ZEUS
A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

VOLUME II
PART I
ZEUS
A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

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VOLUME II

ZEUS GOD OF THE DARK SKY
(THUNDER AND LIGHTNING)

\chi\omega\ \Ze\upsilon\upsilon\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\kappa\aupsilon\kappa\alpha\mu\nu\\upsilon\ \pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\iota\iota\alpha\iota\rho\iota\sigma\nu\omicron\iota\sigma\varsigma
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\textit{Theokritos} 45

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PART I
TEXT AND NOTES

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ἐκ Διὸς δρῶμεσθα, τὸν οὗδέποτ᾿ ἀνδρες εὐμεν ἀρρητον· μεστὶ δὲ Διὸς πάσαι μὲν ἄγιαν,
pάσαι δ᾿ ἄνθρωπων ἀγοραὶ, μεστὶ δὲ θάλασσα
καὶ λιμένες· πάντω δὲ Διὸς κεχρίμεθα πάντες.
τού γὰρ καὶ γένος εἰμέν· ο郤 ἄνθρωποιοιν
dεξιὰ χιλισεὶ, λαοὺς δ᾿ ἐπὶ ἔργον ἐγείρει,
immhiκκων Bιώτων, λέγει δ᾿ ὁ τε Βάλος ἄριστη
βοῦς τε καὶ μάκεληςι, λέγει δ᾿ ὁ τε δαῖα ὃραι
καὶ φυτὰ γυρίσαι καὶ σπέρματα πάντα βαλέσθαι.
άγτος γὰρ τὰ χειμάτ' ἐν ὀγγανῷ ἐνθηριζέν,
ἄστρα διακρίνας, ἐκκύψατο δ᾿ εἰς ἐνατὸν
ἀκτέρας οὐ κε μάλιστα τετυγμένα χιλισεὶν
ἀνδράσιν· ὃρασιν, δὴρ᾿ ἑμπέδα πάντα φύονται.
ὡς καὶ δὲι πρώτον τε καὶ ὑστατὸν ἰάλακτον.
χαῖρε, πάτερ, μέγα θάλασσα, μέγις ἄνθρωποικιν οὐκειρή
άγτος καὶ προτέρη γενεῆς. χαῖρε με νὰ Μοῦς,
μεταξὺ πάλαι ἀφοῦς· ἐμοὶ γε μὲν ἀκτέρας οὐκεῖν
ἡ θέμεις εὐχομένως τεκμηρίατε πάραν δοιδάν.

ἈΡΑΤΟΣ phaenomena 1—18.
THE first volume of this treatise dealt with Zeus as god of the Bright Sky and traced his evolution in that capacity from early Hellenic to late Hellenistic times. It included therefore both the pre-classical change from Zeus the animate Sky to Zeus the anthropomorphic Sky-god and the post-classical connexion of the latter with Sun, Moon, and Stars. But, apart from incidental allusions, it devoted little space to the common classical conception of Zeus as god of Thunder and Lightning. To investigate this is the main purpose of my second volume. It will, I trust, be followed some day by a third (already planned and partly written), in which the relations of Zeus to other phænomena—Clouds and Rain, Wind and Dew, Earthquakes and Meteorites—will find their appropriate place. I shall hope to conclude at long last with a general survey of the Sky-god and his cult as constituting one factor in the great fabric of Greek civilisation, indeed as in some sense a contribution to Christianity itself.

Meantime the subject of Zeus as god of Thunder and Lightning cannot be adequately discussed without taking into account a number of allied topics—the Diosemis or ominous ‘Zeus-sign’; the Diobleos or ‘Zeus-struck’ man; the ‘road of Zeus’ from earth to heaven; the sky-pillars of Greece and Italy; the central shrine of Delphoi, where Zeus was successively associated with Dionysos and Apollon; again, Kronos the ‘Minoan’ storm-god to whom Zeus was affiliated; the double axe inherited by Zeus from his predecessor; the origin, development, and decline of his own peculiar weapon the thunderbolt. With all of these themes I have attempted pro meis viribus to cope. But reviewers and others that may wish to get a quick insight into the contents of the present volume would do well to begin by reading pp. 840–858, in which I have tried to summarise the principal results of my investigation. They must, however, bear in mind that a summary statement proves nothing. Proof can be had only by a patient consideration of the evidence presented in the text and notes, which will, I hope, be found reasonably complete.

The footnotes, I admit, are heavy, perhaps too heavy for modern dyspeptic digestions, and I shall expect to have quoted against me the usual tags—‘a thin stream of text’ etc. and ‘what’s,
worth putting into a book at all is worth putting into the body of
it.' But in self-defence I may plead that I have made the foot-
notes serve three distinct purposes. First and foremost, I have
used them for documentation. As a rule, I have been content with
bare references, which I have, of course, always verified by actual
perusal. But, where the precise wording of the authority, whether
ancient or modern, was of importance, I have not scrupled to give
it in full. I have also, with hardly an exception, cited all Greek
and Latin inscriptions, these being less readily accessible to the
general reader than the literary texts. Secondly, I have sometimes
relegated to the notes extra details which, though themselves of
interest, seemed more or less irrelevant to my immediate theme.
I have repeatedly found such excrescences of ritual or myth to
possess a significance unsuspected at first and only later appre-
ciated when the other half of the indenture had been brought to
light. In fact I have come to hold that in deciphering religious
records irregular edges should not be hastily trimmed off. One
should rather cherish a healthy distrust of over-neat hypotheses
and explanations that leave nothing to be explained. Life is
seldom so simple and symmetric as our interpretation of it.
Thirdly, I use my notes deliberately for the mention or discussion
of side-issues and subsidiary points, provided that these arise
directly out of the text. I shall no doubt be told that I am
pursuing hares. But hares, after all, may be caught and are worth
the catching. Their pursuit is to be regretted only if it hinders
the main march of the argument—only, that is, if the chase crosses
the text. The footnote saves the situation.

Naturally, if these side-issues are too long, they must be handled
in Appendixes. The Second Part of Volume II contains a dozen
such, of which four belong by rights to Volume I, viz. A 'Kairos,'
B 'The Mountain-Cults of Zeus,' E 'The Kyklops in Folk-Tales,'
F 'The Dioskouroi and Helene in modern Folk-Tales.' Appendix C
'Korinthos son of Zeus' and Appendix D 'The Wheel as a Coin-
type' have been again omitted through lack of space. The remain-
ing eight Appendixes are properly attached to Volume II, viz. G
'Orphic Theogonies and the Cosmogonic Eros,' H 'Zeus Ktésios,'
I 'Zeus Agamémnon,' J 'Zeus Amphiáraos,' K 'Zeus Tréphónios or
Trophónios,' L 'Zeus Asklepídos, M 'Zeus Meiltchos,' N 'Zeus
Philios.' Seven out of the eight discuss specialised forms of Zeus
to which allusion is made in the text. Another case of the sort, Appendix
O 'Zeus Olympios,' will be more conveniently postponed to Volume III.
The episodical character of the book with its sections and subsections is due, at least in part, to the circumstances in which it has been composed. I have throughout been in full work as College Lecturer in Classics and University Reader in Classical Archaeology, responsible therefore for a good deal of teaching, examining, and organisation. Such a life, however congenial, tends to produce a certain mental attitude, the habit of thinking in compartments. Term-time leaves but scanty scraps of leisure for research, and the mind is more or less jaded when vacation is reached. Under such conditions anything like sustained flight or long-continued effort becomes doubly difficult. And I do not doubt that a better book on the same subject will some day be written by a man with larger leisure and clearer outlook.

But I do not wish to leave the impression that I have found the writing of Zeus irksome or unduly fatiguing. On the contrary, it has been a perpetual delight to come back and back again to a central theme, which so obviously serves to illuminate a dozen departments of classical study and in turn receives much illumination from them. A task of this kind, though it can never be other than a financial failure, carries with it its own reward.

Not the least pleasurable part of the undertaking has been my growing sense of indebtedness to many friends. Some, alas, I can no longer thank as I should wish to do for their inspiration and their help. Of those whose names appeared in the Preface to Volume I six have since died. James Hope Moulton, a greater man even than Cambridge knew him to be, lived a life of self-sacrifice and in April 1917 died a heroic death—or rather, as he himself phrased it in those dark days, \( \varepsilon i s \; \tau \varepsilon v \; \lambda \alpha \mu \tau \rho \alpha \nu \; \alpha \pi \tau \heta \lambda \theta e v \): I count myself lucky to be able to include a passing reference to his name. C. H. W. Johns, learned and lovable to the last, was taken from us in August 1920: I shall not soon forget how, shortly before the end, he sat propped in his study-chair and bidding me hold up the big folio—for his own arm was half-paralysed—read aloud to me a cuneiform text (p. 482 f.) and furnished it there and then with ample commentary out of the depths of his knowledge. Otto Gruppe too is gone—a grave loss to learning—leaving as one of his latest writings a brief but masterly paper on 'Die Anfänge des Zeuskultus' (Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum 1918 xli—xlii. 289—302). E. Babelon, J. R. McClean, A. Wright—the list lengthens. But it is a list which, happily, is balanced and more than balanced by an increasing number of scholars able and
willing to devote themselves to the serious study of ancient religion on one or another of its many sides. To not a few of them I am much beholden.

The bulk of my proofs has been read by Miss J. E. Harrison, and the whole of them by Dr J. Rendel Harris. Both are workers with books of their own half-written; and I appreciate the generous spirit in which they have hindered themselves to help me.

For matters outside my competence I have been able to cite the expert opinion of others. Chinese parallels to Greek mythology have been furnished by Prof. H. A. Giles; Japanese parallels, by my friend Mr H. G. Brand, long resident in Tokyo, and again by his friend Prof. Takeo Wada of Kyoto University. Mesopotamian texts have been explained to me, not only by the late Dr C. H. W. Johns, but also by my friend and former pupil Mr Sidney Smith, Assistant in the Assyriological department of the British Museum. On several points of Egyptology I have consulted Mr F. W. Green, Honorary Keeper of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and Mr F. E. L. Griffith, Reader in Egyptology at Oxford. For Phoenician names I have applied to my neighbour Mr N. McLean, University Lecturer in Aramaic, and to my colleague the Rev. Dr R. H. Kennett, Regius Professor of Hebrew; for Lydian names, to Mr W. H. Buckler, editor of the inscriptions found at Sardis. On a few details of Indian cult I have been aided by Prof. E. J. Rapson and by Mr H. B. Thompson of Queens’ College, Cambridge. In dealing with Celtic and Germanic deities I have been guided on occasion by Prof. H. M. Chadwick, while references to Icelandic sagas were collected for me by Miss N. Kershaw (now Mrs Chadwick). An important note on the Anglo-Saxon rune ᵃ (ear or tir) was sent me by Mr B. Dickins of Edinburgh University.

For Greek and Latin etymologies I have time after time used as a touchstone the wise judgment of my friend and colleague Dr P. Giles, Reader in Comparative Philology to the University of Cambridge. Mr J. Whatmough, a former pupil of us both, now Lecturer in Classics at Bangor, has revised my restoration of a ritual text in old Latin, the well-known but little-understood hymn of the Salii. Questions of Thracian and Illyrian phonetics have been considered for me by Mr B. F. C. Atkinson of Magdalene College, Cambridge, whose results, reached along the lines of strict philological method, have opened up a new vista of possibilities to the historian of early Greek religion. Here and there my
inadequate knowledge of Byzantine authors has been eked out by the wider experience of Prof. J. B. Bury; and in regard to the dialects of modern Greece Prof. R. M. Dawkins has more than once given me an authoritative decision.

Where the argument has trespassed upon the domain of Science I have met with equal kindness and cooperation. An astronomical note was penned for me by my old college-friend Prof. E. T. Whittaker, late Astronomer Royal of Ireland. Mr C. T. R. Wilson, Jacksonian Professor of Natural Philosophy, has supplied me with interesting information on a point of electrical meteorology. Dr L. A. Borradaile, University Lecturer in Zoology, has brought his special knowledge of crustaceans to bear on the crabs of Agrigentum and Tenedos. Dr A. C. Haddon, Reader in Ethnology, with whom—since we go the same road—I am often privileged to discuss anthropological issues, has helped me over several problems of folk-lore and primitive art. The Abbé Breuil cleared up for me the long-standing puzzle of concentric cup-marks; and Mr M. C. Burkitt, Honorary Keeper of the Stone Implements in the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, noted for me sundry specimens of engraved neolithic celts.

One or two friends have undertaken special investigations on my behalf. Mr C. T. Seltman visited Delphoi and reported on the omphalos discovered there in 1913 by Monsieur F. Courby. Mr T. W. I. Bullock of Queens' College, when travelling in Spain, saw the Museum authorities at Madrid and consulted them as to the character of the tablet from Tarragona, Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs Van Buren) went from Rome to Nemi and interviewed the peasants with regard to local traditions of Diana's tree, while Prof. P. J. Harding pursued the same quest in libraries at home and abroad.

Others have favoured me with the narrative of their own journeys and discoveries. Mr T. Fyfe describes in detail the little church on the summit of Mt Ide in Crete and the night that he spent there at a height of 8060 ft above sea-level. Mr C. W. Blegen contributes an interesting account of the finds that he made in 1923–1924 on Mt Hymettos, where he was able to locate with much probability the votive deposit of Zeus Ómbrías. Mr R. Campbell Thompson sketches from personal observation the present condition of Eridu.

Particular criticisms and suggestions have been communicated by a large number of scholars including Mr C. D. Bicknell
Preface

Prof. R. C. Bosanquet, Mr F. M. Cornford, Mr G. G. Coulton, Prof. R. M. Dawkins, Sir J. G. Frazer, Dr J. Rendel Harris, Miss J. E. Harrison, Mr E. S. Hartland, Dr G. F. Hill, Prof. R. H. Kennett, Miss M. E. H. Lloyd, the Rev. H. E. Maddox, Mr A. D. Nock, Prof. A. C. Pearson, Mr T. Davies Pryce, Dr G. H. Rendall, Miss H. Richardson, Mr E. J. Seltman, Mr C. T. Seltman, and Mr C. M. Sleeman. I have been able to profit by them all.

For illustrations too I am under heavy obligation to others. Prof. R. M. Dawkins allowed me to publish for the first time a highly important seal-stone from Melos, now in his possession. Mr C. D. Bicknell gave similar permission in the case of a gem belonging to the Lewis Collection at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Mr A. H. Smith furnished casts of several gems in the British Museum. Mr B. Staes, by sending a cast of the inscribed serpentine celt in the Central Museum at Athens, enabled me to produce the first really accurate rendering of that famous object.

Mr S. C. Cockerell of the Fitzwilliam Museum has provided me with numerous casts of coins in the McClean and Leake Collections. Mr G. Macdonald supplied the cast of a rarity in the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow. But, above all, my numismatic friends at the British Museum, in particular Dr G. F. Hill and Mr E. S. G. Robinson, have for years past sent me a steady stream of well made casts, which—as the following text will abundantly prove—have served to throw valuable light on the Zeus-cults of the ancient world. The Keeper of the coins and his Assistants have also spared time to discuss with me many of the types. They have repeatedly verified points at my request, and in other ways have helped forward my project. To give but one instance, they reserved for me the right to publish the type of Zeus Spálauros, which I had detected on a unique coin of Aphrodisias. In marshalling the evidence of coin-types I owe much also to the keen eyes and exact knowledge of my friend and former pupil Mr C. T. Seltman. He has procured for me rare specimens from foreign collectors or, where originals were not to be had, has obtained at least impressions of the coins that I needed. Moreover, he was the first to read the title of Zeus Akralos on a statér of Praisos and—a matter of greater moment—the first to determine the true sequence and significance of the Zeus-types at Olympia.

A fine photograph of the profile of Zeus on Mt Juktas, taken by Mr A. Trevor-Battye, was sent me by Mr C. R. Haines. Photo-
graphs of statues and reliefs in marble or stone were supplied by Mr A. H. Smith of the British Museum, Mr S. C. Cockerell of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Mr L. D. Caskey of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the Director of the Musée Lapidaire at Lyons. Mr W. H. Buckler with great generosity allowed me to publish a new and very interesting stèle of Zeus Sabásios, since presented by him to our national collection. Miss J. E. Harrison, on quitting Cambridge for Paris, put at my disposal her whole assemblage of photographs representing Greek votive reliefs and other religious monuments. Mr A. Munro, Fellow and Lecturer of Queens' College, photographed for me an unpublished relief on the Palatine. Mr R. B. Fleming, Mr W. H. Hayles, and Mr W. Tams did me the like service in various collections and galleries.

The Director of the French School at Athens was good enough to furnish me with three excellent photographs of the Delphic omphalos, here figured for the first time on English soil. And the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies supplied me with a photograph of the cistern-mosaic on Mt Kynthos.

Photographs of bronzes were kindly provided by Prof. P. N. Ure of University College, Reading, Mr K. Kourouniotes of the National Museum, Athens, and Miss G. M. A. Richter of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Others were taken for me in London by Mr W. H. Hayles and Mr R. B. Fleming, at Cambridge by the photographer to the University Press.

Photographs of vases etc. in the British Museum were taken by Mr C. O. Waterhouse and Mr R. B. Fleming, in the Louvre by Monsieur A. Giraudon, in the Fitzwilliam Museum and in the Lewis Collection by Mr W. H. Hayles.

Careful drawings of the Jupiter-column at Saverne, accompanied by minutely accurate measurements and a descriptive text, were sent me by Prof. L. Bachmeyer, Director of the local Museum.

Permission to reproduce various photographs, plates, or figures was kindly granted by Messrs F. Boissonnas of Geneva, F. Bruckmann and Co. of Munich, Kouchakji Frères of New York, and by Prof. C. Blinkenberg of Copenhagen, Sir A. J. Evans, Sir W. M. Ramsay, Mr C. Torr, Mr H. B. Walters.

But I have yet to acknowledge help from other sources, without which the success of my venture would have been seriously imperilled. Miss E. T. Talbot of Saint Rhadegund's House, Cambridge,—the artist who executed more than half the figures of Volume I,—has again devoted her well-trained talent to the
illustration of Volume II. During the past ten years she has produced no fewer than 626 designs, all carried out with the utmost care under my immediate supervision. They include line drawings or sketches in black and white of 75 sculptures, 26 bronzes, 12 objects in gold, silver, ivory, etc., 12 vases, 7 frescoes, 14 maps, plans, diagrams, etc., 41 engraved gems, and 439 coins. In addition to this great output Miss Talbot has made a tentative reconstruction of all the figures in the east pediment of the Parthenon (pl. xxxiii) together with coloured drawings of the central slab from its eastern frieze (pl. xlv), of Pheidias’ chryselephantine Athena (pl. xlvi), and of the same sculptor’s chryselephantine Zeus (pl. xlvi). The evidence that may be adduced in support of these restorations is held over to appear in Volume III.

Slips for the two Indexes, which between them contain upwards of 30,000 entries and took well over a year to write, have again been arranged for me by my wife, to whose unfailing sympathy and encouragement this book owes more than its author can easily put into words. Towards the end, when the task began to try her eyes, she was assisted by Miss Michi Saito.

In the complicated business of turning out proofs, paged proofs, revises, and clean sheets, not to mention zincotypes, half-tone blocks, collotypes, and lithographic plates, the Printer to the University and the Staff of the Pitt Press have for more than a decade done all that was humanly possible to produce a satisfactory result. To them no less than to others that I have named I ought to be grateful, and I am.

In conclusion, I have once more to thank the Syndics of the University Press for the large-mindedness which led them to undertake the publication of an unremunerative work at a time when the cost of paper and printing was almost prohibitive. With much forbearance they twice extended my tether, and finally agreed to defray the expenses of a thousand pages for Volume II. In these days of enforced economy such generous treatment would be hard to parallel. If I have failed to reduce my subject within their liberal limits, that is due, not—I trust—to mere prolixity or diffuseness of style, but to the natural abundance of a great and vital theme.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

19 CRANMER ROAD, CAMBRIDGE.
22 July 1925.
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The design on the cover is from a bell-krater at Palermo (no. 2557: Overbeck Gall. her. Bildw. i. 527 f. pl. 22, 10, id. Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 28, b. Atlas pl. 1, 13), which represents Heos and Thetis supplicating Zeus and has recently been attributed to the "Oreithyia painter" (J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 293 no. 3). I am indebted for the necessary photograph to the courtesy of Profs G. M. Columba and E. Gábrici.
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 Vol. i p. xiv) are not here included.

Ant. Denkm. = Antike Denkmäler herausgegeben vom Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Institut Berlin 1886—
iii. (Makedonia und Patonia) bearbeitet von H. Gaebler. Abteilung i. Berlin 1906.
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Abbreviations


'Арх. Делт. = Αρχαιολογικά Δελτία του Εθνικού Ιστορικού Και Τεχνολογικού Εκδωρού Αθήνας 1875—

'Αρχ. 'Εφ. See 'Εφ. 'Αρχ.

Archiv f. Rel. = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft Leipzig 1898—

Ath. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts: athenische Abteilung Athen 1876—


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


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


Bonner Jahrbücher = Bonner Jahrbücher (Continuation of the Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande) Bonn 1849—


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; Thrasylos to Aetolica 1883 by P. Gardner; Central Greece 1884 by B. V. Head; Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India 1886 by P. Gardner; Crete and the Aegean Islands 1886 by W. Wroth; Peloponnesus 1887 by P. Gardner; Attica—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 1899 by W. Wroth; Alexandria and the Nome 1891 by R. S. Poole; Ionia 1893 by B. V. Head; Mysia 1894 by W. Wroth; TRoas, Aolos,
Abbreviations

...and Lesbos 1894 by W. Wroth; Caria, Cos, Rhodes, &c. 1897 by B. V. Head; Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia 1897 by G. F. Hill; Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria 1896 by W. Wroth; Lydia, Isauria, and Cilicia 1900 by G. F. Hill; Lydia 1901 by B. V. Head; Parthia 1903 by W. Wroth; Cyprus 1904 by G. F. Hill; Phrygia 1906 by B. V. Head; Phoenicia 1910 by G. F. Hill; Palestine 1914 by G. F. Hill; Arabia Mesopotamia and Persia 1927 by G. F. Hill.


Bruchmann Epith. dover = C. F. H. Bruchmann Epitheto doverum quae apud poetas Graces leguntur Lipsiae 1893.


Abbreviations

Carter _Epith. deor._=J. B. Carter _Epitetha deorum quae apud poetas Latinos leguntur_ Lipsiae 1902.


Class. Philol._=Classical Philology Chicago 1906—

Class. Quart._=The Classical Quarterly London 1907—

Class. Rev._=The Classical Review London 1887—


Collignon _Hist. de la Sculpt. gr._=M. Collignon _Histoire de la sculpture grecque_ i ii Paris 1892, 1897.


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


iv. Inscriptiones parietariae Pompeianae Herculanenses Stabianae, ed. C. Zange-
v. 1—2 Inscriptiones Galliae Cisalpinae Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1872,
1877.
vi. 1—5 Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, coll. E. Bormann, G. Henzen,
C. Huelsen, P. B. de Rossi Berolini 1876, 1883, 1886, 1894, 1902, 1885.
viii. 1—2. Inscriptiones Africae Latinae, coll. G. Wilmanns Berolini 1881. Supple-
menti pars 1—4 Berolini 1891, 1894, 1904, 1916.
ix Inscriptiones Calabriae, Apuliae, Samnii, Sabinorum, Piceni Latinae, ed. Th.
Mommsen Berolini 1883.
x. 1—2 Inscriptiones Bruttiorum, Lucaniae, Campaniae, Siciliae, Sardiniae Latinae, 
ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1883.
xi. 1—2. 1 Inscriptiones Aemiliae, Etruriae, Umbriæ Latinae, ed. E. Bormann
Berolini 1888, 1901.
xii Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae, ed. O. Hirschfeld Berolini 1888.
xiii. 1. 1—2, 2. 1—2, 3. 1—2, 4 Inscriptiones trium Galliarum et Germaniarum
Latinae, ed. O. Hirschfeld, C. Zangemeister, Th. Mommsen, A. Domaszewski, O. Bohn, Aem. Espérandieu Berolini 1899, 1904, 1905, 1907, 1901,
1906, 1916.
xv. 1—2. 1 Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum, ed.
H. Dressel Berolini 1891, 1899.
Corpus. insectorum. Sem.—Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum ab Academia Inscriptionum
et Litterarum Humaniorum conditum atque digestum. Pars I— Tom. i—
Parisii 1881—

Palamide et Appendice Nova iii Appendix Nova Parisii 1890.
Cramer anecd. Oxon. = J. A. Cramer Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecarum
Oxonensis i—iv Oxonii 1835—1837.
Regiae Parisiensis i—iv Oxonii 1839—1841.
Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. = Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines d'après
les textes et les monuments...ouvrage rédigé par une société d'écrivains spéciaux,
d'archéologues et de professeurs sous la direction de Mm. Ch. Daremberg et

Delos = Exploration archéologique de Delos faite par l'École française d'Athènes sous les
 auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction publique et aux frais de M. le duc de Loubat
et publiée sous la direction de Théophile Homolle et Maurice Holleaux.
i Introduction. Carte de l'île de Délos au 1/10000e avec un commentaire explicatif
iv. 1 Description physique de l'île de Délos (première partie) par Lucien Cayeux.
Paris 1911.
vii. 1 Les Portiques au Sud du Hiéron (première partie). Le Portique de Philippe
par René Vallois. Paris 1933.
viii. 1 Le Quartier du Théâtre par Joseph Chamonard. Paris 1922.
viii. 2 Le Quartier du Théâtre (Construction et Technique—Appendice) par Joseph
Chamonard. Paris 1924.
viii (Planches).

Ἀθήναι 1885—
Abbreviations

Philosophisch-historische Classe. Wien 1850—
Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. = H. Dessau Inscriptiones Latinae selectae i, ii, i, i, 1, iii, Berolini 1892, 1902, 1909, 1914, 1916.
De Visser De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum. = M. W. de Visser De Graecoorum diis non referentibus speciem humanam Lugduni-Batavorum 1900.
De Vit Lat. Lex. = Totius Latinitatis Lexicon opera et studio Aegidii Forcellini lucubratum et in hac editione post tertiam auctum et emendatum a Josepho Furlanetto... novo ordine digestum amplissime auctum atque emendatum cura et studio Doct. Vincentii de-Vit... i—vi Prati 1858—1879.
De Vit Onomasticon = Totius Latinitatis Onomasticon opera et studio Doct. Vincentii de-Vit lucubratum i—iv Prati 1859—1887.
'Εφ. = Εφημερις 'Αρχαιολογικής Εκδοτικής υπὸ τῆς ἐν 'Αθήναις 'Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας ἐν 'Αθήναις 1837—1843, 1852—1860, 1862, 1883—1900 continued as 'Αρχαιολογική 'Εφημερις εκδοτικής υπὸ τῆς 'Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 'Αθήναις 1910—
Ephem. epigr. = Ephemeris epigraphica, Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum, edita jussu Instituti archaeologici Romani Romae 1872—
Espérandieu Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom. = Ε. Espérandieu Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule Romaine.
Abbreviations

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  Forrer Realflex = Realltextken der prähistorischen, klassischen und frühchristlichen Altertümern von Dr. Robert Forrer Berlin & Stuttgart (1907).


Frazer Belief in Immortality = (Sir) J. G. Frazer The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead i—iii London 1912, 1922, 1924.


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 i London 1912.
Part VI. The Scapenot London 1913.
Part VII. Bulder the Beautiful The Fire-festivals of Europe and the Doctrine of the External Soul i i London 1913.

Bibliography and General Index London 1915.


Frazer Paunianias = Paunianias’s Description of Greece translated with a commentary by (Sir) J. G. Frazer i—vi London 1898.

C. II.
Abbreviations


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.


Abbreviations


Gnecci Medagl. Rom. = Francesco Gnecci I medaglioni Romani i Oro ed argento, ii Bronzo gran modulo, iii Bronzo moduli minori, Medaglioni del senato Milano 1912.

Gött. gei. Aus. = Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen Göttingen 1753—.


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.


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 Denkm. d. Malerei = Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums herausgegeben von Paul Herrmann München 1906—


Hoppin Red-fig. Vases = J. C. Hoppin A Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases signed by or attributed to the various Masters of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. i ii Cambridge, Mass. 1919.


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.


Abbreviations


i Inscriptiones Deli liberae. Tabulae archontum, tabulae hieropoecorum ann. 314—250 [Inscriptiones Graecae xi. 2] ed. F. Dürbach Berolini 1912.

ii Inscriptiones Deli liberae. Tabulae hieropoecorum ann. 250—166, leges, paetiones [Inscriptiones Graecae li. 3] ed. F. Dürbach.


Insgr. Gr. ins. = Inscriptiones Graecae insularum maris Aegaei


Insgr. Gr. sept. = Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae septentrionalis


Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. = Διεθνής Εφημερίς της Νομισματικής Αρχαιολογίας Journal
Abbreviations

International d'Archéologie Numismatique dirigé par J. N. Svoronos Athènes 1898—


La Grande Encyclopédie = La Grande Encyclopédie Inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres et des arts par une société de savants et de gens de lettres... i—xxx Paris s.a.


Lebas—Reinach Voyage Arch. = Bibliothèque des Monuments Figurés grecs et romains. Voyage Archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure sous la direction de M. Philippe Le Bas... (1842—1844). Planches de topographie, de sculpture et d'architecture Gravées d'après les dessins de E. Landron publiées et commentées par Salomon Reinach...Paris 1888.


Leroux Cat. Vases de Madrid = Vases grecs et italo-grecs du Musée Archéologique de Madrid (Bibliothèque des Universités du Midi Fascicule xvi) par G. Leroux Bordeaux 1912.


Lobbeck Aglaophamus = Aglaophamus sive de theologiae mysticae Graecorum causis libri tres. Scriptis Chr. Augustus Lobbeck idemque poetae Orphicorum dispersas reliquias collocit. i ii Regiomonti Prussorum 1829.


Lynes Descr. de vases points = Description de quelques vases points, tyrquais, tibiales, siciliens et grecs, par H. D. de Lynes... Paris 1840.


Abbreviations


Milani Stud. e mat. di arch. e num. = Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica pubblicati per cura di Luigi Adriano Milani i—iii Firenze 1899—1901, 1902, 1905.


i. 1 Karte der mileischen Halbinsel (1 : 50 000) mit erläuterndem Text von Paul Wilski Berlin 1906.

i. 2 Das Rathaus von Milet von Hubert Knackfuss mit Beiträgen von Carl Fredrich, Theodor Wiegand, Hermann Winnefeld Berlin 1908.


i. 4 Der Poseidonaltar bei Kap Monodendri von Armin von Gerkan Berlin 1915.


i. 6 Der Nordmarkt und der Hafen an der Löwenbucht von Armin von Gerkan mit epigraphischem Beitrag von Albert Rehm Berlin—Leipzig 1921.

i. 7 Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen von Hubert Knackfuss mit epigraphischem Beitrag von Albert Rehm Berlin 1924.

i. 8 Kalabaktepe, Athenatempe und Umgebung von Armin von Gerkan Berlin 1925.

ii. 1 Das Stadion von Armin von Gerkan Berlin—Leipzig 1924.


iii. 2 Die Befestigungen von Herakleia am Latmos von Fritz Krischen Berlin—Leipzig 1912.


Mнемосyne = Mnemosyne Tijdschrift voor classieke Litteratuur Leyden 1852—

Mommesen Feste d. Stadt Athen = Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum, geordnet nach attischem Kalender, von August Mommesen. Umarbeitung der 1864 erschienenen Heortologie. Leipzig 1898.


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


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


Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts.-Universität Göttingen 1864—

Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse Berlin 1906—

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


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


Ohnofalsch-Richter *Kypros* = *Kypros The Bible and Homer*. Oriental Civilization, Art and Religion in Ancient Times. Elucidated by the Author's own Researches and Excavations during twelve years' work in Cyprus. By Max Ohnofalsch-Richter. i Text ii Plates London 1893.


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


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


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

Perrot—Chipiez. Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité...par Georges Perrot...et Charles Chipiez... 1—3. Paris 1881.

i L'Égypte 1881, ii Chaldée et Assyrie 1884, iii Phénicie—Cypre 1885, iv Judée—Sardaigne—Syrie—Cappadoce 1887, v Perse—Phrygie—Lycie et Cilicie—Lycie 1890, vi La Grèce primitive; l'art Mycéenien 1894, vii La Grèce de l'époque archaïque; le temple 1898, viii La Grèce archaïque; la sculpture 1903, ix La Grèce archaïque; la glyptique—la numismatique—la peinture—la céramique 1911, x La Grèce archaïque; la céramique d' Athènes 1914.


Практ. όρον. είς = Практика όρων είς Αθήνας αρχαιολογικά της ἐποχῆς Athens 1872—


Abbreviations


Röm. Myth. = Mittheilungen des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Poesische Abtheilung Rom 1886—.


Ruggiero Division. epigr. = Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane di Ettore de Ruggiero i— Roma 1895—.


Abbreviations

Berlín 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 on the larger dictionaries by the late Sir William Smith... Revised throughout and in part rewritten by G. E. Marindin... London 1899.


Stais Marbres et Bronzes = Athènes² = Guide illustré 2e édition corrigée et augmentée, Marbres et Bronzes du Musée National par V. Stais... 1re volume Athènes 1910.

Stephani Vasenumuli. St. Petersburg = Die Vasen-Sammlung 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.


Suppl. epigr. Gr. = Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum Adiuvantibus P. Roussel, Argentorati, A. Sala, Pragae, M. N. Tod, Oxonii, E. Ziebarth, Hamburgi, redig-
endum curavit J. J. E. Hondius, Lugduni Batavorum. i— Lugduni Batavorum 1923—1924—
Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmuseum. = 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.
*Tiryns = Kaiserlich deutsches archaologisches Institut in Athen. Tiryns. 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 gríegos Madrid = Francisco Alvarez-Ossorio Vasos gréegos étroi és italo-greígos que se conservan en el Museo Arqueologico Nacional Madrid 1910.*
*Villoison anecd. = Anecdotæ Graecæ E. Regia Parisiensis; & e Veneta S. Marci Bibliothecis deprompta Edidit Johannes Baptista Caspar d’Anse de Villoison... i ii Venetiis 1781.*
  ii Basreliefe und geschnürte Steine. Göttingen 1850.
  iii Griechische Vasengemälde. Göttingen 1851.
  v Statuen, Basreliefe und Vasen gemälde. Göttingen 1864.*


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


CHAPTER II

ZEUS AS GOD OF THE WEATHER.

§ 1. Zeus lightens, thunders, rains, etc.

In the first volume of this work I endeavoured to show that Zeus, the Greek sky-god, was originally just the bright or day-light sky conceived as alive and operant; that already in Homeric times he had passed from the zoistic to the anthropomorphic stage, being regarded as a divine king who dwelt in the azure brilliance of the upper air; and that subsequently he came to be associated with other manifestations of celestial light in the various solar, lunar, and stellar cults of the Hellenistic world.

Zeus, then, was primarily god of the bright sky. But the sky is not always bright. As the rustic Korydon remarks in an idyll of Theokritos:

Ay, Zeus is sometimes fair and sometimes foul.

Hence the Greeks naturally extended the notion of Zeus as god of the bright sky to cover that of Zeus as weather-god in general. The poets from Homer downwards used such expressions as 'Zeus lightens', 'Zeus thunders', 'Zeus rains', 'Zeus snows', 'Zeus sends the hail'. The man in the street, with a reticence perhaps born of superstitious caution, preferred to say 'God rains', 'God

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1 Theokr. 4. 43 ἔχει Ζεύς ἄλλοις μὲν πέλεκες ἀλητρός, ἄλλοις δὲ ὑπη. 2 E.g. Ill. 9. 236 f. Ζεύς δὲ σφί Κρονίδης ἐνδέξει σήματα φαινόντων ὑπάρχητει. 3 E.g. Od. 14. 305 Ζεύς δ' ἄμωτις βροντησέας καὶ ἔμβαλε νη κεραυνόν. 4 E.g. Ill. 12. 25 f. μαν Ζεύς ὑπὲρεξέσι, Ἡμ. ο. δ. 415 f. μετοτωρόν ὑμβρῆσαντος Ζηνήν ἐροθεῖνας. 5 E.g. Babr. 45. 1 ἔκφει θτ ἔκ. 6 E.g. Eur. Trop. 78 f. καὶ Ζεύς μὲν δύμβρων καὶ ἔμβαλε νη ἄσπετον πέμψει δορφιδή γ' αἰθέρας φως χηματα. Phrases of the type Ζεύς...δύμβρων...πέμψει are further removed from primitive zoism than phrases of the type Ζεύς...δει. Transitional in character are such lines as Ζεύς δ' ἄμωτις βροντησέας καὶ ἔμβαλε νη κεραυνόν, of which the second half is more anthropomorphic than the first.

Zeus lightens, thunders, rains, etc.

snows,' or 'He lightens,' 'He thunders!,' but—if pressed for an explanation—would ascribe these actions to Zeus².

It was, therefore, a shock to old-fashioned piety, when philosophers and sophists insisted that such phenomena were brought about by purely physical causes. A certain memorable scene in The Clouds of Aristophanes³ represents Strepsiades, a member of the old school, as being instructed in the new learning by Sokrates:

Str. What! d’you mean that Zeus is not god, Zeus in heaven, on whom we call?

Socr. Zeus, d’you say? now don’t talk drivel; Zeus does not exist at all.

Str. What! Who makes the rain then? tell me that, and I shall be content.

Socr. Why the Clouds: I’ll prove it to you by convincing argument. Have you ever seen rain falling, when the clouds weren’t passing by? If it’s Zeus who rains, he ought to do it from a cloudless sky.

Str. That’s a clever point, I grant you, neatly used to back your case. Yet I thought once Zeus passed water through a sieve, when rain took place.

But who is it then that thunders, when I cower and hide my face?

Socr. Why, the rolling clouds make thunder.

Str. What d’you mean? that’s blasphemy.

Socr. When they’re teeming full of water and are forced across the sky, Big with rain and bulging downwards, moving at a fearful rate, Charging each against the next, they burst and crash with all their weight.

Str. But who is it drives them onwards? do you think it’s Zeus, or not?

Socr. No, the atmospheric vortex.

Str. Vortex! yes, I quite forgot:

Zeus does not exist, but Vortex rules instead of him to-day.

Philosophers and would-be philosophers left the man in the street pretty much as they found him. His simple creed might be, and was, exploded scores of times; but he continued to believe in it, just because his father and his grandfather and his great-grandfather had done the same before him. He never took kindly to Vortex⁴, and still talked in his unreasoning way of Zeus. If we

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1 Examples are given infra p. 3 n. 7.
2 Apollon. Dysk. de constr. or. p. 101, 16 ff. ἀ πρόπος ἀ άστρατες and the like says ἡ τουαστή ἐνίγμενα τῷ Δίῳ ἀναψάμπεται, cp. εἰς. mag. p. 311, 57 ff. οὐ δὲ γὰρ βρέχω ἐγώ, οὐ δὲ βρέχει σοί, ἀλλὰ βρέχει καὶ χοιρίζει καὶ ἀστράπτει ὁ θεὸς... ὅταν δὲ ἐρωτευμασίων ἐκή βρέχεις; ἡ βροιμία; διὰτ' οὗ προστίθηκε καὶ τὸ ἔπαγγελμα; διδότα, εἰς ἐκτόν ὁ τοῦτο ποίων, τοῦτον ὁ θεός.
3 Aristoph. nud. 366 ff. I quote the excellent rendering by A. D. Godley and C. Bailey (Oxford 1902), supplementing it by the addition of line 373.
4 Mr F. M. Cornford, however, points out to me that the vortex-theory of the philosophers had at least some foundation in popular belief—witness the ancient and very remarkable tablet from Tarragona (infra Append. G). Aristophanes’ words (nud. 380 f. ΣΩ. ἡμας', ἀλλ’ αἰθέρος δίως. ΣΤ. Δίως; τοῦτι μ’ ἀλληθεῖ, ἐν Δίως οὐ όν, ἀλλ’ ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ Δίως εὐς ραπτείων) are meant to suggest not only δίως or δίως, cosmic rotation, but also the name of Zeus (schol. ad loc. ἐγγύτατος διότι ἂν τοῦ Δίως τὸ δρώμα), with a sly hit at δίως, a round-bellied bowl (cp. nud. 1468 ff. ΣΤ. καὶ καταλαβόμενον παρθοὺς
Zeus lightens, thunders, rains, etc.

wish to know the sort of thing that was said by common-place folk at Athens in the fourth and third centuries B.C., we turn, for example, to the extant scraps of Middle and New Comedy. Somebody in the *Attis* of Alexis describes—

How just at first Zeus quietly clouds over,
Then more and more so.

Somebody else in a fragment by Menandros says:

Pelting with rain.

The *Characters* of Theophrastos tell the same tale. The garrulous man, full of truisms and trivialities, observes that 'if Zeus would send rain, the crops would be better.' The grumbler is 'annoyed with Zeus, not for not raining, but for raining too late.' The coward on a voyage 'pops up his head and asks the steersman if he is half-way across, and how the weather strikes him.' Only, where we translate 'the weather,' the Greek has literally 'the things of the god,' that is, of Zeus.

Phrases such as 'He rains,' 'He snows,' 'He is stormy,' 'He grows dark' alternate with the more explicit 'God rains,' 'God snows,' 'God is stormy,' 'God grows dark' throughout the whole range of Greek literature. Nor did the incoming of Christianity banish these reverential expressions. The name of Zeus was indeed suppressed, but the name of God remained and is still to be heard in this connexion. Thus, instead of the usual phrase 'day breaks,' a modern Greek folk-song in G. F. Abbott's collection has:

God brings on day-break.

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1 Alexis *Attis* frag. 2 (Frag. com. Gr. iii. 397 Meineke) ap. Phot. lex. s.v. μάλλων μάλλον...τὸν ( perí Meineke) ἐπισφέρει (ἐπισφέρει Cobet) τὸ πρῶτον ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐπισφέρει μάλλων μάλλον.


3 Theophr. char. 27 Jebb.

4 Theophr. char. 32 Jebb.

5 Theophr. char. 18 Jebb.

6 R. C. Jebb on Theophr. loc. cit. τὰ τῶν θεῶν.

7 Cp. Hdt. 4. 50 ὅπερ with Hdt. 3. 117 ὅπερ ἄφετο τὸ θεὸς, Aristoph. vesp. 772 ἄρα ἢ δὴ πήγη with Xen. cyn. 8. 1 ἢ δὴ πήγη ἢ δὲ μήδεις, Hdt. 7. 191 ἢ μὴ γάρ ἢ δὲ ἢ καθαρά tóis with Xen. oec. 8. 16 ἢ μὴ δὲ μήδείς ὁ θεὸς, Xen. Cyrop. 4. 5. 5 ἢ ἢ δὲ καθαρά tóis with Polyb. 31. 21. 9 αὕτη ἢ δὴ tóis ἢ δὲ μήδείς ὁ θεὸς. See further B. Gerth in K. Hähner *Auszühlliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* Hannover and Leipzig 1898 i. 33.

8 Supra i. 165 ff.

9 ἔσπερανοι.

10 G. F. Abbott *Songs of Modern Greece* Cambridge 1900 Part I. 21 καὶ ἔσπερανοι ὁ θεὸς t' ἡμέρα'.
The Diosemita or ‘Zeus-sign’

People say not only ‘it rains’ but ‘God rains’. And in a love-district from Crete cited by A. Passow the lover invokes ‘the Lord...who sends the cloudy weather and the thunder and the rain’—a manifest survival, as B. Schmidt points out, of Zeus the weather-god of pre-Christian days. Other locutions of the kind are collected by N. G. Polites and reviewed by J. C. Lawson, who concludes: ‘Such expressions as these are in daily use among the Greek peasantry: and nothing could reveal more frankly the purely pagan and anthropomorphic conception of God which everywhere prevails. The God of Christendom is indistinguishable from the Zeus of Homer.’

§ 2. The Diosemita or ‘Zeus-sign’

If Zeus was originally none other than the animate sky, we can well understand that any sudden change in his aspect must have meant much to his worshippers. Homer speaks of thunder and lightning, Hesiod of a blood-red rain, as the σήματα or ‘signs’ of Zeus. And the title Ἀμαλήδως, under which Zeus was worshipped on Mount Parnes, probably implies that omens were there drawn from the state of the weather.

Of kindred import is the term Diosemita, a ‘Zeus-sign,’ which may have arisen before Zeus became a fully anthropomorphic deity. It is used from the fifth century B.C. onwards to denote anything in the nature of an atmospheric disturbance—for example, a sudden

1 ἱδέτει.  
2 ἰδέτει θεότε (B. Schmidt Das Volksleben der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 ii. 29).  
3 Α. Passow Populatio carmina Greciae recentioris Lipsiae 1860 Dist. 242 o κύριος τὸ κατέχει, εἰκώς ἀπὸν συνεχοφορή κῇ λευκοβρωμᾷ καὶ βρέχει.  
4 B. Schmidt ep. c. i. 29 ff.  
5 N. G. Polites Δημιουδείς μεθευρολογικοὶ μύθοι (extract from Παλαισσόν) Athens 1880 pp. 10 ff., 13, 16 ff.  
6 J. C. Lawson Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion Cambridge 1910 p. 59.  
7 Π. 8. 170 f., Od. 21. 413.  
9 Hes. ιερ. Ερ. 384 ff.  
10 Append. B Attike, μυρα i. 121.  
11 Cp. Xen. Cyrop. 1. 6. 1 ff. Κύριος δὲ...προσεκάμενος ἑστὶν πατρῷ καὶ Διὶ πατρῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ὄμοιό τι ἐπὶ τῶν στρατευέρων... ἔτει δὲ εὐθὺς τῆς οἰκίας ἑγένετο, λέγοντας ἀστραπαὶ καὶ βρογχαὶ ἄστρων γενέσθαι τοῖς ἐκ στρατευέρων... τούτων δὲ φανερῶς ὄδε ὁ ἄρρητος ἐπερέαστο, ὦ νόμος τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ σήμα. κ.τ.λ., where σήμα is the equivalent of the Homeric and Hesiodic σήμα, similarly, ominous birds and beasts sent by Zeus are σήματα in poetry (Π. 2. 308 f., Theokr. 17. 71 ff.), σήμα in prose (Xen. Cyrop. 2. 4. 19).  
12 Διοσημαία is the best attested form: see Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. ii. 1540 Α—C ΣΤΑ. Διοσεμαία, Διοσημεία, Διοσημείον, Διοσημαία.
storm. But its scope was gradually widened to include meteorological phenomena of all sorts, until in the sixth century A.D. Ioannes Laurentius the Lydian could reckon as subdivisions of it solar and lunar eclipses, comets, shooting stars, lightning, thunder, thunderbolts, aerial portents, earthquakes, and conflagrations!

The Athenians, we are told, paid special attention to Zeus-signs, which were expounded to them by official Interpreters. When a sign occurred, the public assembly at once broke up and the law-courts ceased to sit. Thus in 420 B.C. the Athenians were on the point of making an alliance with the Argives and their confederates. 'But,' says Thukydides, 'before the final vote was taken an earthquake happened, and the assembly was adjourned.' Aristophanes in his *Women in Parliament* mentions as plausible reasons for not carrying out a decree:

An earthquake might befall,
Lightning might strike, a weasel cross the street,
And then they'd stop at once, you dunder-head!

The Chorus of Clouds in the play named after them take credit to themselves for saving the Athenians from undue haste:

We who more than all immortals benefit your state and you,
We alone have no libation, ne'er receive an offering due:
Yet we save you: when to senseless expeditions you're inclined,
Then we send you rain and thunder, so that you may change your mind.

The allusion in the last line is presumably to the postponement of public business occasioned by a Zeus-sign. That is certainly the case in a passage of the *Acharnians*, where Dikaiopolis waxes indignant with the Thracians:

1 Aristoph. *Ach.* 171 (*infra* p. 6) with schol. *ad loc.* (=Soud. *s.v.* Διοσθεία

2 The *phaenomena* of Aratos is, followed by a sequel (lines 733—1154), which deals with weather-signs in general and in the later mss. is entitled Διοσθείαι τῶν φέργωννιστήσιν. This sequel utilised the same source as the treatise περὶ σημείων wrongly attributed to Theophrastos and was itself translated into Latin verse by Cicero under the heading *prognostica* (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1911 ii. 1. 124 f.; see further G. Knaack in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 395, 397).

3 Lyd. de ostent. 4. Here, as *ib.* 164, 16, 166; C. Wachsmuth prints διοσθεία, but *ib.* 47 διοσθεία.


5 Poll. 8. 134 ἀνεστάτα ὀδὸν ἑκατάστημα, ἐλ γένος Διοσθεία: ἐγιγναί δ' ἐκαλοῦντο τὰ περὶ τῶν Διοσθείων καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔρωτι διδάσκοντες. Similarly the Romans κατὰ τὰ ἐν τοῖς κεραυνοὶ Διοσθείας τετοίους (cf. the Etruscans) εἴργηται χρωταί (Diod. 5. 40).

6 *Supra* n. 4. *Cp. infra* p. 6 n. 3.

7 *Supra* n. 5.


The *Diosema* or 'Zeus-sign'

Magistrates, can you stand it? And am I
In my own country by barbarian hands
To be thus handled? No, to pay the Thracians
There shall be no assembly. See, there is
A Zeus-sign—I distinctly felt a rain-drop.¹

Hereupon the herald without further enquiry terminates the sitting:

Thracians, begone: come back in two days' time.
The magistrates hereby adjourn the assembly.²

The *Diosema* doubtless afforded fair sport to the comedian; but to the majority of his fellow-countrymen, as also to the Romans,³ it was no laughing-matter. 'When armies gather for battle,' says Dion Chrysostomos, 'and a sudden Zeus-sign appears or an earthquake takes place, men straightway turn back and abandon hostilities, since the gods are against their fighting.'⁴ The suddenness of the sign appears to have been an essential feature.⁵ If foreseen, it was robbed of its horrors—witness an anecdote told by Polyainos the Macedonian:

Leonidas was about to join battle, when he noticed storm-clouds collecting and remarked to the generals that they must not be surprised if it lightened and thundered—that was bound to happen in the dog-days. So, when numerous Zeus-signs occurred, Leonidas' men being forewarned held on their way with no fears for the future, but the enemy in dire dismay were cowed by the danger and consequently beaten.⁶

Another name for the meteorological omen was *echesamia*, a 'stop-sign,' and this is defined by Hesychios as 'a summer drizzle

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¹ Aristoph. *Ach.* 167 ff.
² Aristoph. *Ach.* 172 ff.
³ Appian, *De bell. civ.* 1. 30 ὃ ὄ τοι πολιτικοὶ ἄμια ὑπὲρ λάδος ἐλεύθη ἐν ἑκάστῃ βροντῇ, ἔπειτα ὅ τοι ἀντιπαθεῖ Πρωταίοι ἀναβαίνει ἐνάντιοι κυριόν... ὡς ὅ τοι ἄλλοι τόσοι ὁ πρῶτος βιών τε καὶ βροντῆς ἐνκυμάουσα σφόδρα τὸ πάτρα, Dion Cass. *XVIII.* 13 τῆς γὰρ μαντείας τῆς ἡμεριας ἐκ τοῦ ὄμηρος καὶ ἐς ἄλλων τῶν, ὅπερ εἶπον, ποιεῖται, τὸ μεγίστον κύρος ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ὄμηρος εἶχεν, εἰτέκο ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἄλλα οἰωνίους πολλὰ καὶ καθ’ ἐκείνου πράξει, ἐκείνο δὲ ἐσάπτο ἐπὶ πάτρα τῆς ἡμέρας γίνεσθαι. τούτῳ τε ὅν Ἰδώσατον ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάνων ἢ ἐνέτεις πραξάν, καὶ ἐγένετο μηδέν ὁτι καθ’ ἐκείνου ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ οἰωνίους ἐπαγομένων, ἢ ἐκολυ, καὶ ἀνεχειρίζετο τι, τάς δὲ τῆς δημοσίους ἐνασφαλείς πάντως ἐπίσταν, καὶ ἦν πρὸς αὐτὰ τοῖς Διοστήμοις, εἶτε ἔποιες ἐπὶ ἔποιες ἐνεπέτα (cp. *Ib.* 38. 29. 35. 39. 40. 41. 17).
⁴ Dion Chrys. *Or.* 38. 1. 138 Reiske καὶ ὅτος συνερχόμενος εἰς μάχην στρατάων ἡ Διοστήμων ἐπηκύλιν ἡ τῆς γῆς γένεται σωμάτω, ἀναστρέφεται εὐθὺς οἱ ἀνθρώποι καὶ ἀνακυρωδοῖς ἀπ’ ἄλλων ὡς τῶν θεῶν οὐ βαρελαίραν αὐτοῖς μάχεσθαι.
⁵ This is implied by *Od.* 20. 112 ff. Χαν πάντα,... ἡ μεγάλα ἐφόρησεν ἀν’ ὄμηρος ἀνεπάνως, ὁ ἐν τῶν νῦν ἄλλωσι τῆς τίς χρόνο τὸν τὸν ψάλει. Similarly Servius regards a bolt from the blue as an omen, but a bolt from the clouds as a natural phaenomenon (Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 141. 4. 130).
⁶ Polyain. 1. 32. 2. J. Melber 'Über die Quellen und den Wert der Strategemeinsammlung Polyainos' in *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1885 xiv. 437 argues that the Leonidas of Polyain. 1. 32. 2 f. was not the hero of Thermopylae mentioned in Polyain. 1. 32. 1, but another Spartan general of the same name.
or thunder-clap". Gossiping history is full of such inhibitions. An example or two will suffice. Stabrobates, the Indian king opposed to Semiramis, is said to have been immobilized 'when Zeus-signs befell him, intimating—that the seers declared—that he must not cross the river'. Agis and his army actually gave up the invasion of Attike in 426 B.C. because of a series of earthquakes¹ and that of Elis in 399 for a like reason⁴. In 388 or 387 Agesipolis marched against Argos, when another earthquake happened and his soldiers, recalling the action of Agis in 399, were for retiring. Agesipolis made excuses and pushed on; but, when further a thunderbolt fell in his camp, even he had enough of it and beat a retreat⁵. Galba on quitting his house, early in 69 A.D., to nominate Piso Licinius as his successor encountered, according to Plutarch, 'great Zeus-signs': his speech in the camp was accompanied by incessant thunder and lightning, rain and darkness; obviously heaven did not approve of his choice⁶.

Finally, a word may be added about the interpretation of Zeus-signs. The instances quoted above show that assemblies, law-courts, and armies viewed such signs with alarm and on their occurrence were apt to drop the business in hand. This after all was natural enough. In civil or military crises, when a superstitious public would be on the look out for omens, a sudden deluge of rain might well act as a deterrent, and a growl of thunder be taken to portend something sinister. What seems really remarkable is that side by side with this common-sense, or at least common-place, attitude an earlier view of a very different sort held its ground, a view which

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² Ἐκσωμά appears to be a Doric and perhaps Pythagorean (?) term, formed on the false analogy of ἔκσωμα: cp. ἔγκαλητία, ἕκσωμα, ἔκσωμοφωνή—three words for 'silence,' of which the first (Loukian. Lexiph. 9) possibly, the second (Plout. de curiis. 9, Iamb. v. Pyth. 32, 68, 104, 188, 236, cp. 94) and third (Iamb. v. Pyth. 246) certainly, were current in the school of Pythagoras (cp. O. Casel De philosophorum Græcorum silentio mystico Giessen 1919 pp. 30 ff., 52 ff.). That philosopher is expressly said to have discussed Διωσμαί (Porphy. v. Pyth. 25, Iamb. v. Pyth. 62). Hesych. Διωσμείων: τεράστιον σημεῖον is restored by M. Schmidt as the Doric (Διωσμαί): Δώτι σημείον. τεράστιον σημείον to suit the ord. verborum.

³ Diod. 2. 19. Philos. v. Apoll. 2. 33 p. 73 Kayser states that, when the Egyptian Herakles and Dionysos invaded India, the sages (Brachmanes) dwelling between the Hyphasis and the Ganges Διωσμαι τε καὶ σχυτοῖς ἁλλοττε ἀποκροοῦνται σφᾶς λεπτοὶ καὶ θεωρεῖται ἄνεοι... ἐπὶ δ᾿ αὐτῶν προσέχειν, προτηθείς αὐτῶν ἀπεισάνθη καὶ βρονταί κατω στρεφόμεναι καὶ ἰμπίτουσαν τοῖς ὄροις, κ.τ.λ.

⁴ Xen. Hell. 3. 7-74.

⁵ Xen. Hell. 4. 7. 4 ff., cp. Paus. 3. 5. 8.

regarded the Zeus-sign as positive not negative, hortatory rather than minatory. We have reason to think that in the far past Greek magicians and kings claimed to be weather-makers. Salmoneus with his thunders is the stock example. That primitive belief did not pass away without leaving sundry traces of itself in the national literature. Among these I would reckon the encouraging thunder-peals\(^1\) and lightning-flashes\(^2\) vouchsafed to epic heroes. The kings of Troy traced their lineage through Dardanos back to Zeus, for whom they had special reverence\(^3\), and more than one scion of the royal family appears to have been an adept at eliciting Zeus-signs. Ilos the grandfather of Priamos prayed Zeus for a sign and found next morning the Zeus-fallen Palladion lying before his tent\(^4\). Priamos asked Zeus for an omen of his favour, and Zeus sent a black eagle in response to his prayer\(^5\). Hektor too relied on Zeus and his lightning-signs\(^6\)—indeed he himself bore the same title as Zeus, for Sappho spoke of Zeus as Hektor\(^7\). Again, when Odysseus prayed Zeus for a portent, forthwith there came thunders from a cloudless sky\(^8\). Similarly in an ode of Bakchylides\(^9\) Minos, to prove that he is the son of Zeus, prays:

Zeus my father, great and strong, hearken, if in very truth
Phoinike's white-armed maid bare me to thee,
Now send thou forth from heaven a swift
Flash of streaming fire,
A sign for all to know.

Whereupon—

Zeus great and strong heard that immoderate prayer
And planted honour infinite for Minos,
Willing for his dear son
To make it seen of all,
Ay, sent the lightning.

Such scenes imply an underlying belief that the divine king could evoke a thunderstorm at will\(^10\). In early days this could have been done, not by a prayer to Zeus, but by mimetic means: nor would

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3. I have elaborated the point in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 77 ff.
the operator have been content to be called the son of Zeus; he would have passed for Zeus himself. The epic tradition survived into later times. To be struck by lightning was no small honour\(^1\); to be slain by it meant apotheosis\(^2\). Euthymos the boxer had a statue in his native town, the Italian Lokroi, and another at Olympia: both were struck by lightning on the same day—a fact which stamped the worship of the living man with the approval of Zeus\(^3\). Even to a dead man’s tomb lightning added the lustre of divinity. According to Plutarch,—

Aristotle declares that the honours paid to Lykourgos in Lakedaimon were less than he deserved. And yet those honours were very great; for he has a sanctuary there, and men sacrifice to him yearly as to a god. It is also said that, when his remains were brought home, his tomb was struck by a thunderbolt—a thing that has happened to hardly any other famous personage except Euripides, who died later and was buried near Arethousa in Makedonia. Indeed, lovers of Euripides quote as strong evidence of his merit the fact that he alone after death met with the same fate as the greatest favourite of heaven, the holiest character of the past\(^4\).

Bianor the Bithynian (c. 17 A.D.), not content with this, makes the lightning strike his poet’s grave three times over:

In Macedonian dust thou liest low,

But burnt by Zeus o’ the Bolt hast done with clay.

Thrice flashed his sky, Euripides, and so

The tomb’s tale of mortality purged away\(^5\).

Among the Romans too the fall of lightning was diversely interpreted, being sometimes at least regarded as a presage of good\(^6\). When a statue of Horatius Cocles in the Comitium was struck, Etruscan *haruspices* bade move it to a lower position, where it would never be shone upon by the sun. But for this they were denounced and put to death. The statue was promoted to a higher place in the Area Volcani, and prosperity resulted for Rome\(^7\). In 172 B.C. the Columna Rostrata, erected on the Capitol to commemorate the sea-fight of 255 B.C., was shattered by a lightning-flash at night. The *decemviri* ordered a lustration of the city, a

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\(^1\) Infra p. 27 ff.

\(^2\) Plin. nat. hist. 7. 152. See further Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 275.

\(^3\) Plout. v. Lycurg. 31.

\(^4\) Anth. Pal. 7. 49 (Bianor) ἄ Μακεδίης ὁ Κόκλης ἀ τάφον κοίς ἀλλὰ παράθεις | Ζαώι κερανείῳ γαῖαν ἀπημφιᾶσαι. | τρίς γὰρ ἀπαστράφας, Εὔρυχηθή, ἐκ Δῶς ἀλθήρ | ἦσσος τὸν θερατὸν σήματος λαυρομ. In line 3 ἀπημφιᾶσαι, the reading of Planudes, is preferable to the conjectures ἀπημφιᾶσον Brunck and Reiske, ἀφημφιᾶσε Reiske, ἀφημφιᾶσε Polak, ἄφημφιᾶσε Piccolos, γάς ἄρ’ ἀνθῆθες ἄρας Schmidt.


\(^6\) Annal. max. 11 (Hist. Rom. frag. p. 5 Peter) and M. Verrius Flaccus *veruma memoria dignarium* 1 (Fest. ed. Müller praef. p. xiii) ap. Gell. 4. 5. 1—7.
public service of humiliation and prayer, and the sacrifice of larger victims both on the Capitol and on the promontory of Minerva in Campania; they further directed that games lasting ten days be celebrated as soon as possible for Jupiter Optimus Maximus. But the haruspices declared that the presage was a happy one, portending increase of territory and destruction of enemies. Shortly before the death of Augustus, his statue on the Capitol was struck by lightning, and the word Caesar on its base lost the initial C. The seers concluded that he would live but C, i.e. a hundred, days longer and then become an aesar, i.e. the Etruscan term for a god. One of the omens that marked out Antoninus Pius for the throne was the following: 'a thunderbolt fell from a clear sky on his house and did no damage.' Another omen of more doubtful character heralded the rise of the elder Maximinus: his lance was split by a thunderbolt, which bisected even the iron blade. The haruspices inferred that two emperors called by the same name would spring from his house, but would not reign for long. At Interamna the cenotaphs of the emperor Tacitus and his brother Florianus were surmounted by two marble portraits thirty feet in height. These statues were shivered and scattered by lightning. Thereupon the haruspices predicted that a thousand years later a member of the imperial house should conquer the whole of the known world and, after resigning supreme power to the senate, die at the age of a hundred and twenty without leaving an heir behind him.

Thus the Zeus-sign retained its significance, good as well as bad, throughout the classical period of Greece and Rome. Julian, writing to Libanius, can still say: 'From Litarba I went to Berroia, and Zeus showed nothing but propitious signs, exhibiting his Diosema for all to behold. There I stopped for a day, saw the akropolis, and sacrificed a white bull to Zeus in kingliness fashion.'

In dealing with Zeus as god of the weather it will be convenient to consider separately the evidence that connects him with lightning, thunder, earthquakes, clouds, wind, dew, and rain.

Zeus Keraunós

§ 3. Zeus and the Lightning.

(a) Lightning as a flame from the Burning Sky.

At the very moment when the sky was darkest Zeus vindicated his character as 'the Bright One.' The brilliant flash that glittered for an instant against the lowering storm sufficiently proved his presence and his power.

The Homeric poems use the same set of words to describe aithér, sun, moon, stars, lightning, fire. From which fact it has been fairly inferred that in popular belief lightning was made of the same material as aithér, etc.—was, indeed, but a flame from the flaming sky. Here, as elsewhere, popular belief seems to have left its impress on philosophy; for Anaxagoras regarded lightning as a veritable streak of aithér, a fragment of the burning sky that had fallen into the lower stratum of aér or cloudy air, and the physicist Milon distinguished two species of lightning, diurnal and nocturnal, holding that the former was due to the action of the sun, the latter to that of the stars, upon water. Nay more, the very word astrapé, the ordinary Greek term for 'lightning,' itself bears witness to the conviction that the electric flash was akin to all other ñstra, sun, moon, stars, or Saint Elmo's fire.

Another name for the lightning was keraunós, the 'destroyer.' This is usually translated by the word 'thunderbolt,' but must not be taken to denote a solid missile of any sort. It means nothing more than the bright white flash in its destructive capacity.

i. Zeus Keraunós.

Now, if the lightning-flash was part and parcel of the aithér or burning sky, it was part and parcel of Zeus. For Zeus in his early

1 O. Gilbert Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums Leipzig 1907 pp. 20 f., 619.
2 Id. ib. p. 632 n. 1 citing Aristot. meteor. 2. 9. 369 b 14 ff., Aët. 3. 3. 4, Senec. nat. quaest. 2. 12. 3. 2. 19.
5 Keraunós is connected with keraθυς, 'to destroy,' by L. Meyer op. cit. ii. 362, Prellwitz op. cit. pp. 19, 217, Boissaq op. cit. pp. 435, 440. These authorities cp. Sanskrit śrω-ḥ, 'dart'; Gothic háira, Old Norse hígr, Old Saxon heru-, 'sword'; Middle Irish acc. pl. cÚr, 'sword,'—which forms presuppose an Indo-European *hērau-, 'fint dagger' (?), but do not warrant the inference that the Greeks originally identified the lightning-flash with the thunder-stone (on which see infra § 3 (c)).
Zeus Keraunós

zoistic stage was the burning sky. Hence Herakleitos had common opinion behind him, when he called his elemental Fire both Zeus and Keraunós. The same identification of Zeus with Keraunós accounts for an Orphic hymn, which consists of a prayer to Zeus that he will expend his fury on the sea or on mountain-summits and leave mankind in peace, but is headed by the title Keraunós, 'of Keraunós.' The equation of Zeus with Keraunós is implied also, as H. Weil remarked, in the fragment of a Hesiodic Theogony which tells how Zeus swallowed Metis—fearing lest she bear a second offspring stronger than Keraunós. The logic of the passage and the parallel myth of Thetis lead us to expect 'stronger than himself.' But, since the strength of Zeus is chiefly exhibited in the lightning-flash, the poet substitutes the latter for the former. Further evidence of Zeus Keraunós came to light in 1868, when P. Foucart found at Mantineia a rough block of limestone inscribed as follows in lettering of the fifth century B.C. (fig. 1):

ΔΙΟΣ ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟ

Of Zeus Keraunós.

Fig. 1.

The stone appears to have marked some spot struck by lightning.

1 Supra i. 25 ff. 3 Supra i. 28.
2 Orph. k. Ker. 19. 1 Zeu πάτρος κ.τ.λ. with the title Keraunou. The editors, including E. Abel, alter this quite arbitrarily to Keraunov Δοξα. A. Dieterich De hymnis Orphicis Marburg 1891 p. 19 n. 1 (= Kleine Schriften Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 82 n. 2) and H. Usener 'Keraunos' in the Rhein. Mus. 1895 ix. 3 ff. (= Kleine Schriften Leipzig and Berlin 1913 iv. 473 ff.) rightly retain the reading of all the MSS.
4 H. Weil in the Rev. Arch. 1876 ii. 56 ff.
5 Quoted by Chrysippus ap. Galen. de Hippocratis et Platonis platicit. 3. 8 (v. 351 f.
6 Infra § 9 (h) ii (s).
Zeus *Kataibates*

Such a spot would thenceforward be sacred to the fiery sky conceived as flashing downwards; in other words, it would be sacred to Zeus in the character of *Keraunōs*.

ii. Zeus *Kataibates*.

Hardly more advanced is the conception of Zeus that underlies his title *Kataibates*, ‘He who descends.’ As far back as the close of the seventeenth century this title began to arouse the interest of scholars. E. Holthenus in a letter to J. G. Graevius declared that it had nothing to do with thunderbolts, but denoted Jupiter who ‘descended’ from heaven to enquire into the truth of worldly things, to punish sinners, and to benefit mankind. This hasty conjecture provoked a reply from P. Burmannus the elder, who in

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1 H. Usener in his *Götternamen* Bonn 1896—one of the greatest modern works on classical religion—argued that Indo-European gods have passed through three stages of development, viz. (1) as ‘Momentary gods’ (*Augenblicksgötter*), (2) as ‘Departmental gods’ (*Sondergötter*), (3) as ‘Personal gods’ (*persönliche Götter*). The first stage is represented by such individual and temporary divinities as the *epistrophon* of the Athenian harvester or the spear by which the Arcadian Parthenopaeus used to swear; the second, by such specific and limited divinities as those of the Roman *indiligentia* (Varro’s *di eīrt*) or of ancient Lithuanian cult; the third, by the great personal deities of Greece and Italy. Usener (ib. p. 286 ff. and more fully in the *Rhein. Mus. 1905* lx. 1—30 = Kleine Schriften Leipzig and Berlin 1913 iv. 471—497) contends that *Keraunos* was first an *Augenblicksgott*, then a *Sondergott*, and lastly an attribute of a *persönlicher Gott*, i.e. that, to begin with, any and every lightning-flash was regarded as a divinity, that next men advanced to the more general conception of one lightning-god, and that finally he was absorbed into the larger personality of Zeus. The three stages in the evolution of *Keraunos* would thus be marked by the terms *kepawon, kepavōs*, and Zeus *Kepawos*.

With a general criticism of Usener’s far-reaching theory I am not here concerned (for its validity in the Greek area see L. R. Farnell ‘The place of the *Sonder-Götter* in Greek Polytheism’ in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 pp. 81—100, and in the Italian area G. Wissowa ‘Echte und falsche Sondergötter in der römischen Religion’ in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* München 1904 pp. 304—329), but with its special applicability to the case of Zeus *Kepawos*. Usener (*Rhein. Mus. 1905* lx. 15 = Kleine Schriften Leipzig and Berlin 1913 iv. 484) holds that the very expression Zeus *Kepawos* involves an inner contradiction, since it unites the last with the first stage of his evolutionary sequence: Zeus had before the days of Homer developed into a *persönlicher Gott*, the hurler of the lightning; and, if he is here combined with an *Augenblicksgott*, the particular lightning-flash, we can only explain the combination by saying that side by side with the later development of a *persönlicher Gott* the earlier conception of an *Augenblicksgott* has persisted, clinging with amazing tenacity to the actual custom of considering a spot struck by lightning as the abode of a divinity. I confess, I find it easier to suppose—that though the supposition is expressly deprecated by Usener—that in this remarkable inscription not only *Keraunōs* but Zeus too is still in the zoetic stage. If even in the philosophy of a Heraclitus Zeus as the fiery sky was equated with *Keraunōs*, *a fortiori* might we look to find that combination of primitive ideas in the memorial of an Arcadian rite. On this showing there is no inner inconsistency in the title Zeus *Kepawos*; and we are of course still free to accept Usener’s great theory as to the evolution of Indo-European gods.
Zeus Kataibátes

a learned treatise cited most of the evidence both literary and monumental, and triumphantly demonstrated the essential connexion of the title Kataibátes with the lightning-cults of the ancient world.

The question has, however, been reopened of late by O. Gruppe, who propounds a wholly fresh solution of the problem. Kataibátes—we are to suppose—was originally the name of an ancient deity dwelling in the depths of the earth and invoked by those who desired to conjure up rainy or stormy weather: hence he came to be compared with Zeus the lightning-god, and was ultimately regarded as himself the hurler of the thunderbolt. In other words, a subterranean Kataibátes preceded the celestial Zeus Kataibátes.

In support of this suggestion, Gruppe points out that a Cilician inscription of the second century A.D. mentions ‘the god Kataibátes and Pherephone’ together; that in Rhodes and at Athens, according to a scholiast on Aristophanes, Hermes was not only Chthónios but also Kataibátes; that the same epithet is applied to the river Acheron; and that katabásion was a word used of an underground cavern or chasm at Eleusis, Lebadeia, Aigialos, Hierapolis in Phrygia, etc. Indeed, it cannot be denied that the title Kataibátes would be perfectly appropriate to any deity who descended into the underworld. Nevertheless, it will be observed that the only direct evidence for Kataibátes as a separate chthonian divinity is a Cilician inscription of Roman date, whereas the lightning-flash of Zeus is called kataibátes by Aischylos as early as 467–458 B.C. Zeus Kataibátes himself appears in Greek literature.

1 The letter of E. Holthenus (Trajecti ad Rhenum pridie Idi Maj. MDCCCLXIII) is reprinted from the Bibliotheca nova rerum librorum 1699 p. 344 in the second edition of P. Burmannus Vertigilia populi Romani et Zeuvs Kataiβάτης Leidae 1734 p. 217 ff. Holthenus had relied on Ov. met. i. 211 ff., ib. 320 f., fast. 3. 327 ff.


4 Schol. Aristoph. pax 630.


6 Asterios homill. 10 (xl. 324 Migne), cp. Athen. 496 b.

7 Schol. Aristoph. mub. 508.

8 Solid. Ἠ. τον τορόμανον.


10 See Stephanus Theocr. Gr. Living. 1934 c τον καταβάτην.

The altars of Zeus Kataibates

from 421 B.C. onwards, and is by the universal testimony of the grammarians and lexicographers the god 'who makes to descend' the thunderbolts. This indeed is not quite exact as a rendering of his title, which should rather be the god 'who descends' himself in the form of a thunderbolt; but it sufficiently indicates that the epithet denoted the fall of the lightning-flash from sky to earth.

(a) The altars of Zeus Kataibates.

Zeus Kataibates did not often acquire civic importance. But in Syria, where the cult of the thunderbolt played a large part, he rose to the rank of a state-deity. Imperial coppers of Kyrillos show Zeus enthroned on a rock with thunderbolt and sceptre, and the legend expressly designates him 'Zeus Kataibates of the Cyrrhestians' (fig. 3). Frequently an eagle is added at his feet (fig. 4).

1 Aristoph. Pax 42 (where with H. Sharples read Διός σκαραίδον to point the jest), Klearchos frag. 9 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 306 f. Müller) ap. Athen. 524 D—f, Lyk. Al. 1370, Orph. h. Zeus 15. 6, Apollod. frag. 34 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 434 Müller) ap. schol. Soph. O.C. 705, Cornut. theolog. 9 p. 9, 13 Lang, Aristeid. or. i. 8 (i. 11 Dindorf), Tauss. 5. 14. 10, Poll. 1. 24. 91, 41, Liban. or. 15. 32 (ii. 131, 11 f. Foerster), Hesych. s.v. Kataibatês, Scholl—Studemund anec. i. 265, 266, 274, 282.


3 Infra § 3 (c) iv (e).

4 Sufra I. 124.

5 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. p. 133 pl. 17, 4 Trajan DIOCCKATAIBATOY


The cult of Zeus at Kyrillos is attested also by coppers of Alexandros i Balas, king of Syria, struck in 148 B.C., which have as reverse type Zeus standing with uplifted wreath and an owl at his feet (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 56 pl. 16, 14, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 66, Eckhel Doctr. num. vet. ii. 260, Rasche Lex. Num. ii. 1166. Suppl. ii. 349, Head Hist. num. 2 pp. 766, 777). I figure a sample in the Leake collection at Cambridge (fig. 2).

The altars of Zeus Kataibates

Sometimes the god is seated in his temple (figs. 5, 6). But usually the cult was a more modest affair. Thus on the top of the hill Perianti in Melos there is a rough rock-cut altar simply


Münztaf. 3. 17, Head Hist. num. 3 p. 777.

The legend ΔΕΟΚ ΚΑ ΤΕΒΑΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΗΣΤΩΝ involves two peculiarities in spelling. The former, Καραβάρης for Καραβάρης, is very frequent from the time of Trajan onward: some specimens struck by Philippus Senior even shorten the title to Καραβάρης (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. p. 137 no. 32 ΔΟΚΤΕ ΒΑΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΗΣΤΩΝ) — I figure a sample in my collection (fig. 6). The latter, Κυρηστων for Κυρηστων, is common on coins struck by the Philippi, and regular in ecclesiastical and Byzantine writers (Smith Dict. Geogr. i. 737).

The running ram above the temple was regarded by W. Wroth as 'a mint-symbol, corresponding to the Capricorn at Zeugma, and (perhaps) to the Pegasos at Samosata' (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. pp. 1 f., 137 n. 4). The closest parallel, however, is the running ram above the temple of Tyche at Antiochia on the Orontes (ib. p. 322 pl. 25, 12, p. 329 pl. 26, 4 f.), which 'has been explained by K. O. Müller [Antiquitates Antiocienae Gottingae 1839 p. 72] as a sign of the zodiac, indicating the period of the year at which the foundation of the city took place' (W. Wroth ib. p. 11 citing J. de Witte in the Rev. Num. 1844 p. 11). Possibly the ram, when placed above a building, should rather be taken to represent an abrotéion, comparable e.g. with the eagle on coins of Seleucia Pieria (Append. B Syria) or with the more ambitious groups on coins of Berytos (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia p. 77 ff. pl. 10, 1, 4 and 6, p. 81 ff. pl. 10, 9—11, Anson Num. Gr. v. 54 f. nos. 361, 363 pl. 8). If so, it is probable (cp. supra i. 293 ff. for solar abrotéia, i. 346 ff., 428 ff. for solar ram) that this ram was a prophylactic sun-sign. Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 215 hazards the very precarious suggestion that it was 'das Symbol der Wolke, aber der fruchtbarer, lichten Wolke.'
The altars of Zeus Kataibátés

inscribed with the Doric name of Zeus Kataibátas (fig. 7). A rock that crops out from the Three Churches field in the same locality is probably another open air altar and bears the remains of a similar inscription. Sir Cecil Smith remarks: 'The exposed and prominent position of these two rocks is appropriate to the divinity “that descends in thunder and lightning.”' Again, an oblong stone altar found below the Agora at Thera is inscribed with the same words (fig. 8), which—as M. P. Nilsson points out—need not be taken to denote that the spot had actually been struck by lightning, but may have served a merely prophylactic or prudential purpose.

A marble block from Koutiphari near Thalamai in Lakonike com-

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1 Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 9 no. 22 with fig. (=my fig. 7), *Inscr. Gr. Ins.* iii no. 1093; Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscbr.* iii. 2. 216 no. 4880 Διὸς Καταίβατα.<ref>

2 Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 8 f. no. 21 with fig., *Inscr. Gr. Ins.* iii no. 1094; Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscbr.* iii. 2. 216 no. 4881 [Διὸς Καταίβατα].


4 *Inscr. Gr. Ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1360 with fig. (=my fig. 8), F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die Insel Thera* Berlin 1904 iii. 174 fig. 171 Διὸς Καταίβατα.

5 M. P. Nilsson in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1908 lxiii. 315 (‘sein Altar diente so zu sagen als Blitzableiter’).

_C. 11._
memorates Zeus Kabátas, a pre-Doric form of Katabátas, and adds some details as to his ritual (fig. 9). The lettering is that of the early fifth century B.C., and the dedicator, a certain Gaisylos, prescribed that once in four years an offering of meal (?) be made to the god. The period of this private sacrifice was probably regulated by the great public pentacteris of Zeus Olympios. The meal (?) may imply the chthonian nature of a deity, who with his fructifying stroke penetrated the dark womb of earth.


On this showing the text runs: Δαδι Καβάτα. πεμτι σο | τετει | θνων | [δ]ληννων. Γαλλάω.

3 The reading Τακάλω is that of W. Kolbe, who cp. Plout. v. Diom. 49 Τακάλω τῆς Σπαράτης. E. S. Forster in a letter to M. P. Nilsson (Gr. Feste p. 473) had conjectured Τακάλων as a second epithet of Zeus: but this, as F. Solmsen (Rhein. Mus. 1907 liii. 330) remarks, would at least have been Τακάδω. R. Meister in the Ber. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1905 p. 281 n. 1 suggested Τακάλων, which has been supported by Roehl Inscr. Gr. ant. no. 79, 8 = Roberts Gr. Epigr. 1. 269 ff. no. 264, 9 = Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial. Inscr. iii. 2. 10 f. no. 4416, 9 = Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 946, 9 = M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum Oxford 1906 f. 64 f. no. 440, 9 = Τακαλών. M. P. Nilsson in the Rhein. Mus. 1908 liii. 314 abandons the search for the cult-title and proposes γαλάχων, 'der Ackerbesitzer' (cp. Roehl Inscr. Gr. ant. no. 79, 8 Πολάξαων, which, as W. Kolbe points out, suits neither the space nor the letters on the stone.


The use of ground barley-grains or meal was presumably of later origin (so Theophr. ap. Porphy. de abst. 2. 6, cp. Plout. quaest. Gr. 6, schol. il. 2. 410, Eustath. in il. p. 132, 22 ff., Soud. s.v. ούλαχων—cited by P. Stengel), but of similar significance. Odysseus is hidden by Kirke to dig a hole in the earth and to pour drink-offerings for the dead ἔτι
The cult of Zeus Kataibates was by no means confined to the Dorians. In Paros at the northern foot of Mount Kynados close to ἄνθρωπος λεύκα παλένων (Od. 10. 530, cp. Eustath. in Od. p. 1668, 28 ff.). Initiates into the mysteries were sprinkled with meal (Aristoph. neut. 258 ff. with schol. ad loc.). The καταχώροι had their heads whitened with it (Hermipp. det. frag. 2 (Frag. comm. Gr. ii. 389 f. Meineke) ap. schol. Aristoph. a. 1551, cp. Aristoph. ecc. 730 ff.). So had the three mantic Semnai of Parnassos (h. Herm. 552 ff.; see Mr E. E. Sikes ad loc. and his Append. iii.). We hear also of ἀλευρόμαχος, ἀλευρομάχος, ἀλευροσίδος, κραμομάχος (A. Bouché-Leclercq Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité Paris 1879 i. 181 and in Darmenben—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 299, E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1374, 1637, W. R. Halliday Greek Divination London 1913 p. 185, and for mediaeval relics of the art W. H. D. Rouse in Folk-Lore 1899 x. 552). In Kos on the first day of the month Panathas (= Boedromion) 1 meal was burnt for Hestia Tauia (W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks The Inscriptions of Coin Oxford 1891 p. 285 f. no. 401, 8 ff. part of a stelae of blue marble from Kephalsos [....Παύλαρες νυμφιά. Ἄ[...] καὶ Ἰστία Ταῦτα πλ[α]κτ[ή]μα (?), ἄλφασθμων ἤλεστον καὶ[1].... ταύτα θεία ταύτα τις τῶν οἰκήσεων, Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial. Inscr. iii. 1. 403 no. 3731, 8 ff. C. T. Newton The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum Oxford 1883 ii. 104 f. no. 338, 8 ff. read [κραθέον] (for [ἄλφασθμων] in line 10). Meal is burnt by the Coan (?) Simaiitha as a means of recalling her triumphant lover (Theokr. 2. 18 ff. ἄλφασθμων διὰ ταύτα τῶν χήρων τὰς τεκές. ἀλλ' ἔπικασσος, ἡ θετολ... πάσα ἄμα καὶ λέγε ταύτα: 'τὰ ἄλφασθμων ὑπότισσαν, cp. schol. vet. Theokr. 2. 18a Wendel p. 275, 7 f. εἶχον διὸ τα ἄλφασθμων καταγαγόντας ἄλφασθμων, 18 b Wendel p. 275, 9 f. of τῶν μαγευστῶν ἄλφασθμων ταύτα ἅλα καὶ δικαίως αὐτόν. It is also repeatedly mentioned by the magical ῥαπρί as an ingredient in binding charms (C. Wessely Griechische Zauberpapyri von Paris und London Wien 1888 p. 85 f. pap. Par. 2583, 2586 (both in an ἐπίσκαμος λίγον, 2647 (in ἑγθροῦ τι θωίσαμα), id. Neue Griechische Zauberpapyri Wien 1893 p. 38 Brit. Mus. pap. 121. 548 = F. G. Kenyon Greek Papyri in the British Museum London 1893 i. 101 no. 121, 539 καταγαγόντας ἄλφαν (where καταγαγόντας is the plant so named), C. Wessely Griechische Zauberpapyri von Paris und London Wien 1888 p. 112 Brit. Mus. pap. 46. 386 = F. G. Kenyon Greek Papyri in the British Museum London 1893 i. 177 no. 46. 372 (in a charm for procuring an oracular dream), cp. C. Leemans Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugdun-Batavi Leyden 1885 ii. 321 pap. X pag. 6. 29 f. τρίῶδος χρῶν καὶ / μέθυσον λατίρα (leg. λεκίδα) ἢ ἄλφαν (in a recipe for gilding bronze)). The sacrificia! use of meal is further attested by the Pythagorean dictum in D. Erasmus adagia chil. 1 cent. 1 (ed. Parisiens 1571 p. 20) ne sacrificatio sine arase ne scimus άτερ ἄλφασθμων = Plout. v. Num. 14.

For Latin evidence see e.g. Plaut. Amph. 2. 2. 107 f. te prodigiali iovi aut mola salsa hodie aut ture concructam oportuit, Cic. de div. 2. 37 caput est in lecere, cor in extis: iam abscedent, simul ac molam et vinum inspereris, Verg. ecc. 8. 82 spargere molam, Aen. 2. 132 f. mihi sacra parari, et salsae fruges, 4. 517 ff. ipsa mola lanibusque piis altaria iuxta, [... testatur moritura deos, 5. 744 F. Pergamumque Larem et canae penetralia Vestae / farre pio et plena supply vexaverat accerra, Hor. ed. 3. 23. 3 f. si ture placaris et horma / fruge (which probably means corn-ears rather than meal) Lares, 19 f. mollitiv aversos Penatis / cat. 2. 3. 199 ff. te cum pro vitula statuis dulecum Aulide natam / ante aras spargisque mola caput, inprobec, salsa, / rectum animi servas?, Tib. 1. 5. 13 f. ipse procuravi ne possent saevo nocere / somnia, / ter sancta deveneranda mola, 3. 4. 9 f. hominum genua omnia noctis / farre pio placent et salientie sale?, Ov. fast. 1. 337 f. (Jan. 9 Agonium) ante, deos hominum quod conciliare valeret, / far erat et puri lucida mica salis, 2. 538 (Feb. 21 Feralia) et sparsae fruges parcaque mica salis. 3. 284 (March 1) vinaque dat tepidis farraque salsa focis, 4. 409 f. (Apr. 12 Ludi Cereri) farra deae micaeque licet salientis honorem / detis et in veteres turea grana focos, Val. Max. 2. 5. 18 in sacrificis mola quae vocatur ex farre et sale constat. exa farre sparguntur, Plin. nat. hist. praef. 11 mola litant salsa qui non habent tura, 12. 83 nec minus propitii erant mola salsa supplicantibus, immo vero...placetores, 18. 7 Numa
The altars of Zeus Kataibátés

the church named Panagias Koimesis is a broken base, the upper surface of which is hole-d and inscribed:

ΔΙΟΣ
ΚΑΤΑΙΒΑΤΕΩ

'Of Zeus
Kataibátés.'

Near by lies the stèle, which originally fitted into the hole. At Athens too Zeus Kataibátés was worshipped. A square base or altar of Hymettian marble, built into a later fabric outside the precinct of Zeus Olimpios to the north, had the same inscription as thealtars already mentioned: to judge from the shape of the letters, it was erected in the first century B.C. It is known also that Zeus Kataibátés had an altar in or near the Akademia, where he bore the further title of Mórios. Finally, the cult of this deity is pre-

instituit deos fruge colere et mola salsa supplicare atque, ut auctor est Hennina (frag. 12 in Hist. Rom. frag. p. 70 Peter), far torrere, quoniam tosum cibo salubrius esset, id uno modo consecutus, statuendo non esse parum ad rem divinam nisi tosum, 31. 89 máxime tamen in sacríis intellegitur auctoritas (ac. salis), quando nulla conficiuntur sine mola salsa, Pers. sol. 2. 75 farre litabo, Lu. can. 1. 609 f. iam fundere Bacchum | cooperat obhí-

quoque molas inducere culturo, Mart. ep. 7. 54. 1 ff. semper mane mihi de me tua somnia narras, | ... | consumpsi salsaque molas et turis acervos, Sen. de benef. 1. 6. 3 boni eum farre ac fitilla religiosi sunt, Thyest. 687 f. non tara desunt, non sacer Bacchi liquor | tangensue funa victimam culter mola, Paul. ex Fest. p. 3, 10 f. Müller, p. 3, 19 ff. Lindsay ador farris genus, edor quondam appellatum ab edendo, vel quod adhurstur, ut flat tosum, unde in sacrificio mola salsa efficitur, p. 141, 31 f. Müller, p. 174, 13 f. Lindsay mola etiam vocatur far tosum et sale sparsum, quod eo molito hostia aspergatur, Serv. in Verg. Aen. 2. 133 sal et far quod dicitur mola salsa, qua et frome victimae et foci asperge-

bantur et culti: fiebant autem de horne fruge et horne sale, ut Horatius 'et horne fruge,' interp. Serv. in Verg. ecl. 8. 82 far enim pium, id est mola casta, salsa, utrumque enim idei significat, ida fit: virgines Vestales tres maximae ex nonis Maiis ad pridí Iudus Maias alternis diebus spicas adores in coribus messuaribus ponunt, easque spicas ipse virgines torrent, piantunt, molunt, atque ita molitum condunt. ex eo farre virgines ter in anno molam faciunt, Lupercalibus, Vestalibus, Idibus Septembribus, adiecto sale cocto et sale duro.

1 O. Rubensohn in the Ath. Mitt. 1901 xxvi. 176 n. 1 Δ[όσ] | Kataiβάτεω, Collitz—

Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inschr. iii. 2. 177 in note on no. 4762 Δος καταβάτεω, Inschr. Gr. ins. v. 1 no. 233 Δός | Kataibáteω.

2 Schol. Aristoph. rhaps. 42 Kataibáteς δε τιμάται ο Ζεός παρά τοις Ἀθηναίοις, παρά τὸ καταβάτεω τος κεραυνός. ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν κεραυνῶν τῶν ἄνθρωπων πιπτότων. ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταβάτεω δι' ἔργα τῶν Χριστιανόν γυναικῶν (so F. Dübner: cod. Rav. omits the second explanation, and cod. Ven. the words παρ' Ἀθηναίοις) = Souard. i. 2. 8: Καταβάτες Ζεός παρ' Ἀθηναίοις παρά τὸ καταβάτεω τος κεραυνός. ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταβάτεω δι' ἔργα τῶν γυναικῶν.

3 S. A. Kumanudia in the Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 61 f. no. 7 (Δός) | (K) kataibátoν, Corp.


4 Apollod. frag. 34 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 434 Müller) σφ. schol. Soph. Ο. C. 705 Μορίων

Δός: Μόριον Δώα ετέρ τὸν έπόστα τῶν μορίων θωμάν· καὶ ἦτοι δι' ἕλγομενος Μόριον Ζέαν <περ' Ἀκαύημεν> ὁδοφόρως Ἀπόλλονος, "περ' Ἀκαύημεν ὁδοφόρως ὃ τοῦ Καταβάτου Δώα βιβλία δε καὶ Μόριον καλαίνει τῶν ἐκεί μορίων παρά τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς λείψαν ἱδρύμενον," K. Wachsmuth in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1133, W. Judeich Topographie von Athen München 1905 p. 365. Infra § 3 (b).
supposed by the fact that the spot where Demetrios Poliorketes, the would-be Zeus, first set foot on Athenian soil was consecrated to him as Demetrios Kataibátés.

(β) The ábata of Zeus Kataibátés.

The ground adjoining such altars was sometimes treated as an ábaton or holy place ‘not to be trodden’ by profane feet. At Olympia near the great altar of ashes was an altar of Kataibátés Zeus protected on all sides by a fence. Built into the ruins of a Turkish house to the north of the north-eastern corner of the Parthenon was a broken slab of Pentelic marble, which proves the existence of a lightning-ábaton on the Akropolis at Athens: its inscription, which appears to date from the latter part of the fourth century B.C., runs as follows:

‘Holy ground of Zeus Kataibátés.’

An almost identical inscription was discovered on a fragment of marble south of the Akropolis in or near the Asklepieion. There can be no doubt that these ábatas were simply places that had been struck by lightning and were therefore regarded as the habitation of Zeus Kataibátés. The Etymologicum Magnum says that enelfsiá or spots struck by lightning were dedicated to Zeus Kataibátés and spoken of as áddyta or ábata. Pollux similarly states that enelfsiá

1 Folk-Lore 1903 xv. 303 ff., supra i. 58.
3 Paus. 5. 14. 10 τὸν δὲ Καταβάτου Δίως προβέβληθαι μὲν παραχώθησαν πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φράγμα, δεὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸ βωμὸν τῷ ἀπὸ τὴν τέφρας τῷ μεγάλῳ. On this passage see W. Dörpfeld in Olympia i. 84 (altar no. 31).
4 A. Lolling in the Del. Ἀρχ. 1890 p. 144 f. suggested that the precinct to which this stone belonged might be brought into connexion with the statue of Ge praying Zeus to rain upon her (Paus. 1. 24. 3) and the rock-cut inscription of Ge Karpaphoros (Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 166). W. Judeich Topographie von Athen München 1905 p. 255 is content to say: ‘Mit Wahrscheinlichkeit dürfen wir auf der Burg...ein Heiligtum des Zeus Kataibátetes vermuten.’
5 Del. Ἀρχ. 1890 p. 144 no. 1 Δίως Καὶ ἀβάρος[ν] ἀβάρος, Corp. inscr. Att. iv. 2 no. 1659 b, Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 748, Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 777.
6 J. Delamarre in the Rev. Philol. 1895 xix. 199 ff., S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1895 ii. 234, Corp. inscr. Att. iv. 2 Add. no. 1659 c, Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 747 [Δίως Καραί]|[βάρος ἀβάρος] [ἐπίων, Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 577 n. 1 [Δίως Καραί]|[βάρος ἀβάρος] [ἐπίων. The inscription was found south of the Akropolis: Dittenberger by an oversight says ‘ad radices septentrionalis arcis Athenarum.’
7 Et. mag. p. 341. 5 ff. ἐνελφεία. ἐσεῖναι. καὶ ἐλφεῖν. τὴν ἑλπίδα (we should perhaps read ἐκείνη, παρὰ τὴν ἑλπίδα τὴν ἑλπίδα). Διάχειλος ἐν Ἀργείωι: Καραίες μοι (μοι Φ.) καταλείπεται λαοὶ τῶν ἄγρων ἄρῳ (ἄρῳ D.F. P., ἄρῳ M. Schmidt ἐπιλυόμε[να] ἐπιλυόμενα (ἐπιλύομεν Stanley) ἀπόλειαν (A. Nauck prints as Aisch. frag. 17 Καραίες μοι κατα-
were places on to which a bolt from the sky had dashed down or
descended, that the Zeus of the bolt was called Kataibates, and that
such places were fenced round and left untouched. Artemidoros
adds that altars were erected there and sacrifices offered.

\(\gamma\) The Diobletos or Zeus-struck man in Elysium.

Spots where Zeus had descended in the form of lightning were
known, not only as enelysis, but also as elysis. Fenced about from
the foot of common mortals and reserved for Zeus himself, they were
both in name and in nature so many 'Elysian fields.' Consequently
a man struck by lightning was literally enelysis, 'in Elysium.' To
modern ears it sounds a grim jest to talk of Elysium in such a case.
But, after all, the attitude of the ancients was thoroughly consistent.
Zeus fell as a lightning-flash. The man on whom he fell was therefore
Diobletos or Diobles, 'struck by Zeus.' And the divinity thus
conveyed to him made him immortal, or at least imperishable—wit-
ness Plutarch:

We all know well enough that the bodies of those who are struck by lightning
do not decay. Many persons neither burn them nor bury them, but just fence
them round and leave them, so that their corpses are seen in a state of perpetual
leitaites | λαπτός | κεφαλαίος | δόρμοι | ἐνθλισίων | ἀπλέιναι, but notes 'locus connuissimius').
oi de to kataskephēta, ois ei to 'Rητορεκει, eis de tois 'Eπιμολογούμενοι εἴρων...ἐνθλισία:
ἐνθλισία λέγεται εἰ τ' ακαταιρίαι εἰσβεβίζην' α' καὶ ἀνατίθεται Διó Κατακηθήτα, καὶ λέγεται
ἐλειπον' Ἀλλοι δε τὰς εἰς τοια παρὰ χωρίος ἀφιδρομᾶτε νῦνες.

1 Poll. q. 41 τὰ μέτοικα ἐνθλισία οὕτως ὑπομίμετο εἰ τ' κατακηθήται μέλοι εἰς ὁμοῖον, ἢ
καὶ ἔνθησι καὶ ἐγκατακηθημένοι καὶ κατεκλυμένοι ἑλειπον, καὶ τὸν Διὸ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Κατακηθῆταν,
περιεχόμενο τὸ τ' ἐνθλισία ἀνακτάνα ἀνέθος. The expression τὸν Διὸ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ denotes
strictly 'the Zeus set over it' (the bolt).

2 Artemid. opitogr. s. v. ὁ κατακηθήτης τὰ μὲν ἁσία τῶν χωρίων ἐνθλισία ποιεῖ διὰ τοῦ
ἐνθυνωμένου βοωθοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς γενομένα θυσίας, τὰ δὲ πολυτέλη χωρία ἔρημα καὶ
ἀβατα ποιεῖ, οὐδέν γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνδιάρκεις ἐτί βέλει.

3 Hesych. s.v. Πλωτή: θ' ἔλεγο: ἀλλα κατακηθήθανε χωρίον ἣ πεδίον: τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα εἰς
ἀβατα, καλεῖται δὲ τὸ κατακηθήτης. Πολέμων δὲ Ἀθηναίου φησί καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τὸ κατακηθήθαν
χωρίον ἢ λεπόν (regarding καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς as a gloss on Πολέμως, κατακηθήτης with L. Küster
as a blunder for κατακηθήθας, and ἢ λεπόν as a gloss on χωρίον, we may amend Πολέμων
δὲ Ἀθηναίου φησί τὸ κατακηθήθαν χωρίον Πλωτῆς καλεῖρ) = Soulu s.v. Πλωτῆς = Phot. lex.
s.v. Πλωτῆς, cp. et. mag. p. 428, 30 ff. See further G. Bernhardy on Soulu. loc. cit. and
C. Müller on Polemon frag. 93 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 146) = frag. 5 (Frag. gr. Kultschr.
p. 89 Tresp).

4 The lexicographers cited in the preceding note state that 'Πλωτῆς is, according to
some, κεκατακηθημένων χωρίων ή πεδίων. Eudok. eisio. 438 in her account of the Elysian
plain repeats the statement: α' δὲ τὸ κεκατακηθημένον χωρίον ή πεδίων. L. Meyer Handb.
d. gr. Etym. i. 640 is not averse from connecting 'Πλωτῆς, 'Elysium,' with Πλωτῆς,
'a spot struck by lightning.'

5 Hesych. s.v. ἐνθλισία: ἐμπλοτήτος, κατακηθήτος.

6 Stephanus Thei. Gr. Ling. ii. 1508 c l.vv. Διόβλητος, Διόβλητος, Διόβλητος.
incorruption... I imagine too that the divine substance [sulphur] gets its name from the σκέννος of its smell to the fiery and pungent smell rubbed out of things hit by lightning; and it seems to me that this is why even dogs and birds abstain from the bodies of those who have been struck by Zeus.

Others inform us that victims of lightning were buried on the spot where they fell. Artemidoros says that a man so struck down, even if poor, became suddenly famous. If a slave, he had fine clothing put upon him, as though he were freed, and men approached him as one honoured by Zeus. Nay more, every man struck by lightning was treated as a god.

(5) Death by lightning as euthanasia.

In this connexion it should be observed that various myths represent death by lightning as a kind of euthanasia. Krapeus, when struck, becomes 'a sacred corpse' and receives 'a sacred tomb.' His pyre is described as 'Zeus' treasury'—a remarkable phrase, to which H. Usener has justly drawn attention. When Herakles' pyre had been kindled, thunderbolts fell from the sky and consumed it: his friends, finding no bones, concluded that he had gone from men to join the gods, and thereupon worshipped him as a hero. Asklepios was struck by a thunderbolt from Zeus, and

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1 Plout. ημηρ. 4. 2. 3.
2 Artemid. ονειρευ. 2. 9 οῦ γάρ οἱ κεραυνοθέτεις μετατίθενται, ἀλλὰ διόπτων ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς καταληφθέντας εὑτάξανται. A law of Numa Pompilius enjoined that a man killed by lightning should not be lifted higher than the knees, and should not have funeral rites (Fest. p. 178 b 20 ff. Müller, p. 190. 7 ff. Lindsay itaque in Numac Pompili regis legibus scriptum esse: 'si hominem fulminibus (Scaliger cf. fulmen Iovis) occisit, ne supra genua tollito (C. O. Müller cf. tollitor).') et alibi: 'homo si fulmine occisus est, ei iusta nulla sier i portavit.' Cp. Plin. nat. hist. 2. 145 hominem ita examinatum cremari (so codd. E. p.: cremare codd. F. R.d.T.) fas non est, condit terram religio tradidit.
3 Artemid. ονειρευ. 2. 9 ἐπει καὶ σκέννος αἰφίδων παρασημότερος γίγνεται...καὶ ἐφακώς εἶναι ἀγάθων δοῦλος τὸ κεραυνούσθαι, ὅτι οὔτε διεμένη ἐκ τινὶ κεραυνοθετεῖ ήχον διὰ κάμανος, λαμπρὰ δὲ ἔματα αὐτοῖς περιστέθησαν ὡς καὶ τὸν θεού ρωμαίον, καὶ προσφέρατο αὐτοῖς ὧν ἐπὸ Δίος τεταμιμένους οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὧς καὶ τός θεοὺς θεούροι πολυποστοι ἐπὶ διεμένοι τεταμιμένοι (J. G. Reiff ad loc.). 'Ita cum Cod. B scripti, qui tamen pro permisset habet: εὐκτίθεται. Libri hunc locum ita habebant: λαμπρὰ δὲ ἔματα αὐτοῖς περιστέθησαν ὡς ὧν ἐπὸ Δίος τεταμιμένου.'...οὐδεὶς γάρ κεραυνοθετεῖ διαιμόν ἐστιν. ὅτι (ὑπον cod. B) γε καὶ ὧς θεοὺς τεμέναι. Cp. Kyrillos kath. 13. 37 ἐπαυθαίρητος γενόμενος...ἐπιστάσασθαι...ὁλλαθαί ἐκ τῶν πολλ' ἄνθρωπων ζωομονωμένον, αὐτοῖς κεκεραυνωμένον προσκυνοῦσα. κεραυνὸς δὲ ἦτο ὁμοίως ἐκείστως ἐπηρέας. οὐκ ἀκρότως ἐρχότατον οὐκ ἀκρότως ἐρχότατον, οἱ εἰσόροι τούτῳ κεραυνοθετεῖς θεομαίνεις προσκυνοῦσας οὐκ ἀκροτός ὑπὸ τῶν θεοὺς τοῦ ἀστυμομένου ὑπὸ τὸς προσκυνήσας αἰχμή; 4 Rohde Pycchh 1. 320 ff.
5 Ib. 981 τύμβων τ' ἐφεσίων.
6 Ib. 1010 Δίος θεσμῶν. F. Wieseler, followed by N. Weckein, cf. δόξος θεσμών—

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7 Diod. 4. 38.
subsequently apotheosised. Erechtheus, slain by Zeus with a thunderbolt at the request of Poseidon, was venerated as a god in the Erechtheion at Athens. Romulus likewise was caught up to heaven in a thunderstorm, and afterwards appeared to Proculus Iulus in more than mortal beauty and announced that he had become the god Quirinus. And sundry kings, who posed as Zeus or Jupiter during their life-time, are said to have met their death by a thunderbolt launched from the hands of the offended deity—a moralising statement which has probably obscured the real significance of their fate.

Semele too was blasted by lightning (pl. i and figs. 10—12).
in Museum: Zeus in pursuit of Semele.

See page 24 n. 6 (1).
Krater in the Louvre: Zeus in pursuit of Semele.

See page 24 n. 6 (4).
female may with much probability, if not with absolute certainty, be held to represent his appearance to Semele. Such are the following:—(1) An amphora of the strong style (500—460 B.C.) from Nola, now in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 222 f.

![Figure 11](image)

no. E 313, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 491 n. 3, O. Jessen in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 676. My pl. i is from photographs by Mr C. O. Waterhouse): (a) Zeus, with chiton and himation, strides to right, brandishing a thunderbolt in his right hand and grasping a sceptre in his left; (b) Semele runs to right, looking back with gestures of alarm. (2) A hydra from Gela, in the Museum at Palermo (H. Heydemann in the Arch. Zeit. 1870 xxviii. 43 no. 23 pl. 31, 1 (=my fig. 10), id. Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit (Winckel-
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manifest-Progr. Halle 1885) p. 7, Overbeck op. cit. p. 416 no. 1 Atlas pl. 6, 5, Reinach Rép. Vases i. 408, 1, O. Jessen loc. cit. iv. 676: Zeus, with chitón and himation, strides to right, brandishing a thunderbolt in his right hand and grasping with his left the shoulder of Semele, who runs to right, looking back in alarm. (3) A bell krater from Certosa, in

the Museo Civico at Bologna (Pellegrini Cat. vas. gr. dipint. Bologna pp. 154, 156 no. 313.
A. Zannoni Gli scavi della Certosa di Bologna Bologna 1876 p. 168 pl. 39, 1, 2 (=my
fig. 11), 3 (=my fig. 12), 4 and pl. 40, 4. H. Heydemann Dionysos' Geburt p. 8 n. 20. O. Jessen loc. cit. iv. 676: (a) Zeus, with olive-wreath and chlamys, strides to right,
The critical moment in her myth is variously reported by the mythographers. According to Apollodoros, Semele begged Zeus to appear to her in the same form in which he had wooed Hera. Thereupon Zeus came to her chamber on a chariot with lightnings and thunders, and hurled a bolt. Semele in terror gave untimely birth to Dionysos and died. Other accounts say nothing about the chariot: Semele could not support the sight of Zeus the god of thunder and lightning, and was killed by it. Others, again, are more precise. Semele was burnt, or actually struck by a thunderbolt and brandishing a thunderbolt in his right hand and grasping a sceptre in his left. Semele flees to right, looking back, her right hand extended towards Zeus in an attitude of supplication, her left holding a flower. Behind Zeus a female companion of Semele, likewise holding a flower, escapes to left. (b) Two other companions of Semele hasten, from left and right, to announce the event to her father, Kadmos. (c) A Krater (lid lost) in the Louvre (G 412), past the climax of the fine style (460–440 B.C.) and largely repainted (H. Heydemann Dionysos Geburt p. 8 n. 21): (a) Zeus, with bay-wreath and chlamys, strides to right, brandishing a thunderbolt in his right hand and grasping a sceptre in his left. Semele flees to right, looking back; she lifts her chiton with her right hand and raises her left towards her shoulder. Behind Zeus a female companion of Semele escapes to left. Before Semele stands her white-haired father, his right hand raised in astonishment, his left holding a staff. (d) Four men and women conversing.

The type attested by these vases begins as a mere combination of the early striding Zeus (supra i. 84 ff. figs. 52–54) with the early running maiden. The eagle of Zeus is omitted, and his left hand either holds a sceptre (infra § 3e iv (a)) or grasps the shoulder of Semele. Next, under the influence of flower-plucking scenes (Europe, Thaleia, etc.), Semele is given a flower, while a comrade likewise holding a flower forms a suitable pendant. Finally, the group is amplified by the introduction of Kadmos and other figures, either on the reverse or on the obverse of the vase.

Vases that represent Zeus pursuing the female with lowered bolt cannot be assumed to depict the Semele-episode; for the bolt may be a mere attribute. E.g. an amphora formerly in the possession of the Neapolitan dealer Barone (J. de Witte 'Jupiter et Sémélie' in the Rev. Arch. 1862 ii. 29 f. fig. Zeus, with chlamys worn shawl-wise, holding a thunderbolt in his lowered right hand, a sceptre in his left, pursues towards the right a running female, who looks back with gestures of alarm), a large hydria from Vulci now at Paris (De Ridder Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat. ii. 331 no. 439 confused description, P. Milliet—A. Giraudon Vases peints du Cabinet des Médailles & Antiques (Bibliothèque Nationale) Paris 1891 viè classe, xiè série li pl. 75—my fig. 13 Zeus, with myrtle (f)-wreath and chlamys worn shawl-wise, holding a thunderbolt in his lowered left hand, advances towards the left and seizes with outstretched right hand a running female, who looks back with gestures of alarm and supplication), and other vases noted by H. Heydemann Dionysos Geburt p. 7 n. 18.


1 Apollod. 3. 4. 3.
2 Dios. 3. 64, Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 1. 13, 2. 292, Myth. Vat. 2. 79.
3 Hyg. fab. 179, Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 4. 673, Myth. Vat. r. 120.
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slain. The earliest definite version of the occurrence is in the *Bakchae* of Euripides, who speaks of—

Semele brought to bed by the lightning-fire and further of—

The flame of Zeus-fire living yet.

These expressions may be taken to imply the more primitive idea that Zeus descended upon Semele in the form of a lightning-flash. And such seems to be the conception of Philostratos also. For, in describing a picture of Semele's death, he notes the personified figures of stern-looking Thunder and Lightning with flashing eyes, and adds that fire was dashing down from the sky upon the palace, but makes no mention of Zeus beyond saying that 'A cloud of fire compassed Thebes about and burst upon the roof of Kadmos, when Zeus went courting Semele.' Nonnos too in his high-flown style makes Semele beseech her lover:

Oh, I would clasp the flame I love, and joy
To feel the flash, to finger thunderbolts.

The same author goes on to tell how Zeus took the bride whom he had burnt to dwell with him in heaven:

Yea, with pure gleaming fire she loved afresh
Her form and won Olympos' endless life.

As Pindar had phrased it, nearly a thousand years before,—

She lives among the Olympians, slain by the roar
Of lightning, long-haired Semele,
And Pallas loves her ever,
And Zeus the sire too, and his ivied son.

Semele was in fact a typical *Diobletos*. The Naxians declared that Zeus 'struck Semele with a thunderbolt before she brought forth her child, in order that being born, not of a mortal mother, but of two immortal parents, he might be immortal from his birth.' Charax of Pergamon, a historian of the second or third century A.D., is even more explicit: 'When the thunderbolt fell and she gave birth, she

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3 *Eur. Bacch.* 8 Δίων πυρός ἑτὶ ξώσας φλόγα.
5 Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 310 f.
6 *Id. ib.* 8. 413 f., cp. Aristeid. *or.* 4 (i. 47 Dindorf) ὁ Ζεὺς...τὸν μὲν Ζεμέλην ἐκ τῆς γινὲς τῶν Ὀλυμπίων κοίμησα δὲ πυρὸς, κτλ.
The Tarentine cult of Zeus Kataibátés

disappeared, but the babe survived. So, as is said in the case of Diódoros, people supposed that she had met with a divine fate and called her Thyone. Her child, having been saved from the fire, was most divine: Kadmos looked after him and gave him the family name of the Egyptian Dionysos.¹

(e) The Tarentine cult of Zeus Kataibátés.

A remarkable example of the cult of Zeus Kataibátés is that of Tarentum.² Klearchos, a pupil of Aristotle, states³ that the Tarentines, having overthrown Karbina, a city of the Iapyges, and exposed the boys, girls, and young women of the place to the grossest outrages, were visited by the vengeance of heaven. All who had offended at Karbina were struck by lightning. The Tarentines therefore erected in front of their doors a number of pillars corresponding to the number of the men who failed to return from the expedition into Iapygia.⁴ These pillars were still to be seen before each house in Tarentum; and, when the season of their destruction comes round, the Tarentines, instead of lamenting the dead or pouring the customary libations, offered sacrifices on the pillars to Zeus Kataibátés. Here it is fairly obvious that death by lightning is regarded not as a disaster, but as an honour; funeral lamentation and libations were out of place. But who—we ask further—was the god that conferred this doubtful honour? The Tarentines certainly called him Zeus Kataibátés. Yet the form of his worship, a pillar-cult, is not elsewhere attested for Zeus Kataibátés. It points rather in the direction of Crete. One would like to know what the Iapyges themselves said about it. Most fortunately Athenaios, to whom we owe the excerpt from Klearchos, goes on to tell us more concerning the Iapyges.⁵ Probably he is

¹ Charax frag. 13 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 639 Müller) ap. anon. de incredib. 16 p. 325 Westermann.
² On the various cults of Zeus at Tarentum see R. Lorentz. De rebus sacris et artibus veterum Tarentinarum Elberfeldiae 1836 p. 9 f. Supra i. 35 ff., 530 n. 2, 521 n. 1, infra § 3 (a) iii (b).
³ Klearch. frag. 9 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 306 f. Müller) ap. Athen. 522 D ff.
⁴ Athen. 522 E και μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἐν Τάραντῳ ἐκάστη τῶν οἰκίων, οὗς οἷς ἐπεδέχατο τῶν ἔλθαι ἀπειράντων, τοσοῦτον ἤχει στῆλα πρὸ τῶν θυρών· ἐφ᾽ οἷς καθ᾽ ἐν ἀπόλυτον χρόνον οὗτος ἀκολουθούσας οὗτος ἀνυψωμένος ὡς τὰς πολλὰς χιόνας, ἀλλὰ θυσίας Διὸ τὴν Καρμιδάγην. For cod. Α αὐτὸς οἷς ἐπεδέχατο J. Schweighaeuser, after Musurus, reads δῶσιν ἐπεδέχατο, and W. Dindorf οἷς ἐπεδέχατο. This would mean that every man not killed set up a pillar on which to do sacrifice to the god. But M. P. Nilsson in the Rhein. Mus. 1908 liii. 315 justly defends the reading of cod. A on the ground that the bodies of men struck by lightning would be left on the spot and not brought back home (supra p. 22 f.).
⁵ Athen. 522 F—523 E.
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again borrowing his information from Klearchos, who was one of his prime sources.

'This race of the Iapyges,' he continues, 'is derived from Crete. Cretans came to look for Glaukos and settled down here. Their descendants, forgetting the orderly life of the Cretans, reached such a pitch of luxury, and subsequently of insolence, that they were the first to paint their faces, to get front locks and side locks of false hair, to wear flowered robes, and to deem work and labour a disgrace. Ordinary citizens made their houses more magnificent than the temples; while the principal men of the Iapyges, treating the deity with insult, destroyed the statues of the gods out of the temples and bade them give place to their betters. Wherefore they were struck by fire and bronze from the sky, and the fame of it was spread abroad; for bolts from heaven forged of bronze were long to be seen. And to this very day all their descendants live shaven to the skin and wearing the garb of mourners, in want of all the luxuries that were theirs before.'

Now Iapyx the eponym of the Iapyges was commonly said to have been the son of Daidalos; and there is a consistent tradition to the effect that, when Minos was killed at Kamikos in Sikanis, the Cretans after an ineffectual attempt to take the town were driven by stress of weather to land in Iapygia, where they built Hyria and became the Iapyges Messapioi. In view of this traditional connexion between the Iapyges and the Cretans of the Minoan age, it is interesting to find Athenaios giving a description of the Iapyges which with curious exactitude suits the 'Minoans.' Their painted faces, their artificial front locks and side locks, their flowered robes, the magnificence of their houses as contrasted with their shrines, are all points of resemblance. Last but not least, the 'bolts from heaven forged of bronze' must surely be

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1 The text is δώτερ έξ οὗτοι βαλλόμενοι τυρί καί χαλκός ταύτην δεδομένην την φύσιν ἐμφανεί γάρ ἂν μέχρι πόρροι κεχαλκευμένα τών έξ οὗτοι βελών (so codd. A.B.P.: βολών codd. V.L.).


3 Hdt. 7. 170, Strab. 279, 282, cp. Diod. 4. 79. Brundisium also, according to one account, was founded by these Cretans, or by Theseus' company from Knossos (Strab. 282, Myth. Vat. 2. 135, schol. Bern. Lucan. 2. 609); the town took its name from a Messapian word for 'stag's-head' (Strab. 283, Steph. Byz. s.v. βραγγερος, Hesych. s.v. βραγγος = Favorin. lex. p. 388, 16, et. Gud. p. 115, 3 ff., et. mag. p. 212, 23 ff., schol. Bern. Lucan. 2. 609 'branda' with H. Usener ad loc.). See further R. M. Burrows The Discoveries in Crete London 1907 p. 13 f.


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identified with the bronze double-axes of 'Minoan' worship. If this identification be well founded, it furnishes an important clue to the nature of the deity represented by the Cretan axes. The deity in question was, at least in Hellenic Tarentum, regarded as Zeus Kataibates, the god that fell from heaven in the form of a thunderbolt.

Tarentum, we gather, was originally an Iapygian settlement later Hellenised by a Lacadaemonian colony. It is therefore of interest to recall the fact that from Thalamaï (Koutiphari) in southwestern Lakonike, where the oracle of Pasiphae bespeaks the influence of Crete, came the fifth-century inscription recording the apparently chthonian ritual of Zeus Kabaitas.

In view of H. Usener's contention that tēras ('bores'? ) meant the lightning, and that Zeus Terástios of Gythion was a lightning-god; it seems possible that Tāras the eponymous hero of Tarentum

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Another point of comparison might be found in the fact that the Messapians, like the 'Minoans,' were great dancers. According to Nikandros ap. Ant. Lib. 31, it was said in the country of the Messapians that the nymphs known as Epimetides were seen dancing by the so-called Holy Rocks, that the sons of the Messapians left their flocks and challenged them to a contest of dancing, that the nymphs won, that the lads were changed into trees beside the sanctuary of the nymphs, and that a sound as of mourning is still heard by night from the wood of the 'Nymphs and Lads.'

2 See further infra 3 (c) i (f).


4 Supra l. 391 f.

5 Supra p. 17 f.


7 A. Skias in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897 p. 57, Wide Lakon. Kulte p. 370, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inschr. iii. 2. 60 no. 4563, Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 760, Inscr. Gr. Arc. Loc. Mess. i. no. 1154 (incised on the wall of a rocky niche at a place called Πελεκύσια beneath the hill Larysion) μοῖρα | Δῖος Θεσπίοιο, 'the portion of Zeus Terástios.' The niche is figured in Lebas—Reinach Voyage Arch. p. 32 pl. 25 (plan ib. p. 32 f. pl. 26) and described in detail by R. Weil in the Ath. Mithth. 1876 i. 151 ff. Cp. Loukian. Tim. 41 ἦτ Ζεὺς τερασίτη καὶ φιλός Κορόκαρος καὶ ἔρωτις νιπτόντων χρωσίων; Aristotel. or. 45. 65 (i. 86 Dindorf) εἶναι ψωδὸς δῶς τερασίων, τῇ χρῄ γιὰ τοῦτον ἡμᾶς ὀργατῶν; Theod. Prod. Rhod. et Duc. 7. 518 τερασίτης Ζεὺς, Scöll.—Studemund anned. i. 265 'Ερείπης δῶς no. 96 τερασίων, 267 'Ερείπης δῶς no. 89 τερασίων.

8 The fact that Taras appears as a quasi-Poseidon (see eg. Buslepp in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 93 ff.) is not fatal to this hypothesis, if Poseidon was originally but a specialised form of Zeus (l. 717 n. 2, infra § 3 (c) i (η)) and his trident a thunder-weapon (infra § 3 (c) iv (γ)).
had a name of kindred significance; involving Doric ἄ for ἀ. We might compare the Tarentum or Terentum (‘Hole’?) in the Campus Martius at Rome. On the other hand, such Celtic deities as Tarantos, Tarantius, Jupiter Tarancus are perhaps best related to Anglo-Saxon Thunor, Norse Thor, etc.—witness the alternative form Jupiter Tanarus.

(ζ) Zeus Krataibates.

A relief found at the village of Katsigkri near Nauplia represents Zeus advancing from left to right. He hurls a thunderbolt with his right arm and stretches out his left, above which is an inscription (fig. 14) reading:

‘Of Zeus Krataibates.’

The title thus spelt is unique. It may of course be a mere blunder for Katakibates. But more probably it is an intentional variation of that epithet: whoever erected the monument wished to suggest the potency of the lightning-god.

(η) Survivals of the foregoing beliefs.

In Christian times it was believed that the victim of lightning had been struck by the sudden descent of a demon. For example, early in the fifth century Saint Hypatios, presbyter and hagioúmenos

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1 A. Vaníček Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Worterbuch Leipzig 1877 i. 286.
Zeus Tarantaios was the god of Tarantos in Bithynia (Steph. Byz. s. a. Τάραντος δει θεόν ταύτας θυσίας εἰς τὴν θεάν ταύτας Ζεὺς, ὡς ἄνθρωπον εἰς θεὸν θυσίας εἰς τὴν θεὰν θυσίας). Scholl—Studemund aedil. i. 263 'Επίθετα Διώς καὶ θεογόνια ὁ Τάραντας, 267 'Επίθετα Διώς καὶ θεογόνια Τάραντας).
5 A. Holder op. cit. ii. 1716 f., Reusch in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 74. It would of course be possible to make the opposite assumption and to regard Tarantis as the normal, Tanarus as the aberrant form. I have discussed the matter with Prof. H. M. Chadwick who inclines to the solution adopted in the text.
7 For the form of the compound I. Kophinotis (in Ἀθηνῆς 1890 ii. 695 and in Καρπαδ 1890 no. 476) cites κραταϊδως, κραταυγάλως, κραταυγάλως [add κραταβιδως, κραταβιδως, κραταβιδως, κραταβιδως, κραταβιδως, κραταβιδως, κραταβιδως]. For κράνως as applied to lightning H. Usener (in Rhein. Mus. 1905 lx. 12) adduces Soph. O. T. 200 f., Cornut. theol. 10 p. 10, 13 Lang (where Lang adopts Schmitt-Blank’s cjt. βελως), etc.
Zoroastres

of the Rufinian monastery in Bithynia, was said to have cured a certain man, Agathangelos by name, 'who was paralysed by thunder, a demon having come down upon him'.

The survival of pagan beliefs is yet clearer in later Greek and Latin versions of Zoroastres' intercourse with heaven. Already in the fourth century B.C. Dinon of Kolophon, author of a great historical work on Persia, was beguiled by an obvious etymology, had stated that Zoroastres was 'one that sacrificed to the stars'; and Hermodoros, probably the Syracusan pupil of Platon, was content with the same explanation. Dion Chrysostomos in a speech delivered at Prous during the year 102-103 A.D. goes into greater detail. Zoroastres—he says—lived the life of a recluse on a certain mountain. Fire came down upon his mountain from above, so that it kindled and continued to burn. Thereupon the king of Persia and his nobles drew near, wishing to offer sacrifices as one that had come to the place where the god was. From that time onward Zoroastres associated only with the Magoi, who could understand the god and knew how to serve the divine. They keep a chariot of Nisaean steeds, the finest in all Asia, for Zeus. The popular etymology of Zorodstres, combined with the notion that celestial fire descended upon him, was further amplified along the lines of Greek belief. According to the Clementine Homilies, the Magian Nebrod (Nimrod), wishing to become

1 Kallinikos de vita S. Hypatii p. 37, 30 ff. Bonnenses 8i τα παρελύθη από βραβής, δαίμονας κατεσχέθη τοιν αυτῷ (quoted by Ussert loc. cit. p. 10).
3 P. Natopol ib. viii. 861.
4 Dion frag. 5 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 90 Müller) and Hermodoros ap. Diog. Laert. fragm. 8 και δεῖ πως τά διακύλα τῶν ιστόρων: δι καὶ μεταφρασμένων φημε τῶν Ζωρώστρηθ άστροβοθήν τοιαί: φην δε τοῦτο καὶ δ' Ερμόδωρος. J. Topf. cjt. άστροβοθήν καί Σ. Bochart cjt. άστροβοθήν; but cp. schol. Plat. Alcib. i p. 918 b 43 ff. Ζωρώστρηθ...οβ δη εἰς 'Ελληνικήν φωνήν μεταφρασμένον τούμον το άστροβοθήν θηλά. See further J. H. Moulton Early Zoroastrianism London 1913 pp. 77, 201, 415, and especially 426 f. ('This implies that some form of Av. wa daha (M.P. 20hr) was brought in, with Gathic and Avestan star (mod. Pers. sīr). The elements of the compound are, it must be allowed, in the wrong order. If the Greek form Ζωρώστρηθι were better attested, we should have no trouble.') Etc.
5 W. Schmid in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 872.
6 Dion Chrys. or. 36 p. 92 f. Reiske. I have quoted the passage supra i. 783 f.
7 Souid. s.v. ίπτερον Νιμώιτης.
8 Clem. Rom. hom. 9. 4 f. (ii. 244 Migne) έκ τού γένους τοῦτον γίνεται τα κατά Δακοΰντι μαγικά παρελύθησαν οἰκομιάς Νιμώιαν, ίπτερον γίγαν κατά θείον φωνήν ελύμενον, δι οι 'Ελληνες Ζωρώστρηθι προσηγόρευσαν. ούτε μετά τούν κατακλυσμάν βασιλείαν δρέχθηκε καί μεγάς ου μέγας τού βασιλείαν κακού τού άφωνοσούντα τό κόσμον τό άστρα (απ' έκα άπ' τού βασιλείαν κακού τού κόσμου τό άφωνοσούντα άστρα, το άστρα τό βασιλείαν βασιλεία δόσω μαγικάιν

C. II.
king, by his magic arts forced a certain star to grant him the kingdom. The star did so, but poured out upon him the royal fire in the form of lightning. Nebrod, killed by the lightning, was renamed Zoroastres since a ‘living stream from the star’ had fallen upon him. His contemporaries, supposing that his soul had been fetched by the thunderbolt on account of his friendship with God, buried his remains, built a temple at the grave in Persia, where the fire had fallen, and worshipped the man as a god. Following their example, others in that region buried victims of thunderbolts as friends of God, built temples in their honour, and set up portrait statues of them. The Clementine Recognitions give us the same
statement in a somewhat earlier form. Mesraim (Mizraim), son of Cham (Ham), was the first to study magic. He gave much attention to the stars and, wishing to be thought a god, pretended to produce sparks from them, till at length he was burnt by the demon, whom he had too often invoked. His contemporaries regarded him as a friend of God, carried up to heaven on a thunderbolt. They therefore built him a tomb, changed his name to Zoorester, the 'Living Star,' and worshipped him as such. Hence many persons still honour victims of lightning with tombs and respect them as being friends of God. Rufinus' account is followed in the sixth century by Saint Gregory of Tours1. The Chronicon Paschale2 of the seventh century, together with the Byzantine historians Kedrenos, (c. 1100 a.d.) and Glykas3 (c. 1120 a.d.), states that Zoroaster the famous Persian astronomer, when about to die, prayed to Orion that he might be destroyed by the fire of heaven, and told the Persians to take up his burnt bones and preserve them, as the retention

in maius eum extolliunt. extructo enim sepulcro ad honorem eius tanquam amicum Dei ac fulminis ad coelum vehiculo sublevatum adorare assi sunt et quasi vivens astrum colere. hinc enim et nomen post mortem eius Zoorester, hoc est vivum sidus, appellatum est ab his qui post unam generationem Graecae linguae loquela fuerant repleti. hoc denique exemplo etiam nunc multae eos qui fulmine obierint sepulcris honoratos tanquam amicos Dei colunt.

J. B. Coteler ad loc. cites from Fest. p. 245 s. 23 ff. Müller, p. 285, 3 ff. Lindsay the statement that Q. Fabius Eburneus was called pullus Louis because his hinder parts were struck by lightning (cp. Arnob. adv. nat. 4. 26 and De Vit Onomasticon iii. 8 r. t. xiv. Fabiis).

1 Gregorius Taronensis hist. Franc. 1. 5 (lxxi. 164 f. Migne) primogenitus vero Cham, Chus. hic fuit totius artis magicae, imbunente diabolo, et primus idololatriae adinventor. hic primus statuunculam adorandum diaboli instigatione constituit: qui et stellas, et ignem de coelo cadere, falsa virtute, hominibus ostendebat. hic ad Persas transitit. hunc Persse vocavitere Zoraostrum, id est viventem stellam. ab hoc etiam ignem adorare consueuti ipsum divinitus igne consumptum ut deum colunt.

2 Chron. Paschale i. 67 Dindorf ex aitou oin tov gevou evgenibh kai ou Zoroaster (mio cod. V. for Zoroastrosc ed. Paris.) d'5 aitoumous Perawv ou peribhdous, oustis melouw telenwv 8hesto upo purov anawplwv ophravvn, eipwv tois Perawv ousv ean kawj me to 7p1, ek twn kaiwvwn mou ostdewn eparratei kai phlaxvtei, kai ou ekpliwhj to basilejou ek twn ouvov xwrom hvmov phwvtei to evma evsta. kai evxamewv tov Ovmya ap0 purov aeriou ahlaxh, ek twn ostdewn ou Perawv kaiwv eipen aitous: kai ekxovn phlaxvteis to lewvan aitou tefrou- thn 7ouv tivn.

3 Kedren. hist. comp. 16 B—C (i. 29 f. Bekker) ou tov gevou ouv aitou kai Zoroaster d'5 ou peribhdous aitoumous ev Perawv gevoumous 8hesto upo purov aeriou keraunwthi kai anawplwv, entelamwv twn Perawv d'5 oustou aitou met' twv kawvov anawplwv kai phlaxvton aitovn (i. Bekker c. aitou) kai twv "v. kai eis ov, 8f1r, oudeion, twv, to basilejou tivn ouvov xwrom ou ekpliwhj. oustov ouv twv, ouv ophravvn tefrouvntov to lewvan aitou daw twv eixon ou Perawv, eis twvov katafrovmastei kai tivn basileias 8ktenwv. Infrn § 3 (c) 1 (x).

4 Michael Glykas ann. 2 129 C—D (p. 243 f. Bekker) ou gevou evgenetai kai Zoroaster d'5 ou peribhdous Perawv aitoumous, de ousv twn Perawv, "evn kawj me to ophravon rpv," tovtov ypar kai 8hesto, "lakhete ev twv ostdewn mou kai phlaxvtei eis stwstov tivn basileias ouvov." ouv kai gevoune.
of sovereignty depended upon their safe-keeping. The lexicographers Soudias in the tenth century and Zonaras in the twelfth repeat the same tale with slight variations.

Even the twentieth century has not wholly outgrown the old-world view. In Makedonia it is thought that, if any one struck by lightning is immediately removed from the spot, where the accident befell him, to a distance of forty paces, he will recover. Why? Because he is no longer within the domain or range of the divine power, no longer in Elysium.

iii. Zeus and the Sky-Pillar.

(a) The Elysian Way.

The word elysion, which thus signifies both the spot struck by lightning and the abode of the divinised dead, is presumably related to elysie, a 'way.' The term is remarkable, and its applicability is not at once clear. We must suppose that the Greeks recognised a definite 'way' from earth to heaven, along which those honoured by the summons of Zeus might pass. This conception would at least square with certain Pindaric phrases. In a context of Pythagorean import the poet tells how—

Souls that thrice on either side
Free from evil can abide
Travel the road of Zeus to Kronos' tower,
Where round islands of the blest
Ocean breezes full to rest
And forth there flashes many a golden flower.

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1 Soud. s.v. Ζωροαρτηρις, ἀστρονόμος, ἐπὶ Νίνου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων. οὕτως ἡκέβατο ὅτι πυρὸς οὐρανίου τελευτηθῇ, παρεγγυηθα αὐτός Ἰασορίας τὴν τέφραν αὐτοῦ φιλάττειν· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡ βασιλεία ὧν ἔκλεισε διαπαντός. ὅπερ μέχρι νῦν πεφύλακται παρ' αὐτώς.
2 Zonar. lex. s.v. Ζωροαρτηρις ἀστρονόμος. οὕτως ἐπὶ Νίνου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων ἦν· ὅτις ἡκέβατο ὅτι πυρὸς οὐρανίου τελευτηθῇ, παρεγγυηθα Ἰασορίας τὴν τέφραν αὐτοῦ φιλάττειν· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτός ἡ βασιλεία ὧν ἔκλεισε διαπαντός. ὅπερ μέχρι νῦν πεφύλακται παρ' αὐτώς.

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5 G. F. Abbott Macedonian Folklore Cambridge 1903 p. 229.
6 Supra s. v. θυσίας.
8 Supra i. 303 n. 5.
9 Pind. Ol. 2. 68 68 ὅποι δι' ἐκδισμασαν ἐκτες ἐκατέρωθε μεῖναι ἀπὸ πάμπαν ἄλκων ἔχεον | ψυχάς, ἐτέλεαν (sic Tricl. et schol.: ἐτέλεαν codd. Α.Β.Κ.Δ. et paraphr.) ἰδος ὅσον παρὰ. Ἰον ὁποῖον τέφραν ἢθα μακάρων νάσον (φασός Tricl. et paraphr.: φάσον codd. Α.Β.Κ.Δ.: φάσος c. W. Christ) ὄκεανίδης | αὖραι περιπλάνουν· ἄνθεμα δε χρυσοῦ φλέγει, | ἀνθ. l.
The Elysian Way

Again, in an equally arresting fragment Pindar says:

Themis the wise, the heavenly, afar
From Ocean's founts on golden car
Up the dread stair the Fates first bore
Along the gleaming way to Olympos' height,
That Zeus the Saviour might
Have her to wife of yore:
The mother she of the unerring Hours,
Gold-frontleted, gay-fruited powers.

What was this 'road of Zeus,' this 'gleaming way'? If I am not mistaken, it was the broad path of dim and distant splendour that stretches across the abyss of the midnight sky. Our forefathers called it 'Watling Street' or 'London Road.' We know it as the 'Milky Way.' And a collection of names for it such as that got together by H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland proves that all the world over it has been regarded as a celestial track. Further, as E. B. Tylor observed, this track is often held to be the road traversed by the gods or the souls of men:


2 The same conclusion was reached by T. Bergk in the fahrh. f. class. Philol. 1860 vi. 411 ff. and by W. H. Roscher Juso und Hera Leipzig 1875 p. 83 nn. 257 and 258, who rightly drew attention to Philon de providentia 2. 89 (a Latin rendering of the Armenian version discovered by B. Aucur) Circulus tamen lacteus ad quid est?...Si quidem nonnulli arbitrantur luminis esse revivificationem ex stellis refugentibus; quidam vero commissuram totius caeli, ubi coaptantur hemisphaeria; alii antiquam ab initio viae solis; alii Geryones pecudum viam, per quam eae duxit Hercules; alii vero ex γαλακτικῶν, sc. lacte plenis, Iunonis uberibus; quod etiam Heratosthenes sensit: quare dicit, Miron, si aggregiar Iovis sacra vestigia pedis, quod corun appellat hucusque, et circulum festinantis velocissime suffusantibus paleus. Bergk loc. cit. p. 412 n. 141 saw that the latter part of this extract derives from Eratosthenes' astronomical poem ἔρως (frag. 16 ed. Hiller Lipsiae 1872).

3 F. Kahn Die Milchstrasse Stuttgart 1914.


7 E. B. Tylor Primitive Culture London 1891 i. 359 ff.
The Elysian Way

The Basutos call it the 'Way of the Gods'; the Ojis say it is the 'Way of Spirits,' which souls go up to heaven by. North American tribes know it as the 'Path of the Master of Life,' the 'Path of Spirits,' the 'Road of Souls,' where they travel to the land beyond the grave, and where their camp-fires may be seen blazing as brighter stars. Such savage imaginations of the Milky Way fit with the Lithuanian myth of the 'Road of the Birds,' at whose end the souls of the good, fancied as flitting away at death like birds, dwell free and happy.

Classical evidence of the Galaxy conceived as a Seelepfad is not wanting. Ovid speaks of it as a road leading to the palace of Jupiter:

1 E. Casalis The Basutos; or, Twenty-three Years in South Africa London 1861 p. 196. 'I have known great boys who hardly dared to look up at the stars, because they imagined that the milky way was a monstrous collection of those transparent beings whose imaginary appearance is so much dreaded.' (*The Basutos call the milky way, 'the way of the gods.')


3 S. H. Long An Expedition to the Rocky Mountains i. 288, H. R. Schoolcraft Historical and Statistical Information respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States Philadelphia 1851 i. 272. 'The milky way, they [the Creeks, or Muscogees] believe to be the paths of the spirits; but the spirits of whom, or what, they do not know.' P. le Jeune Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, en l'année 1634 Paris 1635 p. 63. 'Il [les sauvages montagnais de Kebee] appellent la voie lactée, Tchîpâi miskêhanâ [?], le chemin des ames, pour qu'elles pensent que les ames se guident par cette voie pour aller en ce grand village.' G. H. Loskilel History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America trans. C. I. La Trobe London 1794 i. 35. 'When they revived, they related that this place was to the south of heaven, and that the bright track called the milky way, was the road to it. This led to a most glorious city, the inhabitants of which enjoyed every possible good in great abundance.' J. G. Müller Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen Basel 1855 p. 63. 'Der südliche Himmel ist überhaupt das Land der Verstorbenen, und die Sterne der Milchstrasse, die angehefete Fener sind, sind der Weg dorthin. Loskilel 47. Catlin 116. Vollmer loc. Andree N.A. 147.' [See also J. F. Laflau Moeurs des Sauvages Américains comparés aux moeurs des premiers temps Paris 1724 ii. 406, E. B. Tylor Primitive Culture 3 London 1881 ii. 72.]


The conception of the Milky Way as an abode of souls survived into post-classical literature and art. Paulinus (353—431 A.D.), bishop of Nola, makes Enoch, Elijah, and other pious souls ascend to heaven via the Galaxy: Paulin. Nolan. carm. 5. 37 f. pande
There is a road aloft in the clear heaven,
Milk-white and therefore named the Milky Way.
Here go the gods to the great Thunderer’s house
And royal home. To right and left the halls
Of high-born deities fling wide their doors.
The populace in diverse spots may dwell;
But on this front the denizens of heaven
Puissant and proud have pitched their own abode.

Ovid’s celestial city is doubtless made to the pattern of Rome:

viam, quae me post vincula corporis aegri | in sublimine ferat, puri qua lactea caeli | semita ventosa superat vaga nubila lunae | qua proceres abiere pil quaque integer olim | raptus quadringo penetrat super aera curru | Elias et solido cum corpore praevius Enoch.

And Dracontius of Carthage (end of s. V A.D.) would raise the brave man to the sky along the same starry track: Drac. Romul. 5. 323 ff. his quartus (so F. Bücheler for quintus) adesto | virtutis ratione fide pietate vigore | possessure polos, scandens qua lacteus axis | vertitur, aetheri quae se dat (so F. von Duhn for solut C. Rossberg cj. candet) circulus orbitis | lunarisque globus qua voluitur axe tepenti | aut certe qua Phoebus agit super astra iugales: | sidem sic capies, poteris sic astra mereri. Cp. Hieron. epist. 23. 3 (xxii. 426 Migne) ille (sc. the husband of Lea)...nume desolatus et nudus non in lacteo caeli palatio, ut uxor mentitur infelix, sed in sordentibus tenebris. These are but Christianised versions of a belief that must have been wide-spread in later classical times—witness e.g. an elegiac epigraph from Saloneae: Corp. inscr. Lat. iii Suppl. no. 9631, 2 f. = F. Bücheler Carmina Latina epigraphica Lipsiae 1897 ii. 685 f. no. 1438, 17 f. sede beatorum recipit te lacteus orbitis | e gremio matris: hoc tua digna fides. The artistic evidence, though considerably later, is not devoid of interest. A twelfth-century manuscript of Germanicus at Madrid (cod. Matrit. A 16), with coloured pictures in the scholia, represents the circulus lacteus as a hoop held by a half-draped female, who bears aloft a draped female, the divinised soul
(G. Thiele Antike Himmelsbilder Berlin 1898 p. 147 ff. fig. 64 = my fig. 15). The same design with slight variations is found two centuries afterwards in the Vienna manuscript of a Latin prose work on astronomy (cod. Vindob. 2352): the starry circle is here more recognisable, the draped soul on its semi-draped supporter is less so, the apotheosis-type being ill understood (G. Thiele op. cit. p. 149 fig. 65 = my fig. 16).

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1 Ov. met. i. 168 ff. est via sublimis, caelo manifesta sereno; | lactea nomen habet, candore notabilis ipso. | hac iter est superis ad magni tecta Tonantis | regalemque domum. dextra laevaque deorum | atria nobilium valvis celebrantis aperit. | plebs habitat diversa locis: hac fronte (sic codd. A. N.P.T., a (in rasura) fronde codd. M.e.L., hac parte cod. Be.) potentes | caelicolae clarique suos posuere penates.
The Elysian Way

‘this front,’ as R. Merkel saw, recalls the *frons Palatii*. But the *via sublimis* of the poet’s vision was borrowed from an old-world belief held by certain followers of Pythagoras. The Pythagoreans indeed were much exercised about the Milky Way. Most of them took it to be a ‘way’ of some sort. One group said that it was the track made by a star, which had fallen from its proper position at the time of Phaethon’s catastrophe. Others saw in it a burnt pathway marking the sun’s original course. Others again deemed it a mere reflection of the solar rays. These opinions are duly recorded by Aristotel, Manilius, and the doxographer Aëtios. But a view

1 Ov. met. ed. R. Merkel (Lipsiae 1883) praef. p. vi.
2 Mirabilia Romae 25 (H. Jordan Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum Berlin 1871 ii. 637) in fronte Palatii templum Solis. in eodem Palatio templum Iovis, quod vocatur casa maior.

For the Milky Way in relation to the sun see A. Kuhn *Sagen, Gebräuche und Mährchen aus Westfalen* Leipzig 1859 ii. 86 no. 267 ‘Die Milchstrasse nennt man bei Saldern, westlich von Wolfinbüttel, die Himmelstrasse, sie ist die Mitte der Welt, und die Sonne steht am Mittag regelmässig in derselben,’ ib. ii. 87 no. 269 ‘Die Milchstrasse dreht sich nach der Sonne, indem sie dort zuerst erscheint, wo die Sonne untergegangen ist. Woltinghausen, Amt Uchte. Einer aus Loccum erklärte sie für den Widerschein der Sonne.’


6 Plout. de plac. phil. 3. 1 = Stob. *ecl. 1. 27. 2 p. 226, 1 ff. Wachsmuth (Aët. 3. 1. 2
ignored by them all is of more interest to us. Three writers steeped in neo-Platonic lore, and drawing perhaps from a single source, ascribe to Pythagoras himself the belief that the Milky Way is the road by which souls come and go. Porphyrius (c. 233—c. 304 A.D.), who penned an allegorical treatise On the Cave of the Nymphs in the Odyssey, remarks:

Elsewhere he (Homer) speaks of 'the gates of the Sun,' meaning Cancer and Capricornus; for these are the limits to which it progresses when descending from north to south and again when ascending from south to north. Capricornus and Cancer are set at either side of the Milky Way, the latter on the north, the former on the south. And 'the folk of dreams' according to Pythagoras are the souls, which—he asserts—are gathered together in the Milky Way, so called from those that are nurtured on milk, when they fall into birth.

Macrobius (c. 400 A.D.) in his Commentary on the Dream of Scipio says:

The following order is observed in the descent by which the soul of man slips from heaven to the lower regions of this present life. The Milky Way embraces the zodiac by means of the circular contact of its oblique periphery in such a way that it intersects the zodiac at the points where two tropic signs, Capricornus and Cancer, are said to be. These the physicists have called the gates of the Sun, because both prevent it from further advance when such is forbidden by the solstice and turn it back to the pathway of that zone whose bounds it never quits. It is supposed that through these gates souls pass from heaven to earth in H. Diels Doxographi Graeci Berolini 1879 p. 364, 22 ff.) τῶν Πυθαγορείων οἱ μὲν (οἱ μὲν πυθαγόρειοι cod. P. Stob.) ἔφασαν ἀστέρος εἶναι διάκοιτον ἐκπεπλάνοντο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ (οἰκειας cod. B. Plout.) ἄλοχος, δὲ ὁ δὲ περίπλακμα (sic cod. G. Plout. et Stob., ἑπιπλακμα codd. (A.). B.C. Plout. χωρίων (χωρίων cod. P. Stob.) κυκλοτερών αὐτὸ καταφλέαται (καταφλέασται Stob.) εἰτὶ τοῦ κατὰ Φαεβαςτα (φαεβαςτα cod. A. Plout. et cod. F. Stob., deest locus in cod. C. Stob.) ἐμπρησμὸν (κυκλοτερῶς—ἐμπρησμοῦ om. cod. P. Stob.), δὲ ὁ τῶν ἰδιαῖου τάξη ψαλι (φησι cod. P. Stob.) κατ' ἄρχας γεγογκέναι δράμον. τότε δὲ (καὶ ins. cod. B. Plout.) καταστροφὴν εἶναι ψαλασσιν τῶν ἐκλισίς εἰς ἄγιας πρὸς τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνα- κλάσεως, ὑπὲρ καὶ εἴτε (κατὰ Stob.) τῆς (γῆς ins. et ced. man. del. cod. Stob.) ἱματίας καὶ (καὶ om. Stob.) εἴτε τῶν νεφών συμβαίνει. Cp. pseudo-Aristot. erotropes. (Diels op. cit. p. 364 n.) εἶναι δὲ κατὰ τήν (καταστροφὴν corr. Diels) ψαλασσιαν ἂν ἠλιος (leg. τοῦ ἰδιαῖου et ins. τάς) αὐγῆς πρὸς τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνακλάσεως, ὑπὲρ εἴτε τῆς ἱματίας καὶ εἴτε τῶν νεφῶν συμβαίνει.

1 P. Capelle op. cit. p. 39 f. holds that this was the commentary of some Platonist on Plat. Tim.
2 Porph. de antr. nymph. 28.
3 Od. 24. 12 ἢδε παρ’ Ηλέω τιθάν καὶ δήμον ὄνειρον.
4 In Quint. Smyrn. 14. 179 ff. the soul of Achilles appears to his son in a dream and ἵδ. 223 ff. ὅτι εἰκῶν ἄρπασεν, ἠμὲν ἐναλλαγὴν ἀβρη, ἀλὴξ δὲ ἂν Ἡλέων πεδίων κόρον, ἤξι τέτυκται | οὐρανοῖς εἰς ὑπάτων κατωμαζέω τ’ ἁνδῶς τε | ἄβαλαντος μακάρων. The lines are suggestive of Pythagorean influence.
6 Scip. p. 1 Holder quod et immortalis esset animi menisque substantia et τῆς ἱματίας.
and again from earth to heaven. One is called the gate of men, the other that of the gods: Cancer is the gate of men, because through it they descend to the lower regions; Capricornus, the gate of the gods, because through it souls return to the seat of their own proper immortality and rejoin the company of the gods. This is what Homer, a poet of divine foresight, intended by his description of the cave in Ithake. Hence too Pythagoras holds that from the Milky Way downwards begins the realm of Dis, since souls that have fallen from it seem already to have left the world above. Milk—he says—is the first food offered to the new-born, because their first movement downwards in the direction of earthly bodies begins at the Milky Way. Wherefore also Scipio, pointing to the Milky Way, observed with regard to the souls of the blessed:

'Hence they start, and hither they return!'

Proklos (410—485 A.D.), after citing from the Pythagorising Platonist Noumenios a somewhat similar account of Capricornus and Cancer as the openings through which souls are sent upwards and downwards, continues:

For Pythagoras in mystic language calls the Milky Way 'Hades' and 'the place of souls,' since there they are crowded together. Whence sundry nations pour a libation of milk to the gods that purify souls, and milk is the first food taken by souls that fall into birth.

This belief in the Milky Way as a soul-road is found in several authors who, without being definitely followers of Pythagoras, are known to have come more or less under the influence of Pythagorean speculation. Thus Parmenides in the preface to his great philosophical poem describes how he was conducted in a chariot on the far-famed way of the goddess (Ananke?) and maidens led the way, to wit the Heliades, who escorted him towards the light through the portals of Night and Day till he reached the home of the goddess. The 'way' in question is not improbably the Milky

1 Od. 13. 102 ff.
2 Prokl. in Plat. remp. ii. 128, 26 ff. Kroll.
3 Prokl. in Plat. remp. ii. 129, 24 ff. Kroll καὶ γὰρ τὸν Πυθαγόραν δι’ ἀποφθέγματος Ἀιδήν τὸν γαλαξίαν καὶ τόπον ψυχῶν ἀποκαλεῖν, ως ἐκεῖ συνιστώμενοι. Ἡδονά αὐτὸ των ἀθροίσις γάλα αὐθεντικά τοῖς θείοι τοῖς τῶν ψυχῶν καθάρσισ καὶ τῶν πεισμῶν εἰς γένεσι εἶναι γάλα τὴν πρῶτην τροφήν.
4 Cp. a gloss of Placidus in Classicorum auctorum e Vaticanis codicibus editorum Tomus iii curante A. Maio Romae 1831 p. 481 (=G. Goetz Corpus glossariorum Latino-rium Lipsiae 1894 v. 79, 26 ff.) Lacteus circulus, via quae in spera (leg. sphæra) videtur quasi alba εἰ quæm alií dicunt animis heroum antiquorum refertum, et merito resplendere: alií viam esse quam circuit sol, et ex splendidis ipsius transitu ita lucere, Philop. de aeternitate mundi 7, 20 p. 290 Rabe τοῦτος γαῖας τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς (i.e. the Greeks) θεολογίας καὶ τῶν γαλαξίων καλλομένων κύκλων λήξις εἶναι καὶ χώρας ψυχῶν λογικῶς ἀναφέραντο.
5 On the Pythagoreanism of Parmenides see e.g. J. Burnet Early Greek Philosophy London and Edinburgh 1892 pp. 181 f., 197 ff.
6 Parmen. 7 1, 1 ff. Diels.
Way. Again, Empedotimos of Syracuse, who figures as an adherent of Pythagoras, held ‘that the Milky Way is the road of souls traversing the Hades in heaven.’ Platon too is presumably Pythagorising, when in a famous passage of the Phaidros he tells how god-like souls follow the gods round the great arch of heaven and from its summit behold sights of unspeakable splendour in the region beyond the sky:

Zeus, the great chieftain in heaven, driving a winged car, travels first, arranging and presiding over all things; and after him comes a host of gods and inferior deities, marshalled in eleven divisions, for Hestia stays at home alone in the mansion of the gods; but all the other ruling powers, that have their place in the number of the twelve, march at the head of a troop in the

1 H. Diels ad loc. (Poetarum philosophorum fragmenta Berolini 1901 p. 58) says: ‘utique Solis orbita videtur intellegenda, quam poeta lucido mentis curru, felicior ille Phaethonte, quotiens libebat escendebat.’ The mention of the Heliades does indeed recall Phaethon. But the fall of Phaethon was connected by the Pythagoreans with the Milky Way (infra p. 40, infra § 3 (a) vi (λ)). F. M. Cornford in his brilliant book From Religion to Philosophy London 1912 pp. 214 ff. 222 n. 3 inclines to the view put forward by O. Gilbert in the Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie 1907 xx. 25 ff., viz. that Parmenides’ journey was a descent into the darkness of the Underworld.

2 Clem. Al. Strom. i. 21 p. 82, 37 Stahlin.

3 Souid. s.vv. Ἐμπεδότιμος and Τιλιανός, Lobeck Aglaophamus ii. 935. But see infra n. 4.

4 Philop. in Aristot. metae. p. 117, 8 ff. Hayduck τοῦτος καὶ τότε τοῦτός τιν περὶ τοῦ γαλακτοῦ ὑπόθεσιν Ἀριστοτέλους ανέφες καὶ ὁ Δαμάκιος τὴν Ἐμπεδότιμοι περὶ τοῦ γαλακτοῦ οἰκείωσιν, ἑργον (ἀργνιν codd., corr. C. A. Lobeck) ἀυθήν (ἀυθιν codd., corr. C. A. Lobeck) ὦ (ante ὕλα v. litt. in. cod. V.) μεθέν καλών. φνοι γὰρ ἐκεῖος δοῦν εἶναι ψυχῶν τὸ γαλα τῶν Ἁδήν (ἐν ἄδη codd., τῶν Ἁδήν corr. C. A. Lobeck) τῶν (τῶν codd. M. V.) ἐν ὀφραίῳ διαπορευόμενων, καὶ οὐθαναστῶν, φνοίν ὁ Δαμάκιος, εἰ καὶ ψυχαὶ καθαροίτερα ἐν τοῦτο τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς (κύκλῳ <δᾶ> τῆς dub. cm. M. Hayduck) ἐν ὀφραίῳ γεγενέστερον, cp. ib. p. 117, 31 ff. ὃ τε φήμην "δόδος ἐστι τὸ γαλά ψυχῶν (om. ed. Ald.) τῶν διαπορευόμενων τῶν εἰ ὀφραῖον "Δαμήν," εἰ οὖν τῶν γαλαξίαν διαπορεύομαι, οὕτοι ἐν εἰν ῥ οὖν τῷ (om. ed. Ald.) ὀφραίῳ "Δαμήν καὶ πῶς Δαμής ὁ ὀφρώ φατεωθῆναι καὶ εἰ καθαροίτερα εἰκόνας ψυχαὶ, δηλοῦσιν μὴ κεκαθαρωμέναι ἀνθρώποι. See also interp. Serv. in Verg. geog. 1. 34 Varro tamen ait se legisse Empedotim (leg. Empedotimse, II. A. Lion c. Empedotisii) cuidam Syracusano a quodam potestate divina mortalem aspectum detersum, cumque inter cetera tres partas vidisse tresque vias: unam ad situm Scorpionis, qua Hercules ad deos ise dicercetur; alteram per limitem, qui est inter Leonem et Canum; tertiam esse inter Aquarianum et Pisces.

The views of Empedotimos were known to Julian the Apostle from Herakleides of Pontos (Souid. s.vv. Ἐμπεδότιμος and Τιλιανός), who wrote a history περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορειῶν (Diog. Laert. 5. 88: see Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 197 Muller) and a dialogue περὶ τῶν ἐν ὀφραίῳ (Daembritz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 476 f.). The latter, in which Empedotimos played a leading part, was presumably the source of Iamblichos ap. Stob. ecl. i. 49. 39 p. 378, 11 ff. Wachsmuth καὶ τοῦτον Ἐμπεδότιμον μὲν τῶν μεταμορφωθέντων περὶ τὸ γαλαξίαν, ἀλλὸς καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀποψια, ἀπ᾿ ὧν δὲ δύο κατὰ τὰς φύσεις κ.τ.λ. But, when Rohde Psyche p. 98 n. contends 'dass Empedotimos nur eine Dialogfigur des Heraklides war, und wohl so wenig jemals existirt hat wie Er der Sohn des Armenios oder Thespios von Soli oder dessen Vorbild Kleonemos von Athen bei Klearch von Soli (Rhein. Mus. 32, 335),' he is hardly convincing. See P. Capelle op. cit. p. 42 n. 2.
order to which they have been severally appointed. Now there are, it is true, many ravishing views and opening paths within the bounds of heaven, wherein the family of the blessed gods go to and fro, each in performance of his own proper work; and they are followed by all who from time to time possess both will and power; for envy has no place in the celestial choir. But whenever they go to feast and revel, they forthwith journey by an uphill path to the summit of the heavenly vault. Now the chariots of the gods being of equal poise, and obedient to the rein, move easily, but all others with difficulty; for they are burdened by the horse of vicious temper, which sways and sinks them towards the earth, if haply he has received no good training from his charioteer. Whereupon there awaits the soul a crowning pain and agony. For those which we called immortal go outside when they are come to the topmost height, and stand on the outer surface of heaven, and as they stand they are borne round by its revolution, and gaze on the eternal scene. Now of that region beyond the sky no earthly bard has ever yet sung or ever will sing in worthy strains.

It can hardly be doubted that the ‘uphill path to the summit of the heavenly vault,’ a path along which the souls of the blessed go to the fulness of fruition, implies the Pythagorean conception of the Milky Way as an Elysian road.

In the *Republic* the same bright track is compared with ‘the undergirders of triremes’; but the figure is complicated by the addition of ‘a straight light like a pillar’ stretching along the axis of the universe,—an idea taken up by the Manicheans, who spoke of a ‘pillar of glory’ or a ‘pillar of light’ filled with souls in process of purification. This pillar has no counterpart in astronomical fact or, for that matter, in astronomical theory. It would, however, be unwise to assume that it was introduced by Platon merely to

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1 Plat. Phaedr. 246 E—247 C trans. J. Wright. An echo of this passage may be heard in Loukian, Dem. 50 (infra § 3 (a) iii (i)). Cp. also Anth. Pal. 7. 97. 1 f. (Diog. Laert.) od μόνον ἐν Πείρασκ ἀνέβηκε Σερπός διὰ Κύρων, ἀλλ’ ἄνδρι ζητότων ἐν Δίσο καὶ γάμοι άλλοι κατ’ 66. 7. 69. 1 (Diog. Laert.) ἐπετέλεσάν ἐν Δίσο ἄνευ, δ’ Σύκαρτους κ.τ.λ.

2 Note that the Pythagoreans spoke of a cosmic ‘ship’ (Philo. frag. 12 Diels καὶ πάντες ἀπὸ σαμοαν εὐρύς εὐτέρες, τὰ ἐν τῇ σφαίρᾳ τόπῳ <και> δύσορ καὶ γά καὶ ἀχρ., καὶ ὁ τάς σφαίρας δικάρια, τέμπωρο) : *infra* 1. 328 n. 2.

3 Plat. rep. 516 b—c. I follow the interpretation of J. Adam ad loc., who supposes that the curved light was suggested by the Milky Way, but that the straight light symbolised the axis of the universe. He points out that some of the ancients interpreted the straight light of the Milky Way (Prokl. in Plat. *temp.* ii. 130. 3 ff., 194. 19 ff. Kroll, cp. Cic. *de rep.* 6. 16), while others regarded it as the axis of the universe or a cylinder of aetherial fire surrounding the axis (Theon Smyrn. *περί* τῶν κατὰ τὸ μαθηματικὸν χρησιμιῶν ἐπὶ τῶν Πλατωνίων ἀνάγνωσι ρ. 143 Hiller, Phot. *lex.* and Soud. *s.v.* τεταμένων φῶς εὐθὺ όλων *κλώα* cp. Prokl. in Plat. *temp.* ii. 199. 31 ff. Kroll).

4 Epiphan. *Panar.* 2. 56. 26 (iii. 1. 48. 11 ff. Dindorf) τῆς οὖν σελήνης μεταβολής τῶν γάμων τῶν φυσικῶν τοῖς αἰῶνα τοῦ κατάλογο, παραμένουσιν ἐν τῷ στόλῳ τῆς διαβής, δε καλείται ἀψι τέλειος. ὅ δ’ ἀψι ωθεῖ φόβος ὑπ’ φόβοι, ἐπείδη γένεσί τοῖς καθαραμένοις. In view of τ. Adam’s elucidation of the Platonic φῶς εὐθὺ, όλων *κλώα* I cannot agree with L. de Beussos *Histoire de Manichée et du Manichaéisme Amsterdam 1739* ii. 513 ‘A l’égard de la *Colonne de Gloire*, ou de Lumière, elle n’est autre chose, si je ne me trompe, que la *Voye Lactée.*’
facilitate the transition to his ensuing image—the ‘spindle of Ananke.’ Rather we may surmise that it was based upon popular belief with ritual usage behind it.

(β) The Sky-Pillar in Italy.

In seeking the antecedents of a Pythagorean or quasi-Pythagorean doctrine we turn first to south Italy, where the order planted by Pythagoras took root and flourished. It would not be surprising if somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kroton and Metapontum we came across a definite cult of Zeus conceived as residing in or on a pillar. If I am not mistaken, we find such a cult at Tarentum. For here was a colossal bronze statue of Zeus, made by Lysippos, with a notable pillar beside it. And here too sacrifices were offered on pillars to the lightning-god Zeus Kataibates—a practice which, as we saw, had probably been inherited from ‘Minoan’ times. Apulian and Campanian vases, also, represent Zeus fulminant on the top of a pillar. Altogether, it looks as though there were in south Italy an old belief that Zeus with his lightnings dwelt on high above an obvious tangible pillar, his vehicle and support.

A similar belief with regard to Jupiter seems to have prevailed at Rome during republican days. In 152 B.C. a column standing before the temple of Jupiter on the Campus was blown down with its gilded statue. The diviners predicted the death of magistrates and priests: whereupon all the magistrates abdicated in a body.

1 Supra i. 35 f. This statue, with sides reversed, furnished Theodoros, the designer or copyist of the tabula Iliaca, with an interesting scene. In the uppermost register of his composition Thetis pleads before Zeus (II. 1. 498 ff.), who is seated in the same pensive attitude beside a pillar (O. Jahn—A. Michaelis Griechische Bilderchroniken Bonn 1873 pp. 12 f., 36 pl. 1, A. Baumeister Denkm. i. 717 pl. 13 fig. 775, Stuart Jones Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome p. 166 no. 83 pl. 41 (bibliography ib. p. 172)). Fig. 17 is from J. N. Svoronos in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1911 xiv. 280 f. fig. 25. Svoronos says: Οἰον ἔος τοῦ Δίας τοῦτον, ἐπὶ αὐτὴν τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ Ολύμπου, ἐντοίχεα πελώρωσ τινὲς ψέφους τῶν αὐράνων θόλων, but C. Robert in the Arch. Zeit. 1874 xxxii. 107 expressly warns us that the supposed arch over Zeus is ‘nur eine Verletzung des Marmors,’ and Stuart Jones prints IEYS, not IOY. A fresh inspection of the marble is much to be desired. Vide Addenda in hunc loc. For Theodoros’ utilisation of past models see A. Brüning in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1894 ix. 136 ff.

2 Supra p. 39 ff.

3 Supra i. 36 ff., 409, 520 n. 1.

4 Inl. Obs. 18 M. Claudio Marcello L. Valerio Flacco coss. turbinis vi in Campo columnna ante aedem Iovis decussa cum signo aurato; cumque aruspices respondissent magistratum et sacerdotum interitum fore, omnes magistratus se protinus abdicaverunt.
The Sky-Pillar in Italy

The list of portents for the year 96 B.C. includes an owl killed on the Capitol, many things destroyed by lightning, and gilded statues of Jupiter overthrown with capital(?) and column to boot. A third incident of like character is recorded with somewhat greater detail. It appears that in 56 B.C., an appalling thunderstorm burst over Rome. 'On the Capitol,' says Dion Cassius, 'many statues and images were melted by thunderbolts, among others one of Jupiter set on a column, while a likeness of the she-wolf with Remus and Romulus fell from its pedestal.' The diviners, hastily summoned from all parts of Etruria, foretold the end of Rome. At their advice desperate efforts were made to placate the gods. Games were held for ten days, and a larger statue of Jupiter was erected on a yet loftier column with its face turned towards the east. Two years later—for the work progressed slowly—this statue was being placed in position at the moment when Cicero was delivering his third speech against Catiline; and the speaker was quick to profit by the coincidence. Surely the detection and punishment of the great conspiracy were due to Jupiter himself, whose penetrating gaze was even now directed upon the Forum and the Senate House.

Pighius cj. in Capitollo for in Campo. But the change is unnecessary; for there was an ancient hypaethral sanctuary of Jupiter Fulgur in the Campus (E. Aust in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 656, Wissowa Rel. Kult. Röm., p. 121 f., H. Kiepert et C. Huelen Formae urbis Romae antiquae Berolini 1912 p. 26). Besides, the temple of Jupiter Stator in the Porticus Metelli (H. Jordan—C. Huelen Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1907 i. 3. 528 ff., H. Kiepert et C. Huelen op. cit. p. 21) was perhaps in existence before 147 B.C. (S. B. Platner The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome Boston 1904 p. 330). It should, however, be noticed that Iul. Obs. 18 does not definitely describe the ruined monument as a statue of Jupiter. J. Scheffer ad loc. took it to have been the portrait of some magistrate.

1 Iul. Obs. 49 Cn. Domitio C. Cassio cos...bubo in Capitolio occisus fulmine pleraque decussa. signa aurata Iovi cum capite columnae disiecta. O. Jahn cj. statua for capite. But O. Rossbach ad loc. understands caput as the 'capital' of a column, not as the 'head' of a statue. The meaning is not beyond doubt, since (a) the plural signa accords ill with the singulars capite, columnae, and (b) it is known that two capites, in the sense of colossal 'heads,' were dedicated on the Capitol by P. Lentulus (Plin. nat. hist. 34. 44).

2 Dion Cass. 37. 9 in θόρυβο τῷ Καπιτώλιῳ ἄρριβάντες τὸ πολλὸν ὑπὸ κεραυνοῦ συνεχωμένω...θραυσὶ καὶ ἀγάλματα άλλα τε καὶ Δίως ἐπὶ κύριον ἱδρυμένον, εἰκών τε τις λυκάνθη σύν τε τῷ 'Ρώμῳ καὶ σύν τῷ Παρθεíνῳ ἱδρυμένῳ τινί, κ.τ.λ. Cr. ib. 37. 34.

3 On the principle involved see Folk-Lore 1902 xiv. 270 ff., supra i. 563 f. In 293 B.C. Sp. Carvillius made the breastplates, greaves, and helmets of the vanquished Samnites into a statue of Jupiter, which he set up on the Capitol,—a statue large enough to be visible from the temple of Jupiter Latialis on the Alban Mount. From the filings he made a statue of himself, to stand at the feet of the god (Plin. nat. hist. 34. 43: but Liv. 10. 45 does not mention this group).

4 Cic. in Cat. 3. 19 ff. (ad simulacrum Iovis facere maius et in excelsa collocare et contra, atque ante fuerat, ad orientem convertere), de consulatu suo 23. 32 ff. (ad Iovis excelsa clarabat sceptra columna) op. de div. i. 19 ff., 2. 45 ff. Quint. inst. or. 5. 11. 42 utitur eo Cicero...in contione contra Catilinam, cum signum Iovis columnae imposuit
The Sky-Pillar in the ‘Minoan’ area. 47

The notion that the sky-god resided in person on the top of a high pillar might presumably be combined with a belief in the Milky Way as a road to his residence. Indeed, a remarkable block of Italian marble, now at Berlin, shows Jupiter enthroned on the summit of a pillar that rises sheer from earth to heaven, while two females ascend the arch of the sky and enter his very presence.

(γ) The Sky-Pillar in the ‘Minoan’ area.

Italy stretches from south-east to north-west. Accordingly the beliefs and practices here noted find their nearest analogues in the ‘Minoan’ and the early Germanic areas. On the one hand, we have sufficient evidence to be tolerably sure that the ‘Minoan’ sky-god was associated both with the Milky Way and with a high pillar. The great gold ring from Mykenai (fig. 18)² exhibits a deity, armed with

![Fig. 18.](image)

was associated both with the Milky Way and with a high pillar. The great gold ring from Mykenai (fig. 18)² exhibits a deity, armed with

- etiam simulacrum, sublimis quod
- culmine stabat, suis esse ab sedibus provolutum.
- edidit res saevas (Meursius om. poste), immo alter publicari
- ad cardinem radiisque oppositus solis. adnisse dicto fidem: nam subrecto culmine conversoque ad sollem signo patuisse res abditas et reserata in maleficia vindicatum.

¹ Supra i. 62 fig. 38.
shield and spear, and a double axe descending side by side towards the earth-goddess and her maidens from a wavy track, which crosses
the sky and probably represents the Milky Way. Another large gold signet from Knossos (fig. 19) shows a god with a spear carried in his right hand and rays of light (?) darting from his shoulders as he descends from a tall tapering pillar towards a female worshipper. That the shield-bearing deity of the first ring is to be identified with the rayed god of the second ring, appears from a third representation on a painted larnax found at Miletos (Milato) in Crete (fig. 20), which gives him both shield and rays (?). It can hardly be doubted

1 Opinions have differed as to the interpretation of this wavy band: see e.g. C. Schuchhardt Schliemann's Excavations trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 277 ("probably...the sea"), Collignon Hist. de la Script. gr. i. 46 ("sans doute le mer"), Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art vi. 841 ("peut-être le mer"), Ch. Tsountas—J. I. Manatt The Mycenaean Age London 1897 p. 298 ("the cloud-canopy"), Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen ii. 10 ("the Anwendung des Himmels oceans, des Okeanos (oder der Wolken?)"). Milani Stud. e mat. di arch. e num. 1899—1901 i. 196 fig. 27 says "la via lattea," and Harrison Themis p. 168 fig. 36 "Milky Way,"—rightly, as I conceive. It should be noticed that both the goddess and her maidens wear lilies in their hair (supra i. 623), and that the milk-white lily was supposed by the later Greeks to have originated from the Milky Way (supra i. 624). A somewhat analogous design occurs on a gold ring found in a tomb of the Late 'Minoan' ii period at Isopata in Crete: four females dance in a field of lilies, while a diminutive goddess descends towards them from a wavy line apparently betokening the sky (fig. 21 (i)) after Sir A. J. Evans in Archaeologia 1913—1914 lxv. 10 fig. 16). Cpr. also another gold ring from a tomb in the lower town at Mykenai, now at Athens (Stais Coll. Myceniennes: Athenes p. 71 f. no. 3179 fig. II. Fritze in the Strena Hellrigiana p. 73 fig. 1. Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 6, 3, ii. 75 fig., Sir A. J. Evans in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1901 xxii. 176 ff. fig. 53. Harrison Themis p. 166 fig. 34).


3 So Sir A. J. Evans loc. cit. But in Archaeologia 1906 lix. 100, il. 1913—1914 lxv. 11 he retracts this interpretation, and now suggests that the rapid descent of the divinity is indicated by long locks of hair flying out on either side. In view of the very similar representations of the Babylonian Samaš (supra i. 553 n. 5) I prefer the former explanation.

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that the god in question is the ‘Minoan’ sky-god, who descends in his panoply from the heights of heaven.

(δ) The Irminsül.

On the other hand, the early Germanic sky-god plays a somewhat similar part. His name in Old High German was *Ziu or *Ziu, in Anglo-Saxon *Tiw, in Norse Týr. But whether these forms are more nearly related to the Greek Zeus or to its doublet the Latin deivos is a question hotly disputed by philologists. In any case Ziu was a sky-god conceived as a warrior and consequently equated by classical writers with Ares or Mars. ‘Other names for Tiu,’ says Prof. P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, ‘are perhaps Dings

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3 P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye The Religion of the Teutons Boston and London 1902 p. 245.
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(in Marti Thingso\textsuperscript{1} and Dinsdag\textsuperscript{2}, Tuesday) and, with more certainty, Er (Erchtag) among the Bavarians\textsuperscript{3}, and Sahsnot (Anglo-Saxon Saxeenet, i.e. sword companion) among the Saxons\textsuperscript{4}. The Anglo-Saxon rune \textgamma\textsuperscript{5} (Ear) is also referred to him\textsuperscript{6}. Finally Iring, the

\textsuperscript{1} Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4760 deo | Marti | Thingso | et duahus | Alaisigis | Bede et Fimbmillene | et n(uminibus) Aug(ustorum) Ger(mani) cives Tuilhante | v.s.l. m. | c. no. 4761 deo | Marti et duahus | Alaisigis et n(uminibus) Aug(ustorum) | Ger(mani) cives Tuilhante | cunei Frisiorum | Ver(....) | Ser(....) | Alexandr[i]um votum | solvere[n]t | libent[es m.]. These inscriptions were found in 1885 on two altars at Housesteads, the site of Beroicum, the eighth station on Hadrian's wall. The former altar has on its right side the relief of a female figure, doubtless one of the Alaisiagae. The latter altar has a small protome in front and sacrificial implements on the sides. Further, a semicircular top belonging to one of the altars represents Mars as an armed warrior with a sword or goad flanked by two hovering attendants. These altars were dedicated in the reign of Alexander Severus (222–235 A.D.) by Germani from Tuvanti, the modern Twenthe. For a full bibliography see K. Helm Allgermanische Religionsgeschichte Heidelberg 1913 i. 366 n. 80.

L. Laistner Das Rötel der Sphinx Berlin 1889 ii. 450 observes: 'Der friisise Mars Thingres, dieser zebr apolinos der Germanen, neben welchem weibliche Gottheiten genannt werden ähnlich wie Dike neben Zeus, ist dargestellt mit einem Schwert, der sich vertraulich an ihn schmiegt und wohl eben diese weibliche Gefolgschaft andeutet soll: Ziu mit dem Schwade und Zeus mit den Schwanfrauen weisen auf eine uralte gemeineuropäische Vorstellung hin (vgl. auch Hoffory, Eddastudien i. 145 ff.).'


So J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 199 f., 1888 iv. 1351, E. H. Meyer Germanische Mythologie Berlin 1891 p. 221, K. Simrock Handbuch der deutschen Mythologie Bonn 1878 p. 273, W. Goltz Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie Leipzig 1893 p. 213. Their view is based on the following evidence. (a) In the Runic alphabets of cod. Cotton. Otho B 10 (G. Hickes Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Theaurus grammatico-criticus Oxonii 1703 i. 135, G. Stephens The Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England London—Kopenhagen 1866-67 i. 100 no. 5, L. F. A. Wimmer Die Runenschrift Berlin 1887 p. 85) and cod. Cotton. Dominian A 9 (G. Hickes op. cit. i. 136, G. Stephens op. cit. i. 102 no. 9) the rune \textgamma is called, not only ear, but also tir. (b) In other Anglo-Saxon alphabets \textgamma is used for the
Thuringian hero, who with his sword slays two kings, is, according to some, likewise a form of Tiw. Now the Milky Way was known as Iringesstræza or Iringes wec, the 'Street' or 'Road of Iring'. If, therefore, Iring is rightly regarded as a form of Ziu, we have here the Germanic parallel to Pindar's 'road of Zeus'. That road led up 'to Kronos' tower.' But the counterpart of this mysterious destination is hardly to be found in Germanic myth. It might rather be sought in the Celtic area; for a Welsh name of the Milky Way was caer Gwydion, the 'castle of Gwydion'. However that may be, Iring is in legend closely associated with Irmenfried, king of the Thuringians; and Irmin, the 'Uplifted One', is commonly thought to have been another name or surname of Ziu. It was probably as

letter x, and in cod. Cotton. Tiberius D 18 (J. M. Kemble 'On Anglo-Saxon Runes' in Archæologia 1840 xxviii. 385 pl. 15, t. t., G. Stephens op. cit. i. 107 no. 24) is called ziu. But Mr R. Dickins, to whom I applied for a criticism of the whole hypothesis, has shown convincingly that it rests on a complete misconception of the data. His remarks, too important to be compressed into a footnote, will be found printed in the Addenda ad loc.


3 Supra p. 36 f.

4 W. Owen Pughe Geiriadar Cenhoodlaethol Gymraeg a Soesneg (A National Dictionary of the Welsh Language, with English and Welsh Equivalents) enlarged by R. J. Pryse Denbigh 1866 i. 297 'Caer gwydion—the galaxy, so called from Gwydion ab Don, who, having a knowledge of astronomy, was deemed a conjurer,' H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland in Mélanges Paris 1884—85 ii. 153 n. 1 comment: 'Ce nom n'est pas populaire; il ne se trouve que dans certains dictionnaires, et il nous paraît suspect.' But J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1884 i. 120 n. 2 and 357 n. 1 saw no reason to doubt it, and it is accepted by Sir J. Rhys Hibbert Lectures 1887 London 1898 p. 240; ld. Celtic Folklore Welsh and Manx Oxford 1901 ii. 645; C. Squire The Mythology of the British Islands London 1905 pp. 253, 468; J. A. MacCulloch The Religion of the Ancient Celts Edinburgh 1911 p. 197.

5 See the references cited supra n. 1.

6 My friend Prof. H. M. Chadwick points out to me (April 3, 1917) that Irmin is presumably a participial formation resembling in both sound and sense ἵππερος (alpoo), the 'Uplifted One.' If so, Irmin was Ἰππορόν.

7 E.g. W. Goltz Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie Leipzig 1895 p. 209 'Mit Irmino ist ebenfalls Tiuz gemeint,' K. Mü llenhoff Deutsche Altertumskunde Berlin 1900 iv. 117 'die entscheidende und wichtigste stelle über Irmin findet sich bei Widukind 1, 12; sie ist von mir in der abhandlung über Tuist und seine nachkommen in Schmidts allg. zs. für gesch. 8 (1847). 244 ff. erläutert worden [reprinted in the Deutsche Altertumskunde iv. 519 ff.]. nach ihr und einigen andern zeugnissen ist Irmin beiname des alten himmelsgottes Tiu, altm. Týr, ags. in Tiwedág, abh. Ziu, mit andern namen Er,' R. M. Meyer Althessische Religionshgeschichte Leipzig 1910 p. 192 'Irmin ist sicher Tiu.' For a critical investigation of the evidence see R. Much 'Der germanische Him-
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the sign and symbol of this sky-god that the ancient Saxons worshipped a high pillar named the *Irminsul*. Thus, when Charles the Great in 772 A.D. destroyed one of their cult-centres near Eresburg in Westphalia, he overthrew a great trunk of timber erected under the open sky and reverenced by the natives as the *Irminsul*, a world-pillar supporting all things. Again, in 530 A.D. the Saxons had won a great victory over the Thuringians at Scheidungen on the Unstrut. 'And, when morning dawned,' says Widukind, 'they set up an eagle at the eastern gate and, erecting an altar of victory, worshipped their


2 Rudolph of Fulda *translatio S. Alexandri* 3 (G. H. Pertz *Monumenta Germaniae historica* Hannoverae 1826 ii. 670) *Ifrondosis arboribus fontibusque venerationem exhibebant. Truncum quoque ligni non parvae magnitudinis in altum erectum sub divo celebant, patria eum lingua Irminsul appellantes, quod latine dicitur universalis columna, quasi sustinens omnia*. This passage was penned between 863 and March 865 A.D. It may therefore be regarded as containing a comparatively trustworthy tradition of events that had happened less than a century earlier. But we must beware of mistranslating the last two clauses. P. D. Chantepe de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1903 p. 124 ff. renders 'a wooden pillar of unusual size in the open air, worshipped in common, and whose destruction was a national calamity.' This interpretation (though in agreement with that of W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte* Berlin 1904 i. 303 ff., who took the *Irminsul* to be the 'Lebensbaum der Völkszeit') is certainly wrong. The Latin *universalis columna, quasi sustinens omnia* can mean only that the pillar in question was considered to be the prop or central support of the universe. This is clearly perceived and, to my thinking, successfully proved by F. Hertlein *Die Jupitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 73 ff.

3 Widukind *res gestae Saxonicæ* i. 12 (G. H. Pertz *Monumenta Germaniae historica* Hannoverae 1839 iii. 423 f.) *Mane autem facto ad orientalem portam ponunt aquilam, aramque victoriae construentes, secundum errorem paternum sacra sua propria veneratione venerati sunt; nomine Martem, effigie coluumpnarum imitantes Herculem, loco Solem, quem Graeci appellavant Apollinem. Ex hoc appareat aestimationem illorum utculque probabiliter, qui Saxones originem duxisse putant de Graecis, quia Hirmin vel Hermis graece Mars dicitur; quo vocabulo ad laudem vel ad vituperationem usque hocie etiam ignorantes utimur. K. Mullenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 520 ff., following Pertz ad loc., understands *aram...victoriae* as an *Irminsul* and construes *nomine (arce imitantis) Martem, effigie coluumpnarum (arce imitantis Herculem, loco (arce imitantis) Solem*. See infra § 3 (a) iii (9). As to Widukind's concluding remark, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 354 f., 1888 iv. 1888 notes that in Westphalia and Hesse the name Irmin still survives in a variety of popular sayings under the forms *Herm, Herme, Herman, Herman*, etc.
divinities with due rites according to the error of their fathers. In name they copied Mars, in effigy of columns Hercules, in site Sol whom the Greeks term Apollo. This renders highly probable the view of those who hold that the Saxons originated from the Greeks, because Mars is called Hirmin, or in Greek Hermis,—a name still used by us, though we know it not, for praise or blame.' The chronicler is a would-be classic, and fond of a rhetorical flourish; but there is little doubt that he means to describe the erection and worship of an *Irmin'sul*. Indeed, such pillars were probably of frequent occurrence among the tribes that worshipped Ziu.

It would seem, then, that *Er* and *Irmin* were appellatives of the Germanic sky-god, who was connected in legend with the Milky Way and in cult with a high column viewed as a world-pillar or universal support. In face of these facts I surmise that the myth in Platon's *Republic*, which combined the curved light of the Galaxy and the 'straight light like a pillar,' is not altogether independent of early Germanic belief. I would even risk the conjecture that in the hero of the Platonic myth, *Er* son of *Armenios*, we have the Greeced equivalent of both *Er* and *Irmin*.

To this it may be objected that alike in time and in place the Germanic world was too remote from the Hellenic to have influenced Platon. But in both respects, as we shall see later, a half-way house can be found, thanks to Orpheus, that marvellous mediator between barbarian and Greek.

Meantime I would point out that the *Irmin'sul* or universe-prop implies the primitive notion that the sky stands in need of a visible support. Early man was in fact haunted by a very definite dread that it might collapse on the top of him. The classical authors bear

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2 *Infra* § 3 (a) iii (i).

3 I am indebted to my daughter for a reference to the folk-tale of *Henny-Penny* (J. Jacobs *English Fairy Tales* London 1899 pp. 113 ff., 243 ff.), which begins: 'One day Henny-penny was picking up corn in the cornyard when—whack!—something hit her upon the head. "Goodness gracious me!" said Henny-penny; "the sky's a-going
witness to the terror which this thought inspired among the peoples of Central Europe. Strabon⁴ and Arrian² both tell us that in the year 335 B.C. the Celts of the Adriatic, men of great stature and a haughty disposition, sent envoys to sue for the friendship of Alexander. The Macedonian monarch received them in state and asked them what they dreaded most, expecting the obvious answer 'You.' To his chagrin they replied that they had but one fear—lest the sky should some day fall upon them! So he promptly packed them off, with the cutting remark that the Celts were constitutional braggarts. Again, in the year 179 B.C. an army of over thirty thousand stalwart Bastarnians, led by their chief Clondicus, marched against Dardania, but were daunted by a big thunderstorm on Mount Donuca. They declared, says Livy⁵, that the gods were routing them and the sky falling upon them.

These wild notions were not confined to the barbarians of Middle Europe. They have at least left traces of themselves in the literature of Italy and Greece, traces which become clearer and more tangible as we follow them back into the past. Horace⁴, who has of course outgrown such nonsense, uses it just to round off an effective stanza: even if the sky should come tumbling about him, the well-conducted and resolute Roman would not turn a hair⁶. Terence⁸ treats the matter more seriously: wanting a proverb to describe undue timidity, he introduces 'the folk that say "What if the sky were to fall this very moment?"' We gather that there were such folk in the second century B.C., superstitious peasants or the like. But for a fuller expression of their belief we must get back another three or four hundred years. Theognis⁷ of Megara in a characteristic passage protests that he loves his friend and hates his foe, adding by way of solemn confirmation: 'Else may the great broad sky of bronze come crashing down upon me, that terror of earth-born men.' I need not labour the point. It is clear that the lower classes in Italy and at least the Megarians in Greece shared with Celts and Bastarnians the paralysing fear that some day the sky itself might fall.

to fall; I must go and tell the king." So she went along and she went along and she went along till she met Cocky-locky. "Where are you going, Henny-penny?" says Cocky-locky. "Oh! I'm going to tell the king the sky's a-falling," says Henny-penny. "May I come with you?" says Cocky-locky. "Certainly," says Henny-penny. So Henny-penny and Cocky-locky went to tell the king the sky was falling,' Etc. See further J. Grimm Geschichte der deutschen Sprache⁹ Leipzig 1868 i. 322 n. 8, id. Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 813 n. 2, 1888 iv. 1541.

¹ Strab. 301 f. ² Arrian. i. 4. 6—8. ³ Liv. 46. 58. ⁴ Hor. ed. 3. 3. 1 ff. ⁵ Cp. Plout. de fasie in orbe lunaee 6. ⁶ Ter. heaut. 719. ⁷ Theogn. 869 f.
How that belief arose, we can only surmise. It may be that in the dim past, when the ancestors of these tribes developed out of hunters into herdsmen and emerged from the forest on to the open plain, they missed the big tree that seemed to support the sky ('heaven-reaching,' as Homer\(^1\) calls it). And in the absence of that mighty prop there was nothing to guarantee the safety of their roof\(^2\).

Now early man was a practical person. His roof being insecure, he proceeded to shore it up. The *Irminśul* was primarily a sky-prop, though we may well believe that it came to be viewed as the

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\(^1\) *Od. 5. 239 ἐλάτη τ' ἔν' οἰκανομήκες*, cp. *Hdt. 2, 138 δεύρεα οἰκανομήκεα, Anth. Pal. 4, 1, 52* (Melançon) οἰκανομήκει | φωίκευς. *I remember, I remember, | The fir trees dark and high; | I used to think their slender tops | Were close against the sky* (T. Hood).

\(^2\) Attention may here be drawn to the various accounts of the Kallikantzarioi given by the modern Greeks. These are summarised as follows by J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 194: *The Callicantzar appear only during the ὀδοκαθήμερον or "period of twelve days" between Christmas and Epiphany*. (Leo Allatius *De gnor. Græc. op. impn. cap. ix*) makes the period a week only, ending on New Year's Day.) The rest of the year they live in the lower world, and occupy themselves in trying to gnaw through or cut down the great tree (or in other accounts the one or more columns) on which the world rests. Each Christmas they have nearly completed their task, when the time comes for their appearance in the upper world, and during their twelve days' absence, the supports of the world are made whole again. Details will be found in N. G. Polites *Paradoses* Athens 1904 i. 331 no. 590 from Bourbora in Kynouria (The Lykonkatzarai come from below the earth. All the time they are hewing away with their axes at the tree which supports the earth (τὸ δέντρον τὸν βαστάζει τὴ γῆ). They chop and chop till a tiny piece no bigger than a thread remains uncut, and they say *Come, let us be off; it will fall of itself*. They return after the Baptism and find the tree entire, absolutely whole. And again they chop, and again they come, and so continually do they busy themselves), i. 347 no. 612 from Naupaktos (...the Pagan Ones begin hewing with their teeth and with axes the three columns which support the world (τοῖς τρεῖς κολώναι, ποῦ βαστάζει τὸν κόσμο), to hurl them down, that the world may collapse. Etc.), i. 352 no. 621 from Lasta in the deme Mylon, Gortynia (The earth is supported below by one column, which has four other pillars (μιᾶ κολώνα, ποῦ ἔχει τέσσερα ἄλλας στήλους [infra § 3 (a) iii (x)]). There the Kallikantzarioi are in bondage for ever and labour at cutting the column to make the earth fall. Etc.), i. 354 no. 622 from Demestana in Gortynia (The Kallikantzarioi are naked, apart from beards and moustaches, and in size resemble a child of ten, some being a little taller, others a little shorter. They dwell in the Underworld, where there are three wooden columns supporting the whole earth (ἐκεῖ εἶμαι τρεῖς ἐδώρνις κολώναι καὶ κρατοῦν δὴν τὴν γῆ). The Kallikantzarioi want to cut the columns and overthrow the world, and they are perpetually getting to work with their axes and chopping the three columns. Etc.), i. 335 no. 623 from Grallista in the deme Ithome, Karitsa (The Karkantsaloi have their dwelling in Hades, and gnaw with their teeth the pillars which support the sky, that it may fall and crash the earth (κτίζουν μὲ τὰ δύοντα τοῦ στέλη, ἀπ᾽ ἑαυτῶν τῶν ὀρόων καὶ μή τί συνέργει κί πλακώσῃ τῇ γῇ). They gnaw and gnaw and do their utmost to cut the pillars. Etc.). See further N. G. Polites *Méletai ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεατέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 46 and 69. J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1911 xiv. 232 and 280. It will be observed that, whereas most of these versions make the tree (no. 590) or columns (nos. 612, 621, 622) support the earth, one at least (no. 623) makes the pillars support the sky.
vehicle of the sky-god and even to be embellished with his form and features.

(e) Jupiter-Columns.

Far and wide over the territory once occupied by Germanic tribes are remains of isolated columns, dating from the close of the second to the middle of the third century A.D., that is to say, from the period when Rhenic Germany witnessed a Romanised revival of its national cults. These columns, usually termed Jupiter säulen or Gigantensäulen, consist of the following parts. The lowest member, exclusive of the base, is a quadrangular plinth known as the Viergötterstein, which is adorned by reliefs of four deities—commonly Iuno, Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva (fig. 22).

1 A. Ohlric ‘Irminssul og gudesøttor’ in Maal og minne 1910 pp. 1-9. summarised in the Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde 1910 xx. 348 (‘Die Säulen mit dem Götternagel, die im Hause der altnorischen Hauptlinge neben dem Ehrensitz standen hatten, wie aus einem Vergleich der altdeutschen Irminssäulen...und der noch im 18. Jahrhundert bei den Finnen verehrten ‘Weltpfeler’ erhellt, die zweifache Bedeutung einer die Welt tragenden Säule und eines rohgeschnitzten Götterbildes.’) On the high-seat pillars of the old Norsemen and on the world-pillars of the Lapps, with their sacred nails, see infra § 3 (a) vi (a), § 3 (c) i (7).

2 For detailed proof of this limitation see the admirable monograph of F. Hertlein Die Jupitergigantensäulen Stuttgart 1910 p. 51 ff.

3 A. Riese ‘Zur Geschichte des Götterkultus im rheinischen Germanien’ in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 1898 xvi. 1 ff. says (p. 13): ‘Um die Zeit nach dem Tode des Marc Aurel geschah eine wunderbare Veränderung, die meines Wissens in diesem Sinne noch nicht erwähnt ist: der Romanisierung der Religion folgte eine neue Nationalisierung, und gallische und auch germanische Götter erhalten Votivinschriften.’ He goes on to quote inscriptions ranging from 187 A.D. (Corp. inscr. Lat. xii no. 8185 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 4743 = Harisae etc. found at Cologne) to 259-268 A.D. (Cohen Monu. emp. rom. vii. 24 ff. no. 88 ff. HER-DPSONENS, nos. 90-100 HER-DPSONENSI, nos. 115-118 HERDIVLI-DPSONENSI, ib. vii. 25 ff. no. 129 f. HERCVLI-MAGYSANO on coins of Postumus; for these deities see R. Peter in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 3017-3020 and Haug in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 611).

4 A bibliography of the ‘Jupiter-columns’ is given supra i. 178 n.


6 Of 83 plinths decorated with four deities 48 exhibit the series Iuno, Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva (43 from left to right, 6 from right to left), 19 replace Mercurius by another deity (2 by Jupiter with a wheel, 2 by Mars with a wheel, 2 by Mars without a wheel, 7 by Apollo, 4 by Volcanus, 2 by Victoria (fig. 22, 3 b Kreuznach no. 137 Haug)), 2 replace Minerva (1 by Fortuna (fig. 22, 2 d Kreuznach no. 136 Haug), 1 by Mars), 4 replace two deities (1 substituting Fortuna with a wheel and Apollo for Iuno and Mercurius, 1 Victoria and Mars for Mercurius and Minerva (fig. 22, 3 b and 3 d Kreuznach no. 137 Haug), 1 Apollo and Volcanus for Mercurius and Hercules, 1 Minerva and Mars for Hercules and Minerva), 10 are quite irregular. See the summaries in Hertlein op. cit. pp. 111, 127.

Fig. 22, 1 a—d (after E. Schmidt in the Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Altertumsfreund. im Rheinl. 1869 xlvii. 92 pl. 14, 3 b, c, d, b) shows the reliefs of a sandstone block, 0'90 m high x 0'41 m broad and deep, found in 1858 A.D. built into the north-west angle of
or by an inscription and reliefs of three deities—mostly the same series with the omission of Iuno or Mercurius. F. Hertlein has gone some way towards proving that these deities represent the Roman fort (Heidenmauer) near Kreuznach; Haug, ‘Die Viergöttersteine’ in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 1891 x. 126 no. 135.

1 Of 19 plinths showing an inscription and three deities, 5 have the series Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva (2 from left to right, 3 from right to left), 3 have Iuno, Hercules,
Iupiter-Columns

Seasons, the quartet corresponding with the fourfold division of the Julian calendar, and the trio with the threefold division recognised by the Germani in the time of Tacitus. He supposes that Iuno, who often carries a torch or torches (fig. 23), is the Romanised form of Fria, conceived as the light-bearing goddess of spring; that Mercurius is Wodan, here for some reason obscure.

Minerva (from right to left), 1 has Iuno, Mercurius, Minerva (from left to right); 1 has Apollo, Hercules, Minerva (from left to right); 1 has Victoria, Hercules, Minerva (from left to right); 1 has Iuno, Hercules, Victoria (from right to left), 1 has Iuno, Apollo, Victoria (from left to right), 1 has Apollo, Hercules, Diana (from left to right), 1 has Mars, Volcanus, Victoria (from right to left), 1 has Fortuna, Volcanus, Victoria (from left to right), 1 has Mars, Fortuna, Victoria (from left to right), 1 has Fortuna, Luna, Sol (from left to right), 1 has Mars, Victoria, Mercurius (from left to right). Hertlein op. cit. p. 134 f. points out that the first three series are merely excerpts from the full quartet Iuno, Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva; that the fourth and fifth series are excerpts from the same quartet with one name varied; and that the remaining groups are less nearly related to the original set.

1 Tac. Germ. 36 hiem et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent, autumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur. On this passage see the sensible and cogent remarks of Hertlein op. cit. p. 137 ff.

2 Fig. 23 is from a block probably found at Orolaunum (Arles), a town of the Treveri = Hang 'Die Viergottersteine' in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 1891 x. 146 no. 181 d pl. 4, Espérandieu Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom. v. 355 f. no. 4238.

3 Hertlein op. cit. p. 143 ff. argues that the torches of Iuno (ib. p. 94 ff.) are presumably a Germanic attribute of the 'Himmelsgöttin, die im Frühjahr das helle Himmelslicht wieder heraufführt,' recalling the 'FunkeFest,' a fire-festival of the German peasantry celebrated on the First Sunday in Lent (W. Mannhardt Wald- und Feldkulte Berlin 1904 i. 380 ff., Frazer Golden Bough: Balder the Beautiful i. 386 ff.). He thinks too that the fluttering robe sometimes worn by the goddess (Hertlein op. cit. pp. 95-97) betokens horizontal flight such as would suit the partner of the advancing Germanic Jupiter. Lastly, he remarks that the title Regina frequently attached to the Iuno of the Viergottersteine (ib. p. 81 f.) means much the same as the Norse Freyja, the 'Mistress,' who 'ist hauptsächlich die Göttin der im Frühjahr wiedergeborenen Sonne und Natur, die Göttin des lichten Frühlings, der Zeit neuen Sprossens und der Liebe.'

It should, however, be noted, on the one hand that the title Regina is not found in the district of the Treveri (ib. p. 81), on the other hand that the torch-bearing goddess is particularly frequent in that region (Hang in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 1891 x. 300 f.). This fact makes it at least possible that in the torch-bearer we should recognise, not Iuno Regina, but Iuno Lucina, whose worship was widely spread in western Europe.

Fig. 23.

W. H. Roscher *Iuno und Hera* (Studien zur vergleichende Mythologie der Griechen und Römer ii) Leipzig 1875 p. 23 f. and in Roscher *Lex. Myth*. ii. 582, 602, J. Vogel *ib*. ii. 611, Amelung *Sculp. Vatic*. i. 809 f. no. 731 A pl. 86): opposite to her stands the deceased with a table as altar and a pig as victim; in front is the dedication (*Corp. inscr. Lat*. vi no. 24819) between two burning torches linked by a fillet. Iuno Lucina certainly appears as a reverse type on Roman imperial coins, sometimes erect, either holding a *patera* and a sceptre (Cohen *Monu. emp. rom.* 2 iii. 147 Faustina Junior nos. 131 f. rev. *IVNONI LVCINAE Iuno standing to left with *patera* and sceptre—gold, no. 133 rev. *IVNONI LVCINAE S.C.* Iuno, veiled, standing to left with *patera* and sceptre—large bronze; *ib*. 3 ii. 384 Crispina no. 24 rev. *IVNO LVCINA S.C.* Iuno standing to left with *patera* and sceptre, peacock at feet—middle bronze; *ib*. 3 v. 146 Oculia no. 23 rev. *IVNO LVCINA Iuno, clad in goat-skin (?), standing to right with *patera* and sceptre—silver), or raising one hand and supporting an infant with the other (*ib*. 3 iii. 218 Lucilla no. 38 rev. *IVNONI LVCINAE Iuno, veiled, standing to left, raising right hand and holding a swaddled infant—silver, no. 39 rev. *IVNONI LVCINAE S.C.* the same type—large bronze and middle bronze), or holding one child and flanked by two others (*ib*. 3 ii. 147 Faustina Junior nos. 134 f. rev. *IVNONI LVCINAE Iuno standing to left between two children with a third in her arms—gold, no. 136 rev. *IVNONI LVCINAE S.C.* Iuno standing to left between two girls with a third on her left arm—large bronze, no. 137 rev. the same legend and type—middle bronze); sometimes seated, either flanked by two children with a third on her knee (*ib*. 3 ii. 147 Faustina Junior no. 138 rev. Iuno seated to right between two
children with a child on her knee—middle bronze, broken), or holding in one hand a swaddled infant, in the other a lily or possibly an iris (id. M. 218 Lucilla no. 36 rev. IVNONI LVCINAE Iuno seated to left holding a flower and a swaddled infant—silver, no. 37 IVNONI LVCINAE S-C the same type—large bronze; id. vii. 2iv. 113 Iulia Domna nos. 93 f. rev. IVNONI LVCINAE S-C Iuno seated to left holding a flower and a swaddled infant—large bronze, no. 95 rev. the same legend and type—middle bronze). These coins date from approximately the same period as the Jupiter-sculptures (supra p. 57) and the lily held by Iuno in the last-mentioned type (fig. 25) is from a large bronze of Iulia Domna, after Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Hera p. 154 f. Münstaf. 3, 13, who notes that the type recurs on coins of Iulia Mamacia, [Cornelia Supera,] and Salonina inscribed IVNO AVGSTAEX [IVNONI AVG], and IVNO AVG respectively—see Cohen Monn. empl. rom. 2 iv. 493 nos. 32—34, [v. 296 no. 3,] v. 502 no. 55] recalls the myth of the Milky Way (supra i. 624, ii. 49 n. 1). Further, Iuno Lucina might well be regarded as the goddess of spring, for her chief festival at Rome was on March 1, when spring began (Ov. fast. 3. 355 ff.: see W. H. Roscher Iuno und Hera (Studien zur vergleichende Mythologie der Griechen und Römer ii) Leipzig 1875 p. 27 n. 25 and in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 284, 603, W. Warde Fowler The Roman Festivals London 1899 p. 38, Wissowa Rel. Kult. Röm. 3 p. 184 f.). Finally, Iuno Lucina was a ‘light’-goddess (Mart. Cap. 149 sive te Lucimam quod lucem nascentibus tribuas ac Lucetiam convenit nuncupare) and as such would be fittingly brought into connexion with the Germanic Jupiter: cp. the collocation in Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 327 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 3191 (a bronze plate of Roman origin, part of which is extant at Bologna, the remainder being known from an earlier transcript) [Iunone] Loucinae [Diowis] custud faciatur, L. Savigoni and R. Mengarelli in the Not. Scavi 1903 p. 255 ff. = C. Hulsen in the Röm. Mitth. 1903 xviii. 338 f. (a bronze plate found at Norba in Latium and now in the Museo delle Terme at Rome) P. Rutilius M. f. | Iunonei Loucina | dedit meretot | Diowis custud. The second of these inscriptions proves that in the first we should not translate ‘To Iuno Lucina, wife of Jupiter’ (so Th. Mommsen in the Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 327 and H. Dessau loc. cit.), nor even ‘property of Jupiter’ (so A. von Domaszewski Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion Leipzig and Berlin 1909 p. 108), but rather join Diowis with custud (Wissowa Rel. Kult. Röm. 3 p. 181 n. 3). Still, both inscriptions warrant us in supposing that Iuno Lucina might reasonably appear in the entourage of Jupiter.

One detail remains to be cleared up. The object held by the Iuno of fig. 25 in her right hand has been variously explained. Haug in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 1891 x. 146, 307 is content to cite the opinion of A. de Wilheim Luciliburgensia Romana ed. A. Neyen Luxemburg 1842 p. 192 that we have here Iuno Promuna (G. F. Prat in his Histoire d’Arlon Arlon 1873 says Iuno Cinxia) with her girdle; on these forms of the marriage-Iuno see W. H. Roscher Iuno und Hera (Studien zur vergleichende Mythologie der Griechen und Römer ii) Leipzig 1875 p. 67 and in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 289, E. Aust in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 3563, Wissowa Rel. Kult. Röm. 3 p. 186 with n. 1 and in his Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte München 1904 p. 320. If the attribute in question were anything of the sort, I should prefer to regard it as the necklace of Frijia (J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 306 ff., K. Müllenhoff ‘Frijia und der Halsbandmythus’ in the Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum 1886 xxx. 217—260, R. M. Meyer Althdutsche Religionsgeschichte Leipzig 1910 p. 213). But F. Hertlein Die Jupiter-gigantensculpturen Stuttgart 1910 p. 97 has made out a good case for viewing it as merely another variety of torch, and ib. p. 144 n. 2 suggests that the goddess is engaged in a ritual Fackelschwingen comparable with that of the modern Funkensonntag ou jour des brandons (cp. supra i. 286, 648, 650 with n. 4). Espérandieu Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom. v. 355 f. no. 4238 ‘peut-être deux serpents.’
to us figuring as the god of summer¹; that the bearded Hercules

¹ *Wōdanaz* (Old Saxon *Wōdan*, Old High German *wōdan*), *Wōsenaz* (Old English *Wōden*, Old Norse *Óðinn*), who gradually superseded the old sky-god *Ziu* (K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde Berlin 1900 iv. 213), was himself also in all probability a sky-god, very possibly a by-form of *Ziu* (E. Mogk in the *Grundris der germanischen Philologie* Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 331 ff.). He looks down on the earth at daybreak through a window in the eastern sky (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 134 ff. cites Paulus Diaconus *hist. Langobard. i. 8* (L. Bethmann—G. Waitz *Monumenta Germaniae historic* Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum sac. vi—ix Hannoverae 1878 p. 52) Refert hoc loco antiquitas ridiculam fabulum: quod accedentes Wandali ad Godan victoriam de Winnulis postula- verint, illeque responderit, sε illis victoriam datumur quos primum oriente sole conspexisset. Tune accessisset Gambara ad Freum, uxorem Godan, et Winnulis victoriam postulasse, Freaque consilium dedisse, ut Winnilorum mulieres solutos crines erga faciem ad barbae simulitudinem componerent maneque primo cum viris adessent esseque Godan videndas pariter e regione, qua ille per fenestram orientem versus crat solutis aspicer, conlocarent. Atque ita factum fuisset. Quas cum Godan oriente sole conspiceret, dixisse: 'Quis sunt isti longibarbi?' Tunc Frea subiuisset, ut quibus nomen tribuerat victoriam condonaret. Sique Winnilis Godan victoriam concessisse). He has a throne named *Hildishjalf*, from which he can survey the whole world and hear all that goes on among men (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 135 f., E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie Berlin 1891 pp. 190, 234, 251*, W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie Leipzig 1895 pp. 334, 518*, P. D. Chantepe de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 pp. 233, 286, 346, E. Mogk in the *Grundris der germanischen Philologie* Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 321, 345, 370, cp. J. Bolte—G. Pollivka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmarchen der Brüder Grimm Leipzig 1913 i. 345*). Further, it is at least possible that the one eye ascribed to him stands (F. Magnusen *Edda rhythmic* Hauniæ 1828 iii. 540 n.****, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie Berlin 1891 pp. 93 f., 231 f., 245*, P. D. Chantepe de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 pp. 233, R. M. Meyer *Algermanische Religionsgeschichte Leipzig 1910 pp. 230—232, supra i. 231 n. 3, cp. i. 330 f., 323, 461); and some have given a like explanation of his gold ring *Draplur*, the 'Dripper,' from which every ninth night dripped eight other rings of equal weight (W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie Leipzig 1895 p. 312*, K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde Berlin 1900 iv. 642 f.*, P. D. Chantepe de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 233), and of the gold helmet that he wore in his contest with the Fenris-wolf (E. Mogk in the *Grundris der germanischen Philologie* Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 345, cp. E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie Berlin 1891 p. 231*). It is not, however, likely that such solar attributes would have led to Wodan being regarded as the god of summer. I would rather explain this aspect of his complex character by the fact that among the Scandinavians the great sacrifice, which year by year took place at the beginning of summer, was probably associated with him (H. M. Chadwick *The Cult of Othin London 1899 p. 5 f.*).

Wodan still survives in popular imagination as leader of the Wild Hunt (die wilde Jagd) or the Furious Host (das wütende Heer). On windy nights in spring, or autumn, or winter he sweeps across the sky with a howling company at his heels—the souls of the dead (E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie Berlin 1891 p. 235 ff.*, P. D. Chantepe de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 pp. 216 f., 225 f., E. Mogk in the *Grundris der germanischen Philologie* Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 333 ff., R. M. Meyer *Algermanische Religionsgeschichte Leipzig 1910 p. 81 f.*, K. Helm *Algermanische Religionsgeschichte Heidelberg 1913 i. 261 ff.*). In some districts he heads the rout, not on foot or on horseback, but driving a chariot or coach (E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie Berlin 1891 p. 239*). And, when we observe that the Milky Way is believed to be the path traversed by the Furious Host and is called in
with his club is Donar as the stormy god of autumn; and that consequence the *Heerstrasse, Helweg, Wogenpat, etc.* (ib. ib. p. 241, cp. p. 238), it becomes probable that Plato’s myth of the soul-processing following the chariot of Zeus along the Milky Way (supra p. 43 f) presupposes a popular belief akin to that of the Furious Host. If so, the earliest allusion to *das wütende Heer* is not after all the *feralis exercitus* of Tac. Germ. 43, but the *πολεμικός θσν χειράνθρωπος* of Plat. Phaedr. 246 E. See further K. Dilthey ‘Die Artemis des Apelles und die wilde Jagd’ in the Rhein. Mus. 1870 xxv. 321 ff., P. Sartori ‘Das wilde Heer’ in the Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde 1894 iv. 289–391, L. Weniger ‘Feralis exercitus’ in the Archiv f. Rel. 1906 ix. 201–247 (‘Das schwarze Heer der Harier’), 1907 x. 61–81 and 229–256 (‘Das weisse Heer der Phoker’) with L. R. Farnell in *The Year’s Work in Class. Stud.* 1907 p. 63.


1 The Germanic god *Jörmars* bore a name derived from the Indo-European root *(s) youth, to growl, to roar* (Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 670 f. s. v. ‘toon’), which occurs in Norse as *jörr* (for *Jörmars*), on the larger *jóba* from Nordendorf in Bavaria as *Jómar* (R. Henning *Die deutschen Runendenkmaeler* Strassburg 1889 p. 102, G. Stephens *The Old-Northern Runes Monuments of Scandinavia and England* ed. S. O. M. Sodenberg London 1901 iv. 9), in a Saxon baptismal vow as *Thunor* (K. Müllenhoff—W. Scherer *Denkmäler der deutschen Poesie und Prosai aus dem viii.–xii. Jahrhundert* Berlin 1892 i. 198, ii. 316 ff. no. 11), in Old English as *Thumor* (cp. J. M. Kemble *The Saxons in England* London 1876 i. 346 ff.), and in German designations for the fifth of the week (Old High German *Donoresta*, Old Frisian *Thunresig*, Anglo-Saxon *Thunresiding*, Norse *torrdragr*). These names, as J. Grimm long ago pointed out (J. Grimm ‘Über die Namen des Donners’ in his *Kleinere Schriften* Berlin 1865 ii. 410 ff. and in his *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 166), stand in obvious relation to the Germanic words for ‘thunder’ (Old High German *donor*, Middle High German *doner*, Anglo-Saxon *Jömar*). Since, however, the name of a natural phenomenon raised to the rank of a personal deity tends to drop out of common parlance (H. Ueberer *Göttternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 316 f.), it has been conjectured that the living words *Donner, thunder, etc.* have come from the name of the god, not *vice versa* (K. Helm *Allgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 275 n. 86). In any case Donar was essentially a thunder-god. Not impossibly he, like Woden (supra p. 62 n. 1), was a by-form differentiated from the early Germanic sky-god *Ziu* (so E. Mögk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 354).

In common with many another storm-god Donar was also a fertilising power (E. Mögk in *Hoops Reallex.* i. 481, K. Helm *Allgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 278 f.): cp. Thor, who fructifies the bride (E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 212 ff., W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 p. 251 ff.), brings to life again his team of goats that have been cooked in a cauldron (W. Golther *ib. p. 276, etc.*). Such a divinity, storm-god and fertility-god in one, might well serve as the Germanic representative of autumn.

As regards the *interpretatio Romana*, Donar was at first perhaps equated with Volcanus (Caes. de bel. Gall. 6. 21, cp. H. Rückerk *Culturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes in der Zeit des Übergangs aus dem Heidentum in das Christentum* Leipzig 1853 i. 126), then with Hercules (Tac. Germ. 3. 9, 34 (?), ann. 2. 12, cp. E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 202, 211, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 pp. 103 ff., 235, 239 n. 3, E. Mögk in the *Grundriss*...

The Germani identified their Donar with Hercules primarily because of his strength. Thus, when going into battle, they sang of Hercules as 'primum...omnium virorum fortium' (Tac. Germ. 3). The Batavi in particular worshipped Hercules Magnusus (Corp. inscr. Lat. vi. no. 31162 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 2188 cp. no. 4628 n. 1) (Rome, dedicated by cives Batavi sive Thracis adlecti ex provincia Germania inferiori on Sept. 29, 219 A.D.) Herculi Magusano etc.; Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 8705 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 4629) (Bètuwe in Holland) Herculi Magusano et Haecvae etc.; Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 8771 (Rummel, North Brabant, dedicated by the sumnum magistratus civitatis Batavorum) Magusano Herculi[i] etc.; Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 8777 (Westkapelle in the island of Walcheren, Zeeland) Herculi Magusano etc.; Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 8010 (Bonn) Herculi Magusano etc.; Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 8492 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 4630 (near Deutz) — — [Herciulo Magusanus] [Matronibus Abirenibus] [Silvanos et Genio loco] [Dianae Mahallinis] [Victoria Mercuro] [cete]risque dis dea[bus] [omnibus etc.; Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 8610 (Xanten) Herculi Magusano etc. etc.; Corp. inscr. Lat. vii no. 1090 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 4618 (Mumperills, near Falkirk, on the Antonine Wall, dedicated by a duplicarius alae Tungovorum) Herculi Magusanus etc.; but hardly Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 4141 (near Trévès) M[a]cusa etc. See further supra p. 57 n. 3. F. Kauffmann 'Hercules Magusanus' in H. Paul—W. Braune Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur Halle a/S 1891 xv. 553—561, R. Peter in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 3018—3020, M. Schönfeld Wörterbuch der allgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen Heidelberg 1911 p. 138. K. Helm Allgermanische Religionsgeschichte Heidelberg 1913 i. 353—355, whose cult-title, denoting 'the Strong,' survived in the mediaeval Mahuszenham (now Muyswinkel) near Durstede. (R. Peter in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 3019 f., Haag in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 611) and is comparable with the name of Thor's son Magni (E. Mogk in the Grundris der germanischen Philologie. Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 355. P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye The Religion of the Teutons Boston and London 1903 p. 239 with n. 3. K. Helm Allgermanische Religionsgeschichte Heidelberg 1913 i. 364 f.). Hercules on the Viergöttersteine is regularly bearded (F. Herklein Die Jupitergigantensäulen Stuttgart 1910 p. 146), and an inscription found at Brohl in 1840 AD. records the cult of Hercules Barbatus (Orcilli—Hexen Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 5726 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 3460) Herculi barbato etc.; Thor too in the best extant representation of him, a relief on a granite baptismal basin from the old church at Ottrava in Wester Götland, Sweden (G. Stephens Thumor the Thunderer, carved on a Scandinavian font of about the year 1000 London 1878 p. 24 f. with fig. on p. 13 = my fig. 26), has a pointed beard. Again, Hercules, like Donar, was armed with a primitive weapon: the club of the former was a rough equivalent for the hammer of the latter. Hence these attributes were interchangeable. On the one hand, Saxo Grammaticus hist. Dan. 3 p. 73, 29 ff. Holder describes Thor as armed with a club (J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 189, E. H. Meyer Germanische Mythologie Berlin 1891 p. 204, E. Mogk in the Grundris der germanischen Philologie. Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 357, R. M. Meyer Allgermanische Religionsgeschichte Leipzig 1910 p. 283). On the other hand, we hear of a Hercules Sellator (Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 6619 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 4627 (Obernburg in Bavaria) Herculi Sellator(i)), whose title presumably denotes 'the Hammer-god' (so K. Zangemeister in the Neue
Minerva is Holda, the patroness of spinning, as a winter-goddess.¹

Fig. 26.


¹ The Germanic goddess *Hlubena* or *Hludana*, known to us from inscriptions (Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 7944 = Dessau Inscri. Lat. sel. no. 4743 (near Iversheim) in honorem [d(omus) d(ivinarum) | Hlubena sa[crum] pro salute ini[p. Caes. M. Aur.] | [S]everi [Alexa]i[ndri iii] | fel(idis) invicti [Aug. et Ital.] | Mamm(ae) ma[tris Aug. n(ostris)] | vexillat[io] leg(ionis) [i M(incerniae) Sev(arianae) Alex(anrianae)] [p(oni)] fac[ient][ium?] in [u]stotia?]), Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 8611 = Orelli Inscri. Lat. sel. no. 2014 (Birten near Xanten) deae Hludanae | sacrum | C. Tiberius | Verus, Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 8661 (the Monterberg near Calcar) deae Hlubena[e] cen[ten], Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 8723 (Holtedoorn near Nijmegen) [H]ud(inae) sac(rum) [i-] [Jam]mu[l] | [i-]kond[·] | [i-] leg(ionis) xxx[·] | v.s.l.[m.] | [L]aterano [cos?], Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 8830 = Dessau Inscri. Lat. sel. no. 1461 (Beetgum near Leeuwarden in Friesland) deae Hludanae | con-ductores | piscatus, mancipe | Q. Valero Secundo, v.s.l.m.), of which one—that from

C. II.

In the nursery-tales and popular superstitions of Germany Frau Holde plays a considerable part. When it shows, she is making her bed and the feathers fly—a notion as old as Hdt. 4. 7. 4. 31 (J. Grimm op. cit. i. 269 f.), cp. J. C. F. Bahr ad loc. Such a goddess might well be selected to typify the winter.

HOLDA would be Romanised as Minerva because both alike patronised spinning. On the one hand, ‘HOLDA is set before us as a spinning-wife; the cultivation of flax is assigned to her. [Was Hlúðana worshipped by the Frisian conuctores piscatorum as helping them to make their fishing-nets? A. B. C.] Industrious maids she presents with spindles, and spins their reeds full for them over night; a slothful spinner’s distaff she sets on fire, or soils it.’ Etc. (J. Grimm op. cit. i. 269 f.) On the other hand, Minerva, who at Rome in republican times had figured mainly as a mistress of arts and crafts, under the empire became more and more specialised into a goddess of spinning and weaving (Tertull. de pallio 3 p. 929 Oehler, Arnob. adv. nat. 3. 21, 5. 45, Serv. in Verg. Aen. 5. 384, 7. 805—cited by G. Wissowa in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2988 and G. Fouquères in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1929) presumably through assimilation to Athena (see especially Ov. fast. 3. 815 ff.), the Greek patroness of distaff and loom (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1215 n. 15, cp. ib. p. 1184 n. 7, p. 1212 n. 4).

At this point it is of interest to remember that in the Platonic myth the ‘straight light like a pillar’ becomes, as we read on, the ‘spindle of Ananke’ (supra p. 44 f.). Had Platon a Germanic source, not only for the former, but also for the latter? In China too the Milky Way is associated with a Weaving Damsel, whose shuttle is the star α Lyrae (infra § 3 (a) vi (λ)).
This hypothesis, though not definitely established, is a priori probable enough, and may be at least provisionally accepted.

Among the deviations from the normal type of Viergötterstein perhaps the most interesting are those furnished by a group of plinths found mainly in the north-western portion of the Gallo-Germanic area. Here the encroachment of Wodan (Mercurius) upon Ziu (Jupiter) has led to the duplication or differentiation of Fria, who appears not only as Ziu's consort (Iuno) but also as Wodan's consort (Venus), and in this latter capacity is associated with Wodan or even supersedes him in the series. Thus we get:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal Type</th>
<th>Messancy</th>
<th>Les Fontaines</th>
<th>Mont Heilpert</th>
<th>Brumath</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Iuno.</td>
<td>Iuno.</td>
<td>Iuno.</td>
<td>Iuno.</td>
<td>Iuno.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Hercules</td>
<td>Apollo.</td>
<td>Diana(?) + Mercurius</td>
<td>Hercules.</td>
<td>Hercules.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Minerva</td>
<td>Minerva.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plinth discovered at Les Fontaines, between Maubeuge and Avesnes, in 1725 A.D. and now preserved at Brussels (fig. 27) merits closer inspection. Of the first side only the left half (fig. 27 a) is extant; but this suffices to show a draped female standing beneath a canopy with a veil over her head and shoulders, a peacock perched on her arm, and a patera held in her right hand above a small flaming altar or turibulum. Clearly she is Iuno. The second side (fig. 27 b) has an undraped female standing beneath a similar canopy: her hair is knotted in a chignon; her raised right hand and lowered left hand bear a fringed mantle; her feet are

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1 Haug in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 611. The foregoing notes should do something to dispel Haug's misgivings.
2 On this group see especially F. Hertlein Die Juppitergigantensulen Stuttgart 1910 p. 153.
3 Supra p. 377.
5 Haug op. cit. 1891 x. 135 no. 157, Hertlein op. cit. pp. 100, 117, 153, Espérandieu Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom. v. 390 ff. no. 3934.
6 Haug op. cit. 1891 x. 141 f. no. 172, Hertlein op. cit. pp. 95, 98 f., 112 f., 117.
7 Haug op. cit. 1891 x. 37 ff. no. 67, Hertlein op. cit. pp. 103, 105, 153.
8 F. Cumont Catalogue des sculptures et inscriptions antiques (monuments laridiqaire) des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire Bruxelles 1913 p. 210 ff. no. 173: height 9'98m, breadth 9'93m, depth 9'28m.
9 F. Cumont loc. cit. says: 'Elle abaisse la main, vers une urne allongée ou une aiguille (præferigillum), dans laquelle elle parait verser le contenu d'une patera.' But analogous representations of Iuno on other Viergöttersteine make it certain that Haug op. cit. 1891 x. 135 rightly recognised 'ein brennendes Altärchen.'

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shod in sandals, and one of them rests upon a footstool. She is
Venus; and the canopy common to her with Iuno suggests that she is but another form of the same celestial goddess — very

1 Perhaps a simplification of the tortoise, on which her foot rests in a Viergötterstein-relief from Lamerey (Haug op. cit. 1891 x. 158 cp. 315). Pheidias made a chryselephantine Aphrodite Ósphasia at Elis with one foot set on a tortoise (Paus. 6. 25. 1, Plout. de Is. et Os. 76, comix, praesent. 32; see further Frazer Pausaniae iv. 105, Farnell Cults of Gr. States ii. 681 ff., Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 150, 197 n. 2, 1333 n. 11, 1349 n. 3 f., O. Keller Die antike Türolle Leipzig 1913 ii. 236, A. Frickenhaus in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1913 xxvi. 363 ff. fig. 7 f.).

2 Venus Celestis, who in name at least was the Roman counterpart of Aphrodite Ósphasia (Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 354—357 and Index p. 942. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 1363—1365 and Index p. 1701), is known to us from inscriptions (Corp. inscr. Lat. v no. 8137 f. Pola, ib. vi no. 786 Rome, ib. ix no. 2562 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. col. no. 3169 Bovianum Undecimanorum, Corp. inscr. Lat. x no. 1598 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. col. no. 4271 Putoilia) and coins (a) Agrippina Junior: Rasche Lex. Num. x. 887 VENVS CAELESTIS, cp. ib. 891 f. (b) Iulia Domna: Rasche Lex. Num. x. 887 VENVS CAELESTIS, cp. ib. 890. (c) Elagabalos: Cohen Monn. emp. rom. 3 iv. 381 f. no. 10 VENVS CAELESTIS. (d) Aquilia Severa: Cohen Monn. emp. rom. 3 iv. 388 f. nos. 8—10 VENVS CAELESTIS. (f) Alexander Severus: Rasche Lex. Num. x. 889 VENVS CAELESTIS, cp. ib. 890 f. (g) Magnia Urbica: Cohen Monn. emp. rom. 3 vi. 407 no. 9 VENVS CAELESTIS. These coins show the goddess standing, or sitting, with an apple in one hand, a sceptre in the other, and sometimes a star in the field, or a child at her feet); and it is noteworthy that the title Celestis was borne by Iuno also (Corp. inscr. Lat. iii Suppl. no. 10477 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. col. no. 3109 Aquincum, Corp. inscr. Lat. viii no. 1424 Thibursicum Bure, Mart. Cap. 58). Both
possibly it symbolises the sky itself. On the third side (fig. 27 c) there is a design of exceptional, indeed of unique, character. A draped female sitting with uplifted hand occupies the foreground. Her sleeveless arm and the hound at her feet make it probable that she is Diana, goddess of the chase. Her gesture and the upward glance of the hound direct attention to a singular figure in the background—Mercurius, who rushes from left to right with upturned face and wind-blown chlamys, both hands grasping a caduceus and one foot planted on the top of a pillar. Now Mercurius, as we have seen, stands for Wodan; and Wodan was the leader of the Wild Hunt or Furious Host, which on windy nights in autumn might be heard sweeping along the Milky Way. I should therefore conjecture that this relief gives us an autumnal scene, the huntress Diana and the Wild Huntsman himself.

Above the Viergötterstein, at least in the case of large and important columns, came the Wochengötterstein—a block, usually octagonal or cylindrical, more rarely quadrangular hexagonal or heptagonal, which was decorated with the deities representing the days of the week. These deities, arranged in a series from left to right, were:

Venus Caelestis and Iuno Caelestis were forms of the Carthaginian goddess Tanit, whose worship spread far and wide over the Roman world (see De Vit. Onomasticon i. 29, iii. 722. F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1147—1250. A. von Domaszewski Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion Leipzig and Berlin 1909 pp. 143—150, W. W. Baudissin Adonis und Eumen Leipzig 1911 p. 268 ff., Wissowa Rel. Kult. Rom. pp. 373—375): they must not hastily be connected with Jupiter Caelestis (Corp. inscr. Lat. iii no. 1948 Salome, ib. iii Suppl. no. 8668 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 3041 Salome, Corp. inscr. Lat. x no. 4852 Venafrum) or with other deities bearing the same cult-epithet (Wissowa Rel. Kult. Rom. p. 374 n. 7).

1 A drawing of this plinth made for B. de Montfaucon and preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (nouv. fonds lat., 11917, f° 12, cp. f° 11) shows the third scene as it appeared when its details were somewhat fresher and sharper than now. Accordingly I have used the drawing to supplement the photograph of the scene. F. Cumont Catalogue des sculptures & inscriptions antiques (monuments lapidaires) des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire Bruxelles 1913 p. 212 publishes the two side by side.

2 For Diana in sleeveless attire accompanied by her hound see Haug 'Die Viergötterstein' in the Westdeutsche Zeitchrift 1891 x. 315 ff.

3 Mercurius as a runner appears in Roman paintings (e.g. Helbig Wandgem. Camp. p. 7 no. 15, p. 8 no. 18 = Real Musco Borbonico Napoli 1830 vi pl. 2=Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1819 fig. 4960), gens (e.g. Furtwängler Gesch. Steine Berlin p. 116 no. 2736 pl. 24, cp. L. Stephani in the Compt-rendu St. Pét. 1861 p. 17 n. 3), and bronzes (e.g. Babelon—Blanchet Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat. p. 158 no. 359 fig.). A statue of this sort (e.g. the famous Mercury by Giovanni da Bologna in the Bargello at Florence) mounted on a high pedestal has presumably furnished the sculptor of our relief with a classical type for his Germanic theme.

4 Supra p. 62 n. 1.

right or right to left, were Saturnus, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurius, Jupiter, Venus (fig. 28). If for reasons of architectural symmetry the block so adorned was octagonal, its eighth side might be


1 This sandstone drum (height 0·51 m., diameter 0·44 m.) stood formerly in the Templars’ Church at Neckarelz, its upper surface having been hollowed out to contain a copper basin for holy water. In 1873 it passed into the collection of the Allerlinvverein at Mannheim. It is described and figured by Haug in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 1890 ix. 2409, pl. 1, 1 (= my fig. 28), cp. Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 68 nos. 1–3. Of the individual deities (a) Saturnus wears hose, sleeved garment with girdle, and veil; in his right hand he holds the hörpe, in his left a bull’s head (cp. Darmberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 172 fig. 2403, supra i. 398 n. 7): (b) Sol, wearing chlamys, raises his right hand towards his flowing locks: (c) Luna, in chinon, himation, and tasselled veil, likewise raises her right hand towards her head: (d) Mars, clad in tunic and cuirass, has a helmet on his head, a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left: (e) Mercurius wears a winged cap (? ) and a chlamys over his left shoulder; his left hand holds the caduceus, his right hand a purse; and beside him crouches a misshapen goat: (f) Jupiter, quite naked, has a thunderbolt in his right hand, a long sceptre in his left: (g) Venus stands with crossed legs, her left hand pressing against her garment, her right uplifting a mirror.
occupied either by an inscription\(^1\) or by some additional divinity naturally associated with the week-days—a Genius or Bonus Eventus\(^2\), a Fortuna or Felicitas\(^3\) or Victoria\(^4\).

The *Viergötterstein* and the *Wochengötterstein* together formed a double plinth, from which rose the actual shaft of the column. This might on occasion be left smooth (fig. 29)\(^5\), but was normally covered with a scale-pattern (fig. 30)\(^6\), and sometimes adorned with vine-leaves etc. (fig. 31)\(^7\). F. Hertlein points out that such deco-

1 Hang in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 33 no. 12 Castel near Mayence (In H. D. D. in honorem domus divinae), *id. ib.* 1890 ix. 34 f. no. 15 Havange in Lorraine (1. O. M). F. Hertlein *Die Jupitergigantenäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 83 Mainz (Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 6728 a latter part of inscription alone extant).

2 Hang in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 28 no. 4 Metzingen, *id. ib.* 1890 ix. 35 no. 17 Aignin (Isère).

3 Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 33 f. no. 13 Hedderenheim (?).

4 F. Hertlein *Die Jupitergigantenäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 82 n. 2 Merten in Lorraine.

5 Fig. 29 is a column, 15.50\(^\text{m}\) high, found at Merten near Saarlouis in 1878 and now preserved in the Museum at Metz (for bibliography see F. Hertlein *Die Jupitergigantenäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 13 f. and Espérandieu Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom. v. 452 ff. no. 4425 with six photographic cuts. Add Durm Baukunst d. Röm.2 p. 742 ff. fig. 817). The restoration by E. Arnold published in the *Jahrh. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1878 iviv. 94–99 pl. 7 is far from accurate, and the same may be said of that by O. A. Hoffmann in the *Gesellschaft für Lothringsche Geschichte und Altertumskunde*: *Jahrbuch 1889* i. 14 ff. Much better is that by A. Prost in the *Rev. Arch.* 1879 i. 1–20 pl. 1 f. and in the *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1879 p. 64 (Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France Série iv Tome 1), or that by Tornow in the *Deutsche Bauschrift* 1879 no. 53 (reproduced by F. X. Kraus in *Kunst und Altertum in Elsass-Lothringen* 1886–1889 iii. 2. 316–325 fig. 87). My own restoration is based on that of Prost, from which however it varies in the character of its steps, in the arrangement of its reliefs, and in the reconstruction of its equestrian group.

Remains of other smooth 'Jupiter-columns' have come to light at Hagen near Saverne in the Wasserwald, at Butterstadt near Hanau, and at Trèves (Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 84).

6 Fig. 30 is a column, 5.44\(^\text{m}\) high, found in 1884 in a fountain within the Roman walls at Hedderenheim together with an altar to Jupiter and a smaller column topped by a figure of Jupiter enthroned. The whole group is now in the Historical Museum at Frankfurt: see O. Donner-von Richter and A. Riese *Hedderheimer Ausgrabungen Frankfurt am Main* 1885 (an Stelle des Neujahr-Blettes des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde für 1885 und 1886) pp. 1–20, whose pl. 1.1 reproduce. Note that the *Wochengötterstein* is in the case of this column replaced by a *Sechsgötterstein*, on which see Hang in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 48 f. no. 4 Hedderenheim.

7 Fig. 31 is a sandstone column, some 3.50\(^\text{m}\) high, found in 1838 at Neuenheim near Heidelberg, along with a *Viergötterstein* (Hang in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 26 no. 40 Neuenheim) and a fragmentary Mithraic figure (F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 508 ff. 461), and now preserved in the Museum at Karlsruhe. The shaft is embellished with vine-leaves and birds perched among them: the four small heads of its capital are apparently female (F. Hertlein *Die Jupitergigantenäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 89). F. Cumont, whose illustration (*op. cit.* ii. 508 ff. fig. 463) is here copied, supposes that the *Viergötterstein* mentioned above formed the base of this shaft. But F. Hertlein (*op. cit.* pp. 84, 89. 93) states that their respective dimensions are unsuitable.

8 Fig. 32 is a drum of white limestone, 0.84\(^\text{m}\) high, found in 1726 at Les Fontaines,
Iupiter-Columns

Fig. 29.

Fig. 30.
ration was suggestive of a tree-stem and thus served to bring the hard stone of the Roman monument

between Maubeuge and Avesnes, and now at Brussels (F. Cumont Catalogue des sculptures & inscriptions antiques (monuments lapidaires) des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire Bruxelles 1913 p. 213 ff. no. 173, Espérandieu Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom. v. 1913 f. no. 3985). The surface is covered with a tangle of vine-leaves. Against these is seen a nude Bacchant, who bounds along with streaming hair: she holds a thyrsus in her left hand, and with her right pours the contents of a horn or rhyton into her mouth. Behind her flies a winged Cupid, who with his right hand steadies a basket of grapes on his head, and in his left carries some indistinct object: beneath his feet is a small quadruped (rabbit?) nibbling a grape-bunch. When first discovered, this relief was in better condition and showed other animals half-hidden in the vine-shoots. F. Cumont thinks it certain that the drum and the Viergitterstein found on the same site (supra p. 67 ff. fig. 27) belong to one monument, and F. Hertlein (op. cit. p. 84) regards the combination as possible.

On the vine-leaf column as a Syrian motif that made its way throughout the Mediterranean area see S. Gsell in the Atti del II Congr. di arch. crist. p. 203 ff., C. M. Kaufmann Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie Paderborn 1913 p. 483 f.

nearer to its prototype—the wooden trunk of the old Germanic *Irminsül*.

The shaft was surmounted by a capital displaying four small heads or busts (fig. 33), which have been interpreted by O. Donner-von Richter² and F. Hertlein⁴ as the four divisions of the day—

Matutinus, Meridies, Vespera, Nox. Since these divisions correspond with the main points of the compass, the series runs from right to left. Nox always, and Meridies usually, is represented full-face, whereas Vespera and Matutinus are more often shown in profile.

On the top of the column thus constituted was a sculptural group of peculiar aspect—a galloping rider supported on the shoulders and hands of a figure that bent or lay beneath him⁵. The rider has normally the face of a bearded Jupiter and the costume of a Roman general (fig. 34), very seldom a beardless

1 F. Hertlein *Die Jupitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 84.

² Fig. 33 shows the heads on the capital of the column found in 1884 at Hedderheim (supra p. 71 n. 6) as published by O. Donner-von Richter and A. Riese *Hedderheimer Ausgrabungen* Frankfurt am Main 1884 (an Stelle des Neujahr-Blattes des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde für 1885 und 1886) pl. 1, 1—M.


⁴ F. Hertlein *Die Jupitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 pp. 87—93 gives a careful summary of the evidence, and succeeds in establishing his interpretation as against previous hypotheses. F. X. Kraus in the *Jahrh. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1878 lxiv. 99 and A. Hammeran in the *Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift* 1885 iv. 3 had regarded the heads as allegorical representations of the four seasons. E. aus’m Weerth in the *Jahrh. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1878 lxiv. 99 n. 1 had suggested that they might be the four ages of man. Haug in the *Fundberichte aus Schwaben* 1907 xv. 82 had been content to view them as merely decorative.

⁵ By far the best account of this group is that given in F. Hertlein *Die Jupitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 pp. 1—27 (‘Verzeichnis der Gruppen des Gigantenreiters (oder Gigantenfahrers’), 28—50 (‘Gesamtbeschreibung der Gruppe und Folgerung aus der Darstellung’), 51—69 (‘Ursprung der Gruppe aus germanischen Vorstellungen’), 70—86 (‘Die Jupitergigantensäule eine Irminsäule’), though we shall see reason to traverse his conclusion with regard to the significance of the reclining figure (infra p. 82).

⁶ Group in Jura-limestone (height without base 0’86m), found at Ehrang in 1890 and now in the Museum at Trèves (F. Hettner in the *Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 72 f. with fig., *id. Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums*
barbaric head and native dress (fig. 35). Once he appears as driver

of a dashing two-horse chariot, the likeness to Jupiter being pronounced (fig. 36). By way of offensive armour the rider brandishes

zu Trier Trier 1893 p. 23 f. no. 32 with fig. = my fig. 34, Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 519 no. 5, F. Hertlein op. cit. pp. 21 f., 30 n. 1, 33 f., 35, 43, 45, Espérandieu Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom. vi. 424 f. no. 5446 with two photographic cuts). The rider wears tunica, lorica, paludamentum; his left hand held the reins, his right was raised. The crouching figure grins with open mouth; his left hand held the left forefoot of the horse; his right probably grasped a club (a suitable fragment was found), on which rested the right hoof of the horse.

1 Group in yellowish grey sandstone (maximum height 0.78 m), found at Ehrang in 1890 and now in the Museum at Trèves (F. Hettner in the Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift 1891 x. 73 f. with fig., id. Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier Trier 1893 p. 31 f. no. 31 with fig. = my fig. 35, Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 528 no. 5, F. Hertlein op. cit. pp. 21, 30 with n. 1, 32, 34, 35, 43, 44, Espérandieu Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom. vi. 412 ff. no. 5433 with photographic cuts). The rider wears a close-fitting jacket, which has a seam on the right side and reaches to his hips (edge visible in good light); whether it was sleeved or not is uncertain. His belt has a round disk at the back. His left hand held the reins; his right, connected with his head by a clumsy support, probably held a thunderbolt, not a spear (see F. Hertlein op. cit. p. 31). The horse has a saddle with pommels, back, saddle-cloth, etc. The crouching figure, a young and beardless male, bears the weight on his hunched shoulders. This group was found together with a Viersägerstein and other fragments in the same sandstone of a 'Jupiter-column' (F. Hettner in the Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift 1891 x. 72 ff., id. Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier Trier 1893 p. 18 ff. nos. 27—30, Haug in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 1891 x. 136 no. 159 Ehrang, F. Hertlein op. cit. pp. 21, 94, 95), to which—despite the obvious difference in style—it may have belonged.

2 Group in stone (plinth 0.63 m long, 0.45 m broad, 0.09 m thick; driver 1.08 m high), found at Weissenhof near Besigheim in 1897 and now in the Lapidarium at Stuttgart (G. Sixt in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 1897 xvi. 293—296 with two figs. of which the
either a thunderbolt (pl. iii)\(^1\) or a spear (fig. 37)\(^2\): in one case he

\[\text{Fig. 36.}\]

second my fig. 36, F. Haug und G. Sixt *Die römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke Württembergs*, im Auftrag des württ. Geschichts- und Altertumsvereins herausgegeben Stuttgart 1900 no. 343 with the same two figs., F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 3 f., 29, 30 with n. 1, 35, 37, 43, 46, 65 with the second fig. as title-vignette). Jupiter, wearing himation only, which is fastened by a brooch on his right shoulder and leaves the left shoulder bare, stands erect in a small chariot: his left hand originally held the reins, his right was somewhat drawn back and raised. The two horses, harnessed under a yoke, gallop onwards, their forefeet supported on the shoulders and hands of a beardless male figure with serpentiform legs.

\(^1\) Group in red Vosges sandstone (original height c. \(0.70\) m to \(0.80\) m), found in 1908 in the inner court of a *villa rustica* in the Wasserwald six kilometres S.W. of Saverne and now in the Museum of that town (A. Fuchs in the *Anzeiger für classische Altertumskunde* 1909 i. 32 with fig., *id. in the Eläßiche Monatschrift für Geschichte und Volkskunde* 1911 ii. 472—480, *id. Die Kultur der keltischen Vogesenstädte* Zabern i. E. 1914 pp. 120—124 with pl. 23, 1 (base and shaft), pl. 24, 1, 2, pl. 25, 1, 2 (four views of rider), E. Wendling *Die keltisch-römischen Steindenkmäler des Zaberner Museums* Zabern 1912 nos. 63 and 63, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 9, 30 n. 1, 31, 37, 43). With it was the rest of the monument, *viz.* a plain base, a smooth turned shaft (*supra* p. 71 n. 5), and a simple capital. The rider, whose head resembles that of Jupiter, wears nothing but a cloak: he grasps in his raised right hand an iron thunderbolt (length \(0.45\) m) with tines. The horse, equipped with a saddle-cloth, was supported by the usual kneeling figure. I am indebted to Prof. L. Bachmeyer, Director of the Museum at Saverne, for a minutely accurate description of the whole monument together with tracings of its several parts and a coloured restoration of the group (followed in my pl. iii).

\(^2\) Group in stone (present height \(0.54\) m, length \(0.72\) m), found at Diedelkopf near Kusel
The Jupiter-Column of Saverne.

See page 76 n. 1.
has a sword also slung on his left side; and he sometimes carries a four-spoked wheel, thrusting his left hand between two of its

Fig. 37.

(E. Wagner in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 1882 i. 39, F. Hertlein op. cit. pp. 17, 31, 38, 43, 44, 46, 49 fig. = my fig. 37). The rider wore a smooth tunica or jerkin, and in his right hand carried a spear, the end of which is visible against his horse. The crouching figure has large staring eyes and no beard: leaning on elbows and chin, he supported the horse’s hoofs with his hands.

1 So in the group found at Butterstadt near Hanau (F. Hertlein op. cit. pp. 5, 33).

2 F. Hertlein op. cit. p. 33 ‘Das merkwürdigste Attribut des Reiters ist entschieden das vierspeichige Rad. Es hat sich mehrere Mal gefunden, an weit entfernten Orten, in Butterstadt bei Hanau [ib. p. 5], in Les Ronchers, Départ. Meuse [ib. p. 26], in Meaux, Départ. Seine et Marne [ib. p. 27], und wohl auch an dem Bruchstück von Zabern TV [ib. p. 9]... Wir werden dem Rad wieder begegnen auf Viergöttersteinen [ib. pp. 109 with n. 3, 148 Niederwürzbach, Amt Zweibrücken; Dunzweiler, Amt Homburg; Theley, Kreis Ottweiler].’ On the reliefs from Niederwürzbach and Dunzweiler see Haug in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 1891 x. 48 f. nos. 94-95. I figure that from Theley (supra i. 289 n. 1 wrongly called ‘an altar’) after F. Hettner Die römischen Steindenkmäler des
spokes as he reaches forward to grasp the reins (figs. 38\textsuperscript{1}, 39\textsuperscript{2}). The

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Provinzialmuseum zu Trier 1893 p. 39 ff. no. 40 (plinth of red sandstone, height 0.84\textsuperscript{m}, breadth of side here shown 0.36\textsuperscript{m}): Jupiter with wreath and chlamys, holding sceptre (?) in right hand, six-spoked wheel in left; a small bird beside his right foot. F. Hertlein op. cit. p. 169 n. 3 prefers to call this deity Mars (the head is beardless, the alleged wreath a 'Lockenkrantz,' the chlamys a sagum).

1 Group in stone (original height not more than 0.50\textsuperscript{m}) from Meaux (Seine-et-Marne) presumably found with a fragment of scale-patterned column (G. Gassies 'Cavalier et anguipède sur un monument de Meaux' in the Revue des études anciennes 1902 iv. 287—297 with figs. 1—3, of which fig. 1 f. = my fig. 38, Reinach Rép. Stat. iii. 270 no. 2, F. Hertlein op. cit. pp. 27, 29, 33, 34, 43, 60, Espérandieu Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom., iv. 258 f. no. 3237 with photographic cuts). The rider, whose head and right arm are missing, wears a wide tunic, a fluttering cloak, and hose: he passes his left hand through a rosette-like wheel to hold the reins. The horse has neither saddle nor saddle-cloth. The reclining figure is beardless, but male.

2 Group from a column (c. 4.50\textsuperscript{m} high) found at Butterstadt near Hanau and now in the Museum des Geschichtsvereins at Hanau (W. Küster in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 1901 xx. 325 f. with fig. = my fig. 39, G. Gassies in the Revue des études anciennes 1902 iv. 290 fig. 3, Reinach Rép. Stat. iii. 151 no. 7, F. Hertlein op. cit. pp. 8 f., 30 n. 1, 33, 34, 39 f., 43, 60). The rider, a Jupiter in type, wears tunica and paludamentum: his right arm was drawn back and raised; his left passes through a four-spoked wheel to hold the reins. The second figure, beardless but male, lies on his back and turns his face towards the left side of the rider: his right hand is pressed against the ground; his left probably held the right hoof of the horse on his left shoulder, the left hoof of the horse resting on his right shoulder.
crouching or reclining figure commonly turns his back towards the rider, whose horse he supports on his shoulders or hands (fig. 42) or even on his head. He is bearded or unbearded, but always male; his legs end in snakes with snaky heads of their own; and he

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1 F. Hertlein op. cit. p. 39 f. notes the exceptions—Hedernheim 1884 (ib. p. 6, supra p. 71 n. 6), Butterstadt (ib. p. 5 f., supra p. 78 n. 3), Higny (ib. p. 25), Arlon (ib. p. 23), Hommert (ib. p. 11). The last-named group is unusually complete (height 145 cm, breadth 231 cm). It was found in the forest of Hommert and is now in the Nancy Museum (L. Wiener Catalogue du Musée historique Lorrainé Nancy 1895 p. 33 no. 243, F. Hertlein op. cit. p. 30 n. 1, 31, 33, 34, 35, 40, 47, Espérandieu Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom. vi. 24 f. no. 4257 with photographic cut). I reproduce the engraving given by P. Morey in the Mémoires de l’Académie de Stanilas 1867 p. 143 ff. with pl. facing p. 135, fig. A = my fig. 41. The rider is bearded and, except for his clumsy-looking cloak, nude. The right forefoot of the horse seems to have pawed the air; the left is broken off short. The other figure, half sitting up in a very awkward attitude, turns his face towards the left side of the rider, whose feet he touches with both hands.

2 Group in stone (height 67 cm, length of plinth 34 cm) found at Pforzheim in 1869 and now at Karlsruhe (E. Wagner in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 1882 i. 36 ff. pl. 1, 2 = my fig. 42, Reinauch Rép. Stat. ii. 529 no. 2, F. Hertlein op. cit. pp. 4, 29, 37 f., 42, 46). The galloping rider wears tunica, lorica with belt, and paludamentum. The giant is bearded, and supports both forefeet of the horse on his hands.

3 This is convincingly shown by F. Hertlein op. cit. p. 42 ff.
sometimes has as his attribute a club¹ or a pair of clubs (fig. 43)².

Fig. 42.

It has frequently been supposed that he is a vanquished foe trampled under foot by the victor³. But careful examination shows that this

¹ Thus e.g. the group found at Ladenburg in 1864 and now in the Museum at Mannheim (J. B. Stark in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1868 xliv. 27 pl. 2iv, figs. 1a, b, c and 2, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 529 no 3, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 5, 30 n. 1, 43, 46 f., 85 n. 1) represents the lower figure as holding a club with his right hand. Cp. *supra* p. 74 n. 6.

² Group in stone (height 0'66m, length of plinth 0'44m) found at Pforzheim in 1872 and now at Karlsruhe (E. Wagner in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1882 i. 36 ff. pl. 1, 1=ny fig. 43, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 538 no. 6, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 4, 30 n. 1, 32, 34, 36 f., 43 f., 46, 52). The rider, whose head resembles that of Jupiter, wears a smooth leathern jerkin with a girdle and a cloak. The figure beneath him, bearded but male, crouches on his knees and grasps two clubs, upon which the front hoofs of the horse are supported. Similarly in a group (height 0'34m, length 0'40m) found at Dalheim (F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 22, 34, 38, 43) he shoulders two clubs, which support the forefront of the horse; and in the stone group (height 0'56m) found at Schierstein in 1889 and now at Wiesbaden (G. A. Müller *Die Kaisergruppe auf den römisch-germanischen Giganten-Säulen* Strassburg and Bühl 1894 p. 12 f. pl. 2, 3–5, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 814 no. 1, F. Köpp *Die Römer in Deutschland* Bielefeld 1905 p. 140 f. fig., Forrer *Reallex.* p. 396 fig. 283, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 7, 30 n. 1, 33, 34, 35, 38, 43, 44, 46, 69, 85 n. 1, 133) he grips a pair of clubs, on one of which rests the horse's right forefoot.

³ Hence *supra* i. 178 n. I spoke of 'a warlike Jupiter on horse-back spearing a serpent-legged giant.' I was wrong.
is not so. The *motif* throughout is that of support, not active resistance. The god and the giant are allies now, whatever they may have been once.

This curious group has beyond doubt preserved to us in Romanised form the contents of a long-standing local belief. And F. Hertlein deserves all credit for recognising that the rider, who

![Image of a statue with a rider on a horse]

**Fig. 43.**

has the guise of a warlike Jupiter, is none other than the old Germanic Ziu. As a sky-god Ziu would control both sunshine and storm. The sun appears as the rider’s wheel, if not as his radiate crown; the lightning, as his brandished bolt or lance.

1 F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 28 ff. proves conclusively, as I now think, that the type in question implies support rather than continued hostility. He notes that the rider pays no attention to the giant, that the horse never tramples on the giant’s back or front, that the giant makes no effort to attack the rider, etc. But of course it remains open to us to suppose that the giant, formerly an enemy, has been reduced to serve as a footstool.

2 F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 70 ff.

3 *Supra* p. 77 f. *Cp. supra* i. 197 ff. (‘The Sun as a Wheel’) and i. 882 (Index ii s.v. ‘Sun’).

4 F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 31, 73 maintains that several of the riders were fitted with a ‘Strahlenkrans.’ But the evidence adduced by him is insufficient to prove his point. A dowel-hole on the head of rider or horse more probably implies a metal spike to keep birds from settling.

5 *Supra* p. 76. *Cp. infra* § 3 (c) ii (‘The Spear of Zeus’).

C. II.
So far, then, we can accept Hertlein’s view. But when, following A. Riese⁴, he contends that the prone or prostrate giant represents the earth⁵, he seems to be deserting the principle of interpretation that he has himself propounded. For the Germanic earth-power would have been a goddess (Nerthus⁶ or the like) rather than a god. Besides, she would surely have been figured below, not above, the Romanised Irminsul—a pillar that ex hypothesi linked earth with heaven. I should therefore prefer to explain the giant along other lines. The provincial sculptor, bound to express himself in

the art-speech of Rome, would naturally draw his design for a warlike Jupiter from the Graeco-Roman type of the Gigantomachy. Hence his Jupiter as rider or driver with uplifted bolt. Hence too his giant always with serpentine legs⁴, sometimes with a club⁶, and in one case with a second giant beside him⁴. Further, when this pictorial composition, suitable enough for relief-work or intaglio or painting on the flat, was translated into sculpture in the round,

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1. A. Riese in the Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde: Jahrbuch 1900 xii. 374 ff.
2. F. Hertlein op. cit. p. 47 f.
5. Supra p. 80.
6. A group from Pfalz (?) now in the Museum at Mayence (F. Hertlein op. cit. pp. 18, 40 f., 42 f., 45) has a pair of giants, one bearded, the other beardless. This exceptional arrangement, like the occasional duplication of the giant’s club (supra p. 80 n. 2), might be referred to a mere feeling for symmetry (as is perhaps the case with some of the doublets cited by E. Gerhard Zwei Minerven (Winckelmansfest-Progr. Berlin viii) Berlin 1848, Overbeck Gr. Kunsthyst. Zeus p. 287 n. 4), but is more probably to be explained as a reminiscence of the Gigantomachy.
the pose taken by the defeated combatant was modified to form the necessary support for the galloping horse. Thus owing to a definite structural requirement the vanquished giant of Graeco-Roman art (figs. 44², 45², 46²) became the subservient giant of the 'Jupiter-column.'

An exceptional group from Grand in the canton of Neufchâteau shows an even quainter perversion of a classical type (fig. 48²). For here the god on horseback, with a thunder-drum (?) beneath him,

1 It is, however, possible that, where the giant is represented as a half-length figure bent or bowed beneath the sky-god’s feet, there has been some contamination with the type of Cæcrops (supra i. 59ff.).

2 A sardonyx cameo at Naples (Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 18 pl. 3, 34; Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke Ant. Denkm. i. 78 f. pl. 8, 3, E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 1475 fig. 3513; id. La gravure en pierres fines Paris 1804 p. 136ff. fig. 103, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 391 Gemmentaf. 5, 3, A. Furtwängler in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1888 iii. 215 f. pl. 8, 19 = id. Kleine Schriften München 1913 ii. 207 f. pl. 26, 19, id. Ant. Gemmen i. pl. 57, 2 = my fig. 44, ii. 259, iii. 158) signed by ÖHNSIIN, a gem-engraver who probably worked at Pergamon for the court of Eumenes ii. Zeus in a chariot drawn by four horses drives over two serpent-legged giants. He brandishes a thunderbolt in his right hand, while he holds the reins and a sceptre in his left. Of the giants one is dead, the other still full of fight swings a torch in his right hand.

3 A green paste at Berlin (Furtwängler Geschritten. Steine Berlin p. 338 no. 9453; Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 52 pl. 7, 78a = my fig. 45, L. Stephani in the Comptes rendus St. Pitt. 1868 p. 173, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Poseidon p. 333 Gemmentaf. 3, r. 1, M. Mayer Die Giganten und Titanen Berlin 1887 p. 394 ff. fig. 3, p. 405) represents a god on horseback attacking a giant with snaky legs. It is usual to dub this group Poseidon and Polyboites on the strength of Paus. 1. 2. 4. But the weapon in the god’s hand is more like a thunderbolt than a ‘spear.’ I should therefore regard him as Zeus, despite the rarity of the equestrian type (supra i. 19). It should be noted that Furtwängler loc. cit. includes this paste among the ‘Bei Winckelmann und Töcklen irrthümlich als antik verzeichnete moderne Glaspasten der Stoschischen Sammlung, zumeist nach antiken Steinen.’

4 An inoché of s. iii. B.C. from Canusium published by H. Heydemann in the Winckelmannsfeest-Progr. Halle i. pl. 1 = my fig. 46 (cp. E. Kuhnert in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1663, M. Mayer Die Giganten und Titanen Berlin 1887 p. 392 ff. fig. 1. H. Steinmetz in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1910 xxv. 36) shows Zeus fulminating in a four-horse chariot, with Hermes as charioteer, pursuing across the sea a giant, who heaves up a rock in both hands: above the horses of Zeus are four stars; above the giant, the head of a wind-god breathing out a mighty blast.

5 A group in common stone (height 160cm.), found in 1895 inside an ancient cistern at Champ-Marguerie near Grand and now in the Museum at Nancy (G. Save—A. Schuler ‘Le groupe équestre de Grand au Musée lorrain’ in the Mémoires de la Société d’archéologie lorrain 1899 xliv. 5—34 with figs., F. Hertlein op. cit. p. 33, Espérandieu Basreliefs de la Gaule Rom. vi. 301 ff. with photographic cuts of which the first two = my fig. 47). The rider wears bay-wreath, loric; and paludamentum. His uplifted right hand held a weapon. The forefront of his horse are supported on the wings of a nude male figure, who bears a lightning-flash—an obvious modification of Victory with a fillet.

6 Cp. e.g. Reinaech Bronzes Figuris p. 156 no. 176 fig., p. 175 f. fig. (= Reinaich Rép. Stat. ii. 21 no. 6), p. 176 fig., Harrison Themis p. 114 f. fig. 31, Frazer Golden Bough²: The Magic Art i. 248, ii. 183. Supra i. 660.
Fig. 46.
a flash of lightning held across his body. As he steps out from the top of the column, he looks like an incredibly clumsy caricature of Paionios’ Victory.

Equally bizarre is a group from Luxovium (Luxeuil) in Germania Superior (fig. 48). This shows the rider-god thrusting his right hand between the spokes of a wheel and resting his left on the shoulder of a partially draped female figure, who appears to be floating through the air at his side. The giant is reduced to a mere head supporting the left forefoot of the horse. The precise significance of the group is uncertain. It is possible that the god and his attendant should be identified with Luxovius and Brixia, mentioned together in an inscription from Luxeuil. But in any case the rider must be regarded as a form of the Celtic Iupiter, who is represented by statuettes in white clay from Moulins (Allier) as a bearded god in military garb holding a wheel in his right hand.


2 Caylus says: “une roue à sept rayes.”

and sometimes resting his left on the head of a nude female beside him (figs. 49, 50).

The seasons of the year, the days of the week, the divisions of the day, all surmounted by a group representing the triumphant sky-god. We can hardly conceive a better scheme of decoration for the Romano-Germanic Irminsul. It was appropriately dedicated 'to Jupiter Best and Greatest' or 'to Jupiter Best and Greatest and to Iuno the Queen', in one case 'to Jupiter Best and Greatest, the

1. H. Gaidoz in the Rev. Arch. 1884 ii. 8 f. figs. 1-5 (4 and 5 = my figs. 49 and 50); A. Bertrand La religion des Gaulois Paris 1897 p. 319 pl. 28. Cp. supra i. 288 f.

2. Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo). So on the Viergottersteine of Brötzingen (Haug in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 1891 x. 22 no. 30), Schierstein (id. ib. 1891 x. 33 no. 56), Godrasten (id. ib. 1891 x. 45 no. 86), Mayence (id. ib. 1891 x. 59 no. 129), Kreuznach (id. ib. 1891 x. 126 no. 132), Metz (id. ib. 1891 x. 132 no. 150 [I]O[M]), Ahrgebiet (id. ib. 1891 x. 138 no. 164 = Corp. Inscr. Lat. xii no. 7784), Mosbach (F. Hertlein op. cit. p. 119), Kreuznach bis (id. ib. p. 124 [I].O.M = Corp. Inscr. Lat. xii no. 7788), and on the Wochengottersteine of Havange (Haug in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 1890 ix. 34 f. no. 15, supra p. 71 n. 1). See further F. Hertlein op. cit. p. 80.

Preserver¹, in another ‘to Jupiter Best and Greatest and to all the other gods and goddesses immortal.’ Thus with simple time-honoured phrases the tribes of Rhenic Germany attested their belief that heaven, the abode of the sky-god, rested on a world-pillar. Their ancestors, could we have questioned them, would probably have held the same opinion in a slightly different form, speaking not of a pillar but of a tree—a notion that still lingers in the cottage-homes of their descendants⁸.

Finally, since the holy tree of a primitive cult is apt to be associated with a holy well⁴, F. Hertlein rightly draws attention to the fact that a noticeable proportion of these ‘Jupiter-columns’ has been discovered in Roman wells or beside a spring or river⁸.


² Ioovi Optimo Maximo et casibus diei dea(vi) immortalibus. So on the Wochen-götterstein of Aegini (Orelli—Hensen Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 5653, Haug in the Westdeutsche Zeitung 1890 ix. 35 no. 17).


⁴ Supra i. 75 f., 368 f., 526 n. 4.

⁵ F. Hertlein op. cit. p. 85 f., following up an observation by F. Hettner in the Westdeutsche Zeitsschrift 1885 iv. 387.
Another variety of 'Jupiter-column,' found over a wider area and dating, it would seem, from a somewhat earlier period, was surmounted merely by a seated or standing figure of the sky-god. These columns were characterised by much sculptural decoration. Their square plinth was regularly a Vierröterstein carved with deities: indeed, it seems probable that the practice of thus adorning the plinth began with the makers of the earlier columns and spread from them to the makers of the rider-and-giant series, who improved upon the earlier plan by restricting the deities in question to representatives of the seasons, soon afterwards adding the heads or busts on the capital to denote the divisions of the day, and at the same time or but little later introducing the Wochengötterstein as a secondary plinth. The shaft of the earlier columns might be left smooth (fig. 51), but was often patterned with scales etc., and sometimes also embalished with the figures of deities, e.g. Mercurius, Minerva, Iuno (fig. 52) or Hercules, Minerva, Iuno in

1 F. Hertlein op. cit. p. 51: 'derartige Säulen mit stehen dem oder thronendem Jupiter finden sich häufig ausserhalb des Gebietes der Gigantengruppen und an der Peripherie derselben, wo diese sehr selten sind, wie in der Kölner Gegend.'
2 Id. ib. p. 159.
3 Hence F. Hertlein op. cit. passim would distinguish them as 'Juppiter-säulen' from the 'Juppiter-gigantensäulen' already discussed. This convenient nomenclature is more possible in German than in English.
5 Id. ib. pp. 159—161.
6 So in the case of the smaller column from Hedderheim (O. Donner-von Richter and A. Riese Hedderheimer Ausgrabungen Frankfurt am Main 1885 (an Stelle des Neujahrs-Blattes des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde für 1885 und 1886) pl. 1, 2 (my fig. 51, F. Hertlein op. cit. pp. 6, 158, supra p. 71 n. 6), which has a total height of 2'30"m and is accompanied by an altar 0'625"m high inscribed (von) O(ptimo) Maximo.
7 F. Hertlein op. cit. p. 158, cb. ib. p. 84.
8 Id. ib. p. 157 f. I figure the limestone altar, column, and statue found in 1880 at Mayence among the ruins of a large Roman building and now in the Mayence museum (J. Keller in the fahr. d. Vereins v. Alterthumskundl. im Rheinl. 1881 lxx. 1 ff. pl. 1, F. Hettner in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift 1885 iv. 370 ff., Körber in the Mainzer Zeitschrift 1906 i. 62 fig., F. Hertlein op. cit. p. 157 f.). The altar (height 0'50", length and breadth 0'315"m) is inscribed (von) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | M.P.F. | v.s.l.l.m. The column (upper diameter 0'18", height c. 1'60")}, once mounted on a plinth, is decorated
ascending order (fig. 53). The column as a whole was dedicated 'to Jupiter Best and Greatest,' but not—so far as we know—to Juno in combination with him.

The earlier, like the later, variety of 'Jupiter-column' had a long history behind it, being in all probability itself descended from the Germanic *Irminus.* The one example of which any trace subsists in our own country stood at Durocarnovium (*Cirencester*). Here a small sandstone plinth has come to light with a scale-pattern and three superposed figures of Mercurius, Minerva, Juno. The statue, to judge from its dimensions, stood upon the capital of the column, not—as Keller supposed—on the altar. Hertlein notes that the column of Klein-Bouslar near Erkelenz (*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1907 xxvi. 321) exhibits the same three deities in the same order. See further F. Hettner in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1885 iv. 386.

1 S. Reinach in the *Rev. arch.* 1913 i. 27 fig. 2 'Colonne de Mulfort.'

Fig. 52.
inscribed with careful lettering of Diocletian’s age (284—305 A.D.). In
front is a dedication ‘To Jupiter Best and Greatest. L. Septimius....

an equestrian, governor of the first province of
Britain, restored this by the agency of C. Iust....’

To left and right are two very indifferent verses:

The statue and the column here in ancient days adored
Britannia Prima’s ruler Septimius restored.

The object of Septimius’ pious and politic care
was certainly a ‘Jupiter-column’ of some sort.
And, if the road connecting Calleva (Silchester)
with Durocornovium (Cirencester) was really, as
E. Hübner supposed, an Ermine Street, it may
fairly be assumed that the column had taken the
place of an older Irminsul. Nor need we be
deterred from regarding the ‘Jupiter-column’ as
a Romanised Irminsul by the fact that deities
were carved upon its shaft. The Irminsul near
Eresburg was itself described by a Saxon poet,
who wrote in the reign of Arnulf, as a thing ‘of
beauty.’ And a similar sacred post at Austa

1 E. Hübner in the Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen
Zeitschrift 1891 x. 254 f. reads the dedication as follows: Iovi
O(pito) [Maximo] | L. Sept(imius...) | s[ev]etissimus
pr(aeser) | pr(inciae) Brit(anniae) pr[imae] | rest(ituit)
[urancie] Iustina... and the hexameters thus: [Sig]num et
renovat, primae | provinciae rector. F. Bücheler Carmina Latina epigraphica Lipsiae 1895 i. 135 no. 277 prefers: Iovi O(pito)
[Maximo] | L. Sept(imius...) | s[ev]etissimus pr(aeser)
[principiae] Brit(anniae) pr[imae] | rest(ituit curam agendo]
C. Iust... and [Sig]num et | [der]ectum | [F]risca re[gione de]
lumnam | Septimius | renovat | primae | provinciae | rector. F. Haverfield in the English Historical Review for July
1896 figures the plinth and (followed by E. Conybeare Roman Britain London 1903
p. 225 n. 1) reads the hexameters in the inverse order. Cp. also Ephem. epigr. ix. 517 f.
no. 997; F. Haverfield The Romanization of Roman Britain Oxford 1915 p. 70 n. 1.

2 See the map appended to Corp. inscr. Lat. vii. Cp. T. Codrington Roman Roads in
Britain London 1903 p. 296. Higden, following another of King Belinus’s roads in
Geoffrey of Monmouth’s account, says that Erming Street tends from west to east,
beginning at St. David’s, and goes to Southampton, that is, roughly parallel to Watling
Street, and extending from sea to sea. There can be little doubt that he referred to the
line of Roman roads through Gloucester, Cirencester, Cricklade, to near Warborough,
and then south by Marlborough to Winchester and Bitserne near Southampton, a route
which in Gloucestershire and North Wiltsire still bears the name of the Ermin Way.

3 Supra p. 53.

4 Poeta Saxo annalium de gestis Caroli Magni imperatoris lib. 1 anno 772 v. 45 ff.
(G. H. Pertz Monsementa Germaniae historica Hannoverae 1826 i. 228) Gens eadem
coluit simulacrum, quod vocitabant: Irminsul, cuius factura similis (sic cod.: simul
factura corr. Leipphiiniit) columna (factura simulque columna cf. Reincegius) | Non
operis parvi fuerat pariterque decoris.
Jupiter-Columns

(le Bourg d’Augst near Eu) in Neustria mentioned in an eighth-century Life of Walaricus, Abbot of Leuconus, who died c. 622 A.D., was ‘figured with diverse images.’ Such examples lend some support to the statement of Simon Grunau that in the great evergreen

1 S. A. Bennett in Smith—Wace Dict. Chr. Biogr. iv. 1169.
2 Acta Sanctorum edd. Bolland. Apriliis i. 21 (Ragimbertus Abbas v. S. Walaric 16)
Et juxta ripam ipsius fluminis stipes erat magus, diversis imaginibus figuratus, atque ibi in terram magna virtute immissus, qui nimio cultu, more Gentilium, à rusticiscohlebatur. Cumque hoc Confessor Domini vidisset, confestim zelo Dei accensus, ad pueros dixit: Fili mi, impinge hunc in ruinam cadendum. Qui nihil hasitans nec moratus, manu hunc tantummodo contigit; & poniis immensus, quod vix multitudo hominum magna vi possent evellere vel securibus incidere, à tacuilius obedientis monachi, quasi madidus & putrefactus, nimio fragore & magni impetu subito ad terram cecidit, atque in semetipsum totus contractus apparuit. Et hic quidem rusticis, habitantibus in loco, non parvum tam mororem quam & stuporem omnibus praebuit: sed undique ills certatim concurrentibus cum armis & fustibus, indigne hoc ferentes invicem, ut quasi insurieram Dei sui vindicarent, cum in eum unanimiter magno furore erupisset, & extensis brachios colaphos ictusque suos in aeré suspendissent; ille, ut erat semper animo intrepidus atque robustus, fertur eis illud dixisse: Si Dominus hoc permitterit, nullus ei resistere valebit. At ills e contrario perterrist, ab intentione animi sui statim divinum nutu repressi, ab eo recesserunt. Sed his ita dimissis, cepit Sacerdos divino spiritu affatus eos instruire, ut reficiis idolis omnipotenti Deo deservirent. Et in ipsa codicemque loco postea in honorem B. Walarici basilicam construxerunt, juxta fontem aliquem, ex quo fertur ipsae se lavisse; ubi plurima beneficia recta fide potentiis à Domino præstans.

It will be observed that this post, like the ‘Jupiter-columns’ (supra p. 88), was set up beside a spring and not far from a river.

3 S. Grunau Preussische Chronik ed. M. Perlbach Leipzig 1876 i. 78 (Tractat. ii cap. 5 sect. 2 ‘Von der gelegenheit der eichenn, inn welchim do worren die götth.’) ‘Die grosse dicke und mechtige hohe eiche, in welcher der teufel sein gespenst hette und die bilde der abgötte yne worren, halt ich ausz vorplendungkg des teufels, war stetis grun, winter und sommer, und war obene weit und breit so dicke von lobe, damit kein regen darurch kunt fallen, und umb und umb worren habsche tuchir vorgezeigen ein schrit aber 3 von der eichen wol 7 elen hoch, do mocht niemandt eingehen ag der kirwatoi und die obirsten waidolotten, sonder so imandes quam, sie die tuchir wekz zogen. Und die eiche war (wole cod. A) gleich in 3 teil geteilet, in iglichem wie in ein gemachten fenster stundt ein abott und hett vor sich sein kleinott. Die eine seile hilt das bilde Perkuno inne, wies oben ist gesagt wurden, und sein kleinott war, donit man stetis feir hette von eichenem holzte tag und nacht, und so is von vorsumnis angisinge, is koste dem zugeg einwen waidolotten den hals, auff man brandte die opperungk. Dy andre seile hilt yne das bildt Potrumppi und het vor sein kleinott eine slange, und die wardt in einem grosen toppe innert mit milch von den wayadolotten und stetis mit garven des getreides bedecket. Das dritte bilde Patoli hilt inn die dritten seite, und sein kleinott war ein todtten kopf von ein menschin, pferde und lu, und diesen zu zeitn in iren festen in em toppe unsli tbranden zur erungk. Umb und umb in ihren gezelen wonen die wado lotten (leg. wadolotten).’

