ZEUS
A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

VOLUME III
PART I
ZEUS
A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

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

χῶς Ζεύς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἰθρίος, ἄλλοκα δ' ἴνεν
Theokritos 4. 43

PART I
TEXT AND NOTES

Cambridge
at the University Press
1940
καὶ ὁ Φερεκύδης ἔλεγεν εἰς Ἐριώτα μεταβεβλῆσθαι τὸν Δία μέλλοντα ἀληθεύσειν, ὅτι δὲ τὸν κόσμον ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων συνιστὰ ταῖς ῥήμασιν καὶ φιλιάν ἤγαγε καὶ ταὐτόν ἐστὶ πάσιν ἐνέστειλε καὶ ἐνός τινὶ τῶν διὰ δόξαν ἔμεινος.

PHEREKYDES OF SYROS frug. 3 Diels ap. Prokl. in Plat. Tim.

ii. 54, 28 ff. Diehl.

ὁ δὲ ἡμετέρος εἰρηνικός καὶ πάνταχος πρᾶσος, οἷος ἀστασιάτου καὶ ἀμοιβαίας τῆς Ἑλλάδας ἐπίκειτο: ὡς ἐγὼ ἐν τῇ ἐμαυτῷ τῇ τέχνῃ καὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδω πάλιν καὶ ἀρχαῖς ὑπολείποντος ἰδρυμάτων, ἡμέρας καὶ σεμνῶν ἐν διψήφι σχήματι, τῷ βίῳ καὶ ζωῆς καὶ συμπάθει τῶν ἀγάθων, κοινῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πατέρα καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ φύλακα, ὡς δυνατόν ἦν ὑπό συνοικηθεῖν μιμολογεῖ τῆς θείας καὶ ἀμήχανον φύσιν.

DION OF PROUSA ον. 12 p. 236 f. Dindorf.
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VOLUME III with its two Parts comprises the third, and final, instalment of my work on Zeus: *numero deus impare gaudet.* It may be thought that a task taken in hand as far back as 1907 ought to have been completed long before 1939. But kindly critics will remember that the task itself was one of formidable complexity, that the leisure left to a teacher occupied throughout with College and University duties is necessarily limited, and that the commotions of our time have hardly been conducive to a peaceful investigation of the past. This at least I can claim that, year in, year out, I have steadily pursued the plan originally laid down for the scope and contents of the book. Volume I was to deal with Zeus as god of the Bright Sky, Volume II with Zeus as god of the Dark Sky—an arrangement of essentials approved by the high authority of Otto Weinreich (*Archiv f. Rel. 1937* xxxiv. 138). Accordingly, Volume I included not only the Hellenic worship of the Bright Zeus, god of the Upper Sky, but also the Hellenistic attempts to connect him with Sun, Moon, and Stars, while Volume II was devoted to the Dark Zeus, god of Thunder and Lightning, in all his multifarious aspects. Thunder and Lightning proved to be so wide-spread and far-reaching that much had perforce to be left over for a third, at first unconsidered, volume. This concerns itself with Zeus in his relations to a further series of cosmic phenomena—Earthquakes, Clouds, Wind, Dew, Rain, and Meteorites. But I need not here enter into a detailed account of sections and subsections, as I have later endeavoured to trace in sequence the whole evolution of the cult of Zeus (pages 943 to 973), concluding with a statement of what I conceive to be its ultimate significance (pp. 973, 974).

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

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

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

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

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

I have further been able to count on the co-operation of many loyal helpers. Where my enquiries have trenched upon unfamiliar ground I have not hesitated to call in expert advisers. On points of Semitic lore I have consulted Professor S. A. Cook (p. 1072), the late Professor S. Langdon (p. 550 n. 0), and the Reverend H. St J. Hart (p. 891). In Mesopotamian matters I have been assisted by Mr Sidney Smith (p. 832 ff.) and Dr H. Frankfort (p. 1196). Egyptian usages have been made plain to me in conversations with Mr Sidney Smith, Mr P. E. Newberry, and the late Mr J. E. Quibell (p. 305). Sir John Marshall gave me his opinion on the origin of Çiva’s trident (p. 1156). Professor H. W. Bailey has reported on Sanskrit and Persian etymologies (pp. 916 n. 1, 925 n. 3). Mr A. Waley identified the source of a Chinese inscription and translated it for me (p. 1138). Dr B. F. C. Atkinson allowed me to rifle his unpublished work on Illyrian names (p. 364 n. 8). Lastly, Dr F. R. C. Reed enabled me to determine the material of an ancient cameo, while Dr F. C. Phillips as official mineralogist and petrologist made analyses on my behalf (p. 898 n. 4).

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

Among friends that have put an active shoulder to my wheel I would name first my colleague Mr C. T. Seltman, who with his amazing knowledge of ancient art and modern art-collectors has been endlessly useful. It was, for example, through his good offices that I secured the unique double axes from Crete and Athens (figs. 894, 895), the new Orpheus-vase published in pl. xvi, and that most notable of all Greek coppers the Mytilene-medallion
of pl. i. But Mr Seltman has no monopoly of kindliness. Not a few of my former pupils, while engaged on quests of their own, have spared time to forage on my behalf. In particular, Mr A. D. Trendall, Fellow of Trinity College and our foremost authority on South Italian vases, has sent me a flight of valuable photographs from Athens (pl. xlvi, 2), Capua (pl. lxxv), Rome (pl. lii), Taranto (pls. xiii, xv, 2, lxvi), Berlin (pls. liv, lx), Bonn (pl. xiii, 3), Gotha (pl. lxiii), Leipzig (pls. lxii, lxv, 1), and Vienna (fig. 476). Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury, Fellow of Pembroke College, has more than once put his intimate knowledge of modern Crete at my service (pp. 1070, 1143) and himself photographed for me an early Greek stamnos from Knossos (pl. xxv). Mr E. J. P. Raven procured for me photographs of an interesting pithos-lid from the same place (pl. lxxxii) and of the relief-plaque from Athens representing a primitive form of Athena (pl. xxvi). And Mr R. M. Cook furnished me with the photograph of a small bronze statuette recently found in Bulgaria and important as being clearly inspired by Pheidias' Zeus Olympos (pl. lxxxii).

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

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

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

Permission to produce or reproduce plans and illustrations has been generously granted by Messrs F. Bruckmann and Co. of Munich (pls. vi, vii, xxiii, xxxvii), by Sir Arthur Evans (figs. 202, 265), by Mr N. Glueck of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem (fig. 876), by the Council of the Hellenic Society (figs. 578, 579), by Dr F. Matz of the Staatliches Lindenau-Museum at Altenburg (fig. 619), by Dr H. Meier of the Warburg Institute (pl. x1), by the late Mr J. E. Quibell (fig. 195), by Monsieur Richard, Conservateur des Musées at Abbeville (fig. 888), by Miss G. M. A.
Preface

Richter of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (pl. xxxv, figs. 776, 883, 897), by Professor Horner A. Thompson (figs. 923, 924), by Professor A. J. B. Wace (fig. 193), by Dr C. Weickert of the Museum at Munich (pl. 1), and by the Direktor of the Badisches Landesmuseum at Karlsruhe (pl. ii).

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

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

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

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

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

19 CRANMER ROAD, CAMBRIDGE.
22 July 1939.
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ABBREVIATIONS

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

Albizzati *Vasi d. Vaticano* = C. Albizzati *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano* Fasc. 1—6 (pls. 1—60) Roma 1935—1932.


*Am. Journ. Arch.* From 1933 (vol. xxxvi) onwards the *American Journal of Archaeology* has been issued in larger format.


*Berl. philol. Woch.* Occasionally from 1884 to 1920. Before (1881—1883) and after (1911)— that period the title is simply *Philologische Wochenschrift*.


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


*Corpus inscr. Lat. xi. 2. 7* *Inscriptiones Aemiliae, Etruriae, Umbriae Latinae*, ed. E. Bormann. Addenda ad partes priores et Indicem capita tria. Berolini 1936.

xiv *Supplementum Ostitense*, ed. L. Wickert Berolini 1930.


*Corpus vasorum antiquorum.* This great international publication, started by E. Pottier at Paris in 1927, has already (1939) run to 62 parts, of which Belgium
Abbreviations

has contributed 2, Denmark 6, France 14, Germany 3, Great Britain 11, Greece 1, Holland 3, Italy 17, Poland 3, Spain 1, the United States 6, and Yugoslav 2.

Délis v Le Portique d’Antigone ou du Nord-est et les constructions voisines par F. Courby.

Paris 1912.

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


(xii) (Planches).


(xviii) (Planches).


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


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

Fouilles de Delphes

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


Graef Ant. Vaseen Athen iv Berlin 1925, ii Band i Berlin 1929, ii Berlin 1931, iii Berlin 1933.


Abbreviations


Inscr. Gr. ed. min. = Inscriptiones Graecae editio minor


iv Inscriptiones Argolidis 1 Inscriptiones Epidauri ed. Fridericus Hiller de Gaerten gen Berolini 1929.

ix 1 Inscriptiones Phocidis Locridis Aetoliae Acarnaniae Insularum Maris Ionii. 1 Inscriptiones Aetoliae ed. Guentherus Klaussenbach Berolini 1932.

Jahrh. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. From 1918 (vol. xxxiii) onwards the Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts has been entitled the Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.

L'Antiquité Classique = L'Antiquité Classique Louvain 1932—


i Western Europe, Magna Graecia, Sicily.

ii The Greek Mainland, the Aegaean Islands, Crete.

iii Asia Minor, Farther Asia, Egypt, Africa.


Mendel Cat. Fig. gr. de Terre Cuite Constantinople = Musée Impériaux Ottomans. Catalogue des Figurines grecques de Terre Cuite par Gustave Mendel Constantinople 1908.


Milet

i. 9 Thermen und Palasten von Armin von Gerkan und Fritz Krischen mit Beiträgen von Friedrich Drexel, Karl Anton Neugebauer, Albert Rehm und Theodor Wiegand Berlin 1928.

ii. 2 Die milesische Landschaft von Theodor Wiegand mit Beiträgen von Kurt Krause, Albert Rehm und Paul Wilski Berlin 1929.


iii. 5 Das südliche Jonien von Alfred Philippson Berlin—Leipzig 1936.


Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica = Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica Firenze 1885—


Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Billedhavens til Kataloget over antika
Abbreviations


Pergamon


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


Sardis

i The Excavations. Part i (1910—1914) by Howard Crosby Butler Leyden 1922.

ii Architecture. Part i The Temple of Artemis by Howard Crosby Butler Leyden 1925.

v Roman and Christian Sculpture. Part i The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi by Charles Rufus Morey Princeton 1924.

vii Greek and Latin Inscriptions. Part i by W. H. Buckler and David M. Robinson Leyden 1922.

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

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

Abbreviations


Syll. num. Gr. = Sylloge nummorum Graecorum
i. 2 The Newnham Davis coins in the Wilson collection of Classical and Eastern Antiquities Marischal College Aberdeen London 1936.
ii. 1—2 The Lloyd collection (Etruria to Thurium). London 1933.
ii. 3—4 The Lloyd collection (Velia to Eryx). London 1934.
ii. 5—6 The Lloyd collection (Galaria to Selinus). London 1935.
ii. 7—8 The Lloyd collection (Syracuse to Lipara). London 1937.
iii. 1 The Lockett collection (Spain—Italy (gold and silver)). London 1938.
iii. 2 The Lockett collection (Sicily—Thrace (gold and silver)). London 1939.

Tiryns


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

ZEUS AS GOD OF THE WEATHER.


GREECE is a land of many earthquakes. Reckoning great with small, Count de Montessus de Ballore¹, our foremost authority in seismic geography², computes a yearly average of at least 275. C. Davison³ in a recent monograph states that 3187 were recorded during the six years 1893—1898, and adds that, for every shock felt in Great Britain, 50 are observed in Japan and no less than 158 in Greece⁴. Similarly J. Partsch⁵, after consideration of Julius Schmidt’s⁶ earthquake-catalogue for 1859—1878, concludes ‘that

¹ F. de Montessus de Ballore Les tremblements de terre: Geographie seismologique Paris 1906 p. 264.
⁴ F. de Montessus de Ballore Introduction à un essai de description sismique du globe et mesure de la sismicité in the Beiträge zur Geophysik Leipzig 1900 iv. 357 gives the following statistics for the various divisions of Greece (repeated by C. E. Dutton Earthquakes in the light of the new Seismology London 1904 p. 296):

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<td>20</td>
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<tr>
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<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1858-1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kykales</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>1865-1866 1867-1874 1895-1897</td>
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<tr>
<td>General or ill-defined (eastern)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
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⁵ J. F. Julius Schmidt Studien über Vulkane und Erdbeben Leipzig 1881 ii. 166—360.

C. III.
Zeus and the Earthquakes

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

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

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

1 A. Philippson Das Mittelmeergebiet, seine geographische und kulturelle Eigenart Leipzig 1904 p. 28.
5 Not invariably. Pythagoras taught that earthquakes were due to a concourse (conflict?) of the dead (All. vor. hist. 4, 19 καὶ τὸν σακρὸν ἑγεραλήγει οὐδὲν ἄλλα εἶναι ἡ σφοδρὶ τῶν τεθνεότων = H. Diels Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker Berlin 1912 i. 357, 21 ff.)—presumably a folk-belief (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 814 n. 2).

The frequent notion that earthquake-shocks are occasioned by the movements of a subterranean monster or giant or god (J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 816 ff., 1888 iv. 1542, E. B. Tylor Primitive Culture London 1891 i. 954 ff., Frazer Golden Bough; Adonis Attis Osiris i. 107 ff. ('The Earthquake God'), K. Weinhold 'Die Sagen von Loki' in the Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum 1849 viii. 61 ff., P. Sébillot Le Folk-Lore de France Paris 1904 i. 473 ff., F. Legge Fore-runners and Rivals of Christianity Cambridge 1915 ii. 197 (citing F. Cumont Recherches sur le manichéisme i. La cosmogonie manichéenne d'après Théodore bar Khosin Bruxelles 1908 Append. ii), P. Alliari Les écritures manichéennes Paris 1918 i. 40) is found also

In the upper-pliocene beds of Samos are extensive deposits of fossil bones—Samotharon, Hippoparion mediterraneeum, Mastodon longirostris, etc. (L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i a. 2168, 2171). These bones were attributed by Euphorion to primeval monsters called Nyäders, who broke the very ground with their cries and occasioned the Samian proverb: 'He bawls louder than the Nëdéres' (Euphor. frag. 25 Meineke ap. Ait. de nat. an. 17. 28 and Apostol. 9. 31). The statement goes back to the early local historian Euagon of Samos frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 16 Müller) ap. Phot. lex. s.v. vöräf and Herakl. Pont. frag. 10. i (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 215 Müller) = Aristot. frag. 611. 30 Rosc², who however used the form Nyäders, not Nyäders. Nyäders, which means 'Witless Ones' (cp. h. Dem. 256), must of course be distinguished from Nyäders or Nyäders, the Naïad nympha, and may be an attempt to make sense of some pre-Greek name. W. R. Halliday in the Class. Rev. 1917 xili. 59 acutely restores Plout. quasiitt. Gr. 56 (Panaíma in Samos was so named after a bloody battle between Dionysos and the Amazons) τῶν δὲ θεῶν ἄντων τινὲς λέγουσιν τερ. τὸ Φοῖνικ και τὰ ὀστά δεκατάλιον ἀυτῶν—ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι καὶ τὸ Φοῖνικ ἐπὶ ἐκείνων ἑκάστης, φθηγομένων μεγά τι καὶ διάτον (see further Halliday ad loc. p. 207 ff.). S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1918 ii. 161 quotes with approval Sir A. Evans The Palace of Minos London 1928 ii. 1. 324: 'The delight of the Earth-shaker in bulls, referred to in the Homerid passage [Il. 20. 403 ff.], may itself find a reasonable explanation in the widespread idea...that earthquakes are produced by some huge beast beneath the Earth. Sometimes, as in Japan, it is a monstrous fish, sometimes an elephant or other animal of prodigious size, but, amongst all of these, the bull is the most natural agent. According to the Moslems of Tashkend [J. Troll in the Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 1892 xxiv. 537 ff.], Almighty God set to support the Earth a bull of such monstrous size that from his head to the end of his tail was five hundred years' journey, and the space between his two horns another two hundred [and fifty]. The bull, thus heavily laden, prompted by the Devil, shook his head and tried to throw the Earth off him with his horns. Thereat, a midge was sent to sting him in the nostril, and he set up a mighty bellowing, so that he is known unto this day as "the bellower."

Again, there is an earthquake when the giant Briares under Mt Aitne shifts to his other shoulder (Kallim. h. Del. 141 ff.), or when Enkelados beneath the same burden changes his weary side (Verg. Aen. 3. 578 ff.). All Sicily trembles when Typhoeus, crushed by its weight, struggles to thrust it from him (Ov. met. 5. 346 ff., Val. Flacc. 2. 23 ff.). A like commotion was caused when Kaineus, buried beneath a huge mound of stocks and stones, tried in vain to lift his head (Ov. met. 12. 514 ff.). Giants laid low by Herakles—Mimas beneath Prochyte, Iapetos beneath Inarime—made the earth shake above them and blasted the soil of Campania (Sil. It. 12. 143 ff., cp. ib. 529). In particular, Alkyoneus (Claud. de rappt. Pros. 3. 184 f.) and other giants with them were thought to lie beneath Mt Vesuvius (Philostr. her. 2. 7), and during the eruption of 79 A.D. many gigantic phantoms appeared by day and night on the mountain, in the neighbouring towns, and in the sky—a prelude to periods of severe drought and appalling earthquakes (Dion Cass. 66. 29). We may venture to compare the happenings described in Matthew 27. 51–53. Analogous beliefs still linger in Greek lands: a short, sharp earthquake accompanied by a peculiar crash occurred in Zakynthos on Aug. 4/16, 1861, and the next day a peasant employed over the currant-crop in the village of Hagios Kyrikos observed with regard to it 'Some building of the giants must have collapsed' (B. Schmidt Das Volkslied der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 33, 201 κάτι χλωρό τον 'νέατόντας δέ ένειον. Cp. supra ii. 505 ff.). It should, however, be recognised that the express connection of earthquakes with buried giants or the like is Hellenistic, not Hellenic. Earlier sources (e.g. Hes. theog. 589 ff., Pind. Pyth. 1. 29 ff., Pherekyd. frag. 14 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 72 Müller) = frag. 54 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 76 Jacoby) ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 1310 ff.) emphasise volcanic rather than seismic effects.

Other gods could on occasion produce a quake. Athena did so at Troy when
Zeus and the Earthquakes

wroth with Laokoon (Quint. Smyrn. 12. 395 ff.). Dionysos in Soph. Ant. 153 f. ὁ Θήβας δ' ἥλεξθέων (ῄλεξθέων cod. L with γρ. ἥλεξθέω written above by scholiast) | Βάικεσος ἄραχα bears the title of an earthquake-god (the schol. vetr. ad loc., followed by Sir R. C. Jebb, is inadequate—ὁ Θήβας δ' ἥλεξθέων Βάικεσος τοῦ κυνηγέων | ἥλεξθέων δὲ τοῦ Διώνυσου φοίνικα τὰ ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς Βάικεσοις κυνηγεῖ η την τὴν γῆν οἰκεῖα καὶ ἀναβαίνειν ταῖται χρόνοις) and in Eur. Bacch. 536 ff., 605 f., 621 f., 632 f. shatters, or at least is believed to shatter, the house of Pentheus (G. Norwood The Riddle of the Bacchae Manchester 1908 p. 37 ff., id. Greek Tragedy London 1920 p. 281 f., A. W. Verrall The Baccanals of Euripides and other Essays Cambridge 1910 pp. 36 ff., 64 ff., an exploit compatible with Orphic belief (Orph. h. Perìkíon. 47. i ff. κατασκεύασε Βάικεσος Περίκλινων, μεθύπνητος, | καὶ Καλλιμάχος δόμοις ὁ ἐλεσίτμων πέρα πάντη (so G. Hermann for σινεάμενο νεῖντι πάντα) | ἔθνης κρατορον βραβαίος γαίης ἀποστείψας, ἡν ἤπικα πυροβόροι αὐτὴν ἐκίνησαν | οὕτως σκεπτείσαν ροξίοισ' ὁ δ' ἀτέραμος δεσμός ἀντίστων). Nerues, like Poseidon, makes and can therefore unmake earthquakes (Orph. h. Nερέων. 23. 5 ff. οἴκλαεις Δρόνοι λειτόν βάδρον (cf. ἐννοιοι—Δάς und άs ιν ν. p. o). ἵππα πυροβόροι | ἐν μυθικó (so G. Hermann for ἐννοιοι) κυνηγείν ταῦτα ἀναβαίνειν αὐτοῖν | ἀλλά, μάκαρ, σκεφτείσαν μὲν ἀντίστως, πέμπτε δὲ μοῖνος | δῶνον κ. τ. λ.). But Usener's contention that Aloeus, son of Poseidon by Kanake, "is der "Dresscher" gewiss nicht allein wörtlich als Gott des Landbaues, sondern vorzugsweise bildlich als Erderschütterer, 'Ἡλεξθέων Ἐνορτύσασι' (H. Usener in the Rhein. Mus. 1898 liii. 349—id. Kleine Schriften Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 278) strikes me as far-fetched and improbable.

The epithet ῥήξειθέων (ῥηξείθεων), the 'land-breaker,' has little reference in all probability to the disruptive effect of earthquakes, and is applied in Orphic hymns to Dionysos (Orph. h. Λυσ. Λευν. 30. 9 ῥήξειθεων (E. Abel cf. ῥήξειθεων), λυμαῖς, Μεγαθέδες, ἀλοδομοφοτε, h. τίσεως 52. 9 ῥήξειθεων (E. Abel cf. ῥήξειθεων), πυριφεγγεῖ, ἐκφέγγει, κούρει δικαίορ (so E. Abel for δικαίορ)) and in magical spells etc. to a variety of chthonian powers including Hekate (C. Wessely Griechische Zauberpapyri von Paris und London Wien 1888 p. 88 pap. Par. 2722 f. οὐσία ῥήξεθεων σκελαγάητες (A. Nauck cf. σκελαγάητες) | σκελαγάητες, Babelon—Blanchet Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat. p. 701 ff. no. 2206, 10 ff. = W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3646—R. Wünsch in the Corp. inter. Att. App. defix. p. xv = A. Audollent Defixionum tabellae Luteciae Parisiorum 1904 p. 69 ff. no. 38, 10 ff. (a leaden devotio-tablet of s. iii A.D., found at Alexandria) εἰς[ε]καθαλοῦσαι ἐν τὴν πάντας ἀνθρώπους δυνάστειρας, παυλοβοβόλα, ῥήξεθεων, ή καὶ ἀνέγεικαμεν τα τοῦ μελακόχου μέλη καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν μελακικῶν, ἔροχειγαλ νεβτουσοναλήχι ἐρεβονη, | ἅρκα νέκυ' Ἑκάτῃ, Ἑκάτῃ ἐλάθῃ, ἕθετε καὶ τελειώσατι με τὴν πραγματεία ταύτῃ (on the identification of Ἑρίσκιλακ with Hekate and the allusion to the dismemberment of Osiris or Adonis (?) see W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1844 ff., 2644 ff.). Miss L. Macdonald in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology 1891 xiii. 174 no. 1, 30 ff. = W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2646 = A. Audollent op. cit. p. 41 no. 22, 30 ff. (a leaden devotio-tablet of late date, found at Kourion in Cyprus) ἤροιδω βιά(s), δεινοὺς πολύνδρου ('of the graveyard [πολύνδρων]') καὶ [μι]καδόνας καὶ ἄρων καὶ ἀφορος ταφής, κατὰ τῆς ῥήξεθεων τῆς καταπεκικάς μελακοχα τοῦ μελή καὶ αὐτῶν μελακικῶν—a formula repeated in Miss L. Macdonald loc. cit. p. 176 no. 3, 16 ff. p. 178 no. 5, 20 ff., p. 179 no. 6, 18 ff., p. 180 no. 7, 21 ff., p. 181 no. 8, 18 ff., p. 183 no. 9, 23 ff., p. 184 no. 10, 19 ff., p. 185 no. 11, 18 ff., p. 186 no. 12 f., 21 ff., p. 188 no. 13, 18 ff., p. 190 no. 17, 19 ff. = A. Audollent op. cit. p. 45 no. 24, 16 ff. p. 47 no. 26, 20 ff., p. 49 no. 27, 18 f., p. 51 no. 28, 21 ff., p. 53 no. 29, 19 ff., p. 54 no. 30, 23 ff., p. 56 f. no. 31, 18 ff., p. 59 no. 32, 18 ff., p. 62 no. 33, 21 ff., p. 64 f. no. 35, 18 ff., p. 67 no. 37, 19 ff.), Brimo (C. Wessely Neu griechische Zauberpapyri Wien 1893 p. 45 pap. Lond. 121, 757 f. = F. G. Kenyon Greek Papyri in the British Museum London 1893 i. 106 no. 121, 601 f. [of s. iii A.D.] ἐν οἴς δύνη | [παρακοινα, Βρίων ῥήξεθεων], an unnamed goddess who holds the keys of Hades (Miss L. Macdonald loc. cit. p. 175 no. 2, 12 f. = A. Audollent op. cit. p. 44 no. 23, 12 f. (a leaden devotio-tablet of late date, found at Kourion in Cyprus) κτίδια τοῦ 'Αδου καὶ λέξεσα ῥήξεθεων—a formula completed from Miss L. Macdonald loc. cit. p. 174 no. 1, 53 f., p. 178 no. 5 a, 39, p. 182 no. 8, 35, p. 186 no. 11,
attributed earthquakes to Poseidon. A memorable passage in the Iliad is explicit on the point:


The fact is that any and every subterranean deity invoked by the magician might be expected to cause an earthquake. Jehovah himself is conjured as the god who rends the mountains and breaks the rocks in pieces (1 Kings 19. 11), who makes the earth to tremble and shake (Ps. 77. 18), the hills to move to and fro (Jer. 4. 4) (A. Audollent op. cit. p. 374 no. 271, 17 f., 34 f. = R. Wünsch Antike Fluchtsafeln Bonn 1907 p. 22 no. 5, 17 f. (a leader demelo-tablet of s. iii A.D., found at Hadrumetum) ὄρκῳ στῶν σαβτοβουνον τὰς πτέρας: | ορκ[ω] στῶν ἀμφιβασθα τὰ ὀφει, p. 24 no. 5, 34 f. δι’ θῶν ... καὶ τὰ ὀφει τρέμει | καὶ [ὅ κακοὶ] καὶ ὀ πλάσασθαι).
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The sire of men and gods thundered on high
Horrific, and beneath Poseidon shook
The boundless earth and the tall mountain-tops.
Yea, all the feet of many-fountained Ida
And all her crests were swaying to and fro,
Troy-town to boot and the Achaean ships.
Deep underground Aidoneus, king of the dead,
Trembled and, trembling, sprang from his throne and shouted
Lest o'er his head Poseidon, shaker of land,
Should cleave the very earth and bring to the ken
Of mortals and immortals his grim realm,
A mouldering realm that ev'n the gods abhor.

This passage is well illustrated by a bronze medallion of
Mytilene, struck by Valerianus, and hitherto unpublished (pl. i and
fig. 1). The reverse type is an attempt to visualise the foregoing

Fig. 1.

scene. On the left Poseidon, holding a dolphin (?), threatens the
ground with his trident. On the right Hades, a rod or sceptre in
his hand, springs from his throne in terror. Zeus, standing between
them, with himation and sceptre, raises his hand to quell the
tumult. The whole must refer to some historic earthquake, and
may have been struck to commemorate it.

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

F. Durrbach in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iv. 60 f., Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 814,
States iv. 7 f.

1 II. 20. 56—65.
2 My specimen came from the cabinet of a Greek collector on May 14, 1928. Obv.

AVT·K·Π·ΛΙΚ·ΒΛΕΠΙΑΝΟΣ. Bust of Valerianus to right. Rev. ΘΕΟΙ ΚΡΑΙ
ΟΙΜΥΤΙΑΗΝΑ ΙΩΝ. Scene as described above. Pl. i shows the reverse to a
scale of 1/4. L. Holstein's coin (supra ii. 873 n. 10) had apparently the same reverse
combined with an obverse resembling supra ii. 260 fig. 172.
Bronze medallion of Mytilene showing Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades as Theoi Akraioi.

See page 6 n. 3.
interpolation. But in cantos of earlier date Homer calls Poseidon enosichthôn, the 'land-shaker' (?), or ennösigaioi, the 'earth-shaker' (?), and often uses both appellatives as substitutes for his name. Pindar


2 The epithet ἐνοσίξθων is used of Poseidon 23 times in the Iliad, 18 times in the Odyssey (A. Gehring Index Homericus Lipsiae 1891 p. 289), always in the nominative case and always last word of the hexameter—except Od. 3. 6 ἐνοσίξθων κυριαρχή. The usual location is Ποσειδῶν ἐνοσίξθων (24 times), for which κρείς ἐνοσίξθων (7 times) and ἐνοσίξθων ἐνοσίξθων (once, Il. 11. 751) are convenient substitutes. Ἐνοσίξθων alone occurs 8 times (H. Ebeling Lexicon Homericum Lipsiae 1888 i. 424).

Ἐνοσίγαίος is similarly used of Poseidon 20 times in the Iliad, 6 times in the Odyssey (A. Gehring op. cit. p. 388). The common phrases are γαῖας ἐνοσίγαίοι (nom. 4 times, acc. once, dat. twice)—extended in Il. 13. 43 Ποσειδῶν γαῖας ἐνοσίγαίοι (cp. Hom. ερ. 6. 1 Ποσειδῶν μεγαλακυρίοι ἐνοσίγαίοι—and κλύτος ἐνοσίγαίοι (nom. 7 times, acc. twice). Ἐνοσίγαίος alone occurs 6 times (nom. twice, voc. thrice, acc. once), ἐνοσίγαίος ἐνοσίγαίοι thrice. The word mostly occupies the end of the line, but not in Il. 7. 455. 8. 201, 12. 27, 20. 20, 20. 310, 21. 462, Od. 11. 102, 13. 140, ἃ. ἔπος 4 (H. Ebeling op. cit. i. 472).

Hence it may be inferred that the old pre-Homeric tags (ὑπὴρα i. 444, ii. 384 n. 0) for dactylic triposes with anacrusis were Ποσειδῶν ἐνοσίξθων and γαῖας ἐνοσίγαίοι, for dactylic dipodies with anacrusis κρείς ἐνοσίξθων and κλύτω ἐνοσίγαίοι. In view of the extreme antiquity of such tags we can hardly expect their interpretation to be free from doubt.

The τ of ἐνοσίξθων becomes ττ in ἐνοσίγαίος metri gratia (Corruth, theol. 22 p. 47, 7 Lang has ἐνοσίξθων, a spelling found in late prose—Soud. ἐνοσίγαίος (cod. A. Gives ττ against the ord. verborum), et. mag. p. 344. 43 ἐνοσίγαίος, Zonar. lex. ἐνοσίγαίος, Favorin. lex. p. 215. 27 ἐνοσίγαίος); and the same reason suffices to explain the lengthened first syllable of ἐνοσίξθωλλος (Il. 2. 652, 2. 757, Od. 9. 21, 11. 316, Simon. frag. 41. 1 Bergk, 52. 1 Edmonds, 40. 1 Diehl op. Plout. sympr. 8. 3. 4 has ἐνοσίξθωλλος, Favorin. lex. p. 628, 59 ἐνοσίξθωλλος, Hesych. ἐνοσίξθωλλος (A. Meineke cf. ἐνοσίξθωλλος) (W. Schulze Quaestiones episcopae Gueterlholae 1892 p. 159 f.). But the common assumption (with query in Prellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. 2 p. 146, without query lb. p. 321 and in Boisacq Dict. etym. de la Langue Gr. pp. 258, 1080, Walde—Pokorny Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr. i. 254 f.) that ἐνοσίγαιοι—ἐνοσίγαιοι are derived from ἐν τῷ ἐνοσίγαι of ἐνοσίγαι (Hesych. ἐνοσί¬γαιοι and θωρ..., ... φίλεσ are misleading guesses, based on a wrong interpretation of Il. 9. 540, 16. 260. Cp. schol. A. Il. 9. 540) is thoroughly unsatisfactory. ἐν τῷ ἐνοσίγαι would have produced, not ἐνοσίγαιοι, but ἐνοσίγαίοι (L. Meyer Handb. d. gr. Etym. i. 410. K. F. W. Schmidt in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1913 xlv. 234 n. 3: Boisacq op. cit. p. 1109 and Walde—Pokorny op. cit. i. 255 adduce unconvincingly ὄνος: ὄνος, πέταλο: πέταλο, etc.). Besides, ἐνοσίγαι is a late compound (Ap. Rhod. 4. 1243, Plout. v. Lucull. 28) and yields no tolerable sense.

