (fig. 316), differs from it in several points. The eighteenth column of the temple erected at Kyzikos to Apollonis, wife of Attalos I and mother of four sons distinguished for their filial affection, was adorned with reliefs of Kleobis and Biton; but how the subject was treated we do not know. The only representation of importance that has survived to modern times is carved on a sarcophagus in the library of S. Marco at Venice (fig. 317). The scene, enclosed by a grove of oak-trees, falls into four divisions. On the left Kydippe, erect in her car, is apparently drawn by two diminutive oxen, while Kleobis and Biton grasp the pole. The moment depicted is that of their arrival at the Heraion, as is clear from the rising rocky ground and the position of the human and animal figures. In the centre stands the temple with four Corinthian columns spirally fluted: the pediment is decorated with a basket of fruit and a couple of snakes. Before the temple Kydippe raises two torches in an attitude of prayer. In front of her, face downwards on the ground, lie the two boys asleep, if not already dead. The third division represents a goddess, probably Selene, whose two-horse chariot is escorted, not as usual by Hesperos or the Dioskouroi, but by Kleobis and Biton. This implies that the Argive Hera was conceived by the artist of the sarcophagus as a moon-goddess, who took with her through the midnight sky the

2 Arch. Zeit. 1889 xxvii. 98 pl. 23. 9.
3 Polyb. 22. 20. 1 ff.
4 Anth. Pal. 3. 18.

C.
souls of the two lads. On the right we see them reunited to their mother in heaven.

vi. Trophonios and Agamedes.

Another celebrated example of euthanasia, coupled with this by the author of the Platonic *Axiocihos*, by Plutarch, and by Cicero, was that of Trophonios and Agamedes. The Platonist tells us that, after building the precinct of the god at Pytho, they went to sleep and never rose again. Plutarch, or rather Pindar from whom Plutarch got his information, states that Agamedes and Trophonios, having built the temple at Delphi, asked Apollon for their reward. He promised to give it to them on the seventh, or, as Cicero has it, on the third day from that time. Meanwhile he bade them feast. They did his bidding, and on the fateful night went to sleep, but woke no more. Philosophers and moralists of course made capital of such stories. But to the dry critic there is something decidedly sinister about the plot. The heroes are first feasted, not to say fattened, in a temple, afterwards put to sleep there, and then—found dead next morning. The Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, our earliest* source for the tradition, asserts that Phoibos Apollon himself laid the foundations of his Pythian fane both broad and long; that on these Trophonios and Agamedes, the sons of Erginos, loved by the deathless gods, placed a threshold of stone; and that the building was finished by thongs of men with wrought stones to be a minstrels' theme for ever. Taken in connexion with the Platonic and Pindaric story, this narrative has to my ear very much the sound of a foundation-sacrifice, such as are still in a modified form practised by Greek builders*. True,

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1 This relief was correctly interpreted by Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1731 i. 36 pl. 13 nos. 22—24 (after Beger Spicilegium ant. p. 146, 149), though I do not know whether he had any ground for saying: 'Other Authors relate the Story, that the two Brothers finding the Oxen did not draw the Chariot fast enough, placed themselves in the Yoke, and drew their Mother."

2 Plat. *Axiocihos* 176 c.

3 Plut. *consil. ad Apoll.* 146


4 Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 114

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* Unless priority can be claimed for the *Teleogonia* of Eugammon (*Epic. Gr. frag.* i. 57 Kinkel), which does not, however, appear to have dealt with the Delphic myth (O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 710).


Agamedes and Trophonios are described by the Homeric poet as 'loved by the deathless gods.' But we do not forget Menander's significant line:

Whom the gods love, dies young.

The same euphemistic meaning probably attaches to the peaceful end of Kleobis and Biton. But we need not pursue the subject further, as we are at present concerned to show that Hera was essentially connected with cows. Her Homeric epithet 'cow-eyed,' her legendary transformation into a snow-white cow, her image with cow's horns at Samos, her probable cult-title 'She who is rich in oxen,' her sacred herd at Nema, her numerous votive cattle, the white cow or the choice heifer offered to her in sacrifice, the Argive festival of the hundred oxen, the white steers that drew her priestess to the Heraion, amount to a conclusive proof that Hera had much to do with cattle, and furnish some support for my conjecture that in Io, the priestess changed by the goddess into a cow, we should recognise an attendant of the animal deity called by her animal name.

vii. The Proitides.

Confirmation of this view may be sought in the myth of the Proitides or daughters of Proitos, king of Tiryns and the surrounding district. A. Rapp in a careful discussion of their myth has shown that the troubles which befell them were, in different versions, ascribed to Dionysos, to Aphrodite, and to Hera. Confining our attention to the Argive goddess, we find that Akousilaos, the logographer of Argos in Boiotia, who lived in the second half of the sixth century B.C. and provided a mythological quarry for Pindar, associated the Proitides with Hera. They went mad, he

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1 Menand. dis exapaton frag. 4 (Frag. comm. Gr. iv. 105 Meineke).
2 Supra p. 444.
3 Supra p. 445.
4 Supra p. 444 f.
5 Supra p. 445 f.
6 Supra p. 446.
7 Supra p. 446 f.
8 Supra p. 441 f.
9 Supra p. 446 n. 6.
10 Supra p. 446 f.
11 Supra p. 447 f.
12 Supra p. 441 f.
13 Is this the ultimate significance of Kleobis and Biton acting as oxen to draw the car of the priestess? The schol. Bernens, in Verg. georg. 3. 532, who drew from the store of the fifth-century writers Titus Gallus, Gaudentius, and Junius Philargyris (M. Schanz Geschichte der römischen Literatur München 1899 ii. 1. 91), says: Sacerdotes Junonis id est Cleobis et Biton currus sollemnia sacris deducere solebant, verum deficiensibus bobus etiam collo sacra portasse dicuntur. Junonis sacris animalia defecerant, id est, aut Romanorum expleta sunt funera quos illa persecuta est, aut restituta sunt sacra, quae infesta Junone defecerant. It would perhaps be rash to infer from this middle-headed notice that Kleobis and Biton were themselves priests or priestly attendants.
14 A. Rapp in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 3001 ff.
15 A. and M. Croiset Histoire de la littérature grecque Paris 1890 ii. 539 f.
The Proitides

said, 'because they made light of Hera's wooden statue.' Pherekydes of Leros, another logographer, who c. 450 B.C. wrote a work on mythology resembling that of Akousilaos but ampler in scope, agreed in this matter with his predecessor:

'Melampous, the son of Amythaon, effected many miracles by means of his seer-craft, but his most famous exploit was this. Lysippe and Iphianassa, the daughters of Proitos, king of Argos, had owing to youthful imprudence sinned against Hera. They had gone into the temple of the goddess and derided it, saying that their father's house was a wealthier place. For this they were driven mad. But Melampous came and promised to cure them completely, if he received a reward worthy of his cure. For the disease had now lasted ten years and brought pain not only upon the maidens themselves, but also upon their parents. Proitos offered Melampous a share of his kingdom and whichever of the daughters he desired to wed. So Melampous, by means of supplications and sacrifices, appeased the wrath of Hera and healed their disease. He received in marriage Iphianassa, obtaining her as the reward of his cure.'

We hear no more of the Proitides and Hera till Roman times. Then, fortunately for our understanding of the myth, Virgil had occasion to compare Pasiphae with the Proitides:

Ah, luckless maid, what madness seized thee? Once Did Proitos' daughters fill with lowings false The fields; yet none pursued so base a love For cattle, though she had feared for her neck the plough And oft-times sought on her smooth brow the horns.

The Latin commentators explain that the daughters of Proitos had boasted themselves to be more beautiful than Hera, or had entered her temple in a solemn service and preferred themselves to her, or, being her priestesses, had stolen gold from her raiment and used it for their own purposes. In consequence of this

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1 Akousilaos frag. 19 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 102 Müller) ap. Apollod. 2. 2. 2.
2 A. and M. Croiset op. cit. ii. 548 f.
4 δία τήν ἐκ νεότητος (δία τήν ἀκμαίοτητος cod. V.) ἀνεπιλογητίαν. Müller ad loc. thinks that the Proitides contrasted their own beauty with the ugliness of Hera's xilánon.
5 For the manuscript reading καὶ δία τοῦτο μάντις ὑπὸ παραγενόμενοι ὁ Μελάμπους κ.τ.λ. I have, with W. Dindorf, accepted P. Buttmann's brilliant emendation μαντιὼν.
6 ἐδοξον αὖν τῶν ἅρτων καρπωσάμενος. If the text is sound, ἐδοξον is used incorrectly for ἐσιδον.
7 Verg. ecl. 6. 47—51.
8 Serv. in Verg. ecl. 6. 48, Myth. Vat. 1. 85.
9 Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 3. 253 hae enim seruntur sollemnitatem templum Iunonis intrasse et se praetulisse deae. This is repeated almost word for word in Myth. Vat. 2. 68.
10 Interp. Serv. in Verg. ecl. 6. 48 vel, ut quidam volunt, cum essent antistites, ausae sunt vesti eius aurum detractum in usum suum convertere.
offence Hera\(^1\) sent upon them the delusion that they were cows: they dashed off into the woods and even bellowed aloud\(^2\), till Melampous cured them and married one of them, receiving along with her part of king Proitos' domains\(^3\).

Here, then, is a further trace of the attendants or priestesses of the Argive Hera being called 'cows.' In 1894 I ventured on the general statement that within the bounds of Hellenic mythology animal-metamorphosis commonly points to a preceding animal-cult\(^4\). I am now disposed to add the surmise that in some cases at least, those of Io and the Proitides among them, animal-metamorphosis implies an animal-priesthood, in which the priest or priestess is supposed to be the animal specially connected with his or her divinity\(^5\).

viii. Hera and Io.

It is usually assumed without any attempt at proof that Io was a hypostasis or by-form of Hera\(^6\). This somewhat vague and shadowy conception may pass muster, if by it we mean that the priestess of Hera was originally regarded as Hera incarnate. Io Καλλίθυεσσα, to give her the full title recorded by Hesychios\(^7\), of which sundry variants are extant elsewhere\(^8\), is consistently

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\(^{1}\) Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 2. 210 says: furere immisso a Veneri.
\(^{2}\) Cp. Bakchyl. 10. 56 σημερδαλας φωναί ιείων;
\(^{5}\) P. Friedländer Argolicica Berlin 1905 p. 36 has already conjectured that Tirynthian girls were the βίοι of Hera just as Athenian girls were the ἄρχοντα of Artemis.
\(^{7}\) Hesych. s.v. Ιω καλλίθυεσσα: καλλίθυεσσα ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ πρώτη ιέρα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. J. Scaliger's correction of the last word to "Ἡρα (ἐν "Ἀργείς Ἡρας Κνακκ) has won universal acceptance, cp. Aisch. suppl. 291 ff., Apollod. 2. 1. 3, an apoc. de incretidib. 13 p. 324 Westermann.
\(^{8}\) Καλλίθυα (Phoronic frag. 4 Kinkel ap. Clem. Al. strum. 1. 164. 2 p. 102, 23 ff. Stählin Καλλίθυα ελειδώχοι Ὀλυμπιάδος βασιλείας, Ἰ' Ἡρης Ἀργείες, ὑ στείμασι καὶ θυατήρας | πρώτη ιέρας <s>→ περὶ κύους μακρὸν ἀνάσης, cp. Hyyg. fab. 145 Callithoos for which Knaack cj. Callithoe), Καλλίθυα (Plout. ap. Eus. frag. cx. 3. 8. 1 λέγεται δι Πειρατο Πρώτοι Δρυαλίδοι Πειρατο ἐσχάτοι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θυατηρᾶς Καλλίθυας ἦρες ἐπιστήμην, οὐκ ἐπί Τιμοθέα ἐνδόρων ἄγγειλας τειχών ἐκείνων ἐκείνων (so the miss. ἐκείνων cj. Kaebl) "Ἡρας ἀγαλμα μορφῆς κ.τ.λ., with which cp. Paus. 2. 16. 5 παρὰ δι αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ κύους ἄγαλμα." Ἡρας ἀρχών, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαίων πεποίθηται μὲν ἐξ ἀρχάδος, ανετίθη δὲ ἐς Τιμοθέα υπὸ Πειρατο τοῦ Ἀργον, Τιμοθέα δὲ ἀνεκλάττετ Ἀργεῖος κοιμήσεως ἐς τὸ Ηραῖον".
Hera and Io

described in all our sources as the priestess of Hera, never as a goddess in her own right. Still, that she was in some sense divine, appears from several considerations. Her second name Kallithýessa has the ring of a genuine cult-title. The learned Lykophron calls her ἑοῖπις, as though she were Hera¹. And she was in Alexandrine times commonly identified with Isis⁵, the Egyptian cow-goddess⁶. She was thus at once a priestess and a goddess, human yet divine, a state of affairs best explained on the assumption that the deity was embodied in the ministrant.

The equation of Io with Isis, originally suggested by the common form to them both⁴, and doubtless helped by the jingle of their names, seems to have led to a further identification of Io with the moon. For Isis, as queen of heaven and wife of the Hellenistic divinity Zeus the Sun, Sarapis⁵, was by the later Greeks regarded as the Egyptian counterpart of Hera⁶, Zeus and Isis being sun-god and moon-goddess respectively⁵. Hence Io, once identified with Isis, must be the moon as well. Indeed, Greek and Byzantine writers from the second century of our era onwards assert that Ιό in the Argive dialect denoted the ‘moon’⁸—an assertion of very doubtful validity.

¹ δη και αἰτού ἐλθε, καθήμενο άγαλμα μεγά, and Plout. joseph. Gr. 51 Βάλλαχαιδας έδωσιν Ἀργείων παίδες ἐν θορυ βοιοι παισίαν ἀνωκαλούσι κ.τ.λ. The same form of the name appears also in Synkell. chron. 149 V (i. 283 Dindorf), Hieron. chron. ann. Abr. 376). Καλλίθεα (Aristeid. περί μητρική 6 Canter (ii. 3 Dindorf) with schol. Aristeid. p. 361 Dindorf), Καλλιθεα (schol. Arat. phaen. 161).

A. Frickenhaus in Tiriyns i. 19 ff. follows Wilamowitz in restoring Καλλιθεα as the original name. Combining the fragment of Plutarch with that of the Phoroni, he argues that Kallithyia was priestess of Hera at Tiriyns (where he has identified her primitive temple and even the precise site of her ‘long column’ and ‘seated image’ on the floor-level of the ancient nέμεσπον), but that Io was priestess of Hera Προσφωναί at Argos. This distinction is more ingenious than convincing. It assumes that, when Καλλιθέα (Synkell. loc. cit.) or Καλλιθαι (schol. Arat. loc. cit.) is described as priestess ἐν Άργοι, the reference is to Tiriyns, and that the epic fragment Ιω καλλιθεαν (adj.) rests on a mere confusion.

¹ Lyk. Al. 1292. Yet see supra p. 444 n. 3 and n. 4.
³ W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 361 ff.
⁴ The comparison is at least as old as Hdt. 2. 41.
⁵ Supra p. 189.
⁶ Supra p. 444 n. 3.
⁷ On the Hellenistic Zeus Πλίνιος see supra p. 186 ff. Isis was to the Greeks, though probably not to the Egyptians, a moon-goddess identified with Σελήνη: see W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 437 ff.
⁸ Herodian. περί καθολική προσφώναι 12 (i. 347, 30 f. Lenz) Ἰω ἦταν σελήνη. Ιω γὰρ ἡ σελήνη κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων διαλεκτόν, Ιο. Malal. chron. 2 p. 28 Dindorf οἵ γὰρ Ἀργείων μυτικών τὸ ὄνομα τῆς σελήνης τὸ ἄποκρυφον Ἰω λέγοντι ἐως ἄρτι. The same
In modern times various arguments have been adduced to connect both Io and Hera with the moon. L. Ross pointed to a Coptic word ioph meaning ‘moon,’ and thought that Io was a moon-goddess corresponding with Ioh a moon-god. W. H. Roscher believes that Hera was essentially a lunar divinity, and rests his belief on three main grounds—the similarity subsisting between Hera and Iuno, whom he views as a moon-goddess; the fact that Hera was a patron of women, marriage, child-birth, etc.; and analogies that can be made out between Hera and other lunar deities such as Artemis, Hekate, Selene. O. Gruppe holds that in the seventh century B.C. oriental influence transformed the Argive cow-goddess, whom he calls Hera-Io, into a moon-goddess. The result, he supposes, was twofold. On the one hand, the wanderings of Io were perhaps compared with the apparently erratic course of the lunar goddess, the horns of the cow being identified with the horns of the moon. On the other hand, the moon-goddess came to be described as bodpis, like the Argive Hera, and was sometimes represented as actually bovine, or horned.


1 L. Ross Italiker und Gräfen p. 84, cited by R. Engelmann in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 269.

2 W. H. Roscher Iuno und Hera (Studien zur vergleichende Mythologie der Griechen und Römer ii) Leipzig 1875, and in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2075, 2087 ff. The unsatisfactory nature of these arguments is pointed out by Farnell Cults of Gr. States i. 180 f.


4 E.g. Gruppe quotes Verg. Aen. i. 743 errantem lunam.

5 Lact. div. inst. i. 21 Lunae taurus mactatur, quia similiter habet cornua.

6 Nonn. Dion. 17. 240, 32. 98 Βοώτιδος...Σέλενης, 11. 185 ταυρώτητα Μήρη, 44. 217 ταυρώτητα...Μήρη, Lyd. de mens. 3. 10 p. 44, 9 Wünsch, where Σέλενης is described in an oracle (Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 6. 193) as ταυρώτις = Porphyry, peri tis εκ λοχων φιλοσοφias af. Euseb. praep. ev. 4. 23. 7, h. mag. in Sel. 16 Abel ταυρώτις...ταυροκάρια, 17 ὡρα δὲ τοι ταυρωτον ἄξιον, 33 ταυρώτις, κερώσσα, Synes. hymn. 5. 22 ἢ ταυρώτις μῆρα, Maximus peri καταρχῶν 50 κεράθη ταυρώτιδος και 509 ταυρώτις ἄνασσα of the moon. Hera is ταυρώτις in Nonn. Dion. 47-711 (so Heckel for γλαυκώτιδος), Anth. Pal. 9. 189.

7 Io in Nonn. Dion. 32. 69.

8 Porphyry. de antr. myth. 18 ταυρός μὲν σελήνη καὶ ὰσμὰ σελήνη ὁ ταυρός, Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. i. 730 Luna vero, quia proprius taurum coercet adducisse, ideo vacca [luna] figurata est, Nonn. Dion. 23. 309 ταυροφορία κερέως βωτός έλατερα Σέλενη. In Loukian. philos. 14 the moon brought down by magic appears first in the form of a woman, then in that of a fine cow (βωτόν τεθέντο πάγαλος), and lastly in that of a puppy.

9 Paus. 6. 24. 6 saw in the market-place of Elis stone statues of Helios and Selene, the former with rays on his head, the latter with horns. Selene in the poets is αὐμφικερώς, ἀκέρας, ἀκέφαλος, ἀκέφαλος, κεραθύτως, κεραθόφνος, κερατώτις, κεραυνός, κερόσσα, ταυρόκερως, ἀκέρας, κορακέρως, as Luna is bicornis: see Bruchmann Epith. deor. p. 104 fl., Carter Epith. deor. p. 61.
or riding on a steer\(^1\), or at least drawn in a chariot by white steers or cows\(^2\).

Whether Io or Hera had anything to do with the moon before this oriental influence began to operate, is a difficult question. E. Sieck was attempted to bring the story of Io into line with sundry other moon-myths, which he refers to a common Indo-European stock\(^3\). But, if we abandon the argument from analogy, and confine ourselves to definite literary tradition relating to Argos and the Argive cult, we cannot satisfactorily prove either that Io or that Hera was originally connected with the moon. At most we can put together the following indications. The Argives in historical times associated the cult of Hera with that of Zeus Nêmeios\(^4\). Nêmea, however, was not, as we should have expected, the daughter of Zeus and Hera, but the daughter of Selene and Zeus\(^5\). Again, whereas Hesiod spoke of the famous Nemean lion—

Whom Hera reared, the noble wife of Zeus,
And placed on Nêmea's knees, a bane to men—

Hyginus says 'the Nemean lion, whom the Moon had reared?'. Epimenides, in a passage quoted by Aelian, wrote:

For I too am a child of the fair-tressed Moon,
Who with dread shudder cast the monstrous lion
At Nêmea, bearing him for lady Hera.

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\(^2\) For evidence, literary and monumental, see W. H. Roscher ib. ii. 3137.

\(^3\) E. Sieck Beiträge zur genauen Erkenntnis der Mondgöttin bei den Griechen Berlin 1888 p. 4ff., Die Liebesgeschichte des Himmels Strassburg 1892 pp. 84, 104, 118. So too F. L. W. Schwartz Der Ursprung der Mythologie Berlin 1860 p. 189ff., though he subsequently modified his opinion in his Indogermanischer Volkskunde Berlin 1885 p. 209 n. 3.

\(^4\) Cp. also A. de Gubernatis Zoological Mythology London 1873 i. 364.

\(^5\) Paus. 2. 24. 7. 4. 27. 6, cp. 2. 20. 3, schol. Soph. El. 6, Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.\(^6\) no. 201, 13 ἡ πόλις ἡ Ἀργείαν ἐν νυγής ἕστησεν | καὶ θεῷ ἔδωκεν τὸν | Δίονυσον | ἐν Νεμέα | τῇ | Ἱερά | τῇ | Ἀργείαις= Michel Recueil d'inscr. gr. no. 1313, Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 1730a, supra p. 236 n. 10.


\(^7\) Hes. theog. 338f. γυναικας κατέσπερε Νεμέας, τὴν ἀνθρώποις. The line was perhaps applied to Alkibiades, whom Aristophanes (ran. 1431ff.) calls a lion, after his Nemean victory (Paus. 1. 27. 6f.); for Aglaophon (Plout. v. Alcib. 16 says Aristophon) painted a picture in which Νεμέα ἐν καθημένη καλ ἐπὶ τῶν γωνίων αὐτῆς Ἀλκιβάδης (Athen. 334 D).

\(^8\) Hyg. fab. 30 leonem Nemeanum, quem Luna nutriterat.

\(^9\) Epimen. frag. 5 Kern ap. All. de nat. an. 12. 7.
Zeus and Argos

Anaxagoras told the same tale, and others followed suit, so that the lion came to be called the offspring of the Moon. These references certainly lead us to suppose that from the time of Epimenides, that is to say from about 625 B.C., the Argive Hera was closely connected, if not identified, with the Moon. More than that it would be unsafe to maintain.

ix. Zeus and Argos.

It may next be shown that, what Io was to Hera, Argos was to Zeus.

The ancient systematisers of mythology recognized a variety of Dionysoi. One of these is described by Diodoros as having been the son of Zeus by Io, as having reigned over Egypt, and as having discovered the mysteries. Now in the Dionysiac mysteries, as celebrated in Asia Minor, Crete, Thebes, etc., certain priests were termed *boukóloi* or ‘cow-herds,’ presumably because they tended their god conceived as in bovine form or ministered to the worshippers who adopted his animal name. The important inscription, which has preserved for us the regulations of the *ióbakhoi*, an Athenian sect worshipping the Dionysiac divinity *Ióbakchos*,

3 Euphorion *frag.* 47 Meineke *ap.* Plout. *τυπ.* 5. 3. 3 *Mηνης παίδα χάρωνα*, interp. Serv. *in Verg.* *Aen.* 8. 195 *Lunae filius et invulnerabilis dictus est, cp.* Sen. *Herc.* fur. 83 *sublimis alias Luna concepdi feras*, Lact. *Plac.* *in Stat.* *Thet.* 2. 58 *leonem de his polis ortum etc.* According to Demodokos *ap.* Plout. *de fluviis* 18. 4 Mt Apaisantos (in Argolis) used to be called Mt Selenaion. For Hera, wishing to punish Herakles, got Selene to help her. Selene, using magic spells, filled a basket with foam, out of which a huge lion was born. Iris bound him with her own girdles and brought him down to Mt Ophelion. He tore and slew a shepherd of the district named Apaisantos. Hence Providence ordained that the place should be called Apaisantos after his victim.
6 *Sestra* p. 441 f.
7 Hesych. *εν.* *Ἰόβακχος* ὁ Διώνυς, ἀνθή τῆς βακχείας, *Maximus* *καταρχῆς* 496 *σφαλλόμενοι δύρων κραυματοί* *Ἰόβακχος*. That the *Ἰόβακχος* acted the part of *Ἰόβακχος*, appears probable from *Anth. P lon.* 4. 389. 1 *π. αὐτῶν ὁ δὲ Ἰόβακχος ἐδόξασεν, ἦκεια κ.τ.λ.*, *φερὶ θείᾳ ἀνδρὸς ὑποκρισίαν*. 
mentions a priestly personage called the boukolikós. His name is placed next to that of Dionysos, whose connexion with the bull is indicated by the bull’s head carved above the Dionysiac symbols at the top of the inscribed column. The derivation of the name Ibbakchos is unknown. But Diodorus’ statement that Io was the mother of Dionysos makes it probable that some ancient mythologists, no doubt wrongly, deduced it from Io and Bakchos. However that may be, we are, I think, justified in inferring, from the analogy of the Dionysiac boukolos tending the Dionysiac bull, that Argos, who as boukolos tended the ‘cow’ Io, was but the mythical prototype of a priest tending an actual or nominal cow.

But, if Argos was human, he was also divine. We have already seen that his name Argos ‘the Glittering’ is comparable with that of Zeus ‘the Bright One’ and marks him as ‘a sort of Zeus.’ A mortal Zeus, however; for his grave was shown at Argos, where he had a precinct and a sacred wood impiously burnt by Kleomenes. He resembled Zeus in nature as well as in name. Zeus, says Aischylos, became a bull to consort with Io. Argos too was not only regarded as a fertilising power, but also connected by his exploits with cattle. Being of exceptional strength, he slew a bull that was laying waste Arkadia and himself put on its hide; he withstood and killed a Satyr, who was oppressing the Arcadians and taking away their herds; he managed to destroy Echidna, child of Tartaros and Ge, who seized passers by and carried them off, by waiting till she fell asleep; and, lastly, he avenged the murder of Apis by doing to death those who were guilty of it. If

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1 Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. ii. no. 737. 123 = Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 1564. 123 = Roberts—Gardner Gr. Epigr. ii. 129 no. 91, 123.
3 Bentley on Hor. sat. i. 3. 7 Ia Bacchae, cp. Eur. Bacch. 376 ff. Δι. ια, ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἱερὸν Ῥέα, ἧς Βάκχας, ἦς Βάκχας, derives the name from the initial exclamation. And there is much to be said in favour of this view. But was ια merely an exclamation, or rather the broken down form of some old cult-title?
4 Supra p. 32.
5 Paus. 2. 22. 5.
6 Hdt. 6. 78 ff., Paus. 2. 20. 7, 4. 1.
7 Supra p. 438 f.
8 Argos introduced agriculture into the Argive land; he sent for wheat from Libye and founded a sanctuary of Demeter Δείανθα a spot called Charadra in Argos (Polemon frag. 12 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 119 Müller) ap. schol. Aristot. p. 371 f. Dindorf). Kekrops, or some one else, sent Argos to Libye and Sicily for the wheat that grew there unrecognised, after which Triptolemos was the first to plough and sow (Tzetz. in Hes. o. d. 31). Apis removed from Argos to Egypt, sent cattle to the king in Argos, and taught him how to sow: he, having yoked (τρέχειον) the cows for that purpose, dedicated a sanctuary to Hera (τ. Ζευσίδα), and, when the corn shot up and flourished (σεθεῖον), called it the flowers (σεθεῖα) of Hera (τ. mag. p. 409, 28 ff.). In the reign of Argos, son of Apis, Greece imported seeds and began to till the fields and raise crops (Aug. de civ. Dei 18. 6).
9 Apollod. 2. 1. 2.
Argos was not, like Zeus, a bull, at least he wore a bull's hide. And this was no unimportant detail of his myth: Apollonios Rhodios in his account of the Argonauts tells how—

Argos, Arestor's son, from foot to shoulder
Had girt a bull's hide black with shaggy hair. 1.

And Hyginus describes the same hero as 'an Argive clad in a hairy bull's hide?'. On the strength of this hide Miss Harrison, following an acute conjecture of H. D. Müllcr, suggested 'that Argos Panoptes is the real husband of Io, Argos who wore the bull-skin... who when he joins the Argonautic expedition still trails it behind him..., who is the bull-god?'. But we are never told by any ancient authority that Argos was either a bull or a god. 3 It seems wiser, therefore, to suppose that he wore the bull-skin in order to assimilate himself to the Argive bull-god Zeus. 4 On this showing Argos was to Zeus very much what Io was to Hera.

Again, as Io bore the further title Kallithyessa, so Argos was also Panóptes. Kallithyessa, 'She of the fair sacrifices,' was probably a cult-title of Hera. 5 Panóptes, 'He who sees all,' occurs repeatedly in the poets as a title of Zeus, 6 a fact which supports

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1 Ap. Rhod. 1. 374 f.
3 Miss J. E. Harrison in the Class. Rev. 1893 vii. 76, after H. D. Müller Mythologie der griechischen Stämme, Göttingen 1861 ii. 373 ff. Miss Harrison has recently somewhat shifted her view-point and writes to me as follows (June 14, 1913): 'I now absolutely hold your position that Argos was a celestial—only I go much further in thinking, not that Argos was the god, but that the god Argos arose out of the worshipper.'
4 Aug. de civ. Del 18. 6 states that Argos after his death began to be regarded as a god, being honoured with a temple and sacrifices: while he was reigning (as king at Argos), these divine honours were paid to a certain private man named Homogyros, who had first yoked oxen to the plough, and had been struck by lightning.
6 Lenormant—de Witte Æl. mon. écr. iii pl. 101, Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 274, Reinach Rép. Vases i. 111, 4); but Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 593 n. 189 points out that on other vases he wears other hides, the artistic being less conservative than the literary tradition.

The Jatta kratér shows a well-marked tendency to duplicate its figures. In the lower register the Satyr on the left is balanced by the Satyr on the right. In the upper register Eros and Aphrodite on the left are mirrored by almost identical forms (Peitho? and Pothos? according to S. Reinach) on the right. Zeus seated on the mountain next to Hera similarly corresponds with Argos seated on the mountain near to Io. The latter couple is the bovine counterpart of the former—witness the bull's hide of Argos, the cow's horns and cow's ear of Io.

6 Supra p. 453 f.
7 Aisch. Eum. 1045 Ζεύς ὃ ταυτότατα (so Musgrave for MSS. Ζεύς ταυτότατα), Orph.
my contention that Argos was akin to Zeus. Hesychios, in one of his brief but illuminating glosses, observes: ‘
Pánöptes, “many-eyed,” Zeus, the Achaeans.’ This I take to mean that the Achaeans (and the ruling house at Argos in heroic days was Achaean) recognised a Zeus Panöptes, whom they identified with the many-eyed Argos. A remarkable confirmation of Hesychios’ words has recently come to light. Built into a Byzantine wall below the terrace of Apollon Pýthios at Argos, W. Vollgraff has found a small altar of greyish limestone inscribed in lettering of the third century—
ΔΙΦΩΣΓΑΝΟΝΤΑ, ‘Of Zeus the All-seeing’.

The title Panöptes is also used of the sun. Aischylus makes his Prometheus, bound fast to the mountain-peak and left alone, exclaim:

On the all-seeing (panópten) circle of the sun
I call

And Byzantine writers more than once apply the same epithet to
the sun. Hence it might appear that both Argos Panöptes and Zeus Panöptes had or came to have a solar character. An anon
ymous commentator on the Phainomena of Aratos remarks that the poet wrote—

And all the roads are full of Zeus—

because even the poets call Zeus all-seeing (panópten) everywhere:
“O Zeus all-seeing (panóptas)” and “Sun, who observest all things.””
Since the commentator in question has just been discoursing on the view of those who identify Zeus with the sun, it is obvious

frag. 71 Abel Zeu βανόπτης, cp. Aisch. supll. 139 παντ ὁ πανόπτας, Soph. O.C. 1085 f.


4 Teitz. alleg. Od. 1. 306 γῆ, ὁμοίως μαρτύρομαι, καὶ ἥλιος πανόπτην, Manuel Philes vat. 33. 1 τοίς πανόπτοις φωσφόροι.

5 Arat. phain. 2.


7 D. Petavius op. cit. p. 274 A—B ὃν ὁ Δία τῶν ἥλιων κόσμους, λέγοντι, ὃτι καὶ Σαμοθράκης ἐν τοῖς ἥλιοι καλὲς λέγων: ἐξ ἀρχῆς κτείρεις ἐμὲ · Οἱ χρόνοι λέγονται γεννηθέν τεύχον, Ἡσύλα πάντων (Nauck op. cit. 555 f. reads Ἡνί, ἀκτίρισι ς ἐμὲ, | <δὲ> ὁι
that he interprets the title of Zeus *Panóptes* in a solar sense. Again, according to Pherekydes, Hera gave Argos an extra eye in the back of his head. And the ancient statue of Zeus on the Argive Larisa was likewise three-eyed, having the third eye on its forehead. Argos *Panóptes* and the Argive Zeus were on this account compared by M. Mayer* with the three-eyed Kyklops, whose abnormal eye not improbably denoted the sun. In this connexion, however, it must be borne in mind that Empedokles speaks of Zeus *argés*, 'the brilliant'; that Hesiod names one of the Kyklopes *Arges*; and that the same Kyklops is sometimes called, not *Arges*, but *Argos*. These titles, no doubt, ultimately refer to the brilliant sky-god, but as manifested in the burning aithér or the blazing thunderbolt rather than in the shining sun.

The author of the Hesiodean poem *Aitgimon* associated the story of Argos and Io with Euboea, and derived the name of the island from the cow into which the latter was transformed. He represented Argos as four-eyed in a line borrowed by an Orphic writer to describe Phanes. Strabon too mentions a cavern called *The Cow's Crib* on the east shore of Euboea, adding that Io was said to have given birth to Epaphos there and that the island drew its name from the fact. The *Etymologicum Magnum* states that Euboea was so called 'because, when Isis was turned into a cow, Earth sent up much grass thitherwards...or because Io became a right beautiful cow and lived there.' If Zeus changed Io into a *white cow*, it was perhaps because 'in Euboea almost all the cattle are born white, so much so indeed that the poets used to call Euboea *argiboia*', 'the land of white cattle.' *Argoura* in Euboea, where Hermes was believed to have killed *Panóptes*, was doubtless connected by the populace with *Argos* the 'watcher' (*oúros*). These witnesses suffice to prove that Euboea had an Io-myth analogous to that of the Argolid.

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1 Pherekyd. frag. 22 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 74 Müller) ap. schol. Eur. Phoen. 1123.
2 Paus. 2. 24. 3.
4 Supra pp. 313, 323.
5 Supra p. 31 f.
6 Supra p. 317.
9 Supra p. 311 n. 6.
10 Strab. 445 Bod. αἰσθ."
11 *Et. mag. p. 369*, 2 ff.
12 Apollod. 2. 1. 3. Supra p. 440 n. 2.
13 *Ait. de nat. an. 12*. 36.
15 On the relation of the Euboeean to the Argive myth see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1130 n. 9, cp. 968 n. 2.
Zeus and Argos

Coins of Euboia from the earliest times exhibit a variety of bovine types, the interpretation of which is doubtful. None of them can be proved to have any connexion with the cult of Zeus or Argos, Hera or Io. Still, the ox-head bound with a fillet, which appears at Eretria (?) (fig. 319), Histiaia, and Karystos, is best explained as a religious type; and it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the allusion is to the cult of Hera, who perhaps, as at Argos, bore the title Euboia. The head of Hera, likewise bound with a fillet and often mounted on the capital of an Ionic column, is found on coppers of Chalkis from c. 359 B.C. onwards, and an inscribed figure of the goddess sitting on a conical stone with phialé and filleted sceptre occurs on a copper of the same town struck by Septimius Severus. At Histiaia, 'rich in grape-clusters',

the bull stands before a vine (fig. 320), and we legitimately suspect a Dionysiac meaning.

From Euboia it is but a step to Thespiae, where a boundary-

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2 Prof. W. Ridgeway The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards Cambridge 1892 pp. 5, 313, 322 holds that the bovine types of Euboia point to the ox as the original monetary unit. This view, which has been severely criticised by Mr G. Macdonald Coin Types Glasgow 1905 p. 23 ff., does not to my thinking necessarily conflict with the religious interpretation put upon the same types by Dr B. V. Head Hist. num. pp. 357, 361 and others: cp. infra ch. ii § 3 (e) i (d).
5 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece pl. 102 f. pl. 18, 13, 19, 3.
6 Head Hist. num. p. 357: 'The Bull or Cow is possibly connected with the cult of Hera,' etc.
7 Supra p. 44 f.
8 See Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 417 n. 3.
11 I. 2. 537 ἡ' Ἡθιαία.
stone (fig. 321)\(^1\) has come to light inscribed in late characters—
\[\text{GEOY} \mid \text{TAYPOY}, \text{Of the god Bull}^2.\] It has been conjectured that this god was the bovine Dionysos\(^3\), but definite proof is lacking.

\[\text{x. The Myth of Pasiphae.}\]

Turning next to Crete, we may find the counterpart of Io and Epaphos in Pasiphae and the Minotaur.

Two principal versions of their story are extant. Apollodoros\(^4\), after telling how Zeus for love of Europe became a bull and carried her off across the sea to Crete, how there she bore him three sons, Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys, how Asterion, ruler of Crete, reared the lads, how they, when they were full-grown, quarrelled and scattered, Sarpedon to Lykia, Rhadamanthys to Boiotia, while Minos, staying in Crete, married Pasiphae, daughter of Helios by Perseis, continues his narrative as follows:

\(^1\) Now Asterion died childless, and Minos desired to become king of Crete, but was prevented. However, he asserted that he had received the kingdom from the gods, and by way of proof declared that whatever he prayed for would be vouchsafed to him. So he sacrificed to Poseidon and prayed that a bull might be sent up from the deep, promising that he would offer it in sacrifice when it appeared. Thereupon Poseidon heard him and sent up a magnificent bull; and Minos received the kingdom. But the bull he dispatched to join his herds and sacrificed another. He was the first to establish maritime sway and became lord of well nigh all the islands. But Poseidon, wrath with him because he had not slain the bull, maddened it and caused Pasiphae to hanker after it. She, being enamoured of the bull, asked help of Daidalos, a master-craftsman who had fled from Athens by reason of a manslaughter. He made a wooden cow on wheels, hollowed it out inside, flayed a cow, sewed the hide round about his handiwork, placed it in the meadow where the bull was wont to pasture, and put Pasiphae within it (fig. 322)\(^5\). The bull came and consented

\(^2\) Corp. inscr. Gr. sept. i no. 1787.

\(^3\) Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 76 n. 8, p. 1425 n. 4.

\(^4\) Apollod. 3. 1. 1 ff., cp. Diod. 4. 77, Teets. chil. 1. 473 ff.

\(^5\) A wall-painting in a room of the Casa dei Vettii at Pompeii (Herrmann Denkm. d. Malerei pl. 38 Text p. 47 f. fig. 11), forming part of the same mural decoration with
with it as though it were a real cow. Pasiphae then bore Asterios, who is called Minotauros (fig. 323). His face was the face of a bull (tauros), but

the painting of Ixion already figured (supra p. 203). The scene is laid in Daidalos' workshop, where an assistant is busy at the carpenter's bench. Daidalos lifts the lid from his wooden cow and explains its mechanism to Pasiphae, who holds two golden rings—perhaps the price of his handiwork. Behind Pasiphae stand an old nurse and a younger maid. The painting is further discussed by A. Man in the Röm. Mitth. 1896 xi. 49 ff., A. Sogliano in the Mon. d. Linc. 1898 viii. 293 ff., and P. Herrmann loc. cit.

1 A late red-figured hylix at Paris (De Ridder Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat. ii. 623 f. no. 1066) published by F. Lenormant in the Gaz. Arch. 1879 v. 33—37 pls. 3—5 as having (a) an inner design of Persephone with Zagreus on her knee, (b) two outer designs of omophagy—a Maenad holding a severed human leg between two Satyrs, and a Maenad with a severed human arm similarly placed. Lenormant's interpretation of (a), though accepted at least in part by De Ridder loc. cit., must rest upon the assumed connexion

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the remaining parts were those of a man. Minos in accordance with certain oracles shut him up in the Labyrinth and guarded him there. The Labyrinth

between (a) and (b). But Sir Cecil Smith in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1890 xi. 349 justly objects that 'in late r. f. kylizes such a relation of subject between the exterior and interior is rare; the usual practice being to have in the interior a definite subject, and to leave the exterior for meaningless athlete subjects or Bacchic subjects, as here; if these exterior scenes have any mythical significance, it is to the Pentheus rather than to the Zagreus legend. In any case the epithets ταυρόκεφων, &c., applied to Dionysos are not sufficient to warrant us in identifying a definite Minotaur type with Zagreus; especially as on the one other distinct Zagreus scene (Müller—Wieseler, Denkm. ii. No. 413; see Heydemann, Dionysos-Geburt, p. 25) [cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 188 no. 246 the hydria under discussion] he is represented as an ordinary human child.' In common, therefore, with Sir Cecil Smith and others (T. Panofka in the Arch. Zeit. 1837 Anz. p. 22*; E. Braun in the Bull. d. Inst. 1847 p. 121, J. de Witte in the Arch. Zeit. 1850 Anz. p. 213*, H. B. Walters History of Ancient Pottery London 1905 ii. 148) I take the scene here figured to be Pasiphae with the infant Minotaur. The basket and goose merely indicate the gynaikontes.
was the one made by Daidalos, a building which by means of intricate windings led astray those that would escape from it."

The other version of the myth connects the bull with Zeus, not Poseidon. The first Vatican mythographer tells it thus:

"Minos, the son of Zeus and Europe, once drew near to the altars to sacrifice to his father, and prayed the godhead to furnish him with a victim worthy of his own altars. Then on a sudden appeared a bull of dazzling whiteness (ninio cande ore perfusus). Minos, lost in admiration of it, forgot his vow and chose rather to take it as chief of his herd. The story goes that Pasi-phae was fired with actual love for it. Zeus, therefore, being scorned by his son, and indignant at such treatment, drove the bull mad. It proceeded to lay waste, not only the fields, but even the walls of the Cretans. Herakles, sent by Eurystheus, proved to be more than a match for it and brought it vanquished to Argos. There it was dedicated by Eurystheus to Hera. But Hera, loathing the gift because it redounded to the glory of Herakles, drove the bull into Attike, where it was called the bull of Marathon and subsequently slain by Theseus, son of Aigeus (fig. 324)."

Both Apollodoros and the Vatican mythographer are evidently concerned to present the reader with a consecutive and consistent story. The myth, as they relate it, is composite. I do not propose to discuss in detail its several parts, but rather to call attention to the fact that, taken as a whole, it bears a strong resemblance to two types of Greek tales, represented respectively by the golden lamb or ram and by the white cow that we have already considered.

xi. The Bull and the Sun in Crete.

The golden lamb found among the flocks of Atreus and the golden ram found among the flocks of Athamas we regarded as a divine beast, the animal form of Zeus, which by a secondary development came to symbolise the sun. The lamb of Atreus was for Simonides purple, the ram of Athamas purple or white.

1 Myth. Vat. i. 47. The same version is found in Myth. Vat. 2. 120, Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 5. 431.
2 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica p. 166, E. Beulé. Les monnaies d’Athènes Paris 1858 p. 398 n. fig., Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. iii. 145 f. pl. DD, 7 f., Harrison Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. p. 522 fig. 79. The coin has been thought to represent a dedication by the township of Marathon on the akrôpolis at Athens (Paus. i. 27. 10 with J. G. Frazer ad loc.); but this notion is disproved by the extant fragment of the group (O. Benndorf ‘Stierkorso der Akropolis’ in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1898 i. 191 ff.), which agrees with the scene on a red-figured kylix at Florence (L. A. Milani in the Museo italiano di antichità classica iii. 239 pl. 3, Reinach Rép. Vases i. 229).
3 Supra pp. 405, 409, 419 f.
4 Supra pp. 406, 419.
The Bull and the Sun in Crete

I would venture to offer the same explanation of the dazzling white bull that shone conspicuous in the herd of Minos. Ovid, thinking perhaps of the marks that characterised the Apis-bull, says of it:

Beneath the shady vales of wooded Ide
Was once a white bull, glory of the herd,
Signed with a line of black between the horns:
That its one fleck; the rest was milk to see.

As in Egypt, so in Crete, the fertilising bull was in the long run identified with the sun. Apollodoros states that Tālós or Tałōs, the man of bronze, about whom we shall have more to say, was by some called Tāiros. But Tālōs or Tałōs means 'the sun'; and Tāiros means 'a bull.' It follows that some who wrote on Cretan mythology spoke of the Sun as the 'Bull.' Presumably, therefore, the Cretans, or at least certain Cretans, conceived him to be a bull. But, more than this, another lexicographer expressly asserts that the Cretans called the sun the 'Adiounian bull' on the ground that, when he changed the site of his city, he led the way in the likeness of a bull.

A similar story is told of Ilos, son of Tros, who came to Phrygia, won a wrestling-match arranged by the king, and received as his prize fifty boys and fifty girls. The king, in accordance with an oracle, also gave him a daunted or variegated cow with instructions that wherever it lay down he should found a city. The cow went before him to the hill of the Phrygian Ate and there lay down. So Ilos founded his city and called it Ilion. Or, as another authority told the tale, when Ilos (whose name appeared to mean 'Cow-herd') was feeding his cattle in Mysia, Apollon gave him an oracle to the effect that he should found a city wherever he saw one of his cows fall: one of them leapt away, and

1 Supra p. 467.  
2 Supra p. 432 f.  
3 Ov. ars am. i. 289 ff.  
4 Supra p. 430 ff.  
5 Infra ch. i § 6 (b).  
6 Apollod. i. 9. 26. The editors print ὁ Τάλως, but the name was also accented Ταλός: see Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. vii. 1794 D.  
8 Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων κ.τ.λ. in Bekker aenect. i. 344, 10 ff. Ἄδωνιος ταύρος ὁ ἔλαιος ὑπὸ τῶν Κρητῶν αὐτῷ λέγεται. ἔπει δὲ ὁ πολιός μετατίθεται ταύρῳ προσευκαθέτω ηὐρεθήσαται. H. van Herwerden Lexicon Graecum supplementum et dialecticum Lugduni Batavorum 1902 p. 18 ἐπ. ἄδωνιος ταύρος says: 'Adiectivum non expeditio.' But may it not be a dialect-form from Ἀδώνι, whose name often appears on Etruscan mirrors as Atunis (e.g. Gerhard Taf. Spiegel iii pls. 111, 114—116, v pls. 24—28) or Atunis (ib. v pl. 23)? On the Cretan Zeus as a sort of Adonis see supra p. 157 n. 3.  
9 Apollod. 3. 12. 3. Tzetze in Lyk. Al. 20.  
10 The real origin of the name is uncertain; but the Greeks probably connected it with ὀη, 'herd' (see Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 121).
he followed it till it bent its legs and fell down on the site of Ilion. This cow was probably divine; for in Phrygia, as elsewhere in ancient times, to kill a plough-ox was a capital offence. A third story of like character tells how Kadmos, in obedience to a Delphic oracle, followed a cow belonging to Pelagon, son of Amphidamas, and on the spot where it lay down founded the city of Thebes; but of this I must speak more in detail in a later section.

xii. The Cow and the Moon in Crete.

If the brilliant bull in the herd of king Minos had thus come to symbolise the sun, we can discover a meaning in another story told of the same monarch. Apollodorus says of Glaukos, son of Minos:

1. Glaukos, while still an infant, was pursuing a mouse7 when he fell into a jar of honey and was drowned. After his disappearance Minos had search made for him everywhere and consulted the oracles about the right way to find him.

2. Ail. de nat. an. 12. 34. Φρονοτ δε εδε παρ' αυτοι τις αροβηγα αποκτειον βων, η ηγεμο
θανατος ισυγορικος αυτου, Nikol. Damasc. frag. 128 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 461 Muller) εδε δι τις
παρ' αυτοι (the Phrygians) γεωργιαν βων αποκτειον η σκευος των περι γεωργιαν κλησι,
θανατος γιμνουιοι.

3. Varr. rer. rust. 3. 5. 4 ab hoc (sc. bove) antiqui manus iba abatineri voluburit, ut
capite sanxerint, siquus occidisset. qua in re testis Attice, testis Peloponneseos. nam ab
hoc pecore Athenis Buzuges nobilitatus, Argis Homogyros (infra p. 459 n. 4), Colum. de
rer. rust. 6 praef. cuius (sc. bovis) tanta fuit apud antiquos veneratio ut tam capitale esset
bovem necasse quam civem.

4. Cp. the Bouphonia at Athens (infra ch. ii § 9 (h) ii), the sacrifice of a calf dressed in
buskins to Dionysos Ανθρωποανατομη in Tenedos (Ail. de nat. an. 12. 34), and analogous
rites (W. Robertson Smith Lectures on the Religion of the Semites2 London 1907 p. 304 ff.,
Fraser Golden Bough: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 4 ff., W. Warde Fowler The Roman
Festivals London 1899 p. 327 ff.). Prometheus was said to have been the first to kill
an ox (Plin. nat. hist. 7. 209): see Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 3055.

5. Infra ch. i § 6 (g) xviii.

6. Apollod. 3. 3. 1, cp. Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 811, Aristeid. or. 46. 307 (ii. 398 Dindorf)

7. For μον, which is supported by Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 811, A. Westermann, after
Commelin, reads μελον, 'a fly,' cp. Frag. hist. Gr. i. 152 Muller μελον.

The first part of the story implies the custom of preserving the dead in honey (W. Robert-Tornow De apium mellisique apud veteres significations Berolini 1893 p. 118 ff.) and burying him in a pithos (cp. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 816 n. 5). Glaukos' pursuit of the 'fly' may be based on the art-type of Hermes evoking the dead from a burial-jar, while a soul in the form of a bee (Gruppe op. cit. p. 801 n. 6) hovers above it: the type is best represented by gems (figs. 325, 326 = Muller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 253 f. pl. 30, 333, 337, cp. ib. 332). See further Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel.2 p. 43 f.
The Kouretes told him that he had in his herds a three-coloured cow, and that the man who could offer the best similitude for the colour of this cow would also give him back his son alive. So the seers were called together, and Polydos, son of Koiras, likened the colour of the cow to the fruit of a bramble. He was therefore compelled to search for the boy, and by some prophetic art he found him.

With the rest of the story we are not here concerned. It is, however, worth while to compare the opening of the tale as told by Hyginus:

"Glaukos, son of Minos and Pasiphae, while playing at ball, fell into a big jar full of honey. His parents sought him and enquired of Apollon about the boy. To them Apollon made answer: "A portent has been born to you, and whoever can explain it will restore to you your boy." Minos, having listened to the oracle, began to enquire of his people what this portent might be. They said that a calf had been born, which thrice in the day, once every four hours, changed its colour, being first white, then ruddy, and lastly black. Minos, therefore, called his augurs together to explain the portent. When they were at a loss to do so, Polydos, son of Koiraos, showed that it was like a mulberry-tree; for the mulberry is first white, then red, and, when fully ripe, black. Then said Minos to him: "The answer of Apollon requires that you should restore to me my boy.""

It will be observed that, according to Apollodoros (and Tzetzes bears him out), the task set to test the powers of the seer was, not to explain the significance of the three-coloured cow, but to find a suitable comparison for its colours. The cow did not signify a bramble-bush or a mulberry-tree, but in aspect or colour they might be taken to resemble it. Now a common folk-lore explanation of the moon’s spots is that they are a thorn-bush carried by the man-in-the-moon. It might therefore be maintained that the bramble-bush or mulberry-tree was a possible description of the moon. And, if so, then the three-coloured cow, or calf that changed its colour three times a day, was merely another way of describing the moon. I am the more disposed to advance this view because Io, who was so often identified with the moon, became according to one account now a white cow, now a black, now a violet, and because Bacis or Bacchis the sacred bull at

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1 Apollod. 3. 5. 1 ἐκ τρίχωματων...βοῦν, Tzet. in Lyk. Al. 811 ἡ τρίχωμα τοῦ Μίνωου βοῦς ἐκ τῶν ἄγρων, schol. Aristead. p. 728, 31 Dindorf βοῦς τρίχωμα (τρίχωμας Οξον.).
2 Hyg. fáb. 136.
3 The text is uncertain. M. Schmidt prints: qui cum non inveniret, Polyidus Coemani filius + Bizantii monstrum demonstravit, eum +ARBORI MORO similem esse; nam etc. T. Muncker ej. rubi moro, M. Schmidt ej. colore moro.
4 Tzet. in Lyk. Al. 811 έτοι δε και ἀναστησεν αυτίν ου δη ώς τοις ὄμοις ῥητίν τις τρίχωμα τοῦ Μίνωου βοῦς κ.τ.λ.
5 See e.g. J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 II. 717 ff., P. Scibillo Le Folke-lore de France Paris 1904 i. 11 ff.
6 Supra p. 424 ff.
7 Supra p. 441.
The Sacred Cattle of Gortyna

Hermonthis, which is known to have been consecrated to the sun, was said to change its colour every hour.

A ‘Caeretan’ *hydris* in the Louvre (fig. 327)\(^3\) represents Zeus as a three-coloured bull bearing Europe across the sea to Minos’ isle; but the coloration is here a matter of Ionian technique, not of Cretan mythology.

xiii. The Sacred Cattle of Gortyna.

Further evidence of the Cretan cult of a solar bull and a lunar cow is forthcoming at Gortyna and at Knossos. A Cretan name for the Gortynians was *Karienides*\(^4\), which in all probability means ‘Cow-men’ or ‘Cow-herds,’ since the Cretans said *kárten* for ‘cow’ and Gortynians *kartaípos* for ‘ox’ or ‘bull.’ Special

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1 Supra p. 436.
4 Hesych. *s.v.* kárten tòv bêtho Krópes kai tòv oikovn oî aëroí. M. Schmidt *ad loc.* hazards the suggestion that we should read oïkovn and explain it of an eponymous founder Kárpoν = Γορίννοι. I. Voss *Catull.* p. 203 would correct *Karpovia* in Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γορίννος to Karpovia: he cites Strab. 478 to prove that Gortyna lay ‘in a plain’ and could not therefore be called ‘Precipitous.’ J. Alberti on Hesych. *loc. cit.* quotes from Soping a comparison with the first element in *Carthago* and the story of the bull’s hide (Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1013, Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 426): this of course assumes a folk-etymology for *Carthago* as well as for the *Byrsa.*

I would rather suppose a connexion with tâ *karaipóda*, which occurs in the laws of Gortyna to denote ‘oxen’ (Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 1333 iv. 35 f. = Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.—Inscr. iii. 2. 285 no. 4991 iv. 35 f. τâ πρόδατα και καραί[πόδα, cp. *ib.* iii. 2. 282 no. 4998 i. 12 ff. αι δε κα σινι καραίτος παρώσει η κατασκευή, των τε σιν έντε την πάσαν ήνων ω κ’ η το καραίτος κ.τ.λ.) and, in an all but identical form, was used by Pindar of ‘a bull’ (Pind. Ol. 13. 81 καραίτος) with schol. *ad loc.* καραίτοδα των ταύρων, *οðων Δελφον ιδίων εκάλουσ.* Dedications to the Kouretes as guardians of kine (Κάρπακτοι πρό καραίτοδα) have been found by Prof. De Sanctis at *Hagia Barbara* (G. De Sanctis in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1907 xvii. 346 f.) and at Pluti near Gortyna (R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 353).
herds of cattle belonging to the sun used to be kept at Gortyna; and Virgil represents Pasiphae's bull, whose solar character we have already considered, as lying beneath an evergreen oak or following the Gortynian cows. Bronze coins of Gortyna show Zeus as a bull galloping across the sea, which is suggested by a couple of dolphins, or carrying Europe on his back (fig. 328): in both cases a surrounding circle of rays stamps him as a god of light.

xiv. The Labyrinth at Knossos.

At Knossos was the Labyrinth built by Daidalos for the safekeeping of the Minotaur. Diodoros and Pliny state that it was an imitation of the yet more famous Egyptian Labyrinth. Mr H. R. Hall describes the latter building as follows: 'It was a great temple, with magnificent pillared halls, side-chambers, and outbuildings, erected by the greatest pharaoh of the Twelfth Dynasty, Amenemhat III (circa 2200 B.C.), immediately in front of his pyramid at Hawara; there is no doubt that it was the funerary temple of the pyramid, erected by the king for the due performance of the funeral rites after his death.' Classical writers had a more or less confused idea of the purpose served by the building.

1 Supra p. 410 n. 9.
2 Supra p. 467 f.
3 Verg. ecl. 6. 53 ff.
7 Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1778 ff.
8 Diod. i. 61 and 97.
9 Plin. nat. hist. 36. 84 ff.
10 H. R. Hall 'The Two Labyrinths' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1905 xxv. 328. Prof. Flinders Petrie investigated the site of the Egyptian Labyrinth in 1888 with meagre results (W. M. Flinders Petrie Hawara, Biahmu, and Arzinos London 1889 pp. 4—8 pl. 25 map of neighbourhood with conjectural ground-plan). In 1911 he was more successful, and at a depth of from 20 to 25 feet recovered the upper parts of half a dozen statues of the gods of the twelfth dynasty, especially of Sebek the crocodile-god, who seems to have been the principal deity of the precinct; he also found in the alhrib of the brick core of the pyramid traces of the 31 chapels for the Egyptian names, e.g. two large shrines of red granite each containing two life-size figures of Amenemhat iii, besides many fragmentary wall-sculptures, including one which shows the king seated between goddesses holding fish, and another in which he is kneading in a boat and opening the shrine of a holy tree (W. M. Flinders Petrie in Records of the Past 1911 x. 303—315 with figs., id.—G. A. Wainwright—E. Mackay The Labyrinth Gerzeh and Mazghuneh London 1912 pp. 28—35 with restored plan of western half of Labyrinth and pls. 73—74). Prof. J. L. Myres in Ann. Arch. Anthr. 1910 ii. 134—136 has a restoration of the Labyrinth based on the description of Herodotus.
The Labyrinth at Knossos

Herodotos speaks of its twelve courts as a memorial of the dodecarchy. Strabon calls it 'a vast palace composed of as many palaces as there were formerly nomes,' and states that the nomes were accustomed to assemble in their respective courts 'with their own priests and priestesses for sacrifice, oblation, and judicial award on matters of importance.' Diodoros thinks it the 'tomb' of the king who built it, as does Manethon. Pliny says: 'Different interpretations are put upon the construction of this edifice. Demoteles takes it to have been the palace of Moteris; Lykeas, the tomb of Moiris. Most authorities suppose that it was reared as a building sacred to the Sun, and such is the common belief.'

With regard to the Cretan Labyrinth too very various opinions have been advanced. Nowadays most scholars hold that Sir

1 Hdt. ii. 148. 2 Strab. 811. 3 Diod. i. 61.
4 Maneth. frag. 34—36 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 560 Müller).
5 Demoteles frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 386 Müller) and Lykeas Naukratites frag. 1
(Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 441 Müller) ap. Plin. nat. hist. 36. 84.
6 See Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1778—1783.
Arthur Evans was justified in identifying it with the complex palace that he excavated at Knossos. And this view can certainly claim the support not only of such writers as Diodoros and Pliny, who suppose a Cretan imitation of an Egyptian building, but also of the Attic painters of red-figured vases, who represent Theseus as dragging the Minotaur forth from an edifice with a façade of Doric (fig. 329) or Ionic columns. Nevertheless, to admit that Attic painters c. 450–430 B.C. regarded the Labyrinth as a sort of palace is not necessarily to assert that such was its original character. The red-figured vases in every case show to the right

Fig. 330.

of the colonnade a broad band decorated with swastika-patterns checker-work; and it is from behind this band that the body of

1 Diod. i. 61, i. 97, Plin. nat. hist. 36. 84–86. The earliest writer that speaks of it as a building is Apollod. 3. 1. 4 (όντα ταὶ δικαιοκρίτες πολυπλάκως πλανῶν τὴν ζώδων). But Pherkydes frag. 166 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 97 Muller) appears to have mentioned the lintel of its door (τὸν ξύλον τῆς τῶν θεόν).


3 Vasae griegae Madrid pp. 76 ff., 119 no. 11, 265 pl. 33, Leroux Cat. Vases de Madrid p. 110 ff. no. 106 pls. 25–28 a κύλις signed by the artist Alon, first published by E. Bethe in the Ant. Denkm. ii pl. 1, cp. Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser Gr. Vasenmalerei iii. 48 fig. 21, 50 and Einsehungsblumen no. 1730 (central scene).
The Labyrinth at Knossos

the Minotaur emerges. E. Braun long ago suggested that the patterned space stands for the Labyrinth. And P. Wolters has recently proved that the further back we trace the whole design, the more important becomes this particular feature of it. On a black-figured lekythos from Vari (fig. 330) the Minotaur, grasping a couple of stones, is hauled out from behind a stèle or broad column covered with maeanders etc. The Labyrinth is here no palace;

it can hardly be termed a building at all. On a black-figured skyphos from the akropolis at Athens (fig. 331) the resemblance

1 E. Braun in the Bull. d. Inst. 1846 p. 106. G. W. Elderkin 'Maeander or Labyrinth' in the Journ. Am. Arch. 1910 xiv. 185—190 still thinks that the band is the anta of a wall and that its patterns are mere filling, though he admits that 'An exact parallel to the vertical stripe...is not at hand.' His notion that Aison on the Madrid kylix was copying the north porch of the Erechtheion with its βυσίς τοῖς θυραγω γιν is surely far-fetched. A better copy of the Erechtheion, olive-tree and all, is Lenormant—
de Witte Él. mon. cér. i. 223 ff. pl. 67.

2 P. Wolters loc. cit. pp. 113—133 'Darstellungen des Labyrinths.'


4 Graef Ant. Vasen Athen p. 142 f. no. 1280 pl. 73, A, P. Wolters loc. cit. p. 123 pl. 3, a fragmentary skyphos from the Persian débris showing Theseus beside the Labyrinth, greeted by Athena in the presence of three other figures: the inscription is meaningless.

With this vase cp. Graef op. cit. p. 147 no. 1314 pl. 76, P. Wolters loc. cit. p. 124,
to a stone structure is still more remote, the Labyrinth appearing merely as a patterned oblong side by side with the dramatis personae. Wolters concludes that the black-figured vases presuppose a primitive composition, in which the action portrayed was accompanied by a ground-plan of the scene. He finds a parallel in the Etruscan oinochoē from Tragliatella (fig. 332), on which O. Benndorf recognised soldiers engaged in the game of 'Troy' (Truía). It would seem, then, that Attic tradition points backwards to a time when the Labyrinth was depicted, not as a palace, but as a maeander or swastika-pattern.

The same result is reached on Cretan soil. Coins of Knossos from c. 500 B.C. onwards represent the Labyrinth by a swastika or by some derivative of the swastika. The pattern develops in two directions. On the one hand, the swastika together with its four two fragments of a skyphos showing (obverse) Theseus beside the Labyrinth and another figure; (reverse) perhaps the same design. The Labyrinth, to judge from Graef's plate, tapers towards the top like an amphalos (?).

1 B. Graef Ant. Vasen Athen p. 143 contends that the black-figured vases aim at representing 'ein tummartiges Bauwerk' with a labyrinthing ground-plan, and ingeniously compares the tholos at Epidaurus.


incuse corners (figs. 333, 334) passes into a framework enclosing a square (fig. 335), and its central star (sun?) is replaced by a human (fig. 336) or bovine head (fig. 337) or whole figure (fig. 338). On the other hand, the swastika apart from its incuse corners (figs. 339, 340, 341) becomes a maze, which is first square (fig. 342) and then circular (fig. 343) but retains at least a trace of its original form to the last. Thanks to Sir Arthur Evans, we now know that this Labyrinth-design was already familiar to the Cnossians of the Bronze Age. In one of the corridors of the second palace at Knossos 'the fallen plaster...showed the remains of an elaborate series of mazes', based on the motif of the swastika.


Cp. Roman mosaics, which represent the slaying of the Minotaur within a large framework of meander-pattern (see Welcker Alt. Denkm. ii. 303 f. and for further bibliography P. Gauckler in Daresberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 3101 notes 17 and 18 fig. 3740).


2 Id. ib. viii. 104 fig. 62. Cp. ib. p. 103 f.: 'A simple key or meander pattern
The *swastika* as a representation of the Labyrinth can perhaps be traced further afield. At Gaza the god Marnas, otherwise called Zeus *Kretagenès*¹, had a circular temple surrounded by concentric colonnades, which appears to have borne some resemblance to the Cretan Labyrinth². If so, it becomes possible that the Phoenician letter *mem* on autonomous coppers of Gaza (fig. 344)³ was not merely the initial of Marnas⁴, but also a quasi-*swastika* like the Labyrinth-devices on coins of Knossos⁵.

However that may be, it seems certain that both Attic and Cretan art presuppose the *swastika* as the earliest ascertainable form of the Labyrinth. That much-disputed symbol has a voluminous literature of its own⁶, and critics are not yet unanimous as to its ultimate significance. But among recent investigators there is something like a *consensus* in favour of the view that it was a stylised representation of the revolving sun⁷. On this showing, appears on some of the sealings found by Mr. Hogarth at Zakro [*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 88 no. 133 pl. 10]. A still earlier example of the same class occurred in a magazine of the Earlier Palace together with fine "Middle Minoan" pottery on the East slope.⁸

² *Infra* ch. ii §§ 9 (g). The old ground-plan came near to being retained, when the edifice was rebuilt as a Christian church (*infra* p. 167 n. 3). Mazes still survive in the flooring of continental churches (*infra* p. 485 f.).
³ F. De Sauley *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 210 pl. 11, 2: *cp. supra* p. 236 figs. 175—177.
⁵ This suggestion was first made by Sir Arthur Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1905 ix. 88 f.
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the original Cnossian Labyrinth was not the great palace unearthed by Sir Arthur Evans, at least was not the whole of that palace, but was a structure which somehow lent itself to an imitation of the sun's movements in the sky.

But how are we to conceive of such a structure? Probably it was an amphitheatre or 'arena' intended for the performance of a mimetic dance. Perhaps even it was marked out with mazy lines to aid the intricate evolutions of the dancers—a practice undoubtedly known to the later Greeks. If, therefore, we are to identify the Labyrinth with any structure so far found, I should suppose that it was the paved rectangular space near the north-west corner of the Cnossian palace. This space, discovered by Sir Arthur Evans in 1901 and by him dubbed 'the Theatral Area,' is an east-and-west oblong of 12'94 by 9'89 metres enclosed by two flights of steps or seats (18 on the east, 6 decreasing to 3 on the south side) with a square bastion at their common angle. Its rough paving was probably once covered with coloured cement or hard plaster, on which we may believe the labyrinthine lines to have been set out more or less as in the foregoing ground-plan.

1 Hesych. γραμματι εν τη θρησκευ οοσαν, ωτ ης χαρων εν ατοια ισσοθαλ. See A. E. Haigh The Attic Theatre Oxford 1868 p. 137.


3 I have here combined a plan of the 'Theatral Area' (based on that of A. J. Evans loc. cit. p. 103 fig. 68) with the labyrinth-pattern of the wall-painting (supra p. 477 n. 2 f.). But, of course, other arrangements are equally possible.

A. Mosso The Palaces of Crete and their Builders London 1907 p. 313 notes 'a square figure with nine small holes incised on a step of the theatre.' He suggests that it was 'a Mycenaean game' and compares 'similar figures cut by idle people on the pavements of the basilicas in the Roman Forum.'
The Cnossian orchestra bears no slight resemblance to the oblong theatre at Thorikos (fig. 346)\(^1\). Since Thorikos was once a flourishing 'Minoan' settlement, it might be suggested that the peculiar form of its theatre was a heritage from early times. Perhaps we may venture even a step further and recognise certain analogies between the Cretan Labyrinth and the ordinary Attic theatre. If the former was occupied by dancers arranged as a swastika, the latter had regularly its 'square chorus'.\(^2\) If a 'clew' was needed in the one\(^3\), a rope-dance (kórdax) was executed in the other\(^4\). Ariadne, as the mythographers put it, when deserted by Theseus was taken up by Dionysos. Prof. R. C. Bosanquet points out to me that even in Roman times the orchestra of the theatre at Athens was laid out as a swastika-mosaic (pl. xxix)\(^5\). There was in fact some excuse for Conrad von Querfurt, who, writing from Sicily in 1194 A.D., tells his old friend the prior of Hildesheim how

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\(^1\) W. Miller in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1885–1886 iv. 1–34, W. Doerpfeld and E. Reisch *Das griechische Theater* Athens 1896 p. 110 fig. 43, A. Marquand *Greek Architecture* New York 1909 p. 338 fig. 372, Durn *Baukunst d. Gr.* \(2\) p. 465 fig. 419, A. Struck *Griechenland* Wien u. Leipzig 1911 i. 194 fig. 231.

\(^2\) On the τετράγωνος χορός of tragic, comic, and satyric plays, and its relation to the κόρδαξ χορός of dithyramb, see *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 376.

\(^3\) Diels in Pallat *De fabula Ariadnae* Berolini 1891 interprets the clew as a rope-dance (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 254, 603 n. 7).

\(^4\) I have discussed a 'Minoan' precursor of the κόρδαξ in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 101 f.

\(^5\) The plan here given (very slightly restored) is based on Mr A. M. Poynter's careful survey of the existing remains (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896–1897 iii. 176–179 pl. 15).
The *swastika*-mosaic in the theatre at Athens.

*See page 486.*
charmed he had been to find at Taormina the Labyrinth of the Minotaur!

The solution of the Labyrinth-problem here advanced is borne out by a thrice-familiar passage in the *Iliad*. Daidalos, we read,

> once wrought in Knosos broad
> A dancing-ground for fair-haired Ariadne.

The scholiast explains that Theseus, having escaped from the Labyrinth by means of Ariadne’s clew, with the youths and maidens whom he had rescued ‘wove a circling dance for the gods that resembled his own entrance into and exit from the Labyrinth, Daidalos showing them how to dance it’⁴. Eustathios³ adds that this was the first occasion on which men and women danced together, that Sophokles had alluded to ‘the dances of Knossos’⁸, and that old-fashioned folk in his own day, sailors especially, danced a certain dance with many twists and turns in it meant to recall the windings of the Labyrinth. Lucian too specifies as Cretan dance-themes ‘Europe, Pasiphae, both the Bulls, the Labyrinth, Ariadne, Phaidra, Androgeos, Daidalos, Ikaros, Glaukos, the seer-craft of Polyeidos, and Talos the bronze sentinel of Crete.’³

The Labyrinth-dance was not confined to Crete. Plutarch in his *Life of Theseus*⁶ writes:

> ‘Sailing away from Crete, he put in at Delos. Here he sacrificed to the god, dedicated the image of Aphrodite that he had received from Ariadne, and in company with the young men danced a dance, which, they say, is still kept up by the Delians. It imitates the circuits and exits of the Labyrinth by means of a certain measure that involves turnings and re-turnings. This type of dance, as Dikaiarchos shows, is called the Crane by the Delians⁹. Theseus danced it erroneously as a palace.’

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2 Sir Arthur Evans *loc. cit.* p. 111 concludes ‘that this first of theatres, the Stepped Area with its dancing ground, supplies a material foundation for the Homeric tradition of the famous “choros” [II. 18. 591 ff.]’. But he does not expressly identify the said ‘Area’ with the Labyrinth of mythology. Indeed, he cannot, because he regards the whole palace as the Labyrinth (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1899–1900 vi. 33*). To me it seems more probable that the Labyrinth proper was the dancing-ground made by Daidalos, and that the close relation of this dancing-ground to the palace at Knossos led the Greeks as early as the fifth century B.C., if not much earlier, to view the Labyrinth erroneously as a palace.

³ *II. 18. 591 f.*
⁴ Schol. *A.B. II. 18. 590.
⁵ *Eustath. in II. p. 1166, 17 ff.*
⁶ Soph. *Ai. 700.*
⁷ *Loukian. de salt. 49.*
⁸ *Ploui. v. Thes. 21.*
⁹ The γέρανος (*Loukian. de salt. 34*) is described by *Poli. 4. 101 τίνες δὲ γέρανοι κατὰ πλῆθος ὁρχοῦσαν, ἐκατοὺς ὧν ἐκατοὺς κατὰ στοῖχων, τὰ ἀκρα ἐκατοχθάνει τῷ ἥμισυνῳ ἔχθαντο κ.τ.λ. and in more general terms by *Kallim. s. Del. 312 f.* πόλιν, σῶς περι βοσμον ἐγερόμενον κυκλῳ τοῦ κυκλιω ὁρχήσατο κ.τ.λ. On the *krater* of Kliias and C.
round the keraton altar, so named because it consists of horns (kerata) all taken from the left side. They state also that he instituted a contest in Delos and therein was the first to award a palm to the victors.

Again, the game of 'Troy,' which the Etruscan potter repre-

Ergotimos, Attic work of c. 600--550 B.C., Theseus, lyre in hand, is leading the dance, which consists of seven youths and seven maidens: they have just landed from their ship (Furtwangler--Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 60 f. pl. 13).

I have elsewhere (Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 186 f.) pointed out that this curious combination of bull and crane recurs in the Celtic area. On an altar found at Paris in 1710, beneath the apse of Notre-Dame, four sculptured panels show (a) Jupiter (iovis) with sceptre and eagle, (b) Volcanus (volcans) with tongs, (c) a bearded god (svevs) felling a willow-tree with uplifted axe, (d) a great bull wearing a long saddle-cloth or dorsale. On his head and back are three cranies visible against the foliage of the willow. The inscription above is Tarvos Trigaranus, the Bull with the Three Cranes (see A. Bertrand La Religion des Gaulois Paris 1897 p. 351 f. fig. 50 and especially S. Reinach Cultes, Mythes et Religions Paris 1905 i. 253 ff. figs. 1--4). On another altar found near Trèves in 1895 the three sculptured faces show (a) Mercurius with caduceus, purse, etc. and his consort (Rosmerta?) standing on either side of an altar. A small animal (goat? ram?) is between the feet of Mercurius. Beneath runs the incomplete inscription

Mercurio V elVS

(b) the lower portion of a small draped female figure, (c) a beardless (?) wood-cutter cleaving or splitting a tree, probably meant for a willow. High up on the tree is a bull's head to the left and three large birds with long beaks to the right (Bertrand op. cit. p. 352 f. fig. 51, Reinach ap. cit. i. 234 ff. figs. 2 f.). H. Steuding in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1603 cp. the stout shepherd Garanus (Verrius Flaccus ap. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 8. 203) or Recaranus (Aur. Vict. orig. gent. Rom. 8, where Steuding ingeniously cj. Trigaranus), who slew Cacus the thief of Geryones' oxen.

It may also be remarked that a Japanese crest has three storks or cranes grouped together on the solar disk (N. Gordon Munro in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan 1911 xxxviii. 2. 64 pl. 20, 21, cp. 21).

1 The form kepdras is found also in a Delian inscription (Dittnerberger Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 588, 171). Plout. terr. an aquat. anim. sint callidiora 35 regards the kepdrros Bouos of Delos as one of the seven wonders of the world (so anon. de incred. 2. Mart. lib. spec. i. 4) and states that it was made of right horns only, without glue or bonding of any sort. Anon. de incred. 2 says that it was composed of the right horns of victims offered to the god on a single day. Kallim. h. AP. 61 ff. asserts that the four-year-old Apollo built it with the horns of goats shot by Artemis on Mt Kythnos. It is also mentioned by Ov. her. 21. 99. The existing remains are described by T. Homolle L'autel des cornes à Délos' in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1884 viii. 417 ff. pls. 17 ff., Durm Baukunst d. Gr. 8 p. 230 figs. 152 ff., L. Büchner in Pauly--Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 2468. They include a long narrow temple measuring 67'20 by 8'86 metres. This is divided into three parts. First comes a pronaos with four Doric columns. Then, an elongated naos, the centre of which forms a sunk oblong space. This is separated from the third and innermost portion of the edifice by two pairs of Doric half-columns forming three intercolumniations: the middle opening has on either side of it a pilaster, the capital of which is the forearm of a kneeling bull. Lastly, there is an inner naos, oblong in shape, where once stood the famous horn-altar. It is noteworthy also that a colonnade 125 metres in length, which runs along the northern side of the precinct, has its triglyphs decorated with bulls' heads. Examples of the forepart of a bull used as an architectural member are collected by A. H. Smith in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture ii. 263 f.

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sented as a maze and Virgil expressly compares with the Cretan Labyrinth, was said to have been first introduced into Latium by Ascanius and his Trojans. This tradition, if sound, points to the former existence of a labyrinthine dance in Asia Minor. It may, therefore, be worth while to suggest that the Labyrinth-pattern, which occurs on coins of Priene, Magnesia on the Maiandros, Tripolis and Apameia, was not originally a graphic sign for the 'meandering' river, but an ancient religious symbol akin to, if not identical with, that which represented the Labyrinth at Knossos. Thus the humped bull within the Labyrinth on coins of the Cretan colony Magnesia, c. 350—190 B.C. (fig. 347), would be comparable with the Minotaur, while the swastika beneath the feet of Apollon on the later tetradrachms (fig. 348) suggests a solar interpretation. If we were better acquainted with the history of 'Minoan' migrations, it might be possible to trace the route by which the Labyrinth-dance and the Labyrinth-pattern passed from east to west.

Miss Harrison in a letter to me dated June 14, 1912 makes the interesting suggestion that the Τρωικόν πήδημα of Neoptolemos at Delphi (Eur. Andr. 1139) may stand in some relation to the game of 'Troy.' This strikes me as not impossible, since we have already found Neoptolemos grasping the solar wheel in the same sanctuary (supra p. 261). Yet I should hardly agree with Miss Harrison that 'the usual aetiology is sheer nonsense': cp. schol. Eur. Andr. 1139 το Τρωικόν πήδημα ὁποιον ἐν τῷ Τρόιᾳ ἐπήδησαν ὁ Αχιλλέος. ὃς γὰρ εὑνταχότες τὰ Τρωικα φασιν ὡς τότος ἔστιν καὶ τοις καλομενοι Αχιλλειι, πάντα ἐν τῷ νεόν ἐπήδησαν. οὕτως δὲ φασὶ βίαν ἥλιον ὦ καὶ ἐβασκότα. Here at least is a bona fide piece of folk-lore.

3 Supra p. 476 fig. 332.
4 Verg. Aen. 5. 588 ff.
5 Id. ib. 5. 596 ff.
11 I figure a copper in my collection.
12 The Cretan bull, ab initio a fertilising agent, would readily become a bovine river-god, his swastika being re-interpreted as the sinuous line of the river.
14 Prof. R. C. Bosanquet draws my attention to the fact that in the temple of Apollon at Didyma the marble roof of a stair-case known as the Λαθροθύσιον (B. Haussoullier in the Rev. Philol. N. S. 1905 xix. 364 ff.) had a carved and painted swastika-pattern (T. Wiegand 'Seechter vorläufiger Bericht über Ausgrabungen in Milet und Didyma' in the Abbh. d. berl. Abh. 1908 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 35, 'Siebenter...Bericht' ib. 1911 p. 49 f. fig. 16).
15 The Labyrinths of the Kykkaios in the caves near Nauplia (Strab. 369 ἐφεσί ἐν τῷ Ναυπλείᾳ τὰ πτερύγα καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῶι ἀκοδιμωτοί λαμάρθουσαν, Κυκλάττια ἐννομάζουσαν) the Labyrinth in Samos made by Theodorus (Plin. nat. hist. 34. 83), the Labyrinth in
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In Italy they gained a firm footing, as we may infer not only from the literary allusions to the game of 'Troy', but also from the many Roman mosaics that represent Theseus and his foe in a labyrinthine frame. Finally the Labyrinth was taken over from paganism by Christianity. At Orléansville in Algeria the Christian basilica, founded in 324 A.D., had among other mosaics a Labyrinth, the centre of which was occupied by the words SANCTA ECCLESIA repeated in a complicated form.

One of the state robes of the Christian emperors prior to the ninth century was coloured a fiery red and adorned with a Labyrinth of gold and pearls, in which was a Minotaur of emerald holding a finger to his lips. A picture by Bartolommeo Veneto (1502—1530), Lennos (?) with its 150 columns attributed to Smilis Rhoeikos and Theodorus (id. ib. 36. 90, where Hirt's cj. Samius for codd. Lennius certainly suits the clause: architecti fecere Zemilis et Rhoeus et Theodorus indigene), the amazing Labyrinth at Clusium constructed as a tomb for himself by Forsenna (id. ib. 36. 91—93 citing Varro, cp. Isid. orig. 15. 2. 36: see Durm Baukunst d. Etrusk. p. 140 ff.) were all buildings and merely attest the fact that the name attached itself to any complicated structure.

1 Supra p. 476.
2 Supra p. 477 n. 1.
3 F. Prévost in the Rev. Arch. 1847—1848 ii. 664, 800 ff. pl. 78.
4 A. F. Ozanam Documents inédits pour servir à l'Histoire Littéraire de l'Italie Paris 1850 pp. 92, 178 citing the Graphia aureae urbis Romae (cod. Laurent, plut. lxxxix infer. no. 41): De diadomnia imperatoris et labyrinthe aureo facto in eo. Unde diadomino uilitur ad imitandum divini ignis effigiem, qui semper ad alta extollitur, et quia per sanguinem.
now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, represents an unknown man wearing a Labyrinth of the sort on his breast. A small Labyrinth (19 1/2 inches across) still exists incised upon a porch pier of Lucca cathedral (fig. 349). The central group of Theseus and the Minotaur has all but vanished under the pressure of countless tracing fingers, but the adjoining inscription attests the designer's meaning. Similar examples are, or were, in the church of S. Michele at Pavia (s. xi), at Aix in Provence, on the walls of Poitiers cathedral. Labyrinths of larger size are not very uncommon in continental churches. A fine specimen, composed of grey and white marble, decorates the middle of the nave in Romani subjugaverunt orbem terrarum. Habeat et in diarodino laberinthum fabrefactum ex auro et margaritis, in quo sit Minotaurus digitum ad os tenens ex smaragdo factus, quia sicut non valet quis laberinthum scrutare, ita non debet consilium dominatoris propalare. I am indebted for this and for several of the following references to a valuable article by the Rev. E. Trollope on 'Notices of Ancient and Medieval Labyrinths' in The Archaeological Journal 1858 xv. 216—235.

1 F. R. Earp A descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge 1902 p. 14 f. no. 133 fig. Mr A. S. F. Gow, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, kindly drew my attention to this interesting picture.

2 J. Durand in Didron Annales Archéologiques Paris 1857 xvii. 124 f. with pl. The inscription runs: hic quem Creteus edit Dedalus est laberinthus, | de quo nullus vadere quivit qui fuit intus, | ni Theseus gratis Adrianie (sic) stamine iutus. The façade of the cathedral dates from 1204.

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Chartres cathedral (fig. 350). It measures 30 feet in diameter, and its winding path is 668 feet long. The centre was formerly adorned with a representation of Theseus and the Minotaur. Such a maze was called in the middle ages *domus Dedali* or *maison Dedaltu* or even, as in the inscription at Amiens, *Maison de Dalaus*. But new uses were found for the old design. Towards the close of the Crusades men who had broken vows of pilgrimage to the Holy Land did penance by treading these tortuous *chemins de Jerusalem* until they reached the central space, often termed *le ciel*. Later the same Labyrinths were used as a means of penance for sins of omission and commission in general.

In Great Britain mosaic mazes are exceptional and late, but turf-cut mazes fairly common and early. They are mostly situated close to a church or chapel, so that not impossibly they served a penitential purpose. One at Alkborough in Lincolnshire, 44 feet across, even resembles in design (fig. 351) the Labyrinth of Lucca cathedral. After the Reformation ecclesiastical mazes were converted into pleasure-grounds. Aubrey states that before

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1 E. Trollope loc. cit. p. 211 fig. 3 (from E. Wallet *Description d'une Crypte et d'un Pavé mosaique de l'ancienne eglise de St. Bertin à Saint-Omer* Douai 1843 p. 97).

2 *E.g.* there is one inside the west door of Ely cathedral; but it is of quite recent date (1870).

3 The best collection of facts is contained in a paper by the Rev. F. G. Walker on 'Comberton Maze and the origin of Mazes' (read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, February 8, 1909, but as yet unprinted). Mr Walker *op. cit.* p. 17 ff. notes the proximity of many English mazes to Roman remains and argues that some of them may have been originally cut in Roman times.

4 E. Trollope *loc. cit.* p. 324 f. fig. 5.
the civil wars there were many mazes in England, and that the young people used on festivals to dance upon them, or, as the term was, to tread them. Stukeley in 1724 writes:

'The lovers of antiquity, especially of the inferior class, always speak of 'em with great pleasure, and as if there were somthing extraordinary in the thing, tho' they cannot tell what... what generally appears at present is no more than a circular work made of banks of earth in the fashion of a maze or labyrinth, and the boys to this day divert themselves with running in it one after another, which leads them by many windings quite thro' and back again.'

A century later T. Wright observes:

'At the maze (called there mazles) at Comberton, in Cambridgeshire, it has been a custom, from time immemorial, among the villagers, to hold a feast every three years about the time of Easter.'

This maze, which has recently been restored by the Rev. F.G. Walker, was almost identical in type with one at Wing in Rutlandshire. When transformed into the play-ground of the village school, it

Fig. 332.

was in danger of extinction; but I have repeatedly seen the school-children in single file tread the nearly obliterated windings. Antiquarians, monkish or otherwise, appear to have assumed the

1 J. Aubrey Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey v. 80, cp. Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme 1666—87 (London 1881) p. 71.

2 W. Stukeley Itinerarium Curionum London 1724 p. 91 ff.

3 T. Wright The History and Topography of the County of Essex London 1835 ii. 124 f. The Rev. F.G. Walker op. cit. p. 30 says of the Comberton Maze: 'It used, in bygone days, to be recut every three years at Easter time, when the men who cut it had a feast.'

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Roman lineage of these turf-mazes; for in England they are commonly called 'Troy-town' and in Wales Caerdroia, 'Troy-walls'. Another name for them is 'Julian's Bowers,' or in northern dialect 'Jullinbores'. Stukeley even proposed to connect this name with that of Iulus!

Similar mazes are reported from various parts of northern Europe. In Norway and Sweden they are constructed of stones and known as Trojin, Trojeborg, Trojenborg, Tröborg. A maze some 18 metres wide at Wisby on the island of Gothland (fig. 352) is, as Dr E. Krause points out, curiously like the circular Labyrinth on a coin of Knossos (supra p. 477 fig. 343). In Finland and Lapland the same custom obtains, though here the name most in

1 E. Trollope loc. cit. p. 232 ff. Welsh shepherds, in commemoration of their Trojan descent (!), used often to cut a labyrinthine figure called the Caerdroia on the turf, as the herdsmen upon the grassy plains of Burgh and Rockliff Marshes near the Solway Sands in Cumberland still cut a labyrinthine figure termed the 'Walls of Troy' (W. H. M. in Notes and Queries Second Series v. 211 ff.). In Scotland too the 'Walls of Troy' are popular with children, who trace them on the sea-sand or scribble them on their slates (E. Trollope loc. cit. p. 233).


3 W. Stukeley loc. cit.

4 Supra p. 483.

5 On Hallands Väderö, an island in the Kattegat, a maze of stones is called Trolleborg ('Trolleborg, the 'Giants' Castle').

6 E. Krause Die Trojanburgen Nordeuropas Glogau 1893 p. 4 fig. 1, p. 184 fig. 23.

7 It is, I suppose, possible that a Chossian tetradrachm might find its way northwards along a trade-route (cp. the map in R. Forrer Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande Strassburg 1908 pl. 1) and so furnish the prototype of this design.
use is Babylon. I append an example about 12 ft across observed and drawn by E. von Baer in 1838, when he was weather-bound at Vier, a small uninhabited island in the Gulf of Finland (fig. 353). Iceland too has analogous Labyrinths made of stones or earth, the native name for which is Völundarhus, ‘Weland’s House.’

It would seem then that in Great Britain, Scandinavia, the northeast of Russia, and Iceland rough mazes of unknown antiquity exist, which conform to the same general pattern as that of the Cretan Labyrinth. The first to grasp the full significance of this curious fact was Dr E. Krause. In a very noteworthy monograph devoted to the subject and in a subsequent appendix to the same he endeavoured to show that the maze of the countryside was no imitation of the classical Labyrinth, but that rather the classical Labyrinth was an imitation of it. Maze and Labyrinth alike were survivals of a remote past and were originally used for the purposes of a mimetic solar rite. Pliny believed that the Cretan Labyrinth was a copy of the Egyptian, and contrasted the intricate handiwork


2 E. Krause op. cit. p. 13 ff. fig. 2.


4 Thus far at least we may frankly accept Dr Krause’s results, without necessarily endorsing his conclusions as to the precise character of the rite involved. He holds that the original Labyrinth-dance represented the rescue of the sun-goddess from the castle of a wintry demon. Corresponding with this northern spring-rite was a northern spring-myth, in which the solar heroine (Freyja, Brunhild, etc.) was freed from the prison of a superhuman builder or smith. Among Indians, Persians, and Southern Slavs the baleful power was a three-headed monster named Druho, Druja or Draogha, Trojana. Dr Krause argues (Die Trojanburgen Nordeuropas pp. ix f., 109 ff., 377 ff., Nachtrag p. 41 ff.) that the whole story of the Trojan War presupposes this northern myth, with Helene for solar heroine. He thinks (Die Trojanburgen Nordeuropas p. 10 ff.) that the names of Troy-town, Troyburg, etc., are not due to a diffused tradition of the Homeric Troy, but to the existence of a Germanic word Trois, ‘fortress, doublet, dance’ (root-meaning: ‘Umwallung, Umhüllung, Umkreisung’). And he attempts (ib. p. 48 ff., Nachtrag p. 46 ff.) to connect the Labyrinth-design with the cup-marks and concentric circles of the neolithic age.

These speculations, which are set forth with much learning and ingenuity, are for the most part well worth weighing; but I confess that, with sundry notable exceptions, they impress me as being more plausible than convincing.
of Daidalos with the paltry representations of it to be seen in
mosaic-floors 'or' (he added contemptuously) 'with the games of
children in the country, which enclose a walk of several thousand
paces within a narrow strip.' How little he realised that the
country maze was the original, of which Daidalos' masterpiece was
but an artistic elaboration!

Another point to be noticed is this. In Italy and France, where
ecclesiastical Labyrinths abound, no rustic mazes are now to be
seen. Conversely in Great Britain, Scandinavia, Finland, Lapland,
Iceland, where rustic mazes are numerous, no ecclesiastical Laby-
rinths occur. Hence we infer that in southern Europe the rustic
maze was pressed into the service of the church, while in western
and north-western Europe it remained as a relic of paganism.

Further, it can hardly be accidental that the distribution of
mazes and Labyrinths corresponds so closely with that of the
megalithic monuments of Europe. This suggests that the original
maze-makers were akin to, or even identical with, the unknown
builders of cromlechs, menhirs, and avenues.

In conclusion, it is clear that the Labyrinth, once the *orchéstra*
of a solar dance, has throughout mediaeval and modern times been
subjected to a slow process of degradation. The final stage was
reached, when the maze of the village-green was superseded by the
'Labyrinth,' the 'Daedal,' and the 'Wilderness'—topiary puzzles
of a purely secular sort.

From Knossos to Hampton Court may be a far cry; but it
will be admitted that in the chain connecting them hardly a link
is missing.

xv. The Minotaur.

Our enquiries into Cretan religion have hitherto led us towards
two conclusions. On the one hand, in Cretan myth the sun was
conceived as a bull. On the other hand, in Cretan ritual the
Labyrinth was an *orchéstra* of solar pattern presumably made for
a mimetic dance.

In view of these results it would seem highly probable that the

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1 Plin. *nat. hist*. 36. 85 hinc (sc. from the Egyptian Labyrinth) utique sumpsisse
Daedalum exemplar eius labyrinthi, quem fecit in Creta, non est dubium, sed centen-
simam tantum portionem eius imitatum, quae itinerum ambages occurreret ac recursus
inexplicabiles continet, non—ut in pavimentis *pseurorum* iudicis campestribus videmus—
brevi laciniis milda passuum plura ambulationis continentem, sed crebris foribus inditis
ad fallendos occurreret redecuddumque in errores eoscem.

2 J. Fergusson *Rude Stone Monuments* London 1872 pl. 1 publishes a useful 'Map,'
designed to illustrate the distribution of Dolmens, and probable lines of the migrations of
the Dolmen builders.'

3 *Supra* p. 467 ff.

4 *Supra* p. 472 ff.
The Minotaur
dancer imitating the sun masqueraded in the Labyrinth as a bull. That, if I mistake not, is the true explanation of Pasiphae's child, the Minotaur. He was the crown-prince of Knossos in ritual attire, and his bull-mask proclaimed his solar character. Why the crown-prince rather than the king should have discharged this duty, and why every ninth year he required a tale of human victims, are points for later consideration. Here I am concerned to note merely his probable relation to the sun and to the dance.

Dr. J. G. Frazer, after discussing the dance of the youths and maidens at Knossos in connexion with Labyrinths old and new, pens the following paragraph, with which I find myself largely in agreement:

A dance or game which has thus spread over Europe and survived in a fashion to modern times must have been very popular, and bearing in mind how often with the decay of old faiths the serious rites and pageants of grown people have degenerated into the sports of children, we may reasonably ask whether Ariadne's Dance or the Game of Troy may not have had its origin in religious ritual. The ancients connected it with Cnossus and the Minotaur. Now we have seen reason to hold, with many other scholars, that Cnossus was the seat of a great worship of the sun, and that the Minotaur was a representation or embodiment of the sun-god. May not, then, Ariadne's dance have been an imitation of the sun's course in the sky? and may not its intention have been, by means of sympathetic magic, to aid the great luminary to run his race on high? We have seen that during an eclipse of the sun the Chilcotin Indians walk in a circle, leaning on staves, apparently to assist the labouring orb. In Egypt also the king, who embodied the sun-god, seems to have solemnly walked round the walls of a temple for the sake of helping the sun on his way. If there is any truth in this conjecture, it would seem to follow that the sinuous lines of the Labyrinth which the dancers followed in their evolutions may have represented the ecliptic, the sun's apparent annual path in the sky. It is some confirmation of this view that on coins of Cnossus the sun or a star appears in

1 In 1890 Miss J. E. Harrison wrote: 'It seems possible that this man-bull form of the Minotaur may have been suggested by the necessities of a mimetic dance, the part of Minotaur being taken by a man with a bull-head mask' (Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. p. cxxvii). This view I supported and sought to strengthen in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1894 xiv. 124 n. 347. In the Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 410 f. I went further and conjectured that, since the Cretans conceived of the sun as a bull, Minos as sun-king wore a bull-mask, and that this ritual costume gave rise to the legend of the Minotaur. In Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 272 I shifted my ground and, for reasons which will subsequently appear, contended that the Minotaur was, not Minos himself, but Minos' son in the ritual disguise of the solar bull. See also G. Murray The Rise of the Greek Epic. Oxford 1911 pp. 156–158.

2 Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 392 f.

3 Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 411, Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 394 ff.


5 I had almost completed my own account of the Labyrinth before reading Dr. Frazer's important and helpful chapter. We have approached the matter from different angles, he dealing with the centennial tenure of the kingship, I with the solar bull; but at this point our results approximate.
the middle of the Labyrinth, the place which on other coins is occupied by the Minotaur.

From the concluding sentences of this paragraph I should dissent. The fact that the earliest known form of the Labyrinth is a derivative of the *svastika* leads us to believe that the dance represented the revolving sun rather than the ecliptic. But that the Minotaur, like the Chilcotin Indians walking in a circle and leaning on their staves, was engaged in a piece of mimetic ritual seems to me highly probable. I would interpret in this sense an unpublished *stater* of Knossos in the McClean collection at Cambridge (fig. 354). This interesting coin has for its reverse design a Labyrinth clearly based on the *svastika*-pattern, and for its obverse a Minotaur of unique type. He has a bull’s head and tail; but from under his mask—for such it must be—hang two unmistakeable tresses of human hair, and as he hastens along he leans upon a staff. A figure better adapted to express the solar dance it would be hard to imagine.

Such a dance doubtless served to promote the year’s vegetation; and it has been argued with much probability by E. Neustadt1 that the crown of Theseus or Ariadne was originally a flowery crown comparable with the May-garland. Bakchylides speaks of the

![Fig. 354](image)

former as ‘dark with roses’2; Timachidas, of the latter as made from the ‘Theseus-flower’.3 The wreath in question, whether his or hers, was transformed into a constellation at a later date when magic had yielded to science. Yet even then tradition did not forget that a shining crown of some sort was connected with the Labyrinth. According to Epimenides, Theseus after slaying the Minotaur escaped from the Labyrinth by virtue of a glittering crown, which Dionysos had given to Ariadne. This crown, formed by Hephaistos of fiery gold and Indian gems, made light for the hero in the dark maze: it was afterwards placed by Dionysos among the stars.4

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1 E. Neustadt *De Jove Cretico* Berolini 1906 p. 29 ff.
2 Bakchyl. 16. 116.
3 Timachidas *ap. Athen. 684 f.*
The Minotaur

Again, the Minotaur was also called Astérion¹ or Asterion², 'the Starry.' A red-figured amphora from Nola, now in the Vatican collection, shows Theseus slaying him in the presence of Ariadne, who holds a crown, and Minos, who holds a sceptre: the Minotaur's body is bespangled with many stars, and in this some have seen an allusion to his name. But that is improbable; for on other

Fig. 355.

vases he is flecked or patched with queer-looking marks merely to denote that he has a bull's pelt (fig. 355)³. A red-figured kōlix by

² Paus. 2. 31. 1. Rufin. recognit. 10. 31 makes Asterion the son of Jupiter by Idea (= Idaia), wife of Minos.
⁵ L. Stephani Der Kampf zwischen Theseus und Minotauros Leipzig 1842 p. 52 pl. 3 (black-figured Minotaur flecked with white), p. 83 pl. 8 (black-figured Minotaur with spots, mostly T-shaped, of white), Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases ii. 105 no. B 148 (black-figured Minotaur stippled with hair), etc.
Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 111 f. no. E 84 (red-figured Minotaur, covered with brown
Douris, found at Vulci and now in the British Museum, sprinkles him with eyes like those of Argos, another bovine personage (fig. 356). More to the point, perhaps, are the silver coins of Knossos from c. 500 B.C. onwards: these represent him surrounded with a row of dots, which may or may not be meant for stars. Clearer, though still not quite convincing, is a Corinthian pinax of strokes to indicate hair), Collignon—Couve Cat. Vases d'Athènes p. 367 f. no. 1173 (redfigured Minotaur ‘tacheté de points’), etc.

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 73 f. no. E 48, Gerhard Auserl. Vasenb. iii. 133 pl. 234, Baumeister Denk. iii. 1789 fig. 1873, A. S. Murray Designs from Greek Vases in the British Museum London 1894 p. 24 no. 29 pl. 8, E. Pottier Douris Paris 1905 p. 75 ff. fig. 11, Reinach Rép. Vases ii. 118, W. Klein Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen Wien 1887 p. 128 no. 106, C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa Real. Enc. v. 1859. Mr H. B. Walters in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 73 notes: ‘the mask of the Minotaur is edged with a triple wavy black line at the neck, and shaded with light brown strokes...His body and limbs are thickly overspread with dotted circles, like the eyes of Argus. The division between this skin and the surface of the hands and feet is marked by fine brown lines.’

2 J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crête ancienne Macon 1890 i. 65 f. pl. 4, 23 ff.
The Minotaur

the early sixth century B.C., which was found at Pente Skouphia in 1879 and is now in the Berlin Museum (fig. 357)\(^1\): on this he appears in the centre of four unmistakeable stars, which are hardly to be regarded as mere filling. It would, however, be hasty to conclude that the Minotaur was a nocturnal rather than a diurnal power. The terms astér and ástron were applicable to the sun\(^2\) and moon\(^3\) as well as to the stars, so that we should be justified in explaining the title Astéries, Asterion as ‘god of all the Celestial Lights.’

As to the Minotaur-dance, we have already seen that Cretan dance-themes included ‘Europe, Pasiphae, both the Bulls, the Labyrinth, Ariadne,’ etc.\(^4\) These, doubtless, were late pantomimic


J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 115 connects the star, often found as a monetary type at Knossos (e.g. figs. 328, 329 from small silver and copper coins in my collection), with the Minotaur’s name ‘Astépios.’

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1 *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 6 pl. 29, 14 (= Furtwängler *Vasensamml.* Berlin i. 75 no. 663+i. 77 no. 739), E. Pernice in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1897 xii. 29 fig. 21.
4 *Suda* p. 481.
The Minotaur performances, but it is likely enough that their motifs were traditional. A black-figured hydra in the British Museum, on which are seen three Minotaurs running towards the right with arms akimbo (pl. xxx), has possibly preserved a reminiscence of such dances. It is also noteworthy that a black-figured lekythos at Athens, which represents Theseus slaying the Minotaur in the presence of two females, gives the monster a bull’s tail but a human head.