Simon Grunau’s good faith has been doubted or denied, especially in regard to these three images (M. Toeppen Geschichte der Preussischen Historiographie von P. v. Dusburg bis auf K. Schiper Berlin 1853 pp. 122—201, H. Usener Güternamen Bonn 1896 p. 83). But he lived as an itinerant Dominican friar early in the sixteenth century in that part of Prussia, which had been ceded to Poland (Frazer Golden Bough; The Magic Art ii. 366 n. 2); and such a man would have had excellent opportunities of becoming acquainted with the old heathen customs of the district.
The Column of Mayence

Perhaps the earliest, certainly the finest, example of the figured variety is the ‘Jupiter-column’ found within the territorium of the Roman camp at Mogontiacum (Mayence) in 1905 and now preserved in the Mayence Museum (pl. iv). From a double plinth (2.98 m high) rose a base, shaft, and capital (together 5.60 m high) supporting a pedestal (0.62 m high), on which stood a bronze statue of Jupiter. The front of the upper plinth was inscribed: ‘To Jupiter Best and Greatest on behalf of the emperor Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus (this monument was dedicated) by the public action of the Canabari, when L. Sulpicius Scribonius Proculus imperial legate was propraetor, through the agency and at the charges of Q. Iulius Priscus and Q. Iulius Auctus. The sculptors, who decorated the column, added their names on the cornice of the lower plinth: ‘Samus and Severus, sons of Venicarus, did the carving.’ This lower plinth was in effect a Viergötterstein.

2 The names of the three gods are discussed by H. Usener Göttternamen Bonn 1866 pp. 97, 98, 98 ff.
4 These Canabari or Canabenses were the civis Romanj ad Canabas of Mayence, i.e. shop-keepers, traders, veterans etc. occupying the wooden shanties (canabas), which alone were permitted in the vicinity of the Roman camp (A. von Domaszewski in the Archiv f. Rel. 1906 ix. 153 ff.).
5 Scribonius Proculus and his brother Rufus, governors of Germania Superior and Inferior respectively, were recalled by Nero in 67 A.D. (Dion Cass. 63, 17, cp. Tac. ann. 13, 48, hist. 4, 41).
6 A. von Domaszewski in the Archiv f. Rel. 1906 ix. 303=Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 9235 [ret] (ptimo) (Maxim) (pro [sa] [ute N[ero]] [if] Claud’i Ca’c’ariis Aug[ustis] imp[eratoribus] [Canab]
7 A. von Domaszewski in the Archiv f. Rel. 1906 ix. 304=Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 9735 Samus et Severus Venicari (illi) sculptorunt.
The Column of Mayence

exhibits the seasonal (?) series from right to left with sundry slight modifications—Jupiter replacing Iuno as patron of the opening year, Mercurius being provided with a partner, possibly Maia (?)

1 Iuno (=Frija) as goddess of spring. Mercurius (=Wodan) as god of summer, Hercules (=Donar) as god of autumn, Minerva (=Hilda) as goddess of winter. See supra p. 58 ff.

2 Jupiter heads the climatic series because he was the 'Author of Good Weather' (Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 6=Orelli—Henzen Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 561=Descart Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 5660 a marble altar from Lescure (Ariège) inscribed I. o. m. | auctori | bonorum | Tempesstationem | Vat. Iustur between a patera curved to the left and a gattus to the right, cp. Corp. inscr. Lat. viii no. 1709=Orelli Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 177=Descart Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 1771=Descart Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 3061 an altar found near Lambaesis Iovi o. m. | Tempesstationem | divinarum | potenti, | leg. III Aug. | dedicante | Q. Fabio Catullino | leg. Aug. pr. pr. together with a twin altar Corp. inscr. Lat. viii no. 210=Orelli loc. cit. =Descart loc. cit. | Venet | bonorum | Tempesstationem | potentibus | leg. III Aug. | dedicante | Q. Fabio Catullino | leg. Aug. pr. pr.). Similarly Zeus, the author of days and years (supra i. 16 n. 3, 187 n. 8), is associated with Horai as powers of the 'year' (L. Meyer Handschr. d. gr. Etym. i. 653 f., Schrader Realllex. p. 305, Prellwitz Etym. Worterb. d. Gr. Spr., p. 373) throughout the whole of their long development (on which see J. H. Krause Morgen Grasien Horen und Nymphen Halle 1871 pp. 109—127, P. Herrmann De Horarum aequo veteres figuris Berlin 1887, Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 477—480, A. Rapp in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2712—2741, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 249—256, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 302 n. 1, 1063 n. 3, Jolles in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 2300—2313). Thus the Δίος Ὕπας of Homer (Od. 24. 244 with Eustath. in Od. p. 1964, 28, cp. Pind. Ol. 4. 1 ff. ἐλαυνω ἐπερηματικον ἀκομαντόνῳ | ζευσκέια θαι κ.τ.λ. with scholl. ad loc.) become in Hesiod and later writers the daughters of Zeus by Themis (Hes. theog. 901 ff., cp. o. d. 256; Pind. frag. 39 Schroeder =supra p. 37 n. 1, cp. Ol. 13. 6 ff.; Orph. η. Hor. 43. 1 ff.; Apollod. 1. 3. 1; Hyg. fab. praef. p. 13, 6 Schmidt and fab. 183; Cornut. theol. 29 p. 57, 6 ff.; Lang; Rufin. recognit. 10. 21; Eudok. viol. 1019), or at least the daughters (Diod. 5. 72, Paus. 5. 11. 7) or attendants of Zeus (Nonn. Dion. 8. 5, 8. 33, cp. 7. 106 f.). Hence they figured as decorative details on the throne of Zeus at Olympia (Paus. 5. 11. 7) and at Megara (Paus. 5. 40. 4).

But, apart from the general connexion of Jupiter with the Tempestates or Zeus with the Horai, there seems to have been a special reason why this deity was chosen as the representative of spring, viz. a May-festival of Jupiter in the Gallo-Germanic area (E. Maass in the Jahrb. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1907 x. 105 ff. cites Eligius, bishop of Noyon (640—648 A.D.), de rectitudine catholicae conversationis (xl. 1172 Migne) Nullus diciem Iovis absque sanctis festivitatibus nec in Maio nec in ullo tempore in otio observet.

3 Mercurius, clad in chlamys, winged pétasos and sandals, holds a caduceus in his left hand and offers a purse with his right, while a cock—his frequent attribute—hovers above it. His companion, in chitón and himation, holds out towards him a winged pétasos in her left hand, a caduceus in her right. Beneath the latter is a stepped omphaloid stone, round which a snake is coiled. K. Körber and A. von Domaszewski suppose that this goddess is Rosmerta, the Gallic partner of Mercurius (on whom see the excellent article by M. Ihm in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 209—233). E. Maass in the Jahrb. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1907 x. 87—90 wants to call Emporia as goddess of the local mart; but his arguments are unconvincing. A. Oxé in the Mainzer Zeitschrift 1912 vii. 28 ff., followed by E. Strong in the Rev. arch. 1912 ii. 224, makes her out to be Salus, the Romanized Hygieia, whose presence was required by the pro salute Neronis of the inscription (infra p. 93 n. 6). J. Zingerle in the Jahrb. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1907 x. 338 n. 29, M. Ihm in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 370 ff., S. Reinach in the Rev. arch. 1913 i. 25 revert to the name Rosmerta. Reinach ib. 1913 ii. 333 f. further identifies Rosmerta with Maia as the mother of Mercurius.
and Minerva bringing the year to a prosperous close with Fortuna conceived as her second self. The front and back of the lower plinth show Jupiter and Hercules standing between acanthus-pilasters, which are adorned with flowers, grapes, squirrels, etc. and topped by four male heads or masks—two Satyroi with pointed ears on the side of Jupiter, two Sileni wreathed with ivy and vine on that of Hercules. The upper plinth displays Apollo flanked by

1 Minerva, wearing sleeved chiton, himation, aigis, and helmet with reclining griffin as crest-support, drops a pinch of incense from her right hand into a small brazier set upon a stone base: her owl is visible beneath her left hand. Fortuna, draped in a sleeveless chiton, which has slipped from her right shoulder, and a himation, has a stephanus in her hair, holds the tiller of a steering-paddle in her right hand, and carries a goat’s horn as cornu copiae over her left shoulder.

F. Hertlein Die Jupitergigantenäulsen Stuttgart 1910 p. 156 notes that Fortuna appears as representative of the winter on Vierzüchtersteine from Kreuznach (ib. pp. 109, 126, 131) and Heinzenhausen (ib. pp. 109, 123, 126). Moreover, he is able to cite an altar

found at Mayence in 1832, which is dedicated [I.] o. m. | [Jupiter | Fortuna | Minerva]. ... (Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 6728): this implies a close association, though hardly an actual identification, of Fortuna with Minerva (cp. Corp. inscr. Lat. ix no. 4674 Reate Jovi o. m. Minervae Fortunae Hercu li).

2 For Jupiter and Hercules as obverse and reverse of the same monument cp. a limestone figure found in 1885 on the Petersberg near Trèves (F. Hettna Die rotenischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier Trier 1893 p. 12 f. no. 21 fig. = my fig. 54). Jupiter in himation and sandals, with his eagle on a globe beside him, is seated on a throne, the back of which forms a floral frame filled by a standing Hercules with lion-skin and club, bow and quiver. It was perhaps felt that Hercules was the heroic counterpart of Jupiter; Donar at least was equated first with the former and then with the latter (supra p. 63 n. 1). A Gallic Jupiter approximating in type to Hercules has been figured supra i. 288 fig. 208.

3 These Dionysiac heads together with the vegetable and animal decoration of the pilasters recall the vine-leaf shafts of Neuenheim and Les Fontaines (supra p. 71 n. 7).
The Column of Mayence

Castor and Pollux, all three being sons of Jupiter who in various ways inherited their father's light-giving prerogative. The shaft of the column is covered with five zones of deities arranged as in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UPPER PLINTH</th>
<th>LOWER PLINTH</th>
<th>IVNOS Regina</th>
<th>Luna</th>
<th>Sol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Genius Neronis</td>
<td>Lar</td>
<td>Bacchus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MEVRIVS and Maia (?)</td>
<td>Pax</td>
<td>Iuno Sancta</td>
<td>VESTA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ceres</td>
<td>Honos</td>
<td>VOLCANVS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>MARS</td>
<td>DIANA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Incription</td>
<td>Castor</td>
<td>APOLLO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Immediately below the bronze statue of Jupiter Best and Greatest is his consort Iuno the Queen, standing sceptre in hand between the chariots of Sol and Luna. Next in order of dignity comes Nero, to whom the second drum is devoted. As a Genius with portrait features, veiled and sacrificing, he is flanked by the imperial Lares. He is further brought into connexion with Bacchus, possibly as being himself a Νέος Θεος. To interpret the three

1 Supra p. 87 n. 3. Numerous inscriptions found at Mayence associate Jupiter Optimus Maximus with Iuno Regina (Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii nos. 6715—6728).
2 Local inscriptions repeatedly link the names of Jupiter Optimus Maximus or Iuno Regina or both with that of the Genius (Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii nos. 6696 Iunoni Reg. et Genio loci, 6711 I. o. m. et Genio, 6712 I. o. m. et Genio loci, 6765 I. o. m. [Iun. Reg.] et Genio, 6730 I. o. m. [Iun. Reg.] et Genio, 6730 I. o. m. [Iun. Reg.] et Genio, 6730 I. o. m. [Iun. Reg.], whose cult survived in the Gallo-Germanic region till the seventh century (see E. Maass in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1907 x. 159 f.).
3 So Mrs Strong in the Rev. Arch. 1913 ii. 357: 'Nor does it seem fanciful to suppose that Liber appears on the same drum as Nero, in compliment to the Emperor not averse doubtless to seeing himself alluded to as the Βασιλεὺς Δικτάτωρ.' This title was actually assumed by Mithradates vi Eupator, king of Pontos 120—63 B.C. (Poseidonios frag. 41 [Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 266 f. Müller] ap. Athen. 212 D, cp. Cic. pro Flacco 65, Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 370, 1. W. Wroth in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus, etc. p. xxv, G. F. Hill Historical Greek Coins London 1906 p. 161 f.), Ptolemy XIII Ascleides, king of Egypt 80—51 B.C. (Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 186, 8 f., no. 187, 1, no. 191, 1, no. 193, 9, no. 744, 1 f. with notes on no. 183, 1, P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt The Oxyrhynchus Papyri London 1899 ii. 139 f. no. 256 b, 1, P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt —D. G. Hogarth Fayum Towns and their Papyri London 1900 p. 304 no. 236, Porphyrios
The Column of Mayence

lower drums aight, we must view them from the front, bearing in
ap. Euseb. chron. 1. 22. 6 (p. 130 ed. A. Mai—J. Zönhb), cp. Loukian. de column. 16.
supra i. 709 n. 1), M. Antonius the triumvir (Vell. Pat. 2. 82. 4, cp. Sokrates of
Rhodes frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 336 Müller) ap. Athen. 148c, Eustath. in II. p. 776,
30f.), Caligula (Philon de legat. ad Cai. 12, Athen. 148b, Eustath. in II. p. 776, 29f.),
and probably Hadrian (E. L. Hicks The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the
British Museum Oxford 1890 iii. 2. 161 no. 600, 46). Demetrios Poliorcetes too had
posed as Dionysos (Plout. v. Demetr. 3), as had Antiochos vi, son of Alexandros i Balas
Coins iii. 74 ff. pl. 68, 2—10. Head Hist. num. 2 p. 766 f. fig. 337) ; and in later times
Antinoos (supra i. 714 n. 6, cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lyconia, etc. pp. lxxviii, 189
ΝΕΩΙΑΚΗ on a copper of Tarsos) and various scions of the imperial house (supra i.
714 f.) were represented as Dionysos incarnate. That Nero claimed to be Dionysos is not,
I think, any ancient authority: but his worship, like that of other emperors
(see W. Quandt De Baccho ab Alexandri actate in Asia Minore culto Halis Saxonum
1913 p. 273), might be associated with the worship of Dionysos (e.g. Corp. inscr.
Att. iii. 1 no. 158 Διὸναύτων Ἡλευθερίου καὶ [Νέωνα] Καλασπος Σεβαστῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ κ.τ.λ.), and he takes on occasion the
role of Zeus Eleuthèreus (fig. 55 is a copper of Silyon (this attribution was first
made by F. Imhoof-Blumer in the Revue suisse de numismatique 1896 vi. 240,
1897 vii. 40, cp. R. Münsterberg in the Num. Zeitsschr. 1911 iv. 122) from my col-
lection: obv. ΝΕΩΙΑΚΗΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ head of Nero to right; rev.
ΕΠΙΓΕΩΝ—ΙΟΥ (ΜΟΥ) ΠΟΛΥΑΙΝΟΥ. ΔΑ (for θεονικοῦ?) ΚΙΣ (κοινοῦ) emperor
on horseback to left. So Inscr. Gr. sept. i no. 2713, 41. 49, 51 f. = Dittenberger Syll.
inscr. Gr. ii no. 376, 41 Akraiphia [Νέωνα] Ζεύς Ελευθέριος, 49 Διὸ Ελευθέριος [Νέωνα],
51 f. [Νέωνα] Διὸς Ελευθερίου, cp. Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 1085, 3 f. Similarly
Theophanes, the friend of Cn. Pompeius Magnus, in Inscr. Gr. inscr. ii no. 163 f, 1 ff.
Mytilene [Θῆσ] Διὸ 'Ελευθέριος Φλοσπάτρις | Θεοφάνη τῷ σώτηρ καὶ εὐεργέτη καὶ κατά
δευτέρῳ τῷ πάτρῳ = C. T. Newton The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the
British Museum Oxford 1883 ii. 47 f. no. 311 = Collitz—Bechtle Gr. Dial. Inschr. i. 373
no. 1720 = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. ii no. 339. Augustus in Corp. inscr. Gr. iii
no. 4715, 1 Denderah ὀς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ζηλοῦσα, θεὸς αὐτός, Διὸς Ἡλευθερίου Σεβαστοῦ
κ.τ.λ. = Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 659, 1, S. de Ricci in The Archiv für
Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete 1903 i. 431 no. 8 Kalaspa αὐτοκράτορα θεοῦ
 αὐτοῦ Διος Εὐθυβρόος Σεβαστου, Corp. Gr. iii no. 4923, 1 ff. Phallai Kalaspa πατο-
μένατο καὶ ἀπειρῶν κρατῆσαι | Ζαφε, τῷ ἐν Ζαφεὶ πάτρῳ, Ἡλευθερίῳ, ἔστησαν Ἐρατο-
=Congro Anth. Pal. Append. i. 159. 1 ff., Inscr. Gr. inscr. ii no. 156 Mytilene αὐτο-
κράτορα | Καλασπος Σεβαστὸ | Ἡλευθερίου, G. Cousin and G. Deschamps in the Bull.
Corry. Hist. 1887 xi. 306 ff. no. 1 f. Κύριος in Karia. Ἐρατοφάνα Χαρίς Ῥόδος ὁ ἐνυπότ
αὐτοκράτορα καὶ ἀρχηγὸν | τῷ πάλαις Διὸς Ἡλευθερίου, cp. Corp. inscr. Gr. ii Addl. no. 2903f. Alabanda Ἀσπίλωνος | Ἡλευθερίου Σεβαστοῦ
=Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 457. Domitian in Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1
no. 1091, 1 ff. ἔτους αὐτοκράτορος Καλασπο, θεοῦ Ὀθωναῖς ἐσπάτοι οὐδὲν Ῥωμαίου
Σεβαστοῦ | Γερμανίου Διὸς Εὐθυβροῦ ἀρχηγοῦ, κ.τ.λ., Fouilles de Delehes iii. 2
no. 65, 1 ff. [Ἐραθ.] αὐτοκράτορος | Καλασπος Σεβαστοῦ Διὸς Χαρίς Ῥωμαίου Διὸς
Ἑλευθερίου ἀρχηγοῦ | τῷ Ἀὐγουστ[ίου] κ.τ.λ. = Hadr. in Inscr. Gr. inscr. ii nos. 183, 185,
191—198, 214 a series of votive inscriptions from Mytilene, of which one will serve—
185 αὐτοκράτορα | Καλασπος Χάρι Ῥωμαίου Σεβαστοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Ὀθωναῖς | νίκη [καὶ κράτε]
χαριστήριον, G. G. Tocilescu Neue Inschriften aus Rumanien in the Arch.-ſR.

C. II.
mind that, just as Juno Regina stands between Sol and Luna, or the Genius Neronis between the Lares, so each figure beneath Nero is flanked by two appropriate supporters. Read downwards the column will speak for itself: Jupiter, Iuno, Nero, Pax, Ceres, Victoria. The mere names convey their message: ‘Under the blessing of Jupiter and Iuno, Nero has brought Peace and Plenty in the train of Victory.’ The side-figures emphasise and enhance this gracious announcement. Peace with olive-branch and caduceus is attended by the civic virtues of Sanctity and Love, who appear in August yet popular form as Iuno Sancta and Venus.


1 This identification is made by Mrs Strong in the Rev. Arch. 1913 ii. 324. Others had conjectured Maia (A. von Domaszewski), Rosmerta (S. Reichach). Libera? (A. Oxé), Felicitas (Quilling).

2 So named by K. Körber, Quilling, and E. Neeb. A. von Domaszewski, A. Oxé, and S. Reichach call this figure Pax. Mrs Strong in the Rev. Arch. 1913 ii. 326 proposes the name Tellus on the ground that Ceres must be recognised elsewhere. But that ground, as we shall see (infra n. 3), is fallacious.

3 A. von Domaszewski fancies that this goddess is Persephone. A. Oxé dubs her Gallia Aquitanica, the province being famous for its trade in leather! Quilling no less absurdly conjectures a Parca Italia standing on the head of a vitulus! S. Reichach in the Rev. Arch. 1913 ii. 29 says Ceres because (a) room must be found for Ceres somewhere, (b) she holds an object which may be a double torch, (c) a statuette in the British Museum, figured by S. Lysons An account of Roman Antiquities discovered at Woodchester in the county of Gloucester London 1797 p. 10 pls. 38 and 39 (Diana Lucretia), represents Ceres with her foot on the head of an ox. But (c) Ceres is more probably the goddess with corn-corns (supra n. 2), (b) Reichach’s Ceres is holding no torch, but a sceptre in her left hand, a patera in her right (see Mrs Strong in the Rev. Arch. 1913 ii. 323 n. 1), (c) the marble statuette from Woodchester was labelled Luna by Sir A. W. Franks, presumably because the
Verticordia, the former with sceptre and patera setting her foot on a cow’s head, the latter holding the scales of justice. Plenty, typified by Ceres with patera and corn-topped sceptre, is accompanied by a pair of more martial virtues—Honour grasping a sheathed sword and a suit of captured armour, Prowess proudly displaying her banner. Below these in turn is Victory, who having won her triumphs by land and sea stands with her palm-branch midway between Mars and Neptunus. The back of the column was designed with equal care. Diana figures next to her brother Apollo. Above her come two other deities closely associated in Gallic inscriptions—Volcanus and Vesta. Volcanus is aptly placed between

flame of a torch is visible against her right shoulder. But it is more likely that she is Juno Santa, the consort of Jupiter Dolichenus (supra i. 610 f.). The fragment of a triangular bronze plate, originally gilded, which was found at Aalen, shows this goddess standing on her cow (supra i. 619, O. von Sarwey—E. Fabricius Der obergermanische-raftische Limes des Romerreichen Lieferung xxiii no. 66 Heidelberg 1904 p. 13 f. with fig.).


2 The only dissentient is Quilling, who holds that these figures stand for Roma delecta and Roma restitutio—a queer notion.

3 Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 1676 Lyon, an epistylium dedicated Marti Vestae Volkano, no. 2940 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sê. no. 7050 Sens, the site of Agedincum Senonum, a stylobates dedicated by the same persons to Mart. Volk. et deae sanctiæ, Vestae. On Vesta as paired with Volcanus see further Wissowa Rel. Kult. Röm. 3 p. 231.

4 A. von Domaszewski makes this goddess Demeter to suit his neighbouring Persephone. A. Oxé completes his tres Galliae by interpreting her as Gallia Belgica, famous for its horse-breeding, chariot-making, etc.; Quilling, his tres Parcae by inventing a Parca Germana to serve as one of the Norns with her horse! There was more to be said (pace Mrs Strong) for the Epona of K. Körber. But I do not doubt that S. Reinach was right to insist in the Rev. Arch. 1913 i. 29 that the disputed figure is simply Vesta with her ass (on which see G. Wissowa Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions-
Commemorative Columns

Honour and Prowess, for whom he forges the weapons of war. And Vesta is next to Venus, whose scales commemorate the penalty meted out to unfaithful Vestals. Moreover, it will be observed that the back of this column is no less eloquent than the front. Vesta, Volcanus, Diana, Apollo—what are these but domestic and elemental fire, moonshine and sunshine, fit denizens for a veritable 'pillar of light'? Indeed, S. Reinach points out that on the column as a whole all the twelve deities recognised by Ennius find a place, dominated by the flashing figure of the sky-god. Our thoughts travel back to Platon, in whose cosmic scheme 'Zeus, the great chieftain in heaven,' followed by 'a host of gods and inferior deities,' comes 'by an uphill path to the summit of the heavenly vault,' thereby arriving at the apex of that 'straight light like a pillar' which stretches along the axis of the universe.

(η) Commemorative Columns.

The earlier type of 'Jupiter-column' was not without its influence on the great commemorative pillars of Rome and Constantinople. These masterpieces of columnar art were indeed no longer dedicated to the sky-god. But it must be remembered that latterly the emperor had stepped into the sky-god's shoes. Trajan and

2 S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1913 i. 19.
4 Thes. Zeus, Athena, Herakles, Hera, Apollo, Poseidon, Artemis, Ares, Hephaistos, Demeter, Persephone, Dionysos. This whimsical idea is brushed aside by E. Maass in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1907 x. 85 and need not detain us.
5 Supra pp. 43—45.
6 Folio-Lore 1901 xvi. 308 ff.

![Fig. 56](image-url)

Corr. inscr. Gr. i no. 1213 = Inscri. Gr. Pelop. i no. 701 (cited infra Appen. N med.) speaks of Trajan as Zeus 'Eupharhoos—a god to whom vows would be made by travellers going on board their vessel. Corr. inscr. Lat. xi no. 1147 = Wilmanns Ex. inscr. Lat. no. 2845 = Dessau Inscri. Lat. sel. no. 6675 a tabula alimentaria from Veleia ex indulgentia Optimi Maximus maximus principis imp. Caes. Nerva. Traiani Aug. Germanici Dacici applies to Trajan the cult-epithet of Jupiter Optimum Maximus, and numerous inscriptions include Optimum among the emperor's titles (Dessau Inscri. Lat. sel. iii. i. 274 Index), e.g., the dedication of the arch at Beneventum (on which see infra Appen. N med.). Greek inscriptions render this Optimum by 'Apollos (Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 677, 1 l. Ὕψος τῆς τοῦ κυρίου Ἀπόλλωνος Καλλοποτον).
Commemorative Columns

Antoninus Pius were definitely dubbed Zeus and honoured with

Nerone | Traianō | Ariston | Sebaste | Germanic | Δαιμονικον | τιχην | 5, f., cp. Corp. inscr. Gr. i. no. 1306, 2, ii nos. 1801, 7, 2178, 3, 3272, 3, 2634, 2, 2707, 2, iii nos. 4843, 3, 4948, 2, Add. 4443 4, 7.

Copper coins of Selinous (Traianopolis) in Kilikia, struck by Septimius Severus and Severus Alexander, show Trajan as Zeus enthroned in a tetraestyle temple with thunderbolt and sceptre (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia, etc. p. 143 pl. 24, 9 = my fig. 56, Anson Num. Gr. v. 43 no. 204).

1 Many altars, bases, and stelai found at Sparta are inscribed Zavri | Eleutherioi | Antonioi (Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess. i. nos. 407-444, M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum Oxford 1906 p. 24, Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. iii. 2. 37 f. nos. 4492 f.), One dedication shows the slightly extended formula [Zavri | Eleutherioi | Olympic | Antonioi | Sebaste | Σωφρίνθη | Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess. i. no. 445, M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace op. cit. p. 45 no. 230, Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. iii. 2. 38 no. 4494), and another, found at Athens, read Zavri | Eleutherioi | Antonioi | Sebaste | Σωφρίνθη | Inscr. Att. iii. 1. no. 527). These archaising inscriptions were apparently intended to be hexametrical. They are normally accompanied by the representation of a wreath and two palm-branches. A base found at Kyaneai (Yanou) in Lykia is dedicated δωδεκα | Αρεια | Ελευθέριοι | Αρχηγός | Αρχηγία | Αστέρα | Ας (Athen. 19 no. 1400), bears the titles of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Corp. inscr. Lat. xi no. 5632 = Orelli Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 804 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 2735 from Camerinum optimis maximisque imp. Antonini Aug. Pio, Orelli—Hansen Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 7170 = Wilmanns Ex. inscr. Lat. no. 607 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 2666 a from Tuficum ab optimo | maximogne principe Antonino Augusto Pio, Corp. inscr. Lat. xi no. 1924 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 5503 from Perusia dico Antonino | Pio | .... optimo maximogne prince, cp. Corp. inscr. Lat. v no. 532 i 10 = Wilmanns Ex. inscr. Lat. no. 603, 10 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 6680 i 10 from Tergeste apud(t) optimum principe Antoninum Aug. Pio).

Copper coins of Tarsos represent Antoninus Pius enthroned as Zeus: he wears a himation wrapped about his legs and holds a wreath-bearing Nike in his right hand, a sceptre in his left (fig. 57 = Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia, etc. p. 190 no. 160, cp. Rasche Lex. Num. ix. 580). Bronze medallions of Antoninus Pius have obv. DIVVS ANTONIVS head of

Fig. 57.

emperor to right, rev. CONSECRATIO emperor, with himation wrapped about legs and sceptre in right hand, borne aloft on the back of an eagle away from a reclining male figure

Fig. 58.
Commemorative Columns

(Gnechi Medagl. Rom. ii. 10 no. 6 pl. 43, 5; Fröhner Méd. emp. rom. p. 73 f. fig. (=my fig. 58), Cohen Monn. emp. rom. ii. 287 no. 153 fig., Stevenson—Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 248 fig.) it seems probable that here too the divinised emperor is assimilated to the sky-god (Fröhner loc. cit.), though this is certainly not proved by the presence of the eagle as carrier; indeed the late motif of Zeus seated or recumbent on an eagle, which occurs on coins of Alexandria (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 48 no. 397 and 398 (=my fig. 59) Trajan pl. 1, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 433 no. 241 Trajan, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmth. Zeus pp. 204, 602 Münzatf. 3, 301 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 80 nos. 673—675 (=my fig. 60) Hadrian, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 447 no. 332 Hadrian; Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 118 no. 1014 (=my fig. 61) and

Fig. 59.

Fig. 60.

Fig. 61.

Fig. 62.

Fig. 63.

Commemorative Columns

The reverse design of the medallions of Antoninus Pius is best explained by comparison with the southern or principal relief on the marble base of his column, now in the apse of the Giardino della Pigna at the Vatican (Amelung Sculpt. Vat. i. 885 ff. no. 233 pl. 116 (= my fig. 65)—118, W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen.)

Fig. 64.

klassischer Altertümer in Rom Leipzig 1912 i. 74 f. no. 123, Mrs A. Strong Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine London 1907 p. 270 ff. pl. 83, Reinauch Rép. Reliefs i. 291 f.). This relief represents the Dea Roma seated on the right, the personified Campus Martius reclining on the left; the former uplifts her right hand in greeting, the latter clasps with his left the obelisk of Augustus (Flin. nat. hist. 36. 72); between them is a pile of weapons. Soaring up into the air is a youthful genius, who in his left hand bears a globe marked with zodiac (Pisces, Aries, Taurus), moon, and stars, and a snake resting upon it. Above his broad wings are seen the half-length figures of Antoninus Pius with eagle-sceptre and Faustina Senior with veil, crown, and sceptre. Flanked by a pair of eagles, the emperor and his wife are probably conceived as the new rivals of Jupiter and Iuno (R. Foerster Die Hochzeit des Zeuss und der Hera (Winkelmansfest-Progr. Breisgau 1867) p. 34 n. 5).

In the Hope collection at Deepdene was a fine statue of Zeus, erect with an eagle beside him, in Thasian marble, transformed into Antoninus Pius by the addition of a modern head and neck (A. Michaelis Ancient Marbles in Great Britain trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 282 no. 5, Hope Sale Catalogue London 1917 p. 42 no. 253).
the titles of Jupiter. Marcus Aurelius\textsuperscript{1}, too wise to ape divinity, was

\footnotesize
\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{1} Bronze medallions struck in the year 168 A.D. have as their reverse type a colossal Jupiter, with thunderbolt and sceptre, protecting beneath his spread cloak the diminutive figures of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (Gnecci Medagl. Rom. ii. 33 no. 52 f. pl. 63, 3 f., Fröhner Med. emp. rom. p. 94 f. figs., Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions p. 14 no. 10 pl. 21, 1, Cohen Mann. emp. rom.\textsuperscript{3} iii. 87 no. 886 f. fig.). cp. supra i. 276 n. 5 f. 201.
\end{quote}
recognised at least as the protégé of Jupiter and the imitator of Zeus. Even the late Roman emperors inherited the same tradition and viewed themselves as the viceroy of Jupiter Capitolinus. 1 Hence the comparison of the Germanic with the classical column is not far-fetched or unreal. The smooth variety of the former supporting the figure of Jupiter Optimus Maximus 2 may fairly be regarded as analogous to the column of Antoninus Pius, 3 a plain granite shaft, on which stood the divinised emperor, optimus maximusque princeps 4, holding —if coins can be trusted—the eagle and sceptre (figs. 66—67) 5 of

Iouli. symv. 333 fl. ft. describes Marcus Aurelius as an imitator of the gods, who acted κατὰ μίαν τῶν μεγάλων Δίαν (334 d) and was fain to follow the lead of both Zeus and Kronos (338 d). He too is optimus (Corp. inscr. Lat. xiv no. 4003 = Orelli Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 3364 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 6225 Ficulea) and maximus (Corp. inscr. Lat. xi no. 5635 = Orelli Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 2172 = Wilmanns Ex. inscr. Lat. no. 2104 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 6640 Camerinum).

1 Supra i. 46 f.
2 Supra p. 89 f.
3 Supra p. 103 n.
4 Supra p. 101 n. 1.
5 Cohen Momn. emp. rom. ii. 305 f. nos. 353 fig. 356 describes the type as 'la statue d'Antonio debout, tenant un globe et un sceptre.' Rasche Lex. Num. ii. 708 f. says 'Imperator...d. hastam geners.' Stevenson—Smith—Maiden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 238 fig. have 'a colossal statue of the Emperor...holding a spear in his right hand.' I illustrate a first brass in the British Museum (fig. 66) and another in my possession (fig. 67). Mr G. F. Hill, who kindly looked through all the specimens in the national collection for me, writes (June 19, 1915): 'The figure on the Antonine column certainly holds an eagle, when it is possible to make out what he holds at all.'

6 Supra p. 93 fl.
7 Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 960 = Wilmanns Ex. inscr. Lat. no. 935 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 294, Dion Cass. 68, 16, 69. 2, curiosum urbis regionum xiv und notitia regionum urbis xiv reg. 8 (H. Jordan Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1871 ii. 353), Aur. Vict. epit. 13, 11, Hieron. chron. ann. Abr. 2132, Amm. Marc. 16, 10, 15, mirabilia Romae 16 (H. Jordan op. cit. ii. 630). The most important publications of Trajan's column are W. Froehner La Colonne Trajane Paris 1872—1874 (text and four vols. of 320 photolithographic pls.), C. Cichorius Die Reliefs der Trajansäule Berlin 1866—1900 (text and two vols. of 113 heliographic pls.),—both sets of plates being reproductions from the plaster casts taken by order of Napoleon iii in 1861—1862 A.D. Reinach Rép. Reliefs i. 330—369 gives in reduced form the plates of P. S. Bartoli—A. Ciaccone—G. P. Bellori.
Fig. 68. Fig. 69.

Colonna Trajana Romae s. a. (1673), which are inexact but convenient. See also W. Froehner La Colonne Trajane Paris 1865 pp. 1—168 with map and figs., S. Reinach La Colonne Trajane au musée de St. Germain Paris 1886, E. Petersen Trajans duktiske Kriege nach dem Säulenrelief erwähnt i i. Leipzig 1899, 1903, Mrs A. Strong Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine London 1907 pp. 166—213 pls. 51—62. Further bibliography in H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen Formae urbis Romae antiquae² Berolini 1912 p. 72.

Fig. 68 is from a specimen in the British Museum, on which Trajan is shown with a sceptre (?) in his left hand, a thunderbolt (?) in his right, and a paludamentum covering his back. Fig. 69 is from a specimen in my collection, which represents him with sceptre (?) and thunderbolt (?), but without the paludamentum. Cp. Rasche Lex. Num. ii. 711 f., viii. 594 f., 1561 f., Suppl. i. 1880, Cohen Munn. empl. rom.² ii. 55 f. no. 359 fig., nos. 360 f., id. ib.² ii. 75 f. nos. 355—356, Stevenson—Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 236 f. fig. ¹ Corp. inscr. Lat. vi nos. 1585 a and 1585 b = Wilmanns Ex. inscr. Lat. no. 2840 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 5930, curiosum urbis regionum xiv et notitia regionum urbis xiv reg. 9 (H. Jordan Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1871 ii. 556), Aur. Vict. de Caes. 16. 13. epist. 16. 14. mirabili Romae 16 (H. Jordan op. cit. ii. 670). The chief modern work on the column of Marcus Aurelius is E. Petersen—A. von Domaszewski—G. Calderini Die Marcus-Säule auf Piazza Colonna in Rom München 1896 (text and two vols. of 128 pls. photographed from the original reliefs). Reinhach Rép. Reliefs i. 293—329 gives in reduced form the plates of P. S. Bartoli—G. P. Bellori Columna Antoniniana Romae s.a. (c. 1675), which have the same merits and defects as in the case of the Trajanic column. See further Mrs A. Strong Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine London 1907, pp. 170—201 pls. 83—89, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1907 i. 3. 605—607. Bibliography in H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen Formae urbis Romae antiquae² Berolini 1912 p. 71.

of decoration were by a stroke of genius transformed into a continuous spiral, and the *columna cochlis* was thus enabled to set forth in stately sequence or effective episode the deeds by which the immortal had won his immortality.

Their subject triumphed up from man to God.\(^3\)

This marble column was erected by Theodosios i in 386 A.D. to commemorate his successful campaign against the Seythians, *i.e.* the Greuthungi, whom he drove out of Thrace. It stood in the seventh region of Constantinople, on the third hill, which went by the name of Tauros. It supported a statue of Theodosios, which was overthrown in 480 A.D. by an earthquake and replaced in 506 A.D. by a colossal bronze figure of Anastasios. This in turn was probably destroyed in 512 A.D., the summit of the column thenceforward being left vacant. The column itself was demolished by the Sultan Bajazet ii (1481–1512 A.D.), because it hindered the construction of his magnificent Baths. Drawings of its spiral reliefband, made by an Italian artist (Gentile Bellini?), were published by C. F. Menestrier *Description de la belle et grande Colonne historique, dressée à l'honneur de l'Empereur Théodose, dessinée par G. Bellini Paris 1702* with 16 pls., id. *Columna Theodosiana s.l.* (Venice?) s.a. (1765?) with 18 pls., A. Banduri *Imperium Orientale sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae Parisii 1711* ii. 506 ff. pls. 1–18, and in reduced form by Reimach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 103–111.


\(^4\) I do not, of course, mean to imply that this was the first application of the spiral motif to architecture. Such decoration had long since had a wide vogue: see V. Chapot *La colonne torse et la décoration en hêtre dans l’art antique Paris 1907* pp. 1–176 with 210 figs. But this appears to be our earliest example of a spiral relief being used on a large scale to represent human figures in continuous action.
The Trophy

Here in truth was the 'uphill path' of ancient faith\(^1\) convincingly filled with modern meaning. In the case of the Trajanic column—the first of its kind and the pattern for posterity—this celestial track led up and up to a plinth shaped like a hemisphere, on the top of which stood the figure of the divinised emperor (fig. 70\(^3\)). His position recalls that of the immortals in the Phaidros, who 'go outside when they are come to the topmost height, and stand on the outer surface of heaven\(^2\),' there to witness sights of unspeakable splendour. What the effect of this great pillar must have been on the popular mind, it is not hard to guess:

They climbed the steep ascent of heaven
Through peril, toil and pain.
O God, to us may grace be given
To follow in their train.

(\(\theta\)) The Trophy.

But if the Germanic Irminstil contributed something to the monumental art of Rome, it had points of contact also with the religious life of Greece. 'Jupiter-columns' were found as far south as the confines of Thrace. C. Jullian\(^4\) quotes a passage of Valerius Flaccus, in which they are ascribed to the Coralli, a blonde\(^5\) Sarmatian\(^6\) tribe settled at the foot of Mount Haimos\(^7\). The poet is describing the hosts led by Perses against his brother Aietes:

Next Phalaces drives his bronze cloud o'er the plain
With echoing cries, and the Corallians all
Uplift their banners, who for ensigns bear
Barbaric wheels and boars of jaggy back

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\(^1\) Supra p. 36 ff.
\(^2\) After C. Chipiez in Darmenac—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 1351 fig. 1788.
\(^3\) Supra p. 44.
\(^5\) Or. ex Pont. 4. 2. 37.
\(^7\) Strab. 318.
And pillars lopped to be Jove's effigies. 
Not theirs to fire the fray with bellowing horn: 
True home-bred chiefs and prowess old they chant, 
Till praise o' the past begets new valiancy. ¹

The name Phalaces means a 'beam;' being in fact the same word as our 'balk' of timber.² If we may assume that this name was traditional,³ it points perhaps to the existence of a pillar-cult among the Coralli.⁴ However that may be, the 'pillars lopped to be Jove's effigies' were doubtless tree-trunks shorn of their boughs and viewed as vehicles of the sky-god. As such they had their parallel in the trophy-stand common throughout the classical area (figs. 71⁵, 72⁶, etc.), a trimmed oak-trunk which likewise could be called the image of Zeus. Moreover, just as the Irminstil developed into the richly-carved column of Mogontiacum, so the rude trophy-log gave rise to such monuments as

¹ Val. Flacc. 6. 88 ff. hos super aeratam Phalces agit aequore nubem (P. Burmannus sen. cf. pubem) cum fremitu, densisque levant vexilla Coralli; barbaricae quis signa rotae ferrataque (F. Hertlein cf. ferrataque) dorso forma suum truncaque Iovis simulacra columnae; proelia nec rauco curant incendere cornu, indigenas sed rite duces et priscas snorum; facta canunt veterumque viris hortamina laudes.

² On boars as emblems in the bronze and iron ages see J. Dechelette Manual d'archéologie préhistorique Paris 1910 ii. 1. 296 f. 413-418, id. 1b. Paris 1913 ii. 2. 885-892 in addition to the literature cited supra i. 197 n. 7.


⁴ Poll. i. 85 70 o stéidas προστηθολομενων φάλακρων, ἐφ' οἳ η ἄνωθεν τρόπος.

The Trophy

1 Balken,' J. H. Murray A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles Oxford 1888 i. 626 xxv. 'Balk, baulk.'

4 The same name was borne by a leader of the Trojans (II. 13. 791, 14. 513) and by a son of the Argive Temenos (on whom see H. W. Stoll in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 234).

2 R. Meringer 'Zum verehrten Pflock' in Wörter und Sachen 1909 i. 199—204 thinks it possible that Phol, a Germanic deity mentioned in the second Merseburg charm, who has been identified with a variety of unpromising persons (e.g. Balder, Apollo, and even the Apostle Paul: see P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye The Religion of the Teutons Boston and London 1902 p. 116 ff., E. Mock in the Gründriss der germanischen Philologie Herangegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 334), was a sacred post comparable with such divinities as Jupiter Tīgillus (Aug. de civ. Dei 7. 11 diserunt eum (sc. Iovem) Tīgillum...quod tamquam tīgillus mundum contineret ac sustineret etc.), his name being related to the Latus patius, 'Pfähler.' Meringer's suggestion is attractive, but not altogether free from phonetic difficulties.

6 The trophy is very frequent as a design on Greek and Roman coins: see the classified list in Rasche Lex. Num. x. 201—255, and, for illustrations, Anson Num. Gr. ii. 1066 ff. nos. 1152—1239 pl. 23 f. I give three typical examples.

Fig. 71 is a silver tetradrachm struck at Syracuse by Agathokles c. 310—304 B.C. (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily p. 193 f. fig., Hunter Cat. Coins i. 238 pl. 17, 16, G. F. Hill Coins of Ancient Sicily London 1903 p. 156 f. pl. 11, 13 f., id. Historical Greek Coins London 1906 pp. 110, 112 ff. pl. 8, 66, Head Hist. num. p. 181 ff. fig. 105): obv. ΚΟΡΑΣ head of Persephone with flowing hair; rev. ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ ος χαρακτήριστη στάρην ἡ νοίμος? Nike with hammer and nail fastening helmet to trophy. I figure a specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge.

7 Fig. 72 is a copper struck at Thebes c. 288—244 B.C. (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece p. 39 pl. 6, 2, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 37, Head Hist. num. p. 353): obv. head of Athena in crested Corinthian helmet; rev. ΒΟΙΝΤΩΝ τρώφῳ. I figure a specimen in the Leake collection at Cambridge (W. M. Leake Numismata Hellenica London 1856 European Greece p. 29).

8 E.g. infra § 3 (c) i (μ) an aureus struck at Rome in 49 B.C. (Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. i. 505 no. 3954 pl. 49, 12, Babelon Monn. rép. rom. ii. 17 fig., G. F. Hill Historical Roman Coins London 1909 p. 100 f. pl. 11, 58): obv. female head wearing oak-leaves and jewellery; behind ΛΙΙ; rev. trophy of Gallic arms (tunic, horned helmet, shield, βρυνξα) on the right, an axe adorned with an animal's head; across the field CAE SAR.


The Greek trophy was dedicated to Zeus Τροπαίος (Soph. Ant. 141 ff. ἐπτά λοχαγοί γάρ ἐφ' ἐπτά πολέμις | ταχθεῖτε ἐν τοῖς ένοικοίς εἶτεν | Ἱππό Τροπαίος πάγαλα τέλη, Corp. inscr. Gr. i. no. 173, 1 f. = Coulou Anth. Pal. Append. 2. 39 α Αθήνας [εἰ] τοιοῦτον ἀνεβάζειν εἰς πόλις, ὅσον ἐν τῇ τῆς [εἰς] [εἰς] ἑρωτεύεσθαι Λεώπην τροπαίον τοῦτον, et. mag. p. 768, 51 f. Τροπαία (sic).); ἧς Ἡρα, διὰ τοῦ τρόπαίου...μέν χαλϊν Δίῳ ἀνατίθεμεν άλλα καὶ τῇ Υδέ, Τεῦτα. in Lyk. Al. 1. 1328 Τροπαίας δὲ τῆς Ἡρας, πᾶρτον καὶ αὐτὴν ἥκεν αὐτήν ὦσκερ τῇ Διὸ τρόπαίον ἀνετίθετον, who was worshipped by the Dorians at Sparta (Paus. 3. 12. 9 τοῦ δὲ τρόπαίου Δίος δὲ την ἐκτινώσαν οἱ Δωρεῖται πολέμου τοῖς τε ἄλλοις Ἀχαϊοῖς, οἱ γὰρ τὴν τακτικὴν τριμελείαν εἰσοῦ, καὶ τοῦτον Ἀναβαίνεις κρατήσατε), by the Athenians at Salamis (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 no. 467, 27 f. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. ii. no. 521, 27 f. = Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 610, 27 f. an ephoric decree of 100/99 B.C. προοπαλασώσαις δὲ καὶ ἑπί τρόπαιον θυσίαν θύσαν τῷ Διὸ τροπαίῳ, cp. Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 no. 459, 17 f., ib. ii. 1 no. 471, 28 f., where the same formula is used), and by the Pergamenes (M. Frankel Die Inschriften von Pergamon Berlin 1895 i. 126 f. no. 237, 1 f. = Dittenberger Orient.)
that of La Turbie near Monaco (fig. 74) or that of Adamklissi

Gr. inscr. zel. no. 302, f. ff. on the lintel of a door, found in a Byzantine wall on the south side of the Agora, inscribed in lettering of the second century B.C. [Δαμιάνον Αρτέμιδος, Διονύσιον Νικηφόρου, Αρεαδίους Νεκτάριον] [τοι]σαφεῖ При 3, [Δι]ς Τραπαῖος τῶν δήμων τοῖς θεώρατα καὶ τὰς παραστάδας [καὶ] τίν αὐτῶν (τῶν) νομοδικαίων ἐπισκεφθηκε καὶ τὰς παραθύρας[ιδα]. Fränkel cp. cfr. 1. 160 ff. no. 247 ii, 2 ff. κατά [τίς] ψυχής ἐπι Πέρρου τοῦ Αθηναίονα διὰ τὴν γενομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Τραπαίου ἐπιφάνειας: he was also invoked as giver of victory on the Attic stage (Soph. Trach. 309 ἢ Ζεύς Τραπαῖος, Erat. Hercy. 867 ἢ Ζεύς Τραπαῖος, El. 671 ἢ Ζεύς Παρθένιος καὶ Τραπαῖ εὐπροφές ἐμῶν). Cp. Schöll—Stüssemund aned. i. 265 no. 97 τραπαῖον, 267 no. 92 τραπαῖον.

Similarly the Greeks recognised Zeus Tropaiókhos (Aristot. de mundo 7. 401 a 22 f. καὶ στράτιω τοῦ καὶ τροπαιοῦσ σφ. Poll. i. 23 f. τεθεὶ...στράτις, τροπαιοῦσ, Cornut. theol. 9 p. 9. 16 f. Λυγισ τοῦ καὶ τροπαιοῦσ· αὐτῶν (τοῦ τοῦ Δια) προσαγορεύουσαν, who was worshipped at Attalaea in Pamphylia (Corp. inscr. Gr. iii Add. no. 4340 f. 5 ff. Λαυχι Ακηνιον, Χαλρίζους, ἐπάρκεια τεχνητὸς καὶ ἑαυτῶν διὰ βίου | Διὸς Τραπαίου, ιδ. iii Add. no. 4340 e. 4 ff. a second base bearing the same honorary inscription of early Roman date) and probably elsewhere—since Othryades the Spartan after the fight with the Argives at Thyrea is said to have dedicated his trophy (fig. 73) from an engraved cornelian of Augustan date, in my wife's possession, to a scale of 1:2: see also Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 53, 1. 5, 8—14, ii. 1. 2 f. to Zeus under this title (Plout. parall. Gr. et Rom. 3 τροπαῖον στράτις εκ τοῦ ιδίου αἰματος ἐπήραμε Δίας τροπαιοῦσ) and since Zeus Tropaiókhos was a possible equivalent for Jupiter Feretrius (Dion. Hal. aut. Rom. 2. 34 τοῦ τοῦ Δια τοῦ Φερτέρου, ὃ τά ὀπλα ἔφελον τοῖς αὐθήκῃς, εἶτε βουλεύσει τοῖς τροπαιοῦσ, εἴτε τεχνητοῖς καλεῖν, ὃς ἐκείνης τοῦ χρόνου περιέλθη τῆς τῶν ὀφείλων φώς τε καὶ κίνημα, ἢ περιπεριείκεν, ὃς ἀνεφάκτησε τῆς ἀνθρωπίας).

In the res gestae divi Augusti 19 p. 22 f. Diehl addes in Capitolio lovis Feretri et lovis Tontonis is rendered εν Καπιτολίῳ Διὸς τροπαιοῦσος καὶ Διὸς Βροντήσων. Just as the lopped pillars of the Coralli were called lovis simulacra (supra p. 109 n. 1) or the high oak of the Celts ἀγαλμα Διὸς (Max. Tyr. diss. 8. 8 Dübner Κέκτων σέβομαι μὲν Διὸς, ἀγαλμα τοῦ Δοῖας ἡσυχα τοῖς ἔρημοι, on which see Folk-Lore 1906 xvii. 53)), so the trophy is regarded by Euripides as the actual image of Zeus (Eur. Heracl. 936 f. θαλών μὲν δ' ἔσθησεν Ἰλίου βρατός | Δίοις τροπαίοις καλλίκους ἤτανα, Phoc. 1250 f. Πολεοδότες, ἐν σοὶ ζηρὸν ὅρθωσα βρατός | τραπαίοι, 1472 f. ὡς ἐνικήσαν μάχην, | οἱ μὲν Διὸς τροπαίοι ἤτανα βρατός, cr. suppl. 647 f. τὸ γὰρ τροπαῖον Ζεύς Διόιοι τόκοι | ἐστι τὸ τοῖς συμμεταχάσχεσι δοράς). But it is far from clear that this was the original intention (see W. H. D. Rouse Greek Voice Odes Cambridge 1902 p. 99, Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 355, A. Reinach in Darmberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. v. 497 f.).

1 O. Benndorf La trophée d'Auguste près de Monceau (La Turbie) Paris 1924, Durm Banknuit d. Rom. p. 733 f. fig. 803, J. C. Formigé Le trophée de la Turbie in the Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1910 pp. 76—87 with 3 figs, C. J. Formigé Le trophée d'Auguste id. 1910 pp. 509—516 with 11 figs and 2 pls., P. Lübker Realexkon des klassischen Altertums Leipzig-Berlin 1914 p. 50, A. Reinach in Darmberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. v. 512 fig. 7123. The trophy Alpinum (Plin. nat. hist. 3. 136) or τροπαίοι Σεβαστοῦ (Ptol. 3. 1. 2, whence Turbria, Turibia, Turbice) commemorated the submission of 46 Alpine tribes. This great trophy was erected in 7/6 B.C. on the summit of La Corniche (4544 above Monaco), marking at once the highest point of the pass over the Maritime Alps and the frontier between Italy and Gaul (G. Parthey—M. Pinder Iterinaria Antonii Augusti et Hierosynamitum Berolini 1848 p. 141 = p. 296, 3 f. Wesseling). On a paved platform (35m square), bordered by boundary stones (12 a side), stood a plinth (27m square, 5m high) supporting a rotunda (18m in diameter, r. 13m high) surrounded by 24 Doric columns (8.8m high) with a stepped stylobate (3m high) and
entablature (2m high). From this rose a pyramid of steps topped by a colossal trophy. The total height was some 46 m. The metopes of the rotunda showed garlanded *hierania* alternating with military or naval spoils. And on the east face of the plinth was an inscription (quoted in full by Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 136 f.: fragments in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 7817) flanked by Victories and Gallic trophies in relief.

1 G. G. Tocilesco—O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *Das Monument von Adamklissi. Tropaeum Traiani.* Wien 1895 pp. 1—149 with pls. etc., G. Niemann *Zur Basis des Tropaeums von Adamklissi* in the *Jahresh. d. östl. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 138—142 figs. 41—44, O. Benndorf *Neues über Adamklissi* *ib.* 1903 vi. 247—266 figs. 131—136 (these archaeologists hold that the monument was built by Trajan to commemorate his victories over the Dacians), A. Furtwängler *Das Monument von Adamklissi und die ältesten Darstellungen von Germanen* in *しい Intermezzi Leipzig und Berlin 1896 pp. 49—77 with figs., *id.* *Zum Tropolin von Adamklissi* in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. beyr. Akad. d.*
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Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 pp. 247—288 with figs., id. Das Tropæon von Adamklissi und provinzialrömische Kunst (Abh. d. bayer. Akad. Philos.-philol. Classe xxii. 453—516) München 1903 with pls. 1—12 of which pl. 1=my fig. 75, id. 'Zum Tropæon von Adamklissi' in the Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1904 pp. 383—413, id. in the Berl. philol. Woch. 1904 p. 1206 ff. (Furtwängler held to the last that the monument was built under Augustus in 27 B.C. to record the victory won by M. Licinius Crassus over the Bastarnae in 30 B.C., and that its inscription was added by Trajan), C. Cichorius 'Die Reliefs des Denkmals von Adamklissi' in Philologisch-

Fig. 75.

historische Beiträge Curt Wachsmuth zum sechzigsten Geburtstag überreicht Leipzig 1897 pp. 1—20, id. Die römischen Denkmäler in der Dobrodonscha Berlin 1904 (Cichorius argues that the monument commemorates the victories of Trajan, but that the existing reliefs were due to a reconstruction by Constantine the Great). See further F. Studniczka Tropæum Traiani (Abh, d. sächs. Gesellschaft. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1904 xxii. 4. 1—152 with 86 figs.) Leipzig 1904, T. Antonescu Le trophée d'Adamclissi. Étude archéologique. Jassy 1905 pp. 1—252 with 10 pls. and 16 figs., Durm Baukunst d. Röm. 2 p. 734 ff.

C. II.
The Pillar of Light and the Soul-Ladder.

So, then, the *Irminstil*, the pillar of the sky-god *Er* or *Irmin* was a familiar sight to dwellers on the Thracian frontier. And Platon—it will be remembered—conceives of *Er* son of *Armenios* as standing on "a straight light like a pillar." I have already ventured to connect the Germanic cult with the Greek myth: I would now add the conjecture that the link between Germany and Greece was Thrace, and that the myth in question reached Platon through Orphic channels. If so, we might look to find either among the Thracians or among the Orphists some trace at least of the 'light like a pillar' and of the allied belief in a soul-path leading up to the summit of the heavenly vault. In point of fact there is evidence of both.

In Krastonia we hear of 'a sanctuary of Dionysos, large and fine, where during the festival and sacrifice, if the god is about to cause a good year, there appears a great gleam of fire seen by all in the precinct, if a bad season, the light does not appear but darkness covers the place as on ordinary nights'. It would seem that in this Thracian cult the presence of the god was betokened by a great
blaze or shaft of light. Similarly in the *Bakchai* of Euripides the voice of Dionysos is heard from the upper air addressing his Maenads:

So spake he, and between the heaven and earth
Set up a standing light of holy fire.

This Dionysiac pillar of light is presumably a genuine Thracian touch. Again, Thrasyboulos in his nocturnal march from Phyle to Mounychia (403 B.C.) was guided by a pillar of fire and, where it vanished, built an altar to *Phosphoros*, the ‘Light-bearing’ goddess. Since at Mounychia his troops occupied the precincts of Artemis and of the Thracian Bendis, it is very possible that here too Thracian influence was at work.

In view of the kinship between Thracians and Phrygians it should be noticed that the pillar of fire reappears in a Phrygian miracle. The pagans of Laodikeia, wishing to flood the prayer-house and holy well of Saint Michael, made a new bed for the neighbouring streams Kouphos and Lykokapros. Thereupon, in answer to the prayers of the hermit Archippus, the archangel manifested himself, with a crash of thunder, in the form of a fiery pillar stretching from earth to heaven. Extending his right hand he split a gigantic rock, and bade the waters flow through the cleft of Chonai with renewed powers of healing.


4 M. Bonnet *narratio de miraculo a Michael Archangelo Chonis patrato adjecto Symeonis Metaphrastae de eadem re libello in the *Analecta Bollandiana* Paris-Bruxelles
A similar manifestation is recorded in the life of Saint Sabas (Dec. 5), founder of the famous monastery near Jerusalem, who one night saw a pillar of fire connecting earth with heaven and found beneath it a cave well suited to serve as a church. Sabas was a Cappadocian by birth; and it is perhaps more than a coincidence that another Cappadocian, Saint Basil the Great, appeared in a vision to Saint Ephraem the Syrian as a column of fire reaching to the sky. Accordingly Saint Basil (June 14) is sometimes represented in art with a column of fire near by and a dove at his head; Saint Ephraem (Jan. 28 or Feb. 1 and July 9) with a pillar of light before him. In the case of Celtic and Saxon saints the said pillar is almost a commonplace. When Saint Bridget of Kildare (Feb. 1) received the veil from Bishop Maccail at Usny Hill, Westmeath, a flame shaped like a column appeared above her. So too when Saint Brioc of Brittany (May 1), son of an Irish father by a Saxon mother, was being ordained, a column of fire rose to the roof above his head; he is sometimes figured with this attribute. A column of fire likewise appeared on the head of Saint Cuthbert (March 20), while he was abbot of Melrose. A pillar of light was seen shining over the thicket, where the body of Saint Kenelm (July 17 and


1 Kyrillos of Skythopolis v. Sabae 17 in J. B. Cotelerius Ecclesiae Graecae monumenta Luteceae Parisiorum 1686 iii. 242 c δρ. ... στόλον πυρὸς ἐπιαντραγμένον ἐν τῇ γῇ οὖ η κεφαλῇ ἀφελείτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, 243 A—Β ἀνέβη μετὰ φόβον καὶ χάρας μεγάλης, ἐνθε δ στόλον τοῦ πυρὸς ἐδιέχρησε καὶ εὑρέστερον μέγα τε καὶ θαυμάσιον, ἐκλυθησε θεοὶ ἑκτόπωμα ἔχον.


6 Vita S. Brioci 19 in the Analecta Bollandiana Paris-Bruxelles 1883 ii. 170 apparuit super caput Briocii, qui prope erat episcopo, quasi columna ignis, attingens ecclesie laquearia.


Dec. 13), the little king of Mercia, lay hidden\(^1\). A column of light protected the church at Deventer, beneath which was the grave of Saint Lebuinus (Nov. 12)\(^2\). A column of light gleamed above Saint Livinus of Ghent (Nov. 12) at his baptism in Ireland\(^3\). A column of fire was beheld by Saint Keyne of Wales (Oct. 8), when she lay dying in her cell\(^4\). Etc. etc. Hagiography, like history, tends to repetition.

As to the soul-path, an Orphic poem in praise of the cosmic Zeus speaks of the sky as his face, the clustering stars as his golden locks, the sun and moon as his eyes\(^5\), and in the midst of this pantheistic extravaganza declares:

Two golden bull’s-horns stretch on either side—
The east and west, roads of the heavenly gods.

The poet is describing the Galaxy from an Orphic view-point.

Quintus Smyrnaeus too, when he makes the ghost of Achilles appear by night to his son and demand the sacrifice of Polyxene ends with an Orphic or Pythagorean flourish:

Then like a waft of wind he leapt away,
So reached the Elysian plain, where there is wrought
Ascent and descent from the heaven’s height
For blest immortals.

The same notion, complicated by a reminiscence of the Phaidros\(^6\), marks the close of Lucian’s Demosthenes:

\(^1\) Enough; the man has gone his way, to live the life they tell of in the Isles of the heroic Blest, or to walk the paths that, if tales be true, the heaven-bound


\(^3\) Acta Sanctorum edd. Bolland. Antverpiae 1668 Martius iii. 651 e (Vita [S. Ludgeri] Auctore Alfrido Episcopo 2. 4. 18) Aliquando etiam ipsam ecclesiam, infra quam sepulcrum eiusdem Dei famuli receptum est, nocturno tempore columna lucis obtinendo protegit; et ad column usque prorecta foris excubantibus conspicua stabat.

\(^4\) Bonifacius v. Livin. 5 lxxxvii. 330 c Migne, ep. lxxxix. 874 b Migne) qui mox ut de aqua levavent puerum, cum omnibus qui aderant manifesta visione cernebant descendisse columna splendorem radiis splendidi solis fulgidiorem, atque capiti benedicti pueri immine re etc., S. Baring-Gould op. cit. xiii. 302.


\(^6\) Supra i. 197.

\(^7\) Orph. frag. 123, 16 f. Abel ap. Euseb. praep. ev. 3. 9. 2 and Stob. ecl. 1. 1. 23 p. 30,

\(^8\) Wachsmuth pαύρα 5 ἀμφοτέρως δίον χρύσανθα κεράτω | ἀντειλή θεός τε ὁδεῖ τε, θεόν ὁδό | ὁμοίων. See Rohde Psyche\(^2\) p. 213 n. 2.

\(^7\) Quint. Smyrn. 14. 223 ff. ὡς εἰράνω ἀπορροῦντο θοῦ ἑνελέγχοις ἀπήρρι, | ἀφα ὅς ἡ Ἡλώσων | πελών κύριον ἔχει τέκνα | ὀφανον ὡς ὁ πάτων καταβαίνει τε ἀσκόδος τε | ἀδανάτως μακάρως.

\(^8\) Supra p. 43 f.
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spirits tread; he shall attend, surely, on none but that Zeus who is named of Freedom.  

More definitely Orphic are the gold tablets from Corigliano, in which the soul, addressing the Queen of the Underworld together with Eukles, Eubouleus, and the other immortal gods, claims to


4 H. W. Stoll in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1397, S. Reinach in Darmen—Saglio
be itself one of the same happy kindred, brought low by ‘Fate and star-flung Thunderbolt.’ In the oldest and most accurate of the tablets, which is inscribed with fourth-century characters and composed throughout in the dialect of Thourioi, the speaker goes on to say:

I have flown out of the sorrowful weary Round;
I have entered with quick feet upon the lovely Crown.²

Dict. Ant. ii. 849 f., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 861—869. Supra i. 212, 221 (7). Cp. Zeus Εδώθης ( supra i. 669 n. 2, 717 n. 3, infra § 3 (a) iii (ψ)). It is not improbable that here, as in Orph. h. Phers. 29, 8, h. Dion. 30, 6, h. triet. 32, 4, the name Εδώθης, properly belonging to the nether Zeus, is transferred to his son Dionysos (J. H. Wieten op. cit. p. 27 ff.). The Queen with Eukles and Eubouleus would thus make up the triad Mother + Father + Son.

1 Inschr. Gr. Sch. II. no. 641 i, 5 ff. αλ(λ)α με Μοί(π)α εδάμαζε (σε) και αδάμαντο θεός αλλ' άνεμος ηαρ αν' αστεροβλήτα κερανίων, cp. id. ii, 7 f. ετε με Μοϊ(π)α εδάμανε οτ ετε αστεροτητε (εν)ειραμών, iii. 8 f. ε(θ)ε με Μούρα (εδάμασε) ε ατοπερα(τή) καερανιο (αιτ.) The best solution of the textual problem is still that of G. Kaibel who in i, 6 would bracket και αδάμαντοι θεοί αλλα as interpolated from i, 2 f., and in i, 7 would emend κερανίων to κερανιων, arguing that the original poet meant αστεροβλήτα as an epic nominative, but that a stupid transcriber took it to be an accusative and consequently altered κερανίων to κερανιων. With this I should agree, only bargaining that we write Κερανδο with a capital letter, since an Orphic hymn identifies Κερανδος with Zeus (supra p. 13). Thus the ‘star-flung (rather than ‘star-flinging’) Thunderbolt’ is Zeus in his destructive capacity—the bright brand that flashes downwards from the Milky Way and hurts the guilty soul, a fallen angel, out of heaven.

A. Dieterich de hymnis Orph. Marpurgi Cattorum 1891 p. 34 (= Kleine Schriften Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 92) omits the superfluous και αδάμαντοι θεοί αλλα and reads i, 6 f. αστεροβλήτα κερανίων, ii. 8 and iii. 9 f. αστεροπτήτα κερανίων. O. Hoffmann too in Colitz—Bechtle Gr. Dial.—Inschr. ii. 161 f. no. 1654 prints <και αδάμαντο θεοί αλλα>, και αστεροβλήτα κερανίων(π)ε. On this showing κερανίων is the participle of κερανίων, and αστεροβλήτα has to mean 'Blitzschleuderer' or 'der mit dem Sonnenstich treffend'—a choice of evils. J. H. Wieten op. cit. p. 94 ff. decides for the first horn of the dilemma (αστεροπτήτα = "αστεροβλήτα by haplography"). G. Murray in Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel. 2 p. 670 makes the interesting suggestion that αλλα με Μούρα εδάμασε και αδάμαντοι θεοί αλλα | ....και αστεροβλήτα κερανίων may be a liturgical abbreviation for some fuller form of the like, perhaps a much longer phrase. But on the whole I am inclined to think, with Kaibel, Dieterich, and Hoffmann, that και αδάμαντοι θεοί αλλα is a mere interpolation from the second line of the poem. The writer of the first tablet seems to have similarly duplicated his sixth line (infra n. 3), while the writer of the third tablet has the self-correction κερανίων. L. Rademacher in the Rhein. Mus. 1912 lxvii. 474 ff. admits αστεροβλήτα as a nominative = "αστεροβλήτης, and supposes that "αστεροβλήτης became "αστεροβλήτης through confusion with αστεροτήτης: he doubts whether αστεροβλήτα can be taken in a passive sense. But stars are as much in point as lightning; and a poet familiar with Διοξήνιο, Διομήνιο, Αλέξανδρος, Λέξανθος as passives would not hesitate to make αστεροβλήτα passive too. Less and less probable are the conjectures of F. Buecheler in the Rhein. Mus. 1881 xxxv. 334 κατα αστεροβλήτα κερανίων, D. Comparatelli Lamicie Litchfield ed. Illustrate Firence 1910 p. 231, ετε ήμε Μούρα εδάμασε αυ κερανιων (even if helped out by Gruppe's στρεφόσθη κερανιο).

² Inschr. Gr. Sch. II. no. 641 i, 7 ff. κόλαν | δ' εξέλθαν βαροτρόφοι άργαλεοι, ιμερον δ' εκίνησαν στεφάνου ποιη καρπαλμίωι, δαστονομεν δε υπο κόλαν ένων χαλκοίς βασιλείας, ιμερον δ' απίβας | στε(φ)άνου ποιη καρπαλμίαοί. The verse ιμερον δ' απίβας κ.τ.λ.
The lines may be paraphrased: I have escaped from the dreary cycle of life's changes; I have set foot on the Milky Way. In a word, I have regained my lost paradise, and am henceforward a god in heaven, not a man on earth. The astonishing beauty of this profession must not, however, blind us to its crude material aspect. Such formulae presuppose a definite ritual; and it may be asked

reads like a careless repetition of the verse ἵπποι τ' ἔθησαν κ.τ.λ.: and such it presumably is, though the verb may have been changed to suggest that the soul now returning to the Milky Way had originally come from it.

1 For this use of κόσμος cp. Diog. Laert. 8. 14 πρῶτον τ' ἐγαίνετο αὐτῷ ἄκτιστος. Ἐμπεδ. frag. 17, 12 f. Diels οὗ δὲ διαλέγεται διαμετρέται ὀδούμα λῆγει, ταύτῃ δ' ἀπὸ αὐτῶν ἀκτίνας κατὰ κόσμον, Orph. frag. 223, 1 f. Abel ab. Prokl. in Plat. temp. ii. 339, 1 ff. Kroll ἀνακ' ἀμείβομεν ἡμιόπυκ τοῦ κόσμου ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν ἔρωτας (so Herwerden for χρώματος) ἀνάθετόν τ' ἔρωτας μετέρχεται ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος, Orph. frag. 272 Abel ab. Olympiod. in Plat. Phaed. p. 131, 9 ff. Norvin ὅτι παλαιότερα ὁ λόγος, ὁ ὄρθρος τοῦ ἄνθρωπον, ὁ πάλαι ἄγων τὰς μεγάλας εἰς τὸ σῶμα καὶ πάλαι αὐτὸ σωμάτων ἀνάγκης, καὶ τὸν κόσμον πολυάρθρον (see also Norvin's Index p. 165 s. v. κόσμος), Orph. frag. 226 Abel ab. Prokl. in Plat. Tim. iii. 256, 7 ff. and 297 b. Diels μ' συνήθισε τις ἡμέρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου μνημόνιου προτείνεται τὸν κόσμον τῆς γενέσεως ἀπαλαττώντα καὶ τῆς πολλῆς πλάνης καὶ τῆς ἀνφαίρως ἀμφιβολίας, ἡ πρὸς τὸ νοεῖν ἐλθεῖ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποδομής καὶ ἡ ὁμοίως πάντων τὰς ἑκατέρους ἀνθρώπους προσφέρειται, ... τοῖς δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς τὸν ναὸν παράγεται ἀπόκειται τοῖς δὲ τῆς τῆς γενεσίους ἑκατέρους προσφέρειται καὶ ἀρχηγοῖς τοῖς δὲ τῆς τῆς γενεσίους ἑκατέρους προσφέρειται κατὰ τοὺς Ὀρφέας μὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκεῖνας ἔλεησάμενοι, "οὐκ ἔπεταξαν" ἢ ζητεῖ "κόσμοι τ' ἀπετασθαίς τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἄλλως (ἄλλης γειτονίας) κακόποτος τὰς ἀπορίας ἀποδείκτησεν" (Porph. Or. 48. 60 b. 146, 11 f. Wachsmuth Ὀμοροι δὲ τῆς ἐν κόσμῳ πεπόνθησαν καὶ περαφόροι πάλιν ἔφεσαν Κύριος προσφερέειν.

2 The use of the word ἄπεσαν to denote the Galaxy resembles Parmenides' use of στερφάει (Aet. 2. 7. 1 α. Stob. ecl. 1. 27. 14 p. 195, 4 ff. Wachsmuth: see O. Gilbert Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Alterthums Leipzig 1907 pp. 96 n. 1, 102 n. 1, 103 n. 1, and 684 n. 3). A. Dieterich de hymnis Orphicis Marpurgi Cattorum 1891 p. 34 f. (= Kleine Schriften Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 92) goes off on a wrong tack. Miss J. E. Harrison in her Proleg. Gr. Rel. 2 p. 504 f. gets nearer to the truth.

3 This is seen by Miss J. E. Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel. 3 p. 588 ff., who—perhaps wisely—refrains from attempting to determine the precise nature of the rites involved. J. H. Wieter op. cit. p. 97 ff. is more venturesome. On the strength (none too strong) of Psell. εἰς τὰ περὶ δαμασκῶν δαμασκῶν ἐνζώγητο; (printed in Psell. de operazione daemonum ed. J. F. Boissonade Norimbergae 1838 pp. 36 ff.) psylla δὲ πολλὰ κόσμων τοῖς περιγράφοντες εξαρπάσται τοὺς ὀλεθρούς. ἦ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὰ περὶ πολλῶν βασιλείων, ὡς μὴ λέγω μακρὰς, μεριστές... δὲ τὴν κόσμων καταχθεί ἐπεὐκομής ἡμῶν (quoted by Miss Harrison) and of Dion Chrys. or. 12 p. 388 Reiske διὰ δὲ, εἰ (εἰς περιγραφῶς αὐτῶν) καθάρει εἰσάγοντο εἰς τὸ παλαιότερον προσφέροντο καὶ πνευματικά μεταβλήτα περιγράφοντο he suggests that the initiate at Thourioi was placed in a circle of fires or surrounded by torch-bearing dancers and expected to leap over the fiery ring. He further contends (ib. p. 100 ff.) that, having leapt out of the ring, the initiate next stepped quickly into a garland lying on the ground. Hence the golden garlands in the Bacchic procession of Ptolemy ii Philadelphia (Kallixenos of Rhodes frag. 3 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 64 Muller) ap. Athen. 202 d); and hence too the Pythagorean symbol δ'1 Mullahlech στερφάνων μὴ τίλλων (Porph. v. Pyth. 42). But the part of Ptolemy's show here adduced was subsequent to the Bacchic procession
—How, exactly, did the Orphist ‘enter upon the lovely Crown’? We have seen reason to believe that, with a view to apotheosis, he had ‘fallen as a kid into milk.’ Now Attic vase-paintings of the fifth century B.C. represent the Thracian women that slew Orpheus as tattooed with various symbols including a small goat and a ladder (fig. 76). And Attic vases of the late fifth or the fourth

Fig. 76.

(see Athen. 201 a καὶ μετὰ ταύτα Δίου ἔργο πομή καὶ ἄλλων παράκλως θεῶν, κ.τ.λ.), and Wieten’s interpretation of the Pythagorean precept is confessedly different from that of Porph. loc. cit. Neither objection is necessarily fatal, but the whole hypothesis is frail.

1 M. Radin ‘Apotheosis’ in the Class. Rev. 1916 xxx. 44—46 acutely remarks that the term [ἀφώθωσις] was intended to denote not merely the elevation of a mortal to divinity [ἐξθώσις], but to assert of such an elevation that it was a movement in the Orphic cycle, a restitution in pristinum statum.

2 Supra l. 675 ff.

3 (1) A fragmentary κύλιξ with white ground, found in 1888 on the Akropolis at Athens (J. E. Harrison ‘Some fragments of a vase presumably by Euphronios’ in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1888 ix. 143—146 pl. 6, part of which = my fig. 76, G. C. Richards ib. 1894 xiv. 381 ff., W. Klein Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften Leipzig 1898 p. 154 f., O. Gruppe in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1184 fig. 9, Furtwängler—Reichhold
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Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 384, Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art x. 707 ff. fig. 387 f.), has for interior design Orpheus (ὈΡΦΕVS) attacked by a Thracian woman. He sinks, bleeding, to the ground, supported no doubt by his left hand, and defending himself with the lyre uplifted in his right. His assailant holds in her right hand a double axe (missing portion subsequently found—Journ. Hell. Stud. 1894 xiv. 381), beneath which appears a kallistos-name (probably ΓαλακτΟΝ) and an uncertain object (?] handle of large spit: Miss Harrison aptly cp. Mon. d. Inst. ix pl. 30. She grasps the singer's arm with her left hand, and sets her foot against his thigh. She has three tattoo-marks—a small goat (not a stag; the legs are too short for that) on her right upper arm, a ladder beneath the bracelet on her left wrist, and four vertical strokes on her neck. The vase may be dated c. 470—460 B.C.

(2) Pl. v, a 'Nolan' amphora from Capua, now in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases ii. 218 no. E 301), shows a similar scene painted in the style of Douris. The Thracian woman in a, but not in b, has a check-pattern on the front of her neck, the inside of her right forearm, and the instep of each foot. The photographs here reproduced are by Mr R. B. Fleming.

(3) A 'Nolan' amphora from the Durand collection, now in the Louvre (Pottier Cat. Vases du Louvre iii. 1109 no. G 436, T. Panofka in the Ann. d. Inst. 1899 i. 265 ff., Mon. d. Inst. i pl. 5, 4, Reinach Rép. Vases i. 63, 4, O. Gruppe in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1185), represents the same scene. The Thracian woman has a pattern of ivy-leaves (?) down either arm.

(4) A 'Nolan' amphora at Munich (Jahn Vasensamml. München p. 126 no. 383, A. Flasch in the Ann. d. Inst. 1871 xliii. 127, O. Gruppe in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1188) has the same design, the woman's arms being decorated with a >>-pattern (Ivy-leaves).

(5) A red-figured stamnos from the Campana collection, now in the Louvre (Pottier Cat. Vases du Louvre iii. 1103 no. G 416, A. Flasch in the Ann. d. Inst. 1871 xliii. 126 ff., Mon. d. Inst. ix pl. 30, Reinach Rép. Vases i. 186, O. Gruppe in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1184 ff. fig. 10), amplifies the scene by adding five other Thracian women. Four out of the six are tattooed, one with a series of short strokes on either arm, another with short strokes on the neck and on the one arm visible, a third with short strokes on the neck and a long line on either arm, a fourth with two vertical lines on the neck.

(6) A red-figured kelêbe at Munich (Jahn Vasensamml. München p. 241 no. 777, A. Flasch in the Ann. d. Inst. 1871 xliii. 127, O. Gruppe in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1188) has obv. a Thracian woman, with sword in right hand, sheath in left, whose arms and legs are painted with zig-zag patterns; on either upper arm is a stag ('Hirsch' Jahn), on the knee a star with a stag ('Hirsch' Jahn) beneath it: rev. a Thracian woman running with outstretched arms; her arms and legs are again patterned with zig-zags. Orpheus does not appear.

These vases together with some others, on which the women are not tattooed, presuppose— as O. Gruppe in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1184—1188 points out—'eine gemeinsame Vorlage.' Possibly the original was an unrecorded fresco by Polyclitus (not the Orpheus-scene in the Cnidian Zôiche at Delphi: supra i. 537), who as a Thasian by birth would be familiar with the customs of Thrace.

For monumental evidence of tattooing in palaeolithic times see J. Déchelette Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique Paris 1908 i. 203 ff. and Index p. 730, in neolithic times id. ib. i. 264 ff. and Index p. 730. Bronze-age examples include a marble idol from Seriphos, the face of which is painted with transverse rows of red dots across forehead, cheeks, and chin (C. Binkenberge 'Antiquités prémycéniennes' in the Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord Copenhagen 1896 p. 48 fig. 13, J. Déchelette cf. cit. i. 597 fig. 1), a marble head from Amorgos with lines of red on forehead, nose, and cheeks (P. Wolters 'Marmorköpfe aus Amorgos' in the Ath. Mitt. 1891 xvi. 46—58, Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art vi. 742 f. fig. 336), a white limestone idol from the neighbourhood of Sparta with quadruple chevrons incised on its right upper-arm and quadruple squares on its left upper-arm (P. Wolters in the Ath. Mitt. 1891 xvi. 52 f. fig. 1, Perrot—Chipiez Hist.
Amphora from Capua, now in the British Museum.
Plate V

Iphiclus attacked by Thracian women.

See page 122 n. 0 (3).
and the Soul-Ladder

de l'Art vi. 741 ff. fig. 334), a female (?) head in painted plaster from Mykenai with a rosette of red dots on forehead, chin, and either cheek (Ch. Tsountas 'Κεφαλή εκ Μυκηνών' in the 'Εφ. Αρχ. 1902 pp. 1—10 pl. 1). Even in the iron age similar practices persisted: the Louvre possesses an archaic terra cotta, said to have been found in Greece, which represents a nude standing female with incised circles of dots round her breasts, round her navel, and on her thighs (E. Pottier in the Rev. Arch. 1899 i. 10 fig. 7), and an archaic terra cotta from Boiotia, which shows a draped standing female with a circular black patch on either cheek (Collignon Histoire de la Sculpture Gr. i. 109 fig. 55). A kyllix of Ionic style from Vulci, now at Berlin, has a running Maenad with a small circular red patch on her cheek (J. Endt Beiträge zur Ionischen Vasenmalerei Pfrag 1899 p. 35 fig. 15, J. Boehlau 'Die Ionische Augenschale' in the Ath. Mitt. 1900 xxv. 50 ff. fig. 10 'ein unverkennbares rotes Schönheitspflasterchen'). The black-brown figures represented on Tanagra-ware (S.Wide 'Eine lokale Gattung bötischer Gasse' in the Ath. Mitt. 1901 xxvi. 143—156 pl. 8) have sometimes, if not always, a group of three dots in thinned-out colour on either cheek (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 388 no. E 813 pl. 31, i, ib. iii. 385 no. E 814 pl. 31, i. i. i. but see Wide loc. cit. p. 146 no. 3=Collignon—Couve Cat. Vases d'Athènes p. 350 no. 1119, p. 146 f. no. 4. pp. 147 f. 150 ff. pl. 8=Collignon—Couve op. cit. p. 350 no. 1120). On a terra-cotta antefix from Thasos (C. Friederich in the Ath. Mitt. 1908 xxxii. 245 ff. pl. 10 Gorgonéion with floral design on forehead, rosette on nose, etc.) and on various classes of black-figured ware prophylactic faces show tattoo-marks (e.g. De Ridder Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat. i. 90 ff. no. 182 fig. 9 Ionic vase-lid—Gorgonéion with four dots on forehead, ib. ib. i. 216 ff. no. 332 fig. 39 Attic kyllix—Gorgonéion with large round black spot on forehead, ib. ib. i. 216 ff. no. 331 fig. 38 Attic kylix—interior, Gorgonéion with row of dots on forehead; exterior, eyes forming part of face with four dots on forehead).

century repeatedly introduce a ladder into scenes of mystic incense-gathering (?), such as that on a fine polychrome hydra from Kyrenaike, now in the British Museum (pl. vi)\(^1\), or those on a couple of aryballoi from Apollonia in Thrace, which passed from the Van Branteghem collection to the Hermitage and Berlin respectively (pl. vii)\(^2\). It is therefore permissible to conjecture that the Orphic initiate actually mounted a ladder in order to ensure his entrance upon the Elysian soul-path\(^4\).


\(^1\) See the materials collected by F. Wieseler Commentatio de scala symbolo apud Graecos altiorque populos veteres Gottingae 1863 pp. 3—17. The list of vase-paintings ib. p. 3 f. must, however, be used with caution, since Wieseler appears to have included certain representations of a musical instrument resembling a dulcimer in shape (G. Nicole in Darenberg—Saglio Dic. Ant. iv. 1108 f.). The subject has been handled with more discretion by Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei ii. 98 f. pl. 78, 1 ('eine festliche, von Aphrodite und Eros vorgenommene Weihrauchermute') and by G. Nicole Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique Genève 1908 Append. ii. 'Sur le motif de l'échelle dans les scènes de gynécée' with fig. 43 and pl. 8, 1—6, pl. 9 ('une recolte mystique de l'encens, fête religieuse accompagnée de mélodies et de danses sacrées'). Not improbably the gatherer mounted the ladder to symbolise the celestiel nature of the harvesting.

\(^2\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 186 no. E 241, G. Nicole Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique Genève 1908 p. 120 fig. 43. My pl. vi is from a photograph taken by Mr C. O. Waterhouse. In the centre is a long ladder, and beside it a tall plant with berries (gilded) in clusters of three. Aphrodite (?), bare to the waist, descends the ladder and scatters something into a two-handled vase held by a woman (drapery blue)—hardly Adonis, as Furtwängler op. cit. ii. 99 asserts. On the right another woman closely wrapped in a himation (pink), which passes over her mouth, dances to the flutes of a hovering Eros (wings gilded). Further to the right is a second dancing woman, who plays the castanets. On the left are a third dancing woman, a woman playing the flutes, and a small bearded Pan, with goat's legs and horns (gilded?), also dancing. Height 5½ ins.

\(^3\) W. Froehner Collection van Branteghem Bruxelles 1892 nos. 98 and 99 pl. 31—34 (=my pl. vii), G. Nicole op. cit. p. 150 f. pl. 8, 5 and 6. Variations of the same scene, marked by the presence of a thymiatéron, which on a polychrome alabastron from Naukratis (E. A. Gardner—F. L. Griffith Naukratis Part ii London 1888 p. 28 pl. 16, 29, Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 355 no. E 721, G. Nicole op. cit. p. 150 ff. pl. 8, 1) is held by Eros as he descends the ladder.

\(^4\) In an elegie epigraph from Doxato near Philippoi the soul that has entered the Elysian fields is brought into connexion with the tattooed mystics of Dionysos (L. Heuzey—H. Daumet Mission Archeologique de Macédoine Paris 1876 Texte p. 128 ff. no. 61, Corp. inscr. Lat. iii no. 685, 11 ff., F. Bücheler Carmine Latina epigraphica Lipsiae 1897 ii. 577 ff. no. 1133, 11 ff. [tu placidus, dum nos cr]uciamur volnere victi, | et repartus item vivis in Elysias. | sic placitum est divis a[et]erna vivere form[a] | qui bene de supero | [n]umine sit meritus |] quaе tibi castifico promissi munera cursu | olim insa deo simplicitas facilis. | nunc seu te Bromio signatae mystidis aise | floriger in prato congregi in | Satyrum | sive canistriferæ poscent sibi Naides aequ[c] | qui ducibus tædios agmina festa | trahas, | sis quodemque, puer, quo te tua proutulit aetas, | dum modo [-—-]. The meaning of mystidis aise is doubtful. Bücheler ad loc. takes mystidis to be for mystides, adding 'an nomen puter hic fuit ut Aesi?' F. C. Wick in Studi italiani di filologia classica 1909 xvii. 198 f. (a reference for which I am indebted to Mr A. D. Nock of
Polychrome *hydria* from Kyrenaike, now in the British Museum: scene of mystic incense-gathering (?).

See page 124 n. 2.
Two *aryballoi* from Apollonia in Thrace, representing scenes of mystic incense-gathering (?).

*See page 124 n. 3.*
and the Soul-Ladder

In support of that conjecture I may point out, not only that Pindar in a passage already cited speaks of the celestial track as a ‘dread stair’ or ‘ladder,’ but also that Orphic belief thus falls into line with the beliefs of other peoples. Amulets in the shape of little bronze ladders (fig. 77)—a magical means of getting to heaven—have been found in Roman graves. They recall the Egyptian amulet of the ladder, \[=\], about which E. A. Wallis Budge writes as follows:

‘In tombs of the Ancient and Middle Empires small objects of wood and other substances in the form of ladders have often been found, but the signification of them is not always apparent. From the texts inscribed upon the walls of Trinity College, Cambridge) cf. Mystides aere (= sistros). But H. Daumet op. cit. p. 130 long since suggested \(\text{ἀλογός} (= \text{ἀλογά})\), and personally I would rather keep \textit{mystidias aicem} as a Latinised equivalent of \(\text{μωριῶδος ἀλογός}\) (cp. e.g. Ap. Rhod. 3. 3 〈τήρων ἀλογω>). Bücheler retains \textit{congregi in Satyrum} as meaning ‘in the company (adj. for subst.) of the Satyrs (gen. plur.).’ He had thought of \textit{congregium}, which might be accepted either as an irregular gen. plur. of \textit{congrex}, or as acc. sing. of \textit{congregius}, a new formation on the analogy of \textit{egregius}.

1 Supra p. 37.

2 A small bronze ladder together with many other amulets was found in 1696 A.D. near Rome within the remains of a bronze \(\text{κλίτα} \), itself enclosed in a jar of coarse pottery and protected by a tile (Gerhard \textit{Eur. Spiegel} i. 36—46 pl. 12 f., of which pl. 12, i, 4, 6 = my fig. 77; O. Jahn in the \textit{Ber. Sachs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe} 1854 p. 41 n. 44\(2\) pl. 5, 1, p. 48 n. 69\(4\) pl. 4, 5 f., p. 58 n. 116, p. 94 f. pl. 4, 15, S. Seligmann \textit{Der böse Blick und Verwandte} Berlin 1910 ii. 296, 365 fig. 214); it is now in the Naples Museum (E. Gerhard—T. Panofka \textit{Neapel's antike Bildwerke} Stuttgart 1828 p. 231 f. Zimmer v Schrank 8). Two small bronze ladders, found with other amulets and coins of Marcus Aurelius and Constantine the Great in Roman graves at Cologne, are now in the Museum at Bonn (J. Overbeck \textit{Katalog der königl. rheinischen Museums wasserländischer Alter-thümmer} Bonn 1831 p. 146 Karte no. 8 f., O. Jahn in the \textit{Ber. Sachs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe} 1854 p. 41 n. 44\(4\)).
the corridors and chambers of the pyramids of Unas, Teta, Pepi, and other early kings, it is clear that the primitive Egyptians believed that the floor of heaven, which also formed the sky of this world, was made of an immense plate of iron, rectangular in shape, the four corners of which rested upon four pillars which served to mark the cardinal points. On this plate of iron lived the gods and the blessed dead, and it was the aim of every good Egyptian to go there after death. At certain sacred spots the edge of the plate was so near the tops of the mountains that the deceased might easily clamber on to it and so obtain admission into heaven, but at others the distance between it and the earth was so great that he needed help to reach it. There existed a belief that Osiris himself experienced some difficulty of getting up to the iron plate, and that it was only by means of the ladder which his father Râ provided that he at length ascended into heaven. On one side of the ladder stood Râ, and on the other stood Horus\(^1\), the son of Isis, and each god assisted Osiris to mount it. Originally the two guardians of the ladder were Horus the Elder and Set, and there are several references in the early texts to the help which they rendered to the deceased, who was, of course, identified with the god Osiris. But, with a view either of reminding these gods of their supposed duty, or of compelling them to do it, the model of a ladder was often placed on or near the dead body in the tomb, and a special composition was prepared which had the effect of making the ladder become the means of the ascent of the deceased into heaven. Thus in the text written for Pepi\(^2\) the deceased is made to address the ladder in these words: “Homage to thee, O divine Ladder! Homage to thee, O Ladder of Set! Stand thou upright, O divine Ladder! Stand thou upright, O Ladder of Set! Stand thou upright, O Ladder of Horus, whereby Osiris came forth into heaven when he made use of his magical power upon Râ.... For Pepi is thy son, and Pepi is Horus, and thou hast given birth unto Pepi even as thou hast given birth unto the god who is the lord of the Ladder (i.e., Horus); and thou shalt give unto Pepi the Ladder of the god (i.e., Horus), thou shalt give unto him the ladder of the god Set whereby this Pepi shall come forth into heaven when he shall have made use of his magical power upon Râ....” Elsewhere\(^3\) the gods Khonsu, Sept, etc., are invited to bring the ladder to Pepi, and the ladder itself is adjured to come with its name, and in another place\(^4\) we read, “Homage to thee, O thou Ladder that supportest the golden vase of the Spirits of Pe and the Spirits of Nekhen, stretch out thy hand to this Pepi, and let him take his seat between the two great gods who are in the place of this Pepi; take him by the hand and lead him towards Sekhet-Hetep (i.e., the Elysian Fields), and let him take his seat among the stars which are in the sky.”

In the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead the importance of the ladder is also seen, for in Chapter cxxliii\(^5\) the deceased says, “I set up a Ladder among the gods, and I am a divine being among them”; and in Chapter ccli iii he says, “The Osiris Nu shall come forth upon your Ladder which Râ hath made for him, and Horus and Set shall grasp him firmly by the hand.” Finally, when the custom of placing a model of the ladder in the tomb fell into disuse, the priests provided for the necessity of the dead by painting a ladder on the papyri that were inscribed with the texts from the Book of the Dead and were buried with them\(^6,7\).

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1 Unas, line 579.
2 Pepi, line 192 f.
3 Pepi, line 200.
4 Pepi, line 471.
5 See my Chapters of Coming Forth by Day, translation, p. 270.
6 See the Papyrus of Ani, 2nd edition, pl. 22.
Such beliefs were not without their influence on the receptive and superstitious Greek. P. Aelius Aristeides of Adrianoi in Mysia (129—189 A.D.) was the son of Eudaimon priest of Zeus in that city, and apparently succeeded to the office, if not to the title of his father. As a life-long invalid he was devoted to the cults of Asklepios and Sarapis; and, among the dreams vouchsafed him during a protracted illness, he records with a shudder that of the ladders which separate the world above from the world below.

The celestial ladder (fig. 78) is associated with a pillar in the Biblical account of Jacob at Bethel:

'And Jacob went out from Beer-sheba, and went toward Haran. And he

Fig. 78.


1 Philostr. v. soph. 2. 9. i. Suid. s.v. 'Aristei27s, 'Adrani9s.

2 Aristeid. or. 13. 182 (i. 425 Dindorf), 27. 357 (i. 545 Dindorf): see W. Schmid in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 886.

3 Philostr. loc. cit., Suid. loc. cit.

4 W. Schmid loc. cit. ii. 887 ff.

5 Aristeid. or. 25. 320 (i. 500 f. Dindorf) πολύ δὲ τὰ τοὺς φρεκτὰςτερὸν ἐγένετα, ἐπὶ ὅς αὐτὸ τὸ κλεῖσθαι ἢσαν αὐτὸ τὸ ὑπὲρ γῆς τε καὶ ὑπὸ γῆς ἀποφέροντο, καὶ τὰ ἐκάτωθι κράτος τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἔμερα ἐκπλήθην ἑλμαστὴν φόροντα, καὶ αὐτὸ ῥητα ἵνα εἰς ἀπαντᾶ, ὅτε ἄμερον μοι φανὴραί σύμβολα τοῖς Ἀσκληπιεῖσι. κεφάλαιον δ’ ἦν τῆς τῆς θεοῦ δυνάμεως ὅτι καὶ χωρὶς ὄχματων καὶ χωρὶς σωμάτων ἡ Σάραπις ἡ ζωὴ τ’ ἐγκυμίων αἰνηρίων ὅπως βιβλιοῦ. τοιαύτα ἦν τὰ τῆς τελευτης καὶ ἀνέςτην ὑμίν μάρτιος γεγονέναι καὶ πρὸς τόποις θυσία τις ἐνθολιοῦ, ὄφελομένη μὲν Δίῳ καὶ πρόφρονες μένουσα, ἀποδοθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαραπιδίας ἄνοια, ἀπέδωθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δίῳ, ἐκὼ δὲ λέγειν καὶ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἡμέραις, ἃς ἦπι πάλιν ἡ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρείων πιστεύει τῷ θεῷ, πολλὰ δὲ πολλάκις αὐτῶν ἐπισημαίνεταν, καὶ κατ’ αὐτὴν ἐκάτερα, καὶ προσαγαγούσῃ ἑτι.


7 Presumably the Μασσεβήθ, the mark of an ordinary sanctuary.
lighted upon a certain place, and tarried there all night, because the sun was set; and he took one of the stones of the place, and put it under his head, and lay down in that place to sleep. And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it. And, behold, the LORD stood above it.... And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the LORD is in this place; and I knew it not. And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven. And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put under his head, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of that place Beth-el: but the name of the city was Luz at the first.

Ladder and pillar coalesce in the stepped tower or zikkurat of the Babylonians, as in the columna cochlis of the Romans, to which indeed the spiral tower of Samarra (s. ix A.D.)—a direct derivative of the zikkurat—bears a marked resemblance. The seven steps of the zikkurat—eight, if we reckon in, as Herodotus does, the sanctuary on the summit—have undoubtedly a cosmic significance.

1 Gen. 28. 10 ff. For discussion of the passage in its various aspects see in primis J. Skinner A critical and exegetical Commentary on Genesis Edinburgh 1910 pp. 375—380.
2 Supra i. 603. A useful summary of the present state of knowledge on the subject will be found in A. Jeremias Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur Leipzig 1913 pp. 44—47. The article by Scheil there cited as forthcoming has since appeared (F. V. Scheil ‘Esgal ou le temple de Bél-Marduk à Babylone’ in the Mémoires de l’Académie des inscriptions (Institut de France) présentés par divers savants 1913 xxxix. 293—308, cp. M. Dieulafroy ‘Temple de Bél-Marduk’ ib. pp. 309—372).
4 Hdt. 1. 181 ff. ‘en de φαραώ ἐκπέλετο τῆς πόλεως τέτειχος ἐν μέσῳ· ἐν τῷ ἱέν τα βασιλεία, περιβάλλει μεγάλη τε καὶ ἱερά· ἐν τῷ ἱέν τά θεὸς Βῆθουν (supra i. 736 n. 6) ἵνα χαλκόπισε, καὶ ἐν οἷς τούτῳ ἐτόν, δύο στάδια πάντην, ἐν τριάντάχθουν. ἐν μέσῳ ταῦτα τῷ πόλεως στέρεος ἀκοδόμηται στάδιον καὶ τοῦ μέσου καὶ τού έσως· καὶ τούτο τούτῳ πάντα ἐπιβιβάζεται, καὶ ἐπάνω μάλα ἐπί τούτῳ, μέσου οὐ κυράν πάντων. ἀναβαίνει δὲ ἐν αὐτῶν ἐξωθεν κέντρο περὶ πάντας τοὺς πόλεως ἔχουσα πεντεχταίται. μεσοτυχεῖ δὲ κοι τῆς ἀναβασίας ἐστι καταγωγή τε καὶ θώκοι ἀμαντήτωρ, ἐν τοῖς κατίσοντες ἀμπαιάσσων οἱ ἀναβαίνετεν. ἐν τῷ τελείαν πόλην ὡς ἐκτεινότα μέγα...’ en τῷ νησί κλίνει μεγάλη κέντρο εἰς ἐστρωμένη, καὶ οἱ τράπεζαι παρακείται χρυσός. ἰδαλίμα δὲ οὐκ ἐνι αὐτῷ ἀναβαίνει εἰς ἐστρωμένη, ἀλλ' νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναλήτηται ἀνθρώπωσι, ὅτι μὴ γνωρίζει τῶν ἐπιχειρησιών, τῶν ὅποι ὁ θεός ἔκλειψε ἐκ παντός, ὅτι λέγει οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ἔκλειψε ἐπάνω τῶν ὅλων. κ.τ.λ. For a critical handling of this and other references to the zikkurat at Babylon see A. Baumnast in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 366ff., and for a description of the extant remains, R. Koldewey The Excavations at Babylon trans. (Mrs) A. S. Johns London 1914.
5 M. Jastrow Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria New York and London 1911 p. 286 f: ‘While no special stress seems, at any time, to have been laid on the number of stories or stages of which a zikkurat consisted,...seven stages seems to have become the normal number, after a certain period. There seems to be no reason to doubt that this number was chosen to correspond to the moon, sun, and five planets, which we have seen were the controlling factors in the Babylonian-Assyrian
and the Soul-Ladder

and correspond with the seven or eight steps of the Mithraic ladder\(^1\) or, for that matter, with the Sabian ladder of the seven planets.\(^2\)

Fortified by these examples of the soul-ladder as conceived in other parts of the Mediterranean world—go to no further afield—\(^3\) we return to Thrace and the Orphists. Otos and Ephialtes, who essayed to pile Osca on Olympos and Pelion on Ossa, ‘that the astrology. Gudea describes the zikkurat at Lagash known as E-Pa as the “house of the seven divisions!” [‘Thureau-Dangin, Sumerisch-Akkadische Inschriften, pp. 76, 84, 86, etc.]; and from the still fuller designation of the tower at Borippa as the “seven divisions of heaven and earth,” it would appear that in both cases there is a symbolical reference to the “seven planets,” as the moon, sun, and five planets were termed by the Babylonians themselves\(^2\) [Rawlinson, III. Plate 57, No. 6, 65.].—Etc. Cp. id. The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria Boston etc. 1898 pp. 618 ff., 639.


2 D. Chwolsohn Die Sablier und der Sabismus St Petersb. 1856 ii. 610 cites from Makrisi (1364—1441 A.D.) the following statement: 'Unter diesen geistigen Wesen versteht sie die Engel, von denen sie glauben, dass sie die Leiter der sieben Planeten in den Himmelskreisen seien,' etc.

3 A pilaster-relief from the stūpa of Bharhut, now at Calcutta, shows 'the great Ladder by which Buddha descended at Sankisa from the Trayastra and the heavens' as 'a triple flight of solid stone steps, similar in all respects to the single flight of steps which was found at the Western Gateway of the Stūpa' (A. Cunningham The Stūpa of Bharhut London 1879 p. 91 ff. pl. 17 railing-pillars of West Gate, middle relief of right side; A. della Seta Religion & Art trans. Mrs A. Strong London 1914 p. 306 fig. 167).

C. II.
sky might be climbable;¹ are connected in many ways with northern Greece². K. O. Müller even regarded them as the mythical leaders of the Thracian colonies³. It is therefore noteworthy that Pindar speaks of them as—

   Stretching in haste
   A ladder to the steep sky⁴.

This manoeuvre is usually described as a menace to the gods. But it must be remembered that Ephialtes was wooing Hera, and Otos Artemis⁵. Their presumption was that of aspirants to the hand of a goddess.

A curious historic or quasi-historic parallel to the enterprise of the Aloadai is that of Kosingas the Thracian chief, who threatened to clamber up a long chain of ladders into heaven and so gain the ear of Hera. The tale is told by Polyainos⁶:

   'The Kebrenioi and Sykaiboai are Thracian tribes. Their custom is to have as leaders the priests of Hera. They had a priest and leader named Kosingas. The Thracians would not obey him. Kosingas joined one to another many long wooden ladders, reared them up, and made as if he would climb up into the sky and denounce the Thracian mutiny to Hera. Thereupon the Thracians, stupid unreasoning folk, fearing that their leader would climb up into the sky, besought him and swore that they would hearken to all his commands.'⁷

If such was the attitude of the average untutored Thracian, we begin to see why Pittakos had votive ladders dedicated in the sanctuaries of Mytilene⁸. His father was a Thracian⁹ and pre-


In the Underworld Otos and Ephialtes were bound by snakes to a column, facing different ways, and tormented by a horned owl (ὕπως) (Hyg. fab. 28, cp. Verg. aen. 234 ff.). The column may be that on which the earth rests.

⁷ Apollod. II. 5. 4 ἐκμοντοῦ δὲ Ἑρφάλτης μὲν Ἡμας, Ὅταν δὲ Ἀρτεμίς, cp. schol. B.D.T. II. 5. 385. ⁶ Polyain. 7. 22.

⁷ All. var. hist. 2. 29 Πητακός ὁ Μυθίλης κατεσκόπηκεν ἐν τῷ ιερῷ κλήμακα ἐς οἰδεβίαν μὲν χρῆσιν ἐπιτεθείοις, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἀκαθήματα ἐναίκει, αἰνετήμενοι τὴν ἐς τὴς τύχης ἄνω καὶ κάτω μετάπτωσιν, τρόπος τοῦ τῶν μεν ὑστερουσον ἀνδρῶν, κατάλοιπα δὲ τῶν ἀνδριχώστων. Πρόφατος ἡ παραγενωμενος εἰς τὸν καλὸν ἐξελεύσατο, ὧδε ἑπαρβαθμοὶ χρῶμεν, κ.τ.λ. τοιοῦτων ἐτῶν ἀνδριχώστων. I doubt whether Aelian fathomed Pittakos' meaning: the ascent and descent in question were, if I mistake not, the ascent of the soul to heaven and its descent to earth via the cosmic stair.

We may perhaps detect a refinement upon the same belief in Herakleitos' saying ὅσον ἀνά κατά μία καὶ ὕπως (Herakl. frag. 69 Bywater, 60 Diels), if not also in Diotima's mystic ascent towards ideal beauty (Plat. symp. 211c ἄρχομεν ἀπὸ τῶν τῶν καλῶν ἐκείνων ἐνεκα τοῦ καλοῦ ἀεὶ ἐπανελθούσων χρῶμεν, κ.τ.λ.).

⁸ Douris frag. 53 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 482 Müller) ap. Diog. Laert. i. 74, cp. Souid. s.v. Πητακός.
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sumably versed in Orphic lore. Again, we can give a shrewd guess as to the reason why the ladder figures among other amulets on the terra-cotta cake-moulds of Tarentum. That city was a stronghold of the Pythagoreans, who were deeply imbued with Orphism, and it had moreover its own pillar-cult of Zeus Kataibates. Finally, we obtain the answer to an old conundrum. In 1843 J. Millingen published a terra cotta from Italy representing a naked female figure, who sits on the back of a pig with her legs spread apart and a small ladder held upright in her hand (fig. 79). Millingen rightly identified this personage as Baubo, but failed to detect the true significance of the ladder. Baubo was a goddess worshipped in Paros along with Hera, Demeter Themisphoros, Kore, and Zeus Eubouléus: since her name in the Parian inscription follows immediately those of the Ionian triad, she too was in all probability a goddess of chthonian import. According to Asklepiades of Tragilos (5. iv. B.C.), she was the wife of the autochthonous Dysaulus (whom we may venture to regard as an appellative of Hades) and by him the mother of Protegono and Misa. And Orphic tradition made

1 (1) Formerly in the possession of Sir W. Temple at Naples (O. Jahn in the Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1854 pp. 32 f., 35 pl. 5, 3; E. Labatut in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 256 fig. 306, S. Seligmann Der bösse Blick und Verwandte Berlin 1910 ii. 166 f., 169 fig. 150). (2) At Naples (G. Minervini ‘Pochi osservazioni sopra un disco di terracotta, nel Real Museo Borbonico’ in the Bull. Arch. Nap. 1857 v. 169—172 pl. 6, 2, S. Seligmann op. cit. ii. 166 f., 171 fig. 151). (3) and (4) At Oxford (Sir A. J. Evans ‘Recent discoveries of Tarentine terra-cottas’ in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1886 vii. 44—50 no. 2 = p. 44 ff. 6 and no. 3 = p. 46). Sir A. J. Evans loc. cit. was the first to recognize in these circular plates ‘Moulds for Sacred Cakes’: he thinks it probable that the specimens published by Jahn and Minervini, like those now at Oxford, come from Tarentum. In the Comptes rendus de l’Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1916 p. 344 F. Cumont adds two other examples—(2) a disk communicated by him to the Academy, and (6) a disk in the Louvre. According to him, they date from 5. ii or i. B.C. and were probably bogus mirrors used for catacomancy.

2 Supra pp. 29 ff., 45.

3 J. Millingen ‘Baubo’ in the Ann. d. Inst. 1843 xv. 72—97 pl. E = my fig. 79. The terra cotta in question is now in the Antiquarium at Berlin.

4 Supra i. 669 n. 2.


6 Hades is Δωσιάθης, ‘He of the sorry Resting Place’ (δωσιαθης), as lord of the οδικα... συμβολαλ' ευρόντα, τά τε στυγνόνει θεοί προ (II. 20. 64 f.).

7 Ηαρποκρ. 3. 5. Δωσιάθης... ’Ασκληπιάδης δ' ε'ν τεσσάρων Τραγικούμενων (Asklepiades of Tragilos frag. 6 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 302 Müller)) τον Δωσιάθης αὐτὸχύθας ειναι φητε, συγοικησαντα δ’ εν Βαυβοις σχειν παϊδας Προτωνιον (Προτωγιον corv. A. Dieterich in Philo-
The Pillar of Light

Dysaules the father of Eubouleus and Triptolemos. It is, I think, fairly safe to conclude that Baubo was an Orphic goddess of the Underworld. I suggest that she was the ‘Mistress’ mentioned in the Orphist’s solemn formula:

I have passed beneath the bosom of the Mistress, the Queen of the Underworld.

logos 1893 iii. 2 n. 6 = Kleine Schriften Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 126 n. 3 and L. Bloch in Philologus 1893 iii. 577) τε και Νίσαι (Mīsāv corr. C. Müller Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 339, iii. 302).

1 Faus. 1. 14. 3, cp. supra i. 212.
2 Supra i. 650 n. 0, ii, 119 n. 2. Observe that the line Δεσποίνας δ' ὑπὸ κόλπων ἔδω, Χειριάς Βασιλείας is at least partially paralleled by the phrase Βαυβοῦς ὑπὸ κόλπων in the passage (Clem. Al. praeis 2. 21. 1 p. 16, 13 ff. = Orph. frag. 215 Abel) so convincingly expounded by H. Diels loc. cit.

The Orphic formula ultimately influenced the ritual of Eleusis, where Persephone, not Baubo, was chthonian Queen: see Psellus τίνα περὶ δαιμόνων διάδοσιν Ἐλληνες; (printed in Psell. de operatione daemonum ed. J. F. Boissonade Normanbridge 1838 p. 36 ff.) p. 39 f. τὰ δὲ γε μνήμης τούτων, οία αὐτίκα τὰ Ἑλέουσαν, τὸν μυθικὸν ὑποκρίνει τὰ μυθικὸν τινὰ ὀνομασίαν ἠδυνατήσατο τῷ Δημήτρῃ, καὶ τῇ Θυγατρὶ ταύτῃ Περσεφάνῃ, τῇ καὶ Κόρη. ἐπειδή δὲ ἔμελλον καὶ ἄφοβοις ἐπὶ τῇ μνήμῃ γίνεσθαι συμπλοκαί, ἀκαθόριστο ποι ἦ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἀπὸ τινος πεπλασμένοι μνήμον πελάγοις. εἰτα δὲ γαμήλιοι λέγεται ἐπὶ τῇ Κόρῃ ἰμέραις, καὶ ἐπάδουσιν οἱ τελευταίοι: τε κυπάνου ἐφαγον, τε κυμάδων ἐπιον, εἰκονοφόρῃσα,
Now that formula stood next to the profession:

I have entered with quick feet upon the lovely Crown.

It would seem, then, that the initiate posed as the very consort of the chthonian Queen\(^1\). As such he had every right to mount her ladder, the ladder that led to Elysium. The 'child of Earth and starry Sky'\(^2\) must needs be free of either world.

The soul-ladder appears again in that most pathetic and impressive document *The Passion of Saint Perpetua*\(^3\) (March 7), who was done to death in the arena at Carthage c. 203 A.D. When in prison, she prayed, at her brother's request, that the future might be revealed to her, and had by way of answer the following vision:

'I beheld a bronze\(^4\) ladder of wondrous size, reaching even to the sky, and so narrow that only one could mount it at a time. And in the sides of the ladder were fixed all manner of iron implements—swords, lances, hooks, knives—so that any who mounted carelessly or without looking upwards was torn and his flesh caught by the iron implements. And under the very ladder lay a snake of wondrous size, plotting against them that ascended and frightening them from the ascent. Now the first to go up was Saturus, who at the time of our arrest was not there, but later had given himself up on account of us. And he came to the top of the ladder and turned and said to me: "Perpetua, I await thee. But see that yonder snake bite thee not." And I made answer: "He will not hurt me in the name of Jesus Christ." And under the very ladder he put forth his head slowly, as though he feared me, and I, as if I were treading the first step, trod upon his head. And I went up and beheld an immense garden, and in the midst of the garden a white-haired man sitting, clothed like a shepherd, tall, milking his sheep. And standing round about him were many thousands clad in white raiment. And he raised his head and looked upon me and said to me:

\(\text{ἐπὶ τὸν παστὸν εἰσῆθεν, ἵππος ἤρθε καὶ πάντα ὅσιά την Δημοτὴν ἔδωκεν. Ἰεκτράλας γομὼν αὐτός Ἀρνός καὶ χολὴν πῶς καὶ καρδιαλίκη. Ἐφ' οὖς καὶ τί τραγοκελές μίμης παρακλομένων πρὸς τὸν δοῦλον, ὅπερ καὶ Ζεῦς, ἥδως ἀποκρίνεται τῇ μίας τῇ δημοτῇ, τράγων ἄρχει τοῦ κοπτοῦ, τῷ κόλπῳ ταύτῃ καθήτος ὅπως ὅθε καὶ ἐστιν. ἐκάπετο αὐτῷ τῷ Διονύσῳ ψευδός καὶ ἡ ἀσία (ἐλοίτας codd. A. B.) καὶ τό τοιούτου πόσανα, καὶ αὐτός τῷ Σαβαζίῳ τελημένου, καὶ θ' μετράζοντες (μετράζοντες codd. A. G. Gaulminius tentavercat μετράζοντες), Κλάδωσε (so G. Gaulminius for κληός codd. A. B.) τε καὶ Μιαλλάδες, καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν Λύπης θεοπράτοις, καὶ κοινωνοῦν χαλέπων καὶ Καρόβας Ἄλλος, καὶ Κοῦρης ἔτερας, δαμάντων διετάκας, ἔφ' οὖς ἡ Βασίλισσα τοὺς μηδὲν ἀνασχέται, καὶ ἤ γυναικεῖς κατέκατε τόν ἄγαθον ἀληθινόν, καὶ οὕτως ἐν ἀληθείᾳ τῷ τελείῳ καταλέψασθων. Καὶ ἀναθήματα ἀληθείᾳ τῷ τελείῳ καταλεύσασθων. Κρ. throughout supra i. 352 ff.

1 Supra i. 619 n. 7.
The Pillar of Light

"I am glad thou hast come, child." And he called me and gave me a mouthful of the curds from his milking. And I received it with joined hands and ate; and all that stood round about said "Amen." And at the sound of their voice I awoke, still eating something sweet. And straightway I told it to my brother, and we understood that it meant suffering and thenceforward began to lose all hope in this life.\(^1\)

Since the remaining visions of Perpetua seem to contain certain elements of mystical or mythological import\(^1\), it is at least possible that here too we should recognise sundry pre-Christian traits. Orphism is suggested both by the celestial ladder and by the milky diet of the newborn soul\(^2\), if not also by the very name of Satyros.

Perpetua is by no means the only saint associated with a ladder. Saint Sadoth (Feb. 29), who was martyred at Seleukeia on the Tigris in 344 A.D., dreamed that his predecessor Simeon Bar-Saboè stood at the top of a ladder, beckoning him from earth to heaven\(^3\). Saint Alexis of Rome (? Constantinople) or Edessa, who lived at the end of the fifth century and is commemorated on July 17 (by the Greeks on March 17), is represented with a ladder in his arms\(^4\). Saint Leonard (Nov. 6), who died as abbot of Limoges in 559 A.D. but is nowadays reckoned the principal saint of Bavaria\(^5\), as patron of prisoners holds by a chain a youth mounting a ladder\(^6\). Saint John Klimax (March 30), who died in 606 A.D., was abbot of Mount Sinai and revered as a second Moses\(^7\): he got his title from the

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1 E.g. in cap. 7 the boy Deinokrates retains his gangrenous wound even after death (cp. the sons of Herakles on the Orphic 'Underworld' vase at Munich: Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 50 pl. 10, supra i. 222 n. 5) and cannot reach the water that he fain would drink (cp. Tantalos, supra i. 205 fig. 148); in cap. 10 Perpetua, stripped for the conflict, becomes a man, is pitted against an Egyptian wrestler and feels as though she were uplifted from the ground, but with joined hands pulls him down and wins the bout (cp. Herakles v. Antaios), receiving as her prize a green bough with golden apples on it (cp. Herakles and the apples of the Hesperides).

2 Supra i. 676 f.


6 M. and W. Drake op. cit. pp. 74, 188.

Ladder of Paradise, a book of thirty chapters in which he described
out of his own experience the thirty steps leading upward to per-
fection; hence he is figured with a ladder. So too is Saint Em-
meram of Ratisbon (Sept. 22), but for a very different cause: in
652 A.D. he was bound to a ladder, mutilated, and murdered on a
false charge. Saint Bathild the Saxon (Jan. 26 or 27 or 30), who
was married to Clovis ii in 649 A.D., shortly before she died had a
vision of a ladder set up in front of an altar and of herself, escorted
by angels, going up it into heaven: she is represented accordingly.
Saint Romuald of Italy (Feb. 7), who lived c. 907—1027 A.D., once
saw a ladder rising to the sky and his monks ascending it in white
habit: he founded a fine church on the spot. Saint Olaf king of
Norway (July 29), who fell at Stikklestad in 1030 A.D., is portrayed
with a ladder seen by him in a similar dream. Saint Bernard
Ptolemy (Aug. 21, 1348 A.D.), founder of the Olivettes at Siena,
had—like Saint Romuald—a vision of angels leading white-robed
monks up a ladder. And Saint Angela of Merici (May 31, 1540

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1 Κληματις τοῦ παραδείσου, Scala Paradisi (lxxxviii. 631—1164 Migne). On it see
K. Krumbacher Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur München 1897 p. 143 ff. and
a beautifully illustrated chapter by W. Dennison and C. R. Morey Studies in East
Christian and Roman Art (University of Michigan Studies: Humanistic Series xii)
New York 1918 pp. 1—30 ('Two Miniatures from a Manuscript of St. John Climacus,
and their Relation to Klimax Iconography') with col. pls 1, 2 and figs. 1—14.

2 M. and W. Drake op. cit. pp. 67, 188.

3 C. Cahier op. cit. i. 327 ff.; M. and W. Drake op. cit. pp. 40, 188.

4 B. Sepp in the Analecta Bollandiana Paris—Bruxelles 1889 xii. 233 f. (Arboinis
episcopi Frisingensis Vita S. Emmershammi authentica 16 ff.) scala superpositum funibus
alligauerunt etc., S. Baring-Gould op. cit. x. 338 ff.

5 Acta Sanctorum edd. Bolland. Antverpiae 1643 Januarius ii. 741 (Vita 13) At verò
iam propinquante glorioso eius obitu, viso preclara ei fuit ostensi. Scala enim erecta &
stans ante altarium S. Marize, culus culmen coelum contingert, quæ Angelos Dei
comitantes, vt ipsa Domna Balthildis ascenderet per eam: etc., ep. iv. 745 (Alia Vita 16)
in the better Latin of an interpolator.

6 C. Cahier op. cit. i. 32, M. and W. Drake op. cit. pp. 17, 188.

Sermo de Vita S. Romualdi, auctore Hieronymo Eremitam Camald. 61) Vbi dam lassus
quiescret, vidit instar Iacob scalam excelsam, coelum quasi suo vertice tangientem, per
quam albescentium monachorum videbatur ascendere multitudo in coelum, S. Baring-

8 Acta Sanctorum edd. Bolland. Antverpiae 1731 Julii vii. 106 f (De S. Olavo, Rege
et Martyre, Nidrosio in Norvegia...97) Scalam, inquit Rex, vidi à terra in coelum usque
pertingentem, meque per gradus ascendentem, supramanque tenuisse, ib. 115 c. f. (Acta
brevia 10) passioni se latus obtulit, jam divinitus sperans scalam, quam in somnis super
ad coelos erectam videre, per quam ad dulcedinem, quam gustavera, feliciter erat
Snrri Saga Olaf's hornungs ens helga edd. P. A. Munch—C. R. Unger Christiania 1853
cap. 226; C. Cahier op. cit. i. 328, M. and W. Drake op. cit. pp. 95, 188.

9 C. Cahier op. cit. i. 318.
A.D.), foundress of the Ursulines at Brescia, is likewise represented ascending a ladder with her virgins.

Even ordinary mortals might aspire to climb the steps that led heavenwards. A Christian sarcophagus at Burgos in Spain has Jacob's ladder for its central subject (fig. 80). Herrade of Landsberg, abbess of Hohenburg on Mount Saint-Odile from 1167 to 1195 A.D., included in her Hortus Deliciarum a symbolic design representing 'The Ladder of Virtues' (fig. 81). Akin to this is the magnificent painting in tempera (c. 1200 A.D.), which was discovered in 1870 on the western wall of the nave in Chaldon Church, Surrey (pl. viii). The

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1 C. Cahier op. cit. i. 328, M. and W. Drake op. cit. pp. 10, 188.
2 Monumentos arquitectonicos de España pl. without number (see S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1911 ii. 467), Index by D. Eduardo de la Rada y Mendez Madrid 1895, Reinach Rég. Reliefs ii. 196 nos. 1-4.
3 Herrade de Landsberg Hortus Deliciarum edd. A. Straub—G. Keller Strasbourg 1879-1899 p. 43 pl. 56 (= my fig. 81) 'L'échelle des vertus' after C. M. Engelhardt Herrad von Landsberg, Achtzig zu Hohenburg, oder St Odilien, im Elsass, im zwölfsten Jahrhundert, und ihr Werk: Hortus deliciarum Stuttgart—Tübingen 1818 p. 119 f. pl. 9. The whole design is inscribed: Hec scala significat ascensum virtutum et religionis sanctitatis exercitium, quo veste corona adspicitur. Hic scala primum plurimi invintentes postea diabolicis sagittis vulnerati retrahuntur, et terrenis impedimentis ad concupiscientius suis illeti et abstracti nequiter incursantur. The ladder rises obliquely from earth to heaven. Beneath its lowest step crouches the devil in the form of a dragon. Above its highest step the hand of the Lord holds out the crown of life. Two demons shoot arrows at the climbers and successfully overthrow a knight (miles) and his wife (lata), a nun (sanctimoniales), a clerk (clericus), a monk (monachus), a recluse (inclusus), and a hermit (heremita), who all fall downwards towards the objects of their desire. Two angels with sword and shield protect the uppermost figure, that of Virtue (Virtus, id est caritas), who advances to take the crown. On one side of the ladder we read: Draco iste insidiatur scandentium and Hoc omnes percusse ab alto cadentes postea Dominius medicina penitentiae iterum ad virtutum culmen restituerat. The happier alternative is indicated by the inscriptions: Septem sunt scala quibus ascenditur ad regnum colorum: prima castitas, secunda mundi contemptio, tercia humilitas, quarta obdiescentia, quinta patientia, sexta fides, septima caritatis de puro corde and Hec persona virtutis significat omnes sanctos et electos, qui angelica custodia perducuntur ad celestia præmia. Virtus autem hæc est caritas. Sola enim virtus caritatis, quæ ceteras virtutes continet, ad accipientiam celestis premii coronam perveniet.
4 J. G. Waller 'On a Painting recently discovered in Chaldon Church, Surrey' in
Ladder of the Soul’s Salvation and of the Road to Heaven’ is like-

wise a traditional theme among the ecclesiastical painters of the

*Surrey Archaeological Collections* 1871 v. 375—305 with col. pl., Eliza B. Miller in *The Victoria History of the County of Surrey* London 1912 iv. 192 f. with col. frontisp. by P. M. Johnston. Good photographs are obtainable in the form of picture-postcards (= my pl. viii). The colours used in the original are ‘red and yellow ochre, a little native cinnabar and white’ (Waller). The painting is divided into two registers by a horizontal band or nebuly. The lower register represents the torments of the lost; the upper, the
Greek Church. Dante, when he ascends with Beatrice to the bliss of the saved. The two are connected by a vertical ladder rising towards a half-length figure of Christ in the act of benediction, with the sun on his right, the moon on his left. Below, to the right, is the tree of life with the serpent in it; and on the north wall adjoining it were remains of a large demon, now destroyed. Between the tree and the ladder is a usurer seated in flames and tormented by two demons: he is slung with money-bags, vomits coins, and holds up a piece of gold. The usurer is flanked by two amatory couples, perhaps clerk and concubine, priest and nun, each couple with an attendant spirit prompting to sin. To either side of them two large demons support a bridge of spikes, on which are seen several culprits marked by the emblems of their trades—a blacksmith condemned to forge a horseshoe without anvil, a mason with his pick, a woman with a ball of yarn, another woman with some attribute defaced, and a man with a bowl, probably one who had stolen a tithe of milk and must now carry it over the bridge without spilling. To the left of the ladder is a caldron full of flames, set over a fire and tended by two large demons, who are filling it with parricides and fratricides. On the extreme left the painting is damaged and obscure; but we can make out several souls of dancers, whose feet are gnawed by a recumbent wolf. On the opposite side of the caldron is a figure with pilgrim's staff and purse, but a wine-bottle in his hand: he had sold all to buy strong drink. The figure having her arm bitten by a dog is a warning to ladies against feeding their pets too well. Another large demon, with the cloven hoofs, tail, and ears of a Satyr, shoulders a two-pronged fork and is bent on picking off souls from the ladder. Behind him a woman and a man tumble downwards together: she holds out a gold coin and clasps a large gold-banded horn carried by him—a symbol of lewdness rather than of drunkenness. Above, to the right, is 'the Harrowing of Hell.' Christ advances upon the prostrate form of Satan, whom with cross and banner he thrusts down into the open jaws of Hell, here conceived as a gaping monster. The victor extends his hand to Adam, and liberates a troop of souls from the flames of Purgatory, while an angel, issuing from Heaven with a scroll, announces the fulfilment of prophecy. Two other angels stand on either side of the ladder as guards and guides of the blessed, who ascend towards Christ above them. A couple of souls—Enoch and Elijah—clamber up outside the ladder in an unusual way. Another exceptional case is that of the soul—presumably the penitent thief—carried direct to Paradise by a flying angel. To the left is St Michael weighing souls. Three females—probably the three Marys—pass towards the ladder. A fourth soul supplicates the archangel. Two others, weighed and found wanting, are flung into the gulf below. Lastly, to the left of the upper register, a demon, dragging many souls bound with a rope, tries to depress one scale, and so send up the beam. The dedication-cross is on the lower edge of the painting, which measures 17 ft. 2 ins. in length by 11 ft. 2 ins. in height.

1 The painter's manual by Dionysios Hieromonachos is an important source first published in a French translation by P. Durand Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne grecque et latine Paris 1845. The Greek text was first printed by A. Konstantinides, ed. 1 Athens 1853, ed. 2 Athens 1885, and is entitled Ερμηνεία τοῦ Σωματικοῦ ἰδίον τινος Ιερουσαλημίου και Σωματικοῦ Τοῦ Σωματικοῦ των Λαμπάρων | Συγγραφή ιν Αθανάτ Τοῦ 1458. Further bibliography in K. Krumbacher Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur Munich 1897 p. 1117. It is now held that Dionysios lived early in the fourteenth century, but drew largely upon an anonymous painter's book of 1566 A.D.: see A. Papadopoulos Kerameus Denys de Fournet, Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne, etc. St Petersburg 1900, id. Διαφώνων τοῦ Ευαγγελίστη Ερμηνεία της Σωματικοῦ, etc. St Petersburg 1909, O. M. Dalton Byzantine Art and Archaeology Oxford 1911 p. 649. I append the text of the 'Ερμηνεία § 523 p. 242 ff. Konstantinides 2 'Η ψυχοπτύματος καί οὐρανοδρόμος κλίμαξ. Μοναστηρίων καί ἑορτῶν τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ πιθήκως μοναχῶν πάσης ἡλικίας παρά αὐτῷ δὲ κλίμαξ φύλλων μέχρι οὐρανοῦ καί μοναχοί ἀναγράφονται διὰ τῶν βαθμίδων αὐτῆς οί μέν πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαῖς τῆς κλίμακος ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέσα, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ τέρμα σχέδου καί ἀγγέλου παρὰ τῶν.
seventh heaven of the planet Saturn, beholds a ladder leading to yet higher heights:

Within the crystal, which records the name (As its remoter circle girds the world)
Of that loved monarch, in whose happy reign
No ill had power to harm, I saw rear'd up,
In colour like to sun-illumined gold,
A ladder, which my ken pursued in vain,
So lofty was the summit; down whose steps
I saw the splendidours in such multitude
Descending, every light in heaven, methought,
Was shed thence.²

The conception has left faint but unmistakable traces of itself in the trade-marks of early Italian paper-makers (fig. 82).³ And its


1. Saturn. ². Dante Div. Comm. Parad. 21. 22 ff. trans. H. F. Cary. ³. H. Bayley The Last Language of Symbolism London 1912 i. 32 f. figs. 53—55 after C. M. Briquet Les Filigranes Dictionnaire historique des Marques du Papier des leur apparition vers 1822 jusqu'en 1850 Paris etc. 1907 ii. 344 with figs. 590—593 (my fig. 82 is from nos. 5900, 5903, 5934, 5921, 5925, 5925, 5933), who says: 'Il n'est pas impossible qu'il y ait un rapport entre le filigr. de l'échelle et les armoiries de la famille della Scala, mais rien ne l'établit jusqu'ici.'

The combination of ladder with cross is noteworthy. Writers of mediaeval sequentiae often describe the cross as a ladder (e.g. J. Kehrlein Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters Mainz 1873 p. 67 no. 68, 5 haec est scala peccatorum, p. 73 no. 68, 3 tu nos hinc per modum scalae | duces ad coelestia, p. 75 no. 73, 2 haec est scala novae legis, p. 76 no. 75, 9 tu scala, p. 75 no. 473 (Notker Balbulus), 1 ff. scalam ad coelos subrectam tormentis cinetam, | cuius ima draco servare caustus invigilat jugiter, | ne quis eius vel primum gradum suscipiat insanus scandere. | cuis ascensus exacto Læthiops gladio vetat exitiam minitans. | cuis supremis inimixus juvenis splendidis ranum aureolum retinet. | etc.)—a description readily applicable to the cross with three transverse bars (R. St. J. Tyrwhitt in Smith—Cheetham Dict. Chr. Ant. ii. 497). Again, the ladder that appears among other emblems of the Passion (Mrs H. Jenner Christian Symbolism London 1910 p. 58) is presumably symbolic as well as realistic.
abiding helpfulness is attested by the popularity of Longfellow's poem *The Ladder of Saint Augustine*. J. M. Neale had the experience of centuries at his back, when with regard to life's trials, sorrows, and temptations he put the wistful question:

What are they but the ladder
Set up to heaven on earth?

(*c*) **The Sky-Pillar in Sardinia.**

The invocation prefixed to the Orphic *Hymns* is addressed to a great variety of gods and goddesses including—

The Sky-Pillar in Sardinia

all Winds,

Thunders, and parts of the four-pillared World¹.

But this conception of the sky as resting on four pillars is not incompatible with belief in the soul-ladder: both notions were combined in Egypt². Neither is the four-pillared sky necessarily inconsistent with one central prop, the *universalis columnna*³. In the Museum at Cagliari is a bronze from Mandas representing the whole apparatus of an early Sardinian cult (fig. 83)⁴. From a sub-

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¹ Orph. ἐβή πρὸς Μοσαίων 38f. Ἀνεμον τε πρόκατα | καὶ Βούτας Κόσμου τε μέρη τετραδίων οι ῥώσ (so Portus for αὐθών).

² Supra p. 125 f. The Tet-pillar, with regard to which conjecture has been rife (Sir G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization* ⁴ London 1901 p. 130 n. 6, E. A. Wallis Budge *Egyptian Magic* London 1899 p. 44 ff. *The Amulet of the Tet*), would—I think—be best explained as an abbreviated group of four columns representing the four supports of the sky (cp. C. J. C. Reuven *Lettres à M. Letronne* Leide 1839 i. 69 together with W. M. Flinders Petrie *Mediterr. London 1892* p. 31).

³ Cp. the modern Greek belief in the earth as supported by one column with four other pillars (supra p. 56 n. 2 no. 611).

⁴ L. A. Milani ‘Sardorum sacra et sacrorum signa’ etc. in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* Leipzig—London—Paris—Chicago 1909 p. 314 f. fig. 1, A. Taramelli *Il tempio
The Sky-Pillar in Sardinia

stantial square base, with a column at each angle, rises a central shaft, broken at the summit, which—as A. Taramelli infers from a votive bronze boat found in the same place (fig. 84)—was originally topped by bull's horns supporting a dove. Adjoining this structure is a small edifice with a gabled roof, on the ridge of which are the remains of three doves. It seems probable that the quinconx of pillars rising from a solid base was in effect a model of the sky uplifted above the earth, that the bird resting on the central shaft

nuragico ed i monumenti primitivi di S. Vittoria di Serri (Cagliari)’ in the Mon. d. Linc. 1915 xxiii. 390 ff. fig. 93 (= my fig. 83: restorations after Milani loc. cit.). As to the date of the nuraghi civilisation, ‘All we can say is that, although it may have reached its highest development in the bronze age, it certainly flourished in the eneolithic period’ (T. E. Peet The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily Oxford 1909, p. 236).

1 A. Taramelli loc. cit. p. 390. The boat in question is published by L. A. Milani in the Hilprecht Anniversary Volume p. 333 n. 2 fig. 34 (= my fig. 84). It is a two-wicked lamp in the form of a bull-headed boat with a lémonoi on board: an enclosure with four pillars surrounds a taller column, on the capital of which is a pair of horns supporting a bird. Milani and Taramelli both compare the prow of a stag-headed bronze boat from Vétulonia, on which four clustered pillars are surmounted by a single shaft with horns and bird (L. A. Milani Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica Firenze 1902 ii. 87 fig. 274). Similar too is a seal-impression found by A. J. B. Wace in a well at Mykenai, which represents a pillar topped by ritual horns with a dove between them and flanked by two other doves.

2 L. A. Milani ‘Il tempio nuragico e la civiltà asiatica in Sardegna’ in the Rendiconti d. Lincei 1909 xviii. 579—592 (cp. id. in the Hilprecht Anniversary Volume p. 312, A. Taramelli loc. cit. p. 389 ff.) compares the pillared base of the Sardinians with the sikkurot of the Babylonians. The analogy is remote; but it is certainly thinkable that the solid plinth, like the sikkurot (supra i. 603), was a conventionalised form of mountain, or at least stood for terra firma.

C. Brandenburg ‘Reisenotizen aus Sardinien’ in the Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 1914 xlvi. 643 says: ‘Das Objekt ist als “Tempelmodell” bezeichnet; es könnte aber möglicherweise auch ein ex votō sein, etwa das Haus eines Häuptlings mit hölzernem Wachturm daneben, das zum Dank für die Errettung aus irgendeiner Katastrophe den Göttern geweiht wurde.’ My experienced friend Mr T. Ashby agrees with me in thinking this solution of the problem unlikely (July 11, 1920).
was the sky-god in feathered form, and that the birds perched on
the neighbouring roof betokened his presence in the
sacred building near at hand. Perhaps we
may venture a step further and identify this
feathered sky-god with Sardopater or Sardus
Pater, who appears in a feathered head-dress on
the copper coins of the island (fig. 85). Was it
he that sent the winter rains so vital to the life
of the Sardinian peasant?

**Diana-Pillars.**

Similar constructions appear in the landscape-frescoes of Italy
and are susceptible of the same interpretation. A remarkable
painting in greenish monochrome from Herculaneum, now in the
Naples collection (fig. 86), shows a pillar-shrine set by the edge of
a lake or river. A short flight of steps leads up to a square plinth,
on which stands a pillar with moulded base, club-shaped shaft, and
shallow disk-like capital. The shaft is surrounded by several bands
and is marked here and there with patches, probably denoting
votive objects affixed to it. Above the capital the shaft is continued
in the form of a tapering finial, round the lower part of which are
seen three ornaments (heads of deer?). The pillar is half-encircled
by a wall carrying an Ionic colonnade, which is finished off with a
low cornice and a row of vases. Two side-walls, each supporting a

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1 Ptol. 3. 3. 2 Σαρδοπάτωρ τε κοίμων with C. Müller ad loc.
2 Babelon _Mons. rép. rom._ i. 223 f. fig., M. Bahrfeldt _Nachträge und Berechtigungen
zur Münzkunde der römischen Republik_ Wien 1897 p. 45 f. fig., _Hunts Cat._ Coins
i. 263, Head _Hist. num._, p. 191, A. Bouthkowsky _Dictionnaire numismatique_ Leipzig
1884 ii. 831 nos. 1601, 1602, E. Klebs in Fauly—_Wissowa Real-Enc._ ii. 2353 f., O. Höfer
in Roscher _Lex. Myth._ iv. 384 ff., R. Pettazzoni _La religione primitiva in Sardegna
Placentia_ 1912 p. 62 ff. fig. 17. I figure a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum. For the
feathered coiffure see further Sir A. J. Evans _Scripta Minoa_ Oxford 1909 i. 24 f. figs.
11 b (c), 116, 275 f. fig. 126 (no. 2), H. R. Hall in the _Ann. Brit. Sch._ _Ath._ 1901—1902
viii. 185 fig. 9, _id._ in the _Journ. Hell._ Stud. 1911 xxxi. 119—123 figs. 5—7.
3 Solin. 4. 5 hibernae pluviae in aestivam penuriam reservatur, nam homo Sardus
4 _Le pitture antiche d’Ercolanoe_ Napoli 1762 iii. 273 ff. pl. 32, H. Roux—M. L. Barré
_Herculaneum et Pompei_ Paris 1870 iii. 2. 16 ff. pl. 7, Helbig _Wandgem. Camp._ p. 71
no. 252, M. Rostowzew ‘Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft’ in the _Röm.
Müth._ 1911 xxvi. 42 fig. 21 (here used to correct the earliest publication). Inventory
no. 9413. Height 0.65 m., Breadth 0.45 m. The painting is assigned to the third or ‘ornate’
style of mural decoration (c. 25 B.C.—50 A.D.).
5 _Le pitture antiche d’Ercolanoe_ Napoli 1762 iii. 274 f. ‘alquanto fasse, o giri, e
macchie di varie figure, che il color della pittura, ch’è tutta a chiarosuro, si sbiadato
ancora pel tempo, non lascia ben distinguere, nella superficie del corpo conico.’
6 _Cp. infra_ p. 146.
7 _Cp. infra_ p. 146 ff.
vase, complete the architecture of the shrine. Branches and ribands are twined about it; a jointed reed rests against the pillar; a filleted staff or sceptre lies before it. In the foreground a doe drinks, watched by a Nymph. To the left appears Diana with her hounds; to the right Actaeon, the horns sprouting from his head. The choice of this myth may be taken to imply that the pillar was more or less closely associated with Diana.

A fresco still in the *triclinium* of the ‘House of Livia’ on the Palatine (fig. 87)\(^1\) represents a shrine essentially similar in character.

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Steps give access to a bridge across a stream, along which three ducks are swimming. Above the bridge is a broad but low marble plinth. Over this trails a fillet. On it are a bucraunium, a sacrificial bowl from which incense-smoke (?) curls upward, and a goat whose hind legs appear on a detached piece of plaster. From the plinth rises the club-like pillar with its disk. The shaft, yellowish brown in colour, seems to be of timber: to it are attached the heads of several woodland animals—stag, boar, and goat. Below the discoid capital hang pendants (tassels?); and above it project other small accessories (a row of deer-heads?)\(^3\). The finial, which doubtless topped all, is not preserved. Partially encircling the pillar is a curved wall, over which woollen fillets are slung. The wall is pierced with a series of narrow openings and surmounted by three archaic statues of females\(^5\), each with a metal spike on her head and a pair of torches in her hands. To the right are several indistinct architectural features, apparently two large smooth pillars on a base. Upon one of these pillars a parrot is perched. And upon the base lies a great golden crown, set with red and green jewels and adorned with a row of deer-heads (?)\(^4\) precisely resembling those of the disk. In the foreground a rude stone altar\(^6\) is burning (?). In the background a huge tree, perhaps meant for a pine, spreads abroad its branches surrounded by the foliage of a dim-lit forest. The whole scene almost certainly depicts a shrine of Diana Nemorensis decked with spoils of the chase. It is on record that this goddess was worshipped in the form of 'a log' (ligum)\(^6\). And the ring of deer-heads (?) on the upper part of the pillar recalls the 'crown decorated with stags' worn by Nemesis, the Greek counterpart of Diana Nemorensis\(^7\). Finally, in the great golden crown tricked out

gemälde Berlin 1909 p. 38, M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the Röm. Mitth. 1911 xxvi. 6 f. fig. 2 (which I have used to correct Mau's colour-plate). Height 2.53 m. Breadth 1.44 m. The painting is of the second or 'architectural' style (c. 80-10 B.C.).

1 M. Rostowzew loc. cit. regards the pillar as made of bronze: but how then were the heads of the slain beasts fastened to it?
2 For M. Rostowzew these are 'Greifensköpfe.' They are not particularly like deer, or griffins either. Cp. the ornaments of the crown surmounting a sacred pillar, flanked by Aphrodite and Hermes, in a wall-painting from Pompeii (B. Quaranta in the Real Museo Borbonico Napoli 1824 i. 1—9 pl. 32, Helbig Wandgem. Camp. p. 8 no. 20, R. Engelmann Bilder-Atlas zum Homer Leipzig 1889 Odyssee p. 4 no. 74 pl. 4).

3 'Bronzefelder der Hekate' (Rostowzew loc. cit.).
4 M. Rostowzew again says 'mit...Greifensköpfen.'
6 Commod. instructiones i. 19. 2 (cited supra i. 281 n. 5).
7 Supra i. 275. If Rostowzew's interpretation of the upstanding ornaments as griffin-heads is correct, we must comfort ourselves with the reflection that the griffin was a more frequent attribute of Nemesis than the stag (supra i. 270, 276, 281).
with the same deer-heads (?) we may recognise the trapings of Diana's human consort, the rex Nemorensis himself. There is indeed a certain fitness in the fact that a fresco illustrating the Arician cult was chosen for the walls of this triclinium. The 'House of Livia' was in all probability acquired from the Hortensii by Augustus, who occupied it for more than forty years. He seems to have reconstructed its back court, and — we are told — after the work was done made the whole house public property, continuing to hold it as pontifex maximus. Later, if R. Lanciani is right, it became the house of Germanicus father of Caligula, who — jealous of the long reign of the rex Nemorensis — actually hired a cut-throat to dispose of him. Was it our fresco that suggested the freak?

Another fresco (fig. 88), discovered at Pompeii, during the excavations of 1888 — 1890, on the end wall of a triclinium in the fifth region, adds further points of interest. In the centre of a rocky, mountainous scene, close to a stream or lake, grows a leafy pine-tree. Beside it is set a club-like pillar tapering downwards and surmounted by a capital of some sort with ornaments (deer-heads?) as before: the pillar is painted in light violet and is twined with

1 Traces of a similar crown can perhaps be made out to the left of the sceptre in the monochrome painting from Herculaneum (supra p. 144 fig. 86). De Vissers De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum. p. 56 n. 4 observes that many Roman frescoes attribute a 'corona dentata' to Artemis (e.g. Helbig Wandgem. Camp. p. 67 nos. 234, 236, 237, p. 68 nos. 240, 247, 248, p. 71 f. no. 253, p. 72 f. no. 256, Sogliano Pitt. mur. Camp. p. 18 no. 112, p. 30 r. no. 119, p. 141 f. no. 687, cp. id. ib. p. 29 nos. 114 f., A. Mau in the Rom. Mitth. 1890 v. 264 f. See further L. Stephani Nimbus und Strahlenkreis S. Petersburg 1859 p. 193 (extr. from the Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg, vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 483), so that the crown in our fresco might be that of the goddess, not that of her priest. But, if the goddess is represented by the lignum, her crown is presumably the disk set upon it.


3 Suet. Aug. 72.

4 Dion Cass. 55. 12.


6 Suet. Calig. 35 Nemorensi regi, quod multos iam annos poteretur sacerdotio, validiorem adversarium subornavit.

7 A. Mau in the Rom. Mitth. 1890 v. 264—266 with fig. (=my fig. 88), G. Rodenwaldt Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde Berlin 1909 p. 49. The painting, which measures 0'90 m. in height by 0'57 m. in breadth, is of the third or 'ornate' style (c. 25 B.C.—50 A.D.).

8 Reg. v. 2. 10.

10—2
broad ribands. Raised on a square plinth at the foot of tree and pillar is the statue, perhaps a herm, of Diana with a modius on her head. Her left hand is uplifted and rests on a sceptre; her right is outstretched as if it held a patera. Before her, clad in chlamydes of various hues, stand three men. One holds out towards her a wreath of leaves; his two companions turn their heads away. The hunting
spears that they carry, the pair of hounds attending them, and the stag bounding through a rocky archway in the background, all show that this is the cult of Diana Nemorensis. Grattius expressly mentions puppies and wreaths and weapons in his description of her woodland rite. Who the long-robed figure in the lower left-hand corner may be, we cannot say. But it is noteworthy that the pillar-shrine of the goddess is duplicated and even triplicated in the same view. To the right of the pine and rather more in the background rises a second club, narrowing upwards and topped by a disk which apparently carries a tray or Iknon. To the club are bound a short thick stick (?) and other votive offerings. By it stands the second effigy of Diana, this time an unmistakable herm. She bears again a modius on her head, holds on her shoulder a short sceptre (?), and extends her right hand. Club and herm alike are painted in dull violet to express distance. Away to the right a low, broad tripod, white and yellow, is placed on a round, whitish base. Adjoining this are bushes of bay (?); in the background, rocks and trees. On the left, above the arched rock, is seen yet a third club-pillar set on a square step beside an ancient, leafless tree. The painting as a whole may indeed be taken to illustrate no fewer than six stages in the evolution of religious art—the living tree, the dead tree, the club, the pillar, the herm, and the statue on its plinth. Moreover, it should be observed that here, as in the contemporary fresco from Herculaneum, the artist is fitting figures originally drawn from the gallery of Greek myth into a frankly Italian framework. Hippolytos, immortalised by Euripides as presenting a garland to his patron goddess Artemis, is thus transformed into the hunter offering his wreath to Diana Nemorensis—a subtly appropriate transformation, when we call to mind the belief that Hippolytos came to life again in Diana's grove at Nemi.

In passing I may note a parallelism of form, and perhaps of function, which would repay further study. The pillar of Diana as represented on the frescoes was a stout post, rising from a stepped base, wound about with a fillet and crowned by a

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1 Gratt. Cyneg. 483 ff. ( supra i. 274).
2 Supra p. 143 ff.
3 Eur. Hipp. 70 ff.
4 Supra i. 325 n. 4, 382 n. 1; infra § 3 (a) v (v).
Diana-Pillars

disk, from which pendants were dangling. In short, it was an erection uncommonly like our own May-pole, which I illustrate from a manuscript dated c. 1499 A.D. (fig. 89)\(^1\). The comparison donne à penser? 
The landscape-paintings—not to dwell on the very similar landscape-reliefs (figs. 91, 92)\(^2\)—, when viewed in connexion with the

\(^1\) R. Chambers *The Book of Days* London—Edinburgh 1864 i. 573: ‘In the illuminations which decorate the manuscript “Hours” once used by Anne of Brittany and now preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale a Paris, and which are believed to have been painted about 1499, the month of May is illustrated by figures bearing flower-garlands, and behind them the curious May-pole here copied, which is also decorated by colours on the shaft, and ornamented by garlands arranged on hoops, from which hang small gilted pendants. The pole is planted on a triple grass-covered mound, embanked and strengthened by timber-work.’ *Id. ib.* p. 577 notes that in the neighbourhood of Salzburg it is the custom to trick out the May-pole with birds, stags, etc. (‘In one instance a stag-hunt is so represented’): the resemblance to the Roman pillar of Diana Nemorensis is curiously close.

\(^2\) *Supra* i. 291. 339 I suggested that the May-pole was topped by an effigy of the sun (globe, wheel, hoop). But these horizontal garlands point rather to an effigy of the sky (*infra* p. 157 f.).

Analogue forms might be traced yet further afield:

A sacred column (*stambha, lid*) of granite (height 534 ft) facing a Jain temple at Mudubidery or Morbidery near Mangalore (E. Moor *The Hindu Pantheon* London 1861 pl. 77 (=my fig. 90), *Id. The Hindu Pantheon*\(^2\) Madras 1864 p. 368 pl. 44) bears indeed a curious resemblance to the Diana-pillars of ancient Italy. This may, of course, be wholly fortuitous. But it is thinkable that there was some remote connexion between them. For the Jains were apparently known to the later Greeks (Hesych. *Feyol* of Πυθηόντιον); and the *stambha* or *lid* in its earliest form has quasi-classical traits (see J. Fergusson *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* rev. by J. Burgess and R. Phené Spiers London 1910 i. 54, 56 ff. fig. 5 ff., 346 ff. fig. 291 f., ii. 21 fig. 275, 81 ff. fig. 308). Moreover, the Jains sometimes compared the world with a spindle resting on a half spindle (H. T. Colebrooke *Miscellaneous Essays*\(^3\) London 1873 ii. 198 f., C. Lassen *Indische Alterthumskunde* Leipzig 1861 iv. 771). Hence it is tempting to conjecture that the *stambha* was, at least originally, a world-pillar.

\(^3\) A few examples will suffice: *Fig. 91*, a marble relief (height c. 120 cm., breadth 0.75 m.) in the Palazzo Colonna at Rome (Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii 66 f. no. 3576, Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1725 Suppl. i. 132 pl. 31 no. 8 with sides reversed, Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 287 f. pl. 42, 1, *id. Über den Gott Eros* Berlin 1850 p. 34 f. pl. 2, 1, Boetticher *Baukultur* pp. 119 f., 239 fig. 36, T. Schreiber *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder* Leipzig 1889 pl. 15 = my

fig. 91, *id.* ‘Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder und die augusteische Kunst’ in the *Jahrb. d.*
Fig. 92.

hais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1896 xi. 99 n. 56, 100 n. 58, Reinach Rép. Reliefs i. 220 no. 2, M. Rostowzew ‘Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft’ in the Röm. Mitth. 1911 xxvi. 102 f.), shows Hermaphroditos nursing the infant Eros, who arranges a wreath on a herm to the right. To the left an archaistic Artemis, wearing a skin and holding a fawn on her shoulder, is mounted on a pilaster. (Restored: Hermaphroditos’ nose, right hand, phallo; Eros’ right fore-arm; the herm’s beard and phallo; Artemis’ head; the fawn’s head.) The background represents a precinct-wall, above which we see in the centre an ancient oak with a band twined about its trunk, to the right an Ionic column with a burning torch tied to its shaft and a vase set on its capital, to the left a circular pillar-shrine with Ionic columns, windows, entablature, second row of windows, and battlements, the shrine enclosing a Diana-pillar with two torches bound to it.

Fig. 92, a marble relief (height 9.30, breadth 8.34) found at Rome in 1830 and now at Munich (Furtwängler Glyptothek zu München p. 370 f. no 455, id. ib. p. 397 no. 455. id. Ein hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München München 1903 pl. 93, 2, J. M. Wagner in the Ann. d. Inst. 1836 viii. 47–52, Mon. d. Inst. ii pl. 27, Boetticher Baumkultus pp. 156 ff., 543 fig. 56, T. Schreiber Die hellenistischen Reliefsbilder Leipzig 1890 pl. 86, id. ‘Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder und die augusteische Kunst’ in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1896 xi. 99 n. 56, 100 n. 58, J. E. Harrison ‘Mystica vannus Iacchi’ in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1903 xxiii. 297 f. fig. 6, ed. ‘Note on the mystica vannus Iacchi’ in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1903–1904 x. 147, Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 82 no. 1, M. Rostowzew ‘Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft’ in the Röm. Mitth. 1911 xxvi. 102 f.), portrays a countryman driving a cow to market. He carries a basket and a pole with a dead hare hanging from it; his cow has a couple of sheep slung pannier-wise over its back. (Restored: the countryman’s head and right fore-arm, basket, pole with part of hare; the cow’s head.) Behind this
group appears a circular pillar-shrine with windows in its wall, which is partially broken down. Through the gap we see a decorative Diana-pillar with disk-like capital, from which two tassels are hanging. A pair of timbrels is set up on the wall, a flaming torch
bronze shrines from Mandas, enable us to reach certain tentative conclusions. In the first place, it would seem that the cosmological belief expressed in the cult-monuments of Sardinia was common to Italy also. Italian rusticus at the close of the republic were still bound to the pillar, and a lekenon full of fruits including a phalloid gherkin or small cucumber placed upon the disk. Adjoining the pillar-shrine on the right is a gateway, with pine-cone as finial, built over an old oak-tree, the trunk of which disappears behind a wall to the right; on the left, a low wall with narrow openings left in it, a vase set upon it, and a thyrso and two torches leaning against it. The background to the left shows an aedicula of Priapos with an arched entry and a windowed side.

Fig. 93. the three-sided base of a candelabrum in the Vatican (Gerhard Ant. Bildw. p. 322 pl. 83, Boetticher Baumkultus p. 77 f. figs. 9 f., E. Saglio in Darenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 413 fig. 499, Helbig Guide Class. Ant. Rome i. 259 f. no. 369, ib. i. 229 no. 356, Baumeister Denkm. i. 297 fig. 313), represents (a) a quiver, bow, and hunting-spear hung from the branch of a bay-tree. (b) a Diana-pillar with a stag's antlers and a garland bound to it and a votive tablet leaning against it. (e) a rustic altar decked with a garland; on the altar are offerings—a pine-cone etc.; against it leans a blazing torch, while a deer bites playfully at the riband hanging from the torch.

Fig. 94. a silver box-lid obtained from the Roman dealer Capranesi by E. Gerhard and now at Berlin (O. Jahn in the Arch. Zeit. 1858 xvi. 229 ff. pl. 118, 1=my fig.), renders in high relief an altar-top with a group of votive or sacred objects lying upon it.

These include a filleted ox-head, a sheep's head, a goat's head, a kid with folded legs, a bird with bound wings, a bunch of grapes, an ear of maize, a fig, an almond, etc. Among them is a club-shaped Diana-pillar (Jahn describes it with hesitation as 'eine Spindel') of the sort already familiar to us.

1 Supra p. 141 f.
2 This may be disputed. Some archaeologists have looked to Egypt, others to Asia Minor or Syria, as the source from which the pillar-worship of Graeco-Roman art was
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Fig. 95.
making the sky-column on its plinth within a ring of pillars or pilasters pretty much as the Sardinians had done at the beginning of the bronze age, though quite possibly the meaning of the custom had long been forgotten. Secondly, we note that the central shaft or sky-prop was of wood, a sacred log, in short an Italian Irminsul, modified by art into a tapering column of peculiar form. Further, we may suspect (though we can hardly prove the point) that its most peculiar feature, the flat disk serving as capital, had come to be taken for a representation of the round sky resting on the sky-
derived. And arguments more or less specious are not wanting. On the one hand, a very similar pillar, with cylindrical base, discoid capital, and tapering shaft, occurs as part of the relief-decoration on blue porcelain jugs inscribed with the names of Ptolemaic kings and queens (E. Beulé 'Le Vase de la Reine Bérénice' in the _Journal des savants_ 1862 pp. 163—172 with pl. = my fig. 95, F. Lenormant 'Le vase de la reine Cléopatre' in the _Rev. Arch._ 1863 i. 259—266 pl. 7 = my fig. 96, T. Schreiber _Die alexandrinische Toreutik_ Leipzig 1894 p. 433 n. 47, id. 'Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder und die augusteische Kunst' in the _Jahrh. d. k. k. deutsch. arch. Inst._ 1896 xi. 100 n. 1, H. B. Walters _History of Ancient Pottery_ London 1905 i. 129, and especially E. Breccia in the _Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie_ 1916 xii. 93—98). On the other hand, a shard of Pergamene relief-ware (not later than 5. III B.C.), found at Pergamon and now in the Antiquarium at Berlin, represents a sacred pillar, which resembles that of the Romans even more closely (M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the _Röm. Mitth._ 1911 xxvi. 114—116, 130 pl. 11, 3 = my fig. 97): on a garlanded cylindrical base stands a club-like pillar with disk and finial; propped against the base are a double flute (?), a _huncusium_, and a _lagobolon_, the other end of which seems to rest on a tree-stem; a _syrinx _is fastened to the pillar by a riband; and Pan leans against it playing on the lyre. But there is much more to be said for the view that in the pillar-worship of Italian art we should recognise a local survival of a cult once common to the whole Mediterranean area (S. A. J. Evans 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult and its Mediterranean Relations' in the _Journ. Hell. Stud._ 1901 xxi. 128).

1 For a sacred tree conventionalised into a pillar of this shape see an interesting series of Cypriote terra-cotta _agathina_ published by Ohnefalsch-Richter _Kypros_ pp. 127 ff., 413 pl. 76, 8, 1, 6, 10 = my fig. 98. Of these Ohnefalsch-Richter pl. 76, 1 came from the sanctuary of Artemis at _Achna_, half-way between Kition and Salamis, the rest from that of Astarte at Chytroi. They warrant the inference that a tree might degenerate into a tapering baluster, its branches being reduced to a mere crown or ring. If that is so, we may fairly explain the disk-like capital of the Diana-pillar as a vestige of the original branches or foliage. The pendants hanging from the disk would, on this showing, be a reminiscence of offerings etc. suspended from the boughs.
pillar: the pendants that dangle from it are not without analogy in the cosmic notions of other races. Finally, we observe that side by side with these pillar-shrines there persisted the more primitive tree-cult, in which the living tree was enclosed by a gateway consisting of side-posts and lintel (fig. 99) or by some later elabora-

1 See e.g. Sir G. Maspero The Dawn of Civilization, London 1901 p. 16 n. 7: 'The variants of the sign for night—$\frac{\text{a}}{\text{b}}$, $\frac{\text{x}}{\text{k}}$—are most significant. The end of the rope to which the star is attached passes over the sky, $\frac{\text{x}}{\text{k}}$, and falls free, as though arranged for drawing a lamp up and down when lighting or extinguishing it. And furthermore, the name of the stars—$\text{khabish}$—is the same word as that used to designate an ordinary lamp.' See, e.g., the sun suspended by cords on a Babylonian tablet (supra i. 262 ff.). J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology, trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 722: 'The Lithuanians beautifully weave shooting stars into the fate-myth: the *verpeya* (spinneress) begins to spin the thread of the new-born on the sky, and each thread ends in a star; when a man is dying, his thread snaps, and the star turns pale and drops (Narbut, 1, 71. 1).

Traces of such beliefs can be found here and there among the Greeks. Thus at the Boeotian Daphnephoria the *kôpê* was a staff of olive-wood with a bronze ball at the top to denote the sun, a smaller ball below to denote the moon, a number of little balls hanging from the topmost ball to denote the stars and planets (Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 164 f.: I have discussed the rite in Folk-Lore 1903 xv. 409 ff., supra i. 291 n. 3).

2 Fig. 99 is a stucco-relief from one of the vaulted rooms of a Roman town-house discovered in 1878 in the garden of the Villa Farnesina (Mon. d. Inst. Suppl. pl. 35. J. Lessing—A. Mau Wand- und Deckenschmuck eines römischen Hauses aus der Zeit des Augustus Berlin 1891 p. 14 pl. 15, M. Collignon 'Le styl décoratif à Rome' in the Revue de l'art ancien et moderne 1897 i. p. 104 with pl., M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the Röm. Mitth. 1911 xxvi. 34 ff. fig. 13 f. (after Anderson's photograph no. 256 = my fig. 99), H. Bulle Der schöne Mensch im Altertum München und Leipzig 1912 p. 601 f. pl. 298, Helbig Guide Class. Ant. Rome ii. 210 ff., 233 no. 1269, 128 ii. 117 ff. no. 1330). This relief, which is now in the Museo delle Terme, represents a rocky landscape with a stream spanned by a bridge. On the bridge are two women carrying pitchers, of whom the first gives drink to a kneeling beggar (cp. Inv. 4. 116 ff. with J. E. B. Mayor *ad loc*). To the left of the bridge a large date-palm (?) stands in a precipice between a couple of two-storied buildings. Over it is a gateway consisting of a pillar and a pilaster with an architrave, on which is set a fluted jar. Adjoining this complex we see a circular walled structure with narrow openings, which is
decked with garlands and contains a palm-tree and a pillar. To the right of the bridge yet another sacred tree with its pillar and jar rises from an enclosure of peculiar shape (three columns and a back-wall support an architrave, of which two sides are concave, the third convex).

Another good example of the gateway erected over a sacred tree is *Le pitture antiche d’Ercolano Napoli* 1762 iii. 281 ff. pl. 53, H. Roux—M. L. Barré *Herculaneum et Pompeii*
tion of the same... From our present position it seems legitimate to conjecture that this gateway or arch at first denoted the sky itself resting on the side-supports. Such a supposition at least helps us to understand the otherwise puzzling representations of the Dioskouroi in Etruscan art. Their dōkana are seen to be simply the 'beams' of the world—its pillars and ceiling. And they themselves, as figured on Etruscan mirrors, are the humanised side-posts, which naturally enough have between them a tree or a column and above them a starry pediment.

(µ) Agyieus—Pillars.

And here, at the risk of faring worse, we must go further. For it is impossible to separate the Diana-pillars of Italy from the Agyieus-pillars of Greece, which in form and fashion are their exact counterpart. Grammarians and lexicographers define the term Agyieus sometimes as a pointed or conical pillar, sometimes


A base or altar in the Villa Alhani (G. Zoega Li basilirliovii antichi di Roma Roma 1808 ii. 235—238 pl. 98, Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 132 no. 1, W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klastischer Altertümer in Rom Leipzig 1913 ii. 409 no. 1847) shows (a) Apollo, with lyre and στράτον, bow-case and quiver, standing beside his bay-tree, which grows through a Corinthian gateway; (b) a richly decorated tripod, on the plinth of which is perched a raven; (c) a sacrificial ewer and bowl; (d) a griffin looking backwards. The scheme of the rustic tree-shrine is applied to the cult of the civilised Apollo in virtue of his sacred bay.

1 Supra p. 132 fig. 92. 2 Supra i. 766 ff.


2 Soud. s.v. δύναμι=Favorin. lex. s.v. Ἄγγειας=Favorin. lex. p. 28, 31 f. Herodian. i. 240, 21 ff.=Steph. Byz. s.v. δύναμι, and school. Aristoph. νεαπ. 875 use the word ὀρθόλεκαρν, which might pass muster as a rough and ready equivalent. Schol. Rav. Aristoph. thesm. 489 Ἄγγειας=δόξα καλολεκαρνός Ἀτταλίων τετράγωνος was perhaps confusing the Agyieus with a herm, cp. Ulpian in Dem. in Mid. 51 ol δόξα (leg. Ἄγγειας) φαντόν ἐκκυμός though Paus. 8. 32. 4 (infra p. 164 n. 7) describes an Apollon Agyieus at Megalopolis as having σχῆμα τετράγωνον (for which shape in Arkadia see infra i. 520 n. 2).
as an altar, set up before a doorway. Attempts have been made to distinguish the pillar from the altar; but these are now generally discredited in view of Hesychios’ gloss—‘Agyieus, the pillar-shaped altar that stands before the doors.’ The association of pillar with doorway recalls the δόκανα of the Dioskouroi as figured on the Etruscan mirrors. And the use of a pillar before the doors for an actual altar can be paralleled from the cult of Zeus Kataibates at Tarentum. Nor are we dependent for our notion of an Agyieus merely upon the verbal descriptions of ancient scholars. Those descriptions are precise enough to warrant us in giving the name to the monument represented on coins of northern Greece struck at Apollonia (figs. 100, 101), Orikos (fig. 102), and Olympia (fig. 103).


We must, however, admit that the shape of the Agyieus was somewhat variable. Six loc. cit. 1894 xix. 340—345 figs. 1—7 holds that a conical limestone pillar at Korkyra inscribed Μέν με ἱερό and three blocks still standing on quadrangular plinths beside house-doors at Pompeii (a cone of dark lava in the Strada dell’ Abbonata = reg. viii. 3, 7, a limestone omphalos in the Strada della Fortuna = reg. vi. 14, 14, a round-topped stel of travertine in the Strada Stabiana = reg. ix. 3, 3) served as Agyieus-stones: but see A. Mau ib. p. 344 n. 7. Helladios ap. Phot. bibl. p. 535 b 34 f. speaks of βωμότι...προγγίδων—a loose phrase, which would cover a variety of shapes.


5 Supra p. 160.


7 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc. p. 56 pl. 12, 2 (copper of c. 400—350 B.C. obv. seven-stringed lyre; rev. ΑΡΟΛΑ ΔΙΝΟΣ obelisk), p. 59 ff. pl. 12, 9 and 12 (copper of 229—100 B.C. obv. head of Apollon laureate; rev. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ variously arranged to right and left of obelisk, the whole in a bay-wreath), p. 61 ff. pl. 12, 15 and 13, 1 (silver of 100 B.C.—Augustus obv. ΑΝΔΡΩΝΟΣ head of Athena; rev. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ ΤΙ ΜΗΝ obelisk; copper of 100 B.C.—Augustus obv. ΛΥΣΩΝ and monogram before head of Apollon laureate; rev. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ obelisk, the whole in a bay-wreath), Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 2 f. (copper of 229—100 B.C.), Head Hist. num. p. 314, Anson Num. Gr. v. 14 nos. 92—95 pl. 3, 92 f., ib. v. 15 nos. 98—C. II.
in Illyria, at Ambrakia (figs. 104—106)\(^1\) in Epeiros, at Byzantium

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\(^1\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc. p. 94 pl. 18, 1 (silver of c. 238–168 B.C. obv. head of Dionysus laureate and veiled, rev. ΛΜΒ or ΛΜ obelisk, the whole in a bay-wreath), ib. p. 94 pls. 18, 2 and 32, 3 (copper of c. 238–168 B.C. obv. head of Dionysus laureate and veiled, or of Dionysus laureate (so P. Gardner and B. V. Head—but the necklace points rather to a goddess), or of Athena in crested Corinthian helmet; rev. ΛΜΒ or ΛΜ obelisk, the whole in a bay-wreath), Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 10 (coppers of c. 238–168 B.C.), Head Hist. num.\(^2\) p. 319 fig. 179.

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9 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc. p. 79 pl. 31, 13 = my fig. 102 (copper of c. 230–168 B.C. obv. head of Apollon laureate; rev. Ω ΑΙ ΚΙ ΩΝ obelisk, the whole in a bay-wreath), Head Hist. num.\(^2\) p. 316. J. Eckhel Nummi veteres anecdoti ex museis Vindobonensi, Florense magno et Lipsiis Graeciae, Granelliano, nunc Capite, Vincenzo, Vittoriano, Feste- liciante, Savorgiano Veneto Vindobonensi 1775 p. 102, id. Doctr. num. vet.\(^2\) ii. 167 cites the fraudulent inscription Gruter Inschr. ant. tot. orb. Rom. ii. 1106 no. 7 C. Atinio C. f. Quir. | Felici | oriundo Orico | vico Apollin. mil. | leg. vii Claudiae etc. (= Corp. inscr. Lat. vi. 5 no. 1315*) as proof that Orikos was devoted to the cult of Apollon.

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8 J. Millingen Ancient Coins of Greek Cities and Kings London 1831 p. 51 f. pl. 3, 19 = my fig. 103 (a unique specimen from the Hamilton collection—obv. head of Apollon laureate with ΓΑ behind it; rev. ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ ΣΤΑΝ obelisk, the whole in a bay-wreath), Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Apollon p. 4 n. 8 Steph. Byz. s.v. Άπω notes that ethnics in -σταν are a Macedonian formation; O. Hoffmann Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum Göttingen 1906 p. 177 says 'besonders in Nordgriechenland verbreitet.'
Agyius—Pillars

(fig. 107) in Thrace, and at Megara (fig. 108) the metropolis of Byzantium. The coins in question have as their reverse type a pillar or baluster tapering to a point with a stepped plinth or base, a discoid capital, and occasionally an extra ring or rings on its shaft. Sometimes a fillet or a couple of fillets flutters from its apex. Once a palm-branch is attached to its side. The obverse type is common, but not exclusively, a head or symbol of Apollo. This god is known to have been worshipped as Agyius at Acharnai, Athens, Argos, Tegea, Megalopolis, and Halikarnassos. In

Anson Num. Gr. v. 15 nos. 102–104 pl. 3, 102 f. and pl. 24, 104, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Apollo p. 3 f. Münztaf. 1, 2 f. Silver staters of Corinthian type, referable to s. iv B.C., sometimes have as symbol the Ambracian obelisk with fillet attached (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Corinth, etc. p. 109 pl. 29, 6, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Apollo p. 4 n. 8 Münztaf. 1, 1). Fig. 104 = Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc. p. 94 pl. 18, 1. Fig. 105 is from the McClean collection. Fig. 106 = W. M. Leake Numismata Hellenica London 1856 European Greece p. 9. On the connexion of Apollo with Ambrakia see the myth of Kragalans as told by Ant. Lib. 4 after Nikandros and Athanadas (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 343 f. Müller).

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thrace etc. p. 96 fig. = my fig. 107 (cooper of period after Alexander the Great obv. BYZA head of Apollo laureate; rev. ΔΑ ΧΜΑ obelisk), Head Hist. num. 2 p. 369, Anson Num. Gr. v. 14 no. 89. See also the interesting coins infra p. 167 figs. 111–113.


3 Paus. i. 31. 6 ἐστὶν ἐκ 'Αχαιας δήμος οὗτος θεῶν Ἀπόλλωνα τιμῶν Ἀγγεία καὶ Ἡρακλέα. κ.π.λ.

4 Dem. in Mid. 51 f. κατὰ τὰς μαντείες, ὡς ἃς ἀνάσας ἀνρημένον εἴρησε τῇ πόλει, ὁραίως ἐκ Δελφών καὶ ἐκ Δωδώνων, χρυσοὶ ἠστάναν κατὰ τὰ πάτρωμα καὶ κατὰ στρώμα τὰς ἄγνας (ἐ. Ἀγγεία, καὶ σοι ἐν Ἀριστορ. ἐπ. 1520, ἁν. 1333, despite the oracle in Dem. c. Mazar. 66 τὰς ἄγνας κυρίων καὶ Λουκιάν. Prot. 19 κυρίων τὰς ἄγνας, δῆκ αὐτῶν 2 ἀκύκλωτος δὲ τήν ἄγνας, εἰς ἅμα. Harkrok. s. v. Ἀγγεία—Bekker loc. cit. i. 331, 30 ff. = Souid. s. v. Ἀγνάι = Σωιδ. lex. s. v. Ἀγγεία = Favorinus. lex. p. 28, 27 ff., Steph. Byz. s. v. ἄγνα) καὶ στεφαναφορεῖν ἀνάγραφει τοῖς χάριτος τῶν μαντείων. ΜΑΝΤΕΙΑΙ. ἀνέδω Ἐφεσείδους, δοῦν Παρθένοις ἄστυν καὶ πατρίους ὁμοίου ἴδιον ἄρτιν, μεμνημένοι Βάκχου, καὶ ἐνυφαγόμενοι κατ’ ἄγνας ἰστάναν ὕραν Βραβίον χάριν (ὑραίων Βραβίων χάριν Τ. Hæmerus, ὑραίων Βραβίου χάριν H. Sauppe) ἄμμα πάντας, καὶ κατὰ βασιλεία κάρη στεφάνων πυκνά στατάν. περὶ ὑμένας θεῶν καὶ εὐχαριστῶν. Διὸ Ἰατρῆ λαρεῖς, Ἡραλές, Ἀπόλλωνας Προστάτηρας περὶ τόξος ἀγάπᾶς Ἀπόλλωνας Ἀγγείας, Λατοῦ, Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ κατ’ ἄγνας κρατήρας ἱστάμεναι καὶ χρυσοὶ καὶ στεφαναφορεῖν κατὰ πάτρωμα θεῶν Ὀλυμπίας πάντες καὶ πάντας, οἰκ. ἁγίων καὶ ἁρτέμιδας κλεῖς καταγιάντων, καὶ μαστιγωτῶν. Corp. inscr. Att. iii. i. no. 159. Ἀπόλλωνας Ἀγγείας (sικ) ἀνὰ τῶν βωμῶν ὑπὸ πυλών τῶν (sικ) ἤτοι... on an altar of s. 50 A.D., ib. iii. 1 no. 175 ἄγαθη τίθημι. Ἀπόλλωνας Ἀγγείας Προστάτηρας[ν] Πατρών Πενθοῦ Κλαρίου Παναιτοῦ on an altar adorned with a relief of Apollo playing the lyre (E. Siglo in Darmember—Siglo Dét. Ant. i. 169 fig. 193), ib. iii. 1 no. 177 Ἀπόλλωνας Ἀγγείας Αλεξάκαδον on a quadrangular base of Hymettian marble found near the Acharnian Gate. See also Varr. ap. Porphyry in Hor. od. 4. 6. 28, Harkrok. s. v. Ἀγγεία (siona p. 161 n. 1), Euanthius de fabrica p. 3, 8 ff. Reifferscheid.

II—2
fact, the title was usually regarded as his beyond dispute. Nevertheless there were dissentients. A literary tradition attributes the Agieüs-pillar to Dionysos, or at least to Dionysos in partnership with Apollon; and a marble meta in the Villa Albani (fig. 109).
has been interpreted in that sense. *Agyieus* is found as an epithet of Zeus also; but whether this attribution was based upon existing cults we do not know. The statement of Dieuchidas, the fourth-century historian of Megara, that the erection of *Agyieus*-pillars was a specially Dorian custom agrees with the numismatic evidence.

T. Panofka *Dionysos und die Thyaden* (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1852 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 381 f., 390 pl. 3, 9) Berlin 1853 pp. 41 f., 50 pl. 3, 9, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 1 f. no. 705, Reinch *Reliefs* iii. 151 no. 2, J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 407f. fig. 120. This marble cone (height 14 ft. 6 ins., diameter 2 ft.) stands on a low circular base (top and bottom restored) and has a series of square projecting στα, on four of which hang olive-garlands in relief. Towards the upper end of the cone is carved a band, which serves to attach a λαγόβολον, a belt (?), and a club. Near the base are five figures in the neo-Attic style representing Apollo with his lyre, a Satyr with *nενλυς* (?), pan-pipes, and *λαγόβολον*, and three Maenads (T. Panofka, followed by Miss Harrison, takes these persons to be Apollo, Pan, and three Horai; W. Helbig says 'a Satyr and three Bacchantes dancing to the music of a woman playing on a cithara'; G. Zoega is content with 'una danza bacchica,' S. Reinch with 'relics bachiques').

1 Schöll—*Studemund anecid. i. 366 ἐπίθετα Δέα... τῷ ἄγγελι.
2 E. Schwartz in Pauly—*Wissowa Real-Enc.* v. 480 f.
3 Dieuchidas *frag. 2* (Fragr. hist. Gr. iv. 388 f. Muller) ap. Harpokri. *i.e.* 'Aγυεῖς'...

![Fig. 109.](image-url)
dence that they were largely represented in Illyria, since the DORtians were *ab origine* an Illyrian tribe. On the whole it seems probable that we have here to do with an ancient Illyrian pillar-cult, strictly comparable with the pillar-cult of Italy. If so, it might be maintained that the *Agyieus*-pillar was essentially a universe-column, and that *Agyieus* himself, 'God of the Way (agyid), was originally lord of the road from earth to heaven. The term *agyid* is actually used of the soul-path by Pindar; and the transition from *Agyieus* in this hypothetical sense to *Agyieus* in its ordinary classical meaning presents no difficulty. The 'God of the Way' would naturally become the 'God of the Street,' especially if—as was the case at Tarentum and elsewhere—his pillar stood 'before the doors' of the houses.

(v) Omphalós and Pillar.

It appears, then, that the *Irminsul* of the north had a counterpart on both sides of the Adriatic, the Diana-pillars of Italy being own cousins to the *Agyieus*-pillars of Greece. But at this point a difficulty arises. How comes it that the Italian pillars were associated with a goddess, the Greek pillars with a god? The answer to this question is to be sought in the belief that the universe-column was a central prop, originally a central tree, rising from earth to sky. Such a prop would be connected primarily with the earth in which it was planted, secondarily with the sky which it

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2 Prehistoric tombs in Thessaly have yielded bronze rings, which perhaps attest a similar pillar-cult (N. I. Giannopoulos Θεσσαλική προϊστολική επιγραφή έτη βράχων, λίθων, σφακίων και ἀγγείων Athens 1908 p. 67 fig. 26 from Homolion, id. in the *Εφ. Αρχ.* 1915 p. 106 f. no. 16, fig. with pl. 2; 16 and pl. 1, 16 (enlarged = my fig. 110), no. 17 fig. from Homolion with pl. 2, 17).

3 Dr Farnell too is prepared to abandon the orthodox idea that the name originally designated the deity of the city's streets: 'to explain *Agyiein*, he says (Cults of Gk. States iv. 150), 'our imagination may turn back to the prehistoric epoch when the god—or the priest bearing his emblem—marched at the head of the immigrant tribe down its perilous path of conquest.' In fact we are to suppose (ib. iv. 308) 'that the Agyieus-blem entered with the wandering deity, and that it was specially consecrated by serving to mark certain stations along the Sacred Way from the north.' The explanation is ingenious and, no doubt, possible. But the view proposed in the text is more consonant with the Germanic and the 'Minoan' evidence.

supported. It could therefore be attributed either to the earthmother or to the sky-father, according as the worship of the goddess or the god prevailed.

We shall hardly expect to find chapter and verse for all this in extant Greek literature. Crude notions are not always articulate and comparatively seldom emerge on the literary level. We must be satisfied with stray hints and glimpses: pieced together they may tell their tale. Of the cosmic tree there is good evidence which would merit further investigation. Our concern is now with the cosmic pillar. W. H. Roscher in a recent monograph has shown that the Greeks, like many other peoples, conceived of the earth as a flat disk with a central point called its omphalos or 'navel,' and further that within the limits of Greece a variety of towns claimed to possess this all-important centre. He makes out a case not only for Delphoi, but also for other Apolline seats—Branchidai, Delos, Gryneion, Patara, etc. Among possible claimants he includes Byzantium, but without proving the existence of a Byzantine omphalos. Proof, however, is forthcoming. Coppers of this town struck in the third or second century B.C. have sometimes as obverse type a laur-eate head of Apollo and as reverse an Agievitis-pillar set on the top of an omphalos, which is covered with its net-work or agrenon (figs. 111—113). This monument has been plausibly explained by

W. Drexler as the obelisk of Apollon Karinós, who is known to

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1 I have broached the subject in Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 291—299.
3 Id. eb. p. 36, n. 66.
4 Fig. 111 = Ant. Mus. Berlin Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 147 f. a specimen from the Prokesch collection (rev. BYANT ETTI MATRIKON obelisk), cp. Mionnet Descr. de méd. ant. Suppl. ii. 241 no. 215, 243 no. 229, Anson Num. Gr. v. 14 no. 91, Head Hist. num. p. 268 f.

Fig. 112 = J. N. Svoronos in the 'Ep. 'Are. 1889 p. 92 pl. 1, 5 from a specimen at Paris (rev. BYANTI ETTI MENEK obelisk, with tripod and K- in field to left), cp. Mionnet Descr. de méd. ant. Suppl. ii. 241 no. 216, Hunter Cat. Coins i. 394 no. 8.

Fig. 113 = a specimen in my collection (rev. BYIAN ETTI PHI KPI obelisk), cp. Mionnet Descr. de méd. ant. i. 377 no. 94, Anson Num. Gr. v. 14 no. 90.

have been worshipped in aniconic form at the mother-town Megara. Drexler may be right or wrong; but in any case the Byzantine pillar is of interest, because it exhibits the omphalos, earth's centre, in combination with the Agryicus, heaven's prop.

1 Paus. i. 44. 2 ἡστὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ γύμνασιῷ τῆς ἀρχαίας Πάλατου πάλιν καλουμένον Νυμφάδων λόφος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχήμα χωρὶς μέγαστή τοῦ στούντι (τοῦτο codd., τοῦτο corr. M. Musurus) Ἀπόλλωνα ἤπατον Ἰαυρωπόν, καὶ Βαλαθλίων ἤπατον ἑνεφάνῃ ἰδρόν. It is commonly supposed that this monument is represented on the coins of Megara (supra p. 162 fig. 108), though the small pyramid of Pausanias hardly squares with the Agryicus-pillar on the coins (Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Apollon p. 4 f.). The epithet Ἰαυρωπός is probably related to Ἰαυρός, son of Phoroneus and first king of Megara (Paus. 1. 39. 5, 1. 44. 6), after whom the Akropolis of Megara was called Καρία (Paus. 1. 40. 6, Steph. Byz. s.v. Καρία); K. Schwenck in the Rhein. Mus. 1838 vi. 575 and Gerhard Gr. Myth. p. 316 rashly regarded Καρύς in the form Κάρναος.

2 J. N. Svoronos in the Eph. Arch. 1889 p. 92 takes the obelisk on the Byzantine coins to be one of the bronze καμπήτρες of the hippodrome with a half-egg on top, citing Hesych. Miles, frag. 4. 37 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 153 Müller) ἔθελα καὶ τῶν ἀκαττόρων ὁθοδοιώς τὰ τῶν ἐφέοινων (εἰ τῶν Δωσκολίων) γραμματφία διὰ τῶν ἐπικεφαλῶν φῶν τῶν χαλκοὶ ὀβελησκοιος. Kodinos de signis Constantinofoelianis 30 a (p. 54 Bekker) καὶ τῶν καμπήτρων οἱ λίθῳ κλώνες καὶ τῶν χαλκοὶ ὀβελησκοι τῶν καμπήτρων. But the top of the obelisk is much more like an Agryicus-finial than a half-egg, and the base is beyond all doubt an omphalos.

3 Less conclusive are the following: (1) Certain autonomous coppers of Kyrene, struck between 323 and 305 B.C., have obv. head of Zeus Ammon, rev. an omphalos (?) topped by a pillar, on which rests a vase (L. Müller Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique Copenhague 1860 i. 54. 72 f. no. 234 fig. (= my fig. 114) and no. 235, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 3. 1095 f. pl. 267, 16 f.). A. Duchalais in the Rev. Num. 1850 pl. 16, 7 (= my fig. 115), ib. 1851 pp. 89—92, was the first to recognise the tomb of Battos. His view was accepted by L. Müller loc. cit. and, more doubtfully, by E. Babelon loc. cit.

Fig. 114.

Fig. 115.

Fig. 116.

(2) A copper of Deultum in Thrace, issued by Gordianus iii (238—244 A.D.), has obv. GORDIANVS IMP AVG bust of emperor, laureate, to left, with spear etc., rev. C F P D (Colonia Flavia Pacensis Deultum) an omphalos (?), with a railing (?) in front of it, topped by a short pillar or knob. I figure a specimen from my collection, formerly in that of Prince Chakow (Veröffentlichung in Wien am 7. Jänner 1908 Brüder Egger (Collection de Mr. le Prince Ch.) p. 20 no. 299 pl. 9 'Cultbild der Artemis (?)'). Cp. J. Eckel Catalogus Musei Caesarei Vindobonensis numorum veterum Vindobonae 1779 i. 68
The Delphic Omphalós.

The occurrence of an omphalós-and-pillar at Byzantion leads us to reconsider the shape of the omphalós at Delphi. Here, if anywhere, was the centre of the earth. Here, if anywhere, the sky would need a supporting column, an Agiyeús-pillar. Accordingly local tradition told how the oracle had been established by Pagasos and divine Agyeus, sons of the Hyperboreoi. And the author of the Europia teaches us that the image of Apollon at Delphi is a pillar in the following lines:

That we might hang for the god a tithe and trophy
From his pure doorposts and his lofty pillar  

These allusions at once become intelligible, if we assume that the omphalós at Delphi, like the omphalós at Byzantion, was originally topped by an Agiyeús-pillar. Let us be bold and make that assumption. Our pillar, erected at a time when men believed in a circular earth and a central sky-prop, would with increasing knowledge come to be viewed as the axis of a spherical world. Nonnos describes the Delphic omphalós as the ‘mid-navel axis’—a description

Deuilt. no. 13 (‘Telesphorus stans’), Mommet Descr. de méd. aut. Suppl. II. 394 no. 562 (‘Telesphore deb.’).

1 Paus. 10. 5. 7 f. Βοῦι δὲ ἔπευξε πιθανὸν Ἰδύους ἱερὰς κατασκευασθαι τὸ μαντέας τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἄρμαριον εἰς Ἕλερκον τοῖς τῷ Ἀλκοσι καὶ Ὁμήρῳ τοῖς τῷ μαντεάς ταῖς πρῶτοι καὶ ἤκει πρῶτον τὸ ἐξαμετρον. περιόδηκυ δὲ καὶ Βοῦι ταῦτα ἐρύθη τοις εὐμνηστοὶ χρηστοῦν ἐκτελέσαντο παῦσις Ἕλερκον Παγαιος καὶ διος Ἀργυρός. ἐπαρθημοῦσα δὲ καὶ Ἀλκος τῶν Ἕλερκον. ἐπὶ τῇ θεῷ τῷ Ἰδύους τῷ Ἡμέρῳ ὄρόμαισιν. Ἡμέρα ἄλη, δὲ γένος πρῶτον θάνατον μετράτασι, πρῶτον δὲ ἄρχων ἐπικαὶ κατάπαντα ἀνίκων.  
On Boilo see G. Knaack in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 533 f.

Prof. J. M. MacGregor drew my attention (March 31, 1917) to the fact that Euripides mentions both ἁγνῶς (fr. 460) and ἁγνάδις θεραπεῖαι (fr. 186) in connexion with Delphi.

2 Eumel. frag. 11 Kinkel ap. Clem. Al. stroi. 1. 24 p. 101, 26 ff. Stählin ἄλα καὶ ὁ Ἐφροσίας (ἐφροσίαν Dindorf) πιθανὸν ἀρνεῖται τὸ ἐν Ἰδύος ἁγνῶς Ἀπθάρμωνοι κλάσις εἶναι διὰ τὸν ἀυτὸν δήμον ἄρηται τοῦ ἑρεμίας ὁ ἄρχων καὶ ἕκατον ἄλα καὶ κλάσις ψηφιδῶν. Some critics (e.g. Boetticher Baunkultur p. 227, Overbeck Gr. Kunstthet. Apollon p. 5. De Visser De Gr. dis un ref. spec. hum. p. 51 § 29) are disposed to minimise the force of this evidence. But κλάσις ζησαί here, like κλάσις μαθησι in the fragment of the Phoroni Cit by the same author (op. cit. 453 n. 8), certainly refers to a single sacred pillar, not to the whole colonnade of the temple; and, in view of other aniconic forms of Apollon (Overbeck op. cit. p. 3 f.), we need not doubt that Clement has interpreted this early croplint ariet.  


4 Nom. Dion. 2. 697 f. Οὐκ δὲ, Κάδης, μεσόβαραν ἁμῶν βαλλων | Διήλθος αὐτήντα μετέχοις τῆµεν Πυθών, 4. 289 f. ἦν θάνατος | Δελφοὺς ἀνεγίνων μεσοβάραν ἁμών Πυθών | μαντειεύον ορείς καὶ ἐμφάνισε Πυθών ἁμών | κύκλον ζῇ ἀντιθέσεις (K. Larks egi. kωπαίοις αὐτοβολούσι). cp. 36. 325 f. but κύκλος αὐτοβολούσι may refer to the oracular tripod, cp. 13. 133 and Poll. 10. 81 το δὲ ἑπίθυμα τοῦ τρισδίκου κύκλον καὶ ἁμών προσθήκα καλεῖ | ἐθέσειν κυκλάδη φωνῇ. Cp. 27. 252 ἄδειον ἀμφαίοις θεασμῷ καὶ πρεπεῖ Πυθών. Similarly
The Delphic Omphalos

which certainly suits and possibly presupposes an actual pillar. It may be objected that of all the representations of the omphalos in ancient art, and they are many, not one has it surmounted by the pillar—an extraordinary omission, if my hypothesis is to stand. To this I should reply that the omphalos shown to travellers and multiplied throughout the Greek world was not the original, but a replica in marble placed outside the temple at the eastern end of the terrace (fig. 117), where indeed it has been duly discovered in the course of the French excavations (fig. 118). The real omphalos,

Claud. in Fl. Mulli. Theodori consulat. p. 16 Pythius axis (infra p. 179 n. 1). But see infra § 3 (ii) (ii) (ii).

1 W. H. Roscher op. cit. p. 40 ff. cites Iamb. de myst. 3. 11 p. 127 Parthey καὶ μὴ ἦ γε ἐν Βραχίδαις γνωθι χρησμὸν, εἰτε βάσιν ἔχουσα τὴν πρῶτον ὑπὸ θεοῦ τῶν παραδοθέαν πληροῦσα τὴν θείας ἀνάθεσις, εἰτε ἐπὶ ἄξονα καθήμενη προλέγεται τὸ μελλον, εἰτε τοῦ ποῦ ἐκ μαστοῦ τις τέτυγχαν τῇ ὀδάτῃ ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ὀδάτος αμφιβολία βέβεβη τὸν θεόν, εἰς ἀπήρτων τοῖσιν ἐπικρίνεις παρασκευασμένη πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἦσσον ἀοτὴν μεταλαμβάνει καὶ contends that here too ἄξον denotes the cosmic axis. But must we not then read εἰτε <τοῦ> ἄξονα; And in any case the mathematical ἄξον is perfectly compatible with a material ἦσσον (see Eustath. in Od. p. 1389, 59 ff.). Lieut. Peary at the north pole set up a flagstaff.

2 A red-figured amphora with volute handles from Ruvo (fig. 117 = G. F. Jatta in the Ann. d. Inst. 1868 xl. 233–248 pl. k, id. Catalogo del Museo Jatta Naples 1869 no. 239, Baumeister Denkm. ii. 1009 f. fig. 1215, P. Weiszäcker in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 176 fig. 5, R. Engelmann Bilder-Atlas zum Homer Leipzig 1880 ii. 3 pl. 4, 18, J. H. Huddleston Greek Tragedies in the light of Vase Paintings London 1898 p. 83 ff. fig. 10, Reimach Rép. Vases i. 321, 1, W. H. Roscher Omphalos Leipzig 1913 p. 103 pl. 1, 1) representing the murder of Neoptolemos at Delphi depicts the scene with some pretence to topographical accuracy. In the background stands a peripteral temple with decorated doors ajar. This will do for the fourth-century building (though it had Doric columns outside, Ionic inside) with its ivory doors. To the right of it sits ἈΠΟΛΛΩΝ with his bow, unmoved by the tragedy. To the left the Pythian priestess with a filleted key over her shoulder starts away in horror. In the foreground ΝΕΟΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ, already wounded, takes refuge on the altar; ΟΡΕΣΤΑΣ, sword in hand, approaches him stealthily from behind the omphalos; a Delphian, elsewhere called Macaireus (Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 226 ff.), raises his lance to deal the fatal blow; and the stones in the left-hand corner hint at the fury of the populace (Eur. Amér. 1127 ff.). The altar here shown corresponds in position with that of the Chians (Frazier Pausaniai v. 309 ff., 631, É. Bourguet Les ruines de Delfes Paris 1914 p. 175 ff.), and the omphalos with that described infra n. 3. The palm-tree recalls the bronze palm dedicated by the Athenians out of the spoils won at the battle on the Eurymedon (Frazier op. cit. v. 313, infra § 3 (ii) (ii)), the tripod on a round base in the middle distance may be reminiscent of the famous tripod dedicated by the Greeks who fought at Patala (Frazier op. cit. v. 299 ff., É. Bourguet op. cit. p. 160 ff.). Lastly, the tripod beside the palm-tree and the shield next to Apollo are samples of the votive offerings with which the whole precinct was crowded.

3 Fig. 118, after a photograph by Rhomaiides (Delphoi no. 41), represents an omphalos of white marble found on the last turn of the Sacred Way close to the bases of Gelon (É. Bourguet op. cit. p. 248 n. 1) and rightly identified with that described by Paus. 10. 16. 3 (see G. Karo in Darenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iv. 199 ff. fig. 5404, H. Pomtow in Philologus 1912 lxxi. 59, W. H. Roscher Omphalos Leipzig 1913 p. 81 f. pl. 6, 1). That this omphalos was a mere replica, is sufficiently proved by the agerynis (J. E. Harrison 'Aegis—ÆþPHNON' in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1900 xxiv. 254—262) carved in relief
upon it. The flattened top is best explained on the assumption that the apex was made in a separate piece, though it is possible that at some period it served as the pedestal for a statuette (W. H. Roscher *op. cit.* p. 82 f.; but see *infra* p. 175 n. 9). The band cut away round the bottom has been taken to imply that the whole *omphalos* was let into a larger base (G. Karo *loc. cit.* iv. 199, W. H. Roscher *op. cit.* p. 82), but may rather indicate that it was adorned with a metal collar of acanthus-leaves like that shown in the vase-painting (fig. 117).
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unseen for example by Pausanias, was kept—as Varro knew—in the temple at one side. Delphic building-accounts of the year 343—342 B.C. and a little later prove that the omphalos had a porch in front of it and was protected by carefully surfaced walls supporting a roof—circumstances which suggest that, like the omphalos at Argos, it stood in a small chapel of its own. H. Pomtow provisionally locates it in the niche between the second and third columns of the north aisle, though he admits that it may equally

1 On this much-disputed point see Frazer Pausanias v. 316 ff., F. Studniczka in Hermes 1902 xxxvii. 263, H. Pomtow in Philologus 1912 lxxi. 59 f., W. H. Roscher Omphalos Leipzig 1913 p. 72 f. It was reserved for F. Courby in the Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1914 p. 259 f. and in the Fouilles de Delphes ii. 1. 73 to appreciate the simple truth. Yet Paus. 10. 24. 5 ἐδὲ τὸν ναὸν τὸ ἐσωτάτω, παριστάς τε ἐστὶν ὄλυμνα κ. τ. λ. drops a broad enough hint, as G. Karo saw (Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iv. 199 "Omphalos loi-même était invisible pour le grand public").

2 Varr. de ling. Lat. 7. 17 et terrae medium non hoc, sed quod vacant Delphis in aede ad latus (sic cod. F., allatus codd. G. H., illatus cod. a., ablatus cod. b. Lóbeck ej. argynatum, Roscher lanatum?) est quiddam ut thesauri specie, quod Graeci vacant ὄμφαλον, etc.


During the building-operations the omphalos was safeguarded by a special construction of crude brick (id. l. 1902 xxvi. 81 ff. L Inv. no. 207, 81 ff. οἰκοδομὸς [ἡ]ςαι πλήθος χαλκῶν περὶ τῶν ὄμφαλων, cr. l. p. 92 H Inv. no. 1832 col. iii line 3 ff. [τ]ῶν σκ[πετῶν τῶν περὶ τῶν ὄμφαλῶν].

4 W. Vollgraff in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1902 xxvii. 270 ff. no. 28 line 1 ff. θεοῦ προ-μάκτες ἁνέθη | Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀραήδας Σωφρήδας, Φικλάρτης Νετσελάδας, προφήται (Ἀ)ῖχαλος Ἀραχήδας, Τρυبيدίδας καὶ ἑσκηκέασασίαν καὶ ἑσκαστὰν [τῶν] | ἐκ μαντής Τάν οἱ ὄμφαλοι καὶ τά[ῦ]ν περιστασιαλ καὶ τοῦ φάρμα καὶ τῶν | βοών προσ[β]ορὸν πόρων ἀγίων καὶ περίπεται ὄλων πόρων ἀγίων καὶ τῶν αἴρησε. | ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τέων ὑπὸ τῶν μαντής κατε- | σκηκέασασίαν τοῦ περιπετειαῖος καὶ τῶν ὄλων ἑργάσαστο ἑσκαστάν κ. τ. λ. This inscription presumably refers to the cult of Apollon Dieradílles, whose temple, said to have been founded by Pythaeus (Telesilla frg. 3 Bergk sp. Paus. 2. 35. 2), stood on the way up to the Argive Larisa (Paus. 2. 24. 1 ἀνώτων δὲ ἐστὶν ἄρρητος οὐκ ἐτινὶ τῆς Ἀκραίας Περαια ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑρμοῦ, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ νάδη Ἀτρόλωνος, οὐ Πιθανῆς πρώτου παραγενόμενον ἐκ Δελφίων λέγεται ποιήσας. τὸ δὲ ἀγάλμα τὸ νῦν χαλκοῦ ἔστιν δρόθης, Δειαράδιλις Ἀτρόλων καλούμενος, δότι καὶ τὸ ὁμοῦ οὕτω καλεῖται Δειαρᾶ. ἢ δὲ αἱ μαντῆς—μαστεῦται γὰρ ἐτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς—καθεσκεῖσθαι τοῖς πλάκησι τοῦ ἑτερός κατὰ μῆνα ἑσκαστον, γεναυηγήν δὴ τοῦ ἀπόθεμος ἡ γυνὴ κάτοχος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται. See further Sir J. G. Frazer ad loc., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 2409, O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 3364 ff.). It is reasonable to conclude that the Argive cult, if not a filial of the Delphic, was at least in some respects in the influence of Delphi.

well have occupied a corresponding position in the south aisle. F. Courby by a consideration of the tasks assigned to the various builders has made it probable that the omphalos in fact adjoined the southern rather than the northern wall of the temple. Further, by a careful examination of the ruins as photographed in 1894 he shows that in the fourth century B.C. a side-chapel (200 m. broad inside by 540 m. deep) actually stood against the southern wall of the naos, close to its western end, thereby interrupting the inner line of Ionic columns. Finally, in September 1913, buried in the made earth beneath this chapel he found the omphalos itself (pl. ix). It is a rough block of limestone, once coated with

1. H. Pommow in Philologus 1912 lxxi. 61, 68 ff. fig.
2. F. Courby in the Comptes rendus de l’Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1914 pp. 263, 266, and in the Fouilles de Delphes ii. 1. 76.
3. Pankrates was at work on the walls of the opisthodomus and on the eastern end of the north wall of the naos (Bull. Corr. Hill. 1902 xxvi. 65 col. iii a line 10 ff.). Theuphantos and Sion placed two angle-triglyphs in the prōnas, worked at the walls round the omphalos, and saw to the western end of the south wall of the naos (ib. 1907 xxvi. 64 col. ii b line 5 ff., 65 col. iii a line 1 ff.). ‘Si les tâches,’ says Courby, ‘n’ont pas été distribuées au hasard entre les entrepreneurs et si, comme il faut bien l’admettre, quelque préoccupation de logique et de bon ordre a présidé à leur répartition, on supposera que Pankrates ayant opéré au Nord, Theuphantos et Sion opéraient au Sud, et c’est donc de ce côté qu’on replacera l’omphalos’ (Comptes rendus etc. 1914 pp. 263, 266, cp. Fouilles de Delphes i. 1. 76).

4. The foundations of the inner colonnade, insufficiently filled in, have since given way.

5. Courby Comptes rendus etc. 1914 p. 265: ‘Au Sud, sur une longueur de 3 m. 96 à partir du mur ouest, couraient deux assises de blocs en calcaire, rigoureusement symétriques à celles du sousassemement nord, et qui portaient, à n’en pas douter, un tronçon de la colonnade sud. En ce point, le sousassemement est interrompu par une bâtière en encoignure avec des restes d’un mur appliqué contre le côté sud de la cella, et d’un autre mur perpendiculaire au premier. Un examen attentif des détails que donnent les photographies (ib. p. 264 fig. 1, p. 265 fig. 2) prouve que cette bâtière est, sinon tout à fait contemporaine du temple, du moins bien antérieure à notre ère.’ See further Courby in the Fouilles de Delphes ii. 1. 47—69 (‘Le fond de la cella’) with figs. 45—61 and pls. 3, 4.


7. Courby Comptes rendus etc. 1914 p. 267 f. fig. 3. Id. in the Fouilles de Delphes ii. 1. 76 ff. figs. 64 (my pl. ix), 65, 66, 67, 68 (= fig. 119), 69: ‘En septembre 1913, un sondage pratiqué contre le mur Sud de la cella au pied des blocs a, b, d’(pl. iii, et fig. 47, 48, 49), dans le renforcement inférieur de la fondation, fit apparaître un petit monument de poros en forme d’omphalos qui reposait debout, contre le parement, sur le remblai provenant des fouilles (fig. 64, 65, 66, 67). Il mesure cm. 385 de diamètre et cm. 287 de hauteur (fig. 68). Le travail en est assez grossier; les coups de ciseau du ralement en sillonnet par endroits la surface. On aperçoit encore ça et là des débris d’un stuc analogue à celui qui recouvrait le poros du temple au 4ème siècle. Dans un canal de section rectangulaire qui le traverse de haut en bas pénètre, jusqu’à cm. 105 du bas, une tige de fer plate, tranchant d’un bord, à profil recourbé de ce côté et terminé en pointe, qui a toutes les apparences d’une lame de couteau (fig. 68): deux clous (fig. 69) enfonce en arrière assujettissaient solidement cette lame. On peut reconstituer ainsi ce qui s’est produit. La cavité recevait une tige (de bois, sans doute, puisqu’il n’y en a plus trace) qu’on a calée, plus tard, d’une manière assez primitive et par des procédés de fortune. A cm. 18 environ du bas court une inscription archaïque profondément gravée, où l’on reconnaît
Three views of the inscribed omphalos found by F. Courby beneath the inner chapel of the Delphic temple.
stucco and pierced from top to bottom by a square hole. From the edge of this hole projects a knife-shaped blade of iron, which is wedged in by a couple of nails and presumably served to keep in place a wooden stem, now lost. On the block are engraved four archaic letters, referable to the seventh century B.C. (fig. 120), of which the last three give us in the genitive case the name of

facilement les trois lettres εγας et, peut-être, dans le signe en x qui se voit à la suite, la lettre s. On lira donc : [faesimile to scale ½ = my fig. 120] εγας. 'S'il en est ainsi, on s'explique peut-être la destination de la tige qui traversait l'omphalos et qu'on a cru nécessaire d'y fixer solidement : on y attachait sans doute les bandelettes et les réseaux de lἀγγελια, mais il est probable qu'elle servait surtout à maintenir les images des deux aigles.' (On expliquera peut-être de cette manière la cavité profonde qui a été creusée au sommet de l'omphalos de marbre du Musée); ce qui nous engagerait à prendre le ἐπὶ ἀντίγε de Strabon au sens de ἐπὶ ἀντίγε, comme le voulait M. Svoronos (p. 70).
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the earth-goddess Ga² and the first appears to be the mystic symbol E."
Thus far Monsieur Courby, whose modest but convincing announcement will rank among the most brilliant archaeological discoveries of our time. For the speculations that follow he is not responsible. But it seems to me that his momentous find goes a long way towards establishing my hypothesis of a Delphic omphalos-and-pillar. The slender wooden post implied by the square hole in the omphalos was—if I am right—none other than the ‘lofty pillar’ of Apollon, to which ‘tithe and trophy’ were attached in his earliest cult, the cult established by the Hyperboreans Pagasos and Agyius. As the veritable earth-centre it furnished the starting-point of later arithromathy. In the mystic language of the Pythagoreans, the second vowel E with the second planetary body, the sun; id. ib. 5 writes E as ei, ‘if’, ‘if only’, a word that might introduce a question or a prayer addressed to the god; id. ib. 6 treats E or ei as a symbol of dialectic; id. ib. 7—16 gives a Pythagorean disquisition on E, that is πλάτε, as the numerical base resulting from the union of the first even δῶς with the first odd τρία; id. ib. 17—21 concludes that E is for ei, ‘thou art’, as a metaphysical invocation of the deity. Years ago I ventured the suggestion (W. H. D. Rouse Greek Votive Offerings Cambridge 1902 p. 364 n. 11, Folk-Lore 1903 xiv. 287 f.) that the E was a sacred relic, in fact the head of Poseidon’s Trident kept in the sanctuary, where he had an altar (Paus. 10. 24. 4) and probably a chapel (see H. Pontow in Philologus 1912 lxxi. 45 ff.), much as the trident of Neptune is kept affixed to the wall of the ancient church of S. Vigil in Tridentum, the modern Trento, Trent (L. Schmidt in Smith Dict. Geogr. ii. 1390); and it will be admitted that the trident-head, which symbolizes Poseidon on coins of Corinth, Leukas, Mantinea, Troizen, etc., is of the requisite shape—indeed Agathon Telephos frag. 4 Nauck 2 ap. Athen. 454 D describes the letter E as πρόφυς πλάτε, ‘a trident laid crosswise’. My friend Mr A. H. Smith once told me that in his opinion the mystic E might possibly be explained by the resemblance that it bears to the m-shaped window or smoke-hole over the door of hut-urns from Etruria etc. (Folk-Lore 1903 xiv. 288). Miss J. E. Harrison (ib. 1904 xv. 416 n. 271) has acutely compared the Delphic E with the trinity of pillars represented e.g. on Phoenician reliefs from Sardinia (G. Patrini in the Mon. d. Linc. 1904 xiv. 230 pl. 21, 22 and pl. 25, 2) and suggested ‘that the E was originally three betyl stones or pillars placed on a basis and representing the three Charites’ (J. E. Harrison in the Comptes rendus du Congrès International d’Archéologie Tère Session, Athènes 1905 pp. 194—196, citing Paus. 9. 38. 1, Plout. de mus. 14 (quoted infra § 3 (a) iii (x)), school. Pind. Ol. 14. 16 πάρθ’ τ’ Ἀπόλλωνος ἄρης καθίσεται τὰς Ἑρώτας διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀκολούθησαν. τὸ γάρ Δελφοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς δεξίὰς ἔστω εἰδομένα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος). R. Eissler Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt München 1910 ii. 489 n. 4 draws attention to a passage in the theológoikía τῆς ἀρματικής (Theol. arithm. 32 p. 35 ff. Αὐτὸς ὁ δὲ τῇ πρῶτῃ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τῷ ε’ ἀρματῳ δικαίωσεν ἐνεβάλειν καὶ τῃ τῇ στίχῳ ἀρματικῆς εἰκόνος ἱερὸν τῷ οὐκ ἀπειθάντος ἀκαθαρεθήνη, τὸ πάραγελμα τῶν γνωρίσματων τῷ συμβόλῳ σχύματος Πειθάγορα ἐνεποιήσατο “ἱερὸν μὴ ὑπερβολέας,” τούτως, δικαιοσύνῃ, according to which Pythagoras assigned the number 5 or E to justice and saw in it the image of scales (γνῶρι): Eissler notes that this implies E ‘in der Stellung des μ in der delphischen Inschrift.’

1 Supra p. 169.
2 On which see A. Delatte Études sur la littérature pythagoricienne Paris 1915 p. 139 ff.
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who are known to have been deeply interested in Delphoi, the ‘axle,’ the ‘tower of Zan,’ and ‘Apollon’ were all synonymous descriptions of the monad; and an Orphic fragment uses ‘Agyieus’ with the same signification. Further, Apollon’s ‘lofty pillar’ was flanked by his ‘pure doorposts.’ That is to say, we have once more the association of the sacred tree or pillar with a doorway, which we have already taken to denote the sky resting on its side-supports. If this be so, we are at last in a position to solve the old problem of the Delphic m. It was simply a graphic expression for the sky borne by its central and lateral pillars.

The likeness of the Delphic Agyieus, thus reconstituted, to the Germanic Irminsul is sufficiently striking. It becomes even more so, when we note that the Irminsul described by Widukind was erected at the gateway of the town with a pillar on either side of it

\[1\] Iamb. v. Pyth. 82 τι ἐστι τὸ ὑπὸ Δελφοῦ μαντείου; τετράκτιον δὲ κρηστὶ ἡ ἀρμονία, ἐν ἡ δὲ Σερῆς (H. Diels Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker 3 Berlin 1912 i. 358 n. explains that the Sirens produced the music of the spheres, and A. Delatte op. cit. p. 259 ff. adds that this harmony was the supreme revelation vouchsafed to men by Pythagoras as Apollon incarnate: see, however, supra i. 248 ff.), cp. Nikomachos of Gerassa (?=Iamb. ἀναγύη τῶν Πυθαγορείων δαγμάτων 7; G. Mau in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ix. 647, W. Kroll ib. ix. 650) ap. Phot. bibl. p. 144 a 16 Bekker who speaks of the τετράκτιον ἡ ἀρμονία (sic) ἡ ἀρμονία. Again, the Pythagoreans had their own name for the tripod (Hesych. τρίοος ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν ὑπὸ Δελφοῦ τρίπος) and perhaps their own interpretation of the mystic E (supra p. 177 n. 0).

\[2\] Nikomachos of Gerassa ap. Phot. bibl. p. 143a 31 ff. Bekker δεὸς τὸ ἐστιν (sic. ἡ μονάς) πάνω καὶ ἡλιος καὶ περάλος, καὶ μορφῶν δὲ καὶ Ζαυγὸς πόργος, καὶ συμμετικὴ λόγος, Ἀνάλογον τε καὶ προφητή καὶ λόγον. But id. ib. p. 144 a 36 ff. describes the πτῶς in somewhat similar terms: ... καὶ κυκλοσκόπου καὶ ἀμφίπου καὶ Ζαυγὸς πόργος καὶ διδυμα καὶ δὲων ἐφαρία (A. Delatte op. cit. p. 154 ej. ρρύφονθαία, cp. ἀφρυθαθασ, in the sense 'celle qui se tient ferme sur l'axe du monde').

\[3\] Orph. frag. 144 Abel ap. Lyd. de mens. 2. 6 p. 22, 21 ff. Wünsch 'Ορφεύς δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ ἀρμονίας Ἀγγελα καλεῖ, κ.τ.λ.

\[4\] Supra p. 169.

\[5\] Supra pp. 158 ff. (Italian tree-cults with gateway or arch), 160 (ἀλκανα with central tree or column), 160 f., 166 (Agyieus-pillars before doorways), 161 (pillars of Zeus Katachites at Tarentum).

\[6\] Supra p. 160.

\[7\] Cp. the Egyptian signs \[\begin{align*} & \text{and} \end{align*}\] and \[\begin{align*} & \text{which depict the sky resting on or falling} \end{align*}\] off the four pillars that support it (E. A. Wallis Budge Easy Lessons in Egyptian Hieroglyphs London 1899 p. 74, Sir G. Maspero The Dawn of Civilization 4 London 1901 p. 17 nn. 1 and 2).

The same conception of the pillar-like sky found graphic expression in the great festival- tent erected by Ion at Delphoi (Eur. Ion 1132 ff. ὁ δὲ νεανίας | σεμψὶς ἀρτέχων περιβολὰς σκορπωμάτων | ὀρθωθίνας ἑῳδή...). That was this imitation of the sky is clear, not only from the fact that it was made big enough to hold the entire populace (ib. 1140, 1167 f.), but also from the cosmic decoration of its roof (ib. 1146 ff.: see further R. Eisler Weltmantel und Himmelwelt München 1910 i. 57 ff., 156 ff.).

\[8\] Supra p. 53 f.
and an eagle set upon it. The mention of the eagle brings us up against another long-standing puzzle. What are we to make of the eagles on the omphalós? Can they too be explained in the light of this pillar connecting earth with heaven? The Delphic eagles appear in classical literature from the fifth century B.C. onwards. Pindar, our earliest source, writing in 462 B.C. speaks of the Pythian priestess 'who sitteth beside the golden eagles of Zeus,' and an old Greek commentator on the passage tells the orthodox tale:

'A story is bruited abroad to the effect that Zeus, wanting to determine the centre of the world, let fly eagles of equal speed from west and east. They, winging their way in opposite directions, met at Pytho and by that very fact marked the central point of the whole world. Later, in token of what had befallen, he made other eagles of gold and set them up in the precinct of the god.'

Observe that, whenever this tale is told of Zeus, the teller uses the verb ἀπιθέω, 'to let fly.' We shall not be far wrong, if we surmise that the tale was in fact aetiological and aimed at explaining the cult-epithet Ἀφήσιος, which Zeus is known to have borne in the Megarid and at Argos. Unfortunately the meaning of that epithet is doubtful. In modern times it has been usually taken to denote Zeus as a rain-god. But 'He who lets fly' is rather, I think, suggestive of thunderbolts. Be that as it may, Zeus Ἀφήσιος was

1 Pind. Pyth. 4. 6 ff. with schol. ad loc., Pind. frag. 27 Boeckh ap. Strab. 419, Eur. Ion 325 (if, with F. Studniczka in Hermes 1902 xxxvii. 269, we accept C. Robert's risky emendation στύμασα γ' ἑνδυόν, ἄφης δ' γοργ. ἐν>, | <χρυσοφάλαιν Διός οἰνών>, Philodamos pass. Dion. 123 ff. in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1895 xix. 407 (if, with O. Kern and H. Pomotow in Philologus 1912 lixi. 61 n. 22, we may take the words ναῦτα... | νυμφήσιον τρίτων | ...ἀφησιόντω to describe the two golden eagles, melted down by the Phocians but now renewed, and the words ναῦτα κόσμω to denote the omphalós itself), Strab. 419, Plout. de def. or. 1, Loukian. de salt. 38 with schol. ad loc. p. 188, 25 ff. Rabe, Claud. in Fl. Malli Thedori consulatum prol. 11 ff., schol. Bernens. in Lucan. 5. 71 ff. p. 156, 8 ff. Usener, schol. Eur. Or. 331, schol. Soph. O.T. 480.

Delphi was haunted by eagles in the time of Euripides (Eur. Ion 153 ff.), and is so to this day (P. Gardner in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1915 xxxv. 70). I once saw two eagles hovering above the deep glen of the Pleistos—a sight to be remembered.

2 Pind. Pyth. 4. 6 ff. ἄφης τοις χρυσῶν | Διός αἰτῶν πάρεκον | οἷς ἀποδόμον 'Ἀδαλ-λων τούχοντος λέειν | ἄφησεν κ.τ.λ.

3 Schol. vet. Pind. Pyth. 4. 6 p. 95. 4 ff. Drachmann.

4 Schol. vet. Pind. Pyth. 4. 6 p. 95, 7 ἄφηςεν, ἄφηςεν, ἄφηςεν, ἄφηςεν, Pind. frag. 27 Boeckh ap. Strab. 419 ἄφηςεν.

5 Append. B Megaris.

6 Supra i. 117, Append. B Phliasia.


8 E.g. II. 8. 133 (Zeus) ἄφηςεν ἄργυρα κεραυνον, Od. 24. 539 Κρονίδης ἄφηςεν πολύεντα κεραυνον.
in all probability worshipped at Delphi. And it is interesting to find that as far back as Homeric times the Pythian Apollon was called *aphètor, 'he that lets fly'*. This appelation, which occurs but once, was and is still a bone of contention to Homer's expositors. It looks as though Apollon had stepped into the place of Zeus and inherited his local title. The archer as well as the thunderer 'lets fly.' Under the rule of Apollon the eagles, however, were felt to be a mistake. Attempts were made to rewrite the myth with the somewhat cheap substitution of swans or ravens. Perhaps Philomelos the Phocian, who seized the temple (c. 356 B.C.) and appropriated the golden eagles, salved his conscience with the reflection that after all eagles were not the rightful birds of Apollon. Whether the eagles melted down by Philomelos were subsequently renewed in gold, we cannot say for certain. But it appears that in later days a pair of eagles was represented in mosaic on the floor to right and left of the *omphalós*.

The evidence of literature may be supplemented by that of art. An electrum *statér* of Kyzikos, struck c. 450-400 B.C., shows two eagles, beak to beak, perched awkwardly enough on the sides of a filleted *omphalós* (fig. 123). This coin presumably depicts the famous *omphalós* at Delphi, not—as W. H. Roscher would make out—a counterpart of it at Branchidai.

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3. Plout. *de def. or. 1* ἀτεχθὲς ἡ κόκνων, Strab. 419 οἱ ἀτεχθὲς ἢ τοῦ ἄδοθ... οἱ ὅτι κόκακας φασι.


The Delphic Omphalos

A votive relief in fine yellowish marble, found at Sparta but clearly Attic in style and probably carved in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C., has Artemis with a próchoos filling the phidie of Apollon: between them is seen a plain omphalos set on a plinth, which supports two eagles with reverted heads (fig. 124)\(^1\). A very similar relief, found at Athens, decorates a pre-Euclidean decree, which confers upon a certain exegete—apparently one of those known as Pythōchrestoi—a throne in the Prytanecion and a seat

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of honour in the theatre: the sculptured subject was practically identical with that of the relief from Sparta, except that here the carefully spaced lettering leads J. N. Svoronos to conjecture the former existence of another figure, perhaps Leto, to the left of Apollon and Artemis (fig. 125). A third relief, referable to the opening years of the fourth century B.C., was found at Phaleron between the parallel Long Walls in a precinct dedicated to Kephisos

1 A. Wilhelm in the Jahrh. d. östl. arch. Inst. 1898 i Beiblatt p. 43, F. Studniezk in Hermes 1902 xxxvii. 267, G. Karo in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iv. 199 n. 16, and especially J. N. Svoronos 'Ψήφωμα Ἀττικῶν ἄνδρων καὶ οἱ ὀμφαλοὶ τῶν Ποιότων' in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1911 xiii. 301—316 with 13 figs., of which fig. 1 shows our relief, id. Ath. Nationalmus. pl. 211, 1 = my fig. 125, W. H. Roscher Omphalos Leipzig 1913 p. 84 ff. pl. 9, 5. Height 0.55 m., breadth 0.37 m.
Relief from Phaleron: Xenokrateia and her boy supplicate Kephisos and the deities associated with him.

See page 183 ff.
and sundry associated deities. This magnificent slab of Pentelic marble (pl. x) fits into a large pillar-like base of póros, which is inscribed—partly in prose and partly in verse—as follows:

'Xenokrateia, wife of Xeniaides from the deme Cholleidai, as daughter (before her marriage) and mother (after it) set up by way of obligation and dedicated to Kephisos and the gods that share his altar this gift to instruct whose will to sacrifice with a view to the consummation of blessings.'

It would seem that Xenokrateia had gained her heart's desire, a man-child born in lawful wedlock, by promising this tablet to Kephisos and the other fertility-powers that shared his altar. Their names are recorded on a sacred boundary-stone from the same site: 'To Hestia, Kephisos, Apollon Pythios, Leto, Artemis Lochia, Eileithyia, Acheloios, Kalliope, the Geraistian birth-nymphs, and Rhapso.' The list serves as a key to the composition of our relief. On the left is Apollon Pythios: he sits on a tripod-throne with a griffin for arm-rest, two coiled snakes for rings and back, and the omphalos with its eagles for foot-stool. Beside him in the background stands Leto binding her hair with a fillet, once added in colour. Before him Artemis holds a torch, similarly put in with paint. Next to these august persons are Xenokrateia and her boy, mere mortals and therefore figured on a smaller scale: they make

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2 Ξενοκράτεια Κυρήφω(ι) ἱερών ἱδρύσατο καὶ ἀνέθεκεν | ἐμβώμωσι τοῖς θεοῖς διδασκαλίας τῶν δώρων. Ξενοκράτεια ἑγάτηρ καὶ μήτηρ, ἐκ Χολεύαν, | ήθεν τῶν βουλομένων ἐπὶ τελεστῶν ἀγαθῶν. Staes read the concluding words as τελεστῶν Ἀγάθους καὶ τοῦ δῶμα; but Svoronos could discover no certain trace of any letters after ἀγαθών, and certainly no trace of any further line such as would be needed to contain the name of Agathon's fellow-telêstes. The queer diction and arrangement of the sentence is, I think, sufficiently explained by the exigencies of metre, an attempt being made to hitch the whole into dactylic hexameters and a final pentameter (7) thus: Ξενοκράτεια | Κυρήφω(ι) ἱερών ἱδρύσατο καὶ ἀνέθεκεν | ἐμβώμωσι τοῖς θεοῖς διδασκαλίας τῶν δώρων, | Ξενοκράτεια ἑγάτηρ καὶ μήτηρ, ἐκ Χολεύαν, | ήθεν τῶν βουλομένων ἐπὶ τελεστῶν ἀγαθῶν. Xenokrateia was no Sappho.

3 'Εστιαί, Κυρήω, 'Απόλλωνι Πειλώμα, Λητοί, | Ἀρτέμιδι Λυκίαι, Ἡλείθαι, Ἀχελοίων, Καλλιρρώη, Τερασιά Νύμφαις Γενεθλίαι, | Ραφοί (B. Staes in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1909 p. 244 f. fig. 1, Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus. p. 495, supra l. 112 n. 3).

4 This was seen first by J. N. Svoronos loc. cit. p. 495 ff.: he did not, however, make sufficient use of the clue that he had himself discovered; for he takes Hestia (mentioned in the list) to be Ilios (absent from the list).

B. Staes in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1909 p. 251 ff., id. Marbles et Bronzes: Atlènes³ p. 45 ff. no. 2756, had interpreted the whole relief as illustrating the myth of Ion: according to him, the six figures on the left (Apollon Pythios, Leto, Artemis, the Pythian priestess, Ion, Xouthos setting foot on the threshold of the sanctuary) are grouped at Delphi, the seven figures on the right (Hermes, four Nymphs, cult-image of Artemis or Eileithyia, Acheloios or Kephisos) at Athens.
their petition to Kephisos, a youthful god with a small horn (?) over his forehead and his foot supported on an altar. Behind him and facing the spectator is an older figure, whose draperies were formerly perhaps completed by the addition of a painted chiton and veil: she would thus have been sufficiently characterised as Hestia. Then comes a group of four females, two stately matronal forms facing left in conversation with two more youthful goddesses facing right. The older figures are the Geraistian nymphae, the younger Eileithya (holding a girdle) and Rhapsa (with painted needle and thread?). On the right stands Acheloios, represented as a bull with human face, and behind him his daughter Kalliroe, conceived as a Caryatid guarding a well-house. It will be observed that these three reliefs show an omphalos and eagles of identical type, and that in each case there is some reason to connect the scene with the Python at Athens. Possibly, as J. N. Svoronos contends, eagles with reverted heads were actually to be seen on either side of the Athenian omphalos.

Eagles with reverted heads occur again on a votive relief of white marble (fig. 126) found in Aigina some three hundred paces from a sanctuary of Apollon. This monument, which may be dated c. 350 B.C., shows Apollon with a kithara in his left hand, a phiale in his right, and a worshipper drawing near to greet the god. Between them is an omphalos without a base, but covered with

1 B. Staes and J. N. Svoronos loc. cit. regard this figure as male, the former calling it Hermes, the latter Ilios. But Hermes would have had a chlamys rather than a himation; and Ilios makes a very indifferent pair to Kephisos. Staes honestly remarks τὸ γυναικεῖον μᾶλλον πρότερον τῆς μορφῆς ταύτης (Eph. 'Arx. 1909 p. 255). That is right: all we have to do is to complete her costume in paint.

2 Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus. p. 499 n. 1 cites Theokr. 17. 60 Εἰδείθος εἰφώτατο λευκίζων. So Cornut. theol. 34 p. 73, 8 ff. Lang Εἰδείθω...πιθανον εἴδειν αὐτῶν ἡμών καὶ λευκίζομαι αὐτός σταύρων, Orph. h. Prothyr. 2. 4 ff. Προθύρως, | ...λευκίζων', ...

3 Svoronos loc. cit. p. 499: 'Mit Rücksicht auf ihr Erscheinen unter den Geburts- göttinnen...und die Bedeutungen des Wortes βάπτω : ἐνω, συγκολλᾶ, συνάπτω und sogar ἐπαύσιν [Favorin. Lex. s.v. βάπτω] (vgl. ὀψις) dürfen wir wohl auch Kapso als eine Schutznymphe oder Moire der Ehe betrachten, speziell des Augenblicks der Entjungferung und der Empfängnis, der Festmählne des Embryo im Muttermilch.'


5 J. N. Svoronos 'Ἀγάπη τῆς Ἀθηναίου Ἀρκαδομαίου' in the 'Efr. 'Arx. 1912 p. 254 f. pl. 22 (=my fig. 126), W. H. Roscher Omphalos Leipzig 1913 p. 126 f. pl. 8, 3. Height ο'50''/2, breadth ο'45''/2.

6 Four stones inscribed ὅπως τεμένουσι Ἀπόλλωνος Παπαίδων (Inscr. Gr. Pelop. i nos. 33–36) mark the boundaries of the Apolloion (ib. 1 no. 2, 37 πάρτα τῆς Ἀπόλλωνος) or temple of Apollo (Paus. 2. 30. 1), who in Aigina bore a variety of titles (see K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 75 f.) including that of Python (Pind. Nem. 3. 122 with schol. ad loc., Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 no. 545, 8, 11, 35 ff.).
fillets and topped by the two birds. The design agrees exactly

with that of a copper coin (fig. 127) struck by Septimius Severus at Megara, where there was an ancient cult of Apollon Pythios.


The worshipper on the coin is probably Septimius Severus himself. Another copper of Megara (fig. 128)\(^1\), struck by Geta, repeats the type, but omits the emperor. J. N. Svoronos\(^2\) and W. H. Roscher\(^3\) infer that Aigina and Megara had similar omphaloi of their own in the service of Apollon Pitios.

A copper coin of Patara (fig. 129)\(^4\), struck by Gordianus Pius, represents Apollon, with a bay-branch in his right hand and a bow (?) in his left, standing beside a small omphalos, on which sits a single eagle with spread wings. Another copper of Patara (fig. 130)\(^5\), struck in the same reign, shows the god between an omphalos, surmounted by an eagle and entwined with a snake, and a tripod-lebes, from which a second snake is drinking. The substitution of one eagle for two is a noteworthy change, probably brought about by oriental influence; for an eagle on a sacred stone had in Levantine art of the Graeco-Roman age a solar significance\(^6\), which would well suit Apollon and might suffice to modify his Pythian attribute.

We have now passed in review the literary and the monumental evidence for the eagles connected with the Delphic omphalos. We have yet to determine their original meaning. More than fifty years ago C. Boetticher in the course of a careful monograph\(^7\) arrived

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1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 124 pl. 22, 7 ('two birds (ravens?)'), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. i. 6 pl. A, 9 = my fig. 128 ('omphaloi surmounted by eagles, or altar on which ravens'), J. N. Svoronos in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1911 xiii. 312 fig. 6 ('βωμόμορφοι ὀμφάλοι μετὰ δύο ἄγρων').

2 J. N. Svoronos in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1911 xiii. 312, id. in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1912 p. 255.

3 W. H. Roscher Omphalos Leipzig 1913 p. 126 f.


6 Supra i. 603 f. fig. 475.

at the conclusion that the true owner of the omphalós was Zeus, and compared its two golden eagles with the two gilded eagles that flanked the altar of Zeus Lýkaios. Whatever be thought of Boetticher's main contention, the analogy that he drew is sound and its implications are of some consequence. The altar of Zeus Lýkaios flanked by the gilded eagles was simply a circular summit of Mount Lykaion. I am disposed to infer that the omphalós at Delphi was likewise, to begin with, a mound—a mere mass of earth, which in process of time was conventionalised into a hemispherical or ovoid stone, but to the last bore upon its surface the tell-tale monosyllable Gás. This mound (the 'Archer's hill' some called it) supported the sky-pillar, and was therefore haunted by the sky-god, who here as elsewhere came and went in the form of an eagle. I take it that both in Arkadia and in Phokis the eagles betoken the telephany of the god himself. The fact that they

1 Id. ib. p. 5: 'Der Omphalos ist vom Ursprunge an das Weilahrenheit des Zeus Moiragetes und der ihm beisitzenden Moiren gewesen; durch eine Reihe schicksalserlenkender Mächte, welche alle nur Zeus Willen offenbaren, vererbt er sich auf den jüngsten Gott der Stätte, den Apollon, der nach einem bezeichnenden Worte Platons: in des Zeus Namens als Exeget der Satzungen und Anordnungen seines Vaters für die ganze Menschheit in des göttlichen Erbe...[Plat. rep. 427 c].

2 Id. ib. p. 7 f.

3 Supra i. 81 ff.

4 Cp. fig. 131 = M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the Röm. Mitth. 1911 xxvi. 41 fig. 18 a wall-painting from a house at Pompeii (reg. vii. 2. 18) decorated in the third or 'ornate' style (supra p. 143 n. 4). Height 1.77 m, breadth 0.63 m. In the centre is a sacred tree with a gateway erected over it and a statue of Artemis or Hekate holding torches beneath it. Close by is seen a circular wall, with openings in it, surrounding another tree, which bears fruit (apples), and an omphaloid hillock, which is covered with an agrénion and topped by a tall tripod. The remainder of the picture is occupied by two persons (a man and woman), carrying thyrsus and torch, three goats grazing; and a number of votive offerings. See further H. Heydemann in the Bull. d. Inst. 1868 p. 45 ('un simulacro femminele di bronzo...due uomini coronati...'), Sogliano Pitt. mur. Camp. p. 141 no. 686 ('una divinità malibbre...due donne...'), A. Mau Geschichte der dekorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji Berlin 1882 p. 430.

5 Supra p. 175 f. The Delphic omphalós was known to Pindar, Bakchylides, the tragedians, etc. as the 'navel of the Earth' (see W. H. Roscher Omphalos Leipzig 1913 p. 84 ff.). But neither Homer nor Hesiod mentions it as such (id. ib. p. 10); our earliest source for the expression is Epimenides, who writes: οὐτέ γὰρ ἢ γαῖς μᾶλα ὄμφαλος οὔτε θαλάσσης: | εἰ δὲ τε ἔστι, θεοὶ θῆλιοι, θεσμῶι δ' ἀφαντός (frag. 6 Kinkel ap. Plout. de deit. or. 1)—a passage considered infra p. 191.


7 Supra p. 169 ff.

8 Zeus took the form of an eagle, when he first came from Crete to Naxos (supra i. 164 n. 4), consorted with Europe with Europe in the tree (supra i. 532), inspected the charms of Semele (Nomn. Dion. 7. 210 ff.), ravished Aigina (Clem. Rom. kom. 5. 13 (ii. 181, 184 Migne), Athen. 566 D, Nomn. Dion. 7. 113, 7. 213, 13. 201 f., 16. 56 ff., 24. 77 ff., 33. 296 f.,
The Delphic Omphalós was two, not one, is hardly to be explained as a device of heraldry, or the result of a desire for symmetry, or an attempt to represent both sides of a single bird, or a juxtaposition of memory pictures. Rather it illustrates Usener's law of religious development: the eagles are Augenblicksgötter that have not yet coalesced into a Sondergott.

But I am far from supposing that we have thus exhausted the import of the Delphic omphalós. It will not do to blink the question: Why was a particular mound of earth reduced to a compact shape and safeguarded by a whole network of fillets? When W. H. Roscher shows that the term omphalós was used of earth's central point, he does indeed insist upon a truth which helps to explain a variety of data, but he does not—to my thinking—really get down to the root of things. For, after all, early man was (pace Piette) a poor mathematician and knew little of circles and centres. No, we must assume that to him the word omphalós meant just what it says—'the navel,' that is, the navel of the human body, not the hub of the universe. Now there is reason to believe that the Delphic cult was once comparable with that of 'Minoan' Crete.

P. Weizsäcker in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1598 l. fig.; but see P. Friedländer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 744.

It may be objected that some of these transformation-scenes are palpably late figments (e.g. the eagle spying upon Semele), that others were probably modelled on the myth of Ganymedés (e.g. the eagle ravishing Aigina: so P. Friedländer loc. cit. vii. 739), and that in his case earlier versions of the tale are extant not involving the bird-metamorphosis at all (ib. ib. vii. 737 ff.). But we do well to bear in mind that late writers often used early materials (cp. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 126 n. 5), and that the appearance of Zeus as an eagle is supported by numerous parallels.


2 A. Riegl Stiftragen Berlin 1893 pp. 32—40.

3 Good examples of 'split' quadrupeds and birds are given by F. Boas 'The Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast' in the Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History 1897 ix. 144 ff. with figs.—a reference kindly supplied to me by my friend Dr A. C. Haddon.


5 Supra p. 13 n. 1.

6 Supra p. 167.


8 The first priests of Apollo Delphios at Pytho were Κώστης κτώντι Κρόνοσοι Μινωτός (h. Ap. 388 ff.); see further W. Aly Der kretische Apollonkult Leipzig 1908 p. 35 ff., M. H. Swindler Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo (Bryn Mawr College
The Delphic Omphalos

It is therefore of importance to observe that the Cretans too had a holy centre called Omphalos, where it was said that the navel-string of the infant Zeus had fallen to the ground. Kallimachos, having told how Rhea entrusted the babe to the arms of Neda, continues:

When bearing thee from Knossos, father Zeus,
The Nymph left Thenai (Thenai near to Knossos),
There, lord, fell off thy navel; wherefore now
Cydonians call that spot the Omphalian Plain.

Diodorus tells the same tale in substantial agreement with Kallimachos:

The story goes that, when he (Zeus) as an infant was being carried by the Kouretes, his navel fell off near the river named Triton, and that the place was consecrated and called Omphalos after the occurrence, the surrounding district being likewise known as the Omphalian Plain.

This narrative was denounced by K. Hoeck as a piece of late

Monographs: Monograph Series xiii) Bryn Mawr 1913 pp. 22 ff., 41 f., 63 ff.). The leader of these Cretan settlers was Kastalios (et. gen. s.v. Delphiōs, et. mag. p. 255, 18 ff., Orion p. 46, 22 ff., Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 207). After the slaughter of Python Apollo was purified in Crete by Karmanor (Paus. 2. 7. 7, cp. 10. 6. 7, 10. 7. 2, 10. 16. 5), the father of Eaboulos whose daughter Karmē became by Zeus the mother of Britomartis (Paus. 2. 30. 3, cp. Diod. 5. 76. Ant. Lib. 40, Verg. Ciris 330 ff.). According to others, Apollon was purified in Crete by Chrysothemis (schol. Pind. Pyth. argum. 3). This son of Karmanor is said to have won the prize in the earliest hymnic contest at Delphi (Paus. 10. 7. 2). On another occasion the prize was secured by Eleutherus (Paus. 10. 7. 3), perhaps the eponym of Eleutherna in Crete (so J. N. Svoronos in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1896 xx. 8). Koretas, the reputed discoverer of the oracle (Plout. de def. or. 42, 46), bears a name suggestive of Crete (so J. N. Svoronos loc. cit.). And Pipers, the eponym of the Cretan Aptereoi, was supposed by some to have built the second temple at Delphi (Paus. 10. 5. 10).

A leonine head in limestone, part of a ritual rhyton, found beneath the temple of Apollon (Fouilles de Delphes iv. 1. 3 fig. 3 a, b, v. 1. 3 ff. figs. 13, 13 a) resembles closely the famous lioness-rhyton in marble found at Knossos (J. de Mot in the Rev. Arch. 1904 ii. 217. G. Karo 'Minoische Rytha' in the Jahrb. d. hait. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1911 xxvi. 254. figs. 6 f., F. Poulsen Delphi trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 15 figs. 1—3, p. 59). A bronze axe from Delphi, which is engraved with 'Minoan' characters, will be figured later (infra § 3 (c) i (μ)). And 'Minoan' pottery etc. has come to light in the Delphic precinct (Fouilles de Delphes v. 1. 5 f., 8 ff. figs. 26—51, 15 ff. figs. 62—99, 10 f. figs. 91—97, v. 2. 153).


2 Diod. 5. 70 περί φερόμενοι μὲν γάρ ὅτι τῶν Κορητῶν αὐτοῦ κατά διομῆς ἀκούσαν τὸν ἀμφάλῳ περὶ τὸν ναόν τὸν καλοῦσιν Τρήτωνα, καὶ τὸ χωρίον τε (so L. Dindorf for MSS. det. P. Wesseling cjt. cji) τότε καὶ κακουρεθέν ἀπὸ τοῦ τότε αυτοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ προσαγορεύθησαν καὶ τὸ περικείμενον πέδων ὁμοίων ὀμφαλίτης.
aetiology 4. But it is clear that Kallimachos and Diodoros are drawing upon a common source. Moreover, since Kallimachos in his context has been paraphrasing Epimenides with regard to the tomb of Zeus 5, while Diodoros in his sequel mentions Epimenides as his first authority for things Cretan 6, it is legitimate to conclude that poet and prose-writer alike are indebted to Epimenides. As a native of Crete 4, and a Kouros to boot 7, he would know the local myth. And the story, thus vouched for, must be at least as old as the beginning of the fifth century B.C. 6 That we are on the right track in attributing it to Epimenides appears from another consideration. Epimenides in a noteworthy couplet denied that the Delphic omphalos was the central point of land or sea 7. Why? Because he knew the tale told about the Cretan Omphalos, and took the word to mean 'navel,' not 'central point.' So then Knossos, the metropolis of the Delphian shrine 8, had a sacred Omphalos, which c. 500 B.C. was believed to be the spot hallowed by the navel-string of Zeus. I submit that a like belief attached to Delphi, and that the Delphic omphalos was originally the mound in which the navel-string of Zeus lay buried. Dare we add that the knife-blade, actually found by Courby and regarded by him as mere packing for the wooden pillar of the omphalos 9, was the very implement said to have been used at the primal omphaletomia?

This explanation of course presupposes an actual custom of burying the umbilical cord 10. But such customs are amazingly frec-

1 K. Hoeck Krete Göttingen 1823 i. 177.
2 Supra i. 157 n. 3, 664 n. 1.
3 Diod. s. 80, cp. E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2866 f., v. 678.
4 H. Diels Die Fragmente der Vorschriften Berlin 1913 ii. 185 ff. has a convenient collection of the sources, which are critically studied by H. Demoulin Epiménide de Crète Bruxelles 1901 and O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 173—178.
7 Supra p. 187 n. 5.
8 Supra p. 189 n. 8.
9 Supra p. 175.
10 W. H. Roscher Omphalos Leipzig 1913 p. 18: 'Wer bedenkt, dass die Geburt des Zeus ebenso für das Prototyp aller menschlichen Geburten galt wie seine heilige Hochzeit (ἰερός γάμος) für das Ur- und Vorbild aller menschlichen Hochzeiten, der wird es doch wohl mit mir für recht wahrscheinlich erklären, dass der Mythos von der Nabelschur des höchsten Gottes auch eine ähnliche Bedeutung und Behandlung dieses Organs bei den menschlichen Geburten voraussetzt. Ja, es scheint nicht unmöglich, dass man in uralter Zeit zu Omphalion die Nabelschur des Zeus ebenso als kostbare Reliquie zeigte und verehrte, wie in Delphi den Stein, den Kronos nach der Geburt des Gottes ausgespien haben sollte (Paus. 10, 24, 6) oder zu Tegea die Locke der Gorgo Medusa (Paus. 8, 47, 5) usw.'
quent in uncivilised or semi-civilised communities. To quote a typical case:

'among the Maoris, when the navel-string dropped off, the child was carried to a priest to be solemnly named by him. But before the ceremony of naming began, the navel-string was buried in a sacred place and a young sapling was planted over it. Ever afterwards that tree, as it grew, was a tohu oranga or sign of life for the child.'

Analogous practices have survived here and there in modern Greece. Thus in Lesbos the severed portion of the cord is wrapped in cloth and thrown into the school, or the church, or the fields. It is believed that, if the cord falls in the school, the child will become a teacher; if in the church, a priest; if in the fields, a farmer. So, when a child hangs about a place, his mother gets angry and says to him: 'Did they throw your navel there?' Similar usages are reported from Kephallenia, Aigina, Limnobria? (Burdur) in Pisidia, Sinasos in Kappadokia, etc., and there can be little doubt that from time immemorial the Greeks have believed in a sympathetic relation existing between the infant and the umbilical cord. It is therefore reasonable to conjecture that in Phokis, as in Crete, the navel-string of Zeus—or rather of a local king (Python?) personating the sky-god—was deposited in a holy place. And where could it be more safely bestowed than beneath the central support of heaven itself? To make security doubly secure, the mound in which the relic lay buried was covered by the agrenón with its numerous knots. So far as I can see, nothing short of this hypothesis will

1 See the examples collected by H. Ploss *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker* Leipzig 1884 i. 15–18; ii. 194, 199 f. and Frazer *Golden Bough* 2: The Magic Art i. 182–204, ii. 56, ib. 3: Taboo p. 48, ib. 4: Adonis Attis Osiris 3 ii. 167 ff., ib. 4: Balder the Beautiful ii. 160 ff.
3 They were collected, at the request of W. H. Roscher, by N. G. Polites in Ααριαδές 1912 iii. 698 ff., cp. P. D. Sepheris ib. 1913 iv. 322, K. I. Mantzouranes ib. 1913 iv. 323 ff. See W. H. Roscher *Omphalos Leipzig* 1913 pp. 18 f., 131 f.
4 G. Georgaklis and L. Pineau *Le Folk-Lore de Lesbos* (Littératures populaires de toutes les nations xxxi) Paris 1894 p. 331 f: 'Quand on a coupé le nombril du nouveau-né, on l’attache dans un morceau de linge, et on le jette soit dans l’école, soit dans l’église ou dans un champ: l’enfant alors sera ou instituteur ou prêtre ou agriculteur. C’est pourquoi, quand un enfant va très souvent dans le même lieu, sa mère, en colère, lui dit: “C’est là que l’on a jeté ton nombril!”'
5 On kings impersonating Zeus see *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 399 ff., supra i. 853 f. Index, infra Index; and on the Delphic kings in particular, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 402 f.
(a) Altar as represented on a coin of the Cretan community.
(b) Small bronze altar resembling that on the Cretan coin.

See page 193 n. 2.
account for the awful sanctity attaching to the Delphic ὀμφαλός, for the manifest meaning of its name, and for the peculiar character of its decoration.

(o) The Delphic Tripod.

The Delphic Ἀγγεῖον-pillar with its side-posts and lintel was in a manner duplicated by the Delphic tripod. Sir Arthur Evans, when discussing the libation-table found in the Dictaean cave, traced briefly but convincingly the whole pedigree of the columnar tripod. He showed that the simplest form of sacred pillar, on the top of which libations were poured (fig. 132), had already in the third period of the Late ‘Minoan’ age given rise to a tripod-λήβας with a central stem (fig. 133); and that this in turn became the parent of such

![Fig. 132.](image)

![Fig. 133.](image)

types as the tripod from Corinth with three lion-goddesses for its supports or the Plataean tripod at Delphi with a coil of three

1 The cowrie-covered case, in which the umbilical cord of the king of Uganda was preserved (W. Ridgeway The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of non-European Races Cambridge 1915 p. 375 ff. figs. 85—87), bears a superficial resemblance to the fillet-covered ὀμφαλός at Delphi.


In the same context (p. 113 ff.) Sir Arthur traces the analogous evolution of the ‘baetyllic altar,’ regarding it as essentially an ‘offertory table placed above the sacred pillar,’ and illustrating its ultimate shape from an imperial copper of the Cretan community (J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crête ancienne Macon 1890 i. 352 pl. 35, 36 (= my pl. xi, a), cp. ib. pl. 35, 37, K(ασορο) K[φράσ]) At a recent auction of Egyptian and Hellenistic antiquities I acquired a small bronze altar (pl. xi, b: extreme height 7¼ ins.), which closely resembles that of the Cretan coin. It has four legs, a thick central stem, and an upper tray, with widely projecting horns, so contrived that it can be lifted off from the pillar-like legs and the flat-topped barrel. This curious arrangement strongly confirms Sir Arthur’s contention that the central cylinder was the original idol.

3 Fig. 132 Sir A. J. Evans loc. cit. p. 117 fig. 13 an impressed glass plaque found by Ch. Tsountas in a grave of the lower town at Mykenai. Cp. supra i. 366 f. fig. 9.

4 Fig. 133 Sir A. J. Evans loc. cit. p. 117 fig. 14 a similar plaque found by Ch. Tsountas in the same place.

5 A. Michaelis Ancient Marbles in Great Britain trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 592 f., P. Gardner ‘A stone tripod at Oxford’ in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1896 xvi. 275—280 with figs. 11 and pl. 12, C. Dubois in Darenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. v. 478 fig. 7068. Height 0'66 m., lower diameter 0'54 m., upper diameter 0'36 m.

C. II.
The Delphic Tripod

Fig. 134.
serpents for its base (figs. 134 and 135). Now the mantic tripod also appears to have been of the columnar kind—witness a certain number of sculptured copies. Thus a handsome tripod in Pentelic marble, found at Ostia and preserved in the Louvre (fig. 136), has its

1 The fullest collection of passages, ancient and modern, bearing on this famous monument is that printed by Roehl Inscr. Gr. ant. no. 70. See also É. Bourguet Les ruines de Delphes Paris 1914 pp. 160—161, Frazer Pausanias v. 299—307, F. Poulsen Delphi trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 200 ff. Bourguet adopts the view advocated by H. Strack (Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien 1864 v Abb. p. 43 ff.), F. Wieseler (Jahrh. f. class. Philol. 1864 x. 245 ff., id. Uber den delphischen Dreipod. extr. from the Abb. d. gottl. Gesellsc. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe xv) Göttingen 1871 p. 91 f. n.), P. Wolters (Friederichs—Wolters Gipsabguss p. 110 ff. no. 327), and E. Fabricius (Das phialeische Weihgeschenk in Delphi' in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1886 i. 176—191 with figs.), viz. that the serpent-base was a central column supporting the libell and enclosed by the legs of the tripod. Frazer and Poulsen favour the rival view advanced by P. A. Dethier and A. D. Mordtmann ('Epigraphik von Byzantion und Constantinopolis' in the Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien 1864 v Abb. pp. 3—8 with figs. x, y, z and pls. 1—4), viz. that the feet of the tripod rested on the serpent-heads projecting from the top of the spiral column. Restorations on the former hypothesis are given by H. Strack (Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien 1864 v Abb. pl. 3, 24 c.), B. Graef (Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1886 i. 189 fig.), and A. Tournai (in his panorama of the precinct, Fouilles de Delphes ii. 1 pl. 9); restorations on the latter hypothesis, by P. A. Dethier and A. D. Mordtmann (Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien 1864 v Abb. pl. 2, 24, cp. pl. 4, 24 a, 24 b), and by F. Andre (H. Luckenbach Erläuterungen zur Wandtafel von Delphi München und Berlin 1904, pp. 22—25 fig. 22). I follow Strack, Wieseler, etc. rather than Dethier, Mordtmann, etc. because (a) the extant serpent-head shows no trace of a tripod-foot attached to its upper surface (Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien 1864 v Abb. p. 12 n. 1), and (b) the monument as reconstructed by Dethier, Mordtmann, etc. would have been sui generis, whereas the monument as reconstructed by Strack, Wieseler, etc. fits into a whole series of recognised types. The sketch that I give (fig. 134) is a fresh restoration, which takes into account (i) the plinth still in situ at Delphoi (Rhomaiades phot. Delphoi no. 17); (2) the twenty-nine coils now in the Hippodrome (Almeidan) at Constantinople (Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1886 i pl. opposite to p. 176), (3) the serpent-heads figured in a Turkish miniature of 1539—1540 A.D. representing a festival in the Almeidan under Sultan Soliman (Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien 1864 v Abb. pp. 9, 30 pl. 1, 14 c, d, e), (4) the serpent-heads seen and drawn by Wheler in 1675 A.D. (G. Wheler A journey into Greece London 1682 p. 185 fig. 1), and (5) the upper part of one of the heads, found by Fossati in 1848 A.D. and preserved in the Museum of St Eirene at Constantinople (Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien 1864 v Abb. p. 1, 17 a, b, c, d).

2 Clarae Mus. de Sculpt. ii. 238—269 pl. 111 fig. 50 (= my fig. 136), Fröhner Sculpt. du Louvre i. 144 f. no. 100, Baumeister Denkm. i. 461 fig. 510, Reinach Rép. Stat. i. 20 no. 3. Height 116 m. The parts restored are the plinth, the griffn-feet, and all the lower portion of the monument including the hoop, the three uprights excepting one bucranium and the upper portion of another, the foliage-lyres, and the quiver-strap.

Fig. 135.
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lébes resting on a central shaft, which is conceived as a bay-trunk and entwined with a snake—Python presumably, since the god's quiver is hanging beside it. Similarly a statuette in Greek marble that forms part of the same collection (fig. 137)\(^1\) represents Apollon standing by a tripod, whose lébes again rests on a bay-trunk entwined with a snake. These examples remind us that the name *tripos* was given to a species of bay-tree with three roots\(^2\). But a statuette in Italian marble at Dresden (fig. 138)\(^3\), which presupposes a Greek bronze\(^4\) of Praxitelean character\(^5\), shows Apollon leaning on a columnar tripod of a much earlier type\(^6\). If it be objected that the column necessary in a marble copy would have been absent from the bronze original, we can point not only to reliefs\(^7\) and vases-

\(^1\) Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 346 fig. 925 (= my fig. 137). Föhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 97 f. no. 75. Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 175 no. 3. Height 0.535 m. The parts restored are the plinth, both feet of Apollon, the tip of his nose, a patch over his left breast, his right hand with the bay-branch (tenon antique), his left hand with the snake's tail, the middle of the snake's body, and the greater portion of the tripod-hoops.


\(^4\) Overbeck *Gr. Kunsthymn.* Apollon p. 211.


\(^6\) Note that the supporting column tapers downwards like those of 'Minoan' art.

\(^7\) E. Fabricius in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 186 cites the Chigi base
paintings (fig. 139), in which there is no question of structural exigency, as portraying such tripods, but also to sundry bases and votive replicas as furnishing additional proof of their existence. An architect's specification, found in or near Athens and dated by M. Holleroux before 350 B.C., actually gives a detailed description of one:

\[\text{(infra p. 199 n. 2)}\], a relief found in the theatre at Athens, which shows a tripod with a central support in the form of a Doric pillar (L. von Sybel *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen Marburg* 1881 p. 281 n. 391), and a relief drawn by F. Adler on the Akropolis, which has a tripod with a central stem broad at the base and rapidly tapering upwards (not in L. von Sybel *op. cit.*).

1 F. Wieseler *Über den delphischen Dreifuß* (extr. from the *Abh. d. d. Geistl. Gesell. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe xvi*) Göttingen 1871 p. 90 n. adduces: (i) A red-figured amphora from Sorrento in the British Museum, signed by the vase-painter Polygnotos; this has for its main subject two women attaching fillets to the horns of two bulls, which stand before two large columnar tripods (Bértz *Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 209f. no. K 284, Gerhard *Auserl. Vase* i. 10 pl. 243, W. Klein *Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen* 2nd ed. Wien 1887 p. 199, Reinauch *Rep. Vases* ii. 123, 1, Hoppen *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 376f. fig.). (ii) A red-figured *aïnokhós* in the Pourtalés collection, which depicts Nike flying through the air with a fillet towards a columnar tripod (T. Panofka *Antiques du cabinet du comte de Pourtalés-Goggi* Paris 1834 p. 30f. pl. 6, 1 (my fig. 139)). Both vases are referable to the fine style of vase-painting (c. 460—440 B.C.), and in both the tripod-support takes the form of a Doric column.

2 E. Fabricius in the *Jahrh. d. k. k. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 187 ff. notes the following examples: (i) Adjoining the S. angle of the pre-Periclean Propylaia there is still in situ the stepped base of a columnar tripod, which cannot be later than the first half of 5. v B.C. (R. Bohn *Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen Berlin & Stuttgart* 1882 p. 17 pl. 3, W. Doerpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 x pl. 2, W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen München* 1905 p. 198 fig. 22 = M. L. D'Ooge *The Acropolis of Athens New York* 1908 p. 31 fig. 7). (ii) An inscribed block, found W. of the theatre and now lying in the Asklepieion on the S. slope of the Akropolis, formerly supported a choric tripod of the columnar kind and is assigned to a date not long after 292 B.C. (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 1295, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 936, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 2 no. 710: Fabricius *loc. cit.* gives section and plan).

3 E. Fabricius *loc. cit.* p. 186: 'Unter jenen kleinen Nachbildungen wirklicher Dreifüsse aus Olympia [see A. Furtwängler in *Olympia* iv. 72 ff. nos. 534—547 pl. 27, cf. ib. p. 211f. no. 1370 fig.] befinden sich, wie K. Purgold mir mitgetheilt hat, einige Exemplare [but see A. Furtwängler in *Olympia* iv. 73 no. 538 pl. 27], bei denen unterhalb des Kessels in der Mitte zwischen den Beinen ein senkrechter Stab aus ineinandergedrehten Bronzedrähten angebracht ist.'
The tripod to be fixed on the impost, after boring holes for its feet and running the same with lead; also a small column of Pentelic marble to be fixed beneath the tripod, with a Doric capital to it, after cutting it straight below and working it smooth; and the capital to be painted in encaustic.¹

As to Delphic usage, we may with some show of reason argue from the Plataean trophy to the Pythian tripod. If the former was columnar, it is natural to suppose that the latter was too; for votive

¹ M. Holleux in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 134—144 with fig. 1: line 16 ff. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ καταλυτήριον τὸν τρίποδα καθαρύσας, ἐντετ. τὸν παραγωγὴν τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ περιμετρισθῆσαι, καὶ κόσμῳ διαφανοῖς Πεντελείου ὑπὸ τὸν τρίποδα, Δωρικὸν ἔχων τὸ ἐπίκρατον ἐπὶ αὐτῷ, ὑποθέσαται ὅρθῳ καὶ ἔσοδα τα λείων, καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ[κρανὸς] ἔγκαθος.
The Chigi base at Dresden, representing:

(a) The rape of the Delphic tripod by Herakles.
(b) The dedication of a columnar tripod by the *Pythia* and the *neokóros*.
(c) The dedication of a torch by a priest and priestess.
offerings tend to repeat the pattern of the local chose sacrée. Accordingly the Chigi base at Dresden (pl. xii)\(^2\), which itself seems to have carried a columnar tripod\(^3\), represents in one of its three archaic panels a Pythian priest and priestess dedicating a similar tripod on the top of a pillar. Moreover, archaizing reliefs of the imperial age (figs. 140, 141)\(^4\), made in all probability to commemorate

1 On the principle underlying this multiplication see Folk-Lore 1903 xiv. 271.

2 This marble base (height 1.30 m), which came to the Dresden Museum along with the Chigi collection, portrays (a) the rape of the Delphic tripod by Herakles, (b) the dedication of a columnar tripod by the Pythias and the neokhores, (c) the dedication of a torch by a priest and priestess. Various archaeologists have attempted to combine the three scenes in a consistent whole. According to K. O. Müller, Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst Stuttgart 1878 p. 78, P. Pervaroglu in the Ann. d. Inst. 1861 xxxiii. 119 ff., Friederichs—Wolters Gipsabgüsse p. 109 ff. no. 423, the central panel represents the struggle between Herakles and Apollon as the mythical prototype of a Pythian contest for a prize-tripod, the panel to the right shows the consecration of the prize, the panel to the left that of the torch with which the victor had won his race. The base as a whole supported the tripod thus gained, which, to judge from the kneeling Silenoi, the Sistror with drinking-cups, etc., was dedicated to Dionysos. Hence the ivy-wreath and Sardanapaloς type (E. Thramer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1117 ff., P. Wolters in the fahrbd. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1895 viii. 179 f., K. A. McDowall in the fourn. Hell. Stud. 1904 xxiv. 255 ff., V. Macchiorio in the Jahresheft. d. ost. arch. Inst. 1909 xii. 189 ff., W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertüm in Rom Leipzig 1912 i. 210 ff. no. 320) of the neokhores. A very different and far less probable explanation was given by C. Boetticher Das Grab des Dionysos (Winckelmannfest-Progr. Berlin xviii) Berlin 1856 with figs. 1 f. and 'Zu den Bildwerken der dreiseitigen Basis in Dresden' in the Arch. Zeit. 1858 xvi. 197 ff. pl. 117. He took (a) as the rape of the tripod, marking the locality, (b) as the consecration of the tripod in which were the remains of Dionysos, torn to pieces by the Titans, (c) as the consecration of a bakeos or phanos, symbolising the resuscitation of the god. He also supposed that the priest and priestess were the neokhores and the principal thyrides, and that the base carried a phanos, not a tripod. See further W. G. Becker Augusteum Dresden's antike Denkmäler enthaltend Leipzig 1804 i. 42 ff. pls. 5—7, B. Leplat Recueil des marbres antiques qui se trouvent dans la galerie du roy de Pologne à Dresden Dresden 1733 pl. 3, H. Hetiner Die Bildwerke der königlichen antiken Sammlung zu Dresden Dresden 1881 no. 80, L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pl. 1868 p. 46 ff., Overbeck Gr. Kunstmuth, Apollon p. 405 Atlas pl. 24, 14, ib. Gr. Plastik i. 260 ff. fig. 70 a, b, ib. p. 298 n. 203, Brunn—Bruckmann Denkm. der gr. und rom. Sculpt. pl. 150, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke Ant. Denkm. ii. 3. 328 f. pl. 27, 7, Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 60 nos. 1—3. My illustrations are made from the cast at Cambridge.

3 This is the inference usually, and in my opinion correctly, drawn from the fact that the upper surface of the base is triangular in shape with a smooth circular mark (14 inches across) in the centre of it; see the diagrams given by C. Boetticher in the Arch. Zeit. 1858 xvi. 277 f. F. Hauser Die neu-attischen Reliefs Stuttgart 1889 p. 53 f. no. 69 and p. 117 holds that the base bore a moveable object such as a candellabrum, but admits (p. 52) that its reliefs must have been copied from those of a tripod-base.

4 (1) In the Villa Albani (G. Zega Li bassirители antichi di Roma Roma 1808 ii pl. 99), T. Schreiber Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder pl. 34 (= my fig. 140), Brunn—Bruckmann Denkm. der gr. und rom. Sculpt. pl. 344 a, Welcker Alt. Denkm. ii. 37—57 pl. 3, 3 (＝Baumeister Denkm. i. 97 fig. 193), Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 151 no. 3, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmuth, Apollon pp. 260, 269 ff., W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertüm in Rom Leipzig 1913 ii. 426 f. no. 1876). Restored:
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Pythian victories, portray a pillar built into the terrace-wall at

central portion of the pillar and of the figure adjoining it, together with hands or fingers,
nose-tips, etc.

(2) At Berlin (Ant. Skulp. Berlin p. 373 f. no. 921, T. Schreiber op. cit. pl. 35 (=my
fig. 141), F. Studniczka Die Siegesgöttin Leipzig 1898 p. 20 pl. 8, 38 (=id. in the
Atlas pl. 21, 10, id. Gr. Plastik i. 262 fig. 71, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke
Ant. Denkm. ii. 3, 303 ff. pl. 25, 4). Restored : only the extreme edges of the relief and the top
of Nike’s nearer wing. Pentelic marble. Height 0’775 m., breadth 1’035 m.

(3) In the Louvre (Frohner Sculpt. du Louvre i. 42 ff. no. 12, Clarac Mus. de Sculpt.
ii. 236 pl. 120 fig. 39 (=Reinach Rép. Stat. i. 20 no. 1), T. Schreiber op. cit. pl. 36,
fig. 344. J. Warrack Greek Sculpture Edinburgh s. a. pl. 62). Restored : the edges of the
relief, including plane-tree, head and left leg of small statue, top of Nike’s wings, forearms
of Apollon and Artemis, upper part of tripod, and most of pediment. Greek marble.
Height 0’65 m., breadth 1’08 m.

(4) In the British Museum—fragment containing left half only (Brit. Mus. Cat.
Sculpture i. 317 f. no. 775, Description of the collection of Ancient Marbles in the British
arch. Inst. 1906 xxi. 79 with fig. 3 on p. 82 from a photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co.
no. 1050). Pentelic marble. Height 2 ft. 4 ins., breadth 1 ft. 9 ins.

Other replicas, excerpts, etc. are listed by Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Apollon p. 260 ff.
Atlas pl. 21, 11 f.

1 Cp. the citharodic relief of c. 400 B.C. from Miletos (I Athens), acquired by the
Dresden Museum in 1892 (P. Herrmann in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1894
ix Arch. Anz. p. 26 f. figs., F. Studniczka ib. 1906 xxi. 80 with fig. 2 on p. 79, Reinach
Rép. Reliefs ii. 60 no. 4)—a possible forerunner of the archaising series. The prototype
is, however, to be sought in an archaic original such as the fragmentary altar of the
Barracco Museum (Catalogue Barracco no. 82, Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 160 nos. 2 and 3).
Delphi\textsuperscript{1} and bearing a tripod of the species under discussion. We conclude that the mantic tripod, like these votive tripods, had a central support.

But if so, it follows that Apollon seated on his tripod is virtually seated on the top of a sacred pillar. He is thus a figure comparable with Zeus enthroned on the summit of his sky-pillar\textsuperscript{2}. Indeed, an

\textsuperscript{1} The locality of the scene represented has often been discussed. Most modern critics have identified the temple with that of Apollon at Delphi (so e.g. F. G. Welcker op. cit. ii. 42 f., 49, 53; W. Fröhner op. cit. i. 42 f., Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Apollon p. 267 f., W. Helbig op. cit. ii. 426). But L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pét. 1873 p. 222 ff., followed by B. Graef in Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke op. cit. ii. 3. 305, argued for the temple of the Palatine Apollo in Rome. F. Studniczka in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1906 xxi. 81 ff. favours the Python on the Ilissos with the Olympieion in the background, but id. 1907 xxii. 6—8 candidly admits that there is much to be said in favour of the identification with Delphi. In particular, the chariot-frieze of the temple, the plane-tree in the precinct (Klearchos περὶ παρουσίας τοῦ Πυθικοῦ in frag. 46 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 318 Müller) op. Athen. 701 b, Theophr. hist. plant. 4. 13. 2, Plin. nat. hist. 16. 238), the terrace-wall rising from left to right, the small ancient-looking effigy of Apollon (Paus. 10. 16. 8), if not also the triangular pillar supporting the tripod (? = the trophy erected by the Messenians of Naupaktos, on which see Homolle in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1897 xxi. 616 f.), all find their readiest explanation in the Delphian precinct.

\textsuperscript{2} Supra pp. 45 ff. (with i. 61 fig. 38), 89 f. Cp. the language of Eur. I. T. 1253 ff. τριπόδι τ' ἐν χρυσῷ θάσσεισ, ἐν ἄγευστῳ θρόνῳ | μαντείας βροτοῖς | θεοφάτων νέμων | ἀδεστῶν ἥπο, κ.τ.λ.
A fifth-century type of Apollon on the tripod is furnished by a relief in Pentelic marble (height 0'70 m., breadth 0'69 m.), now at Athens (Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus. p. 334 f. pl. 54 = my fig. 143, Stais Marbres et Bronzes : Athènes p. 238 f. no. 1389 fig.). The god rests his feet on a two-stepped base and raises his right hand, which may have held a phiale or, less probably, some attribute added in paint (bay-branch?). Before him stands Artemis leaning on her bow, the string of which was presumably painted. Behind him stands Leto laying her right hand on the shoulder of her son. The three together form the personnel of the Athenian Python (A. Furtwängler in the Ath. Mitt. 1878 iii. 186 n. 1, Svoronos loc. cit. p. 335). The relief is inscribed [ ......... ] BAKXIOANEOEKE, i.e. [ à òvā ] Baxio anēkhe. On it see further Friederichs—Wolters Gesammtg. p. 371 no. 1131, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Apollon pp. 232, 282 Atlas pl. 20, 16, A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 458, T. Schreiber ib. i. 600, B. Sauer ib. ii. 1977 fig. 4, Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 327 no. 1. The same type, with some variation of details, occurs on a red-figured vase of the second Hamilton collection (Tischbein Hamilton Vases i. 96 ff. pl. 28 = my fig. 143, Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. cbr. ii. 142 f. pl. 46, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Apollon pp. 232, 236 no. 49, 329 Atlas pl. 22, 7, Reinach Rép. Vases ii. 286, 2), which shows Apollon on the tripod, with a phiale in his right and a bow in his left hand, flanked by two females (? Pythia and attendant).
The figure of Apollon, isolated from this group, reappears on a handsome Apulian amphora with volute handles, found at Ceglie and now at Berlin (Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin ii. 905 ff. no. 3256), the neck of which shows Orestes at Pytho pursued by an Erinys: between them is Apollon on his tripod with his right hand outstretched and his left holding a long bay-branch; two females (Pythaia and attendant) fly in alarm (Raoul-Rochette Monuments inédits d'antiquité figurés Paris 1831 p. 193 ff. pl. 35, Overbeck Gall. her. Bildw. i. 710 f. Atlas pl. 29, 4, id. Gr. Kunstw. Apollon p. 232 Atlas pl. 22, 8, O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 982). Similarly a Lucanian amphora from Anzi in the same collection (Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin ii. 868 no. 3149) figures the god with a phiale raised in his right hand, but has the attribute in his left overpainted as a club, Apollon being thereby converted into a Herakles (E. Gerhard Berlin's antike Bildwerke Berlin 1846 i. 275 f. no. 979, Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. cér. ii. 143).

The same figure, reversed and bereft of its attributes, but still accompanied by Leto and Artemis, served for Apollon Pythios in the dedication of Xenokrateia (supra p. 183 n. 1). It was even translated, without essential change, from sculpture in relief to sculpture in the round, ep. (i) a statue in the Villa Albani at Rome (S. Raffei Ricerche sopra un'Apolline della villa Albani Rome 1821 with views of front, side, and back, Clarac Mus. de Sculpt. pl. 486 B fig. 737 A = Reinaich Rép. Stat. i. 249 no. 6 side-view, T. Panofka Die Heiligtümer der Griechen Berlin 1845 p. 5 pl. 1, 6 front-view, Overbeck Gr. Kunstw. Apollon p. 231 ff. Atlas pl. 23, 30 three-quarter position, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke Ant. Denkm. ii. 3. 309 pl. 25, 14 front-view, W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Leipzig 1913 ii. 409 f. no. 1848); (ii) a statue at Naples (G. Finati in the Real Muso Borbonico Napoli 1843 xiii. 1—4 pl. 41, Clarac Mus. de Sculpt. pl. 485 fig. 937 front-view, ib. pl. 486 A fig. 937 three-quarter position = Reinaich Rép. Stat. i. 248 no. 3 and i. 249 no. 2, Overbeck Gr. Kunstw. Apollon p. 231 ff.).