Impressed by these difficulties I endeavoured years ago to divide ἐνοσίγαιοι (a compound like ἐμπυρηβήγας), 'the earth-god in the water,' cp. Poll. i. 238 γῆς...δόρος, ἔντοσος,..., ἐνοσίγαιος, if not also Eur. Ι. Τ. 161 f. γαῖας ἐνοσίγαιοι (so A. Kirchhoff for ἐν νότοι) | νοτᾶτη. On this showing ἐνοσίξθων would be a later form due, like ἐνοσίξθωλλος, to a misconception (Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 176). The occurrence of Zeus ἐνοσίς for ἐνοσίς at Miletos (ὑπὴρα i. 273 n. 6, ii. 317 n. 7) might indeed be held to support the connexion with νότος, νόσις, etc. and perhaps Neptunus (Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. 2 pp. 516 s.v. 'Neptunus,' 521 s.v. 'no'). But the suggestion really makes shipwreck on the sense, which I now see to be nonsense. Dr B. F. C. Atkinson improved upon my notion by pointing out to me (Dec. 1912) that ἐν might be a proverbial vowel, the epithets ἐνοσί¬χαω, ἐνοσί¬γαιοι denoting
follows suit with Ennosidas, and coins fresh compounds to express the god ‘that waters the earth.’ But, unknown to us both, A. Goebel of Magdeburg had already tried that tack fifty years ago. In a remarkable paper ‘Ueber den homerischen Poseidōniossai eiswosios ‘ensoi-xiaos’ (Zeitschrift für die osteuropäischen Gymnasten 1870 xxvii. 241—252) he had argued that there is in truth no Homeric evidence for Poseidon as an earthquake-god, I. 20. 56 ff. being a ‘späteres Einschiebels’ and ‘ensoi-xiaos’ eiswosios ‘ensoi-xiaos, timblous involving prothetic e and the root sua of ντος, νοτίς, etc.—to be rendered ‘erdenetzen,’ ‘Erdbewässerer,’ ‘feuchtlaubig.’

Another possibility suggested to me by Dr Atkinson (Dec. 1953) is that eiswosι-ύθως, ennoι-xiaos, eiswosι-φιλος may be related to omis < * anis, ‘burden’ (Wale op. cit. 81 n. ‘omis’), and mean ‘burdened with the ground,’ ‘burdened with earth,’ ‘laden with leaves.’ The suffix -σι- is frequent in epic compounds (D. B. Monro A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect Oxford 1891 p. 118 f.).

But against all these fancies must be set the solid fact that the said epithets are traditionally interpreted ‘shaking the ground,’ ‘shaking the earth,’ ‘shaking the leaves’ (so all lexicons, ancient or modern). And this tradition must be as old as Hesiod, since ēnνοις is applied by him to a ‘shaking’ of the earth (Hes. theog. 581, 760) or sea (Hes. theog. 849). Euripides similarly uses the word of an earthquake (Bacch. 585) or a city’s overthrow (Tro. 1326) or the whirling of ῥημέοι (Hed. 1363). Goebel loc. cit. p. 249 of course maintains that we have here to do with a learned, or unlearned, misunderstanding of ἐννοι-ύθως. On the whole, it is safer to accept the traditional rendering and to assume a verbal stem *eisw- without recognised cognates (L. Meyer op. cit. i. 410).


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the same idea—elastichthou¹, ‘who smiteth the land,’ elelthichthou², ‘who
γ τῷ δρόμων, οὐν Δημιουργὸς Γεννητὴς (Schafer transp. Γεννήτηρ Δημιοῦργος), γνώφων θεόφοι, γνώφων δυναμόφοι. In carp. pop. 9 Bergk⁴, 50 Diehl ap. Proki. in Hes. o. d. 389 τρισίλεον δέ (cod. A), where T. Bergk prints τρισίλεον and E. Diehl τρισίλεον δῆ, J. M. Edmonds κτ. τρισίλεον Ἰδιο. It should, however, be observed that the ancient grammarians in general are by no means committed to this view.

With the dawn of modern philological scholars began to doubt the equation δᾶ = γῆ. H. L. Ahrens De dialecto Dorico Gottingae 1843 p. 88 f. definitely denied it. He explained 'Euvoridás either as a simple derivative of εὖροις, or as a blundered form of 'Euvoríat, or as equivalent to 'Euvoríat, Δᾶ being in this case an ancient but unrelated name of the goddess Γῆ (H. L. Ahrens in Philologus 1866 xxiii. 207 n. 20). Later, on the strength of Cypriote δᾶ = Attic γῆ (W. Deesecke and J. Siegismund in the Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik herausgegeben von G. Curtius Leipzig 1875 vii. 221 f., O. Hofmann Die Griechischen Dialekte Göttingen 1891 i. 221, A. Thumb Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte Heidelberg 1900 p. 292, C. D. Buck Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects Boston 1910 p. 55, F. Bechtel Die griechischen Dialekte Berlin 1921 i. 411), Ahrens admitted δᾶ as a Doric form of γῆ (H. L. Ahrens in Philologus 1879 xxxv. 41)—an admission in which he was followed by J. Schmidt in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1881 xxv. 185 ff. and R. Meister Die griechischen Dialekte Göttingen 1889 ii. 221, 254, cp. G. Meyer Griechische Grammatik Leipzig 1896 p. 268 (δᾶ ist wohl bloss für die Erklärung von Δῆμος erhalten1). But the normal Doric form of γῆ was γᾶ (É. Boissacq Les dialectes doriens Paris 1850 p. 48 f.), and no recent philologist—even when confronted with Lacoonian δῆφω (Hesych. s. v. θήφωρα (M. Schmidt corv. δῆφωρα) γῆφωρα. Δᾶων) and Gortyrian δῆφω (D. Comparetti in the Mon. d. Linc. 1893 ii. 293 ff. no. 154, ii 14 ff. with facsimile = F. Blasi in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. ii. 2. 286 ff. no. 5000, ii 14 ff. τᾶν δὲ βοῶν λει[π]εν ὅτων κατέχει δῆ (Comparetti reports Δ, a mason's error) έτρι φοράι δῆφωρα γῆ πλωρ, μείων δὲ μῆ) = γῆφωρα—would support the claim that δᾶ is a legitimate Doric form for γῆ.

That being so, we must abandon the attempt to make 'Euvoridás a dialect form of 'Euvoríat. For all that, it may amount to much the same thing. Personally I incline to the view that Δᾶ was an ancient name of the earth-mother (supra lii. 584 n. 1, 585 n. 1), Δᾶς an ancient name of the sky-father, ultimately related to Zeus (H. L. Ahrens in Philologus 1886 xxiii. 206 ff.) and found as second element in the compounds πορ-Δᾶς, 'Lord Zeus' (supra ii. 585 ff.), and Τῆς-Δᾶς Τῆς-Δᾶς, 'Zeus of the Earth' (Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 175 f., Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 380 ff.); and I should interpret εὐνοῖ-Δᾶς as 'He that shaketh Da,' the Earth' rather than as 'Das or Zeus of the earthquake' (cp. Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 175). The later accentuation Πορίδας, 'Αδᾶς, 'Ευνοίδας was due—I conceive—to the false analogy of patronymics.

Others prefer to suppose that in the tragic exclamation δᾶ we have the vocative and in the bucolic abjuration oβ δᾶν the accusative case of Δᾶs, 'Zeus' (so H. L. Ahrens in Philologus 1886 xxiii. 206 f., R. Kühner—F. Blass Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache Hannover 1890 i. 144, 459).


² Pind. Pyth. 6. 50 ff. 'Ελασίξχον...: |...Ποσείδαν.
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maketh the land to reel,' seischthon', 'who maketh the land to quake.' Sophokles speaks of him as tináktor gaias, the 'agitator of the earth.' And the poets in general conceive of him as stirring both land and sea with his trident.

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


Τάφῳ ἐνταύρωσαν | τοῦτον ἐνταὐρόθρυσον, the reference is to the supreme Deity of the Jews or the Christians.]

cp. er. mag. p. 668, 54 σείσμοι, κυνοχαίτης

Scholl—Studemund assed. i. 267 Εἰσίθετο Ποιειδῶν (10) κυνοχαίτης | perhaps
generated in a gloss, cp. Hesych. ε.κ. τενοσίγοις κυνοχαίτης. εἰσίθετον Ποιειδῶν.


Aisch. P. 924 ff. θαλασσία τε γῆς τοις γαῖας νόσου | τριάνων, τίχην τῆς Ποιει-

dων, εὐθέου (sc. Zeus) (Wilamowitz, accepting the νόσου of cod. Med.1, translates θαλασσία τῆς γῆς τοῖς γαῖας νόσου | σχέσιμος, τριάνων ὡς Ποιειδῶν οἰκέτης), Aristoph. ec. 839 ο τῶν οὐράκας τ' ἄρεις ἐξω τριάνω | τ' θαλασσίας ἑρωτήσει σείσθη ταῦτας, | γῆς ταῦτας | ἄδε φῶς τὸν θεόνομα (of Demos as Ποιειδῶν), p. 566 ff. τὸ σεμειαβικόν τριάνωσα νώς, | γῆς ταῦτας | θαλασσίας ἀγοράς μολυβεῦντος | schol. ad loc. δοεῖ γὰρ ὡς Ποιειδῶν αὐτῇ τὴν θάλασσαν κινεῖ 


Homer uses this epithet sometimes with (Il. 13. 42. 20. 34. Od. 1. 68. 3. 55. 8. 32. 8, 350. 9. 538, 1. 141, 6) sometimes without the name of the god (Il. 9. 183. 13. 59. 13. 83. 13. 125. 13. 177. 14. 355. 15. 174. 15. 201. 15. 202. 14. 221, 1. 244. H. Her. 187), but always of Poseidon. Later poets, misconceiving the second element in the compound, applied it to other deities (Aisch. suppl. 813 θέσιν ὧν ἐβαλλέν άθεμάτων νομίσασαν, γαῖης ταῦτας τενοσίγοις, Θεόπατρ Δίζη, θυγατρὶ Δίζη, ἀμβρός
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Therapane and Gymnion, in Attike at Athens, and in the archi-
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Γαίας (Paus. 3. 21. 8 καὶ Δήμητρος ιερὸν άγνω καὶ Ποσειδώνος άγαλμα Γαίας (so codd. Va. Ag. Pe. Lb. γαίωνον codd. Vb. Ls. K. Pa.)). Both deities figure on coins of the town—Demeter seated, holding corn-ears and sceptre, on a bronze coin struck by Geta (Numismata quadrum sibi nuncique formet et metalli musei鸿ori Arigoni, Veneti Tarvisii 1741 l. g. no. 134, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. i. 62 no. 5), Poseidon standing, naked, with dolphin in outstretched right hand and trident in raised left, on a bronze coin struck by Caracalla (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner op. cit. i. 62 no. 6 pl. O. 3).

Athena had a priest of Poseidon Γαίωνος and 'Ερεχθείων (Corp. inscr. Att. iii. i no. 276—Michel Reclus d’Inscr. gr. no. 860, 37—Roberts—Gardner Gr. Epigr. ii. 469 no. 268 a theatre-seat inscribed shortly before the Christian era λεγο | Ποσειδώνος | Γαίωνος καὶ 'Ερεχθείων), otherwise styled Poseidon 'Ερεχθείων Γαίωνος (Corp. inscr. Att. iii. i no. 805—Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 3. no. 790 a base of Pentelic marble, on the akropolis at Athens, recording a statue of C. Iulius Spartiacus erected in the time of Nero Γαίος (Tolstov Σπαρτακίους, ἀρχερεύα θε[ίόν] Σεβαστών [αι] [γάλαυος Σεβαστών | ΕΚ τού κοινού τῆς] (ήχα χιλικτήν προ[ί] τῶν αυτο[ί]ων, | ἵππως Ποσειδώνος) [']Ερεχθείων Γαίωνος | Τ[ῆρος] Κλαύδιος Θεομάτι | Πανακείον τῶν εναυτόν | φιλον).

These inscriptions imply rather half-hearted identification of Erechtheus with Poseidon Γαίωνος. Other available evidence points in the same direction; for, whereas in s. iv b.c. the tribe Erechtheus is careful to distinguish its eponymous hero from Poseidon (Corp. inscr. Att. iv. 2 no. 556 61 ff.—J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen Leges Graecorum sacrarum ii no. 27, 1 ff.—Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii.—iii. i no. 1146, 1 ff. a decree of the tribe Erechtheus, before 350 b.c. thed. Φάτων εἶχε: [ερασθαὶ τῶν Ποσειδῶν] καὶ τῶν 'Ερεχθεύων τῶν θεῶν] [λαχώτα τόξον ἄραθα τῆς βολῆς καὶ] τῶν δήμων τῶν 'Αθηναίων καὶ τῆς φόλης] τῆς 'Ερεχθείωνς [---] πάπρα καὶ κα[---] [---] καὶ τ[---] [---] [κ.τ.λ.—a distinction observed as late as s. ii a.d. (Paus. i. 36. 5 ἤσθενθαι δὲ (ἐκ. into the Erechtheum) εἰς βυζιλόν, Ποσειδώνος, ἐφ' οὖ καὶ Ἔρεχθεις θεομάτι εκ τοῦ (so R. Porson and E. Clavier for ἐκ τοῦ codd.) μαντικόματος, καὶ ύψος Βούτον, τρίτος δὲ Οριαῖον. Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 20. ff. no. 18 (a fragmentary marble base inscribed in s. ii (f) a.d. and built into a buttress on the southern wall of the akropolis at Athens) ...καὶ Ποσειδών [......] [. τὸν Πανακέιον [........] [ον 'Αρχερεύων 'Ομογενῶς] [.......] [.......] is indecisive)—there was, at least from s. v b.c. onwards, a growing tendency to equate Poseidon with Erechtheus, the earlier occupant of the Erechtheum (supra ii. 703), the result being a syncretistic god called Poseidon 'Ερεχθεύων (Lebas—Foucart Attique no. 104 = Corp. inscr. Att. i no. 387 = Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 580 a small column of Pentelic marble found near the Erechtheum and inscribed in lettering of s. v b.c. Ἑρεχθεύων Οικογένειας Σωματον Περγαμένον Ποσειδώνος | 'Ερεχθεύων Ἀπόλλωνος | 3. 15. 1 Πανακέων δὲ ἄπαντος οἱ ποιήμα τὰ παρμέρα ἐμαρμάτησαν, καὶ τὴν <μίσθις (ins. I. Becker) > βασιλεύει 'Ερεχθεύων Λαμβάνοντι, τὴν δὲ ἱεροσωμὸν τῆς 'Αθηναίας καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ 'Ερεχθεύων (so C. G. Heyne, followed by R. Hercher, W. Wagner, Sir J. G. Finsler, for ἐρεχθεύων cord. C. Müller, A. Westermann, I. Becker accept 'Ερεχθεύων) Βούτη, [Plout.] de vitis decem oratorum 7 Lykourgos 843 B Mēdōs, ὥς τὴν ἱεροσωμὴν Ποσειδώνος Ἐρεχθεύων ἐφεκτικ. ἔδ. 843 C καὶ Διοκλῆς, διατάξατο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱεροσωμὴν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος Ἐρεχθεύων (es. Medeios ii and Diokles iii in the stimmata of the Eteoboutadai as given by J. Töpfier Attische Genealogie Bonn 1889 p. 318. [Plout.] loc. cit. 843 e—f states that the insigne of the priesthood was a trident handed on from one man to another, and that a group of successive priests was painted by Ismenias of Chalkis ἐν πικρία τελεσί (on a tablet of full-length figures?) and dedicated in the Erechtheum by Habron son of Lykourgos the orator. A. Reinach Textes grecs et lais latins relatifs à l’histoire de la peinture ancienne Paris 1921 i. 395 n. 4 shows that this ancestral group contained seven figures and must have been executed between 320 and 310 b.c.), Hesych. s.v. 'Ερεχθεύων | Ποσειδών ἐν Ἀθήναις = Favorin. lex. p. 744, 36 ff.), schol. Lyk. Al. 158 τὸ δὲ ἐρεχθεύων τῆς μέν ἐν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐν τοῦ Δίως ἱεροκτόνων, Tzetze. in Lyk. Al. 158 ὀστελέω ὁ Ἐρεχθεύων ὁ Ζηλία ὁ Ποσειδῶν παρὰ τὸ ἐρεχθεύω τὸ κύριο λησθεῖν (cp. supra ii. 793) or less often Ἐρεχθεύως Poseidon (Attenag. supplicatio pro Christianis i p. 1, 12 f. Schwartz ὁ δὲ
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pelago at Thera. The meaning of the epithet has been the subject of much discussion; but there can nowadays be no doubt that it denotes the ‘earth-bearer,’ just as aigiochos is the ‘earth-bearer.’

'Ανθρακίς Ἐρετρής Ἐρεκτέων ὑπεύ κ. τ. λ., A. N. Skias in the 'Εφ. Αρχ. 1897 p. 93 ff. no. 49 (= id. ib. 1898 p. 107 f. no. 21 + P. Foucart in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1882 vi. 452 ff., two portions of a marble block, which records the dedication, under M. Aurelius or Commodus, of a statue representing the granddaughter of Claudius Demostratos, one of the enemies of Herodes Attikos and his accuser before Aurelius), 21 ff. θυγατέρας Φ(λώ) Π(αν) Καλλανίδου Δημοστέρου 'Ανθρακίς, ἥρας ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τῇ ἐπόνυμῳ ἀρχής, ἀριστεροῦσας ἐπὶ τὰ ὁμαλά, γυναικαρχερώςτας, κυριεύοντας τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή, ἀγνωστήνιστας Παν[αθρακίων] καὶ 'Ελευσίνισι, ἕργηνων μιστρα[ὼν, ἑρείου] τῆς Ἐρετρέως Ποιεί[στο].

The fact that Poseidon at Athens bore the cult-title Πανόχος gives special point to Soph. O.C. 1070 ff. τόν ἑρείου | τιμών Ὀδύσσην καὶ τοῦ πάντων γαῖον | Πάνοχος φιλῶν ἐνώ.

1 A rough stone, about a foot long, dug up a little below the great wall which supports the eastern side of the agora at Thera, is inscribed in lettering of s. vi (? N.C. [?[είδος (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1899 xiv Arch. Anz. p. 183, id. in Inschr. Gr. int. iii Suppl. no. 1371 with fig. 5 my fig. 3, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial. Inschr. iii. 2. 169 no. 4731).


2 Ancient and modern opinions are listed by Welcker Gr. Götterl. i. 627, Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 572 n. 1, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1139 n. 2 sub fin., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 486. For a fuller discussion leading up to the right derivation, though not to the right interpretation, see A. Goebel in the Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien 1876 xxvii. 743—746.

3 In view of the form Παιανοχος (supra p. 11 n. 1), philologists are all but unanimous in deriving the compound from γαῖας + ἀρχός and in referring the second element to ἀρχόν = Lat. voga (A. Bezzenberger in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial. Inschr. i. 367 ff. no. 1267, 24 (Silymon in Pamphylia) ἀρχόν 'let him bring,' R. Meister Die griechischen Dialekte Göttingen 1880 ii. 168 ff. no. 148, 2 (cp. p. 344 ἀρχόν—'darbringenden') = O. Hoffmann Die Griechischen Dialekte Göttingen 1893 i. 146 no. 86, 2 (Chyтроi in Kypros) ἀρχόν 'he brought' an offering), ἀρχόν neut. (for ἀρχός, cp. Hesych. ἀρχός: ἀρχεῖον, with ὁ under the influence of ἀρχεῖον masc. ἀρχεῖον). See J. Schmid in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1895 xxxii. 456, Prellwitz Eiseys. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. p. 88 'the Erde
bewartend, erschütternd,' Boisacq Dict. duym. de la Langue Gr. p. 139 'qui secoue la
terre,' but ἵ ὥ, p. 735 'qui véhicule la terre,' F. Bechtel Lexilogus zu Homer Halle n.d.S.
1914 p. 17 'der die Erde bewegt,' G. Meyer in Philologus 1925 Suppl. vii. 3. 71 n. 1
'erdbewegend,' Walde—Pokorny Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr. i. 249 'der die Erde
bewegt.' The history of ὧν, ἔχεινθαι is—pace the pundits—decisive for the meaning
'earth-carrier' as against 'earth-shaker.'

P. Kretschmer ploughed a lonely and fruitless furrow, when he sought to take the
epithet as the equivalent of ἀταὺς ὧν ἔχουσι 'mating with Gain' (Glotta 1914 v. 303 and 1924
xii. 270).

Poseidon appears as 'earth-carrier' in ceramic illustrations of the Gigantomachy
(Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Poseidon pp. 328—331 Atlas pl. 4, 6, 8, 12 b, pl. 5, 1 b, i 6,
pl. 12, 25—27, pl. 13, i. B. N. Staes in the 'Eos.' Apr. 1886 p. 88 pl. 7, 2, M. Mayer Die
Giganten und Titanen Berlin 1887 pp. 316—319, H. Dibbels Quatuorones Coae mythologiae
2815 f., H. Balle i½. iii. 2667, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. Suppl. iii. 659,
669, 686, 754 f., J. Six in the Ath. Mitt. 1925 i. 117 ff. pl. i). According to the oldest
accessible form of the myth 'Polybotes, chased through the sea by Poseidon, came to
Kos; whereupon Poseidon, breaking off a piece of that island now called Nisyros, hurled
it upon him' (Apollob. 1. 6. 2, cp. Strab. 489, Euath. in Dionys. per. 595, Plin. nat.
hist. 5. 133 f.). A variant version tells how Polybotes, when struck by Zeus, started to
swim, and how Poseidon flung a trident at him but failed to hit, the missile becoming the
island Nisyros or Porphyris (Steph. Byz. s.d. Nisyros (= Eudok. vic. 794, Favorin. lex.
pp. 1311, 14 f., 1326, 18 f.)). Black—figured vases regularly show Poseidon moving from
left to right and bearing on his left shoulder the mass of rock with which he is about
to overwhelm his opponent (Overbeck op. cit. p. 328 ff. enumerates fourteen such vases).
But only one vase, an Ionian amphora, adds the name Polybotes (supra ii. 713 pl. xxx).
Red—figured vases of the strong style (c. 500—460 B.C.) give Poseidon in the same
attitude, but further characterise his rock as the island by representing on it an assortment
of land— and sea—creatures (Overbeck op. cit. p. 330 f. lists eight such vases. Typical
are (1) an amphora from Vulci, now in the Vatican, referred by J. D. Beazley Attice Red—
figured Vases in American Museum Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 52, Attische Vasenmaler
des röthfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 111 no. 2 and by Hoppin Red—fig. Vasen i. 206 f.
no. 4 to 'the painter of the Diogenes amphora,' a contemporary of Myson and of 'the
Eucharides painter' (Mus. Etr. Gregor. ii pl. 56, 1 a (= ii a pl. 60, 1 a), Overbeck op. cit.
p. 331 no. 8 Atlas pl. 12, 25, W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen
klassischer Altertümer in Rom 1891 i. 308 no. 489, with photographs by Moscioni (no. 8572) and Alinari (no. 35744 = my pl. ii)): (2) a klyix from Vulci, now at
Berlin (Furtwängler Vasensammel. Berlin ii. 589 ff. no. 2831), attributed to 'the Brygos
painter' (supra ii. 777 no. 3, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des röthfigurigen Stils
257 ff. pl. 150 (part = my fig. 3) superseded E. Gerhard Griechische und römische
Trinkgeschalen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin Berlin 1843 pl. 10—11 (part = Overbeck
op. cit. p. 330 no. 1 Atlas pl. 4, 12 b): (3) a klyix from Vulci, now at Paris, assigned by
Hoppin to 'the Brygos painter' (Hoppin Red—fig. Vasen i. 136 no. 80), by Beazley to a
dexterous but mechanical imitator of his style (J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des
röthfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 189 no. 1) (De Ridder Cat. Vasen de la Bibl. Nat. ii.
429 ff. no. 573, P. Milliet—A. Giraudon Vasen peints du Cabinet des Médailles & Antiques
(Bibliothèque Nationale) Paris 1891 vi. classe, xi. série ii. pl. 70 interior, pls. 71, 72
exterior, Overbeck op. cit. p. 330 no. 2 Atlas pl. 5, 14. 1 b (= my fig. 4), i.e. My pl. iii is
from fresh photographs. The rock on (1) shows a scorpion, a polyx, a hedgehog, and
two frondes; on (2) a running fox (so Furtwängler and Zahn: Overbeck represents it as a
galloping horse surrounded by a fringe of seaweed (? ctc.); on (3) exterior a hedgehog, a
scorpion, a snake, and a goat (?); on (3) interior a snake (?), a fox, and tertium quid).

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

See page 14 n. 0 (1).
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Kylix from Vulci, now at Paris:

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

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

but Ephialtes (a krater at Vienna published by J. Millingen Ancient Unedited Monuments London 1822 ii. 17—20 pls. 7 (= my fig. 5) and 8, Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. écr. i. 10 f. pl. 5. A. de La Borde Collection des vases grecs de M. le comte de Lambreg Paris 1813—1824 i. pl. 41 = Reimach Rép. Vases ii. 188, 1. Overbeck op. cit. p. 330 no. 3 Atlas pl. 13, 1. The rock shows a polyp, a dolphin, etc., a prawn (?), a goat, a snake, and a scorpion). The change of name is ingeniously explained by O. Benndorf in the Arch. op. Mitt. 1893 xvi. 106 (followed by O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 3784 f.), who conjectures that, just as Nisyros was believed to have been broken from Kos (probably from Cape Chelone: see Paus. i. 2. 4) and flung by Poseidon at the Giant Polybotes, so Saros was believed to have been broken from Cape Ephialtion (Ptol. 5. 2. 33) in Karpathos and flung by Poseidon at the Giant Ephialtes. It is noteworthy that Nisyros occurs, not only as the name of the island off Kos, but also as that of a town on Kalydna (Plin. nat. hist. 5. 133) and as that of a town on Karpathos (Strab. 469, cp. an inscription from Tritome in Karpathos published by M. Beaudouin in the Bull. corr. hell. 1886 iv. 263 f. no. 1, i ff. = Inscr. Gr. ins. i. no. 1035, i ff. Μελεκτέας | Μελεκέτας | Μελεκέτας | Βρουκότεως | Βρουκότους [Kouros] | Μακεδόνας | Αρχιερατεύς | Βρουκότους | [ΕΡΩΤΗΣΙΟΝ] ΠΑΝΑΡΤΑΣ ἘΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ] (cf. I. W. 390 f., 391). A. Fick Vorgriechische Ortsnamen Göttingen 1905 pp. 51, 119 (Carian), 164 (Hittite, perhaps Lelegian).


2) Infras. Append. P.

probable that Platon's picture combining a straight axis of light with a curved periphery of light (τιμής ii. 44) was derived from the Pythagorean doctrine, which combined a fire at the centre of the universe with a fire girdling the sphere of the universe, and further that Platon's phrase ἐν ταῖς ὑπόγειαις τῶν τριήμερων presupposes the Pythagorean ἀλέας (Class. Quar. 1926 xx. 113—133).

Georgios the Psidian, who was deacon of St Sophia and record-keeper at Byzantium under the emperor Heracleios (610—641 A.D.), has introduced the same conception into his θεομνήμων οἱ κοιμωνίμων, a philosophico-theological poem in iambics on the creation of the world (K. Krummacher Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende der Ostromischen Reiches 3 München 1897 p. 710). The passage is as follows: ὁ γὰρ οὐσιώδης μορφὴν ὄνομα ἔδωκεν ἐπὶ τούτους ἡ ἰδία τιμή, ἢ δυνατῶς ἀληθῶς ἤσπερ, ὅτι μὴ ἔχει ἀλλὰ μένειν ἔπειτα ἢ ἀλλὰ μπορεῖ ἄλλης μορφῆς ἄλλας. (Georgios, Psidia lexicon pp. 498—512.)

A better text than xcvii. 1474 A—1475 A Migne.

4 Thales held that the earth was aloft like wood upon water (Aristot. de caelo 2. 13. 3 294 a 38 ff. et δὲ ἐβράος δίκαιον εἰσεῖναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρχον χρήσιμον παραλήφθαι τῶν λόγων, ὅτι σώφρων θαλὰς τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδον δὲ τὸ πλωτόν ἐνεύρετον ὡστε ἐστι δεινὸν ἢ τὶ συνεχόμενον ἔρημον καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄριστων ἐπὶ ἀριστοτέλεια νοῦς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸ κύριον τῶν ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς κ.τ.λ. Simpl. in Aristot. de caelo p. 571, 14 ff. Heiberg ἐκ' αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς θαλάσσας τοῦ θαλασσίου τότεν (εἰς δὲ) ἀφοῦ δίκαιον λέγοντα ἐξηκείσαι τῆς γῆς ὡστε χεῖραν ἄλλη τῇ τῆς ἰδιότητος πρὸς ταῦτά τινά ποιεῖν δὲ τὴν δόξαν ἢ ἀριστοτέλειαν ἀπὸ τούτου μέλλει τινας ἐτυπωτὸς διὰ τὸ καὶ παρὰ Ἁγνεύοντος ὅταν ἐν μέσῳ σχήματι λεγομένη καὶ τὸν θαλάσσιον ἐκεῖνον τῶν λόγων οἰκομένην, cr. Aristot. met. i. 3. 983 b 20 ff. ἀλλὰ θαλάσσας μὲν δὲ τὴν τοιαύτης ἀρχής, ἠθίκως δὲ ὡστε οὐκ ἐννοεῖν τούτου ἀναφέρεται εἰπώς, Simpl. in Aristot. poëm. p. 23, 28 f. Diels δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐκπλάθωσεν (codd. D. K. τοὺς θαλασσικῶς μὲν ἄριστα ἄριστου τινας, but the reference is to Thales and Hippo) ὡς τὸ δῶρον καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐφ᾽ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ἐρευνάρα ταῦτα εἰκάσαν.

Artemidoros of Ephesos, who c. 100 B.C. issued his Γεωγραφοῦσα in eleven books, utilising the results of the Periaptomatic Agatharchides and others (H. Berger in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1329 f., W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur 4 München 1920 ii. 1. 423), seems to have described the earth as floating on the ocean (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 942 pars nostra terrarum, de qua memoro, ambienti, ut dictum est, oceanico velut innaerat longissime ab ortu ad oceanum patet, hoc est ab India ad Herculiam columnas Gadibus sacratas [LXXXV]. LXXXVIII p. ut Artemidoro auctori placet, etc., Diculius liber de mensura orbis terrae 5. 1 (ed. G. Parthey Berolini 1870 p. 18, i ff.). Jedem dict in tertio (Lettrome c. 2. 2) pars nostrarum terrarum de qua commemo, ambienti ut dictum est oceanico velut innaerat, longissime ab ortu ad oceanum patet, hoc est ab Indiis ad Herculis columnas Gadibus sacratas, centum mil. sexagesim et sexies et XXXTa [simpliciter triginta (uncia inclusi A.D.)] millia passuum, ut Artemidoro auctori placebat). But it is not quite certain that the phrase 'floating on the ocean' goes back beyond Pliny to Artemidoros, nor, if it does, that we should see in it more than a rhetorical flourish.

Somewhat similar in expression, though diverse in origin, is Io. Chrys. hom. in Genes. 12. 2 (lili. 100 Migne) τοῦτον αὐτὸν τῆς βαρβαρίας, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων κόσμων ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκεῖων νόμων φεύοντον ἐπὶ τῶν ἔθεσθαι ἔθεμελιάσει, καθώς ἔργον θεοφράστου, 'ἐν θεομολογία εἰπώς τῶν ἔθεσθαι τῆς γῆς' (Ps. 136. 6).

3 Sen. nat. quaest. 3. 14. 1 quae sequitur Thaleitse inepta sententia est. ait enim terraram orbem aqua sustineri et vehi more navigi mobilitateque eis fluctuare tune, cum dicitur tremere. non est ergo mirum, si abundet humor. (so F. Haase. H. Diels Die Fragmente der Vorschriften 5 Berlin 1912 i. 11, 7 follows Gercke in reading si abundat humor) ad flumina profundas, cum in humore sit totus.
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Now we have already seen reason to suppose that Poseidon was but a specialised form of Zeus, his trident being originally the lightning-fork of a storm-god. We should therefore expect to find at least some traces of the conviction that earthquakes were ultimately caused and controlled by Zeus.