My notion that the Minotaur was a Cnossian prince masquerading as a bull receives no slight support from Diodoros. After speaking of the Egyptian Labyrinth built by king Mendes or Marros and its Cretan copy made by Daidalos for Minos, the historian goes on to remark that five generations later there came to the throne of Egypt a certain Keten, identified by the Greeks with Proteus, a contemporary of the Trojan War. This Keten was said to have been a shape-shifter, who took the form now of an animal, now of a tree, now again of fire or the like. The priests declared that he was enabled to do so by his knowledge of astrology, and that the practice having become traditional with Egyptian kings gave rise to Greek tales of shape-shifting. For, continues Diodoros, 'it was customary with the rulers of Egypt to put about their heads the foreparts of lions, bulls, and snakes, as tokens of their rule. They had upon their heads now trees, now fire, and sometimes many fragrant odours; by which means they both arrayed themselves in fine style and struck superstitious terror into others.' The researches of Messieurs Maspero and Moret have proved that the Egyptian king and queen did actually figure as god and goddess in certain solemn rites, when masked men and women played the parts of animal-headed deities. I suggest that the Cnossian prince did much the same.


2 Nicole Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl. p. 189 no. 949. W. Meyer in the Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1882 ii. 381 notes that in the middle ages the Minotaur was commonly represented as 'oben Mensch, unten Stier.'

3 Diod. 1. 61 f. My attention was first directed to this important passage by Dr J. G. Frazer (Class. Rev. 1903 xvi. 410 n. 3). Mr A. Lang in Folk-Lore 1910 xxi. 145 dismisses it as 'a mere astrological myth to explain the Odyssean story of Proteus.'

4 Cp. Hdt. 2. 112 ff. Keten appears to have been the first king of the twentieth dynasty, Set-nekh or Nekht-Set, the father of Rameses iii.

Hydra in the British Museum: Minotaur-dance (?).

See page 496.
xvi. 'Minoan' Bull-fights.

Few features of the 'Minoan' civilisation are more striking than its devotion to the bull-ring. Statuettes, reliefs, paintings, and seal-stones make it abundantly clear that toreadors, male and female, played an important part in the life of their people. The evidence, which comes to us from Crete, Mykenai, Tiryns, Vaphio, Orchomenos, Athens, etc., has been recently classified and discussed by A. Reichel. This careful investigator thinks that the sport originated in Crete, and distinguishes three stages in its evolution. Its earliest form was the capture of a bull by one or more unarmed men, who clung tenaciously to its horns. Out of this developed the favourite 'Minoan' display, an acrobatic performance calling for the utmost nerve and dexterity. It comprised various feats, of which the most popular was the following. The athlete rushed towards the charging bull, grasped it by the horns, turned a somersault over its head, and letting go with his hands was shot over its back into safety. Many centuries later a less hazardous form of bull-baiting is found in the Thessalian taurokathapsia. The toreador on horseback pursued the bull till it was exhausted, and

1 A. Reichel 'Die Stierspiele in der kretisch-mykenischen Cultur' in the Ath. Mitt. 1900 xxxiv. 85—99 with figs. and pl.
2 Two terra-cotta figures of the 'Early Minoan' period found by Xanthoudides at Koumasa near Gortyna (A. Mussen The Palaces of Crete and Their Builders London 1907 p. 219 fig. 99, A. Reichel loc. cit. p. 93 nos. 18 and 19 = fig. 11).
3 With these may be compared the capture of the big bull by a posse of men in Lanzone Diss. di Mittel. Egis. pl. 306.

Fifth-century coins of Larissa have obv. a Thessalian youth, who grasps a plunging bull by the horns, and rev. a bridled and galloping horse (fig. 360 from a specimen in my collection, cp. Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 1013 ff. pl. 43. 8—13, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc. p. 22 ff. pls. 4, 12 E., 3, 1—4). Since a fourth-century drachm of the same town shows obv. a mounted Thessalian galloping, and rev. a bull in full flight (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc. p. 29 pl. 5, 13), it seems probable that on all these coins of Larissa we should combine the two types and recognise scenes from the taurokathapsia (G. Macdonald Coin Types Glasgow 1905 p. 99 pl. 3, 10, Head Hist. num. p. 298 f.). Similar scenes occur on coins of Kranion, the Perrhalboi, Pharkodon, Pherai, Skotoussa, and Trikke (see Babelon op. cit. ii. 1. 1021 f. pl. 43. 16; 1023 ff. pl. 43. 17—20; 1029 ff. pl. 43. 25.; 1031 f. pl. 43. 29; Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc. p. 16 pl. 2, 11 f.; p. 39 pl. 8, 7; p. 42 pl. 9, 1 f.; p. 46 pl. 10, 1—3; p. 51 f. pl. 11, 5—7 and 13).

C.

Fig. 360.
then leaping upon it twisted its horns and broke its neck. Clearly
the Thessalian sport, in which the hunter is mounted and the bull
is killed, cannot be identified with the Cretan sport, in which the
athlete is on foot and the bull is not killed. If the two are related
at all, the one must be viewed as a modification of the other. The
*taurokathâpsia*, introduced into Italy by Iulius Caesar, appealed to
the sensation-loving Romans, and ultimately gave rise to the bull-
fights of Spain and France.

Reichel further suggests that in ‘Minoan’ times this bull-grappling
had some religious significance; but he does not venture to determine
the cult with which it was connected or the meaning that attached
to it.

As to the *taurokathâpsia*, it has been commonly—though not
universally—regarded as a rite in the cult of Poseidon. But so
far as Thessaly is concerned there is not a particle of evidence,
and in the case of other districts the attribution is at best con-
jectural. Even if definite proof were forthcoming that in the Roman period
this Thessalian sport was held to be an appanage of Poseidon, we could not
with any assurance argue back from Thessaly to Crete across a gap of fifteen
hundred years. It is surely safer to as-
sume that the Cretan bull-sports stood
in some relation to the Cretan bull-god,
who at Knossos was represented by the
Minotaur. On this showing we might look to find the bull-grasping
feat associated with the Labyrinth. In point of fact, we do so

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p. 34 ff. views the *taurokathâpsia* as a rite properly belonging to the cult of Zeus *Pâsos*.
F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie* Leipzig and Darmstadt 1842 iv. 326 referred it ‘auf
die solarischen und Cerealischen Religionen.’

In an inscription from Larissa (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 528) a bull-fight takes place for
Zeus *Eleus* βοσκ.; but E. Cahen justly remarks that it is only one item of an extensive
programme (Daremberg—*Saglio Dict. Ant.* v. 52).

2 Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 675. Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 570 f., Farnell *Cults of
Verbindung mit dem Kult des Stier-Poseidon erst sekundär sein kann; für diesen Gott
passten sie aber vor anderen.’

3 Nilsson *Gr. Fest.* p. 80 f. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 25: ‘We have the evidence
of Artemidorus that the *taurokathâpsia*...was consecrated to the festival of Poseidon at
Larissa...at Eleusis...and at Ephesos’ is inexact, as a reference to the citation (*ib.* iv. 98)
of Artemid. *on. d. 8* will show. Artemidoros does not mention Poseidon at all.

Note, however, that on the coins of Kramon mentioned *supra* p. 497 n. 4 the fore-part
of the horse or the butting bull is accompanied by a trident.

find it. A banded agate in Sir Arthur Evans' collection (fig. 361) represents an athlete in the act of turning his somersault over the horns of a mighty bull, which partly conceals and partly is concealed by a patterned square. This square bears to the whole design the same relation as the patterned oblong to the slaughter of the Minotaur on the vases already discussed (figs. 329—331). In short, it depicts the Labyrinth as the scene of the action.

The essential feature of the 'Minoan' sport appears to have been the grasping of the bull's horn or horns. Now the same trait is found in the oldest art-types of one Thessalian and three Cretan myths, that of Jason grappling the Colchian bulls, that of Herakles capturing the Cretan bull, that of Theseus slaying the Minotaur (cp. figs. 329, 330), and that of Europe borne off by the bovine Zeus (cp. pl. xxxii, fig. 411). It is perhaps permissible to suggest that behind these art-types lurks a traditional pose of the bull-grasper. Jason and Herakles seizing the bull by the horn or twisting a rope about its hind legs vividly recall the bull-captors of the Vaphio cups. Theseus gripping the Minotaur by the horn or locked with him in a deadly wrestling-bout is a figure curiously reminiscent of the 'Minoan' cow-boy. Europe, who on the later monuments slips off the bull's back and hovers or floats beside him still clinging to his horn (cp. fig. 414), in effect reverts to the airy performance of the 'Minoan' cow-girl. Such resemblances may of course be fortuitous; but, given the Thessalian and Cretan connexion, they may be vestigial.

In any case it seems probable that the religious value of the original bull-sports lay in the athlete's contact with the horn of a sacred bull. A clue to the meaning of such contact is,  

3 Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 6, 9, ii. 26 figured to a scale of \( \frac{1}{4} \), A. Reichel loc. cit. p. 87 l. fig. 4. Reichel points out that Furtwängler erroneously described the man as about to cut the throat of the bull. But Reichel himself apparently shares Furtwängler's view that the bull is drinking out of a big trough!  

4 It may be objected that the Labyrinth at Knossos was ill-adapted for a bull-ring (Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1902—1903 ix. 110). But Sir Arthur Evans' intaglio is said to have come from Friene, where we have already found the Labyrinth-pattern occurring as a coin-type (\textit{supra} p. 483). Possibly the allusion is to some Labyrinth other than that of Knossos.  


6 A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2201. Cp. Theseus and the Marathonian bull on a red-figured \textit{kylix} (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 123 no. E 105), which shows the hero holding a club in his right hand and grasping the bull's horn with his left.  

7 A. Furtwängler in the Arch. Zeit. 1884 xlii. 166 ff. pl. 8, 3 (=Kleine Schriften München 1912 i. 453 f. pl. 15, 3), Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3007 fig. 2.  

8 J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 1296 f. Literary references to Europe as holding the horn are collected by L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pit. 1866 p. 124 n. 11.
I think, afforded by a lenticular sardonyx found at Orvieto (fig. 362), which represents a man grasping by the horn a couple of bulls or bull-like figures. The vessels carried in the hands of these quasi-bulls and the trees (palm?) between which they are standing justify the conjecture that they are engaged in some fertility-rite. The bull—let us suppose—is a beast pre-eminently charged with fertilising force. Its force is gathered up and culminates in its horn, bovine horns being sometimes a synonym of strength. Any one who grasps the bull's horn ipso facto obtains a share in its peculiar power.

At Laussel near Marquay (Dordogne) Dr Lalanne has recently discovered what we may venture to regard as a prehistoric prototype of such rites. On limestone blocks inside a rock-shelter a man of slender waist and three steatopygous women are carved with all the marvellous realism of palaeolithic art. The man is an archer in the act of drawing his bow. Of the women one places her left hand on the lower portion of her body and holds a bison's horn in her right (fig. 363). This may of course be a graphic hint of the eating and drinking that resulted from a successful chase. But it is highly probable that the use of a drinking-horn presupposes the magical efficacy of the horn as such. And it is at least possible that we have here part of the cave-dwellers' ritual—the right hand raised to grasp the fertilising horn, the left lowered in a gesture familiar to us from representations of the oriental mother-goddess.

This explanation throws light on sundry other obscure points in Cretan mythology and ritual. To begin with, Monsieur R. Dussaud rightly insists that the bull was not the only animal

2 *Infra* p. 514 ff.
5 G. Lalanne in *L’Anthropologie* 1912 xxiii. 129 ff. figs. 1 ff., *The Illustrated London News* July 13, 1912 cxili. 56 with 3 figs., H. G. Spearing *The Childhood of Art London* 1911 p. 305 f. I am indebted to Miss Harrison for calling my attention to this interesting discovery and for suggesting that it may furnish a prototype of the rites in question.
6 The figures are c. 18 inches high, and the relief c. 2 inches deep. That of the woman here shown is polished, except the head, and there are traces of red paint.
7 *See the facts collected by I. Schefelowitz in the Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 483 ff.
used in these ceremonial games. 'Minoan' seal-stones show gymnasts treating the agrimi or Cretan wild-goat in the self-same manner; and Sir Arthur Evans has suggested that this animal was sacred to the indigenous "Zeus" at an earlier period than the bull. If goat and bull were thus alternatives, the fertilising force which resided in the horn of the latter should be found in the horn of the former also. And it is. Few symbols of ancient religion have lasted longer or been more widely accepted than the horn of Amaltheia, the cornu copiae from which all good things flow. This is usually described in literature as the horn of the goat, which nourished Zeus as an infant in Crete, Amaltheia being either the nymph owning the goat or the goat itself. But in art, as Philemon remarks, it is 'a cow's horn.' Of countless illustrations I figure (pl. xxxi) one—an Athenian bell-krater in the Hope collection at Deepdene, which represents Herakles in Olympos feasting on the


\[2\] Perrot—Chipiez. *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 843 fig. 426, 5 and 13, 848, 852.


\[4\] See K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1721.

\[5\] Philem. *pterygium* frag. 1, 1 f. (Frag. comm. Gr. iv. 20 Meineke) τὸ τῆς Αμαλθείας δοκεῖ εἶναι κέρας ὄν τράφων οἱ γραφεῖ κέρας βοῖος;

\[6\] The vase will be included in the forthcoming *Catalogue* by my friend Mr E. M. W. Tillyard, to whose kindness I am indebted for the photograph here redrawn. Previous
dainties contained in the *cornu copiae* of Zeus. Pherekydes, the earliest writer to give us an explicit account of this horn, says:

"Amaltheia was a daughter of Haimonios and had a bull's horn. This had the power of providing whatever one liked to eat or drink without stint or effort."

The name Haimonios takes us to Thessaly, where the 'Minoan' bull-sports were modified into the *taurokathápsia*. If my explanation is sound, the said sports from first to last were designed to promote fertility by bringing the youthful gymnasts into direct contact with the horns of the fertilising bull.

The same religious idea finds expression in the cult of Dionysos. This deity at an early stage of his development was identified with both bull and goat, and, even when he had become fully anthropomorphic, he was apt to maintain a close connexion with the sacred animal. Thus on coins of Mauretania struck at Siga by Bocchus iii (50?—33 B.C.) we see Dionysos with a *thyrsos* in his right hand and a bunch of grapes beside it: he is holding by one horn a diminutive bull (fig. 364). Here and there his worshippers put themselves

publications (Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* iv pl. 25, A. L. Millin *Galerie mythologique* Paris 1811 pl. 125, 407, Reinaich *Rép. Vases* ii. 327, 2) are inadequate. Behind the throne of Zeus stands Hera (Reinaich loc. cit. suggests 'Hébé (?)': Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 305 f. had thought of Persephone behind a seated Plouton).

With the whole scene cp. a *hápsi* from Ruvo at Naples (Heydemann *Vasenmuseum* Neapel p. 360 f. no. 2408, A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 p. 201 f. pl. GH, Reinaich *op. cit.* i. 323, 1), which shows Herakles holding the *cornu copiae* and seated before a standing Zeus (Michaelis loc. cit. suggests Plouton?).

1 Pherekyd. frag. 35 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 82 Müller) ap. schol. Soph. *Trach. arg.* ἀμάλθησαν ἣν Μιλονίον ἦγερον· ἡ κέρας εἶχε ταύρον. τῇ δὲ, ἢ κυριότερον φητεί, δῶμαι εἶχε τοῦτον ὡς τινὶ προσωπείᾳ τὸν ἔπεσεν ἐν θεοτητί την περίχειν ἀφθονία τα κατάλοιπαν after Apollod. 2. 7. 5 (see Jebb's ed. of Soph. *Trach.* p. 3).

A later version made the horn of plenty that which Herakles broke off from the tauroform Acheiropoi (Ov. *met.* 9. 85 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 31, Philostr. min. *imag.* 4. 3). Various harmonists stated that Acheiropoi's horn was the horn of Amaltheia (Diod. 4. 35, Strab. 458, Dion. Chrys. *or.* 63 p. 337 Reiske), or that Acheiropoi had presented Herakles with Amaltheia's horn as ransom for his own (Zenob. 2. 48, schol. *II. 21. 194, Tzetz. in Lyk. 41. 50).


3 For the transference of quality from the horns to that which touches them cp. the belief that seed-corn, if it fell on the horns of ploughing oxen, would produce hard (i.e. horny) grain (Theophr. *de caus. plant.* 4. 12. 13, Plout. *symp.* 7. 2. 1, *Geopon.* 2. 19. 4).

4 Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1425 n. 4 collects the evidence and adds a brief bibliography. See also Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* v. 126.

5 Gruppe *op. cit.* pp. 823 n. 3 ff., 1428 n. 9 ff., Farnell *op. cit.* v. 127, 165 f.

6 Mithras in the great Mithraic myth rides the bull, grasping it by the horns, to which he clings even when thrown off the creature's back (F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 160 f., 305, id. *Die Mysterien des Mithra* 2 trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 120 f. pl. 3, 6).

7 L. Müller *Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique* Copenhagene 1862 iii. 97 ff. no. 9.
Bell-krater at Deepdene: Herakles in Olympos taking fruit from the cornu copiae of Zeus.

See page 501 f.
in contact with the bull by methods resembling those of the 'Minoan' athletes. Of Kynaitha in Arkadia Pausanias writes:

'There is here a sanctuary of Dionysos, and in winter a festival is held, at which men anoint themselves with oil, pick out a bull from a herd of cattle—whichver bull the god puts it into their head to take,—lift it up and carry it to the sanctuary. Such is their mode of sacrifice.'

Again, near Nysa in Lydia was a village called Acharaka, which had a grove and temple of Plouton and Kore. Above the grove was Charon's Cave, where cures were wrought by incubation etc. The god is represented on imperial copper coins as Zeus Ploutodôtes (fig. 365), 'Giver of Wealth'; and it will be observed that this title, of which Plouton⁵ is but a shorter

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fig. 9, Head Hist. num.² p. 888. The obverse of this coin has a bearded male head, which, according to Müller, represents a personification of the people. Perhaps we may conclude that Dionysos and his bull were vitally connected with the full-grown manhood of the people as a whole.

Dionysos holds up a spirally twisted horn, probably meant for a cornu copiae, on a black-figured ρίπας from Marathon (Ath. Mitth. 1882 vii. 400 pl. 3 f., Farnell op. cit. v. 245 pl. 35), with which cp. a black-figured kylix by Nikosthenes (Arch. Zeit. 1888 xlii. 251 pl. 16, 1 f., Reinaich Rép. Vases i. 452, 1 f. : Dionysos seated to right holding horn with dancing Maenad and Silenos on either hand), a black-figured pyxidê at Deepdene (Dionysos seated to right holding horn between two dancing Maenads), and another black-figured vase formerly in the Hamilton collection (Tischbein Hamilton Vases v pl. 21, Reinaich Rép. Vases ii. 340, 1) : see further L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pit. 1867 p. 180 f. Coins of Nysa in Lydia show a cornu copiae filled with corn-ears, poppy, and grape-bunches: a child, seated on it, raises one of the bunches and is commonly regarded as Dionysos (F. Imhoof-Blumer Lydische Stadtämter Geneva and Leipzig 1897 p. 108 f., Head Hist. num.¹ p. 553; but in Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia p. 179 pl. 30, 8 Dr B. V. Head identifies the child as Ploutos).

¹ Paus. 8. 19. 2. ² P. Stengel Opferbräuche der Griechen Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 108 f. compares this lifting of the live bull en route for sacrifice with the exploit of Biton (Paus. 2. 19. 5, supra p. 448) and the order of Menelaos (Eur. Hel. 1559 ff.), but distinguishes it from the raising of oxen already struck that their blood might flow over the altar etc. (ἀρπασθα τοις βοῖς) : the former was an exceptional, the latter a normal usage.

² Strab. 649, cp. 579, Eustath. in Dionys. per. 1553. A. Bouché-Leclercq Histoire de la dévotion dans l'antiquité Paris 1886 ii. 373 n. 1 : 'Arundell and Pococke had retrouvé le souvenir vague d'une grotte insondable et quelques vestiges de l'oracle près d'Akkouy ou Akchay, nom dans lequel on reconnaît encore celui d'Acharaca.'

³ Imhoof-Blumer Klein. Münzen i. 178 no. 2 pl. 6, 9 (Domitian), Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia pp. lxxiii, 175 pl. 20, 1 (Nero), Head Hist. num.² p. 654: ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ.

ΔΟΤΗΣ ΝΥΣΑΕΩΝ.

⁴ Other examples of the title are collected by O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2567 f. Cp. also Men Ploutodôttês (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1899 xxiii. 389 pl. 1) and Apollon Ploutodôttô (Anth. Pal. 9. 525. 17).

⁵ Cp. Loukian. Τίμων 21 ὑπὸ Πλουτῶν... ἄτω πλουτοδοκία καὶ μεγαλόδωρος καὶ αὐτῶς ὄνομαν ὑπὲρ γαῖαν καὶ τὴν ἄνθρωπον, Orph. A. Plout. 18. 4 f. Πλουτῶν... | πλουτοδοτών γενέσθαι βροτόν κατ' ἐνεργείαν.
"Minoan" Bull-fights

equivalent\(^1\), was common to Zeus\(^2\) and to Dionysos\(^3\). Strabo
ends his account of the cult as follows:

'A yearly festival is held at Acharaka...on which occasion about the hour of
noon the young men from the gymnasium, stripped and anointed with oil, take
up a bull and carry it with speed to the Cave. When they let it go, it advances
a little way, falls over; and dies\(^4\)."

This strange procession is illustrated (fig. 366)\(^8\) by a copper coin
of Nysa struck by Maximus. Six naked youths carry on their shoulders a humped
bull of gigantic size. In front of them marches a naked flute-player, who (so far
as I can judge from a careful inspection of the original) is linked to the bull's horn
by means of a wavy line perhaps representing a fillet. Thus all who took part in the
rite were brought into immediate contact with the sacred animal.

The festival (\textit{pangyris}) was doubtless in the valley of the Maaandros\(^6\). I am
therefore inclined to surmise that a second illustration of it is to be found on a copper of Magnesia struck under Caracalla
(fig. 367)\(^7\). A young man is seen holding by the halter a humped bull, which goes
before him but collapses at the entrance of a cavern. These two remarkable coin-
types in fact give the beginning and the end of the procession described by Stra-
bon.

Somewhat similar to the Arcadian and Lydian rites is the scene depicted on a
red-figured vase formerly in the Hamilton

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1 Gruppe \textit{Gr. Myth. Rel.} p. 1066 n. 15.
2 In art Plouton often bears the \textit{cornus copiae}; see C. Scherer in Roscher \textit{Lex. Myth.}
i. 1787, 1800 ff., Farnell \textit{Cults of Gr. States} iii. 286 pl. 37, a.
3 Orph. \textit{k. daem.} 73. 3 ζώνα μέγας... | πλουτόθην, Loukian. \textit{Cron.} 14 άι
Πλουτόθην κ.τ.λ. See O. Höfer in the \textit{Jahrh. f. Philol. u. Pädag.} 1894 cxlix. 262 and
in Roscher \textit{Lex. Myth.} ii. 1579, iii. 2567, who notes that Nysa was a colony of Sparta
(Strab. 620), where there was a temple of Zeus \textit{Πλούτως} (Paus. 3. 19. 7).
4 \textit{Carm. pop.} 4. 2 Hiller \textit{Σεμελής} Ιακχύς πλουτόθην.
5 Strab. 650.
7 So Dr B. V. Head in \textit{Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins} Lydia p. lxxiii.
the type as 'Herdman (Eurytion?) driving bull into cavern'—a very improbable
suggestion.
collection (fig. 368). Three young athletes, having deposited their clothing on a pillar in the gymnasiuym, are about to hoist the bull on to their backs in the presence of an official. We cannot of course determine either the locality or the cult; but the Greeks

Fig. 368.

Fig. 369.

1 Tischbein Hamilton Vases ii. 18 ff. pl. 3, Inghirami Vas. fitt. i. 49 pl. 24, Lenormant —de Witte Ét. mon. ctr. iii. 187 pl. 69, Reinach Rép. Vases ii. 193, 4.
would probably have called the men *keratessoi* or *keralktai*. They are in any case the successors of the *Minoan* bull-grapplers.

I end with an amusing, if not instructive, example of type-fusion. A red-figured vase at Saint Petersburg (fig. 369)\(^2\) shows not only Europe on the bull escorted by two Erotes, but also three *kouroi*—perhaps we should say *kouretes*—who with unmistakeable gestures beckon her on towards their home in Crete.

**xvii. Ritual Horns.**

Sir Arthur Evans in his pioneer-work (1901) on the *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*\(^3\) was the first to discuss comprehensively

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\(^1\) Hesych. *keratessoi*  αι τῶν ταύρων ἔλκυνες ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων. καλοῦνται δὲ καὶ κεραλκται. Cp. Π. 2. 403 f. ὅτι τῶν ταύρων ἔλκυνες ἔλκυνεν Ἐλευθέρων ἀμφὶ δακταῖς.| κοιτῶν ἔλκυνεν γάντον τοῦ τοῖς ἐνοικίθων.

\(^2\) Stephani Vasensamml. St. Petersburg i. 385 f. no. 884 and in the Compte-rendu *St. Pit.* 1866 p. 149 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 4 f., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 24, 1 f. The bull is here painted white, like the flesh of Europe. For a Dionysiac variation of the scene see Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 50 pl. 13.

Ritual Horns

conventionalised article of ritual furniture derived from the actual horns of the sacrificial oxen and strictly comparable with the Semitic 'horns of the altar'.

During the last decade other archaeologists have accepted and extended this comparison. R. Paribeni, for instance, has proved (1904) that the 'Minoan' horns present a striking analogy to the terra-cotta or stone crescents (Mondsichel, Mondbilder, croissants) of the late bronze age and early iron age found in the pile-dwellings of Switzerland, Savoy, Lower Austria, Hungary, and Italy. These vary in shape according to their antiquity. At first they have a heavy altar-like base; but in process of time they develop four feet and then tend to become theriomorphic, the tips of the horns being themselves decorated with the heads of horned beasts—bulls, rams, and stags (figs. 370, a—d).

Recently (1910) Monsieur J. Déchelette has further compared

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1 Id. ib. 1901 xxi. 137 f.

Fig. 370, a is a crescent of red sandstone (in part restored) from a station on the Ebersberg, now in the Zürich Museum; fig. 370, b, from the lake-dwelling at Le Saut in Savoy; fig. 370, c, from the nekropolis of Golasecca in north Italy; fig. 370, d, a terra-cotta from a tumulus of the early iron age at Oedenburg in Hungary. W. M. Flinders Petrie—G. A. Wainwright—E. Mackay The Labyrinth Gerzeh and Maqshuneh London 1912 p. 23 pl. 7, 13 publish a black pottery cow's horn tipped with a cow's head from a pre-dynastic grave at El Gerzeh.
the Cretan type of horned altar (fig. 371) with one found at Oficio near Almeria in the south of Spain. Here Monsieur L. Siret in a deposit dating from the beginning of the bronze age came upon an altar-shaped structure of earth built against a wall and surmounted by ritual horns (fig. 372, a, b).

It appears, then, that ritual horns were used at an early date, not only in Crete, but also in various countries to the east, north, and west of the Mediterranean basin. If, however, we would ascertain the original significance of the custom, we must, I think, turn our attention towards the south; for here only can we hope to

find outlying regions that have not been repeatedly swept by the ebb and flow of advanced civilisations.

My brother Dr A. R. Cook, on returning from a visit (1905—1906) to the Dinka tribes of the White Nile, informed me that the boys there make small models of cows out of mud. He brought back a specimen (fig. 373), which though only three inches in length shows well the humped back, large horns, and slit ears characteristic of the native cattle. He also reported that outside the hut of every chief is a big heap of mud roughly shaped like a bull and known

1 M. J. Lagrange La Crête ancienne Paris 1908 p. 83 fig. 62 (about ¼) a votive altar in red baked clay with horns painted white and remains of a metal tenon beneath, found at Knossos in the treasury of the serpent-goddess and now preserved in the Museum at Kandia.

2 J. Déchelette op. cit. ii. 180 fig. 25.
as such. These heaps have a pair of bullock's horns stuck into them and a cattle rope attached to them. I figure one that my brother photographed at Sheik Agoit's, not far from Bor, which has bullock's horns at one end, goat's horns at the other, and consequently a pair of ropes (fig. 374).

Fig. 374.

Dr C. G. Seligmann in letters dated March 15 and March 22, 1911, very kindly supplies me with further information about these singular structures and allows me to publish two examples that he photographed in the Tain villages near Bor (figs. 375, 376). The

Fig. 375.

erection is, he says, a form of shrine known as búor made for the spirit (ätiep) of an ancestor to inhabit. I quote from Dr Seligmann's note-book:

1 See now his article in J. Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1911 iv. 710.

Fig. 376.
Several generations ago one Nyet founded a village which, as is usual with the Dinka, is called after him; his companions, who were for the most part his relatives and descendants, used his name as their clan name, i.e. they call themselves golonyet, "(men of the) Clan Nyet." At the present day men of this clan inhabit the villages of Arek and Meden. Der the late head of Arek village moved to this site some forty years ago soon after the death of Anet, who with his followers lived near the Alliab boundary at a place called Unedol.

Directly the houses were built Der erected a shrine for the atiep of Anet to live in "just as a house"; for the spirit knows of the wanderings of its people and moves with them. This was done at the instance of a tiet, who said that, if this were not done, Der and his children would sicken and perhaps die. The shrine itself consists of a mound of mud at one end of which are fixed the horns of a bullock. In front of this end of the mound there is one of the pickets to which cattle are commonly tethered*. [*In shape the whole thing presents a certain resemblance to a bullock sunk in the earth so that only its back projects; but I could not learn that this resemblance was intentional, though a Dinka whom I met at Omdurman, where he had lived for a long time, told me that in his country mud representations of cattle were erected over the graves of powerful men.] The bullock providing the horns was sacrificed by Der who explained aloud that he was making a place for the atiep of his father Anet. The bullock was killed by plunging a spear into its heart.

Concerning this sacrifice Mr Shaw states that the eldest son should give the first thrust and that altogether five thrusts are given by the sons. If there be only one son of the dead man, paternal first cousins would give the additional thrusts. As the bullock lies moribund on the ground, its throat is cut and the blood collected in a pot, cooked over the fire, poured into gourds and eaten by the clansmen among whom the meat is distributed. Small pieces of all the organs and parts of the animal are reserved and scattered on the ground for the spirits of the dead.

At every new moon some dura1, a few drops of new milk, and a little butter are placed upon the shrine at sunset. The shrine is repaired whenever necessary without sacrifice or any ceremony.

Shrines of this kind (buor) are found in all the Tain and at least in some of the Bor villages; but usually these do not resemble the back of a bullock, the mud being built into a more or less circular mound flattened above. A stick or young sapling 6 or 8 feet tall is thrust into the ground near the horns and a cattle rope is hung to this. Among the Tain Dinka the sons of a dead man will procure a bullock and build a buor whenever possible; the widow makes the mud mound, and into this the sons stick the horns of the bullock. This is done not only to propitiate the spirit of the deceased, but, as Mr Shaw informs me, as a resting-place for his spirit (atiep); and in one case he has seen a mat spread over the buor during the heat of the day in order to provide shade for the atiep.1

The evidence here cited points to the following conclusion. Among the Dinka a shrine originally representing a mud bullock and viewed as the abode of a paternal spirit has developed into a horned altar, on which food etc. is placed. I suggest that a similar evolution lies behind the use of horned altars in the Mediterranean

1 [Dhurra, 'millet.' A.R.C.]
Ritual Horns

area. Of course in classical times, though the term 'horned altar' survived, its origin had been long forgotten. The object itself had commonly passed into alien and almost unrecognisable forms.

Thus the ritual horns of 'Minoan' art (fig. 377) were stylised into mere cones by the 'Dipylon' painter (fig. 378) and finally

1 Anth. Pal. 6, 10, 3 (Antipatros on an altar dedicated to Athena by Seleukos) borev to keraoucho edeimato tade Seleukos. There may be a special point in the epithet keraoucho; for Seleukos himself was horned, cp. Appian. Syr. 57 καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὅποι εὐφώς τε καὶ μεγάλη καὶ ταῖρος ἄγραν εἰ Ἀλεξάνδρου θυσία ποτὲ εὐθράντη τῶν δεσμῶν ὑποστάση μὴν καὶ ταῖς χεραῖ μάνισι κατεργασμένη προστίθεαι εἰς τοὺς οὐδεμᾶντας ἔτι τὸ δὲ κέρατα. Coins give him the horn of a bull (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 3 pl. 1, 6, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 11 pl. 63, 20), or add the horn and ear of a bull to his helmet (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 4 pl. 1, 11 ff.), or even make his horses and elephants horned (ib. p. 3 ff. pl. 1, 6 ff., Head Hist. num. 2 p. 756 ff.). E. Saggio in Darmenberg—Saggio Dict. Ant. i. 351 n. 65 cites also Nonn. Dion. 44. 97 ff. ἐκεράφι παρὰ βωμῷ | ἤθελεν δὲν κεραυνεῖν συνέμπορον ἄρσεν ταῖρον, | ἔχει Δίος πέλευς ἄλος ὧριον ἡμεῖς ἢμεῖς, | Ζηρί καὶ Ἀθριάδεσι μιᾶν ἔλκοις θυγλῆ | Κάδμοις Ἀγνωρόμενοι. Cp. the Theis. Ling. Lat. iv. 971, 7 ff.


3 Detail of 'Dipylon' vase from the site of the Kynosarges gymnasium at Athens (J. P. Droop in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1905—1906 xii. 81 ff. fig. 2 b). Mr Droop
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transformed into spit-rests (*krateutai*), andirons, or altar-fenders by successive generations of practical folk (figs. 379, 380).

writes: 'The temptation is strong to see in the table and triangle a horned altar, but the hatched triangle is frequently used to fill vacant spaces, and appears for that purpose on this very vase, while the band of chequers lower down, makes it doubtful if the table had any more significance.' Miss Harrison *Thenis* p. 76 ff. fig. 10 b has, however, gone far towards proving that the scene represented two rain-makers working their rattles before a sacred shield placed on an altar. If so, the interpretation of the triangles as horns becomes highly probable.

1 Terra-cotta spit-rests from Thessaly of neolithic date have been described and figured by Ch. Tsountas *Αἱ προϊστορικαὶ ἀνθρώπιναι Δυνάμεις καὶ Σήρες* Athens 1908 p. 212 ff. fig. 120 pl. 30, l. 2; p. 345 f. figs. 276 f.; A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1913 p. 43 fig. 19; pp. 60 ff., 731; p. 85. For bronze examples of the Hallstatt period, decorated with horned ox-heads etc. at either end, see M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 p. 443 fig. 137, p. 501 f. fig. 165.

2 Detail of black-figured *pyxis*-lid or *kýlix*-lid found at Cuma in 1908 (E. Gabrici in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1913 xxvii. 124 ff. pl. 5), to which Miss Harrison kindly drew my attention.

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Similarly ram's horns affixed to an altar (fig. 381) became volutes curving either downwards (figs. 382, 383, 384) or upwards (fig. 385); and these volutes in turn were combined with a simple (fig. 385) or more elaborate pediment (fig. 386) and treated as architectural akrotéria. The climax of magnificence is reached in the Ludovisi altar, which has both sculptured fenders and upturned decorative volutes. The fenders, as viewed from the side, still bear some faint resemblance to the 'Minoan' altar-horns.

Here and there religious conservatism retained clearer traces of the old usage. The keratón at Delos was, according to Kallimachos, constructed by Apollon from the horns of the goats shot by Artemis on Mount Kynthos; according to Plutarch, from left horns or from right horns only. Again, the Kabeiros of Thessalonike had a horn, which was either planted in the ground beside him or fixed on a base resembling an altar.

2 From a late black-figured amphora at Berlin (Gerhard Auserl. Vasiën. iv. 5 f. pl. 241, 3 f.).
3 From a red-figured kóntaros by Nikosthenes at Boston (Wien. Vorlegeb. 1890—1891 pl. 7, 2).
4 From a red-figured kylix by Hieron at Heidelberg (Wien. Vorlegeb. C pl. 2).
5 From a red-figured kílpis formerly in the Canino collection (Gerhard Auserl. Vasiën. i. 96 ff. pl. 28).

Cp. the great altar of Demeter at Pergamon (W. Dürpfeld in the Ath. Mitth. 1910 xxv. 374 ff. fig. 7 and pl. 18) with its finely carved upstanding 'horn' (F. Studniczka in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1911 xxvi. 71 fig. 14), and the still greater altar built by Hermokreon at Parion in Mysia (Strab. 487, 588, Eustath. in II. p. 355, 15 f.) which appears on coins of the town c. 350—300 B.C. or later (fig. 113: Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia p. 97 ff. pl. 21, 10—13, Imhoof-Blumer Monn. gr. p. 250 nos. 114—116, Head Hist. num. p. 531).

6 From a red-figured kylix by Hieron at Berlin (Wien. Vorlegeb. A pl. 4).
7 F. Studniczka loc. cit. p. 76 f. figs. 16—17.
9 Plout. v. Theor. 21.
10 Plout. de sollert. an. 35.
11 Supra p. 108 fig. 79.
12 Supra p. 108 f. figs. 80, 81.

Cp. the single horns of stone found in a neolithic pillar-priest cult at Terlizzi in Apulia (A. Mosso and F. Samarelli in the Not. Scavi 1910 p. 116 ff.), the single horns of earthenware found in several Sicilian burying-grounds or settlements—Castelluccio, Monteracello, etc.—of the chalcolithic age (Orsi 'Necropoli e Stazioni Sicule di transizione' in the Bulletino di palestologia italiana Third Series 1907 xxxiiii. 92 ff.), and the single horns of earthenware found in a bronze-age sanctuary of the early Siculans at Cannatello near Girgenti (A. Mosso in the Mon. d. Linc. 1907 xviii. 573 ff., T. E. Peet The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily Oxford 1909 p. 451 ff. fig. 250).
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The closest parallel to the Dinka bull-shrine is, however, to be sought, not in any artistic modification of the horned altar, but in an artless custom of the country-side. Antigonos of Karystos, c. 250 B.C. writes:

'In Egypt if you bury the ox in certain places, so that only its horns project above the ground, and then saw these off, they say that bees fly out; for the ox putrefies and is resolved into bees.'

This curious method of obtaining a swarm is often mentioned by classical authors, and lingered on through mediaeval times well into the sixteenth century. The fullest account of it is given by Florentinus, who begins by naming his authorities:

'Iobas king of the Libyans states that bees must be made in a wooden coffer; Demokritos and Varro in the Roman tongue state that they should be made in a house, which is even better.'

Then follows the recipe for making them. A fat bullock, thirty months old, is confined in a narrow chamber measuring ten cubits every way and pierced by a door and four windows. He is then beaten till bones and flesh alike are crushed, though blood must not be drawn. Next, every aperture in his body is stuffed up with pitched rags, and he is laid on a heap of thyme. The door and windows are plastered up with mud so as to exclude light and air. After three weeks the chamber is thrown open, but care must be taken not to admit a strong wind. When aired enough, the relics are fastened up as before and left for ten days longer. On the eleventh day clusters of bees will be found, while of the bullock nothing remains but horns, bones, and hair. 'King' bees come from the spinal marrow, or better still from the brain; ordinary bees from the flesh. The main idea of this singular superstition is that the life of the bull passed into that of the bees. As Ovid puts it,—

One life thus slain begat a thousand lives.

The buried bull or bull-shrine, if we may so describe it, was in fact the centre of a vital force, which radiated outwards especially through the head and horns. If, as I am contending, some such custom is really presupposed by the horned altar of the Mediterranean peoples, we can understand why the suppliant clung to its horns.

1 Antig. hist. mir. 19.
3 Geopon. 15. 2. 21 ff.
5 Ov. fast. 1. 380 mille animas una necata dedit.
6 1 Kings 1. 50, 51. 2. 28.
or offered sacrifice\(^1\) and prayer\(^2\) holding it as by a handle. He was
thereby himself filled with the life of the divine beast. Moreover,
the frequent practice of affixing a bucranium to the altar or carving
bucrania upon it\(^3\) is seen to be highly appropriate, if not actually
reminiscent of its origin.

The foregoing method of procuring bees from a bull was believed by the ancients
to have come from Egypt or Libye. We may therefore venture to compare with it a
remarkable scene depicted in the Egyptian Book of the Dead (fig. 388)\(^4\). According to Dr
Budge, Hathor the cow-goddess of the Underworld looks out through a clump of
papyrus-plants from the funeral mountain, at the foot of which is the tomb. Now it is
highly probable that such vignettes were originally inspired by actual custom. And
Mr F. W. Green kindly informs me that at Deir el Bahri the relative positions of
Hathor-shrine, mountain, and tombs agree well with those here represented\(^5\). The divine cow buried in the earth, but yet
looking forth upon the world and by her own peculiar virtue causing
fresh vegetation to spring up, thus furnishes an exalted parallel
to the humbler rite of the buried bull and its resultant swarms.

\(^1\) Varro *ap. Macrob. Sat.* 3. 3. 8 inde Varro Divinarum libro quinto dicit aras primum
asas dictas, quod esset necessarium a sacrificantibus eas teneri: ansis autem teneri solere
vasa quis dubitet? *Cp. interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 4. 219. Varro's etymology is of
course faulty, but his facts are sound.

\(^2\) *Verg. Aen.* 6. 124 talibus oralat dictis arasque tenebat (cp. 4. 219, 12. 201) with
Serv. ad loc. rogabant enim deos ararum ansas tenentes. For other examples see the
*Theoi. Ling. Lat.* ii. 386, 7 ff.

\(^3\) E. Saglio in Darmember—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 351.

\(^4\) E. A. Wallis Budge *Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani*\(^2\) London 1894 pl. 37; *id. The
pp. 896, 898 f. pls. 321, 1, 323.

\(^5\) Mr H. R. Hall points out to me that Mr Somers Clarke (*Proceedings of the Society of
Biblical Archaeology* 1905 xxvii. 179) has explained the pyramidal tomb-chapel in the
vignette as copied from a pyramid at Deir el Bahri, which was especially connected
with Hathor-worship, and the hills as being the cliffs of the same locality.
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To the same cycle of ideas belongs the Mithraic sacrifice of a bull (fig. 389, 390)\footnote{Figs. 389 and 390 are the front and back of a Mithraic altar-piece found in 1816 in the Heidenfeld near Hedderheim and now preserved in the Museum at Wiesbaden (F. Cumont Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra Bruxelles 1896 ii. 342 ff. fig. 448 pls. 7 f., id. in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3020 ff. figs. 6 f., id. in Daremburg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1950 fig. 3088, id. Die Mysterien des Mithra\textsuperscript{2} trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 pl. 3, 1).}

Mithras—whose myth has been largely

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1 Figs. 389 and 390 are the front and back of a Mithraic altar-piece found in 1816 in the Heidenfeld near Hedderheim and now preserved in the Museum at Wiesbaden (F. Cumont Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra Bruxelles 1896 ii. 342 ff. fig. 448 pls. 7 f., id. in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3020 ff. figs. 6 f., id. in Daremburg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1950 fig. 3088, id. Die Mysterien des Mithra\textsuperscript{2} trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 pl. 3, 1).

Fig. 389 = Front. (a) In a recess representing the cave Mithras slays the bull, accompanied by dog with collar and crow perched on fluttering mantle. A scorpion nips the testicles of the bull. A snake would drink from a krater placed below the bull's belly and guarded by a lion. To right and left are Cautés and Cautopates with raised and lowered torches—a duplication of Mithras himself (Dionys. Aretop. epist. 7 του τεραλαίαν Μιθροῦ). Behind Cautes is a tree with a snake coiled round it. (b) Above the cave are the twelve signs of the zodiac, from Aries to Pisces. (c) In the spandrels Mithras in oriental dress and Phrygian cap shoots an arrow towards another personage.
wearing Phrygian cap and kneeling in front of rock. (a) Higher up an oblong space shows four scenes separated by three cypresses: Mithras appearing out of the foliage of a tree (cypress?); Mithras dragging the bull by its hind legs, while a snake threatens its muzzle; Mithras extending his hand towards the radiate crown on the head of Sol (hands broken); Sol with radiate nimbus (traces visible) kneeling before Mithras (body restored). (c) The top member of the frame has three cypresses enclosing two scenes: Sol standing in his chariot (horses and rocks restored) extends his hand to Mithras, who is about to mount the chariot; Luna reclining in her chariot is drawn by two horses down a rocky slope. (f) The angles of the frame contain medallions of four wind-gods—winged heads, of which three at least are bearded and one, if not more, ejects a cone of wind from his lips. (g) Below the upper and above the lower medallions are the four seasons: on the left above, Spring with rose-wreaths in hair and round neck; on the right above, Summer with band round brow; on the right below, Autumn with wreath of corn (?) and flowers and fruit in bosom (?); on the left below, Winter with covered head. (h) Between Winter and Spring are two scenes: below, a bearded figure resting on rocks (Oceanus?); above, a bearded figure with chlamys on left arm and elongated object (stick? sword? thunderbolt?) in right hand advancing towards rock or shapeless person (Jupiter and Giant?). Between Summer and Autumn are two more scenes:
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reconstructed from his monuments\textsuperscript{1}—was bidden by the raven, messenger of the Sun, to slay the great bull that had escaped from his cave. Reluctantly he went in pursuit and caught the bull just as it re-entered the cave. Closing its nostrils with his left hand, with his right he plunged a knife deep into its flank. Thereupon wonders ensued. Fresh forms of life sprang from the body of the dying beast. Corn arose from its spinal marrow—witness the bunch of corn-ears at the end of its tail. A vine grew from its blood. The one plant furnished the mystics with bread, the other with wine. In vain did the emissaries of darkness, the scorpion, the ant, and the snake, attack the moribund monster, fastening on its genitals or seeking to drain its blood. The seed of the bull, collected and purified by the Moon, begat all manner of serviceable creatures; and its soul, guarded by Mithras' faithful hound, ascended to heaven, where under the name of Silvanus it became the protector of all flocks and herds. In short, the death of the bull meant new life to the world at large\textsuperscript{2}.

Before passing from the present section we must face one outstanding difficulty. We have been maintaining that the horned altar of the Mediterranean originated as the shrine of a buried beast. It may be objected that, on this showing, the altar—hardly to be distinguished from the divinity dwelling in it—was at one time the actual object of cult.

That is a conclusion from which in fact we must not shrink.

above, Mithras as a child emerging from rock (hands lost); below, Mithras as a youth advancing to seize the branches of a bush, of which the lower part is seen.

\textit{Back.} (a) In the recess representing the cave the bull lies dead. Behind it stand two figures—on the left Mithras in oriental dress and Phrygian cap holding a horn, on the right Sol with long hair, \textit{chlamydia}, belt, etc. carrying a whip. Sol holds out a big bunch of grapes to Mithras, who raises his hand in admiration. Between them a Phrygian cap, surrounded by a circlet with seven rays (in part restored), rests on a pole. To right and left of the bull are two children in oriental dress and Phrygian caps bearing baskets of fruit (the child on the left almost entirely modern). (b) Above the cave is a scene now much damaged. In the centre a male figure, probably Silvanus, stands erect (lower half can be traced); and about him are grouped, from left to right, various animals—boar, hound, horse (hoof and part of leg visible), sheep (?), hound, hound, bull.

This relief was originally so mounted as to turn about in its three-sided frame on two iron pivots. Hence the absence of decoration on the back of the frame.

\textsuperscript{1} F. Cumont \textit{Textes et monuments} etc. i. 159 ff., in Roscher \textit{Lex. Myth.} ii. 3050 ff., in Daremberg—Saglio \textit{Dict. Ant.} iii. 1953, \textit{Die Mysterien des Mithra}\textsuperscript{2} p. 118 ff.

\textsuperscript{2} Cp. Porph. \textit{de antri. nymph.} 18 στάρσαν τε οὐδ' ἀλλως γένεσιν προστάτιδα μελλον εἶναι ἄλλοις τε καὶ > ἐκ ταύρων μὲν σκληρὴ καὶ θρήμα στήριζεν ὁ ταύρος, βούγειν τ' αἱ μέλλουσιν, καὶ φιλικὸς δ' εἰς γένεσιν ἱοιαὶ μονοεῖν, καὶ βουλέτης θεός ὁ τῆν γένεσιν λεηφθέντος ἀκόμων. The parallelism between the procreation of bees from a ball and the Mithraic myth is here distinctly recognised.
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W. Robertson Smith long since pointed out that in the Semitic area ‘the sacred stone is altar and idol in one,’ citing inter alia Porphyrios’ strange account of the worship at Dumat:

‘The Dumatenes in Arabia used every year to sacrifice a boy and to bury him beneath an altar, which they treat as an image.’

Even more explicit is the divinity of the altar in the cult of certain Syrian gods. A long day’s march west of Aleppo rises a bare and almost conical mountain known to the Greeks as Koryphe and to the modern inhabitants as Djebel Shêkh Berekêt. On the summit is a levelled precinct c. 68 metres square, enclosing the tomb of the Mohammedan saint who has dispossessed the former occupants of the site. The walls of the precinct bear on their outer surface dedicatory inscriptions, nine of which, ranging in date from c. 70 to c. 120 A.D., were copied by an American archaeological expedition in 1899—1900. The votive formula is:

‘To Zeus Mábâchos and to Selamanes, gods of the country.’

Already in 1897 Prof. C. Clermont-Ganneau, though hampered by inexact transcripts, had with the utmost acumen divined the true meaning of both names. He compared Selamanes with the Assyrian god Šalmânu and the Phoenician Šîmm, the ‘Peaceful or Peace-bringing One’. And he suggested that Mábâchos, if that were the right spelling, might be connected with the Aramaic madbah, ‘altar’. He even ventured to add that, if so, Zeus Mábâchos would be the Syrian equivalent of a Greek Zeus Bomos, a god identified with his own altar. Three years later this hypothetical deity was actually found. A day’s journey south of

2 Porph. de abst. 2. 96 and Νοματαρνοὶ δὲ τὴς Ἀραβίας καὶ ἔτους ἐκατὸν ἦλθον παῖδα, ὀρθῶς ἐντὸς βωμὸς ἔθατον, ἵνα χρῶται ὑπὸ ἔδρας. Perhaps we may cp. Paus. 2. 32. 7 (between Troizen and Hermione) πέτα τοῦ ὕδατος ἑξεραμομενή, μεταβαλλότα, καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ δῶμα ἀναλομένον θεῶς ὑπ’ αὐτῆς κρηστάς τὰς Ἀγάθως καὶ ἱεροῦ πρώτων ἐντὸς βωμὸς ἐκκαλεῖτο Σιδερίου Νῦν.
3 Theodoret. relig. hist. 4 (lxxii. 1340 Migne).
4 H. C. Butler in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1900 iv. 434 ff., W. K. Prentice ib. 1902 vi. 27 ff. and more fully in Hermes 1902 xxxvii. 91—120 with ground-plan, figs., etc.
5 Ἁρ καὶ Σολαμάνας, πατρός θεός (so inscr. nos. 1, 2: nos. 5, 7, 8 have θεοὶ πατρόσις: nos. 3, 4? omit θεοῖς: no. 9 omits both θεοῖς and πατρόσις).
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Djebel Shékh Berekét is a place called Burdí Bákirkhá. Here was once a fine Roman temple, built in the time of the Antonines; and a few paces to the east of it are the foundations of a very ancient altar. Temple and altar were enclosed by a precinct-wall, now almost wholly destroyed. On the lintel of the precinct-door Dr E. Littmann deciphered a dedication to Zeus Bomóst, the god whose existence was postulated by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau.

Zeus Bomóst, no doubt, was the Grecoised form of a Syrian god. But the Hellenic Zeus too was here and there believed to inhabit a hewn slab or pillar of stone, e.g. at Sikyon, in Arkadia, at Tarentum. The Frontispiece of this volume will serve to show

1 Δι Βομοσ μεγάλος ἐπικεφαλοστρώματος και Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Ἀπολλοφάντης καὶ Χαλδιών ὁ Μάριωνος τὸν πυθαίον ἄρτον θεόν ἠφέτησαν θεόν, Γερμανίου (W. K. Prentice in Hermes 1902 xxxvii. 118).

2 In dealing with aniconic representations of Zeus as a stone we must carefully distinguish artificial from natural forms. This distinction is not well observed by Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 3 ff. or even by Farnell Cults of Gr. States i. 103 ff., though it is rightly emphasised by W. Robertson Smith Lectures on the Religion of the Semites London 1907 p. 206 f.

The statement of Maximus Tyrius that the earliest men dedicated mountain-tops—Olympos, Ide, etc.—as ἄγαλμα to Zeus (supra p. 102 n. 5) may be an erroneous inference from the fact that Zeus was worshipped on such high-places, or a generalisation from the case of Mt Argesios (ib.). There is, however, good evidence for the identification of natural stones, probably meteorites, with Zeus: e.g. the stone near Gythion called Zeus Καραμεράς (infra ch. ii § 10 (f)); the stone at Delphi said to have been swallowed by Kronos in place of Zeus (infra ch. ii § 10 (d)); the stone of Elagabalus, the god of Emesa in Syria, who was regarded as a solar Zeus or Jupiter (infra ch. ii § 10 (c)).

Among artificially-shaped stones we may notice several types—the pillar, the pyramid, the pyramid on a pillar, the omphalos.

Zeus is represented on Apulian vases by a pillar pure and simple (infra p. 36 fig. 9), or by a pillar inscribed ΔΙΟΣ (infra p. 36 ff. pl. iii). This presumably had behind it long-standing local tradition; for it is known that Zeus Καραμεράς had a pillar-cult at Tarentum in very early times (infra ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (8)). Cp. also an Apulian bellaris (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iv. 42 no. F 62) on which is a stepped stele bearing the inscription ΤΕΡΜΗΝ, i.e. Zeus Τήρων as the equivalent of Jupiter Terminus (Plout. v. Num. 16 with Plut. leg. 843 ι τ. Dem. de Halones. 39 f. = Anth. Pal. 9. 786).

Zeus Μελίχων at Sikyon was a mere pyramid (Paus. 2. 9. 6 ἐστι δὲ Ζεὺς Μελίχων καὶ Ἀρτέμις ὀρομάζοντας Πατρώα, σῶτι γεγένετο τοῦ οὐδεμίου: τουρμαί δὲ ἐν Μελίχωι, ἢ δὲ κιονί ἐστι τοιαύτη:); cp. the conical stone inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΜΗΛΙΝΙΟΥ at Korkyra (infra p. 164 n. 5) and the bronze pyramids of Jupiter Dolichenus (infra ch. i § 6 (g) xx (θ)).

Zeus Ζυγοπότος (A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1906 p. 63 f. figs., K. A. Rhomaios ib. 1911 p. 150 fig. 1, infra ch. ii § 3 (c) iv ()), Zeus Παύνος (K. A. Rhomaios loc. cit. p. 152 fig. 7), and Zeus Παρμός (ib. ib. p. 153 fig. 9) were, like other Arcadian deities: represented at Tegea by small pyramids surmounting four-sided pillars of Dolian marble: these pillars are inscribed ΔΙΟΣΙΣΤΟΡΑΟΣ, ΔΙΟΣ ΠΑΣΙΟ, and ΑΝΤΙΟ | ΧΟΚΑ | ΔΑΜΟ | ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ | ΔΙΠΑ | ΤΡΙΩ | W.
how such beliefs lingered on into our own era. Behind the god as portrayed by latter-day Pompeian art still stands the squared block from which in a sense he has emerged. That block was once his vehicle, his seat, his abode, for all practical purposes his embodiment. As time went on, the sacred stone was differentiated into a variety of distinct forms, to each of which was assigned its separate use. It did duty as the god’s altar\(^1\). It was modified into his throne\(^2\). It survived as a perch for his eagle\(^3\), or as a pedestal for his statue\(^4\). But from first to last it was, strictly interpreted, the place where Zeus was to be found rather than the very Zeus himself. The distinction might indeed be overlooked by the vulgar; but it was vital to the progress of religion.

**xviii. The Marriage of the Sun and the Moon in Crete.**

If the bull that consorted with Pasiphae stood for the sun, Pasiphae herself, concealed in her wooden cow\(^5\), stood for the moon. Plutarch\(^6\) informs us that at Thalamai—a frontier town between Messene and Lakonike—there was a sanctuary and oracle of the god in lettering of the fifth century B.C., of the third or perhaps late fourth century B.C., and of the end of the second century A.D., respectively. A triple iconic herm at Tegea is inscribed ΖΕΥΣ [ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ ΑΔΑΜ ΑΘΕΑΣ] ΘΕΣ in lettering of the first century A.D. (ṣid. ib. p. 156 f. fig. 12). The pyramid-on-pillar is obviously tantamount to the iconic herm.

In the east we find omphaloid stones regarded as Zeus: e.g. the omphalos of Zeus Kasios at Seleukeia Pieria (Append. B Syria); that of Zeus (?) at Chalkis sub Libano (Append. B Syria); that of Zeus’ Ammos, the Semitic character of which has been already discussed (supra p. 355 ff.).

It would seem, then, that the genuinely Greek forms of aniconic Zeus included (a) natural stones such as meteorites, and (b) artificially-shaped stones of certain definite types—the pillar, the pyramid, and a combination of the two.

1 E. Reisch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1642. An instructive case is that of Zeus Karajsharya at Tarentum (infra ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (8)).

2 See W. Reichel *Über vorkeltehnische Götterculte* Wien 1897 pp. 38—50 (‘Altäre als Throne’). Cp. Jupiter seated on a pillar (supra p. 62 fig. 38) and Zeus Abeamos seated on his altar (supra p. 93 fig. 65). A comic scene depicted on a bell-krater from Apulia (L. Stephani *Parerga archaeologica* St Petersburg 1851—1876 no. 18, F. Wieseler in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1859 xxxi. 379 ff. pl. N, Reimach *Rep. Vases* i. 302, 7, W. Reichel *op. cit.* p. 42 fig. 13) shows Zeus sitting on his altar and threatening with uplifted bolt Herakles, who stands before him greedily eating the fruit that he ought to be presenting—a painful contrast to the pious personage, who is pouring a libation on the altar to the right.

3 *Supra* p. 34 f. pl. ii (well-mouth at Naples), p. 35 n. 6 fig. 8 (pasta at Berlin), pp. 66, 83 pl. viii (pillars on Mt Lykaion).


5 *Supra* p. 464 f.

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Pasiphaë, whom some took to be a daughter of Atlas and mother by Zeus of Ammon, while others identified her with Kasandra the daughter of Priam who had died there and been called Pasiphaë, 'She that gives light to all,' because she gave to all her oracular responses. 1 Plutarch adds that, according to Phylarchos, 2 Daphne the daughter of Amyklas when fleeing from the embraces of Apollon was changed into a laurel (diphne) and received the gift of prophecy: it is implied, though not stated, that Pasiphaë was an epithet of the illuminating Daphne. Pausanias still further complicates the case by speaking of the oracle as that of Ino. 3 It seems clear that the Laconian Pasiphaë was an ancient oracular goddess, whose nature had been so far forgotten that it had become possible to identify her with a variety of better-known mythological characters. Fortunately for our understanding of the facts Pausanias, an honest eye-witness, goes on to describe the sacred precinct:

'Two bronze statues stand there in the open air, one of them a statue of Pasiphaë, the other of Helios: the statue in the temple itself could not be seen clearly owing to its wreaths, but this too is said to be of bronze. There is also a sacred spring of water that is sweet to drink. Pasiphaë is not a local deity of Thalamai but an epithet of Selene.'

This is in all probability the truth of the matter. The statues of Pasiphaë and Helios were statues of the moon-goddess and the sun-god. 4 When, therefore, in the Cretan myth, the 'bull of dazzling whiteness' 5 approached Pasiphaë in her cow, we are justified in supposing a union between the sun and the moon.

Behind the myth, as is so often the case, we may detect a ritual performance, in which the Cnossian queen actually placed within a wooden cow was symbolically married to a bull representing the sun-god. 6 We know, at least, that in the territory of the Cnossians,


2 Phylarch. frag. 33 (Preg. hist. Gr. i. 342 Müller), cp. Parthen. narr. am. 15 lemma.

3 Paus. 3. 26. 1, where for 'Ioβελ Wolff de novissima oraculorum actate p. 31 ff. would read 'Ioειν.

4 The manuscript reading Παράφη...Παράφη was corrected by Camerarius to Πασιφάη... Πασιφάη. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 136 n. 6 defends the old reading on the ground that Pasiphaë of Thalainai was a lunar Aphrodite, cp. Lyd. de mens. 4. 64 p. 117, 11 f. Wünsch adds, that Πασιφάη... Πασιφάη means Πασιφάη... Πασιφάη. See H. Usener Götternamen Bonn 1896 p. 57 f.

5 Supra p. 497.

6 This view, which I put forward in the Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 411, was adopted in 1905 by Dr J. G. Frazer (Lect. Hist. Kingship p. 175). In 1911, however, Dr Frazer...
near the river Theren, there was in historical times a sanctuary, at which once a year the people of the district assembled to offer a solemn sacrifice and to celebrate with ancient mimetic rites the marriage of two divinities then described as Zeus and Hera. I would suggest that the later union of Zeus with Hera had here taken the place of an earlier ceremony, the ritual pairing of the solar bull with the lunar cow.

That a queen should submit to being enclosed in a wooden cow will not surprise those who are familiar with primitive religious rites. In view of the similarity existing between Cretan and Egyptian bull-worship it is to be noted that the queens of Egypt were sometimes buried in cow-shaped sarcophagi, being thus made one with Hathor the cow-goddess. Herodotos, for example, describes how Mykerinos (Men-kau-Ra), a king of the fourth dynasty, when his daughter, an only child, died, buried her in a hollow wooden cow. This cow stood, or rather knelt, in a decorated chamber of the royal palace at Sais, its head and neck thickly plated with gold, and the rest of its body covered with a scarlet cloak. Between its horns was a golden disk to imitate the sun; and once a year, when the Egyptians made mourning for a certain god, presumably Osiris, the cow was brought out into the light, for the princess on her death-bed had besought her father that once a year she might look upon the sun. Whether the ‘Minoans’ ever assimilated their dead rulers to bulls and cows we do not know, though it has been conjectured by Mr B. Staes that the splendid silver cow’s head with golden horns and a gold-plated rosette between them, found in the fourth shaft-grave at Mykenai, was originally affixed to the exterior surface of a wooden coffin.

In various parts of the world it has been held that the stars are the children of the sun and moon. This view perhaps obtained in improved upon it by pointing out that Pasiphæa was not, as I had described her, the representative of ‘a sky-goddess or sun-goddess,’ but rather, as others had seen, the representative of the moon (Golden Bough: The Dying God p. 71 n. 2).

1 Diod. 5. 72.
2 Infra ch. iii § 1.
3 Cp. R. Lepsius Die Chronologie der Agypter Berlin 1849 i. 309 n. 3.
4 Hdt. 2. 129 ff.
5 B. Staes Περὶ τῆς χρήσεως Μυκηναϊκῶν τινῶν κοσμημάτων in the Εφ. Αρχ. 1907 pp. 31–60 fig. 12.
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Crete; for the Minotaur, offspring of the solar bull and the lunar cow, was—as we have said¹—named Astérios or Asterion, 'the Starry.'

Dr J. G. Frazer, following K. Hoeck² and W. H. Roscher³, holds that the same custom of sun-and-moon marriage is attested on the one hand by the myth of Zeus and Europe, on the other by that of Minos and Britomartis or Dictynna:

'The moon rising from the sea was the fair maiden Europa coming across the heaving billows from the far eastern land of Phoenicia, borne or pursued by her suitor the solar bull. The moon setting in the western waves was the coy Britomartis or Dictynna, who plunged into the sea to escape the warm embrace of her lover Minos, himself the sun. The story how the drowning maiden was drawn up in a fisherman's net may well be, as some have thought, the explanation given by a simple seafaring folk of the moon's reappearance from the sea in the east after she had sunk into it in the west⁴.'

But here, as it seems to me, more caution is needed. I do not deny that ultimately both Europe and Dictynna came to be regarded as moon-goddesses—the former through the influence of Phoenician religion, the latter by assimilation to the lunar aspect of Artemis. But I do deny that originally and essentially either Europe or Dictynna stood for the moon. The matter is one that in this connexion must be further investigated.

Europe bore to Zeus a son Dodon⁵ or Dodonos⁶, the eponym of Dodona. This implies that there was a recognised similarity between the cults of Crete and Epeiros, Zeus and Europe being the Cretan equivalents of Zeus Naios and his Dodonaean partner⁷. If so, Europe was at first a great earth-mother, who sent up vegetation from her home in the ground⁸. Strong support for this view is to be found in the fact that at Lebadeia in Boiotia those who went down into the oracular cave sacrificed not only to Trophonios and his sons, but also to Apollon, Kronos, Zeus

¹ Supra p. 493 ff.
² K. Hoeck Kreta Göttingen 1823 i. 90 ff., ib. 1828 ii. 170.
⁴ Frazer Golden Bough: The Dying God p. 73.
⁶ Schol. T. V. II. 16. 133.
⁷ This was seen by J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 1387 f.; but this scholar went off on a wrong track, when he detected at Dodona the cult of a divine pair Ἐθνώπων and Ἐθνώπη.
⁸ Paus. 10. 12. 10 (in the chant of the Dodonaean priestesses) Τά καυρών άνδρας, δό κληστε ματέρα Γαίαν, cp. Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 179 f.
⁹ Dr L. R. Farnell likewise concludes that Europe was 'the Cretan earth-goddess' (Cults of Gl. States ii. 479), 'the Eteocretan earth-goddess' (ib. ii. 632), later assimilated to Astarte.
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Basileis, Hera Hemiöche, 'and to Demeter, whom they surname Europé, declaring that she is the nurse of Trophonios'.

Moreover, the little that we know of Europe's own cult fully bears out her chthonian and vegetative character. She had a festival in Crete, the Hellotia, at which a garland of myrtle, twenty cubits in circumference, was carried in procession. It was said to contain the bones of Europe, and like Europe herself was called Hellotis. This enormous wreath was clearly some sort of May-garland, probably, as Dr M. P. Nilsson conjectures, with a puppet inside it. Now we have already seen that in Greece such garlands are burnt on the Midsummer bonfire. It is therefore noteworthy that at Corinth, where the same festival was attached to the cult of Athena, tradition tells of a fire on to which a certain Hellotis flung herself and her little sister Chryse.

1 Paus. 9. 39. 6 Δήμητρα ἐν ἐπωνομάζεται Εὐρώπη τοῦ Τροφωνίου φαίνεται τροφή.
2 Athen. 678 A—B Συλλέγεται ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Εὐρώπῃ καλείσθαι φησὶ τὰ τὸ κνεόμενον οὐσίαν, ὡς τῷ περίμετρῳ πηχῶν εἴκοσι. Ποιοτεῖται τῷ τῷ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν Ηλλωτίων ἐφῷ. ϕαίνεται οὕτω, τὸ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ διὰ τούτου κοιμήθηκεν, ἐν ἑκάλου Ἐλλωτίδα. ἀγεθεῖται δὲ καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ ταῖς Ἐλλάστεις. Κτ. Ησυχ. i. 2. Ἐλλώτα, Ἐλλώτας.
3 Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 96 remarks that this can hardly be a case of actual bones carried in procession, and suggests that originally a puppet or κόσμον called Hellotis was concealed in the wreath, which was later regarded as the relic of a dead heroine.

Farnell Cults of Gr. States ii. 479 as the Cretan god dies, so his spouse, the earth-goddess, dies, for we hear of the funeral rites of Europa in the Corinthian festival of Ἐλλώτας. More exactly, 'in the Cretan festival of Ἐλλώτας, which was celebrated also at Corinth.'

F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1971 'In Gortyn feierte man unter dem Namen Hellotia der Europe ein Totenfest.' This unduly emphasizes the funereal character of the rite, which in all probability involved not merely the death but also the rebirth of the vegetation-goddess, laughter as well as tears.

The only other references to a definite cult of Europe in Crete are Dictys Cretensis 1. 2 ad eos re cognita omnes ex origine Europae, quae in ea insula summa religione colitur, confiunt benigneque salutatos in templum deducunt. Ibi multarum hostiarum more patris immolatione celebrata exhibitisque epulis large magnificisque eas habuerunt. Itemque insecutis diebus reges Graeciae, et si ea quae exhibebantur magnificae cum laetitia suscipiebant tamen multo magis templi eius magnifica pulchritudine pretiosaque extractione operum affectuebantur, inspicientes repetentesque memoria singula quae ex Sidone a Phoenice patre eius atque nobilibus matronis transmissa magno tum decori erant, Solin. 11. 9 Gortynam amnis Lenaeus praeterfluit, quo Europam tauri dorso Gortynii ferunt vectitatum. Idem Gortynii et Adynum colon Europae fratrem: ita enim memorant. Videut hic et occurrit, sed die iam augusto se facie visendum offerens (see K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 5261).

4 Supra p. 338 ff.
5 The schol. Pind. Ol. 13. 56 gives various autra for the Hellotia of Athena Hellotis. Of these the oldest and most reliable (Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 96) is the following: Τιμάδρον θυγατέρας βάπταται Κορίθαις, 'Ελλώτας, Εὐρώπην. Χρυσή, Κοτύων. Ἀδείων τῷ πάλαι τῷ νόμῳ τῷ Χρυσῷ ἔτης ἔτοιμα εἰς τὸν καθαρόν τήν Αθηνάν, ἔσοδον περιεκτάλητος γενομένη θρασύνῃ ἐστὶ τῷ πάλαι καθαρίσα τῇ θεῷ, ἀναμενόμενα μετὰ ταύτα 'Αθηνα. "... '" Ελλώτας καλοῦσιν. Κτ. Η. Μαγ. 2. 534, 43 ff.

Nilsson op. cit. p. 95 infers that a large puppet called Hellotis was burnt (or two large puppets, Hellotis and Eurytione) together with a small puppet called Chryse, and points
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Europe, then, was a Cretan earth-goddess responsible for the vegetation of the year. Viewing her as such, we begin to understand better both her monuments and her myth. Artists innumerable represented her (pl. xxxii) as she rode upon the divine bull, clinging with one hand to his fertilising horn and holding in the other a flower, symbol of her own fertility. Theophrastos and later writers averred that Zeus took her to wife on or under an evergreen plane-tree near Gortyna: the exceptional foliage of the tree was attributed to the fecundity of the goddess.

out the resemblance of the rite to the Boeotian Daidala. He also notes the addition of Koyto, a Thracian Artemis (A. Rapp in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1399 f.), in whose cult there is evidence of a May-pole (Nilsson loc. cit. n. 2).

The cult of Athena 'Elaoris at Marathon, mentioned by the schol. Pind. Ol. 13. 56 a, d, and et. mag. p. 337, 48 f., is attested by the calendar of the Attic Tetrapolis (J. de Prout Leges Graecorum sacrae Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 49 no. 26 b, 34 ff., 41 f., and p. 53).

1 Of many possible illustrations (listed by L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pit. 1866 p. 79 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 1870 p. 1871 p. 181 ff. Atlas pl. 4, O. Jahn Die Entfaltung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerkten with 10 plates Wien 1870. Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus pp. 420—465 Münztaf. 6, 1—11, Gemmentaf. 5, 6—8, Atlas pl. 6, 7—12, pl. 7, 4—6, 22 f., J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 1296—1298) I figure but one, the Europe-kfis at Munich (Jahn Vasenamml. München p. 63 no. 248). This masterpiece, painted by an Attic artist c. 470 B.C., was found in 1811 A.D. still lying on a stone table in the opisthodomos of the temple of Aphaia in Aigina. Here, as A. Furtwängler remarks, it may have been used for pouring a libation when Pindar's ode to the goddess (Paus. 2. 20. 3) was performed. O. Jahn published it in colour (Die Entfaltung der Europa p. 44 ff. pl. 7, Overbeck op. cit. p. 428 ff. Atlas pl. 6, 19). Since his day the vase has suffered some further damage: the bracelet on Europe's right arm has disappeared; her golden flower is hardly to be traced; her right foot has gone; so have her golden earring and the golden balls hanging from her hair; the inscription ΤΕΣΣΕ is reduced to l. What is left has been carefully redrawn by K. Reichhold for A. Furtwängler (Aegina München 1966 Text p. 498 fig. 406, F. Hauser in Gr. Vasenmaless in. 283 ff. pl. 114. 1). I have had Jahn's colour-plate copied with the insertion of various details—the inner markings of the bull, etc.—first brought to light by Furtwängler and Reichhold.

The bull is black for aesthetic rather than religious reasons, and I doubt whether any mythological meaning attaches to the golden birds with which Europe's πελετις is adorned. The sea is simply omitted (contrast infra figs. 405, 414).

2 H. Prinz in the Ath. Mitt. 1910 xxvi. 169 n. 2 hints that the key to the myth of Europe is furnished by certain Hittite cylinders, on which we see e.g. (a) a nude goddess holding a festoon as she stands on a recumbent bull with birds, hares, and a lion grouped around and a worshipper kneeling on either side of her (W. H. Ward in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1899 iii. 27 fig. 34): (b) a nude goddess holding a festoon as she stands on a recumbent bull, the halter of which is in the hands of a god grasping a club and a crook and treading upon mountain-tops (W. H. Ward Cylinders and other ancient seals in the library of J. Pierpont Morgan New York 1909 pl. 31, 337). The latter design suggests that the bull belonged to the god, not to the goddess.

3 Prof. R. C. Bosanquet tells me, on the authority of F. Halbherr, that a single specimen of the evergreen plane is still growing in a village near Gortyna.

4 Theophr. hist. pl. 1. 9. 5 ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ λέγεται πλάτανον τινα εἶναι ἐν τῇ Γορτύναι τῷ πάγῳ τῷ δὲ φιλαθλοεῖ. μυθολογοῦν δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ (sic codd., ἐνοτον τῷ) ἤμερον ἤσθησαν τὸ πάτριον πάσας φιλαθλόεις...λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐν
Zeus and Europe on a white-ground kylix at Munich.

See page 336 n. 4.
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Coins of Gortyna from c. 430 B.C. onwards show a goddess seated in a tree, one of the most charmingly picturesque figures to be found in the whole field of ancient numismatics. Most scholars have concluded, and concluded rightly, that this can be none other than Europe, the bride of Zeus. She is, however, seated not

Kύρρη πλάτανος ἐναί τουράνη, Var. rer. rust. 1. 7. 6 itaque Cretae ad Cortyniam dicitur platanus esse, quae folia hieme non amittat, itemque in Cypro, ut Theophrastus ait, una, Plin. nat. hist. 12. 11 est Gortynae in insula Creta iuxta fontem platanus una insignis urbrisque linguae monumentis, namquam folia dimittens, statimque ei Graeciae fabulositas superfuit Iovem sub ea cum Europa concubuisse, cu vero non alia eiusdem generis esset in Cypro. This last passage is quite misconceived by J. Escher-Bürkli in Paulus—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 1290: 'Auf Kypros endlich war die Vermählung des Zeus mit E. lokalisiert (Plin. n. h. XII 11), und führte Zeus den Beinamen Εὐλήαρχος (= 'Ελάγαρχος? Hesych.).' As to Hesych. Εὐλήαρχος ζεων και Κύρρη, Favorin. lex. p. 574, 48 f. Εὐλήαρχος ζεων και Κύρρη, quod capit tamen tot sententias; see J. Alberti and M. Schmidt on the Hesychian gloss, also O. Hoffmann Die griechischen Dialekte Göttingen 1891 i. 112.

Clem. Rom. hom. 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Πορφυρος τη Φοίνικος δια τανον σωμδων (sc. o Ζεως) stands alone. Whether it preserves an older form of the myth, or is due to the analogy of the Pasiphae-story, can hardly be determined.


The chief dissentent is Mr J. N. Svoronos, who in the Rev. Beige de Num. 1894 p. 113 ff. argues that the coins in question illustrate a myth preserved by Kallim. b. Artem. 189 ff. Britomartis, a Gortyian nymph in the train of Artemis, was loved by Minos, and, being pursued by her lover, took refuge λασιφων ὑπὸ δρωμ. When after a nine months' chase he was about to seize her, she plunged from a height into the sea; and, being caught by the nets of the fishermen, was thenceforward called Diktyna, while the height was named Mt Dikte. The latter part of this tale is etiological and late. Mr Svoronos thinks that the earlier version of it can be restored from the coin-types: Minos, taking upon him the form of an eagle, swooped and won his oak-nymph in a Cretan oak. This reconstruction is supported by two main considerations. On the one hand, Mr Svoronos regards Minos as a hypostasis of the Cretan Zeus, citing Echemenes frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 403 Müller) ατ. Athen. 601 ἐ Ἐξεχάση γαυσά ἐν τοις Κρυπτικοῖς οἱ τῶν Δια φεροῖς ἄρτασον τιν τῶν Γαυροπόνων ἄλλα Μίνος. On the other hand, Mr Svoronos believes that the tree on the coins is an oak; and here he is able to adduce the opinion not only of numismatists such as Prof. P. Gardner (Types of Gr. Coins p. 166 'serrated leaves as of oak') and Messrs F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller (Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des classischen Altertums Leipzig 1889 p. 63. 'Der Baum sieht mehr einer Eiche als einer Platane ähnlich'), but also of Mr Spyridion Miliarakis, Professor of Botany at Athens, who states that 'les feuilles des arbres...qui sont les mieux représentées de toutes, ainsi que tout le reste, laissent reconnaître facilement à toute personne qui connaît les arbres de la Grèce, que ce n’est pas un platane, mais bien un chêne (δρῦς).'

Mr Svoronos' view is attractive. In the Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 404 f. I accepted it and argued further in its support. But I now believe that I was mistaken: (a) It is more likely that the coins of Gortyna would represent the famous union of Zeus with Europe, which took place under a neighbouring plane-tree, than the comparatively obscure pursuit of Britomartis by Minos, which—so far as our literary evidence goes—was connected with places remote from Gortyna and was never consummated in a marriage-union at all. (b) The supposed metamorphosis of Minos into an eagle is a matter of pure conjecture,
in a plane-tree, but on the crown of a pollard willow. The long serrated leaves (fig. 393), the small burgeoning catkins (fig. 396); the well-marked hollow in the bole (figs. 391 ff.), above all the shock-head of slender shoots (fig. 394), which in some cases have obviously been lopped (figs. 397, 398), all go to confirm this identification¹.

being nowhere mentioned by any classical author. (e) Well-preserved specimens of the coin, e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 38 pl. 9, 5 (my fig. 393), certainly show serrated leaves; but serrated leaves need not be oak-leaves.

¹ Since this paragraph was written, Mr E. J. Seltman informs me that he has always regarded the tree as an ancient willow. In such a matter the opinion of an experienced numismatist is worth more than that of a botanist. A botanical friend, whom I consulted, declared that the tree most nearly resembled a tree-fern!
Doubtless the local die-sinker knew what he was about, and
gave Europe the willow that belonged to her. Yet we need not tax
Theophrastos, who spoke of a plane, with blundering. Both trees
grow in damp marshy soil and probably flourished side by side at
Gortyna. A similar variation occurs in the case of another Cretan
Zeus-cult; for, whereas Theophrastos mentions a fruitful poplar
growing in the mouth of the Idaean Cave, Pliny apparently
regards it as a willow. There was in fact special cause to connect
Zeus with the willow in the neighbourhood of Gortyna. On
Mount Ide he had been nursed by Helike, whose name denoted

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1 Theophr. hist. pl. 1. 4. 2, cp. 3. 13. 7.
2 Theophr. hist. pl. 3. 3. 4, cp. 2. 2. 10, Append. B Crete.
4 Supra p. 112 n. 3. Another account stated that Zeus was reared by the daughters
of Olenos, two nymphs called Aiga and Helike; and that these persons respectively gave
their names to Olenos in Aulis, Aiga in Haimonia, and Helike
in the Peloponnese (Hyl. poet. astr. 2. 13: see B. Bunte ad
loc.). E. Neustadt De Jove Cretico Berolini 1906 p. 21 f. holds
that this Helike was in Arkadia. But more probably Olenos,
Aiga, and Helike were the eponyms of Olenos or Olene, Aiga or
Aigai, and Helike in Achaia. An autonomous copper struck at
Aigion in the same district shows (fig. 401) Zeus as an infant
sucked by the she-goat Amaltheia between two trees with an
Fasc. ii. 85 f. pl. R. 14, Müller-Wissel-Wernicke Ant.
Denkm. i. 58 f. pl. 5. 12, Head Hist. num. 2 p. 413): cp. Strab. 387 ἡ Ἄγα (καὶ γὰρ
οὕτω λέγουσι τά Ἀγάδα) νῖν μὲν ὡς οἰκεῖαι, τὴν δὲ πῦλα ἔχονσι Ἀγαῖας. Ἀγάιον δὲ
ἰκανόν οἰκεῖαι: ἱστοροῦσι ὅτι ἐνειδάθα τοῦ Δία ὡς Ἀγάι διαπραγμνακαὶ, καὶ ἄπερ ὕφος καὶ
Ἀρατος- αἰὲ ἱερό, τὴν μὲν τε Ἀγάι Δία μαζὸν ἐπισχεῖν- ἐπιλέγει δὲ καὶ ὅτι

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'Willow.' And a nurseling of the willow might naturally be mated with a willow-bride. If Europe was indeed a willow-goddess, she probably patronised basket-work; and the flower-basket that she herself bears is a significant attribute. The Greek painter is

"ΟΛΕΒΙΑΝ δὲ μιν αἴγα Δίας καλέως ὑποφήται: δηλοί τὸν τόσον, διότι τῆς οὐκόν ὀλίγην, abridged by Eustath. in II. p. 292, 10 ff.

According to Hyg. fab. 139, Amalthaea as nurse of the infant Zeus in Crete hung his cradle on a tree, in order that he might not be found in heaven or on earth or in the sea, and, to prevent his cries from being heard, bade the young Kourites clash their small bronze shields and spears round the tree. Unfortunately we are not told whether the tree in question was a willow. In a Czech tale the nymph of a willow-tree married a mortal and bore him children. One day the willow was cut down and the nymph died. But a cradle fashioned out of its wood had the power of lulling her babe to sleep (W. R. Ralston in the Contemporary Review 1878 i. 525, Mrs J. H. Philpot The Sacred Tree London 1897 p. 61). A Japanese tale likewise tells how Higo, the nymph of a willow-tree, wedds Heitaro, a young farmer, and bears him a child Chiyodô, but vanishes when her tree is cut down (R. Gordon Smith Ancient Tales and Folklore of Japan London 1908 p. 12 ff., F. Hadland Davis Myth & Legends of Japan London 1912 p. 177 ff.).

1 Theophr. hist. pl. 3. 13. 7 καλόστη δὲ οἱ περὶ 'Αρκαδίαν ὀλίγα ἔλεγχα τὸ δέντρον οἶναι δὲ, ὄσωρ ἔλεγχος, καὶ καταπέ έγειν αὐτὴν γόμων.

2 O. Jahn Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken Wien 1870 p. 23 acutely surmised that Europe's basket was not a mere piece of prettiness but 'vielmehr ein Attribut von tieferer Bedeutung.' In addition to the amphora at St Petersburg and the passage from Moschus, he was able to cite from the Waldeck collection at Arolsen a copper of Tyre struck by Gallienus, on the reverse of which appears Europe with her basket (fig. 402). He noted also that a copper struck by Valerian with the same type had been sold at Berlin in 1845. An example of this latter coin now in the British Museum is, however, thus described by Mr G. F. Hill: 'Europa, wearing long chiton and himation, standing to front, holding in l. a vase, r. hand on breast; on L, approaching her out of the water, forepart of a bull; above it, the Ambrosial Rocks with olive-tree between them; below, murex-shell; in field r., ΕΥΡΩΠΗ; inscr. COL TVI RO MET (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia pp. cxxiii, 390 pl. 34. 13).

Possibly the flower-basket of Europe was derived from a custom akin to the 'gardens of Adonis,' Mosch. i. 37 (cp. i. 61) speaks of the former as χρώσων τάλαρον; Theokr. 15. 113 f., of the latter as ἀπαλοὶ κάτιον περιβληγψειν εἰς ταλάρακας | ἀργυρίους. The Cretan Zeus was akin to Adonis (infra p. 157 n. 3, infra ch. i § 6 (g) xxii).

The wicker basket on coins of Kibyra in Phrygia (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia pp. clviii. 135 ff. pls. 16, 9, 17, 5—7, 18, 1 f., 4, 8 f., 51, 3 f.) may have the same significance. I figure two specimens from my collection, a quasi-autonomous copper from the time of M. Aurelius (fig. 403) and a copper struck by Trajan Decius (fig. 404).

Certain silver coins of Gortyna c. 200—67 B.C. have obv. head of Zeus, rev. Athena holding Nike etc. or Apollon seated on a rock. Both these reverse types are inscribed ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ ΘΙΒΩΣ. The word ΘΙΒΩΣ has been taken for a dialect form of τίμων (B. V. Head in the Num. Chron. New Series 1872 xiii. 117, cp. Zeitschr. f. Num. 1874 i. 381), or for a magistrate's name (J. N. Svoronos
careful to put it in her hand even when she is crossing the sea on the bull's back (fig. 405). The Hellenistic poet devotes twenty-six lines to an elaborate description of it. Is it over-rash to

conjecture that the very name Eurôpe or Eurôpeia was a cult-title rightly or wrongly taken to mean the goddess 'of Flourishing Willow-withies'?

Numismatique de la Crête ancienne Macon 1890 i. 177 pl. 16, 14 f., Head Hist. num. p. 467). But the name occurs nowhere else, and no other magistrate ever inscribed his name on coins of Gortyna. Hence it is tempting to regard ΘΙΟΒΟΣ as a term connected with some religious festival. If so, Europe's basket may give us the clue: cp. Hesych. θίβα: πλεκτόν τι κυματείδες, οὔ γλυσακομέων, θιβωνος καβωνος. Κύπροι. On this group of words see H. van Herwerden Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum Lugduni Batavorum 1902 p. 370 Append. 1904 p. 101.

1 A red-figured amphora of archaising style from the Campana collection, now at St. Petersburg (Stephani Vasensamml. St. Petersburg ii. 241 f. no. 1637 and in the Compte-rendu St. Pét. 1866 pp. 107, 118 f., Atlas pl. 5, 1—3, O. Jahn op. cit. p. 22 f.).

2 Mosch. 7. 37—62.


None of these solutions is altogether satisfactory. I assume that Εὔφωτη, whatever its real origin, was at one time understood or misunderstood by the Greeks as the feminine of εὖρωτος, a compound of εὖ and μῶτες, 'willow-withies,' cp. εὖρωτος from εὖ + μῶτη.
However that may be, it seems clear that the Gortynian coins represent Europe as a willow goddess. At first she sits pensively in her bare tree, leaning her head on one hand (figs. 391, 392). Then, as the branches begin to leaf, by a subtle change of gesture she raises her head and fingers her fine-spun chiton (figs. 393, 394). Next a strange thing happens. The lines of the tree-trunk shape themselves afresh, and there comes into sight the head of a mighty eagle, betokening the presence of Zeus (fig. 395). At his advent the tree bursts into bloom. He is on the branch now, an eagle still, but small enough not to scare Europe, who is once more sunk in a reverie heedless of his approach (fig. 396). A moment later, and the great bird with a glorious spread of wings is in full possession of his lover. With one hand she clasps him to her; with the other she raises her drapery to form a bridal veil (figs. 397, 398). As the consort of Zeus she is henceforward a second Hera. Enthroned on the tree-trunk with the eagle at her side, she borrows the stephane and the cuckoo-sceptre of the Argive goddess (fig. 399). Hera herself did not disdain the title Eurota.

Sundry details of this remarkable series have yet to be explained. The reverse of every coin shows the divine bull now moving across a grassy plain (fig. 393), now treading on rough ground (fig. 394), now again accompanied by a fly (figs. 392, 397, 399). The fly is hardly to be viewed as a meaningless adjunct. Remembering the gad-fly that pursued the heifer Io and the bees that were believed to issue from the buried bull, we might even suppose that the fly was an emanation of Zeus himself.

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 39 pl. 10, 4 (my fig. 391). J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crète ancienne Macon 1890 i. 161 pl. 13, 4 (Paris), 5 (Munich). Fig. 392 is a specimen in my collection.
4 In my collection. Svoronos op. cit. i. 164 pl. 14, 3 (Loebbeke) is from the same dies.
7 From a specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge.
9 Svoronos op. cit. i. 166 pl. 14, 17 (Imhoof-Blumer), cp. ib. pl. 14, 18. Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 405 fig. 2 (British Museum), P. Gardner Types of Gk. Coins p. 165 pl. 9, 18 (Paris).
10 Hesych. Ἐπορφος: ἡ Ἡμα.
11 Supra p. 439 ff. If Zeus accompanied Io on her wanderings (Soud. s.n. "Επορφος") it may be conjectured that the famous στροφα (Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 266) was but Zeus in the shape of a gad-fly. Another possible case of the soul as a fly is noted supra p. 469 n. 7.
12 Supra p. 514.
The coins that represent the eagle in Europe's lap often add a bull's head apparently affixed to the trunk of the willow (figs. 397, 398). An interesting parallel is here provided by the Trèves altar, which likewise seems to portray a bull's head high up on a willow-tree. Probably the head of the fertilising bull was hung on the trunk to ensure its continued fertility, just as the whole bull was suspended and slain on Athena's olive at Ilion (fig. 406)². An odd custom perhaps susceptible of the same explanation is mentioned by Apollonios of Rhodes, who tells how the Argonauts landed on the Circæan Plain:

And here there grew
Many wild oaks and willows in a row
On whose high tops were corpses hung by ropes
Fast-bound. For still the Colchians may not burn
Dead men with fire, nor lay them in the ground
And pile a mound above them, but must wrap
In unainted ox-hides and without their town
Hang them on trees. Howbeit earth obtains
An equal share with sky, for in the earth
Their women-folk they bury. Such their rule².

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Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 800 ff.). If Zeus became an ant in Thessaly (Clem. Al. probr. 2. 39. 6 p. 30, 1 ff. Stählin τι δὲ πάλιν Θεσσαλοι; μύριμης ιστοροῦντα σέβεις, ἐπεὶ τὸν Δία μικράδικα δομουθένα μύριμης τῷ Κλῖτοροι θυγατρὶ Εὐρυμεδοῦς μικράδικα καὶ Μυριμώνα γεννήσαι with schol. ad loc., Clem. Rom. hom. 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Εὐρυμεδοῦς τῇ Ἀχελοῦν, μύριμης γενόμενος, εἰ τῷ Μυριμῶν, Arnob. adv. nat. 4. 26 versus...in formiculam parvulum, ut Clitoris videlicet filiam Myrmidonis redderet apud Thessalos matrem, Isid. orig. 9. 2 75 Eratosthenes autem dicit Myrmidonas a Myrmidon deuce Iovis et Eurymedusae filio, Serv. in Verg. Aen. 2. 7 Eratosthenes dicit Myrmidonas dictos a rege Myrmidon (leg. Myrmidon) Iovis et Eurymedonae (leg. Eurymedonae) filio, interp. Serv. ad. a rege Myrmidon (leg. Myrmidon) Iovis et Eurymedonae (leg. Eurymedonae) filio), he may have become a fly in Crete. He would thus have been the Cretan (? cp. Plin. nat. hist. 21. 79) equivalent of the Philistine god worshipped at Ekron as Ba'al Zebub, a name translated by the LXX Baal Muša ὥς and best understood of a zoonomorphic deity (S. Bochart Hierozoon ed. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 346 ff., W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 330 ff.). On Zeus Ἀτόμων see infra ch. ii § 3 (c) iv (β).

1 Supra p. 481 n. 9.


H. von Fritz op. cit. ii. 514 holds that, since inscriptions of Ilion mention ὁ βοῦς, the animal hung in the tree must be a cow. But on the coins it is a bull, and it is rightly so described by W. Wroth in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Trosa etc. pp. 64, 66 ff. pls. 12, 10, 15, 5.

3 Ἀρ. Rhod. 3. 200—209 ἔθνη δὲ γείτοναι | ἐπιθυμοῖς πρόμαλοι τε καὶ ἐτέαν ἐκπεφανοῦς, | τῶν καὶ ἐτέαν ἀκρατῶν νέκους σειρήνας κρέμασται | δίομι, εἰσίτ' ὦν γαρ ἁγίων Καλχῶν ὄρων | άνάγεις οἰχομένου πυρὶ καίμενον · οὗ δ' ἐνι γαῖῃ | ὅτι θέμα στελλάντας επερ' ἐτέ
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Was the intention here to communicate the life of the dead to the tree, or the life of the tree to the dead?

The oldest specimens of the Gortynian coins (figs. 391, 392) bear the enigmatic legend *Tityros* (ΣΩΨΜΣΤ) partly on, partly off the tree. The word appears to be a dialect form of *Tityros*; and it has been suggested that Tityros was the name of a Cretan township. But our evidence for such a town is of the flimsiest. Besides, in Greek numismatics the name of the issuing state is regularly expressed in the genitive, not the nominative, case. I would therefore submit that *Tityros* here, as elsewhere, denotes 'Satyrs.' The earliest mention of these woodland spirits makes them akin to the Kourotes — a point insisted on by Strabon; and it is on record that the Kourotes clashed their weapons round the tree in which the cradle of Zeus was hung. Not improbably, then, the *Tityros* or 'Satyrs' danced round the tree in which Zeus met Europe. Indeed, I would venture to explain the coin-legend by assuming that at Gortyna a yearly festival known as the *Tityros* was held, at which a Satyric


1 Head Hist. num. 2 p. 466.

2 Schol. Theokr. 3. 3 δομα κύρων ὁ Σπερος, τυρεὶ [δὲ] φασίν, ὅτι τὸ Σαλφρὸν ὁ Σικελώτης. ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν τραγούς ἔτεροι τοῖς Σαφεροῦς ἔτεροι δομα πᾶλινοι Κρήτης ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν τραγούς τῶν θέων τινὲς δὲ καὶ κάλαμων. ὀκε ἐστὶ δὲ ᾿Αλλὰ ἣ δομα αἰσθῶν τινός. There was a Mt. Tityros near Kydonia (Strab. 479 τῆς μέστις Κιδωνίας ὅρος ὁτὶ Τιτυρος, ἐν ᾿Αθανάνων, ὁ δὲ Νικιδίων, ᾿Αλλὰ Δικτύνων, Phrantzes ed. un. 3, 34 p. 102 Bekker τὰ δὲ ὁδῷ τὰ ἐγγύτατα (ἢ Κιδωνίας) τὰ ὑπόλειον Τιτυρος καλοῦσαν.

3 Mr G. F. Hill A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins London 1899 p. 181 puts the matter thus: 'In addition to the use of the genitive and the adjective, there is a rare use of the nominative case. Most of the names in the nominative found on pre-imperial coins seem to be descriptive of types; but such an inscription as ΑΘΕ Ο ΔΕΜΟΣ (᾿Αθραῖος ὁ δήμος) is an undoubted instance of the use of the nominative in place of the ordinary genitive.' He does not cite any example strictly parallel to *Tityros*.


According to F. Solmsen in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1912 xix. 31 ff., Σά-τυρος and Τι-τυρος are genuine Greek words from the root τυ, 'to swell,' seen in τύλος, τύμβος, τυρός, ταύρος, etc. The first element in Σά-τυρος reappears in εἴδη, τάββοντος, σύραμος, etc. and may be an old word for phallos. Τι-τυρος shows intensive reduplication (cp. Τινυνω) with poetic lengthening.

5 Hes. frag. 139 Flach ap. Strab. 471. See also Prokl. in Hes. o.d. 89.

6 Strab. 466.

7 Supra p. 529 n. 4.

8 Mr W. Wroth, with whom I once had the advantage of discussing these coins, approved of my suggestion. For the form of the festival-name cp. the Καστορίδα at Phlius (Nilsson Gr. Festes p. 39 f.) or such expressions as τραγοῦς καυκός (Dem. de cor.
drama set forth the union of the sky-god Zeus with the earth-goddess Europe. The part of Zeus would be played by one of the Satyrs—if, at least, we may argue from the analogous myth of Antiope, who was woed by Zeus in the form of a Satyr.

The purpose of this mimetic rite would presumably be to promote fertility. The marriage of the earth-goddess in her willow would entail a prosperous year for the whole neighbourhood. Somewhat analogous in its conception is a marble relief of the first century A.D. found at Loukou near Astros in Thyreatis and now at Athens (fig. 407). A matronly figure sits on a throne, which is adorned with a Sphinx and bears the inscription *Epiktēsis,* 'Increase.' Before her on a base is a statue of *Euthenia,* 'Fertility,' holding a basket of fruit. Behind this goddess rises a smooth Doric pillar, on the top of which stands another goddess in the guise of Artemis *Agrotēra,* who uplifts her hand close to the branch of a leafy tree. The tree is insufficiently characterised:

E. Gerhard took it to be a plane, J. N. Svoronos an olive; most critics are content to call it a tree. Its stem is hidden by the pillar. A fillet hangs from one of its boughs. A snake too, now barely discernible, winds from behind the base of *Euthenia* over the tree-trunk down towards the *phialê* resting on the lap of *Epiktēsis.* In the field beside the tree, and in all probability referring to the goddess on the pillar, is the inscription *Teletē,* 'Initiation.' It is,

116) gladiatoribus (Cic. Phil. 1. 36). Numismatic parallels are *ΔΙΟΣ ΡΩΝΑΙ* (infra p. 151 fig. 119) and *ΕΙΟΥΟΥ ΓΑΜΟΙ* (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia pp. cxlvi, 348 pl. 36, 8) at Tralleis attached to 'scenes in certain religious mysteries connected with the Io legend' (B. V. Head 8. p. cxlvi), perhaps also *ΟΡΟΤΩΦΘΡΑ* at Tarsos (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia, etc. pp. lxxvi f., 182 f. pl. 33, 7) as the name of a 'quail-hunt' in the cult of Sandas or Herakles (see Frazer *Golden Bough* 8: Adonis Attis Osiris 8 pp. 85, 99 n. 2).

1 *Infra* ch. i § 7 (d). Another version made Zeus consort with Antiope in the form of a bull (*ib.*).
3 Poll. i. 240 et *δὴ ἀρχαὶ...οὐκ ἔστων...* kal *δὴ ἀρχαὶ...οὑνταὶ.*
4 Cretan coins struck by Domitien show not only a *caduceus* between two cornua capitis inscribed *ΕΥΘΗΝΙΑ | ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ* (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crête ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 343 pl. 33, 15 f.), but also *ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΑ | ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ* (infra p. 543 n. 1); see F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1908 xi. 143 f.
5 The gesture of the goddess is similar to that of the tree-nymph in the *Real Musco Borbonico* Napoli 1839 xii pl. 8, Boetticher *Baumkultus* fig. 33.
6 E. Gerhard loc. cit. p. 133 'forse un platano.'
7 Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 337 'wahrscheinlich ein Ölbaum.'
I think, the inscription that affords the best clue to the meaning of the whole scene. Dionysos had by the Naiad Nikaia a son Satyros\(^1\) and a daughter Telete\(^2\). If the former represents the male, the latter stands for the female element in the cult—a *koure* of Dionysos' train\(^3\). As a personification of the initiatory rite she is closely associated with Orpheus. On Helikon, the 'Mount of

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\(^1\) Memnon 41. 5 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 547 Müller).
\(^2\) Nonn. Dion. 16. 399 ηῇ δὲ γάμῳ Βρομίως θεάσατο ἑπέει κορή, ἧν Τελεθή ὀφθαλμῶν ἄμφοτεραν ὑποταῖ, κορήν νυκτὶχάρευτον, ἀθεοπάθην Διωνύσῳ, τερπομένην κρατάλοις καὶ ἀμφιπλῆγι βοεῖς.
\(^3\) Id. ib.
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Willows¹(?), Pausanias saw a statue of Orpheus with Telete at his side.² And in Polygnotos' great fresco of the Underworld at Delphoi Orpheus was painted leaning against a willow and touching its branches with his hand, just as Telete in this relief stands beside the tree close up against its foliage. Both he and she derived fertility from contact with the sacred tree. The relief from Loukou was probably set up over the grave of an Orphic votary. The Sphinx spells Chios; and J. N. Svoronos cites an example of the rare name Epiktēsis from a Chian inscription.³ We may therefore unreservedly accept the view propounded by this acute scholar, that the dead woman, thanks to her well-omened name, was conceived henceforward as a new heroine of 'Increase' to be revered along with the older goddess of 'Fertility'⁴.