Overbeck op. cit. p. 182 rightly observes that in all these representations Apollon has a bare body with a himation wrapped about his legs. Since this is the normal costume of the seated Zeus, we may, I think, conclude that Apollon is here conceived as the mouth-piece of Zeus himself.
The Delphic Tripod

Apollon in the customary garb of Zeus, seated as his prophētes¹ on the tripod and divining with uplifted phialē in the presence of Artemis and Leto. The tripod itself, for those that know its history, is tantamount to a celestial seat². The god seated upon it is for the

¹ Aisch. Eum. 17 ff. τέχνης δὲ νῦν Ζεὺς ἐνθεοὶ κτίσαι φρένα ἢ ἰδεῖ τέταρτον τῶν μάχτων ἐν θρόνοις (so A. Turnèbe for χρώμων M.). ² Διὸς προφῆτης δὲ ἐστὶ (εἰσὶν M.) Δαίμονας πατρός (Macrob. Sat. 5. 22. 13 has πατρὸς προφῆτης ἐστὶ Δαίμονας Διὸς). The same thought is expressed in h. Ap. 133 χρήσον .zone νικηρώτατον Διὸς νημέρας βουλής, h. Herm. 471 f. καὶ τιμᾶ τε γέ (δὲ M.) φασὶ δαμαίνει εἰς Διὸς μνημήν | Μαρινας τις, εκάστη, Διὸς πάρα, θυσίαν πανταὶ ζευς ad loc., id. 531 ff. ἐκάστου τε καὶ ἑρμῶν, τῶν ἀγαθῶν, διὰ φοινίκας δαμαίνει εἰς Διὸς δομής. | Μαρινας δὲ, φέροντι, διασφέσι ψαλίκας (διαμπερίας M.), ἐν ἑρείπεισι (J. G. Hermann cij. ἐν ἑρείπεισι), ὡσεὶ σε θανάτων ἐστὶ δαμαίνει ὡσεὶ τῶν ἄλλων (ἄλλων M.) | ἀθανάτων: τὸ γὰρ οἶδε Διὸς νῦν: ἀπατή ἐγώ γε (this line is omitted in E.). ³ πιστοθάσι κατάκτων καὶ ἄβασα καρφέων ἄρσας, ἣν τοια ἐγενέθης ἄρσα, τὸν κρατοῦσα καθαρέων τοῖς, ἔστω ἀνεργεντῶν | ἄλλον γ' ἐλέεσθαι Ζυθοῦ πυκνόφρονα βουλής. κ.τ.λ., Pind. O. 8. 58 f. ὲς ἐμοὶ φάσμα λέγει Κρονίδα | πειράθειν βαρυγυμνὸν Διὸς κατὰ σχολ. μεν. 34 f. ὲς ἐμοὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ γεγενημένον ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς δριλικὸς καὶ σχολ. rec. 57 ὡς ἐμοὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ γεγενημένον ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς δριλικὸς καὶ σχολ. 45 ὡς ἐμοὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ γεγενημένον ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς δριλικὸς καὶ σχολ. 55 ὡς ἐμοὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ γεγενημένον ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς δριλικὸς καὶ σχολ. 65 ὡς ἐμοὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ γεγενημένον ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς δριλικὸς καὶ σχολ. 75 ὡς ἐμοὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ γεγενημένον ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς δριλικὸς καὶ σχολ. 85 ὡς ἐμοὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ γεγενημένον ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς δριλικὸς καὶ σχολ. 95 ὡς ἐμοὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ γεγενημένον ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς δριλικὸς καὶ σχολ. 105 ὡς ἐμοὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ γεγενημένον ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς δριλικὸς καὶ σχολ. 115 ὡς ἐμοὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ γεγενημένον ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς δριλικὸς καὶ σχολ. 125 ὡς ἐμοὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ γεγενημένον ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς δριλικὸς καὶ σχολ. 135 ὡς ἐμοὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ γεγενημένον ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς δριλικὸς καὶ σχολ.
time being in heaven, released from the limitations of terrestrial life and free to range in thought over land and sea (fig. 144). Themis

cimiteri dei cristiani primitivi di Roma Roma 1858 p. 75 f. pl. 36, 5 a fragmentary vessel of 5 iv a.d., on which we see Apollon in a loose transparent chiton standing beside his tripod, inscribed [VI]VAS MVLTIS ANNIS PIE Z H E S, the whole being executed in gold foil between two layers of glass. Asklepiades of Myrlea thought that tripods dedicated to the gods were made round in imitation of the universe (Athen. 489c).

1 A magnificent red-figured hydria, painted c. 480 B.C. and now preserved in the Vatican, shows Apollon, with lyre, bow and quiver, uplifted on a great winged tripod above the sea, in which are four fish and an octopus: the plunging dolphins mark him as Apollon Delphinios (Mus. Etr. Gregor. ii pl. 13 (ib. 2 pl. 21), T. Panofka in the Ann. d.

Fig. 144.
is finely conceived by a fifth-century artist as sitting on the Delphic tripod and fixing her gaze on the phiále, as she divines the future for Aigêu (fig. 145). In this masterly painting Themis is but the prototype of the Pythia: even the Pythia, when she mounts the tripod (fig. 146, b), lays by mortality and becomes more than human in her insight and foresight.

Inst. 1832 iv. 333 ff., Mon. d. Inst. i pl. 46 = my fig. 144, Lenormant—de Witte El. mon. cér. ii. 70 ff. pl. 6, L. de Ronchaud in Darenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 315 fig. 370, Baumeister Denkm. i. 103 fig. 108, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Apollon pp. 63 no. 13, 64 ff., 360 Atlas pl. 20, 13, M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2839, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 93, Reinach Rép. Vases i. 79, 4, W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümere in Rom Leipzig 1912 i. 311 no. 497, Hoppin Red. fig. Vases i. 66 no. 51, supra i. 335. As to the further interpretation of the scene, opinions differ. According to T. Panofka, C. Lenormant, J. de Witte, L. de Ronchaud, Apollon is crossing the sea from Crete to Delphi. J. Overbeck, M. Mayer, S. Reinach, W. Helbig, hold that he is on his way from the land of the Hyperboreoi to Delphi, where his advent was celebrated in the spring. K. Wernicke speaks more cautiously of "der Meeraht des A. Delphinius." A. Baumeister thinks "dass hier das Orakel des Gottes als Kolonien gründend und aussendend gedacht wird." Is it over-rash to see in this striking picture an artist’s conception of the ecstasy or ‘travelling clairvoyance’ of the god? In any case an odd sequel to it is Artemid. opereos. 5. 21 ὑδάτις τιν ἐκ κόσμῳ τράφων διακεῖν τῆν ἅλαγος μέγα : φιάλεων (ἐφώνει B) ἀρκετάμενα γαρφή ἡλικιωτικό καὶ εἰς νῆσον κατεκαθαθήν ἔπερ πέριξ ἰν αὐτῶν περίβλητων, καὶ ἐκείς (οἰκὼς συνν. Ald. J. G. Reiff corr.) τὸ σέρημα τῆς νήσου.

1 Fig. 145 is the interior design of a red-figured kylix from Vulci, now at Berlin (Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin ii. 719 f. no. 2338), painted by an Attic master (? Aison: see Hoppin Red. fig. Vases i. 16 no. 2). c. 440 B.C. The scene is laid in the temple of Delphi, which is suggested by the Doric column and entablature in the background.

AIGEUSE, with himation, bay-wreath, and fillet, propping his left arm-pit on a staff, awaits the response of THEMIS, who sits on the tripod, wearing chiton, himation drawn up over her head, ear-ring, and necklace. In her right hand she holds a sprig of bay, in her left a phiále, which she is apparently using as a divining-glass (so first Miss P. B. Mudie Cooke in the Journ. Rom. Stud. 1913 iii. 169, cp. supra i. 128). F. E. Robbins ‘The Lot Oracle at Delphi’ in Class. Philol. 1916 xi. 278—292 supposes that Themis is reading lots (Class. Quart. 1916 x. 355). See further E. Gerhard Das Orakel der Themis (Winklmannfest-Progr. Berlin vj) Berlin 1846 pp. 1—11 pl. id. Ausser. Vasenh. iv. 103—104 pl. 337 f. = Reinach Rép. Vases ii. 162, O. Benndorf in den Wiss. Forsch. A. pl. 11, 2 (after Gerhard), Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser Gr. Vasenmalerei iii. 110—113 pl. 140. My fig. 146 is after the last-named publication. I cannot, however, agree with Hauser that the female figure on the tripod is but a priestess (ib. p. 110 ‘Sie wird hier Themis...genannt mit einem mythologisch nicht gerechtfertigten Namen.’): see Harrison Myth. Mon. Ant. Ath. p. c fig. 19, ead. Themis p. 480 f. fig. 142, who rightly remarks—"she is not the Pythia; the days of Êgeus are earlier than this; she is Themis, who came after Ge and before Apollo.”

2 A red-figured metertis from Basilicata, now at Naples (Heydemann Vasensamml. Neapel p. 155 f. no. 1984), shows on the one side Orestes pursued by two Furies, on the other Orestes in the presence of Apollon at Delphi. Both paintings are of interest. In (a) the double row of striped pebbles may indicate the scene of murder (cp. Frazer Golden Bough): The Scapegoat p. 15 ff.). The bared breast of the right-hand Fury recalls the last appeal of the desperate queen (Aisch. cho. 896 ff., Eur. El. 1306 ff., Or. 536 ff., 839 ff., with C. Sittl Die Gebiérden der Griechen und Röm. Leipzig 1890 p. 173). And the face seen in the uplifted mirror is that of Klytemnestra herself—a masterly device to express
The Pythia as Bride of Apollon

(π) The Pythia as Bride of Apollon.

At this point two questions may be raised. If Themis, whom the Fates once bore 'up the dread stair' to Zeus¹, was really the

the haunting presence, and a reminder that the Erinys was originally none other than the angry ghost (Miss J. E. Harrison 'Delphika' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1899 xix. 205 ff. and in her Proleg. Gk. Rel.² p. 213 ff.). In (δ) Apollon is seated, with bay-branch and lyre, on the oμφαλος: to the left we see Orestes, to the right Pylades, both in traveller's attire, the former holding a sheathed sword and two spears, the latter a spear. Behind Orestes stands Elektra. Behind Pylades is the Pythia, seated on the tripod with a fillet in her hands. The moment represented is doubtful. According to C. Boetticher, Orestes is receiving from Apollon the sword and the commission to slay his mother. Raoul-Rochette and most critics regard the scene as one of purification after the deed: e.g. J. Overbeck thinks that Orestes is about to touch his blood-stained blade with the bay-branch of Apollon. H. Heydemann would recognise here the concluding act of the whole drama—'die Schwertweih nach völliger Genesung und Rückkehr aus der Krím.'


¹ Supra p. 37.
prototype of the Pythia, are we to infer that the Pythia was in some sense the bride of Apollon? It would seem so: at least the language used by Origenes\textsuperscript{1} and Ioannes Chrysostomos\textsuperscript{2}, if not that used by

\textsuperscript{1} Orig. c. Cel. 3. 25 ητε δια του Πυθίου στοιχείου περικαθεδρική τη Καλομέχη προφήτεια πενήμα δια των γυναικείων υπεισέρχεται το μαρτικόν, ο Απόλλων, το καθάρον άπε γηήνων σώματος (P. Koetschau ad loc. notes that ο 'Απόλλων is not to be altered into ου 'Απόλλωνos with E. Bouhéreau, nor to be deleted with F. Guyet, but to be regarded as in apposition [an alternative propounded by Bouhéreau]), 7. 3 ιστόρηται των περι της Πυθίας, επερ δοκεί των άλλων μαντείων λαμπρότερον τυγχάνει, ητι περικαθεδρικήν το τής Κασταλίας στόμων η τοι 'Απόλλωνος προφήτεις δέχεται πενήμα διά των γυναικείων κόλπων - οδ πληροθεία αποφθέγγεται τα νομίζόμενα εϊναι σεμαί σαι θεία μαντεύματα. κ.τ.λ., 8. 46 ή μεν Πυθία ιστόρηται (so edd. ιστόρησεν cod. L.) δη και νοθευθέτα έχρησε τοτε.

\textsuperscript{2} Io. Chrys. hom. 29. 1 in epist. i ad Cor. (lxi. 242 Migne) λέγεται τοιν παρ' η Πυθία γνη τις οίκοι ηπικαθήθαι το τρίτοδι ποτε του Απόλλωνος, διαρκόδα τα σκέλη 'εδ' εὑτω
Strabo before them, definitely implies that Apollon impregnated the Pythia as she sat on the tripod and filled her with his own divinity. Moreover, the marital relation of the god and his pro-

1 Strab. 419 φασὶ δ' ἐδώκασα τὸ μαστέον ἀντρον κολλὸν κατὰ βάθους (βάθος cod. κ. Ald.), οὐ μάλα εὑρότομον, αναφέρεται δ' έξ αὐτοῦ πνεύμα ἐνθουσιαστικόν, ἵππεικαίθεν δι' τοῦ στούντιον τρίτοπον ὕψους, ἐφ' ὑπὸ τὴν ΠΝείαν ἀναβαινοντας, δεχόμενη (cp. Orig. c. Cel. 7. 3 supra p. 208 n. 1) τὸ πνεύμα, ἀποθεοειτίς ἐμμετὰ τε καὶ ἄμετρα ἔκτινεις δε καὶ ταῦτα εἰς μέτοχον ποιοτά τινα ὑπορρέωσα του ἵππον.

2 If Apollon was ἑνώλως, his priestess was ἑνόλωσις: cp. Soph. frgs. 942 Nauck, 1044 Jebb ἑνόλωσις αρ. et mag. p. 344, 37 fl. ἑνολως τ' θ' γενός μαστέων (F. G. Sturz proposed ἑνόλωμα—μαστία, οὐ ἑνόλωμον οι ἑνόλωμοι—μάστεων) οὐτω καλοῦμεν διὰ τὸ ἐν ὑμίν κοιμηθήταί [γίνεσθαι] (γίνεσθαι om. M. F. G. Sturz cji. did τὸ τοῦ ἐν ὑμίν κοιμηθήτατα μαστίας γίνεσθαι] ἢ δομοὶ δὲ λέγονται οἱ τρίτοις τοῦ Ἀπολλώνος. δεδομένη καὶ παρομοία "ἐν ὑμίν κοιμηθήτα" ἃντι τοῦ μαστίας <ἡμέραν> (ins. F. Syllburg) ὁ δὲ Σοφοκλῆς ἀποθέωσις (R. F. P. Bruck, perhaps rightly, placed ἀποθέωσις τοῦ μαστίας after δ' ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἀποθέωσις "ἐν ὑμίν") τ' εἰς gen. as cited by E. Miller Mélanges de littérature greque Paris 1866 p. 114 has ὃ δ' Σοφοκλῆς ἐνόλωμα τοῦ Ἀπολλώνα λέγει], Zcnoh. 3, 63 εν ὑμίν εὑρίσκων οἰ μὲν ὁμοῦ μάστεως φασί: οἱ δ' τοῦ ἐν ὑμίν κοιμηθήτατο μαστίας γίνεσθαι δὲ καὶ παρομοία (so et. mag. loc. cit. οὐ καθότα) καὶ παρομοία γένεται καὶ Αριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικός φησιν ὃ οὐ καὶ καὶ καὶ τοῦ ἐν τοῦ Ἀπολλώνος δομοὺς καλεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλώνου εὐθώς Σοφοκλῆς ἐνόλωμα "ἐν ὑμίν," Eustath. in II. p. 836, 44 fl. περὶ τοῦ τοῦτον δομού λόγου ὅτι οὐ καὶ καὶ καὶ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς μαστίοις έγινότα. Παναγίας οὖν φησιν παραμικρῶς "ἐν ὑμίν εὑρίσκως," ἂν μαστίας ἐγινότα, schol. II. 11. 147 (published by L. C. Valckenaker Antiquae dialectica ad Antonium grammaticum libri tres Lugduni Batavorum 1739 p. 184) δέν καὶ καὶ τοῦ παλαιοῦ τούτι τι περτολογοῦντας ἐφακον ἐν ὑμίν κοιμηθήτα σε διά καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καὶ καί
The Pythia and the

phetic priestess at Delphi is strongly supported by later beliefs with regard to Python and by the analogous cult at Patara, where so long as Apollon tarried in the town his prophetess was shut up with him in the temple by night.

(p) The Pythia and the Caldron of Apotheosis.

But, again, if the Pythia, a mere mortal, is thus raised to the rank of a goddess, must she not, either in grim earnest or in mock show, endure the ritual of apotheosis? Now one form of this ritual consisted in the real or simulated boiling of the person concerned. A mortal plunged in the seething caldron thereby lost his mortality. Old age dropped away from him: perennial youth remained. He died the death of a man: he lived the life of a god. This strange belief points backwards—it may be—to a time when the dead, or even the aged, were dismembered and boiled for the readier removal of the flesh from their bones and the consequent liberation of their souls. In any case it underlies and explains a variety of Greek

(sic codd. VI. Barb. Ambr. Πυθίδαος cett.), Tert. de uxor. 1. 6 Achaeae Iunoni apud Aegium oppidum virgo sortitum, et quae Delphi insaniunt nubere nesciunt, id: de monogam. 17 sunt et quae de tota continentia judicent nos, virgines Vestae et Iunonis Achaiae et Dianae Scythicae et Apollinis Pythii, Hieron. epist. 123. 8 (xxii. 1051 Migne) ut omittam virgines Vestae et Apollinis Iunonisque Achivae (Erasmus c). Argive, alli mallent Achaicae et Dianae et Minervae, quae perpetua sacerdotii virginitate mar- crescent. Similarly the priestess, who was also the prophetess, of Apollon Deiradistes at Corinth is described as ἀρδήν εἰσή ἐς εἰργοιν (Paus. 2. 24. 1).

Ceremonial continence may doubtless be due to more causes than one. E. Fehrle Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum Giessen 1910 traces it back to two main sources: (a) Whoever enjoys the love of a deity, must forgo the love of mortals; (b) Sexual intercourse defiles, and religious defilement implies the presence of evil spirits. In any given case either or both of these causes may be operant. But that the former at least was a vera causa to the worshippers of Apollon seems certain—witness e.g. the myth of Koronis.

1 Soudi. Πύθωνος: ψαμμοιον μαντικον. "tás te πνεύματι Πύθωνος ἐνθουσιασει και φαντασιον εύθειαν ἐπ' ἄλλων οἰκεύσαν τῇ τοῦ δαιμονίου περίφορη ἧδιον τὸ κόσμον προκαθαιρήσας.
οὶ θ' ἄλλων δαιμόνων κάτοχοι ἐφ' ὅσσων τῆς ἴδιας παροσευμα της." with G. Bernhardy ad loc.

2 Hdt. 1. 182 ἀφόστεια ἢ αὐταί (sc. the wife of Zeus Bélos ep'epa p. 128 n. 4 and the wife of Zeus Θείεις ep'epa i. 348 n. 1) λέγονται ἄρδην τῶν ἄδαιμων ἐνοχὴν ἐν ὅμιλην φωταῖς καὶ κατάπερ ἐν Πατρώσι τῇ Λυκία ἐν προμαντια τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐτέρω γινεῖται—οὐ γὰρ ἄνει ἄνει ἐστι χρηστήματος αὐτ(Db) (Serv. in Verg. Aen. 4. 143 states that Apollon was at Patara during the six winter months, at Delos during the six summer months)—ἐτέρω γίνεται, τότε ὁ δὲ ἄνει ἄνει, τότε ὁ συνεκαταληται τάς νύκτας οὐκ ἐν τῷ νύμφ.

3 See the facts collected by Frazer Golden Bough: Taboo p. 372 n. 5, ib.: The Dying God p. 96, id. Belief in Immortality i. 165 ff. My suggestion has been to some extent anticipated by W. Mannhardt Germanische Mythen Berlin 1858 p. 92 n. 5: "Hängt mit dieser Anschauung zusammen, dass man im zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhundert Leichname aufschneit, das Fleisch mit Wein oder Wasser absobt und ablöst und abgesondert von den gesammelten Knochen begrub? Pabst Bonifaz VIII. untersagte diese Sätze." Mannhardt adds detailed proof of this singular custom, noting that it was chiefly observed when a man died abroad and his friends or relatives wished his bones to be buried at home.
Caldron of Apotheosis

rites, myths, and imaginings—the rites of Leukothea¹, the myths of Pelias² (fig. 147), Aison³ (fig. 148), Iason⁴ (pl. xiv), Pelops⁵ (fig. 149),

¹ Supra i. 419 n. 10, 674 f.
² Supra i. 245, 419, 679. A relief of Pentelic marble, found at Rome in 1814 and now in the Lateran Museum (O. Benndorf—R. Schöne Die antiken Bildwerke des Lateranenischen Museums Leipzig 1867 p. 61 ff. no. 92, W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Leipzig 1913 ii. 7 f. no. 1164, Friederichs—Wolters Gipsabgüsse p. 400 ff. no. 1200, Brunn—Bruckmann Denkm. der gr. und röm. Skulpt. pl. 341 b (= my fig. 147), Reimach Ἱ. Reliefs iii. 277 no. 1), shows the preparations for the boiling of Pelias. On the left in foreign garb stands Medea Ἐφήβη (Anth. Pal. 15. 26. 5 (Diosida)), with a basket or box of magic herbs in her hands (op. supra i. 741 pl. xil); she lifts the lid to throw its contents into the caldron, which the younger sister is just placing in position before her. On the right stands the elder sister, irresolute, her knife ready drawn from its sheath, but her head sunk pensively on her hand (H. Brunn in the Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1881 ii. 95 ff., followed by A. Milchhofer Die Befreiung des Prometheus (Winckelmanni Fest-Preis. Berlin xliii) Berlin 1882 p. 37 f., took this figure for Medea, and Medea for one of the Peladaces; but see O. Benndorf—R. Schöne ὃ. ὁμ. p. 63).


A third relief, known only from a drawing of s. xvii in the dal Pozzo collection (ii. 28 no. 34) at Windsor Castle and from a sketch in bistre and white made in the first half of s. xviii and formerly owned by Cardinal Albani (both published by O. Kern loc. cit. 1888 iii. 68 fig. 1, 70 fig. 2), gave Medea a μῆτερ with close-fitting sleeves down to the wrist and the elder sister a shape of somewhat different shape (A. Michaelis loc. cit. 1888 iii. 225).

These copies presuppose as their common archetype an Attic relief of the late fifth or the early fourth century (the coiffe of the central figure and the pathos of the whole scene point rather to the latter date). They have moreover close stylistic affinity with two further reliefs—on the one hand that of Hermes, Eurydike, and Orpheus (the best copy is at Naples: see Brunn—Bruckmann ὃ. ὁμ. pl. 341 a, L. Mariani in the Guida del Mus. Napoli p. 45 ff. no. 138 fig., J. Pickard 'The Orpheus Relief' in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1898 ii. 169—172, on the other that of Herakles, Peirithoos, and Theseus (the only complete copy is in the Museo Torlonia at Rome: see W. Helbig ὃ. ὁμ. ii. 447 f. no. 1908, id. 'La composizione di un rilievo Torlonia completata da un frammento conservato nel Museo di Berlino' in the Mon. d. Linc. 1893 i. 673—686 pl. 1, 2, Friederichs—Wolters ὃ. ὁμ. pl. 409 f. no. 1201, A. Baumeister in his Denkm. iii. 1795 f. fig. 1880, Reimach Ἱ. Reliefs iii. 340 no. 4, P. Weissäcker in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1798 f. with fig. 15). In view of the fact that all three reliefs are approximately the same in size and shape it has been conjectured that they were originally parts of a connected whole—votive slabs commemorating successful dramas, perhaps a trilogy (E. Reisch Griechische Weltgeschichte (Abhandlungen des archäologisch-epigraphischen Seminareis der Universität Wien viii))
Arkas⁶, Melikertes⁷, Peleus' sons⁸, Dionysos' attendants⁹, and the Aristophanic conception of Demos¹⁰. Nay more, it survives to this hour in the folk-tales of Sicily and Walachia¹¹, Germany and Scandinavia¹². I am therefore inclined to conjecture Wien 1890 p. 130 ff., pursuing a hint of P. Wolters ib. p. 130 n. 1), or even, since some copies at least are appreciably narrower above than below, the three sides of a triangular base on which, as on the Chigi base (supra p. 169 n. 2 pl. xii), stood a choragic tripod (L. Mariani loc. cit. p. 461 f., H. Balle Der schöne Mensch² Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 p. 287). If so, the significance of the whole design is not hard to guess. Pelias was the subject of an attempted, but unsuccessful, resurrection. So was Eurydice. So was Perithoos. Nothing could be more appropriate than the representing of these myths on the base of a tripod-libes, the very caldron of apothecies.

Other monuments of the Pelias-story are noted by K. Seelig in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2505 f., O. Höfer ib. iii. 1846 f. To the vases there given must be added a red-figured hydria of early fine style (c. 465 B.C.), formerly in the Hamilton collection (Tischbein Hamilton Vases i. 60 ff. pl. 7), which on the dispersal of the Deepdene treasures (Hope Sale Catalogue 1917 p. 16 no. 81 wrongly described) was acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. This magnificent vase (height 14½ ins.) has been attributed by Mr. J. D. Beazley to the hand of 'the Villa Giulia painter' (Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 464 ff.) and is in faultless condition. It represents the three Peliasides about to carry out the instructions of Medea, though Medea herself is absent. On the left the eldest sister, in Ionic chiton and himation tucked round her waist, grips a short sword in one hand and raises the other with a gesture of amazement; she is aghast, but resolved. The second sister, in a Doric peplos girt over its long apophthuga, bears high a phiale containing the fateful decoction, but betrays her inward misgivings by the nervous pressure of her hand against her cheek. On the right the third and youngest, in a Doric peplos with short apophthega and kophos, turns to flee from the spot in a horror of expostulation. Her chignon in profile, despite the all but full-face features, is a lingering trace of earlier style. Pl. xiii is from a photograph taken for me by Mr. W. H. Hayles.


⁴ Simonid. frag. 204 Berkg⁴ and Pherekyd. frag. 74 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 89 Müller) ap. schol. Eur. Med. argum. 1 and schol. Aristoph. eq. 1321. This version of the myth is illustrated by a red-figured kylix from Vulci now in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 148 ff. no. 165). My pl. xiv is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming; for we need not with H. Heydemann Jason in Kolchis (Winckelmannfest-Präge. Halle 1886) p. 19 n. 48 regard the inscription IASON as a mistake for AISON.


⁷ Supra p. 328 n. 5.

⁸ Supra i. 674, 674 n. 4, 679.

⁹ Supra i. 785.

¹⁰ Supra i. 785.

¹¹ W. Mannhardt Germanische Mythen Berlin 1848 pp. 64–75, O. Dähnhardt Natur-
Hydria in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: the Peliades about to carry out the instructions of Medeia.

See page 213 n. 4.
Hydria from Vulci, now in the British Museum: Medea renews the youth of Iason.

See page 212 n. 4.
that the curious custom of the Pythia sitting on the Delphic tripod finds its ultimate explanation in the caldron of apotheosis.

Fig. 147.


It should be observed that these tales are often concerned with the resurrection of animals. The story of Thor’s goats (Gylfaginning 44, translated by K. Simrock Die Edda? Stuttgart 1878 p. 277 f. Parallels collected by J. W. Wolf Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie Göttingen—Leipzig 1852 i. 88—90. ‘Die wiederbelebten böcke,’ id. in his Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde Göttingen 1853 i. 70 f., R. Köhler in T. Benfey’s Orient und Occident Göttingen 1864 ii. 680, K. Simrock Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie Bonn 1878 p. 239 ff. ‘Wiederbelebung der Böcke,’ J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology tr. J. S. Stallybrass London 1881 i. 184 n. 1, ib. 1883 iii. 995. R. M. Meyer Allgermanische Religionsgeschichte Leipzig 1910 p. 285 is right in compar-
story was told at greater length and with other variations by Ephoros the historian (c. 350 B.C.), whose account is preserved to us in primis by Strabo

1 Ephoros states that the Thracians after making a treaty with the Boeotians attacked them one night, when their camp was off its guard in the enjoyment of peace. The Boeotians flung them back, and at once reproached them for breaking the treaty. “No,” said the Thracians, “we agreed to a truce by day; we attacked you by night.” Hence the common proverb—“a Thracian shuffle.” While the war was still being waged, the Pelasgians and the Boeotians too went to consult the oracle. He cannot tell, he says, what answer was given to the Pelasgians; but the prophetess replied to the Boeotians that they would prosper, if they committed impiety. The sacred envoys, suspecting the prophetess of showing favour to the Pelasgians in her reply on account of their kinship (for the sanctuary had originally been Pelasgian), caught up the woman and cast her on to a pyre. They thought that, whether she had done amiss or not, in either case their action was justified: if she had uttered a lying oracle, she was duly punished; if she had done no wrong, they had but carried out her bidding. Those in charge of the sanctuary did not like to put the perpetrators to death, in a sanctuary too, without a formal judgment, so brought them to trial and summoned them before the priestesses, that is the prophetesses, three in number to begin with and now reduced to two. The Boeotians protested that nowhere was it customary for women to act as judges. An equal number of men was therefore chosen. The men acquitted; the women condemned. As the votes were equal, those for acquittal prevailed. Ever since then at Dodona oracles have been delivered to the Boeotians, and to the Boeotians only, by men. The prophetesses, however, put a different interpretation upon the oracle, to wit, that the god enjoined upon the Boeotians to steal the tripods in Boiotia and send one year by year to Dodona. And this in point of fact they do. They always take down by night one of their dedicated tripods, wrap it in cloaks, and have a clandestine tripod-carrying to Dodona.  

1 Ephoros frag. 30 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 241 f. Müller) ap. Strab. 401 f. 
2 Ὠρφικα παρείπορις, cp. Xenob. 4. 37, append. prov. 3. 21, Souid. s.v. Ὠρφικα παρείπορις, Polyain. 7. 43. 
3 Quoted by Eustath. in Od. p. 1760, 4 f. 
4 Cp. Prokl. chrism. (after Ephoros ?) ap. Phot. bibl. p. 321 b 32 ff. Bekker τὸ δὲ τριπόδοφορον μέλος (Poll. 453 τριπόδοφορα) τριπόδο φροφονέων παρά τοις Βουστίως ἵθετο. ὅσε δὲ καὶ τούτο αὐτίνα τοιαύτην. Πελασγῶν τως Πάνακτος τὴν Βουστίαν ἐπόρθων, Θηβαίοι δὲ ἣνων καὶ πέμψαντες εἰς Δωδώνην περὶ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου νίκης ἐκρώτων. Χρησμὸς δὲ τοῦ Θηβαίων ἐκέφασιν ὡς. εἰ μεγίστον ἄσβησμα ἄρεβάρια χρήσων, μικρόσων, ἐδοξοῦσιν τούτοις ἄσβησματος εἶναι μεγίστον τὸ τὴν χρησμὸν ἐδοξασαν αὐτοῖς τῶν χρησμῶν ἀνείλει· καὶ ἀνείλει. αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ τέμενος συνερχεὶ δικήν λαβών τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Θηβαίου. Θηβαίοι δὲ οὐκ ἐπετέρνουσι γεναίς μάναις τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν δίκην· κωστὶ δὲ κρίσεις ἀνθρώπων καὶ γυναικῶν γεγενήμενης, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων λεικάς αὐτοῖς ἐπενεγκατέσθημεν, ἐξέγοντες γιὰ τοῖς Θηβαίοι. ἄστερον δὲ ἐπενέγκατο αὐτοῖς τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρησιμοῦ προτεστάσμενον, βασιλεύσαντες τῶν κατὰ τὴν Βουστίαν ἱερῶν τριπόδων ἑνὸς, καὶ κατακαλύφθησαν ως ἱερόσυνη, ἀνεπέκακαν εἰς Δωδώνην. εὐφραγησάντες δὲ εἰς ἵθεν τοῦ λαοῦ τὴν πράξιν ἐσφιάσαν ἐπόπευον. This tripod-carrying did not, like that of the Thebans to their Isthmion (Pind. Pyth. 11. 7 f. χρησιμὸς ἐκ άνθρωπων τριπόδων θρασύνων with schol. ret. ad loc. δὲ γὰρ Θηβαίων εἰς ἐπανδοφορούν εἴκοσι), merely aim at increasing the property and prestige of the god; nor did it, like that of the Athenians from Delphi (L. Couve in the Bull. corr. hell. 1894 xviii. 87 ff. no. 9, 90 ff. no. 10, Dittenberger syl. Inscr. Gr. 2 no. 663 and no. 718, Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr.)
Ephoros, in the interests of probability, eliminates the *bizarre* 'caldron of hot water' and tacitly substitutes a commonplace 'pyre,' thereby spoiling the end of his story, which suggests rather that the sacred tripods made amends for a sacred caldron. I surmise that the impiety of boiling the priestess at Dodona in a caldron of hot water, an impiety authorised or at least instigated by the oracle itself, implies a long-standing ritual, to which recourse might have been kept in dark and desperate times.

At Delphi, it is true, the priestess was not boiled in a caldron. But we have to ask ourselves: What form would be taken by a simulated boiling? The Orphic votary in like circumstances pronounced the words

'I have fallen as a kid into milk,

and in all probability stepped into an actual caldron for a make-believe seething'. At Delphi a she-goat, over which cold water had first been poured, was sacrificed, and the *Pythia* then took her

no. 1285 and no. 466, *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 2 nos. 32 f.), serve as a means of transporting sacred fire; still less was it, like that of Ptolemy ii Philadephos (Athen. 198 c. d, 199 D, F, 202 B, C), a case of exaggerated pomp. Rather we may suppose that this was an expiation in kind. A sacred *lêbes* (? tripod) had been defiled by an impious act: sacred tripods must be sent year by year to replace it. Why they had to be stolen, and wrapped in cloaks, we are not told. In Scotland at Hallowe'en divination was practised by means of stolen hair: 'It was necessary that the plants should be stolen without the knowledge or consent of their owner; otherwise they were quite useless for the purpose of divination' (Fraser *Golden Bough* 3: Balder the Beautiful i. 234 f.). Possibly the same notion played some part in Herakles' theft of the Delphic tripod. The wrapping in cloaks was probably prophylactic (cp. e.g. *supra* i. 58, 107 n. 4, 533, alib.).

1 *Supra* i. 676 f.

2 Diod. 16. 26 λέγεται...το παλαιόν α' γας εἰρείν τὸ μαντεῖον...οὐ χάρων αἰὲξ μάλιστα χριστάριον δέχεσθαι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οἱ Δελφοὶ, Plout. *de def. or.* 49 τὴν δ' α' γας διελέγετον τὸ φυτὸν θάνων...οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ψυγῖς κατὰ φάσιν ἔχοντες τὸ πρὸς τὴν καταστασιον ἄπαθες καὶ ἀκόρετος. A decree of the Delphians, passed in honour of Nikomedes iii of Bithynia and Laodike (92—91 B.C.), mentions goats among the flocks and herds of the gods (L. Couve in the *Bull. corr. hell.* 1894 xviii. 254 ff. no. 1409, 15 f., H. Pontow in *Philologus* 1895 liv. 356 ff., J. Baumack in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* ii. 888 ff. no. 2738, 16 f. καὶ ποιεῖ τὰς α' γας τὰς ιεράς 'Ἀρχελάου ἢ Ζέων ἢ Πετρίσθεον Μένωνα, Δώρων, 'Ρόθων, Ἡπιάν, Λυκέαν. And the rule of the Labydai speaks of a she-goat offered to Bouzyge daughter of Phanotus (Dittenberger *Syl. inscr. Gr.* 8 no. 438 d 200, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr.* gr. no. 995 D 35, J. von Prött and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 74 d 35 *χίουρον*). Goats played a considerable part at Delphi. The oracle was first discovered by a goat-herd (cp. Paus. 10. 5. 7 and *supra* p. 189 n. 8), who noticed that his goats on approaching a certain chasm and looking into it skipped about and bleated in an unusual manner: following their example, he too was similarly affected and began to foretell future events (Diod. 16. 26). When, according to one account, Python had been wounded and was trying to escape along the Sacred Way, Apollon pursued after him and κατέλαβε...αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἀρτι τεθυρίζωσε, κεκτήθηκείν ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ὁ δοσια ἅν Ἀφ., ὁ λέγοντα (Plout. *quassit.* Gr. 12: see further *Folk-Lore* 1904 xiv. 402 ff.). Hesych. ομφαλὸς Αἰγών. στηναίναι πῶς τὴν Πυθών ομφαλὸν Αἴγαλον. τύνος δὲ παρὰ τῷ τῆς Αἴγαλος γῆς was emended by Salmasius to ομφαλὸς Αἴγαλον. στηναίναι πῶς τὴν Πυθών εἰρίκεν ομφαλὸν Αἴγαλον. τύνος
Dionysos and the Caldron of Apotheosis.

The inference here drawn with regard to the Pythia may seem rash, or even grotesque; but the Orphic ritual cannot be separated from the Orphic myth, which—if I am not mistaken—came to locate the caldron of apotheosis at Delphi and to identify it with the mantic tripod.

Clement of Alexandria, an excellent authority in such matters, after quoting Orpheus for the attack of the Titans upon the infant Dionysos, continues:

'The Titans, who had torn him in pieces, set a certain caldron upon a tripod, and dropping the limbs of Dionysos into it began by boiling them. After that, they pierced them with spits and "held them over Hephaistos." Zeus then made his appearance (being a god, he presumably had soon got a whiff of the roast flesh—your gods admit that they get that "as their guerdon"), struck the Titans with a thunderbolt, and entrusted the limbs of Dionysos to his son Apollon for burial. Apollon, obedient to the commands of Zeus, took the body in pieces to Parnassos and there deposited the same.'

Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 102 n. 12 reads ὄμφαλος Ἀλγαῖος, but would connect the epithet with Ἀττάς; and O. Hoffer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 3379 ff. apparently reverts to ὄμφαλος Ἀλγος in the same connexion. But Ἀλγαῖος, which implies an α-stem, cannot be legitimately derived from Ἀττάς; and the existence of a stream called Ἀλγᾶς and a plain called Ἀλγαῖον close to Delphi (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀλγαῖος πέλαγος citing Hes. frag. 193 Flach 42 Rzach, Eustath. in Dionys. perg. 132) strongly supports the reading ὄμφαλος Ἀλγαῖος. The people of Eryx in Crete dedicated at Delphi a bronze she-goat suckling Phylakes and Philandros, children of Apollon by the nymph Akakallis (Paus. 10. 16. 5). Small silver coins of Delphi struck c. 520—500 B.C. have as their reverse type the head of a goat to right in an incuse square (J. N. Svoronos in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1896 xx. 19 f. pl. 25, 7 f.), or the heads of two goats facing each other, sometimes with a dolphin to right above them, in an incuse square (ib. ib. p. 21 pl. 25, 20—22 and 23 f.); others, struck c. 500—480, have rev. a goat's head facing in an incuse square, with or without ΑΔ (ib. ib. p. 21 f. pl. 25, 25—28, 32 f. and 29 f.); others, c. 480—460, a goat's head facing, between two dolphins, in an incuse square (ib. ib. p. 24 pl. 25, 36—43 and p. 25 f. pl. 26, 1—6, 7, 8—13, 14); others, c. 460—448, the same type with ΔΑΛλ above it (ib. ib. p. 26 pl. 26, 15—20); others, c. 431—355, the same type with ΑΔΛΛ above it, but in a circular incuse (ib. ib. p. 27 f. pl. 26, 22—24, 25); others, c. 355, a goat's head facing, between two dolphins and two ivy-leaves, with ΔΕΛΛ above it (ib. ib. p. 28 pl. 26, 22—31); see also Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece p. 24 ff. pl. 4, 1—3, 5—12 (my figs. 152—154 are from casts of nos. 1, 2, 10, 11, 12), Head Hist. num. 3 p. 340 f.

1 Clem. Al. praeot. 2. 18. 1 f. p. 14, 17 ff. Stählin (quoted by Euseb. praeot. ev. 2. 3.
Other writers confirm this account and enable us to trace it back for more than four hundred years. Thus Tzetzes, the learned commentator on Lykophron's *Alexandra*, says:

"Dionysos too was honoured at Delphi along with Apollo in the following way. The Titans, having rent the limbs of Dionysos, gave them to Apollo his brother, after dropping them into a caldron; and Apollo put them away beside the tripod, as is stated by Kallimachos and by Euphorion in the words—

They dropped Bakchos the divine above the bowl on the fire."

These passages prove, to my thinking, that the Thraco-Phrygian myth of Dionysos had taken root at Delphi at least as early as the third century B.C., and that the caldron of apotheosis, an essential feature of the myth, was then identified with the tripod of Apollo himself. If Aischylos two centuries earlier can make his *Pythia* say "Bromios too possesses the place," it will hardly be maintained that we have here to do with a late and valueless tradition. The burden of proof rests with those who contest that the Thraco-Phrygian myth reached Delphi later than the Thraco-Phrygian god. Be that as it may, the tomb of Dionysos at Delphi, like the tomb of Zeus in Crete, continued to be an object of interest till Byzantine times. Tatian indeed (c. 152 A.D.) confines it with the

25 f.) οι δὲ Τιτάνες, οι καὶ διασπάοντες αὐτῶν, ἐβρήσατο των τρίποδοι ἐπίθεντες καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου ἐμβαλόντες τὰ μὲλη, καθήφοιν πρότερον ἐπείτη ἐμβιλακίσκοι περιείραντες (ἀμπείραις Euseb. H. after II. 2. 476) "ὑπὲρ ὶς ἤργου " ὕμωσι ωμῷ οὐκ θεῷ—καμάνῳ τοῖς Τιτάναις αἰδεῖται καὶ τὰ μέλη τοῦ Διονύσου Ἀπόλλων τῷ πατὶ παρακατατίθεναι καταδέχεσθαι. ο δὲ, οὐ γάρ ἤπειθεν Διί, εἰς τὸν Παρασάθον φέρον κατατίθεται δίπεπαμιθομένω τοῦ νεκρόν.

1 Tzet. in Lyk. AI. 298 ἐπιμέλετα δὲ καὶ Διώνυσος ἐν Δέλφοι σὺν Ἀπόλλων οὐδέως: οι Τιτάνες τὰ Διώνυσον μέλη σταράζοντες Ἀττιλλων ἀβαλάρῳ ἄντων αὐτῶν παρεθέντο ἐμβάλοντες λέγοντα, ο δὲ παρὰ τῷ τρίποδι ἀπεθέντο ὡς φοίνις Κάλλιμαχος (frag. 374 Schneider) καὶ Βούρφαν (frag. 15 Meineke) λέγειν "ἐν τῷ Βάρχων δίοιν ὑπὲρ λαμπρemento ἐβαλόντο" ἐν γ 2.

εμ β. Βάρχων οι βάρχασι β. Βάρνγ 2. διαν γ 2. διον β. ἐβαλόντο β. γ 1. ἐβαλόντες γ 2.

C. A. Lobeck cf. ἐμ τῷ Βαρχεία δίοιν ὑπὲρ φάλας ἐβαλόντα. Α. Meineke Analecata Alexandra Berolini 1843 p. 49 f. would read ἐν τῷ Βάρχων δίοιν ὑπὲρ φάλας ἐβαλόντα. E. Scheer prints ἐν τῷ Βάρχων δίοιν ὑπὲρ φάλας ἐβαλόντα (sic). C. E. p. 255. 13 ff. Δέλφοι...οἱ τὰ Διώνυσον μέλη σταράζοντες οι Τιτάνας τῷ Ἀττιλλων παρεθέντο ἐμβιλακίστες. ο δὲ παρὰ τῷ τρίποδι ἀπεθέντο παρὰ τῷ ἀβάλαρῳ (ο δὲ παρὰ τῷ τρίποδι cod. V. omitting the last four words, which appear to be a note on τῷ Ἀπόλλων containing a would-be etymology of Δέλφοι).


3 Supra i. 157 ff., 645 ff., 653.

4 Plout. de Is. et Os. 35 καὶ Δέλφοι ταί Διόνυσον λεῖπαν παρ’ αὐτῶις (etp. αὐτῶις) παρὰ τῷ χρυσότρυγῳ ἀποκείθησαν νομίζοντες κ.τ.λ., Tatian. or. adv. Graec. 8 p. 9, 15 ff. Schwartz ὑπὲρ τῶν τιμίων τοῦ Δεσποτῶν κατείη τα τερμαλία ὑπὲρ Διόνυσον (E. Schwartz cf. Διόνυσον τάραξ ἐντύ), Euseb. chron. ann. Abr. 712 verso Armenia (ii. 42 and 44 Schoene) secundum quosdam Dionisii gesta, et eiusdem apud Indos res; atque Licurgi, et Actaei et Pentheii, necnon quomodo (et) a quo stans in
Dionysos and Caldron of Apotheosis

Omphalos. But Ioannes Malalas and Georgios Synkellos (c. 800 A.D.) quote, probably from Kephalion (c. 125 A.D.), the statement of Philochorus (c. 275 B.C.) that in his day the tomb of Dionysos was still to be seen at Delphi beside the golden statue of Apollo, that it resembled a simple step, and that it was inscribed—

Here lies in death Dionysos the son of Semele.

The inscription reads like a copy (if not, indeed, the original) of that placed upon the tomb of Zeus. But there is no reason to

praelio moritur. dicit autem (de his) Dinarchus poeta, non rhetor (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 391 Müller), id. ib. ann. Aetr. 718 (ii. 44 Schoene) qui autem voluerit, conminus is inspicere Dionisiis seculum in Delphis iuxta aurum Apollinis (sic N. G. E. ad aurum Apollinem Z. iuxta aurum Apollinum A.). namque repraesentatum esse feminam formae Dionisii, qui dux erat exercitus, eo quod mixtæ fuerint feminæ in copios, quæ sub eo erant: nam viros et feminas (sic N. cum viris feminas quoque cett.) ducebat in praelium: ut Philochorus in secundo (libro) narrat (Frag. 23 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 388 Müller)), Kyrill. Al. c. Julianian. i. 11 (Lxxvi. 520 Migne) Βασιλισσιαντ ἐνεκοκτονείτε ής (κατά Μωσάτα), Περσις Διόνυσον ἀναμητεί, οὐ καὶ τὴν ταφήν εἶναι φασὶν ἐν Δελφοῖς πάρα τῶν χρυσῶν 'Απόλλωνα, id. ib. 10. 341 f. (Lxxvi. 1035 Migne) ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Δείαρχος, ποιητὴς οὗ ὄροσιν ὄντα, τὰς Διόνυσος πράξεις ἀφενεόμενοι διὰ ταύτα πενθῶσαι περὶ τῶν ἰδιών, καὶ μή καὶ 'Ακταίωνα καὶ Λυκοφόρου ὅπως εἰς περιφέρειαν, εὖ μάλα διετριβήκα, ἀγροθεῖται καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ Περσῶν διατείνεται, καὶ κρησεθήκα (leg. κρησεθήκα) γε μὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς πάρα τῶν χρυσῶν καλοκομικῶν 'Απόλλωνα, Io. Malal. chron. 2 p. 45 Dindorf καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀξιόλογων ἐκεῖ τελευτάτα. καὶ ἐγέρθη τὸ λείψανον τοῦ αὐτοῦ Διόνυσον ἐκεῖν ἐν σοφία καὶ τὸ ὄνα περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διόνυσον, ὄσαντες δὲ καὶ τὸ σοφότατος Φιλόχροος τὰ αὖτα συνεγράφατο, ἐν τὸ έκθεια εἰς περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Διόνυσου (Frag. 22 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 387 Müller)). "'Εν τούτων ἰδίων τὴν ταφήν αὐτοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς πάρα τῶν 'Απόλλων τῶν χρυσῶν. βάθρον δὲ τί εἶναι ὑποκείται ή σοφός, εἰ τὸ γραφέται (so Siebelis for βαθρὸν—γραφέται): 'Ενθάδε κεῖται θανάτων Διόνυσος ἐκ Σεμέλην." Ποιητής δὲ καὶ οἱ σοφότατος Κεφαλίων τα αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ ὑπερεισγράμματι (Frag. 5 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 628 Müller)) έξεθετο, Synkell. chron. 162 c—d (i. 307 Dindorf) Διόνυσον πράξεις καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίων, Λυκοφόρῳ τε καὶ 'Ακταίωνα καὶ Πειθέα, ὅπως το ποιητήκειν εἰς μάχην ἀναμητεί, ὥστε φοινικοὶ Δείαρχοι (Δείαρχος Β. Δάχρος Γ.) ο ποιητὴς, οἷον ὁ βίτωρ. τῷ δὲ βασιλείου παρέστη ταὐτὰ τὴν ταφήν ἐν Δελφοῖς πάρα τῶν 'Απόλλων τῶν χρυσῶν, ἐνθάδε καὶ τὸ ὄνα παράτις Λεοντίου Καλασάρους καὶ Νερών οἱ κιβάρα. βάθρον δὲ τί νομίζεται τοῖς ἀγνοοῦντες ὁ Διόνυσος τόπος. στρατηγίας δὲ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτῶν γραφεῖται θηλιοκρόφοι διὰ τὰ άλλα αὐτότα εἰς καὶ δία τὸ μεδόττων στρατοῦ (so J. J. Scaliger for μεδόττων στρατοῦ ὄνειρον. ὑπερείν γὰρ σῶν τῶν δρῶν τὰς θηλείας, ὥστε φοινικὸς αὐτὸς δευτέρῳ, Kedren. hist. comp. 24 c (i. 43 Beckler) τῶν δὲ Βουκωνίων άυτῶν μασκάλα μὴ παραδεχομένων εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπέρρεται καὶ θανῶς θάττεται. Cr. also Aug. de civ. Dei 18. 12 his temporibus Dionysum, qui etiam Liber pater dictus est et post mortem deus habitus, vitam ferunt ostendisse in Attica terræ hospiti suo etc.

1 Tatian. or. adv. Graec. 8 p. 9. 15 ff. Schwartz (supra p. 219 n. 4).
2 Io. Malal. chron. 2 p. 45 Dindorf (supra p. 219 n. 4).
3 Synkell. chron. 162 c—d (i. 307 Dindorf) (supra p. 219 n. 4).
4 Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 628 Müller.
5 Id. ib. iv. 391 suggests that Philochorus in his turn was copying Deinarchos the poet. But see E. Beethe in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 2388 f.
6 Cr. ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανάτων Διόνυσον ἐκ Σεμέλης (supra p. 219 n. 4) with ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανάτων Πελεί (supra i. 158 p. 2). In view of Porph. v. Pyth. 17 οἶκοι θανῶν κεῖται Ζἀν ὃν Δία κιηληκεφονοῦς we may conjecture that the original epitaph was a hexameter.
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doubt the accuracy of Philochoros' account. It may even be that in the fifth-century type of Apollon seated on the tripod (fig. 142) we should regard the stepped base beneath his feet as a representation of Dionysos' tomb.

Other legends of death and resurrection clung about the Delphic tripod. Writers of the Roman age maintained that the bones and the teeth of Python were kept in its caldron, and even tried to derive the word cortina, 'caldron,' from corium, 'skin,' on the ground that the tripod was covered or surrounded with Python's skin. Perhaps the pebbles, which for purposes of divination were really kept in the bowl of the tripod, had been explained as the relics of Python, and the metallic sides of the libes as plates from his coppery skin. The local cicerone would be equal to both inventions.

(7) Pythagoras as Apollon reborn.

But the strangest of the stories attaching to the tripod remains to be told. Porphyrios (233—c. 304 A.D.) in his Life of Pythagoras writes:

'Later, when Polykrates became tyrant of Samos, Pythagoras thought it unseemly for a philosopher to live under a tyranny, and resolved to sail for Italy. In the course of his voyage he put in at Delphi and inscribed on the tomb of Apollon an elegiac couplet, stating therein that Apollon was the son of Silenos, that he had been slain by Python, and that he had been buried in the so-called tripod, which had got this name from the fact that three maidens, the daughters of Triopas, had here made lamentation for Apollon.'

line. If Dionysos had the priority, his tomb might have borne some such inscription as ὥθε βαπτὸς καὶ πλῆθος Διόνυσος. But?


2 This conclusion hardly squares with F. Courby's tentative reconstruction of the Pythian chapel (infra p. 239). But it is by no means certain that the block of limestone (Foulilles de Delphes ii. 1. 67 fig. 59), believed by Courby to have supported the tomb of Dionysos and an adjoining altar, really served that purpose, or even came from the chapel at all.


Pythagoras as Apollon reborn

What are we to think of this peculiar narrative? It is always unsafe to disregard Pythagorean vagaries; they are so often found to contain elements of primitive lore. We must not, therefore, hastily assume that Python killing Apollon was a wilful perversion of Apollon killing Python. That was not Pythagoras’ attitude towards the gods, least of all towards Apollon, with whom he stood in relations of exceptional intimacy. Apollonios (of Tyana?) states that, according to certain authorities, Pythagoras was nominally the son of Mnesarchos, but really the son of Apollon by Pythais. Had not a Samian poet penned the couplet?

Pythais fairest of the Samian fair
Zeus-loved Pythagoras to Apollon bare.

The authorities in question included Epimenides, Eudoxos, and Xenokrates. And even those who denied that Pythagoras was actually the son of Apollon admitted that there was some mystery the Pythagorean couplet conceived somewhat as follows: Σλάκειος γάλακτος ὑδε δαμείς Πύθαιον τῆς τάφης. Φύλαξ, ἐν αἰσθανόμεν θρήνοις ἐπὶ Τριάπτος.

1 Socr. i. 66, 135, 282 n. 7, 393, 558 n. 5, 626, ii. 40 ff., alibi.

2 The notion, no doubt, is unique in ancient literature; but so in ancient art is the vase-painting of Iason swallowed by the Colchian snake and disgorged at the bidding of Athena (E. Gerhard in the Ann. d. Inst. 1836 viii. 289—295, Mon. d. Inst. ii. 35, Welcker Alt. Denkm. iii. 378—384 pl. 24, 1 f., Baumeister Denkm. i. 129 f., 2 fig., Seeliger in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 83 ff. fig., Reinh. Rep. Vasen i. 101, 102, 1, W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümere in Rom Leipzig 1917 i. 344 f. no. 578, J. E. HarrisonThemis Cambridge 1912 p. 435 f. fig. 135 from a photograph), to which however H. Schmidt Jona Göttingen 1907 p. 22 n. 1 with fig. 5 finds a partial parallel in a mirror-design of Iason grasping sword and fleece but already bitten, not to say half-eaten, by the snake (Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iii. 221 f. pl. 238).


4 Porph. v. Pyth. 2 'Ἀπολλόνιος ὤν τοῖς περὶ Πυθαιόρου καὶ μητέρας ἀναγράφει Πυθαίδης, ἀντίστοιχον Ἀρχαίον, τοῦ οἰκετοῦ τῆς Σάμου. τούτω δὲ Ἀπολλόνιος αὐτῶν ἵσταται καὶ Πυθαίδης τῇ γάλαξι, λόγῳ δὲ Μηνταρίχου φησίν Ἀπολλόνιος. τῶν γών τοιαύτων τῶν Σαμίων εἰπέν τινα: "Πυθαίδης γάρ, ἐν ἐνεργήτικῃ διὰ φιλίᾳ Ἀπολλόνιον | Πυθαίδηι, ὕπατος ἐκ τῶν Σαμίων'" (Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 3. 15). Cp. Iambli. v. Pyth. 4 ff., who expands the above account, e.g. mentioning that Pythais’ former name was Parthenis, but does not cite his source. In the epigram Iamblichos, followed by E. Cougny, reads Διά φιλίᾳ for Διά φιλω: but the reference is to the eagle which Pythagoras drew down and stroked at Olympia (Plout. v. Num. 8, Porph. v. Pyth. 25, Iambli. v. Pyth. 61) or to the white eagle which he patted at Kroton (All. an. hist. 4. 17, Iambli. v. Pyth. 142).

5 Iambli. v. Pyth. 7 παραστησισάν θύρα Ἄνθιστείδος (identifed by E. Rohde in the Rhein Mus. 1872 xxvii. 23 and by H. Demoulin Épitomé de Crête Bruxelles 1901 p. 85 with Epimenides ο ἔνενθαλόντο οι Διογ. Laert. 1. 115: but see O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 178) καὶ Εδώδης (of Rhodes, according to F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 930) καὶ Σενοκράτης (the famous philosopher of Kalchedon, on whom E. Rohde loc. cit. p. 23 f. suppresses the fragment to be fathered) ὑπονοοῦσι τῇ Παρθενίδι τότε μεγάλως τῷ Ἀπόλλω καὶ κόνωνιεν αὐτῶν ἐκ μίας ὀνυτὶς ἑξοφύλως καταλαμβάνει τα καὶ προ- αγγειλε διὰ τῆς προφητείας: τότε μὲν οὖν οὖν οὖν οὖν δει προσείυθαι.
terious bond of union between the philosopher and the god. Many persons went further and frankly spoke of Pythagoras as Apollon Pythios or Hyperboreos or Paion, declaring that he had appeared as a god in human shape and emphasizing the resemblance of his oracular sayings to those of the Pythian Apollon. I shall of course be told by our critical purists that all this is neo-Pythagorean nonsense, to be dismissed without further enquiry. But there is more in it than that. It is precisely when we confine ourselves to the earliest stratum of the Pythagorean tradition that we come upon the most remarkable evidence of Pythagoras' claim to be Apollon redivivus. We have it on the word of Aristotle that the Pythagoreans held among their most cherished convictions the tripartite subdivision of 'rational animal' into 'god, man, and such as Pythagoras'. Moreover, Aristotle states that the Crotoniates called Pythagoras Apollon Hyperboreos, and is aware of the story that at Kroton Pythagoras exhibited his golden thigh in proof of this identification. Now the golden thigh of Pythagoras must, it

1 Iambl. v. Pyth. 8 continues τὸ μέντοι τὴν Πυθαγόρας ψευδή ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος ἠγεμονιάς ἀλας ἐκείνου κεῖται κἀλλας οἰκείωτος ἐκ τοῦ τῶν θεῶν τούτων συντεχνόμενου κατακτημένοις εἰς ἀνθρώπους, οὔτε δὲ ἀμφαπηθεῖσιν κ.τ.λ. Cp. Loukian. Ionn. s. gall. 16 (the cock that had once been Pythagoras speaks) ὡς μὲν ἐκ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ πρῶτον τῇ ψευδῇ μοι καταβαθμένος ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔθελον εἰς ἀνθρώπων σώμα, ἱνα τὴν καταδικήν ἔκτελοθα, μακρὸν ἀν εἰς λέγει.

2 Iambl. v. Pyth. 30 καὶ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν τῶν Πυθαγόρας λαοὺς κατερθοῦσαν ὡς ἄγαθον ταύτα δαίμονα καὶ φιλανθρωπίατα, οἱ μὲν τῶν Πυθίων, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἐυρωπόνων Ἀπόλλωνα, οἱ δὲ τῶν Πατωμάτων, οἱ δὲ τῶν τῆς σελήνης κατακτημένων δαιμόνων ἐκα, ἀλλοι δὲ ἄλλοι τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θεῶν ἐφήμιζον, εἰς ὀφθαλμόν καὶ ἐκκαθάρισον τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου λέγοντες εἰς ἀνθρώπων μορφή φάνεσθαι τοῖς τόποις, κ.τ.λ., κρ. ib. 10. 91 f., 133, 135, 140, Loukian. dial. mort. 20. 3 (Menippus to Pythagoras) χαῖρε, ὦ ἐφορække ὁ Ἀπόλλων ήδε τί ἐν ἐχθρίῃ. See now A. Delaté Études sur la littérature pythagoricienne Paris 1915 p. 279 ff.

3 Iambl. v. Pyth. 161. Presumably the name Πυθαγόρας helped out the comparison, though it was also explained as meaning ὅτι ἢρα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πυθίου προσφέρει (ib. 2).


5 Aristot. frag. 187 Rose ap. Iambl. v. Pyth. 31 ἵστορετ δὲ καὶ Ἀριστotleὴν ἐν τοῖς ἑρετικαῖς ὑποκάτασθαι ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς φιλοσοφίας διαφέροντα ταῦτα ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν πάνω ἀπορητικοῖς διαφωτίσθαι: τοῦ λογικοῦ ἔργου τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ θεώς, τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπου, τὸ δὲ ἄλλον Πυθαγόρας, καπ. ib. 144 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπικον τὸ αὐτόν σημαίνει· ἕστι γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῦ λεγόμενον ὅτι ἑαυτοῦ πιθοῦν ἐστὶ καὶ ὅριον καὶ τρίτον ἄλλο, ἐστὶ γὰρ τρίτον Πυθαγόρας ἐστί.

6 Aristot. frag. 186 Rose ap. Apollon. hist. mir. 6 and ap. All. var. hist. 2. 26 (on
seems to me, be interpreted as strictly analogous to the ivory shoulder of Pelops. Indeed, Origenes speaks of 'Pythagoras, who performed many miracles and to a whole congregation of Hellenes showed that his thigh was made of ivory.' But the ivory shoulder of Pelops, as was pointed out by my far-sighted friend Mr F. M. Cornford, presupposes the rite of regeneration. Similarly we may

which see E. Zeller A History of Greek Philosophy trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 i. 338 n. 4). The same story is told by Plout. v. Num. 8, Loukian. vit. auct. 6, somm. s. gall. 18, Orig. c. Cels. 6. 8, Diog. Laërt. 8. 11, Ail. vor. hist. 4. 17, Porph. v. Pyth. 28, Iamb. v. Pyth. 91 f., 135, 140, of whom Plout. loc. cit. and All. loc. cit. state that the incident happened at Olympia.

1 And to others before me. W. Mannhardt Germanische Mythen Berlin 1858 p. 74: 'so weich der Griechen auch darin von den nördlichen Ueberlieferungen (mit Ausnahme des Märchens von Eisenlaci) ab, dass er die Mythen vom fehlenden Knochen, die der Germanen von wiederbeleibten Tieren erzählt, von aus dem Tote erweckten Menschen oder Heroen bewahrt. Ich mache ausser der Pelopssage, ohne die Mythe vom höheren Gliede des Osiris [Plout. de Is. et Os. 18, cp. Hippolyt. ref. haer. 5. 7 p. 101 Müller] in Betracht zu ziehn, nur Jamblichs Nachricht vom hyperboleischen Apollonpriester Abaris, dem Luftwandelnden (aipòpaqtínt) namhaft, dem sich Pythagorä durch eine goldene Hülse als Wiedergeborenen zu erkennen gab.' Cp. id. Wald- und Feldsühle Berlin 1904 i. 116 n. 3. Frazier Golden Bough ii. 418 f., ib.; Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 263 f. quotes Mannhardt to the same effect and views Pythagoras's golden thigh as his certificate of resurrection. R. Eisler Weltenmantel und Himmelswelt München 1910 ii. 680 likewise approves of Mannhardt's comparison, and (ib. n. 6) cites from N. J. Majlath Magyarische Sagen, Mährchen und Erzählungen Stuttgart and Tübingen 1837 ii. 195 and J. Erdélyi Ungarische Sagen und Märchen, aus dem Erdélyischen Sammlung [Aépsded és mandics] übersetzt von G. Stier Berlin 1856 p. 105 ff. the Hungarian tale of a twelve-headed dragon, who vanquished the Magyar Eisenlaci, chopped him into a hundred pieces, and put them as promised in a cloth on his horse. This fled with them to the serpent-king, who laid the bones in order and washed them with water in which healing herbs had been cooked. Hereupon Eisenlaci woke up and was seven times as handsome as before. His right shoulder blade had fallen out of the bundle on his horse's back; but the serpent-king made him a new one out of gold and ivory. The Old Irish myth of Nuada Argat-láth, 'of the Silver Hand' (Folk-Lore 1916 xvii. 29), and the English tale of a woman with a golden arm (a variant gives it as a golden leg) take us in a different direction (J. Jacobs English Fairy Tales London 1898 pp. 138 f., 219 f.). So does an Epirote tale of a boy with a golden finger (J. G. von Hahn Griechische und albanische Märchen Leipzig 1864 ii. 197 ff., L. Laistner Das Rätsel der Sphinx Berlin 1889 ii. 147). More to the point is a tale told by 'Old Macdonald, travelling tinker' to J. F. Campbell Popular Tales of the West Highlands Edinburgh 1860 i. xcv f. (The daughter of a wise woman fell in love with an enchanted prince. 'And the old woman agreed to help her to her will. A caldron was prepared and filled with plants; and the king's son was put into it stripped to the magic shirt, and the girl was stripped to the waist. And the mother stood by with a great knife, which she gave to her daughter. Then the king's son was put down in the caldron, and the great serpent, which appeared to be a shirt about his neck, changed into its own form, and sprang on the girl and fastened on her; and she cut away the hold, and the king's son was freed from the spells. Then they were married, and a golden breast was made for the lady').

2 Orig. c. Cels. 6. 8 peri de Πεθαγόρου, πλέοντα δε τα παραστασιμένα καὶ δειξαντος μεν ἐν ταυτότητι Ελλήνων θεάταιν τῶν μηρῶν...τι χρή καὶ λέγειν;

with some assurance conclude that the Crotoniates knew of a myth in which Apollon \textit{Hyperbörices} was slain, boiled in a caldron, and pieced together again—the missing portion being replaced in gilded ivory. Pythagoras, who claimed to be the god come to life once more, must needs make good his claim by displaying a golden thigh.

Seven centuries later Alexandros the impostor of Abonou Teichos\textsuperscript{1} aped the pretensions of Pythagoras and provided a butt for the satire of Lucian\textsuperscript{2}:

‘The torch ceremony with its ritual skippings often enabled him to bestow a glimpse of his thigh, which was thus discovered to be of gold; it was presumably enveloped in cloth of gold, which glittered in the lamp-light. This gave rise to a debate between two wiseacres, whether the golden thigh meant that he had inherited Pythagoras’s soul, or merely that their two souls were alike; the question was referred to Alexander himself, and King Glycon\textsuperscript{3} relieved their perplexity with an oracle\textsuperscript{4}:

Waxes and wanes Pythagoras’ soul: the seer’s
Is from the mind of Zeus an emanation.
His Father sent him, virtuous men to aid,
And with his bolt one day shall call him home.’

But, if Pythagoras posed as Apollon resurgent, resurrection implies a previous death and burial. When did Apollon die? Where was he buried? The great crisis of his life had been his contest with Python. Pythagoras not unnaturally asserted that Apollon had been slain by Python\textsuperscript{5} and buried in the Delphic tripod. His followers probably felt it to be significant that the principal coin-type of Kroton was, from first to last, a tripod-łebes (figs. 155—157)\textsuperscript{6}.

\textsuperscript{1} Infra Append. L.
\textsuperscript{2} Loukian. \textit{Alex.} 40 trans. H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler.
\textsuperscript{3} Infra Append. L.
\textsuperscript{4} Πωθαγόρου ψυχή ποτέ μέν φύσεις, ἀλλοτε δ’ αἰθεί: ἔ γε προφητεῖς Δης φρενάς ἐστιν ἄνθρωπός: καὶ μιν ἐπεμύκην παντί ἄγαθον ἄνθρωπον ἐπαραμηνύ: καὶ τάλιω ἐκ Δής ἔλει Διὸς βλαθίσα κεράς (Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 6. 310).
\textsuperscript{5} Yet Iamb. \textit{v. Pyth.} 52 states that Pythagoras told the boys assembled in the \textit{Python} at Kroton τὸν Πόλυμνον ἐπὶ τᾶδες. This tells against my view, or would do so were Iamblichos a more reliable author.
\textsuperscript{6} \textit{Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins} Italy p. 342 ff. figs., \textit{Hunter Cat. Coins} i. 128 ff. pl. 9, 11—19, Garrucci \textit{Mon. It. ant.} p. 147 ff. pl. 168, 26—37, pl. 109, 1—33, 35, pl. 110, 11, 13 f., 16—18, 20, 29, Head \textit{Hist. num.} p. 94 ff. figs. 52—54, Anson Num. Gr. i. 100 ff. nos. 963—1008, 122 no. 1210, 129 nos. 1274—1280, 130 nos. 1282—1287 pls. 17 f., 23 f. I figure three specimens in the McClean collection. B. V. Head \textit{op. cit.} p. 99 f. rightly rejects the view advanced by Honoré d’Albert, duc de Luynes in the \textit{Novv. Ann.} 1836 i. 372 ff. (cp. J. de Witte in the \textit{Rev. Num.} 1844 p. 149 ff.) and F. Lenormant \textit{La Grande-Grèce païssages et histoire} Paris 1881 ii. 96—101 (cp. G. Macdonald \textit{Coin Types} Glasgow 1905 p. 12 ff., G. F. Hill \textit{Historical Greek Coins} London 1906 p. 25 ff., A. W. Hands \textit{Coins of Magna Græcia} London 1909 p. 158 ff.) that the coin-types of Kroton were throughout inspired by the religious ideas of the Pythagoreans, the tripod symbolising Apollon \textit{Pythios}, the eagle Zeus, etc. The eagle, which occurs first as a reverse type incuse, was very possibly (\textit{infra} i. 602 n. 5) suggested by the reverse type incuse of the
Pythagoras as Apollon reborn

On this showing it would appear that the Pythagorean Apollon, living again in the person of Pythagoras, was near akin to the Thraco-Phrygian or Cretan form of the reborn Zeus. Further confirmation of the fact is to be found in Pythagorean legends both early and late. Herodotos was told by Greeks inhabiting the Hellespont and Pontos that Salmoxis was a slave of Pythagoras in Samos, that when freed he made his fortune and introduced Ionic culture into his native land of Thrace: here he built a hall, feasted the foremost of the citizens, and taught them that he together with his fellow-feasters and their descendants instead of dying would come to a land of perpetual life and felicity; meantime he made an underground chamber and vanished from their sight, being mourned by them as dead, but after living for three years in his retreat reappeared in the fourth year and induced them to believe his words. This tale, which was accepted without demur by later authors, Herodotos hesitates to believe, adding that in his opinion tripod (cp. fig. 156 with fig. 155). It remains, however, likely enough that the Pythagoreans read their own meaning into the Crotoniate types, types which were fixed on other and more mundane grounds.

1 Hdt. 4. 95.
Salmoxis lived long before Pythagoras and was perhaps a local datmon of the Getai. The Getai, he says, practise deification; they think that they themselves live for ever and that so-called death means merely going to the datmon Salmoxis, whom some of them call Gebeleizis. Once in four years they send a messenger to Salmoxis by tossing him up in the air and catching him on the points of three javelins. The Hellespontine account is no doubt a 'rationalizing story'; but it contains indications of value. The feasting of the Thraxians, the simulated death, the promise of immortal bliss—what are these but the débris of the very doctrine that we are investigating? Salmoxis, like Pythagoras, stands for the caldron of apotheosis. Later writers spell his name Zalmoxis, sometimes Zamolxis; and Porphyrios does us a good turn by explaining it:

'Pythagoras had yet another lad, whom he had got from Thrace, named Zalmoix because at birth a bear-skin had been thrown over him; for the Thraxians call the skin zalmoix.'

Now at Kyzikos near the Hellespont it was said that the nurses of


1 Hdt. 4. 96.
2 'Άθανατίοι. On the precise meaning of this term see I. M. Linforth 'Ot 'Αθανατιοί' 'in Class. Philol. 1918 xiii. 23-33.
4 Various attempts have been made to elucidate the word Γέβελειτς (see Waser in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 894). I should surmise that it is related to Latin gabalus, Old Irish gabalt, Welsh gobaith, Old High German gabala, Middle High German gabel, etc. (F. Kluge Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache Strassburg 1899 p. 130; Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. p. 330 f.), and signifies 'the god with a Fork.' The fork in question would be either a weapon (Schrader Realex. p. 261) like the fork of Hades (infra § 3 (c) iv (δ)) or a divine rod comparable with the Pythagorean Υ (supra i. 283 n. 7). All this, however, is the merest speculation.
5 Hdt. 4. 94.
7 H. Stein on Hdt. 4. 94 notes: 'Die Namensform schwankt überall zwischen Zálmoxis (so die Hss. des Her.), Zálmoxis und Zálmoxis, Zálmoxis, doch scheinen die ersten, die nur orthographisch verschieden sind, glaubwürdiger.' This exposes Bartholomaeas's derivation (infra i. 781).
the infant Zeus had been turned into bears\(^1\), as was the case also with his nurses in Crete.\(^3\) Moreover, an interesting myth told how the sinews of Zeus had on one occasion been cut out and wrapped in a bear-skin by Typhon.\(^5\) Another made him consort with the Arcadian Kallisto,\(^4\) whom Artemis\(^6\) or Hera\(^7\) or he transformed

\(^1\) Supra i. 112 n. 5. \(^2\) Supra i. 112 n. 3. 
\(^3\) Inscr § 3 (a) vi (e). 
\(^4\) R. Franz De Callistus fabula (Leipziger Studien für klassischen Philologie xil) Leipzig 1890, id. in Koscher Lex. Myth. ii. 931—935, Farnell Cults of Gk. States ii. 438, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 415. It is commonly assumed that Kallisto, whose grave—a lofty mound of earth covered with trees—was topped by a sanctuary of Artemis Kalliste (Paus. 8. 35. 8), is a hypostasis or by-form of Artemis (so first K. O. Müller Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie Göttingen 1825 p. 73 ff., C. O. Müller The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race trans. H. Tuinell and G. C. Lewis Oxford 1830 i. 390 f.). My contention is that in such cases we should rather suppose a priestess regarded as the goddess incarnate and bearing the name of the animal specially connected with her divinity (Supra i. 453). The grave of Kallisto suggests a human embodiment. The complimentary name suits a 'bear' (J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 667 f., E. H. Meyer Germanische Mythologie Berlin 1891 p. 103 f., Class. Rev. 1894 viii. 383 f.). The metamorphosis at the hands of Artemis recalls the árkyos of Artemis Brauronia (Supra i. 431 f., 442). 


The religious art of the fourth century B.C. with its dislike of theriomorphism represented Artemis as shooting a purely human Kallisto. Thus coppers of Orchomenos in Arkadia, struck shortly after 370 B.C., have for obverse type Artemis kneeling with bow
Silver rhyton from Cullera, representing Zeus as a swan with Leda, as a man with Samia, as Artemis with Kallisto, as an eagle with Ganymede, etc.

See page 239, 4, 7.
into a she-bear. Yet another spoke of Zeus himself as metamorphosed into a bear, when he mated with Amaltheia. In view of just discharged and sometimes a hound seated behind her; for reverse, Kallisto falling back pierced by the arrow and the infant Arkas on the ground, the whole inscribed

**ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝ ΙΩΝ** or **ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΙ ΙΩΝ** (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus

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**Fig. 158.**


This version, which goes back to Kallim. frag. 388 ap. schol. A.D. II. 18. 487, was commonly accepted throughout the Roman age (Ov. met. 2. 409 ff., Paus. 8. 3. 6, Hyg. fab. 177, post. astr. 2. 1 p. 31, 3 ff. Bunte, Serv. in Verg. georg. 1. 67, 1. 138, Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 3. 685, Lsid. orig. 3. 70. 35, Myth. Vat. 1. 17, 2. 58, Texts in Hes. o.d. 564, Eustath. in H. p. 1156. 9 ff.).

So Apollod. 3. 8. 2. Hyg. post. astr. 2. 1 p. 31, 6 ff. Bunte, Liban. narr. 6 (iv. 1101 Reiske).

From 4. iv B.C. onwards Zeus himself was said to have wooed Kallisto in one or other of several disguises. Either he took the form of Artemis (Amphis inc. fab. frag. 11 (Frag. com. Gr. iii. 340 Meinecke) ap. Hyg. post. astr. 2. 1 p. 30, 15 ff. Bunte and ap. schol. Caes. 1. 8. 2. 381, 12 ff. Eyssenhardt, cp. Apollod. 3. 8. 2, Ov. met. 2. 425, interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 1. 744, Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 3. 685, Myth. Vat. 2. 58), or he became Apollo for the nonce (Apollod. 3. 8. 2. Ζέων δὲ ἔρασθείς ἀκόλουθος συνεργάτη, ικασθείς, ὡς μὲν θεόν λέγοντω, Ἀρτέμιδα, ὡς δὲ ἠνοί, Ἀπόλλωνι, cp. Texts in Lyk. Al. 408 Ἀρέας δὲ Δίας ὡς Ἀπόλλωνα παῖς καὶ Καλλιστοῦ τῆς Δικαίου θυγατρία, or else he appeared as a lion (Clem. Rom. hom. 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Καλλιστοῦ τῆς Δικαίου ἄγανθος μεν, καὶ ἄλλον τικτα Ἀρέας). The first of these metamorphoses is illustrated by a silver simpulum plated here and there with gold, which was found c. 1846 A.D. at Cullera near Valencia and is now in the Dutuit collection at Paris (pl. xv = W. Froehner Les Musées de France Paris 1873 pp. 21—23 pl. 5, W. Helbig in the Bull. d. Inst. 1865 pp. 130—132, R. Franz in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 934 fig., E. Pottier in Daramberg—Saillio Dict. Anti. iii. 707 fig. 4230, Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 242 nos. 1—3). The vessel is shaped like a saucepan (0.11 m. in diameter with handle 0.09 m. in length) and inscribed on the bottom in lettering of the second half of s. iii A.D. [P]ATE Q PAULINA D. V. S. = Fat(a)e Paulina d(ebit) v(aetum) s(olvendi) cp. Corp. inscr. Lat. ii no. 3727. The handle has the usual swan-head supports. On it appears Zeus with thunderbolt and sceptre beside a flaming altar: above are two garlands; below, an eagle between a pair of torches. The relief-frieze, first cast in a mould and then tooled, shows four scenes: (a) Zeus as a man with Ladon; (b) Zeus as a man with Semele, while Eros carries off his thunderbolt, an ornamented box or case (?) being hung in the background; (c) Zeus as Artemis with Kallisto and Eros between two oak-trees, one of which has beside it a pillar supporting a lighted torch; (d) Zeus as an eagle, dropping his thunderbolt to woo Ganymedes, while Eros with his bow escapes towards a third oak-tree.  

\[1\] Clem. Rom. hom. 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Αναλώθη δὲ τῆς Δικαίου θυγατρίς Συνεργάτη, Rufin. recognit. 10. 33 Manthean Phoci mutatus in arsum, ex qua nascitur Arctos. Whether Αναλώθη is a blunder, or Manthean, or both, we cannot say, since the source of the legend is unknown.
Pythagoras as Apollon reborn

these bear-stories it is reasonable to infer that Zælmoxis was a Thracian apppellative of the new-born Zeus.

Again, Antonius Diogenes in his Marvels beyond Thoule (s. i. A.D.) had, à propos of Pythagoras, included a story, which—as Porphyrios says—was by no means to be neglected:

According to Diogenes, Mnesarchos was a Tyrrenian by race, one of those that inhabited Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros. Starting from thence he visited many different states and districts. And once upon a time he found an infant laid beneath a white poplar-tree of great size and shapely growth. He stopped and saw that the child lying on its back was looking up at the sky, staring straight at the sun without ever winking its eyes. It had in its mouth a small slender reed like a pipe; and he saw to his surprise that it was nurtured by dew, which dropped from the poplar. So, thinking that the child must have been born of some divine parentage, he took it up from the ground. The boy grew to manhood in Samos and was taken up by the Samian Androkles, who put him in charge of his household. Mnesarchos, being quite well-to-do, brought up the child under the name of Astraioi along with his own three boys Eunostos, Tyrrenenos, and Pythagoras the youngest, whom Androkles adopted as his son.

The fine poplar in a far-off land with a divine infant lying beneath it at once recalls the remarkable poplar growing in the mouth of the Idaean Cave, where Zeus was born, a spot to which Pythagoras made pilgrimage. Ability to stare straight at the sun was characteristic of the eagle and might well mark an infant Zeus. Finally, the name Astraioi reminds us that the Cretan Zeus bore the title Astérios. It is clear therefore that Diogenes wove into his romance a neo-Pythagorean account of the Cretan Zeus.

If so, it would seem that Zælmoxis and Astraioi, the two familiars of Pythagoras, stand respectively for Thrace and Crete, and that the sage in representing himself as an avatar of Apollon was acting under the influence of the Thracian and Cretan cult of the reborn Zeus. Such an influence was not out of place at Delphoi, where the earliest priests of Apollon Delphinios had been Cretans.


3 Porpl. v. Pyth. 10.
4 Porpl. v. Pyth. 10. Id. ib. 13 adds that Mnesarchos presented Astraioi to Pythagoras, who saw to his training.
5 Supra i. 529.
6 Supra i. 150 f., Append. B Crete.
7 Supra i. 135. 646, 669.
8 Supra i. 104 n. 1.
9 Supra i. 545 ff., 664 n. 3, 733 f., 740.
Zeus at Delphi

from Knossos and his most doughty defenders in the middle of the fourth century B.C. were the Thraikai.

(v) Zeus at Delphi.

The arguments hitherto adduced point towards a conclusion of some importance, viz. that at Delphi the worship of the sky-father (Zeus), the earth-mother (Ge, Themis), and their offspring (Dionysos) was anterior to the worship of Apollon, who inherited, so to speak, the eagles of Zeus, the omphalos of Ge, the tripod and tomb of Dionysos.

A stranger visiting the site might indeed from first impressions suppose that here Apollon was all in all. But closer scrutiny would soon detect many a trace of the earlier occupants. At the very entrance of the town Zeus Polieus had a precinct adjoining that of Athena Pronaia. Within the temple of Apollon the statues of the two Moirai were flanked by Zeus Moiragetes as well as by Apollon Moiragetes; and it is likely that the latter was named after the former god. Again, the Delphians had a cult of Zeus Euthynos.

1 Supra p. 189 n. 8.
2 Diod. 16. 24.
3 Supra p. 179 ff.
4 Supra p. 169 ff.
5 Supra p. 193 ff.
6 Supra p. 218 ff.
7 A. D. Keramopoulous in the 'Ep. Arx. 1909 p. 269 published a limestone boundary-block (p) inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΙΕΩΣ, which he had found in 1907 S. or S.E. of the large altar at Marmaria just below the southern wall of Athena's precinct. A. Frickenhaus in the Ath. Mitt. 1910 xxxv. 243 n. 4 agrees that this inscription must be a boundary-stone, infers (ib. p. 239 n. 3) that there was an adjoining precinct of Zeus Polieus, and assigns to it the trophy which the Delphians set up πάνα τῷ Πυθολακτῷ 'Αθηναίων τερπ᾽ (Diod. 11. 14). H. Pomtow, who in the Jahrb. f. class. Philol. 1884 xxx. 238 ff. had corrected the punctuation of the epigram on this trophy by reading μαμείνα τ᾽ αλεξάνδρου πολέμων καὶ μάρτυρα νίκας ζεύς μεκισίνου | σῶν θαβίων πολίσαρον ἀπωρίσαμεν στίχῳ Μήδων | καὶ χαλκοστέφανοι βουσμένων τῆς μοῖρας, in Philologus 1912 lxxi. 73-75 improves it still further by accepting F. W. Schneidewin's comma at the end of the first distich, reads the boundary-stone as ΔΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΙΕΩΣ, and states that (in 1909?) he had arrived independently at the results obtained by Frickenhaus. For plans see Ath. Mitt. 1910 xxxv. 243 fig. 4 and col. pl. 13.

8 Paus. 10. 24. 4 ἐν δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ... ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ ἀγάλματα Μοῖρων δῶρ᾽ ἀντὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς τρίτης Ζεὺς τε Μοιραγέτες καὶ Πολίλακτος φιλὰς παράπτωσε Μοιραγέτην. The title, which is used here only of Apollon (see D. Bassi Apollo Moiragetes' Torino—Roma 1895), occurs elsewhere of Zeus: (a) inscription from the astrópolis at Athens (Corp. inscr. Att. i no. 93, 10 ff.) J. v. Prüll and L. Ziehen Leges Graecorum sacrae ii no. 14, 10 ff. (ταῖς ἐν ἐκ τῶν Πολιάλων ἔχεσθαι... [ὡς Μπροχιστήριον | [καὶ] ἄμβολον τῆς θεοῦ καὶ προθύσεων | [Μαλων Πελοπόννησος] οὗτος Μοιραγέτης τῆς τρίτης Ζεὺς Μοῖρας...); (b) altar in the hippodrome at Olympia (Paus. 5. 17. 5 ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἔστων ἔστω μοίρα, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν Μοιραγέτας ὡς καὶ τῶν θεοῦ καὶ προθύσεων), Μαλών τε ἐπὶ τῷ ναῷ τῶν Μοῖρων βασιλέως οὗτος ἐπικαίρης, μετὰ ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν Βρομοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐφεξῆς Δίως Τύρσιον (K. Wernicke cf. δῶρ᾽ ἐπεξετεί Βρομοῦ καὶ Δίως Τύρσιον!); (c) relief in the precinct of Despoina near Askasion in Arkadia (Paus. 8. 37. 1 δὴ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἔστων ἐν δεξίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῖχῳ λίθῳ λευκοῦ τῶν πεπευμμένων, καὶ τῷ μέν ἐστιν ἐπεξετείναι Μοῖρας καὶ Ζεὺς ἐπικαίρης Μοιραγέτης,
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"Giver of Good Sleep": the title presupposes the custom of incubation, as practised e.g. in the cult of Zeus Amphiáraos near Oropos, and is doubtless of ancient date. The Actolian League

In generalised (Alkiphr. 1. 20 ὁ μοιραῖος θεός καὶ μοιραγέτας διάσωσε, Iambli. de fat. p. 179, 1 ff. τι δίνω; οὔ τις διὰ τῶν πολεοντῶν θεῶν λίκει ἐαυτῷ καὶ τούτῳ αὐτὸς ἡγεσίσθαι μοιραγέτας καὶ δισμάς ἁλότου τοῦ βίου δεμένων; Hermeias in Plat. Phaedr. p. 96, 14 f. Κουνέας τής προσολαν ζηρομένως καὶ τῆς θεᾶς δε φωνεῖ καὶ τῶν μοιραγέτων (μοιραγέτων κοιν.). θεοὶ κ.τ.λ., Prokl. in Plat. Alcib. 24 p. 177 Creuzer τάς τῆς εἰμαρμένης δόσιν καὶ τῶν μοιραγέτων (so F. Creuzer

or codd. μοιραγέτων, μοιραγέτων).

L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pélt. 1881 p. 118 f. Atlas pl. 5, 18 (reproduced to a scale of ½ in my fig. 160) contends that an engraved chalcedony of Roman date, now in the Hermitage Museum at Petrograd, represents Zeus Moiragétes seated on a throne with an eagle at his feet, a sceptre in his raised left hand and the three Moirai on his outstretched right hand. Stephani admits that the little figures might be Horai (cf. F. Creuzer Symbolik und Mythologie Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 07) or Charites, but rules out the former as being less significant in relation to Zeus than the Moirai, and the latter as being normally undraped in late art. The three small females are certainly draped, and one of them has 'ein kleines beutelartiges und nicht genauer zu bestimmendes Attribut in die Hand.' But I confess, I should not accept Stephani's identification. I regard them as Charites, draped just because they are not a product of late art, but have been transferred to Zeus from the famous statue of Apollo at Delos by the archaic sculptors Tektaios and Angelion (Plout. de mus. 14 quoted infra § 3 (a) (ii), Paus. 2. 32. 5. 9. 35. 3. Athenag. supplicatio pro Christians 17 p. 19 Schwart; Overbeck Gr. Kunstm. Apollo p. 17 ff. fig. 4 Münstaf. 1, 17–20, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. iii. 144 pl. cc, 11–14, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 72 f. pl. 17, 8, p. 82 pl. 14. 9, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 73, Head Hist. num. 2 p. 383, P. Gardner Types of Gl. Coins p. 81 f. pl. 15. 29. Fig. 161 is from a copper coin of Athens in my collection).

1 Hesych. ἔσωμος: ά ἢ ἣν [γ] καλὸν ἔπνοι] παρά Δελφοῖς.
2 Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1109 n. 5 (cf. id. 6b, p. 932 n. 3) refers the title to a 'Traumorakel.' Other evidence of incubation at Delphi is considered by Rohde Psycheii. 38 n. 1 and L. Deubner De incubatione Lipsiae 1900 p. 53 n. 2: neither of these scholars has, however, seen the revery of Zeus Ethyphros.

3 Supra i. 450 n. 4. For Amphiáraos as Zeus see infra Append. J.
4 It recalls the sound sleep of Trophonios and Agamedes at Delphi (supra i. 450). Incubation was in all probability practised in the cult of Trophonios at Lebadeia (L. Deubner De incubatione Lipsiae 1900 p. 8 n. 2, Miss M. Hamilton Incubation London 1906 p. 88 ff.). J. Vürtheim 'De Eugammonis Cyrenaei Teleigion' in Mmemonyne N.S.
commemorated the defeat of the Gauls near Delphi (279—278 B.C.) by establishing a festival to be called Soteria in honour of Zeus Soter and Apollo Pythios. But A. Mommsen's notion that the ordinary Pythian rites were performed for the Moiragétaí, Zeus as well as Apollo, is an unsupported conjecture. On the other hand, importance must be attached to the fact that at the feast Boukatia in the month Boukatiôs (= the Attic Metageitnion) the Delphic phratry of the Labydai sacrificed not only to Apollo but also to Zeus Patrôbios, a god by whom they swore.

(φ) Dionysos at Delphi.

But if Zeus left his mark on Delphi, so did Dionysos. Plutarch in an interesting section of his treatise On the Delphic E writes as follows:

'If, then, any one ask what all this has to do with Apollo, we shall declare that it concerns not him alone but also Dionysos, who is partner on equal terms with Apollo at Delphi. The theologians, now in verse, now in prose, sing or' 1901 xxix. 23 ff. argues that Klymenos, Trophonios, and Agamedes were all hypostases of a chthonian god, the Zeus (or Hermes) of Lebadeia. Klymenos, like Periklymenos (Hesych. s.v.), was an apppellative of Plouton (R. Engelmann in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1228 f.). Zeus Trophonios or Trophonios was the full name of the Lebadean divinity (infra Append. K). Agamedes was a possible title for Zeus (cp. supra i. 14 n. 1).

1 Corp. inscr. Atti. ii. 1 no. 323 = Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 128 = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 2 no. 205.
2 A. Mommsen Delphika Leipzig 1878 pp. 170, 224.
3 Rashly accepted by H. Pontow in Philologus 1912 ixxi. 45.
4 Boukatia, derived by A. Boeckh ἄτο τω̣ι καλαίσθαι βοήν (Corp. inscr. Gr. i. 733), was tantamount in meaning to bouvôa.
7 Their oaths were: (a) Λ 14 ff. ποι τῶν Δίων τοῦ πατρίδου
    (b) Λ 12 ff. ποι τῶν 'Απόλλων καὶ τῶν Ποσείδάνων τοῦ φαράγου
        καὶ τῶν Δίων πατρίδων
    (c) C 1 ff. [ποι τῶν 'Απόλλων καὶ Ποσείδάνων τοῦ φαράγου καὶ
        Δίων]
Dittenberger loc. cit. ii. 26 n. 3 justly infers that the Labydai were a phratry (φαράγα), not a clan (πατρίδα), and notes that the cult of Zeus Patròbios was appropriate to any community bound together by ties of kindred and affinity.
8 Plout. de Ε ἀφθιν Delphos 9. I have followed throughout the text of W. R. Paton (Berolini 1893).
say to us that God, who by nature is imperishable and everlasting, yet owing to a certain necessity inherent in mind and reason undergoes transformation, and sometimes kindles his nature to a fire thereby reducing all things to a state of uniformity, sometimes becomes manifold in shapes and in diverse passions and powers thereby producing an orderly universe, as at present, and winning for himself the name that is famous above every name. Our wisecares keep this knowledge from the populace, and call his transformation into fire Apollon by reason of its unity or Phoibos by reason of its pure and unpolluted character; but as to his turning into wind, water, earth, stars, births of plants and animals, and his ordering of the universe in general, they hint at his suffering and transformation by speaking of a certain rending-asunder and dismemberment: they call him Dionysos, Zagreus, Nyktelios, Isodaites, and recount certain destructions and disappearances followed by rebirths and resurrections—mystifying and mythical phrases that suit the transformations I have mentioned. Again, to the one god they sing dithyrambic songs full of passions and of a transformation that involves a certain wandering and scattering: as Aischylos puts it—

'Tis meet the dithyramb of mingled cry
With Dionysos should go revelling by.

To the other god they sing a paean, an orderly and discreet form of composition. Painters and sculptors always represent him as free from old age and youthful, his partner as taking on a variety of forms and shapes. Generally speaking, they ascribe to the former similarity, order, pure seriousness, to the latter ups and downs of sport and violence, seriousness and madness, invoking him as—

'Lord of the Loud Cry, Waker of Women, Dionysos flowering forth with frenzied rites.' In fact they have seized aright the true nature of both transformations. But inasmuch as the periods of time allowed for these transformations are unequal, the former period which they call "satiety" having the longer duration, the latter period of "need" the shorter, they are careful to observe

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3 τής δ’ εἰς πνεύμα τε (codd. πνεύματα corr. Meziriac) καὶ ὄδορ καὶ γῆρ καὶ ἄδρα καὶ φυτῶν ἔχων τε γεννεῖσι τρόπης αὐτόν καὶ διακοσμήσως τὸ μὲν πάθημα καὶ τὴν μεταβολήν διασασμαίνω τινα καὶ διαμελείσαι αὐτὸντασ.: Δίόσκουρος δ’ καὶ Ζωγρά καὶ Νυκτέλιος καὶ Ἰσοδαίτης αὐτὸν ἀναφέρωσι, καὶ φθοράς τινα καὶ ἀφανθείους εἰτα δ’ (so Stegmann for oi τὰς V.1, τὰς D. B. Pala. A. Pet. de τὰς F. V. E. Vat.) ἀναφέρουσι (so Stegmann with Amyot for codd. ἀναφέρουσι) καὶ παλεγγενείας, οἰκεία ταῖς εἰρήμασι μεταβολῆς αἰνίγματα καὶ μυθέματα περιέχουσι.

4 Aisch. frag. 355 Nauck μειῶσαν πρέπει | διαθραμμὸν ὑματεῖς | σύγκωσον (so T. Tyrwhitt for συγκωσον Vat. Pet. συγγωσον E. σύγκωσον cett.) Διόνυσος.

5 Frag. aedep. 131 Bergk ap. Plout. symp. 4. 6. 1 ὄρα, ἔφη, σῦ τὸν πατρὸτην θεόν, δ’ Λαμπρια, "εἰδὼν δραγγύνακα, μανομένως ἄνθεοντα τιμαῖς Δίονύσου" ἐγγράφει καὶ ἅπασαι τοῖς Ἐξαρίων ἀπορρήτωσι; cp. id. de exil. 17 (Δίοσκορος μανομένως ἄνθεοντα τιμαῖς), de E apud Delphos 9 (μανομένως Δίοσκορος ἄνθεοντα τιμαῖς).

6 Herakl. frag. 24 Bywater, 65 Diels.
the same proportion, and here employ the paean for their sacrifices throughout the greater part of the year; but, when winter begins, they stir up the dithyramb and stop the paean, calling for three months together upon the second god in place of the first. They take it that, as three is to one in point of nature, so in point of time is the formation of the universe to its conflagration.

The whole passage is obviously redolent of Greek philosophy. Herakleitos, Pythagoras, Platon, the Stoics have contributed their several quotas. But discounting all these philosophical elements we have yet a residuum of popular religion that is well deserving of attention. It appears that at Delphoi Dionysos was admittedly no less essential than Apollon, whom he actually dispossessed for

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1 τὸ κατὰ λόγον τηροῦντες ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἑκατὸν παίων χρώματι περί τὰς θυσίας, ἄρχομένων δὲ χειμῶνος ἐπεξεργάσεις τῶν διδώραμα τῶν δὲ παιάνα καταπάσαντες, τρεῖς μήνες ἀντὶ ἐκείνου τοῦτον κατακάλουμεν (ἀνακαλοῦνται B.V.) τῶν θεῶν.
three months out of the twelve. Our recently-acquired knowledge of the Delphic calendar (fig. 162)\(^1\) enables us to be more precise. The winter months Daidaphorios, Poitropios, and Amalios together constituted the season of Dionysos. The Locrians, near neighbours of the Delphians, called the second of these months not Poitropios but Dionysios\(^2\), while the Dorian inhabitants of Chalkis, Byzantion, and Chersonnesos spoke of the following month as Dionysios instead of Amalios\(^3\). A comparison with the Attic calendar\(^4\) will show that in Attike too the second and third winter months were marked by important Dionysiac festivals, the Rural Dionysia falling in Poseideon, the Lenaia in Gamelion. But if at Delphi winter was reserved for Dionysos, the rest of the year belonged to Apollo. Spring came in with the month Bysios, the seventh day of which was kept as Apollon’s birthday\(^5\). In early times—if Kallisthenes

\(^{1}\) F. Hiller von Gaertingen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 2532. \(^{2}\) Id. ib. 2531
\(^{3}\) cites earlier literature, but omits the monograph of C. Petersen Der Delphische Festcyclus des Apollon und des Dionysos Hamburg 1859. See also W. Larfeld Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik Leipzig 1907 i. 300 (bibliography), 302 (calendar), Lübker Reailler,\(^6\) pp. 1135 (calendar), 1136 (bibliography).

\(^{4}\) Larfeld op. cit. p. 302 Διωνυσος (Διώνυς ?). \(^{5}\) Id. ib. p. 301.

\(^{6}\) Supra i. 691.


\(^{3}\) Roscher’s investigations are valuable on account of the enormous mass of evidence that he has digested. But his main contentions (a) The sidereal or lunar month of 27—28 days was in Boiotia, Euboea, etc. divided into 4 weeks of 7 days—a division which gave rise to periods of 7 months, 7 years, 7 generations, sevenfold offerings, rites, choruses, groups of 7 gods, heroes, etc. (b) The sidereal or lunar month of 27—28 days was later, in epic times, divided into 3 weeks of 9 days—a system which in myth and cult transformed many of the older hebdomads into enneads, besides producing a fresh crop of the latter. (c) But this second arrangement soon gave place to a third. The synodical month of 29—30 days was divided into 3 periods of 10 days. (d) The numerical speculation of Orphists and Pythagoreans is traced to early Ionic hylozoism of S. vi and S. vii b.c., and is found to rest upon beliefs of a primitive character. The same holds good with regard to the ancient medical teaching of critical days, months, and years) are open to dispute: see especially the objections raised by Gruppe Myth. Lit. 1908 pp. 362—367. On the whole it must be admitted that as yet no single or simple explanation of the sanctity attaching to the number seven has been reached. Further discussion by H. Diels ‘Ein orphischer Demeterhymnus’ in the Festchrift Theodor Gomperz dargebracht zum siebzigsten Geburtstage Wien 1902 p. 8 ff., F. von Andrian ‘Die Siebenzahl im Geistesleben der Völker’ in the Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien 1901 xxxi. 225 ff.
2578, S. Etrium ib. vii. 2579. Infra § 3 (a) vi (λ).

The principal data concerning Apollo are as follows. Like Dionysos (Loukan. dial. deor. 9. 2, Cornut. theol. 2. cod. G p. xiv Lang, cp. Arnob. adv. nat. 3. 10), he passed as being a seven-months’ child (schol. Pind. Pyth. argum. 1, schol. Kallim. A. Del. 251, cp. Arnob. adv. nat. 3. 10). At Sparta on the first and seventh days of the month the kings sacrificed to Apollo (Hdt. 6. 57, cp. Roscher Die Hebdomadenlehren etc. p. 311 f.). At Athens the first and seventh days of every month were sacred to Apollo (schol. Aristoph. Plout. 1126). At Mileto the guild of singers (σαλπιστι), who worshipped Apollo Δελφινως, had a festival called 'Εβδομανα in the month Boedromion (?) or Pyaneposion (?) (A. Rehm in Milet iii. 235, 277 ff. inscr. no. 133, 6, 21 ff., U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in the Sitzungsb. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin 1904 pp. 622, 626, F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial. Inscr. iii. 2. 627 ff. no. 5495, Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 170 f., S. Etrium in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 2579) Boedromion 7 would correspond with the date of the Apolline Boedromia (Mommens Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 176 f., E. Saglio in Darmberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 713 f., P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 594 f.), Pyaneposion 7 with that of the Apolline Pyanopsia or Pyaneposion at Athens (Mommens Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 278 ff., E. Cahen in Darmberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iv. 781). It is probable too that sacrifices were offered to Apollo on the seventh day of the month at Kroton (Timaio ap. Athen. 522 c with Roscher Die Hebdomadenlehren etc. p. 24 n. 31).

In Boiotia (?) the seventh day of the month was sacred, for on it Leto had borne Apollo (Hes. o. d. 770 f., cp. Aristoboulos ap. Clem. Al. str. 5. 14 p. 397, 20 ff. Stählin and ap. Euseb. praep. ev. 13. 12, 13, Prokl. in Plat. Tim. ii. 197, 28 ff. Diehl). At Delphi Apollo’s birthday was Bysis 7 (Plout. quaest. Gr. 9), in Delos Thargelion 7 (Diog. Laert. 3. 2). At Athens the Apolline festival of the Thargelia was held on Thargelion 7 (Mommens Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 469, and Platon, whose birthday fell on that day (Plout. symp. 8. 1. 1 f.), was regarded as the son of Apollo (Mommens op. cit. p. 469 n. 3 even says ‘ein inkarnierten Apollo’) at least it was said that Arian, warned by a vision of Apollo, had abstained from his wife Periktione till on Thargelion 7 she gave birth to Platon (Plout. symp. 8. 1. 2; Speusippos, Klearchos frag. 43 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 316 Müller), and Anaxilaides (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2083 suggests Anaxilaos of Larissa) ap. Diog. Laert. 3. 2 and ap. Hieron, c. Ionianum. 1. 42 (xxiii. 273 a—b Migne). Similarly at Kyrene Karneades was born during the Apolline Karneia on the seventh day of the month (Plout. symp. 8. 1. 2). Apollo himself was entitled 'Εβδομανος (Plout. symp. 8. 1. 2 kal tov thew ows tov tagyn genymatoj umei, elth, o plorofitas kal o leper Ebdoumagon (J. J. Reiske ex eadd. Akd. et Bas. Ebdoumagn cogn. Ebdoumagn) kalve) and 'Ebdoumioi (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 1653 an inscription of s. iv (?) from Keratia in Attik.) [ε]πόλλων [ε]βδομίων [φαρτάσας] [Χριστος—Michel Reuss d’Inkster Syll. inscr. Gr. 2 no. 441). On the seventh day of some month he had at Athens a sacrifice called εβδουμανος (E. Ziebarth in the Ath. Mitth. 1898 xxiii. 24 ff. no. 11 = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen Leges Graecorum sacrae ii no. 16a, 7 ff. [ε]βδουμανος ισταμενον [ε]βδουμανοι [ος λειτουργων] [Ποιμάντας] [αι των quos quis — —]. His name εβδουμανος (Aisch. s. c. Th. 800 f. with schol. ad loc., Prokl. in Plat. Tim. ii. 197, 30 f. Diehl) may be compared with his other appellatives 'Αρχηγετης, κυωνος, Μαρα- γετης, Μουγογις, Νυμφιογις, Ποιμαντης (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1703 f.): doubtless we have here, as A. W. Verrall ad loc. observed, ‘an example of that curious verbal ingenuity which was marked by their religious and prophetic mysteries of Aesclus’; but the poet is, I fancy, giving a new meaning to an old cult-title, for the Muses were sometimes conceived as being seven in number (Epicharm. frag. 41 Kaibel ap. Tzetz. in Hes. o. d. 6, Cramer aned. Oxon. iv. 425, 3 ff., Myrsilos frag. 4 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 457 f.) cp. Clem. Al. prot. 2. 31. 1—4 p. 23, 8 ff. Stählin and ap. Arnob. adv. nat. 3. 37 cp. 4. 24. Cornut. theol. 14 p. 15, 2, 8 f. Lang: see also Roscher Die Sieben- und Neunzahl etc. pp. 19, 35 f.) so that εβδουμανος may denote ‘leader of the sevenfold
and Anaxandrides may be trusted—this was the one day in the year on which the Pythia gave responses. Later, Apollon was more frequently ‘at home’; indeed his period of residence extended from Bysios of month of spring to Heraios the last month of autumn. Then with the advent of winter there recommenced the rule of Dionysos.

How is this Box-and-Cox arrangement of the Delphic year to be explained? We must à priori recognise two possibilities. Either Dionysos has intruded on Apollon, or Apollon has intruded on Dionysos. The former is the view held by the majority of modern critics: the latter was the opinion of certain scholars in antiquity.

Roser Die Sieben- und Neunzahl etc. pp. 29, 116 thinks that the Apolline seven made its way into the cult of Zeus, citing the seven officials charged with the duty of setting up a tripod for the Boeotian Zeus 'Eleutheros (Inscr. Gr. sep. i no. 1672=Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. i i. 271 no. 862 Platiai Bovoioli Δ' Ελευθερον τῷ [τρίτοδα] κατὰ τὰν μαντείαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι), k.t,ll., cp. i no. 1673=i. 271 no. 864, i no. 1674= i. 272 no. 866, and the similar dedications at Thespiai to the Muse (i no. 1705=i. 403 no. 807a), at Akraiaphia to Apollon Πατρώιος (i no. 2723=i. 213 f. no. 570, i no. 2724=i. 214 no. 571, i nos. 2724a=e), at Orchomenos to the Charites (i no. 3207=i. 190 f. no. 494). These inscriptions all bore the names of seven ἀφεδρατητων (γ =ἀφεδροφων), except one from Akraiaphia (i no. 2724 b) which has eight, and comparing the seven cakes offered to Zeus Παλαίος in Kos (J. de Prodt Leges Graecorum sacrae Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 19 ff. no. 5, 28 ff. =Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. iii. 357 ff. no. 3526, 28 ff. =Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 716, 28 ff. =Dittenber Syll. inscr. Gr. i. no. 616, 28 ff. τοῦτον δὲ ἔδωκαν παρά τὰν Ἰερον τὰν ταυμάζων καὶ ὧν [ὑπὸ Ζευς] ἱερεῖς (W. R. Paton, restores ơ [Παλαιοὶ ἱερεῖς] σε(π)τει καὶ ἐκτείνοντες κάλλικα οἶκου κεφαράμων [ὑπὸ τοῦ Παλαιοῦ] ἔσται ἄγωτυ τοῦ βιβλίου καὶ τῶν κατων καὶ γύμνοι ἄπτα καὶ μελημα καὶ στίμα) k.t.ll. in a ritual calendar for the Coan month Batromios (=the Attic Poseideon) dating from c. 300 B.C.). He might have added the seven stars surrounding Zeus Κρηταιγενής (ὑπάρ ι. 51 f. figs. 27 f., 149 n. 1 fig. 115, 547 f. figs. 415—418, cp. 276 n. 6, 754 n. 2). But in none of these cases have we any real reason to suspect the influence of Apollon.

1 Kallisthenes frag. 4 (Script. hist. Alex. Mag. p. 12 Müller) and Alexandrides frag. 6 (Prog. hist. Gr. iii. 107 Müller) ap. Plout. quaest. Gr. 9. The name of the second author, a Delphian by birth, should be Anaxandrides (L. Weniger De Anaxandrida Polemone Hesiodandro verum Delphicarum scriptoribus Berolini 1865 p. 7 ff.) or Anaxandrides (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2079 f.).

2 On the ἀπόδομαι and the ἐπιδόμαι of the Delphic Apollon see W. H. Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 426.


4 Schol. Pind. Pyth. argum. 1 είναι δρέχεται (sc. Ἀπόλλων) ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, ἐν ψ' πρώτη
I have, however, already given reasons for thinking that at Delphi Apollon was preceded, not only by the sky-father (Zeus) and the earth-mother (Ge, Themis), but also by their Thracian-Phrygian offspring (Dionysos). The little chapel in the Pythian temple (fig. 163), the holiest spot in all Hellas, contained the tokens of these three deities—the eagles of Zeus, the omphalos of Ge, and the tomb of Dionysos. Will it be seriously maintained that the tomb with its crude myth of rent limbs and boiling caldron was a foreign element which had thrust itself into this august company at a comparatively recent date? Rather it had been there—I will not say, from the beginning, but at least from time immemorial. The real usurper was Apollon, though even he had made good his footing before the epic age.

There are certain calendrical considerations which tend to confirm the foregoing sequence of cults. At intervals of eight years...
the Delphians held a series of three solemnities called the Stepteron, the Herois, and the Charia. Again, the Pythian games were originally celebrated once in eight years. And at the close of the second century B.C. Delian priests and Attic magistrates were sending first-fruits to Apollon PÝthios in accordance with an eight-year period. The same space of time is doubtless presupposed by the myth which told how Apollon served Admetos for one year or nine or ten. Indeed, an epic poet cited by Plutarch and


3 Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 2 no. 985 3, 1 ff. =Roberts—Gardner Gr. Epigr. ii. 421 ff. no. 167, 1 ff. (=der Awesthômen tê tê Dêlêv o' b'ov tîa 'Atheoiou o kekairôforomênu eis tên èkastostôle tîa têwovn ápokatômes tàs ápoklêseis tês pòthôs ènnevektês 'Eis tê 'Eiswes' rov Pei—ápêrakale tên lewkl aitó árkhiston tês árkhis [tîa] ouk têlêllia têlê] Pòvon ka'ta | to ðelêllia tên èkow, 6—6—6—6 èn Mivwvou]tê]s èpês. k.t.l. E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner ad loc. remark: 'If we may accept Kohler’s restoration of the first line, it will appear that the archithecus, elected as head of the òwmu by the Attic cleruchs in Delos, published lists of the árkhion paid by Delian priests and certain Attic magistrates to the Pythian Apollo during an ènnevektês, or period of eight years. This period perhaps was designed to recall the time when the Pythian festival was celebrated once in every eight years. It is called πòthôs possibly because the Athenians had given up the practice of sending a theorêma to Delos and did not reintroduce it till the end of the second century B.C.' So also W. Lutulf Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 182, cp. G. Busolt Griechische Geschichte Gotha 1893 ff. 676 n. 2.


6 Serv. in Verg. Aen. 7. 761 =Myth. Vat. 1. 46, 2. 128 novem annis—by confusion with inclusive reckoning.

7 Prob. in Verg. georg. 3. 1 deem annis—the nearest round number: so stories grow. In Myth. Vat. 1. 304 Admetus de Alcesta genuit Nisam et Sten boeam. pro Nisa servit ei Apollo septem annis the Greek myth has been modified by the Biblical tale of Jacob serving Laban seven years for Rachel (Gen. 29. 15 ff.).

8 Plout. amat. 17 Kai ùp tov 'Aplellawv ùvpevei tov xeviowm' 'Adhíwn paraspêiowm méxwv ètè ènastôv.' The poet was very possibly Rhianos the Cretan (cp. schol. Eur. Alc. 1 'Paisw dé ðow ðov èkow èkow ðoðowwv ðòv ðòv tîa 'Adhíwn'), who may have told the tale in his Theostakis (W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur 5 München 1911 p. 109); but see infra p. 241 n. 1.
Clement of Alexandria describes Apollon's servitude as lasting 'for a great year.' And this myth was connected more or less closely with Delphi. Thus usage and belief alike attest the recognition of the old lunisolar oktaeteris for the purposes of Delphic religion. Now A. Schmidt has argued that the oktaeteris was essentially Apolline, and in support of his thesis is able to cite, not only the bulk of the evidence given above, but also the Boeotian

1 Clem. Al. Strom. 1. 21 p. 69, 3 ff. Stählin και οὖν θυμάτων, ὡς γε καὶ Ἀδημήθη θηρεόνων ἔφρασεν (sc. 'Ἀπόλλωνος' οὖν καὶ Ἡρακλῆς "μέγαν εἰς έναστός.") The association of Apollon with Herakles (cp. Aug. de civ. Dei 18. 13, Myth. Vat. 1. 92, 3. 13. 3) makes it possible that Rhianos dealt with the theme in his Herableis (W. Christ loc. cit.).

2 This έναστός was οὕτως ίη (Apollod. 3. 4. 2 quoted supra i. 540 n. 1).

3 Alexandrides frag. 5 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 107 Müller; but see supra p. 238 n. 1) ap. schol. Eur. Alc. 1 'Ἀλκιάδης (G. J. Voss s. c. 'Ἀλκιάδης') δὲ ὁ Δελφότας φησὶν ἰσαμετάντων αὐτῶν δίως τῶν ἐν Πατρί δράκων διώκειν. To the same effect C. O. Müller The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race Oxford 1830 i. 332, 338 ff., observing that the boy who represented Apollon at the Stepteron imitated the servitude of the god (Plout. de def. or. 15 καὶ τεθεντων αὐτὸν τὸν παιδίον οἱ τε γενομένοι πεπερατά τὴν Καθομό μεγάλον τοῦ ἔτους ἄγον καὶ κολασθόντων ἐξω). When Python could be regarded, not as a holy snake whose murder demanded expiation, but as an unholy dragon whose slaughter was a meritorious act, the tale of Apollon's bondage had to be furnished with a fresh motive (K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 23 ff.).

4 Asklepios brought to life again those that died at Delphi (Pherekydes of Leros frag. 8 (Frag. hist. Gr. 1. 71 f. Müller) ap. schol. Eur. Alc. 1 Φερεκίδης ἐν τῇ θύγος τῶν θηρεον τῆς τοῦ θυρεὸς Β. τῆς θυρεοῦς Ε. Fl. 6. 15) τούς ἐν Δελφοῖς φησὶν θηρεὸς λαμβάνοντας καὶ θηρεόντας ap. schol. Pind. Pyth. 3. 96 Φερεκίδης δὲ δέ τοὺς ἐν Δελφοῖς θηρεὸς λαμβάνοντας θηρεοῦν ἐξ θεῶν (ἐν θεῶν) —a strange statement, which may have reference to those that underwent the Delphic rite of regeneration (supra p. 210 ff.). For this reason Asklepios was slain by Zeus with a thunderbolt at Delphi (Pherekydes of Leros ap. schol. Eur. Alc. 1 καὶ Ζεὺς ἔκλεψεν τῶν παιδών αὐτῶν καταρρίφθη (καταρρίφθη ὑπο τοῦ πατέρα Ζεὺς). Mnaseas of Patrai or Patara, a pupil of Eratosthenes (W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1911 ii. 1. 187, 190), apparently identified Asklepios with Apollon and treated the myth in Euhemeristic fashion (Mnasaes Patrensis frag. 16 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 152 Müller) ap. Fulgent. exp. term. ant. 2 p. 112, 2 ff. Helm Mnaseas scribit in Europae librum Apollinem (E. Mehlcr s. c. Apodem, cp. Plout. de Is. et Os. 36), posteaquina a fove victus, atque interfectus est, vispillonibus ad sepulturam delata est (delatum esse codd. B. E. ẞ), unless indeed the passage of Mnaseas cited by Fabius Planciades Fulgentius is an impudent forgery, which is very possible (F. Skutsch in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 219 ff.). Others spoke of Asklepios' fate as his apotheosis and introduced him into Olympos along with Herakles (Apollod. frag. 73 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 442 f. Müller) ap. Clem. Al. Strom. 1. 31 p. 68, 1 ff. Stählin = Euseb. praep. ev. 10. 12. 19, Loukian. dial. deor. 13. 1 ff.), or identified him, like Herakles (Hyg. poét. astr. 2. 14, schol. Arat. phaen. 74, cp. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 497 n. 3.), with the constellation Ophiuchos (pseudo-Eratost. catast. 6, Hyg. poét. astr. 2. 14, schol. Caes. Germ. Astrol. p. 384, 21 ff. Eyssenhardt, Serv. in Verg. Aen. ii. 259, Myth. Vat. 3. 10. 6). Be that as it may, Apollon killed the Kyklopes (Hes. frag. 47 Flach, 88 Rauch), who had made the fatal bolt for Zeus, or killed their sons (Pherekydes of Leros ap. schol. Eur. Alc. 1), and for this impiety was bidden by Zeus to serve Admetos (Eur. Alc. 1 ff. with schol. ad loc., Apollod. 3. 10. 4, Diod. 6. 8, Prob. in Verg. georg. 3. 1. Stat. Theb. 6. 375 ff., Loukian. de sacrif. 4, Hyg. fab. 49, Serv. in Verg. georg. 3. 2, id. in Verg. Aen. 7. 761, Myth. Vat. 1. 46, 2. 43, schol. Lucan. 6. 368, Orph. Arg. 175 ff.),

5 A Schmidt Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie Jena 1888 p. 61 ff.

C. II.
Daphnephoria\(^1\), a festival likewise held every eighth year. Yet, if Apollon settled at Delphoi in days when the octennial cycle was in vogue, we must not therefore jump to the conclusion that he had staked out his claim before the arrival of Dionysos. For, though the Stepterion included a mimetic representation of Apollon’s fight with Python, the Herots and the Charila were distinctly Dionysiac: the former resembled the ascent of Semele and was explained by a mystic tale known to the Thyiads; the latter assigned important duties to the principal Thyiad.\(^2\) The fact is that the oiktæteris was an ancient rectification of the calendar, which left its mark on a variety of customs and myths.\(^3\) It was never the exclusive property of any one god or goddess, and at Delphoi it was common to the rites of Apollon and Dionysos. Fortunately for our solution of the problem we can appeal from the early oiktæteris to the still earlier trieteris.\(^4\) Delphoi was in classical times the centre of certain far-famed trieteric rites; and these were notoriously the rites, not of Apollon, but of Dionysos.\(^5\) Unless, therefore, we hold—in defiance of the Greek and Roman chronologists\(^6\)—that the trieteris was no

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\(^3\) *Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 956 n. 2.

\(^4\) *Supra* i. 609. The myth and the rites in question are well put together by L. Weniger in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 331 ff. Cp. M. Ross *De Baccho Delphico* Bonnæ 1865 p. 2 ff.

\(^5\) *Gemin. elen. astr.* 8. 35 f. o. e. *θαληθεῖς τήν ενάτινα γραμμα ἔχοντες τοὺς μὲν ἑναυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς λιθανοὺς τοῖς μὲν ἑμβολίους παρ᾿ ἑναυτάς τοῖς ἑμβολίους τοῖς ἑναυτοῖς. τοῖς δὲ εἶτι (sic V, δ᾿ τοῖς V, δὲ τοῖς edd.) τοῖς φαινομένοις ἔλεγχοντας τῆς ἀληθείας διὰ τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἑμβολίους τοὺς μὲν ἑμβολίους τοῖς ἑμβολίους τοῖς ἑμβολίους.
true precursor of the *oktateris*¹, we are bound to admit that at Delphi the cult of Dionysos was regulated by a more primitive calendar than the cult of Apollo; and it becomes at least reasonable² to suppose that Dionysos was first in the field.

(χ) Dionysos displaced by Apollon at Delphi.

With the advent of Apollon Dionysos suffered a partial, but never a total, eclipse. In addition to his winter season he was invoked by Philodamos, the Locrion author of a Delphic *pαιδιν* (335—334 B.C.), to come 'in the holy time of spring',³ and even in the summer month Apellaios he 'received (c. 400 B.C.) a sacrifice

[876] [del. C. Maurini. Petavius cj. τρεθενε. et guia inventebant illud diversum veritati,... quassiverunt aliquid, quo versio Latina ex Arabico sermone conversa s. xiii] ευθυς περιοδον, ἣς κατὰ μὲν τὸν κανόνα τῶν ἡλικίων συμφωνον, κατὰ δὲ τῶν μέγαρα καὶ τῶν ημερών τῆς σελήνης, κ.τ.λ., Censorin. de die nat. 18. 2 veters in Graccia civitates cum animadverterent, dum sol annuo cursu orbem suum circumvierit, lunam novam interdum tridecies (terdecies vulg.) exordi idque sæpe alternis serni, arbitrarri sunt lunares duodecim menses et dimidiatum ad annum naturalem convenire. itaque annos civiles sic statuerunt, ut intercalando facerent alternos duodecim mensium, alternos tridecim, utrumque annum separatim vertentem, iunctos ambo annum magnum vocantes. idque tempus trierterida appellabant, quod tertia quoque anno intercalabatur, quamvis bicennii circuitus et re vera dieteris esset: unde mysteria, quae Libero (Libero patr i vulg.) alternis sunt annis, trierterica a poetis diciuntur. See further Hdt. I. 32. 1. 4.

¹ So F. K. Ginzel *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* Das Zeitrechnungswesen der Völker Leipzig 1911 ii. 370 ff. He points out that, since the solar year contains 365.2422 days and the lunar year 354.5671 days, a cycle of two years containing 360 and 390 days would give no sort of approximation to natural fact. He rightly infers that we must understand Geminon's μῆρας τριακοσθεσίων as a popular expression denoting the ordinary Greek month. But, if so, twelve months of alternately thirty and twenty-nine days make up a cycle of 354 + 384 = 738 days. This exceeds two solar years by about 7½ days—an excess which in the course of four such cycles would amount to another month. The trierteris, in fact, would naturally and inevitably lead on to the *oktateris*.

² Not, of course, necessary. It remains possible to argue that the more primitive cult was introduced at a later date from a less civilised region.

Dionysos displaced by Apollon

from the Labydai. These commemoration times are of interest. The first implies that at Delphi, as at Athens, Dionysos had spring-rites as well as winter-rites. The second implies that in Apellaion, the opening month of the Delphic year, he was not forgotten by an ancient Delphic phratry, a phratry which in the following month paid a like compliment to Zeus Patróios.

This process of mutual accommodation tended to produce a certain similarity in the parties concerned. Dionysos became to some extent Apolline, Apollon to some extent Dionysiac. On the one hand Dionysos was equipped with bay-wreath and lyre; on the other hand Apollon was equipped with cypress and laurel.


2 The vernal rites of Dionysos at Delphi (The Theoxenia in Theoxenios = Elaphbolion) corresponded with the City Dionysia at Athens; the brumal rites of Dionysos at Delphi (culminating in Amalios = Gamelion) corresponded with the Lenaia at Athens. See supra i. 691 fig. 511 and ii. 235 fig. 162.

3 Supra p. 233.

4 An epic hymn, perhaps of s. v. B.C. (L. Malten in the Archiv f. Rel. 1909 xii. 307 n. 3, R. Wünsch in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ix. 136), describes Dionysos as ιψαφος καὶ δαφνος πιστικομάνδων (h. Dion. 16. 9). At Phigaleia the lower part of the cult-stature of Dionysos 'Akratophoros was covered with leaves of bay and ivy (Paus. 8. 39. 6), possibly to conceal an erect phallós (G. Kaibel in the Nachr. d. k. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe 1901 p. 510, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1472 n. 8); if so, we may conjecture that a late moralistic intention had been read into an early fertility-charm (cp. Paus. i. 27. 1). Terr. de cor. mil. 7 Liberum, eundem apud Aegyptios Osiris, Harpocratea industria hederatam argumentatur, quod hederae natura sit cerebri et ab eluce defendascere. sed et alias Liberum principem coronae plane laureae, in qua ex Indis triumphavit, etiam vulgus agnoscit, cum dies in illum sollemnes Magnam appellat Coronam, ib. 12 sed et de corona pia dicam. laurae ista Apollini vel Liberu sacra est, illi ut deo telorum, huc et deo triumphorum. sic docet Claudius, etc. Interp. Serv. in Verg. ecl. 8. 12 alii ideo lauri et hederae simul mentionem factam accipiunt, quoniam Apollon carminum deus, idem Liber pater putatur. See also F. Lenormant in the Gaz. Arch. 1876 ii. 103 ff. and in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 618, 623. On an Attic kratér at Naples (Heydemann Vasenamml. Neapel p. 291 ff. no. 2419, Inghirami Vas. fitt. iv. 23 ff. pl. 317 f., T. Panofka Dionysos und die Thyaden Berlin 1853 pp. 2 ff., 49 pl. 1, 1 and 18 (extr. from the Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1852 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 341 ff.), A. Rapp in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2756 ff. fig. 6 after the Real Museo Borbonico Napoli 1839 xii pl. 23, and above all Furtwangler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmaleri i. 193 ff. pl. 36 f.) a post dressed up as Dionysos is decked with ivy-sprays, but has sprigs of bay starting from its base and a bay-wreath apparently slung from its girdle: the wreath is probably meant for an embroidered pattern and as such occurs on a variety of late Attic vases mostly connected with the style of the potter Meidias (A. Milchhöfer 'Zur jüngeren attischen Vasenmalerei' in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1894 ix. 63 f., G. Nicole Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique Geneva 1908 p. 109 f.), e.g. supra i. pl. xi; it seems likely, however, that such 'Gürtelkränze' were credited with a magical influence over the generative organs beneath them. The horned Dionysos of Libye (?) holds a bay-branch on an Apulian kratér discussed supra i. 374 ff. fig. 287. A red-figured vase
in the second Hamilton collection shows Dionysos seated with Ariadne, while a young Satyr stands before them: all three are wretched with bay; Dionysos has a bay-garland slung round his body, Ariadne a bay-branch behind her chair; both sit beneath festoons of bay (Tischbein Hamilton Vases ii. 78 f. pl. 45, Reinach Rép. Vases ii. 301 f.). Dionysos appears elsewhere wretched with bay, e.g. on a red-figured vase in the first Hamilton collection ([P. F. Hugues, dit d'Hancarville] Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines Naples 1766 i pl. 104), in a wall-painting (Monumenti amariani illustrati del marchese Luigi Biondi Roma 1849 pl. 29), and on coins of Pantikapaion, Phanagoria, and Gorgippia struck under Mithradates vi Eupator, who himself took the title of Dionysos (E. H. Minns Scythians and Greeks Cambridge 1913 p. 679 pl. 6, 8 f., pl. 9, 16 f., 23 f.; T. Reimach Mithridate Eupator Paris 1890 pp. 49, 262, 277). Another red-figured vase in the first Hamilton collection represents the infant Dionysos held by a Nymph seated on a rock: before her stands Hermes, behind her a second Nymph, who carries a sprig of bay for the child's brows (Inghirami Vas. fitt. ii. 133 pl. 194): cp. the Nymph (?) seated on a rock, who wretched the infant Dionysos in a wall-painting from the Villa Farnesina (W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Romö Leipzig 1913 ii. 207 f. no. 1477, A. Mau in the Ann. d. Inst. 1885 ivii. 310 f., Mon. d. Inst. xii pls. 18 (coloured) and 20, G. Rodenwaldt Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde Berlin 1909 p. 38). An ivory relief at Milan makes a Maenad hold a bay-wreath towards young Dionysos riding in a car drawn by two panthers (E. Gerhard in the Arch. Zeit. 1846 iv. 219 pl. 38, supra i. 153 n. 5). See further L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Plh. 1861 p. 89 n. 2.

The evidence cited by F. Lenormant in Daremburg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 618 n. 934 f. is illustrous. But better grounds are given by Farnell Cults of Gk. States v. 253—256. A red-figured krater attributed to Brygos, now in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris (no. 697), published by P. Hartwig Die griechischen Meisterschalen Stuttgart and Berlin 1893 p. 209 ff. pls. 32, 33, 1. J. E. Harrison—D. S. MacColl Greek Vase Paintings London 1894 p. 25 pl. 38, Farnell op. cit. v. 264 pl. 44, has for its inner design an ivy-wreathed Dionysos playing the lyre and singing an orgasmic song as he stands between two Satyrs, who with a flourish of vine-shoots and castanets share in the ecstasy of his performance. A red-figured krater from Ruvo, now at Naples (no. 3130, supra i. 701 n. 4), shows Dionysos and Ariadne advancing in the midst of their thiasos, all wretched with ivy; he carries a tortoise-shell lyre. Another famous vase from Ruvo, the Apulian krater representing the obsequies of Archelos (Heydemann Vasenamml. Neapel p. 584 ff. no. 2555, E. Gerhard 'Archelos und die Hesperiden' in the Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1876 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 251 ff., 259 ff. pls. 1—4 (=id. Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen Berlin 1886 i. 1—98 pls. 1—4) and also in the Now. Ann. 1836 i. 332—336 with pls. 5 f., id. Il vaso dall' Archeloro Roma 1837 pp. 1—4 pls. 1—3, Inghirami Fam. Att. iv. 98 ff. pls. 371—373, Overbeck Gall. her. Bildw. i. 144 ff. Atlas pl. 4, 3, supra i. 458 n. 5), includes in the top left-hand corner of its principal face the figure of Dionysos reclining on cushions and a skin spread over vine-leaves beneath a vine-branch: he holds in his left hand a lyre, in his right a phiale, which a young Satyr is about to fill; below him stands Eunoe, eponym of the Eunoeidai, an Athenian clan of Eunoeidai ov eunoeidai (Harpocr. s.v. Eunoeidai, Hesych. s.v. Eunoeidai, cp. Phot. lex. s.v. Eunoeidai, et. mag. p. 393, 35 ff., Eustath. in ll. p. 1527, 41 f.), who appear to have been hereditary priests of Dionysos Μελημόρου (Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 747 an inscription of the Hadriane age on a seat in the theatre at Athens lepeton | Μελημόρου | Διονύσου | ευνοειδων). It is therefore a reasonable suggestion (Gerhard Ant. Bildw. p. 240) that Dionysos Μελημόρου (on whom see Weicker Gr. Götterl. ii. 611, iii. 153, id. Alt. Denkm. iii. 130 f., Peller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 675 f. 710 f., O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2649 ff., Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 36, 829 n. 3, 1421 n. 2, 1428 n. 10, Farnell Cults of Gk. States v. 143, 254 f., 307) was conceived as a lyre-player. The marble statue of a seated Dionysos from the choragic monument dedicated by Thrasyllos in 330 B.C. and reconstructed by his son Thrasyklidas in 270 B.C. probably represented the god with a lyre, the base of which rested on his left thigh (Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture i. 257 ff. no. 437,
the other, Apollon had ivy-leaves, flutes, and pan-pipes. Appel-Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 119, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik* ii. 124 f., 138, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 459 f. fig. 240. A red-figured krater from Campania, now at Petragrad, has a lyre-playing Dionysos grouped with two Maenads and a Satyr (Stephani *Vaseznamml.* St. Petersburg ii. 293 f. no. 1774). And an Apulian kantharos at Boston shows him seated beneath a grape-vine, thyrsos in hand; on the ground at his left is a lyre, at his right a pair of pipes (Robinson *Cat.* *Vasez Boston* p. 186 f. no. 515). Less conclusive is a red-figured krater in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris (no. 4778), which shows an ivy-crowned Dionysos seated on a rock, playing a lyre, with Maenads and Satyrs grouped about him (Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 73 pl. 53; but Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 213 ff. pl. 71 interpret the scene as 'Apollon à Nysa' cp. Diod. 3. 59, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 326, 330 no. 28). The motif of Dionysos with the lyre, which is not found in art before the beginning of the 2nd C., seems not to occur at all in literature; for in Kallist. 8, 4 εἰσπέραθε δὲ (εἰς ὁ Διόνυσος) τὴν λύραν ἐκφέρων τῷ θύρων Ιακοβος, followed by K. Schenk and E. Reisch, cji. ἀλιβ and Pierson cji. πλεύρα.

1 Aristoteles *theologumena* (= Aristot. *frag.* 284 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 150 Müller)) ap. Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 2 apud Lacedaemonios etiam in sacris quae Apollini celebri (celebrant B. G.), Hycinthias vocantes, hederam coronatur Bacchico ritu. On this festival see Nilsson *Gr. Feit* p. 120 ff., Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* iv. 125 ff., 264 ff., P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 3 f., E. Bischoff *ib.* ix. 3 f., S. Estrem *ib.* ix. 7 ff. Mart. Cap. 10 item eum (ος Apollinem) in Helicona Delon Lyciamque sectantur. sed alibi lauros primores (primos D.) arentesque edera alibi cariatem (carentem D.) tripodem crepidasque sicut muridas (mareidas D.) praesagiaormque interitam memoriam reperirent. *H. mag.* 2. 27 (Abel *Orphica* p. 288) δεότω, τάχος δ᾽ ἑκι γαλαν, Ἡλί, κισσυχαῖα (ος Ε. Abel for κισσυχαῖα pap.) with this description of Apollon cp. that of Dionysos in Pratinas *frag.* 1. 17 Bergk* ap. Athen. 617 ν κισσυχά (leg. κισσυχαῖ) T. Bergk and E. Hiler print κισσυχαῖ (after J. Schweigheuuer) ἀνέφης, ἀυπνὸν τῶν θαυμάκων χρησιά, in Ekphantides fab. *inc.* *frag.* 2 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 13 Meinecke) quoted by Kratino fab. *inc.* *frag.* 52 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 194 f. Meinecke) and thence by Hephaistion ench. 15. 21 ενε κισσυχαῖ ἀνέφης, ἀυπνὸν, and perhaps in the *paidei* of Philodamus (νοσφρ. p. 243 n. 3, also h. *Dion. 36. 1 κισσυχαῖος Δίαονος, Inset. Gr. ins. viii. no. 80 (Akesine) Ἀγαθόνι Ἀγαθώνι τοῦ Κλαύσιάδου) Αὐλοῦ κισσυχαῖος καὶ τῷ Δήμῳ, where κισσυχαῖa with its non-Ionic termination is, as Wilamowitz ad loc. saw, a tag from some lyrical poet, Anth. *Pal.* 6. 56. 1 (Makedonioi of Thessalonike) κισσυχαῖον Ἐκμόνι Δὴμον κτ. λ., where O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1207 needlessly supposes a Satyr-name Κισσυχαῖος and it is at least a question whether we should not read κισσυχαῖa with the ed. princeps (*Florentina a. 1494*) of Planocides. At Vonii, N.E. of Nikostia in Kypros, is the sanctuary of a god, who is called Apollon by inscriptions (M. Ohnefalsch-Richter in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1884 ix. 135 ff. nos. 1—6, J. L. Myres and M. Ohnefalsch-Richter *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* Oxford 1899 p. 148 nos. 5143—5145) but has the attributes of Zeus, viz. eagle (ib. p. 145 no. 5048) or Nike (ib. p. 146 no. 5050): I figure nos. 5048 and 5050 after Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* pp. 366, 330, 376 pl. 40, 1 f. and 4 f., cp. id. in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1884 ix. 133 f. no. 10 f. pl. 5, 6 f.; fig. 164 is a limestone statue (height 1′16") of Apollon wreathed with bay, resting his left arm on a round column with a debased Doric capital and holding a cylindrical object (scroll?) in his left hand, while an eagle perched on his wrist looks up at him; fig. 165 is a similar statue (height 1′95") of which the left arm rests on a Doric column, the left hand holds a Nike, the right hand a palm-branch—the pose being reproduced in fig. 166 (after *Kypros loc. cit.* pl. 49, 3, cp. *Ath. Mitth.* 1884 ix. 134 f. pl. 5, 8, *Catalogue* p. 145 no. 5037) is a similar statue (height 1′2") of a votary holding the same lustral branch. An irregular block of limestone found in this precinct in records in lettering of s. ii (?) B.C. a series of sacrifices (to Apollon?) performed by certain *thlaioi* including ὁ *thlaioi ταυρο*] K ωδο[ν], which has been taken to mean 'the ivy-men' (M. Ohnefalsch-Richter in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1884 ix. 137 f. no. 8, id. *Kypros* pp. 5 no. 9,
used in the sense of κισσός (Erotian. τὸν παρ᾽ Ἰπποκράτει λέξεως συμαγογή p. 83, 15 Klein κίσσαρον τῶν κισσῶν (so all the mss. A. Foes ej. κίσσαρον τῶν κισσῶν)), and so be rendered ‘ivy-crown’? Another Zeus-like Apollon, more certainly connected with ivy, is found on a quasi-autonomous copper of Alabanda in Karia (J. Friedlaender in the Zeitschr. f. Num. 1881 viii. p. 2, 5 = my fig. 167; J. Rendel Harris The Origin of the Cult of Apollo (reprinted from The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library January—March 1916) p. 13 f. fig. 1): obv. ΑΛΑΒΑΝ ΔΕΩΝ youthful head of Dionysos to right, wreathed with ivy; rev. ΚΙΚΙΟΥC Apollon standing, nude, with wreathed head, quiver on back, bow in lowered left hand, looking towards eagle on outstretched right hand, and a small ram at his feet. A similar reverse occurs on coppers of the same town struck
Dionysos displaced by Apollon

under Britannicus (Mionnet Descr. de méd. ant. Suppl. vi. 439 no. 24 after A. Visconti Medaglie antiche inedita Roma 1810 pl. 3. 5, J. Friedlaender loc. cit. pl. 2, 4 = my fig. 168) and Maximus (Mionnet Descr. de méd. ant. iii. 310 no. 41 after J. Eckhel Catalogus Musei Cassarii Vindobonensis numorum veterum Vindobonae 1779 i. 177): obv. ΚΑΛΑΔΙΟΥΡΑΒΕΤΑΝΝ[ΙΚΟ]Ο[ΚΑΙΚΑΡ] head of Britannicus to right, or Γ·ΙΟΥ·ΟΥΗ·ΜΑΖΙΜΟΣ·Κ· head of Maximus to right; rev. ΑΛΑΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ Apollon standing, nude, quiver on back, bow in outstretched left hand, looking towards eagle on outstretched right hand, and a small ram at his feet. With regard to these types, Dr Rendel Harris loc. cit. notes that the head on the obverse of the first coin might be, not Dionysos, but ‘a variant of Apollo’; others, reading KICCEOC on the reverse of the same coin, have taken the god there figured to be, not Apollon, but Dionysos (D. Sestini Lettere e Dissertazioni numismatiche...Le quali servir posson di continuazione ai nostri temi già editi Firenze 1819 vi. 30 f. no. 8, Mionnet Descr. de méd. ant. Suppl. vi. 436 no. 11, A. Fabre Reale Museo di Torino. Monete Greche Torino 1883 p. 292 no. 4199, H. Heydemann Satyr- und Bacchennamen (Winckelmanns Fest-Progr. Halle 1889) p. 37; D. Sestini loc. cit. p. 31 suggests that the bird may be a jay (σκιώνα), J. Friedlaender loc. cit. makes it a raven, as does Head Hist. num. 2 p. 607, but unbiased inspection shows that it is almost certainly an eagle—a fact which led J. Eckhel loc. cit., Rasche Lex. Num. i. 267 f., and Mionnet Descr. de méd. ant. iii. 310 no. 41 to describe the type as Jupiter holding an eagle. A red-figured klyx from the Laborde collection shows a long-haired youth, with an ivy-wreath on his head and a himation about his legs, holding a lyre in his left hand and a phiale in his right, as he sits before a flaming altar: he is commonly, and perhaps rightly (cp. the klyx in Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 166 f. no. E 80 pl. 5, better published by Farnell Cults of Gr. States iv. 331 f. pl. 23), called Apollon (Lenormant—de Witte Ét. mon. écr. ii. 17 f. pl. 4, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Apollon p. 325 no. 27, p. 330 Atlas pl. 21, 20). But a somewhat similar figure on a red-figured krater in the Cabinet des Médailles is more probably to be identified with Dionysos on account of his entourage (supra p. 246 n. 9). Lastly, a wall-painting from Herculanenum, now at Naples, has Apollon wreathed with ivy and half-draped in a himation, with lyre beneath left hand, pēktron in right, sitting on a stool beside a female figure (Muse?), who is similarly wreathed and holds a garland of bay; the group forms part of a scene depicting the punishment of Marsyas (Helbig Wandgem. Comp. p. 64 no. 231, Antichità di Ercolano Napoli 1769 ii (Fittore ii) p. 121 f. pl. 19, Real Museo Borbonico Napoli 1832 viii pl. 19 ivy not clear, W. Ternite Wandgemälde aus Pompeji und Herculanum...mit einem erläuternden Text von C. O. Müller Berlin s.a. i. 5 f. pl. 7 ivy quite clear and noted as ‘eine seltene Bekränzung des Gottes’ in the commentary, Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst i. 34 pl. 43, 204 ivy clear, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Apollon p. 344 no. 32, p. 348 Atlas pl. 25, 13 rightly assuming a seated statue of Apollon as prototype).
at Delphi

2 Plout. de mus. 14 δή μόνη δε καθάρα Ἀττόλλωνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐλητικής καὶ καθαρατικῆς ἐφύτησε θεός, ἡδίν δὲ ἐκ τῶν χορῶν καὶ τῶν δυσών ἀπηραύγη καὶ προσάγη μετά αὐλῶν τῷ θεῷ, καθάπερ ἄλλα τε καὶ Ἀλκαίος ἐν τοῖς τῶν ὄμων (Ἀλκαίος frag. 3 Bergk 4) ἱστορεῖ. καὶ ἢ ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος αὐτοῦ ἀδίστορος ἦσε ἐν μέν τῷ δεξίῳ τόσα ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀμαρτηρ. Ἰχθυτικός, τό τε μονοκεφήνων ἄρταθρον τι ἔχουσαν· ἢ μὲν γὰρ Λώραν κρατεῖ, ἢ δὲ αἰσθήσιν, ἢ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ προκεκλημένη ἦσε τῷ στάμματι σέφυγα (supra p. 234 n. o). ὡς δὲ οὗτον ὥσιν ἢ λόγος Ἀττόλλως (H. Vallesiust restored Ἀρτικλείας [frag. 5 in Schrak. Hist. Alex. Mag. p. 147 Müller]) καὶ Ἀμίσος ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιφανείαις (Istr. frag. 35 [Frag. hist. Gr. i. 423 Müller]) περὶ τοῦτον ἀργόναστον· οὕτω δὲ πραλοι ἐτοι τὸ ἀργόναστον τοῦτο ὡς τοὺς ἀργόναστους αὐτὸ τῶν καθ᾽ Ἶμαρλεδα Μερέποις φα点滴 ἐνα. ἄλλα μὲν καὶ τῷ κατακομβίζοντι παῖδι τῆς Μειάκης δαῖμον εἰς Δελφοῦς παροιμαζεῖ ἀναλήπτης· καὶ τοῖς ἔν τε Ἔτεκαρκὸν δὲ λέγει μετὰ αὐλῶν καὶ συρίγγων καὶ κυθάρας εἰς τὴν Δήλον φαῖν τὸ πρᾶσον στελεθθεῖσαι. ἄλλος δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τὸν θέον φαἰνει αὐλητικός, καθάπερ ἵστορει ὁ ἀριστοκράτωρ τῆς Αἰλμᾶς (Ἀλκαίος frag. 102 Bergk 4). ἢ δὲ Κόρωνα καὶ διδαχθήκησθαι φησί τοῖς Ἀττόλλω δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς αὐλῶν (Κορινθ. frag. 29 Bergk 4), Paus. 5. 7. 10 τοῦτον δὲ ἔνεκα καὶ τὸ αὐλήμα τοῦ Πιθανοῦ φαῖν τῷ πυθήματι ἐπεισαχθήσθαι τῶν πεντάθλων, ὡς τὸ μὲν λέγει τό τοῦ Ἀττόλλωνος τὸ αὐλήμα δόροτα τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῇ Μαγνητηνησίᾳ νικά. On Apollon's match with the flautist Marsyas see O. Jessen in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2444 ff. supra i. 128 f. pl. xii. Quasi-autonomous and imperial coppers of Magnesia ad Maeandrum give the title Ἀλκαίης or Ἀδηστης or Ἀλκάρης or Αλκάρης or Ἀλκάρης to the lyre-playing Apollo (Mionnet Descr. de méd. ant. Suppl. vi. 235 f. nos. 1014 AYLAHTOY, 1025 AYLAHTYC, 1036 AYLAHTOY, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia p. 164 nos. 49 AYLAIA[Σ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ], 50 f. AYŁAI TΗΣ, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 348 nos. 11 f. AYŁAI TΗΣ . . .; Imhof-Blumer Kleinas. Mičten i. 79 no. 25 pl. 3 ΑΥΛΑΕΙΤΗΣ ΜΑΓΗΝΗ, cp. Mionnet op. cit. Suppl. vi. 328 no. 1039 ΑΥΛΑΕΙΤΗΣ ΛΑΓΝΗ: O. Kern Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander Berlin 1900 p. xxv queries Ἀλκάρης or Ἀδηστης. Eckhel Doctr. num. vet. ii. 256 remarks: 'Vocabulum ΑΥΛΑΕΙΤΗΣ esse nomen magistratus, etiam in saltus, dubium non videtur. Apollinis cognomen esse nequit; nam etsi quis opinari vellet, scriptum esse ΑΥΛΑΕΙΤΗΣ pro ΑΛΚΑΣΤΗΣ, quoniam vocabulum istud tibicinum notat, Latonae filio competere nequit, qui tibicen nunquam, citharoeus semper fuit, et citharoeus in hoc ipso numero proponitur. Forte Aulectes magistratus proper nominis cum Aulete ad infinitatem deum aliquem musicum sibi in typum legit, cumque Apollinem Comophonum.' L. Dindorf in Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. ii. 2. 2466 c comments: 'Αὐλῆτης necessario esse ad αὐλᾶια referendum, nihil vero commune habere cum αὐλῶν ostendere a interpositum ante terminacionem.' U. von Willamowitz-Moellendorff in the Gött. Gel. Anz. 1900 cxlix. 572 n. 3 derives the appellation from αὐλή, 'a cave,' citing Paus. 10. 32. 6 ἐν τοῖς τε ἐπιστράψεισι Λυκαία Μάγγανος 'Ταίσ καλούσθην χώρων' ἐσται Αὐλῆται αὐτίτων αὐλῶν (cp. ib. 5), κ.τ.λ., where he emends ἄλαι into ἂλαι—an emendation printed in the text by F. Spiro (1903) and supported by the fact that Pan had a cave-sanctuary (?) in Arkadia (AIl. de nat. om. 11. 6 ἐν Ἀρκαίῳ δὲ χώρῳ εὐτόν λεον Ἐνοός ἂλη τῷ χώρῳ τῷ δώμα) and Zeus at Ιμηνία in Phrygia (A. Koerte in the Ath. Mitth. 1900 xcv. 419 ff. no. 32 a limestone altar inscribed Διῆς ἡ αὐλής ἐγέρθην θεῷ ἀπὸ Πατρᾶ καὶ Γαίας | ἐφ᾽ ἄξιστην παραβολὴν τῷ Διῶνοι νόσει κήρυκον | τὸ δὲ ἀναπάθεια | δραχμές καὶ τεμένους | ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐκτάσει | ἢ ἔτι τε ἐνεκεῖ ἔχει | τῶν | ὡς). Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1249 n. 2 refers Αὐλῆτης to the 'ansccheinend barbarische Epiklesis' borne by Apollon in various parts of Asia Minor. To me it seems probable that Αὐλῆτης, Ἀλκαίης, Ἀδηστης are progressive attempts to read a Greek meaning into a non-Greek title (cp. supra i. 18 f., 25, 25 n. 7, 651).

a For the pan-pipes as an attribute of one of the Charites held by the Delian Apollon see supra pp. 232 n. o, 249 n. 2, as an instrument used in the rites of the Hyperborean Apollon see supra p. 249 n. 2. Theocomp. frag. 320 [Frag. hist. Gr. i. 330 Müller] cp. Hesych. Δωστάρων τῷ Ἀττώλλῳ. Θεοσύμφων has been variously emended. J. Barnes cp. Δωστή; but Salmasius restored Δωστάρος, which is accepted by M. Schmidt as 'God of the Reed-Pipes,' cp. schol. Pind. Pyth. 12. 44.

Daldeia in Lydia¹, and Dionysōditēs(?) in the Attic deme of Phyleis².

H. Lewy in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1893 xxxix. 768 suggests *Δάλος = Δαλίας* are unsuccessful. J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 39 f. connects the Attic phrygian Δαλίας and *ep. cit.* p. 40 n. 1 would alter Hesych. άλκικος ίμμης – Διόσκῳς into Δαλικός ίμμης* k. t. l. *in Wien Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 cxxv. 42 f. translates Δαλός by 'der "Rasende, Tolle, Stürmische"' (*θώ, *ep. the Bacchic θόρδας and Hesych. θόρδας, ἢ Σεμέδη.*) But we cannot, I think, dissociate Hesych. Δαλός: οἱ Διόνυσοι παρὰ Πάτρας from Hesych. Δαλικός: οἱ Διόνυσοι. May we not conclude that Δαλός means the 'Wet' (θύεω) and Δαλίας the 'Dry' (αἰω, αῖος, αἰαλέος)? *Cp.* 'Πυα the Wet' and 'Ilya the Dry' (*συρρα* i. 184).

¹ Hesych. Θόδιος: 'Απόλλων ἐν Μιλήτῳ.

² Paus. 1. 31. 4 Φιλευς ἰδεῖσθαι... 'Απόλλωνος Διώνυσοδότας καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Σελευρίων βομοὶ Διωνύσου τε Ἀρείαν καὶ νυμφὰν Ισμυρίδων καὶ Ρήην, ἣς Μεγάλην θεάν οἰμόμενον. The supposed cult-title Μιλήσιος (in Paus. 9. 35. 3 καὶ Ἀγαλας τε καὶ Τεκτάνους τόσον γε Μιλήσιος τον 'Απόλλωνα εργασάμενον Δαλικός k. t. l. T. Bergk ingeniously cj. ὅλον τον Διωνύσοδοτον; but i?) has been explained as 'le produit de quelque combinaison savante due aux travaux d'un collège de prêtres établis dans cet endroit' (R. de Tascher in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1891 iv. 8) or attributed to the importation of Apollon Δαλφιφόρος from Thebes by the 'Διονυσίας' clan to which the Theban and Attic Aigeidai belonged (E. Maass in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1889 cli. 813 ff.), though, since Διώνυσοδότος is a theophoric name of regular formation (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* Braunschweig 1875 i p. xxviii, F. Bechtel—A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen* Göttingen 1894 pp. 103 ff., 104 ff., E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophrasis* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 4 f., W. Fröhner 'Göttergaben' in the *Archiv f. Rel. 1912* xv. 380 ff., and F. Bechtel *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* Halle a. d. S. 1917 pp. 140 f., 144 ff. give lists of names in -δοτο- and -δοτο-) actually found (Sosibios *frag.* 5 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 616 Müller) cf. Athen. 678 c τοῦ Διώνυσοδότου τῶν Δαλικῶν παιάνας, Dittenberger *Syllo. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 268, 93 f. *Στράτοπος* Διώνυσοδότου 'Ἀπόλλωνας') it might rather have been inferred that the altar in question was that of a man called Dionysodōtos who in the mystic cult of Phyla (on which see especially J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 pp. 39 f., 208 ff.) played—like Pythagoras (*supra* p. 221 ff.)—the part of Apollon redhíton. However, it is far from certain that the title of Apollon was Διώνυσοδότος. It may have been, and probably was, Θαύσις (ep. e.g. *Zeus Πλευτοδότης supra* l. 503). As such it is quoted and expounded by Olympiod. in *Plat. Phaed.* 67 c p. 111, 14 ff. Norvin ὅτι τὰ ῥακχθένται καὶ τὸ παραδείγματι ὅ γὰρ Διώνυσος, οὗ τὸ εὔνοιον ἐνέθηκε τῷ ἐσώτερῳ, τοῦτο ἐρέστει, καὶ οὕσω εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐνέργεια, ὅ ἐν Ἀπόλλων ἐνεργείας τὸ αὐτόν καὶ ἀνάγει καθαρότατος ἐν τεσσάρως καὶ τοῦ Διώνυσου σωτήρ ἢ ἀλήθεια, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Διώνυσοδότης ἀναμείκται (ἀναμείκται ἐν ἐσώτερον τῇ ἐφόρμασιν τῷ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐναντίον). ὁ τῶν ὁρμάτων ὅτι ὅ Τιτανός ἐνότατος, καὶ ὅ τι ἦν ὅτι ἦν ἀναμείκτες καὶ ἄρθρωσις, τούτῳ ἀνέκδοτα ἀπὸ τῆς Τιτανίδος ἑκατέρας ἐνείκειτο, *Prokl. i. 503 = Orph. *frag.* 193 Ἀβέλ ὁ Ὁρφανός ἐφιστηθη
Dionysos displaced by Apollon

The fact is, they were gods of very much the same general character, both young male powers intimately related to Father Sky and Mother Earth, both closely connected with vegetation, both famous for their ecstatic and orgiastic rites. Small wonder that fusion and confusion resulted, when one cult had been amalgamated with the other.

The gradual rapprochement and ultimate identification of Dionysos with Apollon can be well traced in extant literature. In the sixth century B.C. Pythagoras declared that Apollon was the son of Silenos—a view perpetuated by the pedantic systematisers, who distinguished five Apollons, the fourth being Apollon Nómios the son of Silenos, born in Arkadia. In the fifth century B.C. Herodotos learnt from the Egyptians that Apollon (Horos) and Artemis (Boubastis) were children of Dionysos (Osiris) and Demeter (Isis), nursed and preserved by Leto. Accordingly Herodotos charges Aischylos, who alone of the Greek poets had made Artemis a daughter of Demeter, with drawing from the same Egyptian source. Having already detected one Egyptism in a play of Aischylos, we shall not straightforwardly scout the notion of a second. Still, we have not in this case, as we had in that, the support of a definitely Egyptian context. We shall therefore be slow to conclude that Aischylos was really Egyptising. More probably he was in Orphic

1 L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pé. 1861 p. 57: 'Vor allen anderen Elementen aber, welche im Wesen dieser beiden jugendlich-schönen Söhne des Zeus gleichmässig ausgeprägt sind, macht sich bekanntlich der ekstatische Charakter bemerkbar, welcher an ihrem Gefolge nicht weniger, als an ihnen selbst hervortritt,' cp. Strab. 468 öi μὲν οὖν Ἑλληνες οἱ πλείστους τὴν Διονυσίαν προσέθεναν καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῷ Εάκτῃ καὶ ταῖς Μοῦσαις καὶ Άδημεροι, νῦν Δαι (καὶ διʼ ἑαυτῶν), τῶν ὀργαστικῶν τῶν καὶ τῶν βασικῶν καὶ τῶν χαρακτῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ τῶν τελετῶν μυστικῶν, κ.τ.λ. E. Maass Orpheus München 1895 p. 185 notes that in Orph. Arg. 9 f. Orpheus was inspired to sing Βάξχων καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἄνακτος | κέντρῳ ἑλαιώμενοι.

2 Stüepa p. 271.

3 Aristoteles theologumena (= Aristot. frag. 283 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 190 Müller)) ap. Clem. Al. profr. 2. 28. 3 p. 21, 7 f. καὶ τέκτονος τῶν Ἀρκάδων τῶν Σελύνων Νόμοις οὕτως κελθηται παρὰ Ἀρκάδαν, Cic. de nat. deor. 3. 57 quartus in Arcadia, quam Arcades Nomion appellant, quod ab eo se leges ferunt acceptisse, Ampel. 9. 6 quartus Sileni filius in Arcadia, cp. Arnob. adv. nat. 4. 15 quadrigas Apollinarium nominum, Lyd. de men. 4. 71 p. 124. 4 f. Wünsch τολοὶ δὲ εἰς τὸ δῶμα Διὸς Διὸς, ὡς τε Ἀπόλλωνες ἤ Διόνυσοι. See further W. Michaelis De origine indicii doorum cognominum Berlin 1898 p. 47 f. and Wide Lahmen. Kulte p. 254 f.

4 Hdt. 2. 126, cp. Paus. 8. 37. 6 (Aisch. frag. 333 Nauck).
mood. And like enough it was under Orphic influence that he ventured even to equate Apollon with Dionysos, when in an unknown play—perhaps the Bassarai—he wrote:

Apollon of the Ivy, he the Bacchant, he the Seer.

Similarly Euripides, another poet who had more than a bowing acquaintance with Orphism, in his Likymnios penned the following invocation:

Lord who lov'st the Baytree, Paian, Bakchos, Apollon of the Lyre.

Later we get the identification more explicitly stated. In the first century of our era Dion Chrysostomos, addressing the Rhodians, says:

Yet some maintain that Apollon, Helios, and Dionysos are all one and the same; and that is your own accepted view.

The best commentary on this passage is a series of early imperial coppers, struck in Rhodes, which has for obverse type (fig. 170).

1 See Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 430 n. 2, 1168 n. 7, 1172, 1290 n. 3.

3 Eur. frag. 477 Nauck ap. Macrobr. Sat. 1. 18. 6 δέσποτα φιλόδαφεις Βασίλεις, παιάν Ἀπόλλων εὐλογείς. The variants are: ΒΑΙΑΝ Ρ. 1. R. Ἀπόλλων Ρ. 1. Ἀπόλλων Ρ. 5. Ἀπόλλων Ρ. 5. Ἀπόλλων Ρ. 5. The variants are: ΒΑΙΑΝ Ρ. 1. R. Ἀπόλλων Ρ. 1. Ἀπόλλων Ρ. 5. Ἀπόλλων Ρ. 5. Ἀπόλλων Ρ. 5. Ἀπόλλων Ρ. 5. Ἀπόλλων Ρ. 5. Ἀπόλλων Ρ. 5. Therefore a prolific crop of conjectures: M. de Meurs Ἀπόλλων. A. Nauck cleverly suggests the transposition δέσποτα | φιλόδαφεις παιάν Βασίλεις Ἀπόλλων εὐλογείς. Perhaps we should go one step further and read the compound Βασσαράων, cp. Διονυσίασάρων and the like (F. H. M. Blaydes' on Aristoph. ran. 499).

4 Dion Chrys. or. 31 p. 970 Reiske καί του των μεν Ἀπόλλων καὶ των Ἡλιος καὶ των Διόνυσον έτοι φασιν είναι του αὐτού, καὶ ομοίαν οὕτω νομίζετε. Cp. the Orphic εις Ἡλιος, εις Διόνυσος (supra 1. 187 n. 1. 292).

5 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. pp. xxvi, 263 ff. pl. 42. 3. 6, Hunter Cat. Coins il. 445 no. 85 f., Head Hist. num. 3. p. 642. I figure a specimen from my collection issued in the name of the tamias Hierokles (ΕΠΙ || ΕΠΟ || ΚΛΕΥΣ κτλ, cp. E. Boisacq Les dialectes doriques Paris 1891 p. 164 f.).
Dionysos displaced by Apollon

the head of a young male deity with the flowing hair of Apollon, the rays of Helios, and the ivy-wreath of Dionysos. W. Drexler calls him Helios\(^1\), B. V. Head calls him Dionysos\(^2\): he is both rolled into one. And it is interesting to find that Nero, who certainly

![Image]

claimed to be Apollon and Helios and probably posed as Dionysos to boot\(^3\), introduced his own head on similar large-sized coppers (fig. 171)\(^4\) in place of the Rhodian god\(^5\). A treatise on epideictic

1 W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1206.
3 Supra p. 96 n. 3, infra Append. M met.
5 I figure a specimen of this rare coin from my collection: obv. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ · ΑΥΤΟΚΡ[ΑΤΩΡΝ] N Head of Nero, laureate and radiate, to right; rev. ΡΟΔΙΩΝ Nike on the prow of a ship, holding wreath in right hand, palm in left, with rose before her.

\(^8\) Nero's interest in Rhodes (Suet. Ner. 7) and personation of the Rhodian Helios will account for some of his vagaries. Thus his vice-gerent in Italy, 66—68 A.D., was a freedman named Helius (De Vit. Onomasticon iii. 325, C. Merivale History of the Romans under the Empire London 1881 vii. 35 f.). Again, his banqueting-hall was circular and revolved day and night like the sky (Suet. Ner. 31)—a suitable abode for a would-be sun-god. Lastly, it was no doubt the colossal Helios made for the Rhodians by Chares of Lindos (Overbeck Schriftquellen p. 291 ff. nos. 1539—1554) that prompted Nero to have a colossal of himself made by Zenodoros (Plin. nat. hist. 34. 45) and set up in the vestibule of his Golden House (Suet. Ner. 31), cp. Mart. 1. 70. 7 f. nec te [definat miri radiata colossi | quae Rhodium moles vincere gaudet opus. Vespasian had the big figure repaired (Suet. Vesp. 18) and re-erected in the same place (Dion Cass. 66. 15, Hieron. chron. ann. Abr. 2091 = 76 A.D.; Euseb. chron. ann. Abr. 3090 (ii. 158 Schoene) and Synkel. chron. 342 B (i. 647 Dindorf) say ὁ κολοσσὸς Ρώδου!): but the usual statement that he substituted the head of Apollo for that of Nero is not sufficiently supported by Mart. lib. spect. 2. 1 sideres...colossos; the statue may well have been radiate from the outset. Hadrian caused his architect Decianus to move it, by means of two dozen elephants, to its later position near the northern entrance of the amphitheatre; he also re-dedicated it to Sol, and commissioned Apollodoros of Damaskos to make a pendant figure of Luna (Spart. v. Hadr. 19. 12 f., cp. Plin. nat. hist. 34. 45). Commodus cut the head off and replaced it by a portrait-head of himself; moreover, by adding a club and a lion he transformed the whole figure into a Hercules (Dion Cass. 72. 22, Herodian. 1. 15. 9, Lamprid. v. Commod. 17. 10) according to the Chron. Pasch. 263 D (i. 492 Dindorf) and Synkel. chron. 354 B (ii. 668 Dindorf) Commodus beheaded the colossal of Rhodes and substituted a likeness of himself; Kidren. hist. comp. 251 C.
oratory traditionally ascribed to Menandros the rhetorician of Laodikeia on the Lykos (c. 270 A.D.), but more probably composed by an anonymous rhetorician of Alexandria in the Troad, concludes with an appeal to Apollon Sminthios:

'But, Sminthian and Pythian god,—for with thee my discourse began, and with thee shall it end—by what titles shall I address thee? Some name thee Lykeios, some Dileios, others Askrais, others again Aktios. At Sparta men call thee Amyklados, at Athens Patrois, at Miletos Branchidias. Every town and country thou dost traverse. Yea, even as thou dost dance round the sky with the choruses of the stars about thee, so dost thou traverse the whole world of men. The Persians name thee Mithras, the Egyptians Horus—for thou bringest round the seasons (hórai) in their circuit,—the Thebans Dionysos; and the Delphians honour thee with a twofold title, calling thee at once Apollon and Dionysos. About thee are the Muses (?), about thee the Maenads. From thee the moon too gets her radiance, and the Chaldaeans name thee leader of the stars. Whether, then, thou carest for these titles, or for others better than these, grant that our city may ever enjoy full prosperity, and that this festival may for ever be held on thy behalf. Give grace, moreover, to the words that are spoken; for of thee come speech and city alike.'

(i. 441 Bekker) carries the confusion further by asserting that Commodus decapitated the colossus of Rhodes and placed its head on his own statue! But these accessories were afterwards removed (Lamprid. v. Commod. 17. 9), and in the fourth century A.D. the Neronian image once more had a rayed crown (Curiosum urbis regionum xiv reg. iv = Notitia regionum urbis xiv reg. iv (H. Jordan Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1871 ii. 546)). Its base of brickwork is still in situ (H. Jordan—C. Helsen op. cit. Berlin 1907 i. 3. 320 ff.). The probability is that from first to last the colossus was recognised as the sun-god. If it bore the features of a Nero or a Commodus, we must remember that the former had posed as the Rhodian Helios and the latter at least as Hercules (R. Peter in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2987 ff., Class. Rev. 1906 xx. 418).

1 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1898 p. 785 f.
Towards the close of the fourth century Servius à propos of Aeneas and his comrades, whom Virgil had described as worshipping the Delian Apollo with bent heads, remarks:

'We should realise that, in accordance with the character of the deity addressed, the worshippers look sometimes down, sometimes up; for some powers are heavenly, others earthly, others a blend of both. Hence now, when beseeching Apollo, they turn towards the ground, since he is at once himself and Sol and Father Liber, who descended to the dead—as Horace puts it: 'Cerberus saw thee and harmed thee not.' So they do well to turn towards the ground: it is from the ground that oracular responses come to them, and Apollo is known even to the dead below.'

Elsewhere, commenting on Virgil's apparent equation of the sun and moon with Liber and Ceres, Servius attributes the same unitarian doctrine to the Stoics:

'The Stoics hold that there is but one god and one goddess, and that it is the selfsame power which is called by various names according to its functions and activities. Hence, on the one hand, they identify Sol, Liber, and Apollo; on the other, Luna, Diana, Ceres, Iuno, and Proserpina. Virgil—so they maintain—has here invoked Liber and Ceres in place of Sol and Luna.'

Again, Servius cites a similar view from a neo-Platonic source:

'But, according to Porphyrios' book entitled The Sun, it is clear that the power of Apollo is threefold, and that we should identify Sol in heaven, Father Liber on earth, Apollo under the earth. And this is why we see three attributes grouped about his effigy—the lyre which represents to us heavenly harmony,'
the griffin which shows him as an earthly deity too, the arrows which mark him as a destructive god of the underworld. Etc.

Finally, Macrobius (c. 400 A.D.), after adducing the Aeschylean and Euripidean evidence already quoted by way of proof that Mount Parnassos was not sacred to two diverse deities, puts his case thus:

'We began with the statement that Apollo is the sun. We next showed that Father Liber is none other than Apollo. Consequently there can be no doubt that Sol and Father Liber refer to the same god. Nevertheless this shall be established by yet clearer arguments. Mystic religion in its rites observes the following rule: when the sun is in the upper or diurnal hemisphere, it is called Apollo; when in the lower or nocturnal, it is held to be Dionysos, that is Father Liber.' Etc.

In short, it appears that a variety of influences—Pythagorean, Egyptian, Orphic—tended towards the assimilation of Dionysos

1 Serv. in Verg. ecl. 5. 66 sed constat secundum Porphyrii librum, quem Solum appellavit, triplicem esse Apollinis potestatem, et eundem esse Solum apud superos, Liberum Patrem in terris, Apollinem apud inferos. unde etiam tria insignia circa eius simulacrum videmus—lyram quae nobis caelestis harmoniae imaginem monstrat, gryphen quae eum (see H. A. Lion ad loc. n. 66: Myth. Vat. 3. 8. 16 has more correctly gryphen qui eum) etiam terrenum numen ostendit, sagittas quibus infernalis deus et noxius indicatur. The passage is quoted by Myth. Vat. 3. 8. 16 and, in a shortened form, by Myth. Vat. 2. 18 (where G. H. Bode would rightly restore gryphen as against A. Mai's quadrigam).

2 Supra p. 253.

3 Macrob. Sat. 1. 18. 7 f. sed licet, illo prius [Sat. 1. 17. 7 ff.] adserto eundem esse Apollinem ac solemn, edoctoque postea [Sat. 1. 18. 1 ff.] ipsum esse Liberum patrem qui Apollo est, nulla ex his dubitatio sit Solum ac Liberum patrem eundem numinis habendum, absolute tamen hoc argumentis liquidioribus aucturum. in sacris enim haec religiosi arcani observatio tenetur, ut soli, cum in supero—id est in diurno—hemisphere est, Apollo vocitetur, cum in inferno—id est in nocturno—Dionysus, qui est Liber pater, habeatur.

4 An etymologising (ὁξ + ἡλιος or ἠλιος?) explanation of Νυκτελιος, a title borne by Dionysos at Megara (Paus. 1. 40. 6 μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Δίας τὸ τέμενος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνελθόντι καλουμένην ἀντί Καρποῦ τοῦ Φωσσείου καὶ ἐς ἑμᾶς ἐς Καρποῦ ἐστι μὲν Διονύσου τινὸς Νυκτελίου, πεινηθεὶς δὲ Αφροδίτης Ἐπιστροφής ἵρον καὶ Νυκτός καλουμένος ἐστι μαντείου καὶ Δίας Κοινίου (L. C. Valckenaer 41: Krones. Welcker Gr. Gött. l. 642 n. 75 ej. Κρονίου, 'kugelförmig, metae modo.' K. F. Hermann in Philologus 1848 iii. 518 εἰς σκοτοιον or ἕδονοι. And H. Hitzig—H. Blümmer ad loc. state that the text 'scheint keine plausible Erklärung zuzulassen.' Zeus of the Dust,' cp. Pind. Nem. 9. 102 κοινα γρόσω, was possibly chthonian, and more probably the god that sent dusty weather—a very material consideration in Greece, where the ancient wayfarer—witness Plat. rep. 496 d—was glad to take shelter from the swirling dust-storm behind the nearest wall and the modern hotel-manager keeps a man in the hall to flap your boots with a feather-broom ναός ὁξ ‹χων δροφός>, at Delphi (Plout. de E apud Delphos 9 cited supra p. 234), and doubtless elsewhere (Ov. met. 4. 15, ara am. 1. 567, Anth. Pal. 9. 524. 14 = h. Dion. 14 (Abel Orphica p. 284), Nonn. Dion. 7. 349, 22. 6, 27, 173, 44. 203). But the title certainly originated in the fact that Dionysiac rites were held at night (Plout. quaestii. Rom. 112, et. mag. p. 669, 20 f., schol. Soph. Ant. 1147: 1: see further Soph. Ant. 1146 f., Eur. Ion 1074 ff., Bacch. 485 ff., Aristoph. ran. 430 ff., Verg. geoery. 4. 521, Hesych. s. v. νυκτελιος, and the epithets νυκτελιος (Orph. h. trid. 52. 4), νυκτίπολος (Eur. frag. 472, 11 Nauck cited supra i. 648 n. 1 cp. i. 667 n. 4, Nonn. Dion. 7. 288), νυκτιφάλης (Nonn. Dion. 44. 218).

C. II.
Dionysos displaced by Apollon

and Apollon, who were completely unified by the solar syncretism of the Graeco-Roman age. But it would be a gross blunder to regard these two as identical from the outset. Rather they were analogous gods, of whom one proved a not uncongenial intruder upon the other. The welcome guest became in time a recognised member of the family circle, and ultimately the main representative of the house, his former naturalisation having been obscured by the later developments of religion and philosophy.

The situation thus arising may be illustrated by a short sequence of Greek vase-paintings1. A polychrome pelike from Jüzb Oba, now at Petrograd (pl. xvi)2, Attic work of the fourth century B.C., has for its principal figures the earlier personnel of the Delphic oracle. The obverse design shows Zeus, with golden bay-wreath and sceptre, enthroned beside Themis, who, clad in a chitón and a himation partly blue partly red, sits on the yellow-touched girdled omphalós, her left foot raised upon a stone. God and goddess are in earnest conversation, as befits the supreme counsellors of all the world3. The subject of their talk is presumably the glorification

1 The Etruscan mirror from the Luynes collection (Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iv. 24 f. pl. 292), now at Paris (Babelon—Blanchet Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat. p. 517 f. no. 1300 fig.), adduced by Miss Harrison in her Themis p. 442 f. fig. 136 as representing Apollon and Dionysos vis-à-vis with the sun’s disk between them, would make a delightful illustration of the same point. But unfortunately the interpretation of the second figure as Dionysos is far from certain. The duc de Luynes in the Bull. d. Inst. 1848 p. 56 described it as Diana; E. Gerhard loc. cit., E. Babelon and J. A. Blanchet loc. cit., as Artemis.
3 Themis as an earth-goddess (supra p. 176 n. 1) knows the right order of events and from experience of the past can give good advice for the future. In poetry she is ἔθισσα (Pind. Ol. 13. 11, Isthm. 8. 68 cited infra § 9 (h) ii (ε), frag. 30 f. Schroeder cited supra p. 37 n. 1), ὀφθαλμοὺς (Aisch. P. v. 18), πνεύμα (Bakchyl. 14. 55, cp. frag. adesp. 82 A as completed by Bergk4 ad loc.), in prose Βασιλεία (Plout. præct. ger. reip. 5, Synes. de regno 15 (lvi. 1093 Migne)).

Zeus is wise as a forefather (Aisch. suppl. 592 f. πατὴρ φθορῶν αὐτῆς | γενόμε | πάλαι ἀπὸ ἀνάπτυξιν | τῶν | τὸ τῶν μήκος αὐτοῦ Ζεύς. Cp. for his wisdom as conceived by Aischylos P. v. 61 f., suppl. 1058 f., and the remarks of W. Kausche in the Dissertiones philologicae Halensis Halis Saxoniae 1888 ix. 137), as a magician (supra i. 14 n. 1, 758 n. 1 f.), as an all-seeing sky-god (supra i. 187 n. 9, 156 f., 459 ff., 731 n. 1, 783), and as ideal mind (Nomn. Dion. 20. 266 περισσότερος Ἰδά, Tzetz. chil. 6. 930 ὁ Ζεύς ὁ φιλός ὅ ἀγάφος, prolég. alleg. 315 ὁ Ζεύς γὰρ νοῦ ἐκλέκτος, alleg. Od. 1. 153 ὁ Ζεύς, ὁ νοῦ καὶ φιλός). But it is as a chthonian god or, more strictly, as a god associated with chthonian goddesses that he gives counsel to men. Thus he is Zeus Βασιλείας in Mykonos (supra i. 668 f., 717 n. 3, with Demeter and Kore), Zeus Ἐθισσα in Amorgos (supra
i. 669 n. 2 with Demeter and Kore), Paros (supra i. 669 n. 2 with Hera, Demeter
Thesmophoros, Kore, Baubo), Delos (supra i. 669 n. 2, 717 n. 3, with Demeter and Kore),
Kyrene (Hesych. Εὐβολεύς = ὁ Πολίων. παρά δὲ τοῦ πολίων ὁ Ζεύς ἐν Κυρήρᾳ). At
Mantineia a limestone block inscribed ΔΙΟΣΕΥΒΙΛΕΟΣ in lettering of s. iv or
early s. iii B.C. was found in the middle of the Bouleuterion (G. Fougeres in the Bull. Corr.
Hell. 1896 xx. 133 f. no. 8 = Inscri. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess. ii no. 289), cp. Diod. 5. 72
διόπερ αὐτῶν προσαραγεῖται Ἱερὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δοκεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αἰτεῖν εἰς τοῦ
ζην...εὐβολεύς δὲ καὶ μυθικῶν διὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ βουλευτήριῳ καλὸς σὺνειτεῖ. At
Athens the Bouleuterion included a sanctuary of Zeus Bouleus and Athena Bouleia (Antiph. or. 6. 45
καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτήριῳ Δίὸς Βουλαύου καὶ Αθηράς Βουλαίας ἵππων ἄστει, καὶ ἐλεύθεροι οἱ
βουλευταὶ προσεχθοῦνται, cp. Ulpian. in Dem. in Mid. 115 πως τὰς προσερχόμενον τοῦ
θυσίαν ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Βουλαίος, ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Νέμ. «εἰς τοῖς θυσίασιν»;), whose joint
priest is mentioned in inscriptions (Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 272 a seat in the theatre
ἵππων | Δίος Βουλαίου | καὶ Αθηράς Βουλαίας, no. 683 of s. ii a.D. | ὁ δήμος τῶν ἱερεών
cυλίων καὶ Αθηράς Βουλαίας [ἐκ] κ.τ.λ. | Zeus had a ἱερομνύμον (Paus. 1. 3. 5
Βουλαίου δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται ἐπισκύρον Δίος καὶ Ἀπόλλων τέχνης Πεινών καὶ Δίως ἵππον Δώτως,
an altar (schol. Aischin. de fals. leg. 45 f. καὶ τῆς Ἐστίαν ἐπόθεμεν τῇ Βουλαίᾳ). Δίος
ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ βουλῇ. τῷ Ἐστιάν oυ κατέχει τὴν Βουλαίαν τὸν βομβὺν αὐτοῦ, τὸν Δίος, τῶν
ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῇ βουλῇ. ὠμοίως δὲ καθὼς βουλευτηρίῳ ἤ. κ.τ.λ. The same confusion of the
altar of Zeus with the hearth of Zeus appears in L. Bammann Anecdoten Griech. Liphsiae 1838
i. 181, 9 f. Βουλαία: Διὸς ἐν 
βομβῷ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὡς ἐλεύθερο νευραλαία, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς—
probably that from which Thera was dragged to his death (Xen. Hell. 2. 3. 52 ff.,
Diod. 14. 4. 11. Plout. v. dec. or. 4 init.), and dedications (Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 1025,
16 a list of c. 140—150 a.D. | ὁ δήμος τῶν προστάσεων καὶ τῶν συνοικίων ἐπίστολας ἀνα-
γράφας Δι Βουλαίου ἀνθρώποις, cp. H. G. Lolling in the 'Esph. 'Arct. 1893 p. 86 f.)
his original consort was perhaps Hera Bouleia (Aischin. de fals. leg. 45 f. with schol. ad loc.,
Andok. or. 4. 14. 2. 15. Xen. Hell. 2. 3. 52), as at Sparta (Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess. i no.
62 a 1 ff. Διος Βουλαίου, 'Εστίαν Βουλαίας | ἐπί τῶν Ιταλικά | κ.τ.λ., cp.
Corp. inscr. Gr. i no. 1240 iii 1 with D. Boeckh ad loc.), at Aigai in Aiolis (R. Bohn
Alltämmer von Aegae (Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. Ergänzungshft ii) Berlin 1889
p. 33 ff. 35. epistle of the Bouleuterion inscribed in Aiolic Ἀστραφάιης Ἀστρολαίου
Δίος Βουλαίου καὶ Ἰσταλία Βουλαία καὶ τῶν δύσων, and at Pergamon (M. Frankel Die In-
scribungen von Pergamon Berlin 1890 i. 153 ff. no. 246, 47 ff. ὁ δήμος δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀλατι
θυσίας μεγαλότητοι [ἀναπλατεῖ τὸς ἱερας | ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἡ Βουλαίας [ἐστίας | κ.τ.λ. τοῦ
[Ἀρχ]ίου τοῦ Βουλαίου], cp. Pausanias x. 44. 2, at which the Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 515, 47 ff.
and Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 332, 47 ff. prefer H. Usener's restoration ὁ δήμος
ἄνθρωπον καὶ Ἀλατι [θυσίας [ἐπὶ] στοάι [τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν 
βουλῆς] κ.τ.λ.), not to mention the Greek cask taken by Roman senators (G. M. Thomas in the Gelehrte 
Anzeigen. Herausgegeben von Mitgliedern der k. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften. München
1860 i. 158 f.). At the Panionion near Mykale Zeus Bouleus was associated with
Hera (Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2900, 5 ff. περὶ | τῆς δίκης τῆς γενομένης περὶ | τῆς ἐπίστολας
tοῦ Δίος τοῦ | [Βουλαίου καὶ τῆς Ἕρας]], at Gythion with Helios, Selene, Asklepios,
Hygieia, etc. (Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess. i no. 1179, 7 ff. τοῦ ἱερᾶ τῶν | ἑπεφυσεντάτων
θεῶν Δίος Βουλαίου καὶ Ηλίου καὶ Σελ[ήνης καὶ Ἀσκληπιός] | κ.τ.λ.), at Kalchedon he stood alone (Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 733, 61 f. = Dittenberger Syll.
Inscr. Gr. 2. no. 596, 6 f. ἐπί τοῦ Βουλαίου ἀνθρώπος [Ἰερο[γ]λι[ε]αιας ΣΣΣ1]. His head
appears on imperial coppers of Mitylene (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Tros, etc. p. 201
pl. 40. 3 (= my fig. 172), struck in the time of Valerianus and Gallienus, obv. ZEVCBOUS
ΛΑΙΟΣ bust of Zeus to left, rev. ΕΙΠΤΡ-ΒΑΛ-Α ΠΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΥ ΟΥ ΛΙΟΤ-
ΛΗΝΑΙ ΩΝ Asklepios seated to left with phiale in right hand, sceptre in left, and
snake coiled before him, Head Hist. num. 2 p. 562) and coppers of Antiocheia on the
Maiandros (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 16 no. 13, struck c. the time of
Septimius Severus, obv. Ζ[ΕΥC] ΒΟΥΛΑΙΟΣ head of Zeus laureate to left, rev.

17—2
ANTIOX ΕΩΝ ΜΟΡΚΥΝΟC river-god Morsynos standing to left with φιδέ in right hand and reed in left, Imhoof-Blumer Monn. gr. p. 471 no. 75 obv. ΣΕΓ ΒΟΥΛΑΙΟC, rev. read as ....ΩΝ ΠΟΡΚΥΝΟC sic, Head Hist. num. 3 p. 608, cp. Zeus with Boule (? on a copper of Neapolis on the Harpasos in Karia, struck by Gorgianus iii (Imhoof-Blumer Kleinas. Mittheil. i. 148 no. 5). The title Βουλαίου was transferred to Roman emperors, etc. (Mionnet Descr. du méd. ant. ii. 594 no. 538, a copper of Pergamon in the collection of L. E. Cousinéry, obv. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΙΛ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΒΟΥΛΑΙΩ head of Augustus laureate to right, rev. Α ΦΟΥΡΙΟΣ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙ ΑΡΧΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗ... large vase on a table; Inscr. Gr. inscr. iii Suppl. no. 1393, i ff. [Δια Βουλαίων Γερμανικών Καίσαρας | τόν πατέρα Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστού | ὁ δάμος between no. 1392, 1 ff. [Εστὶν Βουλαίων Ἀγροτιῶν | τῶν ματέρα Ταυρίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστού | ὁ δάμος and no. 1394, 1 ff. [Ἀνταρκτόρα Τιτανός | Σεβαστοῦ Οὐκοποιασάνθ | [ὁ δάμος], where M. Fränkel Die Inschriften von Pergamon Berlin 1890 i. 159 would read [Τῶν υἱῶν Δια Βουλαίων Γερμανικῶν Καίσαρας, | τόν πατέρα, πατέρα Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, | ὁ δάμος; Inscr. Gr. Arch. Lec. Mess. i. no. 1352 a limestone base from Ainea inscribed Ἀδρασοῦ Βουλαίων κ.τ.λ., cp. Corp. inscr. Gr. i. no. 1167, 10 = Conybeare Anth. Pal. App. i. 259. 4] from Zeus, to whom it properly belonged (Flout. an sent resp. ger. sit) τοῦ διὸ τῷ Βουλαίῳ καὶ Ἀγοραῖου καὶ Πολεώς Δίος ὑπηρέται ὁ ποδῶν ἐργα καὶ χειρόν ἀπαγορεύου ἀλλὰ βούλη καὶ προνοεῖ καὶ λόγου, id. praece. gr. resp. 5 oöde Δίος

Fig. 172.

Βουλαίων μένου ἔχοντων, Cornut. theat. 9 p. 9, 16 f. Lang καὶ Βουλαίων...προοποφορλούν, Achilles in Arat. Phaed. 3 (E. Maass Commentariiwm in Aratum religiosum Berolini 1898 p. 84, 16 f.) λέγεται γὰρ καὶ Βουλαίους ζεισ καὶ (so Wilamowitz for ὃς Β.) ξείνιοι καὶ ἐναρχησ φίλοι (so Maass for φίλοι V.) φυταλιοί (so Scaliger for φυτάλιοι V.) ἐπικαρπίως, Schöll—Studemund anec. i. 265 no. 23 Βουλαίων κατ. ib. i. 274 n. 18, 282 n. 14) and of whom it was a virtual synonym (Lyk. Al. 435 f. (Karanac) ὁ Γογγυλότας εἶναί Βουλαίου Μυλεύς, ὁ γάρ δὲ καὶ συνεφεύμενα χείρα κυνοῦται, ὁ Βουλαίως, δὲ ὁ καὶ τὸ Βουλαίου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν, ὁ Μυλεύς, δὲ ὁ οἷον οὗ ἔνθα τοῦ καὶ ποῖον ἐνεντολότας κυνοῦται, ὁ Αρνος, ἀπὸ τῆς μῆνης, cp. Schöll—Studemund anec. i. 265 no. 27 γογγυλοτάς, no. 65 μύλων. O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 1283 says: 'Vermutlich entspricht Zeus G. dem Zeus Palatinae.' H. W. Stoll in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3307 cp. Zeus Μυλεύς with Iupiter Pistor; L. Bachmann ad loc. cp. Iupiter Lapis. Was Zeus Ποιμέν obtained through turnips (γογγυλάς), as Iupiter with onions (Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 270)? And was Zeus Μυλεύς, like Apollo Mylæs or Myllinitas (O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3306), the Mylanteioi Theoi (K. Tümpel ib. ii. 3305 f.), and Promylau (O. Höfer ib. iii. 3110 f.), a protector of mills? Non liquet. Both titles might be local, γογγυλάς from some island *Γογγυλάν, Μυλέας from some town akin to Μυλάνα). Βουλαίου meant 'God of the Council,' and at most connoted the power of giving counsel (cp. Theokr. i. 16, 70 Δίος μέγα βουλαίουτος); it is not directly connected with the quasi-
of Athens, since Athena, who stands before them wearing a golden aigis slung across a lilac (?) peplos spangled with gold and having in her left hand a golden spear, on her head a golden red-crested helmet, is in the act of receiving a golden olive-wreath from a Victory, in a bright-coloured peplos, poised on wings of blue and gold. The remaining figures are less dazzling, being in effect little more than conventional 'filling': Selene on her horse led by Hesperos to the right; Hermes in waiting behind Zeus; Aphrodite with Peitho to the left. The central group plainly recalls the east pediment of the Parthenon; and the same great original, haunting the imagination of the painter, has contributed something to his Selene, Hermes, and Aphrodite. The reverse design represents Dionysos seated with Ariadne. Each holds a thyrsus, and Eros hovers between them. Dionysos' panther, caressing Ariadne, and a Maenad, with a timbrel at her side, complete the picture. Thus front and back of the vase taken together portray Zeus, Themis,

magical bouλή or bouλαι of Zeus (infra i. 14 n. 1). Zeus 'Αμβολιασ at Sparta (Pans. 3. 13. 6 πρὸς τοῖς Δίως Ἀμβολίας καὶ 'Αθηνᾶς εἶναι 'Αμβολίας βωμὸς καὶ Διοσκοίροι καὶ τοῖς 'Αμβολίοις, Souid. συν 'Αμβολίοις: ὅνιμα κύριον τις: a theophoric name (?)) was probably a warlike deity (Wide Labou. Kulte p. 13 f.), who on some historic occasion, unknown to us, had saved the state by a sudden change of plans and was therefore worshipped as 'the Reverser of the Decree' (cp. Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 145 n. 1, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1816, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1117 n. 3). H. van Herwerden Lexicon Graecum suppleriurn et diiesticicum2 Lugduni Batavorum 1910 p. 81 thinks that the Spartans would have called these deities δαμβωλας (sic) and δαμβωλα.

1 The vase has been much misinterpreted. L. Stephani locc. citt., deserted by his usual good sense, made the meaning of the obverse turn on the nature of the horse-rider: if she were Selene led by one of the Dioskouroi, the other figures from left to right might be two Hesperides, Hestia, Hermes, Atlas, Nike, Athena ; but if—as he preferred to think—she were Artemis Pheraia led by a Satyr, they might be Iphthime, Alkestis, Hestia, Hermes Phorailos, Admetos, Nike, Athena. C. Strube loc. cit., followed by J. Overbeck and A. Furtwängler locc. citt., made a much better suggestion. The vase-painter had been inspired by the opening scene of the Kypria, in which Zeus took counsel with Themis how to lessen the tribes of men that burdened the earth by bringing about the Trojan war (Prokl. chrestom. 1 (p. 17 Kinkel) ἦσσε βουλεύεται μετὰ τῆς Θησείας (so C. G. Heyne for codd. θείας) περὶ τῶν Τροικών πολέμων. παραγεγένετε δὲ ἔρις εὐγηγμένη τῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς Πηλείοις γάμοις περὶ κάλλους ἐνατυγχαν' Ἀθηνὰ Ηρα καὶ Ἀφροδίτη, κ. τ. λ. cp. Kypria frag. 1 Kinkel ap. schol. H. i. 5 f.). Strube's notion that the horse-rider was Erès by Furtwängler—C. Robert loc. cit. put forward the odd idea that Zeus is about to bear Dionysos, who is as yet hidden in his left thigh, and that Themis is foretelling the child's future. Robert takes the rider to be Selene led by Phosphoros—an indication that the scene is laid just before day-break. W. Klein loc. cit., comparing the famous Dareios-vasse (Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmakerei ii. 142 ff. pl. 88), will have it that Athena and Aphrodite here stand for Hellas and Asia, that the seductive rider is Apathe, etc. S. Reinach loc. cit. is eclectic naming the dramatis personae Peitho (?), Aphrodite, Hestia (?), Hermes, Zeus, Nike, Athena, Artemis or Selene led by an ἐφεσεος.

2 Infra § 9 (h) ii (6).

3 An objection to my view is that late vases of this type as a rule have for reverse
Dionysos displaced by Apollon

and Dionysos—the early Delphic triad—in thoroughly characteristic surroundings.

Another fourth-century vase, likewise found at Jüz Oba and preserved at Petrograd, is a red-figured kratér, which has for obverse design a judgment of Paris comparable with that depicted on the hydria at Karlsruhe and for reverse the arrival of Apollon at Delphoi (pl. xvii). The scene is marked by the omphalós with its fillets and bay-wreath, the palm-tree, and the tripod. Dionysos—a kingly figure bearded, wreathed with ivy, clad in fine under-chiton, richly decorated upper-chiton, and himation, and holding his thyrsos like a sceptre—is evidently lord of the locality. Round him is his retinue, three naked Satyrs and three Maenads, who with flutes, lyre, and timbrel make music as their master extends the right hand of fellowship to the youthful Apollon, a simpler personage in a dotted himation with bay-wreath and bay-branch. One of the Maenads prepares a seat for him beside the omphalós—a sufficiently significant action. The guest has come to stay. And it may be added that Zeus and Themis, the original occupants of the place, are already relegated to the other side of the vase.

A later moment is represented on a red-figured bell-kratér of design some commonplace subject (draped youths, etc.) unconnected with the obverse. That is true. But there are notable exceptions (e.g. Compte-rendu St. Pét. 1859 p. 32 ff. Atlas pl. 1 f. = Reinach Rép. Vases i. 1, 1 f., 2, 2 or Collignon—Couve Cat. Vases d' Athènes p. 590 f. no. 1854), and this may well be one. Robert op. cit. p. 190 is not averse from connecting the two sides of our vase.

1 Stephani Vasenansamml. St. Petersburg ii. 339 ff. no. 1807. Height 0'49m.
2 Infras 9 (h) ii (θ).
3 Supra i. 125 f. pl. xi.
5 Recalling the bronze palm at Delphoi (Plout. v. Níc. 13, de Pyth. or. 8, Paus. 10. 15. 4 f.). On the relation of palms to Apollon see L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pét. 1861 p. 68 f.
6 Omphalós, palm, and tripod are all found on the amphora from Ruvo (supra p. 170 n. 2).
7 Miss Harrison is a trifle less dogmatic in her Proleg. Gk. Rel. p. 390 f.: ‘It is perhaps not quite certain which is regarded as the first comer, but the balance is in favour of Dionysos as the sanctuary is already peopled with his worshippers.’
8 L. Weniger in the Arch. Zeit. 1866 xxiv. 190 f. and Farnell Cults of Gk. States iv. 316 suggest that Dionysos is greeting Apollon on his return from the Hyperboreans—a possible interpretation. L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pét. 1861 p. 114 after many pages reaches the wrong conclusion, viz. that Apollon and Dionysos grasp each other’s hand merely to show their essential similarity—‘Eine...rein theoretische, nicht dramatische Anwendung des Handschlages’—or, if the gesture has any reference to the particular occasion, their unanimity in regard to the judgment of Paris.
Kratër from Jüz Oba: Apollon visits Dionysos at Delphoi.

See page 262.
Attic style now in the British Museum (pl. xviii). The mountainside with a stepped altar in the foreground stands for the precinct at Delphi, which is still largely Dionysiac—witness the ivy-leaves that strew the ground, the company of Satyrs and Mænads, and the presence of Dionysos himself. But the principal deity is now Apollon, who is seated in the centre with short chiton and embroidered himation, a bay-wreath round his hair, a bay-branch in his left hand, a tortoise-shell lyre in his right. He glances over his shoulder at Dionysos, who occupies a subordinate seat on the extreme left, similarly clad in a short chiton with an embroidered himation, wearing fillet and ivy-wreath, and holding a thyrsos in one hand, a rhyton in the other. His former retainers seem bent on honouring the new arrival. One of the Satyrs turns towards him, fingering a lyre. The other, carrying an oinochoe, offers him an ivy-patterned kantharos. And both Mænads present him with flat baskets of fruit. It is clear that Apollon is in process of displacing Dionysos.

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Fig. 173.


2 This may be disputed, since the emphalos does not appear (are we to think of it as concealed beneath Apollon's drapery?). But the painting fills a gap in a series of undoubtedly Delphic scenes, and Gerhard loc. cit. p. 102 was probably right in describing it as 'Apollon zu Delphi.'
The displacement is now high enough in the scene painted on a late Attic bell-krater from Santa Agata de' Goti, now at Berlin (fig. 173). Apollon, with a bordered himation about his legs, a bay-wreath and fillet on his head, and a bay-branch in his left hand, is seated on the omphalos, itself garlanded with bay, whilst he dangles a sprig of bay-leaves over a white deer at his side. Before him


2 Lenormant—de Witte op. cit. ii. 140: 'Cette circonstance rappelle la mastication de feuilles de laurier que la Pythie mettait dans sa bouche avant de s’asseoir sur le trépied fatidique.' See Soph. frag. 811 Nauck?, 897 Jebb, op. schol. Hes. theog. 30 δάφνησις φαγῶν ὁδὸν πρὸ τοῦ ὀἴημα, Theophr. char. 16 (28 Jebb) ὅ ὁ δὲ δειδαδομὶς τοιαύτας τις ὁλο...δάφνησις εἰς τὸ στόμα λαβὼν ὅτων τὴν ἡμέραν περιπατεῖν, Lyk. Al. 6 (Kassander) δαφνίσσας φαίδεσθαι ἐκ λαμπρὸν ὄντι with schol. ad loc. εἰδοθανον αἱ μάταις δάφνες προωρωθεῖν, Kallim. iamb. 3. 221 f. (A. S. Hunt The Oxyrhynchus Papyri London 1910 vii. 39) and Ποιήη γὰρ ἐν δάφνῃ μὲν ἰδρύσατο, | δάφνησις ὁ άθετε (Wilmowitz cjt. άθετε, but see A. Platt in the Class. Quart. 1910 iv. 113 and A. E. Housman ib. p. 119) καὶ δάφνησις ὑποτρεπται, Plout. synpr. 4. 2. 3 ἐμι γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ στόμα τῆς αὐτίσις ὑπερ δάφνησις παρατετράχως (so J. J. Reiske for παρατεταχθεί). Loukian, bis accus. 1 ἡ πρόμαχος...μασματικὴ τῆς δάφνης, Athen. 140 D—Ε καὶ οὖν ἡ παρακείμενη των λεγομένων ἐπαίλεσθαι...ὔτετη...οὐκ ὕμνο γὰρ τοις ναυτὶς παρέχουσιν, πάνω τις εὐχάλα ὤντι καὶ εὔτελην. Δάφνησις γὰρ ὡστε ῥάδα δεδεμένη, ἀ γρειφι Νικολάου ὁ λαώς (frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 464 Müller)) κάπης αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὸ δείπνον ἐν φίλλῳ δάφνησις, παρὸ καὶ καμαρίτιος μὲν προαγορεύσατο τὰ φίλλα, αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ φαινὴν κάμαρα (cp. Hesych. s.v.), ὅτι ὃς ὅν τοις τάλαι καὶ φίλλα δάφνησις πραγματίζεσθαι Καλλίσ (Kyklopes frag. 4 (Frag. comm. Gr. ii. 737 Meinecke)) ἡ Διόπη ἐν τοῖς Κόλαλφι φινάος ὅτων: ἑι φιλάτη (ἐκ K. G. A. Erfurdt for φιλάτῃ σο ὑ V. L. φιλάτῃ σο ὑ P. φιλάτῃ A. φιλάτῃ Α. φιλάτῃ των κατάλλαξε ὅ ὅτε ἔχει P. ὅλε Meinecke, omitting the point before it) καθάπερ σχετικὸς, ὇ ὅτε (ἡδὲ P. ὅτε Meinecke, omitting the point before it) καθάπερ σχετικὸς. Geopon. 11. 2. 6 λέγοντι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο περὶ τῆς δάφνης, ὅτι εὐχαίρει ἐντὸ ἐργασία, οὕτω καὶ φίλλα αὐτῆς ἐπίδειξια (ἐπίδειξις F. M.) τοῖς ἀρχαῖοι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τῆς πρώτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ μνῆμα, καὶ ἱερᾶς, Τετελ. in Hes. o. o. proleg. p. 14 ff. Gaisford φαίνει δὲ ὃς εἶναι τοῦτο εἰσέρχεται γνώμαι καὶ ἐνθεμενής κλώνας δάφνης Ἐλευθέρων τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτελεῖται, καὶ οὕτω σοφοίς μεταχεῖται ἐπιφύλατται (ἐμπερφθείτε E. and ed. Trincavelli. ἐμπερφθείτε F. A. and Annot. Graevii)...καὶ ὡς ἐν τῷ παμμάθι περὶ τῶν Ἐλευθέρων καθεστώς ὁ Ἡσιόδος ὃποιοι ἐννέα δάφνησις αὐτῶν φυσικῶν...ἐνθαῦτα τοῦ μὲ τοῖς τῶν νεών νουκλῆσι καὶ μάθησις καὶ ἀμβλύτως περὶ λόγους τελείτω καὶ κοινοφθορομένης καθεστώτωι περὶ τῶν Ἡσιόδου τοῦτοι ἐπιμελήνοις μύθοι καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπιθέλεις δαφνοφορίας τις παράθεναι καρδακών φυσικῶν τῶν δάφνων...Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μεθελεκτικὰ στοιχεῖα περὶ τῶν Ἡσιόδου δαφνοφόρων κ.τ.λ., Vililino anec. ii. 186 n. 1 schol. cod. 489 Venet. s. Marci de pharadodu ἤ ἡ μαρτυρία ἡ δάφνης: ιὸν γὰρ μαρτυρεῖν ἑπιφύλαττον φιλάτῃ, Tib. 2. 5. 63 f. vera cano: sic usque sacras innoxias laurus | vescent (music O.,) Ox. ex Pont. 5. 5. 67 gustata (so A. confirming a cf. of R. Bentley in his n. on Hor. ed. 3. 30. 15) et (so Rothmaler for cit. cods.) laurea nobis, Mart. ep. 5. 4. 1 ff. foetere multo Myrtale solet vino, sed fallat ut nos folia devorat laurui | merumque cauta fronde, non aqua, miscet. ...dicas ilicebit "Myrtale bibit laurum," Iuv. 7. 19 laurumque momordit. These multifarious usages—mantic, prophylactic, cathartic, hygienic, etc.—probably go back to a belief that the bay-tree was highly charged with divinity (cp. Boetticher Baumkulte pp. 264 f., 338 f., A. de Gubernatis La Mythologie des Plantes Paris 1882 ii. 188 ff., R. Folkard Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics London 1884 p. 404 ff.) It would, however, be a mistake to regard the bay as a vegetable form of Apollo (despite his
stands a Maenad, in a richly embroidered peplos with a wreath of ivy on her hair, grasping a couple of lit torches; behind him, a similarly draped and wreathed Maenad carrying a thyrsos, and a clumsy dancing Satyr. To the left is Hermes, who beckons the thiasos away to their nightly revels on the mountain. In the background are seen the upper parts of four Doric columns supporting an architrave—a rough sketch of the Delphic temple on its terrace. Dionysos, it will be observed, has gone: the Maenads and the Satyr are going.

But even when Apollon had entered into full possession of the Delphic seat it was not forgotten that he derived his authority from Zeus. Another late Attic bell-krater, formerly in the Lamberc collection and now at Vienna (fig. 174), shows Zeus instructing Apollon in the presence of other deities. Apollon, with a bay-wreath on his head, a bay-branch in his right hand, and a bay-bush at his left side, sits before the filleted omphalos on the other side of


2 The inhabitants of Dion in Macedonia dedicated at Delphi τῷ Ἀπόλλωνας ὑπὸ τῆς θάλας (Paus. 10. 13. 5). See further K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 110.

1 Furtwängler loc. cit. says ‘Artemis’; but the resemblance to the pendant Maenad is too close. The ivy-wreath is clearer in Gerhard’s drawing.

3 Furtwängler loc. cit. says ‘Nymphae’; but the thyrsos is decisive.

which stands Zeus, with bay-wreath and sceptre, announcing to his ‘prophet’ the mandate of omnipotence. Who the remaining deities may be and what exactly they are doing, has been the subject of much futile discussion. Apparently the painter has utilised the type of Hermes conducting Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite to the judgment of Paris merely for the purpose of suggesting a crowd of deities. It is as ruler of the assembled gods that Zeus issues his royal decrees.

(Ψ) The stratification of Delphic Cults.

We are now in a position to gather up results and to venture upon a conspectus of Delphic worship. The main cults appear to be stratified as in the following diagram:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iii.</th>
<th>APOLLON</th>
<th>Bay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ii.</td>
<td>DIONYSOS</td>
<td>Tripod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>ZEUS Aφεσίωs (?) and θ Eθήνις (?)</td>
<td>Eagles and omphalos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The pose is unusual for Zeus (Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 185 f.), who does not appear elsewhere in the attitude of the supported foot (infra § 9 (h) ii (?)).

2. Supra p. 204 n. 1, infra § 3 (a) vi (f) sub fin.

3. Objections brought against the interpretation of this scene as a judgment of Paris—viz. that Athena would then have some distinctive attribute (Furtwängler loc. cit. p. 14) and that Aphrodite would not be riding on a swan (A. Kalkmann loc. cit. p. 259)—lose their force, if, as I suppose, the artist is reminiscent and no more; for in that case he is free to contaminate or adapt.
Zeus and Dionysos

Further, the circumstances suggest that these strata represent distinct racial elements in the population, which had arrived, by dint of much mutual accommodation, at a joint-recognition of their respective deities. Zeus and Ge Thémis, the original possessors of the sanctuary, were throughout classical times admitted to be the ultimate source of the oracles there delivered. Of the younger gods first Dionysos, and subsequently Apollon, was affiliated to Zeus. And, since they were gods of approximately similar character, the populace came to regard them almost as obverse and reverse aspects of the same divinity. Finally, our survey of the data may enable us to hazard at least a provisional guess concerning the races involved in this curious superposition of cults. Alluvial deposits often tell their own tale.

iv. Zeus and Dionysos.

Zeus and Ge, the sky-father and the earth-mother, were essentially Hellenic, their worship being common to every branch of the Hellenes. The precise character of the relations between them will be explained in a later section. Here it must suffice to observe that the early Delphians seem to have worshipped Zeus as a storm-god under the title Aphéisos, which may be rendered 'He that lets fly', and Ge as a fertility-goddess under the title Thémis,

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1 In this connexion the pedimental sculptures of the temple at Delphoi are noteworthy. From fragments found on the site it seems that in the sixth-century building the east pediment contained a marble group with Apollon in his chariot as centre-piece, the west pediment a phoros Gigantomachy with Zeus in the middle, Athena to the left of him, Dionysos to the right (T. Homolle in the Bull. corr. Hell. 1901 xxv. 457—515 figs. 1—6 pl. 9—16, 18 f., F. Courby ib. 1914 xxxviii. 327—350 pl. 6 f. and in the Fouilles de Delphes ii. 1. 103 f. fig. 83 pl. 12). And from Paus. 10. 19. 4 τά δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄστοις, ξένων Αργείων καὶ Αἴγινων καὶ Μοῖραι δούκις τε Ἡλιοῦ καὶ Δίωνισου τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ Οὐμὸδες, καὶ ταύτα αὐτὰ, it has been justly inferred that in the fourth-century structure the east pediment was occupied by Apollon and deities of his cycle, the west pediment by Dionysos and his corête (T. Homolle in the Bull. corr. Hell. 1902 xxi. 627—639. F. Courby in the Fouilles de Delphes ii. 1. 20). The numismatic evidence is inconclusive (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. iii. 118 ff. pl. X, 22—25, J. N. Svoronos in the Bull. corr. Hell. 1890 xx. 35 f. nos. 53 f. pl. 27, 11—12, 44 ff. nos. 81—88 pl. 29, 11—18, T. Homolle ib. 1902 xxi. 629, F. Courby in the Fouilles de Delphes ii. 1. 21).


3 Infra § 9 (e) ii.

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Dr Farnell op. cit. ii. 496 rightly recognizes that Ge herself developed into a Ge Themis, and thence into Themis alone,' and ib. iii. 13 ff. rejects the notion 'that Themis began her religious career as the mere personification of the abstract idea of righteousness,' concluding that she ' was something more concrete than this, and was allied to an earth-divinity of fertilizing function.' He compares—as does Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 180 n. 6—the Themis of Boucheta (Harpokr. s.v. Βωυχέτα...πόσιν ἔστι τῆς Ἡπείρου... ἄριφροστέφανος ἐν τοῖς Ἡπείρωτοις (frag. 9 a (frag. hist. Gr. iii. 30 Müller)) ὑμνοῦμαι
Zeus and Dionysos

which probably once denoted 'She that creates or produces'—a possible doublet of it being the name Thetis.

Dionysos—as would be admitted by modern scholars with scarcely a dissentient voice—was a god of Thraco-Phrygian extraction. And his presence at Delphoi implies that a wave of Thracian immigrants had early-reached Phokis—a fact attested also by the existence of the Delphian Thraikidai. Herodotos indeed

3. See e.g. O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1011 ('Nehmen wir als sicher an, dass die Heimat des D. Thracien ist, etc.'). Farnell Cults of Gk. States v. 85 ff. ('the theory that he was of Thracian origin, carried by a Phrygian migration from Thrace into Asia Minor, and spreading his influence and name from the Balkan district into Macedonia and certain communities of Greece at an early period, appears to be generally accepted'). Evidence in A. Rapp Die Besitzungen des Dionysoskultus zu Thrakien und Kleinasien Stuttgart 1882. F. A. Vogt in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1031 ff., Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 211 ff. and in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1101 ff.
4. S. Schneider 'Uber den Ursprung des Dionysoskultes' in the Wiener Stud. 1903 xxv. 147—154 brings Dionysos from Egypt via Lydia and Thrace to Greece. P. Foucart Le culte de Dionysos en Attique (Mémoires de l'institut National de France: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres xxvii. 1.) Paris 1906 argues in support of an Egyptian Dionysos, cp. the same author's recent restatement of his views on the Elesinian mysteries (Les mystères d'Eleusis Paris 1914 p. 445 ff.). Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 211 ff., 1410 and in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1104 thinks it probable that Dionysos was originally a Boeotian god introduced by Greek settlers into Thrace. The latest leader of a forlorn hope is Miss G. M. N. Davis The Asiatic Dionysos London 1914. There is of course an element of truth in most of these hypotheses, even when they are otherwise misleading. The name *Bekkos perhaps came from Egypt (supra i. 438), the name *Zagros probably came from Mt Zagron (supra i. 681); but Dionysos as such was certainly Thraco-Phrygian.
5. Supra i. 669, 677, 695, 705, 706, 780, ii. 114 f., 219, 239.
knew of no nearer parallel to the Delphic oracle than that of Dionysos among the Thracian Bessoi. In Thrace Dionysos had many ap-

Fig. 175.

1 Hdt. 7. 111 Σάτρας δὲ... διατελεῖσα τό μέχρι εἰμι αἰεὶ εἰμὶ εἰσὶν ἐλεύθεροι, μοῦνοι Θρηκτών. οἰκεῖον τε γὰρ αἷρα ὑψηλὰ ἐγὼ τε παντοίροι καὶ χαῖνα συνηρεθές, καὶ εἰότι τὰ πολέμα ἄκοιροι. οὐκοῦ οἱ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήματ᾽ εἰς ἑκατερείς. τὸ δὲ μαντήματο τούτο ἢτοι μὲν ἕπι τῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ὑψηλῶν τῶν ἑπιμακρυντῶν. Βρασοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰς οἱ προφητεῖον τοῦ Ἱεροῦ, πρόσωπα δὲ ἡ χρύσα, κατὰ περὶ Ἁλφων, καὶ οὐδὲν παραλεῖπον. In 29 B.C. M. Licinius Crassus took the sanctuary of Dionysos from the Bessoi and gave it to the Odrysai (Dion Cass. 51. 25). Later, Vologaisos, a Bessian priest of Dionysos, moved by divine frenzy, headed a revolt, slew Rhaskyporis son of Kotys, drove out Rhymetalkes uncle of
Zeus and Dionysos

pellatives: he was Aivos (1?) and Dious among the Paiones (1), Sbos or Sabinos among the Saboi (2), Asoi in the vineyards of Maidike (fig. 175) (3), Pletostoros (?) at Asphintos (4), Baion or the like elsewhere (5).

Rhaskyporis in obedience to his god's command, and pursued him to the Chersonese—a revolt quelled by L. Piso, praetor of Pamphylia, in 11 B.C. (Dion Cass. 54. 34). On the Bessoi see further E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 339 ff.

1 Supra p. 250 n. 4.
2 Supra i. 395, 400.
3 This relief (height, exclusive of tenon, 0.46): breadth 0.41 (2), found in the ruins of an old church at Melenis (Melissi) on the S.W. flank of Mt Orbelos, brought to Thessalonike in 1895 (J. H. Mordtmann in the Ath. Mitt. 1896 xxl. 100 ff. no. 6), and now at Brussels (F. Cumont Catalogue des sculptures & inscriptions antiques (monuments lapidaires) des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire Bruxelles 1913 p. 63 ff. no. 52 fig.), shows a youthful god riding from left to right. His long hair is bound by a stephonic, in the front of which are stuck two little clusters of ivy-berries. Across his chest is slung a koreis. On his feet are Thracian boots. Being in a festive mood, he grasps with his right hand the head of a goat-footed Pan, who follows his master, hanging on in true Greek fashion to the horse's tail. In the background is a huge vine with two small vintagers in its branches. One of these holds out a big bunch of grapes to the god as he passes by. Old Silenos in a tufted costume, with his chiton knotted round his waist, dangles a bunch in his right hand and raises a reaping-hook in his left to gather a second. Under the horse is seen a panther, half-hidden by the vine. The slab is inscribed Κλασθάνος Πόρος και Πόρος | Δάφνων και οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν(1) σαλτάριοι | θεοί 'Ασδολά τῷ ζύμῳ εἰς(ε) (246 of the Actian era = 315 A.D.). Δάφνων is perhaps an abbreviation of Δαφνοῦς rather than a slip for Μαυροῦ. The saltaire are the saltatarii, Low Latin saltarii; people employed about a saltus, 'vineyard-keepers.' The god's name should be read 'Asdoval (Cumont), not 'Asdalof (Mordtmann) or 'Asdalop (Perdriot). It recurs as that of a man in the Corp. inscr. Lat. x no. 216 = Orelli—Henzen Insct. Lat. sec. no. 6840 (from Grumetum in Lucania) ....... | AVK-ASDLV-ML | COH-V-PRETORIE | FRATI-BENMEREN (sic) | QVI-MICUI LABORANT (sic) | AN-XII ET-FRUVINESE | EST IN BARBECIO. See further J. H. Mordtmann loc. cit., P. Perdriot Relic du pays des Maces représentant un Dionysos thrace (3) in the Rev. Arch. 1904 i. 19—27 pl. 1 (= my fig. 175), Reinaich Rép. Reliefs ii. 120 no. 1, F. Cumont loc. cit.
4 So W. Tomaschek 'Die alten Thraker' in the Sitzunssber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 cxx. 2. 42, comparing Hdt. 9. 111 Οίδομέν μὲν τῶν ἐκφυγέντα ἐν τῷ Θρησκώ Οὐρήκει Αἴφυνθοι λαμβάνετε ἔπεισαν Μεσσηνίων ἐπίθυμων τό πρότυχε τῷ σφετέρῳ with Dionys. per. 575 f. Θρησκόν ε' γίνει Αἴφυνθο | Βεστανίδες καλεοντίς ἐρώφιντον. The same comparison was made earlier by C. Müller in his note on Dionys. per. 575 and is repeated by O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2563.
5 Εἰ. mag. p. 186, 32 καὶ Αἴλων, τῶν Διανόμων, Ωράκες (so T. Gaisford following codd. D. P. M. F. Sylburg had omitted the essential word Bāλw, including the rest under the gloss Bāλw: κ.τ.λ.). Cp. Hesych. Εὑρωβάλλων, ὃ Διανόμως. The meaning of these titles is clear from Aisch. Fers. 658 βαλλει ἄρχαίον βαλλει ὑπε, elucid with schol. ad loc. βαλλει (βαλλει H. vulg.) ὑπερβαλλεί ἄρχαίον βαλλει. Εὑρωβάλλει δὲ φανεροὶ Οὐρήκει (Meneike eij. Φρύγων) εἶναι τὴν διάλεκτον [θεῖαν καὶ Βαλλανίου βάλλει, δι' ἐστὶ βασαλλεῖν]. Φρύγων οὖν ἄρχαία βασαλλεῖ, έξ οὐκ., κ.τ.λ., Soph. poetica frag. 472 Nauck (so K. W. Dindorf for cod. o οῖος) ὃ βασαλλεῖ, Arkad. p. 9, 1 Barker βαλλεῖ, p. 9, 5 βαλλεῖ, Hesych. βαλλει βασαλλεῖ. Φρύγων. Plat. de fusc. 13, 36 paroedieai de αὐτῷ (sc. the river Sagaris in Phrygia) δροσ Βαλλανίου καλοκεμένως, ὄπερ ἐστὶ μεθρομένως βασαλλεῖ. τὸν προφρύγων ἔχου ἀπὸ Βαλλανίου τοῦ Χανεμόντα καὶ Μισνείροντα παύει οὖν γὰρ τὸ γεννήσατας θεσαμενὸς ἀποτηκόμενον τῶν ἐγχυρίων (lacunam indicavit D. Wyttenbach) καὶ Βαλλανίου ἐφρίν κατέκλεισε μέχρι τῶν καλοκημένων. γεννᾶται δ' ε' ἐν αὐτῷ λυθο βασαλλεῖν ἀστήρ: οὗτος εἰσεθεν πτωτό
P. Kretschmer’s hypothesis

Dionysos, the name that lends unity to these local cults, has been variously interpreted.

(a) P. Kretschmer’s hypothesis.

The view that at present holds the field is that of P. Kretschmer, whose arguments may be here resumed. Side by side with Dionysos there existed a form Deinosos, the non-Greek change of i to e in

βαθείας τυρός δίκαιος λάμψει, τούθεν φονικόν τήν ἀρχήν λαμβάνοντος προσαγορεύεται δέ τῇ δα-

λκτῃ τῶν ἐγχώριων βαλλήν, ἵπτερον μεθερμηνευόμενον ἐστὶν βασιλεὺς, καθὼς ἵστορεῖ Ἑρωταῖας

Κύπρους ἐν θρησκείᾳ (frag. 1 (Frag, hist. Gr. iv. 427 f. Müller)), Eustath. in Il. p. 381,

15 ff. Αἰσχύλος δὲ...βαλλήν τῆς βασιλείας ἐν τῷ “βαλλήν ἀρχαίοις βαλλήν,” γλῶσση δὲ τούτο, ἐκ οὗ καὶ ὁδὸς Βακχομάτων, ὥστε βασιλεῖς παρά Πλάνταρχος, ἐν τῷ περὶ τοιαύτων, id. in Od. p. 1854, 26 ff. Ἀγατές δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἔνθεσις καὶ οὔτα ἀπὸ τῆς ἑττήσεως βασιλείας ἐν τῷ “βαλλήν ἀρχαίοις βαλλήν,” ὡς δὲ καὶ Βακχικον ὁδὸς παρά Πλάνταρχος ἐν τῷ περὶ τοιαύτων ἀντὶ τῶν βασιλείων. It would seem, then, that the Thracian Dionysos was called Βαλλήν or Βαλλήν, i.e. ‘King,’ and that his title Κύρομαξιδος meant ‘Wide-ruling’ (cp. Pind. Ol. 13. 33 ff. Κύρος’ εὐφοράς εὐφοράς | Οἰλιείαν...Σφί τάνῃ, Bakchyl. 2. 19 ff. αὐτός εὐφοράκτος ἄγγελο | ἤδη εὐφοράκτων, and the Euryanactidai of Kos (J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—

Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 1318)). If so, we may conjecture that the Thracian kings who devoured Zagreus (supra p. 624 ff. pl. xxxvi), not merely assimilated the virtue of the god (ib. p. 625), but actually posed as Dionysos incarnate.

R. Förster in the Ath. Mitt. 1894 xix. 373 published an inscribed marble block from Bithynia reading ΔΗΘ ΒΑΛΗΝ ΣΟΠΑΙΟΥΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΑΡΕΣΤΟΥ. This Zeus Βαλήν was compared with the Thracian Dionysos Βαλός (sic) of et. mag. p. 186, 32 by O. Höfer in the Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Philol. 1896 clxxi. 472, and with the Phrygian Βαλήν by H. van Herwerden Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum 2 Lugduni Batavorum 1910 i. 261 (cp. ib. ii. 1905 s. v. ταλήν).

P. Carolidis Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen Strassburg 1913 p. 47 connects βαλήν or Βαλήν with the Armenian γαλ, γαλ-αմ, ‘herrsch,’ the Carian γάλας, ‘king’ (Steph. Byz. i. s. v. Σούδα) Καλάς, the Lydian καλάς, ‘king’ (Hesych. i. s. v. Καλάς), M. Schmidt ad loc. cp. βαλήν and cites Hesych. καλάς βαλήν and καλάς: τῷ γαλάζων, ὡς γαλάζω, on which see Steph. Thes. Gr. Ling. v. 41 A).


P. Kretschmer's hypothesis

the first syllable being due to the intermediate sound of the Thracophrygian vowel\(^1\) and pointing to the conclusion that Dionysos is 'von Haus aus ein Thraker'. Greek dialects represent his name as Διόνυσος, Dionysos and Dionynysos, thereby presupposing two original forms, viz. Dionysos and *Diosnysos\(^2\), of which the one is a compound Di-o-nysos, the other a synthesis of the genitive Δίος and *νύσος\(^3\). As to the meaning of the combination, Kretschmer insists that the first half contains the name of Zeus, who—he holds—was called Zeus alike by Thracians and by Hellenes. The second half he connects with Νύσα or Νύση, the mythical place to which Hermes brought Dionysos for the nymphs to rear\(^4\), and with Νύσα, the nymph who nursed the infant god\(^5\). Raising the question whether the nymph was called after the place or the place after the nymph, Kretschmer decides for the latter alternative on the ground that one of the fragments (fig. 176)\(^6\) of a vase painted by Sophilos (c. 600—

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\(^{1}\) W. Tomaschek 'Die alten Thraker' in the Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 cxxxi. 1. 31 cites Thracian names beginning with Deo- (e.g. Δεό-βις, Deo-pus) and Dio- (e.g. Διο-αεδής, Dio-bess). P. Kretschmer in *Athen. Mitth.* 1897 iii. 8 notes the δεόρ or διώ of Phrygian inscriptions (infra p. 594 n. 1) and the Macedonian in δία (Hesyχ. δίε: μηνυμία. Maxy bóvios) for διόδια (infra i. 41).

\(^{2}\) P. Kretschmer in *Athen. Mitth.* 1897 i. 24: 'Also haben wir nicht eine, sondern zwei Grundformen unseres Namens anzusetzen: Διόνυσος und *Διοσνυσος; jene blieb in allen Mundarten unverändert, diese gab im Äolischen und Thessalischen regelrecht Διόνυσος, in den Mundarten aber, die o zu w dehnen, Διάνωσος. Etc.'


\(^{4}\) Stephanus *Thes.* Gr. Ling. v. 1616 b—d.

\(^{5}\) R. Wagner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 567 ff. For an excellent illustration of the Nymphs nursing the infant Dionysos among trees see the silver alabaster of c. 200 B.C. from Metropolis (Karditsa) in Thessaly published by A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the *Athen. Mitth.* 1912 xxxvii. 78 ff. pls. 2 and 3, cp. A. de Ridder in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 434 fig.

\(^{6}\) F. Winter 'Vase des Sophilos' in the *Athen. Mitth.* 1889 xiv. 1—8 and col. pl. 1,
P. Kretschmer's hypothesis 273

550 B.C.) represents a pair of nymphs inscribed Ny'sai: a mere eponym would not have been thus pluralised. Kretschmer further suggests that Ny'sa as a place-name is a shortened form of Nyseia or Nysata, and observes that Homer uses only the adjectival phrase Ny'seion. On this showing Ny'sa was the Thracian term for a nymph or maid, and its masculine correlative was - Ny'sos, the second element in Dio-ny sos. We are thus led along a legitimate route to the conclusion that Dionysos denoted simply 'Zeus' Son,' 'Zeus' Hero,'—a view confirmed by another remarkable vase-painting (fig. 177), which describes the child Dionysos as Diós phós, 'Zeus' Man,' 'Zeus' Hero,' not to mention a third, which dubs Herakles Diós pats, 'Zeus' Son.'


1 II. 6. 133. In II. 3, 508 Νηδρα τε ζαδένε was there a variant Νηδρα τε ζαδένε (Strab. 406).

2 J. Savelberg in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende sprachforschung 1867 xvi. 60 n. had already related 'Διό-νυσος 'zeussohn' to νεός, νεώς, but he had spoilt its etymology by attempting to work in νέος, νέων, and other totally unconnected words.


The obverse design of this black-figured amphora from S. Maria di Capua shows Zeus seated to the right, in chiton and himation, with a fillet on his head, a thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. On his lap stands a naked boy, with a fillet on his head and two flaming torches (not thyrsus) in his hands. Moving to the right, but turning to speak with Zeus, is Hera, in chiton and himation, her hair bound with a double fillet. Inscribed KALO (καλὸς, not καλός) ΔΙΟΣΟΣ ΗΠΑ O. Jahn loc. cit. recognised the scene as the 'Geburt des Dionysos'—an interpretation strongly supported by the analogous types of Athena's birth (infra § 9 (h) ii (9)). P. Kretschmer in Aus der Anomia p. 29 was the first to read Διός φῶς as 'einen volks tümlichen oder sacralen... Ausdruck für das Verhältnis des Dionysos zu Zeus,' rightly objecting to such a poetic location as Διός φῶς (cp. supra i. 7 n. 3 and Xen. an. 3. 1. 12 φῶς μέγα κα Διός Θείων θρόνοι)...

J. Millingen Ancient Unedited Monuments London 1822 i. 91 f. pl. 38 r., Müller—

C. II.
Criticism of P. Kretschmer's hypothesis.

Kretschmer's solution of the problem, being phonetically unassailable, has been accepted by the majority of scholars, but is perhaps open to criticism on two grounds. In the first place,

Pherekydes of Leros is credited with the statement that Diómysos was so named because he flowed from Zeús on to the nýsai or 'trees'! This rather enigmatic assertion probably hangs together with Pherekydes' description of Semele as Hýe and the nurses of

Fig. 177.


1 Schol. Aristeid. iii. 313 Dindorf εδοργυετειν φησι τον Διόμους καὶ (C. Müller lacunam indicat) δοθαι ανθρωποι. δηλοι δὲ (και D.) ο Φερεκόνης (frag. 1 a (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 637 Müller)), και μετ' (ἐπ' D.) έκεινον Αντίοχος (sc. of Syracuse), λέγωτε καὶ διὰ τούτο κεκλῆθαι Διόμους, ὥς εκ Δίας ἐσ ὁδινα ῥέωντα· νῦσα (νῦσας D.) γάρ, φησίν, έκαλον τὰ διδασκαλία. κ.τ.λ.
Dionysos as Ὑάδες. Since this fifth-century author, the earliest writer of Attic prose, indited a book On the Festivals of Dionysos, he was doubtless well posted on the mythology of the god, and we must not dismiss his remarks as idle invention. They fit on to a number of stray hints and intimations. Thus lexicographers and scholiasts tell us that Sabásios, the Phrygian Zeus or Dionysos, was entitled Ὑές, Ὑάς, Ὑεύς. Kleidemos, the oldest exponent of local Attic lore, said that Dionysos was called Ὑές because we sacrifice to him in time of rain. Others explained ‘that Dionysos was Ὑές from the rain that fell at his begetting, when Zeus rained ambrosia upon him.’ Plutarch in a more philosophical mood declares that the Greeks name ‘Dionysos Ὑές as lord of watery nature.’ Nonnos waxes eloquent on the theme and makes Gaia address Dionysos in the following terms:

Zeus’ son, grain-giver, murderer—ay, thou rulest
Both fruitful rain and bloody snow alike:
With rain thou didst bedew the whole rich field
Of Hellas, and with gore hast drenched the tillth
Of India; sheaves thy harvest once, now death.
Thy flakes found ears for the peasants; thou hast reaped
The Indian host and cut men down like corn.
Raindrops thou bringest from Zeus, from Ares blood.

1 Pherekyd. frag. 46 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 84 Müller) ap. Phot. lex. s.v. "Ὑές = Soud. s.v. "Ὑεν = et. mag. p. 775, 4 ff. = Favorin. lex. p. 1791, 26 f. (cp. ib. 19 f.). See further supra i. 111 n. 6, infra § 9 (i).
2 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1908 i. 429.
3 Soud. s.v. Φερεκόθρον Λέρος.
4 Lubker Reallex. s.v. θνεῖετο "voller Phantasie.'
5 Supra i. 390 ff.
6 Supra i. 395 n. 3.
7 Phot. lex. s.v. "Ὑές = τοῦ Σαβάζων η ἐπικλήσις, Eustath. in II. p. 1155, 63 f. ἐν ῥητορικῇ λέξις ἐφηρεται καὶ ὤτλ ῥαδία Βάκχαι τιθηθαὶ τοῦ Διόνυσου καὶ τοῦ Δίωνυσου Τὴν φαναί ἄν τοῦτον τινές: 'Τὴν γὰρ ἐπικλήσις τοῦ Σαβάζων.
8 Schol. Aristoph. av. 874 παίζει προς τὸ ἱδρύμα (ἐκ σφυρίλλω Σαβάζω), ἑτεροφυὲς τὸ εὐδαίμονα σαβάζων φαινει καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διόνυσου καὶ τοῦ Δίωνυσου λέγει αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ βάκχου τοῦ διόνυσου. Ὅ τοῦτο δὲ τοι ή καὶ κόσμος (πέθανε). Εἶχεν ὁ φρυγῖλος (ἐν τως ὁ πρὸς τὸν Ἐρίκον A Grammar of Greek Birds Oxford 1895 p. 184 and E. J. Selman in the fourn. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1913 xv. 4), like the jay (Curtius. Theol. 30 p. 61, 22 f. Lang), if not also the nightingale and the swallow (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 91, 951 n. 7), specially connected with Dionysos?
9 Hesch. s.v. 'Τῆς = Σαβάζως.
10 Paus. 10. 15. 5, cp. W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1911 ii. 1. 81.
11 Kleidemos (Kleitodemos frag. 21 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 363 Müller)) ap. Phot. lex. s.v. "Ὑεν = Νύξ = et. mag. p. 775, 3 f. = Favorin. lex. p. 1791, 24 ff. = ἐπιθέτον Διόνυσου, ὡς Κλέιδος σπαθίδια, φθονός, ἐπιτελείμεν τὰ τοιοῦτα αὐτῷ καθ' ὡς ὁ θεὸς χρώνων.
12 Bekker aenid. i. 207, 26 f. ἄλλως δὲ ὡς "Ὑεν μὲν εἶναι τῶν Διώνυσου ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβαστοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ γεννασθαι αὐτῷ ἄνευ ἤπειρος ἃς ἐξ αὐτῷ ἥ λειψις, et. mag. p. 775, 7 f. ἡ ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γέννησιν αὐτοῦ, cp. ib. p. 277, 45 f. ἡ ὃτι Δίος λοιποὶ ἐπεκόηθη. Infra § 9 (c) iii, § 9 (i).
13 Plout. de Is. et Os. 34 καὶ τῶν Διόνυσον ἡν ἕως κύριον τῇ ὑγρᾶς φόσεως, κ.τ.λ.
14 Nonn. Dion. 22. 276 ff.
Elsewhere the same author expresses the Orphic belief that the infant Dionysos ‘was a second Zeus | And sent the rain-storm.’ These and other indications of an essential connexion between Dionysos and the rain warrant us in attaching weight to Pherekydes’ statements. It would seem that, in Thracophrygian myth, not only did Zeus descend in rain upon Semele when he begat Dionysos, but Dionysos himself ‘a second Zeus’ came upon the ὄνυσαι or ‘trees’ in the form of rain. And after all, ὄνυσαι ‘trees’ are compatible with ὄνυσαι ‘nymphs’; for nymphs may be tree-nymphs, and it is on record that Dionysos was nursed by the Dryads.

In the second place, exception might be taken to Kretschmer’s view that the sky-god was called Zeus by Thracians as well as Hellenes. That view is based on the fact that, just as Hellenic names derived from Zeus, e.g. Diödoros, Diogénès, Diomédes, have for their first element Dio-, so Thracian names begin sometimes with Deo-, Dio-, Div-, sometimes with Deos-, Dios-, the twofold

1 Id. ib. 10. 298 καὶ πέλε διένερεν ἄλος ἔντει βρέθος ὄνυσιν Ζεὺς (infra i. 398 ll., 647 n. 6).
3 Opp. oxy. 4. 275 σὺν δρακόντι δ’ ἀστήρι μελισσοκόμοιο τε Νόμφας, κ.τ.λ.
4 P. Kretschmer Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache Göttingen 1896 p. 231.
6 Ξένας in an inscription from Thessalonike published by A. Dumont Mélanges d’archéologie et d’étigraphie Paris 1892 p. 470 no. 113 DEOPVISFIL.-AN. LX. HSS. etc. after L. Duchesme et C. Bayet Mémoire sur une Mission au Mont Athos Paris 1876 p. 51 no. 82.
7 Dio-titanus in an inscription from Regensburg in Bavaria: Corp. inscr. Lat. iii no. 596 d. m. et perpetuae securi. Deo-titano, vixit an. xv. fec. Iul. Polittisius filio, etc. = Gruter Inschr. ant. tot. orb. Rom. ii. 680 no. 3. For the second element in the name cp. an inscription from Campanili Gòng near Jimena in Corp. inscr. Lat. ii. no. 3534 D M S[NVSATIA] | FVER SEVER | PRONATVS NA[TIONE TRACIE PLVS MINVS ANNO] | KVM III IACET PETITIO BE[N]EFICIO IN | LOCVM CAM|PANIEN|SEM.
8 Dio-bess in Plin. nat. hist. 40 annem Stymnonem acculent... laterae... laexo Digerri Bessorumque multa nomina ad Mestun annem imo Pangaei montis ambientem inter Haletos, Diobessos, Caribisaes, inde Brigas, Sapaeos, Odomantos. The Δίω are mentioned in Thoun. 2. 96 παρεκάλη δὲ (sc. Stalikes in 429 B.C.) καὶ τῶν δρακόντων Θρακίων πολλῶν τῶν αυτῶν καὶ μαχαιρόφορων, οἱ Δίω καλοῦτοι, τῖν ποθὲν οἱ πλέοντας ὀκτὼν, cp. 7. 27 ἄφλακτον δὲ καὶ Θρακίων τῶν μαχαιροφόρων τοῦ Διακοῦ γένους ἐκ τῆς Αθηνᾶς πελάσατο ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρᾳ τούτῳ (413 B.C.) τρακασίων καὶ χιλιῶν κ.τ.λ. (whence Dion Cass. 51. 22 Ὀρχάκες τοῦ Διακοῦ (!) γένους τοῦ πολ. ὀκτωκασαίρωτος ὀκτὼν), Tac. ann. 3. 38 Coelaetae Odrusaeque et Dii (so J. Lipsius for codd. altii, validae nationes, arma cepere (21 A.D.). See further W. Tomasek ‘Die alten Thraker’ in the Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Phil.-hist. Classe 1893 cxviii. 71 f.

Διο-σκῆφος in an inscription from Milatropolis in Mysia first published by Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure v. no. 1105 ΑΙΟΣΚΕΡΒΙΟΣΟΥΦΟΣ κ.τ.λ. and later corrected by G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie d’une partie de la Mysie de la Phrygie, de la Cappadoce et du Pont Paris 1872 i. 99 ΔΙΟΣΚΕΡΒΙΟΣΟΥΦΟΣ κ.τ.λ.
method of formation producing on the one hand a compound, e.g. *Diós-nýsos, on the other a synthesis, e.g. *Diós-nýsos. But these data, it seems to me, are suggestive of another interpretation, viz. that corresponding with the Hellenic sky-god Ζεύς there was a Thracian sky-god Dios, whose name coupled with an appellative appeared now as Dios Pápas or the like, ‘Dios the Father,’ now as Dios Nýsos, ‘Dios the Son?’ The Greeks, familiar with Dios as the genitive case of Ζεύς, would inevitably take this Dios Nýsos to mean ‘Son of Zeus’ and would therefore readily form the Hellenic compound Diós-nýsos9.

(γ) Dios and Dios Nýsos.

Further evidence of a Thraco-Phrygian sky-god called Dios may be sought both on the Asiatic and on the European side of the Dardanelles. Epitaphs of the Roman imperial age found in Phrygia and published by Sir W. M. Ramsay4 and Mr W. M. Calder5 comprise:

8 Dieu-seenus, a Bessian, is mentioned in a bronze diptych found at Stabiae in 1749 A.D. and now preserved at Naples: Corp. inscr. Lat. iii. 844, x no. 769, Wilmanns Ex. inscr. Lat. no. 2893, 13 f., Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 1966 gregali; Spartico Diuceni f. Dipscuro altered from Dipscuro, Besso.

9 Deos-por in a military dedication of 223 A.D. found at Xanten and now at Bonn: Orelli—Hohen Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 6804, Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 2350 Sept. Deospor etc. W. Tomaschek in the Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 xxxi. i. 31 divided Deospor, cp. Σπόρας (Dion Cass. 68. 21). P. Kretschmer (supra p. 272 n. 3) divides Deos-por.

10 Dios-cuthes on a large broken coffert from Reusilava or Orsila near Kirilikov in Makedonia: Corp. inscr. Lat. iii no. 703, 5 SABINVS DIOCUTHVS. W. Tomaschek loc. cit. divided Dios-cuthes like Δο-σκόπης (supra p. 276 n. 7). P. Kretschmer (supra p. 272 n. 3) divides Dios-cuthes.

1 On Ηερας as the Thracian term for ‘Father’ see W. Tomaschek in the Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 xxxi. i. 18. Inscr. § 3 (a) iv (3).


3 Another possible, but—the think—less probable, explanation would be to suppose that the compound Didýnýsos was originally Thracian and meant the same as Dios Nýsos, ‘Dios the Son.’ The main objection is the rarity of such appositive compounds: K. Brugmann Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen Strassburg 1904 p. 393 quotes λατό-πάπης and analogous forms from Gothic, Old Church Slavonic, and Russian. Other examples are collected by F. H. M. Blaydes in his notes on Aristoph. ran. 499, 937. But these are all cases of mixed human (Διονυσελπός etc.) or animal (τραγ-λαφω etc.) types. What of Δειπόνος (supra i. 681 n. 4)?


monly end with a curse on the violator of the tomb. This curse, expressed in the Phrygian language though the rest of the inscription is in Greek, devotes the offender to Attis among certain powers, who are described as δεός σεμελός, δεός σεμελός κε, σεμελό κε δεός, διός σεμελός, διός κε σεμελός κε, or the like. The most probable interpretation of this vexed phrase is that proposed by G. Meyer,

1 Such formulae of execration were in use among the Phrygians a thousand years earlier (ib. fol. 123). 2 The examples so far published are the following (numbered in accordance with Mr. Calder’s Corpus):

The whole formula was almost certainly metrical. Prof. A. H. Sayce in the Jahrb. d. orient. Inst. 1905 viii Beiblatt p. 85 restores the original as a hexameter couplet: ΙΟΕ ΝΙ ΚΕΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΙ ΚΑΚΩΝ ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤΟ ΖΕΙΡΑ | ΜΕ ΖΕΜΕΛΟΣ ΚΕ ΔΕΟΣ ΚΕ ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΤΤΙΕΙΑΕ ΕΙΤΟΥ, where ΙΟΕ = δις, ΝΙ is a particle like ἄν or το, ΚΕΜΟΥΝ is dat. of a demonstrative stem, ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΙ is dat. of a noun meaning ‘tomb,’ ΚΑΚΩΝ = κακών, ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤΟ is from the stem seen in θηκα, θήκα, ΖΕΙΡΑ = χείρα, ΜΕ = μετά, ΚΕ = καί, ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ must mean ‘devoted to,’ etc. R. Meister in the Indogermanische Forschungen 1909 xxv. 318 n. 1 says: ‘τετικμενος, (zur Bestrafung) “angefügt,” or “angezeigt,”’ and in the Formen aπετικμενος (d. i. aπετικμένως) 41 and mit Vereinfachung der Geminierung τετικμενος 5, 11, 14, 20, 21, 38, 45; τετικμενος “ich spreche zu, reige an” (= griech. ἔτικ-κενομος, lat. ad-dico) ist zusammensetzt mit der Schwundstufe der Präposition ar, idg. ad (Brugmann, KVG. 470), etc. Id. ib. 1909 xxv. 318 n. 2: ‘ατ Ταδ “zu Zeus hin” mit Verdoppelung der Richtungsangabe wie ξ. B. im lat. ad-vorsus; Ταδ geht auf *Divō-δέκ: *Divō-δέκε zurück, -έ(η) ist vor Vokal elidit. π ist im Phyrigischen vor s (Akk. Plur. δεος ἄνω “die Götter,” 44, 50, σεμελός “die Unterirdischen” 44, 6, 25, 42 u. a.) und vor dem spiratant geworden und oft (nicht nur vor s) [Kretschmer Einl. 196] mit s wechselnd δ mit Ersatzdehnung geschwunden. Stattd Ταδ 11, 44, 44 steht auch Ταδ 13, 45 und Ταδ 39 (mit ea werden ebenso wie mit ae lange Vokale bezeichnet), das letztere eine Weiterbildung des Zeusnamens mit dem Koseusuffix -εκ (Brugmann Grundriss IP. 501), das auch in βασ-πεος “des Weibes” 30 vorliegt. But W. M. Calder in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1911 xxxi. 204 ff., 214 f., ib. 1913 xxxiii. 98 proves that the concluding words are the equivalent of καταρακένως ‘ΑΤΤΊ ἐτου and must be divided ΑΤΤΙΕ (dat.) ΑΔΕΙΤΟΥ (ep. adeite). Accordingly I would amend Sayce’s restoration as follows: ΙΟΕ ΝΙ ΚΕΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΕ ΚΑΚΩΝ ΑΔΔΑΚΕΤΙ ΖΕΙΡΑ, ΜΕ ΖΕΜΕΛΟΣ ΚΕ ΔΕΟΣ ΚΕ ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΤΤΙΕΙΤΟΥ. Whenever upon this tomb lays evil hand, Among gods below and gods above let him be devoted to Attis.

a Sir W. M. Ramsay in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1887 xxviii.
P. Kretschmer, and W. M. Calder, who agree in rendering ‘heavenly and chthonian gods.’ We may reasonably infer that in Phrygia the earth-goddess Semele was associated with a sky-god known as


Diós or Dios. The inference can, I think, be raised to a high degree of probability. At Dorylaeion (Eskissehir), a great centre of Zeus-worship in north-eastern Phrygia, G. Radet in 1893 found an altar dedicated to Zeus Dios. A. Körte, reviewing Radet’s discovery in 1897, threw out the ingenious suggestion that this title may attest a local survival of the primitive sky-god Dios postulated by H. Usener. Sir W. M. Ramsay in 1906 assumed a long vowel and wrote Zeus Dios—a course in which I formerly followed him. But Körte’s case is materially strengthened by the occurrence of deos, diós, etc. in the neo-Phrygian inscriptions cited above; and his

(Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel. 2 p. 404), has met with almost universal acceptance and is clearly correct. See further Walde Lat. dym. Worterb. 3 p. 372 f. s.v. ‘humus.’


Evidence of the worship of Dionysos at Dorylaeion is collected by W. Quandt De Baccho ab Alexandri adstat in Asia Minore culto Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 221 f.


4 H. Usener Götternamen Bonn 1866 pp. 43, 70 f.


6 Supra i. 4 n. 2.

7 Supra p. 277 ff.
view must—as it now seems to me—be definitely preferred to the alternative hypothesis. If so, we have here the old Thraco-Phrygian Dios Hellenised, as might have been expected, into a Zeus Dios. Körte remarks that at Dorylaeum there were seven tribes named after the Mother of the gods, Zeus, Poseidon, Sarapis, Apollo, Aphrodite, and Augustus respectively. But, since the tribe of Zeus was known as Deia, its eponymous deity was conceivably the Phrygian Deos rather than the Greek Zeus. Be that as it may, Zeus Dios was a god of Dionysiac character, for his altar is decorated with grape-grapes and a plough. He should therefore be

1 A. Körte in the Gott. gel. Anz. 1897 cix. 401 f.
2 Id. lb. 400 f. no. 45 a marble base inscribed θέου γοῦ. εἰκόνα τήνδε στήναν ἁγαλλιαῖαν Στρατονεύκος φυλήτας | οἱ Δειαὶ εἰράν ἁγαλλίαμα. k.τ.λ.
3 The inference is uncertain: is may be for τος as in Στρατονεύκος. But cp. the name Δεονεσ in the neo-Phrygian inscription no. 69, 10 f. (W. M. Calder in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1913 xxxii. 98 f. cites Δεονεσ from G. Perrot—E. Guillaune—J. Delbet Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie d’une partie de la Mysie de la Phrygie, de la Cappadoce et du Pont Paris 1872 i. 52.)
4 Zeus is connected with the vine by an early Phrygian myth. According to Akousilaos of Argos, one of the older logographers (c. 525 B.C.), Priamos persuaded Astyoche, wife of Telephos, to send her son Eurypylus from Mysia to Troy by presenting her with a golden vine (Akousilaos frag. 27 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 103 Müller) ap. schol. Q. V. Od. 11. 520, cp. schol. B.Q. Od. 11. 521). Some said that Priamos had himself made the vine (schol. Iuv. 6. 655—a notice full of confusions). But others stated that it was the golden vine which Zeus had given to Tros in exchange for Ganymedes and that it had passed to Priamos by way of inheritance (schol. T.V. Od. 11. 521, Eustath. in Od. p. 1697, 31 ff.). This version was derived from Lesches of Lesbos (c. 660—657 B.C.), who in his Ilias pater frag. 6 Kinkel ap. schol. Eur. Tro. 821 and Or. 1392 described the vine as follows: δαμνεύοντας, ἤρι Κρονίδης ἐπορευόντα | παῖδος ἀπονέα | χρυσάνθος (χρυσαύγιος) schol. Eur. Tro. 821) φέλλοσιν ἀγαλλίαις (J. Barnes corr. ἀγαλλίαις). F. Osann κι. ἀγαλλίαις, Jortin κι. ἀγαλλίαις, J. G. Schneider κι. ἀγαλλίαις καὶ οἱ ἄθεοι καὶ, J. G. J. Hermann κι. παριγγέλου = an amazingly stupid emendation) κομοδοῖον | βρυστῶν θ' (βρυστῶν) schol. Eur. Or. 1392), οὕτῳ Ἐφακος ἐπακούσας Δία πατρὶ δόξα, δὲ δὲ (πατρὶ δόξαν, | οὕτῳ (οὐ) schol. Eur. Or. 1392) Δαμνεύοντας τόνην Γανυμήδους ἀντί. The tree, which forms the background for Ganymedes and the eagle in the Vatican group after Leochares (Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 521 ff. Atlas pl. 8, 4; bibliography in W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümere in Rom Leipzig 1912 i. 249 f. no. 386, ii. 473), is perhaps meant for this famous vine-stem. A similar tale told how Tithonus, the brother of Priamos, was induced by the gift of a golden vine to send Memnon, his son by Heos, to help the Trojans (Serv. in Verg. Aen. 1. 489). I take it that the golden vine belonged to the regalia of Troy and that its presence ensured the protection of the Thraco-Phrygian Zeus.

Parallels are not wanting. Pythios son of Atys, a Lydian, gave Dandios a golden plane-tree and vine (Hdt. 7. 27, Plin. nat. hist. 33. 137 (Pythis Bithyn.), Aristeid. or. 13. 129 (i. 210 Dindorf) with schol. ad loc. p. 147, 19 f. Dindorf, Tzetz. chil. 1. 923 ff. cp. Plut. mul. virt. 27, Polyan. 8. 42). These doubt become heirlooms. For the Persian kings had a golden vine studded with gems above their couch (Chares of Mitylene frag. 10 (Script. hist. Alex. Mag. p. 117 Müller) ap. Athen. 514 E—F, Amyntas frag. 4 (Script. hist. Alex. Mag. p. 136 Müller) ap. Athen. 514 F), or golden plates and a golden vine with jewels for grapes, beneath which they often sat to transact business (Phylarchos frag. 41 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 345 Müller) ap. Athen. 539 D. And over the doors of Herod's temple at Jerusalem rose a gigantic golden vine with hanging clusters (Joseph. ant. Iud. 15.
compared with Zeus Diōnysos (fig. 178) of north-eastern Thrace, with Zeus Sabazios whose worship radiated from Phrygia (pl. xix),

1. 3), which made people think that the Jews worshipped Liber Pater (Tac. hist. 5. 5). See further Boetticher Baumkultus pp. 212—214 ('Metallene Bäume') and G. W. Elderkin in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1917 xxi. 407 f. ('The Vine of Pythios and Anidocides'). Note also Inscr. Gr. Del. ii no. 161 B 44 ἀμπελόν χρυσῆς δαστάρος in an inventory of 279/280 B.C.

3 Galen. de aliment. sect. 1. 13 (vi. 515 Kühn) notes that the grain called ſῖστρακιον was grown at Dorylai (viz) in Phrygia.

1 G. Kazanow in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1915 xxi Arch. Antq. pp. 87—89 fig. 1 (= my fig. 178) publishes a marble base (0'55 high, 0'63 broad) of late Roman date, from Malko-Tarnovo in the Bulgarian territory of Burgas, inscribed with a dedication διὸ Διονύσῳ by the priest of a Βασιλείων (Am. Journ. Arch. 1916 xx. 218). The text runs: . . . κατὰ βασιλείαν Βασιλείαν [τὴν βασιλείαν] μνεῖ θεῖος Διὸ Διονύσῳ πάντες γιὰτα ἐκ τῆς τείχους μου συμμάχων περὶ σωτηρίας. The interest and importance of the find made in this locality is great. Malko-Tarnovo is within easy reach of Viza, the ancient Bizye, chief town of the Thracian Astau.

3 Supra p. 390 ff. Thanks to the courtesy of Mr W. H. Buckler, I am enabled to supplement my previous account by publishing a new and important stela, which he has lately presented to the British Museum. Pl. xix is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming. Mr Buckler writes: 'This small stela, in good preservation except for the missing base, was bought for 20 francs at the bazaar in Constantinople in June, 1914, from a dealer who professed to know nothing of its origin. It then consisted of two closely fitting fragments, divided by a line of breakage passing through the eagle's neck and down along the front of the horse's fore leg. The lower part of the stele appeared to have recently been chiselled away: before restoration the lower edge, showing the coarse-grained bluish marble, of a kind common in Western Asia Minor, looked quite freshly cut. The inscription was then intact: Εὐγινος Διὸ Ζαναζειὼν κατ' ἄνων χαρακτῆρον. This inscription (Ἀ, Σ, Ω) might be as early as 1st century B.C., but of course dating from such indications is pretty uncertain. On the journey to London the larger fragment was broken in

Fig. 178.
Stele obtained by W. H. Buckler in Constantinople: Zeus Sabiusios on horseback, with altar, kratir, and leafless tree, in which are eagle and snake, surmounted by votive inscription.

See page 282 n. 2.
two, and this break, which shows clearly in the plate, almost destroyed the fifth letter in 

The relief shows Zeus Sabástio as a bearded god on horseback advancing towards an ancient leafless tree. He wears a chiton with short sleeves, a stiff chlamys over his back, and a diadem round his head. He holds a thunderbolt in his right hand, a couple of spears in his left. In the tree is an eagle side by side with a snake. Beneath the tree stands a small square altar, close to which stands a wide-mouthed krater. Thunderbolt and eagle characterise the god as Zeus; snake and krater (cp. Dem. de cor. 259 sparnation), as Sabástio. All four attributes are found on the Sabástios-monuments already noted (supra i. 319 ff. fig. 206 bronze hand, pl. xxvii bronze relief), which likewise have the

![Fig. 179](image)

eagle and snake juxtaposed in friendly fashion. The unusual features of this stèle are the conception of the god as a rider and his connexion with a dream. Zeus Sabástos is not elsewhere an equestrian figure, unless it be he who on the well known but little understood bronze plaque from Rome, now at Berlin (F. Lajard in the Mon. d. Inst. iv pl. 38, 1, id. Recherches sur le culte du cyprès pyramidat Paris 1854 pp. 113 ff., 281 ff., 360 pl. 7, 6, E. Gerhard 'Phrygische Götter zu Pferd' in the Arch. Zeit. 1854 xii. 200 ff. pl. 65, 3 (§ 3 c i (o)), Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 30 no. 3, W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2744, T. Eisele ib. iv. 250), swings a double axe as he gallops over a prostrate human form. But the god appears in a variety of poses (figs. 179, 180, 185) according to local convention, and here it is not difficult to recognise the influence of Thrace (supra fig. 175).

As to the dream, it will be remembered that in Aristoph. vesp. 9 ff. Sosias and Xanthias both get dreams from Sabástio. Xanthias sees a great eagle carry off an asp to the sky;
Sosias sees sheep in the ἐκκλεσία, etc.—fancies obviously suggested by the attributes (eagle, snake, ram) of Ἁθανατίς himself.

Other reliefs illustrating the cult of Zeus Ἁθανατίς are listed by T. Eisele in Roscher LEX. MYTH. IV. 243 ff. They include: (1) A relief in white marble, drawn by A. Conze at Schoinoudi in Imbros, but said to have come from Blundos (Baldet) in the Myssian district of Abrettene (A. Conze REISE AUF DEN INSELN DES THRABISCHEN MEERES Hannover 1860.

p. 98 ff. pl. 17, 7 = my fig. 179, T. Eisele loc. cit. IV. 243 fig. 2). The god, who is beardless, sits on a high-backed throne, with a band (?) round his head, a πῆλις in his right hand, and a spear or sceptre in his left. Beside him is a tree (palm ?), up which his snake is coiled. Before him an altar, on which a man, followed by a woman, deposits a pinch of incense. Inscribed: Μένακθορ 'Ἀθηναθάσσων Διὸ Σασάθιος | εὐχ. Σασάθιος is a mason’s mistake for Σασάθιος = Σασαθίος (O. Höfer in Roscher LEX. MYTH. IV. 229). Height c. 0'25 m.
with Zeus Poteos (fig. 187) of Dionysopolis on the upper Maiaandros in Phrygia, with Zeus Potéis (?) of Limnobia? (Burdur) on the
breadth c. 0.18 m. (2) A relief in white marble, found by A. Wagener in the court of a
private house at Koloé (Koula) in Lydia (A. Wagener Inscriptions grecques recueillies en
Asia Mineure (in Mémoires couronnés et mémoires des savants étrangers, publiés par
l’académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique 1858—1861 xxx)
pp. 3—19 pl. A, 1 inscription only, T. Eisele loc. cit. iv. 243 f. fig. 3 = my fig. 180). The
upper register shows a beardless male figure (Zeus Sabádios) driving towards the left
two-horsed vehicle. On the reins is seen an eagle; beneath the horses, a snake. The
equipage is accompanied by a male figure (Men, cp. supra i. 193, 642) with a Phrygian
cap (so Wagener: Eisele says, a bowl-shaped helmet) and a winged caduceus, between
which appears a crescent moon. The remainder of the panel is filled by a personage
pouring a libation at a raised altar and by three worshippers with gestures of adoration.
The lower register shows thirteen worshippers about an altar, behind which rises a sacred
tree. On the altar are piled round objects like loaves. Inscribed: ευς πρ(ε) (185 of the
Sullan or Lydian-Phrygian era = 101 A.D.), μ(πι) Δαιαυ(α), ε(πι) στεφανη(φόρου) Γλάκκως, η
Κολοκώνι κατακεραυνων Δε Σαμάβας, ε(πι) ιερεω(ν) Απόλλωνος του Ίσσαλα και Απόλ
λωνος του Δανύσου Διούκου και Μετερί Ασκληπιάδου και (Δανύσου Κλέωνος και
Κλέωνος Με)πράτους και (Απόλλωνος Διούκος και). Height c. 1.50 m., breadth c. 0.75 m.
Wagener with much probability concludes that a solar Zeus Sabádios is here conducted
to his temple by the lunar Men, who is equipped with the caduceus of Hermes. The
personage pouring a libation is—he supposes—the stephanophorus Glykon, and the sixteen
suppliants are the priests of the god assisting at his installation. Since the Macedonian
Daisios = the Attic Thargelion (W. Dittenberger in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 2014),
it would seem that Daisios 1 was a sort of May-day festival. (3) A marble relief at
Philadelphiea (Ala-Sheikh) in Lydia represents Zeus Sabádios seated on a throne, holding
a large-bodied vase in which a shrub is planted (O. Rayet in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1877
i. 307—309, T. Eisele loc. cit. iv. 244). Inscribed: Διος Κορώφων Δια Σαμάβαιου Νεαλ
ελετην | Πλοιστου Πλοιστου | Μαλου εκχειρ. Height 0.60 m., breadth 0.37 m.
The image of Zeus Samás (Samás, i.e. Zeus Samás of Nisa (Ναί Δαλή)) is here dedicated
to Zeus Koréphos of Philadelphia (on whom see infra Append. 1). (4) In the winter
of 1864—1865 workmen digging at Vichy (V = Aquae calidae in Aquitania: M. Ihm in
Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 298) near a well full of Roman remains found a packet of
eighty plaques of thin silver foil, together with a coin of Gordianus and the statue of a
newborn babe in thin silver backed with resin. The brattace, which vary from 0.05 m
to 0.17 m. in height and from 0.03 m. to 0.07 m. in breadth, are now in the Musée de Saint-
Germain. They have in almost every case a tree or leaf impressed upon them (figs. 181, 182).
Some add an asclepia, in which stands Jupiter with sceptre, bolt, and eagle (figs. 184—186),
flanked on one specimen by a couple of grape-vines (fig. 186). Others symbolise the
god by his bow and reduce the vines to mere scrolls (fig. 183). The most important
type subjoins a label inscribed: Ναμιν · Αυξ · δοιο Λοβοσ · σιο (sic) · Ι.Γ. Καρασ
ουνος · v. s. 1. m. (fig. 185). See further C. Rossignol—A. Bertrand ‘Notice sur les
découvertes faites à Vichy et en particulier sur des Bractéoles votives d’argent’ in the
Bulletin de la Société d’Énumération du département de l’Allier (Sciences, Arts et Belles
lettres) Moulins 1889 xviii. 185—233 pls. 1—8, of which pl. 1, 1 and 2 = my figs. 181, 182,
pl. 3, 1 and 3 = my figs. 184, 186, pl. 4: 1 = my fig. 183. T. Eisele loc. cit. iv. 245, Corp.
eastern side of Lake Askania in Pisidia, and with Zeus Bákchos of Pergamon in Mysia. The plain fact is that to the Phrygians Zeus

cornu coptae, and behind him an inverted vase from which flows his river. MEANDROS
in exergue. All within border of dots (Eckhel Doctr. num. vet. iii. 150 f., Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 233, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia pp. 14, 183 pl. 23, 41, Head Hist. num. p. 671, O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2902 f.). Fig. 187 is from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum. R. Rochette in the Journal des savants 1842 p. 10 n. 1 held that Πορσως was a local epithet. Gerhard Gr. Myth. i. 169 took στέλη (sic) to denote a rain-god. Sir W. M. Ramsay "The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia Oxford 1895 i. 116 n. 2 suggests ‘a rude attempt at Greek Πόρος (for Πόρος...).’ Lenormant—de Witte Et. mon. cfr. iii. 19 were the first to detect ‘un caractère bachique,’ which is rendered practically certain by the inscription from Burdur (infra n. 1).

A stéle mentioning Zeus Πορσως (?) or Πόρος (?) or Πόρος (?), found at Boudour or Burdur in Pisidia, was published by M. Collignon in the Bull. Cor. Hell. 1879 iii. 333 no. 3 Merkès Άρτεμιδώρου | ιέρει | Δί | Ποροσ | των [β]ασιλέων | στάστηκεν. The stone (ο’35m high, ο’33m broad, ο’20m thick) is adorned with reliefs—a bunch of grapes on its right side, a wreath on its left, and a bucranium adjoining the inscription in front. This interesting record of a Dionysiac Zeus was re-published by Sir W. M. Ramsay "The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia Oxford 1895 i. 337 f. no. 178, cp. id. i. 116 n. 2. See also O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2902 f.


Zeus Báxhos is presumably to be equated with the important Pergamene god Zeus Σάββατος (M. Fränkel in Pergamon viii, i no. 248, 31 ff. Attalos iii Philometor (138—133 B.C.), nephew and successor of Attalos ii Philadelphos (159—138 B.C.), says of Sostratos, σύντροφος of Eumenes ii (197—159 B.C.) and priest of Dionysos Καθηγημένα at Pergamon: τούτων εγένεται, δει και γενομένοι δείχνειν τον άλλον ήμια των | μεν πρώτον Ατταλος ο θεός μου σαν και την έκθεν γνώριμον ονομα | Πορσως τον Σαββατον υποτάτην δόθηκε παρ’ ήμια, διατηρεί δυτικά άνευ ἀρτεμίδος της θεοῦ | τον Άδεον των Σαββατον διὰ της προς αυτόν ονομα παλαιά ἐκεῖνον και προς τον θεόν, διακατάληκτο της θεοῦ της θεοῦ, διακατάληκτο της θεοῦ της θεοῦ. Attalos iii says of Stratoma, wife of Eumenes ii: έτει βασίλεια Στρατομή ἡ μητέρη μου ευσκάτταται μεν γενομένη παῦσαν, φιλ[ο]ς συγγενήτην δε διαφέροντα προς τον πατέρα μου και προς εμέν, | προς άνωτες μεν τον θεοῦ ευφράσης προσφηνή, καπνατα δε | προς τον Δια τον Σάββατον, πατρόπαθον (see infra) αυτόν κοιμάσαι εις της πατρίδος ήμια, δει και έμποροι παρατείναι και έποιοι κυριεύει παραστάσεις και βουλήνς ήμιας γενόμενον έκκλημαν δια τας εις αυτούν | γενομένοι απεφασίσαν συγκαλείσθαι της Νικηφόρως Δαμήν (cf. in the
and Dionysos were but different aspects of the self-same god. As Sir W. M. Ramsay, the highest living authority on Phrygia and all its ways, expresses it, 'The father and the son...are merely complementary forms of the single ultimate form of the divinity as male,' or again 'the character and personality of the God-father and God-son pass into one another in such a way in the divine tale or drama, that no clear line can be drawn to separate them.' This essential unity saute aux yeux, if—as I have supposed—the former deity was originally named Dios and the latter Dios Nysos. Well might Christianity take root and flourish (we know that it did) among a people, who had already learnt that the Son was in the Father and the Father in the Son. One of the earliest extant representations of our Lord, the tombstone of Abirkiios and his wife Theuprepios, erected c. 300 A.D. at Prymnessos (Seulun) in central Phrygia (fig. 188), shows Him as a youth raising His right

Niképhorion outside the city), νομαίων τε τοίων αὐτῶν ἄξιοι καὶ πρέποντα τούτων ὑπάρχειν, διεπέδραμε δὲ ἀκόλουθος τούτοις καὶ πρὸς θυσίαν καὶ πομάδων καὶ μυστηρίων τῶν εὐπλοδεύομένων πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς καθήκονται καυρίως καὶ τούτοις; ἐπετούσαν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἑρά θὰ γίνεις Ἀθηνᾶς τῶν ἑμῶν (a slip for τῶν συγγενῶν τῶν ἑμῶν, as Fränkel saw), εὐερεῖα καὶ[1] καλοκαγαθία καθόρου καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πιατεί. k.t.l. = Michel Rechell, D'incr. gr. no. 46, 31 ff., 45 ff. Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sot. no. 331, 31 ff., 45 ff.).

In this connexion it is not without significance that P. Aelius Aristides, a native of Hadrianos in Mysia, who had studied rhetoric under Aristokles at Pergamon (Philostr. v. Aristid. p. 85, 25 ff. Kaser), remarks: ἡδὲ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἐτερῶν λόγων ὑπὲρ τοίων ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεύς Εὐαγγελισμὸς (Aristeid. adv. 4. 29 (i. 49 Dinolphi)). The allusion is in all probability to the Thracio-Phrygian god called by the Pergamenes Zeus Baksos or Zeus Sakaios, whom Stratonicke, wife of Eumenes II, had introduced from the court of her father Ariarathes IV Eusebes, king of Kappadokia (c. 210—c. 163 B.C.).


1 Sir W. M. Ramsay The Cities and Bishops of Phrygia Oxford 1895 i. 34. See also the same author's article on Phrygian religion in J. Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1917 ix. 900 ff.
2 Id. The Cities and Bishops of Phrygia i. 140.
4 John 14. 10.
Dios and Dios Nysos

and Bishapries of Phrygia Oxford 1807 i. 2. 736 f. with pl. Beneath the inscription ΑΔΡΙΑΚΟΣ | ΠΟΔΡΙΔΟΥ | ΘΑΛΑΣΣΙΝ | ΚΑΤΕΣΧΕΣΑ | ΕΙς των αυτων | ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΟΝ | ΘΕΟΥ | ΦΩΣ | και τοις τεννοις stands the Saviour between two heads representing the souls of Abrikos and Theoprepia.

The conception of the head as the seat of the soul (E. Beth in the Rhein. Mus. 1907 lxii. 465 n. 63, L. Rademacher in the Archiv f. Rel. 1908 s. 412 ff., A. E. Crawley The Idea of the Soul London 1909 p. 239) is responsible for the much in ancient literature (the epic πνευμάτων ἀμεμαμα κάρφων, the tragic φιλόν κάρα, the colloquial εἰς μαρφό κεφάλη, etc.), art (the head, the mask, the bust, the medallion, etc.), and custom (e.g. separate burial of the head [Koryhantes supra i. 107, θεομολογικ. in Plut. theol. 4. 9 p. 193 Portus και δίας των ἕπειρον διαμεκατάτατον διά τόν τεσσαρόν διά τίνα κελευσθήναι, πληγή τόν κεφάλην, εἰς τή μοστυκάτην τῶν τευτών, ἐπὶ τῆς Πλάτως (Phaedr. 250 c) καὶ πύρω προδρομοὶ, ὅτι αὐτῶν κυβερνεῖς τῶν θεῶν; Battois Hennicke Pontikon frag. 4. 4 (Fragm. hist. Gr. ii. 311 Müller); on Capitol at Rome Varst. de ling. Lat. 5. 44, Liv. i. 55, 5. 54, Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. 4. 59, PLin. nat. hist. 28. 15, Arnob. adv. nat. 6. 7, Aur. Vict. de vit. auct. ii. 8. 4, Interp. in Verg. Aen. 8. 345, Isid. orig. 1. 2. 31, ep. E. Babelon Collectanea Panzert de la Chapelle: Intailles et Canons Paris 1899 p. 44 no. 111 fig. and pl. 71, Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen iii. 451 f. fig. 233, and Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 372 n. 22 astronomical evidence from Egypt is cited by Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen iii. 245 n. 2 and especially by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie Ancient Egypt Part iv 1906, from Megara Hbylaka, Sycighbour, the Aeolian Myrina, etc. by A. Man in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 341 f., from the Scandinavian area by P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye The Religion of the Teutons Boston-London 1902 p. 303, and divination by means of a severed head (of Quiris floats to Byblus Lupkian, de dea Syr. 7; head of Orpheus floats to Lesbos—see Furtwängler in Ant. Gemmen i pl. 22, 1—9, 13 f., 61, 51, ii. 107 f., 277, iii. 245—252 with figs. 138 f., and O. Gruppe in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1069, 1168 ff., 1177 f. fig. 3); head of Archontes preserved in honey and consulted by Kleomenes i (?) of Sparta All. var. hist. i. 8; head of Publius prophesies after victory at Thermopylae in 491 B.C. Antitiristhes the Periagath in Fragm. hist. Gr. iii. 187 Müller, but see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1257 f.) ap. Phleg. mir. 3; head of priest of Zeus Οὐκλόμυος in Arcadia (?) reveals the name of murderer Aristia. de part. an. 3. 3. 673 a 17 ff. πρετίνοι τινας και καυσανόν χώρας περι των των θεών. τοῦ γαρ λεγοντος τοῦ Οὐκλόμυου Δίων ἀποκαλόντος, ὡς δὲ τοῦ δὲ αὐξάνει τραυμα τῷ κεφαλῆι άνακεκομένη λεγομένη παλάκης οὗτος ἀπ' αὐράνθρωπον κερασίδι κερασίδι. My note on this incident in the Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 417 n. 1 is far-fetched and improbable. Better service has been done by J. Schaefer De Iove apud Cares culto Halis Saxonum 1912 p. 370 f. (ep. P. Focart in Lebas—Focart Peloponnesse Explicationes ii. 221 and in the Rev. Arch. 1876 vii. 103, P. Kretschmer Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften Götterloch 1894 p. 149), who rightly restores Αρακάδια for Καρακάδα, remarking that the name Καρακάδα is not found in Karia but is found in Arcadia, especially at Megalopolis (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen 8) Braunschweig 1875 i. 649, Inser. Gr. Arc. Lac. Messii ii nos. 439, 49, 850. 3), that another odd tale is told about the death of a Megalopolitan Kerkidas (All. var. hist. 13. 29), and that the cult of Zeus Οὐκλόμου is attested only for Methydron, an Arcadian town which passed into the possession of Megalopolis (Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. ii. 148 f. no. 1634, 17 ff. = Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 199, 17 ff. = Dittenberger Syll. Inscr. Gr. 2 no. 279, 17 ff. = Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Messii ii no. 344, 17 ff. περι)[ δέ τις Νικής τῆς χρυσάτος του Ἰάσον του Οὐκλόμου, δέ καταβαίνει άνδρος άνθρωπλός οὗ τοις ἐχθροῖς διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ Οὐκλόμου] in an Achaean decree of c. 234/3 B.C., cp. Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. i. 344 no. 1103, 10 = O. Hoffmann Die Griechischen Dialetis Götingen 1891 i. 18 nos. 8, 10 = Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 614, 10 = Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Messii ii no. 271 το Οὐκλόμου (κόλ. φολία) in a tribal list not later than c. 350 B.C. Hera, and perhaps Athena, shared the title with Zeus. Lyk. Al. 613 f. τοίμος... | Οὐκλόμου refers to the Arcive Hera (Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 610) rather than to Athena (schol. Lyk. Al. 614 cp. schol. Al. 5. 412); Lyk. Al. 857 f.
hand with the thumb and two fingers extended in the attitude peculiar to the Phrygian Zeus—an attitude known to later ages as the "benedictio Latina".  

Veget. 'Orph. 1 Hora Δαιμων. Hera 'Orph. was worshipped in Elis and Triphyllia (Tzetzes in Lyk. Al. 888, cp. Zonar. lex. 2717 'Orph. 1 Παρα, where J. A. H. Tittmann corr. 'Orph.); and there is said to have been a πόμπα (= βορμός) of Athena 'Orph. in Elis (Tzetzes in Lyk. Al. 614). As to the origin of the appellative, 'Orph. = 'Orph. 1 Παρα (P. Kretschmer Die Griechischen Vaisienschriften Gütersloh 1894 p. 149; also a Compositum von δηλω und der reducirten Form von δαιμ. in δαιμ. 1), cp. 'Orph. (P. Foucart: 'Orph. 1 Παρα), the giant of Methydron who, when Rhea was pregnant with Zeus, was prepared to defend her against Kronos (Paus. 8. 32. 5. 8. 36. 7). See further Immerwahr Kult. Myth. Arkad. p. 26 f.; O. Jesen in Pauly—Wiener Real-Enc. viii. 2299). Possibly the same belief in the sanctity of the decorated head accounts for the Chiesa delle Anime de' Corpelli Decollati at Palermo (see E. S. Hartland in Folk-Lore 1910 xxii. 168 ff. pls. 8—10).