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

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

Let his blast rock the earth, roots and all, from its base.1

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

Lo, now in deed and no longer in word
The earth is a-quake.2

Similarly in the brilliant *exodos* of Aristophanes' *Birds* Pisthetairos, who is clearly conceived as the new Zeus,3 wields the nether thunders and thereby causes an earthquake.4 The same feeling that the failure of the solid ground can be ascribed to no power lower than the highest prompts the Orphic hymn-writer boldly to transfer the epithet *seiesticthon*, 'who maketh the land to quake,' from Poseidon5 to Zeus6 and the author of a Sibylline oracle to use the like language of his supreme Deity.7

The fact is that, as the centuries went by, Poseidon lost while Zeus gained in religious significance. Earthquakes came to be connected less and less with the former, more and more with the latter. A short series of examples will here be instructive. In 464 B.C. a great earthquake laid waste the town of Sparta: the Spartans themselves believed that this was because they had once put to death certain Helot suppliants, who had fled for refuge to the sanctuary of Poseidon at Cape Tainaros.8 In 387 B.C.9 the Spartans under Agesipolis i were invading the Argolid, when they were overtaken near Nemea by an alarming earthquake: they at once raised the paean to Poseidon, and most of them were for beating a retreat; but their commander, putting the best construction he could on the ominous incident, offered sacrifice to that god and pushed on into the territory of the Argives.10 In 373 B.C. Helike and Boura on or

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1 Aisch. *P. v.* 1046 f. 2 *ib.* 1080 f.
3 I have elaborated the point in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* Cambridge 1913 pp. 212—211, *infra* p. 59 f.
4 Aristoph. *av.* 1750 ff. *δ άμφη χρόνων άπερεοτής φός* | *δ άμφη άμφεταν έξις* πυρβόρων (*supra* ii. 704), | *δ χρόνιας βαρωμέχες άμφεταν έξις* *άμφη* άμφεταν (*supra* ii. 805 n. 6), | *άλι άμφη ρύον χρόνια σέλει.* | *Δια δε πάντα* (δια δε τά πάντα codd. P. P. Dobree *cj.* *δια σκήπτρα.* A. Meineke, followed by B. B. Rogers, *cj.* *δια δε πάντα* κρατήσας | *και πάρεθρον Βασιλέαν έξει Δίος.*
5 *supra* p. 10 n. 1.
6 Orph. *h. Ζεύς* 15. 8 f. *σεισιχθών, ακανθά, καθάρσιν, παντοπινάκτα, | άστραπίς, βρονταίς, κεραυνίς, φωνεύει Ζεύς.*
7 *Oracl. Sib.* 2. 16 ff. Geffcken (cited *supra* p. 10 n. 1).
9 E. Meyer *Geschichte des Alterthums* Stuttgart—Berlin 1902 v. 271.
10 Xen. *Hell.* 4. 7. 4 f. For the sequel see *supra* ii. 7.
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near the coast of Achaia were swallowed in a single night\(^1\) by the most appalling of all Greek earthquakes: the catastrophe was attributed to the vengeance of Poseidon, who was angry because the men of these towns had refused to allow their colonists in Ionia to carry off or copy their statue of him or even to sacrifice unmolested on the ancestral altar.\(^2\) Apameia in Phrygia was repeatedly devastated by earthquakes—a fact which, according to Strabo, explains the honours granted to Poseidon by that inland city.\(^3\) But Poseidon was not the only deity concerned. In the days of Apollonios of Tyana (s. i A.D.), when the towns on the left side of the Hellespont were visited by earthquakes, Egyptians and Chaldaeans went about collecting ten talents to defray the cost of sacrifices to Ge as well as to Poseidon.\(^4\) An interesting transitional case is afforded by an earthquake at Tralleis (s. ii A.D.), which was authoritatively set down as due to the wrath felt by Zeus for the city's neglect of Poseidon: the Trallians were ordered to make ample atonement to both gods.\(^5\) But when in 115 A.D. Antiocheia on the Orontes was severely shaken, the survivors of the disaster ignored Poseidon altogether and founded a temple at Daphne for Zeus Soter.\(^6\) Again, in or about the year 178 A.D. Smyrna was overthrown by an earthquake. P. Aelius Aristeides, who was living in the neighbourhood, received divine injunctions to sacrifice an ox in public to Zeus Sotér. At first he hesitated to do so. But he dreamed that he was standing beside the altar of Zeus in the market-place and begging for a sign of the god's approval, when a bright star shot right over the market and confirmed his intention. He carried through the sacrifice, and from that moment the dread disturbances ceased. Moreover, five or six days before the first shock he had been bidden to send and sacrifice at the ancient hearth adjoining the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios (at Dios Chorion in Mysia)\(^7\) and also to set up altars on the crest of the Hill of Atys. No sooner were these precautions taken than the earthquake came and spared his estate Laneion, which lay to the south of the Hill.\(^8\)

Frequently, of course, an earthquake is recorded without explicit mention of any deity. Neither Poseidon nor Zeus is named as subject of the vague reverential phrases 'He shook'\(^9\) or, more often, 'God

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1 Herakl. Pont. (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 200 n. 2 Müller) \(\alpha\). Strab. 384.
2 It. ib. 385, Diod. 15. 49, Paus. 7. 24. 6 with slight divergence in detail.
3 Strab. 579.
4 Philostr. v. Apoll. 6. 41 p. 252 Kayser.
5 Supra ii. 1501.
6 Supra ii. 127.
7 L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 677.
8 Aristeid. or. 25. 317 ff. (i. 497 ff. Dindorf).
9 Thuk. 4. 52 ἐπεισεν, cp. Aristeid. or. 25. 318 (i. 499 Dindorf) προσεπον ἵ σεισαν τὸ ἐξ ἄρχης.
shook. Scholars have assumed that the god in question was Poseidon. But the analogy of similar expressions relating to the weather points to the possibility that the name suppressed was that of Zeus. And certainly in late times earthquakes were reckoned as a particular variety of Zeus-sign (Diosemía).

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

1 Xen. Hell. 4. 7. 4 ἑστιν δ' θεός, Paus. 3. 5. 8 ὡσαυτὸς τε ὡς ὁ θεός, cp. Aristoph. Lys. 1142 κ’ ἄλλο θεός σέλεων ἄδικος, Paus. 1. 29. 8 Ἀλκεσίαμοιοι τὴν πόλιν τοῦ θεοῦ σέλεωτος, 3. 5. 9 ὁ παπάς σέλεων ὁ θεός, 3. 8. 4 τοῦ θεοῦ σέλεωτος, Dion. Cass. 68. 25 σέλεωτος τοῦ θεοῦ.


3 Supra ii. 1 ff.

4 Supra ii. 5.

5 Cic. de div. i. 101 (cp. 2. 69) with a useful note by A. S. Penne ad loc. The derivation of Moneta from moneco (Cic. id. 2. 69). Laid. orig. 16. 18. 8, cp. Souid. v. v. Monēta. Hence also Moneta as Latinised Mnemosyne in Livius Andronicus frag. 25 ap. Priscian. inst. 6. 6 (i. 198 Hertz), Cic. de nat. deor. 3. 47, Hyg. fab. praef. pp. 10, 4 and 11, 7 Schmitz) is merely folk-etymology. The attempt to connect it with the Semitic maschana, 'camp,' a legend found on silver Carthaginian coins current in Sicily and Italy before the Punic wars (E. Assmann 'Moneta' in Rötl 1906 vi. 477—488, V. Costanz 'Moneta' ib. 1907 vii. 335—340, G. F. Hill Historical Roman Coins London 1909 p. 8, A. W. Hands 'Juno Moneta' in the Num. Chron. Fourth Series 1910 x. 1—13) is more ingenious than probable. Relation to Gothic mainja, Old High German månnōt, 'month,' implying that Moneta was a moon-goddess (K. F. Johnsson Beiträge zur germanischen Sprachkunde (=Upsala Universitet Årsskrift 1890 Abh. iii) Upsala 1891 p. 129 f.), does not adequately account for her 8. Walde Lat. stym. Wörterb. p. 493 concludes: 'Wohl vielmehr eine Bildung vom Namenstamme, der in Monnitus, Monnianus usw. (Schulze Eigenn. 195) vorliegt, vgl. zum Suffix Orata, e. urata, Lepta, Valutius: Vul̃ tus (ibid. 195, 396), so dass eine Sondergöttin einer etrusk. gens Monēta vorliegt im Sinne Otto's Rh. Mus. lxiv, 449 ff.

6 Fest. p. 238 a 28 f. Müller, p. 274; 6 Lindsay plena sue Tellu <i sacrificabatur</i> (<i>suppl. J. J. Scaliger</i>)! ; Ov. Fast. i. 671 f. placentur frugum matres, Tellusque Ceresque, | fare suo gravidae viscibusque suis. | officium commune Ceres et Terra tuerunt : | haec praebet causam frugibus, illa locum, Arnob. adv. nat. 7. 22 Telluri, inquit, matri scrofa inciens (sic vet. lib. Ernstii, marg. Ursini. ingenii codd.) immolatur et feta, etc.


8 Verg. Georg. 1. 345 ff. terque novas circum felix est hostia fruges, | omnis quam chorus et acoli comitentur ovantes, | et Cererem clamore vocant in tecta. Serv. in Verg. Georg. 1. 345 'felix hostia' id est fecunda. dicit autem ambarvalve sacrificium, quod de porca et saepe fecunda et gravidá fieri conueniret, Macrobi. Sat. 3. 11. 10 notum autem
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as a means of communicating fertility to the ground, so that it had probably come to be regarded as a victim suited to the earth-goddess and therefore appropriate to a grave disturbance of the earth. Again, in 268 B.C., when Rome was waging war in Picenum, the battlefield was shaken by a seismic crash, whereupon P. Sempronius Sophus, the Roman general, vowed a temple to Tellus and in due time paid his vow. But such cases were exceptional. As a rule the Romans were studiously vague and non-committal. Aulus Gellius, who brought out his *Attic Nights* in 169 A.D., has some interesting remarks on the point:

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

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

esse non diffítebère, quod a. d. duodecimum Kalendas Ianuarias Herculi et Cereri faciant sue praegnate, panibus, mulso. Cp. supra n. 6.


The connexion of *Maia* with *magnus*, *maior*, etc. is philologically sound (Walde *Lat. étym.* p. 455, Müller *Altitāl. Wörterb.* p. 249 f.) and accords with the cult of Jupiter *Maius* at Tusculum (Macrobr. Sát. 1. 12. 17 sunt qui hunc mense ad nostras fastos a Tusculanis transisse comemorem, apud quos nunc quoque vocatur deus Maius qui est Iuppiter, a magnitudine seilitc ac maiestate dictus. The inscription from Frascati published by R. Garrucci *I pionubi antiichi raccolti dall' eminentissimo...Cardinale L. Alitier* Roma 1847 p. 45 = Orelli—Henzen *Insc. Lat. sel. no. 5637* Iovi Maió sacrum and by R. Garrucci *Syllae inscriptionum Latinarum aevi Romanae rei publicae* Turin 1877 p. 174 under no. 564 Iovi Maió sacrum; P. Mucius pater is now held to be of doubtful authenticity: see H. Dessau in the *Corp. inscr. Lat. xiv* no. 216* and in the *Ephemer. epigr.* 1893 vii. p. 359. 1276.

1 Arnob. *adv. nat.* 7. 22 Telluri gravidas atque fetas ob bonorem secunditatis ipsius... et quod Tellus est mater... gravidis accipienda est scrofis—an explanation knocked down by Arnobius, but set on its legs again by Frazer *Worship of Nature* i. 334.


6 Gell. 2. 28. 1—3.

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

Two centuries later Ammianus Marcellinus, à propos of a devastating earthquake at Nikomedea in 358 A.D., observes that, when

The usage of this formula may be illustrated from Cato de agric. 139 lucum conlicare

Romaio more sic oporret. porco piaculo facito, sic vera concipito: 'si deus, si dea est, quium illud sacrum est,' etc., Macrobi. Sat. 3. 9. 7 est autem carmen huiusmodi quo di evocantur, cum oppugnatione civitas cingitur: 'si deus, si dea est, cum populus civitasque Carthaginians est in tutela,' etc., Corp. inscr. Lat. i. 11. no. 632 = vi no. 110 (ib. no. 30694) = Orelli Insfr. Lat. sel. no. 2135 = Wilmanns Ex. inscr. Lat. no. 48 = Dessau Insfr. Lat. sel. no. 4015 se deo se delae sacrum) | C. Sextius C. f. Calvinus pr(aeto) | de senati sententia | restituit (on a large altar now standing at the southern angle of the Palatine (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1907 i. 3. 47 n. 31b), Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 111 = Orelli op. cit. no. 2135 = Dessau op. cit. no. 4018 sive deo | sive deae | C. Ter. Denter | ex voto | posuit (formerly in the church of St Ursus at Rome), Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 2099, ii 3 f. = Orelli op. cit. no. 2270 = Wilmanns op. cit. no. 2884 = Dessau op. cit. 5047 sive deo sive deae, in cuius tutela hic locus locutse | est, oves II, Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 2099, ii 10 = Orelli op. cit. no. 1798 = Wilmanns op. cit. no. 2884 = Dessau op. cit. 5047 sive deo sive deae oves II (from the acta fratum Arvalium for 183 A.D.), Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 2104, a 2 sive deo sive deae ov(es) (numero II) (from the acta fratum Arvalium for 218 A.D.), Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 2107, a + b 9 = Orelli op. cit. no. 961 = Wilmanns op. cit. no. 2885 = Dessau op. cit. 5048 sive deo sive deae ver- b(cees) II (from the acta fratum Arvalium for 224 A.D.), J. Schmidt in the Ephem. epigr. 1884 v. 480 f. no. 1043 = Corp. inscr. Lat. viii Suppl. 3 no. 21256, B 7 ff. Genio summ[o] Thaunis et deo sive deae [nu]minis sanctos etc. (found at Afidna in Mauretania Caesariensis and referable to the date 172—174 A.D.), Corp. inscr. Lat. i. 11 no. 111 = xiv no. 3573 = Orelli op. cit. no. 2137 = Dessau Insfr. Lat. sel. no. 5953 = Dessau op. cit. no. 4017 se deus | se deae (found at Tibur on a sopium of local stone), G. Gatti in the Not. Scavi 1890 p. 218 = Dessau op. cit. no. 4016 se deo si deai | Floriusanus rex (found at Lanuvium; Florius was presumably rex sacrum).


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such things happen, the priests prudently abstain from mentioning any deity by name, lest they should indicate some god not really responsible and so incur the guilt of sacrilege.¹

While the clash of creeds was in progress, pagans of course blamed Christians² and Christians blamed pagans³ for all the horrors

¹ Amm. Marc. 17.7.10 unde et in ritualibus et pontificiis observatur obtemerantibus sacerdotis caute, ne alio deo pro alio nominato, cum, quis eorum terram concutiat, sit in abstrusio, picula committantur.

² Libanius, who composed a special and somewhat hysterical lamentation for the downfall of Nikomedea (or. 61 monodia de Nikomedea (iv. 322 ff. Foerster)), appeals in primis to Poseidon (3, 6), but also to Helios (16), etc.

³ Euseb. hist. eccl. 9.7.1 ff. cites in extenso a letter of Maximinus ii (305—313 A.D.), copied from a stela at Tyre, in which he congratulates his eastern subjects on having returned to the faith of their forefathers and, after a characteristic (ep. supra i.1194 ff.) laudation of Zeus (hist. eccl. 9.7.7 evkivos turgaros evkivos o ὕψιστος καὶ μέγιστος Ζεὺς, ὁ προκαθόρμος τῆς λαμπροστάσης ἱμών τόξον, ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἱμῶν θεός καὶ γνώσεως καὶ τέκνα καὶ εῖκονι ἀπὸ πάνης δέλθρων φθορᾶς βούλομεν, τοῖς ἐμετέρατος ψυχαῖς τὸ σωτήριον ἐκπονεῖσθαι βοσθήμα, ἐποδεικνύος καὶ ἐκμάριος ὡς ἐξαιρέως ἐξες καὶ λαμπρος καὶ σωτηρίωθες μετὰ τοῦ δεδομένου ἐσβληκτοῖς τῇ θρησκΕίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκορομενοῖς τῶν ἀθραντῶν θεῶν προσεύχατο), explains drought, hurricane, earthquake, etc. as due to divine anger called down by the spread of the new religion (ib. 9.7.8 ff.).

Arnob. adv. nat. 1.3 had recently met, and refuted, a whole string of similar charges. So c. 352 A.D. had Cypr. ad Menodrian. 2—5 (i. 352, 7 ff. Hartel). The calumni crystallised into a proverb (Aug. enarrat. in psalm. 80.1 (iv. 1225 D ed. ² Bened.) non pluris deus, duc ad Christianos (variants ib.² p. lii), de civil. Dei 2.3 pluvia defit, causa Christiani sunt). In this connexion earthquakes played a large part (Tertull. apol. 40 si Tiberis ascenderit in moenia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si caelum stetit, si term movit, si fames, si lues, statim Christianos ad leonem! ad clamatur = ad nat. 1.9. Orig. in Matth. comment. series 39 (xiii. 1654 A—B Migne) cum haec ergo contingentur mundo, consequens est quasi derelinquentibus hominibus deorum culturam, ut propter multitidinem Christianorum dicant fieri bella et fames et pestilentias. frequenter enim famis causa Christianos culparunt gentes, et quicunque sapienter quae gentium sunt; sed et pestilentiarum causas ad Christi ecclesiam rettulerunt. scimus autem et apud nos terrae motum factum in locis quibusdam, et factas suisse quasdam ruinas, ita ut erant impii extra sidem causam terrae motus dicerent Christianos, propter quod et persecutiones passae sunt ecclesiastae, et incassae sunt. non solum autem illi, sed et qui videbantur prudentes, talia in publico dicerent, quia propter Christianos sunt gravissimi terrae motus, Firminusianus in Cypr. epist. 75.10 (ii. 816, 17 ff. Hartel: the letter is of 256 A.D. (A. Jülicher in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 2379)) volo autem vobis et de historia quae apud nos facta est exponere ad hoc ipsum pertinente. ante viginti enime et duos fere annos temporibus post Alexandrum imperatorem multae istic confectationes et pressurae acciderunt vel in commune omnibus hominibus vel privatis Christianis: terrae etiam motus plurimi et frequentes exiterrerunt, ut et per Capadociam et per Pontum multa subseruerent, quaedam etiam clivates in profundum recepta (eg. receptae) dirupit soli hiatu devorarentur, ut ex hoc persecuto quoque gravis adversum nos nominis fieret, quae post longam retro aetatis pacem repente aborta de inopinato et insueto malo ad turbandum populum nostrum terribilior effecta est. Sereniansus tunc fuit in nostra provincia praeses, acerbus et durus persecutor. in hac autem perturbatione constitutis fidelius et hue atque illue persecutionis muti fuggientibus et patrias suas relinquuntibus atque in alias regiones partes transitibus (erat enim transcendui faculta eo quod persecuto illa non per totum mundum sed localis fuisse), emersit istic subito quaedam mulie quae in extasis constituta propheten se praeferret et quasi sancto spiritali plena sic ageret. ita autem principalium daemnoniorum impetu ferubatur ut per longum
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of a quaking world. But ultimately men in general and moralists in particular settled down to the belief that an earthquake as such was a divine visitation meant to vindicate the power of the Creator\(^1\) or to chasten and reform his erring creatures\(^2\).

Painters and poets, who from time to time personified the Earthquake, naturally reverted to earlier mythological conceptions\(^3\). Raphael in one of the marvellous tapestries designed by him (1515—1516)\(^4\) for the Sistine Chapel at Rome and woven by Pieter van Aelst of Brussels\(^5\) represented the imprisonment of St Paul at

temps solicitaret et deciperet fraternitatem, admirabilia quaedam et portentosa pericficiens et facere se terram moveri policiceret : non quod daemoni tanta esset potestas ut terram movere aut elementum concutere vi sua valeret, sed quod nonnumquam nequam spiritus praecieis et intellegens terrae motum futurum id se facturum esse simuleret quod futurum videret. etc.). See further J. E. B. Mayor's notes on Tertull. apol. 40.

\(^2\) Obviously two could play at that game, and of the two the Christians were likely to compile the bigger score. Cp. the leges novellas ad Theodosianum pertinentes ed. adiutore Th. Mommsens Paulus M. Meyer Berolini 1905 p. 10 de Jud. Sam. haer. et pag. 3. 8 an diutius perferemus mutari temporum vices irata caeli temperici, quae paganorum exacerbata perfidia nescit naturae libra menta servare? unde enim ver solitam gratiam abiuravit...nisi quod ad inpietatis vindicatem transit legis suae natura decrretum?


\(^3\) E.g. Io. Chrys. ad rom. Antiochenum hom. 3. 7 (xlix. 57 Migne) μη γαρ οίκ ηδόνατο κυλώνα τά γεγονήματα δ θεός, ἀλλ’ ἀφόδεν, ένα τόσο καταφορώντας αὐτοί ἐν τῷ τού τούτου φόβοι συνομοετέρους ἐργάστασα, id. in Acta Apost. hom. 3. 2 (lx. 66 Migne) εὶ μέμνησθη σοι, ὅτι τόν πόλιν ἰδίων δωσεν δ θεός και πάντας ἤραν συνεπαιλεύον, οὕτω τούτο εἴκοτο διάκεινο: οὕτως οἵποι οὐκ, ὀὕτως ποιησάντες καὶ γαρ τοιούτων φόβος, τοιούτος ἡ θείας. κ. τ. λ. (during the earthquake at Constantinople in 400 or 401 A.D.), id. in Acta Apost. hom. 41. 2 (lx. 291 Migne) εἰτέ γαρ μοι, οὐ πέρων είναιξεν δ θεός τήν πόλιν πάσαν; τί δαι; οὐκέ τάνει εἰτὸ φωνάζων εἴρησων; κ. τ. λ. (at Constantinople in 399 A.D.), Philaethrias diversarum heresum liber 102. 1—3 Fabricius (74. 1—3 Marx) alia est heresis quae terrae motum non dei iussione et indignatione fieri, sed de natura ipsa elementorum opinatur, quod etiam in halismodi rebus insigniatio dei et potentia operatur et suam convovet creaturam conversionis causa et utilitatis quippe multorum ac reedium ad dominum salvatorem atque creatorem (written c. 385—391 A.D.): M. Schanz Geschichte der römischen Litteratur München 1904 iv. 1. 359), Philostorg. eccl. hist. 12. 9 (lxv. 617 c Migne) καί ἄλλα δὲ τοιαύτηρα πάθη τημακαθήνει ἐνεχευθεν, δεικνύουσα μὴ φωτιζε τινα ταύτα προδεδων ἀκολουθεῖ, ὡς ΄Ελθσιν παῖδες ληφθαί, ἄλλα θείας ἄγανακτησες ματσκες ἐπαφεθραί, id. ib. 12. 10 (lxv. 620 A Migne) διαφάροις επιχειρήσεις κατασκευάζει περιά τούς καθαρους μὴ διὰ πλημμώρα υδάτων συνείσθαν, μήτε πνεύματος ἐναπολυμβανομένοις τοῖς κλάβοις τής γῆς, ἄλλα μηδὲ γῆς τούς (an leg. tnu) ὅλους παρεργέσω, ὡντι δὲ τά θεία γεγονέ πρὸς ἐπιστροφήν καὶ διάδρομον τῶν ἀρατομάμων (published c. 425—433 A.D.): W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur 5 ii. 2. 1433).

\(^4\) Not so Chrysostom, who in purely rhetorical vein personifies the Antiochene earthquake as a herald announcing God's anger (Io. Chrys. in terrae motum etc. i (xlvi. 1027 f. Migne)) and even makes him on another occasion quote Ps. 103. 8 (Io. Chrys. hom. post terrae motum (l. 714 f. Migne)).


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

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

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

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

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

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4 A small marble frieze found on the base of a lararium in the house of the auctioneer L. Caecilius Iucundus at Pompeii (J. Overbeck—A. Mau, *Pompeii* Leipzig 1884 p. 69 f. fig. 31 = my fig. 7, C. Weichart, *Pompeji vor der Zerstörung* Leipzig s.a. 81 f. fig. 102) has a relief representing the north side of the Forum. We see the façade of the temple of Jupiter, flanked by two equestrian statues, with a commemorative arch to the left and an altar etc. to the right. The slanting forms of the temple and arch have been supposed to show the dire effects produced by the earthquake of 63 A.D. (M. Neumayr, *Erdgeschichte* Leipzig 1886 i. 130 cited by C. Weichart, *op. cit.* p. 82 n. *), W. H. Hobbs, *Earthquakes* New York 1907 p. 9 fig. 3), but are of course merely due to a careless craftsman who stood too far towards the right in carving the relief (J. Overbeck—A. Mau, *op. cit.* p. 70 ‘ein ungücklicher Versuch, die perspektivische Verschiebung wiederzugeben’ does him too much honour).
5 B. Schmidt, *Das Volkstum der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 34 (Θε μοντ, παυε την ἐργῆν του).
6 *Ibid.* i. 34 n. 1 (γογυλόντε να ματά τον κηθελ να χαλάσην τους κόσμου, ἀλλὰ Ἡ Παναγά τοιν παρακαλεὶ κη παυόν τυν ὦργῆν την).  
7 D. H. Kerler, *Die Patronate der Heiligen* Ulm 1905 p. 86 f. gives a list of saints
Zeus and the Clouds.


One of Homer’s favourite epithets for Zeus is *nephelegérrta*, ‘the cloud-gatherer.’ This arresting compound, which occurs eight times in the *Odyssey*¹ and twenty-eight times in the *Iliad*², is in reality whose business it is to protect their votaries against earthquake. They include: (1) St Agatha of Catania (Feb. 5), during whose martyrdom in 251 A.D. a fearful earthquake occurred. (2) St Emygdius of Ascoli (Aug. 5), whose father, a prominent citizen of Augusta Treverorum, tried to make him forswear his faith before a heathen altar till the very ground gave way beneath his feet. Others said that the saint averted an earthquake from Ascoli, where he was martyred in 303 or 304 A.D. (3) St Justus of Catalonia (May 28), bishop of Urgel from before 327 until after 346 A.D., whose body was found uninjured beneath the ruins of a wall that had collapsed above his grave. (4) St Petrus Gonzalez, better known to Spanish sailors as Sant Elmo (April 14), who died in 1240 A.D. He was once preaching in the open air near Bayonne, when an earthquake threatened. The congregation was for fleeing into the town; but the preacher detained it, and all ended well. (5) St Petrus Paschalis (Dec. 6), bishop of Jaen, who was martyred by the Moors at Granada in 1300 A.D. Soon after his death the town was plagued with famine, pestilence, earthquakes, and storms. (6) St Albertus of Trepano (Aug. 7), who died at Messina in 1307 A.D. and is reckoned as patron of all Sicily, an island much given to seismic shocks. (7) St Francesco Borgia (Oct. 10), duke of Gandia, who died in 1572 A.D. In 1624 A.D. he was chosen as a recent and popular saint to protect the new realm of Granada against earthquakes. (8) St Philippus Neri of Rome (May 26), who died in 1595 A.D. When, on June 5, 1688 A.D., an alarming earthquake visited Beneventum, Pope Benedict xiii escaped by lying directly under the saint’s relicuary. (9) St Francis Solanus of Lima (July 24), who died in 1610 A.D. Seven years before his death he predicted the downfall of the town Truxillo. It was destroyed by earthquake on Feb. 14, 1618 A.D.

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¹ *Od.* 1. 63, 5. 21, 9. 67, 12. 313, 384. 13. 139, 153. 24-477 *nephelegérrta* Zeus (always at the end of the line). Of these passages two have a noteworthy context: 9. 67 ff. *νεφέλη *θεός ἀνέκαφος θεός *nephelegérrtθ Ζεύς *λαλητέρας, ὁ νεφελερείς κάλλιφε *γαίας ἄμως καὶ πάντων· ἀνέκαφος δὲ ὀφράκμονος νεφέλη *θεός ἀνέκαφος, ὁ νεφελερείς κάλλιφε *γαίας ἄμως καὶ πάντων· ἀνέκαφος δὲ ὀφράκμονος νεφέλη. Much the same is said of Poseidon in *Od.* 5. 291 f. ὃς ἔτοιμος σώζειν νεφέλαν, ἔτοιμα βοῦν νεφέλην ἄλλην· πάνω δὲ ὀφράκμονον ἄλλαν πᾶν ταύτων *λέγει* ἀνέκαφος δὲ ὀφράκμονος νεφέλη, πάντων ἀνέκαφος δὲ ὀφράκμονος νεφέλη. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1358, 7 f. remarks them up to ὃτι τὸ σῶσθαι νεφέλας νεφελερείνει καὶ τὸ Ποσειδώνα εἶναι ὑποτέλειος ἐπειδήκτην ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τοῦ νεφέλας εὐάλλην νεφελερεῖν τῷ Ποσειδώνῳ καὶ νεφελερεῖν ἑαυτὸν εὐάλλην. ἀντικαταθήνῃ γὰρ τοῦτο ἰδίῳ τῇ παιδίκῃ τῶν νεφελῶν αὐτῆς.


Nonnos alone places the word in the first half of his hexameter (*Dion.* 23. 228 f. *Dionysios to Hydaspe* ἐκ νεφελῶν βλαστάσας ἄμως Κροείδας τούτοις, καὶ νεφελερεύον *Διὸς βλαστήματα διδέκας; 38. 302 f. ὁ νεφελή *Hραυτοσ ἐνο γενετήτου ἄγερσε, ὁ νεφελε*
Zeus and the Clouds

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

1 Supra i. 444 n. 6.

3 Supra i. 14 n. 1, 758, ii. 258 n. 3, 694 n. 6, 695 n. 6, 1146 f. Cp. Medea in Ov. met. 7, 201 f. nubila pello | nubilaque induco.

4 Frazer Golden Bough: The Magic Art i. 249 f., 256 f., 260 f., 275, 323.
5 Theophr. de signis temp. i. 13 καὶ διὰ τῶν νεφελῶν πόρων ἦλκοι ὡς ὅμως ἐνεργοῖν οἱ ἄνελμοι. Arist. phain. 266 f. πελλάκι ἐφιρξομένων ἐκτός νεφελοπρακτών | οἷα μάλιστα πόρων διότα πελλάκων = Plin. nat. hist. 18. 356 si nubes ut vellera lanae spargentur multae ab oriente, aquam in triduum praesagient, Apul. de deo Soc. 10 atque ideo unctiores humilium meaunt aqua[nis] agmine, tractu segniore[s]; sudis vero sublimior cursus e <s (ins. P. Thomas)> i, cum laurum vellerribus similis agnuntur, cano agmine, volatu pernicio. Accordingly the Latin poets speak of fleecy clouds as vellera (Verg. georg. i. 397, Varr. Attac. frag. 21 Babelens ap. anon. brev. expos. Verg. georg. i. 397 (in the ed. of Servius by G. Thilo and H. Hagen iii. 2. 265, 3 f.)); Lucan. 4. 124 f., cp. Mart. ep. 4. 3. 1 f., Prosp. Aquit. in psalm. 147. 16 (li. 420 C Migne)—a usage hardly to be paralleled in Greek.

It is possible that the dappled fawnskin of the Bacchant, trimmed with tufts of white wool (Enn. Bacch. 111 ff. στιγμὸν τ’ ἅρα ταύτα νεφέλων | στέφεται λευκοτρίχων παλάκας | μάλλως and Sir J. E. Sandys ad loc.), was intended as a rough imitation of the starry, cloud-flecked sky, just as the fawnskin of Dionysos himself, bespangled with pearls (Claud. de quarto cons. Honor. 666 f. talis Erythreae intextus nebrida gemmis | Liber agit curris), seems to have borne a cosmic character (R. Eisler Wittenmantel und Himmelszelt München 1910 i. 76. 256 n. 4, who cites Nonn. Dion. 40. 577 f. Ἡρακλέως δι’ ἄστρον Ἀκόρην διόκαλλον χεῖλως | χιτῶν et cp. the vase-painting figured supra ii. 163 pl. xvii).