Details apart, it is abundantly clear that Europe was at first an earth-goddess worshipped at Gortyna in a sacred tree. For all that, there is good reason to think that she ultimately came to be regarded as the moon. Her mother was Telēphassa⁵, the 'Far-shining,' or, according to another and probably older account, Argiôpe⁶, the 'Bright-eyed,' both names being possible appellations of a moon-goddess. Europē herself bore an equivocal title, which to ancient, as to modern, speculation would readily suggest the 'Broad-eyed' moon. W. H. Roscher compares it with that of Eurypaïëssa, the 'Broad-shining,' mother of Selene.⁷ He also points out that Europe riding a white bull⁸ resembles Selene riding

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² Paus. 9. 30. 4.
³ Paus. 10. 30. 6.
⁴ G. I. Zolotas in Ἀθηναία xx. 353 ΕΠΙΚΤΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΑΥ(ΤΗΣ) ΥΙΟΙΣ κ.τ.λ.
⁸ Eustath. in II. p. 141, 25 ff. cp. Εὐρυφέα Ζεις with Ἡμα βωτις and with Εὐρωτῆς, but offers as alternative renderings 'large-eyed' and 'loud-voiced.' Id. ib. p. 925, 19 f. cp. Ἕρωις with βωτις and with Εὐρωτῆς.
⁹ Σύφα p. 531 n. 3.
¹⁰ W. H. Roscher Über Selene und Verwandtes Leipzig 1890 pp. 95, 128 f. and in the LEX. Myth. ii. 3192. Eurypaïëssa was, however, the mother of Helios, not of Selene (h. Hel. 2).
¹¹ Phrynichos frag. 16 Nauck ap. Eustath. in Od. p. 1430, 63 f. καὶ ταῦτα ἀργυμένης ήθου λευκά, φασι, παρά ἄργυρῳ δ' διακομότης τὴν Εὐρωτῆν, Hesych. ἀργυμένης τοῦτον ταυτόν. οἱ λευκοὶ παραγώγοι. λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ διαμελάντος τὴν Εὐρωτῆν. A. Nauck ej. ἀργυμένων, cp. Mosch. 2. 85 κύκλως δ' ἀργύρῳ μεσαίῳ μετάκειν μετάλωσιν, Ach. Tat. 2. 15 εἰ δ' οἱ μέθοδοι Εὐρωτῆς ἀλήθεις, Ἀἴγυπτων βοῶν ὁ Ζεις ἐμμέθετο.
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on a bull or drawn in a chariot by white bulls or cows, and that Europe, like Selene, was regarded as a huntress. His argument will appeal to the eye, if we compare the common Greek type of Europe with certain Roman types of Selene (fig. 408), of Artemis Tauroplos (fig. 409), and of Nike riding on the lunar Apis (fig. 410).

Europe, however, does not become demonstrably lunar till she reaches Phoinike and is identified with Astarte. The most important piece of evidence is a passage in the treatise On the Syrian Goddess:

1 There is another large temple in Phoinike, at Sidon. The Sidonians call it the temple of Astarte, and Astarte I take to be Selenaia. But, as one of the priests informed me, it is the temple of Europe the sister of Kadmos. She was the daughter of king Agenor, and after her disappearance the Phoenicians honoured her with the temple and told a pious tale about her to the effect that Zeus, desirous of her beauty, took the form of a bull and carried her off, bearing

1 Supra p. 456.
Cp. Ach. Tat. i, 4. τοιοῦτον εἰδὼν ἕγω ποτ’ ἐπὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένον Σελήνην.
6 From a gem in P. D. Lippert Daktyl. Scrin. 3 no. 61 (Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 125 pl. 16, 176a).
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her to Crete. The rest of the Phoenicians gave me the same story—and indeed the coinage in use at Sidon shows Europe seated on the bull Zeus,—but they do not allow that the temple is that of Europe.

Coppers of Sidon from c. 174 B.C. onwards exhibit the type in question (fig. 411), but in no way confirm the identification of Europe with the moon. A later rationalising account in Ioannes Malalas states that at Tyre the rape of Europe was commemorated in the evening, which would at least suit a lunar connexion:

"Taurus king of Crete attacked the city of Tyre and, after winning a sea-fight, captured it in the evening. He spoiled the place and took many prisoners, among them Europe, daughter of the king Agenor. Agenor and his sons were away on the frontier fighting; wherefore Taurus king of Crete made a sudden attack by sea. To this day the Tyrians commemorate that evening calling it Kake Opiste, "Evil Gloaming." Taurus carried off Europe to his own country, and, since she was a virgin and comely withal, took her to wife. Moreover, he called those parts Europe after her."

Again, Phoenician and lunar elements are discernible in the myth that associates Europe with the founding of Thebes. The scholiast on the Iliad, who cites as his sources the Boiotiaka of Hellanikos and the Bibliotheca of Apollodorus, tells the tale as follows:

"Boiotia used to be called Aonia from the Aones, who dwelt there. Its name was changed to Boiotia, according to some, by reason of Boiotos the son of Poseidon and Arne, according to others, by reason of the cow driven by Kadmos at the bidding of the Pythian oracle. For, when Europe, the daughter of Phoinix, was carried off from Sidon by Zeus, Kadmos her brother was sent by her father in quest of her. Having failed to find her, he repaired to Delphi to consult the god. The god bade him trouble no more about Europe but take as

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1. Loukian. de dea Syr. 4.
2. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia p. cvii f. and p. 316 Index. I figure the reverse of a copper, struck by Elagabalos, in my collection: A P | S I D O N | COLMET = Aurelia Più | Sidon | Colonia Metropolis. This coin ingeniously suggests that the bull is about to cross the sea by putting a short ground-line beneath his hind-legs.
3. K. Haeck Kreta Göttingen 1813 i. 93, 96 interprets the crescent-shaped veil of Europe as a lunar trait. But see L. Stephani in the Comptes-rendus St. Pit. 1866 p. 125 f. Id. ib. p. 155 notes also that the comparison of the bull's horns with the horns of the moon, though emphasised in literature (Mosch. 2. 87 f., Ach. Tat. 2. 15), is never brought out in art.
7. Hellanik. frag. 8 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 46 f. Müller).
8. Apollod. 3. 4. 1 f.
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his guide a cow and found a city wherever this cow, tired with the way, lay on its right side. On receipt of this oracle he pursued his course through Phokis. He next fell in with a cow among the herds of Pelagon and followed after her as she went. She, passing throughout Boiotia, tired and lay down on the spot where Thebes is now. Kadmos, wishing to sacrifice the cow to Athena, sent some of his men to fetch lustral water from the spring of Ares. But the snake that guarded the spring and was said to be the child of Ares slew most of those whom he sent. Kadmos in anger killed the snake and, at Athena's suggestion, sowed its teeth. From them sprang the earth-born ones. Ares was enraged at this and about to destroy Kadmos, when Zeus prevented him. Zeus gave him to wife Harmonia, the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, but first bade him in return for having destroyed the snake serve for a year; the Muses were to sing at his wedding, and each of the gods to bestow a gift upon Harmonia.

The whole story gains immensely in coherence and significance, if we assume that the guiding cow was none other than Europe in animal form. The lost sister is thus recovered at the last, and the Pythian oracle is vindicated from the charge of irrelevance. Besides, it was, to say the least of it, appropriate that Zeus as a bull should mate with Europe as a cow. If that be so, some further details of the story are of interest. Pausanias, reporting the local Theban tradition, states 'that this cow was purchased from the cowherds of Pelagon, and that on each of the cow's flanks was a white mark like the circle of the moon, when it is full.' Pausanias adds that the place, where the cow sank down exhausted, was still shown, that there was an open-air altar on the spot and an image of Athena dedicated by Kadmos, and that this Athena bore the Phoenician title Óngā. A scholiast on Euripides gives what purports to be the actual oracle delivered to Kadmos:

Kadmos, Agenor's son, mark well my word.
At daybreak rise, quit Pytho the divine,
And clad as thou art wont, with oaken spear
In hand, fare forth through Phlegyai and Phokis
Until thou reach the cowherd and the cows
Of Pelagon Fate's nurseling. Then draw nigh,
And take the lowing cow whose either flank

1 Cp. Apollod. 3. 4. 2 Κάδμως δέ ἀρχ' ὄν εὐτεχεν ἄλθων ('Ἀρχ' ὄν εὐτεχεν Άλθων) εὐτεχες ἐβοήθενεν' Άρει. ὃς δέ ἐναυτὸς τοὺς ἄλθους ἐτη.

2 Paus. 9. 13. 1. Two Egyptising altars of Roman date, formerly in the Towneley collection and now in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Marbles x pls. 51, 52, Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture iii. 390 ff. nos. 7494, 7495, Reimach Klp. Reliefs ii. 482 nos. 1—4, 5—8), represent a bull with a six-rayed star and another with a crescent moon on his flank. A relief in a tomb of the Roman period at Kom el Chevafa shows the Pharaoh offering incense (?) to a statue of Apis, who has a crescent on his side (F. W. von Bissing Les Bas-reliefs de Kom el Chevafa Munich 1901 pl. 9 Text p. 7).

3 Paus. 9. 12. 2. On the site and significance of this cult see Frazer Pausanias v. 48 f.


5 Nomm. Dion. 4. 293 ff. is another attempt to hitch the supposed oracle into verse.
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Hath a white mark round as the rounded moon:
Follow her guidance on thy trodden track.
Yea, and a token plain will I declare
Such as thou canst not miss. When first the horn
Of the ranging cow is lowered and her knee
Sinks on the grassy plain, then do thou straightway
Offer her with pure hand and heart to Earth
The dark-leaved and, thine offering complete,
Upon the hill-top build a broad-wayed town,
Sending the War-god's guardian fierce to Hades.
And famous among men shall be thy name,
Blest Kadmos, who hast won a deathless bride.

This cow, which was believed to have given its name to Boiotia¹ and to the Boeotian mountain Thourion², is connected by Prof. von Baudissin with the Phoenician moon-goddess on account of its moon-like marks³. The connexion is probable enough, and, if (as I have suggested) the cow was Europe, my original contention that Europe became a moon-goddess owing to Phoenician influence is established.

Dr Frazer's other example of sun-and-moon marriage was that of Minos with Britomartis or Diktynna⁴. But again I must insist that neither Diktynna nor Britomartis was originally lunar. Diktynna was a Cretan form of the mountain-mother⁵, whose name probably hangs together with that of Mount Dikte or Dikton⁶. Coins of the province struck by Trajan represent her seated on her rocks between a couple of Kouretes as nurse of the infant Zeus (fig. 412)⁷. Here, as

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² Plout. v. Sull. 17 θηριόν υπό τοῦ Φοίνικος τοῦ βοσκού καλαίστα. This is much nearer the mark than the statement of schol. Eur. Phoen. 638 θηροδέμοσε τοῦ Θήσεως. θηρία γάρ Συρουσίων λέγεται ἡ βοσκ. cp. et. mag. p. 450, 41 f. "cow" is in Syriac שֹׁבֶך, Aramaic שֹׁבֶךְ, Hebrew שֹׁבָך, which point to an original Semitic form šēbər: the word appears to have been borrowed by the Semites from the Indo-European area, rather than vice versa (Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. p. 616 f.: but see H. Müller Vergleichendes indogermanisch-semitisches Wörterbuch Göttingen 1911 p. 255 f.).
³ W. W. Baudissin Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte Leipzig 1876 i. 273.
⁴ Supra p. 524.
⁶ See K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1371, O. Jessen ib. v. 587. H. Usener Götternamen Bonn 1896 p. 41 f. observes that Δικτυνα is the feminine form of Δικτος, as Διέρη of *Δίαρη. In Serv. in Verg. Aen. 3. 171 the eponymous nymph of Mt Dikte is named Dicte; but the interp. Serv. ib. tells of her the tale that is elsewhere told of Britomartis.
⁷ J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crête ancienne Macon 1890 i pl. 33, 23 (my
elsewhere¹, she is assimilated to the huntress Artemis—an assimilation which in literature can be traced back to the time of Euripides². Britomartis too, a goddess closely related to Diktynna³, was readily equated with Artemis⁴. A silver coin of Chersonesus to the north of the Dikte range has for its obverse a noble head of Zeus wearing a bay-wreath and for its reverse a goddess sitting on a decorated throne with a hind erect upon her outstretched palm (fig. 413)⁵. There can be little doubt that the die-sinker has copied the actual cult-statue of Britomartis, who is known to have had a temple at Chersonesus⁶. Nor is the combination of Zeus with Britomartis meaningless: the two were linked

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¹ A copper of Domitian shows ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΑ | ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ as Artemis the huntress with bow and hound (Svoronos οφ. cit. i. 343 pl. 33. 17, Head Hist. num.³ p. 479).

² Eur. I. T. 126 ὥ παι τὰς Δαυτοὺς, Διετουρ' οὐρεία, Aristoph. ran. 1559 f. ἄμα δὲ Δίκτυννα παῖτ' Ἀρτέμις καλὰ | τὰς κυνῶσας ἔχουσ' ὀθῆτω κ.τ.λ.


⁴ If we may trust Solin. 11. 8 Cretes Dianam religiosissime venerantur, Britomartem gentiliter nominantes, quod sermone nostro sonat virginem dulCEm (cp. Hesych. βρεφό γυνή). Κρήτης repeated in Favorin. lex. p. 391. 11; Steph. Byz. ζ.α. Γάζα,..., τὰς παρθένου γάρ οἴνων Κρήτης προσεγγράσαι μαραντα, κυρία p. 149 n. 1), Britómarti was probably a cult-epithet of Diktynna.


⁶ Drawn from a specimen in my collection. The only other specimen of this fine coin known to me is that in the British Museum, which owing to its poor state of preservation was wrongly described by W. Wroth in the Num. Chron. Third Series 1895 xv. 96 f. pl. 5. 11. Mr E. J. Sellman, from whom I procured my coin, points out that 'The seated Artemis with the deer on her hand forms an interesting pendant to the standing Apollo with the deer by Canachus' (Plin. nat. hist. 34–75, alib.; Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia p. 197 ff. pl. 22, 9 f.).

⁷ Strab. 479 Λύτων ὅτε...ἀπινοῦ ἐστιν ἡ λεγομένη Χαραφάρσος, ἐν ἦ το τῆς Βρεθάμαρτις λεόνι. According to Solin. 11. 8 aedem numinis (sc. Britomartis) praeterquam nudas vestigia nullus licito ingreditur. ea aedies ostentat manus Daedali.
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together at least in one remarkable tradition. When Artemis
came to be regarded as a moon-goddess, the way was open for
Diktynna on the one hand, Britomartis on the other, to be identified
with the moon. But it must be observed that this identification
was not made till Roman times; and even then no hint is
dropped that the consort of Diktynna or Britomartis was solar. It
is, therefore, highly precarious to quote the myth of Minos and
Britomartis or Diktynna as a case of sun-and-moon marriage.


In the last section we considered the myth of Pasiphae at
Knossos and the myth of Europe at Gortyna. Both were found
to involve the agency of a great fertilising bull. But here their resemblance ended; for, whereas the story of the bull and Pasiphae pointed to the annual celebration of a sun-and-moon marriage at
Knossos, the story of the bull and Europe pointed rather to the
annual celebration of a sky-and-earth marriage at Gortyna. It
remains to ask what was the relation of Zeus to the bovine figures
of both myths.

The Cnossian myth dealt with a solar bull, a lunar cow, and
their offspring the semi-bovine Minotauro, whose astral character
was indicated by his name Asterios or Asterion. We have here
evidence of a religious complex, forming an independent whole and
apparently of great antiquity. Aegean place-names suggest that
this cult of sun, moon, and stars was not confined to Crete, but
extended to other islands. Its connexion with Zeus, however, is

1 Neanthes of Kyzikos frag. 23 (frag. hist. Gr. iii. 8 Müller) ap. Favorinus, lex. p. 391,
7 ff. and et. mag. p. 214, 26 ff. Νεάνθης ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ ἐπὶ τῆς λεγέτων φοίνιχας Διὸ
δόθητε, δι’ ὅ ἐκ τῆς μήτρας τῆς Ἑκάτης γεννημένου μεταστήκει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῆς,
γεννώσει δὲ τῆς Ἑκάτης, τὰς συμπαράσαι κόρας τὭ λεχοὶ ἀναβοήσαι βρίτον, τὸν ἐστὶ
ἀγάθων· παρὰ τοῦτο δὲ εἰρήθη τίμηθαι τῷ θεῷ. Zeus is here apparently the
father of Britomartis by Hekate.

2 Farnell Cults of Gr. States ii. 457—461, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc.

3 Cornut. theol. 34 p. 71, 5 ff. Lang ἡ Αρτεμίς φωσφόρος μὲν ἐπωμόμηθη διὰ τὸ
καὶ αὐτῇ σέλας βάλλων καὶ φωτίζειν ποιῶν τὸ περεχόν, ὡσπερ μάλαστα πανδελόνοι σὲ,
δικτυωμένα δὲ τὸν βάλλειν τὰ ἀκτίνα—δίκεν γὰρ τὸ βάλλει—κ.τ.λ., Verg. Ciris 305
Dictynnam dixere tuo (sc. o Britomarti) de nomine lunam, Paul. ex Fest. p. 72 Müller
Dictynna Diana, quam esse lunam putabant, dicta, quod fulgere suo nocte omnia ostendat
(cp. H. Usener in the Rhein. Mus. 1868 xxii. 342 and in his Götternamen Bonn 1896
p. 42).

4 Verg. Ciris 305 cited supra n. 3.


6 (1) Hesych. Ἀστερίας ἡ Κρήτη καὶ ἡ Δήλος σύνων ἐκαιόντο. (2) Asteria as a
former name of Delos (Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1780 f.; add schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 1.)
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late and superficial. PASIPHAE’s bull according to certain Roman mythographers was sent by Zeus, according to Christian writers of the fourth and subsequent centuries was Zeus himself. But no ancient authority, either classical or post-classical, can be cited in support of the view that the Minotaur was Zeus incarnate.

On the other hand, from Hesiodic and even Homeric times onward Zeus figured as the partner of Europe. The bull that bore her from Phoinike to Crete, though sometimes said to have been sent by Zeus, is usually described as the god himself in animal shape. In short, Zeus as a bull is an integral part of the Europe-myth. But here the moon was a much later accretion, and the sun a mere afterthought, perhaps not even that.

307, Verg. aen. 15, Solin. 11. 19) was derived from the Titaness Asteria or Asterie, whose tale was variously told. To escape wedlock with Zeus, she flung herself into the sea like a star (Kallim. h. Del. 36 ff.) or a quail (Apollod. 1. 4. 1). She scorned the advances of Zeus, and he, to punish her, changed her into a quail and cast her into the sea, where she became Ortygla, the ‘Quail’-island, later called Delos (Hyg. fab. 53. Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 4. 796, cp. schol. Lyk. Al. 401, Serv. in Verg. Aen. 3. 73. Myth. Vat. i. 37. 2. 17. 3. 8. 3). She was ravished by Zeus, who took the form of an eagle (Ov. met. 6. 108). She was wooed by Poseidon, not Zeus (Nonn. Dion. 2. 134 f., 33. 336 ff., 42. 410). Zeus became a quail to consort with her sister Leto (schol. Pind. Pyth. arg. p. 397 Boeckh) or changed Leto into a quail (Serv. in Verg. Aen. 3. 73). Asteria bore to Zeus Hekate (Mousios ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 467, Cic. de nat. deor. 3. 46) and the Phoenician Herakles (Eudoxos of Knidos ap. Athen. 392 b, Cic. de nat. deor. 3. 42). Others connected the name Asteria with the cult of Apollo (Solin. 11. 19).

(3) Asteria was an old name of Rhodes (Plin. nat. hist. 5. 123). (4) The Αστερία of πόρος off Lade contained a tomb of Asterios, son of Anax son of Ge, with a corpse ten cubits long (Paus. 1. 35. 6). (5) Hesych. Αστερία of πόρος των Τήνων κατοικήσας. (6) Αστερία, the island near Ithake, was later known as Αστερία (Pauly—Wissowa Real.-Enc. ii. 1787).

1 Supra p. 467.
2 Epiphanius amoratus 105, Nonn. narr. ad Gregorii invenst. 1. 91 p. 158 = A. Westermann Scriptores poeticae historiae Graeci Brunsvigae 1843 p. 359, 1, schol. Clem. Al. provr. 4. 49. 3 p. 312, 15 Stählin. Cp. the statements that Pasiphae, daughter of Atlas, bore Ammon to Zeus (supra p. 521 f.) and that Idaia, wife of Minos, bore Asterion to the same god (supra p. 493 n. 2).
3 This view I rashly advanced in the Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 410, cp. Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 372. It is, I now think, untenable.
5 Il. 14. 321 f.
7 Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1410 ff., Pauly—Wissowa Real.-Enc. vi. 1395 f.
8 Supra p. 537 ff.
9 The circle of rays surrounding the bull (supra p. 472 fig. 328) and Europe (supra p. 539 fig. 400) on coppers of Gortyna is possibly solar (cp. J. N. Svoronos in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894 xviii. 118) but, since it occurs also on other coins of the same town with types of an eagle grasping a snake (J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crète ancienne Macon 1890 i. 174 pl. 16. 3, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crète etc. p. 44 pl. 11. 10) or a naked male figure with shield and spear (Svoronos op. cit. i. 175 f. pl. 16, 8, 9. 10,
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The conclusion to which these facts point is tolerably clear. At Knossos, where sun, moon and stars were essential, Zeus was not. At Gortyna, where Zeus was essential, sun, moon and stars were not. It follows that at Knossos and Gortyna Zeus hadoriginally nothing to do with sun, moon and stars. Those writers that distinguish a Cretan solar Zeus from the ordinary Hellenic sky-god1 must look elsewhere for arguments. The Gortynian Zeus was indeed, like Apollon at Athens, called Hekatómboi奥斯; but he shared that title with the Arcadian Zeus². And the oxen slain on his altar need not imply that he was solar. They would be equally appropriate to any fertilising god³.

It remains, of course, both possible and probable that sooner or later the Zeus of Gortyna took on a solar complexion. If Europe under Phoenician influence became the moon⁴, there was every inducement for Zeus to become the sun. Now Byzantine scholars actually mention a Gortynian cult of Zeus Asterios⁵. There is therefore much to be said for Dr Farnell’s conjecture that Zeus

12, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 44 pl. 11, 9). I should prefer to regard it as a glory suitable to any divine personage. It is hardly to be classed as a ‘purely decorative border’ (G. F. Hill A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins London 1899 p. 159).


2 Hesych. ‘Εκστρομφάιος Ῥωμαίοι Αστέριοι καί Ζεύς ἐν Γορτύνη καί παρ’ Ἀρέαν καί Κρητην.

3 That Zeus at Gortyna was a rain-god appears from Kallim. frag. 100' no. 37 = Antig. hist. mir. 163 καὶ πηρ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Κρήνην ὄστιον, οὐ οἱ ὑπερθιάντες νεκροὶ κατέλησαν ἄβροχον, παραθέσθαι δὲ τοῦ Κρητην, ἀπὶ ἐκείνων λοιπάθαι τὴν Ἐλαύνην ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Δίως μίξεως, Sotion frag. 4 p. 183 Westermann εν Κρήνῃ χεῖτος οὐκ ἄλοιπον, δὲ οἱ διαβαίνοντες βοτοὶ τοῦ Δίως ἄβροχοι διαβαίνουσιν ἐφ’ ὅσον εἰ τῇ ὑτερῇ ἐν.

4 Supra pp. 524 ff., 537 ff.

5 Kedren, hist. corp. 124 λ. (i. 217 Bekker) αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Μεσσηνιαῖος ἄμα τοῖς συγγενεῖσιν εὔθως ἔτι Κρήτην ἀπέλθει ὁ Ἀστέριος Διὸ ἐν Γορτύνῃ πῦλις θυσίας, Io. Malal. chron. 5 p. 94 Dindorf ἐν τῇ τῇ ἀναγερσίᾳ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἐτι τῆς Κρήτης θυσίασεται Διὸ Ἀστέριος καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐν τῇ Γορτύνῃ πῦλις συνέδεται κ.τ.λ., Tzetz. antilemm. 99 ff. δὲ Μεσσηνίων τοῦ δησισμένου ἀγάλα δώρα ἐπέλευ Κρήτης, Διὸ εἰ διαφόροι μέξοι ἂν Άστεριος, βασιλεύ Κρητῶν περ ἑκατοντ’ ἐν τοῖς γὰρ τῆς Διας πάντας κάλλους λατερίδας, ὀμοίως μικρὸς Κρήτης αὖ ἐκπερασθείς ὁ πολίτης, ἐν πάντες δὲ μικρὰς τοῦ γὰρ βασιλευτάτων ἄλλων, ἐν χελώναν παρ’ ἀκίντεσυς φαινόμενον, chil. 1. 473 ff. Μῖνος δ’ ὁ Κρήτη ὑύψιος παῖς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Άστερίους, τοῦ βασιλευτάτου τοῦ Διὸς εἰς κάλλος μονόμονος, οὐ μειονενεκαίνυ τούτῳ καὶ καλῶς κειμένως γένεσιν, ὁρμητικοῖς βασιλείς καὶ εραστήσασθαι, τοῦ Άστερίους παγανόν τοῦ Διὸς ἔργον τοῦ δωδεκάτου, ὁ Μῖνως κ.τ.λ., in Lyk. Al. 1301 οὗτος δὲ ὁ Δεκάφθον τοῦ Άστερίους λέγει Διὰ παύεις, Μῖνως καί Ἀρισταμένου.

C.
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Astéris was a sun-god of Phoenician character. Only, we must suppose that this solarisation of the Gortynian Zeus took place at a comparatively early date. The relevant facts are these. The Cnossian Minotaur, who in some sense represented the sun-god, was called Astéris or Asterion. At Gortyna too the sun-god must have been worshipped; for here he had herds of cattle.

Hesiod, Bakchylides and others state that Zeus, having consorted with Europe, bestowed her upon the Cretan king Asterion or

1 Farnell Cults of Gk. States i. 44, citing the opinion of W. Robertson Smith (Lectures on the Religion of the Semites London 1907 p. 292) that Zeus' Αστέριος was the male counterpart of Astarte.
2 Supra p. 490 ff.
3 Supra pp. 492, 495.
4 Supra pp. 410 n. 9, 471 n. 4.
Astérisos or Astéros, who married her and, being childless himself, reared the children that she bore to Zeus. Finally, Tzetzes asserts that Sarpedon, Minos, and Rhadamanthys, these very fosterlings, were the sons of Zeus Astérisos. It looks as though the contamination of the Gortynian Zeus with the solar cycle had begun as early as c. 700 B.C. At what date king Asterion or Astérisos developed into Zeus Astérisos, it is hard to say. A red-figured amphora and red-figured fish-plates at Saint Petersburg show Europe on the bull approaching Crete, where she is met by a Zeus-like king, presumably Asterion or Astérisos. He advances to greet her sceptre in hand (fig. 405), or awaits on his throne the arrival of her cortège, the coming marriage being indicated by the presence of two Erotes (fig. 414). Perhaps the shift from king Astérisos to Zeus Astérisos was the work of the Hellenistic age—an age notoriously marked by recrudescence of the early belief in the essential divinity of kings.

But by Hellenistic times Astérisos had ceased to connote ‘Solar.’ To the average understanding the word now meant ‘Starry’ and nothing else. Hence Zeus was brought into more definite relation to the starry sky. Silver coins of Crete struck by Nero show Zeus with a thunderbolt in one hand, a sceptre in the other, surrounded by seven stars (fig. 415). A copper struck by Titus represents Zeus Kretagenés amid the same group of stars in the act of hurling his bolt (fig. 115). On another copper struck by Trajan the infant Zeus is seated on a globe with a goat beside him and the stars above (fig. 28). Nor was the connexion between the god and the king forgotten. We have already compared the last-named coin-type with that on which Domitian’s infant son appears sitting on a globe and flanked by the stars (fig. 27). Similarly silver coins of

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3. Tzetz. chil. 1. 473, in Lyk. Al. 1301 (supra p. 545 n. 5).
4. Supra p. 531.
7. Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 165 pl. 40. 2, J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crète ancienne Macon 1890 i. 340 no. 34 (Vienna) pl. 32, 22 (= my fig. 415), cp. ib. no. 35 pl. 32, 21 on which Zeus wears a himation and an eagle is added in the field.
8. Supra p. 149.
9. Supra p. 52.
10. Supra p. 51 f.

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Crete struck under Caligula and Claudius have a head of Augustus with radiate crown (fig. 416), or Augustus radiate with sceptre and phiale sitting on a curule chair (fig. 417) or on a car drawn by four elephants (fig. 418), in each case encircled by the same seven stars. The emperor poses as the Cretan Zeus.

Fig. 415.  
Fig. 416.

What was this group of seven stars? Dr B. V. Head, who formerly left them nameless, now follows J. N. Svoronos in identifying them with the septem triones, the 'seven stars' par excellence, best known to us as the Great Bear. They are in fact sometimes (fig. 418) grouped about the divinised emperor in approximately the same position as on a modern star-map, four of them forming an irregular square and three a broken line. This constellation was called Helike and connected with the Cretan nurse of Zeus. Popular fancy may have traced in it some

1 Svoronos op. cit. i. 335 pl. 32, 4, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 1 pl. 1, 2, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 164 pl. 49, 1.
4 Head Hist. num. 1, p. 384 'perhaps in the character of Zeus Kretagenes.'
5 Id. ib. 1, p. 384.
6 Id. ib. 2, p. 479.
8 So already Rasche Lex. Num. viii. 629, ix. 78 f. x. 48.
9 Gundel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 2858 ff., who attributes the connexion to Epimenides.
The Bull and the Sun in Syria

resemblance to a 'Willow' or a 'Willow'-leaf. If so, the sacred
tree of Europe attained a scientific euthanasia in the text-books
of Hellenistic astronomy, as did the bull of Zeus, which was like-
wise placed among the stars to be the constellation Taurus.

xx. The Bull and the Sun in Syria.

(a) Zeus Ádadas and Iupiter Heliopolitanus.

The bull appears as a sacred animal in connexion with the
sky-gods of Syria also. And here again the cults in question took
on a solar character and were ultimately fused with that of Zeus
or Iupiter.

This was the case with Adad or Hadad, 'king of the gods' and
consort of Atargatis. Since a common designation of Adad
describes him as a deity of the west or Amurru, it has been con-
jected that he was originally a god of the Amorites, imported
into the Euphrates-valley by an Amoritish wave of migration.
However that may be, his worship, widely spread in Palestine and
Syria, had reached Greece before the close of the second century
B.C.—witness a series of inscriptions found by the French in Delos.
From these it appears that a certain Achaios son of Apollonios, a
native of Hieropolis resident among the Delians, dedicated a
temple etc. 'to Adatos and Atargatis the gods of his fatherland' and
was elected, presumably by his fellow-countrymen, to serve as
priest thereof for the year 137-136 B.C. Repairs of the sanctuary

1 The Chinese regard as a Willow-leaf the stars δ, ε, ξ, ζ, θ, ρ, η, ι of the constellation
Hydra (G. Schlegel Uranographie chinoise The Hague 1875 cited by A. de Gubernatis
La Mythologie des Peuples Paris 1882 ii. 337—340).
2 Eur. Phrixus frag. 820 Nauck ap. pseudo-Eratosth. catast. 14, Hyg. poet. astr. 2,
536 ff. Others took the constellation to be Pasiphae's bull or the Marathonian bull (schol. Arat.
phae. 167), or Io the cow (Hyg. poet. astr. 2, 21). It is probable too, though not certain,
that the same constellation was sometimes regarded as the bull-form of Dionysos
p. 825 n. 3 and p. 943 n. 2).
3 Philon Bybl. frag. 24 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 569 Müller) ap. Euseb. praep. ev. 1. 10.
31 'Ádadas basileis theou'.
4 Mar-Tu, the ideographic form of Amurru. See further A. T. Clay Amurru, the
Home of the Northern Semites Philadelphia 1909 p. 77 ff.
5 W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1987 ff., ii. 1179 ff., A. Jeremias ib. iv. 19 ff.,
R. Dussaud in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 2157 ff., M. Jastrow The Religion of Babyl-
onia and Assyria Boston etc. 1898 p. 156 ff., id., Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice
in Babylonia and Assyria New York and London 1911 p. 117 ff.
xvi. 161.
7 Bull. Corr. Hell. 1882 vi. 495 f. no. 12, 5 f. 'Ádáras Kai 'Atargátes theoi
parálois.'
were carried out in the priesthood of Seleukos son of Zenodoros, another Hieropolitan. A third priest, the son of one Apollonides, hailed from the same town. But after a time the little Syrian community had perforce to content itself with Athenian priests, and was so far Hellenised as to acquiesce in a dedication 'to Zeus Ádados.' The cult was now strengthened by the addition of the ever-popular Asklepios and the identification of Atargatis with Aphrodite Hagne, who however seems gradually to have ousted Adad from his place of honour.

The worship of Adad continued to spread westward, but from a second centre of diffusion and with a slightly different complexion. At Ba‘albek, an old town between the ranges of Libanos and Antilibanos, the Syrian god was so far solar that, when in the age of the Diadochoi Greek settlers occupied the site, they identified him with their own Helios and named the town Heliopolis. This name, which survived an influx of Roman colonists probably in the time of Augustus, enabled the priests of the Egyptian Heliopolis to claim that the Syrian cult was a mere off-shoot of their own. But there is no doubt that they were wrong: the Heliopolitan god was essentially a Grecised form of the Syrian Adad. If colonists

2 ib. 1882 vi. 497 no. 14.
3 ib. 1882 vi. 497 no. 15, 498 nos. 16 and 17.
4 ib. 1892 xi. 161 (δεύτερα) | [Ἀπαλλ]αιων(?) | Διὸ Ἀδάδων | [χαρ]ασθήσατε, cp. ib. 1882 vi. 503 f. no. 25, 2 ff. Διὸ τῶν πάντων κρατοῦντες καὶ Μητρὶ Μεγάλη τῆς πάντων κρατοῦσαν.
5 ib. 1882 vi. 498 no. 16, 5 f. Ἀδάδων καὶ Ἀταργάτες καὶ Ἀσκληπιόν.
6 ib. 1882 vi. 497 no. 15, 3 f. Ἀγνὴ Αφροδίτη Ἀταργάτες καὶ Ἀδάδων, 498 f. no. 18, 1 f. Ἀταργάτες | [Ἀγνὴ θεῖα, 499 no. 19, 1 Ἀγνὴ θεῖα Ἀταργάτες], 500 f. no. 74, 3 τῶν Ἡλίου καὶ τῆς Ἀγνῆς θεᾶς, τῆς Ἀγνῆς θεᾶς (where Adad is assimilated to Helios).
8 The name Ba‘albek means 'Lord of the Beka,' i.e. of the fertile valley between Libanos and Antilibanos. My friend Prof. F. C. Burkitt kindly informs me that the word Beka itself is of unknown significance. He adds that the name Ba‘albek occurs c. 400 A.D. in the 'Exploits of Mar Rabhûla' p. 196, last line (infra p. 555), and even before 340 A.D. in Eusebïos Theophania 2. 14—a work existant only in the ancient Syriac translation (Brit. Mus. Add. 11150: the MS. is dated 411 A.D.). The passage in question, containing the earliest mention of Ba‘albek, is thus translated by S. Lee (Eusebius Bishop of Cesarea on the Theophania Cambridge 1843 p. 74): 'And, that such were the things which they did, when assimilating themselves to their Deities, we can readily shew from this, that the Phencians our neighbours, as we ourselves have seen, are busied with these things, even now, in Baalbeck: the ancient injurious excesses and corrupting paths of vice, being persevered in there, even to this time: so, that the women there enter not into the bands of lawful marriage, until they have been first corrupted in a way contrary to law, and have been made to partake in the lawless services of the mysteries of Venus.'
Cp. infra p. 554 n. 4.
10 Infra pp. 552, 572 ff.
Zeus Adados and Jupiter Heliopolitanus 551
came from Rome to Ba'albek, Adad found his way from Ba'albek to Rome. In the grove of Furrina on the east side of the Ianiculum several foreign deities were worshipped. Here an altar has recently come to light bearing the three-fold inscription 'to the god Adados,' 'to the god Adados of Libanos,' and 'to the god Adados of the Mountain-top.' These titles perhaps indicate the growing tendency to equate Adad with Zeus the mountain-god rather than with Helios. Indeed, the Romans in general spoke of him as Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Antoninus Pius (138–161 A.D.) began and his successors down to Caracalla (211–217 A.D.) helped to complete on the akropolis of Ba'albek a sumptuous complex of buildings, which included temples of Jupiter and Bacchus. Of these we shall have more to say. For the moment we are concerned to note that, starting from this great cult-centre, the worship of Jupiter Heliopolitanus travelled far afield. He is mentioned, for example, in inscriptions from Athens, from Aquincum, Carnuntum and Siscia in Pannonia, from the Latovici on the borders of Venetia, from Puteoli, the Portus Romanus and Rome itself, from

1 A Phoenician dedication 'to the Baal of Libanon, his Lord' has been found in Kypros (Corp. inscr. Sem. no. 5, W. W. Baudissin Adonis und Esmun Leipzig 1911 pp. 37, 66).

2 P. Gaukler in the Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1907 p. 144 ff., C. Clermont-Ganneau Recueil d'Archeologie Orientale Paris 1907 viii. 51, R. Dussaud in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 2161, 2163. The altar is of white marble, 0'25 m. high: the inscription on its front is unfinished—\( \text{Θῳ \ ΑΔΑ \ ΑΔΩ | ΑΝΕΟΣ (sic)} \); that on the right reads \( \text{Θῳ \ ΑΔΑ \ ΑΔΩ | (a carved patera) | ΛΙΒΑΝΕΩΣΙΣ; that on the left \( \text{Θῳ \ ΑΔΑ \ ΑΔΩ | (a carved euer) | ΑΚΡΟΠΟΙΕΙΤΗ.} \)

3 Io. Malal. chron. ii p. 380 Dindorf 'Πήλιος Αντωνίου Πίου...διτινείσ ἐν Ἰλιουσίας τὴν Φαρίκης τῷ Λιβανίῳ ναὸν τῷ Διό μέγαν, ἔνα καὶ αὐτὸν δοτὰ τῶν θεομάτων.

4 Corp. inscr. Lat. iii Suppl. no. 7280 = Dessau Inscri. Lat. sel. no. 4284 [I. o. m.] m. et Vejeni et | Mercurio | Heliopolit[i]janis.

5 Corp. inscr. Lat. iii n. 3462 (ep. iii Suppl. no. 13366) = Dessau Inscri. Lat. sel. no. 4197 I. o. m. | Dalceno | Heliopolitan.

6 Corp. inscr. Lat. iii Suppl. nos. 11139, 11138 = Dessau Inscri. Lat. sel. nos. 4185 [I.] o. m. H. | Veneri | Victrici, 4186 I. o. m. | Heliopolitan.

7 Corp. inscr. Lat. iii no. 3955 = Dessau Inscri. Lat. sel. no. 4193 I. o. m. | Heliopolitan.

8 Corp. inscr. Lat. iii no. 3908 = Dessau Inscri. Lat. sel. no. 4266 I. o. m. D. | et I. o. m. H.

9 Am. Journ. Arch. 1898 ii. 374 no. 2 = Dessau Inscri. Lat. sel. no. 4289 [ex] issu I. o. m. Heliopolitan[i], Corp. inscr. Lat. x no. 1578 (ep. ib. no. 1579) = Dessau Inscri. Lat. sel. no. 4190 ex issu I. o. m. He[i]opolitani (ep. ib. no. 4191).

10 Corp. inscr. Lat. xiv no. 24 = Dessau Inscri. Lat. sel. no. 4294 I. o. m. | Angelo | Heliop. See infra p. 567 n. 5.

11 Corp. inscr. Lat. vi nos. 420, 423, 421 = Dessau Inscri. Lat. sel. nos. 398 I. o. m. | Heliopolitan (\( \text{Κομμαδῖος} | \text{Ἀθηὸς Μα[ντίων] | \text{Ἄρτευρος} | \text{ἄσπιος (τῆς) | οἰκου-μα[ντής]} | \text{Imp. Caes. M. Aurelio Commodo | Antonino Pio (Felici Aug.) | Sarm. Germanic[o], 4287 (altar shewing relief of a goddess with mural crown, who holds rudder}
Massilia\(^1\) and Nemausus\(^2\) in Gaul, even from Magna in Britain (\textit{i.e.} Carvoran on the wall built by Hadrian)\(^5\).

As to the character and ritual of the cult thus propagated an interesting account is given by Macrobius\(^4\) (c. 400 A.D.):

"The Assyrians too worship the sun under the name of Jupiter, Zeus Heliopolis as they call him, with important rites in the city of Heliopolis. The image of the god was taken from a town in Egypt\(^6\), which is likewise named Heliopolis, in the days of Senemusir or Senepos king of the Egyptians, and was conveyed to its destination first by Opias, legate of Deleboris king of the Assyrians, and by Egyptian priests, the chief of whom was Partematis. After being kept for long by the Assyrians, it subsequently reached Heliopolis. Why this was done, and how, starting from Egypt, it came to be where it now is, an object worshipped with Assyrian rather than Egyptian rites, I refrain from saying, since it has nothing to do with the matter in hand. But that this divinity is at once Jupiter and the sun is manifest both from the nature of its ritual and from its outward appearance. It is in fact a golden statue of beardless aspect, standing like a charioteer with a whip in its raised right hand, a thunderbolt and corn-ears in its left—attributes which all indicate the combined power of Jupiter and the sun.

"In the cult attaching to this temple divination is a strong point; and divination is regarded as the prerogative of Apollo, who is to be identified with the sun. The image of the god of Heliopolis is carried on a litter resembling those used for the images of the gods at the procession of the Circus Games. It is usually borne by the chief men of the district. They shave their heads, purify themselves by a prolonged period of chastity, and are moved by the divine spirit, carrying the litter not according to their own inclination but where the god impels them to go\(^6\); just as at Antium we see the images of the Fortuna move forwards to deliver their responses. Persons at a distance also consult this god, sending documents folded and sealed: he replies in order to the contents about which they express a wish to consult him. Thus, when the emperor Trajan was going to lead an army from that district into Parthia, certain friends of his, devout men whose faith in this deity was based on convincing proofs, advised him to consult the oracle about the issue of his enterprise. Acting with Roman prudence, he first tested its trustworthiness, to make sure that human guile had no hand in the matter. He began by sending a sealed letter, to which he desired a written reply. The god bade paper be brought, in right hand, cornu copiae in left, and stands between two lions) I. o. m. H. | conservatori | imperii | d. n. Gordiani | Pii fel. invicti Aug., 4292 I. o. m. H. Aug. | sacr., Genio Forinarum | et cultoribus huius | loci, 2546 I. o. m. Heliopolitano. Of these inscriptions the first three probably came from the sanctuary on the Ianiculum (\textit{supra} p. 531).

\(^{1}\) \textit{Corp. inscr. Lat.} xii. no. 404 = Dessa\textit{u Inschr. Lat. sel.} no. 4293 Iovi o. m. H. prop. (\textit{Propitio?} Froehner, \textit{Propitio?} vel \textit{Propagatori?} Hirschfeld).

\(^{2}\) \textit{Corp. inscr. Lat.} xii. no. 3072 = Dessa\textit{u Inschr. Lat. sel.} no. 4288 I. o. m. Heliopolitán, | et Nemaus (on the left of this stone is the relief described and figured \textit{infra} p. 360; on the right a shield and a dagger? are carved; on the base is a sacred \textit{cista}).

\(^{3}\) \textit{Corp. inscr. Lat.} vii. no. 752 I. o. m. | Heliopolit\(1\), \textit{cp. ibi} no. 753 I. o. m.

\(^{4}\) Macrobius, \textit{Sat.} 1. 23. 10—10.

\(^{5}\) \textit{Cp. supra} p. 357.
sealed, and sent off, with nothing written on it. The priests, ignorant of the real circumstances of the correspondence, were fairly amazed at this action. Trajan, on receiving his answer, was deeply impressed; for he himself had sent a blank sheet to the god. He then wrote and sealed another letter, in which he asked whether he would return to Rome when the war was over. The god thereupon ordered that a centurion’s vine-staff, one of the offerings dedicated in his temple, should be brought, broken into bits, wrapped in a handkerchief, and taken to him forthwith. The issue of the thing became clear when Trajan died and his bones were brought back to Rome. For the appearance of his remains was indicated by the broken pieces, and the time of his approaching death by the fact that it was a vine.

To prevent my argument from ranging through a whole list of divinities, I will explain what the Assyrians believe concerning the power of the sun. They have given the name Adad to the god whom they venerate as highest and greatest. The name is interpreted to mean “One One.” Him therefore they adore as a god mighty above all others. But with him they associate a goddess called Adargatis. To these two they ascribe all power over the universe, understanding them to be the sun and the earth. They do not mark the subdivision of their power into this, that, and the other sphere by means of numerous names, but prefer to show forth the manifold glory of the double deity by the attributes with which they are adorned. These attributes of themselves proclaim a solar character. The image of Adad is seen conspicuous with rays slanting downwards, which shows that the force of the sky consists in the sunbeams sent down to the earth. The image of Adargatis is conspicuous with rays turned upwards, to show that whatever the earth produces springs from the force of the beams sent up on high. Beneath this same image are the forms of lions, showing that it stands for the earth; just as the Phrygians represent the Mother of the gods, that is the earth, carried by lions.

It might be inferred from Macrobius’ account that the deities worshipped at Ba’albek were Adad and Atargatis. It is, however,

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1 That is, the centurion’s vine showed that Trajan would die in the course of the campaign (117 A.D.), it being a mark of military authority.

2 Clearly Zeus Heliopolitanus is meant: see W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1987, 41 ff.

3 Opinions are divided as to the value of this interpretation (W. Drexler ib. i. 1987 f., E. Meyer ib. i. 3900 f.). My friend, the Rev. Dr C. H. W. Johns, Master of St Catharine’s College, Cambridge, informs me that Macrobius, who is taking Adad to be a reduplicated form of atiu, the Assyrian, Syriac, and Hebrew word for ‘one,’ is certainly wrong. The name must be connected with the verb atiu, which had two distinct meanings, viz. (1) ‘to be sharp, keen, pointed,’ and (2) ‘to love.’ If we associate Adad with the first atiu, the reference may be to his piercing weapon, the thunderbolt; if with the second atiu, we may compare the forms atiu, dadiu, and such names as David and Dido, which properly denote ‘the Beloved One.’ R. Dussaud in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 2157 says: ‘Der Charakter des Gottes berechtigt die Annaherung mit dem arabischen haddu, “zerbrechen, krachen.” See further A. Jeremias in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 23.

4 On Atargatis see F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1866, E. Meyer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 650 ff.

5 Bundles of rays resembling wings start from the shoulders of various Assyrian deities, e.g. Samša the sun-god (Ohnefalsch-Richter Kypros p. 181 f. pl. 84, 3—7, G. Maspero The Dawn of Civilization London 1901 p. 656, M. Jastrow Bildermappe zur Religion Babylonien und Assyriens Giessen 1912 p. 100 pl. 48 ff. nos. 170 ff.).
probable that another Syrian god, Seimios by name, received joint honours with them; for inscriptions attest a Heliopolitan triad Latinised as Jupiter, Venus, and Mercurius.

_Ba'albek_, the seat of this remarkable cult, has seen many changes. Of its Syrian, Greek, and Roman phases we have already spoken. It remains to sketch its subsequent history and to indicate the present condition of its ruins.

Heliopolis was for long a battle-ground of paganism and Christianity. Of this great struggle we get but intermittent glimpses. In 297 A.D. Gelasinus the mime was suddenly converted while in the very act of parading the Christian rite of baptism: he at once made a profession of his faith, and was thereupon dragged out of the theatre by the enraged audience and stoned to death. Later, Constantine the Great (306–337 A.D.) destroyed the temple of Aphrodite, instituted a Christian church in its stead, and abolished by law the ancient local custom of prostituting before and even after wedlock. The pagans were furious and retaliated by prostituting the Christian virgins and heaping upon them the most infamous tortures. About the same time the people seized the deacon Kyrrilos, who had defaced many of their idols, did him to death and—if we may believe Theodoret—ripped him up and got their teeth into his liver.

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2 On the ugly connotation of the words μύηος, μυᾶς in the Hellenistic east see I. Bloch Die Ptoleianische Geschichte Berlin 1912 i 597.


6 Theodoret. eccl. hist. 3. 7.
Heathenism was for a while triumphant. But in 379 A.D. Theodosius finally demolished the great temple of Zeus and built a Christian church upon its site. Even so religious rioting was not ended. About 400 A.D. Rabbula, the future bishop of Edessa, went with his friend Eusebius to Baalbek 'in order to obtain the crown of martyrdom by raising a disturbance in the great Temple—somewhat after the fashion of the late Mr. Kensit. But the crown of martyrdom was not destined for Rabbula, and the two enthusiasts only succeeded in getting themselves thrown down the temple steps.' According to Michael the Syrian, the 'great and famous idol' of Baalbek was still to be seen in the time of Justin II (565-578 A.D.)

Baalbek passed into Mohammedan hands in 634 A.D., and was subject to Arab rule till 1517, when the Turks gained possession of Syria. The akropolis with its ruined temples was early transformed into a strong citadel, the Kalada, which still stands much as it stood at the close of the thirteenth century with walls and towers, ports and loop-holes, in a wonderful state of preservation.

'No ruins of antiquity,' says Mr W. B. Donne, 'have attracted more attention than those of Heliopolis, or been more frequently or accurately measured and described. They were visited by

1 Id. ib. 4. 22.
2 It had been already overthrown by earthquakes (O. Puchstein in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1901 xvi. 138, id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Baalbek Berlin 1905 p. 5).
3 Io. Malal. chron. 13 p. 344 Dindorf ου τε καταστρέφειεν έσεν λάφων πάνας κατέστρεψεν έσεν θεοί λάφων πάνας κατέστρεψεν καὶ το ιερόν Πλατὺτος τό μέγα και τό θεόν τό λατόν τούς κατέστρεψεν καὶ τό ιερόν Πλατὺτος τό μέγα και τό θεόν τό λατόν κατέστρεψεν καὶ τό ιερόν Πλατὺτος τό μέγα και τό θεόν τό λα
tóς κατέστρεψεν καὶ τό ιερόν Πλατὺτος τό μέγα και τό θεόν τό λατόν κατέστρεψεν καὶ τό ιερόν Πλατὺτος τό μέγα και τό θεόν τό λατόν κατέστρεψεν καὶ τό ιερόν Πλατὺτος τό μέγα και τό θεόν τό λατόν κατέστρεψεν καὶ τό ιερόν Πλατὺτος τό μέγα και τό θεόν τό λατόν κατέστρεψεν καὶ τό ιερόν Πλατὺτος τό μέγα και τό θεόν τό λατόν κατέστρε

Various attempts have been made to connect the word Baalbek with the name Babylu with the note by J. Markland in Dindorf's ed. of the Chronicon Paschale ii. 394 ff., M. A. Levy Phönizische Studien Breslau 1856 i. 32 n. 1, and F. X. Kortleitner De polytheismo universo Oeniponte 1908 p. 203). But Prof. F. C. Burkitt and Mr N. McLean both assure me that they are highly improbable, and independently suggest that we have here the Greek βαλανίων, which appears in Syriac as bālinā (cp. S. A. Cook A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions Cambridge 1898 p. 30). This is the more likely because in Christian times one of the lustration-basins in the precinct at Baalbek was actually transformed into a swimming-bath (infra p. 559 n. 3).


The Bull and the Sun in Syria

Thevet in 1550; by Pococke in 1739–40; by Maundrell in 1745; by Wood and Dawkins in 1751; by Volney in 1785; and by many subsequent travellers, including the Duke of Ragusa, in 1834. Nevertheless, despite the good work done by these explorers, several problems still awaited solution. Fortunately a visit of the German emperor and empress on Nov. 1, 1898, led to a further and in many respects final exploration of the site (1900–1904) by O. Puchstein and a band of able associates. The results obtained by them may be here summarised.

The Propyläion in accordance with an ancient oriental scheme consisted of two towers united by a colonnade, and was approached by a broad flight of steps. The steps have disappeared; but much of the two-storeyed towers and at least the bases of the twelve columns remain, three of these bearing Latin inscriptions, which tell how Longinus, a life-guard of the first Parthian legion, and Septimius, an imperial freedman, in gratitude for the safety of Caracalla adorned their capitals with a sheathing of gilded bronze.

Immediately behind the Propyläion lies a hexagonal court, once surrounded by columns, of which scanty traces are left. The

1 W. B. Donne in Smith Dict. Geogr. i. 1037.
original intention of this court is not known. Certain Heliopolitan coins struck by Philippus Senior and his wife Otacilia (figs. 420, 421, 422) have been thought to represent a cypress-tree seen through the central gate-way of the Propylaion. If that were so, we might reasonably conjecture that the hexagonal court enclosed a sacred cypress-tree or cypress-grove. But the best-preserved specimens of these coins fully confirm the view advocated by Monsieur R. Dussaud that we have here a corn-ear (cp. infra fig. 427) rather than a cypress-tree. The god within held

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1 It was, perhaps in the fourth century A.D., transformed into a Christian church and roofed over for the purpose, its walls being then first pierced with windows (O. Puchstein Führer durch die Ruinen von Baalbek Berlin 1905 p. 13).


3 F. De Saulcy op. cit. p. 12 f. pl. 1, 5 Philippus Senior, with legend COLHELI | IO MH. Ib. p. 14 Otacilia, with the same legend.

4 F. Lajard Recherches sur le culte du cypres pyramidal Paris 1854 pp. 97 ff., 360 pl. 6, 5 Philippus Senior (Paris), with legend COLHELI | IO MH. Cp. Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 321 no. 6 Philippus Senior.

5 The tree is described as a cypress by Rasche Lex. Num. iv. 93, Suppl. ii. 1344 f., Eckhel Doctr. num. vet. iii. 335, F. Lajard op. cit. p. 97 ff., F. De Saulcy op. cit. pp. 13 ff., 403. Mionnet Descr. de méd. ant. v. 302 no. 123 wrongly took it to be a cedar. A cypress is the central object on other coppers of Heliopolis, which show two naked athletes seated on rocks and supporting an agonistic urn above it (F. Lajard op. cit. p. 100 Valerian, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. p. 295 pl. 36. 12 Gallienus).

Cypress-trees are not often associated with Zeus. But the temple of Zeus Nemeios at Nemea stood in a cypress-grove (Paus. 2. 15. 2) and the shrines used by the mysteries of Zeus Idaios in Crete were roofed with cypress-wood (Eur. Cretes frag. 472 Nauck): cp. the coin of Ephesos (supra p. 134 fig. 100) and Hermippos frag. 24 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 42 Müller) op. Diog. Laert. 8. 10 ἔσείστω δὲ (μ. οἱ Πελαγόρειοι) καὶ ὄροι κυπαρισσίου διὰ τοῦ Διότ αὐτῷ ἐσείστω πεντάεις, Iambl. v. Pyth. 155 κυπαρισσίας δὲ μὴ δὲιν κατασκευάζειν ὄσφος (ἰς. ὄσφος) ὑπαγόμενε διὰ τοῦ κυπαρισσίου γεγονότα τοῦ τοῦ Διότ οἰκῆς ἢ δὲ ἄλλο ὅπου μούσακι λόγον.

6 T. L. Donaldson Architcutura numismatica London 1859 p. 123 fig. 34.

7 R. Dussaud Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1905 p. 92 ff.
corn-ears in his hand. Is it possible that his fore-court contained a patch of sacred corn?  

Beyond the hexagon was a large square court with Corinthian porticoes on three sides of it, but never finished on the fourth. The bases and capitals of the columns were of limestone; their shafts of red Egyptian granite—monoliths 708 metres in height and finely polished. Numerous fragments of the richly decorated entablature still strew the ground. This court was flanked by apsidal niches and rectangular recesses; and beneath the floor was a vaulted souterrain. In the middle of the court was the great altar of burnt offering, now sunk in the floor of the later Christian basilica. To right and left of the altar was an oblong reservoir for lustration-water, adorned with a mosaic floor, above which rose a circular baldachin presumably covering a fountain-statue. The whole court,

![Image of a temple]

Fig. 423.

as inscriptions attest, was set out with bronze portraits of the imperial family (Sabina the daughter of Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Gordian, etc.) and of other prominent persons (such as the officer Velius Rufus), all dedicated by colonists in Heliopolis.

1 Cp. the rites of Adonis as described by the schol. Theok. 15. 112 εἴσφασι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἀδωνίοις πυρόν καὶ κρατῆσαι σπέρμα ἐν τοίς προσεκτοῖς (ποσεκτοῖς G. Hermann, γαστρίοις Bast) καὶ τοὺς φθεοθέτας κήρου Ἀδωνίους προσαγωρεῖν. The Αγορύρης of Philon Bybl. frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 567 Muller) appears to be Adad viewed as an agricultural god (R. Dussaud in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 56).


3 The basilica was in all probability the church built by Theodosios (supra p. 555). It was originally entered at the eastern end, therein resembling the temple of Zeus, which it was designed to supersede. At some later date its entrance was shifted to the western end, that it might conform to the usual arrangement of a Christian church, while the southern lustration-reservoir was modified into a piscina or swimming-bath connected with it (supra p. 555 n. 3).
At the western end of the altar-court rose the temple of Zeus\(^1\) (fig. 423). An imposing stylobate, some 7 metres higher than the level of the court, was mounted by means of a broad flight of steps. The temple-platform, exclusive of the steps, measured 4770 metres in width by 87.75 metres in length. Round it stood a single row of unfluted Corinthian columns. Ten of these were visible at either end and nineteen down each of the long sides. Six of them on the

\[\text{\small \(1\) O. Puchstein in the} \textit{Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1902 xvi. 91 ff., \textit{id. Führer} \textit{durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek} \textit{Berlin 1905 p. 31 f., O. Puchstein \& T. von Lüpke \textit{Ba'albek} \textit{Berlin 1910} pl. 14b, 16, 17.}\]
Zeus Adados and Jupiter Heliopolitanus

south still carry their entablature (fig. 424). The naos itself, except for sundry patches of a cement-paving, has entirely disappeared. And its foundation-walls are so imperfectly preserved that at present it has not been found possible to reconstruct the complete ground-plan with certainty. It is, however, clear that the temple was pseudodipteral, i.e. that in lieu of an inner row of columns it had a very broad pteron or ambulatory. The whole building is shown in perspective on coins of Septimius Severus, his wife Iulia Domna, Caracalla, Philippus Senior, and Otacilia (figs. 425, 426, 427). It

1 O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke op. cit. pl. 17. In the background appears the snowcapped range of Libanos; in the foreground, the lowest course of the temple-terrace—gigantic blocks 4'12" high, 3'12" thick, and 9'50" long.
2 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. pp. lxxvii, 290 pl. 36. 2 Septimius Severus, with legend IOMH | COLHEL, Iovi Optimo Maximo Heliopolitano | Coloniae Heliopolis. 1b. p. 291 Iulia Domna, 293 Philippus Senior, with the same legend.
3 F. De Saulcy Numismatique de la terre sainte Paris 1874 p. 8 f. pl. 1, 3 Septimius Severus, p. 9 Iulia Domna, p. 10 Caracalla, p. 14 Otacilia, all with the same legend.
4 R. Dussaud Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1905 p. 94 f. fig. 23.
was supported on three sides—north, west, and south—by a terrace\(^1\) consisting of a huge outer wall and a filling of massive stones. The construction of this outer wall was no light task, even for the all-daring engineers of Rome. A strong foundation of headers and stretchers was topped by a podium of colossal blocks. The lowest visible course was designed to exhibit a moulded base, though the moulding was never completed. On this rested the main face of the podium (fig. 428)\(^3\). At the western end it was formed by three gigantic monoliths, each 4'34 metres high by 3'65 metres deep, and respectively 19'10, 19'20, and 19'56 metres long\(^2\). These enormous


\(^{2}\) Fig. 428 is reproduced from a drawing by D. Krencker in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 93. It shows a section through the temple of Zeus from north to south. The extant portions of the terrace-wall to right (N.) and left (S.) of the temple are hatched; the original profile of the terrace is indicated by a dotted line.

\(^{3}\) The dimensions are given by Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.* p. 9 as 4\text{m} high and 19'45\text{m}, 19'31\text{m}, 19'52\text{m} long.
blocks were fitted together with astonishing precision (fig. 429)\(^1\), and, as R. Wood pointed out\(^2\), earned for the temple that towered above them the popular name of the *Trilithon*\(^3\). The unknown architect dreamed of employing an even vaster block; for in the neighbouring quarry lies half-finished a stone, which measures at one end some 4'30, at the other some 5'30, metres square and

attains a length of 21'72 metres (fig. 430)\(^4\). Greeks and Romans alike seem to have argued that, the greater the god, the more grandiose must be his dwelling place\(^5\). And Zeus as lord of all

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\(^1\) O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii pl. 6.

\(^2\) R. Wood *The ruins of Bعل, otherwise Heliopolis in Coelosyria London* 1757 p. 12.

\(^3\) *Supra* p. 555 n. 3. A parallel is furnished by the fourth temple of Apollon at Delphi, that built by Trophonios and Agamedes (Paus. 10. 5. 13), which was called το άδυτον ἐκ πέτρες λίθων (Steph. Byz. l.c. Δελφοί). It was the temple of epic times, the λίθος οδύται (II. 9. 404 f., Od. 8. 75 ff.), and its foundations are expressly said to have been 'broad and very long' (*H. Ap. 294 ff.*).

\(^4\) O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Ba'albek Berlin* 1910 pl. 28. *Durm Baukunst d. Röm.* p. 9 f. figs. 4 f. states that it measures 21'35\(^m\) in length, 4'33\(^m\) and 4'40\(^m\) in height and breadth, and gives details as to the method of quarrying. The big stone, which would have weighed over 1200 tons, is locally known as the Ḥadlar el ḥibla (O. Puchstein *Führer durch die Ruinen von Baalbek Berlin* 1905 p. 6 f.).

\(^5\) On colossal statues etc. as a means of literally 'magnifying' the god see *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 270 f.
demanded a supreme effort. But here, as in the case of the abandoned temple at Agrigentum\(^1\), men were attempting

\textit{The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard.}^1

Adjoining the great temple of Zeus was a second sacred edifice (fig. 431),\(^2\) smaller indeed but throughout more richly decorated and now standing in a far better state of preservation. Approached by a fine flight of 33 steps and raised on a stylobate 475 metres high, it is a peripteral temple with eight Corinthian columns on the short and fifteen on the long sides. These columns are unfluted, but those of the \textit{prónaos} and the engaged columns of the interior are fluted. The roof of the \textit{pterón}, the door-way of the \textit{naós}, the inner surface of the walls, are all exquisite examples of Roman architecture. But perhaps the most interesting feature is an \textit{άδυτον}

at the west end of the building. Nine steps led up to the chancel, which was divided by half-columns into a central sanctuary and two wings. On the right a door gave access to a crypt, consisting of two vaulted chambers, below the \textit{άδυτον}-floor. On the left seven stairs led up to a side-chamber, in which stood a table for offerings. In the middle, between the half-columns, a broader flight of seven steps formed the approach to an elaborate baldachin, beneath which, protected by screens, stood the actual cult-image. But of what deity? Since the door-way has on the under surface of its lintel an eagle grasping a winged \textit{caduceus} between garland-bearing \textit{Érotes} (fig. 432),\(^3\) it used to be assumed that this was the temple of Zeus,

\(^1\) Durm \textit{Baukunst d. Gr.} p. 401 ff. figs. 369—372.


\(^3\) R. Wood \textit{The ruins of Balbek, otherwise Heliopolis in Coele-Syria} London 1757 pl. 34., K. H. Frauberger \textit{Die Akropolis von Balbek} Frankfurt a. M. 1892 pl. 16.
the larger building being then regarded as that of Helios. But the
coins figured above\(^1\) make it certain that the larger building was
the temple of Zeus; and the relief of the eagle carrying a *caduceus*,
which occurs on other Syrian lintels, *viz.* on two of the precinct-
gates of Baitokaike (*Hôṣn Sulaimân*)\(^2\), is in all probability an
apotropaic sign combining the solar eagle\(^3\) with the *caduceus* of
Hermes the gate-keeper. Better evidence is to be found in other
parts of the temple-sculpture. The door-frame is embellished with
bunches of corn and poppies and a string of vine-leaves and ivy.
Low down on the left may be seen the infant Dionysos suckled by
a nymph, with Pan, Satyrs, and Bacchants arranged above him;
on the right, Erotes hard at work vintaging. The *prônaos* has also

an unfinished frieze, which represents a procession of twelve persons,
headed by Nike, leading an ox and a fat-tailed sheep to sacrifice
at an altar: of these persons one carries a roll of carpet, another a
basket, a third a *kîste*. More convincing still is the adornment of the
*ddyton*. One of the landings leading up to it is decorated with
three dancing Bacchants. The baldachin on either side of the
steps had reliefs, which can still be in part at least made out. On

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1 *Supra* p. 361 figs. 425—427.
3 *Zeus Baitokaike* (*Corp. inscr. Gr. iii no. 4474, 20 Δίος Βαίτοκαίκης* or *Βαίτοκαίκης* [ib. no. 4475, Ἰ θεός Βαίτοκαίκης]) was the Grecised form of the Baal worshipped at Baitokaike near Apameia on the Orontes. The property and privileges granted to his temple by one of the kings named Antiochus were increased by Augustus and confirmed (between 253 and 259 A.D.) by Valerian, his son Gallienus, and his grandson Saloninus (*Corp. inscr. Gr. iii no. 4474 = Corp. inscr. Lat. iii no. 184 and p. 972, Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 262*). The inhabitants of Baitokaike described themselves as of *kôrōs* ("tenants") *dûgov *Οὐράνιον Δίος (ib.). See further F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa. *Real-Enc.* ii. 2779.
4 Cp. for a Phoenician example *supra* p. 206 fig. 150.
the left Dionysos leans against a vine with Ariadne beside him and his thiasos grouped around. On the right the same deity as a child is seated on a pantheress, danced about by Bacchants and Maenads. It can hardly be doubted that the temple as a whole was that of Dionysos, who at Heliopolis as elsewhere was worshipped side by side with Zeus.

We have yet to notice a remarkable and much-canvassed coin-type of Philippus Senior (figs. 433, 434). On a rocky eminence covered with shrubs rises a large temple with a flight of many steps leading up to it, and what looks like a terrace-wall beside it. Between the steps and the temple is an altar, and near by stands a vase. The precinct-wall encloses a considerable space to the left of the temple; and in the field beyond this space is a caduceus. Now the Germans have shown that the temple of Dionysos was later than the temple of Zeus and belonged to the same period as the Propylaion, which they hold to have been constructed c. 200 A.D. Since, however, the capitals of the Propylaion were still being decorated in the reign of Caracalla (211-217 A.D.), it is very possible that the new buildings were not finished till the time of Philippus Senior (244-249 A.D.). If so, it is open to us to suppose that certain coins issued by this emperor—himself an Arab of Trachonitis—represented the akropolis as it looked before the recent building-operations, whilst others struck in the names of the emperor and his wife displayed the new Propylaion in all its

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1 F. De Sauley Numismatique de la terre sainte Paris 1874 p. 13 pl. 1, 4, with legend COLIVLAVG | FELHEL (cp. supra p. 558 n. 3).
2 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. p. 293 no. 19 (vase in precinct, caduceus in field) pl. 36, 7, cp. p. 293 no. 19 (vase in field, caduceus in precinct).
3 O. Puchstein Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek Berlin 1905 p. 33.
4 Supra p. 556.
6 Another possible explanation of the type would be to say that the die-sinker, in order to simplify his design, bodily omitted the Propylaion and the temple of Dionysos.
Jupiter *Heliopolitanus* and the Bull

Thus far we have not found the Heliopolitan god associated with bulls. But copies of his cult-image, recognised in recent years, make it certain that he stood with a bull on either hand. Of these copies the more important may be passed in review.

A *stèle* of local limestone, discovered in 1900 at *Deir el-Qala’a* by Prof. S. Ronzevalle of Beirut University, has a countersunk relief representing a god erect between two bulls (fig. 435)\(^8\). The dedication [I] O M H fixes the type as that of Jupiter *Heliopolitanus*. Moreover, the figure, though defaced, bears out in the main the description cited from Macrobius\(^9\). It is, in fact, a beardless

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1 *Supra* p. 558 figs. 420—422.
2 *Rasch Lex. Num.* iv. 93 (cp. Suppl. ii. 1345) assumes that it is a temple of Hermes. L. T. Donaldson *Architectura numismatica* London 1859 p. 126 ff. fig. 35 contends that it is the smaller temple, *i.e.* that which we now know to have been the temple of Dionysos. O. Puchstein *Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba’albek* Berlin 1905 p. 3 describes it as an unknown temple, possibly situated on the neighbouring height of Sheikh Abdallah.

W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 293 is content to regard it as the temple of Zeus. To this identification it might be objected that the akropolis is not really so high as the coin suggests. But the patriotic artist would tend to exaggerate his height, just as the patriotic poet calls the ‘waterless’ *Αναφορ* μέγας *θόα* (Theokr. 1. 68 with schol. ad loc. *Αναφορ* δε *θόα* τοι *θά* λόγον *καλον* καὶ *θυμου* εἶναι ἵκον τον). Besides, Adad was a mountain-god (*supra* p. 551).

3 *Supra* p. 559.
4 *Cp. supra* p. 565.
5 *Supra* p. 554. This association perhaps has some bearing on the remarkable title *Angulus* given to Jupiter *Heliopolitanus* (*supra* p. 551 n. 10). The remarks of G. Henzen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 135 ff., of G. Wolff in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1867 xxv. 55, and of E. Aust in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2189, are hardly adequate.
6 *Cp. supra* p. 559 f. fig. 88.
9 *Cp. supra* p. 561 figs. 425—437.
10 *Supra* p. 552.
charioteer with a whip in his raised right hand. He wears, however, a kalathos or ‘basket’ on his head, adorned with two tiers of ovate-lanceolate leaves. Two long tresses of hair fall over his shoulders.
A disk is suspended round his neck. The upper part of his body appears to be covered with scales. The lower part is encased in a sheath, which is carved with panels containing flowers of three or four petals apiece.

Another limestone stèle, found in 1752 in the basin of the famous fountain at Nîmes and now preserved in the Maison-Carrée, bears in front a joint-dedication to Jupiter Heliopolitanus and Nemausus. The latter god is symbolised on the right side of the stone by an oval shield and a cornix or Gallic trumpet. The former is represented on the left by his cult-image (fig. 436). On his head, which is beardless and faces the spectator, rests the kalathos, decorated with leaves and a string of jewels (?). His right hand clasps a whip, his left a bunch of corn. A collar of some sort hangs about his neck, and there are traces of two busts below it. The compartments of the sheath are filled with flowers of four and six petals each: one of these flowers is seen in profile.

1 Another limestone stèle from the same district repeats this design (S. Ronzevalle loc. cit. p. 454, R. Dussaud in the Rev. Arch. 1903 i. 348, 356, 359 = id. Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1903 pp. 30, 39, 42). It is badly preserved, but retains in the left hand a fragment of the bunch of corn, and perhaps of the thunderbolt too, mentioned by Macrobius (so Dussaud locc. cict.: Ronzevalle saw in it a fir-cone partially sunk in an oval support).

2 Corp. inscr. Lat. xii no. 3072 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4288 I. o. m. Heliopolitian. | et Nemausus | C. Iulius Tib. fil. Fab. | Tiberinus p. p., domo | Beryto, vōtum solvit (supra p. 552 n. 2) in letters belonging to the end of the second century. Cp. the inscription on the stèle from Beirut (supra p. 367 n. 8). The dedications of the two monuments were obviously related to one another.

3 Height of stèle 0'90m. F. Lenormant in the Gaz. Arch. 1876 ii. 78 ff. pl. 21 published the left-hand relief, but made serious mistakes about it, supposing that the god was bearded, that his head was in profile to the right, that he was accompanied by one lion instead of two bulls, etc. These blunders were suspected by Ronzevalle loc. cit. p. 444 f. and F. Studniczka in the Arch.-ep. Mitth. 1884 viii. 61. But for the first really accurate description of the stèle we are indebted to R. Dussaud in the Rev. Arch. 1903 i. 347; 353—355 fig. 13 = id. Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1903 pp. 30, 36—38 fig. 13.

4 Pliny in his list of precious stones includes 'Adad's kidney,' 'Adad's eye,' and
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on its stalk. On the sides of the case are two thunderbolts. And to right and left of the god are the remains of his bulls.

A third stèle, found at 'Ain-Djouch, a well-pool to the east of Ba'albek and published by O. Puchstein in 1902 (fig. 437), again shows the god standing with uplifted lash between two bulls. Immediately in front of him is a herm, attesting his intimate connexion with Hermes. To right and left of the monument is a bull with a winged thunderbolt above it. Adad, Zeus, and Jupiter could alike claim to be storm-gods.

Somewhat more elaborate is a stèle of white marble, which came to light at Marseille in 1838 and is now in the Musée Calvet at Avignon (pl. xxxiii). Round the neck of the god is a pendant

4 Adad's finger' (nat. hist. 37. 186 Adadu nephros sive renes, eiusdem oculus, digitus; deus et hic colitur a Syris).


2 Several little lead figures found by the peasants in this locality likewise represent the Heliopolitan Zeus with Hermes, also Dionysos, and Helios or his Syrian counterpart (O. Puchstein in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1902 xvii. 102).

3 Supra p. 553 n. 3, infra p. 576 ff.

4 Height 0'55 m. H. Bazin in the Rev. Arch. 1886 ii. 257 ff. pl. 26 published this relief as a Roman copy of Artemis Diktynea. P. Wolters in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1890 vi. 65 ff. fig. 14 was the first to detect in it Zeus Ηλιοςιόρης. But R. Dussaud in the Rev. Arch. 1903 i. 347, 350—353 fig. 11 = id. Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1903 pp. 30, 33—36 has contributed most to our understanding of its details. He points out that the neck-ornament is not composed of two dolphins (so Bondurand in the Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres Paris 1901 p. 863), but of the solar disk with its uraeus-snakes; that the herm does not rest on the lion's head and cannot therefore be the female consort of the god (so W. Gurlitt in the Arch.-ep. Mitt. 1891 xiv. 123), but is rather to be identified with some such god as Ba'al-Margad, 'Lord of the Dance'
Jupiter Heliopolitanus on a marble stèle from Marseille.

See page 570 ff.
composed of the solar disk with two uraeus-snakes. In the centre of his body-sheath appears a beardless herm wearing a kálathos; and below, a lion’s head representing the djinn, who bore the Grecised name Gennaíos. Of the six busts visible on either side of the herm, the upper two are Helios with a nimbus and Selene with a crescent, then a deity with a kálathos and a nude Hermes (?)

(Corp. inscr. Gr. iii no. 4536 = Kaibel Epigr. Gr. no. 835 Balmarcod, κάλαθε κόμων, cp. Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. t. 3176), Latinised as Jupiter Balmarcorides (Dessau Inschr. Lat. sed. no. 4327 Iovi Balmarcoridi, 4328 I. o. m. Balmarcodi), who is known to have been called Κώρος Γένναιος, Gennaicus Dominus (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 2784 f., vii. 1174, infra n. 2); and that the lower part of the relief closely resembles the base of a marble statuette from Byblos, now in the American College at Beirut, which shows the two bulls, the lion’s head, and three busts above it (Herkles?; a goddess? with veil; a goddess?)

1 On djinn > Gennaíos see R. Dussaud in the Rev. Arch. 1903 i. 374 n. 4; 381 n. 2 = id. Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1903 p. 57 n. 4, p. 64 n. 2, cp. ib. 1905 p. 85 f.

2 There was a lion-shaped image of Γένναιος in the temple of Zeus at Heliopolis (Damaskios v. Isidr. ap. Phot. bibl. p. 348 b 4 f. Bekker τοῦ δὲ Γενναίου Ἑλεοῦσαν τίμωσαν ἔν δῶρι ἱδρυμένοι μορφή τινα λέοντον. Infra ch. ii § 10 (a)). Baal-Marduk at Deir el-Qal’a was entitled Κώρος Γένναιος (Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sed. no. 589 [Κωρίες Γένναιος] Βασιλεὺς τοῦ καὶ Μάριου, καὶ διά Κεραυνοῦ Μάξασ | εἰχαρατον άνθήκεα) or Gennaicus Dominus (Corp. inschr. Lat. iii no. 6673 Gen(naeo) Domino [Balmorcodi] C. Vinne[...]). A Palmyrene god, presumably Malakbel (R. Dussaud in the Rev. Arch. 1903 i. 374 = id. Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1903 p. 57), is called Θεὸς Γένναιος (Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sed. no. 637 Θεὸς Γένναιος Πατρὸς Μάξασαν | καὶ Μάξασος τίμῃ αὐτῶν άνθήκεαν | ἐποίησε γι', μενῷ Δέστρου i.e. in March 193 a.d.). At Keff-Neb, twelve or thirteen hours’ ride from Aleppo, is a dedication of an oil-mill etc. to a triad of gods including one simply described as Δέστρον (V. Chapot in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1907 xxvi. 181 ff. no. 26 Σεμελ-forward and Λεωντίς θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ | θανάτου σῶν κατακεκαμένου πάθους Τ. K. — dated in the year 223 a.d.) and an inscription at Ny-Carlsberg of uncertain provenance (Leontopolis? cp. Strab. 812, Aith. de nat. an. 12. 7; or Heliopolis?) mentions the sanctuary of a god bearing the same name (Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sed. no. 732 Βασιλεὺς Πελεμένιος | θεῶς Εὐφανεία καὶ Εὐχαρίστεια καὶ Βασιλείας Κλοίοταρα | Αὐστραδότων, γραμματεύς | Ορυμβοῦν, ὁ καὶ τὸ ιερό τοῦ Δέστρου καὶ | τάλα τὰ προσκυνήματα | τῶν ιερῶν θυραμάν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν—to be dated after 193/2 b.c. but before 187/6 b.c.).

These leoine gods were solar (R. Dussaud Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1905 pp. 85 f., 91 f.), and G. F. Hill in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1911 xxi. 59 pl. 3, 8 has recognised as Γένναιος the lion that appears on coins of Berytos with a radiate head under Valerian (Rasche Lex. Num. i. 151, iv. 1579, cp. 1580) and with a globe on his head under Gallienus (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia pp. xlviii f., lxxx, 91 pl. 11, 6 = my fig. 438). A similar significance probably attached to the lion’s head with a ball, often radiate, emerging from its brow on early electrum coins struck in the time of Alyattes?, 610—561 b.c. (D. G. Hogarth Excavations at Ephesus London 1908 pp. 82 ff., 90 ff. pls. 1, 32—51, 2, 52—73, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia pp. xix, 1—4 pl. 1, 1—10, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 35 ff., 50 ff. pl. 2, 4—16, Head Hist. num. 2 p. 644 f.) fig. 439 is from a specimen in my collection.
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lastly a helmeted figure (Ares?) and a bearded god (Herakles?). The sides of the sheath are adorned with disks.

Minor works of art repeat the type with variations1. The bronze statuettes in particular add Egyptising details, which recall the belief that the cult-image at Heliopolis came from Egypt2.

A bronze in the Joanneum at Graz (fig. 440)3 has the kalathos ornamented with a globe and corn-ears. The wig and the small false beard beneath the chin4 are decidedly Egyptian in character.

1 For the coins (Neapolis in Samaria, Eleutheropolis and Nikopolis in Iudaea, Dion in Dekapolis) and gems see R. Dussaud in the Rev. Arch. 1903 i. 349, ii. 91 n. 4 = id. Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1903—1908 pp. 32, 67 n. 4. Of the coins listed by him the most interesting is that of Dion figured infra p. 590. Among the gems note a red jasper from the Montlezun collection at Paris, published by F. Lajard Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs et les monuments figurés de Venus Paris 1849 pl. 14 o. 5 (fig. 441: enlarged 1), which surrounds the god's head with a radiate nimbus.

2 Supra p. 550 n. 10 P. Perdrizet in the Rev. Arch. 1903 ii. 399—401 'Sur l'origine égyptienne de Jupiter Héliopolitain' argues in favour of accepting Macrobius' assertion. S. Reinach Cultes, Mythes et Religions Paris 1912 iv. 402—420 discusses the statue of an empress (?) as Isis or Isia Tyche found at Ba'albek.

3 W. Gurlitt in the Arch.-ep. Mitth. 1891 xiv. 120 ff., from whose article I have taken the cuts representing the front, side, and back of the statuette; Reinach Rep. Stat. iii. 8 nos. 4, 5.

4 R. Dussaud in the Rev. Arch. 1903 i. 356 ff. fig. 15 = id. Notes de mythologie
Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* and the Bull 573

The sheath is figured in front with three busts, Kronos above, Helios and Selene beneath; at the back with an eagle holding a wreath in its beak. Below the busts and the eagle are rosettes of six or seven petals apiece. And on either side of the sheath is a thunderbolt.

*Syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 39 ff. fig. 15 raises needless doubts (P. Perdrizet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 401).

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A bronze from the Hamilton collection, now in the British Museum (fig. 442 a, b), has again an Egyptian-looking wig, and a lotos-flower on the kálathos. Besides the usual busts etc. there is an eagle with spread wings on the back and a thunderbolt below each arm.

The finest examples of this type are two bronzes in the de Clercq collection at Paris, both obtained at Tortosa in 1868. One (fig. 443 a, b) shows the god wearing not only an Egyptian wig but also a rudimentary pschent like that often worn by Horos. Beneath his chin is a short tenon for the attachment of a false beard. The

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2 De Ridder Cat. Bronzes de la coll. de Clercq p. 143 ff. no. 218 pls. 35, 36, 2 f., R. Dussaud Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1905 p. 127 fig. 32.

Very similar is a bronze statuette from Kesf Djezzi near Byblos, which formerly belonged to J. Loeytved of Beirut and is now in the Berlin collection (C. Clermont-Ganneau Recueil d'archéologie orientale Paris 1905 vi. 78—81, 118 f. pl. 1, R. Dussaud op. cit. p. 125 ff. fig. 31 = my fig. 444). This too has Egyptising hair, a pschent, a small false beard, and numerous busts. J. Rouvier detected traces of gilding upon it.
whole coiffure is, in fact, Egyptian. The busts etc. on the sheath are exceptionally well preserved. In front at the top are Helios (?) and Selene, the former without rays round his head, the latter with a crescent between her breasts. Next come Kronos with his bill-hook and Zeus with his sceptre (?), Ares with helmet and lance, Aphrodite with sceptre and four-rayed star. Then follows a central panel showing Hermes in his winged pétasos. To right and left of him is a star with eight rays; and below him are two lion-heads. The sides of the figure are occupied by a couple of large winged thunderbolts. At the back between the shoulders is an eagle with spread wings grasping another bolt. Below this, two winged snakes knotted together and supporting or surrounding the solar disk. Finally, a series of five more busts—Poseidon with a trident; Demeter veiled and
sceptred; Athena with aigis, helmet, and lance; Artemis with quiver; Herakles with lion-skin and club.

The second statuette is simpler (fig. 445 a, b). The beardless head wears a bay-wreath and is surmounted by a kálatos, on which are leaves or possibly rays in low relief. The breast has a single bust, that of a rayed Helios; the back, an eagle with spread wings holding a bolt. Beneath the arms are two wingless bolts. The rest of the sheathing is covered with disks that have a central boss. The bronze is broken off below.

It is noticeable that no bulls are figured on any of these statuette. But it has been conjectured that bulls were originally associated with them; and the conjecture is confirmed by the fact that together with each of the Tortosa figures was found a bronze bull.

(γ) Adad or Ramman and the Bull.

Adad was connected with the bull long before he became known throughout the Greek and Roman world as the Zeus or Jupiter of Heliopolis. In the Babylonian and Assyrian religion Adad was also called Ramman, an epithet which, being the participle of the verb ramanu, 'to bellow or roar,' denotes properly 'the Bellowing or Roaring One.' Now Ramman is commonly represented on the cylinders as standing on the back of a bull (fig. 446) or as planting one foot on a bull. It may,

1 De Ridder Cat. Bronzes de la coll. de Clercq p. 145 f. no. 219 pls. 35, 36, 4; R. Dussaud ibid. p. 128 fig. 33.
2 This was the view of W. Gurlitt loc. cit. p. 115 n. 9 and of F. Studniczka in the Arch.-ep. Mitth. 1884 viii. 61.
3 De Ridder Cat. Bronzes de la coll. de Clercq p. 252 f. no. 353 (found with statuette no. 218: head turned slightly to right), id. ibid. p. 253 no. 352 (found with statuette no. 219: head turned slightly to left, and tufts of hair between the horns forming a sort of rosette).
5 It remains, however, possible that Adad and Ramman were at first locally distinct forms of the sky-god, Adad hailing from the west-country Amurrâ (supra p. 349 n. 4) and Ramman perhaps from Arabia (A. Jeremias loc. cit. p. 35). But?

8 The bull is sometimes winged, as in the rock-cut relief at Maltna (Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 48 fig. 5), sometimes unwinged, as on the ziggurat of Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.) from Sinjerli in north-west Syria now at Berlin (von Luschan Ausgrabungen in Sindaehtrli Berlin 1893 i. 11—43 pl. 1).

I figure a cylinder of sapphireine chalcedony from the ruins of Babylon, now in the
Adad or Ramman and the Bull

therefore¹, fairly be inferred that Adad, otherwise styled Ramman,—the Rimmon² or Hadadrīmmōn³ of the Old Testament,—was essentially related to the bull⁴. And, since a Susian deity obviously akin to Ramman is represented with bovine horns projecting from his head (fig. 447)⁵, it is probable that Adad or Ramman himself was sometimes at least conceived as a bull⁶.

But why was Adad regarded as a bull? The answer to this question depends of course upon the functions ascribed to the god. That he was a sky-god of some sort is certain. He was, often associated with the great astrological triad Sin, Šamaš, and Ištar.

Sin was undeniably a moon-god and Šamaš a sun-god, while Ištar had come to be identified with the planet Venus. Adad—to judge from his names Ramman, 'the Bellerow,' Birku, 'the Lightning,' and from his attribute the thunderbolt—was most unmistakably a storm-god. He is, however, constantly coupled with

Fig. 446.

Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (F. Lajard Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs, et les monuments figurés de Vénus Paris 1849 pl. 4, 11, W. H. Ward in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1899 iii. 8 fig. 6), on which Ramman has a horned head-dress and stands upon a reclining bull with Ištar before him and a worshipper between them.

¹ Supra p. 392.
² 2 Kings 5. 18.
³ Zech. 12. 11.
⁴ My friend the Rev. Dr C. H. W. Johns kindly tells me that the association of Ramman with the bull may involve a word-play, since rimu, 'a bull,' was popularly taken to mean 'the bellerow, the roarer.'
⁵ A. H. Layard The Monuments of Nineveh First Series London 1849 pl. 65.
Šamaš, and Macrobius unhesitatingly identifies him with the sun. Probably, then, Adad or Ramman was a storm-god, who in process of time was associated with Šamaš and ultimately viewed as himself also a sun-god. This aspect of his nature came more and more into prominence, till in the Graeco-Roman period he was worshipped throughout the Mediterranean fringe as the solar Zeus or Jupiter of Heliopolis. These two conceptions of storm-god and sun-god, which to our way of thinking seem so diametrically opposed, are in point of fact by no means incompatible. In many mythologies, says Dr Jastrow, 'the sun and lightning are regarded as correlated forces. At all events, the frequent association of Shamash and

Fig: 447.

3 Supra pp. 196 n. 6, 313 n. 8. Empedokles held that lightning consisted of solar rays caught in the clouds (Aristot. meteor. 2. 9. 369 b 12 f.): see E. Zeller A History of Greek Philosophy trans. S. F. Alleyn London 1881 ii. 158 n. 4, O. Gilbert Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums Leipzig 1907 p. 621 f.
Ramman cannot have been accidental. This double nature of Ramman—as a solar deity representing some particular phase of the sun that escapes us and as a storm-god—still peers through the inscription...from the Cassite period where Ramman is called "the lord of justice,"—an attribute peculiar to the sun-god; but in Assyria his rôle as the thunder- and storm-god overshadows any other attributes that he may have had. Such being the character of Adad or Ramman, it may be conjectured that the bull was considered a fitting vehicle for him, partly perhaps because its bellowing resembled the sound of thunder, but mainly because its generative powers recalled the fertilising effects of rain and sun.

Nor is this conjecture wholly unsupported by evidence. 'Ramman,' according to G. Maspero, 'embraced within him the elements of many very ancient genii, all of whom had been set over the atmosphere, and the phenomena which are daily displayed in it—wind, rain, and thunder. These genii...are usually represented as enormous birds flocking on their swift wings from below the horizon, and breathing flame or torrents of water upon the countries over which they hovered. The most terrible of them was Zu, who presided over tempests: he gathered the clouds together, causing them to burst in torrents of rain or hail; he let loose the winds and lightnings, and nothing remained standing where he had passed....Zu had as son a vigorous bull, which, pasturing in the meadows, scattered abundance and fertility around him.' Monsieur Maspero is here paraphrasing a Babylonian litany, which prescribes certain rites to be performed with an actual bull taken to represent a divine bull 'child of the god Zu.' This divine bull is described in the text as follows: 'The great bull, the noble bull that wanders over shining pasture-ground has come to the fields bringing abundance. O planter of the corn, who dost bless the land with richest plenty, my pure hands have made their offering before thee.' Prof. Jensen connects this bull with the constellation Taurus. But in any case it is invoked as a bringer of fertility.

The same group of ideas—storm-god, sun-god, fertilising bull—

2 G. Maspero op. cit. p. 628 f.
5 P. Jensen op. cit. p. 93.
gathers about another Mesopotamian deity, En-lil or Ellil, the Sumerian god of Nippur, bore a name which meant ‘Lord of the Storm.’ He was also addressed as the ‘Great Mountain.’ His temple at Nippur was known as E-Kur, the ‘Mountain-House’ — a term which became the general name for a sanctuary. And his consort Nin-lil, ‘Lady of the Storm,’ was described as Nin-khar-sag, ‘Lady of the High Mountain.’ Hence it has been inferred that he came into the Euphrates valley from the mountainous region lying to the east or north-east (Elam). On entering the fertile plain, where agriculture owed so much to the sweeping rain-storm, he readily acquired the character of a god who fostered vegetation:

O Enil, Councillor, who can grasp thy power?
Endowed with strength, lord of the harvest lands!
Created in the mountains, lord of the grain fields!
Ruler of great strength, father Enil!
The powerful chief of the gods art thou,
The great creator and sustainer of life†!

Ninib, the ancient sun-god of Nippur, was affiliated to En-lil, and the two exercised a reciprocal influence over each other. Thus Ninib took on the traits of the storm-god, and En-lil became solar. In this double capacity En-lil was conceived as a mighty ox or bull with glittering horns. ‘An entire series of hymns and lamentations,’ writes Dr Jastrow,† is recognised as addressed to Enil from the opening words “the Bull to his sanctuary,” where the bull designates Enil. In a fragment of a hymn, Enil is described as

Crouching in the lands like a sturdy mountain bull,
Whose horns shine like the brilliance of the sun,
Full of splendour like Venus of the heavens.‡

In another composition the refrain reads, “A sturdy bull art thou.” When we see votive offerings with the figure of a bull, or representations of a crouching bull with a human face§, we are tempted to assert that they are symbols of Enil; and if this be so, further

2 Cuneiform Texts xv pl. 11 trans. M. Jastrow.
4 Langdon Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms no. 10, cp. pp. 85, 127, 277, etc.
5 H. C. Rawlinson A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Western Asia London 1891 iv p. 27, no. 2, Langdon op. cit. no. 18.
6 See L. Heuzey Catalogue des Antiquités Chaldéennes p. 269.
traces of the association between the god and the animal may be seen both in the colossal bulls which form a feature of Assyrian art and were placed at the entrance to temples and palaces, and in the bull as the decoration of columns in the architecture of the Persian period.\(^1\)

With the bulls of En-lil Dr Jastrow further compares the golden calf made by Aaron at the foot of Mount Sinai\(^3\) and the golden calves set up at Bethel and at Dan by Jeroboam\(^4\). The use of gold for these images was perhaps symbolic of the fiery deity whom they represented\(^4\). A magnificent thunderbolt of wood thickly overlaid with pure gold, and manifestly broken off from a cult-statue of Adad, has been found near his temple at Ashur\(^5\). And on the Berlin bronze of the Heliopolitan god\(^6\) J. Rouvier detected traces of gilding\(^7\).

The foregoing facts may serve to throw light on a dark passage in the magical papyrus at Paris:

"Zeus went up into the mountain with a golden calf and a silver knife. To all he gave a share. To Amara alone he gave none, but said: "Let go that which thou hast, and then thou shalt receive—ψινόθερον ἀψινόθερον θερμόποις."

"A. Dieterich\(^8\) supposed that this ascent of the mountain was a ceremony in the cult of Zeus Panámaros\(^9\), whose consort might have borne the uncompounded name Amára. E. Riess\(^10\) suggests that Amara was an otherwise unknown Egyptian deity\(^11\). I would rather infer from the mention of the golden calf and the mountain

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2. Ex. 32. 1 ff.
3. 1 Kings 12. 28 ff. See further the learned dissertation of S. Bochart Hierozicon rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1793 i. 339—375 ("De aureis Aaronis et Jeroboami Vitulis").
4. Cf. infra ch. i § 6 (g) xx (θ), ch. ii § 3 (c) iiii, ch. ii § 3 (c) iv (e).
5. W. Andrae Der Anu-Adad-Tempel in Assur Leipzig 1909 p. 77 f. pl. 34.
6. Supra p. 574 n. 2.
9. The catalistic formula with which this extract ends is found again in the Gnostic Pistis Sophia p. 375 Schwartzte ψινόθερον θερμόποις ψινόθερον ἀψινόθερον spoken by Jesus to His Father (F. Granger in the Class. Rev. 1911 xxvi. 191).
12. E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1726.
13. Id. ib. cites Corp. inscr. Gr. iii no. 4908 (Philai) 'Αμαρίων | µιµος. For a gilded cow in an Egyptian rite see Plout. de B. et On. 39 ψινόθερον θερμόποις καὶ µοῦν διάγκοις ἑμιτερ µέλαν µουσόν περιβλάβοος κεῖται πάντως τῆς θεοῦ δεκέεινος (µουσὸς γάρ ισόδος εἰκόνα καὶ γῆς νομίζων) κέπτερα εἰκόνα ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρτῶμεν ἑτὶ δεκά εἶξος.
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that we have here to do with a Grecised form of Adad, god of the Amorites. It may even be that the mysterious Amara was their mountain-goddess.

(Zeus (Adad) and Hera (Atargatis) at Hierapolis.

From Heliopolis in Koile Syria we pass northwards to Hierapolis in Kyrrhestike. This was an ancient Syrian town, originally called Mabog, but better known as Bambyke. Its name was changed to Hierapolis by Seleukos Nikator, the founder of the Syrian dynasty. The town was celebrated for its cult of the Syrian goddess Atargatis or Derketo, whom the Greeks identified with Rhea or Aphrodite or the Assyrian Hera.

A valuable account of her temple and cult is given by the pseudo-Lucian in an Ionic treatise On the Syrian goddess. The temple stood on a hill in the middle of the town, surrounded by two walls, one old, one recent. The Propylaea, or gateways of the precinct, faced the north and were some two hundred yards in length. The temple itself was an Ionic building raised twelve feet above the ground and so turned as to look towards the sunrise. The golden doors of its prōnaos gave access to a naós gilded throughout and fragrant with the perfumes of Arabia. Within this nave a short flight of steps led up to a thālamos or inner chamber, which was not closed by doors but visible to all, though only certain priests might enter it. Our author describes its contents in detail:

Here are seated the cult-statues, to wit Hera and Zeus, whom they call by a different name. Both are of gold, and both are seated; but Hera is carried

1 Mr. S. A. Cook, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Lecturer in Hebrew and Syriac, in a letter to me dated Nov. 21, 1911, hit upon the same solution, but only to reject it: 'Then the idea of the mountain-god suggested the Amurru, lord of the mountain, who is a storm- and thunder-god of the Ramman type. But his wife would be Ashirma, an Astarte figure, and it is a wild guess that a feminine of Amurru has been artificially formed here.'

2 Plin. nat. hist. 5. 81.

3 Ail. de nat. anim. 12. 2.

4 Strab. 748.


6 Loukian. op. cit. 15, ep. 32, Cornut. theol. 6 p. 6, 11 ff. Lang.


9 Loukian. ib. 28 μέγαθος βυσσον η ψυχον θραυσεων. Presumably μέγαθος here means μεγας, though the editors of Lucian take it to mean δρος, and certainly ib. 30 it bears the latter sense.

10 Cp. the internal arrangement of the temple of Dionysos at Ba'albek (supra p. 564).

11 Loukian. ib. 31 ff.
Zeus (Adad) at Hierapolis

by lions, while her partner is sitting upon bulls. Indeed, the statue of Zeus looks like Zeus in every respect, head, clothing, and throne: you could not, even perversely, compare him to another. But Hera, when you come to look at her, will be found to exhibit a variety of forms. The general effect is certainly that of Hera; but she has borrowed particular traits from a variety of goddesses—Athena, Aphrodite, Selene, Rhea, Artemis, Nemesis, and the Moirai. In one hand she holds a sceptre, in the other a spike; on her head she wears rays and a tower; and \(<\text{she has too}>\) a decorated band (kestos), with which they adorn none save the goddess of Heaven. Without she is covered with more gold and precious stones of very great value, some of which are white, others watery, many the colour of wine, many the colour of fire. Besides, there are many sardonyxes, jacinths, and emeralds\(^3\), brought by men of Egypt, India, Aithiopia, Media, Armenia, and Babylonia. But a point more worthy of attention is this: on her head she wears a stone called lychnis, which derives its name (the "lamp"-stone) from its nature.\(^3\) By night there shines from it a broad beam of light, and beneath it the whole nape is lit up as it were with lamps. By day its radiance is feeble, but it has a very fiery appearance. There is another remarkable thing about this image (xubon): if you stand opposite and look at it, it looks at you; as you shift your ground, its look follows you; and, if another looks at it from a different position, it has the same effect upon him as well. Between these two figures stands another golden image (xubon) in no way resembling the rest. It has no shape of its own, but bears the forms of the other deities. The Assyrians themselves call it a sign: they have given it no special name, indeed they do not even speak of its origin and form. Some ascribe it to Dionysos, others to Deukalion, others again to Semiramis; for on the top of it there is perched a golden dove, on account of which they say that it is the sign of Semiramis.\(^4\)

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1 Loukian. ib. 32 καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀκτίναι τε φορέως καὶ πόργων, καὶ <ἡχεῖ καὶ> κεστόν τῷ μύτῃ τῷ Ὀδορρίνῳ κοσμῶν. So I would restore the passage, which, as printed by Dindorf and others, would imply that she wore the kestos on her head.

2 Not, of course, the true emerald, which is found only in America, but the green quartz known as the peridot or false emerald (E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 1467 ff.; supra p. 357 n. 2).

3 On this stone see further E. Babelon loc. cit. p. 1465. It was found in the Indian river Hylaspes to the sound of flutes while the moon was waxing (Plout. de fluv. i. 1). The chalcedony, which resembled it, came from the land of the Libyan Nasamones, where it was said to spring from a divine shower and was found by the reflected light of the full moon (Plin. nat. hist. 37. 104, Isid. orig. 16. 14. 5, cp. Strab. 830, 835).

4 The story of the mythical, as distinct from the historical, Semiramis is first found in Ktesias:—Near Askalon was a large lake full of fish, by the side of which Derketo had a precinct. She was represented with the face of a woman and the body of a fish. The tale told to explain her double form was as follows. She had fallen in love with a handsome Syrian youth who sacrificed to her. She bore him a daughter, and then, out of shame, made away with her lover, exposed the child in a rocky desert, and flung herself into the lake. The babe, nurtured by doves on milk and cheese, was discovered by the herdsmen and brought up by Simmas, a man set over the royal herds, who called her Semiramis after the Syrian word for 'doves' (Ktesias ap. Diod. 2. 4. Taetz. chil. 9. 502 ff., Athenag. supplicatio pro Christianis 30 p. 40 Schwartz, Loukian. de dea Syr. 14, Hesych. s.v. Σεμιράμις). At the close of her life Semiramis changed herself into a dove and flew off with a number of other birds (Ktesias ap. Diod. 2. 20, Loukian. loc. cit., Ov. met. 4. 47 f., supra p. 357). Both accounts add that the Syrians or Assyrians pay divine honours to doves (cp. Xen. an. 1. 4. 9, Clem. Al. prodr. 2. 39. 9 p. 30, 11 f. Stählin,
Twice every year it journeys to the sea to get the water that I mentioned.1

It appears, then, that the thalamos at Hierapolis contained a statue of Atargatis carried by lions, a statue of her partner (resembling Zeus) seated on bulls, and between them an aniconic 'sign' surmounted by a dove. It can hardly be doubted that here, as at Heliopolis, the partner of Atargatis was Adad identified with Zeus. The similarity of the two cult-centres, which may well presuppose—as J. Garstang holds—a common Hittite nucleus, comes out clearly in connexion with their oracular practices. The

Cornut. theol. 6 p. 6. 11 ff. Lang, Philon ap. Euseb. praep. ev. 8. 14. 64 with Head Hist. num. 3 p. 804, Thib. 17, 7, 17 f.).

A related myth is the following. Certain fish found a great egg in the river Euphrates. They rolled it ashore. A dove, or doves, sat on it and hatched out Venus the Syrian goddess. She besought Jupiter to put the fish among the signs of the zodiac. And the Syrians still abstain from eating these fish, and regard doves as divine (Nigidius ap. schol. Caes. Germ. Aratea p. 401. 12 ff. Eysenhardt, Hyg. faé. 197, Ampel. 2. 13). The fish in question were really Venus and Cupido, who, scared by the sudden appearance of Typho, had flung themselves into the Euphrates and taken the form of fish (Diogenetos of Erythrai ap. Hyg. poët. astr. 2. 39. cp. Myth. Vat. 1. 86).

According to R. Azarins Mier Enajim 21 and R. David Ganz Chronologia ann. 1938, Semiramis and all the kings of Assyria had the dove as their military standard—a doubtful assertion (S. Bochart Hierovercund rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1794 ii. 328—333).