1 Supra i. 391 n. 3.  
2 On the 'benedictio Graeca and the 'benedictio Latina see R. Singer in Smith—Cheetham Dict. Chr. Ant. i. 199 ff. and E. Fehrenbach in the Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie publ. par Le R. P. dom F. Cabrol Paris 1910 ii. 749 ff. figs. 1489—1492. Various attempts have been made to read a symbolic meaning into these gestures, as may be seen in the articles here cited. A new, but not very probable, notion was started at Oxford in 1908 by my friend Dr J. Rendel Harris, who concluded an important address on 'Some points in the Cult of the Heavenly Twins' by suggesting—to the manifest alarm of a French ecclesiastic in the front row—that the episcopal benediction with two fingers was originally a prayer that those blessed might have twin children' (Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 176). Possibly both the Greek and the Latin forms of benediction may prove to have been but variants of the prophylactic gesture known all round the northern shores of the Mediterranean as 'the fig': if so, it was once sexual in character, the thumb perhaps representing the ποιός and the fingers the κεῖος (vide my paper on 'ΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΗΣ' in the Class. Rev. 1907 xxii. 133—136. The view there taken has been in part at least anticipated by C. Sittl Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer Leipzig 1890 p. 103 n. 1 (S. Reimach in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1906 xiv. 342 n. 2 (id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions Paris 1908 iii. 98 n. 4) objects: 'Je ne crois pas qu'un Grec eût employé φαῖνει dans le sens d'"exhiber" une partie du corps.' But cp. the words ψαυμάσης and παραψαυμάσης, ψαυματίως as used in the passages collected supra p. 272 n. 6). Similar conclusions were reached independently by V. Roffe 'Συκοφάντης' in the Juden germanische Forschungen 1912 xxx. 388—390: 'Diese Gebärde stellt bekanntlich die weibliche Scham dar, und soll ursprünglich in den Dämonen das sie abschreckende Gefühl des Abscheus hervorrufen, um sie auf diese Weise von den Menschen abzuwehren.' Cp. also S. Seligmann Der böse Blick und Verwandtes Berlin 1910 ii. 184 ff., Boisacq Dict. hym. de la Langue Gr. p. 974. For rival hypotheses see M. Breuil in the Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1906 p. 740 (συκοφάντης is a mere insult = the λεγ. of nothing at all), S. Reimach 'Συκοφάντης' in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1906 xiv. 335—338 (id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions Paris 1908 iii. 93—118) (just as the λεγ. exhibited an ear of corn to the initiate of Eleusis, so we may assume that an official called the συκοφάντης exhibited a fig in the mysteries of the Phytalidai at Ἴππα Σακρ., where Demeter had once revealed (φονεύρ) the fig to Phylatos: such an official would doubtless have the right to exclude undesirables from his audience—hence the transition to συκοψαυμάσης in its usual meaning: close at hand was the ancient altar of Zeus Μεθοδός, 'god of the Fig' (μεθοσ), at which Theseus had been purified perhaps with fig-juice, by the Phytalidai—an attractive combination, which however L. R. Farnell in The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1907 p. 61 f. is too cautious to accept. I have discussed it further infra Append. M), W. R. Paton 'The Pharmakoi and the Story of the Fall' in the Rev.
Papas and Attis.

The same relation of the Phrygian Son-god to the Phrygian Father-god is implied in the cult of Attis. Michael Konstantinos Psellos, the most famous Byzantine scholar of the eleventh century (1018—1078 A.D.), boldly asserts that Attis in the language of Phrygia meant 'Zeus'—an assertion based on the Demosthenic evidence for Attis as a rain-god. More weight must be attached to the fact that Attis, like Zeus, bore the title Pápas or Papás—a

Arch. 1907 i. 51—57 (ib. p. 52 n. 1 in support of S. Reinach: 'I believe we both ventured the conjecture that there were at some time rival mysteries to those of Eleusis in which the hierophant, instead of solemnly exhibiting an ear of corn, as the Eleusinian hierophant did, exhibited a fig, and was described by the devotees of Eleusis, not as a ἱερόφαντης, but as a συκοφάντης (with an allusion, no doubt, to the improper meaning of σῦκον = pudendum muliebre, a meaning which still survives in Turkey').) P. Girard, 'Quelques réflexions sur le sens du mot συκοφάντης' in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1907 xx. 143—163 (ἱερόφαντης, on the analogy of ἱερόφης, is taken to mean 'apparition sacrée'; so συκοφάντης must have meant 'celui qui paraissait dans le figuier, en train de voler des figues').


2 Supra i. 399 n. 3.

3 Dem. de cor. 360 ὡς ἄρτης ἴσης ὧς, supra i. 392 n. 4. See also Arnob. adv. nat. 5. 37 cited supra i. 392 n. 5 (end of second paragraph).


With Zeus Pápas or Pápas of Bithynia (Arrian, frag. 30 cited supra i. 399 n. 3) and Phrygia (Sir W. M. Ramsey in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1884 v. 260 no. 12 on a small stèle of common stone found in a field near Nakoleia Daidem Konstánou Oñósádés Odeýnokíomótna | Dáid Pápa | Ἐρυθρό 'Probably Dada was daughter of Kankuros Nouns, who had according to Phrygian custom two names, and her native village was Verekoume,' cp. ib. 1884 v. 257 f. no. 8 on a similar stèle found in the same place Οδησία Ζαβίας Πάπας Ἐρυθρό 'I copied the inscriptions from six similar stelai, all found in the same field: the owner said that the ground around was full of them. They are all evidently grave-stones of common people: the top is ornamented in the style of a pediment, and there is a plain pedestal ending in a projecting spike to stick in the ground. The one which is here published differed from the others in having a representation of the god on it: the god is apparently intended to be androgynous, like the Carian Zeus, but in such rude work, the point can hardly be asserted positively,' A. Körte in the Ath. Mitt. 1897 xxii. 32 no. 8 on the marble pediment of a small stèle from Bejed Ἀρηίμος Πάπα: Körte regards all these stelai as votive rather than funerary; they may well be both) and Zeus Pápas of Dorylaion (Corp. inscr. Gr. iii no. 3817 on the road from Echissehik to Syed-Gus or Scid-el-Ghasi Dáidai ήτοι ἱεροὶ | βοῦν ἱερὸν \Piápa | Σωκράτης \Ερυθρό and | Πραξιτελίς \Ψύχης) we must group Zeus Pápas of Prousia ad Olymum (A. von Domaszewski in the Arch. éph. Mitt. 1883 vii. 174 f. no. 17 on a white marble altar now used as base of a wooden pillar in the mosque at Érmeni Basarshik ['Λέσβος] τῆς | Δαί Πάπας καὶ τὴν ἱεραγήν Ο[ρ]ήσων ἱεροῦ | Ανδρῶν... [e. g.] in the earth: P. Kretschmer Einleitung etc. pp. 199, 241 f. renders Pápas by 'Vater,' but ib. p. 242 n. 1 suggests that the word may be an ethnic), Zeus Pápas of Skythia (Hdt. 4. 29 θεοὶ μὲν μονεῖσθαι τῶν δίκης καὶ | ἶστρη μὲν μάλϊστα, ὑπὲρ δὲ Δία καὶ Γῆς, κοιμᾶτον τὴν Γῆν τοῦ Δίου ἐναυαία, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον 'Ἀπόλλωνα τε καὶ Ομαρίναν 'Αφροδίτην καὶ Ἡρακλεᾶ καὶ Ἀμα. τούτων μὲν πάντως ἰδέας νεκροκαί, οἱ δὲ καλεσμένοι
sobriquet strictly comparable with our ‘Papa!’ Indeed, the term **Attis** itself, as A. Fick proved in 1873, was just a pet-name for ‘Father.’ Now it is not a little remarkable that a youthful god, who stood to Kybele in the same relation as Adonis to Aphrodite, should have been thus habitually saluted in a tone of affectionate familiarity as ‘Daddy.’

The paradox ceases to be paradoxical, if...
we assume—as I think, we must—that Attis was but Pápas reborn. After all, the Phrygians were not alone in the belief that a son may be the rebirth of his own father. This has been the faith of numerous tribes in all five continents. And readers of Samuel Butler's *Life and Habit* are aware that analogous views can still be held by sane men.

(e) The Mother-goddess and her páredros.

The Phrygian conception of the Son as the Father reborn throws light upon a variety of religious problems. It helps us to understand that otherwise perplexing aspect of old Anatolian worship, the association of the Mother-goddess with a youthful páredros, who is at once her consort and her child. This is seen to involve no sanctioning of an essentially illicit union, but rather—at least in original intention—a primitive view of normal relations between father, mother, and son. Accordingly in the dactylic and spondaic lines quoted by Hippolytos (*c. 235 A.D.*) from a Naassene source (*c. 200 A.D.*), but composed at some earlier date, perhaps under Hadrian, for a citharodic performance in the theatre, Attis is equated with such divinities as Adonis, Osiris, Dionysos, and the like. The first fragment is as follows:

Blest son of Kronos, or of Zeus,
Or mighty Rhea, hail!
Attis (sad name for Rhea’s use),
Whom weeping Syrians wail


2 *Supra* i. 643 with n. 13, 648.
4 F. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Cambridge 1915 ii. 11 f., 26 n. 5.
5 U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1903 xxxvii. 329.
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As lost Adonis; Egypt’s eyes
Have her Osiris seen;
Hellenic sages recognise
The heavenly horn of Men;
In thee the Samothracians chant
Adamna’s¹ sanctity;
Haemonians find their Corybant;
‘Papas’ the Phrygians cry,
Now dead, now deity ycleped,
Fruitless and all forlorn,
A goatherd, or a green ear reaped,²
A piper almond-born.³

¹ Hesych. ἄδαμνας τὸ φίλέων καὶ Φρύγες τὸν φίλον ἄδαμνα λέγουσιν. I suspect connexion with the nursery-names Ἀδάς, Ἀδάς, etc. (P. Kretschmer Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache Göttingen 1896 p. 337 f.). If so, ἄδαιμα meant ‘Fatherly One’ (suffix -μα as in ἄδαιμα, ἄδαιμος, νόμος, etc.) — a doublet of ἄτετι (supra p. 293). A. Fick Die ehmalige Sprachelnheit der Indogermanen Europas Göttingen 1873 p. 416, misled by P. de Lagarde and F. Müller, says ‘eranalisches Lehnmort.’

² Hippolytos has already compared the crowning rite at Eleusis, the exhibition to the mysteries of a corn-ear reaped in silence (ref. haeres. 5. p. 162; Duncker—Schneidein λέγοντι δὲ αὐτὸν, φιξειν, φέφυγει καὶ ὁ λεύκων στάχων τεθεραμεθέν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Φρύγας Ἀθηραίοι μοινώσες Ἕλευσαν καὶ ἐπιπλεύωντάς τοῖς ἐπιστέφθαι τὸ μέγα καὶ βασιλιακόν καὶ τελείωσαν ἐπιστέφθαι ἐκεῖ μοινότριν ἐν συνεκτεραμεθέν στάχων). This corn-ear probably represented Kore, Demeter and her daughter being the Corn-mother and the Corn-maiden of the Eleusinian harvest-field (supra l. 397 n. 4 pl. xxviii). It is even possible that the identification of Kore with the young corn may help to clear up the obscurity which still surrounds the name Περσεφόνη. L. Bloch in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 126 ff. and Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1181 n. 6 collect the extant forms. Gruppe emphasises the following points: (a) The first half of the compound, to judge from such vase-inscriptions as Περονόφαντα (P. Kretschmer Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften Göttingen 1894 pp. 122, 178), was probably not verbal. If an adverb *πέρει was assumed, Περονόφασσα, Περονόφασσα, etc. might be related to it as Τρέλε, μαξος, Τρέλε, αλής, etc. to τρέλε. (b) The second half of the compound cannot be directly derived from φάσσω. But Περονόφασσα may be formed like Τρέλε, μαξος for Τρέλε, φάσσα, in which case Περονόφασσα might be a hypocoristic name. The etymology, then, is to devise a suitable meaning for *πέρει. And the matter is complicated by the Laconian forms Περονόφωνα (Hesych. s.v.), ...[

(Insr. Gr. Sec. ii. no. 631 Lokroi Epizephyrioi). With all diffidence I suggest the root of σπέρμα, σπείρω, which appears with loss of initial σ in πράσινος, περνάντος, etc. and with determinative i as πράσινος in Old Indian ṛjan, ṛjat, etc. (see Walde Latein Gramm. Wörterb. p. 728 f.) On this showing Περονόφασσα would be cognate with our word spring and Περονόφων, could mean ‘She that appears in Spring.’ Cp. Orph. h. Phers. 29. 12 f. εὐραίη... ἐνθαρρύνοιμα δέμας μαζατοῖς χιοσκάρισ.

Be that as it may, it is clear that in Phrygia Atis was sometimes identified with the young corn (Frazer Golden Bough²: Adonis Attis Osiris² i. 279). Possibly the Phrygian Zeus stood in a similar relation to the old corn, for he bore the title πολυστάχις (Hesych. Βαγαίων... Ἀ Ζευς Φρύγος, μέγας πολύς, ταχείς, where W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2552 convincingly (O. Höfer ib. iii. 1650) restored μέγας πολυστάχις). The Phrygian Lityeres, the Bithynian Bormos, etc. were analogous figures: see the highly important chapter on Lityeres by Sir James Frazer (Golden Bough³: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 214 ff.). Atis was variously interpreted by late writers: he is the ripe corn cut by the reaper (Firm. Mat. 3), or more often the short-lived flowers of spring contrasted with Adonis as the maturing crops (Porph. ap. Euseb. praep. ev. 3. 11. 12, 3. 13. 14, and ap.
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The second fragment runs thus:

Attis, Rhea's son, I'll sing,
Not with blame of trumpeting,
Nor with flute Kouretes shrill
Up the steep of Ide's hill,
Nay, but Phoibos' lyric muse
I must mingle and confuse,
Crying still Euol Eudn,
For our god's a very Pan,
He's a Bakchos, he's a swain
Shepherding the white stars' train.4

9. 15. 'Sosicles Atticus' ap. Fulgent. myth. 3. 5, Remigius ap. Myth. Vat. 3. 2. 4).

Some of the multiple corn-ears figured on coins of Bithynia, Kappadokia, Lydia,
Phrygia, etc. (e.g. Anson Num. Gr. iii. 124 ff. nos. 1392—1313 pl. 23 f.) may be meant for
ceremonial sheaves.

3 Infra Append. B Galatia.

4 Hippol. ref. hærer. 3. 9 pp. 168, 170 Duncker—Schneideleow τογορολον, φροιν, εταν
συνελθον (Wilamowitz c. συνελθον or perhaps συνελθειν) ὑς δυμον ἐν τοις θεατροις ειαή
(eiodo cod. C. Wilamowitz c. eiodo) τι τις θρησκευομενοι στολον ξαλλων, κινασαν φροιν και
φαλλων, ουσιων (Wilamowitz c. ουσιων) λέγει ἰδον τα μεγαλα μυστηρα αν δεινον ἐτ λεγει
'Ετε Κρόνον γένευ, ετε Διος μακαρον (Bergk c. μακαρον), ετε 'Ρεια μεγαλην, χαρην, το
κατηρην ακουσα (G. Hermann c. ακουσα) 'Ρεια, 'Αττι (Bergk c. 'Αττι) σε καλαοι μεν
'Ασανθοι τραπεζοντο 'Αδωνι, δη (Roerer c. δη) 'Αδωνι τους 'Οσιους, ετπλονων νυμος
κερατ 'Ελληνες σοφιας (Wilamowitz c. 'Ελληνες σοφιας), Σαμωθρακες (Wilamowitz c. Σαμω-
θρακες) 'Αδωμα (so Bergk for 'Αδωμα cod. C.) σεβασιμον, Αλμωνιον (Αλμωνιον cod. C.
Schneideleow c. Αλμωνιον, Bergk 'Αλμωνιον) Κοροβατα, και ει Φρογει έλλοτε μεν Παπαν,
ποτε δε νεκου, ηθελον, Δε νος τολκαρον ηττειν άμεγαθαλον άμμα αυρατων.' τοτου φροιν
εται < των > παλαιονοι 'Αττι, δε ομοιουητε λεγομενοι ουσιων: 'Ετε 'Αττι ομοιουητον του
'Ρειαν τοις θυμοις, ει των ουσιων (so Schneideleow for ουσιων cod. C.) των θυμοις (so Schneideleow for αυρατων cod. C.), απο αδουαν (Wilamowitz c. αδουαν) 'Αδωνι των Κοροβατων μενητρη (so Wilamowitz for μενητρη cod. C.), δεν ετ (so Schneideleow for οτι cod. C.) Φορεεια μεν μοιναν φορεειαν, ενοι, ενδι, εναν (so Schneideleow for εναν cod. C.), οι Παπαν, έπος Βακχειν, άπ ους η ἄνω των άνων ουτων, δια τωτων και τως τωσοίς ούτως παρεδωκώμενοι ουτως τω θεοι λεγομενοι Μηρος
μεγαλην μυστηρον, κ.τ.λ.

Syncretism of this sort can be illustrated by a marble statue of Hadrianic date (fig. 189) found during the winter of 1867—1868 in the hall of the Dendrophori, adjoining the Metroion at Ostia and now preserved in the Lateran Museum at Rome. Attis, a youth of markedly feminine type, is reclining on a rock, whose hard surface is softened by the spread of his mantle. His left arm is propped on a bust of Zeus. His left hand, with a ring on the ring-finger, holds a lagobolon; his right, a bunch of corn, fruit, and lines (two catalectic dimeters, two tripodies, four catalectic dimeters); Wilamowitz, as ten spondaic lines (a dimeter, a catalectic dimeter, four catalectic monometers, four catalectic dimeters), viz.: Αττής ὑπῆρξεν τῷ Ρέθυς | ὁ κοῦδόνων σύμ βόμβων | ὁ θεὸς ἀλών | Ἰδεών | Κουφήων | μυκητών | ἀλὰ εἷς Φοιβείαν μίεώ | μοῦδαν φοράττετον· εἶνε, | εἶνε, ὡς Πᾶν, ὡς Βαρκείτης, | ὡς ποιήσει λεύκων δαστρών. (I should again spell the name of 'Αττής with η, not ι.)


2 On the Dendrophori of Italy and the Latin provinces see F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 216 ff. and the literature there cited.


4 W. Heibig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Leipzig 1913 ii. 51 f. no. 1236.

flowers. His head, twined with a garland of pine-cones, almonds, pomegranates, poppy-heads, and flowers, wears a Phrygian cap, which is encircled below by five rays (restored in their ancient holes) and embellished above by a crescent moon and two upstanding ears of corn. The whole figure with its air of pensive melancholy, not to say unmanly slackness, aptly embodies the Graeco-Roman conception of Attis. Particular traits and adjuncts recall other deities. The crescent is that of Men. The hair, with its long side-curls and a ribbon across the brow, is reminiscent of

Dionysos. The attitude of graceful repose would suit Adonis1. And, lest the lines should degenerate into weakness, we have a rigid framework formed by the bearded bust and the underlying rock—a reminder that Attis after all was akin to the great powers of nature, Zeus and Kybele, the sky-father and the mountain-mother.

Zeus, as husband of Kybele2, appears on other monuments of the same cult. From the Metroion at Ostia came also a votive marble basket (fig. 190)3, the lid of which has a handle shaped like a cock in obvious reference to the Gallus or emasculated priest of

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1 Cp. Theokr. 15. 84 ff., 127 ff.
2 Ioul. or. 5 p. 166 a f. τις οὖν ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν... ἡ καὶ τεκόσα καὶ συνοκόσα τοῦ μεγάλου Δία θεοῦ ὑποτάσσα μεγάλη μετὰ τῶν μέγαν καὶ σύν τῷ μεγάλῳ δημοθύτῳ, ἡ πάσης μὲν κυρία ζωῆς, πάσης δὲ γενετοσί αἰτία, ἡ μόσα μὲν ἐπιστεῖνα τὰ ποιῆμα, γενετοσί δὲ δίας πάσως καὶ δημοθύτον τὰ δοτα μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς’ αὕτη καὶ παρθένος ἁμήτωρ καὶ Δίδυς σύνθες καὶ μήτηρ θεῶν δοτως οὕτω πάντως.
3 C. L. Visconti in the Ann. d. Inst. 1869 xii. 240 ff., Mon. d. Inst. lx pl. 8a, 1a, 1b (cf. my fig. 190). P. Decharme in Daremb—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 1688 fig. 2249, Frazer
the goddess. The rest of the lid is covered with corn-ears, which fall outwards from the centre: the cock's tail is formed by some of them¹ and supported by others. On the front of the basket is inscribed 'M. Modius Maximus, Archigallus of the colony of Ostia².' The latter part of the inscription is grouped about pan-pipes, and round it are disposed other tokens of the cult; to the right, a lagobbolon, a pipe, a flute (?); to the left, a timbrel and a bed of reeds³, among which are seen the head of Attis, the head of Zeus, the lion of Kybele, etc. This curious relic seems to have been a corn-measure or modius dedicated by the chief-priest, presumably because his own name happened to be Modius. Sir James Frazer supposes that it contained the priest's ashes⁴. But, arguing from the analogy of the Cabiric basket⁵, I should surmise that it was the receptacle for the genitals of which, in accordance with the Phrygian rite (fig. 191)⁶, the Archigallus had deprived himself⁷. Votaries of Kybele, Zeus, and Attis were wont to wear effigies of the gods that they served⁸. A statue brought from

Golden Bough²: Adonis Attis Osiris³ i. 279 (who notes that the 'urn' is in the Lateran Museum, no. 1046).

¹ Cp. the tail of the Mithraic bull (supra i. 518), which ends in three corn-ears.
² Corp. inscr. Lat. xiv no. 385 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 462 M. Modius Maximus (sic) | archigallus | colo(niae) | Ostiensis (Dessau reads Ostiens. But see fig. 190).
³ H. Dessau loc. cit. says 'arbores.' But C. L. Visconti loc. cit. and H. Graillot Le culte de Cybèle Mère des dieux à Rome et dans l'empire romain Paris 1912 p. 117 n. 2 rightly connect the reeds with the Cannophori (F. Camont in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1484 f.) and their festival known as cannum intrat on March 15 (Wissowa Rel. Kult. Röm. 3 p. 321).
⁴ Frazer Golden Bough²: Adonis Attis Osiris³ i. 279.
⁷ Cp. the case of Komabos (supra i. 591 n. 2). H. Graillot op. cit. pp. 134 n. 7, 179 n. 4 takes the same view, quoting Apul. met. 11. 11, Paulin. No. 19. 186, poen. ult. 79 ff. (Lxi. 554 A and 699 A Migne).
The Mother-goddess and her páredros

Rome to Paris, and subsequently published by Montfaucon, represents a priest wearing on his breast two medallions and an aedicula (fig. 192); the medallions display two busts of Attis; the aedicula has Kybele with mural crown and timbrel standing between Jupiter (thunderbolt, spear) and Mercurius (caduceus), the gable being occupied by a reclining figure of Attis (cap, lagobolon). A relief, found in 1736 between Civita Lavinia and Genzano and now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome, shows (fig. 193) a priest of effeminate aspect wearing a long-sleeved chiton and a himation drawn like a veil over his head. He has ear-rings, fillets, and a necklace. In his right hand is a pomegranate and three pomegranate (?)-twigs; in his left hand a shell-shaped bowl of fruit including a fir-cone and almonds. A whip of triple lash strung with knuckle-bones hangs over his shoulder. And beside him are suspended a pair of cymbals, a timbrel, a pipe, a flute, and a basket or kisthe containing his severed

1 Montfaucon Antiquity Explained trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 6 ff. pl. 3 no. 9 statue (minus head and arms) belonging to M. Foucault. My fig. 192 reproduces the upper part of the figure only.
2 W. Heibig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Leipzig 1912 i. 566 no. 987.
3 G. Winckelmann Monumenti antichi inediti Roma 1821 ii. 7 ff. pl. 8, P. Righetti Descrizione del Campidoglio Roma 1833 i. 131 f. pl. 130 (=my fig. 193), Baumeister Denkm. ii. 801 f. fig. 867, Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 207 no. 1, H. Graillot Le culte de Cybèle Mère des dieux à Rome et dans l’empire romain Paris 1912 p. 236 ff.
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genitals. Finally, he bears on his breast an aedicula with a half-length figure of Attis, and on his head a bay-wreath of gold (?) adorned with three medallions representing a bust of Zeus between

two busts of Attis, while both ends of his whip-handle exhibit the same bearded head of Zeus. A pendant to this relief is furnished by another, formerly in the Villa Mattei and now in the Vatican (fig. 194), which portrays Laberia Felicla, chief priestess of

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1 A broken diadem in gilt bronze, which came from Rome to Berlin, shows a bay-wreath decorated with two medallions (busts of Kybele and Attis) with a rosette between them (A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii. Arch. Anz. p. 111). On such diadems see *supra* i. 22, cp. i. 354, and *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 364 nos. 3044, 3045 pl. 70.

2 Visconti *Mus. Pio-Clem.* vii. 107 ff. pl. 18 (=my fig. 194), Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 802 fig. 868, Reimach *Rep. Reliefs* iii. 410 no. 3, Amelung *Sculpt. Vatii.* ii. 614 f. no. 493 pl. 58. Height 1'04", breadth 0'74", Fine-grained, light grey marble. Restored: upper part of scallop, head and neck, part of left breast, left hand with wreath and parts of garland, right lower arm with hand and *patera.*
Kybele. Set against the background of a great scallop-shell, a motif appropriate to a Mother-goddess, we see Laberia pouring a libation, not, as we might have expected, to Kybele, but to Zeus. The small altar decorated with a festooned eagle, the garland of bay-leaves hanging from the left hand of the priestess, the bearded head slung between her breasts, all proclaim the essential relation of the Mother-goddess to the Father-god.

1 The inscription (Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 2357 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4160) runs: Laberia Felicla | sacerdos maxima | Matris deum m(agna) I(daee).


3 So Amelung loc. cit. Baumeister loc. cit. says 'Eichenzweig,' Dessau loc. cit. 'coronam quernam.' Apparently a trail of bay-leaves has been wrongly restored as a wreath of oak.
Attis in relation to Christianity.

The cult of Attis had points of contact with Christianity itself. A Father manifesting himself anew in the person of his Son, a Son bearing the name of his Father,—such beliefs naturally predisposed men to faith in that Son whom the Father sent to be 'the effulgence of his glory, and the very image of his substance.' Outward ceremonies and inward doctrines alike lent themselves to this end. The rites of Attis, apart from certain crudities, might almost have passed for Christian usage—witness the body of the divine Son affixed to the pine-tree, the lamentation over his prostrate form, the sudden

1 Hebrews i. 3.
2 At the festival of the vernal equinox (March 21) known as arbor intural (H. Hepding Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult Giessen 1903 p. 149 ff., Frazer Golden Bough, Adonis Attis Osiris i. 267 ff.). Firmicus Maternus (c. 347 A.D.), who alone mentions the effigy fastened to the tree, already cites parallels (Firm. Mat. 27. 3 f. in sacris Frygiis, quae matriis deum dicunt, per annos singullos arbore caeditur et in medias arbore simulacra attigatur. in Isisac sacris de pinea arbor camidatur trucnus, huius trunci media pars subtiliter excavatur: illic (so F. Oehler for illis cod. P.) de segmibus (so Wowerius for semibus cod. P.) fæctum idolum Osiridis sepelitur (cp. Plout. de Is. et Os. 8, 16, 18, 21, 42). In Proserpinae sacris caesa arbor in effigiem virginitatis formamque componitur et cum intra civitatem fuerit inlata, quadraginta noctibus plangitur, quadragesima vero nocte comburitur). The same method of comparative study has been followed with conspicuous success by W. Mannhardt Wald- und Felderleben Berlin 1904 i. 572 ff., 1903 ii. 291 ff. and by Frazer Golden Bough, The Magic Art ii. 59 ff., the Dying God p. 251 ff. The former regards the tree with its effigy of Attis as a 'Verkörperung des vom Tode erwachten Wachstumsgeistes' (cp. cit. ii. 295). The latter says: 'The bringing in of the pine-tree from the woods, decked with violets and woolen bands, is like bringing in the May-tree or Summer-tree in modern folk-custom; and the effigy which was attached to the pine-tree was only a duplicate representative of the tree-spirit Attis' (cp. cit. s. 2: Adonis Attis Osiris i. 277).

I confess, 1 do not agree with these conclusions. So far as I can judge the evidence available, at least in the classical area, the tree-spirit was essentially female, being but a vegetable form of the earth-mother (supra i. 1 n. 3, 339, 366 f., 525 f., 779 f.). Her consort was male, being originally an embodiment or representative of the sky-father. The May-queen in popular custom stands for the fertilised vegetation-power, the May-kings for her fertilising partner: their union ensures the fertility of the whole neighbourhood. On this showing (to get back to Attis) the man in the tree was not conceived as a duplicature representative of the tree-spirit, but as in some sense (husband? victim? both?) devoted to the tree—the male to the female—for the purpose of promoting fertility. Attis, like Penheus (on whom see an illuminating article by my friend the Rev. A. G. Bather 'The problem of the Bacchae' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1894 xiv. 244—263, Farnell Cults of Gr. States v. 167 ff., Frazer Golden Bough: Adonis Attis Osiris ii. 98, ib. 2: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 24 ff., supra i. 679), whose name—Prof. H. M. Chadwick suggests to me—may hang together with that of the Thracian Bendis (cp. the Thracian Pentheisleia, if not also the Lesbian Penthélis, etc.), was a divine king (Ioul. or. 5. 168 τοῦ Βασιλέως Ἀττίδος. 169 σ βασιλείας Ἀττίδος, Inschr. Gr. Sic. II. no. 913, 3 f. Ostia [Arrét]; Μυροτρόποι, Corp. inscr. Lat. vi nos. 499, 3 f. Attidi | Menotyranno invicto, 500, 2 f. Attidi Menotyranno, 501, 3 f. Attidi sancto | Menotyranno, 508, 1 f. [Atti]|i Menotyranno, 511, 1 Attidi Menotyranno, 10 Attidi Minoturano, 512, 1 [Attidi Menotyranno)] and, as Sir James Frazer has shown (Golden Bough: Adonis Attis Osiris i. 285 ff.), presupposes a line of priestly kings once sacrificed at periodic intervals for the good of the community.
Attis in relation to Christianity

Fig. 195.
I add a northern parallel to the Christianisation of the Phrygian tree-cult. The Gosforth Cross (C. A. Parker *The Ancient Crosses at Gosforth*, Cumberland London 1896 with pls. and figs. of which pl. 1 = my fig. 195 and pl. 2 my fig. 196, *id.* *The Gosforth District: its Antiquities and Places of Interest* Kendal 1904 pp. 80—92 with figs.) is a red sandstone monolith (144 ft high) still standing S. of the church at Gosforth in Cumberland. A fellow-cross of much the same design formerly stood some 7 ft away, but was cut down in 1789 to serve as a sun-dial. Between the two crosses was a horizontal stone, on which was carved the figure of a large sword. The extant shaft, which rises from a rectangular three-stepped base, is circular in section below (40 ins round) but oblong above (6 x 5 ins) and supports a wheel-shaped head (20 ins across). The whole monument is carved to look like a tree: the bole is patterned as if half-covered with bark, and the interlaced lines higher up are suggestive of branches. All four sides, where the trunk has been, so to say, squared, exhibit carvings susceptible of a twofold interpretation, either Scandinavian or Christian. G. Stephens dated them c. 680 A.D.; but S. Bugge assigned them to s. ix A.D., and C. A. Parker now places them as late as c. 950—1050 A.D. The subjects represented run, from bottom to top, as follows: (a) *Western series.* Loki bound beneath snake, whose venom drips upon him: Sigyn, his wife, catches venom in cup = Satan bound. Odhin on his horse Sleipnir rides down to Mimir's well at one of the roots of Yggdrasil: Heimdall the sentinel with the Gjallarhorn keeps back the wolf-serpents Hati and Skoll = Death on the pale horse overcome by Christ the shepherd, who defies the powers of evil. A wolf-headed monster, the progeny of the wolf Fenrir, attacking the solar wheel = A devil attacking the cross. (b) *Southern series.* Odhin riding through the hall of serpents on Nastrand = Christ trampling on Satan. The wolf Fenrir and the Midgårdh-serpent attacking the hart Eikthyrmir = The powers of evil attacking the hart, symbol of Christ. Fenrir as a wolf-headed monster gagged by Thor’s sword = Leviathan tamed. Serpent attacking the solar wheel = Devil attacking the cross. (c) *Eastern series.* Serpents beneath the feet of Nanna, the faithful wife of Baldr: blind Höðr with a lance of mistletoe stabs Baldr, son of Odhin = The serpent's head bruised by the heel of the woman, Mary Magdalene with her aldabeastron: Longinus the blind soldier with his lance stabs Christ on the cross. Headless monster = Evil subdued. Vidharr, son of Odhin, slays the wolf-serpent Fenrir, whose jaw he rends open with left arm and right foot = The descent of Christ into hell. Fenrir attacking the solar wheel = Devil attacking the cross. (d) *Northern series.* Endless interlacing = Symbol of eternity. Odhn on Sleipnir overcome by Fenrir at the end of the world = Death on the pale horse overcome by Christ. Odhn battling with the fire-demon Surtr = Christ as conqueror: Satan cast down from heaven. The solar wheel = the cross. Several of these bilingual interpretations are far from certain. Here it is in point to notice an alternative explanation of the central scene on the eastern face. C. A. Parker comments: 'Baldur the beautiful, or, Odhn hanging on the tree self sacrificed.' The latter view, that of the Rev. W. S. Calverley, is based on *Havisandli* 138 f., a remarkable passage translated by H. M. Chadwick *The Cult of Othin London* 1899 p. 72 thus: '138. 'I know that I hung full nine nights on the gallows tree (or "windy tree") wounded by the javelin and given to Othin, myself to myself; on that tree, of which no one knows from whose roots it proceeds." 139. "They cheered me (or "assuaged my hunger and thirst") neither with bread nor drink; I looked down and took up runes, took them up crying; from thence I fell again."' Prof. Chadwick ib. p. 80 notes: 'Othin is both the person sacrificed and the person to whom the sacrifice is offered. There is no indication that Othin was also the sacrificer or that the sacrifice was voluntary.

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blaze of light, the words of comfort whispered by the priest:

Courage, ye mystics of the god now saved;
Salvation shall be ours from all our woes!

No less suggestive was the teaching connected with the taurobolium and criobolium. In all the Zeus-cults of the Mediterranean world the bull and the ram play their part as centres of procreative power. And by this bread baptism in their blood and reception of their vital forces the worshipper (I quote a Roman altar of the fourth century) was 'reborn to life eternal.' The devotee of Attis belonged

on the part of the victim. But, if those Eddic stanzas represent a genuine Norse belief, the sacrifice of Odin to Odin on the gallows tree might well be taken as the nearest pagan parallel to the crucifixion of Christ.

1 Firm. Mat. 22. 1 nocte quadrar simulacrum in lectica supinum ponitur et per numeros digestis fletibus plangitur: deinde cum se victa lamentatione satiaverint, lumen inferatur: tunc a sacerdotis omnium qui ibant fauces ungentur, quibus perunctis sacerdos hoc lento marmorum susurrat: 'θαρρεῖτε μόνοι τοῦ θεοῦ σωσάμενοι; ἔσται γὰρ ἡμῖν εἰς πάνω σοφίαν. That the allusion is to the rites of Attis appears from Firm. Mat. 3.1 ff., cp. Damaskios v. Isth. ap. Phot. bibl. p. 45 a. 5 ff. Bekker τὸν τὴν Ἰσραήλ έκκαθαρισάς ἐξόκους δειράς ἀνάμερα τῆς γενέσεως, καὶ μοι ἐπίστευσαν παρὰ τῷ μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν τῆς τῶν Ἐρυθρίων καλλονθέων εὐρήματος ἐσπέρ ἐδόθην τῷ ἐκ δῶν γεννώμενο ιδωμαί σωφροσύνας.


3 Supra i. 428 ff., 633 ff., 716 ff., 779.

4 Wissowa Rel. Kult. Rom. p. 325: 'eine besondere, nicht völlig aufgeklärte Rolle spielen beim Opfer die Hoden (vires) des Stieres' citing Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 510, 3 ff. = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4177, 3 ff. (Lactora in Aquitania) vires escipit Eutychetis, xiii no. 1551, 10 ff. = Dessau no. 4131, 10 ff. (Lagidunum) vires escipit et a Vaticano transanimalia, arma et bucanium | suo ippendio conscravit, xiii no. 573, 3 ff. (Lactora) vires taurei, | quo propri[e] | per tauropollium pub[lic]e factum fecerat, | conscravit, xiii no. 578, 3 ff. = Dessau no. 4179, 3 ff. (Lactora) vires taurei, | quo propri[e] | per tauropollium publice factum | fecerat, conscravit, xiii no. 1567, 20 ff. = Dessau no. 4140, 20 ff. (Dea Augusta Vocontiorum) loco vires condictae. H. Graillot op. cit. p. 155 n. 6 adds Epheb. epigr. 1899 viii. 118 no. 445 (Litterum) sacerdos | Matriis deum | [A]tihadam condidit (sc. vires) and Corp. inscr. Lat. v. no. 690 f. = Dessau no. 4158 f. (Taurinum) viribus | Aeterni | tauroboilio | Scpronion | Eutocia and viribus | Aeterni | tauroboilio | P. Ulattius | Priscus. So Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 573 = Dessau no. 4157 (altar at Burdigala with ram's head on one side, hēρες and Phrygan cap on other side) natalici viribus [us] | Valeria | Iulina | et Iul(a) Staetca. Elsewhere the Vires are personified and associated with a variety of water-divinities, vēs. Neptunus (Corp. inscr. Lat. v. no. 4285 = Dessau no. 3919), Lymphae (Corp. inscr. Lat. v. no. 5697 = Dessau no. 3871), Lymphae (Corp. inscr. Lat. vi. no. 1162 = Dessau no. 3870), Fons and (Aqua) Ventia (Corp. inscr. Lat. ix no. 3357 = Dessau no. 5781), Deus Magnus Pantheus (Corp. inscr. Lat. v. no. 5798 = Dessau no. 3997), or worshipped on their own account (Corp. inscr. Lat. v. nos. 1964, 8247, 8248). Their cult apparently implies the belief that running water is the seminal fluid of a deity. See further H. Hepding Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult Giesen 1903 p. 191 f. and supra i. 882 Index ii c.e. 'Testicles.'

5 Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 510 = Orelli Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 2352 = Wilmanns Exs. inscr. Lat. no. 110 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4153 a marble altar decorated with reliefs (on right side, a pine-tree, from which hang flutes and Phrygian cap, with a ram; on left side, a pine-tree, from which hang timbrel and pipe, with a bull; on back, torches, patera, and vessels) and inscribed: Dis | magnis | Matri deum et Attidi Sexfilius Agesilaus Aedesius |
Attis in relation to the Dioskouroi

to the flock of a divine 'Shepherd,' and it needed no great stretch of imagination for him to declare:

et ipse Pileatus Christianus est.

'I he of the Phrygian Cap is a Christian to'

(η) Attis in relation to the Dioskouroi.

The name Pileatus\(^4\) recalls the πιλοι or 'car' of the Dioskouroi\(^4\)
v(ir) c(larissimus), causarum non ignobilis Africani tribus or\(tor\) et in consistorio | principium, item magiste libellorum et cognitionum | lucarum, magister epistularum, | magister memoriae, vicarius praefectorum per | Hisma vice sa(credum) c(ognoscens), | pati patrum dei Solis invicti Mithrae, hierofanta | in car(um), dei Liberi archib(bulus), | tauroholico | crio(bilio)q(ue) in acer(ium) renatus as | sacra vita dd(ominibus) nn(ostris) | Valent(e) V et Valentiniano | iun(jore) Aug(ustus) cons(ultibus) idib(us) Augustus (= Aug. 13, | 376 A.D.)

1 Attis was ποτάρχης (schol. Nik. alex. 8, Lyc. amor. 42), pastor (Tertull. apol. 15, ad nat. 1. 10, Paulin. Nol. poen. vit. 79 ff. (Ili.: 4 Migne, Aegyptiaca Pericletae 99 f. (in Poth. Lat. min. v. 113 Bachrens)), παράλος (Ili.: 185 h. 9 p. 168 Duncker— | Schneiderein), βουκάλης (Theokr. 70. 40), bulla (Arnob. adv. nat. 4. 35).


A small head of white marble in my possession (fig. 198: height \(\frac{1}{2}\) ins.) gives a good idea of the famous adolescentes (Lact. div. inst. 1. 1; 6) wearing his pileum.

4 Supra 1. 250 fig. 180, 763 n. 4, 765 fig. 554 ff.
and raises the question: In what relation did the Phrygian Attis stand to the Hellenic Kastor and Polydeukes? Was he too in any sense a twin? There is something to be said for the view that he was. Years ago Haakh pointed out that Roman tombstones from districts drained by the Rhine or the Danube not infrequently duplicate the person of Attis (e.g. fig. 199), and argued that such monuments go to prove the existence of a Phrygian pair resembling the better known Hellenic and Italian twins. This argument,

1 Haakh ‘die Attisbilder auf römischen Grabdenkmälern’ in the Verh. d. 60. Philologenversamml. in Stuttgart Stuttgart 1857 pp. 176–186 citing: (1) and (2) Two tombstones found at Rottenburg (K. L. von Urluchs in the Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl. 1856 xiii. 49 ff. pls. 1, 2, Haakh loc. cit. p. 177 with figs.); (3) A tombstone found near Bonn (K. L. von Urluchs loc. cit. 1846 ix. 146 ff. pl. 6, 1856 xxiii. 49, Haakh loc. cit. p. 180); (4) A tombstone at Coblenz, on which each Attis has above his head a pair of double axes and an Amazonian shield, below his feet vegetation of some sort (L. Lersch Centralmuseum rheinländischer Inschriften Bonn 1842 iii. 63, Haakh loc. cit. p. 181 f. with fig.); (5) A tombstone in the castle of Enseck, which shows two Lares in the guise of Attis with Phrygian cap and pædum flanking a dog and a
however, is of doubtful value. F. Cumont\(^1\) assumes confusion with Cautes and Cautopates\(^2\). We have also to reckon with the funerary type of the pensive, torch-bearing Eros common enough in the

![Fig. 198.](image)

Graeco-Roman age\(^3\). Moreover, Attis, as a god reborn, would be a favourite emblem of resurrection and, like Nike in a different setting, peculiarly liable to decorative multiplication. But Haakh has more to urge in support of his Phrygian twins: he appeals to literary as

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\(^1\) F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2251.

\(^2\) *Supra* i. 516 n. 1.

Attis in relation to the Dioskouroi

well as to monumental evidence. According to Polybios, Cn. Manlius, when encamped in 189 B.C. on the bank of the river Sangarios, was visited by Galloi from Attis and Battakes, priests of the Mother of the gods at Pessinous. The historian's description suggests a double priesthood. The jingling names would suit the priests of twin deities. And both names were traditional. 'Attis the priest,' who carried on a correspondence with Eumenes ii in

Fig. 199.

1 Polyb. 21. 37. 5.
2 Cp. the 'Arraβακαι or mystics of the goddess at Pessinous (Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. nos. 540, 20 and 541, 7).
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163 B.C. and with Attalos II before and after his accession in 159 B.C., may have been the same Pessinus tine hierarch: he evinces the same anti-Galatian ideas. Another ‘Attis the priest,’ one out of ten, who are distinguished from the chief priest, is recorded in an inscription from Pessinus of early imperial date. And as to Battakes, Diodorus states that in 102 B.C. a certain man named Battakes, priest of the great Mother of the gods, came from Pessinus in Phrygia to Rome demanding expiation for the defilement of her temple. Plutarch puts it differently: Battakes came ‘with a message that the goddess from the temple (anaktora) had announced to him the triumphant victory of the Romans’ over the Teutones. Haak contends that Plutarch’s anaktora is again suggestive of a twin cult, since the Dioskouroi were Anaktes. But the word anaktora is of much wider application, and no stress can be laid on the use of the plural anaktora. Nor is Haak’s contention much strengthened by the Herodotean tale of Adrastos and Atys. The former was son of the Phrygian king Gordios IV; the latter, son of the Lydian king Kroisos—unpromising material for a myth concerning twins, even if it be conceded that the episode had no historical foundation. There remains the old Lydian pedigree, which represented Atys and Kotys as sons of Manes. Manes, the fore-

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1 Michel Recueil d’Inter. gr. no. 45. Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 315.
2 E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 146.
3 A. Koertze in the Arch. Mitth. 1900 xxv. 437 ff. no. 63=Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 541. Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Αττικὸς ιερὰ | Ῥά τὸν Κυρήνα Δήλόπαρον, ἐναὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων τῆς ἄγιας, τεταρτῶν τῆς Ταλατῶν, κ.τ.λ.
4 Diod. 36. 6 (p. 65 Dindorf).
5 Plout. v. Mar. 17.
6 Suppr. i. 107 n. 7.
7 Stephanus Theol. Gr. Ling. i. 2. 423 B ff.
8 Adrestos, son of Gordies son of Mides, having unintentionally slain his brother, was driven out by his father and took refuge with Kroisos, who purified him and received him kindly at his court. Some time afterwards Mysia was devastated by a monstrous boar from the Mysian Mt Olympus. Atys, son of Kroisos, was eager to join the chase. His father, having dreamt that Atys would perish by means of an iron spear, at first would not let him go, but later sent Adrestos as his guardian. Adrestos, aiming with his javelin, missed the boar and slew Atys. Kroisos in deep distress invoked Zeus Kaphisios and Eroterios and Braemios, but, regarding the accident as the fulfilment of his dream, pardoned Adrestos. Thereupon Adrestos killed himself on the tomb of Atys (Hdt. i. 35—45).
9 H. Stein on Hdt. i. 43. W. W. How and J. Wells on Hdt. i. 34. E. Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 2263, Frazer Golden Bough: Adonis Attis Osiris 1. 286 view the Atys-tale as a doublet of the Attis-myth.
10 E. Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 2263 educes from Hdt. i. 7, 1. 94, 4. 45, 7. 74 the following stemma:

For later variants see Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. i. 17 f.; schol. Plat. Tim. 25 b, Steph. Byz.

η. τίν. Ἀκμονία, Δωλατος τεῦχος, Μαρπιος.
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father of the Lydians, was recognised also by the Phrygians. He seems to have been called Masnes by the logographer Xanthos, a Lydian who wrote four books on Lydia in the reign of Artaxerxes i (465 – 425 B.C.). Manes later passed as the son of Zeus and Ge. Indeed, an inscription discovered at Oturak by Sir W. M. Ramsay actually identifies him with Zeus. Arys and Kotys may, therefore, have been regarded as Dioskouroi, sons of Zeus; and the assonance of their names is, as Dr Rendel Harris has abundantly shown, characteristic of divine twins. Nevertheless the whole case is com-

1 P. Hirsch Phrygiae de nominibus oppidorum Regimontii Borussiae 1884 p. 29.
3 Xanthos (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 629 Müller) ap. Hephaist. ench. 1. 7 p. 6; 1 Consbruch and ap. Choirobosk. in Hephaist. ench. 1. 7 p. 199. 5 Consbruch had Μάσνεως as the name of a Lydian river. In Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. i. 27 cod. Vat. spells the king’s name Μάσνεως; and this may be right, since Dionysios ib. 1. 28 goes on to quote Xanthos frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 36 Müller).
4 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur Munich 1908 i. 428 f.
5 Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. i. 27.
6 Sir W. M. Ramsay in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1883 iv. 419 ff. no. 53 λ [ά]θωρα Ιωνίων Επιτόρυχαίου Πως τιμήθη τινες Εκείνης πρώτης, δεύτερον έπεί Μάνου Δασον [Η]λοιδρόμου Δαν, τρίτον Φασκον Αρχηγώτας [Χρυσομπόδου Ασκληπίων Χρυσομπόδου Αρχηγώτας Χρυσομπόδου Αρχηγώτας] Χρυσομπόδου Αρχηγώτας (perhaps t(i)on in δροί) Χρυσομπόδου [Π]ραγματικόν τούτο ήκυ δύνατον έκ άθανατων πάντων κ.τ.λ. an inscription of 313–314 A.D. from the neighbourhood of Akmonia accompanied by a series of three reliefs—above, a radiant head; in the middle, the rider-god with a battle-axe over his shoulder (much defaced); below, a bust with hands folded across breast. The altar adorned with these carvings commemorates several members of one family, two at least of whom held office as δραχεροί in some pagan cult. The god Manes Daos (or Daos) Heliodromos Zeus is of mixed origin. Manes was father of Akmon, founder of Akmonia (Alexandros Polyhistor frag. 45 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 233) ap. Steph. Byz. s. d. Ἀκμώνια). Daos (or Daos) might be the singular of the Scythian tribe Δαος, Δαος, Dahoes (W. Tomaschek in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 1945 f.); Daos, the singular of the nomad Persians called Άδαος by Hdt. 1. 125 (id. ib. 2133): other possibilities would be to see in Daos the masculine deity corresponding with the feminine Daeira (infra i. 213), or to quote Hesych. δαοῖς φως, δαδαί, πύρ, φόλας, φάγγος, αὐγή, καὶ ἐπὶ Φοργώ λόξος. Sir W. M. Ramsay in the Journ. Rom. Stud. 1918 vii. 145 and in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1920 xi. 197, 202 adopts the last expedient, takes Δαος to mean the ‘Wolf,’ and cp. Lyk. (ἀβας?) Sican on a quasi-autonomous copper of Themisonion in Phrygia (Imhoof-Blumer Kleinas. Münz. i. 299 no. 1, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia pp. civ. 419 pl. 49, 2 obv. ΛΩΚΥΣΩΝ Bust of the god, radiate). I prefer to regard Δαος as a Persian ethnic, because Ηλιοδρόμος is in obvious allusion to the Mithraic Ηλιοδρόμος (A. Dieterich Eine Mithrasliturgie Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 131)—indeed, the titles Δαοῖς Ηλιοδρόμος Ζεύς would tally with the grades Perses, Heliodromus, Pater (infra i. 445 n. 1). Cp. also Hesych. Μυθεών, μυθεάν παραμυθεάν. Μυθεύων, παρά δέ Ανδθέως δί Ζεύς [τιμίων] (cod.), which M. Schmidt prints as Μυθενεών. Μυθεάν, παρά [μυθεάέων], μυθεάν [παρά δέ Ανδθέως δί Ζεύς [τιμίων]] P. Carolodis Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen Strassburg 1913 p. 88 connects (unconvincingly) Μυθεάν, Μυθεάνοι with Μιδας.
paratively weak, and, sooner than insist upon it, I would push enquiry in a somewhat different direction.

Whether the Phrygians had in early days a twin-cult corresponding with that of the Násatía mentioned in the prehistoric (s. xiv B.C.) records of Bohaz-Keui, we can hardly hope to determine. The appearance of the Dioskouroi or their attributes on coins of Aizanoi, Akmoneia, Apameia, Bria, Synnada, Temênothyrai, and Themisionion (?), is late and of no great significance. I would rather lay stress on the fact that in the Thraco-Phrygian area the Father and the Son, being diverse manifestations of the same god, formed, not indeed divine twins, but at least a divine pair likely to influence or be influenced by any adjacent cult of twins.

(θ) The Καβειροι or Μεγάλοι Θεοι.

The situation is complicated by the variety of names under which the Thraco-Phrygian Father and Son won their way to general recognition. Of Dios and Dios Nyssos, of Pápas and Ættis, we have already spoken. If we termed the former pair Thracian and the latter Phrygian, that was merely in order to give a rough indication of their range without implying that they were ultimately of diverse origin. And here we must add that the Samothracian Kabeiroi were originally of kindred stock. In common with R. Pettazzoni, L. R. Farnell, and Miss Harrison I hold that these mys-

2 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 39 pl. 6, 2 (Dioskouroi standing), cp. ib. p. xxiv pl. 26, 1 and 4 (horse bearing cap surmounted by star, etc.), Head Hist. num. 2 p. 664.
6 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 393 pl. 45, 2 (caps surmounted by stars; between them, poppy-head and ear of corn), Imhoof-Blumer Kleinas. Münzen i. 292 no. 5; Head Hist. num. 2 p. 686.
8 Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 495 pl. 57, 9 (Herakles and Hermes standing; behind Herakles, one of the Dioskouroi standing with his horse). B. V. Head in Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 420 pl. 49, 5 and Hist. num. 2 p. 687 would recognise in the third figure Lykabas Soson (?)—a precarious guess.
9 Supra p. 277 ff.
10 Supra p. 392 ff.
terious powers were Thracian deities called Kabeiroi by Phoenician traders and Megaloi Theoi by Hellenic settlers. I further agree with Miss Harrison’s acute surmise that their triad included ‘one woman the Mother, two males, the Father and the Son—older and younger forms of each other.’ I take it that Axiokeria was the Mother, Axiokeros the Father, and Axieros the son² conceived as a rebirth of the Father. The names bear witness to the vitality of the very ancient axe-cult in the northern islands of the Aegean³. Axiokeria appears to mean ‘She that is cleft with the Axe,’ Axiò-

prehistoric times the worship of Dionysos-Sabazios with his Satyrs and of Bendis-Hekate with her Maenads spread from Thrace to the neighbouring islands Thasos, Samothrace, Imbros, Lemnos. These two Thracian deities with their respective πρόσωπα formed the indigenous element of the cult in question. (2) Phoenician merchants brought to some of the Thracian islands their own Kabeiroi or ‘Great Ones,’ seven gods serving an eighth named Esmun (Fhilon Bybl. frag. 2, 27 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 369 Müller) ap. Euseb. praep. ev. 1. 10. 38, Dumaskios v. Isid. ap. Phot. òbbl. p. 352 b 11 ff. Bekker). The islanders identified Esmun with the Thracian Dionysos-Sabazios and the Kabeiroi with his πρόσωπο. Hence Dionysos-Sabazios acquired the Phoenician title of Esmun Kadmilos, and Bendis-Hekate came to be called Kabeiroi. (3) Hellenic settlers came to Samothrace with the Eleusinian cult of Demeter, Kore, Hades. This trio was installed beside Kadmilos, the resultant quartette being henceforward called by the Phoenician name Kabeiroi or its Greek equivalent Megaloi Theoi. Finally, the name Kabeiroi degenerated into an appellation of the πρόσωπα.

12 L. R. Farnell ‘Kabeiroi’ in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1914 vii. 628–633 independently of Pettazzoni suggests the following sequence of events: ‘Phoenician traders may have found an aboriginal mystery-cult in this remote and inaccessible island (Samothrace); they may have attached their own descriptive title ‘Kabeirim,’ ‘the mighty ones,’ to the divinities that they found in the island, because this corresponded to some local divine appellation that the later Greeks translated by the phrase οἱ μεγάλοι θεοὶ; then, through the spread of Phoenician trade, the Semitic name for the island deities acquired permanent vogue’ (ib. p. 628). Dr Farnell holds ‘that the original Samothracian trio included, not only an elder and a younger god, later identified with the Dioskonroi, but also a female earth-spirit, conceived as earth-mother or earth-bride and subordinate to the male principle of divinity’ (ib. p. 629).

13 Miss J. E. Harrison in The Year’s Work in Class. Stud. 1915 p. 76 f.

¹ Ead. ib., p. 77.
² This does not square with schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 917 cod. Laur. (ed. H. Keil Lipsiác 1854) μνητικαί δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Σαμοθράκην τοῖς Καβεύρως, ως Μηανίς φησί (Frag. 27 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 154 Müller)) καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα αὐτῶν ὤ τὸν ἄρμον, Ἀξίερος Ἀξικέρας Ἀξικέρας. Ἀξιόρας μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ᾨ Σαμοθράκης, Ἀξικέρας δὲ Ἠ Περσεφώνη, Ἀξικέρας δὲ ὁ Ἀδής κ. τ.λ. προστιθέμενος τέταρτος Κασσίλλου ὁ Ἁρμίς ἐστιν τοὶ ἀστροὶ Διονυσίων (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 84 Müller). R. Pettazzoni, who loc. cit. p. 21 f. has a critical discussion of this passage, concludes that the names Ἀξίερος Ἀξικέρας Ἀξικέρας, together with their egression as Δισσανα Περσεφώνη Ἀδής, are probably not derived from Mmaeae, but from Dionysodoros a grammariian of uncertain date. The author of the explanation, whoever he was, appears to have equated in a purely mechanical way the early Samothracian triad Axieros, Axiokera, Axiokersos with the late Eleusinian triad Demeter, Persephone, Hades. The equation does not inspire confidence.

³ I have dealt with the matter in a paper on ‘The Cretan Axe-cult outside Crete’ in the Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions. Oxford 1908 ii. 194, cp. supra i. 109.
kersos 'He that cleaves with the Axe', and Axios the 'Axe-Eros' or 'Axe-spirit'. On this showing Axioskérsai was an appellative of the Thracian earth-goddess, Axioskerzos an appellative of the Thracian sky-god, while Axios was the name given to an emanation or rebirth of the latter. The same substratum of primitive Thracian belief probably underlies several of the early Greek theogonies. Thus Hesiod was aware of three primeval powers, Chaos, Gaia, and Eros. Pherekydes of Syros, not only recognised Zeus,

1 Hesych. κέρσας: κόφας, τεμένων, κέρας, γαμήσας (so cod. A. Meineke c. γαμήσας) and κέρσας: γαμός (so cod. M. Schmidt κόφας). The Hesychian glosses were cited in this connexion by Welcker Gr. Gättler. i. 309 n. 3 and after him by L. Bloch in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2426. Other views in R. Petazzoni loc. cit. p. 693.

2 That the second element in the compound 'Δί-ερος' is none other than Eros (Homerian ερή) was perceived by F. G. Welcker Die Anachalyse und die Kahirenweih zu Lemnos Darmstadt 1827 p. 240 (after N. Fréret), E. Gerhard Hybernische Religionsgeschichte Berlin 1852 ii. 209, C. Strube Studien über den Bildekreis von Elensir Leipzig 1879 p. 74. G. F. Unger in J. Sach. f. Philol. u. Pädagog. 1885 xxixv. 57 assumes a word meaning 'earth' connected with ἀρις, ἓρωτε. L. Crusius Beiträge zur griechischen Mythologie und Religiongeschichte Leipzig 1886 p. 26 n. 2 divides 'Δί-ερος'?  

3 The derivation of ἄρις, ἐρή is much disputed (see e.g. Frellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. 2 p. 153, Boissaq Dict. etym. de la Langue Gr. p. 272 f.) and need not concern us. The essential thing is to realise that Eros was the form taken by the soul of the sky-god on the occasion of his rebirth; for the art-type of Eros is the art-type of souls in general. Miss J. E. Harrison hits the nail on the head when she says: 'Eros is but a specialized form of the Kosmos; the Erotes are Keres of life, and like the Keres take the form of winged Eidos.' (Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel. 2 p. 631) Eros is therefore the male Harpy (Hesych. ἀρις ἐρή, ἀρις with M. Schmidt ad loc., et mag. p. 149, 33 ff.) 'Ἀρνυν ὃ 'Ερος: ὥ παρά Παρθενίων ἐν Κρανώριν, ἀμφότεροι ἐπιήδας Ἀρνυν ἐλπίσατο; — παρά τὸ ἀρνύν τό ἔρως or Erinyus (Hesych. ἀρις ἐρή): 'Erwte'). On the relations of Eros to Psyche see L. Stephani in the Conpte-rense du St. Pét. 1877 pp. 53—119, A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1370—1371, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi 531—543 and in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 3237—3256, G. Nicole in Daremburg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iv. 747—750, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 871 ff., id. Myth. Lit. 1908 p. 320 ff. The soul of a double-axe may be represented also as a butterfly (infra § 3 (c) 1 (r)).

Zeus Didymaëos

Chthonia, and Eros¹, but in a passage of profound significance declared ‘that Zeus had transformed himself into Eros, when about to create’ the world². The cosmogonic Eros, as G. F. Schoemann³ called him, figures also in Orphic literature both early and late⁴: the Rhapsodies represent ‘delightsome Eros’ as contained in and issuing from ‘the great body of Zeus’⁵; the Hymns make ‘Eros’ a synonym of ‘Bakcheus,’ whom they invoke as ‘Sire of the gods and Son’⁶—a manifest echo of the old Thracian creed⁷.

v. The Double Zeus.

(a) Zeus Didymaëos.

If now we set the principal types of Father and Son over against the principal types of Twin Brethren, we might fairly expect to find Diels ap. Plat. symp. 178 b, Aristot. met. 1. 4. 984 b 25 ff., Simpl. in Aristot. phys. p. 39, 18 πρώτον μὲν Ἐρωτα θεὶν μνείαν πάντων the subject of μνείαν is probably δαίμων ἢ πάντα κυβερνᾶ (frag. 12, 3 Diels). Act. 2. 7. 1 in H. Diels Dōxographi Graeci Berolini 1879 p. 336, 12 ap. Stob. ecl. 1. 22. 18 p. 195, 10 ff. Wachsmuth ἄνωτα καὶ δαίμων κυβερνῶν καὶ κυβέρνον ἀνέθηκεν (so Fulseborn for κυβερνῶν F. P.) ἄνωτον τι καὶ ἄνωτον is supposed by J. Burnet Early Greek Philosophy London and Edinburgh 1892 p. 204 to confuse the goddess in question (whom he regards as the Pythagorean Hestia = the Platonic Ananke) with the gate-opening Dike of Parmenides’ prologue. But in Hermes Trismeg. ap. Stob. ecl. 1. 49. 44 p. 393, 18 Dike is sister of Ananke; and F. M. Cornford in his very notable book From Religion to Philosophy London 1913 p. 214 ff. argues that the goddess throned in the centre is not only Moina, Lachesis, Ananke, and Dike, but Aphrodite to boot. If so, Plout. amat. 13 was not far wrong, when he made Aphrodite the subject of μνείαν. Certainly the common Greek tradition, which stretches back to Sappho frag. 132 Bergk⁴ ap. schol. Theokr. 13. 1 (‘Ἀφροditη καὶ Ὀθραφαῦ), cp. Paus. 9. 27. 3. C. J. Blomfield cj. Γῆς Wilamowitz cj. Ἀφροδίτης <ἡ Γῆς>, regarded Eros as the son of Aphrodite. His father is Zeus in Eur. Hipp. 534 Ἐρως, Ὁ Δίος παις (cp. Cirēs 133 ff. sed malus ille puer, quem nec sua flaccet mater | iratam potuit, quem nec pater atque avus idem | Iuppiter, etc.). But the genealogy of Eros was notoriously a bone of contention: see Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1071 n. 1, O. Waser in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 488 f.

¹ Max. Tyt. deis. 10. 4 Dūhner Ælida καὶ τοῦ Σωρίου τὴν ποίησιν ἀκόπες, τὸν Ζήνα καὶ τὴν Χθονίαν καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἐρωτα, κ.τ.λ. Συναριθμ. i. 37 n. 5.
² Pherecyd. frag. 3 Diels ap. Prokl. in Plat. Tim. ii. 54. 28 ff. Diehl καὶ ὁ Φερεκυδῆς ἔθεψεν ἐν Ἐρωτα μεταβιβάζωσιν τὸν Δία μελλοντα δημιουργοῦντο, δὴ δὲ τὸν κόσμον εἰς τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνων αὐλοντα ἐν ὁμοίωσι καὶ φιλαν ἀγαθον καὶ ταύτην πάντων ἐκενοῦρ καὶ ἐναγω ἡν ἦλθεν δημιουργοῦν. See R. Zimmermann in the Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik 1854 xxiv. 177, O. Kern De Orphēis Epimenidēs Pherekydis theologii quaestiones criticae Berolini 1888 p. 93 ff., D. Speliotopoulos Περὶ Φερεκυδῆ τοῦ Σωρίου καὶ τῆς Θεογονίας αὐτῶν Athens 1890 p. 47 n. 15.
³ G. F. Schoemann ‘De Cupidine cosmogonio’ (Gryphiwaldiae 1832) in his Opuscula Academica Berolini 1857 ii. 60—92.
⁴ See Append. G.
⁵ Ἐρως τοῦτον ἑτέρον . . . ἐν μεγάλῃ Ζηνοθα . . . οὐματα (Orph. frag. 123 Abel cited Append. G).
⁶ Orph. h. trit. 52. 1, 6, 10 Bakaçê, . . . θεῶν πάτερ ἢδε καὶ νεότερα, . . . Ἐρως.
the former influenced to some extent by the latter, or the latter by the former:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father and Son</th>
<th>Twin Brethren</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zeus and Dionysos</td>
<td>Eurytos and Kteatos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papas and Attis</td>
<td>Otos and Ephialtes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabeiroi</td>
<td>Idas and Lynkeus</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Aiolos and Boiotos</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Pelias and Neleus</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Chrysao and Pegasos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Podaleirios and Machaon (?Twins)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Herakles and Iphikles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amphin and Zethos</td>
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<td>Iasos and Dardanos</td>
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<td>Eätion and Polyarches</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kastor and Polydeukes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hypnos and Thanatos</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

How far is our expectation justified? Zeus is never described as a twin; for his epithet Didymaïos1 merely indicates that he was worshipped along with Apollo at Didyma near Milétoṣ2. Macro-

1 Athen. 477 B Ἰκαριόδος δ’ ὁ Κολοφωνίωτος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Αἰγυπτῶν γράφει “ἐν τῷ ἱερατευματι τοῦ Διδυμαίου Δίας καισοῦ συνορθοτεωντα πετάλλων, ὥσπερ τὰ ἄρχαια ἐκπαίδευσα κατόβια φωνεῖται.” The same passage is cited by Macrob. Sat. 5. 21. 12 and by Eustath. in Od. p. 1632, 8 f. (cod. P. of Macrobr. omits Δίας. cod. C. of Athen. reads τῷ Διδυμαίῳ κατοί.) Eustath. has Διδυμαίῳ Δίας.


Other Milesian cults recognised Zeus as Boulios (C. Fredrich in Miléto ii. 91 f. no. 13 a, 12 Bouliou τῶι διὰ παρὰ προσόλοιο in a metrical inscription from the pedestal of a bronze statue of Lichas erected c. 200 B.C. in front of the earlier gateway of the Bouleuterion, A. Rehm ib. iii. 58 f. no. 37 c, 43 f. τῷ τῇ Ζεύσι τῷ | Boulios καὶ τῶι Δὶ τῶι Boulios in a psephism, ep. ib. iii. 132 p. 1), as Δοσμήρα Σωτῆρ (Δ) (A. Rehm in Miléto iii. 163 f. no. 165, 3 f. [Σελεκος, ἀδελφὸς βασιλέως, ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ὀβόλων] | ἀνέθηκαν Δὶ Δοσμήρα Σωτῆρ (Δ)] the Greek half of a bilingual inscription on a marble base erected in the Delphinion by Séllekos, vizier of the Nabataean king Obodos, probably in January 9 B.C.), as Νόσιος (ἡμερ. 733 n. 6), as Σωτῆρ (A. Rehm in Miléto iii. 152 no. 150 Δῖος Σωτῆρος on a round altar or base in the Delphinion. This cult seems to have been much in evidence at Didaia: Corp. inscr. Gr. ii. no. 2852, 10 ff. = Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 39, 10 ff. = B. Haussozouiller Études sur l’histoire de Miléto et du Didyméion Paris 1902 p. 194 ff. no. 1, 10 ff. = Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 214, 10 ff. βασιλεία Σλεκόνυ (Selelekoi i Nikator rather than Seleukos i Kallinikos) Μιλήτων τῶι βουλῆ | τῶι τῶι δήμων χαίρειν | ἀφεστάκημεν εἰς | τό | λείψαν τοῦ Απόλλωνος τῶι ἐν Δίῳ | τῷ τῇ λυγίαις τῷ μεγάλῳ | ἰχνίῳ καὶ ἀργυρῷ εἰς ἀνάθεμα τοῦ θεοῦ | τῶι Σωτῆροι κοίμησαντα Πολύβινθος, ἐνέγραψα ἑκοτα κ.τ.λ., 43 ff. κλαίον ἐνέγραμμα “Δῖ Σωτῆρ” [p.] | ἄλλη δραχμῇ ἑκατόν ἐξακολουθοῦσα τρεῖς, | τρεῖς ὀβόλοι, A. Rehm in Miléto iii. 200 no. 144 A, 9 f. τῶι τῇ Ἀπόλλωνος τῶι Δίῳ καὶ τῶι Δἰ | τῶι Σωτῆροι] in a treaty with some unknown town, id. ib. 233 ff. no. 150, 21 f. τῶι τῇ Ἀπόλλωνος τῶι Δίῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀρετῆι καὶ Λυτω καὶ Ἀθηναι) καὶ τῶι Δἰ τῶι | Σωτῆρος, 112 ff. τῆς [p.] | Ἀπόλλωνος τῶι Δίῳ καὶ τῶι
Zeus duplicated on a gem

bius, it is true, tried to explain Didymatos by the 'twofold' aspect of Apollo, who shines with direct rays in the sun, with reflected rays in the moon; and Lucian held that Didyma was named after the Heavenly 'Twins.' But such guesses, whether ancient or modern, make shipwreck on the fact that other place-names of south-western Asia Minor (Idyma, Sidyma, Loryma, Kibyma, Olympos) point to a Carian, not to a Greek, origin. I cannot, therefore, agree with my friend Dr Rendel Harris, when he urges 'that Didyma was an original twin-town.'

(β) Zeus duplicated on a gem.

Equally illusory is the monumental evidence that has been produced in support of a twin Zeus. An engraved cornelian of Roman date in the Berlin collection (fig. 200) certainly shows two very similar forms of Zeus seated side by side, each holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and an eagle-sceptre in his left. Above them appears a bearded (? male head; and beneath them are the letters MVH.

This enigmatic design has exercised the ingenuity of archaeologists.

1 Eustath. in Hes. p. 488. Seeinfra § 9 (h) i., as Τέρσος (at Didyma: see infra § 9 (h) i). For the Milesian festival known as Δία βοώς see supra i. 717 n. 2, infra § 9 (h) i, and B. Haussouillier 'Le culte de Zeus à Didymes, la Bovla' in the Milanges Henri Weil Paris 1898 pp. 147—158.
2 Macrob. Sat. i. 17. 64.
3 See e.g. A. Bouché-Leclercq Histoire de la dévotion dans l'antiquité Paris 1880 iii.
431 N. 4.
5 L. Bürchmer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 437.


Gerhard Zwei Minerven p. 5 n. 13 (followed by Overbeck loc. cit.) says: 'der oberwärts befindliche anscheinend weibliche Kopf.' Furtwängler loc. cit. tacitly corrects him: 'Oben ein undeutlicher bärtiger Kopf.' The blunder was facilitated by the fact
Zeus duplicated on a gem

P. D. Lippert pronounced the divine pair to be Jupiter and Iuno. C. Lenormant saw Jupiter in the double rôle of Summus and Summanus. J. J. Winckelmann tried to justify the duplication by citing a copper coin of Smyrna, struck by M. Aurelius, which showed both a standing and a seated Zeus—Aither and Ouranos, he supposed. But this coin (fig. 201), as Montfacon had already observed, merely symbolises an alliance between Smyrna and Laodikeia on the Lykos by a juxtaposition of the Smyrnaean Zeus Akrotatos seated with the Laodicean Zeus

that the hair is crimped or waved. But this was a method of coiffure employed by the Romans not only for women (A. Furtwängler in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1901 xxii. 271, Steininger in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 2139) but also on occasion for men—witness the numismatic portraits of Otho (J. J. Bernoulli Römische Iconographie Stuttgart 1891 ii. 7 Münztaf. 1, 5 f.).

1 P. D. Lippert Dactyliaec (Supplement) Dresden, Leipzig 1767—1776 i. 30. On Lippert and his services to archaeology see C. Justi Winckelmann in Deutschland Leipzig 1866 i. 361 ff. and Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen iii. 414 f. Lippert was perhaps misled by the large nipples of the left-hand figure: but that is merely proof of haste and clumsiness on the part of the gem-engraver.

2 C. Lenormant loc. cit.


4 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia p. 307 pl. 30, 11 (= my fig. 201) rev.: ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣϹ ΦΙΣΤΗϹΤΑ ΙϹΠΑΤΡΙϹ ΣΑΜΥΡΛΑΟ i.e. ΑTTALΟϹ ΣΟΦΟϹΤΗϹ (z.e. Άςθηκη) τάς ΣἈΜΥΡΛΑΟΝ ΔΑΟ(ΜΕΝ). The Smyrnaean Zeus Akrotatos is seated to left, with himation wrapped about his legs, holding Nike in his outstretched right hand and leaning his left on a sceptre. Before him stands the Laodicean Zeus to right, with long chiton and himation, holding an eagle on his outstretched right hand and a sceptre over his left shoulder. Rasche Lex. Num. viii. 1580. Cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 334 f. pl. 57, 7 f.

5 Montfacon Antiquity Explained trans. D. Humphreys London 1735 Suppl. i. 33 pl. 5 no. 6.

Rasche Lex. Num. iii. 675, 4. 829 records similar alliance-coins of Ephesos and Kyzikos, struck by Antoninus Pius, with the type of two Zeuses joining their right hands and the legend ΕΦΕϹΙΟϹ ΚΤΙΖΙΚΟϹ (sic). But this is presumably a mistaken interpretation of the type correctly described by W. Wroth in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia p. 60 no. 300 and by W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1774 f. as two youthful male figures (ΚΥΖΙΚΟϹ and ΕΦΕϹΙΟϹ) grasping right hands.

6 Append. B Lydia.

A similar type of Zeus appears on quasi-autonomous and imperial coppers of Laodikeia (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia pp. lxxxvi. 289 f. pl. 35. 1, 393 f., 296 f.: fig. 202 is from a specimen in my collection. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 300 ff. pl. 37. 1, 3 = my fig. 203). Sometimes he is flanked by Hera and Athena in a group intended to recall the Capitoline triad (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygian p. 308 pl. 37. 7, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 491 pl. 57. 3. Imhoof-Blumer Kleinas. Münzen i. 266 no. 21 pl. 8, 25 = my fig. 204). Another interesting imperial type shows the city-goddess (ΑΑΟ ΔΙΚΕΙΑ) enthroned to left, with κηλιάθος, χίλιτον, and himation: in her right hand is a statuette of the Laodicean Zeus, in her left a sceptre; below are two river-gods
Zeus duplicated on a gem

standing. E. Gerhard too recognised ‘ein Doppelzeus,’ whom he at

(AVKOC and KAPROC) with waves (Imhoof-Blumer Kleinas. Münzen i. 268 no. 26 pl. 8, 26=my fig. 205). A variant makes Laodikeia hold the statuette in her right hand, but a cornu coptae in her left (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 317 pl. 38, 3). On another specimen Laodikeia, with a phiale in her right hand and the statuette in her left, stands between a wolf (AVKOC) and a boar (KAPROC) representing the rivers (F. Imhoof-Blumer ‘Zur griechischen und römischen Münzkunde’ in the Revue suisse

de numismatique 1908 p. 161, Sir W. M. Ramsay The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia Oxford 1898 i. 35 f., ii. 785 f.: the latter by an intelligible slip says ‘a goat KAPROC’). On yet another she is enthroned to left, with the statuette in her right hand and a cornu coptae in her left, between two standing figures of ΦΡΥΓΙΑ and КАРИЯ (J. von Schlosser in the Num. Zeit. 1891 p. 1 ff. pl. 1, 1=my fig. 206, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 317 pl. 38, 2). Head Hist. num. 2 p. 678 ff.

The temple of Zeus, before which Q. Pomponius Flaccus laid a white marble pavement (G. Weber in the Ath. Mitt. 1891 xvi. 144 f. no. 1, 13 f. with Ramsay op. cit. i. 50 n. 3), has not been identified. At some period before c. 150 A.D. the cult of Zeus was amalgamated with that of the Roman emperor in the festival Διός Ξεβαστά Οἰκουμενικά (E. L. Hicks The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum iii. 2. 233 f. Oxford 1890 no. 603, 3 Δία Ξεβαστά οἰκουμενικά εν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀγενέλιον πυρῆν] κ.τ.λ., 11 Δία Ξεβαστά οἰκουμενικά εν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀνδρῶν πυρηνάκι] κ.τ.λ., i. iii. 2, 239 f. no. 615, 14 εν Δαυδίκειᾳ ἄνδρων Δίας with Ramsay op. cit. i. 51, 53 f.

first christened *Meiltichios* and *Epidotes*¹, but later compared with the *Dies Ktésioi* of Athenaios: his first suggestion is improbable, his second impossible. Much more acute was the view of E. H. Toelken, who in the two Zeuses detected the reigning pair, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Verus. The letters ΜΨΗ may of course, as he suggested, indicate the name of the owner. It is, however, very possible that they are the initials of Marcus, Verus, and Helios—the deity whose cult was specially connected with the Aurelii.⁴ If the sun-god is bearded, that perhaps implies that he was identified by the gem-engraver with the preceding emperor, Antoninus Pius. The full official name T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius would be likely enough to provoke such identification,

ex voto is best connected with Mt Ladicus in Gallaecia (De Vit Omasticon iii. 725). If, as seems likely, the coin-types reproduce local statues, we must distinguish this Zeus of Laodikeia from Zeus 'Αεας of the same town (supra i. 706).

1 E. Gerhard *Prodromus mythologischer Kunsterklärung* (Text to Gerhard Ant. Bildou), München 1839—1844 p. 129 n. 35, cp. Plout. non posse suaviter vivi secundum Erechiri decreta 22 avra ὃ μὲν μέγας ἐν ὀφρακί Ζεὺς πτηνῷ ἄρμα ἐλάθων κατὸ πράων πορεύεται διακόμων πάτα καὶ ἐπιπεδοῦμαισι τῶν δὲ ἄλλων θεῶν ὃ μὲν ἐστὶν Ἠπιδότης, ὃ δὲ Μελίχως, ὃ δὲ Ἀλεξιακως κ.τ.λ. But this passage expressly distinguishes Zeus from the gods described as Ἐπιδότης and Μελίχως.

The title Ἐπιδότης or Ἐπιδώτης (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 69 f., Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 932 n. 3) is used of various deities, sometimes as an epithet (e.g. Paus. 2. 10. 2 at Sikyon Τύτον κατακειμένον μενοτα, Ἐπιδώτης δὲ ἔπειλαρος), sometimes as a name (Inscr. Gr. Pelop. i no. 516 from the Argive Heraion φίλλα ά Ἐπιδώτα, Paus. 2. 27, 6 at Epidauros ibid θεῶν ὃ άθικτον Ἐπιδώταταν ὁμοράμονην, Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. i. 133 no. 342 on a rock near the ruins of Paghass *EΠΙΔΟΣ [ΤΑ]*Σ = Ἐπιδώτας). As an appellative of Zeus it is attested for Sparta by Hesych. s.v. Επιδώτας (so Salmasius for cod. Ἐπιδωτας). Zeus ἐν Ἀλκείδαιοι (cp. Paus. 3. 17. 9 Ἀλκείδαιοι δὲ ἐκτελώνται πρόσταγμα ἐν Δελφοῖς ταῦ τε εἰκόνας ἐπισφέρατο ταῖς χαλκαῖς καὶ δαιμονίων ἐπίθεν Φιλόδας (so Ag. Ped. R pr. man. Ἐπιδώτης Λαυ. R corr. Vb. Ἐπιδώτης Μ. Val.), τὸ έπι Παναγιω τοῦ Ἱεσοῦ μέμνιον αναπτήνων τῶν Ἐπιδώτην λέγοντες των) and perhaps for Mantinea by Paus. 8. 9. 2 Μαντινεύς μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἄλλα λεπτα, τὸ μὲν Ζωσίμου Δίως, τὸ δὲ Ἐπιδώτου (ΕΠΙΔΩΤΟΥ ΡΕ. VAB.) καλομένου (so Kaysor for καλομένου) ἐπίθεσει γιὰν δὴ ἠγάμη αὐτόν αὐθάρατος. Since ἐπίθεδωμι properly signifies 'I give a further gift' (e.g. Pind. Pyth. 5. 163 ff. Ἰδίω τού νόσου μέγας κυριεύῃ | δαίμων ἄνδρων φιλῶν | εἴχομαι νον Ὀλυμπίω τοῦτον | δόμεν γέρας ἐπὶ Βάρνου γρίφος) and so 'a liberal gift' (see Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. iii. 1577 D ff.), Ἐπιδώτης οὐ Ἐπιδώτης must mean 'the Generous Giver.' Cp. Kallim. h. Zeus 91 f. Κρόπθην παναγήσας, δῶτορ ἄλω, | δῶτορ ἀρχηγὸν, and an inscription copied by E. Falkener in the theatre at Termessos beginning ΜΡΣΥΑΝ ΤΡΙΠΛΟΣΕΥΣ | ΔΙΟΣΑΛΩΤΗΡΟΞΕΙΤΑΙΟ, on which C. Hensen remarks: 'Titulus erat fortasse honorarius Marsyan Troili fili. Ζεύς Δωρῆρ nimis certo in eo legi videtur, quam ut Σωρίθον emendare licet' (Ann. d. Inst. 1852 xxiv. 176 f.). ΕΙΤΑΙΟ is presumably Τιάλως. Cp. Zeus 'Αναδώτης (Append. M sub fn.).

² Infra Append. H.
⁴ E. Klebs in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 2431, supra i. 630 n. 6. Aurelius would inevitably be associated with 'Ηλιος, Helius.
Zeus Tetráotos

for Aelius was sometimes spelled Elius\(^1\), while Helius on occasion appears as Haelius\(^2\).

(γ) Zeus Tetráotos.

Again, Zeus—like other ancient divinities\(^3\)—is sometimes Janiform. But here each case has to be investigated separately, and we must not assume without more ado that the duplication of features necessarily points to twinnedness\(^4\).

There seems to have been a cult of Zeus Tetráotos, ‘the Four-eared,’ in Phrygia\(^5\), just as there was a cult of Apollo Tetráotos in Lakónike\(^6\), while Tetráotos pure and simple occurs at Gela, apparently as the name of an ancient Sicanian deity (?)\(^7\).

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1. Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. nos. 2431, 6122, 6122\(^a\).
2. Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 19158.
4. Other possibilities with regard to the origin and development of these multiple types are discussed in Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 282 ff.
5. A. Körte in the Gött. Gel. Anz. 1897 clix. 408 no. 51 Shar-ôjuk (the stone is broken at the top and damaged in the last line but one) — — [συ]ς νομιματικος των ιδιων | Δι Τετρα(των κατ') εικής. Körte suggests Tetráotos, but remarks that this necessitates κατ' εικής, an unusual formula.
χειος μίλαν καὶ στέφει τὸν Καλλικράτη, κ.τ.λ. See further O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 398 f.

7. Eimens and Antiphemos, the founders of Gela (Hdt. 7. 153, Thouk. 6. 4, Athen. 297 f.), consulted the Pythia (Didot. 8. 23, Aristainetos (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 319 Müller) ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Πύθα, et. mag. p. 225, 1 ff., cp. schol. Find. Ol. 2. 16) and were hidden inter alia to beware of τῶν Τετράων (supra n. 6). They became embroiled with the Sikanoi (Artemon of Pergamon frag. 5 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 341 f. Müller) ap. schol. Find. Ol. 2. 16), and Antiphemos, having sacked the Sicanian town of Omphake, carried off to Gela an image made by Daidalos (Paus. 8. 46. 2, 9. 40. 4). Since Janiform deities other than Ianus were not unknown in southern Sicily (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily p. 186 Syracusa no. 283, G. F. Hill Coins of Ancient Sicily London 1903 p. 150 pl. 11, 4), it
(8) The Celtic Janiform god.

Silver statérès struck by the Celts far up the Danube valley, in imitation of the fine tetradrachms issued by Philippos ii of Makedonia (figs. 207, 208), sometimes transform the head of Zeus into that

Fig. 207.

of a two-faced bearded god resembling Ianus (figs. 209, 210). Again, may be conjectured that this Sicanian image was θερμωνος, later rationalised into a Phoenician freebooter (supra n. 6).

1 I illustrate two specimens in my collection: (1) Fig. 207 = obv. Head of Zeus, laureate, to right; rev. ΦΙΛΙΠ ΠΟΥ Youth on horseback to right, carrying palmbranch. In the field a thunderbolt, probably the mint-mark of Pella. In the exergue Ν. (2) Fig. 208 = obv. Head of Zeus, with olive-wreath and olive-berries, to right; rev. ΦΙΛΙΠ ΠΟΥ Bearded Macedonian horseman, in short chiton, chlamys, and kausia, raising his right hand. In the field forefront of winged horse, probably the mint-mark of Lampsakos, and bow. See also Head Coins of the Ancients p. 44 pl. 18, id. Hist. num. p. 223 fig. 136, P. Gardner Types of Gr. Coins pp. 153, 155 pl. 7, 29 and 39, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus pp. 93, 96 f., 104 f. Münztaf. 1, 21, G. F. Hill in the Journal Hell. Stud. 1897 xvi. 79 pl. 2, 11, id. A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins London 1899 pp. 164, 171, 176 f., 261 pl. 7, 1, id. Historical Greek Coins London 1906 p. 86 ff. pl. 5, 44.

2 E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale Paris 1889 p. 735 nos. 9897—9899, H. de la Tour Atlas de monnaies gauloises Paris 1892 no. 9899 pl. 51 (= my fig. 209) in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. E. Piaia Collection Ernst Prix zu Windisch-Grätz Prag 1895—1897 no. 2891, R. Forrer Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande Strassburg 1908 pp. 167, 169 fig. 328 pl. 36 found in the district of Tolma, Hungary, and now in the Forrer collection, M. Dessewity Border Pincei Budapest 1910 p. 40 no. 814 pl. 33 (I owe this reference to the kindness of my friend Mr G. F. HILL), R. Ratto Catalogo di una grande collezione di un distinto numismatico straniero Milano 1912 p. 16 no. 169 pl. 3. Fig. 210 is from a specimen of mine, referred to Pannonia (?): obv. Janiform bearded head; rev. Horseman, with plumed helmet, to right. In front of the horse’s nose is Π, the last remains of the legend ΦΙΛΙΠ ΠΟΥ. Weight 189 grains.

21—2
The Celtic Janiform god

gold *statères* and quarter- *statères* struck by the Mediomatrici, whose

![Fig. 209.]

![Fig. 210.]

chief town was Divodurum (Mettis, Metz) on the Moselle, have for obverse type a beardless Janiform head (figs. 211—213)\(^1\). And coppers

![Fig. 211.]

![Fig. 212.]

![Fig. 213.]

issued by Cunobelinus at Carnulodunum (Colchester) have on one side a similar Janiform head, on the other a sow seated beneath an oak(?)-tree (fig. 214)\(^2\). This may be taken to imply that the Danubian, Rhenic, and British Celts recognised a god facing both ways. Such a god might appear in Roman dress as the Ianus *Geminus*\(^3\) of

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\(^1\) E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet *op. cit.* p. 207 nos. 8933 ff., H. de la Tour *op. cit.* nos. 8933, 8937, 8944 pl. 36 (=my figs. 211—213), R. Forrer *op. cit.* p. 346 fig. 543.


\(^3\) *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 5092 a = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3319 (found near Wolfsberg at the foot of Mt. Simulpe in Carinthia, now at Klagenfurt) Iano Gejmino etc. See further *infra* p. 338 n. 3 f. n.
Noricum, the Ianus Pater¹, Ianus Augustus², Ianus Pater Augustus³ of Dalmatia, the Ianus Vaeosus⁴ of Gallia Narbonensis. Indeed, the memory of this diciphalous deity lingered on through the middle ages into modern times. Geoffrey of Monmouth, who died in 1154 A.D., describes the burial of King Lear by his daughter Cordelia in the following terms⁵:

  'But Cordella, now mistress of the helm of state, buried her father in a certain underground chamber, which he had bidden to be made beneath the river Sora within the town of Legeceestria. Now this underground chamber had been founded in honour of the two-faced Janus. And here, when the day of celebration came round, all the workmen of the town used to begin the work that would occupy them throughout the year.'

Geoffrey professes to be translating literally from a very ancient manuscript in the Welsh tongue lent to him by Walter, archdeacon of Oxford⁶. And it must be admitted⁷ that the extant chronicle in Old Welsh attributed to Tysilio, bishop of Wales (5 VII A.D.)⁸, agrees closely with Geoffrey's account:

¹ Corp. inscr. Lat. iii no. 2881 (Corinium (Karini)) Iano Pat[ri] etc., no. 2830 (Flanona (Flanona) Iano | Patri).
² Corp. inscr. Lat. iii no. 2969=Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 3321 (Aenona (Nona)) Iano Aug. | etc.
³ Corp. inscr. Lat. iii no. 3158=Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 3320 (brought from Salone (Salona) (?) to Padua, and now at Este) Iano Patri | Aug. etc.
⁴ Corp. inscr. Lat. xii no. 1065 (Cadent near Iulia Apta (Apt)) Iano Vaeosio etc.
⁵ Galfredus Monumentensis hist. reg. Brit. 2. 14 Cordella vero regni gubernaculum adepta sepelivit patrem in quoadam subterraneo, quod sub Sora fluvio intra Legeceestriam fieri praeceperat (praecipit ed. Ascensii). erat autem subterraneum illud conditum in honorem hibrionis Jani. ibi omnes operarius urbis adveniente solemnitate diei (I should prefer to read deis) opera, quae per annum actiur erant, incipiebant.
⁶ Galfredus Monumentensis hist. reg. Brit. 1. 1, cp. 11. 1, 12. 20. For a discussion of these passages see San-Marte's ed. pp. xiii—xx ('Gottfrieds Quellen').
⁷ W. M. Flanders Petrie 'Neglected British History' in Proceedings of the British Academy 1917 viii argues that the Brut Tysilio is really the original from which Geoffrey was drawing. See further an important critique of this paper in The Cambridge Review 1918 xxxix. 363 f. by [Dr] M. R. [James].
⁸ The text is printed by W. Owen The Mwyymian Archaelogy of Wales London 1801 ii. 81—308. I give the translation by P. Roberts The Chronicle of the Kings of Britain London 1811 p. 44 f. Id. ib. p. 354 well compares the description given by Giraldoors Cambrensis itin. Cambry. 1. 2 (p. 349 of Sir R. C. Hoare's trans. in Bell's reprint 1905) of the festival of St. Almedha as celebrated on Aug. 1, Lammas Day (one of the four cross-quarter days—Roodmas, Lammas, Martinmas, Candlemas: see infra p. 354 n. 4), near Aberhodni: 'You may see men or girls, now in the church, now in the churchyard, now in the dance, which is led round the churchyard with a song, on a sudden falling on the ground as in a trance, then jumping up as in a frenzy, and representing with their hands and feet, before the people, whatever work they have unlawfully done on feast days; you may see one man put his hand to the plough, and another, as it were, goad on the oxen, mitigating their sense of labour, by the usual rude song: one man imitating
Iupiter *Ambisagrus* and *Dianus*.

Zeus and Iupiter were seldom, if ever, Janiform in classical art. In 1843 E. Braun published a bifrontal head in the Palazzo Spada

Cordalia now took the sovereignty of Britain into her own hands. Lear was buried in a cavern formed below the River Soar at Leicester, and which had been magnificently constructed in honour of the God Bifrons. Here likewise all the artificers of the kingdom were assembled annually, to work at what trade soever they were to pursue, to the end of the year from that time.

Sir John Rhys's comments: 'This seems to mean that Llyr as a Celtic Dis was a god of beginnings, and that he had, like the Dis of the Gauls, more than one face, which naturally led him to be identified with the Roman Janus. The town of Leicester seems to have been a great centre of this cult, and only one thing is wanting; but it is a very important thing, namely, the discovery on the spot of some relic of antiquity inscribed with some such words as *Deo Jano Liro Sacrum*.' Recently Miss M. A. Murray in an article of exceptional interest has called attention to the fact that the devil worshipped by the witches of southern France as late as the seventeenth century was Janiform, and has made it probable that at the 'Sabbaths' held on the four cross-quarter days he was represented by a man with a double mask.

(e) *Iupiter Ambisagrus* and *Iupiter Dianus*.

Zeus and Iupiter were seldom, if ever, Janiform in classical art. In 1843 E. Braun published a bifrontal head in the Palazzo Spada

the profession of a shoemaker; another, that of a tanner. Now you may see a girl with a distaff, drawing out the thread, and winding it again on the spindle; another walking, and arranging the threads for the web; another, as it were, throwing the shuttle, and seeming to weave. On being brought into the church, and led up to the altar with their oblations, you will be astonished to see them suddenly awakened, and coming to themselves.' P. Roberts *ib. p. 354* further cites the ceremony known (*c. 1750*) as 'riding the Franchises': 'Upon this occasion the artizans of a corporation went in procession, and those of each trade exhibited a kind of booth, or shop, on a car, in which there was one or more working at the trade.'


2 M. A. Murray *Organisations of Witches in Great Britain* in *Folk-Lore* 1917 xxvii. 228 ff.

3 P. de Lancre *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais Anges et Démons* Paris 1612 p. 72. *Janette d'Abadie de Siboro* agee de 16. ans, dit qu'il anoit vn visage devant, & vn visage derriere la teste, comme on peint le Dieu Ianus;' *ib. p. 132* f. *elle dict qu'elle y vid le Diable en forme d'homme noir & hideux, avec six cornes en la teste, parfois huit, & vne grande quene derriere, vn visage devant & vne autre derriere la teste, comme on peint le dieu Ianus.* *Cp. ib. p. 72* *D'autres qu'il est comme vn grand bouc, ayant deux cornes devant & deux en derriere... & vne grande quene au derriere, & vne forme de visage au dessous: duquel visage il ne profere aucune parole, ains luy sert pour le donner a baiser a ceux que bon luy semble, honorant certains sorciere ou sorciere plus les vns que les autres.*

4 Roodmas or Holy Cross Day (May 3, originally April 27), Lammaas (Aug. 1), Hallowmas (Oct. 31), Candlemas (Feb. 2). On the Celtic May—November year see the literature cited by *Fraser* *Golden Bough*.

5 *Cp. infra § 3 (a) v. (o) fn."
at Rome (pl. xx)\textsuperscript{1}, which he took to be a representation of Zeus in his celestial and chthonian characters, the former mild, the latter stern. Braun was followed by J. Overbeck\textsuperscript{2}. But E. Gerhard, when confronted with the head, failed to detect any such distinction\textsuperscript{3}. And K. F. Hermann\textsuperscript{4}, P. W. Forchhammer\textsuperscript{5}, K. O. Müller\textsuperscript{6}, W. H. Roscher\textsuperscript{7}, were all inclined to think that the sculptor meant to portray, not a Janiform Zeus, but Ianus himself. However, Braun was able to support his contention by quoting from P. Pedrusi (fig. 215)\textsuperscript{8} a silver coin of Geta, struck in 211 A.D., which certainly shows a beardless(?) two-faced god—presumably Jupiter\textsuperscript{9}—holding a thunderbolt in his left hand and a reversed spear in his right. Forchhammer observed that the attributes are those of Jupiter Conservator, and suggested that this god was fused with Ianus Conservator in a unique numismatic type commemorating the double rule of Geta and Caracalla\textsuperscript{10}. I should explain the type somewhat

\textsuperscript{1} E. Braun Antike Marmorwerke zum ersten Male bekannt gemacht: Erste und zweite Decade Leipzig 1843 p. 4 no. 3 pl. 3\textsuperscript{a} and pl. 3\textsuperscript{b} (combined in my pl. xx). The double head is about life-size and broken off at the neck. We cannot therefore be sure whether it came from a statue or from a herm. In the Palazzo Spada it is set on an ancient, but single, herm, which does not belong to it. Both noses are damaged, and restored in the drawing.

\textsuperscript{2} Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 91 f. Matz—Duhn Ant. Bildw. in Rom i. 9 no. 35 remark that, of the two faces, the one here figured on the right is more like Zeus, the one here figured on the left more like Poseidon.

\textsuperscript{3} See E. Braun op. cit. p. 4. E. Gerhard in the Arch. Zeit. 1850 viii. 137 n. 6 is noncommittal.

\textsuperscript{4} K. F. Hermann in the Gött. gel. Anz. 1844 i. 335.

\textsuperscript{5} P. W. Forchhammer in the Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft 1844 ii.


\textsuperscript{7} W. H. Roscher in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 50 f.

\textsuperscript{8} P. Pedrusi I Cesari in argento da Adriano sino d' 'Caracalla, e Geta Raccolti nel Farnese museo E pubblicati colle loro congrue Interpretazioni Parma 1703 iii. 365—367 pl. 24 no. 16 fig. (=my fig. 215).

\textsuperscript{9} E. Braun op. cit. inset on pl. 3\textsuperscript{b} = Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 367 fig. 2 shows apparently a beardless + a bearded face, but is a very inexact reproduction of Pedrusi's figure.

\textsuperscript{10} P. Pedrusi loc. cit. interprets the type as a two-faced Ianus regarding at once the past and the future. Cohen Monn. emp. rom.\textsuperscript{2} iv. 274 no. 197 says: 'Ianus? ou Jupiter à double tête ' etc. J. Khell Ad numismata imperatorum Romanorum aurea et argentea e Voillantio edita, a Cl. Baldinio aucta ex solet Austria ustrinque, tuisque aliquibus Museis Subplementum a Julio Caesar. ad Commodos so forrigenis Vindobone 1767 p. 131, describing a similar piece (Cohen op. cit.\textsuperscript{4} iv. 274 n. 1), has: 'Jupiter seminudus stans d. hastam prepalatam invasam, s. fulmen.' See also Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 276.

\textsuperscript{11} P. W. Forchhammer loc. cit. A silver coin of Pertinax, with reverse of Ianus half-draped standing, spear in right hand, is inscribed IANO CONSERVAT (Rasche Lex. Num. iv. 505 f., 512, Suppl. iii. 79, Cohen Monn. emp. rom.\textsuperscript{2} iii. 392 no. 17).
differently. A remarkable inscription engraved on a small altar found at Aquileia records the worship of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Co(nservator) et Ambisagrus\(^1\). The last title is commonly regarded as quite obscure\(^2\). But in view of our coin it becomes transparently simple. Ambisagrus is vulgar Latin for Ambisacrus\(^3\) and means 'Sacred on both sides'.\(^4\) It implies that the Jupiter in question was a god resembling the two-faced Ianus. Accordingly, we are not surprised to discover that in the same town Aquileia there was a cult of Jupiter Dianus\(^5\)—an ancient form of Ianus identified with the later Jupiter. It is hardly accidental that this Janiform Jupiter occurs in a district which was permeated with Celtic influences.

(5) Jupiter and Ianus in the Salian Hymn.

The rapprochement between Ianus on the one hand and Zeus or Jupiter on the other is attested, not only by Augustine\(^6\) and Proklos\(^7\) in the fifth century A.D., but also—to all appearance—by a Salian hymn which is one of the very oldest specimens of the Latin language\(^8\).

\(^1\) Corp. inscr. Lat. v no. 790.
\(^2\) M. Ihm in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1799 ('Zweifelhaft, ob Name eines Gottes... Man könnte eher an einen Beinamen des Iuppiter denken'). Thes. Ling. Lat. i. 1851, 47 ('vix recte intellegitur').
\(^4\) Cp. Ov. fast. i. 95 tune sacer ancipiti mirandus imagine Ianus | etc. A similar formation is the compound Am\(\text{i}\) sanctus, on which see the Thei. Ling. Lat. i. 2017, 50 ff. and P. Lejay in the Rev. Philol. N.S. 1917 xlii. 185 ff.
\(^6\) Aug. de cito. Dei 7. 10 raises the question 'de Iovis potestate atque elusdem cum Iano comparatone.' Id. ib. 7. 10 raises the question 'an Iani et Iovis recta discretio sit.'
\(^7\) Proklos begins and ends a quaest-Orphic hymn to Hekate and Ianus with the lines: χαῖρε, θεῶν μητέρ, παλαιόνυμης, καλλαγενέθησε | χαῖρε, Ἕκατον προφθαρία, μεγαθυμενεῖς ἅλλὰ καὶ αὖριο | χαῖρε, Ἰουνάρατο, ἰχνὸν ᾔφητε | χαῖρε, ὑπαντεῖ Ζεῦ (Prokl. h. 6. 1 ff., 13 ff. in E. Abel Orphica Lipsiae—Prague 1885 p. 88).
\(^8\) Varr. de ling. Lat. 7. 26 in multis verbis in quod[\(\text{i}\)] antiqui dicabant S, postea dicunt R, ut in carmine Sallúrum sunt hæce: 'conuoludoresio. omnia vero adpatulae coemisse. ian cusianes duonos cerusas. dunus Ianuusse net pom melios eum recum.' I give the text as printed by the latest editors, G. Götz and F. Schöll (1919). Within the last forty years numerous critics have attempted to rewrite this puzzling passage.
Iupiter et Ianus in the Salian Hymn

(1) H. Jordan *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache* Berlin 1879 pp. 152, 293 f. proposes the following Saturnian lines:

:o Zeúl adoríseatis—tómniaueronad
:patúlcus clausívis—Iánus cúsíánus's
duónu' cérus es duónu' Iánus—prómelios es récum

where o Zeúl=o Sol and adoríseatis is adjectival.

(2) L. Havet *De Saturnio Latinarum versus* Paris 1880 pp. 243 ff., 249 ff., 410 ff. gives:

Cozevi, adoríose, tómnia vero ad; patúlci, ocnus et; jancus, Jan(e), es;
dvonus Cérus es; Mund; Janus etveet; po melios et recum...

with the interpretation: *Contuv, adoríose, .......tod; Patúlci, unus et; janitor, Jane, et; bonus Cérus et; ...........Janus.......: potissimumm, meliorem cum regum....

(3) T. Bergk *Kleine philologische Schriften* Halle a. S. 1884 i. 477 ff. (*De carminum Salisianum reliquis* = *Indices lectionum... in academia Marburgensis... MDCCCLXVII... MDCCCLXVIII*) had suggested:

(a) Ozeul adosiose...

(δ) ...omnia vero ad Patúlcie misce

Iánítos Iánes: duónus cérus es, Iánes.

(ε) duónus Iánus auctet, pó melliósem récum...

where Ozeul (Ozeul?) etc. = Sol adoríose; ocnia etc. = præcations vero admittere, Patúlcie Iantoir Iane: bonus creator es, Iane; and dvonus etc. = bonus Iánus auctet, quo melliórem regum (nullum terra vidit Saturnia unquam).

(4) E. Bährns in his edition (Lipsiae 1886) of the *Poet. Lat. min.* vi. 30 frag. 3 prints:

Ozeul, o domine, es ómnium
'patér! Patúlci, Cloési,
es iánneus, iánés et!
duónus cérus es ocnus,

promelio dénon récum.

At the end of the third line Bährns has added et. After the fourth line he has suppressed Iánusus net as a variant on the third line transcribed 'ex utusto codice.' The fifth line he takes to mean: *maxiíus domínorunm caelestíum*.

(5) C. M. Zander *Carminis Salisianis reliquis* Lundae 1888 pp. 1—4, 16—29, 39—53 defends the following text and translation:

O Zaul, adoríse ocníà!

Vero ad pátáh cóemis es iánneus, Iánes.

Dvonus Cérus es, duónus Iánus.

Veuex prémários próme oídes orón recónde.


(6) B. Maartenrecher *Carminium Salisianum reliquiae* in *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1894 xxi. 332—335* frag. 2 and 3. 

2. O Zol, adoríse omnia—verod Patucli cosmis:

Es Sancus Janis duonus.—Cerus es duonus Ianus.

3. Potissimum meliusum recum.

The third word in *frag. 2* is either adoríse=adorírís or adoríso=adorersis. The fragment is rendered: O Sol, (qui) ad ommia vados (surgis), re vera comit Patucli: | es bonus Sancus Ianus, es bonus Cerus, (es) Ianus. *Frag. 3* describes Ianus as most powerful of the gods (meliores reges).

(7) T. Birt in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii Ergänzungsheft (‘Spruch man avrum oder aurum?’) pp. 162, 193—197:

Consevíos hordesios óptimos máximos Iános

Patúlcios geminos scíaes cúsíános, duonus cérus es,

Duonos Iánus réque óptimus meliusum récum.

Consevíos = Comsevius; hordesios is an adjective formed from hordesium; scíaes is con...
nected with Seia, Fructisela, the goddess of sowing; cūsianēs = curianus (cp. Curiatius, Quirinus).

(8) G. Hempel 'The Salian Hymn to Janus' in the Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 1900 xxxi. 182—188 would restore the lines with (a) stressed or (b) quantitative scanion:

(a) coceulöd orīšò · omnà uerōd pātula cóemis ·
· es iānos cūsātiōs · duōnos cēros es [or ēs] ·
· duōnos iānos ueniet · potissimos meliosom récom ·

(b) coceulöd · orīšo · omnìa · uerōd · patula · cóemis ·
· es · iānos · cūsātiōs · duōnos · ceros ·
· duōnos iānos ueniet · potissimos meliosom · récom ·

Here coceulöd = ceuculöd, orīšò = orīše, cóemis = cóemis ('bring together, bring about, make, arrange'), cūsātiōs = curātiōs. Hempel translates: 'Come forth with the euckoon! Truly all things dost thou make open.' Thou art Janus Curiatius, the good creator art thou. Good Janus is coming, the chief of the superior rulers.'

(9) T. von Grienberger 'Die Fragmente sallischer Verse bei Varro und Scaurus' in the Indogermanische Forschungen 1910 xxvii. 205—213 recognises two sentences:

coe zēulöd orīs omini uerūd patulāco ōmisse;

Iān cerus iān es, duōnos ceros es, duōnos īanusaem et pom-melios eum recum:

cum diluculo orien extra apud portam patulum accipe! Iane creator, Iane es; bonus creator et, bonus Ianneve, et multo melior (optimus) illorum regnum! Thus *zemōn is for* dzem-ō-m, a derivative of *dzem- ('sky', sky-god, day'); uerūd patulāco is for uerōd *pētālūd-cō, substantive (Italic masc. nēvo-, 'door') and adjective in ablative case governed by the postposition -co ('at, by'); ōmisse is the second person singular of the imperative of ōmisere (a frequentative or intensive form of ōmiere in its older sense 'to take') governing omini the accusative plural of omēn (not for omēm, 'omen,' but a by-form of omentum, 'entrails'); pom-melios is for *pēt-melios from *pēt-melios ('much better').

To these nine reconstructions I am tempted to add a tenth. For convenience' sake I print the traditional text side by side with my reading of it:

coceulodorisoe.
oomnia vero adpatula coemissae.
iān cūsianes duōnos ceruses,

io, Zeu Loidorie, io.
oomnia vera da patula, Camise.
iūn iān es; duōnos Cerus es,

duōnos Ianes,

vel veterum promerios recum.

'Ho, Festal Jupiter, ho! | Fling wide all the doors, god of the Archway. | Thou art Ianes Ian; thou art the good Creator, | good Ianes, foremost, an thou wilt, of ancient kings.'

To justify text and translation I would urge the following points. W. M. Lindsay The Latin Language Oxford 1894 p. 5 suggested O seu = uzd Žev: the Grecism Žeu was perhaps due to the Greek appearance of Loidorie. Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. p. 444 connects loides, the archaic form of lūdes, with λόδης, λοδητής, as do Prellwitz Étym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. p. 273 and Boisaq Dict., etym. de la Langue Gr. p. 586: hence Loidorie = god of the Ludi.' T. von Grienberger (supra (9)) pointed out that Žev = is the Italic word for 'door.' Kamise was the sister and wife of Ianes, when he first came to Italy (Drakon of Kerkira wk dλoς Wrag (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 402 f. Müller) ap. Athen. 692 d—v: cp. Demophilos (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 86 Müller) ap. Lyd. de menis. 4. 2 p. 66, 7 ff. Wilmsh Kαυδορημ, interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 8. 330 Camasaenae (n.l. Camesane). Or, Cameses and Ianes were two indigenous rulers, who divided Italy between them (Protarchos of Trelleis (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 482 Müller) followed by Hyg. frag. 6 Peter ap. Macrobi. Sat. 1. 7. 19 cum Camase (Camase cod. G. camasene ('alterum e ex corr.' cod. A.)). Both versions are better explained by the assumption that Ianes himself had an old cult-title Caemeres or Caemises meaning 'god of the Archway' (cp. camera, caminus, and the group of words, including the German Himmel, discussed by Prellwitz op. cit. p. 206, Walde op. cit. p. 120, Boisaq op. cit. p. 401 f.). Fest. p. 205 a 19 ff. Müller, p. 233, 30 ff. Lindsay promerium (promerium cod. W., promerion cod. Y., promorion cod. X.}
(η) Ianus and Jupiter on coins.

It is, moreover, borne out by numismatic evidence. The Roman as from c. 338 B.C. onwards, both in its original form as a pound of bronze (figs. 216—218)² and in its subsequent reductions (figs. 219—230)³, had for obverse design the head of Ianus, while the corresponding semis, both early (figs. 231, 232)⁴ and late (figs. 233—236)⁵, had that of Jupiter. Similarly in the Romano-Campanian series of the half-century c. 290 to c. 240 B.C. silver didrachms (figs. 237—239)⁶ and drachms, struck at Capua (?) in the name of Rome, showed a beardless head of Ianus on the obverse, and on the reverse Jupiter with thunderbolt and sceptre in a four-horse chariot driven by Victory. Thus within and without Rome itself Ianus was associated with Jupiter as senior with junior deity.

J. J. Scaliger cj. promerito, F. Lindeímann cj. promeritum, E. Bährsen cj. promedion (= promelion) præcipuam praeter caeteros meritum aut promedion, hoc est participat (E. Theuwrek de Ponor cj. participatum, J. J. Scaliger cj. participem, C. O. Müller cj. pr. ℓεδω hoc est partícula); ut (aut cod. W.) pro indiviso dicimus. I take promerio to be cognate with the Greek πρόμειος and the Umbrian prònum (= Latin primum): for the suffix cp. G. Goetz Corpus glossariorum Latinorum Lipsiae 1888 ii. 124, 34 Lucerius, Zéós, and such names as Numerius, Valerius.

Mr J. Whatmough, whom I consulted on the matter, proposes Ieu as vocative (dieu > Ieu > Iou > Iu-peri) and would be rid of rotacism. On this showing the original (corrupted in Varro’s text by Grecism and rotacism) might have run:

io, Ieu Loidosie, io.
omnia vera da patula, Camese.
ianos Ien es; deuens Ceros es,
duenos Ianos,
vel vetesom promesios recom.

2 Fig. 216 is from a specimen in my collection (weight 135*35 grammes). Figs. 217 and 218 are from specimens in the Fitzwilliam Museum (weights 236*75 and 255*75 grammes respectively).
3 Figs. 219 = E. J. Haeberlin Aes grave Frankfurt a. M. 1910 p. 105 Tafelband pl. 43, 7 (weight 134*98 grammes). Fig. 220 = Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. i. 17 pl. 10, 2 (weight 106*894 grammes). Fig. 221 is from a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum (weight 76*15 grammes). Fig. 222 = Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. i. 18 pl. 10, 3 (weight 67*456 grammes). Figs. 223—230 are from specimens of mine (weights 53*15, 35*8, 18*36, 12*66, 11*64, 8*13 and 11*75, 12*69 grammes).
4 Fig. 231 is from a specimen of mine (weight 139*65 grammes). Fig. 232 is from one in the Fitzwilliam Museum (weight 113*9 grammes).
5 Figs. 233—236 are from specimens in my collection (weights 17*76, 16*14, 7*42, 3*74 grammes). Cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. i. 18 pl. 10, 4 (weight 45*877 grammes), ib. i. 31 pl. 12, 10 (weight 29*112 grammes), ib. i. 54 pl. 16, 3 (weight 14*645 grammes), ib. i. 96 pl. 22, 4 (weight 10*692 grammes), ib. i. 153 pl. 28, 7 (weight 7*841 grammes), ib. i. 300 pl. 37, 9 (weight 6*221 grammes).
6 Figs. 237—239 are from specimens in my collection (weights 6*51, 6*15, 5*98 grammes).
Ianus and Jupiter on coins

Fig. 216.

Fig. 217.

Fig. 218.
Ianus and Jupiter on coins

Fig. 229.

Fig. 230.

Fig. 231.

Fig. 232.

Fig. 233.

Fig. 234.

Fig. 235.

Fig. 236.

Fig. 237.

Fig. 238.

Fig. 239.
But the relations subsisting between Ianus and Jupiter call for clearer statement and closer definition.

Ianus was commonly recognised as the oldest god of Italy. Juvenal addresses Ianus *Pater* as "most ancient of the gods." Herodian speaks of him as the "most ancient indigenous god of Italy." Prokopios says: "This Ianus was the first of the ancient gods, whom the Romans in their language termed *Penates*." With regard to his essential character there was less agreement. According to Varro, some authorities identified him with the sky, others with the universe. Varro himself appears to have shared the latter opinion. But M. Valerius Messalla, consul in 53 B.C. and an augur of fifty-five years' standing, began a treatise on Ianus with the following words:

He who fashions all things and rules them too has linked together, on the one hand water and earth, heavy elements slipping downwards into the abyss, on the other hand fire and air, light elements escaping upwards into space, by means of the sky put round about them: thus the great potency of the sky has bound together two unlike forces.

This extract, for the preservation of which we are indebted to Macrobius, enables us to see how a philosophic mind might pass from a belief in Ianus as the sky to a belief in Ianus as the universe. Others equated him with the air, or with chaos.

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1 Iuv. 6. 393 f. *die mihi nunc, quaeso, dic, antiquissime divum, respondes his, Ianus Pater?*
2 Herodian. 1. 16. 1 *σέβομαι δὲ τὴν ἐορτὴν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς θεὸν ἀρχαίατατον τῆς Ἱταλίας ἐπιχώριον ἀναφέροντες* κ.τ.λ.
5 *Aug. de civ. Dei* 7. 7 f. *Cp. ib. 7. 16 et Ianus est mundus et Iuppiter.*
6 M. Messalla *ap. Macrob. Sat.* 1. 9. 14 *On Messalla see further M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* München 1898 i. 397 f.*
7 See also Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 29 cited *infra* p. 336 n. 10, interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 610 alii Ianum mundum accipiant, etc.
Ianus an older Jupiter

yawning void. Others, under the influence of Orphism, saw in him a power that controls the two Bears and sends divine souls to join the lunar dance. And of course the solar mythologists of the republic and the empire claimed him for their own. Another natural extension of meaning transformed the sky-god into a time-god. He was god of the day. He was god of the months. He was god of the seasons. He was god of the year. He was god of eternity.

1 Infra Append. G med.
2 Cp. Prokl. h. 6 (supra p. 328 n. 7).
5 Macrobi. Sat. 1. 9. 9 Ianum quidam sola memorasti volunt, etc., 1. 17. 42 unde nos quoque Ianum patrem vocamus, solem sub hac appellazione venerantes, cp. Arnob. adv. nat. 3. 29 cited infra n. 10.
7 Serv. in Verg. Aen. 7. 607 nam alii eum diem dominum [vel autorem] volunt, in quo ortus est et occasus, Myth. Vat. 3. 4. 9 a nonnullis diei dicturi deus, bifronsque propter ortum et occasum pingitur.
8 Macrobi. Sat. 1. 9. 16 Ianumium, quasi non solum mensis Ianuarii sed mensium omnium ingressus tenentem; in ditione autem Ianonis sunt omnes Kalendae, unde et Varro libro quinto Reorum divinarum scribit Ianon duodecim aras pro totidem mensibus dedicatas, Lyd. de mens. 4. 2 p. 65, 3 ff. Wünsch Φωτηρίος (so C. Wachsmuth for Φωτιός: see further Kappelmacher in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 284, 2, and for Ianus on coins of the gens Fontiela infra § 3 (a) ν (ο)) δὲ τὸν τῷ περὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἐθνῶν αὐτῶν οὖσα του παντων χρόνων ὕψισκιν, καὶ ταύτη διδαξακαίρων εἶναι τῶν αὐτῶν νὰ εἰκα τῶν τῶν μνημών ἄρθρων.
9 Ov. fast. 1. 123 praesideo foribus caeli cum mitibus Horis, Lucan. 5. 5 f. instabatque dies (sc. Jan. 1) qui dat nova nomina fastis | quique colit primus ducement temporae Ianum, Serv. in Verg. Aen. 7. 607 = Myth. Vat. 3. 4. 9 cited infra n. 10.
10 Arnob. adv. nat. 3. 29 incipiamus ergo solemniter ab Ianu et nos patre, quem quidam ex vobis mundum, anum alii solemne esse prodidero nonnulli, Serv. in Verg. Aen. 7. 607 alii anni totius (sc. dominum volant), quem in quattuor temporae constat esse divinum. anni autem esse deum illa res probat, quod ab eo prima pars annii nominatur = Myth. Vat. 3. 4. 9 quem tamen alii totius anno dominum volunt, quem in quattuor tempora constat esse divinum, ideoque eundem quadrifrons pingunt. anni autem eum esse dominum res illa probat, quod ab eo prima pars anni, id est Ianuarii nominatur. Cp. Plin. nat. hist. 34. 33 aut per significantum annii temporis = Lyd. de mens. 4. 1 ὅπερ τῶν ἔτηντῶν = Suid. s.v. Ἰανουάριος...ὑπερ τῶν ἔτηντῶν, Ov. fast. 1. 65 Iane biceps, anni tacite labentis origo, Mart. cp. 16. 28. 1 annum iditique auctor pulcherrime mundi, Luctor. 506. 1 (Petri Lat. min. iv. 415 Baehrens) lucifer annum et saeculis, o Ian (so E. Baehrens for solis divinae cod. S. N. Heinsius cf. saeculis, Sol, luna), secundus.
Ausonius even uses Ianus in the sense of annis (Auson. lib. de fastis concl. 1. 7 p. 194 Peiper tu quoque venturos per longum conscribere Ianos, epist. 24. 13 p. 269 Peiper vive, vale et totidem venturos consedere Ianos, etc.).
being either the father of Aion or Aion’s very self. Now if we assume—as I think, we are justified in assuming—that Ianus, like Jupiter, was, to begin with, simply the divine Sky, we can understand, not only all the foregoing attempts to interpret him in terms of space and time, but also the very remarkable description of him as ‘god of gods’ contained in an extant fragment of the Salian hymn.

1 Lyd. de mens. 4. 1 p. 64, 6 ff. Wünsch Λογίνος δε Άιωναριν έντον ἐρμηνεύσαι βιά-

2 Lyd. de mens. 4. 1 p. 64, 12 ff. Ἰθέν Ω Μεσωλάς (σύρμα p. 335) τοῦτον εἶναι τοῦ
ACCEPT REVISED:

3 Supra i. 3 n. 2, 6 n. 3, 10 f. See further Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 360 ff.

4 Var. de ling. Lat. 7. 37 ab eadem voce canite, pro quo in Salaria versu scriptum
ACCEPT REVISED:

Fortunately doubt does not extend to the words divum deo (pace C. M. Zander Carminis Salariae reliqua Lunde 1888 p. 54 ff), and we may take it as certain that Ianus was styled ‘god of gods.’ My friend Mr W. Warde Fowler, who has given us two of the best books in existence on the religion of Rome, comments: ‘The phrase ‘Deorum’ or ‘Divum deus’ is indeed remarkable, and unparalleled in Roman worship; but no one acquainted with Roman or Italian ritual will for a moment suspect it of meaning ‘God of gods’ in either a Christian or metaphysical sense’ (The Religious Experience of the Roman People London 1911 p. 140). H. Jordan Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache Berlin 1879 p. 222 renders ‘der Gott aus der Zahl der ungezählten Himmlischen,’ comparing the epic δηθαθανόν [Ennius ann. frag. 51; Bachrens sancta dearum, Verc. Aen. 4. 576 sancte deorum]. S. Linde De Ianu summo Romanorum deo Lundae 1891 p. 27 ff. argues that we have here a common Indo-European phrase for ‘greatest of the gods’: he cites the Sanskrit location deva devānām (‘god of gods’), the Old Persian khshahathya khshaahathyānām (‘king of kings’), the Greek basileus basileión, and such passages as Aisch. suppl. 534 ff. ἄναξ ἀνάκτων, ἀνάργρων | ἀνάργρων καὶ τέλεων τελείοταν κράτος, δῆθε Ζεύς, Pers. 666 δεσπότα δεσποτοῦ φαύνη (sc. Dareios, master of our master Xerxes), 675 δυνάτα δυνάτα (so cod. M. with schol. δηθὸν τοῦ δυνατα. δυνάτα δυνάτα cœt. M. Haupt cf. δυνάτα δυναστεύω). S. Linde ls. ζήνατα δυνάτα), Plaut. capt. 825 regum regx regaliort, Trin. 309 victor victorium cluet; Hor. epis. 1. 1. 107 rex denuque regnum. The fact is, these cumulative expressions are found, not merely with adjectives in the superlative (Sophys. O. T. 334 ὥς κακῶν κάκατε, Hor. sat. 1. 3. 136 magnorum maxime regum: other examples in R. Küther—B. Gerth Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache Hannover—Leipzig 1896 i. 21, 339) or even in the positive degree (Sophys. O.C. 1237 f. ἐν τῷ πρωτάρτα | κακά κακῶν ἐνουκεῖ: other examples in Küther Gerth loco citto), but also with substantives (O. Riemann—H. Goetzts Grammaire comparée du grec et du
Ianus an older Jupiter

His title *Matutinus* too acquires fresh point, and we can appreciate to the full the lines of Horace:

Sire of the morning (do I call thee right,  
Or hearest thou Janus' name with more delight?)  
Who introducest, so the gods ordain,  
Life's various tasks, inaugurate my strain.  

Moreover, the Roman conception of Ianus thus falls into line with that of the Etruscans, who, as Varro admits, took him to be the sky pure and simple. Finally, this view of Ianus is borne out by the most probable etymology of his name. Corresponding with the series

**Diviana**

**Diana**

**Iana**

*latin* Syntax Paris 1897 p. 123 n. 5 quote Eur. *Andr.* 520 ff. καὶ γὰρ ἄνω ἐνεών ἐχθρὸν ἐχθρίων, ἐπὶ κρείσσαν [Plat. *Tim.* 41 τὸ θεὸν θεών, ὡς ἐν ἀθικώργησεν πάνω τι ξύμων, on which I have said my say in *The Metaphysical Basis of Plato's Ethics* Cambridge 1895 p. 92 ff.]. If Ianus was the animate Sky, there was special justification for the phrase: the living abode of all celestial beings might well be termed *dictum deus.*

1 The epithet is transferred from Ianus to Jupiter, or rather to Domitian occupying the place of Jupiter (see Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 314), by Mart. *ep.* 4. 8. 11 f. greussu timet ire licenti | ad matutinum nostra Thalia Iovem. There is, of course, an annotation of sobriety and seriousness, cp. Mart. *ep.* 13. 2. 10.

2 Hor. *sat.* 2. 6. 20 ff.

3 Varro *frag.* 134 Funaioli *ap.* Lyde. *de mens.* 4. 2 p. 64, 18 ff. Wünsche ὤ δὲ Βάρρων ἐπὶ τὴν θεοσφαίραν ἐν τῷ θεῖῳ πράγματος προφειῶν χαίρων (ἐπ. ἵνα Ιανών) παρὰ θοντουχος ὁμανφαὶ καὶ ἐφιλοί πάνες πράξεως καὶ Ποταμώνα (ποταμώνα συν. B.) διὰ τὸ ἐν ταῖς Καλέσθαι ἀναψειράθαι πόραν.

W. Decker Etruskische Forschungen Stuttgart 1886 xiv. 24 ff. identified the *ani* of the first marginal region marked on the bronze liver found near Picenza in 1877 (ib. pl. 1) with the *Ianus* mentioned among the deities of the first region (ib. pl. 5) by Mart. Cap. 45—an identification corroborated by the equivalence of *ani* in the second marginal region of the liver (ib. pl. 5) to *Iuno* among the deities of the second region (ib. pl. 5) in Mart. Cap. 46. Decker (ib. p. 25 n. 22 a) further observed the occurrence of the name in A. Fabretti *Corpus inscriptionum italicarum* Aug. Taurinorum 1867 no. 2279, 3 pl. 42 |<3> |<7> |<4> : |<4> |<4> |<4> |<4> = *ani* : *tineri* *inani* (where Ianus (trans.) is associated with Iupitetur (tina), and in the same connexion cited, not only Plutarch's derivation of the river 'Ἂνως (the *Anio*) from an Etruscan king 'Ἤνως, the father of Σαλία mother of Σάλιος the eponym of the *Salii* (Aristeides of Miletos *frag.* 8 *(Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 322 Müller) and Alexander Polyhistor *frag.* 26 *(Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 230 Müller) *ap.* Plout. *parall. Gr.* et *Rom.* 49), but also the Etruscan gentile name *ani* *ane* *ane* *ane* (C. O. Müller *Die Etruskische Stuttgart 1877 ii. 470 ff.*) and the Latin *Anius,* later *Annus* (see now E. Klebs in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2261). C. Thulini *Die Göter des Marius Capella und der Bronzeleber von Picenza* Giessen 1906 p. 22 f. in the main accepts Decker's results, and adds: "Anlautendes j fallt im Etruskischen, mit Ausnahme des volkerrer relieved Dialekt, ab" (Pauli, *Bez. Beitr.* xxv 1899, S. 218); beibehalten ist es z. B. in der Inschrift *Not.* d. *Scav.* 1894 S. 261...ian... wo vielleicht auch der Gott gemeint ist."

Perhaps the puzzling *Anigemius* of Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat.* sel. no. 5771 = *Corpus inscr.* Lat. iii no. 5157 (Noricum) genio | *Anigemius* | cultura | eius | v. s. l. m. should be regarded as an Etruscan form of the Ianus *Geninum* worshipped in the same district (*Corpus inscr.* Lat. iii no. 5092 a (Noricum), *supra* p. 324 n. 3).

4 Varr. *de ling.* Lat. 5: 68 hanc ut Solem Apollinem quidam Dianam vocant; Apollinis vocabulum graecum [alterum], alterum latinum et hinc quod luna in altitudinem et
we have the series

*Divianus* Dianus\(^1\) Ianus.


F. Solmsen *Studien zur lateinischen Laufgeschichte* Strassburg 1894 p. 112 notes that *Diviana* as the oldest form of Diana is supported by W. Deecke's interpretation of *Divo* as an Etrusco-Roman moon-goddess (in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1011). [On the convex side of the plate bear the inscriptions usilis = 'solis' and tieis = 'luna': see further W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1886 pp. 7 ff., 82, C. Thulin *Die Göttter des Marianus Capella und der Bronzehrle von Placencia* Gieszen 1906 p. 13.]

\(^8\) G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 325 f. shows that this form of the name was pronounced first *Diana* (Plaut. *Bacch.* 312, Ennius *ann.* *frag.* 79 Bachrens, *Alceo* *frag.* 3, 7 Ribbeck), [Cf. *Verg. Aen.* i. 499 with Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* i. 498 same Dianam veteres melius producere canunt, quae sub divo dea sit, venandii gratia], then Diana (the oldest example of this, the usual, scansion is Lucil. *sat.* 3 *frag.* 72, 3 Bachrens) or *Dona* (in vulgar inscriptions of imperial date: e.g. Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 111, 1, 3184, 9, 3244, 1, 3255, 1, 3276, 1, 3430, 11, 3536, 6, 3915, 3, 4055, 1, 4281, 3, 7099, 1, 8065, 3, 8745 (menologia rusticum Colotunam) obis (Aug. and Nov.), 9241, 1).

\(^6\) P. Nigidius Figulus (c. 98—45 B.C.) identified Ianus with Apollo and Iana with Diana (*frag.* 42 Fanaioi ap. Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 9. 8 pronuntiavit Nigidius Apollinem Iannum esse Dianamque Iannam, adposita d litterae, quae saepe i litterae causa decoris adponitur, reditut redhibitur redintegratur et similia). And M. Terentius Varro, his contemporary (116—27 B.C.), represented the country folk as speaking of Iana, when they meant 'the moon.' (Varr. *rer. rust.* i. 37. 3 Tremellius, Numquam rure audiunt, inquit, octavo Ianam (so G. Merula in the ed. princ. 1472, for Iannam) lunam et crescentem et contra crescentem, et quae crescenti luna fieri oportet, [et] tamen quaedam melius fieri post octavum (so H. Keil for oitana) Ianam (so G. Merula for Iannam) lunam quam ante? Tertullian (c. 150—c. 230 A.D.) mentions Iana as a goddess of arches (Tert. *ad nat.* 2. 15 et diva Arquis est Iana (so D. Godefroy for Iana cod.)). Orosius (417—487 A.D.) speaks of the *Dianium on the Aventine as Ianium* (Oros. *hist.* 5. 12. 6 Placcus duabus filiis armatis cinctus, comitante etiam Graco togato brevemque gladium sub sinistra occultante, quamvis et praecox frustra praemisset, qui servos ad libertatem vocarei, Ianum (K. Zangemeister *cf. Dianium*) tamquam arcem occupavit.


\(^1\) *Supra* p. 326 n. 5. The quantity of the *i* in *Dianus* is unknown.


Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf.* Lat. ed. 1884 iii. 99 cites *Vita S. Casar. Arelat.* apud Surius: 'Demonium, quod rustici Dianum vocant.' But the *Vita* as printed by L. Surius *De probatis sanctorum historiis* Coloniae Agrippinæ 1579 iv. 943—953 contains no such
Ianus, therefore, can be legitimately connected with dius (for dyiotos), a word familiar to us in the phrase sub dio¹, ‘under the open sky.’

(i) Zan an older Zeus.

In short, I conceive that Ianus and Jupiter were the sky-gods worshipped by two successive strata in the population of Italy. Ianus, it would appear, belonged to the older stock—\(^2\) which, for want of a more precise passage. The reference should be corrected to the Acta Sanctorum edd. Bolland. Augusti vi. 79 (Vita 2. 12. 15) Quodam alio tempore, dum dioceses visitaret, & ad castellum quod Luco [le Luc, castrum dioecesis Forculaniensis ad Carunam fluvialium, inquit Mahillonius] dicitur, venimus; erat ibi matrona quaedam Eucheria (et Euthria) nomine, quae ancillam suam offerens ante pedes ejus prostravit: pro qua ut Domino supplicaret, lacrymabiliter exorabat. Ile autem causam perscrutans, ut erat Vir Deo plenus, & in omnibus perscrutantissimus, quid infirmitatis haberet, interrogavit. Dixerunt: Daemonium, quod rustici Dianam appellant: que sic afflictur, ut pone omnibus noctibus assidue cedatur, & seae etiam in ecclesiis dicitur inter duos viros ut maneant: & sic flagris diabolicis occulte fatigatur, ut vox continus ipsius audiatur; & eis, qui sibi adhaereant, respondere penitus non possit. Etc. The Bollandists had the story from J. Mahillon Acta Sanctorum ordinis s. Benedicti² Venetii 1733 Sac. i Append. pp. 659—677. But Mahillon op. cit. Lutetiae Parisiorum 1668 l. 673 (Vita 2. 14. 14) reads ‘Dianam.’

\(^1\) On sub dio, sub diu, sub die see F. Solmsen Studien zur lateinischen Lautgeschichte Strassburg 1894 p. 113 f. who concludes that the original form sub dio (from diuam) became sub dio under the influence of diu (‘by day’) and sub dio under that of diuros (just as substis passed into substis).


My friend Dr P. Giles, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, tells me (Dec. 14, 1917) that in his opinion the view given in the text is right. If so, Walde is here for once on the wrong tack.

\(^3\) My friend and colleague Sir W. Ridgeway in The Early Age of Greece Cambridge 1901 l. 231 ff., in his paper Who were the Romans? (extr. from the Proceedings of the British Academy iii) London 1907 p. 1 ff., and in Sir J. E. Sandys A Companion to Latin Studies² Cambridge 1913 p. 20 ff. argues that the main aboriginal element in the population of upper and central Italy was formed by the Ligurians, who were closely related on the one hand to the Illyrians, on the other to the Iberians, and spoke a language destined to develop into classical Latin; also, that these Ligurians were conquered by the Sabines, an Umbro-Sabellian tribe, who were closely related to the Keltoi and represented the Indo-Europeanæ Q, not by C or Q, but by P; finally, that at Rome the plebeians were Ligurians, the patricians Sabines, the latter having adopted the language of the former. In accordance with these views Sir W. Ridgeway Who were the Romans? p. 11 f. asserts: (1) that Ianus was a Sabine god, whose worship was introduced to Rome by Numa the Sabine (Var. de ling. Lat. 2. 165, Liv. l. 19); (2) that his priest was originally the flamen Diaitis, whose title Dia-is betrays his connexion with Dia-nus (Ianus); and (3) that his cult was partially fused with that of Jupiter, ‘who was already in possession of Rome,’ the fusion being perhaps symbolised by the double face of Ianus.
of a better name, I should term Illyrian\(^1\)—and was retained by the
incoming Latins, despite the fact that their own Jupiter was a god
of essentially similar character. Further, I should be prepared to
find that, corresponding with Dianus (Ianus) and Diana (Iana)
the ancient sky-god and his consort of the Italian peninsula, there
was a similar divine pair of kindred origin on the opposite side of
the Adriatic. And here we are struck by the fact that the name
Dianus (Ianus) occurs both as an o-stem (Ianus) and as an i-stem
(Ian)\(^2\) in the Salian hymn. In our search for a Greek equivalent we
naturally turn to the scanty remains of Doric literature and to Doric
inscriptions, coins, etc., since the Dorians, as Sir W. Ridgeway
rightly insists, were ab origine an Illyrian tribe\(^6\). Now the phonetic
counterpart of the Salian Ian is Zên, which R. Meister\(^4\) has proved to
be no hyperdorism for Zên\(^5\) but a genuine Doric form attested
by all dialect-sources\(^6\). \(\text{Ianus or Ian was equated with Zên by}

I am not here concerned to controvert the main lines of Sir W. Ridgeway’s ethnology
(which, however, I do not accept), but merely its application to the particular case of
Ianus. To his contentions I reply:—(1) Neither Varro nor Livy states that Ianus was a
Sabine god, whose worship was introduced by Numa. What Varro (or rather L. Calpurnius
Piso Frugi, frag. 9 Peter ap. Varr. de ling. Lat. 5. 165) and Livy (1. 19) say is that Numa
introduced the custom of keeping the gate of Ianus always open in war-time—a very
different matter. (2) Our most competent etymologist, Walde \(\text{lat. etym. Worterb.}\)
p. 231, refers \(\text{Diális, not to Dirinus, but to Díųjester, the old nominative of Jupiter, and}
eites convincingly the forms \(\text{aqua-diális, novus-diális.}\) (3) If the double face of Ianus
implies the fusion of two gods, are we to explain in the same way the double face of
Hermes of Bœres? of Argos? and of all other Janiform deities from Babylonia to
Britain? And what of deities with three heads, or four? We must obviously rest our case
on some more comprehensive principle.

\(^1\) See now the succinct and well-headed account of G. Dottin \(\text{Les anciens peuples}

\(^2\) For the nom. Ian see supra p. 328 n. 8 (9) and (10). The abl. Jane is specially
noticed by Tertull. \(\text{ad nat. 2. 12 (Saturnus) exceptus ab Ianono sive Iane, ut Salii vocant}
=ld. apol. 10 (Saturnus) exceptus a Iano, vel Iane, ut Salii volunt (carmen Salihare
frag. 12 Bahrrens).}

\(^3\) Sir W. Ridgeway ‘Who were the Dorians?’ in \(\text{Anthropological Essays presented to}

\(^4\) R. Meister ‘über die Namen: “Δύων, Ζήν, Ζάν”’ in the \(\text{Ber. sächs. Gesellseh. d.}

\(^5\) G. Meyer \(\text{Griechische Grammatik}\) Leipzig 1896 p. 420 f., \(\text{É. Boisacq \text{Les dialettes}
doriens}\ Paris—Liège 1891 pp. 44. 152 f., id. \text{Dict. etym. de la Langue Gr.}\ p. 308, H.
Ehrlich Zur indogermanischen Sprachgeschichte Königsberg 1910 p. 42 f., K. Bruggmann—
A. Thumb \(\text{Griechische Grammatik}\) München 1913 p. 260 n. 1.

\(^6\) It will be convenient here to collect the evidence, which can be adduced for Zên,
\(\text{Zênos, κτλ.λ.}

Nom. sing. \(\text{Zên}\) Aristoph. \(\text{avt. 570 \ βροτάρω πῶς \ δὲ \ μέγας \ Zên}\) (ep. Eustath. \(\text{in It.}\) p. 436,
17 f. \(\text{πῶς \ δὲ καὶ \ Zên \ Zênos κατὰ \ τὸ \ “βροτάρω \ μέγας \ Zên”}\), \(\text{Anth.}
\text{Pal. 7. 746 (Pythagoras) ὅδε \ μέγας \ κεῖται \ Zên (\(3ζ\)ιν \(3ζ\)ιν \(3ι\)ιν \(3π\)ιν), \(δὲ \ DIA \ κυλήσκοιν (to \(\text{the variants given supra i. 158 n. 2 add Chrysost.}
\text{hom. 3. 1 (Ixxii. 676 Migne) ἐνταῦθα \(\text{Zên κεῖται, \(δὲ \ DIA \ κυλήσκοιν, Cramer}}\)
Zan an older Zeus

anc. Paris. ii. 236, 18 f. ἕσσαθε κατάκεκτα λαοὺς Πικός ὦ καὶ Ζέας, ὦ καὶ Διὰ καλοῦσι, Chronicon Paschale 44 c (i. 80 Dindorf) ἐνθάδε κατά των λαοὺς Πικός ὦ καὶ Ζέας, ὦ καὶ Διὰ καλοῦσι, and the remarkable line added in the margin of Anth. Pal. 7. 746 by L2 ὦ θεὸς μεγας κατα θεοῦ ὄν διὰ καλλήκοντος, Hesych. Zαν (so W. Dindorf for Zαν cod.) — Zeus.

Σάξα (?) in an Eteocretan inscription, in Ionic lettering of the beginning of s. iv B.C., found by R. C. Bosanquet in June 1904 on the altar-hill of Praisos (R. S. Conway 'A Third Eteocretan Fragment' in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1903—1904 x. 117 line 8 ΕΙΡΗΓΙΝΣΔΑΝ, ib. p. 122 '—φιν looks like the same Homeric case-suffix; if so, the following σάξι might be some case of the name of Iannus or Diannos,—if initial ι- was treated in Eteocretan as in Greek'). The importance of this fragment was pointed out to me by Mr J. Whatmough.

Σάξι on coins of Hierapytta and Polybhenion (σάξι i. 149 n. 1 figs. 113, 114, i. 655 n. 2). Cp. schol. Bern. Lucan. 8. 872 mentionat Cretenses, sicut de alis compluribus, ita de Iove, eum apud se et defunctum esse et sempiternum, adque in fidem mendacii ostendunt tumulum et lapidem sub haco inscriptione ΤΑΝ—ΚΡΟΝΟ—Υ (H. Ussener cf. ΖΑΝ—ΚΡΟΝΟΥ) [id est Iuppiter Saturni].

Σάξι in Boiotia (Herodian. περὶ μονήρους Μέξιων 6, 16 (ii. 911, 9 Lentz) Eustath. in Od. p. 1387, 29, cp. in II. p. 114, 4, all cited infra P. 344 n. 9).

Acc. sing. Ζάνα Kallim. frag. 86, 2 Schneider ap. Plout. de pluc. phil. 1. 7 τῶν πάλαι χάλκων (R. Bentley, followed by O. Schneider, cf. Πασχαϊον ὃ πλάσας Ζάνα (sc. Enhemeros) and schol. in Tzetz. alleg. II. 4 in Cramer aned. Oxon. iii. 380, 15 f. τῶν πάλαι χάλκων ὃ πλάσας Ζάνα (sic) = P. Matranga Anecdota Graeca Romae 1850 ii. 609, 11 τῶν πάλαι χάλκων ὃ πλάσας Ζάνα, Anth. Pal. 9. 58. 2 (Antipatros καὶ τὸν ἐπ᾽ Ἀλφεῖον Ζάνα (Ἰάνα Π. Ζήφρα Πλ.) καταγεγράφη.

Τάξι (?) Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2555, 11 f. (Hierapytta) ΟΜΝΥΩΤΑΝ ΕΣΤΙΑΝΚΑΙΤΑΝΑΟΡΑΤΡΙΟΝΚΑΛΗΝΑΙΝΑΙ ΔΙΚΤΑΙΟΝΚΑΙ ΗΡΑΝ = δύον τῶν 'Εστίαν καὶ Τάσια ὁ ὀράτηρ καὶ δίκταιον καὶ Ἡραν. But F. Blasi in Collitz — Bechtle Gr. Dial. Inschr. iii. ii. 311 f. no. 5039, 11 f. reads δύον τῶν 'Εστίαν καὶ Τάσια ὁ ὀράτηρ καὶ Ἡραν, cp. F. Deiter in the Rhein, Mus. 1901 lv. 507—505 (the text is known from transcripts only: cod. Vatic. 1759 and cod. Lat. Monac. 743 καὶ τῶν ὀράτων (ὁράτων Vatic. 1759) καὶ δίκταιον, cod. Ambros. D. 436 ΚΑΙ ΗΙΝΑ ΟΡΑΤΡΙΟΝ ΚΓ'ΑΝΙ or ΚΑΓ'ΗΙ, the schedule Ursini as printed in the Appendix of A. Augustinus De legibus et senatu consultis Paris 1854 καὶ τῶν ὀράτων ΚΑΛΕΝΗΙ, the schedule Ursini as given by Gruter Inschr. ant. tot. orb. Rom. ii. 505 no. 2 ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΟΡΑΤΡΙΟΝ ΚΑΛΕΝΗΙ (ΚΑΤΝΙ. Uss. sch.) ΔΙΚΤΑΙΟΝ.).

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Zanovo γάντιον διάρματός τε κόμω, Aristot. frg. 199 Rose Zanovo πύργον (cp. Prokl. in Plat. Tim. i. 199, 3 Diehl ὧν Zanovo πύργον, ii. 106, 22 Diehl Zanovo πύργον ἡ Zanovo φαλάκριν: supra i. 303 n. 9), Theokr. 7, 93 Zanovo (so coedd. k. 9. Zanovo vulg.) εἰς βρόχων, 18, 19 Zanovo τοῦ θυγάτηρ (sc. Helene), cp. 20, 1 τὸν τό (so G. H. Schaefer for τοῦ) Zanovo (ἡμών c.)...uβ (sc. Herakles), Auth. Pal. 6, 219, 10 (Antiataros) Zanovo (ἦπισ Λυκα. Pl.) ἑλαστρικήν γνωστά γεφέτη (cited by Smolik and Zonar. lex. s.v. Ͽαστροκρής, also by Cramer anec. Oecon. iv. 215, 27 f.), 13, 10, 2 (Kallimachos) ποτῖ τε Zanovo (so K. Bentley for ἵππον) Ἰκνεύμαν ομομορνε- σκόνω (Kallim. frg. 114 Schneider), Corp. inscr. Att. iii. i. no. 492 [Zanovo[ζ]Ελευθερίου[ου]][κ.ΥΛ. (sc. Hadrian: supra p. 97 f. n. 3), Loukian. τραγωδ. ουρα. 11 ff. τάν δ’ Ῥέκκεου παρά παγαίς | Zanovo (so J. Gavel for θυγατέρα) παράκτιοι Ὀλυμπίοι | Λευκόμελον εὐθανά κάλπος | Ἡμῶν ἑτερομορνοί Θηρών.

Dat. sing. Zavi Lykan (μία) frg. mel. adesp. 3 Hiller—Crusius ap. Herodian. peripλοκος ὑσματῶν 22 (ii. 543, 17 f. Lenta) Zavi τ’ ἑλαστρικήν, cp. archaising inscriptions from Sparta addressed to Antoninus Pius as Zavi 'Ἠλευθερίου Ἀντωνινοῦ Σωτῆρ' (supra p. 101 n. 1), Auth. Pal. 6, 221, 9 f. (Leonidas) οἱ δ’ ἀντίθετος ἔργον τοῦ ἑναγράφε ἀκρολογία | Zavi (J. G. Schneider c.r. Hazi. H. Stadtmüller c.r. Ζανή on account of ἱλατο σωμάτα Ζανή ἐπικελάμφων), 9, 577, 3 f. (Ptolemaios) τὰ χαῖρ’ αὐτήν | Zavi (Ζανῆ Medici) ὀφθαλμφόρος (so W. Dindorf for ῥοθρόφορος cod. ῥοθρόφορος Medici. ὀφθαλμφόρος Pl. ὀφθαλμφόρος Synes. ad Phain. 311 D), 12, 66, 2 (anymous) Zavi γὰρ οἱ μάχαιρας, 14, 123, 14 (Metrodoros) μὲς τὰ Όθοδα Ἰάρυ Zavi (sc. Plouton) θυρφολήν, an epigram in Diod. 11, 14 (quoted supra p. 231 n. 7).

Nom. plur. Zāvēs Paus. 5, 21, 2 πῆθος δι τῆς ἑρῴδες ἀγάλαμα Διὸς ἀνάκτα τα χαλκοῦ... καλοὶ οὗτοι τὸν ἑπαρχορίαν ᾿Ζαβίν (ὡς with ὡν over ς Pa.).

Acc. plur. Zāνανς Macrobr. Sat. 3, 7, 6 ff. veteres nullos animal sacrum in finibus suis esse putiebantur, sed abigebant ad fines deorum quibus sacrum esset: animas vero sacram horum hominum, quos Zanoves Graeci (zanoves Graeci A. B. G. P. M 112, 3. P 56, 7. (P 3 has sanaves with s above it.) S. has a locunna before Graeci) μάναν Graeci vi. Graeci σάνας c-b. L. Caelius Rhodiginus Lecustoman antiquarum 12, 11 (ed. 1599 (Hanovia) p. 546 f.) c.j. σάνας (for σάνα). F. Liebrecht in Philologus 1865 xxii. 709 f. c.j. θυγανας, cp. Athen. 639 c, Dion Chrys. or. 4 p. 161 f. Reiske. L. Jan ad loc. cjr. ἀνάκτα ήματα. J. Bernays in Hermes 1875 xx. 127 f. kept sanasa, but thought that Macrobius had misconceived the meaning of the Zanoves at Olympia. See further each Class. Rev. 1993 xvii. 413, Folke-Lore 1904 xv. 304) vocant, des debitas aestimabant. quemadmodum igitur quod sacrum ad deos ipso miti non poterat a se tamen dimittere non dubitabant, sic animas, quas sacras in cælum mitti posse arbitrati sunt (cp. the function of I anus supra p. 336 n. 3), viduatas corpore quam primum ire illo voluerunt. disputat de hoc more etiam Trebutius religionum libro nono (on C. Trebutius Testa uide M. Schanz Geschichte der römischen Literatur München 1898 i. 395), cuius exemplum, ne sim prolixus, omnisi. cui cordi est legere, satis habet et auctorem ei voluminis ordinem esse monstratum.

Cp. also Zanobis Hesych. Zanobis ἡγομονίδες. J. Alberti ad loc. thought of Zanobis, 'daughters of Zeus' (cp. ἦπαρθας κ.ΥΛ.), or Zanobis. M. Schmidt ad loc. cjr. Zanobis = Tzanobes (?). But, if Hadrian was called Zanobis and Antoninus Pius Zavi, Roman empresses in general may well have been dubbed Zanobis by some time-serving poetaster.

Zanoves Inscr. Gr. insc. i no. 1307, 3, 6—Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscbr. iii. 1. 617 no. 4745, 493 on amuaphora-handles from Rhodes Zanoves.
Zan an older Zeus

A. F. Pott (1833), H. L. Ahrens (1843), G. Legerlotz (1858), C. Petersen (1870), H. Usener (1900); and the equation has not been successively challenged by any later critic. The cult of Zan can be traced most clearly in Crete, where he bore the title Mégas, ‘the Great.’ Zan,—a natural apppellative of the sky-god. Thus Euripides in his Cretans speaks of Minos as

‘Child of Europa and of Zan the Great’.

Aristophanes appears to be poking fun at the same Euripidean play, when in his Birds he makes Euelpides ejaculate:

‘So now let him thunder, Zan the Great!’

According to the Greek grammarians, Zán was used by the later Aeolians and by the later Ionians: Herodian. περὶ μονήρων λέξεως 6, 14 ff. (ii. 911, 7 ff. Lentz) δι’ δὲ ποικίλως εἰρηται ὑπὸ παλαιῶν ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἀγνωστός. καὶ γὰρ Δίς καὶ Ζήν καὶ Δήν καὶ Ζάς (so K. Lehrs for Zeús. He further suggests inserting καὶ Ζάν, cp. Aristoph. av. 570), καὶ Ζήν παρὰ Φερεκόδη (so K. Lehrs for Φερεκόδη) κατὰ κύριων διάκ., καὶ (so K. Lehrs for κύριων τυπ.) ὑπὸ Βουστών καὶ Δεύς καὶ Δάφνη = Eustath. in Od. p. 1387, 27 ff. δι’ δὲ πολλῶν εὐθείας παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ποικίλλεται. Διὸ γὰρ, ὡς γενικῶς Δίς καὶ Ζήν καὶ Ζάς καὶ Ζήσι παρὰ Φερεκόδη καὶ Βουστώνος Ζεύς (H. L. Ahrens cf. Δεύς) καὶ Δάφνη, cp. Eustath. in H. p. 114, 3 ff. συρρήθηκεν γὰρ ὁ Ζήν ἡ περὶ Ζάν καὶ ὁ Δήν καὶ ὁ Δίς καὶ ὁ Δάφνη καὶ θάν αλλὰ κείται παρὰ τῷ παλαιῷ τεχνίκῳ (sc. Herodian.), Herodian. περὶ κολχοῦντα προφοδίαν 14 (i. 394, 26 ff. Lentz) Δάφν (so C. A. Loheck for "Ap") ὁ πάντων (so A. Lehrs for κυρίων) εἰρηται ὑπὸ Βουστών θεῖος (so A. Lehrs cp. Herodian. περὶ μονήρων λέξεως 6, 17 cited supra), Ζάν (added by A. Lentz from Eustath. in Od. p. 1387, 28, in H. p. 114, 3 cited supra and from Cramer anec.). Οἰκο. iii. 237, 26 cited ινφησι) οὕτω γὰρ εἰρηται ὁ θεὸς ὑπὸ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων Δαλών, καὶ ἐν τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις "Ἰανώς διὰ τοῦ ὁ Ζάν δόμιος τῷ Λακάνῳ Κληθεὶ μοι Ζάνος το δούρυ Ζαυτί Τελευτήριος," Herodian. περὶ κλάσεως ὀνομάτων 3 (i. 643, 13 ff. Lentz) = I.A.C. Ἀνακοίνωσις in The Philological Museum Cambridge 1833 ii. 413 = Cramer anecd. Οἰκο. iii. 237, 23 ff. διὸ τοῦ ἡν Ζήν Ζηνὸς ῥόδα λαξά τως παλαιῶς ἤνείτο "ἢ παρὰ τῇ Ζηνὸς ὑψηφιάζον ὅμοιον θάρσιν" (J. A. Cramer cj. ἐπὶ δ' ἢ τῇ Ζηνὸς ὑψηφιάζον ὅμοιον ἀργον—a faulty hexameter. T. Bergk 4 frag. adesp. 78 ci. έπὶ δ' ἢ τῇ Ζηνὸς ὑψηφιάζον ὅμοιον B— ἄραντι, cp. Nik. Hell. 290), μεταγενεστέρων Αλοδίτες τερψάνθος Ζάνος καὶ Ζάν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις οὶ "Ἰανώς διὰ τοῦ ὁ (A. Lentz added this α) Ζάν δόμιος (H. L. Ahrens inserted this δόμιος) τῷ Λακάνῳ (so A. Lehrs for Δάφνη) "κληθεὶ μοι Ζάνος το δούρυ Ζαυτί Τελευτήριος" (so H. L. Ahrens for κλεθεὶ μοι Ζάνος το δούρυ Ζαυτί Τελευτήριος). τῶν δὲ ἀπρόσωπος χωρὶς ἀπ' ἑαυτός Χαῖος Ζηνὸς θάνατος ζήσομαι. Λεγώ δ' ἢ ταῦτα ἠμαρτήσαμεν, ἀλλὰ ἐμμελεύσαμεν μεταγενεστέρως Αλοδίτες.

1 A. F. Pott Etymologische Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der indogermanischen Sprachen Lengo 1833 i. 99.
2 H. L. Ahrens De dialecto Dorico Gottingae 1843 p. 139.
4 C. Petersen Das Zwölfgotterystem Berlin 1870 p. 68.
6 Eur. Grecets frag. 473; i f. Nauck² (supra p. 342 i.e. Ζαυτί).
7 Aristoph. av. 570 (supra p. 341 n. 6 i.e. Ζάν).
Again, the famous tomb in Crete was inscribed with an epitaph which, according to the best attested version, ran:

‘Here lies Great Zan, whom men call Zeus’.1

If the cult of the Cretan Zeus resembled that of Adonis or Tammuz2 and in historical times involved an annual festival, at which the god was killed and eaten in the form of a bull3, there is point in the curious variant of his epitaph:

‘Here lies a Great Ox, whom men call Zeus’.4

The votaries of the Cretan Zeus actually ate of the Great Ox as part of their mystic rites. When, therefore, the watchman in the Agamemnon exclaims—

‘For the rest I'm silent: a Great Ox hath come
Upon my tongue’5;

he was, I take it, simply repeating a formula6 of the Cretan mysteries that had passed into a proverb for sworn secrecy.

2 Supra i. 64. 5. 8 Supra i. 64 ff., 658 ff., 675, cp. i. 456 n. 8.
3 άδε μεγας κειται βοις, δε Δία κυκλοφορουν (supra p. 344 n. 6 s.v. Zán).
4 Aisch. Ag. 36 ff. τά δ' άλλα συγών βοις έπι γλώσση μεγας | βεθένες. The current explanations are, as every scholar knows, unsatisfactory. See A. Sidgwick, A. W. Verrall, F. H. M. Blaydes, W. Headlam, etc. ad loc. Cp. Menand. ἀλιείς frag. 1 (frag. com. Gr. iv. 74 Meineke) σφ. Athen. 549 c παχος γάρ υς ἐκείνη' επί στόμα.
5 For the rest I'm silent: a Great Ox hath come
Upon my tongue;

6 I seize this opportunity of attempting another mystic formula, which has come down to us in two versions:


(2) Clem. Al. Prot. 2. 15. 3 p. 13, 10 ff. Stählin τά σύμβαλα τῆς μῆνεως ταύτης (for context see supra i. 392 n. 5)...‘εκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον’ εκ κυμβάλου ἔφαγον’ ἕκκροφορεται. ὑπὸ τῶν παστῶν ὑπέθεν.’ Cp. schol. Plat. Gorg. 497 c τελείως δέ ταύτα καὶ Ἵμηρος καὶ Κόρη, ὃι ταύτην μὲν Πλούσιον ἄρταξε, Ἰνδίας τε μεγίστοι ζοῦσιν ἐν οἷς πολλὰ μὲν ἐπάττευσεν αἰσχρα, ἔληγεν δὲ πρὸς τῶν μιμομένων ταύτα ‘ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔφαγον, ἕκκροφορεσθαι’ (κέρνων δ’ ἐν τοῖς λιπαί ήγον τό πτῶς ἐστίν [but see L. Couve in Darenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ill. 821 ff.], ‘ὑπὸ τῶν παστῶν ὑπέθεν’ καὶ τὰ ἄξονα.

Now the timbrel was made from the stretched hide (supra i. 650 n. 2: add Eur. Hel. 1347, Bacch. 513, Hesych. s.v. τύμπανο, Phot. lex. s.v. τύμπανο, Solid. s.v. τύμπανο, et. mag. p. 771, 43 ff., Zonar. lex. s.v. τύμπανο, Favorin. lex. p. 1783, 42 ff., et. Gud. p. 537, 40) of a bull (Ov. fast. 4. 342, Nonn. Dion. 10. 390 f., 14. 381, 30. 307: cp. the account of Indian drums in Solid. s.v. τύμπανο), which was probably credited with the powers of the living animal (in Opp. syr. 3. 282 ff. we are told that a τύμπανον of wolf-skin will silence other τύμπανο, because the dead wolf is feared by the dead sheep). Hence I should conjecture that to eat food out of the timbrel was a civilised surrogate for the earlier practice of eating the bull raw (supra i. 659 ff., 695). The mystic thereby became one with his god (supra i. 650, 673).
But why must he drink from a cymbal? Nonnos states that Mystis, the Sidonian Bacchant, who instructed Dionysos and devised the Dionysiac equipment, fastened bronze bowls to her naked breasts (Nonn. Dion. 9. 135 f. και φιάλαι (Count de Marcellus c. φῶλους sic) γυμνῶσιν ἔτι (H. Koechly c. γυμνῶσι περὶ στέφωσι καθάπε (χαλκέοις (Count de Marcellus c. χαλκέοις ἐιδήσης)), and that, when the god first came to Athens, the women there put bowls over their mailed breasts (Nonn. Dion. 47-9 f. φιάλαι (Count de Marcellus c. φῶλους sic) δει στήβορφοι διὰ μάτιν | στήβοι μαυστόλαιους ἀνείγωντο γυναικείς). The custom has given rise to discussion (F. Creuzer Dionysius sive commentatio academica de rurum Bacchitarum Orphicarumque originibus et causis Heidelberg 1809 i. 63, K. Schwenck Sinnbilder der alten und der neuen Religion Frankfurt 1831 p. 39, K. Kochler Uber die Dionysia des nonnos von Panopolis Halle 1853 p. 19 n. 2, O. Jahn in the Ber. sachs. Gesell. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1868 p. 177), E. Maass Orpheus München 1895 p. 119 n. 167 shrewdly surmises that these bowls were the cymbals from which the mystics drank. I would support his conjecture by pointing out that in Kypros a breast-shaped cup was known both as μαστός (Athen. 487 e ΜΑΣΤΟΣ. Απολλόδωρος ο Κυψελλός (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 469 Müller), ως Πάμφλος φησι, Παφίων το ποτήριον οὖτοι καλοί, Eustath. in ii. 12. 1328, 39 f. εκ τούτοις ίσως καὶ μαυστήρ, κύρια τα τοια τα παιδιάς, καὶ παρὰ Παφίων δε μαστός ποτήριον, σύντομως, ώς εἰδε, εἰ δό εἴδαλλον προῶν τῶν ὡς εἰκ μαστὸν το ποτήριον and as κύμβα (Athen. 482 κ κύμβα ποτήριον Απολλόδωρος (Frag. 245 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 469 Müller)) Παφίων, 482 A Απολλόδωρος Β το ποτήρι αμφοτερων (Frag. 189 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 469 Müller)) Παφίων το ποτήριον καλοί κύμβα (κύμβαν cod. C.). Its usage spread from the Levant to Greece, for a cup called μαστός is, not only mentioned by grammarians (Poll. 6. 92 μαστος, Hesych. s.v. μαστός· ποτήριον), but also recorded among articles of silver in the temple-inventories of Delos (T. Homolle in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1883 vi. 1 ff. no. 13 C 44 f. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 3 no. 588, 44 f. μαστός εν ἄρτιχωτοι Τηλημένου (=216 B.C.), ἱεράρχας του Ἀρκαλοκυίας Σωτέλου, 93 μαστοὶ Δ), and Oropos (B. I. Leonards in the 'Εφ. Αρχ. 1889 p. 2 ff. no. 36, 11 μαστός ἱερός ΠΕ ἄξος ἱερός OES ἄξος ἱερός Α, and in lines 13, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30 δις, 31, 32, 33, 45, 52, 56, 57, 62, 65, 66, 68 δις, 70, 72, σρ. 14 μαστοί τοι (τε) ἱερὸς ΜΕ ἄξος ἱερὸς Λ seminars, 15 μαστοί Ἀρτακquiries ΚΗΣ, 21 μαστοί ἀπὸ τῶν περισσωμάτων ΛΗ, 56 μαστία Β ἀπὸ τῶν (π)αυθητῶν γόνητα ἄνδροι 1·1. See further B. Keil 'Ein Silberinventar des Amphiparaos von Oropos' in Hermes 1890 xxv. 599—623. Sundry specimens in terra cotta have come down to us (e.g. A) F. P. di Cesnola Saluminia London 1882 p. 251 f. pl. 19, 11, Ohnefalsch-Richter Kypros p. 455 pl. 150, 30, Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases i. 2. 155 no. C 801 pl. 4; (b) Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases ii. 209 f. nos. B 375—B 377, E. Pottier in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1615 fig. 4816 a black-figured mōstis in room E of the Louvre: (c) Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 392 f. nos. D 9 and D 10 a pair of māstoi by Sotades (7, which appear to have been evolved from a feeding-bottle in the shape of the mother's breast. No doubt the Greeks, like other peoples (H. Ploss—M. Bartels Das Weib Leipzig 1913 i. 367 fig. 253), struck by the similarity of breast and bowl, made such vessels for purely secular purposes. But religious significance is sometimes probable (Plin. nat. hist. 33, 81 Minervae templum habet Lindos insulae Rhodiorum, in quo Helena sacravat calicem ex electro; adiict historia, mammæ suas mensura. C. Blinkenberg Die ländliche Tempelchronik Bonn 1915 p. 15 comments: 'Die art dieses gesenkenes ist durch die auf die kleine Illas (Schol. Aristoph. Lysistr. 155, vgl. Ed. Fr. = C. Blinkenberg 'La chronique du temple lindien' in the Bulletin de l'académie royale des sciences et des lettres de Danemark 1912 n° 5—6) s. 119 zurückgehende erzählung von der retung Helenas bestimmt. Die notiz des Plinius stammt aus der reisebeschreibung des C. Licinius Mucianus, der um 60 n. Chr. den Orient bereist und auch Lindos besucht hatte (s. Ed. Fr. s. 118 und 124 ff). And from the besuchten ärtlichen allerlei kuriositäten berichtete. Wolters meint (Süddeutsche Monatshefte 1913), die stifung des bechers sei erst nach der zeit unserer chronik erfünden; da aber Mucianus sich ausdrücklich auf eine literarische quelle beruft ('adict historia'), war die
Again, if the death of Zan the Great was, like that of Tammuz, the subject of a yearly lamentation, we cannot but recall Plutarch's account\(^1\) of the voice which bade the pilot Thamous bear the mysterious tidings

'Pan the Great is dead.\(^2\)

Are we to conclude that this singular tale was ultimately based on the ritual of Zan? The locality of the alleged occurrence is worth considering. The unknown voice came from the direction of Paxoi, a couple of small islands, now called Paxo and Antipaxo, off the mouth of the Thespriotian river Acheron, which flows through the Acherusian Lake to the sea. Thamous was to make his announcement

geschichte vielmehr von einem anderen, von Timachidas

\(^1\) Plout. de déf. or. 17 cited by Euseb. praep. ev. 5. 17. 4 ff.

\(^2\) Plout. de déf. or. 17 Πᾶν (ὁ πᾶν cod. Ambr.) ὁ μέγας τέθυκεν and later ὁ μέγας Πᾶν τέθυκεν, Euseb. praep. ev. 5. 17. 6 Πᾶν ὁ μέγας τέθυκεν, 5. 17. 8 Πᾶν ὁ μέγας τέθυκεν.
Zan an older Zeus

'over against Palodes,' a muddy lake at the outlet of which stood the town Bouthroton or Bouthrotos. Neither place had anything whatever to do with Pan. Both may be readily connected with Zan. For at the Acheronian Lake was the tomb of Plouton, which the author of the Clementine Homilies expressly compares with the tomb of Zeus in Crete. And a copper coin of Bouthroton, struck when the town had become a Roman colony, has for obverse type the head of Zeus wearing a wreath of oak, for reverse an ox. Other coppers of the same town show either a standing ox or an ox-head. The ox indeed played a part in the foundation-legends both of Boucheta (Bouchet, Boucheton, Bouchetion) near the mouth of the Acheron and of Bouthroton too, being comparable on the one hand with Europa's bull, on the other with:


2 Clem. Rom. hort. 5. 23 (ll. 192 Migne) άλλα καὶ τὸν ἀστήνος Δίος, τοῦ μυθικοῦ (μυθίον τις Ο.), τοῦ δύομος τὴν θυγατέρα Μήτην καταπλάτων ἐν Κρήτῃ θεωρείται τάφος: καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀχερώνι άλλα Χρόνον Πλούς τους. Rohde. Psyche, 8. i. 134 n. 1, followed by Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1501 n. 2 and others, refers the passage wrongly to the less famous Acheronian Lake near Hermione (Paus. 2. 35. 16).


4 Imhoof-Blumer Monn. gr. p. 139 f. nos. 31 (ox), 32 (ox), 33 (ox-head), 39 (ox-head), 40 (ox).

5 Philostephanos frag. 9 a (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 30 Müller) ap. Harpokr. s.v. Βούχετα...πάλαι ἑστὶ τῆς Ἡπείρου...οἱ Φιλόστεφανοι (Φιλόχοροι sic cod. Heidelberg.) ἐν τοῖς Ἡπειρωτικοῖς ἔως μάθησιν φορᾷ διὰ τὴν θέμων ἐπὶ βοῦς ὄχυρωσιν ἐθέλων ἔκεινος κατὰ τῶν Δικαλλίων κατακλύσατο = Soud. s.vv. Βούχετα καὶ θέμων (in both passages reading Φιλόχοροι for Φιλόστεφανοι)= et. mag. p. 210, 34 ff. (reading Φιλόχοροι and διὰ τὸ τὴν Ἀιτώ ζων θέμων κ.τ.λ.) = Favorin, lex. p. 385, 31 ff. (reading Φιλόστεφανοι ἐν τοῖς Φιλστεφάνοι sic).

the cow of Ilos at Troy\(^1\) or the 'Adiounian bull' in Crete\(^2\). It seems likely enough that in this district, peopled with Illyrian tribes\(^3\), which had pushed their way from north to south\(^4\) and were partially Hellenised by contact with their neighbours, *Zēs* represents *Zán*—
a name reappearing in the *Zēnôs* of Olympia\(^5\). When *Zán* had dropped out of popular parlance, a story involving his half-forgotten name might well become attached to *Pán*. Epitherses, who told the tale, was a grammarian of Nikaia in Bithynia living in the reign of Tiberius\(^6\); and coins of Nikaia, struck by Marcus Aurelius\(^7\), Callinicus\(^8\), Macrinus\(^9\), Elagabalus\(^10\), Severus Alexander\(^11\), Maximinus\(^12\), Gordanus\(^13\), Philippus\(^14\), Trebonianus Gallus\(^15\), and Gallienus\(^16\), make much of Pan\(^17\). Moreover, the Orphic Theogony of Hellanikos had long since identified Zeus with Pan\(^18\), misled by what seemed an obvious etymology\(^19\). On the whole, therefore, it may be inferred that Plutarch's story really does postulate as its original source the liturgy of Zan the Great\(^20\).

\(^1\) Supra i. 468 n. 9.
\(^2\) Supra i. 468 n. 8, 635. See further G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud. 1916* xxxvi. 138 ff. ("Cattle in Foundation-Myths").
\(^3\) A. Philippon in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc. v.* 2722.
\(^5\) Supra p. 343 s.v. *Zênes*.
\(^6\) L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc. vi.* 221.
\(^7\) Waddington—Babelon—Reichmann *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 418 f. nos. 153 pl. 70, 19, 155 pl. 70, 20, 156 pl. 70, 21, 157 pl. 70, 22.
\(^8\) *Eid. ib.* i. 454 no. 444 pl. 78, 26.
\(^9\) *Eid. ib.* i. 467 no. 544 pl. 81, 14.
\(^10\) *Eid. ib.* i. 499 no. 561.
\(^11\) *Eid. ib.* i. 474 nos. 593 pl. 82, 21, 504.
\(^12\) *Eid. ib.* i. 480 nos. 640 pl. 83, 28, 641, 642 pl. 83, 29.
\(^13\) *Eid. ib.* i. 487 no. 607 pl. 84, 32.
\(^14\) *Eid. ib.* i. 492 no. 739 pl. 85, 25.
\(^15\) *Eid. ib.* i. 506 no. 838 pl. 87, 32.
\(^16\) *Eid. ib.* i. 496 no. 770.
\(^19\) Πᾶν = πάρν !
\(^20\) I regret that I find myself unable to accept the admirably ingenious hypothesis put forward by S. Reimach ('La mort du grand Pan' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1907 xxxi. 5—19= *id. Cultus, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 1—15), according to which the words heard off Paxos were ΘΑΜΟΤΣ ΘΑΜΟΤΣ ΘΑΜΟΤΣ ΠΑΝΜΕΓΑΣ ΤΡΟΝΗΚΕ, 'Tammuz, Tammuz, Tammuz, the Almighty is dead.' But (a) it is highly improbable that the Syrian god would have been lamented as *θαμωις* on the north-west coast of Greece—he would almost certainly have been called *Δώμωι*. And (b), as Reimach himself points out, the precise epithet *παρνέγα* is not known to occur as a divine appellative except in a Byzantine (first half of s. xii A.D.) description of Zeus (Theod. Prodr. *Rhod. et DAS.* 8. 116 'ο παρνέγα Ζεδ'). See further G. A. Gerhard 'Der Tod des grossen Pan' in the
The same may be said of the ritual chant at Dodona, where the Peleidiades are reported to have sung:

Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus shall be: O Great Zeus!
Earth sends up fruits; so hymn ye Mother Earth!

The epithet 'Great Zeus' inclines me to suspect that here too Zeus had displaced Zan. M. Mayer's notion that the older name of the god (*Djan, Zán) has survived in the modern *Jáiná is, I fear, a simple mirage. But it is tempting to seek, with R. Meister, the female counterpart of Zán in *Díaína or *Díâne, the weak forms corresponding with the strong form *Díone.

3 See W. M. Leake Travel in Northern Greece London 1835 iv. 130 'Τὰ Ιοάννα, as the name of this city occurs in the Byzantine history, and is still written by ecclesiastics, is corrupted in the vulgar idiom to Τάννα, Τάνια, Ίάνα, or more frequently Ίάνια, from whence the Italian form Giannina. The ordinary pronunciation conforms to the vulgar spelling, and may be nearly represented in English by Ιάννια; but the better educated not only adhere to the orthography derived from the name Ιοάννη, but preserve also the sound of the omega in vocal utterance.' This paragraph was penned while Leake was staying at 'Ioánna' in July, 1809.
5 See infra n. 6, and cp. the formation of εἴδων (Findl. Ol. 9. 146 f. ψιχάρω... εἴδων φόρμακον αἰθάρ. In Pyth. 5. 10 J. G. J. Hermann and A. Boeckh read εἴδων for εἴδων δι κ.τ.α. with J. G. Schneider, who cited εἴδων from the cod. Voss. of Plat. legg. 919 ά εἴδων γνηκείραν—see Steph. Theis. Gr. Ling. iii. 2224 b).
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In Zás, the form of Zeus used by Pherekydes of Syros and declined as Zás, Zántos, etc., by later Greek scholars, P. Kretschmer


Herodian. περὶ μαρτυρίων Μέσως 6, 16 (ii. 911, 8 f. Lente) = Eustath. in Od. p. 1387, 38 cited supra p. 344 n. o.

2 Herodian. περὶ καθηκήν προσφύτας 14 (i. 399, 18 Lente) Ζᾶς Ζάντος ἢ Ζῆς, 15 (i. 410, 19 Lente) Ζᾶς Ζάντος, Herodian. περὶ άρωμάτων (ii. 617, 37 Lente) = Choiroboz. in Theodos. can. mast. 1 (i. 125, 34 Hilgard) Ζᾶς, Herodian. περὶ άρωμάτων (ii. 633, 13 and 19 f. Lente) = Choiroboz. in Theodos. can. neut. 4 (i. 348, 31 and 37 Hilgard) Ζᾶς...Ζᾶς Ζάντος (προτε θῶμα κρινών θ Ζᾶς (ζᾶς cod. C. ο Ζῆς cod. V.)), Herodian. περὶ κλίσεως άρωμάτων 3 (ii. 65, 26 Lente) = Καμερ. anec. Od. p. 334, 28 (so J. A. Cramer for Ζᾶς cod.) Ζάντος, Herodian. περὶ κλίσεως άρωμάτων (ii. 648, 32 Lente) = Choiroboz. in Theodos. can. proleg. (i. 116, 10 Hilgard) Ζᾶς Ζάντος (σημαίνει δε τον Δίαν), Herodian. περὶ κλίσεως άρωμάτων (ii. 649, 3 Lente) = Choiroboz. in Theodos. can. proleg. (i. 116, 23 Hilgard) Ζᾶς, Herodian. περὶ κλίσεως άρωμάτων (ii. 648, 28 f. Lente) = Choiroboz. in Theodos. can. mast. 1 (i. 132, 6 ff. Hilgard) ζητεῖ γὰρ Ζᾶς Ζάντος καὶ Πρᾶς Πράττον...καὶ διὸ τὰτα ὡς ἀποπλάτη τῆς τοιοῦ ἡ γεύσις ἀρωματών τῶν καὶ τῶν πρᾶσον, καὶ Πρᾶς, ἄλλοι δὲ Ζᾶς καὶ Πρᾶς ἀρωμάτων τοιούτων, Herodian. περὶ κλίσεως άρωμάτων (ii. 674, 24 f. Lente) = Choiroboz. in Theodos. can. mast. 10 (i. 214, 10 Hilgard) Ζᾶς, Ζάντος, Herodian. περὶ μετόχων 3 (ii. 784 f. on line 19 Lente) = Choiroboz. επίμ. in psalm. 50, 22 Zâs, Eustath. in ll. p. 436, 19 ff. ζητεῖ γὰρ Ζᾶς ὁ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὴν ἀπίθανην ἐπιμέλειαν, δηλοῦν τοιαῦτα, οὐ δὲ καὶ ἐξελέγεται θὰ Ζᾶς καὶ τὸ τέτα τῆς γεύσις ἀρωμάτων, καὶ θαῦμα Φαύνων κρίνων παραψυχομένους καὶ νασορόπους τοιαύτως κατὰ τὸ τέτα τῆς γεύσις ἀρωμάτων, οὕτω καὶ Ζᾶς Ζάντος, ο δηλοῦν τον Δία (the reference is to Herodian. περὶ καθηκήν προσφύτας 14 cited above).
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detects yet another name comparable with that of Ianus. And it should be noticed that Diias and Dias, the immediate precursors of Zas, have been handed down to us as variants of the name borne by one of the Titans, whose relation to the Cretan Zeus or Zagreus we have already considered. Indeed, according to one of the Greek etymological lexicons, Zeus himself was called Dias—a remark which has not attracted the attention that it deserves. We may therefore with some confidence point to the series

Diias  Dias  Zas

as a Greek equivalent of the Latin

*Diviusius  Dianus  Ianus.

1 P. Kretschmer in O. Kern De Orphi Eppimenidi Pherecydis theologiniis quaestionis criticar Berolini 1888 p. 93 n. 64: 'Graeci ex antiquissimis temporibus duo habebant summi dei nominis, quae non radicibus, sed suffixis inter se differentur: Zeus ex *Z.-pws et Zaws ex *Z-anet (cf. lat. Ianus, Abl. Ian). exortum; quae hoc modo flectebantur:

| 1 Ζας   | 11 Ζάιος | Plur. Ζάε̂ς (eliac.) |
| Ζηρ   | Ζάω (cf. cret. Táwa) |
| Διος   | Δαίος |
| Δις   | (cf. lac. Zani) |

Ex Ζηρ et Ζάω compluribus in dialectis novus accusativus Ζάω (cf. cret. Δήρα, Ψάω, Τίρα; Pind. Ψάω) mixtus est, a quo aliorum quoque casuum nova flexio (gen. Ψάω, dat. Ψηλ, nom. Ψηρ) proificicicabatur.—In ionica autem dialecto cum -as est in -ä et in η transiret, altera (ii) flexio ita mutanda est:

Ζάς (Pherecyd.)
Ζάος
Ζηρος  Homer.
Ζηρι

Ergo Ζας apud Pherecydem exspectanda atque postulanda est forma, Ζής—sì ab eo scripta est—per analogiam ficta. Allia autem flexio quae apud illum scriptorem inveniri videtur: Ζας Ζάτα (non Ζάτα!) Ζάτον Ζάτη: exemplo participiorum ut βάς βάτα βάτοι βάτι adducta est.'

After this we can hardly maintain with Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1100 n. 1 that the Pherecydean Ζας was 'Freie Erfindung,' though we may well suppose with him id. pp. 437, 1114 n. 1 that Pherekydes saw in the name an allusion to the 'life' of the world (Supra i. 11 n. 5, 28 n. 8, 29 n. 4, 31 n. 3, 196 f.).


3 Supra i. 398 f., 647, 654 f.


5 Supra p. 339.
Diône', the name habitually given to the goddess of Dodona, implies that her partner was known as Diôn² or *Zôn. Diôn as the god's name was presumably ousted by Zeus. Servius, however, tells the story of an early Laconian King Dion, who entertained first Apollo and then Liber Pater³. Since the Spartan kings were priests of Zeus⁴, it is just possible that their forebears played the part and bore the name of Zeus himself. Be that as it may, the simultaneous existence of the parallel forms Zán and *Zôn is by no means without analogy. It would even appear that both forms have persisted in Crete down to modern times. The peasant of Anogelía still ejaculates 'God Zános!' or 'Hear me, god Zónos!'⁵.

It will be convenient to summarise in tabular form the names here discussed and the equations proposed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Modern Greek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Divianus</td>
<td>Diviana</td>
<td>Διας</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dianus</td>
<td>Diana</td>
<td>Διας *Διανα, Διανη</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ianus</td>
<td>Iana</td>
<td>Ζάς</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ian</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ζάω Διών Διώνη</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I hold, then, that there was an ancient Illyrian (?) sky-god, who appears on the west of the Adriatic as Ianus, on the east as Zan. Throughout the historical period Ianus was more and more eclipsed by Jupiter: at an early date Zan was practically superseded by Zeus. Nevertheless Ianus was still accorded a foremost place in the prayers and invocations of the Romans⁶, while Zan was never wholly forgotten by the Greeks.

If we are to understand the outward expression given by both peoples to the cult of this great deity, we must keep in mind the fact that he was ab origine the divine Sky and nothing more.⁷

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² Serv. in Verg. ecl. 8. 30 Dion rex Laconiae suiss, qui habuit uxorem Iphiteam (G. Thilo cj. Amphitheatrum) Prognai Siliam, etc. These names should find a place in P. Poralla Prosopographie der Labedatymonten bis auf die Zeit Alexanders des Grossen Breslau 1913.
³ Supra i. 8.
⁴ Supra i. 163.
⁶ Supra p. 337 ff.
⁷ C. II.
354 Ianus represented as Vault or Archway

Accordingly the Greeks did not at first carve him a statue or even construct him a temple.

Why, where’s the need of Temple, when the walls
O’ the world are that?1

The Persians on their mountain heights worshipped ‘the whole circle of the sky’,2 offering sacrifice to him whom they called in the accusative case *Dián*.3 And in like manner the Cretans honoured Zan on a mountain-top, expressly identifying him with the sky-god Zeus.4 So far as we know, Zan was not figured forth by any anthropomorphic image. At most he was represented by the divine bull annually eaten of his worshippers.5 The tomb of Zan was indeed, for those who could receive it, the tomb of ‘a Great Ox’.6 A parallel to the Cretan sacrament may be found in a Paris papyrus already quoted7: ‘Zeus went up into the mountain with a golden calf and a silver knife. To all he gave a share.’ The cult of this aniconic god appealed to the Pythagoreans. Pythagoras himself is said to have written the epitaph of Zan, and his followers speak of ‘the tower of Zan’ or ‘the watch-tower of Zan’ as the very centre of the universe.8 It is not till Zan has been definitely ousted by Zeus that we hear of ‘bronze images of Zeus...called Zânès’.9

(c) Ianus represented as Vault or Archway.

In the Italian area the representation of the sky-god was developed along different lines. Since the sky itself was conceived as resting on four pillars,10 the primitive effigy of Ianus, the divine Sky, was a vault resting on four supports, in short an archway. It needs an effort of imagination on our part to realise that the arch of Ianus was no mere attribute or emblem of a sky-god, but an actual copy of the animate sky. And excellent scholars, like my friend Mr Warde Fowler, will no doubt continue to assert that the

1 R. Browning Epilogue to Dramatis Personae Third Speaker ii. 1 f.
2 Supra i. 9 f., 338 n. 2.
3 Supra i. 138 n. 2, 646, ii. 341 n. 6 s.v. Zâr, 345.
4 Supra i. 690, 662 ff., 673, 695.
5 Supra p. 348.
6 Supra i. 581.
7 Supra i. 303, ii. 35, 52, 341 n. 6 s.v. Zânès.
8 Possibly Zan was at one time worshipped in Samos, the original home of Pythagoras. The name Zâm is, which means ‘height’ (Strab. 345, 457), recalls at once Zâm or Zâm (Samo) in Kephallenia; Zâm, later Zâm, or Zâm, in Triphylia; Zâm or Zâm, in Karia; etc. A. Fick Vorgriechische Ortsnamen Göttingen 1903 p. 54 f. (esp. ib. pp. 63, 88 f., 113, 115 f., 135 f.) regards this whole group of names as belonging by rights to the Leleges, who were driven eastwards by the advance of the Illyrians (ib. p. 142).
9 Supra pp. 341 n. 6 s.v. Zânès, 349.
10 Supra p. 140 ff.
famous gateway at the north-western end of the Forum Romanum was 'a symbolic entrance to the heart of the city.' But the early Roman cared little for symbols. What he wanted was to have the god he worshipped present in his midst. So, if the god he worshipped was the shining vault of heaven, he must needs have a glittering *simulacrum* of it continually before him. W. Deecke in 1876 had already got a glimpse of the truth, when he urged that Ianus denoted the sky as an arch or vault; L. Preller and H. Jordan in 1881 admitted that the simple arch stood for the heavenly vault; and S. Linde in 1891, while improving on his predecessors' etymology, still upheld their opinion that the vaulted archway of Ianus was but an image of the sky. I agree with this view, which seems to me strongly supported by the fact that the Romans used the self-same word on the one hand of the god (*Ianus*), on the other of his arch (*ianus*).

The archway of Ianus in all probability forms part of the background carved on one of the well-known balustrades in the Forum (fig. 242). The emperor (Trajan?) is here seen standing with his suite on the *rostra* in front of the old *curia*; and the adjoining gateway, a simple round-headed arch between two Corinthian columns, supporting a horizontal entablature, was identified by


2 W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1876 ii. 125: 'Ianus denotet alfen Himmel als „Bogen, Gewölbe" und wurde so Name des Himmels, nicht des Sonnengettes. Sein bild sich auch die Einführung seines Dienstes in Rom an den Bau des Ianus geminus auf dem *forum* etc.'


4 S. Linde *De Ianu summo Romanorum des Lundae 1891* p. 18: 'Ianum caelum repressentasse forma quoque templi eius indicat, quod arcus vel forniy erat—quse forniy imago caeli nihil videtur fuisse, ut pro caelo et germanice *Himmelsgewölbe* et suetlicie *himlahvalf* dicitur. Recte igitur, opinor, Deecke (Etr. Forsch. 11 p. 125 sq.) Ianum esse *deum caeli* statuit. Falso tamen putat Ianum idem atque transitum esse et etiam per se a principio fornicem vel arcum significasse, nam forniy vel arcus est imago sola caeli'.

5 *Cfr Preller, Röm. Myth.* ii. p. 168, non ipsa interpretatio nominis Ianis.'

6 E. Brizio in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1872 xlv. 314 f., *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 45 (a photograph, from which my illustration is drawn), H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 ii. 219 f. pl. 4 (p. 274 'einen nicht sicher bestimmten Bogen'), C. Huelser *The Roman Forum* trans. J. B. Carter Rome 1906 p. 97 f. fig. 44 (cp. p. 102 'an arch which has not been identified, and which was probably destroyed in the alterations by Severus'), Mrs A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 p. 151 ff. pl. 45 (p. 155 'an arch which archaeologists have not yet named'), Reinach Rép. Reliefs i. 278 f.
356 Ianus represented as Vault or Archway

E. Brizio and P. Rosa\textsuperscript{1} with the \textit{ianus} at the entrance of the Forum\textsuperscript{2}.

Fig. 242.

\textsuperscript{1} E. Brizio \textit{loc. cit.}, P. Rosa \textit{Sulle scoperte archeologiche della città e provincia di Roma negli anni 1871—1872 Roma 1873} (see H. Jordan in the \textit{Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft} 1873 i. 737). \textit{Cp. O. Richter Topographie der Stadt Rom} München 1901 p. 106 f. pl. 16 (\textit{'Triumphbogen (Janus?)'}).

\textsuperscript{2} Schol. Cruq. Hor. sat. 2. 3. 18 Iani autem statuae tres erant, \textit{una in ingressu fori}, etc., \textit{cp. Acron and Porphyrion ad loc.} The best collection of the evidence, literary and monumental, will be found in H. Jordan \textit{Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum} Berlin 1885 i. 2. 214 ff., 345 ff. See also L. Levy—H. Luckenbach \textit{Das Forum Romanum der Kaiservit} München—Leipzig 1898 p. 16 with figs. 3 (restoration by L. Levy) and 4 (ground-plan), S. B. Platner \textit{The Topography and monuments of ancient Rome} Boston 1904 p. 186 ff., H. Thédenat \textit{Le Forum Romain et la Voie Sacrée} Paris 1905 p. 17 f.
Ianus represented as Vault or Archway

Certain rare denarii struck by Augustus are quoted as exhibiting

the same ianus with closed gates (figs. 243, 244). A similar type,

(restoration by F. Hoffbauer) pl. 7 (ground-plan and perspective view), H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen Formae urbis Romae antiquae Berolini 1912 p. 16.

1 Morell. Thes. Num. Imp. Rom. i. 308 pl. 18, 19 (=my fig. 243) and 20 (=my
but without the entablature, occurs on the reverse of aurei struck by Nero (fig. 245). It is, however, from the 'first brass' (figs. 246—249) and 'second brass' (figs. 250, 251) of this emperor that we gain the clearest idea of the building. The said pieces show us a small oblong edifice with a heavy flat roof. At either end is a pair of Roman Doric or Corinthian columns carrying a semicircular arch, which is filled by shut doors and adorned with a festoon. The long side of the structure is of unusual design, consisting of two or more courses of masonry topped by an open grill, above which is seen the entablature, sometimes embellished with palmettes and scrollwork. H. Jordan justly infers that this peculiar building was not, to speak strictly, an aedes at all, but rather a double archway, a ianus Geminus as the Romans themselves termed it. Sheathed throughout with bronze it would aptly represent the bronze sky of early belief—a similitude borne out by its arched vault and its four supporting pillars.

fig. 244). Rasche Lex. Num. ii. 76. iv. 504 f., Suppl. iii. 70, A. Boultowski Dictionnaire numismatique Leipzig 1878 p. 327 no. 717, Cohen Monn. emp. rom. 3 i. 79 no. 110, Stevenson-Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 473. Morell's two specimens are hardly above suspicion. The first was derived from H. Goltz, the second from J. Ossel; and Goltz, though an enthusiast, was no critic (Babelon Monn. gr. rom. i. 1. 102 ff.).

1 Morell. Thes. Num. Imp. Rom. ii. 72 f. pl. 4, 9 and 10, Rasche Lex. Num. iv. 506 f., vi. 346, 343, Suppl. iii. 70, Cohen Monn. emp. rom. i. 287 nos. 114 and 115, Mm. Rollin et Feuardent Collection J. E. Monmaies romaines en ou Paris 1909 p. 8 no. 40 pl. 2 (=my fig. 244).


4 H. Jordan Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1885 i. 2. 351 ff., cp. ib. p. 349 n. 45.

5 This appears from an interesting description in Prokop. de bell. Goth. 1. 25 (cp. supra p. 335 n. 3) δ τε νεώτερον ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦ ἐν τῷ (tō cod. K. om. cod. L.) τετραγωνῷ ἔχοντα ἐγείη τοῖς ὕστοροι μέστοι (tō cod. K. μέν cod. L.) ἦνόν (ὅσον cod. K.) τὸ ἀγαλμα ἐκπετεῖ. Εἰ ἦν τοῖς χαλκιῶν ὤν ἐπὶ βέβαιον πέπερα τὸ ἀγάλμα τούτο, τό μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ἐμφανὶς ἀνθρώπης, ὑπερύθρως δὲ τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ καὶ τοῖς προσώποις (tōs prosojous cod. L.) νόταιρον μὲν πρὸς ἁμαρτήματα, τό δὲ ἄλλον πρὸς θανάτον ἀνάστατο. Θύραι τα χαλκία ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἀρέτην προσώπου εἰσεί, τό δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν εἰρήνη καὶ ἱεραίος πράγμας (om. cod. L.) ἐπιβιβαζον τὸ παλαιὸν Ἰούραμος ἐνώμος, τοίον δὲ σφόν ὡς ἄρσεν ἄρσεν (ἀνώξεια cod. L.). Κ. Κ. Α.

6 To the passages cited supra i. 632 n. 3 add Lact. de orificio Dei 17 (Corp. Vinod. xxvii. 46, 12 ff. Brandt) an si mihi quisquam dixerit aeneum esse caelum aut vitreum aut, ut Empedocles ait, aerem glaciatum, statimne adsentiar, quia caelum ex qua materia sit ignoram?

7 Supra p. 141.
The Triumphal Arch

Incidentally this conception will serve to clear up a long-standing puzzle, the original character and purpose of the triumphal arch. P. Graef1, who, in a list large but by no means exhaustive, enumerates one hundred and twenty-five such arches, scattered throughout the Roman empire and ranging in date from the middle of the first century B.C.2 to the middle of the fourth century A.D.3, states frankly that nothing certain is known with regard to the early history of the type4. The various theories that have been propounded are conveniently summarised and discussed by G. Spano5. Most recent critics, it appears, himself included, have looked to the Greeks of the Hellenistic age as the originators of this and other such architectural structures. Not so A. L. Frothingham, who after a wide survey of the facts concluded that the true parent of the triumphal arch was the old Roman ianuus6. Frothingham argued (a) that in early days, when Rome consisted in a group of neighbouring tribes, each tribe


2 The arch of Saint Remy, the ancient Glanum in Gallia Narbonensis, probably commemorates the victory of Julius Caesar over Vercingetorix and the capture of Alesia in 52 B.C.

3 The arch of Rheims, anciently Durocortorum the chief town of the Remi in Belgica Secunda, is said to have been erected by Julian in 360 A.D.

It is noteworthy that both the earliest and the latest datable examples of triumphal arches are to be found in France, which can boast fourteen extant monuments of the sort. (Rome 10, rest of Italy 26, France 14, Germany 1, Spain 6, Africa 54, Asia and other lands 20; see P. Graef loc. cit. p. 1866).


5 G. Spano 'L'origine degli archi onorari e trionfali romani' in Neapo iis 1903 i. 144 ff.

6 A. L. Frothingham 'De la véritable signification des monuments romains qu'on appelle “Arcs de Triomphe”' in the Rev. Arch. 1905 ii. 216—230. Cp. W. Warde Fowler Roman Essays and Interpretations Oxford 1920 p. 73 n. 2 (id. 'Passing under the Yoke' in the Class. Rev. 1913 xxvii. 48 ff.). Nearly all forms of Roman art are now thought to be traceable to Greek originals, and without doubt the ornamentations of the triumphal arches which have survived are Hellenistic; but such a thing as a triumphal arch is not known in Hellas, and I believe that the idea is far more likely to be Roman. Mr Warde Fowler argues that the iugum, the tigillum, and the porta triumphalis alike imply a 'rite de passage,' in which human beings pass through a narrow space in order to be rid of disease, blood-guiltiness, or some other trouble. He is not, of course, committed to Mr Frothingham's views, still less to mine.
The Triumphal Arch

had its separate *ianus* on the line of its own *pomerium* (*ianus Curiatius, ianus Carmentalis, ianus Quirinus*), such *ianus* being, not gates in a fortified wall, but arches built outside to commemorate events of communal importance and placed under the protection of the communal god Janus; (b) that the unified Servian state similarly had its *ianus*, the *porta triumphalis*, on the enlarged pomoerzial line of the *via Flaminia*; and (c) that this famous portal was copied and re-copied by communal arches far and wide through the dominions of imperial Rome. Now, without necessarily endorsing the precise lineage traced by Frothingham, we must surely admit that in point of shape the triumphal arch is indistinguishable from the arch of Janus; even the four-sided variety of the former can be paralleled by the four-sided variety of the latter; and, if the *ianus Geminus* had side-windows (figs. 246—251), so on occasion had the triumphal arch (fig. 252). Accordingly, I should conjecture that in its significance too the *arcus* resembled the *ianus*—in short that it represented

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1 See e.g. the restoration of Titus' Arch at Rome as given by P. Graef loc. cit. p. 1867 pl. 82 fig. 1969 after L. Canina L'architettura romana Roma 1834 pl. 168.

2 P. Graef loc. cit. p. 1889 ff. fig. 1991 describes and illustrates the four-sided arch erected at Oea in Tripolitana (Tripoli) by C. Calpurnius Celsus and dedicated by Ser. Cornelius Scipio Valdivius Oratius, when proconsul of Africa in 163/2 or 163/4 A.D., to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (Corpus inscr. Lat. viii no. 24, cp. viii Suppl. no. 10990, with Groag in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 1508). Within the coffered arches the monument is roofed with a low dome resting on an octagonal cornice.

3 P. Graef loc. cit. p. 1855 pl. 86 fig. 6 and pl. 81 fig. 8 gives a description, ground-plan, and restored elevation of the so-called *ianus Quadrifrons* in the Forum Boarium at Rome, which was probably erected by Septimius Severus. See further L. Rossini Gli archi trionfali oronarii e funebri degli antichi Romani Romae 1836 pl. 62, L. Canina Gli edifici di Roma antica Romae 1864 pl. 253 ff., I. Jordan Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1885 i. 2. 470—472, H. Kiepert et C. Hulsen Formae urbis Romae antiquae Berolini 1912 p. 100.

4 Morell, Thes. Num. Imp. Rom. ii. 169 pl. 6, 1 from a 'first brass' of Galba, Cohen Monn. emp. rom. i. 245 no. 246 pl. 13 (= my fig. 252), ib. i. 341 no. 348 fig.

5 Pace Durm Baukunst d. Röm. 2 p. 732 'Der Form und nicht der Bedeutung nach sind hier noch die eingangs erwähnten *ianus* einzustellen,' etc.
The Triumphant Arch

the heavenly vault, and that the triumphing general whose statue stood upon it (fig. 253) was viewed as an embodiment of the sky-god uplifted on his mimic sky. This suggestion is corroborated by a 'first brass' of Trajan, which displays (fig. 254) a fine triumphal arch supporting the emperor's chariot and explicitly dedicated Io M, 'to Jupiter Best and Greatest.' It thus appears that such modern structures as the Arc de Triomphe or the Marble Arch have behind them a long classical history, in which religious beliefs no less than military and political considerations have played their part. But the significance of the design has progressively dwindled; and in these democratic days the monument that once stood for apotheosis merely marks a stage for the motor-omnibus.

1 Supra p. 428.
3 Plin. nat. hist. 34. 27 columnarum ratio erat attollis (v. l. tolli) super (supra codd. V. d.h.) ceteros mortales, quod et arcus significant novio invento.
5 Cohen loc. cit. says 'Façade du temple de Jupiter, en forme d'arc de triomphe'—which is absurd. Dion Cass. 68. 29 informs us that a triumphal arch was being prepared for Trajan in his own Forum during the year 116 A.D. Excavations in 1594 (F. Vacca 'Memorie di varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della città di Roma nell'anno 1594' § 9 published by T. Schreiber in the Ber. Sachs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1881 p. 59, 15 ff.) and again in 1863 (A. Pellegrini 'Arco di Trajano' in the Bul. d. Inst. 1863 pp. 78—80) brought to light its foundations, together with numerous architectural and sculptural fragments, under the old church of S. Maria in Campo Carleo, which in the sixteenth century bore the name of Spolia Christi or Spoglia Cristo. It was formerly assumed that the four Trajanic reliefs representing a battle with Dacians, which now embellish the Arch of Constantine (for a convenient publication with a summary of recent controversy see Reinach Rép. Reliefs i. 238 ff.), belonged originally to this Arch of Trajan. The assumption, disputed by E. Petersen in the Röm. Mitth. 1889 iv. 314 ff, but reaffirmed by R. Lanciani The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome London 1897 p. 193, may well be sound; for on the first of the slabs in question the emperor, whose head has been replaced by that of Constantine, is conducted by Roma and Victoria towards an Arch (G. P. Bellori Vedere arcis Augustorum triumphis insignis Rome 1690 pl. 42 = Reinach Rép. Reliefs i. 252 no. 1, Brunn—Bruckmann Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt. pl. 580, 1 with text by J. Sieveking, Mrs A. Strong Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine London 1907 p. 157 ff. pl. 48. 4 from a photograph by Anderson).

H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen Formae urbis Romae antiquae Berolini 1912 p. 54 regard the coin illustrated in my fig. 254 as the Arch of Trajan in regio i recorded by the curiosum urbis regionum xix and notitia regionum urbis xiv reg. i (H. Jordan Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1871 ii. 542). But that was originally a triple arch (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1907 i. 3. 216 f.).
The goddess under the Arch

Again, the representation of the sky as an arch will explain why various ancient goddesses of the earth appear either immediately beneath, or in close connexion with, an arcuated structure. The Hittite Chipa under her winged arch\(^1\) is a case in point. Similarly,

\[\text{Fig. 255.}\]
\[\text{Fig. 256.}\]
\[\text{Fig. 257.}\]
\[\text{Fig. 258.}\]
\[\text{Fig. 259.}\]
\[\text{Fig. 260.}\]

on a bronze medallion of Faustina Iunior (fig. 255)\(^2\) Isis enthroned beneath a decorative arch resting on two columns with short flanking walls. On a copper of Gallienus struck at Synnada in Phrygia

\(^1\) \text{Supra i. 644 fig. 504.}\n
\(^2\) \text{Sir J. Evans in the } \text{Num. Chron. Third Series} 1896 \text{xvi. 48 ff. pl. 5, 2. Gnecci Medagl. Rom. ii. 41 no. 24 pl. 68, 9=my fig. 255.}
Semele (?), crowned and sceptred, with the infant Dionysos (?) on her arm and a goat at her feet, stands beneath a dotted vault, which rises from two Corinthian columns. Imperial coppers from Sinope (fig. 257) show Nemesis under a two-pillared arcade. Others from Philadelphia (fig. 258) represent Aphrodite beneath an arch with twisted columns. Others again from Pogla in Pisidia (figs. 259, 260) have an aniconic goddess, resembling Artemis Pergaia, overarched by a distyle canopy. Examples such as these—and the list could be lengthened—confirm my previous conjecture that the gateway or arch, so noticeable a feature in the old-fashioned Diana-cults of central Italy, originally signified the sky raised on its supports. Diana was thereby associated with Dianus.

(v) The Tigillum Sororium and Jupiter Tigillus.

And here we must notice one of the most curious monuments to be seen in ancient Rome, the Tigillum Sororium or ‘Sister’s Beam’, which spanned a narrow lane leading down from the Carinae to the Vicus Cuprius. It was connected by tradition with the famous

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 404 no. 63, Imhoof-Blumer Gr. Münzen p. 225 no. 744 b. Fig. 256 is from a specimen in my collection.

For the same group without the vault see Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 404 pl. 47, 4 Diadumenian Caesar, Imhoof-Blumer Münz. gr. p. 413 no. 128 quasi-autonomous, no. 161 Gordian iii, id. Gr. Münzen p. 225 nos. 744 Macrinus and 744 b pl. 13, 4 Salonina, id. Kleinm. Münzen i. 294 no. 17 quasi-autonomous, 296 no. 24 pl. 9, 18 Diadumenian Caesar. B. V. Head in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins locc. cit. and in his Hist. num.2 p. 686 describes the type as Amalthea carrying the infant Zeus; and Imhoof-Blumer locc. cit. had done the same before him. But cp. supra i. 706 fig. 522, which favours the interpretation given in the text.

2 Waddington—Babelon—Reinach Münz. gr. d’Art. Min. i. 204 pl. 27, 33 Iulia Domna, 207 pl. 28, 16 Maximinus, 208 pl. 28, 22 Tranquillina and pl. 28, 24 (= my fig. 257) Philippus Junior, 209 no. 162 Trajan Decius = Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus, etc. p. 102 pl. 23, 16.


5 Supra p. 160.


7 Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. 3. 22.

8 Liv. i. 24—26, Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. 3. 13—22, Fest. p. 297 a 11 ff. Müller, p. 380,
fight between the triplets of Alba and the triplets of Rome. Horatius, the sole survivor, had stabbed his sister for lamenting the loss of her lover, one of the vanquished Curiosis. Condemned to death by the duoviri, Horatius appealed to the people, who acquitted him of the capital charge, but bade his father make satisfaction for the offence. The elder Horatius thereupon offered certain expiatory sacrifices, which were afterwards perpetuated by the family, laid a beam across the street, and caused his son with covered head to pass under it as under a yoke. This beam, adds Livy, was kept in constant repair at the public expense. Indeed, it is mentioned as still existing by more than one fourth-century writer. With regard to its construction our authorities are not in exact agreement. Dionysios of Halikarnassos, who was long resident in Rome (30—8 B.C. or later) and no doubt knew the locality well, states that the beam was let into a wall at either end. But Pompeius Festus, presumably epitomising the account given by M. Verrius Flaccus (c. 10 B.C.), asserts that the beam rested on a couple of uprights. Be that as it may, both Dionysios and Festus speak of two altars, which stood beneath it and were dedicated to Iuno Sororia and to Ianus Curiatius respectively. Dionysios’ observation that the beam was ‘honoured with sacrifices by the Romans every year’ is confirmed by the fragmentary calendar of the Arval Brothers, which against the first of October—a day appropriate both to Ianus and to Iuno—has the entry: ‘(Sacrifice) to the Sister’s Beam at the Cross-road of Acilius.’ T. Mommsen drew attention to the surprising fact that the Beam itself is here the object of worship. This, however, ceases to surprise us, when we remember that the Beam was a sort


1 In the Class. Rev. 1904 xvi. 369 I suggested that the ‘yoke’ under which conquered troops were made to pass, being an erection of three ξύλα (Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. 3. 22) or hastae (Liv. 3. 28), may well have been a symbol of Ianus Quirinus.

2 Liv. i. 25.

3 Aur. Vict. de vir. ill. 4. 9, curiosum urbis regionum xiv and notitia regionum urbis xiv reg. 4 (H. Jordan Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1871 ii. 546), schol. Bob. in Cic. pro Mil. 7 p. 64, 2 ff. Hildebrandt.

4 Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. 3. 22.

5 Fest. p. 297 a 24 f. Muller, p. 380, 18 f. Lindsay.

6 Cp. Schol. Bob. in Cic. pro Mil. 7 p. 64, 2 ff. Hildebrandt.

7 Fest. p. 297 a 27 f. Muller, p. 380, 21 f. Lindsay.

8 Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. 3. 22.


10 T. Mommsen in the Corp. inscr. Lat. 1. 12 p. 330 oct. (Oct. 1).—N Tigillum soror(oi) ad compitum Acili aev. (inter add. posteriora et scriptum sic, ut positit trahit ad Oct. 2); Tigill(i) sor(orio) PAVL...Ipsum tigillum pro numine cultum esse (alter enim non videntur accipi posse) docuerunt nos fasti Arvalium.
of Ianus\(^1\) and as such represented that primitive sanctity, the animate Sky\(^2\). Ianus the celestial roof was, in fact, fitly embodied in the Tigillum and as yet required no other effigy. His association with Iuno suggests that he here played the part of Jupiter. Augustine, after insisting that Ianus and Jupiter are but diverse forms of the same deity\(^3\), remarks that Jupiter was named Tigillum ‘because, like a Beam, he kept the world together and supported it’!

(§) The god under the Arch.

When Ianus passed from the zoistic\(^5\) to the anthropomorphic stage, he was represented as a double-faced deity standing beneath the arch that had been his former self. Such was the bronze statue five cubits high, which looked east and west in the Ianus Geminus of


2. Supra p. 354 ff.

3. *Aug. de Civ. Dei* 7. 11 dixerunt cum (sc. Iovem)...Tigillum...quod tamquam tigillum mundum contineret ac sustineret... puto inter se propinquiora esse causas rerum atque primordia, propter quas res unum mundum duos deos esse voluerunt, Iovem atque Ianum, quam continere mundum et mammam dare animalibus; nec tamen propter haec opera duo tam longe inter se et dignitate diversa duo illi esse compulsi sunt; sed unus Iuppiter propter illud Tigillum, propter hoc Ruminus appellatus est.

In *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 279 n. 6 I mistakenly inferred from this passage that Jupiter Tigillum owed his appellation to some reminiscence of the world-tree. I now hold that he was the Latin equivalent of an earlier Ianus, whose beam was horizontal, not vertical. E. Pais, *Ancient Legends of Roman History* trans. M. E. Cosenza London 1906 p. 156 speaks of ‘ceremonies in honor of Jupiter Tigillum and Juno Sororia.’ But the phrase oversteps our *data*. J. A. Hartung, *Die Religion der Röm. Erlangen* 1856 ii. 43 was content to say: ‘Zuerst richtet er ein Joch auf, sororium tigillum genannt, mit Einwilligung, wie es scheint, des Iuppiter Tigillum.’ And even that is more than we really know.

4. Supra i. 27 n. 4.
The god under the Arch

the Forum. And such is the god as he appears on a bronze medal-

lion (fig. 261) and coins (figs. 262, 263) of Commodus. In respect of

1 Supra p. 430 n. 9. It was dedicated, according to Plin. nat. hist. 34. 33, by Numa. See, however, B. R. Burchett Janus in Roman Life and Cult Menasha, Wisconsin 1918 pp. 27—29 (‘Statues of Janus’).

2 Cohen Monn. emp. rom. iii. 298 no. 517, Gnechi Medagl. Rom. ii. 62 no. 94 pl. 84, 5 (= my fig. 261), Kubitschek Rom. Medaillons Wien p. 7 no. 61 pl. 5.

3 Cohen Monn. emp. rom. iii. 298 no. 518 ‘middle brass.’ Fig. 262 is from a ‘first brass’ of similar types belonging to Mr C. T. Seltman: fig. 263, from another in my collection: obv. M COMMODVS ANTP FELIX AVG BRIT Head of Commodus, laureate, to
the arch he is still comparable with Jupiter, who on a Roman bronze lamp stands with thunderbolt and sceptre underneath an arch resting on two Corinthian columns (fig. 264). Similarly in modern Hindu art Brahma is a four-faced (fig. 265), Vishnu a one-faced god (fig. 266) seated above a lotus beneath a starry arch.

(o) Ianus bifrontal on coins.

The really distinctive feature of the anthropomorphic Ianus is, of course, his double face. On republican and imperial coins he is almost invariably bifrontal. Denarii of the gens Furia, struck right; 

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1. Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 326 no. 2519 = Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps p. 8 no. 38 pl. 2 (= my fig. 264). Height 7½ inches. In neither publication does Mr H. B. Walters give the history of this interesting lamp. Very similar, but not (apparently) identical, is one figured by Montfaucon Antiquity Explained trans. D. Humphreys London 1722 v. 143 pl. 39 no. 1 and by F. Creuzer Symbolik und Mythologie Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 207 f. pl. 9. 47 after G. P. Bellori Le antiche lucerne sepolti in figurae Roma 1704 Pt. ii. 1 pl. 1. Bellori’s interpretation ‘Jupiter Custos,’ on account of the dog curled up round the hole for the wick, is fanciful. The dog, as a symbol of watchfulness, is a frequent ornament on lamps (e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps p. 2 no. 4 pl. 1, p. 6 no. 26 fig. 5, p. 12 no. 65 pl. 8, p. 13 no. 68 pl. 7, p. 16 no. 93, p. 62 no. 430 and no. 431 pl. 11, p. 90 no. 594, p. 174 no. 1155 and no. 1156 fig. 245, p. 299 no. 1394, p. 225 no. 1498 pl. 37), and need not be viewed as an attribute of Jupiter. The phallic horns are of course prophylactic.

2. Figs. 265 and 266 are from two alabaster carvings in my possession. Height: 6⅝ ins.

3. Infra § 3 (a) v (o).
Ianus bifrontal on coins

c. 92 B.C., have for obverse type a full-bearded head of Ianus (fig. 267), while others of the gens Fonteia, struck c. 91 B.C., show a

slightly-bearded head (fig. 268), probably meant for Fontus, eponym of the clan, who was said to have been a son of Ianus. Heavy asses


Since the Furii and the Fonteii are the only Roman families to put a Janiform head on their denarii, and since both of them appear to have originated in Tusculum (for the Furii see F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 315; for the Fontei, eund. ib. vi. 2841), it is possible that the double heads, like those of the Dioskouroi on other coins of the gens Fonteia (id. ib. vi. 2841: cp. M. Albert Le culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie Paris 1883 p. 13 ff.), perpetuated the memory of a Tuscanian cult.

3 Arnob. adv. nat. 3. 29 Ianum, quem serunt Caelo atque Hecata procreatum in Italia regnasse primum, Ianiculi oppidi conditorem, patrem Fonti, Vulturni generum, Iuturnae maritum. This genealogy has been labelled 'spätere Kombination' (Boehm in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 2839). But, in view of the ara Fontis (Cic. de leg. 2. 56) near the Ianiculum (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin
with the types of Ianus and Mercurius, issued at Rome between c. 290 and c. 240 B.C., represent the former god as beardless (figs. 269, 270)—a point in which they agree with the contemporary

1907 i. 3. 624), it was at least _bien trouvé_. Similarly Lambaesis in Numidia worshipped both Ianus _Pater_ (Corp. inscr. Lat. viii no. 2668 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 3334 Iani Patro (sic) etc.) and Fons (Corp. inscr. Lat. viii no. 2656, 2 aedem Fontis etc.). Jupiter, like Ianus, came to be associated with fountain-powers: _Corp. inscr. Lat._ vi no. 404 (cp. no. 40756) = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 3062 (Rome) Iovi Optimó Maximó | Caelestino, Fontibus, et | Minervae etc., _Corp. inscr. Lat._ viii no. 4291 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 3063 (Lambaesis) Iovi (et Iovo) | Propagator | Conservatori | et Genio Fontis, etc.

1 E. J. Haebelin _Aes grave_ Frankfurt a. M. 1910 p. 76 Tafelband pl. 36, 1 (= my fig. 269) in the Museo Kircheriano weighing 270.15 grammes and pl. 36, 3 (= my fig. 270) at Copenhagen weighing 262.70 grammes. The former specimen is figured also by Garrucci _Mon. It. ant._ p. 19 pl. 36, 1. See further Garrucci _ibid._ p. 20 pl. 37, 1, G. F. Hill _Historical Roman Coins_ London 1909 p. 18 pl. 5, 8, p. 24 f.
series of Romano-Campanian silver. Certain electrum pieces, struck—it would seem—at Capua during the occupation of that town by the Carthaginians in the Hannibalic war (216—211 B.C.), give the twofold face a frankly feminine cast and, adding a corn-wreath, transform the Italian Ianus into a Punic Persephone (fig. 271).\(^1\)

![Fig. 273.](image1)

![Fig. 274.](image2)

In imperial times Commodus was evidently a special devotee of the old sky-god. Apart from the mintage already mentioned,\(^2\) he placed on his bronze medallions sometimes the familiar bust of Ianus (fig. 272),\(^3\) sometimes a Janiform novelty consisting of his own face combined with that of Jupiter (?) his alter ego (figs. 273, 274).\(^4\)

\(^1\) Supra p. 331.


\(^3\) Supra p. 366.

\(^4\) Gnecci Medagl. Rom. ii. 62 no. 92 and no. 93 pl. 84, 4 (=my fig. 272), Cohen Monn. emp. rom.\(^2\) iii. 298 no. 516 fig. The specimen reproduced above is from F. Gnecci’s collection. The medallion was struck in 187 A.D., and shows the god with a paludamentum over his shoulder.

\(^5\) Gnecci Medagl. Rom. ii. 66 no. 131 pl. 87, 1, Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions p. 25 no. 20 pl. 32, 1, Fröhner Méd. emp. rom. p. 131 fig. (=my fig. 273), Kubitschek Rom. Medaillons Wien p. 7 no. 62 pl. 5 (=my fig. 274), Cohen Monn. emp. rom.\(^2\) iii. 322 no. 717 fig. These medallions were struck in 187 A.D.
For this bold and somewhat grotesque device a precedent may be found in the action of Sex. Pompeius Magnus Pius, the younger son of the triumvir, who c. 45–44 B.C. struck asses in Spain bearing as obverse design a head of Ianus with the features of Cn. Pompeius Magnus (fig. 275). Commodus in turn was followed by Caracalla, who a few years later (214 A.D.) visited Thrace and, posing as Alexander redivivus, had himself painted in the Ianiform type of

Fig. 275.

'Alexander and Antoninus?.' _A propos_ of Commodus, we must rule out one of his medallions (fig. 276), a bronze piece in the cabinet at Arolsen, published by E. Gerhard in 1861 and still accepted as genuine by W. H. Roscher in 1890 and by J. Toutain in 1899. On it the emperor in the guise of Ianus, with one face bearded, the other beardless, holds a staff in his left hand and lays his right on a hoop (described by courtesy as an arch), from which the four


Since Sex. Pompeius after the battle of Munda (45 B.C.) rallied the troops that had served under his father and brother, who both bore the name Cn. Pompeius Magnus, it is just conceivable that this Ianiform head was intended to combine the paternal and fraternal features. 'Aurei of Sex. Pompeius, struck soon after 43 B.C., have obv. his own head in an oak-wreath, rev. the heads of his father and brother confronted (Morell _op. cit._ i. 335 ff. pl. Pompeia i, 6, Babelon _op. cit._ ii. 233 no. 24 fig., _Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins_ Rep. ii. 561 pl. 160, 9 and 10, Bouthkiowski _op. cit._ p. 99 ff. no. 238, G. F. Hill _Historical Roman Coins_ London 1909 p. 126 ff. pl. 13, 78). See further _infra_ p. 389 n. 2.

2 Herodian, 4. 8.

3 E. Gerhard in the _Arch. Zeit._ 1861 xix. 137 pl. 147, 8 (=my fig. 276) and 9 with comments by F. Wieseler _ib._ pp. 138–140.

4 W. H. Roscher in his _Lex. Myth._ ii. 38, 52 fig.

5 J. Toutain in Daremberg—Saglio _Dict. Ant._ iii. 612 fig. 4141.

6 W. H. Roscher _loc. cit._: 'seine R. legt er auf einen offenen Bogen (ianus = forens caeli), ' die R. legt er auf einen Ianusbogen.'

24—2
Ianus bifrontal on coins

Seasons issue towards a boy symbolising the New Year. This bizarre medallion is, I think\(^1\), merely a tooled specimen of a type first struck by Antoninus Pius in 158 A.D. (fig. 277)\(^2\) and subsequently repeated by Commodus in 185 A.D. (fig. 278)\(^3\). The god is Jupiter\(^4\), not Ianus, and a Paris example of the later issue shows

\(^1\) Mr G. F. Hill, with whom I have discussed the type, endorses my opinion. I see too that Fröhner Med. emp. rom. p. 121 n. 1 has expressed the same doubt.

\(^2\) Gnecci Medagl. Rom. ii. 15 no. 54 pl. 48, 9 (= my fig. 277) from a specimen formerly in the Stroganoff, latterly in the Evans collection.

\(^3\) Gnecci Medagl. Rom. ii. 60 no. 75 pl. 83, 3 (= my fig. 278) from a specimen at Monaco, ib. no. 76, ib. no. 77 pl. 83, 4, Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions p. 24 no. 15 pl. 30, 2, Kubitschek Röm. Medallions Wien p. 7 no. 57 pl. 4 (mounted and silvered to serve as a bulla), E. Gerhard in the Arch. Zeit. 1861 xix. 137 pl. 447, 6 and 7 with comments by F. Wieseler ib. pp. 137—140.

\(^4\) Eckhel Dracr. num. vet.\(^2\) vii. 113 already describes him as 'Iuppiter.' F. Wieseler in Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 4. 65 pl. 74, 960 and in the Arch. Zeit. loc. cit. says 'Zeus'; H. A. Grueber in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions p. 24, 'Jupiter'; Gnecci op. cit. ii. 60, 'Giove o il Secolo' (ep. infra p. 373 n. 2). The notion of C. Lenormant Nouvelle galerie mythologique (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 135 no. 8 pl. 42 that a specimen on which the god is apparently bearless (??) represents 'Le jeune empereur' is justly ridiculed by F. Wieseler in the Arch. Zeit. loc. cit.; but his own view that the medallion in question shows 'Helios-Apollon' is not much better. Possibly Lenormant's drawing (reproduced in the Arch. Zeit. 1861 xix pl. 147, 7) is incorrect.
him with thunderbolt in lieu of sceptre (fig. 279)\(^1\). The symbolism
is of the simplest. Jupiter as sky-god is sending forth from the
orbis annus or ‘circle of the year’\(^2\) the four Seasons laden with their
gifts—a complementary design to that of Tellus the earth-goddess,
who reclining beneath her vine witnesses the
same four pass in gracious procession over the
star-spangled globe (figs. 273, 274)\(^3\).

The only exception to the bifrontality of
Ianus traceable on the coins of Rome is more
apparent than real. The quadruple effigy of
the god, brought from Falerii in 241 B.C. and
erected in a temple with four doors on the
Forum Transitorium\(^4\), appears on a ‘second brass’ of Hadrian
(fig. 280)\(^5\). But this fourfold type, which ultimately gave rise to

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\(^1\) Fröhner Med. emp. rom. p. 121 f. fig. (= my fig. 279) ‘Jupiter,’ Cohen Monn. emp. rom.\(^2\) iii. 291 no. 474 fig. ‘Jupiter.’ This specimen is struck in two metals, yellow and
red copper (Babelon Monn. gr. rom. i. 1. 667, 944 fig. 32).

\(^2\) So Fröhner loc. cit. in allusion to Verg. Aen. 5. 46 (cp. i. 269). The interpretation,
however, is not certain. Eckhel Doctr. numm. vet.\(^2\) vii. 113 f. drew attention to the fact
that Commodus claimed to have restored the Golden Age (Dion Cass. 72. 15, Lamprid.
v. Commod. 14. 3), and observed that the Golden Age was represented on an aurora
of Hadrian (Cohen Monn. emp. rom.\(^2\) ii. 216 no. 1321, cp. ib. ii. 216 no. 1321 the same coin
in silver, fourrée) by a beardless, semi-draped figure (SARC.AVR) standing within a hoop
and carrying a globe surmounted by a phoenix. Again, the circle might be spatial rather
than temporal: cp. Ov. fast. 1. 85 Jupiter arce saa totum cum spectet in orbem, etc.

\(^3\) This type (TELLUS STABILITAS), introduced by Hadrian (Grececi Medagi. Rom. ii. 19
no. 90 pl. 145, 13, Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions p. 5 no. 17, Cohen Monn. emp. rom.\(^2\) ii.
225 no. 1435), was copied by Faustina Junior (Greecei op. cit. ii. 39 no. 5, Cohen op. cit.
ii. 124 no. 219), and by Commodus (Greecei op. cit. ii. 65 f. no. 125 pl. 86, 8, nos. 126–
128, no. 129 pl. 86, 9, no. 130 pl. 86, 10, no. 131 pl. 87, 1, Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions
p. 28 no. 20 pl. 32, 1, no. 21, Fröhner Med. emp. rom. p. 130 f. with four figs., of which the
last = my fig. 273, Kubitschek Röm. Medallions Wien p. 7 no. 62 pl. 5 (= my fig. 274),
Cohen op. cit. iii. 332 no. 714 figs., nos. 715, 716, 717 fig.); also, with wider
variations, by Antoninus Pius (Greecei op. cit. ii. 20 no. 97 pl. 54, 7, Brit. Mus.
Cat. Medallions p. 9 no. 14 pl. 11, 2, Fröhner op. cit. p. 72 fig., Cohen op. cit.\(^3\) ii. 397
no. 1168 fig.).

\(^4\) Serv. in Verg. Aen. 7. 607 and 12. 198, Macrob. Sat. 1. 9. 13, Lyd. de mensa. 4. 1
Dei 7. 8, Isid. orig. 8. 11. 37. See further H. Jordan Topographie der Stadt Rom im
Altherum Berlin 1885 i. 2. 449 with n. 18, W. H. Roscher in his Lex. Myth. ii. 23 f., 28,
53, O. Richter Topographie der Stadt Rom München 1901 p. 114, B. R. Burchett Janus in
Roman Life and Cult Menasha, Wisconsin 1918 pp. 28 f., 49.

\(^5\) Rasche Lex. Num. iv. 514 f., Suppl. iii. 74, Cohen Monn. emp. rom.\(^2\) ii. 129 no. 281
(left hand on hip), no. 282 (right hand on hip). Cohen, who gives no illustration, simply
ignores the third face of the god, though it is clearly shown in early publications
such as Montfaucon Antiquity Explained trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 18 pl. 5
no. 19 or J. Harduin’s ed. of Plin. nat. hist. ii pl. 10, 1. Fig. 280 is from a specimen in
my collection. In Folk-Lore 1903 xvi. 278 f. I wrongly took the type to be evidence of a
triple Janus, though I noted (ib. p. 278 n. 6) that R. Mowat in the Bulletin épigraphique
iii. 168 had regarded it as Janus Quadrifrons with his fourth face concealed.
The significance of Ianus’ double face

bear dedicatory inscriptions in the Etruscan language. But, whereas one has a Janiform head, the other is coifed in a lion’s scalp (?).

It may be conjectured that they are Etruscan players taking the parts of Ianus (Culshan) and Hercules in some forgotten drama.

(p) The significance of Ianus’ double face.

We have yet to tackle the problem, difficult indeed, but not— I think—insoluble: What was the ultimate significance of Ianus’ double face? Ancient and modern explanations being admittedly unsatisfactory, we must perforce look further afield and take into account certain facts noted by students of comparative anthropology. And here I shall avail myself at once of an obiter dictum in Sir James Frazer’s discussion of African beliefs about twins:

"On the Slave Coast when a woman has brought forth stillborn twins, she has a statue made with two faces and sets it up in a corner of her house.... This suggests that elsewhere two-faced images, like those of Janus, may have been intended to represent twins."

Let us fit the new key into our rusty lock and see if the door will open. Ianus, we have said, was originally the divine Sky. The divine Sky is bright by day and dark by night. Being, therefore, of a twofold or twin character, Ianus was naturally represented as a double-faced god.

1 Cp. a bronze from Cortona, now at Leyden (G. Micale Monumenti per servire alla storia degli antichi popoli italiani Firenze 1833 pl. 119, 1, Reisch Kép. Stat. ii. 588 no. 2).


3 Frazer Golden Bough: The Magic Art i. 269 n. 1, citing the Missiones Catholiques 1875 vii. 592.
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But, if so, we might reasonably expect to find other sky-gods duplicated in the same manner. Argos, who in his earliest form appears to have been a sky-god comparable with Zeus, is described in the Hesiodic *Aigimios* as ‘looking this way and that way with four eyes’ and portrayed on vases from s. vi onwards with a Janiform head. An Attic black-figured amphora, formerly in the possession of the art-dealer Bassegio at Rome, depicts Hermes about to slay Argos in the presence of Hera and the heifer Io (fig. 286). A red-figured bell-krater from Ruvo, in the collection of R. Barone at Naples, shows a similar group of Hermes attacking Argos, though here Io is a horned maiden and Hera is omitted (fig. 287). The earlier vase gives Argos two bearded faces, and

1 *Supra* i. 32, 438.
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dresses him in a short clitumn with ornamental borders and a lion-skin\(^1\) knotted about his chest. The later vase makes one face bearded, the other beardless, adds eyes all over him, and equips him with pétasos, panther-skin\(^2\), and club. Again, Boreas, the Thracian wind-god, who recalls the Cilician Zeus Bóreos\(^3\), occurs on a red-

figured stámnos in the Ciai collection at Chiusi as a winged man, with Janiform head, pursuing Oreithyia: her companions scatter to right and left, while a youth stands by as spectator (fig. 288)\(^4\). In this unique representation of Boreas both faces are bearded, but beard and hair on the one side are dark, on the other side light\(^5\).


\(^{1}\) E. Vitet loc. cit. p. 312 ‘une peau de chèvre ou d’agneau.’
\(^{2}\) E. Vitet loc. cit. p. 311 ‘une peau de chèvre.’ But K. Wernicke loc. cit. ‘Pantherfell.’
\(^{3}\) Supra i. 142 n. 10.

\(^{5}\) K. B. Stark loc. cit. p. 336: ‘Ambedue le faccie sono contornate da ricca barba e ricca capigliatura, distinte tra loro mediante il colore. Nella faccia cioè volta indietro sono di color nero come in tutte le altre figure; nell’opposto all’incontro l’artista ha voluto esprimere il color biondo per l’impasto del color nero a guisa di velatura.’ Stark loc. cit. p. 332 ff. explains this difference of colouring as an attempt to express the twofold power of Boreas, who can either gather the clouds together or chase them from the sky.

L. Stephani Boreas und die Borœaen St.-Petersbourg 1871 p. 12 n. 1 prefers to see in it
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Such cases cannot be sharply separated from others, in which the double face is set on a pillar or post. Dionysos, himself a Thracian god and a rebirth of Zeus, is sometimes represented on black-figured lekythoi by a couple of bearded masks hung back to back on a pillar (fig. 289)\(^1\)—an anticipation of the later double herm

\[\text{Fig. 288.}\]

an allusion to the counter-blasts, which on the Euripos the Greeks called παλμβορές (Theophr. de vent. 27 f.).

\(^1\) A. Frickenhaus Lenaévaseen (Winckelmannsfacebook. Berlin lxxii) Berlin 1913
The significance of Ianus' double face

(fig. 290). Finally, the word 'herm' reminds us that the same bifrontal type was appropriate to Hermes, a god who in many points resembled Dionysos. A small bronze of Etruscan style in the

Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris shows two beardless heads adossées with prominent eyes, thick lips, and braided hair. Specimens of aes grave cast at Volaterrae in Etruria after c. 350 B.C. have for obverse

discussion.

P. Righetti, Descrizione del Campidoglio Roma 1836 ii. 68 f., pl. 262, 3 (=my fig. 290), Stuart Jones Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome p. 119 no. 46 b, pl. 24, E. Thraemer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1122. Height 0.366, with foot 0.37. The material is Luna marble. The noses and front edges of both busts are restored. On the top is a hole containing remains of a dowel. The wreath is of ivy and berries (H. Stuart Jones loc. cit.), 'di pompini e di edere' (P. Righetti loc. cit.). Cp. Amelung Sculpt. Vatic. i. 803 f. no. 730 pl. 86, A. Michaelis Ancient Marbles in Great Britain Cambridge 1882 p. 650 Wilton House no. 41.

1 Tzetzes, alleg. Il. 22. 80 'Ερμῆς θ' ε δυτροφωτος εντέρειν τ'ν βλάσην, with which J. F. Boissonade ad loc. cp. Georg. Pachymeres declam. p. 64, 14 f. Boissonade δυτροφωτον δ' εν τ' Ερμῆς θ' εν τ'ν μάχην εκείνην, και δυτροφώτων άνδρων, άποιον τ'ν Ερμῆς Αδριάτικον πλατυστέοι.

design a beardless Janiform head wearing a pointed pétasos, and for reverse either a dolphin⁴ or a club (fig. 291)⁵ or a mere mark of value⁶. Coins of Telamon in Etruria with a similar Janiform head on the obverse and a prow on the reverse are probably spurious⁴. It is commonly held that the dicephalous god of Volaterrae was Ianus—a view strongly advocated by W. Deecke⁷; but the absence of a beard and the presence of a pétasos point rather to the justice of W. H. Roscher’s⁸ suspicion that we should here recognise, not Ianus, but Hermes.

On the whole I incline to the conclusion that all these double-faced deities—Hermès the ‘Pillar’-god (?)⁹ among them—were originally local varieties

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1 Garrucci Mon. It. ant. p. 25 pl. 47, 7, 3, 4, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy p. 11 nos. 1 fig. and 2, Hunter Cat. Coins i. 3 no. 6, W. Deecke Etruskische Forschungen Stuttgart 1876 ii. 41—43.

2 Garrucci Mon. It. ant. p. 25 pl. 48, 1, 2, 3 (=my fig. 291), 4, 5, 6, 7, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy p. 10 f. nos. 1—17, Hunter Cat. Coins i. 3 nos. 2—8, W. Deecke Etruskische Forschungen Stuttgart 1876 ii. 37—41 pl. 3, 20, Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst i. 74 pl. 63, 327, R. Ratto Catalogo di una grande collezione di un distinto numismatico straniero Milano 1912 p. 4 f. nos. 40 pl. 2, 41, 42 pl. 3, 43, 44.

3 Garrucci Mon. It. ant. p. 26 pl. 49, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy p. 9 nos. 1—14, Hunter Cat. Coins i. 3 no. 1, W. Deecke Etruskische Forschungen Stuttgart 1876 ii. 34—37 pl. 3, 42, R. Ratto Catalogo di una grande collezione di un distinto numismatico straniero Milano 1912 p. 5 nos. 45, 46.

4 Garrucci Mon. It. ant. p. 188 pl. 125, Monete false i, W. Deecke Etruskische Forschungen Stuttgart 1876 ii. 43f. nos. 60 and 60', 128, 147 f.

5 W. Deecke Etruskische Forschungen Stuttgart 1876 ii. 123 ff.


7 The present state of our knowledge, or rather ignorance, with regard to the name of the Etruscan deity is summarised by Boissacq Dict. éym. de la Langue Gr. p. 282 n. 3: ‘L’étym. de Ἑρμών est inconnû; dor. Ἑρμᾶς (< *Ἑρμᾶς) éol. Ἑρμᾶς ép. Ἑρμᾶς Ἑρμᾶς (voy. Solmsen Beitr. 1 240 n. 1) ép. tardif Ἑρμᾶς ion. att. Ἑρμᾶς; puis thêss. Ἑρμᾶς dat. GDI. 1300 sont les hypocoristiques de Ἑρμᾶς (cf. Porphos με Πορφος), cf. Ἑρμᾶς Hsd., lac. Ἑρμᾶς dat. inscr. métrique Le Bas—Foucart 167, 5, lac. arc. Ἑρμᾶς Ἑρμᾶς Ἑρμᾶς Ἑρμᾶς dat. etc. Les opinions de Kuhn (i. skr. Sarramciyata “fils de la déesse chienne Sarâma,” gr. ὕμοι “tempête”), Max Müller (Ἑρμᾶς “fils de l’aurore”), Welecker (i. gr. Ἑρμᾶς τατις de pierres,” cf. les Ἑρμᾶς, Ἑρμᾶς Ἑρμᾶς Ἑρμᾶς, A. Legrand dans
they could borrow his bifrontal type. And in the development of

Saglio III, 2, 1802 bibl.: (gr. ἐρυδι “désir passionnel” et confusion avec ἔρωτες) sont désinées.

Id. ib. p. 281 f. distinguishes (1) ἔρωτα for ἐπίρωτα, ‘prop, post’; (2) ἔρωτα for ἐπίρωμα, ‘rock’; (3) ἔρωτα for ἐπίραμα, ‘earring.’ Attempts to connect ἔρωτα with ἔρως have hitherto operated with ἔρως, ‘rock’ (Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 385 n. 5 ‘Grosse Wahrscheinlichkeit hat die vom Verf. in der ersten Ausgabe [1854] vorgetragene Ableitung von ἔρως, vgl. Αἰνεας αἰνος, Αἰνεας αἰνῆ; wie denn die ἐρμοίν, ἐρμων λόφοι, ἐρμακε, d. h. die aufgeschütteten Steinhaufen auf Bergen und an den Strassen, die älteste Vergegenwär

gigung des Hermes waren; vgl. Dio Chryst. or. 78 p. 420 ἄγα μεγάλα ἔρωτα διορρείκτες θεο ψωσ.’ K. O. Müller Handbuch der Archäologie der Künste Stuttgart 1878 p. 326 n. 1 ‘Wahrscheinlich ist die Pflegerbildung des H. so alt wie der Gott selbst, da ἔρως deutlich mit ἔρως, ἐρωτα zusammenhängt.’) and it is no doubt possible to assume that this word developed in Greek a meaning similar to that of its Irish congener farr, ‘column, pillar’ (Boisacq op. cit. p. 281). I should, however, prefer to suppose that ἔρωτα is related to ἔρως, ‘prop, post’ and that the earliest Greek effigy of the god was a wooden phallic pillar (e.g. Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei ii. 292 f. pl. 115,) forerunner of the stone or marble herm (e.g. E. Gerhard ‘Uber Hermenbilder auf griechischen Vases’ in his Gesammelte arachnologische Abhandlungen und kleine Schriften Berlin 1868 ii. 126—148 pl. 63—67).

Hermes was, bien entendu, a god of many parts, at once terrestrial and celestial. We shall see reason to compare him with Zeus Кρόνος (Append. H fin.). and we shall find analogous deities represented by phallic herms (Append. L fin.). It may be added that his combination of earthly with heavenly powers is well brought out by the description of him as ἄλλος ἄλλος ἄλλος ἄλλος ἄλλος—an old pre-Homeric tag (cp. ἄλλων i. 444). On the one hand, J. B. Bury (in the Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen 1892 xvii. 265), A. Fick (ib. 1894 xx. 179), F. Solmsen (‘Διάκτροσ’ in the Indogermanische Forschungen 1894 iii. 90—99), and F. Bechtel (Lexilogus zu Homer Halle a. d. S. 1914 p. 100), all relate ἄλλος to κόρασι, κόρεα, κόρος (cp. ζωόν, lex. s.n. ἄλλος...ἐνὶ δὲ τῷ ἔρμως ἄλλα κόρασι, κόρεα τός τῷ θορματος τῶν τετελεικότων κολύσιων=et. mag. p. 268; 18 f. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἔρμως φανερὸν τῷ κόρασι τῷ κόρος (so P. K. Buttman in το τὸ κόρα σοῦ τὸ τῷ κόρα σοῦ κόρα σοῦ τῶν τετελεικότων κολύσιων). Fick remarks that Hermes in H. 14. 397 feigns to be the son of Ἅλκης, and that Lyr. Al. 679 uses Κράσος as a title of Hermes himself (schol. and Ττητ. ad loc.). Solmsen argues that the root κράσει meant ‘schenken, geben,’ and that διάκτροσ had the force of ‘Spender, Geber,’ δι- denoting transference as in διάβολος.
The Sky-god’s hat

that type I notice two tendencies, which may be held to reinforce my contention.

(σ) The Sky-god’s hat.

Firstly, the bifacial god is apt to wear a broad-brimmed hat. For instance, on an engraved cornelian at Berlin, Greek work of Hellenistic date, he has a wide hat on his head and a long staff in his hand (fig. 292). We are reminded of Ovid’s Ianus ‘leaning on

the staff, which he carried in his right hand.’ Again, a brown sard in the same collection, a convex gem of the early Roman period, shows a bearded and an unbearded head combined beneath a round hat with dotted decoration (fig. 293). Such a hat suggests com-

διάδοχος, διάκονος. He cp. Od. 8. 335 Ἑρμείος, Διός νῦς, διάκωρος, δαίτωρ εἰνα, h. Herr. 18. 12. χαίρε, Ἑρμῆς χαράδονα, διάκωρος, δαίτωρ εἰνα, and such passages as ll. 14. 489 ff., 16. 179 ff., Od. 15. 319 f. Bechtel renders ‘einer, der gründlich über Schätze verfügt.’ It appears, then, that Hermes διακωρος was a chthonian god resembling Zeus Πλούτος or Πλούτων (supra l. 593 f.). On the other hand, ἀργείφωτος almost certainly means ‘slaying with a flash.’ Bechtel cp. cit. p. 53 says: ‘Die Mythologen müssen entscheiden, ob sie mit der Bezeichnung “durch den Glanz tödend,” “in dem Glanze tödend” etwas ausrichten können.’ I gladly take up this challenge. This epithet so interpreted suits admirably the sky-god with his fatal lightning-flash. Hermes ἀργείφωτος, in fact, recalls Zeus, who slays ἄργητος κεραυνός (supra l. 31 n. 4). And if Hermes’ epithet came to be misunderstood as ‘the slayer of Argos,’ that piece of popular etymology is at least of interest inasmuch as it implies the conflict of two rival gods. It is tempting to conjecture that the καδακες of the victor originated as a bipartite lightning-fork (infra § 3 (c) iv (b) and (8)); but the subject cannot here be pursued.

Since the foregoing paragraph was written an article on Ἀργείφωτος by P. Kretschmer has appeared in Glotta 1919 x. 45–49. Kretschmer holds that Ἀργείφωτος is metri gratia for Ἀργείφωτος and compares the epic ἄργετφωτος for ἄργετφωτος (though U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff Homeric Untersuchungen Berlin 1884 p. 299 n. 10 took ἄργετφωτος to have been formed on the analogy of Ἀργείφωτος). ‘Wir kommen also zu dem Schluss: die Wissenschaft wie die Schule mag ruhig bei der Übersetzung Argastor bleiben.’ As to the question put by Bechtel, ‘Ich meine, die Mythologen müssen diese Frage energisch verneinen. Ein solcher Beiname würde allenfalls auf den blitzschleudernden Zeus passen, aber nicht auf Hermes, der auch kein Lichtgott ist.’ This suits my argument well enough.

2 Furtwängler Gesch. Steine Berlin p. 96 f. no. 1844 pl. 18 (= my fig. 293: scale 3/4).
C. 11.
The Sky-god’s hat

parison with the beardless Janiform head wearing a helmet on asces of Ouxenton (Ugento) in Calabria (fig. 294)\(^1\). Now R. Eisler has rightly insisted that throughout the Levant the sky was often symbolised as a hat\(^2\)—witness the tiara of Zeus Oromōdsēs\(^3\), the starry pilos of Men or Attis or Mithras(?)\(^4\), etc.\(^5\) The same conception prevailed among the nations of northern Europe, as may be seen from Odhin’s broad hat\(^6\), though hardly from the umbrella-like head-gear of Rugiwit\(^7\). And the Greeks themselves were capable of equally crude ideas; for Anaximenes of Miletos, who speaks of his air as condensed by a process of ‘felting’ (pilesis)\(^8\), declares that the stars move round the earth horizontally as the felt hat (pilōn) turns about on our head\(^9\). We need not, therefore, hesitate to interpret the pētatos of Hermes or Argos or Ianus as an unsophisticated symbol for the sky overhead.

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2 R. Eisler Weltenmantel und Himmelszeit München 1910 i. 64 f., 67, ii. 582 n. 3, 677, aii.
3 Supra i. 74 f. fig. 545.
4 Supra i. 741 f.
5 Joseph. ant. luid. 3. 7. 7 (on the high priest’s mitre) καὶ ὅ πιλος δὲ μοι δοκεῖ τῶν οὐρανίων τεμπερίων ἐκεῖνους πεπομένους οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως ἐπερατισθεῖτο αὐτῷ τὸ θύρων τῷ Θεόν with S. Hauercamp ad loc., Theodoret. quast. in Exodum 60 (Ixxx. 285 B Migne) ἐπέτεκτο δὲ τῷ κεφαλᾷ (sc. of Λαούν) κυβάρω τῶν οὐρανίων μυμμομένων.
6 Porphy. ap. Euseb. praep. ev. 3. 11. 23 πιλῶν δὲ περιθεσάν (sc. on the head of Hephaisitos) κυβάρω τῶν οὐρανίων σύμβολον περιφοράς.
8 Dr Vollmer’s Wörterbuch der Mythologie aller Völker. Neu bearbeitet von Dr W. Binder Stuttgart 1874 p. 403 fig. 273. The source from which this singular illustration has been drawn is not stated. Saxo Grammaticus hist. Dan. 14 p. 577, 23 ff. Holder says nothing about the hat.
9 Plout. strom. frag. 3 ap. Euseb. praep. ev. i. 8. 3=H. Diels Doxographi Graeci Berolini 1879 p. 579, 21=id. Die Fragmente der Vorschriften\(^3\) Berlin 1912 i. 73, 4 f. πελομένου δέ τῷ ἄξος πρώτην γεγενθαίη λέγει τῆς γῆς πταλιότατα μᾶλα, Hippol. ref. haeres. 1. 7 p. 18 Duncker—Schneiderin=H. Diels Doxogr. p. 560, 21=id. Frag. Forswörter,\(^2\) i. 25, 16 f. ἐξ ἄξος =<δέ> νέφος ἀποτελεῖται κατά τήν πτέρυξιν, κ.τ.λ.
The differentiation of the Sky-god’s faces

(7) The differentiation of the Sky-god’s faces.

Secondly, the two faces of the bifrontal deity are often differentiated. And this differentiation may vary much in its degree. Boreas, as we have just seen, had two bearded profiles, one dark, the other light. Argos on the krater from Ruvo and Ianus (?) on the Roman sard joined a bearded to a beardless visage. The result was a piquant contrast, which acquired a certain popularity. Thus a double herm to be seen in the Museo Capitolino at Rome combines a bearded with a beardless Dionysos. Another, a work of Augustan date now in the Vatican, links a would-be archaic with a Hellenistic head of Silenos (fig. 295). Or again, two heads are

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1 Supra p. 380 fig. 288.
2 Supra p. 385 fig. 293.
3 Stuart Jones Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome p. 144 no. 14 pl. 34, G. Bottari Il Museo Capitolino Roma 1750 i Animadversiones pl. 6, 2 (facing p. 18). Height r'985" to base of shaft, which does not belong to the heads. Luna marble. The nose of the unbearded head and a lock of hair by its left ear have been restored.

A bronze in the Museum at Cassel shows a nude youth of effeminate aspect holding an adze (?) in his lowered right hand and a Janiform amulet in his raised left hand: the little figure has a beardless face in front, a bearded face behind (Gerhard Etr. Spieg i. 40 pl. 13, 5 f., id. Ant. Bildw. pl. 303, 4 f., Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 176 no. 9 'Hermaphrodite?'). Gerhard Etr. Spieg i. 40 pl. 13, 2—4 cp. a bronze amulet, acquired by him in Rome, which unites the face of a child with that of a lion.

The differentiation of

associated that might be regarded as diverse manifestations of the same power, whether divine or human. Accordingly Zeus Ammon was paired with Dionysos\(^1\) or with a Satyr\(^2\) or with Sarapis\(^3\); Zeus wearing an oak-wreath and acorns, with Hermes\(^?\) wearing a winged hat like a helmet\(^4\). Cicero's *Hermeraclae*\(^5\) may mean no more than 'herms of Herakles'. But the actual grouping Ianus-wise of Hermes with Herakles is sufficiently attested by an *as* of the *gens Rubria*, struck c. 86 B.C. (fig. 296)\(^6\), perhaps also by a double bust in the Vatican\(^8\). Another bust in the same collection couples a youthful Hermes, wearing a *pētāsos*, and a bearded Dionysos, with wings on his head\(^9\). One in the Cabinet de France joins a bearded Dionysos, with head-wings and a diadem, to a beardless Satyr, wearing an ivy-wreath\(^10\). Another at Berlin combines a bearded Dionysos and a beardless Satyr, both crowned with ivy\(^11\). Yet another, in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, shows an ivy-wreathed Silenos together with a bay-wreathed Apollo (fig. 297)\(^12\). We find a Janiform arrangement even of a tragic and

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1. Supra i. 374.
2. Supra i. 374.
3. Supra i. 366 n. 2.
5. Cic. *ad Att. i. 10. 3.*
8. E. Q. Visconti *Musée Pie-Clementin* Milan 1821 vi. 100—102 pl. 13, 2. Height 1, dez palms et trois onces. Greek marble. Both heads are wreathed with poplar; and Visconti admits that they might be interpreted as a bearded and a beardless Herakles. He concludes, however, in favour of Herakles plus Hermes, two sons of Zeus presiding over athletic contests.
the Sky-god's faces

a comic mask. As to the synthesis of human heads, exact duplication of the same face is rare. Far more frequent is the union of two personages likely to be associated in memory. For example,

Fig. 297.

J. J. Bernoulli in the course of his great works on Greek and Roman iconography has occasion to discuss double portrait-herms of Homer and Hesiod, Sophokles and Euripides, Herodotos and

1 Ant. Skulpt. Berlin p. 92 f. no. 214 fig. Blueish marble. Height 0'10m. This double herm was acquired by E. Gerhard in Rome (1841). Cp. a sard, obtained in Constantinople (1884) and now in the Lewis collection at Cambridge (J. H. Middleton, The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings, London 1892 p. 52 no. 44), which has tragic and satyric masks, back to back, with a mask of Pan above them (fig. 298 = scale ¼).

2 Supra p. 371 n. 1. See also J. J. Bernoulli Griechische Ikonographie München 1901 ii. 96 n. 4, Ant. Skulpt. Berlin p. 185 f. nos. 476, 477 (two double herms recalling the type of Polykleitos' doryphoroi).

3 J. J. Bernoulli Griechische Ikonographie München 1901 i. 9, 29 f. figs. 3 f.

4 Id. ib. i. 29, 127, 153 figs. 25 f.
The differentiation of

Thoukydides, Sokrates and Platon (?), Sokrates and Seneca, Epikouros and Metrodoros, etc. By a further process of divergence the component faces became respectively male and female. Already in the latter part of the sixth century B.C. Athenian potters were

turning out Janiform _aryballoi_. A specimen in my collection (pl. xxi) unites a male with a female Dionysiac head: the one (Dionysos?) has a bay-wreath, the other (Ariadne?) an ivy-wreath. Similar vases were produced in the early decades of the fifth century;

1 Id. ib. i. 159, 180 f. pls. 18—20.
2 Id. ib. i. 189, ii. 23, Ant. Skulpt. Berlin p. 136 no. 299 fig.
3 J. J. Bernoulli _Griechische Ikongraphie_ München 1901 i. 189, id. _Römische Ikongraphie_ Stuttgart 1882 i. 276 ff. pl. 24.
4 Id. Griechische Ikongraphie München 1901 ii. 130 pls. 16, 17.
5 Height 0.1125m.
6 Furtwängler _Vasensamml. Berlin_ ii. 1926 nos. 4044 and 4045 = id. Samml. Sabouroff
Janiform aryballos, combining male and female Dionysiac heads.

See page 390.
and the type, with its numismatic analogues, prepared the way for the double herms of Dionysos and Ariadne so common in Roman times (fig. 299). These two having led off the dance, other


1 Infra § 3 (c) i (o).

couples soon joined in—Hermes with Hestia, Priapos with a Maenad, Pan with a Maenad, a boy-Pan with a girl-Pan, a Satyr with a Maenad, Triton with Libye, and doubtless many more, including even such ungainly partners as Apis with Isis (fig. 300).

(v) Virbius as Dianus.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the differentiated types is that represented in primit by a double herm found during the excavations of 1885 at Nemi and now forming part of a private English collection (pl. xxii, 1—3), in secundis by a very similar herm


1 Fröhner. Sculpt. du Louvre i. 120 nos. 198 and 199 (really Dionysos and Ariadne).
3 Ant. Skulpt. Berlin p. 105 no. 442 fig.
4 R. Gargiulo Collection of the most remarkable monuments of the National Museum Naples 1873 ii pl. 24.
5 Id. ib. ii pl. 25.
6 Ant. Skulpt. Berlin p. 89 f. no. 207 fig.

P. Gusman La villa imperiale de Tibur (villa Hadriana) Paris 1904 p. 313 fig. 579 (= my fig. 300) an Egyptianising herm of black marble in the Egyptian Museum of the Vatican.

The site was excavated in 1885—1886 by Sir John Savile Laimley, now Lord Savile, then English ambassador at Rome. See Frazer Golden Bough: The Magic Art i. 3 n. 2 for bibliography. The herm was discovered in the porticus adjoining the temple of Diana. Plan of the temple by R. F. Pullan in Archaeologia 1887 i. 188 f. pl. 7; plan of the precinct by A. Langenhau in O. Rossbach Das Dianaheligtum in Nemi in Verh. d. 40. Philologenversamml. in Görlitz 1889 p. 153 (both reproduced by L. Morpurgo 'Nemus Aricinum' in the Mon. d. Linc. 1903 xiii. 303 f. figs. 1 and 2; the latter only, by G. H. Wallis Illustrated Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from the site of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy Nottingham 1893 p. xxii f).

Janiform bust from Nemi, probably representing Hippolytos-Virbius decked with leaves of the *quercus robur* as consort of Diana.

See page 392 ff.
Janiform bust in the Capitoline Museum, probably representing Hippolytos-Virbius decked with leaves of the *quercus ilex* as consort of Diana.

See pages 393, 399 f.
Virbius as Dianus

probably brought at an earlier date from the same locality¹ and now preserved in the Capitoline Museum (pl. xxiii, 1—3)². Both herms combine a beardless with a bearded head and are characterised by curious foliated decoration, which has been diversely explained.

To speak first of the bust found by Lord Savile at Nemi. In 1885 G. Fiorelli described it as a double Bacchic herm³, presumably because he took its foliation for vine-leaves. But in the same year W. Helbig suggested that we have here to do with a pair of water-divinities, arguing that fins start from their brows and aquatic plants spread over the cheeks of the bearded head, the neck and chest of both; further, that the younger face has a small fin at each angle of the mouth, the elder face a beard saturated with water, while the hair of both alike is damp and wind-blown⁴. In 1886 Helbig proposed to regard them as personifications of the neighbouring lakes of Albano and Nemi⁵—a view which has been favourably received⁶. In 1902 I put forward a new surmise⁷. Since the shaft of the herm is inscribed ‘Sacred to Diana’, it seemed reasonable to interpret the Janiform bust as that of Diana’s favourite—Hippolytos transformed into Virbius, who in Ovid’s account says of the goddess:

She made me older and henceforth of features
Unrecognisable⁸.

¹ L. Morpurgo in *Ausonia* 1909 iv. 124.
³ G. Fiorelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1885 p. 479 (‘un’ erma bacchica doppia’).
⁴ W. Helbig ‘Scavi di Nemi’ in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1885 p. 227 f. (‘Un’ erma doppia... composta dalle teste di due esseri acquatici’).
⁵ W. Helbig in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1886 i. 61 (‘personificazioni di acque che nell’ agro aricino avevano un interesse locale, cioè del lago Albano e di quello di Nemi’).
⁶ E.g. G. H. Wallis *Illustrated Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from the site of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy* Nottingham 1893 p. 33. However, O. Rossbach ‘Das Dianaheligtum in Nemi’ in the *Verb. d. 40. Philologenversamml. in Görlitz* 1889 p. 159 is content to treat them as indeterminate aquatic powers.
⁷ *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 373.
⁸ SACR Dian (infra p. 393 n. 9) must, at Nemi, be completed as ‘sacrum Dianae’, not Dian! (Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 289).
Virbius as Dianus

Accepting the aquatic traits noted by Helbig, I contended that fish-forms were not inappropriate to a companion of Artemis and that Virbius might turn out to be a river-god rather than a tree-spirit. In 1905 I was still disposed to think that Virbius in Italy, if not also in Greece, was a stream-god. But I urged that the Janiform bust from Nemi identified him with Diana's consort Dianus or Ianus, a god incarnate in the rex Nemorensis. Prof. F. Granger in 1907 threw fresh light on the problem by remarking that the two ends of the moustache upon the bearded face are formed of oak-leaves, that the foliage round the necks of both figures is clearly to be explained as oak-leaves, and that the alleged fins are not fins at all, but merely conventionalised leafage. Hence he enquires 'whether the double bust may stand for Virbius-Hippolytus as a wood-spirit, perhaps the king of the wood.' The younger face with its barbaric type might represent the ruffian assailant; the older face, anxious and wrinkled, might portray the king-priest haunted by the dread of sudden attacks. In 1908 Sir James Frazer, after examining the cast of the herm at Nottingham, admitted 'that, whether accidentally or not, the modelling of the moustache on one side of the face does resemble an oak leaf,' but raised doubts with regard to the rest of the foliage. He concluded as follows:

'Thus the identification of the leaves on the bust as oak-leaves, and with it my theory of the priest as a personification of the oak, remains uncertain. I will only add that Miss Darwin's proposal to identify as leaves of some sort the

1 Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 289 ff.

3 Accordingly I laid stress on the watery aspect of Ianus, husband of huturna (supra p. 368 n. 3) the old Latin goddess of lakes and rivers, and father of Fontus (ib.) the god of springs and wells, father also of the river Tiber (interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 8. 330) and of Canens the water-nymph, whom king Picus preferred to the Naiads of Nemi (Ov. met. 14. 320 ff.). It was said that, when the Sabines on one occasion attempted to force their way into Rome, a raging flood of waters burst out from the temple of Ianus and drove them back (Ov. met. 14. 778 ff., fast. 1. 259 ff., Serv. in Verg. Aen. 1. 291, Macrob. Sat. 1. 9. 17 f.). See further W. H. Roscher in his Lex. Myth. ii. 18 and 41.

4 F. Granger 'A portrait of the Rex Nemorensis' in the Class. Rev. 1907 xxii. 194—197 with two figs.

5 Sir J. G. Frazer 'The leafy bust at Nemi' in the Class. Rev. 1908 xxii. 147—149.
things which project from the mouth of the younger face seems to me excellent. Perhaps...the candidate for the priesthood at Nemi chewed oak-leaves in order to nerve his arm for the fatal stroke. It may have been with oak-leaves in his mouth, as well as with sword in hand, that he advanced upon his adversary. Can it be that in the face of the older man the artist has purposely shewn us a grinning empty mouth as if to indicate that the sacred oak and with it the god had passed from him to another? 3

Later in 1908 Prof. Granger returned to the charge. Sir James Frazer had cited the opinion of Mr R. I. Lynch, Curator of the Botanic Garden at Cambridge, who ‘thought the leaves more like nettle or perhaps dead-nettle (Laminum).’ Prof. Granger would adopt this suggestion, but limit it to the scalloping under the eyes. He adds:

‘To quote a local example, on Royal Oak Day (May 29) boys go about Nottingham armed with nettles, and they demand of passers-by to “show their oak” under penalty of being netted. Whether, therefore, the nettle be intended, or some other vervain, a very remarkable and most interesting line of inquiry has been opened. 2 And Prof. Frazer’s theory that the priest of Nemi personifies the oak, remains as convincing as ever.’

1 F. Granger ‘The leafy bust at Nemi’ in the Class. Rev. 1908 xxii. 217.
2 Of vervain in antiquity we possess two parallel accounts, that of Pliny transcribed from Sextius Niger περὶ θὰνυς (10—40 A.D.: see M. Schanz Geschichte der römischen Literatur München 1899 ii. 1. 315), and that of Dioskorides based on the same work with lists of synonyms etc. added from the illustrated ρημογεγραμμένος of Krateus, physician to Mithradates vi Eupator (120—63 B.C. The most famous codex of this herbal, Vinobd. Med. Gr. 1, written for the elder Iuliana Ancilia, wife of Olybrius the consul of 379 A.D., has been published by A. W. Sijthoff in Scato de Vries Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti vol. x i. ii Dioscorides Lugduni Batavorum 1906; see further W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1911 ii. 1. 347 f.):

Pliny nat. hist. 25. 105—107.
nulla tamen Romanae nobilitatis plus habet quam hiera botane. aliqui aristeroneo, nostri verberancam vacant, haec est quam legatos ferre ad hostes indicavimus (nat. hist. 22. 5); hac Iovis mensa verritur, domus purgantur lustranturque. genera eius duo: foliosa, quam feminam putant, mas rarioibus foliis. ramuli utrinque plures, tenues, cubitales, angulos, solis, folia minora quam quercus angustioraque, divisuris majoribus, flos glancus, radix longa, tenus. nascitur ubique in planis aquosis. quidam non distinguunt et unum omnino genus faciunt, quoniam utraque eosdem effectus habeat. utraque sorbiant Galli et praeceps nullam, sed Magi utique circa hanc insaniunt: hac percutent inpetrare quae velint, febres abigere, amicitias con-

[περὶ περιστερεῶν υπτίοι.] περιστερεῶν υπτίοι, οἱ δὲ θηρίων, οἱ δὲ τρυγόνων, οἱ δὲ φαλακρωτῶν, οἱ δὲ αἴματών, οἱ δὲ σαγκούμαλτος, οἱ δὲ καυλοῦσας, οἱ δὲ περιστερεών.
Virbius as Dianus

ciliare nullique non morbo mederi. colligi debere circa canis ortum ita, ne luna aut sol conspicat, favis ante et mete termae ad piantum datis; circunscriptam ferro effodi sinistra manu et in sublimne tolle; siccarini in umbra separatim folia, caulem, radicem. aiunt, si aqua spargatur triclineum, <in (ins. C. Mayhoff)>, qua maduerit, laetiores convictus fieri. adversus serpentes coniteritur ex vino.


C. Sprengel in his note on the passage from Dioskorides identifies περιστερεών ὁφθα with verbena officinalis, περιστερεών ὁφθα with verbena supina. And these identifications are borne out by the coloured drawings of Vindob. Med. Gr. 1 (fol. 268 recto περιστε- ρεων ὁφθα = my fig. 301; fol. 269 recto περιστερεων γυνινιο = my fig. 302). See also the hand-painted plates of J. Sibthorp Flora Graeca Londini 1827 vi. 43 f. p. 553 verbena nodiflora, ib. 44 pl. 554 verbena supina.


Here it is in point to observe that both Pliny and Dioskorides compare the leaves of vervain with those of the oak (quercus, ὄψις), associate the plant with Iupiter (Plin. nat.
Virbius as Dianus

Hist. 35. 105 hae Iovis mensa verritur, Dioskor. 4. 61 p. 550 Sprengel e θe Διός ἡμαντης, cp. 'Apuleius Barbarus' op. cit. 4 lidem dios elaeaten (the ed. of Albanus Torinus, Basileae 1578, reads alii divatim). No proveable connexion with Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐπάκατος ὁ θεατικας θου και Διός ἡμαντης λεβόν. το έθνον ἡμαντης και Ζεὺς ἡμαντης. H. Usener Die Sintfluthagen Bonn 1899 p. 156, cp. id. Kleine Schriften Leipzig—Berlin 1913. iv. 43 n. 82, would connect Ζεύς ἡμαντης with ἔλεκτων, Ἕλεκτρα, Ἕλεκτρων as Ζεύς 'the Glittering.' But ?!, and regard it as a panacea.

Fig. 301.

Such being its character, vervain would form an appropriate decoration for a bust of Virbius at Nemi. Indeed, there remains the possibility, already mooted by P. Butt mann (in the Abb. d. berl. Akad. 1870 p. 209= id. Mythologus Berlin 1879 ii. 151), Sir James Fraser (Golden Bough? : The Magic Art ii. 379 n. 5) and myself (Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 290 n. 9), that verbena and Virbius are words of kindred origin. My friend Dr P. Giles tells me (May 1, 1918) that the difference of vowel may be a matter of dialect, as in Mercurius beside the Praenestine Mircurios, Mirqurios (Walde Lat. etym.)
Virbius as Dianus

Finally, in 1909 Miss L. Morpurgo published a minute investigation of the herm. She claims that the leaves on the breast of either figure are beyond doubt those of the *quercus robur*, that the beard of the *Wörterb.* p. 478). Assuming that both *Virbius* and *verbecna* were related to *viridis* (cp. L. Morpurgo in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1903 xiii. 356 n. 9), Sir James Frazer had rendered *Virbius*, 'The Green One,' and I had suggested, 'He of the sacred branch.' These, however, are uncertain conjectures; and there is a tempting alternative (see infra p. 421 f.).

Fig. 302.

1 L. Morpurgo 'La rappresentazione figurata di Virbio' in *Alisonia* 1909 iv. 109–127 with figs. 1–6 and pls. 5, A–C and 6, A–C (= my pl. xxxii, 1–3). Miss Morpurgo's results are accepted by Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 150 f. But W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Alterthümer in Rom* Leipzig 1912 i. 439 still advocates his own identification of the double bust as the lakes of Albano and Nemi.
older head is surmounted by a series of lobes recalling the leafage on the breast, that the lower edge of the long moustache has a leaflike dentation, that the mouth of the younger head shows similar leaves at its corners, that the Satyr-ears of both heads are lobed like leaves, that the eyebrows throughout are dentate, and that the appendages above the brows and beneath the ears exhibit veined vegetable forms.

The Capitoline herm has been commonly regarded as representing a pair of water-deities. But Miss Morpurgo, pursuing her theme, contends that the foliation under the eyes of the two figures and over the beard of the elder is certainly meant for leaves—not whole leaves, but parts of leaves, which (to judge from size and shape) are those of the quercus ilex. She remarks that the chest on either side shows a continuous fringe of leaves, modified to look like the frilled edge of a tunica or chiton, that the moustache and eyebrows of the bearded head are, again, formed of quasi-leaves, that the ears of both heads are dentated, and that the appendages on head and neck are neither horns nor fins, but leafage like that which decorates the chest.

On the whole, I conclude (1) that the two herms represent the same personages; (2) that those personages, as I conjectured in 1902, are Hippolytos and Virbius, the mythical prototypes of the rex Nemorensis; (3) that Hippolytos-turned-Virbius is portrayed as a Janiform bust, partly because, as I argued in 1905, Diana's favourite is conceived as Diana's consort Dianus or Ianus, partly because, as Miss Morpurgo insisted in 1909, the ancients clung to the folk-etymology of Virbius, 'a man twice over' (vir bis); (4) that the

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1 In the large frieze from the great altar at Pergamon (supra i. 119 figs. 87 f.) the Giant fighting Phoibe has horns in his hair and a left ear like a pointed leaf (Pergamon iii. 2. 37 Atlas pl. 29, 3); another, opposed to Parthenos, has long serrated leaves on the heads of his two snake-legs and at the juncture of their scales with his skin (ib. iii. 2. 69 Atlas pl. 16). It may be suspected that Pergamene art contributed its quota to the style of the Nemi bust.

2 Supra p. 393 n. 2.

3 Supra p. 393 n. 7.

4 Supra p. 394 n. 1.

5 L. Morpurgo 'La rappresentazione figurata di Virbio' in Ansonia 1909 iv. 122 (cp. her 'Nemus Aricenium' in the Mon. d. Linc. 1903 xiii. 356 ff.), citing Cassiod. de orthographia 6 (in H. Keil Grammatici Latinii Lipsiae 1880 vii. 181, 9 ff.) Virbius etiam abstractus a regula, quoniam virum bis factum esse memorant, quem numerum per h mutam scribi ante dicta declarant: quidam virum bonum, alii herobium, tamquam sit ἵππος ἀνασβείας; alii deum esse qui Virbius praeeest interpretantur (Cassiodorus notes that his information is taken 'ex Martyrio de mediis syllabis.' Martyrius of Sardes, who lived in s. vi (? A.D., was son and pupil of the Latin grammarian Adamantius: see De Vit Onomasticon iv. 383, G. Goetz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 343 f.) together with Hyg. fab. 251, Serv. in Verg. Aen. 7. 761, Vib. Seq. p. 152, 6 f. Riese (supra p. 394 n. 1), Lact. Plac. narr. fab. 45. 45, schol. Pers. sat. 6. 56.
Diana and the Oak

double bust is decorated, not, as Helbig suggested in 1885, with fins and aquatic plants, but, as Prof. Granger pointed out in 1907, with oak-leaves—those of the quercus robur, according to Miss Morpurgo, in the case of the first herm and those of the quercus ilex in the case of the second. I do not, however, agree with Sir James Frazer and Prof. Granger that the priest of Nemi personified the oak. Rather I should maintain that the oak was the tree of Diana, and that Virbius is plastered with oak-leaves because he is her partner—the local Dianus or Ianus.

(Φ) Diana and the Oak.

Diana, as I have elsewhere shown, had a special liking for oak-trees. At Rome her chief temple was that founded by Servius Tullius on the Aventine, whose slopes in early days were shaded by a grove of holm-oaks, the haunt of Picus and Faunus. A very great and venerable sanctuary of Diana was on the Caeliolus, which formed part of the Mons Querquetulanus or 'Mount of Oaks'. There was also an ancient Dianium at the upper end of the

1 Supra p. 393 n. 4.
2 Supra p. 394 n. 4.
3 Supra p. 398 n. 1.
4 Supra p. 395.
5 Supra i. 1 n. 3.
6 Class. Rev. 1924 xvi. 369 ff., Folk-Lore 1925 xvi. 281 ff. See also Frazer Golden Bough: The Magic Art ii. 380.
7 H. Jordan—C. Huelsen Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1907 i. 3. 157 ff.
8 Ov. fast. 3. 295 ff.
9 Cic. de har. resp. 33 maximum et sanctissimum Dianae sacellum in Caelenco.
10 Tac. ann. 4. 65.
11 G. Gatti in the Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma 1887 pp. 314—317 pl. 19 (= my fig. 303) publishes a large marble relief, originally found near the Malum Punicum between the Baths of Diocletian and the slope of the Quirinal towards the Viminal, which represents three male figures: (a) in the centre, Jupiter standing en face, with a chlamys over his left shoulder, a sceptre in his left hand, a thunderbolt (?) in his right, and an eagle at his feet; (b) to the left, Hercules (?) a portrait of the youthful Commodus) erect facing the spectator, with lion-skin on his left arm, apples (restored) in his left hand, and club in his lowered right; (c) to the right, a mountain-god seated on a rock towards Jupiter, with a himation wrapped about his legs. Between Jupiter and Hercules grows an oak. Beside the mountain-god is a bay-tree. Beneath runs the inscription (Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 334 with Add. no. 30739, Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 3680) Hereuli | Juliano, | Lovi | Caelio, | Genio | Caeli Montis | Anna sacrum. C. L. Visconti in the Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma 1887 p. 341 f. conjectures that the oak alludes to the Mons Querquetulanus. H. Jordan—C. Huelsen op. cit. i. 3. 221 n. 6 doubt it. Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 300 no. 3 is silent. Possibly in the oak planted near Jupiter Caelius, or else in the bay-tree clasped by the Genius Caeli Montis, we should recognise the arbor sanctum mentioned among the sights of the Mons Caelius by the curvis urbis regionum xiv and the notulis regionum urbis xiv reg. 3 (H. Jordan Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1877 ii. 543).