Attic vases signed by the potter Brygos (c. 505—475 B.C.) or attributed to his painter (lists in Hoppin Red-fig. Vas. ii. 166 f., J. D. Beazley Attische Vasebildner des rothfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1915 p. 175 ff.) often show garments decorated with dots (O. S. Tonks 'Brygos: his Characteristics' in Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences 1908 xiii. 69, 95, Pufahl Malerit u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 460). In view of Brygos’ name with its northern connexions (Bργος, Bργος—Bργος—see W. Pape—E. Benseler Worterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen Braunschweig 1875 ii. 231, E. Oberhammer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 920 f.) it is just conceivable that this craftsman was popularising at Athens a custom which originated in Thraco-Phrygian ritual. But the hypothesis would be risqué, since dotted garments are not strictly confined to the output of Brygos (P. Hartwig Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blütezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles Stuttgart—Berlin 1893 p. 310 n. 4).

6 Supra i. 420 n. 3, where I was perhaps unduly sceptical of O. Gilbert’s conclusions.
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Pelion to the sanctuary of Zeus Aktaios on its summit. And the sheep-skin of the human magician would be readily transferred to his divine counterpart—witness the title of Zeus Melosios, Zeus 'Clad in a sheep-skin' (melote). It is, however, reasonable to suppose that already in Homeric times the word nephelegereta had lost something of its early import and had taken on a meaning half-religious and half-picturesque. But worse was in store, for in the fifth century B.C. it was frankly travestied. Perikles as the greatest man of his age was dubbed Zeus by the comedians and figures in a brilliant fragment of Kratinos, not as nephelegereta, 'the cloud-gatherer,' but as kepha-
legereța, 'the crowd-gatherer'\(^1\). Truth to tell, a parody of the old appellative can still raise a laugh. Does not Clough in the immortal \textit{Bothie} speak of his cheery, cigar-loving friend Lindsay as 'the Piper, the Cloud-compeller'?\(^2\)

Of course, on occasion, magic might be employed, not to collect the clouds, but to scatter them. If for example hail threatened, old-fashioned farmers had recourse to magicians who chased the clouds away\(^3\) and were known as \textit{nephodiöktai}\. Nowadays magic or ancient science has joined hands with science or modern magic, and on many a Swiss hillside may be seen the mortar from which maroons are fired when hail-clouds are gathering above the vineyard.

Less magical but more majestic is a second stock epithet of the epic minstrel—\textit{kelaînephêis} Kronion, Kronos' son 'of the dark clouds'.\(^4\)

For, though sundry scholiasts and lexicographers attempt to render it 'he who gathers the black, or dark, clouds together'\(^5\) and expound

\(^1\) Kratin. \textit{Chirones frang. 3} (Frang. com. Gr. ii. 147 f. Meineke) \textit{ap. Plut. u. Per. 3} \textit{tov ðe kumwv kò ò ò kratwv en klêmva}: 'Σταύρους δ' (φήσι) καὶ προσβιγεγή Κρόνος (so apon. for χρόνον vulg.) ἀλλοτίων μέγατος μεγατον | τικτῶν τοῦραν, δὴ δὴ κεφαλέγεται θεοὶ καλῶν. (A. Meineke prints καλῶν.)\(^6\) I have assumed that Kratinoz meant 'collector of heads, crowd-collector,' but there is of course a further hint in the peculiar shape of Pericles' cranium, as is clear from the context. With Kratinos, as with Aristophanes (e.g. \textit{supra} ii. 4 n. 118 n. 3. 1166 n. 3), word-play tends to produce harmonics.

\(^2\) A. H. Clough \textit{The Bothie of Tiber-na-ruich} 3. 83.


\(^4\) Pseudo-Iust. \textit{Mart. quaeuit. et reipons. ad orthodox. 31} (vi. 1777 C—D Migne) \textit{tēn apòtēs tòv èstw tòv ògà katóptwv.} δα τοῖς νεφελαῖς οἱ καλωσκόοι νεφοδιωκότας ἐπαιδεύσαντας ἐδώκει διδάσκαν, χαλάζας καὶ ἀμέτρου ἐνδοτος ἀκούτης. Τοῦτο ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὰ ἄγια Γαμφάς μαρτρούσε, τὸν ἐνδοτος έλεικε τῶν ἐπαιδοῦν ἀκούτων. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ περὶ τοῦτο ἐφαρμάζει τὴν ἐρωτήσει, οὐκ ἀπὸ ἄλλον γνωσόν ἀρχέτον τῶν ἐρωτήσεων πεντεχθήκατο, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ. Clearly the nefodoiakia claimed the ability to divert the clouds from their course and to precipitate them as hail or drenching rain in any desired direction. Stephanus \textit{The. Gr. Ling. iv. 1466 α} quotes from the \textit{Synod. in Trullo} can. 61 καὶ οἱ τέχνες καὶ εἰμαρμένη καὶ γεγενεμένη φωνάζειται καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι νεφοδιωκότας, from which we conclude that in s. vii A.D. the superstition was yet living. More, from Latin sources, in Ducange \textit{Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.v.} 'tempestarius, tempestuarius.'


\(^6\) Hesych. \textit{π. κέλαμεφε} \\...δ (M. Schmidt sy. 5(2)) \textit{κελαινών συνήγων τά νέφη, schol. D. II. 2. 412 κέλαμεφε, μελαμεφε, μέλανα νέφη συνήγων πρώς κατάπληκτων.}

C. III.
Zeus and the Clouds in Literature

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

According to the *Iliad*, the three sons of Kronos divided the world between them and

Zeus’ portion was

Broad heaven in the *aithér* and the clouds.

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

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

2 At the end of a hexameter we find *kelainephés* *Kronión* (II. 1. 397, 6. 267, 24. 290 (cp. Tzetz. alleg. II. 24. 162), h. Dem. 91, 468, h. Herakl. Leont. 13. 3, h. Diosk. 17. 4, h. Diosk. 33. 3, Hes. ii. Her. 53), *kelainophéla* *Kronióna* (II. 11. 78, h. Aphr. 220), *Zêni* *kelainophéla* *Kronión* (h. Dem. 316), *patri* *kelainophéla* *Kronión* (h. Dem. 395).

3 At the beginning of a hexameter the formula is *Zêni* *kelainophéla* *Kronión* (Od. 9. 552, 13. 25, but never in the *Iliad*). *Kronión* is not omitted except by late authors (Maximus *perti* καταρχῶν 605 *Zêni* *kelainophéla* refers to the planet Zeus and is followed immediately by a lacuna (see a. Ludwich ad loc.). Tzetz. alleg. Od. 9. 118, 13. 7 (in P. Matranga *Anecdota Graecae Romae* 1850 i. 277, 293) *Zêni* *kelainophéla* is more ad rem).

After the *aithér* *kelainophéla* occurs either in conjunction with other vocatives (II. 2. 412 Ζῆνος κόλλωσε, μέγατε, *kelainophéla*, 22. 178 ὁ πάντωρ ἀργυρόκράσιος, *kelainophéla*) or standing by itself (II. 15. 46, Od. 13. 147 where Nikanor read *thorreféla* of Artemis (schol. L.T. II. 9. 538), *Anth. Pat.* 6. 332. 7 (Adrianos) cited *supra* ii. 982 n. 0). II. 21. 500 κἀδ *νῦν παρὰ πατρί* *kelainophéla* (with variants πάρ *Zêni* *kelainophéla* and *kelainophéla* πάρ *Zêni*) is an isolated dative.

3 *Supra* ii. 584 ff., 601, 845.
4 II. 15. 192 (cited *supra* i. 25 n. 5), cp. II. 15. 20 (*supra* i. 25 f.).
5 II. 5. 738 ff. The first half of the passage is repeated in II. 8. 395 ff.
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Similarly Apollon and Iris, when sent by Hera to Mount Ide, discover Zeus seated on the summit of Gargaron—

And ringed about him was a fragrant cloud.

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

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

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

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

Clearly cloudland is characteristic of the sky-god. Later poets harp on the theme. Aischylus says simply ‘the clouds of Zeus’; Pindar *more suo* mints fresh and ringing epithets for Zeus himself—*orsinephès*, ‘he that causeth the clouds to rise,’ *hypsinephès*, ‘he of the towering clouds,’ *polynephelás*, ‘the many-clouded’ ruler of the sky. There is a would-be return to Homeric naïveté in the *Birds* of Aristophanes, when the Chorus of songsters chant:

Then take us for Gods, as is proper and fit,
And Muses Prophetic ye'll have at your call
Spring, winter, and summer, and autumn and all.
And we won’t run away from your worship, and sit
Up above in the clouds, very stately and grand,
Like Zeus in his tempers: but always at hand
Health and wealth we'll bestow, as the formula runs,

ON YOURSELVES, AND YOUR SONS, AND THE SONS OF YOUR SONS—

or when Prometheus, much in awe of his Aeschylean persecutor, asks in a scared tone:

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

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1 *Supra* ii. 950 n. 3.
2 *I. 15. 153* ἄμφη δὲ μην θεοίν νέφοις ἑστεφάνωτα.
3 *I. 14. 350 l.* (supra i. 154).
4 *I. 14. 350 l.* (supra i. 154).
5 Aisch. *suppl.* 780 μελας γενοίμαν κανών νέφοις γειτοίνων Δίως.
6 *Pind.* *Nem.* 5. 62 ff. δ’ εἰ δὲ φράσθη κατέφευσον τέ οἱ ὀρσινέφης εξ οὐρανοῦ Ζεὺς ἀθανάτων βασιλέας.
7 *Pind.* *Ol.* 5. 39 l. σωτήρ νυμφεῖς | Ζεὺ.
8 *Pind.* *Nem.* 3. 16 l. σωτῆροι πολυνυμφεῖς κρέωτι θύγατερ.


doμεῖν | ἀνω συμπονόμενοι | παρὰ ταῖς νεφελαῖς ὑπὲρ χὸν Ζεὺς.
10 Aristoph. *av.* 1501 l. τί γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ποιεῖ; | ἀναφημάζει τὰς νεφέλας ὑπὲρ νυμφεῖς;
Zeus and the Clouds in Art

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

(b) Zeus and the Clouds in Art.

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

![Fig. 8.](image)

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

1 Stat. Theb. 12. 650 f. qualis Hyperboeos ubi nubilus instittit axes (axe cod. P) Iuppiter et prima tremefecit sidera bruma, etc.
4 This detail I owe to Miss P. B. Mudie Cooke (Mrs E. M. W. Tillyard), who kindly inspected for me all the frescoes representing Zeus that are in the Naples collection.
5 B. Quaranta loc. cit. 'un pallio di color bianco livido,' but W. Helbig loc. cit. 'Ein röthlicher Mantel.'
Fresco from Herculaneum, now at Naples: Zeus reclining amid the clouds.

See page 361. with fig. 8.
Eros appearing behind his right shoulder points downwards to some cause of interest, not improbably to Ganymedes or some other of the god's numerous flames. Above the pair stretches the arc of a rainbow, beyond which, half-hidden by the clouds, is perched an eagle looking towards its master. So much is certain. But further, a comparison of this fresco with 'Apulian' vase-paintings or with the relief by Archelaos of Priene raises a suspicion that here, as there, Zeus is really crouched on a mountain-top, say the cloudy summit of Olympus. Be that as it may, the painter has managed to combine a variety of Hellenistic motifs—the recumbent Zeus, the prompting Eros, the expectant eagle—in a fairly consistent and effective whole.

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

1 F. G. Welcker loc. cit. p. 104 held that Eros is directing attention to the sceptre of Zeus, O. Benndorf loc. cit. p. 444 that he is indicating the heart as the seat of the god's malady. E. Braun loc. cit. had come nearer to the truth, when he assumed that Eros is pointing downwards to some human fair.
2 Supra i. 117 fig. 66, i. 128 f. pl. xii.
3 Supra i. 131 fig. 98 pl. xiii.
4 With the works of art recorded in the two preceding notes cp. a numismatic type supra i. 116 fig. 85. See further Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 161, supra i. 125 ff.
5 The history of the type is worth tracing. Its several stages are enumerated and exemplified infra Append. Q.
6 Supra i. 34 Frontispiece and pl. i, 35 pl. ii, 43 pl. vi, 131 pl. xiii and fig. 98, 598 n. 1 fig. 461, 732 fig. 532, ii. 15 f. figs. 4— 6, 285 n. o fig. 184 f. 400 n. 11 fig. 303, 575 fig. 481, 576 fig. 484, 705 fig. 635, 707 figs. 639, 640, 704 n. 2 fig. 694, 711 fig. 735, 708 fig. 701, 833 fig. 793, 895 n. 1 fig. 831, 936 n. o fig. 846, 1125 n. 1 fig. 951, 1134 fig. 964, 1161 fig. 969, 1130 fig. 1094, 1337 tailpiece. Sometimes the eagle hovers (ii. 708 fig. 643), or is perched on a cornu copiale (ii. 1375 fig. 1023) or grape-bunch (i. 566 fig. 452) or tree (ii. 285 n. 2, pl. xix) or on the reins of a car (ii. 285 n. o fig. 180) or in the pediment of a temple (ii. 285 n. o fig. 186) or on a globe (ii. 95 fig. 54, n. 578 n. 1 fig. 491 (?)) or holds a wreath (i. 42 fig. 17, 276 fig. 202 (?), ii. 232 n. o fig. 160 (?), 734 n. 2 fig. 695), or is duplicated to flank a throne (ii. 754 n. 1 fig. 693, cp. 1103 n. o fig. 939), or mounts guard over the righalia (ii. 811 fig. 778), or appears in relief on an altar (i. 713 fig. 588). The same bird attends upon Sarapis (i. 188 fig. 137) and Jupiter Dolichenus (i. 611 f. figs. 486, 481), and upon emperors who play the part of Zeus, e.g. Domitian (ii. 811 n. 5 fig. 777), Commodus (ii. 1185 fig. 987), Geta (ii. 1185 f. fig. 988), Caracalla (ii. 1186 fig. 989).

See farther K. Stitt Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribute des Zeus (Besonderer Abdruck aus dem vierzehnten Supplementbande der Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie) Leipzig 1884 pp. 3—42.

7 P. S. Bartoli—G. P. Bellori Le pitture antiche del Sepolcro di Nausone nella Flaminia Roma 1680 p. 6 ('In un foglio si rappresenta la testudine di una Camera divisa in ripartimenti di vari colori, nel cui meso in una sfera celeste sono dipinti le Nuvole di Giove, al quale sopra una nuvola, abbreviata Giunone con Amore che scuca verso di lui uno strale. Ecco incontro Pallade, e Mercurio col vaso dell' ambrasia'), G. Turnbull A treatise on ancient painting London 1749 p. 176 pl. 10 ('Jupiter on his Eagle earring Juno, probably, because Minerva is there; yet he was wont to receive his Daughter
Zeus seated on a cloud with a crimson himation wrapped about his legs. He turns to embrace the naked and rather effeminate form of Ganymedes, who wears turban-wise his Phrygian cap (?) and has a wind-swept chlamys fluttering from his shoulder. The great eagle, which has just arrived with the beauteous boy, is already nestling—


1 Other identifications (see the preceding note) are much less probable. Juno would not have been represented as a naked woman, and Venus could at most claim a parental kiss. Besides, the eagle spells Ganymedes.
A frescoed ceiling from a room in the Golden House: Zeus enthroned in heaven, surrounded by gods, goddesses, Tritons, etc.
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its wings still spread—beneath the left foot of Zeus, to serve him as a living footstool. Eros hovers near at hand with welcoming arms. Hermes in winged pélasos and loosely draped chlamýs holds up, from a lower level of cloud, a phídle—possibly that from which Ganymedes had fed the eagle. In the background to the left Athena, equipped with helmet, spear, and Gorgon-shield, turns her head to address another goddess imperfectly seen behind her. The painting no doubt has merits. The choice of subject suits its position of central importance. The blue circle overhead suggests the sky and helps the spectator to realise that this is no mountain-top but the heaven above it. Hermes' gesture secures uplift. Detachment from earth is complete. Yet the composition in general is not very well adapted to fill the circular space. The fusion of three types—Zeus enthroned, Zeus on the eagle, Ganymedes on the eagle—is decidedly awkward. Hermes' action after all is a little meaningless. And the two goddesses, perhaps intended for those of the Capitoline triad, are obviously de trop.

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

An engraved onyx in my collection (fig. 10) represents the whole company of heaven as conceived in Roman imperial times.

1 Infra Append. P. 2 Supra i. 115.
3 Cp. the attitude of Ganymedes himself, not to mention the eagle and the dog, in the Vatican group after Leochares (supra ii. 281 n. 4).
4 Supra ii. 107 f. n. 0 figs. 59—64, ii. 432 n. 0.
6 The stone, which is circular and plano-convex (here figured to a scale of 2), possibly served as a pendant or ear-ring. On such purely ornamental phalerae see E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iv. 427. This one is from the Wyndham Cook and Sir Francis Cook collections. It does not appear in the privately printed Catalogue of the Wyndham Cook Collection, but was in the Sale of Humphry W. Cook (July 1925), who inherited from Sir Francis Cook. There is an impression of the same intaglio in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, no. 472 in the Impressions of Engraved Gems (Ancient and Modern) got together by John Wilson (1790—1876). It is described in the MS. Catalogue as 'Jupiter between Juno & Minerva to witness a Chariot Race'!
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The convex circular field is admirably suggestive of a cosmic scene. Above a thick stratum of cloud sit the Capitoline three. Jupiter in the centre, with a himation draped round his knees and over his left shoulder, has a small twisted thunderbolt in his right hand and a long sceptre in his left. At his right side Minerva, in chiton, himation, and helmet, holds a short sceptre in one hand and raises the other as if she grasped a spear. At his left side is Iuno, in

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

2 Cp. e.g. a terra-cotta lamp of s. iii. A.D., which figures the Capitoline deities all seated and puts a spear in the raised right hand of Minerva (Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps p. 167 no. 1110 fig. 234). The motif is normal in the standing type of the Capitoline Minerva (e.g. supra i. 44 fig. 13; 45 fig. 14). The omission of the spear on the onyx may imply that the pose was modified into a gesture of entreaty or the like (C. Sittl Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer Leipzig 1890 pp. 51, 188 ff.).
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chiton, himation, and veil. She too holds a short sceptre in one hand and with the other extends a patera towards Jupiter. The triad is flanked by a pair of nude beardless wind-gods blowing conch-shells\(^1\) as they emerge from the cloudy band. Beneath the clouds Sol in a quadriga pursues Luna in a biga: he is distinguished by his chlamys and radiate crown, she by her arched drapery and crescent. Lowest of all reclines Oceanus portrayed as an elderly river-god with water flowing from his urn\(^2\). The Capitoline group as here represented resembles so closely—even to the modified gesture of Minerva’s hand—the same group as it appears on bronze medallions of Antoninus Pius (fig. 11)\(^3\) and of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (fig. 12)\(^4\) that we may fairly attribute the intaglio to a period not much later than the middle of the second century A.D. Similar in age and motif are two, if not three, gems in our national collection\(^5\). Ultimately the deities, seated or standing, are accompanied by their favourite birds—graphic labelling of the usual sort (figs. 13, 14)\(^6\). It is interesting to observe that the whole subject was used with happy effect in the decoration of a terra-cotta lamp, now at Berlin (fig. 15)\(^7\), which—to judge from its heart-shaped nozzle—can be referred to the third century A.D.\(^8\)

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1. F. Piper Mythologica und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst Weimar 1851 i. 2. 437.
4. Fröhner Méd. emp. rom. p. 49 fig. (Paris) = Cohen Monn. emp. rom.\(^2\) ii. 380 f. no. 1134 fig. (= my fig. 11) (Paris) [Minerva ‘porte la main droite à sa tête’] = E. Aust in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 758 fig., Gneechi Medagl. Rom. ii. 16 no. 66 pl. 50, 5 a bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius (140—143 A.D.) with obv. legend ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TR P COS III (Milan).
5. Cohen Monn. emp. rom.\(^3\) iii. 130 no. 5 (‘Auroreos M. Carpentier’) (Minerva ‘porte la main droite à sa tête’) = Gneechi Medagl. Rom. ii. 43 no. 6 pl. 71, 6 (= my fig. 12) a medallion, in two bronzes, of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161—165 A.D.) with obv. legend IMP ANTONINVS AVG COS II [IMP VERVS COS II (Berlin).
In Greece and Italy the belief that the gods were enthroned above the cloud-belt goes back, through a long line of literary tradition, to Homer and the Homeric Olympos. Further east even earthly monarchs laid claim to a like exaltation. Thus Kushâna kings of the Kâbul valley, during the first two centuries of our era, issued numerous gold coins on which their supramundane position was duly indicated. V'ima Kadphises, son of Kujûla Kadphises and conqueror

1 Supra i. 101 f. pl. ix, 1 and 2.
of northern India, whose reign ended in 78 A.D., appears either half-emergent from a pile of clouds (fig. 16) or sitting cross-legged upon them as on comfortable cushions (fig. 17). Kanishka, his successor from 78 A.D. onwards, raises his head proudly above a thick mass of clouds (fig. 18). Huvinshka, who probably followed Kanishka on the throne c. 111—129 A.D., repeats the types of Vima Kadphises and either emerges half his height above the clouds (figs. 19, 20) or sits cross-legged on the top of them (fig. 21).

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

Fig. 16.

Fig. 17.

Fig. 18.

Fig. 19.

Fig. 20.

Fig. 21.


3 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 124 pl. 25, 7 (=my fig. 17), C. J. Brown The Coins of India Calcutta 1922 p. 35 pl. 4, 3 ('the king seated cross-legged on a couch').


5 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 132 pl. 26, 16 (=my fig. 18) and 17.

6 Supra ii. 791 n. 2. V. A. Smith op. cit. p. 286 ff. dates Huvinshka's reign c. 160—c. 182 A.D. L. D. Barnett op. cit. p. 42 had placed it c. 155 B.C.—c. 2 A.D.

7 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 136 ff. pl. 27, 9 (=my fig. 19), 11, 16, pl. 28, 9; V. A. Smith op. cit. 4 p. 76 coin-pl. figs. 4, 5. Fig. 20 is from a specimen in my collection.

8 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 145 pl. 28, 10 (=my fig. 21).

9 Supra ii. 137 n. 0 pl. viii.

(c) Nephelokokkygia.

It remains to consider in greater detail the most famous conception of Cloud-land bequeathed to us by classical antiquity, the Nephelokokkygia of Aristophanes' *Birds*. That remarkable drama raises many problems, some of which we must attempt to solve. Why did the poet choose Birds for his theme? Why lay such stress on the Hoopoe, the Woodpecker, the Cuckoo? Who is Pisthetairos? Who is Basileia? And what light does the whole *fantasia* throw on the relation between Zeus and the Clouds? I begin by passing in review the relevant incidents of the play.

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

Fleecy as a rug and soft to lie upon.

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

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

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1 The first draft of this section appeared as 'Nephelokokkygia' in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* Cambridge 1913 pp. 213–221 with pl. It is here re-published with considerable alterations and additions.  
2 *Aristoph. av. 121 f.*  
3 *Id. ib. 1451–458.*  
4 This fable, which is of a type still common in the Balkans (cp. M. Gaster *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories* London 1915 p. 236 f. no. 78 'Why has the lark a tuft?', p. 238 f. no. 79 'Why is the tuft of the lark dishevelled?'), is not found in any ancient collection of Aisopika. F. de Furia (*Lipsae 1810*) *fab. 415* and C. Halm (*Lipsae 1860*) *fab. 211*
more ancient than the gods, and Zeus ought to relinquish his sceptre to the Woodpecker. Again, the Birds are the rightful rulers of mankind. The Cock with his upright tiara was once king of Persia, and still summons men to their labours. The Kite lorded it over merely paraphrase or transcribe Aristophanes. Galen de simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus 11. 37 (xii. 360 f. Kühn) likewise cites Aristophanes and rightly cp. the ἐπιρροθίδα κορῳδαλλίδες of Thoikr. 7—13 (see Ο. Crusius on Bafr. 72. 20 κορῳδαλλῷσιν τῶν παίζων). All. de nat. an. 16. 5 (copied by the paraenomographers Apostol. 7—74, Arsen. v. p. 239 Walz s.v. ζεύτος Τινδός στοργή) thinks that the Greeks got their story of the Lark from one told by the Brachmages about the Hoopoe, a bird which the Indians deem the right pet for royalty. The story is as follows. A certain Indian king had a son, whose two elder brothers grew up lawless and violent. They scorned their brother as too young and scoffed at his father and mother as too old. So the parents took their youngest boy and fled. Their journey was too much for them and they died. But the boy, far from desiring them, split his own head with a sword and buried them in it. The Sun, who sees all, amazed at this remarkable instance of filial piety, turned the boy into a beautiful and long-lived bird. On his head is a crest, which keeps his exploit in memory. An Egyptian length of time has elapsed since the Indian Hoopoe was a boy and treated his parents thus. A. Hausrath in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 1727. 1730 f. makes it probable that the simple Greek tale is not actually derived from the more rhetorical Indian tale. Nevertheless the two are so similar that they cannot be regarded as wholly unrelated. There is of course a superficial resemblance between the crested lark (e.g. R. Lydekker The Royal Natural History London 1894—95 iii. 420 f. with fig. on p. 418) and the hoopoe (id. ib. 1895 iv. 57 ff. with col. pl.), and it is reasonable to suppose that Greeks and Indians, distant cousins by race, elaborated analogous stories to account for parallel features. But D'Arcy W. Thompson A Glossary of Greek Birds Oxford 1895 p. 97 is in danger of going too far when he says: 'The κορῳδες and τροφ (both crested birds) are frequently confused; the very word Alauda is possibly an Eastern word for the Hoopoe, Arab. al hadhūd.' This etymology, first found in, or rather implied by, the Pandectarius Arabicus Matthaei Sylvatici (an Arab commentator on the Pandectae of Matthaeus Sylvaticus, physician of Salerno, published at Naples in 1474) quoted by S. Bochart Hieromon rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1756 iii. 115, is nowadays commonly rejected in favour of a Celtic origin (Plin. nat. hist. 11. 121 Gallico vocabulo, Suet. Jul. 24 vocabulo...Gallico, Marcell. de medicamentis 28. 48 p. 399, H. Helmreich Gallice); see L. Diefenbach Origines Europaeaec Frankfurt am Main 1861 pp. 219—222, C. W. Glück in the Jahrh. f. class. Philol. 1866 xii. 166 ff., A. Holder All-zeitlicher Sprachbuchs Leipzig 1896 i. 73 f., Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. p. 93.

1 Supra ii. 697 n. o. May we infer that the woodpecker, like the wren (first in Aristoph. an. 569 βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἄρρεν· διδώσαι διώνυσι, cp. its later names βασιλικός (Alisop. o. Plout. praecl. gerund. republ. 17, alib.), τυμπάνως (Aristot. hist. an. 8. 3. 352 b 23), ἐγκαλιόν (Suet. Jul. 81 regaliōm with v.l. regaliōm, on which see De Vit Lat. Lex. s.v. 'regaliōs'), ἐγκαλῆs (carm. de philomel. 43 in Poet. Lat. min. v. 366 Bachrens), 'kinglet' (C. Swainson The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds London 1886 p. 25)) and sundry other birds (Plin. nat. hist. 10. 203 dissident...aquila crevicolus, cedrus creviculae, on which see D'Arcy W. Thompson A Glossary of Greek Birds Oxford 1895 p. 171 f.), was popularly held to be a king? Keelos the Green Woodpecker (supra i. 226) was one of the 'kings' at Eleusis (supra i. 211).

2 F. Baethgen De vi et significatioe gallici in religionibus et artibus Graecorum et Romanorum Gottingae 1887 pp. 6, 8, 11 (somewhat slight). The best account of the cock in Persian religion is still that of K. Schwencke Die Mythologie der Perser Frankfurt am Main 1850 pp. 304—307. See also F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 2481 ff.
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Hellas: Hellenes grovel yet at the sight of him. The Cuckoo was sovereign of Egypt and Phoinike, and his cry sent the circumcised to reap their plains: young stalwarts still follow their example. Tragedy-kings bear a bird-tipped sceptre. Zeus himself has an eagle on his head, Athena an owl, Apollo a hawk. No wonder men swear ‘by the Goose’.

1 The kite was in general a bird of ill omen (L. Hopf Thierwokel und Orakelwier in alter und neuer Zeit Stuttgart 1888 p. 94 f. (‘Weihén’)), whose advent shortly before the vernal equinox (Gemin. calendarium: Piscis p. 228, i f. Manilius ev de ῥῆ ῥῆ (March 9) Εὐδοκέω χείλεως καὶ Ιτίνοις φαίνεται, 6 f. ev de ῥῆ ῥῆ (March 14) Εὐκάλβιοι Ιτίνοις φαίνεται· ὁμιλία πλήθους μέχρις ισημερίας, 10 f. ev de ῥῆ ῥῆ (March 9) Καλλίππωρ τῶν Ἰχθύων ὁ νότιος ἐπίθελον λήφθη: Ιτίνοις φαίνεται: ὑπαίτει πνεύμα with the observations of D’Arcy W. Thompson A Glossary of Greek Birds Oxford 1893 p. 68 f. Cp. Aristoph. av. 713 f.) might well be greeted by the superstitious with grovelling prostration (schol. Aristoph. av. 501 προκαλούντωσας ἔρως ἄφενομον (ἔφερεν) ἰτίνους φαίνεται εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἐφ’ τ’ ἱδέων κυλίνδοντα (εἰς ἐπί γύνες. παῖς ᾧν ἦς βασιλεῖς φην τὸ κυλίνδοντα). ιδόν γὰρ βασιλέως τὸ γοντεπεθεσάν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων. ἀλλος. (τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δράμον τὸ δίδα μεταβαθάν ὑπὸ καιρὸς γυμνόμενος εἰς βασιλέως ἐπέτρεψε τιμή;) οἱ γὰρ ἰτίνους τὸ πάλαιν ὑπὶ ἐσθημαν. οἱ πτερὺς ὁντος ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐκπαύσαντο καὶ προσεκόντους ἀπό τός. Socind. p. 107. ἰτίνουs merely copied this scholion, prefixing the words καὶ παροιμία προκαλούντωσας ἰτίνουs. No such saying, however, appears in the paroemiographers). There is no doubt that Aristophanes has here preserved for us a genuine scrap of ancient folk-custom. W. Mannhardt Wald- und Waldkunde Berlin 1904 i. 483 adduces an interesting parallel:


3 We have no reason to think that Egyptians and Phoenicians were specially devoted to the Cuckoo. But it is likely enough that they regarded his cry in the spring-time as a signal for returning to work in the fields (cp. J. Hardy ‘Popular History of the Cuckoo’ in The Folk-Lore Record 1879 ii. 56 ff.). Aristophanes uses words with a double meaning: κάκων suggests at once ‘cuckoo’ and ‘cuckold’ (W. Mannhardt ‘Der Kukuk’ in the Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde 1855 iii. 246 ff. ‘Vor allem stand der kukuk den functionen der weibung vor.’ Etc.); ψάλον means both circumcisi and verpi; πεδίον is not only ‘plain’ but also pudentum (schol. Aristoph. av. 507 ἄλως. τὸ ἀλώς, cp. λεμόν, κηνός, hortus, and the like).

4 E.g. supra i. 291 pl. xxii (Kreon).

5 The type is so unusual that the scholiast ad loc. is reduced to saying δεῖν εἶπεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σφήκτρου εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς! His alternative explanation ἐπὶ δεύτερην ἄριστον ἄνω εἰς κεφαλῆς ἱδρύεται is simply untrue. Hieratic effigies of the sort are all pre-Hellenic, e.g. the faience goddesses surmounted by snake and lioness (?) leopard from the temple-repository of ‘Middle Minoan iii’ date at Knossos (Sir A. J. Evans in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1903 ix. 27 figs. 57, 58); Id. The Palace of Minos London 1921 i. 500 ff. with col. Frontispiece and figs. 359—362, H. T. Bossert Akrita 2 Berlin 1923 pp. 22, 73 ff. figs. 103—106) or the terra-cotta goddess with a dove on her head from the small shrine of ‘Late Minoan iii’ date on the same site (supra ii. 536 fig. 406 c). We need not suppose that such archaic forms had survived into classical Greece. If a bird on the head was modified into a bird on the helmet, that would lend point enough to Aristophanes’ lines. And of this usage we have some few traces. There was a chrysele-
phantine statue of Athena with a cock on her helmet, said to be the work of Pheidias, on the akropolis of Elis (Paus. 6. 26. 3; cp. Plin. nat. hist. 35. 54 where the same (?) statue is attributed to Kolotes the pupil of Pheidias: see further H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. loc. cit.). A bronze formerly in the cabinet of St Germain des Prés represents Athena wearing a crest of which is supported by a cock (Montfaucon Antiquity Explained trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 82 f. pl. 39, 19 (‘Hermathena’) = Reimach Rép. Stat. ii. 276 no. 10). Another bronze at Agram makes her crest-support an owl (J. Brunsmid ‘Monuments du Musée d’Agram’ in the Viestnik 1914 [Vjesnik N. S. xiii 1913/1914] p. 212 cited by Reimach Rép. Stat. v. 120 no. 9). A third, in the Bammeville collection, repeats the motif (W. Fröhner Collection de feu M. Joly de Bammeville Paris 1893 pl. 19 = Reimach Rép. Stat. ii. 278 no. 9).