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 694 conjectures that doves were associated with Semiramis for two reasons. On the one hand, Semiramis was assimilated to Istar, and the dove was sacred to that goddess. On the other hand, the Assyrian word for dove (fummatu) was not very unlike the Assyrian name of Semiramis (Sammurratu).

1 This refers to a myth and a rite described by the pseudo-Lucian ib. 12 f. Beneath the temple at Hierapolis was a small hole, through which the flood had run off. Hence Deukalion built altars and a temple of Hera over it, and introduced a custom kept up in memory of the event. Twice a year water was brought from the sea by the priests and a multitude of people from Syria, Arabia, and the region beyond the Euphrates. The water was poured out in the temple and ran off through the small hole beneath it. See further infra p. 591 n. 3.

2 Imperial bronze coins of Hierapolis show Atargatis in three attitudes: (1) wearing a turreted head-dress, chiton, and peplum; holding two ears of corn in her left hand, a tympanum in her right; and seated on a throne with a lion couching at either side of it (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. p. 144 pl. 17, 14): (2) in the same pose, but holding a tympanum in her left hand and resting her right elbow on the throne (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. p. 145 pl. 17, 17, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 138 f. pl. 71, 32, cp. ib. iii. 139 pl. 71, 24): (3) with turreted head-dress, chiton, and peplum, holding a sceptre in her right hand, a tympanum in her left, and seated on the back of a lion (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. p. 144 pl. 17, 15, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 139 pl. 71, 25, cp. ib. iii. 140). Cp. J. Garstang The Syrian Goddess London 1913 p. 26 f. with Frontisp. figs. 1—8.

3 S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1902 i. 31 argues that we must not press the text of Loukian, de dea Syr. 31 ἀφαίρεσις· ἀλλὰ τῷ τῆς Ἡρᾶς Λουκίου μόνος φράσεως, ὥ ἡ ἱερά ἐκτύπωσε to mean that Zeus and Hera were literally seated on their sacred beasts; rather they were flanked by them. So also R. Dussaud ib. 1904 ii. 241 n. 1 = id. Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1905 p. 98 n. 1.

4 Cp. infra p. 586 f.

5 Supra p. 555.

6 This is the thesis of J. Garstang op. cit. pp. viii. 11 f., 17 n. 49, 27, 70 n. 43.
pseudo-Lucian, having described the statues of the inner shrine, goes on to say that in the main body of the temple, on the left hand side, there was set a vacant throne of the Sun and next to it a clothed and bearded image (xilanov) of Apollon. A proposito of this last divinity he continues:

‘When he is minded to deliver an oracle, he first stirs in his seat, and the priests at once lift him up. If they do not, he sweats and stirs again more decidedly. When they stoop and carry him, he drives them on, whirling them round in every direction and leaping from one to another. At last the chief-priest meets him and asks him questions concerning all things. He, if he refuses to do aught, retreats backwards, if he approves of aught, drives his bearers forwards like a charioteer. So they gather their oracles and do nothing either of religious or of private import without him.’

This image of Apollon in the nave must be carefully distinguished from the image of Zeus seated on bulls in the inner place. Macrobius describes the former in terms that preclude identification with the latter:

‘The natives of Hieropolis, Assyrians by race, comprise all the powers and virtues of the sun under the form of a single bearded image, which they call Apollo. His face is represented as having a pointed beard; and a basket (calathus) projects above his head. His image is adorned with a breast-plate. The right hand holds erect a spear, and on it stands a small statuette of Victory. The left stretches out a flower. A Gorgon-headed aegis fringed with snakes passes over his shoulders and clothes his shoulder-blades. The eagles beside him look as if they were flying. Before his feet is a female form, to right and left of which are statues of women: these are surrounded by the twisted coil of a snake. The beard below his chin signifies that rays are shot downwards on to the earth. The golden basket rising aloft indicates the apex of the upper air, from which the sun is supposed to derive its substance. The representation of a spear and a breast-plate adds a resemblance to Mars, whom I shall subsequently prove to be one with the sun. The Victory testifies that all things are subject to the power of this luminary. The flower bears witness to the bloom of those things that are sown, generated, cherished, nurtured, and matured by the said deity. The female form stands for the earth, on which the sun is shining from above: the other two statues of women enclosed in their circle signify matter and nature regarded as fellow-servants. The snake shows the sinuous course of the luminary. The eagles, whose swift flight is high over all else, point to the altitude of the sun. A Gorgon-vest is added because Minerva, whom tradition takes to be the rightful owner of this garb, is the virtue of the sun. Porphyrius too asserts that Minerva is the sun’s virtue, which furnishes the minds of men with wisdom. Indeed that is why this goddess is said to have sprung from the head of Jupiter, in other words, to have arisen in the topmost portion of the upper air, where the sun originated.’

But, though we cannot equate the male statue of the inner sanctum with that of the nave, it is possible that after all they were effigies of the same god. When the pseudo-Lucian, who identified the inner statue with Zeus, says that ‘you could not, even

\[\text{Loukian. de dea Syr. 36, cp. id. 10.}\]

\[\text{Macrobi. Sat. 1. 17. 66 ff.}\]
perversely, compare him to another;¹ he is perhaps combating the opinion of some one who identified him as a solar power with Apollon². And, when Macrobius describes the statue that he terms Apollo, it must be admitted that the details (the kalathos, the Victory, the aigis, the eagles) are suggestive rather of Zeus. Besides, the mode of divination attributed by the pseudo-Lucian to this Apollon appears to be identical with that attributed by Macrobius to the Zeus of Heliopolis³.

But, whatever may be thought of the statue that both the pseudo-Lucian and Macrobius call Apollon, it seems clear enough that the principal deities at Hierapolis were Atargatis (Hera) and Adad (Zeus) with the 'sign' surmounted by a dove between them. This arrangement is confirmed by the coin-types of Hierapolis. A silver coin of Caracalla shows a god with kalathos and sceptre seated on or between two bulls and a goddess with the same attributes and a spindle (?) seated on or between two lions. The two deities are grouped on either side of a small gabled structure, in which is an object resembling a military standard and on which rests a dove (?).

Beneath all is an eagle (fig. 448)⁴. The same design occurs on a bronze coin of Severus Alexander with the legend 'gods of Syria' and a lion in place of the eagle (fig. 449)⁵, a variation repeated on a bronze coin of Iulia Mamaea⁶. These remarkable coins represent, unless I am mistaken, the cult-objects of the inner sanctuary at Hierapolis. We see before us not only Atargatis with her lions and her partner with his bulls, but also between them the mysterious 'sign' described by the

1 Supra p. 583.
2 On coins of Tarsos from Hadrian to Gallienus appears a cult-image of Apollon holding two wolves by the fore-legs and standing on an amphalakti, which is sometimes flanked by two recumbent bulls (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1898 xvi. 171–174 pl. 13, 4–7, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia, etc. p. 201, p. 203 pl. 36, 4, p. 208, p. 224, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 551 pl. 60, 15, Head Hist. num. ³ p. 73)–a trait that he has in common with the Zeus of Heliopolis and the Zeus of Hierapolis.
3 Supra p. 552.
4 J. Pellerin Mélanges de diverses médailles pour servir de supplément aux recueils des médailles de roi et de villes, qui ont été imprimes en 1762 et 1763 Paris 1765 i. 189 pl. 8, 12, Eckel Doctr. num. vet.³ iii. 396, Imhoof-Blumer Gr. Münzen p. 759 no. 773.
6 Imhoof-Blumer op. cit. p. 759 f. no. 775.
Zeus (Adad) at Hierapolis

pseudo-Lucian. We can now for the first time realise how accurate and trustworthy his description is. 'It has no shape of its own, but bears the forms of the other deities.' This sceptre or standard is neither anthropomorphic nor theriomorphic, but the four medallions, if such they are, that are hung upon it may well have borne the effigies of the temple-deities. Again, 'on the top of it there is perched a golden dove.' The word used here for the 'top' (koryphē) is the word applied in late Greek to the apex of a triangle. Hence the coin, which shows a bird sitting on the pediment of the aedicula, aptly illustrates the text. On the whole it seems probable that a royal sceptre or standard, enclosed in a shrine of its own, was the central object of worship. In which connexion it must be observed that a series of silver coins, bearing in Aramaic letters the name Abd-Hadad and representations of Atargatis, has been ascribed to a sacerdotal dynasty at Hierapolis c. 332 B.C. This attribution squares with my contention that Atargatis at Hierapolis was associated with Adad, and that the sceptre or standard of a divine king figured prominently in the same cult. A further allusion to the cult may be detected in two small bronze coins of the town, which exhibit respectively a humped bull with a crescent above it and a lion in a laurel-wreath inscribed 'of the Syrian goddess.'

In Roman times her temple was plundered by Crassus, who spent many days making an inventory of its treasures 'with scales and balances.' But with regard to the decline and fall of the cult no details are on record.

The old name of the town, Mabog or Mambog, which had

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1 Sophr. p. 583. The exact words are: τὸ δὲ μορφήν μὲν ἡδονὴ ὧν ἔχει, φορεῖ δὲ τῶν ἀλλων θεῶν ἱδεα.
2 Sophr. p. 583: εἰπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ αὐτοῦ περιτερή χρυσὴ πέτρα.
3 E.g. Polyb. i. 42. 3, 2. 14. 8.
4 See now J. Garstang The Syrian Goddess London 1913 pp. 23 ff., 73 n. 45, who cj. that this cult-object was originally a pillar-altar with a pigeon or dove upon it (like those represented in the Hittite sculptures of Frakin and Yarre: ib. fig. 4, id. The Land of the Hittites London 1910 p. 150 pl. 47; J. W. Crowfoot in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1899 xix. 40 ff. fig. 4), later conventionalised into a Roman standard in an aedicula (σωρεύει = σφυτος, as Prof. R. C. Bosanquet suggested).
5 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. p. liii.
6 ib. pp. liv, 138 pl. 17, 8 (struck in the time of Antoninus Pius).
8 Plout. v. 21. 3. 17.
doubtless always been current among the native Syrians, reasserted itself in post-classical days\(^1\), and the place is still called Mumbij\(^2\). Its ruins were discovered in 1699 by the Rev. H. Maundrell, who writes as follows of 'Bambych\(^3\)':

'This place has no remnants of its ancient greatness but its walls, which may be traced all round, and cannot be less than three miles in compass. Several fragments of them remain on the east side, especially at the east gate; and another piece of eighty yards long, with towers of large square stone extremely well built. On the north side I found a stone with the busts of a man and woman, large as the life; and, under, two eagles carved on it. Not far from it, on the side of a large well, was fixed a stone with three figures carved on it, in basso relievo. They were two syrens, which, twining their fishy tails together, made a seat, on which was placed, sitting, a naked woman, her arms and the syrens' on each side mutually entwined. On the west side is a deep pit of about one hundred yards diameter. It was low, and had no water in it, and seemed to have had great buildings all round it, with the pillars and ruins of which it is now in part filled up, but not so much but that there was still water in it. Here are a multitude of subterranean aqueducts brought to this city, the people attested no fewer than fifty. You can ride nowhere about the city without seeing them.'

R. Pococke in 1745 gives a more detailed account of his visit to 'Bambouch\(^4\)' After describing the walls, gates, water-channel, etc. he continues:

'At the west part of the town there is a dry basin, which seemed to have been triangular; it is close to the town wall: At one corner of it there is a ruined building, which seems to have extended into the basin, and probably was designed in order to behold with greater conveniency some religious ceremonies or public sports. This may be the lake where they had sacred fishes that were tame. About two hundred paces within the east gate there is a raised ground, on which probably stood the temple of the Syrian goddess Atargatis... I conjectured it to be about two hundred feet in front. It is probable that this is the high ground from which they threw people headlong in their religious ceremonies, and sometimes even their own children, though they must inevitably perish. I observed a low wall running from it to the gate, so that probably it had such a grand avenue as the temple at Gerrhae; and the enclosure of the city is irregular in this part, as if some ground had been taken in after the building of the walls to make that grand entrance; it is probable that all the space north of the temple belonged to it. A court is mentioned to the north of the temple, and a tower likewise before the temple, which was built on a terrace twelve feet high. If this tower was on the high ground I mentioned, the temple must have been west of it, of which I could see no remains; it possibly might

\(^1\) The mediaeval variants are collected by E. B. James in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 1064.

\(^2\) D. G. Hogarth *loc. cit.* p. 183 ff.

\(^3\) *Early Travels in Palestine* ed. by T. Wright London 1848 p. 197.

\(^4\) R. Pococke *A Description of the East, and Some other Countries* London 1745 ii. 166 f. He notes 'that Hierapolis in Asia minor has much the same name, being called Pambouk Calasi [The cotton castle].' See further D. G. Hogarth *loc. cit.* p. 196.
have been where there are now some ruins of a large building, which seems to have been a church with a tower; to the west of which there are some ruinous arches, which might be part of a portico."

In 1830 Lieut.-Col. Chesney\(^1\) included 'Munbedj or Bambuche' in the report of his great expedition: within the city he noticed—

'four large cisterns, a fine sarcophagus, and, among other ancient remains, the scattered ruins of an acropolis, and those of two temples. Of the smaller, the enclosure and portions of seven columns remain; but it seems to possess little interest, compared with the larger, which may have been that of...the Syrian Atargatis....Amongst the remains of the latter are some fragments of massive architecture, not unlike the Egyptian, and 11 arches form one side of a square paved court, over which are scattered the shafts of columns and capitals displaying the lotus.'

Nowadays even these scanty relics of the great temple have disappeared. Dr D. G. Hogarth and Mr R. Norton in 1908 were unable to locate it. Dr Hogarth says\(^2\):

'As a result of the Circassian occupation almost all the standing remains of antiquity, noticed by travellers from Maundrell to Chesney, have disappeared. I failed to find any traces of the Theatre, the Stadium, or the two Temples. Indeed the only obvious pre-Islamic structures in situ are firstly, the walls of the outer encinte, evidently of late construction, to judge by tombstones used therein and lately extracted by the Circassians....; these walls are banked up with silt and overgrown with grass. Secondly, scanty remains of a stepped quay-wall or revetment, with water-stairs at intervals, which surrounds a large pool, some three acres in area, in the centre of the western half of the site\(^3\).... These remains extend all along the western bank and are visible also on the southern, but are obliterated elsewhere. The pool is said to be perennial and of some depth in the centre, and it can hardly be other than the [sacred lake mentioned by the pseudo-Lucian]. I cannot say if its depth be really above 200 cubits, as the treatise alleges; but the altar in the middle, to which the votaries used to swim, has disappeared....Just before the [modern town] is reached, the ground rises abruptly to a plateau, and probably here was an inner wall, making a smaller and earlier encinte round the great Temple and its immediate precinct. The position of the Temple may have been more or less where the large mosque, built about thirty years ago, now stands; but no confirmatory indications are visible. The whole eastern half of the site right up to the eastern wall, which has been greatly quarried of late, is occupied by the houses, courtyards, and gardens of modern Mumbij. In the east centre the ground rises to a low hill on which some of the better Circassian houses are built. If this were not the site of the Temple, it was probably an Acropolis. It is not quite so near the Sacred Lake as the mosque site.\(^4\)'

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3 Id. ib. p. 188 fig. 1.

4 Dr Hogarth notes further a much defaced limestone lion near the south-east angle of the wall (ib. p. 188 fig. 2); four terra-cotta heads of a goddess who, to judge from the most complete specimen, was represented as clasping her breasts (ib. p. 190 fig. 3); sixteen inscriptions; etc.
Zeus (Adad) at Dion, Rhosos, etc.

Heliopolis and Hierapolis were not the only towns in which the Syrian Zeus was worshipped as a bull-god. To Dion, near Pella in Koile Syria, belongs a copper coin of Geta, showing a god who stands erect with a couple of humped bulls recumbent at his feet. He wears a chiton and a himation. On his head, which is horned, is a kámathos. His right hand grasps a sceptre tipped by an eagle; on his left rests a Victory holding a wreath (fig. 450). A copper of Rhosos on the Gulf of Issos likewise represents a horned deity, who stands on a base between two reclining bulls; from his head rises a crux ansata; his right hand grasps a thunderbolt, his left an ear of corn (?); and on either side of him are the caps of the Dióskouroi (fig. 451). Gabala, a Syrian coast-town between Laodikeia and Paltos, worshipped a similar deity. And a unique silver tetradrachm of Antiochos xii, now in the Dresden cabinet, attests the same cult. It has for a reverse type a bearded god standing on a base of two steps between a couple of recumbent bulls. He wears a pointed head-dress, a long chiton with a broad knotted belt, and a himation buckled round his neck. Both hands are extended, and the left holds a two-leaved ear of corn (fig. 452).


3 Imhoof-Blumer Monn. gr. p. 440 no. 8, Chois de monn. gr.1, 2 pl. 7, 223. Head Hist. num.3 p. 782.


(ζ) Characteristics of the Syrian Zeus (Adad).

As at Heliopolis, so at Hierapolis and elsewhere the bulls associated with Adad (Zeus) marked him as a god of thunder and fertility. The Rhosian coin, which represents him with a thunderbolt and a crux ansata, indicates both aspects of his being. At Hierapolis the latter was the more prominent, to judge from the local myth and ritual. He was here a fitting partner of Atargatis (Hera), a

1 Supra p. 576 ff.
2 According to Loukian, de dea Syr. 17 ff., the temple at Hierapolis was rebuilt by Stratonike [the second wife of Seleukos i Nikator], who was afterwards married to her step-son [Antiochos i Soter]. Stratonike was hidden by Hera in a dream to raise her the temple at Hierapolis. The king [Seleukos] sent her thither under the charge of his friend Kombabos, a very handsome youth. Kombabos, fearing the result of this commission, mutilated himself, put his αὐδαί in a small jar along with myrrh, honey, and other perfumes, sealed it and gave it to the king as a priceless treasure to be kept against his return. The king set another seal upon it and entrusted it to his stewards. When Stratonike had been three years building the temple, Hera, angry at the delay, struck her with a passion for Kombabos. At first she concealed her feelings; but at last she made herself drunk and confessed her love. Kombabos rejected her overtures. She then threatened to lay violent hands upon herself. Whereupon he told her of his mutilation and so cured her madness. But she still loved him and enjoyed his company. Meantime the king sent for Kombabos. (Some say falsely that Stratonike accused Kombabos to him of attempting her honour: cp. the tales of Sthenobola and Phaidra.) Kombabos was imprisoned, arraigned, and condemned to death. He then called for his treasure, broke the seal, and proved his innocence by exhibiting the contents. The king, convinced, promised to put his accusers to death, to bestow upon him much gold and silver, Assyrian raiment, and royal horses, and to grant him the right to approach himself unannounced 'even'—said he— ἀν διὰ γνωσιν ἄμα εὐδαιμονια. Kombabos finished the temple and in future dwelt there. A bronze statue of him by Hermokles of Rhodes, which stands in the temple, shows a feminine form in masculine attire; for such was his aspect. But a stranger woman, who once came to a festival, fell in love with him and, on discovering his condition, slew herself; so he, discouraged at it, changed his practice and put on a woman's dress. His friends showed their sympathy with him by mutilating themselves and sharing his mode of life. (Others tell a sacred tale to the effect that Hera loved Kombabos and, to prevent him from being lonely, sent upon his friends this desire for self-mutilation.)

In this myth Kombabos is obviously a Syrian parallel to Attis, who, according to one version (Prudent. Peristeph. 10. 196 ff.), unmanned himself to escape the embraces of Kybebe: cp. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1542 n. 3. Hera, i.e. Atargatis, here corresponds with Kybebe. The transference of the tale from the goddess Hera to the mortal Stratonike perhaps implies that the Syrian queen played the part of the goddess. Those who identified Atargatis with Rhea ascribed the foundation of her temple and cult to Attis (Loukian, de dea Syr. 13).

8 The statements of the pseudo-Lucian with regard to the ritual at Hierapolis may here be summarised:

In this Propylaea stand two φαλάσι, dedicated by Dionysos to his step-mother Hera, and reaching to a height of thirty fathoms. Twice a year a man climbs up one of them and spends seven days on the top. Most persons say that he associates up there with the gods, invoking their blessing upon the whole of Syria, and that the gods, since he is near them, hear his prayers. Others connect the custom with Deukalion's flood, when men, to escape the water, climbed mountains and high trees [cp. supra p. 584 n. 1]. Lucian compares rather the νεκροτασσε of the Greeks, small wooden men with large αὐδαί
goddess whom the Greeks described as 'Nature or the Cause that made out of moisture the first principles and seeds of
seated on the φαλλός raised for Dionysos, and notes that on the right of the temple at
Hierapolis is seated a small bronze figure of a man with a large αλάτως. However that
may be, the Syrian climbs his φαλλός, as an Arab or an Egyptian climbs a date-palm.
On the top he erects a hut and receives offerings. A man standing below shouts the
name of each donor. He, up aloft, invokes a blessing upon the latter and, during his
prayer, beats a vessel of bronze, which makes a great clanging reverberation. He keeps
a sleepless vigil; for, should he sleep, a scorpion would climb up and attack him (ib. 16
and 28 f.). [In the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1912 xxvii Arch. Anz. pp. 13—16]
R. Hartmann attempts to show that a bronze statuette at Stuttgart represents this
φαλλοβάτης—an improbable view. The νερόδεσμα στα ενεστήν is in question may, I think, be
illustrated from a black-figured βύθις at Florence published by H. Heydemann Mittheil-
ungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien Halle 1879 p. 95 no. 50
(Preuss in the Archiv für Anthropologie N. F. 1903 ii. 129 ff., figs., A. Dieterich Matter
Erde Leipzig and Berlin 1905 p. 107 ff., figs.) and Milani Stud. e mat. di arch. e num. 1902 ii.
78 ff. figs. 262 a, 263 b: cp. Hdt. 1. 48, Plout. de Is. et Or. 13, 36. E. Camou—E. Cumont
Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la petite Arménie ii. 337
figure cylinders of enamelled terra cotta, ρ. 50 m high, found at Erz杂质ian and thought by the
Turks to be φαλλοι used in the cult of the Syrian goddess. On the beaten gong
see the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1903 xxii. 5—28.]
Outside the temple is a large bronze altar and countless bronze statues of kings and
priests, including Semiramis, who claimed divine honours, Helene, Hekabe, Andromache,
Paris, Hektor, Achemies, Nireus son of Aglaia, Philomele and Prokne as women, Terens
as a bird, Semiramis again, Kombos, Stratonioc, Alexander, Sardanapallos. In the
courtyard great bulls, horses, eagles, bears, and lions roam about: they are all sacred and
harm no man (ib. 39—41).
Numerous priests slay victims, or bear libations, or are 'fire-bearers,' or wait beside
the altar: more than 300 of them come to the sacrifice. All wear white garments and a
felt cap, except the chief priest, who alone wears a purple robe and a golden tiara.
Besides, there are other sacred persons—flute-players, pipers, eunuchs and frenzied
women (who dote upon them: ib. 21). All come to the sacrifice, which takes place
twice a day. During the sacrifice to Zeus they keep silence; during that to Hera they
sing, play the flute, and shake rattles (ib. 42—44).
Near the temple is a lake containing sacred fish of various kinds. The large ones have
separate names and come when called. One of them is decked with gold, having a golden
object attached to his fin. The lake is said to be over 200 fathoms in depth. In the
midst of it is a stone altar, thought by many to be floating on the water. It is always
wreathed and perfumed: many persons under a vow swim to it daily and bring the
wreaths. Important festivals are held here, known as 'Descents to the Lake,' because
all the deities come down to the lake. Hera arrives first to save the fish; for, if Zeus
saw them before her, they would all perish. He too comes to look at them; but she
blocks the way and implores him to depart. On the occasion of their greatest festivals
[cp. supra p. 384 n. 1] they go down to the sea. Each man returns bearing a vessel of
water sealed with wax. A sacred 'lock,' living on the lake, receives the vessels, inspects
their seals, and earns many μμαλ for himself by unfastening them. The men then take
the vessels to the temple, pour their libations, offer sacrifices, and so return home (ib. 45—48).
The greatest festival known to the writer is, however, celebrated at the beginning of
spring and named the 'Pyre' or the 'Torch.' They cut down great trees and erect them
in the courtyard. On these they hang live goats, sheep, etc. together with birds,
garments, and objects in gold or silver. When all is ready, they bear the deities round
the trees, which they fire and consume on the spot. This festival is attended by a multitude
from Syria and the surrounding districts: all who come bring with them their own
deities and images of the same. On certain specified days the crowd assembles in the
all things' and again as 'her who gave mankind their earliest knowledge of all that is good for them'.

(7) **Ba' al-tars and Zeus Térsios.**

Akin to the Syrian Adad, though not identical with him, was a god worshipped since Hittite times in Kilikia and the

precinct, but outside the temple: here many eunuchs and sacred men perform their orgies, cutting their fore-arms and striking each other on the back. Many, standing by, play the flute; many beat drums; others sing inspired and holy songs. On these days too, while the eunuchs are raising their din, madness falls on many a young man, who flings aside his garments and with a great cry rushes into the midst of them. He seizes a sword; for there are swords in plenty placed there on purpose. With this he mutilates himself and runs through the town holding in his hands the parts that he has cut off. When he has flung them away into a house, he receives from that house feminine attire and a woman's ornaments (ib. 49—51).

A dead eunuch is buried in a peculiar fashion. His comrades carry him out to the suburbs, set him down on the bier, cast stones over him, and return. They may not enter the temple-precinct for the next seven days. If any of them sees a corpse, he does not enter the precinct that day, but purifies himself on the morrow and enters it. If one of their own household has died, they wait thirty days, shave their heads, and then enter. The beasts that they sacrifice are oxen both male and female, goats, and sheep. Swine only they deem unclean and neither sacrifice nor eat: others, however, deem them not unclean but sacred. They regard the dove as an object of the greatest sanctity: they will not even touch it; or, if they do so by accident, they are unclean throughout that day. Hence doves dwell with them, enter their houses, and feed for the most part on the ground (ib. 52—54).

When a man goes to Hierapolis to attend a festival, on first entering the town he shaves his head and eyebrows and then sacrifices a sheep. Most of it he cuts up and eats, but the fleece he lays on the ground. Kneeling upon it, he draws the feet and head of the beast over his own head; and at the same time offering prayer he asks the deity to accept his present sacrifice and promises a greater one in future. After that he wreathes his own head and the heads of all those that have come on the same errand with him. From the moment when he quits his own country for the journey he must use cold water both for bathing and for drinking and must always sleep on the ground, it being forbidden to mount upon a bed till he has reached his home again. In Hierapolis he is received by a host whom he does not know. Certain hosts are there assigned to each town, the office being hereditary. Those that discharge it are called by the Assyrians 'teachers,' since they explain the rites to their guests. They do not offer sacrifice in the sanctuary itself; but, having brought the victim to the altar and poured a libation over it, they lead it home alive, and, on reaching every man his own dwelling, sacrifice it and pray. Another sacrifice is performed thus: they wreath the victims and cast them alive from the Propylaea, the victims being killed by the fall. Some even cast their own children down hence, but not as they do the beasts: they put them in a sack and lower them by hand, jeering at them the while and declaring that they are not children, but oxen [cp. *supra* p. 442 nn. 1, 2]. They are all tattooed, some on the wrist, others on the neck. Just as at Troizen lads and lasses must not wear till they have shorn their hair for Hippolytos, so at Hierapolis young men offer the first hairs of their beards, while girls leave a sacred tress uncut from their birth onwards. On reaching the sanctuary they cut the hair and, placing it in vessels of silver or often of gold, nail it to the temple-wall and inscribe it with their names [cp. *supra* p. 23 ff.] (ib. 55—60).

1 Plout. v. **Crit.** 17.
neighbouring districts. His rock-cut effigy (fig. 453)¹ is still to be

¹ L. Messerschmidt *Corpus inscriptionum Hettitarum* Berlin 1900 p. 30 f. pl. 34.
² *id.* *ib.* Berlin 1906 pp. 4–7 (cp. a second relief near Iblis, which appears to be an exact duplicate of the first: *id.* *ib.* Berlin 1906 p. 19 f.).
⁵ Perrot–Chipiez *Histoire de l’Art* iv. 723–729 fig. 354.
seen at Ivritz, where a singularly fertile glen runs far into the northern flank of Mount Tauros. Prof. J. Garstang describes the scene in graphic language:

'At the foot of the rock a stream of water, clear and cool, bursts out in tremendous volume, and, supplemented by other similar sources, becomes in a hundred yards a raging and impassable torrent, roaring with a wonderful noise as it foams and leaps over the rocks in its course. Before joining the main stream of the valley it washes at a bend the foot of a bare rock, upon which from the opposite side there may be seen the famous sculptures, the most striking of all known Hittite works, and one of the most imposing monuments of the ancient East.

The treatment of these sculptures is all in relief. In composition there are two persons represented: the Peasant-god, a gigantic figure fourteen feet in height, distinguished by the bunches of grapes and bearded wheat which he holds, and the King-priest, an heroic figure eight feet in height, facing towards the god, with clasped hands raised in adoration or thanksgiving for his bounty.

The god is clad in the short tunic, short-sleeved vest, pointed cap, and shoes with turned-up toes, characteristic of the godlike figures on all Hittite sculptures. But here the sculptor has elaborated his theme, and has worked into it ideas or conceptions which we may reasonably suspect were derived ultimately from the East through the intermediary of Cilicia. The figure is squat and stolid, and the face almost Semitic.... Perhaps the most peculiar and Oriental detail is to be found in the horns which decorate the helmet, of which four pairs are visible. In front of the right foot is the suggestion of a bolted implement, possibly a plough....

There are three short inscriptions accompanying these figures. In that which is carved before the face of the god, Professors Sayce and Jensen both find the name of Sandes in the first line (the W-like sign below the divided oval that signifies divinity). In the next line, as in the overlap of the first and second lines of inscription behind the king, we find the same name (read Ayminyas) as ...in the inscriptions of Bor and of Bulghar-Madén. This point is of importance in considering the history of the Hittite peoples when, as it seems, the central authority was no longer at Boghaz-Keui. For the date of these sculptures, if only from their close analogy in treatment to those of Sakje-Geuzi, may be put down to the tenth or ninth century B.C. It would seem indeed that we are here drawn into relation with the kingdom of (Greater) Cilicia, which, with Tyana probably as capital, took the place of the Hatti-state within the Halys, as the dominant Hittite state at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.'

Sandas was clearly a god of fertility. The bovine horns on his tiara, the grape-bunches and corn-ears in his hands, the plough (?) at his feet, all point in that direction. At Tarsos in the fourth century B.C., while retaining his old attributes the grapes and the corn, he acquired the characteristics of Zeus. On silver coins

1 So e.g. J. G. Frazer loc. cit., E. Meyer Geschichte des Alterthums Stuttgart 1909 i. 31. 641 ff.
struck in Kilikia by the satrap Datames, 378—374 B.C. (figs. 454, 455), he appears under the name *Ba'al-tars* enthroned with an eagle-sceptre in his right hand, a corn-ear and a bunch of grapes in his left: beside him is an incense-burner, and beneath his throne a variable symbol—a pomegranate-flower, a bull's head, the fore-

part of a humped bull, the entire bull crouching, a knuckle-bone, a lion, a bird. The whole design is surrounded by a circle with projections like battlements, probably meant for the town-wall. Silver coins issued by Mazaios as satrap of Kilikia, 361—334 B.C., and Trans-Euphratesia, 351—334 B.C. (figs. 456, 457), together with

others issued by Arsames as satrap of Kilikia, 334—331 B.C., show the same deity enthroned with a lotos-sceptre and grouped in various ways with one or more of his attributes—an ear of corn, a bunch of grapes, and an eagle. On coins struck by Mazaios as general of Dareios in Syria and at Babylon, 334—331 B.C., and as governor

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1 Babelon *Menn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 409 ff. pl. 109, 4—10, 11—15, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia, etc. p. 167 f. pl. 29, 11—15, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 547, Head Hist. num. p. 730 f. fig. 251. Fig. 454 is from a specimen in my collection; fig. 455 = Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 413 f. pl. 109, 14.

2 For the coinage of Mazaios etc. I follow the classification recently proposed by Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 443 ff.

3 *Id. ib.* ii. 2. 445 ff. pl. 111, 14—20, pl. 112, 1—8.

4 *Id. ib.* ii. 2. 451 ff. pl. 112, 12—20, 22, pl. 113, 1 f., 5—11. I figure two specimens in my collection.

5 *Id. ib.* ii. 2. 461 ff. pl. 113, 13—18, pl. 114, 1—3.

6 *Id. ib.* ii. 2. 471 ff. pl. 114, 15—20.
of Babylon under Alexander the Great, 331—328 B.C., *Ba'al-tars* loses his distinctive attributes altogether. And on later pieces struck by the generals of Alexander, e.g. by Seleukos in 321—316 and 312—306 B.C. (fig. 458), he drops not only his attributes but also his title *Ba'al-tars* and appears as a purely Hellenic Zeus. In the third century B.C. he was known at Tarsos as Zeus *Térsios*.

The identification of Sandas with Zeus was due partly to the fact that Sandas was the chief god of the district and partly to the

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1. *Id. ib. ii. 2. 472 ff. pl. 114, 21 f.*
2. *Id. ib. ii. 2. 481 ff. pl. 115, 3—5, 7 f., 10 f., 14—17, 21—25.* I figure a specimen in my collection.
4. Among the commonest types of the later copper coins of Tarsos is that of Zeus enthroned (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lyconia, etc.* pp. 177, 181 ff., 190, 192 pls. 32, 33, 4—9, *Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 548 f. pl. 60, 12, Head Hist. num. 2* p. 732 f.)*
5. Another Cilician god, Olympos, who passed as being the brother of Sandas (Steph. Byz. συν. Ἀδανά...τετια δε ἔλασον Γης και Οὐρανον παλαι, και Ὀστασον και Σάρνης και Ὀλύμπως και Ρέα και Ιαπτών και Ολυμπίας), was worshipped by natives of Anazarbos as Zeus Ολυμπίας ορ Ολυμπίας (*Inscr. Gr. Sc. ii. no. 991* a small marble stèle found on the Esquiline Δι Ολυμπία(α) or Ολυμπία του Κιλικου | ἔθνους τής | [Μακροτάτης] μητρόπολεως | Αναζαρ [β]σον Λόρθσι(ας) | Μάρκος στάτωρ | εὐχής χάρον). High up in an almost inaccessible cave on the mountain behind Anazarbos (Anazavros) is another dedication to Zeus (E. L. Hicks in the *Jour. Hell. Stud. 1890 xi. 238 no. 4 Δι και Ημ τς Γαμηλια και | 'Αρει των παρακλησι | Ρηγενίας Ἀσκληπιάδαν | σευτροφοφότα σεύτρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πιλωτ [τε] καὶ τῆς | θαλαττ, εἰς | ιερών θεῶν | Αναζαρ Σείτον Ταξιδικον | τοῦ θρό = 153 A.D. or possibly 191 A.D.)*. And the θέα Καραβάτης is coupled with Persephone in an inscription on the 'tomb of the eunuch' (R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm *Reisen in Kleikien Wien 1865 p. 38 no. 94 D*).
fact that Zeus too was a giver of fertility. But this identification, though favoured by the satraps and generals, did not adequately express the popular conception of Sandas, whose prototype in the Hittite religion appears to have been the son-god rather than the father-god. Hence side by side with Zeus, the supreme dispenser of all things good, the Tarsians worshipped Herakles, the more human and approachable averter of all things evil. The coins struck by Datames, which represented Ba'\al-tars as a Zeus-like deity seated on a throne, supplement this obverse type by a reverse of exceptional interest (figs. 454, 455). Within a square frame surmounted by antefixes etc. and probably intended for a sacred edifice are two male figures with an incense-burner between them.

in my collection (fig. 460): obv. [ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ Φ?] | ANAZARBOΣ head of Zeus, laureate, to right; rev. ETOYC | BAP (=131=113/114 d.d.) head of Tyche, veiled and turreted); and it would seem reasonable to conclude that on the akropolis of Anazarbos there was an important cult of Zeus, who had here dispossessed Olympos. See further A. von Domaszewski 'Zeit Olympos' in the Num. Zeitschr. 1911 pp. 10—12.


If Sandas at Ivritz had corn-ears, grapes and a plough (supra p. 594 f.), Zeus had corn-ears at Heliopolis (supra pp. 551, 558 f., 569, 571), grapes and a plough in Phrygia (supra pp. 4 n. 2, 399 f.).
On the right stands Datames himself in *chiton* and *himation* raising his hand with a gesture of adoration. On the left is the nude form of Herakles with arm outstretched towards the satrap. Before Datames is his name in Aramaic lettering—*Tiddmu*. Behind Herakles on certain specimens (fig. 455) room is found for a second Aramaic word—*ana*. Now it has been universally supposed that *Ana* must be the name of the naked god, and attempts have been made to connect him with the Assyrian *Anu*. But I am informed by my friends Prof. R. H. Kennett, Prof. F. C. Burkitt, and Mr N. McLean, that *ana* is ordinary Aramaic for 'I (am)', and that 'I am Datames' would have been the normal commencement of a royal or quasi-royal proclamation. I would therefore suggest that this much-disputed type simply represents Datames announcing himself as a worshipper of Herakles (Sandas).

Sandas as figured on coins of Tarsos from about 164 B.C. onwards (figs. 462—468) bears a much closer resemblance to the ancient Hittite son-god. He stands on the back of a lion, which

1 I have to thank my friend Mr N. McLean, Lecturer in Aramaic to the University of Cambridge, for examining a number of these coins and deciphering their legend. Mr McLean tells me that it might possibly be read as *Tiddmu*, but that there is in Aramaic no such use of a sonant *n* as would justify the transcription *Tadymu* (Head Hist. num. 2 p. 731).

2 This word is placed either in the narrow space at the back of Herakles' knee (Babelon *Mnun. gr. rom. ii*. 2. 413 f. pl. 109, 13 and 13) or outside the frame behind Herakles (id. ib. pl. 109, 14 = my fig. 455).


4 P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 171 pl. 10, 19 regards as plausible an interpretation put forward by Honoré d'Albert, due de Luynes *Numismatique des satrapies et de la Phénicie* Paris 1846 p. 20. viz. that Sardanapalos represented by the Greek artist as an effeminate Zeus or Dionysos is here snapping his fingers (Athen. 530 A ff.) at Herakles, who exhorts him to better things! But such moralising is, as Prof. Gardner admits, "a rare or unprecedented occurrence among Greek coins." Frankly, it is unthinkable.


6 In the rock-carvings of Iasily Kaya near Boghaz-Keui the Hittite son-god stands on the back of a lioness (or panther—if the animal is really turned as in Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 637 fig. 313; for the panther, as opposed to the lion, in early art is
is both winged and horned. He is draped and wears a tall head-. dress. He carries bow-case and sword, and grasps a double-axe in his left hand. Occasionally also, as befits a god of fertility, he holds a branch\(^1\) or flower (fig. 463)\(^2\) or wreath (fig. 464)\(^3\). He thus differs widely from the Grecised representation of him as Herakles. Indeed, we should not know him for the same deity, were it not that he is sometimes nude (fig. 463)\(^4\) and always stretches forth his right hand in what is clearly a characteristic gesture\(^5\).

Certain coins struck at Tarsos by the Seleucid kings of Syria from Alexandros i Balas (150—146 B.C.) to Antiochos ix Kyzikenos (113—95 B.C.) show Sandas between two small cones or altars on

![Fig. 465](image1)

![Fig. 466](image2)

a pyramidal structure topped by an eagle with spread wings (figs. 465, 466)\(^6\). This erection has been thought to represent the 'Pyre' made for Herakles (Sandas) at the Tarsian festival of *Pyra*\(^7\).

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\(^1\) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 179 pl. 32, 16.

\(^2\) *Ib.* p. 179 pl. 33, 1 (flower with three petals), Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen der klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 70 pl. 12, 7 (=my fig. 463).


\(^5\) I take this gesture to be expressive of power. In the Old Testament a 'stretched out arm' is constantly found with that connotation (Ex. 6, 6, Deut. 4—34, 5—15, 7—19, 9—29, 11—2, 1 Kings 8, 42, 2 Kings 17—36, aʼlth.).


\(^7\) So eg. P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 206, Head *Hist. num.* p. 733 ('probably the pyre' etc.). Mr G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc.
Dion Chrysostomos, the only author who mentions this pyre, does so in an address to the inhabitants of Tarsos:

‘What think you? If, as we may well suppose and as men declare, founders—be they heroes or gods—often visit the states that they have founded, though none can see them, at sacrifices and certain public festivals; if, then, your own first founder Herakles were to come here, say during the Pyre, which you make for him so handsomely,—think you he would be best pleased at hearing that the city has got this reputation?’

Dr Frazer has conjectured that ‘at this festival, as at the festival of Melcarth, the god was burned in effigy on his own pyre.’ That may have been so: but no ancient writer actually states that a god was burnt in effigy at Melqart’s festival, and as to Tarsos—

Fig. 467.  Fig. 468.

Dion’s words rather imply that the deity was not visible at all. In any case the erection of the Tarsian coins can hardly be identified with the pyre of Herakles. To begin with, specimens struck by Marcus Aurelius (fig. 467), Tranquillina (fig. 468), etc., show the supposed pyre covered by an elaborate baldachin as if it were a permanent structure.

p. lxxxvi speaks with more reserve (‘either a permanent monument, or the pyre’ etc.). Mr G. Macdonald in the Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 448 apparently rejects the identification with Herakles’ pyre (‘Monument...surmounted by pyramidal structure,’ etc.).

1 Dion. Chrys. or. 33 p. 23 f. Reiske τι ἔν αἰσθήσει, εἰ καθήκορ εἰσὶν ἵπτι καὶ σπαί τῶν οἴκοι τρόπος ἡ θεοῦ πόλεως ἐπιστρέφεσθαι τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄλλως ἐτῶσιν οἴκοι ἐν τῇ θυσίαν καὶ τῶν ὁρθῶν ἡμετερεύοντο, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἀρχηγὸς ἤμων Ἡρακλῆς παραγένοντο ἡτοι. Περίπλοι οὖν ἔν τάνυ καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν τοιούτη <ἡ...> σφόδρα γε ἐν αὐτῶν ὀσθώνια τουκατίσκαν τοιούτως νομίζεται; Reiske prefers to expect ἡτοι as an intrusion from some edition.


3 Id. ib. pp. 84—90 ‘raises a strong presumption, though it cannot be said to amount to a proof, that a practice of burning a deity, and especially Melcarth, in effigy or in the person of a human representative, was observed at an annual festival in Tyre and its colonies.’

4 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaeia, etc. p. 190 pl. 34. 10.

5 Ib. p. 221 pl. 37. 9. Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 555 pl. 60. 18. I figure a specimen in the McClean collection.

Again, the eagle on its apex resembles the eagle on the pyramidal roof above the stone of Zeus Kásios at Seleukeia Pieria. Finally, the whole Tarsian structure is quite unlike any other pyres figured on Greek or Roman money, but both in form and in decoration so strikingly similar to the pyramids of Jupiter Dolichenus that we are fully justified in explaining it by the help of their analogy.

If Sandas at Tarsos had among his attributes both grape-bunches and a pyramid topped by an eagle, we may perhaps venture to connect his name with another Cilician coin-type (figs. 469—474), in which appears a pyramid flanked by two birds or by two grape-bunches. Certain examples of this coinage (fig. 472) exhibit on the pyramid a symbol resembling the three-petal ped flower sometimes held by Sandas.

1 Append. B Syria.
2 For the pyre of Zeus Strátios as shown on coins of Amaseia see the Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 79 ff., Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 296, 306 f. (add now Waddington—Babelon—Reinach Monn. gr. d'As. Min. pp. 27, 32, 35 f., 38 ff. pls. 4, 22, 5, 12—14, 26, 6, 1—4, 7—10, 12 f.): the only hint of a pyramidal top is on a specimen struck by Caracalla (ib. p. 39 pl. 6, 3, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus, etc. p. 11 pl. 3, 4). Roman consecration-pyres (listed by Rasche Lex. Num. ii. 866—869, vii. 1667 f., Suppl. ii. 17 f.) are regularly staged towers, not pyramids.
3 Infra p. 618 ff.
5 On the evolution of these birds and grape-bunches from mere granulated patches see the careful note of Mr G. F. Hill in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia, etc. p. cxix.
The significance of the pyramid as a cult-object is uncertain. I am disposed to think that, like the Babylonian sikkurat or 'high'-place, it was the conventionalised form of a mountain, originally viewed as the dwelling-place of the deity. Sandas' prototype, the son-god of Boghazkeui, stands on the back of a lioness, which itself is standing on a mountain-range. Sandas' own effigy is carved on the rock-walls of Ivriz at the foot of Mount Tauros. Such a god might be suitably represented in relief on a stone pyramid at Tarsos.

It is possible, though not certain, that Sandas was sometimes called Di-Sandas, the prefix serving to emphasise his relation to Zeus. If so, a parallel might be sought among such compound names of deities as Dio-Pan, Zeno-Poseidon, etc.

2 A coin of Kaisareia in Kappadokia, struck in 113 A.D., shows a pyramid (Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 481 no. 3), which is perhaps equivalent to the type of Mount Argaia on other coins of the same town (ib. ii. 381 ff. pl. 63, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. pp. xxxvii ff., 45 ff. pl. 8 ff.).
3 Supra p. 594 f.
5 F. C. Movers Die Phönizier Berlin 1841 i. 460 suggested that in Synkell. loc. cit. Δασανᾶς was a false reading for Σάδαν due to ditography (ΔΙ = the ΔΙ of γεωργοθέας). But his suggestion is unconvincing.
6 Corp. inscr. Gr. iii no. 4538 (a rock-cut inscription from the grotto of Pan at Bândis, the ancient Kaisareia Paneas) = Cougny Anth. Pal. Ac. Paris. i. 343 πόλει θεόν (perhaps Echo ἄνθεκε θεόν θεός | Ὀλύμπων ἀρχήν Αὐριάδων γόατον.
7 Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 278, and especially W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1124—1130.
604 The Bull and the Sun in Syria

In conclusion it may be pointed out that Sandas, though essentially a god of fertility, was also in Hellenistic times connected with the sun¹. The eagle on his pyramid was presumably solar, for, as Monsieur R. Dussaud has proved, the king of birds had constantly this significance in Levantine art of the Graeco-Roman age². To cite but one example: a bronze brought from Nizib by Monsieur L. de Contenson (fig. 475)³ shows a splendid eagle on a discoid base, which bears the name Ἡλίας and probably represents a sacred stone, perhaps that of Emesa⁴. Again, the eight-rayed star that appears on the coins besides the flower-holding Sandas⁵ may also fairly be reckoned as a solar symbol.

(6) Zeus Dolichaios and Jupiter Dolichenus.

Zeus Dolichaios⁶ or Dolochenos⁷, better known as Jupiter Dolichenus⁸, furnishes another example of a Hittite god surviving into the Graeco-Roman age. He seems to have been originally akin to, or even one with, the Hittite father-god⁹, though—as we shall see—he bears some resemblance to the Hittite son-god also. In the central scene of the rock-carvings near Boghaz-keui (fig. 476)¹⁰

¹ Various scholars from F. Crenzer (Symbolik und Mythologie³ Leipzig and Darmstadt 1840 ii. 490, 634) to W. Wright (The Empire of the Hittites² London 1886 pp. 181, 186 n. 1) have held that Sandas was from the first a sun-god (see O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 330).
³ R. Dussaud in the Rev. Arch. 1903 i. 141 fig. 9 = id. Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1903 p. 25 f. fig. 9. The bronze, inclusive of the base, is 0.10⁶ high.
⁴ Id. ib. Additions et Corrections p. (67).
⁵ Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lyconia, etc. p. 179 pl. 33, 1. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen Leipzig 1889 p. 70 pl. 12, 7 (= my fig. 463).
⁶ Steph. Byz. s. v. Δολικής.
¹⁰ L. Messerschmidt Corpus inscriptionum Hittiticae Berlin 1900 p. 21 ff. pl. 27, 2 pl. 29, 9—11, J. Garstang The Land of the Hittites London 1910 p. 214 pl. 65 f. with bibliography ib. p. 396. The central scene appears to represent the union of the Hittite father-god at the head of the left-hand procession with the Hittite mother-god and her son at the head of the right-hand procession. The father-god, who stands on the bowed heads of two attendants, wears a high head-dress, a short tunic, and shoes with upturned toes. He carries a mace in his right hand and an emblem of uncertain significance.
Zeus Dolichaios and Jupiter Dolichenus

the father-deity has at his side a bull, which as his alter ego wears

the same high head-dress as he does. On a Hittite cylinder at Berlin the same god wears a horned cap and holds his bull by (supposed to be a combination of the split oval or sign of divinity with the trident-fork that symbolises lightning) in his left. The handle of a short sword is seen at his waist; and beside him appears the fore-part of a bull wearing a high head-dress like his own.

1 J. Garstang op. cit. p. 215 and in The Syrian Goddess London 1913 p. 10 n. 30 takes this animal to be a goat. But??

a leash. On another cylinder in the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan (fig. 503) he again holds the crouched bull by a leash, and on it stands a nude festoon-bearing goddess, the prototype of Europe. Finally, on another Hittite cylinder in the British Museum (fig. 477) the god is seen standing, like Ramman, on the bull’s back.

In classical times this long-lived deity drew his cult-epithet from Doliche, a little town in the Syrian district of Kommagene, on the road from Germanikeia to Zeugma. The rocky hill, on which his temple once stood, is still called Tell Dülük and is now crowned by the small chapel of a Mohammedan saint, the successor of Dolichenus himself. Strangely enough the monuments illus-

Fig. 477.

trative of the ancient cult have, with a single exception, been found outside the limits of Asia. The said exception (fig. 478) is a limestone stèle discovered in or near Marash, hardly a day’s journey from Doliche, and probably dating from the first century B.C. It represents in an architectural frame-work the god standing upright on a small bull, which appears to be moving from left to right. He is a bearded figure, whose raised right hand held some attribute now broken off, in all probability a double axe, and whose left hand grasps a thunderbolt. He is clad in Persian costume, accompanied by the divine attendant (suballu) stands before the god, who carries a bundle of weapons. In the field is a star (or sun) and the Egyptian crux ansata.

3 Published by W. H. Ward in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1899 iii. 21 fig. 73.
4 Supra p. 577 fig. 446.
5 Theodoret. hist. eccl. 5. 4.
7 Id. ib. p. 399 fig. 58, Kan op. cit. p. 35 no. 1.
Zeus *Dolichaios* and Jupiter *Dolichenus* 607

wearing boots, hose, a short *chitón* with a broad belt, and a *kândys* or cloak, which is fastened round his neck and is blown back by the wind.

Syrian troops—and, to a less extent, Syrian merchants, slaves and freedmen—carried the cult of this obscure divinity far and wide through the Roman world. It is attested by a numerous series of inscriptions dating from c. 130 to c. 265 A.D., that is, from the time of Hadrian to the time of Gallienus. They are most in evidence during the reigns of Commodus (180–192 A.D.), Septimius Severus (193–211 A.D.), Caracalla (211–217 A.D.), and Alexander Severus (222–235 A.D.).

Commodus was an enthusiastic votary of such deities as Isis and Mithras. Septimius Severus was much under the influence of Iulia Domna, his Syrian wife. Caracalla, their son, himself visited Syria in 215 A.D. Alexander Severus had spent his childhood in Syria as priest of the sun-god Elagabalos, and was, owing to the designs of Artaxerxes king of Persia,

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2. They are collected and arranged in geographical order by Kan *op. cit.* pp. 34–109. A good selection of them is given by Dessau *Inter. Lat. sel.* nos. 4396–4394.
6. Herodian. 5. 3. 3 f.
forced to watch the province with anxious interest\(^1\). No wonder that under these emperors with their Syrian connexion the cult of Jupiter *Dolichenus* became popular.

At Rome he had two sanctuaries, one on the Esquiline, the other on the Aventine. A couple of marble tablets, found in 1734 on the Esquiline near the Tropaea Marii, record that in the reign of Commodus the chapel of Jupiter *Dolichenus* was, at the bidding of the god, enlarged by a certain D. Iunius Pacatus and his son Alexander, and further that on August 1, 191 A.D. soldiers belonging to the second cohort of the Guards presented the god with a tetrastyle dining-room (*tetrastylium*), a fountain (*nymphaeum*), a bowl with a small column, an altar with a small marble column, another small column, a little wheel (*orbiculus*) with a small column, and decorated the whole chapel\(^2\). On the Aventine too there was a *Dolocenum*, which was still standing in the fourth century\(^3\), though no dedications to the god of so late a date are recorded. It adjoined the sites of S. Alessio and S. Sabina, as is clear from several inscriptions found there\(^4\). One of these throws some light on the nature of the cult. It runs as follows\(^5\):

*Good Luck*.

In accordance with a behest of Jupiter *Dolichenus*, Best and Greatest, the Eternal, to him who is the Preserver of the Whole Sky, a Godhead Pre-eminent, a Provider Invincible\(^6\), L. Tettius Hermes, a Roman knight, a candidate\(^8\) and patron of this place, to secure the safety of himself, of Aurelia Restituta his wife,

\(^1\) Dion Cass. 80. 4. 1 ff.

\(^2\) Corp. Inscr. Lat. vi no. 4144, 4145\footnote{= Kan op. cit. p. 65 f. no. 64a, 64b= Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4318, 4319, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1907 i. 3. 356 f}. Other inscriptions which may be referred to this cult-centre are listed by Kan op. cit. p. 66 ff. nos. 65—74.

\(^3\) The *Notitia regionum urbis xii* (written between 334 and 357 A.D.) and the *Curiosis urbis regionum xiv* (written between 357 and 403 A.D.) both say: Regio xiii Aventinis continet...Dolocenum (H. Jordan op. cit. Berlin 1871 ii. 561 f). Their archetype was written between 322 and 315 A.D. (id. ib. ii. 540).

\(^4\) Kan op. cit. p. 70ff. nos. 73—81, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen op. cit. i. 3. 167 f. n. 43.

\(^5\) Corp. Inscr. Lat. vi nos. 406, 3075\footnote{= Kan op. cit. p. 70 f. no. 75= Willmam Ex. inscr. Lat. no. 92, 3= Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4316.}.

\(^6\) Cp. W. Lärfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1907 i. 436 ff. The Latin *b. n. bona fortuna* corresponds with the Greek δραπέ \\*brýx* as a preliminary formula for the sake of an auspicious beginning; see Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. nos. 467, 4316.

\(^7\) b. f. \* ex praeccepto I. o. m. D. aeterni, conservatori totius poli et numinis præstantis *sic* exhibitor invicto, etc. On the epithet *aeterni* see F. Cumont in the Rev. Philol. N.S. 1902 xxvi. 8.

\(^8\) The term *kandidatus* here and in similar inscriptions (Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1466 f) implies, not merely the ritual use of white clothing (T. Mommsen on Corp. Inscr. Lat. vi nos. 406—413 and in the Ephem. epigr. iv. 532), but also that a complete analogy existed between the election of public priests and that of magistrates (F. Cumont loc. cit. p. 10 f).
Zeus Dolichaios and Iupiter Dolichenus 609

of Tettia Pannuchia his daughter, of his household, of Aurelius Lampadius his
well-loved brother, and the safety of the priests, the candidates, and the
worshippers of this place, presented and dedicated the marble tablet with the
proscaenium1 and columns.

Those, whom Iupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest, has chosen to serve him:
M. Aurelius Oenophio Onesimus (by the sign of Acacius) notary, and Septimius
Antonius (by the sign of Olympus) father2, candidates, patrons, well-loved
brothers and most honoured colleagues; Aurelius Magnusius, Aurelius
Serapiacus, Antonius Marianus, M. Iulius Florentinus, chief persons3 of this
place; and Aurelius Severus the veteran, curator of the temple; and Aurelius
Antiochus, priest; Geminus Felix and Vibius Eutychianus, litter-bearers of the
god4; Co ....... centianus

From this it appears that at Rome Iupiter Dolichenus was
regarded as a sky-god ('Preserver of the Whole Sky'), whose
principal priests—like the high officials of the Eleusinian mysteries5
—exchanged their old names for new and sacred titles. The title
'Provider Invincible' suggests that he was, on the one hand, a god
who fertilised the earth for the benefit of men, on the other hand,
a being comparable with various semi-barbaric deities described by
the Greeks as 'Zeus the Unconquered Sun'. It was probably as
a solar power that he ordered the erection of a statue of Apollo in
his precinct7; for two inscriptions found at Rome link his name in
close and yet closer connexion with that of the sun-god. One8 is
a dedication—

To Iupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest, the Eternal, and to the Sun, the
Worthy, the Pre-eminent—

the other9 a similar dedication—

To Iupiter Dolichenus, the Best, the Sun Pre-eminent, and to Iuno the Holy
Mistress, the Castors and Apollo the Preservers.

1 The word proscaenium is used of a façade or porch in front of the temple (De Vit
Lat. Lex. s.v. 'proskenium' § 3).

2 An inscription on a statue of Apollo, now at Charlottenhof near Potsdam but doubt-
less derived from the precinct of Iupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine, mentions the same
two persons by their ritual names only: ex praecepto | I. o. m. D. | per | Acacium |
notarium | et | Olympium | patrem | Antonii Mariani pater et filius | simulacrum
Apollinis | statuerunt (Corp. inscr. Lat. vi nos. 408, 30729 = Kan op. cit. p. 72 no. 78
= Wilmann Ex. inscr. Lat. no. 92, 1 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 4318). The title
pater in both inscriptions means pater sacerdotum.

3 princeps | iuicius loci. Cp. the princeps sacerdotum of the Jews (De Vit Lat. Lex.
s.v. 'princeps' § 22).

4 lecticari dei. This implies that the image of the god was sometimes paraded in a
litter or ferculum (Smith—Wayte—Marindin Dict. Ant. ii. 824).

5 Frazer Golden Bough2: Tabo p. 382 f.

6 Supra pp. 199, 193.

7 Supra n. 2.

8 Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 412 = Kan op. cit. p. 69 no. 72 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel.
no. 4319: I. o. m. a. D. et | Soli digno pres. | etc. This should be read Iovi optimo
maximo aeterno (rather than Augusto) Dolicheno et Soli digno præstantissimo, etc. Cp.
Kan op. cit. p. 76 no. 82 I. o. m. D. et Soli | sacrum.

9 Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 413 = Kan op. cit. p. 68 f. no. 71 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel.
The first inscription couples, the second to all appearance identifies, Jupiter Dolichenus with the Sun. If he, like other Syrian gods, was regarded by the Romans as a solar power, we can understand a curious third-century relief found at Rome near the Scala santa in 1885 (fig. 479). It was dedicated by M. Ulpius Chrestinus, priest of Jupiter Dolichenus, not, as we should have expected, to Dolichenus himself, but ‘to the Invincible Sun’ etc.; and it represents the old priest beside the young sun-god with the moon and two stars in the background.

One of the inscriptions cited above associates Jupiter Dolichenus with a partner-goddess called 'Iuno the Holy Mistress,' and another, probably from the same Esquiline precinct, entitles her 'Iuno the Holy.' A pair of dedications from the Aventine speaks of 'Jupiter no. 4320 (dated 244 A.D.): 1. S. p. D. | et Iunoni sanctae | sorae, Castorib. | et Apollini conservatoribus, etc. This should be read Iovi optimo Soli (rather than sunt) praestantissimo Dolichenus (rather than digne) et Iunoni sanctae sorae (rather than Horeas), etc. Probably Dessau no. 4320, like Dessau no. 4319, came from the Dolichenum on the Aventine; for the former mentions the same priest, C. Fabius Germanus, as the latter and likewise refers to the candidatis huius loci (cp. supra p. 608 n. 8).

3 F. Cumont in the Rev. Philol. N.S. 1902 xxvi. 8 n. 5 remarks: 'Le syncrétisme impérial a considéré tous les Baals syriens comme des dieux solaires.'

4 This is needlessly doubted by Kan op. cit. p. 44.


4 Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 3181 = Kan op. cit. p. 74 no. 82: Soli invicto | pro salute imperatorum | et genio n(umeri) | eq(uitum) singularium eorum M. Ulpius | Chrestinus sac(ri) | Iovis Dolichen(s) | v. s. i. i. [m.]. The inscription was found in the Castra equitum singularium (H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen Formae urbis Romae antiquae Berolini 1912 p. 66).

5 Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 367 = Kan op. cit. p. 69 f. no. 74 (dated 218 A.D.) Iunoni sanctae | in suo Iovis | Dolichen(s) | etc.
Dolichenus, Best and Greatest, and of ‘Iuno the Queen’ respectively. Two more, from Caerleon-on-Usk in Monmouthshire and from Netherby in Cumberland, again link this Jupiter with his Iuno.

The solar aspect of Jupiter Dolichenus and his association with a female partner are alike supported by the extant monuments of his cult. These are fairly numerous and for the most part represent the god as a Roman soldier in full armour. He commonly, however, wears a Phrygian cap instead of a helmet. His raised right hand holds a double axe, his left hand grasps a thunderbolt. By a device already familiar to us he is shown standing on the back of his sacred animal, the bull, which always appears to move from left to right.

This type occurs sometimes in the round. For example, about the year 1648 A.D. a marble statuette, now preserved at Stuttgart, was found in the harbour of Marseille, where it had sunk in some Roman shipwreck. It portrays the god as a beardless warrior erect on the bull’s back. His usual attributes are missing; but an eagle is perched on the ground beneath the bull, and a conical pillar rises from the ground behind the warrior’s back. The base is inscribed To the Dolichenian god (fig. 480). Again, a marble statuette found at Szalan-kemen, probably the site of Acuminicum a Roman station in Lower Pannonia, and purchased for the Vienna collection in 1851, repeats the theme with some variations. The god is here bearded and wears a Phrygian cap. His breast-plate is decorated with an eagle. Another eagle is perched between the

1 Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 366 = Kan op. cit. p. 73 f. no. 81 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 4321: Iovi optimo | maximo Dolichen. | Paezon Aquilaeas | Bassilaeas actor | cum Paezusa filia sua | d. d.

2 Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 365 = Kan op. cit. p. 73 f. no. 81 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 4321: Iunoni | reginae | Paezon | Aquilaeas | Bassilaeas | actor cum Paezusa | filia sua | d. d. Since Iuno Regina had a temple of her own on the Aventine (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1907 i. 3. 165 ff., H. Kiepert et. C. Huelsen Formae urbis Romae antiquaeBerolini 1912 p. 18), it seems probable that the new-comer Jupiter Dolichenus here claimed to be the consort of this ancient goddess, whose temple had been dedicated by the dictator Camillus.

3 Corp. inscr. Lat. vii no. 98 = Kan op. cit. p. 90 no. 112 (on an altar found in 1653 A.D., but now lost) Iovi o. m. Dolichiu[no et] | I[unoni] [Cornelius]? Aemilianus Calpurnius | Rufilius [vir] c[larissimus], [i]leg(atus) | Augustorum, [monitu.]

4 Corp. inscr. Lat. vii no. 956 (on a small altar) I(o)vi o(pitimo) m(aximo) D(olichenos), I(u)n(on) (reginae)?, M[er]i(curio) sanct(o, F)ortuna(e v(otum)] m(erito)? or else Fortunatus v. s. l. m.? 

5 Supra p. 606 f. fig. 478.

6 Reimach Rép. Stat. ii. 21 nos. 2—5, Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture iii. 6 f. no. 1532 fig. 3.

7 Corp. inscr. Lat. xii no. 403 = Kan op. cit. p. 98 no. 132: deo Dolichenio | Oct(avius) Paternus ex iussu eius pro salute | sua et suorum. On this statuette see further Custos Seidl loc. cit. xii. 33 f. pl. 2, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 271 f.
horns of the bull. A third is indicated in relief on a short column, which serves as a support to the bull's body. The right fore-foot of the beast is raised and rests upon a ram's head. The base, as before, bears an inscription To Jupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest (fig. 481). 

How such statuettes were erected and what was the general aspect of a Dolichenus-shrine, may be inferred from the finds made in 1891 by J. Dell at Petronell, the ancient Carnuntum in Upper Pannonia. The shrine was a small but strongly-walled chamber approximately square in plan and entered through a doorway on the east (fig. 482). In the middle rose a rectangular pillar, built like the walls, of rag-stone with inserted tiles. This pillar had

1 Supra pp. 391 f., 425 ff.
2 Corp. inscr. Lat. iii no. 3953 = Kan op. cit. p. 42 no. 26: L. o. m. Dol. | Aurelius Sabinianus et Maximus et Apollinaris sac. | vot. I. l. pos. Aurelius Apollinaris is presumably the M. Aur. Apollinaris, a decurio of Mursella, who dedicated two altars, likewise found at Szalan-kemen, to L. o. m. D. et deo paterno | Com(a)geno (Corp. inscr. Lat. iii Suppl. no. 10243 = Kan op. cit. p. 42 f. no. 27). On the statuette here reproduced see further Custos Seidl loc. cit. xii. 34 f. pl. 1, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 27 f.
3 J. Dell in the Arch.-op. Mitth. 1893 xvi. 176—187 with figs. 14—24 and pl. 1.
4 Id. ib. p. 177 fig. 14 = Kan op. cit. p. 47 f. fig.
once held up a vaulted roof, above which there had been a second room with a tiled mosaic flooring. The walls of the lower chamber were plastered and showed traces of paint. Its floor was laid with big square tiles. Three overturned altars (B, C, D in fig. 482) bore inscriptions To Jupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest: the most perfect of them (C) is here represented (fig. 483). Beside these altars the shrine contained a limestone relief, a marble statue, and a bronze statuette; all representing the god. The relief (E, E₁) is a tapering slab with rounded top, set on a moulded base (F): its background is painted blue and inscribed in red letters with a dedication to

![Fig. 484.](image)

![Fig. 485.](image)

Iupiter, who stands as usual on his bull (fig. 484). The statue (H), broken but still well-preserved, shows him erect on the ground:

1 Corp. inscr. Lat. iii Suppl. nos. 11131, 11132, 11133, J. Dell loc. cit. p. 178 ff. figs. 16, 17, 18, E. Bormann ib. pp. 210 ff., 215 ff., Kan op. cit. p. 50 f. nos. 42, 43, 44.
2 Corp. inscr. Lat. iii Suppl. no. 11132, J. Dell loc. cit. p. 180 f. fig. 17, E. Bormann ib. p. 215 f., Kan op. cit. p. 51 no. 43: I. o. m. D. | C. Secundius sacerdos | v. s. l. l. m.
3 Corp. inscr. Lat. iii Suppl. no. 11129, J. Dell loc. cit. p. 182 f. fig. 20, E. Bormann
Zeus *Dolichaios* and Jupiter *Dolichenus* 615

his right hand uplifts a double-axe; his left holds the remains of a thunderbolt and rests upon a rock (fig. 485). Of the statuette (Ἀ) all that remains is a raised left arm wearing a tight sleeve and grasping a winged bolt: the sleeve was once silvered, and the spikes of the bolt have thin silver-foil twisted round them (fig. 486).

But the most complete and interesting monuments relating to the cult of this god are certain triangular plates of bronze, about

![Fig. 486.](image)

a foot from base to apex, which have here and there come to light. The national museum at Pesth possesses a pair, which either formed back and front of the same dedication, or less probably were combined with a third, now missing, to make a pyramid. They were discovered at Kömlöd in Hungary, a place which has been

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1 J. Dell *loc. cit.* pp. 182, 184 fig. 22, Kan *op. cit.* p. 49 no. 39.
2 J. Dell *loc. cit.* p. 181 f. fig. 19, Kan *op. cit.* p. 49 f. no. 40.
identified with Lussionium in Lower Pannonia. The reliefs on these plates appear to have been partially gilded and silvered. The first plate (fig. 487)\(^1\) represents a bearded Jupiter *Dolichenus* in his accustomed attitude. Close to his head is a star (possibly the planet Jupiter). A Victory with wreath and palm approaches him. Before him burns a small altar. His bull stands on a base inscribed *To Jupiter Dolichenus*\(^2\) and flanked by busts of Hercules with his club and Minerva with her helmet and lance. Above the main design are two panels of diminishing size: the lower one contains busts of the Sun and Moon; the upper one, a lily-plant. The second plate (fig. 488)\(^3\) is divided into five registers. Highest up is the same lily. Then comes an eagle with spread wings. Next

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\(^1\) Kan *op. cit.* p. 43 f. no. 28, a. The best publication of this plate is that of Desjardins and F. Römer *A. N. Museum römischer einleitet.* *Monumenta epigr. du Mus. National.* Budapest 1873 p. 11 f. pl. 5, whence it is reproduced by A. von Domaszewski in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1895 xiv. 59 f. pl. 4, 1\(^a\). See also Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xii. 36 f. pl. 3, 1, E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1193 f. fig., S. Reinach in Daremburg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 331 fig. 2489, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 271 f.

\(^2\) *Corpus inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3316 Iovi Dulicheni P. A. El. (*i.e.* P. Ael.) | Lucillius coh. I. A. peq. (*i.e.* centurio coh. oris) I Alpinorum eqq.(uitatae).

\(^3\) Kan *op. cit.* p. 43 f. no. 28, b. Desjardins and Römer *op. cit.* pl. 6 is reproduced by Domaszewski *loc. cit.* pl. 4, 1\(^b\). See also Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xii. 36 f. pl. 3, 2, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 36 f. pl. 5, 8, A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 53 ff. fig. 17, S. Reinach in Daremburg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 332 fig. 2490, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 271 f.
Zeus Dolichaios and Jupiter Dolichenus 617
to it, in a separate panel as before, are busts of the Sun with a whip (?) and the Moon with a torch. The compartment below shows in the centre an altar burning, above which a large but indistinct object (possibly a bunch of grapes with two fluttering lemnisci) appears in the air. To the left of the altar stands Jupiter Dolichenus on his bull; his right hand is raised and holds an uncertain attribute (double-axe badly rendered); his left grasps a thunderbolt. To the right of the altar stands a goddess, presumably Iuno, on an ibex. The lowest and largest division represents Jupiter uplifting his right hand and holding a thunderbolt in his left over a lighted altar. He stands in a small distyle temple, to either side of which is a legionary standard surmounted by its eagle. These standards in turn are flanked by two deities, probably intended for forms of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Each of them has corn-ears or perhaps a spiky thunderbolt in his left hand; one uplifts his right hand; the other holds in it a flower-shaped (solar) disk. Both are standing behind the foreparts of two bulls conjoined by means of similar flower-shaped disks. The two bronze plates are bound along their common sides by a leaf-pattern. It has been stated that their apex was formerly adorned with a small winged Victory standing on a globe and holding a palm-branch in her left hand. But the statement appears to be a mere conjecture: in any case the little figure has vanished.

In the Archaeological Institute at Vienna is a pair of similar, but fragmentary, plates, found at Traizmauer, the ancient Trigisamum in Noricum. The front (fig. 489)\(^1\), which still shows traces of silvering, presents in high relief a bearded Jupiter Dolichenus with axe and bolt. Above him is an eagle with folded wings. At his right side, on a smaller scale, is a god, like himself bearded and wearing a Phrygian cap, who holds a spear in his right hand, a quartered globe or disk in his left. This god stood originally behind the foreparts of two bulls, the horn of one being visible under his arm\(^2\). Other fragments belonging to the same plate show parts of the bulls behind which a corresponding god stood on the left of Jupiter, and in a lower register beneath this figure a goddess more

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\(^1\) Supra p. 567 ff.
\(^3\) R. Münsterberg loc. cit. p. 230 ff. fig. 103 well compares a small bronze statuette of unknown origin now at Vienna, which shows a bearded god wearing a kalathos and uplifting a double-axe and a three-petalled flower between two bulls emergent from either side of him.
like Venus than Iuno. Lowest of all came a handled label, probably bearing an inscription. The back-plate (fig. 490)\textsuperscript{1}, which, when found, was fitted into a groove formed by bending round the edges of the front-plate\textsuperscript{2}, exhibits a crescent, containing a horned bust of the Moon. Below it stands Mars with helmet, spear, and

\textsuperscript{1} Kan \textit{op. cit.} p. 55 ff. no. 58, \textit{a}, A. von Domaszewski \textit{loc. cit.} p. 60 pl. 4, 2\textsuperscript{b}, R. Münsterberg \textit{loc. cit.} p. 231 f. pl. 7 (the best publication).

\textsuperscript{2} G. Loeschcke \textit{loc. cit.} p. 69, R. Münsterberg \textit{loc. cit.} p. 249.
Zeus Dolichaios and Iupiter Dolichenus 619

shield, and beside him his northern attribute—a goose with outstretched neck.

A fragment of another bronze plate, similar in character to the foregoing, was found in 1895 on the Roman frontier at Aalen in Württemberg (perhaps to be identified with Aquileia in Upper Germany) and is now at Stuttgart. It was originally triangular in shape, gilded, and adorned with analogous designs. In the middle is a tree with leaves and fruit. To the left of it stands Dolichenus on his bull; to the right, his consort on her cow. Below him was a helmeted god, probably Mars; below her, Minerva, beside whom appears part of the god flanked by two bulls.

At Heddernheim in Hesse-Nassau two triangular plates of cast bronze were found in 1841 and 1826, respectively, during the excavation of a Roman settlement on the Heidenfeld: they are preserved in the Museum for Nassau Antiquities at Wiesbaden. One of these plates is fortunately complete. Its front (pl. xxxiv) contains four rows of figures. Uppermost is a rayed bust of the Sun. Below that, a Victory with palm-branch and wreath hovers over the head of Iupiter Dolichenus. He is represented as a bearded god with a Phrygian cap and a Roman breast-plate. At his side hangs his sword in its scabbard. His right hand brandishes a double-axe; his left grasps a thunderbolt consisting of six spirally-twisted tines, each of which is tipped with an arrow-head. The bull that supports the god has a rosette on its forehead between the eyes. The lowest register is filled with a motley assemblage of

1 Kan. op. cit. p. 58 ff. no. 63. F. Haug and G. Sixt Die römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke Württembergs Stuttgart 1900 i. 43 ff. no. 57 fig. 23.
2 A. von Cohausen Führer durch das Altertumsmuseum zu Wiesbaden p. 236.
3 Kan. op. cit. p. 103 f. no. 145. b. Custos Seidl loc. cit. xii. 39 pl. 3 3. Overbeck Gr. Kunsthymn. Zeus p. 271 f., Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke er. op. cit. ii. 1. 54 f. pl. 5, 6. Seidl’s illustration being inexact (Wernicke loc. cit. p. 54 n.), I have reproduced the excellent plate given by G. Loescheke in the Bonner Jahrbücher 1901 xvi pl. 8. The bronze triangle is 0.47m high and 0.195m broad at the base. It was found in the débris of an ancient building along with ashes, charcoal, broken pottery and bricks.
4 A slate palette from a pre-dynastic grave at El Geresh shows a cow’s head with five-pointed stars on the tips of its horns and ears and a six-pointed star above its forehead between the horns (W. M. Flinders Petrie—G. A. Wainwright—E. Mackay The Labyrinthe Gerzeh and Masqounah London 1912 p. 22 pl. 6, 7). On a relief from the neighbourhood of Tyre the bulls of the sun-god and the moon-goddess enclose with their tails a rosette and a disk with curved rays respectively (R. Dussaud in the Rev. Arch. 1904 ii. 233 fig. 21 id. Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1905 p. 89 fig. 21, E. Pottier in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1907 xxxi. 241 n. 7). A copper of Lappa in Crete shows a bull’s head facing with a rosette on the forehead (J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crète ancienne Macon 1890 i. 212 pl. 19, 36 and in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894 xviii. 118). The magnificent silver cow’s head found in the fourth shaft-grave at Mykenai has its horns made of gold and a large rosette between them plated with gold (Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l’ Art vi. 820 ff. fig. 398). A ‘Minoan’ krater from Arpela in Kypros belonging
eastern and southern deities. In the midst is Isis on a hind (?). She bears a sceptre in one hand, a *sistrum* in the other; and on her head is an Isiac head-dress, composed apparently of a solar disk between two feathers. To right and left of Isis is a couple of half-figures rising from two heaps of stones. They, like Jupiter *Dolichenus*, are armed with breast-plates; but they seem to have helmets, not Phrygian caps, on their heads. Their upraised hands grasp four flowers with a central spike, probably lilies. And on their helmets rest busts of the Moon and the Sun: the former wears a crescent; the latter, a rayed *nimbus*. The upper portion of the plate was originally intended to have been shaped like an arrow-head, as may be seen from the incised lines still traceable on it. The resemblance to a weapon is strengthened by a raised rib, triangular in section, which bisects the back of the plate. With this monument also, as with that from Lussonium, a small statuette of Victory is said to have been recovered. But that such a figure once stood on the apex is again only an improbable conjecture.

The other plate found at Hedernheim is fragmentary. Its front (fig. 491) has preserved the reliefs from the top two registers of a like monument. The upper division contains a bust of Sarapis; the lower, busts of the Sun and the Moon. The Sun has the horns of a bull; the Moon, a rayed *nimbus*: both bear whips. Over their heads are two stars: beneath them is a third, which may have stood in relation to a figure of Jupiter *Dolichenus*, now lost. The back of this plate too is decorated with a raised rib.

Prof. G. Loeschcke has put forward the reasonable conjecture that these triangular plates of bronze were intended to represent, by their very shape, the thunderbolt of Jupiter *Dolichenus*. It is to the Louvre, shows a bull, whose flank is adorned with a large rayed rosette: this, however, may be merely decorative (Bull. corr. hell. 1907 xxxi. 279 fig. 5, 241, Morin-Jean *Le dessin des Animaux en Grèce* Paris 1911 p. 23 fig. 13). Bronze coins of Neapolis in Campania have for their reverse type the forepart of a man-headed bull, on the shoulder of which is a star of four or eight rays (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 86 pl. 86, 1, cp. *ib.* p. 72 f. pl. 83, 14, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 108 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 39, J. N. Svoronos in Bull. corr. hell. 1894 xviii. 113 figs. 33—35).

2. Cp. *e.g.* the many varieties of Bronze-Age daggers, swords, spear-heads etc.


6. Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xiii. 244 f. with fig.
9. *Id. ib.* p. 72.
Jupiter Dolichenus on a bronze plate from Heddernheim.

See page 619 ff.
indeed possible that they were sometimes regarded as his weapon: the half-worked barbs of the first Hedderneheim plate, the raised rib on the back of it and of its fellow, the spear-like aspect of a third plate from the same locality\(^1\), all support that view. Nevertheless, since Jupiter *Dolichenus* never brandishes a weapon of this form but always\(^2\) a double-axe and a thunderbolt of normal shape, it is safer to conclude that the bronze triangular plates were originally substitutes for bronze pyramids or stone pyramids sheathed with bronze. And we have already surmised that the pyramid as a ritual object points to the cult of a mountain-deity\(^3\). The god of thunder and lightning naturally dwells on a mountain-top.

The lily-plants of the Kömlöd dedication\(^4\) and the lily-flowers

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1. *Infra* p. 627 f. *fig. 493*.
2. Occasionally the god is so far Romanised that he stands, like an ordinary Jupiter, in his temple with a thunderbolt in one hand, a sceptre or lance in the other (*infra* p. 627 f.).
of the Hedernheim plate raise a further question. What have lilies to do with a god who stands on a bull grasping a double-axe and a thunderbolt? To modern ears this sounds a strange combination of frailty with force. We note, however, that the lilies—mountain-ranging lilies, as Meleagros termed them—are somehow related to the mountain. On the Kómlöd dedication they spring from the apex of a plate, which, if we are on the right track, originally symbolised a mountain. On the Hedernheim plate they were held up by deities emergent from heaps of stones. On other plates, to be considered later, the whole pyramid is surrounded and topped by a growth of lilies. We are reminded of the Egyptian vignette in which the divine cow looks out from the mountain-side and thereby causes vegetation to flourish. Now the storm-god on his bull was essentially a fertilising power. It may therefore be supposed that the lilies appear on his mountain as a sign and symbol of fertility.

This belief, probably indigenous in the Mediterranean area, underlay the decorative use of the flower from ‘Minoan’ to mediaeval times. Lilies were wrought by Pheidias on the golden robe of his great chryselephantine Zeus. Another statue of Zeus at Olympia, turned towards the rising sun, held an eagle in one hand, a thunderbolt in the other, and on its head wore a wreath of lilies: it was an offering of the Metapontines and the work of Aristonous, an Aeginetan sculptor. Yet another Zeus at Olympia, made by Askaros the Theban, a pupil of Kanachos, and dedicated by the Thessalians, represented the god bearing a thunderbolt in his right hand and ‘crowned as it were with flowers’. On an Etruscan mirror figuring the birth of Dionysos

1 Supra p. 620.
2 Anth. Pal. 5. 143. 2 (Meleagros) θᾶλας δ’ αχριστάφωνα κράνα.
4 Supra p. 627 ff.
5 Plin. nat. hist. 21. 34 alba lilia...nihilque est secundius una radice quinquagenos sese emittente bulbos.
7 A. de Gubernatis La mythologie des plantes Paris 1882 ii. 200 ff.
8 Paus. 5. 11. 1 τῷ δὲ ιαμή χόδα τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰ κρίνα ἐκεῖνον ἐμπέσκομεν.
9 Paus. 5. 22. 5. The manuscripts in general read ἐπίσκεπτα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κρανοστέφανῳ, ἀνθη τὰ κρίνα, which is kept by F. Spiro (1903). But cod. Lb. has ἀνθη. And Palmer’s c. k. χόδα is accepted by Schubart and Walz (1838—1839, 1847), L. Dindorf (1845), J. G. Frazer (1898), and H. Hitzi—H. Blümner (1901).
10 Paus. 5. 24. 1 τὸ ἐντεφαρμαλεων δὲ ολὰ δὴ ἀνθη, κ. τ. λ.

The Duc de Luynes in the Nouv. Ann. 1836 i. 391 compared the Talleyrand Zeus of
Zeus (Tinia) has an eagle- sceptre in his right hand, a winged thunderbolt in his left, and a wreath of lilies on his head.1 The storm-god as fertilising agent was appropriately decked with the most fertile of flowers.

In Hellenistic times the same conception made its way into mythology both poetic and popular. Nikandros tells how Aphrodite, jealous of the lily’s spotless purity, placed in its centre the phalloi of an ass.2 And a lily-flower growing in north Africa was known to all and sundry as the ‘seed of Ammon’.

The lily as a symbol of fertility probably belonged to an earth-goddess before it was associated with a sky-god. On a gold ring found by Messrs Drosinos and Stamatakis in a complex of buildings to the south of the grave-precinct at Mykenai a goddess seated on a pile of stones beneath a tree wears a lily in her hair and her attendant handmaidens are similarly adorned.3 Coins of Biannos in Crete have as reverse type a lily, as obverse a female head—presumably that of Bianna, who appears to have been an earth-power of some sort.4 Hera too, who by many enquirers from

the Louvre (Arch. Zeit. 1875 xxxii pl. 9), whose diadem is composed of palmettes alternating with half-open lotus-buds. In view of the fact that the lily was the Greek equivalent of the lotus his comparison was just.

1 Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iii. 84 ff. pl. 82, Overbeck Gr. Kunsthysth. Zeus p. 187 f. Atlas pl. 1, 37. Gerhard (op. cit. iii. 85 n. 108) thinks that the wreath consists of pomegranate-flowers; but cp. the lily-wreath and lily-sceptre of Zeus on another Etruscan mirror published by the same scholar a few years later (ib. iv. 10 pl. 281).


3 C. Leemans Papyri Graeci Musae Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi Leyden 1885 ii. 41 pap. 5 col. 14, 26 γάιος Ἀμμων, κρωνάθεος, R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1857.


5 J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crète ancienne Macon 1890 i. 43 pl. 3, 15 (flower), Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums Leipzig 1889 p. 63 (lily), Head Hist. num. 2 p. 459 (rose).

6 Steph. Byz. s.v. Βιοντος: πόλις Κρήτης: οἱ μὲν αὐτὸ Βιόντον τοῦ τῶν Κωρήτων ἐνός· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τῶν Ἀρχαγερομηνίας, διὸ ἦν ἐπισκόπων ἀπὸ τῶν καὶ Εὐφίλτων τῶν ἄνδρων Ποσειδίων, καὶ μήχαρι καὶ νῦν τὰ καλούμενα ἐκατομφόιρα θέτει τῷ Ἀρεί, ὁ πολίτης Βιόντος. οἱ δὲ τιμῆροι ἀντιπαίροντες τῷ Τημελίῳ Δίοι καὶ Βιόντοις, ἕστη καὶ ἕτερα τῶν ἐν Γαλλία, αὔχων γὰρ ποτε συμπάντας Κρήτης κατασχόντως, εἰς ἑτέρας τόπους ἐπικινδύνου, οὐκέτας δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἢ θανάτου, ἀνεῖχας καὶ πνεύματος ἐπικαλούμενος, χρησιμοὶ οὖσαν ὀφθαλμάς, ὡς τῶν ἐν Κρήτῃ, ἐν τῶν μαίνομεν τὸν ἑαυτόν, καταχθήνας ἐν τούτῳ τῶν συντεχνῶν τῆς Γαλλίας, ἐλεύθερον ἡμᾶς, εἰσελθὼν, καὶ τῆς τοίνυν ἀτοίχως ἐνυπνεών, ὡς τίνος ἡμῖν ἐλήφθη.

Another Cretan virgin that suddenly vanished was Britomartis, who escaped the pursuit of Minos by disappearing in a grove at Aigina and was thenceforth worshipped as the goddess Aphaia (Ant. Lib. 40). The story of Persephone, carried off by Plouton while she watched the Nymphs dancing and plucked the lilies of Enna (Colun. de rer.
Emepokles downwards has been regarded as an earth-goddess, was said to delight in the lily. Her head on silver coins of Elis (c. 421—365 B.C.) wears a stephánē, which is decorated at first with lilies, later with a variety of floral patterns. A story told of this goddess in the Geoponika is here in point. Zeus, desiring to make Herakles, his son by Alkmene, immortal, put the babe to the breast of Hera as she lay asleep. When the babe was sated, the milk of the goddess still flowing caused the Milky Way to cross the sky and, dropping to earth, made the milk-white lily to spring up.

The belief that the lily was somehow connected with Zeus lingered on into post-classical times. Byzantine writers regarded

10. 269 ff.; but see Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1185 n. 3 for variants), suggests that both Bianna and Aphaia were borne off to become queen of an underground king.

2 For a critical review of the evidence see e.g. Farnell Cults of Gr. States i. 181 ff., Gruppe cit. p. 1125 n. 3, S. Eitrein in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 398 ff.

3 Clem. Al. pedid. 2. 8. 72. 4 p. 201. 24 Stählin κηρύις τῆς ἑλέσθαι τῆς Ἡρας ἄνωθεν.


6 The coins of Elis mentioned in notes 3 and 4 must be studied in connexion with the simultaneous issues of Argos, on which the head of Hera was probably inspired by the famous master-piece of Polykleitos (see Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Hera pp. 41 ff., 101 ff. Münztaf. 2, 6 ff. and 14 ff., id. Gr. Plastik i. 509 ff., P. Gardner in the Num. Chron. 1879 xix. 238 ff., id. Types of Gr. Coins pp. 137 ff., 159 pl. 8, 13—15, 39 ff., Farnell Cults of Gr. States i. 213 ff., 232 ff. coin-pl. A, 17 and 18, A. Lambropoulos in the Zeitschr. f. Num. 1895 xix. 224 ff., Sir C. Waldstein in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1901 xxi. 30—44 with figs. 1—3 and pls. 2 f.). In the Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 459 ff. I conjectured that the plant ὀστρεπλώ, which grew on the banks of the river Asterion near the Argive Heraion and was offered to Hera, its leaves being twined into wreaths for her (Paus. 2. 17—2), was a species of lily. This, however, is very doubtful. A. Frickenhaus in Tityrus i. 127—135 argues well in support of the view that the ὀστρεπλώ was, like the ὀστρεπλώ of Kratenas, 'eine violetten Nelke': he might have strengthened his case yet further, had he noticed that hemiylobos of Argos struck before 421 B.C. exhibit as their obverse type a star-shaped flower (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus p. 138 pl. 27, 8, Anson Num. Gr. ii. 71 no. 766 pl. 14, iii. 134 no. 1405).

7 Geopon. 11. 19. Cp. pseudo-Eratosth. catast. 44. Lyk. Al. 1227 f. with Tzetza ad loc., Paus. 9. 25, 2, Diod. 4. 9. See also the painting by Jacopo Robusti il Tintoretto (1518—1594 A.D.) now in the National Gallery (no. 131: S. Reinach Rép. Peintures ii. 730, 2), and that by Peter Paul Rubens designed in 1637 for the Torre de la Parada at Madrid (E. Dillon Rubens London 1909 pp. 178, 198 pl. 432) and now in the Prado. On the folk-lore of the Milky Way see further Mestinse 1884—85 ii. 151 ff. La Voie Lactée, P. Sébiliot Le Folk-lore de France Paris 1904 i. 34 ff.

8 The Corinthians called the lily ἄμυθοεια (Nik. linguae ap. Athen. 681 b, cp. Nik. geogr. frag. 2. 18 ap. Athen. 683 d); and this flower grew from the head of a statue of Alexander the Great in Kos (Nik. ap. Athen. 684 e)—doubtless an allusion to his apotheosis (Farnell Cults of Gr. States i. 128 n. 3, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1123 n. 3, Class. Rev. 1906 xx. 377).
it as the flower of the planet Zeus. For example, Konstantinos Manasses, who in the middle of the twelfth century composed a universal history in ‘political’ verse, thus describes the creation of the stars:

Then first the sky beheld the mighty stars,
Fair spheres that vied one with another and decked
Its surface, as do flowers in the fields.\(^1\)
Kronos was somewhat dark and leaden of hue;
Zeus shone like silver; Ares glowed like fire;
Helios beamed bright as thrice-refined gold;
The globe of Aphrodite had the glint
Of tin; like bronze the red-rayed Hermes flared;
Clear as a crystal was Selene’s light.
Thus many-coloured was the sky’s robe seen.
Kronos was blue as is the hyacinth;
Zeus like a lily shone; a violet, Ares;
The golden Helios was a crimson rose;\(^2\)
The morning star, a white-flowered pimpernel;
Hermes shot rays, a blossom steeped in red;
Selene, a narcissus with fair petals.
Such was the flower-bed that adorned the sky;
Yea, such a pleasance, diverse, gracious, gleaming,
Was planted there upon the face of heaven,
And made a star-set garden of the sky
With God for gardener, and for plants and herbs
And flowers pied the flashing of the stars.\(^3\)

Another Byzantine scholar drew up in prose a list of the seven planets, to each of which he assigned its appropriate metal and plant: a later hand added a series of corresponding animals.\(^4\)

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1 I do not remember to have met with this conceit in classical literature. It occurs, of course, in modern poetry, e.g. H. W. Longfellow Evangeline 1. 3 ‘Silently one by one, in the infinite meadows of heaven, I blossomed the lovely stars, the forget-me-nots of the angels.’

2 For Zeus Αργύρου see supra p. 25 n. 2.

3 J. Millingen Ancient Unedited Monuments Series ii London 1826 p. 36 pl. 19, 2 figured a terra-cotta disk, which represents the head of Helios emerging from the petals of a rose—a type probably based on coins of Rhodes (e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 240 pl. 39, 16 the sun rising out of a rose, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 441 no. 38).

4 Konst. Manass. comp. chron. 113—134 Bekker.

5 Piccolomini in the Rivista di Filologia ii. 159 published the following among other Planudean excerpts: τών ἐκτὰ πλατύτων τὰ χρώματα τῶν τε ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν ἀνθέων ἀνέτοις ἀναλογοῦσι τοῖς χρώμασι. Κρόνος μὲν μελέτῳ καὶ διακύθῳ, Ζεύς δὲ ἀργύρῳ καὶ κρίνει, ἡμέρας τοιούτως ἀνέτοις ἀναλογοῦσι τοῖς χρώμασι.

6 Ἰλίοις καὶ πολλαπλασίας, Ζελήθει δὲ καὶ ταξίδευσιν καὶ ναρκήσεσιν. The interlinear glosses are by the hand of a corrector. J. Bernays in the Arch. Zeit. 1875 xxxii. 99 cites Lobeck Aglaophamus p. 936 and Brandis in Hermes 1867 ii. 266, where passages are collected bearing on the attribution of different metals to different planets. Lists varied. Thus
Thus the completed list embraces the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>God</th>
<th>Animal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kronos</td>
<td>Lead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeus</td>
<td>Hyacinth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ares</td>
<td>Silver</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hecatos</td>
<td>Lily</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aethra</td>
<td>Iron</td>
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<td>Helios</td>
<td>Violet</td>
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<td>Aphrodite</td>
<td>Gold</td>
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<td>Rose</td>
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<td>Selene</td>
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<td>Pimpemel</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

These Byzantine attributions were not mere fancy-flights of late and irresponsible authors, but a systematised selection from the customs and cults of the Roman Empire. In particular, there is reason to think that silver as well as the lily was associated with Jupiter Dolichenus. The bronze statuette of the god at Carnuntum was silvered, the points of its thunderbolt being wound round with silver-foil (supra fig. 486). The triangular bronze plates from Kömlöd were partially gilded and silvered; those from Traizmauer were silvered; that from Aalen was gilded. Five silver plates dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus, and probably all derived from his temple at Heddernheim, have been published by Cramer anec. Paris. iii. 113, 4 ff. (cited by Gruppe Gr. Myth. Kel. p. 1491 n. 4) τοῦτοι τῶν ἄστερων ἐνί ἐκατόν ἄσειον καὶ ὦλαι. τῇ Κρόνῳ ἄλκαλος, τῷ Δί ὁ χρυσός, τῷ Ἀρείῳ σίδηρος, τῷ Ἡμίῳ ἀληκτρον, τῷ Ἀφροδίτῃ κασάτερον, τῷ Ἑρμῷ ἄλκαλος, τῷ Δίῳ μύλιδδος, τῇ Σελήνῃ ὁ ἄργυρος (cp. Pind. frug. 222 Schroeder Δίος παῖς ὁ χρυσός κ.τ.λ.). ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ οἶνοι. ἡ κορώνῃ τῷ Κρόνῳ, ὁ ἀστέρι τῷ Δί ὡς βασιλεί, τῷ τῶν ἱδρῶν βασιλεύτερον, ὁ κολούς τῷ Ἀρείῳ διὰ τὸ παραχώδες, τῷ Ἡμίῳ ημῖσυ τῷ Ἀττίλλου ὁ κύκλος, δ ὁ ἐστὶ γένος ἱεράκων ταχύτατον, τῷ Ἡμίῳ ὁ κύκλος, ὁ μούσικος. τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἡ περιπετεία, ὡς ποτησία, ἀλλ' ἐν καθλ. Pind. Isthm. 4 (5). 2 ἐκάστῳ δὲ τῶν ἄστερων ἔλθε τὰ ἀνάγεται καὶ Ἡμίῳ μὲν ὁ χρυσός, Σελήνῃ δὲ ὁ ἄργυρος. Ἀρείῳ σίδηρος, Κρόνῳ μύλιδδος, Δίῳ ἀληκτρον, Ἑρμῷ κασάτερος, Ἀφροδίτῃ καλάλος (cp. Prokl. in Plat. Tim. i. 43, 5 ff. Diehl with scho. ad loc. i. 460, 22 ff. Diehl, Olympiod. in Aristot. meteōn. 3 p. 59 f.) and Orig.-c. Cels. 6. 22 ἢ πρώτῃ τῶν πτιῶν μύλιδδου, ἡ δευτέρα κασάτερου, ἡ τρίτῃ χαλκοῦ, ἡ τετάρτη σίδηρον, ἡ πέμπτῃ καρποτοῦ νομίσματος, ἡ ἐκτῇ ἄργυρου, χρυσοῦ δ' ἡ ἐβδόμη. τῇ πρώτῃ τιθεται Κρόνου, τῷ μυλιδίῳ τεκυμισμένῳ την βραδύτητα του ἄστερον. τῇ δευτέρᾳ Ἀφροδίτῃ, παραβάλλετε αὕτη τὸ φαινόν τε καὶ μαλακόν του κασάτερου. τῇ τρίτῃ του Δίος την χαλκοβράτην καὶ στερεάν τῇ τετάρτῃ Ἑρμοῖ. τῇ πέμπτῃ του Δίος την ἄργυραν- ἐβδόμην Ὠλου την χρυσήν, μυλισμένον ταύχρος αἵτιν. τῇ πεντάτῃ Ἃρον την εἰ του κράματος ἀνάμαλως τε καὶ τεκύλως ἐκτήτῃ. τῇ Σελήνῃ την ἄργυρων- ἐβδόμην Ὠλου την χρυσήν, μυλισμένον ταύχρος αἵτιν. (cp. Eustath. in II. p. 252, 2 ff., p. 1154, 48 ff.). A. Ludwich as an appendix to his edition (Lipsiae 1877) of Maximus and Ammon prints certain anecdotata astrologica, of which section 6 τί σημαίνει ἐκκατά τῶν ἱδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄστερων καὶ τῶν δεικτῶν includes the vegetables, minerals, and animals appropriate to the seven planets. Of Zeus we read: p. 120, 19 f. Δίος ἄγαν, κράθη, δρόμη, ἅλμα καὶ τὰ στόματα την ἀνία, p. 121, 8 f. Δίος κασάτερον, βατρηστο τι καὶ ταύξις λευκός, σαμβαράτης, θείον καὶ ταῦτα, p. 122, 1 Ζεὺς ἄσθροποι καὶ λέοντας καὶ τα καθάρα ὄρρεα.  

1 Supra p. 616.
2 Supra p. 617.
3 Supra p. 619.
Zeus *Dolichaios* and Jupiter *Dolichenus* 627

K. Zangemeister and E. Gerhard. Of these, three are in the Gold Room at the British Museum. One (fig. 492)\(^1\) represents the god as standing in a distyle building, the gable of which contains a wreath. He holds a thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre or lance in his left. On the ground at his feet is an eagle. Beneath the building is the votive inscription\(^2\); above it, a big lily, each petal of which terminates in a similar but smaller lily, the central one supporting at its apex a floral crescent. All three petals are marked with a medial pattern closely resembling that on certain plates already described\(^3\). The same design comes out yet more clearly on the second specimen (fig. 493)\(^4\), which above and below its inscription\(^5\) has a spear-head enclosed in a frame of lily-work.

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1. K. Zangemeister in the *Bauern Jahrbücher* 1901 cvii. 61 f. pl. 6, 1.
2. I. o. m. Dolichenos ubi ferrum nascitur Flavius Fidelis et Q. Iulius Posstimus ex imperio ipsius pro se et suis.
4. K. Zangemeister *loc. cit.* 1901 cvii. 63 pl. 6, 2 and 3.
5. I. o. m. Dolichenos Domitianus Germanus v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).
The third silver plate (fig. 494)\(^1\) shows a distyle temple, in the gable of which are a crescent moon and two stars. The architrave is arched in the centre so as to leave room for the inscription\(^2\). Below is an altar. To the left of it stands Jupiter Dolichenus on his bull with double-axe, thunderbolt, and coat of mail. It is noticeable that the arrow-shaped points of the thunderbolt have raised central ribs. To the right of the altar stands a female (?) figure, probably on an animal now broken away, holding a *patera* in one hand, a sceptre in the other. A Victory, hovering in the air, presents a wreath to Jupiter. The whole design was enclosed in lily-work, which is much crumpled and mutilated. The remaining two silver plates are in the Berlin Museum. One of them so nearly resembles the first of the London plates that a separate description of it is unnecessary\(^2\). The other\(^4\) represents the god standing in a distyle temple, the capitals and *akrotéria* of which are of the lily-pattern. He holds a six-pronged thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre or lance in his left, and wears a simple cloak hanging from his left shoulder. At his feet is an eagle perched on a globe and supporting a wreath in his beak. The field of the design is embellished with four medallions depicting Cupid with a round shield and a lance: of these medallions the upper two are connected with the temple.

\(^1\) K. Zangemeister *op. cit.* cvii. 63 pl. 7, 1. Fig. 494 is from a photograph taken for me by Mr. W. H. Hayles.

\(^2\) I·O·M | DOLI... | NVTI...... | T........... So A. S. Murray. But, on examining the plate with the help of Mr. F. H. Marshall, I made out a few more letters, *viz.* (a) on the left of the break 1·O·M | DO(L)N(V)TIA | S (O?)·(T)IB | ... | T·DAM[... and (b) on the right of the break (A?) (> (O?)\(^3\).

\(^3\) E. Gerhard 'Juppiter Dolichenus' in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1863 xxxv. 31 ff. pl. 1, 1, A. H. Kan *De Iovis Dolicheni cultu* Groningae 1901 p. 105 ff. no. 150, K. Zangemeister *loc. cit.* 1901 cvii. 64 pl. 7, 2. It is inscribed: I·O·M Dolichenon Antonius Proclus (> = centuria) Germani v(otum) s(olvit) I(libens) l(actus) m(erito).

\(^4\) E. Gerhard *loc. cit.* 1863 xxxv. 31 ff. pl. 1, 2, Kan *op. cit.* p. 106 no. 151.
Zeus Dolichaios and Iupiter Dolichenus 629

Iupiter Dolichenus was in some sense, then, a god of precious metals—a fact which leads us to remark on the frequency of the name Aurelius in his votive inscriptions\(^1\). Doubtless the imperial Aurellii with their numerous freedmen spread the name far and

\(^1\) Kan \textit{op. cit.} p. 17.
wide through Romanised lands. Still, something more than this seems needed to account for the constant association of an Aurelius or an Aurelia with Jupiter Dolichenus. Thus H. Dessau prints thirty-two Latin inscriptions bearing on this divinity. They include two emperors (M. Aurelius Antoninus and L. Aurelius Commodus) and no less than sixteen other persons of the same gentle name: three out of the sixteen are expressly described as priests of the god, one as the curator of his temple, and three others as holding various offices connected with his cult. It seems probable therefore that the Aurelii, whose name pointed at once to the sun-god and to gold, considered themselves bound by special ties of connexion with Jupiter Dolichenus.