Be that as it may, Jupiter Caelius was happily named. His worshippers would think, not merely of the Mons Caelius, but also of Jupiter Caelus (supra i. 59 n. 11), Caestatis
Vicus Cuprius, where the Clivus Virbius turns to the right and leads up the Fagutal onto the Esquiline. The existence of oaks on the Esquiline can be inferred from its chapel of the Lares Querquetulani.

(Corp. inscr. Lat. iii no. 1948 (Salonae in Dalmatia) Iovi O(p)timo | Maximo | Celesti Patrono | G. Caesius Corymibus et Faberia | Carn v.s.L.m., no. 8668 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 3041 (Salonae in Dalmatia) T. Pinarius Eros | Iovi Caelesi vs.|l.m., Corp. inscr. Lat. x no. 4852 = Orelli—Henzen Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 5618 (Venafrum) cult(ores) Iovis Cae(lestis) etc., Corp. inscr. Lat. xi no. 5643 (Matifica in Umbria) N. Ortio[us] | N. f. Poll(ina) | Ferox | Aesae | evocatus Aug. | Iovi Caelesti | v.s.l.m., cp. Cic. de har. resp. 20, Liv. 1. 32), Caelestinus (Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 404 with Add. no. 30756 = Orelli Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 1223 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 3062 (Rome) Iovi Optimō Maximiō |

Fig. 303.


1 Liv. 1. 48, Solin. 1. 25.
2 Varro. de ling. Lat. 5. 49 secundae regionis Esquili[n]ae. alii (grammaticae ante-varrorrianae ex ineritis incertorum libris frag. 8 Funaioli) has scripsenunt ab exeubiis regis dictas (cp. Ov. fast. 3. 245 f.), alii ab eo quod exculae (A. Spengei cj. aescul<is

C. 11.
Moreover, the beech-trees of the Fagutal may have been a ritual, as they were certainly an etymological, equivalent for oaks. The same

consi > tae B. ten Brink cj. < aeculatae > excultae G. Goetz—F. Schoell cj. excultae < arboribus > a rege Tulilio essent (C. O. Müller suppl. alli ab aeculatis). Hauc origine magis concinnat loca vicini (G. Goetz—F. Schoell note that we must read either loci vicini with P. Canal or loca vicina), quod ibi lucus dicitur Facatalis et Larum (C. O. Müller ins. cf) Querquetulanum sacellum et lucus Mejitis et Iunonis Lucinae, quorum angusti fines. I take it that Querquetulanum is an old gen. plur. agreeing with Larum, not a nom. sing. agreeing with sacellum. These Larus Querquetulani, of whom nothing more is known, presumably stood in some relation to the Querquetulanae Virae described as 'Nymphs presiding over a verdant oak-grove such as that said to have grown within the gate thence called Querquetularia' (Fest. p. 371 a 17 ff. Müller, p. 314, 11 ff. Lindsay Querquetulanae virae putantur significari nymphae praeidentes queructo virescendi, quod genus silvae iudicant fuisse intra portam, quae ab eo dicta sit Querquetularia, cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 260, 5 Müller, p. 315, 6 ff. Lindsay, with Plin. nat. hist. 16. 37 porta Querquetulana). It is therefore tempting to suppose with B. Borghesi Euvres complètes Décades numismatiques Paris 1862 i. 363 ff. that denarii struck c. 41 B.C. by P. Accoleus Lariscus have for obv. type the bust of Acca Larentia, and for rev. the Querquetulanae Virae—three statues in the form of archaistic Caryatids supporting a beam or stand, from which rise five trees: the nymph on the left holds a bow, the nymph on the right a lily (Morell. Thes. Num. Fam. Rom. i. 2 pl. Accoleia 1, Babelon Monn. rép. rom. i. 98 ff. figs., Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. i. 360 ff. (where H. A. Grueber says: 'the nymph on the l. holds a poppy') pl. 55, 19 (= my fig. 304) and 20. Fig. 305 ff. are from specimens

in my collection). Nevertheless this popular explanation (O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 9 fig.) is demonstrably wrong. The name Larisculus cannot possibly mean 'Worshipper of the Lar or Larus', but is a diminutive of larix ('larix-isco-lo->larisco-, cp. cornix, Cornicae') and denotes 'Young larch'. Cp. the name M. Caesaris Larix (Corp. inscr. Lat. x no. 2019, 3 Putolii). Again, the trees, of which three are springing from the heads of the alleged oak-nymphs, do not bear the least resemblance to oaks, but may well be intended for larches. I therefore fall back on the view adopted by Eckhel Dict. num. vet. vii v. 118 (curiously misrepresented by H. A. Grueber op. cit. i. 569 n. 1) that the three female figures are those of Phaethon's sisters here conceived as transformed into larches. See further De Vit Onomasticon iv. 48, who defends Eckhel by citing Vitr. 2. 9. 14 larix vero, quae non est nota nisi is municipalibus qui sunt circa ripam fluminis Padi et litora maris Hadriani, etc. Infra s. 3 (a) vi (A) med.

Fagus = fagor. Several altars dedicated to a god Fagus have come to light in Aquitania (Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 33 (Ladivert near Saint-Blat) Fago deo | Erdensis | Erdesci filius) | v.s.l.m., no. 213 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4531 (near Lagudum Conveniram (Saint-Bertrand-de-Conminges)) Fago | deo | Bonxus | Taurini filius, Corp. inscr. Lat. xiii no. 224 (found with no. 233) Fago | deo | Justus | v.s.l.m., no. 325 (found in the same neighbourhood as nos. 223, 224) Fago deo | Pompeia | C. filia | v.s.l.m.). The beech-tree seems to have retained something of its sanctity in this district, cp. A. de Gubernatis La Mythologie des Plantes Paris 1882 ii. 170 f. 'D'après une tradition toujours vivante aux Pyrénées, un homme, au moment même où le bon Dieu passait
Diana and the Oak

change from oak to beech seems to have taken place on the hill called Corne near Tusculum, where Diana was worshipped in a remarkable grove of beeches. But outside Rome the most famous

près de lui, murmura et blasméhaut; Dieu le changa immédiatement en ours. D'après une autre tradition [des Pyrénées] (cf. [E.] Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France* [Paris 1877 i. 43 ff.]), un homme, en battant le fer chaud sur l'enclume, en fit jaillir les étincelles jusqu'aux yeux du bon Dieu lui-même, qui ne manqua point de le mauldre, le condamnant à devenir ours, avec quelle qu'il pourrait monter à son gré sur tous les arbres, à l'exception du hêtre. Devenu ours, l'homme songea alors à déraciner cet arbre : "Ous bas esto, et oues seras, | En tout arbre puyeras, | Sous qu'en bau nou pouderas. | Arringa lou que harcy." (E. "Ours tu veux seras, | à tout arbres tu grimperas, | hormis au hêtre. | ' Eh bien je le déracinerai.") In the Luxemburg Ardennes and in Lorraine it is believed that the beech is never struck by lightning (P. Sébillot *Le Folk-Lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 381, cp. R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyric* London 1884 p. 250). A list of 253 trees venerated in the department of Oise, which was drawn up in 1854, included 74 elms, 27 oaks, 14 thorns, 15 walnuts, 14 beeches, 14 limes, etc. (P. Sébillot *op. cit.* iii. 424). It will be observed that the beech stands next to the oaks in the list of lucky trees preserved by Macrobi. *Sat.* 3. 20. 2 ait enim Veranius de verbis pontificalis (*frag.* 3 Funaioli) : ' felices arbores putantur esse quercus, aesculus, ilex, suberies (so L. Jan for *suberius* cod. P.), fagus, corylus, sorbus, fucus alba, pirus, malus, vitis, prunus, cornus, lotus.' Jupiter *Fagutila* was worshipped on the Fagutila (Varr. de ling. Lat. s. 153 Fagutila a fago, unde etiam Iovis Fagutilis, quod ibi sacellum, Paul. ex Fest. p. 87, 6 Muller, p. 77, 13 f. Lindsay Iovis sacellum Iovis, in quo fuit fagus arbor, quae Iovis sacra habebatur, *Plin.* *nat. hist.* 16. 37 silvarum certe distinguebatur (id. Roma) insignibus, Fagutili Iove etiam nunc ubi lucis fagus fuit, etc.), where his cult is known to have lasted on till the year 109 A.D. (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 452 = Dessau *Inschr. Lat. sel.* no. 3520 [Laribus August. vici Iovis Fagutilis et | Genis Caesarum, i]mp. Nerva divi Nervae f. Tnianfo | Aug, Germanico Dacjico pont. max. | trib. pot. xiii imp. vi [cos. v, | permissu]...Pollonius trib. pleb., aed(icalam) reg. iii | vetustate | dilapsam a solo magistri anni cxxi sua inspensa restituerat.]...Phoebus, A. Nonius A. l. Onesimus, |....Callistus, L. Valerius L. l. Eutichas): see H. Jordan—C. Huelen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 256 f.

1 *Plin. nat. hist.* 16. 247 est in suburbano Tusculani agri colle, qui Corne appellatur, lucus antiqua religione Dionae sacras a Latino (so J. Hardouin for Latio codd.), velut argentoni commauae fagiem moris. in hoc arborem eximiam aetate nostra amavit Passiennus Crispus bis cos. (cp. Dessau *Inschr. Lat. sel.* no. 7061), orator, Agrippinae matrimonio et Nerone privilgeo clarior posta, osculari complexione eam solutis, non modo cubare sub ea vinumque illi affundere. vicina luce est ilex, et ipsa nobilis xxxiv pedum ambitu caudicis, decem arborum emittens singulars magnitudinis visendae silvamque sola faciens. No doubt the big beech was a beauty: *Theophr. hist. plant.* 5. 8. 3 expressly comments on the enormous size of beech-trees in the lowlands of Latium. Nevertheless it is simply inconceivable that C. Passiennus Crispus, a Roman of exceptional ability and distinction, the husband first of Domitia and then of Agrippina the younger (Suet. *v. Pass. Crisp.*), should have behaved thus towards a mere tree—kissing it, embracing it, lying beneath it, pouring wine over it,—unless he in some sense identified the tree with the goddess (Frazer *Golden Bough*): *The Magic Art.* i. 49 n. 4). Presumably he regarded himself, not only as her protector (cp. *Hdt.* 7. 31), but actually as her husband. This would be in strict accordance with local usage: for six or seven miles away, as the crow flies, the *rex Nemorensis* was even then playing a similar part. Diana's tree in the grove near Tusculum was, I take it, comparable with Diana's tree in the grove at Nemi. And, if Caligula posed as the priestly king of Nemi (Suet. *Calig.* 35 cited *supra* p. 147 n. 6; see also the imperial house-boats described and illustrated by R. Lanciani *New Tales of Old Rome* London 1901 p. 205 ff.), Passiennus Crispus, his brother-in-law and intimate (Suet.
cult of the goddess was that on Mount Tifata some thirty furlongs north of Capua; and the name Tifata, according to Verrius Flaccus, meant 'Woods of Evergreen Oak.' Another of her homes was Mount Algidus in Latium, where oaks and holm-oaks abounded. And from Mount Algidus it is but a few miles to Nemi. That being so, we may fairly surmise that at Nemi too Diana had her favourite oaks.

In passing I may observe that this association of Diana with the oak has left its mark on the art of the Graeco-Roman age. Land-


2 Paul. ex Fest. p. 366, 8 Müller, p. 593, 14 f. Lindsay Tifata iliceta. Romae autem Tifata Curia. Tifata etiam locus iuxta Capum. Cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 49, 18 Müller, p. 43, 13 Lindsay Curia Tifata (so Scaliger for Curiati jana coadd.) a Curio dicta est, qu[a] co loco domum habuerat, p. 131, 1 Müller, p. 117, 1 f. Lindsay Mancina Tifata appellabantur, quod Mancinus habuit insignem domum, quae publicata est co interfecto. Paulus' information is ultimately derived from the dictionary of Verrius Flaccus (infra Append. N init.). F. Baecheer in the Rhein. Mus. 1884 xxxix. 421 f. connects tifata with the Sabine teba, 'hill' (Varr. rer. rust. 3. 1. 6), cp. R. S. Conway The Italic Dialects Cambridge 1897 i. 221, 328. And G. Meyer Etymologisches Wörterbuch der abhänischen Sprache Strassburg 1891 p. 430 s.v. '*timp' and in the Indogermanische Forschungen 1892 i. 324 would relate teba to the Carian ῥάφα, 'rock' (Steph. Byz. s.v. Τάβα). If so, all these words are probably survivals from a pre-Indo-European language, cp. Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. 2 p. 766 s.v. 'teba,' L. Thomopoulos Πελογιανδ Athens 1912 pp. 211 f., 419. But Walde op. cit. 2 p. 778 s.v. 'tibulus' suggests that tifata is akin to tibulus, a variety of wild pine (Plin. nat. hist. 16. 39), cp. A. Ernout Les éléments dialectaux du vocabulaire latin Paris 1909 pp. 27, 75, 237 ('C'est donc à l'osque que le latin a emprunté le mot'). We need more light.

The woods of Mt. Tifata are mentioned by Sil. ii. 13. 219 Tifata umbrifero...monete.


4 Hor. od. 3. 23. 9 f., 4. 4. 57 f., cp. od. 1. 21. 5 f. and Stat. silv. 4. 4. 16. When in 458 B.C. Roman envoys were sent to complain of a treaty broken by the Aequi, they were bidden to make their complaint to a huge oak-tree on Mt Algidus, under the shade of whose branches the Aequian commander had his quarters (Liv. 3. 25 eos Aequorum imperator, quae mandata habeat ab senatu Romano, ad quern cum ibet dicere: se alia interim acturum. quercus ingens arbor praetorio imminebat, cuius umbra opaca sedes erat. tum ex legitati unus abiens 'et haec' inequit 'scaraet quercus et quidquid deorum est audiat foedus a vobis ruptum nostrisque et nunc quereris adsint et mox armis, cum deorum hominumque simul violata iura exsequemur').
scape-reliefs already described 1 twice represent an old oak growing beside a Diana-pillar, and once show its trunk spanned by an archway, which we now know to be a ianus, the very embodiment of Diana’s consort Dianus. 2

(χ) Artemis and the Oak.

Similarly on Greek soil the earth-goddess, who under various names fulfilled the same functions as Diana, was frequently connected with the oak. The Amazons, when they founded the cult in the Artemision at Ephesos, set up the effigy of their goddess ‘beneath an oak-tree of noble girth’; and in Roman times the image of Artemis Ephesia wore a garland of flowers with a necklace of acorns hanging below it (figs. 307, 315) 4. Again, Neleus, son of Kodros,

1 Supra p. 150 n. 3 figs. 91, 92.
2 Supra p. 354 ff. Cp. a fragmentary relief at Copenhagen (L. Müller Muse-Thorvaldson Troisieme partie. Antiquités. Section i et ii. Copenhagen 1847 p. 140 f. no. 81, Gerhard Ant. Bildw. p. 359 pl. 111, 4, T. Schreiber Die hellenistischen Reliefsbilder Leipzig 1890 pl. 69, Einzelaufnahmen no. 1480 Mitte with Text v. 113 by P. Arndt), on which a Diana-pillar, with lichen, phallus, and lagobolon, is seen beneath an arched tripod (?) or round altar (?) bearing a goat’s-head (?). Height 0·15 m.
3 Kallim. h. Artem. 237 ff. οἰκουμένη τὸ μὲν ἀνάθεμα ἐπιτύμβιον καὶ ἀνάθεμα πολέμου ἐπιτύμβιον | ἐν ποτε (the older codds. read ἐν κορε, whence O. Schneider cp. ἕγκυρν—a thoroughly bad emendation) παραλύτη «έφθασεν ἱδρύσασιν | φημών ὑπ' ἅρμα χάλαζον (so L. Hecker, followed by A. Meineke and O. Schneider, for φημών ὑπ' πέρας πρήμως coedd. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff still retains in his text the impossible reading of the manuscripts) τέλεσθαι ὅ τι τοι ἱέρα τ' ἐπεκέφαλα | κ.τ.λ. With this cp. Dionys. per. 827 ff. παραλύτη «Εφεσός, μεγάλην πόλιν ἱερὸν ἱοχαιρέων, ἵνα θεῷ ποτε πέρα τοῦ 'Ἀμαζώνιδος τετάκιστον | πρήμως ἐν τελείῳ, περισσόν ἀνθρώπων βαθύνα. The oak-tree is here changed into an elm, perhaps because the original oak had long since decayed, whereas in later days the city (presumably one quarter of it) was called after a conspicuous elm-tree (Plin. nat. hist. 5. 115 Ephesus...multi antea expetita nominibus... vocata et Ptelea, Steph. Byz. s.p. «Εφεσός... ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ... καὶ Πτελέα. οἱ πολιτεῖς Πτελεάδος καὶ Πτελέαδος οἱ πολλοὶ). The scientific excavation of the Artemision, commenced by Mr Hogarth in 1904, has made it probable that the first sanctuary on the site was in fact a small tree-shrine (D. G. Hogarth Excavation at Ephesos London 1908 p. 72 'The tree-shrine may be held to be represented by our Basis A with its altar or dependent platform on the west, enclosed within a paved temenos; and the building erected over it, by the restoration B, which amplified these central structures and united them in one platform, in a manner hardly to be accounted for except on the supposition that a considerable superstructure was to be erected on the new platform' with p. 52 ff. fig. 13 ff. and Atlas pl. 1 f. See also W. R. Lethaby 'The earlier temple of Artemis at Ephesos' in the fourn. Hist. Stud. 1917 xxxvii. 15 ff. 15). It is even possible that the isolated column, which in the sixth-century building (D. G. Hogarth op. cit. p. 283 f. Atlas pl. 12) and again in the fourth-century building (see Plin. nat. hist. 36. 98) stood immediately behind the cult-image, was an architectural substitute for the sacred tree. A column in such a position might well be differentiated from the rest (cp. the one Corinthian column in the temple of Apollon Epikourios at Bassai: Durm Baukunst d. Gr. 3 p. 270 fig. 240 b. p. 346 fig. 331, p. 349 figs. 335 a, b, c, p. 429 fig. 391) and adorned with carving rightly or wrongly attributed to Skopas (Plin. loc. cit., where the text una a Scopa has been needlessly altered by J. J. Winckelmann and K. L. von Urlichs to uno scopo, by A. S. Murray to uno scapo).

4 Literary and inscriptive evidence concerning the cult of Artemis at Ephesos is
Artemis and the Oak

printed in extenso by O. Benndorf in the Forschungen in Ephesus Wien 1906 i. 237—274 (an exhaustive series of 435 extracts got together by E. Guhl for his Ephesiaca Berlin 1843) and 278—282 (83 inscriptions). A convenient summary and discussion of the data is contributed by O. Jessen to Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 2752—2771. I must content myself with two or three typical illustrations. Among the statuettes etc. representing Artemis Ephesia (ib. p. 2704 f.) the best monograph is still C. Menatepius Symbolica Diana Ephesia statua Romae 1688, bound up with L. Holstenius Epistola ad Franciscum Cardinalem Barberii num de fulvis seu veribus Diana Ephesia simulacro appositis Romae 1688 and G. P. Bellori Nata in numismata tum Ephesia, tum altiorum urbis apibus insignita) none is more remarkable than a small figure in the Capitoline Museum, described as follows by Stuart Jones Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome p. 157 ff. Sala delle Colombi no. 49 pl. 38 : 'H. 0.46 m. to top of plinth, plinth 0.246 m. Marble: head, hands, and feet of bigio morato, eyes of enamel; the rest of Luna. Restored: the crown has been broken off and refixed; one column on the l. and the whole row on the r. of the temple at the top; semicircular veil with three foreparts of griffins on l. of head, and the head of the top griffin on the r. (possibly the whole piece of veil on this side); forepart of lion on r. forearm; parts of breasts; little finger of r. hand and index finger of l.; heads of three stags in the top row on skirt. (The figure has been broken through below them.) Other small fragments. Amelung adds, the double tower, face, hands and feet.

The relief on the base has been much broken. Restored: all the lower part of the base including the whole of the figure on the l. of
the thymiaterion, most of the thymiaterion, part of the figure on the r. of it, and the lower third of the figure on the extreme l.; the lower l. angle.

This statuette of the Ephesian Artemis has the usual hieratic attitude, with both feet together, the arms held out parallel, and the face looking straight forward. On her head is a lofty crown composed of several tiers, with a temple at the summit having porticoes on three sides. Below are circles of the foreparts (1) of sphinxes, and (2) of griffins; the next tier consists of a round tower with masonry and battlements indicated; and the whole rests on a pad formed of a twisted taenia with rosettes. Behind the head, on each side, is a semicircular disk with the foreparts of three griffins.

The upper part of the chest is adorned with a garland of flowers, encircled by a twisted taenia, and having acorns depending from it; it hangs from the shoulders, and encloses a relief of two Victories, with palms in their hands, holding up a single wreath, beneath which is a crab. Above each head is a flower. Parallel with the garland, and below it, hangs a fillet. Under this are four rows of breasts.

On each forearm, which is covered by a long sleeve, sits a small lion.

Below the breasts the body is enclosed in a kind of sheath gradually diminishing in size and reaching nearly to the feet; below it the folds of a long thin chiton spread fanlike above the feet. The sheath is divided horizontally, on each side and in front, into five compartments. Those each side bear reliefs of a Scylla, a bee, a rosette or flower, a bee, and a rosette again. Those in front are decorated with rows of the foreparts of animals: viz. (1) three stags, (2) three winged eagle-headed griffins, (3) three lion-headed griffins, (4) two winged lion-headed griffins, (5) two oxen.

The base on which the figure stands, and which probably does not belong, is surrounded by a plinth of four steps. The base grows larger in size at the lower edge and the sides are concave. The front bears a relief showing two female figures on each side approaching a lighted thymiaterion from opposite directions. The two outer figures play double flutes and wear a long chiton and himation, which in the right-hand figure goes over the head; the inner figure on the right, which is antique, is smaller, veiled, and draped, and has a fringe of tight curls; the figure probably carried some object (Amelung suggests a distaff), but the hand is restored. There is a similar base in the Vatican [Amelung Sculpt. Vatii. ii. 626 f. n. 411 a pl. 52].

See further C. Menetreius op. cit. p. 10 pl. on left, Montfaucon Antiquity Explained trans. D. Humphreys London 1724 i. 97 pl. 46 (after Menetreus), P. Righetti Descrizione del Campidoglio Roma 1833 i. 193 pl. 192 (inexact), Gerhard Ant. Bildw. p. 396 pl. 307, 26 (bust only), Reichard Rép. Stat. ii. 321 no. 4 (text erroneous). W. Amelung in the Jahresh. d. b. est. arch. Inst. 1909 xii. 173 ff. figs. 83—85 notes that on the upper surface of the base, to right and left of the stepped plinth, there were originally two rectangular slabs supporting side-attributes. He also insists that the double turreted crown is a
mistaken modern addition. And he cleverly confirms the presence of the attributes and the absence of the turrets by citing one of Raphael's painted pilasters in the Gallery of the Vatican (G. Ottaviani [Le Loggie di Raffaello nel Vaticano Roma 176— ] no. vi C. Savorelli pict., P. Camporesi delin. = my fig. 308), where by a curious coincidence the great artist has made an oak-tree with acorns to emerge from behind the back of the Ephesian goddess. Numismatic evidence proves that the missing attributes were two stags, and makes it likely that the hands of the goddess were tethered by means of fillets (Hesych. s.v. κλυμές...και παρὰ Ἑφεσίων τὴν θεότät στέμματα. The notion that these lateral appendages were solid supports called verum rests on Min. Fel. Oct. 22. 5 et Ephesia mammis multis et veribus (so cod. Par. veribus ed. princ. Romana ann. 1453) extructa, where however F. Ursinus, followed by many critics including C. Halm, cf. umberibus. J. J. Scaliger's cf. umberibus has met with less acceptance)—hardly bonds to prevent her from quitting her temple (M. Collignon ap. F. Cumont in the Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1915 p. 273 n. 4), but rather ties to bring the very ground into magic connexion with her hands (cp. A. var. hist. 3. 26 θόρυβος, Plout. v. Sol. 12 κρόκως κλωτήρ, Loukian. Herc. 3 σειρά λεπτοτρές χρυσοτο και θέλτρον ευρομένην, etc.). The fillets are most clearly shown on silver coins struck at Ephesus by Claudius and Agrippina (Morell. The. Num. Imp. Rom. ii. 17 pl. 4, 23 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 324 f. fig., P. Gardner Types of Gr. Coins p. 78 pl. 15, 4 = my fig. 309.

D. G. Hogarth Excavations at Ephesus London 1908 p. 332 pl. 52, 4, Cohen Monn. emp. rom. 2 i. 273 no. 1 fig.) or on coppers of Kadoi in Phrygia issued under the name of Domitian (L. Holstenius op. cit. p. 10, fig., Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 120 pl. 15, 2 = my fig. 310). And the general effect of the effigy is to be seen from a bronze coin of Apameia struck by Gordian, on which Artemis Ephesia, with a small tetrastyle temple on her head, fillets stretched from her hands to the ground, and a stag on either side of her, appears in the midst of four river-gods Maiandros (ΜΑΙΑ), Marsyas (ΜΑΡΣΥΑ), Thermaς (ΘΕΡΜΑς) and Orpas (ΟΡΡΑΣ) (Sir W. M. Ramsay The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia Oxford 1897 ii. 398 f., 402 n. 2, 432 pl. 1, 1 = my fig. 311, Head Hist. num. 2 p. 667 fig. 314, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. xxxix f.), or from a smaller bronze coin of Neapolis in Samaria, struck by Faustina Junior, on which the goddess has a head-dress.
on leading a band of colonists from Athens to Miletos, was bidden by an oracle to make an image of Artemis 'from very fruitful wood.' He started during a festival of Artemis Chitône, discovered an oak with rich and varied fruitage hung upon it, made therefrom an image of three plumes [³a Sphinx, cp. fig. 307. A. B. C.] surmounted by a tetrasyle temple, pectoral decoration of two Victories holding a wreath, large garland, panelled sheath, stags on either side, and fillets treated as dove-sceptres (G. F. Hill Some Palestinian Cults in the Graeco-Roman Age London 1912 p. 6 f. fig. 9 (extr. from the Proc. Brit. Acad. v), Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine pp. xxxi, 54 pl. 6, § = my fig. 312).

A figure so full of complex symbolism implies the growth of ages. The temple on top may be safely regarded as a late and perhaps Egyptianising addition: cp. the small naós on the head of Nehemânit (Lanzone Dizion. di Mül. Egit. p. 435 f. pl. 174, r–3.

Fig. 314.
Fig. 315.

E. A. Wallis Budge The Gods of the Egyptians London 1904 i. 421 f. pl. 14 calls it 'the sistrum') or of Hathor (Lanzone op. cit. p. 892 pl. 317, 2 f. E. A. Wallis Budge op. cit. i. 430 pl. 10, bound up as pl. 20, calls it 'a pylon')—a possibility (suggested independently by Mr H. R. Hall op. G. F. Hill op. cit. p. 7 n. 1 (= Proc. Brit. Acad. v. 417 n. 1)) which should have been considered by W. Amelung loc. cit. The attachment of the fillets to the ground was also an afterthought. Sometimes they are represented as swinging clear: e.g. on a bronze coin of Ephesos struck by Domitian (T. Schreiber in the Arch. Zeit. 1883 xli. 284 fig. 4 = my fig. 313). Indeed, this manner of representation can be traced
of the goddess, and so settled at Miletos. We need not attach
back to the first or second century B.C.; for it occurs on an Ephesian amulet of terra cotta
in the Museum at Syracuse (L. Stephani 'Ueber ein Ephesisches Amulett' in the *Mélanges
grec-romains tirés du Bulletin historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences
de St.-Pétersbourg St.-Petersbourg 1855 f. i—5 with pl. = my fig. 314. The inscription,
plausibly described by Stephani as Ἀφεία οἰδίματα (collected by C. Wessely *Ephèsie
Grammata aus Papyrusrollen, Inschriften, Gemmen etc. Wien 1886 pp. 1—38 and by R.
Heim 'Incantamenta magica graeca latina' in the *jahrb. f. class. Philol. Suppl. 1893 xix.
332) is in part deciphered by C. F. Graefe, who (op. Stephani loc. cit. p. 4 n.) would
read the first words as ΡΤΕΜ ΦΑΟΣ ΕΡΩ, i.e. Ἀρτέμις φαῖς ιερῶν, and the last as ἀπαρχή.
The original, of which this is a blundered copy, appears to have been a hexa-
meter invocation beginning with Ἀρτέμις, φαῖς ιερῶν, and ending with some such phrase as
λαμαμενὺς δὲχοι θεοῦ (i.e. ἀπαρχή). Again, the breasts of the goddess were multiplied
at some date prior to the period 159—135 B.C. (B. V. Head *On the chronological sequence
no. 144, D. G. Hogarth op. cit. p. 393) to emphasize her nutrient motherhood (cp. *Folk-
Lore* 1904 xv. 289). I cannot, however, agree with Mr D. G. Hogarth (op. cit. p. 332 ff.)
that the whole type current in Roman times was descended from that of the πότια θηρῶν,
whose curled wings became successively heart-shaped, piriform, oval, circular, and whose
lions, degraded into meaningless lines, were finally duplicated as attendant stags.
The cult-statue at Ephesus, attributed to Endoios (c. 550 B.C.), was said to be of ebony
or, according to one witness, of vine-wood (Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 213 de simulacro ipso
deae ambiguitur. ceteri ex hebeno esse tradunt, Mucianus iii cos. ex iiis, qui proxime viso
eo sciscere, vitigineum et numquam mutatum sepiites restituto templ. hac materiam
elegisse Endoemo, etc.). But the original Amazonian image, erected φηγώ ἐπ' εὐφρέμων
(supra p. 405 n. 3) was probably itself made of oak, which would blacken as the centuries
passed till it became indistinguishable from ebony. On some statuettes of the type known
to the Greeks as πολυμάστου and to the Romans as *multimammia* (Hieron *in Paul. ad
Ephes. prolog.* (xxvi. 441 Migne) the necklace of acorns attains considerable importance
(e.g. C. Menetrenius op. cit. p. 10 pl. on right = my fig. 313 *Apud March. Vinc. Iusti-
nianum*). It is even possible that the pendent acorns first suggested the pendent
breasts.
1 Schol. Kallim. Η. Zeis 77 Νηλεύς ὁ Κάρδον άποκειναθεμένος ἀπὸ Άθηνας Ἑλλάβε
χρησμού ἐγείρει ἔλαιον τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἀπὸ παγκράτειρῶν ἔδωκεν καὶ δὴ ποτε χορτίδος φελουδένης
τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν τῇ Χειρόν (κατ’ άξιον Ἀρτέμιδος) ἀντέδωκε ἑρεί ὑδάτων πάμετικος καὶ διάφορων
ἐξοικίας ἦρπημένου (ὑρπημένων (ὑρπημένων (M. A. Meineke cjt. ἠπριήμενων) καρπῶν. καὶ ἐκ
tοῦτων (A. Meineke cjt. τούτων ἐπέστησεν ἀγαμά μὸ θεά, καὶ οὗτοι μετήξεσαν (μετηξά
κατο π. Schreiber in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 572 f., K. Wernicke
in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 525 ff., O. Jessen ib. iii. 323 f., Farnell *Cults
of Gr. States* i. 444 568, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 444 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* p. 369 n. 2,
1272 n. 7. 1395 n. 1. The epithet Χειρόν, Χειρών, popularly derived from χειρώ, was in
all likelihood a pre-Greek apppellative. I incline to suspect that the word thus Grecised
meant originally * ὁ Hititite* (cp. the forms *Khatti, Kheta, Heth*, etc.: H. R. Hall *The
Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 327). Be that as it may, the scholar
on Kallimachos does not definitely state whether the oak hung with fruitage was growing
much weight to Ovid’s description of the Colchian Diana as a
golden three-faced goddess, whose marble temple had ‘a grove
black with pitch-pines and leaves of the evergreen oak!’ But in
Thrace Artemis was certainly conceived as a vegetation-deity.
Tetradrachms of Abdera, struck c. 400—390 B.C., show her standing
in profile with a stag at her side, a bow and arrow in her left
hand, and a wreath (fig. 316) or branch in her right, or else facing
us on a pedestal with stag, bow, and branch (fig. 317). Bendis,
a Thracian form of the goddess, seems to have been specially
associated with the oak-tree. A. Wilhelm in 1902 drew attention to a
stellae in the Peiraeus Museum, on which are inscribed two resolutions
touching her cult. The first directs that Olympos, son of Olympio-
doros, for his official services to her sanctuary and orgeines be
in Attike or in Ionia. Perhaps we may assume that it marked the site of the new settle-
ment. If so, the foundation-legend of Miletos resembled that of Ephesos (supra p. 405).

1 Ov. her. 12. 67 ff., on which see P. Wagler Die Eiche in alter und neuer Zeit Berlin
1891 ii. 15 n. 43.
2 Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands ii. i. 83 pl. 3, 8 (=my fig. 316), Ant. Münz.
Berlin Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 195 no. 63 pl. 4, 34.
3 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 231 no. 52 β fig.,
J. N. Svoronos in the 'Eph. Arx. 1889 p. 101 pl. 2, 23. Cp. the type of Diana Nem-
orenis (?) on Italian gems (supra i. 274 fig. 199).
4 Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands ii. i. 83 no. 136 fig. (=my fig. 317) Berlin.
5 Supra p. 115.
6 A. Wilhelm in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1902 v. 133 (publication by J.
Dragatsis promised).

In an inscription from Thessalonike a priestess of Προνόφωρος, the ‘Bearer of the Ever-
green Oak,’ who speaks of herself as ἔνεια and ἔνεια, leaves certain vineyards to her θάσος,
the προνόφωρος; if the conditions of the bequest are not fulfilled, the property is to go to
1900 xxiv. 321 ff. Β ιερεία θάσος ἔνεια Προνόφωρον κατά Λειτού εἰς μῆλας ἀκρόποις ἀντέλων | πλέθρα δῶν | σῶν τῆς τάφρος | ὅπου ἀγορα| [ερωτε] ται αἵμων | — — and C και οἱ
μόστε | μικροὶ μεθαμεθασα | στέφανον βόδινων, ὁ ὅ ἐμὲ ἔργας αὐτῷ μετέχετο μον τῆς |
δωράς. αὖρ | ὅ ὅ μη ποιήσας, εἰς ἄντα τοῦ δρομοφόρον τεθεῖται ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναίνη
Perdrizet adds: ‘Pour le chêne-vert, c’est un arbre fort répandu dans la Macédoine
orientale; le Pangent lui doit son nom actuel (Pourmar-dag).’ See further the Class. Rev.
1904 xvii i. 82 n. 1, where I have cited the copper coins of Thessalonike with a wreath of
oak-leaves enclosing the word ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ or ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ
honoured with a wreath of oak. The second, proposed by Sosias, son of Hippokrates, on Skirophorion 8 in the archonship of Lykeas, ordains that Eukleides, son of Antimachos, for his services as secretary receive the oak-wreath. Wilhelm infers that this was the national wreath of the goddess. Was it accident or design that combined the obverse Artemis with the reverse oak-wreath on the shield-like tetradrachms issued in Makedonia from 158 to 149 B.C.? A silver coin of the Acarnanian League, referable to the year 192—191 B.C., shows a torch-bearing Artemis in a wreath of oak (fig. 318). And literary allusions tell the same tale. An Orphic hymn to Artemis invokes her as 'haunting the oak-woods of the mountains' and again as 'goddess of oak-woods.' Aristophanes similarly describes her as 'the Maid that ranges the oak-clad hills.' And Statius not only makes Atalante dedicate a choice oak to her in Arkadia, but also speaks of her effigy as carved on 'pitch-pine and cedar and every oak-tree' of her grove near Thebes.

The goddess was perhaps even identified with her own tree. The Saronic Gulf, according to Pliny, was formerly fringed with forests of oak and drew its name from the fact. On its shore, near

1 Ξρωσ οτεφάνως.
3 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly, etc. p. 169 pl. 27, 5, Head Coins of the Ancients p. 97 pl. 55, 20, id. Hist. num. p. 333 f. Fig. 318 is drawn from an electrotYPE of the specimen in the British Museum.
4 Orph. h. Artem. 36. 10 ὑ η κατέχει δρέαν δρυμοὺ, 13 δρυμώνυ.
5 Aristoph. Thesm. 114 f. τὸν τ᾽ ἐν δραστ δρυμάνων [κόρας] κλασμαν' Ἀρτεμιν δρυμότροφον.
6 Stat. Theb. 9. 688 ff. nota per Arcadias felici robore silvas | quae per serenam | id. Hist. num. p. 333 f. Fig. 318 is drawn from an electrotYPE of the specimen in the British Museum.
7 Stat. Theb. 4. 425 ff. nec caret umbra deo; nemori Latonia cultrix | additum: hanc picea cedroque | so O. Müller for piceae cedrique vulg.) | et robore in omni | effidam sanctis occultat silva tenebris. Mr E. Harrison in the Cambridge University Reporter Feb. 21, 1911 p. 663 comments: 'As things stand, we read that in a forest sacred to Diana the image of the goddess was carved on every tree of three several kinds. If the poet is worth relieving of a folly, we had better read in unam or in unam for in omni, supposing a triple diaderon of the triune goddess (cf. Pausanias ii. 30. 2). Yet see what this poet does at x. 100.'
8 Plin. nat. hist. 4. 18 sinus Saronicus, olim querno nemore redimitus, unde nomen, ita Graecia antiqua appellante quercum.
Troizen, stood a sanctuary of Artemis Sarontis, whose cult-epithet can be taken to mean 'the Gnared Oak'.1 If so, the implication is that some ancient trunk was viewed as her very embodiment. Tradition said that the cult had been founded by a woodland king, Saron the hunter, who met his death by pursuing a doe2 or a boar3 into the sea and lay buried in the precinct of his goddess.4 Saron, we may suppose5, stood to Artemis Sarontis2 in much the same

1 Schol. Kallim. h. Zeus 22 sarowidás: ἄρης: παρά τὸ σευρήμα καὶ συνετραμμένον τῶν φλοιῶν ἔξω, Hesych. s.v. sarowidás: πέτρας. ὡς δὲ διὰ παλαιότατα κεχρυνδά ἄρης (ср. id. s.v. sarowidás: Ἀρης παλαιά καὶ συνετραμμένον πέτρας. Ἑλληνική καὶ χώστικα. M. Schmidt remarks: 'Artemis Dorismos est Melius pro sarowidás'. See now K. Brugmann—A. Thumb Griechische Grammatik München 1913 p. 844, et. gen. in E. Miller Mélanges de littérature grecque Paris 1868 p. 264 sarowidás και ἄρης διὰ τὸ σευρήματι ἄρης (leg. sarowidás) διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν σετραμμένον ἄρης (σευρήματι, et. p. 456, 32 i. sarowidás, ἄρης, διὰ τὸ σευρήματι (leg. σευρήματι). ἄρης (leg. sarowidás) διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν σετραμμένον (σευρήματι, et. p. 459, 51 καὶ sarowidás, ἄρης καὶ ἄρης (= Favorinus. lex. p. 1636, 34). The word occurs in an elegiac fragment published by B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt in The Oxyrhynchus Papyri London 1898 i. 37 f. no. 14, 10 ἄρης σευρήματι ἄρης ὑφηρέτησα. Kallim. h. Zeus 22 f. ἄρης καί τολλᾶς ἐπάνωθεν σευρήματα ἔγραφον Ἰδών | ἱερεῖς, Parthen. narr. am. 11. 4 (= p. 17. 35, 4 ff.) καὶ ἡ κατὰ θυσίας ἄρης σευρήματα αὐτίκαι μύτην | ᾳφιμένη δειἀρ ένεπθηκα | (v. Πυθίων). 3 Cm. De Melo Χύκον, Dionysos Bòrus, Dionysos Κασού. But the direct identification of deity with plant-form in a cult-title was rare. Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 4 rashly assumes a Zeus Φυγές of the strength of Steph. Byz. s.v. Δυσσώς... καὶ τῆς αἱσθατικής φιλων Βοτρημένων Δωδώναι ἐν Αἰγίν. Εἰσκοιντ ἐν Δωδώναι Διὸς φυγώθεν. 4 Pass. 2. 30. 7 ἐλαφόν διακύκλον (the words ἐπὶ τῶν κυμάτων καταλέυσαμεν imply a derivation of Σάρων from σάρων, cp. Lyk. Al. 389 with Tzetz. ad loc. = et. mag. p. 708, 56 ff.), schol. Eur. Hipp. 1200 ἐλαφον ἐλαφον. We need not with S. Wide (De sacris Trauseniorum, Horacienimorum, Epidauroorum Commentatio academica Upsalae 1888 p. 36 f., cp. id. Locum. Cultus p. 125 n. 3 and in the Festschrift für Otto Benndorf Wien 1898 p. 14 ff.) and M. P. Nilsson (Gr. Feste p. 216 f.) assume that the doe was Artemis herself in animal shape, still less with O. Keller (Théorie des классischen Alterthums in culturgeschichtlicher Betrachtung Innsbruck 1887 p. 97, cp. id. Die antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1909 i. 277) to take it as a symbol of the starry midnight sky. After all, ordinary deer can swim well and take readily to the water (see e.g. R. Lydekker The Royal Natural History London 1894 ii. 347, 354, id. Wild Life of the World London s.a. i. 28). There is a good parallel in Pass. 8. 22. 9. 5 Euphorion ap. schol. Dionys. per. 420 (cp. et. mag. p. 708, 51 ff.) and Eustath. in Dionys. per. 420 ἐπιδιώκων οὖν. This too is a possible occurrence (R. Lydekker Wild Life of the World London i. 34). 6 Pass. 2. 30. 7. 6 So at least I have argued in the Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 370, cp. O. Hörer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 389. 11 Artemis Σάρωνις (Pass. 2. 30. 7) was also called Σάρωνια at Troizen (Pass. 2. 37. 10, cp. Achaïos Theoseis frag. 18 Nauck ap. Hesych. s.v. Sarowia: 'Ἀρετέας', 'Ἀχαϊως Θησεί' ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐφεσίου Σαρωνίου κόσμου Phot. lex. s.v. Sarowia) and Epidauros (P. Kabbadias Fouilles d'Epidaurie Athènes 1893 i. 51 f. no. 85 = Inscr. Gr. Pelop. i no. 1083 a stèle of 3. III (? ) B.C. 'Ἀρηστή Αἱδών Αἰγίν' | δία τοῦ παραφοράς | τίθεν τῷ Λαού | Ἀρετέας' Σαρωνία | δήθεν, Fouilles d'Epidaurie i. 57 no. 128 = Inscr. Gr. Pelop. i no. 1198 a rectangular block inscribed in archaische lettering of 3. iv A.D. or later 'Ἀρέτημος Σαρωνίας' with a numeral 88 below and a circle, perhaps meant for a wreath, in the middle of the name 'Ἀρέτημος' on this symbol see further C. Blinkenberg in the Ath. Mitth. 1899 xxiv. 381, 383 and M. Frankel in the Inscr. Gr. Pelop. i. 187, infra Appendix I. Init.). Her festival the Σαρωνία (Pass. 2. 37. 10) is discussed by Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 226 f.
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relationship as Virbius to Diana Nemorensis. Unfortunately, little or nothing is known about the early kings of Troizen. It is, however, noteworthy that the later Trozezan hero Hippolytos to some extent repeated the career of Saron. He too was a hunter, was intimate with Artemis, had the entrée of her ábaton, and died a violent death on the margin of the sea. He is not indeed linked by

The existence of the alternative title Σαρωνία at first sight tells against my interpretation of Σαρωνία; for Σαρωνία and Σαρωνία may both be derivatives of Σάρων, a place-name (Steph. Byz. s.v. Σάρων; τόπος Τροιζήσος) or river-name (Eustath. in Dionys. per. 420 ἂν Σάρωνος ποταμός Τροιζήσος, whence L. Holstein c.j. ποταμός for τόπος in Steph. Byz. loc. cit.). But these names themselves in all probability connoted oaks, cp. Paus. 8. 23. 8 ἂν δὲ ἄρτων ἄφθις Σάρωνα (C. Bursian Geographie von Griechenland Leipzig 1868–1872 ii. 263 n. 2 Σάρων is wahrscheinlich arkaische Form für Σάρων; L. Grasberger Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen Würzburg 1888 p. 259), so that on this showing Σαρωνία, Σαρωνία would be 'She of the Oak-land,' 'She of the Oak-river.'

There is yet another possibility. Starting from Hesych. s.v. σάρðονες: τὰ τῶν θυρατού λων W. Pape—G. E. Benseler Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen 24 Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1349 render Σάρων 'Netoel, Netze'—a view adopted by Peller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 613, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rei. p. 192 (but see ib. p. 1281 n. 4), Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 227, O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 388 (but see ib. p. 389). Artemis Σαρωνίς, Σαρωνία would then be a kind of Δίκτυνα. But it is far from certain that Δίκτυνα was originally connected with δίκτυον (supra i. 241 n. 6); and the Hesychian gloss may rest on a confusion (cp. Hesych. s.v. σάρδονες: ἐν κυνηγητικῇ μέρῃ τινά δικτυῶν δηλοῖται. The reference is to Xen. syng. 6. 9. Hence L. Dindorf restored σάρδονες to Hesych. and σαρδόνων to Xen. In Poll. 5. 31 G. Jungermann notes the manuscript reading σαρδόνες for σάρδονες. A. Fick in the Göt. gel. Anz. 1894 p. 245 relates σάρδονες to σύμπερα; but see Boisacq Dict. tym. de la Langue Gr. p. 853).

1 Saron, like Virbius (supra p. 393 L.), came to be deemed an aquatic divinity (Aristeid. or. 40. 208 (ii. 274 Dindorf) οὗτος έν τῷ πάντε χρόνον τὴν θάλασσα οἰκύσα, ὅπερ τὸν Γαλατίων φασί τὸν 'Αρηθόν, ἢ τὸν Σάρωνα τὸν Νεότομον τοῖς πελάγοις with schol. Aristeid. p. 639, 1 ff. Dindorf κατὰ κοινῷ τὸ δαίμονον φασι γίνεσθαι νυκτικώστατον. κ.τ.λ., Apostol. 15. 34 Σάρων νυκτικώστερος οὖσος ὁ Σάρων δαίμον χρ. νυκτικώστατος. κ.τ.λ.), being worshipped on the western side of the Bosporos in the bay called Bathylopolos, the modern Bohikdere (Dionys. Byz. per Bosporum navigatio frag. 71 versionis Gillianae (p. 26 Wescher) 'Fluvius in sinum exit, cui idem quod sinui nomen est. Hic existis. Saronis herois Megarici ara, et jactus piscium,' etc.), and presumably also at Megara (F. Pfister Die mythische Königliste von Megara und ihr Verhältnis zum Kult und zur topographischen Bezeichnung Heldelberg 1907 p. 41 =id. Der Reliquienkult im Altertum Giessen 1909 i. 41). On him see further the excellent article of O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 387–389.

2 The locus classicus is Paus. 2. 30. 5–8, where we are told that the succession was (1) Ὠρος, (2) Ἀλδηνως, son of Poseidon by Αῖς daughter of Ὠρος, (3) Σάρων, (4) after an interval of forgotten names Τέρψης and Ἀνδρας, sons of Poseidon by Alkyone daughter of Atlas, (5) Ἀττις, son of Ἀνδρας, in whose reign Troizen and Pittheus, the sons of Pelops, entered the country. F. Pfister Der Reliquienkult im Altertum Giessen 1909 i. 50 ff. ('Die mythische Königliste von Troizen') contends that the names Horos (éci), Leis, Altheos, Antahas, Hyperes all refer to the fertility of the Trozezan land. Here it is ad rem to observe that Antahas is comparable with Anthos of Arkadia, whose descendants hung their clothes on an oak-tree before swimming across a pool to become were-wolves (supra i. 71 L.), and that the Arcadian Anthos was perhaps, like Anthos the son of Autonoos and Hippodameia, destroyed by horses—a fate which would connect him with Hippolytos (supra i. 75).

3 Eur. Hipp. 70 ff.
legend with a sacred oak. But it is possible that here, as elsewhere, the oak had given place to the olive. In Pausanias' time a certain wild-olive, growing near the sanctuary and known as the Writhe Olive, was held to be the tree in which Hippolytos' reins had got entangled. Ovid and Seneca speak of it as a mere stump: the

1 Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 273, ib. 1904 xviii. 82 n. 2, Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 298.
2 Paus. 2. 32. 10 το ἡλασταν δὲ τῇ ψεφαίαν (ψεφαίαν codd. Angelicus and Ric-cardianus, the latter with ἐν ουτοι, —followed by Schubart and Walz. Siebelis cf. Φοβολαίοι) πορευόμενοι κύτων πέροικον ὑμοίων ὅλιον δέκαραν ψεφαίαν, κύτων καὶ ψεφαίαν καὶ Ἑλιαν ἐτοιμάζωσι τούτων, δι᾽ ἐναχθεισῶν αὐτῶν ἡμῶν ἀνεράτη τοῦ Πελωπον τὸ ἀρμα. τοῦτον δὲ οὐ πολυ τῆς Σαμωνίας Αρτέμιδος ἀφέστηκε τὸ λεόν, κ.τ.λ. Of the ἡλασταν here mentioned the ψεφαία at least was ἰδιον πρίνω (Hesych. s.π. φυλεῖν).
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former describes how the hero's sinews were caught on it; the latter makes him fairly impaled by it. Coppers of Troizen, struck by Septimius Severus (fig. 319) and Iulia Domna (fig. 320), show the citadel crowned by a distyle temple and flanked by a couple of trees, apparently olive and cypress. Another copper of the same town, issued by Commodus (fig. 321), represents Hippolytos, with hunting-spear and hound, leaning on a knotted tree-stump. An Apulian krater from Ruvo, now in the British Museum (fig. 322),

1 Ov. met. 15. 531 ff.
2 Sen. Phaedr. 1107 f.
introduces the fatal trunk into the death-scene. The tree thus connected with Hippolytos by literature and art very possibly presupposes the sacred oak of Artemis. In any case Hippolytos and Artemis Saronis must have borne an obvious resemblance to Virbius and Diana Nemorensis; for Virgil and later writers told how Hippolytos, restored by Asklepios at Artemis' request, lived again as Virbius in Diana's grove at Nemi. His tragic death and triumphant resurrection made him a favourite theme alike on Greek and on Roman sarcophagi (fig. 323).  

(ψ) Diana's tree at Nemi.

It is clear, then, that Diana in Italy and Artemis in Greece were often conceived as oak-goddesses. But have we any special reason to think that Diana's tree at Nemi was an oak? Sir James Frazer, as is well known, has conjectured that such was the case and has immortalised his opinion in that amazing monument of helpful research, The Golden Bough. Nevertheless, with regard to this particular point, his argument admittedly rests on probabilities, not proofs.


1 Supra p. 309 n. 3. See also S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Lex. viii. 1866.

2 Robert Sark. Relfs iii. 169—219 pls. 44—56 and figs. in text.

3 In the death of Hippolytos as carved on one of the smaller sides of a fine Greek sarcophagus at the Petropagd Hermitage (H. Brunn in the Ann. d. Inst. 1857 xxix. 36 ff., Mem. d. Inst. vi pl. 2 = my fig. 323, Robert op. cit. iii. 182 ff. pl. 47—48 fig. 154 a) the sculptor has apparently adapted the type of Phaethon's overthrow (Robert op. cit. iii. 179) He adds a background etc. of oaks and olives.


5 Apart from the general association of the oak with the Aryan thunder-god (Golden Bough: The Magic Art ii. 336 ff.), Sir James Frazer urges the following special considerations: (1) Diana at Nemi was called Vesta (Corpus. Inscr. Lat. xiv no. 2213 = Orelli Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 1455 = Wilmanns Ex. Inscr. Lat. no. 1767 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 3443 Diana | Nemores ani Vestae | sacrum, etc.) and presumably had a perpetual fire in her sanctuary. The Vestal fire at Rome was fed with oak-wood (Golden Bough: The Magic Art ii. 185 ff., 372, 378). Latin ritual is so uniform that we may assume a like custom at Nemi: hence it becomes probable that the hallowed grove there consisted of a natural oak-wood, and that therefore the tree which the King of the Wood had to guard at the peril of his life was itself an oak (Golden Bough: The Magic Art ii. 379). (2) Verg. Aen. 6. 203 ff., cp. ib. 136 ff., speaks of the golden bough as growing on an evergreen oak (opaca | silve) near Lake Avernus (Golden Bough: The Magic Art ii. 379, ib.): Balder the Beautiful ii. 284 ff., 315. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 6. 136 quotes as a popular belief (publica...opinio) the view that the Golden Bough was the branch which a candidate for the priesthood of Diana had to pluck in the sacred grove of Nemi (Golden Bough: Balder the Beautiful ii. 284 n. 3). (3) Verg. Aen. 6. 772 represents the old Alban dynasty of the Silvii as crowned with oak (civiti...quercu) (Golden Bough: The Magic Art ii. 178 ff., 379). 'It is not impossible that the King of the Wood...was the lawful successor...of this ancient line' (ib. p. 379). (4) The double-headed bunt at Nemi, which probably portrays the old King of the Wood and his younger rival, shows both of them plastered...
Diana’s tree at Nemi

and I was formerly disposed to question its validity. I still hold that the evidence is incomplete; but I believe that I am in a position to strengthen it by sundry fresh facts of local significance.

Some years ago in looking through an old book on the Campagna I came across an etching of the Lake at Nemi, published in 1805 (fig. 324). The accompanying text by Miss Ellis Cornelia Knight, who lived in Italy from 1776 to 1799, describes the lake-side and incidentally remarks:

There is a tree which tradition reports to be near two thousand years old, but some of the inhabitants content themselves with saying, that it was planted by Augustus; its spreading branches hang over the lake, and produce a noble effect.

It occurred to me at once that the tree in question might be the successor of the tree guarded by the rex Nemorensis, the obscure

with oak-leaves (Golden Bough: The Magic Art i. 41 f.). Egeria, perhaps a local form of Diana (Golden Bough: The Magic Art ii. 171 ff., 267, 380), was described as an oak-nymph (ib. ii. 172, 267, 380). Val. Max. i. 2. 1 speaks of her as dea Aegeria, which may mean ‘the Oak Goddess’ (ib. i. 22 n. 5, ii. 172 n. 3).

1 Class. Rev. 1902 xvi. 371, 374, 378 n. 4 (but see ib. 1904 xviii. 369 f.), Folk-Lore 1906 xvii. 445 f.
2 Description of Latium; or, La Campagna di Roma London 1805 p. 85 f. pl. 6 (see my fig. 324).
3 My friend Prof. R. C. Bosanquet informed me that the anonymous author of the Description of Latium was Miss E. C. Knight, on whom see Dr. R. Garnett’s article in the Dictionary of National Biography ed. by S. Lee London 1892 xxxi. 249 f.
woodland king having been replaced in popular memory by the famous emperor. Anxious therefore to ascertain the species of the tree, I asked my former pupil Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs Van Buren) to go over from Rome to Nemi and question the peasants on the spot. Miss Douglas kindly consented to do so, and on Sept. 13, 1912 reported that they knew nothing about it, having—she said—"just enough modern ideas to hold everything old in detestation." But a week later a postcard from her drew my attention to the following passage in G. Tomassetti's great work on the Campagna:

"Among the scattered memorials of this country I must record that of the gigantic oak-tree, which grew on the banks of the Lake and was said to have been planted by no less a person than Augustus (Kircher V. Lat. p. 50); it was capable of containing twenty-five people in the hollow of its trunk, and it is said that the women of Genzano caused it to wither because they used to boil the water for the washing in it (Ratti p. 87, who saw it cut down)."

A. Kircher, whose Latium appeared at Amsterdam in 1671, duly mentions that the big tree below Genzano could house a family of twenty-five in its hollow trunk and was believed to have been planted by Caesar Augustus. N. Ratti's Storia di Genzano I failed to find at Cambridge, and there is no copy in the British Museum. So I induced my old colleague Prof. P. J. Harding, when next he visited Rome, to take up the quest. Four months afterwards he ran down the book in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele and on Jan. 16, 1913 sent me an extract, showing that Ratti, whose Storia is dated 1707, had seen the tree lying on the ground and was prepared to support Kircher's estimate of its size. It would seem,

1 It is perhaps noteworthy that one of the chief festivals of modern Nemi is the Esposizione della Croce on Sept. 24, a day which was celebrated in antiquity as Augustus' birthday (Wissowa Rel. Kult. Röm. pp. 446, 887).

2 G. Tomassetti La Campagna Romana Roma 1911 ii. 257. "Tra le memorie scomparse di questa terra deve ricordarsi il gigantesco albero di quercia esistito sul versante del lago, che dicevasi piantato nientemeno che da Augusto (KIRCHER, V. Lat., pag. 50), capace di contenere nel vuoto del tronco 25 persone; e si dice che le donne Genzesi lo abbiano fatto inaridire, perché vi facevano all'interno bollire la liscia del bucato (RATTI, p. 87, che l'ha veduto recidere)."


4 Nicola Ratti Storia di Genzano con note e documenti Roma 1797 p. 87 n. (1) "Quest' albero per la sua mole portentoso si è mantenuto in piedi sino a nostri giorni, e sussiste rebbbe tuttora, se la biasimevole costumanza delle donne Genzesi di far bollire a fuoco vivissimo la caldaja del loro bucato entro la cavità del tronco, che loro serviva di commoda
then, that the great trunk was felled some time between 1776, when Miss Knight went to Italy, and 1797, when Ratti brought out his account of Genzano. Its identification as an oak rests on the statement of Tomassetti. If that is reliable, then Sir James Frazer's surmise concerning Diana's tree receives at least a supplementary prop.

We need not, therefore, scruple to admit that Virbius was represented as a Janiform herm covered with oak-leaves just because he was the consort of Diana. How long he persisted in folk-memory and how widely he was recognised, our meagre records do not permit us to determine. As to the former question, C. G. Leland in 1892 published a curious tale current among the Romagnoli of northern Italy, in which we can readily detect a moralising reminiscence of Diana, Virbius, and his successful rival. As to the latter question,

stanza, a poco a poco non ne avesse seccato le radici, e l'albero stesso, per il che anni indietro bisognò venirne al taglio. Noi lo abbiamo veduto dopo reciso, e possiamo assicurare, che l'assertiva del Kircher riguardo alla straordinaria di lui grandezza non è punto esagerata. Un albero di questa natura non poteva essere, che di un età vecchissima, e quando non voglia credersi coevi di Cesare Augusto almeno non gli si potranno negare molti secoli di vita.

1 If it be objected that Genzano is on the opposite side of the Lake to Nemi, we must bear in mind the constant tendency of the early population to move down from the mountain towards the sea (G. Tomassetti La Campagna Romana Roma 1910 ii. 263 f.). As Diana's temple at Nemi was duplicated by Diana's temple at Aricia (id. ib.), so ex hypothesi the oak at Nemi was duplicated by the oak at Genzano.

Two other possibilities are worth weighing. (1) Quite conceivably the sacred tree of Diana Nemorensis was an apple-tree. I have, now been half-inclined to maintain that view: see Folk-Lore 1906 xvii. 445 f., supra i. 374 f. And further reasons for adopting it could be adduced. In 1744 the site of the precinct at Nemi was occupied by the pomaria of P. Frangipani (Tomassetti op. cit. ii. 264). Miss Douglas writes to me (Sept. 13, 1912): 'There are a good number of apple trees on the slopes of the lake, some of them fairly large.' Also it is a well-known fact that mistletoe very commonly grows on an apple-tree. (2) Again, something might be said for the conjecture that Diana's tree was a beech. She was certainly a beech-goddess in the near neighbourhood (supra p. 402 f. and especially p. 403 n. 1). And the whole district is called La Faiola (= La Faggiaiola) from its beeches (L. Morpurgo in the Mon. d. Linc. 1903 xiii. 297 n. 1).

2 Supra p. 400.


"Virbio was a beautiful youth, as good as he was beautiful, and he loved with all his heart a maid who seemed to return his love. "But she soon was tempted, | Tempted by another | Youth of greater beauty, | Which was like enchantment; | Yet he was a stranger, | And he had no story, | For this handsome stranger, | Virbio was slighted. "Then Virbio fell ill in despair, and seemed to be dying, and the girl learning this repented, and in grief said to her new lover: 'I have done wrong, and I now see that Virbio loved me truly as thou dost not and no one can.' Then her lover gazed at her and she saw he was not a man but a devil. And he said: -'See what thou hast done, | See how thou art wicked, | Leaving one who loved thee | With all soul sincerely! | Yet for me you left him, | Yes, for me, a devil; | Now you both are lost, | For thou'rt truly promised | To be mine for ever, | As thou holdest Virbio. | But if you will sign | With your blood a contract | To be mine, I'll grant ye | Many, many years | Of happiness together.' "Now Virbio did
a priest of Virbius is mentioned in an inscription at Naples\(^1\), and there was a Clivus Virbius in the immediate vicinity of an ancient Dianium at Rome\(^2\). Servius' statement that Diana was transferred from Aricia to Sparta\(^3\) leads me to suggest that at a comparatively late date Virbius, the associate of Diana Nemorensis, was attached to Artemis Orthia also. Vibius Sequester actually gives Virbius as the name of a Laconian river\(^4\). And Pausanias says that the image of Artemis Orthia was found by Astrabakos and Alopekos the sons of Irbos. He adds that Irbos was the son of Amphisthenes, son of Amphikles, son of Agis\(^5\). I suspect that Irbos is a late Grecised form of Virbius; and in his forbears Amphisthenes and Amphikles I find a hint of his Janiform nature\(^6\). The connexion of Virbius with Artemis Orthia would be doubly appropriate if, as is certainly possible, the Greek Orthia was the older phonetic equivalent of the Latin Virbius\(^7\), both names being akin to the word *arbor*\(^8\). On this

not believe in the power of devils, and was only too glad to get his love again, and so signed the contract, as she did also. And they lived happily indeed for many years; but years must end, and so it came to pass that when the time of the contract expired both died at once. And all at once there was an awful storm over all the land, the heavens grew dark by day, and horrible fires flashed out of the darkness, and amid the storm was heard a voice which sang:"Women, learn to love | One true love, and truly; | When you're truly loved | Be warned by my example! | Now I pay the fee | For my fatal falsehood." And since that time the two have gone about as spirits knowing no rest."

Leland has been accused of inaccuracy—a charge which he hotly rebuts (op. cit. p. 13 ff.). He was no doubt an erratic genius, and there is a good deal of chaff mixed with his grain. But he certainly meant his tales from La Romagna Toscana as a serious contribution to folk-lore: see his letters to Mrs Pennell written from Florence in 1890—1891 and printed by E. R. Pennell Charles Goffrey Leland London 1906 ii. 339 ff.

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1. *Corp. inscr. Lat. x* no. 1493, 6 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 6457, 6* flaminii Virbili.
2. See further *Fraser Golden Bough* The Magic Art i. 20 n. 3.
3. *Supra* p. 400 f. See further *Class. Rev.* 1901 xvi. 380 n. 3.
4. *Scrib. in Verg. Aen.* 2. 116 Colechos pictaret (Ex. Orestes), et cum his occasio Thoante, simulacrum sustulit abscundit fasce lignorum: unde et Facelitis dictur...et Ariacam detulit. sed cum postes Romanis sacrorum crudelitas dispeceret, quamquam servi immolarentur, ad Laconas est Diana translati, ubi sacrificii consuetudo adulescentum verbius servaverat, qui vocabantur Bominicae, quia aris superpositis contendebant, qui plura posset verbera sustinere. *Infra* § 3 (c) i. (b).
5. *Supra* p. 394 n. 2.
6. Paus. 3. 16. 9 $\tau\omega\tau\nu\alpha$ μὴν γὰρ Ἀστραβάκας καὶ Ἀλάτεκος οἱ Ἰρβοι τοῦ Ἀμφισθένου τοῦ Ἀμφίκλεου τοῦ Ἀδάνου τὸ ἄγαλμα εἰρωνεῖ ἀνώτακα παρεχόμενον. Crp. 3. 16. 11 καλοὶ δὲ οὐκ ὄρθοι μᾶνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀργότατος τὴν αὐτήν, δῆτι τὸν βάμβως λόγων ἐφόρθη, περιπληθεῖσα δῆ τὸ λέγοι ἑτούσοι τὸ ἄγαλμα ὅπως.
8. My expert friend Dr F. P. Gills tells me (May 1918) that *Viribus*, the strict equivalent of *Fopidia* (for *wofidiass*), involves a sound *Vu* which the Latins disliked and would therefore alter by dissimilation (op. *viceus > vicinus*). He thinks that the first *i* of *Virbius* may perhaps be due to the influence of the second *i* (op. *filius*).
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showing Orthia might be rendered 'Goddess of Growth' and Virbius, 'He who is concerned with Growth' or the like.

vi. Zeus and the Twins.

Thus far we have traced the fortunes of the divine Sky, which was represented, not only as a celestial archway, but also—since it was bright by day and dark by night—as a double-faced god with a tendency to differentiation of the two faces. It remains to notice yet another development of the same primitive conception. To put it briefly, the twofold Sky split into twins. The phrase sounds extravagant. Fissiparism savours more of biology than of mythology. Nevertheless we can mark the process by which the very vault of heaven first produced a pair of pendant divinities and afterwards underwent complete dichotomy.

(a) The supports of the Sky personified.

The initial step is taken when the supports of the Sky become personified as its supporters, the result being a couple of contrasted sky-powers. The pillars of Herakles at one end of the Mediterranean, formerly called the pillars of Briareos and earlier still the pillars of Kronos, together with the analogous pillars of Proteus at the other end, those of Herakles in Pontos or far beyond Babylon.
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those of Herakles and Dionysos in India, imply the belief that the sky rests upon solid and tangible supports. But these as yet are mere columns or columnar heights. The two pillars before the altar of Zeus on Mount Lykaion were likewise in all probability conceived as sky-props. And here a certain advance may be discerned: the pillars are divinised, so to say, by the sky-god, who rests upon each in the form of a gilded eagle.

The Phoenicians in their sacred architecture went a step further towards personification. The two inscribed columns of bronze, eight cubits high, in the Herakleion at Gadeira, which some took to be the original pillars of Herakles, were at least masses of shining metal. They were excelled in brilliance by the two pillars, which Herodotos saw in the sanctuary of Herakles at Tyre: of these, one was made of pure gold, the other of 'emerald-stone large enough

1 The pillars of Herakles and Dionysos on Indian soil (Strab. 171) are sometimes called boundary-stones (Curt. 3. 10. 5. 9. 4. 21), sometimes altars (Plin. nat. hist. 6. 49. Solin. 49. 4. Mart. Cap. 692). The pillars of Dionysos (Apollod. 3. 5. 2. Avien. desc. orb. terr. 1384.) The epitome rerum gestarum Alexandr. Magni 12 (ed. O. Wagner Leipzig 1900) mentions one pillar only are also termed metas (Claud. de tert. cons. Honor. Aug. p. 1108).
3 Eustath. in Dionys. por. 64 faeò òtò astras y νυμπλακτες elonas Herakleos, k.t.l. is an isolated vagary, which cannot be held to justify the assertion of F. Dürrbach in Darmberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 93 that the pillars of Herakles 'ne sont pas autre chose sans doute que les simulacres de la divinité chez les Phéniciens.' Priscian. por. 617 ff. 1557 f. (Poe. Lert. min. v. 296 and 311 Baehrens) in like manner describes the pillars of Dionysos as statuae: see De Vit. Onomast. i. 655.

I add what seems to be a northern parallel. At Cape Solfar in the southern part of Porsanger Fjord the Lapps of the eighteenth century had their most famous cult-centre. Here at a distance of half a mile from the sea rose two lofty rocks, one of them coated with moss. Near the rocks lay the spits (Bassem-Morab) used at festivals of the god, to whom his worshippers offered only the bare bones of the animals sacrificed, expecting him to re-colloquiate the same with flesh [cp. Frazer Golden Bough: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 257]. Stakes of dry firwood were set up crosswise against the rocks, each marked with the signs III|XXX|III|+++|+++|XXX. [Longish stakes called Liet-Morab, smeared with the blood of the victim, were commonly set up on the place of sacrifice.] Towards the south stood a tall square beam bearing the same marks: the lower part of it was driven into the ground, the upper part was pierced by an iron nail like a trefoil. Knud Leem supposes that the deity here worshipped was Thor, though he admits that no idol named Thor was then known among the Lapps of Finnmark (Acanus Leemius De Lapponibus Finmarcachie, eorumque lingua, vita et religione pristina commentatio Ribenhavn 1767 p. 437 f. with p. 428 f. pl. 86 = my fig. 329) Knud Leem Nachrichten von den Lappen in Finnmarken, ihrer Sprache, Sitten, Gebrauchen, und demaligen heidnischen Religion Leipzig 1771 p. 221 with p. 216). Supra p. 57 n. 1.

4 Supra i. 66. 83 f.
5 Poseidonios of Apameia frag. 96 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 394 Müller) 40. Strab. 170.
6 Eupolemos, a Jewish historian writing c. 150 B.C. (Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa
to shine by night. \(^1\) Brighter still were the two slender shafts, which on some coins of Kypros (figs. 325, 326); Sardeis (fig. 327); and Pergamon (fig. 328)\(^4\) representing the temple of Aphrodite Paphia flank and possibly duplicate the main standards of its façade; for here and elsewhere (fig. 330)\(^5\) they are treated as candelabra, on

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\(^1\) Real-Enc. vi. 1237 ff., as quoted by Alex. Polyhist. frag. 18 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 218 Muller) \(\alpha p\), Euseb. praep. ev. 9, 34, 18 makes this pillar sent by Solomon to Souron king of Tyre etc.: \(\tau \varphi \delta \Σωρας \epsilon\iota \Τωρω πέμψαν τωρ χρυσοι κλων τω \epsilon \Τωρω ἀναστήμενον \epsilon \nu \tau \varphi \ λειψα το\(\iota \) \Διός.\) See F. X. Kortleitner De polytheismo universo Oeniponte 1908 p. 279.

\(^2\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Cyprus p. 77 pl. 15, 4 Vespasian, p. 82 f. pl. 16, 6—9 Trajan. Figs. 325 and 326 are from specimens in my collection, struck by Vespasian (ΚΟΙΝΟΝΚΥ ΠΡΙΩΝΕΤΟΥΣ = 76/77 A.D.) and Trajan (ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕ ΣΥΠΑΤΟΣ and ΚΟΙΝΟΝΚΥΤΡΙΩΝ).

\(^3\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Cyprus p. cxxxi f. pl. 26, 8 (= my fig. 327), 9—12, ib. Lydia p. 256 pl. 26, 8 = Anson Num. Gr. v. 29 no. 199 pl. 5 Hadrian ΠΑΦΙΗ ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ.

\(^4\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Cyprus p. cxxix f. pl. 26, 7 (Paris) = my fig. 328 referable to the time of Trajan or Hadrian ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΠΙΣΤΡΙΠΩΛΙΩΝΟΣ and ΠΑΦΙΑ.

\(^5\) Supra i. 757 n. 1.

\(^6\) Fig. 330 represents a small gold ring in my possession. The incised design (scale \(\frac{1}{2}\)) shows the sanctuary of the Paphian Aphrodite with its sacred cone, towered pylön, flanking candelabra, and paved semicircular court. For similar gold rings see L. P. di Cesnola Cyprus: its ancient cities, tombs, and temples London 1877 p. 390 no. 10 (wrongly described) pl. 41, 20 (figured upside down), p. 391 no. 18, Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings p. 25 nos. 134, 135, 136 (‘on either side of the central chamber is a column surmounted by a blazing torch’), p. 29 no. 175, p. 44 no. 253 fig. 51 pl. 6 (relief with enamel filling), p. 240 f. nos. 1640 and 1641 pl. 35 (reliefs of applied work). Cp. the engraved gems in A. P. di Cesnola Salaminia London 1882 p. 40 f. fig. 39, Furtwängler Gschmitt. Steine Berlin p. 134 no. 2977 pl. 23, id. Antiken Gemmen i pl. 64, 81, ii. 296, Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings p. 76 no. 432, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Cyprus p. cxxviii f.
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the top of which flares are burning. Again, the two pillars of

burnished bronze made by the Phoenician Hiram for the forefront

no. 1 Paris ('Between these columns and the central portion are burning torches') pl. 26, 13, no. 2 Paris pl. 26, 15, no. 3 Berlin pl. 26, 14, no. 4 British Museum pl. 26, 16 and the bronze mirror in A. P. di Cesnola Salamina pp. 40, 59 fig. 66.

1 The best general account of the Paphian structure as figured on coins and gems is that given by Mr G. F. Hill in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Cyprus pp. cxxvii—cxxxiv. But the subject is deserving of a well-illustrated monograph.
of Solomon’s temple\(^1\) were, according to W. Robertson Smith, in the
nature of huge candlesticks or cressets, perhaps in actual use as fire-altars\(^2\). The
names given to them—\textit{Jachin}, ‘He will establish,’ the Stabusher, and \textit{Boaz}, ‘in
Him is Strength’\(^3\)—imply that they were in some sense personified supports\(^4\),
though still aniconic in shape\(^5\). And their original character as sky-pillars has
been detected by R. Eisler\(^6\). When broken by the Chaldeans and carried off

\textbf{Fig. 330.}

\(^1\) 1 Kings 7. 15—22, 40—42, 2 Kings 25. 16 f., 2 Chron. 3. 15—17, 4. 11—13.

\(\text{J. B. de Rossi ‘Verre représentant le temple de Jérusalem’ in the ‘Archives de l’orient latin}
\) Paris 1884 ii. 444 remarks \textit{à propos} of these columns: ‘Il y en avait aussi à Rome,
dans la basilique constantiniene du Latran; elles étaient au nombre de quatre, en
bronze doré, dans l’abside et supportaient des lampes\(^6\). [\(\text{\text{\‘Le livre pontifical, vie de}
\text{Sylvestre, ne parle pas de ces colonnes; mais il en est question dans la \textit{Descrip\textit{tion}
\textit{sanctuarii ecclesia romana} contenue dans le ms. Vat. Reg. 717 et dans un ms. de Valen-
ciennes du xii}^\text{e} \text{\‘siècle (V. \textit{Musaici di Roma}, texte relatif à la mosaïque de la chapelle des}
\text{Stes Ruffe et Seconde). Leur antiquité n’est pas douteuse et leur position isolée ne me}
paraît pas pouvoir être attribuée aux restaurations de la basilique pendant le Moyen Âge.]}
\text{\text{\‘Je ne dis pas que sur celles de Jérusalem il y eut des lampes au dessus des chapiteaux}
terminés en forme de lys; bien que, dans l’art chrétien et dans la liturgie chrétienne, le}
term de \textit{ilix} ait désigné des chapiteaux et des candélabres.’\]

\(^3\) 1 Kings 7. 21, 2 Chron. 3. 17.

\(^4\) \text{\‘Alii alter. (1) \text{E. L. Curtis—A. A. Madsen} \text{\textit{A critical and exegetical commentary}
\textit{on the Books of Chronicles}}\text{Edinburgh 1910 p. 329: ‘These pillars were in Solomon’s}
\text{Temple because they were a usual feature of Semitic temples, symbols of the deity,
surviving in this form of the ancient stone pillars the \textit{Maszeboth.’ (2)} \text{G. Maspero \textit{The}}
\text{\textit{Struggle of the Nations}}\text{trans. M. L. McClure London 1896 p. 746 n. 1: ‘we may...see}
\text{in them merely an equivalent of the Egyptian Stele-Pillars—as, for instance, those of the}
\text{temple of Karnak.’ (3) \text{R. Eisler \textit{Weltenmacht und Himmelszelt}} München 1910 ii. 639
n. 2: ‘Die phalliche Bedeutung der beiden Säulen, die der Ps.-Lucian den \textit{Exemplaren}
in Bambylke ausrücklich beilegt \text{\textit{supra} i. 591 n. 3}, ist auch für den salomonischen Tempel}
durch die kabbalistische Tradition (\text{\textit{Karpep, Le Zohar} p. 433) bezeugt. Dort wird über-
dies erzählt, dass diejenigen Frauen, die sich Nachkommenschaft wünschten, vegetabil-
sche Opfergaben am Fusse der beiden Säulen niederzulegen plegten.’ (4) \text{W. Robertson}
\text{Smith \textit{op. cit.} p. 208 n. 1: ‘doubtless symbols of Jehovah.’ (5) + (4) \text{T. W. David in \textit{A}
\text{Dictionary of the Bible}}\text{ed. by J. Hastings Edinburgh 1898 i. 308 f. ‘the pillars stood}
\text{for deity, and they formed a part of that Phallic worship of which we are finding more}
\text{and more traces in the ancient world...even to the Israelites these pillars were symbols}
of \text{J}’, so that...the true God was set forth by these Phallic emblems...Possibly the two}
\text{pillars stood for male and female, the active and passive principle in nature.’\]

\(^5\) \text{\text{\textit{Perrot—Chipiez \textit{Hist. de l’Art} iii. 130, iv. 288 ff., 314 ff. fig. 164 (restoration by}
\text{\textit{C. J. M. de Vogüé)}, figs. 165 and 166 with pls. 6 and 7 (restorations by C. Chipiez).}
\text{See also O. C. Whitehouse in \textit{A Dictionary of the Bible} ed. by J. Hastings Edinburgh}
\text{1900 iii. 881, F. Vigouroux in his \textit{Dictionnaire de la Bible} Paris 1890 ii. 856 ff.\]

\(^6\) \text{\text{\textit{R. Eisler \textit{Weltenmacht und Himmelszelt}} München 1910 i. 48, ii. 674. \text{\textit{Id.} ib. ii.}
\text{603 n. 8 cites from the \textit{Midraš taddé} ii (S. Funck \textit{Monumenta Judaica}, altera pars,}}\)
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to Babylon\(^1\), they by no means passed into oblivion. A gilded
glass, found beneath the ruins of a burial chamber in the cemetery
ad duas lauros, on the via Labicana three miles out from Rome,
shows the temple of Jerusalem as it yet lived in the memory of

a pious Jew c. 250—350 A.D. (fig. 331)\(^2\). Jachin and Boaz appear
as two free-standing columns much taller than those of the façade
and of a dark metallic hue. Even in the twelfth century Rabbi
Benjamin of Tudela in Navarre records\(^3\) among the sights of Rome

Monumenta Talmudica, Erste Serie Wien 1907 ii. 239 no. 798: ‘die zwei Säulen Jachin
und Boaz entsprechen der Sonne und dem Mond.’

1 Jer. 52. 17, 20—23.
2 J. B. de Rossi ‘Insigne vetro rappresentante il tempio di Gerusalemme’ in his
Bulletin di archeologia cristiana 1882 pp. 137—158 pl. 7, 1 (lithograph), id. ‘Verve
représentant le temple de Jérusalem’ in the Archives de l’orient latin Paris 1884 ii.
439—455 with col. pl. (= my fig. 331), Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l’Art iv. 392 f. fig. 151,
F. Vigouroux in his Dictionnaire de la Bible Paris 1899 ii. 856 ff. with col. pl. (the steps
to the temple and the pillars of its colonnade are here shown in silver). Inscripted
OIK OCIPHI[...]

3 The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela. Translated and edited by A. Asher
London and Berlin 1840 i. 49 ff. I am indebted for my knowledge of this passage to
R. Eisler op. cit. i. 48, who has done good service by drawing attention to it. When,
however, he goes on to suggest that Georgios Monachos de Basilio Macedone 14 (p. 844,
3 ff. Bekker) ἀλλα καὶ τὴν στῆλην Σαλεμῶντος ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ οὐδὲν μεγίστων κατεδάφισε
προστασίαν ἐν ὅρμαις αὐτοῦ ἅπασαν καὶ τῆν ἡθικὴν ἡθικὴν ἐν τοῖς θεμιτὸς τῆς αὐτῆς ἱερᾶς ἑκκλησίας, οὐ διείστιν ἐκαστὸν τοῦ τοιοῦτον κτίσματι τῷ δεύτερῳ προσάγων may refer to one of
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'Also St. Giovanni in porta latina in which place of worship there are two copper pillars constructed by king Sh'lomo a. b. m. whose name "Sh'lomo Ben David" is engraved upon each. The Jews in Rome told him, that every year about the time of the 9th of Ab, these pillars sweat so much that the water runs down from them.'

From pillars with personal names we go on to pillars with individual effigies. At Antioch on the Orontes, close to Mount Silpion with its cult of Zeus Keraúnios, Tiberius built a sanctuary of Dionysos and outside the temple set up two great statues-on-columns (stèles) in honour of the Dioskouroi Amphion and Zethos. My friend Dr Rendel Harris has justly compared them with the two extant columns of Edessa (Ourfa), which he regards as originally 'representative of or votive to the great twin-brothers.' He holds that the Edessan columns were surmounted by statues of the Twins, and he has even attempted to decipher in that sense the Syriac inscription graven on the more southerly shaft. Further, he has cited in this connexion an important passage from Julian, who shortly before 361 A.D. writes:

'The inhabitants of Edessa, a place sacred from time immemorial to Helios, associate with him in cult Monimos and Azizos. Iamblichos, from whose ample stores I have taken all this, states that by Monimos they mean Hermes, by Azizos Ares, consorts of Helios, conveying many a benefit to the region round the earth.'

It looks as though the local Twins had been identified with Azizos, 'the Strong' (aziz), and Monimos, 'the Beneficent' (mounûm), the two pillars of the temple at Jerusalem; he is forgetting that those pillars were both demolished (supra p. 427 n. 1) and that στήλας in late Greek means 'statue-on-pillar' and so 'statue' (C. d. F. Ducange Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae & infimae Græcætatis Lugduni 1688 ii. 1447, Stephanus Thei. Gr. Ling. vii. 752 D).

1 Sr. Benjamin of Tudela.
2 The anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem.
3 Infra Append. N.
4 Io. Malal. chron. 10 p. 234 Dindorf ἐκτεινε δὲ καὶ ἵερον τῷ Διονύσῳ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ὁ αὐτὸς Θεόμοις βασιλεύς, στῆλας δύο στήλας μεγάλας τῶν ἐξ Ἀμφιάσης γεννηθέντων Διοκόρου πίω τῷ ναῷ ἐπὶ τιμήν αὐτῶν, Ἀμφιαίος τε καὶ Ζήθων. On the force of στῆλας see supra p. o.
6 See, however, the revised reading and rendering of F. C. Burkitt 'The "Throne of Nimrod"' in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology 1906 xxviii. 149—155. Prof. Burkitt, on the strength of a fresh photograph (ib. pl. 1), rules out the supposed allusion to the Dioskouroi and concludes that 'we do not yet know to what deity it [the column] was dedicated.'
7 Supra i. 187.
8 Ioul. or. 4. 150 c — D οἱ τῶν 'Εδεσσαν (E. Spanheim's cf. 'Εδεσσαν is wrongly adopted by W. C. Wright) ὀλοκληροῦντες, ἱερόν ἐξ αἰώνων Ἡλίου χαρίαν, Μόνιμον αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀρίττον συγκαθηδροῦντες. αἰώνιοτοι φήσων 'Ἰάμβλιχος, παρ' οὗ καὶ τάλα πάντα ἓκ τολλῶν μικρά
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Arabic divinities of the morning- and evening-star. I would support Dr Rendel Harris' main contention by pointing out that on coppers of Edessa struck under Elagabalos (fig. 332), Gordanus Pius (figs. 333, 334), and Tranquillina (fig. 335) Tyche, the city-goddess, faces towards a column, on which is a small male figure in military costume (?) bearing a shield (?) on his left arm and brandishing a weapon of some sort with his right. This warlike

ΩΑΧΙΜΟΣ, ὦ ὁ Μῶνιος μὲν Ἕμεγὼ εἶη, "Αὐτοῖος δὲ "Ἀρμα, Ἡλιοῦ πάραδροι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τῷ περὶ γῆς ἔσχεταιντες τόπως. Ὁμ. ὑστ. 154 λ—μ ἐγὼ δὲ δύι μὲν Ἀρμά "Αὐτοίος λεγόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκομυτῶν τῶν Ἐδεσσῶν (E. Spanheim and W. C. Wright would again read Ἐδεσσα) Σέραμον Ἡλιοῦ προστρεχέως, καὶ οἰκηρ εἶδος καὶ προετόνων ἀφόρας μοι δοκεῖ.


2 Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 508 pl. 79, 2 (= my fig. 332). MAPAVANTOK

ΟΛΕΔ — — —

2 Rasche Lex. Num. iii. 527, Suppl. ii. 720, E. Babelon in the Revue belge de numismatique 1893 xxxix. 25 no. 85 pl. 3, 1, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 313 f. Fig. 333 is from a specimen given to me by Dr Rendel Harris; fig. 334, from another specimen in my collection. ΜΗΤ-[ΚΟΛ]ΕΔΕΔΙΧΝΩΝ.

4 Rasche Lex. Num. iii. 527 f., Suppl. ii. 720 f., E. Babelon in the Revue belge de numismatique 1893 xxxix. 25 no. 91 pl. 3, 3 [ΜΗΤ-[ΚΟΛ]ΕΔΕΔΙΧΝΩΝ, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 513 pl. 79, 8 (= my fig. 335) ΜΗΤ[ΚΟΛ]ΕΔΕΔΙΧΝΩΝ.


E. Babelon locc. citt. speaks of 'un petit génie,' which is vague. Head Hist. num. 3 p. 689.
personage can hardly be other than Azizos, whom Iamblichos compared with Ares. If so, he was one, and the more important one, of the Edessan Twins. The identification is borne out by the fact that coppers of Edessa struck by Alexander Severus and Iulia Mamaea (fig. 336) show a somewhat similar little figure standing on the turreted crown of the goddess in the attitude of a fighting giant and probably intended for the constellation Orion, whose position in the starry sky is contiguous to that of the Twins. Whether Azizos and Monimos were, as R. Dussaud supposes, parallel forms arising from the duplication of a single god or rather, as F. Cumont suggests, originally distinct divinities on their way towards ultimate fusion, we cannot with the data at our disposal.

'he figure of a divinity on a column' is hardly less so. G. Macdonald in the Hunter Cat. Coins lec. cit. hazards 'statue (of Aquarius?)' and is followed by Head Hist. num., p. 815.

1 E. Babelon in the Revue belge de numismatique 1893 xliii. 20 f. no. 79 pp. 7, 9: 'un petit génie qui, peut-être, tire de l'arc.' Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 312 pl. 79, 7: 'small statue (of Aquarius?)' Fig. 336 is from a specimen given to me by Dr Rendl Harris.

ΜΗΤΚΟΛ ΕΔΕΚΧΗΝΩΝ. The city-goddess is seated on a stool with a small temple in her right hand, the river-god Skirtos at her feet, and four stars round about her.

2 For type see G. Thiele Antike Himmelsbilder Berlin 1898 p. 119 ff. fig. 46, Kienitz in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1027 f. fig. 3.

6 A. Jeremias Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur Leipzig 1913 p. 129 with pl. 1 f. (Sternbilderkarte and Sternkarte).

4 R. Dussaud—F. Macler Mission dans les Régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne (extr. from the Nouvelles Archives des Missions scientifiques x) Paris 1903 p. 57 ff., R. Dussaud in the Rev. Arch. 1903 i. 129 f. = id. Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1903 p. 9 f., id. Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam Paris 1907 p. 131 f. Dussaud argues that various deities identified with the planet Venus were thereby duplicated into hypostases corresponding with the morning and evening-star. Thus the Sabaean god 'Ahtar, équivalent onomastique d'Ihtar et forme masculine d' Achetor-Astarit, produced the pair Azizos and Monimos, the Arabian counterparts of Phosphoros and Hesperos.

5 F. Cumont Études syriennes Paris 1917 p. 269 n. 2: 'On pourrait, il est vrai, se demander si ce n'est pas le phénomène inverse qui s'est produit ici: les dieux de l'étoile du matin et de l'étoile du soir, primitivement distincts, seraient confondus lorsque l'astronomie reconnut que les deux planètes n'en faisaient qu'une. C'est ce qui arriva en Grèce pour Phosphoros et Hespéros.' But see R. Dussaud in the Rev. Arch. 1903 i. 129 n. 1 = id. Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1903 p. 9 n. 1.
The supports of the Sky personified determine. It is, however, permissible to think that their columns on the citadel of Edessa were conceived as sky-supports. For at Baitokaike (fig. 337) and elsewhere throughout the Syrian area Azizos and Monimos are found as the regular supporters of the solar eagle carved on the soffits of sacred lintels.

Finally, Etruscan mirrors show the starry roof actually resting on the heads of the Dioskouroi. The great majority of these

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1 E. G. Rey in the *Archives des Missions scientifiques et litteraires* Paris 1866 Deuxième série iii. 338 with woodcut, R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 131 fig. 3 (reproduced in my fig. 337) = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 11 fig. 3. Dussaud thinks that each of the ἐπόχοι was holding in both hands a torch (probably added in paint), and that one of these torches was raised, the other lowered. But?


3 *Supra* i. 769 f. figs. 561, 562, 563, 565. I have (*ib. p. 767 n. 1) compared the Dioscuric arch with the structure of the Japanese torii. Prof. Takeo Wada of Kyoto University kindly informs me that at Yamagata there is a *torii*, the two side-posts of
The Dioskouroi as the halves of the Sky

mirrors, by a curious convention, gives the heroes but one arm apiece, as though to indicate their conjoint being. Other bronzes of Etruscan make represent them with two arms each, but only a single wing (fig. 338).

(β) The Dioskouroi as the halves of the Sky.

Looking back, we realise that the divine Sky has little by little transformed its supports into anthropomorphic supporters. Tyndareos has been joined by the Tyndaridai. Zeus has begotten the Dioskouroi. But the process is still incomplete. For it cannot be said that the Sky itself has as yet suffered cleavage or split into a pair of Twins. The fact is that, so long as men believed in a flat earth overarched by a solid sky resting on side-props, further development was impossible. But with the dawn of philosophy a better cosmology appeared. Ionic speculation in the sixth century B.C. led on to the view, first clearly enunciated by Parmenides and zealously propagated by the Pythagoreans, that this earth of ours is a sphere. It then became natural to conceive of the Sky as composed of two hemispheres, respectively light and dark. And some unknown thinker, perhaps Empedokles, more likely a Stoic, ventured to identify them with the Dioskouroi. His explanation appealed to rational minds and found favour in a materialistic age. For instance, Philon the Jew, speaking of ingenious mythologists in his treatise On the Decalogue (c. 40 A.D.), says:

which are carved in relief with standing figures of temple-servitors wearing their official caps. The resemblance to the scene on the Etruscan mirrors is singularly complete.

1 For a larger collection of evidence see Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iii. 33 ff. pls. 45 ff.
2 Supra l. 768. Since writing on the subject I have acquired a mirror (pl. xxiv), which retains the usual type of the Dioskouroi with Phrygian cap, short chiton, bent leg; single arm, and connective pediment, but adds between the brothers their mother Leda (?) in a Phrygian cap and their sister Hélène (?) with rayed hair. The stars are here absent, unless the pattern on the two shields can be claimed as stellar. Length 0'345. Breadth 0'116. Cp. Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iii. 317 pl. 227, 2 = Babelon—Blanchet Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat. p. 525 f. no. 1313 fig.
3 I figure a pair of belt-hooks, obtained by Mr E. J. Seltman in Capri, and now in my possession. The Twins, whose heads are rayed, bear a dagger and a knife in their right hands. The left hand in each case is empty and clumsily rendered, being perhaps no part of the original design. A wolf’s head terminates each hook above and below; but it must not hastily be assumed that this is due to contamination with Romulus and Remus (infra p. 440 ff.). Height 0'104. Cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 351 no. 2858. Another belt-hook of the same provenance and of similar design (fig. 339) omits the wings, but connects the heads of the Twins by means of a forked bar.
4 For a clear perception of this sequence of ideas I am indebted to friendly criticisms received from Miss Harrison (Sept. 23, 1918).
6 Id. ib. pp. 112, 490, 683 f.
7 Id. ib. p. 284 n. 1.
Etruscan mirror: the Dioskouroi with Leda(?) and Helene(?) between them.

See page 432 n. 2.
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‘They bisected the sky theoretically into hemispheres, one above, the other below, the earth, and called them Dioskouroi, adding a marvellous tale about their life on alternate days.’

Again, that acute doubter Sextus Empiricus (c. 180 A.D.), ἀ propos of men raised to the rank of gods, writes as follows:

‘Moreover, they say that the Tyndaridai usurped the reputation of the Dioskouroi, who were thought to be gods. For in those days wise folk spoke of the two hemispheres, the one above the earth and the other below it, as Dioskouroi. Wherefore also the poet, hinting at this, says of them:

One day they are alive, the next day dead
In alternation, honoured like to gods.

And men put πῖλοι on their heads with stars atop, hinting at the arrangement of the hemispheres.

An anonymous Introduction to the Phaenomena of Aratos (later than s. i A.D.) alludes briefly to the same ‘Homerice allegory.’ And Julian attacks it in his oration on The Sovereign Sun (361 A.D.):

‘Who, think you, are the Dioskouroi, my wise friends, you that accept tradition without criticism?... Some have supposed that the theogonists meant the two hemispheres of the universe. But this is absurd. For how each of the hemispheres is “alternate of days” it is not easy to imagine, since the increase of their light each day is imperceptible.’

Ioannes the Lydian (c. 490—c. 570 A.D.) repeats the theory:

‘The philosophers declare that the Dioskouroi are the hemisphere below, and the hemisphere above, the earth; they take it in turns to die, according to the myth, because turn and turn about they pass beneath our feet.’

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1 Philon de decalogiis 12 (iv. 258 Richter) τῶν τε οὐρανῶν εἶναι ἡμισφαιρίων τῷ λόγῳ δικαίως διανείμας, τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ γῆς, Διοσκόρους ἐκαλέσας, περὶ τῆς ἑτερομεροῦς ὑμὴς αὐτῶν προστεταμένους διήγησα.

2 Sext. adv. math. 9. 37 καὶ τοῦ Τυνδάρδας δὲ φασί τινὰς τῶν Διοσκορίδῶν ὑπελείψειν παλιν (ἀν λέγως παλιν;) νομισμένον εἶναι ϑεῶν... τὰ γὰρ δύο ἡμισφαίρια, τὸ τε ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆς, Διοσκόρους οὐσαν τῶν τόπων ἐνθρώπων ἐλέγων. δυο καὶ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οἰκτικὸν ὄρμον φασὶν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν “Ἀλλὰ μὲν ξύλοις ἑτερομεροὶ, ἄλλα τ’ ἄλλες τ’ ἀλλες τιμὴν δὲ λειλάχασιν ἰδι’ θεοῖς.” (Od. 1. 1. 301 f.) πίλους τ’ ἐπιτίθεναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ὕπ’ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀνέτραπος αἰνίσσομεν (αἰνιτάρχημα;) τῶν τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων κατασκεύην.

3 Anon. ι βιογ. in Arati phaen. praef. p. 89, 24 ff. Maass εἰ δὲ των φίλων καὶ τας παρ’ Ὀυμήρῳ ἄλληγροις ἔξετατο, μήδες ἐτῶν ἐδείν καὶ τοῦ πόλου καὶ τήν ἀδίδου κίνησιν καὶ τὰ ἡμισφαίρια καὶ τὴν εἰς φόρος αὐτῶν ἀμοιβή... “Ἀλλὰ δὲ τ’ αὐτῆς—πεθαίνεις” (Od. 11. 303 f.), μη ληθαργημένη, ἀνθρώπῳ: οὐκ ἀποθάνει τεθάνατος ὑπ’ αὐτὸ τούτων θεοὺς. τὸ ἀφανές τούτων θανάτου ὑπ’. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ισιογραφοὶ τέμνοντες τῶν τεθεῖν εἰς τὸς ἑκάτερον τῶν πόλου ἡμισφαιρίων (so E. Maass for τῆς ἑσομοιότητος, cod. V.)

4 Ioul. στ. 4. 147 λ—β οἱ Διόσκουροι τίνες ἦσαν εἰς, ὃ σοφῶτατοι καὶ ἄθανατοι τὸ πολλὰ παραεχόμενοι... οἷς γὰρ ὡς ὑπελείπον εἰσήχθαι τινὲς πρὸς τῶν θεολόγων ἡμισφαίρια τοῦ πάντος τὰ δύο λόγον ἦχεν τωσ’ παῖς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἑτερομεροι αὐτῶν ἐκάστος οἷδε ἐπιτίθεται μόνος, ἡμᾶς ἐκάστην ἀνεκπαιδευθήτως τῆς κατὰ τὸν φωτισμὸν αὐτῶν παρακλήσεως γνωμόνως.

5 Lyd. de mens. 4. 17 p. 78, 17 ff. Wünsch οἱ φιλόσοφοι φασὶ Διοσκόρους εἶναι τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ <τό> ὑπὲρ γῆν ἡμισφαιρίων τελευτῶν ὑπὸ ἀμοιβάδων μυθικῶς, οἶνοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀντιπόδου εἴς ἀμοιβής φερόμενοι.

C. Π.
Twins as Children of the Sky.

Finally, Eustathios in the second half of the twelfth century includes this notion along with others in his commentary on the Homeric couplet⁴. It would seem, then, that Greek speculation from Hellenistic to Byzantine times sought to identify the sons of Zeus with the two segments of the animate Sky. T. H. Martin² has plausibly conjectured that this is why the Pythagoreans regarded semicircles as sacred to the Dioskouroi².

(γ) Twins as Children of the Sky.

I would dwell for a moment on some aspects of this mythological development. In the first place, it solves without more ado an otherwise baffling problem with regard to twins in general. Sir James Frazer, in his survey of superstitions as to twins in Africa, remarks concerning the Baronga of Delagoa Bay: 'They bestow the name of Tilo—that is, the sky—on a woman who has given birth to twins, and the infants themselves are called the children of the sky⁴.' He adds in a footnote: 'The reason for calling twins "Children of the Sky" is obscure. Are they supposed in some mysterious way to stand for the sun and moon⁸?' Dr Rendel Harris, who has contributed so much to the study of twins⁸, carries the enquiry a stage further by pointing out 'that we have here among the Baronga the exact equivalent of the Greek’ Dioskouroi'.

But if that be so, there is no need to prolong discussion. The

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¹ Eustath. in Od. p. 1686, 33 ff. ἔτερον δὲ οὐ πάντα πιθανόν νοούντες τὸ ἐπερήμησον ἐπὶ τοῦ τοῦ μὲν τὸν ἔτερον γὰρ μὲν τὸν ἔτερον ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐκεῖ, τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ λυπών ὡς θανέον τεθνεῖτο, εἰς τὰ δὲ κατ’ αὐθαναμίαν ἡμισαφέα τοῖς Διοσκορίσι ὑποκειόμενοι, ὁν θάνεον μὲν ὄργαν αὐτῷ ἄστυ, βάτερον δὲ ἐκ νεκρῆς. ὑπὲρ ἀναπήρων ὁ παραβατὴς φρονὶς ὡς οὐκ ἔχει λόγον κινηθεῖ θέου νομοῦ τὰ δύο θανατοφοιμα τοῦ παιδός, κ.τ.λ. (the reference is to Ioul. or. 4. 147 b cited supra p. 433 n. 4). Cf. Eustath. in II. p. 410. 18 ff. διὰ δὲ τοῦ Διοσκορίδος καὶ εἰς τὰ δύο θανατοφοιμα τοῦ παιδός οἶομένων, καὶ εἰς τοὺς τροπικοὺς τὸ μάλαστα εἴκολον, ὁ παραβατὴς θελομαίνει πνευματικόν, ὡς δηλοῦνται καὶ ἐν τούτῳ εἰς τὴν Ὀδοσειαν.

² T. H. Martin La foudre l'électricité et le magnétisme chez les anciens Paris 1866 p. 297 f.

³ Damask. quaest. de primis principinis 261 (ii. 127, 7 ff. Ruelle) διὰ τί γὰρ τῷ μὲν τοῦ κόσκον αὐτῷ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι, τῷ δὲ τρίγωνῳ, τῷ δὲ τετράγωνῳ, τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ καὶ ἄλλῳ τῶν εὐθυγράμμων, ὃς δὲ καὶ μακρὰς, ὡς τὰ ἡμικύκλια τῶν Διοσκορίδων κ.τ.λ.

A different view is cited by Iambl. n. Ρυθ. 125 ἀκόμα καὶ πρὸ πραξάσσει παρακλη Δοὺς Σωτῆρος καὶ Ἰππακλέους καὶ Διοσκορίδος, τῆς τροφῆς υποκινεῖται τὸν ἄρχηγον καὶ τὸν τάσσῃ ξεχύμα Δία, καὶ τὸν Ἰππακλέα τὴν δύναμιν τῆς φύσεως, καὶ τῶν Διοσκορίδων τὴν αὐθανάσιον τῶν ἀπτάσεων. On this see A. Delatté Études sur la littérature pythagoricienne Paris 1915 p. 115 f.


⁵ Frazer Golden Bough²: The Magic Art i. 268 n. 1.

⁶ supra i. 762 n. 7.

question is already answered. Twins are ‘Children of the Sky’ because the Sky itself, appearing alternately as Day and Night, is essentially of a twin character. And the savage who saw twins born of an earthly mother was logical (or should we say illogical?) enough to dub her Tílo, ‘the Sky.’ Obviously this explanation does not exclude the possibility that the twinhood of the Sky was sometimes expressed in terms of Sun and Moon, or—for that matter—of Morning- and Evening-Star. These are but secondary modes of denoting the great primary contrast between Day and Night.

(8) The Twins contrasted.

In the second place, the bisection of the divine Sky naturally produced Twins of differing complexion. Sundry scholars have even supposed that the contrast might be crudely indicated by means of colour. Thus W. Watkiss Lloyd as far back as 1850 published a black-figured amphora, then in possession of a London dealer, which represents two warriors, with helmets, shield, and lances, riding side by side on a black horse and a white horse towards a youth greeting them with uplifted hand. The learned author interpreted the scene as the Dioskouroi welcomed by Hyakinthos, and remarked ‘the common relation of the brothers to alternating light and darkness.’ F. F. Ravaisson in 1875 pointed out that on the red-figured amphora from Melos, now in the Louvre, which shows the Dioskouroi taking part in a grand Gigantomachy, one of the heroes is charging on a white horse, the other on a red horse. And E. Bethe as late as 1903 thought it significant that on a vase of the Blacas collection published by Panofka the Dioskouroi have a black pílos and a white pílos respectively. But the fact is that in all these cases the use of white and black is merely an artistic

1 Indeed, a whole set of European folk-tales points in that direction (infra Append. F).
2 Cp. the description of the Dioskouroi in Mart. Cap. 83 post hos duorum una quidem germanaque facies; sed alius lucis sidere, opacae noctis alius refugebat.
5 Pottier Cat. Vases du Louvre iii. 1109, Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei ii. 193 ff. pl. 96 ff., J. D. Beazley Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge (Harvard University Press) 1918 p. 184, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 450 no. 3. Attic work from the end of 5th B.C., probably by the same artist as the Talos-vasse (supra i. 721 pl. xili) and very possibly inspired by the Gigantomachy painted on the inner surface of the shield of Athena in the Parthenon (Plin. nat. hist. 36. 18 [cp. 35: 54] with Sir C. Smith’s convincing article in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1896—1897 iii. 131 ff.).
6 E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1094, 1111.
7 T. Panofka Musée Blacas Paris 1829 pl. 82 (sic: ? pl. 33).
Kastor and Polydeukes

convention entirely devoid of mythological meaning. The contrast between the Dioskouroi, when they really are contrasted, goes much deeper than surface-colouring and is a matter of constitution and character.

(e) **Kastor and Polydeukes.**

Kastor and Polydeukes, for example. The *Iliad*, it is true, describes them as a pair of princely athletes buried in Lakedaimon, and only distinguishes Kastor the "tamer of horses" from Polydeukes the "good boxer." The poet, in fact, conceives both to have been mortal men; and this early evidence might be thought to negative any connexion with the diurnal and nocturnal Sky. But just here we must walk warily. It will be remembered that in Hellenic times the two Spartan kings were priests of *Zeus Lakedaimon* and of *Zeus Ouránios*, that is, apparently, of Zeus in his ordinary daylight guise and of Zeus as god of the starry midnight sky—the very sources from which, on my showing, the Dioskouroi derived their divinity. Further, the kings claimed descent from the twin sons of Aristodemos, whose death by lightning at Naupaktos marks him as a "Zeus-struck" man. Moreover, so intimately was each successive pair of kings related to Kastor and Polydeukes that, if both kings went out to battle, both the Tyndaridai went with them, and, if one king stayed at home, one of the Tyndaridai was left to keep him company. These customs and beliefs, if I am not deceiving myself, suggest that in early Doric days the two kings of Sparta were regarded as incarnations of Polydeukes and Kastor. The Homerica allusion to the heroes' burial may well be based on hard

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1 The simplest proof of this is furnished by the fact that, on the Gigantomachy-vase at Paris, the chariot of Zeus has two white horses and two red, that of Ares three red and one white. Such variation in colour assists the eye to pick out and appreciate individual forms: see K. Reichhold in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 105 ff.
2 *II. 3. 236—244.*
3 Hdt. 6. 36.
4 *Supra* i. 8.
5 Paus. 3. 1. 5. P. Poralla *Prosopographie der Lakedaimonier bis auf die Zeit Alexanders des Großen* Breslau 1913 p. 137 ff. discusses the extant pedigrees.
6 Apollod. 2. 8. 2. Other versions are noted by B. Niese in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 921.
7 *Supra* p. 376 f.
8 Hdt. 5. 75. See further Frazer *Golden Bough*; The Magic Art i. 48 ff., who urges that the Dioskouroi "may have been thought to accompany the march of a Spartan army in a visible form, appearing to the awe-stricken soldiers in the twilight or the darkness either as stars in the sky or as the sheen of spears on earth." But Herodotos' language points rather to something portable, which could be taken with the troops, or left behind—hardly the *ákhana* (W. W. How—J. Wells *ad loc.*), more probably the sepulchral jars (*infra* Append. H med.).
9 If so, no wonder that Aristomenes and his friend were able to impose on the Spartans by appearing to them at night on white horses with *piloi* and golden stars all complete (Polyain. 2. 31. 4).
fact. The *Odyssey*—or, to be precise, a passage interpolated into the *Odyssey*—speaks of them in language borrowed from the *Iliad*, but explains that, though buried, they were yet alive, and adds that even below ground by a special privilege received from Zeus they were living and dead on alternate days. This remarkable arrangement is set out more fully by Pindar. Writing in 474 B.C.² he mentions the same 'of the mighty Castor, and of thee, king Polydeucēs, ye sons of the gods—ye that dwell, for one day, in the homes of Therapnē, and, for the other, within the halls of Olympus.'

And c. 463 B.C.⁴ he says: 'In alternate changes the twin brethren spend the one day beside their dear father Zeus and, the other, down in the hollow earth in the depths of Therapnē, thus fulfilling an equal lot, since, when Castor was slain in war, Polydeuces preferred this life to being wholly a god and dwelling in heaven.'

The sequel tells of their feud with Idas and Lynkeus, the sons of Aphareus. The quarrel was occasioned by a cattle-raid, in which Idas had been defrauded of the booty. Lynkeus, gazing with his keen sight from Mount Taygeton, descried the Tyndaridae seated in the trunk of an oak, and with his brother at once hastened to attack them. Idas speared Kastor. Polydeukes came to the rescue. Idas and Lynkeus in vain hurled at him the tomb-stone of their father Aphareus. Polydeukes succeeded in spearing Lynkeus. And Zeus, flinging a thunderbolt at Idas, consumed him and his brother together. Polydeukes, returning to Kastor, found him not yet dead, but gasping for breath. In deep distress Polydeukes prayed to Zeus: 'Bid me also die, O king, with this my brother.' Then, as Pindar puts it,

'He ceased, and before him came Zeus, and spake in this wise:—'Thou art my son, whereas Castor was begotten by thy mother's husband, of mortal seed,  

1. *Od. 11. 209-304.*
after thine own conception. But lo! I grant thee thy full choice in this; if thou desirerst to escape death and grievous eld, and to dwell thyself in Olympus with me, and with Athéné, and with Arès of the darksome spear, thou canst have this lot appointed thee. But, if thou contendest for thy brother, and art minded to have an equal share with him in all things, then mayest thou breathe for half thy time beneath the earth, and for half thy time in the golden homes of heaven. When thus the god had spoken, the hero had no double purpose in his heart; and Zeus opened once more the eye, and then released the voice of the bronze-clad warrior, Castor.\footnote{Pind. \textit{Nem.} 10. 148 ff. trans. Sir J. E. Sandys.}

It has long been recognised that the interpolator of the \textit{Odyssey} and Pindar were alike indebted to the \textit{Kypria}, of which certain fragments are extant covering approximately the same ground. One such fragment draws the essential contrast:

\begin{quote}
Kastor was mortal, being doomed to die,
But Polydeukes, War's own wight, immortal.
\end{quote}

Another relates the beginning of the fray:

\begin{quote}
And then in haste
Lynkeus with fleet foot sought Taygeton,
Climbed to its topmost peak, and looked abroad
Through the whole isle of Pelops son of Tantalos.
\end{quote}

\section*{KYPRIA}

Kastor the mortal and Polydeukes the immortal are both sons of Zeus.

They carry off their cousins the Leukippides without giving bridegifts to Leukippos.

The Apharidai taunt the Dioskouroi with the rape; whereupon the Dioskouroi lift the cattle of the Apharidai and present them to Leukippos.

The Dioskouroi hide themselves in a hollow oak from the pursuit of the Apharidai. Idas, thrusting through the oak, pierces Kastor.

Polydeukes therefore slays Lynkeus. Idas with the stèle of Aphareus all but slays Polydeukes.

Zeus helps Polydeukes by killing Idas with a thunderbolt.

\section*{PINDEAR}

Only Polydeukes is the son of Zeus.

The rape of the Leukippides is omitted.

Only Kastor is concerned with the cattleraid.

The Apharidai basely attack Kastor, while he is seated (ἐυναύ) on a stump of oak.

Idas and Lynkeus with the stèle of Aphareus attempt to stop Polydeukes, but fail.

Polydeukes slays Lynkeus, and would have slain Idas, had not Zeus, to honour Polydeukes, hurled the fatal bolt.

\footnote{\textit{Cypria} frag. 5 Kinkel \textit{Ap. Clem. Al. prodr.} 2. 30. 5 p. 22, 22 ff. Stählin \textit{Kastor} μὲν θηρίος, θάντως δὲ οἱ αὐτὰ πέτρωσαν (H. Köchly \textit{v. πέτρωσα} ἣντα ὅπο οὖν ἀθάνατος Πολυδεὺκης, ἄντε Ἀρρόσ. \textit{The concluding phrase does not, of course, imply that Polydeukes was the son of Ares: see H. Ebeling \textit{Lexicon Homericum} Lipsiae 1880 ii. 31. Supra i. 279.}}}
Right soon the noble hero keen of eye
Saw both of them inside a hollow oak,
Horse-taming Kastor, prizeman Polydeukes.
Then drew he near and smote the mighty oak.¹

A later author likewise much beholden to the Kypria was the enigmatic Lykophron—witness the following extract from his Alexandra:²

One³ with his cornel striking hollow trunk
Of a black oak⁴ shall slaughter one⁵ of twain,
To wit the lion⁶ pitted 'gainst the bull.⁷
The other⁸ with his lance shall rip the flank
O' the bull⁹ and bear him groundwards. Yet once more
The dauntless ram¹⁰ shall butt him¹¹, brandishing
The glory of the Amyclaean tomb.
Howbeit bronze¹² and far-flung thunderbolts
Shall slay both bulls¹³ together, one¹⁴ of whom
By doughty deeds had satisfied enow
The god of Skias, Orcia, Tilphossa,
What time he¹⁵ bent his horn and fought his fight.
The one pair Hades, but the other Olympos
Shall welcome guestlike on alternate days,
Mortal immortals, saved by brotherly love¹⁶.

Now we may be very sure that the original explanation of the Twins' in-and-out career was not, as Pindar and Lykophron would


² Lyk. Al. 553—566.
³ ὁ μὲν κρανεῖρ κολλὸν αὐτάσασ εὐτύπος | φυγῆ κελαρᾶς κ.τ.λ.
⁴ Kastor.
⁵ Kastor.
⁶ Polydeukes.
⁷ Idas.
⁸ Polydeukes.
⁹ Idas.
¹⁰ Idas.
¹¹ Idas.
¹² The spear of Polydeukes, which slew Lynkeus.
¹³ The spear of Polydeukes, which slew Lynkeus.
¹⁴ The spear of Polydeukes, which slew Lynkeus.
¹⁵ Apollon.
¹⁶ τοὺς δ' Ὀλυμπίους πλάκας | παρ' ἡμαρ αἰεὶ δειώποιται ἔρους, | φιλανθομαίους, αφιήτος τε καὶ φιδιῶτος.
have us believe, sheer brotherly affection. The notion is edifying, but not primitive. Rather, the alternate life was a fifth-century improvement upon the harsh contrast of a mortal Kastor with an immortal Polydeukes. And this contrast is best regarded as a simple but graphic expression of the obvious fact that the divine Sky is half dark, half bright. The Tyndaridai inherited the essential duality of their sire, and at Sparta were appropriately embodied in a double line of kings.

(5) Romulus and Remus.

Proto-Doric institutions presumably have an Illyrian ancestry behind them, and may be expected to have left their traces in Italy as well as in Greece. At Rome, for instance, there seems to have been a definite and persistent tendency towards a dual kingship. Romulus and Remus—whatever the precise history of their names—were certainly conceived as a pair of royal twins. According to one version of their legend, they reigned with equal rights over their rustic subjects. According to another, Romulus after the death of Remus was hidden by an oracle to place a curule seat for him with sceptre, crown, etc. in order that the two brothers might still appear to be associated in the government. A curious ampli-


2 Supra p. 340 ff. Sir James Frazer points out to me (Aug. 14, 1918) that the octennial tether of the Spartan kings and the periodic test to which they were subjected (Golden Bough? The Dying God p. 58 f., Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 82, 83) fit in well with my hypothesis of them as sky-powers incarnate. It is interesting to find that the Illyrians had the same eight-year cycle (Strab. 315 ἑον ὁ τῶν Δαμασέων τὸ διὰ δικταρησίων χώρας ἀναστάμευ τοιάδοι with G. Dottin Les anciens peuples de l'Europe Paris 1916 p. 154).

3 I have pursued the subject further in Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 300 ff.


fication of the tale related that Romulus, obeying the Pythia, had a golden bust made from the features of Remus, set it as a statue on his brother's throne, and ever afterwards reigned with this effigy of gold beside him; he also sent golden busts of himself and his brother to be installed beside the magistrates of all towns under the Roman sway. Hence (says our authority\(^1\)) the still prevalent use of the royal 'we'! Again, the tradition that Romulus later ruled conjointly with Titus Tatius the Sabine suggests conformity with the custom of a dual kingship. No doubt, the absorption of foreign elements into the Roman state prevented the unbroken continuity of that régime. But, when the Tarquins were driven out, the same ancient principle reasserted itself and possessed sufficient vitality to produce the double consulship, if not also the ultimate duplication of the titles Caesar and Augustus\(^2\). There was a certain dramatic fitness in the belief that the battle of Lake Regillus, which sealed the fate of monarchy for the next five centuries, was won by the help of the great twin brethren Castor and Pollux. Even when the republic developed into the empire, the beneficent influence of twins, at once human and divine, was not forgotten. Tiberius was overjoyed when in 19 A.D. Livia or Livilla, the sister of Germanicus, bore to Drusus Caesar the twins Tiberius and Germanicus\(^3\). A large brass of Drusus Caesar, struck in 23 A.D., has for obverse design (fig. 340)\(^4\) the busts of the two boys emerging from cornua copiae to right and left of a winged caduceus. The significance of

\(^1\) Io. Malal. chron. 7 p. 173 Dindorf.

\(^2\) Tac. ann. 2. 84. H. Furneaux (ed. Oxford 1896) cites Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2630 (Famagosta, near Salamis in Cyprus) \(\text{[-- -- -- -- --]} \mid \text{[-- -- -- -- -- -- --]} \mid \text{[-- -- -- -- -- -- --]} \mid \text{[-- -- -- -- -- -- --]} \mid \text{[-- -- -- -- -- -- --]} \mid \text{[-- -- -- -- -- -- --]} \mid \text{[-- -- -- -- -- -- --]} \mid \text{[-- -- -- -- -- -- --]} \mid \text{[-- -- -- -- -- -- --]}\) and provides a stemma (op. cit. p. 165).

the type is clear, for it recurs on gold and copper (fig. 341) coins of Antoninus Pius, struck in 149 A.D., with the inscription TEMPORVM FELICITAS, 'the Luck of the Times.' Again, Nero Caesar and Drusus Caesar, sons of Germanicus by the elder Agrippina, though not actually twins—since one was born in 6, the other in 7 A.D.,—are represented on second brasses, struck under Caligula in 37 (fig. 342) and 40 A.D., as a pair of youthful horsemen closely resembling the Dioskouroi (fig. 343). Oddly enough both types, the cornua copiae and the horsemen, were imitated on bronze pieces issued in Kommagene and Lakanatis c. 72 A.D. by Antiochos iv to honour his sons Epiphanes and Kallinikos (figs. 344 and 345).

1 Rasche Lex. Num. ii. 1001, ix. 901 f., Suppl. ii. 144, Stevenson—Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 782, Cohen Monn. emp. rom. ii. 350 nos. 811, 812 fig. gold; 813 first brass, 814 second brass, 815 (dated 157 A.D.) first brass. These coins probably commemorate the birth of a son, T. Aelius Antoninus, in 147 A.D. and that of a second daughter, Annia Lucilla, c. 148 A.D. to the future emperor Marcus Aurelius and his wife the younger Faustina (stemma by P. von Rohden in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 229 f.).

2 Stemma by H. Furneaux op. cit. p. 163.


4 From a denarius, of 268 B.C. or later, given to me by Dr Rendel Harris (cp. Babelon Monn. rép. rom. i. 39 no. 2 fig., G. F. Hill Historical Roman Coins London 1909 pp. 27, 33 f. pl. 9, 13).

5 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. pp. xlvi f., 110 f. pl. 15, 5 (= my fig. 345 BACIΛΕΩΣ Y10I) and 6 (traces of BACIΛΕΩC Y10I, cp. E. Babelon Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue: Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène Paris 1890 p. 223 no. 45), Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 133 pl. 71, 5 (BACIΛΕΩC [Y]10I) and 6 (= my fig. 344 BACIΛΕ ΩC10I), Anson Num. Gr. v. 89 nos. 595 pl. 14, 597 pl. 25.
Leake, *ad propos* of a unique specimen in his collection (fig. 346), shrewdly remarks: ‘Epiphanes and Callinicus, sons of Antiochus, as Dioscuri.’ Assimilation to the Dioskouroi is yet more marked on gold, silver, and copper (fig. 347) coins of Faustina the younger,

![Fig. 347.](image)

![Fig. 348.](image)

which show L. Aurelius Commodus and Antoninus, the twins born of the empress in 161 A.D., sitting on one and the same throne-like couch encircled by the legend *SAECVLIS FELICITAS*, ‘the Luck of the Age.’ The design is obviously intended to recall the *Theoxenia*

![Fig. 349.](image)

![Fig. 350.](image)

![Fig. 351.](image)

or *lectisternium* of the heavenly Twins—witness the two stars, which on many examples (fig. 348) are seen glittering above the infants’ heads. Finally, coppers of the post-Constantinian period often portray Romulus and Remus, the prototypes of all these

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1 W. M. Leake *A Supplement to Numismata Hellenica* London 1859 p. 6. Fig. 346 is from the coin, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. The rev. is inscribed

[B]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.


3 For *stemma* see supra p. 443 n. 1.

4 *Infra Append.* H med.

5 *Infra Append.* N.
princely twins, themselves surmounted by the same Dioscuric device (figs. 349—351). If the dyarchy of the Phoenician sufetes was similarly related to a cult of Phoenician Twins, it is a question more easily asked than answered. In any case it need not here detain us.

(η) Zetes and Kalaïs.

Confining ourselves to the Greek area, we note that Kastor and Polydeukes were not the only pair of Twins differentiated out of the divine Sky. Boreas, the bifrontal wind-god of Thrace, whom we have already compared with Zeus, became by Oreithya, daughter of Erechtheus, the father of two winged sons, Zetes and Kalaïs. Their names were explained by the ancients as alluding to foul and fair weather respectively: Zetes was rendered 'Very Blowy, Blustery,' and Kalaïs, 'Fair-blowing.' The former etymology might indeed pass muster, but the latter is impossible. Rather we should suppose that Kalaïs was the Thracian equivalent of the Phrygian Kalaçois, father of Attes. Be that as it may,

1 Stevenson—Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 914, fig. (=my fig. 349), Cohen Munn. emp. num. vi. 178 f. no. 7 pl. 4 (=my fig. 351), ib. vii. 322 n. 1, 330 f. nos. 15 fig., 16 fig., 17—21, 22 fig. Fig. 380 is from a specimen in my collection: PLG = percussum Lagiduni, or pecunia Lagidinensis. Cp. Rasche Lex. Num. iv. 1888 'supra lupum duo astra, fausti omnin ergo, vt Castor et Pollux representa (sic) solent.'
2 Lübker Reallex. Supra i. p. 998.
3 Supra i. p. 380.
4 Supra i. 142 n. 10, ii. 444.
7 Gruppe loc. cit. finds a difficulty in the Doric Ζάηας (Inscr. Gr. Ssc. Hist. no. 1273 Α 89 f. καὶ Ζάηας καὶ Καλάνων [οιον] Βορρᾶ του Θαρκιότου κτ. λ.) But the crucial vowel is uncertain (G. Kaibel in Inschr. Gr. Ssc. It. loc. cit. prints Ζ. ΤΑΝ P. Victorius reads ΖΑΤΑΝ, Leo Allatius and F. Bianchini ΣΑΤΑΝ, L. Stephani ... ΑΝ) and in any case might be a hyperorism. Boisaq Dict. etym. de la Langue Gr. p. 306 regards the Homeric ζάηας as dissimilated from *ζῆηας (ζή + *ευ- of ἀμύς). It is tempting to connect Hesych. ζετέ... και παίνεται, Κύρης καὶ ζηήνως καὶ Κύρης; but see insula Append. M.
8 Since the -ά of Καλάνως could scarcely represent -άγω!
9 Paus. 7. 17. 9. Cp. F. Bechtel Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit Halle a.d.S. 1917 p. 573. Note also Hesych. Καλάνως γένος ἄπειρων (a passage to which Mr J. Whatmough drew my attention). We can hardly connect
H. Usener justly observed that these twins attest the twofold nature (Doppelseitigkeit) of their father.\(^1\)

(\(\theta\)) Zethos and Amphion.

*Ze\(\acute{\text{t}}\)es can hardly be separated from Z\(\acute{\text{e}}\)tho\(\acute{s}\)\(^2\), whose twin brother Amphion bore a name again indicative of a twofold father.\(^3\) That father, whether Zeus or Epopeus—for the two were one—was a sky-god, whose diverse aspects found mythological expression in the diverse characters of his children, Zethos the stern hunter and herdsman, Amphion the milder and more civilised musician.\(^4\)

(i) Herakles and Iphikles.

Somewhat similar is the relation of Herakles to his less valiant brother Iphikles.\(^5\) It is even possible that this pair of twins was originally conceived as a single dicephalous god.\(^6\) S. Reinach among his miscellaneous types of Herakles has recently included a bronze statuette in the Museum at Sens, which represents a two-headed personage with a curved knife (?) or club (??) in one hand and an apple (?) in the other (fig. 352).\(^7\) A. Hérond de Villefosse

\(\text{κάλαις} with χαλαρίν, 'turquoise' (Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. iv. 860 D—862 c), though Hyg. fab. 14 says that Zetes and Kalaix had 'crines...caeruleus.'\(^1\)

\(^1\) H. Usener 'Zwillingsbildung' in the *Strena Helvigiana* Leipzig—Berlin 1900 p. 339 (= *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 351 ff.). *Id. ib. n. 57 quotes an interesting Lithuanian parallel from M. Prætorius *Deliciae Prussicae oder Preussische Schaubühne* ed. W. Pierson Berlin 1871 p. 27: 'Prætorius...berichtet: 'Mif fällt ein, was ich einsmahls bey einem Fischer in dem Dorf Karckel gesehen. Derselbe hat anstatt der Fahren auf den Mast seines Bootes eine *stataum* beim Ruder (d. h. dem Steuerruder) aufgerichtet. Er hatte nemlich von Borken gemacht ein Bild eines Menschen, dass am Kopf zween Gesichter, eins vornen, eins hinten waren, an beyden aber war das Maul aufgesperret (der Wind ward also aus dem Mund geblasen): an den Schultern waren zween ziemlich grosse Flügel, daneben er seine Hände ausgestrecket, die rechte aufwärts, die linke erd wartime; in der linien hielt er einen Fisch, in der rechten ein Fäschhen. Auf dem Haupt war ein Hahn gemacht. Das bildt nente er *Wejopatis* (Herr des Windes).'' Es wird noch hinzugefügt, dass der Pfarrer des Ortes diesen Fischer "vor einen recht alten preussischen Heyden" gehalten habe, der nicht zu bewegen war, die Kirche zu besuchen, dass man ihn aber für den reichsten Fischer ansah. Man möchte vermuten, dass das Doppelsicht den *ventus secundus und adversus* bedeutete.'

\(^2\) The two names are confused in Palaip. 22 (13) Z\(\acute{\text{h}}\)o\(\acute{s}\) καὶ Κάλαις (where A. Westermann restored Z\(\acute{\text{h}}\)ro\(\acute{n}\)) and Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 10. 350 a Zetho et Calai (so G. Thilo: H. A. Lion prints Zetho).


\(^3\) *Infra* Append. J.

\(^4\) H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 310 f.

\(^5\) H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 305.

\(^6\) For the case of Kteatos and Eurytos see *infra* i. 311, *infra* Append. F (\(\iota\)).

\(^7\) Reinach *Braunes Figuren* p. 199 no. 178 fig. (= my fig. 352), *id. Rép. Stat.* iv. 135 no. 4. Height 0'096m.
was disposed to think this queer customer spurious and Reinach accordingly labels him 'Suspect.' Without careful examination of the original one would not venture to decide. But it reminds me of the copper coins struck under Septimius Severus at Baris (Isbarta, Sparta) on the Kestros in Pisidia, which portray a double-headed deity, with two or four arms\(^1\), clad in a lion-skin and grasping bow and club (figs. 354, 355)\(^2\) or bow, club, and sword (fig. 356)\(^2\). D. Sestini in 1828 mistook him for a group of Herakles and Hephaistos\(^4\). J. Friedländer in 1879 was the first to recognise him 'einen

\[\text{Fig. 354.}\]

apparently other eyes on his arms: he carries two swords and two round shields. Height 0.19\(^m\).

\(^1\) Cp. a bronze statuette from Teti in Sardinia (Perrot-Chipiez Hist. de l'Art iv. 65 f. fig. 51 = my fig. 353) representing a warrior with four arms, four eyes in his head, and

\[\text{Fig. 353.}\]

\(^2\) A. Löbbecke in the Zeitschr. f. Num. 1890 xvii. 13 pl. 2, 3 (= my fig. 354): \textit{obv. AY·K·A·CET·OSEYHROC·PET}· bust of Septimius Severus; \textit{rev. BAPHNWN} double-headed male figure advancing to right, with club in right hand and bow in left, on which a bird seems to be perched. Round his shoulders is slung a lion-skin. 'Löwenhaut und Keule...deuten auf Herakles.'

\(^3\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia, etc. pp. cx, 207 pl. 34, 2 (my fig. 356 was drawn from a cast of the coin, kindly sent to me by Mr G. F. Hill): \textit{obv. AVTKAIACET·OSEUVHROCSTET}· bust of Septimius Severus; \textit{rev. BAPHNWN} double-headed, four-armed male figure advancing to right, with heads looking different ways, bow and club held to right, sword to left, and lion-skin slung behind.

\(^4\) D. Sestini Descrizione delle medaglie antiche greche del museo Hedervariano Firenze 1828 ii. 208 pl. 22, 5 (= my fig. 355): 'Hercules et Vulcanus in unum corpus colligati...'
The effeminate Twin

gedoppelten Herakles, a view provisionally accepted by G. F. Hill (1897) and B. V. Head (1911).

\(\kappa\) The effeminate Twin.

And here we must notice a suggestion thrown out long since by that pioneer of mythological study F. L. W. Schwartz. He held that the contrast between the doughty hero and the weakening was a commonplace of Indo-European saga to be compared with the motif of the emasculated sky-god. Now I am not prepared to follow our ingenious author, when he hazards the conjecture that Kastor was named after kastor, the 'beaver,' and recalls the belief that this rodent gets rid of its pursuers by tearing off its own testicles. Nor can I agree with him, when he interprets the mutilation of Ouranos by Kronos, or that of Kronos by utraque manu arcum paratum tenet, supra quem insistit avis symphalīs. Hence Mionnet Descr. de méd. ant. Suppl. vii. 111 no. 131.

1 J. Friedlaender in the Zeitschr. f. Num. 1879 vi. 17 f. described, but did not figure, a specimen now at Berlin, the reverse of which is from the same die as the reverse of Sestini's coin.


3 Head Hist. num. 2 p. 797.


5 Id. ib. p. 147 cites Herakles and Iphikles, Agamemnon and Menelaos, Hektor and Paris, Siegfried and Gunther.

6 So, from a different point of view, does J. Rendel Harris Boaerger Cambridge 1913 pp. 306, 307 f., 310. I am not concerned to deny the possibility, and even the attractiveness, of this derivation. Only, it seems to me that the evidence produced in support of it is inadequate.

7 See e.g. M. Wellmann in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 400 f., O. Keller Die antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1909 p. 188.

8 Hes. theog. 154 ff. (Gaia, angry with Ouranos because he hated their offspring and would not let them see the light, produced grey adamant, made a sickle of it, and bade her children take vengeance on their father. Kronos, her youngest son, alone dared the deed. Gaia gave him the jagged härpe and hid him in an ambush. Then came great Ouranos, bringing night, and spread himself above Gaia. Kronos reached forth his hand, shore off his father's genitals with the härpe, and flung them from the land into the sea. The bloody drops, falling upon Gaia, gave rise to Erinyes, Gigantes, and the nymphs
Zeus¹, or that of Zeus by Typhon², as meaning merely that the
called Melini. The genitals tossing on the deep caused the white foam, ἀφρός, amid
which Aphrodite was reared, 472, Antim. frag. 35 Kinkel ap. Plout. quaestt. Rom. 42,
Apollod. 1. 1. 4. Ov. Ἰθή 273 f. with schol. ad loc., Cornut. theol. 7 p. 7, 17 ff. Lang,
Tert. ad nat. 2. 1. 12, Arnob. adv. nat. 4. 24, Aug. de civ. Dei 7. 10, Macrobi. Sat. 1. 8. 6 ff.,
ālē. The Phaiakes were sprung from the drops let fall by Ouranos (Alkaios frag. 116
Bergk ⁷ and Akousiada frag. 29 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 103 Müller) ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 4
992, where T. Bergk cf. Ἀλκαῖος for Ἀλκαῖος). Phaiakia or Kirkyn is called Δρεσέα
frag. 554 Schneider ap. Plin. nat. hist. 4. 52) or Δρέσεαν (Tzetzes in Lyk. Αl. 761 and
869) or Άρης (Lyk. Al. 761 f. with schol. ad loc.) because the δρέσεαν used by Kronos
to mutilate Ouranos, or by Zeus to mutilate Kronos, lies buried beneath it (Timaian frag.
761, 869 make him the patient), though others referred these names to the δρέσεαν (schol.
Ζάγιλς (Steph. Byz. s.v.) or Δρέσεαν in Sicily (et. mag. p. 287, 35 ff., Serv. in Verg.
Aen. 3. 707, cp. Macrobi. Sat. 1. 8. 11. Lyk. Al. 869 calls it Άρης Κρώνος παθών: see
C. von Holzinger ad loc.) and Δρέσεαν in Achaia (Paus. 7. 23. 4) were likewise
connected with the sickle of Kronos; Δρέσεαν (et. mag. p. 287, 38 f.) or Δρεσέαν in Bithynia,
with that of Zeus (Steph. Byz. s.v. Δρεσέαν, citing the anonymous line Δρεσέαν κλεόνων
ἀν’ Κρώνοιδο κείθενα). On the fish πομηλός, which together with Aphrodite sprang ἐκ
tοῦ ωφορίου νηματος (Athen. 282 ff.: cp. petivjg. Ven. 9 crucero de superno), see Gruppe

¹ According to the Rhapsodic theogony of the Orphists (c. 500 B.C.), Zeus at
the advice of Nyx made Kronos drunk on honey, bound him beneath the tall
oaks, and gilded him on the spot (infra § 3 c) i (n) and Append. G med.). Cp. Timaian frag.
54 (infra n. 0), Lyk. Al. 761 f. (infra n. 0), Lyd. de mens. 4. 64 p. 116, 21 f. Wiens (Aphrodite
born ἀν’ τοῦ Κρώνου μηδέως, τουτεστι ἀν’ τοῦ αἰλωνος), Myth. Vat. 1. 105 Jupiter adultus,
quum Saturnus quodam die ad uum corporis exiret (?a mythological travesty derived
from the comic stage), ilato culturo amputavit naturalia ejus, quae in mare projicit, ex
quibus Venus nata est; et max Jupiter patrem regno expulit, 3. 1. 7 habent quoque
fabulæ, vel hunc (sc. Saturnum) patris sui Caeli virilia ascidisse, et abscissa in mare
jecisse, et ex ipsorum cruore spumaque maris Venerem natam esse; vel ipsum a filio
castraturus fuisse, et de ipsius itidem virilibus, in mare missis, Venerem provenisse.
inde hac tamen diversitate nonnisi idem sentimus; testiculique utrinquebat abhiscissi fructus
naturales, quos tempora producent, testes Fulgentii (Fulgent. Myth. 1. 2), designant,
etc., schol. cod. G. Ov. Ἰθή 273 Saturnus Caelo patri suo genitalia amputavit (patri suo Caelo
uirilia ascidit ne alium filium generaret cod. C. caelo patri ascidit uirilia cod. Ask.),
unde Calixto (Promptius uel Calmethes cod. C. callisthenes cod. Ask. R. Ellis cf. Pro-
percius uel Callisthenes): Saturnus credens unum laesisse parentem, | tres, non tantum
unum laeserat ille patrem. | non impune tamen, nam parte est laesus eadem, | poenamque
a nato quam dedit ipse tulit. | peccat uteque male (sic), sed cum male peccat uteque (malis
male sed cum uteque cod. C. male ille male hic male peccat uteque cod. Ask.), | hic
peccat peius qui prius illa (ista codd. C. Ask.) factit. | credere uix ausin esse deos; me
iuide nemo | tam male qui peccat nec deus est nec homo.

² The story has come down to us in two different settings. (1) Apollod. 1. 6. 3: When
the gods had vanquished the Gigantes, Ge in anger consorted with Tartaros, and brought
forth in Kilikia Typhon the most monstrous of all her children. Down to the waist he
was human in shape, but big enough to overtop the mountains; his head often touched
the stars; his hands reached the east and the west, and from them started a hundred
snaky heads. Below the waist he had serpentine coils that reared and hissed. There were
wings all over his body, bristly hair on his head and checks, fire in his eyes. He attacked
heaven with hissing and shouting, as he hurled rocks and breathed out fire. The gods on
storm-god, cut by the rainbow-sickle, showers down the lightning

seeing him fled to Egypt, where they transformed themselves into various animals (supra i. 370 n. 1, 445, 675). While Typhon was afar off, Zeus flung thunderbolts at him (supra § 3 (c) iv (a)). When Typhon drew nigh, Zeus scared him with a hérpe of adamant and pursued him to Mt Kasion in Syria. Seeing that he was wounded, Zeus then came to close quarters. But Typhon, casting his coils about the god, caught him, wrested the hérpe from him, and cut the sinews of his hands and feet. He lifted Zeus on his shoulders and carried him through the sea to Kilikia, where he deposited him in the Corycian Cave.

The sinews he hid in the skin of a bear and stored them there with Delphyne, half-snake, half-woman, to guard them. However, Hermes and Aigipan contrived to steal the sinews, and fitted them on to Zeus again (Týfων δὲ ταῖς στείραις περιπλέκθει κατάσχει αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν ἀργήν περελόμωσε τὰ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν διέμει νεύρα, ἀσίμην δὲ εἰπὶ τῶν ἄμων διεκόμαμεν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν θαλάσσην εἰς Κλίκιαν καὶ παρελόθων εἰς τὸ Κουρίκιον ἄντρον καθέτευρο. ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ τὰ νεύρα κρύφα ἐν ἄρκτων δορὰ κεῖτο ἀπέθετο, καὶ κατέστησεν φώλακα Δελφώνη δράκαινα; ἀμβητρὶ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ἡ κόρη. Ἐραμήδε δὲ καὶ Δίσεις ἐκλεύπεσε τὰ νέφα ἱμωσας τῷ Δι θαλάσση). Thus Zeus, having recovered his strength, suddenly appeared in the sky on a chariot drawn by winged horses. Brandishing his bolts, he pursued Typhon to Mt Nysa. Here the monster was deceived by the Moirai; for, believing that it would increase his strength, he tasted of mortal fruit. Pursued further to Thrace, he carried on the fight round Mt Haimos and hurled whole mountains at Zeus. But the thunderbolt forced these mountains back upon him, till he deluged the range with his blood (Ἀμφός from αἶμα). He essayed to escape through the Sicilian sea. But Zeus finally crushed him beneath Mt Aitne, from which the fiery blasts of the thunderbolts that were flung can still be seen to issue.

(2) Nonn. Dion. 1. 137 ff.—2. 717: Zeus, enamoured of Plouto (supra i. 136), had hidden his thunderbolts in the Ariminian Cave, where their smoke betrayed them. Typhoeus or Typhon (the names are used indifferently) the Cilician, at the advice of his mother Gaia, stole them, kept them in a hollow rock, and usurping the powers of Zeus (i. 295 Ζεὺς νῦνθι, 391 νῦσθεν Δίας, τρ. 479 f. γιγνομένων ὑμιῶν ἐν ὑπὸ τούτων θεοτόκων Οὐλομένων σκηντριτριάς διὰ φοράντα καὶ ἀστράπτωνα χίτωνα) proceeded to upset the whole course of nature. Thereupon the gods flew, like a flock of birds, to Egypt. Just then Kadmos, seeking Europe (supra i. 539 ff.), reached the Ariminian Cave. Zeus, accompanied by Eros met him, and together they plotted the death of Typhoeus. Pan was to dress up Kadmos as a shepherd; Kadmos, to soothe Typhoeus with his syrinx, receiving Harmonia as his reward; Eros, to quell the world-tumult and shoot a shaft at Typhoeus. Zeus in the form of a bull retired to Mt Tauros (Ταῦρος=ταῦρος). The plot is carried into effect. Typhoeus, charmed by Kadmos' music, leaves the bolts of Zeus in the cavern with Gaia. Kadmos feigns terror. Typhoeus reassures him, and suggests a musical contest between Kadmos' pipes and his stolen thunders. He even offers that, when he himself occupies the throne of Zeus, he will establish Kadmos in heaven pipes and all. Kadmos next proposes to chant Typhoeus' triumph to the seven-stringed kithara, with which he has surpassed Phoibos himself. Unfortunately Zeus, to please Phoibos, has destroyed his strings; but, if he can get new strings, he will enchant the universe. Thereupon Typhoeus fetches from his cavern the sinews of Zeus, which during their former fight had fallen on the ground, and gives them to Kadmos. Kadmos handles the sinews and stores them in a hollow rock for Zeus (i. 540 ff. καὶ ταύτα εἰς τὸν ἄτρον ἐπετείχε τεῖχος διείπα | νεῦρα τὰ τῆς διὰ διάλειται πόρον ἐπεμένη κάθως, | νεῦρα, τὰ περ χιλιῶν πεττευτοῦ Τυφοσκόπων ποτε χαριῶν | καὶ δύον άμμοποιήν ἀνατελτός ὑπερτόν πομπήν | καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄμμαφασικα καὶ ἀμμομυατὸ τε χρόνον | ἑσπευμένη φοράμελε κατέκρυον χαλάδα πτέρη | τῆς Γενεσιωτόφων πτεραλαξην). He then with thin-drawn notes of his syrinx pipes to the unwitting Typhoeus the coming victory of Zeus. Meantime Zeus creeps into the cave, recovers his weapons, and conceals Kadmos in a cloud. The music stops. Typhoeus, eager to resume his rage, goes in search of the thunderbolts and discovers that he has been tricked. His wrath is unbounded. The gods are still in Egypt. But Zeus gives battle from Mt Tauros and, after a scene of prodigious

C. II.
before he passes into a milder mood\footnote{But, such vagaries notwithstanding, blasts Typhoeus with his lightnings. To Kadmos he speaks words of comfort, and so retires to Olympus, taking the gods with him.}! But, such vagaries notwithstanding, blasts Typhoeus with his lightnings. To Kadmos he speaks words of comfort, and so retires to Olympus, taking the gods with him.

M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 228 says truly that the barocco trait of Typhon excising the sinews of Zeus is unparalleled in Greek mythology (Sir J. Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* 1886\cite{5} London 1898 pp. 119—122 cp. the Old Norse myth of Tyr \footnote{The wolf Fenrir [who is bound with the fetter Gleipnir, made in part of the sinews of bears: see P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1907 p. 246] and the Old Irish myth of Nuada Arag-lám v. the Fir Bolg champion Sreng [which I have discussed in *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 28 ff., *supra* p. 224 n. 1] and must be due to a learned importation of Egyptian elements. The Count de Marcellus (ed. Paris 1856 p. 8 of *Notes et commentaires*\footnote{Aptly quotes *Plout. de Is. et Os. 55 ἐν Ὑπερών ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ὀμοῦ λύγων εἰς τὴν ἐκείρα χείρι Τυφώνος αἰδῶν κατέχειν καὶ τὸν Ἱμηρῷ μυθολογιῶν, ἔξελετα τοῦ Τυφώνος τὰ ἑνώρα, χροδαία χρήσασθαι, διδάσκοντες ὡς τὸ τῶν ἄγοντα διαρμοσάμενον σύμφωνον ἐξ ἀντιφώνων μερῶν ἐπικύρε, καὶ τὴν φθαρτικὴν ὁς ἀψώλεσεν, ἀλλ’ ἀντιφώνει, διαναμ. ι.τ.λ. (in the sequel Typhon takes out the eye of Horos, swallows it, and then restores it—the Egyptian explanation of a solar eclipse). Mayer loc. cit. further points out that Typhon hides the sinews of Zeus in a bear's skin because the constellation of the Bear was in Egypt regarded as the soul of Typhon (*Plout. de Is. et Os. 21 τὰς ἐν ψυχὰ ἐν ὄμων λάματι ἀστρά, καὶ καλέσαν κόινα μὲν τὴν Ἰεροὶ Ἑλλάδος, ἦτ ἄρτεθων ἔνοικον ἐν τῶν Ὀμοῦ, τὴν ἅπαντον, ἅπαντον Τυφώνος, ἅπαντον). He adds ib. p. 329 n. 177 that the derivation of Ἀλμος from Typhon's *alma* recurs in connexion with Egypt (Steph. Byz. *i.ε. Ἡρω*).

One obvious difficulty remains. If the Greek stories were merely Ἀργυρός λόγος, Hermes ought to have docked the sinews of Typhon, not Typhon the sinews of Zeus. Probably the sense of justice, which led the Orphists to declare that Kronos the castrator of his father must himself be castrated by his son (*supra* p. 448 n. 1), prompted a later generation to demand the like penalty of Zeus. It may be that the *νηρά Δίως* were originally a euphemism for the *αἰδώς Δίως*, cp. *Plout. de Is. et Os. 55 Τυφώνος αἰδώς* and the use of *νηρά* in Athen. *644 b* (with J. E. B. Mayor's note on Iuv. 10. 265).

\footnote{Another explanation, advanced by A. Lang *Custom and Myth* London 1884 p. 45 ff., *id. Myth, Ritual, and Religion* London 1887 i. 299 ff., and treated as plausible by Farnell *Cults of Gt. States* i. 27 and Frazer *Golden Bough*\footnote{Adonis Attis Osiris\footnote{i. 283, scenes in these stories 'a myth of the violent separation of the earth and sky, which some races, for example the Polynesians, have supposed to have originally clasped each other in a close embrace.' Frazer loc. cit. i. 283 n. 3 quotes a doubtful Egyptian parallel, in which Osiris perhaps mutilates his father Set at the separation of earth and heaven.}}. Since these reside in the genitals, the new god must castrate the old. It may be suspected that originally he kept the relics as jealously as Typhon keeps the *νηρά Δίως*. The mutilations of Kronos by Zeus and of Zeus by Typhon will be later repetitions of the same early myth, which long after its meaning had been forgotten came ricocheting down the ages. The most instructive parallel, as Miss Harrison points out to me (Sept. 23, 1918), is that of the early kings of Uganda first published by my friend the Rev. J. Roscoe *‘Kibuka, the War God of the Baganda’* in *Man* 1907 vii. 161—166 with pl. 1, 1—3 and 4 figs. in text (Kibuka and his brother Mukasa, who lived on one of the islands of Lake Victoria, have become the two principal gods of the Baganda. Kibuka's reliefs include a stool with a hollowed seat containing his lower jawbone, his testicles, and his *phallus*, in three leathern cases decorated with shells and beads), cp. W. Ridgeway *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* Cambridge 1915 p. 379 ff. figs. 85—87.

Miss Harrison has further brought to my notice the latest attempt to solve the problem, that of the psychoanalyst. It is implied, if not expressed, in S. Freud *Totem und Tabu* Leipzig—Wien 1913 (extr. from *Imago* 1912 i and 1913 ii) p. 150 f. \footnote{Wer aber}
standing, Schwartz has fastened on a possibility that merits consideration. The comparative feebleness of one of the twins is certainly a recurring feature, and may presuppose loss of virility. Dr Rendel Harris points out that on the chest of Kypselos one of the Dioskouroi was bearded, the other beardless—a distinction found also on a sarcophagus at Arles. The mystical school of Epimenides even maintained that the Dioskouroi were respectively male and female. Whether Iphikles, sometimes called

die Geschichte des kleinen Hans aufmerksam durchsieht, wird auch in dieser die reich
lustigen Zeugnisse dafür finden, dass der Vater als der Besitzer des grossen Genitales
bewundert und als der Bedroher des eigenen Genitales gefürchtet wird. Im Oidipus wie
im Kastrationskomplex spielt der Vater die nämliche Rolle, die des gefürchteten Gegners
der infantilen Sexualinteressen. Die Kastration und ihr Ersatz durch die Blendung ist

1 In the Ιλιαδ Machao is more to the fore than his brother Podaleirios: cp. Hyg. fab. 97, where Machao takes twenty ships to Troy, Podaleirios ten. But later epos
distinguished Machao as surgeon from Podaleirios as physician, and preferred the less
U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff lyslos von Epirauros Berlin 1886 p. 91 regards
Ποδάλιερος as a Carian name, cp. Steph. Byz. s. v. Σφένο: πόλεις Καρίας, Μεσσυαὶ δὲ ὧν
Ποδαλίερον, κ.τ.λ. and Ποδαλία in central Lykia. The Greeks, however, here as elsewhere
(supra i. 23), tried to extract sense from the Carian name (et. Ged. p. 471, 28 ff.
=et. mag. p. 678, 17 ff., Favorin. lex. p. 1325, 4 f., Eustath. in II. pp. 395, 32, 964, 99 ff.);
and modern critics have followed suit. T. Panofka in the Abb. d. berl. Akad. 1845 Phil.
hist. Classe p. 342 f. renders 'weissfüssig, schnell,' cp. παθήματα; W. Pape—G. E. Benseler
Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1215, * Rosentrees od.
Griechen (Videnskabsnævnets Skrifter II. Historisk-filos. Klasse 1902 No. 2) Christiania
1902 p. 93 'der schwachfüssige'; A. Fick in the Beiträge zur Kunde der indogerman
ischen Sprachen 1907 xxvii 320, 'schnaufuss.' Ποδαλίερος, understood as 'Lily-foot'
implying weakness in the feet (on the François-vas Ηεπάθεινos' distorted feet are white:
Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 6 pl. 1—2), might well be contrasted with
Μαχαῖος, whose name was connected with μάχη (S. Eitrem loc. cit. p. 92) rather than
320 f.) or with μάχαιρα (H. Luser Götternamen Bonn 1869 pp. 150 n. 8, 170).

Mr E. S. Hartland has suggested to me in conversation (Oct. 1, 1918) that a Biblical
parallel is to be found in the case of Jacob and Esau. The analogy is indeed singularly
complete; for the statement that the mysterious Wrestler 'touched the hollow of Jacob's
thigh in the sinew of the hip' (Gen. 32. 31, cp. 32. 25) may, as Mr Hartland urges, refer to
the genitalia (see J. Skinner A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis Edinburgh
1910 pp. 341 f., 410 f.).

2 J. Rendel Harris The Cult of the Heavenly Twins Cambridge 1906 pp. 46, 91.

3 Paus. 5. 19. 2.

Reize iii. 2. 194 ff. pl. 50, 169 (bearded figure in right hand corner) and 160 (beardless
figure in left hand corner), Reimach Rep. Reliefs ii. 212 nos. 1 f. (detail not shown).

5 On oï περὶ 'Επικαυήν see A. Dieterich Abyaxais Leipzig 1891 p. 130 n. 1 (neu-
pythagoreisch-neuplatonische Meinungen über die Weltschöpfung').

6 Lyd. de mens. 4. 17 p. 78, 70 f. oï δὲ περὶ 'Επικαυὴν ἄρρενα καὶ θηλεῖαν ἐμμεθηξαν
τοὺς Διοκήρους, τὸν μὲν αἴωνα, ὅπερ μανάδα, τὴν δὲ φόνον, ὡς διάδα, κυκλοστατεί· ἐκ γὰρ
μανάδος καὶ διάδος ὀ τάς ζωγονίας καὶ ψυχογονίας ἐξελάσατος ἄρθρα.
Iphiklos, can be identified with Iphiklos son of Phylakos, whose debility was cured by Melampous, is very doubtful.

(λ) Apollon and Artemis.

If one of the twins, he who stood for the dark nocturnal Sky, was thus effeminate, the question arises: Can we accept Dr Rendel Harris' further contention 'that Apollo and Artemis are twins displacing twins'? A priori such displacement is, of course, quite thinkable; yet we cannot, so far as I know, adduce any example of its actual occurrence. Two ancient cult-centres where it might naturally have occurred are Delos and Delphoi. At Delos we have the earlier Hyperborean maidens Opis and Arge, or Opis and Hekaergos, together with their male counterparts Opis and Hekaergos; we have also the later Hyperborean maidens Hyperoche and Laodike. At Delphoi we meet with the heroes Hyperochos and Laodokos, or Hyperochos and Amadokos, who were likewise Hyperboreans; we meet too with the heroic couple Phylakos and Autonoos. But none of these will serve our turn. For the Delian pairs, if twins, were not male; and the Delphian pairs, though male, were not twins. On the whole, it seems most likely that Opis and Arge (Hekaergos) were originally appellatives of Artemis, and at least possible that Hyperochos and Laodokos (Amadokos) were one-time appellatives of Apollon. The male Opis and Hekaergos

1 Apollod. 2. 7. 3 (where for Ἡφικλαῖος R. Wagner reads Ἡφικλῆς with the epitomia Vatican.); Dio. 4. 33. 34. 49.
2 Intra § 3 (c) i (v).
3 J. Rendel Harris The Cult of the Heavenly Twins Cambridge 1906 p. 137.
4 Olen ap. Hdt. 4. 35. Ὄνυς and 'Ἀργη.
5 Melanopos of Kyme ap. Paus. 5. 7. 8. Ὄνυς and Ἐκαργή. So also Paus. 1. 43. 4. Claud. de cons. Stil. 3. 253 ff.
6 Plat. Axi. 371 A, interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 11. 533, cp. Cic. de nat. deor. 3. 28 (but see Ampel. 9. 7).
7 Hdt. 4. 33—35. Arnob. adv. nat. 6. 6.
8 Paus. 10. 23. 2.
9 Paus. 1. 4. 4.
10 Hdt. 8. 38 f.
12 That Hyperochos and Laodokos (Amadokos) were twins, we are not told. They are mentioned as a triad along with Pyrrhos, son of Achilles (Paus. 1. 4. 4. 10. 23. 2). That Phylakos and Autonoos were twins, is very improbable, since their precinets were some distance apart (Hdt. 8. 39, cp. Paus. 10. 8. 7 with H. Hitzig—H. Blümner ad loc.).
13 See e.g. O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 927 ff.
14 Τωρόχος, 'Eminens, Excellens, Superior' (Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. viii. 335 C—D).
15 Λαόδακος and Λαόδακας are comparable with the Thracian names Μύδακος, Σεφαρδάκος, etc. (F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. ran. 608). Λαόδακας was perhaps changed into the more intelligible Λαόδακας, whence Λαόδακη—a favourite name in the family of Seleukos (O. Hoffmann Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum Göttingen 1906 p. 220); but this is guessing in the dark.
were invented by way of compliment to Apollon, just as the female Hyperoche and Laodike were invented by way of compliment to Artemis.

It is, then, far from certain that Apollon and Artemis superseded any pair of twins. Indeed it is far from certain that they were originally twins themselves. When, where, and how they first got together, are questions intimately bound up with the problem of Apollon's provenance. And here opinion has, within the last quarter of a century, fairly boxed the compass. K. Wernicke (1894) remarks that Homer was already acquainted with Apollon and Artemis as the twin offspring of Zeus by Leto, and lays stress on Delos as the mainstay, if not the cradle, of their connexion, L. R. Farnell (1896), who groups the cults of Apollon-and-Artemis in a valuable conspectus, would push their joint worship back to the Homeric age and concludes: 'The place where the two deities were first closely associated, and whence the belief in their twinship spread, was probably Delos.' T. Zielinski (1899) in favour of Troy as the Ausgangspunkt. Apollon and his sister Artemis, a pair of light-divinities, came from the Troad, where behind the rocks of Mount Ide lay Lykia, a blissful 'Land of Light' inhabited by the pious Hyperboreans. From thence the cult of Apollon in early epic times made its way into Greece through Thermopylai. Parnassos became the second holy mountain of the god, who found a double hypostasis—corresponding with the Amphictionic meetings at Delphi and Pylai—in Orestes, the 'Mountain-man,' and Pylai, the 'Gate-man.' U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1903, 1908) likewise looks to the east. He argues that in the Iliad Apollon protects Trojans and Lycians, that as the god of Lykia he has the appellatives Lykegenes, Lykeios, Lyktos and in accordance with

K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 33—35.
Farnell Cults of Gr. States ii. 464—467, 577—581.
2 A Melian amphora, now at Athens (Collignon—Couve Cat. Vases d'Athenes p. 120 ff. no. 475), has for its principal design the meeting of Apollon and Artemis. Apollon, bearded, arrives in a chariot drawn by four winged steeds. He carries a seven-stringed lyre, to which the reins are attached (!), and brings with him two females, usually regarded as Muses, but better identified by M. P. Nilsson in the Archiv f. Rel. 1913 xvi. 313 with the Hyperborean maidens. If so, the locality must be Delos. Artemis advances to welcome the god, having a bow and quiver on her back, an arrow in her left hand, and a stag in her right (A. Conze Melische Thongefasse Leipzig 1862 pl. 4 (=my fig. 357); H. von Rohden in Baumeister Denkm. iii. 1954 ff., Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art ix. 471 ff. fig. 235).
3 T. Zielinski 'Die Orestessage und die Rechtfertigungssidee' in the Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum 1899 iii. 87 ff.
5 ii. 4. 101, 119. Wilamowitz contends that Pandaros the Lycian presumably uses
Lycian custom\(^1\) the metronymic *Letoïdes*, that his sister was a barbaric goddess equated by the Greeks with their own Artemis, that the birth of the twins was located at Araxa in Lykia\(^3\), that their mother Leto bears a native name (the Lycian *lada* meaning ‘wife’\(^8\)), that the Delian Apollo was believed to winter in Lykia\(^4\), and that the earliest cult-poetry of Delos was attributed to the Lycian Olen\(^8\). Hence Wilamowitz concludes that Leto and her twins were essentially Asiatic (Lato *Asiatis* was worshipped at Argos\(^8\)), belonging by rights to the Lycians in their original abode, that the cult of all three had before the arrival of the Greeks in Asia Minor already spread to Delos and Crete, and that it passed over from the islands to the mainland of Greece, where Apollo usurped the position of this, that, and the other older deity. M. P. Nilsson (1906)\(^7\) accepts in the main the results reached by Wilamowitz and seeks to support them by certain heortological considerations. He observes that in Greece, apart from the great cult-centres of Delos, Delphi, and Mount Ptoion, the chief festivals of Apollo are precisely those in which the god appears as an intruder\(^8\); that Apolline festivals are comparatively rare on the Greek mainland, much more frequent in the islands and in Asia Minor; that Apollo has a higher percentage of appellations derived from place-names than any other god, his worship, as a missionary cult, being widely disseminated, and his numerous epiphanies suggesting that in many places he was invoked to quit

\(\text{ανακατάβασις} \) in the sense of ‘born in Lykia.’ For other interpretations see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2174 f. and Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 195 f.


\(^3\) See e.g. H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1907 ii. 573 ff.


\(^5\) Hdt. 4. 35 (\*\*pra* p. 452 n. 4), Paus. 5. 7. 8.


This temple, built in 393 B.C. to commemorate the departure of the Macedonian garrison, was doubtless the one described by Paus. 2. 21. 8 f.

\(^7\) Nilsson *Gr. Festi* pp. 102—104.

\(^8\) *Id. ib.* p. 102: ‘so die Thargelien, die Karneen, die Hyakinthien, die Verfolgung des Skephros in Tegea, die Daphnehorien in Theben.’
his ancient haunt and attend the new local rites. Nilsson further (1911)¹ notes that the first day of the month was sacred to Apollo as Νουμένιος² and that the twentieth was sacred to him as Εἰκάδιος³, but that his festivals regularly fell on the seventh of the month⁴. Hence we are to infer that Apollo was essentially connected with the lunisolar calendar and its sacred sabbath, that his worship originated in Babylonia, and that it spread through Asia Minor to Greece. O. Gruppe (1906)⁵, though he does not go so far afield as Mesopotamia, again turns his face eastwards. He holds that the worship of a barbaric mother-goddess Λατό, whose name was Ionised as Λετό, and the recognition of Apollo and Artemis as her twin children may be attributed to Hellenic settlers on the coast of Asia Minor in the course of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. W. Aly (1908)⁶ is disposed to reject the eastern origin of Apollo. He argues that, if the god had come—as Wilamowitz thought—from Lykia, his cult must have reached Greece via Crete. We should therefore look to find early forms of his worship in that island. But a careful survey of the Cretan evidence can produce nothing of the sort. Rather we are driven to conclude that the cult was imported from Greece, especially from Delphi⁷. E. Meyer (1909)⁸ also parts com-

⁶ W. Aly Der kretische Apollonkult Leipzig 1908 pp. 1—57.
Kam Apollon aus Lykien, so ist er jedenfalls an Kreta völlig vorübergegangen, eine Tatsache, die den östlichen Ursprung des Gottes als sehr zweifelhaft erscheinen lässt.'
⁸ E. Meyer Geschichte des Altertums² i. 2. 639 f.
pany with Wilamowitz in regard to the alleged Lycian character of Apollon and his name. Meyer believes that Apollon was originally a deity of flocks and herds, common to all the Greek stems, and that later he became an oracle-giver, when identified with one or another native oracular god on the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor—an identification which entailed certain foreign elements in his cults and myths, especially the story of his birth. A. L. Frothingham (1911) conceives that Apollon, a sun-god, originated in Crete, being none other than Chrysaor, the offspring of Medousa, who is to be identified with Artemis—and, for that matter, with Rhea, Kybele, Demeter, etc.—as a form of the Great Mother. Apollon came from Crete to Delphi, returning later to Crete again as Apollon Pýthios. Artemis too, a goddess of nature and fertility, was Cretan, if not in her origin, at least in her development as mistress of mountains and lions, of snakes, of doves or birds. In Asia Minor, between c. 1000 and 600 B.C., she took on the typical form of Medousa, her wings being derived from Hittite divinities, her hideous face from the Egyptian Bes. The resultant Gorgoneion, a solar effigy, appears in connexion with Artemis at Sparta and in Korkyra, with Apollon at Miletos and Delphi. Latterly scholars have shown a distinct tendency to return to C. O. Müller’s belief in the northern origin of Apollon, even if they do not with Müller regard him as an essentially Dorian god. L. R. Farnell (1907) writes: ‘We discern that Apollo came into Hellas with the invaders from the North, and aided by the

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1 Id. ib. 2. 640 n.; ‘dass der Name Apollon fremden Ursprungs sei, kann ich nicht für richtig halten; er ist überall ein Hauptgott der Griechen, auch in den Kuliformeln bei Homer; gerade bei den Doriern, bei denen wir am wenigsten kleinasiatisches erwarten dürfen, ist er geradezu der Stammgott; und ein grosser Teil der apollinischen Kulte und Mythen hat mit dem Orakelgott gar nichts zu tun. Andererseits ist der Name Apollon in Lykien nicht nur nicht nachweisbar—das würde wenig beweisen, da wir lykische Göttennamen aus den Inschriften überhaupt nicht kennen—, sondern der Name Ἀπόλλωνις wird lykisch durch pulenida wiedergegeben (C I Lyc. 6), ist also aus dem Griechischen entlehnt, was gewiss nicht der Fall sein würde, wenn Apollo ein altlykisches Äquivalent gehabt hätte.’


3 Id. ib. 1911 xv. 357.

4 Id. ib. 1911 xv. 364.

5 Id. ib. 1911 xv. 355.

6 Id. ib. 1911 xv. 358 ff.

7 Id. ib. 1911 xv. 377.

8 Id. ib. 1911 xv. 364 ff.

9 Id. ib. 1911 xv. 376 ff.

10 Id. ib. 1911 xv. 356 f.

11 Id. ib. 1911 xv. 355 f.

12 Id. ib. 1911 xv. 352 ff.

13 C. O. Müller The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race trans. H. Tufnell and G. C. Lewis Oxford 1830 i. 277 ff. (p. 320: ‘The most ancient settlements of the Doric race, of which any historical accounts are extant, were...the country at the foot of Olympus and Ossa, near the valley of Tempe’—p. 300: ‘the worship of Apollo came from the most northern part of Greece, from the district of Tempe’).

14 Farnell Cults of Grk. States iv. 99 f., 111 f.
light of two records we can perhaps follow the double trail of his southward pilgrimage, the record concerning the Hyperboreans and that about the sacred way from Tempe to Delphi... But the furthest northern points to which we can push back the cult of Apollo are Illyria, Thrace¹, and Macedon.' Again: 'The Apolline worship at a very early, though perhaps not the earliest, era of Hellenic history had struck deep roots in North Greece, and from thence spread its branches southwards and across the sea...it was already in some sense the common property of the leading tribes in the north, Thessalian-Achaeans, Ionians, Dryopes, and Dorians, before the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese and before the great colonies were planted along the Asia Minor coast; and hence in the later era of expansion it became a leading cult in the cities of Aeolis and Ionia, and dominant in the Dorian Pentapolis: the Peloponnesian Dorians were devoted to the cults of Apollo [Pythaecis] and [Kárneios], but both these they probably found already established there by an earlier Dryopian immigration, while the Amyclaean Apollo was the divinity of the Achaean, the Messenian Apollo [Kórydos] probably of a Minyan population; and Apollo Lykeios who gave his name to Lycia² belonged to the oldest stratum of the religion, and his cult was the common heritage of many races.' G. Murray at first (1911)³ laid stress on the epic formula of appeal to Zeus, Athena, and Apollon⁴ as establishing the Achaean character of all three⁵, but later (1912)⁶ somewhat modified his view: 'Zeus is the Achaean Sky-god. His son Phoebus Apollo is of more complex make. On one side he is clearly a Northman. He has

¹ The wide diffusion of the cult of Apollo in Thrace in the historical period, vide Geogr. Reg. s.v. [id. ib. iv. 433], may be regarded as an inheritance from an aboriginal period: the figure of Apollo may have emerged when the Hellenes were in Thrace, or may have belonged equally to Thracians and Hellenes: Thomaschek's Die alten Thraker takes the view that Thrace was his original home.' Hardly so. W. Thomaschek in the Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 cxxx. 2. 48 f. says: 'Ἀπόλλων...uralte Gottheit der lelegischen Aboriginer...Von einer Verehrung des Apollon in Thrake weiss Herodot nichts...[Numerous dedications to Apollon in the Thracian area are cited] Dies alles unter griechischem Einfluss und aus spätterer Zeit.' The slip is repeated by M. H. Swindler Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo Bryn Mawr 1913 p. 12. Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel.? p. 462 is more circumspect.

² Cp. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 751 n. 2. But that Lykia was named after Apollon Lýkeos is highly improbable.

³ G. Murray The Rise of the Greek Epic² Oxford 1911 pp. 69, 88 ('The two clearest gods of Homer's Achaeans are perhaps the patriarchal Zeus and his son Apollo; next to them Athena').


⁶ G. Murray Four Stages of Greek Religion New York 1912 p. 69 f.
connexions with the Hyperboreans.... On the other side Apollo reaches back to an Aegean matriarchal Kouros. His home is Delos, where he has a mother, Leto, but no very visible father.... He is no "Hellene." In the fighting at Troy he is against the Achaioi: he destroys the Greek host, he champions Hector, he even slays Achilles. In the Homeric hymn to Apollo¹ we read that when the great archer draws near to Olympus all the gods tremble and start from their seats; Leto alone, and of course Zeus, hold their ground. Miss M. H. Swindler (1913)³, after a survey of these divergent views, frankly abandons the quest: 'An attempt to name the tribe in which the Apollo cult had its beginning can scarcely meet with success. The reasons for this are apparent. Although Apollo is a comparatively late comer into Greece, he stands out in Homer, almost in his full development, with a cosmopolitan character. He is essentially a migratory god, which seems to be one source of his great popularity. While he sojourned in the various lands to which he was "invited," he took over into his cult the local gods and oracles, and acquired new epithets. He is at home in Dorian Pytho and Ionian Delos; he has his place in almost all of the oracles on the western and southern coast of Asia Minor, and is especially bound to I. cia. The islands know him and northern Greece in particular bears witness to his worship. It is this pandemic character of Apollo and this tendency to appropriate foreign elements to his cult which render difficult the problem of determining his original character. The origin of his cult and the earliest elements contributed to it must for this reason remain problematic.'

I confess, I am not so despondent. The myth of the Hyperboreans⁴ goes a long way, if not all the way, towards a settlement of the points at issue.

Himerios⁵ (s. iv A.D.) has preserved for us in prose form the contents of a poem by Alkaios⁶ (c. 600 B.C.), which affords the earliest known version of the myth:

¹ When Apollon was born, Zeus arrayed him with a golden mitra and a lyre, and giving him a chariot of swans to drive sent him to Delphoi and the streams of Kastalia, there to utter justice and law for the Hellenes. But Apollon, stepping on to the chariot, urged the swans to fly to the Hyperboreoi.

² M. H. Swindler Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo Bryn Mawr 1913 p. 13 f.
⁴ Himer. or. 14. 10 f.
⁵ Alk. frag. 2 Berghk⁶.
The Delphians, perceiving it, composed a paean and a song, and arranged dances of young men round the tripod, and called upon the god to come from the Hyperboreoi. He, after he had spent a whole year in giving law to the men that were there, thought that the right time was come for the Delphic tripods too to be sounding, so bade his swans fly back again from the Hyperboreoi. Now it was summer, indeed midsummer, when, according to Alkaios, Apollon was brought from the Hyperboreoi. Hence, at the time when summer shines forth and Apollon is here, the lyre too brightens into a summer strain concerning the god. Nightingales sing for him as one would expect birds to sing in Alkaios. Swallows also sing and cicalas, not telling of their own fortunes among men, but voicing all their songs about the god: Kastalia too in poetic wise rolls her silver streams, and Kephissos rises high with tossing waves after the likeness of Homer's Enipeus. For Alkaios, like Homer, does his utmost to make the very water able to feel the god's advent.

From this prosified extract we learn that, at the close of the seventh century B.C., Apollon was supposed to have reached the land of the Hyperboreans by traversing the air with a team of swans. His track

1 δὲ ἔτος ὤλου παρὰ τοῖς ἑκεῖ θεματεύεται ἀνθρώπως, κ.τ.λ. This ἔτος is presumably a year of twelve months, not a great year (ἔταυτος: see supra i. 340 n. 1).
(a) The former type is known to us from one example only—an engraved smaragdos of Roman work at Petrograd, of which a modern paste copy existed in the Stosch collection and passed with it to Berlin (fig. 328 (scale ¼) after Overbeck op. cit. Apollon p. 495 fig. 24=F. Studniczka in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1727 fig. 3), representing Apollon with bay-branch and quiver as he bears off the reluctant Kyrene in a chariot drawn by two swans (cp. schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 498 ἄφρευξεν δὲ φοῖνις (frag. 9 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 72 Müller)) καὶ Ἀραίθος (frag. 4 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 319 Müller)) ἐπὶ κύκνων αὐτὴν ἀχεθέουσα κατὰ Ἀπόλλωνος προάρεσθαι εἰς τὴν Κυρήνην ἀφελθῆσαι, Philosr. min. imagg. 14. 2 Apollon promises Ἰακινθίων δῶσαι...πτερόν κύκων (κύκων cod. P. and ed. Ald. C. F. W. Jacobs cj. κύκων) αὐτῶν ἄφρευξεν περιστελλὼν χορία, ὡς Ἀπόλλωνος φίλα, Nomn. Dion. 8. 226 f. εἰ δὲ σοι ὁμονόμενοι πόσις ἀνακαλοῦσας ἀπὸ χορίας Ἀπόλλων, καὶ Ἰακινθίως ὑπὸ ἀκαλυπτόμενος ἐπὶ λεσσάμενος ἐπὶ λεσσάμονος ἐπὶ τὸν Λάτον, ὡς φίλας χορίον τοῦ ἄφρευντος εἰς στειράτης (D. F. Graefe cj. χορεῖσαι) ἄφρευς ἀντιτῆς ἀπὸ χορεύσαντος ἀπαύγασιν κύκων,—quoted by O. Jahn in the Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. 1853 p. 60 n. 26).
(b) The latter type is fairly common in vase-paintings, terra-cottas, coins, etc. The earliest of the vases is a fragmentary kylix from the beginning of the s. v. B.C. (P. Hartwig op. cit. p. 188 f. pl. 18, 3). The earliest coins are electrum statères of Kyziks struck c. 400—350 B.C. (W. Greenwell 'The electrum coinage of Cyzicus' in the Num. Chron. Third Series 1887 viii. 57 f. pl. 1, 22 Paris, id. ib. Third Series 1890 x. 22 pl. 3, 3 Greenwell collection (excellent specimen), Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia p. 33 pl. 8, 13, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 1431 f. pl. 175, 16). I illustrate (pl. xxv) a hydria of late red-figured style, found in Kyrenaiké, preserved in the British Museum, and hitherto unpublished (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 182 f. no. E 232, Overbeck op. cit. Apollon p. 350 no. 2,
Hydria from Kyrenaïke, now in the British Museum: Apollon, riding on a swan, returns to Delphi.

See page 460 n. 2 (b).
palm-tree would suit either Delos (so C. O. Müller loc. cit., Welcker Alt. Denkm. i. 154 n. 21, Boetticher Baumbaltus p. 419 n. 24 n.) or Delphi (so F. Wieseler loc. cit., L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Péit. 1861 p. 68 f., alib., Overbeck op. cit. Apollon p. 352 f.). But the appearance of Apollon as the centre of a Dionysiac circle seems to me decisive in favour of Delphi. I cannot agree with my friend Mr. H. B. Walters, who regards the Satys and Maenads as mere 'personifications of nature' (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 183). Fig. 359 is from a photograph very kindly supplied to me by Mr. Walters. I figure also two imperial coppers of Kalchedon in Bithynia, which show Apollon, lyre in hand, seated on his swan (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus, etc. p. 128 no. 34 Julia Paula, no. 35 Tranquillina pl. 28, 5, no. 36 Tranquillina, Overbeck op. cit. Apollon pp. 304, 312 Münztaf. 5, 11 Lucius Verus (=my fig. 360) and 12 Tranquillina, Waddington—
Apollon and Artemis

P. Hartwig op. cit. p. 189 n. 1. Apollon, with radiate fillet, bordered kinhation, and bay-branch, sits between the wings of a swan, which is about to alight on the flowering earth. On rising ground to the right a Satyr leans on his left hand and knee and looks round at Apollon, raising his right hand to his face (ἄφωκαότως: supra l. 709). Higher up on the right stands a Maenad, holding a thyrsos in one hand and beckoning to the god with the other. Satyr and Maenad on the right were balanced by Maenad (?) and Satyr (?) on the left; of whom the Maenad (?), seated on a kinhation with a square box behind her, looks upward at Apollon, while the Satyr (?)—now largely lost—stands with a thyrsos in his left hand. The whole scene is comparable with that on a vase formerly in the Hamilton collection (Tischbein Hamilton Vases ii. 34 ff. pl. 12 (fair), Lenormant—de Witte Ét. mon. cér. ii. 130 ff. pl. 42, Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 97 pl. 13, 140, Overbeck op. cit. Apollon p. 350 no. 1 Atlas pl. 22, 6 (Apollon only)). The

Fig. 359.

palm-tree would suit either Delos (so C. O. Müller loc. cit., Welcker Alt. Denkm. i. 154 n. 21, Boetticher Baumwellus p. 419 n. 24 a) or Delphol (so F. Wieseler loc. cit., L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pé. 1861 p. 68 f., alib., Overbeck op. cit. Apollon p. 352 f.). But the appearance of Apollon as the centre of a Dionysiac circle seems to me decisive in favour of Delphol. I cannot agree with my friend Mr H. B. Walters, who regards the Satyrs and Maenads as mere 'personifications of nature' (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 183). Fig. 359 is from a photograph very kindly supplied to me by Mr Walters).

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was none other than that 'Road of the Birds,' which in Lithuanian belief led to the celestial country. In a word, it was the Milky Way. Suspicion becomes certainty, when we take into account the next batch of references to the Hyperborean land. Pindar in a magnificent passage of his tenth Pythian, a poem composed for Hippokleas of Thessaly in 498 B.C., says of the victor's father:

Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 299 pl. 47. 11 Trajan, 300 pl. 47. 16 f. M. Aurelius, 301 pl. 47. 21 Faustina Junior, 301 no. 70 Lucius Verus, 302 pl. 47. 24 Septimius Severus (= my fig. 361), 302 no. 79 Iulia Domna, 304 no. 92 Elagabalos,

![Fig. 360](image1.png)  
**Fig. 360.**

![Fig. 361](image2.png)  
**Fig. 361.**


Similarly Zeus was on occasion conceived as drawn by a team of eagles (*Brit. Mus.*

![Fig. 362](image3.png)  
**Fig. 362.**

*Cat. Terracottas* p. 451 no. E 170 = my fig. 362 a disk from Tarentum: diameter 2½ ins.), more often as upborne by a single eagle (*supra* p. 102 f. figs. 59—64).

1 *Supra* p. 38.  
2 *ib.*  
The copper sky he cannot scale;
But all the joys we mortals hail
These hath he voyaged through to the utmost bound.
By ship nor foot shall e'er be found
The wondrous way to the Hyperborean throng.
Yet princely Perseus on a bygone day
Entered their homes and supped with them, men say,
Lighting their merry company among,
What time they offered in that bright abode
Whole hecatombs of asses to the god.

Ay, for Apollo loves always
The feasting and the feasters' praise;
And sure he laughs to see the sight
Of brute beasts ramping bolt upright.

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1 Cp. Clem. Al. protr. 2. 29. 4 p. 21, 26 ff. Stahlin Σκόται δὲ τῶν ὄνων ηλέφθητες μὴ πανέσθως, ὡς 'Απολλόνιος φρονήσας (frag. 13 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 431 Müller)) καὶ Καλλίμαχος (frag. 187 Schneider), ἅ' ἂν Τερέφοροις ὄνοις ἐπιτέθησαν (Tanaquil Faber cj. ἐπιτεθέται Ο. Schneider cj. ἐπιτεθέται Ιονος.) ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ ἀλλιχοῦ (frag. 118 Schneider) τὲρπονεῖ τιμοῦντι λατρευτικόν θεῷον ἀναφάγας (quoted also by schol. Pind. Pyth. 10. 49) = Arnoh. adv. nat. 4. 25 quis ab Scythis asinos immolari? non principaliter eum ceteris Apolloorus? Iuv. 6. 468 f. illo lacte foveatur | proper quod secum comites educit asellas, | eum Hyperborœum si dimittatur ad axem. Ant. Lib. 20, writing in s. ii a.d. or later (infra Append. Medic.), cites from the Ornnthogoria of 'Boios' (G. Knaack in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 633 f.) and from the epic Apollon by Simmias of Rhodes (W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1871 ii. 1. 92 f., Lübker Reallex. p. 950) the story of Kleinis, which may be summarised as follows:—Near Babylon lived a man called Kleinis, a wealthy owner of oxen, asses, and sheep. Favoured by Apollo and Artemis, he often went with them to the temple of Apollo among the Hyperborœoi, where he saw the asses being sacrificed to the god. On reaching Babylon again he too was minded to offer a similar hecatomb at Apollo's altar. But Apollo came and threatened to kill him, unless he desisted and returned to his usual sacrifice of goats, sheep, and oxen, saying that the asses pleased him only if offered by the Hyperborœoi. So Kleinis drove the asses from the altar, and told all this to the children whom Harpe had borne him—Lykios, Ortygios, Harpasos, and Artemiche. Thereupon Lykios and Harpasos bade him to sacrifice the asses and enjoy the feast; Ortygios and Artemiche, to hearken to Apollo. He followed the advice of the latter. But Harpasos and Lykios let the asses go, and drove them to the altar. At this the god sent madness upon the beasts, which devoured the young men and their servants, and Kleinis into the bargain. As they perished they called upon the gods. Poseidon in pity turned Harpe and Harpasos into the birds that bear their names. Leto and Artemis resolved to save Kleinis, Artemiche, and Ortygios, as being innocent persons. Apollo therefore, to please Leto and Artemis, transformed Kleinis into a ψαλατερος (a large, dark eagle of the sort that slays fawns), Lykios into a κόραξ (a raven, white at first, but black later when it announced that Koronis daughter of Phlegyas had married Alkyoneus), Artemiche into a ψιφναξ (a lark?), and Ortygios into an αἰγιθόλακος (a titmouse).

The Muse is never absent from their haunt,
But, while the virgin dancers circling chant,
Lutes lift their sound,
Flutes echo round.
With golden bay they bind the brow
And glad at heart go reveling now.
No fell disease, no cursed age
Can spoil the pilgrims' heritage,
Who free at last from weary fight
And far from Nemesis' despite
Dwell safe at home.
Thither did Danaë's son of valiant soul,
Guided by great Athena to his goal,
To join the band of all the blessed come.

Notice two points. On the one hand, when Pindar speaks of a 'wondrous way'—neither sea nor land—leading to a blissful abode free from disease and old age, he means beyond all reasonable doubt the Elysian track elsewhere described by him as 'the road of Zeus' or 'the gleaming way', in a word the Galaxy. This actually passes through the constellation Perseus, an astronomical fact which explains the part played by that hero in the myth. On the other hand, the sacrifice of asses suggests an earthly rather than a heavenly location. Asses were slain for Ares by various tribes, including the inhabitants of Karmania, and for Priapus by the Lampsacenes. They were further connected with Dionysos, Silenos, the Satyrs, etc. These deities one and all emanate from the Thraco-Phrygian area. And, if the Tarentines sacrificed an ass to the Winds, it was presumably to the Etesian Winds which blew down the Adriatic from the north-west. The ass, however, was unknown to the Scythians and is but a stranger in central Europe. We may therefore provisionally assume that those who habitually offered this beast to Apollo dwelt in or near Thrace.

The same curious bilocation of the Hyperborean realm appears in

1 Supra p. 36 f.
2 Hyg. poet. astr. 4. 7.
3 Cornut. theol. 21 p. 41, 9 ff. Lang.
4 Strab. 727 (quoted supra l. 746 n. 2).
7 Hesych. s.v. áυρων, et. mag. p. 103, 33 f.
other allusions of Pindar and his younger contemporary Bakchylides. A Pindaric poem cited by Strabo spoke of the Hyperboreoi as 'living for a thousand years'—a view shared by Simonides (556–468 B.C.), Megasthenes (c. 300 B.C.), and others. Again, Bakchylides made the Delian Apollon transport Kroisos and his daughter straight from the pyre to the Hyperboreoi; on which Sir R. C. Jebb justly observes that the Hyperborean land is conceived as a paradise for pious mortals, like the Homeric Elysian Plain or the post-Homeric Islands of the Blest. But, if these passages imply that the Hyperboreoi lived in a celestial country to be reached by no ordinary route, Pindar's third Olympian, written for Theron of Akragas in 476 B.C., insists with equal clearness that they had a terrestrial abode in the Balkans. Herakles, pursuing the hind with golden horns, 'had seen the far-off land beyond the cold blast of Boreas,' had marvelled at its trees, and had been filled with desire to plant them at the end of the Olympic race-course. The poet in the context identifies this Hyperborean region with 'the Istrian land,' where 'Leto's horse-driving daughter' (Artemis) had welcomed the hero. It was 'from the shady springs of Iströs' that he brought the olive to Olympia, 'after he had gotten it by persuading the servants of Apollon, to wit the folk of the Hyperboreoi.'

The account here given by Pindar is not free from difficulty. My friend Sir W. Ridgeway has argued that the hind with golden horns is due to a reminiscence of the reindeer, since in no other species of deer are antlers borne by the female. This contention is supported by Sir James Frazer, who points out that in north-eastern Russia there is an annual celebration known as the 'Feast of the Golden-reindeer-horn.' The hypothesis is indeed attractive, though by no means secure. The attribution of horns to female deer was a blunder common to Greek, Latin, and Hebrew writers. And we

1 Pind. frag. 257 Bergk ap. Strab. 711.
2 Simonides frag. 197 Bergk ap. Strab. 711.
4 Bakchyl. 3. 58 ff.
5 Sir R. C. Jebb on Bakchyl. 3. 59.
6 Pind. Ol. 3. 13—34.
8 Sir J. G. Frazer ap. Sir W. Ridgeway The Early Age of Greece Cambridge 1901 i. 363.
10 Val. Flacc. 6. 71.
11 S. Bochart Hierococcon ed. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1794 ii. 236.
can hardly think that in every such case they were describing a reindeer or copying the peculiarity of the Cerynean hind. Besides, the oldest known representation of the 'hind,' that on a 'sail'-fibula of the Geometric period, makes it an unmistakable male. If, however, we accept Sir W. Ridgeway’s explanation and with him suppose that Herakles travelled as far north as the Hercynian Forest, where reindeer were still to be seen in Caesar’s day, it becomes impossible to believe that the hero fetched thence the wild olive, which is essentially a southern, not a northern plant. Pindar, confessedly an innovator in matters of mythology, may well have combined the myth that Herakles cut his club from a wild-olive on the Saronic Gulf and, leaning it against the image of Hermes Polýgios at Troizen, caused a wild-olive to spring up there too with the fact that an olive was growing on the grave of the Hyperborean maidens Hyproche and Laodike in Delos. Be that as it may, Pindar having once stated that Herakles had brought the wild-olive from the land of the Hyperboreoi to Olympia, others would repeat the statement and it would be widely believed.

But at this point L. Weniger has done good service by insisting on the local tradition of the Olympic seers preserved by Phlegon of Trralleis, who wrote his chronological compendium in the first half of s. ii. a.d. According to Phlegon, for the first five Olympiads no victor received a wreath; but, on the occasion of the sixth contest, the Eleans sent their King Iphitos to Delphi, that he might ask of the god whether wreaths should be awarded, and the god made answer:

1 A. C. Pearson on Soph. frag. 89 Jebb.
3 Caes. de Belll. Gall. 6. 26. This and other classical references to reindeer are collected by O. Keller Die antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1909 i. 279–281. See also Schrader Realex. p. 373 f. and W. W. Hyde 'The curious animals of the Hercynian Forest' in The Classical Journal 1917–18 iii. 234 ff. ('The Reindeer').
5 Paus. 2. 31. 10.
6 Hdt. 4. 34 ἐπικέφαλος δὴ φίλος (ἰκ. τῷ σήματι) ἔλαιον.
7 Paus. 5. 7. 7.
8 L. Weniger Der heilige Ölbau in Olympia Weimar 1895 p. 3 f.
Iphitós, make not the fruit of an apple the prize of thy contest;  
But on the victor's head set a fruitful wreath of wild olive,  
Even the tree now girt with the fine-spun webs of a spider.

The king, on returning to Olympia, found that one among the many wild-olives in the precinct was wrapped in spiders' webs. So he walled it round and wreathed the victors from its branches. The first to gain the wreath was Dákleís the Messenian, who won the foot-race in the seventh Olympiad (752 B.C.)³. The spiders' webs, since they portended rain², marked out one tree as specially fertile. But the point to notice is that in this old priestly narrative there were many wild-olives growing in the precinct. The tree was an indigenous product, no importation from a foreign land, least of all from the far north.

Nevertheless the belief that Heraclés had introduced a tree from the north to Olympia is supported by both ritual and myth. Only, the tree in question was not the white-poplar but the white-poplar. Pausanías² says:

"The Eleans are wont to use logs of white-poplar, and of no other tree, for their sacrifices to Zeus. They honour the white-poplar thus, I imagine, simply because Heraclés brought it to Hellas from the Thesprotian land. It struck me, too, that Heraclés himself, when he offered sacrifice to Zeus at Olympia, burnt the thigh-pieces of the victims on logs of white-poplar. Heraclés found the white-poplar growing beside the Acheron, the river in Thesprotia; and on this account—they say—the tree is called by Homer acheiros⁴. It would seem, then, that of old, as at the present day, different rivers suited different plants and trees. Thus tamarisks are most numerous and flourishing on the banks of the

² Plin. nat. hist. 11. 84 idem sereno non textum, nubilo textum, ideoque multa aranea imbrrium signa sunt. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Kel. p. 1216 n. 1 cp. Paus. 2. 25. 10 ἰδεί δὲ ὄρας ὑπὲρ τῆς Δάκλης τῷ Ἀραχναῖῳ...βώμοι δὲ ἐλαῖν ἐν αὐτῷ Δίας τε καὶ Ἡρας...βυθὸν ἄμβρου ὑφαίνει ἑστίαθι θώνου.  
³ Paus. 5. 14. 2 ff.

Maiandros; reeds grow tallest in the Bocotian Asopos; and the *persula* tree loves no water but the water of the Nile. Similarly with regard to the white-poplar, the poplar, and the wild-olive, it was natural enough for the white-poplar to grow first on the banks of the Acheron, for the wild-olive to do the same on the banks of the Alpheios, and for the poplar to be nurtured by the land of the Keltoi and the Celtic Eridanos.

The interpolator of Servius' commentary on Virgil has preserved a more romantic version. Leuke, the daughter of Okeanos, was loved by Plouton and carried off to the Underworld, where she spent

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1 Interp. Serv. *in Verg. ecl.* 7. 61 (probably derived from the commentary of Aelius Donatus).
her days and in due course died. Plouton from love of her bade a white-poplar (leike) to spring up in the Elysian fields. It was from this tree that Herakles on his return from the nether regions plucked a wreath. Other authorities add a few details. Herakles, when he dragged Kerberos from below, saw the white-poplar growing beside the Acheron, marvelled at its beauty, wreathed himself with it, brought it to the Upperworld, and showed it to Helios. The myth was already current in the fourth century B.C., to judge from a Scopaic type of the hero wearing his poplar-wreath (fig. 363). The wreath of white-poplar, thus associated with Herakles, was awarded to victors in the Rhodian Isthmepoieia, a festival commemorating Herakles' son Isthmepoicoi, if not Herakles himself. Some would have it, however, that the festival belonged to Helios; and natives of the island spoke of the white-poplar as 'Helios' wreath.' Virgil, describing the cult of Hercules at the Ara Maxima,


2 The best preserved example of the type (on which see B. Graef 'Herakles des Skopas und Vermundes' in the Röm. Mitth. 1889 iv. 189—236 with pl. 8 f. and illustrations in text) is the bust from Genzano in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture iii. 93 no. 1731 pl. 5, 2. My fig. 363 is from P. Wolters in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1886 i. 55 f. pl. 5, 2. Fine-Parian marble. Height c. 40). To the bibliography given by Mr A. H. Smith add Overbeck Gr. Plastik ii. 24 ff. fig. 143, a-c, H. Bulle Der schoene Mensch im Altertum² Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 p. 479 f. pl. 211 (left), Stuart Jones Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome p. 71 Stanze terrine a dritta i. 23 pl. 13, W. Hethig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom³ Leipzig 1912 i. 237 no. 405, 520 no. 919, 525 no. 926, A. H. Smith British Museum: Marbles and Bronzes London 1914 p. 6 pl. 21.

3 Theokr. 2. 121 with schol. ad loc., Verg. ecl. 7. 61, georg. 2. 66, Aen. 8. 276 f. with Serv. ad loc., Ov. her. 9. 64, Plin. nat. hist. 12. 3, Phaedr. 3. 17. 4, Tert. de cor. mil. 7.

4 Schol. Pind. Ol. 7. 147.

5 Schol. Pind. Ol. 7. 145 Ἑράδελπος. of δὲ Ἐράδελπος' κ. τ. λ. But the two festivals were distinct: see Nilsson Gr. Feste pp. 450 f., 461 f.

6 Schol. Pind. Ol. 7. 146 citing Istron frag. 60 b (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 427 Müller).

7 Frag. com. adesp. (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 746 ff., v. 52 f. Meinecke) ap. Dikaireuth. 1. 5 (Geogr. Gr. min. i. 100 Müller) θνὸν μὲν τὸν λέοντα τινα αὐτοὶ πράξον ἄλλους ενομένους στέφανον ἐλαυν. πρώτοις οἱ κ. τ. λ. Large bronze coins issued at Rhodes between 88 and 43 B.C. have obv. head of Helios, radiate, facing; rev. full-blown rose to front, within a wreath (Brit.
makes the Salii chant his exploits 'their brows bound with branches of poplar'; though later usage prescribed wreaths of bay. It was perhaps as followers of Herakles that successful athletes in Kos and at Athens wore white-poplar. But the practice has ultimately a chthonian significance. The white-poplar, 'the finest tree which grows in modern Greece,' had in ancient times a variety of

Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 261 nos. 343 pl. 41, 3 (= my fig. 364), 344 (= my fig. 365), 345 pl. 41, 4. Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 444 no. 80, Head Hist. num. p. 641 f.). This wreath, formerly said to be of vine-leaves (Rasche Lex. Num. vii. 1039), is now commonly described as an oak-wreath; and such it might possibly be (Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 418 fig. 17). But our passage rather suggests that it is intended for the wreath of white-poplar sacred to the Rhodian Helios. Mr E. S. G. Robinson, who at my request kindly compared the specimens in the British Museum with some actual leaves of white-poplar, reports (June 24, 1921): 'I have looked at the coins of Rhodes you mention and have

little doubt that the leaves of the wreath are meant for white poplar and not for oak, as you will see from the two enclosed casts; they (the leaves) are not drawn with any great care, but the essential difference between the oak and poplar (the pyramidal shape of the latter) seems to have been observed.'

A certain sympathy between the white-poplar and Helios is attested by the belief that the olive, the white-poplar, and the willow turn their leaves at the solstice (Varr. rer. rust. 1. 46 = Plin. nat. hist. 2. 108. Plin. nat. hist. 16. 87 and 18. 266 f. adds the elm and the linden).

2 Interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 8. 276, Macrobi. Sat. 3. 12. 1 ff. See further R. Peter in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2926 f.
3 Theocr. 2. 120 ff. with schol. ad loc.
4 Aristoph. nud. 1007.
5 So Dr W. Leaf in his note on Hy. 13. 389. Cp. E. Step Wayside and Woodland Trees London 1905 p. 55: 'The White Poplar...grows into a large tree, something between sixty and a hundred feet high.'
names derived from the light-coloured under-surface of its leaves. The striking effect of light combined with dark was, at least in part, the reason why the tree was assigned to the limbo between the Upperworld and the Underworld. As having no fruit, also, it was appropriate to the realm beyond. It was ‘chthonian’, ‘sacred to Hades’, ‘dedicate to the dead’. Hence, according to Harpokration (s.ii (?)) A.D.), its use in the rites of the chthonian Dionysos. A similar explanation might be given of the fact that, at Olympia, persons wishing to sacrifice to Pelops had to obtain wood of the white-poplar from the ‘woodman’ (xyleías) attached to the cult of Zeus. When Idmon, son of Apollon and seer of the Argonauts, died, his brows were bound with its white leafage. Aquites the Colchian, ‘consecrated to the waters of the land and priest of the mighty Phasis,’ wore a wreath of white-poplar, perhaps because poplars fringed the river where it flowed past Phrixos’ tomb to the sea. Finally, Polyphemos, son of the Lapith Elatos, who married


2 J. Britten—R. Holland A Dictionary of English Plant-names London 1884 iii. 600 have compiled the following list: 'Populus alba, L. Abbey, Abbey-tree, Abel, Abele, Arbeal, Arboll, Aspen (Great), Awel, Beech (Dutch), Dutch Arbor, Peplar (White), Poplar (White), Silver, White-bark'. Ablee and its various deformations are derived from the late Latin abellus, a diminutive of ablus (J. A. H. Murray A New English Dictionary Oxford 1888 i. 15).

3 Harpokr. s.v. λευκή...αιτωρθύνον (legr. η το χθονιον μεν εισαι τ ω φαυν= Souid.)

4 Eustath. in H. p. 938, 64 f. άτα ακαπτον δε η αχερολος τον “Αιδην αδέξιεται.

5 Schol. L. H. 16. 482 (supra p. 467 n. 4).

6 Harpokr. s.v. λευκή=Souid. s.v. λευκή.

7 Sir J. E. Sandys A History of Classical Scholarship Cambridge 1906 i. 325 f.

8 Supra i. 393 n. 4.

9 Cp. Olympia v. 143 ff. no. 63, 12 f. άλωμάτος ζ (= ολωμάτος) | ξυλές, 147 ff. no. 64, 31 f. (= Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 612, 31 f.) ξυλές | Εθνίμως Σωτινώς Με., 221 ff. no. 121, 27 f. ξυλές | Ανείκητος, 223 f. no. 122, 23 ξυλές | Ανείκητος, 225 f. no. 124, 9 f. [Εθέσιος]...Δι [θέρ].

10 Paus. 5. 13. 2. The Pelopion had been founded by Henkles, who sacrificed into the pit (θήραν) for Pelops. The annual magistrates kept up the sacrifice, the victim being a black ram, the neck of which was given to the woodman (xyleías). Whoever, either of the Eleans or of strangers, ate the flesh of the victim sacrificed to Pelops might not enter the temple of Zeus (ib. 2—3). See further Sir J. G. Frazer ad loc.

11 Val. Flacc. 5. 10 f.

12 Val. Flacc. 6. 294 ff.

13 Val. Flacc. 5. 184 ff.
Laonome a sister of Herakles⁴ and fell fighting in the land of the Chalybes, had a burial mound near the sea beneath a tall white-poplar.²

If the white-poplar was thus regarded as a Borderland tree, the black-poplar was even more closely connected with the Otherworld. The woods of Persephone on the further side of Okeanos consisted of 'tall black-poplars and willows that shed their fruit.' When Teukros quitted Salamis to seek a new home across the water, 'he is said to have bound his brows with a poplar-wreath.' When Aeneas on the anniversary of his father's death held a contest for ships, the Trojan crews were 'veiled with poplar-leafage.' Varro was buried in an earthenware coffin 'after the manner of the Pythagoreans on leaves of myrtle, olive, and black-poplar.' And the place where Augustus' body had been burnt on the Campus Martius was enclosed by an iron fence and planted with black-poplars.⁶

Nor can we in this context ignore the myth of the Heliades. Virgil, it is true, in his *Eclogues* transforms these sisters of Phaethon into alders: but in his *Aeneid* he, like the great majority of Latin writers, speaks of them as poplars; and the Greeks almost with one consent call them black-poplars.²⁶ As such they appear in their

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earliest extant representation, that of an Arretine mould acquired in
1898 by the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston. A cast taken from the
mould (fig. 366)\(^1\) shows a relief, signed by Bargates a slave of the
potter M. Perennius, which subdivides into two distinct scenes. On
the right we see Phaethon fallen from the solar car. One wheel of it
lies beside him. The other is collected, as Valerius Flaccus says\(^2\), by
Tethys the wife of Okeanos, his grandmother\(^3\). Helios\(^4\), on horse-
back with a spare horse at his side, has already caught two of the
chariot-team by the reins and will next turn his attention to the
remaining pair, of which one rears high in the air, the other collapses
on the ground. The scene is completed by the cause of Phaethon's
fall—Zeus in the act of hurling his bolt, accompanied by Artemis,
whose arrow would avenge the wrong done to Apollo, and by Iris\(^5\),
whose outstretched arms hold a fillet suggestive of a rainbow span-
ning the storm. On the left is the transformation of Phaethon's sisters.
One of them has been completely metamorphosed into a tree, from
whose branches large leaves of black-poplar are sprouting. The other
two are stiffening into the shape of Caryatids\(^6\) as they endeavour
with uplifted hand to free themselves from the branches visible above
them. In this last desperate effort they and their vanished sister
are helped by three young men, in all probability their brothers?,

with schol. ad loc., Diod. 5. 23, Strab. 215, Dionys. per. 288 ff. with Eustath. ad loc.,
Loukan. de salt. 55, de electro 1 ff., Philostr. mai. imagg. 1. 11, Aristot. mir. auct. 81=
Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἰλέκτριδες ῥηποι, Nonn. Dion. 2. 152 ff., append. prov. 3. 8 (E. L. von
Leutsch—F. W. Schneidewin Paroemiographi Graeci Gottingae 1839 i. 416 ff.), Hesych.
s.v. Ἰλέκτρος, et. mag. pp. 425, 18 ff., 437, 6 ff.

89 no. 63 (diameter 0.109", height 0.08") P. Hartwig ‘Eine Aretinische Gefäßform mit
Scenen aus der Phaethonsage’ in Philologus 1899 lviii. 481—497 with pl. (= my fig. 366),
H. Goetz ‘Zu der Aretinischen Gefäßform mit Scenen aus der Phaethonsage’ ib. 1901 lx.
478 ff., G. Knaack in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2195—2197 fig. 1, H. B. Walters History
of Ancient Pottery London 1905 ii. 483 f. fig. 218, F. Oswald—T. D. Pryce An Intro-
duction to the Study of Terra Sigillata London 1910 p. 7.

\(^2\) Val. Flacc. 5. 431.

\(^3\) Phaethon was the son of Helios by the Oceanid Klymene (G. Knaack in Roscher
Lex. Myth. iii. 2177). E. Robinson loc. cit. took the figure of Tethys to be ‘possibly
one of the Helides.’ F. Hauser (Philologus 1899 lviii. 485 n. 5) suggested Nemesis (supra
i. 269 ff., 276). The right interpretation was first given by P. Hartwig loc. cit.

\(^4\) So P. Hartwig loc. cit.: ‘certainly not ‘Phaethon...vainly trying to hold his six
horses’ (E. Robinson loc. cit.).

\(^5\) ‘Nikē or Iris?’ (E. Robinson loc. cit.): ‘Aura oder Hora’ (P. Hartwig loc. cit. with
express reservation): ‘eine geflügelte Frauengestalt, die einen bogenförmig ausgebreiteten
Gegenstand emporhält (wohl Andeutung des Himmelsgewölbes)’ (G. Knaack loc. cit.).

\(^6\) Supra p. 402 n. 0.

\(^7\) E. Robinson loc. cit. is content to speak of them in each case as a ‘youth.’ P. Hartwig
loc. cit., after weighing the possibility that they may be ‘Brüder oder Verwandte der
Heliaden,’ accepts a suggestion of W. Helbig that they are labourers hacking at the trees
to get drops of amber: we are to assume that the ancients confused the method of collecting
who with bill-hooks, or without, attempt to lop or rend away
the entangling vegetable growth. The centre of the transforma-
tion-scene is occupied by a spiral column with a rosette on the
top of it and a ladder leaning against it. P. Hartwig and H. Goez
draw a sharp contrast between the two scenes of the downfall
and the metamorphosis: the former they take to be a rich and
harmonious composition implying an artistic prototype, the latter
a loosely-connected and clumsy row of figures perhaps first put
together by Bargates and certainly filled out by him with a mere
ornamental column. I do not agree with this estimate. On the one
hand, the boasted composition is full of absurdities. Zeus, comfort-
ably seated, is yet hurling a thunderbolt! Helios is on horse-back—
a notion that is not Greek. And Artemis is unexampled dans cette
galère. The fact is that the Arretine potter, not possessed of sufficient
genius to invent a new type, is simply using up stock patterns.
He has by him a seated Zeus, who will serve for the thunderer. He
has a set of neo-Attic dies for the tragedy of the Niobids: three of
them can be worked in—Artemis, the dead youth (Phaethon), the
fleeing maiden (Tethys). He knows how to represent Troilos on
horse-back: the familiar figure with its spare horse will do for
Helios, and the two horses of Troilos can be duplicated for the
captured solar pair. All patch-work! But patch-work, when the
patches are Greek, is apt to produce—as it were by a turn of the
kaleidoscope—new and satisfactory combinations of old and well-

amber with that of obtaining frankincense (Theophr. hist. pl. 9. 4. 4; Plin. nat. hist. 12.
68). H. Goez loc. cit. thinks that the youth without the bill-hook, like the two Heliades
in front of him, is trying to tear away the fatal poplar-branches, and can hardly be viewed
as an amber-collector. G. Knaack loc. cit. leaves the question in suspense.

1 Cp. Ov. met. 2. 358 ff. (of Clymene) truncis avellere corpora temptat | et teneros
manibus ramos abrumpit.

2 P. Hartwig loc. cit. p. 493.

3 H. Goez loc. cit. p. 479.

4 P. Hartwig loc. cit. p. 494 ff. presupposes some toretic work of the Hellenistic age,
inspired by a literary (but non-tragic) source, to which Ovid and Valerius Flaccus were
likewise indebted.

5 E. Robinson loc. cit.: 'This may have something to do with the subject, but seems
more probably introduced to fill the space.' P. Hartwig loc. cit. p. 491 f.: 'Die gewundene
Säule...halte ich mit Robinson für eine rein ornamentale Zuthat unseres Bargates.' For
the twisted column as a favourite motif of Arretine ware see H. B. Walters History of
Ancient Pottery London 1915 ii. 493.


7 F. Haner Die neuenartlichen Reliefs Stuttgart 1889 p. 73 ff. nos. 104—107 b. Furt-
wängler Masterpieces of Grk. Sculpt. p. 43 f. fig. 7 shows that these reliefs were originally
extracts from a fifth-century representation of Apollon and Artemis slaying the Niobids,
probably that carved by Pheidias on the throne of Zeus at Olympia. For other views see
known elements. Hence the appreciation of our critics. On the other hand, the transformation of the Heliades is hardly to be dismissed as a group of mechanical or meaningless items. The designer had at his disposal sundry vintage-stamps\(^1\) including a vine-dresser, a ladder, a dancing Satyr\(^3\), and a dancing Maenad\(^2\). By dexterous repetition of the first and last he has contrived to tell his story, though it must be admitted that the poplar-sprays on the bay-leaved willow-trunk are, as H. Goez protests, a Naturwunder\(^4\). It is noticeable that no indication of locality is given except the twisted column and the ladder. The action, doubtless, takes place on the banks of the Eridanos, a river usually identified with the Padus or the Rhodanus, but also set in the sky as the constellation Eridanus or Flumen\(^8\). The scene is thus at once earthly and heavenly. Is it a mere coincidence that we have already found both the spiral column\(^6\) and the ladder\(^7\) used as links between earth and heaven? Moreover, we have seen reason to connect the sky-pillar\(^9\) and sky-ladder\(^8\) with the Milky Way. And, with regard to the mythical personages here concerned, it will be remembered, not only that we identified the road up which the Heliades escorted Parmenides as the Milky Way\(^10\), but also that certain Pythagoreans explained the Milky Way as the track made by a star which fell with the falling Phaethon\(^11\).

I am inclined to surmise that the Galaxy at one time played a considerable rôle in the myth of Phaethon\(^12\). There are at least three

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\(^1\) For vintage-scenes as part of the Arretine potter's répertoire see H. B. Walters op. cit. ii. 492 f.

\(^2\) Cp. F. Hauser op. cit. pl. 1, 17 (right arm altered).

\(^3\) Cp. F. Hauser op. cit. pl. 2, 25 (reversed). The type is derived from the Maenad of Skopas (supra i. 666 n. 1).

\(^4\) H. Goez loc. cit. p. 478. For examples of composite trees on moulded ware from Roman Gaul see J. Déchelette Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule Romaine Paris 1904 ii. 159 f. nos. 1127—1129.

\(^5\) E. H. Bunbury in Smith Dict. Geogr. i. 849. J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 446 ff. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 6. 59 states that Phaethon son of Helios was originally called Eridanos, that he was renamed from his fiery fall, and that he gave his previous title to the river in which he fell.

\(^6\) Supra p. 107.

\(^7\) Supra p. 124 ff.

\(^8\) Supra p. 44 ff.

\(^9\) Supra p. 124 ff.

\(^10\) Supra pp. 40 n. 4, 43 n. 1.

\(^11\) Supra p. 42 f.

\(^12\) This myth has been studied in detail by F. Wieseler Phaethon Göttingen 1857 pp. 1—74 with figs. 1—12, H. d'Arbois de Jubainville 'Sur les origines de l'ambre, Phaéthon, l'Eridan, les Ligures et les Celtes'\(^7\) in the Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France 1876 pp. 134—142, U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 'Phaethon' in Hermes 1883 xviii. 396—434, C. Robert 'Die Phaethonsage bei Hesiod' ib. 1885 xxvii. 434—441, M. Mayer 'Excurs über Hygin fab. 152 und 154' ib. 1885 xx. 135—143, A. Bangert De fabula Phaethontea Halis Saxonum 1884 pp. 1—41, G. Knauck Quaestiones Phaethontea Berolini 1886 pp. 1—81, id. 'Zur Phaethonsage' in Hermes 1887 xrv. 637—640, id. in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2175—2202 with figs. 1—3 (the most comprehensive
possibilities. In the first place, the Milky Way was that ‘Road of the Birds,’ along which the swans drew Apollo to the land of the Hyperboreans. This accounts for the intimate relations of Kyknos, the ‘Swan,’ to Phaethon. The Hesiodic (?) version preserved by Hyginus states that Kyknos, king of Liguria, bewailing the fate of his kinsman Phaethon was changed into a swan and chanted his dying song. Similarly Pausanias relates that Kyknos, a musician, became king of the Ligurians inhabiting the Celtic country beyond the Eridanos, and at his death was transformed into the bird by the will of Apollo. Phanokles, the Alexandrian elegiast, in his Erotes retold the tale and, no doubt, gave it the romantic touch, which is discernible in later allusions. Claudian adds that Phaethon, raised to the sky, became Auriga, and his sisters the Hyades, while

The Milky Circle sprinkles the spread wings
Of Cynus, once his comrade.

Both Auriga, the ‘Charioteer,’ and Olor, the ‘Swan,’ are to be seen nightly on the Milky Way. Lucian in his little work On Amber or Swans claims to have visited the Eridanos and lost his illusions. He saw neither poplars nor amber, and the natives had never heard of Phaethon!

‘However,’ he continues, ‘there was one thing I still thought I really should find there, and that was flocks of swans singing on the banks. We were still on the way up, and I applied to the boatmen again: ‘About what time do the swans take post for their famous musical entertainment?—Apollo’s fellow craftsmen, you know, who were changed here from men to birds, and still sing in memory of their ancient art.’ But they only jeered at me: ‘Are you going to lie all day about our country and our river, pray?’’ Etc., etc.


1 Supra p. 38. 2 Supra p. 460 ff.
4 Paus. i. 30. 3.
5 Phanokles ap. Lact. Plac. narr. fab. 2. 4.
6 Verg. Aen. 10. 189 ff. with Serv. ad loc., Ov. met. 2. 367 ff. (cp. anon. miscell. 6 in A. Westermann MYΘΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ Brunsvigae 1843 p. 347, 32 ff. = ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΩΓΡΑΦΟΙ Brunsvigae 1839 p. 227, 13 ff.)
7 Claud. de vi cons. Honor. 173 ff. Opinion differed as to the author of these catastermisms. Claud. loc. cit. refers them all to Helios (ib. 170 Titan). Nonn. Dion. 38. 424 ff. makes Zeus set Phaethon in the sky as Auriga, the Eridanos as Flumen. Interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 10. 189 says that Kyknos was placed among the stars by Apollo.
8 Hyg. post. astr. 4. 7 notes that the Milky Way passes through the following constellations: Olor, Perseus, Auriga, Gemini, Procyon, Argo, Centaurus, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Aquila.
The swan was fair game to the satirist; but its connexion with the myth was never forgotten by ancient art. A fine sardonyx cameo at Florence (fig. 367)\(^1\) shows Phaethon falling from the solar car into the river, which is suggested by the urn upset. Helios\(^2\), a youthful figure on horse-back grasping a torch, gallops up to the rescue. In the foreground Kyknos, a swan already, utters his plaintive cry. The same scene with its suggestion of sudden death followed by new and glorified life was repeated on sarcophagi of the second and third centuries A.D.\(^3\) The noblest example is that from Ostia, now in the Jacobsen collection at Ny-Carlsberg (fig. 368)\(^4\).

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2. Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 263: 'Es ist der eine der Dioskuren, der Tagesdioskur, identifiziert mit Phosphorus, oder, anders gewendet, Phosphorus im Typus eines Dioskurs.' But see supra p. 475 n. 6.

3. G. Knaack *Quaestiones Phaethontes* Berolini 1886 pp. 71—77, id. in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2197—2199. F. Wieseler *Phaethon* Göttingen 1857 figs. 1, 2, 4, 5 provides materials for comparative study, but will be superseded some day by a future volume of Robert *Sark.-Kelfz.*

Apollon and Artemis

On the left we see Phaethon standing before the seated Helios to prefer his request. In front of Helios four youths, the Heliadai, hold in readiness the solar steeds. At his back are four maidens, the Horai, characterised as the seasons of the year. The central space is reserved for the central incident, the fall of Phaethon, conceived as on the cameo, except that Helios on horse-back is replaced by the Dioskouroi riding up from left and right, while Kyknos below appears both as an aged man leaning on a staff and as a swan. At his back sits Moira conning the roll of fate. Phaethon falls headlong towards Eridanos, who reclines with a branch over his shoulder and a snake at his side. Beyond him is another reclining male, who holds a large wheel and is best regarded as a personification of the Course. An anchor visible between the two hints at Okeanos. Above sits Helios, his head resting on his hand in a pose of deep dejection, while Hermes brings him the sad news. Behind Helios stands Klymene (?) with a look of grave concern. Behind Hermes are the Heliades, two standing, one seated, in attitudes expressive of their grief. Their transformation is still to come: as mourners they must not anticipate the change.

Secondly, the Milky Way is sometimes viewed as a celestial river, and that not only in Australia, Annam, China, 

1 So P. Hartwig in Philologus 1899 liii. 489. G. Lippold loc. cit. is content with 'quatre serviteurs.' Above them are remains of the chariot-pole, and the mantle of Cælus (supra i. 59).

2 See A. Baumeister in his Denkm. iii. 1325 f.

3 Nonn. Dion. 38. 166 and 218.


5 Cp. supra i. 260 n. 3. G. Knaack in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2197 'Auf dem Himmelsgewölbe (vgl. Matz, bull. dell’ inst. 1869, 67) sitzt Helios...' is on the wrong track. So too is G. Lippold loc. cit., who (after F. Wieseler loc. cit.) sees in the two reclining male figures 'des personifications de la Terre et de la Mer.'

6 His type is ultimately derived from that of Hermes in the east pediment of the Parthenon (infra 9 (h) ii (9)).

7 All three are modifications of figures F (Hippodameia) and O (the handmaid) in the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Overbeck Gr. Plastik i fig. 77).


9 H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland in Mélusine Paris 1884-85 ii. 154.

10 Eisd. ii. ii. 154. Prof. H. A. Giles has kindly supplied me (Jan. 18, 1919) with the following detailed information: 'The Milky Way is mentioned three times in the Odys edited by Confucius about B.C. 500, but only as a celestial phenomenon.

The famous traveller, Chang Ch'ien, who brought the grape from Fergana to China, and visited Bactria (B.C. 138), was sent by the Emperor to discover the source of the Yellow River, which was supposed to flow from heaven and to be a continuation of the Milky Way. He sailed up stream for many days until he reached a city where he saw a girl weaving. On his asking what place this was, the girl gave him her shuttle, telling him to show it on his return to a certain astrologer, who would know where he had been. He did so, and the astrologer at once recognized the shuttle as that of the Weaving
Japan¹, Siberia², Mesopotamia³, and Arabia⁴, but in Greece itself⁵. Greek peasants in Kypros speak of it as 'the River Jordan' or 'the Shade of the Jordan'⁶. Indeed, the southern Greeks in general call it the 'River Jordan'. And this name can be traced back for hundreds of years, being found already in the Απόκοπος of Bergades⁷, a sixteenth-century poem of lasting popularity⁸. In face of these facts

Damsel (a Lyrae); further declaring that on the day and at the hour when Chang received the shuttle, he had noticed the intrusion of a wandering star between a Lyrae and βγ Aquilae. Thus Chang was actually believed to have sailed upon the bosom of the Milky Way.

'The following names have been given to the Milky Way by the Chinese: The Celestial River. The Silver River. The Celestial Ford. The Bright River. The Red River! The last is an annis rubus a non rubendo; the explanation being that the Milky Way lies to the south of the north pole, and that fire and red are the element and colour, respectively, which have been assigned to the south quarter of the heavens.'

1 B. H. Chamberlain Things Japanese London—Tōkyō 1890 p. 372 f. (a reference given me by my friend Mr. H. G. Brand of Tokyo): 'The only fable worth mentioning here in connection with the stars is that which inspires the festival named Tanabata. This fable, which is of Chinese origin, relates the loves of a Herdsman and a Weaving-Girl. The Herdsman is a star in Aquila. The Weaver is the star Vega. They dwell on opposite sides of the "Celestial River," or Milky Way, and may never meet but on the seventh night of the seventh moon, a night held sacred to them, strips of paper with poetic effusions in their honour being stuck on stems of bamboo grass and set up in various places. According to one version of the legend, the Weaving-Girl was so constantly kept employed in making garments for the offspring of the Emperor of Heaven—in other words, God—that she had no leisure to attend to the adornment of her person. At last however, God, taking compassion on her loneliness, gave her in marriage to the Herdsman who dwelt on the opposite bank of the river. Hereupon the woman began to grow remiss in her work. God, in his anger, then made her recross the river, at the same time forbidding her husband to visit her oftener than once a year. Another version represents the pair as mortals, who were wedded at the early ages of fifteen and twelve, and who died at the ages of a hundred and three and ninety-nine respectively. After death, their spirits flew up to the sky, where the Supreme Deity bathed daily in the Celestial River. No mortals might pollute it by their touch, except on the seventh day of the seventh moon, when the Deity, instead of bathing, went to listen to the chanting of the Buddhist scriptures.'

² R. Andree op. cit. p. 110 (the Koryaks of North-East Siberia).
⁴ H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland loc. cit. ii. 156.
⁵ Not in Italy. H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland loc. cit. ii. 151 give Fluvius lacteus as a Latin name of the Milky Way. But this rests on a misunderstanding of Mart. Cap. 15 and 207, where the milky stream is the track of the planet Jupiter: see U. F. Kopp's note on Mart. Cap. 14.
⁶ G. Loukas Φιλολογικά ιεράφευσι Athens 1874 p. 135, quoted by H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland loc. cit. ii. 156.
⁸ É. Legrand Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire Paris 1881 ii. 98 'Απόκοπος τοι Μπέργαδη 87 f. 'Αστράπτει, πεί ματ, ἐ βροτντ, κ' α' δι συνεφώ καὶ βρέχγει, καὶ δι Ιορδάνη ποταμοὶ ἄν κυμάτη καὶ τρέχγει.
⁹ É. Legrand op. H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland loc. cit. ii. 156 f.
it is permissible to conjecture that the Eridanòs, which—as I shall subsequently argue—appears to have meant 'River of Life,' was at the outset none other than the Milky Way, and that, when a different conception of this starry phenomenon gained ground and drove out the old appellation, room was still found in the nocturnal sky for the constellation Eridanus. Moreover, if we may rely (as we are fully entitled to do) on the statement of Hyginus that some authorities spoke of this constellation as the Nile, and that many called it Oceanus, certain further consequences immediately present themselves. The Nile is described in the Odyssey by the remarkable adjective Diipetès, which properly denotes a river 'that falls in the Zeus,' 'in the clear Sky.' This description would apply with strict accuracy only to the Milky Way, but might be extended to all rivers conceived as rilles of that great flood. Pursuing the same line of thought we can hardly avoid another conclusion, viz. that 'back-flowing Okeanos,' the very 'source of the gods,' was not

3 Infra Append. G.
5 Hyg. poet. astr. 1. 32 Eridanus. hunc alii Nilum, complures etiam Oceanum esse dixerunt.
6 Od. 4. 477 (= 2 p. 351) Λιγυρτέοι, Διπετεῖοι θυσμόωι with schol. ad loc. According to schol. E. H. Q., Ζυγόδοτος...γράφει διπετείοι διά τις ει δειλόγγουν. Supra i. 349 n. 2. F. Solmsen in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen 1911 xiv. 162 f., followed by F. Bechtel Lexikon zu Homer Halle a. d. S. 1914 p. 101, would write διπετείος, holding that the dative Διεμ., correct in such a formation as Διεμίπαλος, forced its way at an early date into other compounds, in which it was incorrect.—Διεμοίρας, Διεμ-τρόφης, Διεμ-πετής. But the locative Διεμ‑ in Διεμήτης, explained as in the text, gives a perfectly satisfactory meaning. H. Lehmann. Zur Lehre vom Locativ bei Homer. Neustettin 1879. p. 8 renders: 'in der Helle fliessend.'
9 Cp. Euseb. praep. ev. 3. 11. 51 ὁ Νελός, διὰ τούτου καταφέρομαι οὐκαίται.
10 II. 18. 399, Od. 20. 65, Hes. theog. 776 ἀφορίου Ὀκεανοῦ.
11 II. 14. 201 and 302 Οκεανοῦ το θεών γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Θησού, cp. ib. 245 f. σωμάτου θεόν, ὅπερ γένεσιν πάντοτε τέτοια, Ομηρ. Κ. Οκεαν. 83. 1. το Ὀκεανὸ... ἀθάνατως το θεών γένεσιν θυγατρῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων. The use of the word γένεσις in this connexion is peculiar, and may imply that Okeanos was at one time regarded as the very seed of the sky-god, giving rise to a whole succession of divine forms (cp. the Tarragona tablet Infra Append. G med.). Certain pundits in antiquity declared that Homer was borrowing from the lore of Egypt, and went about to prove that Okeanos and Tethys were
originally a terrestrial river forming the circumference of a discoidal earth, but, as E. H. Berger\(^1\) has maintained, a celestial stream of stars. I should indeed venture to suppose that in pre-Greek times, before the rise of geographical speculation, the river Okeanos simply meant the Galaxy\(^5\). F. W. H. Myers\(^2\) with fine imagination pictures the forefather of the human race as he wakes at night and sees—

Stars in the firmament above him beaming,
Stars in the firmament, alive and free,
Stars, and of stars the innumerable streaming,
Deep in the deeps, a river in the sea.

Thirdly, the Milky Way is on occasion compared with a tree, whose vast trunk can be dimly descried towering through the gloom and branching across the midnight sky. Thus at Nüxei in the Harz district it is called the Wetterbaum\(^4\), weather-forecasts being drawn from its appearance\(^6\). It has been maintained that a similar belief once prevailed in southern Babylonia. A bilingual tablet, consisting of a Sumerian text with an interlinear Semitic translation, brought from the library of Ashurbanipal (668—626 B.C.) at Kouyunjik, contains an incantation\(^8\) rendered by R. Campbell Thompson\(^7\) as follows:

In Eridu growtheth the dark kīškanū\(^8\)
That springeth forth in a place undefined,
Whereof the brilliance is shining lapis
Which reacheth unto Ocean;
From Ea its way in Eridu
Is bountiful in luxuriance,
Where earth is, there is its place,

Osiris and Isis respectively (Plout. de Is. et Or. 34). The Egyptians believed the Nile, and indeed all moisture, to be ὁ ὅπερ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (id. ἰδ. 36), and held that living creatures arose from the river-slime (frag. lyr. adesp. (Pind. 3) 84. 14 f. Bergk & ap. Hippol. ref. herer. 5, 7 p. 136 Duncker—Schneidewin, Hippys frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 13 Müller) ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 4, 262, Diod. 1, 10, Horapoll. hierogl. 1, 75, Ov. met. 1, 422 ff.).

3 F. W. H. Myers Saint Paul London 1887 p. 47.
4 A. Kuhle Sagen, Gebrauche und Märchen aus Westfalen Leipzig 1859 ii. 86.
5 J. W. Wolf Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie Göttingen 1853 i. 37.
6 Sir H. C. Rawlinson Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia London 1891 iv. 15° rev. col. i, 53 ff.
8 Mr. H. H. W. Pearson of the Royal Gardens at Kew suggests one of the tragacanth-bearing varieties of astragalus.
And the Couch of the Goddess Id its home.
In an undefiled dwelling like a forest grove
Its shade spreadeth abroad, and none may enter in.
In its depths (are) Shamash and Tammuz.

At the confluence of two streams
The gods Ka-Hegal, Shi-Dugal, (and) ... of Eridu
[Have gathered] this kiškanu, [and over the man]
Have performed the Incantation of the Deep,
(And) at the head of the wanderer have set (it).
That a kindly Guardian, a kindly Spirit
May stand at the side of the man, the son of his god.

R. Campbell Thompson took this to mean that the kiškanu-plant (? astragalus gummifer), growing in Eridu where two streams met, was plucked for medicinal use originally by the gods and later by men. Nothing more probable. But A. Jeremias\(^1\) ten years later translates the opening lines—

In Eridu grew a black kiškanu-tree: it was created in a light place.
Its (branches) are of glittering lapis lazuli and stretch out over the ocean.—

and adds, with confident dogmatism, that the Milky Way is here conceived as a world-tree\(^2\). I am, however, assured by my learned friend the late Dr C. H. W. Johns and by Mr Sidney Smith of the British Museum that there is not the slightest ground for supposing any allusion to the Galaxy. At Eridu, near the point where the Euphrates and the Tigris empty into the Persian Gulf, there was an entrance to the Underworld. It seems possible, therefore, that the tree here mentioned was akin to the Borderland tree of the Greeks and Romans. If so, a comparison with the poplars of the Heliades might be justified (gum tragacanth is a passable parallel to amber), though to equate—as Jeremias does\(^3\)—Eridu with Eridanos is simply laughable.

On the whole I conclude that several traits in the myth of Phaethon, including the Heliades, Kyknos, the Eridanos, etc., do point to an early connexion with the Milky Way. A parallel may be found in modern Pomerania, where it is believed that the Wild Huntsman marks his progress across the sky by streaks of fire and that once,

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venturing too high in the air, he left behind him the Milky Way, hence called the *Wildbahn*, as a trace of his passage. It remains to notice a curious variant of the myth preserved by Apollonios of Rhodes, who gives the following account of the Argonauts' visit to the scene of Phaethon's disaster:

Then entered they Eridanos' inmost stream,
Where once, his breast struck by the blazing bolt,
Phaethon fell, half-burnt, from Helios' car
Into the mouth of the deep mere; and still
From the glowing wound wells up the vapour dense.
No bird can wing its way on pinions light
Across that water, but it flutters, fails,
Falls in the heat. And maidens all around,
The Heliades, pent in black-poplars tall,
Make of their misery a pitiful plaint,
Yea, from their lids let slip bright amber-drops,
Such as are dried by sunlight on the sand.
But, when the waters of the darksome mere
Wash o'er the strand, blown by some blustering wind,
Then all that wealth is tumbled on the tide
Into Eridanos. The Celts declare
These are the tears of Apollon, Leto's son,
Borne on the eddies,—tears past numbering
He shed in byegone days, what time he came
To the sacred race of the Hyperboreans
And left, at his Father's chiding, radiant heaven,
Wroth for the son divine Koronis bare
In shining Lakereia at the mouth
Of Amyros. Such the tale these tribesmen tell.

The poet has worked into his epic a piece of local lore, which is both interesting and important. The Keltoi, he says, regarded amber as the tears, not of the poplars, but of Apollon. This lends some colour to a view that I put forward years ago concerning Apollon's name. The oldest form of it seems to have been *Apellon*, and Festus' assertion that the ancients used to say *Apello* for *Apollo* is supported by a considerable body of epigraphical evidence from the Doric area. I proposed, therefore, to derive *Apellon* from *apelôn*, 'a black-poplar'. On this showing Apollon would be a

1 A. Brunk 'Der wilde Jäger im Glauben des pommerschen Volkes' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1903 xiii. 184.
3 *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 420.
4 Paul. ex Fest. p. 22, 14 Müller, p. 20, 27 Lindsay Apellinem antiqui diecabant pro Apollinem.
6 Hesych. *απελλῶν· αγέιρων, δύο τοί εἴδος δέσδρον.*
deity associated with a grove of black-poplars like that of the Heliades. Now the scenery of the Eridanos, as described by the Rhodian poet, was more or less similar to that of Apollonia in Illyria, which possessed not only an ancient cult of Helios, but also a Nymphaion with springs of hot water and bitumen. Close by, a perennial jet of flame burst from the ground, surrounded—a curious sight—by flourishing trees and verdant grass. Drenching rain merely increased the blaze, into which the worshippers cast their offerings of frankincense. Silver coins of the town, issued from 410 B.C. onwards on the standard of the Roman denarius, represent three Nymphs (? Heliades), torch in hand, dancing round the sacred fire (fig. 369). And a copper piece, struck by Caracalla, shows the statue of Apollon in his temple, behind which are visible the tops of three trees probably, but not certainly, meant for poplars (fig. 370). The same doubt attaches to the tree seen behind Apollon Smintheus on a coin of Alexandria in the Troad, which might be either a poplar or a cypress (fig. 371). We are on surer ground, when we recall the love of Apollon for Dryope. Antoninus Liberalis, following Nikandros (c. 150 B.C.), tells her story thus:

1 Supra i. 160 ff.
2 Strab. 316.
3 Plut. v. Sull. 27 (here a Satyr was caught asleep and brought before Sulla, whom he scared by emitting a harsh cry 'something between the neigh of a horse and the bleat of a goat'), All. var. hist. 13. 16.
4 Dion Cass. 41. 45 with further detail.
5 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc. p. 60 f. pl. 12, 13 f., Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 3 pl. 31, 2, Head Coins of the Ancients p. 113 pl. 65, 13, Head Hist. num. 3 p. 314, A. Maier in the Num. Zeitschr. 1908 pp. 5 f., 16 f. Fig. 369 is from a specimen in my collection.
7 Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Apollon pp. 94 f., 312 Münztaf. 5, 32 (=my fig. 371) from a specimen in the collection of F. Imhoof-Blumer, Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 419.
8 Ant. Lib. 32 (from bk. i of the Ερωτολογία of Nikandros). The passage is here summarised, not translated.
Dryops, son of the river Spercheios and the Danaid Polydora, reigned on Mount Oite and had an only daughter Dryope, who tended her father’s flocks. The Hamadryads loved her exceedingly, and taught her how to hymn the gods and to dance. Apollon, who saw her dancing, was enamoured of her and, to attain his ends, became first a tortoise, which she fondled and put into her bosom, and then a snake. The second change scared away the Nymphs, who left Dryope and her lover alone. Shortly afterwards Dryope was wedded to Andraimon, son of Oxylos; but the result of her union with Apollon was the birth of Amphissos. He grew to man’s estate, built the town of Oite, and established a sanctuary of Apollon in Dryopis. When Dryope visited this sanctuary, the Hamadryads carried her off and hid her in the forest. In her place they caused a black-poplar to spring from the ground and a fountain to gush forth beside it. Dryope now became a Nymph. Amphissos founded a sanctuary of the Nymphs in her honour and a contest in running, which is still kept up. From this contest women are excluded, the reason given being that, when Dryope was carried off by the Nymphs, two maidens revealed the fact to the natives of the land and thus incurred the anger of the Nymphs, who transformed them into fir-trees.

It would seem, then, that in the neighbourhood of Mount Oite Apollon was recognised as the consort of a black-poplar. The connexion of this tree with the god was, however, forgotten, when Apollon on his way through Thessaly acquired the bay as his attribute. Thenceforward Dryope gave place to Daphne. The fact is that the particular species of tree assigned to a god depends entirely, or almost entirely, upon the character of the local flora. At Delphoi, for example, the bay-tree was of comparatively recent introduction, and Ovid à propos of the earliest Pythian games states that ‘whosoever had won with hand or feet or wheel received the honour of oaken foliage (aesculeae...frondis): the bay as yet was not, and Phoebus crowned his brows, fair with their flowing tresses,...
from the nearest tree.' Thus it may well be that neither the bay nor the poplar\(^1\) was the tree sacred to Apollon throughout central and northern Europe. In the Balkans the word for 'poplar' closely resembles the word for 'apple.' And Dr Rendel Harris has lately been urging, with a great array of evidence and no little persuasiveness, that Apollon—incredible as it sounds—was both in name and in nature an 'apple'-god.\(^2\) He contends (if I follow

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\(^1\) J. Hoops *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum* Strassburg 1905 p. 230 f.: 'Die von Willkom.'\(^3\) \(^3\) Forstl. Flora\(^2\) 519 f. 530. Ausgesprochene Vermutung, dass die Weiss- und Schwarzwappel dem nördlichen Mitteleuropa von Haus aus fremd seien, wird durch das Fehlen prähistorischer Belege und den Mangel alteinheimischer Namen für die beiden Bäume im Keltischen, Germanischen und Slavischen bestätigt und darf auf das gesamte nordepine Europa ausgehend werden. Sie sind erst zur Römerzeit oder im Lauf des Mittelalters aus Südeuropa eingeführt,' etc.

\(^2\) Cp. E. Berneker *Slawisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Heidelberg 1908—1913 i. 23 skr. [=serbischkroatisch] jätbän m. [=mittel] alt 'Apfelbaum'; heute 'Populus pyramidalis' und 'Pappelkraut, Malve.' A Serbian friend of mine, Mr A. Slavko Jonke, writes: 'When I was a boy, living in Croatia, I used to call the poplar-tree jätbän. But, when I went to live for four years among the Slovenians of Gorjizia, Ljubljana, and Tresta, I found to my surprise that they called the apple-tree jätbän.'

\(^3\) J. Rendel Harris *The Origin of the Cult of Apollo* (ex. from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* Manchester January to March 1916) Manchester 1916 p. 21 ff. =id. *The Ascent of Man* Manchester 1917 p. 36 ff. relies on data which might be expanded as follows:

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Apollon and Artemis

Pelop. i no. 950 C, 27 ff.) derives it from an eponymous hero Μάλος, of whom he (ib. no. 950 E, 40 ff.) gives the following stemma:

Zeus

| Malos = Erato |
| Kleophema = Phlegyas |
| Aigla (Koronis) = Apollon |
| Askapios |

Isyllos twice (ib. no. 950 C, 27 and 31) ends a hexameter with the appellative Μάλεαρα. It is natural to suppose that he scanned it Μάλεαρα. But, in view of his derivation from Μάλος, it is at least possible that he scanned by synizesis Μάλεαρα. Accordingly Rendel Harris, like H. Userer Götternamen Bonn 1896 p. 146 ff. and S. Eitrem Die göttlichen Zuwilungen bei den Griechen (Videnskabsselskabs Skrifter. ii. Historisk-filos. Klasse 1902 No. 2) Christiania 1902 pp. 100 n. 3, 116, would derive Μάλεαρα from μάλος, ‘apple-tree,’ cp. Dionysos Σκεκάρης (Hesyχ. s.v.) from σκέκα. To me it seems more probable that Μάλεαρα is the ethnic from Μάλα or Μάλαι (cp. Inscr. Gr. Αρχ. Λακ. Μασσ. i no. 929 (Prasiai) Μάλαρα | Μάλαις and no. 1516 (Tyros) 'Απόλλων εύ [Μάλαις] on a small bronze lion), the well-known promontory of S.E. Lakonikhe, whence also Zeus Μαλειαῖοι (Steph. Byz. s.v. Μάλαις).

(2) The cult of Apollon Μαλαίας in Lesbos (Thouk. 3. 3 a festival of Apollon Μαλάτει outside Mytilene, Inscr. Gr. ins. ii no. 484, 18 ff. (Hiera) ταύτα | το Άρτεμις και Απόλλωνος | Μαλάτειας θρυλικά και λεπτάρκα των γερμών Απόλλων ʿΑσκληπιίων = O. Hoffmann Die Griechischen Dialekte Göttingen 1893 ii no. 119 ff. no. 168, 18 ff., who reads λεπτάρκα τῶν (λεπτῶν after F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial. Inscr. i. 98 no. 255, 18 ff., cp. A. Conze Reise auf der Insel Lesbos Hannover 1865 p. 53 ff. pl. 17, i, Kallim. frag. 543 Schneider op. Choirbodak. in Theodos. can. macte 3 (i. 153, 13 ff. Hilgard) ταιωτον γάρ έστε καὶ πάρα Καλλιμάχος “ο δέ άιδον Μάλας ἡλίκη χρόνος, “άντω τού Μαλαίας" Μαλάτεις δέ έστων ο Δέσποι = Bekker anecd. iii. 1187 fmn., Herodian. περὶ παθόν frag. 326 (ii. 278, 4 f. Lenz) and περὶ δυσχέραιν, περὶ τῶν εἰς εἰς (ii. 619, 6 ff. Lenz)). The divine title (Hesyχ. s.v. Μαλάτεις Απόλλωνος ἐπίθετον, ἡ ἐπώνυμον) was identical with a Lesbian place-name (Steph. Byz. s.v. Μαλάτεις Απόλλων έν Δέσποι και ο τότος τού Ιερον Μαλάτειας, άπο τού Μαλίου (leg. μάλου) τής Μαντινης, ωι Ελλάντων εν Λευκάδων πρώτω (frag. 117 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 60)), Inscr. Gr. ins. ii no. 74, 5 in Μαλάτεια μερον = O. Hoffmann op. cit. ii. 66 f. no. 90, 5, Aristot. vent. cit. ει απελευτ. 973 a 10 f. ἐνθυλήθη δέ (σε. Κακίας) των Μυγδουλαίων λαμάτων, μάλαστα δὲ των Μαλαίστα τω A. Conze op. cit. p. 7). The aetiological myth, briefly alluded to by Steph. Byz. loc. cit., is given more fully in the Patmian scholia on Thouk. 3. 3 published by I. Sakkelion in the Rev. Philol. N.S. 1877 i. 185: Μαλαίας 'Απόλλωνος οὗτος παρὰ Μυγδουλαίως έστιμάτω, αντ' ουκ έστων αύτης. Μαντώ ο Τεμπέανον θυγατήρα περὶ τού τότος χρώμας τούτους, μάλις χρώμας ἀντὶ τού περικτέων ἀπωλείων εὐθανάτον, εὖροι ήν, εὖροι, νεότερον τοι νεότερον, εὐφράτα δ' εὖ θόλον, τό θόλον ἀργότερον τοι, καὶ Μαλάτεις 'Απόλλων εὔφρατον παρ' αύτης εύφρατο. The myth makes it clear that Apollon’s epithet Μαλαίας was connected, not with Μάλα the S.E. headland of Lesbos, but with μάλος, an ‘apple.’ Presumably, then, it was a local title derived from Μαλίας, the ‘Apple’-district N. of Mytilene. If so, it may or may not give us some hint as to the character of the god himself.

(3) At Nisaia, the port of Megara, was an old sanctuary of Demeter Μαλοφόρα with a ruined roof; among the explanations offered of the cult-epithet was that it had been given to the goddess by the first men who reared sheep (μάλα) in the country (Paus. 1. 44. 3). Rasche LEX. Num. vi. 406 and Welcker Gr. Göttler. i. 474 cite a copper of Pagai, the other port of Megara, struck by Septimius Severus, on which appears Demeter (? Artemis Σύνεβα, cp. Paus. 1. 40. 2 f. with 1. 44. 4. A. B. C.) with a torch in either hand treading on rocky ground and preceded by a ram. But, since παλα, ‘sheep,’ is only

(4) In the grove of Apollon at Gryneia in S. Aiolis was an ancient oracle (Steph. Byz. s.v. Γρύνα, cp. Verg. Aen. 4. 345). Here Kalchas and Mopsos were said to have had a contest in seer-craft, each attempting to divine the number of apples on a certain tree. Mopsos won, and Kalchas died of chagrin (Euphorion ap. Serv. in Verg. etc. 6. 72 = Myth. Vat. i. 194. 2. 234).

Apollod. epít. 6. 2 f. and Strab. 647, following Hes. frag. 169 Flach. 160 Rauch (cp. the nostoi as summarised by Proklos in G. Kinkel Epitome Graecorum fragmenta Lipsiae 1877 p. 53: Konon narr. 6 deviates widely), state that the contest took place near Kolophon in the grove of Apollon Kálmnos, which likewise possessed an ancient oracle. Kalchas, returning from Troy on foot with Amphihlocos son of Amphiaroos (cp. Theopomp. frag. 112 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 396 Müller) ap. schol. H. 2. 135, Quint. Smyrn. 14. 306 ff.), had reached Klaros (cp. Kallinos frag. 8 Bergk 4 ap. Strab. 668), when he fell in with a better seer than himself, Mopsos son of Teiresias' daughter Manto, and died of vexation. Kalchas had asked Mopsos how many figs there were on a certain wild fig-tree. Mopsos had said: 'Ten thousand,—you can measure them with a bushel, and there will be one fig over.' This answer had proved to be correct, and straightway Kalchas had died. Strab. 643 says that, according to Pherekydes (frag. 95 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 94 Müller)), the numerical question was the unborn litter of a sow; and that others combined this version with that of the wild fig-tree. He adds (ib. 643 and 675) that in Sophokles' Εἶναι διατήρην (frag. 186 Jebb) Kalchas was fated to die when he met a better seer than himself, and that the scene of his contest with Mopsos and his subsequent death was here transferred to Kilikia, which the poet inexactely termed Pamphylia (see, however, Hdt. 7. 91, Strab. 668, Paus. 7. 3. 3). Tzetzes in Lyk. Al. 427, 440, 980, 1047 mentions both Kolophon and Kilikia, the wild fig-tree and the sow, cp. Eustath. in Dionys. per. 850. The sequel too deserves notice. According to one version, Amphihlochos and Mopsos found Mallos in Kilikia. Amphihlochos then departed to Argos, entrusting his kingdom to Mopsos for a year. At the year's end he returned; but Mopsos would not give up the kingdom. So they quarrelled, and slew one another in single fight (Euphorion ap. Tzetzes in Lyk. Al. 440, Strab. 675 f., cp. Cic. de divin. 1. 88, Loukian. Alex. 29, concil. deor. 13). According to another version, Amphihlochos son of Alkman on his return from Troy was carried by a storm to Kolophon (schol. Od. 13. 259) and so encountered Mopsos. The two met in single combat to decide the kingship, and succeeded in slaying each other (Apollod. epít. 6. 19, cited by Tzetzes in Lyk. Al. 440).
A very similar story is connected with Siris in Lucania. Herakles, when driving the cattle of Geryon, saw Kalchas—not the son of Thestor mentioned above, but a seer of the same name—sitting under a wild fig-tree, and asked him how many figs were on the tree. Kalchas replied: 'Ten bushels, and one fig over, which you cannot get into them.' Herakles proceeded to measure the figs and, despite all his efforts, failed to get in the extra one. Kalchas laughed at him. Thereupon Herakles with a blow of his fist slew the seer, and buried him beside the fig-tree (schol. Lyk. Al. 978 and 980: allusions in Lyk. Al. 978 ff., 1047 with Tzetza, ad loc.). Since Siris was colonised from Kolophon (J. Oehler in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2833 f.), it is likely enough that the Colophonian account of Kalchas' contest was brought over to Siris, and there perhaps attached to the Daunian king Kalchos (Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 923 f.).

These stories are of deep interest as implying a contest à outrance for the position of priestly king. They are, in fact, the attenuated Greek equivalent of the contest at Nemi: cp. e.g. the language of Tzetza in Lyk. Al. 1047 Ἄμφαλοις δὲ κατὰ τινὰς συναρκητὰς τῷ Μόρφῳ τῶν χεριῶν ἄρα τῇ ἁρμὴ τῆς μακρικῆς μορφακίας. It is indeed probable that the apple-tree at Gryneia and the wild fig-tree at Kolophon were sacred trees, like that of Diana Nemorensis. If so, it may be maintained that Apollon Ερυθών was specially connected with apples.

(5) Apples were given as prizes at the Pythian games (Max. Tyr. ditto. 5. 8 Dübner 'Ολυμπιάδας μὲν καὶ Πυθοῦ οὐκ ἔντει κότου λαβεῖν, οὐδὲ μήλων τυχεῖν, αὐτῶν ἕφε οὐκ οὐδεὶς κοιναίμενος, ἀλλὰ ἀνταγωνιστῶν διὰ τῶν κηρύγματι, 7. 4 Dübner μετασχεῖν μὴ κοῖνον μόνον

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Fig. 373.

Fig. 374.

Fig. 375.

'Olympiadas, alla kai trytopi 伊伊米基, kai selino 'Aropoliou, kai mēlon Pithikou, Anth. Pal. 9. 357 (ad inscription: 'Archiou Plan.) teataroi estin gynwes en 'Ellaída, teataroi irod, o deō mēn bheumot, o deō 3 dabhámatos, Ζευς, Δημοκράτ. Πρωταμον, 'Arxhimoros, 'Atha de tōn kóton, μήλα, σέληνα, πίτων = Aigion. Ecl. 191 (p. 103 Peiper) quattuor antiquos celebrevit Achala ludos. | caelicum duo sanct et duo fuga hominum. | sacra Iovis Phoebique, Palaemonis Archemorique, | serta quibus pinus, malus, oliva, apium. Cp. Phlegon frag. 1 cited supra p. 466 n. 11), and are represented in connection with them on imperial coppers of Delphoi (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece p. 30 pl. 42, 23 and 24 (= my fig. 373) obv. ΘΕΑΦ ΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ Bust of Faustina Senior to right; rev. ΠΝ ΘΙΑ Α Agonic table, on which are a crown, five apples, and a bay-wreath. Fig. 373, from a specimen in my collection, is similar, except that it shows a vase also on the table. Cp. J. N. Svoronois in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1896 xx. 46 ff. pl. 30, 1—8, where the apples are wrongly described as ὅμοια, Anson Num. Gr. i. 98 nos. 943 f. pl. 17), of Philippopolis in Thrace (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins: The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 165 no. 36 obv. ΑΥΤΚΛΑΥΡΝΕΣΑΝ ΑΝΙΝΕΙΝΟΣ Bust of Caracalla to left, laureate; rev. ΚΟΙΝΟΝΟΡΚΩΝΑΗ ΖΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΗΚΙΑΙ ΠΟΠΟ: Diskos-thrower standing to left with dishos and three apples in his hands. Across the field is ΠΝ ΘΙΑ, p. 166 no. 37 fig. (= my fig. 374) obv. The same inscription. Bust of Caracalla to right, radiate; rev. ΚΟΙΝΟΝΟΡΚΡΚ Ο ΝΑΛΕΖΑΝΔΡ ΙΑΝΗΚΙΑΙ ΠΟΠΟΛΙΑI Agonic table, on which is an urn inscribed ΠΝΘΙΑ containing two palms. Beneath the table
are an amphora, a palm, and five apples, p. 166 no. 38 similar, p. 166 no. 39 obv. Similar inscription and bust; rev. ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ὌΡΑ ΑΛΕΖΑΝ ΕΛΦΙ ΑΠΠΟΠΟΤΟ ΟΑΙ Similar type; but the urn on the table contains five apples, and beneath the table are a palm and an amphora. B. V. Head describes the apples as ‘balls or discs.’ G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 444 no. 10 Caracalla, 445 no. 13 Elagabalus calls them ‘balls’), of Ankyra in Galatia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 13 pl. 3, 1 (my fig. 375) obv. AN....ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ Bust of Caracalla to right, laureate; rev. ΜΗΤΡΟΠΙ ΑΝΚΥΡΑΕ ΙΕΟΠΙΟΙ Α Agnostic table, on which is an urn, containing a palm-branch, placed between two purses: beneath the table are five apples, p. 13 pl. 3, 2 obv. ἈΝΤΩΝΙΝ ΟΧΙΟΚΑΤΩ Similar bust; rev. ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ ΒΕΑΝΚΥΡΑΕ ΙΕΟΠΙΟΙ Α Α Agnostic urn inscribed ΑΓΩΝ, containing a palm-branch: above the urn are five apples. W. Wroth describes the apples as ‘balls,’ as does Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 60 no. 683 pl. 10, i. 66 no. 724 pl. 11), and of Talleis in Lydia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 357 no. 181 obv. ΦΡΟΥ ΨΩΒ ΚΑΤΕΡΝΜΑνA Bust of Tranquillina to right; rev. ΤΡΑΛΛΑΙ ΑΝΩΝ beneath an agnostic table, on which are five apples between two prize-wreaths. In the field to left and right ΠΤΩΟΙΑ and ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ. Above, ΕΠΙ? In the exergue, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΝ ΚΕΝΤΑ. Thus all the evidence for this custom, whether literary or numismatic, belongs to the second and third centuries of our era, unless indeed *Auth. Pal.* 9. 357 can be attributed to Cicero’s client A. Licinius Archias, which is very doubtful (see K. Reitzenstein in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 463 f.).

(6) Coins of Eleuthernai in Crete, from c. 480 B.C. onwards, show Apollon holding a spherical object (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crête ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 130 ff.)

![Fig. 376.](image1)

![Fig. 377.](image2)
perhaps be 'un globe solaire, pareil à celui que les Égyptiens, voisins des Crétois, placent sur le front d'Ammon-Ra.' None of these explanations is free from doubt, and I now incline to think that a more satisfactory result may be reached by considering the earliest known coin of the town (E. Muret in the Rev. Num. iii Série 1883 i. 65 pl. 2, 4, F. Lenormant ib. p. 129 ff., W. Wroth in the Num. Chron. Third Series 1884 iv. 29 pl. 2, 5 (=my fig. 377), Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Apollon p. 307 Münzraf. 3, 12, J. N. Svoronos op. cit. p. 130 pl. 11, 4: obv. Apollon, nude except for a belt, stepping left towards a height on which grows a storax-tree. The god carries a bow in his left hand, a spherical object in his right, and is accompanied by a hound. In the field behind him is a second storax-tree. All in a circle of dots; rev. ΘΕΟΥΣ ής Artemis, in a long chiton standing to right, shoots an arrow from her bow. She too is accompanied by a hound (? stag A.B.C.). All in a square of dots). It is highly probable that this coin represents Apollon Σπυρακτής (Steph. Byz. s.v. Σπυράκιον) repairing to Mt Styraikon in Crete (Steph. Byz. loc. cit., Eustath. in Il. p. 281, 13) with his bow and hound. It is an odd coincidence, but no more, that Σπυρακτής (=σπυρακτής) was a name recommended by Xenophon as suitable for a hound (Xen. cyn. 7. 5). Now Gruppe Gr. Myth. Kel. p. 789 infers from Hdt. 3. 107, Plin. nat. hist. 12. 81 that in the Levant Σπυρακτής was a substitute for λιβαδατός, 'white-incense,' and suggests that on Greek soil λεένη, 'white-poplar,' was a surrogate of Σπυρακτής, both having a white under-surface to their leaves. It is therefore tempting to surmise that the storax-trees of Eleuthernai were analogous to the poplar-trees of the Eridanos, Apollonia, etc. (Steph. Byz. s.v. Απολλονία 33 mentions Apollonia as a later name of Eleuthernai, and notes that δ χρυσός Διορνήσ, i.e. Diogenes δ 'Απολλοναίτης, was a native of this town: op. the countermark ΑΠΠ on the copper of Eleuthernai (ιπτσα fig. 376)), and thence to conclude that the globe on the hand of Apollon is a ball of resin from the bark of the storax-trees comparable with the drops of amber believed to exude from the poplars. It is significant that the balsamic juice known as 'liquid storax' is obtained by incision from a tree, whose botanical name is Λιγκαδαμβάρ οριανίτις.

The Apollon of Eleuthernai appears also on silver coins of the neighbouring town Rhitymna, struck c. 400 B.C. (J. N. Svoronos op. cit. i. 308 pl. 30, 1, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. pp. xxvii, 78 pl. 19, 8, Head Hist. num. 2 p. 477).

At Selge in Pisidia coppers of s. ii B.C. represent the head of Herakles wreathed with storax (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia, etc. pp. cvxi f., 261 pl. 40, 7 f.), while coppers of imperial date have two storax-trees fenced round as objects of worship and flanked by club and thunderbolt, the symbols of Herakles and Zeus respectively (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia pp. cvxii, 264 nos. 68 f. Hadrian, 266 no. 78 pl. 41, 3 (=my fig. 378) Severus Alexander, 267 no. 84 pl. 41, 5 (=my fig. 379) Salonina, no. 86 pl. 41, 6 (=my fig. 380) Aurelian). See further Imhoff-Blumer Monn. gr. pp. 342—345, who cites inter alia Strab. 570 f., and notes that the tree of Herakles is always larger than the tree of Zeus. F. Lajard Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs, et les monuments figurés de Vénus, en orient et en occident Paris 1837 pp. 136 ff., 168 pl. 3, 2 (=my fig. 381)
his argument ariet) that *Apollon* was a term borrowed by the Greeks from some Teutonic tongue which, like Gothic, represented the original ἀ of the Indo-European *abela-, *ablú- by a ρ. But, since Apollon is well-known to Homer, this involves the assumption that the change of Indo-European ἀ to Teutonic ρ took place at a very much earlier date (c. 1200—1300 B.C.) than is commonly supposed (c. 200—300 B.C.). At that remote epoch we should expect to find the Greeks in contact with Thracians or Illyrians rather than with Teutons. And who can assure us that Illyrians or Thracians pronounced 'apple' with a ρ? So for the present Dr Rendel Harris' attractive hypothesis must remain hypothetical.

Be that as it may, the extract cited above from Apollonios of Rhodes brings us back to the Hyperboreans again. Apollon (said the Keltoi), when banished by Zeus from heaven, was sent—not to Admetos king of Thessaly—but to the Hyperboreans. Once more we are led to suspect that the Hyperborean land lay well to the north of Greece. And the context implies that it was located at some point on the Amber Road\(^2\). Already in neolithic times one

published a specimen in the Bibliothèque Nationale, struck by Caracalla, which shows the trees surmounted by two birds.


1 Schrader *Reallex.* 2 p. 53.
branch of this great trade-route ran direct from the Baltic to the Black Sea, traversing the valleys of the Vistula and the Dniester, while a second branch, passing along the Elbe, the Moldau, the Danube, came down to the Adriatic, the Balkans, and Greece. In the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age the Elbe-Danube-Adriatic route was extensively used by the amber-trade. It may therefore be regarded as reasonable to place the Hyperboreans of the myth pretty much where Pindar placed them, near ‘the shady springs of Istros’.

This location is to some extent confirmed by recent enquiries into the etymology of the name Hyperboreoi. In 1892 W. Prellwitz first propounded the view that Boréas means the wind ‘from the mountain’ (Church Slavonic goră)—a view accepted in 1898 by H. Pedersen and in 1901 by O. Schrader. Pedersen accordingly takes the word hyperbóreos to denote ‘beyond the mountains’. In 1905 O. Schroeder argued that the Hyperboreans were not an idealised earthly tribe, but a ‘Himmelsvolk’ of divinised heroes. Belief in them arose in a land where and at a time when the word for ‘mountain’ was *bór—is—a form presumed for the pre-Greek dialects of northern Greece. Now the highest mountain between the rivers Haliakmon and Axios is the ancient Bora* or modern Nidje, which attains an elevation of over 2000m. We must conceive of the Hyperboreoi as dwelling, not on the earth ‘beyond Bora’, but in the sky ‘above Bora’.

Schroeder’s conclusions were approved in 1914 by R. Günther and Daebritz. In the same year Kiessling admitted that Hyperboreoi really meant ‘above Bora’, but insisted that from the beginning of s. v B.C. it was interpreted ‘beyond


1 J. Déchelette Manuel d’archéologie préhistorique Paris 1908 i. 616 f.
2 Id. op. cit. Paris 1910 ii. 1. 19 ff., 1913 ii. 2. 872 ff., 1914 ii. 3. 1327 ff., 1573 ff. As to roads down the eastern side of the Adriatic, A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson Prehistoric Thessaly Cambridge 1912 p. 3 observe: ‘The main route from north to south seems to have come down Central Epirus to Ambracia (Arta, “APA”), and thence to have crept round the coast past Amphiklochian Argos into the lower Achelous valley.’

3 Supra p. 456.
5 H. Pedersen in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1898 xxxvi. 319.
7 O. Schroeder ‘Hyperboorei’ in the Archiv f. Rel. 1903 viii. 79 f., 82 f.
8 Liv. 45. 29 quarta regio trans Borum montem, una parte confinis Illyrico, altera Epiro.
9 H. Kiepert Formes orbis antiqui Berlin 1894 xvii I gives the altitude as 2320m.
10 Cp. ἔπεραβρατος.
11 Cp. ἑπεράγραφος.
13 Kiessling in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i.A. 857 f.
Boreas,' the word *bora*, 'mountain,' having wholly dropped out of use. Hence—he inferred—neither the true (modern) derivation nor the false (ancient) derivation can explain the fact that the Hyperboreans were so early located to the north of the Rhipai. This must be due to the primitive astronomical belief that the sun disappeared at night behind a huge mountain in the north. In 1916 Miss G. H. Macurdy¹ wrote: 'Helios-Paean-Apollo was the Sun god worshipped with Artemis Basileia in Paeonia-Pieria, and the Hyperborean legend connects this worship with the cult of Apollo and Artemis beyond the Bora.' Miss Macurdy drew attention to the fact that the *via Egnatia*, which ran from Dyrrhachion through Makedonia and Thrace to Byzantion,² passed close to Mount Bora, and she suggested 'that the same gift of poetic imagination to which we owe the myth of the sisters of Phaethon, transformed into poplars and dropping tears of amber at the place which appears to have been an entrepôt for amber in ancient days, has also developed this legend of a holy race of men living beyond the Bora, on the North-Western track that led to the night home of the Sun god.' In 1917 Miss Harrison³ proposed to combine Kiessling's explanation with that of Miss Macurdy: 'The *bora* of myth gets contaminated with the Bora of fact.' Lastly, in 1920 Miss Macurdy⁴ accepted this combination, but demurred to S. Casson's view⁵ that 'The Hyperboreans as a nucleus of myths and travellers' tales belong essentially to the Far East of antiquity,' their 'celestial calm' being perhaps 'some faint echo from civilised China.'

1 Miss G. H. Macurdy 'The Hyperboreans' in the *Class. Rev.* 1916 xxx. 180—183.
4 Miss G. H. Macurdy 'The Hyperboreans again, Abaris, and Helixoia' in the *Class. Rev.* 1920 xxxiv. 137 ff.
6 The views summarised in this paragraph are, of course, incompatible with that advocated by my friend Dr Farnell in his *Cults of Gr. States* iv. 102 f.: 'The brilliant explanation given by Ahrens of the meaning of the name [sc. 'Hyperboreans'] throws light on the darkness: he notes the name of the Macedonian month *Τοξέφθερείων*, the last month of the year, and therefore falling probably in midsummer and about the time of the harvest, derivable also immediately from no other word than *τοξέφθερτα*; he notes also the North Greek equation of β and φ, and concludes that the form *Τωξέφθεροι* is merely a lengthening, due to mistaken popular etymology of *Τωξέφθοι*, which equals *Τοξέφθεροι*, a possible variant of *Τοξέφθερτα*, a name for the sacred ministers who carry the cereal offerings from one community to another, and whom Herodotus calls Περφέρεν. This deduction has won some acceptance, and is by far the most interesting contribution made by philology to the solution of a problem of Greek religion.'

On the whole, it seems probable that originally the Hyperboreoi were so named as dwelling ‘Beyond the Mountains,’ but that later, when the word bora had passed out of general use, surviving only in the Macedonian Mount Bora and in Boreas the wind ‘from the Mountains,’ they were popularly supposed to live ‘at the back of the North Wind.’ The road to their far-distant country was conceived

sometimes as an earthly, sometimes as a heavenly path. The former was the great trade-route that skirted the eastern shore of the Adriatic. The latter was its aerial counterpart, the Milky Way. The one was the track by which amber reached the Greeks. The other was the highway followed by the birds. And it is interesting to find that Sophokles connected amber with birds, when he described it as the tears shed by the meleagrides or ‘guinea-fowl’ at the death of Meleagros.

Of the route by which the Hyperborean offerings came to Apollon at Delos we have two very different records. Herodotos à propos of the Hyperboreoi writes:

1 'By far the fullest account of them is that given by the Delians, who declare that sacred things wrapped in wheaten straw are carried from the Hyperboreans to the Scythians; that from the Scythians they are received by a succession of neighbouring tribes, who bring them westwards as far as the Adriatic; that from this point they are forwarded south to the people of Dodona, who are the first of the Hellenes to receive them; that from Dodona they come down to the Malian gulf and cross over to Euboia, where they are sent from town to town till they reach Karystos; but that, after this, Andros is passed by, the Carystians taking them direct to Tenos, and the Tenians to Delos.'

Pausanias, having occasion to mention Prasiai, a small township on the east coast of Attike, observes:

2 'In Prasiai there is a temple of Apollon. Here the first-fruits of the Hyperboreans are said to come. The Hyperboreans—I am told—hand them over to the Arimaspians, and the Arimaspians to the Issedones; from these the Scythians convey them to Sinope; thence they are borne by Hellenes to Prasiai; and it is the Athenians that bring them to Delos. These first-fruits—it is said—are hidden in wheaten straw, and nobody knows what they are. At Prasiai there is a tomb of Eryischthon, who died on the voyage as he was returning from Delos after the sacred embassy.'

The routes thus traced by Herodotos and Pausanias correspond, at least in part, with the two main branches of the Amber Road mentioned above, viz. that which passed along the Elbe, the Moldau,

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1 Cp. such names for the Galaxy as ‘Watling Street’ or ‘London Road’ (supra p. 37). H. Gaidos and E. Rolland ‘La Voie Laetée’ in Mélanges 1884—85 ii. 151 ff. add Strada d’Roma (Parma, Malaspina), Via romana (Tuscany), la via che guida a Roma (Romagna), Rom strose (mediaeval Germany), Cesta de Rima (Czechs), Chemin d’Espagne (Morbihan), Straße nach Aachen or Fransfurter Straße or Koelsche strate or Nierenberger pafweg (Westphalia).


3 Hdt. 4. 33.

4 Note that Eryischthon was destroyed by Demeter for felling a sacred black-poplar in her grove at Dotion (Kallim. h. Dem. 24 ff.): see Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 180 f., 1904 xvii. 76 f., infra § 3 (6 i (r), and cp. Hesych. s.v. Ἀγγειότομον ἦθενιον τινες Ἀθηναῖων.

5 Supra p. 493 f.

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the Danube, and the Adriatic to Central Greece, and that which linked the Baltic to the Black Sea by means of the Vistula and the Dniester. The position of the various stations on the Hyperborean routes and their relation to both branches of the Amber Road can be conveniently seen from the map here inserted (pl. xxvi). It would appear that the five and a half centuries, which intervened between the time of Herodotos and the time of Pausanias, witnessed the transference of the first-fruits from the longer to the shorter land-route, a considerable saving of time being thereby effected. F. G. Welcker, as far back as 1860, suggested that the Hyperborean gifts actually consisted of amber; and his suggestion is decidedly attractive. If stones coloured like water were appropriate to the sky-god, amber may well have been associated with the sun-god. Whether the neolithic borings and cup-marks found on pieces of amber in Schleswig-Holstein, Denmark, and Prussia had any solar significance, is very doubtful. Nor can we lay stress on the Homeric description of Eurymachos’ necklace as ‘strung with amber-beads, like the sun.’ But Nikias (of Mallos?) definitely

1 Cp. Sir W. Ridgeway The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards Cambridge 1892 p. 105 f.; id. in Frazer Pausanias ii. 405 f.

2 Welcker Gr. Güterl. ii. 353 ff. Frazer Pausanias ii. 406 and Golden Bough: The Magic Art i. 33 n. 4 takes the offerings to have been first-fruits of the corn. But Herodotos’ phrase ἵνα καλάμη των πυρῶν (4. 33) and Pausanias’ equivalent τό ετώ θεορχάν κεκρυφθαπ...εν καλάμη πυρῶν (1. 31. 2) imply that something was wrapped in the sheaf. There is therefore something to be said for the view of W. Mannhardt Wald- und Feldkulte 2 Berlin 1905 p. 237: ‘Es wird nämlich in ausserordentlich zahlreichen Fällen noch jetzt ein Mensch oder ein Tier, oder ein Ei (Osterei) und Brod...in die erste oder letzte Garbe des Ahrenschnitts als Vertreter des Wachstumsgeistes hineingebunden. Im griechischen und italischen Brauch spielt aber die erste Garbe der Ernte die Rolle, welche in Nordeuropa gemeininh der letzt en zufällt. Unzweifelhaft waren auch die in Weizengarben eingebundenen Opfergaben des delischen Erntefestes von gleicher Art.’ That we have a Phrygian example of the man bound in a sheaf was rightly emphasised by W. Mannhardt op. cit. 3 p. 285 and Mythologische Forschungen Strassburg 1884 p. 1 ff., O. Crusius in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 260 f.f., Frazer Golden Bough: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 214 ff. Has it been noticed that a Greek parallel underlies Aristoph. Achar. 948 ff., where the Boeotian, about to carry off Nikarchos packed in straw, ejaculates μελλω γε τοι βοηθιων, and the Chorus replies ἀλλ’, ὅ εἶναι βελτιστε, συνῆθες κ.τ.λ.? 

3 Supra i. 357.


5 R. Klebs Der Bernsteinversuch der Steinzeit von der Baggerlei bei Schwarzsor und anderen Lokalitaten Preussens Königsberg 1882 pl. 7 figs. 1, 3, 4, 9, pl. 11 figs. 1, 4, 8, pl. 12 fig. 8, quoted by M. Hoernes loc. cit.


7 Od. 18. 295 f., cp. 15. 460.

8 Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 462 Müller.
MAP SHOWING THE TWO RECORDED ROUTES OF THE HYPERBOREAN OFFERINGS.

The Western Route of the Offerings.

The Eastern Route of the Offerings.

The Trade-Routes for Amber.

explained amber as the juice or sweat of solar rays\(^1\). Moreover, its Greek name \textit{elektron} is akin to \textit{elektor}, a poetic title of the sun\(^2\); and the ancients maintained that the latter was derived from the former\(^3\), or from the former from the latter\(^4\). Among the Rhodians, too, Elektryone—locally worshipped as Alektrona\(^5\)—was said to be the daughter of Helios\(^6\).

Our enquiry, as a whole, leads up to the following conclusions. The cult of Apollon came into Greece along the older Amber Route from the land of the Hyperboreans, which is best located near the source of the Danube. The \textit{Agieiei}s-pillars of Apollonia, Oríkos, Olympe, Ambrakia mark out the ‘Way’\(^7\) and point onwards to Delphoi, where the Hyperboreans Pagasos and Agieieu established the oracle\(^8\). Apollonia in Illyria was left as a milestone on the road\(^9\), if not also Apollonia in Akarnania\(^10\) and Apollonia in Aitolia\(^11\).

\(^1\) Plin. 


\(^4\) Plin. nat. hist. 37. 31 electrum appellatum, quoniam sol vocitatus sit Elector, Isid. orig. 16. 74. 1 electrum vocatur quod ad radium solis clarium auro argentoque repleatur, sol enim a poetis Elector vocatur. etc., schol. Eur. Hipp. 740 καθαρός Ψεθηκτος. Ἡλίων γὰρ βελτιστης αὐτῆς ὃ μόνος εἶναι. διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸ δάκρυον αὐτῶν φωτεινωθήσεται λέγεται εἰς ἡλεκτρων ὄνομαζομένον, ἐπὶ καὶ ἡλεκτρων ὁ Ἡλίων καλεῖται, Favorin. lex. p. 851, 1 ff. ἡλεκτρων...παρὰ τὸν ἥλιον, δι' ἡλεκτρων ὑπολαμβάνεται.


\(^6\) Diod. 5. 56, 5 schol. Pind. Ol. 7. 24 h (p. 204, 17 f. Drachmann).

\(^7\) Supra pp. 161 f., 166.

\(^8\) Supra p. 169.