5 E. von Lasaulx Der Eid bei den Griechen Würzburg 1844 p. 27 f. and R. Hirzel Der Eid Leipzig 1902 pp. 96 n. 2, 100 n. 3 collect most of the passages that bear on this curious practice. From them we learn (a) that Rhadamathys would not suffer his subjects to take an oath by the gods, but bade them swear by goose, dog, ram, etc., and (b) that Sokrates conformed to the same usage, swearing by dog, plane-tree, etc. Cp. Plat. apol. 21 E, Gorg. 456 C, Phaedr. 238 B, rep. 399 E, Phaed. 98 B νός των κινά, Gorg. 456 A μάς των κινά, Gorg. 482 B μάς των κινά πώς των Αιγυπτών θεών, Phaedr. 236 D—Ε οὖν τάρταρων τόν πλατάνον τούτων.

Sokrates. (on whom see Laqueur in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii A. 1160—1165) Κρατίκης (frag. 5 [frag. hist. Gr. iv. 501 Müller] ar. schol. Aristoph. av. 521 Λάμυς οὖν: τῶν εἰκών λαμβάνειν, ὅτι [F. Dübner cji. 60] πρῶτον οἱ Σκαρκατίκης ἐπετηθείαν ὁμώς ἔκανε. Σωκράτης (so J. Meursius and L. Küster for Σωκράτης) γὰρ ἐν τῷ β’ (so W. Dindorf for ιβ’) τῶν Κρατικῶν οὕτως φθείρει. "Ραδάμανθος δὲ δοκεῖ διαδίδαμεν τὴν βασιλείαν διακόπτων γεγενηθέντων πάντων δισμῶν. Μενεκεῖ δὲ αὐτῶν πρῶτον οὖν ἐκεῖ τῶν κρατῶν ποιοῦσα κατὰ τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλ’ ὡμῶν καλεῖσθαι χῦνα καὶ κόρων καὶ κρατῶν τὰ δέοντα") (goose, dog, ram). This is abbreviated by Sidus. s.v. Λάμυς οὖν τῶν θεῶν, ὃς ἐπιτήδει τίνα (goose, dog, ram) and s.v. χῦνα ὁμώς (goose, ram).

Schol. Plat. apol. 21 E νός των κινά. 'Ραδάμανθος δρόκος οὖν δέ κατὰ κινώς ἢ χῦνας ἢ κρατῶν τῶν θεῶν κατ’ ἄλλον τοιοῦτον. 'οδ’ ἐν μέγιστος δρόκος ἀπαντᾷ λόγον κινών, ἢ ἐπιτήδει χῦνας ἢ δέ εἴσινα." Κρατίκης Χειρων (frag. 11 [frag. com. Gr. ii. 155 f. Meinecke, who with T. Gaisford would divide the lines λόγον | κόρων, not κόρων, | ἐπιτήδεια. πρῶτόν τοῦ δὲ νόμου ὡμῶν καὶ μὴ κατὰ κινών οἱ δρόκος γέγονανται τοιοῦτον. ἐν τοῖς δὲ καὶ οἱ Σκαρκατίκης δρόκοι (dog, goose, ram). This is copied by the schol. V.G. Loukian. vit. augt. 16 (dog, goose, plane, ram), Phot. ex. s.v. Ραδάμανθος δρόκος (goose, dog, plane, ram), Souid. s.v. Ραδάμανθος δρόκος (goose, dog, plane, ram), Apostol. 15. 17 (goose, dog, plane, ram), Arsen. p. 423 f. Walz (goose, dog, plane, ram), and in part by Zenob. 5. 81 (goose, dog), Hesych. s.v. Ραδάμανθος δρόκος (goose, dog) and s.v. χῦνα οὖν (goose), Makar. 7. 49 (ram, swan, vegetables), cp. Append. prov. 2. 91 Εὐρωπίδης δρόκος λέγει δὲ κατὰ κινώς ἢ χῦνας (where E. L. von Leutsch notes: ‘Εὐριπίδης Σωκρατικὸς hoc imitatus est’) (dog, goose).

Further allusions in Loukian. vit. augt. 16 ΣΩ. καὶ μὴν οὖν γέγον οὐκ οὖν τῶν κινών καὶ τῶν πλατάνων οὖν τῶν ἔχειν. ΟΝΗΜΗΣ. Ἡράκλεις τάς ἀνατίας τῶν θεῶν. ΣΩ. τι μὴ λέγει; οὔ δ’ ὁ δόκει σοι τὸν κόσμον εἶναι θεῖος; οὔ δ’ ὁ δόκει τῶν Ἀρμονίων ἐν Ἀνδροκτίνδο τῶν; καὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ Σειρῶν καὶ τῶν παρὰ τούτων κατὰ Κέρσων; (dog, plane, Ieroum. 9 οὐ δὲ κατὰ κινών καὶ χῦνας καὶ πλατάνων ἐπιτήδειον (dog, goose, plane), Theophr. ad Aulon. 3. 2 p. 152 Humphry ti ἄφθηναιν... Σωκράτης τὸ δέον τῶν κινών καὶ τῶν χῦνας καὶ τῶν πλατάνων καὶ τῆς δαμάδων ἐπικελεύει (dog, goose, plane), Tert. apol. 14 taceo de philosophis, Socrate contentus, qui in contumeliam deorum quererum et hircum et canem deierat (oak, goat, dog) = ad nat. 1. 10 taceo de philosophis, quos... nonnullus etiam affixus vertitatis adversus deos erigit: denique et Socrates in contumeliam eorum quererum et canem et hircum iurat (oak, dog, goat), Athen. 370 Λ—Θ (Nik. frag. 11 a description of the κραμβύζ) ἢ μάλτων λαχανίων παιδάγγοιν ἐπικελεύον, μήποτε δὲ τῆς Ἡνδρομοίνος μάλτων κέκλημα τῆς κραμβύζ, ίερὰν ἀδέναν, ἐπεί καὶ τῷ Ἰπποκάκτῳ ἐν τοῖς άμβοσιοῖς (frag. 37 Bergk, 40 Diehl) ἐστι τις γεγομένων τοιών τοῦ ὅδ’ ἐξολοθρεύειν ἠκένεσιν τῆς
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κράμβην | τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ὡς θεοῦκε Πανάρχη | θαργηθεῖσαν (T. Bergk prints ἰὸ θεοῦκε Πανάρχη from his own cj. and θαργηθεῖσαν from that of F. W. Schneidevin) ἔχειν τρόπον πρὸ φαρμακοῦ (so Schneidevin for φαρμακοῦ). | καὶ ἀκούστιον δὲ φησίν (frag. 4 Bergk), 3 Diehl) καὶ οὐ πολλὰς ἀνθρώποις | ἐγὼ φιλεῖ, μάλα, καὶ μᾶς τὸν κράμβην. | καὶ Τρελελιθηρίων Πραδέσσης (frag. 4 (Frang. com. Gr. ii. 368 Meinecke) "καὶ μᾶς τὸ κράμβην" ἐφη, καὶ ἐνίχθυσον εν Γαλαδών (frag. 25 Kaisel) "καὶ μας τὸν κράμβην." Ἐπολίκας Βάττας (frag. 13 (Frang. com. Gr. ii. 451 Meinecke) ἐπ. Priscian, de mestr. Thes. 23 (iii. 427, 25 f. Hertz)) "καὶ μᾶς τὸν κράμβην." ἄφθονε δὲ Ἡλεοκοινοῦν εἶναι δροσού καὶ οὐ παραδίδον ἐκατὰ τὴν κράμβην τοῦ ὅμοιον, ὅπτεται καὶ Ἱάμων ὁ Κιτίεσον ὁ τῆς Στοῖβας κτίστης (ἀρισθήμηται, 48 Pearson, de vita testim. 32 a von Arnim) ἵμμονοντος τὸν κάτω τῆς κοίνης ὄρκου Σωκράτης καὶ άκούσαν ὅμοιον τὴν κάτραν, ὡς Ἡμελώδη (so Kaisel and J. von Arnim, after C. Müller, for Ἴμμονονον cod.) φησιν ἐν Ἀπολλωνιοῦμα (frag. hist. Gr. iv. 405 f. Müller) (cabbage; dog; caper). Diog. Laert. 7. 32 ἄμωμε δὲ (sc. Zenon), παρατείνη, κατά τὸν Σωκράτην τὸν κόσμον (dog; caper), Philol. v. Αρρ. 6. 19 p. 332 Καγέρα πρὸς ταῦτα ἐν Θεσσαλίαν, "ἐγείρετο τίς," ἐφη, "Σωκράτης Ἀθηναίοις ἄνθος, ἄμωμε οὖν, γιὰρ, δὲ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὸν χήρα καὶ τὴν πλάταιραν θεὸς τε ἕγειρε καὶ ἄμωμα." "οὐδὲ ἄνθος," εἶπεν (sc. Απολλωνίος), "ἀλλὰ θεὸς καὶ ἄμωμεν σοφοὶ, ὅμοιον γὰρ ταῦτα οὖν ἐπὶ θεῶς, ἀλλὰ μὴ θεῶν ὅμοιον" (dog, goose, plane). Porphy. de aet. 3. 16 Σωκράτης δὲ καὶ ἄμωμεν κατὰ αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν μάρτυρων), καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥαδάμανθος ... Ῥαδάμανθος, ἄρκιν ἐπιγείσαι πάντα τὰ ἔργα. οὐδὲ Σωκράτης τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὸν χήρα ὅμοιον ἐκάθισε, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν τῶν Δίων καὶ Δηνοὶ παιδί (sc. Ῥαδάμανθην) ἐπιτείη τὸν ὄρκον, οὐδὲ ἄμωμον ἄμωμοι ἅλεγαν τοῖς κόκκοις (dog, goose, swan?). Lact. div. inst. 3. 20 p. 747, 10 f. Brantl verum idem (sc. Socrates) per canem et anserem delerabat (dog, goose), Lact. inst. epist. 32 p. 708, 7 f. Brandt quam (sc. religionem) quidem Socrates non modo repudiavit, verum eiāem derisit per anserem canemque iurando (dog, goose), Aug. de vera religione 2 (i. 1307 b ed. 2 Bened.) Socrates tamen audacior ceteris fuisse perhibetur iurando per canem quemlibet, et lapidem quemlibet, et quidquid in iuramento esset in promptu, et quasi ad manum occurrissent (dog, stone), Prokop. de Gaz. epist. 63 p. 584 f. Hrcher nam 31 δὲ διαμιμο ὡς τὴν πλαταιραν τὴν Σωκράτης ἀλλὰ τοὺς λόγους αὐτού πρῶτο, μετὰ γε τετυχώμενον τὸ κτήσιτο (plane), Eustath. in Od. p. 1871, 4 f. Ῥαδάμανθος δέ, φασιν, ὅτι τις μὴ θεὸν ὁμοίων ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἐκλεθεῖ, φασί, κατὰ χρόνο καὶ κυρίως καὶ κρῶν ὀμοιώς. ἄμωμε δὲ, φασι, ἕλει καὶ Σωκράτης· ἄλοις δὲ τις κράμβης· ἀν ἐκλευθήσῃ ὥσπερ ὁ χαμάθιον ὄχλος διώμει τα γαλαχία (cp. the late glosses in Soust. i. n. λάγοντος: διὸ παῖλοι εὐφρείων ἐπιτεκνίσασθαι πρὸς λάγανα ὅμοιοι, μα τὰ λάγανα καὶ μα τὰ καλὰ λάγοντες καὶ εὐφρεῖως τα γαλάτα) ἐπεξειδήθησαν, διὸ ἐκάθισε καὶ τοῖς ὅμοιοις Ἀρισθήμηται το μα τὰ καλὰ), διὸ καὶ γιανηκαὶ ὁμοίων ἐπὶ ἄνθος θεορεῖς παῖλοι δηλαὶ ἐν τῷ "ἀρκιν δέ ἐγὼ γιανηκά εἰς ὅμοιον γράφων" (ἐκ. γράφων: Xenarch. πειθῶ τοῖς frag. 3 (Frang. com. Gr. iii. 620 f. Meinecke) ἐπ. Athen. 441 Ε, ep. Hellad. ἐπ. Phot. Did. p. 530 a 15 ff. Bekker, Phrynich. praef. s. p. 95, 16 ff. I. de Borries) (goose, dog, ram; goose; cabbage; vegetables; wine?). G. Ménage in his note on Diog. Laert. 2. 40 ends a similar string of extracts with a hon mot: 'Cum autem frequentem ei (sc. Socrati) uxor adversarcter, dissidiumque sit feles inter et canes, Italus quidam, cuius excidit nili nomen, Xanthippen per felem iurem scripsit!'

But we have yet to determine the origin and significance of the oath by goose, dog, ram, etc. No one nowadays is likely to share the view of Tertullian and Lactantius (Lact. citt.) that Socrates was deliberately making a mock of the gods by his appeal to some trumpery substitute. Nor, on the other hand, shall we rest satisfied with the contention of L. Pfeiler (Pfeiler—Plew Gr. Myth. ii. 130 n. 4) that the said substitutes were originally sacred trees and animals. The Platonic Socrates, to be sure, says μα τὰ κόσμου τῶν Ἀγνοτίων θέω (Plat. Gorg. 482 b). But then the Platonist Phaidros can retort ὁ Ζωκρατες, ματών ὁ Αγνοτίως καὶ ὑπακοῦτον ἐν ἑκατὸν λόγους οὐκεῖν (Plat. Phaedr. 273 b). The Lucianic Socrates, who identifies the 'dog' with Anoubis or Seirios or Kerberos (Lucian. vit. auct. 16), would presumably have interpreted the 'ram' as Ammon. A māntis like Lampoon might swear by the 'goose' as a mantic bird (schol. Aristoph. av.
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321 ο ἤ λαμπανυνθή ή και χρυσαμολάγος και μάντις ... ἀτένει δέ κατά τοῦ χρυσοῦ ως ματικοῦ δρόμου). And a little mythological ingenuity could doubtless discover some spark of sanctity in the 'plane-tree,' the 'cabbage,' the 'poppy' (Soud. 3:1600 μά μενών χλόης· μα καὶ μά μενών χλόης· δρόσοι ἐπὶ χλευασμός), and what not? All the same, there was sound sense in the dictum of Apollonios that Sokrates swore by these things θεός ως θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ὡς θεός θεοῦ (Philoscr. loc. cit.). Finally, we shall not subscribe to the well-meant but unconvincing claim of St Augustine, that Sokrates' attribution of divinity to natural objects was an expedient intended to deter from the worship of artificial objects and to direct their thoughts toward the one true God (Aug. de vera religione 2 [i. 1267 c ff. ed.2 Bened.,] credo, intelligebat qualunque opera naturae, quae administrante divina providentia gignerentur, multo quam hominum et quorumlibet opificem esse meliora, etideo divinis honoribus digniora, quam ca quae in templis celebantur. non quod vere lapis et canis escent colecnda sapientibus, sed ut hoc modo intelligent qui possent, tanta superstitione demersos esse homines, ut emergentibus hic esset tam turpis demonstrando gradus, ad quem venire si puderet, viderent quanto magis pudendum esset in turpiore consistere, simul et illos qui mundum istum visibili, summum detum esse opinabuntur, admonenutur turpitudinis suae, docent esse consequents ut quilibet lapus tanquam summi dei particula iure colectur. quod si essecerentur, mutarent sententiam, et unum deum quarerent, quem solum supra mentes nostras esse, et a quo omnem animam et totum istum mundum fabricatum esse constaret, etc.).

What then, after all, is the explanation of these strange oaths? J. Vendryes Language trans. P. Radin London 1925 p. 221 observes: 'In many languages oaths undergo a conventional alteration which allows them to be introduced into the best society; thus, for example, bigre, or fichtr. The French say: pahamblen, parblen, pargniuen, pardinien instead of par le sang de Dieu or par Dieu, just as the English turned "By Mary" into "Marry," "By God's Little Body" into "Odds Boddikins." Similarly E. Weekley The Romance of Words London 1912 p. 60: 'In Dutch, formerly 'ad rot, sounds, for God's wounds, 'snooth, oodblikken, etc., there is probably a deliberate avoidance of profanity. The same tendency is seen in Gogos (Shrew, iii. 2), Fr. parblen, and Ger. Pots in Potsatend, etc.' Accordingly W. A. Becker long since conjectured that χηρα in this connexion was a distorted form of Zēra (W. A. Becker Charikles2 Leipzig 1854 i. 154 'Es kann fast scheinen, als ob man ausweichend τὸν χηρὰ statt τῶν Ζῆρᾳ gesagt habe, wie auch bei uns dergleichen Verdrehungen nicht ungewöhnlich sind'). The same view was advocated by K. Lehrs Plato's Phaidros und Gastmahl Leipzig 1870 p. 143. R. Hirzel Der Eid Leipzig 1902 p. 50 n. 2 objects that nobody said τὸν Ζῆρᾳ (despite II. 23, 43 and Od. 15. 330 ὧδ μὲ Ζῆρα', Soph. Trach. 1188 ὄμω ἔγγει, Ζῆρα ἄριστος καλός, Phil. 1324 Ζῆρᾳ δρούκα καλός, Eur. Hipp. 1205 ὧδ δρεῖον τοῦ Ζῆρα καὶ τῶν χρυσῶν | δρώμιν κ.τ.λ.) and consequently nobody would have altered it into τὸν τῶν χηρῶν. But this objection ignores the fact that in Crete—the very home of Rhadamantys—oaths were regularly taken at Dero by τὸν Δῆρα (Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.2 no. 463 [ib.3 no. 537], 14 ff. cited supra i. 720 n. 2), at Priansos, Gortyna and Hierapetra by Τῆρα (F. Blass in Collitz-Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. iii. 2. 301 ff. no. 5014, 59 ff. cited supra ii. 723 n. 0), at Hierapetra and one of its colonies by Τῆρα (F. Blass ib. iii. 2. 311 ff. no. 5039, 11 ff. cited supra ii. 723 n. 0), at Lyttos by Τῆρα (F. Blass ib. iii. 2. 380 ff. no. 5147 δ, 5 cited supra ii. 934 n. 0) and by Ζῆρα (Michel Recueil d'inscr. gr. no. 29, 13 ff. cited supra ii. 723 n. 0).

I conclude, therefore, that in Crete, where men swore officially by τὸν Δῆρα or Τῆρα or Ζῆρᾳ—so many ways of representing the initial Δι- in the name of Zeus (É. Boisacq Les dialectes dorfens Paris 1891 p. 153, G. Meyer Griechische Grammatik Leipzg 1856 p. 338, C. D. Buck Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects Boston 1910 pp. 31, 07, 86)—a popular distortion τὸν χῆρα arose and was in due course fathered upon Rhadamanths. R. Hirzel loc. cit. aptly observes that in Crete people still say μα τὸ θηρᾶ, 'by the beast, dragon, giant,' or μα τὸ χήρα, 'by the sap,' for μα τὸ θεό, 'by God' (A. Jeannaraki [= A. N. Janarasi] ΔΑΣΜΑΤΑ ΚΡΗΤΙΚΑ Leipzg 1876 p. 377 μα τὸ θηρᾶ, statt μα τὸ θεό, bei Gott, ἀδελφα καὶ ἀδελφή, verflucht etc. ib. p. 379 'Das

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The Birds, flattered and fluttered by this speech, are willing to accept the plan of Pisthetairos, to build a great wall round the air, sich das Wort χαλός mit dem Worte θεός reinter, so sagt man sehr oft μᾶ τὸ χαλό statt μᾶ τὸ θεό um die Gotteslästerung zu vermeiden. Gleichfalls sagt man μᾶ τὸ θερά, μᾶ τὸ νῦ, auch διδασκότος statt διδάσκω (vgl. hole mich der Kukuk'!). Perhaps κῶνο in turn was a substitute for σύμνα, if not κώνο for κώνον (ὑπότρώ αὐτ. 548 ff.). But successive links soon become impossible to trace.

1. The notion of a cosmic wall is found in the teaching of Parmenides (Aët. 2. 7. 1 (H. Diels Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker 2 Berlin 1913 i. 144, 16. f. κα τὸ περίκολπον δὲ πᾶσας (κο. τὰ στεφάνας) τεῖχος διήκει τοιοῦτον υπάρχει; καὶ αὐτ. Stob. ecl. 1. 21. 1° p. 195, 7 f. Wachsmuth = H. Diels Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker 2 Berlin 1913 i. 144, 16. f. κα τὸ περίκολπον δὲ πᾶσας τεῖχος διήκει τοιοῦτον υπάρχει, ὡς το παράγω στεφάνας. It reappears in the Epicureanism of Lucretius (Luar. i. 73 flammantia moenia mundi, cp. i. 1102, 2. 1045, 1148, 3. 16. 5. 119, 454, 1113, 6. 122), and as a Lucretian touch in the poems of Ovid (Ov. met. 2. 401 f. at pater omnipotens ingentia moenia caeli circuit) and Manilius (Manil. i. 150 fl. summaque complexus stellantis culmina caeli flammam varlo naturae moenia fecit, 486 f. qui primus moenia mundi seminibus struxit minimis ineque illa resolvi). Hence the imitations of later poets, e.g. Milton Paradise Lost 3. 721 'The rest in circuit walls this universe,' R. Browning Easter-Day 15 fin. 'Leaving exposed the utmost walls | Of time, about to tumble in | And end the world,' Epilogue to Dramatis Personae 3. 11 'Why, where's the need of Temple, when the walls | O' the world are that?'

Analogous conceptions are found here and there in the religious imaginings of the ancient world. R. Eisler Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt München 1910 ii. 627 notes that the cosmic wall figures in a cuneiform text (an astronomical document of 138 B.C. published by J. Epping and J. N. Strassmaier in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete 1891 vi. 243 Sp. i. 131, 39). The Manichaeans recognised a whole series of such walls (Epiphan. adv. haer. 2. 66. 31 (iii. 52 f. Dindorf) αὶ δὲ προβολαί θάλασσα, ἢ ἵππου ὁ ἐν τῷ μερῷ πλαγνος, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τῆς θάλασσας, καὶ τοῦ βότανου τοῦ φυτοῦ, καὶ τὸ προβολήτης τοῦ πεδίου ὁ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πλαγίῳ, καὶ τὸ ἱππότικον περίκολπον. The analogous conception of the cosmic wall in the heavens is mentioned by Ovid (Met. 3. 721 f.) and Lucretius (Luar. i. 73) and in theDivide of the Etruscan world (Archeologia 13. 7 (p. 71 f. Beeson) prolate autem omnès Iesus est in medici navi, et mater vitae et duodecim gubernatores et virgo lucis et senior tertiius. unde et maiori in navi vivens spiritus adhibetur, et murus ignis illius magni, et murus venti et aëris et aquae et interioris ignis vivi, quae omnia in luna habitantur, usqueque totum mundum ignis absumat; in quot autem annis numerum non dicit. On this Latin version C. H. Beeson ad loc. remarks 'one ziemlich ungenaue Paraphrase' and F. Legge Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity Cambridge 1915 ii. 396 n. 1 'which appears to be nonsense'—five in number, according to the fragments in Estrangielo script from Turfan, which mention one of αἰθέρ, one of wind, one of light, one of water, and one of fire, together with twelve or fourteen heavenly gates (F. W. K. Müller in the Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1904 Phil-hist. Classe p. 38 f. frag. M. 98, 7 f. 'Sie ferner auf zur Grenze und | dem Obersten des Liches führte er hinauf und | aus Wind und Licht, Wasser und Feuer, | welches aus | der Mischung gelautert war, hat er Licht- | Fahrzeuge? zwei jenes der Sonne aus | Feuer und Licht mit fünf Mauern, | einer ätherischen, windigen, leuchtenden, wässerigen und | einer feurigen und zwölf Toren und | Häusern fünf und Thronen drei und | seelensammelnden Engeln fünf sc. in | der feurigen Mauer, und jenes [Fahrzeug], | des Mond-Gottes aus | Wind und Wasser mit fünf Mauern, einer ätherischen, windigen | leuchtenden, | feurigen und wässerigen und | vierzehn Toren und Häusern fünf und | Thronen drei und | seelensammelnden Engeln fünf, sc. in der | wässerigen Mauer, | hat er gemacht und | angeordnet'). Somewhat similar is the vision of 'the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming
down out of heaven from God' (Rev. 21. 2, cp. 21. 10), 'having a wall great and high; having twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels' etc. (Rev. 21. 12). Later the church fell to a lower level and was content with would-be scientific speculation. So Kaisarios, brother to Gregorios of Nazianzos, in his πεσείς καὶ ἀπόκρυσε (on which see W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur Múnchen 1924 ii. 2. 1415 n. 6 dialogue i interroga 99 (xxxviii. 964 Migne) παλιν δὲν δὲν ὁ ἄδεια, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ γῆν φέρεται καὶ τὰς τόπους αὐτὸς σκόπησιν; τεσσαράκοντα ἥκεννας τὰ ὀφθαλμά τήματα, καὶ ὑπὸ ταῦτα τοῖχος, τὸ βόρειον γιγάντων κλίμα, ὑπερανατολίτως τοῦ Καππαδοκίων ἑδάφους, ἀντικαθίσταται μὲν τὴν ἀστραπὴν τῶν ἀκίνων ταῖς λύκαις καὶ τοὺς θάνατος, τὰ ὑπὲρ- τεροντος πισευμοὺ τοῦ στερεώματος, διακλαμένων τὼν μαρμάρων ἐκεῖ τὰ πλάγια, καὶ τῇ ὑπερανατολίτως ὑπὸ φομίνς εἰργάσκεται, κατὰ τὴν προεκδοθήκης εἰκόνα τῆς παρ Ἰηνίων αἰωνίων και Severianus of Gabala (on whom see Lietmann in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii a. 1930 ff., W. Christ καὶ ἀπόκρυσε 2. 1457 ff.) de mundi creatione 3. 5 (Lvi. 452 f. Migne) ἄδειοι ἄνωτορες τὸν ὑπὸ γῆν ἔδειξει τὰ τὸ πολιτικὸν τῇ ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τοῖχος καὶ στερεώματος, κατασκευάζεται καὶ τὸν ἐκαταβαθμίζεται τὴν σύνθεσιν. Cr. Kosmas Indikolites toφ. Chri. 4. 189 (lxxviii. 188 D Migne) τὸ πάλιν τὸ κάστρο τῆς γῆς, τὸ ἐπαίκιν τοῦ βορρᾶ, ἀλλὰ τὸ οἴκων, ἐναπλουμένων ἀπὸ διὰ τὸν θάνατον του Βορρᾶ ἐκ τῶν ἀναξιόλογων, ὅπως υπὸ τοῦ κάστρου ἐκ τῶν ἀνασταθείσων, κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀνασταθείσων τῆς γῆς τῆς πέραν τοῦ ἡκατόμματος ἀλλασθείσων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀνασταθείσων τῆς γῆς τῆς πέραν τοῦ ἡθοποιίας καὶ κάτω, καταφθάνων τῶν ἀνασταθείσων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀνασταθείσων τῶν ἀνασταθείσων τῆς γῆς τῆς πέραν τοῦ ἡθοποιίας καὶ κάτω τῆς γῆς τῆς πέραν τοῦ ἡθοποιίας. See further a valuable section in R. Eisser καὶ ἀπόκρυσε ii. 619 ff. ('Die Himmelsmäuer', 'Das Welthaus in der syrischen Kosmographie, etc.).

The cosmic walls of philosophy, religion, and so-called science presuppose mythopoetic attempts to explain the construction of the visible world. More frankly mythological is Pindar's 'road of Zeus' leading up 'to Kronos' tower' (supra ii. 36. 52), which—like its Celtic counterpart the 'castle of Gwydion' (supra ii. 52)—appears to be the poetic survival of some otherwise forgotten myth.

It seems possible that in the west, if not also in the east, the belief in a celestial city was partly based upon popular interpretations of cloudland. E. H. Meyer Germanische Mythologie Berlin 1891 p. 88 f. collects a whole series of relevant folk-names from the Germanic area. Thus at Glandorf near Ibburg in Prussia a black storm-cloud that rears itself above the horizon is called a grommeltorn or 'rumbing tower' (A. Kuhn Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen Leipzig 1859 ii. 89 no. 277 a, cp. ennd. in the Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde 1855 iii. 378 'noch heut begegnet man nicht selten der bezeichnung grummel- oder grommelturm für gewitter'), while on the Moorhuusmoor in Thüringen the witte lorn or 'white tower' seen in the sky is a sign of bad weather (A. Kuhn—W. Schwartz Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche Leipzig 1848 p. 448 no. 428, W. Mannhardt Germanische Mythen Berlin 1858 p. 186).

In Oldenburg the northern lights are also known as Torn, the 'tower,' and taken to be a vivid red cloud (L. Strackerjan Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogthum Oldenburg Oldenburg 1867 ii. 63 f.); in the same locality heavy, white clouds are called Mauern,
and to demand the submission of Zeus. If he refuses, they will proclaim a holy war against him and forbid the gods to traverse their realm in search of fresh amours. A herald will be sent to inform men that in future all must worship birds before gods—the coot before Aphrodite, the duck before Poseidon, the sea-gull before Herakles, the wren before Zeus. Birds have wings, good evidence

walls' (id. ib. ii. 64). P. Sébillot Le Folk-lore de France Paris 1904 i. 128 f. adduces French examples. Sailors in the Channel regard certain big black clouds as dangerous and speak of them as les Châteaux (id. in the Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari v. 521). In Provence black clouds brushing past the horizon are called an empéra or a wall. A long stretch of empéra is termed birr, "ramparts." A small coloured cloud rising above these 'ramparts' is dubbed tourrêla, a 'turret.' A big cloud may tower up charged with thunder and hail; it is then called tourrongu a 'keep.' Finally, when black threatening clouds begin to break up, with their towers and ramparts, they are known as castin, 'castles' (G. de Montpavon 'Mistral' in Armata Provençau 1877 p. 45).

This was at least one reason for the first element in Aristophanes' Nephelokokkygia—a typical 'castle-in-the-air.'


2 This is not religion, but common sense. Athen. 315 b καὶ τὴν νῆτταν δὲ καλομέγδον Ποσειδώνι τινες οἰκείους, as is clear from the previous clause (cited supra n. 1), depends on Aristoph. αν. 366.

3 The λάρος is assigned to Herakles merely because of its notorious greed (schol. Aristoph. αν. 357 τῶν λάρων διὰ τὴν ἀδύφαγίαν Ἡρακλεὶ προσανάπτει, cp. Aristoph. εγ. 926, νυμ. 591).