Several dedications append to the name of this deity the curious title 'where iron is born'; one inscription speaks of him as himself 'born where iron arises.' These expressions have been usually interpreted of iron-mines in the neighbourhood of Doliche. But A. H. Kan justly objects that there is not a particle of evidence to show that such mines were ever to be found in that locality. His own notion, however, that 'iron' means 'iron-water'

1 Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. nos. 4296–4324.
2 Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. nos. 4313, 4310.
3 Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. nos. 4390, 4305, 4316.
4 Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4316.
5 Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4316.
6 Paul. ex Fest. p. 23, 16 f. Müller, p. 22, 5 f. Lindsay Aureliam familiam ex Sabinis oriundam a Sole dietam putant, quod ei publice a popolo Romano datus sit locus, in quo sacra faceret Soli, qui ex hoc Auéli dicebantur, ut Valesii, Papsii pro eo, quod est Valerii, Papiri. Quint. inst. or. 11. 2. 31 also alludes to the origin of the name. Aurelius > Aurelius is in fact derived from the same root as aurora (Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. p. 57).
7 Paul. ex Fest. p. 9, 2 f. Müller, p. 8, 14 Lindsay (aurum) alii a Sabinis translatum putant, quod illi ausum dicebant. Vanîchek and other philologists have referred aurum (Ital. *ausum*) to the root *aus-, *aus-*, *to shine,* seen in aurora etc. (Walde op. cit. p. 57).
8 Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 423 = ib. vi no. 30947 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4301 = Kan op. cit. p. 82 no. 92 (from the Carrafa vineyard on the Quirinal at Rome) Iovi optimo maximo | Doliccheno ubi ferrum nascitur | C. Sempronius Roccus | cent(unio) (> = centuri(o)) frumentar(ius) d. d.

Corp. inscr. Lat. iii Suppl. no. 11927 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4301 = Kan op. cit. p. 57 no. 60 (Phinz: a bronze tablet found near the camp of the first cohort of the Breuci) I. o. m. | Doliccheno | ubi ferrum (sic) | [nascitur] J E (according to Mommsen, these are the initials of the dedicator; according to Kan, they may be read as I E = I(ussu) E (sculpti)]

See also the inscription cited supra p. 627 n. 7.
9 Corp. inscr. Lat. iii no. 1128 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4303 = Kan op. cit. p. 26 ff. (found in 1840 A.D. at Apulum in Dacia) numini et virtutibus [Iovis optimi maximis Doliccheni], nato ubi ferrum exoritur [natura boni even[ius et numini imp. Caes. T. Ael. Hadri]ani Antonini Au[g. Pii] [Terentii[s]]
Zeus Dolichaios and Iupiter Dolichenus 631

and implies chalybeate springs is insufficiently supported by the analogy of the word *Staal* for *Staalwater*¹ and the discovery of an effigy of the god in the baths at Carnuntum². F. Cumont is content to surmise that the phrases in question correspond with some Semitic epithet and imply a Commagenian myth now lost³.

But this after all is only to explain *ignotum per ignotum*. A clue to the meaning of the words is, I venture to think, furnished by the fact that the same description is nowhere given of the Chalybes. Greek lexicographers describe them as ‘a Scythian tribe, where iron is born⁴’. These iron-working Chalybes are located by different authorities at various points along the southern shore of the Black Sea⁵. Strabon, who places them near Pharmakia, states that in his time they were called Chaldaioi and that in former days they worked silver as well as iron⁶. Whether he was justified in thus identifying the Chalybes with the Chaldaioi, whom others termed Chaldoi⁷, may well be doubted. But his assertion that they formerly worked silver is of interest, since the Homeric *Catalogue* describes the Halizones (after the Paphlagonians and before the Mysians) as coming—

From far-off Alybe, where silver’s born⁸.

Timothoe too at the court of Archelaos sang of ‘earth-born silver⁹’. On the whole it seems clear that in Pontos, where, as Strabon says, the great mountain-ranges are ‘full of mines¹⁰’, iron and silver were regarded as the offspring of Mother Earth. This belief, natural enough in itself, had very possibly come down from the days of the Hittites, who worshipped a great mountain-mother. But Iupiter Dolichenus was near akin to this same mother. For, if his bull is that of the Hittite father-god¹¹, his double-axe is that

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of the Hittite son-god\textsuperscript{1}. Hence I conclude that the title ‘where iron is born’ properly belongs to Dolichenus as successor of the Hittite son-god. It may even be that this strange appellation points backwards to a time when the god was identified with his own double-axe\textsuperscript{2} and the making of the latter implied the birth of the former: he was ‘born where iron arises’\textsuperscript{3}.

In any case the same geographical clue will enable us to trace the connexion of Jupiter Dolichenus with the precious metals. The Chalybes, according to Strabon, were originally workers in silver\textsuperscript{4}. They also collected gold in a small island lying off their coast\textsuperscript{5}. The Dolichenus-plates were of silver gilt.

Finally, to return to our point of departure, we have seen that Jupiter Dolichenus, like the Jupiter Heliopolitanus with whom he is

\textsuperscript{1} Supra pp. 599 f., 604 f.
\textsuperscript{2} For ‘Minoan’ parallels see infra ch. ii § 3 (c) i.
\textsuperscript{3} Terrestrial iron perhaps stood in some relation to celestial iron. H. R. Hall The Oldest Civilisation of Greece London 1901 p. 300 n. 1, à propos of the Sumerian name for iron, which was expressed ideographically by means of the signs An-Bar, observes: ‘The Sumerians may have first used meteoric iron at a very early period, like the Egyptians, since AN.BAR means practically the same thing as the Egyptian Bu-n-pet, “Heavenly Metal.”’ My friend the Rev. Dr C. H. W. Johns, however, kindly informs me that the meaning of An-Bar, which is taken to denote ‘Divine Weight,’ cannot be considered certain. And L. de Launay in Darembourg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 1976 gives good reasons for doubting the supposed use of meteoric iron. It is ignored by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie The Arts & Crafts of Ancient Egypt Edinburgh & London 1909 p. 104 ff. and J. H. Breasted A History of Egypt New York 1911 p. 136 when mentioning the rare examples of iron in early Egypt and the possible sources of supply.

On the other hand, the Egyptians believed that the tops of some mountains touched the floor of heaven, which was formed by a vast rectangular plate of iron (E. A. Wallis Budge The Gods of the Egyptians London 1904 i. 167, 491, ii. 241). It is interesting to observe that the Iliad always speaks of the sky as made of bronze, whereas the Odyssey usually describes it as made of iron: cp. II. 17. 425 χαλκέοις ὀφανῶν (so Pind. Pyth. 10. 27, Nem. 6. 3 f.), Pind. Isthm. 7 (6). 44 χαλκόπετες θύων ἔθρακα, II. 1. 426 Δίοι ποτὶ χαλκο-βαριᾶς δῶ (II. 21. 438, 505; II. 14. 173, Od. 8. 321), II. 5. 504 ὀφανῶν ἐς πολύχαλκον, Eur. Ion 1’ Ατλατ ὀ χαλκάντω ν ὑπάτω ὀ φανῶν κ.τ.λ.; but Od. 15. 329 and 17. 265 στενόσει ὀ φανῶν with Eustath. in II. p. 576, 33 ff., in Od. p. 1783, 18 ff.

\textsuperscript{4} Supra p. 631.
\textsuperscript{5} Aristot. mir. auct. 26. The Chalybes seem to be connected with gold as well as with iron by the story of the metal-eating mice. Aristotle stated that in the island of Gyros mice ate iron ore; Amyntas, that at Teredon in Babylonia they had the same peculiarity (Aet. de nat. an. 5. 14). Theophrastos ‘goes one better’: in Gyros, he says, mice drove out the inhabitants and were then reduced to eating iron; they do the same by nature in the iron-workings of the Chalybes; and in gold mines they are so fond of making away with the precious metal that they are regularly ripped up to recover it (Theophr. ap. Plin. nat. hist. 8. 222, cp. 104, and ap. Phot. bibl. p. 528a 33 ff. Bekker). See further Aristot. mir. auct. 25 f., Antig. hist. mir. 18 and ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. θεωρος, Herond. 3. 75 f., Sen. apocol. 7. 1. Since there is no iron ore in Gyros (Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 1924), it is possible that we should assume another island of the same name off the coast of the Chalybes.
sometimes coupled\(^1\) or identified\(^2\), was essentially a thunder-god with solar powers—‘the Preserver of the Whole Sky,...a Provider Invincible\(^3\).’ The bull, therefore, on which he stands is comparable with the bulls of other Anatolian deities already considered and marks him as a god of fertilising sunshine and storm.

**xxi. The Significance of the Bull in the cults of Zeus.**

**(a) The Bull as a Fertilising Power.**

Those who have had the patience to accompany me through the last twenty sections of our subject will be glad to rest awhile

> And let the accumulated gain
> Assort itself upon the brain.

We have gone the round of the Levant together, visiting successively Egypt, Crete, Syria, and Asia Minor. Everywhere we have found traces of the same religious history—a local worship of the bull, which drew its sanctity from immemorial usage and was associated in a variety of ways first with the principal god of the district and then with the Greek Zeus or the Roman Jupiter. In Egypt, for example, the bull Apis came to be viewed as the *avatar* of Osiris\(^4\) or the ‘second life of Ptah\(^5\),’ but under the name Ἐπαφός was affiliated to Zeus\(^6\). In Crete the bull was identified with the sun-god\(^7\) and worshipped with mimetic rites\(^8\); but the sun-god was later ousted by\(^9\), or fused with\(^10\), the Hellenic Zeus. In Assyria

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1. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3908 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat.* sel. no. 4296 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 46 no. 33 (Laibach) I. o. m. D. | et I. o. m. H (eliotpolítano), cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 11131 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 50 f. no. 42 (Carnuntum) I. o. m. | Dol. et religioni? | pro sa[(ute)] Aug(usti), where Kubitschek cj. that reli was a stone-cutter’s error for *Heliopolítano*—a cult-title known to occur at Carnuntum (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 11137, 11138, 11139).

2. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3463 = ib. iii Suppl. no. 13366 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat.* sel. no. 4297 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 45 no. 51 (Aquincum) I. o. m. | Dulceno | Heliopolitan(e). An altar from Carvoran (*supra* p. 551 n. 3), used as a trough in a stable at Thirlwall, perhaps commemorates the same identified cult (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 73 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 92 f. no. 119 I. o. m. D (olicheno) | H (eliotpolítano) | cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 752).

3. *Supra* p. 608 f.


5. *Supra* p. 435 n. 6. A bronze statuette of Apis from a Greek site in the Delta is inscribed in letters of the fifth century B.C. ΤΟΙΠΑΝΕΠΙΜΑΝΕΣΤΑΣΕΣΟΙΩΛΗΣ = ὶ Ῥάγερτι (?) μὲ ἀνάστερα Σακαίην. Mr H. B. Walters suggests that the deity may be Ba-en-ptah (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronze* p. 376 no. 3208).


10. *Taille, ‘the Sun’* (*supra* p. 468 n. 7), becomes Zeus *Talaiós* or *Tallalos* (*infra* ch. i § 6 (h) v).
The Significance of the Bull

the bull was attached to the storm-god Adad or Ramman; but it was as Zeus Ἀδας or Jupiter Heliopolitanus that he reached his apogee. At Boghaz-Keui and Malatia the bull appears as a supporter of the Hittite father-god; but this deity, still mounted on a bull, made his triumphal progress through Europe under the title of Jupiter Dolichenus. Thus from start to finish, through two or more millenniums and across three continents, the bull retained its hold upon popular reverence.

What gave the creature this claim to universal respect? What is its significance in ancient religion? Prof. Gilbert Murray in a recent lecture has told us: 'we modern town-dwellers,' he says, 'have almost forgotten what a real bull is like. For so many centuries we have tamed him and penned him in, and utterly deported him from his place as lord of the forest. The bull was the chief of magic or sacred animals in Greece, chief because of his enormous strength, his rage, in fine his mana, as anthropologists call it.' Perhaps we may venture to narrow down this answer without loss of probability. Beyond other beasts the bull was charged with Zeugnungskraft, gendering power and fertilising force. That, I take it, is the ultimate reason of his prestige among the cattle-breeding peoples of the Mediterranean area.

1 Supra p. 576 ff.
2 Supra p. 549 ff.
3 Supra p. 604 f.
4 Intra p. 640 fig. 500.
5 Supra p. 604 ff.
6 G. Murray Four Stages of Greek Religion New York 1912 p. 33. Cp. Harrison Themis p. 156 ff. and p. 548 Index s.v. 'Bull.' Prof. Murray's statement strikes me as more just and true to nature than, say, the eloquent sermon preached by Dion Chrysostom (or. 2 p. 69 ff. Reiske) on the Homeric text II. 7. 482–483.
7 See e.g. Aristot. hist. an. 5. 2. 540a 6 f. (bulls), 6. 21. 575a 13 ff. (bulls), 6. 18. 573a 8 ff. and 31 ff. (cows), A. de nat. an. 10. 17 (cows), Horapoll. hierogl. 1. 46 (bulls). Very significant is the use of ταύρος τὸ αἰθέριον τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ (Soudi. s.v. ταύρος, schol. Aristoph. Lyr. 217) or τὸ γαρνικέων αἰθέριον (Phot. lex. s.v. σάρματα, ταύρος, Soudi. s.v. σάρματα, Hesych. s.v. ταύρον) or ἐφέστιν etc. (Poll. 2. 173, Galen. introductio seu medicus 10 (xiv. 706 Kühn), Eustath. in II. pp. 259, 3 f., 527, 42 ff., 906, 60, id. in Od. p. 1871, 43 f., et. mag. p. 747, 40 ff.) or χαίδεαις (Hesych. s.v. ταύρος), and the word ἄραγρος (Aisch. Ag. 444, Aristoph. Lyr. 217 f., aliv.), if not also λανθάνεις (on which, however, see L. Meyer Handb. d. gr. Etym. iv. 580, Boisaq Dict. etym. de la Langue Gr. p. 581 f., Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. p. 326 s.v. 'lascivus').


W. Schmitz Das Stiersymbol des Dionysos Köln 1891 p. 1 f.: 'Der Stier scheint bei den Griechen ursprünglich das Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit gewesen zu sein. Die Fruchtbarkeit in der Natur wird nun aber nach griechischer Auffassung hervorgerufen entweder durch den Erdboden, oder durch die Feuchtigkeit des Wassers, oder durch die hauptsächlich von der Sonne ausgehende Wärme. Wenn also die Griechen in ihrer Mythologie und Kunst einzelnen Gottheiten das Symbol des Stieres beilegen, so bedeutet dieses Bild bald die Fruchtbarkeit des Erdbodens, bald die des gedeihenspendenden
The Influence of Apis

The bull as an embodiment of procreative power was naturally brought into connexion with the great fertilising agencies of sunshine and storm\(^1\). In Egypt it is of course the solar aspect of the beast that is emphasised: Mnevis\(^2\) and Apis\(^3\) and Bouchis\(^4\) all have a disk between their horns. In Crete too the solar character of the bull was well-marked and of early date—witness Talos otherwise called Tâiros\(^5\), Helios transformed into the ‘Adiounian bull\(^6\), the Minotaur in his Labyrinth at Knossos\(^7\), the cattle of the Sun at Gortyna\(^8\). Yet the ‘Minoan’ combination of bovine horns with the double-axe\(^9\) shows that the bull had been related to the storm-god also. Among the Hittites the god that bears the lightning stands either upon\(^10\) or beside\(^11\) the bull. Nevertheless this deity was likewise regarded as a sun-god; for c. 1271 B.C. Hattusil ii, king of the Hatti, made a treaty with Osymandyas, i.e. User-Maât-Râ (Rameses ii)\(^12\), in which the Hittite deities were enumerated with ‘the Sun-god, Lord of Heaven’ at their head\(^13\).

In Babylonia and Assyria the bull is in primis an attribute of the storm-god En-lil\(^14\) or Ramman or Adad\(^15\), though the names Heliopolis, Zeus Heliopolites, Jupiter Heliopolitanus imply that in the Graeco-Roman age Adad at least was equated with Helios\(^16\).

\((\beta)\) The Influence of Apis.

Given this essential similarity of cult to cult, it was only to be expected that religious influences, affecting both thought and expression, would radiate far and wide from the chief centres of civilisation. We shall glance at three such cases of diffusion through contiguous areas.


\(^1\) So with the ram (\textit{supra} p. 429 f.).
\(^2\) \textit{Supra} p. 431 f.
\(^3\) \textit{Supra} pp. 432—436.
\(^4\) \textit{Supra} p. 436 f.
\(^5\) \textit{Supra} p. 468, \textit{infra} ch. i § 6 (h) i.
\(^6\) \textit{Supra} pp. 473 ff., 490 ff.
\(^7\) \textit{Supra} pp. 410, 471, 546.
\(^8\) \textit{Supra} p. 640 fig. 500.
\(^9\) \textit{infra} ch. ii § 3 (c) i (8).
\(^10\) \textit{Supra} p. 605 fig. 476.
\(^12\) Then follow ‘the Sun-god of the city Arina; the Thunder-god, Lord of Heaven; the Thunder-god of the Hatti; the Thunder-god of the city Arina’; etc.—these thunder-gods being presumably Sandas and various localised forms of him.
\(^13\) \textit{Supra} p. 579 ff.
\(^14\) \textit{Supra} p. 576 ff.
\(^15\) \textit{Supra} p. 550 ff.
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The Apis-worship of the Egyptians impressed the early Greeks. Probably it impressed other nations also who came much into contact with Egypt—for instance, the Hittites. At Eyuk, some twenty miles north of Boghaz-Keui, the gateway of a Hittite palace built c. 1360 B.C. was flanked by an outer and an inner pair of bull-sphinxes, which may fairly be regarded as a blend of the Assyrian bull with the Egyptian sphinx. The frontage-walls exhibit two series of reliefs. On the left is shown the cult of a sacred bull; on the right, that of an enthroned goddess. The cornerstones on either side are occupied by the bull and the goddess respectively. It is therefore clear that the bull (fig. 495) here stands for the Hittite father-god, who elsewhere appears with this animal beneath or beside him. But it is also clear that Egyptian influence has again been at work. For, Apis-like, this bull has a variety of body-marks, a crooked stick—probably meant for a kingly sceptre—and two disks on his side, the remains of a trilobed or trifoliate design on his haunch. In Roman times Apis travelled yet further afield.

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1 Supra p. 427 ff.
4 Supra p. 640 fig. 500.
5 Supra pp. 432 f., 468, 540 n. 2.
6 Supra p. 476.
7 Supra p. 87.
8 Cp. two blocks from the right-hand series of reliefs: (1) a bull about to toss, with a trace of the curved stick on his shoulder and one disk on his side (G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet op. cit. i. 361 pl. 57, 3, Perrot—Chipiez op. cit. iv. 678 f. fig. 639, J. Garstang The Land of the Hittites London 1910 p. 263); (2) a lion holding down a ram, the ram showing the same curved stick and disk on his side and the same trifoliate design on his haunch (G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet op. cit. i. 361 pl. 57, 1 f., Perrot—Chipiez op. cit. iv. 680 f. figs. 340 f., J. Garstang op. cit. p. 363 f.).
His effigy is found e.g. on coins of Amastris\(^1\) and Germanikopolis\(^2\) in Paphlagonia, of Nikaia\(^3\) and Nikomedia\(^4\) in Bithynia, of Hadrianothera\(^5\) in Mysia, of Mytilene\(^6\) in Lesbos, and was adopted by Julian the Apostate as the very sign and symbol of paganism (fig. 496)\(^7\). The far-reaching influence of the Egyptian bull seems even to have touched the remotest confines of the ancient world. Certain square silver pieces struck by Apollodotos i show Nandi, Çiva's bull, with a simplified form of the Nandi-pada or 'footprint of Nandi' on his hump (fig. 497)\(^8\). Copper coins of Spain often denote the sanctity of a bull by placing between his horns a triangular erection like a pediment, sometimes with a pellet or disk in it (fig. 498)\(^9\). Such devices may or may not imply assimilation to

1 Waddington—Babelon—Reinach Monn. gr. d'As. Min. i. 139 pl. 18, 27 (?), i. 150 pl. 20, 35, i. 152 pl. 20, 40, i. 154 pl. 21, 11, 13 (ATTIC), Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus, etc. p. 85 pl. 20, 1 (?), p. 87 pl. 20, 9 (?), Head Hist. num.\(^2\) p. 506 (ATTIC).

2 Waddington—Babelon—Reinach Monn. gr. d'As. Min. i. 164 pl. 22, 16 (?), i. 165 pl. 23, 27 (?), Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus, etc. p. 91 pl. 21, 6 (?), Head Hist. num.\(^2\) p. 506.

3 Waddington—Babelon—Reinach Monn. gr. d'As. Min. i. 413 pl. 69, 18 (crescent over head), 19, i. 423 pl. 71, 24, i. 442 pl. 76, 6 (?), i. 428 pl. 79, 17 (disk between horns), Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 249 pl. 46, 14.

4 Waddington—Babelon—Reinach Monn. gr. d'As. Min. i. 532 pl. 90, 5 f. (?), i. 547 pl. 94, 26, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus, etc. p. 180 (?).

5 Rasche Lex. Num. i. 930, iv. 27 (crescent moon on side), Suppl. i. 894 (moon on side), Suppl. ii. 1326 (moon on side).


7 Rasche op. cit. i. 930 (two stars over horns and neck), ix. 75, 665.

8 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 34 nos. 10 f. I figure a specimen in my collection. My friend Prof. E. J. Rapson kindly refers me to his Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc. London 1908 p. clxxv for an account of the Nandi-pada. He adds (Feb. 11, 1913) : 'My impression is that the sign is fairly early in India. I think the great time for foreign influence of the kind suggested was the first century A.D. Sarapis, for instance, occurs on coins then. But there can be no doubt that the Persian Empire was a means of communication between Europe and Egypt on the one hand and India on the other.'

9 A. Heiss Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne Paris 1879 p. 169
the type of Apis. More certainly affected by it is a bronze bull of the Hallstatt period from the famous Býčískála Cave in Moravia (fig. 499 a, b). This remarkable little image was discovered in 1869 at the entry of the cave by a couple of students—Dr Felkel and his cousin—then on a holiday ramble. It lay in a terra-cotta bowl surrounded by millet, which had apparently been baked along with it; and it was attached to a plate of white metal, subsequently lost. It is a statuette of cast bronze about 100 millimeters in height. The eye-holes show traces of having been filled with an iridescent glass-paste. The three lines round the muzzle represent

\[ \text{Fig. 499.} \]

a bridle, as in the case of Egyptian bulls. Small triangular plates of iron are inlaid on its forehead and shoulders, and a narrow

pl. 17, 6, 8 Cascanum, p. 175 pl. 18, 1 Graccurris, p. 301 ff. pl. 24, 19, 21, pl. 25, 37, 39, 40, pl. 26, 43 (=my fig. 498) Caesar Augusta, p. 341 pl. 50, 3 Bailo.


2 So Wankel \textit{op. cit.} p. 5 'die künstlich und mühevoll eingesetzten Eisenplättchen': Forrer \textit{op. cit.} p. 33 says 'mit einlegtem kupfernem Dreieck auf der Stirn, die schon von Woldrich mit Apis in Zusammenhang gebracht worden ist,' \textit{ib.} p. 139, 'welche auf der Stirne mit rotem Kupfer ausgelegt war und derart an den roten Stirnfeck des Apistieres erinnert.'

Reimach \textit{Bronze Figuren} p. 278 n. 4 scouts the idea that the iron triangular plates are due to any imitation of Apis. He cites a bronze cow found at Hallstatt, which served as the handle of a bowl: its eyes are iron nails, and its forehead is inlaid with a
strip along its backbone from head to tail, while there are signs of another triangular patch having concealed the casting-hole on its belly. We cannot of course suppose any direct contact between Moravia in the early iron age and Egypt. But it is possible that Egyptian objects d'art might find their way northwards from tribe to tribe and be copied by barbaric craftsmen. If so, we may have here the Egyptising form of a local bull-god comparable with the bronze bull by which the Cimbri swore1 or the three-horned bulls of bronze and stone found mostly in eastern Gaul2.

(γ) Spread of the Hittite Bull-cult.

A second case of diffusion is furnished by the Hittite bull-cult. The marked bull of Eyuk (fig. 495) was the animal form of the lightning-god and sun-god, who in one or more of the Hittite states was named Tišup, Tıšub, or Tıšub3. It has been plausibly suggested by A. Fick4 that we should recognise the same name in Sisyphos or Sisyphos5, the faded sun-god of Corinth6. If so, it will hardly be accidental that Sisyphos is by tradition the owner of marked oxen. Autolykos stole his cattle and tried to conceal the theft; but Sisyphos recognised them by means of the monograms or marks upon their hoofs7 and became by Antikleia, daughter of

triangular plate of bone (E. von Sacken Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt Wien 1868 p. 155 pl. 33, 6 and 61).  
1 Plout. v. Mar. 23 ὄρβαντες τὴν χαλκὸν ταύρον, θ' ὑπεροῦν ἀλοίτα μετὰ τὴν ἄτριπλα τῇν Κάλλων φασὶν οἴκιαν ἄτρησε ἀκροβιτὰς τῇν νική εὐμακαθές.  
4 A. Fick Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland Göttingen 1909 p. 43 f.  
5 The form is preserved in Hesych. σῖνυφος, πισόφος. The common view that Σίσυφος, σῖσυφος arose from a duplication of σοφός (Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 970) is untenable.  
6 That Sisyphos pushing his stone up the hill is a genuine solar myth was already seen by V. Henry in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1892 v. 289 ff. Other views in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 967 ff.  
7 Hyg. Fab. 201 in pecorum unguis notam imposuit, schol. Soph. Ai. 190 = Soud. x. x. Σίσυφος...στύσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὅνου καὶ τὰς ὀψάλις τῶν ὕδων ἐκείνων μονογράμματα ἑγράφεν ὀρόματα...ἐγέρα γὰρ ἀρχὰ τῶν μονογραμμάτων, Tzetzs. in Lyk. Ai. 344 = Eudok. viol. 863 Σίσυφος δὲ μονογράμμοι τυπώματο τῷ τοῦτον ὄνομα ἐχθρῶτας ταις τῶν ἐκείνων (αὐτοῦ Tzetzs. ed. Scheer) ὑδαίν ὀψαλίς καὶ χρήσα ἐπεγίνουσεν, Polyain. 6. 52 Σίσυφος, Διοτόλκων
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Autolykos, the father of Odysseus. Odysseus too, or rather his companions, stole the cattle of the sun-god. Indeed, the lifting of them is a commonplace in Greek mythology. For instance, Alkyoneus driving off the oxen of Helios from the Akrokorinthos appears to be a doublet of Autolykos driving off the oxen of Sisyphos from the same mountain-fastness. But whether Tešub

Fig. 500.

is to be identified with Sisyphos or not, it is certain that he was a sky-god who had the bull as his sacred beast (fig. 500). A small τὰ βοῖα αὐτῶν κλέπτοντο τολάκια, ταῖς χρλαῖς τῶν βων ἐντιχθεὶς μέλιθος, φ χαρακτήρα ἐνήργος φράματα ἐκπυόντα 'Αστολίκος ἐκλεψεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Αστολίκος νέκτωρ ἀπήλασε τὰ βοῖα, ὁ δὲ Σιάνφος μεθ' ἡμέραν τοὺς γείτονοι γεωργίς θείες τὰ ἴχνη τῶν βων καταγοροῦσα τῆν Αστολίκου κλατρή.

A relief-vase by the potter Dionysios, found at Anhedon and now at Berlin, illustrates this tale (C. Robert in the Winckelmannfest-Progr. Berlin i. 90 ff. with figs.). Cp. also a red-figured Attic amphora from Ruvo now at Munich (Jahn Vasenamml. München p. 254 ff. no. 895, T. Panofka in the Ann. d. Inst. 1848 xx. 162 ff. pl. G, Reinach Rép. Vases i. 277, H. B. Walters History of Ancient Pottery London 1905 ii. 137, 264), which according to the most probable interpretation (L. D. Barnett in Hermes 1898 xxxii. 6–10 ff.) represents the subsequent marriage of Antikleia with Laertes.

1 O. Jessen in Paulus—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 83 ff.
4 The original version of the myth was reconstructed by C. Robert in Hermes 1888 xix. 473 ff. from schol. Find. Nom. 4. 43, schol. Find. Isthm. 6 (5). 47, Apollod. i. 6. 1.
5 Relief on building-stone at Malatia, near the confluence of the Tochma Su with the Euphrates (J. Garstang in the Ann. Arch. Anthr. 1908 i. 3 ff. pl. 4 f., id. The Land of the Hittites London 1910 pp. 138 f., 399 pl. 44, id. The Syrian Goddess London 1913 p. 3 f. fig. 1, with the original aspect of the bull's horns and the libation-vase restored by means of dotted lines, D. G. Hogarth in the Ann. Arch. Anthr. 1909 ii. 180 f. pl. 41, 4). Prof. Garstang The Land of the Hittites p. 138 writes: 'a deity, wearing a conical head-dress decorated with rings, stands upon the back of a horned bull. His left leg is forward..., and on his feet are tip-tilted shoes. In his right hand, which is drawn
bronze bull, acquired by Monsieur Sorlin-Dorigny somewhere in the interior of Asia Minor and by him presented to the Louvre, is regarded by Monsieur Perrot as of Hittite manufacture. It has markings on its haunch which recall those of Tešub's bull at Eyuk. Probably we should be right in assuming at various Hittite centres the cult of a life-sized bronze bull, of which copies on a smaller scale were multiplied. This assumption would at least square with some further facts. W. Leonhard compares with the Louvre statuette a small bronze bull of crude style seen by Prof. Cumont near Neokaisareia (Niksar) in Pontos. The find-spot was one of considerable interest:

'You reach a mountain-top, which commands a view southwards over a vast stretch of country—Niksar itself, the Lykos-valley fading away into the distant haze, the wooded ranges of Lithros and Ophlimos forming the boundary of Phanaroria, and beyond with its white peaks the high mountain-chain of Asia Minor. Pines are growing on this height that no man would venture to cut, and all around are to be seen traces of a circular precinct-wall. This summit, like many others, is under the protection of Elias, and every year on the twentieth of June, the day consecrated to this prophet by the orthodox church, the villagers celebrate a liturgy here. They slaughter sheep and poultry, roast them, and then fall to eating, drinking, and dancing merrily. The nature of the spot and the details of the feast are so similar to those that we have already noted near Ebimi at the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios and elsewhere too that we can safely infer the existence of a pagan cult on this mountain-top. The liturgy of Elias has taken the place of a festival held at the summer solstice. More than that, we were assured that ancient idols are unearthed on the mountain, and by way of proof we were shown a small bronze bull of very rude make and a bull's head that we were able to acquire.... The neck is a hollow socket, and two holes pierced in the metal show that this head must have been fixed on a wooden stem. The eye-holes are empty and were doubtless inlaid with enamel. The tongue, which hung out of the half-opened mouth, is now broken. A ring under the jaw probably served for the attachment of a back, there is a triangular bow, and in his outstretched left hand he seems to hold up a forked emblem, like the lightning trident, and to grasp at the same time a cord which is attached to the nose of the bull. His dress is a short bordered tunic. Facing him is a long-robed personage, in whom we recognise the king-priest, distinguished by his close-fitting cap and the characteristic large curl of hair behind the neck. In his left hand he holds a reversed lituus; his right is partly extended and seems to be pouring out some fluid which falls in a wavy stream. He is followed by a small person who leads up...a goat clearly intended for an offering. Some hieroglyphs complete the picture.'

1 Ferrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art iv. 763 fig. 369: 'Ce taureau peut avoir été une idole, celle même que nous voyons dressée sur l'autel dans un des bas-reliefs d'Euniak' [supra p. 636 fig. 495].


3 F. Cumont—E. Cumont Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la Petite Arménie (Studia Pontica ii) Bruxelles 1906 p. 270 ff.


5 Eid. ib. p. 271 fig. The original, 0'06 m in length, is now in the Musée du Cinquantenaire (inventory no. A, 963).
small bell. When we remember that the bull was the sacred animal of the god Men, who is often represented with his foot set on a mere bull’s head and a pine-cone in his hand, we may conclude with some assurance that this great Anatolian deity was once worshipped on the height where these bronzes were found. Further, it is à propos of Kabeira that Strabon mentions the small town of Ameria, where there was the temple of Men Pharnakou, lord of an extensive domain and a numerous retinue of hieróboloi. He adds that the kings of Pontos had so professed a veneration for this god that they used to swear by the king’s Tyche and by Men Pharnakou.

Prof. Cumont’s conclusion that the bulls found on this Pontic mountain imply a cult of Men is not necessarily inconsistent with the view that the Hittite bull-god was there first. Men in turn was at Maionia (Menneci) in Lydia brought into connexion with Zeus, the two deities being sometimes at least paired off as moon-god with sun-god (supra p. 193 fig. 142). Elsewhere Zeus appears to have inherited the bronze bulls of the Hittite god with no intermediary. Prof. Fick in his study of pre-Greek place-names

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2 Strab. 557.


argues that Mount Atabyron or Atabyris in Rhodes and Mount Tābōr in Galilee, which Iosephos calls Itabyrion 1 and Polybios Atabyrion 2, bore the same Hittite name 3. We are therefore free to surmise that the bronze cattle on Mount Atabyron, which bellowed ominously when any evil was about to befall Rhodes 4, the Sun-god's island, were of Hittite origin 5. The small bronze bulls found now-a-days on the mountain (fig. 502) 6 are of later style and must be regarded as votive offerings to the Hellenic Zeus Atabyrios 7. The cult of this deity spread from Rhodes to the Rhodian colony Agrigentum; and we may reasonably conjecture that the notorious bull of bronze made by Perillos for Phalaris the Agrigentine tyrant 8 was a late but lineal descendant

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1 Ioseph. ant. Ind. 5. 72, 5. 3, 8. 2. 3, 13. 15. 4, de hell. Ind. 1. 8, 7. 2. 20. 6, 4. 1. 8, 5. Fl. Ioseph. 37. So also in the LXX. version of Hos. 5. 1.
3 G. Beloch in the Rhein. Mus. 1894 xlix. 130 had taken Ἀταβῆρων to be a Carian name derived from τάβα, 'rock' (Steph. Byz. s.v. Tάβα).
4 Append. B Rhodes.
5 Yet the myth of Katreus, Althaimenes, and Apemosyne, in which ox-hides and ox-herds play their part (Append. B Rhodes), points rather to a connexion with Crete. The story of Apemosyne slipping on the freshly-flayed hides strewn by Hermes in the road reads like a piece of aetiology. Sir Arthur Evans Scripta Minora Oxford 1909 i. 281 guesses that the ox-hide symbols on the disk found at Phaistos 'have an ideographic meaning and represent the skins of sacrificed beehves': he argues (ib. p. 285 ff.) that the disk came from the south-west coastlands of Asia Minor—'This would not exclude an insular area, such as the once Carian Rhodes, in close mainland contact.'
6 C. Torr Rhodes in Ancient Times Cambridge 1885 p. 76 pl. 4.
7 Append. B Rhodes.
8 Append. B Sicily.
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of the Hittite breed. Finally, H. Prinz holds that the myth of Zeus and Europe is to be explained from Hittite sources. The Hittite goddess Chipa standing on the bull held by Tēšub, while she supports in either hand a flowery kirtle (fig. 503), certainly suggests that the art-type of Europe on the bull owed something to Hittite influence. And Chipa beneath her winged arch (fig. 504) may be compared with Hellōtis in her big wreath.

(δ) The Cretan Zeus and Zagreus.

Our third example of a transmitted religious motif is at once more certain and more interesting. The art of Mesopotamia carried westward by the Phoenicians has left its impress upon

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1 Supra p. 526 n. 2.
4 Supra p. 525.
Zeus and the Kouretes on a bronze ‘shield’ found in the Idaean Cave.

See page 645 ff.

[That this ‘shield’ is in reality a Curetic tympanon has recently been recognised by H. Thiersch in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1913 xxviii Arch. Anz. pp. 47—53.]
early cult-objects in Crete. Conspicuous among these is a bronze shield of the ninth, or possibly of the eighth, century B.C. found in the Idaean Cave (pl. xxxv). Round its rim are lotos-buds and a debased 'tree-of-life.' In the centre stands an athletic god who, like Rammân, rests one foot upon a bull and, like Gilgamesš, lifts a lion high above his head. To either side is a winged attendant. All this is frankly Assyrian; and the youthful god with his curled hair and false beard might well be mistaken for Gilgamesš portrayed as triumphing over the divine bull Atûz and the lion. But the fact that his attendants are each beating a pair of drums undeceives us. This is none other than the youthful Zeus of Mount Ide flanked by the Kouretes. And we observe two things: first, that we have here the earliest certain representation of Zeus; and second, that despite his Kouretes he is conceived not as an infant but as a young man in the prime of life, the 'greatest Lad of Kronos' line.'

Now the Cretans, as Dr Rendel Harris discovered, held that Zeus was a prince ripped up by a wild boar and buried in their midst. The manner of his death gives us good reason to suspect that he was related to the great mother-goddess of Crete as was Adonis to Aphrodite or Tammuz to Istar. The manner of his burial confirms our suspicion; for his tomb on Mount Juktas was in the Ætemenos of a primitive sanctuary, apparently a sanctuary of the mountain-mother, where in 'Middle Minoan' times votive

1 F. Poulsen Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst Leipzig—Berlin 1912 p. 77 ff.
3 F. Poulsen op. cit. p. 80, cp. Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art vii. 131 ('que l'on attribue à la fin du viii ou au commencement du vii siècle').
5 Supra p. 576.
6 A. L. Frothingham loc. cit. p. 438 fig. 13, Milani Stud. e mat. di arch. e num. 1899—1901 i. 4 n. 11 fig. 3.
9 Supra p. 15 n. 5.
10 Supra p. 157 n. 3.
11 Supra p. 161 f.
12 Sir Arthur Evans in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1912 xxxii. 279 f. 'Some of the most characteristic religious scenes on Minoan signets are most intelligible in the light supplied by cults that survived to historic times in the lands East of the Aegean. Throughout these regions we are confronted by a perpetually recurrent figure of a Goddess and her
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limbs were dedicated for health restored. If this was the character of the Cretan Zeus, it becomes highly probable that his death and resurrection were annually celebrated as a magical means of reviving the life of all that lives. Of such rites sundry traces are extant in Greek literature. We must consider their bearing on the monument before us.

Porphyrios in his Life of Pythagoras says of the philosopher that,

'when he landed in Crete, he betook himself to the mystics of Morges, one of the Idaean Dactyloi, by whom he was purified with the thunder-stone, at daybreak lying prone beside the sea and at night beside a river, his head wrapped in the fleece of a black ram. Moreover he went down into the Idaean Cave, as it is called, wearing black wool, passed thrice nine days there in accordance with custom, offered a funeral sacrifice to Zeus, beheld the throne that is strown for him every year, and engraved on the tomb an epigram entitled "Pythagoras to Zeus," which begins—

"Here lieth dead Zan, whom men name as Zeus."

The essential points are that Pythagoras sacrificed as to a dead Zeus, and saw the throne that was annually spread for him. For whom? Presumably for the dead Zeus come to life again. It will be remembered that various coins of Asia Minor showed the youthful satellite—son or paramour, martial or effeminate by turns, but always mortal, and mourned in various forms. Attis, Adonis or Thammuz, we may add the Illan Anchises, all had tombs within their temple walls. Not least, the Cretan Zeus himself knew death, and the fabled site of his monument on Mount Juktas proves to coincide with a votive shrine over which the Goddess rather than the God originally presided. So too, on the Minoan and Mycenaean signets we see the warrior youth before the seated Goddess, and in one case actually seem to have a glimpse of the "tomb" within its temenos. Beside it is hung up the little body-shield, a mourning votary is bowed towards it, the sacred tree and pillar shrine of the Goddess are hard by [id. ib. 1901 xxi. 177 fig. 53]. In another parallel scene the female mourner lies prone above the shield itself, the divine connexion of which is shown by the sacred emblems seen above, which combine the double axe and life symbol [id. ib. 1901 xxi. 176 fig. 53].''


2 See in priimi Fraser Golden Bough: Adonis Attis Osiris p. 3 ff.

3 Porph. v. Pyth. 17 Κρήτης δἐ ἐπίθεται τοῖς Μώργον μοῦσαι προσχέει, ἐνά τῶν Ἰδαιῶν Δακτυλῶν, ἐφί ών καὶ ἐκαθάρθη τῇ κερανίᾳ λίθῳ, ἐκαθέντη μὲν πάρα τῇ μακρυν ἑκτείνεται, νίκην δὲ παρὰ ποσσίμῳ, ἄρμοις καὶ λατάς ἐπισφαλομένου. οἱ δὲ τὸ Ἰδαιὸν καλούμενον ἀντρον καθάρθας, ἔρρη ἐχων μέλανα τὰς γεννυμένας τριττὰς ἐνέκει ἡμέρας ἔκει διηργαζόμεν καὶ καθήγκει τῷ Δί, τῶν τε στορόμενον αὐτῷ κατ᾽ ἐνα τῷ βρόντοι θεάπατο, ἐπίγραμμα τ᾽ ἐπιγράφεσιν ἐκλ τῷ τόφῳ, ἐπιγράφεσιν ΠΥΟΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΤΜΙ ΔΙ, ο iov ἄρμα,—ὅποι θανὼν κέιται Ζάω, διω δία κοιλῆσεν.
Zeus and Zagreus

infant Zeus or Dionysos seated on a throne with Kouretes grouped about him. Moreover, we have learnt from Orphic sources\(^1\) that the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus mounted the throne of Zeus\(^2\) and sat there grasping the thunderbolt, that in his efforts to escape the attacking Titans he ran through a whole series of changes, and that finally he was cut to pieces in the form of a bull. We concluded in fact that Dionysos or Zagreus was in some sense Zeus reborn. That is why the earliest mention of Zagreus (s. vi b.C.) links his name with a phrase specially appropriate to Zeus, and Nonnos (s. v a.D.) speaks of him explicitly, as 'a second Zeus'. The series of changes that he runs through perhaps reflects the rapidity of his growth. Kallimachos lays stress on the phenomenal adolescence of the infant Zeus. And Aratos states that his nurses—

hid the babe

On fragrant Dikton, near the Idaean Mount.
Within a cave, and reared him for a year.\(^4\)

A god who has to grow to maturity in a single year must be quick about it. Of his death in the form of a bull we shall have more to say.

But if the Cretan Zeus came to life again as Zagreus, that

\(^1\) *Supra* p. 152 f. figs. 125—128.

\(^2\) Lobeck *Agaophanous* i. 552 ff.


\(^4\) *Supra* p. 398 ff.


\(^7\) Kallim. ἴ. Ζεὺς 55 ff. καλὰ μὲν ἰδέει, καλὰ δ' ἔπραξεν, ὁμοίως Ζεῦ. ὡς δ' ἀνθρώπου, ταχὺς δὲ τοῦ βλέποντο: ἄλλα ἐτὶ παιδίων ἕως ἐφράσατο πάντα τέλεια.

\(^8\) *Arat. Phæac.* 32 ff. δ' μὲν τῶν κουριζέται Δίκτῳ ἐν κόρει, ὄρει σχέδου Ἰδαίων (*v. l. in schol. Alcibi*), ἄντρος ἐγκατέστηκε καὶ ἔτερος εἰς ἐναυτός, Δικταῖος Κώρητες ὄτε Κρίων ἐφεβεῦτο.
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looks as though the Anatolian cult of mother and son had developed along Orphic lines. Was this actually the case? Have we a right to use the term Zagreus of Zeus *redivivus* in Crete? And, if so, what exactly do we mean by it?

In the fifth century B.C., and perhaps much earlier, Zagreus with his thunders played an essential part in the rites of Zeus *Idaios*. So much at least we learn from an all-important fragment of Euripides' *Cretans*. The Chorus of 'prophets' address Minos as follows:

King of Crete with its towns five-score,
Whom Phoinix' seed Europe bore
To Zeus omnipotent evermore.

Lo, I am here in thy behoof
Quitting the holy fanes, whose roof
Of cypress-wood is weather-proof
Thanks to the home-grown timber hacked
By Chalyb axe and then compact
With bull-bound glue in its joints exact.

Pure is my life and of spotless fame
Since that moment when I became
A mystic in Zeus of Ide's name,—
Darkling Zagreus' thunders made,
The raw-fed feasters' feast essayed,
And the mountain-mother's torches swayed.

Thus amid the Curetic band,
Hallowed alike in heart and hand,
A very Bacchos at length I stand.

White is the raiment that now I wear,
In birth and burial have no share,
Nor eat of food, if the life be there.

The mystics of Zeus *Idaios* here tell us how their temple was made, and how they themselves were initiated into the rites of their god. The temple was roofed with beams of cypress, a tree

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1 Porphy. de abst. 4. 19 μικρων με παρηλθε και το Εορπιδάεων παραβέσαι, δι τοις ἐν Κρήτῃ τοῦ Δην σπορᾶν ἀπέκρυψα: ου τοτὸς κατά τὸν χορὸν πρὸς τὸν Μίνων [Eur. Cretes frag. 472 Nauck]. Φοινικηδεῖος [τις τὴν Θυρίαν ομ. Bothe] τεκνὸν Εόρων [καὶ τὸν μεγάλον Ζανόν, ἀνασεν Κρήτῃ ἐκαστομπολιθραντέρας ἤκω θανάτου παιδί πολλάκια, ὥσις αἰθιγενῆς ημείκιος δικόις στεγαζόμενος παρέχει Χαλύβδης τελέσαι καὶ ταυροδέθη κάλλη κραθεῖσα] ἀτρεκέεις ἀρμοῦ κυπαρίσσου. || ἄργον δι' θέου τέκνων ἐξου || Δίνε Ιδαιον μόστης γενέσθαι, καὶ κυνητόλον Ζαγρέος βρουτᾶς τάτ τ' ὕμορφονα διατάσσεται τελέσαι μητρᾶς τ' ὅρεισι δήδας ἀνασεῳ καὶ Κοινής καὶ Βάκχους ἐκλήθης δαίσεις. πάλαι ἑκά τοι ἐμματία φιλοί γενέσθαι τοί βρότων καὶ κεκοφύσει || ὥσις χρυσότορος τὴν τ' ἔμψυχον || ἄρων ἐδότων τεραλάθαι. I follow the text as given by Nauck, except that in line 1 I print Εόρων (so most MSS., Εόρων Nauck with cod. Mon. 461), in line 2 Ζανός (so Nauck codd., Ζηνός Nauck after Bentley), and in line 13 τάς τ' (so codd., τῶν Nauck after Bergk) and δαίσες (so Hesych. i.e. ύμορφανα δαίσας, δαίσας Nauck with codd., cp. Hesych. i.e. δαίσας).
sacred to Rhea rather than to Zeus. The requisite timber was grown on the spot. Probably it formed part of a grove belonging to the goddess and was felled with the double-axe, to which even in the iron age a certain sanctity still attached. The planks so hewn were fitted together with no iron nails or clamps (that would have been an impious innovation), but with glue made of bull's hide (for the bull was an animal form of the deity himself). The initiates evidently sought to become one with the re-born god, the youthful partner of their goddess. Beginning as Kouretes, they ended as Bacchoi. Three rites are touched upon, the making


2 Supra p. 588 n. 8.

3 At Knossos were shown the foundations of Rhea's house and a cypress-grove of ancient sanctity (Diod. 5. 66 μνημόνευον τῷ Κρήτες γενότατα κατὰ τὴν τῶν Κουρητῶν θύλασιν τῶν καλοκαίρους Τιτάνων. τοίνυν δὲ τῇ Κυνωνίας χώρας ἔχειν τῇ ἀκρίνη, ὅπως ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν διεξεταῖ θεμέλια Ρέισ σελέφον καὶ κυπαρίστοις Ἀθην. εἰς παλαιοῦ χρόνου ἀναμνήσεω).

At Ortygia near Ephesos was a grove mainly composed of cypress-trees: here Leto had brought forth her twins, while the Kouretes, standing close by on Mt Solmisos, had shored away Hera with the clash of their weapons (Strab. 639 f.).

On a lenticular gem of rock crystal actually found in the Idaean Cave a female votary is seen blowing a conch-shell or triton before an altar of the usual Mycenaean shape. Above the altar is seen a group of three trees apparently cypresses, and immediately in front of them the "horns of consecration." To the right of the altar is a rayed symbol, to the left is apparently another altar base, with a conical excrescence, and behind the votary another tree (Sit Arthur Evans in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1901 xxi. 141 f. fig. 25).

4 The best collection of relevant facts is in Frazer Golden Bough (Iron tabooed), especially ib. p. 230 (Iron not used in building sacred edifices). Dr Frazer cites inter alia Plin. nat. hist. 36. 100 Cyzici et bupleterium vocant aediculatione amplum, sive ferreo clavo ita disposita contingentione, ut eximantur trabes sine furturis ac reponatur.

5 Miss Harrison Proleg. Gk. Rel. 2 p. 481 writes: 'The shrine of Idaean Zeus...was cemented with bulls' blood. Possibly this may mean that at its foundation a sacred bull was slain and his blood mixed with the mortar; anyhow it indicates connection with bull-worship.' The suggestion of bull's blood is over-fanciful. Stephanus Theis. Gr. Ling. vii. 1876 b translated rapsōdoros correctly enough by 'Glutine taurino compacta'; for οὐρωκόλα, as my colleague Mr D. S. Robertson points out to me, was simply glue, best made from the hides (Dioscor. 3. 91 (101) p. 441 Sprengel, cp. Aristot. hist. an. 3. 11. 517 b 28 ff., alibi.) or from the ears and genitals of bulls (Plin. nat. hist. 28. 235 f.). Nevertheless such a substance may well have had a religious value in a shrine where the bull was of primary importance.

6 Infra p. 620 and ch. i § 6 (g) xxi (j, s).

7 Miss Harrison has discussed the Zagreus-rites with much insight and with a most helpful accumulation of anthropological parallels in her Proleg. Gk. Rel. 2 p. 478 ff., Themis pp. 14 ff., 51 ff., 53 ff., 126 f., cp. Mr F. M. Cornford in Themis p. 247 f. and Prof. G. Murray ib. p. 345. These scholars have not, however, seen or at least expressed what I believe to have been an essential element, perhaps originally the
of thunder, the banquet of raw flesh, and the roaming with torches over the mountain-side. It seems probable that the purpose of all these ritual actions was to identify the worshippers as far as possible with Zagreus, and so to bring them into the most intimate relation to the goddess. If Zagreus sat on the throne of Zeus grasping the thunderbolt, the mystics could at least produce mock thunder\(^1\) by beating drums made from the hide of the sacred bull\(^2\); on the shield from the Idaean Cave we see them doing it. If he was slain in the form of a bull, they could devour a bull’s flesh raw and thereby assimilate the very life-blood of the god. If he consorted by night with his mother, the mountain-goddess, they too full-charged with his sanctity might go in quest of her their mother\(^3\) and fructify her by their torches\(^4\). Thenceforward as

essential element, of the performance, \textit{viz.} that the initiate by identifying himself with the god re-born became the male consort of the goddess. The great mother-goddess, let us say, was responsible for the fertility of all living things. To keep up her powers, she must needs be impregnated by an unending succession of youthful lovers. Hence the young men of the community, in whom Miss Harrison has rightly recognised the true Kouretes (\textit{infra} p. 23 n. 6), on entering upon manhood pose as the divine consorts of the mother-goddess. The mystics of Zeus Idaios in Crete thus fall into line with the mystics of Zeus Sabazios in Phrygia (\textit{infra} p. 393 f.). And this may be ultimately the meaning of the phrase \textit{θαλάμεως Κοουρήτων} used by Euripides (\textit{infra} n. 2), of the \textit{formula ἕντω τινι παστοὶ ὑπὸ} in the mysteries of Deo (Clem. Al. \textit{protr.} 2. 15. 3 p. 13. 13 Stählin = Euseb. \textit{prep.} \textit{et.} 2. 3. 18 cited \textit{infra} p. 392 n. 5, cp. schol. Plat. \textit{Gorg.} 497 c) and of the verse \textit{Δαισωραι ἐν ὧν κόλπος ἔδω χωδίας βασιλείας} on an Orphic gold tablet found near Naples (\textit{Inscr. Gr. Sti.} \textit{H.} no. 641 i. 17, G. Murray in Miss Harrison’s \textit{Proleg. Gr. Rel.} \textit{2} p. 667 f.).

1 Gruppe \textit{Gr. Myth. Rel.} p. 820 n. 5, cp. \textit{ib.} p. 819 n. 4, conjectured that the Kouretes clashing their weapons were the mythical counterpart of earthly priests imitating a storm by way of rain-magic. Miss Harrison \textit{Themis} p. 61 f. thinks that the mimic thunder was produced by means of a \textit{βύσμα} or ‘bull-roarer,’ which we know to have been among the toys of Zagreus (\textit{Orph. frag.} 196 Abel=Clem. Al. \textit{protr.} 2. 17. 2 p. 14. 12 Stählin with schol. \textit{ad loc.} p. 302, 28 ff. Stählin, Amob. \textit{anecd. nat.} 5. 19). But the ‘bull-roarer’ ‘is to my ear—and I have heard Mr Corford swing it in the darkness with great effect—suggestive of a rising storm-wind rather than of rumbling thunder; cp. Frazer \textit{Golden Bough}\(^2\) : The Magic Art i. 324 ‘In some islands of Torres Straits the wizard made wind by whirling a bull-roarer.’ A passage quoted by Miss Harrison herself from Aisch. \textit{Edoni} frag. 57. 8 ff. Nauck\(^3\) (rites of Kotys or Kotyto) \textit{παυρόθυγγοι} \textit{β' ὑποθείοι} | \textit{τιθεν εἰς ἀπαντὸς φωνῆς μίμως, τυπάνου δ' εἰκών ὡς ὑπογέως} | \textit{βωτήθι φόρτας βαρμαρτῆς strongly supports the view advanced in the text—that the sound of thunder was made by beating drums of bull’s hide.


3 On the Kouretes as sons of Rhea see O. Immisch in Roscher \textit{Lex. Myth.} ii. 1597 f., where variants are cited.

4 Frazer \textit{Golden Bough}\(^2\) iii. 240 ff., 313 f., \textit{Golden Bough}\(^3\) : Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 57 n. 2, shows that torches were carried about the fields with the intention of fertilising them, and \textit{Golden Bough}\(^2\) : The Magic Art ii. 195 ff., 230 ff. collects examples of the
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veritable embodiments of the god they must lead a life of ceremonial purity, being so far as men might be husbands of the goddess.

It remains to ask, Whence came the name Zagreus? and What was its significance? The word appears to be an ethnic properly denoting the god (Gilgames?) of Mount Zagros or Zágon, the great mountain-range that parts Assyria from Media. This name, we may suppose, travelled from Mesopotamia via Phoinike to Crete at about the same time and along much the same route as the Assyrian influences manifest in our shield. From Crete it would readily pass to Argos, and so northwards to the rest of Greece. On reaching Greek soil it was naturally misinterpreted as the 'Mighty Hunter,' a title applicable enough to a prince ripped up by a wild boar. The Cretan god, in fact, so closely resembled his oriental counterpart that he borrowed both his name and his art-type. On the Idaean shield we see Zeus redivivus, already perhaps known as Zagreus, in the guise of Gilgames, the Biblical Nimrod, 'a mighty hunter before the Lord.'

(e) The Cretan Zeus and Human Omphagy.

Dr Frazer after examining the traces of Adonis-worship in Syria, Kypros, etc. reaches the conclusion that among Semitic peoples in early times, Adonis, the divine lord of the city, was often personated by priestly kings or other members of the royal family, and that these his human representatives were of old put to death, whether periodically or occasionally, in their divine character. As time went on, the cruel custom was apparently mitigated in various ways, for example, by substituting an effigy or an animal for the man, or by allowing the destined victim to escape with a merely make-believe sacrifice.

belief in impregnation by means of fire. The use of torches in bridial processions may have been magical as well as utilitarian.

1 This rather obvious derivation was first, I think, noted by Miss G. Davis in The Classical Association of Ireland: Proceedings for 1911–1912 p. 23 f. ('Is it too much to see in Zagreus a cult-name of Dionysos or Soma as 'the God of Zagros'?')

2 At Argos there was a temple of Dionysos Kyrios, containing a κεραμευσοφος of Ariadne (Paus. 2. 23. 7 f.); and it was to the cycle of Argive myth that the Alkmoneion belonged.


4 Farnell Cults of Gk. States v. 129 n. b says: 'The explanation of the word as "the mighty hunter"—which Euripides may have had in mind in his phrase in the Bakhchis [1192], ἀ ἄρα δρατίτι δύρεων—is not plausible on religious grounds.' But Dr Farnell has apparently not noticed Dr Rendel Harris' discovery of an Adonis-like Zeus in Crete.

5 Gen. 10. 9.

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Was there anything analogous to this in the cult of the Cretan Zeus? If I have not misconstrued the evidence, both the human victim and his animal substitute can be detected even in our fragmentary records.

Zeus the princely hunter was slain by a wild boar. The myth was probably localised at Lyttos near Mount Dikte. For not only had Dikte, an older cult-centre than Ide, the statue of a beardless Zeus, but silver coins of Lyttos from c. 450 B.C. onwards have on their obverse side an eagle flying, or more rarely standing, on their reverse the head and sometimes the forefoot of a wild boar (fig. 505).

Fig. 505.

The former type obviously alludes to Zeus, the latter to his enemy, the terror and pride of the district. Now Antikleides, a historian of the third century B.C., stated that the Lyttians sacrificed men to Zeus. The statement was made in his Nostoi and, I should conjecture, had reference to the return of Idomeneus king of Lyttos from the Trojan War. In that war he had played the hero’s part, ‘equal to a boar in bravery,’ and the Odyssey brought him home in safety to Crete. But Servius knew of an ugly incident

1 *Supra* p. 150 n. 2.
2 Ec. mag. p. 276, 12 ff. Δικτή...ἐνθαθε δὲ Δίως Διαλμα ἀγένειον ἱστατο (I owe this reference to the friendly vigilance of Miss Harrison), Ζοναρ. lex. 3. ν. Δικτή...ἐνθε (sic) καὶ Δίως Διαλμα ἱστατο ἀγένειον.
3 J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crête ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 230 ff. pl. 21, 1—31, pl. 22, 1 f., Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 25 ff. pl. 13, 1—15, pl. 14, 1—3, 5, cp. 6, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 190 f. pl. 42, 10 f., Head Hist. num. 3 p. 471. I figure an unpublished variety in my collection (fig. 505): the legend is NOST[ΔΩΛΑ]?
4 E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2425 f.
5 Clem. Al. *profr.* 3. 47, 5 p. 32, 3 f. Stühlin = Euseb. *praep.* ev. 4. 16. 12 Δικτίου γάρ—Κριτών δὲ ἔθνος εἰς ὅπατο—‘Ἀντικλείδης ἐν Νόστοις ἀκοφαινεται θυμράποις ἀπο-
σφάτειν τῷ Δί.
6 Verg. *Aen.* 3. 401 Lyctius Idomeneus. Diod. 5. 79 makes him a Cnossian (*infra* n. 8).
7 *Od.* 3. 191 f. (Idomeneus and Meriones) διασώθησατε εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τελευταῖα καὶ ταφῆς ἐπιφανεῖς ἀζωθηρίαν καὶ τιμῶν ἄθαντες, καὶ τὸν τάφον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Κριτῶν δεκαδευομαι, ἐπιγραφή ἑξοτα τοῦτο, —Κριτών ἰδομενός ἄρα τάφον, αὐτάρ εὖ τοι τοις Πελείοις θρόνοις Μεριμνήν ὑπέρ Μέλου. τούτους μὲν οὖν ὑπαί θρόφεις τιμῶν οἱ Κριτῶς διαφερόμενοι, δῶρον καὶ κατά τούς ἐν τοὺς πολέμους καθότους ἐπικαλοῦμεν βοήθους.
8 *Od.* 3. 191 f. (Idomeneus and Meriones) διασώθησατε εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τελευταῖα καὶ ταφῆς ἐπιφανε ἀζωθηρίαν καὶ τιμῶν ἄθαντες, καὶ τὸν τάφον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Κριτῶν δεκαδευομαι, ἐπιγραφὴ ἑξοτα τοῦτο, —Κριτών ἰδομενός ἄρα τάφον, αὐτάρ εὖ τοι τοις Πελείοις θρόνοις Μεριμνήν ὑπέρ Μέλου. τούτους μὲν οὖν ὑπαί θρόφεις τιμῶν οἱ Κριτῶς διαφερόμενοι, δῶρον καὶ κατά τούς ἐν τοὺς πολέμους καθότους ἐπικαλοῦμεν βοήθους.
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connected with his home-coming. Idomeneus, caught in a storm, had vowed that he would offer to the gods whatever met him first on his return. The first to meet him was his own son, whom according to some he sacrificed as a victim to Zeus, according to others he threatened to sacrifice. On account of this cruelty, or because a pestilence broke out, he was driven from his kingdom by the citizens.

This tale was very possibly derived from Antikleides' Nostoi. In any case it chimes with the statement already quoted from that work, viz. that at Lyttos men were sacrificed to Zeus. A further allusion to the same grim custom may lie behind some guarded words of Agathokles, a fifth-century historian, whom Athenaios cites to the following effect:

'Concerning the sanctity of swine among the Cretans Agathokles the Babylonian in his first book On Kyzikos remarks—"It is fabled that the birth of Zeus happened in Crete on Mount Dikte, where also a sacrifice that must not be mentioned takes place. The story goes that a sow suckled Zeus and, grunting as it trod round the babe, made his whimpers inaudible to those who passed by. Hence all regard this animal as very holy, and" (says he) "would not eat of its flesh. The Praisians actually make offerings to a pig, and this is their regular sacrifice before marriage." Neanthes of Kyzikos in his second book On Ritual gives much the same account.'

1 Serv. in Verg. Aen. 3. 131 Idomeneus [de semine Deucalionis natus,] Cretensium rex, post eam versam Troiam reverteretur, in tempestate devovit diis sacrificaturum se de re, quae ei primum occurrisset. contingit, ut filius eius primus occurreret: quem cum, ut aliis dicunt, immolasset: ut aliis [vero], immolare voluisset: [et post orta esset pestilentia,] a civibus pulsus [est] regno, etc., id. in Verg. Aen. 11. 254 Idomeneus rex Cretensium fuit qui cum tempestate laboraret, vovit, se sacrificaturum [Neptuno] de re quae ei primum occurrisset (si reversus fuisset; sed) cum casu ei primum filius occurrisset, quem (nux Iovi) cum, ut alii dicunt, immolasset: ut alii, immolare voluisset, ob crudelitatem regno a civibus expulsus est, Myth. Vat. 2. 210 Idomeneus, Cretensium rex, quum post eam versam Troiam reverteretur, devovit propter sedandum tempestatem, sacrificium se dare de hac re, quae ei reversus primum occurreret. contingit igitur, ut filius ei occurreret. quem quem immolasset vel, ut aliis dicunt, immolare vellet, a civibus pulsus regno, etc., cp. Myth. Vat. 1. 195 Idomeneus, rex Cretensium, quum post eam versam Troian revertetur, in tempestate devovit, se sacrificaturum de re, quae ei primum occurrisset. contingit igitur, ut prima filia ei occurreret. quam quem, ut alii dicunt, immolasset; ut alii, immolare voluisset; a civibus pulsus regno, etc. The last of the writers here cited was obviously thinking of Jephthah's vow (Judges 11. 30 ff.).

2 E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 728 f. ('Ausz diesem Grunde ist er ins z., spätestens in den Anfang des 4. Jhdts. zu setzen').

3 Athen. 375 f. 376 A perib de əw, ət ierou əst to əwos pera Krepis, 'Agathokle is o Basiadonos en prwto perik Kynikou [Agathokles frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 289 Müller)] φιλον οίτις: 'μουτέσωμον en Krepis genethai twn Diw téknon en tis Dikte, en ② και απόφθεγμα γίνεται θυσία. λεγεται γαρ ὃ απά Διω ὅθεν υπάρχει ο, και τό σφετέρον χρυσόν περιοικεύτα τό κρηκτήμα τοῦ μερίστος αναπώπη πούς παρώνων εἰσίν. διό πάντως τό ζώον τούτο περίπλον ὁμοίως, και ὃ (φησὶ) τῶν κρείων <νυ> βασιλευτο. Πραγματι δὲ και ἕξω μέτοχον ο, και ἀτόμα προτελεία αὐτοῖς ἡ θυσία ναύσατο. τὰ παραλήψας ἱστορεῖ καὶ Νεάθης α τοῦ Κυκλοῦ ἐν δευτέρῳ τελετῆς [Neanthes frag. 25 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 8 Müller)], Eustath. in Il. p. 773, 14 ff. ἢ δὲ τῶν Διῶν ὁ ἄλλως ἔχει...περαιτέρω γὰρ εἰς ὅμοιον τὶ πρὸς τὴν οἶγον τῆς ἠρεμίας καὶ τοῦ Διῶν, τὸν δὲ τὸ γράφει ὃ διός ἐν Κρήτῃ
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Agathokles uses of the sacrifice on Mount Dike practically the same expression as Pausanias uses of the human sacrifice on Mount Lykaion.

On Mount Lykaion the human victim was not only killed, but in part eaten at a common feast. Are we to suppose that in Crete the same ghastly rule obtained? And, if it did, what was its purpose? Direct evidence is wanting. But, since the cult of Zeus Idaios as early as the fifth century B.C. exhibited Orphic traits, we may venture to press the analogy of Orphism in Thrace. A red-figured hydria from Kameiros, now in the British Museum (pl. xxxvi), shows Zagreus devoured by the Titans in the presence of Dionysos. The vase is of Athenian fabric and dates probably from the early part of the fourth century B.C. The grotesque style (found also in the slightly earlier vases from the Theban Kabeirion) suggests that the artist has drawn his subject from Dionysiac drama. Sir Cecil Smith describes the scene as follows:

1 We see a group of three principal figures. The central one is a bearded man who faces the spectator, dressed in a short chiton girt at the waist; over this is a long cloak decorated with horizontal patterns, including a double band of ivy or vine leaves, and fastened by two flaps knotted on the chest; on his head is a cap which hangs down the back and has a separate flap on each shoulder. With his right hand he raises to his mouth—obviously with the intention of eating—the limb of a dead boy which he has torn from the body that he holds on his left arm. The dead child is quite naked, and its long hair hangs down from the head which falls loosely backward; the lifeless character of the figure is well brought out, in spite of the general sketchiness of the drawing.

1 Cp. Paus. 8. 38. 7 (infra p. 70 ff.) ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῷ Λευκαὶῳ Δίῳ, θόρυβοι ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ with Agathokles loc. cit. (infra p. 623 n. 3) ἐν τῷ Δίκτῃ, ἐν ἑ ἐκκολάτρης ἢ ἄτοξτες θεοί.

2 Supra p. 647 ff.

3 The same significance should perhaps be added to the Cyproite cult of Zeus Eileapinastés, the 'Feaster,' and Splanchnotómos, the 'Entrail-cutter' (Hegesandros of Delphi frg. 30 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 419 Müller) σφ. Αθήν. 174 καὶ Κύκρας ἔνθε φειδαίθος ἦν Πηγάσανθος ὁ Δρέατης δία Εὐλαμπάτης τε καὶ Σπλαγχνοτόμος. Eustath. in Od. p. 1413, 24 καὶ ἐν Κύκρας, Δία Εὐλαμπάτης καὶ Σπλαγχνοτόμος. A. Bouché-Leclercq Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité Paris 1879 i. 170 explained the title Σπλαγχνοτόμος of the diviner's art; but W. R. Halliday Greek Divination London 1913 p. 188 n. 1 rightly points out that Athenaios says nothing here about divination.


6 Sir Cecil Smith loc. cit. p. 344.
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On the left advances a figure who is also bearded, and who expresses his surprise at the sight of the central scene by the gesture of his left hand; his long wavy hair, wreathed with vine or ivy, and the thyrsos in his right hand mark him at once as Dionysos. He wears a succinct talaric chiton decorated with vertical stripes.

On the right a bearded personage, attired in the same way as the central figure, runs away to the right, looking back, and extending his left arm as if in surprise. In his right hand he carries a long staff. Part of this figure has been broken away in the only damage which the vase has undergone, but fortunately no important part seems to be wanting.

The dress which distinguishes the two right-hand figures is that which in Greek art is invariably used to characterise the inhabitants of Thrace.  

But how comes it that the Titans are represented as natives of Thrace? These are not the great divine figures of the Greek Titanomachy, but ordinary human beings—Thracian chieftains or the like. The fact is that the word Ῥιτάν, as F. Solmsen in one of his latest papers points out, meant 'King' and nothing more. It

1 K. Dilthey in the Ann. d. Inst. 1867 xxxix. 179 n. 1 cited Hdt. 7. 75 Ὡρίκες δὲ ἔτι μὲν τὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄλογα ξένους ἔστησεν ἐπάνω, ἐτί δὲ ζευρὰς περιεβεβλημένου νοοῦς, Χεν. ππ. 7. 4. 4 καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔλλον ἔλλον ὀ ἐνεκα ὁ Ὡρίκες ταύτα ἄλογα ἔτι ταύτα κεφαλῆς φοροῦν καὶ τοῖς ὑπερπήνη, καὶ χείλεις αὐτὸν μόναν περί τοῦ τῶν πολλῶν ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τῶν μηρῶν, καὶ ζευρὰς μέχρι τῶν πολλῶν ἐτί τῶν πολλῶν ξένων, ἅλλον ὁ χλαμάδας.  

2 F. Solmsen in the Indogermanische Forschungen 1912 xxx. 35 n. 1 med.: 'Ῥιτάν. Τίταν...schliesst sich zusammen mit dem Namen des attischen Δεμός Τιτακος, für den Länge der ersten Silbe durch die Schreibung Δεμός Τιτακος I G. 111 1121 ii 9 (neben Τιτακος 2039. 2040) erwiesen wird und den wir trotz des Widerspruchs der antiken Etymologen von dem des attischen Autochthonen Τίτας Hdt. 9. 73 ableiten dürfen (Töpffer Att. Gen. 289 ff.). Eine Nebenform des letzteren, τίτικ, besser τίτας, erklärt Hesych. durch τιτοσιμος ἐπταταιτει τι θες βασιλείς; zu ihr steht Τίτας, wie ein 459/8 gefallener Athener Ἡρημύθιος I G. 1 143 iii 53 heisst, in demselben Verhältniss wie Σόλον τοῦ Σαλακτοῦ o. S. 8 Anm. 3. Mit der Glossierung von τίτας vergleicht sich aufs nächste die von τίτες βασιλείς, das von dem Lexikographen aus dem Aischylus Εἰσπορντος Λύρα (Fgm. 272 Nck.) angeführt wird. Aus all dem zusammengenommen ergibt sich für Τίτας als die richtige Deutung die schon von Preller (Myth. 4. 1. 44 f. Anm. 3) befürwortete: es ist samt den anderen Nomina Weiterbildung von τίτος (πολύτιτος) Epigramm bei Hdt. 5. 91) 'geehr, gescheut,' dem Partizip zu τίτος τίτας τετίταν τίτας (zu αἱ. εἰμαί 'scheut, ehrt' εἴμαι 'Ehrfurcht bezeugend' W. Scholze Quesst. ep. 355). Der Name hat grade so allgemeinen, farblosen Sinn wie zahlreiche andere Götterbezeichnungen der 'mykenischen' Zeit (Beitr. z. griech. Wortf. 1. Teil S. 81 f.).'

I was formerly (Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 177) inclined to accept the conjecture of M. Mayer Die Giganten und Titanen Berlin 1887 p. 81 ff. that Τίτας is a reduplicated form of "Τίτα, 'Zeus' (Cretan Τάρα, Τάσως, etc.). But the reduplication Τί is insufficiently supported by the allegorical parallels (Σιλβανος, ικβων, πιθανόν).  

A. Dieterich in the Rhein. Mus. 1893 xlviii. 280 and Miss Harrison Prol. Gk. Rel. 3 p. 493 f., Thes. p. 15 have independently suggested that Orphic worshippers, about to tear the sacred bull, daubed themselves with white clay (τίτας) and were therefore known as 'Τίτας, 'White-clay-men,' the name Τίτας, 'Titans,' being due to mere confusion on the part of Onomakritos (Paus. 8. 37. 5). It is indeed probable enough that Orphic worshippers smeared themselves with gypsum. But—apart from the fact
was therefore an appropriate appellation of the deities belonging to a bygone age. But it could also be used, as by Aischylos, of royalty in general. It would seem, then, that the Titans who devoured Zagreus were simply Thracian dynasts or kings. And we may fairly conjecture that behind the myth as it meets us in literature and art lies a cannibal custom, in accordance with which the chieftains of Thrace actually devoured, in part or in whole, a dismembered child and thereby assimilated the virtue of the newly-born god.

If the rite thus evidenced for Thrace once existed in Crete also, we might look to find traces of it at various intermediate points in the Greek archipelago. Nor should we look in vain. Stepping-stones between Thrace and Crete are the islands Tenedos, Lesbos, and Chios. All three had their tradition of men slain, if not actually eaten, in the service of Dionysos. Porphyrios, who draws up a long list of human sacrifices, writes: 'In Chios too they used to rend a man in pieces, sacrificing him to Dionysos Omadios ('the god of Raw Flesh'), as they did also in Tenedos, according to Eupelis the Carystian.' Clement of Alexandria, after recording the Lyttian custom of slaying men for Zeus, continues immediately: 'And Dosidas states that the Lesbians bring the like sacrifice to Dionysos.' Euphrantides the seer, who before the battle of Salamis that the Orphic Titans are never called "Tiraios or the like—the word used of this action is regularly γέφω, not tiraios (see the passages cited by Lobeck Agleaophanes i. 63 ff., L. Weniger in the Archiv f. Rel. 1906 ix. 241 ff.). No ancient author connects Tiraios with tiraios till we come to Eustath. in ll. p. 332, 23 ff., who states—not that the Titans got their name from tiraios—but that tiraios got its name from the Titans reduced to dust and ashes by the thunderbolts of Zeus. In any case there can be no etymological connexion between the two words.

1 Hesych. s.v. tiraios = βασιλιδες. <Διευθυντοι Φρεζίν ινς. Sopin > η 'Εκτορος Λότρου. So also Hesych. s.v. τιφών (τιφών corr. M. Schmidt) = βασιλισσα και τιφέε = θείμων. η διατρεύτ. οι δι βασιλιδες.

2 Cp. Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 374 f.: Livy [i. 16. 4], after giving the usual tradition that Romulus disappeared in a thunderstorm, mentions the "very obscure tale" that he was torn to pieces by the hands of the fathers. Plutarch [v. Rom. 27] too, though persuaded that Romulus was caught up to heaven, records the belief that the senators had fallen upon him in the temple of Vulcan and divided his body between them, every man carrying away a portion of it in his robe. Dionysius [ant. Rom. 2. 56] says much the same, though he makes the senate-house the scene of the murder, and adds that those who carried away the king's flesh in their garments buried every man his fragment in the earth.'

3 Porph. de abst. 2. 55 = Euseb. praep. ev. 4. 16. 5 ηθον δε και εν Χιρ του Ομαδη ανθρωπων διαπικτοντες και εν Τενδο, δι φορεαι Ευελίνας και Καρθον Ών (Eupelis frag. 1 [Fract. hist. Gr. iv. 408 Müller]), cp. Euseb. de laud. Const. 646 c in Χιρ δε τω Ομαδω Λινδαιων, ανθρωπων διαπικτοντες, ηθον. So Orph. h. Dion. 30. 5 ηθον, τρεπτι, κτλ., id. h. trieter. 52. 7 ηθον, σπαντοχ η, κτλ., Schill—Studemund aedid. i. 268 εις ιστολα Ομαδων...42 Ομαδω ν, i. 276 Ομαδων, i. 183 Ομαδων.

4 Clem. Al. praer. 3. 43. 5 p. 32, 5 f. Stühlin = Euseb. praep. ev. 4. 16. 12 και Λεοβλων.
bade Themistokles sacrifice three noble Persians to Dionysos Omēstēs ("the Eater of Raw Flesh"), had these and perhaps other such cases in mind.

On the whole it seems likely enough that in Crete the part of Zagreus was originally played by a human victim, who was not only killed but eaten by the local king or kings. A remarkable passage in the *Odyssey* describes Minos as a sort of ogre. Commentators usually explain that he acquired this evil name on account of the cruel tribute exacted by him from the Athenians.
But in the Berlin fragment of Euripides' *Cretans* Pasiphae says to him:

Wherefore if in the deep
Thou art fain to fling me, fling: full well thou knowest
The shambles and the murdering of men.
Or if thou longest to eat this flesh of mine
Raw, thou mayest eat: feast on and take thy fill.

These words can hardly refer to the Minotaur and his victims. Or, if they do, what after all is implied by the tradition that the Minotaur devoured youths and maidens? We have taken him to be the Cnossian crown-prince masquerading in a solar dance. He too, like the Thracian chieftains, may have renewed his magic powers by tasting of human flesh.

The memory of such enormities is slow to fade. A sarco-

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1 *Berliner Klassikertexte* Berlin 1907 v. 3. 75 no. 217, 35 ff. πρὸς τὰδ᾽ εἰς τοιηνην ἁπτείσαι σου, ἁπτομένης ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀυρασίας ἤργων καὶ σφαγῶς ἀνθρωπίνων ἐλέεις ὑμοίνου τῇ ἐμῆς ἔργης φαγεῖν τὰ ἱππότια, πάρεται, μὴ λυπηθεὶ θεωρόμενος.

2 *Sophia* p. 490 ff.

3 It may be that the ferocious language of II. 4. 35 f. (Zeus to Hera) ὄμοι βεβρῶθιν Horm Ἐραμοῦ τὰ παιὸν τὰ καὶ ἱππακτία, τὸν κεκχιοῦλ, ἐξαιτείον, cp. 22. 346 f., 24. 212 ff., Xen. an. 4. 8. 14, Hellen. 3. 3. 6, Philostr. v. Apoll. 4. 36 p. 154 Kayser, took its rise in a grim reality and then, as civilization increased, passed through the successive stages of tragic grandiloquence and comic bombast.
phagus (?)-relief in the Villa Albani (fig. 506) shows portions of two scenes from Cretan legend. On the right is one of the Kouretes guarding the infant god. On the left three Titans make their murderous attack on Zagreus.

(?) The Cretan Zeus and Bovine Omophagy.

But to the Greek or Roman of classical times human sacrifice in general and cannibalistic omophagy in particular was a half-forgotten piece of barbarism. A possible substitute for the victim was an ox. A case in point is the curious sacrifice of a bull-calf at Tenedos, concerning which Aelian writes:

"The Tenedians keep a pregnant cow for Dionysos Anthrophorhais, "Smiter of Men," and, when it has brought forth, they tend it like a woman in child-bed. But the new-born young they sacrifice, after binding buskins upon its feet. The man who strikes it with the axe, however, is pelted with stones by the populace and runs away till he reaches the sea."

In this singular rite the calf dressed in buskins was obviously the surrogate for a human victim in Dionysiac attire. We must suppose that originally a child, not a calf, was struck by the axe. And this raises the question whether the axe that struck him was not the very embodiment of the god, Dionysos 'Smiter of men'.


2 Hellbig, Guide Class. Ant. Rome. ii. 90 no. 854 takes them to be 'rustics with beards, whipping a naked boy!'. But why three of them (of the third the left foot only is seen)? And why such a frantick attitude on his part? Very different is the young Satyr slashed by Silenus on a sarcophagus representing the education of Dionysos (Stuart Jones, Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome p. 117 ff., no. 46 a pl. 24). Even if it could be proved that we have in the Albani relief merely a genre-scene, it would still remain probable that the type was based on a mythological Vorbild.


4 Porph. de abst. 2. 54 f., Euseb. praepl. ev. 4. 16. 2 f. (of the man sacrificed at Salamis in Kypros to Agraunos or Diomedes) τοιούτου δὲ τὸν θείον Δίφολον ὁ τῆς Κύπρου βασιλέως κατέλειψε, κατὰ τῶν Σελευκίων χρόνων τοῦ θεάλαγος γενόμενον, τὸ ἔδω εἰς βοσκόνων μετατράπη. προσκάτα δὲ ὁ δαίμον ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου τὸν βοῦν· οὕτως λεύκων ἐκεῖν τὸ δρωμα, supra p. 417 n. 5.

5 All. de nat. an. 12. 34 Τένθειον δὲ τῷ Ἀνθρωπορραίτῳ Διονύσῳ τρέφονι κόινιον βοῦν, τεκόνα αὐτὸν ὑπὸ δίπτων λευκῶν διηθομένον. τὸ δὲ ἀφιγενέει βρέφος καταθομένων ὑποδηματίους κοιθήμας. ὡ γε μὴ πατέσας αὐτὸ τῷ πελέκει λίθοι βάλλεται δημοσία, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐν τῷ θαλάττω φεύγει.

6 Strattis, the comedian wrote a play entitled Ἀνθρωπορραίτης, of which two fragments are extant (frag. com. Gr. i. 314, ii. 765 f. Meineke).

7 Farnell, Cults of Gr. States v. 164 f. says: 'the cult-term Ἀνθρωπορραίτης...must be interpreted as the 'render of men'.' But this is a somewhat inexact translation apparently based on the ritual of Dionysos Παιάδως in the same island (epistro p. 626). The verb
Later\(^1\) we shall find reason to conclude that such was indeed the case, and that in Tenedos Dionysos was worshipped in the form of a double-axe. Moreover we shall have occasion to note the close resemblance of the Tenedian axe-cult to the axe-cults of ‘Minoan’ Crete.

Comparing, now, these ritual facts with the Orphic myth of Dionysos or Zagreus done to death in bovine shape, we can hardly doubt that in Crete too anthropophagy was early commuted into some less horrible rite, say the rending and eating of a bull. There was indeed much to connect the Cretan Zeus with this beast. At Praisos, an Eteo-Cretan town with a temple of Zeus Diktatos\(^2\), silver coins were struck c. 450—400 B.C. with the obverse type of a cow suckling an infant, who has been commonly and rightly identified as Zeus\(^3\) (figs. 507\(^4\), 508\(^5\)). At Phaistos a statér of

![Fig. 507.](image)

![Fig. 508.](image)

highly picturesque style, which may be dated c. 430 B.C., shows Europe sitting on a rock and greeting the bull-Zeus with uplifted

\(^{\text{i}}\) *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i (o).


\(^{\text{iii}}\) Zeus enthroned with sceptre and eagle appears on the obverse of silver coins of Praisos from c. 400 B.C. onwards: he is often accompanied by a bull on the reverse, and is described by Mr W. Wroth and Dr B. V. Head as Zeus Diktatos (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1896 ii. 288 f. pl. 27, 21—28, 28, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 70 f. pl. 17, 8 f., *Hunter: Cat. Coins* ii. 196 pl. 42, 19, Head *Hist. num.* ii p. 476).


hand (fig. 509). At Gortyna coins of about the same period and of even greater artistic merit represent their union as consummated in the sacred tree. Not unnaturally, therefore, when in the service of Zeus a substitute was required for the human Zagreus, the animal chosen was a bull. The resultant rites are described by Firmicus Maternus in a passage of great and even painful interest.

Fig. 509.

though written of course from the view-point of a Christian Euhemerist. Firmicus, dilating On the Error of Profane Religions for the benefit of the emperors Constantius and Constans (between 343 and 350 A.D.), expresses himself as follows:

There are yet other superstitions, the secrets of which must be set forth— to wit, those of Liber and Libera. And here I must convey to your sacred senses a systematic account with full details, that you may realise how in these profane religions too sanctity attaches to the death of men. Liber, then, was the son of Jupiter a Cretan king. Though born of an adulterous mother, he was reared by his father with more care than he deserved. The wife of Jupiter, Iuno by name, fired with the feelings of a step-mother, tried all manner of tricks to kill the child. The father on going abroad, well aware of his wife's smouldering rage and anxious to avoid guile on the part of the angry woman, entrusted his son to suitable guardians, as he supposed. Iuno, judging this a fitting opportunity for her designs and being more than ever incensed because the father on setting out had left both throne and sceptre to the boy, first bribed his guardians with royal rewards and gifts, and next stationed her minions called Titans in the heart of the palace and, by dint of rattles and a cleverly made mirror, so beguiled the fancy of the child that he left his kingly seat and, thanks to his childish desire, was led on to their place of ambush. Here he was caught and butchered; and, that no vestige of the murder should be found, the band of minions cut up his limbs joint by joint and divided them among themselves.

1 J. N. Svoronos op. cit. i. 254 f. pl. 22, 35—37, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 61 pl. 14, 16, Head Hist. num. The reverse represents Hermes seated on a tree-stump (?) with a caduceus in his right hand and a patera hanging from his shoulders. I figure a specimen in the McLean collection.

Other silver coins of the same town show obv. forepart of bull, rev. head of Europe (J. N. Svoronos op. cit. i. 255 pl. 23, 1, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 41 pl. 10, 9 attributed wrongly to Gortyna), or obv. head of Europe, rev. forepart of bull kneeling (J. N. Svoronos op. cit. i. 255 pl. 23, 4, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 192 pl. 42, 12, Head Hist. num. p. 473).

2 Supra p. 527 ff. figs. 391 ff.

3 Firm. Mat. 6. 1—5.
The Significance of the Bull

Then, to add crime to crime, since they were much afraid of the tyrant's cruelty, they boiled the boy's limbs with various ingredients and devoured them. Thus they actually fed upon a human corpse—a repast never heard of till that day. His sister, Minerva by name, who had herself been party to the deed, kept his heart as her share, that she might have clear proof of her story and something to mollify her father's wrath. So, when Jupiter came back, his daughter told him the tale of crime from beginning to end. Thereupon her father, exasperated by the disastrous murder of the boy and by his own bitter grief, slew the Titans after torturing them in various ways. Indeed, to avenge his son, he had recourse to every form of torment or punishment. He ran riot in exacting all kinds of penalty by way of vengeance for the death of a son, who was none too good. The father's affection and the tyrant's power were here combined. Then, because he could no longer bear the tortures of grief and because the pain of his bereavement could not be assuaged or comforted, he made an image of his son moulded in gypsum, and placed the boy's heart, by means of which on the sister's information the crime had been detected, in that part of the figure where the contour of the chest was to be seen. After this he built a temple in front of the tomb and appointed as priest the boy's tutor: Silenus was his name. The Cretans, to soothe the fierce mood of the angry tyrant, instituted certain days as a funeral feast and coupled a yearly rite with a celebration on alternate years, performing in order due all that the boy had done or suffered at his death. They tore a live bull with their teeth, recalling the savage banquet by a yearly commemoration of it. They penetrated the solitudes of the forest uttering discordant cries and so feigning madness, that the crime might be set down to lunacy, not to guile. Before them was carried the basket in which the sister had concealed and hidden the heart. With the music of pipes and the clash of cymbals they got up a make-believe of the rattles by which the boy had been deluded. And so a servile people paying court to a tyrant made his son a god, though a god could never have had a tomb.

The Euhemerism of this passage will be readily discounted. We are indeed likely to underestimate rather than to overestimate its importance. After all Euhemeros, to judge from the extant fragments of his famous work, seems to have based his theory of apotheosed kings in no small measure upon Cretan tradition. The priests of his island utopia claim descent from Crete and appeal for proof to their Cretan dialect. His Zeus Triphyllos has a couch, on which is set no effigy of the god, but a great golden pillar covered with records in a script resembling Egyptian hieroglyphs. One may well suppose that Euhemeros had at least an inkling of the old-time glories of 'Minoan' Crete—its pillar-thrones, its aniconic cults, its linear pictographs. And, if he said that Zeus was a Cretan king when he ought to have said that Cretan kings played the part of Zeus, we can easily make allowance for the error.

1 In the Class. Rev. 1903 vii. 406 and in Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 304 I suggested that the Euhemeristic belief in Zeus as a former king of Crete was based on the divine kingship of Minos.

2 Diod. 5. 46.

3 Diod. 5. 46, 6. 1.
Euhemerism apart, we note three points in Firmicus’ account of the Cretan ritual\(^1\). It was dramatic; it was sacramental; and it was, to his thinking at least, self-contradictory. It was dramatic; for every year one might see the Cretans ‘performing in order due all that the boy had done or suffered at his death.’ It was sacramental; for they tore the live bull with their teeth in memory of the Titans feasting upon his flesh. And it was self-contradictory; for the boy, though dead and buried, was yet living and a god to boot. The closing sentence of Firmicus recalls the panegyric of Zeus attributed to Minos:

‘A grave have fashioned for thee, O holy and high One, the lying Kretans, who are all the time liars, evil beasts, idle bellies; but thou diest not, for to eternity thou livest, and standest; for in thee we live and move, and have our being.’

\(^1\) Firm. Mat. 6. 5 Cretenses, ut furentis tyranni saevitiam mitigarent, festos funeris dies statuant et annuum sacrum trieretica consecratione componunt, omnia per ordinem facientes quae puer moriens aut fict aut passus est. vivum laniant dentibus taurum, crudeles epulas annuis commemorationibus excitantes, et per secreta silvarum clamoribus dissonis eulentes fingunt animi saevitias insaniam, ut illud facinus non per fraudem factum sed per insaniam crederetur: praefertur cista, in qua cor soror latenter absconderat, tibiaram cantu et cymbalorum tintitu crepundia quibus puer deceptus fuerat mentitura. sic in honorum tyranni a serviente plebe deus factus est qui habere non potuit sepulturam.

\(^2\) Supra p. 157 n. 3. In the Expositor 1912 pp. 348—353 Dr J. Rendel Harris publishes a fuller version of the Theodorean matter, which he had previously cited from the Canon Bibanic. The new extract is found in the commentary of Isho’dad, the Nestorian church-father, upon the Acts of the Apostles and is rendered: “The Interpreter [i.e. Theodore of Mopsuestia] says that the Athenians were once upon a time at war with their enemies, and the Athenians retreated from them in defeat; then a certain Daimon appeared and said unto them, I have never been honoured by you as I ought; and because I am angry with you, therefore you have a defeat from your enemies. Then the Athenians were afraid, and raised up to him the well-known altar: and because they dreaded lest this very thing should have happened to them, that they had secretly neglected one who was unknown to them, they erected this altar and also wrote upon it, Of the Unknown and Hidden God: wishing, in fact, to say this, that though there is a God in whom we do not believe, we raise this altar to His honour that He may be reconciled to us, although He is not honoured as a known deity: therefore Paul did well to take a reason from this and to say before them, This hidden God, to whom ye have raised an altar without knowing Him, I have come to declare unto you. There is no God whom ye know not, except the true God, who hath appointed the times by His command, and hath put bounds, etc.” [He hath determined the times, that is to say, the variations of summer and winter, spring and autumn.]

“In Him we live and move and have our being: and, as certain also of your own sages have said, We are his offspring.” Paul takes both of these quotations from certain heathen poets. Now about this passage, “In Him we live and move and have our being”: the Cretans said about Zeus, as if it were true, that he was a prince, and was lacerated by a wild boar, and was buried; and behold! his grave is known amongst us; so Minos, the son of Zeus, made a panegyric over his father, and in it he said:

The Cretans have fashioned a tomb for thee, O Holy and High!

Liars, evil beasts, idle bellies;
For thou diest not; for ever thou livest and standest;
For in thee we live and move and have our being.
The Significance of the Bull

These lines, quoted from a lost hexameter poem by Epimenides (?), seem at first sight to be a flat negation of the Cretan faith, opposing to it a later and nobler conception of the deity. But, as spoken by Minos, they more probably preserve to us the view taken by the genuine mystic of Idaean Zeus. If so, we may be very sure that they contain no vague transcendental philosophy, but the main point and purpose of the Cretan cult. In early days the child that represented the god re-born, in later times the bull that served as his surrogate, was essentially a focus of divine force. Those who tasted of the sacred flesh and blood thereby renewed their life, their movement, their very being; for they became one with the god whom they worshipped. Such a belief, though primitive in its inception, was obviously capable of further development. Paul, when preaching at Athens, quoted the words of Minos and attached to them in perpetuity a significance at once deeper and higher. He must have been aware that the fine concluding phrase referred originally to the Cretan Zeus; for elsewhere he cites Minos' description of the Cretans as given in the same context. Nay more, with the next breath he adduces from Aratos a line in which

So the blessed Paul took this sentence from Minos; and he took the quotation,

"We are the offspring of God."

from Aratus, a poet who wrote about God, and about the seven [planets] and the twelve [signs]; saying, "From God we begin. from the Lord of heaven, that is Zeus; for all markets, and seas, and havens are filled with His name; and also in every place, all men are in want of Him, because we are His offspring; and He out of His goodness giveth good signs to us and to all men. He moves us to come forward to work; and He ordains all that is visible and invisible; and because of this we all worship Him, and say, 'Hail to thee, our Father, wonderful and great.'"

"Plato also and others say that souls are by nature from God."

1 Dr Rendel Harris refers them to the poem of 4000 lines written by Epimenides περὶ Μίνω καὶ Παθομάθων (Diog. Laert. i. 112). H. Diels Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker Berlin 1913 ii. 188 f. conjectures that the line Κρῆτες ἰδιοτὰ παρείστερα, κακᾶ θηρία, γαστρείς ἄργα, cited by Paul in Tit. i. 12, came from the prooimion of Epimenides' Theogonia (Diog. Laert. i. 111 ἐνοίησε δ’ Κανερέως καὶ Καρομάντων γένεσι καὶ θεογοιαῖ); and O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 176 agrees with him. But Dr Rendel Harris in the Expositor 1907 p. 336 f. acutely conjectures that the early Cretans ate their deity sacramentally under the form of a pig: and...that, as in so many similar cults, they ate the animal raw. This would at once explain why Epimenides called them not only liars, but also beasts and gluttons."

Putting together Kallim. h. Zeus 8 f., Acts 17. 28, and Tit. i. 12, we may venture to restore the original text in some such form as the following: σοί μὲν ἐκτεκνημέντο τάφον, παυνυτέρατο δαίμον, Κρῆτες ἰδιοτὰ παρείστερα, κακᾶ θηρία, γαστρέας ἄργα, ἐν γάρ οὖν αὐτὸν θάνατον τε καὶ ἰσχύας αἰτεῖ, ἐν γάρ σοι ζῶμεν καὶ κενόμεθα καὶ εἰμέν. Dr Rendel Harris in the Expositor 1907 p. 335 f. (cp. ib. 1912 p. 350) restores: τόμβων ἐκτεκνημένο σῶμα, κυδίας, μέγων, Κρῆτες, ἰδιοτὰ παρείστερα, κακᾶ θηρία, γαστρέας ἄργα, ἐν γάρ οὖν θερέσαις, ἐπτυσσάς γάρ ζῶεις αἰτεῖ, ἐν γάρ σοι ζῶμεν καὶ κενόμεθα ἢδε καὶ εἰμέν.

2 Tit. 1. 12.

Acts 17. 28 εν αὐτῷ γάρ ἰσομέν καὶ κενομέθα καὶ ἐσμέν, ὅσ καὶ τινες τῶν καθ’ ἐμάς
that Tarsian poet, speaking on behalf of the whole human race, claims kinship with Zeus—Zeus that made the stars, Zeus that was born as a babe in Crete.

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The cult of Zeus annually reborn as Dionysos spread, with some variety of circumstance, throughout a large area of ancient Greece. Side by side with the bull it utilised other animals, especially the goat. The Praesian tradition that the infant Zeus was suckled by a cow was overshadowed by the common belief that his nurse had been a goat. The Bacchants are said to have torn asunder oxen and devoured their flesh raw, but sometimes also to have treated goats in like manner. And such was the type of Maenad idealised

τοιχων ἐρρησαίς Τοῦ γαρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν. There may be a side-glance at Kleanth.

h. Zeus (frag. 48 Pearson) 4 ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν. But it is clear that the main reference is to the apostle’s fellow-citizen Arat. ἡμεῖς. 4 f. πάντε ὁ θεός κεκρημομένα πάντει. τοῦ γαρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν. Note also that Aratos introduces Zeus as Lord of the Stars, thereby recalling the Cretan Zeus Astérion (supra p. 545 ff.), and that he actually goes on to describe the birth and rearing of Zeus in Crete.

1 Supra p. 200 ff.
2 Supra p. 660.
3 Supra pp. 112 n. 3, 150, 519 n. 4. See further G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1130, K. Wernicke ib. i. 1720 ff.
by Skopas. The variation, which implies that the worshippers lived among neat-herds and goat-herds respectively, is of importance, because it enables us to gain some insight into that vexed question, the origin of Greek tragedy.

The two Athenian festivals prominently connected with tragedy were the Lenaia in Gamelion (January to February) and the City Dionysia in Elaphebolion (March to April). The one, being held in winter when the sea was dangerous for voyagers, was a domestic celebration, confined to the Athenians themselves. The other, being held in spring when visitors from all parts of Greece came crowding into Athens, was a much more splendid affair. It is, however, to the Lenaia rather than to the City Dionysia that we must look for the first beginnings of tragedy. For the former was throughout of a more primitive character than the latter. Dr Farnell justly lays stress on the fact that, whereas the City Dionysia was under the control of the Archon, the Lenaia was managed by the Basileus. He also points out that the winter-month corresponding with Gamelion in the calendar of all the other Ionic states was Lenaion, and infers that the Lenaia was already a conspicuous festival in the period preceding the Ionic migration. Finally he observes that the Lenaia was virtually the Rural Dionysia of Athens; for the Lenaia is not known to have been held in the demes or country-districts and en revanche the Rural Dionysia was not held under that name at Athens.

The exact site of the Lenaion is still uncertain, and will be settled only by future excavation. But this we know, that the

1 Overbeck Schriftquellen p. 223 ff. no. 1162, G. Treu in the Mélanges Perrot Paris 1902 pp. 317-324 with pl. 5 and figs. 1-6.
3 Farnell Cults of Gr. States v. 212 ff.
4 This is the fact which (pace Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in Hermes 1886 xxi. 615 n. 1) underlies the statements of Steph. Byz. i. v. Λήθαιαν αγώνων Διόνυσον εν αγροίς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀτρίας 1' Ἀπόλλωνας ἐν τρίτῳ Χρόνων (Apollod. frag. 58 [Frag. hist. Gr. i. 437 Müller]), schol. Aristoph. Achar. 302 διὰ <τ>α ἀγροί τα Λήθαια λεγόμενα. εἶναι τα Λήθαια καὶ δ ἐπιλήθαιοι αγών τελείωσι τῷ Διόνυσῳ. Λήθαια γὰρ ἐστιν εν αγροίς, ὃ ἐπὶ Λήθαιας λεγόμενος, κ.τ.λ.: see A. Frickenhaus in the jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1912 xxvii. 84 f.
5 On this complicated problem read by all means the lucid accounts of W. Judeich Topographie von Athen München 1905 p. 263 n. 10 (who inclines to place the Lenaion
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Lênaion itself was a large precinct containing a sanctuary of Dionysos Lênaios, where contests were held before the Athenian theatre was built. The said contests doubtless took place in the 'Lenaean theatre' and were transferred at a later date, which however cannot be precisely determined, to the theatre on the southern slope of the Akropolis.

Recent discussion has made it clear that the names Lênaion, Lênai, Lênaios are derived—as Ribbeck suggested—from lênai, the 'wild women' or Maenads of Dionysos. The supposed con-

somewhere in the valley between the Arcios Pagos and the Pnyx, near to the spot where in Roman times stood the hall of the Iobakchoi and of A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in A. E. Haigh The Attic Theatre Oxford 1907 pp. 368—378 (who concludes (a) 'that the old Lênai performances took place in a temporary wooden theatre in (or by) the market-place—wherever this was,' and (b) that 'it is still possible that the Lenaeum was once outside the walls, and afterwards came to be included in their circuit').

A. Frickenhaus, however, in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1912 xxvii. 80 ff. and in his Winckelmanns-Progr. Berlin lxxii. 29 ff. has lately advanced cogent arguments for locating the Lênaios outside the Themistoclean wall close to the Dipylon Gate.

1 Hesych. s.v. Æðaios ágm. Phot. lex. s.v. Æðaios, Bekker anecd. 1. 278, 8 ff., ch. mag. p. 361, 39 ff. Souv. s.v. Æðaios.