\(^9\) This assumes that the Corinthian colony of 588 B.C. (J. Oechler in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2817 f., G. Hirschfeld ib. ii. 112) found Apollon already established on the spot. Interest attaches to an archaic ‘Apollon’-torso of white limestone (15 cm. high), which came to light at \textit{Durrnag} (C. PruschНИKER—A. Schober \textit{Archäologische Forschungen in Albanien und Montenegro} Wien 1919 p. 40 fig. 47, R. Pagenstecher in the \textit{Berl. philol. Woch.} Jan. 19, 1921 p. 109 = Class. Rev. 1921 xxxv. 83).

\(^10\) Steph. Byz. s. v. \textit{Ἀπόλλωνια}.

\(^11\) Liv. 28. 8.
It is noticeable that a town in Thrace\(^1\) and no fewer than four towns in Makedonia bore the same name\(^5\), including the settlement on Mount Athos whose inhabitants were called *Macrobius*\(^6\)—a title suggestive of Hyperborean longevity\(^4\). With regard to Apollon's original character we are still lamentably ignorant. That he was from the first a sun-god is neither proved, nor probable\(^8\). *Apollon* appears to be merely a cult-epithet, 'he of the Black-Poplars'.\(^8\)

The full name of the god is possibly preserved in the Homeric designation Phoibos *Apollon*\(^2\). If so, the name means 'the Clear One,' 'the Pure One',\(^9\) and would be applicable to any deity of the bright, shining sky. Not improbably Phoibos and Phoibe were sky-god and earth-goddess respectively. On reaching Delphi, Phoibe as a chthonian power succeeded to Gaia and Themis\(^9\), while Phoibos, finding another sky-god already in possession, became affiliated to Zeus and acted as his interpreter to men\(^9\). For the rest, Phoibos *Apollon*, god of the clear, pure sky, underwent both physical and ethical development: on the one hand, his clarity, specialised into that of the sun\(^11\), enabled him to rival and in part displace the ancient Helios; on the other hand, his essential purity\(^1\) made him a god of light and leading to the whole civilised world.

We have, so far as I can see, no right to assume that Artemis entered Greece along with Apollon or came from the same northern home. Herodotos indeed adduces as a parallel to the Hyperborean usage the fact that Thracian and Paeonian women, when they sacrifice to Artemis *Basileia*, hold their offerings 'not without wheaten

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1. G. Hirschfeld loc. cit. ii. 113 f.
2. Id. ib. ii. 114.
5. Supra i. 258 n. 4.
7. H. Ebeling Lexicon Homericum Lipsiae 188 i. 154, ii. 439 f., L. Meyer Handb. d. gr. Etym. iii. 371. The Homeric poems, if drafted in northern Greece, would be likely to preserve the original name of the god.
8. Prellwitz Etym. Worterb. d. Gr. Spr.\(^7\) p. 493, Boisaq Dict. etym. de la Langue Gr. p. 1032. Prof. H. M. Chadwick suggests to me (June 30, 1921) that a north-Greek form of the same stem may be seen in Βασίθ, Βασίθις Λιωτ, etc.: cp. W. Pape—G. E. Benseler Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen\(^8\) Braunschweig 1875 i. 216.
10. Aisch. Klem. 7 ff. Supra pp. 204 n. 1, 265 f.
12. Plout. de Ε ὁριν Δελφοι καὶ φοίβων ἐκ δὴ τοῦ καθάριον καὶ ἀγῶνοι τῶν παλαιῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι θεσσαλοί τοῖς ἑραι εἰς τῶν οἰκοφόρων ἡμέρας αὐτῶν ἐρ' εἰσπράπτειν ὑποκατάληγοι.
straw.' But, as K. Wernicke points out, 'Artemis Basileia' is merely Herodoto's translation of the Thracian Bendis; and we have not the remotest reason to connect Bendis with Apollo. Again, the story of Kleinis made that Mesopotamian worthy accompany Apollo and Artemis to the land of the Hyperboreans. But, when they got there, it was Apollo, not Artemis, that received the sacrifice; and, in any case, a contaminated Hellenistic romance is a source of very dubious value. O. Crusius would emend Pindar's account of the Hyperborean 'brute beasts ramping bolt upright (orthian)'; in such a way as to make the delighted spectator, not Apollo, but Artemis Orthia—a desperate expedient. Crusius urges that Pindar elsewhere describes how 'Leto's horse-driving daughter' (Artemis) welcomed Herakles to 'the Istrian land.' But Pindar wishes us to believe that Herakles brought thence the wild-olive and, as we have already seen, is giving a southern colour to a northern myth. Lastly, it might be contended that the names of the Hyperborean maidens Opis and Arge (Hekaerche), or Hyrchoche and Laodike, imply the cult of Artemis. That is probably true, and has been admitted. But they imply the cult of Artemis at Delos rather than in the land of the Hyperboreans.

In short, we have no real ground for supposing that Artemis was ab initio the twin sister of Apollo. There is more to be said for the view that he first met her in Asia Minor or the Archipelago, where she originated as the younger form of the Anatolian mother-goddess, being related to Leto in much the same way as Persephone to Demeter.

(d) Lightning as a flash from an Eye.

W. Schwartz in a noteworthy chapter of his Indogermanischer Volksgläube collects a mass of evidence to show that lightning is

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1 Hdt. 4. 33 ὁδὲ αὖν τῶν τούτων τοὺς ἱππαῖς τὰς παλαιὰς προσφέρει, τὰς Ῥώμας καὶ τὰς Παυλίδας γυναίκας, ἐπέκινεν όλης τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Βασιλείας, ὅπει ἕνεκα πυρὸν καλύμμης ἔχοντις ὑπὲρ̣
2 K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1370, 1381: so also G. Knaack ib. iii. 270.
4 Supra p. 463 n. 1.
5 The same, or worse, must be said of Artemis' journey from the Hyperboreans as sketched by Diodorus after Dionysios Skytobrachion (supra i. 244 f.).
6 O. Crusius in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2816 n., id. Die delphischen Hymnen (Philologus 1894 lii Ergänzungsheft) Göttingen 1894 p. 52 n. 62, ej. ἵππα... Ὅρκες τοι δὲ... Ὅρκες in Pind. Pyth. 10. 36.
7 Supra p. 463.
8 Supra p. 465.
9 Supra p. 466.
10 Supra p. 455.
11 Supra i. 396 f.
Lightning as a flash from an Eye

often regarded as the piercing glance of a fiery eye, and that the wide-spread belief in the evil eye is directly traceable to this conception. Of the conclusions here stated I should accept the first and reject the second. There are, I think, grounds for supposing that the Greeks sometimes at least viewed lightning as a glance from the eye of Zeus, and indeed as the glance of his evil eye. But to explain the evil eye of men as derived from the evil eye of a god is—apart from other objections—to invert the order of religious causation.

Hesyehios the lexicographer quotes from an unnamed Greek tragedian the phrase—

as the eye of Zeus,

and informs us that it means 'as a flash of lightning.' This is


2 Frag. trag. adesp. 278 Nauck ap. Hesych. s.v. ὄφθαλμος Δίως. ὁ ἄστραπής ὀφθαλμός Δίως is the correction of A. Meineke (Philologus xi. 630) for ὄφθαλμος τοῦ Δίως cod. A. Nauck reads ὀφθαλμῶς Δίως.

Homer alludes four times to the ὄφθαλμος Δίως of Zeus (I. 13. 3 and 7, 14. 236, 16. 645), once to those of Athena (I. 21. 415), once to those of Menelaos (I. 17. 679), and once to the ὄφθαλμος of Alkathoos (I. 13. 435). But it is to be observed that, according to Dr W. Leaf and Mr M. A. Bayfield ad loc., the first of those passages belong to a decidedly earlier stratum of the poem than the last three. Hence we may perhaps infer that 'flashing eyes' were appropriate to Zeus as a lightning-god, and to Athena as his second self (infra § 9 (h) ii (μ)). Menelaos was at most Διοτρεφής (I. 17. 679), as was the father of Alkathoos (I. 13. 427): Agamemnon was δηματα καὶ κεφαλήν έκείνον Δία τερπεκεφαλέν (I. 2. 478. Infra Append. I).

Later writers usually lay stress on the eye of Zeus as the wakeful witness of right and wrong: e.g. Hes. od. 267 (supra i. 187 n. 9, 196 n. 6), Aisch. suppl. 646 ff. Δίως ἐπιτάξατο πράκτορα [τέ] εκόπτων | δυσπλείμυτος, ὃς ἔοιχεν τὸ δῶμος ἵππον | ἐπὶ ὀφρῶν αὐτοῦ μάκρα | βαρύς δ' ἐφίζετο with schol. ad loc. Δίως εκόπτων, τοῦ Δίως ὀφθαλμῶς τὸν πάντα εκοπτοῦντα (W. Headlam, after F. Bamberger and T. G. Tucker, would read πράκτορα τοῦ κόσμου. I should keep εκόπτων, but explain it as alluding to the eagle, not to the eye, of Zeus), Soph. O.C. 704 ff. ὁ γὰρ άλευρ όραν κόλπον | λευσσακός τον Μορφων Δίως | χά γαλακτώσις Αθηνᾶ (the schol. ad loc., cited infra p. 20 n. 4, equates Zeus Μόρφως with Zeus Καταβάτης), Eur. Hipp. 886 τὸ σημεῖον Ζηνώς ὃμι' ἀτιμᾶσας, Cornut. theol. 11 p. 11, 20 Λαγὸς πάντ' ἐφαρὰμ Δίως ὀφθαλμῶς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακουεῖ. But there is at least a negative reminiscence of the 'flashing eyes' in Or. met. 2. 857 nullae in fronte minae, nec formidabile lumen.

Athena was worshipped as Ὄξειδηρής or Ὄξειδηρής at Argos (Paus. 2. 24, 2), as Ὄξειδηρής at Epidaurus (Inscr. Gr. Pelop. i no. 1074 Ὅξειδηρής. | Διονύσιος (Διονύσιος) | πυρφόρος) with circle no. 40 (ib. p. 189) and numeral 'χ', as Ὄπτειλες (Plost. v. Lyk. 11, apotth. Lat. Lyk. 7) or Ὀπτηλία (Olympiod. in Plat. Gorg. 40 ἤσυράζον τοι Πτηλίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἔτοιχον) πυττρίτιος ἐκάλοι πολυν δὲ εκάλοι τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ, e.g. C. A. Lobeck Pathologicae linguae Graecae elementa Lipsiae 1853 i. 83) or Οφραμέτης at Sparta (Paus. 3. 18. 2). These cult-titles recall her poetic epithets γαλακτώσις, γαργύρια, ὀφραμέτης, etc. (Bruchmann Epith. dor. p. 7, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1198 n. 3) and her intimate relation to the Gorgon (W. H. Roscher Die Gorgonen und verwandtes Leipzig 1879 Index p. 134 s.v. 'Athene,' id. in the Lex. Myth. i. 677, 1696, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 1201
testimony which we cannot control; but the general trustworthiness of Hesychios and the occurrence of analogous expressions elsewhere combine to render it credible. Aischylos tells how an oracle bade Inachos drive Io from his home:

And if he would not, there should come from Zeus
A fire-eyed thunderbolt to blast his race.1

But neither the reading nor the interpretation of the word translated ‘fire-eyed’ is quite certain.2 More convincing are two other passages from the plays of the same poet. Klytaimestra in the Agamemnon has at length induced her husband to enter his palace treading a pathway strewn with purple as though he were a god. He does so, saying:

Well, if thou wilt, let some one loose forthwith
The shoes that serve my foot as slaves, and while
I tread these sea-wrought robes, oh may no envy
Of a divine eye strike me from afar.3

Again, the chorus of Argive elders give the following expression to their belief in the jealousy of heaven:

Exceeding good report is dangerous;
For a thunderbolt is flung by the eyes of Zeus.
Lack without envy is my choice.4

These passages certainly seem to imply that lightning is a glance

n. 1, 1709 n. 2, Ziegler in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 1641 f.). It may be suspected that she was credited with a potentially evil eye (cp. such passages as Prop. 2. 28. 12 Palladis aut oculos ausa negare bonos? Hyg. fab. 165 Iuno et Venus cum cam irriterent, quod et caesia erat (B. Bunte c. esset) et buccas inflaret. Loukian. dial. deor. 8 γλαυκώπης μέν, ἀλλὰ κοσμεί καὶ τούτο ἕ κρατ. 10. 10 ἐδέσι η δήθασι μή σοι ἑλέχηται τὸ γλαυκὸν τῶν ὁμάτων ἄνευ τοῦ φοβορέου βελαπόμενου.5

A fine bronze statuette of Zeus from Paramythia, now in the British-Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 36 no. 275 pl. 7, A. S. Murray Greek Bronzes London 1898 p. 81 with pl.), had eyes inlaid with silver. So have other bronze statuettes of Zeus at Paris (Babelon—Blanchet Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat. p. 1 no. 1 fig., p. 1 f. no. 3 fig., p. 2 f. no. 4, p. 3 no. 5 fig., p. 3 f. no. 6 fig., p. 4 f. no. 8 fig., p. 5 f. no. 9 fig., p. 9 f. no. 17 fig., p. 10 no. 18 fig., cp. p. 13 no. 27, p. 13 no. 29 fig., De Ridder Cat. Bronzes du Louvre i. 76 no. 511 pl. 38) and doubtless elsewhere. Silver was a metal specially appropriate to Zeus (τιμητ. i. 25 n. 2, 675 f.).

1 Aisch. P. v. 667 f. καὶ μὴ θελοὶ, πυρωτὸν ἐκ Δίοτι μολείν | κεραυνόν, δι’ τῶν ἐξειτὼν γένους.
3 The Laurentian MS. has πυρωτόν, other MSS. πυρωτῶν, which is printed by Dindorf and Wilamowitz. E. E. Sikes and St. J. B. Wynne Willson adopt their cjt. πυρώτων’ ἄν. Even if πυρωτῶν be kept, it may mean no more than ‘of fiery aspect.’
4 Aisch. Ag. 944 ff. The essential words are 947 μὴ τις πυρωτόθεν ὄματος βαλόντι φθόνος.
5 Aisch. Ag. 466 ff. τὸ 8’ ἄφρωνα κλάμα | εὖ βαρόν. βάλλεται γὰρ δέσιον Δίοτεθεν κεραυνό. κρῖνα 8’ ἄφρωνα δ.β."T. G. Tucker’s cjt. κάρμα, accepted by W. Headlam, would mean: ‘for lofty peaks are struck from heaven by jealous eyes of Zeus.’ For other cjt. see A. W. Verrall ad loc.
shot from the jealous eye of Zeus. And, when we remember that the ‘jealous eye’ was another name for the evil eye, it becomes highly probable that the Greeks sometimes considered lightning as an exhibition of the evil eye on the part of Zeus.

Now W. Wundt in his masterly *Völkerpsychologie* has shown that the superstition of the evil eye presupposes a belief in the eye as the seat and doorway of the soul. Primitive man regards reflections on the cornea as due to an inward fire and, since this fire is dimmed or extinguished by death, connects it with the soul’s activity. The pupil of the eye he takes to be a hole through which the soul can pass outwards to work its will at a distance. Parenthetically I may add that this explanation accounts, not only for the evil eye, but also for the good eye. If the glance of the eye

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3. For recent investigation of the evil eye see Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 388. To the articles cited by him must now be added the important volumes of S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Vorsichtsmaßnahmen* Berlin 1910 i. 1—506, ii. 1—546 (reviewed by R. Wünsch in the *Berl. philos. Woch.* Jan. 21, 1911 p. 27 ff. and in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 546, cp. K. T. Preuss ib. 1910 xiii. 433 ff.) and the very thorough-going monograph of B. Schmidt *‘Der böse Blick und ähnlicher Zauber im neugriechischen Volksglauben*’ in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1913 xxxi. 574—613.
6. Examples of ‘Der gute Blick’ are collected by S. Seligmann *op. cit.* i. 244—251, cp. ib. ii. 493 Index s.v. ‘Gutes Auge.’ I have it from Prof. P. Gardner that the modern Greek peasant believes in the influence of a good eye as well as in that of an evil eye. I have noted the following ancient allusions to the good eye of deities: Kallim. *h. Ap.* 50 ff. ἀνέδεικτος τελθεῖται ἀλοιπόν, ὑπὸ θεοῦ αἰγής ἀνέβαινον ἐνυφάλλονβος, ἄνω t'Apulian *ποικιλότητι ὀφθαλμοῦ εἰπήγαγεν κ.τ.λ., Theokr.* 9. 35 ff. τὸν ἄλλον μὴν Μούσας πιθαίνετε γένοντες | ὠδὴν δὲ ἀνεργόν μεγαλάν πολλῶν τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ ὅπως τέκνε τε μούνομαι φρέπε. The ‘eye born with’ Arkesilas of Kyrene, who brought him worship and honour as an inalienable prerogative, may well have been his good eye. It seems to have been hereditary: ib. 51 ff. ὁ Βαύτων δὲ ἐκεῖ ταύτην ἀλαλὸς ἐμφανίζετο καὶ τὰ τέκνα, τὸν δὲ τοῦτο μεγάλον φρέπε. The ‘guardian spirit of the race,’ cp. Aisch. *cho.* 934
is the soul projected to a distance, it follows that the glance will be bad or good according to the nature of the soul's intention. Applying now Wundt's illuminating hypothesis to the Greek conception of lightning as a glance from the eye of Zeus, we reach again by a different route the conclusion that lightning was part and parcel of the bright sky-god, a flash of his own fiery self darted forth from his eye in heaven.

(c) Lightning as a weapon.

Sir John Evans and, more recently, C. Blinkenberg have shown that throughout the confines of Europe, indeed far beyond them, stone celts or axes are regarded as thunderbolts. They are supposed to have fallen with a flash of lightning in the thick of a thunderstorm, and are consequently venerated as being of celestial origin.

The modern Greeks form no exception to this almost universal belief—witness the following tale from Zakynthos. The Giants (it is said), fancying themselves mightier than God, once laid claim to be lords of heaven and earth. They climbed a high mountain and flung rocks at God. But He grasped his thunderbolts and hurled them at the Giants, who were all dashed headlong from the mountain. Many of them were killed: the rest fled. One of them, however, did not lose heart. He cut a great many reeds, bound them together, and so made an enormously long pole, with which he tried to reach heaven. He had nearly succeeded, when suddenly a flash of lightning from God reduced him to ashes. After this his companions made a last

\[ \delta φαλάξ \delta ςυξ\]. See also the modus operandi of love as conceived by Plout. symp. 6. 7. 2, Hellod. 2. 7 f., Eumath. 2. 7.

1 The philosophers here too built upon popular belief. Emped. frag. 84 Diels (302 ff. Karsten) compared the eye to a lantern, the light of which leaps forth through its surrounding framework. Plat. Tim. 45 b ff. holds that, in the act of sight, a pure fire within us issues through the eye as a visual current (δθεσιν διφνύμα): it is akin to the fire of daylight in the air, and unites with it to make a uniform substance, which meets the vibrations from the visible object and transmits them to the eye and so to the soul. Cp. Aristot. de sensu 2. 437 b 10 ff.

2 The same conception is to be found in Latin literature. W. Schwartz op. cit. p. 176 ff calls attention to Sili. 12. 719 ff. where Iuno says to Hannibal: \\
buc vultus flecte atque audire spectare Tonantem: | quas hieemus, quantos concusso vertice cernis | sub nutu tonitus! oculis qui fulgurat ignis! Id. ib. p. 117 cites Ov. met. 2. 787 ff. where Invidia, the personified evil eye, blasts the landscape like a thunder-storm.


4 C. Blinkenberg The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore Cambridge 1911 pp. 1 ff., 68 ff. (a valuable, though somewhat miscellaneous, collection of facts).

5 Cp. the tale of the Thracian Kosingas (supra p. 130). J. C. Lawson Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion Cambridge 1916 p. 74 regards the incident of the reeds as 'probably an imperfect reminiscence of the legend of Prometheus.'

6 At Arachova, a village near Delphi, when a big tree is struck, people exclaim στοιχυώ \deltaίπαλον \ικαί τι (νε \δείω rather than \ς \δαιραται). 'He's blasted a devil!'—it being thought
Lightning as a weapon

attempt to get up to heaven and destroy God. They piled one
mountain on the top of another. So, when God saw that they
would not be quiet, in great wrath He again hurled His lightning at them,
and sent His angels to inform the survivors of their fate, which
was perpetual imprisonment inside a mountain. B. Schmidt, who
reports this Zakynthian tale, comments on its similarity to the
classical myths of the Giants and the Titans, observing that the rôle
of the pagan Zeus has been simply transferred to the Christian
God. He also remarks that the word here used of God’s ‘thunder-
bolts’ is astropelēkia, and adds: ‘The common expression for light-
ning that strikes is astropelēkī, and this term proves that in the eyes of
the populace the flash travelling downwards from the air appeared as
an axe.’ Rather let us say that the flash was thought to be accom-
panied by a tangible axe. For in Greece the name astropelēkia is given
to actual neolithic celti. Schmidt himself has lately published the
important observation that such celti are called, not only astropelēkia,
but also astropōlelēkia (Epeiros) and astropōbolā (Parnassos)—
fuller forms which denote ‘lightning-axes,’ ‘lightning-bolts,’ and
explain the otherwise puzzling prefix. The celti are kept in houses
as a preservative against lightning; and portions of them are worn
by way of protection from evil spirits or the evil eye. The in-
habitants of Parnassos declare that fragments of these stones are
found in places that have been struck by lightning.

The beliefs of the modern peasantry are of no recent growth.
About the year 1081 A.D. Alexios Komnenos, emperor of Con-
stantinople, sent a number of presents to Henry iv, emperor of
Germany, and among them an astropelēkys set in gold. Centuries

that God aims his lightning at such trees in order to destroy demons residing in them
(B. Schmidt Das Volksthein der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 33, J. C. Lawson op. cit. p. 73).

1 B. Schmidt Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder Leipzig 1877 p. 131 (‘Gott
und die Riesen’), J. C. Lawson op. cit. p. 73 f.

2 B. Schmidt Das Volksthein der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 33, 202, id. Griechische

3 Id. ib. p. 131 n. 1 τσακώμε τα άστροπελέκια του.

4 Id. Das Volksthein der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 32 f.


7 C. Blinkenberg op. cit. p. 107 wrongly translates άστροπελέκα, ‘sky-axe.’ Άστροπε-
λέκα is by haplograph for άστροποσολέκα.

8 My friend Prof. R. M. Dawkins has kindly furnished me with the following corrobora-
tion (May 23, 1919): ‘I have seen a man from one of the islands, I think Symi, who told
me that one of his women-folk kept a celt among her wool to prevent the garments from
being destroyed by fire.’

9 Anna Komnen. Alex. 5, 10 (i. 177 Schopen) άστροποσολέκα δεδεμένον μετά χρυσαφίου,
on which see Sir J. Evans op. cit. p. 59.
earlier, in the reign of Anastasios i (491–518 A.D.), Timotheos of Gaza recommended as a safe-guard against thunderstorms the keeping of an inscribed thunder-stone in the house. And Pliny already informs us that a rare variety of thunder-stone, much sought after by the Magi, is to be found only on a spot struck by lightning—

1 Timoth. Gaz. de animatis published by M. Haupt in Hermi 1869 iii. 30, 26 ff. (=id. Opuscula Lipsiae 1876 iii. 308, 25 f.) περάττων (so H. Graff for περάττων cod.) δέ πρὸς κεραυνὸν ἔνει ἔναν λίθον (so H. Graff for ἔνα δέ et λίθον cod.) κεραυνὸν εἰπράσας ἕχει (ἐχει cod.) ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῆς ἄφις ἀφροῖς. The inscription is enigmatic: ἄφιες ἀφροῖς might mean 'Let (my belongings) be unscorched.'


8 ff. Abel Lapis Ceraunium. Ceraunium est lapis, quem Aegyptii maragrum vocant; inventur autem in illis locis, ubi fulminis iactus fit; narratur tamen ex contritione nubium inter se fieri et pro hac causa hoc nomen meruit. Hunc siquis cum castitate portat, nunquam a fulmine ferietur, nec domus, nec villa in qua fuerit. Praeterea si habuerit eum aliguis navigans, non periclitabitur per fulmen aut turbinem. Ampliusque ad omnum victoriam et certamen qui portat eum exsuperabit in omnum rem. Sed et oracula dat obsecranti, in somnis bona somnia; tanta est virtus huius ceraeundi lapidis. Damigeron's account, with some additions from Pliny, was hitched into hexameters and passed on to the middle ages by Marbodus (bishop of Rennes—died 1123 A.D.) liber lapidum seu de gemmis (ed. J. Beckmann Gottingae 1799) 28 De ceraunio. Ventorum rabie cum
information which he derived from Sotakos of Karystos, a Hellenistic
writer on precious stones.

Monumental evidence for the like beliefs in the classical area is
fairly abundant. A ‘Minoan’ grave at Phaistos yielded a small celt
of softish black stone, not steatite, pierced with a hole and doubtless
worn as an amulet (fig. 382)¹. A very ancient votive deposit from
Norba in Latium includes a small celt of green stone encircled length-
wise by an iron band, which must once have ended in a hook for
attachment (fig. 383)². A tomb at Narce in the Faliscan district con-

Fig. 386.

Fig. 385.

Fig. 387.

lostained a small celt of diorite serving as pendant to a necklace of
beads made in blue vitreous paste (fig. 384)³. In the Führer catacomb
at Syracuse a celt of greenish serpentine flecked with white, which
has a partially bored hole at one end, was found on the breast
of a woman (fig. 385)⁴—a good example of a pagan superstition
surviving into Christian times. In Spain two small celts of fibrolite
were used as prophylactic pendants (figs. 386, 387)⁵. At Vettersfeldle
in Nieder-Lausitz, a district of Brandenburg, a remarkable hoard of
objects in gold—the complete equipment of a Scythian chief—was

¹ L. Savignoni ‘Scavi e scoperte nella-necropoli di Phaistos’ in the Mon. d. Linc. 
1904 xiv. 616 with fig. 72 (on p. 606) = my fig. 382, C. Blinkenberg op. cit. pp. 22 f.
fig. 10, 108. Height: 0'026m.
² R. Mengarelli and R. Paribeni ‘Scavi sulle terrazze sostenute da mura poligonalì
presso l’Abbazia di Valvisciolo’ in the Not. Scavi 1909 p. 257 fig. 23 = my fig. 383,
C. Blinkenberg op. cit. p. 108.
490, C. Blinkenberg op. cit. pp. 29 fig. 16 (= my fig. 384), 108.
⁴ P. Orsi ‘La catacomba di Führer nel predio Adorno-Avolio in Siracusa’ in the
Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte 1895
ix. 476 ff. pl. 2 fig. 1 (= my fig. 385).
⁵ L. Siret Questions de chronologie et d’ethnographie ibériques Paris 1913 i. 352 f.
fig. 85, 3 and 4 (= my figs. 386, 387), 276 fig. 101, 15.
turned up by the ploughshare in 1882\(^1\): among these objects was a small celt of dark serpentine, half-sheathed in gold and fitted with a hollow cylinder for suspension (fig. 388)\(^4\). There can be little doubt that the celt was worn as an amulet in the early decades of \textit{s. v B.C.}\(^3\).

Of special interest are certain examples that bear incised inscriptions. A magnificent axe-head of brown banded agate, acquired by Cardinal S. Borgia (1731–1804) probably from some missionary to the East, later in the Tyszkiewicz collection, and now in the American Museum of Natural History at New York, has cut upon it a Sumerian inscription in archaic cuneiform characters (fig. 389)\(^4\). The inscription appears to record the owner of the axe, but not its dedication to a god. The implement is, however, in all probability of a votive character. Its epigraphy points to a period \textit{c. 2000 B.C.}\(^5\). A celt of serpentine,

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2. A. Furtwängler \textit{Der Goldfund von Vettesfeld} p. 10 pl. 1, 3 = \textit{id. Kleine Schriften} i. 475 pl. 18, 3, C. Blinkenberg \textit{op. cit.} pp. 17 fig. 6 (= \textit{my fig. 388}), 108, E. H. Minns \textit{op. cit.} pp. 64, 236 (cp. ib. p. 398 n. 11).


5. I am indebted for this information to my friend Mr Sidney Smith, who examined and criticised for me the readings propounded by other Assyriologists. He says: ‘The probable translation is ‘Had-himil, elder brother of Adad-ili.’ The first name might also be read Hâqîûš.’ Mr Smith adds that a votive hammer-head of Shudurki, last king of the Sargonid dynasty of Akkad, is now in the British Museum and will be published in \textit{Cuneiform Texts} Part 36.

H. Zimmern `Zu den Weihinschriften der Kassiten-Könige' in the \textit{Zeitschrift für Assyriologie} 1898 xiii. 302 ff. put together and elucidated the text of an inscription, in which the Kassite king Nazi-Marat'tas dedicates to Bel an axe ‘of brilliant lapis-lazuli’...

‘for his life and the welfare of his land.’
found in the Argolid and preserved in the Central Museum at Athens, is engraved with two Mithraic subjects and an inscription in Greek letters (fig. 390). A smaller celt of dark green jade or nephrite, brought from Egypt in 1812 by Colonel Milner, aide-de-camp to Lord J. Bathurst, and presented by Mrs Milner to the Christy collection, is covered on both faces with ‘Gnostic’ inscriptions.

Lightning as a weapon

(fig. 391). Lastly, the paraphernalia of a diviner, discovered in the lower town at Pergamon and thence transferred to Berlin, comprise among other items of interest three polished black stones inscribed on both sides with magical *formulae*, the text of which is virtually identical on all three stones (fig. 392). It was pointed out by

R. Wünsch that these stones are simply slices of one or more neolithic celts, cut up to serve as amulets. Special virtue was doubtless attributed to any section of a thunderbolt.

It would seem, then, that the beliefs attaching to neolithic celts among the modern Greeks can be traced back to classical times.

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That being so, it is reasonable to push the investigation one step further and raise the question whether the like beliefs were already operant in the great pre-classical civilisation known to us as 'Minoan.'

Fig. 391.

i. The double axe in 'Minoan' cult.

Looking round for evidence, we are at once impressed by the prominent position accorded to the double axe in cults of the 'Minoan' age. Here, however, in the absence of deciphered documents, we must move with the greatest caution. The double axe is an implement apt to cut both ways. It has already lent itself to diametrically opposite interpretations. And the assumption that it was the hatchet of a sky-god, though a legitimate hypothesis, is hardly self-evident. In such a matter the only safe plan of procedure is to classify without prejudice the extant examples of the object in dispute, and to see how far our hypothesis will serve to explain their complex details.

1 This, if nothing more, is made plain by the polemic of my friend Dr W. H. D. Rouse 'The Double Axe and the Labyrinth' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1901 xxi. 268—274.
The double axe in mid air

(a) The double axe in mid air.

In the cult-scenes of 'Minoan' art the double axe sometimes appears as an isolated object suspended in the air. The famous gold ring found by Drosinos and P. Stamatakes in a complex of buildings on the lower terrace of the Akropolis at Mykenai and now preserved in the Central Muuseum at Athens¹ affords a case in point (supra p. 47, fig. 18).² It shows a female figure seated on stony ground

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¹ Stais Coll. Mycénienne: Athènes p. 66 f. no. 992.
² Fig. 18 is after Sir A. J. Evans in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1901 xxi. 108 fig. 4 (scale ⅓). O. Rossbach in the Arch. Zeit. 1883 xli. 169—173 fig. has a careful line-drawing (scale ⅓) made from two impressions of the ring in different materials. Furtwängler Ant.
beneath a vine (?), with three poppy-heads in her hand. Two other females approach, with gestures of adoration, bringing her lilies and lotuses. The goddess and her attendant nymphs, if such they are, alike wear lilies in their hair, necklaces, and divided skirts: their waists are tightly constricted, their breasts prominent and bare. Immediately in front of the goddess and represented on a much smaller scale a woman stands on a heap of stones or rude altar to offer flowers. Behind the tree another woman, on the same small scale, uplifts her hands in worship. The scene is closed on the left by a row of six lion-heads. These suggest the cult of Rhea, who being an earth-mother might well hold poppy-heads and receive gifts of flowers as she sat beneath a vine. Her place at Argos, Sparta, and Mykenai was later taken by the Greek Hera. And it can hardly be accidental that a statue of Hera at Argos had a wreath of vine-shoots on its head and a lion-skin beneath its feet. Moreover, Hera is expressly stated to have loved lilies. In short, it seems highly probable that the gold ring found at Mykenai commemorates the great goddess of the locality, the ‘Minoan’ Rhea. But if the lower part of the design gives us the earth, the upper part gives us the sky. The sun and moon are manifest, with a double wavy line.

Gemmen i pl. 2, 20 gives a photograph of an impression, and ib. ii. 9 f. a bibliography and description.

1 Opinions differ. H. Schliemann Mycenae London 1878 p. 354 ff. fig. 530 consulted two professors of botany at Athens: one of these experts, T. Orphanides, concluded that the tree is ‘a breadfruit-tree’ (!); the other, whom Schliemann follows, pronounced it to be ‘simply a vine laden with bunches of grapes.’ C. Schuchhardt Schliemann’s Excavations trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 276 ff. fig. 281 says: ‘a clumsy representation of a vine.’ Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. i. 45 ff. fig. 23: ‘un pin.’ Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l’Art vi. 840 ff. fig. 425: ‘un pin ou un Olivier.’ Stais loc. cit.: ‘olivier?’ Furtwängler loc. cit.: ‘eine dicht belaubte Baum.’

2 This ‘Minoan’ usage ultimately gave rise to two Homeric epithets, βαδύων, ‘deep-girt’ (i.e. with girdle cutting deeply into the waist), and βαδύκολος, ‘deep-bosomed’ (i.e. with deep hollow between the breasts): see F. Studniczka Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht Wien 1886 pp. 120 f., 124, W. Ameling in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 2314, E. B. Abrahams Greek Dress London 1908 p. 15 f.

3 So Furtwängler op. cit. ii. 10.


5 Cornut. theol. 6 p. 6, 7 f. Lang σωδίαν ταναίδας αὐτῆς παρετάσσει, δι’ αὐτᾶ γάμος


7 Orph. H. Erot. 58. 6 Φά (so W. Wiel for θά) ἔχον τινα.


9 II. 4. 50 ff.

10 Tert. de cor. mill. 7, cp. Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway on his sixtieth birthday 6 August 1913 Cambridge 1913 p. 220 n. 3.

11 Clem. Al. median. 2. 8. 72. 4 p. 201, 74 Stählin (quoted supra i. 624 n. 2).
The double axe in relation

beneath them, best taken to denote the Milky Way\(^1\) conceived as Okeanos the celestial river\(^2\). Below this are two significant objects. To the left is a shield with human head, hands, and feet projecting from behind it: it grasps a spear or staff and is—to judge from analogous representations\(^3\)—conceived as descending through the air. To the right, and occupying the very centre of the field, is a double axe with duplicated blades likewise descending from the region of the sun and moon towards the goddess and her entourage. It is reasonable to suppose that the shield and axe thus falling from above are the weapons of the sky-god. Further than that we cannot at present go.

Another example of the double axe in mid air has been thought to occur on a clay sealing found by D. G. Hogarth in a ‘Minoan’ house at Kato Zakro, a village of eastern Crete\(^4\). But of this impress a more likely explanation has been advanced by G. Karo, as we shall subsequently see\(^5\).

(\(\beta\)) The double axe in relation to tree- or plant-forms.

In a second group of cult-scenes the double axe is brought into more intimate relations with tree- or plant-forms. A small sarcophagus, discovered by the Italian excavators close to the palace at Hagia Triada, two miles to the north-west of Phaistos, and now to be seen in the Museum at Kandia, has first claim upon our attention\(^6\). It was found, lidless, empty, and partially damaged, in a rectangular tomb-building, which can be referred to the end of the period known as ‘Late Minoan ii’ or the beginning of ‘Late Minoan iii,’ that is, to a date c. 1400 B.C. The sarcophagus, made of greyish limestone, in

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\(^1\) Supra p. 49 n. 1.
\(^2\) Supra p. 48 f.
\(^3\) See the sarcophagus from Milato (Sir A. J. Evans in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1901 xxii. 174 fig. 50) and the gold ring from Knossos (id. ib. 1901 xxi. 170 fig. 48). Supra p. 47 ff.
\(^5\) Infra § 3 (e) i (n).
The painted limestone sarcophagus from Hagia Triada near Phaistos.
shape imitates a wooden coffer, and is covered with a skin of fine white stucco. On this ground the designs were drawn in yellow and painted in a variety of colours.

The decoration comprises four panels, two long and two short. Of the long sides one represents animal and vegetable offerings at a 'Minoan' shrine (pl. xxvii, a). From the left a procession of five women with bare white feet and long coloured robes advances towards a table-altar, on which lies a spotted bull bound with red bands. The blood flows from his throat into an amnion\(^1\) or bucket on the ground; his frightened eyes are wide open; and his tail still whisks. Beneath the table two goats, of some domesticated species, wait their turn. Behind it stands a red-skinned man playing a double flute; his hair is long and falls in a couple of black tresses down his back; a bordered robe covers him from neck to knee. Further to the right a woman is standing at a small altar. She wears an ornament of gold in her black hair, a white jacket sleeved to the elbow and bordered with pink, and a baggy white skirt tailed and tufted with red. She extends her hands over a small basin or basket, placed on the altar. Above it, that is, beyond it are visible a beaked jug somewhat resembling an oinochoe and a two-handled basket full of fruit. On the extreme right is a larger altar, of similar architectural design but surmounted by four pairs of ritual horns\(^2\). Behind grows a sacred tree probably meant for an olive\(^3\). Between the adjacent altars appears a platform or base of two courses, from which rises a large double axe of most remarkable aspect. A tapering pillar or tree-

\(^1\) Od. 3. 444 ἄμνος. Eustath. in Od. p. 1476, 38 ff. Κρήτες δὲ ἄμνοις φασὶν ἀγγείον


The blood collected in the ἄμνος would then be poured over the altar (Eustath. loc. cit. p. 1476, 41 ff. 'Ἀποτελεῖ τὸ σφάγων τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀγγείον ἐκάλεσεν, ἐν δὲ πρῶτον ἀλαμ
dεχθεῖται τῷ ἄλαμ ἀμπέχει = schol. H. M. Q. R. Od. 3. 444)—a rite suggestive of cthonian worship (S. Eitrem 'Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer' in the Viden-

\(^3\) Cp. supra i. 506 ff.

trunk, coloured pink (wood?), forms as it were the handle of a double axe, coloured yellow (gold?)\(^1\). The blades of this axe are duplicated—as on the ring from Mykenai\(^2\)—and marked with diagonals. Upon them is perched a bird of black plumage, almost certainly to be identified as a raven\(^3\). The background of the panel changes from yellow to white and from white to blue as the eye travels from left to right; but this change of colour is apparently due to mere love of variety. The design as a whole puts beyond doubt the actual worship of the double axe. That here, as on the Mycenaean ring, it was conceived as the sky-god’s weapon may be inferred partly from its elevated position, set on the apex of a tapering pillar, partly from its association with a raven, that prophet of the coming storm\(^4\).

1 R. Paribeni in the Mon. d. Lincei 1908 xii. 43 ‘la doppia ascia d’oro,’ cp. ib. p. 29 ‘due doppie asce d’oro o di metallo dorato.’
2 Supra p. 47 fig. 18.
3 R. Paribeni in the Rendiconti d. Lincei 1903 xiii. 344, 348 regarded the birds represented on the axes of this sarcophagus as pigeons or ravens. But in the Mon. d. Lincei 1908 xii, 43 if., 43 he prefers ravens (‘corvi’) to pigeons (‘colombe’). G. Karo in the Archiv f. Rel. 1904 viii. 130 makes them eagles (‘Adler’). F. M. J. Lagrange in the Revue Bibliq. internationale Nouvelle Série 1907 iv. 341 f. would recognise a crow or an eagle on one side of the sarcophagus (‘on dirait d’un corbeau ou d’un aigle’), but pigeons on the other (‘la physionomie est ici celle de colombe plutôt que celle de corbeaux ou d’aigles’). A. J. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1908 ii. 281 f. leaves the matter undecided (‘corbeau ou colombe,—colombe noire comme celles de Dodone,’ ‘un oiseau noir’). Sir A. J. Evans in the Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 195 says: ‘perhaps the sacred black woodpecker of the Cretan Zeus.’ J. E. Harrison ib. ii. 155: ‘a bird of black colour, possibly a pigeon or, as Dr Evans suggests, a black woodpecker.’ Cp. Sir A. J. Evans in Archæologia 1914 lxiv. 54 ‘perhaps the sacred woodpecker, afterwards identified with the Cretan Zeus.’ E. Petersen in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1909 xxiv. 163 argues for a cuckoo (‘Kuckuck’). H. R. Hall Αἰγαν Archeologia London 1915 p. 173 speaks of ‘a bird which looks very like a magpie,’ but ib. p. 175 adds: ‘One may wonder whether this apparent magpie is not really intended for an eagle, the sacred bird of Zeus.’ F. von Duhn in the Archiv f. Rel. 1909 xii. 166 ff. states that at first he thought the bird a dove (‘Taube’), but that, after inspecting the original, he pronounced it to be a raven (‘Rabe’). He reports ib. p. 167 n. 2 the expert opinion of W. Warde Fowler: ‘I have examined the birds with a strong magnifying glass, and have no hesitation in identifying them as ravens: the one in the upper plate to the right is quite unmistakable to the eye of anyone accustomed to observe birds out of doors, as I have done for the last thirty-five years and more. The other two are not quite so convincing, but must, I think, be the same. They all have the outline of head and beak which is peculiar to the raven (corvus corax) and which even the crow (corvus corone) has not in quite the same degree, nor any other bird known to me. I mean that there is only a very slight depression where the beak emerges from the feathers of the head, so that the upper outline of the bird’s head is almost an uninterrupted curve. Perhaps I ought to mention that the raven of the southern Mediterranean is smaller than ours and unknown to me (c. unimimus), but I believe that it resembles the northern bird in everything but colouration. I am certain these birds cannot be woodpeckers: apart from the head and beak no one sees a black woodpecker perched as these are.’ This authoritative verdict may well be allowed to decide the issue.

4 Aristot. frg. 241 Rose ap. Ait. de nat. an. 7. 7 κορας δὲ ἐπιπρῶχως (καὶ R. Hercher τοῦ τοξώτου καὶ ἐπιπρῶχου κοιλίτου τὰς πτέρυγας καὶ κροτῶν αὐτάς, δὲ
The other long side of the sarcophagus (pl. xxvii, 8) depicts two scenes, distinguished from each other, not so much by the variable background (white—blue—white), as by the fact that the human figures at the point of junction are standing back to back. On the left we see another episode from the ritual of the double axe.1 A red-skinned man, wearing his hair short with a fore-lock,2 and clad in a


Ravens were prophets of fine weather also (Theophr. de signis tempest. 52 καὶ κόραξ δὲ μόνον μὲν ἄνταξαν κράξων, καὶ ἕνα γὰρ κράξεως μετὰ πολλὰς κράξεως, κέλαντος, Atl. phason. 1003 ff. καὶ κόρακες μόνον μὲν ἐρημεῖον βουούντες | διασκεδάζοντι, αὐτὰ ἕπειτα μέγ. ἄθροι κελαύνωτε (κελαύνωτε κόρακες. L.) | k. t. l. with schol. ad loc. Geor. 1. 7. 6 καὶ κόρακες πλείονες ἄλγες ὅπερ κακάροντες καὶ κράξωτες (κράξωτες κόρακοι. H. M.) λαμβάνει δηλοῦσιν, Plin. nat. hist. 18. 362 corvike singultu quodam latranes seque concutientes, si continuabunt, serenum <dilem> (ins. Ochimichen); si vero captarim vocem resorbant, ventosum imbrem. On Verg. georg. 1. 410 ff. see W. Warde Fowler A Year with the Birds Oxford 1886 p. 150 ff. T. F. Royds The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil Oxford 1918 p. 40 ff.)

We need not, therefore, hold with D. A. Mackenzie Mythos of Crete & Pre-Hellenic Europe London s.a. p. 290 ff. that ravens are necessarily 'birds of ill omen, who foretell death and disaster' or that, birds on the sarcophagus are 'the raven spirits of Hades... receiving a propitiatory offering of blood or wine.' F. von Duhn in the Archiv f. Rel. 1909 xii. 167 f. takes a wider and a wiser view. I should, however, be inclined to add that the bird was perhaps originally regarded, not 'als himmlischer Bote' etc., but as a telephany of the sky-god himself (supra p. 187). See further O. Keller 'Rabe und Krähe im Altrtum' in the Jahresbericht der Verein für Volkskunde und Linguistik in Frank 1893.

1 F. M. J. Lagrange in the Revue Biblique internationale Nouvelle Série 1907 iv. 344 holds that the first long side of the sarcophagus together with the first portion of the second long side forms a continuous frieze, the subject of which is the cult of three sets of axes on handles. Obvious objections to this view are (1) the very different treatment of the axe-handles on the two sides of the sarcophagus; (2) the interpolation of one of the short sides between the two long sides; (3) a serious lack of symmetry.

2 Supra 1. 23 n. 6 sub fin.
bordered pink robe that reaches from his shoulders to his bare feet, advances slowly from right to left. He holds a large golden lyre, which has seven strings and sides shaped like the necks of swans. As he goes, he plucks the strings of the lyre, but apparently uses no plectron. In front of him moves a woman, whose fore-lock and front curls peep out from beneath a golden head-dress of peculiar type. She is clothed in a blue jacket and skirt with coloured borders; and she carries a pink pole, on which are slung two particoloured buckets. Before her stands another woman, wearing a white jacket sleeved to the elbow and bordered with blue, also a baggy white skirt tailed and tagged with red. She is engaged in pouring a red liquid (wine? blood?) out of another brightly coloured bucket into a larger jar or kratér, which, being painted blue with circular bands of yellow, may be taken to represent a silver vessel inlaid with gold. It rests on a base between two pedestals, one consisting of superposed steps, the other resembling a truncated pyramid. From each of these pedestals there springs a tapering pillar or tree-trunk, thickly covered with green leaves and serving as the haft of a yellow (gold?) double axe with duplicated blades and ravens (?) perched upon them. As to the meaning of this scene, E. Petersen has rightly insisted on the contrast between the one bare stem and the two leafy stems, arguing that the former betokens the worship

1 Clearly shown by A. Mosso The Palaces of Crete and their Builders London 1907 p. 317 f. fig. 156.
3 R. Paribeni in the Mon. d. Lincei 1908 xix. 33 f., 36 regards all these buckets as situæ of decorated metal (gold, silver, copper).
4 Pedestals of the sort have come to light in the palace at Hagia Triada (R. Paribeni in the Rendiconti d. Lincei 1903 xii. 338, id. in the Mon. d. Lincei 1908 xix. 39), in the palace at Phaistos (L. Pernier ib. 1902 xii. 69 and 102), at Palaikastro (R. C. Bosanquet in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1901—1902 viii. 300), in a small house at Knossos (Sir A. J. Evans in Archaeologia 1914 lxv. 68), in the ‘Little Palace’ at Knossos (ib. ib. 1914 lxv. 72), and in the Dictaean Cave (ib. ib. 1914 lxv. 71 fig. 82).
5 R. Paribeni in the Mon. d. Lincei 1908 xix. 29 thinks that the trunks are those of palm-trees and suggests the date-palm (phoenix dactylifera), but notes that palm-trunks are cylindrical, not conical like these. His identification as palms is accepted by A. J. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1908 ii. 281 f. and by J. E. Harrison in the Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 154 f.
6 E. Petersen in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1909 xxiv. 163, 168, 170 is more reserved (‘hier nur ein Pfleifer, dort zwei; diese zwei mit grünem Laub umkleidet, jener eine kahl und ohne Grün, etc.’). F. von Duhn in the Archiv f. Rel. 1909 xii. 173 was the first to recognise obelisks covered with cypress-leaves (zwei cypressegeschmückte Obelisken) and to recall the fact that at Knossos Rhea had an ancient grove of cypresses (supra i. 649 n. 3). Accordingly in the Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 189 I wrote: ‘Professor von Duhn kindly informs me that these supports are apparently pillars or posts covered with leaves — most probably with cypress leaves. If so, they were obviously ritual substitutes for cypress-trees.’
of the sky-god in the winter, the latter his marriage with the earth-
goddess in the spring. Petersen remarks that of the two leaf-clad
pillars one is noticeably larger than the other, and that its axe-head
has the same diagonals as the axe-head of the leafless pillar—a
hint that the paired pillars are those of god and goddess respectively.
We may, then, assume provisionally that the worshippers of the
double axe as depicted on the sarcophagus are performing rites
intended to call down the vernal showers and so bring about the
revival of vegetation.

But what of the second scene represented in immediate contigui-
ty with this? Three bearers of offerings pass towards the right.
Each has short hair and no clothing beyond a belt and a baggy
white skirt tailed and tagged as before. The tags of these peculiar
garments vary in colour, those of the first and last men being black,
those of the second man red. All three have necklaces, and two have
bracelets. Number one carries the model of a boat; number two,
that of a white calf spotted with black; number three, that of a
yellowish calf with spots of deeper yellow. They are approaching
a flight of three steps, coloured a dull red, beyond which is a tree of
some doubtful species. By it stands a man of shorter stature, with
a fore-lock of black curly hair. He is swathed in a white robe with
red tags and yellow border, which covers and conceals his arms.
Behind him a polychrome building, enriched with spirals, completes
the design. Egyptian parallels, adduced by R. Paribeni, have made
it highly probable that the erect figure is that of a dead man, and
that the building at his back is his tomb or tomb-chapel. His
dwarfish height implies that he died young.

2 Id. ib. p. 165 n. 11.
3 R. Paribeni in the Mon. d. Lincei 1908 xix. 26 ff. is disposed to view the offerings
as an actual boat and live calves, not mere models. Later critics, without discussing the
matter, appear to agree with him. They may be right. But size and position alike point
rather to the use of models, such as are common in the tombs of Egypt and other lands.
4 So R. Paribeni in the Rendiconti d. Lincei 1903 xii. 346 suggests the ficus Indica.
But in the Mon. d. Lincei 1908 xix. 20 he is less explicit. F. M. J. Lagrange in the
Revue Bibliique internationale Nouvelle Série 1907 iv. 342: un arbre..., semblable à une
plante grasse à trois panaches. A. J. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1908 ii. 280 f.: 'l'arbre—
sortie de palmier,' 'le palmier funéraire.' F. von Duhn in the Archiv f. Rel. 1909 xii.
180: 'Palme.'
5 R. Paribeni in the Mon. d. Lincei 1908 xix. 15 ff. fig. 3. M. Meurer 'Zu den
Sarkophagen von Klabomenai' in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1900 xvii. 65—
68 with figs. 1—3 argues that the trapezoidal, as distinct from the rectangular, sarcophagi
of Klabomenai were designed to be set up on end uncovered and so hold the body upright,
probably during the funeral ceremony,—a usage apparently derived from Egypt via
Phoinike.
The double axe in relation

Certain traits common to the two long sides of the *sarcophagus* suggest that the scenes of axe-cult are intimately related to the offerings made at this young man's tomb. The tagged garments worn by the priestesses of the double axe, by the ministrants at the tomb, and by the dead man himself have been recognised by Paribeni as hairy sackcloth, originally made of animals' skins and still retaining a sort of tail: such a garb is presumably funeral in character. Again, three of the axe-worshippers and two of the tomb-ministrants are decked with red scarves or streamers, to which also we should attach some sepulchral significance. It may therefore be surmised that the magic rites of revival performed before the double axes of the sky-god and the earth-goddess were believed to ensure the continued vitality or resurrection of the dead. Nay more, it is conceivable that the young man buried in this princely tomb was regarded as himself an incarnation of the sky-god. Was not Zeus said to have perished as a prince in Crete? On this showing the Cretan prince was one of many who in their time played the part of Dionysos or Zagreus, the reborn Zeus. And here, forestalling for a moment the results of a later section, we must note the curious parallelism of the Cretan and the Tenedian axe-cults:—

**HAGIA TRIADA.**
Worship of a double axe erect on a stepped base.
Worship of two double axes.
*Krater* set between double axes.
Sacrifice of a bull in the cult of an axe-god.

**TENEDOS.**
Worship of a double axe erect on a stepped base?
Worship of two double axes.
*Amphora* attached to double axe.
Sacrifice of a bull-calf in the cult of Dionysos *Anthropororhaltes*, probably an axe-god.

But, if the youth buried in the *sarcophagus* actually posed as Dionysos or Zagreus, we should look to find him treated as the consort of the great 'Minoan' goddess Rhea. Was this the case? An answer is perhaps to be sought in the designs of the two remaining panels.

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2. *Supra* i. 58 n. 2. To the references there given add A. Sonny 'Rote Farbe im Totenkult' in the *Archiv f. Rel. 1906* ix. 525—529.
3. *Supra* i. 157 n. 3, 648, 663 n. 2.
4. *Supra* i. 398 f., 647. *Hagia Triada* is about 11½ miles (in a direct line) from the Idaean Cave.
5. *Infra* § 3 (c) i (o).
6. *Supra* i. 58.
7. *Infra* § 3 (c) i (o).
8. *Infra* § 3 (c) i (o).
9. *Infra* § 3 (c) i (o).
10. *Supra* i. 469 n. 4, 659, 711.
11. *Supra* i. 649 n. 7.
12. *Supra* i. 649 n. 7.
One of the short sides (pl. xxvii, c) represents a pair of horses, blue and yellow on a white ground, drawing a two-wheeled chariot, in which rides a couple of white-skinned women. Their robes are pink bordered with blue, and blue bordered with yellow and white. The four red reins are apparently held by the woman nearest the spectator: she has two in her left hand and two in her right, which encircles her companion. We have no reason to think that these are goddesses1 or even priestesses2. More probably they are just ladies belonging to the princely court—the queen, let us suppose, and her charioteer.

The other short side (pl. xxvii, d) shows a group roughly similar in appearance but widely different in meaning. A two-wheeled chariot on a red ground is drawn by a pair of griffins with canine rather than leonine bodies, variegated wings, and high plumed crests. In it ride two female figures, of whom the nearer one in a blue robe bordered with yellow and white holds the reins round her more gorgeously dressed companion. In the field above the griffins hovers a bird, which has been compared with a hoopoe3 and even with a sparrow-hawk4. But its short beak, yellow-brown, blue, and white feathers, black marking, and erectile crest proclaim it to be a somewhat glorified jay5. This bird, the corvus glandarius of Linnaeus, the garrulus glandarius of later ornithologists, gets its modern scientific name from the fact that ‘the acorn is its favourite food’6. But the ancients were mainly impressed by its bright colouring and its talkative tongue. The former trait made it comparable with the woodpecker: the Romans called the one pica, the other picus7; and,

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3 R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xii. 61: ‘Non esiste nell’ avifauna mediterranea un uccello di quella forma e di quei colori: l’ upupa, alla quale si potrebbe pensare, ha il becco lungo, e dirizza il suo pennacchio, ma non lo rovescia in avanti, come fa il nostro uccello, e come avviene nel cacatua e in qualche altro uccello esotico.’ But it must be remembered that the young hoopoe develops its crest before its beak (R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1895 iv. 58).
4 F. M. J. Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique internationale* Nouvelle Série 1907 iv. 339 would recognise ‘un épervier’.
5 I am indebted for this suggestion to my wife. A good coloured plate of the jay is given by J. L. Bonhote *Birds of Britain* London 1907 p. 156 ff. pl. 47.
7 The relation of both words to pinge, τοιχόν, etc. is doubtful (Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 580). So is that of our jay, French gai (in Picardy gai), Spanish gayo, gaua, Portuguese gato to the adjective gay (G. Kösting *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch* Faderborn 1901 p. 187).
The double axe in relation

if the Cretan Zeus took shape as a woodpecker (Plkos)¹, the Cretan Dionysos very possibly figured as a jay. The latter trait brought it into the company of ravens² and other garrulous birds³: in this capacity too it was sacred to Dionysos⁴. We may, therefore, fairly conjecture that the jay here represented denotes the soul of the youth who in his lifetime had played the Dionysiac part. In the earth-coloured goddess with a plumed head-dress, towards whom the jay with a characteristic flap of its wings is flying, we can recognise the Cretan Rhea⁵. She, like the Nemeseis of Smyrna⁶, stands erect in a griffin-drawn car. In short, it seems probable that this panel, which formed the head-end of the sarcophagus⁷, marks the reunion of the dead man with his divine consort in the other world.

The sarcophagus of Hagia Triada does not stand alone. Several of its motives are repeated on a painted earthenware larnax found by J. H. Marshall at Palaikastro, thirteen miles north-east of Praisos and eight miles north of Zakro, in eastern Crete⁸. Its two long sides are divided each into a couple of square panels. Those of one side show (a) a fish, perhaps meant for a dolphin, upside down with two stars and a rosette in the field; (b) a bird of uncertain species⁹ with high curled wings and spread tail. The panels of the other side (fig. 393) are more elaborately decorated. One of them (c) depicts a large lily-plant with three flowers. Those to right and left have their stamen-tips shaped like double axes. That in the centre appears, on closer inspection, to be not a flower at all, but an arrangement of cult-objects simulating a flower. Instead of a stalk there is a slender column with base, capital, and abacus complete. It supports, not a three-petalled lily, but a double axe rising from a stepped base¹⁰ and flanked by a pair of pillars¹¹. The remaining panel

¹ Supra i. 158 n. 2, 237 n. 1.
² Pers. sat. prol. 13.
⁴ Comn. theol. 30 p. 61, 22 f. Lang καὶ τὴν κίτταν δὲ ὑπὸ θάλαυν ὁμοίως καθιεροῦσαν αὐτὸ (sc. τὴν Διονυσίαν).
⁵ R. Lydekker The Royal Natural History London 1894-95 iii. 330.
⁶ I cannot subscribe to the bizarre contention of R. Paribeni in the Mon. d. Lincei 1908 xix. 60 f. and F. von Duhn in the Archiv f. Rel. 1909 xili. 183 f. that the pale personage is the dead man accompanied by his soul-bird! A. J. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1908 ii. 285 f. rightly protests.
⁷ Supra i. 270 fig. 197.
¹⁰ It appears to belong to the order anseres, and may be intended for a duck, goose, or swan.
¹¹ Supra p. 520 n. 4.
¹² R. C. Bosanquet in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1901-1902 viii. 299 speaks of these as 'a pair of sacred horns.' We should, however, distinguish these cigar-shaped pillars from the horns of the adjacent panel.
(a) exhibits a griffin with wings like those of the bird on the opposite side. In the field is a lily-flower before it, a star above it, and, higher up, two pairs of ritual horns\(^1\) resting on a horizontal line. The ornamentation of the lid includes a couple of stars; that of the ends, a pair of horns with a bud springing from between them.

We are not in a position to clear up the meaning of all this symbolism. But we can at least explain some parts of it with more or less probability. The double axe set upright on a stepped base between a pair of pillars is again comparable with the Tenedian coin-type\(^2\) and suggestive of the ‘Minoan’ sky-god\(^3\). Its intimate connexion with the lily recalls the Mycenaean ring, on which a double axe descends from heaven towards a goddess decked with lilies\(^4\), presumably Rhea\(^5\). The axe combined with the lily thus betokens the life-giving union of the sky-god with the earth-goddess, and is analogous to the scene of the leafy axes on the sarcophagus from Hagia Triada. Whether the griffin can be regarded as an allusion to the griffin-drawn goddess is more doubtful.

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\(^1\) Cp. the stucco horns found in house B at Palaikastro (R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 314 fig. 27).

\(^2\) *Infra* § 3 (c) i (o).

\(^3\) *Supra* p. 522.

\(^4\) *Supra* p. 47 fig. 18.

\(^5\) *Supra* p. 515.
A superb jar, found by R. B. Seager on the island of Pseira in north-eastern Crete (fig. 394)\textsuperscript{1}, dates from the last stage of the period.

\textsuperscript{1} R. B. Seager \textit{Excavations on the island of Pseira, Crete} (University of Pennsylvania:
known as 'Late Minoan I' (c. 1500 B.C.) and again illustrates the combination of double axe and lily. Round its rim is a series of axes with knobbled tops; round its base, a simplified axe-pattern; beneath its handles, other axe-forms. The main frieze, on its shoulder, has double axes of the knobbled variety alternating with bulls' heads. Each axe is erect on a square base. Each bull's head between its horns bears another double axe, the stem of which is shaped like an open lily. And the space between axes and bulls' heads is filled by olive-sprays. A second large jar of the 'Late

Fig. 395.  

Minoan I' age, obtained by Seager on the neighbouring island of Mochlos \(^1\), treats the floral stem of the axe in a freakish human fashion (fig. 395)\(^2\) that brings to mind the quaintest flower-fays of Mr Arthur Rackham.

Vase-fragments of late, 'Minoan' style, found by Sir Arthur Evans in a superficial layer of deposit covering the north-west building at Knossos, show the double axe rising from a leafy shaft between the sacred horns\(^3\). On the example here reproduced (fig. 396) this design fills two compartments, the other two being occupied by

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The double axe in relation to columns or pillars.

Thirdly, the double axe had a religious significance for the 'Minoan' age, when it was stuck into the columns of a sacred building or cave. Fragments of painted plaster from the palace at Knossos show portions of a sanctuary with a row of columns, which, from their shape and colour, are obviously meant to represent the wooden supports usual in the architecture of the period. Between each pair of columns and also along the top of their entablature are set large ritual horns. Into the upper part of the shaft, and into the upper part of the echinus, of every column is driven from opposite sides a couple of double axes, which, like the horns, are painted white. Finally,

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1 Sir A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 195 no. 36, c (=my fig. 397) pl. 3, p. 704.
2 É. Cartailhac *La France préhistorique* Paris 1889 p. 6 fig. 3 (=my fig. 398). This appears to be the pendant, in the Campana collection, very inadequately described and figured by E. Braun in the *Mon. Ann. e Bull. d. Inst.* p. 54 pl. 10.
3 The arrow-head itself is lily-shaped, the tang forming the central spike of an inverted flower.
5 Other examples of flint arrow-heads set in gold, silver, or bronze and worn as amulets by the ancient Etruscans etc. are given in C. Blinkenberg *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* Cambridge 1911 p. 28 ff. fig. 14 f., p. 109.
below the sacred edifice is a decorative band of rosettes—a motive, be it remembered, readily derivable from the Egyptian lotus. The stamens of these rosettes, shaped like double axes, recall the axe-

stamens of the lily-plant on the sarcophagus from Palaikastro. The whole design (fig. 399) makes it clear that double axes of metal were imbedded in the wooden columns of ‘Minoan’ shrines.


2 Supra p. 524.

3 M. Meurer ‘Form und Herkunft der mykenischen Säule’ in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1914 xxix. 14 ff. fig. 6 f. thinks that the white objects affixed to the columns are not axes at all, but knobs for hangings, and compares the white-glazed and

C. II.
Similarly small double axes of bronze (fig. 400)\footnote{From the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1899—1900* vi. 109 fig. 40 (size *cia* 1 : 4). D. G. Hogarth *ib.* p. 108 f. says: 'Remains of 18 undoubted double axes were recovered, all found in the Lower Grot, and in almost every case *in situ* in the stalactite niches. Two retained their shafts, and many bronze pins, found in the same region, had doubtless been attached to other axes. Two specimens are of almost pure copper (Nos. 3, 5). The largest of all the axe heads, a perfect example 280 millimetres long (No. 7), found in a niche of a small lateral hall near the head of the subterranean pool, shows lines, drawn with a fine tool, crossing the blades obliquely.' Etc.} were found inserted in the stalactite pillars of the famous cave in Mount Dikte (fig. 401)\footnote{In *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1899—1900* vi pl. 8.}. D. G. Hogarth gives a graphic description of their discovery:

> By June 11th, he says, we had exhausted the Upper Grot and the Terrace, and seemed to be at the end of discoveries. I had always intended, however, to have the *talus* in the Lower Grot searched before leaving the place, and on the 12th put the men and women, now reduced to thirty in all, with petroleum candles on to the steep slope below the precipice. Various bronze objects were quickly brought to light, and some bits of gold appeared in the sieves. Meanwhile a few men were sent to search the various patches of earth, carried down by water and deposited in hollows in the lowest parts of the cavern, and they found these singularly productive. Where a thin crust of stalactite had formed over the mould and pebbles, it always was worth while to break through. While engaged on this work one of the men observed a bronze knife blade in a vertical slit of a stalactite pillar beside him, and, searching, soon found more blades and pins.

\[Fig. 400.\]

Painted plates of terra cotta found at Ashur in the palace of Ashur-naṣir-pal III (884—860 B.C.). He justly dismisses the notion that they are *Phalliformen* (†), but does not even mention the highly probable view of their discoverer, that they are double axes.
I immediately set others, especially women and boys, to examine the pillars systematically, and found the vertical crevices so productive that, leaving only a small gang to finish the upper earth, I concentrated all hands in the lowest depths. Some of the chinks contained as many as ten bronze objects apiece—blades, fibulae and an occasional votive double axe. These stood up edgeways in the slits and in many cases could not be extracted without smashing the stalactite, which had almost closed over them. How many more there may not be completely hidden in the pillars I cannot say, but I do not think we left an accessible niche unexamined. Nor did we leave any part of the pebbly mud at the water's edge unwashed. Then we obtained over a dozen bronze statuettes, and half a dozen engraved gems, beside handfuls of common rings, pins, and blades, perhaps sucked by floods out of the stalactite niches. In hope of the reward, which I gave for the better objects, and in the excitement of so curious a search, which, in their earlier illicit digging, it had not occurred to them to attempt, the villagers, both men and women, worked with frantic energy, clinging singly to the pillars high above the subterranean lake, or grouping half a dozen flaring lances, or a productive patch of mud at the water's edge. It was a grotesque sight without...
The double axe in relation

precedent in an archaeologist's experience. But beyond a certain point the
niches proved empty, and the icy water too deep to be dredged, and by the
evening of the 14th there was no more to be done.  

The existence of wooden and stalactite columns into which axes were, so to speak, hafted throws light on another group of 'Minoan'
monuments. Already in 1900 Sir A. J. Evans had drawn attention
to two small chambers in the palace at Knossos, each of which
contains a central pillar formed of four square gypsum blocks and

repeatedly engraved with the sign of the double axe (fig. 402)\(^1\). Commenting with great acumen on that signature he had said:

'...There can, I venture to think, be little doubt that these chambers are shrines,
probably belonging to the oldest part of the building, and the pillars thus marked
with the sign of the Astarte of Crete are in fact his aniconic images... It will be shown from
a variety of evidence that the most typical form of the Mycenaean sacred pillar
is represented as actually performing a structural function, and is in fact a "Pillar
of the House\(^2\)."

and 403 are from photographs taken by me in 1901. The latter shows an interesting
block, in the palace wall, with a trident incised on the top of a double axe (Minoan ibid.
Sir A. J. Evans ibid. 1903–1904 x. 28).

Subsequent discoveries strengthened this conjecture. In 1914 Sir Arthur was able to write:

'An interesting parallel, highly illuminating as to the cult connected with these pillars, was supplied by a small house dating from the last Middle Minoan Period excavated on the south-east borders of the Palace. Here in a small chamber of fine ashlar masonry..., was a central pillar, the upper block of which was exceptionally marked with the double-axe sign. At the foot of the pillar on the north side, moreover, was a small limestone base of stepped pyramidal form, with a socket above, corresponding with the stands of the sacred Double Axes as seen on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus... The pillar cult is here clearly brought into connexion with the divinity of the Double Axes—the great Minoan Goddess... In the case of many of the smaller pillar-rooms with a single pillar—such as those of the South-East House and Royal Villa at Knossos, that of the house on the hill of Gypsades, and those in the two small rooms at Phylakopi—there is no obvious structural reason for such a central support. Yet it is probable that in all cases these stone pillars served a constructive purpose, and their presence, even in small chambers easily spanned by beams, is accounted for in the most natural manner by the assumption that they acted as supports of the wooden columns of a chamber above, as seems to have been certainly the case with pillars of the sanctuary quarter in the Knossian Palace... Of the sanctity of such wooden columns as "Pillars of the House" there is abundant evidence among the representations on Minoan and Mycenaean works of art."

It will be observed that, where Sir Arthur spoke formerly of a 'God', he speaks now of a 'Goddess.' In my own opinion the double axe belongs primarily to the sky-god, secondarily to the earth-goddess associated with him, while the tree, or column, or pillar, belongs primarily to the earth-goddess, secondarily to the sky-god associated with her. The combination of axe and tree, axe and column, axe and pillar, implies the union of both. I take it, then, that the double axe hafted into a tree, or affixed to a wooden column, or incised on a stone pillar, is sign and symbol of the god, whereas

1 Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologia* 1914 lxxv. 68 f.
2 We should perhaps compare the tall beam pierced by an iron nail and erected in honour of Thor (?) by the Lapps of Finmark (*supra* p. 423 n. 3), and also the high-seat pillars of the old Norsemen with their sacred nails (*supra* p. 57 n. 1). With regard to the latter Miss N. Kershaw has kindly sent me (Nov. 9, 1920) the following references: *Eyrbyggia Saga* 4 'Thorolf Mostrarskegg...sailed along the south coast [of Iceland] westward past Reykjanes... Thorolf threw overboard his high-seat pillars, which had been standing in the temple. The image of Thor was carved on one of them. He declared his intention of making his home in Iceland at the spot where Thor brought them ashore. There he had a temple erected. It was a big building. There was a door in the side-wall near one end. Inside stood the high-seat pillars, and there were pegs in them which were called *regin-naglar*.' [*naglar, 'pegs.' The exact meaning of *regin* is uncertain. The word is used of the gods in the *Edda* poems.], *Landnamabok* 1. 6. 1. 7 f., 4. 5, *Vatnsdala Saga* 15. See further G. Vigfusson—F. York Powell *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* Oxford 1883 i. 403, 406. ii. 686, E. Mogk in the *Grundrisse der germanischen Philologie* Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 364, *id.* in *Hoops Reallex.* ii. 313, H. Falk *ib.* ii. 538 ff.
The double axe in relation to horns
The double axe in relation to horns

the tree, or column, or pillar, betokens the presence of the goddess—a view supported by the later emergence of the axe-bearing god\(^1\) on the one hand and the pillar-shaped goddess or ‘Caryatid’\(^2\) on the other.

(8) The double axe in relation to horns.

Fourthly, ‘Minoan’ religion brought the double axe into connexion with sacred horns. Of this we have already seen some examples\(^3\); and many more might be cited.

Fragments of pottery from Knossos show the double axe, in one case set between horns, in a second placed before a shrine\(^4\). An actual shrine of small size (only 1½ m. square) was found by Sir A. J. Evans in the Cnossian palace\(^5\). It was referable to the period of partial re-occupation (‘Late Minoan iii’), and it was arranged as follows (fig. 404)\(^6\). On the floor of stamped clay were bowls and vases. A raised daïs or step had a plaster tripod fixed into its pebbly surface, on which stood also some cups and small jugs. A higher step with a pebbled floor and a plastered front had attached to it two pairs of horns made of white-coloured stucco with a clay core. Leaning against one of them was a miniature double axe of steatite with duplicated blades (fig. 405)\(^7\). And each pair of horns had a central socket, which in all probability was meant to receive the shaft of a double axe. On either side of these horned sockets stood painted terra-cotta figures of votaries and deities. To the left of the left-hand pair of horns was a male votary on a small flat base: he was wearing a loin-cloth and some sort of tunic laced behind, while he held out a dove as an oblation (fig. 406 a)\(^8\). To the right of the same horns was a goddess on a high cylindrical base: she had long hair falling down her back and over her shoulders; her head was turned towards the horns, and her hands were curved up over her breasts.

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\(^1\) *Infra* § 3 (c) i (e).
\(^2\) See now T. Homolle ‘L’origine des Caryatides’ in the *Rev. Arch.* 1917 i. 1–67 with six figs. and pl. 4 f.
\(^3\) *Supra* pp. 517 f., 574 f., 538 f.
\(^6\) *Id. ib.* p. 97 fig. 55 (redrawn in my fig. 404).
\(^7\) *Id. ib.* p. 101 fig. 57 (‘slightly enlarged’)= my fig. 405.
\(^8\) G. Maraghiannis *Antiquités Célestes* Troisième Série Candie s.a. pl. 50 (part of which = my fig. 406).
The double axe in relation to horns

(fig. 406 b). To the left of the right-hand pair of horns was a female votary, whose type (a half-sitting posture) and technique (punctures and incisions with white gypsum filling) were alike primitive. To the right of these horns were two goddesses. One of them, except for the fact that she had a plant design painted on her back, closely resembled the goddess already described. The other rose from a higher cylindrical base. She wore necklaces, armlets, and signets on her wrists. She raised both hands, one palm outwards, the other in profile, and each with a dark band drawn across it. Her breast was painted with a pair of wings; and her body ended in a pattern perhaps meant to recall the spread tail of a bird. On her head rested a dove (fig. 406 c). It is clear that the little sanctuary thus furnished

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1 Id. ib.
2 So at least I have ventured to suggest (J. E. Harrison in the Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 156 n. 1).
3 G. Marathiannis loc. cit.
The double axe in relation to horns

was c. 1400—c. 1200 B.C. used for oblations to two double axes, beside each of which was placed a goddess, or a pair of goddesses, and a single devotee. The duplication of the double axe, as in the cases of Hagia Triada\(^1\) and Tenedos\(^2\), suggests the joint cult of a god and a goddess.

\(^1\) Supra p. 521.  
\(^2\) Supra p. 522, infra § 3 (c) i (§) and (o).
The double axe in relation to horns
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![Fig. 407.](image1)

![Fig. 408.](image2)

![Fig. 409.](image3)

single devotee. The duplication of the double axe, as in the cases of 

_Hagia Triada_¹ and _Tenedos_², suggests the joint cult of a god and a goddess.

¹ *Supra* p. 521.

² *Supra* p. 522, _infra_ § 3 (c) i (ë) and (o).
The double axe in relation to horns

An earlier1 shrine of somewhat similar character was discovered by Miss H. A. Boyd, now Mrs Boyd-Hawes, at Gournia in eastern Crete. Here too was a low earthen tripod thinly coated with plaster, 'four cultus vases bearing symbols of Minoan worship, the disk, consecrated horns and serpent, a terra-cotta female idol entwined with a snake, two heads of the same type as the idol, several small clay doves and serpents' heads, all of coarse terra cotta, and a fragment of a pithos, on which a double-ax and disk are modeled in relief.2

The horns that appear so frequently in connexion with the double axe are in all probability bovine. An agate intaglio from Knossos, belonging to the 'Late Minoan' period, shows a double axe rising between the curved horns of a bull's head (fig. 407).3 A lentoid sardonyx from the Argive Heraion, now in the Schliemann collection at Berlin, is engraved with a similar design (fig. 408).4 In the fourth shaft-grave at Mykenai were found about fifty-six specimens of bull's head-and-axe cut out of gold plate; some of these had a double axe of normal shape (fig. 409 a, b); others had its blades duplicated (fig. 409 c, d).5 Finally, a Mycenaean krater from Salamis in Kypros (Enkomi), preserved in the British Museum, is decorated

1 Sir A. J. Evans in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1901—1902 viii. 105 says 'of still later date,' but ib. 1902—1903 ix. 84 n. 4 'perhaps contemporary (as most of the remains at Gournia) with the First Period of the Later Palace at Knossos.' See also R. M. Dawkins ib. 1903—1904 x. 195.
6 H. Schliemann Mycena London 1878 p. 218 figs. 329, 330 (= my fig. 409 a, b), C. Schuchhardt Schliemann's Excavations trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 249 fig. 249. It is noteworthy that in this fourth grave was found a fringed knot of alabaster (Schliemann op. cit. p. 242 fig. 352, Schuchhardt op. cit. p. 252 fig. 253).
7 Milani Stud. e mat. di arch. e num. 1899—1901 i. 198 figs. 33, 34 (= my fig. 409 c, d).
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with *bucrania* and ritual horns: both alike have a double axe set upon them (fig. 410)¹, and are plainly felt to be alternatives of like significance.

But what exactly did they signify? The old notion² that a single *bucranium*-and-axe denoted the sacrifice of an ox, and that a multiplicity of such symbols commemorated a hecatomb, will not do. The prominent position accorded to the axe, the duplication of its blades, the careful propping of its haft, imply that this was no commonplace tool, but a divine weapon. Are we then to conclude that the axe stands for the sky-god, and the ox-head for the sacrifice offered to him? The explanation is still inadequate; for why should an ox in particular be sacrificed to an axe or an axe-bearing god? and why

![Fig. 410.](image)

should the axe be set up between the ox-horns? To grasp the real meaning of this combination we must bear in mind (a) that the bull was the theanthropic animal of the Cretan Zeus, torn asunder in his service³ and buried in his name⁴; (b) that ritual horns appear to have originated in the shrine of a buried bull, regarded as a centre or

¹ The design is completed by Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 107 fig. 3 (≡my fig. 410), S. Reinach in *L’Anthropologie* 1902 xiii. 25 fig. 19, J. Déchelette *Manuel d’archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 480 fig. 204, 3.

² E.g. A. Milehöfer *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland* Leipzig 1883 p. 116 f. (‘vielleicht lediglich mit Beziehung auf die Opferhandlung’), Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* pp. 238 (‘a symbol of sacrifice’), 240, Ch. Tsountas—J. I. Manatt *The Mycenaean Age* London 1897 p. 103 (‘they are symbols of sacrifice offered to the dead, in conformity with the well-known ancient custom of offering to gods and heroes metal or terra-cotta simulacra of real victims’), W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 301 (‘perhaps representing sacrifice to the dead’).

³ *Supra* i. 660 ff.  

⁴ *Supra* p. 345.
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focus of life; and (c) that the vital force of the divine beast was gathered into its horns, so that any object placed between them would be quickened to the uttermost. Was not this the right position for that dread weapon, which constituted the might of the Almighty?

Bucranium and double axe were for centuries associated in the popular mind. And the peculiar ‘Minoan’ combination of the two has left traces of itself over a wide area. L. Stephani published a pair of double axes (fig. 411) and eight bucrania (fig. 412) found in 1873 on the site of Olbia in Sarmatia. They are flat lead castings with unworked back, and were presumably affixed to some smooth surface, perhaps that of a wooden coffin. The bucrania are adorned with fillets and grape-bunches, occasionally also with ivy-leaves.

Between the horns in every case rises a vertical stem, which is hardly to be explained as a mere tag due to the casting, but more probably should be regarded as a vestige of the double axe once installed in that position of importance. R. Wünsch has recently noticed that the Museum at Stettin possesses a large number of leaden bucrania from Pantikapaion (Kerch): most of them have an oblong handle between the horns, which he would complete by means of sundry loose heads of double axes found with the bucrania in question. Wünsch conjectures that these were amulets derived from the double axe of the ancient Cretan religion. Again, Count Albert de La

1 Supra i. 598 ff.
2 Supra i. 499 ff.
3 L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pê. 1873 p. xxix, id. ib. 1874 p. 32 f. Atlas pl. 1, 18 (=my fig. 411) and 24: 15, 16, 17, 19 (=my fig. 412), 30, 31, 32, 33.
4 See E. H. Minns Scythians and Greeks Cambridge 1913 p. 373 f. fig. 277.
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Marmora\(^1\) in 1840 described and figured a thin plague of lead in the Capuchin Museum at Palma, said to have come from the talayot of Son-Texeguet near Lluc-Major in Minorca (fig. 413). He supposed that it was of Phoenician or Carthaginian origin, and suggested, shrewdly enough, that it looked rather like the skin of an ox-head. The horns have degenerated into concentric circles like the eyes. And four small holes show that it was suspended as an amulet. A close parallel to it was published in 1892 by É. Cartailhac\(^2\) from the collection of M. Moragues (fig. 414)—another thin leaden plague apparently representing a conventionalised bucramium with a similar treatment of the horns and eyes.

The decadence of the 'Minoan' type can, however, be best seen in the old indigenous pottery of Apulia. In 1908\(^3\) I drew attention

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1 Le C*\* A. de La Marmora Voyage en Sardaigne Paris 1840 ii. 533 Atlas pl. 39, 4 (\(=\)my fig. 413).
2 É. Cartailhac Monuments primitifs des îles Baléares Toulouse 1892 p. 68 f. fig. 82 (\(=\)my fig. 414 inverted), J. Déchelette Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique Paris 1910 ii. 1. 476.
3 'The Creta\(\text{a}\) Axe-cult outside Crete' in the Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 188 f. figs. 6, 7, 8, 9.
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to certain specimens of this ware now in the British Museum. They are flat bowls with a high handle shaped like a pair of bovine horns. It differs from the ordinary ansa lunata or Mondhenkel of North Italy and Central Europe, because it represents the forehead and eyes of the beast as well as the horns. It has also an additional feature of interest. Between the horns rises what I took to be a stylised form of the double axe (fig. 415). This double axe, if such

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1 See the elaborate articles of M. Mayer ‘Ceramica dell’ Apulia preellenica i. La Messapia’ in the Röm. Mitth. 1897 xii. 201—252 figs. 1—21 pl. 10, ‘ii. La Peucezia’ ib. 1899 xiv. 13—80 figs. 1—20 pls. 2—5, ‘Die Keramik des vorgriechischen Apuliens iii. Daunia’ ib. 1904 xix. 188—243 figs. 1—11 suppl. pl. 1, 276—316 figs. 14—17 suppl. pls. 2 and 3, iv. Daunia (Fortsetzung) v. Tarent’ ib. 1908 xxiii. 167—262 figs. 1—9 pls. 8 and 8 suppl. pls. 1—16.

2 Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases i. 2. 266 f. nos. H 253 pl. 27, H 254 pl. 27, H 252 pl. 27. My figs. 415—418 are from photographs by the Museum photographer. H. B. Walters in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases i. 2. 264 assigns the ware to the period c. 700—500 B.C.
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it be, tends to become vestigial (fig. 416), and sometimes disappears altogether (fig. 417). That we are on the right track in explaining these handles by a reference to ‘Minoan’ cult appears farther from sundry vessels of similar fabric but different shape (fig. 418). Here we have a handle adorned with three cones grouped together in a manner suggestive of a lotus-bud. Before them stands a priestess with ear-rings, necklace, etc., who seems to be presenting the contents of this remarkable vase. Its body is painted with decorative bands, including a frieze of birds and a row of ritual horns quite in ‘Minoan’ style. Further, the ‘hour-glass’ ornament, so characteristic of these local Apulian vases, may well be viewed as a simple derivative of the double axe. It will be remembered that we have already come across literary evidence also of a ‘Minoan’ cult persisting into Hellenic times at Tarentum.

(e) The deity of the double axe.

Thus far we have seen that the double axe, whether hanging in mid air or hafted into a tree or affixed to a pillar or set up between horns, is at least intelligible if viewed as the sky-god’s weapon.

That this sky-god was conceived in human form is not only a priori probable, but a posteriori certain. We have observed him as an armed deity descending from above on the gold signets of Mykenai (fig. 18) and Knossos (fig. 19) and on the painted ldrnax of Milletos (fig. 20). It is true, he was not actually holding his two-bladed weapon. But Sir A. J. Evans, à propos of the double axe on the Mycenaeacan ring, very justly remarked: ‘It stands in a natural relation to the small figure of the warrior God to the left, and probably represents one of the cult forms under which he was worshipped.’ Moreover, thanks to the kindness of a friend, I am

1 M. Mayer in the Röm. Mitth. 1906 xxiii. 217: ‘Zweeklos wäre es auch, an gewisse kretische Symbole, das Hörnerpaar mit der Doppelaht, hier erinnern zu wollen.’ Masner Samml. aus. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien p. 4 no. 38 pl. 1 mistook the whole arrangement for an idol with raised arms (!), and H. B. Walters loc. cit. p. 267 speaks of a vertical projection ending in two discs, perhaps intended for a rude human head. It is, of course, quite conceivable that the double axe had become degraded (or exalted) into human features.


3 E.g. Röm. Mitth. 1897 xii. 206 f. no. 5 fig. 2, 207 f. no. 6 fig. 3, 211 no. 14 fig. 7.

4 Supra p. 29 ff.

5 Supra pp. 47 ff. fig. 18, 514 ff.

6 Supra p. 49 fig. 19.

7 Supra p. 49 f. fig. 20.

enabled here to publish (fig. 419)\(^1\) a lenticular gem of onyx-marble, probably from Melos, now in his possession. It shows a bearded god with wings on his shoulders\(^2\) and winglets on his heels, who is rushing through the air with a double axe in his hand. We can hardly be wrong in identifying him as the ‘Minoan’ sky-god in his stormy aspect.

It would seem, then, that, just as various nations of antiquity worshipped axe\(^3\) or spear\(^4\) or sword\(^5\) meaning thereby to extol the

\(^1\) Fig. 419 is drawn from an impression, to the scale of \(\frac{1}{2}\). Fig. 419 a is a sketch of the gem itself.

\(^2\) In accordance with a well-known convention of archaic art (e.g. Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin i. 38 no. 301, E. Gerhard in Arch. Zeit. 1864 xii. 186 ff. pl. 61 = Reinach Rép. Vas. i. 380, 4, F. Studniczka in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1751 f. fig. 7), which aptly illustrates E. Loewy’s law of memory-pictures, the wings, seen in their greatest extension, are simply superposed on the figure without organic connexion.

\(^3\) The Egyptian term for ‘god,’ ‘spirit,’ ‘supernatural power’ is neter—a word of very uncertain origin. The hieroglyph that is used both as the determinative of this word and also as an ideograph is \(\text{enumerate}\). Thus \(\text{enumerate}\) or \(\text{enumerate}\) denotes ‘god,’ and \(\text{enumerate}\) or \(\text{enumerate}\) or \(\text{enumerate}\) or \(\text{enumerate}\) or \(\text{enumerate}\) or \(\text{enumerate}\) represents an axe-head let into and fastened in a long wooden handle (E. A. Wallis Budge The Gods of the Egyptians London 1904 i. 63 ff. and A. Wiedemann in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1913 vi. 275. See also F. Legge in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology 1899 xxii. 310 f., A. Mosso The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilization London 1910 p. 145 fig. 83). A dissentent is F. Ll. Griffith A Collection of Hieroglyphs London 1898 p. 46 col. pls. 3, 26 (= my fig. 421), 8, 114 (= my fig. 420), who says: ‘A roll of yellow cloth (for bandaging?), the lower part bound or laced over, the upper end appearing as a flap at the top, probably for unwinding... In N. K. hatchets were made which in outline resemble this figure, perhaps intentionally. It is possible, indeed, that the present object represents a fetish, e.g. a bone carefully wound round with cloth, and not the cloth alone; but this idea is not as yet supported by any ascertained facts.’ The green colouring of the handle in the two figures here given suggests that the haft of the sacred axe was conceived as a living vegetable stem, cp. the sarcophagus of Hagia Triada (supra p. 520 f.). Griffith op. cit. p. 63 f. col. pl. 5, 60 (= my fig. 423) is a graphic compound consisting of an open stand or funnel (?), an axe,
and a desert slope, together forming the word-sign for hr-t ntr (kher-t nether), 'that which belongs to a god,' i.e. the necropolis or place of the dead.

P. E. Newberry likewise demurs to the view that the neter-sign is an axe. In a letter to me, dated Oct. 3, 1908, he says: 'In outline it certainly looks as though it was so, but whenever the sign is coloured the coloured detail shows that it must have been a post (?) wrapped with a band of linen the end of which formed a kind of flag.' But, if this able scholar denies us the single axe, he grants us the double axe; vide his important paper 'Two Cults of the Old Kingdom' in the Ann. Arch. Anthr. 1908 i. 27: 'In the Fifth Dynasty there twice occurs[1] [i.e. Mar. Mast., D. 38, now in the National Museum at Copenhagen, No. 8139; Borchardt's, Abstr., p. 120; M. A. Murray, Index, pl. xxxiv.] a title 𓊂𓊂 khet 'khet-priest of the Double Axe' [2] [i.e. The Double Axe as a symbol is found as early as the First Dynasty in Egypt (Petrie R.T.I., VII, 12, and Quibell, Hierakonpolis II, LXVIII.), which it is possible may be connected with HA, for in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty is recorded an Amasis who was 𓊂𓊂 Priest of HA of the Double Axe?] [3] [i.e. A.Z., XXXVIII, 116.] The context shows that HA is the name of a cult-object or divinity representing a mountain with two or more crests. And Newberry compares the Double Axe of 'Minoan' Crete with its 'Horns of consecration.'

Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie Tools and Weapons London 1917 pp. 5–18 pls. 1–18 deals with the various forms of axe and adze found in Egypt and elsewhere, but does not include any detailed discussion of their religious significance.

A cylinder of grey chalcedony, now in the British Museum (no. 89470, as Dr R. Eisler kindly informs me), shows an Assyrian priest presenting a sacrifice to a deity, who is symbolised by a knobbled sceptre and an axe set upright on a high-backed throne. Behind the throne crouches an ibex or oryx, above which are the emblems of Istar, Sin, and Sibitti (A. de Longpré in the Bulletin archéologique de l'Athénéeum français 1855 i. 101 f. = G. Schlumberger Œuvres de A. de Longpré Paris 1883 i. 470 with fig. (=my fig. 423), Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 184 f. fig. 2, W. H. Ward in M. Jastrow Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens Giessen 1912 p. 110 pl. 56, no. 226). The deity thus repre-
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seated by axe and sceptre is perhaps Adad, who on a cylinder of rock-crystal in the Museum at Florence (J. Ménant Les pierres gravées de la Haute-Asie Paris 1883—1886 ii. 69 fig. 52 (=my fig. 424). Transactions of the Third International Congress for the

Fig. 424.

History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 184 f. fig. 3) and on other cylinders (W. H. Ward The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia Washington, D.C. 1910 p. 251 figs. 764, 766, id. in Jastrow op. cit. p. 166 pl. 53, no. 200, supra i. 576 f. fig. 446, cp. i. 577 fig. 447) bears an axe in his hand. The adoration of an axe erected as
the symbol of a god lasted on into the Persian period, to judge from a seal-stone published by J. Ménant op. cit. ii pl. 9, 7 (=my fig. 425). Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 185 fig. 4, which possibly illustrates the axinomantia of the Magi (infra § 3 (c) i (ψ)).

Barbarised copies of the drachm of Rhode (Rosas) in Spain (shortly before c. 250 B.C.), struck in silver by the Volcae Tectosages of Gallia Narbonensis and the Sotiates of Aquitania, often exhibit an axe, the type of which is referable usually to the La Tène period, but sometimes to the Hallstatt period, and even to the Bronze Age (R. Forrer *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein.-Donaulande* Strassburg 1908 p. 47 f. figs. 90—93, p. 67 fig. 118, p. 69 f. figs. 126 f., 129—134, pl. 5, 118, 129—134, pl. 22, 127, id. *Reallex.* p. 73 pl. 23, 11—20). It is at least possible that these axes are symbols of an axe-bearing god like Esus (Lucan. i. 444 ff. with schol. *ad loc.* Lact. *div. inst.* i. 21), who in Gallia Lugudunensis was associated with Iovis and Volcanus, and in Gallia Belgica with Mercurius and Rosmerta (?) (*supra* i. 481 n. 9: see further S. Reinach *Teutates, Esus, Taranis* in the *Revue celtique* 1897 pp. 137—149 = *id.* Cultes, mythes et religions Paris 1905 i. 204—316, M. Ihm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 694 ff.).

Latin tomb-inscriptions from Gallia Lugudunensis are very frequently marked with the sign of an adze, either incised or carved in relief, and end with the formula: ‘So—and-so dedicated this monument under the adze’ The phrase *sub ascia dedicati* has for the last two centuries provoked the curiosity of the learned. Monographs have been devoted to it, and the literature is already large (a helpful summary in *Syr. E. Sandys Latin Epigraphy* Cambridge 1919 pp. 78—82). Most scholars, including A. Mau in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1522 f., take it to mean that the monument was dedicated before it was finished; being still, so to say, ‘under the adze’ of the stone-mason. But O. Hirschfeld, who has edited these inscriptions for the Berlin *Corpus*, records his emphatic opinion that the tombs in question were under the protection of some Gallic divinity symbolised by a sacred adze (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii p. 256). And É. Guimet *L’Asie des Égyptiens* Lyon 1871 has adduced certain facts which point clearly in the same direction. For example, at Avignon ten sepulchral urns of stone were found arranged in a circle with a bronze axe in the middle of them (*id.* op. cit. p. 1), while in some Italian *columbaria* the urns are covered with a tile of marble or terra cotta on which is the representation of an adze—they are literally *sub ascia* (*id.* ib. p. 2 pl. 1, 10).

A parallel to these Gallic tombstones ‘dedicated under the adze’ may be found in certain runic tombstones dedicated under, or at any rate marked with, the hammer of Thor. Two good examples from Hanning and Læborg in Denmark were published by H. Petersen *Über den Göttesdienst und den Götterglau ben des Nordens während der Heidenszeit* trans. M. Riess Gardelegen 1882 pp. 39—41 fig. 1 f., cp. P. D. Chantepie de la Sauussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 239. The parallel suggests that the adze on the Gallic tombs was, like Thor’s hammer, the tool of a thunder-god.

R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 765, after Küntenle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1018, explains *et. Gud.* p. 581, f. καὶ ἄρων (leg. ἄρων) ὀβουρ (leg. ὀβου) καλόθυρον (sc. Πρω) ἡ λεγομένη Σκέπαρθεα as an allusion to the shape of the constellation (‘das Orionternbild wegen seiner Form · · als σκέπαρθεα = Doppelaxt” aufgefasst wurden’).

2 Kaineus once planted a javelin in the midst of the market-place and bade men count it as a god (schol. *Il.* i. 264, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 101, 14 f.): the proverb γοῦν Ῥωμὸν ἄρωμα arose from the fact that he forced passers by to swear by his spear (schol. Ap. Rhod. t. 57). Parthenopaios the Arcadian used to swear by his spear and reverence it more than a god (Aisch. s. c. *Th.* 529 f.). The god whom the Chaeroneans honoured most was the sceptre that Hephaistos had made for Zeus. It had subsequently belonged to Hermes, Pelops, Atreus, Thyestes, Agamemnon. The Chaeroneans worshipped it, calling it Spear (Δρῆμα). It had no temple; but the man who acted as priest kept it in his house for a year. Sacrifices were offered to it daily, and a table was set beside it covered with all sorts of flesh and cakes (Paus. 9. 40. 11 f. *supra* i. 406. See further *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 371 f.).


3 The Scythian cult of Ares, according to Hdt. 4. 62, was as follows. Bundles of
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power that wielded them, so the 'Minoans' paid divine honours to the double axe qua sign and symbol of an anthropomorphic sky-god.

But an important question remains to be answered. What was the name of this dread deity? He was, we have said, the consort of the great 'Minoan' earth-goddess, whom the Greeks continued to reverence at Knossos as Rhea. Now in Greek myth the husband of Rhea is invariably called Kronos. It follows that Kronos was the name by which the Greeks knew the axe-bearing sky-god of the 'Minoans.' Tradition declared that Kronos and Rhea had reigned together in Crete. And some interesting details of the local cult are on record. Istros the historian, a learned follower of Kallimachos, in his Collection of Cretan Sacrifices noted that the Kouretes had in ancient times sacrificed children to Kronos. Xenion brushwood were heaped together till they formed a stack three stades long and wide. On this stack was constructed a level square. Three sides of it were sheer, the fourth sloping. Every year 150 carts brought brushwood to keep up the stack, which had a tendency to settle down in the winter. An ancient iron scimitar (δεαδανης) set on the stack was viewed as the image of Ares. To it was brought a yearly sacrifice of sheep and horses. Also one out of every hundred prisoners taken alive in war was sacrificed. The Scythians poured wine on the men's heads, slew them over a vessel, and drenched the scimitar with their blood. Others below cut off the right shoulders and arms of the victims, flung these into the air, and, leaving them to lie where they fell, offered the rest of their sacrifices and departed.

The Alani had no temple, but fixed a naked sword (gladius) in the ground with barbaric rites and worshipped it as Mars, the chief of the steppes through which they roamed (Amm. Marc. 31. 2. 23).

Attila, lord of the Hunni, was emboldened by the discovery of the sword (gladius) of Mars, which the kings of the Scythians always regarded as sacred. A herdsmen noticed one of his heifers limping, followed the blood-drops, and found the sword, upon which the heifer while feeding had accidentally trodden. He dug up the sword and brought it to Attila, who thereupon decided that he was ruler of the world and that the sword of Mars made him irresistible in war (Priscus Panites frag. 8. Bekker—Niebuhr (p. 234 ed. Bonn.) ap. Iordan. de Getauro sive Gothorum origine et rebus gestis 35. The original Greek account by Priscus (p. 201 ed. Bonn.) is somewhat less detailed). Cp. infra § 3. (e) i (d).

Silver coins of the Bituriges, imitated from the gold stater of Philip II (359—336 B.C.) of Macedonia, introduce a short sword of La Tène type over the horse on the reverse (R. Förbes Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donau-lande Strassburg 1908 p. 47 fig. 89). This perhaps implies the cult of the sword (cp. A. de Longpérier in the Bulletin archéologique de l'Académie française 1855 i. 102 =G. Schlumberger (Essays de A. de Longpérier Paris 1883 i. 171).

1 See an eminently reasonable article on 'Weapon-worship' by A. Lang in the Morning Post for Oct. 14, 1910.
2 Supra i. 649 n. 3.
3 See e.g. A. Rapp in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 88 ff. (who, however, does not believe that Rhea was ab origine a Cretan goddess).
4 Kedren. hist. comp. 29 B (i. 52 Bekker) κατά τούτου δὲ τούτω χρόνοις (sc. anno mundi 3443) ἐν ἀσ 'Ιεράκ ζευγαρίθη, ἐν Κόροι ἀργὴν Κρόνου καὶ Πετρα ''Ελλήνας ιστοροῦσιν.
5 Istros frag. 47 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 424 Müller) ap. Porph. de abst. 3. 56 'Ιστρος δὲ ἐν τῇ Συμβασίᾳ τῶν Κρητικῶν θυσίῶν φαίνεται τούτω Κοινής τὸ παιάν τῷ Κρόνῳ θεῖον παῖδας = Euseb. praep. ev. 4. 16. 7.
too in his work On Crete told how the cave on Mount Ide called Arkékon had come by its name. It had ‘helped’ (arkésai) the Kouretes, when they fled from Kronos and concealed themselves in its depths. Since the Kouretes in the rites of Zeus Idatos posed as Zagreus, the infant thunderer slain by the Titans, it is probable that originally one of the initiates was done to death and eaten by the rest as a re-birth of the ‘Minoan’ sky-god. The grim legend of Kronos swallowing his own children finds at last an explanation. And here it is permissible to conjecture that the word Krónos, whatever it meant to ‘Minoan’ ears, was understood by the Greeks as ‘Chopper’—a name appropriate, not only to the axe-bearer, but to the axe that he bore. The distinctive Homeric epithet of Kronos is ankylométes, which I would interpret as ‘he of the crooked blade.’

1 Xenion frag. 2 (Fragm. hist. Gr. iv. 528 Müller) ap. et. mag. p. 144, 33 ff. 'Arkeásan' ousa kaloumenon ἄτρων τῇ Κρονίτῃ Ιδός παρά τὸ ἄρτασα, τὸ βορυθρὰ, φασίν αὐτὸ ὑπὸ Κουρήτων ἀνάμαθα, ὅτι τὸν Κρόνον αὐτῶν φεύγουσι, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ καταθαύνει (F. Sylburg, Κατάθαυνες) καὶ κρυπτοκομοῦντες. ὡς Ζεύς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κρόνου.

2 Supra i. 648 ff.

3 Supra i. 398 l., 647.

4 Supra i. 654 ff.

5 For previous attempts to explain the myth see M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1538 ff. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 425 speaks of it as ‘den an ein Menschenopfer sich anlehrenden Mythos von der Verschlingung der eigenen Kinder.’

6 As ἄρκωσις is derived from the root dher (Pellweitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. 2 p. 187, Bölsaco Diction. d. Langue Gr. p. 349 f.), and χρώσις from the root gher or ĝher (Pellweitz op. cit. p. 515), so Krónos presupposes the κέρι of κείρω, ‘I cut.’ My expert friend Dr P. G. G. Giles, whom I consulted on the matter, kindly sends me (Oct. 22, 1911) the following responsum: ‘Your derivation seems to be quite possible. The root would be in the weak grade κέρι and the suffix -ωσις’ (see further Append. A.). The connexion of Krónos with κείρω had, in fact, long since been divined by that acute investigator H. D. Müller Mythologie der griechischen Stämme Göttingen 1861 ii. 137 f. (‘Auch sein Name ist wohl der physischen Seite seines Wesens entlehnt. Derselbe, von κείρω,...ist, ist ieselben, was entweder...geradezu auf den Erntegott sich beziehen lässt oder auf seine mythische That des Verzehrens, Verschlingens’), cp. id. in Philologus 1857 xii. 555 f. Support for it may be found in the words κόρωσι, ‘prick’ (Hesych. s.v. κόρως κέρτορος, μαρώθησιν (M. Schmidt accepts Stephanus) s.v. κερακυρησία, cp. Hesych. s.v. κορυφώσας). Ξεκέλος, κορυφώτερες, ‘pricking beasties’ (Hesych. s.v. κορυφώτερες κορωνές, cp. Strab. 613 Κορωνοσίων = Eustath. in II. p. 34, 26). Other derivations of Krónos are listed by Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1104 n. 2. Add now A. Carnoy ‘Le nom de Cronos’ in Le Musée Belge 1920 xix—xxiv. 14—30 (cp. Celtic Cērē, Italian Cerus—Ceres: the root is that of creus, crēco).

7 H. Ebeling Lexicon Homericum Lipsiae 1885 i. 14 s.v. ἄγκυλομίης. The same word was used as an appellative of Zeus (Schöll—Studemund aucted. i. 264 no. 13 ἄγκυλομίης (sc. Δίος), 266 no. 1 ἄγκυλομίης (sc. Δίος), 274 ἄγκυλομίης (sc. Ζεύς), 282 ἄγκυλομίης (sc. Ζεύς)), and of Prometheus (Hes. theog. 546 Προμηθεύς ἄγκυλομίης, o. d. 48 Προμηθεύς ἄγκυλομίης with Proklos and Moschopoulo ad loc.). In Orph. h. Kron. 1. 7 Kronos himself is addressed as Πέας πόσι, σεμέρε Προμηθεύ, on which see M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1546.

8 The analogy of ἄγκυλος (sugg. suggests that the epithet is objective, not subjective. For the second element in it see Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. 2 p. 482 s.v. ‘meto,’ I now: ‘ldg. *metei—steht neben *mē—oder *amē—in gr. ἄμων ‘mähe, ernte,’ ἄμωμα ‘samme’ ... ahd. mōan, ahd. mōan, ndh. mōen, ahd. mōd ‘Mähn,’ ahd. mōb ‘das Mähne, das gemähte Heu’ = gr. ἄμωμα ‘abgemähte Frucht, abgerenetztes Feld.’ This interpretation has been in part anticipated by E. Hoffmann Mythen aus der
in allusion to the god’s ħārpe or sickle-knife—a Thracian weapon found also among many peoples of Asia Minor (fig. 426). Saturn, as successor of Kronos, sometimes has a ħārpe (fig. 427) instead of his usual sickle or bill-hook.

An analogous figure, at once weapon-divinity and divine weapon, occurs among the Hittite rock-carvings of Boghaz-Keui. In the small gallery at Iasili Kaya may be seen a remarkable relief, some

eleven feet high, which represents (fig. 428) a vast dagger stuck vertically into the ground. Closer inspection shows that the handle is a human head wearing a conical cap with ribs and rings, and that below it, where we look for human shoulders and a human body, there is a curious combination of four lions, two with heads facing outwards, and two hung downwards each by a single hind-leg. Beneath the lions is the great tapering blade with its raised midrib. I would venture to regard this Mischwesen as no mere

Wanderzeit der graeco-italischen Stämme i Kronos und Zeus Leipzig 1876 pp. 63 f., 82, who supposes that Kronos, being armed with a sickle-shaped ēρφων or ēγκαλή, was originally entitled ‘Αγκυλο-μῆνη, ‘Sichel-Herrsch,’—a title later altered into the epithet ēκυκλο-μήνη. Hoffmann, I conceive, was on the right track as regards the first half of the compound, but spoilt his explanation by an improbable, and indeed unnecessary, guess as to the second half:


3 J. N. Svoronos ap. M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1557 fig. 8 (=my fig. 426) draws attention to a coin of Tarsos, struck by Valerianus i (253—260 A.D.) and now at Athens, which shows a bald-headed god moving to the left with a ħārpe in his hand.


5 G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet Exploration archéologique de la Galatéie et de la Bithynie etc. Paris 1872 i. 358 f., ii pls. 49 and 50, 3, Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l’Art iv. 642 figs. 318 (face incorrectly turned to right) and 320. J. Garstang The Land of the Hittites London 1910 pp. 228, 239 ff., 360 pl. 70 ( =my fig. 428), Frazer Golden Bough: Adonis Attis Osiris i. 131, 139 f., E. Meyer Reich und Kultur der Chettier Berlin 1914 p. 100 f. fig. 77.
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'heraldic figure', but as the youthful consort of the Hittite earth-

Fig. 428.

1 J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 228. Perrot—Chipiez *loc. cit.* say cautiously: 'un dieu.'
J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 239 f. would identify 'the dirk-deity'... 'with the Sandon of Tarsus, Hercules son of Zeus,' pointing out that Hercules too wore a lion-skin. *Frazer op. cit.* 3 i. 139: 'their god was a lion, or rather a lion-man, a being in whom the bestial and human
mother. And that for two reasons. On the one hand, he is evidently a lion-god, and so a fit partner for a lion-goddess like Rhea\(^1\). On the other hand, he is a cutting blade, and so comparable with Krônos, the ‘Chopper.’ J. Garstang\(^2\) and Sir J. G. Frazer\(^3\) both agree that this dagger-god with his beardless head and lionine body must be identified with the youthful god standing on a lioness(?) in the large recess of the same rock-sanctuary\(^4\). And it will be remembered that the god in question carries a double axe as well as a short sword. But the double axe, as we have observed, was the weapon of the sky-god. It is, therefore, reasonable to surmise that the divine Dagger plunged into the ground, like the divine Axe hafted into a leafy stem, betokens the all-important union of Sky with Earth.

Returning to Kronos, we note that the ‘Minoan’ representation of him as posting through the sky with four wings\(^5\) is not without Anatolian parallels. Silver coins of Mallos in Kilikia exhibit a four-winged and sometimes Janiform god hasting on his way with a disk in his hands; and we have already adopted the view that he is a solar Kronos\(^6\). Similarly bronze coins of Byblos in Phoinike, struck by the Syrian kings from Antiochos iv Epiphanes (175—164 B.C.) to Antiochos viii Grypos (125—96 B.C.)\(^7\) or issued as autonomous and imperial pieces in the first century B.C., show Kronos, the founder of the city\(^8\), as a nude deity equipped with three pairs of wings. He stands resting his right hand on a sceptre and wearing a head-dress of feathers (fig. 429).\(^9\) This representation of the god

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\(^1\) Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 28 ff. fig. 9 published a clay sealing from the central court of the palace at Knossos, which shows a warrior-goddess on a mountain-top flanked by two lions, with a male worshipper to the right and a sacred edifice to the left (‘the prototype of the later Kybelé and Rhea’). *Ib.* 1902—1903 ix. 59 ff. figs. 37 f. published two clay seal-impressions from the ‘Temple Repositories’ of the same palace. One represents a warrior-goddess accompanied by a lion; the other, a warrior-god accompanied by a lioness (?). *Ib.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xx. 163—168 figs. 43 and 44 f. further illustrates the ‘Minoan’ seal-types of a god or a goddess between two lions and concludes: ‘The male divinity is not so much the consort as the son or youthful favourite. The relationship is rather that of Rhea than of Hera to Zeus, of Adonis rather than of Arés to Aphrodite.’

\(^2\) J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 240.

\(^3\) Frazer *op. cit.* i. 139.

\(^4\) *Supra* i. 599 n. 6, 603, 605 fig. 476.

\(^5\) *Supra* p. 544 fig. 419.

\(^6\) *Supra* i. 297 f. figs. 221—225.

\(^7\) Head *Hist. m.m.* p. 791. G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. lxii states: ‘Byblus seems to have been a mint of the Seleucidæ only from the time of Antiochus iv (175—164) to that of Antiochus vii (138—132).’

\(^8\) Philon Bybl. frag. 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 568 Müller) *op. Euseb. praep. ev.* i. 10. 19.

\(^9\) E. Babelon *List Rois de Syrie, d’Armidie et de Commagène* Paris 1890 p. 85 no. 671 pl. 14, 18, Imhoof-Blumer *Dictionnaire de monn. gr.* pl. 7, 224 Antiochos iv (=my fig. 429),
agrees in the main with the description of him given by Sanchouniathon¹, whose words are thus rendered by Philon of Byblos²:

Moreover, he (see the god Taautos, i.e. Thoth) devised a mark of royalty for Kronos, four eyes in front and behind, <two of them wide awake> and two quietly closing, and four wings on his shoulders, two of them as it were spread for flight, and two as it were drooped. This symbolised the fact that Kronos saw while he slept and slept while he waked; and likewise with his wings, that he flew while he rested and rested while he flew. To each of the other gods he assigned two wings upon the shoulders, on the ground that they shared in the flight of Kronos. Again, he gave Kronos two feathers on the head, one for the sovereignty of mind and one for sense-perception.'

The same four-winged deity appears in quasi-Assyrian garb as the central medallion of a silver-gilt bowl of s. vii(?) B.C., found by L. P. di Cesnola at Kourion in Kypros and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York³. The god, armed with a short sword, is stabbing a lion—a type which recurs on a silver bowl from Idalion now in the Louvre⁴—and about him hover two Egyptising hawks.

The double axe of the 'Minoan' Kronos is combined with the hárpe of the post-Minoan' Kronos on certain coppers of Ake ('Akka, St Jean d'Acre) or Ptolemaïs in Phoinike discussed by G. F. Hill (figs. 431, 432)⁵. These show a god standing in an aedi-

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¹ Supra i. 191.
² Philon Bybl. frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 359 Müller) ap. Euseb. præp. ev. i. 10. 36 f.
⁴ Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art iii. 778 ff. fig. 548.
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cula or portable shrine with an Egyptian cornice: he holds a double axe in his right hand, a hárpe in his left, and is flanked by the fore-parts of two bulls.

When the Bronze Age passed into the Iron Age, the 'Minoan' Kronos was succeeded by the Hellenic Zeus—a succession facilitated by the similar character of the two gods. O. Gruppe points out that Kronos, like Zeus, was worshipped on mountains, many heights in Greece, Libya, Italy, Sicily, and the west being

(=my fig. 431) Elagabalus, p. 138 pl. 17, 10 (=my fig. 432) Gallienus, Head Hist. num. P. 794.

2 (1) To the north of the Altis at Olympia rises τὸ Κρώνων (όρος) (Pind. Ol. 1. 111, 6. 64, Nem. 6. 63, Xen. Hell. 7. 4. 14, Diod. 15. 77, Plaut. de flor. 19. 3, Paus. 5. 21. 2, 6. 19. 1, 6. 20. 1, cp. Anth. Pal. 12. 64. 2 (Alkaios Mess.) where Salmisius cjt. ἀκανθοῖς... ὑπὸ Κρώνας for ἀκανθοῖς... ὑπὸ κρονίας cod.), otherwise called δ Κρόνος λόφος (Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. 1. 34, et. mag. p. 426, 20 f.) or the like (Pind. Ol. 8. 17 τῷ Κρόνωνος λόφῳ. 10. 49 f. τάγον τὸ Κρώνων, 11. 25 παρ' ἐθνόνων... δύτῃ Κρόνων), on the top of which the Basilii offered sacrifices to Kronos at the spring equinox in the Elean month Elaphios (Paus. 6. 20. 1, cp. Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. 1. 34). (2) Ptol. 3. 16. 14 with schol. ad loc. mentions a Κρώνων in Lakonike. (3) Bekker apocr. ii. 273, 20 f. Κρώνων τέμενος' τὸ παρὰ τὸ νῖν ὀλυμπιακὸν μέχρι τοῦ Μυτρήνου του ἐν ἄγορα (leg. ἐν Ἄγορα οὐ ἐν Ἀγορα): see C. Wachsmuth Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum Leipzig 1874 p. 127, id. in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 888. (4) P. Chiotis Ἰστορικά Ἀπομνημοναία τῆς νῆσου Σακάθων Κεράας 1849 i. 15 (cited by M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1485) speaks of σκύμπελα Κρώνων in Zakynthos.
3 Lyd. de mens. 4. 71 p. 123, 7 ff. Wünsch ο̄ δι Κράτες (C. Wachsmuth De Cratete Malloia Lipsae 1860 p. 71 frag. sedis incertae 9) τῶν Κρώνων φοῖν Σικλείας καὶ Ιταλίας καὶ τῶν πλείων μέρον τῆς Διβίσης βασιλεύσαι ἀπλύσως, τὸν πόλιον υδά εὐθέθαι τῷ πάρᾳ καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν εἰς ἄχατον ἔλασαι τῆς δύσεως, ἡμερώτατα δὲ τῆς βασιλείας ἀντιλαβέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τούτου τυμβρῆθαι ὅσ θεον. 4. 154 p. 170, 6 ff. Wünsch καὶ βασιλεύσαι δὲ αὐτῶν (κυ. Κρώνων) ἡ ἱστορία παρα-δίδωσι, ὃς ἐμπορο-στῶν ἀργυρωπῶν, κ. αὐτάς τε τῆς Διβίσης καὶ τῶν Σικλείας καὶ τῶν ἐσπίρους τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄνθρωπος, ώτ Χάριξ φοῖν (frag. 17 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 640 Müller)), τ ἤ τὸ τότε μὲν λέγομεν χρώμα, νῦν δὲ ἱερὰς ἱερόν, ὁ Άγιος ἐν περὶ Παλῶν καὶ θεῶν (frag. 20 (Frag. hist. Griv. iv. 437 Müller)) καὶ Πολιεῖων (frag. 102 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 148 Müller)) καὶ Ἀθηνῶν εν τῇ Αθήνῃ (frag. 11 Nauck) παρα-διδόσομεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος α ἡ ἱστορία κατὰ τὸν Ενθέμον (G. Némethy Euhemeri religiæ Budapestiti 1884 frag. 10) πουλιὰ (etαι, κ. τ. λ. >, Diod. 3. 61 διαστειρεσθαι δὲ φαὶ τῶν Κρώνων κατὰ Σικλείαν καὶ Διμήν, ἐτι δε τῆς Ιταλίας, καὶ τὸν τόπον εν τῶν πόλει εἰς ἀνεργών τῶν συνάγοισθαν τῆς βασιλείας παρὰ τῶν θεῶν διὰ θρυσαίας διακατέχει τὰ ἄρτονς καὶ τῶν ἄρτονς τῶν τούτων τούτων· ἀρα' οὖ δὲ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν χρώματος οὐδὲ τῆς Σικλείας καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἐστάτην νεότερα μέρη τολμήσας τῶν ὑβρίστων τῶν τῶν ἄνθρωπον Κρύιαν προσαγορεύεσθαι, Cic. de nat. deor. 3. 44 de patre eorum Saturno id negari potest, quem vulgo maxime colunt ad occidentem?

Saturn was much in evidence throughout Roman Africa, where the Phoenician Ba'al-hammānān (supra i. 353 f.) was Latinised as Saturnus and on occasion Greecised as Kronos (J. Toutain De Saturni Dei in Africa Romana cultu Lutetiae Parisiorum 1894, id. Les cités Romaines de la Tunisie Paris 1896 pp. 213 ff., 222 f., id. Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain Paris 1907 i. 247 f., A. Schulten Das römische Afrika Leipzig 1899 p. 20 ff., G. Wissowa in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 441 ff., id. Rel. Kult. Röm. p. 208). To give but a single example, Saturnus Baltharanesis (also Baltharanes, Baltharanes, Baltharanenes), that is Ba'al Qarnaim, 'Lord of the Two Horns,' was worshipped near Carthage on a two-peaked mountain, which still bears the name Dybel Bou-Kourmein. Here on the highest summit the god had a tēmenos and an altar of masonry set against
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the rock, but no temple. J. Toutain 'Le sanctuaire de Saturnus Balcaranensis' in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 1893 xi. 1—124 figs. 1—3 pls. 1—4 (F. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2824 f. M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1500 f.) has published the finds made on this interesting site. They include some 60 terra-cotta lamps, a cylindrical jar containing bones of birds (probably doves), a few other vases, some small copper coins, and no less than 365 votive inscriptions (a selection in Dessau *Inscr. Lat.* s. e. nos. 4444—4445), many of them accompanied by reliefs (e.g. pl. 1, 2 = my fig. 433, pl. 1, 4 = my fig. 434, pl. 1, 6 = my fig. 435). The dedication takes various forms: *Saturno Augusto sacrum* or *Saturno Domino* or *Saturno Sancto*. And frequently the local epithet is added: *Saturno Augusto Balcaranensi*, *Saturno Balcaranensi Augusto*, *Saturno Domino Balcaranensi Augusto*; *sacerdos de magni Balcaranensis*. M. Mayer loc. cit. observes that the god is always represented as a mere bust in a pediment, flanked by his bill-hook and *patra*, with Sol and Luna in the spandrels, and ingeniously suggests that he is an anthropomorphised *batyletos*. The 'Two Horns' recall the Egyptian hieroglyph of a desert mountain (F. I. I. Griffith *A Collection of Hieroglyphs* London 1898 p. 31 col. pl. 3, 38), in which P. E. Newberry 'Two Cults of the Old Kingdom' in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1908 i. 24 ff. figs. 1—15 finds the prototype of the 'Minoan' ritual horns. He has argued his case well; but I adhere to my view that the 'Minoan' horns were originally bovine.

An island in the Ionian Gulf was known as *Kronia* and gave its name to the *Kronia* θάλασσα (Eustath. in Dionys. per. 32, cp. Ap. Rhod. 4. 337). Italy as a whole was sacred to *Kronos*—χωρός δὲ πολλοί τοι δαμνος ἐτῶνυμοι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ σκύπτα λαύ καὶ τὰ μετέφρα (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 34). For the identification of *Kronos* with *Saturn* and its results on Italian soil see G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 433 ff.

Sicily too had its *Kronos* (Diod. 15. 16, Polyain. 5. 10. 5). The most noteworthy link between this island and *Kronos* is, however, the tradition that, not merely the god's sickle (supra p. 448 n. 0), but the god himself lay buried here (Philochoros *frag.* 184 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 414 Müller) cp. Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 30. 3 p. 22, 14 ff. Stählin Φιλοχορος δὲ ἐν Τήλω Ποσειδώνα φορὶ τιμῶθαι λατρῶν. Κρόνος δὲ ἐκκείθατο Σικέλιον καὶ ἐντάθη αὐτῷ τεθάφθαι, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 25 noster ille est auctor, qui Patrocles Thurius (*Trag. Gr.*
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frg. p. 830 Nauck) scriptorum in titulis indicatur, qui tumulos memorat reliquiasque Saturnias tellure in Sicula contineri? (Arnobius has apparently misread the context in

Saturno Augbalaranesi
L. Sextilius communise gre
Gius viso admonitus libens
Animo votum solvit.

Fig. 434.

Clemens loc. cit.)) It is very possible that this belief in a Sicilian grave of Kronos, comparable with the Cretan grave of Zeus, was a genuine heritage from 'Minoan' times.
named after him, and that the memory of him as a rain-god¹.

Finally, near Carthago Nova in Spain was yet another Hill of Kronos (Polyb. 10. 10.¹)

¹ Allegorizing philosophers identified Kronos with dark air (anon. ἀλληγορία ὄμοιατων θεῶν in A. Westermann Scriptores poeticae historiae Graci Brunsvigae 1843 p. 328, 11 f. ζεῦς ὁ καθαρὸς ἄγρι καὶ τὸ ἄνω ἡμισφαίριον, Κρόνος ὁ ἰσοφώς ἄγρι καὶ τὸ κάτω ἡμισφαίριον, cp. Tzetz. Hom. 289 τοις εἰς Νόες κατέβασαν ποιὶ Κρόνων ἠρέσσατα): Egyptians, with water (Sallustius per τὸ θεῖον καὶ κάθου 4 οἱ Αιγύπτιοι...ποτα τὰ σώματα θεοὶ, σομλασικες καὶ καλεκάσται...καὶ 'Ισος μὲν τὴν γῆν, Οὐράρι δὲ τὸ ἄγαρον, Τυφώνα δὲ τὴν θερματη, ἢ Κρόνου μὲν ὅλωρ, Ἀδάμδε καὶ καρποῖς, Διόνυσον δὲ οἰνον with J. Conrad Orelli ad loc. Cp. interp. Serv. in Verg. georg. 1. 12, quod Saturnus humoris totius et frigoris deus sit; 'dwellers in the west,' with winter (Theopompos frag. 293 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 326 Müller) ap. Plout. de Is. et Os. 69 τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ὀστήραν ὀκωντες ἰσοτερι θεςτομον ὑγείαι καὶ καλέν τὸν μὲν χειμώνα Κρόνων, τὸ δὲ θέρα 'Αφιδίτης, τὸ δὲ ὄρος Περιφοράν' ἐκ ἐκ Κρόνου καὶ 'Αφιδίτης γεγναθαί πάντα, cp. Prokl. in Plat. repp. ii. 61, 2 Kroll δι καὶ φασι τῶν ὄρων τὴν μὲν χειμώνα εἶναι Κρωνίων, κ.τ.λ.): neo-Platonists associated him with the pole (Prokl. in Plat. repp. ii. 213, 4. Kroll τοῦ μὲν Κρώνου τῶν τόλων εἶναι φασί σύμβολον κ.τ.λ., cp. Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 6. 115. 5 an oracle ap. Porph. χάρις τῆς ἐκ λόγων φιλοσοφίας ap. Euseb. praep. ev. 6. 1. 4 ἐφιάλτο τοῦ Κρωνίου, Nonn. Dion. 41. 350 ἐφιάλτο (A. Ludwig cp. ὑφαντομά χρώνου). And nascent etymology connected his name with the words ὁδὸς καὶ κροκός (Plat. Crat. 402 b regards both 'Ρεα and Κρόνος as ἱματάσων ὀνόματα, Philodem. χάρις τῆς ἐφιάλεις 12 = H. Diels Doxographi Graci Berolini 1879 p. 546 b 21 ff. Kai Κρόνου [κλά] τοῦ ἱματομον ἄρρητον, 'Ρεας δὲ τὴν γῆν, Δια δὲ τοῦ ἀβάρα (ἐπερετ. i. 29 n. 4), cp. al. mag. p. 540, 9 ff. Κρωνικῶς δὲ φησιν ὅτι καθάρσιον ὄστεν τῶν διών καὶ ἱμάτων καταφρέμουσα τέλος τὴν ἔκρηκι τοῖσιν Κρωνίου ὀνόματα, Porphyrios in schol. B.D. II. 15. 21 καὶ Ηεδίος Ὀφρακίος μὲν λέγει τὴν ἐκτρόωσιν, Κρώνος δὲ τῶν ἀκιδῶν κρονικῶν ἐκφερεμένων ἁημέρον, 'Ρεας δὲ τὴν ἐκτρεχομένην ὀδαί γῆν, κ.τ.λ.).

More weight attaches to the Pythagorean description of the sea as 'Kronos' tear' (Plout. de Is. et Os. 32 τὸ ὅπλο τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν λεγόμενον ὅτι ἡ καλλίττα Κρώνου διάκερα ἔστων, Clem. Al. Strom. 5. 8 p. 360, 20 f. Stählin to `καὶ οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ ἁλάσσοντο..."
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if not also as a lightning-god (fig. 436), lingered on into classical times.

Fig. 436.


Again, there seems to have been a popular belief that rain was the sweat of Kronos; for a charm preserved in a magical papyrus of i. 4 A.D. makes the magician identify himself with Kronos (?): 'I am he whose sweat is rain falling upon the earth to impregnate it.' (F. G. Kenyon Greek Papyri in the British Museum London 1893 i. 64 ff. no. 46, 150 ff. ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ ἀστράτωπος | καὶ βροντῆς ἐγὼ εἰμὶ, ὁ ἐστὸς | ὁ ἱδώς δύμβροι ἐπιστείτοις | ἐπὶ τῖνς γῆν, ὦν δέχεσθαι | κ.τ.λ., A. Dieterich Abyraviae Leipzig 1891 p. 25, M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1474). Hence Nonnos speaks of 'Kronos dropping rain' (Nomm. Dion. 6. 178 ἄρε Κρόνος δύμβροι ἄλλον, supra i. 398).

The planet Kronos likewise brought rain, hail, wind, and thunderstorms (Epigenes of Byzantium ap. Sen. nat. quaest. 7. 4: 2 huic videtur plurimum virium habere ad omnes sublimium motus stella Saturni: 'haec cum proxima signa Marti premitt aut [in] lunae viciniam transit aut in solis incidunt radios, natura ventosa et frigida contrahebit pluribus locis aeris conglobatique. deinde si radios solis adsumpsit, tonat fulguratae: si Martem quoque consentientem habet, fulminat,' Serv. in Verg. georg. 1. 336 Saturnus deus pluviorum est... hic autem in Capricornio facit gravissimas pluvias, et praecipe in Italia... ut in Scorpio grandines: item in alio fulmina: in alio ventos = Myth. Vat. 3. 1. 3 stella Saturno deputata ortu suo tristitiam semper denunciavit. illa enim in Capricornio posita pluvias gravissimas, sed praecipe in Italia, commovet... in Scorpio vero grandines, item in alio signo fulmina, in alio ventos, in alia loci necta apportat).

The Paris magical papyrus contains a μαρτεία Kρόνων, in which Kronos is invoked as a god of thunder and lightning (C. Wessely Griechische Zauberpapyri von Paris und London Wien 1888 p. 98 pap. Par. 3102 βροντοκραυμόφωτωρ, on which A. Dieterich Abyraviae Leipzig 1891 i. 9 n. 9 remarks: 'Man beachte den Rest metrischer Form, die dieses Mühlenlied gewiss gehabt hat'). Cp. also a charm in the Anastasy papyrus (C. Wessely ap. cit. p. 166 pap. Lond. 151. 155 = F. G. Kenyon Greek Papyri in the British Museum London 1893 i. 64 ff. no. 46, 150 ff. ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ ἀστράτωπος | καὶ βροντῆς, supra p. 558 n. 0). For the planet Kronos in relation to thunderstorms see the preceding n. sub sin.

A unique silver litra of Himera, struck c. 413—408 B.C., has for obverse type a bearded head of Kronos, bound with a fillet, and for reverse a thunderbolt between two corn-grains (Imhoof-Blumer Monn. gr. p. 21 pl. B. 4 (= my fig. 436), M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1535 fig. 5, G. F. Hill Coins of Ancient Sicily Westminster 1903 p. 128, Head Hist. num. 2 p. 145). It is probably, though not quite certain, that we should connect the front of this coin with the back and recognise in the combined design a deity with his attributes.
(ξ) The double axe and Zeus Kataibátes.

We are, therefore, prepared to find that towns and districts formerly occupied by ‘Minoans’ might centuries later connect Zeus with the double axe that had belonged to his predecessor. This seems to have been the case, for example, in south Italy. Tradition derived the Iapyges from the Cretan followers of king Minos; and in Iapygia ‘bolts from heaven forged of bronze were long to be seen.’ The deity who hurled these bolts—‘fire and bronze from the sky’—had a pillar-cult, and was called by the Tarentines Zeus Kataibátes4. A strong presumption is thus raised that the old ‘Minoan’ sky-god here passed on the double axe of bronze to his Hellenic successor Zeus2.

(η) The double axe and Zeus Labráyndos, etc.

The same thing happened repeatedly in Asia Minor. Evidence is forthcoming from Lydia, Karia, Kypros, and Kappadokia. Plutarch propounds, as one of his Hellenic Questions3, the following problem: ‘Why does the image of Zeus Labradoulos in Karia bear an uplifted double axe, and not a sceptre or a thunderbolt?’ His solution is this:

‘Because Herakles slew Hippolyte, took her double axe along with the rest of her weapons, and gave it as a gift to Omphale. The kings, who, after Omphale, reigned over Lydia3, used to carry it, receiving it in succession as a sacred heirloom, till Kandaules, disdainfully to do so, gave it to one of his friends to carry4. But when Gyges revolted from him and made war against him, Arselis5 came from Mylasa6 with a force to help Gyges, and slew Kandaules and his friend. The double axe he took into Karia together with the rest of the spoils. He made

1 Supra pp. 29—31.
2 Not improbably bronze axes, regarded as thunderbolts (C. Blinkenberg The Thunder-weapon in Religion and Folklore Cambridge 1911 p. 121), were from time to time dug up in the locality. E.g. T. E. Peet The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily Oxford 1909 p. 473 records the finding of a bronze winged axe in the terramara at Taranto.
3 Plut. quaest. Gr. 45 διὰ τί τοῦ Ἀβραάμ διὰ ὑμᾶς ὑπῆρχεν ἡμῖν, οὐκί δὲ σκῆπτρον ἢ κεραυνόν, περιστὰται.
4 See now Frazer Golden Bough3: Adonis Attis Osiris9 i. 182 ff. (‘The Divinity of Lydian Kings’).
6 M. Duncker Geschichte des Alterthums9 Leipzig 1878 i. 488 conjectured that Αροης was not a historical personage, but the name or epithet of the Zeus of Mylasa—‘a Vermuthung, die dadurch Gewissheit wird, dass Chars-El in den semitischen Sprachen: Bell des El, Bell Gottes bedeutet’ [Hassen Z. D. M. G. 10, 381].’ This ingenious explanation, first put forward by C. Lassen in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft x. 381, is rightly rejected by R. Schubert Geschichte der Könige von Lydien Breslau 1884 p. 32 f. and G. Radet op. cit. p. 136 n. 2.
7 A. Meineke corrects σὺ τὸ Μῆλον codd. into σὺ Μῆλασθόν.
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an image of Zeus, put the double axe in his hand, and named the god Labrádeús—for the Lydians call the double axe lábrys.1

Thus, according to Plutarch, the double axe belonged successively to the Amazons, the Lydians, and the Carians.

It is, in fact, constantly associated with the Amazons, and that in two forms—the double axe with a pair of blades (lábrys, pélekys, amphipélékkon (?), bipennis) and the battle-axe with one broad blade and one pointed end (ságars, secūris). These types appear in art from the fifth century B.C. onwards, and thence make their way into literature as part of the regular Amazonian equipment.8 Now the Amazons stand in intimate relation to the Hittites,4 and both types of axe occur on Hittite monuments. The double axe in particular is borne by the youthful god who stands on a lioness (?) at Boghaz-Keui4, and by his successor Herakles (Sandas) at Tarso5. I should therefore infer from the story of Herakles taking the lábrys of Hippolyte to Lydia that the axe in question belonged to the younger Hittite god, who turns up in Lydia as Sandon Herakles8.

1 I. Thomopoulos Πλαστική Athens 1912 p. 400 f. argues from the forms lábros-δέως, lábros-δέως that the Carico-Lydian word for 'axe' or 'sword' was lábros, not lábros, and even suggests that the second element of the compound δέως is probably for δεύς (cp. Hesych. Δεύς: Ζεύς, etc.): 'Οδον lábros-δεύς σημαίνει 'των λαβροφόρων Δία.' A highly precarious speculation.


3 Hippolyte, daughter of Ares (Schol. II. 3. 120. Hyg. fab. 30), has a double axe on a copper of Perinthis struck by Elagabalos (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the Num. Zeitscr. 1884 xvi. 234 f. pl. 4, 4), a battle-axe on an Etruscan mirror (Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iv. 85 f. pl. 341, 2. A. Klägmann in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 6680). See also Waddington—Babelon—Reinauch. Mem. gr. d'As. Min. i. 371 pl. 60, 19 a copper of Herakleia Pontike struck by Macrinus, Th. i. 377 pl. 61, 21 another copper of the same town struck by Gordianus iii Pius.


5 W. Leonhard op. cit. p. 113 n. 2 with title-vignette.

6 Supra l. 599 n. 6, 603, 605 fig. 476, ii. 557 n. 4.

7 Supra l. 599 figs. 462—464, ep. l. 631 f.

8 Lyd. de magistr. 3. 64 p. 155, 18 ff. Wünsch (die prostos of Lydian σώρακες) τοιούτω τῶν Πραλεύχων περιβαλλόντα ζωφάλα ποτὲ αἰχμώρα ἐρῶτα παρεχόμενε. ταυτῷ καὶ Σαμνῆ καὶ ἅρμας ἀνεπέρα, ὥσπερ Ἀπελλίς ἄ Ρωμαίοις φιλόσοφοι εἰς τὸ ἑπταμερεῖα ἐρωτικό, καὶ Γαλάκτοις ἀπὸ πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν ἑπτά μεταμορφομένοι ποιών ἀνθρωπόν, ὡς ἐναντὶ σωμάτων ἐτοί καὶ τῶν πρὸς διαστομὴν λέγοντα, κ.τ.λ. Hdt. i. 71 mentions a prominent Lydian named Σαρδάνης. See further O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 321, 326 f.
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Plutarch's statement that this lábrys was a sacred heirloom of the Lydian kings, introduced into Karia in the time of Gyges (716—678 B.C.) and there placed in the hand of Zeus, is to some extent confirmed by the coin-types of Lydia and Karia. At Thyateira in Lydia the double axe appears by itself on bronze coins of Seleucid and imperial date (fig. 437)¹. But on other bronze pieces of the same town, referred to the time of Trajan or Hadrian, it is shouldered by a young man on horseback inscribed *Týrīmnos* (fig. 438)². This youthful rider represents the Thyatirene hero³, whose precinct⁴ and temple⁵ stood before the city⁶. He was

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¹ Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia pp. 292 f. pl. 29, 3 f., 301 f., Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 468 nos. 1, 2, 469 no. 13, F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmitmünzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 p. 148 pl. 6, 6, p. 149 nos. 7, 7a, p. 151 no. 2. I figure a specimen, struck under Nero, from my collection.


⁷ M. Clerc *Inscriptions de Thyatire et des environs* in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 420 f. no. 29, 2 f. (Μέδερ) εἰς τὸν ἑρῴον τοὺς προπόλεμους ἄγωνοθησάτων Τυριμνοῦ (the stone has ΤΥΡΦΝΟΥ,

⁸ Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 3497, 22 f. (Thyateira) τοὺς ἑρῴον τοὺς προπόλεμους τοὺς Τυριμνοῦ.


C. II.
joint appellation ‘Apolloν Tyrimνos’, and consequently also with Helios, his full title then being ‘the forefather god Helios Πυθίων Apolloν Tyrimnαλος’ or ‘the forefather god Helios Πυθίων Tyrimnαλος Apolloν’. Apollon Tyrimnos is seen on bronze coins of Thyateira grasping the double axe. Sometimes he stands erect, a naked figure, long-haired and laureate, holding the axe in one hand and a bay-branch in the other (figs. 439, 440). Sometimes, wearing a chlamyds, he takes his stand with axe and branch in his temple (fig. 441), or with axe and agonistic urn as lord of the Pythian games (fig. 442). Occasionally, though not often before the third century A.D., he wears the radiate crown of Helios and even appears in the solar chariot (fig. 443). It is clear, then, that at Thyateira the ancestral hero Tyrimnos, who bore the sacred axe of the youthful Hittite sky-god, came to be identified with Apollon and ultimately with Helios. And here we note that a heroic figure on horseback likewise bearing the labrys occurs on the bronze

1 G. Radet loc. cit. p. 453 no. 14, 2 ff. (Kênêt) 'ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΤΥΡΙΜΝΟΣ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι, p. 463 no. 29, 5 ff. (Thyatéra) ἄγνωστος(ἡ)σαντα τοῦ προ ἐπίλειος 'ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΤΥΡΙΜΝΟΥ λατρευτος καὶ ἐνδόξου.[7]


3 P. Foucart in the Bull. corr. Hell. 1887 xi. 101 ff. no. 24, 2 ff. (Méler) ἰερεύς καὶ φωτεινός τῆς λαμπρῆς καὶ διασημητάς καὶ λειψέτομα τοῦ τοποτάτος θεοῦ Ηλίου Πυθίου 'ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΤΥΡΙΜΝΑΝ. ψάλμωι βουλή κ. τ. λ.

4 F. Imhoof-Blumer Lydische Stadtmißten Genf—Leipzig 1897 p. 151 f. pl. 6, 10 (= my fig. 439) Hadrian. Id. Kleinas. Münzen i. 186 pl. 6, 15 (= my fig. 440) Trajan, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia p. 294 pl. 29, 5 time of Trajan or Hadrian, p. 303 pl. 31, 1 Trajan, add a chlamys to the otherwise nude figure.

5 F. Imhoof-Blumer Lydische Stadtmißten Genf—Leipzig 1897 pp. 151, 158 pl. 6, 15 (= my fig. 441) Geta.


7 Infra p. 554 n. 4.

8 F. Imhoof-Blumer op. cit. pp. 151, 159 pl. 6, 17 (= my fig. 443) Severus Alexander.
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coinage of other Lydian towns—Apollonia (Tripolis)?, Blaundos (fig. 444)\(^1\), Mastaura\(^2\), Mostene\(^4\), Tomaris\(^6\). At Mostene he is once

at least flanked by sun and moon (fig. 445)\(^6\), and is repeatedly seen riding towards a cypress-tree, before which stands a flaming altar (fig. 446)\(^7\), sometimes escorted on his way by Hermes psychopompós(?)

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\(^1\) Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 143 f. no. 425 pl. 10, 1 ('Amazon') = *id. Lydische Stadtmmünzen* p. 38 pl. 2, 17 ('Jugendlicher Heros'). B. V. Head in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* p. 363 pl. 38, 4 f. says: 'Amazon (?),' and adds in a footnote: 'The Rider on these specimens is distinctly feminine in appearance,' etc. But see F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmmünzen* p. 103.


\(^4\) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 161 pl. 17, 8 (ib. p. 161 no. 2 'Rider apparently female') of s, ii or i b.c., p. 162 no. 7 f. Claudius and Agrippina, F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 160 no. 1 time of Augustus, or earlier, p. 161 no. 4 Claudius and Agrippina, no. 5 Vespasian.

\(^5\) F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 165 pl. 7, 6.

\(^6\) F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 165 pl. 7, 6.

\(^7\) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 162 pl. 17, 10 time of Commodus (?), p. 162 no. 9 Hadrian, p. 163 pl. 17, 12 (= my fig. 446) Lucius Verus, p. 163 pl. 17, 13 Lucilla, p. 163 no. 13 Commodus, p. 164 nos. 16 and 17 pl. 17, 14 Gallienus.
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(fig. 447). Again, at Mostene⁴ and at Tabala (fig. 448)⁵, as at Thyateira⁴, he wears a rayed crown. But he is never accompanied by a name, so that we cannot say whether he represents Tyrimnos or, as is more probable, the hero of the immediate neighbourhood. In any case he is a hero on his way to becoming a god. Indeed, he is apparently identified with Apollo at Hypaipa, where he adopts the guise of Apollon Tyrimnos (fig. 449).⁶ We have, however, reason to think that the Lydians sometimes brought their lábrys into connexion with a goddess. At Mostene, where the hero

stood in some relation to a sacred cypress⁶, imperial coppers show a goddess (Demeter?), with káthos and long chitón, holding two corn-cars in her right hand and a double axe in her left (fig. 450); or else they show the axe alone between a bunch of grapes and two ears of corn (fig. 451).⁶ And at Nysa a copper of Maximinus represents a goddess (Kore?), with chitón and himation, who has a snake (?) in her right hand and leans her left arm on a double axe (fig. 452).⁹ These types suggest that the Hittite god, who at Ivriz


⁵ Imhoof-Blumer Kleinz. Münzen i. 173 no. 1 pl. 6, 5 (=my fig. 449) Sabina.

⁶ Supra p. 563 n. 7 and p. 564 n. 1.


⁸ Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia p. 162 pl. 17, 11 (=my fig. 451) Sabina, F. Imhoof-Blumer op. cit. p. 102 no. 7 Sabina, p. 104. Infra § 3 (c) i (a) init.

⁹ F. Imhoof-Blumer op. cit. p. 110 pl. 4, 21 (=my fig. 452) Maximinus, K. Regling
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holds grape-bunches and corn-ears¹, had on Lydian soil come to be regarded as Dionysos² and had passed on his axe to Demeter and Kore.

What happened in Lydia, happened with some variation in Phrygia also. The lábrys alone occurs on coppers of Eriza³ and Eumeneia⁴. On others of Abbattis it is surrounded by a bay-wreath (fig. 453)⁵. At Hierapolis some specimens show its handle bound with a fillet (fig. 454)⁶, or twined about with a snake⁷—a design known earlier at Eumeneia (fig. 455)⁸. Other very remarkable coins of Hierapolis represent the double axe erect on a two-stepped base with its handle encircled by the snake and surmounted by a radiate head (figs. 456—458)⁹. The axe-bearing rider is of frequent occur-


¹ Supra i. 594 f. fig. 453.

² A good collection of data for the worship of Dionysos in Lydia will be found in W. Quandt De Baccho ob Alexandri actate in Asia Minore culto Hallis Saxorum 1913 pp. 175—188, 191 f. That the Lydian Dionysos had some Hittite (?) prototype may perhaps be inferred from Steph. Byz. s.v. Mástauro: πᾶσι Δυνάμι, ἀπὸ Μᾶ. Μὰ δὲ τῇ Ρέι εἰσπέρα, τά ποικίλα Ζευν Δυσάνων τρέφοντα. καὶ Μᾶ παρὰ τῇ Πρα οἰκονομοποιήσα, τόνος εἰς τὸ βέρος, Ἄρηος, ἐφόρης καὶ παρὰ Καρπάσιν ὁ Δυσάνως Μάσαρι έπεθα ἐκλεήσα. ἐκαλεῖθα δὲ καὶ Παθά Μᾶ καὶ τάγος αὐτή ἐθέτα παρὰ λαθοῦς, ἀπὸδρίες ἡ πῶλις (the etymologies of Máσ-tauro and Máνα are, of course, wholly unreliable).


⁶ Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 2 no. 9 pl. 2, 3 and no. 10 of s. ii b.c. (?) Head Hist. num.² p. 663. I figure a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum (W. M. Leake Numismata Helēnica London 1856 Asiatic Greece p. 1 'wreath of oak').

⁷ Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 243 no. 93 pl. 31, 1 (=my fig. 454) and no. 94 struck by Fabius Maximus in s. b.c.


⁹ Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 212 nos. 17, 13 pl. 27, 3 (=my fig. 455), 14—19, Head Hist. num.² p. 673 after 133 b.c.: obv. head of Dionysos with hand across forehead and ivy-wreath; rev. tripod containing lēbes with three handles, surmounted by flat cover fringed with spikes (?); above, and on either side, three stars; attached to tripod, on left side, double axe with snake twined round handle, and on right side a bay-branch filleted. The double axe with snake round handle recurs as the counterpart on coins of Eumeneia struck under Nero (ib. p. 217 no. 42 f) and Domitian (ib. p. 218 no. 50 f), Imhoof-Blumer Kleinas. Münzen i. 230 no. 7 pl. 7, 23 with n. 2 Nero, Agrippina).

¹⁰ L. Ross and E. Gerhard in the Arch. Zeit. 1844 ii. 344 no. 50 bis from the Prokesch-Osten collection, ib. 1845 iii pl. 32, 51 (=my fig. 456), T. Panofka Asklepios und die
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ence—at Ankyra¹, where an altar burns before him, at Dionysopolis, where he appears not only on coins² but in a small uninscribed relief³, at Eumeneia (fig. 459)⁴, Hierapolis⁵, Stektorion⁶, Synaos⁷, Temenothyrail⁸, Traianopolis⁹. The name or names attached to this hero we do not know for certain. But it is probable that at Hierapolis he was called *Lairbenós*, and at Dionysopolis *Lairmenós* or the like. Both towns seem to have identified him with Apollo. Hierapolis in the second and third centuries A.D. issued coppers bearing as obverse type a radiate bust, sometimes without legend¹⁰, more often inscribed *Lairbenós* (fig. 460)¹¹ or

² Imhoof-Blumer Kleinas. München i. 219 no. 4 head of Demos, early in s. iii A.D., Head Hist. num.² p. 671.
¹¹ Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 236 ff. pl. 30, 6, Imhoof-Blumer Kleinas. München i. 236 f. nos. 8 pl. 7, 31 (= my fig. 460) and 9 f., Head Hist. num.² p. 676.
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Archegetes (figs. 461, 462), that is, Apollon Archegetes. And as to Dionysopolis, its inhabitants, together with those of Atyochorion, Hierapolis, and Motella, used to repair for worship to the ancient religious centre of the district, the hieron of Mother Leto and Apollon Lairmenos. Here, at Badinlar some two miles north of

Fig. 460.

Orta-Keui, Sir W. M. Ramsay and Dr D. G. Hogarth in 1887 discovered the ruins of a small temple on a hill 700 feet above the Maiandros. Numerous dedications record the god’s name in a great variety of forms—Lairmenos or Apollon Lairmenos, Apollon

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 231 pl. 29 b (= my fig. 461), cp. pp. 233 pl. 29, 10 (= my fig. 463) with lyre at breast, 234 no. 46, Rasche Lex. Num. i. 1042, Head Hist. num. p. 676.


4 Journ. Hell. Stud. 1889 x. 217 no. 1, 7 τῶ Λαιρμηνών Αρχηγήτης The Cities and Bishops of Phrygia i. 149 no. 41.

The double axe and Zeus Labráydos

Larmenos¹, Apollon Larbenos², Apollon Leimenos³, Apollon Lyrmenos⁴, Helios Apollon Lermenos³, Helios Apollon Lyermenos⁵. The marble stèle that mentions Apollon Lyrmenos is topped by a relief representing a double axe. We may, therefore, with a clear conscience regard some at least of the Phrygian riders as effigies of Lairbenos or Larmenos, who was identified both with Apollon and with Helios. But here we must walk warily; for a votive stèle from Koula shows another axe-bearer on horseback named Apollon Bosenos (fig. 463)⁶, while a second stèle from the same site has a

κατὰ ἐπὶ θαυμάζεσθεν ἔτη μετά τοῦ ἑτεροσχολίου θεοῦ ἢ τοῦ Αἴτωλος Λαμψῆς Πριτέρνος Πεδικιαὶ Κυρίων Πανταρείας Πανεπιστήμου. 7

Fig. 463.

Lairbenos or Larmenos, who was identified both with Apollon and with Helios. But here we must walk warily; for a votive stèle from Koula shows another axe-bearer on horseback named Apollon Bosenos (fig. 463)⁶, while a second stèle from the same site has a

κατὰ ἐπὶ θαυμάζεσθεν ἔτη μετά τοῦ ἑτεροσχολίου θεοῦ ἢ τοῦ Αἴτωλος Λαμψῆς Πριτέρνος Πεδικιαὶ Κυρίων Πανεπιστήμου. 7

Fig. 464.
double axe and Zeus Labrýyndos 569

double axe in relief as the symbol of Apollo Tarseús (fig. 464). These two appellatives, both of the local order, deserve a moment's notice. Bozénos implies a place *Botzs or *Bóza. And Sir W. M. Ramsay maintains that *Botzs is the equivalent (with European vocalization) of Bazís, the name applied to the estate of Zeus Asbamaós near Tyana in Kappadokia. He further contends that Bazís is for *Baghts, to be connected, not only with Zend bagha, 'god,' Old Persian baga, 'god,' and Sanskrit bhaga, 'lord,' but also—as A. Fick declared—with the Phrygian Zeus Bagats. Thus the phrase ἐπενθύμησεν η κολαθαίτη αὐτῷ ἢ θῆκα εὐλογίαν στιὰ ἐν θεσμικήν ὑπὸ τοῦ βοήθου Ἀδωνίας Ταρατή.

2 Sir W. M. Ramsay The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia i. 153: 'comparing Attala—Ottalos, Atreus—Otreus, Tattes—Tottes, Annes—Onnes, Kadouas—Kadouas, Vavas, Mabysas—Morsyns (p. 145) we find that Bozis is the exact equivalent to Bazís, the name of the god's estate at Tyana, used also as a personal name [Bázeis or Bázês as a feminine personal name at Komana in Kappadokia (Sir W. M. Ramsay in the Journal of Philology 1882 xi. 148 no. 6, 1 f. 'Ἀθεῦνας Σκίτου ὡς και Βάζεις].'

3 For. 5. 6. 17.

4 Philost. v. Apollin. i. 6 p. 5 Kaufer ἐστι θεόν ὅτι τέ τι πέμπτα ὥρα ὥρα ὥρα, ως ταῖς, καυλοῖς ὅτι αὐτὸν Ἀσβαμαίον, τοῦτο ἡ ἀναδίδεται ψυχά, παραδίδεται ὅτι ὁ θεομονήσος λέγεται. τούτου ὁδόρως μέν πλενεἴν τι καὶ ἢ ὁδόρως ἡ εὐχή ἀνακύκτεται τάρ καὶ ἡ ὀψαλλοίσιν καὶ ἡ χείρας καὶ ἡ πόδας, καὶ ὁδόρως ἀνακύκτεται καὶ ἡ φωνή, καὶ ὁ θεὸν ἀναλάβει νυκτὸς, αὐτὸν ἐξεντάει καὶ ἐνθοφόρεται πρὸς τὸν βάτῳ ὕμοιον ἐν ἐπικύκτεται ὁ πόνος ἀνακύκτεται οὐ μὴν δὴ ἐνθοφόρεται φανα παῖδα τοῦ Δίου τοῦ Απόλλωνος γεγονότα, ὁ θεός ἀνακύκτεται τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ νῦν καὶ θείη Ἀριστόκρ. 5. 6. 17 and, much abbreviated, in Souid. s.v. Ἀσβαμαίον, cp. Amm. Marc. 23. 6. 19 apud Ashbamic quoque Iovis templum in Cappadocia, ubi amplissimum ille philosophus Apollonius traditur natus prope oppidum Tyana, steganus effluens fons cernitur qui magnitudine aquarum inexatus sesque resorbers nunc quantum extra marginis intumescit. D. G. Hogarth 'Modern and ancient roads in eastern Asia Minor' in the Royal Geographical Society's Supplementary Papers 1893 iii. 566 identifies this bubbling spring with 'the boiling pond near Ekuizi Hisar...still resorted to from far and wide by all afflicted with skin diseases.' Since the Jupiter Ashbamicus of Ammianus Marcellinus is the Zeus ὦρας of Philostros, S. Bochart Phæles Lugduni Batavorum—Trajecti ad Rhenum 1692 p. 355 proposed to derive 'Ἀσβαμαίος from the Hebrew seba, 'oath' [Me-seba or Me-ha-seba, 'aque juramentati']. C. Lassen in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft 1856 x. 377 attempted to connect it with the Zend and Old Persian aham, 'heaven,'—a view rightly rejected by P. Carolids Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen Strassburg 1913 p. 38 f. W. Robertson Smith Lectures on the Religion of the Semites London 1907 p. 182, with much greater authority, took it to mean the 'seven waters,' in Syriac shabā'ā maya.

5 Sir W. M. Ramsay The Historical Geography of Asia Minor (Royal Geographical Society's Supplementary Papers vol. iv) London 1890 p. 347, id. and D. G. Hogarth 'Prehellenic Monuments of Cappadocia' in the Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes Paris 1893 xiv. 80.

6 A. Fick Die ehemalige Sprachenthaltheit der Indogermanen Europas Göttingen 1873 p. 412.

7 Hesych. Βάγατος...Ζέως Φρογός. μέγας, πολύς, παχύς (the last three words are bracketed by M. Schmidt, but see supra p. 295 n. 7). H. L. Ahrens De dialecto Dorico
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*Bosis and Baisis would denote the estate of the god; and with them might be ranked the Lydian Bâgis, a town in the Katakekaumene. Further, the epithet of Apollo Bosenôs appears to be comparable with that of Zeus Abozenôs in an inscription from Nakoleia, if not also with that of Zeus Bosis on copper coins of Hierapolis (fig. 465). If Apollo Bosenôs possibly hails from Tyana, Apollo Tarsis certainly hails from Tarsos on the opposite side of Mount Taurus. Here the god is known to have had a sacred weapon of some sort. Dion Chrysostomos at the outset of his First Tarsian Oration mentions, among subjects likely to appeal to the patriotic pride of his audience, 'Apollo's trident.' But Plutarch, his contemporary, speaks of the sacred sword of Apollo at Tarsos,' Gottingae 1843 p. 567 would restore ὀ Βαγης Μαβοῦ or ὀ Βαγης πά Ζευ in Aisch. suppl. 892 Dindorf (supra p. 293 n. 4).

Fick's derivation of Bayais is supported by F. Solmsen in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1895 xxxiv. 49 ('dass Bayais auf lehnung aus dem apers. bage beruht'), O. Wiedemann in the Beiträe zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen 1904 xviii. 12 f., Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. 2 p. 267 (who, however, abandons 'Die alte Verbindung mit φαγεῖν').

A. Torp 'Bayais' in the Indogermanische Forschungen 1895 v. 193 f., P. Kretschmer Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache Göttingen 1896 p. 81 (supra i. 400 n. 1), Prellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. 8 p. 486, K. Brugmann Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen Strassburg 1897 i. 168 advocate the rival connexion of Bayais with φαγεῖν, Doric φαγός, 'oak,' Latin fagus, Anglo-Saxon fæc, 'beech,' etc. If so, cp. the Celtic divinities mentioned in inscriptions of the Allobroges: Corp. Inscr. Lat. xii no. 7353 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 4010 (an altar found at Morestel) Iovi | Baginat | Corinthus | Nigidii | Aeliani | ex vot. Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 4669 (found at Tarendel near Bellecombe) Felix Smeiri f. Bagino | et Baginatiaibus | [vs.]. It is possible these too were oak-deities may be inferred from Max. Tyrt. dis. 8. 8 Dünner Kelten sowЈů muv Dnu, ἄγαλμα δὲ Δυὸς Κελτικὸν ὑπηλῆ ῥόδα (see further Class. Rev. 1904 xvii. 79, Folk-lore 1904 xv. 296, and especially ib. 1906 xvii. 83).

4 Dion Chrys. or. 33 p. 1 f. Reiske ἢ τινα ἐπαγων ὑπ' αὐτῶν (L. Dindorf has καθ' αὐτῶν) ἄκουσθησαν οἱ οἱ θεόσιοι ὡς τῶν πάλεως, περὶ τέ Πέρασις καὶ Ἡμέρας καὶ τοι Ἀνδρών τῆς πραγμα ντας καὶ περὶ χρησάρων τῶν γενεανδρίων, καὶ νὸν ἄσε Ἐλληνες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ἐστὶ θεῖοι, καὶ ἀρχηγοὶ ἐχέστε ἡμῶς καὶ ἡμῶς, καὶ ἐστὶ θεῖοι, μάλλον δ' ἤταν.
which had to be cleansed in water drawn from the river Kydnos¹. Whether trident and sword were Hellenic substitutes for a Hittite double axe, we can hardly determine. On coins of Tarsos Sandas carries a double axe, a sword, and a bow-case into the bargain². In Phrygia, however, it is clear that Apollon Tarseis had a double axe, and Phrygian coinage not infrequently arms Apollon with this primitive weapon. At Eumeneia he stands erect with a raven in his right hand and a double axe in his left (fig. 466)³, while a very

similar type represents the local hero before a flaming altar with the double axe in his left hand and a phiale in his right (fig. 467)⁴. The latter design, minus the altar, occurs also at Hierapolis (fig. 468)⁵.

In the course of the second and third centuries A.D. the emperor appears to have taken the place of this Apolline hero, as may be gathered from sundry Hierapolitan specimens, which show him standing with a branch (?) or corn-ears and poppy (?) in one hand, the double axe in the other (figs. 461, 469)⁶. Finally, at Laodikeia

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¹ Plout. de def. or. 41 praef. de Ἀσίᾳ Κόλων καὶ τῆς ἱεράς τοῦ Ἀπώλλωνος ἐν Τάρσῳ μαχαίρας, ὃ φίλε Δημήτριε, φιλός λέγοντος ἰχνόων, ὡς < ὡς > ὁ Κόλων ἄλλου ἐκκαθαρίζει σίδηρον < ὡς > ἐκεῖνον ὁμοίως ἄλλο τῆς μαχαίρας ἄλλη ἐκεῖνω. I follow the text of W. R. Paton (Bercolini 1893), who adopts the corrections of J. N. Madvig and A. Emperius for ὃς ὁ κ. μάλλον ἐκκαθαρίζει σίδηρον (τῷ σίδηρον Αμβ. Παλ.) ἐκεῖνον codd.

² Supra i. 509 f. figs. 462—46. When St Paul, a citizen of Tarsos, bade his converts 'Put on the whole armour of God' (Eph. 6. 11, cp. 6. 13) and take 'the sword of the Spirit' (ib. 6. 17), was he thinking for a moment of the panoply worn by Sandas in his own native place?


⁴ Imhoof-Blumer Kleinas. Münzen i. 229 no. 4 pl. 7, 22 (=my fig. 467) time of Alexander Severus (?)

⁵ Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 245 pl. 31, 6 (=my fig. 468), Imhoof-Blumer Kleinas. Münzen i. 239 no. 23.


The last two coins have as obv. type the head of Zeus Τριχως, who appears—again with an Apolline rev.—on a coin of Hierapolis referred to the Hadrianic age (Imhoof-Blumer Gr. Münzen p. 214 f. no. 693 pl. 12, 21, cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 233 pl. 30, 1).
on the Lykos quasi-autonomous coppers issued by Pythes in the time of Augustus exhibit a panther (?) shouldering a filleted double axe, the whole encircled by a bay-wreath (fig. 470). The device is Dionysiac rather than Apolline.

On the whole, I conclude that in Phrygia, as in Lydia, the ancestor or local hero inherited the double axe of the younger Hittite sky-god, and in Graeco-Roman times commonly acquired the traits of Apollo and Helios. The evidence from these adjacent countries prepares me, then, to accept as true Plutarch’s assertion that a particular Amazonian (Hittite) axe was a sacred heirloom of the Lydian kings. Nothing more probable.

But what of his further statement that Arselis transferred the Lydian lábrys to the Carian Zeus Labradés? In Karia the simple lábrys occurs first on small gold pieces of the satrap Pixodaros (340—334 B.C.), then as a symbol on bronze coins issued at Mylasa (?) by Eupolemos, the general of Kassandros, in 314—313 B.C., and subsequently as an obverse or reverse type on coppers of Alinda, Euromas, Mylasa (fig. 471), Orthosia, Plarasa and Aphrodisias, as a symbol on coins of

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2. Imhoof-Blumer loc. cit. says ‘Wolf oder Hund,’ but thinks that the die-sinker was trying to represent a wolf as emblem of the river Lykos. Rasche Lex. Num. Suppl. i. 1379 f., after D. Sestini Descriptio numerorum veterum ex musis... Lipsiae 1796 p. 467, had long since said ‘lupus.’ But B. V. Head in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 287 describes the creature as ‘Lynx or Panther (?)’ and in Hist. num. 2 p. 679 as ‘Panther.’ Cp. the pantheress with thyros on coins of Orthosia (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 143 f. pl. 23; 5 f).
3. Supra p. 559 f.
6. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 11 no. 10 early in s. ii B.C., with obv. young male head (Herakles?), laureate, Head Hist. num. 2 p. 607.
7. Imhoof-Blumer Monn. gr. p. 310 no. 54 with obv. head of Zeus, laureate.
9. Head Hist. num. 2 p. 613 autonomous bronze of s. ii—i B.C.
11. Imhoof-Blumer Kleinia. Münzen ii. 351 no. 8 pl. 12, 9 with obv. bust of Zeus, remarking that the rev. legend C ΙΑ ΛΕΣ may be a variant spelling of the ethnic form
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Euromos⁰ and Stratonikeia. At Mylasa the handle of the ἱβρύς is encircled by a bay-wreath (fig. 472); at Euromos the whole axe is similarly treated. At Aphrodisias (fig. 473) and at Heracleia Salmakia it is bound with a fillet. Again, at Aphrodisias it has two filleted palm-branches laid across its handle (fig. 474). That the axe thus characterised as a sacred object was in Hellenic times associated with Zeus appears, not only from a unique bronze coin of Pharsala (5. iii or ii B.C.), which has on the one side a head of Zeus long-haired and laureate, on the other an eagle standing on a double axe, but also from numerous Carian issues, which show the god grasping his traditional weapon. On silver pieces struck by the satraps Hekatomnos (395—377 B.C.), Maussollos (377—353 B.C.)¹⁰, Idrieus (351—

Sigma in Kilyratis rather than that from Sigma in Pamphylia: 'Das Doppelbeil ist weder als pamphylistisches noch als pisidisches Münzbild bekannt.'

² Imhoof-Blumer Monn. gr. p. 315 no. 79, id. Kleinas. Münzen i. 155 no. 8 n. with magistrate's name 'Ἀπολλών.
⁵ Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, et al p. 38 no. 84 of imperial times, with obv. humped bull lowering its head; p. 39 pl. 7, 2 = my fig. 473 Augustus.
⁸ Imhoof-Blumer Gr. Münzen p. 139 no. 412.
344 B.C.), on silver and gold by Pixodaros (340—334 B.C.), and on silver by Rhointopates (334—333 B.C.) we see a Zeus, bearded and laureate, clad in chiton and himation, who holds a double axe in his right hand, a long sceptre in his left (fig. 475). Imperial coins of Mylasa in silver (fig. 476) and bronze (figs. 477, 478) show Zeus facing us with a kalathos on his head, a double axe in his right hand, and a spear in his left—clearly a cult-statue, for the silver piece places him on a pedestal, and other bronze pieces represent him erect in his temple, wearing a pectoral and agrain or sacred net-work and linked to the ground by means of fillets (fig. 479). At Euromos bronze coins of the first century B.C. have for reverse type a very similar figure standing between the star-

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 183 pl. 28, 5, Babelon op. cit. ii. 2. 151 f. pl. 90, 8 silver tetradrachms, with obv. head of Apollo facing, laureate; Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 183 pl. 28, 6, Babelon op. cit. ii. 2. 151 f. pl. 90, 9 silver didrachms, with similar types; Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 183 pl. 28, 7, Babelon op. cit. ii. 2. 151 f. pl. 90, 10 silver drachms, with similar types. Head Hist. num.² p. 629.

2 Babelon op. cit. ii. 2. 155 f. pl. 90, 18 silver tetradrachm, with similar types; Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 185 pl. 28, 13, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 430 no. 1, Babelon op. cit. ii. 2. 155 f. pl. 90, 19 f. and pl. 91, 1 silver didrachm, with similar types; Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 185 pl. 28, 14, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 431 no. 2 f., Babelon op. cit. ii. 2. 155 f. pl. 91, 2 silver drachms, with similar types.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 184 pl. 28, 9, Babelon op. cit. ii. 2. 153 f. pl. 90, 12 and 15 gold hemistatera, with obv. head of Apollo to right, laureate; Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 184 pl. 28, 10, Babelon op. cit. ii. 2. 155 f. pl. 90, 16 f. gold hekte, with similar types; Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 184 pl. 28, 11, Babelon op. cit. ii. 2. 155 f. pl. 90, 13 gold hekte, with similar types. Head Hist. num.² p. 630.

3 Babelon op. cit. ii. 2. 157 f. pl. 91, 4 f. silver tetradrachms, with similar types. Head Hist. num.² p. 630.

4 Imhoof-Blumer Kleinas. Münzen i. 144 no. 2 Caligula (?), Head Hist. num.² p. 627; W. M. Leake Numismata Hellenica London 1856 Asiai Greece p. 84 (=my fig. 476) Hadrian.

5 W. M. Leake op. cit. Suppl. London 1859 Asia p. 70 (=my fig. 477) Septimius Severus, Imhoof-Blumer Kleinas. Münzen i. 146 no. 11 Elagabalos. Fig. 478 is from a specimen, in my collection, struck by Caracalla.

6 Imhoof-Blumer Kleinas. Münzen i. 144 no. 2 'auf Postament.'

7 Supra i. 360, ii. 167, 192.

8 Supra p. 408 n. o.

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crowned caps of the Dioskouroi (fig. 480). Early imperial coppers of the same town omit the caps, but sometimes give the cult-statue in more detail together with an eagle (fig. 481) or a stag. At Keramos a copper of Antoninus Pius shows a long-haired god, apparently nude (?), standing to the right with a double axe in his right hand and a tall sceptre or spear in his left; behind him is a lion (fig. 482). A later variant, struck by Commodus, has the same god, clad in a short chiton, with the axe in his left hand, the sceptre or spear in his right, and behind him an animal of very doubtful species—possibly a lioness or panther (fig. 483). Another copper

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1. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 99 pl. 17. 4 (= my fig. 480) **ΕΥΡΩ Μ[ΕΩΝ]** with *obv.* youthful head of Dionysos, *s obv.* **ΕΥΡΩΜ ΕΩΝ** and ΠΟΑΣ (magistrate’s name) Stag standing to right with ἱάβρυς in front of it (symbol).


4. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 100 no. 6, of early imperial times, with *rev.* **ΕΥΡΩΜΕΩΝ** eagle on thunderbolt.

5. J. Friedlaender in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1875 ii. 109 f. fig. (= my fig. 482). The inscription, as B. V. Head in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 78 n.* points out, 'is almost certainly wrong.'

6. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 78 pl. 12, 13 (= my fig. 483): 'an animal resembling a goat recumbent with fore-foot raised'... 'The animal at the feet of the god on this coin resembles a goat or stag.'
of Commodus shows him, again clothed in a short chitón and accompanied by a lion, confronting a Zeus of more ordinary aspect (with himatión, tall sceptre, and eagle): both deities lay hold of the same vertical spear (fig. 484).  

Now Hekatomnos, who first introduced the figure of the axe-bearing Zeus on the coinage of Karia, hailed from Mylasa, of which town he and his forebears were regarded as benefactors. Hekatomnos was, in fact, king of Mylasa before he became satrap of Karia; and it is highly probable that the Zeus whose effigy he struck on the Carian tetradrachms was but an ennobled form of the Zeus whose old cult-image appears on the mintage of Mylasa. And who was he? Fortunately Strabon has preserved for us a careful account of the local cults:

'The Mylasians have two sanctuaries of Zeus, one of Zeus Osogō, as they call him, the other of Zeus LaBránōnós. The former is in the city. Labranda is a village on the mountain, where the pass runs over from Alabanda to Mylasa, at some distance from the city. Here there is an ancient temple and a xánon of Zeus Strátios, who is honoured by the neighbourhood in general and by Mylasa in particular. A paved way some sixty furlongs in length leads to the city; it is called the Sacred Road and is used for processions of the victims. The most

1 J. Friedlaender in the Zeitschr. f. Num. 1875 ii. 110 f. fig. (=my fig. 484).  
2 Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2691 c, 6 ff. = Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 377, 6 ff. = Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 471, 1, 6 ff. = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. iii. 2. 759 f. no. 5753 a, 6 ff. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 2 no. 167, 6 ff. (in a Mylasian decree of 367—366 B.C., found at Melaiso and now in the Louvre) ἐπεβολεύειν Μαισσόλλων, ὅτι ἐφερέτον, τῷ πάλιν τῇ Μυλασίων καὶ αὐτώ καὶ τῷ πατρῷ τῆς Μαυσόλλου καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις τούτων, κ.τ.λ., i. 20 ff. (in a decree of 361—360 B.C.) τοῦ Πελεμίου παῖδας, παραμομορφασσάντας ἐν τῷ εἰκόνα τῆς Ἑκατόμων, ἀνδρὸς πολλά καὶ άγαθά ποιοσάντων τῷ πάλιν τῇ Μυλασίων καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις, ἀδελφοῖς καὶ τᾷ ἱέρᾳ ἀναθήματα καὶ τῷ πάλιν καὶ τοῦς εὐρήγησαν τῇ πόλει τῇ Μυλασίων καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις, καὶ Μαυσόλλου καὶ τῷ πάλιν τῇ Μυλασίων καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις, καὶ τοῖς παραμομορφασσάντοις τῇ Μυλασίων καὶ τῷ πατρῷ τῆς Μαυσόλλου καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις τούτων κ.τ.λ., i. 33 ff. (in a decree of 355—354 B.C.) Μανίτα τοῦ Πακτοῦ ἐπεβολεύεσσαντος Μαυσόλλου τῶν Εκατόμων ἐν τῷ ιερῷ τοῦ Διός του Δαμιανου, θυσίας ἐνακοίμησαν καὶ πανηγύριος ἔστησαν, καὶ Μαυσόλλου μὲν ἀσθένετος καὶ τῶν Δίας κ.τ.λ.

3 Strab. 659.
distinguished citizens are priests for life. These sanctuaries, then, are specially attached to the city. But there is a third sanctuary of Zeus Ἱάριος, common to all the Carians, including the Lydians and the Mysians as members of the same family. It is recorded that Mylasa in former times was a mere village, the ancestral home and palace of the Carians belonging to Hekatomnos.  

From this it appears that the Mylasians were devoted on the one hand to Zeus Ὀσὸγδα, on the other to Zeus Ὁσᾶτιος or Λαβράνδης. The two deities stand face to face on a bronze coin of Mylasa struck by Caracalla and Geta (fig. 485) 1. Zeus Ὀσὸγδα, clad in chitón and himation, rests with his right hand on a trident and holds an eagle in his left, while Zeus Ὁσᾶτιος or Λαβράνδης has a κάλαθος on his head, a double axe in his right hand, and a spear in his left. Their joint recognition is implied by the curious combination of trident with double axe found as a symbol on Alexandrine tetradrachms issued at Mylasa 2 and as a reverse type on Mylasian coppers of s. ii. B.C. and later (figs. 486, 487). In imperial times the compound weapon is based on a crab and surrounded by a bay-wreath (fig. 488) 3. The fusion of Zeus Ὀσὸγδα with Zeus Ὁσᾶτιος is complete on a unique copper of Mylasa, struck by Antoninus Pius, which passed with the

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1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 133 no. 37. My fig. 485 is from a cast of this specimen.
2 Zeus Ὀσὸγδα, with trident, eagle, and crab, is seen on silver pieces issued by Hadrian at Mylasa (M. Finder 'Über die Cistophoren und über die kaiserlichen Silbermedaillons der römischen Provinz Asia' in the Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1855 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 627 pl. 7, 7 and 8=my figs. 489 and 492, Cohen Monn. emp. rom. ii. 132 no. 302 fig. and no. 303, J. Hirsch Auctions-Catalog München 1907 xviii. 105 no. 1883 pl. 26). A similar figure of Zeus Ὀσὸγδα, with trident and eagle, in a tetrastyle temple occurs on coppers of Mylasa struck by Septimius Severus (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 132 no. 31 f.).
3 L. Müller Numismatique d’Alexandre le Grand Copenhague 1855 pl. 16 nos. 1141—1143, Head Hist. num. 3 p. 622.
4 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 128 pl. 21, 13, Imhoof-Blumer Monn. gr. p. 312 no. 70, Head Hist. num. 3 p. 622. I figure a specimen in my possession (fig. 486) and another from the Leake collection (W. M. Leake Numismata Hellenica London 1826 Asiatic Greece p. 84).
5 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 131 no. 24 Augustus (handle only encircled by wreath), p. 132 pl. 72, 3 Septimius Severus. I figure a specimen, from my collection, struck by Septimius Severus.
The double axe and Zeus Labrýndos
Fox collection into the Berlin cabinet (fig. 491). The god confront-
ing us is marked as Zeus by his eagle and globe (?), as Osogôa by his crab, as Strâtios by his spear and shield.

A few further facts concerning both deities can be gleaned from epigraphic or literary sources. Inscriptions, supported by a passage

1 C. R. Fox Engravings of unpublished or rare Greek coins. Part ii. Asia and Africa. London 1862 p. 18 no. 106 pl. 5, 106 (= my fig. 491).


3 These are conveniently arranged by J. Schafer De Iove apud Cares culto (Dis-ertationes phil. B. 54) Halis Saxonum 1923 p. 347 ff. (‘Iupiter Labrundus’), p. 387 ff. (‘Iupiter Osogoa’) and discussed by O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1776–1778 (‘Labrundus,’ ‘Labrundos’) and W. Drexler ib. ii. 1815–1818 (‘Labrundos’), ii. 1224–1230 (‘Osogoa’). Other references will be given below.

4 J. Schafer op. cit. p. 388 ff. prints the following in chronological sequence:

(1) G. Doublet—G. Deschamps in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1890 xiv. 618 ff. no. 17 (a fragmentary decree of c. 200 B.C., whereby a Cretan town recognizes the authority of the temple at Mylasa), col. ii, 11 ff. παρὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτῶ (sc. the Mylasians) ἐστὶ τὸ Ζαυαστό-τεσαίον καὶ τὸ Δάβραϊδον καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ Εἰσὶ—(—) (quid?).

(2) Lebas—Waddington Aitie Mincure no. 362, 1 ff. [Δάβραϊδος Πε[———]—] [···]ον διός ἑστι παράτωσας Διῶν [ὅσι Ζαυαστότεσαίον].

(3) A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1881 v. 98 ff. no. 2 —Michel Recueil d’Insch. gr. no. 1204 (on a fluted column from the temple-precinct, s. i. B.C.) Συμμαχος [Ἰωνίου Συμμαχοῦ] [τῶν Συμμαχοῦ] [τῶν Συμμαχοῦ] [τῶν Συμμαχοῦ] [τῶν Συμμαχοῦ] [τῶν Συμμαχοῦ] [τῶν Συμμαχοῦ] [τῶν Συμμαχοῦ] [τῶν Συμμαχοῦ].

(4) W. Judeich in the Ath. Mitt. 1890 xvi. 250 no. 13 (on a fluted column from the temple-precinct, s. i. B.C.) Συμμαχος [Ἰωνίου Συμμαχοῦ] [τῶν Συμμαχοῦ] [τῶν Συμμαχοῦ] [τῶν Συμμαχοῦ] [τῶν Συμμαχοῦ] [τῶν Συμμαχοῦ] [τῶν Συμμαχοῦ] [τῶν Συμμαχοῦ] [τῶν Συμμαχοῦ].

(5) A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1881 v. 100 no. 3 (on a fluted column from the temple-precinct, s. i. B.C.) Εὐαντίμαξον [Δρακοντέριδον] [Εὐαντίμαξον, ὁ καὶ] [Εὐαντίμαξον, ἐρετὶ] Διῶν Οσωγών] Διῶν Ζαυαστότεσαίον.

(6) Eid. ib. 1881 v. 100 f. no. 4 (on a fluted column from the temple-precinct, s. i. B.C.) Π. Ιωάννης, [Κορνηλία, Πιόρα] [Διῶν Οσωγών] Διῶν Ζαυαστότεσαίον.

(7) Eid. ib. 1881 v. 101 no. 5 (on a fluted column from the temple-precinct, s. i. B.C.) Τεύ. Κλ. Ἀρήνων [Τεύον, ἐρετὶ] Διῶν Οσωγών | Διῶν Ζαυαστότεσαίον.
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(8) Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 345 (c. s. i. B.C.) Τάξεως [κεφ. Λέοντος] τοῦ [εἰς] [Κόλπων] τοῦ [εἰς] [Διός] [Οσογά, τῆς [κλικάς] [Εκατόμα, εἰς τῷ Διός ὀσογά] (τῶν [εἰς] [Ελαστῶν, Διώ ὀσογά] [Πλούσιον, Φυλακτάρια Θεοῦ]).

(9) Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 359 (of early imperial date) [ιερεύς Διός ὀσογά] (? Νονα [εἰς] [Ποσειδώνος Θεοῦ] [οίκο] [εἰς] [κεφ. Λέοντος Θεοῦ] [οῖκο] [οἴκον] [οἴκον] [οἴκον] [οἴκον].


(11) Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 360 (fragment of a decree, s. i. A.D.), 5 [τοῦ] Διός ὀσογά οὗ καὶ τὰ [- -] (so W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1227) for Waddington's reading Διός ὀσογά, which would imply either a nominative ὀσογά (Predler—Robert Gr. Myth. 380 n. 2) or an indeclinable appellative (cp. Men Károu, Men Tímou).

(12) Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 398 (from an inscription of s. i. B.C. or A.D.), 29 f. (a decree of Mylasa is to be written up) [εἰς] [ὁ] [τοῖς [και] [οἶκο] [- - -] [Διός ὀσογά κατὰ τῶν νόμων].

(13) Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 400 (from a decree, s. i. A.D.), 3 [- - -] [Διός ὀσογά] Σωτήρος ὑπὲρ τῆς θείας. For θεία ὑπὲρ as a divine title see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 978. It is, however, possible that we should restore [ιερεύς Διός ὀσογά] σωτήρος ὑπὲρ τῆς θείας.

(14) E. Hula—E. Szanto 'Bericht über eine Reise in Karien' in the Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Phil.-hist. Classe 1895 xxii. 2. 17 no. 11 (the dedication of a building, s. i. A.D.) [Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενίων Σκύλων Μάρτις καὶ τοιοῦ] [- -] καὶ στεφανηφόρος καὶ ἴερες Διός ὀσογά εἰς ἀγαθίας [- -].


(16) Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 358 (προσκυνήματα of visiting judges or arbitrators—on whom see T. Thalheim in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 570 ff.—, in the time of Domitian), a ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Καισερίου Παῖτου [κ. τ. λ., ὁ νεκτήρ] [Διός ὀσογά with wreath and palm-branch, ζεύγων ἐν [ὁδός] [ἐπὶ ἀρχιερείας Μεναής δρον τοῦ Χρ.] [παραργόν], (wreath) στεφανηφόρος δὲ [Μεναή] τοῦ Εἰρηναίου, κ. τ. λ., υπηρετούσων Παίτου, Μηνα, [Δημοκράτου, Ερμού] ἑτέρους τοῦ [Διός] [Παραργόν Τρεφτήθη].

J. Schaefer op. cit. p. 390 ff. gives as a separate series the decrees of the tribe ὀσογάκεων relating to this deity:

(1) Corp. inscr. Gr. ii. no. 2693 = Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 414 (this and the three following inscriptions, viz. (2), (3), (4), date from s. i. B.C. and deal with the sale or lease of lands belonging to the temple. Cp. W. Judeich in the Ath. Mitt. 1889 xiv. 373 ff.), 8 f. (so-and-so purchased the estates) τὰς οἰκοτάς Διός ὀσογά, τὰς (so Schaefer: Waddington had supposed ὀσογά [οὐ]) σιὼ τοῖς ἔνοικοι δέντρας κ. τ. λ.

(2) Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 415 (deals with the ῥυθμία of or purchaser's entrance upon the divine estates), 6 ff. εἰς τὰς γείσας τὰς ἐν τῷ ὀσογάκειῳ πεδίῳ κ. τ. λ., εἰς τὰς οἰκοτάς Διός ὀσογά, τὰς καὶ οἰκοτάς Θεοῦ τῷ Διός ὀσογά, δὲ τὰς ἔνοικους τῆς Διοῦσ τῆς ἔδρας, καὶ εἰς τὰ εἴρημα καὶ εἰς τὰ ἔνοικα καὶ εἰς τὰ ἔδρας κ. τ. λ.


(5) Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 411 (fragmentary decree of s. i. B.C.), 5 ἐν εἰς τὸ συντελευταίᾳ Διοῦσ τῷ ὀσογά [- -] (so Schaefer, after Le Bas, for Δ. ΟΣ 'perincerte').

(6) Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 406 (honorary inscription of s. i. B.C.), 12
of Pausanias lead us to conclude that the native name of the former Zeus was spelled Osogba, an indeclinable appellation which has the variants Osogδ (genitive) and Osagbi (genitive, dative). The meaning of the epithet is quite unknown. The god’s temple was situated to the west of Mylasa, at the foot of the scarped mountain, which dominates the town. Traces of the precinct are still to be seen—a wall of polygonal masonry set against the mountain-side and turned towards the east, with a row of fourteen unfluted columns at right angles to it. Five fluted columns, bearing dedicatory inscriptions by priests of Zeus Osogba, have been recovered from the immediate neighbourhood. The practice of thus dedicating temple-columns recurs at Euromos and was not unfrequent in Asia Minor. An allusion to it may be detected in the familiar words of the New Testament: ‘He that overcometh, I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go out thence no more: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God,…and mine own new name.’ Zeus Osogba is once at least identified with the Zeus Otokorkonéon of sundry late inscriptions.

[—] εν συντελουμένων τῶν Δι ɛ.τ.λ. (Le Bas restored τῶν ἄγανων θεών συντελουμένων τῶν Δι).

(7) Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 408 = Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 473 (honorary decree, referred by Michel to s. ii B.C., by Schaefer to s. i A.D.). 14 f. ἀναθέτων δὲ τῆς εἰκόνας (s. of Διός Ὀλυμπίδος) ἐν τῷ Θεσσαλίας τῆς Ὀσωγᾶς ὑβ. τῆς.

1 Paus. 8. 10. 4 (infra p. 581), where ‘Ὀσωγᾶ is A. Boeckh’s correction of the manuscript reading ‘Ὀσωγά (ὀσωγα Lb. ὀσωγά Pa. ὀσωγα Pc. ὀσωγα La.).

2 Supra p. 579 n. o no. (15).

3 For a string of guesses see W. Drexier in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1225 f., E. Assmann in Philologus 1908 lxvii. 188 f., and infra § 3 (c) iii.


5 Supra p. 578 n. 4 nos. (3) (7).


7 A well-known example is that of the columns dedicated by Kroisos in the sixth-century Artemision at Ephesus (Hdt. 1. 92, E. L. Hicks The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum Oxford 1890 iii. 2. 173 no. 518 a—c, D. G. Hogarth Excavations at Ephesus London 1908 pp. 15, 294 f.) and by others in the fourth-century temple on the same site (Aristot. aesth. 2. 1. 1349 a 9 ff., E. L. Hicks op. cit. iii. 2. 173 ff. no. 519 a—i with the examples, ancient and mediaeval, cited by Canon Hicks ad loc.).

8 Rev. 3. 12.

9 Supra p. 579 n. o no. (2) bii.

10 J. Schaefer op. cit. p. 394 quotes the following decrees of the tribe Ὀτωρκονέων:

(1) Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2693 c = Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 403 (of s. i B.C.), 15 f. ἀναγράφοις δὲ τίδο ἑῷ ἐν τῷ ψιφεύμα εἰς στήλην λιθοῦν καὶ τῶν [...] ἑῳ ἐν τῷ ἑρόου τοῖς Ὀτωρκονέων.

(2) Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 405, 14 f. ἀναγράφοις δὲ καὶ τίδο ἑῷ ἐν τῷ ψιφεύμα τῶι [...] φυλῆς Ὀτωρκονέων.
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Hence it has been inferred that the precinct belonged to the Mylasian tribe Otorkondeis, who took Zeus Osogba as their patron deity. The Greeks in general regarded him as a blend of Zeus with Poseidon. Pausanias, à propos of the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios near Mantinea, observes:

‘There is an ancient legend that a wave of the sea appears in this sanctuary. The Athenians tell a similar story of the wave on the Acropolis, and the Carians who dwell in Mylasa tell a like tale of the sanctuary of the god whom in their own tongue they call Osogoa. Now the sea at Phalerum is just twenty furlongs distant from Athens; and similarly at Mylasa the port is eighty furlongs from the city. But Mantinea is farther than either of them from the sea; therefore in ascending so far the sea shows forth most manifestly the will of the god.

A fragment of Theophrastos’ treatise On Waters, preserved by Athenaios, says:

‘Not only do bitter waters change their nature, but salt water as well, and do so whole rivers, as for example that on Kithairon, beside which is the sanctuary of Zeus, and in Karia, beside which is the sanctuary of Poseidon. The reason is that many thunderbolts fall in the locality.’

(3) Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 413 (of 5. i b.c.) 2 f. περίβολον(τ)ο[[- - -] 'Οτορκονθέων [- - -].


J. Schaefer op. cit. p. 394 f. collects also the following inscriptions, of 5. i b.c., relating to the purchase of sacred lands:


(2) G. Cousin—C. Diehl in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1888 xii. 21 ff. no. 8, 7 f. τῶν πασῶν τῶν δικαιῶν καὶ δικαίων Ἰαυρίτων τοῖς Δίᾳ τῶν 'Οτορκονθέων [ὡς ἐκπομπήθηναν παρὰ Θρασοῦν κ.τ.λ.]


2 Paus. 8. 10. 4 trans. Sir J. G. Frazer.

3 Theophr. frag. 159 Wimmer ap. Athen. 42 A.

4 J. Dalechamps in 1593 restored the missing words in Latin from Plin. nat. hist. 31. 54 et in Caria, ubi Neptuni templum est, amnis, qui fuerat ante dulcis, mutatus in salem est. The Greek text καθα τῶν ἐν Κιθαιρώματι, παρ' ψηλωτί, <καὶ τοίς ἐν Καρίᾳ, παρ' ψηλωτί> Ποσείδωνος λεγόντα δίνει is due to J. Casaubon (1597). The passage thus cured has been injured again by a modern translator, C. D. Yonge, who renders ἐν Καρίᾳ, 'in Cairo'!!
And an extract from Mackon the Alexandrine comedian, likewise cited by Athenaios, tells an anecdote which emphasises the dual aspect of the Mylasian deity:

Once on a time the flute-player Dorion Came to Mylasa, but could find no lodging,
So sat him down within a certain precinct
That chanced to be before the city-gates,
There saw the temple-sweeper sacrificing.
'I the name,' quoth he, 'of Athena and the gods,
Tell me, my friend, whose temple this may be.'
'Zenoposeidon's, sir!' the man replied.
Then Dorion: 'And how could anybody
Expect a room for one here, where they say
The very gods are lodging two by two!'

The name *Zenoposeidon*, which thus goes back to the time of Mackon (s. iii B.C.), if not to that of Dorion (s. iv B.C.)*, appears in the local inscriptions from c. 200 B.C. onwards*, and is not altogether forgotten by the Byzantine scholarship of the twelfth century*. Concerning the ritual of the god we know little or nothing. But P. Le Bas points out that the Taurophonia, mentioned in a decree of the Otorkondeis as the occasion of a solemn traditional assembly, were perhaps celebrated on his behalf*.

The fact that the Carians recognised a Zeus-like Poseidon or a Poseidon-like Zeus is to me at least of considerable interest. For I have long contended that the Hellenic Poseidon himself was originally but a specialised form of Zeus. In 1903*, accepting with some modification the views of H. L. Ahrens* and W. Sonne*, I took the name

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1 Mackon ap. Athen. 337 C = D.
2 Cp. Athen. 435 B = C.
3 Supra p. 578 n. 4 no. (1) ff.
4 Eustath. in II. p. 763, 50 f. (on II. 9. 437 Zeus te kataskhthon k.t.l.) oti Zeus kai
   entaia katakathhetho "Athen, wv einan tei iestis dhr upeugies. ei de kata palaiai
   istoriai peri twn Kariwv stamavn Zepor Poseidonon h n erfes, idio tu Zeus h phe. Zhe kouw
   omoi Dwv kai Poseidonon kai "Adhov ton adelvov.
5 Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 404 (of 3. 1 B.C.), 1 ff. [epi] stefep[anfopov
   Ireokleoioy] ton Mevistou, mepo [*********], ekklhias kuri[a yenomhthi en T]iourophiwn
   kata ta patria, toixi te anathhe, eli [mixture] dokev h phile h 'Otrikwvov, k.t.l.]
   Lebas ad loc. cp. the bull-sports of Karyanda, at no great distance from Mylasa (Lebas—
   Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 499. 5 ff. metat de taiva yenomh xo tis phile[oprephetis
   so blasson tivn tou theou esti mei]galagwro kai phile[adhlou suneclesev, allla kai prs tis
   ek ton tis phile melono]on afthhina tivn aitov kai allous ek tis idias oinias afthhen
   tais gepswa *) prs de toitov pai[elov boulosemov philagdhv afhken tais kal
   klistov eli] kinhthia, ta te krasta atop tivn ekei [epo]d[oumwn tais denevem trois
   philetav, dedouwewn geitwv tais atop tis phile h ierat k.t.l.).
6 Class. Rev. 1905 xvi. 175 ff.
7 H. L. Ahrens 'Ueber den Namen des Poseidon' in *Philologus* 1866 xxixii. 1 ff.,
8 W. Sonne 'Helios Poseidon' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*
   1861 x. 181 ff. See also Gilbert *Gr. Götter* l. p. 168 ff.; 'Der Name Poseidon ist nemlich
Poteidán, Poseidón, etc. to denote 'Zeus in the Water' (pótos), arguing that, when rain fell, the primitive Greeks believed Zeus to be present in the rain; that, when the rain collected into streams and rivers, they still held Zeus to be in the drinking-water; and that, when the rivers ran into the sea, they looked upon the sea itself as permeated with Zeus. In 1904 I re-stated the same argument and sought to reinforce it by a variety of pleas, which need not here be specified. But the proposed derivation of Poteidán, Poseidón, etc. was not free from improbabilities and was rejected by O. Gruppe in 1908. Indeed, I had myself by that time begun to entertain serious doubts of it. Shortly afterwards it occurred to me that Potei-, Posei-, etc., the first element in the compound, might be more convincingly connected with pósis, 'lord,' the whole name Potei-Dán or the like meaning 'Lord Zeus' just as the Homeric póthia Héra meant 'lady Hera.' My friend Dr P. Giles, to whom I submitted this notion, not only gave it his general approval, but told me that it had been partially anticipated by German experts. K. Brugmann in the second edition of his Grundriss (1911) was in fact able to cite the opinions of two other notable philologists, O. Hoffmann and P. Kretschmer. Hoffmann in 1906 had derived the various forms of Poseidon's

in seinem zweiten Theile nichts anderes als die dialektische Form Dan=Zeus, während der erste Theil des Namens die Beziehung auf das feuchte Element trägt. Poseidon=Potidan ist also Zeus in Beziehung zum Nass, zum himmlischen Nass. Erst im Laufe der Zeit hat sich diese Beziehung auf die Gewässer des Himmels in diejenige auf die Gewässer der Erde und hier speziell des Meers umgestaltet,' F. Durrbach in Darenberg—Saglio Dic. Ant. iv. 59 'D'après une autre interprétation, plus généralement acceptée, la première partie du nom est formée du thème πος, qu'on retrouve dans ποτε, ποσός, πόνος, et qui aurait la signification de liquide, eau; la fin du mot est un simple suffixe; ou encore elle recèle peut-être le nom de Zêu (Δάς, Δάν), en sorte que Poseidon, c'est le Zeus de l'élément humide. Ces tentatives d'étymologie ne sont qu’ingénieuses, et on ne saurait les prendre comme point de départ pour l'exégèse.'

1 Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 267 ff., 277 ff.
2 Gruppe Myth. Lit. 1908 p. 600. 'Id. in the Neue Jahrh. f. klass. Altertum 1918 xli. 296 treats Potida als vorrussische, wenn auch vielleicht nicht kretische Benennung des im Regenzauber angerufenen Gottes.'
3 The nom. sing. Δάς was used by the Boeotians in place of Zêu (supra p. 342 n. o); and Boiotia was one of the oldest and most important centres of Poseidon-worship (Aristarchos ap. et. mag. p. 547, 16 f. Ἡ Βοιωτία δάς ἐπί Ποσειδίων. See further Farnell Cults of Gr. States iv. 20 ff.—a thorough-going and wholly satisfactory investigation).
4 Supra i. 444-456.
5 K. Brugmann Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen Strassburg 1915 i. 2. 135.
6 O. Hoffmann 'Poseidon' in the Jahres-Bericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur 1906 lxxxiv. 4 (Orientalisch-sprachwissenschaftliche Sektion) 8—16 reviews the forms Ποσειδίων (Corinthisan), Ποσειδίων (Homeric), Ποσειδίων (Arcadian), Ποσειδών or Ποσειδά (Doric), Ποσειδᾶ in Ποσειδᾶ...Δασος (II. 2. 506) and Ποσειδῖων (Old Attic and Ionic month), and concludes that Ποσειδῖ (Ποσειδῖ), Ποσεί (Ποσεί), Ποσιν are three vocatives of an i-stem ποσιν: ποσί.' He assumes two types of address—a longer
name from a vocative \( \text{Pótei Dáwon} (\text{Póti Dá}), \text{‘Lord Dawon’ (‘Lord Da’}) \), and had tentatively suggested a connexion with the name of

his Arcadian consort \( \text{Da mater}, \text{‘Mother Da.’} \) Kretschmer in 1909\(^1\)

and more formal \( \text{Pótei Dáfow} (\text{Pótei Dáfow}), \) whence the nominative \( \text{Pótei-Dáfow}, \) or a shorter and more familiar \( \text{Pótei Dá}, \) whence the nominative \( \text{Pótei-Dá} – \) both being comparable with such expressions as \( \text{pónu} \text{‘Hny, pónu} \text{‘Hny}. \) On this showing the proper name of the god was \( \text{Dáfow}, \) which is perhaps related to the \( \text{Dá} \) of \( \text{Dámár}, \) (ib. p. 16: ‘In derjenigen Landschaft, in welcher der Gott viele seiner alten Züge behauptet hat, in Arkadien wurde er als Gemahl der Demeter vorgestellt: sollten \( \text{pótei Dáfow}, \text{pótei Dá} \) und \( \text{Dá múter} \) nur zufällig an einander anklingen?’).

\(^1\) P. Kretschmer in \( \text{Glotta} \) 1909 i. 27 ff.: ‘Sachlich erscheint daher die Annahme recht ansprechendor, dass in dem Namen \( \text{pónu} \text{ aus ‘pónu ‘Herr, Eheherr, Gatte’ = skr. pátí, lit. péte(i) und Dá, der alte Name der Erdgöttin, enthalten in Dámár, stecke. Also ‘Herr der Erde’ oder ‘Gatte der Da.’ Es bestehen dabei nur zwei sprachliche Schwierigkeiten, der Dipthong -ei- statt -i- und die Stellung der Glieder. Beide lassen sich beheben, wenn wir von einer Zusammenrückung \( *\text{Pótei Dá Vok. ‘Herr oder Gatte der Da!’ ausgeben. Der alte Vokativ Sing. der i-Stämme endete auf -ai, musste also von *pónu *pótei = skr. pátí (vgl. lit. nákí, aksl. nólí) lauten, wofür später ‘póti, mit Assibilirension antrat. Die ganze Benennung hat eine Analogie in der epischen Bezeichnung des Zeus als (φίλονος) \( \text{pónu ‘Hny. \) Die Erhebung des Vokativums zum Nominativ aber ist bekanntlich bei Eigennamen nicht selten und hat eine berühmte Parallele in Jupiter \( = \text{Zeú páper. \) Das dor. \( \text{Pótei} \) (Epicharm. 81. Sophron 131 Kaib.) kann direkt zusammenhängendes \( *\text{Pótei Dá} \) sein; davon abgeleitet das Adjektiv dor. \( \text{Pótei} \), ion. \( \text{Pótei} \), \( \text{Pótei} \) (dazu der Monatsname \( \text{Pótei} \), \( \text{Pótei} \)). Da Form \( \text{Pótei-Dá} \) mit der daraus entstandenen dor. \( \text{Pótei} \), ark. \( \text{Pótei} \), ion. \( \text{Pótei} \), att. \( \text{Pótei} \) ist eine Weiterbildung nach Art von \( *\text{Akúma} \) an Akúma, Maká, Aúthán, *Pótiá...
had gone further in the same direction by supposing the original vocative to have been *Potei Dás, 'Lord (Husband) of the Earth-goddess', and thence forming the new nominatives Potidás, Potidaíw, etc. This is phonetically unimpeachable. But so also is my Potei-Dán, etc., 'Lord Zeus.' And on the whole it seems to me more likely that the god was named in his own right than in virtue of his relation to the goddess.

Zeus Strátios of Labranda bore a local appellative, which is spelled in very divergent ways. Kretschmer has compiled a list of a dozen variants—Labrýndos [fig. 492], Lambrýndos, Labrayndos, hom. IIâdis dor. IIâdis, 'Ermâs, 'Ermâs. Es scheint nun, dass in der Zusammenrückung beide Vokativformen, die alte *τοις und die jüngere *ποις, neben einander gebraucht wurden.' Etc.

1 On IIâ as an ancient pet-name ('Lallname') of the earth-goddess see P. Kretschmer 'Demeter' in the Wiener Studien 1902 xxiv. 523 ff.
3 Labrayndos in inscriptions from Mylasa (A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1881 v. 98 ff. no. 2, 10 f. quoted supra p. 578 n. 4 no. (3). W. Judeich in the Ath. Mitt. 1890 xv. 251 ff. no. 15, 1 f. ['E]kratón [Oe]lédov [Kle[ν]s Δ[ί]) [3] Labrayndov Mauvri.] from the neighbourhood of Aphrodisias (R. Chandler Marmora Olymnia Oxoniis 1763 ii. 11 no. 12 pl. 5, 12 (=my fig. 492), Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2750, Michel Recueil d'Inscr. Gr. no. 832, Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions Oxford 1906 ii. 192 ff. 16 a small altar, found in a Turkish cemetery between Aphrodisias and Hierapolis, and now at Oxford, showing a double axe in relief beneath it in letters of s. i. b. [Δ]οις [Λαβrayndov] και [Δ]ioς [Μeylo[στου]], from Stratonikeia (E. Hula—E. Szanto in the Siegsschre. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Phil.-hist. Classe 1895 cxxxii. 2, 17 f. no. 12, 1 f. Δακώνιος Βετάνιος | 'Αλεχανδρός | 'Ομυματοδέφος | 'Ανθ'κεφος τυ εστήμαν τω πρεσ[β]υτινω των Δαι των | [Λαβrayndov] εκ των | ιδων υπαρχόντων a dedication of imperial date. Eod. ib. 1895 cxxxii. 2, 19 no. 1 a marble slab inscribed Δημήτριος και 'Ερμίας Δι | Λαβrayndov with an axe in relief below the inscription), from Halikarnassos (G. Hirschfeld The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum London 1895 iv. 1. 79 f. no. 904 a small marble altar, found near Budrum, inscribed in lettering of a good period Διός | Λαβrayndov), from Herakleia at the foot of Mt Latmos (R. Chandler Inscriptions antiquae Oxoniis 1774 p. 18 Pars i no. 49, Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2896 two stones marked with the double axe and inscribed Διός | Λαβrayndov, found in an island near Bosph in the lake of Herakleia (map in Milet iii. 1 at end), and even from the Peiraius, where the god had a thíasos (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 no. 613, Michel Recueil d’Inscr. Gr. no. 977, of the year 299—298 B.C., in praise of Menis, son of Mnesitheos, of Herakleia, who has done well both by the worshippers and sanctuary of Zeus Labrayndos, 5 ff. και το τε προστάτων και Δημήτριος τον λεγον του Δαυδ του Δαυεν έκ τον θεου, 13 f. και τω στοιχείων άξιον ερημων του θεου: κ.τ.λ.). That the title Λαβrayndos was quadrillsyllabic appears from Plin. nat. hist. 32. 16 in Labrayndi Iovis feste etc., where the best manuscripts give labrayndi (labrashd cod. d. labradi cod. T.).

4 Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2691 c. 4 = Lesb—Waddington Asia Mineura no. 379, 4 = Michel Recueil d’Inscr. Gr. no. 472, iii. 35 = F. Bethel in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. iii. 2. 759 f. no. 5753 c. 4 = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 167, 35 quoted supra p. 576 n. 2. For the μ ς cp. et mag. p. 389, 57 (cod. D) infra p. 587 n. 2.

5 W. Judeich in the Ath. Mitt. 1890 xv. 259 no. 11 an altar at Mylasa inscribed Δημος(θ)ένη | representation of a double axe | Λαβrayndov[θ]ένη.
The double axe and Zeus Labráyndos

Labráyndos (?)¹, Labráyndos², Labráyndos (?)³, Labráendos⁴, Labren-
dos⁵, Labrandos (?)⁶, Labrandeús⁷, Labradeús⁸, Labrandénos⁹—and
has drawn the obvious conclusion that Carian vocalisation was
incommensurable with Greek spelling. Since the nd-suffix is found,
not only in the names of places, but also sometimes in those of
persons, Kretschmer¹⁰ further conjectures that an axe-god Labray-
dos gave his name to the sanctuary Labraynda and subsequently
received from the sanctuary his appellative Labrandeús etc. That
is, no doubt, a thinkable sequence of events. But it is simpler to
suppose that Labranda was called ‘the place of the Double Axe’
because repeatedly struck by lightning¹¹, the god being named from
the spot, not the spot from the god.

This would square well with J. Schaefer’s¹² surmise that originally
the double axe alone was the object here worshipped. If so, the
Carian cult must have been near akin to the Cretan. In which con-
exion we should observe that the Mylasians of the first century B.C.

¹ Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 348, 4 f. καὶ τοῦ Διός τοῦ | Λαβρανδοῦ. But
read καὶ τοῦ Διός τοῦ | Λαβρανδοῦ: supra p. 578 n. 4 no. (3).
² Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 338 (an inscription of ζ. i. B.C., found at
Olympos, recording the sale of land by a certain Polites to the trustees of the sacred
domain of Apollon and Artemis), 17 καὶ ἦ Ἰερὰ γῆς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος θεῶν δήμου
Ολυμποῦ καὶ ἦ Ἰερὰ γῆς Διὸς Λαβρανδοῦ [− − −]. Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2653 (ineffect)=
Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure no. 399 (decree in honour of Oulias, found at
Mylasa), 20[− − −]προστήκοντος τοῦ Ιεροῦ τοῦ Ε. Λαβρανδοῦ[− − −]. Cp. W. Judeich
in the Ath. Mitth. 1890 xv. 261 f. no. 15 (Mylasa), 4 Μαυρίνης but 8 Μαιώνης.
³ Λαβρανδοῦ is inferred from the existence of Λαβρανδοῖ as a woman’s name at
Stratonikeia (Corp. inscr. Gr. ii. 1108 no. 2731 b, 2 = Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure
no. 531, 2 Κασσία Λαβρανδόδοι).
Classe 1895 cxxxi. 2. 13 no. 4 (fragment of a decree in Doric dialect found at Mylasa),
14 [Λαβρανδοῦ]',
⁵ W. Judeich in the Ath. Mitth. 1892 xv. 259 no. 10 (a small altar of grey-blue
marble found at Mylasa) Δίος Λαβρανδοῦ in lettering of 2. i. B.C. beneath and about the
representation of a double axe.
⁶ Λαβρανδοῦ is inferred from et. mag. p. 589, 57 quoted infra p. 587 n. 2.
⁷ All. de nat. an. 12. 30 καὶ εὖ τῷ Ἱερῷ δὴ τοῦ Λαβρανδοῦ Δίος κ.τ.λ. and Ζεὺς ἔτη
Λαβρανδείς κ.τ.λ. (infra p. 590 n. 3). Λαβρανδεῖς as an ethnic is found in Lebas—
Waddington Asie Mineure no. 334 (Olympos), 2 f. Λαβρανδεῖς[− − −], 7 f. Δα[λ]μακίνης and in
Steph. Byz. i. 5 Λαβρανδεῖς ... Λαβρανδεῖα καὶ Λαβρανδεῖα καὶ Λαβρανδεία. P. Foucart in
the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1887 xi. 84 f. no. 4 (Suri-Tiarn), 2 Λαβρανδείαν, 8 Λαβρανδεῖα.
⁸ Plout. quaest. Gr. 45 (infra p. 559 f.).
⁹ Strab. 659 (infra p. 576). Λαβρανδεῖα as an ethnic occurs in Steph. Byz. i. 5 Λαβρανδεῖα
(infra p. 7).
¹⁰ P. Kretschmer Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache Göttingen
1896 p. 304 f.
¹¹ Theophr. frag. 159 Wimmer (infra p. 581).
¹² J. Schaefer De love apud Cares culto (Dissertationes philologicae Halenses xx. 4)
Halis Saxonum 1912 p. 355 f.
are known to have had priests of Zeus Kretagenēs and the Kouretes. Reverence paid to Cretan powers is at least suggestive of Cretan affinity.

Another point deserving of consideration is the possibility that the axe-god of Mylasa was at one time named Labráyndos, 'He of Labranda,' without any more exact determination. The Etymologicum Magnum tells how the Kouretes Labrandos, Panamoros, and Palaxos or Spalaxos came in consequence of an oracle to Karia and, being overtaken by night, slept on the banks of a river which they therefore called the Heudonos. As two of these Curetic names were obviously cult-titles of Zeus, Labrando being derived from the Zeus Labráyndos of Labranda and Panamoros from the Zeus Panámarios of Panamara, O. Höfer in 1894 suspected that the third name likewise, Palaxos or Spalaxos, might prove to be a 'Zeus-epitheten.' His suspicion was well founded; for seven years later he triumphantly quotes a dedication to Zeus Spálaxos on a small altar found by W. Kubitschek and W. Reichel at Mastaura and published by them in 1894. The altar in question is decorated with a double axe also; and this tempts Höfer to hazard the guess that Pálaxos may be connected with pélēkys, 'an axe.' In view of the various disguises worn by this much-travelled word there is no phonetic

1 Lebas—Waddington Astie Minuare no. 394, 8 f. = Michel Recueil d'Inschr. gr. no. 472, 8 f. (Mylasa) ἵππος Μεσο[χιών] Ἀρωτέιδιος, ἵππος ἰδος Κρηταγενεύς καὶ Κουρήνος κ.τ.λ. (supra i. 140 n. 1). Eid. ib. no. 406, 1 (Mylasa) ἵππος Σιγκανησοῦ τοῦ δείσου τοῦ δείσου, ἵππος ἰδος Κρηταγενεύς καὶ Κουρήνος, κ.τ.λ. Cr. eod. ib. no. 338, 8 (Olympos) Ἕρμης Ἀντικάτωρ τοῦ Ἑμιου, ἵππος Κρηταγενεύς καὶ Κουρήνος κ.τ.λ. Michel refers the first of these inscriptions, which is now in the Louvre (W. Freihner Muzeum impérial du Louvre. Les inscriptions grecques Paris 1865 no. 56), to the close of Χ. B. C.

2 Eid. mag. p. 389, 55 ff. Εὔδονος: ρητομα τῆς ποτε μὲν Διός τε καὶ Βρόμης καὶ Λαμπίνης, τῶν δὲ Τράδλεων καλομένης τῆς 'Ασίας: ἰδίον ἰδορᾶνδος (λαμπρόδος κ.τ.λ.) καὶ Πανάμαρος καὶ Πάλαξος (Παλαξος κ.τ.λ.). ἤ Σπάλαξος, οἱ Κομήτες, κατὰ χρησμοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς Καρλιν ὀρείων, μυκτόν ἡπιταλαμομιτής, ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀχθαὶς αὐτοῦ κατεκυμήθηνα. Παρὰ τὸ εἰδήθησι σὲν Εὔδονος τὸν ρητομα δούλομαν. Supra i. 18 n. 4.

3 Supra i. 18 ff.

4 O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1777 f.

5 Id. ib. iii. 1276.

6 W. Kubitschek—W. Reichel in the Anzeiger der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil.-hist. Classe 1893 (Wien 1894) xxx. 93 no. 2: 'aus Mastaura ein kleiner Altar, dessen Vorderseite in Relief die Büste eines unbartigen Kopfes mit Schleier und die Worte γὰρ Σμαλαξο-ἀρμο(ν)υ εὐχὴν trägt, während auf der Rückseite eine Doppelext verso erscheint.'

7 πέλεκυς, Sanskrit parac-ḥ (pārcaḥ), was a loan-word from the east, cp. Babylonian-Assyrian pilaku, Sumerian balag, 'axe' (H. Lewy Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen Berlin 1895 p. 178, Prellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. 3 p. 358, Boisacq Dict. dym. de la Langue Gr. p. 761 f.). Babr. 64. 9 καὶ τῶν πέλεκυς τῶν ἄν ἐν τῇ μεθωστιν (so W. G. Rutherford, in his ed. of 1883, with excision of line 8) implies a form πελίς.

R. Eisler in Philologus 1909 lxviii. 126 n. 27 derives Βερείκωδας, Βερεκώτες, Βερεκώθος,
impossibility to bar the way. Again, if the Mylasian axe-god was known as *Labráyndos* before he became Zeus *Labráyndos*, we can appreciate Euhemeros’ statement that Zeus in the course of his journey round the world was entertained by a king or chieftain called Labryndos and bade his host in memory of the visit erect a temple to Zeus *Labryándios* 1. Finally, one altar found at Mylasa exhibits the double axe and a dedication ‘to *Labráyndos*’ without any mention of Zeus. Nevertheless it is certain that, long before this altar was made, *Labráyndos* had been definitely identified with Zeus: the joint designation goes back to Herodotos 3 and probably to Gyges 4.

In 1840 Sir Charles Fellows 8 saw and described the Sacred Road that runs from Mylasa to Labranda:

1 In descending the mountain towards Mellassa, we followed and continually crossed and re-crossed an ancient paved road, the large stones differing from those of later days by being wrought and fitted together with the protruding natural rock: the road, in passing ravines, was also built up with solid Greek masonry. This way doubtless continued to the ancient city of Mylasa.

He also visited the temple at Labranda 6, but failed to recognise it as that of Zeus *Labráyndos* 7. P. Lebas fared better. On March 16, etc. from *βέρεκνι* ‘offenbar eine aufgenahte Nebenform von *πελεκυ* = "Doppelaxt" (accents amended). The *β* of *βαλλακο* and the *β* of *βελεκυ*, *βελεκο*, *βελεκος*, an axe-shaped bean (P. Kretschmer Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache Göttingen 1896 p. 106 f.1), might be alleged in support of this derivation. Dr Giles tells me that *βέρεκνι* for *πελεκυ* would be possible as far east as Persia, where *β* occurs for *l*.

But when Esler loc. cit. goes on to detect double axes in the *Πελαγίως*, *Πελαιγώς* son of Άκος (II. 21 141), the *Πελαγώνι* in general, Παναία and Ἡ Παλακυρά (accent rectified), *Πελαγί* (Gen. 10 25), the Persians (‘Wortspiel: “Pithiu-Pāraβah” “Axtführende Parther” Rig Veda 7 83’), and the Amazonian *παλακιάδες* (‘Nach ihrer Axt heissen natürlich diese Tempeldirnen’), even the Complaisant Man is unwilling συνατιέναν αὐτὸν λέγων... *πελεκυ*’! 


2 Supra p. 595 n. 5.

3 Hdt. 5 119 (infra p. 590 n. 3).

4 Plout. quaest. Gr. 45 (supra p. 559).


6 Id. ib. p. 66.

7 Fellows was misled by R. Chandler Ionian Antiquities London 1769 p. 55 ff. pls. iv, i—5 and Travels in Asia Minor and Greece Oxford 1835 i. 245 ff., who took the ruins of an unfinished Corinthian temple at Ayakli to mark the site of Labranda. Others had
1844 he reached and identified Labranda (Kodja Yaila), describing his experiences in an enthusiastic letter\(^1\) and securing admirable views and plans of the extant remains (figs. 493 and 494)\(^2\).

Later the spot was revisited by Lieut. R. M. Smith, when attached to Sir C. T. Newton’s expedition to Asia Minor (1856—1859). Newton\(^3\) introduces his report as follows:

‘The ruins are very finely situated near the summit of the Kodja Yailih mountains, the ancient Mount Latmus, according to Kiepert. A principal ravine opens from it down to the valley of Mylasa. “The site is covered with ruins of massive Hellenic masonry, some of which appear to have been terrace walls. The most important of these ruins is that of a small distyle temple in antis, consist-

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\(^1\) Reprinted from the *Revue Indépendante* 1844 xiv. 535 f. in Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 48.

\(^2\) P. Le Bas *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* Paris 1847 Itinéraire pl. 65 (=my fig. 493), 1848 Architecture Asie Mineure ii pl. 8, 1 (=my fig. 494), Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* pp. 47 f., 149 Itin. pl. 65 and Archit. ii pl. 8, 1.

\(^3\) C. T. Newton *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae* London 1863 ii. 2. 613 f.
ing of a proesus and cella, with a square recess at the end. The length of the cella inside the walls is 38' 3" by a width of 33' 6". The doorway is 12' 2" in width. Two lintel stones still stretch across the top. The height of the doorway is about 18'. The flanking walls consist of twelve courses, each about 1/2' deep. The thickness of this wall is 6' 1/2". Beyond the doorway the side walls of the proesus extend 16' 8". At a height of 12' from the ground outside, and 2' 3" from the floor inside, the walls are pierced at regular intervals by windows 6' 3" by 3' 6" at the base, tapering slightly upwards. Round these windows is a slight sinking, as if to receive shutters. The view from them is most striking, embracing the plain of Mylasa, Paitischin, Leros, Calymnos, Cos, Budrum, and the mountains all round. Near this building drums of fluted marble columns were lying about. The diameter of one was about 3'. A smaller one measured 2' 1/2'.

Labranda in its palmy days had other attractions besides this many-windowed fane with its large and well-built precinct. Here grew a fine grove of sacred plane-trees, to which the Carian troops fled for refuge after their disastrous defeat by the Persians under Daurises on the banks of the Marsyas (the modern China Chai) during the Ionian revolt. Here too was a spring of clear water, in which were kept tame eels decked with earrings and chains of gold.

The Carians, being a warlike race, viewed their axe-bearing god

1 Id. ib. p. 614 n. 2 says: 'Prokesch von Osten [A. Prokesch-Osten Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient ed. E. Münch Stuttgart 1837 iii. 449] describes other ruins on this site. He saw a portico with twelve columns standing, now probably thrown down; a great number of pieces of frieze lying on the ground; a massive wall of hewn stone fitted without mortar, 134 paces long, connected with a row of chambers not less than 200 paces long; and at the end of the wall a tower. The whole area covered by the ruins he estimates as not more than 400 paces in width; he considers these remains to be of the Roman period.'

2 Hdt. 5. 119.

3 Plin. nat. hist. 32. 16 e manu vescuntur pisces...item in Labrayndi (supra p. 585 n. 3) Iovis fonte anguillae et inaures additas gerunt; Ali. de nat. an. 12. 30 χρυσάθειν δέ ἐχθὸς καὶ ὑπακούοντες τῇ ἐλάτῃ καὶ τροφής ἄσωμεν δεχόμενοι πολλαχόθεν καὶ ἐλεί καὶ τρέφονται, ὡσπερ ὀσρ...καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ δὲ τοῦ Λαβρανδεῶν Διός ἐν κρηνίᾳ δειδοὺς νάματος, καὶ ἔχουσιν ὄρμισκοι χρυσὸς καὶ ἔλαθια, χρυσὰ μέρτες καὶ ταῦτα.
as *in primis* a fighter, brought his old wooden effigy up to date by means of an added sword, and saluted him as *Strátios*, the 'Lord of Hosts!' This title occurs in several inscriptions from Mylasa. But the martial aspect of the deity worshipped by Carian mercenaries from generation to generation never really eclipsed the original conception of him as a storm-god and fertilising power. Labranda is liable to rain of exceptional severity, as Sir Charles Fellows found to his cost. He reached Mylasa on March 20, 1840, 'in a violent storm,' and here he was detained by the rain falling 'in such torrents' that, when he attempted an excursion to *Ayakli*, it completely soaked his pockets, portfolios, and carefully copied inscriptions. He complains that 'the thick branches of a group of evergreen oaks did not even afford shelter from the deluging rain.' After this we are not surprised to learn from Aelian that Zeus *Labrandeus* got his name from the 'heavy downpour' that he sent. Modern man is apt to grumble at a shower. But the ancients knew better, and welcomed it as proof of the sky-god's gendering force.

If the sky-god was the fertiliser, the earth-goddess was the ferti-

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1. All. de nat. an. 12. 30 ὑπὲ ἄγαλμα ἔθετο παράσημα, καὶ πυρόνω καλομένων Κάρων τε καὶ Στράτιον. But Strab. 659 (ὑπὲρ p. 576 f.) expressly distinguishes the cult of Zeus Κάρων from that of Zeus Λαβρανθήνος or Στράτιος. No doubt Aelian has blundered; probably because, as C. Robert in J. Schaefer *De Iove apud Caris culto* (Dissertationes philologicae Hellenae xx. 4) Halis Saxonum 1912 p. 357 n. 1 suggests, he is mixing the contents of Hdt. 1. 171 with those of Hdt. 5. 119.

lised. But, apart from the late inscriptions which associate Hera with Zeus Strátios, we have no evidence of a goddess at all in Labranda. It would seem that here throughout historical times the god was all in all. Yet, remembering the similarity of the Carian to the Cretan cult, we may well suspect that in the former as in the latter a goddess had once played the leading part. Indeed, it would not be unreasonable to conjecture that in Karia the cult of the Indo-European sky-father had been superposed on that of an indigenous earth-mother, and that Zeus had to a certain extent absorbed into himself her maternal characteristics. In point of fact, some such hypothesis is necessary to account for two very remarkable reliefs, in which the Zeus of Labranda is represented with the breasts of a goddess. One of these (fig. 496) is 'an archaic statuette in white marble' seen by J. T. Wood in the garden of a Turkish gentleman at Mylassa. It is of importance, because in all probability it preserves for us the type of the cult-image at Labranda on a larger scale than the coins already mentioned (figs. 476—479, 485). We are confronted by a beardless (?) deity, with káthathos on head, necklaces round throat, double axe and sceptre in either hand. The body below the waist is swathed with an aqrenón and above it exhibits

1 Supra p. 591 n. 2.
3 J. T. Wood Discoveries at Ephesus London 1877 p. 270 fig. 12 (= my fig. 496).
4 Supra p. 574 ff. (figs. 476—479, 485). C. Lenormant Nouvelle galerie mythologique (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 52 f. no. 16 pl. 8, 11 and an enlarged fig. on p. 53: 'il porte une longue barbe et laisse voir deux mamelles de femme.' P. Foucart in the Mon. Piot 1910 xviii. 161 thinks that Lenormant's draughtsman meant to represent three breasts, not two. But Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 270 is justly sceptical of the whole design. I fail to detect any breasts on the two examples of the coin in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 133 nos. 38, 39); nor are they mentioned by G. Macdonald as present on the two specimens at Glasgow (Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 425 nos. 2, 3); while Foucart loc. cit. admits that 'M. Babelon est d'avis que la pièce du Cabinet des Médailles ne permet ni de nier ni d'afirmer.'
5 Supra p. 574 n. 7.
four rows of female breasts. We are, of course, inclined to regard this effeminate form as a goddess, not a god, till we come to examine its counterpart on the second relief (fig. 497). That is a sunk panel of white marble surmounted by a pediment, found at Tegea near the temple of Athena Alca and acquired in 1914 by the British Museum. In the centre of the relief stands a bearded god, definitely

![Fig. 497.](image)

inscribed Zeus. He faces us, in chiton and himation, holding a double axe over his right shoulder and a spear in his left hand. A small piece of marble, filling the space between the head and the edge of the panel, suggests a kalathos. Round his neck Zeus wears a large necklace. On his chest, and apparently outside his chiton, he has six


C. II.
The double axe and Zeus Labráyndos

breast-like protuberances. M. Meurer¹ and A. H. Smith² have attempted to explain these as some sort of pectoral ornament. But Wood's relief is really conclusive in favour of admitting them to be female breasts.³ Zeus is flanked by two smaller figures, who look towards him with gestures of adoration. The inscriptions, Ἰδριτής and Αδα, show that they are the king and queen of Karia, who were reigning together between 351 and 344 B.C.⁴ As son and daughter of Hekatomnos, brother and sister of Maussollos, they naturally adore their ancestral god Zeus Strátios of Labandra. We cannot, however, suppose that this trumpery relief was a votive offering made by, or on behalf of, Carian royalty. Besides, how came it to be found at Tegea? In the absence of the lower half of the stone, which doubtless gave the circumstances of the dedication, certainty is unattainable. But P. Foucart has put forward a very plausible hypothesis.⁵ Skopas, who is known to have decorated the temple of Athena Aléa before he worked at the Mausoleum, probably took with him from Tegea to Halikarnassos some of his best workmen. One of these, on returning to his native town, consecrated to the goddess a souvenir of his Carian journey, as like as not executed by his own hand.

The bisarre type of a Zeus with matronal breasts must not be taken, with E. Gerhard⁶, to imply an androgynous deity, nor merely, with P. Foucart⁷, to betoken that 'c'est lui qui nourrit les êtres vivants, qui répand l'abondance.' It occurs again at Suwasa in Kappadokia, where H. Rott⁸ discovered an arcuated rock-cut niche

³ This is recognised by both Foucart and Kuhnert loccit.
⁴ U. Kahrstedt Forschungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden fünften und des vierten Jahrhunderts Berlin 1910 pp. 12, 119, 149 f. and in Paulay—Wissowa Real-Enc. ix. 912 dates their joint reign of seven years (Diod. 16. 69) from the spring of 350 to the end of 344 B.C.
⁶ Gerhard Gr. Myth. i. 166.
⁹ H. Rott Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisdien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien Leipzig 1908 p. 253 f. fig. 92 (=my fig. 498) 'Dass das Christentum hier bereits eine alte Kultstätte vorhat, ist ersichtlich aus einer Göttlerfigur, die wir an der senkrechten Felswand hinter dem Dorf ausgehauen fanden. In einer rundbogigen Nische sitzt eine Gottheit, die den linken Arm erhoben hatte. Der Oberkörper ist unbekleidet und zeigt Reste von Brüsten, ein fältiges Gewand fällt über Schoss und Knie hinab. Vier Stufen führten zur Statue hinauf, der Raum davor ist gebeugt und die Felswände rings geklüftet... Ich halte die Figur für den Zeus Strátios, dessen Kult in Kappadokien allenthalben verbreitet war.' On Zeus Strátios in Kappadokia etc. see in primis F. Cumont 'Le
The double axe and Zeus *Labrāyndos* 595

(fig. 498) containing a seated effigy of Zeus *Strátios* (?). The left arm is raised. The lower limbs are wrapped in a mantle. The upper part of the body is bare and shows remains of breasts. Here too we should infer that the Hellenic father-god had usurped the position of the Anatolian mother-goddess, and that local prejudice had to be satisfied by the strange expedient of giving him ‘the breasts of her consolations’¹. On occasion, no doubt, the old order triumphed over the new, and the resultant deity—despite his beard—was regarded as a goddess rather than a god. Thus at Zougo or Zogui, a village

Zeus Strátios de Mithridate' in the *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 1901 xliii. 47—57.
F. Cumont—E. Cumont *Voyage d’exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la Petite Arménie (Studia Pontica ii)* Bruxelles 1906 pp. 171—184 (‘Le temple de Zeus Strátios’),

¹ Is. 66. 11.
near Mersivan at the entrance of the great marshy plain known to Strabon as Chiliodomon and now called Soulo-Ova. F. Cumont in 1900 photographed a crude relief (fig. 499), which represents a divinity, at once bearded and breasted, advancing from left to right with a thunderbolt brandished in one hand and a round shield grasped in the other. The accompanying dedication describes this peculiar personage as theòs, a 'goddess,' not theòs, a 'god.'

1 Strab. 561.
2 F. Cumont—E. Cumont op. cit. p. 139 with fig. (=my fig. 499): 'il subsiste au village de Zougo un curieux morceau de sculpture. Ce bas-relief (H. env. 0,45, L. 0,59) est malheureusement placé derrière le tronc d'arbre creusé qui sert de lavoir communal et que nous n'ûmes faire enlever. On n'en aperçoit donc, dans notre reproduction, que la partie supérieure: le haut du corps d'un personnage à grosse tête barbue, brandissant le foudre de la main droite élevée et portant au bras gauche un bouclier rond. Le travail très grossier est manifestement l'œuvre d'un sculpteur indigène et j'inclinerais à reconnaître dans ce combattant quelque dieu anatolien; peut-être l'ancêtre du Zeus Stratiotis, honoré dans ce pays à l'époque de Mithridate.'

3 H. Grégoire 'Rapport sur un voyage d'exploration dans le Pont et en Cappadoce' in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1909 xxxiii. 171: 'M. Cumont, en 1900, photographia au village de Zougo, à l'entrée du Xilidoumo, un bas-relief de facture indigène et d'exécution très grossière, qui représentait une divinité anatolienne brandissant le foudre. Mais la moitié seulement de ce relief était visible. Nous le fûmes complètement dégager, et une inscription apparut, d'ailleurs fort effacée. Les premières lettres seulement en sont d'une lecture à peu près certaine: Zóphôs (ou Zóghô?) theòs. La ressemblance entre ce nom et le nom actuel du village (Zougo ou Zegou) est assurément frappante. La divinité représentée est féminine et cependant barbue. On peut rappeler que Zeus Stratiotis a été parfois vénéré sous la forme d'une idole androgyne.'

P. Foucart in the Mon. Prot 1910 xvii. 165 adds (after receipt of a photograph from F. Cumont): 'Quant à l'inscription, je pense, comme M. Cumont, qu'il vaut mieux considérer Zôphôs ou Zôghôs comme un nom propre féminin, à rapprocher du nom d'homme Zôphôs qui se rencontre dans des inscriptions d'Oblia [Carp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2079, 6]; les
Marble head of Zeus Labráyndos(?), found at Mylasa and now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

See page 597 f.
Suwasa and Zougo were remote villages, where barbarism lingered to the last. But Mylasa under Hekatomnos was the chief city of Karia, and must needs move with the times. Accordingly, though the old cult-image of Zeus Labráýndos was still enshrined at Labranda, advancing civilisation began to demand that the god be represented after a newer and nobler pattern. Hekatomnos, as we have seen, placed an improved type of him on the satrapal coinage. And it is likely enough that other attempts were made to raise the ancient deity above the level of semi-barbaric art. Interesting proof of this upward tendency has recently come to light in connexion with a magnificent head of Zeus, which passed from private ownership into the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (pl. xxviii). A. Furtwängler, shortly before his death, made a detailed and penetrating study of this masterpiece. His observations were to the following effect. The head is carved of a fine-grained marble, slightly bluish in tone. On the top of it is a round hole (5 cm deep, by 1—1.4 cm broad) and further back an oblong dowel-hole (3 cm deep, 2 cm broad, 6 cm long). These marks presuppose that something light, made of metal, rested on the head: let us say, a kalathos. Probably, too, the groove that separates the front hair from the crown of the head implies a metal wreath. The head (height of worked surface 0.48 m) was inserted in the neck of a statue, which presumably wore a chiton concealing the insertion. And, if a chiton, doubtless a himation also. Since the god is turning his head somewhat towards his right, and since the right side of his head is more carefully finished than the left, it may be inferred that he was grouped with another figure, perhaps a seated female, on the left. The nearest stylistic parallels are to be found in the sculptures from the Mausoleum. And Furtwängler

lettres θα sont suivies d'autres lettres qui ne présentent aucun sens. Cette figure me paraît être une répétition grossière et altérée d'une divinité indigène, armée de la foudre, à la poitrine de femme et barbue, en un mot, d'un type assez voisin de celui du Zeus de Labranda.  

1 Supra p. 576.  
3 The head of Zeus Labráýndos wearing laureate kalathos and bay-wreath with diadem occurs on a copper of Mylasa issued by Augustus (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 130 pl. 22, 1 (= my fig. 500); cp. ib. p. 130 no. 19, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 425 no. 1, and Imhoof-Blumer Kleinas. Münzen i. 144 no. 1 silver of Augustus and Livia).  
4 Especially Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture ii. 126 no. 1054 pl. 20, 1, Collignon Hist. de
concludes that the artist was in all probability an Attic sculptor of the fourth century B.C., representing a non-Attic Zeus, some such deity as the Carian Zeus Labrýndos with kalathos, chiton, and himation. 'In the new head from Asia Minor,' he says, 'I think we can catch for the first time a clearly perceptible echo of Pheidias' great creation—not, of course, in the true Pheidiac style, but in the soft flowing lines of a contemporary of Praxiteles.' This mention of Zeus Labrýndos was a conjecture worthy of the great critic. A post scriptum by P. Arndt goes far to confirm it, viz., a report from the previous owner of the head that it was actually discovered at Mylasa.

Zeus Labrýndos can hardly be separated from Zeus Labráudios, whose precinct is still to be traced near Amathous in Kypros. The site was first detected by Césnola. In 1877 he records—

'another range of hills west of these ruins [sc. Amathous], on the summit of one of which, very difficult of ascent, situated between the two small villages of Aghios Dimitri and Fasuli, I found the ruins of an elliptical structure measuring twenty-seven feet by sixteen. Its area was strewed with pieces of broken statues, upon two of which an eagle was carved. I discovered also on the bases of two life-size statues to which the feet still adhered, Greek characters roughly but deeply cut in the calcareous stone (see Appendix). I should have liked to explore this spot thoroughly, as these ruins are not improbably those of a temple dedicated to Jupiter, but I had brought neither a tent nor provisions with me,' etc.

One looks in vain for the inscriptions to Césnola's Appendix. They are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, and were published in 1883 by I. H. Hall, who adds important extracts from

la Sculpt. gr. ii. 334 fig. 169. The style of the Boston head is happily expressed in Furtwangler's words: 'Es ist nicht die straffe und unnahbare Hoheit der phidiasischen Epoke, nicht das ruhelose stürmishe Wollen der Alexanderzeit, es ist ein freundliches, edel menschliches Wesen, das in schlichten, ruhigen und milden Formen hier sich ausspricht.'

1 Hence P. Arndt infers that the head represents Zeus Kários or Osórón or Labráundos or Strídias. He cites the view of Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 124 f. that the colossal torso of a seated male figure from the Mausoleum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture ii. 124 no. 1047), identified as a divinity—perhaps Zeus—by Sir C. T. Newton (A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchida London 1862 ii. 1. 221), was rightly regarded by K. L. von Uricü (Skapas' Leben und Werke Greifswald 1863 p. 197 f.) as Zeus Labráundos, the national god of Karia. But A. H. Smith Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture ii. 124 justly remarks that 'the figure would do equally well for Mausolos, or some other herosified ruler.'

3 Ohnefalsch-Richter Kypros p. 19 calls the village 'Pasoulla.'
The double axe and Zeus Labrâyndos

Cesnola's note-book. As to the elliptical temple, it appears that—
'the ellipse is truncated at one end, through the middle of which end was the entrance. Near the other end, inside, against either wall and opposite each other, are the pedestals (probably) of the two statues referred to.'

These statues were votive offerings by a man named Oliasas¹ and another named Demetris and may be dated between the third and the fifth centuries A.D. Fragments of a third statue seem to belong to the cult-image, though neither head nor double axe² were found. Hall saw that Zeus Labrânios is simply the Cypriote equivalent of Zeus Labrâyndos, remarking that 'this part of Cyprus was settled by Carians or Lycians.'

Whether the Jupiter Laprius mentioned by Lactantius³ is another form of the same deity, as M. Mayer⁴ supposes, is doubtful. O. Höfer⁵ would find in him a Zeus Lâphrios comparable with Apollon Lâphrios and Artemis Lâphria. Others⁶ have thought of the Cretan Zeus Elaphrós. And a corruption of Zeus Lapârstos⁷ is a further possibility. All these and dozens of other names—Greek, Latin, Etruscan, Iberian, and Celtic—are regarded by W. Vollgraff⁸ as metamorphoses of the same Protean lábyrys.


¹ Hall cp. cli.rior of Mylasa, one of the Ionian tyrants (Hdt. 5. 37).
² A tetorbol struck c. 400 B.C. at some uncertain mint in Kypros has for obverse type a panther (?) scratching his right foreleg with his right hind paw. Above him is the head of a double axe and an inscription in Cypriote characters, which has been read as ?Σα.τω-σα.τε-σα- (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Cyprus p. 71 pl. 13, 12, Babelon Momm. gr. rom. ii. 2. 825 f. pl. 136, 18). Conceivably this stands for Σα.τω-σα., which occurs as a title of Zeus at Thespiai (Paus. 9. 26. 7 f.), and of Dionysos at Troizen (Paus. 2. 31. 5) and Lerne (Paus. 2. 37. 2), if not also at Thespiai (cp. Anth. Pal. 9. 603. 1 (Antipatros of Sidon)—referred by O. Benndorf to the Thespiads of Praxiteles).

Zeus Labrâyndos (?) on a copper of Keramos is accompanied by a lioness (?) or panther (?) (supra p. 575 n. 6); and it is on a lioness (?) or panther (?) that the Hittite bearer of the double axe stands at Boghaz-Keui (supra i. 599 n. 6, 603, 605 fig. 476, ii. 552, 560).

⁴ Supra p. 588 n. 1.
⁵ M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1506 (correcting Laprius into Labrios).
⁶ O. Höfer in Roscher Lex Myth. ii. 1850.
⁸ Infra Append. I.
⁹ W. Vollgraff 'Δάμπος' in the Rhein. Mus. 1906 lxii. 149—165—one of the wildest articles ever perpetrated in the name of 'Philologie.'
(θ) The double axe and the Labyrinth.

M. Mayer¹ was the first to suggest that the word Ὅβρηνθος, the 'Labyrinth,' should be brought into the same connexion and so taken to denote 'the place of the Double Axe.' A few years later a similar view was expressed independently by P. Kretschmer². And this opinion, despite certain doubts and difficulties³, has won its way to almost universal acceptance⁴. I share in the general conviction, and am here concerned merely to emphasise two aspects of the central fact.

One is this. The Cretan Ὅβρηνθος is the equivalent of the Carian Ἀβράντα, Λάβρανδα both in point of its main formative element (λάβρυς) and in point of its suffix (νη = να)⁵. If, therefore, we were right in thinking that Λάβρανδα was called 'the place of the Double Axe' because repeatedly struck by lightning⁶, we must give a like explanation of Ὅβρηνθος. The place where the lightning fell in the form of the sky-god's axe would be deemed specially sacred to the sky-god. And mimetic dances in his honour provide the requisite transition from Ὅβρηνθος, 'the place of the Double Axe,' to the classical Labyrinth, a dancing-ground made by Daidalos

¹ M. Mayer in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1891 vii. 191 (Δᾶβρωνθος is for ἄλβρωνθος, a possible adjectival form of λάβρων).
² P. Kretschmer Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache Göttingen 1896 p. 404 (Δᾶβρωνθος is a Cretan corruption of the Carian Δᾶβρανθος or its alternative form Δᾶβραντα).
³ See the objections summarised by Gruppe Myth. Lit. 1908 p. 266. E. G. de Sanctis in the Rivista di filologia 1902 xxx. 100f. observes that the double axe is represented in other structures (Phaiastos) of the Cretan civilisation beside the palace at Knossos; why then should this alone have been termed 'the House of the Double Axe'? And W. H. D. Rouse in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1901 xxxi. 274 notes 'the metathesis of ν which is unexampled.' E. Assmann too in Philologus 1908 lxvii. 190f. complains of 'Der Einschub, die Epenthese eines ν zwischen β und ρ.' (But have we not an analogous case in labyrinths? The ancients may have fancied a resemblance to the λάβρων in its flowers. Cp. κλειξος supra p. 588 n. o.)
⁵ R. M. Burrows The Discoveries in Crete London 1907 p. 117 ff. (with Appendix B by R. S. Conway) prefers to connect Δᾶβρωνθος, Δᾶβρανθα, etc. with Δάβρα, a 'passage,' Δᾶβρα, a 'Passage place.' On this showing Δᾶβρωνθος, Δᾶβρανθα would signify properly a 'place of Passages.' Phonetically this appears to be possible. But?
for Ariadne. The mediaeval maze with its cie12 still retains a vestige of the original significance.

Again, the whole history of the lábrys in Asia Minor shows that it was essentially the weapon of a god, not a goddess. And this holds good for Crete as well as for Karia. The Cretan double axe was, in my opinion, primarily the attribute of Kronos and only secondarily, if at all, the attribute of Rhea. With the fall of the 'Minoan' civilization the axe passed from the old sky-god Kronos to the new sky-god Zeus, throughout preserving its character as the tangible token of the lightning-flash.

(i) The double axe and the labarum.

In 312 A.D. Constantine the Great crossed the Alps to attack Maxentius and pitched his camp over against the Mulvian Bridge near Rome. Lactantius, a contemporary authority (c. 314 A.D.), is careful to add that October 27, the anniversary of the day on which Maxentius had been proclaimed emperor, was approaching and that the Quinquennalia, four-yearly contests in honour of Iupiter Capito-

linus, were drawing to a close. These contests began on October 15 and were originally connected with the temple of Iupiter Feret-

trius, whose special attribute was the feretrum or cross-shaped trophy-stand suggestive of the spolia opima. Such were the circum-

1 Supra i. 481.  2 Supra i. 486.

3 I agree with H. R. Hall Egean Archaeology London 1915 p. 152: 'Since the Double Axe, the lábrys, was the special emblem of the Carian Zeus at Labraunda, it would appear that this national weapon was (as would naturally be expected) the emblem of the god rather than of the goddess. The Knossian Palace was probably one of the chief seats of the worship of the god, and as such obtained its traditional name of lábropsosthe, the Labyrinth, "the Place of the Double Axe."' Also with D. Mackenzie in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1905—1906 xii. 219: 'the cult of the God of the Labrys or Double Axe, which was common to Caria with Crete, does not necessarily lead us to the assumption of derivation either way. On the hypothesis of racial affinity between the people of Caria and the prehistoric inhabitants of Crete, the cult of the divinity in question may be native to south-west Anatolia, equally with Crete, without any need for the perils assumption that it was from Caria the divinity passed to Crete. If the assumption of derivation one way or the other were to be at all admitted, the probability in the circumstances would appear more feasible were the derivation regarded as having been the other way about.'

4 Supra p. 543 ff.  5 Supra p. 554 ff.

6 Lact. de mortibus persecutorum 44 imminebat dies quo Maxentius imperium ceperat, qui est a. d. sextum Kalendas Novembres, et quinquennalia terminabantur. commonitus est in quie Constantinus, ut caeleste signum dei notaret in scutis atque ita proelium committeret. factis ut iussus est et transversa X littera, summo capite circumflexo, xī bás (so I would restore the manuscript's xīβ). S. Baluzius defended circumflexo Christo. S. Brandt and G. Laubmann, after Cuperus and others, read Christum in scutis notat. quo signo armatus exercitus caput ferrum.

7 Cp. Suet. Dom. 4 instituit et quinquennale certamen Capitolino Iovi etc.


9 Supra p. 109.
stances in which Constantine had his famous dream. Lactantius continues:

'Constantine while resting was warned to put the celestial sign of God as a mark upon his shields and so to give battle. He did as he was bidden and, setting the letter X aslant and bending round its topmost end, marked χεῖ ρήδο upon the shields. Armed with this sign his soldiers advanced to the fight.'

The sign intended is almost certainly Π, and it is highly probable that in this we should recognise a time-serving modification of Jupiter's trophy-cross.

Eusebios ten years later (c. 324 A.D.)\(^1\) omits the dream, but states that after the victory over Maxentius Constantine had his own statue erected in the most public place at Rome with 'the trophy of the Saviour's passion' beneath his hand and 'the saving sign of the cross' on his right hand, a Latin inscription imputing his success 'to this sign of salvation, this true token of valour.'

The same author in his *Life of Constantine* (337 A.D.)\(^2\) claims to

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\(^1\) E. Venables in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 909 says: "transversa X litera, summo capite circumflexo (i.e. with a line drawn through the middle and turned into a loop at the top, forming the letter Ῥό) in Christum in scutis notat."

\(^2\) We thus obtain Π, no doubt; but we cannot legitimately extract it from Lactantius' Latin.—at least I do not see how transversa X litera is to mean 'a line being drawn through the letter X.'

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have had a detailed account of the vision from the lips of the victor himself:

'He said that about noon, when the day was already beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun, and bearing the inscription, CONQUER BY THIS. At this sight he himself was struck with amazement, and his whole army also, which followed him on this expedition, and witnessed the miracle. He said, moreover, that he doubted within himself what the import of this apparition could be. And while he continued to ponder and reason on its meaning, night suddenly came on; then in his sleep the Christ of God appeared to him with the same sign which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded him to make a likeness of that sign which he had seen in the heavens, and to use it as a safeguard in all engagements with his enemies. At dawn of day he arose, and communicated the marvel to his friends: and then, calling together the workers in gold and precious stones, he sat in the midst of them, and described to them the figure of the sign he had seen, bidding them represent it in gold and precious stones. And this representation I myself have had an opportunity of seeing. Now it was made in the following manner. A long spear, overlaid with gold, formed the figure of the cross by means of a transverse bar laid over it. On the top of the whole was fixed a wreath of gold and precious stones; and within this, the symbol of the Saviour's name, two letters indicating the name of Christ by means of its initial characters, the letter Π being intersected by Χ in its centre: and these letters the emperor was in the habit of wearing on his helmet at a later period. From the cross-bar of the spear was suspended a cloth, a royal piece, covered with a profuse embroidery of most brilliant precious stones; and which, being also richly interlaced with gold, presented an indescribable degree of beauty to the beholder. This banner was of a square form, and the upright staff, whose lower section was of great length, bore a golden half-length portrait of the pious emperor and his children on its upper part, beneath the trophy of the cross, and immediately above the embroidered banner. The emperor constantly made use of this sign of salvation as a safeguard against every adverse and hostile power, and commanded that others similar to it should be carried at the head of all his armies.'

The celestial sign described by Eusebios as 'the trophy of a cross of light' may be identical with that described by Lactantius. But the standard made in imitation of it was more elaborate and involved some new features. In particular, while retaining the old feretrum or trophy-cross as the support for an embroidered banner, it added at the top of all a wreath containing the monogram Χ. And this fresh symbol was from the outset accepted as an essential part of the Christian standard. C. M. Kaufmann, building on the labours of F. W. Madden, has constructed a useful chronological table of

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1 See further Euseb., v. Const. 2. 3, 2. 6—9, 2. 12, 4. 21, Sokr. hist. eccl. 1. 2 (lxvii. 37 Migne), Sozom. hist. eccl. 1. 3 f. (lxvii. 865, 868 Migne), Gelasios of Kyzikos 1. 4 (lxxv. 1204 b—c Migne).

2 C. M. Kaufmann Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie Paderborn 1913 p. 642 f.

the monograms and crosses found on the coinage of Constantine etc. He maintains that already in 312(?)—317 the forms ☣ ☣ ☣ ☣ occur on coins struck at Siscia in Pannonia Superior, the form ☣ on others struck at Tarraco on the east coast of Spain. But J. Maurice in his great work on Constantinian numismatics has given grounds for placing these mintage a few years later. According to him, the eighth issue at Siscia, comprising coins struck from 317 to 320, decorates the helmet of the emperor with two distinct forms of the Christian monogram— ☣ for CHRistós on the central band and ☣ for Iesōs CHRistós to either side of it (fig. 501), whereas the sixth issue at Tarraco, comprising coins struck between 320 and 324, has ☣ only as a moneyer's mark in the field of the reverse (fig. 502). P. Bordeaux, criticising the notion that two Christian monograms were thus used simultaneously and indifferently, contends that ☣ is a regularised form of ☣, which is merely ☣ writ small. Bordeaux may well be right. In any case the monogram ☣ underwent many variations of shape, not on coins alone, but on monuments of all sorts. A few fourth-century examples, found in our own country, are listed by T. Morgan and J. Romilly Allen. Thus a fine mosaic pavement in the exedra of a Roman villa at Frampton in Dorset associates the Christian monogram (fig. 505) with the head of Nepturnus and other pagan designs. Again, in another villa at Chedworth.

1 J. Maurice Numismatique Constantinienne Paris 1911 ii. 287 with fig., 329 ff. pl. 10, 4 (= my fig. 501) and 5.
2 Id. ib. ii. 283 ff. pl. 8, 7 (= my fig. 501), 8—10 bis.
3 P. Bordeaux in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1913 xxvi. 80—91.
5 T. Morgan Roman-British Mosaic Pavements London 1886 pp. 80, 211 ff., J. Romilly Allen Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland London 1887 pp. 74—77 fig. 2, 1 f. (= my figs. 503, 504) and 3 (= my fig. 505).
6 S. Lysons Reliquiae Britannica Romana London 1813 i. 3 ff. pl. 5—summarised by C. W. Bingham in The Archaeological Journal 1859 xvi. 186 ff., ib. 1865 xxii. 345. See further A. H. Lyell A bibliographical list descriptive of Roman-British architectural Remains in Great Britain Cambridge 1912 p. 19, and, for the accompanying inscriptions, E. Hübner in the Corp. inscr. Lat. vii no. 2.
The double axe and the *labarum* in Gloucestershire a stone, which forms the under part of the founda-
tion of steps leading into the corridor, has two similar monograms (figs. 503, 504) carved upon it. Among the numerous specimens in

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1 J. Buckman—R. W. Hall *Notes on the Roman Villa at Chedworth, Gloucestershire* Cirencester 1872. For bibliography see A. H. Lyell *op. cit.* p. 29 f.
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other countries we notice the gilded glasses from the catacombs of Rome¹. Here St Peter and St Paul appear as supporters on either side of the monogram (figs. 506—509), which is sometimes set on the top of a pillar (figs. 508, 509)². The two saints in this grouping are suggestive of 'Dioscuric' influence³.

The standard bearing the symbol ‡ is called labarum by Hegemonius⁴ (first half of s. iv), labarum by Ambrose⁵ (388 A.D.), Prudentius⁶ (402 A.D.), and later writers⁷—the word being Grecised⁸ as lábaron⁹, láboron¹⁰, lábouron¹¹, lábörön¹². Its derivation has been much


² R. Garrucci Storia della arte cristiana nei primi secoli della chiesa Prato 1881 iii. 146 f., 151 pl. 180, 1 (= my fig. 507), 2 (= my fig. 508), 3 (= my fig. 509), 9 (= my fig. 506).

³ Textile fabrics of s. vi—vii (?) at Crefeld (O. M. Dalton Byzantine Art and Archaeology Oxford 1911 p. 598 fig. 377) and from the shrine of St Servatius at Maastricht (F. Fischbach Ornament of textile fabrics London 1883 p. 3 pl. 3, A, G. Migne Lex. artis du tissu Paris 1900 p. 20 fig.) represent the Dioskouroi standing side by side on the top of a short fluted column or altar with a book against it at its base, while from right and left winged figures pour libations and attendants bring oxen to sacrifice.

⁴ Hegemonius acta Archelai 41. 9 f. p. 61, 8 ff. (ed. C. H. Beeson Leipzig 1906) non plane, non ista obscure et ignobiliter advenit ille qui perfectus est, id est Jesus Christus dominus noster. sed sicut rex adveniens ad urbem suam praemittit primo protectores, suis, signa, dragones, labaros, duces, principes, praefectos, et universa continuo continentur, alii vero metuuntibus, alii vero gaudentibus pro expectatione regis, et dominus meus Jesus, qui etc. So Fulgentius of Ruspe serm. 60 de S. Laurentio (lxx. 930 c Migne) super labaros fulget terreni regis triumphus martyris confessoris; etc. Ducange Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.v. 'labarum' cites also 'Glossae missae: Labarum, lata lancea vel vexillum.'

⁵ Ambros. epist. 40. 9 (xvi. 1105 A Migne) quid si aliis timidiores, dum mortem reformidant, offerant ut de suis facultatibus reparetur synagoga; aut comes uti hoc comporterit primo constituendum, ipse de christianorum censu exaequali iubeat? habebis, imperator, comitem praevaricatorem, et huic vexilla committes victoriae, huic labarum, hoc est, Christi sacramento nomine, qui synagogam instaurat, quae Christum nesciat? iube labarum synagogae inferri, videamus si non resistunt (Ambrose to Theodosios de propis of a certain synagoge in the east burnt at the instigation of a bishop, who has been hidden by the emperor to rebuild it).


⁷ De Vit Lat. Lex. s.v. 'labarum,' Ducange Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.v. 'labarum.'

⁸ E. A. Sophocles Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods Boston 1870 P. 707.

⁹ Germanus, bishop of Constantinople and patriarch, epist. dogmat. 1 (xviii. 149 A—B Migne) ἡγείαν προστάτας (θεος ἢ Θεός) ἐν τῇ παραμορφῇ τῇ Χριστού βασίλεια τὸ ἐνδόξων δῶτον καὶ ἐπίσημον λάμπαρον, τὸ κοσμούσιν λέγω σταυρόν, τὸ μέγα κατὰ τὸν θανάτον τῆς ἀθωτοῦ μεγαλύτερου πρόπλωτος κ.λ.κ.

For notes 10, 11, and 12 see p. 607.
The double axe and the *labarum* 607

discussed. Gibbon long since noted 'the efforts of the critics, who have ineffectually tortured the Latin, Greek, Spanish, Celtic, Teutonic, Illyric, Armenian, &c. in search of an etymology.' And E. Venables as late as 1908 declared it to be 'most probably of Basque origin!' Meantime in 1903 E. Conybeare had solved the problem: a modest foot-note in his *Roman Britain* puts the matter in a nutshell—'The Sacred Monogram known as *Labarum*. Both name and emblem were very possibly adapted from the primitive cult of the *Labrys*, or Double Axe, filtered through Mithraism.' The value of this acute suggestion obviously depends on the possibility of citing, not merely isolated examples of the Constantinian monogram from dates prior to that of Constantine, but rather a connected series of formal links between the *labrys* and *labarum*. Accordingly in 1908 I published the following diagram (fig. 510), which inserts a series of intermediate symbols taken in chronological order from the coinage of the Graeco-Scythian kings (5. iii—i B.C.). E. Rapp had already in 1866 brought these symbols into connexion with the *labarum*, though not with the *labrys*, and had assumed that they were solar

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10 In Euseb. *v. Const.* ind. p. 5, 4 f. Heikel la'. 'Εκφρασε σταυροειδώς σημεία, ἐπεὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου λάβαρον καλοῦν codd. T.V. read λάβων, but V has a over the first o.

A Latin form with o is attested by Greg. *Naz. or. 4* (contra *Julianum 1*). 66 (xxxx. 288 a—b Migne) *τελεά* ἔδει ἢ καὶ κατὰ τὸν μεγάλον συνθήματος. ὃ μετὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ παντελῶν, καὶ ἤγαν τῶν στατῶν ἐπὶ χείρος αἴρομεν, καμάντια λυτήρα ὅτε καὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους ὄνομαζον καὶ βασιλεύον, ὡς ἄν ἐπεις, τῶν λατρείων συνθήματων κ.τ.λ. And DDC. *loc. cit.* quotes *laborum* for *labarum* from sundry late sources. (In cod. Theod. 6. 25 de praepositis laborum (=cod. Justin. 12. 18) quia praepositi laborum nostro iudicio et stipendorum sodoris promoveuntur the manuscripts' reading *laborum* has been defended by the fifth-century *carmen de Iona* (formerly ascribed to *Tertullian*) 40 f. palpitat antemma stridens, labor horret ab alto, ipa etiam infringi dubitans infertitur arbor. But in cod. Theod. we should probably read the gen. plur. *laborum* and in *carm. sing. laborum*.

11 Const. Porphyrogen. *de cerim. aulae Byzant. 1. 1* (i. 11 Reiske) καὶ τὰ σκεύα τῶν διακοσμάτων, λάβων τῇ καὶ καμαντήρα, 1 append. (i. 502 Reiske) λασάμενων καὶ προ-

12 ἡνερευνών ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῶν τῶν σκευῶν, λαβωνων, οὗ τῶν κ.τ.λ.

13 Sozom. *hist. eccl. 1. 4* (lxvii. 868 A Migne) δυσταλεὶ ἔκλεταν ἀνδρα ἐπιστήμονας

χριστοῦ καὶ λίθῳ τιμῶς εἰς σταυροῦ σύμβολον μετακεκάσαι τὸ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους καλούμενων λάβων, 9. 4 (lxvii. 1605 A Migne) βάτερον δὲ τῶν σκέπτων, ὃ λάβων Ῥωμαίους καλούμενως καὶ γράμματα βασιλέως λαβων κ.τ.λ.

emblems adopted as an equivocal device by an emperor who wished to conciliate pagans and Christians alike. Finally in 1911 B. Schremmer, not realising that he had been anticipated by E. Conybeare, announced the derivation of labarum from labrys as a discovery of his own. He is, however, right in insisting, as against Rapp, that the Graeco-Scythian symbols are not solar signs at all, but mere combinations of letters, which represent the name of the moneyer or a mint-mark of some sort.

This—as I now admit—makes it highly improbable that we should see in them the connecting links between labrys and labarum. Again, Schremmer justly demurs to a view put forward in 1884 by L. Jeep, *viz.* that Constantine's sign was not, originally at least, a Christian monogram, but a semi-cursive form of the astrological symbol ⚪, which stands for the

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1 B. Schremmer *Labarum und Steinaxt* Tübingen 1911 pp. 1—51—a convenient little volume, to which I am indebted for several references both ancient and modern.
2 *Id. ib. p. 15 f.*
3 *Id. ib. p. 13.*
5 B. Schremmer *op. cit. p. 14.*
6 L. Jeep 'Zur Geschichte Constantin des Grossen' in *Historische und philologische Aufsätze Ernst Curtius zu seinem siebenzügigen Geburtstage* ...gewidmet Berlin 1884 pp. 81—89.
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lucky star of Venus.\footnote{This symbol, usually regarded as the mirror of Venus (A. Bouché-Leclercq L'astrologie grecque Paris 1899 p. xix), is explained by Jeep loc. cit. p. 89 as a derivative of φ (φωσφόρος).}

Having disposed of a solar and of a stellar hypothesis, Schremmer attacks the problem de novo, indeed ab ovo. Surveying the whole history of the double axe, he argues that in the Stone Age and the Bronze Age it was worshipped first as 'ein selbständiges Zauberk werkzeug\footnote{B. Schremmer op. cit. p. 31.} and then as the attribute of some deity; that in Asia Minor, to judge from numismatic evidence, the sacred weapon, there called the ῥάβρυς, survived, usually as a divine attribute, far into the historic period (c. 400 B.C.—c. 200 A.D.); that it received a fresh lease of life from its association with Iupiter Dolichenus, the Roman army taking it, under its old name\footnote{Id. ib. p. 40 notes Laburus as the name of a god worshipped near Emona (Laibach) in Pannonia Superior (Orelli Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 2017 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4877 = Corp. inscr. Lat. iii no. 3840 Laburo | ex vot. | sacr. | etc.), Labaro (2) as perhaps the name of a god in a Spanish inscription (M. Ihm in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1775 citing Corp. inscr. Lat. ii no. 733 (San Vincente near Norba in Lusitania) Labaro. n. e. n. | leg. pro?}, s(e?), s(quisque?), l(m), and Labarus as the name of a Gallic soldier (SIL It. 4. 232). That belated historian (s. xiv A.D.) tells how Constantine brought a big porphyry pillar from Rome to Constantinople\footnote{Nikephoros Kallistos hist. ecci. 7. 49 (i. 515 f. Ducaeus) ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπιλεγόμενῳ ἐν δεύτερῳ Κωνσταντινείῳ φόρρῳ καὶ τὸν πορφύρον μέγιστον κιόνα ἀπαστήσας, ὡς ἐκ τῆς ῥάβρας ἱεράς, ἐν τῷ θεόν τοῦ ἐν τοίον αὐτοῦ ἐνυψωτοῦ χαλκοῦ. ἐν ψυχὴν ὕψους μέγιστον τῆς δικτύου χαλκόν ἐκάθισεν τοῖς τιμωρίων κατετήρης ταμίων ἐγκράτεις ταύτα: 'οὖν, Χριστί ὁ θεὸς, τυφλοὶ Ἰακώβ τῆς πλήρης ταύταν. ἡ ψυχὴ τῇ τυφλῆς τῶν τύφλων δόξας, ὑπάκουά της τῆς τύφλως βάσιν καθήσεται τοὺς ὕψους τοῖς ἤθες ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν ἤθων στρατήγων, ὡς ἐν τοῖς τύφλοις τῆς τύφλως καταβάται καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγάλματι τῆς τύφλως κατέχοντο. καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγάλματι τῆς τύφλως ψυχήν παρακαλεῖ. | Hesych. Illustr. de Milletos πᾶτρα Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 41 p. 17, 13 ff. Preger (s. vi A.D.) καὶ τῷ πορφύρῳ καὶ περίβλεπτος πλωτείν, οὕτω ἔτοιμος ἰδρύσαι πολιστικὸν ὄρμαν ἐκ στολῆς πολλατοῦ πολιτεῖας Ανώνυμος πάτρας 45 p. 138, 11 ff. Preger. See further E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 987.} and then as the attribute through Pannonia and Raetia into Germany and Gaul; that in the north like met like, when the double axe of Iupiter encountered the hammer of Donar; and that from the north Constantine brought a military signum, bearing the ancient name of labarum, to which later the monogram of Christ was attached. Very ingeniously, but also very improbably, Schremmer supposes that Constantine ascribed his victories to the possession of an actual ῥάβρυς and finds a distorted allusion to it in a curious passage of Nikephoros Kallistos. That belated historian (s. xiv A.D.) tells how Constantine brought a big porphyry pillar from Rome to Constantinople\footnote{Id. ib. p. 40 notes Laburus as the name of a god worshipped near Emona (Laibach) in Pannonia Superior (Orelli Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 2017 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4877 = Corp. inscr. Lat. iii no. 3840 Laburo | ex vot. | sacr. | etc.), Labaro (2) as perhaps the name of a god in a Spanish inscription (M. Ihm in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1775 citing Corp. inscr. Lat. ii no. 733 (San Vincente near Norba in Lusitania) Labaro. n. e. n. | leg. pr?}, set upon it a bronze effigy of himself holding in his right hand a large golden apple surmounted by the cross, and buried beneath its base a variety of sacred relics including 'the axe with which Noah made the ark.' The big pillar still stands in a square at Stamboul marking the site
of Constantine’s Forum. But it is a charred ruin. The statue on it was upset by a great south wind in 1105 A.D. The porphyry drums were encircled by bands of iron before 1561 A.D. The four marble steps then visible were concealed, probably after the fire of 1779 A.D., by a clumsy cloak of masonry. Does the base yet guard the axe of Noah as part of its ‘inviolable treasure’?

Schremmer looks to the Germanic north for an explanation of the *labarum*. I should look rather to the east, where Constantine had served under Galerius for the best part of a decade (296–306 A.D.). When we remember, on the one hand, the rôle played by the double axe in the religion of Phrygia, on the other, the fact that Noah in the Ark appears on coins of the Phrygian Apameia Kibotos from the end of the second to the middle of the third century A.D., it does not seem extravagant to conjecture that the axe of Noah was but the ancient Anatolian *lăbryς*, in a novel Jewish disguise. Indeed, it is more than probable that in the near east the cult of the *lăbryς*, under various modifications, lingered on throughout the early centuries of the Christian era. F. Legge has recently drawn attention to the Ophite diagram of the supramundane region, which included two pairs of concentric circles, the one pair inscribed ‘Father’ and ‘Son,’ the other pair coloured yellow and blue, and between them a barrier in the form of a double axe. The original

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2 Hence it is called ‘la Colonne Brūlē.’


4 P. Gyllius *De topographia Constantinopolitana, et de illius antiquitatisibus* Lugduni 1561 p. 142. Cp. E. Oberhumer loc. cit.: ‘türkisch Dicemberli Tisch (d.i. ‘Säule mit den Reifen’).

5 J. Ebersolt *Constantinople Byzantine et les Voyageurs du Levant* p. 79 f.

6 Id. ib. p. 156.


8 *Supra* p. 572.


10 F. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Cambridge 1915 ii. 67.

11 Orig. εἰς Δλίτρας δ’ ὁ γενέας (εἰς ὁ Κέλσος) τοῖς ἅπα ἀπὸ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἐβουλθή ὑπ’ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ διώκησις, τῶν μηδεν ἐχότων κανών πρὸς ἐκεῖνο, διὰ μὴν άλλ’ ἀττα εἰκόνες, ἄπαντας τὰ ἐκείνων ἠπειροῦντο στὶς ἑκέντρους (σο P. Koetschau). ἔνας γὰρ ἀθωμά α’ ἀντί τού ἕκτα ἐκέντρο ἐγγυοστότα γὰρ τοια μεταζέ τῶν ἐπερεισμῶν.
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home of the Ophites was Phrygia; and there can be little doubt that in this, the central portion of their otherworld chart, they sought to combine old Phrygian beliefs with new Christian teaching. The appearance of a labrys in such a context is in the highest degree significant: it attests precisely the same spirit of accommodation that we detect in the Constantinian labarum. Another Gnostic reminiscence of the double axe has been recognised by F. de Mély in the first book of the Kyranides. The author of that magico-medical compilation, who writes under the name of Hermes Trismégistos (the late Greek equivalent of the Egyptian Thoth) at some date prior to c. 408 A.D., informs us in his prologue that he has put together the book of Kyranos king of Persia and another book dedicated by Harpokration of Alexandrea to his own daughter.

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On the Phrygian conception of the Son as a rebirth of the Father and its relation to Christianity see supra. 287 ff., 291 ff., 303 ff. The colouration of the concentric circles, yellow and blue, may have been suggested by the zones of aithēr, the 'burning sky,' and aēr, the 'moist sky' (supra. l. 101 fig. 74).

1 F. Legge op. cit. p. 28.
2 On the Phrygian conception of the Son as a rebirth of the Father and its relation to Christianity see supra. pp. 287 ff., 291 ff., 303 ff. The colouration of the concentric circles, yellow and blue, may have been suggested by the zones of aithēr, the 'burning sky,' and aēr, the 'moist sky.'
4 W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 792 ff.
5 F. de Mély Les Lapidaires de l'antiquité et du moyen âge Paris 1902 iii. 1. lxxi notes that the Kyranis is quoted c. 408 A.D. by Olympiodorus (M. Berthelot—C. E. Ruelle Collection des anciens Alchimistes grecs Paris 1888 Texte grec p. 101, 13 n. and 17 (Traduction p. 110) Olympiod. 52 ἐν τῷ Κυρανίδῳ...ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ βιβλίῳ.
6 Quis? F. de Mély op. cit. Paris 1902 iii. 1. lxxii conjectures that Kyranos may have something to do with Kei Kaous, a Persian king described by the Mobed Bahram as belonging to the dynasty of the Keianides and living in the age of Solomon (J. Mohl in the Journal Asiatique Troisième Série 1841 xi. 321 ff.).
7 C. Graux held that the Harpokration in question was the writer of the letter Ἀρτοκρατίου Καλαρά Δούλου (sc. Julian) χαῖρεν κ.τ.λ. (Rev. Philol. N.S. 1878 ii. 65 ff.), to be identified both with the Egyptian friend of Libanius (O. Seeck in Pauly—Wissowa
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The extant text shows that both sources contained a ritual invocation of the vine couched in poetic and to a large extent rhythmic language:

'...the white vine has other orderly and most charming effects, making a man in his cups to be not only sober but merry as well. Thus far Kyranos. But from the aforesaid point, where my authorities diverged, this is how Harpokration continues: "Blessed plant, leader of the gods, mistress of earth, sky, and air, thou that relaxest the mind by thy cluster-bearing drink, so loosening every limb, and causest sleep, no one by word, no healer by potion, may none shall prevail against thee; but thou bringest to light all that is in the souls of mortal men, and of them that have mystic thoughts in secret thou, o Vine, having knowledge un-

Real-Enc. vii. 2410) and with the Alexandrine rhetorician Valerius Harpokration (H. Schultze ib. viii. 2412 f.). F. de Mely op. cit. Paris 1902 iii. 1. lxii ff. thinks that the Harpokration of the Kyranides may have come from Alexandria near Babylon. Non liger. Sec Gossen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 2416 f.

1 F. de Mely op. cit. Paris 1898 ii. 1. 10, 7 ff. = Kyran. I. A. 28. 'o dé lekikí ámpelos éxai kai álloa énergia kai kárpestatai, ústē en pátoi me mónon kephalaiotai elai tina, álalλa kai eōchián éxwv. 29. éwv enantía mēn o Kyranos óstos: atop tēn õantrē tēs õantrēs diaforasiai éxai. kai (at leg. diaforasiai éxai? A. B. C.) ótōs tōv 'Aρσενηρων λέγεται. 30. 'mákaia botaíṇ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̄...
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utterable will reveal all that is wrought by writings unique or sovereign remedies, yea all the hidden meaning of knife or double axe. Let these words be said as the mysteries of the Vine." It has also other orderly virtues, so that among mortals its name must not be taken in vain. Next, the sacred account, as given in the Kyranis, saith as follows: "Blessed God-sent queen, God-sent cluster-bearing mother of every divine nature—EUA—thou that art foremost among plants of earth—EAOE IEIO EUIEIE—being a denizen of Olympus." Having said this into a cup, empty it into a jar, whence all drink and depart with good cheer, no man having come to words.

Harpokration's allusion to 'the hidden meaning of knife or double axe' as 'the mysteries of the Vine' certainly seems to imply some quasi-Dionysiac survival of the labrys. It is unfortunate that further details are wanting.

One other fact in connexion with the double axe should here be noted. Its pictograph passed readily into linear forms, and thence into syllabic and alphabetic characters. Sir Arthur Evans has pointed out that the Aegean Χ or Χ is comparable with Χ the Sabaean form of the Semitic letter zain, whose name is held to denote 'a twofold weapon.' It follows that the double axe was the original source, from which was derived, not only the Phoenician J, but also the shape (though not the name) of the Greek Ι or Z, the Latin Z, and the English Z. Again, the monograms above cited from the Graeco-Scythian coinage of Bactria and India (s. iii—i B.C.) were clearly suggested in the first instance by the outline of a double axe. Simias of Rhodes (c. 295 B.C.) even arranged a whole poem on the axe of Epeios in such a way as to resemble its two-bladed subject.

Suppose, then, that Constantine during his stay in the east had observed the double axe, a symbol of ancient and mysterious sanctity with a marked tendency to take on the shape of definite letters, he might well enough think of adopting it as a sign that would appeal at once to pagans and to Christians. For, just as the trophy-cross, symbol of Jupiter Feretrius, was modified into the

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2 Other forms that fall to be considered are the Iberian ✱✱✱✱✱✱✱✱✱✱ mem or coins of the Turdetani (P. Berger Histoire de l'écriture dans l'Antiquité Paris 1891 p. 336, Sir A. J. Evans Scripta Minoa i. 99 fig. 44*), the Cypriote Ψ le (id. ib. i. 71 fig. 39), the Sicilian Ψ epsilon (Roberts Gk. Epigr. i. 136), the Venetic, Sabellian, Etruscan, and Faliscan sibilant ẞ (J. Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1617 ff.), and the Latin numeral ẞ or mille (J. C. Egbert Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions London—Bombay 1866 p. 73). Of course, it must not be hastily assumed that similar characters are of similar origin.
3 Supra p. 608.
4 C. Haebelini Carmina Figurata Graeca Hannoverae 1887 p. 70.
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Christian monogram \( \mathfrak{H} \), so the double axe, symbol of the Anatolian Zeus, could be easily transformed into the Christian monograms \( \mathfrak{H} \) \( \mathfrak{X} \) \( \mathfrak{X} \). It was by no accident that Constantine in his labarum combined the token of the god supreme in the west with that of the god supreme in the east, thus linking Jupiter with Zeus under the name of One greater than either.