4 Aristoph. αν. 367 ff. καὶ τὴν θυη Βασελι κρός, βασελίς ήν' ἀρχίζει δρμι, δὲ προτέρω δι' τοῦ Δίων αὐτοῦ σέρφων ἑράχος σφαγάμοις. | ΕΤΕΛΕΙ. ήπιστ σέρφων σφαγαμομένων: "βεοτατόν τῶν μέγας θης" with schol. ad loc. ἀρχίζει δρμι: διὰ τὰς μυχὰς τοῦ Δίων τῶν δρμων παράλλαξι (the clause διὰ—παράλλαξι is absent from coed. R.V.). ἢπει οὖν τὸ ὄντα τοῦ δρμίων. ἢπει καταφέρῃ τὰ δρόμων καὶ μυχὰς, διὰ τοῦ ἀρχίζει δραματικῶς διὰ τῶν δρόμων, τὸ δὲ σέρφων ἑράχος, ὡς κρός ἑράχος. This again is not a case of ritual usage, but of comic invention. There is no special link between Zeus and the wren beyond the fact that, as Zeus was Basileis, so the wren was basileis or basilikos (supra p. 45 n. 1). On the wren as king of birds see further C. Swainson The Folk-Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds London 1886 p. 36: 'The tradition of the sovereignty of the wren over the feathered race is widely spread. Hence we find the Latin name for the bird to be Regulus, the Greek basiliokos, the French Routiet, Roy des oiseaux, Roy de froidure, Roy de guille, Roy Bertaud, the Spanish Reyezuelo, the Italian Reatino or Re di sfepe (king of the hedge), the Swedish Kungs fegel, the Danish Engle Konge or Elle Konge (alder king), the German Zaunkönig (hedge king), Schmachöring (snow king). E. Rolland Faune populaire de la France Paris 1879 ii. (Les oiseaux sauvages) 288 ff., 301 f. collects a vast number of such names applied to the wren (both the Trogloctyes Europeus and the Regulus cristatus) in the various districts of France. It would seem reasonable to suppose that the kingship in question properly belonged to the fire-crest (Regulus ignicollis) or gold-crest (Regulus cristatus). Both species occur in Greece (D'Arcy W. Thompson A Glossary of Greek Birds Oxford 1895 p. 174) and both on the crown of the head have a conspicuous streak of reddish orange bordered by bright lemon yellow (good illustrations in J. L. Bonhote Birds of Britain London 1907 p. 50 f. col. pl. 15). The flame-coloured
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of their divinity, and are obviously competent to harm or help mankind.

Tereus next invites the two friends into his nest, promising to find them a magic root which will enable them too to grow wings. Meantime his wife Prokne comes out and together with the Choros chants the parabasis, a brilliant vindication of the claims put forward by the Birds. It tells the old Orphic tale, how Eros sprang from the wind-egg laid by black-winged Night, the egg which split into Ouranos and Ge, primaeval parents of all the gods. Birds declare the seasons, birds utter oracles, birds give omens; birds in short are manifestly divine and must be worshipped as such without more ado.

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

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

Then follows a second parabasis, in which the Birds appropriate epithets formerly belonging to Zeus and justifiably put a price on the head of the bird-catcher Philokrates.

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

Aristoph. av. 654 ἐκέκαλε γὰρ τὸ μῆλον κ.τ.λ. Cep. Ail. de nat. an. i. 35 (many birds use magic herbs as prophylactics) δὲ ἔστερ τὸ δάμαστον, ὅπερ ἴσον καὶ καλλίτριχον καλοῦσι τοις, Horapoll. ἱερολ. 1. 93 ἄνθρωποι ὧν σταφυλὴ βλασέται καὶ θαλάσσων θεραπεύσαι βουλόμενοι καλάρωσι καὶ διαμαντὶς τὴν βοτάνην ὑπὸ τὴν βλασέξ ὧν σταφυλὴ διαμαντὶς ἀποκλείσοντο εἰς τὸ θαλασσὸν σῶμα περιβάλλεται, Geopon. 15. i. 19 (birds place curative herbs in their nests) ἔστερ δαμαστον (so H. Beckh, after Gronovius, for δαμαστον codd.), Philes de an. propr. 724 ἄγωστον ἔστιν (apparently a blundering transcript of Ail. de nat. an. i. 35 or Geopon. 15. i. 19). On the hoopoe liberating its imprisoned young by means of a certain herb (Ail. de nat. an. 3. 26 τὰν ἐκάλαι κ.τ.λ.), see the springwort, see S. Bochart Hieroglyph. rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 ii. 112 f., D'Arcy W. Thompson A Glossary of Greek Birds Oxford 1895 p. 56. Frazer Golden Bough 3: Balder the Beautiful ii. 70 n. 2.

2 Supra ii. 1020, 1034, 1050 f.

Aristoph. av. 818 ff.

3 Io. 1058 ff. ἦσθαι γὰρ τὸ παντόστη (cp. supra i. 459, 461 f., ii. 1130) καὶ παντόστη (Aristophanes has in mind Soph. O.C. 1085 f. ἢ παντόστη θεων παντόστη Ζεῦ) θεωτι πάντεως ὀφθαλμὶς ὀφθαλμὶς. | πᾶσαν μὲν γὰρ γὰρ ὄπτετω, | σῶμα δὲ εὐθαλεῖς καρποῖσιν | κ.τ.λ.
Pisthetairos announces that the sacrifice has proved to be most auspicious, and a Messenger brings word that the great wall is now completely built—six hundred feet high and broad enough for two chariots to pass.

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

Knowest thou this? If Zeus keeps bothering me,
His halls palatial, yea Amphion’s house,
Will I burn down with eagles bearing fire,
And up against him to the sky I’ll send
Six hundred stout Porphyrian-gallinules,
All clad in leopard-skins. Yet I remember
When one Porphyrian gave him toil enough.


2 Aristoph. av. 1246 ff. δ’ ἑλθ’ ὄντι δεικνύ· μὲν ἀραίον καὶ (F. Wieseler cf. κατὰ) δόμων Ἀμφιόνοι | καταθεῖται πυροβολῶν ἀληθῶς; J. van Leeuwen, observing ‘alienum hinc est nomen Amphionis, quod ante me sensit qui dōmōn ‘Ολυμπιανος proposed,’ rewrites καὶ ἀμφιόνων δόμων, cp. Soph. Ant. 285 f. But G. Setti in the Rivista di filologia 1903 xxxi. 114 f. justly defends the text in view of Soph. Ant. 1155 Κάδῳν πάροικοι καὶ δόμων Ἀμφιόνοι = dwellers in Thebes. Aristophanes, according to his scholiast, is quoting Aisch. Nικος frag. 160 Nauck. Apparently in that play Zeus threatened to burn the palace and walls of Amphion, husband of Niobe (H. W. Stoll in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 314, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1946, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 500, 1925 n. 0), whose house had notoriously come to a bad end (Paus. 2. 11. 10 οὗτος μὲν δῆ (sc. Homer) τῶν οἰκῶν τῶν Ἀμφιόνος ἐκ βαθρῶν ἀντιτράτεντα ὀλίθρον). Here Pisthetairos threatens to turn the tables on Zeus by burning his ‘palace and Amphionic walls.’ The whole phrase μελαθρα...καὶ δόμων Ἀμφιόνοι must be taken with the possessive ἀντοῦ, sc. Διός.
3 Supra ii. 777.
4 On the ἄπτεφρων or 'purple gallinule' (Porphyrio hyacinthinus or euterum) see D'Arcy W. Thompson A Glossary of Greek Birds Oxford 1892 p. 150, A. Newton A Dictionary of Birds London 1896 p. 591, and the enthusiastic description in O. Keller Die antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1913 ii. 209: 'Wenn die wandervoll metalglänzenden blauen Hühner truppweise durch die reifen goldigblonden Ahrenfelder streifen, entsteht eine ganz einzige Farbenwirkung.' Dionys. de av. ii. 25 (prose paraphrase in Didot's Poëticus Bucolicus et Didacticus p. 111) ὅτι δὲ καὶ πορφύρων ἀπὸ τῆς χρυσῆς καλαμαύον δραμεῖ· ἐμφατον αὐτῷ τὸ βόρνο δέδωκα, καὶ κατὰ καθαρῆς ἄτης ὁπείρα τινὰ πέλλων, ὡσαυτὸς οὐ τιθέμεν Περσιξκε φορών. χ.τ.λ. Despite this warlike appearance, the bird is easily captured (id. ib. 3. 21 (p. 174 Didot)) — a piquant contrast to the Πορφυρίων of verse 1252, cp. Mart. op. 13. 78. 1 nomen habet magnum valueris tam parva gigantis?
5 The villagers of Athmonon (Steph. Byz. s. v. 'Ἀθμωνος) or Athmonia (Harpocr. s. v. 'Ἀθμωνία, Bekker aned. i. 349, 30 s. v. 'Ἀθμωνία, Soud. s. v. 'Ἀθμωνία (ἰεός), an Attic deme, identified with the modern Μαραντι (from Artemis Αμαρνοι: see O. Jesse in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1743, K. Wernicke ib. ii. 1280, 1402 with W. Judeich's map ib. ii. 1202) on the way from Athens to Marathon, declared that Porphyryon, who was king in the days before Aktaios, had founded a sanctuary of (Aphrodite) Όφειρα in their midst (Paus. i. 14. 7). From this local legend C. Wachsmuth Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum Leipzig 1874 i. 413 f. inferred that Porphyryon, the prehistoric introducer of an oriental cult, was 'identically with Phoinix, und gleich diesem Repräsentant der Phöniker.' This inference, even if supported by the plea that Πορφυρίων means the 'Porpurmann' (E. Curtius Poionimenscus Gotha 1842 ii. 517), is very precarious and has been definitely rejected by U. von Willeowitz-Goemannit Aus Kyklothen Berlin 1880 p. 134 n. 57. There is more to be said for the view (J. Ilberg in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2779) that Porphyryon's connexion with Athmonon points to his pedigree as the son (Nomn. Dion. 9. 317) or brother (schol. B.L. II. 2. 511, cp. schol. D. II. 2. 499, schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 1094) of Athamas. It is possible too that Porphyryon's relation to Aphrodite hangs together with the belief that she was his opponent in the Gigantomachy (schol. Aristoph. Aث. 553, 1252).

But the outstanding fact is that Porphyryon, like Periphas (supra ii. 1121 ff.), was a very ancient Attic king. If he was son or brother of Athamas, he too was one of those kings descended from Aiolos who played the rôle of Zeus (supra ii. 1088, 1122). And his name, 'The Purple-clad,' may well have been an epithet of Zeus himself (supra I. 56 ff.). Nævius frag. 20 Bachrens, 10 Vahlen ap. Priscian. 6. 6 (l. 199, t Hertz) calls him Purpureus (so the second hand in cod. B. pur cod. R. with purus added in margin by second hand. purpurus codd. B.H. purpurus codd. G.L.K.), and we have already met with a Jupiter Purpurius (supra i. 58, 781). On this showing, Zeus Πορφύριων gave rise to Zeus νερεύς. Porphyryon just as Athena 'Εγκέλαδος (Hesych. s. v. 'Εγκέλαδος ἡ Άπαφρα' gave rise to Athena νερεύς Enkelados (Peller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 69 n. 5 'Nach dem Giganten ist angeblich Athena εγκέλαδος genannt' inverts cause and effect).

If Porphyryon was thus ab origine a prehistoric king who claimed to be Zeus incarnate, we can understand better the curious tradition that in the Gigantomachy Zeus inspired Porphyryon with love for Hera and slew him with a thunderbolt when he made an amorous attempt upon her (Apollod. 1. 6. 2 Πορφύριος δὲ Ἡρακλῆς κατὰ μᾶχη ἐφώρησε καὶ Ἡρα. Ζεύς δὲ αὐτῷ τόδε ἤ μεν ἐνέβαλεν, ὡς καὶ καταρρηγήσωσιν αὐτῷ τὰ πέπλον καὶ βάσανον ἔβαλεν διὸ τὸν φοίνικα καὶ Δίὸς κεραυνόν αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλῆς τοξίκευτον, Tact. in Lyk. Al. 63 Porphyroi δὲ Ζεύς Ἡρα ἐπιθύμησιν ἐμβάλλεται καὶ τοῦτον Ἡρακλῆς εἰς τὸ καταρρηγήσωμεν Ἡρα τὰ πέπλα (τοῦ πέπλου codd. sec. class., i.e. Johannis Tact.) τοξίκευτον καὶ τοῦ Δίου κεραυνοῦ πλῆξασαν άναμφίη). We can understand also Pindar's description of Porphyryon as king of the Giants (Pind. Pyth. 8. 13 Πορφύριος, 17 βασιλεὺς Ἰδεύτων. But see Welcker Gr. Götterl. i. 793 n. 18) Typhos and he 'were laid low by the thunderbolt and by the bow of Apollon' (id. ib. 16 ff. Cp. Claud. carm. min. 52 (37) Gigantomachia 34 ff., 114 ff.).

Representations of the Gigantomachy from the close of the fifth century onwards
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make Porphyrion the main antagonist of Zeus: (1) a klyxis by the potter Erginos and the painter Aristophanes, found at Vulci and now at Berlin (Furtwängler Vasenmuseum. Berlin ii. 709 ff. no. 2531, E. Gerhard Trinkschalen und Gefässes des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin und anderer Sammlungen Berlin 1848 i. 3 ff. pl. 2—3 (coloured), Overbeck Gr. Kunstmust. Zeus p. 363 f. no. 16 Atlas pl. s 3a, 3 b, 3 c, F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser Gr. Vasenmaler i. 38—41 pl. 127 (=my pl. vii), Hoppin Red-f. Vases i. 50 f. no. 1 f. i. P. Ducati Storia della ceramica greca Firenze s.a. ii. 394 ff. fig. 287, Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 589, 600, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des nachpugnalig Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 456 no. 1), on which the combatants are grouped in symmetric pairs as on the papyri of Athena's pýlos (F. G. Welcker in K. O. Müller Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst Breslau 1848 p. 639 § 356, F. Hauser op. cit. iii. 40). (2) An amphora with twisted handles, found in Melos and now in the Louvre (no. S 1677, F. F. Ravaisson in the Monumentes grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques en France No. 4 1875 p. 1 ff. fig. 1 and pls 1, 2 = A. Conze Wien. Vorlägebl. viii pl. 7, Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmaler ii. 193—200 pls 96 (=my pl. vii), 97 (attributed to the painter of the Talos-vase (supra i. 721 pl. xii)), P. Ducati in the Jahresh. d. oestl. arch. Inst. 1907 x. 276, ib. 1908 xi. 135—141 fgs. 32 a, 32 b, H. Bulle Der schöne Mensch im Alten Reimnachen—Leipzig 1911 p. 246 ff. figs. 188, 189, P. Ducati Storia della ceramica greca Firenze s.a. ii. 420—433 figs. 301, 302 (first quarter of s. iv B.C.), J. D. Beazley Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 184 (later than 'the Meidias painter'), Hoppin Red-f. Vases ii. 450 no. 3, Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 488 ff., iii. 234 fig. 584). (3) Fragments of a krater or amphora from Ruvo, now at Naples (Heydemann Vasensamml. Neapel p. 424 ff. no. 3883 (Overbeck Gr. Kunstmust. Zeus p. 371 denies that Heydemann op. cit. p. 363 no. 366 belonged to the same vase), O. Jahn in the Ann. d. Inst. 1869 xii. 184 ff., Mon. d. Inst. ix pl. 6, Overbeck op. cit. p. 369 ff. no. 25 Atlas pl. 5, 8 and 8 a, P. Ducati in the Jahresh. d. oestl. arch. Inst. 1907 x. 275 fgs. 83—85 (photographs), Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmaler i. 195 ff. fig. 72 and figs. 73—75 (photographic), E. Buschor Greek Vase-painting trans. G. C. Richards London 1921 p. 160 pl. 90 fgs. 149—151, Hoppin Red-f. Vases ii. 449 no. 2, Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 488, 600, iii. 735 fig. 628), which appears to be more careful work by the same artist (Furtwängler—Reichhold op. cit. ii. 196). Vases (2) and (3) presuppose a famous original, probably the Gigantomachy painted inside the shield of Athena Parthenos (ed. ib.). The semicircular band of bábhóis, which on vase (3) denotes the arch of heaven, may well perpetuate the rim of Athena's shield (Sir C. Smith in the Ann.Brit. Sch. Atk. 1896—1897 iii. 135 ff., Pfuhl op. cit. ii. 588). (4) A red-figured krater (amphora?) with volute handles from Ruvo, now at Petrograd (Stephani Vasen- samml. St. Petersurg i. 263 ff. no. 523, G. Minervini in the Bull. Arch. Nav. 1844 ii. 105 ff. pls 8, 9 (=my pl. viii), 7, 1 = Reinsch Mitth. Vasen i. 467, 1 f., Overbeck Gr. Kunstmust. Zeus p. 357 ff. no. 24 Atlas pl. 5, 4, H. Heydemann Zeus im Gigantenkampf (Wienckelmannschrift-Progr. Halle i/s. 1876 p. 9, P. Ducati in the Jahresh. d. oestl. arch. Inst. 1908 xi. 141), which again shows the sky as an arch, yellow-painted and radiate, but represents Zeus in a four-horse chariot (op. supra ii. 84 fig. 46) with Nike as charioteer and Porphyrion already blasted beneath him. (5) The great altar of Pergamon (supra i. 118 ff. pl. x figs. 87, 88) has as the culminating scene of its eastern side a magnificent composition, in which Zeus contends with Porphyrion and Athena with Alkyoneus (H. Winnefeld in Pergamon ii. 2 Atlas pl. 24). Zeus with wide stride brandishes a thunderbolt in his right hand, while a serpent-fringed áigis, scaly without and leathery within, is wrapped about his left. Porphyrion, a stalwart stiff-necked giant, as yet unvanquished, advances his left fist outlined beneath a lion's skin against the áigis. His eye, of some glittering substance, was separately inlaid. His legs are serpentiniform—an innovation which dates from the beginning of s. iv B.C. (first on a gilded artemis at Berlin (inv. no. 3375) published by H. Winnefeld in the Festschrift für Otto Benndorf Wien 1898 pp. 72—74 pl. i, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. Suppl. iii. 690 f. no. 132, 735 f.)—and the left serpent winds up till its head rises above the giant's left
Kýlix from Vulci, now at Berlin:

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

See page 56 n. 9 [1].

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

See page 56 n. 6 (2).

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

See page 56 n. 0 (a).
Reliefs from the eastern frieze of the great Altar at Pergamon, now in Berlin:

Zesus contends with Porphyreion, Athena with Enkelados.

See page 56 n. 5; cp. page 54.
Hydra from Yculi, now in the British Museum:
Athena v. Enkelados, Zeus v. Porphyrion (?).
Nephelokokkygia

The herald sent to men now returns with a golden crown voted by the states to Pisthetairos; for every one has gone bird-mad and is eager to obtain wings. Accordingly, in comes a second group of visitors, bent on getting them,—a father-beater, Kinesias, an informer, and lastly Prometheus, who wants to know whether Zeus is

Clearing the clouds off, or collecting them.

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

The envoys in due course arrive—Poseidon, Herakles, and the uncouth Triballian. Pisthetairos is busy preparing a savoury stew shoulder, where it is gripped by the claws of Zeus’ eagle (H. Winnefeld in Pergamon iii. 2.48 ff. Atlas pl. 10=my pl. ix, Die Skulpturen des Pergamon-Museums in Photographicen Berlin 1903 pl. 15, Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. ii. 520 ff. pl. 12, H. Bulle Der schöne Mensch im Altertum Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 p. 599 pl. 296, A. von Salis Der Altar von Pergamon Berlin 1912 p. 54 ff. fig. 3, F. Winter Hellenistische Skulptur (Kunstgeschichte in Bildern) Das Altertum xi—xii Leipzig 1925 p. 352 fig. 6).

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

The giant defeated by Zeus on a red-figured hydria from Vulci, now in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 149 f. no. E 165, Lenormant—de Witte El. mon. cl. i. 8 f. pl. 3, O. Jahn in the Ann. d. Inst. 1869 xli. 183, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 359 f. no. 20, J. D. Beazley in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1916 xx. 149 no. 9 (assigned to the Tyszkievicz painter), id. Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 55, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 460 no. 8, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rothfigurigen Stils Tubingen 1912 p. 116 no. 29. My pl. x is from a photograph taken by the Official Photographer, appears to be wearing a wolf-skin (J. Overbeck loc. cit. says das Fell eines wilden Thieres, eines Wolfs oder Luchsens(?)) and, as he collapses, is heaving a rock on which is a vine-leaf (Lenormant—de Witte loc. cit. suppose une feuille de platane). This would constitute an earlier type of Porphyryon, if we could but be sure that it is he.

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

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

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

Mid just such a song hymenaeus
Aforetime the Destinies led
The King of the thrones empyrēan,
The Ruler of Gods, to the bed
Of Hera his beautiful bride.
Hymen, O Hymenaeus!
And Love, with his pinions of gold,
Came driving, all blooming and spruce,
As groomsman and squire to behold
The wedding of Hera and Zeus,
Of Zeus and his beautiful bride.
Hymen, O Hymenaeus!
Hymen, O Hymenaeus!


1 Aristoph. *av.* 1720—1765. I quote the lively lyrics of Mr B. B. Rogers, altering a
Pith. I delight in your hymns, I delight in your songs;
Your words I admire.

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

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

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

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

Throughout this splendid exodos Pisthetairos is clearly conceived
as the new Zeus. He is no longer referred to by his old name, but
always by some phrase descriptive of the Olympian king. He comes
Wielding the winged thunderbolt of Zeus1.

The chorus at his approach sing of 'the fiery lightnings of Zeus2,' 'the
immortal spear of Zeus2,' etc., and salute their leader himself as
line or two to avoid his rendering 'Miss Sovereignty,' which, I fear, implies a confusion
of βασίλεια, 'queen,' with βασιλεία, 'kingdom.' That the former, not the latter, word
was intended by the poet is clear from the metre of verses 1537, 1753. The same slip is
made by G. Caramia in his article on Βασίλεια in the Birds of Aristophanes (Rivista indo-
greco-italica di filologia—lingua—antichità 1925 ix. 3—4. 51 ff. cited by H. J. Rose in The

1 Aristoph. av. 1714 παλαμαν κεραιάν, πετροφόρον Δίας βέλος. Sufr. ii. 777 ff.
2 Id. ib. 1746 I. τάς τε πυροδείς | Δίος ἀνεροῦς.
3 Id. ib. 1749 Δίος μιμροτον ἔχει (Sufr. ii. 704 n. 3).
'having won all that belonged to Zeus.' The scholiast is puzzled, and comments on the verse—

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

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

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

1 Id. ib. 1752 διὸ δὲ πάντα κρατοῦσα | κ.τ.λ.
2 Schol. Aristoph. av. 1751 ὁ Ζεὺς δηλαδότι, ὁ ἢ Πισθηταιρὸς λαβὼν τὴν Βασιλείαν (sic).
3 Aristoph. av. 1757 ἐπὶ πέθον Διός | καὶ λύχνος γαμήλιων.
4 Id. ib. 1765 διαμιᾶν ἀναπτύ.
5 (1) Schol. Aristoph. av. 1536 σωματοσελ ἡν Βασιλείαν αὐτὸ τὸ πράγμα ζήτερα in defence of metre (supra p. 59 n. 6) made her a personification of Royalty.
6 Euphorionis the Alexandriae grammarian of t. iii B.C. (L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 430 f., W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1910 ii. 1. 120 ap. schol. Aristoph. av. 1536 regarded her as a daughter of Zeus—probably an inference from Aristoph. av. 1537 ff.
7 Others held that she dispensed immortality, as Athena in Bakchyl. frug. 45 Jebb was about to dispense it to Tydeus; and some actually called her Athanasia (schol. Aristoph. av. 1536). This was perhaps one of the many (Cornut. theor. 20 p. 36, 1 ff. Lang) etymologies suggested for Athena (so even in Prellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. p. 11).
8 F. Wieseler Adversaria in Aischyli Promethea Vincit et Aristophanis Aves Gottingae 1844 p. 124 ff. contends that she was Athena, cp. Tszet. in Lyk. Al. 111 'Αδριὰ τὸν βασιλέα τῷ καὶ Βασιλείας λιγαμέν, γυναικὸς δὲ διοῦσα (supra ii. 833 n. 7).
9 Others cite Dionysios Skyttobrachion (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 673) ap. Diod. 3. 57, who in his romantic vein told how Basileia, a daughter of Ouranos by Titan (Ge) and a sister of Rhea (Pandora), brought up her brothers the Titans and hence was known as the Megale Meter, inherited her father's kingdom, and ultimately became by her brother Hyperion the mother of Helios and Selene.
10 Others again equate the Aristophanic Basileia with the goddess worshipped at Athens under the name Basilea or Basileia (O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 41 ff., Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 1081 n. 5, 1521 n. 1), whom some take to be a 'Queen' of Heaven (H. Usener Göttternamen Bonn 1896 p. 227 ff.), some a 'Queen' of the Underworld (G. Loeschcke Vermutungen zur griechischen Kunstgeschichte und zur Topographie Athens Dorphari Livornorum 1884 pp. 14—24).
11 C. Pascal Dioniso Catania 1911 pp. 99—110 argues that the Basileia of the play is 'Queen' of the Underworld and at the same time goddess of the mysteries and of fertility, in fact a variant of Kore. Marriage with her means death (supra ii. 1103 ff.). Pisthetairos the pretender, after a career of hitherto unbroken success, is thus at the last politely handed over to the other world (E. Wüst in the Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft 1916—1918 cxxiv. 132).
12 J. T. Sheppard ' τις εἶρα πάντα τὴν Βασιλείαν' in the Fasciculus Ioanni Watts Clark divinitus Cantabrigiae 1999 pp. 529—640, after rightly insisting that the solemnity of the final scene in the Birds implies a clear reference to the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera,
Athenian audience in the days of Aristophanes could hardly have hesitated. The partner of Zeus must needs be Hera. And Hera in that very capacity was often called Basileia. Besides, on the present occasion there was a special reason for picking out just this title and no other as appropriate to the goddess. For it would seem that the political circumstances in which the play was first planned prompted the author to the better part of its nomenclature—Eulipides, Pisthetairos, Nephelokokkygia, and finally Basileia.

Aristophanes brought out his Birds at the City Dionysia of the year 414 B.C. But B. B. Rogers has shown that in all probability the play had been 'long in incubation,' indeed that it had been taken

turns aside to the sacred marriage of Dionyso and the basileia (σεφρα i. 672 n. 0, 686, 709 f. pl. xi, 3), and concludes that Basileia is an imaginary goddess, whose name suggests the consort of the god of comedy. 'Pisthetairos, on this hypothesis, recalls to the audience Zeus, with a touch of Dionysos. Basileia recalls the Basileia, not without a touch of Hera' (J. T. Sheppard op. cit. p. 54). Η άρεσπλησ εις και τον έπανα Ευρησμόν | ἡμερνάουσαν την τυντισσιδία | έκ των ιδιων ανθρωπον | ἡμερνάουσαν την γυναικια | άσω Παρασίς της άνακμίστον—a series of well-omened names): 30 Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 78 n. 17, σεφρα ii. 900 n. 0. There was a cult of Hera Basileia at Lindsos (P. Foucart in the Rev. Arch. 1867 ii. 30 ff. no. 71, 13 ff. = F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Inscr. Gr. insc. i. no. 786, 13 ff. Titus Flavius Titus Flavio[ν]] Léoptos leóntis óllo Korina (cf. Orelli—Hensen Inscr. Lat. col. no. 5793) Θρακό- λοχος Κλάδειος ἀνελέξειν τετειμημένοι εἰς τὸ δυνατόν ὑπὸ τῶν | ἐν θεῖοι διάκρισιν καὶ τῶν τῆς | ἱερᾶς συμβιβάσθειν δυνάμεα | συνεκτικῶν συνεχειας [ ] Ηρα Βασιλείας ζενειτικον τοιοτος τα έστι τετειμημένην έποιειν. On such στιμιάδες στιμιάδες see A. Wilhelm in the Ath. Myth. 1892 xvii. 192 f. and Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 3 no. 1109, 52 f. no. 35), and perhaps at Sikinos (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Inscr. Gr. insc. v. i. no. 30, 3 f. in lettering not older than i. iii A.D. eidos μεν ταμήμους έφοι Ηρας | βασιλείας); and there was perhaps another Hera Basileia in Pidia (A. H. Smith in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1887 viii. 256 f. no. 41, 1 f. from Poglia (Poulis) ή θεός καί ὁ δημος | ἀνελέξειν δόρφωιν | ἀρρητος τοσομάτων καί | Τερετος, ἡμερινῳ τινων | πρατετον, τοιοτος, | παραστάτης Ήρας | Βασιλίδος, δημοπολικόν, | και πάντα τα έκ τοιοτος | γνησιομενα ποιειν [παρατρικον κ. τ. η. cp. Gr. Ηρα iii no. 4367 f.]).

Literary allusions include the following: h. Ηης. i. f. Ηης... | ἀδιάκριτης βασιλείας... | Ζηνός ἐργαζότατος καλεύτηνθαι διούχον τε | Αρ. Rhod. 4. 382 μή το γε παθμασθείς | Διὸς τελέσσεις έκκαινι, Orph. h. Ηης. 16. 2 Ηης (so J. G. J. Hermann for Ηης) παθμασθείς, Διὸς σέλεκτρα μάκαρον, 9 μάκαρων θεόν, παθμασθείς, παθμασθείς, Prokl. in Plat. Thm. iii. 191. 12 f. Diehl διὰ δὴ τούτο τ' Διὸ σεισκεῖται η βασιλεία Ηης. See further Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1132 n. 2.
in hand soon after the production of the Peace in 421. Now the events of the period immediately succeeding the peace of Nikias had turned all eyes towards Argos, which then became the centre

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

So again the two plays have an idyllic character which belongs to no other of the poet's comedies: the innocent charms of a country life are depicted as they are depicted nowhere else; in each of them, and in them only, we hear the "sweet song" of the νήρεις, and in each it is designated by its Doric name ὁ ἀγρίταις, the chirruper. Here too, and nowhere else in Aristophanes, the coaxing address ἄνεξασβος ἀκώλεικτος is employed; and although the Aeschylean phrase παντικεῖν ἐπικελεύμονα is found also in the Frogs, yet it there occurs in its natural place as part of a criticism on the style and the language of Aeschylus, while in each of these two plays it is introduced, apropos of nothing, in the Parabasis, as the sarcastic description of a showy military officer. And possibly the germ of the present drama may be discovered in the determination of Trygaesus μετ' ὅθω τῶν ἐκ Κραταίων μεταβάντων [cp. av. 155, 753]. Minor coincidences, such as χορεύοντο το εὖ γένος, are very numerous, but are hardly worthy of mention.

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

But whatever weight may be due to these considerations, the comedy would of course not receive its final touches until it was about to be sent in to the Archon, in the winter of 413-414 B.C.

I have quoted at length the wise words of Mr. Rogers because they form the best reply to an objection raised by E. Wüst in the Jahrbuch über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft 1923 exv. 151, who urges against me the contention of A. Ruppel Konzeption und Ausarbeitung der Aristophaneschen Komödien Darmstadt 1913 'dass der Dichter immer nur drei Monate mit der Ausarbeitung eines Stückes beschäftigt war' (E. Wüst loc. cit. 1916-1918 clixiv. 135). But such a rule was obviously open to exceptions. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 'Über die Wesen des Aristophanes' in the Situationsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin 1914 p. 450 ff., rightly holding that the Kyon v. Labies trial of 409, 894 ff. traversed the Kleon v. Laches trial of the year 425 B.C., infers that the play was planned three years before its performance in 422 (E. Wüst loc. cit., 1916-1918 clixiv. 132, 155).
of more than one new political combination. The Argives in a sense held the balance between Athens and Sparta, a fact that the playwright fully appreciated. And at Argos there had been a deal of wobbling. The successive alliances of the Argives with the Athenians (420), with the Spartans (418), and with the Athenians again (417) must have been received at Athens with alternate outbursts of enthusiasm and disgust. What the Athenian ‘optimist,’ the Eusel-pides of the moment, really wanted was a staunch and loyal ally, a ‘trusty comrade,’ a Pisthêtairos.