2 Poll. 4. 121.


4 Hesych. s.v. Æðaios (Χειμᾶ M. Schmidt). Bâcchx. 'Arădēs, Herakl. gr. Clem. Al. prot. 2. 22. p. 10, 34 ff. Ståhlin (Euseb. progr. ev. 2. 3. 37) τὸ δὴ μακρύτερον Ἱδρύλεται δ Ἑτέροις: "κεκτημένοι, μάγοι, βάκχαι, λήμνα, μόσταμα," τούτων ἀπελεύεται τὰ μετὰ βάσανος, τούτως μακρύτερα τὸ πῦρ. τὰ γὰρ νοσίματα κατὰ ἄνθρωπος μισθόμενα ἀνευρωτή μνοῦται;" = frag. 127 f. Bywater, 14 Diels, Herakl. gr. Clem. Al. prot. 2. 34. 5 p. 26, 6 ff. Ståhlin "εἰ μὴ γὰρ Διόκους: ποιμάντ τοῦτον καὶ ὄλος άμμα αἰδοίων ἀναδείκτη, ἐργασάται," φεύγει Ηδρύλεται, "ἁπτότος δὲ Λίδης καὶ Διόκους, οὓς μακρύως καὶ λήμναίως;" = frag. 127 Bywater, 15 Diels (reading αἰδόιων, ἀναδείκτη, ἐργαζόταί δὲ Λίδης, Strab. 468 Διόκους δὲ Ξελλυρῶς τε καὶ Σάτυρος, καὶ Τιτορὸς προσμερογόνως, καὶ Βάκχαι, δραίρε τε καὶ Θείας καὶ Μιαλλάκες καὶ Ναίδες καὶ Νώμαι (on the text see G. Kramer ad loc.) Dionys. per. 700 ff. καὶ Καμαρτάων φύλον μέγα, τολ ποτε Βάκχοι | ἄτρων ἐκ τάλαμον δεδεδεμένα εξεισίωσαν, καὶ μετὰ Διόκους λαδόν χορὸν ὑπεντάσατο, κ.τ.λ., 1152 ff. ἀπὶ δὲ τὸν θηρίον ἑυρεσίν παρὰ Γάγγιον | ἄρατος τερεμός τε καὶ λεπό, δν ποτε Βάκχοι | θρεμάσας ἐπάτησαν, οὐ δὲ ἡθόπονον μὲν ἄβραλ | Δηναίων καταβάται ἐστίν, καὶ ποτε Βάκχοι | ἀπεδέχατον εἰς ἄβραλ, κ.τ.λ. G. Hirschfeld The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum iv. 1. 78 ff. Oxford 1893 no. 502, 1 [707] ἄναξ [Σάρανθος], θεὸς λήμναία Βακχίως, κ.τ.λ. on a small limestone altar (§. iii b.c.) from Halikarnassos. Theokr. 36 is entitled Λήναι ἄγα Βάκχα. Λήνα is found twice as a woman's name on early funeral stèles in the Corinthian colony Ambriska (U. Köhler in Hermes 1891 xxxv. 148 f. nos. 4 Λήνα | Ἀναλυδήνου, 5 Λήνα | Δυμάκλου, Collitz—Bechtle Gr. Dial.—Inscr. iii. 1. 82 no. 3183 n.), Other related names are Λήνατι (Inscr. Gr. sept. ii no. 1253 a, 1 on a marble stèle from Phalanna, Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 1091, 38, no. 1128, 39, iii. 2 no. 2175; 1, Inschr. Gr. Sic. ii. no. 2144, 1 on a tessera in the British Museum, no. 2447 on a marble stèle from Marseille), Λήνατι οἱ Λήναι (E. Sittig De Graecarum nominum theophoros Halis Saxorum 1911 p. 90 f. cites numerous examples from many parts of the Greek world),
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nexion with lenòs, a 'wine-press,' defies both philology and common sense. At most we can admit that the jingling between lenai and lenòs led the populace in ancient times, as it has led the learned in modern times, to confuse two words which in their origin and usage were entirely distinct.

An examination of the evidence for lenai and its derivatives proves that the word was used by Arcadians, Ionians, and Dorians alike. It is obviously a very old term for the female devotees of Dionysos. With their ritual we are imperfectly acquainted. The festival-calendar from Mykonos says:

'On the tenth of Lenaion a hymn must be sung on behalf of the crops while a pregnant sow that has not previously had a litter is sacrificed to Demeter, an ungelded boar to Kore, a young pig to Zeus Bouleus. The hieropoitai are to provide these victims from the sacred fund, and with them wood and barley-meal. The magistrates and priests shall see to it that the victims are satisfactory. If there is any need of a second and satisfactory sacrifice, the hieropoitai are to provide it. Any woman of Mykonos that wishes it shall come to the festival and any women dwelling in Mykonos that have been initiated into the rites of Demeter. On the eleventh a yearling is brought to Totaplethos (?) for Semele. This is divided into nine portions (of which one is burnt for Semele and the other eight are eaten by the worshippers). On the twelfth a yearling is sacrificed to Dionysos Lenaus. On behalf of the crops black yearlings stripped of their skins are sacrificed to Zeus Chthonios and Ge Chthonia. No stranger may perform the sacrifice. The participants are to eat it on the spot."

1 Dr Farnell in the Class. Rev. 1900 xiv. 375 rightly insisted that Δήμας must be derived from a stem in a (Δήμα), not in o (Δήμοι). And all the writers cited supra p. 667 n. 3 have been struck by the absurdity of a 'wine-press' festival in mid-winter! 2 M. P. Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 275 (after H. von Prött in the Ath. Mitt. 1885 xxii. 326) shows that Δήμα, which occurs outside the Ionic area without change of vowel, had an original e, but that Δήμοι, which occurs in Doric as δήμος, had an original a.

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At Mykonos, then, in the first century B.C. the full Lenaean festival included the worship of the following deities:

Lenaion 10—Demeter, Kore, Zeus Bouleus.
Lenaion 11—Semele.
Lenaion 12—Dionysos Leneus, Zeus Chthonios, Ge Chthonia.

J. von Prott\(^{1}\) points out that the deities of Lenaion 10 are the Ionian triad Demeter, Kore, and Zeus Eubouleus\(^{2}\), who correspond with the Peloponnesian triad Demeter, Kore (Persephone), and Plouton (Klymenos, Hades). He adds that at Athens the Lenaia was preceded by a sacrifice to the same triad Demeter, Kore, and Plouton\(^{3}\). It follows that the ritual of Lenaion 10 was a prelude of the Lenaia, not the Lenaia itself. This occupied the last two days, on which Semele, Dionysos Leneus, Zeus Chthonios, and Ge Chthonia are the deities recognised—a group of chthonian and agricultural import. Yet here again we must distinguish the Lenaia itself from its concomitants. Since Zeus Chthonios is named after Dionysos Leneus, while Ge Chthonia duplicates the earth-goddess Semele, we may conclude that Zeus and Ge were due to a later amplification. The preliminary hymn for the crops was balanced by a concluding sacrifice for the crops. Subtracting both prelude and sequel, we have left as the original recipients of the cult Semele and Dionysos Leneus. Provokingly little is told us about their actual rites. The yearling eaten by the worshippers recalls the omophagy of the Cretan cult\(^{4}\). And the black fleeces were perhaps worn by them as by Pythagoras in the Idaean Cave\(^{5}\). But beyond this we are reduced to conjecture\(^{6}\).

It is by no accident that the same Thracian-Phyrgian pair, Semele and Dionysos, figure in the Athenian Lenaia. The old scholiast on Aristophanes states that

1 at the Lenaean contests of Dionysos the daidouchos holding a torch says

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1 J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 16 f.
2 *Inscr. Gr. inscr*. vii no. 76 (Arkesine in Amorgos, 1. iv b.C.) Δήμητρι Κόρη | Δι Εύβουλει | Δαιμόνι [Σεμέλα | Δήμητρι | Δαιμόνι | Σεμέλα [και Κόρη | Κόρη | Κόρη | Δημήτρι | Δαιμόνι]

4 *Supra* pp. 648, 650, 661 f., 664 n. 1.
5 *Supra* p. 646.
6 Nilsson *Gr. Festes* p. 277 ff.
“Call ye the god,” and his hearers shout “Iakchos, Semele’s child, Giver of Wealth!”

What happened in answer to this evocation, we are not told. But it is permissible to suppose that a figure representing Semele with the infant Dionysos in her arms issued from a cave or artificial grotto. The cornu copiae carried by the babe would mark him as the ‘Giver of Wealth.’ Kephisodotos’ statue of Eirene holding the infant Ploutos was very possibly inspired by the Lenaean representation of Semele: on late coppers of Athens that show the group the child has a cornu copiae in his left hand. How the cave or grotto would be managed, we can infer from the well-known vases illustrating the ascent of the earth-goddess. Miss Harrison in her study of these at first conjectured ‘some reminiscence of Semele’ and later wrote: ‘We have before us unquestionably the “Bringing up of Semele.”’

I understand her to suggest in the same context that the type as seen in the Attic vase-paintings was definitely based on the initial rite of the Lenaia. With that I should agree. Hermes too was, not improbably, present at the ritual evocation, and to him Semele may have handed the new-born babe. If Kephisodotos’ statue of Eirene with Ploutos was inspired by the ritual figure of Semele with Dionysos, the same sculptor’s statue of Hermes nursing the infant Dionysos may have been based yet more closely on the succeeding scene at the Lenaia. And to the Hermes of Kephisodotos the Hermes of Praxiteles was near akin.

1 Schol. Rav. Aristoph. Ran. 479 καλεί θεόν: ...ἐν τοῖς Ληναίοις ἄγγελοι τοῦ Διονύσου ὁ δορυφόρος κατέχουσιν λαμψάνα λέγει “καλείτε θεόν,” καὶ οἱ σπαραχόντες βοῶς “Σεμέλη Ἰακχε πεντακόσια” (carmina popularia 5 Bergk, versus et cantilenae popularis 4 Hiller–Crusius).


4 Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel. p. 278 ff. fig. 68.

5 Harrison Themis p. 418 ff. fig. 124.

6 But I completely disagree with Miss Harrison’s description of the grotto on the Berlin kratér (Furtwängler Vasenm. Berlin ii. 256 no. 2646, Mon. d. Inst. xii pl. 4). She says (Themis p. 418 f.): ‘We have a great mound of earth artificially covered in with a thick coat of white. On it are painted a tree, leaf-sprays and a tortoise. From the top of the mound rises a tree....It is a grave-mound, an omphalos-sanctuary,’ etc. I see no tortoise or grave-mound or omphalos, nothing in fact but a would-be cavern.


8 Plin. nat. hist. 34. 87.
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It would seem, in fact, that the Lenaean festival made important contributions, not only to Greek literature, but also to Greek art.

A. Frickenhaus has recently attempted to prove that a whole series of Athenian vases extending throughout the fifth century B.C. represents scenes from the Lenaia. Late black-figured vases, mostly ἕλκυθοι, show a wooden pillar decked with a bearded Dionysiac mask and sprigs of ivy: sometimes the mask is duplicated, and drapery added beneath it, or a flat-cake above it. As a rule, four Maenads are grouped about the ἀγαλμα. Red-figured vases, usually στάμνοι, complicate the scene. The god is more elaborately dressed, though he never acquires arms. Before him is a table, on which offerings of wine etc. are placed. The entourage still consists of Maenads. In one case the pillar is not decked at all, but a Maenad on the left is carrying the infant god. Various scholars from G. Minervini (1850) onwards have interpreted the masked pillar as the Theban Dionysos Perikiónios. M. Mayer (1892) suggested Dionysos Orthós, whom C. Robert (1899) identified with Dionysos Lenatos. Combining these hints, Frickenhaus argues that at some date later than the ninth and earlier than the sixth century B.C. the cult of the Theban Dionysos came to the Lenaion, which he locates outside the Dipylon gate. Here year by year the birth of Semele’s son was celebrated, his pillar decked, and his table spread. In the absence of a definite inscription certainty is unattainable. But it will probably be conceded that the vases in question do illustrate the ritual of an Attic festival of Dionysos, and that this festival may well be the Lenaia. If so, these vases strengthen our contention that the

1 A. Frickenhaus Lenaienvasen (Winckelmann-Jubel-Progr. Berlin lxxii) Berlin 1912 pp. 1—40 with figs. in text and 5 pls.
2 Id. ib. pp. 4—6, 32 f. (nos. 1—10).
3 Id. ib. pp. 6—16, 34—39 (nos. 11—27 and 29).
4 Id. ib. p. 20 f., 39 (no. 28).
5 G. Minervini Monumenti antichi inediti posseduti da Raffaele Barone Naples 1850 i. 34 ff.
6 M. Mayer in the Ath. Mitth. 1892 xvii. 265—270 and 446 f.
7 C. Robert Der müde Silen (Winckelmann-Jubel-Progr. Halle 1899) p. 11.
8 A. Frickenhaus op. cit. pp. 27—32.
9 The rites of the Rural Dionysia are so imperfectly known that we cannot rule them out as confidently as does Frickenhaus op. cit. p. 26: ‘Auch die ländlichen Dionysien, wie sie Aristophanes in den Acharnern schildert, können nichts mit unseren Vasen zu tun haben.’ It must not be forgotten that precisely at Acharnai there was a cult of Dionysos Kízós (Paus. i. 31. 6 with J. G. Frazer ad loc.), who was near akin to Dionysos Perikiónios (O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1016). Moreover, the Rural Dionysia was but the country counterpart of the Athenian Lenaia (supra p. 666, infra pp. 672, 688).
10 Within the last few months E. Petersen ‘Lenaien oder Anthesterien’ in the Rhein. Mus. 1913 lxviii. 239—250 has attempted to prove that the vases discussed by Frickenhaus
infant god was exhibited at the Athenian Lenaia. And I have long since maintained that in the table, which on the same vases is set before the dressed up post, we should recognise the prototype of the dramatic stage.

Beside the ritual directions of Mykonos and Athens we have a rhetorical passage in which Clement of Alexandreia contrasts the frenzy of Lenaean fiction with the calm of Christian truth:

'So Kithairon and Helikon and the mountains of the Odrysians and Thracians, where men are initiated into error, have by reason of their mysteries been divinised and hitched into hymns. For my part, fiction though they be, I can ill brook all these disasters turned into tragedy; but you have made the very recital of your woes into plays, and you deem those that act them a delightful sight. Nay, nay, let us take these dramas and Lenaean poets,—for the cup of their folly is full,—let us wreath them of course with ivy, while they babble beyond measure in their Bacchic rite, and along with their Satyrs, their mad followers, and the whole chorus of demons to boot, let us relegate them to a superannuated Helikon and Kithairon. But for ourselves, let us summon from the heavens above Truth with luminous wisdom and the holy chorus of prophets to come to the holy mountain of God.'

The scholiast, commenting on Clement's 'Lenaean poets,' lets fall a brief but valuable hint:

'A rustic ode, sung over the wine-press, which ode itself included the rending of Dionysos.'

refer, not to the Lenaia at all, but to the secret rites of Anthiserion, when—as he supposes—the Basilissa attended by her Geraiwé was married to Dionysos, i.e. to a dressed-up pillar in the old Dionysion at Anthiserion. But the arguments adduced in support of his view by this learned and ingenious scholar strike me as being far from cogent. It is, e.g., the merest assumption that the ritual marriage of the Basilissa took place on Anthiserion (infra p. 686). And to argue that the vases cannot represent the Lenaia, because the Lenaia had no room for 'eine exklusieve Frauenfeier,' is to forget that Lenaia means 'the festival of the Eléni' (infra p. 667 f.).

1 Supra p. 670, infra pp. 695, 699, 707.
3 Clem. Al. proetr. 1. 2. 1 f. p. 3. 26 ff. Stählin.
4 Cp. Corp. Insgr. Att. iii. 1 no. 77, 21 (Athens, i. a.d.), J. de Prutt op. cit. p. 7 ff. no. 3, 21, Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 692, 21 Γαμηλιών κατώτερα Διανόσω όριον, on which see Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 374 n. 7.
5 Clemens is, I think, pointedly contrasting the Lenaean rite as described by the scholiast on Aristophanes (infra p. 669) with Christian procedure. The former called up Iakchos from below: the latter calls down Truth from above. The former relied for its illumination on the torch of the dadeolaches: the latter has all the brilliance of celestial wisdom. The former involved a revel-rout ranging an earthy mountain: the latter witnesses inspired prophets pressing on towards Mt Zion.
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A. Mommsen thinks that this note alludes to the Rural Dionysia. Dr. Farnell is more disposed to interpret it of the Lenaia. And that is certainly right; for, not only was Clement throughout describing the Lenaean celebrations, but the scholiast is actually annotating the verb lenaisontas and in his very next sentence mentions the Lenaia by name. Yet after all it matters little whether the scholiast is speaking of the Rural Dionysia or of the Lenaia; for we have already observed that the latter was only the Athenian variety of the former. What does matter is that here, and here only, we learn the contents of the Lenaean chant. It dealt, as we might have surmised, with the rending of Dionysos. And the whole context in Clement leads us to conclude that this was the proper theme of Lenaean tragedy.

We are now in a position to review the facts and to estimate probabilities. In Crete the ritual of Dionysos, the re-born Zeus, included a yearly drama, at which the worshippers performed all that the boy had done or suffered at his death. The Titans' cannibal feast was represented by a bovine omophagy; and those who took part in this sacrament thereby renewed their own vitality. For *ipso facto* they became one with their god, and he with them. The true mystic was *enthos* in a twofold sense: he was in the god, and the god was in him. On the one hand, the celebrant was not only a worshipper of Bacchos but also the Bacchos whom he worshipped. On the other hand, Dionysos was at once the god of the mysteries and the 'Mystic' (*Mystes*), the bull eaten and the 'Bull-eater' (*Taurophágos*). I submit that in early days the Lenaia essentially resembled the Cretan rite, the only notable difference being that here the god was embodied in a goat, not a bull.

1 Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 356, 379 n. 1.
2 Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* v. 176.
3 See p. 666.
4 *Supra* p. 666.
5 *Supra* p. 648 ff.

Goat instead of Bull

The connexion of Dionysos with the goat has recently been questioned by Prof. Ridgeway. But he ignores the express statement of Hesychios that in Lakonike Dionysos was worshipped as *Eriphos*, the 'Kid', and the definite mention by Apollodorus of a cult of Dionysos *Eriphos*, the 'Kid-god,' at Metapontum. It is the existence of these cults that gives significance to certain myths recorded by Apollodorus and by Ovid. Apollodorus relates that Zeus gave the new-born Dionysos to Hermes, who carried the babe to Ino and Athamas, that they might rear it as a girl. Hera in anger sent madness upon them. Athamas hunted his elder son Learchus like a stag and slew him. Ino cast the younger son Melikertes into a caldron that was on the fire, and then taking the dead boy sprang into the sea. She is now worshipped by sea-farers as Leukothea, and he as Palaimon. Finally, Zeus transformed Dionysos into a kid (*eirphos*) and so saved him from the wrath of Hera. Prof. Ridgeway makes light of the tale as coming from a late writer. But it is never safe to pooh-pooh the evidence of Apollodorus. And this tale in particular, though not written down till the second century B.C., obviously contains ritual elements of extreme antiquity. We have already noted that in the service of Dionysos a man was literally disguised as a stag, slain and eaten. We have also remarked that in the cult of Dionysos' nurse, this

1 W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Tragedy* Cambridge 1910 p. 79 ff.
2 Hesych. s.v. Εριφωτης: ὁ Διόνυσος, παρὰ τὸ εριφωμένον ἐν τῷ μαρτυρὶ τοῦ Διόσ. καὶ Ἐρυθος, παρὰ Δάκωναν, id. s.v. 'Ερυθος (Τεράφω οιοντος) Faber: ὁ Διώνυσος.
3 Steph. Byz. s.v. Ακροβάτης, άκρον βρων. ἐν ψ. οἱ οὐκ οὖσιν 'Ακροβάτης. οἱ βω θε πάρα Τικυνοῦντον ετίπατο <ὁ Διώνυσος>. ἐκατερο θε πάρα μεν Τικυνοῦν 'Ακροβάτης, πάρα δέ Μεθανοστόι τον Ερίφως. Απολλόδορος φησίν. The insertion of ὁ Διώνυσος is rendered practically certain by Paus. 2. 7. 5: J. G. Frazer ad loc. points out that the temple of Dionysos at Sikyon stood on the plateau, which was the akropolis of the old, and the site of the new, city. Not improbably kids were killed in the cult of the Sicyonian Dionysos; for a copper coin of the town, struck by Iulia Domna, shows a raving Bacchant with a knife in her right hand and a kid (?) in her left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 55 pl. 9, 19, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm.* Paus. i. 29 pl. H, 6 and 7).
5 *Supra* p. 67 n. 3.
6 At Brasai in the territory of the Eleutherolakones Ino nursed Dionysos in a cave (Paus. 3. 24. 4, cp. Douris frag. 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 470 Muller) *Ap. Teetz. in Lyk.* Al. 104). In a pentameter of Kallimachos (?) cited by the *et. mag.* p. 372, 4 l. the nurse of Dionysos is *Εριφώς* (cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 21. 81 and Arkad. *de accent.* p. 115, 18 Barker): on the authorship of the line see O. Schneider *Kallimachos* Lipsiae 1873 ii. 722. Lastly, Nonn. *Dion.* 10. 1 ff. makes Athamas in his madness bind and flag a she-goat, which he takes to be Ino,
same Leukothea, a caldron was used to effect a ritual divinisation. It might also be observed that at Tenedos infants were sacrificed to her son Palaimon. Supported by the evidence of actual cult and embedded in this context of archaic rites, the statement of Apollodoros that Dionysos himself became a kid is not to be laughed out of court. Again, Ovid says that, when the gods fled into Egypt to escape Typhoeus, the son of Semele was turned into a goat. And even Ovid, facile though he was and frivolous though he may have been, did not invent his Metamorphoses wholesale. Recent research is in fact tending towards the conclusion that he did not invent them at all. And we have twice had occasion to accept as based on definite cult-practice transformations presupposed by this very Ovidian narrative.

In the tale told by Apollodoros we detected certain remnants of Dionysiac ritual—the caldron of apotheosis and the young god transformed into a kid. I should conjecture that there was a version of the Dionysos-myth, in which the god boiled in a caldron and subsequently devoured was done to death not as a bull, but as a kid. I am further inclined to think that his worshippers, by way of identifying themselves with him, took the name of 'kids' and actually pretended to be seethed like him in a caldron. This may seem a rash guess. But it is not entirely unsupported by evidence. Hesychios informs us that a man who performed the rites of Adonis was known as a 'kid.' And we have seen that the Cretan Zeus, whose death and resurrection were annually enacted, was at the first hard to distinguish from Adonis. Possibly, therefore, Kuster was not mistaken when he interpreted this strange gloss of some Dionysiac rite. Again, if Dionysos was worshipped as Eriphios, the 'Kid-god,' at Metapontum, we might look to find some trace of the fact in Orphic formularies. Now A. Dieterich with his habitual acumen pointed out that the lines engraved on

1 Supra p. 419 n. 10.
2 Lyk. Al. 229 ff. καὶ δὴ Παλαιοὶ δέρκεται βρεφοκάτω | Ἑλέονας ἀλθείας πλεκαντο- 
στόλως | γραίαν ἔξωναν Ἡρέου Τερείδα (the wording is curiously reminiscent of the 
Titanic caldron) with schoh. ad loc. Παλαιοὶ ἔ Μελανήτης, ἀ τῆς Ἰνοῦ ἅμι. ὅθος 
σφόδρα ἐγκύκτο ἐν τῇ Τερείδῃ, ἅθα καὶ βριφα ἀντὶ ἔθνων ἔθνων.
3 See the careful and critical summary in Gruppe Myth. Lit. 1908 pp. 171—185.
4 Supra p. 370 n. 1 (Zeus = ram), p. 445 (Hera = cow).
5 Hesych. s.v. 'Ἀθηναῖς' ἀριστοκρατός.
7 See J. Alberti's n. on Hesych, loc. cit.
8 A. Dieterich de hymnis Orphiciis Marpurgi Cattorum 1891 p. 30 ff. (= Kleine 
Schriften Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 91 ff.), id. Eine Mithrailiturgie Leipzig and 
Berlin 1910 p. 214.
the gold tablets from Corigliano constitute a hymn of eleven hexameters, in which the Orphic votary claims a happy entrance into the future life and receives the assurance:

‘Happy and blessed one, thou shalt be a god instead of a mortal.’

Dieterich further remarked that immediately after this hymn comes a twelfth line containing the prose formula:

‘I have fallen as a kid into milk!‘

This enigmatic phrase he referred to the cult of Dionysos Ėriphios or Ėriphios and explained as a solemn pass-word, in which the mystic asserted that he too as an Ėriphios had now returned to his mother’s breast and, thus raised to the rank of a god, had entered upon the land flowing with milk and honey. Dieterich’s elucidation of the final formula is, however, incomplete; for it does not really justify the expression ‘I have fallen’ or adequately account for the ritual bath of milk. We must, I think, start from the fact, first noted by Dr Frazer¹, that semi-civilised folk relish meat boiled in milk, but often abstain from the luxury because they fancy that the boiling would injure the cow from which the milk has been drawn. Among the Baganda, for example, ‘it is recognized that flesh boiled in milk is a great dainty, and naughty boys and other unprincipled persons, who think more of their own pleasure than of the welfare of the herds, will gratify their sinful lusts by eating meat boiled in milk, whenever they can do so on the sly.’ Moreover, tribes that commonly refuse to boil milk will not hesitate to do so on certain solemn and specified occasions; the Bahima cowmen are a case in point.² It is therefore possible that the original Thraco-Phrygian ceremony involved a ritual boiling of milk. At the Athenian festival of the Galaxia a mess of barley was actually boiled in milk for the Phrygian mother-goddess.³ And Sallustius,

1. *Inscr. Gr. Sic. II. no. 641, 1, 14 ff. δῆμον καὶ μακαριστέ, θεός δ’ έλογη ἀντί βρωτος. έροφον εί γάλα έπιβολή, no. 642, 4 ff. θεία τ(γ)ένους εί ἀνθρώπον, έροφον εί γάλα | έπιβολή.

2. J. G. Frazer in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 p. 151 ff., discussing the ancient ritual law ‘Thou shalt not see thee a kid in its mother’s milk’ (Ex. 23: 19, 34–26, Deut. 14: 21), argues (a) that among pastoral tribes in Africa there is a widely spread and deeply rooted aversion to boil the milk of their cattle, the aversion being based on an idea that a cow whose milk has been boiled will yield no more milk; (b) that, notwithstanding this belief, the Baganda boys etc. do boil their meat in milk whenever they can; and (c) that the scriptural precept may have been directed against miscreants of this sort, whose surreptitious joys were condemned by public opinion as striking a fatal blow at the staple food of the community.


4. See the interesting account given by my friend the Rev. J. Roscoe *The Baganda* London 1911 p. 418.

5. Bekker *anecd. i. 229, 25 ff. Παλαξία (Παλαξία A. Mommsen) ὀρθῇ Ἀθανασίου μητρὶ
who allegorises her rites¹, speaks of 'the feeding on milk, as though we were being born again; after which come rejoicings and garlands and, as it were, a return up to the Gods².' Let us suppose, then, that the early Thraco-Phrygian 'kings,' the *Titánês* of the myth³, after killing Dionysos as a kid, pitched him into their caldron and boiled him in milk with a view to his being born again. The mystic who aspired to be one with his god underwent, or at least claimed to have undergone, a like ordeal. He had fallen as a slain kid into the milky caldron: henceforward he was 'a god instead of a mortal.'

¹ θεῶν ἀγομένη, τὸν ἔφοςι (ἐφονι Α. Μομμσεν) τὴν γαλαζίαν. ἔστι δὲ πόλος κρίθων ἐκ γαλακτος (ἐν γαλακτι Α. Μομμσεν), ἤσυχα. ἰ.υ. Γαλαζία (γαλαζία κυν., γαλαζία Μυσαρυσ, γαλαζία Рунхенк): τὸν ἔφοςι γαλαζίαν. ἔστι δὲ πόλος κρίθων ἐν γαλακτι. Τύπ. Corp. intr. Att. ii. 1 no. 470. 13 (of the ἐφονι), ἔθουσα δὲ καὶ τοῖς Γαλαζίας τῆς μνήμης των θεῶν καὶ ἀνέθεσαν φάλαξι ἀντί δραχμῶν ἐκατὼν κ.τ.λ. Μομμσεν Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 448 refers the Γαλαζία to Ελαπθελομία on the ground that in the Delian calendar Ελαπθελομία was called Γαλαζίας (ἐν Γαλαζίας). See further F. Stengel and Bischoff in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 359 f. and 571.

² Σαλλωτίου παντεὶ θεῶν καὶ κύων 4 ἐπί τοῦτος γαλακτος τροφῆς, ἀσπέρ αναγεννημένων, ἐφ' οὖς Ἀρισταί καὶ στέφανον καὶ πρὸς τοῖς θεοῖς οἶνος ἐπάνοδοι τρας. G. Murray.

³ Supra p. 625 f.

A somewhat similar belief may lie at the back of the Roman Lupercalia; for here too human 'goats' underwent rites, which are best explained (W. Mannhardt Mythologische Forschungen Strassburg 1884 p. 99 f.) as a mimic death and resurrection by means of milk. The relevant facts are the following. On Feb. 15 the celebrants met at the Lupercal, a cave in the Palatine Hill, and sacrificed goats (Plout. v. Rom. 21, Ov. fast. 2. 445 cp. 441, Val. Max. 2. 2. 9, Quint. inst. or. 1. 5. 66, Serv. in Verg. Aen. 8. 343 and interp. ad loc.) and a dog (Plout. v. Rom. 21, quae. Inter. Rom. 68, 111). In the Lupercal was an image of the god whom Justin calls Lupercus, nude but girt with a goat-skin (Inst. 43. 1. 7). The *luperci* too were nude and wore about their loins the pelts of the newly-sacrificed animals (Q. Aelius Tubero [Hist. Rom. frag. p. 200 f. Peter] cp. Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. 1. 80). They ran round the base of the Palatine striking those whom they met with strips or thongs cut from the goat-skins (Plout. v. Rom. 21, Ov. fast. 2. 445 f., Val. Max. 2. 2. 9, interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 8. 343, Nikol. Damask. frag. 101, 21 [Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 441 Müller]). These *luperci* are described not merely as 'human flocks' (Varr. de ling. Lat. 6. 34 lupercis nudis lustrato antiquum oppidum Palatinum gregibus humanis cinctum), but actually as *crepi* (Paul. ex Fest. p. 57 Müller, p. 49 Lindsay), i.e. 'goats' (Paul. ex Fest. p. 48 Müller, p. 42 Lindsay, Isid. orig. 12. 1. 15: see S. Bagge in the Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag. 1872 cv. 92 f., Prellas—Jordán Κομ. Myth. 3 i. 389, W. M. Lindsay The Latin Language Oxford 1894 p. 98). Wissowa Rel. Kult. Rom. 3 p. 209 n. 8 says: 'man kann die τράγου-σάτυρος des griechischen Dionysos-dienstes zum Vergleiche heranziehen'—an analogy noted by W. Mannhardt Wald- und Feldkulte Berlin 1905 ii. 200. The ritual of the *luperci* is given with most detail by Plout. v. Rom. 21: 'They sacrifice goats. Then two young men of high rank are brought to them; whereupon some touch the forehead of the young men with a bloody knife, and others promptly wipe off the blood, applying wool steeped in milk. After this wiping the young men are obliged to laugh. Next they cut up the skins of the goats and run round naked except for their girdles, striking with the whips any one who encounters them. Young women do not avoid this whipping, because they deem it a help towards easy labour and conception. It is a peculiarity of the festival that the *luperci* sacrifice a dog likewise.' See
Goat instead of Bull

To modern ears this rite may sound not only disgusting but incredible. Yet a partial parallel can be found for it, and nearer home than we might have imagined. Giraldeus Cambreensis tells us how kings used to be inaugurated in Tirconnell, now the county of Donegal:

'There are some things which shame would prevent my relating, unless the course of my subject required it. For a filthy story seems to reflect a stain on the author, although it may display his skill. But the severity of history does not allow us either to sacrifice truth or affect modesty; and what is shameful in itself may be related by pure lips in decent words. There is, then, in the northern and most remote part of Ulster, namely, at Kenel Cunil, a nation which practises a most barbarous and abominable rite in creating their king. The whole people of that country being gathered in one place, a white mare is led into the midst of them, and he who is to be inaugurated, not as a prince but as a brute, not as a king but as an outlaw, comes before the people on all fours, confessing himself a beast with no less impudence than imprudence. The mare being immediately killed, and cut in pieces and boiled, a bath is prepared for him from the broth. Sitting in this, he eats of the flesh which is brought to him, the people standing round and partaking of it also. He is also required to drink of the broth in which he is bathed, not drawing it in any vessel, nor even in his hand, but lapping it with his mouth. These unrighteous rites being duly accomplished, his royal authority and dominion are ratified.'

It remains to ask—what is the bearing of all this on the origin of Greek tragedy? To put the matter briefly, it seems probable that at the winter festival of the Lenaia as originally celebrated by the Athenians a song was sung commemorating the passion of Dionysos, and that this song was accompanied by a mimetic performance, a passion-play, which ultimately developed into Attic tragedy. It is, I think, significant that Thespis came from the deme Ikaria, where it was an ancient custom to dance round a he-goat (tráigos), that for the purpose of his tragedies he first smeared the faces of the performers with white lead, as if they

further W. Warde Fowler The Roman Festivals London 1899 p. 310 ff., id. The Religious Experience of the Roman People London 1911 p. 478 ff., J. A. Hild in Dauxberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1398 ff., L. Deubner in the Archiv f. Rel. 1910 xiii. 481 ff. (whose attempt to show that the Wiedergeburtszeremonie was a Greek cathartic rite added by Augustus is ingenious but hardly convincing).

2 Supra p. 672 ff.
3 Supra p. 672 ff.
4 Eratosthenes a. Hyg. post. astr. 3. 4 'Ikarion ποιησεν πρώτα περὶ τράγου θρήσκευεν. Farnell Cults of Gr. States v. 334, 318 reads 'καρπος (but B. Bunte ad loc. suggests that the line was preceded by ἐπερε τραίριον or the like), and justly infers 'there was there some primitive mimetic service of the goat-god.'
5 Soudi. έχων πρώτων μὲν κρίνασε τὸ πρόσωπον ψιμωθὸς οἰραγόμενον, εἶτα ἄνδρας ἐκεῖνους ἐν τῷ ἐπιθέμικότω, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα εἰσέρρηκε καὶ τὴν τῶν προσωπειών κρίναν ἐν μιᾷ δοκείς κατασκευάζας = Eudox. vial. 471.
The Origin of Tragedy

were so many Titans smeared with gypsum, and finally that the titles of the plays rightly or wrongly ascribed to him by Souides are the Prizes of Pelias or the Phorbas, the Priests, the Young Men, and the Pentheus. The last-named tragedy certainly had reference to the rending of Dionysos; for Pentheus, a Theban embodiment of the god, was torn asunder, if not also devoured, by the lenai themselves. Aischylos too wrote a Pentheus and dealt with the same theme in his Xantria, as did Euripides in his Bakchai, Iophon in his Bakchai or Pentheus, Chairemon in his Dionysos, Lykophron in his Pentheus. The extant Euripidean play was neither the first nor the last dramatic presentation of the subject. Further, we can well understand how the incidents of the passion would be told of others beside Pentheus, who in this or that part of Greece had died the Dionysiac death. Pelias was cut to pieces by his daughters and boiled in a caldron in order that he might recover his youth. Apart from the play attributed to Thespis, Sophokles composed a Pelias and Euripides a Peliades. The myth of Pelias and that of Pelops have been shrewdly and, I believe, rightly interpreted by Mr F. M. Cornford as presupposing a ritual of regeneration or new birth. It is therefore noteworthy that the boiling and eating of Pelops were for centuries regarded as among the most popular of all tragic themes. Moreover, Palaimon, once boiled in a caldron by Leukothea and later worshipped as a god, was a stock character in the dramatic rites of the Iobakchoi. From such personages the transition would be

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1 On Titan-dances see Loukian. Τὰ μὲν γε Βασιλικὴ ὀρχήσει ἔν Ἡθικῇ μάλλον καὶ ἐν Πάσᾳ σπουδαιώτερον, καθισν ταυτικὴ οὕσα, ὡστε κεχρωότα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ ἐκεῖ ὡς κατὰ τὰ ταυτερεμένα ἐκατερο μάρφον ἀπάντων ἐπιλαθόμενον τῶν ἄλλων κάθηται δι’ ἡμέρας Ταῦτας (Sommerbrodt c.f. Πάσι) καὶ Κορώθαι καὶ Σατροῦ καὶ Βουκέλου ὀρχωτε. καὶ ὀρχοῦντες καὶ ταυτά τοι ἐγενέστατο καὶ πρωτοῦτες ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν ἄλλων ὀνή σων αἰσθομενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι προσκυνήτων ἔτι τῷ πρόγματι μᾶλλον ἦπερ ἐν εἰνεχείας καὶ λειτουργίαις καὶ ἐξώμασι προγενοῖς.

2 Σοῦιδ. ἦπερ...μεγαλεῖται δὲ τῶν δραμάτων αὐτῶν "Ἄθλα Πελών η Θάρσα, Ἱερείτ, Ἰθέου, Πενθέετ (cp. Poll. 7. 45)= Eudok. viol. 471.


4 Oppian. synec. 4. 304 ff.


6 Ib. p. 55 f.

7 Ib. p. 783 f.

9 Ib. p. 783 f.

10 Supra p. 244 f.


12 Ib. p. 550 f.


15 Loukian. de salt. 54.

16 Supra p. 675.

17 W. Wide in the Ath. Mitth. 1894 xix. 148, 254 f. = 260 (line 120 f. ἐρεύνων) ἐπιχειρεῖ ἐν τοῖς ἄνθρωποις, ἀνθρώποι, ἐρεύνων, ταύτια, τοῦκοι, διάνοιας, Κήρ, Πάλαιρος,

Ἀφράδειτη, Πρωτερύθος—τα δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν συνεκπρόσωπον | τάς, 276 f.
easy to suffering heroes in general—Hippolytos dragged to death by his horses but brought to life again by Asklepios, Orestes reported as dead but returning to wreak vengeance on his foes, Apsyrtos murdered and dismembered by Medeia, Neoptolemos mangled beside the altar at Pytho, and many another who, as old-fashioned folk were apt to complain, had ‘nothing to do with Dionysos.’

(θ) The Attic Festivals of Dionysos.

Prof. G. Murray pursuing a different route has arrived at a similar, or at least analogous, conclusion. In a lucid and closely-reasoned note he shows that Greek tragedies, so far as they are extant and so far as they can be reconstructed from extant fragments, normally contain a sequence of six parts—an agón or ‘contest’; a péthos, generally a ritual or sacrificial death; an anagnoúrisis or ‘recognition’ of the slain and mutilated body; a theophánæia or ‘epiphany in glory.’ Following a clue put into his hands by Dieterich, Prof. Murray makes the really important discovery that Greek tragedy fills out the ritual forms of an old sacer ludus. This is what he is chiefly concerned to prove; and this, I think, he has succeeded in proving.

When, however, Prof. Murray assumes that the sacer ludus in question was the dithyramb or spring drómenon of Dionysos regarded as an ‘Eniautos-Daimon’ or ‘Year Spirit,’ I demur to his nomenclature and I disagree with his presuppositions. Had he

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2 Printed as an excursus in Miss Harrison’s Themis Cambridge 1912 pp. 341—363.


4 Prof. Murray writes to me (July 6, 1913): ‘I want to put in a word of explanation about the Daimon, where I am not sure that you have taken my point. I could, of course, call him simply Dionysus, as the ancient authorities do. Only then there would have to be explanations for each separate play. Hippolytos is not Dionysus; it is a strain even to call him a Dionysiac hero. The same with Orestes, Oedipus, Actaeon, Pentheus even. It seemed to me simpler, as a matter of nomenclature, to say: “Dionysus, though of course a complex figure, belongs so far as tragedy is concerned to a special class of beings called Vegetation Spirits or Year-Daemons. Tragedy, while in official cult specially belonging to Dionysus, readily accepts as its heroes all sorts of other people who are, in their various degrees, Daemons of the same class, and have the same set of Patheia.” Thus in each case I can speak simply of “the Daimon.” ’
been content to speak, as the Greeks spoke, of Dionysos with no new-fangled appellative, and had he cited the Lenaia rather than the dithyramb as providing the germ or ritual outline of tragedy, I should have found myself in complete accordance with his view.

This expression of partial dissent from the opinion of so high an authority as Prof. Murray makes it necessary for me to add a word as to the relation that I conceive to have subsisted between the dithyramb and the Lenaean rite. The dithyrambic contest was essentially the opening ceremony of the City Dionysia, which began on Elaphebolion 9 and in the fifth century was over by Elaphebolion 14. Now the Lenaia began on Gamelion 12. The interval between the City Dionysia and the Lenaia was therefore just ten lunar months. My suggestion is that Dionysos was conceived at the City Dionysia and born at the Lenaia. The former festival was the Lady Day, the latter was the Christmas, of the Attic year. I take it that the dithyramb was properly the song commemorating the union of Zeus with Semele and the begetting

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2 Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 430 ff.
3 Id. ib. p. 375.
4 Διώρηματος has a suffix found in other words denoting dance and song—ταύμας, θραυματος, cp. θυαμος. Boisaq Dic. étym. de la Langue Gr. p. 363 f. regards ταύμας as probably a Thraco-Phrygian word. I would support his contention by pointing out that Iambus was a Thracian (Nik. ales 132 Θραγματι...Ιαμβος with scholl. ad loc. Θραγματι δι το γεγον και της Θραγμενη Ιαμβος, cp. Proklos in R. Westphal Metrici scriptores Graeci Lipsiae 1866 i. 242) and that διώρηματος, ταύμας, θυαμος are all Dionysiac terms, the first two being cult-titles of Dionysos himself (Athen. 30 b. 465 A, Diod. 4. 5. et. mag. p. 274. 45 ff., schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1131, alib.), the last the name of a dance used in his service (Poll. 4. 104).

The first element in the compound is Δι- for Διω- as in Διάφορος > Διφόρος, Διαπολίδα > Διαπολίδα, Διαπόλις > Διαπόλις, Διαπόλικα > Διαπόλικα, Διαπόλικη > Διαπόλικη.

The second element in the compound and the crix for its interpreters is the syllable -θρα, which cannot be satisfactorily connected with θέρα. I have suggested (in Miss Harrison's Thesm. Camb. 1912 p. 204) that -θρα- is a northern form of -θρα- (on o becoming u see O. Hoffmann Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum Göttingen 1906 p. 242, K. Brugmann Griechische Grammatik München 1913 p. 36), and have compared Hesych. Διατάτωρ—θεός παρὰ Στροφαῖος—a name which not only illustrates both the phonetic changes postulated by my explanation of διώρηματος, but also provides a parallel for the meaning that I would attach to it. If on the confines of Makedonia, Epeiros, and Thessaly Διατάτωρ denoted 'Zeus the Father,' it is allowable to suppose that in the same region Θεόθρατες denoted 'Zeus the Begetter' (θεόθρατες, θεόθρατας, θεόθρατος, etc.). Thus διώρηματος could mean what in substance I believe it to have been 'the song of Zeus the Begetter.' In favour of this etymology is the fact that Apollon, who often has the same cult-titles as Zeus, was worshipped in Boiotia (?) as Θεραίοι (Lyk. At. 352 with Taez. ad loc. Θεραιοι των στερμωγών και γεννησικών) and in Lokonike as Θερατής (Hesych. Θερατής 'Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Δάκων'). Again, Aisch. Suppl. 301 does not hesitate to describe Zeus as consort with Io πρότατα βουθόρων ταῦρον ἰματια. And in the Dictaean hymn six times over comes the impressive cry of the Chorus
of their child Dionysos¹. His life-history, in which I would recognize the prototype of tragedy, was the theme of the Lenaean performance.

On this showing tragedy belonged by rights to the Lenaia and was only later attached to the City Dionysia². Conversely it might be maintained that comedy belonged by rights to the City Dionysia and was only later attached to the Lenaia. For the great god of the City Dionysia was Dionysos Eleutheréus, whose cult was introduced by Pegasos from Eletherai³. It is said that the Athenians at first thought scorn of the god, and that thereupon they were visited by a phallic disorder, which could not be cured till, both privately and publicly, they made phallosi in his honour⁴. Certainly such phallos played their part in the City festival⁵; and Aristotle believed that comedy took its rise from

addressed to Zeus himself θερε...θερε...θερε...θερε...θερε... (Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1908—1909 xv. 358 line 27 ff.).

Finally, I should surmise that in θραμβος we have the weakest grade of the same root (cp. θραχω). Hence the association of θραμβος with διθραμβος (Fratinas frigg. 1, 16 Hiller—Crusius αρ. Athen. 617 θ διθραμβοδιθραμβος).

¹ The exquisite dithyramb written by Pindar for the Athenians deals expressly with Zeus, Semele, and Dionysos: Find. frigg. 75 Christ (75 Schroeder) αρ. Dion. Hal. de comp. verb. 22 διόθεν τέ με σιν δυλαία | Ιθε Πονθενίαν λοικάν δεισερν | ἐπὶ καυσόθηθεν θεός, | Βράχων δι' 'Ερμον τε βραχω τε καλόμεν, | γάλαν υπάτων μὲν πατέρων μελέτων | γενειακῶν τε Καθεμέοι [(Σεμελίς)] | κ.τ.λ. Cp. Plat. legg. 700 ά καὶ άλε (μ. εἰδος φάλλος) Διονυσίου γένεσις, οίμα, διθραμβοδιθραμβος, where γένεσις includes γέννησις.

Further evidence tending to show that the City Dionysia culminated in the union of Zeus with Semele and the conception of Dionysos will be adduced, when we come to consider the festival of the Pandæ (infra p. 733).

² Mommsen Feste d. Statt Athen p. 379 says 'Zur Zeit des Thespis und der älteren Dramatiker, im VI. Jahrh. und wohl noch im Anfange des V., hatten die Städte keine anderen Schauspielstücke als die der Lenen, denen mithin sämtliche in Athen zur Aufführung kommende Stücke zuzurechnen waren. Das wurde anders, als man, vermutlich im V. Jahrh., die städtischen Dionysien stifte.' This agrees with the results obtained by W. Vollgraff 'Dionysos Eleutheréus' in the Ath. Mitth. 1907 xxxii. 567 ff., viz. that Eletherai was not incorporated with Athens till shortly before the peace of Nicias (421 B.C.) and that a temple was built for the θραμβος of Dionysos Eleutheréus in the theatre-precinct probably by Nicias himself (c. 420 B.C.). But, in reply to Vollgraff, Farnell Cults of Gb. States v. 227 ff. has made it probable that the introduction of Dionysos Eleutheréus and the constitution (re-constitution: infra p. 692 n. 4) of the City Dionysia as his festival took place in the sixth century and were the work of Peisistratos.

³ Paus. 1. 2. 6.

⁴ Schol. Aristoph. Ach. 243, who describes the ψαλλες as ἔκλον ἐπίρηκετ, ἔχον ἐν τῷ ἄκρον σκίτων ἀθοὺς ἐξηρτημένον.

⁵ Schol. Aristoph. loc. cit. περιθύνετε ὅσο τόσο ἄνθρωποι τοὺς θραμβοὺς ἄνθρωποι ἄνθρωπον ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος.
Attic Festivals of Dionysos

this form of worship\(^1\), which was obviously appropriate to the season when Dionysos was begotten. Confirmation of the view that tragedy originated at the Lenaia, comedy at the City Dionysia, may be found in a curious but little-noticed fact\(^2\). At the Lenaia tragedy took precedence of comedy: at the City Dionysia comedy took precedence of tragedy\(^3\).

There are, however, traces of a different and probably older arrangement of the Dionysiac year. It can hardly be accidental that of the two remaining Attic festivals of the god one was held just a month before the City Dionysia and the other a month before the Lenaia. The Anthesteria took place on Anthesterion 11—13\(^4\); the Rural Dionysia, shortly before Poseideon 19\(^5\). Here, then, we have again the same interval of ten lunar months. And we may legitimately suspect the same cause—a conception at the

\(^1\) Aristot. poet. 4. 1449 a 9 ff.
\(^2\) Mommsen Fast. d. Stadt Athen p. 444 n. 2 remarks that at the City Dionysia first came lyrics, then comedy, then tragedy, and justly infers that der Agon ursprünglich nur aus ernster Lyrik und heiterer Dramatik bestand, und keine Tragödien vorkamen.
\(^3\) See the law of Euegoros cited by Dem. in Mid. 10 Eúhgoros eitev: òtan ἡ ποιητὴ ἡ τῶν Διονυσίων ἐν Πειραιᾷ καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ, καὶ ἡ ἑτερὰ Διονυσία ἡ ποιητὴ καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ ἐν οἷς ἔστει Διονυσίας ἡ ποιητὴ καὶ οἱ ταδεὶς καὶ ὁ κόμωτ καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ, κ. τ. λ. Comedies precede tragedies also in the official lists of the contests at the City Dionysia (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 2 no. 971, iv. 2 no. 971).
\(^4\) A. E. Haigh The Attic Theatre\(^6\) rev. by A. W. Pickard-Cambridge. Oxford 1907 p. 23 n. 2 makes light of this evidence 'as there is nothing to show that the contests are being spoken of in order of performance, rather than in order of relative importance.' But since Euegoros arranges the same items in a different order, according as they occur at the Lenaia or at the City Dionysia, it is probable that he is giving the official programme. This probability is raised to a certainty by the fact that his order agrees with that of the inscribed records, in which e.g. the name of Magnes precedes the name of Aischylus on a list of victors at the City Dionysia c. 469 b.c.

A. E. Haigh op. cit.\(^2\) Oxford 1898 p. 35, op. cit.\(^2\) Oxford 1907 p. 23 ff. quotes Aristoph. av. 785 ff. ὡδὲν ἐστὶ ἀμενὸς ὑδας ἤδην ἐὰν ὑδατι πτερμα. | αὖτις ἤμι τῶν θεσάρων εἰ τι ὤντεριν. | ἔτοι πειρὼν τοῖς χαροῖς τῶν τραγῳδῶν ἤχετο, | ἐκπόρρως αὐτὸς ὑπέτρεπεν ἄλλων οἰκεῖο, | κατά ἐμφάνισεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀδεῖα ἃ κατέτητο καὶ infers 'that the comedies were performed after the tragedies.' But, noting that this passage stands near the end of a chorus of 132 lines, I would rather interpret as follows. Aristophanes, joking at his own expense, imagines a bored and hungry spectator suddenly equipped with wings and therefore able to fly off home, get his bit of dinner, and be back in time for the next scene on the stage. That is surely the point of ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀδεῖα ἃ κατέτητο. If so, there is no allusion to tragedies at all, and we ought to accept the old emendation τραγῳδῶν, which was certain to be corrupted into τραγῳδων. The passage thus emended squares with the very weighty evidence of Euegoros' law and the official inscriptions.

\(^5\) Mommsen op. cit. p. 384 ff.
\(^6\) Mommsen op. cit. p. 381, on the strength of Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 no. 578, 36 ff. (a decree of Myrmynous c. 340 b.c.) τῇ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἑστὶ διδα καὶ τὸν Ποιησιδῶν ὑπὲρ κρητικόν τε Ποιησιδῶν. Yet. [cp. Corp. inscr. Att. iv. 2 nos. 523 d and 523 e (records of the Dionysiastai, who met Ποιησιδῶν ἄγορα κυρία).]
Goat instead of Bull

Antheateria, a birth at the Rural Dionysia. Thoukydides speaks of the Anthesteria as 'the older Dionysia,' presumably in comparison with 'the Dionysia,' i.e. the City Dionysia, in the following month. The ritual of the Anthesteria with its Pithoigia, its Choes, and its Chytrai is fairly well known. It culminated on Anthesterion 12, the one day in the year on which 'the oldest and holiest sanctuary of Dionysos in the Marshes' was thrown open. For what purpose this temple was opened, while all others were religiously kept shut, we are not told. But we have at least materials for forming a reasonable guess. Beside the altar in the sanctuary stood a marble stèle, on which was inscribed a law relating to the status and chastity of the Basilinna, i.e. the wife of the Basileus who had presided over the drinking-competition of the Choes. Now it was the duty of the Basilinna to administer an oath of ritual purity to fourteen sacred women chosen by the Basileus and named Gerairai, who took it standing at the above-mentioned altar and laying their hands upon certain baskets before they ventured to touch 'the holy things.' In view of the ascertained character of Dionysos Eleutherelés I should conjecture with some confidence that these baskets contained phallos covered with seed or the like, and that the temple was opened once a year for the performance of a phallic rite. This conjecture is in general agreement with the wording of the oath taken by the Gerairai:

1 Thouk. 2. 15. 2 Thouk. 5. 23. cp. 5. 20.
3 This is the day mentioned by Thouk. 2. 15 as a Dionysiac festival common to the Athenians and their Ionian descendants.
4 Dem. c. Neer. 76. The temple in question was probably identical with the small pre-Persic building beside the theatre; for this is expressly described by Paus. 1. 20. 3 as the 'oldest sanctuary of Dionysos,' and its situation immediately south of the Akropolis accords well with the account given by Thouk. 2. 15 of the temple in the Marshes. It seems to have contained the ancient wooden image of the god, brought to Athens from Eleutherai (Paus. 1. 38. 8) by Pegasos (Paus. 1. 2. 5).
5 So Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 391 and Farnell Cults of Gr. States v. 216 f., relying on Phanodemos frag. 13 (Praeg. hist. Gr. i. 368 Müller) ap. Athen. 447 B—D.
6 Dem. c. Neer. 75 f.
7 Aristoph. Achar. 1224 f. with schol. ad loc.
8 The evidence is collected by P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 1122 f.
9 Dem. c. Neer. 73 and 78 f. A. Frickenhaus Lenäenvasen (Winckelmannfest-Progr. Berlin lxiiii) Berlin 1913 p. 25 n. 17 understands ἄπτεσθαι τῷ ἱππῳ of the cista mystica (cp. id. in the Ath. Mitth. 1908 xxxiii. 29 f. and 173). E. Petersen in the Rhein. Mus. 1913 lxviii. 241 argues that the reference is, not to 'Kultgegenstände,' but to 'Kulthandlungen.'
10 Supra p. 685.
11 A red-figured peltē in the British Museum (fig. 510), belonging to a late stage of the fine period (c. 440—400 B.C.), is thus described in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 387 no. E 819: '(a) A girl, with long sleeved chiton, himation knotted around her waist, and hair looped up with fillet, leans forward to r., holding in her l. a rectangular box; with her r. she sprinkles with seed (?) four objects in the form of phalli set upright in the ground, around which are leaves (?) springing up. Above her on l. hangs a sash, on r. a looped fillet....(b) An ephesos in himation and fillet moving to r. with arm extended, as if
signing to the figure in (a)." Sir Cecil Smith suggests that the scene may have reference to one of the mystic ceremonies of Athenian women, such as the Thesmophoria. If so, it might convey to us some hint of the πολλά καὶ ἅγια καὶ ἀνέφητα performed by the Basilinna (Dem. c. Neuter. 73).
Goat instead of Bull

"I am holy, pure, and clean from all impurities, especially from intercourse with man; and I perform in Dionysos' honour the Theògnia and the Iobàkheia according to ancestral custom and at the times appointed."

The Theògnia were presumably rites connected with the birth of the god, very possibly the ceremonial of his conception. The Iobàkheia may have been some service associated with the Theògnia in Anthesterion, since at Astypalaia this month was called Iobàkchios, or else an equivalent of the Theògnia in Elaphebolion, since the Athenian Iobàkchoi are known to have been active at the time of the City Dionysia. Here, however, a difficulty arises. Modern scholars commonly assure us that on Anthesterion 12 the wife of the Basileis was married to Dionysos. If so, my notion that the god was conceived on this day falls to the ground. But inspection shows that, although the ritual marriage is a well-attested fact, no ancient author early or late connects it with the Anthesteria at all. When it took place, we do not know. Perhaps it synchronised with the Lenaia. In any case we are left with the curious problem that the Anthestaria was a Dionysiac festival at which Dionysos himself played no obvious part. The problem is solved, if I am

1 Dem. c. Notar. 78 Αγιετέω καὶ εἰμί καθαρὰ καὶ ἄγα νὰ τοῦ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν οὐ καθαρευόμενων καὶ αὖ ἀνάργυρε σωφρονίας, καὶ τὰ Θεούς (so comm. S. F. Q. θεοία vulg.) καὶ τὰ Ιοβάκχεια γειράων (Dobree c. γειράω) τῷ Διονύσῳ κατὰ τὰ πάροι καὶ τῶν καθάρων Χρόνιοι.

2 F. Blas (ed. 1891) prints the inferior reading θεοία, which has rightly been rejected by A. Mommsen Heerologie Leipzig 1864 p. 359 n. 2 and by E. Petersen in the Rhein. Mus. 1913 lxxv. 248. The Θεοία was a name given to the demotic Dionysia as a festival of Dionysos Θεοί (Harpocr. i. 725 Θεοί). If that reading were sound, we should have an additional reason for linking the Anthesteria with the Rural Dionysia.

3 H. van Herwerden Lexicon Graecum supplendorum et dialecticum2 Lugduni Batavorum 1910 i. 707.


6 A. Frickenhaus loc. cit. p. 80 ff. has adduced strong reasons for thinking that the ἐισβολή εἰσήγασεν...τόν Διονύσον ἀπὸ τῆς θεουργίας καὶ τὸ ἔθνος μετὰ φωτός (Carp. incv. Att. ii. 1 no. 47, 12 f., ep. ib. nos. 409, 14 f., 470, 11 ff.) at the festival of the Lenaia. It is possible that this torch-light procession stood in some relation to the marriage of Dionysos.

Mr D. S. Robertson, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, kindly draws my attention to the fact that Frazer Golden Bough2: The Magic Art ii. 137 has called in question the date usually assigned to the marriage, and has even (ib. n. 1) been tempted to conjecture that it took place in Gamelion. If so, it may well have happened at the Lenaia. In any case Mommsen's attempt (Heerologie p. 357 ff., Festes d. Stadt Athen p. 392 ff.) to connect it with Anthesterion 12 remains conjectural and unconvincing.
right in my contention that Dionysos as yet was not. Let us suppose that the *Anthestéria* was originally a day or days set apart for magic rites intended 'to make things bloom', and that, when Dionysos first came to be worshipped at Athens, this season was chosen as the fittest time for his conception. The view here advanced is not inconsistent with the Athenian belief that at the Anthesteria souls came up from the Underworld. It is likely enough that the yearly renewal of vegetation was attributed to the agency, perhaps even to the actual re-embodiment, of the nameless and numberless dead. If Dionysos too was to be re-born, this surely was the moment for the procreative rite. The *panisperma* boiled in a pot (*chýros*), which gave its name to the last day of the festival, was a piece of primitive magic applicable at once to vegetation and the vegetative god. But, if the Anthesteria resembled the City Dionysia in celebrating the conception of Dionysos, did it also resemble the City Dionysia in providing the germ of comedy? Aristophanes in a familiar chorus tells how at the precinct in the Marshes on the day of the *Chýros* a scarcely-sobered *kómos* sang of Dionysos son of Zeus. From such a *kómos*-song, the *kómos*-song *par excellence*, might well have arisen; and the more so, since we hear of definite contests as held on that concluding day. The contests in question were

1 See the simple and satisfactory remarks of Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 222.
3 Boetticher *Baumballus* p. 254 ff. (*Bezug der Bäume auf Grab, Tod und Apotheose des Menschen*) gives a good collection of relevant facts. Note also Emped. frag. 117 Diels ap. Diog. Laert. 8. 77 καί τιν ψυχήν παρείναι είναι ζώων καὶ φυτῶν ἐνδοθέσθαι: φυσικά γονίν· 'Hípaid γάρ πατὴρ αγών γενέσθαι κυδὼν τε κήρυ τε | δάφνων τ' οἷον τα τε καὶ ξύλων ξύλων ξύλοιν, Emped. frag. 117; Diels ap. All. de nat. an. 12. 7 λέγει δὲ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὴν ἀρίστην. εἰσίν μετακεραυνά τοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἰ μὲν ἐς ζώον ἡ λόξης αὐτῶν μεταγαίνοντα, λέγεται γίνεσθαι εἰ δὲ ες φυτών, δάφνων. ἄδε Ἐμπεδοκλῆς λέγει, ταῦτα ἔστω. 'Ἐν θάρσει λέωντε δραλέχεσε χαμαίνειν | γίνονται, δάφναι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἑκάσιοις ἔστοιχαι. It seems probable that trees were planted on or around graves, not, originally at least, as a mere pleasure (Rohde *Psyche* i. 230), but rather as a vehicle for the soul of the deceased. See further A. Dieterich *Mutter Erd* Leipzig and Berlin 1913 p. 49.
4 Mommsen *Feite d. Stadt Athen* p. 307 ff.
5 Aristoph. *ran.* 211 ff. λυμαία κρηνών τέκνα, | ἐξαιλον ἄμμων βασιν, | φθεγγόμεθα, | εἴρησιν ἐμαῖ σώδειν, | κατά κοτέτις, | ἐν ἀμβοῖ Νοῦσίων. | Διὸς Δίωνων ἐν | Λιμνῶν ἀχύρων | ἀνίχνον κραπατάμων | τοῖς ἑραίοις Χύτρωιν | ἄμμων κατ' ἐμαῖ τέμνοις λαιον ὅχλοιν.
6 The word κωμόβολος means properly 'the performance of the κωμόβολον'; and the κωμόβολοι are 'those who sing in the κώμη' (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* ii. 345, Boisacq *Diction. d. gr. de la Langue Gr.* p. 544). The connexion with κώμη, 'village,' is quite fallacious.
an obsolete custom revived by the orator Lykourgos (c. 396—323 B.C.), who passed a law to the effect that comedians should compete in the theatre on the day of the *Chýtroi* and that the successful competitor should enter for the more important contest of the City Dionysia. This points to a comic contest as a time-honoured institution at the *Chýtroi*, later superseded by the more brilliant shows of the City Dionysia, but restored in the fourth century B.C. as a first heat or preliminary competition. Theatrical displays of a quasi-comic character were certainly given at the Anthestera during the first or second century of our era; for Philostratos says of Apollonios:

'The story goes that he rebuked the Athenians for the way in which they kept the Dionysiac festival in the month of Anthesterion. He supposed that they were flocking to the theatre in order to hear solos and songs, choruses and music, such as you get in comedy and tragedy. But, when he heard that, as soon as the flute gave the signal, they danced with all sorts of contortions and performed the epic and theological poems of Orpheus, playing the parts of Horai or Nymphs or Bacchants, he broke out into open censure of their conduct.'

Ten months later came the Rural Dionysia, a festival which we have already taken to be the equivalent of the Lenaia. As such it would involve that 'rustic ode' which set forth the rending of Dionysos and so furnished the original core of tragedy. In short, the Anthestera was an early festival of reproduction, at which the begetting of Dionysos was celebrated with rites that led on towards comedy; the Rural Dionysia was another early festival, at which the life-history of Dionysos was represented with rites that developed into tragedy. It will doubtless be objected that Dikaiopolis, who in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* conducts a private celebration of the Rural Dionysia, equips his daughter with a basket, his slave Xanthias with a *phallos*, and himself sings a phallic song, —a performance more comic than tragic. To

1 A. Westermann *Biographi minores* Brunswick 1845 p. 372, 39 ff.
2 Hence perhaps the curious and misleading statement of Diog. Laert. 3. 56 oùw εκείνοι (the Attic tragedians) τέτρας δράμας ήγεμονετο, Διονυσος, Αριστοπ., Παναθηναιοι, Χέρσος, δε το τέταρτον η Σατυροδ. το δε τέταρτα δράματα εκείνοι τετραλογία.
3 Philostr. v. Apoll. 4. 21 p. 140 Kayser.
4 Supra pp. 666, 673.
5 The objection was at once pointed out to me by Mr F. M. Cornford.
7 Cp. Plout. *de cupid. divit.* 8 ἡ πάτρος των Διονυσίων ἀρτη το παιδίου ἐπέμενε δυνατώς και λαβών, ἄφορεν οὕτως και ἀλματία, εἰτὶ τρόγγον τις ἔλθε, ἄλλος ἱερόν ἄρροχον ἠσθενεῖν κομίζω, ἐπὶ τούς τις ἢ φάλλος. ἄλλα τίνα ταύτα παροχύται καὶ ἂν πάντα, χρυσωμάτων περιπετείων καὶ λωτίσμων ταλαντῶν καὶ τρεις ἱλασμοῦ καὶ προσωπείας. There is here, however, no definite indication of season, place, or date.
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this objection I would reply, first, that when Aristophanes penned his play in 425 B.C. comedy had already invaded not only the Lenaia (at which the Acharnians was produced) but also its provincial counterpart the Rural Dionysia. Authors and inscriptions alike attest both comedies and, more often, tragedies as held at this festival. Secondly, I would point out that in Aristophanes’ play the procession marshalled by Dikaiopolis leads up to a climax in which he is murderously assaulted by the Chorus. They spring upon him from an ambush, crying ‘Pelt him! Pelt him!’ and declaring that they hate him more than Kleon, whom they mean to cut into pieces. Now we lose half the fun of the situation, if we fail to realise that this is a travesty of the sparagmos or ‘ rending ’ of Dionysos by the Titans. It is, of course, always difficult to know when one has got to the bottom of an Aristophanic jest. It may even be that in Xanthias attacked by the Acharnians, the ‘Fair’-man by the charcoal-burners, we should recognise a tragedy-turned-comedy resembling our own rough-and-tumble between the miller and the sweep.

1 The Ἀσκωλησμός, in which the competitors balanced themselves on an inflated goat-skin, standing the while upon one leg (Sir W. Smith in Smith—Wayte—Marindin Dict. Ant. i. 309 f., E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 471 f., E. Reisch in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1698 ff.), recalls the use of the Δύσ κύδων, upon which persons stood to be purified supporting themselves on their left foot alone (infra p. 422 ff.). Perhaps the Ἀσκωλησμός too originated as a serious rite, designed to bring the celebrants one by one into contact with the skin of the sacred beast. According to Hyg. poet. astr. ii. 4, Icarus (sic) slew the he-goat that had crossed his vine-leaves, inflated its skin, and made his comrades dance round it—whence the line of Eratosthenes Ἱαπέω τοις πρῶτα πέρι τράγων ὑψέσαντο (infra p. 678 n. 4).

2 Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 355.

3 Possibly the pelting received by Alcines as an actor (Dem. de cor. 251) is to be connected with his performance at the Rural Dionysia (ib. 180, 244).

4 Aristoph. Achar. 280 ff.

5 Dr L. R. Farnell in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1909 xxix p. xlvii and in his Cults of Gr. States v. 130 ff., 234 ff., continuing Usener’s fruitful investigation of the Macedonian festival τὰ Ζαῦκια, i.e. Ζαῦκια (Archiv f. Rel. 1904 vii. 301 ff. = H. Usener Kleine Schriften Leipzig and Berlin 1913 iv. 438 ff.), has argued that the tale of the Boeotian Xanthos slain by the Neleid Melanths with the aid of Dionysos Mελανθυρίς (schol. Aristoph. Achar. 145; cp. schol. Plat. Sympos. 208 D, who calls the Boeotian Xanthios and does not mention Dionysos) presupposes ‘an old Thrako-Greek mummers’ play in which a divine figure in a black goat-skin kills another divine figure who is the fair or bright god.’ Dr Farnell holds that this play was a vegetation-masque performed in the winter, which, attached to the goat-god γνα vegetation-god in his own northern home, was carried through Greece by the Minyans (Melanths as a Neleid was a Minyan, as were the Ψέλλης and ’Ολεας of Orchomenos in Boiotia (Plout. quaest. Gr. 38)), acquired variety of motif as it spread from village to village, reached Athens via Eleutherai, and ultimately became the parent of Greek tragedy. This important contention cannot be discussed in a foot-note. It certainly contains large elements of truth, and has not, in my opinion, been materially shaken by Prof. Ridgeway’s criticism (W. Ridgeway The Origin of Tragedy Cambridge 1910 p. 73 ff.). But here it is in point only to quote
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The relation of the four Dionysiac festivals as here determined may be conveniently set forth in tabular form. It appears that the Anthestheria and the Rural Dionysia were duplicated after a month's interval by the City Dionysia and the Lenaia respectively. How is this duplication to be explained? According to the Greek and Roman chronologists, the earliest attempt to correct the lunar by the solar year was the adoption of a trieteric or two-year cycle, wherein the years consisted alternately of twelve and thirteen months. We are expressly told that this cycle was used for the mysteries of Dionysos, who in many places had trieteric rites. Further, we have learnt that in Crete at least these rites were performed side by side with an annual celebration and represented

Dr Farnell's words: 'The black man could easily degenerate into comedy: the soot-covered figure in the phallopria [Athen. 672 D] appears to have been comic, and this is the case now with our May-day sweep.'

1 On the attempt of O. Gilbert Die Festwalt der Attischen Dionysien Göttingen 1872 to prove that 'die Lenaen und Anthesterien sind identisch und gehören zu den ländlichen Dionysien' see O. Kern in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1021 f.


3 Censorin. de die nat. 18. 2.


Dr Farnell in the Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 139 f. and in his Cults of Gk. States v. 177 ff. rejects the calendrical explanation of the Dionysiac προσήλουσ on grounds that to me seem unsatisfactory: (a) 'we know that the Greeks corrected their calendar every eight years' ('Macr. Sat. 1. 13) But there is nothing to suggest that they ever did this every other year.' This ignores the definite statements of Gemin. elem. astr. 8. 26 and Censorin. de die nat. 18. 2, who both assert that the most ancient form of the lunar-solar year was the trieteric of 12 + 13 months. (b) 'And it is not with Greeks but with uncultured Thracians that we are here concerned....But the barbarous tribes of Thrace were scarcely capable of such accurate solar observations as would compel them to correct their lunar calendar every other year.' If it comes to a priori argumentation, surely the very rough approximation of the trieteric is much more suitable to a barbarian tribe than the comparatively exact eight-year cycle.

But Dr Farnell is constructive as well as destructive: 'I venture to suggest, as a new hypothesis, that the "trieterica" are to be associated with the original shifting of land-cultivation which is frequent in early society owing to the backwardness of the agricultural processes' ('Vide Hansen, Agrarhistorische Abhandlungen, i, pp. 125—126.) and which would certainly be consecrated by a special ritual attached to the god of the soil.' The weak point in this ingenious view is that it does not account for the trieteric rites in other cults, of which Gruppe Gr. Myth. Kel. p. 956 n. 4 gives a formidable list. Dr Farnell attributes these to 'casual local convenience or exigencies of finance.' It is, I think, safer to postulate the two-year cycle as a vera causa of all trieteric rites.

I cannot share the odd view advanced by A. Fick Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland Göttingen 1909 p. 47: 'Das ἔτος der Trieteris bestand aus 12 Halbmonaten, wie auch die 13 Monate des Mythos von Ares' Fesselung durch die Aloladen E 385 ff.
THE ATTIC FESTIVALS OF DIONYSOS

SPRING
- Anthesterion
- Elaphrodon
- Mounichion
- Thargelion

SUMMER
- Skikophorion
- Hekatombaion
- Metageitnion

AUTUMN
- Boedromion
- Pyanopson
- Mainakerion

WINTER
- Poseidon
- Gamelion
- Before 10 Rural Dionysia

Fig. 511.

als Halbmonate zu verstehen sind: in jedem Monate (μήν) durchläuft der Mond ja zweimal alle Lichtphasen, wenn auch in verschiedener Richtung. In Wahrheit wurde die Trieteris in jedem Mittwinter gefeiert, beim Beginne eines dritten Halbjahres.
the passion of the god. Presumably, then, in Attike, where the intercalary month was always a second Poseideon, the trieteris involved a ritual representation of Dionysos' death in the month following the first Poseideon. But the trieteris was at a very early date, probably in 'Minoan' times, found to be inadequate. For, given alternate years of 354 and 384 days, every two years the error would amount to about 7 1/2 days, and every eight years to about 30 days, in fact to a whole month. Hence, says Geminus, the first attempt to rectify the error took the form of an oktáeteris, in which three (not four) months were intercalated in the third, fifth, and eighth years of the cycle. This arrangement brought the lunar year into approximate accordance with the solar year. But it laboured under a serious disadvantage. Once in every period of eight years the intercalary month was dropped, and with it would go the trieteric rites of Dionysos. Perhaps it was to guard against this disaster, perhaps also to avoid the confusion arising from the performance of trieteric rites every third, fifth, and eighth years, that the Athenians made the rites annual and assigned them to Gamelion, the month following Poseideon. We can thus account for the celebration of the Rural Dionysia (i.e. the old annual festival) and the Lenaia (i.e. the old trieteric rites) in successive months. The date of the City Dionysia would be fixed by that of the Lenaia, the significant interval of ten lunar months being carefully observed.

In sundry other festivals of the Attic year, all of them mystic in character and all belonging by rights to Demeter and Kore, Dionysos as a god of kindred function played a subordinate part. He appears to have gained some footing at Agra or Agrai, for the Lesser Mysteries there are described by a late author as 'a representation of Dionysos' story.' He certainly intruded, under the name of Iakchos, into the Greater Mysteries at Eleusis. And

1 Supra p. 663 l.
3 Gemin. elem. astr. 8. 27 ff.
4 Dr Farnell's contention (supra p. 682 n. 2), that it was Peisistratos who introduced the cult of Dionysos Eleutheros and organised the City Dionysia as his festival, allows us to suppose that Peisistratos only re-organised a previously existing Dionysiac celebration. I incline to think that this was the case and that the essential feature of the pre-Peisistratic fête was the performance of the dithyramb (supra p. 681 f.).
5 Steph. Byz. s.vv. 'Αγρα και 'Αγρα, χώρα... τα φ' τα μικρα μυστήρα επιτελεῖται, μιμάμα τοιν προ τον Διόνυσον.
Attic Festivals of Dionysos

he was recognised at least as an adventitious deity in the mystic rites of the Haloia\(^1\). These festivals fell in Anthesterion, Boedromion, and Poseideon. It is therefore tempting to see in them some traces of a Dionysiac cycle. Accordingly A. Mommsen has surmised that at the Lesser Mysteries on or about Anthesterion 20 Zeus begat Iakchos by Semele; that Semele bore Iakchos as a seven-months’ child, who at the Greater Mysteries on Boedromion 20 was taken to Eleusis and there incorporated with Zeus; and finally that at the Haloia in Poseideon Zeus himself gave birth to Dionysos\(^2\). But this reconstruction is a mere fancy-flight, which goes far beyond ascertained facts and may be safely relegated to the limbo of improbable conjectures\(^3\).

The arrangement of the Dionysiac year that I have been advocating might be supported by a consideration of analogous festivals in Italy\(^4\). But it will be more in point to observe that

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2 Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 23 f.
3 Mommsen *loc. cit.* even attempts to combine all the Attic festivals of Dionysos, with the solitary exception of the City Dionysia (which he believes to have been originally Apolline!), in a consistent Dionysiac *jahreskreis*. It is a pity that a scholar who has done such good service in the collection of materials should waste his time by building them into a fantastic whole.
4 We must not here be drawn into a discussion of the Roman calendar. But in passing we may note that the Liberalia of March 17 and the Saturnalia of December 17, separated by the same interval of nine solar or ten lunar months, appear to be the old Italian equivalents of the Greek festivals examined above.

Of the Liberalia little is known (W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 54 ff.). The aged priestesses of Liber crowned with ivy, who sat about the streets with cakes and a brazier sacrificing on behalf of their customers (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 14, *Ov. fasti* 3. 735 ff.), recall the *Geraritai* of the Anthesteria (*supra* p. 684); and in many parts of Italy, including Rome, Liber was served with phallic rites *pro eventibus semen* (Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 21, *ep. 4. 11*, 6. 9, 7. 2, 7. 3, 7. 16; see further G. Wissowa in *Koscher Lat. Myth.* ii. 202 f. and in his *Rel. Kult. Rom.* 2 pp. 330, 298 f.), who regards Liber as a creative or procreative god developed out of Jupiter Liber and later identified with the Greek Dionysos). T. Mommsen *Römische Geschichte* Berlin 1881 i. 161 took the Liberalia to be *das Fest des Kindersegens*.

The Saturnalia too stood in obvious relation to *semina*. In view of the fact that our own Christmas has been to a large extent grafted upon this festival (see e.g. C. A. Miles *Christmas in Ritual and Tradition Christian and Pagan* London 1912 pp. 20 ff., 113, 146 ff., 180, 259), we may reasonably conjecture that it once involved a ritual birth. Dr Frazer (*Golden Bough*\(^5\): The Magic Art ii. 311) has also detected in it traces of a ritual marriage and (ib. p. 310 ff.) of a ritual death. The human victim originally slain at the Saturnalia (to Dr Frazer’s evidence we may perhaps add Plaut. *Amph.* 4. 2. 15 ff. *AM. Tun’ me mactes, carnuaex? nisi formam dii hostis memam perdunt*, *Faxs, ut buhulis coris onustus siti Saturni hostia. Ito ego te certe cruce et cruciato macabro. exi foras* *Maistigia.* The passage is, owing to the loss of a quaternion, absent from our MSS. It is usually supposed that the gap was filled up by Hermolaus Barbarus in the fifteenth century; see J. L. *Ussing ad loc.* But the sentences quoted, which describe the victim of Saturn as scourged and crucified, involve a very curious anticipation of modern discoveries, and even if written by Hermolaus Barbarus may well have been drawn from

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\(^{1}\) Schol. Loukian. *diai. mer. 7. 4* p. 279, 24 ff. Rabe, Bekker *anecd.* i. 384, 31 ff.
\(^{2}\) Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 23 f.
\(^{3}\) Mommsen *loc. cit.* even attempts to combine all the Attic festivals of Dionysos, with the solitary exception of the City Dionysia (which he believes to have been originally Apolline!), in a consistent Dionysiac *jahreskreis*. It is a pity that a scholar who has done such good service in the collection of materials should waste his time by building them into a fantastic whole.
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Goat instead of Bull

the suggested origin of tragedy in the Lenaean rite is borne out by the modern carnival-plays of northern Greece. These plays, which have been carefully described of late by Messrs G. F. Abbott, R. M. Dawkins, J. C. Lawson, and A. J. B. Wace, mostly occur in the winter at Epiphany or the New Year or both, though in the Pelion district they are performed on May-day. Mr Wace summarises what is known of them:

'It seems clear on comparing the accounts of the different festivals that though they are celebrated over a wide area, and at different seasons of the year, the same idea is present in all. In every instance there is a death and resurrection. In nearly all cases one of the two principal characters is disguised in skins, or at least a skin mask. In the songs sung at Epiphany in Thessaly, and those sung on Mayday there are several common elements. Also the mere fact that licensed chicken stealing is a feature of the festival in Thrace and Thessaly seems to point to a similar tradition. Is it then possible out of the different versions to reconstruct the main plot of the drama?...we may imagine the full original of the drama to have been somewhat as follows. The old woman first appears nursing her baby in her arms (Viza and Léchovo), and this child is, in some way or other, peculiar (Viza). He grows up quickly and demands a bride (Viza, and on Pelion the old man is sometimes called the old woman's son). A bride is found for him, and the wedding is celebrated (at Lechovo a priest is one of the characters), but during the wedding festivities he quarrels with one of his companions who attempts to molest the bride, and is killed. He is then lamented by his bride, and miraculously restored to life. The interrupted festivities are resumed, and the marriage is consummated. It is worth noting for those who seek for the origins of Greek tragedy that this simple drama recounting, like an ancient trilogy, the life history of its hero ends with a satyr play that could be paralleled by the satyric drama that followed a trilogy. Also, in view of the survivals of Dionysos worship seen in these festivals, it should be noted that they seem to occur only in North Greece (Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace), which was, after all, the reputed home of Dionysos worship.'

some source inaccessible to us) was on this showing the Italian counterpart of the child dismembered and eaten by the Thracian chiefs (supra p. 654 ff.). A Roman parallel to that gruesome rite has been already cited (supra p. 656 n. 2), viz. the sparagmos of Romulus whose fragments were buried by the senators (to fertilise the soil?); and Frazer op. cit. ii. 313 remarks that July 7, the day on which Romulus disappeared, was a festival, the Nonae Caprotinae, somewhat resembling the Saturnalia.

1 Supra p. 678 ff.
2 G. F. Abbott Macedonian Folklore Cambridge 1903 pp. 80 ff., 88 ff.
A divine babe who grows up with phenomenal speed and seeks a divine consort, a murderous attack made upon him by others who would occupy his place and win his bride, a miraculous restoration of the dead to a new life—these are precisely the elements that we detected in the Zagreus-cult of the Cretans, in the Orphic mystery of the Thracians, and in the Lenaean rite of the Athenians. We cannot doubt that in Crete and Thrace and Athens alike we have to do with variations on a common theme, the annual birth, death, and resurrection of Dionysos, the son of the sky-father by the earth-mother.

The name of the mother and the treatment of the child varies from place to place. In Crete, where this religion appears as a development of the old Anatolian worship, the parent remains Rhea and the babe acquires the name Zagreus. In Thracian-Phrygian belief, as represented by Sabazian and Orphic myths, the earth-goddess was dualised into Demeter and Kore, by whom Zeus begat the horned infant Dionysos. At Athens the mother keeps her northern name of Semele, and her child is Iakchos or Dionysos. Again, among the Thracians, the originators and rightful owners of this cult, the part of Dionysos was played by a child actually dismembered and eaten. In Crete the human victim was replaced by a bull, the cannibal feast by a bovine omophagy. At Athens civilisation would not permit even this attenuated orgy: the slaughter became dramatic make-belief, and the omophagy a banquet for the successful poet and his troupe. The Athenians of the fourth century, sitting on cushions in their theatre to witness a triumph of the tragedian’s art, had travelled far indeed from the primitive simplicity of that mimesis, in which the celebrants had identified themselves with the god to become the consorts of the goddess and so share in her all-pervading life.

Concluding Remarks.

Yet even in the fourth century one touch of primitive life remained in piquant contrast with surrounding refinement. I refer to the Satyric drama. Here Prof. G. Murray has made a very interesting suggestion, which it concerns us either to accept or reject.

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1 Supra p. 647.
2 Supra p. 644 ff.
3 Supra p. 669 f.
4 Supra p. 644 ff.
5 Supra p. 390 ff.
6 Supra p. 669 ff.
7 Supra p. 654 ff.
8 At the trieretic rites of Dionysos, Semele had οἴσεις γίνεται τράγειαν ὑπὸ μνημής θ’ ἀγών (Orph. h. Sem. 44. 9). In Hesych. Σεμέλη πράγματα παρὰ διὰ Φρονίμῳ βοήθῃ O. Jessen would read Σεμέλη πράγματα παρὰ Φρονίμῳ βοήθῃ (Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 668).
Goat instead of Bull

to reject. 'The Satyr-play,' he says, 'coming at the end of the tetralogy, represented the joyous arrival of the Reliving Dionysus and his rout of attendant daimones at the end of the Sacer Ludus.'

The question of the Satyr-play is so bound up with that of the Satyrs themselves that one is practically forced to begin by asking—Who were the Satyrs? Were they the horse-like or the goat-like creatures of the Attic vase-painters? After a full and, I hope, impartial survey of the facts I am of opinion that by rights the horse-creatures were Silenoi and the goat-creatures Satyrois, but that as early as the middle of the fifth century, and perhaps earlier, the goat-type proper to the Satyrois had been, at least for dramatic purposes, more or less contaminated with the horse-type proper to the Silenoi.

On the krater of Klitias and Ergotimos (c. 600—550 B.C.) three ithyphallic creatures with equine legs, tails, and ears are inscribed Silenoi. On a kylix signed by the same Ergotimos, now at Berlin, an ithyphallic being with human legs and feet, but equine tail and ear, is again inscribed Silenós. On a fragmentary black-figured kylix from the Persic débris at Athens are the remains of a shaggy personage inscribed Silenós, but whether he is equine or otherwise does not appear. Red-figured vases tell the same story. A kylix at Munich shows an ithyphallic figure with equine tail named Silenós. A gilded aryballos at Berlin calls another

1 G. Murray in Harrison Themis p. 343.
2 For a fair summary of the evidence, both literary and monumental, see E. Kuhnert's article in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 444—531. The learned author reaches, as I hold, the wrong conclusion, but he is scrupulously just to his opponents.
3 S. Reinach in an able essay on 'Marsyas' in his Cultes, Mythes et Religions Paris 1917 iv. 39—44 argues that the Silenoi were originally asses, and that their type became equine in Greece through confusion with that of the Centaurs. Miss Harrison, who first drew my attention to Reinach's view, adds (May 22, 1913): 'I suspect that the mules and asses turned into horses in horse-bearing Thessaly.'

Reinach may well be right in supposing that the Silenoi were asinine before they became equine. But on the Attic vases, with which we are here concerned, the transformation was already complete: the Silenoi are regularly depicted with the traits, not of asses, nor even of mules, but of horses pure and simple.
4 Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 58 pl. 11—12.
7 Jahn Vasenamml. München p. 97 f. no. 331 (Silenos Tefpion), Kretschmer op. cit. p. 132 (Silenos), W. Klein Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften Leipzig 1898 p. 65 (Silenos Tefpion).
Satyric mask of terra cotta from Anthedon.

See page 697 n. 2.
nude figure with equine tail and pointed ear \textit{Silenós}.
A \textit{stámmos} in the British Museum (c. 440—400 B.C.) gives the name \textit{Silenós} to a nude figure with pointed ear; in this case the horse-tail is absent, because Silenos has his hands bound behind him and the hanging cords produce the effect of a tail; other exactly similar figures on the same vase are tailed like a horse\textsuperscript{2}. An \textit{amphora} with volutes in the Jatta collection has again a figure with equine tail and ear inscribed \textit{Silenós}\textsuperscript{3}. In view of these vases we may safely conclude that the type of \textit{Silenos} known to Attic painters in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. was equine, not hircine\textsuperscript{4}.

But beside these horse-creatures Attic vases of the fifth century represent goat-creatures, who are in no case inscribed. The most obvious name to give them is \textit{Satyroi}, because the Satyrs of the Hellenistic and Roman age had undoubtedly the horns, ears, tail, and tufted hair of goats\textsuperscript{5}. In the absence, however, of a definite inscription, an argument can be drawn from the nature of the scenes in which these goatish beings appear. P. Hartwig\textsuperscript{6} and K. Wernicke\textsuperscript{7} have between them made out a list of fifteen


\textsuperscript{3} H. Heydemann \textit{Satyr- und Bacchennamen (Winckelmannfest-Progr. Halle 1889)} p. 3 ff. with pl., L. Deubner in Roscher \textit{Lex. Myth.} iii. 2117 f. fig. 8, F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold \textit{Gr. Vasenmalerei} ii. 328 f. fig. 107, C. Fränkel \textit{op. cit.} pp. 72, 98 ff. (\textit{ΣΙΛΕΝΟΣ}).

\textsuperscript{4} Miss Harrison has pointed out to me an interesting possibility. O. Largercrants \textit{Zur Herkunft des Wortes Silen} in the \textit{Sertium Philologicum Carolo Ferdinando Johansson oblatum Göteborg 1910} pp. 117—121 refers \textit{σιλανός, σιλανός} to a root \textit{σιλα-} (Indo-European \*\textit{siel})—whence Thraco-Phrygian \*\textit{silá}, 'Brunst, Geile, Mutwille der Hengste,' and \*\textit{σιλάνος}. He finds a nearly related word in \textit{κῦλωρ}, 'a stallion' (used of horses, of asses, and of Pan): see Stephanus \textit{Thes. Gr. Ling.} iv. 1516 b—c), and further \textit{κυνέλας} (for \*\textit{κυνέλος} : Boisacq \textit{Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.} p. 451 'ingénieux, mais douteux'), \textit{κυλίας} (better \textit{κυλίαι}), \textit{σιλαρράθω, σιλαρράθω, σιλαρράθω, modern Greek \textit{σαλαρράθω, σιλαρράθω}}. But P. Kretschmer in \textit{Glotta} 1910 ii. 398, ib. 1913 iv. 351 ff. prefers to derive \textit{Σιλανός} from the Thracian \*\textit{σιλα, 'wine.' Videreint philologi.}

\textsuperscript{5} E. Kuhnert in Roscher \textit{Lex. Myth.} iv. 488 ff., 516 ff.

I take this opportunity of publishing (pl. xxxvii) a fine votive mask of terra cotta, said to have been found near a spring at Anthedon and now in my possession. It measures 8\frac{1}{2} inches in height, and has three holes for suspension. The eyes and nostrils are pierced; but the mouth is not. The face has the snub nose, the ears, the horns, and even the \textit{monocel} of a goat. It is wearing both a head-band and an ivy-wreath. In short, it has all the characteristics of a Satyr \textit{choreutés}. Mr H. B. Walters, on grounds of style, refers it to the Hellenistic period.

\textsuperscript{6} P. Hartwig in the \textit{Röm. Mitth.} 1897 xii. 89 ff.

\textsuperscript{7} K. Wernicke in \textit{Hermes} 1897 xxxii. 290 ff. and in Roscher \textit{Lex. Myth.} iii. 1410 ff.
Goat instead of Bull

fifth-century vases on which goat-figures occur. They are seen

(1) Red-figured guttus from Nola (J. de Witte *Description des antiquités et objets d’art qui composent le cabinet de feu M. le chevalier E. Durand* Paris 1836 no. 142) = goat-headed figure skipping on all fours.

(2) Red-figured guttus from Nola (J. J. Dubois *Description des antiques faisant partie des collections de M. le comte de Poulalté-Gorgier* Paris 1841 no. 384, Catalogue des objets d’art…qui composent la collection de feu M. le comte de Poulalté-Gorgier* Paris 1865 no. 390) = goat-headed figure skipping on all fours.

(3) Late black-figured ainoscele with white ground at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 214 no. 692 wrongly described) = goat with bearded human head skipping on all fours; with him dances a bearded Silenos.

(4) Red-figured skyphos of c. 440 B.C. from Certosa at Bologna (Pellegrini *Cat. vas. gr. dipint. Bologna* p. 116 no. 491, E. Brizio in the *Bull. d. Inst. 1872* p. 112 no. 86, H. Heydemann *Winckelmannsphr. Halle* 1879 p. 63 no. 120, P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 91 f. fig. 2) = ovb. human figure with goat’s head, tail, and legs dancing with a goat that stands on its hind legs; rev. goat with human arms and hands skipping on all fours to compete with an actual goat. The design has been much restored.

(5) Fragment of a red-figured skyphos of c. 450 B.C. now in the possession of F. Hauser at Stuttgart (P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 91 fig. 1) = human figure with goat’s head and tail dancing.


(7) Red-figured jug of c. 450 B.C. now in the possession of Commendatore Galeazzo at Santa Maria di Capua (P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 92) = human figure with goat’s feet and beast’s ears striding forwards, his hands crossed at his back; round his head is twisted a curious skin, and behind him is a basket.

(8) Red-figured krater of c. 440 B.C. in the Albertinum at Dresden (P. Herrmann in the *Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1892* vii Arch. Anz. p. 166 f.; P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 92, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 2. 226 f. pl. 19, 1, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.* p. 277 f. fig. 62) = ovb. three human figures (Σίμως, Ἄνδρις, and …Ος) with goat’s horns, tail, and feet capering round Hermes (Ἐρυθώς) who holds a forked stick, and Pherephatta (Φερεφαττα), who rises from a grotto; rev. three draped figures.

(9) Red-figured skyphos of c. 440 B.C. in the Albertinum at Dresden (P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 92 n. 1, K. Wernicke in *Hermes* 1897 xxii. 298) = similar goat-figure on either side of the vase, one with equine tail.

(10) Red-figured skyphos of c. 450 B.C. from Vico Equense in the Bourguignon collection at Naples (W. Fröhner in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1884 lxi. 205 ff. pl. M, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 348, 1 f., C. Robert *Archaeologische Mäcchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 164 f. fig., P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 91 f.) = ovb. two human figures with goat’s head and tail capering, while between them a goddess rises from the ground; rev. two Sileni with horse’s ears and tail dancing on either side of a Maenad.

(11) Red-figured krater of c. 450 B.C. from Falerii, now at Berlin (L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1378, P. Hartwig in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 384 n. 2 and in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 89 ff. pl. 4—5) = ovb. (a) a goddess with diadem and himation rising from the ground, surrounded by four dancing figures with the horns, ears, and tails of goats, (b) a lion and a bull; rev. (a) Hermes erect, *caduceus* in hand surrounded by four dancing goat-figures of the same sort.

The Satyric Drama

capering or dancing, for the most part alone,1 but sometimes paired with a goat2 or with a horse-tailed Silenos3. Twice they dance round Hermes4; once, round a goddess rising from the ground5. Twice they cut their capers about a pair of deities—Hermes, who holds a forked stick or a caduceus, and Pherephatta, who emerges from a grotto or more simply from the ground6. Now these situations recall certain scenes in the carnival-plays of modern Greece, which we have already compared with the Lenaean performance7. In fact, it is possible to interpret the vases with reference to that performance. We might, for example, suppose some such sequence as the following:—

_Scene i:_ Hermes, lyre in hand, sits on a rock awaiting the _anodos_ of the earth-goddess.

_Scene ii:_ the earth-goddess rises from an artificial cavern.

_Scene iii:_ she hands over her child to Hermes, who acts as its foster-father.

Further, if the Lenaean drama was, as we have contended, the true parent of Attic tragedy, it was presumably followed by a Satyric display8. And it may therefore fairly be argued that

(a) the decking of Pandora, (b) four human figures dancing round a flute-player; each dancer wears a snub-nosed mask (?) with goat's horns and ears, a black waist-band to which is attached an erect phallos and a goat's tail, and shoes (?) in the form of goat's feet; rev. (a) girls dancing round a flute-player in the presence of a choragis; (b) a group of four horse-tailed Silenoi, Maenad, etc. playing at ball. Height of vase 1 ft. 7½ ins.

(13) Red-figured krater of late Attic style, c. end of fifth century B.C., now at Gotha (Mon. d. Inst. iv. pl. 34. E. Braun in the _Ann. d. Inst._ 1846 xvii. 238 ff., Lenormant—de Witte _Fl. mon. cér._ ii. 156, iii. 255 f. pl. 90, Reinach Rép. Vas. i. 129, 2, P. Hartwig in the _Röm. Mitth._ 1897 xii. 93) = obv. Hermes (ΕΡΜΗΣ) seated on a rock with an ivy-wreath on his head and a lyre in his hand: round him dance three human figures wearing head-bands and ivy-wreaths; they have the horns, ears, tails, shaggy thighs, and feet of goats; rev. three draped figures.

(14) Red-figured krater found at Chiusi in 1854 (Arch. Zeit. 1855 xiii. Anz. p. 6*) = Hermes surrounded by goat-footed figures with inscriptions.

(15) Black-figured βιλίς from Tanagra, not earlier than c. 450 B.C., now in the collection of Kyros Simos at Thebes (G. Körte in E. Bethe Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Alterthum Leipzig 1896 p. 339. P. Hartwig in the _Röm. Mitth._ 1897 xii. 91) = ithyphallic dancer with the horns and face of a goat, but the tail of a horse, holding an amphora.

Nos. (1), (2), and (14) of this list are known only from the records here cited.

1 Supra p. 608 n. 1 nos. (1), (2), (5), (7), (9), (15).
2 Supra p. 608 n. 1 no. (4).
3 Supra p. 608 n. 1 no. (3) = cp. the reverse of nos. (10) and (12).
4 Supra p. 608 n. 1 nos. (13) and (14).
5 Supra p. 608 n. 1 no. (10).
6 Supra p. 608 n. 1 nos. (8) and (11).
7 Supra p. 604 f.
8 This is not definitely recorded (A. E. Haigh _The Attic Theatre_ 2 rev. by A. W. Pickard-Cambridge Oxford 1907 p. 25); but our records are very incomplete.
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in the goatish figures of the vases we should recognise the Satyrs of the primitive Satyr-play.

This conclusion is not at variance with fifth-century representations of more advanced Satyric plays. Of such the earliest specimen (c. 450 B.C.) is perhaps the krater from Altemura, now in the British Museum (pl. xxxviii), which shows a goat-chorus dancing round a flute-player. It is by no accident that in juxtaposition with the goat-dancers the vase-painter has placed the decking of Pandora, herself but another form of the earth-goddess, 'Giver of All.' Of the same date, or but little later, is a group of vases including a krater at Deepdene (pl. xxxix, 1), a dinos at Athens, and sundry fragments at Bonn, which presuppose a larger and better original, possibly a fresco by Polygnotos,

1 Supra p. 698 n. 1 no. (12).
2 Pratinas of Phlius, who πρώτος ἐγραψε Σατύρων (Soud. s.c. Πρατίνας), in a scathing lyrical fragment (1 Bergk, 1 Hiller) ap. Athen. 617 B—V derives the introduction of flute-music into the rites of Dionysos.
3 See e.g. P. Weiseacker in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1530 ff.
4 I am indebted to my friend Mr E. M. W. Tillyard, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, for the photograph of this vase, hitherto unpublished, and for the following description of it:

'Attic Bell-Krater. Height 270. The preservation is perfect except for two small chips in the rim. The shape is early, the body being broad and heavy, the base tapering little and the foot being a plain disc. Above, on a higher plane than the body of the vase, is a myrtle-wreath pattern; below, is a band of double meanders in threes, divided by saltire-squares. At the handle-bases are egg-and-dot patterns.

On the obverse is a dramatic scene with three figures. On the right is a small stool-like platform on which stands a silen in the attitude known as the oikasma. He seems to wear a black loin-cloth, of which only part is visible and above it a band with a mock erect phallos and a large horse's tail. This, of course, shows that he is represented as an actor, but the face, beard, pointed ears and hair seem to be natural and not, as one would expect, to form a mask. This confusion of mimic and real silen is probably a mere slip on the artist's part. On the left stands Dionysus [or, more probably, a choregos A. B. C.] dressed in a long, sleeved chiton and himation above. He is bearded, wears a fillet in his hair and holds a small-headed thyrsus in his right hand. In the middle stands a bearded man fronting us and with his head turned towards Dionysus. He wears a short, girded chiton. In his right hand he holds a small, -shaped object [perhaps a double flute with phorbeis attached. A. B. C.].

The reverse shows three Machteljünglinge, one of whom holds a strigil.

The vase, now in the Hope Collection and hitherto unpublished, would date from about the middle of the fifth century. The composition is very harmonious and the style, though not strong, is skilful and easy.'

6 M. Bieber in the Ath. Mitth. 1911 xxxvi. 373 ff. pls. 13, 3, 14, 1—3.
representing preparations for a Satyr-play. In this group the Satyrs, both on and off the stage, have equine tails like the Silenos, but hairy loin-cloths which may be meant for stylised goat-skins. Later again, but descended from the same original, are a famous krater at Naples painted c. 400 B.C. and a contemporary krater at Deepdene (pl. xxxix, 2). Here too the

1 M. Bieber loc. cit. was the first to detect that the vase at Athens and its replicas at Bonn are but 'ein ziemlich gedankenloses Excerpt aus einer grösseren und besseren Vorlage.' We may venture, on the strength of the Naples krater (infra n. 4), to conjecture that this original was a fresco by Polygnotos, whose fondness for figures arranged at different levels is notorious (see e.g. H. B. Walters History of Ancient Pottery London 1905 i. 441 ff.).


3 The 'Radornment' (Bieber) on the loin-cloth is perhaps a conventional rendering of a patchy skin.


5 Tischbein Hamilton Vases i. 122 f. pl. 39, Reinach Rép. Vases ii. 288, 5. I have again to thank Mr E. M. W. Tillyard for the accompanying photograph and notes:

1 Lucanian Bell-Krater. Height '325 mm. Well-preserved except that the varnish is beginning slightly to flake off. The clay is of a rich, salmon-pink colour and the varnish deep black and rather metallic in appearance. The shape shows the middle development of the bell-krater, being neither broad nor elongated. Above is a laurel-wreath pattern of the usual type with small and carefully drawn leaves. Below is a band of double maenads in pairs divided by saltire-squares. At each handle-base is a reserved band with black tongues painted on it.

The obverse shows three young comic actors. They all wear close-fitting leathern loin-cloths, into which are fixed large phallos. The actor on the right being in profile, it is possible to see that he also wears a small tail, whether of a horse or a goat it is a little difficult to say. On the side of each loin-cloth is a little ornament like a four-spoked wheel. All three actors have masks. The one on the right wears his, and, with his hands clasped to the small of his back and his right leg kicked back, strikes a comic attitude. The other two stand in easy attitudes, holding their masks in their hand. On the right, on the ground, is a tympanon, seen obliquely. On the reverse are three Manteltünglings.

The vase is of Lucanian fabric and dates from about the end of the fifth century. In style it is considerably under Attic influence and is descended directly from the class of early South Italian vases which Furtwängler thought might have come from the Attic colonies in Italy and which Hauser later proved to be connected with Heraclea. The drawing is very easy and careful.

The vase belonged to the second Hamilton Collection and has been already published by Tischbein. The present reproduction is from a new photograph. The vase is now in the Hope Collection.

1 FKR II. p. 264.
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Satyrs have short tail-like horse-tails. But those on the Naples vase are in most cases wearing a shaggy skin, presumably a goat-skinned, round their loins; and those on the Dendene vase have their waist-bands patterned in such a way as to suggest a fringed or shaggy edge.

In short, the evidence of the vases—agreeing, as it does, with one or two literary allusions¹—leads me to follow in the steps of Furtwängler², Körte³, Hartwig⁴, Wernicke⁵, and to conclude that the Ἀττυροὶ before contamination with the Σιλενοὶ were conceived at Athens as goat-like dancers⁶, who greeted the uprising of the chthonian goddess, mother of Dionysos.