\((κ)\) The double axe and other forms of Zeus in the East.

Zeus Labrynydos was by no means the only god that in Asia Minor armed himself with the primeval thunder-weapon. Of Zeus

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*Fig. 512.*

Dolichatos or Jupiter Dolichenus I have already spoken at length. Another semi-oriental form of Zeus appears on red relief-ware of the seventh century B.C. found in Rhodes and Karia. A fragment

1 *Supra* p. 601 f.
2 *Supra* p. 603 f.
Zeus in the East

from Kameiros (fig. 512)\(^1\) represents a male figure, presumably Zeus\(^2\), grasping a pointed sword in one hand and a double axe in the other as he advances to fight a beardless Centaur, who holds before him a small tree, roots and all, behind him a branch. The type was repeated by means of a wooden cylinder rolled round the clay vessel, while yet moist: a second Centaur and parts of a second Zeus are visible. Other fragments from Datcha on the Carian coast reverse the motif (fig. 513)\(^3\), which was evidently popular for the decoration of large pithoi and is once at least treated in a more advanced style (fig. 514)\(^4\). P. V. C. Baur\(^5\) rightly insists that this stamped pottery exhibits certain patterns characteristic of Hittite art. And we have noted Hittite traits, not only in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus\(^6\), but also in that of the Rhodian Zeus\(^7\). Very possibly, then, the axe-

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1. A. Salzmann *Nécropole de Camiros* Paris 1875 pl. 26 a (= my fig. 512).
3. F. Dümmler *Pithosfragmente aus Datscha*' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 230 f. fig. 1 (= my fig. 513). P. V. C. Baur *op. cit.* p. 85 fig. 17 (from a photograph). Baur states that the Berlin Museum has recently acquired fragments from Datcha stamped with the same design.
4. F. Dümmler *loc. cit.* 1896 xxi. 233 ff. pl. 6 (= my fig. 514), P. V. C. Baur *op. cit.* p. 85 ff. pl. 11 no. 217 (photograph).
5. P. V. C. Baur *op. cit.* p. 85 f.
7. *Supra* i. 642 f.
The double axe in the East

bearer of the red relief-ware is the Hellenised form of an originally Hittite sky-god. If so, we shall best call him Zeus.

Strabo\(^1\) in his account of Kappadokia states that next to the king in importance ranked the priest of Ma at Komana, the priest of Zeus at Venasa, and the priest of Zeus Dakiendos. The appellative of the latter Zeus is connected by P. Carolid\(is^2\) with the Armenian word *daku*, 'an axe', and taken to mean 'the Axe-bearer.'

Less probable is Carolidis’ contention\(^4\) that Zeus Genetai\(os^5\),

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1 Strab. 536 f. *ἐν δὲ τῷ Μοριανῷ τῷ ίερῷ τῶν ἐν Οὐσηράσει Δίως, ιεροθεόλοις κατοικίαιν ἔχουσι τρισχείλιοι σκηναί τι καὶ ἱππαίρειν εἰςκαταν, παρέχουσαν πρόσοδον ἐπιθέσιοι ταλάντων πεντεκαιδέα τῷ ίερῷ: καὶ οὗτοι ἔστι διὰ μίου, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς Κομάνως (cp. Strab. 535), καὶ δευτεράδικα κατά τιμίαν μετ’ ἐκείνουν. τρίτη δ’ ἐστιν ιεροσεύμενη Δίως Δακείριον (T. Tyrwhitt cj. Δακείριον τι Δακείριον για Δακείριον οὗ. A. Koraës ακέραστος Δακείριον. P. Carolidis thinks that the title was Δακίεριος or Δάκος; but see F. de Saussure *Les noms grecs en -ρεῖος et le phrygien* in E. Chantre *Mission en Cappadoce 1833—1834* (Paris 1898 pp. 185—191) λειτουργικαῖα τεατην, αξίδολοι 3’ δ’ δουλοι. ἐνταύθα δ’ ἐστὶ λάκκοι ψαμμοί ϒθατοι, αξιολογοῦν Λαμνην ἐχουν περιμετρον, ὑφναι κλείσιες ἐφυλαί τε καὶ ἐγκαίας, ἀντ’ ἐχουν κατάβασις κλιμακώδης. το δ’ δουλο 3’ τι ἀδειθαι φασιν, ἀντ’ ἀπόρρους ἐχουν ὀδαμοῦ φαινών. The reconstitution of the text is due to G. Kramer, who suggested that τρίτη—φαινάν should be transposed so as to follow ἐν δὲ—ἐκείνουν. With the salt pool of Zeus Δακείριον cp. the salt water of Zeus Ὀσσυά (infra p. 58 f.). P. Carolidis *Die sogen. Assyrischalinder und Hittiten von Kleinasiien* Athen 1898 p. 67 n. would identify the cult-centre of Zeus Δακείριον with the modern Için. Axes in jadeite and bronze have been found in the tell of Kara-Euyuk (E. Chantre *op. cit.* p. 78 f. figs. 56—59).

2 P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg i. E. 1913 p. 55 f.

3 Akin to our word *dagger* (Boisacq *Dicit. etym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 343 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 290).


otherwise known as Zeus *Eúxeinos* or *Xénios*, who had a sanctuary on the Genetaean headland adjoining the Pontic river Genes, derived his title from *genets*, 'an axe'; though that derivation would harmonise well with the neighbourhood of the Chalybes.

On the whole, it may be predicted with assurance that the thorough exploration of Asia Minor, which despite all drawbacks must some day be completed, will accumulate further evidence of an axe-bearing Zeus, successor and heir of a yet more ancient sky-god.

(λ) **The double axe in the West.**

It would seem, then, that over a wide area, from Doliche in Syria to Tarentum in Calabria, the prehistoric lightning-axe passed through the successive phases of fetish, attribute, and symbol. In western Europe analogous causes were doubtless at work; but their results are either wholly hidden from us by the darkness of barbarism or at best dimly discernible on the fringe of advancing civilisation.

Double axes of copper, with the hafting hole too small to be of use for tool or weapon, and therefore probably intended for purposes of exchange or ceremony, make their appearance in the west as far back as the Copper Age. A. Lissauer holds that they were imports from Kypros and attempts to trace the routes by which they travelled through Europe. But Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, arguing that double axes with effective hafting are limited to the Mediterranean area, whereas double axes with ineffective hafting belong almost exclusively to the north, denies that Kypros was the centre of distribution and classifies the northern axes under three local types of separate origin. In Bronze-Age deposits ceremonial axes

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4. Steph. Thes. Gr. L. n. 568 B.  
5. Supra i. 631 f., 648.  
of a different sort have come to light. C. F. Herbst published two of single blade found at Skogstorp near Eskilstuna in Sweden and another found in the Amt wood near Veile in Denmark. All three, in lieu of solid metal, had a thin coating of bronze over a clay core; and the first two were adorned with plates of gold and studs of amber. We have, however, no proof that any of these axes had a definitely religious significance. The copper double axes very possibly served as a currency unit for the living, the bronze single axes as suitable gifts to the dead.

More *ad rem* is A. Blanchet's observation that over and over again both in France and in Sweden axes of stone or bronze have been found carefully arranged in symmetric circles, perhaps with a view to solar cult. Besides, bronze axe-heads from the burial ground at Hallstatt are in some cases furnished with the small figure of a rider or a horse (fig. 515), which J. Déchelette takes to be an emblem of the sun, though it may have some other meaning.


2 A. Blanchet in the *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1903 pp. 137—141 draws up a list of such cases, which is doubled in length by J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. i. 483 n. 2.

3 E. v. Sacken *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt in Oberösterreich und dessen Alterthümer* Wien 1868 p. 41 f. pl. 8, 2—4 (my fig. 515), Forrer *Realect* p. 329 pl. 82, 3—5.

4 J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. i. 482 fig. 205, 5.
The double axe in the West

Not till we reach the Roman period can we beyond all question connect the axe with particular deities. A plate of copper discovered near Cadenet in the district of Apt amid a heap of ashes to the west of a circular wall records the gift of an axe to Mars and an axe to Dêssiva¹ (a Celtic goddess²) in fulfilment of a vow³. Six

![Fig. 516.](image1)

![Fig. 517.](image2)

little hatchets of bronze found in the ruins of a temple at Allmendingen near Thun bear votive inscriptions 'to Jupiter,' 'to the Matres' (fig. 516), 'to the Matronae,' 'to Mercurius,' 'to Minerva' (fig. 517), and 'of Neptunus' respectively⁴. In Gallia Lugudunensis Esus the axe-god was associated with Iovis and Volcanus⁵, while

¹ Corp. inscr. Lat. xii no. 1063 (with fig.) d(onum) d(at) Quartus Mar(ti) secu(rem) d(onum) d(at) θ (?) Dêssive Quartus secu(rem) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

² M. Ihm in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 295.


⁵ Supra i. 481 n. 9, ii. 547 n. 10.
The axe carried by priests and priestesses.

Among the sculptures decorating the gateway of the Hittite palace at Eyuk is a relief (fig. 518), which represents two pairs of male figures engaged in some ritual or ceremonial action hard to interpret. On the left a couple of men clad in short tunics confront each other. The taller man wears a conspicuous earring and grasps a long staff, which is grasped also by his shorter companion. On the right is a second couple again consisting of a taller and a shorter man. The one wears a close-fitting cap, an earring, a trailing robe with a surplice over it, and tip-tilted shoes; he holds with both hands an axe of unique design—the blade being crescent-shaped.


5 Its character as an axe is recognised by A. J. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iv. 1167 n. 9 and by E. Meyer loc. cit. G. Perrot’s original comparison with the
and perforated, the handle prolonged above it so that it could be grasped at either end. The other man, who is seemingly nude, stands at a little distance facing the axe-bearer with a gesture of respect. What these various figures signify, we cannot tell. But it is reasonable to suppose that the personage carrying the two-handed axe is a priest, who holds out the weapon of his god for the approaching worshipper to clasp, much as Ahasuerus held out to Esther the golden sceptre.

Fig. 518.

A glandular sardonyx from the Vaphio tomb (fig. 519), now in the Central Museum at Athens, has incised upon it a beardless man in a long robe, who raises his right hand in the attitude of adoration and supports on his left shoulder an axe crescentic and holed as before. G. Perrot and C. Chipiez took him to be perhaps a man sacrificing. A. Furtwängler suggested that he might be meant for a priest, or for a god, possibly Zeus. And L. A. Milani declares that he is an armed deity comparable with the Hittite sceptre and ring on the rock-cut reliefs of Bavian (Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art ii. 636 ff. fig. 310) and Maltai (ib. ii. 642 ff. fig. 313) is misleading.

1 Esther 4. 11, 5. 2, 8. 4.
4 Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art vi. 977.
5 Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen ii. 13.
6 Milani Stud. e mat. di arch. e num. 1902 ii. 8 fig. 109.
The axe carried by priests and priestesses

Sutekh. However, a glance at the gem from Melos\(^1\) already discussed makes it fairly certain that this is no axe-bearing divinity, but a mere mortal; and I should be content to see in him a priest carrying a ceremonial axe. The same tomb yielded an actual speci-

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\(^1\) *Supra* p. 544 fig. 419.

\(^2\) Ch. Tsountas *loc. cit.* p. 155 f. pl. 8, i, Perrot—Chipiez *op. cit.* vi. 977 fig. 553; Staats *op. cit.* p. 155 f. no. 1870, A. J. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1167 fig. 6265.

\(^3\) See Sir J. G. Wilkinson *A popular account of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1854 i. 362 f. fig. 319, 1—6, Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1902 ii. 8 f. fig. 112, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 66 f. fig. 57, A. J. Reinach *loc. cit.*, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Tools and Weapons* London 1917 p. 9 f. pl. 6 f. *Infra* § 3 (c) i (x). Cp. also an interesting bronze, formerly in the Towneley Collection, which combines the shape of a perforated axe with the figure of a bull (*infra* § 3 (c) i (μ)), and a magnificent axe-head in the Museo Egizio at Florence (Milani *loc. cit.* fig. 113 = my fig. 541 f.), which possibly, but not certainly, had a sacred character.

\(^4\) Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1902 ii. 8 fig. 111 (= my fig. 520).
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god such as Sutekh. More probably it shows a priestess carrying the crescent axe for some ritual purpose. If so, the nearest parallels are a lentoid steatite from Knossos (fig. 523)¹ and a clay sealing from Kato Zakro (fig. 524)², on which G. Karo³ recognised 'Minoan'

Fig. 523.

Fig. 524.

priestesses bearing the double axe and the sacred robe of their goddess. Or should we rather say 'the sacred robe of their goddess and the double axe of their god'?

Two stone moulds found near Palaikastro in 1899 exhibit a whole series of designs relating to the Cretan axe-cult⁴. These in-

Fig. 525.

¹ Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1901—1902* viii. 101 f. fig. 59 (= my fig. 523, scale ½) speaks of the figure on this intaglio, found near 'the Court of the Oil Spout' in the Cnossian palace, as apparently a female divinity. But why?

² D. G. Hogarth in the *Journ. Hell. Stud. 1903* xxii. 78 f. fig. 5 (= my fig. 524, scale ½) thinks that between the two draped figures of this impression is 'a labrys suspended in air' (cp. *infra* p. 514 ff.). G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel. 1904* vii. 148 fig. 32 gives a redrawing of the seal, in which the labrys is definitely carried by the left-hand figure.

³ G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel. 1904* vii. 147 figs. 31 and 32.

⁴ S. A. Xanthoudides in the *Eph. Arch. 1900* p. 26 ff. pl. 3 f. (= my fig. 525 ff.), Milani
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clude a couple of ornate double axes, large and small, with multiple
blades (fig. 525); a pair of ritual horns (fig. 526); a large disk
resembling a four-spoked wheel decorated with dots and rays (the
sun?); a small disk, with central cross, two concentric rows of dots,
and a crescent between them (the moon and stars?), apparently
carried by a little female figure, since a head with rayed head-dress
is seen above and a wide-spread skirt (?) below; a female uplifting
flowers or poppy-stalks (?) in either hand, while another flower
springs from her flat head-dress (fig. 527); and lastly a similar
female raising a brace of decorated double axes (fig. 528). The two

Fig. 526.

Fig. 527.

flowers or poppy-stalks (?) in either hand, while another flower
springs from her flat head-dress (fig. 527); and lastly a similar
female raising a brace of decorated double axes (fig. 528). The two

1904 vii. 145 ff. figs. 27—30.

1 G. Karo in the Archiv f. Rel. 1904 vii. 147 'darüber gleichsam Schädel und Arme
eines Skeletts [1], unten ein weiter Frauenrock.'
large-sized females are regarded by Sir A. J. Evans and by G. Karo as goddesses. We should then assume—an easy assumption—that the earth-goddess had borrowed the sky-god’s axe. But the same figures are described by R. C. Bosanquet as women; and there is, after all, nothing to prevent us from supposing that they are a pair of priestesses displaying the emblems of the goddess and the god.

Athena, who in various ways recalls the great mother-goddess of Crete, is on occasion equipped with the double axe. Simias of Rhodes in his picture-poem the Double Axe makes Epeios the Phocian dedicate to Athena as an acceptable gift the axe with which he had made the wooden horse and thereby captured Troy. The fateful tool was to be seen in her temple at Eilenia in the district of Lagaria near Metapontum. Again, bronze coins of the Oxyrhynchite nome, struck by Domitian, Trajan (fig. 529), Hadrian (fig. 530), and Antoninus Pius, have for reverse type Athena bearing Nike in one hand and a double axe with straight or rounded edges in the other, while small pieces issued by Hadrian (fig. 531) show the double axe without the goddess. Lastly, a ‘Gnostic’ amulet in the

Fig. 528.

2 G. Karo in the Archiv f. Rel. 1904 vii. 147.
6 Aristot. mir. anac. 188, Lyk. Al. 948 ff., Inst. 20. 2. 1.
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St Geneviève collection (fig. 532) represents Athena armed with the double axe amid a group of Egyptising deities.

Traces of the Cretan axe might also be sought in the complex of myths relating to Theseus. For Theseus, though he became the national hero of Athens, had originally—as O. Gruppe has shown in detail—much to do with Crete and Cretan cult. Accordingly, we observe that in fifth-century art he constantly handles the double axe. The cycle of Thesean exploits told how Damástes the ‘Crusher,’ otherwise styled Prokroústes the ‘Hammerer’ or Prokroúsioi

néérie 1874 xv. 27 ff. pl. 1, 17 Trajan (=my fig. 529), 18 Hadrian (=my fig. 530), 19 Hadrian (=my fig. 531), G. Dattari Numi Augl. Alexandrini Cairo 1901 p. 417 f. nos. 6334 pl. 33, 6335 Domitian; 6336 pl. 34 Trajan; 6337, 6338 pl. 35, 6339 (axe only) pl. 35 Hadrian; 6340 pl. 36, 6341 Antoninus Pius. W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 442 follows J. de Rongé loc. cit. in identifying this Athena with the Egyptian Tefènet (on whom see G. Roeder in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 156 ff.).

3 Apollod. epit. i. 4, Flout. n. Thes. i. 11, Hesych. sv. Δαμαστής (sic). See C. Robert in Hermes 1898 xxxi. 149.
4 Diod. 4. 59 τῶν δ' ἐθνῶν τοίς πόλεσι προακρονεῖ, ἀφ' οὖντερ Προκρούστης ὑμικάθαρον.
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kóptes\(^1\) the ‘Cutter,’ beat out his victims with the iron mallet\(^2\) of his father Polyphemon\(^3\) or lopped their limbs to suit his fatal bed, till Theseus came and served him as he had served others. Attic red-figured vases from the end of the sixth century onwards depict the hero attacking his ferocious host with uplifted double axe\(^4\). Whence did he obtain the axe? Presumably he wielded it from the hand of Damastes and carried it afterwards in token of his victory\(^5\). However that may be\(^6\), the western pediment in the

C. Robert in U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff Aus Kydathen Berlin 1880 p. 237 pointed out that προκροφέως is the technical term for beating out a plate or bar of metal.

\(^1\) Bakchyl. 17. 27 ff. Πολυπήμονος τε καρπεράν οφούμαν ἐξέβαλεν Προκόπτας, ἀρέων τέχωι | φωτόι with Sir R. C. Jebb *ad loc.* O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2687 ff., following up a hint of Wilamowitz in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1898 clx. 142, holds that the subject of the sentence is still Theseus, who is here described as προκόπτας, the ‘striker of a lightning-blow,’ in opposition to the more ponderous Polyphemon (*Προκροφέως*), who because stronger is spoken of as ἀρέων...φωτόι. Ingenious, but unconvincing.


\(^3\) See J. Ilberg in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2683. O. Höfer *ib.* iii. 2684 ff., after G. Kirchner *Attica et Peloponnesiaica* Greifswald 1899 p. 64 n. 4 and O. Wulff *Zur Theesenage Dorpat* 1892 p. 179, thinks, that Πολυπήμων was originally an appellative of Hades, who sank successively from a god to a hero, and from a hero to a brigand. Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* *red.* p. 955 says: ‘er bedeutete den Todestag, der die Menschen auf das letzte, für alle gleiche Lager streckt’ (but see the folk-parallels in Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 503) and *op. cit.* p. 955 n. 3 adds: ‘Der Hammer...ist Symbol des ’Totentages; Charn, der etruskische ’Totentag, füht den Doppelhammer’ (*infra* p. 641).


\(^5\) We are nowhere actually told that Theseus took the weapon from Prokrouetes, though that is perhaps implied by Plout. *v. Thes.* 11 and is commonly assumed as self-evident (Harrison *Myth.* *Mon.* *Am.* *Ath.* p. 260, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2685, 2687). We need not think of the robber as possessing two implements, a hammer to lengthen out the short and an axe to shorten the long: an axe-hammer would have served both purposes.

\(^6\) A late black-figured skyphos at Petropóled bears on both front and back a design, which has been interpreted as Theseus attacking Skiron with a double axe in the presence of Athena (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 67 f. no. 116, *id.* in the *Compendio St. Pétro.* 1866 p. 155 fig.), p. 177 f., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 55, 6, O. Waser in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1011). And a red-figured kylix at Florence with cyclic illustrations shows the hero making for Sinis with the same tool (L. A. Milani in the *Museo Italiano di antichità classica* 1890 iii. 239 ff. pl. 3, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 529). But it would be unsafe to infer from such isolated representations that Theseus had a double axe independently of Prokrouetes. His ancestral weapon was, of course, the sword of Aigeus.

There is, however, some reason to connect the double axe with the legendary kings of Athens. When Krodos devoted his life for his country, he dressed as a woodman (Lyk. *Al.* 1378 ἀνάκτος τοῦ δρυκότου with Tzetz. *ad loc.*) and took in hand a double axe (Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 194 f.) ὃ γενός ὁ Κάδος καὶ στολὴ ἀγάμερος ὀδυμάμων, | πελέκει Δάκων τιμα κτείμιν ἀνταρκτίας or bill-hook (schol. Plat. *symm.* 208 ὃ γενός ὁ δύο τοῦ ὁ Κάδος, στολής ἐπετελείκε αἰκήν ὃς ἐξουσίαν καὶ ὀδυμάμων λαβὼν, τί νεῖν ὁμοῖα τοῖς πολεμιῷ προφέρει.)
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temple of Zeus at Olympia, carved before the middle of the fifth century perhaps by an Elean sculptor, figures him swinging the same trusty weapon against a brutal Centaur. Finally, Theseus was said to have freed from robbers the old mountain-road that led from Athens to Delphi; and, whenever the Athenians sent a sacred embassy along that road, it was customary for the procession to be headed by men bearing double axes as though to clear the way. In these peculiar axe-bearers I would venture to detect, not a meaningless company of pioneers, but the performers of an ancient 'Minoan' illumination, the true significance of which had long been forgotten. It is noteworthy that a fine axe of bronze, inscribed with 'Minoan' characters, has come to light at Delphi (fig. 533).

k.t.l.) In the Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 84 I suggested that this was an ancient ritual costume. But?

1 G. Treu in Olympia iii. 76 f. pl. 18-21, 2, pls. 26, 27, 1 f., Overbeck Gr. Plastik i. 317 ff. fig. 77 m and fig. 84, Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. i. 446 ff. fig. 233 A, B. The restoration of the axe is certain, thanks to Paus. 5. 10. 8 της Ἡθονος ἁμόνεμος πέλεκες τῶν Κεφαινος. So on a vase-fragment at Berlin (Eurtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin ii. 664 f. no. 2403, E. Curtius in the Arch. Zeitig. 1883 xlii. 348 ff. pl. 17, 1 f., Reinach Rep. Vases i. 450, 3 f.).


3 E. Pfuhl De Atheniensium pompis sacris Berolini 1900 p. 104 ff. 1


5 E. Curtius 'Zur Geschichte des Wengebaus bei den Griechen' in his Gesammelte Abhändlungen Berlin 1894 i. 33 (ep. p. 69): 'Erinnerung an die alten Werkmeister, die einst zuerst dem Gotte die Stege bereiteten.'

6 A. Boethius Die Pythais: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi Upsala 1918 p. 31 ff. thinks that the axes were originally votive, like the Tenedian axe (infra § 3 (c) i (a)). G. C. Richards in the Class. Rev. 1919 xxxiv. 113 says: 'Either this was the case, or they were relics of the ancient ritual, as observed in the case of the Buphonia' (infra § 9 (h) ii (a)).

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not to mention many little votive double axes of the same material (fig. 534, a—d)¹. P. Perdrizet², indeed, conjectures that Lābys, the eunuch temple-sweeper sometimes credited with the Delphic maxim ‘Know thyself’³, was the eponym of the Delphian phratry Lābyādai⁴, and that both names should be connected with the words Labyrinthos and lábrys.

A good example of the lábrys surviving for ritual purposes has recently been published by Schweitzer⁵. It is a bronze medallion from Smyrna, of the first or second century A.D., now in the Ethnological Museum at Munich. On it we see (fig. 535) a man wearing a pointed pîlos with chin-band and a heavy cloak, who puts incense

¹ P. Perdrizet loc. cit. v. 2. 119 ff. figs. 438, 439, 440 (= my fig. 534, a: length 0'095m), 441 (= my fig. 534, b: length 0'07m), 442. 443 (= my fig. 534, c: length 0'065m), 444 (= my fig. 534, d: length of axe-head 0'05m). 445.
² P. Perdrizet loc. cit. v. 1. 4.
³ Schol. Plat. Phileb. 48 C.
⁴ The Λαβρύδαν are mentioned in Roehl Inscr. Gr. ant. no. 319, 2 (a rock-cut inscription at Delphi) τῷ Λαβρύδαν (sic) and in J. Baumack in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscbr. ii. 718 ff. no. 2561 = Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 998 = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. ² no. 438 a 3, 7, 10, 19, b 64, 83 f., 101, 107, d 186, 207 f., 208 f., 214 (an inscription found at Delphi, giving regulations for the phratry Labypadai and dating from the close of s. v B.C.).
The axe carried by priests and priestesses on a *thymiaterion* with his right hand and shoulders a double axe with his left. A cord from his girdle is perhaps attached to the dog that is seen behind him, while a second dog beyond the incense-burner barks at the smoke. In the field is a bay-branch, and a large star or sun shines in the sky. Interpretation is difficult. The *πῖλος*, the dogs, and the brazier make one think of Hephaistos, whose temple on Mount Aitne had an ever-burning fire and a precinct full of sacred dogs¹: the god himself appears to have been a Grecised form of the Syrian Hadran². Schweitzer justly remarks that the priest of the medallion resembles his deity, but seeks to relate the latter to the Roman Robignus, the Greek Apollon *Erethimios*, and the Phoenician Rešef or Rešup (fig. 536)³—a connexion hardly proven, though by no means impossible.

In Italy too the axe retained its sanctity well into classical times. The Iron Age notwithstanding, priests continued to sacrifice with a bronze axe called *acieris*⁴ or, as some would have it, secces-

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¹ All. de nat. an. 11. 3.
² K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 405.
³ As shown on a razor from Carthage (A. L. Delattre in the *Comptes rendus de l’Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1900 p. 501 fig. (from which my fig. 536 is drawn) = Schweitzer *loc. cit.* fig. 2) and an Egyptian seal-cylinder at Berlin (H. Prinz *Altorientalische Symbolik* Berlin 1915 p. 120 pl. 12, 2).
⁴ Fest. p. 10, 1 Müller, p. 9, 9 Lindsay *acieris securis aeres*, qua in sacrificiis uetebantur sacerdotes. *Cp. Plaut. fab. incert. frag.* 28 Goetz—Schoell *ap. Philoxen. in the Corpus...
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pita. The pontifical axe that appears on denarii struck by

glossariorum Latinorum Lipsiae 1888 ii (ed. G. Goetz—G. Gundermann). 13 no. 9 acceres
(stic) &<p>&<n>&<o> ιεροφόρον αυ τον Παυλός and other glosses cited in the Theis. Ling. Lat. i.
399, 69 ff. Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb.3 p. 8 says: 'nach Bücheler Rh. Mus. XLVI (1891),
233 ff. zu aicas "Schneide, Schärfe," actarium "vulgärer Name des Stahls" (s. ulor).
Bildung unklar.'

1 Paul. ex Fest. p. 336, 9 Müller, p. 453, 16 f. Lindsay secespitam alii securim, alii
dolabram aeneam, alii cultellum esse putant. But see Fest. p. 348 a 4 ff. Müller, p. 471,
19 ff. Lindsay <s>secespitam esse Antisti <us Labeo (frag. 21 Funaioli) aut cultrum >
ferream, oblongum, mani <brio eburneo rotund >o, solido, vincet ad ca <pulum argentum
auroque, > fixum clavis aeneis, ac <cyprio, quo flam <nes, flaminicae, virgil <nes
potificesque ad sa »crificia utuntur » interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 4. 362. This more
detailed account is borne out by Suet. Tib. 25 nam et inter pontifices sacrificanti simul
pro secespitae plumbeae cultrum subicendum curavit. Walde op. cit.2 p. 692: 'jedenfalls zu
seco... obgleich die Bildung (oder Zusammensetzung?) unklar ist (s. caespes).'

Fest. p. 318 ö 16 ff. Müller, p. 422, 32 ff. Lindsay scenae ab aliis, a quibusdam sacena
appellatur dolabra pontificalis, Paul. ex Fest. p. 319, 8 Müller, p. 423, 13 Lindsay scenae
de sacena dolabra pontificalis. Walde op. cit.2 p. 688: 'aus sœcena, zu saxum... secäre,
œcena.' De Vit Lat. Lex. s.v. 'sacena', 'sœcena' explains Liv. 41. 15 bovis sacenaris
as 'an ox struck by the pontifical axe.'
632 The axe carried by priests and priestesses

P. Sulpicius Galba¹ c. 69 B.C. (fig. 537) is surmounted by a lion's head. Denarii issued by Iulius Caesar² in Gaul c. 50—49 B.C. (fig. 538), small bronze pieces with similar types circulated in 49 (?) B.C., after his departure, by A. Hirtius³, aurei and denarii struck by Caesar⁴ himself at Rome in 49 B.C. (fig. 539), denarii and quinarii of 43 B.C.

bearing the names of M. Antonius and M. Lepidus⁵ (figs. 540, 541), exhibit the same sacrificial axe topped by a wolf's head with open jaws. These animal heads must not be regarded as merely decorative: rather they give graphic expression to the death-dealing force conceived as resident in the axe itself⁶. Two specimens of


⁵ Morell. Thes. Num. Fam. Rom. i. 11 f. pl. Aemilia 2, 6, Babelon Monn. rép. rom. i. 150 f. nos. 27 fig., 28, 29 fig., 30, 31 fig., 32 fig., Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. ii. 302 ff. no. 31 pl. 103, 6, no. 32 pl. 103, 7, no. 33 pl. 103, 8, nos. 34, 35.

⁶ Cp. e.g. a Persian axe-head of bronze, found at Ekbatana (Hamadan) and now in the British Museum, which ends in a stylised lion (W. Greenwell in Archaeologia 1902 iviii. 9 fig. 11, Forrer Reallex. p. 66 fig. 56); an Armenian axe-head of bronze from Van, which has a lion with two hounds in a like position (W. Greenwell in Archaeologia 1902 iviii. 9 fig. 10, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie Tools and Weapons London 1917 p. 13 pl. 11, 140); Scythian model axe-heads of bronze, from Jarmlintsy and from the district of Romny, terminating in animal heads (E. H. Minns Scythians and Grecians Cambridge 1913 pp. 72, 178 fig. 73). See also the axe-heads from Hallstatt (supra p. 618 fig. 515).
The axe carried by priests and priestesses

the symbolic or model axe-head in bronze have come down to us. One in the British Museum has a perforated crescentic blade backed by a bull, the whole measuring some three inches in length (fig. 542). The other, once in the Forman collection, is very similar in design and size, but has a solid blade (fig. 543). The bull presumably, though not quite certainly, here stands for the victim sacrificed.

In this connexion a word may be added concerning the axes carried by Roman lictors. It seems probable that they were ori-

Fig. 542.

Fig. 542 is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming.

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 357 no. 2959 (wrongly described), supra p. 622 n. 3.
2 Sir C. H. Smith The Forman Collection : Catalogue of the Egyptian, Greek & Roman Antiquities London 1899 p. 29 no. 160 fig. (= my fig. 543) : 'Sacrificial axe (?). The blade, which has an almost lunate edge, appears never to have been sharpened. The thicker part above the blade is modelled in the form of a bull, whose hollow body is intended for receiving the heft. At the point where the heft is inserted is a slight prolongation with two grooves, intended for the attachment of the binding; between these grooves a hole is pierced, probably for a rivet, and two further holes are left, one on each side of the blade. Along the back of the animal a club is moulded in relief, the handle towards its tail; and below the bull's belly on each side is a sacrificial knife (? in relief... The form of knife here shown seems to be represented on Pergamene coins of Maximinus... Height 0.08 in.; width 0.095 in.; greatest thickness, 0.025 in. [For 'in.' read 'm.' A.B.C.] On a label inside is written, "Pr. Vans, 1865." The axe was acquired by Mr W. T. Ready.
The axe carried by priests and priestesses part of a tiny galloping horse (fig. 544). Denarii of C. Norbanus issued at about the same date have a similar axe placed between a corn-ear and a caduceus (fig. 545) or between a ship’s prow on one side of it and a corn-ear with a caduceus on the other (fig. 546). Asses of P. Canidius Crassus, the legate of M. Antonius, struck perhaps in Egypt after 31 B.C. for Caesarion, exhibit the horse on a somewhat larger scale (fig. 547). The little steed—a detail duly


noted by old Rasche, though ignored by recent numismatists—may be compared with the horse on the bronze axe-heads from Hallstatt. Further, the rods bound round the lictor's axe by means of a red leather strap recall the bundle of divining rods used e.g. by the Scythians and the Germans, and were perhaps in the far past employed for purposes of divination. Be that as it may, rods thus brought into contact with a sacred axe and thereby charged with its virtues would doubtless be deemed of especial value in expelling evil from a malefactor.

That the axe-bearers of the Byzantine court had any such religious history behind them, we have no reason to think.

(v) The decoration of the double axe.

Sacred and symbolic axes are sometimes characterised as such by their material or ornamentation. Thus the thin triangular axe-heads of jadeite, nephrite, and chloromelanite, which date from mesolithic or neolithic times and are widely distributed in southern and western Europe, have been regarded by W. Osborne as ceremonial or princely weapons. And the magnificent axe-hammers of blue or green stone found in the débris of the second city at


1 Rasche Lex. Num. iv. 1732, viii. 312.
2 E.g. by E. Babelon and H. A. Grueber.
3 Supra p. 618 fig. 515. A Syro-Phoenician axe-head of bronze in the Berlin museum is shaped like a half ellipse with two large holes in the blade: on it are two small lions in the round facing each other over their prey (L. Messerschmidt in the Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen 1909 xxx. 97 ff. fig. 62, Am. Journ. Arch. 1909 xiii. 367 fig. 3).
4 Lyd. de magistrat. 1. 33 p. 33, 10 ff. Wünsch.
5 Hdt. 4. 67.
7 Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 362 n. 3, infra § 3 (c) i (σ).
8 See e.g. Frazer Golden Bough: The Scapegoat p. 264 f. ('Beating people with instruments which possess and impart special virtues').
9 Anna Komenna Alex. 14. 3 (ii. 269 Schopen), Io. Kinnamos hist. 1. 3 (p. 8 Meineke), 3. 4 (p. 97), 4-21 (p. 187), Niketas Choniates Isaac. Angelus et Alex. fil. 4 (p. 745 Bekker), Georgios Pachymeres de Andron. Palaeol. 1. 27 (ii. 77 Bekker). The πελεκήφοροι mentioned by these authors are, of course, to be distinguished from the mere διονυσείς of Georgios Pachymeres de Mich. Palaeol. 6. 29 (i. 504 Bekker).
10 For bibliography see J. Schlehm Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte Berlin 1908 pp. 150—152 figs. a, b.
11 W. Osborne Das Beil und seine typischen Formen in vorhistorischer Zeit Dresden 1887 p. 27 pl. 5, 3.
12 W. Dörpfeld Troya und Ilion Athens 1902 i. 375 fig. 326.
13 Id. ib. i. 374 fig. 323, cp. i. 375 figs. 324 and 325.
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Troy have been recognised by S. Reinach as cult-objects: it might even be held that they were made of lapis lazuli, jadeite, etc. just because the colours of these stones were deemed suitable to the belongings of a sky-god.

Again, a perforated axe of amber, nearly five inches long, from Bohuslän (fig. 548) is described by O. Montelius as a symbolic or votive weapon. The same might be said of a smaller specimen discovered by A. Pasqui in a grave of the Early Iron Age at Bisenzio. Amber beads in the form of double axes and hammers (figs. 549, 550) have frequently come to light in the long barrows of

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Denmark and southern Sweden1: M. Hoernes2 and B. Schnittger3 take them to be symbols of the sky-god or thunder-god; and, remembering that jewelry in general often originates in magic4 and that amber in particular seems to have been associated with the sun-god5, we may readily grant that the beads in question had some such religious significance.

In the sanctuary at Nirou Khani near Knossos S. Xanthoudides discovered four enormous double axes of bronze, with flat blades rivetted to their sockets6. These were of course ritual in character. But miniature axes in gold, electrum, or gilt bronze would likewise be appropriate to the flashing god of heaven. The yellow double axes of the sarcophagus from Hagia Triada were supposed by R. Paribeneti to represent originals in gold or gilded metal7. Bull8's-heads with double axes of thin gold were found by the score at Mykenai8. And small double axes made of bronze plated with gold came from a treasure-chamber in the palace at Knossos (fig. 551)9. The trinkets recovered by D. G. Hogarth from the statue-base of the oldest (c. 710—c. 660 B.C.) Artemision at Ephesos include a

2 M. Hoernes Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen Wien und Leipzig 1909 ii. 345 ('Sie sind wohl Symbole einer (Himmels-)Gottheit und liefern ausserdem einen Beleg für die oft vorkommende Sitte, kleine Abbilder grosser Gebrauchsgegenstände als (talismanische?) Schmuckform zu tragen').
3 B. Schnittger in Hoops Realesx p. 399 pl. 33, 1 f. ('Die religiöse Bedeutung dieser Perlen als Symbole des Donnergotts ist auffällig').
5 Supra p. 498.
6 S. Xanthoudides in the Κριτική 'Εφημερίς Aug. 5, 1919, Sir A. J. Evans The Palace of Minos London 1921 i. 436 f. fig. 313 (a specimen 1·20m in diameter). The associated pottery was of the 'Late Minoan i' period.
7 R. Paribeneti in the Mon. d. Lincei 1908 xix. 29 and 43 (cited supra p. 518 n. 1).
8 Supra p. 538 fig. 409.
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diminutive double axe of electrum (fig. 552), dark electrum pinheads showing a ball on a plinth composed of four double axes, earrings of electrum, and a bead of gold embellished with double axes. Further, in view of the fact that the word lábrys is Lydian, it is interesting to note that a hoard of jewelry found in 1878 near Tralleis (Aïdin) in Lydia and referable to the seventh century B.C. contains numerous double axes made of thin gold plate. They are decorated with rosettes, circles, and dots (fig. 553). One piece, shaped like a single axe with a semicircular perforated blade, has

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2. *Ib. ib.* p. 101 pl. 6, 15 and 29, pl. 10, 47.
3. *Ib. ib.* p. 103 f. pl. 6, 58 f., pl. 10, 38 and 46.
roundels ornamented with the heads of rams and bulls, two heads of griffins, two starry disks, and an archaic female figure flanked by lines of zig-zags (fig. 554). Lastly, a gold hair-pin from the necropolis of Koban takes the form of an axe with recurved blade, the socket of which is adorned with a little group representing a stag attacked by two hounds (fig. 555)\(^1\).

Sir Arthur Evans draws attention to the fact that the double axe in ‘Minoan’ art is frequently adorned with diagonals and zig-zags (fig. 556)\(^2\). He contends that

\(^1\) N. Kondakov—J. Tolstoi—S. Reinach *Antiquités de la Russie méridionale* Paris 1891 p. 459 fig. 402 (= my fig. 555: on a reduced scale).

\(^2\) Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 53 fig. 15 (= my fig. 556. cp. M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1915 p. 515 fig. 2: (a) Double axe on vase-fragment; (b) Bronze votive double axe from Dictaean Cave; (c) Bronze votive double axe from Dictaean Cave, with right wing restored; (d) Double axe on cornelian from Kabousi, enlarged). For other examples see D. Mackenzie in the
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despite these markings 'had a special religious association'\(^1\); and I have elsewhere\(^2\) hazarded the suggestion that they symbolised the

lightning\(^3\). A parallel might be sought in the crossed lines and

\(\text{Fig. 556.}\)

\(^{1}\) Sir A. J. Evans loc. cit. p. 52.

\(^{2}\) Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 406.

\(^{3}\) On the zigzag representation of lightning among the Greeks and Romans see T. H. Martin \textit{La foudre l'électricité et le magnétisme chez les anciens} Paris 1866 pp. 396 ff., 411 ff.
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chevrons that appear on Charon’s hammer in a tomb-painting at Vulci (fig. 557); for, if we may assume that he was originally a god of the Underworld, his hammer could be taken chthonian thunderbolts, and the zigzags upon it chthonian lightnings. It was perhaps these ‘nether thunderbolts’ that earned him the very sobriquet of Charáon, ‘He of the Flashing Eyes’. Further reflexion has,

1 H. Brunn ‘Pitture etrusche’ in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1849 xlv. 356 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* vii pl. 31, 1 (of which my fig. 557 is an excerpt), E. Saglio in Darmberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1100 fig. 1359. Further bibliography in W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* Leipzig 1912 i. 323, who notes that the paintings are not earlier than 300 B.C.


Personally I incline to think that Charon was, to begin with, an Anatolian god of the Underworld (J. C. Lawson op. cit. p. 116 makes him a Pelasgian god of death) much like Hephaistos, that he has left traces of his early cult in the various Ἀρχών or Ἀρχόν of the Maiandros-valley (O. Waser *Charon, Charus, Charos* p. 61 ff., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2183, L. Bürchener and W. Ruge *id.* iii. 2183 ff.), and that he was brought by the Etruscans from Lydia to Italy. When and where he acquired the traits of the grim ferryman is a problem as yet unsolved. In any case he stands for the lower, as Zeus for the upper, world: cp. Asop. *prov.* 5 (E. L. von Leutsch—F. W. Schneidewin *Patoemographi Graeci Gottingae* 1851 ii. 283) ἦ Ζεύς ἦ Χάρων· ἦ θάλαμος βίου ἦ τέλος.


4 U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff *Homerische Untersuchungen* Berlin 1884 p. 225

C. II.
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however, led me to abandon any such view of the patterned axe or hammer, as involving a piece of—I do not say impossible, but at worst improbable and at best unproved, symbolism. I incline rather to take a hint from my friend Dr A. C. Haddon, who points out that patterns of the sort are often to be derived from the lashing used to hold an early axe-head in position. The double axe, when a sacred weapon, would tend to be decorated; and its decoration need not have a more recondite meaning.

A neolithic celts of greenstone published by C. Blinksberg has incised upon it an arborescent design (fig. 559) resembling the Donnerbesen or ‘thunder-bosom’ marked on the walls of old-fashioned houses in Holstein, Vierlande, etc. as a protection against lightning. Now Donnerbesen is the name popularly given in Germany and Switzerland to the mistletoe or to any bushy

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1 Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 417 ('Xapov..ist eine Art Kurzform zu xap-oros, mit (wild) funkeln dem Blick'). On lightning as a flash from the eye of a deity see supra p. 501 ff.

2 B. Schmidt Das Volkseben der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 224 ff. justly compares the fiery eyes of Charon as described by Verg. Aen. 6. 300 stante lumina flamma (in culex 216 f. flagranta taenis) lumina is the reading of the better codex. B. C. H.) with the lightning glance repeatedly attributed to him in modern Greek folk-song (e.g. A. Passow Popularia carmina Grac sia recensioris Lipsiae 1869 no. 428. 4 xan tasaq to tò bleuma ton, no. 430. 10 and no. 516. 20 xan tasaq tò mára: see also N. G. Polites op. cit. ii. 254 f., J. C. Lawson op. cit. p. 100.)

3 A. C. Haddon Evolution in Art London 1895 p. 85 f. pl. 1, 1—3.

4 C. Blinksberg The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore Cambridge 1911 p. 98 fig. 34 (= my fig. 559) a celt (0.2m long) of unknown provenance, formerly in the Kynh collection, now owned by A. Petersen of Lyngby in Denmark.

5 C. Petersen Der Donnerbesen (xxi. Bericht der Königl. Schleng-Wolstein-Lauenburgischen Gesellschaft für Sammlung und Erhaltung vaterländischer Alterthümer) Kiel 1862 (extr. from the jahrbuch für die Landeskunde der Herzogthümer Schleswig u. w. 1862 v. 225 ff.)


4 Fraulein J. Mestorf in the Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 1890 xxi. (184) with figs. 1—3 (Holstein), Virchow 1800 xxii. (77) figs. 1 and 2 (pattern in brick-work of a Saxon smithy, Holstein), id. id. 1890 xxii. (554) (Vierlande, on houses dated 1618 and 1626 A.D.).

growth on the boughs of trees, such parasitic plants being deemed the product of a lightning-flash. Sir James Frazer (herein following A. Kuhn) points out that the Druids too regarded oak-mistletoe as fallen from heaven, and suggests that, in their view, the plant left on the oak by the lightning was nothing less than lightning itself, or at least a visible emanation of celestial fire. If so, a broom of mistletoe or the like would be the best possible lightning-rod; and even its effigy in the brick-work of the doorway would save the house from the most destructive storm. Since neolithic celts were in a later age held to be thunderbolts, they might well be adorned with such a symbol as this. Precise parallels from the classical area are wanting; for, though the double axe is intimately associated with sacred trees, no specimen as yet discovered bears a definitely arboreal device.

Passing from flora to fauna, we have next to notice a double axe of bronze discovered by the Italians at Phaistos (fig. 560). This masterpiece of the founder's art, which, according to A. Mosso,

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2 E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 121.
4 Fried *Golden Bough*; Balder the Beautiful ii. 301.
5 A. Kuhn *Die Herkunft des Feuers und des Göttertrunks* Gütersloh 1886 p. 204.
7 Supra p. 389 ff.

A neolithic celt, found at Loudun (Vienne) in central France, had incised upon it, perhaps in Roman times, a sign resembling a key (W. Deonna *Clefs et haches* in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1910 xxi. 219-232 argues that the celt was a thunder-stone and the key a lightning-sign, the whole forming 'une amulette funéraire, où la clef doit ouvrir au mort les portes de l'au-delà'). Mr M. C. Burkitt, to whom I applied for further examples, tells me that there is in the Museum at Carnac 'an engraving of a fish (poor) on a flat celt', and refers me to L. Giriaux *Hache polie avec gravures sur les deux faces* in the *Bulletin de la société préhistorique française* Séance du 23 Nov. 1911 (cruciform signs, etc.).

10 Supra p. 516 ff., infra §3 (c) i (p—q).
11 Sir J. Evans *The Ancient Bronze Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments, of Great Britain and Ireland* London 1881 p. 107 fig. 98 shows a winged celt from Trilllick, Tyrone, on the sides of which a kind of fern-leaf pattern has been punched (cp. p. 61 fig. 26 a flanged celt from Dams, Fife, and p. 123 fig. 136 a socketed celt from Winwick, Lancashire, with an apparent tree-pattern.
12 A. Mosso *The Down of Mediterranean Civilization* London 1910 pp. 318—320 fig. 180 (=my fig. 560).
13 Id. ib. p. 319.
644. The decoration of the double axe

must have been cast à cire perdue, bears as central decoration a

Fig. 560.

Fig. 561.

Fig. 562.

1 Supra i. 723 f., 725 n. 8. Dr L. R. Farnell writes to me (July 31, 1919): 'You
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superb moth of the stylised sort, with spiral antennae, a ringed body, and two scalloped wings showing circular eyes. It resembles the moths on the golden disks (figs. 561, 562) and plaques from the third shaft-grave at Mykenai and, like them, betokens the presence of a soul. Incidentally, its round open eyes on head and take the Talo-stony as proof that the Minoan artist knew hollow bronze casting—but the myth about the nail and the vein would be consistent with solid casting: there is as yet no archaeological evidence that the Minoans knew the hollow process.'


2 H. Schliemann op. cit. p. 176 fig. 256, Perrot—Chipiez op. cit. vi. 968 with fig. 544.

3 Sir A. J. Evans The Palace of Minos London 1921 ii. 705 f., figs. 538, 539 shows that these 'Late Minoan i' representations were preceded by 'Middle Minoan iii' seal-types (Zakro, Knossos), in which eyed butterfly-wings formed one element in a complex of fantastic decoration.


According to O. Keller loc. cit., the death's-head moth (Acherontia atropos), so common in southern Europe, flitting about the garden-tombs of a summer's evening, with its weird mask, its uncanny squeak, and its fondness for honey, was early held to be an embodiment of the soul and as such is represented on the gold-work from Mykenai. In the Alexandrine age the moth was displaced by the butterfly—a gay and more frolicsome insect associated with Aphrodite and Eros, Dionysos and Priapos. Hence πυχα came to be used of the butterfly, especially of the 'cabbage white' (Pieris brassicae or the like), first in Aristotle (H. Bonitz Index Aristotelici Berolini 1870 p. 866 a s.v. ψυχα), while conversely papilio is sometimes found in the sense of 'soul' (Corp. inscr. Lat. ii no. 2146 = F. Bücheler Carmina Latina epigraphica Lipsiae 1807 ii. 850 f. no. 1851 (from Obulco in Hispania Baetica) heredibus mando etiam cinere ut m[era vina ferant,] volltet mens ebris papilio, etc., cp. Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 2631 = F. Bücheler op. cit. ii. 489 no. 1663 (from Rome) papilio volita(n)s | textu religatus | ararist : illi praedae rep(ere)n, buic | data mors subit:ast). Ultimately the brief life and the senselessness of the butterfly, which gets its wings singed in the nearest flame, led Christians to regard it as the very type of a careless and worldly soul. From sombre moth (all that!) to frivolous butterfly (only that!)—an instructive chapter in semantics.

A banded sardonyx at Copenhagen (L. Müller Description des intailles et cames antiques du Musee Thorvaldien Copenhagenae 1847 p. 164 no. 1510, L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pét. 1877 p. 90, Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 24, 59 (= my fig. 563), ii. 123) shows a butterfly approaching an ithyphalic herm, while a peacock is seated on the edge of the fountain-basin: fine work of the Roman period. Other gems combine a large phallos with a butterfly and a snail: so on an agate belonging to a private collection in the Netherlands (L. J. F. Jansen Nederlandsch-Romeinsche Daktylotheek Leyden 1844 pl. 3, 88, L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pét. 1871 p. 282: the stone is inscribed Κëbëw) and on a cornelian in the Hermitage (L. Stephani ib. 1877 p. 89). But the closest parallel is furnished by an early Attic black-figured amphora at Berlin (Furtwängler Vasenmann. Berlin i. 222 no. 1684: on the right, a bearded man dancing; on the left, a bearded man playing the double flute—sein
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wing would serve as a powerful prophylactic. Thus the axe on which the creature appears was not only animate, instinct with divine life, but also sacrosanct, protected against the approach of evil. Mosso surmises that it was 'a weapon for ceremonial use.'

Small votive double axes of bronze, marked with concentric circles, are not uncommonly found in the Greek area. Two came

Fig. 564. Fig. 565.

Fig. 566. Fig. 567.

to light in the Altis at Olympia, one to the south-west of the temple of Zeus (fig. 564), the other at its north-western angle (fig. 565). Another, from Athens, much like the first of these, is in the Museum at Copenhagen. Two more turned up in the precinct of Artemis at Lousoi in Arkadia (figs. 566, 567). Another was associated

Phallus is horizontal erigiert und vier r. Samentropfen fallen nieder in der Richtung auf einen Schmetterling... der in der Luft fliegt und im Verhältnis viel zu gross gemacht ist'). Was the soul-butterfly popularly connected with the seminal fluid (κραμβίδες and κάμως) spring from the dew that falls on cabbages (Aristophanes of Byzantium hist. an. epit. i. 36 p. 8, 10 ff. Lambros έα της δράσεως της ώτη τα φόλλα της κράμβης πιντοσάν ή λεγόμεναι κραμβίδες και κάμως), while manure breeds vermiculi under a waxing moon (Fulgent. myth. 2. 9)? Or should we assume a play on φαλλός and φόλλα (Hesych. s.v. φόλλα φόλλαν, η πετομένη ψυχή)?

1 A. Furtwängler in Olympia iv. 71 no. 524 pl. 26 (=my fig. 564) with remains of the haft in its hole.
2 Id. ib. iv. 71 no. 527 pl. 26 (=my fig. 565), W. H. D. Rouse Greek Votive Offerings Cambridge 1907 p. 388 fig. 51.
3 Id. ib. iv. 71: Copenhagen bronzes no. 1647.
4 W. Reichel and A. Wilhelm 'Das Heiligtum der Artemis zu Lousoi' in the Jahresh.
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with geometric ware in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (fig. 568). And yet another, made of bone, was acquired at Athens and is now in the interesting collection of Aegean antiquities lent by R. M. Dawkins to the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (fig. 569).

The resemblance of these little axes to butterflies is probably accidental. But the circles with which they are covered belong to a system of decoration widely prevalent in the Hallstatt period and are almost certainly prophylactic in character. J. Déchelette took them to be solar disks, and others have assumed that they are 'eyes.' In any case the axe as a sacred object was protected by their presence upon it.

Diminutive axes of bronze passed during the Early Iron Age

d. oest. arch. Inst. 1901 iv. 49 figs. 67 (=my fig. 567) and 68 (=my fig. 566): 'Gefunden an der Schuttstätte östlich des Buleterion' (map ib. p. 16 fig. 6).
2 Scale 1.
3 Numerous examples will be found in the plates of E. v. Sacken Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt in Oesterreich und dessen Alterthümer Wien 1868.
4 An analogy is afforded by the swastika found as a decorative device on axes, double or single. Thus A. Héron de Villefosse and E. Michon, among other acquisitions of the Louvre in 1899, mention: '100. Petite hachette votive à double tranchant, ornée sur ses deux faces de croix gommées légèrement gravées au pointillé et au trait; belle patine vert clair. Grèce' (Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1900 xv Arch. Anz. p. 157). And a single-bladed axe from Piedmont is similarly marked (O. Montelius La civilisation primitive en Italie depuis l'introduction des métaux Stockholm 1895 i. 183 pl. 33, 15, J. Déchelette Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique Paris 1910 ii. 1. 481 f. fig. 195, 2).
5 J. Déchelette op. cit. ii. 1. 457 ff. fig. 190.
6 Cp. J. Déchelette op. cit. Paris 1913 ii. 2. 870 f. fig. 364, 1—4 and G. Eisen 'The characteristics of Eye Beads from the earliest times to the present' in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1916 xx. 1—27 with 19 figs. in text and a col. pl. (see also some of the beads figured by the same author in his article on 'Button Beads—with special reference to those of the Etruscan and Roman periods' ib. 1916 xx. 299—307 with two col. pls.).
The decoration of the double axe

into mere pendants (fig. 570), and in the passage developed further features of magical potency. For instance, projecting lugs became, under the influence of a favourite Hallstatt *motif*, a pair of swan-

Fig. 570.

heads or duck-heads—witness one of the twenty-three little votive axes from Dodona (fig. 571) or a more elaborate specimen at

1 M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 p. 440 ff. pl. 10, 19 (= my fig. 570) from Austria.

I add, for comparison's sake, figs. 573, 574, which represent two axe-pendants of bronze, from Benin, now in the collection of Mr C. H. C. Visick. Scale 1.

Fig. 573.


3 C. Carapanos *Dodone et ses ruines* Paris 1878 pp. 100, 235 f. pl. 54, 6 (= my fig. 571).
The decoration of the double axe 649

Vienna (fig. 572). But projecting lugs were also suggestive of human arms, and it needed no great effort of imagination to transform the axe into a quasi-anthropomorphic pendant (fig. 575), complicated at will by the addition of rings, chains, etc. I figure an advanced type from a grave at Tribano near Padua (fig. 576) and two other examples from Italy that show an accumulation of apotropaic elements (fig. 577).

The prophylactic value of such pendants was doubtless high. It became higher still, when the sacred axe without losing all semblance of its essential shape was modified into a gong; for, as I have elsewhere insisted, great is the virtue of beaten bronze. Pythagoras, for instance, declared that the sound of bronze being beaten was the voice of some deity shut up within it. Tombs of the Early Iron Age in the vicinity of Bologna have yielded a number of such gongs together with their

1 M. Hoernes Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa Wien 1898 pp. 443, 473 pl. 19, 9 (= my fig. 572). 2 Antikensammlung des Allerh. Kaiserhauses zu Wien, Saal xii, Schrank vi, Nr. 315; id. op. cit. 3 p. 519 fig. 5, J. Dèchelette op. cit. ii. 1. 481 f. fig. 205, 3.

2 M. Hoernes op. cit. 1 p. 441 f. fig. 136 (= my fig. 572): a from Obervintl in the Puster Thal, Tyrol; b from the neighbourhood of Bologna; c, d, e from Proraz near Otočac, Croatia. See also L. Siret Questions de chronologie et d'ethnographie ibériques Paris 1913 i. 365 ff. fig. 136 ff.

3 M. Hoernes op. cit. 1 p. 442 pl. 10, 26 (= my fig. 576).

4 H. B. Walters in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 53 no. 344 (from Italy) and p. 57 no. 383 (from Ruvo) describes the first as a 'Human Figure, rudely represented by a plate of bronze' and the second as a 'Plate in the form of an axe-head'; he adds that the thing suspended on either side of the latter is 'a man or ape crouching and holding up some object between chin and knees.' My fig. 577 is from a photograph taken by Mr W. H. Hayles.


6 Aristot. frag. 191 Rose op. Porph. v. Pyth. 41, ep. All. var. hist. 4. 17.
The decoration of the double axe

hammers¹; the specimen illustrated was found at Villanova and is

Fig. 577.

¹ G. Gozzadini ‘Les fouilles archéologiques et les stèles funéraires du Bolonais’ in the Rev. Arch. 1886 ii. 130. See further the bibliography ib. p. 129 n. 2.
in the collection formed by Count Gozzadini (fig. 578)\(^1\). The gong as a rule is solid-cast, though one example is made of two thin plates of bronze soldered at the edges so as to enclose an empty

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\(^1\) *Mémoires pour l’histoire primitive et naturelle de l’homme* 1874 iv 289 figs. 105 and 106, G. Cotteau *Le Préhistorique en Europe* Paris 1889 p. 79, L. Pigorini in the *BBullettino di palestologia italiana* 1890 xvi. 62 fig. (=my fig. 578: scale \(\frac{1}{2}\)).
space two millimeters in depth and might be regarded as a cross between a gong and a bell. The hammer is regularly a hollow-cast cylinder with spheroidal ends.

L. Pigorini has pointed out that contemporary copies of these axe-gongs were made in terra cotta, and has published examples from the De Lucca estate at Bologna (fig. 579, c), from Montevaglio in the same neighbourhood (fig. 579, b), and from Solino near Imola (fig. 579, a). The Solino gong is decorated on both sides with circles, formerly filled with bronze studs, some of which are still to be seen fixed in the clay.

(E) The duplication of the double axe.

The ‘Minoan’ axe in religious surroundings exhibits a marked tendency towards duplication. To begin with, the sacred weapon is normally not the single but the double axe. Then, the craftsman or the artist has a way of making either wing of the implement twofold—witness the small steatite axe from Knossos (fig. 405), or the gold bucrania (fig. 400, c, d) and the gold ring from Mykenai (fig. 18), the clay sealing from Kato Zakro (fig. 524), the painted sarcophagus from Hagia Triada (pl. xxvii, a). Or he may duplicate the whole axe, so that we see as objects of veneration a pair of double axes with twofold blades: the same sarcophagus provides an illustration (pl. xxvii, b). Or again he may duplicate this pair of double axes with twofold blades, as on a clay sealing found near the ‘Room of the Archives’ in the Cnossian palace (fig. 580).

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1 G. Gozzadini *Intorno ad alcuni sepolti scavati nell’ arsenale militare di Bologna* Bologna 1875 p. 6 f. with fig. 15, L. Pigorini loc. cit. p. 65 f.
2 L. Pigorini ‘Di un oggetto di bronzo italico della prima età del ferro e di alcune sue imitazioni in terra cotta’ in the *Bollettino di paleontologia italiana* pp. 63–76 pl. 3, 1 (=my fig. 579, a), 2 (=my fig. 579, b), 3 (=my fig. 579, d). Scale 1/2.
4 *Supra* p. 525.
5 Supra p. 523.
6 Supra p. 514 ff.
7 Supra p. 518.
8 Supra p. 520.
The duplication of the double axe

What are we to think of this *penchant* for binary forms? L. A. Milani in a somewhat tangled passage of theogonic speculation declares that the duplicated blades of the double axe on the gold ring symbolise two pairs of gods, on the one hand the celestial Kronos and Zeus, on the other the solar Zeus and Apollon, either pair being conceived as Father and Son—an explanation which might have claimed support from the Ophites and their supramundane diagram (fig. 511). Sir Arthur Evans, without indulging in such subtleties, risks a similar conjecture *à propos* of the same ring: 'The curious reduplication of the axe blades suggests indeed that it stands as an image of the conjunction of the divine pair—a solar and a lunar divinity.'

Personally I should contend that the double axe hafted in a leafy stem, as at *Hagia Triada* (pl. xxvii, b) and Knossos (fig. 396), betokened the union of the Sky-father with the Earth-mother, and that an ordinary double axe on its wooden handle came to be received as a symbol of like significance. Nor would I deny that a pair of double axes, held up by a priestess (fig. 528) or erected in a shrine (fig. 404), were reverenced as the signs of god and goddess respectively. But I demur to regarding the duplicated

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2 *Supra* p. 610 f.
4 *Supra* p. 530 f.
5 *Supra* p. 527 ff.
6 *Infra* § 3 (c) i (π).
7 *Supra* p. 624.
8 *Supra* p. 535 ff.
blades as any evidence of the divine duality. In art, as in language, reduplication implies emphasis. The feeling that transformed the lightning-fork into a thunderbolt, and thereby doubled the ability of the thunder-god to strike, augmented the cutting edges of the labrys with the same result. Accentuated further, it produced not merely double but multiple blades, as in the case of the mould from Palaikastro (fig. 525). Finally, double axes with twofold blades and flower-like sepals, such as occur sporadically among the bucrania of Mykenai (fig. 409, d), are found at Pseira, a small island in the Gulf of Mirabello, repeated as a pattern to cover the surface of ceramic vessels (figs. 581, 582). The vessels and their contents were thus protected by the whole armoury of heaven.

(o) The double axes of Tenedos.

The 'Minoan' conception of a bisexual axe is, as Sir Arthur Evans has pointed out, confirmed by the coin-types of Tenedos. The obverse of these coins from the sixth century B.C. onwards—whether their style be archaic (fig. 583), late archaic (fig. 584), fine (figs. 585, 586), or decadent (figs. 587, 588)—shows a Janiform head consisting of a male and a female profile combined: the reverse has a double axe with a short handle. Sir Arthur Evans makes the


2 Infra § 3 (c) iv (8).

3 Supra p. 623 f.

4 Supra p. 537.

5 R. B. Seager Excavations on the Island of Pseira (University of Pennsylvania. The University Museum: Anthropological Publications iii. 1) Philadelphia 1910 p. 31 fig. 12, G. Karo—G. Maraghiannis Antiquités Crétoises Deuxième série Candie 1911 p. ix pl. 21, 4 (=my fig. 581) and 6 (=my fig. 581), a small basket-shaped vase and the lid of a large vase, both of 'Late Minoan i.'


7 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Trosos, etc. p. 91 pl. 17, 2 (=my fig. 583), Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 367 f. pl. 16, 2, Anson Num. Gr. ii. 6 no. 50 pl. i, Head Coins of the Ancients p. 5 pl. 2, 19, id. Hist. num. p. 580.

8 I figure an unpublished specimen from my collection.


10 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Trosos, etc. p. 94 pl. 17, 13, 13 (=my fig. 588), 14, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 304 no. 4, Anson Num. Gr. ii. 7 nos. 64—66 pl. 2. Head Coins of the Ancients p. 91 pl. 49, 13, id. Hist. num. p. 551 fig. My fig. 587 is from Brüder Egger Auktions-Katalog xlvii Griechische Münzen (Sammlung des Herrn Theodor Prowe, Moskau, u.a.) Wien 1914 p. 34 no. 699 pl. 15—an early example of the decadent class with some exceptional features (pattern on stêphane, handle of axe).
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attractive suggestion that the former is the 'anthropomorphic equivalent' of the latter.

That the double axe at Tenedos was indeed a sacred symbol, or even the recipient of an actual cult, appears from the representation of it on certain remarkable specimens published by

1 My friend and colleague Sir W. Ridgeway in his book *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* Cambridge 1892 pp. 49 ff., 318 ff. argues that the axe on coins of Tenedos was 'not religious,' but represented rather 'the local unit of an earlier epoch.' He shows from *II. 23. 850 f., 882 f. (cp. schol. II. 23. 831, Estrath. in Od. p. 1878, 57 ff., Hesych. s.vv. ἡμιτέλεκτος, τελεκτός, and περ[δέκεφα]r in a Cypriote inscription from Idalion printed by W. Deecke in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 27 ff.*
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F. Imhoof-Blumer. One of these, a didrachmon extant in the collections of Berlin (fig. 589) and Glasgow (fig. 590), exhibits the double axe standing on the uppermost of three steps between a pair of pillars or pillar-like supports. We are reminded at once of the way in which 'Minoan' art depicted a double axe standing on a stepped base between two pillars; and we may fairly infer that in Tenedos, as in Crete, the double axe was itself an object of worship. The other coin, a tetradrachmon of which specimens exist at Berlin (fig. 591) and in the collections formed by Canon W. no. 60, 15 and 26 = O. Hoffmann *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 68 ff. no. 135, 15 and 26 = F. Solmsen *Inscriptions Graecae ad inlustrandas dialectos selectae* Lipsae 1905 p. 5 ff. no. 3, 15 and 26) that double axes formed part of the earliest Greek system of currency, and holds that the ἡλκεια dedicated at Delphoi by Periklytos the Tenedian (Paus. 10. 14. 1) were probably offered to the god as being the 'especial product of Tenedos.' In *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1901 i. 444 Sir W. Ridgeway makes the further suggestion that the Tenedian axes at Delphoi 'were not real, but only miniature axes like those from the Dictaean cave.'

Sir W. Ridgeway's views on the whole subject have been criticised with admirable fairness and acumen by G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 23 ff. For my part, I am quite prepared to believe that double axes were in early times and in some places (e.g. Kypros) a recognised unit of exchange. But that, as Sir William himself allows (*The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* p. 319 n. 2), is by no means inconsistent with the belief that they were sacred objects also. On the one hand, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1906 ix. 161—181 pl. 2 ff. has published a series of bronze castings in the shape of double axes (?) from Salamis in Kypros, *Serra Ilisci* in Sardinia, Phaistos in Crete, Mykenai in Argolis, and Kyme in Euboia. These are marked with various characters (in one case with a double axe), and conform to definite weight standards. Presumably, therefore, they are a medium of exchange. But it is far from certain that these castings are double axes: Sir A. J. Evans in *Corolla Numismatica* Oxford 1906 p. 358 ff. treats them as mere ingots. More to the point are the copper double axes found in northern Europe (supra p. 617), if not also some of the bronze axes found in Gaul (J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 254). On the other hand, the evidence for the cult of the double axe in Crete and Asia Minor is overwhelming. The implement had at once a commercial and a religious significance.

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1 F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1897 xx. 274 f. pl. 10, 9, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 369 f. pl. 16, 6 (=my fig. 589), Head *Hist. num.* i. 550.


3 *Supra* p. 524 f.

4 F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1897 xx. 274 pl. 10, 8 (reverse only), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 367 f. pl. 16, 4 (=my fig. 591), Head *Hist. num.* i. 550.
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Greenwell (fig. 592) and Sir H. Weber (fig. 593), portrays an amphora placed beside the double axe, the left handle of the former being attached by means of a fillet to the shaft of the latter. Again, we are reminded of the way in which on the sarcophagus from Hagia Triada a large two-handled jar placed between a pair of tree-axes was being filled with a red liquid by the officiating priestess (pl. xxvii, 6). Perhaps both in Crete and in Tenedos the bisexual axe, symbolising the union of the god with the goddess, was believed to bring fertility to field and vineyard.

Attention may here be called to a drachme of fine style, represented in the cabinets of London (fig. 594) and Paris, which gives the goddess of the obverse a necklace and connects the axe

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2 W. Greenwell in the Num. Chron. Third Series 1893 xiii. 89, F. Imhoof-Blumer in the Zeitschr. f. Num. 1897 xx. 274, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 367 f. no. 624. Fig. 593 is from a cast of the Weber specimen, for which I am indebted to the kind offices of Mr C. T. Seltman.
3 Mr G. F. Hill suggested to me that the alleged 'fillet' might be due to a mere crack in the die. But Mr C. T. Seltman justly observes that the occurrence of three specimens all showing a crack in precisely the same condition is most improbable.
4 Supra p. 520.
5 Cp. the coin of Mostene showing a double axe between a bunch of grapes and two ears of corn (supra p. 564 n. 8).
6 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas, etc. p. 92 pl. 17, 8. I first noticed the details of the reverse, when examining the original. Fig. 594 is from a cast kindly supplied by Mr G. F. Hill, who is inclined to regard the 'fillet' as a line of fortuitous dots.
7 Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 1307 f. pl. 166, 23. This coin appears to be from the same dies as the specimen in the British Museum.
of the reverse with a couple of adjuncts—on one side a handsome bunch of grapes, on the other a little Nike engaged in wreathing the haft. It will be observed that the grape-bunch actually touches the left blade, while the Nike is linked to the right blade by a short but clearly-marked fillet¹. I should infer that, at the time when this coin was struck, grapes and a small Nike were kept dangling from the wings of the sacred weapon.

Of the grape-bunch there is more to be said. From about the year 420 B.C. onwards it is constantly associated with the Tenedian axe. And this, not only on the silver coins of Tenedos (e.g. figs. 585 ff., 593). Two leaden weights (hemimnaia) of the same island, now at Paris (fig. 595)² and Berlin (fig. 596)³, show the grapes as well as the axe. And a bronze tablet of Hellenistic date (c. 300—250 B.C.) from Olympia, recording a decree in honour of the Tenedian wrestler Damokrates, is embellished with two double axes and a bunch of grapes (fig. 597)⁴. The grapes imply a Dionysiac divinity of some sort, and go far towards establishing the contention of L. Stephani⁵ and F. Lenormant⁶ that the axe refers to a Tenedian.

¹ For the fillet thus used as a means of magic connexion see supra p. 408 n. o.
² Babelon—Blanchet Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat. p. 678 no. 2241 fig. (=my fig. 595).
⁴ A. Kirchhoff in the Arch. Zeit. 1876 xxxiii. 183 ff. no. 4, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dialt-Inscr. i. 334 f. no. 1172, W. Dittenberger—K. Purgold in Olympia v. 75 ff. no. 39 fig., E. Curtius—F. Adler—G. Hirschfeld Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia Berlin 1876 i pl. 31, 2. My fig. 597 was drawn from the cast in the Museum of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge. The original bronze was found to the south of the south-west angle of the temple of Zeus in the Altis.
⁶ F. Lenormant in Daremburg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 624.
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dian cult of Dionysos. Lenormant remarked that Simonides of Keos in one of his riddles speaks of an axe as the ‘ox-slaughtering

servitor of king Dionysos‘, and—what is more convincing—that

1 Simonid. frag. 172 Bergk4, 163 Hiler—Crusius, ap. Athen. 456 c—Ε γραφώδη δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ Σιμωνίδης ταῦτα πεποίησε, ὡς φησι Χαμαίλεων ὁ Παραλήμης ἐν τῷ πείρ Ἐκοινίδου (frag. 13 Körke in E. Koepke De Chamaeleontii Heracleotae vita librorumque religiosis Berlin 1856 p. 21 ff.) ‘μεταφόρον τε πατὴρ ἐρύμφω καὶ σχέδιον ἔχοντο πλαγιὰν ἰρέσαντο καρφατα’ παῖδα Νικτὸς | δεξάμενος βλεφάρων, Διονύσου ἀνήκει | βουφόνοις οὐκ ἔθελεν τιθηρείσαι θεράποντα.’ (Α) φασὶ δ’ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τίνος τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀναθημάτων ἐν Ὑπαρκῆ τουτ’ ἐπεγεγράθαι, πεποίησαν δ’ ἐν αὐτῷ τράγον καὶ δελφινά, περὶ τῶν εἶναι τῶν λέγον τούτων. (Β) οἱ δὲ εἰς ἐπτόνων ψαλτήριων δελφινά καὶ τράγον εἰργασμένον εἰρήσατε· καὶ εἶναι τὸν βουφόνοι καὶ τὸν Διονύσου θεράποντα τὸν διθύραμβον. (C) οἱ δὲ φασὶ εἰς Τιναλίδο τὸ τὸν Διονύσῳ δοξάμενο βοῶν ὑπὸ τῶν τῶν κεκλίδων παλαθεῖ πέλεκε. πληθον δὲ τὸς ἐτὸς ἐοὴς εἰς χαλκεῖ πατήσῃ πεῖλεκι· τὸν οὖν Σιμωνίδην ἔτι νέον οὐτα βαδίζει, πρὸς τὸν χαλκή κομβομένους αὐτὸν. έδότα δὲ καὶ τὸν τεχνίτην κομβομένου καὶ τὸν ἀσκόν καὶ τὸν καρκίνον εἰς κακίμενον καὶ ἐπάλληλον ἐχοντα τὰ ἐμπροσθεῖν, οὕτως ἐλθάτα εἰσίν πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις τὸ προσημερεύμαν πρόβλημα. τὸν μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἐρύμφω πατῆρ τῶν ἀσκον εἶναι, σχέδιον δὲ ἐχον τὸν καρκίνον, Νικτὸς δὲ παῖδα τὸν Ἄνδην, βουφόνοις δὲ καὶ Διονύσου θεράποντα τῶν πέλεκεν.

Fig. 597.

An elaborate, but not very enlightening, attempt to make sense of all this will be found in W. Schultz Rüssel aus dem hellenischen Kulturkreise Leipzig 1909 i. 16, 31, 36 no. 17, Leipzig 1912 ii. 111—117 (=Mythologische Bibliothek iii. 1 and νο. 1), who distinguishes A and B as partial solutions from C as relatively complete. In A Schultz emends εἰς χαλκεῖ <ω τρίτο> δ’, holding that the bronze tripod of A is tantamount to the

42—2
Alexander tyrant of Pherai was specially devoted to the cult of Dionysos Pēlekys, Dionysos the 'Double Axe,' at Pagasai on the Thessalian coast. Silver coins struck by this Alexander between 369 and 357 B.C. have as their reverse type a warrior sitting a horse, whose flank is marked with the double axe, another double axe being beneath it (fig. 598), or a lion's head, sometimes with a double axe below it, or a double axe alone (fig. 599). Hence B. V. Head suggested that the Janiform type of the Tenedian coins

strung lyre of ἇ (cp. Artemon of Kassandrea, frag. 12 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 342 f. Müller) ap. Athen. 637 b—f, where Pythagoras of Zakynthos invents a musical tripod composed of three lyres). In both A and B, according to Schultz, the 'goat' and 'dolphin' are wrongly conceived as on the ringing vessel, not in it; and 'dolphin' is a blander for 'crab.' In ἅ he supposes that 'Dithyramb' means 'Dionysos.' In C we are to assume that Dionysos was awakened out of his annual sleep by an axe used to strike a caldron containing bellows (ἀψίδα) and tongs (καρπίον): on account of its contents the caldron was dubbed a smithy (χαλεκώς), on account of its rumbling echoes a bull (implied in βουβάς). The whole riddle is translated as if there were a comma after, not before, Δωσύνσοις ἀνακτός: 'Der Vater des vermischten weidenden Böcklein (Baatz) und der schreckliche Fisch (Zang-) stießen die Häupter einander: der das Kind der Nacht (Schlaf) | von den Eitern des Herrn Dionysos nehmen will—| dass dieser Rinder tödende Diener (Ax) getötet werden—dass wollen sie nicht.'

I fear that Simonides' riddle remains unread. See, however, infra p. 663 ff. for the combination of crab with double axe.

1 Theopomp. frag. 339 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 332, iv. 643 Müller) ap. schol. II. 24. 428 καὶ Θεοπόμπα ἐφύσαν Ἀλεξάνδρον Περαίον Διώνυσον τὸν ἐν Πάγασαι, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Πέλεκος (leg. Pelleux with Prelner—Plew Gr. Myth. i. 566 n. 2 rather than πέλεκος or πελέκως with L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pet. 1863 p. 116 n. 4, εὐσεβείς διαφόρους. κατασκαφονέως ἐκ Ἀλεξάνδρου. Διώνυσος δειν ἑπιστά τινι τῶν θυμίων ἐκέλευς ἀναλαβεῖν τῶν φορίμιων τῶν δοτῶν. ὅ ἐπέστην ἐστὶ Κράνων τοῖς ἁγίοις ἄπσειεις, οἱ ὑπὰς εὐφαν. So cod. V. Cod. T. reads ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Πελάγος—a needless emendation (accepted by E. Maass 'ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ ΠΕΛΑΓΟΣ' in Hermes 1888 xxiii. 70—80). Parallels abound: e.g. Κρόνως, the 'Chopper' (see supra p. 549); Hamar or Hamer as a title of the Germanic thunder-god (J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 11 n. 1, 181 f., 1883 ii. 883, 884 n. 2, 1888 iv. 1344 f., 1605; E. H. Meyer Germanische Mythologie Berlin 1861 pp. 204, 208 ff. and Index s.v. 'Hammer'); Charles Martel, whose gigantic hammer is still to be seen cut in the hillside at Tours (H. Bayle Archæic English London 1919 p. 355). My brother-in-law the Rev. H. E. Maddox notes that the sixth incarnation of Vishnu was Parâra-rāma, the 'Axe-Rāma,' a Brahman who cleared the earth of the Kshatriya race twenty-one times till he was at last defeated by Vishnu's seventh incarnation Rāma-ladana, the 'Moon-like-Rāma.' Parâra-rāma forced the ocean to retire for the formation of the Malabar coast, caused vast fissures in the Western Ghâts and other mountains by blows of his axe, etc. He is still worshipped in Malabar and the Konkan (Sir M. Monier-Williams Brahmanism and Hinduism London 1887 pp. 110, 270 f.).


3 Head Hist. num. p. 261 drachm: 'Lion's head; beneath, sometimes, bipennis.' Id. ib. p. 308 omits all reference to the 'bipennis.' Are we to infer that this weapon figures only on the didrachm and the obol?

4 Head Hist. num. p. 308 obol. Fig. 599—the Pozi Sale Catalogue Genève 1920 p. 70 no. 1257 pl. 41.

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represents Dionysos *dimorphos*, the 'two-formed,' or perhaps rather Dionysos and Ariadne. Other considerations too might be urged in favour of Dionysos. An Attic black-figured *amphora* depicts that divinity as a bearded figure seated on a bull with a drinking-horn in his right hand and a double axe on his shoulder: two Silenoi complete the scene (fig. 600). An Attic red-figured *kylix* shows the same god again as a bearded figure with *kantharos* and double axe. A silver coin of the Odrysian king Metokos, struck c. 400 B.C.,

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1 Orph. *h. Dion.* 30. 3 ἀγαν, ἀρρητον, κρύφων, δικρατα, διμορφον, | κτλ.

2 *Notizia dei vasi dipinti rinvenuti a Cuma nel MDCCCLVI* posseduti da sua Altezza Reale il Conte di Siracusa Napoli 1856 p. ix f. pl. 1 (= my fig. 600).

3 *Supra* i. 216 fig. 159.
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has on the obverse a bearded head of Dionysos (?), on the reverse a double axe surrounded by a grape- vase (fig. 601)\(^1\). Finally, we have already seen reason to think that in Tenedos itself Dionysos *Anthroporrhastos*, ‘Smiter of Men,’ was conceived as embodied in an axe\(^2\).

There are, then, strong grounds for supposing that the Tene- dian coin-types relate to the cult of Dionysos. The main objection to that view is thus stated by W. Wroth\(^3\): ‘if Dionysos were intended, the male head would almost certainly be wreathed with ivy. On those coins, however, on which the head is wreathed, the wreath is of laurel and not of ivy. Perhaps, therefore, the heads are those of Zeus and Hera.’ Wroth’s conclusion is quoted with approval by B. V. Head\(^4\), and would doubtless have commended itself to C. Lenormant\(^5\), who equated *Tēnes* the eponym of Tenedos with the Etruscan *Tinia*\(^6\) and the Cretan *Tán*\(^7\). Such an equation is, of course, philologically impossible. But the fact remains that the head with its bay-wreath resembles Zeus rather than Dionysos, and any hypothesis connecting it with the latter must account for its likeness to the former.

On the whole, I should summarise the situation as follows. Tenedos bears a name which is pre-Greek. A. Fick\(^8\), comparing it with a second *Tenedos* on the borders of Lykia and Pamphylia, with *Lêbedos* in Ionia (Lydia), and with *Sêbeda* in Lykia, treats the name as Hittite, and points out that *Tēnes* or *Tēnes* (for *Têndes*) was derived from *Tenedos*, not *vice versa*\(^9\). Now *Tēnes* occurs again as the name of a king of Sidon in the revolt of Phoinike from Artaxerxes III Ochus\(^10\). And Tenedos itself, as Pliny\(^11\) informs us, was once called *Phoinike*. It would seem, then, that in the pre-history of the island we have to reckon with the Phoinikes, whose relations to the ‘Minoan’ culture were of the closest\(^12\).

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1 Ant. Münz. Berlin Taurische Cherseonesus, etc. i. 329 no. 8 fig. (=my fig. 601)

2 Supra i. 659.


4 Head Hist. num.\(^2\) p. 551.

5 C. Lenormant Nouvelle galerie mythologique (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 pp. 7 f., 17, 19, Babelon Menus. gr. rom. ii. i. 122 and 365 f.

6 Supra i. 53, 622 f.

7 Supra i. 149 n. 1, 655 n. 2.

8 A. Fick Vorgriechische Ortsnamen Göttingen 1905 p. 64.


10 Diock. 16. 42 ff.

11 Plin. nat. hist. 5. 140.

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"Minoan" objects have in fact come to light in Tenedos (fig. 602) and suggest that here in early days was a "Minoan" settlement. The settlers called themselves Asteriōi and doubtless discovered with joy that at Asterion in their island were river-crabs marked with a double axe. The curious combination of crab and double axe recalls the joint cult of Zeus Osogba and Zeus Labrýndos at Mylasa. The circumstances, however, though similar, are not identical. In Karia a local deity, whose attribute was the crab, having been Hellenised into a Zeus of the sea, was fused with a Zeus of the sky, inheritor of the ancient "Minoan" double axe, the resultant god being known to the Greeks as Zenoposeidon. In Tenedos too we are concerned with the legacy of the double axe. But here, in the Thraco-Phrygian area, the principal sky-god was Dios, who was worshipped in twofold form as Father and Son—Zeus and Dionysos, said the Greeks. It matters little, therefore, whether we assert that among the Tenedians the "Minoan" axe passed into the hands of a Dionysiac Zeus or into those of a Zeus-like Dionysos. Not improbably the former developed into the latter, stress being laid first on the older and afterwards on the younger aspect of the god. But in either case we mean him who was at once the husband and the son of Semele. His effigy and hers are combined as the Thraco-Phrygian equivalent of the "Minoan" Kronos and Rhea. What then of the crabs? Presumably in Tenedos, as in Karia, they belonged to some local deity identified with Zeus.

Confirmation is not far to seek. Thirty miles or so to the west of Tenedos lies Lemnos, a great centre of Cabiric cult. Cor-discern in the new dawn [sc. of classical Greece] are not the pale-skinned northerners—the "yellow-haired Achaeans" and the rest—but essentially the dark-haired, brown-complexioned race, the Poivenes or "Red Men" of later tradition, of whom we find the earlier portraiture in the Minoan and Mycenaean wall paintings.1


2 Supra i. 543 n. 6.

3 Infra p. 669 n. 5. Mr L. A. Borradaile, Lecturer in Zoology to the University of Cambridge, informs me that the crabs in question probably belonged to the species Telphusa fluviatilis, the marking of whose back might be held to resemble the head of a double axe. He kindly refers me to Miss M. J. Rathbun 'Les crables d'eau douce' in the Nouvelles Archives du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle Quatrième Série Paris 1904 pp. 254—258 pl. 9, 1 and 5.

4 Supra p. 576 ff.

5 Supra p. 277 ff.

responding with the divine triad Zeus, Semele, and Dionysos were the Kabeiroi\(^1\), whose names *Axiokersos, Axiokéros*, and *Axtleros* proclaim their connexion with the sacred axe\(^2\). Moreover, Hesychios\(^3\) expressly identifies the Kabeiroi with crabs,

\(^1\) For the Kabeiroi equated with Zeus and Dionysos see *supra* i. 112 n. 6, ii. 313 f. They are apparently associated with a Dionysiac Zeus on a bronze plaque from Rome (fig. 602 = *Arch. Zeit.* 1854 pl. 65, 3, *supra* p. 283), which combines Mithraic with Sabazian and other elements in a manner suggestive of Thrace. Under an arch formed of two trees, two snakes, and a lion's head (the Mithraic Ahriman: Append. G. fin.) we see a veiled female suppliant extending her arms towards the central figure of Zeus *Sakthias (?)*, who brandishes a sort of double axe as he rides his horse between two Kabeiroi (?). Above are Sun, Moon, and two Stars; below, a series of constellations—Aquarius (cp. G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 67 fig. 11), Aries, Taurus, Pisces, Ara, Corvus, Crater. A ram's head (*supra* i. 390 ff.) and a *syrinx* (cp. *supra* p. 296 n. 4 of Attis) occupy the field.

\(^2\) *Supra* i. 109, 328 n. 9, ii. 314 f.

\(^3\) Hesych. 42. Κάβειροι: καρκίως. πάντα δὲ τιμῶται οὗτοι ἐν Ἁρμεὶ ὃς θεός ἡγοίται δὲ εἶναι Ἡπείρου παιδέες. That καρκίως here means simply 'crabs' is the opinion of Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 748 C and O. Kern in Pauly—*Wissowa Real-Enc.* x. 1450.
adding that in Lemnos they were treated as gods and called the children of Hephaistos. This amazing statement—matched only by what we hear of the lobster in Seriphos—carries us back to a primitive age, when the crab was not so much a grotesque as an awesome thing. Nippers, after all, are no joke; and the rôle played by the crab in religion, mythology, and

M. Schmidt ad loc. says: ‘καρκίνος h.c. forcipes, πυράγιας.’ I. Voss cited Eustath. in Od. p. 1389, 26 ff. ὄς δὲ καὶ καρκίδας ἐστίν οὗ ἡ τοῦ κόσμου ἡ τρέχον καρπία (κ. καρπίας) συμβαίνει δηλαδή Ἀθηναίοι ἐν τῷ κάμπροι τὴν γένος καρπίδων ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων ὀνόματι ποιομένων’ (cp. Athen. 306 c—d), καὶ ίδιαις ἐνυδαθοῖς ἐς χολαίοι τοῖς καρπίδοις παρέδεχεται: but see J. Alberti’s n. on the Hesychian gloss.

1 All. de nat. an. 13. 26 ἔτσι δὲ ἄρα καὶ τέτις ἐκάλοις...οὐκ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν οὐκοῦν, νομίζων έρημον. Σημειώνεται δὲ ἀκόων καὶ θάντων οἰκον ἑλκοῦσα. 2 ζώνη δὲ ἐς δίκτυα ἐκπέφυτον ἀκατέργατον. 17. 1 Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ περίδρο τῆς Εὐανθράκας καρδακτῆς λέγειν...ἐφαρμακεύεται...καὶ γένος καρπίδων, ὃς το μέν διηθηραὶ τῶν περίθαλων εἰχε παρανάπτον κόλομα, χαλάζ δὲ ἐστίν εἰχεν κατὰ προέκειν, ἐπιβεβλευθείς δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδοίᾳ αὐτῶν. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸν, ἱδρυμένα καὶ Ποσειδάνιοι καὶ ἄφθονοι τῷ θεῷ, οὐ̄ν ἀναβάτων εἶναι ἐκείνου ἀναπτυχθέν τα καὶ ἀπεκδίδοντες οἱ καρπίδων. ἐν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδος παρασταθείσης τῷ θεῷ, ἀναβάτων εἶναι ἐκείνου ἀναπτυχθέν τα καὶ ἀπεκδίδοντες οἱ καρπίδων. (cp. O. Keller Die antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1913 ii. 451, 669.

2 Alex. Polyhist. (3) frag. 135 a (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 239 Müller) ap. All. de nat. an. 17. 1 ‘Αλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ περίδρο τῆς Εὐανθράκας καρδακτῆς λέγειν...ἐφαρμακεύεται...καὶ γένος καρπίδων, ὃς το μέν διηθηραὶ τῶν περίθαλων εἰχε παρανάπτον κόλομα, χαλάζ δὲ ἐστίν εἰχεν κατὰ προέκειν, ἐπιβεβλευθείς δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδοίᾳ αὐτῶν. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸν, ἱδρυμένα καὶ Ποσειδάνιοι καὶ ἄφθονοι τῷ θεῷ, οὐ̄ν ἀναβάτων εἶναι ἐκείνου ἀναπτυχθέν τα καὶ ἀπεκδίδοντες οἱ καρπίδων. (cp. O. Keller Die antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1913 ii. 451, 669.


The monstrous crab sent by Hera to attack Herakles during his fight with the Hydra (A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2198 f., 2124, 2243, O. Gruppe in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. Suppl. iii. 1033 ff.) appears first on fibulae of the Geometric period (Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 373 ff. no. 3205 a) fig. 87, W. N. Bates in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1911 xv. 1 ff. figs. 2, 3). Okeanos on imperial coins of Tyre is a reclining figure with a head-dress of crab’s-claws (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia pp. xxiii, 289 no. 464, 296 pl. 35, 5): cp. a chromome mask of Okeanos in a painting from Pompeii (Hellbg. Wandgem. Camp. p. 205 no. 1034 ‘mit Hörnern wie von Krebsseechen,’ figured by G. Fiorelli Giornale degli scavi di Pompei Napoli 1861 p. 16 pl. 3, 6). Thalassa on a coin of Perinthus likewise wears a head-dress of crab’s-claws (supra i. 753 f. fig. 552), as did a statue in the Forum Constantini at Constantinople representing Thatis (Arethas ap. schol. Aristeid. ii. 710 Dioodot ἐν ἄνθερῳ πρὸς το δεξιά ἐνυδάθια τῶν προσβολῶν καὶ ἑτὸν ‘Αχλαλτος ἀνάκειται ὅτιαν, καρπόν τὴν κεφαλήν διαστημῆς’ k.τ.λ.) and Amphitrite (Kedren. hist. comp. 333 ζ (i. 365 Bekker) πρὸς τῷ ἐνυδαθών οἱ τῷ ἀρματίτες, χαλάζ ἐνυδάθης καρπίδων ἐπὶ τῶν κρουτατών k.τ.λ.). This device became, in fact, a commonplace of marine subjects (e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 176 no. 964 bust of Triton: ‘above the forehead are two lobster’s or crab’s claws,’ ib. p. 177 no. 971 sea-god (?): ‘he has lobster’s claws on his head,’ Amelung Sculpt. Vatic. ii. 259 ff. xarophagus with sea-divinities: ‘ein bättiger Meerentaur mit Krebsseechen am Kopfe.’ See also W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1585.

‘Άστακος or ‘Άστακος, a town on the Gulf of Olbia in Bithynia, had as eponym Astakos, son of Poseidon by the nymph Olbia (Arrinn. frag. 20 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 391) ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. ‘Άστακος). The name ‘Άστακος or ‘Άστακος has been plausibly derived from ‘Άστακος, ‘a lobstarian’ (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen Braunschweig 1873 i. 162 ‘Krabbe’). For the lobster abounded in these waters (Archestratos frag. 8 Ribbeck ap. Athen. 104 ff., Aristot. hist. an. 5. 17. 349 b 15 ff.) and furnished an obvious type parabant to silver coins of Astakos struck in r. v. B.C., which
astrology\(^1\) was serious enough,—it even lingered on into the middle

ages\(^2\), and has left traces of itself in modern folk-lore\(^3\). The

have this crustacean as their constant device (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach Monn.
gr. d’At. Min. i. 266 pl. 41, 1—6, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 1489 ff. pl. 181, 1—6). Yet it hardly follows that Astakos in Bithynia, or for that matter Astakos in Akarnania, really drew its name from the lobster. A. Fick Vorgriechische Ortsnamen Göttingen 1905 pp. 83 f., 135 refers these place-names to the Leleges.


\(^2\) B. Schmidt Griechische Märchen. Sagen und Volkslieder Leipzig 1877 p. 83 ff. no. 9 (‘Prinz Krebs’) tells a Zakynthian tale in which the hero married to the king’s daughter is a golden crab by day, but a prince by night, with power to change into an eagle at his pleasure. Ths story is a variant of the Beast-bridgroom formula, on which see e.g. J. Bolte—G. Pollinca Anmerkungen an den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm Leipzig 1915 ii. 234 ff., especially p. 255.
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affiliation of the creature to Hephaistos stood to reason: was not he a smith? and were not the smith’s tongs or pickers commonly dubbed ‘crabs’ (karkínos), while a certain species of crab was known as ‘tongs’ (pyrágros) 3. Finally, a parallel to the Tenedian river-crabs signed with the double axe can be found in the Agrigentine river-crabs marked with a bull’s head (?) (fig. 604) 5 or a Gorgóneion (fig. 605) 6.

If we are justified in supposing that the double axe of Tenedos belonged to a god conceived as the rebirth of his own father, analogy with the Cretan Zagreus would lead us to expect that the Tenedian god too was served with rites of omophagy, in which a human victim, regarded as consort of the goddess 9, was dismembered and even devoured by the king 8. This expectation is to some extent realised. For we have already had occasion to notice the horrible statement of Euelpis that in Tenedos, as in Chios, ‘they used to rend a man in pieces, sacrificing him to Dionysos

1 Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. iv. 971 b–c.
2 Hesych. s.v. πυράγρα and πυράγρα ἤ πυράγρα.
3 Tetradrachmus of Akragas, struck c. 472–415 B.C., have for reverse type a large crab (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily p. 8 no. 38 fig., Hunter Cat. Coins i. 156 pl. 11, 13, Babelon Mm. gr. rom. ii. 1. 1545 f. pl. 78, 4, Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller Tier- und Pfannenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums Leipzig 1889 p. 49 pl. 8, 1). Mr L. A. Bornardale agrees with O. Keller loc. cit. that this is Telphusa fluviatilis, a species of crab common in the sweet waters of central and southern Italy, Sicily, Greece, and Asia Minor. He adds that, apart from Japanese pictures, he has never seen a more exact representation of it in art. Fig. 604 is from a specimen in my collection. Mr E. J. Seltman, from whom I obtained it, holds that the crab is marked with a bull’s head as sign of the tauriform river-god, and compares the didrachm inscribed ΑΠΙΕΣ (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily p. 7 no. 25, Babelon Mm. gr. rom. ii. 1. 1547 f. pl. 78, 12. Fig. 606 is from a specimen of mine), which he would read as an allusion to a festival of Acheloios (Babelon Mm. gr. rom. ii. 1. 1405 ff. pl. 65, 20, Head Hist. num. 9 p. 76 fig. 36 a stater of Metapontum with river-god inscribed ΑΥΕΛΟΣ ΑΕΟΛΩΝ. Schol. T. Ι. 24. 616 says of the Acheloios και Συκελιώτα τυμώσων. This combination, which is undeniably ingenious, was accepted by the late J. R. McClean, but involves two doubtful assumptions: (a) that the markings on the crab’s back were viewed as a bull’s head by the ancients, and (b) that ΑΠΙΕΣ is for ΑΠΕ.
4 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily p. 12 no. 62 fig., Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller Tier- und Pfannenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums Leipzig 1889 p. 50 pl. 8, 13 (= my fig. 605), O. Keller Die antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1913 ii. 485 f. pl. 2, 10 (a fanciful rendering of the Telphusa fluviatilis, cp. γατίν as a name for ‘crab’ in Artemid. oneirocr. v. 14), Head Hist. num. 9 p. 131. The coin is a drachm of c. 413–406 B.C.

For the crab as an apotropaion on ‘Gnostic’ gems etc. see Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller op. cit. p. 146 f. pl. 24, 24–34, O. Keller op. cit. ii. 486, S. Seligmann Der bös Blicke und Verwandte Berlin 1910 ii. 124 and Index p. 500 s.v. ‘Krebs’; and for the crab in folk-medicine etc., E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 74.
5 Supra i. 649 n. 7.
6 Supra i. 656 ff.
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Omniahos ("the god of Raw Flesh")1. That the man thus done to death was viewed as partner of the goddess, or was actually eaten by the king, we are not told. But some such beliefs, more than half forgotten, may underlie the later rationalised and romanticised legends of the island, which tell how a prince, caught in adultery, was savagely slain with an axe.

The oldest version of the story is preserved in a fragment of Aristotle's work On the Government of Tenedos2:

'A certain king in Tenedos made a law that he who found adulterers should slay them both with an axe. And, when it fell out that his son was found in adultery, he ordained that the law should be kept even in the case of his own son. The son having been slain, the thing passed into a proverb, which is used of cruel actions. Hence too the coins of Tenedos have stamped upon them an axe on the one side and two heads on the other, to remind men of the fate of the king's son.'

With this may be combined sundry statements occurring in the mediaeval collections of ancient Greek proverbs. Thus Makarios Chrysokephalos (s. xiv A.D.) à propos of the proverbial 'Tenedian axe' says: 'In the island of Tenedos were dedicated two axes, which were worshipped, and by means of them adulterers were slain3.' Apostolios too, in explaining another proverb, that of the 'Tenedian advocate,' refers to the same alleged fact: 'The Tenedians among their dedicated objects honour a couple of axes.' Apostolios certainly is a very late authority (s. xv A.D.); but he appears to be copying verbatim from Souidas4 (s. x A.D.) or Photios5 (s. ix A.D.), and they in turn depend upon earlier and more reliable sources. If these allusions to the cult of two axes in Tenedos are trustworthy, they furnish an interesting point of comparison with Cretan practice6. For here, as there, the two axes might be taken to signify god and goddess respectively7.

Further evidence with regard to the Tenedian axe is forthcoming in connexion with another proverb, the 'man of Tenedos.' Photios8 and Souidas9 have the following paragraph:

1 Supra i. 656, 659 n. 6.
3 Makar. 8. 7 ἐν γὰρ Τενέδω τῇ νήσῳ δύο πέλεκυς ἀνέκειτο θεσβάμεθαι, δι’ ὅπως ἀνθρωπώτερον ἀμήκοντα.
4 Apostol. 16. 26 δύο γὰρ πέλεκυς (τοί) ἐν ἀναθήμασι τιμῶσι Τενέδιοι.
5 Souid. s.v. Tenedios svnthuros ...δύο γὰρ πέλεκυς ἐν ἀναθήμασι τιμῶσι Τενέδιοι.
6 Phot. lex. s.v. Tenedios svnthuros ...δύο γὰρ πέλεκυς ἐν ἀναθήμασι τιμῶσι Τενέδιοι.
7 Supra p. 532.
8 Supra pp. 537, 653.
9 Phot. lex. s.v. Tenedios ἄνθρωπος.
10 Souid. s.v. Tenedios ἄνθρωπος.
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Kyknos the son of Poseidon had begotten two children, Hemithea and Tennes, when he married again. Tennes was accused by his step-mother of making an attempt upon her. Kyknos believed her, put the young man into a chest, and, since Hemithea chose to share her brother's danger, dropped them both into the sea. The chest floated to the island that used to be called Leukophrys but was afterwards known as Tenedos, taking its name from Tennes. He became king of the island and made a law that behind those who bore false witness should stand the public executioner, with axe uplifted so that, if convicted, they might instantly be put to death. This fearful sight gave rise to the proverb, the "man of Tenedos," which is applied to persons of fearful aspect.

A briefer form of the same paragraph is found in Zenobios' collection of proverbs together with the statement that the proverb in question occurred in Menander's Ephesian.

Different again, at least in its concluding portions, is the account given by Pausanias, who mentions certain Tenedian axes as among the objects dedicated at Delphi near the eastern end of Apollo's temple.

"The axes," he says, "are an offering of Periklytos, son of Euthymachos, a native of Tenedos, and refer to an old tale. They say that Kyknos was a son of Poseidon and reigned as king at Kolonai, Kolonai being a town in the Trōad over against an island called Leukophrys. Kyknos had a daughter named Hemithea and a son called Tennes by Prokleia...This Prokleia died first, and the second wife Phileone, daughter of Kragasos, fell in love with Tennes, but failed to win his affection, and told her husband falsely that Tennes had consorted with her against her will. Kyknos believed the deceitful tale, put Tennes with his sister into a chest, and cast them adrift on the sea. The brother and sister got safely to the island Leukophrys, which received its present name from Tennes. But Kyknos was not destined to be ignorant of this deception for ever: he therefore set sail to find his son, meaning to confess his mistake and ask forgiveness for his offence. When he had come to an anchorage at the island, and had fastened the hawser of his ship to a certain rock or tree, Tennes in anger cut the cables with an axe. Hence, when people deny a thing stoutly, it is customary to say that "so-and-so cut this or that with a Tenedian axe." The Greeks declare that Tennes was slain by Achilles in the act of defending his country. And the Tenedians in course of time were compelled by their weakness to attach themselves to the inhabitants of Alexandria on the mainland of the Trōad.

The same version of the tale is given by Konon and Eust-
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thios 1, though the latter calls the brother and sister Tennes and Leukotha, and speaks of their step-mother as Philonome or Polyboia. Diodoros adds a few details. It was a flute-player who had falsely charged Tennes with attempting the honour of his step-mother; consequently, when Tennes, after leading a life distinguished for virtue and helpfulness, received divine honours, no flute-player was permitted to enter his precinct 2; nor might any man there mention the name of Achilles, since it was Achilles who had slain him. Tzetzes 3 too contributes his quota. The name of the flute-player that denounced Tennes was Molpos or, as a variant has it, Eumolpos. Kyknos, on discovering the facts of the case, slew Philonome, and himself came and dwelt with his children in Tenedos. Here they were all three found and attacked by Achilles on his way to Troy. It had been fated that Achilles should die whenever he slew a son of Apollon, and Thetis had given him as an attendant one Mnemon, whose business it was to remind him of this special prohibition. But Tennes, though in reality a son of Apollon, passed as the son of Kyknos. Achilles, therefore, slew without hesitation both Kyknos and Tennes, and, when he realised what he had done, slew Mnemon into the bargain. He also pursued Hemithea, who fled from his embraces and was swallowed by the earth.

We fasten on this last statement as an indication that Hemithea was originally an earth-power. A goddess of the same name possessed a famous sanctuary at Kastabos on the Carian Chersonesos. According to local tradition, Staphylus had by Chrysosthemis three daughters—Molpadia, Rhoio, and Parthenos. Finding that Rhoio was with child (by a man, as he supposed, but in reality by Apollon), he shut her up in a chest and flung her into the sea. The chest came ashore at Delos, where Rhoio gave birth to Anios and dedicated the babe on the altar of Apollon. The god hid the child, and later taught him secrucraft and brought him to great honour. As to Molpadia and Parthenos, they were set to guard their father's wine—a recent invention—but fell asleep at their post. The swine they kept got in and broke the wine-jar. The maidens, fearing their

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2 Diod. 5. 83.
3 So too Herakleides Pont. de rebus publicis 7. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 213 Müller).
5 So also Plout. quaestt. Gr. 28.
6 So also Apollod. epit. 3. 24.
father's savage anger, fled to the shore and hurled themselves from a cliff. Apollon, however, established them in the Chersonesos, giving Parthenos a precinct at Boubastos and Molpadia a sanctuary at Kastabos, where 'owing to her divinely-contrived epiphany' she received the name of Hemitheia. Libations to her are made with honey-mixture (melikraton), not wine; and no man that has touched a pig or eaten of its flesh may approach her precinct. Here she manifests herself by night, working cures and helping women in childbirth. Each successive detail confirms us in the belief that at Kastabos, as in Tenedos, Hemitheia was essentially an earth-goddess.

The myths told of the two localities had other points in common. Not only are the names Molpadia and Hemitheia in Tenedos balanced by the names Molpadia and Hemitheia at Kastabos, but the episode of Tennes and Hemitheia sent to sea in a chest is paralleled by the episode of Rhoio and Anios similarly cast adrift. This *motif* is best known from the story of Danaë and Perseus. It occurs, however, in at least two other Greek tales, the Tegeate tale of Auge and Telephos, and that of Semele and Dionysos as told at Brasii in Lakonike, not to mention Romulus and Remus in Italy. In fact, the Danaë-formula, as J. G. von Hahn and T. F. Crane have pointed out, recurs in modern Märchen from Naples, Tuscany, Wallachia, Epeiros, etc. The Epirote tale, entitled *The Half-Man*, deserves repetition:  

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1 διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ βεοῦ γεμομένην ἐκφάντασεν Ἡμιθέαν ὑπομόλωσαν. P. Wesseling *ad loc.*

2 Mallem ἀπὸ τῆς βυδῆς. Ipsi Molpadia videatur indicari, quae praestent opem aegris ferebat, τοὺς κάμνους κατὰ τῶν ὄνων ἐφιπταμένη φανερῶν.


4 Pf. 3. 24. 3 f.

5 J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 49. The formula is missing from the list drawn up by S. Baring-Gould and J. Jacobs in C. S. Burne *The Handbook of Folklore* London 1914 p. 344 ff. But it has been admirably studied by E. Cosquin 'Le lait de la mère et le coiffe flottant' in the *Revue des Questions Historiques Nouvelle Série* 1908 xxxix 353—425 (especially p. 370 ff. 'Le coiffe flottant').


7 G. B. Basile *Il Pentamerone* trans. Sir R. F. Burton London 1893 i. 30 ff. (First Day: Third Division 'Pernanto'), E. F. Strange *Stories from the Pentamerone* London 1911 p. 22 ff. Pernonto, the princess Vastolla, and their two children, shut up in a cask with a basket of raisins and dried figs, are thrown into the sea.

See also F. W. V. Schmidt *Die Märchen des Straparola* Berlin 1817 no. 15 and W. G. Waters *The Nights of Straparola* London 1894 i. 35 ff. (Night One: Fable 4 Doralice in the chest on board ship).

8 G. Pitré *Novelle popolari tascene* Firenze 1885 no. 30.

9 A. and A. Schott *Walachische Mährchen* Stuttgart—Tübingen 1845 no. 27.

10 J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 102 ff. See supra i. 414 n. 2.

11 In a tale told by the Khirgin of Siberia the daughter of a certain Khan, kept in a dark iron house, escapes into the bright world. Here the eye of God falls upon her and she conceives. Her angry father puts her in a golden chest and sends her floating across
The double axes of Tenedos

A childless woman prayed for a child. God sent her a boy with half a head, half a nose, half a mouth, half a body, one hand, and one foot. He asked his mother for an axe and a mule, went off to the forest, and cut wood. One day, when riding to work, he caught sight of the king’s daughter, who laughed at him so that from chagrin he dropped first his axe and then his cord, and did not even get down to pick them up. Staring disconsolately at a pool, he espied a fish, netted it in his rough cloak, and learnt from it a spell to obtain all his desires. He had but to say: ‘At the first word of God, and at the second of the Fish, this or that will take place. On his way home he saw the princess again and tried the spell upon her, bidding her to become pregnant. In due time she bore an apparently fatherless child. The king gave the child an apple, and told him to hand it to his father. The child handed the apple to the Half-Man. The king in anger had an iron vessel made, packed into it the princess, the Half-Man, and the child, and, giving them some figs for the child, flung the whole lot into the sea. Thereupon the Half-Man, tasting fig after fig, explained the whole situation to the princess, and at her suggestion, pronouncing his spell, brought the iron vessel safe ashore, provided a shelter from the rain, and built a magic castle with speaking stones, beams, and household utensils. It chanced that the king, when hunting, came that way and was entertained by the princess. The Half-Man, again eating a fig and using his spell, produced a splendid banquet with musicians and dancers complete. The king was astounded. But the princess, as a last experiment, bade the Half-Man by dint of fig and spell hide a spoon in the king’s boot. She then pretended to miss something. The speaking spoon cried out and revealed its whereabouts. The king protested that he was being unjustly treated. The princess retorted that the wrong he suffered was nothing to the wrong he had committed, and told him all. So the king in amazement took his daughter back to the palace and married her to one of his lords. The Half-Man he made chief of his body-guard, and gave him his prettiest slave-girl to wife.

It is, no doubt, tempting to view the Half-Man with his axe as the complement of Hemithēa, the ‘Half-Goddess,’ and to assume some connexion with the coin-type of Tenedos. Nevertheless such an assumption would be extremely rash. Other versions show that the Half-Man as such is not a constant feature of the folk-tale. The inference that I wish to draw is rather that the myth of Tennes and the earth-goddess Hemithēa had as early as the time of Konon

the sea—a close parallel to Danaë (W. Radloff Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibirien St. Petersburg 1870 iii. 82 f. cited by Frazer Golden Bough; Baldé the Beautiful i. 74 n. 2). In another, from Ulagadath, a village of Kappadokia, the boy destined to be king is placed in a chest by his father and mother, and thrown into the sea (R. M. Dawkins Modern Greek in Asia Minor Cambridge 1916 p. 358 f. text and translation).

See also die Brüder Grimm Kinder und Hausmärchen Göttingen 1850 i. 175 ff. no. 29, G. O. H. Cavallius—G. Stephens Schwedische Volksagen und Märchen Wien 1848 p. 95, A. Chodsko Fairy Tales of the Slav Peasants and Herdsmen trans. E. J. Harding London 1896 p. 313 ff. (princess and Sluggard shut up in a crystal cask and sent into the air by means of a balloon).

1 At most it may be conceded that the whimsical notion of a half-man arose from some more serious stratum of popular belief: cp. what Zeus says of men in Plat. symph. τοις δ’ ἐνὶ δοκεῖν ἄνθρωποι καὶ μηθελών ἣν παίγνια πάλιν ἀνθρώπων ἔγεν, πάλιν ἀνθρώπων ἐρήμων ἀποκατάστησαν ἀσκόλλησαν.
The double axes of Tenedos (between 41 B.C. and 17 A.D.) been run into the mould of a Münchcn involving the popular feature of the floating coffers. Possibly, too, the original character of the heroine as an earth-goddess persists in the trait that she must give the hero a fig before he can work his magic.

Returning now to the coin-types, we note that J. H. Eckhel¹ more than a century ago identified the Janiform head as a combination of Tennes and Hemithea. His conclusion was, I believe, substantially correct. Indeed, it might be maintained that the very name Hemithea, the 'Half-Goddess,' or Amphithées, the 'Double-Goddess,' as Hekataios² called her, has reference to the twofold type³. Only it must, I think, be borne in mind that Tennes and Hemithea, who bulk so big in the later myths of Tenedos, are but heroic representatives of an earlier sky-god and earth-goddess. Behind them we can detect the Thraco-Phrygian Dionysos and Semele, who in turn conceal the faded forms of the 'Minoan' Kronos and Rhea. As to the outward expression of their worship, at first a double axe or a pair of double axes symbolised the union of the two great powers. Then, in the sixth century B.C., we find a Janiform image serving the same purpose. Ultimately the divine couple appear to have had separate effigies, and that of Tennes at least had some pretensions to beauty. The Tenedians, says Diodoros⁴ in the first century B.C., 'made a precinct of Tennes and used to honour him as a god with sacrifices, which they kept up till modern times.' Verres, therefore, deeply offended them when—as Cicero⁵ informs us—he carried off from their midst a very handsome statue of 'Tenes himself, who in Tenedos is deemed a god most holy.'

The 'Minoan' cult, which occasioned the Tenedian combination of god and goddess, seems to have led to a like result elsewhere. A scaraboid gem of striped brown sard, found in Kypros and now forming part of a private collection in this country, shows a double head closely resembling that on the early coins of Tenedos (fig. 607)⁶. Silver coins of the 'Philisto-Arabian' series, struck during the fifth century B.C. at Gaza Mintha, likewise represent a bisexual Janiform

¹ Eckhel, Doct. num. vet. ii. 489.
² Hekataios, Frag. 139 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 9 Müller) ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Tenedos.
⁴ Diod. 5. 83 (supra p. 670) τελευτησα τα' ἀθώντων τιμῶν ἀκόμη (sc. Τένες) καὶ γὰρ τέμνοντας αὐτὸν κατεκκεύσαντο καὶ ὑμιᾶς ὧς θεόν ἐτίμων, ὧς διετέλεσθε θύσεις μέχρι τῶν ἔρευντος καιρῶν.
⁵ Cic. in Verr. 2. 1. 49 Tenedo... Tenem ipsum, qui apud Tenedios sanctissimus deus habetur, qui urbeb illum dictur condidisse, cuius ex nomine Tenedos nominatur,—hunc ipsem, inquam, Tenem, pulcherrime factum, quem quondam in comitio vidistis, abstulit magno cum gemitu civitatis.
⁶ Furtwängler, Ant. Gemmen i pl. 6, 65 (= my fig. 607: scale 1), ii. 31.
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head (figs. 608, 609). One specimen, in the British Museum, gives the male face a snub nose and a pointed ear, thereby imparting a Satyric character to the head (fig. 610). Another, at Paris, turns the profile into a full face with broad nose (fig. 611). This very curious treatment suggests that the god is Bes, who—unlike the general run of Egyptian deities—commonly appears en face. The suggestion is strengthened by a third specimen, also at Paris, which shows a bearded head with a mask of Bes attached to the back of it (fig. 612). It is possible too that both god and goddess stood in some relation to the lion; for the obverse of the first Parisian coin has two bearded heads surmounted by two lion-heads with lion-skins depending on either side (fig. 611), and the reverse of yet another Parisian coin is from a specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge. These coins are all drachms of Attic weight. As to their types, the owl and its accompanying inscription are certainly derived from Athenian originals modified to suit local requirements (J. P. Six in the Num. Chron. New Series 1877 xvii. 231, Babelon op. cit. ii. 2. 645 f., G. F. Hill in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine p. lxxxiv). The Janiform head has been referred to that of Lampsakos (Babelon op. cit. ii. 2. 645 f.), or to that of an Athenian triremebol (G. F. Hill loc. cit. p. lxxxiv f.): but both at Lampsakos and at Athens the double head is beardless.

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine pp. lxxxiii ff., 176 f. pl. 19, 1—3, 7, p. 179 pl. 19, 20, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 285 pl. 77, 30, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 645 ff. pl. 123, 16, 11 ff., 13 (= my fig. 608), 14, p. 631 ff. pl. 123, 25, Head Hist. num. p. 825. Fig. 609 is from a specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge. These coins are all drachms of Attic weight. As to their types, the owl and its accompanying inscription are certainly derived from Athenian originals modified to suit local requirements (J. P. Six in the Num. Chron. New Series 1877 xvii. 231, Babelon op. cit. ii. 2. 645 f., G. F. Hill in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine p. lxxxiv). The Janiform head has been referred to that of Lampsakos (Babelon op. cit. ii. 2. 645 f.), or to that of an Athenian triremebol (G. F. Hill loc. cit. p. lxxxiv f.): but both at Lampsakos and at Athens the double head is beardless.


3 Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 657 f. pl. 124, 7 (= my fig. 611).

4 K. Seuè in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 325.

5 Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 659 f. pl. 124, 11 (= my fig. 612).
The double axes of Tenedos combines the profile of a goddess with that of a lion (fig. 613). If so, we may surmise that at Gaza, as in Tenedos, the Janiform head points backwards to the ‘Minoan’ cult of Kronos and Rhea. Rhea as the local Tyche kept her place from first to last. Kronos was succeeded by Zeus Kretagensis, otherwise known as Marnas, and apparently as Zeus Áldemios or Áldos, while Zeus in turn was partially eclipsed by the popular figure of Bes. These Levantine examples of the male-plus-female head should be compared, as J. P. Six points out, with Berossos’ description of the primeval androgynous being represented in the temple of Zeus Bélos at Babylon.

A parallel to the survival of the ‘Minoan’ double axe in Tenedos might also be sought in Korkyra. Shortly before the battle of Aktion (31 B.C.) C. Proculeius, the partisan and friend of Octavian, struck copper coins in Korkyra with a head of Zeus on one side and a double axe on the other (figs. 614, 615). The head is accompanied by figures of the goddess Hera at her right and Poseidon at her left.

1 Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 659 f. pl. 124, 10 (= my fig. 613) described as ‘Tête imberbe d’Héraclès à droite, coiffée de la peau de lion.’ But the head, which has an earring, is obviously derived from that of Athena on Attic tetradrachms etc.

2 Supra i. 149 n. 1, 478 with n. 4, infra § 9 (g).

3 Supra i. 149 n. 1, 167 n. 3, 478, infra § 9 (g).


Berossos Babylonica sive Chaldaica frag. 1. 4 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 497 Müller) ap. Synkell. chron. 39 b (i. 52 Dindorf) γενέσθαι φησι χρώνον ἐν ὕ τὸ πῦν ἐκέντρον καὶ δῶρον εἶναι καὶ ἐν τούτοις ζῶα τεταρτάδικα καὶ εἰσφερεῖν (J. D. G. Richter cf. ιδιιφεις A. Mai cf. αὐτοφαίς J. J. Scaliger cf. δισφεις τὰς ιδιὰς ἔχουσα ζωνογενεθεῖα. ἀνθρώπους γὰρ δυτικόν γενομένῃς, ἐνόμον δὲ καὶ τεταρτέριους καὶ διπτερόντας καὶ ώμα μὲν ἔχουσαν ἐν, κεφαλὰς δὲ δύο, ἄνδρεαν τε καὶ γυναικείαν, καὶ οἰκία τὸ δισά, ἄρρεν καὶ θηλυκ. κ. τ. λ. On Zeus Bélos see supra i. 736 f.

7 Fig. 614 is from Babelon Monn. rép. rom. ii. 388 fig.; fig. 615, from the cast of a specimen in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. ii. 534 no. 235 pl. 116, 21).
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by a monogram of the Greek letters KO, and there is frequently (figs. 614, 617) a countermark which appears to represent a double axe in a circle 1. Now Proculeius is known to have been interested in the religious and mythical antiquities of the neighbourhood. For a small piece struck by him shows an Αγγέλες-pillar (fig. 616) 2, and

a large piece shows the ray-fish 3 whose poisonous tail, used as a spear-head 4 by Telegonos, caused the death of Odysseus (fig. 617) 5. It is therefore likely enough that the double axe associated with Zeus in Korkyra was none other than the weapon of the old 'Minoan' sky-god.

1 M. Bahrfeid Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde Wien 1897 p. 237.
2 M. Bahrfeid op. cit. p. 237 fig. (= my fig. 616) pl. 10, 241.
3 Numismatists for more than a century past (e.g. S. Havercamp in Morell. Thes. Num. Fam. Rom. t. 36 pl. Proculeia, 2, Rasche Lex. Num. vii. 171 f., 723) have described the type of this interesting coin as a ray-fish. F. Imhof-Blumer and O. Keller Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen Leipziger 1889 p. 43 pl. 6, 42 specify the thorn-back (Raja clavata). O. Keller Die antike Tierwelt Leipziger 1913 ii. 376 f. pl. 2, 3 repeats this opinion, and further regards the death of Odysseus as due to the same fish. J. van Leeuwen, commenting on Od. 11. 134 ff. (ed. 2 Lugduni-Batavorum 1917), argues that the spear-head of Telegonos was the tail of a sting-ray (Raja pastinaca), which is not merely a formidable weapon (Plin. nat. hist. 9. 144) but actually poisonous (Opp. de pisc. 2. 470 ff., op. A. C. L. G. Günther An Introduction to the Study of Fishes Edinburgh 1880 p. 190 fig. 98, p. 341, R. Lydekker The Royal Natural History London 1896 v. 545). A. C. Pearson, à propos of Soph. Όδος νεκρών ἔμπνευσε Νιπτρα (The Fragments of Sophocles Cambridge 1917 ii. 125 ff.), by a curious slip takes Telegonos' fish to have been a roach. W. Radcliffe Fishing from the Earliest Times London 1921 justly protests that 'the absolutely harmless Roach' will not do, and agrees with J. van Leeuwen that the fish must have been a sting-ray. Returning to the subject in The Times Literary Supplement for Jan. 5, 1922 p. 13 Mr Radcliffe accepts a suggestion of Prof. D'Arcy W. Thompson (ib. for Dec. 15, 1921 p. 844) that the precise species was 'a great Eagle-Ray' (Myliobatis aquila).

4 Dr A. C. Haddon informs me (Jan. 23, 1922) that spears tipped with spines of the sting-ray are well known in Melanesia generally and also in Queensland (e.g. British Museum; Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections London 1910 p. 131 fig. 99, d from the Fiji Islands). Kwoiaam, a legendary hero of the Torres Straits, killed his mother by means of a spear pointed with three sting-ray spines (A. C. Haddon Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits Cambridge 1919 v. 71)—a perfect parallel to the story of Telegonos.

5 Fig. 617 is from Babelon Monn. rép. rom. ii. 388 fig. ('Jupiter en Terme.' Havercamp loc. cit.) 4 'Terminalis Jovis vel Neptunii.' Rasche op. cit. vii. 171: 'Neptuni.' Imhoof-Blumer loc. cit. 1 'Hermenkopf.'
The axe and the sacred oak at Dodona 677

(π) The hafted axe as a religious symbol.

The coins of Tenedos are by no means the only classical relic of pre-classical axe-cult. But before considering further evidence it will be well, for clearness' sake, to restate the essentials of the cult in question.

Throughout the Aegean and Adriatic area, as I maintain, we can trace the joint worship of a sky-father and an earth-mother. The former descends from above when the lightning flashes down and, in old aniconic days, leaves his weapon as a tangible token of himself. The latter ascends from below when vegetation springs up and, at the same early epoch, gives a visible proof of her presence in the sacred tree. Where, as was the case with the sarcophagus from Hagia Triada, we see the axe imbedded in the trunk, there we must recognise the union of the sky-father with the earth-mother, a union essential to the fertility of men and beasts and crops. The axe imbedded in a tree is the prototype of the axe imbedded in a wooden column or a stalactite pillar. Ultimately a hafted axe of the usual sort is found serving as a symbol of the united deities, the axe-head being the male, the axe-handle the female, element in their union.

(ρ) The axe and the sacred oak at Dodona.

The axe imbedded in the sacred tree is a feature of sundry cults, myths, and folk-tales. Early in the third century a.D. Philostratos described a real or imaginary painting of Dodona. 'The golden pigeon,' he wrote, 'is still upon the oak-tree, she that is wise in sayings and oracles that she utters as from Zeus. And here lies the double axe left by Helios the wood-cutter, from whom the Helloi of Dodona trace their descent. Fillets too are hung from the oak; for it gives oracles as does the tripod at Pytho.' This painting of the cult-scene at Dodona bears a curious resemblance to that of the cult-scene at Hagia Triada. In both we have the same noteworthy association of bird, axe, and tree. Moreover, the small votive axes of bronze found at Dodona (fig. 618) recall the miniature votive

1 Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 193 f.
2 Supra pp. 517 f., 530 f.
3 Supra p. 528 f.
4 Supra p. 530 ff.
5 Philostr. mai. Imag. 2. 33. 1. For the Teubner text of the first clause ἡ μὲν χρωσὶν τέλεια ἐτ' ἐπὶ τῆς δρόσου ἐν λυγίας ἡ σοφὴ καὶ χρησμοῦ, ἀτ.λ., which must be wrong (C. F. W. Jacobs c.), ἡ μὲν χρωσὶν τέλεια ἐπὶ τῆς δρόσου ἐν λυγίας ἡ σοφὴ καὶ οἱ χρησμοὶ, ἀτ.λ.), I would read ἡ μὲν χρωσὶν τέλεια ἐτ' ἐπὶ τῆς δρόσου ἐν λυγίας σοφὴ καὶ χρησμοῖς, ἀτ.λ.
6 Supra p. 648. Fig. 618 is from C. Carapanos Dodone et ses ruines Paris 1878 p. 100 f. pl. 54, 7 (length 0'12m).
axes of Crete. A fine double axe of iron, also from Dodona (fig. 619), may give us some idea of Hellos' tool.

Philostratos' statement with regard to the axe left, apparently in the sacred tree, by the forefather of the Dodonaean priests is indeed remarkable. But still more remarkable is a folk-tale heard by J. G. von Hahn at fániu, close to the site of the ancient Dodona. For in this tale not only do we get the incident of the

[Diagram of axes]

priestly wood-cutter leaving his axe in the tree, but also we have unmistakeable evidence of the axe being conceived as male and the tree as female. If I am right in my interpretation of the tale (and there is small room for error), it follows that here in an out-of-the-way corner of Europe survives a primitive conception which can be traced backwards, thanks to the Cretan sarcophagus, for the best part of four thousand years. The tale is this:

'A priest once went with his wife into the wood to cut timber. They found there a wood-cutter, with whom the woman went deeper into the wood. But the priest set about felling a wild pear-tree with his axe. He hewed and hewed till there was but a span left to cut through, and then he waited for his wife to come before cutting the rest. The tree, however, was so thick that it no longer held together, but collapsed of itself. No sooner had this happened than out of it came a she-bear, who said to the priest: "You must lie with me." "Hush!" replied the priest, "I am a holy man and dare not do so." "That's all one to me; do what I tell you," said the she-bear, and looked at him with so fierce a look that he was scared and, for good or ill, did what she wanted.

1 C. Carapanos op. cit. p. 109 pl. 57, 6 and 6 bis (= my fig. 619). Length 0.21 m.
2 Text unpublished; German translation in J. G. von Hahn Griechische und albanische Märchen Leipzig 1864 ii. 72 ff. no. 75 'Das Bärenkind.'
The axe and the sacred oak at Dodona 679

Afterwards the she-bear had a child, who grew up strong, but being unlike the other bear-children got called a bastard. So one day the youngster asked his mother whether what his brothers said about him was true. And she made answer: "You have the axe for father." "Oh! mother, can the axe then beget children?" asked the boy, and pressed his mother for an answer till she said: "Take the axe, stand with it before the church, and ask—To whom does this axe belong? And, whoever recognises it, that man is your father." The boy did as he was bidden; but one after the other the people came out of church, and nobody would claim the axe. At last the priest too came out, and asked the boy: "Where did you get that axe from? It is mine!" And he replied: "If it is yours, so am I!" "Hush, blasphemer!" "Why so? You are in truth my father." So the boy went home with the priest, who said to his wife: "See, I've brought you this boy to serve you." The wife was pleased and said: "That's capital! Many thanks."

The first day the boy ate a loaf of bread. The second, he ate as much as the priest took in a whole month. Thereupon the priest said "You're no good to us!" and handed him over to a baker. Here the boy ate all the bread that the baker baked.

Then the king's cook came to the oven and, having had a look at him, told his master that he had seen such a fellow. The king was astonished, had the lad brought before him, and asked: "Can you load sixty mules with timber?" "Certainly," said he; "only you must have an axe made to suit me." Then the king had an axe made that weighed a hundred pounds. But the lad took it in his hands, broke it in pieces, and said: "That's no good to me; I must have a stouter one." After this they made him one that weighed five hundred pounds. He swung it with a single hand, and said: "That's the right axe for me!" He took the mules, went with them into a coppice, brought his axe to bear on the trees, and promptly had his sixty mules laden. On his way back he passed a plane-tree, seized it with his hands, wrenched it out of the ground, and carried it over his shoulder. Coming into the town like this, he tore down with his tree the roofs of the huts which stood beside his way. When the king saw him marching along, he was astonished and said to the baker: "He does indeed eat much, but he works much too; I will take him into my service." As time went on, the bear-child grew stronger and stronger. This great strength began to cause the king so much anxiety that he feared for his life. So he sent the lad forth to fetch the treasures of the Dogs-heads, hoping that these heads would devour him. But first they agreed that the king should give half his kingdom to the bear's son, if he brought the treasures. Off he went, beat the Dogs-heads, won thereby half the kingdom, and lived happily. But we here live more happily still.

This folk-tale, which in part falls under J. G. von Hahn's thirty-seventh formula—'Strong Hans'—and contains obvious parallels to the myth of Herakles, belongs to a very ancient stratum of human thought, and we need not hesitate to recognise in the axe-father and the tree-mother of the hero a genuine echo of primitive belief.

1 J. G. von Hahn Griechische und albanische Märchen Leipzig 1864 i. 59. The closest resemblance to our tale is borne by one from Argyllshire entitled 'The son of the Strong Man of the Wood' (J. Macdougall Folk and Hero Tales London 1891 p. 187 ff.).
(σ) The sword and the sacred tree at Rheidia.

The appearance of the tree-mother as a bear suggests comparison with Artemis, whose relations to that animal are well known. It is therefore interesting to find that Orestes, when he fled from the Taurian land with the image of Artemis, touched at Rheidia for purposes of purification, built there a temple of Apollo, and on departure left his sword in a tree, where it was long to be seen. The ‘Swordsman’s Harbour’ at Rheidia perhaps commemorated his exploit. Further, he bore the image of Artemis done up in a bundle of rods, from which circumstance she received her title Phakelitis or Phakeline, the goddess ‘of the Bundle.’ I have elsewhere argued that this title enables us to regard as analogous cases the axe projecting from a bundle of rods, which was carried by the Roman lictor, and the iron scimitar set up on numerous bundles of sticks, which was worshipped by the Scythians.

Another myth that should be considered in this connexion is that of Myrrha, the daughter of Kinyras. According to one version, she loved her own father, made him drunk, and consorted with him. When he realised what had happened, he pursued her with a drawn sword. Hereupon she was changed into a ‘myrrha’-tree. Her father struck it with his sword; and from the tree Adonis was born. It may be suspected that in this form of the story the sword has taken the place of a double axe. For a copper of Myra in Lykia issued by Gordanus iii Pius (238–244 A.D.) shows a tree, with a female

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1 J. J. Bachofen Der Bar in den Religionen des Alterthums Basel 1863 p. 15 ff., S. Reinach in the Revue celtique 1900 xxi. 287 ff. with pl. 1 (=id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions Paris 1905 i. 55 ff. with fig. 1), Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. Index p. 1898 s.v. ‘Bär,’ O. Keller Die antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1909 i. 176. Supra i. 417, 421 f., 443 f., 453 n. 5, 784 n. 2 Varro and Cato ap. Prob. in Verg. ecl. praef. p. 348 Lion. 3 In Hesych. ξυφής η μνήριον Ακρίβως Πάδου Ποσειδής τον παρθόνο τα περί Ρήγμον ορείου I. Casaubon cf. ξυφής, which F. G. Schneideuwin Diana Phaelitis et Orestes apud Rheidinos et Siculos Gottingen 1832 p. 11 corrected into ξυφής. A. Meineke in Philologus 1858 xiii. 510 f. proposed ξυφής η μνήριον and [τα] περί Ρήγμον ...οὖν οὐς άνήρ on the strength of Diod. 4. 85. See further J. Alberti and M. Schmidt ad loc., A. Nauck on Aisch. frag. 33 Nauck, Philipp in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i a. 496. It is uncertain whether ξυφής refers to Orion, as in Eur. Iou 1153, or to Orestes (cp. Strab. 235 ξυφής σών άνθρωπων αεί of the priest at Nemi, whose mythical prototype was Orestes). 4 Serv. in Verg. Aen. 2. 116, Prob. loc. cit. Cp. Serv. in Verg. ecl. praef. p. 95 Lion. 5 Lucil. sat. 3 frag. 72 Bähr. 6 Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 362 n. 3. 7 Supra p. 633 ff. 8 Supra p. 547 n. 3. 9 Interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 5. 72, Hyg. fab. 164, Fulgent. myth. 3. 8, Myth. Vat. l. 200. 2. 34, 3. 11. 17. That Kinyras pursued his daughter with a sword is stated also by Apollod. 3. 14. 4, 5. met. 10. 474 f., Interp. Serv. in Verg. ecl. 10. 18. 10 On the significance of such incest see the convincing remarks of Frazer Golden Bough: Adonis Attis Osiris i. 43 f.
sacred tree at Rhegium

image in its branches, attacked by two men with double axes and defended by two snakes (fig. 620)\(^1\). This unusual design can be paralleled by *quasi*-autonomous coppers of Aphrodisias in Karia: here a leafless tree is attacked by two naked men, wearing Phrygian caps, of whom one brandishes a double axe and the other kneels or runs away (figs. 621, 622)\(^2\). On specimens struck by Saloninus (253—266 (?) A.D.) (fig. 623)\(^3\) or Valerianus (253—260 A.D.) (fig. 624)\(^4\), a third man is present, with uplifted arms. A. Lübbecke\(^5\) and F. Imhoof-Blumer\(^6\) interpret these coins of Myra and Aphrodisias as representing the myth of Myrrha. The latter scholar even supposes that the third person present (a grown man!) is meant for Adonis. In my opinion it is far more probable that the coins of both towns commemorate a local rite of threatening the sacred tree in order to make it fruitful. 

Sir James Frazer collects analogous

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\(^2\) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 36 pl. 6, 7, Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *op. cit.* p. 64 pl. 10, 43 (=my fig. 621), Head *Hist. num.* p. 610. Fig. 622 is from a specimen in my collection.

\(^3\) Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 142 f. no. 422 pl. 9, 39 (=my fig. 623).

\(^4\) A. Lübbecke in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1890 xvii. 11 f. pl. 2, 1 (=my fig. 624).

\(^5\) A. Lübbecke *loc. cit.*

\(^6\) Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 143.
rites from the East Indies, Japan, Armenia, South Slavonia, Bulgaria, Lesbos, Sicily, the Abruzzi, etc.1 A sample will serve:

1 On Christmas Eve many a South Slavonian and Bulgarian peasant swings an axe threateningly against a barren fruit-tree, while another man standing by intercedes for the menaced tree, saying, "Do not cut it down; it will soon bear fruit." Thrice the axe is swung, and thrice the impending blow is arrested at the entreaty of the intercessor. After that the frightened tree will certainly bear fruit next year.2

If this be the drúmenon portrayed on our coins, it is obvious that they need not have anything to do with Myrrha and her 'myrrh' 'tree.

The sword left in the tree is a circumstance which occurs in the tales of other nations also. The Volsung saga3, for example, tells how king Rerir and his wife remained without a son till Ljod, daughter of the giant Hrimnir, was sent in the form of a crow by Freyja to bring them an apple. She let the apple fall into the lap of the king as he sat upon a mound. He took it home and came to the queen, who ate part of it. After a sickness lasting six winters she was forcibly delivered of a man-child, great of growth from his birth, who was called Volsung and became king of Hunland in the room of his father. He married Ljod, Hrimnir's daughter, and had by her ten sons and one daughter. Now king Volsung built his hall in such a manner that it enclosed a big oak-tree. The trunk stood in the hall; the branches and blossoms4 spread out over the roof. The tree was termed a barnstokk or 'child-tree' and also, somewhat inconsequently, apaldr, an 'apple-tree.' At the marriage-feast of king Volsung's daughter Signy and Siggeir king of Gothland a huge one-eyed old man5, bare-footed but wearing a spotted cloak and tight linen breeches, entered the hall. He drew his sword6 and plunged it up to the hilts in the tree-trunk, declaring that whosoever could pull it out might keep it for his own. This said, he took his departure. Those present attempted to pull out the sword; but none succeeded save Sigmund, son of king Volsung.

Similarly in an Irish folk-tale7, when Fin and the Fenians were at Fintra, a ship sailed into harbour with only one woman on board. She saluted Fin and asked whether he would play a game of chess

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1 Fraser Golden Bough3: The Magic Art ii. 20—23.
4 My friend Prof. H. M. Chadwick informs me that the Icelandic writer may mean 'leaves.'
5 Óthin.
6 Cp. supra p. 247 n. 3 for the sword of Mars owned by Attila, lord of the Hunni.
7 Text unpublished; English translation by J. Curtin Hero-Tales of Ireland Boston 1894 p. 484 ff. ('Fin MacCool, Faolan, and the Mountain of Happiness').
The axes and the sacred oaks at Dotion

with her for a sentence. Fin agreed. They played. She won and sentenced him to take her for his wife. After a time she said: 'I must leave you now for a season.' Fin then drove his sword into a tree-stump and said: 'Call your son Faolan ('Little Wolf'), and never send him to me until he is able to draw the sword from this stump.' She took the stump with her and sailed away homeward. She nursed her son for three days only, and called him Faolan. When ten years old, he was taunted by a playmate for not knowing who his father was. He asked his mother, who told him about Fin and the tree-stump. With one pull he drew out the sword, and then set forth, accompanied by his mother’s blessing, to find his father. His subsequent adventures do not here concern us; but it is obvious that thus far the story has at least some points in common with J. G. von Hahn’s tale from Dodona and with the Volsung saga.

(7) The axes and the sacred oaks at Dotion.

The enormous appetite of the strong man in the folk-tale from Dodona reminds us, not only of the ever-hungry Herakles, but also of the insatiate Erysichthon, whose myth again includes the incident of an axe left in a sacred tree.

The story is told by Kallimachos1 as follows. The Pelasgians, before they migrated from Thessaly to Knidos, had planted a grove for Demeter at Dotion. Here dwelt the royal family of the Triopidai. Erysichthon, son of Triopas, acting under some infatuation, armed his followers with axes and hatchets, and invaded the grove. The first tree attacked was a magnificent poplar2, which groaned aloud. Demeter heard it and, appearing in the likeness of her priestess, attempted to dissuade the madman. He at once threatened to fell her with his axe, being bent on fashioning the timbers of a house in which to feast with his friends. Demeter in wrath resumed her godlike form; and Erysichthon’s comrades horror-struck left their axes sticking in the oaks3. She punished their chief by inflicting on him a hunger that nothing would satisfy.

Ovid4 tells the same tale with some variations. He describes the tree cut down by Erysichthon as an ancient oak5 adorned with fillets and tablets by the pious rustics. Though the Dryads had often danced beneath it, the son of Triops bade his servants fell it. When they hesitated, he caught up an axe and swore that the tree should fall, though it were not merely the favourite of the goddess,

1 Kallim. h. Dem. 24—117.
2 Id. ib. 37 αὐλείριον. Supra p. 497 n. 5.
3 Id. ib. 66 τὸν δρυὸν χαλέαν ἀφένεις.
4 Ov. met. 8. 738 ff.
5 Id. ib. 8. 743 ingens annoso robore quercus.
but the goddess herself. Thereupon the ‘Deoian’ oak\(^1\) shivered and groaned and blanched, and at the first stroke shed blood. One of those present protested: Erysichthon beheaded him on the spot, and went on with his impious work. From the stricken trunk was heard the voice of the tree- nymph, who, ere she died, prophesied the evil end of the Thessalian. The Dryads implored Ceres to avenge their sister’s fate. She banished Erysichthon to Scythia, the abode of Hunger\(^2\).

It would seem that neither Kallimachos nor Ovid has preserved the primitive form of this myth\(^3\). In particular, the axe imbedded in the sacred tree has been treated as a mere symptom of surprise on the part of Erysichthon’s followers, while the perpetual appetite of the strong man\(^4\) has been misinterpreted as a punishment for his impious action. Such changes are indicative of a romantic and moralising age.

(v) The knife and the sacred oak at Phylake.

One other example of a weapon fixed in a sacred tree occurs, in the myth of Phylakos. It is related as follows by Apollodoros\(^5\), Phylakos, the eponym of Phylake in Phthiotis, having learnt that Melampous was an excellent seer, asked him to cure the childless condition of his son Iphiklos. Melampous sacrificed two bulls, cut them limb from limb, and invited the birds to the feast. From a vulture that came he learnt the facts of the case. Phylakos had once, when gelding rams, laid down his knife covered with blood on the severed portions beside Iphiklos\(^6\). The boy being terrified

\(^1\) Id. ii. 8. 788 Deoia quercus.

\(^2\) What Kallimachos and Ovid relate of Erysichthon was by others related of Triopas himself. Diod. 5. 61 says that Triopas, son of Helios and Rhodos, helped the sons of Deukalion to drive the Pelasgians out of Thessaly. When he came to divide up the land, he laid waste the precinct of Demeter in the plain of Dotion, and used its timber to make a palace: hence he was hated by the natives and had to fly the country. He sailed to Knidos, and there founded the Triopion. Diodoros adds that some authorities made Triopas the son of Poseidon and Kanake (Kallim. h. Dem. 98 ff.), others of Lapithes son of Apollon and Stube daughter of Peneios.

\(^3\) On the development of the myth see O. Cruvin in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1373—1384, and O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 571—574.

\(^4\) Erysichthon occurs as the name of a Giant, probably the adversary of Demeter, on the frieze of the great altar at Pergamon (H. Winnefeld in Pergamon iii. 2. 154, M. Fränkel ib. viii. 1. 65 no. 114 Ερυσίχθων on a fragment found S.E. of the altar).

\(^5\) Apollod. i. 9. 12. Super p. 452.

\(^6\) παραγγελμένων δὲ αιγήτου, παρὰ τοῦτον μανθαὶ δὴ ὅτι Φυλάκω ποτὲ κραώθη τέμνων ἐπὶ τῶν αἴδολων παρὰ τῷ Ἰφίλεσ τῷ μάχαρον ἦμαγεν ἐτὶ κατάθετο, δείκνυς δὲ τοῦ παιδοῦ καὶ φυγάντος αἴθης κατὰ τῆς κεράς δρῶν αὐτῆς ἔνθετο, καὶ τοῦτον ἀμφιτροφόγας ἐκκλήσας ὁ φιλατρός. The words ἐπὶ τῶν αἴδολων, which R. Hercher would delete, must—as the text stands—refer to the genitals of the rams. It is, however, possible that they arose from a gloss on παρὰ τῷ Ἰφίλεσ, in which case Apollodoros will agree with schol.
had run away. Phylakos had then thrust the knife back into the
sacred oak-tree, the bark of which had compassed it about and
concealed it from view. If Melampous could now find the knife,
scape the rust off it, and give it to Iphiklos to drink for ten days
in succession, Iphiklos would beget a child. Thus instructed by the
vulture, Melampous found the knife, scraped the rust off it, and for
ten days in succession gave it to Iphiklos to drink, the result being
that a son Podarkes was born to him. In this story we may pre-
sume that the generative power of the rams' passed from them to
the knife and so to the rust that was put in Iphiklos' drink. But
why was the knife thrust into the sacred oak? Or rather, why was
it 'thrust back' into the oak? This implies that the gelding knife
was kept in the tree. It was—we remember—'beneath the tall
oaks' that Zeus himself gelded Kronos. Perhaps the idea was that
a blade so highly charged with procreative force would permanently
fertilise the sacred oak. If so, we have here another instance of the
weapon regarded as quasi-male, the tree as quasi-female:

(φ) Axe-blades and axe-hafts in the megalithic art
of western Europe.

The connexion here suggested between weapon and tree, blade
and haft, is to some extent confirmed by evidence from western
Europe. As far back as 1867 A. de Longpérier put forward the idea
that in Gaul there may have been a cult of the axe comparable with
that of Assyria, Egypt, Karia, Tenedos, and Pagasai. S. Reinach
in 1894 grouped together the sacred axes of all ages from the
quaternary era downwards and regarded them as symbols of the
lightning-flash. Lastly, J. Déchelette in his admirable Manual
d'archéologie, after a more detailed study of the subject, arrives at
the following conclusion:

'Thus the representations of the axe symbol in prehistoric art offer three
variants—the hatchet complete, that is to say the blade furnished with its
handle, the blade alone, and the handle alone. It is impossible for us to deter-

Theocr. 3: 43—45 c p. 129, 24 ff. Wendel Φυλάκω τῷ πατρί, ἄφ' οὐ καὶ ἥ χώρα Φυλάκη
ἐκαλεῦτοι, ἐκτέμωστι (C. F. W. Jacobs adds ζῳά) ὁ Ιφθειος παῖς ὁν παρόπτατο: ὄν ἐκπλήξαι
ὁ πατὴρ θέλων ἦν ἐχὲ μάχαιραν εἰς τὸ πλησίων δένδρον ἔπαιχεν ὀρμήσει, καὶ συνέβη ἐπενεγ-κέων αὐτῶν τοῖς μορίοις τοῦ πατὸς. κ.τ.λ. (quoted by Eustath. in Od. p. 1685, 38 ff.).
1 Supra i. 429 f., 717, 779.
2 Frazer Golden Bough: The Magic Art i. 158 f.
3 Supra p. 448 n. 1, infra Append. G med.
4 A. de Longpérier in the Comptes rendus de la seconde session du Congrès International
d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques Paris 1867 pp. 37—40 = G. Schumberger
Oeuvres de A. de Longpérier Paris 1883 i. 218—221.
6 J. Déchelette Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique Paris 1908 i. 610.
mine the symbolic value that should be ascribed to each of these mysterious signs; but the fact that they appear on monuments dedicated to the shades of ancestors, in other words, on stones that are sacred, is enough to prove that their character is, in the etymological sense of the term, hieroglyphic.]

Where Déchelette is negative, it would be rash to be positive. But I note, as a point tending to support my interpretation of the

Fig. 625.  

Fig. 626.  

'Minoan' data, that in the contemporaneous\(^1\) megalithic art of Gaul axe-blade (fig. 625)\(^2\) and axe-handle (fig. 626)\(^3\) were regarded as distinct entities, which might occur separately as well as in com-

\(^1\) Id. ib. i. 612.

\(^2\) Dictionnaire archéologique de la Gaule, époque celtique Paris 1867 pl. 16, 9 (=my fig. 625). Scale \(\frac{3}{8}\). 1875 p. 110 f. from the allée couverte of Gavr’ Inis in the commune of Baden (Morbihan), J. Déchelette op. cit. i. 605 f. fig. 241, 608, Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 194 with fig. 19. Cp. M. Hoernes Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa\(^2\) Wien 1915 pp. 222 fig. 3, 226. For early bronze-age examples from Portugal see P. Paris in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. p. 335 f. figs. 28 (a schist slab from Defesa (S. Tiago de Cacem) showing in low relief a sword, a club (?), and the head of an axe with recurved blade) and 29 (fragment of a similar slab, found near Panoias de Ourique, showing an axe-head with recurved blade), J. Déchelette op. cit. 1910 ii. 1. 492 ff. fig. 208 (the slab from Defesa), M. Hoernes op. cit.\(^2\) p. 214 ff. fig. 1 (the slab from Defesa, and two others).

\(^3\) J. Déchelette op. cit. 1908 ii. 609 f. fig. 344, 1 (=my fig. 616) after A. de Mortillet Les figures sculptées sur les monuments mégalithiques de la France \(^1\) in the Revue mensuelle de l’École d’Anthropologie de Paris 1894 p. 291 fig. 89, Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 194 with fig. 20. From the dolmen known as La Table des Marchands at Locmariquer (Morbihan).
megalithic art of western Europe

Combination (fig. 627). If we take into account on the one hand the Scandinavian rock-carvings of the Bronze Age, which represent an ithyphallic male bearing an axe (fig. 628), and on the other hand

1 J. Déchelette op. cit. 1908 i. 606 fig. 242, 1 and 2 (= my fig. 627), 608 after A. de Mortillet loc. cit. p. 300 f. figs. 94 and 95, Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 192 with fig. 18. The axes here shown are incised on La Table des Marchands at Locmarioquer and on the allée couverte of Gavr' Inis. A photograph of the first is printed by M. Hoernes op. cit. pp. 223 fig. 3, 236.

2 O. Montelius The Civilisation of Sweden in Heathen Times trans. F. H. Woods
Axe-blades and axe-hafts in the

London 1888 p. 54 fig. 53 (= my fig. 628), P. B. du Chaillu The Viking Age London 1889 ii. 131 fig. 906, Forrer Reaalex. p. 73 pl. 23, 8 (reversed). From a rock at Simrislund (Scania) in S. Sweden. Height of man 1 ft. 6 ins.; length of axe-handle 1 ft. 8 ins.; length of axe-head nearly 1 ft. 2 ins.

The designs hammered on rocks high up in the Italian Maritime Alps, described and drawn in primis by C. Bicknell (bibliography in J. Déchelette op. cit. 1910 ii. 1. 493 n. 2), include numerous examples of little men uplifting large axes (id. ib. 1910 ii. 1. 495 with fig. 209, 7—12, M. Hoernes op. cit. 2. p. 216 with fig. 2 on p. 215). They appear to be the work of Ligurian hands (G. Dottin Les anciens peuples de l'Europe Paris 1916 p. 187) during the earlier part of the Bronze Age (Sir A. J. Evans in The Athenæum Dec. 25, 1897, p. 890, id. 'The European diffusion of pictography and its bearings on the origin of script' in R. R. Marett Anthropology and the Classics Oxford 1908 p. 39 with fig. 20.
Megalithic art of western Europe

(upside down), and had almost certainly some religious or symbolic value. Figs. 630, 631

C. II.  Fig. 631.  44
The axes of Penelope

the carved slabs of the same age\textsuperscript{1} from the dolmen of Collorgues in Gard, which represent a female bearing an axe-handle (fig. 629)\textsuperscript{3}, we may be disposed to allow that blade \textit{plus} handle sometimes symbolised the union of male with female—a symbol that probably arose in neolithic times\textsuperscript{3}.

\textbf{(χ) The axes of Penelope.}

If in ‘Minoan’ times the hafted axe thus denoted the union of male with female, it is possible that there was some such notion underlying the marriage-test proposed by Penelope:

\begin{quote}
Behold the dawn comes, dawn of evil name
That is to take me from Odysseus' home;
For now forthwith a contest will I make,
To wit the axes, which within his halls
My lord was wont to set, twelve in a row,
Like ship-stays, and himself far off would stand
And send a single arrow through them all.
Now on the wooers will I lay this task:
Whoso most easily shall string the bow
And shoot a shaft through the axes, twelve in all,
Him will I follow and for sake this house,
Where I was wed, so fair, so full of wealth,
That I shall mind me of it even in dreams.\textsuperscript{4}
\end{quote}

The \textit{Odyssey} certainly gives no hint that the contest was anything more than an athletic competition. Nevertheless, athletic competitions in Greece were often religious in their origin; and it may be that in this feature of the story, as in some others (\textit{e.g.} the tree-bed of Odysseus\textsuperscript{5}), the poet is modernising materials of immemorial antiquity.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{1} So S. Reinach in \textit{L'Anthropologie} 1894 v. 12. 1901 xii. 606, 608, cp. E. d'Acy \textit{ib.} 1901 xii. 608. But M. Hoernes \textit{op. cit.} \textsuperscript{2} p. 218 says: 'aus dem Ende der Steinzeit und den frühesten Metallperioden.' And J. Déchelette \textit{op. cit.} 1908 i. 587 ff. treats them as neolithic.

\textsuperscript{2} F. Hermet ‘Sculptures préhistoriques dans les deux cantons de Saint-Affrique et de Saint-Sernin’ in the \textit{Mémoires de la Société des Lettres, Sciences et Arts de l'Aveyron} 1892 xiv. 1—22 with pl., É. Cartailhac ‘La divinité féminine et les sculptures de l'allée couverte d'Épône, Seine-et-Oise’ in \textit{L'Anthropologie} 1894 v. 153 f. figs. 7 and 8 (= my fig. 629).

\textsuperscript{3} J. Déchelette \textit{op. cit.} 1908 i. 588 fig. 226, 7 and 8, M. Hoernes \textit{op. cit.} \textsuperscript{2} p. 217 figs. 7 and 8.

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Od.} 19. 671—81.

\textsuperscript{5} W. Crooke ‘The Wooing of Penelope’ in \textit{Folk-lore} 1898 ix. 131 (‘I may, perhaps, hazard the suggestion that in the earlier form of the tale this olive tree was the marriage tree.\textsuperscript{5}'\textsuperscript{5})}
The name Penelópe or Penelópeia is a legitimate derivative of penélops, 'wild duck' or 'goose'. According to Didymos Chalkenteros, an Alexandrine savant whose life-time covered the beginning of our era, Penelope was first called Ameirake or Arnakia, but, when cast into the sea by Nauplius in revenge for the fate of his son Palamedes and rescued from that predicament by wild ducks, was re-named Penelópe. Others said that her name had been changed from Arnaia or Arnea (?) to Penelópe because, when flung into the sea by her own parents, she was brought safely ashore and restored to them by wild ducks. Recent critics, discussing the Penelope of epic and non-epic tradition, have resolved her into an Arcadian or Laconian goddess. Thus E. Meyer, laying stress on the common Greek belief that she was by Hermes the mother of the Arcadian Pan, concludes that originally a goddess (Artemis ?) surnamed Penelópe gave birth to Pan at Mantinea, where in later days her grave was shown. F. Solmsen too regards it as certain that Penelope was an ancient goddess whose home was Arkadia, especially eastern Arkadia, and Lakonike. Here in the second millennium B.C., at a time when theriomorphic conceptions were widespread throughout Greece, she took the form of the bird penélops. Lastly, J. A. K. Thomson in his venturesome but
The axes of Penelope

most suggestive Studies in the Odyssey maintains that Penelope, like Artemis Stymphala, was a local Arcadian kore in the shape of a water-fowl, and points out that her other titles Arnaktia, Arnala, Arneá (?) mean 'She of Arne,' the famous spring near Mantinea. 'Penelope,' he says, 'was evidently the divine Penelope of Arne.' This is to treat a possibility as a certainty. But the hypothesis itself is by no means absurd.

In any case the occurrence of a bird-name in connexion with the episode of the axes donne à penser. It recalls the birds perched on the axes of the sarcophagus from Hagia Triada, and the bird on the axe-cleft tree at Dodona. S. Wide, commenting on the complex, bird, axe, and tree, surmises that the bronze double axe, or rather its prototype the stone axe, belonged by rights to the bird regarded as numen of the sacred tree. The woodpecker with his chisel-shaped beak was actually called pelekás, pelekán, spelektos, the 'axe-bird'; and many another popular name for him all over Europe bears witness to his reputation as a borer and fashioner of timber. In this respect he has for rival the hoopoe, who is described by R. Lydekker as commonly breeding in hollow trees and hammering on the ground at the production of each note. D'Arcy W. Thompson and Sir James Frazer remark on the parallelism of these two birds in ancient belief. The myth of Tereus the hoopoe has a doublet in that of Polytechnos the woodpecker, the former being current on the western, the latter on the eastern side of the Aegean. Tereus, king

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3 Farnell Gk. Hero Cults p. 62 scouts it, but without discussion.
4 Supra pp. 518, 520.
5 Supra p. 677.
6 S. Wide 'Baum, Vogel und Axt' in the Sertum philosophicum Carolo Ferdinando Johansson oblatum Göteborg 1910 pp. 62—69 with 4 figs. I am indebted to Miss Harrison for the loan of an offprint of this article.
7 R. Lydekker The Royal Natural History London 1894—95 iii. 551 'The bill in all the woodpeckers is strong and chisel-shaped, and is thus admirably adapted for hewing holes, and prising off bark to capture insects.'
10 R. Lydekker The Royal Natural History London 1895 iv. 57.
11 ib. ib. iv. 59.
13 Frazer Golden Bough Balder the Beautiful ii. 70 n. 2.
of Thrace, armed with a double axe (πέλεκυς)\(^1\), pursued Prokne and Philomela till the gods changed them all into birds—Tereus becoming a hoopoe, Prokne a nightingale, Philomela a swallow. Just so Polytechnos of Kolophon, to whom Hephaistos had given a double axe (πέλεκυς), pursued Aëdon and Chelidonis till Zeus transformed the whole family into birds—Polytechnos into a woodpecker (πελεκάν), the brother of Aëdon into a hoopoe, etc.\(^2\) The boast of Polytechnos and Aëdon that they loved each other more than Zeus and Hera suggests that Polytechnos was originally an epithet of Zeus\(^3\) conceived as a woodpecker.\(^4\) If so, Tereus too may have been


\(^2\) Ant. Lib. 11 (citing Boios ὄρθιογωνία).

\(^3\) Cp. the description of the Dodonaean Zeus in Pind. frag. 57 Schroeder ap. Dion Chrys. or. 12 p. 416 Reiske Δοδώναιος μεγαθεσίος ὁ ἄριστοτέχνη πάτερ ὁ ὀρθός ἄρα πρῶτον καὶ τελευτάτος δημοφυγὸς, χρυσῶν λαμβάνη τὴν αἰτίας τέχνης, οδ τὴν Ἡλεών πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πᾶσαν τοῦ παντός δῆμην. S. Wide in the Sertum philologicum Carolo Ferdinando Johanson Oblation Göteborg 1910 p. 66 ff. thinks that the priests of Dodona got their name θυαρος (τήμπωροι), 'carpenters,' from the sacred doves nesting in the hollow oak ('Es lag ja nahe, den in dem heiligen Baume pickenden Vogel θυαρος zu nennen, denn er war ja ein Zimmermann mit der Axt, vgl. die modernen Benennungen des Spechtes: Schweiz. Zimmernann, französ. Volkssprache Charpentier, italien. Carpentiere, ... u.s.w.'). θυαροι may indeed mean 'cutters,' as I conjectured years ago (Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 186 f.), understanding thereby a clan privileged to cut the sacred oaks; but that they were named after a 'cutters'-dove seems to me improbable. It was the priestesses, not the priests, who, according to some, were known as πελεκάδες (supra i. 443).

\(^4\) The phrase Πίκος ὁ καί Νεώς, to which I drew attention some time since (Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 412, Folk-lore 1904 xv. 387), has in sundry quarters fait fortune—see e.g. Miss J. E. Harrison in the Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 161, W. R. Halliday Greek Divination London 1913 p. 265 n. 1 with context, and especially the interesting little volume of my friend J. Rendel Harris Pius who is also Zeus Cambridge 1916. It seems, therefore, worth while to attempt some investigation of its antecedents, a task in which, so far as Byzantine literature is concerned, I have had the kind assistance of Prof. J. B. Bury.

The Weltenchronik, as contained in the compilation of Georgios Kedrenos (c. 1100 a.d.), is to the following effect (Kedren. hist. comp. 15 b ff. (i. 28 ff. Bekker), cp. ib. 20 d (i. 37), 81 d (i. 144)):—Of the tribe of Sem (Shem) was Chous (Cush) the Aethiopian. He begat Nebrod (Nimrod) the founder of Babylon, called also Orion, who was the first to become king on earth: he ruled over Assyria and took as title the name of the planet Kronos. His wife was Semiramis, called also Rhea. Their children were Pikos, who took the name Zeus (Πίκος, ὁ καὶ μεταφομενός Κόης), Belos, Ninos, and Hera. Ninos founded Nineui (Nineveh) and married his own mother Semiramis. Africanus adds that Kronos had another son, Aphros the forerather of the Aphroi (Africans), who married Astynome and begat Aphrodite. Kronos, expelled from his kingdom by his own son Zeus, went west-
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wards and became ruler of Italy. Then Zeus, quitting Assyria, followed Kronos, who yielded to him the kingship of Italy. Having reigned for many years, Zeus died and was buried in Crete. Ninos as king of Assyria was succeeded by Thouro, called also Ares. The Assyrians changed his name to Baal or Bel, set up a statue of him, and worshipped him. After the death of Zeus, Phaonos his son became king and took the name Hermes. Aphrodite married Adonis son of Kinyras. Pikos, called also Zeus (Πίκος τῶν και Διᾶ), was king of Assyria for thirty years and then, leaving the throne to his son Belos and to his wife and sister Hera, followed his father Kronos, who being old and infirm abdicated in his favour. So Pikos reigned in Italy for another sixty-two years. Belos his son was king of Assyria for two years. Ninos, the uncle of Belos, reigned for fifty-two years. A descendant of his was Zoroastres the famous astronomer, who prayed that he might be struck and consumed by celestial fire, and bade the Persians venerate his bones on pain of losing their empire (περίκρα π. 35 f.)—a fate which they actually incurred. Ninos the brother of Zeus was succeeded as king of Assyria by Thouro, to whom Zamis his father, the brother of Rhea, gave the name of the planet Ares. This Ares slew the giant Kankasos, who came from the tribe of Iapheth (Iapheth), and passing over into Thrace died and was buried there. To him the Assyrians set up the first statue, worshipping him under the name of Baal. After him Lamis became king of Assyria, and then Sardanapalos, who was slain by Persus, son of Zeus and Danae. He transferred the empire from the Assyrians to his namesake Persians, over whom he ruled for fifty-three years. It must be borne in mind that this Pikos Zeus (Πίκος αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεύς) was the greatest deceiver, charlatan, trickster, and magician of the whole human race. From his infancy to his old age—for he lived to be one hundred and twenty—he indulged in all manner of abominable sins, seducing no fewer than seventy fair maidens by means of mystic apparitions. For all that he persuaded men to regard him as a god. Worse still, when he died and was buried in Crete, his relatives, in accordance with his own behest, built him a temple and a tomb, on which they inscribed ηθάκε κείται θανόν Πίκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς.

This wild firrage, which implies the genealogy

Sem

Chous

Nebrod Orion Kronos = Semiramis Rhea

Zamis

Pikos Zeus = Hera Belos Ninos = Semiramis Rhea Aphros = Astynomice Thouro Ares Baal

Phaonos Belos Aphonide

Zoroastres

and involves obvious inconsistencies (Belos is both son of Kronos and son of Zeus; he is also distinguished from Baal or Bel), was taken over by Kedrenos or his immediate source (K. Krumbacher Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur 2 München 1897 p. 369) from earlier chroniclers such as Georgios Monachos (t. ix) and Georgios Synkellos (t. viii). Soudias (c. 950 A.D.) used a similar source s.v. Πίκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, citing the Cretan epitaph as ηθάκε κείται θανόν Πίκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς (περίκρα i. 158 n. 2)—an itacism which occurs also in the narrative of Georg. Monachos chron. 1. 3 (g. 12 de Boor) ἐκω δὲ γυναίκα Σεμιμάμμε, τὴν καὶ Ῥηα καλυμμένην παρὰ Ασσολούς, ἐκεῖν (τὸς Κρόνος) νικῶν δόθη καὶ θυγατέρα μιᾶν, καὶ μὲν προσπαγγείρονος Διὰ εὶς οὐκοῦν τὸν πλακεύθην αὐτέρος, τὸν δὲ ἔημαικόταις Νίνος, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Πραγμ. ἤ καὶ θαλείς εἰς γυναίκα Πίκος (πίκος codd. G.H.R. et L. et sic deinceps πίκος hic cod. V.) ὁ καὶ Ζεύς τὴν ἔλαχεν ἀδέλφην, cp. ib. 1. 8 (i. 14) Περείκειν ὁ νικῶν Πίκος τοῦ καὶ Διᾶ. Yet another spelling is found in Synkell. chron. 171 b (i. 32 b Dindorf) ὥστε πρὸ Ἀβελού α' φασὶ Πίκον νῖνα Ἐρμοῦ βασιλέου καταχείρισι αἰματολογίας λαυρίτου λήμ' μετ' ὑπὸ Κρόνου τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ Πίκου τοῦ καὶ Διᾶς ὑπ᾽ ἐμέ, τούτου δὲ φασὶ τινὲς Ἐρμῆν, κατὰ τὴν ἑπετέραν τῶν. μετ' ὑπὸ φασὶ Πίκον νῖνα αὐτοῦ, τὸν καὶ Διᾶς, βασιλέως: εἶτα Φαίνου διότι νικῶν, τὸν καὶ Ἐρμῆν. K.T.L. Further, the Chronicon Paschale (early in s. vii) 36 a ff. (i. 64 ff. Dindorf) already has the
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whole story, later retailed by Kedrenos, together with the names of one or two authorities, viz. 38 b (i. 68) ἀπάντα συνεγραφότα τοῦ Συμπλοκοῦ τοῦ Βασιλέως Πέργαμου and 38 c (i. 69) ἄυτα συνεγραφότα Βασιλείου τοῦ Στρατικοῦ καὶ χρονογράφος εἰς θάνατον ὡς ἄφθασε Πικος ὢ καὶ Ζεύς κ.τ.λ.: in 44 c (i. 80) it gives the epitaph in the form ἔθαδε κεῖται βασιλεῖς Πικος ὢ καὶ Ζεύς, ὡ καὶ Δία καλωσί. The source of the Chronicon Paschale was, according to Prof. Bury (but see K. Krumbacher op. cit. p. 337 f.), probably Ioannes Malalas (r. vi). The first book of his Χρονογραφία, missing in the unique Oxford manuscript, can be, for our purpose, virtually restored from the Exc. Salmasii in Cramer anec. Paris. ii. 386, 11 ff. and from cod. Paris. 1630. These passages, printed as Io. Antioch. frag. 3 ff. (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 541 ff. Müller), contain between them substantially the same account as that of Kedrenos (the only noteworthy differences are as follows: Belos is the son of Pikes Zeus by Hera (Io. Antioch. frag. 4. 4 in cod. Paris. 1630 ἡ μητέρα δὲ εἰς γυναῖκα Πικος ὢ καὶ Ζεύς τῷ ζῇν διὰ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφόν Πακο, ὡ καὶ γυναικῶν ἐκάλους τινὲς ἐν ἱεραρχίαις αὐτῇ ὡς ἁγαθὴ καὶ δικαια. ἐντεν ὡς ἐκ αὐτῆς ὢ Πίκος Ζεύς κ.τ.λ., ὡς ἀνάμειρα Βίλων διὰ τὸ ἐξιτούσιν εἶναι); Aphros and Chiron are the sons of Kronos by Philnya; Zeus is buried at Knossos in Crete (Io. Antioch. frag. 5 in Exc. Salmasii in Cramer anec. Paris. ii. 386, 29 ff. ὡ καὶ Ζεύς ἐν τῇ δώσει Φαίου τοῦ Ἰβυρίου γενν., καὶ βασίλεως δέστερα εἰς Κνώσσα τῆς Κρήτης), where his epitaph runs ἔθαδε κεῖται βασιλεῖς Πικος ὢ καὶ Ζεύς, ὡ καὶ Δία καλῳ. (Io. Antioch. frag. 6. 4 in cod. Paris. 1630). The same may be said of the καλογία τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ Ἱσακίου Ἰστορικοῦ in Cramer anec. Paris. ii. 253, 32 ff. (p. 256, 18 ff. ἔθαδε κατά τετραίον Πικος ὢ καὶ Ζεύς, ὡ καὶ Δία καλῳ, περὶ ὡς συνεγραφότα Διώδωρος ὅ συνεγράφα συνεγραφότα Χρονογράφος), and of the καλογία Ιστορικῶν ἱ. ii. 250, 20 ff. (p. 257, 33 ff. καὶ Ἀστροίων, μετὰ Πίκον τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν πρώτων, ὡς τῆς Κρήτης ἀπαθήναι, ὡς καὶ τοῖς τοῦτο καιροῖς Ζεύς μετανομακρύνει, κ.τ.λ.). Thus for over half a millennium the Byzantine chroniclers had been content to copy almost mechanically the traditional lore of their monkish predecessors. Can we get behind their tradition to any more authoritative source?

The Excerpta Latina barbari published by A. Schöne in his ed. of Euseb. chron. Berolini 1875 i. 174 ff. and, with a Greek retranslation, by C. Frick Chronica minora Lipsiae 1892 i. 183 ff. are a rendering into vulgar Latin made by an anonymous Gaul or Frank c. 700 a.d. from a Greek original probably written in Alexandria soon after 412 a.d. and provided with a series of miniature illustrations. F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 1576 concludes that the first section of the Excerpta (fol. 1a—36b), a chronicle running from Adam to the death of Kleopatra, represents the Χρονικά of Hippolytos enlarged and interpolated with extracts from the Septuagint, Sex. Iulius Africanaus, the pseudo-Kallisthene, and the Ravenna annales or consularia Italic. One of these interpolations, derived from Sex. Iulius Africanaus(?), contains the following passage: fol. 20 b, 16 ff. unde Picas ille Cronis pronexus partibus occasu ipsis temporibus imperavit. Cronus quidem propter eius in diusione terrae fuit occidentales partes tenens sicut sine urbes et sine reges essent de quo multus est sermo et sine interpretacione sunt. Post Cronis autem perditionem secundum successorum annorum Picas pronexus eius per tempora regnata in Italiarum principijs, quem et Serafin quidam interpretatur. ali autem Dia Olympium ceteri autem Plutea Aigionem et aliis Chthonium Posidona. Iustorum autem nominem ei pertinuit pro eo quod ille multa potius super omnes. Iste autem in Assyrios in iuventute regnans Ninus ibi uocabatur et conditit Ninuam cunctatem Assyriorum. Uxor autem eius Seminaris mulier fuit magna et praesumens et impudica. quem Ream uocaverunt, ali autem Iram Zygiam, et aliis Nenemis multiformem ceteri autem Ecatin Chtonicam propter innumeram eius atrocitatem. Iste quidem relinquens uxor imperii occidentis partibus ueniens imperavit. Erant enim omnes partes illas sine urbe et sine regem secundum quod narrat historia. In illis uero temporibus Picas Cronus prouenius inueniens terram illam spacious manemt imperavit— in illam annos lxxx patrias possidentes et illas nobilissimas feminas per magicas et ignieni magna convuertens et auortius facebat et sic mulieres quae ab ipso deludebantur domos et sedes praeparant et sic scutillum multa multa illi configurant sicut placet eis et quasi duo eam conmiscueset et in diem eum esse gloribantur.

If this is really an extract from the Χρονογραφία of Sex. Iulius Africanaus,—and it must be borne in mind that Kedren. hist. comp. 15 b (i. 28 Bekker) definitely cited him (ὡς ὁ
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It would seem that the whole story of Πενέlope δό καὶ Ζεύς was already current c. 300 A.D.; for the chronographer, a native of Jerusalem (The Oxyrhynchus Pap. London 1903 iii. 36 ff. no. 412, 59 ff.), but see B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt ad loc., is known to have been on intimate terms with Abgar of Edessa (170—216 A.D.) and his son Mannus (Iul. Afr. tact. 29: cp. W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. X. 119). The common assumption that Malalas rests largely on Iulius Africanus is contested by K. Krumbacker, op. cit. p. 327, who holds that there were in all probability intervening authors, links now lost to us. Nor was Iulius Africanus the staple of the whole chain. For in Cramer anec. Paris. ii. 236, 19 f. (supra p. 694) Diodorus is expressly quoted as a source, and the entire context, in which Πενέlope δό καὶ Ζεύς, brother of Ninos, is said to have reigned 120 years over the west, to have begotten sons and daughters, and to lie buried in Crete, is printed by F. Vogel the latest editor (Lipsiae 1890) as Dion. 6. 5. This brings us back to a date c. 60 B.C. and to a suitable atmosphere of Euhemerism (supra i. 662). But even so we have not reached the starting-point. I observe that the Chronicle of Paschal the II. 68 Dindorf cites a certain Σωκράτης ὁ Βαβδολώνι πέρας (supra p. 695), whose name has been curiously misinterpreted. C. Müller in the Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 492 would turn it into that of the Persian Σωκρᾶτας (Plut. reg. et imperator. aphth. 172 b). H. Gelzer Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie Leipzig 1880 i. 77 says: "Der Name selbst ist aber echt assyrissch, er bedeutet einfach "der Sumerier." I should rather suppose that Σωκράτης is a blander form of Σωκράτας, i.e. the annalist C. Sempronius Tuditaurus, consul in 129 B.C., who concerned himself much with the primitive history of Italy (Hist. Rom. frag. p. 80 ff. Peter): οἱ Βαβδολωνικοῖ Περαγαί would then be an attempt or attempts to make sense of his misspelt name. On this the story of Πενέlope δό καὶ Ζεύς may be as early as the second century B.C.

Further than this we cannot trace it. But C. Treiber in his important article 'Die Idee der vier Weltreiche' (Hermes 1892 xxvii. 321—344) arrives at the heart of the matter, when he points out that, according to a view prevalent in antiquity, the end of the Assyrian empire coincided with the beginning of three others—the Medo-Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman. The chronographer that first brought Rome into this scheme (Treiber ib. p. 340 n. 2 thinks it was Kastor of Rhodes, whose work J. W. Kubitschek in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. X. 2348 dates in 61 B.C.) used Πενέlope δό καὶ Ζεύς as a tie between east and west. His procedure is not easy to explain. Πενέlope in the west we know: he was an ancient Italian power, who appears in tradition sometimes as a bird, the woodpecker, sometimes as a god, sometimes as a king (J. B. Carter in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 294 f.). But who was Πενέlope in the east? Pekah king of Israel (c. 735—720) is near enough in point of date to the foundation of Rome and might, I suppose, be regarded as a vassal of Assyria; but he was a monarch of no particular importance. Mr N. McLean, whom I consulted on the matter, suggested that Πενέlope perhaps covers pekhā, a Hebrew word for 'governor' of Assyrian origin. So I applied to my friend Prof. S. Langdon, who kindly sent me the following comment (Feb. 24, 1920): 'The title pēkāti "provincial governor," or originally bēl pēkāti "lord of a province," passed into Hebrew as הַנְּפָר pēkhā "governor," and Assyrian and Persian governors of Syria were known to the Hebrews under this title. It is probable that some governor of the late period at Tarsus or some other city may have received apotheosis and identified himself with Zeus. There is no Assyrian king whose name is similar to Πενέlope.' Prof. Langdon further informs me that 'The Assyrians and Babylonians never deified and worshipped birds,' and that 'No bird was ever known to have been identified with a king.' With regard to the woodpecker in Mesopotamia he says: 'The pēkāti of Ishtar [M. Jastrow Die Religion Babylon und Assyriens Giessen 1912 ii. 3. 92 n. 1] probably is the woodpecker commonly called kūzāzā and hānīšitu the "gnawer," but what Houghton says in PSBA. 1885, 67 [W. Houghton 'The Birds of the Assyrian Monuments and Records' in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology 1885 viii. 67—70 with 149 f.] is totally erroneous. The "axe of Ishtar" is a poetical name for the woodpecker... But otherwise no connection between Ishtar and the woodpecker is known. The bird is described as "green" in a syllabary. It is certain that the woodpecker was not a deity, but it may have been the symbol of Ishtar.' Another possi-
an appellative of Zeus, who is known to have taken on occasion the shape of a hoopoe (ἐψύξα). Popular etymology, always rife among the Greeks and busied with this myth in the fifth century B.C. 1, would readily equate Tereus the ‘Watchers’ with Zeus Ἐψύξας the ‘Overseer’. 2 In reality the Thracian Tereus correlates with the Phrygian Tereus, an epithet of the mother-goddess worshipped on a mountain near Lampasakos. 3 This tends to confirm our impression that to Thracian believers Tereus the hoopoe was in some sense an embodiment of the father-god.

Those who see in Odysseus a former fire-god 4 or sun-god 5 and in Penelope a divinised duck can at least claim to detect a certain ap-

bility is mooted by Dr J. Rendel Harris, who in conversation has pointed out to me (Feb. 1920) that, since the woodpecker is named Ἡδαδ or Ἡδαδ the “Smith” in north Africa (J. Rendel Harris Boaeniger Cambridge 1913 p. 304 f.), it is tempting to regard Πικος ὁ κατ Ζέες as the Greek translation of Ἑδαδιμόνος (supra i. 577) and Πικος as the Italian equivalent of Benhadad (Boaeniger p. 36 n. 1).

In weighing these various hypotheses we must not lose sight of the fact that Πικος ὁ κατ Ζέες is consistently said to have been buried in Crete. Now the Idaean Cave has yielded a τύμπανον of the ninth or eighth century B.C., which represents the youthful Zeus or Zagreus in definitely Assyrian guise (supra i. 644 ff. pl. xxxv). Moreover, we have seen reason to surmise that at Ηαγία Τριάδα the soul of the prince embodying this deity took the form of a jay (πίκα)—a bird whose bright plumage suggested comparison with the wood-

pecker (πίκα) (supra pp. 523, 523 f.). It is, then, conceivable that the phrase Πικος ὁ κατ Ζέες finds its ultimate explanation in an actual Cretan cult, and that this cult was known, at least by tradition, to the chronographer who first tackled the history of Rome on to that of Assyria. When Euelipides in Aristoph. av. 480 spoke of Zeus as ‘soon destined to restore the sceptre to the Woodpecker,’ it was no mere flight of fancy but a genuine piece of folk-belief (Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 81, J. Rendel Harris Boaeniger Cambridge 1913 pp. 13, 354 f., 357). A trace of it survives in the dull catalogue drawn up by Niketas, bishop of Serrhai, towards the close of the eleventh century A.D. (Scholl—Studemund anec. i. 265 Ἑπίθετα Δῖος no. 81 πίκος, Ἑπίθετα Δῖος no. 76 πίκος, 274 Niket. rhythm. de duodec. deor. epich. i. 1 f. Ἑπίθετα Δῖος...πίκος, 281 f. Π. Ἑπίθετα τοῦ Δίας...πίκος).

1 Infra Append. M med.
3 Ἑπίθετα Δῖος...πίκος, 281 f. Π. Ἑπίθετα τοῦ Δίας...πίκος.
5 Schol. Aristoph. av. 102 ὁ λεγόμενος Τηρεᾶς παρὰ τῷ Τηρεῶν τὴν 'Ιδα (ἰδέ), οἰ. mag. p. 757, 45 f. Τηρεᾶς: ὁ τηρεὸς τὸν ἱερὸν ἄγειρε (ἐγείρων τοῦ θεοῦ) δυνάμεω καὶ ἀρετὴ ἱερών λεγόμενος. Ὑπερο. lib. i c. 553 cp. Ach. Tat. 5. 5 καὶ ὁ Τηρεᾶς ἀρετὸς συναριθμητεί καὶ δύσων ἐλέγεται καὶ τηρῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους τὴν εἰκόνα.
6 Infra Append. M med.
7 Π. 2. 899 Τηρεῆς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Προτέαντα τῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Μινοῦ ἀργόν θέων καὶ ἔργων καὶ ἀργών ἀναμικτοῦ ἐγέρεται ἁρμόδιως ἢ ἀρμόδιως. Τηρεῆς (ὁ Α. Καράτζος τῶν Ρήματος καὶ τῶν εἰκών έπικαλομένης). Ὑπερο. lib. i c. 552 f. and M. Mayer in Hermes 1892 xxvii. 494 ff.
8 Supra i. 737. Infra Append. M med.
9 Refuted by J. A. Scott ‘Odysseus as a Sun God’ in Class. Philol. 1917 x. 244—252 (Class. Quart. 1918 xii. 52).
Superstitious practices with axes

propriateness in this oddly assorted couple; for the solar sign of the Lycians was sometimes equipped with the heads of swans or ducks\(^1\) (fig. 632)\(^2\), and the swan (or duck\(^6\)) was, according to J. Déchelette\(^4\), *le principal symbole ou compagnon du soleil pendant la seconde moitié de l’âge du bronze et au premier âge du fer dans l’Europe du sud, du centre et du nord.* Nevertheless it cannot be too strongly insisted that, to the Greeks of the classical period, Odysseus and Penelope—whatever they may have been in the prehistoric past—were simply hero and heroine, and uncommonly human at that. After all, this is the secret of their immortality.

\((\psi)\) Superstitious practices with axes.

Those who have weighed the evidence adduced in the course of this section (from page 505 onwards) will not hesitate to admit that the axe, whether double or single, was over a large part of the ancient world recognised as a visible token of the sky-god. Accordingly it is reasonable to expect that round it would spring up the usual crop of rites and ceremonies, which in process of time, obscured or misunderstood, would dwindle into a variety of superstitious practices.

Of such we have already noticed some; for instance, the habit of wearing axes or axe-shaped pendants, which ran through a whole series of evolutionary forms\(^3\). In this connexion I would recall a lively little passage in Theophrastos’ description of ‘The Complaisant Man’:

‘Then when he is asked to dinner he will request the host to send for the children; and will say of them, when they come in, that they are as like their father as figs; and will draw them towards him, and kiss them, and establish them at his side,—playing with some of them, and himself saying “Wineskin,” “Hatchet,” and permitting others to go to sleep upon him, to his anguish.’

\(^1\) *Supra* i. 300 f. fig. 233.
\(^2\) Fig. 632 represents a unique *stater* of Lykia, which came to me from the Pozzi collection (*Pozzi Sale Catalogue* Genève 1920 p. 151 (wrongly described) no. 2751 pl. 80). The three branches of the Lycian symbol are here terminated by the heads of a cock, a swan (or duck), and a griffin respectively. Weight: 9'62 grammes.
\(^3\) *Supra* p. 648 f.
\(^4\) J. Déchelette *Manuel d’archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 i. 421.
\(^5\) *Supra* p. 647 ff.
On this Sir Richard Jebb remarked: ‘Some child’s-game, of which nothing is known. It may have consisted, for instance, in one of the players bringing down his hand edgewise (“hatchet”) on the other’s clenched fist, before he could snatch it away. That the words are not names which the guest calls the children—as they have usually been explained—is clear from...the text, which shows that the children said them too. Casaubon’s theory that the “wine-skin” and “hatchet” were little toys...hung round the children’s necks, which the guest takes up and names successively, supposes the children to be infants.’ The latest editors, J. M. Edmonds and G. E. V. Austen, likewise conclude that the words in question ‘refer to some children’s game, or possibly to an early lesson in spelling.’ More probably Casaubon was right in suggesting the amulets hung round the necks of children (peridéraia). The imperial cabinet at Vienna possesses a handsome gold necklace to which are attached no fewer than fifty of these charms, including an excellent little hatchet (fig. 633). And the Museum at Reading has several bronze models of similar shape found during the excavations at Silchester (fig. 634). Analogous examples doubtless exist in other collections. They attest the curious fact that the dreaded weapon of the Thunderer can degenerate into an infant’s toy without losing all trace of its superhuman quality.

Pliny* mentions, on the authority of ‘Osthanes,’ that one species

Sir J. E. Sandys (London 1909), leaves text, translation, and notes unaltered, so far as this passage is concerned.


4. J. Arndt Die antiken Gold- und Silber-monumente des k. k. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinettes in Wien Wien 1850 p. 19 no. 1 pl. 1 (=my fig. 633), E. Fernique in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 1561 fig. 2966. This necklace, together with a sumptuous gold bulla, fourteen gold medallions of various emperors, and other objects of interest, was found in 1797 by a couple of Walachian goat-herds at Szilágy-Somlyó in Siebenbürgen (Transylvania). Its central pendant is a ball of smoky quartz enclosed by gold bands and surmounted by two panthers or tigers on either side of a krater.

5. Fig. 634 is from a photograph kindly obtained for me by my friend Prof. P. N. Ure. I made a sketch of one of these trinkets many years ago, and mentioned it once as the best illustration of the passage in Theophrastos to Sir Richard Jebb. He told me that, if he ever brought out a second edition of his commentary, he would consider the point.


7. Plin. nat. hist. 30. 8 and 11 distinguishes two writers on magic named Osthanes, one a contemporary of Xerxes, the other of Alexander the Great. Xanthos the Lydian frag. 29 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 44 Müller) ap. Diog. Laert. fr. 188. 2 Εὔοκες δὲ ὃ Λυδός εἶς τὴν Ἑλέραν ἔδιδεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωράδηρου ἑξακεχυλία φοίτης (ὑπὸ τὴν γεγραφέας), καὶ μέτ’ αὐτῶν γεγραφέας πολλάκις τιμὼν Μέγας κατὰ διαδοχήν, Ὀστάνας καὶ Ἀστραμάχον καὶ Γρεβένας καὶ Παμήνας, μέχρι τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλάβετο ποταμός was taken by
Superstitious practices with axes

Souid. αὐτ. Μάγοι, ὁστήρων to imply a succession of Magi called Ostanes: but the plural merely meant 'men like Ostanes' (R. Kühner—B. Gerth Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache Hannover—Leipzig 1898 i. 15). However, the exact number of persons named Ostanes is not worth discussing, since very serious doubts have been cast

Fig. 633.

upon his historicity. C. W. Goodwin 'On the name Astennu' in the Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde 1872 x. 108 f. pointed out that one of the appellations of the Egyptian god Thoth was Astennu and asked: 'Is not the name of the Magian Ostanes... a Grecised form of Astennu?' Sir G. Maspero in the Proceedings
of magic dealt in hatchets (secures). He adds elsewhere\(^1\) that the Magi in their axe-divination (aximonmantia) set fire to a piece of jet (lapis Gagates) and, if this was not consumed, announced that the

![Fig. 634.](image)

wishes of the worshipper would come true. The connexion between the axe and the burnt jet is not indicated and leaves room for conjecture\(^2\). J. Dalechamps\(^3\) in 1587 said that the jet was placed on a red-hot hatchet—an assertion roundly rebuked by Salmasius\(^4\) as

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1 Plin. nat. hist. 36. 142.


3 C. Salmasius Plinianae exercitationes in Caii Iulii Solini Polyhistora Parisii 1629 l. 252 f. (‘scribe i in eam quam vocant causinomantiam’).

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The practice of using a hatchet in the belief that it would bring about a guilty party's downfall is a superstitious one, as mentioned by S. Schligman in 1711, who refers to it as a "ridiculous" practice. This belief was widespread in East Prussia and was used by midwives to prevent evil spirits from causing harm to the infant. The use of a hatchet as a divination tool was later described by J. J. Boissardus in De divinatione et magia, where he notes that the hatchet was used to detect secrets or to discover guilty parties. The hatchet was believed to turn or nod as a sign of guilt, and it was often used in a pole to turn the guilty party. This practice was also documented by J. Potter in Archeologia Græca, where he describes the hatchet as a tool used to detect secrets or guilty parties. The hatchet was also used in England, where it was known as the "Hatchet." The use of the hatchet was not limited to Europe, as it was also used in other parts of the world, such as North America, where it was known as the "Hatchet."
writers of the sixteenth century and later, have doubtless a long
history behind them; and it is possible that Philon was thinking of
the first when, instead of the sword of Damokles, he described ‘a
whetted axe hung by a slender cord’.

Axe-superstitions are with us stil!. P. Sébillot in his *Folk-Lore
de France* remarks that prehistoric stone implements are commonly
supposed to act as a safeguard against a thunderstorm. Their efficacy

2 My friend and colleague Prof. R. H. Kennett draws attention to one curious case :
‘It was formerly the custom, if an offence were committed in the neighbourhood of
Fordingbridge near Canterbury, to decide where the offender should be tried as follows. If a
man from a boat in the middle of the river Stour could throw an axe weighing seven
pounds beyond the place where the offence was committed, the offender was tried, and,
if found guilty, punished at Fordingbridge’ (R. H. Kennett—Mrs Adam—H. M. Gwatkin
*Early Ideals of Righteousness* Edinburgh 1910 p. 11 f.). Prof. Kennett adds that he
remembers to have heard his father mention the custom, which is duly noted both in
king Cnut’s grant of the Port of Sandwich to Christ Church—Canterbury in 1003 a.d.
(W. A. Scott Robertson ‘Archaeological Notes on Thanet’ in *Archaeologia Cantiana*
1878 xii. 339) and in a description of the Boundaries of the Liberty of Fordingbridge in
1272 a.d. (C. Eveleigh Woodruff ‘Fordingbridge Municipal Records’ ib. 1889 xviii. 92 n.†
‘as far as a man being in a boat at high water can throw an axe of seven pounds weight,
called a taper-axe, on to the land’). Cp. the throwing of a hammer, which in old German
law ratified the acquisition of property (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stally-
brass London 1882 i. 180 n. 3).

I append an even more suggestive usage from *A Guide to Criccieth & Pwllheli*
published by Messrs Abel Heywood & Son of Manchester: p. 6 ‘After the subjugation
of Wales, the constable appointed for Criccieth Castle was William de Leybourne,...
This charge was afterwards given to Sir Hywel-y-Vwyall (Sir Howell of the Axe) by
Edward the Black Prince, for his valour at Poictiers. According to the Welsh bards this
redoubtable knave was the person who took the French King John prisoner at Poictiers,...
A pole-axe formed part of the escutcheon of Sir Hywel in commemoration of his doughty
deeds in that battle, which he had performed entirely with that weapon, and in perpetual
memory of his services it was ordained that a mess of meat should be laid before the pole-
axe every day, guarded by eight yeomen, and afterwards given to the poor. This cere-
monial lasted till the time of Queen Elizabeth, when it became obsolete.’

Finally, Sir G. L. Gomme *Folklore as an historical science* London 1908 pp. 66—78
collects from the Germanic area much evidence tending to prove that it was formerly
(in pre-Celtic times?) the custom to kill off the aged and infirm by means of a club or
mallet (e.g. J. Aubrey *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaism* 1686—87 (London 1881)
p. 19: ‘An old Countrie Story’...’The Holy-mawle, wch (they fancy) hung behind the
Church dore, wch when the father was seaventie the some might fetch, to knock his
father in the head, as effete, & of no more use.’ Cp. ib. p. 127). Sir G. L. Gomme
analyses a Gaelic folk-tale, which involves this *motif*, and notes that such mallets are still
preserved at Osnabrück and in several towns of Silesia and Saxony. Mrs E. M. Leather
*The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire* Hereford 1912 p. 171 f. with pl. adds a parallel from the
Bargates, Leominster, where four small almshouses, founded in 1736 and since rebuilt,
are adorned with ‘a figure of a man, very quaint and rudely carved, holding an axe in his
hand with these lines beneath:—“He that gives away all before he is dead, | Let ‘em
take this hatchet and knock him on ye head.”’ The rhyme is but the English form of
that on the German mallet: ‘Wer den Kindern gibt das Brod | Und selber dabei leidet
Noth | Den schlagt mit dieser Keule todt’ (W. J. Thoms in the *Gentilismus’ Magazine* 1850 i. 250—253).
is sometimes increased by the addition of a sort of prayer. Thus near Dinan as late as the year 1880 many people would carry a thunderstone in their pocket during stormy weather and, if thunder were heard, would say:

Pierre, pierre,
Garde-moi du tonnerre.

Sébillot shows further that this rôle of acting as a lightning-rod passed from the neolithic celt to the iron axe:

Among the Basques, when a storm bursts, the best preservative is to place some cutting instrument, axe or scythe, outside the house with its edge turned to the sky. Peasants on the farms near Beuvray in Saône-et-Loire, as soon as they hear the first rumblings of thunder and feel the first drops of rain, bring out into the yard and set up near the threshold of their house an iron axe, with its handle against the ground and its blade uppermost, to preserve the place from lightning and hail. This custom is half-Christianised in the district of Saint-Gaudens in Haute-Garonne, where an iron axe, blade in air, is put in a plate containing holy water.

We come back, then, at length to the point from which we started, viz. the primitive belief that the thunderbolt falls in the form of an axe. By an axe therefore, according to the homeopathic principle of early thought, it must be averted.

ii. The spear of Zeus.

Lightning was sometimes, though not often, regarded by the ancient Greeks as the spear of Zeus. Pindar, ever on the look out for an effective epithet, coined a fine sonorous compound encheikeraunos to describe Zeus, 'whose spear is the lightning.' Bakchylides has the rival formation keramaenches, Zeus 'whose lightning is his spear.' Aristophanes greets the lightning as

Immortal fiery spear of Zeus,

and an Apolline oracle quoted by Eusebios from Porphyrios calls it the

descending spear of Zeus.

2 Supra p. 505.
4 Bakchyl. 7. 48 Ἰέββ ώς Ζεὺς κεραυνωχέει.
5 Aristoph. avv. 1750 f. ώ μέγα χρυσόν ἀστεροπῆς φῶς, | ώ Δίος ἀμβρατόν ἐγχοτ πυρφόρων, | κ.τ.λ.
The spear of Zeus

Nonnus in the fifth century of our era makes Nike pray to Zeus as follows:

Do thou in battle lift
Thy lightning-flash, Olympos’ luminous spear.

Accordingly, when Zeus meets Typhon,

His shield was thunder and his corselet cloud,
The spear he shook was lightning.

And elsewhere in the same poem Zeus is termed

The javelin-thrower of the thunderbolt.

It is probable that the poets were but adopting a popular belief; for Eustathios in the middle ages explained that ‘Zeus has a fiery spear,’ and the modern Greek sailor with his eye on the storm-cloud will say ‘God is throwing lightning like spear-strokes.’

The axe-bearing Zeus of Karia is not unfrequently represented with a spear. And, since he was worshipped as Strátios, ‘Lord of Hosts,’ this weapon might no doubt be explained as an indispensable part of his panoply. Nevertheless it is probable that the old storm-god became the new war-god just because his thunderbolt was conceived as a potent weapon, first a double axe and then a spear or sword.

At Hydisos in Karia Zeus Árείος, the ‘Warlike,’ appears on a bronze coin struck by Hadrian (fig. 635) as a soldier with helmet and shield, though he still brandishes a thunderbolt in his raised right hand. Bronze coins of the same town dating from the first century

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1 Nonn. Dion. 2. 211 f. μαραμένων δὲ ἄσπερον ἑκάστῳ σελαφέρον ἑχοι Όλυμποι. Conversely ib. 47. 609 ff. Hera hurls at Dionysos a spear, ἄσπερον μάρμαρος, θεούς του ἀλλόμενον τῷ... σελαφέρον αἰθήσα λήγχων.
2 Nonn. Dion. 2. 478 ff. ἐν δὲ κυρίω | βραχύν μὲν σάκος ἐχε, τέφος δὲ οἱ ἰππεῖοι ἀπόρρητος | καὶ στεγηγόν χῶρα πάλης, κ.τ.λ.
3 Nonn. Dion. 7. 163 Ζηρί...ἀκορτούτηρι κεραυνών.
4 Eustath. in II. p. 1740, 51 f. καὶ Ζεῦς δὲ πύραν ἐχει δόρον, τουτέστων εὐχαρ. εἰ οὐ καὶ ἐγερθαρισεν παρὰ Ποιδάρῳ Μεγαλ.
5 B. Schmidt. Das Volksleben der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 32 ὁ θεὸν δεσπέται (more often δηλικοὶ) ἀστρασται ὅπως κονταριάς.
6 Supra pp. 574 ff., 593.
7 Supra p. 591 n. 1, infra p. 713 ff.
IACEEWN, Streber loc. cit. IACEEWN, Panofka loc. cit. IACΕΩΝ, Wieseler loc. cit. IAICEΩΝ (for IACCEΩΝ), Overbeck loc. cit. IAICEΩΝ. B. V. Head was the first to transfer the coin from Iasos to Hydisos.

C. II.
The Spear of Zeus

B.C. show him as he rests upon a spear (fig. 636)¹, while others give only the helmeted head (fig. 637)² or bust³ of this martial deity. Whether the Zeus Ἀρείος, before whom at Passaron in Molossia the kings and people of Epeiros plighted their troth⁴, was a form of the ancient Epeirote thunder-god we cannot definitely assert; but it is likely enough. Again, the altar at Olympia, on which Oinomaos

Fig. 636.  Fig. 635.  Fig. 637.

used to sacrifice to Zeus Ἀρείος⁵, may have stood in some relation to the altar of Zeus Κεραυνίος adjoining the foundations of Oinomaos' house⁶. Be that as it may, the title Ἀρείος was remembered for many centuries as one appropriate to the sky-god⁷; and Zeus Ἀρείος was apparently Latinised as Iupiter Militaris⁸.

² Imhoof—Blumer Kleinas. Münzen i. 134 no. 1 pl. 5, 7 (=my fig. 637), Head Hist. num. ³ p. 620.
³ Imhoof—Blumer op. cit. i. 134 no. 1, Head Hist. num. ³ p. 620.
⁴ Plout. v. Pyrrh. 5 εἴδοσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τοῦ Πασαρίων, χαρία τῆς Μολοσσίδος, Ἀρείῳ Δήθι θρόνον νησίων τοῖς Ἵππεων καὶ ὄρεισι, αὐτῷ μὲν ἄρειον κατὰ τοῖς νεκροῖς, ἐκείνου δὲ τῷ βασιλείῳ δαφνόλαξι κατὰ τοῖς νέμοις.
⁵ Paus. 5. 14. 6 βασιλέως τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἔνα Πελοπόννησον Ἀρείῳ Δήθι. λέγοντες δὲ οἱ αὐτός ὄντος καὶ ὅλου Ολύμπου ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦν θόου τῷ Ἀρείῳ Δήθι, ἐκεῖ τῶν ἰππαρχείων ὕποχρεος καθαρασθείη μέλλον τοῖς ἐπὶ ἰππῶν ἀμάλλοι.
⁶ This altar of Zeus Ἀρείος explains the varying tradition that Oinomaos sacrificed on such occasions to Zeus (Diod. 4. 73: supra i. 36 ff., 407 ff.) or to Ares (Philogr. min. imagg. g. 2). But the presence of Hephaistos at Olympia is unexpected, and his relation to Zeus Ἀρείος very problematic (cp. C. Robert in Hermes 1888 xiii. 430 with n. 2). The coin which T. Panofka in the Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1853 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 34 pl. 1—3, 3 takes to be a copper of Elis with obv. head of Hephaistos or Zeus Ἀρείος, rev. thunderbolt in wreath of wild olive, is a common minting of Ithake (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesos p. 104 pl. 21, 9) showing the head of Odysseus but lacking the legend [10A]! Equally unconvincing is the conjecture of Weleker Gr. Götterl. ii. 311 n. 127 that the altar was adorned with a relief representing the head of Hephaistos, whose cap was compared with the helmet of Zeus Ἀρείος. There is more to be said for the view advanced by F. Streber in the Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1835 Philos.-philol. Classe p. 334, v. l. that the archaic helmeted figure standing beside the enthroned Hera in the Heraion at Olympia (Paus. 5. 17 1) was none other than Zeus Ἀρείος. But even this is far from certain.
⁷ Paus. 5. 14. 7 cited infra § 3 (c) iv (e).
⁸ Schöll—Studemund anec. i. 264 Ἐνὶθερα Δῖος no. 15 ἄρειον, 266 Ἐνὶθερα Δῖος no. 14 ἄρειον. See further O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 624.
⁹ Apul. de mundo 37 (Iupiter) est Militaris et Triumphator et Propagator, Tropaeo-
Zeus Areios is hardly to be separated from Zeus Strategos, who, together with Hera, is mentioned in an inscription of 69 A.D. as the patron deity of Amastris in Paphlagonia. Quasi-autonomous coppers of the town, issued in early imperial times, exhibit his bust with a remarkable tress of wavy hair above the forehead (fig. 638). Other pieces struck by the same emperor show him grouped with his consort, the sceptre-bearing Hera (fig. 640)—a type repeated in inferior style by Tranquillina (fig. 641). It is probable that Zeus Ouirios, whose sanctuary stood on the eastern side of the Thracian Bosporos, was a god of like aspect.

For Propagator (E. Aust in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 746, 751, supra i. 552 n. 1 (?)) I should read Propagnator (E. Aust loc. cit. ii. 751), thereby obtaining an unbroken series of military titles. On imperial coins with the legends IOVI PROPVGNATORI (or PROPVGNATOR) and IOVIS PROPVGNATOR see Rasche Lex. Num. iv. 921, Suppl. iii. 156 f., 163. I figure a 'first brass,' struck by Alexander Severus, from my collection.


4 Waddington—Babelon—Reinach Op. cit. i. 142 no. 61 pl. 19, 16 (=my fig. 640) double-struck.


6 Infra § 7 (c).
For a similar figure on a silver dekdidtron of Syracuse (215—212 B.C.) (fig. 643) almost certainly—as W. Abedeen argued1—represents the famous statue of Zeus Ostrius2 carried off from that city by Verres and known to the Romans as Jupiter Imperator3, a manifest translation of Zeus Strategos.

The transition from storm-god to war-god may likewise be suspected in the case of that imperial favourite Jupiter Victor4, whose figure—again with spear reversed—on bronze coins and medallions of Claudius II Gothicus (268—270 A.D.) is no doubt merely a religious expression for the victorious emperor himself (fig. 644).5

Other and less sophisticated examples of Zeus with spear in hand occur here and there among the Greek coins of south Italy, the Etruscan mirrors, the Gallo-Roman statuettes, and the Roman lamps.

Coppers of Petelia in Bruttium struck in the third century B.C.

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3 Infra § 7 (c).
5 Cohen Monn. emp. rom.8 vi. 142 nos. 127 and 115 fig., Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 165 f. Münztaf. 2, 35 (=my fig. 644), Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke Ant. Denkm. i. 97 pl. 9, 25, Gnecci Medagl. Rom. iii. 63 no. 9 pl. 156, 1 (‘col fulmine e lo scettro’).


1 Jupiter Stater (on whom see E. Aust in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 682—686, 758, H. Jordan—C. Hulsens Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1907 i. 3. 20—23, Wissowa Rel. Kult. Röm2 p. 122 f.) appears on Roman coins from Antoninus Pius to Caracalla (Rasche Lex. Num. iv. 921, Suppl. iii. 157, 163, Stevenson—Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 484 fig.) usually as a nude figure standing erect with a spear (sceptrē?) in one hand, a thunderbolt in the other (fig. 646 is from a silver coin of Gordianus Pius in my collection). His title was Grecoised as Στρώς (Plount. v. Cit. 16 εἰς τοῦ Στρών Διός ἱείν, ὡς Στρᾶταρχὸς Ρωμαίος καλοῦντος) or Ἐστρῶς (Plount. v. Rom. 18 ἐστῆσαν οὖν πρῶτον οὐ νῦν ὁ τῶν Διός τοῦ Στράταρχος ἵππος νεὼς, ὡς Ἐστρῶν οὖ τις οἰκεῖτος) or, less accurately, as Ὀρθωσος (Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. 2. 50 quoted supra p. 422 n. 1).
Plate XXIX

Etruscan mirror: the birth of Athena.

See page 709 ff.
The spear of Zeus sometimes show a naked Zeus advancing with thunderbolt and spear (fig. 645). The earliest specimen, however, gives him a long sceptre (fig. 647) and most of the later specimens a short headless spear or sceptre (fig. 648) — a type found also on the third-century federal coppers of the Bruttians (fig. 649) and Lucanians (fig. 650).

A magnificent mirror from Arezzo, now in the Museum at Bologna, represents (pl. xxix) the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus (Tina). The god is seated upon the clouds of heaven, holding a leaf-shaped lance in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. Two goddesses occupy the place and perform the duty of the Eileithyiai. They are named Thalna and Thanur respectively. The former clasps Zeus about the waist. The latter makes magic passes over his head, from which emerges the diminutive figure of Athena in full armour. Hephaistos, here called Sethlans, who has cleft the

1 Garrucci Mon. It. ant. p. 157 pl. 112, 1 (=my fig. 645) describes this very obvious spear as a 'sceptrum.' If his illustration is right, his text is wrong.
2 I am indebted to my friend Mr C. T. Seltman for the example of series A here illustrated (fig. 647).
3 Garrucci op. cit. p. 157 pl. 112, 9 ('con lo sceptrum nella sin.'), Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy p. 371 f. nos. 1 ('holding sceptre') and 3—8 ('holding sceptre'), Hunter Cat. Coins i. 139 nos. 1—3 ('holding sceptre in l.'), Head Hist. num. p. 107. Fig. 648 is from a coin in my collection.
4 Garrucci op. cit. p. 184 pl. 124, 23 (=my fig. 649) and 24 ('con incettum nella sin.'), Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy p. 330 f. nos. 93—98 ('sceptre in extended l.'), Hunter Cat. Coins i. 124 no. 55 pl. 9, 5 and nos. 56—61 ('spear in extended l.'), Head Hist. num. p. 92.
5 Garrucci op. cit. p. 182 pl. 123, 27, 28, 29 (=my fig. 650) ('con incettum nella sin.'), Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy p. 224 nos. 2—4 ('holding spear in l.'), Head Hist. num. p. 70.
8 So E. Braun loc. cit. p. 143 ff. read the name, which had previously been transcribed as Thana. His attempt to identify Thanur with Iuno (Uni) is, however, hopeless.
9 C. Pauli in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 786 ff. proposes to connect Sethlans with Σελέθαs: 'Das Wort geht auf eine Form *sélēla zurück, die nach etruskischen Lautegesetzen für *sēlēla stehen kann. Dies sēlēla aber ist so klarlich gleich Σελέθας, dass es keiner weiteren Erörterungen darüber bedarf. Der sēlēlas ist somit der "ferrarius," und die Form würde in griechischem Gewande Σελέθας lauten.'
head of Zeus with his double axe, stands aloof on the right, his leg supported on a rock and his arm thrown up in astonishment at the result of his blow\(^1\). Behind Thalna is a pomegranate-tree\(^2\) with an eagle\(^3\) perched upon it; behind Thanur, a bay-tree. The back of the handle shows the face of Aphrodite, with a flower\(^4\) in her hair, surrounded by leafage and flanked by a couple of doves. It will be

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\(^1\) His pose recalls on the one hand that of Hephaistos on a black-figured amphora in the Louvre (no. K 852, infra §9 (h) ii (θ)), on the other hand that of Hermes in the east pediment of the Parthenon (infra §9 (h) ii (θ)).

\(^2\) Gerhard op. cit. iii. 68 takes it to be ‘eine Myrtenstaude,’ noting that the fruit of the myrtle resembles a small pomegranate.

\(^3\) Id. ib. says ‘mit darauf sitzender Taube,’ but admits that the hooked beak is a difficulty. The suggestion of myrtle and dove would hardly have been made, had it not been for the erroneous notion that Thalna was a sort of Aphrodite (Turan).

\(^4\) Gerhard op. cit. iii. 69: ‘eine Rose.’
The spear of Zeus

observed that in this imposing design the thunderbolt is definitely shaped like a short spear or javelin.

A Gallo-Roman bronze, found by labourers in 1914 on the site of a Roman house at Lyons, represents Jupiter, nude, bearded, and erect (fig. 651). His abundant hair is encircled with a wreath of bay or olive. His eyes show traces of incrustation in silver—a frequent and effective device. In his outstretched right hand, now lost, was some attribute, presumably a thunderbolt. In his raised left hand is a spear, still intact. H. Lechat in his excellent publication of the statuette, which he attributes to the first half of the second century A.D., rightly insists on its fine, almost Greek, style, but wrongly—to my thinking—denies that its attributes had any special significance. On the contrary I should maintain that

1 P. Jacobsthal Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst Berlin 1906 p. 15 fig. 20: 'Die Knospe erscheint hier eher wie ein Blatt einer Lanzenspitze, auf dessen Fläche Ornamente graviert sind.' In E. Braun's plate (Ann. d. Inst. 1851 xxiii pl. I—K), the resemblance of the lance to a thunderbolt with a spike at either end is rather more pronounced.

2 H. Lechat 'Statuette de Jupiter' in the Rev. Arch. 1917 i. 68—71 pl. 3 (= my fig. 651).

3 The turn of the head towards the supporting leg implies the lasting influence of some fifth-century sculptor (Polykleitos?). But the thick mass of hair, the exaggerated swelling of the abdominal wall above the hip, and the Schwung of the whole figure betray the predilections of a much later period.

4 H. Lechat loc. cit. p. 70: 'Au déclin du paganisme, dans ces minuscules figurations divines dénuées de tout caractère officiel, on voit des attributs qui sont comme vides de
The sword of Zeus

Jupiter, grasping a bolt in one hand and a spear in the other, fittingly expressed the popular belief in a sky-god, whose weapons were thunder and lightning.

In conclusion, it should be noticed that Roman lamps with crescentic handles not unfrequently have the crescent embossed with a relief of Jupiter holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and a spear or sceptre in his left (fig. 652). An example in the British Museum gives him an unmistakable spear (fig. 653). The lightning-god was a suitable adornment of the light-giving lamp, and his threatening attitude an excellent apotropaion.

iii. The sword of Zeus.

Greek literature never equips Zeus with a sword. Can the same be said of Greek art? The question arises in connexion with an important Attico-Ionian amphora found at Caere in Etruria and now preserved in the Louvre (pl. xxx). The body of the vase exhibits two scenes, which together form one of our earliest representations of the Gigantomachia. The main combat is that of Zeus, who single-handed attacks three Giants, Agasthenes is down and out; Ephialtes and Hyperbeos still show fight. The Giants are armed like Greek hoplites. So too is Zeus, except that the round shield borne on his left arm is fringed with twenty bristling snakes sens et ne servent plus que de pretexte a une pose, d'occasion a un geste.... De meme, ici, la lance au lieu du sceptre.

1 J. Toutain in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1327 f. fig. 4392 (=my fig. 652) from a terra-cotta specimen in the Louvre, Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps p. 139 nos. 854—857 terra-cotta handles only.
2 Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps p. 139 no. 857 fig. 159 (=my fig. 653). Height 2½ inches. According to H. B. Walters, 'Zeus has three darts or arrows in r. hand.' But nos. 854—
856 make it clear that a thunderbolt is intended.
3 G. Supka in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1915 xxx Arch. Anz, pp. 24,
27 f. fig. 6 publishes a large bronze lamp from Mór, now in the National Museum at Buda-Pesth, which has a fine bust of Zeus (eyes and lips originally incised), without thunderbolt, spear, or sceptre, between the horns of the crescent and below it on the crescent a bust of Helios. Other lamp-handles show Zeuses between the horns, upborne on an eagle grasping a thunderbolt (A. C. P. de Tubières Comte de Caylas Recueil d’antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises Paris 1764 vi. 305 pl. 97, 3, Babelon—Blanchet Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat. p. 11 no. 20 fig. Cp. supra p. 102 f. fig. 64).
5 M. Mayer Die Giganten und Titanen Berlin 1887 p. 282 ff. no. 4.
Ionian (Cean?) amphora from Caere, now in the Louvre: Zeus, in the Gigantomachia, fighting Agasthenes, Ephialtes, and Hyperbios.

See page 7191.
and that the weapon brandished in his right hand appears to be a thunderbolt of unusual form. The other combatants are grouped in pairs. Hera stabs Harpolykos (?). Athena seizes Enkelados by the crest of his helmet and swings up a short sword for the coup de grâce. Poseidon, in a scaled cuirass, with a black rock (the island Nisyros) on his left shoulder and a trident in his right hand, dispatches Polyboetes. And Hermes, in pétasos, pelt, and endromides, plunges a lance into Polybios. The inscriptions, according to P. Kretschmer, suggest that the painter hailed from Keos, or possibly Naxos or Amorgos. Our business, however, is not with the subject as a whole, but with the weapon of Zeus in particular.

O. Jahn, J. Overbeck, and M. Mayer—three highly competent critics—all took it to be a sword. But E. Pottier—an authority of equal eminence—described it as the thunderbolt. And P. Jacobsthal has argued in the same sense: he points out that Zeus, unlike the other swordsmen of the vase, has neither sheath nor sword-belt; that the attitude of his arm implies the action of hurling, not striking; and that the lines engraved on the bolt can be paralleled from the Etruscan mirror already discussed. I accept this conclusion and assume that the front half of the thunderbolt is supposed to be hidden by the swan-head crests of Zeus’ helmet.

We are on surer ground, though in a less Hellenic atmosphere, when we pass from the Kyklades to Karia. In the temple at Labranda near Mylasa Zeus was worshipped as Strátios, and his ancient image had a sword slung beside it. Here we can be

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2 P. Kretschmer in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1889—1892 xxiii. 291 ff., ed. Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften Gütersloh 1894 pp. 59—61 ('Keische Vase'): 3ΝΗΙΩ=Zeus, ΔΟΣΑΞΙΑΩΣ=Αγαθοθύτης, 3ΟΙΗΝΗΥΟΣ=Τετράβος, ΗΠΙΓΑΤΕΣ=Δεδαλδής, ΑΡΓΟΛ...=Αργόληκας, ΗΕ...'Ηρην. 3ΗΜΗΥΞΗ=Ερμής, Π...ΒΙΟΣ=Πελοπίδης, ΑΘΕΝΑΗ=Αθηνά, 3ΟΔΔΑΞΗΕΙΗ=Ε(γ)[ε]λαδός, ΔΤΟΒΛΟΝΗ=Πελοπόννησος. The same irregularity in the writing of ε-sounds is, according to Kretschmer, a feature of Cean inscriptions (but see A. Thumb Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte Heidelberg 1909 p. 346 f.).
3 O. Jahn in the Ann. d. Inst. 1803 xxv. 246: 'una larga spada.'
5 M. Mayer Die Giganten und Titanen Berlin 1887 p. 285: 'ein Schwert.'
6 E. Pottier Vases antiques du Louvre 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 68: 'Zeus brandit le foudre de la main droite.'
7 P. Jacobsthal Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst Berlin 1906 p. 15 n. 2.
8 Supra p. 709 ff. pl. xxix.
The sword of Zeus
tolerably certain that the old sky-god with his double axe (labrys) has been modernised into a war-god with a handier blade.¹

At Stratonikeia, not twenty miles away from Mylasa, Zeus was Chrysaoreus² or Chrysaorios³. The town, indeed the whole district, had in early days been called Chrysaoris⁴. Its inhabitants, the Chrysaoreis⁵, were members of a league specially devoted to the cult of Zeus Chrysaoreus⁶. There was also a Carian hero Chrysoar,

¹ Supra p. 590 f. Similarly the Babylonian Zeus bore a dagger as well as a double axe for warlike purposes (Baruch 6. 15 ἐξελέα ἐξ ζηγαρίδων δεξιὰ καὶ πάλην, ἐντόνω ἐκ τὸ λόγμον καὶ λήθον ὅτι ἐξελέων): W. H. Roscher Die Gorgonen und Vereinheitliche Leipzig 1879 p. 78 n. 128.


4 Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2720 (Stratonikeia) a decree of the people and senate honouring Hierokles, son of Panaitios son of Thrason. 3 ff. [ἀρχιερεία] τῶν Ἐσπαστῶν, (ἰ)ερεία τοῦ Πα[-winning] Δίπο καὶ τῆς Ἐκάτης τῆς Ἐρακτίτης (β)αιαβόρον | [με]τὰ τῆς γενακῆς αὐτοῦ Ἀργάς (t) τῆς Ἰερακτί (οὐ), ἵερεῖα Δίπο Χρυσαρίων, ἵερεῖα Δίπος Θεομούθου (?), ἵερεία Δίπος Να(κο)ῆςμου (?), ἵερεία Δίπος Ἐρακτίτου (?), and his two sons Thrason 13 f. [ἀρχιερεία τῶν] Ἐσπαστῶν, — — [ἱερεία Δίπος] τοῦ Παμαριάου and Leon 15 f. ἀρχιερεία τῶν Ἐσπαστῶν [τῶν, — —] ἵερεία Δίπος Χρυσαρίων, κ.τ.λ., no. 2721 (Stratonikeia), 11 ff. ἵερείαν δὲ τῷ ἔρημῳ ὀλὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ λέον τῶν Δίπος τοῦ Χρυσαρίων, ἤ Λεόντος τοῦ Δίπος τοῦ Παμαριάου.

5 Paus. 5. 21. 10. Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ισρά, Ἐρακτίτης.
6 Steph. Byz. s.v. Χρυσαρίων, Corp. inscr. Gr. i no. 1550, 19, no. 1519, 44 and 46, ii no. 2693 s. v. Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 111, 8, no. 234, 12, no. 441, 32, alib.
7 On this league, which was called τῆς Χρυσαρίων (or Χρυσαρίων) συντήμα, see L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 2485, Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 111 p. 4.
father of the eponyms Idrieus\(^1\) and Mylasos\(^2\). Philon of Byblos in his version of Sanchoniathon’s history\(^3\) gives Chrysor as the name of the Phoenician Hephaistos, whom he further identifies with Zeus Meilichios\(^4\).

With regard to this group of names some rather venturesome views have been advanced by P. Carolidis\(^5\). He holds that Zeus Chrysaoreus was the Hellenic form of the non-Hellenic Zeus Osogos, whose appellative he connects with the Armenian voshgi or osghi, ‘gold.’ Chrysaoreus, originally Chrysodor, involves—we are told—the suffix \(-\phiορος\) (= \(\phiορός\)), and this ‘Golden’ deity was the great sun-god of Asia Minor later fused with the war-god of the Chalybes, Zeus Strátios.

It must, I suppose, be conceded that the names Chrysaoreus etc. are Greek, at least in appearance. It is, however, an assumption that Zeus Chrysaoreus was one with Zeus Osogos (so his title should be spelled\(^6\)), and a further assumption that either of them was ever called Zeus Strátios. Again, it is obvious that the suffix \(-\phiορος\) cannot possibly enter into such forms as Chrysodor, Chrysaoreus. I should rather conclude that Chrysaoreus, if Greek, meant ‘He of the Golden Sword,’ the latter element in the compound being akin to \(\deltaορ\), ‘a sword,’ itself a word of doubtful origin but best related to \(\alphaερο\) as ‘a thing slung from, or attached to,’ the wearer.\(^7\) But, since the Greek chrysos, ‘gold,’ was borrowed from the Semitic ħārūs\(^8\), it is likely enough that we have here to do with a Greek attempt to extract sense from a Semitic (Phoenician?) name—a phenomenon already noted in other connexions\(^9\).

On the whole, it seems probable that the Carian Zeus Chrysaoreus or Chrysaorios would have been regarded by neighbouring

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\(^1\) Steph. Byz. s.v. Εἴδωσιν.  
\(^2\) Steph. Byz. s.v. Μέλασα.  
\(^3\) Supra i. 191.  
\(^4\) Philon Bybl. frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 666 Müller) ap. Euseb. praep. ev. i. 10. 11 f.  
\(^5\) Τχροαος δι οςτερον πολλαι απο τη τρομανοι γενεια γενθαι Αγρα και Αλεια, ταυτ Αγρα και Αλεια εις την κληρονομιαν Αγρανται και Αλείαν εις την γενεαν διον οδητον, στιγμην ειρηκατ τη τετοντο εργαιας τω θατον των Χρυσωρ λογους δακριαν και ειρηκας και μακριας εις τη τοτον την Ημαιαν, ευρεια δι και Αγιαιων και οδηρ και ολιμα και σχεδιας, πρωτο τε τα τινων άνθρωπων πληθυνα δι και ω τοι Θεον αυτων μετα θατον κασεδαθυαν και καλεθαι δι αυτων και Δα Μελιχων. See further F. C. Movers Untersuchungen über die Religion und die Gottheiten der Phönizier Bonn 1841 i. 658 f.  
\(^7\) Supra p. 890.  
\(^10\) Supra i. 18 f., 25 with n. 2, altib.
The sword of Zeus

Greeks—say Ionians of the coast-district—as the 'Bearer of a Golden Sword.' Now we have seen that the Ionians of the Kyklades had quite a penchant for arming their deities with the sword: on the amphora figured above (pl. xxx) even Hera and Athena are using this weapon with effect. We are therefore prepared to find that Ionic minstrels, and after them the poets in general, spoke of this, that, and the other divine personage as 'bearer of a golden sword.' Apollon, for example, was chrysdoros¹ or chrysdor²—an epithet which certainly denotes him as god of the golden sword (ádor), not, as it was misinterpreted by later critics, of the golden quiver-strap (aortér), or lyre-strap, or lyre³. Artemis too in an oracle of Bakiós was, like her brother, chrysdoros⁴. So was Demeter in the Homeric hymn⁵. Orpheus was described by Pindar as chrysdor⁶. And Chrysao, Chrysaorios, Chrysaoreus occur as theophoric names, not only in Karia and countries adjacent⁷, but also in places far afield⁸.

Nor must we forget Chrysao the twin-brother of Pegasos. Hesiod⁹ tells us that, when Perseus cut off the head of the Gorgon Medousa,—

Forth sprang Chrysao huge and Pegasos
The horse—this named from the founts of Ocean
Where he was born; that grasped a golden sword.
Pegasos, quitting earth the mother of flocks,
Winged his way heavenward: in Zeus' home he dwells
Bearing the thunder-peal and lightning-flash
For Zeus the wise. Chrysao met and knew
Great Ocean's child, the maid Kaírrhoe,
And had for son three-headed Geryon.

⁵ H. Dem. 4. E. E. Sikes ad loc. comments: 'χρυσάωρον: Hermann thought that the epithet could only have been chosen by an interpolator. But Demeter is ξεφηφόρος in Lyco. 153, where the schol. notes ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ Θάρσου Δημήτηρ ξέφος ἔχουσα.'
⁸ De Vit Nomastica II. 256, Thees. Ling. Lat. Suppl. i. 419, 25 ff.
⁹ Hes. theog. 281—288.
The sword of Zeus

A terra-cotta relief from Melos, now in the British Museum (fig. 655), shows Perseus on horseback riding off with the Gorgoneion. From the neck of Medousa emerges a small draped male figure, Chrysaor: Pegasus is not represented. More often Chrysaor and Pegasus spring simultaneously from the severed neck. The end-panel of a limestone sarcophagus from Golgoi (Athienau) in

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2 So Millingen loc. cit. Wieseler loc. cit. took the horse ridden by Perseus to be a wingless Pegasus, as do Baumeister and Smith—Wayte—Marindin loc. cit. But Overbeck loc. cit. rightly points out that Perseus is on horseback just because Bellerophon rides a horse in the pendant relief, found in the same Melian tomb in 1849 (Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 132 no. B 364).
The sword of Zeus

Kypros, which forms part of the Cesnola collection at New York, has a graphic delineation of the scene (fig. 656). Perseus, with the head in a wallet (kibisis), turns his back on the moribund Medousa and marches off, to be followed by his hound. A red-figured amphora at Munich (fig. 657) gives Perseus the winged cap, the winged sandals, and even the winged caduceus of Hermes: Medousa is accompanied by a second Gorgon, and Perseus by Athena. An Etruscan scarab (fig. 658) leaves the figure of Medousa to speak for itself. A small two-handled vase from Nola, formerly in the Campana collection (fig. 659), had a stamped design representing a somewhat later moment. At the foot of an Ionic column surrounded by a Sphinx Medousa has fallen backwards in death. Chrysaor and Pegasus are already free from her neck, the former a naked infant kneeling on the ground, the latter a winged horse galloping up the sky. The two living Gorgons, Stheno and Euryale, with snakes in their right hands, pursue the hero, who keeping firm hold of his kibisis and harpe is conducted by Hermes into the

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1 G. Colonna Ceccaldi 'Un sarcophage d'Athiënau (Chypre)' in the Rev. Arch. 1873 i. 21 ff. pl. 2, L. P. di Cesnola Cyprus: its ancient cities, tombs, and temples London 1877 p. 110 ff. pl. 10, Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art iii. 615 ff. fig. 419, E. Kuhnert in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2034 f. fig. 3, J. L. Myres in the Ant. Denkm. iii. 1. 3 f. pls. 5 and 6 (6 c =my fig. 656), id. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus New York 1914 p. 226 ff. no. 1364 fig. 1364 A—D.


3 Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 20, 37 (=my fig. 658: scale ? ), ii. 99.

The sword of Zeus

presence of Athena. Behind her back are three pairs of wings hung up like weapons in an armoury. This last touch was not

\[1\] E. Kuhnert loc. cit. describes these wings as 'Unverständlich.' But Perseus had been fitted out by the Nymphs with wings on head and foot, and these presuppose a divine store-house of such things.
The sword of Zeus

particularly happy, and is abandoned in favour of a duplicated column on an olpe of black glazed ware from Capua, now in the British Museum, which otherwise exhibits precisely the same stamped design. It would seem, then, that the artists of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. ignored the Hesiodic tradition that Chrysaor ‘grasped a golden sword,’ but were well aware of his phenomenal birth.

Now F. Hannig has argued that Chrysaor had originally nothing to do with Pegasus, but was none other than the Carian Chrysaor (son of the Sisyphid Glaukos, as was also Bellero-

2 F. Hannig *De Pegaso* (Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen viii. 4) Vratislaviae 1903 pp. 26–28 (‘De Chrysaore a prima ortus fabula alieno’), id. in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1749.
3 *Supra* p. 714 f.
4 Steph. Byz. s.v. Μόλασα...ἀπὸ Μόλασον τοῦ Χρυσάορος τοῦ Γλαύκου τοῦ Σισύφου τοῦ Λάλου.
The sword of Zeus

phon\(^1\)), who first became attached to the birth-saga in Asia Minor, the story having been carried thither by Dorian colonists from its home in the northern Peloponnese. To this hypothesis in a modified form O. Gruppe\(^2\) has given his assent. It should, however, be emphasised that what brought Chrysaor and Pegasos together in this peculiar twinship was their identity of function. According to Hesiod\(^3\) and Euripides\(^4\), Pegasos carries the thunder and lightning of Zeus. And scholars both ancient\(^5\) and modern\(^6\) have seen in Chrysaor a personification of the lightning\(^7\). I am no devotee of meteorological mythology, but I admit the attractiveness of this hypothesis, which explains well the 'golden sword' of our earliest

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\(^2\) Hannig's views have been summarised and criticised by Gruppe in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* März 25, 1905 p. 380 ff., who however accepts his contention that Pegasos at first belonged to the Bellerophon-myth and concludes (ib. p. 386) with great ingenuity as follows: 'Endlich sind Pegasos und Bellerophontes wahrscheinlich nicht erst von Argos aus über Rhodos, sondern schon durch die troizenische Kolonie Halikarnassos, die frith den Vorderteil des Pegasos auf die Münzen setzte, in das benachbarte Bargylia, das er gegründet haben sollte, gekommen; auch Glaukos' Sohn Chrysaor ist vielleicht von Halikarnassos, also in letzter Linie von Troizen aus in eine Genealogie von Mylasa gelangt, und schliesslich ist sein Name als Entsprechung des mit der Doppelaxt dargestellten barbarischen Landesgottes von Karien gefasst worden. Nun ist natürlich Chrysaor, der Sohn des Glaukos, d. h. des Poseidon, und der Eurymede, nicht zu trennen von Chryssor, der Sohn Poseidons und der (Eury)medusa; beide sind niemand anders als Bellerophontes χρυσαώρ, der ebenfalls Glaukos' oder Poseidons und Eurymedes Sohn heisst. Der troizenische Hymnos erzählte also, wie aus dem Haupte der Medusa Bellerophonthes das Goldschwert in der Hand und den Pegasos reitend hervorsprang: das ist eine Parallele und hat wahrscheinlich die Anregung gegeben zu der argivischen Sage von Athena, die in goldenen Rüstung mit Ross und Wagen aus dem Haupte des Göttervaters hervorging.' See also Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 434, 590 f.

\(^3\) Hes. *theog.* 285 f. Ἑρμῆς δὲ ἐν δόμασι φησι | βροτήρ τε στερεόταν τε φόροι Διὶ μοιφότατην.


Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt

authority and falls into line with the folk-concepts of various peoples. If valid, it leads us to conclude that Zeus *Chrysaoreus* of Stratonikeia was viewed by the Greeks as a lightning-god, 'He of the Golden Sword,'—a deity essentially akin to Zeus Strátios the sword-bearer of Labranda.

iv. The thunderbolt of Zeus.

Zeus regarded as a lightning-god was, we have seen, sometimes armed with an axe, occasionally with a spear, very seldom with a sword or dagger, never—be it observed—with bow and arrows (like Apollon) or with club (like Herakles). But far more frequent than any or all of these is another weapon. Innumerable passages of Greek literature and innumerable monuments of Greek art represent Zeus equipped with a thunderbolt. Of the literary allusions I have already said something and shall have to say more. We are here concerned only with the artistic representations, and with the light that they throw upon the development of popular belief.

(a) Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt.

O. Gruppe has remarked that the thunderbolt, which from the sixth century B.C. onwards characterises the figure of Zeus, falls gradually into the background. 'Men seem to have realised,' he says, 'that a sense of majesty is produced not so much by the exercise of power as by the power to exercise it.'

To this progressive elimination of the thunderbolt there was one significant exception. In the Council Hall at Olympia even as late as the second century A.D. stood the formidable figure of Zeus Hórktios, 'God of Oaths,' still grasping a thunderbolt in either hand.

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J. F. Campbell Popular Tales of the West Highlands Edinburgh 1860 i pp. lxxiv, 1 ff., ii. 238 ff. gives two tales, which have points in common with the myth of Perseus, Chrysaor, and Pegasos. In no. 1, 'The young king of Eaaarih Ruadh,' the hero beheads the king of the oak windows and obtains two treasures belonging to him, *vis.* a white-faced black horse, the best in Erin, and a marvellous sword known as the Glaive of Light. In no. 46, 'Mac Lain Direach,' the hero obtains the yellow (bay) sally of the king of Erin and the white Glaive of Light kept by the seven Big Women of Dhuirradh.


3 For the various explanations and classifications of thunderstorm phenomena put forward by philosophers see T. H. Martin La foudre l'électricité et le magnetisme chez les anciens Paris 1866 pp. 1–418 passim and O. Gilbert Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums Leipzig 1907 pp. 620–637.


5 Zeus is not known to have borne the cult-title Opeon elsewhere, except perhaps at

Zeux Pisoios occurs in Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. 2. 49 Kato 88 Piskeos (frag. 50 Peter) to mon soma to vatoion edeni tevthera foron ev to saio toue to doxagon daimonou evkhorion, tovto de to doxagon antid tomos Pistoion kaloeidai Dia, 4. 58 tevthei etai tois doxagon megemion ev 'Ephes kai kressen ev toio Dia Pistoion, ev 'Ephes kai kressen katoion, 9. 60 ev to vatoi tevthei to doxagon daimonou evkhorion nephorete x.r., as a rendering of the Latin Deus Fidius (cf. Schoell—Studemund anecdo. i. 366 'Epitheia Dios no. 75 vosto). The facts relating to this deity are collected by G. Wissowa in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1189 f., iv. 316 ff., id. Rel. Kult. Rom. 2 pp. 129 ff., 280 f., alth. E. Aust in Paul—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1246 f. In addition to literary allusions we have extant dedications to him as Somo Sancus' Sanctus Deus Fidius (Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 3473), Sanctus Sanctus Semo Deus Fidius (ib. no. 3473), Semo Sanctus Deus Fidius (ib. no. 3474), Semo Sanctus (ib. no. 3475), Sanctus Deus Fidius (ib. no. 3476). Wissowa Rel. Kult. Rom. 2 p. 130 infers that his full name was Somo Sanctus Dios Fidius, where Semo Sanctus is not to be regarded as a distinct divinity blended with Dios Fidius, but as an appellative like Dnus Corni in the case of Ianus (supra p. 328 n. 8). Bon a Dea in that of Fauna, Deus Bonus in that of Aesculapius, etc. (G. Wissowa in Paul—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 686 ff.)

A corresponding Umbrian god was Iupater Sancus, mentioned in the Tabula Iuovinae ii b, 17 Sasi Inuapatre, ii b, 24 Iupater Sase (R. S. Conway The Italic Dialects Cambridge 1897 i. 417, C. D. Buck A Grammar of Osco and Umbrian Boston, U.S.A. 1904 p. 297) and apparently to be identified with the Fisos Sanctus of i a, 15 Fise Sasi, vi b, 3 Fiso Sansie and the Fisioi Sancio of vi b, 5 Fisoi Sansi, 6 Fisoi Sansi, 8 Fisoi Sansi (bazi), 9 Fisoi Sansie, 10 Fisouie Sansie, 12 Fisouie Sansie (bazi), 14 Fisouie Sansie, 15 Fisouie Sansie, vii a, 37 Fisoi Sansii (cp. also the Vesteci Sancio of ii a, 4 Vesticie Sase). But, although the historian of religion is strongly disposed to equate the Dios Fidius of the Romans with the Fisos (or Fisioi) Sancioi of the Umbrians, the philologist sees lions in the way. W. Schulpke 'Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen' in the Abh. d. gütt. Gesellschaft. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1904 N. F. v. 2. 473 ff. concludes (p. 475 n. 1): 'Die Identifizierung mit lat. Fidius...ist grammatisch unzulässig, trotzdem sie sich auch aufs Beste zu empfehlen scheint.' And Walde Lat. eym. Wörterb. 2 p. 389 u. c. 'fido' says: 'fisus...ist mit o. Fisilai, u. Fisio, Fisio, Fisioi usw. nur dann vergleichbar, wenn es urit. enthält, was sehr unsicher ist, wie z. B. o. Fisilai, 8 Fisoi Sansi, 10 Fisouie Sansie, 12 Fisouie Sansie (bazi), 14 Fisouie Sansie, 15 Fisouie Sansie, vii a, 37 Fisoi Sansii' (cp. also the Vesteci Sancioi of ii a, 4 Vesticie Sase). But, although the road that leads to Umbria and limiting our enquiry to Rome, we find that the connexion of Fisos with fides, etc., has been almost universally assumed. For little weight can be attached to the dissent of L. Aelius Stilo, who took Dios Fidius to be for Dios Filius (L. Aelius Stilo frag. 9 Funaioli ap. Varr. de ling. Lat. 5. 66 Aelius Diam Fidium dicebat Diosis filium, ut Graeci Διοκός Castorem, et putabat hunc esse Sancum ab Sabina lingua et Herculem a Graeco, cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 147, 8 ff. Müller, p. 133, 1 ff. Lindsay, interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 4. 204, 8. 301, H. Hagen anecdo. Helvetica Lipsiae 1870 pp. 212, 37 ff. and 260, 16 ff. (= commentation Einstidene in Don. artev minorem de adverbio), G. Goetz—G. Gantmann in the Corpus glossarium Latinorum Lipsiae 1888 ii. 24, 1 Dios filius δέκας—πραλίς). There are, however, some points about the god and his ritual that provoke further investigation. He was, to begin with, a sky-god, to whom appeal must be made only under the open sky. Any one who swore by Dios Fidius stepped into the compluvium so as to have no roof over his head (Varr. Cato vel de liberis educandis ap. Non. Marc. p. 793, 23 ff. Lindsay itaque domi ritus nostri qui per Diam (so Scaliger for deum) Fidium iurare vult prodire solet in compluvium). Varr. de ling. Lat. 5. 66 rightly connects this custom with the fact that Jupiter's roof had a hole in it (supra i. 53). The sky-god was from of old the recipient of open-air worship (supra i. 117 ff.), and his relatives took after him. The oath by Dionysos must not be sworn beneath a roof, and boys who wanted to swear by Herakles were turned out of doors for the purpose (Plaut. quaest. Rom. 28). The bronze disks or wheels (aenek orbes) dedicated by the Romans to Semo Sancus out of the spoils of Privernum (Liv. 8. 26) were perhaps solar symbols, as I conjectured in Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 272 n. 9. At Iguvium the man who married a calf to Iupater Sancus held a wheel.
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(uruseta = orbita) in his hand (Tabulae Ignotae ii b. 22 ff. pune seste, urseta manue habetu. estu iuku habetu: I Imperi Sase, tefe estu vitul vufu seste,' which C. D. Buck op. cit. p. 397 translates 'Cum sistis, orbitam in manu habeto. Ista proces habeto: 'Iuppiter Sanci, tibi istum vitulum votivum sisto'). Cakes called summanalia, and presumably sacred to Iuppiter Summanus, god of the nocturnal sky and sender of lightning by night (R. Peter in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 1600), were made in the shape of a wheel (Fest. p. 348 f. 5 f. Müller, p. 474 f. 17 f. Lindsay, Paul. ex Fest. p. 348 f. 9 Müller, p. 475 f. 7 Lindsay). Lyd. de mens. 490 p. 138 f. Wünsch τὸ Σέλεκτος ὕμων αφανει σημαίνει τῇ Σαμηνίων γλώσσῃ. But, on the whole, it seems clear that Disus Fidius was a specialised form of Jupiter, the sky-god by whom men swore. Now Jupiter was believed to sanction treaties with his thunderbolt (Verg. Aen. 12. 200 audiet haec genitor, qui foederis fulmine sancti with Serv. ad loc.). And Disus Fidius appears to have stood in very special relations to the lightning-flash. G. Wissowa in

Fig. 660.

Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 318 points out that of the inscriptions mentioning him the three most important are all dedications by the decuria sacerdotum bidentalium (Dessau op. cit. nos. 3472, 3473) or decuria bidentalis (ib. no. 3472), on which see E. de Ruggiero Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane Roma 1894 i. 1005 f. One of these inscriptions (Dessau op. cit. no. 3472 Semoni | Sanco | Sancto Deo Fidio | sacrum | decuria sacerdot. | bidentalium) occurs on the base of a marble statue, found at Rome in 1879 and representing Disus Fidius himself in the guise of an archaic Apollo (H. Jordan 'Statua Vaticana di Semone Sanco' in the Ann. d. Inst. 1885 lvii. 105—126 pl. A. = my fig. 660 f., W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Leipzig 1912 i. 226 f. no. 34 f. G. Wissowa in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 318 fig.). C. O. Thulin Die etruskische Disciplin i Die Blitzelehre (Göteborgs Högskolas Årskrift 1905 f) Göteborg 1906 p. 42 f. thinks that the statue once held a thunderbolt in its left hand, an orbis aeneus in
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to the terror of would-be perjurers. Pausanias was impressed by
the sight:

'the image of Zeus in the Council House is of all the images of Zeus the best cal-
culated to strike terror into wicked men: it bears the surnames of the God of Oaths,
and holds a thunderbolt in each hand. Beside this image it is the custom for the
athletes, their fathers and brothers, and also the trainers, to swear upon the cut
pieces of a boar that they will be guilty of no foul play in respect of the Olympic
games. The athletes take an additional oath, that for ten successive months they
have strictly observed the rules of training. Also those who examine the
boys or the foals which are entered for the races swear that they will decide
justly and will take no bribes, and that they will keep secret what they know
about the accepted or rejected candidate. I forgot to ask what they do with the
boar after the athletes have taken the oath. With the ancients it was a rule that
a sacrificed animal on which an oath had been taken should not be eaten by
man. Homer proves this clearly. For the boar, on the cut pieces of which
Agamemnon swore that in good sooth Briseis was a stranger to his bed, is repre-
sented by Homer as being cast by the herald into the sea:—

He spake, and cut the boar's throat with pitiless bronze.
Talthybius lightly wheeled and threw the boar
Into the great deep of the gray sea, a food for fishes.

its right, and very ingeniously compares a bronze in the Badutt collection at St Moritz
in Switzerland (Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 5 no. 9= my fig. 662). There is, therefore, a good deal to be said for G. Wissowa's con-
tention (in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 318) ' dass Semo Sancus Dias
Fidius in der Kaiserzeit (die Inschriften stammen etwa aus der
Zeit der Antonine) besonders als Blitzzott verehrt wurde.' But,
if so, I would suggest that his title Fidius meant originally 'the
Cleaver' (cp. Audo, fidi, bi-fidus, etc.) and was only later, by dint
of popular etymology, associated with fitis. The same god was
in Christian times the subject of another curious confusion. For
Iust. Mart. apol. i. 26, 1. 56 (followed by Iren. c. haeres. i. 23. 1,
Tert. apol. 13, Euseb. hist. eccl. 2. 13. 3, 2. 14. 5, Kyll. of
Jerusalem cath. 6. 14 (xxxiii. 361 A—B Migne), Aug. de
haeres. i (xliii. 25 Migne), Theodoret. haeret. fab. 1. 1 (xxxiii.
344 B Migne)) declares that a statue on the Tiber-island dedi-
cated ΣΙΜΩΝΙ ΔΕΩ ΣΑΓΚΤΩ
was an effigy of Simon
Magus (see e.g. G. Salmon in Smith—Wace Dict. Chr. Biogr. iv.
682), who was worshipped together with his consort the harlot
Helene under the guise of Zeus and Athena (Iren. c. haeres. i. 23. 4, Hippol. ref. haeres.
6. 20 p. 256 Duncker—Schneidewin, Epiph. panar. 1. 21. 3, Aug. de haeres. i (xliii. 25
Migne)).

Jupiter Iurarius, worshipped at Rome on the island in the Tiber (Dessau op. cit.
no. 3038 [in a pavement of opus Sigillum, beneath the monastery of S. Giovanni
Calibita, figured by R. Fischei in the Corp. inscr. Lat. i Tab. litogr. lxx, A]) C. Volcuti,
C. f. iar(uspex) de stipe Iovi Iurario.....[m]onimentum) and at Brixia in Cisalpine Gaul
(Dessau op. cit. no. 3037 I.O.M. | Iurario) | d(e) (sonscriptorium) s(cententia), was
perhaps akin to Dius Fidius, who is known to have had a cult on the Tiber-island
(E. Aust in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1246). M. Besnier L'Ile Tibérine dans
l'antiquité Paris 1902 p. 249 ff. would identify Jupiter Iurarius with Vedivois—a view
somewhat too decisively rejected by H. Jordan—C. Huelsen Topographie der Stadt Rom
im Alterthum Berlin 1907 1. 3. 636 n. 37. 
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Such was the ancient custom. At the feet of the God of Oaths is a bronze tablet, with elegiac verses inscribed on it, the intention of which is to strike terror into perjurers. In view of the epic parallel adduced by Pausanias and of the connexion between Zeus and the boar in Crete it may be inferred that the cult of Zeus Hórkios at Olympia goes back to 'Minoan' or sub-'Minoan' times, that the duplication of his thunderbolt was due to primitive insistence on his power as a storm-god, and that any deeper ethical meaning must be attributed to moralists of a later age.

1 Paus. 5. 24. 9—11 trans. Sir J. G. Frazer.
2 Supra i. 157, 645, 651, 653 fig. 505, 663 n. 2, 664 n. 1.

The formulae used by the Greeks in the affirmations of everyday life are collected and exemplified by P. Meinhardt De forma et usu juramentorum, quae inveniuntur in codicibus Graecorum et Romanorum, Xenophonitico, Lucanio sermone Jeneae 1892 pp. 17—23:

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21 f. Hilgard) "καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ Δ.;" διπρά τοῦ Δ.; τίς γέγοι ταῦτα ἄποκρυφα, διηγοῦ καὶ μετα
tοῦ νῦ ἐπιστρέφομαι γίνεται τῇ Δ.; ὧν τῆς ἀνθρωποτητὸς τῶν ἐνικῶν (i. 382, 8 ff. Hilgard) πρόκειται "ἀνθή καὶ ἑκάτη ὀδὴν" διὰ τὸ μὲν Δ.; ἀνθή γὰρ ἡ ἀνθρωποτητὴ γίνεται κατὰ ἀνάκοψιν τῆς Δ.;, ἀλλὰ ἕως ἄθροισι πολλῶν ἠδέρκα οὕτω ἀνάκοπται ἂν ἀκαθάρτητα καὶ ἑκάτητα ἐκ τῶν συναφῶν. Phot. rec. τῆς Δ.; καὶ τῆς Δ.; ἐκατέρθη.

In Aristoph. eccl. 778 f. λαμβάνεται ἡμᾶς μόνον δεῖ τῇ Δ.; καὶ γὰρ οἱ θεοί καὶ Β. ἔχει δη' (inc.). Dindorf here and in Aristoph. eg. 319 would restore τῆς Δ.; F. Blass in R. Kühner Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache 2 Hannover 1890 i. 177 approves the restoration. But the usage is at best doubtful. The elliptical τοῦ τόν—μᾶ τοῦ (Stephanus Thea. Gr. Ling. v. 1480 B, v. 478 B—c) are, sometimes, at least, to be filled out with Δ.; (cf. Aristoph. Ach. 730 ἀν τὸν φιλόν with F. H. M. Blaydes ad loc.).

The public, as compared with the private, oath called for greater solemnity (A. Martin Quomodo Graeci ac peculiariter Athenienses publica jurefandando sanxerint Paris 1866). Accordingly, we seldom find a public oath by Zeus pure and simple (K. Heberdey in the Jahrb. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1899 ii Beiblatt p. 48 ff. publishes an archaic inscription from Ephesos ἐγαμπρᾶσαι ἐνί τινι δεξιῶν, ὄμνητα κάτως τῆς ἔργων Μηνίδος ἀναγραφέντων τῶν δὲ διάπερ' ἐπεχέν, ὅ ὅτα τὸ πρῶτο[...]; ηλε., οἱ ἑλκύσσαντες ή τ.τ.λ.).


(2) Zeus Σωτήρ in a third-century decree of Kalauria (Michael Recueil d'Iscr. gr. no. 178, 28 f. = Dittenberger Syll. Inscr. Gr. i. no. 578, 20 f. = Inscr. Gr. Philop. i. no. 841, 30 f. καὶ ἁγιομνώται τινὶ τὴν Δ.; τῷ Σωτῆρα.[...]). (3) Zeus φαρτρὼς in a fourth-century enactment of the Attic phratry Demotionidai (Corpus Inscri. Att. ii. no. 841 B 111 f. = Michel ep. cit. no. 951 B 53 f. = Dittenberger op. cit. no. 439, 111 f. ἀληθῆ γαμή τὸν τὴν Δ.; τῷ φαρτρῷ, ἐν τῷ 1 Δ.; φαρτρῷ, 15 ff. διάδοθαι περὶ αὐτῶν τῷ φαρτρῷ ποιμάν μᾶλλον. ὡς ὑποχρεοῦσα πρὸς τὸ Δ.; τῷ Φαρτρῷ, φέρωντα τῷ φίλου ἀπὸ τῷ βωμῷ, 22 f. ὡς δὲ ἐκάτω δρακοντικά τινά του τῆς Δ.; τῷ Φαρτρῷ (so 39 f., 48 ff., 54 ff., 90 f., 99 f.), 74 καὶ ἑρμηνεύοντα τῷ φαρτρῷ).

The appeal might be reinforced by the addition of other names appropriate to the place or occasion (e.g. (1) J. R. S. Sturrett 'Inscriptions of Assos' in Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 1882—1883 l. 50 f. no. 26, 18 ff. with pl. (a bronze tablet recording a decree of Assos passed on the accession of Calligula in 37 A.D.) δροκος Λαυρίου, | διώμενος τῇ Δ.; Σωτῆρα καὶ φίλῳ Καλαπός Σέβαστος (c. Octavianus) καὶ τῷ | πάσην ἄνθρωπον Παρθένου (c. Athena Polias) εὐφωνοῦς κ.τ.λ. = Dittenberger Syll. Inschr. Gr. 234, 18 ff. (2) Dittenberger op. cit. no. 234, 27 ff. = Michel Recueil d'Iscr. gr. no. 187, 22 ff. = Inscr. Gr. Arc. Loc. Mess. ii no. 419, 22 ff. (a decree of the Messenians c. 240 B.C.) [δροκος τῷ Μεσσανίῳ διώμενος τῷ Δ.; Ιθακείᾳ, Πεύκη [- - - ], Πεύκη [- - - ], [ - - - ] καὶ θεοῖς ὑπέρ ὁμᾶς διὰ πάντας ὁ, | [μάχα κ.τ.λ.]. Cr. the oath of Demaratos in Hdt. 6. 67 τὸν τῇ Δ.; βοῶν, τὴν δὲ τῇ μητέρᾳ ἐκάλλεσεν. ἀνακατάλησε δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρα ὁ τῶν αὐτῶν κατακέτων λεγός τοιαῦτα: "καθ' ἡμέρας, θείοι συν τῷ και τῷ ἄδελφῳ και τῷ ἐκείνῳ." κ.τ.λ.).

When several powers are invoked, the name of Zeus normally heads the list—a pre
cedence dating back to epic times (II. 19. 258 = Od. 19. 303 ὃν τὸν Ζεὺς πρῶτον, θεῶν ἔχτατο καὶ ἄρωτος, Od. 14. 158 = 17. 155 = 20. 250 ὃν τὸν Ζεὺς πρῶτον θεῶ). Homer, sometimes content with the witness of Zeus alone (II. 7. 411 δροκος ἐκ τοῦ Ζεὺς ἄρωτος, ἐφιγνωσθεὶς πάσης Προην. 10. 328 ὃν ἐκ τοῦ Ζεὺς αὐτόν, ἐφιγνωσθεὶς πάσης ἔρωτος Προην, 10. 328 ὃν τὸν Ζεὺς αὐτόν, ἐφιγνωσθεὶς πάσης Προην), more often associates with him either the domestic sanctuaries of the hearth (Od. 19. 303 f. and table (Od. 14. 158 f. = 17. 155 f. = 20. 250 f.) or a variety of cosmic and chthonic divinities (II. 3. 276 ff. Ζεὺς πάτερ, ἔρωτας μᾶλλον, κυνονιστή, μύγιστη, ἂ. ὧδε θ', δ' τάπεν ἐφοράς καὶ τάπεν ἐκα
koveis, καὶ πατριακαὶ γαμοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐπιγέφνη καυμάτων | ἀθρούσαν τίτυσσον, ὅπε χαρᾷ ὁμόσυ, ὡς ἐπιτροπ.
καὶ ὁμόσυ, ὡς ἐπιτροπ. ξηθεὺς, φιλασθέντει δ' ἰδεια πτωτ., 19. 228 ff. ὃν τὸν Ζεὺς
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πρώτα... | Γῆ τε καὶ Ἁέλιος καὶ Ἐρμῆς, αι  θ' ὑπὸ γαίαν | ἀνθρώπους τίνισαι, ὅτι κ' ἐπικροκὸν ὁμοιὰν με W. Leaf ad loc.).

In s. iv B.C. and later the witness-group Zeus, Ge, Helios revived (survived) in public contracts, usually in combination with other deities recognised by the contracting parties (e.g. (1) A. Wilhelm in the Jahrb. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1898 i. 149 ff. line 2 f. (treaty between Mauccolos of Karia and Phaselis in Lykia) |... διψῶς καὶ Ἄλων καὶ Γὰν καὶ |... | (2) Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 1316, 1 ff. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.² no. 350. 1 ff. (oath of citizens of Chersonesos of Tagurike c. 300—280 B.C.) ὁμοιὰν Γῆν, Ἀλῆν, Παρθένων, | | [θ]εοῖς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ Ὀλυμπίαι | | [κ]αι δράμα δωκα πλῶς καὶ ἱππαν καὶ τεχήν ξύοντα τὰ Χιροκοντάκια, ἱλ. 50 f. Ζεύ καὶ Γά καὶ Ἀλε [κα] | | Παρθένε καὶ θεοὶ Ὀλυμπίαι. (3) Michel op. cit. no. 15, 20 ff. = Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 266; 20 ff. Pact of Paramonos and other mercenary leaders with Eumenes I of Pergamon ὄροι δυν ὄροισε Παράμοιος κ.τ.λ. |... ὁμοιὰν Γῆν, Γῆν, "Πάντος, Ποσείδων, Δήμοτρα, Ἀρη, Ἀθηνῶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλικ[../../] καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς πάντας καὶ πάσας, ἵνα 51 ff. ἄροις Ἑυμένους ὁμοιὰν Δ[η], Γῆν, "Πάντος, Ποσείδων, Ἀττάλους, Δήμοτρα, Ἀρη, Ἀθηνῶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλικ[../../] καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς πάντας καὶ πάσας. (4) Michel op. cit. no. 19, 59 ff. = Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 229, 59 ff. (alliance between Magnesia ad Sipyrum and Erythrai c. middle of 3. iii B.C.) ὁμοιὰς δὲ τοῖς μὴν ἐν Ἐλληνισμῳ κατολεως κ.τ.λ. |... ὁμοιὰν Γῆν, Γῆν, "Πάντος, Ἀρη, Ἀθηνῶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλικ[../../] καὶ τῆ[ minden] Μιντρά τὴν Συκηλήνη καὶ Ἀττάλων τῶν ἦν Παῦσαν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς πάντας καὶ πάσας τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ ἄνω Μαγνησίας τῶν ἄμων τῶν τῶν τῶν: ὁμοιὰν Δ[η], Γῆν, "Πάντος, Ἀρη, Ἀθηνῶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλικ[../../] καὶ τῆ[ minden] Μιντρά τὴν Συκηλήνη καὶ Ἀφροδήτην Στρατονικῆ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς πάντας καὶ πάσας. (5) Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.² no. 196, 38 f. (Athenian treaty of 326/5 B.C. with the Thracian Ketriporis, the Paeonian Lypprois, and the Illyrian Grabus) [ὁμοιὰν Δ[η] καὶ Γῆν] καὶ Ἀρη, Ποσείδων[../../] καὶ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ | | [Ἀρη|]π. (6) Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.² no. 343—345, 87 ff. (Athenian treaty of 266/5 B.C. with Sparta) [ὁμοιὰν Δ[η] καὶ Γῆν] καὶ Ἁ[λον καὶ Ποσείδων[../../] καὶ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ | "Ἀρην]. (7) Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 532, 8 f. (Paphlagonian oath of allegiance to Augustus in 3 B.C.) ὁμοιὰν Γῆν, Γῆν, ὁμοιὰν πάντας καὶ τὰς καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σερβίων[../../] των]. The same group was concerned in the emancipation of slaves at Thermos in Aitolia (Inscr. Gr. germ. iii. no. 412 = Michel op. cit. no. 1421 = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.² no. 837 (deed of enfranchisement, 3 ii B.C.) Πολύδαρου Δαῦδον Ἀττάλου τῶν ὀλίγων θεσπο[ ../../] | | (ἀπὸ ν' ἔως ἄλλοις τῶν 342 Δ[η], Γῆν, "Πάντος, νόμων[../../] καὶ τὰς τὰς καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σερβίων[../../] των]. At Eressos in Lesbos the judges swore by Zeus and Helios (T. Bechel in Collitz—Bechel Gr. Dial.—Inscr. 1903 ii. 19 ff. no. 281 B, 54 ff. = Michel op. cit. no. 358 C, 19 ff. = Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 8 c, 93 ff. (formula of oath, end of 3. iv B.C.) ὁσῶν πονηρῶν καὶ ἀναβάτους καὶ | ἀναπῆδρος απὸ τ' ἐμὸν καὶ πάντων κληρονομο[../../] | | (8) T. Latschev Gr. inscr. 208 ff. no. 400, 10 ff. (deed of enfranchisement in 41 A.D., with name of Ponomii II erased; now at Petrogrod) ὅφ' ὑπὸ ἀνακριβούς καὶ ἀναπηράστος[../../] απὸ πᾶντων κληρονομο[../../] οὗτο Δ[η], Γῆν, "Πάντος[../../] | | (9) At Athens the same tendency to swear by sky-god, sun-god, and earth-goddess can be traced further back (cp. G. Hofmann De iurandis apud Athenienses formulis Strassburg 1886 p. 27 f., E. Ziebarth op. cit. p. 17 ff.), the oath being by Zeus, Apollo, and Demeter (1) Michel op. cit. no. 1428, 14 ff. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.² no. 41, 14 ff. (decreet concerning Erythrai, c. 405 B.C.) τῇ μεριρήσθην ἱεράντον ἐνερχόμενος τῇ[../../] | | (10) At Athens the same tendency to swear by sky-god, sun-god, and earth-goddess can be traced further back (cp. G. Hofmann De iurandis apud Athenienses formulis Strassburg 1886 p. 27 f., E. Ziebarth op. cit. p. 17 ff.), the oath being by Zeus, Apollo, and Demeter (1) Michel op. cit. no. 1428, 14 ff. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.² no. 41, 14 ff. (decreet concerning Erythrai, c. 405 B.C.) τῇ μεριρήσθην ἱεράντον ἐνερχόμενος τῇ[../../] | | (11) Michel op. cit. no. 1428, 14 ff. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.² no. 41, 14 ff. (decreet concerning Erythrai, c. 405 B.C.) τῇ μεριρήσθην ἱεράντον ἐνερχόμενος τῇ[../../] |
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Another Athenian triad equally susceptible of a cosmic interpretation was Zeus, Poseidon, and Demeter, divinities of sky, sea, and land. (1) The heliastic oath in Dem. c. Tim. 151 ετούνεναι Δια, Ποσείδων, Δημήτρια: cp. schol. B. L. π. 15. 36 δια τρεῖν δὴ ἦν ἐθνὸν ὄμνων, ὡς Δροκόων ἡταῖς, Δία, Ποσείδων, 'Αρην: οἱ δὲ Δια, Ποσείδων, Δημήτρια, ὡς Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Θημοκράτους. (2) H. G. Lolling in the Ath. Misc. 1879 iv. 201 no. 4, 16 ff. = Corp. inscr. Att. iv. 2 no. 854 c B, 16 ff. (decree of the daimon Aionx to the end of s. in B.C.) διηθής ταῦτα [η] τῶν Δια, τήν τῶν Ποσείδων δῶρον, τήν τῆς Δημήτριας[παίδεα]. This group might be extended by the inclusion of Athena (Michael op. cit. no. 95, 66 ff., 79 f. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 173, 66 ff. (decree of 303/2 B.C. concerning Ioullis in Keos) ταύτα [ἐπεδρομῆς τῆν τὸν Δια, τήν τῆς Αθηνᾶς, τήν τῶν Ποσείδων, τήν τὴν Δημήτριαν], ιδ. 79 f. [ταύτα εἰσὶν] ἐπεδρομῆς τῆν τὸν Δια, τήν τῆς Αθηνᾶς, τήν τῶν Ποσείδων, τήν τῆς Δημήτριας.)

The epic appeal to Zeus, Athena, and Apollo (ὑπῆργοι p. 428 n. 4) was said by some to be an Athenian oath (schol. A. D. in II. 2. 371 θινὸν ἐστὶν τῶν ὄρκων φασί τῶν ἄθραυσιν, schol. B. L. in II. 2. 371 πάροιροι γὰρ οὕτως τοῖς Αθηναύοις θεοῖς, schol. T. in II. 2. 371 πάροιροι τοῖς Αθηναύοις θεοῖς = a statement supported by its actual occurrence in Dem. c. Mid. 198 έμειν ἐμὲ τὶν τῶν Δια καὶ τῶν Ἀπόλλων καὶ τῆς Αθηνῆς κατ. and perhaps by the context of Plat. Euthyd. 305 c — οὐκ ἔστω, ἡ δὲ έστω, αὕτη η ἐπιστομία ήλισσαν ὄσδε, οὸν οἷον έκ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀπερικρατεῖν εἰς οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ἀλλ᾽ Απόλλων τῶν ἄθραυσιν τῆς τοῦ 'Ιωνοῦ γένους: Ζεὺς δὲ ἡμῖν Πατρὸς μέν οὐ καλεῖ, ἐρείκῃς δὲ καὶ φράτρος, καὶ Δημητρία φράτρια. Αἴλικροι γε γέφρον ὁ Διονύσωρος εστὶ γὰρ σοι, ὅπως, Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Αθηνᾶς. 1.oul. epist. 38 p. 68 Heylser ἦσσος Ζεύς, ἦσσο νέγας "Ηλιός, ἦσσος 'Αθηνᾶς κράτος, καὶ πάντως θεὸς καὶ πάντως, as in private duty bound (ὑπῆργοι i. 187), puts Helios in the place of Apollo.

H. Usener 'Dreiheit' in the Rhein. Mus. 1902 liii. 17 ff. dwells at length on the triplication of Greek oaths. In addition to the foregoing triads he remarks the oath of the Platonic witness (Plat. legg. 936 B to τρεῖν θεοῖς Δια καὶ Αἴσχρεσθέν καὶ 'Άπολλωνας ἢ μὴ μὴ εἰδένας), that of the Thessalian Magnesites (Michael op. cit. no. 842 B, 5 ff. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 790, 16 ff. (decree of s. in B.C.) ὁμοόνιον Δια 'Αρκάδων καὶ τῶν Ἀπόλλωνας | τῶν Κοροπαν καὶ τῶν 'Αρτέμιδος τοῖς Ιωνίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀλκείους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάντας), that of the Delphic Labyrinth (ὑπῆργοι p. 233 n. 7), and that of the Achaean League (ὑπῆργοι i. 16).

Finally we observe that in treaties between state and state the oath-gods of the parties are combined, the result being an impressive series of divine witnesses. Examples of the process have already been given (ὑπῆργοι i. 149 n. 2 Latos and Olous, i. 729 n. 2 Deros).
Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt

Apart from this exceptional case, it is certainly true to say that throughout classical times Zeus becomes less and less the impetuous thunderer, more and more the dignified ruler. He wields both the thunderbolt and the sceptre; but the former decreases, as the latter increases, in relative importance.

This may be illustrated by a short sequence of vase-paintings arranged in roughly chronological order. A ‘Chalcidian’ hydria at

Fig. 663.

Munich, which can be dated c. 550 B.C., shows Zeus attacking Typhon (fig. 663). The god with a mighty thunderbolt gripped by his strong right hand is rushing against his foe in the attitude of rapid movement dear to archaic art. A red-figured lekythos at Paris, attributed to Hermox, a painter of the late archaic period, represents Zeus in pursuit of Semele(?) (fig. 664). Semele, if it be she, and Knossos, ii. 723 n. Π Hierapynta and Lyttos, etc.), and it would be easy to multiply the number (e.g. (1) H. G. Lolling ‘Symmachievertrag der Phoker und Böoter’ in the Ath. Mitth. 1878 iii. 19 ff. line 14 ff. ὅριον: [ὁμιὼν τῶν Δῖα τῶν Βασιλέως καὶ τῶν Ἡραν τῆς Βασιλείας καὶ τῶν Ποντίων[δόσα καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίας καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλούς θεός πάντας καὶ πάσης. (2) Michel op. cit. p. 440 A, 15 ff. = Dittenberger Syll. Inscr. Gr. no. 427, a 15 ff. (treaty of 1. iv B.C. between Prairos and Stelai in Crete) ἀνάω Δῆ[να Δικταίων, Ποτηρείδων, Ἀθηνά, Αἴαλλων Πόλεων, [καὶ θεός πάντας καὶ πάσης. (3) F. Halbherr in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1897 i. 230 ff. no. 36, 19 ff. (treaty between Sybrita and Gortyna) [--- Δία] or Τύχε Κραταιεία καὶ [---] | [---] καὶ Ἀ[είλλων Πόλεων] Ποτηρείδων] or Ποτηρείδων [---] | [---] καὶ Νίσβους καὶ τ[---]).

1 Sieveking—Hackl Vasensamml. München i. 67 ff. no. 596 fig. 77 pl. 24, Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 161 ff. pls. 31 and 32 c (= my fig. 663), E. Buschor Greek Vase-painting trans. G. C. Richards London 1911 p. 75 ff. pl. 34 fig. 68. Zeus is inscribed ἸΕVS. He wears a fillet on his head and a εχλαμψ over his shoulders. Typhon, a monstrous figure with red hair and beard, has the ear of a horse, the wings of a bird, and two snaky tails by way of legs. He wears a short yellow-white chiton.

Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt appears quaintly enough on the shoulder of the vase as a woman running towards the right but looking behind her. Zeus, occupying the main field of decoration, advances with hasty steps, a thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. But it is noticeable that, as compared with the previous design, his bolt is not brandished so high and his onset, motivated by love not hate, is less furious. On a red-figured *hydria* at Paris, assigned by J. D. Beazley to the 'master of the Berlin amphora,' a painter of the ripe archaic period,

![Illustration](Image)

the same theme of amorous pursuit is rendered with even greater restraint (fig. 13). The bolt is held, not in the raised right hand, but in the lowered left.

Contemporary with that vase is a fragmentary *kratér* at Paris, painted in all probability by the artist who worked for the potter Kleophrades. This noble sherd shows Hermes weighing the wariorsouls of Achilles and Memnon in the presence of Zeus (fig. 665).

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1 J. D. Beazley *loc. cit.* notes: 'this is the only lekythos where the figure on the shoulder is related to the figure on the body.'


The scene was drawn from the *Aithiopis* of Arktnos, who made Eos, mother of Memnon, prevail upon Zeus to honour her slain son with the gift of immortality. And here she intervenes, imploring the dread judge for the mitigation of his sentence. He stands by,

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1143 f. fig. 3, J. D. Beazley *'Kleophrades'* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1910 xxx. 42 no. 4. Hoppin *Red-Bkg. Vases* ii. 147 no. 34. De Witte, Reinach, de Ridder, and Hoppin are wrong in supposing the *ψυχοστασία* to be that of Hektor and Achilles, for in that case the scales would have been held by Zeus, not Hermes (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 678 n. 6).


3 The belief that the souls of men are weighed in a balance was common to the Greeks, the Egyptians (*supra* p. 99 n. 1), and perhaps the Babylonians (A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 113 f.: but see M. Jastrow *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 363 f.). It may be connected ultimately with the custom of divining by weight (W. R. Hilladay *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 222 f.). But the subject is deserving of separate investigation.

The *Iliad* makes Zeus himself hold the scales. He uses χρόνες...τάλαντα to weigh the fates of Trojans and Achaeans (*II*. 7, 68 ff.) and, again, the fates of Achilles and Hektor (*II*. 22, 208 ff.). The scales of Zeus were in fact already proverbial (E. Hedin *Homerische Güterstudien* Upsala 1912 p. 171 f.): when Sarpedon fell before Troy, even Hektor fled, γυν ὡρα Δίων τὰ τάλαντα (*II*. 16, 658); and men weary of the fight, ἐπὶ κλάρια τάλαντα | Ζεύς (*II*. 19, 223 f.). Later, Zeus weighs out to men wealth or poverty (Theogn. 157 ἔστω γὰρ το τὸ τάλαντον ἐπιρίπτει ἀλλοτρὸν ἄλλωσι, ἀλλοτρὸν μὲν πλουσίους, ἄλλοτε μὲν ἐχθροῖς). Achsylus too conceives of Zeus as holding the balance (*Iphig. 821 f. σῶν ἐπίκειται ἥγεσις ταλάντων*), and in his *Ψυχοστασία* showed Zeus aloft on the *theoagoge* (Poll. 4. 130) visibly weighing on his scales the souls of Achilles and Memnon (Plout. *de et. post.* 2, schol. A. *II*. 8, 70). Eustath. in *II*. pp. 699, 31 ff., 1266, 37 ff.: see further Trag. *Gr. frag.* p. 88 f. Nauck).


For Achilles and Memnon as represented in art it is always Hermes that holds the scales (e.g. *Roscher Lex. Myth.* ii. 1143 f. figs. 1—4). The famous 'Boston relief' has Eros weighing two souls of men (best illustration in the *Ant. Denkm. iii. 1. 5 ff. pl. 7*). Aristophanes in *ran.* 797 f., 1365 ff.,—his parody of the *ψυχοστασία* (*I. Stephani in the Comptes-rendus St. Pét.* 1873 p. 81)—makes Plouton superintend the weighing of the rival tragic characters. A Campanian *Hydri* figures Aphrodite with two Erotes in her scales (Brit. *Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 109 f. no. 220, F. Studniczka in the *Jahrh. d. kais.-deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 139 f. *fig.* 58: *supra* p. 99 n. 1). Eris holds the balance for Achilles and Memnon in Quint. Smyrn. 2. 540 ff. The symereistic Virgo weighs life and justice in Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5863, 1 ff. = *Corpus inscr. Lat.* vii no. 759, 1 ff. = F. Bücheler *Carmina Latina epigraphica* Lipsiae 1895 i. 15 f. no. 24, 1 ff. (*Caesarorun, i. iii A.D.*) immnem Leoni Virgo caelesti situ | spiciera, iusti inventrix, urbium conditrix, | ex quis munere nosse contrigit deos, | ergo audem mater divum, Pax, Virtus, Ceres, | dea Syria, Jance Vitam et iura pensitans. Finally, Roman imperial art even descends to scenes of 'Phallenwäigung' (A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1896 xi. 11 f. no. 5, F. Hettner
a grand impartial figure, clad in chiton and himation, with a knotted staff in his left hand and a red-flaming thunderbolt in his right.