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

2 Aristoph. A.R. 475 ff.
3 That this is the true form of the name appears from Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 1793 on an architrave of Pentelic marble in the church of St Theodoros near the village of Marousi ΠΙΕΤΟΛΗ: ΠΙΕΟΣΕΑΠΑΙΡΟ: ΑΘΟΜΟΝΕΥΣ (K. Meisterhans Grammatik der attischen Inschriften Berlin 1900 p. 54). E. Wüst loc. cit. 1923 cxlv. 151 deems this evidence ‘nicht zwingend.’ He is hard to please.
4 A. Todesco ‘KOKKTE’ in Philologus 1914—1916 lxixii. 363—367 (an article which Prof. A. D. Nock kindly brought to my notice) thinks that Nephekokkygia was a name invented by Aristophanes (Loukian. ver. hist. 29), in accordance with Greek usage, to denote a chaos of clouds (av. 178) and a babble of political intrigueurs (Ach. 598). ‘Ganz vernünftig wurde auch dieselbe neue Erklärung sein: Nephekokkygia sei die Idealstadt der schlauen Feiglinge, welche auf Kosten des Nachsten leben wollen. Wenn man besonders den Begriff der Schlanheit betont, so sind diese Lüste die Demagogen, und wir sehen im Hintergrund die anderen Leute, die Athener, welche Lüste und alle Fälscherien ernst nehmen.’
5 A similar allusion to Argive toponomy occurs in Aristoph. av. 399 ἄποθεσις ἐν όροισι, where again the name is selected partly because it suggests birds (ὄρνευ) and partly because the town was uppermost in the thoughts of the people owing to its capture by Athenians and Argives in 416 B.C. Miss R. E. White (Mrs N. Wedd) in the Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 100 f. finds the same point in av. 15 f. ὃ τὸν τοίον ἔφασεν κύνν κράνασε τὸν Τιρανόν τὸν ἐποφρο, ὃ τοῖς ἐπετρεπτε χαί καρυόν οὗ ὄρνευσιν καταβάλλει, and aptly defends the variation in the use of the article by citing Thuk. 6. 7 τοῦ ὁρῶν ... τοῦ ὁρῶν. Does the oracle in av. 607 f. ἂλλ’ ὅποι αἰκίαν λέγεις τοιοῦ τε κορώνοι | ἐν ταύτῃ τὸ μετανείπον και Καρυόνοι,—κ.τ.λ. refer to the alliance of Argos, whose symbol was the wolf, with Corinth (Κάρυόνοι—κορώνα)?
6 F. Creuzer Symbolik und Mythologie Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 248 n. 2 saw that Nephekokkygia stood in some relation to Mt Kokkygion or Thornax in Argolis (supra i. 135, ii. 893 n. 7), but thought that the topic might have been suggested to Aristophanes by the existence of another Mt Thornax near Sparta (supra ii. 893 n. 7).
7 Nilsson Min.-Myth. Rel. p. 481 contributes an acute surmise: ‘Zeus often appears as a lover in the guise of a bird. As a swan he begot the Dioscuri at Sparta, at Argos it was said that in the shape of a cuckoo he deceived Hera and won her love on the Mountain of
the Cuckoo. I venture to guess that these myths, which appear in old Mycenaean centres, are remains of the Minoan belief that the gods appeared in the shape of birds. It must not, however, be forgotten that in the Old Slavonic area there was, or is said to have been, a fairly close parallel to the cuckoo-Zeus of Mt Kokygyon. J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 679 cites from the Polish chronicle of Prokops the following remarkable account of a Slavic god Zywiew: Chronicon Slavo-Sarmaticum... Procossii ed. H. Kownacki Warszawa 1827 p. 113 'divinitati Zywiew fanum exstructum erat in monte ab ejusdem nomine Zywiew dicto, ubi primis diebus mensis Maji innumerus populus pie conveniens precalbatur ab ea, quae vitae actur habebatur, longam et prosperam valetudinem. Pracipue tamen ei litanabatur ab ipsis qui primum canum cuculi audivissent, omenmin speslitiiioe tot annos se victuos quoties vocem repetissent. Opinabatur enim supremum hunc universi moderatorem transfigurari in cuicum ut ipsis annuntiaret vitae temporae: unde criminis ducebatur, capitulique poena a magistratibus afficiebatur, qui cuicum occidisset.' This chronicle, which professed to be the work 'Procossii sec. X scriptoris,' was denounced by Dobrowski in the Wiener Jahrbücher d. Liter. xxxii. 77-80 as a pure fabrication and is described by A. Poethast Bibliotheca historiae mediæ aevi Berlin 1896 ii. 940 as 'Ein unzuverlässiges Machwerk des Przybyszew Dymantowski (sec. XVIII.).' But J. Grimm op. cit. ii. 679 n. 4 protested that Dobrowski had gone too far: the chronicle, though not so old as p. x, is at any rate founded on old traditions. Partial confirmation of the alleged statements of Prokops may be found in those of J. Długosz, a canon of Cracow who died in 1480 A.D. and has left what purports to be an account of the ancient Polish pantheon. According to the careful critique of A. Brückner in the Archiv für slavische Philologie 1893 xiv. 170 ff., Długosz did not invent the names of his divinities, but took them from old ritual folk-songs still current in the fifteenth century, dignifying inferior powers with the rank of gods and comparing them with the gods of Greece and Rome. Thus Jera = Jupiter, Lyada = Mars, Dziedzulys = Venus, Nya = Pluto, Pagoda = Temperies, Zywiew = deus vitae, Daewyna = Diana, Marzyana = Ceres (L. Niederle Manuel de l'antiquité slave Paris 1926 ii. 152). Other Polish chroniclers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries complete the list by adding from a similar source the names Lol and Polel, which M. de Miechow Chronica Polonorum a Lacho duque ad annum M. Dvni Cracoviae 1521 equated with Castor and Pollux (L. Niederle op. cit. ii. 153 n. 1). The relevant passages in Długosz are as follows: Io. Długossus historia Polonica Lipsis 1711 i (i. 34 A) 'Baba, mons altissimus supra fluvium Sola, herbas multaseras germanicas, & oppido Zywiew immunissim' (loc. Zywiew on the Sola, some 40 miles south-west of Cracow), ib. i (i. 35 b) 'Item Deus vita, quem vocabant Zywiew.' The fuller, but less authoritative, account of Prokops is quoted, with various comments, by W. Mannhardt in the Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde 1855 iii. 230, J. Hardy in The Folk-Lore Record 1879 ii. 85, C. Swinson The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds London 1886 p. 121, O. Keller Die antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1913 ii. 66. C. de Kay Bird Gods New York 1898 p. 116 speaks of 'a goddess Zywiew' etc.; he has misconstrued the Latin of Prokops. Other considerations, which deserve to be weighed before the testimony of the chroniclers is rejected, are these. The name Zywiew, which is akin to žiže, žirve (Boissacq Diction. etym. de la Langue Gr. p. 130, Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. p. 846 f., F. Muller Jan Altitalischs Wörterbuch Göttingen 1926 p. 211 f.), recalls the Thracian or Thraco-Phrygian Eriepaioi, whose name was interpreted as meaning 'god of the horse' (supra ii. 1024 f.). Again, the notion that the cuckoo is an ominous bird, which declares to men how many years they have to live etc., is widespread in Europe (see W. Mannhardt loc. cit. p. 231 ff., J. Grimm op. cit. ii. 676 ff., J. Hardy loc. cit. p. 86 ff., C. Swinson op. cit. p. 115 ff., L. Hopf Thierorabel and Orakeltier in alter und neuer Zeit Stuttgart 1888 p. 154 f., O. Keller op. cit. ii. 66). Typical are the folk-lines of Lower Saxony Kuruk vom häuten, wo lange soll ich leben? (J. F. Schuetze Holsteinisches Idiotikon, ein Beitrag zur Volksstütschgeschichte Hamburg 1801 ii. 363), or those of Guernsey Concour, cou-cou, dis not | Combien d'ans je vivrai (Sir E. MacCulloch Guernsey Folk Lore ed. Miss E. F. Carey London 1903 p. 505, P. Sébiliot Le Folk-lore de France Paris 1906 iii. 209), or those of
Zeus, seeing Hera all by herself, was minded to consort with her. To secure her by guile, he transformed himself into a cuckoo and perched on a mountain, which had previously been called Thronax, the 'Throne,' but was thenceforward known as Kokkyx, the 'Cuckoo.' He then caused a terrible storm to break over the district. Hera, faring alone, came to the mountain and sat on the spot where there is now a sanctuary of Hera Teleta. The cuckoo flew down and settled on her knees, cowering and shivering at the storm. Hera out of pity covered it with her mantle. Thereupon Zeus changed his shape and accomplished his desire, promising to make the goddess his wedded wife. Pausanias adds that Mount Kokkygion and Mount Pron over against it were topped by sanctuaries of Zeus and Hera respectively. Further, he brings the myth into connexion with the famous cult of Hera at Argos. The temple-statue was a chryselephantine masterpiece by Polykleitos. The goddess sat enthroned. On her head was a band decorated with figures of the Charites and the Horai. In one hand she held a pomegranate, about which a tale not rashly to be repeated was told; in the other she had a sceptre surmounted by a cuckoo, the subject of the foregoing myth. Strabo says of this statue that, though in point of costliness and size it fell short of the colossal works of Pheidias, yet for sheer beauty it surpassed all others. Maximus Tyrius in a few well-chosen epithets records the

the modern Greek κούκκο μου, κούκάκι μου, | εις ἄργυρωκουκάκι μου, | τὸν Χρύσους δέ ταῖς ἱεροῖς:
(J. Grimm op. cit. ii. 676 n. 3). Étienne de Bourbon, a thirteenth-century Dominican, states that the cuckoo-oracle was consulted on the first of May (A. Lecoy de la Marche Anecdotes historiques légendes et apories tirés du recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon Paris 1877 § 33 p. 50 f., § 356 p. 315). Prokoz therefore may, after all, be right in what he tells us of the May-day celebration on Mt Žywiec. His further assertions, that the ruler of the world was believed to take the form of a cuckoo and that the killing of a cuckoo was a capital offence, cannot be controlled, but are at least consistent with one another and not per se wholly incredible. Yet the cautious enquirer would do well to digest what Seemann in the Handwörterbuch der deutschen Altertumswissenschaft Berlin—Leipzig 1933 v. 749—751 has to say against e.g. W. Mannhardt's attempt to treat the cuckoo as an animal form of Donar or Frô and C. L. Rochholz' contention that St Gertrude with her cuckoo was 'eine Stellvertreterin Freyvas oder Idunas.'

7 Aristot. frag. 287 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 110 f. Müller) ep. schol. vet. Theokr. 13. 644=
Eudok. viol. 414 cited supra ii. 893 n. 2.
1 Paus. 2. 36. 2 quoted supra ii. 893 n. 2.
2 Paus. 2. 17. 4 τὸ δὲ ἀγάλμα τῆς Ἡρᾶς ἐν τῷ βρόνω κάθηται μεγάλα μέγα, χρυσὸς μὲν καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Πολύκλειτος δὲ ἑρών ἔστη εἰς τοὺς στέφανους Χάρις ὥς καὶ Ἡρᾶς ἐκείργαιον, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τῷ μὲν καρπῷ φέρει ροίλας, τῇ δὲ σκιέτρον. τὰ μὲν δὲ τῆς μοὐρᾶς —ἀπορριπὴν βίαν ἐκεῖ ὅ λόγος—ἀφιεῖτο μου: σιέτρον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ σκιέτρου καθίσας ἄνακτον τῶν Δία, ὃς ἦς παρθένος τῆς Ἡρᾶς, ἐν τῶν τῶν δρωμάδοις ἄλαγχος, τὴν δὲ ἄνεμον θηράσαν. Simp. ii. 893 n. 2.
3 Strab. 377.
4 Max. Tyr. 14. 6 τῆς Ἡρᾶς, ἀπὸ Πολύκλειτος Ἀργείους ὑδαίνò, λεονάκεων, ἐλεφαντό-

ηχεῖν, εὐφώνου, εὐφήμονα, βασιλικήν, ἰδρυμένην ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ βρόνου.

C. III.
effect produced by the ivory arms, the exquisite face, the gorgeous drapery, the queenly bearing, and the golden throne. Greek and Roman writers vied with each other in praising the sculptor's creation. To cite but a single epigram, Martian wrote:

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

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

1 Mart. op. 10. 80.

The title as attached to the Argive Hera appears to be of long standing: Phaenôi frag. 4 Kinkel op. Clem. Al. Strom. i. 24 p. 103, 43 f. Λογομοδὸς Βασιλεία, 'Ἡρη 'Ἀργεία (context cited supra i. 453 n. 8), Aisch. Suppl. 296 f. ΠΕΛ. τών ἀνθρωπον νεῖκαι τάδε: ΧΩ. βαζό τῷ γονός θόκος 'Ἀργεία θεῖα: k.t.l., Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 172, 5 ff. on a taurobolic altar of Pentelic marble, to be dated c. 361—363 A.D. οὗτοι Κεκρόπιος αὐχεί θέλω, αὗτος ἐν Ἀργείῃ | ναικεῖα, βίσον μυτεῖαν εἰ δίσω μιαν γάρ κλεισθῶ μεταν αὐτήν τοῦ 'Ἀργείου βασιλείας των αὐτῶν. 'Προς κλείσα φέρων, βαμβακεί θῆκες θύγ. | Καλεῖ Καλῆς Εφρείς Gr. no. 823, 5 ff., 9 f. = Cousnny Anth. Pal. Append. 789. 5 ff. 9 f. (reading 7 αὐτῶν γάρ κλεισθῶ με των βασιλείας των 'Ἀργείας μὲ κόρην Βασιλείας δύο ἄνδρα θυγ. k.t.l.). So in Latin Sen. Ac. 349 ff., Apul. met. 6. 4.

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

4 Possibly not so original as we might suppose. I incline to think that Kratinos had hit upon a very similar idea. He is known to have dubbed Perikles Zeis (supra i. 280, iii. 32 f. cp. ii. 816 n. 1) and Aspasia 'Hra, if not also Τόφαρος or Τόφαραλοφος (Meineke Frag. com. Gr. ii. 61 ff., 147 f. supra iii. 37 n. 3). When, therefore, we read in schol. Aristoph. an 1536 ἐπὶ θάλα φαντασμόν τῆς Βασιλείας, it is tempting to conclude that Kratinos spoke of Perikles and Aspasia as the Zeus and the Hera Basilis of Athens.
A likythos from Ruvo, now in the British Museum: the Judgment of Paris with the Argive Hera as prize-winner.

See page 671.
whole plot of the bird-comedy. The bird-Zeus was the mate of Hera.

_Basileia:_ Pisthetairos must follow suit. The sceptre, of which we
hear so much in the course of the play\(^1\), was perhaps directly sug-
gested by the cuckoo-sceptre of the Argive Hera\(^2\).

I end by anticipating an objection. Aristophanes (it may be
urged), lover of old-fashioned Athens as he was, would not have
appealed to an Athenian public by thus dwelling on a virtually
foreign cult. Still less (I shall be told) could he have assumed in his
work-a-day audience familiarity with or appreciation of a cult-
statue carved by an alien sculptor for a Peloponnesian town. The
objection may be met, or at least minimised, by the consideration
of a certain red-figured _lekythos_ from Ruvo, now in the British
Museum\(^3\), which—if I am not in error—makes it probable that this
very statue was known and admired by ordinary folk at Athens in
the days of Aristophanes. The vase-painting (pl. xi)\(^4\), which is
contemporary or nearly contemporary with our play, represents
a frequent subject—the judgment of Paris. To our surprise, however,
the central goddess is not Aphrodite but Hera, who sits on a throne
raised by a lotos-patterned base. As befits a 'Queen,' she wears
a high decorated _stephane_ and holds in her left hand a long sceptre
tipped by a cuckoo with spread wings. Her feet rest on a footstool,
and beside the further arm of her throne is an open-mouthed panther
sitting on its hind legs\(^5\). Advancing towards her comes Nike with

G. Loeschcke _Vermutungen zur griechischen Kunstgeschichte und zur Topographie
Athens_ Dorphati Livorno 1884 pp. 14—24, followed by O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa
 Real-Enc. iii. 44 f., would identify the _Basileia_ of Kratinos and Aristophanes with the
Meter of the Athenian market-place, protectress of the _Bouleuterion_.

\(^1\) Aristoph. _av._ 480, 635 f., 1534 f., 1600 f., 1626 f., 1631.

\(^2\) Cp. Aristoph. _av._ 508 ff. _πριχων δ' οἷσθα σφόδρα τὴν ἄρχην ὅστ', εἰ τι καὶ βασιλεῖον
ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν Ἐλλήνων Ἀγαμέμνων ἡ Μενδέας, | ἐπὶ τῶν αἰκίπτρων ἐκδύσα ὅριν
μετέχον δ' τι δωρόδοκοικιν with id. 504 _Ἀργόστοι δ' 'ad καὶ Φονίκες πάσης κόκκυς βασιλείος ἦ.

It is important to note that both Egypt (Epaphos, Memphis, Libye, Belos, Anchinoe,
Aigyptos, Danais, etc.) and Phoinike (Agenor, Kadmos, Phoinix, etc.) play a large part
in the mythology of the early kings of Argos.

\(^3\) _Brit. Mus. Cat._ Vases iv. 61 no. 1 109, Gerhard _Ant. Bildw._ p. 389 f. pl. 43, Welcker
_Altd. Denkm._ v. 410 no. 61 pl. B, 3; Overbeck _Gr. Kunstmyth._ Hera p. 140 ff. (b) _Atlas
pl. 10, 1 and 1a._

\(^4\) The vase, when I first saw it, had been very skilfully repainted so as to appear quite
complete. My friend Mr H. B. Walters kindly had it cleaned for me with ether (Sept. 29,
1910), and thus fixed the exact limits of the restoration. I was therefore enabled to publish in the
Ridgeway volume _supra_ p. 44 n. 1 for the first time an accurate drawing of the design
by that excellent draughtsman, the late Mr F. Anderson. The present plate is reproduced
from his coloured drawing to a larger scale.

\(^5\) The panther appears to be a variant of the lion, which on other vases representing
the judgment of Paris precedes (Welcker _Alt. Denkm._ v. 388 no. 22) or is carried by Hera
(id. ib. v. 398 f. no. 52 pl. B, 2; Furtwängler _ Vasensamml. Berlin_ ii. 716 ff. no. 2536,
5—2
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a palm-branch. In front of her sits Paris; behind stands Hermes; above are Athena and Aphrodite—all with their usual attributes. It seems clear that the vase-painter, wishing to give an individual turn to a common type, has made Paris award the prize of beauty, not—as tradition prescribed—to Aphrodite, nor even—as patriotism might suggest—to Athena, but to Hera, the Hera of Polykleitos. The rival goddesses are relegated to the far corners of the scene, and the chef-d'œuvre of the sculptor queens it in the centre. Doubtless the vase-painter showed his ingenuity by treating the pomegranate in Hera's hand as if it were the apple of discord that Paris had just presented to the fairest. In short, the vase as a whole forms an amusing parallel to the epigram by Martial already quoted.

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

Broad heaven in the aithēr and the clouds.

(d) The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth.

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

Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 141 ff. (m) Atlas pl. 10, 7, Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1615 fig. 6) and is usually explained as symbolising the sovereignty of Asia (Eur. *Tro.* 927 f., Isokr. *Hel.* 41, *alibi*). These adjuncts recall another statue of Hera at Argos: Tert. *de cor. mil.* 7 Junoni vitem Callimachus induxit (perhaps the seated Hera *Navaphoedwes* at Plataiai, made by Callimachos (Paus. 9. 2, 7)). ita et Argis signum eius palmine redimitum, subjicto pedibus eius corio leonino, insolantem ostentat novercam de exuviiis utrasque privigni (ss. Dionysos and Herakles).

1 Mr. H. B. Walters in the *Brt. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 61 says: 'Before Hera hovers Iris or Nikē, with wings spread,' etc. But, if Nike were hovering in the air, her feet would point downwards: see e.g. F. Studniczka *Die Siegesgöttin* Leipzig 1898 pl. 3, 19 ff.
3 Aristoph. *av.* 1351 *dωδεκ*; cp. *ib.* 1509.
4 *Ad. ib.* 1759 ff.
5 *Supra* l. 101 f. pl. ix. 1.
6 *Il.* 15. 192 (cited *supra* l. 25 n. 5, iii. 34).
of copying the fleecy clouds\(^1\). Such a usage goes some way towards explaining another drama of exceptional brilliance\(^2\), the *Clouds* of Aristophanes; for he, in common with all the writers of old Attic comedy, was largely indebted for his choruses to the mimetic dances of the past\(^3\). The *Clouds*, however, to whom the Aristophanic Sokrates would introduce his elderly pupil and initiate, Strepsiades, are not mere masses of vapour that the magician can coax into sending a shower, but rather August, and indeed divine, personifications of the same:

Old man sit you still, and attend to my will, and hearken in peace to my prayer,

O Master and King, holding earth in your swing, O measureless infinite Air;

And thou glowing Ether, and Clouds who enwreath your with thunder, and lightning, and storms,

Arise ye and shine, bright Ladies Divine, to your student in bodily forms\(^4\).

Sokrates speaks of them as ‘our deities\(^5\),’ and again as ‘heavenly Clouds, great goddesses\(^6\).’ Strepsiades, taking his cue, salutes them

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\(^1\) *Supra* p. 31 f.

\(^2\) When first exhibited at the Dionysia of 423 B.C. the *Nεφελαι* of Aristophanes gained only the third prize, being beaten by the *Ivory of Kratinos* and the *Kώνος of Ameipias*—a judgment hard to understand. We have the play in part rewritten, a second edition which was never staged (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1912 i. 422 f.), being either ‘composed to be read and not to be acted’ (B. B. Rogers in his ed. 1916 p. xii), or planned for performance some time after 421 B.C. (G. M. Bolling ‘The two recensions of The *Clouds*’ in *Class. Philol.* 1920 xvi. 83 ff., reported in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Juli 30, 1921 p. 736).

\(^3\) So at least I have argued in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 163 ff. Note that the choremata impersonating the Clouds are likened to spread fleeces (*nud. 343 εἴσαυν γυών ἑρώινες πεταματοιοι*). Why attention is drawn to their noses (*ib. 344 αὕτα δὲ μίας ἔχωσιν*), is not quite clear. The schol. ad loc. says εὐφημίζονται γὰρ οἱ τοῦ χοροῦ προσωπεία περικείμενοι μεγάλα ξύστα μίας καὶ ἄλλος γελοια καὶ ἀσχιώτων. The sequel (*nud. 346 ff.*) of course shows that the Greeks, like other children, formed fancy-pictures in the sky and took the clouds to be a Centaur, a leopard, a wolf, a bull—in fact, as Lowell puts it, ‘Insisted all the world should see | camels or whales where none there be!’ But that is hardly the import of μῖας. I should rather suppose that the Nephelai are entirely wrapped in fleeces except for their nostrils. Cp. the use of *nεφελα* in Greek (Hesych. s.v. φάνη) and *necula* in Latin (De Vit Lat. Lex. s.v. ‘necula’ § 9) for a thin, flowing garment, or of ‘cloud’ in English for a voluminous woollen scarf (J. A. H. Murray *A New English Dictionary* Oxford 1893 ii. 526 s.v. ‘Cloud’ § 8).


\(^5\) *Id. ib. 252 f.* *ΣΩ. καὶ εὔνωσθαι ταῖς Νεφέλαιν ἐς λόγους, | ταῖς ἡμετέραισί διάμορφοι.

\(^6\) *Id. ib. 315 f.* *ΣΤ. μῶν ἡμών τινὲς εἶναι; | ΣΩ. ἡκιστ., ἀλλὰ ὁμόρραι Νεφέλαι, μεγάλαι θεάι ἀνθράσιν ἀργοῖς.*
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as ‘Queens over all’³. Sokrates outdoes even this by declaring that the Clouds are ‘the only goddesses’, the rest being pure rubbish⁴. Zeus? There’s no such person⁵. But the Clouds themselves are more orthodoxo, and in their parábasis begin by invoking four gods with whom they are specially concerned—Zeus, Poseidon, Aither their father, and Helios⁶. It would seem that Aristophanes, who throughout the play is presenting the grossest caricature of Sokrates, has foisted upon him a worship of the Clouds more properly belonging to Orphic votaries. The comedian of course accounts that way for Sokrates’ nebulous notions and shifty morals⁷. But the Orphists, who from of old had been devotees of nature, were perfectly serious. Their hymns to Zeus Kerainios and to Zeus Astrápios are immediately followed by another to the Clouds, which is prefaced by the rubric that the proper burnt-offering to be made is myrrh, and continues:

Clouds of the air, that nurture the crops, and that roam in the sky, Parents of rain, driven wide over the world by the blasts of the wind, Brimful of thunder and fire, loud-roaring, of watery ways, Ye that make horror of sound in the echoing bosom of air, Rent by the winds or charging amain with a crash and a clap, You I beseech, that are clad in the dew, and that breathe in the breeze, Send us the showers to nurture the crops of our Mother the Earth⁸.

Adoration of the Clouds, though perhaps connectible with other

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1. Id. ἰδ. 356 f. ΣΤ. χαίρετε τοις, ὡ δέσποιναις καὶ τοῖς, ἐκεῖρ τοὺς κάλλης, οὐ δοξασμένη Ῥήγατε καίμοι φωνήν, ὡ παμπασίλιας.

2. Id. ἰδ. 362 ΣΠ. αὕτα γάρ τοι μόνοι εἰσί θείαι τάλα καὶ τά οὐκ᾽ ἐστὶ φῶς ἀκραῖος.

3. Id. ἰδ. 366 f. ΣΤ. ὁ Ζεύς δ᾽ ἡμεῖς, φέρε, πρός τήν Γῆν, οὐδέμιον ὁ θεός ἐστιν; ΣΠ. ποιεῖ Ζεύς; οὐ διὰ λυπηθεῖν ἐστιν θεός Ζεύς. Συμφαίο ii. 1. Σρ. εἰς, 380 f. ΣΤ. Δίος; τοιούτοι μὲ ἔλεγχες, οἱ Ζεύς οὐκ ἄνε, ἀλλ᾽ ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ Δίος τοὺς βασιλείους, 818 f. ΣΤ. Ἰδοῦ γ᾽ ἰδοῦ Δί᾽ ὁμόχωρος; τίς μοιραί; τῶν Διών νοµίζως, ἢτα τριστηκοῦν, 827 ΣΤ. ὡς ἐστιν, ὡ Φαυτίνας Ἡσιος. Κεινο. ΦΕΙ. ἀλλὰ τίς; ΣΤ. Δίος βασιλεύει, τῶν Δί᾽ ἐξεληλακόν. 1469 f. ΦΕΙ. ἰδοῦ γὰρ Δίᾳ Πατρῴου ἔτω ἄρχοντι εἰς τὸν τίς ἐστιν; ΣΤ. ἐστώ. ΦΕΙ. ὡς ἐστιν, οὐκ, ἐπει Δίος βασιλεύει, τῶν Δί᾽ ἐξεληλακόν.

4. Id. ἰδ. 363 f. ἐφιμέναισι μὲν θείοις Ζῆνα τόραντον ἐς χόρον πρῶτα μέγας καλλήρης τὸν τε μεγαθεῖν τραίνης ταχύνης, γῆς τε καὶ ἁλίμως βαλλόμενης ἀγνίοιρος μοχλευτής, καὶ μεγαλώμενος ἥματον πατρή ταχύνης αἰθέρα σεφιστῶν, βιοθέμμονα παντῶν τῶν οἳ ἐπιπονίων, δέτυρόλαμπρος ἀκτισίων κατέχει γῆς τέθος, μέγας ἐς θεοὶ ἐν θυσίαί τε βαλώμεθα. The antistrophe (355 f.) invokes Apollon of Mt Kynthos, Artemis of Ephesos, Athena of the Akropolis, and Dionysos of Mt Parnassos—another quartet of deities likely to be interested in Clouds.

5. Id. ἰδ. 316 f.

6. Orph. h. Νεψι. 21 Νέφων, θυμίαμα σμόραν. 1 f. ἱέρας (so E. Abel for ἱέρας) νεφελάς, καρποτρόφος, ὀδανόπλαστος, ὀμβρότοκος, πνεύμων (so G. Hermann for πνεύμων) διανύσματα κατὰ κόσμον, ἄρωτας, πυρόσημοι, ἐφίληκεοι, ὕποπλευροὶ (so Hermann for ὑποπλευροῖς), ἱέρας (so Hermann for ἱέρου) ἐν κάλυμ νάταν υφιώδες (so Hermann for υφιώδες) ἔξωσοι. πνεύμων ἀντίστασιν ἐνδυρμαθην παπαγίνοι, ῥώμα τὸν Λευκοῦ, ἄρωτας, καρποτρόφος ὀμβροῦ ἐπὶ μυτίρα γαίαν.
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points of Orphic doctrine and apt to recrudesce in popular practice, was naturally ridiculed as fatuous and futile. But that was a reproach which it shared with the highest conception of the Hebrews, Christianity itself has cherished, not only the recollection of 'a cloud that overshadowed them' and 'a cloud' that 'received him out of their sight,' but also the anticipation of 'another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud,' and the final vision of 'a white cloud, and upon the cloud one...like unto the Son of man.'


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

3 Hor. ars poet. 320 aut, dam vitat humum, nubes et inania capitet, Pers. sat. 5. 7 grande locuturi nebulas Helicone legunto.

4 Iuv. 14. 96 f. quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem | nil praefer nubes et caeli numerant adorant. J. Rendel Harris St. Paul and Greek Literature (Woodbrooke Essays, No. 2) Cambridge 1977 p. 17 f. would correct Col. 2. 23 in εὐδοξορροσεῖ καὶ γαταυφοσφονῦ καὶ ἀπείθει σώματος: 'if we restore εὐδοξορροσεῖ we shall have an expression capable of explanation from Aristophanes; the worship of angels is, like the new religion in the Greek comedy, a worship of the clouds.' Infra p. 433 κακ. 9. See further Ducange Gloss. med. et inf. Græc. i. 904 s.v. νεφοσφοῖν, who cites from Damask. v. Isid. ap. Phot. bibl. p. 340 b 13 ff. Bekker the queer tale of the cloud-seer Anthous, of Aligai in Kilkia, who saw a cloud like a Goth swallowed up by a cloud like a lion and divined that Asper leader of the Goths would be slain by Leon.

5 Mark 9. 7.

6 Acts 1. 9.


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For, after all, a cloud may symbolise mystery as well as mystification; and what began as a nimbus may end as a glory.¹

Nephele, the personified Cloud, figures in one or two Greek myths which deserve attention. Pherékydes of Athens (or Leros),² the earliest Attic prose-writer (floruit 454/3 B.C.), tells the tale of Kephalos and Prokris in the following form:³

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

Schwenn⁵ in a recent discussion of the myth very justly observes that Nephele here must be a flesh-and-blood personification, not a mere amorphous vapour. Ovid⁶ goes off on a wrong tack, when he


² W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1912 i. 454 f.


⁴ Schol. Od. 11. 321 has ἐν τῷ Θορέων (sc. φωλ). F. G. Sturz cj. ἐν τῷ Θορέων (sc. δῆλον). C. Müller, after P. K. Buttmann, would read ἐν τῷ Θορήχ (sc. δῆλον). U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, followed by F. Jacoby, prints ἐν τῷ Θορ < α. > ὸν.⁵ A significant period, one 'great year' (ὑπ' χρ. i. 540 n. 1. ii. 240 ff.).⁶ Cod. M. V, of schol. Od. 11. 321 reads ὃ νεφέλη, which is accepted by F. Jacoby. Eustath. in Od. p. 1688, 27 has ὃ νεφέλη, and so P. K. Buttmann in schol. Od. 11. 321.

C. Müller prints ὃ Νεφέλη.

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

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

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

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

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

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


\(^4\) Frazer *Golden Bough*\(^\text{3}\): *The Dying God* pp. 129—131.

\(^5\) Brit. *Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 294 no. E 477, Inghirami *Vas. sitt.* iii. 18 ff. pl. 205, J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* Series i London 1822 p. 35 ff. pl. 14, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. lxix f. fig. 14, A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1103 ff. 3, G. Weickert *Der Zeelenvogel* Leipzig 1903 p. 167 fig. 86, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler der reetfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 416 no. 7 (attributed to the painter of the Naples Hephaistos-*krater* (Heydemann *Vasensamml.* Neapel p. 285 f. no. 2412). My pl. xii is from a photograph by the Official Photographer. In the centre Prokris collapses on the mountain-side. She wears a short *chiton*, and attempts to pluck the unerring javelin from her bare breast. As her eyes close in death, a sould-bird escapes from her into the air. From the right advances her father Erechtheus, wearing *himation* and wreath, one hand holding a long sceptre, the other outstretched in dismay. On the left stands Kephalos with *chlamys* and *pítosos*. He raises his left hand to his forehead with a gesture of despair, and rests his right on a club, while he holds his hound *Lailaps* by a leash. No other representation of the scene is known.

\(^6\) *Supra* i. 414 ff.
much admixture and amplification. A. H. Krappe has analysed it, in my opinion successfully, and has shown that it combines, not only the old Greek belief in the king's responsibility for the crops and the old Greek custom of sacrificing him or his son in time of famine, but also a whole bunch of folk-tale motifs—the jealousy of the heavenly wife ("Melusine"), the wicked step-mother ("Brüderchen und Schwesterchen"), and the helpful animal ("Einäuglein, Zweiäuglein und Dreiauglein").

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

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

2 Supra p. 73 n. 3.


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


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Hera herself, according to some¹, fashioned a cloud-figure, by whom IXION became the father of Kentauros².