¹ Aisch. Prometheus Pyrbacus frag. 107 Nauck⁷ ap. Plut. de utilit. ex inimic. præcip. 2 τοῦ Ἀττυροῦ τὸ τίρ, ὅτα πρῶτον ὄφη, θεαματόν φιλῆσαι καὶ περιβάλειν, ὃ Πρωμεθεὺς "τράγος γένεσιν ἕπει εὐθυθεῖσιν ὑπὲρ γε,", Eustath. in II. p. 415, 6 ff. καὶ τὸ "τράγος γένεσιν ἕπει (ἐνέθεισι σοὶ γε) ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ὁ τραγέ, πάνω σταθήσῃ γενείων, εἰ τὴν φιλῶν φιλήσειν, Εἰρην. anec. 106 (i. 208, 29 ff. Dindorf) ἄλλου δὲ (ἐν τοῖς Ζησί) ὁ τραγῳδός, ὁ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ κακώσας τάχα ἐπὶ θεόν ὑπὸ ἐπελαθόν ὑπὸ δακρύα τὸ πῦρ καὶ οὐχ ἐξέ ἐσσα τῶν πρόγγων τοῦ λέγοντος τράγου τῷ Ἀττυρῷ, γράφειν πράγματα (ὅρωμα πρῶτοι Μεινεκῆς) τὸ πῦρ καὶ προσελθὼν φιλῆσαι, "μὴ ἄγψη, τράγε- ἀψάμειν γὰρ μον ἐμπρήσας τὰ γένεια."

Soph. Ichnæatae col. xiv, 15 ff. (The Oxyrhynchus Papyri London 1912 ix. 59 no. 1174) τόν γὰρ ύπὸ ὄφη· πλάγιαν δάλλαν ὑπὸ τράγος κα <ν> ἑκο ν Χάλεβης.

Eur. Cyclo. 76 ff. XX. (of Satyrs)...ἔγα τ' οὖ τῶν πρῶτοι θερέων ... | δοσὶς αἷλων ξίω τόθε τράγον | χλιαρα μέλῳ.

None of these passages affords conclusive proof that the Satyrs were hircine, since the first might be explained as a case of abbreviated comparison (see P. Shorey in Class. Philol. 1909 iv. 433 ff.), the second is a simile, and the third implies that the goat-skinned was a cheap country garb (see W. Ridgeway The Origin of Tragedy Cambridge 1910 p. 87). But all alike gain considerably in point, if we may assume that the Satyrs were essentially goat-like.

² A. Furtwängler Winckelmanns-Fest-Progr. Berlin xl. 22 ff. (= Kleine Schriften München 1912 i. 204 ff.).


⁴ P. Hartwig in the Röm. Mitth. 1897 xii. 89 ff.

⁵ K. Wernicke in Hermes 1897 xxxii. 290 ff. and in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1490 ff.

⁶ E. Reisch Zur Vorgeschichte der attischen Tragödie in the Festschrift Theodor Gompers Wien 1901 p. 451 ff. and E. Kuhnert in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 524 ff. have attempted to show that these goat-creatures were Πλῆς, not Ἀττυροὶ. In answer to their arguments I would reply: (a) We have no reason to think that the Athenians of the fifth century believed in a plurality of Πλῆς and personated them in public religious dances. Aisch. Glauceus frag. 35 Nauck⁷ ap. scho. Eur. Hes. 36 Λεύκηδε ὥτ Πᾶνος τὸν μὲν Δίος ὦ καὶ (Δίος Ἀρακάς Vater, ὦ εἰς Ἀρακά Nauck) δίομεν, τὸν δὲ Κρόνον and scho. Theocr. 4. 67 τοῖς Ἀττυροῖς πλῆιοι φοροῦν, ὦ καὶ τοῖς Σιλενοῖς καὶ Πᾶνος, ὦ Λεύκηδε μὲν ἐν Πλῆικε, Σοφικλής ὥτ ἐν Ἀνδρομέδα proves that Aischylos recognised two Πλῆς. Soph. Andromeda frag. 132 Nauck² ap. scho. Theokr. loc. cit. merely proves that Sophokles mentioned two or more Σιλενοὶ. Other passages, e.g. Aristoph. eccl. 1609, Plat. legg. 815 c, are of later date than the fifth century. (b) If the goat-figures on the vases listed supra p. 698 n. 1 were Πλῆς, they would rather have been associated with Nymphs (Plat. legg. 815 c, Paus. 8. 37. 2) and equipped with the σύριν (e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Vasæ iii. 1806. no. E 228 pl. 9, Heydemann Vasensamml. Neapel p. 19 ff. no. 690, p. 495 ff. no. 3218, cp. H. Schrader in the Ath. Mitth. 1896 xxi. 275 ff.).
1. Attic bell-krater at Deepdene: preparations for a Satyr-play.
   See page 700 ff.

2. Lucanian bell-krater at Deepdene: preparations for a Satyr-play.
   See page 701 ff.
At the same time it remains possible, indeed probable, that these goat-dances were not ab origine connected with Dionysos, but had existed from time immemorial as a popular custom in south Europe. On August 12, 1908, Monsieur P. Bourrinet found in the Abri Mège, a Magdalenian rock-shelter at Teyjat (Dordogne), a well-preserved ‘bâton de commandement’ of stag’s-horn, on which were engraved various animal forms—the head of a hind, three snakes, a large horse followed by the forepart of a little horse, three swans, and lastly three ‘diablotins’ (fig. 512). These remarkable figures represent men disguised as goats—chamois, to judge from their horns,—and engaged in jumping or dancing, probably with the intention of multiplying the supply of actual goats by means of magic mimicry.

Nineteen years ago I figured two ‘island stones’ from Crete and one from Athens, on which human beings are seen dressed in the skins of goats (figs. 513, 515, 516). I pointed out then

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2 L. Capitan, H. Breuil, P. Bourrinet, and D. Peyrony ‘Observations sur un bâton de commandement’ etc, in the Revue de l’École d’Anthropologie de Paris 1909 xix. 62—79 with 15 figs. and 1 photographic plate. I reproduce fig. 11 by kind permission of the Abbé Breuil. See also H. Obermaier Der Mensch aller Zeiten i (Der Mensch der Vorzeit) Berlin etc. 1912 p. 477 fig. 252.

Fig. 513 is a lenticular seal of serpentine from Crete in the Pauvert de la Chapelle collection (O. Roosbach in the Ann. d. Inst. 1885 lvii. 193 pl. GH. 6, Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. i. 57 fig. 34, Journ. Hell. Stud. 1894 xiv. 150 fig. 20, Furtwängler Ant.
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that, according to Hesychios\(^1\), the Bacchants wore goat-skins, and
I suggested that the ritual thus found in the cult of Dionysos
was very possibly a relic of a more wide-spread practice. Today
I can add another (fig. 514)\(^2\) to the series of seal-stones por-
traying human goats and venture on a closer determination of
their meaning. I suppose them to show 'Minoan' dances, the
object of which was to promote fertility—originally the fertility
of the local fauna—by means of imitative magic and so to safe-
guard the food-supply of the population.

Fig. 515.

Fig. 516.

Given the existence of such old-world dances within the Greek
area, it is reasonable to surmise that they might attach themselves
to the cult of any fertility-power—Hermes, Demeter, Dionysos,
or the like\(^3\). Further, if in a certain district the said power was

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\(^1\) Hesych. s.v. τραγηδόρος: αἱ κηραὶ Διονυσοῦ ὄργανα τραγήνα περιπέτωσα.

\(^2\) Fig. 514 is a lenticular seal of green porphory from Crete now in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems p. 44 no. 76 pl. A, A. Milchhöfer Die Anfänge der Kunst Leipzig 1883 p. 78 fig. 50, Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. i. 57 fig. 36, Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art vi. 850, 859 fig. 432, 15, Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen Leipzig 1889 p. 161 pl. 26, 57, Journ. Hell. Stud. 1894 xiv. 120 fig. 15, Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 2, 41, ii. 13) = the legs of a man combined with the forepart of a goat and the forepart of a bull; two pellets in the field.

\(^3\) Winter Ant. Terrakotten iii. 1. 220 figs. 1 (=my fig. 517), 2, 3, 4, 7 (=my fig. 519), 9 (=my fig. 518) has classified under six types a number of archaic terra-cotta statuettes, mostly found in central Greece (the Theban Kaberiion, Tanagra, Halai, etc.), which represent an ithyphallic goat-man with hircine or human legs and a cornu copiae in his hand. P. Baur, who in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1905 ix. 157—165 pl. 5 (=my fig. 520) adds yet another type to the series, proposes the name of Tityros for them all. But O. Kern in Hermes 1913 xviii. 318 f. distinguishes Tityros as 'Schafbocksdämonen' from Σάρτης as 'Ziegenbocksdämonen,' citing Serv. in Verg. ecl. 1 proem. (infra p. 401 n. 7), schol. Bernens. ecl. 1. 1 p. 749 Hagen tityrus lingua Laconica villosus aries appellatur, Prob. in Verg. ecl. p. 349 Lion hierus Libyca (læg. Laconica) lingua tityrus appellatur, and a small bronze group of ram-headed male dancers from Methydron now in the National
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believed to take shape as a goat, his cult would almost inevitably be amalgamated with the aboriginal goat-dances. Now we have in point of fact found the Satyrs or goatish dancers of the fifth-century vases sometimes cutting capers by themselves, but sometimes also associated with Hermes, Pherephatta, and the equine followers of Dionysos⁴, in short with a whole posse of fertility-powers. Moreover, we have seen Dionysos himself worshipped as Ἐριφῶς in Lakonike², as Ἐριφῆς at Metapontum²; and we have had reason to conjecture that his Thraco-Phrygian devotees identified themselves with him and hence took the name of Ἐριφῶς⁴. Finally, we have observed that Thespis the reputed founder of Greek 'tragedy' came from Ikaria, where men danced round a τράγος⁵. These facts suggest that the tragic chorus in pre-literary days consisted of men dressed as τραγοὶ in order to personate a goat-Dionysos. They must have sung then, as in northern Greece they still sing⁶, of an annual birth, death, and resurrection. It is not therefore to be wondered at, if such a performance attracted to itself and absorbed into itself those primitive goat-dances that had subsisted in south Europe from palaeolithic times. The tragic chorus thereby acquired a Satyric supplement. Tragedy led up to the Satyr-play. And the revel-rout may well have served, as Prof. Murray acutely divined⁷, to represent the joyous arrival of the re-born god.

Museum at Athens (F. Hiller von Gaertringen and H. Lattmann in the Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1911 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 41 pl. 13, 3 a, b). Probably in Boiotia the goat-dances were absorbed into the cult of the Kabeiros just as at Athens they were absorbed into that of Dionysos.

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Fig. 517.  
Fig. 518.  
Fig. 519.  
Fig. 520.

¹ Supra p. 698 f.  
² Supra p. 675 ff.  
³ Supra p. 695 ff.  
⁴ Supra p. 674 n. 2.  
⁵ Supra p. 678.  
⁶ Supra p. 674 n. 3.  
⁷ Supra p. 694 f.
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(κ) Zeus, Dionysos, and the Goat.

The Attic festivals with their amazing output of tragedy and comedy tended to obscure the early Thraco-Phrygian relations of Zeus, Dionysos, and the goat. But it would be a mistake to suppose that those relations were wholly forgotten. For example, at the Phrygian Laodikeia, a town once called Diospolis¹, quasi-autonomous coppers were issued with a bust of Zeus Asetis² on the obverse and sometimes a goat on the reverse side (fig. 521)³, or again with a youthful head of Demos on the obverse and Zeus Asetis carrying the infant Dionysos with a goat beside him on the reverse (fig. 522)⁴.

A fragmentary kylix of red-figured technique, painted in the style of Hieron and found on the Akropolis at Athens (fig. 523),

¹ Plin. nat. hist. 5. 105.
² This cult-title has been usually identified with the name of the Syrian and Arabian god Atis (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1531, Sir W. M. Ramsay The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia Oxford 1895 i. 33), who along with Monimios was worshipped at Edessa as a supporter of Helios (Ioul. or. 4. 150 C, 154 A), the pair being probably conceived as morning- and evening-star (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 264), H. Steudling in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 743, W. Drexler ib. ii. 3107, R. Dussaud in the Rev. Arch. 1903 i. 128—133, 1904 ii. 268 n. 3 = id. Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1903 pp. 9—14, 1905 p. 75 n. 3). If so, the epithet is Semitic (‘azis, ‘the Strong’). But P. Carolis Bemerkungen zu den alten klinisatischen Sprachen und Mythen Strassburg 1913 p. 32 f. proposes to refer it to an Armenian ati, ‘Luft, dann Geist, Dämon und Gott.’ Both explanations are highly precarious.
⁵ First published in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1891 vi. 43 pl. 1 by
Zeus, Dionysos, and the Goat

represents a procession of deities conducted by Hermes towards an altar, beside which stand two women, one with an oinochoe and a flower, the other with a basket. Beyond the altar are trees, denoting a sacred grove. Foremost in the procession marches

Zeus carrying the child Dionysos; and we notice that the pediment of the altar is occupied by figures of a goat and two kids. A. Frickenhaus argues that this vase must be brought into connexion with others, which, as he endeavours to prove, illustrate the ritual of the Lenaia. Be that as it may, we have here clearly the old association of Zeus, Dionysos, and the goat.

But it is to the theatre itself that we naturally turn for the last traces of this lingering connexion. Nor are we disappointed.

B. Graef, who after adding further fragments allowed A. Frickenhaus Lenaenvasen (Winckelmannfest-Progr. Berlin lxxii) Berlin 1912 p. 21 f. with fig. (= my fig. 523) to publish the principal group in its reconstituted form and so to anticipate the final publication in Graef Ant. Vases Athen.

1 Supra p. 671 f.
2 A. hydria of severe style at Paris (De Riddet Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat. ii. 331 f. no. 440, Inghirami Vas. sitt. iv. 115 pl. 384, Luynes Descr. de vases peints p. 16 f. pl. 28 = my fig. 324, F. Creuzer Symbolik und Mythologie Leipzig and Darmstadt 1842 iv. 218 pl. 2, B. Graef in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1891 vi. 46 f. with fig., F. Lenormant in Darenberg-Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 603 fig. 680, Overbeck Gr. Künst-

myth. Zeus Atlas pl. 1, 19, Reinach Rép. Vases ii. 360, 1) again shows Zeus (IEΛS ?) bearing the child Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝ[Θ]ΩΡ) towards two women. The first sits on a folding-stool beside a pillar, with a spray of ivy in her left hand, a stephané on her head, and above her perhaps the word καλέω (certainly not ἔτης). The second stands with a sceptre in her right hand and an ivy-wreath on her head. It is open to us to see in these two women the Maenads of Frickenhaus’ ‘Lenaeum’ vases, and to suppose that the cult-pillar and its table-altar have been modified into the pillar and stool of a gynaikonlit. 3

3 It was Miss Harrison who, with her customary kindness, pointed out to me the importance of this vase as a link in my argument.
The stage of Phaidros (s. iii or iv A.D.) is still decorated with four marble reliefs, which came from an earlier stage (probably of Neronian date) and illustrated appropriately enough the life-history of Dionysos. Existing publications of them are so inadequate that I have had fresh drawings made from photographs, and have ventured to add on a transparent overleaf a restoration of the missing parts in accordance with what I hold to have been the sculptor's design (see pocket at end of vol. i).

The first slab (pl. xl, 1) shows Zeus seated on a rock, as befits a sky-god the consort of an earth-goddess. He has a himation wrapped about his knees, and his right hand doubtless held a sceptre. Before him stands Hermes carrying the new-born

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2 Supra p. 174 ff.

3 Cp. the type of the hieros gamos on Mt Ida (infra ch. iii § 1 (a) iii).

Dionysos. And the scene is enclosed by two Kouretes ready to clash their shields and so avert mischief from the babe.

The second slab (pl. xl, 2) commemorates the god’s entrance into Attike. He stands, a comely youth dressed in chiton, panther-skin, himation, and kotthornoi, beside his own altar beneath a spreading vine. His left hand held a thyrsos, his right hand probably a phiale. Approaching the altar is Ikarios, who drags a goat for sacrifice with one hand and dangles a grape-bunch in the other. The old Attic hero is attended by his hound Maira and followed by his daughter Erigone, who carries a tray of cakes and fruit. Her figure is balanced by that of a Satyr with panther-skin and crook, standing on tip-toe in the pose known as aposkopeion.

On the third slab (pl. xl, 3) we have, if I am not mistaken, a scene of great interest—the marriage of Dionysos and the Basilia or ‘Queen’ of Athens. A young man of large but somewhat soft and effeminate build, easily characterised as Dionysos by means of attributes, stands beside a young woman draped in a Doric peplos, who pulls forward an ample veil with a gesture familiar to us as that of a bride. To the right of the youthful pair is a broad matronal figure, who bears a cornu copiae in her left hand and most likely held a sceptre in her right. The third slab is obviously conceived as a bride.

J. N. Svoronos loc. cit. thinks that the two slabs show Ptolemy Philometor Soter & and his family paying homage to Dionysos, and that the figures, from right to left, should be identified as follows: (1) his mother Kleopatra & with sceptre; (2) Ptolemy Philometor Soter & with club; (3) his wife, name unknown, with sceptre and cornu copiae; (4) his favourite daughter Berenike & with sceptre and cornu copiae; (5) his young son Ptolemy king of Kypros; (6) his other daughter Kleopatra Tryphaina; (7) his youngest son Ptolemy Auletes, whose figure may have been cut away either on political grounds or because he had irreverently assumed the title Dionysos (Loukan. de calumn. 16). This very ingenious hypothesis rests on the assumption that the reliefs came from a thymele erected in the orchestra of the theatre, for the performance of such competitions as had been previously held in the Odeion burnt by Aristion (85 B.C.), at the expense of Ptolemy Philometor Soter &—a king who is known to have conferred many benefits upon the Athenians (Paus. 1. 8. 6ff.). But the existence of such a thymele, in spite of Svoronos’ long and learned advocacy, is still highly problematic.

1 Supra p. 686. An Atticoinachle of fifth-century style, now in the British Museum, has another rendering of the same scene (Farnell Cults of Gk. States v. 260).
has long since been recognised as Tyche, that late successor of the old-world mother-goddess. To the left a whole figure has been carefully chiselled away from the background. Since that part of the base on which it stood has been removed along with it, we may surmise that it was carried off as being a piece of exceptional beauty, to be set up again in some rich man's house. And since the marks on the back-wall indicate a slender male figure with something raised on the spectator's left, I have restored it as Eros with wings. Tyche carrying the horn of Amalthea was paired with a winged Eros at Aigeira; and coins of the town struck by Plautilla prove that the former stood grasping a sceptre in her right hand, while the latter with crossed legs held a long torch or staff pointing upwards in both hands. Together they would be appropriate witnesses of the ritual marriage.

Not less interesting is the fourth slab (pl. xl, 4), on which we see Dionysos finally installed in his own theatre. He sits in an attitude of easy dignity on a gorgeous marble throne, recalling that of the priest who personated him in the front row of the auditorium. The background shows the broken surface of the Akropolis-rock, and above its edge rise the eight columns of the Parthenon's façade. It is probable that a thýrsos or sceptre once rested against the god's left shoulder. Of the three figures before him two are already known to us. His bride, the 'Queen,' still fingerling her veil, perhaps held out a wreath towards him. Tyche is present, as before, with cornu copiae and sceptre. And between them stands a short but sturdy figure with himation and club—Theseus, the embodiment of the Athenian people assembled in the theatre to pay homage to Dionysos on his throne.

The Greek genius even in its decline knew how to build old materials into new and significant shapes. This series of reliefs ostensibly illustrates the infancy, the advent, the marriage, and the installation of Dionysos. But the art-types employed are redolent of old associations. Thus the Kouretes take our thoughts

1 J. R. Wheeler loc. cit. p. 141.
2 Supra p. 136 n. 6, cp. p. 597 n. 4, infra ch. i § 8 (a).
3 It is tempting to conjecture that this was the very statue to which a famous but of course apocryphal story attached: Athen. 591 ου καὶ Πραγμάτητα δὲ ὁ ἀγαλματοτοιχι ἐρών οὕτῃ (sc. Phryne) τῷ Κυδίσιον Ἀφροδίτην ἄν αὐτῆς ἐπιλάσατο, καὶ εν τῇ τοῦ Ἐρυτοῦ βάσει τῷ ὄπο τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐπέγραψε: Πραγμάτητα δὲ ἐπεισε ἀνιερόνος ἔρωτα, ἐξ ἰδιν θανῶν ἀρχέτυπον κρασίν, ἔρως μεθ' ἐμείον οἴνου ἐμφάνισε, φέρετρα δὲ βάλλον ὀβατεῖ διάστημα, ἀλλ' ἀνεπικύριαν (cp. Anth. Plut. 204 Simonides!). See, however, W. Klein Praxiteles Leipzig 1898 p. 210 ff.
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back to Crete and remind us that Dionysos himself was but a rebirth of Zeus. Ikarios' goat recalls the ancient custom of dancing round a he-goat at Ikaria; and the presence of the Satyr suggests the aboriginal goat-dances of south Europe. Similarly the marriage and the enthronement of the young god are reminiscent of half-forgotten sanctities. In short, the whole frieze might serve as an epitome of the development that we have been studying throughout the last seven sections.

We cannot here pursue Roman parallels. But a passing allusion must be made to the cult of Vediovis, the youthful Jupiter. Among the few things known for certain about this god is the statement of Gellius that in his temple between the Arx and the Capitolium the cult-statue held arrows and in consequence was often dubbed Apollo; further, that the ritual involved the sacrifice of a she-goat as if it were a human being; and lastly, that the effigy of this animal stood beside that of the god. All this suggests comparison with Dionysos, e.g. with the Tenedian Dionysos Anthroponorthastes, to whom a calf dressed in buskins was sacrificed, presumably in lieu of a human victim. The Dionysiac character of Vediovis seems to have struck the Romans themselves, if we may argue from certain republican coins, which

1 Supra pp. 398 ff., 647. 2 Supra pp. 678, 689 n. 1, 705. 3 Supra p. 703 ff. 4 Supra pp. 649 n. 7, 650, 686, 694 f. 5 Supra pp. 153, 398, 645 f., 650, 661.

6 Ov. fast. 3. 437 Iuppiter est iuvens: Iuvenalis aspis volunt. 445 ff. nunc vocor ad nomen: vagnandia farra colonae | quae male creverunt, vescaeque parva vocant; | vis ex si verbi est, cur non ego Vediovis aedem | aedem non magis suspicer esse Iovis? Paul. ex Fest. p. 379 Müller, p. 519 Lindsay vesculi male curati et graciles homines. ve enim syllabam rei parvae praeponebant, unde Vedioveum parvum Iovem et vagnandem fabam minutam dicerant.

7 Gell. 5. 12. 11 f. simulacrumigitur dei Vediovis, quod est in aede, de qua supra (5. 12. 2) dixi, sagittas tenet, quae sunt videlicet partiae ad nocendum. quapropter eum deum plerumque Apollinem esse dixerunt; immolaturque ritu humano capra, eiusque animalis figmentum iuxta simulacrum stat. Cp. Ov. fast. 3. 438 ff. aspice deinde, manu falsina nulla tenet. | fulmina post ausos caelum adjectare Gigantes | sumpta Iovi. primo tempore inermis erat (this is, I think, compatible with the supposition that the statue really held a thunderbolt, which was mistaken for a mere bundle of arrows—harmless, of course, without their bow)...stat quoque capra simul: Nymphae pavisse feruntur... Cretides; infantì lac dedit illa Iovi.

8 The expression ritum humano (supra n. 7) is thus understood by Frazer Golden Bough ii. 168, ib. 2: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 33—rightly, as I conceive.

9 Supra p. 659 f. Cp. also the case of Embaros, who, after promising to sacrifice his daughter to Artemis on condition that his family should become hereditary priests of the goddess, concealed the maiden in the temple and sacrificed a she-goat dressed in her garments instead (Pausanias the lexicographer ap. Eustath. in II. p. 331, 25 ff., Appendix. prov. i. 54, Solid. s.v., Βασιλος τιθει: see further O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3326 f., J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 7482, and on the substitution of goats for human victims Frazer Golden Bough ii.: The Dying God p. 166 n. 1, ib. 3: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 249).
Goat instead of Bull

are commonly believed to represent that deity. Denarii issued by L. Caesius c. 91 B.C. have as their obverse type the head and shoulders of a young god, who is brandishing a thunderbolt of three times (fig. 525). A bolt of this form might be popularly viewed as a bundle of arrows; and a youthful archer would inevitably be taken for Apollo. Denarii of C. Licinius Macer c. 85 B.C. repeat the type. About the same date other and more obviously Apolline renderings of the head are found on coins of M. Fonteius (figs. 526, 527). That this too was intended for a young head of Jupiter is clear from the thunderbolt added beneath it. But the god wears a bay-wreath, not a mere fillet; and that trait, if original, would give a further reason for the confusion of Vediovis with Apollo. We cannot,

1 This is the opinion expressed by E. Babelon, P. Gardner, H. Grueber, and numismatists in general. It is called in question by H. Jordan in the Comentationes philologicae in honorem Theodori Mommseni Berolini 1877 p. 365, Pfeiler—Jordan Rom. Myth. i. 264 n. 3, H. Jordan Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1885 i. 2. 116 n. 118, A. Klügmann in the Arch. Zeit. 1878 xxxvi. 106 f.


7 Yet another reason for the mistake was the goat at Vediovis' side. On the relations of the animal to the Greek Apollo see L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pt. 1869.
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however, put much faith in the accuracy of the die-sinker; for he varies loose locks (fig. 526) with archaic ringlets (fig. 527). The reverse of Fonteus' coins shows Cupid riding on a goat\(^1\). The subject, which is fairly frequent in Hellenistic art\(^2\), seems to have arisen within the Dionysiac circle\(^3\). The \textit{thyrsos} beneath the goat likewise confirms our impression that the Romans, under the all-pervading influence of Greece, had come to regard Vediovis as a sort of Dionysos. The former was to Jupiter what the latter was to Zeus.

Indeed few facts in the religious history of the Mediterranean peoples are more striking than the vitality displayed by this belief in the re-born Zeus or Dionysos. A bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius (fig. 528)\(^4\) has the infant god riding his goat to an altar, which stands beneath a tree and is adorned with festoons and an eagle in relief. A coin of Gallienus in base silver\(^5\) and coins of his son Saloninus in

\footnote{1} {Not ‘Le Génie aïlé d’Apollon Veovis’ (Babelon), nor ‘der Genius des Veovis’ (Overbeck), nor even ‘Infant winged Genius’ (Graeber), but just a commonplace Cupid.}

\footnote{2} {To the examples collected by L. Stephani in the \textit{Comptes rendus St. Pít.} 1863 p. 155 n. 3, \textit{eb.} 1869 p. 88 n. 6, \textit{cp. eb.} 1872 p. 64 n. 1, add a second relief in the Louvre (Clarac \textit{Mus. de Sculpt.} pl. 192 fig. 162 = Reinach \textit{Rép. Stat.} i. 80 no. 1) and a wall-painting in the house of the Vettii at Pompeii (Herrmann \textit{Denkm. d. Malerei} pl. 35 Text p. 46 Erotes fighting on goat-back).}

\footnote{3} {See \textit{eb.} L. Stephani in the \textit{Comptes rendus St. Pít.} 1861 pp. 20, 26 n. 4, \textit{eb.} 1863 p. 154 f., \textit{ib.} 1869 p. 58 ff.}

\footnote{4} {Gnecci \textit{Medagl. Rom.} ii. 16 nos. 60 f. pl. 50, 4. Fröhner \textit{Méd. emp. rom.} p. 68 fig. 1. Cohen \textit{Munn. emp. rom.} ii. 379 f. no. 1322 fig.}

\footnote{5} {Rasche \textit{Lex. Num.} iv. 876, Suppl. iii. 154. Eckhel \textit{Doctr. num. vet.} ii. 120, 398. Cohen \textit{Munn. emp. rom.} v. 381 no. 380. Other coins of Gallienus in base silver show an infant suckled by a goat (Rasche \textit{Lex. Num.} vi. 1325. Cohen \textit{Munn. emp. rom.} v. 416 no. 781. \textit{PIETAS SAECVLI}: Rasche \textit{eb. PIETAS SAECVLI}. A medallion of Gallienus and Salonina struck in gold (Gnecci \textit{Medagl. Rom.} i. 8 no. 1 pl. 3, 7) and silver (\textit{id. eb.})
Goat instead of Bull
gold¹ and base silver (fig. 530)², to be dated not long after the year 253 A.D. when the former assumed the title of Augustus and the latter that of Caesar, show the same infant with the legend *lovi crescenti,* ‘to the growing Jupiter.’ A bronze medallion of Saloninus (fig. 531)³ has a similar design inscribed *lovi exortienti,* ‘to the rising Jupiter,’—an inscription which suggests that the young prince was viewed as a sun-god. The general significance of these designs, a fond hope that the prince in question would inaugurate a new and brighter age, is illustrated by a relief near the hippodrome on the Appian road⁴. The child seated on the goat is flanked by two standing figures—Sol with torches and Mercurius with a horn of plenty. The monument is dedicated ‘to the Good Hope of Augustus⁵.’

Sometimes the babe on whom such hopes centred⁶ is definitely characterised as Dionysos. Small bronze coins bearing a

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¹ Rasche Lex. Num. iv. 876 f., Cohen Munn. emp. rom.² v. 492 no. 9 or billon (Kubitschek Röm. Medaillon Wien p. 18 no. 162 pl. 10) has an infant suckled by a goat, while a second infant (who?) is seen between the forelegs of the same goat: in front, an eagle; above, a tree and the legend *pietatis valeri,* (=valeri for Valeriana); beneath in the exergue, a thunderbolt.

² Gnechi Medagl. Rom. iii. 61 no. 4, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 301 f. Münztaf. 3, 8, Cohen Munn. emp. rom.² v. 520 f. no. 33 fig.


⁴ The case is somewhat different with Hadrian’s favourite Antinoos, who was represented most frequently as a Dionysos (see e.g. C. v. Levezow Ueber den Antinoos dargestellt in den Kunstdenkmälern des Alterthums Berlin 1808 pls. 7, 8, 9, 10 and the list of statues, busts, and coins by K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 7441)
child's head wreathed in vine-leaves and grapes (fig. 532) are referred by H. Cohen\(^1\) to M. Annius Verus, the infant son of M. Aurelius and the younger Faustina\(^2\). This little fellow died in 169 A.D. after an operation at Praeneste, when only seven years of age. His death occurred during the celebration of the games of Iupiter Optimus Maximus. The emperor would not interrupt them, but had statues decreed to the boy, a golden bust of him carried in procession at the *ludi Circenses*, and his name inserted in the chant of the Salii\(^3\). With him, or with some other young hopeful of the imperial house, we may connect a remarkable bust of *rosso antico*, now at Berlin (fig. 533, 1—3)\(^4\). It is the portrait of a child represented as the young Dionysos wearing a garland of ivy and ivy-berries blended with vine-leaves and grapes. Attached to the child's occiput there is the head of a calf—an interesting reminder that, despite all the associations of Greek tragedy\(^5\), Dionysos was still regarded from time to time as no goat but a bull\(^6\).

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1 Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.* viii. 270 no. 3. Buste d'un enfant à droite, couronné de pampre et les épaulées couvertes de raisins. (Annius Verus?),\(^7\) cp. ib. no. 30. Buste d'enfant à droite voilé et couronné de roseaux. (Annius Verus?).\(^7\) I figure a specimen in my collection.

2 On other coins of M. Annius Verus see Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.* vii. 82—87. The brothers Commodus and Verus were identified with the Kabeiroi of Syros, and their heads appear on coins inscribed *KABIPWΩN*—*CYPIΩN* (id. ib., cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 125 f. pl. 38, 7 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 211, *Head Hist. num.* p. 492).


5 Height 0.25\(\text{m.}\). Restored: neck and chest, nose, chin, both lips, large parts of the ears, grapes over the right cheek, two leafy sprays over the brow; also the muzzle and right eye of the calf. The red marble was doubtless chosen as appropriate to the god of wine.

6 *Supra* p. 665 ff.

7 The bull-connexion had in fact never been wholly dropped (F. T. Welcker in the *Mon. d. Inst.* vii pl. 6, 1—3, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1857 xxix. 153—160, *id. Alt. Denkm.* v. 36—39 pl. 2. E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1149—1151, A. W. Curtius *op. cit. passim*). Even at Athens the bull figured in the festivals of the god. At the City Dionysia in 334/3 B.C. oxen were sacrificed and their hides sold (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 741 A, a 16 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 620 a 16 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr.* gr. no. 824 i 16 f.); later a bull was taken in procession by the ἐφεβοὶ and sacrificed in 749 Iep\(\gamma\) (*Corp. inscr. Att.* i. no. 471, 12, c. 112 f. B.C.; *ib. no. 469, 15 110/9 f. B.C.; *ib. no. 466, 14 c. 100? B.C.; *ib. no. 467, 17 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 531, 17 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr.* gr. no. 610, 17 f. 100/99 B.C.; *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 468, 11 f. 94/93 B.C.*). At the Dionysia in the Peiraieus too in 334/3 B.C. oxen were sacrificed and their hides sold (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 741 A, a 6 f., Dittenberger
Animals sacrificed to Zeus

'Down to the close of Greek religion,' says Dr Farnell, 'the animal-sacrifices were the chief part of the ritual of Zeus.' And
the victims slain for him were, as a rule, either rams or more often oxen. We are not here concerned to detail the sacrificial rites, but merely to ask why these beasts rather than others were chosen for the sacrifice. It is of course easy to reply that rams and oxen were the costliest victims that a pastoral or cattle-breeding people could offer. No doubt that was a consideration which, at least in classical times, partly determined the choice. Nevertheless our prolonged investigation into the ram-cults and bull-cults of antiquity has led us to conclude that the ultimate reason why both ram and bull were associated with sky-gods in general and with Zeus in particular lay in the fact that these animals possessed to an exceptional degree Zeugungskraft or fertilising force. It would therefore probably be truer to say that bulls and rams were sacrificed to Zeus because, according to the belief of early days, the gift of so much virility increased his power to fertilise and bless. If so, it would appear that the

2 ff. 2, 407 ff., 7, 114 ff., 8, 236 ff., 11, 172 ff., 15, 372 ff., 22, 170 f., Od. 13. 24 ff., 22, 334 ff., Hes. theog. 335 ff., Dem. in Mid. 53, Conogy Anth. Pal. Append. 6, 214, 12 ff., alib. Cp. the Δοσ βύτο at Miletos (infra ch. ii § 9 (h) i), the oxen sacrificed to Zeus Polieus and to Zeus Machainus in Kos (ib.), the Βασφύαι at Athens (infra ch. ii § 9 (h) ii), and the epithet of Zeus Ἡκατοβάτας (supra p. 545 n. 2).
Both a bull and a ram figured in the rites of Zeus Sapiplus at Magnesia on the Maeandros (O. Kern Inschriften von Magnesia am Maander Berlin 1900 p. 82 no. 98, id. in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1894 ix Arch. Anz. p. 78 ff., Dittenberger Syll. incer. Gr. 3 no. 553, Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 23 ff.). Cp. also the ταυροβολιον and κρισινιον of Kybele and Attis (G. E. Marindin in Smith—Wayte—Marindin Dict. Ant. ii. 767 f., E. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Encr. iv. 1718 f., H. Hedeling Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult Giessen 1903 p. 199 ff.), who was identified with the Phrygian Zeus (supra p. 399 n. 3). In view of my subsequent contention that Poseidon was originally a specialised form of Zeus, it is to be noticed that his favourite victims were 'bulls and rams' (Od. 1. 25, cp. H. 2. 559 of Erechtheus) or 'a ram and a bull and a boar that mates with swine' (Od. 11. 131, 23. 278).
A goat was sacrificed to Zeus Aiziphoros at Hallikarnassos (infra ch. ii § 9 (h) i) and probably at Pedasa (ib.). The same sacrifice is presumably implied by the cult-title of Zeus Aigophagos (et. mag. p. 27, 51 f. Αἰγοφάγος; Δεος, ὃς παρὰ Νεκάρδιον ἐν Θησαοὺς (Meineke c/j. Θησαοὺς), L. Stephani in the Compt-rendus St. Pit. 1869 p. 116 surmised, if not also by the myth of Amaltheia. A she-goat was slain for Vedovis (supra p. 711). But the flamn Dialis might not touch nor even mention a she-goat (Gell. 10. 15. 12). And in general cp. Arnob. adv. nat. 7. 21 si caper caedatur Iovi, quem patri solemne est Libero Mercuroique maestari,...quid facinoris in hoc erit?...ego...audire desidero...quid applicium Iupiter ad tauri habeat sanguinem, ut ei debet immolari, non debeat Mercurio, Libero? aut natura quae capri est, ut his rursus adcomoda, Iovialibus conveniens sacrificis non sit?
A young pig was sacrificed to Zeus Bouleus at Mykonos (supra p. 668), a porker to Zeus Eubuleus at Delos (supra p. 699 n. 2).
On the sacrifice of horses to Jupiter Mensana see supra p. 180 n. 5.
2 See e.g. Alkiph. cp. 3. 35 cited infra ch. ii § 9 (h).
3 Supra pp. 429 f., 634 f.
Animals sacrificed to Zeus

primitive conception of the Hellenic Zeus was closely analogous to that of the Vedic Dyaus.

1 A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 22 says of Dyaus: ‘The only essential feature of the personification in the RV. is in fact his paternity. In a few passages Dyaus is called a bull (1, 160; 5, 36) that bellows (5, 58). Here we have a touch of theriomorphism inasmuch as he is conceived as a roaring animal that fertilizes the earth.’ My friend Prof. E. J. Rapson has most kindly supplied me (October 1, 1907) with the following translation of, and commentary on, the passages in question:—

‘Rig-Veda i. 160. 3. “To Heaven and Earth.”

Sa vahniḥ putrah pitarah pavisrayān
punāti dhīro bhuvanāni māyāya;

dhenuṁ ca ārniṁ vṛjahāṃ sutatāṁ
vṛkṣahā ikrānta pāyo avya duḥkata.

“The swift-comer, the son of these two parents, the purifier,
the wise one, puriferi (or enlighteneth) the worlds through his power;
From the speckled cow and from the bull rich in seed he milketh over his gleaming fluid.”

Dyaus, the Heaven, is the bull rich in seed: and Prāthivi, the Earth, is the speckled cow. The son of Heaven and Earth is the Sun-god. The gleaming fluid is the rain.

R.V. v. 36. 5. “To Indra.”

Vṛjā tu vṛṣṭiḥ varamāṇa vahet kuṭaha Dyauḥ;

Vṛjā vṛṣṭāhiṁ vahase karibhyāṁ.

Sa no vṛjā vṛṣṭarathah suśīpa
vṛṣkrato vṛjā vaṁriṁ bhare dkhā.

“May the bull, the Heaven, cherish thee, the bull;
As a bull thou drivest with thy two mighty (bull-like) horses.
Do thou the bull, with bulls in thy chariot, O fair-lipped one,
O thou who hast the strength of a bull, do thou, O god of the thunderbolt, as a bull give us (booty) in the battle.”

There is a constant play here on the two meanings of vṛṣṭi= (1) a mighty one, (2) a bull; and it is difficult to know which meaning to select in each case. I have translated it by “bull” in every case, except in reference to the two horses, where it must mean “mighty” or “like a bull.”

R.V. v. 58. 6. “To the Maruts.”

Yat pāyāśṛṣṭiḥ vṛṣṭiṁ abhūḥ

vṛṣṭiṁ vṛṣṭiṁ, Marat, ratheḥ,

kṣavantā āpo, vṛṣṭe vamāṇa.

Avarīyō vṛṣṭabhiḥ kramāntu Dyauḥ.

“When ye go forth with speckled deer for your steeds,
in chariots with strong wheels, O ye Marats,
the waters raise themselves, and the floods well forth;
Then let the Heaven, the tawny bull, thunder.”

The words for “bull,” viz. vṛṣṭi and vṛṣṭaḥ, are probably derived from the root vṛṣa= “to water,” from which the ordinary word for “rain” vṛṣṭi comes. A secondary meaning is “to impregnate,” and this is the meaning which underlies that of vṛṣṭi, which always has the idea of “male.” The word is so constantly used when the idea of masculine strength is intended, that it is not easy to know when, as applied to deities, it has or has not the further specific idea of “bull.” It is applied to gods, in this general sense, almost indiscriminately—to Agni, Indra, the Maruts and to Soma for instance.

I should scarcely have thought that Dyaus was ever conceived by the Vedic poets as
(h) The Sun as a Bronze Man.

i. Talos in Crete.

We pass next from the theriomorphic to the anthropomorphic conception of the sun. The transition is best seen in the case of the Cretan Talos. His name, according to Hesychios, denoted 'the Sun'; and he was commonly described as a bronze man. Apollodoros, however, to whom we owe the most detailed account of him, writes: 'He was a man of bronze, but others describe him as a bull.' Talos, therefore, 'the Sun,' being regarded sometimes as a bull, more often as a man, fittingly illustrates the aforesaid transition of ideas.

Talos belonged to the bronze generation, or was given by Hephastos to Minos, or was made by Hephastos and given by Zeus to Europe. He had a single vein extending from his neck to his ankles; the vein was closed at its end by a bronze nail thrust through it. Thrice a day this bronze man ran round the island of Crete as its guardian. When the Argonauts wished to put in there, Talos observed them and flung stones at them. But he was slain by the guile of Medea, who drove him mad, some said, by her potions, while others maintained that she promised to make him immortal and then pulled out his nail so that all the ichor flowed forth from him and he died.

a bull. All that these passages seem to indicate is that the Heaven impregnates the earth with its rain like a bull, and that it thunders like a bull roaring.

I cannot find any other passages in which Dyaus is likened to a bull. I should have thought that the simile was applied much more often to many other deities.

So far as I know, neither Dyaus nor any other Vedic divinity is ever represented as a ram. [E. J. R.]

1 Hesych. Ταλός. ὁ ἰθνος.
2 Spenser in The Faerie Queen naturally makes Sir Arsegall's Talus an 'iron man' armed with an 'iron flail.'
3 Apollod. 1. 9. 26 δε ἡν χαλκοὶ άθρη, οἱ δε ταρπαν αυτῶν λέγονται. So R. Wagner prints the passage: A. Westermann and the older editors prefer Ταρπαν as a proper name.
8 Apollod. 1. 9. 26. Zenob. 5. 85. Plat. Minos 320 c, in a rationalising passage, makes Talos go the round of the Cretan villages thrice a year with Minos' laws inscribed on tablets of bronze.
9 Apollod. 1. 9. 26 (ταῖς άληνας), Ap. Rhod. 4. 1637 (πέτασι), 1636 (πετράων), 1675 f. (βασμαί...λίκτης).
third version said that he was shot in the ankle by Poias and thus came by his death. Silver coins of Phaistos, struck in the fourth century B.C., exhibit Talos as a youthful winged figure striding towards the left; he hurls one stone with his right hand and holds another ready in his left: the reverse type is that of a charging bull (fig. 534). Third-century bronze coins of the same town show Talos in a similar attitude hurrying to the right (fig. 535): the reverse here has a hound on the scent, probably the golden hound of Crete. The resemblance of the stone-throwing Talos on coins of Phaistos to the stone-throwing Minotaur on coins of Knossos (fig. 536) is noticeable: the stones in either case may represent

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1 Apollod. 1. 9. 26, Zenob. 5. 85. According to Ap. Rhod. 4. 165 ff., Medea fixed her evil glance on Talos, who in trying to raise his heavy stones struck his ankle with a projecting fragment of rock. Thereupon his ichor ran out like so much molten lead, and he fell. Cp. Agatharchid. de mari Erythr. 1. 7 (Geogr. Gr. min. i. 115 Müller) ap. Phot. bibl. p. 443 b 24 f. τὴν δὲ γωνίαν μέσων τῶν ἐμφόρων τούτων ἐν τῷ σφόδρῳ κεκτηθαί.  
2 J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crête ancienne Macon 1890 i. 264 pl. 24, 25, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 64 pl. 15, 11, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 194 pl. 42, 15. P. Gardner Types of Gk. Coins p. 163 f. pl. 9, 9. Head Coins of the Ancients p. 47 pl. 23, 40. The legend at the feet of Talos in the specimen figured is ΤΑΛΩΝ. The Hunterian specimen extends the left hand without a stone, and reads ΝΩΛΑΤ.  
3 J. N. Svoronos op. cit. i. 264 f. pl. 24, 25 f., Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 64 pl. 16, 6, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 194. Fig. 535 is from a specimen in my collection.  
4 A golden hound was set by Rhea to guard the goat that nurtured the infant Zeus in Crete. Zeus afterwards made the goat immortal, and its image is still to be seen among the stars. The hound he caused to guard the holy place (τὸ λεπό) in Crete. Pandareos, son of Merops, stole it, brought it to Sipylos, and gave it toantalos, son of Zeus and Plouto, to keep. After a time Pandareos returned to Sipylos and claimed the hound; but Tantalos denied that he had received it. Zeus punished Pandareos for his theft by turning him into a stone where he stood, Tantalos for his perjury by hurling him down and placing Sipylos above his head (Ant. Lib. 36). Variants are collected and discussed by W. H. Roscher in his Lex. Myth. iii. 1502 ff. See also P. Perdrizet in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1899 xxii. 384 ff. and Miss J. E. Harrison in her Proleg. Gk. Rel. p. 399 ff., who illustrate the myth from a black-figured pryxis at Athens. Probably the golden hound was a theriomorphic epiphany akin to the golden lamb of Atreus (infra p. 405 ff.), the golden ram of Athamas (infra p. 414 ff.), the dazzling bull of Minos (infra p. 457 ff.).  
Kratër from Kuvo: the death of Talos.

See page 711.

[From Furtwängler-Neuschlidt Griechische Vasenmalerei pl. 36-39 by permission of Messrs. F. Bruckmann. A.G., Munich]
Talos in Sardinia

suns, or stars\(^1\), and such may have been the original significance of the stone-throwing Kyklops of the eastern\(^2\) and western islands\(^3\), though other interpretations are equally possible and perhaps more probable.

A magnificent krater with volute-handles, found in the nekropolis of Ruvo and now in the Jatta collection, represents the death of Talos (pl. xli)\(^4\). This vase is of special interest to the mythologist, because it appears to depict a form of the story not otherwise preserved to us\(^5\). The Argonauts have reached the Cretan coast. Zetes and Kalais are seen still on board their vessel. But a landing-ladder is put out from her stern across the water, which is suggested by a dolphin. A young hero, shrinking back in alarm from the central scene, springs up the ladder. On shore Kastor and Polydeukes with their horses have already pursued and caught Talos\(^6\). Polydeukes grasps him, still attempting to run, within the circle of Medea’s magic spells. Medea herself stands by, fixing her victim with her evil eye, while she holds a basket full of potent herbs and mutters her fatal formula. Talos, overcome despite himself, falls backwards in a swoon. The nymph Krete flees in terror at the death of her watcher. Above her, in the background, appear Poseidon and Amphitrite as patrons of Argonautic prowess.

ii. Talos in Sardinia.

Two different versions of the Talos-myth are attributed to Simonides. On the one hand, he is said to have stated that Talos before coming to Crete had dwelt in Sardinia, where he had destroyed many persons, that they grinned when they died, and that this was the origin of the expression a “sardonic smile.” On the other hand, Simonides is reported to have affirmed that, when the Sardinians tried to cross the sea to Minos, Talos, being wrought of bronze by Hephaistos, sprang into a fire, clasped them to his breast, and slew them gaping\(^8\). Both versions agree in connecting Talos with the Sardinians.

The matter was sufficiently sensational to appeal to the imagination of the later Greeks, and further information is forthcoming.

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1 See W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2751 n., and cp. supra pp. 493 ff., 524.
2 Supra p. 309 n. 3.
3 Supra pp. 313 n. 8, 320, 323.
4 Furtwangler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei ii. 196—203 pls. 38—39.
5 See O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 784.
6 Talos, unlike the other figures in this exceedingly skilful composition, is painted white, the modelling of his body being indicated in a thin brown varnish. The artist has thus sought to mark him out from the rest as the man of bronze.
7 Zenob. 5. 83.
8 Sonid. t.v. Σαρδάνων γῆς, cp. schol. Plat. rep. 337 A.

C. 46
Demon the antiquarian c. 300 B.C. stated in a work On Proverbs that the Sardinians, being settlers from Carthage, on certain days sacrificed to Kronos not only the handsomest of their captives but also such of their own elders as were above seventy years of age, and that the victims were expected to welcome their fate and even to laugh, tears being regarded as base and cowardly. Timaios the Sicilian historian, a contemporary of Demon, informs us that the Sardinians, when their parents grow old, bring them to the burial-ground, seat them on the edge of pits dug for the purpose, and push them over, every man beating his own father with a stick of cleft wood; further, that the old folk went to their death with cheerfulness and laughter—a fact which occasioned the Greek dictum. Lastly, Kleitarchos, who is probably to be identified with Kleitarchos of Aigina, author of a famous geographical Lexicon (first century A.D. or earlier), has yet another explanation of the proverb to offer. He states that the Phoenicians in general and the Carthaginians in particular worshipped Kronos. If they desired to obtain of him some great favour, they vowed to present him with one of their children. A bronze statue of the god stood with its hands held out over a bronze furnace. In the embrace of this statue the child perished miserably. The flame licked its body, shrivelled its limbs, and distorted its mouth into a ghastly semblance of a smile.

The foregoing accounts show that the Cretan sun-god Talos was by some authorities at least identified with the Phoenician Kronos, a form of the Semitic deity El. The identification was perhaps facilitated by another point of resemblance. Talos was sometimes regarded as a bull; and his likeness to the Minotaur suggests that in process of time he had become bull-headed, a god half theriomorphic, half anthropomorph. But the

2 Timaios frag. 28 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 199 Müller) ap. Tzetz. ad Lyk. Al. 796 and schol. Loukian. asin. 24. Also Timaios frag. 29 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 199 Müller) ap. Soud. i.e. Σαράντας γέλων, Phot. lex., i.e. Σαράντος γέλων, schol. Od. 20. 301. Eustath. in Od. p. 1893. 15 ff., Zenob. s. 85, schol. Plat. rep. 337 Α, cp. Tzetz. ad Hes. o.d. 89 (Io. Tzetzes here states that the parents were killed with clubs and stones, and then flung from a rocky height).
3 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1898 p. 801.
4 Kleitarchos ap. schol. Plat. rep. 337 Α, Soud. i.e. Σαράντος γέλων, Phot. lex., i.e. Σαράντος γέλων. Cp. Plat. Minot. 315 B—C. Diod. 13. 86. 20. 14. Plout. de superst. 13. Iust. 18. 6. 11 f. Diod. 20. 14 says that the hands of the bronze statue sloped downwards so that the child placed upon them rolled off into a chasm full of fire.
5 M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1804 f.
6 E. Meyer ib. i. 1228.
7 Supra p. 719.
8 Supra p. 710.
Phoenician deity too, according to Rabbinic authors, had a bovine head. Identification was almost inevitable. Indeed, the two gods may have been strictly analogous.

Excavations now in progress beneath the ancient church of Santa Anastasia in southern Sardinia are said to have disclosed a large subterranean temple with a spring locally known as the 'Fount of Pains,' sacred images, and mural decorations. These indicate the worship of an earth goddess, and the prevalence of bull worship, as there is a ponderous statue in basalt of a male divinity with a bull head. Was this the Sardinian Talos?

iii. Talos and the Bronze-founder's Art.

It is tempting to explain certain traits in the myth of Talos along rationalistic lines. The single vein running from his neck to his ankles and closed by a bronze nail thrust through it vividly recalls the cire perdue method of hollow-casting in bronze, a process which was invented at a remote period and lasted throughout the whole history of Greek art. A rough model in clay or plaster,


2 F. X. Kortleitner De polytheismo universo Oeniponte 1908 p. 221 n. 3 quotes from the Midrash Echa rabbathi on Lam. 1. 9: 'Molochi image non constituata erat intra urbem Hierosolymorum, quemadmodum idola aliqua, sed extra urbem. Imago fuit in intimo septem cavearum: facies eius fuit instar vituli et manus protensa, quemadmodum qui aliquid accepturus est palmam protestit. Incendebant eam; sacerdotes (יִנְדָה) infantem sumebant et manibus Molochi imponebant, ubi animam efflatus.' Id. ib. p. 222 n. 3, p. 225 c, p. 227 f 8 compares similar descriptions from other Rabbinic sources.


4 So the correspondent of the Daily Chronicle for Sept. 10, 1913, writing from Milan on Sept. 9. He also mentions 'the uncovering at Orta Cominidu, alongside some ancient copper mines, of a great prehistoric foundry with all the furnaces for smelting, and moulds for casting, just as they were abandoned... in the transition period between the ages of stone and of bronze.' I am indebted for this newspaper-cutting to the kind offices of Mr. F. M. Cornford and Miss Harrison.

5 Simpse p. 719.

Talos at Athens

which is contrary to the known laws of phonetics, must be due to folk-lexiomy of some sort. Now in northern India a snake is, for superstitious reasons, habitually called a 'string' or a 'rope': for example, if a snake bites you, you should not mention its name, but remark 'A rope has touched me'! If, therefore, Talos was in any sense a snake, he might be euphemistically called kalos, a 'rope.'

Latin authors narrate that, when Daidalos flung his nephew to the ground, the youth was in mid air changed by Athena into a partridge. In fact, they commonly call him Perdix, or 'Partridge,' not Talos. The name was applied to him by the Greeks as early as the fifth century B.C.; for it occurs in a play of Sophokles. According to a version preserved by the Greek lexicographers, Perdix was the mother of Talos or Kalos, who, when he was killed, hanged herself and was honoured at Athens with a sanctuary beside the Akropolis. Since the grave of Talos or Kalos was on the way from the theatre to the Akropolis, it is likely that the sanctuary and the grave were close together. The myth of Talos transformed by Athena into a partridge was probably popular in Periclean Athens. For a curious historical echo of it has been detected by L. Mercklin.


1 Fraser Golden Bough 1. 426 f., ib. 2 Taboo p. 401 f., cp. pp. 399 (Cherokee Indians), 400 (Arabs), 401 (Herero), 408 (Malays), 411 (Javanese).
2 Ov. met. 8. 251 ff., Lact. Plac. narr. fab. 8. 3.
3 So Hyg. fab. 39, 244, 274, Serv. in Verg. georg. 1. 143, Serv. in Verg. Aen. 6. 14, Sidon. epist. 4. 3. 5, Isid. orig. 19. 19. 9, Schol. Galean. and Phil. in Ov. Ibis 498, Lact. Plac. narr. fab. 8. 3. cp. Ov. met. 8. 257, 258. Fulgent. myth. 3. 2, Myth. Vat. 1. 232, 2. 130. 3. 7. 3 calls him Perdica. Perdiccas, Perdica, Perdix (?). The mother of Talos is Perdix in Apollod. 3. 15. 9 (R. Wagner, after Heyne, brackets the name as a gloss), Perdika in Apollod. epist. 3. 15. 9 and in Tzetz. chil. 1. 493. The mother of Kalos is Perdix in Souid. s.v. Πέρδικος ηρωί, Phot. lex. s.v. Πέρδικος ηρωί, Apostol. 14. 17 ( supra p. 725 n. 6).
4 Soph. Cam. frag. 300 Nauck 2 ap. Athen. 388 v Σοφοκλῆς Καμίκος: ὅδεθε δὲ Θήριον ἐπιτυγχάνεται Πέρδικος καὶ κληοῦσα Ἀθηναίοις πάγιος, cp. Souid. and Phot. lex. and Apostol. loc. cit. s.v. Πέρδικος ηρωί...Σοφοκλῆς δὲ έν Καμίκοις (καμίκοι MSS.) τῶν ἐνδ Ναυάκον ἀσπασμένῳ Πέρδικα εἶχα τυφώμ. In the Sophoclean verse M. Meckler ej. κληοῦσα Ὀσφείδων, A. Nauck κληοῦσα Κερκοπιδών.
6 Loukian. fr. 42. The schol. ad loc. says: σὲ μὲν Τάλως ἦρες παιδιόν ἐν τῷ Ἀκροπόλει τεθημένον. 7 Paus. 1. 31. 4.
9 L. Mercklin 'Die Talos-Sage und das sardonische Lachen' in the Mémoires de l'académie des sciences de St. Pèresbourg, Mémoires des savants étrangers 1854 iv. 74 f.
During the erection of the Propylaia on the Akropolis the best of the workmen missed his footing and fell. When Perikles was discouraged by this accident, Athena appeared to him in a dream and prescribed a remedy by which all Perikles speedily cured the man. He commemorated the event by erecting on the Akropolis a bronze statue of Hygieia Athena, or ‘Health’ Athena, by the side of an already existing altar. So much we learn from Plutarch. Pliny completes the story, though with material differences throughout. A favourite slave of Perikles—he says—was building a temple on the Akropolis, when he fell from the top of the pediment. Athena showed herself to Perikles in a dream and prescribed the herb *perdicium*, the ‘partridge-plant,’ which in honour of herself was thenceforward known as *parthenium*, the ‘Virgin’s-plant.’ Pliny adds that the portrait of this same slave was cast in bronze and served for the famous statue of the *splanchnóptes* or ‘entrail-roaster’? Whatever the details of the occurrence may have been, it seems clear that the prescription of the ‘partridge-plant’ was due to a reminiscence of Talos’ transformation into a partridge.

But why this connection between Talos and a partridge? On bird-metamorphoses in general I have elsewhere said my say. Here it must suffice to observe that the partridge in particular was notorious for its generative propensities. Hence it was regarded as sacred to Aphrodite. And the same reason will

1 Plut. *v. Pers. 13.* This statue can hardly be identified with that by the Athenian sculptor Pyrrhos, the base with its inscription (Corp. inscr. Att. i no. 335 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 583) is still to be seen on the Akropolis immediately adjoining the S.E. angle-column of the Propylaia; see *Frazer Pausanias ii.* 277 ff., W. Judelch *op. cit.* p. 310 ff.


3 *Ov. met.* 8. 236 ff. states that as a partridge he watched from a branching oak-tree Daidalos burying his son Ikaro. In 237 garrula ramosa prospercit ab ilice perdix (so the ms.) editors have taken offence at the notion of a partridge up a tree. An anonymous grammarian of the seventh century A.D. or later quotes the line thus: garrula limoso prospercit ilice perdix (H. Keil *Grammatici Latini* Lipsiae 1868 v. 587). Hence R. Merkel prints *limos...elice*, A. E. Housman *cj. lamos...elice*. But see P. Burmann *ad loc.*

4 *Folk-Lore 1904* xv. 384 ff.


account for its association with Talos, who, as being the Sun\(^1\), was essentially a fertilising power.

A remarkable variant of the Perdix story is preserved by the Latin mythographers\(^2\). Perdix, the inventor of the saw, fell in love with his own mother Polykaste and pined away because of her. Fenestella, who wrote his _Annals_ in the reign of Tiberius, commented on this myth\(^3\). According to him, Perdix was a hunter, who tired of the chase, especially as he observed that his young comrades Aktaion, Adonis, and Hippolytos all came to a bad end. He therefore abandoned his life as a hunter and devoted himself to agriculture. Hence he was said to have loved his mother, _i.e._ Mother Earth, and to have pined away, _i.e._ to have worn himself thin over her. Her name _Polykaste_ might be spelled _Polykarpe_ and rendered the 'Very Fruitful One.' As for the saw, that denoted the harsh tongue with which he abused his former occupation. Fenestella's rationalism is of course absurd. Nevertheless his account appears to contain elements that are far older than the rise of rationalism. Perdix, who loved Polykaste, variously identified with Mother Earth\(^4\) or the Mother of the gods\(^5\) or Diana\(^6\)—Perdix, who is expressly compared with Aktaion, Adonis, and Hippolytos, an ill-fated trio—Perdix, who dreaded the dangers of a woodland life, is a figure ominously like the human favourite or partner of more than one ancient goddess. His love for Polykaste was, as Claudian says, inspired by herself\(^7\). And there is perhaps a special significance in the fact that her lover bore the name of a bird, of that bird which was 'the plaything of the daughter of Zeus and Leto\(^8\).'

**v. Talos identified with Zeus.**

Talos the 'Sun'\(^9\) was in Crete identified with Zeus. A Hesychian gloss explains the epithet _Talaiós_ to mean 'Zeus

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1. _Supra_ p. 719.
5. Myth. Vat. 2. 130.
6. Myth. Vat. 3. 7. 3 Perdicem quoque primo Dianae, deinde incesto matris suae amore dicent intabuise.
8. _Supra_ p. 727 n. 6.
9. _Supra_ p. 719.
in Crete,\(^1\) And that this gloss is trustworthy appears from more than one Cretan inscription. The inhabitants of Dreros in eastern Crete swore by a series of deities including Zeus Tallatos and Helios to oppose the inhabitants of Lyttos.\(^2\) At Olous too, a town close to Dreros, there was a sanctuary of Zeus Tallatos, where a decree inviting Knossos to arbitrate between Lato and Olous was set up,\(^3\) as was also a decree in honour of a certain physician from the island of Kasos, who had helped the Olontians in time of plague.\(^4\) Coins of Olous, struck in the latter part of

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2. Dittenberger Syll. Inscr. Gr. no. 462, 14 ff. ὄραμιον | τὸν Ἐστην τὰν ἀμφοτέρων | καὶ τῷ Δέμων τῷ | Ἀγραίων καὶ τῷ Δίπνῳ τῶν | Ταλλαίων | καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλων(α) | τῷ | Διονυσίῳ καὶ | τῷ Ἀσαντωνίῳ | Πολυκρόν | καὶ τῷ | Ἀπώλλων τῷ Πούτων | καὶ τῷ | Δαγάν | καὶ τῷ | Ἀρταμε | καὶ τῷ | Ἀσαντωνίῳ | καὶ τῷ | Ἑρμήν | καὶ τῷ | Ἁλιων | καὶ τῷ | Βραχόματιν | καὶ τῷ | Φοῖνικα καὶ τῷ | Ἀμφιλής | καὶ τῷ | Γάρ | καὶ τῷ | Οὖροντε | καὶ | Ἀμφαι | καὶ | Ἡμᾶς | καὶ | Κράτος | καὶ | Πολιτεία | καὶ | Θεόν | σάντας | καὶ | πᾶσας κτλ. = Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 23 A. 14 ff. = Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Diale.-Inscrh. iii. 2. 239 ff. no. 4952 A. 14 ff. The inscription was found in 1854 on a hill called Χώρες near the church of St. Antonios. It appears to date from a period shortly before 320 B.C. (L. Bürchler in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v, 1699).
3. Dittenberger Syll. Inscr. Gr. no. 514. 14 μὲν | Ὀλύμπιον | τῷ θυρόν τῷ | Σωλίδο ν τῷ | Ταλλαίων | = Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 28, 14. The inscription, which belongs to the second half of the second century B.C., was found at Delos (T. Homolle in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1879 iii. 290 ff. pl. 6 bis).
4. J. Demargne in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1900 xxiv. 227 no. 1 C 57 ff. ἀναγράψας δὴ | τὸν | ψάρια | ἐς τὸ | ιερὸν τῷ | Σωλίδον (τε) | τῷ | Ταλλαίων καὶ[1] | εἰ τὸ τῇ | Ἀκλαποῖον. The inscription was found in 1898 on the site of a Byzantine church at Olous, and this portion of it dates perhaps from 11 B.C.
Direct identifications of Zeus with the Moon

Hermes 'established on the Tallaian heights', and we know that the mountain as a whole was famous for its cult of Zeus.

As in Crete, so in Lakonia, Talos the sun-god came to be identified with Zeus. Mount Talaetôn, the culminating peak of Mount Taygeton, was sacred to the Sun, and amongst the sacrifices there offered to him were horses. It would appear, therefore, that the Lacoians too had a sun-god akin to Talos. But Zeus, whose worship spread by degrees over most of the mountain-tops of Greece, naturally usurped the position of this ancient deity. A Spartan inscription links together Zeus Talaetias with Auxesia and Damois. These were goddesses of fertility, and Zeus Talaetias was presumably coupled with them as being himself a fertilising force.


(a) Direct identifications of Zeus with the Moon.

We have next to enquire whether Zeus as god of the bright sky stood in any special relation to the second of the celestial luminaries. Direct identification, indeed, of Zeus with the moon is hardly to be looked for on Greek soil; for the Greeks, at least in historical times, consistently regarded the moon as feminine. It is only in quasi-Greek districts that Zeus appears as a

1 Corp. C. Gr. ii no. 2509 = Conqny Anth. Pal. Append. i. 237. θερατής Ταλλαίονων (Ταλλαίονων Γρατέρ) θρούλετε κ.τ.λ.
2 Append. B. Crete.
3 Supra p. 185 f.
4 Paus. 3. 20. 4, supra p. 180 f.
5 Append. B.
7 F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 2616 ff.
8 Supra p. 291. H. Usener Götternamen Bonn 1896 p. 130 f. regarded Zeus Tallaioi, Talaetias, as gods corresponding with the goddesses Θάλα, Θάλια, and ingeniously compared the Zeus Θάλας of Aquileia (Inscr. Gr. Sic. It. no. 2337 an altar found at Aquileia in 1850 Δι Θαλάς Τι Τούτου Τε Μανερίνων Θαλάσσης) with the moon and quoted Póros, Hárōn, or Póros (E. Boisacq Les dialectes doriques Paris 1891 p. 92), who adds αὔτος for αὐτός in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial. Inschr. iii. 2. 261 ff. no. 4991 iv 3 ff.
9 H. Usener Götternamen Bonn 1896 p. 36 conjectures that the Greeks originally regarded the moon as masculine, not feminine, as Μή, not Μήν, and that the early conception survived in the Phrygian moon-god Μή (on whom see W. Drexler's exhaustive article in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2687—2770). This, in view of the fact that the moon is masculine in the Celtic, Germanic, Slavonic, Old Indian, and Zend languages, appears to me not improbable.
moon-god. Thus silver tetradrachms of Antiochos viii Grypos, king of Syria, struck between 121 and 96 B.C., have as their reverse type Zeus standing erect within a laurel-wreath: he holds a long sceptre in his left hand, an eight-rayed star, possibly meant for the planet Jupiter, in his right; and on or over his head is the crescent moon (figs. 538, 539).

1 E. Siecke Drachenkämpfe Leipzig 1907 pp. 28—42 attempts to show that Zeus was originally a moon-god: but his arguments (the birth of Zeus on various mountains; his grave in Crete; his epithets Παύρης, Αὐτέυς, Χρυσάωρ, Εὐφόροι, Λέκανος; his connexion with the double-axe, 'horns of consecration,' eagle, goat, ram; his fight with the Titans; his temporary defeat by Typhoeus, etc.) are far from convincing.

Zeus paired with Selene (Pandia?).

When Zeus appears in conjunction with the god Men, as in a relief from Maionia (fig. 540), he is to be regarded as a solar rather than a lunar deity.

(b) Zeus paired with Selene (Pandia?).

Again, Zeus was paired with Selene, the Greek moon-goddess, as the father of Nemea, while Dionysos, according to some authorities, was an offspring of the same union. As early as the seventh century B.C. Alkmene described certain flowers or plants,

Which the Dew, daughter of Zeus
And of Selena nurtureth.

A late Homeric hymn to Selene tells how—

With her once Kronos' son in love lay locked,
And she conceiving bare the maid Pandeia
Of form conspicuous mid the immortal gods.

Hyginus too records the same genealogy; and Photios states that the Attic festival Pandia derived its name either from Pandia the daughter of Selene or from Pandion the eponym of the tribe Pandionis, adding that it was held for Zeus. It seems probable that, as W. H. Roscher conjectured, Pandia was originally an epithet of Selene rather than her daughter; but that the festival Pandia was ab initio connected with this Selene Pandia is far from clear.

Cains iii. 99 ff. pl. 69, 18 f. Head Hist. num. 2 p. 779. Fig. 538 is from a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum, fig. 539 from one in my collection.

1 Supra p. 647 n. 2 and n. 4.
2 Supra p. 193 fig. 142.
3 Supra p. 450 n. 5.
4 Alkm. frag. 48 Bergk 8 οία Δῖος θυγατήρ | ἔφεσα τρεφει καὶ Σελήνῃ [θιασ] ᾿Αρι. Plout. symp. 3. 10. 3, quaeest. nat. 24, de fac. in orbe. lun. 25, cp. Macrobi. Sat. 7. 16. 31, Natalis Comes mytholog. 3. 17 p. 131 ed. Patav. quidam tradiderunt Lunamuisse uxorem Aries, εὐβ οι Rorem filium conceperit ac genuerit, ut ait Alcmene in eo carmine: δειοστὶ δῆρος αὐξεὶ μὲν ἡμην τε καὶ ἀρος νίς. Natalis appears to be quoting, not Alkm. frag. 48, but a corrupt hexameter passage, which I would restore as follows: δειοστὶ | αὐξεὶ μὲν ἡμην τε καὶ ἀρος νίς (glossed by δήρος).
5 H. Sel. 14 ff.
6 Hyg. fab. praef. p. 12, 9 Schmidt ex Iove et Luna Pandia (pandion cod. F, corr. Schmidt).
7 Phot. lex. i. n. Πάνδεα. So et. mag. p. 631, 21 f. Bekker ancestor i. 292, 10 f.
9 Ulpius in Dem. in Mid. 8 Πάνδεα δε οί μὲν Δῖος ὑπάρχῃ ἐνόμοισι—οί δέ Πανδίαν τῇ Σελήνῃ νομίζουσι κ.τ.λ. schoell. Dem. in Mid. 8 Πάνδεα καὶ Πάντα, ἡ Σελήνῃ, κ.τ.λ. Maximus peri katargivn 32. 146. 208. 281 uses the expression πανδία Σελήνη, ἠθ. 403 πανδία Σελήνη, and ib. 113. 294. 327. 393 even πανδία alone of the moon. Orph. frag. 11, 8 Abel has πανδία Σελήνη.
Zeus paired with Io, Pasiphae, Europe 733

The festival itself was held on or about Elaphebolion 14, and appears to have formed the concluding act of the City Dionysia. Its name is an extension of Día comparable, as Pollux saw, with Panathénaia, Paniónia, Panaitólía, Pamboiótía. Mommsen and Gruppe suppose with much probability that the Pandia was celebrated at the time of the full moon. Now this was the time when, according to Greek belief, dew fell thickest; and dew, as we shall prove further on, was one means by which the sky-father impregnated the earth-mother. Hence I venture to infer that the Pandia stood for the union of Zeus with Semele, whose name gave rise to frequent confusion with Selene. On this showing the City Dionysia began with dithyrambs, which commemorated the union of Zeus with Semele, and ended with the Pandia, which brought that union to effect. Ten lunar months later, at the Lenaia, Dionysos son of Zeus by Semele was born.

(c) Zeus paired with Io, Pasiphae, Europe.

When Zeus came to be paired with Selene, we may fairly assume that it was as a sun-god with a moon-goddess. The same conception has been thought to underlie several of the love-tales told about him and already in part discussed by us. Scholars ancient and modern have regarded Io as the moon. And, if so, her lover might well be the sun. Pasiphae and her bull almost certainly represented moon and sun in some sense. Europe, borne off from Phoinike to Crete by Zeus, apparently by Zeus Astérios, is another case in point. For Zeus Astérios seems

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2 E. Cahen loc. cit. Another extension of Æa is to be seen in Δάσεω: the simple form occurs as the name of a festival in Teos (supra p. 423 n. 2).
3 Poll. 6. 163. We need not suppose with E. Pfufl De Atheniensium pompis sacris Berolini 1900 p. 30 n. 188 (after U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff Aus Kythaken Berlin 1889 p. 133) that the Péndia implies an early unification of several Zeus-cults. The prefix may be due to false analogy, Péndia signifying no more than a glorified Día.
4 Mommsen op. cit. p. 432 n. 4; p. 441.
6 Infra ch. ii § 8 (a). Note that at Miletos on Artemision 14 (= Elaphebolion 14) an offering was made Δια Νόητον, i.e. Νόητος, cp. Zeus 'Tétrios (A. Rehm in Milet iii. 161 f., 400 f.).
7 Supra p. 457 n. 5.
8 Supra p. 454 ff.
9 Supra p. 601 f.
9 Supra p. 669 ff.
11 Supra p. 454 ff.
12 Supra p. 521 ff., 543 ff.
13 Supra p. 545 ff.
Zeus paired with Antiope
to have been—as C. Robert¹, M. Mayer², and W. H. Roscher³ surmised—not merely a star-god but also a sun-god⁴.

I must, however, insist even at the risk of some repetition that not one of these myths affords any valid proof that Zeus was _ab origine_ a sun-god, consort of a moon-goddess. We cannot assert that Io was from the outset lunar⁵. Pasiphae may have been⁶: but it is probable that her bull, though solar, was not originally Zeus⁷. Finally, Europe as the moon⁸ and Zeus _Astéris_ as the sun⁹ were Phoenician rather than Hellenic divinities.

(d) Zeus paired with Antiope.

In the Homeric _Nekyia_¹⁰ Odysseus interviews the shades of fourteen famous heroines, the list being probably the work of an interpolator who belonged to the Hesiodic school¹¹. We are concerned with but one of his characters—

> Antiope,
> Asopos' daughter, who in truth did boast
> That she had lain even in the arms of Zeus.
> Two sons she bare him, Zethos and Amphion,
> Who founded first Thebes of the seven gates
> And walled the same, since not without a wall
> Could they, though stout of heart, hold wide-wayed Thebes¹².

In Euripides' _Antiope_ Amphon says to his mother:

> Nay, I cannot think
> That Zeus in secret copying the shape
> Of an evil-doer so drew nigh thy couch
> As might a man¹³.

¹ Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 136.
² M. Mayer _op. cit._ p. 80.
⁴ _Supra_ pp. 492 ff., 545 ff.
⁵ _Supra_ p. 531 ff.
⁶ _Supra_ pp. 524, 538 ff.
⁷ _Od._ 11. 225 ff.
But Hermes as *deus ex machina* declares:

Thou who didst tell her that it was a man,
Not Zeus, who wooed and won her—howsoe'er
She might deny it—what couldst thou have said
More hateful to the heart of Zeus himself,
Dishonouring thus the very bride of Zeus?  

The story was localised in Boiotia and took on a Dionysiac colouring, Antiope being represented as a Maenad and Zeus as a Satyr. It is not, however, till Roman times that Zeus is

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2. Antiope was born at Hyria (Hes. frag. 78 Flach ap. schol. *H. i. 2. 456*, Eustath. *in H. i. 2. 465, 5*, Herodian. i. 300 Lents, Steph. *Byz. 5*). Her father Nykteus founded Hysia (Steph. *Byz. 5*, Eur. *Antiope* frag. 180 Nauck *ap. Harpokr. 5* *Byz. 5*, cp. Herodian. i. 300 Lents, Steph. *Byz. 5*).

3. On Antiope as a Maenad in literature (Faus. 9. 17. 6) and art (O. Jahn in the *Arch. Zeit. 1853 xi. 65—105 pl. 56 f.) consult L. Weniger in *Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 241 f.* She is described as a daughter of Lykourgos in the *Kypria ap. Prokl. chr. st. 1* (p. 18 Kinkel τὸν Λυκώργον ἄλλος ἢ Ηευνίας θυράχος. See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 67 f.* who remarks (p. 68 n. 1) that late writers regard Lykourgos, the persecutor of Dionysos' nurses (*H. i. 130 f.*), as a Boeotian (Firm. *Mat. 6. 6 ff.*; Kephalion *frag. 5* (*Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 628 Müller*) *ap. Io. Malal. chron. 2 p. 42 f.* Dindorf, Hyg. *poet. astr. 2. 21*).

4. Rufin. *recogn. 10. 22*, Dracont. 2. 24 (*Poet. Lat. min. v. 139 Baehrens*), Nonn. *Dion. 7. 123*, 16. 244 f., *Myth. Vat. i. 204*, Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Th. 9. 423*, schol. *Ap. Rhod. 4. 1090*. K. Kerniche in *Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2497* holds that of the various monuments, which have been supposed to represent Zeus as a Satyr with Antiope, two only have been rightly so interpreted, viz. an Etruscan mirror of late style in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 116 no. 697 = Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 83 f. pl. 81, 1) and a scene from the great mosaic on the Piazza della Vittoria at Palermo.
Zeus paired with Antiope

actually said to have played the Satyr. The language of Euripides suggests rather that he courted Antiope in the shape of an ordinary man. A variant tradition, which emphasises the analogy between Europe and Antiope, makes the latter, like the former, wooed by Zeus in the form of a bull. The bull-connexion reappears in a curious local custom recorded by Pausanias. When the sun was in the sign of Taurus, the Thebans used to mount guard over the tomb of Zethos and Amphion; for if the men of Tithorea in Phokis could at that time steal some of the earth from the said tomb and place it on the tomb of Antiope, then the district of Tithorea would be fertile, that of Thebes barren. The belief was based on the following passage in the oracles of Bakis:

But whensoe'er to Zethos and Amphion
One of Tithorea's men upon the ground
Shall pour a soothing gift of drink and prayer,
What time the Bull is warmed by the great sun's might,
Then verily beware of no small bane
That comes upon the city; for the fruits
Dwindle within it, when men take of the earth
And to the tomb of Phokos bear the same.

The tomb of Phokos comes in as something of a surprise. We are expecting the tomb of Antiope. So Pausanias hastens to explain:

'The wife of Lykos (Dirke) honoured Dionysos above all the gods. Therefore, when she suffered what tradition says she suffered (being bound to a bull by Zethos and Amphion and thus dragged to death), Dionysos was wroth with Antiope. Are not the gods jealous of excessive vengeance? Antiope, men say, went mad and bereft of her wits wandered through Hellas till Phokos, son of Ornyton, son of Sisyphos, fell in with her, healed and married her. Hence Antiope and Phokos share the same grave.'

(J. Overbeck in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1873 pp. 98, 105 pl. 2). But the Etruscan mirror is, both by H. B. Walters and by E. Gerhard (loc. cit.), interpreted of Zeus with Semele: it represents Zeus with a crown of lilies (supra p. 622 f.) on his head and a thunderbolt in his left hand embracing a winged female figure in the presence of a tailed Satyr with two flutes. The mosaic, which may be dated c. 100 A.D., shows (fig. 541) Antiope as a Baccant with thyrsoi and timbrel advancing towards the left, while Zeus as an ithyphallic Satyr with lagobolion and fawn-skin (?) follows her from the right. Finally it may be noted that a painting by Correggio in the Louvre (no. 1118) gives Zeus as a young Satyr discovering Antiope asleep with Eros beside her (H. Schulze *Das weibliche Schönheitsideal in der Malerei* Jena 1913 p. 243 fig. 108, Reinach *Rép. Peintures* iii. 754).


2 Paus. 9. 17. 4 ff., cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. Theopala, who wrongly places the grave of Zethos and Amphion at Tithorea: on its real position see Frazer *Pausanias* n. 57.

3 Paus. 9. 17. 6. At a place in Daulis called Tronis there was a shrine of the hero
Note that the constellation Taurus is here connected with Antiope as it was connected with Europe. Moreover, the analogy subsisting between Europe and Antiope is strengthened rather than weakened by the marriage of the heroine with the local chief: Phokos, the eponym of Phokis, is to Antiope what Asterion, the Cretan king, was to Europe.

At Sikyon the story of Antiope was told in a different way. Antiope, daughter of Nykteus the regent of Thebes, or, as rumour had it, daughter of the river Asopos, was famous for her beauty. Epopeus, son of Aloeus and grandson of Helios, who had come from Thessaly and succeeded Korax as king of Aigialeia (later called Sikyon), was enamoured of Antiope and carried her off. Thereupon the Thebans rallied out to fight him. In the fight both Nykteus and Epopeus were wounded, but Epopeus won. Nykteus was carried back to Thebes, and on his death-bed entrusted the regency to his brother Lykos. Epopeus also died of his hurt, and was succeeded by Lamedon, who surrendered Antiope. As she went to Thebes by way of Eleutheraí, she gave birth by the road-side—an incident commemorated by the old epic poet Asios:

Antiope the daughter of Asopos,
Deep-eddying stream, bare Zethos and Amphion
The god-like, having met in wedlock's bond
Zeus and Epopeus shepherd of the folk.

The statement that Epopeus, king of Sikyon, and Zeus had the same wife is very noteworthy and, when compared with similar cases, points to the belief that the king was an embodiment of Zeus. If so, his name was appropriate. Ἐπόπετης. 'He who sees all' is but another form of the cult-titles Ἐπόπτης, Ἐπόψιος, Ἐποπετής borne by Zeus.

Founder (ὑπὸ τὴν Ἁρχάγγελον), who was variously identified with Xanthippos, a famous warrior, and with Phokos, son of Ornytian, son of Sisyphos. The Phokiaea daily honoured him: they brought victims, poured the blood through a hole into the grave, and consumed the flesh on the spot (Paus. 10. 4. 10).

1 Supra p. 549.
2 Supra p. 546 f.
4 Pans. 2. 1. 1.
5 Asios frag. 1 Kinkel ap. Pans. 2. 6. 4.
6 Cp. supra p. 247 f.
7 J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 245.
8 Hesych. Ἐπόπτης. Τεῦν, ἡ θεατής, Corn. theol. 9 p. 9, 20 Lang, Scholl—Sudemund ameis 1. 169 f. Δόγμα…ἐφαρσά, ἐφόρον, ἐπόσιον.
10 Ἑσύχ. Ἐποπετής. Τεῦν παρὰ Ἄθηναν.

C.
Zeus paired with Antiope

Antiope's tomb at Tithorea was honoured when the sun was in the sign of Taurus. Her partner at Sikyon was Epopeus, grandson of Helios. Late authorities made her a priestess of Helios. Antiope, therefore, stood in some relation to the sun. At Corinth that relation was much more clearly recognised. For Eumelos in his Korinthisaka (c. 740 B.C.) represented Antiope, not as wife of Helios' grandson, but as wife of Helios himself and by him mother of Aloeus and Aietes. Diophanes too, better known as Diophantos, in his Pontic History (s. iii B.C.) made Antiope the mother of Aietes, and therefore presumably the wife of Helios. Now if Antiope as early as the eighth century B.C. was the wife of the Sun, it is reasonable to conjecture that she was a moon-goddess. Antiope, as O. Gruppe observes, is 'a highly suitable appellation for the full moon, which at its rising exactly faces the sun.' For Antiope means 'She who looks over against, or faces' another; and Nonnus, for example, speaks of—

Phaethon balancing the full-faced (antōpis) Moon.

W. H. Roscher, who regards Antiope as a 'moon-heroine' or 'hypostasis of the moon-goddess,' draws attention to her rape by Epopeus, to her vaunted beauty, to the names of her father Nykteus, the 'Nocturnal,' and his brother Lykos, the 'Light,' to

1 Supra p. 726 f.
2 Supra p. 737.
3 Kephaliōn frag. 6 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 628 Müller) ap. Io. Malal. chron. 2 p. 45 Dindorf.
5 E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1051.
7 Endok. viol. 37. In both sources the MSS. read Δηοφάνης, not Δηοφάντος.
9 Nomn. Dion. 6. 76 καὶ Φαεθόν τάχθανε τῇ αρραβώνῃ Μήνη.
11 Paus. 2. 6. 4 ἀρραβώνα. Kypria ap. Prokl. chrestom. 1 (p. 18 Kinkel) φθάνεις, etc.
14 Supra p. 65. S. Eitrem 'Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen' in the Skrifter utgivne af Videnskabsbh. i Christiania 1903 ii Historisk-filosofisk Klasse Christiania 1903 no. 2 argues that in the original form of the myth the twins Amphion and Zethos carried off Antiope and her sister Dirke from a second pair of twins, Lykos (Lykourgos, Epopeus) and Nykteus. The myth would thus be parallel to that of the rape
Zeus and his Lunar Consorts

her connexion with Orion, and to her sons Amphion and Zethos, the Theban Dioskouroi, whom he believes to be the morning-star and the evening-star respectively. This last point is of very doubtful validity. Nevertheless the analogy of Kastor and Polydeuces predisposes us to think that Amphion and Zethos may have stood in some relation to stars. And, if so, we obtain another illustration of the old-world idea that the stars are the offspring of a union between the sun and the moon.

(e) Zeus and his Lunar Consorts.

On a review of the foregoing evidence it appears that Zeus, who consorted with Selene at Nemea, was elsewhere paired with a variety of heroines—Antiope, Europe, Io—who sooner or later acquired lunar characteristics. That the moon should be called by half a dozen different names in Greece, is by no means surprising—witness its numerous appellations among the peasants of modern France and Germany. Observe, too, that the Greek names for the moon—Pasiphae, Pandia (?), and the like—were of local, not universal, significance. Athens spoke of Pandia; Argos and Euboia, of Io; Knossos and Thalamai, of Pasiphae. Nor was there, except perhaps with Antiope and Europe in Phokis and Boiotia, any overlapping of lunar names.

What has been said will suffice to establish a further and a more important contention. The combination of a solar Zeus with a lunar consort is restricted to certain well-defined areas. It occurs in Crete and in the eastern half of central Greece, but hardly anywhere in the rest of the Greek area. This may be taken to show that Zeus was not essentially the husband of a lunar bride. His association with her savours rather of non-Hellenic influence.

One other feature of these myths deserves to be mentioned. There is in them a decided tendency towards representing Zeus as a bull and his partner as a cow. The bull Zeus mates with the cow Io. Poseidon or Zeus sent, or, as later writers put it, of the Leukippides by the sons of Aphaereus and the Dioskouroi (Gruppe Myth. Lit. 1908 p. 394 ff.).

1 Find. frag. 73 Christ ap. Hyg. poes. astr. 2. 34. Strab. 404.
2 Weleker Gr. Götterl. 1. 614 f.
3 Infra p. 771.
4 Infra p. 760 ff.
5 Supra p. 523 n. 6.
6 P. Sébiliot La Folk-Lore de France Paris 1904 1. 37 ff.
8 Supra p. 438 ff.
Zeus was the bull that had connexion with Pasiphae in her cow. Zeus sent, or, according to the usual version, Zeus was the bull that bore Europe away to Crete; and she in her turn appears at Thebes as a cow marked on either flank with a white full moon. Lastly, Antiope is said by the scholiast on Statius to have been driven out by Lykos owing to the designs of Dirke, and then to have been won by Zeus, who had transformed himself into a bull for the occasion: there was thus a certain poetic justice about the vengeance that Antiope’s sons wreaked upon Dirke, when they bound her to a bull. It can hardly be doubted that these bull-and-cow myths hang together with the conception of the sun as a bull and the horned moon as a cow.


Zeus as god of the bright sky was brought into various relations with the stars also, though these minor manifestations of his brightness did not often find definite expression in cult, literature, or art.

(a) **Zeus Astérios, Zeus Seirén, Zeus Oromásdes.**

Late authors attest the Gortynian cult of Zeus *Astérios*, whose title may have meant originally ‘god of all the Celestial Lights’, but in the Hellenistic age would doubtless be understood as ‘god of the Stars’ only, perhaps with special reference to the constellation Helike.

Other indications connect Zeus with Seirios. Once, when the dog-star was scorching the island of Keos, Aristaios is said to have made a great altar for Zeus *Ikmatos* and to have sacrificed on the mountains to Seirios and to Zeus. The combination perhaps gave rise to a separate conception. Antimachos of Kolophon (c. 400 B.C.) called Zeus *Seirén* on account of the star.

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1 *Supra* pp. 464 ff., 544.
2 *Supra* pp. 524 ff., 544.
3 If I am right in my surmise *supra* p. 539 ff.
4 *Supra* p. 736 n. 1.
5 *Supra* p. 736. The tauriform Zeus perhaps acted as his own executioner.
6 *Supra* p. 545 ff. K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1786 argues from the existence of the hypostases Asterion and Asterios that the cult of Zeus *Astérios* was early. But see *supra* p. 547.
7 *Supra* p. 495.
8 *Supra* p. 747.
9 *Supra* p. 547 ff.
10 Ap. Rhod. 2. 516 ff. See further infra ch. ii § 8 (c).
Small copper coins of Kypros dating from the Ptolemaic period have as their obverse type a laureate head of Zeus, as their reverse Zeus standing with corn-ears in his right hand, a sceptre in his left, and a large star above his head (fig. 542)\(^1\). In view of other Cypriote coppers, which connect the star with Aphrodite and her dove\(^2\), we may venture to identify it with the planet Venus rather than with the planet Jupiter\(^3\).

Finally, stars played an important part in the cult of Zeus Oromädes, the Hellenised Auramazda\(^4\), who was represented, like Men\(^5\)


3. In the case of tetradrachms struck by Antiochos viii Grypos (*supra* p. 731 figs. 538, 539) I interpreted the star held by the god as the planet Jupiter. But the moon is so constantly associated with the evening-star in oriental art that it is at least equally possible to regard the star in question as the planet Venus.

4. *Supra* p. 10 n. 1. As to the name Auramazda my friend the Rev. Prof. J. H. Moulton in his *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* Cambridge 1911 p. 73 n. writes: 'Hommel's discovery of the name Assuru Mazas in an Assyrian record of the middle of the second millennium B.C. takes the divine name back to the Aryan period, or to Iranian antiquity prior to the change of ō to a... The Bogazkene Indra and Nāštia might be Indo-Aryan, but Mazas cannot. It seems probable therefore that Mazāh was a cult epithet of a great Ahura—some would say the Vedic Varuṇa—long before Zarathushra.' *Id. ib.* p. 56:... ‘Having thus discarded conceptions of Deity which failed to satisfy his spiritual sense, Zarathushtra proclaimed his own conceptions in their stead. One inherited name for God was good enough for him. Ahura in the Gāthas already means “Lord,” its etymological meaning “spiritual” having apparently died out before the division of the Aryans. Who or what was “the Lord”? His relation to Nature is wholly in accord with the Bible itself. “Who covereth Himself with light as with a garment” is almost a quotation from the Gāthas. But his own nature is something higher yet. He is “the Wise” (Mazāh), which seems specially to denote the “knowledge of good and evil,” the unerring instinct that can distinguish between Truth and Falsehood, which for the Prophet were the most vital aspects of good and evil.’ *Id. ib.* p. 57 f.: ‘The elements of the combination Ahura Mazāh in the Gāthas are declined as separate words, arranged indifferently, and either word may be used alone. “The Wise Lord” will probably represent it to us better than “Ahura Mazāh.” It soon became fixed as a proper name. By the time of the great Darius, the first Zarathushtrian King of Persia (it would seem), the name has become a single word, Auramazda, with flexion only at the end.’ See further J. H. Moulton *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 pp. 30 ff., 61, 90 ff., 106 ff., 422 ff., alib.

5. It is reasonable to suppose that the Hesychian gloss Māzētōn: ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Φρεζί preserves in a Grecised form the cult-title Mazāh.

Zeus Oromăsdes

or Attis or Mithras (?), wearing a stellate tiara. We are unusually well informed about this deity, thanks to the systematic exploration of the Nemroud Dagh, an outlying spur of Mount Tauros in the region of the upper Euphrates. Here in 1881 the engineer K. Sester discovered a remarkable tumulus, which in 1882 and 1883 was investigated by two expeditionary parties, that of the Germans (O. Puchstein, K. Humann, F. von Luschan) and that of the Turks (Hamdy Bey, Osgan Effendi). Their results may be briefly resumed.

Antiochos I of Kommagene (69–38 B.C. or later), who in his inscriptions announces himself as 'The great King Antiochos, the Just God Made Manifest, Friend of the Romans and Friend of the Greeks', resolved to be buried on the highest mountain-peak of his domain. On the summit of the Nemroud Dagh, at an altitude

1 Ioul. or. 5, 165 in τήν δέ (ἐκ Ματέρα τῶν θεών) τά τέ άλλα πάντα ἐπιστρέφεις αὐτῷ (ἐκ
τῶν Βασίλεων) καί τόν ἄστρον ἐπικαλεῖται πίλων, id. 170 D f, ὁ γὰρ 'Ἀττις οὗτος ἔχει τὴν
καταστάσεως τοῦ ἀστρον τιμῶν εὐθυνὸν διὰ τὰ πάντα τῶν θεών ἐπὶ τὰ ἐμφανεὶς κόσμου
ορωμένα λέγει ἄρης ἐπικαλεῖται τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας, Σαλλατίου περὶ θεών καί κλάματος τέχνης'

Imhof-Blumer Gr. Münzen p. 216 no. 746 pl. 13, 6, crp. no. 747 (Ankya in Galatia); id. p. 126 f. nos. 748–750 pl. 13, 7–9, crp. no. 751 (Pessinos), R. Eisler Weltenpanelfand und Himmelszelt München 1916 i. 63 f. fig. 11; E. Pernice–F. Winter Der Hildebrand Silberfund Berlin 1901 pl. 5, Reinach Rép. Reliefs i. 159, 2, W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 27411.

2 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus, etc. p. 84 pl. 16, 3 f, Imhof-Blumer Münzen gr. p. 327 pl. e, 16, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach Münzen gr. d'Asie Minor. i. 136 pl. 18, 5 f, Head Hist. num. p. 505 fig. 264.


4 O. Hamdy Bey and Osgan Effendi Le Tumulus du Nemroud-dagh (Voyage, Description, Inscriptions avec Plans et Photographies). Constantinople 1883 with Frontisp., 33 pls., and 2 plans.

5 Humann—Puchstein op. cit. p. 272 i a ff. (= Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 383, i ff., p. 325 if., p. 320 if., p. 377 if., p. 319 ff., p. 303 ff., p. 301 ff., p. 304 if., p. 304 if., p. 283 if., p. 306 if., p. 285 if., p. 307 if., p. 287 if., p. 313 if., p. 311 if., p. 356 if. (= Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. nos. 383, 1 ff., 384, 1 ff., 385, 1 ff., 386, 1 ff., 387, 1 ff., 388, 1 ff., 389, 1 ff., 390, 1 ff., 391, 1 ff., 392, 1 ff., 393, 1 ff., 394, 1 ff., 395, 1 ff., 396, 1 ff., 397, 1 ff., 401, 1 ff., 402, 1 ff.), V. V. Yorke in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1898 xviii. 312 f. no. 14, 1 ff. Samosata (= Dittenberger op. cit. no. 404, 1 ff.): Βασιλεύς μέγας Ἀττικὸς Θεός Δικαίος Ἐπιφανῆς Φιλωμαίοις καὶ

6 Φίλαθροι, cp. Lebas—Waddington Asia Minor iii no. 136 d, 1 ff. Ephesos (= Dittenberger op. cit. no. 405, 1 ff.): Βασιλεύς Άττικος Θεός | Δικαίως Επιφανῆς Φιλωμαίοις | καὶ Φιλαθροί, and the slight variant in Humann—Puchstein op. cit. p. 311 if. (= Dittenberger op. cit. no. 400, 1 ff.): [Βασιλεύς μεγας] | [Ἀττικὸς] Θεός Δικαίος | [Ἐπιφάνης] Φίλοι Φιλωμαίοις | καὶ Φιλωμαίοις.

Since a dedication Θεὸς Δικαίως Μῆτρα has come to light at Kiliisse Hisar, i.e. Tyana in Kappadokia (J. H. Mordtmann in the Ath. Mitt. 1885 x. 12 citing Rico Kipparodákis 113), O. Puchstein in Humann—Puchstein op. cit. p. 341 f. suggests that the divine titles of Antiochos were a popular designation of Mithras. But F. Cumont in Pauli—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 564 shows that the cult-epithets "Θεὸς καὶ Δικαίος, Ωςος Δικαίος, or Ωςος..."
alone, were used throughout Asia Minor etc. of a variety of gods and goddesses. And, as we shall see, Antiochos claimed to be a human counterpart of Zeus Oromásdes rather than of Mithras.
of between 6800 and 7100 ft, a prodigious cairn of stones was piled containing c. 264,750 cubic metres of material (fig. 543). Various attempts to penetrate the vast mass and rifle the dead king's chamber have been made in modern times and have failed.

Antiochos set forth his intentions in a pompous inscription:

'When I had determined to construct the foundations of this sacred monument beyond the reach of time's wasting hand, hard by the heavenly throne, to the end that here the body of my outward form, having lived till old age in felicity and sent forth a soul beloved of the gods to the heavenly throne of Zeus Oromädes, might sleep for endless ages, then of a truth I chose to make this spot the sacred seat of all gods in common, that so not only this heroic company of mine ancestors which thou seest might be established by my care, but also the divine shapes of manifest deities sanctified on a holy summit, and that they might have this place as a witness by no means bereft of my piety. Wherefore, as thou seest, I have established these godlike effigies of Zeus Oromädes and Apollon Mithras Helios Hermes and Artagnes Herakles Ares and mine all-nurturing country Kammagene. Moreover, made of the self-same stone-work with gods that answer prayer and throned together with them, I have set up the fashion of mine own form, and have caused the ancient honour of great deities to become coeval with a new Tyche, thereby preserving a just representation of the immortal mind which has many a time been seen to manifest itself in my support and to lend me friendly help in the carrying out of my royal projects.'

The concluding sentences of this passage refer to the fact that east and west of the cairn were two terraces, each of which had a similar series of five seated statues—ungainly colossal figures, built up of limestone blocks to a height of some 26 ft. Hamdy Bey, who saw the tumulus half-covered with snow, compares its clumsy guardians with a set of snow-men. The central statue, somewhat larger than its neighbours, was that of Zeus Oromädes in Commagenean costume with a short bundle of rods, the Persian baresman

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3 Humann—Puchstein op. cit. p. 236.

2 Eid. ib. p. 240 f.


or *barsom*¹, in his left hand and a high tiara on his head: this tiara in front and behind had a vertical stripe on which round disks were worked in low relief, while about its edge was a diadem adorned with a row of upright winged thunderbolts (fig. 544)². On the right of Zeus sat Komмагène, conceived as a Tyche with a *kílathós* and a corn- wreath on her head, a horn of plenty in her left hand, and a bunch of corn-ears, grapes, pomegranates and a pear-shaped fruit in her right². On the left of Zeus was

1. J. H. Moulton *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* Cambridge 1911 p. 127; 'The barsom (barsman) is a Magian ritual instrument, a bundle of twigs held before the face: cf. Ezekiel viii. 17. It adapts the name of an Aryan institution of a very different kind, the Indian *barkhī*, or carpet of grass on which the sacrifice was laid.' *Id. Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 pp. 68 ff., 189 ff., 198 ff., 408 ff. See further O. M. Dalton *The Treasure of the Oxus* etc. London 1903 p. 46 ff.: 'the barsman or barsom, a small bundle of rods supposed to be composed of branches of the date, pomegranate, and tamarisk, the gathering of which Ormuz describes to Zarathustra in the nineteenth chapter of the Vendidad*³. "[A.] Hovelacque, *L'Avesta, Zoroastre et le Magišisme* Paris 1880, p. 425; M. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de* Suse *[Paris 1893],* p. 393 n. 4; see also note to no. 48.) It was the constant accompaniment of almost every ritual act, and in his daily prayers before the sacred fire, as Strabo noted of the Magi in Cappadocia, the priest always held it in his hand*.⁴ "*Πάθουν μακρῶν λεπτῶν δέκαν κατάχωες*, Strabo, xv. 7337. [J. G.] Rhode, *Die heilige Sage und das gesamte Religions-System der alten Bakttrier, Meder, Perser etc.* Frankfort 1820, p. 509.) The texts do not seem to imply that the rods were used for purposes of divination, but there is some authority for believing that this was at one time the case... The bundle of rods seems to be shown in the hands of the two statuettes nos. 1 and 2 [p. 75 f. pl. 2 and 13], the second of which may well represent a magus of high rank; a number of the figures upon the gold plaques (see plates xiii and xiv) also hold it, and attention may be called to the fact that the object held by the deity in the Sassanian rock sculpture, fig. 42, has some resemblance to a bundle of rods.' A Graeco-Persian relief of c. 475—400 B.C., found near Daskyleion, shows two priests in Persian dress with covered mouth and nose and uplifted *barsom* (?), offering a ram's head and a bull's head on a pyre (?) of slender sticks (T. Macridy in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1913 xxxvii. 348 ff. fig. 4 pl. 8).

² Fig. 544 shows the seated Zeus of the east terrace (Hammann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 235 f. pl. 25—27 and 29, 5 f., Hamdy Bey—Osman Effendi *op. cit.* p. 15 f. pl. 12 and 15) completed with the help of the head from its counterpart of the west terrace (Hammann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 296 f. pl. 31, 3, Hamdy Bey—Osman Effendi *op. cit.* p. 19 pl. 19).

³ Komмагène is the one figure whose head, though not quite in the original position, still rests upon its shoulders. She, in common with many another Asiatic Tyche (*ὑπέρ* p. 136 n. 6. cp. p. 597 n. 4 and p. 710), may be regarded as a late modification of the ancient mountain-mother, who after all had the longest, if not the best, claim to be honoured on such a site. Hence Antiochos (*ὑπέρ* p. 744) was careful to describe himself
a beardless effigy of Antiochos, in pose and costume closely resembling Zeus, except that the diadem round his tiara was decorated with alternate disks and lozenges in relief. Beyond Kommagene was Apollo Mithras Helios Hermes; beyond Antiochos was Artagnes Herakles Ares. Both these deities bore a general likeness to Zeus; but, whereas Apollo held the bundle of rods, Artagnes carried a short club leaning against his shoulder. The series was terminated at either end by statues of an eagle and a lion standing on a common base. On the backs of the thrones was the long inscription, part of which has been cited above, including a preamble to explain the purpose of the whole precinct and a law to regulate its cult.