Yet greater dignity attaches to him when he is represented, not only holding a sceptre, but also seated on a throne. And this very enthronement, by reducing his thunderbolt from an actual to a potential weapon (for no one sits to throw thunderbolts1), tended to render the god mild as well as majestic. As such he appears on vases that portray the introduction of Herakles to Olympos. A bell-krater from Gela, now at Palermo, referred by Beazley to the ‘Altamura painter’ at the beginning of the free style2, shows Zeus seated on a magnificent throne and Herakles encouraged by Athena to draw near (fig. 666)3. The artist, who is not very adroit with the palmette on the throne-back, has made his Zeus clasp sceptre and thunderbolt in the same hand—an awkward handful4; the thunderbolt is distinctly de trop. Accordingly, on a somewhat later vase, a

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1 Supra p. 475, infra § 9 (h) ii (θ).
3 H. Heydemann in the Arch. Zeit. 1870 xxvii. 43 f. no. 24 pl. 33 (=my fig. 666), Reinach Rép. Vases i. 408, 3. The reverse design is Zeus pursuing a woman (Semele?). Height 0.414m.
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splendid kelēbe at Bologna, sceptre and phiāle are retained, but the bolt is omitted (fig. 667)\(^1\). The resultant type of benevolent majesty

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is found again, with a suggestion of greater repose, on the bell-krater from Falerii in the Villa Giulia at Rome, a vase attributed by G. Nicole, P. Ducati, and J. C. Hoppin to the ‘Talos painter,’ and referable to the period of the Peloponnesian War (fig. 668). Its obverse design represents Herakles, his labours over at last, entering the presence of Zeus. Herakles is followed by Hebe, in whose ear Eros whispers of her coming wedlock. Hera, proud and resentful, will not look at Herakles, but turns her head away and addresses Hermes. Zeus in an attitude of dignified ease worthy of Phidias receives his heroic son. Wreath, sceptre, throne are there, and rightly there. But the thunderbolt would be out of place, and the god’s right hand is empty.

The same transition from might to right in the popular conception of Zeus can be equally well illustrated from the remains of ancient sculpture. His earliest extant effigy, a bronze statuette from Mount Lykaion (s. vii B.C.), shows a nude bearded god standing erect with a thunderbolt in his raised right hand and an eagle on his outstretched left (supra i. 84 fig. 51). It is thus in all probability that we should conceive of such images as the Zeus in hammered gold dedicated at Olympia by Kypselos, tyrant of Corinth (655—625 B.C.) or the Zeus Ηυπατος in hammered bronze made by

fig. 667), Reinch Rép. Vas. i. 222, i—5. A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2238 f. fig.

1 G. Nicole Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique Genève 1908 p. 93 ff. pl. 6, 3.
2 P. Ducati I vasi dipinti nello stile del ceramista Midia Roma 1909 p. 50, id. in the Küm. Mith. 1906 xxii. 126.
3 Hoppin Rép. Vas. ii. 450 no. 4.
4 Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 87 ff. pl. 20 ( = my fig. 668) Villa Giulia no. 2382. Height 0.40 m.
5 Supra i. 91 f., infra § 9 (h) ii (θ).
6 Plat. Phaedr. 236 b παρὰ τὸ Κυψελίδων ἀνάθημα σφυρήλατον ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ στάθητι, Strab. 353 ἄν ς καὶ ὁ χρυσός σφυρήλατος Ζεύς, ἀνάθημα Κυψέλου, τοῦ Κυριακίου τυμάνου, 378 τῶν δὲ πέτρων οἷον τοῦτον πλουσίων μαρτύρων τῷ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀνάθημα Κυψέλου, σφυρήλατος χρυσός ἀνάθημα αὐτῶν συμενδέχεται. Kypselos vowed to Zeus that, if he became master of Corinth, he would dedicate all the property of the Corinthians. On becoming master, he bade them draw up a list of their possessions, took a tenth part from each citizen, and told them to trade with the remainder. As each year came round he did the same thing, till in ten years he had kept his vow (Aristot. oer. 2. 2. 1346 a 32 ff.). A Platonic gloss in Phot. lex. s.v. Κυψελίδων ἀνάθημα = Σωίδη, s.v. Κυψελίδων ἀνάθημα quotes further from Agaklytos πέτρας Ὀλυμπίας (frag. hist. Gr. iv. 288 Müller) the statement that the golden colossus dedicated by Kypselos was kept in the old temple of Hera, from Didymos a moralising account to the effect that Periander made the colossus in order to limit the luxury and audacity of the Corinthians, from Theophr. πέτρας χρυσάων 2 (frag. 128 Wimmer) a similar allusion, and finally a current epigram (Cougy Anth. Pal. Append. 1. 4) on the colossus εἶ μῆ (so Cobet for εἴμι Phot., so S. A. Naber) ἐγὼ χρυσός σφυρήλατος εἴμι κολοσσός, ἔχοντες εἶναι Κυψελίδων γενέτευρον together with the variant given by Apellas Fintikos frag. 6 (frag. hist. Gr. iv. 307 Müller) εἶ μῆ (so Cobet for εἴμι) ἐγὼ ναστός (so S. A. Naber for C. II).
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Klearchos of Rhégion (c. 520 B.C.) and still to be seen at Sparta in the time of Pausanias. Klearchos was said to have learnt his craft from the Cretans Dipoinos and Skyllis; and the type that he employed for Zeus was presumably descended from that of the 'Minoan' fighter with right hand raised to hurl the lance and left outstretched to carry the shield.

When archaic sculpture shook off the trammels of strict frontality (c. 500 B.C.), one of the first types to attain comparative freedom was that of the fighting-man. A small bronze from Dodona shows him in full armour advancing against the foe, his right arm raised for a spear-thrust, his left extended to support a notched shield. The type again served to represent Zeus the thunderer. Another brilliant little bronze from Dodona (fig. 669), detailed and delicate work, the colour of lapis lazuli, gives us Zeus in a similar pose as conceived by some Aeginetan artist c. 490 B.C. Statuettes of the sort were multiplied during the early decades of the fifth century (super i. 84 ff. figs. 52—54), the outstretched hand of the

*eidos Phot., Néos Soud.] παγχρυσσότει εἴμι κοιλοσθής, | κ.τ.λ. The schol. Plat. Phædr. p. 962 a 44 ff. asserts that the sons of Kypselos, when driven out by the Corinthians, vowed that, if they recovered their power, they would dedicate to the god at Olympia χρυσόν ἀνάραστα...Διήθησαν. Hence in fulfillment of their vow ἀνέθεσαν εἰκόνα μέγαστον ἀγάλμα χρυσάν τοῦ Δίως. Euphoros frag. 106 (frag. hist. Gr. i. 262 f. Müller) ἄρε. Diog. Laert. 1. 96 made Periander vow that, if he won a victory with a four-horse chariot at Olympia, he would dedicate χρυσόν ἀνάραστα. He won; but, being short of gold and seeing the women's trinkets at some Corinthian festival, he appropriated their ornaments and so sent his promised offering. Paus. 5. 2. 3 has yet another yarn. Kypselos dedicated the golden image to Zeus at Olympia, but died before he had carved his own name on it. The Corinthians begged leave of the Eleans to grave on it the name of Corinth and, when met by a refusal, showed their anger by warning the Eleans to keep away from the Isthmian games.

From all this we gather that the archaic Zeus of beaten gold was a standing statue of large size, unaccompanied by an inscription, but traditionally connected with Kypselos or his sons and widely known as τὸ Κυψέλιδων ἀνάραστα (a hexameter tag). It was kept in the Heraion and, if it still existed in Pausanias' day, a description of it may have stood in the lacuna (Paus. 5. 17. 4) immediately preceding his description of Kypselos' chest (so A. Flasch in Baumeister Denkm. ii. 1104 n. 2; other views in the ed. of Pausanias by H. Hitzig and H. Blümner (Lipsiae 1901) ii. 287).

1 Paus. 3. 17. 6 τὴν Χαλκοῖον δὲ ἐν δεξίῳ Δίως ἄγαλμα 'Πατὸς πατοῦσαι, παλαιότατον πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶ χαλκῷ: δὲ ὅλον γὰρ ὅλον ἔστω εἰργασμένον, ἔμπληκέναι δὲ ὅλη τῶν μερῶν καθ' ἄυτον ἑκάστῳ σωμάτωσι περὶ ἄλλης, καὶ ἄλλα σωμάτως αὐτὰ μὴ διάλθησαι. Κλειρχὸν δὲ ἄνδρα 'Ργίνον τὸ ἄγαλμα παύσαι λέγοντι, δι' Διονύσου καὶ Σκύλλδος, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρὸν Δαιδάλου φασίν εἶναι μαθητήν.

2 E.g. Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art vi. 752, 757 fig. 353, 758 fig. 354; Sir A. J. Evans in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1901 xxi. 135 fig. 15, 136 fig. 16.


4 Ibid. ib. pp. 6—12 pl. 1 (part of which = fig. 669), super i. 86 n. 3.

47—2
Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt
god being often used to carry his eagle. So, for example, in the
case of a statue seen by Pausanias\(^1\) at Olympia:

'A little farther on is a Zeus turned towards the rising sun, holding a bird
meant for an eagle and a thunderbolt in the other hand. On his head too is set

![Fig. 669.]

a wreath, and its flowers are lilies\(^2\). It is an offering of the Metapontines, the
work of Aristonous an Aeginetan. We do not know who was the master of this
Aristonous, nor what was his date.\(^3\)

H. Brunn\(^4\) and J. Overbeck\(^4\) were probably right in contending

\(^1\) Paus. 5. 22. 5. \(^2\) Supra i. 623 n. 10. \(^3\) H. Brunn *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* Stuttgart 1853 i. 96. \(^4\) Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus* p. 16 f.
that the statue in question was made before the loss of Aigina's independence in 458 B.C. And there is much to be said for E. Babelon's conjecture that it furnished the reverse design of certain rare Olympian staters (figs. 670—672) referred by C. T. Seltman to the periods c. 471—c. 452 and c. 452—c. 432 B.C. respectively.

Fig. 670.  
Fig. 671.  
Fig. 672.

The statue of Zeus Ithomatas, which Hageladas made for the Messenians of Naupaktos, presumably not before 455 B.C., seems to have perpetuated the type of the striding antagonist. For silver coins of Messene struck c. 369—330 (fig. 673) and c. 330—280 B.C.

1 Babelon Menn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 885 ff. no. 1254 pl. 39, 1 (Berlin) = my fig. 672, no. 1255 pl. 39, 2 (Paris).
2 C. T. Seltman 'The Temple Coins of Olympia' in Nomisma 1913 viii. 24. 35 f. no. 37 pl. 2, APBA (Paris), 41 ff. no. 72 pl. 3, APBY (Weber), no. 73 pl. 3, AQBZ (Berlin). Mr Seltman is certainly right in regarding the reverse type of no. 72 f. as a 'restitutio' of no. 37. I figure the Paris and McClean specimens of the earlier coin and the Berlin specimen of the later. The legend ΛΟΓΙΝΟ is for 'ΟΛΥΜΠΙΚΟΥ (αγωνων) or (αθλων): see A. Lambropoulos in the Zeitschr. f. Num. 1895 xix. 210, E. Babelon loc. cit. p. 893, and C. T. Seltman loc. cit. p. 41.

2 Similar to the work of Aristonous in all probability was the image of Zeus, seven cubits high, holding an eagle in one hand, a thunderbolt in the other, dedicated at Olympia by the Leontines Hippagoras, Phrynon, and Ainesidemos (Paus. 5. 22. 7 with Sir J. G. Frazer ad loc.). If Olympia v. 735 f. no. 838 ΑΙΝ[-[-] is really part of its base, we must refer the image to the archaic period.


5 In 455 B.C. the Messenians besieged by the Lacedaemonians on Mt Ithome quitted their stronghold and settled at Naupaktos, a town given them by the Athenians, who had wrested it from the Ozolian Locrians (Paus. 4. 24. 6 ff.). These Messenians doubtless commissioned Hageladas to make a statue of Zeus Ithomatas, to whose protection they were so deeply indebted, and brought it with them on their ultimate return to Messene, the new city founded by Epameinondas in 369 B.C. (E. Pfuhl in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 2193).

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(fig. 674) show a bearded Zeus advancing to the right in the same pose and with the same attributes. The sturdy god of the earlier coin and the sinewy god of the later enable us to catch something of the qualities of the famous Argive sculptor, the teacher of both Polykleitos and Myron. Another statue made by him for the inhabitants of Aigion in Achaia, who worshipped Zeus under the remarkable appellation of Pa?id, represented the god—to judge from coppers of the town issued after 146 B.C. (figs. 675—678) and again in imperial times (figs. 679, 680)—as a beardless youth advancing


3 A. Frickenhaus 'Hageladas' in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1911 xxvi. 24 ff. attributes the statue of Zeus Ithomitas to a younger Hageladas, supposed grandson of the famous sculptor, working c. 450 B.C.

4 Frickenhaus loc. cit. p. 30 f. refers this statue too to his younger Hageladas.

5 Paus. 7. 24. 4 ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Δίκηεων ἀγάλματα χαλκοῦ παναγίαν, Ζεὺς τε ἡλικίαν παις καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τε, ὡς ἦν ἤδη ἑκοῦν παῖς γένεια, Ἄγελαδα τέχνη τοῦ Ἀργείου. τούτου μετὰ τοῦ ἑρείπει πάροικος τοῦ Ἀργείου, τὸν ἑρείπειν καθὴ χρῆσει σύναιρε τε καὶ ἐκάτερον (so H. Hitzig for ἑκάτερα codd.) τῶν ἀγάλματων ἐπί τῆς οἰκίας (so H. Hitzig for ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκίας codd.) μὲν τοῦ ἰερουμένου (so ed. Abl. for ἰερουμένου codd.). τὰ δὲ ἐτί παλαιότερα ποιοκέρματα ἐκ τῶν παῖδων ἱεράθαι τῷ Διί ὑπὸ κάλλες ἀρχισέων ἀδύνατο γενέων ἐπὶ ἄκρων παῖδα ἐπὶ τῇ κάλλει μετήμενοι.

6 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus p. 18 pl. 4, 12 (=my fig. 675) and 14 (=my fig. 677), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paixi. ii. 84 f. pl. R, 12, Head Hist. num.3 p. 413. Fig. 676 is from an uncatalogued specimen in the British Museum, and fig. 678 from another in my own collection.

in the old familiar scheme. Since Zeus Ithomatos\(^1\) and Zeus Pats\(^2\) were alike kept in the house of their priest, who held office for a year only\(^3\), we must suppose that they were statues of manageable weight, life-sized figures of thin beaten bronze at the most\(^4\).

Zeus militant with bolt and bird occurs sporadically throughout the classical period. He appears in this guise, now as a bronze statuette\(^5\), now in a vase-painting\(^6\), now again as a coin-type\(^7\), now


\(^1\) Supra p. 741 n. 4.
\(^2\) Supra p. 742 n. 5.
\(^3\) On the possible implications of such an annual tenure see Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 394 ff.
\(^4\) E. Pfuhl in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 2193.
\(^6\) Supra i. 39 f. fig. 11.
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on a gem. From time to time efforts were made to soften the rude force of his archaic pose. A little bronze in the British Museum (fig. 682) wraps a chlamys about his arm. A red-figured amphora

formerly in the Pourtalès collection (fig. 683) gave him a chiton as well as a small himation. But the Hellenic Zeus never took kindly to the chiton, and such a garb (where not a mark of foreign


1 Reinaich Pierres Gravées p. 134 no. 1, 4 pl. 123 (cornelian in the collection of the duc d’Orléans with an affected, archaistic version of the type—Zeus on tiptoe, etc.).

2 H. B. Walters in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Brasses p. 172 no. 927. Restored: right leg below knee; left foot and ankle. Height 3½ ins. Fig. 682 is from a photograph by Mr W. H. Hayles.


4 In Il. 5. 733 ff. = 8. 384 ff. Athena, when she arms herself for the fray, puts off her own peplos and puts on the chiton of Zeus. The passage was admired in antiquity (Eustath.
manner) must be viewed as a concession to the increasing luxury of the age.

In general, the striding god was superseded either by the standing or by the seated god. The transition from stride to stand can be well seen in a Greek bronze from the Peloponnes, now at Paris (fig. 684). The left arm with the eagle is still outstretched, but the right with the thunderbolt is already lowered.

Fig. 683.

A whole group of bronze statuettes, presupposing a famous original statue, represents Zeus standing in an attitude that bespeaks both strength and tranquillity. A large chlamys falling over the left shoulder serves to set off his powerful chest. His right arm, grasping the bolt, has dropped to his side. His left, bent at the elbow, held a long sceptre. The finest extant example of this type, which derives from some great Attic sculptor of the fifth century, is in the Uffizi

in II. p. 590, 32 ff.) and even allegorised (id. ib. pp. 600, 3 ff., 719, 21 ff.); but later parallels appear to be lacking.

Greek sculptors rarely represented Zeus in chiton and himation (supra i. 86 f. fig. 55 a seated statuette in bronze from Mt Lykaion, c. 550—500 B.C.). Greek vase-painters, however, often did so: cp. Spartan vases ('Laconian iv') c. 550—500 B.C. (supra i. 93 f. fig. 65, 283 pl. xlii) and Attic vases both black-figured (e.g. infra 99 (h) ii (θ)) and red-figured (e.g. supra i. 707 n. 2 fig. 534, ii. 24 fig. 10, 273 fig. 177, 733 ff. fig. 665 f.). See further Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 32 f., p. 124 ff. nos. 19—21, p. 129 no. 24, p. 181 f. A—D, Farnell Cults of Gr. States i. 124; 133.

1 E.g. Zeus Sarapis (supra i. 188 f. fig. 137), Jupiter Heliopolitanus (i. 570 ff. pl. xxxiii, fig. 440 ff.), the Syrian Zeus (i. 590 fig. 482), Zeus Dolichais (i. 606 fig. 478, cp. p. 611 ff. fig. 480 ff.), Zeus at Maonia (i. 731 f. fig. 540), Zeus Kataliades at Kyrrhos (ii. 16 fig. 3 f.), Zeus Sabassios (ii. 282 n. 2 pl. xix, fig. 179 f.), Zeus at Ladoikeia (ii. 319 f. fig. 301 ff.), the Carian Zeus (ii. 573 ff. fig. 475 ff., 593 ff. fig. 497, 597 f. pl. xxvi), etc.

2 De Ridder Cat. Bronzes du Louvre i. 25 no. 128 pl. 14 (=my fig. 684), Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 1 no. 3. Height: c. 11'13m.


4 Witness the mild, majestic face with its abundant but not over-abundant tresses, the head turned towards the supporting leg, the correct and clearly-marked musculature of
Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt at Florence (pl. xxxi)\(^1\). Later modifications of the type made less of the chlamys (fig. 685 and pl. xxxii, 1)\(^2\) or dispensed with it altogether, the body, the left leg flexed and turned outwards, the proportion of the head to the whole height, etc. If we may base an opinion on this superb bronze, the original must have been a masterpiece worthy of Phidias himself.

\(^1\) Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 145 f. no. 46 fig. 17 (= my pl. xxxi), A. Baumeister in his Denkm. iii. 212 f. fig. 2384, W. Amelung Florentiner Antiken München 1893 p. 10, Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 9 no. 7. Height: 0'28m.


Pl. xxxii, 1 is a small silver statuette (height: 0'068m, with base 0'1m) found by a vigneower at Mâcon in 1764 together with other statuettes in the same metal and about 30,000 gold and silver coins, mostly of imperial date, but none later than Gallienus (260—268 A.D.). Nine of the statuettes, including this one, are now in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Silver Plate p. 8 no. 27 pl. 6). The thunderbolt of Zeus has a lotus-bud towards either end. Beside the god is a she-goat (Amaltheia?): cp. supra i. 52 fig. 28, 706 fig. 525. Pl. xxxii, 1 is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming.
Bronze statuette of Zeus in the Uffizi at Florence.

See page 745 ff.
1 Silver statuette from Mâcon, now in the British Museum: Zeus standing with a she-goat (Amaltheia?) at his side. See page 746 n. 2. A careful examination of this piece shows the original position of the goat with Zeus’s left hand. See page 746 n. 2.

2 Silver-gilt statuette from Mâcon, now in the British Museum. Zeus enthroned.
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but tended to move the right hand from the side and raised the left arm higher in order to obtain a more imposing effect (fig. 686). The

1 Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus pp. 150—152 ('Elfe Gruppe') nos. 66—72 with fig. 18. I illustrate Overbeck's no. 69 from Babelon—Blancet Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat. p. 1 f. no. 3 fig. (= my fig. 686). This is a statuette of praiseworthy Roman style. Its eyes were inlaid with silver, its nipples with red copper. Height: 0’166m. Patina: brown. It was found in 1763 at Chalon-sur-Sâone, in an oaken box along with seventeen other bronzes, by a peasant at work on his vineyard. For other examples of careful Roman art see von Sacken Ant. Bronzen Wien i. 9 pl. 7, 6 = Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 4 no. 3,
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result was merely that the grand degenerated into the grandiose. Another sort of degeneracy produced the eclectic type of a Graeco-

Roman bronze in the British Museum (fig. 687). The beardless face

Einzelaufnahmen no. 1452 with Text v. 105 by H. Bulle = Reinach Rép. Stat. iii. 2 no. 7, etc. The finest figure of the sort is a bronze in the Antiquarium at Munich, which H. Bulle in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2884 f. fig. 16 and in his Der schoene Mensch im Altertum2 Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 p. 113 pl. 59 regards as a Greek 'Poseidon' of 400—350 B.C. Fine too is another in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which Miss G. M. A. Richter in the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art 1907 ii. 18—20 fig. 4 and in her Cat. Bronzes New York p. 67 f. no. 110 fig. likewise takes to be a 'Poseidon (?),' by 'the school of Lysippus.'

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 172 no. 930. Height: 3½ ins. Fig. 687 is from a photograph by Mr W. H. Hayles.
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recalls Hageladas' *Pais*¹. The pose is that of a Polyclitan *doryphoros*, though the left hand, which should carry the spear, is empty and meaningless. The hip is thrown out *à la* Praxiteles. The proportions are Lysippian. And the action of this tasteless aggregate is

![Statue Image](image)

**Fig. 687.**

as insipid as its composition: the would-be deity holds out his thunderbolt like a shopman offering his wares.

Meantime increasing mansuetude had transferred the bolt from the right hand, which could use it, to the left hand, which could not. That is the case with another small

¹ *Supra* p. 743 f. A chalcedony at Berlin (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine* Berlin p. 246 no. 6714 pl. 48, *id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 44 (=my fig. 688: scale ²), ii. 297) has a youthful Zeus with a sceptre in his raised right hand, a thunderbolt in his lowered left. Furtwängler justly remarks: 'statuarisches Motiv;...polykletisierende Körperformen.'

![Fig. 688 Image]
Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt group of figures in marble and bronze. Of these the most interesting

Fig. 689

1 Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 149 f. ('Zehnte Gruppe') nos. 64 and 65.
is a bronze statuette at Vienna (fig. 689), which shows the god, associated with two little Lares, as the kindly guardian of a Roman house. His thunderbolt, despite its size, is reduced to the veriest symbol, a spiral ornament, a quaint old-fashioned curio.

Less formidable than the thunderbolt, but still reminiscent of the thunder, was the eagle sometimes carried on the sky-god's hand. For standing figures as represented in sculpture this type was not common, being confined to late reliefs and bronzes (fig. 690). But it had

Fig. 690.

1 Von Sacken Ant. Bronzen Wien i. 6 f. pl. 1 (=my fig. 689), Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 9 no. 6. Height: 0'175m. Patina: grey-green. This remarkable bronze was found in 1830 beside a spring near Verona together with a seated Hermes (von Sacken op. cit. i. 49 f. pl. 20), two water-carriers (id. ib. i. 109 fl. pl. 44, 2), and two small lamps of acanthus-pattern—the furniture of a lararium hardly to be dated earlier than c. 150–200 A.D. Jupiter, for so we must call him, stands on a semi-octagonal base or larophorum (cp. Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4166, 4 f. with E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 950 fig. 4353), the front of which forms a rounded niche. Beside him a tree-trunk, hollowed at the top, served as a thurible (?) (von Sacken thought it a stoup for holy water). On one side of the niche a short pillar supports the moulding. On the other side, in place of the pillar, was found a little Lar (0'045m high) holding rythron and situla. In the niche sits, and doubtless sat, a second Lar stretching his right hand in supplication towards Jupiter.


As a coin-type, however, it is fairly frequent from the age of Alexander onwards: see the lists in K. Sittl Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribute des Zeus (supra i. 46 n. 2) Leipzig 1884 pp. 22 ff., 27 f. Examples in Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus Münztat. 2, 18–21, 24, 28 f.

4 supra i. 731 f. fig. 540.

Eagle in the right hand of Zeus: (1) at Vienna (von Sacken op. cit. i. 10 pl. 2, 5 (=my fig. 690), Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 7 no. 7. Height 0'069m). (2) at Mont Joux (H. Meyer Die römischen Alpenstrassen in der Schweiz Zurich 1861 p. 126 pl. 2, 6, Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 8 no. 6). (3) in the Pierpont Morgan collection (Le Musée 1907 iv. 140, Reinach Rép. Stat. iv. 7 no. 1). (4) in the P. du Chatellier collection, Cléden in Brittany (Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 6 no. 1).

Eagle in the left hand of Zeus: (1) at Cologne (Reinach Rép. Stat. iii. 1 no. 3 'Zeus?'). (2) Bronze relief from Chalkedon (C. Friederichs Kleineere Kunst und Industrie im Alterthum Düsseldorf 1871 no. 1866). Cp. supra p. 246 f. fig. 164.
Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt

a long ancestry behind it¹ and its hold upon life must be attributed to the obscure persistence of early ideas. From the first the eagle appearing far up in the blue² was a visible manifestation, nay an actual embodiment, of Zeus³. To the last it remained his animal counterpart, born when he was born⁴ and throughout associated with him in a hundred ways⁵.

In the absence of both thunderbolt and eagle it is often difficult to decide whether an erect bearded god was meant for Zeus or Poseidon. But a magnificent bronze from Paramythia, now in the British Museum (fig. 691)⁶, was rightly judged by E. Braun⁷, J. Overbeck⁸, and K. Wernicke⁹ to be a representation of the former.

¹ Supra i. 84 f. figs. 51, 53.
² Cp. the grand picture of an eagle's flight in Apul. flor. 2. When Apuleius describes how the great bird swoops down fulminis vicini, we are reminded of Tennyson's fragment The Eagle 6 'And like a thunderbolt he falls.'
³ Supra p. 186 ff.
⁵ K. Sittel op. cit. pp. 3—42.
⁶ H. B. Walters Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes pp. xiv, 36 no. 274 pl. 6, 2. Height: 8½ ins., with base (ancient) 10½ ins. Patina: dark green. Fig. 691 is from a photograph by Mr W. H. Hayles.
⁹ Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke Ant. Denkm. i. 22 f. pl. 32, 5.
deity. The right hand probably held a long sceptre, the left a phiale; and Zeus was conceived as the propitious recipient of his worshipper’s oblation. The statuette, which in style is post-Lysippian, may well have been a votive object in the neighbouring precinct at Dodona.

The seated types of Zeus are of interest in relation to the work of Pheidias. That great craftsman never lost touch with the past and knew well how to appeal to local sentiment by taking accepted forms and transmuting them into something higher with a touch of his own genius. A Pheidias masterpiece is always on the one side the last term of a creative series, on the other the first term of an imitative series. For example, Zeus enthroned with a thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his left was an old Attic type taken over by Pheidias from the vase-painters and ennobled to serve as the centre-piece of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon (pl. xxxiii).

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1 A. S. Murray Greek Bronzes London 1898 p. 76 ff. fig. 32 says ‘Poseidon,’ H. B. Walters loc. cit. and in his British Museum: Select Bronzes London 1915 pl. 19 with text ‘Poseidon (??)’ H. Bulle in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2885 ‘die Beziehung auf Poseidon nicht...sicher… Diese Figur konnte auch für Zeus gehalten werden.’

2 The fore-finger and the little finger of the left hand, contracted and drawn towards each other, might have held a phiale, but could hardly have clasped a model dolphin or tunny. K. Wermicke loc. cit. suggests an eagle or a Nike: so far as I can judge from a cast of the statuette, a phiale seems more likely.

3 E.g. (1) An early black-figured amphora with the birth of Athena (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases ii 103 ff. no. B 147, W. Henzen in the Ann. d. Inst. 1842 xiv. 90—113, Mon. d. Inst. iii. pl. 44 f. = Reinacl Rép. Vases i. 115 f., Lenormant—de Witte El. mon. cit. i. 217 ff. pl. 65 a) gives Zeus both thunderbolt and sceptre (upper part restored). In most vase-paintings of this scene either the bolt or the sceptre is absent, though the hand is held as if its missing attribute were present. (2) A red-figured amphora assigned to the Nikokzenos painter, a contemporary of Euthymides (Jahn Vasensamm. München p. 137 f. no. 405, Gerhard Auserl. Vasenb. i. 31 ff. pl. 7 = Reinacl Rép. Vases ii. 21, 7 f., Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 233 no. 6), shows Zeus with thunderbolt and eagle-sceptre seated among an assemblage of deities. (3) A fine red-figured vase from Girgenti, formerly owned by R. Politi (R. Rochette Choix de peintures de Pompéi Paris 1848 p. 5 vignette, p. 11 n. 6, Overbeck Gall. her. Bildw. i. 537 f. no. 66 Atlas pl. 22, 10, id. Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 28 no. b, Atlas pl. 1, 13 (Zeus only)), had Zeus with winged bolt and sceptre seated between Thetis and Heos, who supplicate him on behalf of their sons. Cp. also supra p. 274 fig. 177.

4 Infra § 9 (h) ii (q).

5 See pocket at end of vol. ii.

C. II.
754 Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt

Installed in this unique position it was naturally copied and re-copied by successive generations of artists. Indeed, with sundry slight modifications (the sceptre held higher, the bolt resting in the lap, the throne embellished, the footstool pushed forward) it lasted on into imperial times, as may be seen, not only from countless coins (e.g. fig. 692)\(^1\) and gems (e.g. fig. 695)\(^2\), but also from numerous extant marbles and bronzes\(^3\). The finest of the latter is a statuette at New York (fig. 697)\(^4\), of which Miss G. M. A. Richter well says:

\(^{1}\) E.g. supra l. 44 fig. 13, 69 fig. 44, 90 fig. 62, 124 fig. 91 f., 781 fig. 566, ii. 16 figs. 3—6, etc. I add, on account of their handsome thrones, a couple of copper coins issued at Tavium (Tavium) in Galatia (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. p. 24 pl. 5, 2 (= my fig. 693) time of Titus Septimius Severus, p. 27 pl. 5, 12 (= my fig. 693) Caracalla, Head Hist. num., p. 749). Tavium (Ὑπάκος τῆς Καρμᾶ) was the chief town of the Galatian tribe of the Troimoi, ὅπω διὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ θηλητῆς ἀλάνου (Strab. 687) : see further J. R. S. Starrett in the Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 1883—1884 ii. 310 f. W. Wroth in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. p. xxii f. regards the coins here given as figuring the colossal Zeus and suggests that the bull was his victim. He further notes a dedication Δίκτροι Ταυροῦ found at Ankyra (A. von Domaszewski in the Arch.-ep. Mitth. 1885 ix. 114 f. no. 65), another L. o. m. | Taviano | pro salute | imp. Antiochus et M. | Aurelii Caes. | Gallaricæ con[sistentes] | municipio | posierunt at Naupaca (Kaisersburg) in Dacia (Corp. inscr. Lat. iii. no. 860 with Suppl. p. 1380 = Orelli Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 1385 = Wilhmann Ex. inscr. Lat. no. 2449 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 4081), and a third L. o. m. | Taviano | et salutem | pro salute | victor[i]s] | domini n(ostri) sanctissim[i]s | Avianus Aug. lib. | subp[r] curator | Aurelii a(nimo) | (l)ibens) at Apulum (Karsburg) in Dacia (Corp. inscr. Lat. iii. no. 1088 = Orelli Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 1284).

\(^{2}\) E.g. supra l. 44 fig. 12, ii. 318 fig. 200. I illustrate two Graeco-Roman gems of normal and exceptional design. Fig. 694 is a burnt oynx in the British Museum, formerly in the Mertens and Castellani collections (Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems p. 90 no. 577. Scale 4), a thoroughly commonplace specimen such as any Roman tradesman might have worn to bring him luck (cp. Furtwängler Gesch. Steine Berlin p. 266 no. 7132 pl. 34). Fig. 695 is a sapphireined chalcedony, which came to me from the Story-Maskeleyne collection (Sale Catalogue London 1911 p. 16 no. 85) and is here shown to the scale ½: the corn-ears and χΥφος set beside the god's throne mark him as the dispenser of food and drink (cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems p. 90 no. 576, and supra l. 598 n. 3).


Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt 755

'It is of Roman execution but must have been made by an artist thoroughly imbued with the Greek spirit.' Another choice example is the small seated Zeus in silver with gilded drapery, thunderbolt, etc. (pl. xxxii, 2)², which formed part of the Mâcon find mentioned in a foregoing note.³ But more often the Romans were content with very slipshod reproductions of the type: I give (fig. 698)⁴ a sample

¹ The same might be said of De Ridder Cat. Bronzes de la coll. de Clercq p. 139 f. no. 315 pl. 36, 1 (height: 0.17 m).
² Brit. Mus. Cat. Silver Plate p. 10 f. no. 35 pl. 6. Height: 0.072 m. The thunderbolt on the lap of Zeus is ornamented with two Corinthian capitals. Pl. xxxii, 2 is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming.
³ Supra p. 746 n. 1.
now at Paris. An interesting variation is a well-preserved but heavy-looking bronze found in Hungary (pl. xxxiv)\(^1\), which—like sundry coins (fig. 696)\(^2\), gems\(^3\), etc.—reverses the type, putting the sceptre in the god’s right hand, the thunderbolt in his left. A second little statuette of silver with gilded himation, which passed from the Castellani collection into the British Museum (fig. 699)\(^4\), makes

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\(^2\) E.g. supra i. 752 fig. 551. Fig. 696 is from a rare coin of Dokimeion (*Ichne Kara-kissar*), a Macedonian colony in Phrygia (*ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ*), struck under Lucilla and now in my collection.

\(^3\) E.g. supra i. 235 fig. 172.


\(^5\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Silver Plate p. 11 no. 36 fig. Height: 0.063 m. Fig. 699 is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming.
Bronze statuette found in Hungary, now in the British Museum: Zeus enthroned with a sceptre in his right hand and a thunderbolt in his left.

See page 756 n. 1.
Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt 757

even more of the sceptre and even less of the thunderbolt; for the former is held yet higher, while the latter has simply disappeared.

Another long-established 1 type was that of Zeus seated on a throne with an eagle flying either to him or from him. Laconian cups of c. 550–500 B.C. 2 adopted the former pose; 3 Arcadian coins of s. v preferred the latter 4. This federal coinage, probably struck at Heraia in western Arkadia 5, was not unnaturally imitated at Olympia, hardly more than a dozen miles away, where a very

Fig. 700.  Fig. 701.

similar Zeus appears seated on a throne with a himation 6 about his waist, a sceptre in his left hand, a winged thunderbolt in his right, and an eagle flying before him (figs. 700, 701) 7. The Olympic coins start the third of four series dated by Mr C. T. Seltman between c. 452 and c. 432 B.C. 8. It is therefore possible, not to say probable, that Pheidias, who quitted Athens for Olympia after the dedication of Athena Parthenos in 438 9, took a hint for his

1 According to T. Wiegand Die archaische Form-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 105 f. figs. 108, 109, the seated Zeus from the eastern pediment of the old Hekatompedon at Athens held an eagle in his left hand (hand holding bird's claws extant). A. Furtwängler too in the Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1905 p. 447 = his Aegina München 1906 i. 317 fig. 253 restores Zeus with an eagle in his left hand, a thunderbolt in his right. But G. Dickins Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum Cambridge 1913 i. 62 ff., 73 no. 25, accepting R. Heberden's reconstruction of the pediment, first suggests that Zeus had a sceptre in his raised left hand, some object unknown in his lowered right, and then adds: 'The figure may be safely recognized as Zeus holding a sceptre or a thunderbolt, and, probably, an eagle.' vis liqueat.

2 Supra p. 744 n. 4.
3 Supra i. 92 f. fig. 65, 782 pl. xlii.
4 Supra i. 68 f. fig. 39 ff.
5 Supra i. 68.
7 C. T. Seltman in Numisma 1913 viii. 48 f. no. 98 pl. 3, 58 (London: rev. only), no. 99 pl. 3, 58 β (Pozzi), Head Hist. num. 2 p. 420. Fig. 700 is from a cast of the British Museum coin (rev. [F Α Α] E 10 [N]); fig. 701 is from the Pozzi example, which is now in my collection (obv. countermarks: Gorgonion, hind foot of mule to right, and a third. rev. F A retrograde). There is no other known specimen of either piece.
8 C. T. Seltman in Numisma 1913 viii. 43. 57 f.
Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt

Olympian Zeus¹ from the local coinage. He retained the throne and the sceptre in the god's left hand, but replaced the winged thunderbolt by a winged Victory, and transferred the eagle to the sceptre-top, thereby suggesting not so much the stormy strength of the thunder-god as the tranquil supremacy of the victor.

A little later than the stateres illustrated above are others (fig. 702)² with an obverse design of Zeus seated on a rock, the sceptre leaning against his right shoulder, the eagle about to fly from his right hand, and the thunderbolt omitted. P. Gardner conjectured that the rock was meant for Mount Olympus—Olympos (let us suppose) in the neighbourhood of Olympia.³ The comparative freedom of the seated figure, the arrangement of the himation over the left upper arm, and the dropping of the thunderbolt were perhaps due to the influence of Pheidias' chryselephantine colossus. If the

¹ simile published two mutilated columns of papyrus (pap. 263 and 264 of the Geneva collection), which contain portions of a life of Pheidias attributed by him to Apollodoros. According to Nicole's interpretation, Pheidias was accused at Athens of stealing the ivory (as Philochoros loc. cit. says), not the gold (as Plut. v. Per. 31 says), of the Parthenos; was released upon heavy bail, forty talents, paid by the Eleans, who wanted him to carry out their commission of the Zeus Olympios; and, on being condemned about four years later, was compensated by the Eleans with their citizenship. Immediately after this there is a record of the dedication of the Olympian Zeus. Nicole's reading of the papyrus is attacked by L. Pareti ⁴ Il processo di Fidia ed un papiro di Ginevra ⁵ in the Rom. Mitth. 1909 xxiv. 271—276. But Pareti's own views are refuted by H. Lechat in the Revue des études anciennes 1911 xiii. 125 ff. And, though Nicole's interpretations are not all reliable (e.g. F. Jacoby in the Berl. philol. Woch. Sept. 10, 1910 pp. 1148—1156 shows that the papyrus has nothing to do with Apollodoros), yet it is evident that the new biography supports Philochoros as against Plutarch. See further E. A. Gardner in Ath. Athênes 1912 p. 49 ff., A. J. B. Wace in The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1912 p. 37, A. Frickenhaus in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1913 xxviii. 346—352.

² Infra Append. O.


⁴ P. Gardner Types of Gr. Coins p. 111 ('no doubt mount Olympus').

⁵ Supra i. 100 n. 3.
earlier *statères* were issued before its erection, these of more advanced style were issued after it.

Of the temple-statue itself no adequate copies\(^1\) have come down to us. The small marble Zeus in the Musée Lapidaire at Lyons\(^2\),

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\(^1\) For the numismatic evidence see R. Weil 'Der Zeus des Phidias auf elischen Münzen der Kaiserzeit' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.***1912*** *xxx* 363—382 pl. 10, and infra Append. O.

\(^2\) Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* iii. 20 pl. 397 fig. 665 (two views) = Reimach *Rép. Stat.* i. **186** no. 1 ff., E. Wolff in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 52 f. pl. D, O. Benndorf in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1885 xxiii Anz. p. 73\(^*\), Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 4 pl. 1, 8, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 50 f. pl. 4, 14. Restored: left lower arm from elbow, right lower arm with elbow, nose, neck with some locks of hair, front of right foot, parts of throne-back. Height (with base): \(0.63\) m. On the base is ΑΙΛΩΛΑΙΝ (Corp. inscr. Gr. iii no. 6139), presumably a modern inscription (O. Benndorf *loc. cit.*), since the similarity of marble, style, and proportions makes it practically certain that the bearded head belongs to the body of the work.
Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt
cited by J. Overbeck\(^1\) as nearer akin to the Pheidian original than any other extant figure, can claim, if not the calm of conquest, at least a quiet dignity of its own, and must doubtless be classed as a later representative of the Olympian type. The left hand was raised to hold a sceptre. The right, to which the restorer has given a globe, very possibly, as Overbeck suggests, carried a Victory. And the thunderbolt is nowhere to be seen, unless we may detect a stylised form of it in the throne-legs and in the relief-pattern that connects them behind (pl. xxxv)\(^3\). The once dreaded missile of the sky-god could hardly undergo further attenuation without vanishing altogether.

When Alexander the Great placed upon his silver coinage the design of a seated Zeus, it might have been expected that he would choose for the purpose the great cult-statue at Olympia—and the more so as Mount Olympos was a prominent feature of his own domain. In point of fact, he did nothing of the sort. He set aside all the improvements introduced by Pheidias and deliberately reverted to the old pre-Pheidian type. A comparison of his tetradrachms (fig. 704)\(^2\) on the one hand with the federal coins of Arkadia, on the other with the Olympian statue, is instructive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Arcadian Coins</strong></th>
<th><strong>Pheidias’ Statue</strong></th>
<th><strong>Alexander’s Coins</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Right hand has eagle.</td>
<td>Right hand has Nike.</td>
<td>Right hand has eagle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left hand has sceptre held high.</td>
<td>Left hand has sceptre held low.</td>
<td>Left hand has sceptre held high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right leg is in advance of left leg.</td>
<td>Left leg is in advance of right leg.</td>
<td>Right leg is in advance of left leg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himation is wrapped about lower limbs only.</td>
<td>Himation covers left upper arm as well.</td>
<td>Himation is wrapped about lower limbs only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throne has at first no back.</td>
<td>Throne has high back.</td>
<td>Throne has at first no back.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus* p. 123 f. no. 18.
\(^2\) Pl. xxxv is from a couple of photographs kindly procured for me by Mr S. C. Cockerell.
\(^3\) I add, for comparison, four throne-legs of white marble formerly in the collection at Deepdene (*Hope Sale Catalogue* 1917 p. 32 no. 295) and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (fig. 703 from a photograph by Mr W. H. Hayles). Greatest height: 36½ ins. They are of similar design, but vary in detail and workmanship, and here and there have been patched by a modern restorer. Such legs are frequent in representations of ancient couches and thrones (L. Heuzey—H. Daumet *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine* Paris 1876 Texte p. 261 fig. (eight examples), C. L. Ramsome *Studies in Ancient Furniture* Chicago 1905 pp. 20 ff., 44 ff., 72 ff., 90 ff. (with numerous figs.), and their resemblance to a thunderbolt, though fortuitous in origin, would make them peculiarly suitable to a throne of Zeus (cp. the marble throne-leg at Palermo in *Dürm Baukunst der Griechen* p. 253 fig. 175, ib.\(^3\) p. 239 fig. 209). The closest parallel to the Cambridge legs is afforded by *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 429 f. no. 1093 a. b., a marble leg which shows traces of red colour and gilding.

\(^2\) From a specimen in my collection.
Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt

The inference is clear. Alexander, ignoring the idealised ruler at Olympia, harked back to the more ancient and popular type of Zeus Lykaios. After all, Mount Lykaion too was called Olympos. Yet so immense was the fame of the Pheidias figure that tetradrachms issued later in the name and with the types of Alexander are increasingly influenced by it. The left leg is advanced instead of the right (figs. 705—707), and the throne is manifestly assimilated to that of Zeus Olympios (figs. 705, 707). Coins of the Syrian kings from Seleukos i Nikator to Antiochos ii Theos, and again from Antiochos iv Epiphanes onwards, exchange the eagle for Nike and proceed to drape the himation over the left shoulder—in short, frankly adopt the whole Pheidias design.

So even Alexander failed to arrest the moral evolution of Zeus. What motive led him to make the attempt? Why did he select for his world-wide coinage the old eagle-bearer of Arkadia rather than the newer and nobler creation of Pheidias? Just here an interesting suggestion has been made by Mr C. T. Seltman. He points out to me (Aug. 27, 1921) that on some of the coins struck at Tarsos by Mazaios before 333 B.C. Ba'al-tars precisely resembles the

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1 Supra i. 68.
2 Figs. 705, 706 are from specimens in my collection. Fig. 707 is from one in the British Museum (Head Coins of the Ancients p. 63 pl. 31, 14, P. Gardner Types of Gr. Coins p. 186 pl. 12, 23), of which I possess a duplicate, formerly in the Pozzi collection.
4 For the dating see an important monograph by E. T. Newell 'Myriandros—Alex-
eagle-bearing Zeus of Alexander, seated as he is on a throne without a back, with an eagle in his right hand, a sceptre in his left, the right leg in advance, and the himation wrapped about his lower limbs. Mr Seltman hazards the brilliant conjecture that Alexander intentionally combined an obverse type, which in the west would represent Herakles, in the east Melqarth, with a reverse type, which in the west would represent Zeus, in the east Ba'at-tars, thereby pursuing his usual policy of welding together his Hellenic and barbarian subjects.

Lastly Greek art produced on Italian soil a fresh type of seated Zeus, in which the right hand held neither thunderbolt, nor eagle, nor even Victory, but was simply raised to the head in an attitude suggestive of thought. We have already seen that a wall-painting from Pompeii and a well-mouth at Naples presuppose a common exemplar of this type, not impossibly the great statue made by Lysippos for the market-place of the Tarentines. Here for the first time the sculptor endeavours

To bring the invisible full into play!

\begin{footnotes}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Blunt, M. C. Coins Lycia, etc., p. 172 nos. 57 and 58 pl. 31, 2, E. T. Newell loc. cit. p. 9 fig. 9.
\item This conjecture is hardly to be reconciled with the contention of E. T. Newell 'Alexander Hoards' in Numismatic Notes and Monographs 1921 iii. 15 pl. 1, 16, 19, pl. 2, 25 that the first issue of tetradrachms under Alexander at Amphipolis together with the last issue under Philip at the same mint 'probably covered the years 336 to 334 B.C.'
\item Supra i. 34 pl. 1 and Frontispiece.
\item Supra i. 34 ff. pl. ii.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotes}
Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt

The sceptre (for both painting and relief postulate a sceptre in the god’s left hand) as before symbolises outward sovereignty. But a new note is struck by the gesture betokening inward reflexion. Henceforward omnipotence connotes omniscience, the Almighty

1 I would here call attention to a very remarkable gold sceptre from Tarentum, formerly in the Castellani collection and now in the British Museum (F. H. Marshall Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery p. 232 f. no. 2070 fig. 65. Length: 0·52 m.). It consists of a gold tube, covered by a network of gold wire with dots of dark blue or white enamel at each point of contact. The tube ends below in a disk decorated with a flower of fourteen petals, above in a Corinthian capital with leaves, volutes, and flowers all complete. Above the abacus is a large quince of opaque, greenish glass, surrounded by eight oak-leaves (F. H. Marshall, apparently misled by the foliage of the capital, takes them to be acanthus-leaves) and surmounted by a small flower of four leaves in gold. Figs. 708 and 709 are from photographs by Mr R. B. Fleming. This would seem to be the only ancient Greek sceptre in existence (A. Sorlin-Dorgny in Darenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iv. 1115 knows of none). Tarentum in the time of Dareios son of Hystaspes had its kings (Hdt. 3. 136 Aristophilides). But the forms of the Corinthian capital point to a much later period, and F. H. Marshall loc. cit. says ‘3rd cent. B.C. (?)’. If, as seems probable, the surrounding leaves are really meant for oak, closer identification may be attempted. They suggest that the sceptre belonged originally to some king of Epeiros, who stood for the worship of the Dodonaean Zeus. Now Alexander I of Epeiros, when he invaded Italy to assist the Tarentines against the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Messapians, struck at Tarentum between 334 and 330 B.C. certain exquisite gold statères with obv. head of Zeus Níbios

Fig. 710.

of Dodona wearing a wreath of oak, rev. ΆΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΙΞΗΟΥ ΣΕΛΕΜΩΤ thunderbolt and spear-head (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins) Thessaly etc. p. 110 pl. 20, 1 (= my fig. 710), Head Coins of the Ancients p. 66 pl. 33, 11, P. Gardner Types of Gr. Coins p. 149 f. pl. 5, 37, M. P. Vlasto in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1899 ii. 315 pl. 1E', 16). And the Tarentines, when Pyrrhos I of Epeiros had been called in to champion their cause against Rome, issued c. 281 B.C. other gold statères with obv. laureate head of Zeus Eleuthéreios to left, or right, and monogram ΝΙΚ, rev. ΤΑΠΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ eagle on thunderbolt, usually with symbol and magistrate’s name (Head Coins of the Ancients p. 66 pl. 33, 12 and Hist. num.² p. 28, Hunter Cat. Coins i. 68 no. 22 pl. 5, 6, M. P. Vlasto in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1899 ii. 331 ff. pl. 1Z', 1—15. My fig. 711 is from a specimen formerly belonging to W. R. Hamilton, of which there is an electrolyte in the Leake collection, Cambridge). It is permissible, therefore, to conjecture that the sceptre preserved in the British Museum was a votive offering either of Alexander or, more probably, of Pyrrhos to some Tarentine deity, presumably Zeus Eleuthéreios (Hesych. s.v. Έλευθέρας Ζεύς... τῶν Μῆδων ἐφευρότες ἱδροσαντο τῶν Ἐλευθέρων Δία. τούτων δὲ ἐνοίκιοι καὶ Σωτηρία φασί. τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ ἐν Συρακοσίοισι καὶ παρὰ Ταραστινοισ καὶ ἐν Πλατανισ καὶ ἐν Καρία ὧν Έλευθέρων Ζεύς). Be that as it may, the quince or apple enclosed by the leaves is a frequent decoration of sceptres (A. Sorlin-Dorgny loc. cit. p. 1116), which, at least in many cases, are to be regarded as the conventionalised form of a branch with golden apples (supra i. 87 n. 6 and Folk-Lore 1906 xvii. 158 ff.).
must needs be the All-wise. And what of the All-terrible? His
eagle is relegated to a position near to, yet apart from, himself:
it is retained for suitable service. But the thunderbolt, once the
outstanding feature in the Zeus-cult of Tarentum, has wholly
vanished. In its stead we discern, however darkly, the workings
of divine Providence.

(§) Modifications in the shape of the thunderbolt.

Modifications may be noted, not only in the use of the thunder-
bolt, but also in its shape. P. Jacobsthal in a monograph devoted
to the subject distinguishes two varieties of ancient oriental repre-

![Fig. 712](image1)
![Fig. 713](image2)
![Fig. 714](image3)

Fig. 712.  Fig. 713.  Fig. 714.

![Fig. 715](image4)
![Fig. 716](image5)

Fig. 715.  Fig. 716.

sentation. Lightning in Mesopotamian art is either bipartite or tri-
partite. The bipartite sort, which is the commoner and probably the

1 Supra p. 29 ff.
2 P. Jacobsthal Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst Berlin 1906
pp. 1—60 with 4 pls. R. Engelmann, reviewing this work in the Berl. philol. Woch.
Juli 13, 1907 p. 877 f., draws attention to an unpublished collection of lightning-shapes
in a Vatican manuscript (cod. Ottobon. 3100 fol. 135—173 Raccolta di varij ful-
mini delineati da gioie. marmi e medaglie).
earlier, appears as a fork composed of zig-zags (figs. 712—716)\(^1\)

Fig. 717.  Fig. 718.  Fig. 719.  Fig. 720.  Fig. 721.

Fig. 722.  Fig. 723.

or curved lines (figs. 717—723)\(^2\); the tripartite, which is found

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1 Fig. 712 from a haematite cylinder at New York (W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* Washington 1910 p. 128 f. fig. 368 b and in M. Jastrow *Bilderdarstellungen zur Religion Babylonisch-Assyriscis* Giessen 1912 p. 105 pl. 51, no. 190).

Fig. 713 from a re-cut cylinder (W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders etc.* p. 174 fig. 469).

Fig. 714 from a haematite cylinder in my possession: Ramman seated with the lightning fork in his hand.

Fig. 715 from a cylinder (W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders etc.* p. 171 fig. 456 and in M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 105 pl. 51, no. 189): Ramman standing on a bull with a lightning fork in either hand.

Fig. 716 from a cylinder (W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders etc.* p. 172 fig. 491): Ramman standing on a humped bull with a lightning fork in one hand, a scimitar (?) in the other.

2 Fig. 717 from a *kudurrum* or boundary-stone of the time of Meli-Shipak (c. 1204—1189 B.C.) in the British Museum no. 90827 (L. W. King *Babylonian Boundary-stones and Memorial-tablets in the British Museum* London 1912 p. 7 ff. pl. 21, M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 14 f. pl. 9, no. 30).

Fig. 718 from a *kudurrum* of the time of Nebuchadrezzar i (c. 1140—1123) found at Nippur (W. J. Hinke *A new boundary stone of Nebuchadrezzar i. from Nippur* (The
first under the Kassite kings, is formed of curves (figs. 724, 725).  

Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania Series D vol. iv) Philadelphia 1907 p. 120 fig. 47, 16, M. Jastrow op. cit. p. 22 ff. pl. 12, no. 40).

Fig. 719 from the kudurrû of Gula-Eresh of about the time of Enlil-nadin-aplu (c. 1123—1117) in the British Museum no. 102485 (L. W. King op. cit. p. 76 ff. pl. 3).

Fig. 720 from a kudurrû of the time of Marduk-nadin-akhe (c. 1117—1105) in the British Museum no. 90840 (L. W. King op. cit. p. 42 ff. pls. 44 and 50, W. J. Hinke op. cit. p. 30 fig. 12, 13).

Fig. 721 from an alabaster tablet of Shamshi-Adad iv (825—812 B.C.) in the British Museum (A. H. Layard A second series of the Monuments of Nineveh London 1853 pl. 4, M. Jastrow op. cit. p. 68 pl. 32, no. 96).

Fig. 722 from a black limestone tablet of Meli-Shipak (c. 1204—1189 B.C.) found at Sousa and now in the Louvre (W. J. Hinke op. cit. p. 28 fig. 11, 16, W. H. Ward The Seal Cylinders etc. pp. 391 fig. 128, 399, M. Jastrow op. cit. p. 13 f. pl. 8, no. 29): lightning-fork on a shrine borne by a crouching ox.

Fig. 723 from a limestone tablet of the time of Nebuchadrezzar i (c. 1140—1123) found at or near Abu-Habba and now in the British Museum no. 90848 (L. W. King op. cit. p. 29 ff. pl. 91, W. H. Ward The Seal Cylinders etc. pp. 391 fig. 1287, 399, M. Jastrow op. cit. p. 22 pl. 12, no. 39): lightning-fork on a crouching ox. Cp. other examples of the same type in W. J. Hinke op. cit. p. 25 ff. 10, 14—M. Jastrow op. cit. p. 20 ff. pl. 11, no. 37; W. J. Hinke op. cit. p. 91 fig. 28, 16=W. H. Ward The Seal Cylinders etc. p. 390 fig. 1285 a=M. Jastrow op. cit. p. 13 f. pl. 8, no. 28.

First on a fragmentary kudurrû of the Kassite dynasty (M. J. de Morgan Délégation en Perse Mémoires Paris 1900 i. 176 fig. 382, W. J. Hinke op. cit. pp. 41 fig. 18, 82): Ramman standing on a humped bull with a lightning-fork in his hand.

Fig. 724 from a Hittite stûle of dolerite (height 1.28'), found in Babylon and referred by R. Koldewey to the 13th c. (R. Koldewey 'Die hettitische Inschrift' in the Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft Leipzig 1900 i. 1 ff. pls. 1—3, L. Messerschmidt Corpus inscriptionum Hittitcarum Berlin 1900 p. 3 ff. pl. 1, 5, id.)
or straightish lines (figs. 726, 727). From s. ix B.C. onwards there is a tendency to duplicate these forks by giving them prongs at either end (figs. 728—730). And under the Sargonid dynasty


Fig. 725 from a somewhat later Hittite relief in dolerite (height 1 27 m), found at Sinjerli (F. von Luschan Ausgrabungen in Sindschirli Berlin 1902 iii. 218 f. fig. 114 and pl. 41, a (= my fig. 725).


1 Fig. 726 from a cylinder (W. H. Ward The Seal Cylinders etc. pp. 174 fig. 468, 399): lightning-fork on a bull.

Fig. 727 from a northern cylinder (id. ib. p. 383 fig. 48 a): Adad seated with the lightning-fork in his hand.

2 P. E. Newberry 'The Egyptian cult-object and the "Thunderbolt"' in the Ann. Arch. Anthr. 1910 iii. 50—52 pl. 19, 1—17 argues that the cult-object, which appears as a double-headed daft on prehistoric vases etc. and in shapes comparable with the Greek thunderbolt on monuments of the Middle Kingdom and later, was 'always used in hieroglyphic inscriptions as a symbol of the god Min... the original form of Amon... Lord of Heaven and God of Thunder' and presumably represents the thunderbolt in types derived from flint arrow-heads, stone celts, and belemnites.

3 Fig. 728 from an alabaster relief found in the N.W. palace of Ashur-naṣir-pal iii
Fig. 728.

Fig. 726.

Fig. 727.

Fig. 729.

Fig. 730.

Modifications in the shape
(c. 700 B.C.) the fork, whether single (fig. 731)¹ or double (figs. 732, 733)², is stylised into a shape resembling a lotos-flower.

The forms thus evolved in the near east made their way westward through Asia Minor into Ionia, and thence into the mainlands of Greece and Italy, borne on the broad tide of oriental influence, which during the Early Iron Age swept the Mediterranean from

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¹ Fig. 731 from a cylindrical bar of lapis lazuli (5 cm long) found at Babylon. It was dedicated by Esar-haddon (682–669 B.C.) to Marduk, but is inscribed as 'the seal of the god Adad in the temple of Esagila, belonging to the treasure of the god Marduk.' Adad, who is here conceived as a form of Marduk, holds a lightning-fork in either hand. One of these forks is double, the other treble—approximating at its tip to the shape of a lotos-bud. The god holds also by a couple of cords an ox (the beast of Adad) and a dragon (the beast of Marduk) (M. Jastrow op. cit. p. 7 f. pl. 5, no. 15, R. Koldewey The Excavations at Babylon trans. A. S. Johns London 1914 p. 221 fig. 134).

² Figs. 732, 733 from a rock-cut relief of the Sargonic dynasty (c. 700 B.C.) at
end to end. Between 650 and 550 B.C. it brought the potter, for example, a profusion of possible *motifs*—sphinxes, griffins, lions, panthers, the lotos, the palmette, even the Assyrian ‘tree of life.’ Thus when a ‘Caeretan’ *hydria* in the Louvre\(^1\) figures a stag-hunt on one side, a pair of winged bulls on the other, we must not jump to the conclusion that its painter had witnessed the chase on the plains of Mesopotamia or passed through the ruined portals of Nineveh: he was but repeating, for the sake of their decorative effect, designs that had been transmitted to him along the caravan-routes of anterior Asia. Accordingly it is not surprising to find that the lotiform lightning-fork of late Assyrian art makes its first\(^2\) appearance as the Greek thunderbolt on the vases of Ionia. An

Malthayiah, 60 miles or so north of Mosul (A. H. Layard *Nineveh and its Remains* London 1849 i. 229—231; V. Place *Ninive et l’Assyrie* Paris 1867—1870 ii. 155—160 pl. 45; Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l’Art* ii. 642—647 fig. 313): two out of a procession of deities confronting the king; they are characterised as deities (Adad? and Marduk?) by the stars above their heads and the animals (ox? and dragon?) beneath their feet.


2 F. Poulsen *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 p. 81 notes that on one of the *hydria* from the Idaean Cave, referable to s. viii B.C., ‘Ashur’ is holding in either hand objects which may be meant for lightnings (F. Halbherr—P. Ordì *Antichità dell’Antro di Zeus Ido in Creta* (= *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica*) i)
early κυλίς of 'Chalcidian' style from Siana (Mnasyrian?) in Rhodes shows the introduction of Herakles to Olympos, where Zeus and Hera are seated on richly embellished thrones. Zeus (fig. 734) holds in his left hand a thunderbolt looking like a bunch of leaves or petals, while from the upper rail of his throne rises a lotos-bloom of absurdly large dimensions. Another 'Chalcidian' vase-painting already discussed (supra p. 731 fig. 663) treats the bolt in the god's hand as itself an unmistakable lotos. And this floriform fashion once started had a considerable vogue throughout the Hellenic world. It lingered on even into imperial times. Indeed, a rare copper of Kibyra in Phrygia, struck by Diadumenianus (217–218 A.D.), actually represents Zeus enthroned with a simple lotos-flower, instead of a thunderbolt, in his right hand (fig. 735).

The popularity of the lotos in this connexion was due in part, no doubt, to its obvious ornamental qualities, but in part also to long-standing significance. Fire in general, as P. Jacobsthal points out, was sometimes regarded by the ancients as a flower. And the

pl. 5 (=my fig. 736). If so, these are the earliest known lightnings of Greek art. But I suspect that they are rather to be regarded as flowers (cp. supra i. 208 figs. 153, 154).

Fig. 736.


2 Fig. 735 is from a specimen, which came to me from the Rhousepoulos collection.


49—2
sun in particular was associated with the lotos in Egyptian, if not

Primitve belief and, its first cousin, poetic imagination still share the same idea. A. du Bois-Reymond in Jacobsthal op. cit. p. 10 n. 6 adduces Rudyard Kipling The Jungle Book London 1898 p. 21 "Get the Red Flower." By Red Flower Bagheera meant fire, only no creature in the jungle will call fire by its proper name." So A. C. Swinburne Alatanda in Caledon London 1866 p. 13 'I dreamt, and saw the black brand burst on fire | As a branch bursts in flower, and saw the flame | Fade flower-wise,' R. Browning The Heretic's Tragedy 9 'Ha ha, John plucketh now at his rose | To rid himself of a sorrow at heart! | Ln.,—petal on petal, fierce rays unclose ; | Anther on anther, sharp spikes outstart ; | And with blood for dew, the bosom boils ; | And a gust of sulphur is all its smell ; | And lo, he is horribly in the toils | Of a coal-black giant flower of hell!'


The religious significance of the plant was immediately derived from its habits. According to Theophrastus, the white lotos closes its bell and sinks at sunset, but reopens and comes up again at sunrise (Theophr. hist. plant. 4. 8. 9. caus. plant. 2. 19. 1, cp. Plin. nat. hist. 13. 108, Dioscor. 4. 112 (114) p. 601 f. Sprengel), and Proklos suggests that in so doing it is virtually adoring the sun (Proklo. de sacrificio et magia ed. M. Ficinus Leyden 1607 p. 279). In point of fact, the white lotos (nymphaea lotus) appears to be night-blooming, since it is said to open just after sunset and to close on the following morning about ten o'clock; whereas the rose lotos (nelumbium speciosum) opens at dawn and closes soon after mid-day, and the blue lotos (nymphaea caerulea) opens soon after sunrise and closes an hour or two before sunset: see Goodyear op. cit. p. 18 n. 81. The lotos therefore naturally stood for reproduction, resurrection, and rebirth.

As a symbol of reproductive power it surmounts the shrine of the ithyphallic Khem (Lanzone Dizion. di Mittel. Egit. p. 945 f. pl. 333, 7; p. 946 f. pl. 334, Goodyear op. cit. p. 10 pls. 1, 10; 4, 13, 16) and of Amen-Ra in his ithyphallic form (Lanzone op. cit. p. 40 f. pl. 20, 1). Androgynous figures depicting the two Niles, Hapi Kema and Hapi Mehit, have lotos-plants springing from their heads (Lanzone op. cit. p. 371 ff. pls. 198 and 199, A. Erman Life in Ancient Egypt trans. H. M. Tirard London 1894 p. 425 fig.). A. de Gubernatis op. cit. ii. 211 says: 'En Egypte, on trouve le lotus dans les parties sexuelles des momies de femmes.'

Again, the lotos symbolised resurrection. It is constantly associated with the mummy (Goodyear op. cit. p. 10 pls. 2, 12; 4, 14, E. A. Wallis Budge The Gods of the Egyptians London 1904 ii pl. 26) and with the guardians of its visera (Lanzone op. cit. p. 295, 1; Goodyear op. cit. p. 10 pls. 2, 3; 5, 1, 4, E. A. Wallis Budge op. cit. ii pl. 27). In the Book of the Dead cap. 81 A the deceased says: 'I am the pure lotus, which
springeth up from the divine splendour that belongeth to the nostrils of Ra, and ib. 81 B: 'Hail, thou lotus, thou type of the god Nefer-tem! I am he who knoweth you, and I know your names among the gods, the lords of the Underworld, and I am one of you.'

The vignette of version A is a lotos: that of version B is a lotos-plant with a flower and buds growing out of a pool of water, while from the flower springs a human head, the head of the deceased (Goodyear op. cit. pl. 5, 9, E. A. Wallis Budge op. cit. i. 521 f.). Lotus-flowers and buds are represented as rising out of the mummy Osiris at Philai (Goodyear op. cit. p. 19 fig. 1) and as connected in various ways with him at Denderah (Lanzone op. cit. pls. 2, 822, E. A. Wallis Budge op. cit. ii. 131 ff. nos. 1, 23). Karystios of Pergamon frag. 6 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 357 Müller) op. Athen. 684 E quotes from Nikandros the statement that the flower called ambrosia sprang from the head of a statue of Alexander in Kos: the flower in question was a species of lily (Nik. op. Athen. 681 B, 683 D: see further Class. Rev. 1906 xx. 377). Various divinities, divinised mortals, etc. appear on coins with head surmounted by a lotos-flower (list in Rasche Lex. Num. iv. 1815), e.g. Zeus Sarapis (H. P. Weitz in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 366 f.) on a bronze coin of Corinth in Thrace (Mionnet Descr. des méd. ant. Suppl. ii. 397 no. 1161). Fig. 737 is from a specimen of mine, formerly in the Prowe collection and Antinoos on a bronze coin of Alexandria struck by Hadrian in 135 A.D. (Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst i. 94 pl. 70, 387 = my fig. 738). L. Dietrichson Antinoos Christiania 1884 p. 289 ff., G. Blum 'Numismatique d'Antinoos' in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1914 vi. 53, 58 pl. 5, 1 (Berlin). Cp. the lotos-wreath of Antinoos on a relief in the Villa Albani (L. Dietrichson op. cit. p. 189 no. 21 pl. 5, 12, L. Julius in Baumeister Denkm. i. 85 fig. 89, Friederichs—Wolters Gipsabgipse p. 672 f. no. 1693, W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Leipzig 1913 lii. 424 f. no. 1872). Gold and silver pieces bearing the legend and types of the apotheosized Arsinoe ii Philadelphos represent the reigning queen in a manner calculated to appeal alike to Egyptians and to Greeks. The former would note the horn of Ammon curling round her ear and the lotos-flower rising from her head. The latter would see but a braided tress of hair and the tip of the royal sceptre! (for examples vide J. N. Svoronos in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1899 ii. 183 ff. pls. 8—11, 1900 iii. 73 ff. pls. 2, 4, 5. Fig. 739 is from a deadrachm in my collection).

Thirdly, the lotos was associated with the sun and solar deities. Horos is depicted as a young child seated upon an opening lotos (E. A. Wallis Budge op. cit. i pl. 34, A. Erman A Handbook of Egyptian Religion trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 26 fig. 33). 'When he rises in brilliance from the lotos, the whole world comes to life' (H. Brugsch Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter Leipzig 1885 i. 104, citing C. R. Lepsius Über die Götter der 4 Elemente pl. 1, 1). Egyptian paintings of the infant sun thus rising from the lotos are mentioned by Plout. de Is. et Os. 11, de Pyth. or. 12. At Denderah a king offers Horos the lotos with the words: 'I offer thee the flower, which was in the beginning, the glorious lily of the great water. Thou comest forth from the midst of its leaves in the town of Chmun (Hermopolis magna) and didst lighten the earth,
also in Indian\(^1\) religion. The Greeks, therefore, who took lightning to be made of the same fiery substance as the sun\(^2\), might well acquiesce in a lotiform thunderbolt. Moreover, the sky-god's older weapon, the double axe of immemorial sanctity, had been combined in most intimate union with the three-petalled lily\(^3\). Small wonder that its successor, the classical *keraunôs*, retained at least a trace of the former affinity\(^4\).

which was still wrapped in darkness\(^1\) (H. Brugsch *op. cit.* i. 121, citing A. E. Mariette *Denderah* Paris 1886 i. 55, a). Another text at Denderah says: 'The sun, which was from the beginning, rises like a hawk from the midst of its lotos-bud. When the doors of its leaves open in sapphire-coloured brilliance, it has divided the night from the day' (H. Brugsch *op. cit.* i. 103, citing his *Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmâler* Leipzig 1884 p. 764 no. 55). Many monuments show the hawk, the embodiment of Horos (*supra* i. 241, 341), supported on a lotos (Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 6 f. pls. 1, 5, 5-7; 43, 3, 9; cp. 44, 2, 6), Thothimes iii is portraying presenting lotos-flowers and geese to a hawk-headed Ra at Amada (Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 6 pl. 1, 8). Amenophis iii similarly presents lotos-flowers to Æmen (*supra* i. 347) at Thebes (Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 6 pl. 1, 6). The third member of the Memphitic triad, Nefertem, a god of the rising sun, was from the earliest times connected with the lotos. In the text of Unâs, a king of the fifth dynasty, the dead ruler is compared (397 ff. ed. Max 190) to a lotos at the nostrils of the Great Sekhem, and it is said: 'Unâs hath risen like Nefertem from the lotus to the nostrils of Ra, and he goeth forth from the horizon on the day, and the gods are sanctified by the sight of him' (E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i. 52, 30). Nefertem is commonly represented with a lotos-flower on his head (Lanzoni *op. cit.* 385 ff. pls. 147 and 148, A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* p. 76 fig. 52).

\(^1\) In Indus the lotus seems to have borne much the same character as in Egypt, though its significance is less readily perceived (on its decorative usage see A. Grünwedel *Buddhist Art in India* trans. A. C. Gibson, rev. J. Burgess London 1901 p. 19 f.).

While Vishnu was musing on his mission, a lotos with the brilliance of a thousand suns sprang from his navel, and in the midst of this lotos appeared Brahmâ (*Bhâgavata-Purâna* 3. 20. 16). Hence Brahmâ is enthroned on a lotos and holds a lotus in his hand (*Vishnu-Purâna* 4. 1). Vishnu too has a lotos in one of his four hands (W. J. Wilkins *Hindu Mythology* Calcutta 1882 p. 102); and the rosary of the Vishnu-devotee may be made of lotos-seeds (E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 592 n. 3). Krishna had the mark of a lotos beneath each foot: he decorated himself with the flower, waving a rose lotos in his hand and having a blue lotos attached to his ear (*Bhâgavata-Purâna* 10. 23. 22, 10. 30. 25, 10. 32. 2, 10. 35. 16). Sarasvati, the wife of Brahmâ—or—according to the Vishnuites in Bengal—if Vishnu, sits upon a lotos (E. W. Hopkins *op. cit.* p. 451) or appears in the middle of a lotos-wreath (W. J. Wilkins *op. cit.* p. 92). Cîri or Lakshmi, the bride of Vishnu, first emerged from the troubled waters of ocean and landed with a lotos in her hand; since that time the lotos has been one of her attributes (C. Joret *Les Plantes dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge* Paris 1904 i. 2. 527 ff.). The blue lotos is one of the arrows of Kâma, god of love (ib. ib. p. 528).

Vishnu is commonly regarded as a solar god. But this is doubtful (H. Oldenberg *La Religion du Vêda* trans. V. Henry Paris 1903 p. 196 ff.). With his solarity stands or falls that of Brahmâ, and that of Vishnu's avatar Krishna.

\(^2\) *Supra* i. 578 n. 3; 777 n. 4, ii. ii. 11.

\(^3\) *Supra* p. 524 ff.

\(^4\) Cp. the relation of Perun to the iris (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 183 : 'The South Slavs call the iris *perunik*, Perun's flower,' etc.).

J. Grimm *op. cit.* 1882 i. 183, 1883 iii. 1191, 1888 iv. 1346, 1672, 1790 n. 1, and H.
Friend. Flowers and Flower Lore London 1883 i. 74 f., 164 ff., 343 collect the names of flowers associated in the Germanic area with thunder or thunder-gods: e.g. in Germany the orpine is Donnerkraut, the ground-ivy Donnerrebe, the stonecrop or houseleek Donnerbart (cp. English Jo-barba, Juwbar, Jupiter’s Beard) (J. Britten—R. Holland A Dictionary of English Plant-names London 1879 ii. 280, 281, 282), French Joubarbe (P. Sébillot Le Folk-lore de France Paris 1906 iii. 472, 495, 507), the fumitory Donnerflug, the field cymgo Donnerdistel, and a tangled vegetable growth Donnerbessen (supra p. 642 f.); in Denmark the burdock is jordenskreppe; in Norway the aconite is Thor-hat and Thor-hjalm; on Dartmoor the Potentilla Torssemtilla, a plant used as a febrifuge, was Thor-mantel (a corruption of tormentil); in Somerset the ox-eye daisy is dun-daisy or thunder-daisy. P. Sébillot op. cit. iii. 472 adds French parallels: in the Wallon district the wild poppy is called fleur du toni (at Liége), fleur di tönir, tonier, tonaire and placed in the timbers of the roof, while on the festival of the Assumption (Aug. 15) bunches of St-John’s-wort called Djon fleur du tönir are blest and sprigs of it thrown on the fire to keep off lightning; in Béarn a plant with a yellow flower named periglade, ‘lightning,’ is treated in the same way; etc.

The reason for such names is sometimes obscure, but often turns on a fancied resemblance in colour, sound, shape, etc. H. Friend op. cit. i. 72 says: ‘The Thistle again was sacred to Thor, its blossom being supposed to receive its bright colour from the lightning, from which it consequently protected the person or building placed under its guardianship.’ J. Britten—R. Holland A Dictionary of English Plant-names London 1884, iii. 468 note that Silene inflata is called Thunderbolts at Higham in Kent, ‘where the children snap the calxes, which explode with a slight report.’ Eisd. ib. adopt a similar explanation of the fact that in west Cumberland the Stellaria Holostea is known as the Thunderflower. Eisd. op. cit. 1879 ii. 305: ‘Papaver Rhoeas...’ About Woolcer [in Northumberland] it was wont to be called the Thunder-flower or Iightenings; and children were afraid to pluck the flower, for if perchance, the petals fell off in the act, the gatherer became more liable to be struck with lightning; nor was the risk small, for the deciduousness of the petals is almost proverbial.” Bot. E. Bord., p. 31.

Various plants were named after Zeus or Jupiter. Δώσ ἀβαλαός = some sort of pink, perhaps Dianthus inodorus, ‘carminum’ (Theophr. hist. pl. 6. 1. 1, 6. 6, 11, 6. 8, 3 and ap. Athen. 634 E, Nik. ap. Athen. 684 B, Hesych. and Soud. s.v., Plin. nat. hist. 21. 59 and 67 Iovis flos). Δώσ βαλαόν usually = Castanea vesca, ‘chestnut’ (Theophr. hist. pl. 1. 12. 1. 3. 2. 1. 3. 8. 3. 10. 1, Dioskor. i. 145 p. 137 Sprengel: see also Hermippus floroforofrag. 1. 20 (Frag. gen. Gr. ii. 407 H. Meincke) ap. Athen. 28 A as glossed by Hesych. s.v., Athen. 53 D, Mnesitheos ap. Athen. 54 C), though the Latin equivalent, ingrian for Iovis glans, means ‘walnut’ (Varr. de ling. Lat. 5. 103, Plin. nat. hist. 15. 86—91, Macrobi. Sat. 3. 18. 2 B. 186 a.); but the Greek name was sometimes given to a Pontic variety of nut (Hermonax and Timachidas ap. Athen. 53 B—C, cp. Hesych. loc. cit.), or applied to nuts in general (Zonar. lex. s.v. βαλαόν Δώσ: τὰ κάρυα τοῦ Πελοπονν.' Δώσ βαλαόν λαγνοί τὰ κάρυα ἐπὶ πλευράς, cp. Serv. in Verg. ed. 8. 30 nam nucem in tutela sunt Iovis; unde et inglandes vocantur, quasi Iovis glandes). Δώσ ἀλαξάρα = ver- vain (supra p. 307 n. o.: but English Jupiter’s Distaff is yellow wild clary, and Jupiter’s Staff is great mullein (J. Britten—R. Holland ap. cit. ii. 282, H. Friend op. cit. i. 164). Δώσ φρονα = Carya euramericum coronarium, ‘ox-eye’ (anon. carmen Graecum de herbis 132, an Ionic poem of the iii A.D. printed in F. S. Lehrs. ed. of Oppian and Nikandros Parisiis 1846 p. 172, equates it with ἐμφροθαύμον and stresses its virtues as a prophylactic etc.). Δοσπρωτόν = Diospyros Linn., a species of cherry (Theophr. hist. pl. 3. 13. 3, Galen de alimentorum facultatibus 2. 38 (vi. 621 Kühn)). Iovis barba = Anthyllis Barba-Jovis, the silver-bush, commonly called ‘Jupiter’s beard’ (Plin. nat. hist. 16. 70). Iovis flaamma = a flower with red stamens (Plin. nat. hist. 27. 44). See further J. Murr Die Pflanzennamen in der griechischen Mythologie Innsbruck 1890 p. 521 ff., 522 ff. (‘Heilige Blumen des Zeus’); and F. Olek in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 188 f., M. C. P. Schmidt ib. v. 1144.

Note also κεράφων = Tuber aestivum, ‘thunder-truffle’ (Theophr. hist. pl. 1. 6. 5, where κεράφων is F. Wimmer’s correction of κραφων codd. The word is quoted by
The lotiform bolt was, however, differently treated in different parts of the Graeco-Italic world. Ionian art in the east and Etruscan art in the west commonly joined lotos-flower to lotos-bud\(^2\). The Greeks of Greece proper, during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., preferred to add flower to flower or bud to bud\(^3\); the former scheme was a favourite with their vase-painters (fig. 740)\(^3\), the latter was more convenient for their sculptors (fig. 669)\(^4\).

The lightning-lotos on Greek soil underwent three distinct modifications. In the first place its petals, stylised into rays (fig. 740),

Athen. 61 f, 62 a 85 γεφαστων, ep. Eustath. in II. p. 1017, 19. It was believed that autumn rains, and thunder-peals in particular, hardened these tubers (Theophr. frag. 167 ap. Athen. 62 b and ap. Plin. nat. hist. 19. 37, Iuv. 5. 116 ff.)—a notion which Plutarch is at pains to disprove (Plout. symp. 4. 2. 2).

1 Jacobsthal op. cit. p. 13 ff. 2 Id. ib. p. 23 ff.
3 Fig. 740 is from a black-figured kylix, found at Corneto, now at Berlin, which has inside a Gorgoneion on red ground, outside an assembly of gods on white ground (E. Gerhard Griechische und etruskische Trinkschalen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin Berlin 1843 p. 5 ff. pl. 4—5, Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin i. 449 l. no. 2060): the excerpt shows Zeus and Hera.
4 For red-figured examples see e.g. supra p. 25 pl. i, p. 26 f. fig. 13, p. 732 fig. 664.
5 Supra p. 740 fig. 669.
were soon transformed into naturalistic flames issuing from the floral (fig. 665) or quasi-floral calyx (fig. 741). The vases render such flames in red, and it may be presumed that this variation on the lotos was introduced by some painter with an eye to effective colouring. It spread to other arts because of its obvious suitability. After all, lightning-flashes are more like flames than flowers.

Secondly, the sepals of the calyx developed into wings. At first the calyx itself was feathered. This might happen either to the single calyx, as e.g. on the bronze reliefs of the chariot at Perugia, or to the double calyx, as e.g. on a red-figured kotyle signed by the potter Hieron. Later, a pair of wings was detached from the calyx, as on many vase-paintings of the fifth century (figs. 10, 666). And ultimately a second pair of wings was added to balance the first, as on the coins and vases of south Italy (supra i. 337 fig. 269). There can be little doubt that the winged thunderbolt, repeatedly mentioned or implied in Attic poetry, was originally modelled on the eagle, the recognised lightning-bird of the Greeks. Aischylus in an extant fragment of his Niobe makes Zeus himself declare:

‘Yea, Amphiion’s house
Will I burn down with eagles bearing fire.’

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1 Supra p. 723 fig. 665.
2 From a red-figured kylix at Berlin (E. Gerhard Grieche und etrusische Trinkschalen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin Berlin 1843 p. 14 ff. pl. 8, 2 (interior: Selene), p. 20 ff. pl. 10—11 (exterior: Gigantomachia, part of which—my fig. 741), Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 361 f. no. 14 Atlas pl. 4, 12 a, 12 b, Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin ii. 589 ff. no. 3753) attributed to ‘the Brygos painter’ (J. D. Beazley Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 94, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases i. 124 no. 19), who was at work during the first third of s. v. n.c. Zeus, in chiton and chlamys, steps on to his four-horse chariot and quits Olympus (pillar), escorted by Herakles, with tritoc-costume, chiton, lion-skin, bow, etc., and by Athena, who already speaks Enkelados.
3 E. Petersen Bronzen von Perugia in the Röm. Mitth. 1894 ix. 274 ff. fig. 3 and in Ant. Denkm. ii. 2, 3 pl. 14, Brunn—Bruckmann Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt. pls. 588, 589 with text by A. Furtwängler, Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 102 no. 1. Date: s. vi n.c.
5 Supra p. 24 fig. 10, p. 735 fig. 666 (with which cp. the stàmmos in the Louvre (G 370) noted supra p. 753 n. 4).
6 P. Jacobsthal op. cit. p. 37 n. 1.
7 Id. ib.
9 Supra, p. 751 n. 2.
Modifications in the shape
of the thunderbolt

And H. Usener\(^1\) rightly insisted that the phrase attests a long-standing popular belief. Those who regarded the eagle as the natural bringer of the lightning would of course take the wings of the thunderbolt to be eagle’s pinions\(^2\).

Thirdly, the central spike of the lotus came to be spirally twisted—a variation in shape which has been diversely explained. T. H. Martin\(^3\), followed by G. Fougères\(^4\), recalls the twist of tow wound round incendiary arrows. A. Conze and P. Jacobsthal\(^5\) suggest a rendering of curled flames. P. Sarasin\(^6\) contends that lightning in particular was often symbolised by a spiral line. Personally I suspect that lightning was from of old believed to strike with a screw-like or helical movement. This, as R. F. Crook\(^7\) argues, is really implied by the Homeric epithet of Zeus, *terpikèraunos*\(^8\), ‘who twisteth the thunderbolt’, and its Virgilian equivalent, *cum fulmina torques*\(^9\), ‘when thou twistest thy bolt.’ Such a belief might be strengthened by the occasional appearance of lightning in spiral form. As to this, Aischylos is explicit:

\[\text{Forth flash} \]

\[\text{The lightning’s fiery spirals}\]\(^{11}\).

And Mr C. T. R. Wilson, our first authority on the subject of electrical meteorology, tells me (Nov. 4, 1921) that he has himself seen lightning ‘quite spiral.’ But, be the explanation what it may, the spiral twine with its suggestion of rotary, penetrating flight

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\(^2\) We need not, however, imagine with A. H. Sayce ‘The winged thunderbolt’ in *The Academy (quando?)* that the winged bolt on the coins of Ellis is derived from the double eagle of the Hittites.

\(^3\) T. H. Martin *La foudre l’électricité et le magnétisme chez les anciens* Paris 1866 p. 389 ff.

\(^4\) G. Fougères in Daremborg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1358 f.

\(^5\) P. Jacobsthal *op. cit.* p. 73.


\(^7\) R. F. Crook ‘Did the ancient Greeks and Romans understand the importance of the effect produced by rifling in modern guns?’ in the *Class. Rev.* 1916 xxx. 46 ff.


\(^11\) Aisch. *P.* p. 1083 f. ὅλωπτε ἡ ἐκλάμπουσι | στέρωτ' ἡμών.
became extremely popular in Hellenistic\textsuperscript{1} and Roman times (\textit{supra} i. 607 fig. 478, ii. 750 fig. 689, pl. xxxiv).

These three modifications of the lotos—flames, wings, and spiral twist—are all to be found on the wonderful series of silver coins struck by the temple-mints at Olympia (pl. xxxvi)\textsuperscript{2}. The coins in question form the subject of an important monograph by C. T. Seltman, who has devoted a special section to their treatment of the thunderbolt\textsuperscript{3}. It appears that the basis of the Olympian design was, from first to last, the duplicated lotos. Flame-lines, commencing as a detail on coins issued from c. 510 B.C. by the mint of Zeus (pl. xxxvi, 1 ff.), end by becoming the principal feature on coins issued from c. 421 B.C. by the mint of Hera (pl. xxxvi, 11 ff.). Wings, which begin as a mere feathering of the calyx (pl. xxxvi, 1), develop into pinions of various shapes and sizes. The thunderbolt is, in fact, transformed before our eyes into a winged creature instinct with a life of its own. Now it spreads its glorious vanes like a

\textsuperscript{1} E.g. on an Apulian krater at Naples (Heydemann \textit{Vasensamml. Neapel} p. 89 ff. no. 376, E. Braun in the \textit{Ann. d. Inst.} 1836 viii. 99 ff., \textit{Mon. d. Inst.} ii pl. 30—32, Overbeck \textit{Gr. Kunstmyth.} Zeus p. 182 ff. (8), Atlas pl. 1, 26 (Zeus only), C. Robert \textit{Die Marathonschlacht in der Poikile und weiteres über Polygnot Halle} 1899 p. 36 ff. (omitting restorations), Reimach \textit{Röss.} Vases i. 98—100.

\textsuperscript{2} The arrangement of the coins on pl. xxxvi is not primarily chronological, but typological: nos. 1—4 = flower + flame + wings; nos. 5, 6 = two exceptional forms; nos. 7, 8 = closing wings; no. 9 = flower + flame, without wings; no. 10 = flower + wings, with flame reduced to a \textit{minimum}; nos. 11, 12 = flames increased to a \textit{maximum}. The specimens figured are the following:

1 McLean collection = Seltman no. 14, a pl. 1, K μ of Series ii (c. 510—c. 471 B.C.).
2 McLean collection = Seltman no. 131, a pl. 4, BK γ of Series xiii (c. 431—c. 421 B.C.).
3 McLean collection = Seltman no. 124, e pl. 4, BH Χ of Series xii (c. 457—c. 433 B.C.).
4 McLean collection, cp. Seltman p. 87 pl. 8, 7 of Series x (c. 457—c. 432 B.C.).
5 McLean collection = Seltman no. 143, a pl. 4, ΒP γ of Series xv (c. 421—c. 365 B.C.).
6 McLean collection, cp. Seltman p. 32 f. pl. 8, 35 of Series xxv (c. 191 B.C. —).
7 McLean collection = Seltman no. 154, c pl. 5, ΒT γ of Series xvii (c. 421—c. 365 B.C.).
8 British Museum = Seltman no. 172, e pl. 5, BX Θ of Series xviii (c. 421—c. 365 B.C.).
9 McLean collection = Seltman no. 164, a pl. 5, ΒV δ of Series xviii (c. 421—c. 365 B.C.).
10 McLean electotype of specimen at Vienna = Seltman no. 141, c pl. 4, BO γ a of Series xv (c. 421—c. 365 B.C.).
11 Leake collection = Seltman no. 242, a pl. 9, EA σ of Series xxvi (c. 421—c. 385 B.C.).
12 McLean collection = Seltman no. 266, a pl. 9, EH η of Series xxvi (c. 421—c. 385 B.C.).

\textsuperscript{3} C. T. Seltman 'The Temple Coins of Olympia' in \textit{Nomisma} 1913 viii. 23—68 pl. 1—4, ib. 1914 ix. 1—33 pls. 5—8, ib. 1921 xi. 75—117 pls. 9—12.
Silver coins struck by the temple-mints at Olympia, showing various types of Thunderbolt.

See page 7
butterfly in the sunlight (pl. xxxvi, 3). Now it half-closes them (pl. xxxvi, 7). Now again it furls them completely and relapses into rest (pl. xxxvi, 8). The wings, according to Seltman, are either those of Nike or those of a bird, usually of an eagle the lightning-bird, but sometimes perhaps of a swallow (pl. xxxvi, 2) the harbinger of rain. The spiral twist is introduced soon after the middle of s. v B.C. It first affects the central spike of the lotos (pl. xxxvi, 3), but early in s. iv involves the wings and sepals as well (fig. 742), 'so that the thunderbolt may be thought of as spinning while it hurtles through the air.'

Two curious types discovered by Mr Seltman call for separate notice. A statér issued by the mint of Zeus between c. 471 and c. 452 B.C. makes the sepals on the upper half of the bolt curl over to form serpent-heads (fig. 743). These must be regarded as an arbitrary, but not altogether inappropriate, variation of the tendrils, which on many specimens occupy a like position. If Aischylos could describe the arrow of Apollon as 'a winged glistering snake,' an artist contemporary with the poet might well conceive the thunderbolt of Zeus as in part serpentiform. The lord of the aigis had snakes enough and to spare.

Another statér, issued by the mint of Zeus c. 421 B.C., is of greater interest. The lower half of the bolt is here an unmistakable fly with head, eyes, body, wings, and legs complete (pl. xxxvi, 5). This is rightly, I think, interpreted by Mr Seltman as an allusion to the local cult of Zeus Apómyios. Since the said cult has often been misunderstood, it is worth while to state the main facts concerning it. When animal sacrifices were offered in hot weather, flies of course arrived in swarms and fastened on the carcases. This

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2 C. T. Seltman loc. cit. 1921 xi. 108 with no. 157 pl. 5. BT² 7α (= my fig. 742) and no. 158 pl. 5. BT² δα.
3 C. T. Seltman loc. cit. 1913 viii. 36 f. no. 42 pl. 7. AF αρ (= my fig. 743), 1921 xi.
107
4 Aisch. Eum. 181 πτηνὸν ἀγριοτόν ὄφν.
tended to disturb the ritual and was therefore undesirable. But to the superstitious Greek the buzzing myriads that claimed their share in the sacred feast seemed something of a divine visitation. If not the god himself\(^1\), they might at least be his emissaries\(^2\). Biting flies meant coming storm\(^3\)—and who could tell? The safest course was to placate the little pests. Accordingly the Leucadians, before celebrating the festival of Apollo Aktios, first sacrificed an ox to the flies\(^4\)—an almost unique example of direct sacrifice to living animals on Greek soil\(^5\). Aelian tells us that the flies, when gorged with the blood of the ox, took themselves off, and contrasts their mercenary conduct with that of the flies at Olympia, which did the right thing through sheer respect for the god\(^6\). Olympic flies, it would seem, though countless victims were offered, blood poured out, and flesh hung up, yet retired discreetly across the Alpheios, returning only when the festival was over\(^7\). Aelian, being a pious priest, is fond of edifying conclusions\(^8\). Unfortunately Antiphanes the comedian, who lived five centuries and more before Aelian, had long since spoilt the moral: parasites—he says—ought to be treated like the uninvited flies at Olympia, for which an ox is cut up by way of preliminary sacrifice\(^9\). We gather, then, that in s. iv B.C. the Olympians, like the Leucadians, slew an ox for the special benefit of the flies. As time passed and men ceased to believe in the divinity of flies, their expulsion would be attributed to some local hero or god. Thus Pausanias informs us that the inhabitants of Aliphera in Arkadia, before keeping their festival of Athena (?), sacrificed to a hero Mylagros, the 'Fly-catcher'\(^10\) Simi-


\(^2\) In some parts of South Germany the stag-beetle is called donnerzweig, donnerzweige, donnerzwege, perhaps because he likes to live in oak-trees, and it is believed that lightning will strike a house into which he is carried (J. Grimm ὑπ. cit. 1882 i. 183, 1883 ii. 692).

\(^3\) Theophr. de signis temporum 23 καὶ τὸ δημόσιον τὸ περὶ τὰς μινὰς λεγόμενον ἀλληθὲς: ὁταν γὰρ δάκτυλοι σφόδρα, διάως σημείως, Γεωργ. i. 3. 9 καὶ μείναι ἐκλέον δακτυλαὶ (τοῦ δημοσίου σημείως).


\(^5\) Cp. the Praision sacrifice to a pig (ιπτρα i. 653 n. 3).

\(^6\) Ail. de nat. an. 11. 8 (θάνοις βοῶν ταῖς μιναῖς, καὶ καὶ ἐκπληθείεσθαι τοῦ άιματος ἀφανηστα). Ail. de nat. an. 9. 17.

\(^7\) Sir J. E. Sandys A History of Classical Scholarship Cambridge 1906 i. 336 f.

\(^8\) Antiphanes oph. incept. frag. 5 (Frag. comm. Gr. iii. 134 f. Meineke) ἀφ. Athen. 4 Ἀ—5Α.

larly Pliny states that at the Olympic festival a bull was immolated to a god named Myiodes, after which clouds of flies departed from the locality. Elsewhere he says that, when swarms of flies bring disease, the Eleans invoke a god called Myiacores and that, if he accepts their offering, the flies forthwith perish. At Rome neither fly nor dog would enter the temple of Hercules in the Forum Boarium; for the hero, on distributing the flesh of the sacrifice, had summoned the god Myiagrus, who kept the flies away, and had left his club in the porch, which frightened the dogs. We are further told that the Romans sacrificed to Herakles *Apomyios*,

![Fig. 744.](image1)

![Fig. 745.](image2)

'**Averter of Flies**,' the Eleans to Zeus *Apomyios*. Both Herakles and Zeus figure in the version preserved by Pausanias:

'They say that Herakles the son of Alkmene, when sacrificing at Olympia, was worried by the flies. Thereupon it occurred to him, or perhaps somebody suggested to him, that he should sacrifice to Zeus *Apomyios*. And so the flies were sent packing across the Alpheios. The Eleans too are said to sacrifice in the same way to Zeus *Apomyios*, when they drive the flies out of Olympia.'

Thus by a strange, yet wholly understandable, *periπetēia* the sacrifice originally paid to the flies came ultimately to be paid to Zeus who drove them out.

**Theriomorphism** in the long run gives place to anthropomorphism, and the winged thunderbolts of Greek art lead up to a quasi-human form. Square bronze coins struck by Maues, a Scythic

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1 Plin. nat. hist. 29. 106.
2 Id. ib. 10. 75.
3 Plin. nat. hist. 10. 79, Solin. 4. 11. The source may be Varro, cp. Plout. quaest. Rom. 90. Did χινον suggest κυνονια? Similarly flies kept away from the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos (Andron of Halikarnassos frag. 16 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 352 Müller) ap. Apollon. hist. mir. 8), and from Mt Carina (v.l. Carma) in Crete (Plin. nat. hist. 21. 79).
4 Solin. 1. 11.
5 Clem. Al. profr. 2. 38. 4 p. 28, 25 f. Stihlin ἐνταθα (sc. ἐν Ἡλειοι) 'Ἀπομιῳς Δι' ἰθνονιν Ἡλειοι. 'Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Ἀπομιῳς Ῥακελι.'
6 Paus. 5. 14. 1. Cp. et. mag. p. 131, 35 f. 'Ἀπομιῳς' ὀφθαλὶ ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ τοῖς Ἡλειοις τεμαται, Ῥακαλεῖον ἰδρυματον ἐπὶ ἀπομιῳς τῶν μικών, Schöll-Studemund anec. i. 266 'Ἐνθηρα Δῖος το ἀπωμιοον.'
7 H. K. E. Köhler's attempt to identify 'Jupiter Apomyos' on an engraved gem of the Orleans collection (Reinach Pierres Gravées p. 138 no. 59 pl. 126. E. Thraemer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1153) was wholly misleading.
conqueror of the Greeks in northern India (c. 130 B.C.), have for obverse design Zeus enthroned, holding a sceptre in his left hand and extending his right towards a small male figure, who seems to be an embodiment of the thunderbolt (figs. 744, 745). This humanised missile we may venture to name Keraunos.

Flames, wings, and spiral twist remained as characteristic traits of the thunderbolt throughout the classical period. Virgil works all three into his description of Volcanus' smithy:

Iron the Cyclops forged in that great cave—
Brontes and Steropes and bare-limbed Pyracon.
Thereof their hands had wrought a thunderbolt
Of such sort as the Sire oft hurles from heaven
To earth, part burnished—part was yet to make.
Three rays of twisted rain, three more of cloud,
Three of red fire and the winged southern wind,
They blent with flashes fell and sound and fear
And fury with its still pursuing flames.

The Virgilian Cyclopes were fashioning their thunderbolt like armourers at work on some complicated engine of destruction. It was indeed natural that the sky-god's bolt should borrow some at least of its features from weapons wielded by human hands. In Italy and Sicily, as Jacobsthal observed, the central spike of the lotos, and likewise the lotos-bud, developed into a dagger-blade (fig. 746) or an arrow-head (fig. 747). Also in the same region half arrow-heads or hooks came to be added on the side spikes of the bolt (fig. 748). The earliest examples of such treatment are,

1 P. Gardner in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings pp. lviii, 70 pl. 16, 9. Id. Types of Gr. Coins p. 210 pl. 14, 24 (=my fig. 744). In his description of both plates Prof. Gardner speaks of a 'female figure'; but in Types of Gr. Coins p. 210 he tacitly corrects his own blunder and says: 'we see a male figure, evidently an impersonation of the thunderbolt which is indeed not entirely transmuted into his form, but partly appears over his head and at his sides. This is a very interesting invention of the Indo-Greeks.' Fig. 745 is from another specimen in the British Museum.

2 Supra p. 11 ff. Whether the naked boy with a torch, who on the Naples Prometheus-sarcophagus (Gerhard Ant. Bildw. i. 304 ff. pl. 61, Welcker Alt. Denkm. ii. 286 ff. pl. 14, K. Bopp in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 3108 f.) appears to be leaping down from the head of Zeus towards Hephaistos, is rightly regarded as the thunderbolt personified (so E. Petersen in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1910 xxv. 156) is very doubtful.


4 P. Jacobsthal op. cit. p. 21 f.

5 From Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iv. 10 f. pl. 282.

6 From Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iii. 73 ff. pl. 74.

of the thunderbolt

however, to be found on Attic black-figured vases belonging to the close of s. vi B.C. A kylix from Vulci signed by the potter Phrynios shows the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus: the thunderbolt

Fig. 746.

Fig. 748.

Fig. 747.

in the god’s right hand has a heart-shaped pistil, probably meant for an arrow-head, starting from the centre of its lotos-flower. And a similar kylix from Vulci signed by the potter Xenokles represents the three sons of Kronos standing side by side between two winged

Fig. 749.

horses (fig. 749). Poseidon, the central figure, carries a large trident; Zeus, a thunderbolt with hooked prongs; Hades, an uncertain object, perhaps a horn.

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases ii. 223 no. B 424, figured infra § 9 (b) ii (0).
3 I have not reproduced the red-figured stamnos of ‘strong’ style from Chiusi usually compared with this vase (T. Panofka in the Arch. Zeit. 1851 ix. 308 ff. pl. 27, C. von Paucker ib. p. 376 ff., T. Panofka in the Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1854 Phil.-hist. Classe C. ii.)
The thunderbolt of Zeus and the trident of Poseidon.

The vase-painting just described raises a problem of considerable interest. Was the trident of Poseidon originally identical with the thunderbolt of Zeus?

It is commonly supposed that the trident was what Aischylos calls it—the ‘fish-striking device’ of a sea-god. Indeed it can hardly be doubted that classical antiquity as a whole viewed the trident in this way. But the point is not, what the Greeks and Romans of the classical age took the trident to be, but what it originally was. And here there is room for divergence of opinion.

In the middle of last century F. G. Welcker argued that the trident, properly considered, was not a mere fish-spear, but rather a sign and symbol that Poseidon was lord over a third portion of the world. Welcker, who usually took a sane view of facts, has here been deserted by his better judgment. He is following the erroneous guidance of Plutarch and other allegorists of Graeco-Roman times.

H. B. Walters in 1893 struck out a new line of investigation. Observing that Poseidon’s trident, as represented on votive pînakes or terra-cotta tablets found at Penteskuphia near Corinth and referable to the period 650—550 B.C., was often, especially on the earlier examples, shaped like a lotos, he inferred that the art-type of the trident had been developed out of the art-type of a lotiform sceptre. Poseidon—he suggested—was at first simply Zeus in his maritime aspect. Both deities were then entitled to bear the sceptre. But by a gradual process of differentiation Poseidon’s sceptre was transformed into a trident, this transformation being prompted by another of the god’s attributes, namely his tunny-fish. Thus the
and the trident of Poseidon

The evolution of Poseidon from Zeus was followed by the evolution of the trident from the sceptre. Two thorny questions are here intertwined—the relation of Poseidon to Zeus and that of the trident to the sceptre. On the former and larger question I have already touched. On the latter Mr Walters has got together a considerable array of evidence (fig. 750). But his facts, it seems to me, are

\[ \text{Fig. 750.} \]

1 Supra p. 582 ff.
2 I reprint the illustration given by Mr Walters in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1893 xiii. 17.

Nos. 1—21 are taken from the Pentekuphia pslakes at Berlin, nos. 22—26 from vases in the British Museum:

No. 1 = Furtwängler Vasens. Berlin i. 85 f. no. 801.
2 = " " i. 53 no. 384.
3 = " " i. 49 no. 348.
4 = " " i. 50 no. 368, Fränkel in Ant. Denkm. i. 3 pl. 7, 28.
5 = " " i. 58 no. 471, " " i. 3 pl. 7, 3.
6 = " " i. 59 f. no. 485, " " i. 3 pl. 7, 11.
7 = " " i. 92 no. 843.
8 = " " i. 55 no. 453.

50—2
susceptible of a different interpretation. Trident and sceptre alike were lotiform. Why? Possibly because the lotos was a prevalent motif of decoration. The thunderbolt too, as we have seen, was lotiform, and largely for the same reason. There is therefore, so far

9 = Furtwängler Vasens, Berlin i. 91. no. 838.
10 = " " " i. 52 no. 387, Fränkel in Ant. Denkm. i. 3 pl. 7, 18.
11 = " " " i. 65 f. no. 539. " " i. 3 pl. 7, 21.
12 = " " " i. 81 no. 780, " " i. 3 pl. 7, 26.
13 = " " " i. 51 no. 371.
14 = " " " i. 86 no. 803.
15 = " " " i. 55 no. 450.
16 = " " " i. 56 no. 460, " " i. 3 pl. 7, 24.
17 = " " " i. 61 no. 489, " " i. 3 pl. 7, 20.
18 = " " " i. 100 no. 899, " " i. 3 pl. 7, 27.
19 = " " " i. 58 no. 475, " " i. 3 pl. 7, 17.
20 = " " " i. 58 no. 474, " " i. 3 pl. 7, 19.
21 = " " " i. 57 no. 464, " " i. 3 pl. 7, 2.
23 = Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases ii. 156 no. B 246 (black-figured amphora) sceptre held by Ariadne (?).

Of the forms here tabulated the most abnormal is no. 25, which occurs on the kylix by Phrynos cited above (Lenormant—de Witte Et. mon. cér. i. 192 f. pl. 56, B = my fig. 751: introduction of Herakles to Olympos). The four-pronged trident, no. 21, can be

Fig. 751.


2 L. Malten in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1914 xxix. 191 n. 2 says:

1 Ursprünglich führt Poseidon das Feuersymbol in Blumenform..., ein Residuum davon z.B. noch auf den korinthischen Pinakes..., wo die florale Bildung der Poseidonwaffe nicht sekundäre Ornamentalisierung ist, sondern Rest der alten Blumenbildung.

Supra p. 769 ff.
as the lotos is concerned, no more cause to connect the trident with the sceptre than to connect it with the thunderbolt.

In 1898 O. Gilbert, undeterred by an emphatic protest on the part of C. Robert, announced that Poseidon's trident 'must be essentially identical with the lightning.' He pointed out that the Iliad describes Poseidon as—

Holding in his stout hand a dread long-edged
Sword like the lightning—

and that the mark of Poseidon's trident to be seen on the Akropolis at Athens is comparable with the elysia or enelysia caused by the lightning of Zeus. H. Usener in 1905 likewise declared for the 'original identity of the Poseidonian trident with the thunderbolt.' He too quoted the lines from the Iliad and laid stress on the resemblance of the hypaethral trident-mark at Athens to the hypaethral bidental or lightning-monument of the Romans. Lastly he stated, on the authority of G. Loeschcke, that the weapon of Zeus is sometimes tridentiform. Similar views were expressed in 1907 by the mythologist E. H. Meyer and in 1909 by the historian E. Meyer.

1 Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 570.
3 II. 14. 384 ff. ἤγες 3' ὑπὲρ σφὶ Ποσειδάνων ἐνοσίχθων, | δεόν ἄρο πανόψεις ἐκὼ ἐν χερί ταχείᾳ, | ἐκαλὼν ἀστροφοτῇ with schol. T.V. ad loc. ταῖς τῆς τρίανθοφω, ἐξει καὶ ἀρκεῖας καὶ Ἁγίωλοι πάν ἐκὼν 'ἀρο καλὸν' κ.τ.λ.
5 Supra p. 21 ff.
7 Not only was the pavement of the north porch of the Erechtheion left open so as to show the trident-mark in the rock beneath it, but there was a corresponding hole contrived in the roof above it (W. Döpfeld in the Ath. Mittl. 1903 xxviii. 466 ff., M. L. D'Ooge The Acropolis of Athens New York 1908 p. 208 f.).
8 M. P. Nilsson 'The Σχίνα Τραίανος in the Erechtheion' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1901 xxi. 325—333 places the trident-mark in the north-west corner of the crypt of the west cela; but his view has not found acceptance (W. Jüdech Topographie von Athen München 1905 p. 240 n. 9).
9 Fest. p. 333 b 30 ff. Müller, p. 450, 2 ff. Lindsay, Vitr. i. 2. 5; cp. Varr. de ling. Lat. 5. 66, Catulus vel de liberis educaudis ap. Non. Marc. p. 793, 23 ff. Lindsay, Ov. fast. 2. 671 f., Plut. quaest. Rom. 28. Supra i. 23, infra § 3 (c) iv (a).
10 I suppose that Loeschcke had in mind the kylix signed by Xenokles (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vasell. 223 f. no. B 425, supra p. 785 fig. 749). H. Usener in the Rhein. Mus. 1905 lx. 27 n. 92 (=id. Kleine Schriften Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 494 n. 92) observes that on a coin of Taonion (Tavium) in Galatia (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia etc. p. 27 pl. 5. 12, figured infra § 3 (c) iv (a) Zeus holds 'dreizackigen Donnerkeil.'
11 E. H. Meyer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 3797 (Dann fasst er (sc. Poseidon) seinen Dreizack, ein Sinnbild...des dreizackigen in einer Thunfischergabel umgestaltetem Blitzen oder Sturmgeschossen').
12 E. Meyer Geschichte des Altertums Stuttgart—Berlin 1909 i. 2. 638 ('Als Attribut
The thunderbolt of Zeus

In 1911 C. Blinkenberg wrote a chapter to the subject and concluded that Poseidon's trident is an adaptation of the Hittite and Babylonian thunderweapon, which entered Greece shortly after the Mycenaean age, that it was soon supplanted by the double form

brought in from Assyria, and that it was therefore interpreted afresh as a fishing spear. He further draws attention to the iron tridents worshipped along with stone axes ('thunderstones') by the pariah of southern India (fig. 753), and compares them with the trisula or trident of Çiva, the post-Vedic successor of the Vedic

trägt er (st. Zeus Osogō) den Dreizack, vielleicht erst unter griechischem Einfluss—oder ist etwa der Dreizack des Poseidon als sein Attribut nur aus dem Blitz umgedeutet?')

1 C. Blinkenberg The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore Cambridge 1911

2 Id. ib. p. 53, cp. ib. p. 57: 'Briefly, then, the development was as follows:—from the old Babylonian representation of the lightning, i.e. two or three zigzag lines representing flames, a tripartite thunderweapon was evolved and was carried east and west from that ancient seat of civilization. Together with the axe (in western Asia Minor the double-edged and towards the centre of Asia the single-edged axe) it became a regular attribute of the Asiatic thundergods. The extreme limits of its extension are India in the east and Greece in the west. The Indian trisula and the Greek triaina are both its descendants.'

3 Id. ib. p. 8 ff. figs. 1, 2 ( = my fig. 753), 3, p. 55 ff. The figure here reproduced shows an 'earth-temple' in a pariah quarter belonging to the village of Agrāvaram near Vellore. Dr Blinkenberg says: 'The actual altar is 3½ feet high, its surface 7½ x 9½ feet. On the altar are seen seven thunderstones... The trisula owes its white colour to the remains of
and the trident of Poseidon

storm-god Rudra, as represented on coins of the Indo-Bactrian kings⁴ (fig. 754)² and— I may add—as still to be seen in Čiva-shrines (fig. 755)². That the trident of Poseidon was originally a lightning-fork, later re-interpreted as a fish-spear, is an opinion which has commended itself to an increasing number of scholars. C. Fries in 1911¹, Miss J. E. Harrison in 1912³, L. Malten in 1914⁶, O. Gruppe in 1918⁶ and 1921⁸, all accept this hypothesis, which—despite the efforts of reactionary criticism—continues to gain ground.

The arguments advanced in its support are not all equally valid. For instance, we must not, I think, attach importance to the passage cited from Homer; for it may refer to a sword of the usual pattern, not to a trident at all. More to the

the holy ashes (burnt cow-dung), of which something has been left from the last occasion of worship.⁷

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¹ Id. ib. p. 55 f. figs. 28—30.
² I figure the reverse of a gold coin of Huvishka (c. 111—129 A.D.) in my collection. Cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 159 f. pl. 29, 10. Čiva, with three faces and two arms, stands beside his bull Nandi (supra i. 637), holding a wreath and a trident. The legend ΟΗΠΟ =ōsho, which may be a Prakrit *havesa representing the Sanskrit bhawesa, 'the Lord of being,'—a title of Čiva (E. J. Rapson in The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1897 p. 323 ff.).
³ The iron trident (talak) here shown was obtained for me by Mr H. B. Thompson of Queens' College, Cambridge, who stated that it 'belongs to the worship of Siva,' but held that it was of phallic origin. Height: 8½ ins.
⁴ C. Fries Die griechischen Götter und Herzen vom astralmythologischen Standpunkte aus betrachtet Berlin 1911 p. 163 ff.
point are the parallels adduced from the Indian area, where the
association of iron tridents with 'thunderstones' is a very note-
worthy fact. But most cogent of all is the analogy of the hypaethral
trident-mark to the hypaethral *bidental*, and indeed the whole history
of the Athenian Erechtheion.

The marks beneath its northern porch (fig. 756)¹ comprise

three small holes lying on a curve together with a fourth, larger
and more irregular, at a little distance from them. These marks—
I am disposed to conjecture—were originally a series of neolithic
'cup-marks'.² If so, they are of peculiar interest as being the oldest
traces of cult on the Athenian Akropolis. The exact significance
of 'cup-marks' is unknown³; but it is noticeable that, wherever

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¹ The plan given in the Πρακτικά τῆς ἑπτά ἔτους Ερεχθείου ἱεροπαραγωγῆς Athens 1853 pl. 3
is improved and completed by A. Michaelis in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.*
1903 xvii. 19 fig. 5 (= my fig. 756). Of the three trident-holes $k^1$ is 0.25 m deep, $k^2$ is 0.79 m,
while $k^2$ is plugged at a depth of 0.75 m. These dimensions imply that the original 'cup-
marks' had at some later time been bored much deeper to suit the trident-story. The
Athenians were not above a γενεαίον γυδών.

² Bibliography in J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 pp. 500–
504 figs a–d, J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1908 i. 618 n. 3.
See also T. Rice Holmes *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar* Oxford 1907
p. 305 n. 4.

³ The Abbé Breuil suggested to me once in conversation that concentric circles with
a prolonged radius may be highly stylised human figures, such as are met with in the
neolithic and aeneolithic art of Spain (M. C. Burkitt *Prehistory* Cambridge 1921 pl. 38).
they occur, there is a tendency to explain them as the imprint of this, that, or the other superhuman power. P. Sédillot has collected many cases of such popular interpretations. For example, at Pont-d'Aisy a 'cup-marked' stone is known as 'the Fairy's Kettle' or 'the Kettle of Giant Galaffre'; and at Faux-la-Montagne the impress of the Devil's spoon and fork is yet visible on a dolmen where he dined. Similarly the Greeks regarded these mysterious marks beneath the Erechtheion as the traces left by the trident of Poseidon, when he struck the Akropolis-rock and thereby created his 'sea'.

But Poseidon was not the first occupant of the Erechtheion. Before him, as H. Usener showed, came Erechtheus, the true lord and owner of the building. And who was Erechtheus? Lykophron in one passage probably, in another certainly, uses Erechtheus as a synonym of Zeus. More than that, a learned scholiast on the second passage states quite definitely that both at Athens and in Arkadia Zeus was called Erechtheus. There is therefore much to be said for E. Petersen's contention that Erechtheus, the 'Cleaver', was in fact a lightning-god like Zeus Kataibates, who during the fifth century B.C., if not earlier, was identified with Poseidon. Two

1 P. Sédillot Le Folklore de France Paris 1904 i. 395 ff.
2 Id. ib. i. 396.
3 Id. ib. i. 398.
4 A good parallel is furnished by the sacred rock that juts up in the centre of the Kubbet el-Sachra in Jerusalem. Certain round holes, apparently 'cup-marks', on its west side are said to be the finger-prints of the angel Gabriel: others of a like sort in the south-west corner are explained as the foot-prints of the prophet Muhammad (R. Kittel Studien zur hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte Leipsig 1908 p. 19).
5 H. Usener Göttenernamen Bonn 1896 p. 139 ff.
7 Lyk. Al. 431 τῷ διὸ ἔστιν ἀμφίον ἐπιστοί 'Ερέχθειον (ec. Idomenius, son of Deukalion, son of Minos, son of Zeus).
8 Schol. Lyk. Al. 431 ἄρκτα τὸ ἔρημον καλεῖται ὁ Ζεύς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἦ δὲ τὸ ἄρκτον τὴν Ἐρέμον καὶ Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἦ ποτὲ τὸ ἐπίθεμα τὸ καμάτι δὲ αὐτοῦ γὰρ εἰς θεῖον. The association of Athens with Arkadia is noteworthy and points perhaps to a joint Pelasgian usage.
9 E. Petersen Die Burgtempel der Athenais Berlin 1907 pp. 61–93.
10 H. Usener op. cit. p. 140 f. took the name to mean the 'Breaker' in the agricultural sense of a clod-'breaker': E. Petersen op. cit. understands it as the 'Render' or 'Cleaver' used of a lightning-god. In either case 'Ερέχθειος is to be connected with ἐρέθιζω (Pellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. p. 155, Boisacq Dict. éym. de la Langue Gr. p. 477 f.).
11 Supra p. 13 ff.
12 See the inscriptions and texts cited by O. Jahé—A. Michaelis Arx Athenarum Bonnæ 1901 p. 66 f. on Paus. i. 26. 5. Erechtheus is already replaced by Poseidon in Hes. frag. 40 Flach, 101 Razch op. Eustath. in II. p. 13, 44 f. ἦν δὲ, φασί, Βασίλεια νῦν.
versions were current concerning Erechtheus' death. According to Euripides, he was slain by a blow of Poseidon's trident and hidden in a chasm of earth. According to Hyginus, he was slain by a thunderbolt from Zeus at the request of Poseidon. Hence Petersen concludes that Erechtheus was a figure essentially resembling 'Zeus-Amphiaraos, Zeus-Asklepios, Zeus-Trophonios'; that the hypaethral opening in the Erechtheion floor was the chasm where he, the lightning-god, had entered the earth; and that this same chasm, on the advent of Poseidon, had been re-interpreted as his trident-mark. The whole story thus becomes coherent, and I for one accept Petersen's reading of it—though I should stipulate that the epic Erechtheus was not a lightning-god, but a human king regarded as the lightning-god incarnate.

Now the transition from the cult of Erechtheus to that of Poseidon is much facilitated, if we may suppose that the latter, like the former, wielded the lightning,—that his trident, in short, was originally the thunderbolt.

So far, however, we have not met with any direct proof that Poseidon was a lightning-god. Once, and once only, in the extant remains of Greek art is he represented brandishing a bolt as though he were Zeus. A remarkable tetradrachm of Messana, formerly in the Hirsch collection and now at Brussels (fig. 757), has for its obverse design a god wearing a *chlamys* over his upper arms in the

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Footnotes:
3. E. Petersen op. cit. p. 73 ff.
4. Id. ib. p. 68 ff.
and the trident of Poseidon

manner of Poseidon and striding forward to a decorated altar with uplifted thunderbolt in the attitude of Zeus. Since the great god of Messana was Poseidon, not Zeus, we should interpret this unique type as Poseidon fulminant—an interpretation confirmed by the dolphin and scallop-shell of the reverse side. On grounds of style and *motif* the coin has been assigned to the middle of the fifth century B.C. Sir A. J. Evans\(^1\) justly inferred from its legend *Danklato\(\nu\)on that, about the year 450, the old Zancleaean elements in the population of Messana must have succeeded in regaining for a while their predominance: naturally they restored the earliest name of the town and, along with it, their former coin-types of the dolphin and the scallop. Now Zankle was an ancient foundation of the Sikels\(^2\). Here then, if anywhere, we should look to find Poseidon in his earliest form. And here we do find him with a thunderbolt, not a trident, in his hand—a god who bears a significant resemblance to Zeus\(^3\).

\(^1\) Sir A. J. Evans *loc. cit.*


\(^3\) Coins of Poseidonia (*e.g.* Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 178 pl. 121, 29, 30, 31 = my figs. 762–764) show Poseidon brandishing his trident and Zeus brandishing his thunderbolt in precisely the same attitude. The resemblance is suggestive, though not of course conclusive.

Garrucci says of the last piece: ‘Nettuno qual Giove fulminante a d. dinanzi un delino, a sin. ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑ.’ *Id. ib.* p. 176 f. pl. 120, 8 wrongly infers from an early drachm
Different in character from this early representation are the attempts made occasionally throughout the classical period to equip Poseidon with the attributes of Zeus, attempts possibly prompted by the lingering belief that the former was fundamentally akin to the latter.

Inscribed πομ οςΔ that Poseidon is actually dubbed Δω(η) (δαλμα). Why not read Πονδ(η)? Cp. Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. i. 143 f. no. 2132 with n. 3; and F. Bechtel Die griechischen Dialekte Berlin 1921 i. 350 f.
and the trident of Poseidon

the latter. Thus silver coins of Troizen, struck c. 400–322 B.C.,
duplicate the trident-head so that it looks much like a thunderbolt

Fig. 766.

(fig. 758). The duplication was, however, presumably intended in
primis to show that the coins were diobols. Certain rare coppers of

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus p. 166 pl. 30, 21 (=my fig. 758) and 22, Head
Hist. num.2 p. 443.
The thunderbolt of Zeus and the fork of Hades.

Zeus had a thunderbolt, and Poseidon a trident. It is sometimes contended that Hades, as his corresponding weapon, had a fork or two-pronged spear. But neither the existence nor the significance of this attribute is free from serious doubt, and some of our more cautious mythologists are inclined to dismiss it as altogether fictitious. The evidence therefore must be scrutinized with care.

In the first place it may be conceded that weapons of the sort were not unknown in the Mediterranean area. Apart from mere

1 Rasche Lex. Num. i. 1638, Hunter Cat. Coins i. 394 pl. 26, 16, Ant. Münz. Berlin Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 148 no. 57. Fig. 759 is from a specimen in my collection: BYIANT[IΩN] E[ΠΙ] AΩΠΠΙΟΥ with two countermarks (obs. V and helmet, rev. ear of corn).

2 G. Winckelmann Monumenti antichi inediti Roma 182 i. 3 no. 3, T. Panofka 'Über verlegene Mythen' in the Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1839 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 35 pl. 1, 5, F. Creuzer Symbolik und Mythologie, Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 1. 204 pl. 6, 27, Welcker Gr. Götterl. i. 162 n. 5, L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pitt. 1866 p. 93 n. 6, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 259 Gemmentaf. 3, 7, Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 18, 6 (=my fig. 760), ii. 87, Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 361 fig. 1 ('the threefold Pelasgian god'—a view which I here recant), Farnell Cults of Gr. States iv. 60 pl. 2, 6.

A similar scarab of brown sard cited by most authorities (Panofka loc. cit. p. 33 ff. pl. 1, 4, Creuzer op. cit. iii. 1. 204 pl. 6, 26, Overbeck op. cit. p. 259 Gemmentaf. 3, 8, Farnell op. cit. iv. 60 pl. 2, b) is a modern forgery (Furtwängler Geschnitt. Steine Berlin p. 332 no. 9330, id. Ant. Gemmen ii. 87).

3 Furtwängler Geschnitt. Steine Berlin p. 150 no. 3447 pl. 28 (=my fig. 761: scale j). 4 A. Mau in the Ann. d. Inst. 1884 i. 320, Mon. d. Inst. xii. pl. 7, 3 and 5 (=my figs. 765 and 766). The paintings are now in the Terme Museum at Rome.

5 A. Mau loc. cit.: 'Nelle due figure di Nettuno (3) e di Giove (5) non è chiaro, né l'oggetto che Nettuno regge nella sin., né ciò che sta in cima allo scettro di Giove.'

forks of bone\(^1\) or bronze\(^2\), and from forked spear-butts of bronze\(^3\), a
double-pointed spear-head of copper was found in the sepulchral
deposit of Hagios Onuphrios near Phaistos\(^4\), and a double-pointed
lance is held by a Lycaonian warrior carved on the \textit{stèle} of Ikonion\(^5\).

Again, a weapon of this type figures in Greek mythology.
Lesches the Lesbian, who wrote the \textit{Little Iliad} about the middle
of s. vii B.C., described the spear of Achilles as of similar make:

\begin{quote}
The ring of gold
Flashed lightning round, and o'er it the forked blade\(^6\).
\end{quote}

Aischylos in his \textit{Nereids} said of the same weapon:

\begin{quote}
The \textit{shaft}, the shaft with its double tongue, will come\(^7\).
\end{quote}

And Sophokles mentioned it in his \textit{Lovers of Achilles}:

\begin{quote}
Or the two-mouthed striker, the spear;
For it rent him—the twofold pang
Of the spear that Achilles bore\(^8\).
\end{quote}

The hero had been taught to use this engine by Peleus, and
Peleus in turn by Cheiron\(^9\),—a pedigree which points to Thessaly
as its home. It is then not inappropriate that Kastor, depicted on
a black-figured \textit{amphora} from Corneto as advancing side by side
with Peleus against the Calydonian boar, plunges a two-pronged
spear into the monster's head\(^10\).

\footnotesize
\begin{enumerate}
\item R. Munro \textit{The Lake Dwellings of Europe} London, Paris, and Melbourne 1890 p. 127
  \textit{fig. 39, 12}, L. Savignoni in \textit{The Mon. d. Linc.} 1903 xiii. 93 f. \textit{fig. 6} (from a pile-dwelling
  on the Mondsee, Austria).
\item C. A. de Bode in \textit{Archaeologia} 1844 xxx. 250 pl. 16, 11, L. Savignoni \textit{loc. cit.} p. 93
  \textit{fig. 5} (from a tumulus near Asterabad at the S.E. corner of the Caspian Sea).
\item Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie in the \textit{Journ. Hell. Stud.} 1890 xi. 273 ("spear-heads...of the
  forked form" from graves at Nibesch dated c. 650—500 B.C. and regarded as those of
  the Carian mercenaries of Psammethichos), \textit{id. Tools and Weapons} London 1917 p. 33
  pl. 39 f., 182 ff. ("forked butts"). An example in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge,
  described on the label by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie as a two-pronged spear, is almost
certainly a spear-but.
\item Sir A. J. Evans \textit{Cretan Pictographs and praec-Phoenician Script} London—New York
  1895 p. 133 f. \textit{fig. 139}, L. Savignoni \textit{loc. cit.} p. 99 fig. 7 ("più accurato"), Sir A. J. Evans
  \textit{The Palace of Minos} London 1912 i. 100 f. \textit{fig. 72}.
\item C. F. M. Texier \textit{Description de l'Asie Mineure} Paris 1849 ii. 148 f. pl. 103, Perrot—
  Chipiez \textit{Hist. de l'Art} iv. 741 f. fig. 359, Sir W. M. Ramsay \textit{The Cities of St. Paul}
  London 1907 p. 333 f. \textit{fig. 43}.
\item The \textit{dôdala} of the Cimbr (Plout. \textit{v. Mar.} 25) probably involved a pair of lances
\item \textit{Illas paras frag. 5} Kinkel \textit{ap.} schol. Pind. \textit{Nem.} 6. 85 and schol. \textit{II.} 16. 142 \textit{άμφι}
  \textit{δὲ τόρκης | χρύσεος διάφανος} καὶ \textit{έτ
  \textit{ε Manus frag. 152 Nauck\(^5\)} \textit{κάμακος εἰσι κάμακος γλώσσαιμα διπλώσαινων}.
\item Soph. \textit{Achilleias erastai frag. 152 Nauck\(^5\)}, \textit{152 Jebb \textit{δ} δρόσος δύστομον πλάκτρων
  δύστομον γάρ δόνων μημ ήρκου | Αχίλλεων δύστος}. On the text see A. C. Pearson's note.
\item \textit{Schol. II. 16. 142}.
\end{enumerate}
But neither Achilles nor Kastor spells Hades, and the only evidence adduced for the forked spear as an attribute of this deity will not bear inspection. A *kýlιx* signed by the potter Brygos, found at Vulci, and now preserved in the Städel’sches Kunstinstitut at Frankfurt, has for its central design a bearded male figure with a two-pronged spear or fork pursuing a woman (fig. 767). F. G. Welcker took the pair to be Plouton and Persephone. But in point of fact they are Poseidon and Aithra (or Amymone). For later and more careful investigation has shown that essential parts of the design are due to some modern restorer, who has *inter*

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1. E. Gerhard *Trinkschalen und Gefäße des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin und anderer Sammlungen* Berlin 1848 i. 20 ff. pl. A—B (=my fig. 767). Bibliography in Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 108 f. no. 3* fig.


3. *Wien. Vorlegebl.* viii pl. 2 (=my fig. 768), Hoppin *op. cit.* i. 109 fig.
and the fork of Hades

alia supplied Aithra’s face and painted out half of Poseidon’s trident-head! In view of this shameless tampering we cannot put much trust in an early publication of a bronze coin struck by Domitian at Nysa in Lydia, which purports to show Plouton, fork in hand, carrying off Persephone upon a four-horse chariot (fig. 769)¹.

Fig. 768.

The type is common enough on the coinage of Lydia²; but Plouton, where his attribute can be made out, regularly carries a sceptre, not a fork. I do not doubt that the specimen figured below has been tooled by some unscrupulous hand.

On Greek soil, then, there is no relevant evidence. It remains to enquire whether Italy is equally barren.

E. Braun in 1837 drew attention to the fact that Rafael and

other painters represented Pluto with a two-pronged fork in his hand, and conjectured that this detail must have been taken from ancient monuments since lost. F. G. Welcker in 1851, and again in 1857, confirmed his opinion, citing definite works of renaissance art in which Pluto is so portrayed. These scholars and others following in their steps were also able to name a certain number of would-be classical monuments in support of their contention. But a more rigorous criticism would have curtailed or cancelled the list. Thus a statuette of Italian marble in the Pio-Clementino collection shows Pluto enthroned: he wears on his head a modius decorated with oak-leaves and acorns; he has at his right side a three-headed Cerberus, and in his left hand a two-pronged fork. But, as Visconti indicates, the fork together with the hand that holds it is a modern restoration. Again, a desk-shaped terra cotta at Woburn Abbey has its slanting surface adorned with three bearded heads wearing the modius: they are characterised as Poseidon, Zeus, and Pluton by the attributes added below on the front—a trident, a thunderbolt, and a two-pronged fork. Beneath the thunderbolt is an inscription in raised letters:

\[
\text{Dis propi} \quad \text{To the propitious gods} \\
\text{M. Herennii} \quad \text{of Marcus Herennius.} \\
\text{vivatis} \quad \text{Long life to you.}
\]

Replicas of this curious monument have been reported from Vienna, Paris, and Würzburg. Unfortunately their genuineness is far from established. Finally, a two-pronged fork figures among the amulets on a Tarentine cake-mould in the British Museum. O. Jahn, who published this mould in 1855, thought that the fork might be a symbol of Hades, but regarded it as doubtful.

1 E. Braun in the Ann. d. Inst. 1837 ix. 274.
2 Welcker Alt. Denkm. iii. 95.
3 See also J. Addison Classic Myths in Art London 1905 pp. 25, 29.
6 Welcker Gr. Götterl. i. 630 n. 28.
8 A. Michaelis op. cit. p. 745.
9 Michaelis described the Woburn Abbey specimen as ‘new’: Dubois, Wieseler, and Gerhard doubted the antiquity of those from Paris and Würzburg.
The failure of the proofs so far considered throws into relief the one valid piece of evidence that has been adduced. At Urbs Salvia (Urbsaglia) in Picenum there came to light in 1853 portions of an ancient Roman aqueduct. Near it the year after were found four tegulae mammatae, which seem to have been used as covering tiles for the channel. When placed in position they had been painted, apparently by some encaustic process, with a series of figures representing, from left to right, Juno (?), Jupiter, Minerva, and Victoria. To judge from the style, these deities were referable to early imperial times. And there can be little doubt that they were intended to protect the water of the aqueduct against all contamination. We are concerned only with the central figure of the Capitoline triad (fig. 770). Jupiter, with a violet mantle draped over his ochre body, confronts us fairly bristling with weapons: he has a thunderbolt and a trident in his left hand, and a two-pronged fork in his right, while a dolphin appears at his side. Clearly he is conceived as sky-god (thunderbolt), sea-god (trident, dolphin), and earth-god (fork) rolled into one—a deity competent to keep all evil at a distance. He is accompanied by the inscription IOVE IVTOR, 'to Jupiter the Helper.'

J. Schmidt, to whom we are indebted for the first publication of this interesting tile, thinks that Jupiter as earth-god got his fork from the Etruscan Charon. But O. Waser in his monograph on Charon recognises no such attribute. We cannot even admit the contention of J. A. Ambrosch that at least one Etruscan sepulchral relief equips a demon of the Underworld with a pitch-fork. The ecclesiastical paintings of the middle ages did so. But the alleged Etruscan example is illusory: the supposed fork is merely a flaming torch. Again, we shall hardly venture to connect

1 G. Schmidt 'Tre mattoni dipinti di Urbisaglia' in the Ann. d. Inst. 1880 liii. 59—73, Mon. d. Inst. xi pl. 17, 1—3, Class. Rev. 1904 xvii. 374 fig. 6. Length 0.47 m.; breadth 0.31 m.; thickness 0.05 m. (nos. 1, 2), 0.045 m. (no. 3).
2 Th. Mommsen in Corp. inscr. Lat. ix no. 5531, followed by Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 3031, reads Iove Iutori. But Schmidt loc. cit. p. 63 n. 2 is positive that he has transcribed the lettering with absolute accuracy. In any case Iove Iutori must be taken as a dative case: cp. Corp. inscr. Lat. xi no. 4766, 11 f. = Dessau op. cit. no. 4911, 11 f. (near Spoletium) Iove bovid piaculum datat, ib. 15 f. Iove bovid piaculum | datat.
3 Schmidt loc. cit. p. 67 f.
5 O. Waser Charon, Charum, Charos Berlin 1898 p. 80 ff.
6 J. A. Ambrosch De Charonte Etrusco Vratislaviae 1837 pp. 15, 18.
7 Supra p. 136 n. 4 pl. viii.
8 F. Inghiram Monumenti etruschi o di etrusco nome Poligrafia Fiesolana 1821 i. 284 ff. pl. 32, O. Waser op. cit. p. 142 no. 32, G. Dennis op. cit. 2 ii. 183 f. Similarly the bearded personage, who wears a large hat inscribed ICTO and carries 'un bastone bior-

51—2
cuto in cinis,' on a red-figured krater noted by G. Henzen in the Bull. d. Inst. 1856 p. 41 f. is not Plouton with a forked sceptre (id. ib. p. 42 n. 1, F. Lenormant in Dümmler—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 632), but Hermes with his caduceus, perhaps wrongly inscribed [HΦΑΙΣΤΟ[C].
and the fork of Hades

Iupiter with the Getic Gebeleizis, whose name conceivably meant 'the god with a Fork'. Still less shall we maintain that he took over this implement from the fork-bearing figures of early Sardinia. For most of these little bronzes are demonstrable forgeries.

Brushing aside such inadequate hypotheses, we approach the problem along other lines. The Etruscans believed in lightnings that sprang from the ground (fulgura inferna, fulmina infera or terrena), wielded presumably by some chthonian deity. And C. O. Thulin, the chief modern exponent of their lightning-lore, argues that the Etruscan word for 'lightning' was rendered by the Latin bidens. Antecedently that is probable enough. 'Forked lightning,' as we call it, might well be represented by a lighting-fork. Moreover, the Romans, who in all matters of divination relied upon the wisdom of Etruria, habitually spoke of a place struck by lightning as bidental. Hence H. Usener infers that they must have symbolised the flash as a bidens or 'two-pronged

1 Supra p. 227 n. 4. For a better reading and rendering of the Getic name see infra p. 822 f.
3 Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art iv. 65.
4 A. Caecina ap. Sen. nat. quaestt. 2. 49. 3. Supra p. 641 n. 3.
6 C. O. Thulin Die etruskische Disciplin i Die Blitzelehre Göteborg 1906 p. 47.

It may at first seem rash to suppose that a chthonian god was ever armed with atmospheric torments. But some at least of the Greek philosophers—in particular, Herakleitos, Aristotele, and Poseidonios—held that lightning was primarily due to telluric exhalations (O. Gilbert Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums Leipzig 1907 pp. 627 ff., 629 ff., 634 ff.), thereby anticipating, not only the belief in electrical interaction between earth and sky, but also the part played by evaporation in modern theories of lightning (id. ib. p. 637). Besides, these philosophers, after their manner, were merely elaborating popular opinion. Greek literature makes frequent mention of chthonian thunder (Aisch. P. v. 993 ff., Edenos frag. 57, 10 f. Nauck 2, Soph. O.C. 1606, Eur. Et. 748, Hipp. 1201, Aristoph. av. 1747, 1753). J. P. Mahaffy, as quoted by J. E. Harry on Eur. Hipp. 1201, states that 'βουρτών' is used by the modern Boeotians of a mountain north of Thebes which constantly makes a rumbling sound.' See also infra § 4 (d) Zeus Bourtōn), and Greek art on occasion treats lightning as the attribute of such chthonian powers as the Kyklopes (infra i. 318 f. figs. 252, 253) or Typhon (The three-bodied monster, from the right half of an archaic pedimental group, found on the Akropolis at Athens, holds in two of his left hands an attribute which has been variously interpreted: see G. Dickins in the Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum Cambridge 1913 i. 78 ff. no. 35. The most probable view is still that of Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. i. 268 'une sorte de foudre.' Good illustrations in Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art viii pl. 3, T. Wiegand Die archaisch Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen Cassel and Leipzig 1904 pl. 4, R. Heberdey Altattische Poros-Arbeit Wien 1919 pl. 3, 2 and pl. 4).

7 C. O. Thulin op. cit. p. 96 f., quoting A. Caecina ap. Sen. nat. quaestt. 2. 49. 1 dentanea (i.e. fulgura), quae speciem periuli sine periculo adierant.
8 G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 429 ff.
Zeus Keraunobólos, Keraúñios; Astrapeión, Astrapēanton.

As lord of the lightning Zeus was saluted by the poets with a variety of sounding epithets, which need not here detain us.


A Greek parallel perhaps underlies Aristoph. aev. 1339 H. ἐπὶ τὴν γένος παροκλήθη μὲν ἀρατήρη τῷ σκέπαι ἐπὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Δίκην, where Fritzsche's ingenious ej. δὲ Ἐρυθρός is accepted by A. Nauck (Soph. frag. 659) and A. C. Pearson (Soph. frag. 727; Jebb). Retaining the text with W. Dindorf (Soph. frag. 767), we may adopt the suggestion of F. Ellenb. Lexicon Sophocleum Regiomontii Prussorum 1835 ii. 48 'fulmen intellecit coruscum cum ligonis dentibus comparatum.' Mr A. D. Nock suggests to me (Dec. 15, 1921) that Aristophanes was thinking rather of Aisch. Ag. 525 f. Τιοίοι κατακαίφωνα τὸν δικηφόρον δὲ μὲκαλλὰ, τῇ κατεγίγασται κειδών, or possibly of both the Aeschylean and the Sophoclean passages. As to the shape of a μακελά opinion varied: Apollon. lex. Hom. p. 109, 33 μακελλαν δίκελλαν, κακῶς ἀπὶ τὸ πλατὸς σκαφίους, Hesych. s.v. μακελλής: δίκελλα, πλατὸς σκαφίων ... Phot. lex. s.v. μάκελλα: δίκελα, Soud. s.v. μάκελλα: δίκελα, scho. Arat./phoc. 7 μακελλα δὲ ἡ μοῦθεν κέλλουσα ἤμων τειμοσια, δίκελλα δὲ ἡ διὸθεν = Eustath. in II. p. 1235, 56 ff.


3 Forphyr. in Hor. art. post. 471, cp. Acron ib.

4 Schol. Pers. sat. 2. 27.


6 Sielra p. 764 ff.

7 Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 111 n. 3 has collected examples of the following: ἀργυράριον, κεραυνός, κεραυνοβότος, τερπεκέραυνοι; ἀστεροπηγή, ἀστράξιοι, ἀστεροπηγετής, φωσκοστερόται.
Of greater moment are the titles of similar meaning sanctioned by actual cult; for these afford proof that the zoëtic conception of Zeus as the downward-flashing bolt passed into the anthropomorphic conception of him as hurler of the same. Thus Mantinea in Greek times worshipped Zeus Kerannós, 'the Thunderbolt.' But Tegea in Roman times worshipped Zeus Kerainobolós, 'the Hurler of the Thunderbolt.'

As the somewhat vaguer god 'of the Thunderbolt' (Keraúniós) Zeus was recognised in literature and had numerous cults from Palmyra in the east to Rome in the west.

1 Supra p. 12[f].
4 (2) A fragmentary inscription at Ελ-Μαλίκις (El-Malha) in Syria mentions Κεραυνίος only (Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure etc. iii no. 2195 Explic. p. 511 [...]ων | Μάλβιχον ἐπίστρεφεν Κεραυνίῳ on a small stèle broken at the top).
5 (3) A dedication built into the fortress-wall of Mytylene runs: Ζωοῖος Διανόφος (?) | Θέα Κεραυνία 'Τύφωνς | εὐχὰριστηκός (Inscr. Gr. inscr. ii no. 126). Adler in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 265 infers from the use of Τύφως that this was an oriental cult.
4 Aristot. de mundo 7. 401 a 17, Orph. h. Zeus 15. 9 (cp. supra p. 12 n. 3). Scholl—Studemund anec. i. 266 'Επιθέτα Δίος (52) Keranion, 266 'Επιθέτα Δύος (47) keranión, 274 'Επιθέτα Δύος...keranión, 281 'Επιθέτα τοῦ Δύο...keranión. Cp. Anth. Pal. 7. 49. 2 (Bianco) Ζαύρι Κεραυνίῳ (supra p. 9).
6 (5) Palmira (Copr. inscr. Gr. iii no. 4501 = Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 631 a dedication of Hadrianic date Δι Μεγάλῳ Κεραυνίῳ κ.τ.λ.).
8 Seleukeia Pieria (infra p. 809 n. 6 ff.).
9 (4) Kition in Kypros (Copr. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2641, 2 ff. Δι Κεραυνίῳ —— Ἀθροδίγμα, πιδαίνε | δήμοι, ὀμολογεῖ, κ.τ.λ. on a marble base of Roman date. See also supra n. 3 no. (1)).
10 (3) Phrygia (G. Cousin in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1884 viii. 503 publishes an astragalomantic inscription on a marble block at Ormelle (Τεθύων), of which face iii, 7 reads [Δώς Κεραυνίῳ].
Zeus Keraunobolos, Keraunios;

rightly that this votive altar, at Glieudís near Κυλά, was dedicated to Zeus Κεραυνιος by a master who had escaped when two of his slaves were struck. — cp. Suet. Aug. 29. M. Clerc in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1886 x. 401 no. 4 Δις | Κεραυνιος | δωδομι a stone at Thyatira bearing this inscription with a thunderbolt carved above it. The stone probably marks a spot struck by lightning, which, as being a power proceeding from Zeus, is here called his δωδομος. G. Radet ib. 1887 xi. 406 f. no. 36 Δις Κεραυνιος | Τειχίσθης | ὑπ’ τοῦ θρίψαντος | εὑρήκει on a small marble pillar at Βαγνέρτη near Thyatira. J. Keil—A. von Premerstein in the Denkwür. d. Akad. Wien 1911 ii Abh. p. 17 no. 24 [Σω]ζέρητη Δις Κεραυνιος εὑρήκει on a broken block of bluish marble at Σύντεχιδι near Thyatira, in lettering of 3. ii. A.D., edd. ib. 1914 i Abh. p. 12 no. 11 ο σταυρος του, μυθ. Πορτοκαλιον ο αυτος αυτος ἔχει χρηστησίων <τυπος> at Τωραλατ, below a relief representing an eagle (the appellative Αεριος is on an erasure of Κεραυνιος), p. 13 no. 13 [---- ] [----] Δις Κεραυνιος at Ορθικα, two hours S. of Ηραλδα. (7) Priene (F. Hiller von Gaertringen Inschriften von Priene Berlin 1906 no. 113, 80 ff. [Τ]ου τοὺς αγαθοὺς τῶν διαδόθηκαν παραστατήσει τῆς εὐθύμουν[α] γειναίοις τῶν Δι-τοῖς Κεραυνιοι γειναίοις μεν τῶν ἱερῶν τοι[ς] τε παλαιας και παρασικοις και κατοικίας και ζητοι και Ρουπακοι και διαλειας τοις δε ζητοιμεναις και τῶν συναρχιας και ἀποδεικνυμεν τῇ τῶν [Τ]ους θεοὺς τώνων after 84 B.C.


(15) Olympia (Paus. 5. 14. 7 έτει ό τις οικιας τα θευματα έστι τω Οιλμωνω, δοσ εσται έται βωμων, ομοι της Ερεκλων—τουτων ο οιλμων έφανετο αυτω ακοδοσίας—, το οτ Κεραυνιο Δις εστιν ετούτος εποκεραυνω έμοι δακιον βωμων, δος οι οιλμων τω οικιας κακοκηνον ο δις Κεραυνιοτ).

(16) Alban Mt (Inscr. Gr. Σει. Ι. no. 1118 Δις Κεραυνιος on a rude altar found at the foot of the mountain).

(17) Rome (P. Gauckler in the Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1907 p. 148 ff. records an altar in white marble (height 0'92m.), found in the grove of Furrina on the east slope of the Ianiculum, adorned with two eagles, two Ammon-masks, two ducania, festoons, ewer, patera, Gorgoneion, etc. and inscribed Δις | Κεραυνιος | Αττινος | ου και Ζιδωνια | Κυπριας | εις εικονισμον ιεροτομοι και Νεαματας (της) Φορμίου (της), ι.e. a dedication to Zeus Κεραυνιος and the nymphs Furrinae by a Phoenician woman of Kyros, called Artemis the Sidonian. The Gorgon’s head perhaps symbolises the Φορμίου assimilated to the Furrinae. See further G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 383).

(18) Sicily (Inscr. Gr. Σει. Ι. no. 2407, 3a—d: see infra p. 812 ff.)
Philopator (187—175 B.C.) certain priests were annually appointed to act as *keraunophóroi* or ‘thunderbolt-bearers.’ Silver and bronze coins of Seleukeia from c. 108 B.C. onwards have as their reverse type (fig. 771) a large thunderbolt bound with a fillet and placed on a cushioned stool. That this was the missile of Zeus *Keraúnios* appears, not only from a gloss in Hesychios, but also from sundry bronze coins on which the same type is accompanied by the name of the god (fig. 772).

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1 Appian, Syr. 68.
2 Supra p. 4 ff.
3 Athen. 203 B κεραυνοῦς χρυσοῦ δεκαπέντε δύο καὶ στέφανον δρυὸν διάλιθον.
4 Corp. inscr. Gr. iii no. 4428, 23 = Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 245, 47
5 keraunophoros | κ.τ.λ.
6 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. pp. lxxii ff., 270 ff. pl. 32, 6—8, 10, pl. 33, 3, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 213 ff. pl. 74, 29, 31, Anson Num. Gr. iv. 55 f. nos. 568—578 pl. 101, Head Hist. num. 3 p. 781 f. Fig. 771 is from a tetradrachm in my collection: ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΣΕΡΑΦΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ; beneath stool Η1 (the year 18, reckoned from the beginning of the city’s autonomy in 108 or 109 B.C.); in field monogram.
8 Hesych. s.v. κεραυνός...καὶ ζεύς εἰς Σελευκία.
Zeus Keraunobólos, Keraúniōs;

With these coins of Seleukeia must be compared bronze pieces of Diokaisareia in Kilikia, struck by Iulia Domna (figs. 773, 774) and M. Iulius Philippus the younger. Their reverse type shows a high-backed throne: its foreposts are surmounted by two lions, and on its box-like seat is a winged thunderbolt erect in a quasi-human attitude. The lions suggest that Zeus had here taken over the throne of the Anatolian mother-goddess or her consort. And the thunderbolt was appropriate, not only to Zeus, but also to the reigning representative of the gens Iulia.

H. Usener has collected analogous designs from the coinage and sculpture of the west. A silver coin of Vespasian issued in the year 77 or 78 A.D. represents a winged thunderbolt lying on a draped stool. This has been regarded as an allusion to Vespasian's rebuilding of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which contained a golden thunderbolt of fifty pounds' weight presented on the advice of the decemviri in 217 B.C. But the type probably hints that Vespasian himself was Jupiter's vicegerent. Titus in 80 A.D. issued gold and silver coins with the same design (fig. 775). Trajan, a

Galatia, etc. p. 276 no. 56 Caracalla pl. 33, 6 (= my fig. 773) gives a different description of the type ('Large thunderbolt of Zeus Keraunios resting on roof of shrine [within which, sacred stone of Zeus Kasios?]') and is followed by Head Hist. num. 2 p. 783, Anson Num. Gr. iv. 57 no. 587 pl. 11: ΚΕΛΕΥΚ... [ΖΕΥΝ] КЕΡΑΥΝΙΟΣ.

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia, etc. pp. lvi, 73 pl. 13, 1 (=my fig. 773), Bräder Egger Auktion-Katalog xviiiv Griechische Münzen (Sammlung des Herrn Theodor Prowe, Moskau, u.a.) Wien 1914 p. 103 no. 2220 (misread...ΟΛΒΕΩΝ) pl. 36 (=my fig. 774).

ΑΔΡΔΙΟΚΑΙ ΚΑΡΕΩΝ = 'Αδρικάων Διοκασαρέων.

2 Monnet Deser. de méd. ant. iii. 577 f. no. 197.
3 Supra i. 553, ii. 496 ff. n. 3, 552 n. 4.
4 Supra p. 550 ff.
6 H. Usener in the Rhein. Mus. 1905 ix. 6 (=id. Kleine Schriften Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 475 f.).
8 Morell, loc. cit.
9 Supra i. 44 f.
10 Liv. 22. 1.
11 Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 313.
12 Morell, op. cit. ii. 353 pl. 6, 54, Cohen Monn. emp. rom. ii. 455 no. 315.
13 Morell, op. cit. ii. 366 pl. 8, 70, Cohen op. cit. i. 455 nos. 314, 316. Fig. 775 is from a specimen in my collection.
would-be Jupiter\(^1\), 'restored' the types of Vespasian\(^2\) and Titus\(^3\) in gold. Domitian, who was often called Jupiter\(^4\) by the poets of his day and sometimes Tonans\(^5\), naturally made the device his own\(^6\). And Antoninus Pius, another pretender to the sky-god's

honours\(^7\), issued silver coins of similar stamp (fig. 776)\(^8\), on which however the thunderbolt is unwinged. Lastly\(^9\), a relief in the museum at Mantua (fig. 777)\(^10\) portrays the regalia, as it were, of

1 *Supra* p. 101 n. 5.
2 Morell, *op. cit.* ii. 274 pl. 5, 28, Cohen *op. cit.* ii. 419 no. 68, *Collection de Ponton d'Amequot* Paris 1887 pl. 6, 149.
3 Cohen *op. cit.* ii. 382 no. 318 pl. 16, ib.\(^2\) i. 461 no. 403 fig.
5 Mart. *ep.* 6. 10. 9. 7. 56. 4 (*supra* i. 751 n. 8), 799. 1. 9. 39. 1. 9. 65. 1, 9. 86. 7, 10. 51. 13.

Bronze coins of Domitian, issued 85—95 AD, show him standing towards the left, in military attire, with a thunderbolt in his right hand and a headless spear in his left, while a palm-bearing Victory places a wreath on his head (Morell, *op. cit.* ii. 461 pl. 15, 23 and 24, Cohen *op. cit.* ii. 512 nos. 509—513).

An engraved cornelian in my possession (fig. 777. Scale \(\frac{1}{7}\)) represents Domitian (?) as a youthful Jupiter standing in a similar pose, with the same attributes in his hands, an *aigis* round his neck, and an eagle at his feet.

6 Morell, *op. cit.* ii. 436 pl. 9, 28 (silver of 81 AD.), 437 pl. 9, 33 and 37 (silver of 81 AD.), 438 pl. 10, 7 (silver of 82 AD.), Cohen *op. cit.* ii. 475 nos. 61 (gold of 80 AD.) and 62 (silver of 80 AD.), 517 no. 554 (silver of 80 AD.), 518 nos. 574 (gold of 81 AD.) and 575 (silver of 81 AD.), 519 no. 597 (silver of 82 AD.).

7 *Supra* p. 101 n. 5.
8 Cohen *op. cit.* ii. 304 no. 345 (silver of 145 AD.). I figure a specimen in my collection.

9 A relief said to have come from the amphitheatre at Rome (Gruter *Inscr. ant. tat. orb.* Rom. i. 7 no. 1 with pl. after Boissard *Antigq.* iii. 128, Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 32 f. pl. 12 no. 8) amplifies the coin-type: an eagle is perched on the thunderbolt, and the throne is flanked by a pair of globes. The accompanying inscription (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 3139\(^9\)) purports to record a vow made by Julius Pudens Severianus to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and to Iuno Regina for the health of M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus and Iulia Augusta, i.e. Caracalla and his mother, or Flagabales and one of his wives (Iulia Paula? Iulia Aquilia Severa?). But the whole monument appears to be an impudent forgery (*supra* i. 714 n. 4).

10 D. G. Labus *Musio della Reale Accademia di Mantova* Mantova 1830 i. 60 f. pl. 20 (=my fig. 777), E. Braun *Vorlesche der Kunstmythologie* Gotha 1854 p. 8 pl. 6.
the king of gods and men. On a stool or couch, the posts of which were once topped by a pair of kneeling Giants, is spread the royal mantle. Upon this lies a great winged thunderbolt; beyond

Fig. 778.

it is seen a transverse sceptre; and a powerful eagle mounts guard over all.

Sling bullets of lead marked with a thunderbolt and inscribed—Victory of Zeus Keraúnios—have occasionally been found in Sicily (fig. 779). They were doubt-

Fig. 779, a—c.

less used in the second Servile War (103—100 B.C.) by the insurgent

1 *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2407, 3a—d. See further A. Salinas 'Catalogo di ghiande missili siciliane' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1878 i. 32 f. nos. 6 and 7 pl. F (=my fig. 779, a, b): NIKH | ΔΙΟC | ΚΕΠΑVΝΙΟV and ΔΙOC | NIKH | [ΚΕΠΑVΝΙΟV]. Both bullets are in the Museum at Palermo. T. Bergk *Inschriften römischer Schlußgeschosse* Leipzig 1876 pp. 95 ff., 134 no. 143 pl. 2, 39 (=my fig. 779, c) adds a similar example from Cumae in Campania: ΔΙOC | NIKH | ΚΕΠΑVΝΙΟY (retrograde).
slaves\(^1\), who attempted thus to invest their puny missiles with the terrors of the thunderbolt\(^2\). The slave-leader Athenion, who posed

Fig. 780.

2 For the thunderbolt as a device on sling-bullets see also *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2407, 4\(b, e\) (with inscription ΑΙΟC | ΝΙΚΗ), G. Fougeres in Daremburg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1610 fig. 3644 (with inscription ΑCΙΡΕ for accipere, retrograde; found in Spain, and probably used in the war of Caesar against Pompey, cp. *bell. Hist.* 13 and 18), fig. 3628 (with inscription ΔΕΞΙA[1], cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8529, a; found on the Akropolis at Athens), *British Museum: A Guide to the exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life* London 1908 pp. 99, 105 no. 220 fig. 86 (with inscription ΣΙΛΙΑΤΩΥ; found on the battle-field of Marathon), and many others listed by C. Zangemeister 'Glandes plumbeae Latine inscriptae' in the *Ephemeris epigraphica* 1885 vi p. xiv s.v. 'fulmen'.
as king with purple robe, silver sceptre, and regal diadem was a Cilician by birth, and had perhaps brought the cult of the lightning-god with him from Asia Minor.

In view of the foregoing examples it may be maintained that the Graeco-Roman age witnessed, not indeed a recrudescence of the old zoistic conception of Zeus *Keraunós*, but the rise and spread of a new theistic conception—that of Zeus *Kerinios*, a deity too sublime to be represented in human form, whose potency might yet be inferred from the shape of his dreaded weapon. In a word, the thunderbolt, once a primitive fetish, had become, not merely the attribute of a human, but the symbol of a superhuman, power.

At Tegea in Arkadia there have from time to time been found numerous small four-sided pillars of Doliana marble, capped in each case by a diminutive pyramid and often inscribed with the

An eagle on a thunderbolt is the device of a sling-bullet published by W. Vischer 'Antike Schleudergeschosse' in his *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig 1872 ii. 262 ff. no. 31 pl. 14—G. Fougeres loc. cit. fig. 3626 (with inscription [Δ]ΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ, perhaps Demetrius Poliorcetes).

2 *Flor.* 2. 7. 10.
3 A fragmentary relief from Emesa (*Homs*), now at Brussels (F. Cumont *Catalogue des sculptures & inscriptions antiques (monuments lapidaires) des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire* Bruxelles 1913 p. 68 ff. no. 55 ff.: height 0'41 m., breadth 0'32 m.), represents a series of at least four Syrian deities, from left to right—(a) a deity of whom one foot only remains; (b) a god in Roman military costume, with a spear in his right hand, a thunderbolt (?) in his left, and a rayed nimbus round his head; (c) a veiled goddess, with a javelin or sceptre in her left hand, a necklace round her throat, and an oval shield partly hidden by her head; (d) a god in oriental military costume, with a lance in his right hand, a circular shield on his left arm, and a turban (?) round his head. Above (c) and (d) are the dedications ΘΗΝΑ and ΚΕΡΑΥΝΗ [ΝΩ]. Below (a)—(d) runs a longer inscription : [— — — ΠΦ, ΙΑΜΒΙΔΑΛΑΡ, ΑΓΕΛΙΒΔΑΛΑΡ, ΚΑΙ ΣΕ[...]] [—— —] ή[π] ωρηρης α[ν]ο[ῦ] κ' Π[ῶν] ΙΔΙΩ[Ν]. This has been variously completed. S. Ronzevalle in the *Rev. Arch.* 1902 i. 387 ff. and in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1902 ii. 335 ff. with pl. (=my fig. 780). 1904 p. 276 ff. proposes: [θεοῖς πατρίοις Βήδαλαρ, Ιαμβίδαλαρ, Αγελιβδάλαρ καὶ Σεμ(. ...)] [οὶ δέοις τοῦ δεόντος] ἡπωρητρης ανου κτ Π[ῶν] τεκνων (? άνάθετες]. Semiramis is here the goddess Semea or Sima, on whom see O. Höfer in *Roscher Lex. Myth.* iv. 660 ff. R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 143 ff., 1904 i. 206 ff., *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 104 ff. fig. 27 (=Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 163 no. 3), *id. Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* Paris 1907 p. 130 ff. fig. 28 suggests: [θεοῖς πατρίοις Βήδαλαρ Ιαμβίδαλαρ, Αγελιβδάλαρ | | Αθηνᾶ, Κεραιοῦ | καὶ Σεμ [. . .]] [οὶ δέοις τοῦ δεόντος] ἡπωρητρης ανου κτ Π[ῶν] τεκνων]. F. Cumont *loc. cit.* would read: [θεοῖς πατρίοις Μαλαχβάλαρ, Ιαμβίδαλαρ, Αγελιβδάλαρ καὶ Σεμ [. . .]] [οὶ δέοις τοῦ δεόντος] ἡπωρητρης ανου (ιδ' κτ Π[ῶν] ΙΔΙΩ[Ν]), but hesitates between Μαλαχβάλαρ, Βήδαλαρ, and Εκυαμβίδαλαρ. He would identify (b) with *Iarhibol*, 'Lord of the Months,' an originally lunar but later solar god of Palmyra (*id.* in *Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc.* ix. 750 ff.), (c) perhaps with Seimia, and (d') possibly—but not very probably—with some form of Ἱαμβίδαλαρ heading the dedication. Amid much that remains uncertain it is clear that Keraunos is here conceived as a god of military aspect, equipped with lance and shield,—a great advance upon primitive zoism.

4 See, however, *supra* p. 808 n. 0 no. (13).
name of a god or goddess. The oldest of the series is the fifth-century pillar of Zeus Storpdos (fig. 781), whose appellative denotes the god ‘of the Lightning-flash’.

Another form of the same title was Astrapon, applied to Zeus both in literature and in cult. His worship is attested for Bithynia by inscriptions of the second century A.D. At Antandros in Mysia he had a festival lasting more days than one. At Athens there was a hearth (eschára) of Zeus Astrapos on the city wall between the Python and the Olympion: here, for three days and nights in each of three successive months, the Pythaistai watched a place near Phyle known as the Chariot (Hárma); if they saw a flash of lightning above it, they had to send a certain sacrifice to Delphi. The custom must

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2 A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1906 p. 63 ff. fig. (inscription only), K. A. Rhomaios ib. 1911 p. 150 fig. 1 (= my fig. 781), Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess. ii no. 64 fig. (inscription only). Height: ø67 m.
3 Hesych. s.v. στρατάπεν (so J. Alberti for στρατάπεν cod.) τον ἀστράγαλα καὶ στρατάπεν (so T. Bergk for στρατάπεν cod.) ἀστράγαλος. Πάφου. See F. Bechtel Die griechischen Dialekte Berlin 1921 i. 351 ff.
4 Aristot. de mundo 7. 401 a 16 f. (Apul. de mundo 37 translates ἀστραπάλαοι by fulgurator), Comn. theor. 9 p. 9, 13 Lang., Eustath. in Il. p. 766, 4, Scholl—Studemund anec. i. 204 Ἐπιθέτα Δίως (6) ἀστράπαλαι, 266 Ἐπιθέτα Δίως (17) ἀστράπαλαι. In Orph. h. Ζεὺς 15, 9 h. Ζεὺς Ἀστράπαις 2o. 5 metre demands ἀστράπατος, ἀστράπαλος for ἀστράπαλαι cod.: in the title of the latter hymn E. Abel restored ἀστράπαλος for ἀστράπαλαι cod.
6 F. Lenormant in the Rev. Arch. 1864 ii. 49 ἔδωκε τὴν βούλησιν καὶ τῶν δόκτορος, καὶ Ἀναπαυόμενοι στεφανάζονται / Πολυκράτην Πολυκράτους / Ἀδημων τὴν πρωτιά της / ἐστὶ τῆς Δίως Ἀστράπαλαι | κ.τ.λ.
7 Strab. 404 ὡς δ' ἀντίο καὶ τὸ Ἀρμα, τῆς Ταραγραίης κάμη λήμμα περὶ τῆς Μυκαλητῆς, ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἀμφωρίαν ἀρμάτων λαβοῦσα τόῦμα, ἐτέρα ἀβία τοῦ 'Αματρίας τοῦ κατὰ τῆς Ἀστράπης, ὅ ἐστιν περὶ Φιλίαν, δόκιμος τῆς Ἀστράπης ἡμῶν τῆς Ταραγρῆς. ἐντεύθεν δὲ ἡ παραμική τὴν ἀρχήν ἔδωκεν ἡ Μνημοσύνη, "δότοιαν δὲ 'Αρματος ἄστραψην," ἀστράπατον τινα σημειώμενων κατὰ χρησίμων τῶν λεγομένων Πυθαοτών, βλέποντος ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρμα καὶ τὸν τεμπελόν τὴν θυσίαν εἰς Δελφοὺς, ὅταν ἀστράπατον Θησεον ἐτέρου δ' ἐπὶ τρεῖς μήνας, καὶ αὐτόν μὴν ἐπὶ τρεῖς
have been an ancient one, for it had already passed into a proverb in the fifth century B.C.\(^1\) Indeed, it not improbably dates back to the time when Zeus the lightning-god was lord of Pytho\(^2\). Apollon, who took over so much from his predecessors\(^3\), may well have retained the ominous flash of Zeus\(^4\). As to the ritual of the ensuing sacrifice, inscriptions of the second and first centuries B.C. tell how Pythaïstai of various noble families took first-fruits from Athens to Delphoi, and brought back a sacred tripod on a chariot, together with a priestess called the Fire-bearer\(^5\). The rites thus practised in 


The proverb is recorded by Zenob. 1. 37 (cod. M) ἄγαν ἀρματος ἀστράγη. ἡ παρομοία εἴρηται εἰς τῶν χρόνων γιαμένων: ἐπικλεῖ Ἀθηναίοις εἴσεισαὶ πέμπεις εἰς Δελφοὺς δυνάμις, τρίφθαντες ἀστράγη ἀπὸ τῶν τότων φανερῶν, ὁ "Ἀρμος προσαγαρεύοντος (cp. Suid. s.v. Ἀρμα, Hesych. s.v. ἀστράγη δὲ Ἀρματος and δὲ Ἀρματος, Bekker apoct. i. 213, 16 f.), who is known to have epitomised the proverbs of Didymos and Loukillos of Tarra (Suid. s.v. Ζησάθος, cp. schol. Aristoph. nub. 134). It is used by Plout. ἱμπρ. 5. 5. 2 οἱ γὰρ στανώτες καὶ δὲ "Ἀρματος, ὡς φασώ, ἀποκαλεῖτος κτ.λ.

\(^2\) Supra pp. 179 ff., 186 ff., 231 ff., 267.

\(^3\) Supra pp. 231, 266.

\(^4\) Lightning was occasionally connected with Apollon (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1226 n. 1): see e.g. Eur. Ioun 285 τῷ σφαγε (i.e. the Long Cliffs on the N. side of the Akropolis at Athens) Ἀπόλλων ἀστραταὶ τε Πάτρας; Apollod. 1. 9. 26 ἐκεῖνος δὲ νυκτὸς ἀρχαιοθέτησεν ἐκεῖνος. Ἀπόλλων δὲ σταῖ ἐπὶ τὰς Μελανίτους θεράς, τοξοτάς τῷ βελεὶς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καταστράφης, ὃς ἐν πληρω τοῦ εἰσδομένου ἐνθάνατο τῇ διὰ παρὰ προσδοκίαν ἀναφαγόμενον προσσωμοθέτηκεν Ἀνάφω ἐκάλεσεν, ἵδησμον δὲ βιώσαν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀγαθοῦ καὶ θυσίαν εἰς ἐξουσίαν ἐπεστράφης (cp. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1701 ff., Orph. Arg. 1535 ff.). Coins of Axios in Crete, struck in s. iv. B.C., have obv. head of Apollon, rev. tripod; but from c. 300 B.C. onwards the head of Apollon is replaced usually by a head of Zeus, and the tripod sometimes gives place to a thunderbolt, sometimes has a thunderbolt resting upon it (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 14 f. pl. 3. 12, 17, J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crète ancienne Mâcon 1890 p. 40 pl. 3. 10 and 11, cp. pl. 38 pl. 3, 1, Head Hist. Num. p. 459). Similarly a copper of Antiochos xi Epiphanes (?) Antiochos viii Grypos has rev. a winged thunderbolt resting on a tripod (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 99 pl. 26, 7).


A. Nikitsky in Hermes 1893 xviii. 619 ff. = Fouilles de Delphes iii. 2 no. 13, 1 ff., cp. ἰδ. p. 290, = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 3 no. 711 D. 22 ff. (from the wall of the Treasury
the Hellenistic age—the offering of first-fruits, the carrying of the tripod, and the fetching of need-fire—were doubtless a later revival of earlier usage. But the only fifth-century evidence is Aischylos’ allusion to ‘the road-making sons of Hephaistos’ as expounded by the scholiast, who informs us that sacred processions from Athens to Delphi were headed by men bearing double axes. The weapon, whatever its precise usage in the ceremony, confirms us in the impression that we have here to do with an ancient cult of Zeus.

Near Laodikeia Katakekaumene in Lykaonia Zeus was worshiped under the fuller title ‘He that Thunders and Lightens.’ The combination of these alternative epithets is unusual, but occurs again on an oblong altar of Roman date found in Thera.

(ζ) Zeus Zbelsoúrdos.

G. Seure, who during the last five and twenty years has done more than any man to help forward the study of Thracian archaeology, published in 1913 a whole series of monuments relating to the cult of Zeus Zbelsoúrdos, and added an important discussion of

of the Athenians at Delphi, relating to the third Pythais, that in the spring of 105 B.C.) πυράδων ἤ ἐν Δελφοίς; [Τιμώτεροι ἐν Ἁπασία Πέτραχως]; four names. Ἐκ Πυραῖδων; one name (a later addition). Ἐκ Κηρίδων; three names followed by a blank line. Ἐκ Τυφαναύσων; three names. Ἐκ Τερταπολέων; one name. Ἐκ Εὐρυκλείων. Αἰμφυκράτης Ἐπιστράτειος.

L. Coute in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894 xvi. 87 ff. no. 9, 2 ff. = Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 1285, 2 ff. = Fouilles de Delphes illi. 2 no. 32, 2 ff. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.3 no. 728, 3 ff. (from the wall of the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, relating to the fourth Pythais, that in the spring of 96 B.C.) Ἐπι Μέθωρος Ἀράχων ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἐν τῷ Ἀθηναῖῳ, Ἐπι Αἴμφυκράτης Τυφαναύεων, Ἐπι Εὐρυκλείων ἔν Αἴμφυκράτης Ἐπιστράτειος. 

The evidence for the Pythais has been collected and discussed by J. Toepffer ‘Die attischen Pythaisen und Deliani’ in Hermes 1888 xxiii. 321 ff., 633. V. von Schoeller De Deli insulae rebus (Studien für classische Philologie und Archäologie ix. 1) Berlin 1889 p. 11 f., E. Pfuhl De Atheniensium pompei sacris Berolini 1900 p. 104 ff. G. Colin Le culte d’Apollon Pythien à Athènes Paris 1905 p. 1 ff., W. S. Ferguson Research in Athenian and Delian Documents. III in Klio 1909 ix. 204 ff., A. Boeßens Die Pythais: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi Uppsalæ 1918 pp. 1—172 (a comprehensive and satisfactory handling of an intricate subject). A convenient summary of facts is given by Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.3 ii. 298—301, and a good popular sketch by Frazer Golden Bough5: The Magic Art i. 32 ff. and W. S. Ferguson Hellenistic Athens London 1911 p. 372 ff. (though Sir J. G. Frazer is probably mistaken in supposing that the need-fire was carried in the tripod: see Boeßens op. cit. p. 72 ff.).

1 Supra p. 628.
2 Sir W. M. Ramsay in the Ath. Mitt. 1888 xiii. 235 f. no. 1 (Khadyin Khan) Ἐπι Αἴμφυκράτης Ἐπι Τυφαναύεων καὶ Αἴμφυκράτης Ἐπι Αἴμφυκράτης. Menodorus, as Sir William remarks, was perhaps high-priest of an imperial cult.
his name and nature. The monuments in question comprise seven reliefs, two coins, and three votive inscriptions.

Of the reliefs there are three distinct types. The first, represented by five examples, shows a bearded god, usually clad in a chlamys, advancing from left to right with a thunderbolt in his raised right hand and an eagle on his outstretched left arm. Beneath his left hand there is a pillar (figs. 782, 783) or altar (fig. 784), and at his

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2 (1) Relief in white marble, at Sofia (G. Seure loc. cit. p. 226 f. fig. 1), inscribed ΡΟΜΙΣΔΑ (?), of which the only traces now legible are Λ, of the last two letters. The original reading may have been [Ζθε]διοιδοτοι (id. ib. p. 243 n. 3), cp. infra p. 821 f. Nude bearded (?) god, brandishing bolt (?) in raised right hand and extending left arm, on which an eagle is perched, over a four-sided pillar. Height: 0.16 m.

(2) Marble relief from Puscelovets near Nikopolis in Moesia, now at Sofia (Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 157 no. 1 (= my fig. 782), G. Seure loc. cit. p. 228 f. fig. 2), inscribed Σωμα εχθρ. Bearded god, with chlamys, brandishing bolt in raised right hand and extending left arm, on which an eagle is perched, over a pillar (probably not a tree). At his feet, a snake. Height: 0.20 m.

(3) Marble relief from Samovoden near Nikopolis in Moesia, now at Sofia (G. Seure in the Rev. Arch. 1909 ii. 52 f. no. 53, id. in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1913 xxvi. 229 f. fig. 3 (= my fig. 783)), with an inscription, which was read by Dobrousky as Δ[1] Ζαυαρα, by Seure first as Δ[1] Ζαυαρα and later as [θε]ς Ζαυαρα, with compendium of αλ. Bearded god, with chlamys, brandishing club-like bolt in raised right hand and extending left arm, over which is an eagle, to touch a pillar with moulded top. At his feet, a snake. Height: 0.205 m.

(4) Marble relief from Billa Tcherkwa near Nikopolis in Moesia, now at Sofia (G. Seure in the Rev. Arch. 1909 ii. 73 no. 5, id. in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1913 xxvi. 231 ff. fig. 4), uninscribed. Bearded god, with chlamys, brandishing bolt in raised right hand and
feet two of the reliefs give a gliding snake (figs. 782, 783). In the main this type is clearly adapted from a common Hellenic scheme, that of Zeus advancing to the attack\footnote{supra p. 739 ff.}. Accordingly, its least barbaric example (fig. 784) is accompanied by the dedication ‘To Zeus Zbei\thotros.’

The second type, of which there is but one specimen (fig. 785)\footnote{Marble relief from Soukhatché in the district of Bièla Slatina, now at Sofia (G. Seure in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1913 xxvi. 233 ff. fig. 5 (= my fig. 785)), uninscribed. Height: 0.19 m.}, extending left arm, on which an eagle is perched, to touch a pillar. At his right side, on a smaller scale, stands a draped female figure. Height: 0.17 m.

\footnote{Marble relief from Bousadjila in the district of Sliven, now at Sofia (S. Reinach in the Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques 1894 p. 425 f. pl. 20, 1 (= my fig. 784), P. Perdriset in the Recueil des études anciennes 1899 p. 23 no. 2, G. Seure in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1913 xxvi. 235 f. fig. 6), inscribed Δι Ζβέλθιόυρός | Μακάπος δῶρον. Zeus, bearded and wearing himation, stands towards the right, with a twisted bolt in his raised right hand and an eagle on his extended left, beneath which is a small rectangular altar. Height: 0.33 m.}
Zeus Zbelsoùrdos

shows the same god still brandishing his bolt, but mounted on a two-horse chariot, which carries also a draped and veiled goddess. She holds in both hands attributes hard to determine—in her right perhaps two ears of wheat (? a cornu copiae), in her left perhaps a long torch (? a sceptre). The chariot is preceded by the snake, of which the tail alone is visible. This relief, despite its extreme clumsiness, is again composed of Hellenic elements, the motif of Zeus fulminating in a chariot with a snaky tail before him being

Fig. 782.

probably drawn from the Gigantomachy. And here it is of interest to remember that in the neighbourhood of Constantinople thunder is nowadays attributed to St Elias, who drives his chariot across the sky in pursuit of a dragon, and that the modern Greek as like as not will say 'The lightning is chasing the snakes.'

The third type, again represented by a single relief (fig. 786), shows the Thracian god once more in the guise of a Greek Zeus, a nude, bearded figure facing us with sceptre held high and lowered

1 For an analogous case see supra p. 82 f.
2 Supra i. 183.
3 Marble relief, found in 1875 near the church of S. Eusebio at Rome, i.e. on a part of the Esquiline where foreign troops, including Thracians, had their barracks, and now to be seen in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (R. Lanciani in the Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma 1880 viii. 12 no. 157 pl. 1 (= my fig. 786), Matz—Duhn Ant. Bildw., in Rom iii. 146 no. 3771, F. Perdrizet in the Revue des études anciennes 1899 p. 24 no. 4, G. Seure in the Rev. Et. Gr. 1913 xxvi. 236 ff. fig. 7, Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 203 no. 3), inscribed θεός Ζεύς θεοῦ καὶ Ἰαμβάδοπος ἐσώρατος δῆμηλος Διώνυσος στρατηγὸς | ποτὶ πάρα (οριστει) ἐκατεστάρχου | Φιλιαδόνων θεῶν | ἀνδρίς = Inscr. Gr. Sic. II. no. 981. After χρ(ι)τθὴς there is space for a missing numeral.
4 Supra p. 749 ff.
Zeus Zbeleqdoros

bolt. But this time he is grouped with a younger god on horseback, recognisable by his effeminate limbs and abundant hair. G. Seure does not hesitate to name him Dionysoς, a hypostasis or by-form of the Thracian rider. He points out that the relief was dedicated by one Dionysios (nomen omen) ‘to the god Zberthoudros and to Tambadoles’—a title which recalls the horse-riding Dionysoς, ‘the god Asdoules,’ of the Brussels relief. I may add that the curious tradition of Iambe the doule² or ‘slave,’ who beguiled Demeter by her jokes and is herself described as a Thracian⁴ or a Bacchant³, was not improbably founded on a misunderstanding of this cult-epithet.

The coins of Serdike and Pautalia in Thrace adduced by Seure⁶ are only variants of a wide-spread numismatic type⁷ and do not

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1 Supra p. 270 n. 3.
2 Since this paragraph was penned I find that I have been anticipated in the suggestion by Seure himself (Rev. Ét. Gr. 1913 xxvi. 257 n. 4).
5 Et. mag. p. 463, 28 f. ή ἄπο τῆς εἰρωνείας γυναικὸς Βάκχης τινὸς Τάμμης καλουμένης.
6 G. Seure in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1913 xxvi. 240.
7 Supra p. 743 n. 7.
increase our knowledge of the Thracian god. But the inscriptions\(^1\) contribute other spellings of his name: Zeus Zbelsoúrdōs\(^2\), Zeus Zlethóúrdōs\(^3\), the god Zberturdus\(^4\).

The name is presumably a compound. But attempts to fix its meaning are precarious. Tomasech\(^5\) thought that the first element was akin to the Lithuanian žatbas, ‘lightning,’ žiburyš, ‘light, torch,’ etc. and might denote either ‘brilliance’ or ‘lightning.’ For the second he suggested some connexion, near or remote, with the Slavonic svér-d-, ‘to twist, to bore.’ On this showing we should, I suppose, obtain a Thracian equivalent of terpikeraunos\(^6\). Baron Nopcsa believes that Zibel-Thiurdos lives on in Šn Ćurđh, ‘Saint Deaf’ (surdus), whom he describes as the storm-god of the modern Albanians.\(^7\) G. Seure\(^8\), with far greater circumspection, argues that the original form of the Thracian name was *Zibélesóúrōs, which by a double syncopation became Zbelsoúrōs. He finds the same first element in Zibelézis, a well-attested variant\(^9\) of the Getic Gebelezis\(^10\), and urges that *Zibélesóúrōs, Zibelézis, and Zalmóris were three of the epithets attached to the great national god of Thrace, a Zeus-like deity whose name is unknown\(^11\). The second element Solvōs he regards as the patronymic of Sōiras (Souris, Surus, Surio), pointing out that on one of the reliefs already mentioned (fig. 782) the name Sōira may possibly be that of the god\(^12\), and emending a disputed sentence of Cicero's accordingly\(^13\).

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1 G. Seure in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1913 xxvi. 242 ff.
2 A statue of Domitian erected by a triarch of the Perinthian fleet was dedicated Διὸ Ζβελσομίου (A. Dumont-T. Homolle Incriptions et monuments figurés de la Thrace Paris 1876 p. 381 no. 72 a). But the Ashburnham MS. of Ciriaco de Pizzicollini (Cyr. of Ancona), to whom we owe the preservation of this title, reads ΔΙΩΣ ΖΒΕΛΣΟΥΡΩΣ (Th. Mommsen in the Ephem. épigr. 1877 iii. 236 no. 8).
3 A votive column, found at Chafrow near Domnita, is inscribed in coarsely cut letters ΔΙΔΑΣΚΟΡΩΣ (Th. Mommsen in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1913 xxvi. 242, 247).
4 A Latin dedication, found at Ljubanse near Uskub in Makedonia, reads: [d]eo Zb[erjurd]i[o sacr.] [S]ex., Fl. F[i]na[m][lis] [v.] l. [p.] (Corp. inscr. Lat. ii no. 8191 with correction on p. 2250, Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4077 with correction ib. iii. 2 p. clxxx).
6 Supra p. 779.
9 So codd. A. B. C. (the older, ‘Florentine, family) in Hdt. 4. 94.
10 Supra p. 227 n. 4.
11 See, however, supra p. 276 f.
12 Σοῦρα, if nominative, is the dedicator; if genitive, the dedicator's father; if datif, the god to whom the dedication is made.
13 In Cic. in Pis. 85 a te Iovis Velsuri fanum antiquissimum barbarorum sanctis-
Zeus Zbelsoûrðos

These tentatives, however, are at best unconvincing. Indeed, scientific etymology is hopelessly handicapped by our comparative ignorance of the Thracian tongue. But, if the name of the god escapes us, his nature does not. Zeus Zbelsoûrðos was at once a sky-power and an earth-power—witness on the one hand his thunderbolt, on the other his snake. His consort was a goddess perhaps akin to Demeter or to Semele. His offspring was Iambadoûlès, Dionysos in the likeness of the Thracian rider-god. For further knowledge we must be content to wait till Thrace yields up more of her buried secrets.

Thus much I had written, in some despondency, when I received (Jan. 24, 1922) a most encouraging communication from Mr B. F. C. Atkinson of Magdalene College, Cambridge. Knowing him to have made a special study of things Illyrian, I had challenged him to furnish me with a possible derivation of Zbelsoûrðos.

I append his reply: 'With regard to the variant form Zibel- of the first part of this compound, it has occurred to me '—he says—' that we may have here simply the root div- with suffix -el-. There is some reason to believe that original unaspirated voiced stops became in the Thracian and Illyrian dialects spirants; and it is reasonable to suppose that zeta was the symbol used by the Greeks to represent this sound (similar to the initial sound of English then), which did not normally occur in most Greek dialects. If this is the explanation of the zeta used in the Elean dialect in words such as zikaia, zé (in three early inscriptions), where delta would be normal, we have a parallel use of the sound and of the symbol zeta to express it. We may compare the much later similar development of delta, which is a spirant in Modern Greek. As to the suffix -el-, I suggest that Zibel- is a parallel form to Ilûvîl-as, several times occurring in dedicatory inscriptions in Campania (vd. Conway Italic Dialects i. 101 ff.). The use of beta to express a w- or v-sound is of course comparatively common.


1 This conception of Dionysos may account for the use of the word ἦρος as applied to him in the chant of the Elean women (carm. pop. 5 Hiler—Crusius ap. Plout. quaeit. Gr. 36 ἦρως, ἦρων ἦρων, | κ.τ.λ.). My former attempt to re-cast the line (in Miss Harrison’s Themis Cambridge 1912 p. 205 n. 1 ἦρως ἦρως, ἦρων, | κ.τ.λ.) was, I now think, ill-advised.

Since Dionysos was essentially a younger form of his own father (supra p. 287 ff.), it is not surprising to find that the word ἦρος attached to the older god likewise: (1) Corp. Inscr. Lat. iii no. 7554 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4063 (Tomoi) i. 0. m. | Heroi | Q. Trebellius | Q. f. (F)alb. Maximus Roma, | 7 leg. v Mac. | trecentarius | coh. 111 pr. | v. s. (2) G. Seure in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1913 xxvi. 239 n. 10 (Pannonia) i. 0. m. Heroni.
The whip of Zeus

This leaves the second half of the compound still to be determined1. But it may be observed that it strengthens the conjecture [supra p. 277 ff.] that the Thracian form of the name of Zeus was *Di(v)-os.'

v. The whip of Zeus.

Dr Rendel Harris in a brief but important chapter 2 collects evidence from China, India, and Wallachia of lightning conceived as a whip. He holds that the same conception has left traces of itself in Greek mythology, but does not quote some definite statements, which might be adduced from Greek authors.

Kapaneus, when attacking the Electran gate of Thebes, defied Zeus and compared his lightning to mere midday heat3. Thereupon Zeus struck him down with a thunderbolt. The incident was notorious; but Lykophron4 the pedant adds interest to it by describing Kapaneus as lashed with a lightning-whip:

The third5 is son of him who undermined
With his rude mattock the Ectenian6 towers.
The Thunderer7, Adviser8, God of Mills9,

1 Mr Atkinson subsequently supplied me with a ‘Further Note on Ἰβελσούρδος. The second part of the compound presents greater difficulty owing to the variant readings. It is hard to resist the conclusion that the sound represented now by σ, now by θ, is the unvoiced dental spirant. The ι which is supposed by some to be present after the θ is, I understand, a doubtful factor. Seuse (Revue des Études Grecques, 1913 p. 247) rejects it, and thus simplifies matters, making the form a variant between -σουρδος and -θουρδος. If the initial sound is the unvoiced dental spirant, the form may well be connected with the root appearing in Sanskrit as Ḫrd, ῆραττ, which is commonly used of Indra “splitting” or “cleaving” with his bolt (e.g. vajra kañhā atipa nadēnā = “with his bolt he split open the crevasses of the waters,” RV II. 15). The root Ἰρδ is commonly supposed to be an extension of the root του, I-E. *τοί, seen in Greek τείρω, τερεω, τερεθα, etc. The Thracian change of t to θ, though not resting upon any established or tested sound-law, is not inconsistent with other evidence, scanty as it is, and we may compare the similar change in Avestan especially under the influence of a liquid. If this etymology is well-founded, we thus have as the meaning of the whole compound “Zeus,” or “the son of Zeus, the Splitter” (referring of course to the thunderbolt).'

2 J. Rendel Harris Picus who is also Zeus Cambride 1916 p. 57 ff., ep. τῆς p. 55.
3 Aisch. s. c. Th. 422 ff.
4 Lyk. Al. 433 ff. τρίτον δέ, τοῦ μάχαιρα Ἐκτήρων ποτέ | στερρὰ δικέλλῃ βοσκαφῆς σαντοσ γλώσσω, | ἃν Γογγυλάτης ἐλλέ Βουλαίος Μιλεός, | ἀγηλάτω μάστει συνθραύσας κόρα, | ἢμιος εὔνους πατρὸς αἴ Ναυτός κόραι | πρὸς αὐτοκόντην στρίφον ὀμμασάν μόρου. The version printed above is by G. W. Mooney.
5 Sthenelos, son of Kapanes.
6 The Ἐκτήρεις were the first inhabitants of Thebes, their king Ogygus being autochthonous (Paus. 9. 5. 1).
7 Mooney follows C. von Holzinger, who on the strength of Hesych. γογγυλαν (C. G. Cobet cj. γογγύλλειν) συστρεφεῖν (M. Schmidt cj. συστρέφειν) translates ‘Blitzeschleuderer.’ Tzetze ad loc. says ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Γογγυλάτης, δι’ οὗ αἱ γογγύλαι καὶ συστρεφομέναι χεῖρας ἐνωθήναι—a desperate guess. In all probability (supra p. 260) Γογγυλάτης was a local appellative from τὸ Γογγύλι, the ‘Round’ Rock or Island (ep. Στρομβόλι = Stromboli), a site as yet unidentified.
8 Supra p. 258 n. 3.
9 Supra p. 260 sub fin.
Crushed in his head with his avenging scourge,
What time Night’s daughters armed with fell desire
The father’s brothers to shed brother’s blood.

The scholiast, commenting on Lykophron’s word ‘scourge,’ remarks simply: ‘he means “with his thunderbolt.”’

Oppian (c. 170 A.D.) describes a storm at sea in similar terms:

Beneath the scourge of Zeus etherial fire
Strikes the sea-farer’s keel, and the burning stroke
Devours it, while the sea blent with dread flames
Still higher tosses and still onward drives.

Again the scholiast observes: “scourge,” that is, “thunderbolt.”

Now learned poets of the Hellenistic age would hardly have ventured upon such a locution, unless they had (or fancied they had) some warrant for it in earlier Hellenic poetry. Accordingly we find Hesychios noting the Homeric phrase ‘by the scourge of Zeus’ and carefully explaining that this means ‘by the thunderbolt.’ Unfortunately his explanation is wrong. The phrase occurs twice in the Iliad, and in neither passage is there the least allusion to a thunderstorm. The fact is, Homer’s language was already old, and this particular expression even in his day had lost much of its original force. ‘The scourge of Zeus,’ scholiasts and lexicographers notwithstanding, was the merest metaphor for the driving power of the god. For all that, the phrase must have arisen at a time (? Early Iron Age) and in a place (? Thessaly) when and where Zeus was conceived as the driver of a celestial chariot. His cracking whip made the lightning; his echoing wheels, the thunder. Salomeneus, who during the Early Iron Age came from Thessaly to Elis, was an adept at the self-same art.

A vague remembrance of Zeus the charioteer with his lightning-lash clings about the tradition of his primeval contests. In representations of the Gigantomachy we frequently see him fulminating on a four-horse chariot. More than that, his lightning-lash was not

1 The Furies.
2 Eteokles and Polynikes, both sons and brothers of Oidipous.
3 Schol. Lyk. Al. 433 = et ci., mag. p. 10. 2 μενε δὲ τῷ κεραυνῷ.
4 Opp. de pisc. 5. 282 ff. ὑπὲ δὲ Διὸς ἡμέρας ἔπει δρόμων αἰθέριον πῦρ Κ.Τ.Λ.
5 Schol. Opp. de pisc. 5. 282 μᾶστιγῶν κεραυνὸν.
6 Hesych. s.v. Διὸς μάστιγας τῷ κεραυνῷ.
7 II. 12. 37 f. Ἀργείως δὲ Διὸς μάστιγα δαμέντας ἐνυών ἐπὶ γαλαφυρόν ἐλέμονον ἱππανώτατο, 13. 811 f. οὐ τοι τι μάχης ἀδαμνοσεῖς εἰμέν, ἀλλὰ Διὸς μάστιγας κακοὶ θαύμαις ἠχαίοι.
9 Hesych. loc. cit. J. Alberti ad loc. cites ‘Gloss. Rutgers. Μάστιγας κεραυνόν.’
10 Apollod. t. 9. 7. cp. Strab. 356.
11 E.g. supra p. 82 fig. 44, p. 84 fig. 46, p. 778 fig. 741.
The whip of Zeus

forgotten by poets who told of his fight with Typhoeus. Homer himself works it into the *simile* with which he concludes the list of the Greek combatants before Troy:

> They marched as though the land were all devoured
> With fire. Earth groaned beneath them as when Zeus
> In anger twists his bolt and plies his lash
> About Typhoeus—him who lies abed
> (Men say) ’t the land of Arima. Even so
> Beneath their feet, as on they came, earth groaned,
> And speedily they passed across the plain.

Hesiod, relating the same myth, is even more explicit:

> Zeus armed his might and all his weapons took,
> Thunder and lightning and fierce levin-bolt,
> Sprang from Olympos, struck, and blasted all
> The wondrous heads of the monster. He at length
> Laid low by strokes of the lash fainted and fell
> Maimed of his power, and monstrous earth made moan.

This old belief in the whip of the lightning-god accounts for a curious dedication in the precinct of Zeus *Naios*. According to Aristotle, there was at Dodona a couple of columns, which supported respectively a caldron (*lēves*) and a boy (*pāts*) grasping a whip. The bronze lashes of the whip, when swayed by the wind, struck the caldron and produced a reverberant sound. Strabon, probably following Apollodoros, adds that the whip was dedicated by the Corcyraeans, that it consisted of three chains tipped with buttons, and that you could count four hundred before the echo died away. Now Sir James Frazer has conjectured that the Dodonaean gong was 'meant to mimic the thunder that might so often be heard rolling and rumbling in the coombs of the stern and barren mountains which shut in the gloomy valley.' If so, the Corcyraean whip, which lashed its silence into sound, was an equally vivid and appropriate emblem of the lightning.

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2. *Hes. Theog.* 853 ff. Nonnus on the same theme repeats the metaphor *ad nauseam* (*Dion.* 2. 553; 555; 541; 548).
4. Strab. *ib.* 7 frag. 3.
6. *Frazer Golden Bough* 2: The Magic Art ii. 358 ff. Sir James Frazer’s further conjecture (ib. p. 358 n. 4) that 'the bronze statuette...would represent Zeus himself making his thunder' would have to meet the objection that the said statuette is described as *στάνκα*, *πασάριν* or at most *sarnias* (see the passages adduced in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 8 f.). But cp. the Zeus *Hai* of Aiglon (*infra* p. 742 f.).
Thunder as a sound independent of Zeus.


(a) Thunder as a sound independent of Zeus.

Thunder was sometimes, perhaps originally\(^1\), venerated as an independent phenomenon, not connected, or at least not expressly connected, with the name of Zeus. Thus at Bathos in Arkadia, where—according to local tradition—the battle of the gods and giants took place, sacrifices were offered to Lightnings, Storms, and Thunders\(^3\). Similarly the writer of the proem to the Orphic Hymn addresses his prayer to 'Winds, Thunders, and parts of the four-pillared World'\(^4\).

This conception of Lightnings and Thunders as Augenblicksgötter has left a trace of itself in a custom common to both Greeks and Romans. When a lightning-flash was seen, folk at once made a loud smacking noise with their lips\(^5\). Why? Pliny seems to have thought that the worshipper was thus, so to speak, blowing a kiss to his god: 'the nations by common consent,' he says, 'adore the Lightnings with smacking sounds.' More probably the sounds in question were prophylactic\(^6\) and meant to avert the danger of being struck by the lightning\(^7\). To the same primitive stage of formless fear belongs one of the strange taboos\(^8\) by which the wife of the

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\(^3\) Orph. ἐβαρόντο οἰνον τὴν ἄστραπαν τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ κτηματα. Τὸν ἄστραπαν θυμέεσθι τῆς ἂνθρωπος, οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄνθρωπον ἀπέρρηθι. Οὐ δὲ τοῖς ἄστραπαις γίνονται, παῦναν. Ὁ δ' ἄστραπαν γίνονται, παῦναν.

\(^4\) Plin. nat. hist. 28. 25 fulgetras poppysmis adorare consensus gentium est. So C. Sittl Die Gebirde der Griechen und Römer Leipzig 1890 p. 185 interprets the action as a blandeishment: 'Der Blitz, meint man, fühl sich geschmeichelt, wenn der Mensch, statt zu erschrecken, sein Wohlgesehens ausdrückt.'


\(^6\) E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. l. 43 f. (on the strength of Aristot. anal. post. 2. 11. 94 b 32 B. ὡσπερ εἶ ἄρωμα ἀποσφυνωμένου τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνάγκη σίζων καὶ ψοφεῖν, καὶ εἶ ὅ τις ἐν μισθούσι φασις ἀπείην ἐναν τοῖς εὗ τῷ Ταραμῷ, ὁταν δούσθην καὶ ἐμβλ. p. Pyth. 156 ὅταν δὲ ἄρωμα, τός γάρ ἀνάγκης νῦν ἄρωμα ἀνάγκης) supposes that a thunderstorm was regarded as a repetition of the Titanomachy and that men could help the gods to win by these apotropaic noises.

\(^7\) Frazer Golden Bough; Taboo p. 14.
flamen Dialis was bound. If she chanced to hear a peal of thunder, she was incapacitated for duty till she had pacified the gods1.

But Thunder and Lightning early developed into Sondervöter. At first, as we might have anticipated, they took shape as divine animals. For, not only does Hesiod make Pegasos the bearer of thunder and lightning2, but Eumelos (s. viii B.C.), using the self-same words, calls two of the sun’s horses Bronte, ‘Thunder,’ and Sterope, ‘Lightning’3. Already, however, in Hesiod’s time this theriomorphic conception was giving way before the ubiquitous advance of anthropomorphism. The Theogony speaks of ‘Brontes and Steropes and strong-souled Argos’ as Kyklopes resembling the gods in all points, except for the single eye set in their forehead4. Even this non-human trait disappeared in due course. Pliny says of Apelles: ‘He painted the unpaintable too—thunders, lightnings, and thunderbolts, Bronte, Astrape, and Ceraunobolia, as they are called’. The reference here is certainly5 to allegorical female figures such as those introduced by Philostratos into his picture of Semele—‘stern-looking Thunder and Lightning with flashing eyes’. Finally these daemonic personifications are transformed into angels, or at least controlled by angelic powers. Ioannes of Gaza (c. 536 A.D.)6 in his description of the cosmic picture, which adorned the Winter Bath of that town, represents Bronte and Sterope surrounded by clouds7. Bronte has her hands held behind her by an angel; Sterope, hurling her flash, is directed by another angel—an ingenious way of suggesting that we see the lightning before we hear the thunder8.

The lively imagination that inspired such figures is not yet extinct. A folk-song well known throughout Greek lands9 involves the following plot. A Dragon (Drakontas) threatens to devour a young man. But his victim’s lover by claiming to be the daughter of Lightning and Thunder so scares the Dragon10 that he lets the young man go free. Similarly in a song from Epeiros a Lamia, disguised as a woman, begs a widow’s son to recover her ring,

1 Macrobi. Sat. 1. 16. 8.
3 Supra i. 337 n. 3.
4 Hes. theog. 139 ff. Supra i. 503 n. 2, 312 n. 1, 314, 317 f.
5 Plin. nat. hist. 35. 96.
7 Philostr. mai. imagin. 1. 14. 1 (supra p. 28).
8 Thiele in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. ix. 1747.
9 Io. Gaz. 2. 160 ff.
11 N. G. Polites Δημόσιος μεταφορολογικοι μύθοι (extract from Δημόσιος) Athens 1880 p. 9 f. quotes variants from Kypros, Crete, the mainland of Greece, and Korkyra.
12 Since it is a long-standing belief that snakes are chased by the lightning (supra i. 185, ii. 820).
Thunder as a sound uttered by Zeus 829

which has dropped inside a willow-tree, all blackened by lightning. She lowers him into the hollow trunk, where he finds nothing but snakes, and refuses to draw him up:

- "Now thou art in, my pretty youth, forth shalt thou come, ah, never! For I'm the Lamia of the Sea, devourer of the Heroes!"
- "And I, I am the Lightning's Son, I'll lighten, and will burn thee!"
- She of the Lightning was afraid, and up again she drew him up!

Even more suggestive of a Sondergott is the question put to Mr. J. C. Lawson by an aged crone, who was rain-making on the edge of the cliff in Thera (Santorini). She knew 'the god above and the god below,' but 'One thing she could not make out—who was the god that caused the thunder; did I know?'

(b) Thunder as a sound uttered by Zeus.

Usually, however, thunder was brought into some direct connexion with Zeus. The modern mind, steeped in Semitic thought, readily conceives thunder as the voice of God. But this was not a classical conception. Thunder was at most an ominous sound preceding divine speech. Thus, when Oidipous the aged wanderer of the Sophoclean play is about to be translated, Zeus Chthonios thunders; after which there is silence for a while, and then the god cries in ringing tones:

Oidipous, Oidipous, why tarry we
To go? Too long already they delay!

Phaedrus also, describing a scene on the Roman stage, says:

The curtain dropped, the thunder was rolled down,
And the gods spoke as they are wont to speak.

But, though the Greeks of the classical age did not regard thunder as the articulate voice of Zeus, they thought of it sometimes in a more homely fashion as an inarticulate sound proceeding from his body.

2 J. C. Lawson Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion Cambridge 1910 p. 49f.
3 Job 37. 5 'God thundereth marvellously with his voice' (cp. ib. 37. 4, 40. 9, Ps. 77. 18, 104. 7, John 12. 29, Rev. 10. 3 f., 14. 2, 19. 6). E. B. Tylor Primitive Culture London 1891 ii. 264 : 'Among certain Moslem schismatics, it is even the historical Ali, cousin of Mohammed, who is enthroned in the clouds, where the thunder is his voice,' etc.
4 E.g. R. Browning An Epistle sub fin.: 'So, through the thunder comes a human voice,' F. W. H. Myers Saint Paul London 1887 p. 41 'Lo if some strange intelligible thunder | Sang to the earth the secret of a star.'
5 Soph. O. C. 1604 ff.
6 Phaedr. 5. 7. 23f.
7 See the conversation between Strepsiades and Sokrates in Aristoph. Nub. 382 f., which is probably based upon folk-belief (cp. Strab. 675, Sen. nat. quaecst. 5. 4. 2).
Thunder as a Sound

(c) Thunder as a sound caused by the Chariot of Zeus.

According to another popular belief, thunder was the noise made by the chariot of Zeus as it rattled across the sky. Of this conception there is no certain trace in epic verse. But Pindar began one of his lost poems with the words:

'Thunder-driving son of Rhea'!

On which Hesychios comments: 'The thunder is thought to be the chariot of Zeus.' A second Pindaric exordium was as follows:

'Driver on high of the tireless-footed thunder,
Zeus,' etc.

Hereupon one scholiast remarks: 'Recent writers assign the thunder to Zeus as his chariot and say "O Zeus the Charioteer."' Another: 'Pindar takes the thunder to be the horse of Zeus, and so calls it "tireless-footed."' A third: 'Recent writers after a manner of their own hold the thunder to be the chariot and horse of Zeus.' The reference to recent writers is meant to include such poets as Horace. But we can hardly doubt that the Thunderer's chariot was genuinely Greek. For, not only does it occur elsewhere in literature...

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1 Zeus in the Iliad has his 'well-wheeled chariot and horses' (supra i. 338 n. 1, where—as Mr C. T. Seltman points out to me—I should have noted II. 8. 41 ff. rather than II. 8. 438 ff. as the earliest allusion); but they are not said to cause thunder.

2 Τυφής, an epic epithet of Zeus (II. 4. 166, 7. 69, 11. 544, 18. 185, Hes. o. d. 18, Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 2. 373. 1), might conceivably be rendered 'who driveth his team aloft' (though it would describe horse or chariot more naturally than driver) and viewed as a virtual equivalent of υψηλομένη, 'who thundereth aloft'. (II. 1. 354, 12. 68, 14. 54, 15. 31, 16. 121, Od. 5. 4, 23. 331, H. Herm. 339, Hes. o. d. 8, Theog. 568, 601, Aristoph. Lys. 772, Orph. Arg. 1278, Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 6. 92. 3, 6. 310. 2, Theog. allog. Od. 5. 75; cp. Orph. h. Ker. 19. 1, where J. P. Pierson cj. υψηλόμενος for υψηλόμενον). But υψηλόμενος is traditionally taken to mean 'who sitteth aloft' (H. Ebeling Lexicon Homericum Lipsiae 1880 ii. 396)—an epithet appropriate to a steersman (Noumenios ap. Euseb. praep. ev. 11. 18. 24, Euseb. de laud. Const. 10 p. 223. 12f. Heikel), which may well have descended to Homer from the days of the 'Minoan' thalsaccocracy.

3 Pind. frag. 144 Schröder ap. Sound. s.v. θυφή: θυφή γιὰ να χαρτίνιτς την Ρέας.

4 Hesych. s.v. αὐτοπροστάτης: ἀπειδέ αὐτοπροστάτης τὸν Δαίμον βροτὴς εἰσάγει.

5 Pind. Od. 4. 1 ff. ἕσθη ὑπὲρ τῆς βροτῆς ἄκωματόσω σοι | Ζεύς.

6 Schol. Pind. Od. 4. 1 d, 1 k, 1 a.

7 Hor. ad. 1. 34. 5ff. Diespiter | ... per purum tonantis | egit equos volucrumque currum (cp. ib. 1. 12. 58 ff.) with Porphyryon ad loc. dicuntur tonitra streptus esse currum et quadrigraram Iovis.

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Terra-cotta group from Gnathia, now in the British Museum:
Zeus in a four-horse chariot.

See page 831 n. 1.
and art, but it enters into ritual and mythology of long standing.

The inhabitants of Kranon in Thessaly kept as a sacred object a chariot, grasping or hurling a thunderbolt. The scene is usually, but not always, a Gigantomachy. I append a few examples:

(1) Gems (Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 5 no. 13 pl. 3, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 18, 6 (= my fig. 760), ii. 87; iii. pl. 57, 2 (= my fig. 44), ii. 259; id. *Gesch. Steine Berlin* p. 239 no. 6255 pl. 43, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 92 no. 591 (infra 89 c)).


(3) Vases (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 4 pl. 1—2 the 'Francois' vase, ii. 194 pl. 96 a red-figured amphora in the Louvre, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. céis* i. 27 pl. 13 a red-figured amphora from the Hamilton collection=Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 287, 1, cp. H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 18, 188).

(4) Reliefs (Fouilles de Delphes iv pl. 13—14, 1, col. pl. 21—23, 1, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 374 fig. 175, F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 136 f. fig. 55 north frieze of the Siphnian Museum; *Die Skulpturen des Pergamon-Museums in Photographien* Berlin 1903 pls. 14, 15, Pergamon iii. 2. 48 f. Atlas pl. 10 f.).

A Hellenistic group in terra cotta, found at Gnathia (Fasano) in Apulia and bequeathed by Sir W. Temple to the national collection, is described as follows by H. B. Walters ( *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 324 no. D 157. My pl. xxxvii is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming): *Zeus* in four-horse chariot, on a large plinth. His figure is visible as far as the knees; his head is inclined to his l. r. hand extended with open palm, and in l. he holds up an apple (?). He has a thick straight beard and curly hair with laurel-wreath; drapery is twisted round his wrist and l. arm, covering the l. leg. The body of the chariot is represented by a high narrow box on a base, with an arched railing round the front and sides; the horses together with the pole and yoke of the chariot are much restored, as are the wheels of the chariot, from the axles of which project lions' heads. Ht. of Zeus (with base), 114 in... Back of Zeus slightly modelled.'
Thunder caused by the Chariot of Zeus

a bronze car. In time of drought they shook this car and prayed the god for rain. The paraสนาม or 'badge' of their city showed two ravens perched on the car; and enquirers were told that two ravens, never more than two, were to be seen at Krannon. Theopompos stated that these two stayed till they had chicks, and then left. Ktesias told a similar tale about Ecbatana. And Myrsilos of Methymna said that on Lepetymnos, a mountain of Lesbos, there was a temple of Apollo and a shrine of the eponymous hero Lepetymnos, on which again two ravens perched and no more.

![Fig. 788](image)
![Fig. 789](image)
![Fig. 790](image)

![Fig. 791](image)
![Fig. 792](image)

All this is duly related by Antigonos of Karystos, a paradoxographer of s. iii B.C.; and his account is confirmed by the fourth-century coinage of Krannon. Bronze coins of that town have for their reverse type an amphora resting on a car (fig. 788). Some specimens show a raven seated on the right-hand wheel (figs. 789-791); others, a pair of ravens on the two wheels (fig. 792). A. Furtwängler made it probable that the ravens were believed to bring rain from the sky, and that water was spilt from the amphora as a

4 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc. p. 16 pl. 2, 13. Fig. 788 is from a specimen in my collection.
5 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc. p. 16 nos. 3 and 4. Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt. p. 469 n. 7. Fig. 789 = W. M. Leake Numismata Hellenica London 1856 European Greece p. 43; fig. 790 = ib. Fig. 791 is from the McClean collection.
6 Furtwängler op. cit. p. 469 fig. 186. My fig. 792 = W. M. Leake op. cit. European Greece p. 43 (wrongly described) KPHANOYNIYNOY.
7 He refers to All. de nat. an. 1. 47 (Apollo sent the raven to get water. He found a green cornfield and, wishing to eat the grain, waited till it grew dry, thereby forgetting his errand. Hence he is punished by thirst in the summer, and proclaims his punishment by croaking), pseudo-Eratost. catast. 41 (When the gods were sacrificing, the raven was sent to get water for a libation from a fountain. He saw beside it a fig-tree and waited for
Zeus Brontaioi, Brontón, Brontésios 833

rain charm. Sir J. G. Frazer added that the rattling of the car was probably meant to imitate thunder. We are not indeed told that this was the car of Zeus: but, since Zeus was the Greek rain-god, that is a legitimate assumption; he appears, moreover, on later coins of Krannon.

A similar imitation of the thunders of Zeus by means of a rattling chariot is found in the myth of Salomeus, who likewise hailed from Thessaly.

Lastly, it will be remembered that the Thracian Zeus Zbelsothros was at once a thunder-god and a charioteer (fig. 785).

(d) Zeus Brontaioi, Brontón, Brontésios.

Zeus Brontaioi, the god 'of Thunder,' figures in late literature and twice at least on monuments of the Kyzikos district. A marble stèle from Mihallitch, preserved at Constantinople, is decorated with a relief of s. ii or iii A.D. (fig. 793). It shows Zeus standing on a broad pedestal, with a thunderbolt in his raised right hand, a sceptre in his lowered left, and an eagle at his feet. Near him, on a smaller the figs to ripen. Then, realising his fault, he caught the water-snake of the fountain, brought it along with the bowl, and explained that the snake daily drank the water of the fountain. Apollon punished him with thirst, as is stated by Aristotle [frag. 329 Rose] and Archelaos in his Tασιοφυις [A similar account is given by schol. Arat. phaen. 449, schol. Caes. Germ. Aratoa p. 419, 15 ff. Eysenhardt, Od. fast. 2, 443 ff., Hyg. poet. astr. 2, 40, Myth. Vat. 1. 115], Cramer aned. Paris. 1. 25, 20 ff. = Dionysios περὶ ὅρμηθωρ (When Koronis was bearing Asklepios at Tríkke, the raven was told to bring water. Instead of that, he indulged in lust). Apollon in anger turned him black and so shaped his crop that he cannot bring water to his chicks) [Cp. Hyg. fab. 202, poet. astr. 2, 40, Myth. Vat. 1. 115, 2, 22, 2, 128].

On the raven as a weather-prophet in antiquity see supra p. 518 n. 4.

1 Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gr. Sculpt. p. 471 suggests the same use for the problematic Keselwagen or 'caldron-chariots' of the late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. These are bowls mounted on carriages of four wheels apace and frequently decorated with birds or birds' heads. For examples and bibliography see J. Schlemm Wörterbuch zur Vor- und frühgeschichte Berlin 1908 pp. 282—286. Cp. also R. Kittel Studien zur hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte Leipzig 1908 pp. 189—242 ('Die Kesselwagen des salomonischen Tempels'—an interesting discussion leading up to the conclusion; 'Sie sind die Symbole der regenspendenden Gottheit'). J. Déchelette Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique Paris 1910 ii. 1, 284 ff. fig. 107, 442 ff. fig. 183.

2 Fraser Golden Bough 2; The Magic Art i. 309.


4 Infra Append. L sub fnn.


6 A. Joubin Musée impérial ottoman: Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines, byzantines et françaises Constantinople 1893 no. 126, G. Mendel Musées Impériaux Ottomans: Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines Constantinople iii ('sous presse').

7 Lebas—Reinach Voyage Arch. p. 115 pl. 133, 2 (=my fig. 793).

C. II.
pedestal, is a terminal Hermes, with a caduceus over his right shoulder. Between the two deities appears a flaming altar. And below is the figure of a man lying prone on his face. The inscription underneath runs: 'Tiberius Claudius Syntrophus to Zeus Hýpsitos, bidden (by the god), at his own cost dedicated (this), to Brontaíos.'

1 This detail is omitted in the drawing by E. Landron here reproduced.
2 Τίβεριος Κλαύδιος | Σύντροφος Διό | Τύλιγμα κατ' ἐπίταξιν καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἄνθρωπον | Βροντάιος (Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure iii no. 1099, J. Schmidt in the Ath. Mitth.)
Zeus Brontaioi, Bronton, Brontesios 835

Perhaps Syntrophus, like Pythagoras, had been ‘purified with the thunder-stone’, and ‘lying prone’ in the appointed place had been warned to erect this monument to Zeus Hypsistos Brontaioi. Another marble stele, found between Tchakyrda and Hadji Paon, represents in relief an altar, the sacrifice of a bull, and four worshippers. Below is the inscription: ‘Meleagros and Theoxenos and Menandros, the sons of Protonchos, (discharged) a vow to Zeus Brontaioi’.

Thunder, says Sir William Ramsay, ‘in early summer is exceedingly common on the Phrygian uplands’. Hence one of the chief cults of northern and eastern Phrygia was that of Zeus Bronton, ‘He that Thunders’. Scores of inscriptions from this and adjoining districts make mention of him; and his worship, thanks to the traffic in Phrygian slaves, spread at a comparatively early date to Rome.

As to the character of this deity, apart from vague epithets such

1881 vi. 134 f. no. 3). The order of the words suggests that Broomaio was added as an afterthought.

1 Supra l. 645.
4 At and near Nakoleia (Sir W. M. Ramsay in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1882 iii. 123 f., 1884 v. 257 f.), Dorylaeion (id. ib. 1882 iii. 123, 1884 v. 255 ff., id. in Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire Aberdeen 1906 p. 276 f. nos. 7, 10, 11, Corp. inscr. Gr. iii no. 3810, Add. no. 3817 b, A. von Domaszewski in the Arch. et. Mitth. 1883 vii. 174 f. nos. 14, 16, 18, 29, 33, T. Preger in the Ath. Mitth. 1894 xix. 316 f. nos. 9—11. See further supra p. 380 n. 1), Prynnessos (Corp. inscr. Gr. iii no. 3819), Kyma (ib. iii no. 3821), Kostaeion (G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie etc. Paris 1872 i. 116 f. no. 77), Kurtkoi (A. Körte in the Ath. Mitth. 1899 xxiv. 441 ff. nos. 35—37), Gunjarik (id. ib. 1899 xxiv. 443 f. no. 38), Infisar (id. ib. 1899 xxiv. 446 f. no. 44), Bunarchesh (id. ib. 1900 xxv. 409 f. no. 19), Gunbelt (id. ib. 1900 xxv. 416 f. no. 29), at and near Indi (id. ib. 1900 xxv. 417 f. nos. 27—30).

The Roman Jupiter Tonans, a very different deity, was likewise represented in Greek by Zeus Broomaio (Dion Cass. 54. 4) or Brontaios (res gestae divi Augusti 19 p. 22 f. Diehl cited supra p. 111 n. 0, ib. 2 p. 38 f. Diehl).

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as 'Great' and 'Holy' and 'Hearer of Prayer,' he is called 'the Father god' and 'the Victorious Father,' on the strength of which appellations he has been identified with the Phrygian Pópas or Papáς. His art-type was that of a late provincial Zeus—witness a crude bust from Dorylaeion (Eskisehír) in the British Museum (fig. 794). A marble altar from Gümber in Phrygia, described by A. Körte, makes it clear, however, that Zeus Brontón—like Zeus Dios of the same region—had also a Dionysiac aspect. The altar-front is adorned with a lunar crescent, beneath which is a bearded bust of Zeus in relief, with an eagle perched on his right shoulder. The altar-back shows two ox-heads with a plough below them. The small sides of the monument have vases and a vine-stem. Other altars dedicated to Zeus Brontón at or near Inúnti repeat the elements of this decoration—eagle, plough, vine, etc. And it cannot be a mere coincidence that a whole series of tombstones from Altyn-tach represents the deceased surrounded by the same sacred emblems—eagle, plough, and vine. Presumably Zeus Brontón was not only a celestial but also a terrestrial power. Indeed, his chthonian character is fairly established by the fact that almost every inscription from Phrygia in which he is mentioned occurs on a gravestone. Those who had worshipped him in life would naturally claim his protection in death.

What forms his worship took we are not expressly told. But there is good reason to suppose that he was served with mystic rites in a cave. Inúnti, a stronghold of his cult, derives its name ('Cave-front') from a great cavern visible in the rock above the village. The cavern comprises an upper and a lower chamber, con-

1 W. Link De vocis "Sanctus" usw pagano Königsberg 1910.
3 Id. ib. 1882 iii. 124 (Nakoleia) Νεκτητὸρ Παπάς.
4 Id. ib. 1882 iii. 124. But see F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 891.
5 Supra p. 292 n. 4.
6 Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture iii. 3 no. 1521 inscribed Δι Βροντώντι 'Αγνιθεῖος και ἐπηγάφ (Corp. inscr. Gr. iii Add. no. 3817 b). Hard limestone. Height: 2 ft 3 ins. Fig. 794 is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming.
8 Supra p. 280 f.
9 A. Körte in the Ath. Mitth. 1900 xxv. 417 f. nos. 27, 28, 29.
Zeus Brontaïos, Brontôn, Brontésios 837

cited by means of a steep shaft. Close by stood a limestone altar
dedicated ‘To Zeus from the Cave, Hearer of Prayer’. Another

Fig. 794.

1 A. Köste in the Ath. Mitth. 1900 xxv. 419 fl. no. 31 Διε αδησ ζητηκόν θείω | κ.τ.λ.

Süpra p. 249 n. 2.
Zeus Brontaíos, Brontón, Brontésios

limestone altar, decked with the god's emblems (an eagle, two bucra- nia, a garland, a vine-stem) and bearing an inscription 'to Zeus Telephóros,' is built into a fountain at the north-east end of the village. Moreover, a priest of Brontón and Hekate is known to have consecrated a cave (spéléum) to Mithras at Rome. Hence it is highly probable that the cult of the Phrygian cave-Zeus resembled that of the Cretan cave-Zeus. As the mysteries of Zeus Ιdaíos had themselves to make the thunders of nocturnal Zagreus before attaining the sanctity of their god, so in all likelihood the devotees of Zeus Brontón by some mimesis of his thunder sought to become partakers of his godhead. This assumes, no doubt, that the Phrygians, like the Greeks, recognised subterranean thunders. But it will be remembered that in Orphic, and therefore Thracio-Phrygian, story the infant Zagreus sat on a throne grasping the thunderbolt of Zeus. If Zeus was hypsibremétes, Dionysos at least was Brónios.

Bearing in mind, then, the Dionysiac and quasi-Orphic nature of Zeus Brontón, we are better able to appreciate a votive relief in the Villa Panphili (fig. 795) dedicated to him under the title of Jupiter Sanctus Brontón. This monument, purely Greek in its design, shows a youthful lyre-player seated on a rock-cut throne, against the side of which appears a female panther. Before him stand two women carrying a jug and a bowl respectively. Panther, jug, and bowl betoken a Dionysiac company. The rock-cut throne recalls the throne of Zeus in the Idaean Cave. And it is reasonable to surmise that the scene as a whole portrays the ritual enthronement of a worshipper in the cave of Zeus Brontón. If it be urged that the seated figure resembles Apollon rather than Dionysos, we might reply that Dionysos from s. v B.C. onwards tends to become Apolline and is sometimes equipped with the lyre. But it would I, think, be

1 A. von Domaszewski in the Arch.-ep. Mittl. 1883 vii. 176 no. 22 (incomplete), A. Köte loc. cit. 1900 xxv. 418 f. no. 31 Εθνικός Ιστορικός περί καθοδό και των ελικών | Δι Θησεύδω | ευξής χάρω.
2 Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 733 (quoted supra p. 835 n. 6).
3 Supra i. 648 ff.
4 Supra p. 829.
5 Supra i. 398. 647-
6 Supra p. 830 n. 1.
7 I take Brōnos to denote 'god of the roaring Thunder' (βρόνιος, βρόνως, βροντή < βρο- νη; see Prellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. p. 84, Boisacq Dict. Étym. de la Langue Gr. p. 132). Other views are noted by Or Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 888 ff.
8 Gerhard Ant. Bildw. p. 321 f. pl. 82, 1 (= my fig. 795) (a Bacchic Apollon engaged in the Mysteries), G. Winckelmann Monumenti antichi inediti. Roma 1821 i. 63 f. pl. 50 (Orpheus in the Underworld, which is represented by a tiger-like Kerberos and two Danaïdes ()), Matz—Duhn Ant. Bildw. in Rom iii. 147 f. no. 3773 ('Iuppiter Bronton' with two youthful female figures), Sir W. M. Ramsay in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1882 iii. 123 f. ('Apollo Citharoedus...with a panther and two choephoroi'). The dedication is given supra p. 835 n. 6.
9 Supra i. 646.
10 Supra p. 244 with n. 5.
more relevant to observe that the cult of Zeus Brontôn stood in some relation to that of Phoibos. A marble altar found near Kurshumlu, between Brouzos and Dorylaios, was dedicated to Zeus Brontôn by two brothers Paulos and Phoibos together with their mother Rufina ‘in accordance with a command of the god Phoibos’.

Here it is clear that the dedicant Phoibos is directed by his namesake god; and it is at least possible that in Phrygia, as at Delphoi,

Fig. 795.

Apollon had to some extent displaced Dionysos. It looks as though we should admit a certain mutual influence, not to say contamination, of three cave-gods originally quite distinct—Zeus Brontôn whose thunders issued from the Cave², Mithras to whom the priest of Bronton dedicated a speleum⁴, and Phoibos the last occupant of the Delphic adyton. In this accommodating system it may well be that the worshipper, playing the lyre of Phoibos ‘the Pure⁵, was believed to be making the thunders⁶ of the reborn Zeus.

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2 Supra p. 243 ff.
3 Supra p. 837 n. 1.
4 Supra p. 835 n. 6.
5 Supra p. 500.
6 In Nonn. Dion. i. 427 ff. (supra p. 449 n. 2) Typhoeus describes the thunders of Zeus as a musical instrument (432 δρομινὸν ἀντοσθόντας Ὀλίμπων).
Retrospect

Most of the evidence available for a study of Zeus as god of Thunder and Lightning now lies behind us. But, lest I be accused of inveigling my readers into an irretrievable labyrinth of detail, I shall endeavour in a few concluding paragraphs to emphasise afresh the main outlines and salient points of my design.

Zeus, ‘the Bright One,’ was originally nothing but the day-light Sky, conceived in zoistic fashion as alive with a life of its own; and traces of that primitive conception could be detected here and there throughout the classical period. But already in Homeric days, indeed long before Homer, the divine Sky had developed into the Sky-god, a weather-making ruler, who dwelt in upper glory (aithér). As such he became the recognised head of the Hellenic pantheon, and in the Hellenistic age was brought into connexion with other manifestations of celestial brightness—sun, moon, and stars alike.

So much had been made clear in the first volume of this work. The second, beginning with the obvious reflexion that the sky is not always bright, went on to observe that Zeus god of the bright sky naturally became god of the weather in general\(^1\), any sudden atmospheric change being interpreted as an ominous ‘Zeus-sign’ (Diosema)\(^2\).

Of such changes the most momentous was the thunder-storm. For it was then, when all was dark, that Zeus would rend the heavens and come down in the form of a bright blinding flash (Zeus Keraunós)\(^3\).

Investigation of Zeus Kataibátes, ‘who descends’ in the lightning\(^4\), and of his elýsia or enelýsia, sacred precincts where none might tread\(^5\), led us to examine into the curious belief that the ‘Zeus-struck’ man (Dióbbetos), though he lay blasted and blackened on the ground, was for all that a divinised mortal even now ‘in Elysium’ (enelýsios)\(^6\).

Hence a long but necessary digression on the Elysian Way from earth to heaven, ‘the road of Zeus’ as Pindar called it, in plain prose the Galaxy, which was regarded by Pythagoreans as a soul-path and associated by Platon in Pythagorising mood with ‘a straight light like a pillar’ stretched along the axis of the universe\(^7\). This enquiry disclosed a new and not unimportant conception of the sky as resting on a sky-prop\(^8\)—a conception which helped to explain, not only the Jupiter-columns of Rhenic Germany\(^9\), but also such monuments as the column of Mayence\(^10\) and even the great commemorative columns of Rome and Constantinople\(^11\).

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1 Supra p. 1 ff.
2 Supra p. 4 ff.
3 Supra p. 11 ff.
4 Supra p. 13 ff.
5 Supra p. 21 ff.
6 Supra p. 22 ff.
7 Supra p. 36 ff.
8 Supra p. 50 ff.
9 Supra p. 57 ff.
10 Supra p. 93 ff.
11 Supra p. 100 ff.
Further consideration of the sky-prop, as exemplified by the Diana-pillars of Italy\(^1\) and the Agyieus-pillars of Greece\(^2\), threw light on some perplexing phenomena of popular cult, e.g. the wooden balusters of Diana Nemorensis\(^3\) and the dökana of the Dioskouroi\(^4\). Moreover, the occurrence of an Agyieus-pillar set on an omphalos at Byzantium\(^5\) turned our thoughts to Delphi\(^6\), where the omphalos lately discovered by F. Courby\(^7\) was seen to be the base of an Agyieus-post\(^8\) covering the navel-string of Zeus, in accordance with a custom still traceable in various parts of Greece\(^9\), and safeguarded by the eagles that betokened his presence\(^10\). The Delphic Agyieus-pillar was in a manner duplicated by the Delphic tripod with its central stem\(^11\). On this sat the Pythia as bride of Apollon\(^12\)—a usage implying the caldron of apotheosis\(^13\), which an Orphic myth located at Delphi and connected with the death of Dionysos\(^14\).

And here an attempt was made to determine the stratification of this very complex cult\(^15\). It appeared that the first Hellenic occupants of the oracular seat were the sky-god Zeus Aphéios (?), ‘He that lets fly’\(^16\), and the earth-goddess Ge Thémis (?), ‘She that produces’\(^17\), their respective tokens being the eagles and the omphalos. Then followed Dionysos, brought in by a wave of Thracian immigrants\(^18\), who told how their god was done to death by the Titans, boiled in the Delphic tripod, and buried beside it\(^19\). Thus the sanctum sanctorum in the Pythian temple contained, not only the omphalos with its eagles attesting the joint worship of Zeus and Ge, but also the tripod and tomb of Dionysos\(^20\). Finally, Apollon to a large extent displaced Dionysos\(^21\), who however down to the close of antiquity retained at least the wintry quarter of the Delphic year\(^22\). The latest comer was fittingly affiliated to Zeus as his prophètes\(^23\) (if the one was Aphéios, the other was aphéter\(^24\)) and took over the properties of his various predecessors—the eagles of Zeus, the omphalos of Ge, the tripod of Dionysos—importing in addition his own Thessalian bay\(^25\). His installation was completed before the epic age\(^26\).

Delphi is vital. Here, if anywhere, we touch the very heart of Greek religion. And the gods whom the Delphic succession associated with Zeus demand closer scrutiny than they have yet received. It seemed worth while therefore to tackle afresh a whole

\(^1\) Supra p. 143 ff.  \(^2\) Supra p. 160 ff.  \(^3\) Supra p. 143 ff.  \(^4\) Supra pp. 160, 161.
\(^5\) Supra p. 166 ff.  \(^6\) Supra p. 169 ff.  \(^7\) Supra p. 174 ff.  \(^8\) Supra p. 177 ff.
\(^9\) Supra p. 189 ff.  \(^10\) Supra p. 179 ff.  \(^11\) Supra p. 193 ff.  \(^12\) Supra p. 207 ff.
\(^17\) Supra p. 267 ff.  \(^18\) Supra p. 243 ff.  \(^19\) Supra p. 486.  \(^20\) Supra p. 235 ff.
\(^21\) Supra p. 204.  \(^22\) Supra p. 189.  \(^23\) Supra p. 239.
series of problems concerned with the relation of Zeus on the one hand to Dionysos, on the other to Apollon.

Zeus and Ge were purely Hellenic. Their counterparts in the Thraco-Phrygian area proved to be a sky-god Dios and an earth-goddess Zemela, whose son was known as Dios Nyso{s, that is Dios 'the Younger'! From inscriptions and literary sources we learnt that these names were Grecised as Zeus Di{os, Semele, and Dionysos. Further, it was pointed out that the Thraco-Phrygians conceived Dios the son to be a rebirth of Dios the father. And this conception, to which parallels could be adduced from many backward races, served to explain the odd fact that the youthful consort of Kybele was commonly called Attis, 'Daddy,' or Papat, 'Papa.' It accounted also satisfactorily for a feature of old Anatolian worship often noticed but hitherto not fully understood—the constant grouping of the mother-goddess with a youthful paréa{os, at once her husband and her child. It even suggested a reason for the speed and success with which early Christianity permeated the regions of Phrygia and Thrace.

Akin to the Thracian Father and Son were the Samothracian Kaberoi or Megaloi Theoi, consideration of whom led to a discussion of the double Zeus and the Dioskouroi.

After dealing with the Phrygian Zeus Tetra{otos, the Celtic Janiform god, Jupiter Ambisagrus and Jupiter Dianus at Aquileia, we proceeded to examine the relationship of Ianus to Jupiter. The view here maintained is that an ancient Illyrian (?) sky-god was worshipped on the west of the Adriatic as Ianus or Ian, on the east as Zan. Ianus was in effect an older Jupiter, Zan an older Zeus. Neither Zan nor Ianus was, to begin with, anthropomorph. Zan as being the broad Sky had the title Megas, but was left without an effigy. Ianus was represented as a vault or archway with four supporting pillars—a mimic sky which gave rise to the Roman triumphal arch. When Ianus became iconic, he was figured as a double-faced deity standing beneath his arch. The double face, a characteristic of other sky-gods, showed a tendency towards differentiation (beardless v. bearded, blonde v. black-haired, etc.) and perhaps signified that the divine Sky was bright by day and dark by night. Among differentiated types was that of Virbius as Dianus or Ianus, the consort of Diana at Nemi: he was plastered
over with oak-leaves because she was an oak-goddess, whose sacred tree, or a descendant of the same, was subsisting as late as the eighteenth century.

A section on Zeus and the Twins showed first how the supports of the Sky were gradually transformed into its supporters, passing through successive stages as pillars, pillars with personal names, pillars with individual effigies, and pillars in the shape of the Dioskouroi. When the old popular belief in a flat earth overarched by a solid sky resting on side-props gave place to the philosophic idea of a globe enclosed in a sphere half light, half dark, room was still found for the Dioskouroi by a daring personification of the two hemispheres. Next it was contended that the Sky, appearing alternately as Day and Night, is essentially of a twin character. Hence the savage notion that twins in general are 'Children of the Sky.' Hence too the contrast between numerous mythical pairs of Twins, for instance Kastor and Polydeukes, Romulus and Remus, Zetes and Kalais, Zethos and Amphion, Herakles and Iphikles. A recurring feature in such cases is the comparative feebleness of one of the Twins, a feebleness sometimes amounting to effeminacy, which therefore paves the way for the recognition of Twins male and female. Lastly, in this connexion we investigated the supposed twinship of Apollon and Artemis. A survey of recent opinions with regard to the provenance of Apollon was followed by a detailed discussion of the crucial Hyperborean myth. The 'wondrous way' to the land of the Hyperboreoi mentioned by Pindar was held to be none other than the celestial 'road of Zeus,' but the Hyperborean sacrifice of asses to Apollon suggested rather a terrestrial abode in or near Thrace. And this bilocation squared with other mythical happenings—Herakles' capture of the hind with golden horns among the Hyperboreoi of the Istrian land, his introduction of the white-poplar to Olympia from Thespotria, and the metamorphosis of the Heliades into black-poplars on the banks of the Eridanos—the poplar, white or black, being a Borderland or Otherworld tree. Special attention was here drawn to a neglected statement by Apollonios of Rhodes to the effect that the Keltoi took amber to be the tears, not of the poplars, but of Apollon, when banished by Zeus to the Hyperborean haunts.

1 Supra p. 400 ff.  
2 Supra p. 417 ff.  
3 Supra p. 432 ff.  
4 Supra p. 436 ff.  
5 Supra p. 448.  
6 Supra p. 445.  
7 Supra p. 453 ff.  
8 Supra p. 462 ff.  
9 Supra p. 472 ff.  
10 Supra p. 417 ff.  
11 Supra p. 434 ff.  
12 Supra p. 440 ff.  
13 Supra p. 445 ff.  
14 Supra p. 453 ff.  
15 Supra p. 465 ff.  
16 Supra p. 470 ff.  
17 Supra p. 484.
Ultimately the following conclusions were reached: (1) that Apollon came to Greece from the land of the Hyperboreoi, dwellers 'Beyond the Mountains,' about the source of the Danube; (2) that the road to their northern home was described sometimes as an earthly, sometimes as a heavenly track, the former being the old trade-route for amber along the eastern shore of the Adriatic, the latter its aerial counterpart the Milky Way; (3) that the Agyiē̂s-pillars of Illyria and Epeiros marked out the 'Way' by which the god travelled, and pointed onwards to Delphoi, where his oracle was established by the Hyperboreans Pagasos and Agyiē̂s; (4) that on his journey southward he was associated with different trees in different regions—possibly, as Dr Rendel Harris urges, with the apple-tree in north Europe (Balder?, Phol?), probably with the black-poplar (apellon) in the Balkans, certainly with the bay in Thessaly; (5) that Phoibos Apollon—for such was his full name—may have been originally a sky-god, who was affiliated to Zeus at Delphoi and specialised by the Greeks into a sun-god; (6) that he met Artemis first in Asia Minor or the Archipelago, where she originated as the younger form of the Anatolian mother-goddess. Thus at the close of a somewhat lengthy excursion we were brought back—like Apollon himself—by the Elysian route to Delphoi.

Resuming the main thread of our argument, we next dealt with lightning as a flash from an eye, the evil eye, of Zeus. The subject afforded an opportunity of explaining the superstition, not only of the evil eye, but of the good eye also.

Then followed a study of lightning as the weapon of Zeus—axe, spear, sword, or what not? A notice of neolithic celts, which the Greeks still term 'lightning-axes' (astrapopelēkia, astropelēkia), prefaced a collection and discussion of the data with regard to the double axe in 'Minoan' and post-'Minoan' times. This implement
was seen falling from heaven to earth, as on a gold ring from Mykenai, incorporated with tree- or plant-forms, as on the *sarcophagus* from *Hagia Triada* (here interpreted afresh) and on that from *Palaiokastro*, stuck into the pillars of a sacred building, as at Knossos, or into the stalactite columns of a cave, as on Mount Dikte, set up between a pair of bovine horns, as in Cretan art *passim*,—motifs appropriate each and all to the weapon of a sky-god. A lenticular gem, hitherto unpublished, showed this god posting along through the air with wings on shoulders and heels and a double axe in his hand. We identified him with Kronos, the husband of Rhea, and conjectured that the Greeks took his name to mean ‘Chopper.’ The Homeric Kronos *ankylométes,* ‘of the crooked blade’ (for so it should be rendered), passed on his *hárpe* to the Italian Saturn. An analogous figure, part deity, part dirk, was recognized among the Hittite carvings at Boghaz-Keui. The multiple wings could be paralleled from the coins of Mallos and Byblos; the double axe and *hárpe,* from the coins of Ake or Ptolemis.

When the Bronze Age succumbed to the Iron Age, the ‘Minoan’ Kronos was succeeded by the Hellenic Zeus, another storm-god of like proclivities, who became the inheritor of the double axe over a wide area of the ancient world.

At Tarentum ‘bolts from heaven forged of bronze,’ traditionally connected with early settlers from Crete, were taken over by Zeus *Kataihátés*.

In Asia Minor, if we may trust Plutarch, the double axe (*lábrys*) belonged in turn to the Amazons, the Lydians, and the Carians, being eventually placed by Arselis of Mylasa in the hand of Zeus *Labradéis*. The statement is broadly correct. The Amazonian axe was in fact of Hittite origin: it is borne by the youthful god at Boghaz-Keui and by his successor Herakles (Sandas) at Tarsos. On coins of Thyateira and other Lydian towns it is carried by the local hero (Tyrimnos or the like), who in Graeco-Roman times tends to be identified with Apollo and Helios. Similar coin-types prevail in Phrygia, where again the axe-bearing hero (Lairbenos, Lairmenos, etc.) is equated with the same divinities. Not improbably these are all Hellenised forms of the younger Hittite sky-god.

As to the Carians, Hekatomnos early in 5th B.C. struck coins with

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1 *Supra* p. 514 ff.  
2 *Supra* p. 516 ff.  
3 *Supra* p. 524 ff.  
4 *Supra* p. 528 ff.  
5 *Supra* p. 530 ff.  
6 *Supra* p. 548 ff.  
7 *Supra* p. 543 ff.  
8 *Supra* p. 549 ff.  
9 *Supra* p. 550 ff.  
10 *Supra* p. 552 ff.  
11 *Supra* p. 555 ff.  
12 *Supra* pp. 29 ff., 559.  
13 *Supra* p. 561 ff.  
14 *Supra* p. 565 ff.  
15 *Supra* p. 560.
the type of Zeus shouldering a double axe. This was an adaptation from the cult-image of Zeus Strátios or Labráyndos (Labrandéus, Labrandenós, etc.), who was worshipped at Labranda near Mylasa. The Mylasians just outside their city had a second sanctuary, that of Zeus Osagóa, whose attributes the eagle, the trident, and the crab procured for him the title Zênoposeidón.

And here, by way of parenthesis, we contend that the Hellenic Poseidon himself was but a specialised form of Zeus, his name Potei-Dán, etc., denoting originally ‘Lord Zeus,’ just as pótñía Hére meant ‘lady Hera.’

In Karia the cult of Zeus had probably been superposed on that of an indigenous earth-mother, whose characteristics he had to some extent absorbed. Two queer reliefs show the ‘Zeus of Labranda grasping a double axe but equipped with female breasts—an abnormal figure, which recurs at Siwasa in Kappadokia and is balanced by a bearded goddess brandishing a thunderbolt at Zogui in Pontos.

A short section followed in which, accepting M. Mayer’s connexion of lábrys and Lábýrinthos, we maintained (1) that the Carian Labráynda, Lábrranda and the Cretan Lábýrinthos both denoted a place where lightning, the sky-god’s lábrys, had fallen, and (2) that in Karia and Crete alike the lábrys was primarily the attribute of a god and only secondarily, if at all, the attribute of a goddess.

More space was devoted to E. Conybeare’s suggestion that the labarum was derived from the lábrys, and a fresh attempt was made to trace the steps by which the pagan symbol developed into the Christian monogram. It was shown (1) that the old Anatolian double axe was still recognised as a sacred object or sign throughout the Levant in the opening centuries of our era—witness the coin-types and reliefs discussed above, the reputed axe of Noah, the Ophite diagram, the Gnostic mystery of the double axe, and (2) that the pictograph of the lábrys, having already given rise to a variety of syllabic and alphabetic characters, might readily be adapted to other significant uses. Accordingly it was suggested that Constantine, who during his stay in the east had observed the lábrys and noted its possibilities, later deliberately transformed it into the labarum, an emblem at once old and new, pagan and Christian, in a word thoroughly Constantinian.
Further examples of the double axe in the east and in the west did not detain us long; and we passed on to discuss the axes carried by priests and priestesses in Greece and Italy. Traces of the 'Minoan' lábrys were detected in the double axe of Athena, the double axe of Theseus, the double axes taken in procession from Athens to Delphi, etc. Attention was also drawn to Italian pontifical axes. And it was held that the lictor's axe in particular had been a sacred weapon borne before the king as representative of the sky-god: the rods bound round it and so charged with its virtue would be potent to expel evil from a malefactor.

Sacred axes, from neolithic times onward, have been distinguished by their colour, size, or decorative design. The decoration often consists in diagonals and zig-zags probably derived from lashings, sometimes in dendritic patterns resembling the 'thunder-besor,' or in stylised moths with circular 'eyes.' Such embellishment indicated the presence of a soul in the axe, and simultaneously protected it from possible harm. Further progress towards anthropomorphism was discernible in the Early Iron Age, when small axes of bronze became axe-shaped pendants and took on sundry animal or human features. Finally the pendant was modified into a gong and thus endowed with divine utterance.

A marked trait in the 'Minoan' axe was its tendency towards duplication. Without denying that a pair of axes might be used to symbolise a pair of deities, we concluded that in general double or multiple blades were intended to augment the striking-power of the god that wielded them.

We next handled at some length the difficult but interesting case of Tenedos, and saw that to treat the double axe on its coins merely as a barter-unit involved a very partial and inadequate hypothesis, contradicted alike by the coin-types themselves and by the express testimony of the ancients, who record a definite cult of two axes in the island. Rather there was reason to suppose that here the 'Minoan' weapon had passed into the hands of a Dionysiac Zeus or a Zeus-like Dionysos, paired as usual with the earth-goddess. Their local names were Tennes and Hemitheia, and their effigies were combined in the male- plus-female head, which appeared on the obverse of the Tenedian coins.
The 'Minoan' conception of the sky-father's weapon imbedded in the earth-mother's tree could be traced here and there in Hellenic cult and myth. In this connexion we discussed the axe of Helios in the oak at Dodona, the sword of Orestes in the tree at Rhegium, the sword of Kinyras in the myrrh-tree, the axes of Erysichthon's comrades in the oaks at Dotion, and the knife of Phylakos in the oak at Phylake. Scandinavian saga and Celtic folk-tale attested a similar relation of weapon to tree; and confirmatory evidence was sought in the megalithic art of western Europe. Penelope's marriage-test perhaps presupposed the same set of half-forgotten ideas. And the sanctity of the sky-god's axe may even be regarded as the ultimate ground of more than one modern superstition.

As civilisation advanced, the double axe gave place to spear and sword. Lightning therefore came to be viewed on occasion as the spear of Zeus—a view which facilitated his transition from storm-god to war-god. Zeus Labrýndos of Mylasa bore, not only an axe, but a spear and a sword to boot, and was worshipped by the martial Carians as Strátios, 'Lord of Hosts.' Zeus Areios of Hydisos is represented in military costume, now brandishing a thunderbolt, now resting on a spear. Zeus Strategos of Amastris likewise holds a spear. Analogous figures in Roman religion were Jupiter Militaris, Jupiter Imperator, Jupiter Victor, etc. And the spear in the god's hand was illustrated from an Etruscan mirror, a Gallo-Roman statuette, and the handle of a Roman lamp.

More rarely lightning was symbolised by a sword. Comparable with the cult of Zeus Strátios at Mylasa was the cult of Zeus Chrysooérêis or Chrysoúröis at Stratonikeia. This title, perhaps of Semitic origin, was presumably taken by the Greeks to mean 'Bearer of a Golden Sword,' that is, of the lightning.

Axe, spear, and sword by no means exhausted the armoury of Zeus. Far more frequent than any of them as his attribute in literature and art is the thunderbolt (keraundo). Nevertheless from s. vi B.C. onwards this tremendous tool, as O. Gruppe observed, falls gradually into the background. Little by little the thunderbolt gives way to the sceptre, and the impetuous thunderer in time becomes the dignified ruler—a change sufficiently evidenced by vase-paintings, statues, and other works of art. To this moral development there was one notable exception. At Olympia Zeus

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1 Supra p. 677.  
2 Supra p. 677 ff.  
3 Supra p. 680.  
4 Supra p. 680 ff.  
5 Supra p. 683 f.  
6 Supra p. 684 f.  
7 Supra p. 682 f.  
8 Supra p. 685 ff.  
9 Supra p. 690 ff.  
10 Supra p. 698 ff.  
11 Supra p. 704 f.  
12 Supra p. 705.  
13 Supra p. 706 ff.  
14 Supra p. 709 ff.  
15 Supra p. 712 ff.  
16 Supra p. 714 ff.  
17 Supra p. 731 ff.  
18 Supra p. 737 ff.  
19 Supra p. 737 ff.  
20 Ib.
Hörkios, 'God of Oaths,' continued to grasp a thunderbolt in either hand. But that primitive insistence on the storm-god's power was not after all devoid of ethical significance; it served, says Pausanias, 'to strike terror into perjurers.' In this context we discussed the part played by Zeus in relation to Greek oaths, private and public. We also investigated the disputed personality of Dios Fidius and found him to be an old lightning-god with an appellative originally denoting 'the Cleaver' (fīndo) but later misinterpreted as 'Protector of Pledges' (fīdes). Our survey of the monuments enabled us to follow through several centuries the successive archetypes of Zeus—striding, standing, seated—till they culminated in the masterpiece at Olympia. It was shown that Pheidias in all probability took a hint for his great statue from the seated Zeus of the local coinage, replacing the winged thunderbolt by a winged Victory to emphasise tranquil supremacy rather than stormy strength. Further, it appeared that Alexander, ignoring this elevated conception of the godhead, deliberately reverted to an old pre-Pheidias type and placed upon his silver money a seated Zeus, with eagle and sceptre, closely resembling Zeus Lýkaios on the federal coins of Arkadia. His purpose in so doing is problematic; we noted a possible explanation. Finally, on Italian soil Greek art portrayed the sceptred Zeus in a pose suggestive of inward reflexion. The outward symbols of the storm-god had wholly disappeared. The worshipper was confronted with Providence incarnate.

The thunderbolt was a conventional representation of lightning and as such underwent modifications of shape from time to time and from place to place. In Mesopotamian art it was first a bipartite and then a tripartite fork, composed of zig-zags or curved lines. These forks, duplicated in π. ix B.C., were subsequently (c. 700 B.C.) stylised into the shape of a lotus-flower. In that form they made their way through Asia Minor into Greece (650—550 B.C.), appearing there for the first time on vases of Ionian fabric. Among the Greeks the lotiform bolt ran through three changes. Its petals became rays or flames. Its sepals developed into wings—eagle's wings, for the eagle was the lightning-bearer. And its central spike took on a spiral twist, to suggest the lightning's rotatory flight. These changes can all be exemplified from the coinage of the temple-mints at Olympia. Ultimately, in the east the

1 Supra p. 732 f. 2 Supra p. 727 n. 3. 8 Supra p. 724 ff. n. 6. 9 Supra p. 727 n. 3. 5 Supra p. 724 ff. n. 6. 6 Supra p. 762 ff. 7 Supra p. 764 ff. 10 Supra p. 776 ff. 11 Supra p. 777 ff. 12 Supra p. 779 f. 13 Supra p. 780 f.
thunderbolt was anthropomorphised into a youthful male divinity, in the west skeuomorphised into a barbed or hamate missile. In discussing these various transformations we touched incidentally on the symbolism of the lotos, collected the names of thunder-flowers, and examined the singular cult of Zeus Apómyios.

Our next business was to consider whether the thunderbolt of Zeus bore any ascertainable relation to the trident of Poseidon, or to the alleged fork of Hades. With regard to the first question we concluded (1) that Greeks and Romans of the classical age doubtless took the trident of Poseidon to be the fish-spear of a sea-god, but (2) that originally Poseidon had been a by-form of Zeus and his trident almost certainly a lightning-fork. The latter contention was supported on the one hand by parallels from India, on the other by the similarity of the hypaethral trident-mark at Athens to the hypaethral lightning-shrines of Rome. Besides, if Poseidon had been ab origine a lightning-god, we can understand why he was represented as fulminant on a fifth-century coin of Zankle, and we can see some fitness in the later fusion of Zeus-Poseidon into a single syncretistic type.

With regard to the second question it appeared (1) that no valid evidence could be produced for the fork as an attribute of the Greek Hades, but (2) that Jupiter Iutor was actually depicted with thunderbolt, trident, and fork—this last implement being probably borrowed from an Etruscan god of the Underworld.

In short, it was argued that the bident of Italy and the trident of Greece were respectively descended from the bipartite and tripartite forms of Mesopotamian lightning.

A bunch of cult-titles designated Zeus as god of the Thunderbolt (Keraunós, Keraunobolos, Keratínios) or god of Lightning (Storpdós, Astrapaños, Astrápton). The cults in question had their features of interest. The Arcadians in 5 v B.C. worshipped Zeus Storpdós under the form of an aniconic pillar topped by a small pyramid. Sling-bullets used in Sicily by the slave-troops of Athenion (103—100 B.C.) bore the device of a thunderbolt and the name of Zeus Keratínios. Coins of Seleukeia in Syria showed his bolt bound with a fillet and resting on a cushioned stool—a type that recurs on the Roman mintage of Vespasian, Titus, and other

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1 Supra p. 783 f.
2 Supra p. 784 f.
3 Supra p. 771 ff.
4 Supra p. 774 n. 4.
5 Supra p. 781 f.
6 Supra p. 786.
7 Supra pp. 582 ff., 786 f.
8 Supra p. 789 ff.
9 Supra p. 790 ff.
10 Supra p. 784 f.
11 Supra p. 794 f.
12 Supra p. 796 ff.
13 Supra p. 798 f.
14 Supra p. 803 ff.
15 Supra p. 814 f.
16 Supra p. 806.
17 Supra p. 809.
18 Supra p. 812 ff.
emperors. Coins of Diokaisareia in Kilikia even figure the thunderbolt enthroned in a would-be human attitude.

It remained to deal with the Thracian Zeus Zebelsoürdos, who is represented by several semi-barbaric reliefs as advancing to the attack with a thunderbolt in his right hand, an eagle on his left, and a snake at his feet. One relief showed him in his chariot escorting a draped and veiled goddess. Another grouped him as a standing Zeus with a youthful rider named Iambadoûles. The elder god, the goddess, and the younger god give us the familiar Thracian triad of the sky-father, the earth-mother, and their son Dionysos. The two appellations, outlandish enough in appearance, were provocative of further enquiries. Iambadoûles, as G. Seure pointed out, can hardly be dissociated from Iâmbe the doule of Demeter—a mythical figure born of a misconception. And Zebelsoûrdos, with which Seure rightly connected Zibelêsis, a Getic name of Salmoxis, has been here for the first time elucidated by Mr B. F. C. Atkinson, who takes it to mean 'Zeus' or 'the son of Zeus, the Splitter,' with reference to the thunderbolt in the god's right hand.

In conclusion, the lightning, as Dr Rendel Harris surmised, was sometimes deemed the whip of Zeus—a notion which not only left its mark on Greek poetry from Homer to Oppian, but called forth at least one memorable dedication, 'the Corycraean whip' at Dodona.

So much for Zeus as lord of the lightning. We had yet to investigate his relation to the thunder. Lightnings and Thunders were on occasion treated by the ancients as momentary gods (Usener's Augenblicksgötter) independent of Zeus. From this primitive stage they soon developed into departmental gods (Sondergötter), being conceived as divine animals, the horses Bronte and Sterope, or as monstrous giants, the Kyklopes Brontes and Steropes, before they became wholly human figures, the personifications Bronte and Astrape or Sterope. These allegorical powers still survive in the folk-poetry of modern Greece. Commonly, however, thunder was connected with a personal god (persönlicher Gott), Zeus the thunderer, not indeed as his voice, but as an inarticulate sound proceeding from him, or more often as the rumble of his chariot rolling rapidly across the sky—a belief which, originating perhaps in Thessaly, certainly entered into Thessalian ritual and myth.

Zeus as god of Thunder had a wide vogue in the north-western parts of Asia Minor. He bore the title of Brionatos in the Kyzikos district, that of Bronton in northern and eastern Phrygia. As Bronton, if not also as Brionatos, he was served with mystic rites in a cave, being a divinity akin to Zagreus or Dionysos, whose appellative Brionios seems to have meant 'god of the roaring Thunder.' We gather that in Phrygia, as in Crete, the worshipper, seated on the rocky throne of his god, himself imitated the thunders of the reborn Zeus. Cretan timbrel and Phrygian lyre had between them transformed the thunder into something strangely like music.

And here we pause. It might have been supposed that the religion of Zeus, a god of Thunder and Lightning, would be throughout a religion of terror. It was not so. The populace, taught by the playwrights, was vaguely conscious that above the shifting scenes of human life somewhere and somehow Zeus sat enthroned to mete out justice with impartial balance. If he used his thunderbolt, he would be to punish the proud and to lay their towering ambitions in the dust. The philosophers with clearer insight perceived that Zeus must be all or nought. Most of them, amid much diversity of detail, grasped the same essential fact that there is a Power Supreme, which in every place and at every moment is engaged on the godlike task of turning chaos into cosmos. Not a few of them—Pherecydes, Herakleitos, Empedokles, Platon, the Stoics—spoke of It, spoke of Him, as Zeus. And to these the thunderbolt was but a symbol of his omnipotence.

It would be easy to parade both the popular and the philosophic view by marshalling an array of quotations. I choose rather to exemplify each by a single characteristic product—on the one hand a picture, on the other a poem.

The Dareios-vase is an Apulian kratér of magnificent proportions, found at Canusium (Canosa) in 1851 and now preserved in the Museum at Naples. Its principal design (pl. xxxviii) represents the tragic downfall of the Great King, as the result of his presumptuous invasion of Greece. Two and twenty figures are disposed

1 Supra p. 833 ff. 2 Supra p. 853 ff. 3 Supra p. 838 n. 7. 4 Supra p. 839.
5 Supra i. 37 f., ii. 315 f. 6 Supra i. 38 ff., ii. 12. 7 Supra i. 31 f.
8 Supra i. 311, ii. 43 f., 63 n. 100 f. 9 Supra i. 29 ff.
10 Heydemann Vasensamml. Neapel p. 51 ff. no. 3253. Height 1.30 m.; girth 1.93 m.
The main design on a krater from Canusium, now in the Museum at Naples: the doom of Dacios.

See page 839 ff.

[From Furtwängler—Reichhold Gießische Vasenmalerei pl. 28 by permission of Messrs. F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.]
in three registers, of which the lowest shows the vast resources available for the expedition. The royal treasurer is seated at a table, on which are letters corresponding with our £ s. d. His right hand arranges the pebbles in their proper columns. His left holds an open wax-diptych inscribed ‘100 talents.’ From both sides approach the satraps: one brings a pile of golden bowls, another a sack full of money, while three others empty-handed prostrate themselves in attitudes of grovelling submission. We gather that tribute will be exacted to the utmost farthing: the royal project must be carried out, cost what it may. The second register reveals the king in council. In the centre is Dareios himself, serene and splendid. He is seated, with tiara, sceptre, and sword, on a throne worthy of a god. Indeed we recall how Aischylos described him as ‘peer of the gods’ and how Gorgias called his son ‘the Persian Zeus.’ To left and right are grouped five of his chosen councillors, partly in Greek, partly in oriental, attire: their faces display eager interest and concern, not unmixed with doubt. Before Dareios on a circular plinth of gold stands an anxious-looking man in traveller’s dress, who uplifts a warning hand. He alone dares to dissuade the king from his purpose. If successful, he will receive the brick of gold as his reward, but will be scourged for opposing the king’s expressed intent. If unsuccessful,—there waits the executioner with a drawn sword in his hand. In the council-chamber, then, there is debate and foreboding. The third register transports us to a higher level, where the issue has been already determined. We see the gods assembled on the summit of Olympos, here indicated simply by the rising ground-line and a couple of stars. Above the head of Dareios is seated the genuine Zeus, a thunderbolt winged for swift service at his side. Nike, leaning on his lap, points to a stately draped figure led forward by Athena. She is Hellas, presented to Zeus as the coming victor.

1 The letters are Μ (μάροι), Υ (χλωροι), Η (ἐκατόν), Δ (δέκα), Γ (πέντε), Ω (δεκάδος), Χ (χιλιάδες), Τ (τεσσαρτηάριοι). The western Υ is retained as a numeral, though superseded for alphabetic purposes by the eastern X (Furtwängler—Reichhold op. cit. ii. 148).
2 The inscription should be read ΤΑΛΛΑ ΤΑ: Η, that is τάλαντα: ἐκατόν (P. Kretschmer Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften Gütersloh 1894 p. 213).
4 Gorg. frag. 2 Thompson op. Longin. de sublim. 3. 2 Ζέρης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν Ζεύς (supra i. 338 n. 2).
On the left are Artemis riding a horned doe¹ and Apollon with a swan on his knee. Artemis may hint at Marathon, where the battle took place on her festival⁴, or may anticipate the sea-fight off Artemision⁵, and the full moon that shone on Salamis⁶. Apollon recalls the Delian confederacy. On the right Asia, with crown and sceptre, has fled for refuge to the altar of a terminal goddess, perhaps Aphrodite Ouranta⁷. Before her stands a sinister figure in the guise of a Fury with a panther-skin round her shoulders, snakes in her hair, and a pair of torches in her hands. This is Apole[te] 'Deception,' a lying spirit⁸ whose mission is to lure Asia away from the protection of the Asiatic goddess⁹. So the three zones of decoration present us with three acts from one historic drama. The vase-painter must have been inspired by some lost tragedy, not improbably the Persians of Phrynichos⁹, for on the circular plinth in the very centre of his design is written the single word Pérsai.

The populace, assembled in the theatre, regarded Zeus god of Thunder and Lightning as a power that on sundry momentous occasions had intervened to punish pride. And what of the philosophers? They saw in the 'ever-living bolt' a pledge and promise of continuous divine activity—witness one nearly contemporary document, the Stoic Hymn to Zeus⁴. Let us, before closing the volume, join Kleanthes in that great ascription of praise:

¹ Supra p. 405 f.
² Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 175 ff.
³ G. Hirschfeld in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1443.
⁵ H. Heydemann in the Ann. d. Inst. 1873 xliv. 38 f., A. Baumeister in his Deuxm. i. 469.
⁶ Cp. 1 Kings 22. 22.
⁷ A. Furtwängler op. cit. ii. 149 aptly quotes Aisch. Pers. 93 ff. δολόμενον δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ | τις ἄνθρωπος ἰδίκες; Id. ib. ii. 148 interprets the action of Apate aright ('Die Bewegung der Ape ist wohl so zu erklären, dass sie Asia auffordert, aufzustehen und ihr zu folgen dahinüber, wo sie hinschielt, nach der Hellas').
⁸ O. Jahn in the Arch. Zeit. 1860 xviii. 41 ff. suggested the Δικαιοὶ Ἡ Πέρσαι Ἡ Σώμπωκος of Phrynichos (Soud. s.v. Φρύνιχος); A. Furtwängler op. cit. ii. 149, a later adaptation of the same.
Most glorious of immortals, many-named,  
Almighty Zeus, creation’s primal lord,  
Whose lawful government is over all,  
Hail!—for we mortals unto thee may speak.  
We are thine offspring; we alone of all things  
That live and move on earth can copy God.
That therefore I will praise, thy power will sing.


I am indebted to Prof. Pearson for the following new and attractive solution (June 17, 1922): ‘I have looked up my notes and find that I have suggested θεοὶ to Powell and E. V. Arnold... I should account for the mysterious ἄνου as a supră-linear gloss i.e. ἄνου = ἄνω Χριστοῦ. That this would be a natural Christian gloss may perhaps be supported by 1 Cor. xi. 1 μιμηταὶ μοὶ γύνεσθε καθὼς κἀγὼ Χριστό, Eph. v. 1 γύνεσθε οὖν μιμηταὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, Phil. i. 6 μιμηταί, γενήσεσά εἰς τοῦ Κυρίου. Now from the Stoic point of view cf. Musonius sp. Stob. fass. 117. 8 ἀνθρωπος μίμης θεοῦ μόνον τῶν ἐπιγείων, which sounds like an echo of Cleanthes. The only objection I see is that it involves the adoption of γενήσεσά, and I don’t like to suggest confusion with Aratus.’

2 E. Zeller The Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics trans. O. J. Reichel London 1880 p. 358: ‘To the Stoics, as to their predecessor Heraclitus, Zeus is the one primary Being, who has engendered, and again absorbs into himself, all things and all Gods. He is the universe as a unity, the primary fire, the other, the spirit of the world, the universal reason, the general law or destiny. All other Gods, as being parts of the world, are only parts and manifestations of Zeus—only special names of the one God who has many names.’

Id. ib. p. 358 n. 2 cp. Diog. Laert. 7. 147 θεῶν ἢ’ εἶναι ἄνω αἵματος, λογικῶν, τέλεων ἢ νοερῶν ἐν εἰδαμονίᾳ, κακῶς παντὸς ἄνεπιδεκτος, προφθορωτικῶς κάμινον τε καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ ἢ’ εἶναι μέναν ἀνθρωπονομοφρασ. εἶναι δὲ τῶν μὲν δημοφιλών τῶν δῶλοι καὶ ἄσπορα πατέρα πάντων κοινῶς τε καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ τὸ δικὰ διὰ πάντως, δ’ ἀκολαύτα προφητευόμε γίνεται κατὰ τὰ δυναμεῖα. Διὰ μὲν γὰρ φασὶ δὲν τὰς πάντας, Ἰδίᾳ νὰ καλοῦσι παρ’ δικαίων τῶν ἵνα αὐτὸς ἦν ἢ διὰ τῶν ἵνα κεχώρηκε, κ.τ.λ. For Kleanehus in particular see Plout. de comm. 31 ἀλλὰ Χριστιανίς καὶ Κλαδήνθες ἐμπεμφίσεις, ὁ ὦτος εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῶν αἰωνίων, τὴν γῆν, τὴν ἄνθρωπον, ὀφθαλμός τῶν τοποθετόν άθρωτον ἀθρώτων ἀθρώτων ἀθρώτων ἀθρωτικώς ἀναλογισμοῦ, τὸν μένος τοῦ Σωτῆρ, εἰς δὲ πάντα ρουμαλλοκλος τοῦ Αλλόουs, Plout. de am. poët. 11 δὲ δὲ μηδὲ τῶν ὁμοτάτων ἀμήλως αὐξάνης, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Κλεάνθου παθίαν παρατίθει, κατευθύνεται γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅτε προφητευόμενον εἴγεθησα τὸ (II. 3. 320) ’Σεῦ πάντες, Ἰδίαν μεθέλων’ καὶ τὸ (II. 16. 233) ’Εις ἀναθετεῖν άνθρωπον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αἰώνα διὰ τὸν άνδρον ἀναθετομενον δορα, schol. B. L. T. II. 16. 233 τινὲς δὲ ’Αναθετομενον ὅποις ὑπ’ αὐτός παρὰ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῶν ἀγάθων.

3 Supra i. 664 n. 3.
Lo, the whole world revolving round the earth
Obey's thy lead and wills to do thy will.  
Such the strong help thou hast in hands supreme,
A two-edged, fiery, ever-living bolt.
Beneath its blows all nature shuddering reecs.
Herewith thou makest one great law to rule
The universe, larger and lesser lights.
[So vast the power of thy kingly sway.]
Nay, nought on earth befalls apart from thee,
Nor in the heaven above, nor in the deep,
Save folly wrought by the wicked.  
Yet here too

1 J. von Arnim keeps ὑπὸ as read by cod. F. R. F. P. Brunck cf. ἐν, A. Meineke  
cj. μετὰ.
2 U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and J. von Arnim keep the τυφέσεται δεισίωντα of  
cod. F, the hiatus notwithstanding. C. Wachsmuth corr. τυφέσετ', δεισίωντα. A. C.  
Pearson's δεισίωντα might be defended by Od. 13. 109 δεισέντα and the like.
3 Cod. F has ἔργα followed by space for ten letters. Fulvius Ursinus cj. ἔβδομα.  
C. Wachsmuth says: 'num fuit Ζεὺς, πάντ' ἔργαν;?' U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff  
cj. πληγῇ φόνους ἔργα γὰ τὰ πάντα. A. C. Pearson cj. ἔργα <δαμάθη>. J. von Arnim  
cj. πάντ' ἔργα <τελείται>.
4 A. Meineke assumed a lacuna before this line. A. C. Pearson condemned the line  
as spurious or corrupt. J. von Arnim cj. ὑπὸ τόσον γεγονέν ὑπάτος βασιλεύς διὰ παντός.
5 So R. F. P. Brunck for ἐν cod. F.  
6 Cod. F, followed by J. von Arnim, reads αφετέρως.
7 Diog. Laert. 7. 138 καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν διακόσμησιν τῶν ἄντρων κόσμον ἐκεῖν ἔγραψι.
8 Cp. Kleanthes ἑνάγ. 91 Pearson ap. Epiktet. μαμ. 53 ἄγον ἀν 'μ', ἀ Ζεὺς, καὶ σε' ἥ  
πετρομένη, ὡ σοι τοῦ ὡμι εἰς διαταγαμένοι. ὡ ἐφοράι γ' δόκοις: ὧν δὲ μηθ' ἔδω | κακὸς  
γεγομένος, οὐδὲν ἔτερον ἐφοραί with A. C. Pearson's commentary.
9 Kleanthes is building on the foundations of Herakleitos (ὑπὸ i. 38 n. 6).
10 A. C. Pearson ad loc.: 'The explanations given by the Stoics of this weak point  
in their system are hopelessly confused and contradictory, as may be seen from an  
examination of the passages cited in the notes to Zeller, p. 189—193... we may  
perhaps suppose that Kleanthes accounted for the existence of moral evil somewhat as  
follows:—evil is not directly due to God, but is a necessary accompaniment of the  
process, whereby he created the world out of himself. At the same time, the omnipotence  
of God is vindicated by the consideration that evil is ultimately swallowed up in good.
Thou knowest how to even up the odd,
Order disorder, and turn hate to love.
Thou hast so welded all things into one,
Joined good with evil, that there runs for ever
One law through all, which bad men scorn and scape.
Ill-fated folk! They hanker after wealth,
And neither see God's universal law,
Nor hear it and in wise obedience
Attain the life worth living. But themselves
Speed their own witless way to diverse ills—
Some sunk in desperate strife for glory vain,
Some bent on money-making's reckless quest,
Others on ease and bodily delights,
and that the apparent irregularity of nature is in reality only a phase in the working of a higher law."

1 So H. Sauppe for περισσά ἐπίστασαι cod. F, which is kept by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.
2 U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff cj. τείχεον for ἐστίν, to escape the hiatus.
3 R. F. P. Brunck cj. ἀπαντά.  
4 U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff suspects ἐνων.
5 Cod. F has ἄνευ κακοῦ ἄλοις εἰς' ἄλλα. Fulvius Ursinus cj. καλοῦ. H. Sauppe corr. κακόν and ἄλλα. C. Wachsmuth restored ἄνευ κακοῦ ἄλοις εἰς' ἄλλα. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, on the ground that honours, wealth, and pleasure were not κακὰ but ἀδιάφορα, would read ἄνευ λόγων ἄλοις εἰς' ἄλλα.
6 It is interesting to remember that Kleanthes hailed from Assos, where there was a cult of Zeus Ομολόγος (J. R. S. Sterrett in the Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 1882—1883 i. 35 ff. no. 15, 1 ff. Ο ἱερεὺς τοῦ Σεβαστὸς θεοῦ Καίσαρος, ὁ δὲ αἰθέτης καὶ τάρτων Βασιλικὴς καὶ ιερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τ' ὄντος ὅτι ὃς Ομολόγος(ου), καὶ γηγενομάχος, Κόσμου Δόλοις Φιλότηρος τίς | στοῖς ἄνθετες θεοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστῷ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ κ.τ.λ.), whose title—perhaps a variant form of Ομολόγος, Ὀμολόγος (A. Boeckh on the Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 3569, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rép. pp. 309 n. 9, 1117 n. 1, O. Jensen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vili. 2363 f., 2369. See further infra Append. B Boiotia)—was probably connected by folk-etymology with ὄμολος (cp. Istrós ὥ. Phot. lex., Soud.)
7 cf. Ὅμολόγος Ζεύς... Ἱστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ Συναγωγῆς, διὰ τὸ πάροικον Ἀδιάφορον τοῦ ὅμολον καὶ εἰρημένον ἐμολον λέγεσθαι).
................. ἐπ' ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλα φέροντες, σπεύδοντες μάλα πάμπαν ἕναντια τῶν δε γενέσθαι. ἄλλα Ζεῦ πάνθεο, κελαινεῖς, ἀργικέραινε, ἀνθρώπους <μὲν> ρύου ἀπειρούνης ἀπὸ λυγρῆς, ἢν σύ, πάτερ, σκέδασον ψυχῆς ἄπο, δῶς δὲ κυρήσαι γνώμης, ἢ πῖσυνος σὺ δίκης μέτα πάντα κυβερνᾶς, δόρα ὁν τιμηθέντες ἀμείβωμεθά σε τιμή, ὑμνοῦντες τὰ σὰ ἑργα δεινέκες, ὥσ ἐπέοικε θυγατέρα ὑμών, ἐπεὶ οὐτε βροτοῖς γέρας ἅλλο τι μείζον, οὔτε θεοῖς, ἢ κοινῶν ἀεὶ νόμων ἐν δίκη ὑμῶν.

Yea, diverse ills they reap, now this, now that. Though fain to win the very opposite. But thou, Zeus, giver of all, with thy black cloud And glittering bolt, save men from folly’s bane. O Father, cleanse our soul, grant us to find Wisdom wherewith thou governest all aright. That honoured thus we too may honour thee, Hymning thy deeds for ever, as befits A mortal man; for, mortal or immortal, None hath a greater guerdon than to hymn The common rule rightly for evermore.

2 So A. Meineke for ἀρχικέραινε cod. F, which is kept by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.
4 C. Wachsmuth, A. C. Pearson, and J. von Arnim prefer the spelling κυβερνᾶς.
5 Supra i. 31 n. 4.