Over against the statues of the east terrace were the remains of a large rectangular altar, once decorated with sculpture, and two long bases or walls, north and south of the terrace, in which stelai as the new Tyche, whose cult was thenceforth to be associated with that of the older divinities (see Humann—Puchstein op. cit. p. 339 n. 1).

1 Apollon Mithras Helios is presumably a solar deity. His further identification with Hermes may be attributed to the fact that the planet Mercury was connected by the Persians with Mithras, by the Greeks either with Apollon or with Hermes (Humann—Puchstein op. cit. p. 335 n. 4). Note also that the role of ψυχομαντος was played alike by Mithras and by Hermes (F. Cumont in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3055, Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 383 n. 20).

2 Artagnes is the Avestan Verethraghna, the genius of ‘Victory’ (on whose name see J. H. Moulton Early Religious Poetry of Persia Cambridge 1911 pp. 39 ff. 146), as was observed by P. de Lagarde in the Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe 1886 p. 148 ff. (Humann—Puchstein op. cit. p. 282 n. 1). The identification with Herakles and Ares may be due to the fact that the planet Mars, which the Persians connect with the god Bihram (=the earlier Verethraghna), was by the Greeks assigned sometimes to Herakles, sometimes to Ares (Humann—Puchstein op. cit. p. 335 n. 4, Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 383 n. 21). Further, Artagnes was perhaps represented as Herakles in Mithraic art (F. Cumont Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra Bruxelles 1896 i. 143 and in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. Suppl. i. 144) and on coins of Hooerkes (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 138 pl. 27, 15 ΠΡΑΓΙΟ, p. 154 pl. 29, 1 ΠΡΑΚΑΙΟ (?), Humann—Puchstein op. cit. p. 282 n. 1), and as Ares by Strab. 7.27 δον τε θόντα (εκ. οι Καρµανίων) τυρ’ Αρει, δεντρυ τίμηνται τοίνυν μονον, καὶ εἰς πολεµισταν.

3 Humann—Puchstein op. cit. p. 289 ff., Hamdy Bey—Osman Effendi op. cit. p. i ff., Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 383. The principal enactments are that the birthday of Antiochos, viz. the 16th of Ausanos (a Macedonian month answering to the Athenian Poseideon), and his coronation day, viz. the 10th of Loios (the Macedonian equivalent of the Athenian Hekatomblion), are to be observed throughout the kingdom as festivals in honour of his divine guardians; that the corresponding days, viz. the 16th and the 10th, of each month shall be honoured by the priests; that on all these occasions the priest of the gods and heroes is to wear Persian attire, to crown all (viz. the gods and heroes) with golden crowns, and to offer on the altar of the latter frankincense and perfumes, while he honours the former with rich sacrifices; that, moreover, he is to furnish the holy tables with fitting viands and jars of wine, and so to entertain citizens and strangers alike, reserving a special portion for himself and allowing every guest to take his share and consume it where he will. Etc., etc.
Zeus Oromásdes

Fig. 545.
representing the ancestors of Antiochos had been set up, each with its own small altar before it.

The west terrace also had two base-walls for the erection of similar stēlai. These were placed along its western and southern sides. The line of the seated statues was here continued northwards by means of a third base-wall, the reliefs of which were fairly preserved. They represented, from left to right, the following figures—Antiochos receiving a bunch of grapes, apples; corn etc. from Kommagene, Antiochos greeted by Apollon Mithras Helios Hermes, Antiochos greeted by Zeus Oromāsdes, Antiochos greeted by Artagnes Herakles Ares, the horoscope of Antiochos in the form of a star-spangled lion. Of these five reliefs the first four bore dedicatory inscriptions on their backs, the last was inscribed in front. The whole series was flanked by an eagle and a lion at either end, arranged as in the case of the seated colossi.

The central and largest relief (fig. 545) portrays Zeus Oromāsdes in Commagenian dress giving the right hand of fellowship to Antiochos, who is similarly attired. The god sits on a gorgeous throne, decorated above with a pair of eagles, on either side with oak-leaves and acorns, below with Chimaira-heads and leonine claws. He holds a sceptre in his left hand. His tiara has a pearled edge and a diadem with upright winged thunderbolts on it: it is

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1 Humann—Puchstein op. cit. pp. 245—250, Hamdy Bey—Osgan Eflendi op. cit. pp. 11—15.
4 Humann—Puchstein op. cit. pp. 324—327 pl. 39, 1 and 1 a (= my figs. 545, 546), Hamdy Bey—Osgan Eflendi op. cit. p. 23 f. pl. 27 f., F. Cumont Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra Bruxelles 1896 ii. 187 f. fig. 11 and in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1054 f. fig. 21, R. Eisele Weltenreligion und Himmelsreligion München 1910 i. 64 fig. 12, Reinauc Rép. Reliefs i. 195. 3. The slab has a maximum height of 3.04\(\text{m}\), and is 2.17\(\text{m}\) broad and 0.28\(\text{m}\) thick (exclusive of the relief). When first discovered by O. Puchstein, it was lying on its face with stones heaped upon it. He copied the inscription on its back and replaced the stones. Hamdy Bey dug it up again and, since it lay with the foot-end still resting on the base-wall, tilted it over on its head. The result is that it now lies upside down exposed to the weather. Worse than that, the lower part of the relief has broken off, and the two parts do not accurately fit together. A fragment (fig. 546) found by a Turk in 1884 and brought by him to F. von Luschan is now at Berlin: it shows part of the diadem together with the left brow of Zeus: height 0.22\(\text{m}\). The inscription chiselled on the back of the slab is: Βασιλεύς μέγας Ἀντίοχος Θεὸς Δίκαιος | Ἐπισκόπων [Φ]ιλομοιοῦ καὶ [Φ]λαδόν, | ὁ ἐν βασιλείᾳ Μιθραῖῳ Καλλικτοῦ | καὶ βασιλείᾳ [Α]λακράντος Θεὸς Φλαδόν, | Διὸ Προμαχή (Humann—Puchstein op. cit. p. 375, Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 384).
also plentifully sprinkled with six-rayed stars, among which is visible another winged bolt. His foot-gear, leg-coverings, etc. show the oak-pattern. Altogether he is a skilful blend of the Commagenian and the Greek. Puchstein rightly observes that Antiochos is decked, wherever possible, with the symbols of Zeus. His crown-topped tiara\(^1\) displays a large winged bolt between

\[\text{Cp. the head-dress of Antiochos i of Commagene on bronze coins struck by him (fig. 548; cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins: Galatia, etc. pp. xlv f., 105 pl. 14, 8, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 120. Head Hist. num.}\(^2\) p. 775) with that of Tigranes, king of Armenia, on his silver and copper moneys (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 103 ff. pl. 27, 5 ff. (fig. 548 = pl. 37, 6). Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 1 ff. pl. 63, 1 ff., Head Hist. num.}\(^2\) p. 772 f. fig. 347, G. F. Hill Historical Greek Coins London 1906 p. 163 ff., pl. 13, 96). Figs. 549, 550 are from specimens in the Leake collection = W. M. Leake Numismatic Hellenica London 1856 Kings and Dynasts p. 38.\]
Zeus Oromádes

oak-leaves. His diadem, the upper edge of his coat-of-mail, his shoulder-clasps, all have the same design of thunderbolts. Tiara-flaps, girdle, dagger-sheath, and shoes are embellished with oak-leaves and acorns. Lastly the short-sleeved jerkin is covered with stars set in a kind of network or trellis. Clearly the king wished to be regarded as the human embodiment of Zeus Oromádes, 'the Just God Made Manifest.'

Antiochos' horoscope (fig. 547)\(^1\) shows a lion with the crescent moon beneath his neck and nineteen stars so disposed about him as to correspond closely with the pseudo-Eratosthenes' account of the constellation Leo\(^2\). These stars have eight rays apiece. Distinct from them are three larger stars above the 'lion's back, which are sixteen-rayed and inscribed 'the Fiery Star of Herakles,' 'the Gleaming Star of Apollon,' 'the Brilliant Star of Zeus.' The whole slab, therefore, indicates a conjunction of the planets Mars, Mercury, and Jupiter in the sign of the Lion. Now apart from Kammagene, who on this site probably represents the ancient mountain-mother\(^3\), Zeus, Apollon, and Herakles are the only deities recognised by Antiochos. It is therefore practically certain either that the king's choice of gods was determined by his own horoscope or that the king's horoscope was cast in accordance with his choice of gods. The former hypothesis is at least as likely as the latter. Prof. Tietjen of Berlin had elaborate calculations made by P. Lehmann, which pointed to July 17, 98 B.C., as the day most in accordance with the astronomical data\(^4\). Since the king's birthday was on Audnaios 16, i.e. in December or January, Puchstein concludes that the horoscope was cast for the conception, not for the nativity of Antiochos, whom he takes to have been a seven months' child born at the beginning of the year 97 B.C.\(^5\) U. Wilcken suggests that the horoscope had reference rather to the king's accession on Loios 10, which may well be equated with July 17, 98 B.C.\(^6\)

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3 Supra p. 745 n. 3.
4 Humann—Puchstein op. cit. pp. 331—333. Serious difficulties have, however, been pointed out by A. Bouché-Leclercq L'astrologie grecque Paris 1899 pp. 373. 439 fig. 44 (Reinhach Rep. Reliefs i. 196).
5 Humann—Puchstein op. cit. p. 333 f.
6 U. Wilcken in Pauly—Wissowa Kial. Enc. i. 2487 f.
Zeus as god of the Starry Sky

In any case it is obvious that astrology played no small part in the Commagenian cult of Zeus Oromásades.

(b) Zeus as god of the Starry Sky.

Zeus is occasionally, but not often, brought into connexion with the stars in ancient literature and art. He is more than once conceived by Euripides as dwelling in the starry sky. The Satyrs associate him with the stars and Orion. Menoikeus swears 'by Zeus and all his stars—a phrase that impressed Plutarch. Kreousa's handmaidens sing of the night-procession from Athens to Eleusis on Boedromion 20—

What time the star-eyed sky of Zeus himself Joins in the dance.

Achaios went one step further, perhaps we should say one step further back, and spoke of 'Zeus the starry-eyed.' Finally, Nonnus tells how Zeus stooped from heaven to earth for the sake of Semele:

Then Zeus of the air quitted his starry home
For Semele's side.

But it will be observed that these are all poetic fancies with little or no support in actual cult.

When Propertius describes the temple of Zeus at Olympia as 'imitating the sky,' he is in all probability alluding to a coffered ceiling with gilt stars on a blue ground—a device common to

1 Eur. Cyc. 211 ff. (iurpa p. 6 n. 4).
3 Plout. de aud. post. 6.
4 Eur. Ion 1078 ff. (iurpa p. 65 n. 4).
5 Achaioi Aenaros frag. 2 Nauck (iurpa p. 65 n. 3).
6 Nonn. Dion. 7. 312 f. ἄστρων τῶν ἄστρων πάντα τινὰ μικρὸν θέον ἔθελεν ἄστρων ζεῖν | eis Σεμελην οὐκέτως, cp. 7. 359 τί πλων ἄστρων ἄστρω κάτω μετ’ αὐθαίρετο καὶ τόρον ἄστρων ;
7 Prop. 3. 3. 18 nec Iovis Elei caelum imitata domus.
8 Cep. Manili. 2. 288 f. sculptum faciet sanctis laquearia templis | condentemque novum caelum per tegta Tonantis (with l. 532 f.), Stat. silv. 4. 2. 30 f. (on Domitian's palace) fessis vix culmina prendas | visibus auratique putes laquearia caeli, Mart. cp. 7. 56. 1 f. astra polumque pia cepisti mente, Rabirii (Domitian's architect), | Parrhasiam mira qui struis arte domum. | Phidiasco si digna Iovi dare templam parabit, | has petat a nostro Pisa Tonante mansus.

With regard to the inner ceiling in the temple of Zeus at Olympia W. Dörpfeld in

Olympia ii. 11 writes: 'Wie die aus Holz bestehende Decke im Einzelnen gebildet war,' lässt sich nicht bestimmen; in den Ergänzungen [pls. 11, 2, 11] sind deshalb einfache Balken und eine glatte Vereschlung angenommen.'

9 H. Thedearl in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 923. A. Marquand Greek Architecture New York 1909 p. 236 ('The recessed cofferings were ornamented in various
Greek with Egyptian art. If so, we may suppose that the decoration of the roof was deliberately chosen to mark the celestial character of the god.

A notable coin-type of imperial date shows Zeus as cosmic lord surrounded by the signs of the zodiac. Several varieties of the type are found. Thus a magnificent copper coin of Nikaia in Bithynia, struck by Antoninus Pius and now in the Paris cabinet, has (fig. 551) Zeus enthroned with sceptre and thunderbolt between the chariots of the Sun and of the Moon; at his feet on either side are two reclining figures, Gaia with corn-ears and a horn of plenty, Thalassa with a stern-ornament and a rudder: round the whole is the zodiac, its twelve signs all clearly expressed. Even more ambitious is a copper coin of Perinthos in Thrace, struck by Severus Alexander and now in the British Museum (fig. 552). Within a dotted circle sits Zeus with sceptre, phiále, and eagle. In the field above him Helios drives a team of four horses, Selene a team of two bulls, the former accompanied by the crescent of the latter, the latter by the star of the former. Beneath Zeus are Gaia ways. The Theseion affords a simple example. The soffits of the coffers each present a single star, painted probably in gold against a blue ground, and hence called ὀβαρός, or ἀραβίκος. The Parthenon and the Propylaia show doubly recessed coffers....Some of the plates of coffering from the Propylaia still show stars, etc.), A. H. Smith in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture ii. 84 (‘When found the lower side of the lacunar stone [of the Mausoleum] was painted bright blue.’ Cp. Durm Baukunst d. Gr. p. 330 fig. 316). The coffering of the Erechtheion is restored in gold and colours by Durm ibid. p. 251 pl. opposite p. 252 (ibid. p. 341 pl. opposite p. 316 worse).

1 See J. Pennethorne The Geometry and Optics of Ancient Architecture London and Edinburgh 1878 p. 173 pl. 5 pl. 3 (a comparative series of Egyptian tombceilings from Thebes and of Greek temple-ceilings from the ‘Theseum’ and Erechtheion, fully coloured and gilded).


and Thalassa recumbent: Gaia holds a cornu copiae; Thalassa wears a head-dress of crab’s-claws and is equipped with a rudder and a prow. The whole design is enclosed by the zodiac, as before. An autonomous bronze coin of Sardeis, described by Eckhel, had Zeus with Nike in his hand enthroned amid the signs of the zodiac. An imperial coin of Tios or Tion in Bithynia, mentioned by B. V. Head, again shows Zeus with the zodiac. On a bronze coin of Amastris in Paphlagonia, struck by Iulia Maesa, Zeus and Hera, both holding sceptres, stand facing each other within the same border (fig. 553).

Two bronze coins of Alexandreia, struck by Antoninus Pius in 145 A.D., play further variations on the same theme: one of them duplicates the zodiacal belt and places in the centre jugate busts of Sarapis wearing his kīlāthos and Isis wearing her disk and horns; the other substitutes for the inner zodiac a circular band adorned with busts of Kronos, Helios, Selene, Ares, Hermes, Zeus, Aphrodite—the deities representing the days of the week—and gives as the central figure Sarapis wearing his kīlāthos. It will be observed that all the coins on

2 Head Hist. num. 3 p. 518. Cp. Steph. Byz. 1. v. Τιόν...Δημοσθένης δὲ ε' εν Βαθυαίοις (the fragment should be added to the Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 384 f. Müller) φοιε κεισθήν τής πόλεως γενισταί Πάτρων (Arrian. frag. 37 [Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 593 Müller] cf. Eustath. in Dionys. per. 322), ἐκτὸς Παφλαγωνίας, καὶ ε' τοῦ τιμίου τῶν Δια Τιόν προσαγορεύουσαν. The great cult of the place, to judge from its coin-types, was that of Zeus Σωργάστερι or Σωργαστίοι (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus, etc. p. 203 ff. pl. 36, 5 and 10, Rasche Lex. Num. ix. 1367 ff., Imhoof-Blumer Gr. Münzen p. 64 f., Head Hist. num. 3 p. 518). The meaning of the title is unknown (see Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. viii. 1502 b—c and M. Schmidt on Hesych. Σωργάστεριν αὐνορθόδως καὶ αὐομα βαρβαρόκα). But the cult appears to have travelled westwards; for at Addisera near Philippopolis a certain Thracian proved his gratitude to a god called Σωργάστης (Arch.-ep. Mith. 1895 xviii. 112 Ἀγαθὴ τέχνης τετρα Σωργάστης ἐπιγραφάρι Κύπριος Ρωμηστέως εὐχαριστήριοι cited by Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4078), and at Resanzo on the Lacus Benacus a Greek paid a vow to Sargasteus and Patrus, i.e. to the chief deity and the founder of Tios (Corp. inscr. Lat. v no. 4206=Orelli—Henzen Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 5915=Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4078 dis paternis | Sargasteo | magnos | Patro | Q. M. Tryphon | v. s. l. m.).
4 See G. Dattari in the Rivista Italiana di Numismatica 1901 xiv. 157—183.
which Zeus is ringed with the zodiac belong to the period 138—235 A.D. and to towns that fall within, or border on, the north-west corner of Asia Minor. Hence we may ascribe them to the far-reaching influence of Mithraism, which constantly employed the zodiac as the framework of its ritual reliefs. Oromasdes, as F. Cumont points out, travelled in connexion with the Mithraic mysteries from east to west, and is seen on Mithraic monuments as a Roman Jupiter with thunderbolt, sceptre, and eagle. Not improbable the coins in question intercept his progress and give us a glimpse of him as a Greek Zeus. After all, Zeus, Jupiter, and Oromasdes were essentially kindred figures, whose art-types were readily blended.

(c) Zeus in Astronomy and Astrology.

Astrology has been defined by A. Bouché-Leclercq as a method of divination using astronomy as its means. Accepting this definition, we may agree with E. Riess that the Greeks were first definitely influenced by Babylonian and Egyptian astrology towards the end of the fourth century B.C., though O. Gruppe has rightly insisted that astrological notions of a sort are to be found in Greece long before the age of Alexander the Great—astro-meteorology already bulbs big in Hesiod, and even astrology in the strict sense of the term is presupposed by Greek mystic teaching of the sixth century B.C. and by sundry passages of Herakleitos, Euripides, and Herodotos.

In the course of the third and following centuries B.C. the Greeks partly borrowed and partly developed a very complete series of constellations. Each of these had its own myth or myths and was, more often than not, said to have been placed in the sky by Zeus. Thus the Katasterismoi ascribed to Eratosthenes of Alexandreia (c. 275—195 B.C.) enumerates some thirty-three


F. Cumont in the Festschrift für Otto Benndorf Wien 1898 p. 294 n. 5 cites for 'Jupiter—Caelus' a gem representing Jupiter with a sceptre seated to the right on an eagle, his head surrounded by a large nimbus, or [more probably an overarching] mantle, within which are seven stars (C. Lenormant Nouvelle galerie mythologique (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 86 no. 14 pl. 13).

3 A. Bouché-Leclercq L'astrologie grecque Paris 1899 p. 70.

4 E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1810.

constellations as the work of particular Greek deities: of this number Poseidon made one\(^1\), Apollon\(^2\) Artemis\(^3\) Dionysos\(^4\) and Hermes\(^5\) two apiece, Hera two\(^6\) and the Milky Way\(^7\), Athena four\(^8\); but no less than seventeen are said to have been created by Zeus\(^9\), who was further intimately connected with the myths of at least seven others\(^10\).

If it be asked why Zeus rather than any other deity arranged the constellations, we must again take into account oriental leading-Babylonian astrology assigned the several planets to different divinities thus\(^11\):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Planet</th>
<th>Divinity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jupiter</td>
<td>Marduk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venus</td>
<td>Ištar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercury</td>
<td>Nabu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturn</td>
<td>Ninib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mars</td>
<td>Nergal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Greeks of the fourth century followed suit and exchanged their old descriptive names of the planets for those of various gods corresponding more or less closely with the Babylonian series.

1. Delphin.
2. Sagitta, Hydra with its Corvus and Crater.
3. Ursa Minor (pseudo-Eratosthen. catast. 2), Equos (id. ib. 18, but Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 18 refers it to Jupiter).
5. Deltoton, Lepus.
6. Serpens (pseudo-Eratosth. catast. 3, but Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 3 refers it also to Minerva), Cancer. Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 16 refers Aquila (= the Canaan king Merops) to Iuno.
7. Supra p. 624.
9. Ursa Major, Engonaisin, Ophiuchus, Scorpius, Arctophylax or Bootes, Gemini, Leo, Heniochus or Auriga, Capra, Taurus, Lyra (pseudo-Eratosth. catast. 34, but Hyg. poet. astr. 3. 7 says a Musis), Cygnus or Olor, Capricornus, Sagittarius, Orion (pseudo-Eratosth. catast. 32, but Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 34 refers to Diana), Canis, Centaurus.
10. Ursa Minor (= Phoinike, a companion of Artemis loved by Zeus; or Kynosoura, an Idaean nymph, nurse of Zeus; or Helike, a Cretan nurse of Zeus). Virgo (= Diike, daughter of Zeus and Themis; or Demeter, or Isis, or Atargatis, or Tyche), Delton (= Δ the initial of Δίος), Pleiades (of whom Elektra, Maia, and Taygete were loved by Zeus: according to Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 21, Jupiter placed them all among the stars), Aquarius (= Gamomedes, the cup-bearer of Zeus), Aquila (the sacred bird of Zeus: according to Aglaosthenes Naxica frag. 2 (supra p. 164 n. 4), Zeus placed it among the stars), Ara (the altar at which the gods took their oath, when Zeus attacked Kronos).

The earlier Babylonian order is Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Mercury, Mars: the later (c. 400 b.c.) is Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Saturn, Mars (Kugler op. cit. i. 13).
Aristotle in his work *On the Universe* draws up a list, which gives both the earlier and the later names arranged in the Greek order¹:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Planet</th>
<th>Earlier name</th>
<th>Later name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saturn</td>
<td>Phainon (the ‘Shining’).</td>
<td>Kronos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iupiter</td>
<td>Phælthon (the ‘Brilliant’).</td>
<td>Zeus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mars</td>
<td>Pyrōtis (the ‘Fiery’).</td>
<td>Herakles or Ares.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercury</td>
<td>Stilbon (the ‘Gleaming’).</td>
<td>Hermes or Apollon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venus</td>
<td>Phosphoros (the ‘Light-bringer’).</td>
<td>Aphrodite or Hera.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Babylonians assigned Iupiter to their chief deity Marduk, not because Iupiter appeared to them as the largest of the planets² (that would rather have been Saturn), but because his bright golden disk shone so steadily and was visible for so long in the sky³. The fifth tablet of the creation-epic represents Marduk, under the name of Nibiru, as exercising a control over all the stars and especially as ordering the constellations:

‘He established the stations for the great gods.
The stars, their likeness, he set up as constellations⁴.’

Further, Marduk as the paramount god of the Babylonian pantheon had taken over from Enil of Nippur the title *Bêl* or ‘Lord’; hence the Greeks, equating him with their own supreme deity, spoke of him as Zeus *Bêlos⁵*. And the Romans attributed the

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¹ Aristot. *De Mundo* 2. 392 a 23 ff.
² M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 459.
³ M. Jastrow *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyrians* Giessen 1912 ii. 1. 444 after Kugler op. cit. i. 8 and 14.
⁴ M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 pp. 434-459.
invention of astrology to Jupiter Belus\(^1\). Late writers found it easy to drop the cult-title and to credit the Greek Zeus or the Roman Jupiter rather than their oriental counterpart with the ordering of the universe. Aristeides the rhetorician (117—c.180 A.D.) describes the courses of moon and stars as the ‘arrangement of Zeus\(^2\)’. And Martianus Capella (c. 400 A.D.) puts into the mouth of Harmonia the following hymn addressed to Jupiter as ruler of the starry sky\(^3\):

Thee, Jupiter, in my star-sounding song,
Thee first I name and worship. For through thee
The sacred revolution of the sky
Is wont to wheel again in order due
The jewelled constellations. Thou Almighty,
Beneath thy sceptred diadem dost bind
And sway thy kingdom, Sire of every god,
While the great universe rolls on, rolls ever,
Thanks to the mind fed by thy starry force.
As sparks on tinder that will burst asflame,
The scattered stars declare thy handiwork.
Phoebus proclaims thee, while with task divine
His rays renew the purple dawn for men
And give their glory to the ambrosial day.
Cynthia, queen of night, month after month
Waxes with horns of gold. Beneath thine eye
Through fires that light the Wain the Serpent shines
And drives apart the Bears of Arcady.
So the hard Earth soft-wrapped in circling Air
Rests on its axis, and by either pole
Rules and is ruled; so Nereus knows the bounds
Of ocean, so for food laps upper Fire,
That all things thrive with no discordant strife
And, parted, love the everlasting league,
Fearing the chaos that might break their peace.
Thou, King of Heaven, thou, Father, Best of all,
Who in thy love dost clasp the stars together,
And to thy children givest perpetual life,
All hail—my lute uplifts its lay to thee
For whom full-sounding songs sound yet again.


\(^2\) Aristeid. \textit{or.} 1. 7 (i. 9 Dingolf) καὶ ἡ ἥλιος τε ἄπαντος κόσμου ὑπὲρ γῆς τε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔδαφος ἐστὶ πρὸ φόρμας ἡλιαὶ προειρημένη ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου φανότητος, καὶ σελήνης ὁμοία καὶ χορείαν πάνω ἄστρων Διήκετε διάκοσμος.

\(^3\) Mart. Cap. 911 f.
Centuries later Ioannes Tzetzes speaks of ‘Zeus the astrologer-king’¹ or even of ‘Zeus the star-gazer’², assuming in his Euhemeristic way that the sky-god must have been not only a king³ but also a diviner of repute. It is curious to reflect that, just as Zeus at his first beginning appeared in the guise of a human magician⁴, so Zeus at his latter end relapsed to the level of a human astrologer. Old age for him, as for us, meant second infancy.

For astrological purposes the planets were classified as good (Jupiter, Venus) or bad (Saturn, Mars) or both (Mercury). We hear also of stars that are diurnal (the Sun, Saturn, Jupiter) or nocturnal (the Moon, Mars, Venus) or both (Mercury). There was a distinction, too, between stars that are masculine (the Sun, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars) or feminine (the Moon, Venus) or both (Mercury). But these and other such subtleties—though for long ages they were regarded as matters of moment by a public that believed in horoscopes, and though in some cases they have left a permanent trace upon the language of modern almanacs—we need pursue no further. They belong to the history of sidereal divination in general rather than to that of a particular divinity⁵. I shall therefore content myself with quoting Bouché-Leclercq’s summary⁶ of

¹ Tzetzes, chil. 2. 159 (Herakles the reputed son of Amphitryon) τῷ δ’ ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ Δίων ἀνακτος, ἀστρολόγον (cf. ib. 168 ὁ μάγος βασιλεὺς ἑκεῖνος ἀστρολόγοις), 2. 696 ff. τοῦ Πολυδεκάδου’ ὁ τὰτηρ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἀστρολόγος | τοις ἄστροις κατηγόρεα τοῖς παιδίς τιθηνότας | καὶ τοῖς Διὸνων κλέονες Κάστωρα, Πολυδεκάδη, alleg. II. 18. 169 f. ἂν ἀστρολόγος τῷ Δίῳ ἐκείνῳ στεφαφόρος | ἣν καὶ Ὀρφέου τοῦ μέμνηται, 18. 179. Διὸ τῷ ἀστρολόγῳ ἐς καὶ βασιλεῖ μοι φίλου, 18. 400 f. οὐδ’ Ἱσραήλ ὁ φίλος γὰρ Διὸ τῷ ἀστρολόγῳ | ἢ τῷ ἔλεος τῶν Δίων ἣν καὶ τῷ οἴρανθ ς | ἡγακία ἐν ἱερατικὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ γὰρ Ἱσραήλ ἑτέλει | καὶ οὐρανίῳ δὲ φίλος ἦν ὡς ἀστρολόγοι αὐτοὶ | τὴν κυρία καὶ τὸν κάναν ἐξιδρώνῳ τῇ τέχνῃ, 19. 66 (Herakles the reputed son of Amphitryon) ἢγγιζ Δίων δὲ ἀνακτος ἰδίοι καὶ ἀστρολόγον, 19. 62 ὁ Ζεὺς ἑκεῖνος βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας ἀστρολόγος, alleg. Od. 11. 140 f. Ζυγός...βασιλεύωσι, καὶ ἀστρολόγον μάκτως, μάγον σοφοῦ τοῖς παισι (cited by Bruchmann Epith. deor. p. 126).


³ See the Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 509 and Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 303 f.

⁴ Supra pp. 11—14.

⁵ E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1802 ff.


the powers ascribed by astrologers to the planet \( \gamma \), i.e. the Greek Phaëthon or Zeus, the Roman Jupiter:

'The brilliant planet that bears the name of Jupiter has received from astrologers as many praises—and the same—as Zeus himself, “father of gods and men,” received from his worshippers. Jupiter is a star naturally benevolent and beneficent, a pleasant contrast to the Babylonian Marduk. If his influence alone were dominant, earth would be a paradise: Firmicus holds that men would be actually immortal.\(^2\) Ptolemy expresses this psychological character in physical terms: he emphasises the essentially temperate nature of the planet, which is at once hot and moist, the former to a greater degree than the latter, and so constitutes a just mean between the frosts of Saturn and the fires of Mars. Moreover, he attributes to Jupiter the peculiar characteristic of arousing “winds that fertilise.” Whence came these vapours and moist blasts? Ptolemy does not explain; probably he did not know. It may be that Jupiter inherited these attributes from Marduk. In the fourth tablet of the Chaldean cosmogony we read how Marduk, when he went to fight with Tiamat, let loose a fearful tempest, “the four winds, the seven winds that he engenders.” Further on Marduk is called “the god of the good wind.” As god of the atmosphere, of rain and storm, the Graeco-Latin Jupiter would be readily assimilated to such a deity.\(^3\) In the winds “that fertilise” we have the isolated relic of a once wide-spread superstition. We shall see later that the astrologers attributed to the three superior planets and to Venus an orientation of their own corresponding with the four cardinal points. The north devolved upon Jupiter. And it was the north wind, Boreas, which was credited with such procreative virtue that female animals sometimes found themselves spontaneously impregnated by it.\(^4\)

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1 This symbol is usually explained as the first letter of the name Zeus, or (with more probability) as a form of thunderbolt (id. ib. p. six).

2 Firmic. ii, 13, 6 Kroll. Jupiter is a solar divinity, the Egyptian Óσιφός άστήρ ACh. Tat., Iturg. 17). Astrologers assign Cancer as his θώσια, Capricornus as his ταύσια, an arrangement which would suit the Sun (see, below, ch. vii).

3 Διὰ τὸ μέλλον εἶναι θερμοκρασίαν, γονίμων πνευμάτων γενεί τοὺς παντακότας (Ptol., Tetrab. i, 4). Heat was supposed to produce by way of reaction the northern or eutesian winds, which blew after the dog-days. At the time when he wrote his Θεος (ap. Wachsmuth pp. 199—216 ed. 2), and was not as yet an astrologer, Ptolemy attributed heat to Venus, moisture to Jupiter, and moist winds to Mercury (ibid. p. 209). He changed his labels.


5 The astrological Jupiter is γαλάκτων ὑδάτων χορηγός (Anon., In Tetrab., p. 70) and lodges in Pisces.

6 Boreas impregnating mares (Hom. Hid., xx, 233 fl.); Zephyr fertilising Lusitanian mares—a thing reported as vex incredibili, sed vera by Varro (R. rust., ii, 19). Pliny [nat. hist. 8. 166] and Columella [de re rust. 6. 27]; the alleged non-existence of male vultures, the females being regularly fecundated ἐκ τοῦ πτερόπατος (Euseb., Pr. Ev., iii, 13, 3) [see further the references collected by Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 442 n. 3 and E. S. Hartland Primitive Paternity London 1909 pp. 22 fl., 35, 149 fl.]; all these claimed to be facts so well-attested that Lactantius, with a shocking lack of taste, used them as an argument to explain the Incarnation of Jesus Christ: Quodsi animalia quaedam vento et aura concepero scilicet omnibus notum est, cur quiquam mirum putet cum Spiritu Dei, cui facile est quidquid velit, gravitatem esse virginem dicimus? (Lactant. Inst. Div., iv, 12). According to Proclus (in Anal. Sacr., v, 4, p. 176 Pitra), Boreas produced males, Notus...
However that may be, Ptolemy assigns to Jupiter the epithet that best defines his kind of influence by describing it as "temperate" (ἐκκρατον ἔχει τὸ ποιητικὸν τῆς δυνάμεως).¹

(d) Zeus transformed into a Star.

A tradition fathered upon Clement of Rome² and cited also by Tzetzes³ says that Zeus transformed himself into a star, when he begot Kastor and Polydeukes. We are reminded of the passage in the *Iliad*, which tells how Zeus sent Athena like a meteorite from heaven to earth:

And even as crook-witted Kronos' son
Sendeth a star—a sign to mariners
Or some broad host of men—a brilliant star,
Wherefrom springs many a spark, like unto that
Pallas Athene darted down to earth.⁴

This may be no more than a simile. But in the *Hymn to the Pythian Apollon* we have a case of actual metamorphosis. Apollon, having reached Krisa on board a vessel manned by Cretans from Knossos, leapt ashore—

Like to a star at midday, and therefrom
Flew many a spark, and lo the light reached heaven.⁵

It is, then, possible that the tradition with regard to Zeus was not merely a late invention. Nevertheless it is reasonable to suppose, with O. Gruppe⁶, that it was motivated by the frequent association of the Dioskouroi with stars.

(e) The Dioskouroi as Stars.

On the original significance of the Dioskouroi this is not the place to dilate.⁷ My concern is merely with their epiphany as stars.

females. See, below (ch. vii), Jupiter’s “winds that fertilise” invoked to fix his ὑφάκια in Cancer.

¹ This is the traditional refrain: *Sub Jove temperies et nunquam turbidus aer* (Lucan., *Phars.,* x. 207). The meteorological influence of Jupiter tempering the cold in winter, the heat in summer—*rabidos et temperat actius* (German., *Arat. Progn.*, iv. 11). Before the time of Ptolemy Pliny had written of Jupiter’s position between Mars and Saturn *interjectum ambus ex utroque temperari* (Jovem salutaremque faci (Plin., ii, § 34), and Pliny was copying Cicero (above, p. 95, 1 [Cic. de nat. deor. 2. 119, cp. Vitr. 9. 1. 16]). All this seemed reasonable enough, and no further evidence was demanded.

² Clem. Rom. *Hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Νεμέατα τῷ τοῦ Ἡσίου, τῷ καὶ Ὀδυσσείᾳ, κόκκων ἢ χρῶν γενόμενοι (ὑπ. ὁ Ζεὺς) Ἐλένην ἔτεκκόσατο, καὶ ἄθικα, ὡστὶς γενόμενοι, Κάστορα καὶ Πολυδεύκην ἔξωθεν.

³ Tzet. in Lyk. *Al.* 88 <καὶ> ἄλλοι δὲ ταῦτα εἶχαν ἑτοροκότοι ὥστε ὁ Ζεὺς ἄτρητος (ὡστεροι codicum classii) εἰσαθηκεῖς καὶ μεγείς Ὀδύσσεα καὶ Πολυδεύκην γεννήτω ὡστεροι δὲ ὀξυνές, ως ἀκοίμησεν, τῇ Ἐλένῃ.

⁴ II. 4. 75 ff.

⁵ H. Ap. 441 f.


⁷ Neither am I the right man to do so. My learned and brilliant friend Dr J. Kendl
The Dioskouroi as Stars

And here it will be best to quote the available evidence before considering the various interpretations that have been put upon it.

i. The dedication of Stars after the battles of Salamis and Aigos Potamos.

In the battle of Salamis (480 B.C.) the Aeginetans distinguished themselves above the rest of the Greeks for their bravery. The Delphic Apollon therefore demanded of them a special thank-offering for the victory, and they erected at the corner of his temple three golden stars on a bronze mast. H. Pomtow in his plan of the Pythian precinct places the mast with its three stars close to the south-east angle of the temple-platform. Herodotos, our sole informant, says nothing about the Dioskouroi; nor do we know that they were specially worshipped in Aigina. But an analogous incident, which occurred three quarters of a century later, brings them well to the fore. After the battle of Aigos Potamos (405 B.C.) the victorious Spartan general Lysandros set up at Delphoi a magnificent trophy made from the spoils of the vanquished Athenians. It included a great assemblage of bronze statues, which in time became covered with a patina of exquisite blue, and visitors commented on the appropriateness of the colour. Pausanias gives a list of the thirty seven statues, and important remains of the oblong chamber in which they stood, together with their inscribed bases, have been discovered by the French excavators near to the principal entrance of the sanctuary on the right hand side of the Sacred Way. Pausanias' list of the statues in


1 Hdt. 8. 93; see further G. Busolt Griechische Geschichte Gotha 1895 ii. 716 n. 2.
2 Hdt. 8. 122.
4 Plout. de Pyth. or. 2 ἄντων υμαῖων τῆς χρᾶς καὶ βυθίων κτιτών. 5 Paus. 10. 9. 7 ff.
The Dioskouroi as Stars

question is headed by the Dioskouroi: then follow Zeus, Apollon, Artemis, Poseidon, Lysandros crowned by Poseidon, the seer Agias, Hermon the helmsman of Lysandros; behind these is ranked a series of twenty eight captains from various states, who helped Lysandros to win the day. The artists of the statues are duly recorded, the Dioskouroi being the work of Antiphanes the Argive. Plutarch, who knew Delphi well, mentions along with these statues the 'golden stars of the Dioskouroi, which disappeared before the battle of Leuktra.' He further states that, according to some persons, when Lysandros' ship was sailing out of the harbour to attack the Athenians, the Dioskouroi were seen shining as stars on the steering paddles; and that, according to others, the meteor that fell at Aigos Potamos was a sign of this slaughter. H. Pomtow concludes that at Delphi the 'golden stars of the Dioskouroi' were in all probability attached to the heads of the twin-deities. Cicero says that shortly before the fight at Leuktra (371 B.C.) these stars 'fell down and were not found'—an omen, doubtless, of the overthrow of Sparta at the hands of Thebes. Now, in view of the express connexion between the stars dedicated by Lysandros and the appearance of the Dioskouroi on the admiral's vessel, it can hardly be questioned that the stars erected on a mast by the Æginetans were likewise symbolic of help received from the Dioskouroi at the battle of Salamis.


1 Plout. v. Lys. 18.
4 Cic. de div. 1. 75. It is noteworthy that the great inscription recording the accounts of the vassalus at Delphi, mentions among other items of expenditure under the archonship of Peithagoras (342 B.C.) the sum paid to a certain Kephalon 'for the model of the wooden star' (Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 3 no. 140, 111 f. = Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 591, 111 f. = Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial. Inschr. ii. 652 ff. no. 7503, 111 f. τελετος των ἐπιστρέφοντων τυχόντος τόπων, διαμαρτυρία). But this may have been, as É. Bourguet and W. Dittenberger ad loc. suppose, a piece of architectural decoration: cp. supra p. 784 f.
5 My friend Dr W. H. D. Rouse in his Greek Votive Offerings Cambridge 1903 p. 135 n. 1 complains that this hypothesis does not account for the fact that there were
The Dioskouroi as Stars in Hellenic Literature.

Literary allusions fully bear out this conception of the Dioskouroi as helpful deities, whose signs bring relief to the storm-tossed mariner. The Homeric Hymn to the Dioskouroi, which Mr E. E. Sikes dates ‘at least as early as the fourth or third century B.C.,’ gives a fine description of a storm at sea—

when the winds of winter
Hurry across the rough deep, and on ship-board
Men cry aloud to the sons of mighty Zeus
With white lambs, climbing up the after-deck,
Which the great wind and wave of the sea plunge deep
Into the brine, till on a sudden they come,
Darting on brown wings through the upper air,
And straightway stay the blasts of labouring winds
And lay the white surf smooth upon the main—
Fair signs of trouble over: those that see them
Rejoice at heart and cease from sorry toil.

The Dioskouroi here, quite exceptionally, appear as birds, or at least as brown-winged forms. On Etruscan mirrors also they are occasionally winged. To Euripides they were star-like deities, dwelling among the stars, and hastening thence to the rescue of the voyager. In the Helene (412 B.C.) Teukros says of them:

In fashion made as stars men name them Gods.

And a chorus of Greek maidens in the same play invokes their blessing upon Helene’s home-coming:

And ye, in your chariot o’er highways of sky
O haste from the far land
Where, Tyndareus’ scions, your homes are on high
Mid the flashings of starland:

three stars, nor yet for their erection on a mast. But the third star may have been Apollon (infra p. 760) or, more probably, Helene (infra pp. 764, 769); and the mast is obviously appropriate to a memorial of a sea-fight, especially if the Dioskouroi and Helene were believed to appear as stars on the mast of the ship (infra p. 771 ff.).

1 For a full collection of passages see K. Jaissle Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See bei Griechen und Römern und ihr Fortleben in christlichen Legenden Tübingen 1907 pp. 1—73, reviewed by R. Wünsch in the Archiv f. Rel. 1911 xiv. 554.

2 H. Dion. 7 ff. The passage is imitated by Theokr. 22. 8 ff.

3 I follow the emendation of Prof. J. B. Bury, who corrects πᾶταις σήματα καλά πάνω σφαῖραν: οἱ δὲ θύσαις into σήματα καλά πάνω αὐτοποίησαι: οἱ δὲ θύσαις (Class. Rev. 1899 xiii. 183).

4 On the contention of S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1901 ii. 35—50 = id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions Paris 1906 ii. 42—57 that ‘les Dioscures, comme Apollon et Kyknos, sont des hommes-cygnes’ (sons of Zeus transformed into a swan and Leda, i.e. the Phrygian Leda, ‘a woman’; born from an egg; later conceived as λευκότερα with egg-shell φίλατε; etc.) see Gruppe Myth. Lit. 1908 p. 480. J. Rendel Harris Boanerges Cambridge 1913 p. 77 ff. would connect the Twins with a variety of ‘thunder-birds.’

5 E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa Recl.-Enc. v. 1109.

The Dioskouroi as Stars

Ye who dwell in the halls of the Heavenly Home,
Be nigh her, safe guiding
Helen where seas heave, surges comb,
As o'er waves green-glimmering, crested with foam,
Her galley is riding. 1

Similarly in Euripides’ Elektra (413 B.C.) the women of Argos salute Klytaimestra as follows:

Hail, Queen of the Argive land!
All hail, O Tyndareus’ daughter!
Hail, sister of Zeus’ sons, heroes twain
In the glittering heavens mid stars who stand,
And their proud right this, to deliver from bane
Men tossed on the storm-vext water. 2

In the Orestes (408 B.C.) Helene shares their prerogative:

For, as Zeus’ daughter, deathless must she live,
And shall by Kastor and Polydeuces sit
In folds of air, the mariners’ saviour she. 3

iii. The Dioskouroi with Stars in Hellenistic Art.

The art-type of the Dioskouroi, with their heads surmounted by a couple of stars, though common enough in Hellenistic times (fig. 554) 4, especially on coins (fig. 555) 5, has not as yet been discovered on monuments of the strictly Hellenic period 6. Diodoros, who drew his information from the Argonautica or Argonautai of

4 Fig. 554 a, b representing a pair of bronze statuettes (heights 5½ and 5½ inches) at Arolsen (R. Gaedechens Die Antiken des Fürstlich Waldeckischen Museums zu Arolsen Arolsen 1862 nos. 173, 174) is drawn from casts in the Cambridge collection. The lowered hands hold sheathed swords; the raised arms doubtless unaid upon lances. The right foot of fig. 554 b is restored. For variations on the same theme see e.g. Reinach Rép. Stat. i. 487 no. 2, ii. 109 nos. 3, 6, 7, 10, iv. 39 no. 5, id. Rép. Récl. ii. 344 no. 1, iii. 248 no. 5. Cp. supra p. 35 fig. 8.
5 The type dates from the third century B.C. (A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1176 f.). I figure by way of example a silver coin of the Brutii after Garrucci Mon. It. ant. p. 183 pl. 134, 17.
6 A. Furtwängler loc. cit. i. 1171 f. This makes it doubtful whether we can admit H. Pomtow’s surmise that the statues of the Dioskouroi at Delphi by Antiphanes of Argos (soon after 405 B.C.) had stars on their heads (supra p. 762).
7 Polyain. 2. 31. 4 states that Aristomenes the Messenian and a friend once tricked the Lacedaemonians by appearing suddenly in the guise of the Dioskouroi, mounted on white horses and wearing golden stars on their heads (cp. i. 41. 1, 6. 1. 3, Frontoit. strat. i. 11, 8, 9, cited by K. Jaile op. cit. p. 16 n. 6). But little confidence can be placed in the historical accuracy of this trick, and none in its details.
Dionysios Skytobrachion (s. ii B.C.)\(^1\), relates that, when the Argonauts were overtaken by a terrible storm, Orpheus prayed to the gods of Samothrace, that straightway the wind ceased, and that, to the amazement of all, two stars fell upon the heads of the Dioskouroi; wherefore storm-tossed mariners ever afterwards prayed to the gods of Samothrace and interpreted the presence of the

\[\text{Fig. 554.}\]

\[\text{Fig. 555.}\]

\(^1\) E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc.} v. 929.
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stars as an epiphany of the Dioskouroi. This late tale with its confusion of the Samothracian Kabeiroi and the Dioskouroi need not detain us. It may be pure invention on the part of Dionysios, whose credit was none of the best. But in any case the conception of the Dioskouroi with stars hovering over their heads was a natural development from the earlier conception of the Dioskouroi as stars themselves: the progress of anthropomorphism, everywhere dominant in Greek religion, could have led to no other issue.

In passing I would draw attention to a little-noticed series of Etruscan mirrors (s. iii—ii B.C.), on which the Dioskouroi are associated with a star or stars. The simplest variety of the type (fig. 556) shows them as two youths facing one another with a star between them. Each is clad in Phrygian cap, short chiton, and belt, has one arm only visible and that resting on his hip, and stands beside his shield, which is grounded. Their attitude of arrested motion suggests an original group by Polykleitos or some other sculptor of the Argive school. Further examples unite the twins by means of one? (fig. 557), two (fig. 558), or three (fig. 559) cross-bars, sometimes omitting star or shields or both. These designs recall the dōkana or 'beams' of the Dioskouroi as described by Plutarch and figured on Spartan reliefs. And, whatever may

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1 Diol. 4. 43, ep. 48.
3 E. Schwartz ib. v. 919.
4 The older notion lingerers in Kallim. lavacr. Pall. 24 f. οία παρ' Εὔφωρον τοις Λακεδαιμόνισι | ἄντρεσ, Hor. Od. i. 3. 2 sic fratres Heleneae, lucida sidera, Loukian. naviq. 9 καὶ τίνων λαμπρόν ἄντρα, Διοσκόρων τῶν ἔτερων, ἐσκεφθάσα τῶν καρχηδῶν κ.τ.λ.
5 Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iii. 33 f. pl. 45, 4 (Berlin).
6 Id. ib. iii. 35 f. pl. 46, 2 (Bologna, two specimens). Gerhard supposes that the connexion here consists of two bars touching each other.
7 Id. ib. iii. 35 f. pl. 46, 3 (from the Thorwaldsen collection).
8 Id. ib. iii. 35 f. pl. 46, 6 (Berlin).
9 Plout. de frat. amī. 1 τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν Διοσκόρων ἀφαδρόματα οἱ Σταρτίαται δόκανα καλότεθεν· ἔτι δὲ διὸ ἔξω παραλέγη διοὶ πλαγιοὶ ἐπεζευγμένα, καὶ δοκεῖ τῷ φιλαθλήτης τῶν θεῶν οἴκεον εἶναι τοῦ ἀναθηματος τὸ καυνόν καὶ ἀδιαρέτου, ep. Eustath. in II. p. 1125, 59 ff. παράγωγον δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν παλαίων δόκανα, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ Πλούταρχον (Favorin. lex. p. 524, f. 1.) ἦσαν δὲ αὐτὰ Διοσκόρων ἀφαδρόματα, ὥστε καὶ σταυρωμένα καὶ ἐκφάραξι, et. mag. p. 282, 5 ff. (copied by Zonar. lex. ex. δόκανα, interp. Souid. s.v. δόκανα, and Favorin. lex. p. 523, 23 f.) δόκανα τάφοι τίνος ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ, παρὰ τὸ δέξασθαι τάτ (leg. τοῦ) Τυσίαμας, φασί ταυταὶ ἔχουσα (leg. ἑκάστε) τάφον ἀφαδρόματον, ἡ παρὰ τὸ δοκεῖ, δόκανον. The curious statement that the δόκανα looked like opened tombs perhaps refers to the juxtaposed amphorae of the Dioskouroi, which sometimes have snakes coiled about them and might suggest graves of the 'Dipylon' type.
For gems possibly representing the δόκανα see (1) Furtwängler Gesch. Stein
be the ultimate explanation of the dökana, it seems probable that we have here a humanised form of them in which the side-posts

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Berlin p. 30 no. 305 pl. 6 = id. Ant. Gemmen i pl. 13, 29, ii. 64 a chalcedony scaraboid from Melos showing two pillars linked together—good work of s. v B.C.; (2) id. Gesch. Steine Berlin p. 236 no. 6454 pl. 45 a black stone showing two Egyptising pillars connected by a loop; (3) id. ib. p. 243 no. 6617 pl. 47 a striped sardonyx showing two pillars, each surmounted by a radiate globe with a star above it and equipped with a lance and a sword; between them is a tripod (?) with a crescent moon above it. This gem is published on a scale of 1/2 by its former owner E. Gerhard Über das Metron zu Athen etc. Berlin 1851 (extr. from the Abb. d. berl. Akad. 1849 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 459 ff.) p. 32 no. 7 pl. 2.

1 As an object of religious significance this structure of two side-posts with a connecting bar or (for stability's sake) two connecting bars, themselves sometimes connected by
have become anthropomorphic\(^1\), the connecting bar or bars being retained and perhaps accepted in lieu of the missing arms.

Another variety complicates the scene by adding a central pillar. This pillar tapers upwards (fig. 560)\(^2\) or downwards (fig. 561)\(^3\), or takes the shape of a lotus-column (fig. 562)\(^4\) or even of a tree topped by a bird? (fig. 563)\(^5\). The heads of the heroes may be connected by a regular pediment (figs. 561, 563); and the star between them may be accompanied by two other stars (fig. 563).

several vertical ties, is found over a wide area from west to east.\(^6\) It is akin to some forms of the gateway which in the wall-paintings of Pompeii turns a tree into a temple (e.g. Boetticher Baumkultus pp. 155 f., 541, 543, figs. 36, 56, 58, 59, etc.; cp. Schnader Realex., pp. 855—863), to the tigillum soroium at Rome (H. Jordan—C. Hilsen Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum Berlin 1907 i. 3, 312 n. 2, O. Richter Topographie der Stadt Rom München 1901 p. 311), and to the ingram under which conquered troops were made to pass (Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 369). It resembles, as Miss Harrison has observed (M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum Oxford 1966 p. 193 n. 1), the façade of the temple of the Paphian Aphrodite on coins of Kypros etc. (E. A. Gardner in the Journ. Hill. Stud. 1888 ix. 210—215, G. F. Hill in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Cyprus p. cxxviii). Further, it is very like a Buddhist tomb at Bangkok (J. Fergusson Rude Stone Monuments London 1872 p. 413 f. fig. 177) and the carved torii or portal of many an Indian tope (J. Fergusson History of Indian and Eastern Architecture rev. by J. Burgess and R. Phené Spiers London 1910 i. 67 ff. figs. 12 and 38). Closer still is its analogy to the p'ai-lou or memorial gateways of China (id. ib. i. 118 f., ii. 456, 472 ff. figs. 501, 502, 503) and the countless torii of Japan (R. A. Cram Impressions of Japanese Architecture London 1906 pp. 88, 109 f. pl. 18, F. Hadland Davis Myths & Legends of Japan London 1912 p. 215 ff.). The possible connexion of these types is a theme deserving of serious investigation, but not one to be undertaken in a footnote.

My friend Prof. H. A. Giles has most kindly supplied me with a note (Sept. 16, 1913) on the p'ai-lou, which may at least serve as a suggestive contribution to the subject:

\(^1\) Pai-fang and Pai-lou are popular names for the honorific gates put up by the Chinese in honour of chaste wives, filial children, and others. The former is simple in style, consisting of uprights and horizontals; the latter is more ornate, with a roofed turning up at the corners. Neither term is given in the Concordance to Literature (P'ei wen yin fu).

\(^2\) It seems to have been customary, since about B.C. 1000, for the suzerain in feudal times, and for the Emperor in later days, to reward distinguished men and women by the bestowal of some mark of favour, such as a banner, which would be exhibited at the gate of the town or village where the recipient was born. Stone animals are also mentioned; e.g. the horse, lion, and elephant. In every case, it was the local gateway which was embellished, the idea being that the fellow-townsmen of the distinguished person should each share in the honour accorded. I can find no record of the date at which isolated gates were first set up, nor any clue to their meaning or symbolism; but it seems very probable that the modern honorific gate is nothing more than the old village gate which was so long associated with the honour that it came eventually to stand for the honour itself.

\(^3\) Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iii. 35 f. pl. 46, 4 (Gerhard's collection),

\(^4\) Id. ib. iii. 37 ff. pl. 47, 6 (Naples).

\(^5\) Id. ib. iii. 35 f. pl. 46, 9 (London).

\(^6\) Id. ib. iii. 36 f. pl. 46, 8 (Paris).
Now several Spartan reliefs of the second century B.C. show the Dioskouroi standing on either side of a pillar-like female figure\(^1\), which has been interpreted as an archaic image of Helene\(^2\). It is therefore probable that the pillar on our mirrors too is the aniconic form of the same goddess, whose star is here seen flanked by her brothers.


\(^2\) A. Conze and A. Michaelis *loc. cit.*, A. Furtwängler *loc. cit.*
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The lotus\(^1\) and tree not improbably point to a fertility-cult; and on an isolated mirror (fig. 564)\(^2\) the twins have a thunderbolt\(^3\) (?) between them, and their amphorae are modified into vessels from which a stream of water descends to a lotus-bloom below.

Fig. 564.

Fig. 565.

Finally, another variety of type (fig. 565)\(^4\) treats the whole group with much greater freedom, e.g. introducing Leda's swan, but still retains the side-posts of the dokana in the form of cippi and, grotesquely enough, joins head to head by a decorated architrave.

iv. The Dioskouroi identified with the Heavenly Twins in Hellenistic Literature.

But we have yet to ask, what were the stars with which the Dioskouroi are associated?

Eratosthenes, or the pseudo-Eratosthenes, identified them with the celestial Twins\(^8\), as did other writers of a late date\(^6\). Recently

\(^1\) A lotus-bud is the central ornament of the dokana as figured on a Spartan relief in M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace _op. cit._ p. 193 no. 588 fig. 68.

\(^2\) Gerhard _Etr. Spiegel_ iii. 36 f. pl. 46, 7 (Gerhard's collection).

\(^3\) The Τυραδάου are sons of Τυραδων, the 'Shatterer' (_infra_ p. 780 n. 5), an obvious source of thunder and lightning.

\(^4\) Gerhard _Etr. Spiegel_ iii. 39 ff. pl. 48, 2 (Naples?), _ib._ pl. 48, 1 (Rome, Museo Gregoriano 7).

\(^5\) Pseudo-Eratosth. _catast._ 10.

\(^6\) Hyg. _poet. astr._ 2. 22, _op. cit._ 5. 693 ff., _Serv. in Verg. Aen._ 6. 121.
this view has been championed by O. Gruppe, who holds that the Dioskouroi were originally none other than the Heavenly Twins\(^1\) and seeks support for his view in the fact that Assyrian mythology gave to the same constellation the name \textit{tuamu rabutij} or \textquote[\textit{tuamu rabutij} or \textquotemark{the Great Twins}']\(^2\)‘. But, as Dr J. Rendel Harris makes clear, many features of the Kastor and Polydeukes tradition are of vastly greater antiquity than the zodiac: ‘we are at an earlier date in human history than star-gazing and star-naming\(^3\).

\section{The Dioskouroi identified with various Stars by modern writers.}

F. G. Welcker, comparing the Åsvins of the \textit{V}eda and analogous pairs of twins found in other Indo-European mythologies, argued that the Dioskouroi were personifications of the morning-star and the evening-star regarded as two, not one\(^4\). A. Jeremias\(^5\) and H. Winckler\(^6\) would equate them with the sun and moon; O. Gilbert, with day and night\(^7\). E. Bethe holds that they were not a definite pair of stars, but any stars that shone out through a rift in the storm and seemed to promise safety to the mariners in their distress\(^8\). But these conjectures are devoid of ancient support and must therefore remain at best purely conjectural.

\section{The Dioskouroi identified with Saint Elmo's Fire in Hellenistic Literature.}

In the Hellenistic age, and probably long before that\(^9\), the stars of the Dioskouroi and of their sister Helene were identified with the electrical discharges (\textquote[\textit{corposants}'])[\textit{corposants}'] that play about the spars of ships in stormy weather\(^10\). This phenomenon is known to have

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\(^{2}\) P. Jensen \textit{Die Kosmologie der Babylonier} Strassburg 1890 pp. 64 f., 83, cp.

\(^{3}\) M. Jastrow \textit{Die Religion Babylonians und Assyrians} Giessen 1912 ii. 2. 689 n. 1.

\(^{4}\) J. Rendel Harris \textit{The Cult of the Heavenly Twins} Cambridge 1906 p. 7.

\(^{5}\) Welcker \textit{Gr. Götterl.} i. 666 ff.

\(^{6}\) A. Jeremias \textit{Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients} Leipzig 1906 p. 64 ff.

\(^{7}\) H. Winckler \textit{Die Weltanschauung des alten Orients (Ex Oriente lux i. 1)} Leipzig 1905 p. 28.

\(^{8}\) Gilbert \textit{Gr. Götterl.} p. 301 ff.

\(^{9}\) E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc. v.} 1906.

\(^{10}\) Cp. the stars dedicated at Delphi after the battles of Salamis and Aigos Potamos \textit{(infra} p. 761 f.).

\(^{11}\) I have been unable to procure an actual photograph of these electrical lights. But F. T. Bullen's article on \textit{'St Elmo's Fires'} in \textit{Marvels of the Universe}, published by Hutchinson and Co., London, pt. 2 p. 63 f. (a reference supplied to me by my nephew Mr E. N. Cook) has an illustration by A. Twiddle showing two such lights on a mast-head.
attracted the attention of the Greeks as early as the sixth century B.C.; for Xenophanes (c. 576—480) offered a physical explanation of it. It is first expressly referred to the Dioskouroi by Seneca the philosopher, who says:

"In a big storm stars as it were are wont to appear sitting on the sail. Men believe that then in their peril they are being succoured by the divine power of Pollux and Castor. They therefore take heart again, for it is already clear to them that the storm is weakening and the winds dropping; otherwise the fires would be borne about and not stationary."

Many other authors of the imperial age mention the stars of the Dioskouroi as appearing on the rigging of ships at sea. Occasionally the apparition was ascribed to a different source: Polemon, like Diodoros, seems to have spoken of the Kabeiros in this connexion, and Arrian says that off the island of Achilles in the Euxine sea Achilles was seen on the mast or on the tip of the yard in place of the Dioskouroi.

vii. The Stars of the Dioskouroi and of Helene as a good or bad omen.

Different opinions were entertained with regard to the propitious or unpropitious nature of these signs. Euripides treated Kastor, Polydeukes, and Helene as alike beneficent powers. But a gradual change seems to have come over classical beliefs in this respect.

and a yard-arm. Mr Bullen says: 'St. Elmo's Fire...often covers like a halo the head of a seaman engaged in work aloft, and I myself have several times seen it streaming from my fingers when holding them up for the purpose. I cannot help confessing to a curious feeling of the uncanny on witnessing this phenomenon....Only appearing on the blackest of nights, moving from point to point without apparently passing through the intermediate space, unaffected by fiercest wind or heaviest rain, and insusceptible of being touched or moved, St Elmo's Fires form what is probably the most mysterious and lovely of all the wonderful phenomena belonging to the ocean.' Sir J. J. Thomson informs me (Sept. 22, 1913) that one night in stormy weather he saw St Elmo's fires glimmering on the topmost points of King's College Chapel, Cambridge.

1 Aet. 2. 18. 1 Ξενοφάνης τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων φαινομένου οὖν ἀστέρας, οὗ καὶ Διοσκόρως καλοῦσι τινες, νεφέλη εἶναι κατὰ τὴν τοιάν κύκλῳ παραλάμποντα = Plut. de plac. phil. 2. 18. 1.
2 Sen. nat. quaest. 1. 1. 13.
3 E.g. Plin. nat. hist. 2. 101, Loukian, navig. 9, dial. deor. 36. 2, Charid. 3, de mercede conductis 1, Max. Tyr. 15. 7, Lyd. de ostent. 5. To the list given by T. H. Martin 'La foudre et le feu Saint-Elme' in the Revue archéologique 1866 N.S. xiii. 168 ff. K. Jaisle op. cit. p. 12 adds the papyrus romance published by J. P. Mahaffy in the Rendiconti d. Lincei 1897 Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche (Serie Quinta) vi. 92.
4 Supra p. 765 f.
5 Polemon frag. 76 a (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 137 Müller) ap. schol. Eur. Or. 1637.
6 Arrian, perip. pont. Eux. 34 (Geogr. Gr. min. i. 399 Müller).
7 Supra p. 763 f.
A distinction was first drawn between the Dioskouroi and Helene. According to Sosibios (c. 250 B.C.), the epiphany of Helene was an evil omen—a view perhaps based on a real or fancied etymology of her name. The same thing is said by Solinus (c. 250 A.D.). Pliny and the scholiast on Statius speak of the stars of Pollux and Castor as favourable signs, but describe the star of Helena in terms which point rather—as T. H. Martin showed—to ball-lightning. Pliny writes:

'On mariners' yard-arms and other parts of ships such stars settle with an audible sound, changing their position like birds from perch to perch. When they come one at a time, they are dangerous, indeed they sink ships and, if they fall to the lower parts of the hull, they set it on fire. But twin stars are a good sign and announce a prosperous voyage. It is said that at their approach the dread and threatening star called Helena is put to flight: hence this exhibition of divine power is ascribed to Pollux and Castor, and men invoke them at sea.'

The scholiast on Statius gives much the same account of the matter, adding that the star of Helena is known as Urania, that it makes a hole in the mast, that it bores through the ship's bottom, and that even bronze is melted by its heat. By degrees the Dioskouroi themselves took on the sinister character of their sister. Artemidoros of Ephesos (c. 160 A.D.) reflects the transition, when in his Oneirokritika he observes:

'The Dioskouroi are a presage of storm to men on a voyage. To men

1 Sosibios frag. 16 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 628 Müller) ap. schol. Eur. Or. 1637.
2 Ἐλένη, as was shown by F. Solmsen Untersuchungen zur griechischen Laut- und Verslehre Strassburg 1901 pp. 196, 248 f., is probably to be connected with ἔλεος, ἔλευς, a torch (Frehlitz Etym. Worterb. d. Gr. Spr. p. 135 f., Boisacq Dict. hym. de la Langue Gr. p. 237).
3 Aisch. Ag. 687 f. Ἐλένη; ἐπὶ προκότως ἐλένας ἔλευες ἔλευκος ἐλεύτολος κ.τ.λ.—Browning's 'Ship's-Hell, Man's-Hell, City's-Hell.'
4 Solin. i. 57.
5 Plin. nat. hist. 2. 101.
6 Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 7. 792. The distinction is made by Statius himself (Theb. 7. 791 f., silt. 3. 2. 8 ff.).
8 Lyd. de otent. 5 λυγορον τι σφργυμα προσηχουστε καὶ ὅρων δεκρ οετ τοτοῦ ἐκ τοτου την νεως μενοστάμανως. This may explain the winged Dioskouroi of the Homeric hymn and of Etruscan art (supra p. 763). R. Basset in Milcaine 1884—85 ii. 189 writes: 'D'après Mas'soudi (Prairies d'or, éd. Barbier de Meynard, t. i, ch. xvi, p. 344—345), en temps d'orage, on aperçoit en haut du mât, un objet qui a la forme d'un oiseau lumineux et qui jette une clarté si vive qu'on ne peut le fixer. Dès qu'on l'aperçoit, la mer se calme, cet objet disparaît sans qu'on sache ce qu'il est devenu. Le fait fut attesté à Mas'soudi par des marchands de Basrah, de l'Oman et de Siraf. Dans la Méditerranée, on appelait cet objet Es sari (le voyageur de nuit), dans la mer de Chine Ed douli.' In the north-east of Scotland these electrical discharges are known as 'Corbie's aunt' (the Rev. W. Gregor in the Folklore Journal 1883 p. 396, cp. The Folk-lore of the North-East of Scotland London 1881 p. 137), presumably a popular distortion of the name 'corpo-sant.'
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ashore they are a sign of tumult, law-suits, war, or grievous disease. But at the last they let men go scatheless from all dangers, and such as are already involved in any of these alarms they speedily deliver. For the gods are saviours, but saviours of those that have previously been in some fear or peril.

Porphyrius notes that in his day (the third century A.D.) sailors regarded the stars of Castor and Pollux as commonly hostile to ships. Fulgentius the mythographer (c. 480—550 A.D.), after moralising in his tasteless way about Jupiter and Leda, continues:

"But Castor and Pollux stand for perdition, wherefore at sea too they spoke of the signs of the Castores, which create danger."

In modern times the process of degradation has gone further still. Mr G. F. Abbott in his *Macedonian Folklore* remarks that the electric phenomena once ascribed to the Dioskouroi are by the modern Greek mariners called [Telonia] or "Devils" and treated as such: the sailors look upon them as presages of disaster and try to frighten them away by dint of exorcisms and loud noises—an instance of beneficent pagan deities degraded to the rank of malignant demons. The name *Telonia* has had a curious history. N. G. Polites states that it meant originally demons acting as publicans or custom-house officials and so hindering souls from a free entrance into heaven. The same authority informs us that these *Telonia* are believed to snap the mast and sink the ship: hence, directly they appear, the sailors have recourse to prayers, burn incense, recite incantations from the *Key of Solomon*, discharge fire-arms, pull the tails of pigs, in short do anything and everything calculated to scare away the dreaded powers.

viii. Saint Elmo's Fire.

Throughout the Mediterranean and the western coasts of Europe the same phenomenon is viewed sometimes as a good, sometimes as an evil sign. It is commonly called the 'fire of Saint Elmo'—a name which has many variants and has been

1 Artemid. once surr. 2: 37.
2 Porphyrius in Hor. ed. 1. 3. 2: see, however, F. Hauthal ad loc.
3 Fulgent. myth. 2. 16, cp. Myth. Vit. 3. 3. 6.
4 Telonia.
6 B. Schmidt *Das Volklichen der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 171 ff.
7 N. G. Polites in *Melusine* 1884—85 ii. 117. For ancient apotropaieis see Solin. 1.
8 P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 96.
9 These are collected in *Melusine* 1884—85 ii. 121 f. (cp. ib. 112 ff., 138 ff., 189, 255 f., 382): e.g. Italian *fuoco di Sant'Elmo, luce di Santo Ermo, Sant' Ermo, Sardinian *fogu de S. Elmu, Genoese *flugo de Sant' Elmo*, French *feu Saint-Elme*, sailors' French *feu Saint-Erme*, Provençal *fuil Sant Esumé, fio de Sant Elume, lume Sant Elume, Bouches-du-
The Dioskouroi as Stars explained in more ways than one. Apart from the inevitable ‘Semitic guess,’ modern scholars have sought to derive it from elmo, the Italian form of the German Helm, or from Hermes, or even from Helena. Others again advocate a connexion with Saint Erasmus, a mediaeval patron of mariners, and K. Jaisle has succeeded in citing the intermediate forms Santeramo, Santeremo, Santermo. Finally, Dr J. Rendel Harris argues that ‘St Erasmo...is a modification of St Remo, i.e. of the Roman Twin.’ Probably the last word in this interesting controversy has not yet been written. Be that as it may, Saint Elmo’s fire is also attributed to Saint Nicolas, Saint Clara, etc. And, just as ancient Italian sailors referred one star to Helena, two to Castor and Pollux, so modern French sailors ascribe two to Saint Elme and Saint Nicolas, three or four to the added presence of Sainte Anne or Sainte Barbe.

It appears, therefore, that for nearly two thousand years the stars of the Dioskouroi and of Helene have been identified with these ominous electrical phenomena. To me it seems probable that from the first they bore the same meaning. If Zeus was the god of the bright sky, such atmospheric illuminations might well be referred to his children. I am, however, very far from thinking that we have reached the ultimate significance of the Dioskouroi when we have succeeded in connecting their stars with the fire of Saint Elmo. It would be truer to say that we have been reading the last and in some respects the least interesting chapter of a lengthy story. The contents of the previous chapters must be sought in the keen-witted works of my friend Dr Rendel Harris.

1 Frater Pausaniar iii. 13 f. ‘In the middle ages and in modern times such lights have been known as the fire of Saint Elmo or Saint Telmo. My friend the late W. Robertson Smith informed me that the name Telmo resembles a Phoenician word meaning “twins.”’
2 K. Jaisle op. cit. p. 67.
3 K. Jaisle op. cit. p. 63 quotes the forms: S. Erme (c. 1583), S. Heremo (1669), S. Hermen (1688).
4 J. K. G. Jacobsohn Technologisches Wörterbuch Berlin 1782 ii. 220 b. Cp. the following variants: French feu d’Hilline (1678), Sainte Hilline (1754), English Saint Helen’s fire, German Helmeufer, Helmenfeuer, Flemish Elmuwer, Helmenwuer, Breton Tan santes Helene. For the change of sex see supra p. 172 ff.
9 K. Jaisle op. cit. p. 59 f. In Old French the fires were ascribed to Sainte Claire.
10 P. Sébillot op. cit. i. 96.
11 Supra p. 760 n. 7.
§ 9. General Conclusions with regard to Zeus as god of the
Bright Sky.

Having advanced thus far in our main enquiry we must pause
to take our bearings afresh. A brief survey of the ground already
traversed will enable us to apprehend better the position that we
have reached, and will fittingly close the first stage of our
journey.

Zeus, whose name means 'the Bright One,' was originally con-
ceived in zoistic fashion as the bright sky itself—a conception that
has left its mark on the language and literature of ancient Greece.1

The change from the zoistic to the anthropomorphic Zeus was
occasioned, not by any despair of magic, but rather by a naïve
attempt to express heaven in terms of earth. The divine sky, as
supreme weather-maker, was represented under the guise of an
ordinary human magician or weather-ruling king.2 This transition,
which had been accomplished well before the end of the second
millenium B.C., meant that Zeus was no longer worshipped as the
sky but as the sky-god. Yet his earlier character can still be
surmised from the cult-titles and art-types of a more sophisticated
age. Behind Zeus Aithérios and Zeus Athrías, if not also behind
Zeus Amários, Zeus Dios, and Zeus Lykaios, we detect the old-
world cult of the day-light sky.3 Again, when Hellenistic artists
portray Zeus with a blue nimbus round his head, a blue globe at
his feet, a blue mantle wrapped about his loins, what are these
attributes, taken together, but an indication that the god so por-
trayed was once the blue sky and the blue sky only?

As god of the bright or burning sky, Zeus dwelt in aithér,
the most exalted portion of the celestial vault.4 And, since high
mountains were supposed to rise above the lower zone of aér and
to penetrate the upper zone of aithér, mountain-tops were regarded
as in a peculiar sense the abode of Zeus.5 His mountain-cults can
be classified in a roughly chronological series according as they
involved a mere altar, or an altar with a statue of the god, or an
altar with a statue enclosed in a temple.6 Further, the mountain
that dominated the district was often looked upon as his throne—
a prerogative that he appears to have inherited from Hittite pre-
decessors.7 Mythology associated Zeus with the mountain in a
variety of ways. There he had been born.8 There he consorted

1 Supra pp. 1—8.  2 Supra pp. 9—14.  3 Supra pp. 4, 14—33, 63—99.
4 Supra pp. 33—41.  5 Supra pp. 41—56.  6 Supra pp. 56—62.
7 Supra p. 25 f.  8 Supra pp. 100—117.  9 Supra pp. 117—133.
8 Supra pp. 148—154.
Conclusions

with his partner, the mountain-goddess\(^1\). There, in one famous case, he lay buried\(^2\). And, when paganism, outwardly at least, succumbed to Christianity, Zeus the mountain-god was superseded by Elias the mountain-saint\(^3\).

Apart from the luminous dome of heaven, there are in normal circumstances three definite manifestations of the burning sky. To the mind of the Greek, sun, moon, and stars were made of the same fiery stuff as the aithér itself\(^4\). Zeus, therefore, must needs stand in relations of peculiar intimacy towards these special exhibitions of his own brightness. This was probably the consideration that, to the more thoughtful portion of the community, justified the rapprochement, which from a very early period in the history of Greece began to contaminate the pure worship of Zeus with a whole medley of solar, lunar, and stellar elements. In various districts of the Mediterranean area the sun was popularly viewed as an eye\(^5\), a wheel\(^6\), a bird\(^7\), a ram\(^8\), a bull\(^9\), a bronze man\(^10\), or what not? But each of these manifold and in part barbaric notions was sooner or later absorbed into the all-comprehensive cult of the Greek sky-god. Again, here and there the moon as Selene\(^11\), as Io\(^12\), as Pasiphae\(^13\), as Europe\(^14\), as Antiope\(^15\), was paired with Zeus—a pairing which implies that he was credited with solar powers. For this batch of myths non-Hellenic influence is even more largely responsible. Lastly, Zeus figures on occasion as ruler of the starry sky\(^16\). The Greeks, mediately or immediately following the lead of the Babylonians, assigned to him as their foremost god an important rôle in their astronomy and astrology\(^17\). They also associated, perhaps as early as the fifth century before our era, his adoptive sons the Dioskouroi with the electric stars now known as Saint Elmo's fire\(^18\).

In short, Zeus was brought into close connexion with any and every celestial luminary. But, though this is undoubtedly the case, it must be steadily borne in mind that genuine Hellenic religion never identified Zeus with sun or moon or star. If an

\(^1\) Supra pp. 104—106, 154—157.
\(^2\) Supra pp. 157—163.
\(^3\) See O. Gilbert Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Alterthums Leipzig 1907 p. 20. In abnormal circumstances (storms etc.) lightning is another manifestation of the aithér (id. ib. p. 106 f., and infra ch. ii § 3 (a)).
\(^4\) Supra p. 196 f.
\(^5\) Supra pp. 346—430.
\(^6\) Supra pp. 346—430.
\(^7\) Supra pp. 430—466.
\(^8\) Supra pp. 731 f., 739.
\(^9\) Supra pp. 731 f., 733, 739 f.
\(^10\) Supra pp. 744 f., 744 f., 733 f., 739 f.
\(^11\) Supra pp. 754 f., 757.
\(^12\) Supra pp. 734—740.
\(^13\) Supra p. 771 ff.
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inscription records the cult of Zeus Helios\(^1\), if a coin represents Zeus with the moon on his head\(^2\), if a myth tells of Zeus transforming himself into a star\(^3\), we may be reasonably sure that inscription, coin, and myth alike belong to the Hellenistic age, when—as Cicero puts it\(^4\)—a Greek border was woven on to the barbarian robe.

To disentangle the complex threads of syncretism is seldom an easy task; and here I cannot hope to have attained more than a limited measure of success. Still, it seemed worth while to attempt the analysis of such far-reaching cults as those of Zeus Ammon\(^5\), Zeus Sabazios\(^6\), Jupiter Heliopolitanus\(^7\), Jupiter Dolicheus\(^8\),—cults which swept across the ancient world from north to south, from east to west.

Zeus Ammon was found to be a Graeco-Libyan god, originally worshipped in the Oasis with rites similar to those of Zeus Naios at Dodona\(^9\), but later fused firstly with the Theban Amen-Ra\(^10\) and secondly with the Punic Ba'al-hammân\(^11\). Zeus Sabazios proved to be a Phrygian deity\(^12\) closely resembling the Orphic Zeus, the parallelism of Phrygian and Orphic cults being explained by the fact that both alike were offshoots of the old Thraco-Phrygian religion\(^13\). Further, since the Graeco-Libyan Zeus Ammon and the Thraco-Phrygian Zeus Sabazios were ram-gods of identical character, it appeared probable that ultimately the former was akin to the latter; and it was conjectured that sundry traces of the same remote original might be seen scattered up and down in the cults and myths of classical Greece and Italy\(^14\).

Jupiter Heliopolitanus was the Roman name of Zeus Adados, the great god worshipped at Ba'albek or Heliopolis\(^15\). Zeus Adados in turn was essentially a Grecised (and subsequently Egyptised) form of the Syrian Adad, who both at Heliopolis and at Hierapolis had not improbably succeeded to the position once occupied by the Hittite father-god Tešub\(^16\). The cult-image of Zeus at Heliopolis stood with a bull on either hand\(^17\). That of Zeus at Hierapolis is described as ‘sitting upon bulls’ and figured with two bulls as

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1 Supra pp. 186—195, 361 n. 6. 2 Supra p. 731. 3 Supra p. 760.
4 Cic. de rep. 2. 9 ita barbarorum agris quasi attestat quemad videtur ora esse Graeciae.
5 Supra pp. 346—390.
6 Supra pp. 349—593.
7 Supra pp. 351—371.
8 Supra pp. 353—358.
9 Supra pp. 398—400.
10 Supra pp. 349—567.
11 Supra pp. 357—576.
the supporters of its throne. Obviously the Heliopolitan and the Hierapolitan gods were near relatives; and kindred deities flanked by a pair of recumbent bulls occur on the coinage of other Syrian towns. Again, Zeus Dolichalos, better known as Jupiter Dolicheus, the god of Dolichus in Kommagene, appears to have borrowed the bull on which he habitually stands from Tēsub, who on Hittite monuments has a bull either at his side or beneath his feet. On this showing it is possible, and even probable, that both Jupiter Heliopolitanus and Jupiter Dolicheus have preserved to us essential features of the Hittite father-god.

The discussion of the foregoing cults served to bring out a certain analogy subsisting between the ram and the bull in Levantine religion. These two beasts had been treated from time immemorial as embodiments of procreative power, the former by a pastoral, the latter by a cattle-breeding population. As such they were associated *in primis* with the fertilising sky-god; and I have suggested that the victims sacrificed to Zeus were commonly either oxen or rams just because these animals more than others were charged with Zeugungskraft and would therefore be thought to increase the power of the god to fertilise and bless.

Indeed, it may be claimed that throughout the present volume this conception of Zeus as a procreative god has come gradually into greater prominence. From first to last he was worshipped as a Father: and the invocation Ζηλος πατερ, familiar to us from the Homeric poems, became stereotyped on Italian soil as the name *Jupiter*.

Two other results of general significance have emerged from the mass of detail considered in this book. Zeus as sky-father is in essential relation to an earth-mother. Her name varies from place to place and from time to time. Sometimes she is a mountain-goddess with little or no disguise—Mousa, Koryphe, Aitne, Kyllene, Taygete, or the like. Sometimes she is an earth-goddess that has developed into a vegetation-goddess—Demeter,
Conclusions

it may be, or Persephone\(^1\), or Nemesis\(^2\). Sometimes she has lapsed from the position of an earth-goddess or a vegetation-goddess into that of a heroine—Semele\(^3\), or Europe\(^4\). But everywhere and always, either patent or latent, the earth-mother is there as the necessary correlative and consort of the sky-father.

Finally, the union of the sky-father with the earth-mother did not remain unfruitful. In the Dorian states the twin sons of Tyndarös, the 'Shatterer',\(^5\) were aptly affiliated to Zeus, and at least as early as the seventh century B.C.\(^6\) were renamed the Dioskouroi.\(^7\) But in the region occupied by the ancient Thraco-Phrygian stock Zeus begat a son in his own image, Dionysos the god of animal and vegetable life, whose worship little by little spread through the whole of Greece and everywhere inspired fresh triumphs of religion, literature, and art. Not once, nor twice, but many times in our survey of the Mediterranean lands—in the Archipelago\(^8\), at Kyrene\(^9\), in Magna Graecia\(^10\), in Crete\(^11\), at Ba'albek\(^12\), and elsewhere—we have had occasion to notice the younger god side by side with the older god, of whom he was in a sense the second self.

The sky-god, the earth-goddess, and their offspring the life of the world are thus already before us; but as yet in imperfect outline. The more definite and detailed account of their interrelations we must reserve for another volume.

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\(^1\) Supra pp. 392—399.
\(^2\) Supra pp. 272—285.
\(^3\) Supra pp. 155, 457 n. 5, 681 n. 1, 733, cp. schol. B II. 74. 613.
\(^4\) Supra pp. 574—541.
\(^6\) Supra p. 142 n. 12.
\(^8\) Supra pp. 390—400.
\(^9\) Supra p. 371 f.
\(^10\) Supra pp. 371—376.
\(^11\) Supra p. 372.
\(^12\) Supra pp. 644 ff., 708 ff.
ADDENNA

Page 10 note 1: on the Persian sky-god. Prof. J. H. Moulton pursues the topic in his recent and masterly work *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 p. 391 n. 3. I quote the following: 'There is now a full discussion of the point in Bartholomae, *Zum Air Wy*, 172-4, starting from a note in Hesychius, Διάς: μεγάλη φι στοιχεῖα τὸν ὁδόν τοῦ παραθηκεῖν Πέρσας. Clearly, if the old lexicographer was thinking of Herodotus he had some reason for dissociating Δια there (and Δι) from Ζεύς, for he selects the accusative of the fem. adj. δία, common in Homer. Now *Διάς* would represent the acc. of O.P. *Dyaus* almost exactly. May we not conjecture that Hesychius had evidence prompting him to desert exactly. We have not conjecture that Hesychius had evidence prompting him to desert exactly. We have the obvious Ζεύς in Herodotus, even though Δι just before would not fit δία? We have the obvious Zeu in Herodotus, even though Δι just before would not fit δία? We have strong reason for expecting to find Dyaus in Persia, since he belongs to the Vedic pantheon, though his cult is evidently dying. Bartholomae cites Δάης, the name of a Persian noble in Εschylus, *Perne*, 977. It is either *divai-χις, “ruling in the sky,”* or *divai-χις, “dwelling in the sky.”* (I think divai and dyam may be alternative forms of the locative, related like χθων and χαμα, with Skt divi=Δι as a mixture.) Bartholomae suggests that the Thracian sage Ζαύλες had a Scythian (and so Iranian) name, Ζαμάρ-χις, “qui regnat in terra.” (Since the cognate Thracian had the required λ in the name for Earth, witnessed by Ζαμάθ, we need not perhaps make Zamolxis a foreigner in Thrace.) But what were those Persian aristocrats thinking of when they named their infant, on either etymology? Can we explain *qui regnat in caelo* by the doctrine of the Fravashi? If the heavenly counterpart had royal rank, the rank of the earthly double should correspond, and match the parents’ ambition.*

Page 37 note 1: on the great altar of Zeus at Olympia. See now L. Weniger ‘Der Hochaltar des Zeus in Olympia’ in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1913 xxxii. 241—266 with 3 figs.

Page 45: on the type of Jupiter *Capitolinus* in the temple rebuilt by Titus and Domitian. Two bronze medallions of Hadrian, published by Gneccchi *Medagl. Rom.* iii. 20 nos. 98 ff. pl. 146, 5 (=my fig. 566) and 5, have as reverse type the three Capitoline deities. Behind Jupiter is Victory, wrongly described by Gneccchi as an eagle, holding a wreath.

Fig. 566.

Page 45: on Jupiter *Capitolinus* with globe in right hand, sceptre in left. In the *Eph. Arch* 1912 p. 263 f. figs. 1, 1. K. K. Phylaktou publishes a rock-crystal from Kypros engraved with a Jupiter of this type: Victory flies towards him, an eagle is perched on his footstool, and a star fills the space behind his throne. Mr Phylaktou’s interpretation (Iulius Caesar as a bearded Zeus *Olympios* with the *Iulium sidus*) is improbable.
Addenda

Page 489 fig. 21 sarcophagus-relief in the Capitoline Museum. See now Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 206 no. 1 and the Mus. Capit. Cat. Sculpt. p. 254 Stanna dei Filosofi no. 109 pl. 62. The latter characterises the relief as 'Rough Roman work' and, like the former, suggests Hephaestus as a possible name for the shield-bearing figure. I adhere to my view that she is more probably Victory.


Page 598 note 4: on were-wolves. To the bibliography add now Elliott O'Donnell Werswolfe London (1913) pp. 1192.

Page 92 f.: On a klytis representing Zeus Lýkaios. My friend Mr P. N. Urie informs me some time since that the Museum at Taranto possesses a 'Laconian' klytis, closely resembling that in the Louvre (supra p. 93 fig. 63). On a recent visit to Taranto he kindly examined the cup on my behalf and reports (March 18, 1914) that it was found at Bascino di Carraushiou àc cîta along with a Corinthian aryballos, and that its design is practically the same as that of the Louvre klytis, the only noteworthy differences being: (a) Zeus faces to left; the ornamentation of his clothes is simpler; his seat appears to be a chair rather than an altar; and he has no footstool. (b) The bird is somewhat larger and flies to the right. (c) The field is plain, without rosettes.


Page 147 f.: On the pillar-throne at Phalasarna. In the Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1897 pp. 589-598 with 3 figs. S. Ronzevalle publishes a small limestone throne of Hellanic date, found near Tyre. The supports of the throne are two winged sphinxes. Egyptian in character. The seat is treated as an Egyptian cornice, below which is carved a symbolic vegetable design in Egyptian-Assyrian style. Projecting from the front side of the throne back are two round-topped stipiti, which bear two figures facing each other in low relief, viz. a goddess and a beardless dedicant, with very similar costume (tunic, sleeveless mantle?), attribute (sceptre), and gesture (benediction and greeting?). The plinth is inscribed

Page 178 note 01: on Saint George as Zeus Georgios. That Zeus Georgios was superseded by Saint George at Lydda (Diospolis) is maintained also by E. Krause Die Tropasburen Nordeuropas Glogau 1893 p. 506 f.


Page 316 fig. 159 red-figured klytis at Berlin. L. Malten in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1912 xxvii. 354 fig. 11 (on p. 257) publishes a photograph of this vase, but does not deal at length with its interpretation (Dionysos? Hephaistos? Triptolemos?).

Page 323: on Triptolemos with the plough. In the Roman villa at Bradings, Isle of Wight, a mosaic on the floor of room no. 12 shows in one of its panels Demeter presenting corn-ears to Triptolemos: she is clad in chiton and himation, and holds sceptre in left, corn in right hand; he has a chlamys over his shoulders and grasps a plough with his left hand. See further Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects 1886-87 p. 138 f. with pl.
Kýlix at Taranto: Zeus Lýkaios.

See page 782.

[From a photograph kindly supplied by Mr Q. Quagliai, Director of the Museum at Taranto.]
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Page 237: fig. 166 relief from Gharin. R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 153 f. fig. 36 regards this as a representation of Adonis-Esmin identified with Triptolemos.

Page 232 ff.: on a coin of Gaza (?). Mr G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. lxxxvi ff. 181 pl. 19, 29 describes the series to which this coin belongs as 'Philisto-Arabian.'

Page 240 f.: on the hawk as a solar bird. A fragment of a hawk found at Apollonia (Arsia) with a disk found its neck inscribed IOTAIAKOS (C. Clermont-Ganneau *Mission en Palestine et en Phénicie* p. 134 no. 131 pl. 2, ii) is taken by R. Dussaud to be an emblem of the emperor Julian as sun-god (R. Dussaud in the *Mission dans les régions désertes de la Syrie moyenne* p. 478 n. 1 and in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii 351).


Page 249 note 3: on ἱώνως-wheels in temples. The vase cited as illustrating the temple of Hera at Thebes (?) is explained by F. Hauser in the *Jahrb. d. west. arch. Inst.* 1913 xv. 169 ff. 108 as representing the Locrian maidens in the temple of Athena at Ilion.


Page 268 fig. 219 a Thracio-Macedonian coin. J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1913 xv. 201 ff. figs. 1—13 attributes this coin to the Paiones and, like P. Gardner, interprets its type as the sun-god carrying his disk: 'On peut donc conclure que l'inexplicable symbole n'est rien d'autre que le Soleil, *solas rotis*, le *stēphros kýklοs*, κόσμον τὸ περιβάλλον *dōma*, χρυσά ήμερα πλέφαρων, πανύστηρις κύκλος Ἑλέος, Δίος φανάριος μυδία oculus (Comparez les monnaies de Skione où le symbole Θ prend la forme complète d'un ceil, *Babelon pl. 111, 41*) etc. et servait à indiquer au public que les pièces qui le portaient sortaient des ateliers péoniens renommés pour leur excellent métal et que leur pureté métallique était sous la garantie et surveillance du Δίος φανάριος. En outre ce signe conservait son caractère sacré qui se rapportait au grand dieu de ce peuple, le Soleil. Celui-ci avait son culte central sur le sommet du Pangee même, source de la richesse des Péoniens. C'est là...qu'on a frappé la pièce...au type de la figure qui représente probablement le Soleil même portant son disque.'

Page 299 note 6: on ὁ καλαμίωνος αἰθόλ, ἢ ἀρχή τοῦ λευσογονίουτος ἀνδρόν. R. Eisler *Weltentmanteil und Himmlishe Welt* München 1910 ii. 365 n. 2 explains this αἰθόλ by reference to Anaximander fragm. 31 Diels (τοῦ ἑλών) κύκλον εἶναι...ἀρματεῖ τροχὺς παραπλῆκνον, τῶν ἁζόλδα ἔχων κολόπα, πλέξει πορός, κατὰ τὴν μέσον ἐφάκαναν διὰ στοιχεῖον τὸ πώς ῥωστὶ διὰ προστήριον αἰθόλ, 11 Diels τὰ δὲ ἀστρά...κύκλον πορός, περιφερέντα δ' ὑπὸ ἀείραν, ἐκπονεῖ δ' ἐφάρμοσε πόρον τινα αἰθόλων, καθ' ὅσ' φαινεται τά ἀστρά. Eisler takes both the so-called *Michriathulco* and the teaching of Anaximander to be dependent upon Persian ideas.

Page 310 f.: on Aristophanes' speech in *Platon's Symposium*. K. Ziegler *Menschen- und Weltenwerden* in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1933 xxxi. 539—573 traces the views of the Platonic Aristophanes to a contamination of Empedoclean ideas with an Orphic, and ultimately Babylonian, anthropogony.

Page 338 note 2: on the Persian chariot of Zeus. Cp. the Zoroastrian account in Dion Chrys. or. 36 p. 91 ff. ἐκείρος δὲ μίδος ἐν ἀπορρήσει τελεσίων ὑπὸ Μάγων ἀνδρῶν ὀδηγεῖ θυσιανόμενος, ὡς τῶν θεῶν τοίῶν (εἰ τῶν Δία) ὄρυγος ὡς τέλεος τε καὶ πρῶτος ἡμέρας τοῦ τελεσίαν ἄρμος. το γάρ Ἑλέος ἄρμα νεώτερον φαιν' ἐπὶ πρὸς ἐκέντρο προστήριον, παρέχων δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἂν προσβήσῃ γηγορεία τῇ φοινίκ. ὡς κοινή φήμη τυχὲς, ὡς οἰκεῖς πρὸς πρῶτου καὶ κατάπλακα κατακεκεκται ὡς κατά ταῦτα πάντων ἐξομοιόμενοι ἑνωμένοι τοις ἐποίησις καὶ τῶν Ἑλών αὐτῶν ἐπιτιθέοντος τοῖς ἄρωσις. το ἐστραγγεῖ καὶ τέλεος ἄρμα τοῦ Δίος οὔτε ἄρα ἄρα ὑπέροχον ἀξίας τῶν τύρων, ὡσ' Ὀμυρο, ὡσ' Ἡσίων, ἀλλὰ Ζωροστρήτης, καὶ Μάγων παῖδες φώναι παρ' ἐκέντρο μαθαίνε. δὲ Περσάνες λέγουσιν ἐξωθήκενος καὶ δικαιούσθη ἀπεργουσθαί τῶν Ἑλών καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν ὀρέι τοῦ βίου ἐπεκτιέναι ἀφετέρον τοῦ πρῶτος ἀνεθὲς πολλῆς κατακεκεκτήσιν, ἡμεῖς ἔχουμε τοιαύτην κατακεκεκτήσιν τῶν ὑπὸ Βασιλέων ἐν τοῖς ἐλλωνομάτων Περσῶν ἀφεντικοῦ κατάκερα τὸ πλῆθος, συνενεχεῖται καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ ἄρμα ἐξελθὲν ἐκ τοῦ πρῶτος ἀπάθη, φαινέται δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἑλών θύμων κελεύεται καὶ βάσιν δουλεῖ τις, ὡς ἔκειν εἰς τοῖς τούτοις τοῦ θεοῦ συγκεκεκτήσει ταῦτα τοῖς ἀποστὶς, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ἀρμάτειν περιοχῆς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιούσθαι, ἐπιστεδοντεν ἀρηπτέα τῶν δαίμων·
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Page 379 note 7: on recent journeys to the Oasis of Siwah. To the bibliography add now J. C. Ewald Falls Siwah, Die Oase des Sonnenottes in der libyschen Wüste Mains, Kirchheim 1910 (noted by A. Wiedemann in the Archiv f. Rel. 1914 xvii. 206 f.) and J. C. Ewald Falls (Kaufmann expedition) Three Years in the Libyan Desert trans. E. Lee London 1913 pp. 262—260 (‘With the Viceroy to the Oasis of Amon—an historic progress through the desert in the steps of Alexander the Great’). Falls figures Aion Mina, Umma bida, a sculptured lion from the Ammonium now in the Frankfort Museum, etc.


Page 418 note 1: on the ram as figure-head of Phrixos’ ship. So also schol. Plat. Menex. 243 A.


Page 482 note 1: on the Sebastianus βιόμα of Delos. F. Courby ‘L’autel de cornes à Delos’ in the Mémanges Historiques Paris 1913 pp. 59—68 would identify this altar with the aspidal monument in the western part of the precinct of Apollo. But??

Page 501 f.: on a bell-brater representing Herakles in Olympos. This vase should have been described as Campanian, not Athenian.


Page 508 ff.: on the evolution of the horned altar. My suggestion that the horned altars of the Mediterranean area presuppose bull-shrines is to some extent confirmed by W. H. Ward The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia Washington 1910 pp. 307—310. Mr Ward in a chapter of great originality and acumen shows that a series of coarsely-cut haematite cylinders, probably of Syro-Hittite origin and referable to a period of c. 1500 b.c., represents an altar in the form of a bull. In some cases a flame is kindled on its back (fig. 567), in others a bird is perched upon it (fig. 568), in others again two human arms project from the quadruped’s body (fig. 569). Mr Ward compares the image of Moloch, which had the arms of a man but the head of a calf (supra p. 735 n. 1), centuries the cult of a life-sized bull, of which copies on a smaller scale were multiplied’ (supra p. 624).
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Page 585: on the snake-entwined statues at Hierapolis. P. Gauckler in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1899 pp. 117 ff., 424 ff., 617 ff. illustrates these statues by a remarkable statuette of gilded bronze (ib. p. 425 fig. 1) found lying in the cavity of a triangular altar, which forms the centre-piece of an octagonal chapel in the fourth-century Syrian sanctuary on the Ianiculum. The statuette shows a deity (Atargatis?) cased like a mummy and encircled by the seven coils of a crested snake. Seven hen’s-eggs deposited between the coils recall the myth of the Syrian Venus (supra p. 284 n.) and incline Gauckler to think 'que la statuette...représente la Nativité d'Atargatis.'

Fig. 567.

Fig. 568.

Fig. 569.

Page 666: on coins of Praisos showing Zeus suckled by a cow. My friend Prof. R. C. Bosanquet informs me (Jan. 5, 1914) that he has always taken the beast represented on these coins to be a sow, not a cow, and compared the story told by Agathokles (supra p. 653). It would certainly be a gain if we could regard the coins as illustrating the story in question. But fig. 567 is described by E. Babelon as 'Taureau' (sic), by J. N. Svoronos as 'Vache (?),' by B. V. Head as 'Cow'; and the rendering of a sow on Greek and Roman coins is very different (see Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbildner auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 26 pl. 4, 19, 20, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily p. 8 f. Abakainon, it. Italy p. 397 Tudor, Garucci Mon. It. ant. p. 11 pl. 21, 1 b, p. 58 pl. 75, 16, Babelon *Moum. rép. rom. ii.* 471, Morell, *Thei. Num. Imp. Rom. ii.* 298 pl. 10, 31). As to fig. 568, H. Weber says 'Cow (?) or mare,' and Prof. Bosanquet admits that it looks 'more like a mare'; but B. V. Head is content to describe this too as a 'Cow.'

Page 676 f.: on the Orphic formula ἐρυφώς εἰς γαλήνῃ ἔστων. Dr L. R. Farnell in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1913 p. 138 draws attention to an article by Delatte in the *Musée Belge* 1913 p. 128, who 'proposes a new and attractive explanation of the cryptic formula ἐρυφώς εἰς γαλήνῃ ἔστων, as meaning 'I entered earthly life as a Dionysos-Kid,' milk being in Orphic-Pythagorean myth the object of desire which lured souls into birth, and which was used by magicians to evoke souls (he quotes Plut., *De gen. Sacr.* c. 16; Porphy., *Ant. Nymph.* 28; Papyr. Berlin., 1. 29).'

Page 676 f.: on the ritual use of milk among the Thracio-Phrygians. C. Avezou and C. Picard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1913 xxxvii. 97 ff. publish a quadrangular altar of white marble (height 1.07 m) from the neighbourhood of Thessalonike. On the left side is carved a δέκτης, on the right a σκυῖος. In front, between two αὐτάκα, is the following inscription (γς τι αΑ.?: )........ | ....... ὁ δρυκμαγ[ε] [και ἀρχοντ[ες και πατρ[ απλέον και Λαν. | Σωσίαταρα βγέλειπφορος, κυστα[ρ]θε[σ]αμ| > έφη Χ | τον Βασιον | τω τω | διωκο ἀνεθηκαν. | οντικρ. The precise nature of the cult in question is doubtful.

Page 677: on the bath of boiling milk as a means of ritual rebirth. Mr F. M. Cornford in his recent book *The Origin of Attic Comedy* London 1914 (a contribution of capital importance to our understanding of Greek drama) discusses the examples of rejuvenation in Aristophanes' plays and infers (p. 89) that these stories reflect a rite of regeneration or resurrection, which has an established place in the cycle of Dionysiac ritual. He justly observes (p. 90) that my hypothesis is strengthened by the instance of Demos in the *Knights*, who renews his youth in the Sausage-seller's cauldron and emerges as a new King (and as the parallel cases allow us to add) a new God, ready for his marriage. Mr Cornford has also kindly brought to my notice a valuable article by E. Maass in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1913 xxxi. 627 ff. on the *Trophyi* of Aischylos, in which Medea was represented as boiling the attendants of Dionysos, both male and female, in order to make them young again (Aisch. *frgs.* 50 Nauck ap. schol. Eur. *Med. argum.* and schol. Aristoph. *cf.* 1. 321). *A propos* of Medea's rejuvenating cauldron Maass writes
Addenda

(p. 633): 'Das Bad in siedender Milch, das von einem Zauberpferde kühlen geblasen wird, belegt R. Koepler aus Sizilien, der Walachii und anderswoher in den Anmerkungen zu L. Gonzenbachs "Sizilianischen Märchen" Nr. 83 ff. 296...und in den "Kleinen Schriften" 1.468 (Zigeunermärchen).'

Page 681: on Dionysos as conceived at the City Dionysia and born at the Lenaia. I am indebted to Mr F. M. Cornford (Dec. 3, 1913) for a possible parallel in Roman religion. Or. fast. 5. 229 ff. tells the story of the conception of Mars under the date May 2; and March 1, ten months later, is noted as the birthday of Mars in the calendar of Philocalus. If we may assume that the Roman year originally consisted of lunar months (cp. Censorin. de die nat. 20. 4), the interval becomes significant. But this is a somewhat doubtful assumption. See W. Warde Fowler The Roman Festivals London 1899 p. 1 ff. and also p. 36 ff.

APPENDIXES

A KAIROS
B THE MOUNTAIN-CULTS OF ZEUS
C KORINTHOS SON OF ZEUS
D THE WHEEL AS A COIN-TYPE
E THE KYKLOPS IN FOLK-TALES
F THE DIOSKOUROI AND HELENE IN FOLK-TALES

will be printed at the end of Volume II.
INDEX I

PERSONS PLACES FESTIVALS

The contents of each item are arranged, as far as possible, under the following heads: Cults Epithets Festivals Oracles Rites Priests Personations Myths Metamorphoses Genealogy Functions Etymology Attributes Types Identifications Assimilations Associations Comparisons Relations Supersedeur.

In the Genealogies f. = father, m. = mother, s. = son, d. = daughter, b. = brother, st. = sister, gf. = grandfather, gm. = grandmother, h. = husband, w. = wife.

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