An instructive case is that of the hero³ Iasion, who lay with

¹ Clytia, who was also thought to be the daughter of Poseidon and the wife of the hero Polydeuces.
² Iasion was the son of Apollo and the grandson of Jupiter, and was the father of the river god Hebrus.
³ Iasion is a hero in Greek mythology, known for his role in the death of Apollo's son. He is sometimes depicted as a cloud-figure.
Demeter on a thrice-ploughed field in Crete, became by her the father of the infant Ploutos, and was thunder-struck by Zeus (fig. 22)\(^1\) for his presumption\(^2\). This ancient myth, though it had the sanction

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\(^1\) G. Kieseritzky 'Iasios' in the *Strena Helbigiana* Lipsiae 1900 pp. 160—163 with fig. (= my fig. 22) published a fragmentary red-figured krater of late style, from Chersonesos Taurike, now in the Hermitage at Petrograd, which appears to represent the scene. A young man (\(\Lambda \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \) in oriental garb flings up both arms with a gesture of despair and looks back in terror towards the left, where just beyond a neighbouring hill Nike is seen driving the chariot of Zeus (?). On the right sits a bearded god holding a long staff (trident? sceptre?). Beside him was a goddess, whose arm with its arm-band is visible leaning on his left shoulder. They are probably Poseidon and Amphitrite. Beneath the necks of the horses appears the corner of some squared structure. Above it the letters ...\(\varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \) suggest comparison with the \(\chi \rho \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \) and \(\Gamma \lambda \omega \tau \omega \varepsilon \), who flank the chariot of N\(\Sigma \varepsilon \) on a gilded \(\varepsilon \nu \iota \alpha \chi \omicron \theta \) from Athens, now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml.* Berlin ii. 761 f. no. 2661, Lenormant—de Witte *El. mon. écr.* i. 307 ff. pl. 97, O. Jahn *Ueber bemalte Vasen mit Goldschmuck* Leipzig 1885 p. 13 no. 23, T. Eisele in Koscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2582, J. Toutain in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 518).

On the variants \(\tau \alpha \sigma \omega \omega\), \(\tau \alpha \sigma \omega\), \(\tau \alpha \sigma \omega\), \(\tau \alpha \sigma\), see W. Gundel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 752 f. '\(\tau \alpha \sigma \omega \omega\) is not elsewhere attested; but cp. \(\tau \alpha \sigma \omega \sigma\) for \(\tau \alpha \sigma\), the Carian town (L. Büchner *ib.* ix. 783 f.). The suffix \(\alpha \sigma \omega\) or \(\alpha \sigma\sigma\) seems to be characteristic of prehistoric Greece (P. Kretschmer Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache Göttingen 1896 p. 401, G. Glotz *La civilisation égéenne* Paris 1923 p. 449, A. Debrunner in Ebert *Reallex.* iv. 2. 520 ff., J. B. Haley in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 144 (full list and map), M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenaen* London 1933 p. 64 ff. (list and map)).

\(^2\) By far the fullest and best account of the myth is that given by W. Gundel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 752—758.
of both Homer¹ and Hesiod³, and was almost certainly based on actual agrarian usage⁴, nevertheless could not escape the charge of derogating from the dignity of the goddess and was therefore modified by the later Greeks in one of two directions. Either, as the logographer Hellanikos⁴, the historian Idomeneus⁵, and the geographer who passes under the name of Skymnos⁶ agree, the hero had outraged a statue (àgalma) of Demeter; or, as the rhetorical mythographer Konon⁷ preferred to put it, the hero had consorted with a mere phantom (pháisma) of the goddess.

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

"The tale’s untrue!
Thou didst not go on board the well-planked ships,
Nor ever camest to the towers of Troy."⁸

¹ Od. 5. 125 ff. δὲ δ’ ὅτι Ἰασών· ἐπιλάκαμος Δήμητρα, ἡ θνημίω εἰκοσα, μίγη φώτησι καὶ κύρια, ἐνε ἐνε τραπέζα· οὐδὲ δὴ ἢ ἤτοιντο Ζεύς, οὐ χρισάτος βαλὼν ἀργυρίῳ κεραυνοῖ.  
² Her. theor. 969 ff. Δημήτριος μὲν Πλούτον ἑγέρνατο δίῳ θεᾶν, ἢ Ἰασών ἠρῶν μεγίστῳ τραπέζῃ φώτησι, ὡς ἐνετε τραπέζῃ, Κρῆτης ἐν πίνοι δήμῳ, κ.τ.λ.  
³ Franz Golden Bough: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 208 f. compares 'the West Prussian custom of the mock birth of a child on the harvest-field [ib. p. 159 f.]. In this Prussian custom the pretended mother represents the Corn-mother (Zyminama); the pretended child represents the Corn-baby, and the whole ceremony is a charm to ensure a crop next year.' See also Nilsson Min. Myc. Rel. p. 346.  
⁶ Skymnos. Chi. per. 68 f. (Geogr. Gr. min. i. 223 Müller) πρῶτος τοιούτος γὰρ εἷναι φανὸν ἐν ταύτῃ (ἐκ τῆς Σαμοθρακείας) τινές τοις Τρικάλιοι, Ἐλεκτρᾶς χειλότροπας Δάρδανος τῆς Δημήτριας Αἴαντο τῆς Ιασώνας τε, ὥστε τὸν μὲν Ιασώνα δουλεύημα τι πράξει περί Δήμητρος λέγοντα ἀγαλμα καὶ πληγῇ κεραυνωθέντα δαμωθέν θανεῖν, τὸν Δάρδανος δὲ κ.τ.λ. F. Gisinger in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii L. 674 f. dates this pseudopigraphic poem c. 100 B.C.  
⁷ Konon narr. 21, writing between 36 B.C. and 14 B.C. (E. Martini in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 1335), says: Δάρδανος καὶ Ιασών παῖδες ἅγαν Δίως ἐς Ἐλεκτρᾶς.
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Stesichoros now asserted that Greeks and Trojans fought one another for the sake of a mere wraith (eidolon), in ignorance of the genuine Helena. What, in his reconstruction, the genuine Helene was doing all the time, we do not know: perhaps she never left Sparta. Herodotos gives a different turn to the story. According to him, Helene was stolen from Menelaos at Sparta by Alexandroes, driven by a storm out of the Aegean to Egypt, and there taken from her paramour by Proteus and kept at Memphis for the coming of her lawful husband. Euripides in his Helene combines the two versions. Like Stesichoros, he preserves the innocence of Helene by making the truant a wraith (eidolon), fashioned of ouranos or cloud or aither and substituted by Hera for the faithful wife. Like Herodotos, he sends the real Helene to Egypt, whither she is conducted by Hermes.
at the command of Zeus\(^1\). Menelaos, escorting the phantom home from Troy, arrives in Egypt and is there confronted with the true Helene. He is desperately puzzled. But, just as he begins to think himself either a bedlamite or a bigamist, the misty Helene evaporates\(^2\)—a sufficiently whimsical situation.

If Euripides' Hera outwitted Paris by making a phantom Helene of aither, Euripides' Zeus outwitted Hera by means of a similar trick—witness a curious passage of the Bacchae\(^3\) in which Teiresias attempts to explain the story of Dionysos being sewn up in the thigh of Zeus as due to a verbal confusion of hómeros, ‘hostage,’ with merós, ‘thigh’:

And dost deride the tale that he was sewn
I’ the thigh of Zeus? I’ll tell it all aright.
When Zeus had caught him from the lightning-fire
And borne him, babe divine, to Olympos’ height,
Hera was fain to cast him forth from heaven.
But Zeus, a very god, met plot with plot:
Breaking a portion of the aither off,
Which rings the earth, he made that same a hostage
Against the strife of Hera and sent out
Dionysos elsewhere\(^4\). Thus in course of time
Man said that he was sewn i’ the thigh of Zeus—
Changing the word, since once he served as hostage
To Hera, god to goddess,—such their tale.

\(^1\) Eur. Hel. 44 ff. λαβὼν δὲ μ’ ἑρμήν εἰς πτυχαίναι αἴθροι | νεφέλη καλύφας, οὗ γὰρ ἠμέλησεν μοι | Ζεύς, τάνει ἐκ ἅλκων Προμέθεως ἰδρύσατο, | κτλ.

\(^2\) Eur. Hel. 557 ff. The wrath’s disappearance is reported ἐν δ. 505 ff. ΑΠ. βίβλιον ἄλοχοι
σ’ ἰ’ πρός αἴθροις πτύχαι | ἀρδεῖν’ ἄφαντος: ὀφθαλμὸς δὲ κρύπτεται, | κτλ., 612 ff. (the wrath speaking) ἐνά ἐκείνης χρόνος ἤνεο’ ὄνων μ’ ἤρμην, | το μόρφωμα σώσασα, καλύν (so Α. Nauck

\(^3\) Eur. Bacch. 355 ff. καὶ καταγελός ἔνω, ὡς ἐκροάφη Δάε | μηρῷ: διδάξω σ’ ὡς καλλίως
ἔχει τοῦτο. | ἔτει νῦ ἢρπατ’ ἐκ πυρὸς κεραυνῶν | λείπει, εἰς δ’ Ὀλυμπίων βρύφοις ἀνήργους θεοὺς, | Ἡρᾶ νῦ ὢστ’ ἐκβαλλέιν ὄπ’ ὀφθαλμού | Ζεύς δ’ ἀντεικνύσασθα οὖν ἐς ὑμᾶς | ἑθέσι μέρος τ’ ἤθεοὶ | ἐκκελυκομένου | αἴθροις, ἠθέτηκε τινάκε διομένου, ἐκένωσα | Δίονυσοι, Ὕπο ζέκαν εἰς πυρὸς ἰδρύσασθα (so Ρ. P. Fawkes, followed by F. A. Paley, for τριφθήναι codd.) | φασιν ἐν μηρῷ Δάε, δὲν ἀνάμει σεβαστήτερον, ὢν ἔθεος | Ἡρᾶ τοῦ ὠμόρους, σφαδάκτης λέγων with the notes of Sir J. E. Sandys ad loc.

\(^4\) Cp. supra i. 707 n. 2 fig. 524 a vase now attributed to ‘the Syleus Painter’ (c. 480 B.C.) (Hoppin Redfig. Vasae ii. 438 no. 9, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rothfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 162 no. 43).
The real explanation of the story is of course very different from the sophisms of Teiresias. The pretended birth from the thigh of Zeus, which from the sixth, if not the seventh, century onwards is attested by vases, frescoes, reliefs, and other works of art,
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Fig. 24.

Fig. 25.
Alkimachos painter’ of the late archaic period (Hoppin Red-fg. Vases i. 18 no. 2, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmalerei des rothfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 298 no. 25).

(4) A south-Italian vase, now lost, but seen by A. L. Millin at Naples in private possession (‘Vaso che si trova in casa del S. d. Genn. Patierno, restauratore, alla salita de’ Reggi Studj, n. 63: altezza, palmi 2½; diametro, 1 palmo, 3½ once’) and drawn for him (drawing extant in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale), is described by R. Rochette Choix de peintures de Pompéi Paris 1848—1856 p. 81 with n. 4, recorded by L. Stephani in the Compt-rendu St. Pet. 1861 p. 13, and published by F. Lenormant in the Gaz. Arch. 1880 vii. 72—74 with two figs. (of which the first = my fig. 25). In the upper register is Zeus, seated on a throne with a footstool. He wears a himation (scaled aigis?) and a bay-wreath, and holds a thunderbolt in his right hand, an eagle-tipped seepire in his left. From his right thigh emerges a diminutive Dionysos. The boy stretches out his arms to Eileithyia, who bends towards him, holding in readiness a cloth or garment. Behind Zeus stand a Bacchant (thyrsos) and a Maenad (panther-skin, torch (?))—hardly Apollo and Artemis. In the lower register, on rocky ground, is Athena (Gorgoicon, helmet (?), shield, spear) conversing with two Maenads (thyrsos, torch)—hardly Demeter and Hekate. Athena was perhaps made out of a third Maenad (imbril (?), thyrsos). The reverse of the same vase depicts the madness of Lykourgos, who brandishes a club (?) in the midst of four Satyrs. Both designs have been copied ‘par une main singulièrement maladroite et inexpériencée’.

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

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

3 Plin. nat. hist. 35. 140 Ctesihochus, Apellis discipulus (but cp. Soud. s.v. Ατροποι...Αημονικά...Ιασί...Κταγότον, καλά αυτό ων γουφαρομμα). petulantia pictura innotuit, Iove Liberum parturiente depicto mitrato et muliebrister ingemescende inter obstetricia dearum. H. Heydemann Dionysos’ Geburt und Kindheit (Winckelmannsfest-Fregg. Halle 1884) p. 5 f. regards this curious effort as ‘ein humoristisches oder vielmehr parodisches Bild’ and would date it c. 300 B.C. See also Miss E. Sellers (Mrs A. Strong) on Plin. loc. cit.

The precise part played by Zeus in Philostratos’ picture of Semele (supra lii. 28, 828) is not clear (Philostr. mai. imagg. ii. 14. 2 f. πυρός νεφελή χιονερότατα Θάνατος εἰς τὴν τοῦ Κάρμα πτέρνης ἤρθηνται κυμάδαστας ὕπαρκτας τὴν Σεμέλην τοῦ Δίας, καὶ ἀπόλλυτα μὲν, ὡς δοκοῦμεν, ἡ Σεμέλη, τίτηται δὲ Δίονυσος οὐμαί (O. Benndorf cf. οὐμαί, < καὶ >) ἦν Δία πρὸς τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς Σεμέλης εἰς θόρυβον διαφώτιστα οἰσπνημές ὡς ὀφραντών, καὶ αἱ Μοῦσαι οὖν τὴν ἔκει ἤθος, ὡς ὀφραντών, καὶ αἱ Μοῦσαι αὐτὴν ἔκει ἤθος δὲ Δίονυσος τῆς μὲν μητρὸς ἐξερευνεῖς μακείον τὴν γαστήρα, τὸ δὲ πῦρ ἀχλουωδές ἔργαζεται φανάριον (C. L. Kayser cf. φανάριον) αὐτὸς οὖν αὐτὴ τὰ ἀστράττων (so sodd. F. P. ἀστράττων vulg.). διασεισάεται δὲ ἡ φιλός ἄντρω τῷ Δίονυσῳ σκαραβαεῖ παροικεῖν σῶμα ἄσφυρον τε καὶ Διώνοις κτλ.). A. Bougot Philostrate l’Anconein Paris 1881 p. 265 f. cites for comparison and contrast a fresco said to have been found in Rome and formerly owned by Prince Gagarin (Memorie Romane di Antichità e di Belle Arti ed. L. Cardinali Roma 1824—1827 iii pl. 13): Zeus, with gray beard and hair, sits eunuched on a cloud. His head is surrounded by a halo of rays; his legs are wrapped in an ample wind-swept himation of flame-coloured fabric. His eagle is perched beside him. With his right hand he grasps a thunderbolt, with his left he reaches towards the undersized babe (‘als Embryo gekrönt,’ says Gerhard) of Semele, who half-clad in a yellow robe lies dead on the couch before him. This painting, accepted without hesitation by E. Gerhard (Hyper-
(1) Krater from Ceglie, now at Taranto.
(2) Detail of same vase: the birth of Dionysos.
(3) Vase-fragment at Bonn: the birth of Dionysos.

See page 81, n. 6 (31).
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boreisch-römische Studien für Archäologen Berlin 1833 i. 105—107, written from Rome on Oct. 8, 1825 after careful inspection of the original) and by F. Lenormant (in Daremberg-Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 601 fig. 677 (= my fig. 26), on the strength of Gerhard's testimony), was doubted by F. Wieseler (in C. O. Müller Denkmäler der alten Kunst Göttingen 1835—1836 ii. 2. 13 pl. 34. 391) and L. Stephani (Nimbus und Strahlenkranz St Petersburg 1859 p. 14 no. 3 (extr. from the Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg. vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 361 ff.), id. in the Compte-rendu St. Pet. 1861 p. 13), and decisively rejected by J. Overbeck (Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 418 with n.* 'Man beachte nur den einen Umstand, dass Zeus' Haar und Bart graun gemalt sind und vergl. Anmerkung 71 zu S. 68.' Yet see infra § 9 (h) ii (a) The superannuation of Zeus and H. Heydemann (loc. cit. p. 4).

Long. past. 4. 3 ἐχεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐνδοθέν ὁ νέων Διονύσιακας γραφάς, Σεμέλην τίκτωναν, κ.τ.λ. may or may not be purely imaginary, and in any case says nothing of Zeus.

4 (i) A marble frieze, found in front of the Porta Porthe at Rome and now preserved in the Vatican (W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Leipzig 1912 i. 168 f. no. 259), has the following scene (Visconti Mus. Pie-Clem. iv. 165 ff. pl. 19 (= my fig. 27), A. L. Millin Galerie Mythologique Paris 1811 i. 51 no. 223 (wrongly described) pl. 53, H. Brunn in the Bull. d. Inst. 1858 p. 128, Welecker Gr. Göttler. ii. 580 n. 20, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus pp. 171 no. X. 178, H. Heydemann Dionysos Geburt und Kindheit (Winkelmanns Fest-Progr. Halle 1885) p. 15 f., Baumeister Denkm. iii. 1389 vignet, F. Hauser Die neu-attischen Reliefs Stuttgart 1899 p. 72 no. 101, id. in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1903 vi. 103 no. 22, Reimach Rép. Reliefs iii. 362 no. 2). Zeus, with bent head, is seated on a rock. He leans heavily, not so painfully, on his right hand and grasps a long sceptre with his left. His hindexion is so arranged as to leave bare the further leg, from the upper part of which emerges the infant Dionysos and leaps with outstretched arms towards Hermes. That god (ποτασία, ἐκλαμψία, boots, but not καδακεις) advances with a panther-skin in which to wrap the babe. Behind him are three stately female figures bearing long sceptres and variously interpreted as Eileithyia, Kore, and Demeter (E. Q. Visconti, A. L. Millin, and S. Reinhach loc. cit.), as the Charites (H. Brunn loc. cit.), as Nymphs (H. Heydemann loc. cit.), or as the Fates (F. Hauser loc. cit.). The identification of the third figure with Demeter is borne out by the bunch of corn-ears held firmly in her right hand. Heydemann's conjecture that all three are the Nymphs of Nysa ready to receive their nursling might claim the support of Nonn. Dion. 9. 16 ff. καὶ μνίν τὸν Δράκανον (E. Maass in Hermes 1891 xxvi. 189 n. 2 equates Δράκανον here with τὸ Δρακάνον in the south of Kos (Strab. 657 cp. Agatham. geogr. 18 (Geogr. Gr. min. ii. 479 Müller), L. Büchener in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1646, xi. 1471), and loc. cit. p. 178 ff. explains in like manner h. Dion. 1 Δρακάνος, Theokr. 26. 33 ἐν Δρακάνῳ νυφεῖται. Others have supposed that Nonnos was alluding to Δράκανον a town and promontory (now Cape Planar) at the north-east end of the island Ikaros (Nikosia) (R. Köhler Über die Dionysiake des Nonnus von Panopolis Halle 1853 p. 17 f., Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 677 n. 5), or to Δρακάνων (Trapani) the promontory in the north-west of Sicily (B. Graef De Buchi explicatione Indica monumentis expressa Berolini 1886 p. 10 f. n. 15) λεχοίων ἀμφὶ κολλών, πίθεοι κολλουθεῖν λαβὼν Μαιανοῖς ἑρμῆν | ἑρόθεν πετάνητον | λοχεύσαντος δὲ Διαλῦσει παράγηκεν ἐκ ὕερμην τοκετὸν | κυκλίσκος Δίωναν, ἐπὶ ποῖς φόρον ἄδειραμ | ὥστε χυλαίων Κρονίδης βεβαθήναι μηρὸς, | νῦσσο πίνει γλάσσῃ Συρακοσιδίῳ χωλικὶ ἀκοῦει ( νῦσσο, 'hobbled' (?) might be akin to Sciar, etc. cp. Walde Lat. etym. Worterb. 3 p. 530 f. s.v. 'nurus'). | καὶ θεῶν ἀριθμόν γενόμενος έμμελος Βιαράγισθαι, | ῥητὶ μὲν ἐνδοθέν πατρὶ ἐραγάθῳ μηρὶ (lines 17, 19—24 are quoted in et. mag. p. 280, 13 ff.), | καὶ μὲν ἀχυπόσχων διαλέγοντα λεχοῖν | πρὶν καὶ δύσχρον νεκρίσασθαι σύγγενος ἑρμῆν, | καὶ βρέφος εὐκεράφῳ φύσιν ιδάλαμα Σκληρήν (se- horned like the Moon) | ἄθανα θυγατέρων ἅμα ποταμίων Νύμφων (= the Hyades: see H. W. Stoll and W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1822, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1435 n. 1), | παῖδα Διὸς κωμές στραφελωκόμοις αἰ δὲ λαβάθα | Βάρχων ἐπηγύνατο, καὶ εἰς στόμα παῖδος ἕκασθη | ἀδελφῶν ἁγαλαίσοντας ἄνθρωπον ἵμαδα μαζών. But the corn-ears are ill-suited to Nymphs. Besides, Hauser rightly insists on the points of similarity between this relief and that of the Madrid puteal (infra § 9 (h) ii (η)). Dionysos springs
Fig. 27.
from the seated Zeus much as Nike does on the puteal; and here, as there, the three females grouped on the right must be the Fates. If so, the corn-cars are a later modification of the lots held by Lachesis (pace Helbig loc. cit.: 'Indes hat eine erneute Untersuchung ergeben, dass an den Ahren von Uberarbeitung keine Spur zu finden ist'). What purpose was served originally by this frieze (Visconti loc. cit.: 'Haut. trois palmes, un tiers; longueur dix palmes moins deux onces'), and whether it was continued by means of other figures to the right, we cannot say.

(1) A child's sarcophagus of late Roman date (White marble. Height 0'29m.; length 0'69m.), in the collection formed by Field-marshal Count Lavall Nugent, was found at Minturnae (5), was exhibited at the Palazzo Pisani in Venice, and is now preserved in Tersatto Castle near Fiume. Its front represents the birth of Dionysos in a series of three scenes separated by herms (E. Wolff in the Bull. d. Inst. 1831 p. 67, C. Lenormant in the Ann. d. Inst. 1833 v. 210—218, Mon. d. Inst. i pl. 45, (= my fig. 28), F. Wieseler in C. O. Müller Denkmäler der alten Kunst Göttingen 1835—1856 ii. 1856 ii. 2. 15f. pl. 34, 392, Welcker Gr. Götterl. ii. 860 n. 20, F. Lenormant in Darenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 602 fig. 679, O. Benndorf in Wirs. Verleghl. A. pl. 12, 8, R. Schneider in the Arch. op. Mitt. 1881 v. 167—169 no. 36, H. Heydemann Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit (Winckelmanns Fest-Progr. Halle 1884) pp. 8 f., 16 f., P. V. C. Baur Eileithya (The University of Missouri Studies i. 4) University of Missouri 1903 p. 86). To the right Semele lies

exhausted on a couch, her left hand propping her head, her right drooping as if she held flowers (Schneider, Heydemann). Beneath the couch a jug and bowl are in readiness for the bath of the expected infant. Zeus appears above a wall in the background, lays his left arm on Semele's neck (Schneider, Heydemann), and brandishes a thunderbolt in his right hand. To the left Zeus sits erect on a chair with a footstool, upon which is set a large urn. His right hand presses hard on the chair; his left grasps a long sceptre. A winged goddess, presumably Nike playing the part of Eileithya (E. Gerhard in the Bull. d. Inst. 1831 p. 67 n. 1, followed by Wieseler, Schneider, Heydemann, Baur, was content to describe her as a winged Eileithya), touches with her outstretched left hand the right leg of Zeus, which is bandaged (Schneider, Heydemann), not bare: the god has been already delivered. In the centre Hermes, looking round towards Zeus, carries off the newborn babe to the Nymphs, one of whom is seen reclining behind him (so E. Wolff loc. cit.). C. Lenormant, Wieseler, and Schneider would recognise Gaia).

Similar in type, but with sides reversed, is a fragmentary relief (Luna marble. Height 1'20m.; length 0'54m.) found on the Esquiline in 1874 and now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (C. L. Visconti 'Frammento di rilievo rappresentante la nascita di Baco' in the Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma 1874 ii. 89—96 pl. 1, 3 (= my fig. 29), H. Heydemann op. cit. p. 17, G. Lafaye in Darenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 982 fig. 2884, P. V. C. Baur op. cit. p. 86, Stuart Jones Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome p. 85 Galleria no. 16 pl. 31). Zeus is seated to the left. His left leg, covered by a
himation, uses a globe as a footstool (cp. supra i. 47 ff.). His right leg is bare and is being bandaged by the same winged goddess (wings broken away), on whose shoulder he rests his hand. This relief too perhaps formed part of a sarcophagus. C. L. Visconti loc. cit. p. 94 describes the work as mediocre and dates it about the end of the 2d a.d.

A less considerable fragment of the same design, which has been worked into a patchwork sarcophagus now in the Loggia Scoperta of the Vatican, shows the veiled head and powerful body of Zeus sitting on a rock to the right and leaning hard on his right hand (Visconti Mus. Pic-Cléry iv. 269 ff. pl. 37 ('le feu die Isménus'), A. L. Millin Galerie Mythologique Paris 1811 i. 305 ff. no. 429 pl. 109 ('le feu Aixéménus'), J. G. Zoëga in the Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Auslegung der alten Kunst Herausg. von F. G. Welcker 1818 i. 401 ff. (first critical account: 'Okeanos'), F. Mats in the Bull. d. Inst. 1870 p. 70 ff. (first identification as 'Giove nell' atto di sgravarsi da Bacco bambino'), H. Heydemann op. cit. pp. 10 n. 28, 13, 17).


This second series of reliefs is perhaps derived, though not without modification, from the painting by Ktesilochos (supra p. 82 n. 3). The rebirth of the infant was a subject admirably suited to a child's sarcophagus and, doubtless, often repeated (cp. supra ii. 309, 417).

* An Etruscan mirror, of unknown provenance, at Naples (A. Sogliano in the Guida del Mus. Napoli p. 328 no. 1325), long cited under the misleading name of the 'Palata Borgia,' represents the actual birth-scene in early fourth-century style (A. (H. L.) Heeren Espositio fragmenti tabulæ marmorae... Musei Borgiaei Velitris Romae 1786 p. 9 n. (c), L. Lanzo Saggio di lingua Etrusca e di altre antiche d' Italia per servire alla storia dei popoli, delle lingue, e delle belle arti Roma 1789 ii. 195—198, Visconti Mus. Pic-Cléry iv. 362 ff. pl. E i, i and 2, A. L. Millin Galerie Mythologique Paris 1811 i. 506 ff. no. 222 pl. 71, F. Inghirami Monumenti etruschi o di etrusco nome Polignaha Fiesolana 1824 ii. 277—297 pl. 16 (good), id. Storia della Toscana Polignaha Fiesolana 1844 ii. 519, 522, 534, 539 pl. 39, 1, B. Quaranta in the Real Museo Barbonico Napoli 1839 xii pl. 57 with text pp. 1—5, Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iii. 84—87 pl. 82 (=my fig. 30), id. Über die
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Gotttheiten der Etrusker Berlin 1847 pp. 40 n. (96), 58 n. * (= Abh. d. berl. Abad. 1845 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 556 n. (96), 574 n. *) F. Wieseler in C. O. Müller Denkmäler der alten Kunst Göttingen 1835—1836 ii. t. 14 f. pl. 34, 394, A. Fabretti Corpus inscriptionum Italicarum Aug. Taurinorum 1867 p. ccxiv no. 2470, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 187 f. no. (c) Atlas pl. 1, 37, H. Heydemann Dionysos Geburt und Kindheit (Winkelmanns fest-Preger. Halle 1885) p. 14 f., C. Pauli in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 460 f.). In the centre sits Zeus (Thalos) wearing a wreath of lilies (supra i. 673 f., 736 n. 0, ii. 740) and a himation, which leaves his right leg bare. He leans with his right hand on a long sceptre surmounted by an eagle (Gerhard wrongly took this to be a Dodecanese dove) and holds a winged thunderbolt in his left. From his right thigh emerges Dionysos as a nude baldachine infant with a string of bullae across his chest. The child carries in his left hand a nardex with unembellished head (so Heydemann. Gerhard made it a ferule and grape-bunch; Visconti, followed by Wieseler, a small podium) and raises his right hand to greet the birth-goddess (Thalos) who, arrayed in Ionic chiton and himation with steppheus, ear-ring, and necklace, stoops forward to receive him. Behind Zeus is a winged goddess (M[2]nu, on whom see W. Deecke in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2481) wearing an Ionic chiton with girdle and cross-bands; she too has steppheus, ear-ring, and necklace. She uplifts a dipper in one hand and grasps an alabastron with the other (not a pen and ink-bottle, as though about to inscribe the child's destiny). To the left of the group stands Apollo (Apo1), his long hair rolled round a fillet, a chlamys over his shoulders, a bay-branch in his left hand, and a doe behind him. To the right, room is found beneath the wings of Meun for the infant's cradle or, more probably, swaddling-clothes (so Heydemann. Inghirami had spoken of a vanus, Gerhard of a mystic cista). The whole composition, probably derived from some Greek vase-painting, is enclosed between two purely decorative figures—above, a wild bearded head with streams or streamers flowing from the mouth (Gerhard thought of Phobos, or of the Dodecanese Zeus! Visconti saw a lion's head and a snake!); below, a winged goddess swathed in a himation. Over her runs an inscription, which has lately been read by C. Pauli loc. cit. as

\[\text{EANW[I]42:}\text{ANW[8]V88} \text{ Fuusus Semegal, 'Dionysos son of Semele.' The reverse of the handle shows a pair of scantily draped dancers, male and female.}\\
C. Lenormant in the Ann. d. Inst. 1833 v. 215 ff. and J. de Witte in the Nouv. Ann. 1836—1837 i. 369—371 pl. A 1837, 1—2 published two bullae of thin gold foil (diameter c. 12 inches), found in a tomb at Vulci and preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris. They are both decorated with a repoussé design representing the birth of Dionysos (cp. the series of sarcophagus-reliefs described supra p. 85 n. 0 (1)). Zeus with bowed head sits to the left on a rock (?). He wears a himation round his loins and over his left shoulder. His right hand clasps his right knee. His left hand rests on the rock. From his right thigh emerges the infant god, uplifts both arms. He is received by a winged Athena, clad in a Doric peplos with long overfold, aigis, and Gorgoneion. Between Zeus and Athena is a lotiform thunderbolt (?). J. de Witte's description of the scene is full of bad blunders. My pl. xiv, 1 is from a fresh photograph by Giraudon. Another gold bulla from Italy, of third-century work, shows Zeus in labour flanked by two winged Eléithyiai (Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery p. 263 i. no. 2285 pl. 46 with fig. 75 (= my pl. xiv, 2)).

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

*See page 88 n. o.*
reflects a very ancient ritual of adoption. The detail of the sewing (erraphthatai) is probably to be connected with the office of the birth-
the Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine pp. xxxvi, 77 pl. 8, 5. Fig. 31 is from a cast kindly supplied by Dr. Hill).

1 So first J. J. Bachofen Das Mutterrecht Basel 1897 pp. 242, 256, 259, though he confused the issue by importing a reference to the couvade (hence Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 904 goes off on a wrong path). Farnell Cults of Gr. States v. 110 keeps a clearer head:

'The old attempts to interpret this as nature-symbolism have failed ludicrously. The first to strike the right track was Bachofen, who, following the anthropological method, explained the myth as the reflex of some primitive social institution; but his suggestion that we have here a divine example of the couvade was not altogether happy, though the couvade was practised by primitive peoples of the Mediterranean area. The travails of Zeus is more naturally explained by him as a primitive mode of adoption, wherein the father pretends to actually [i.e.] give birth to the adopted son; and this would be the natural method for a people passing from the rule of the matrilineal to that of the patrilineal descent. [We hear of the same fashion of adoption among the Haidas of North America who are in the transition-state between the two systems.] Dionysos; therefore, was accepted and affiliated in this wise to Zeus by some Hellenic tribe who were still in that stage, and whom we cannot discover, for we do not know whence the story first radiated, though we may surmise that it arose in Boeotia.' The latter part of this statement, however, will have to be modified by those who accept the recent attempts of H. J. Rose ('On the alleged Evidence for Mother-right in Early Greece' in Folk-Lore 1911 xxii. 277—291, 'Prehistoric Greece and Mother-Right' ib. 1926 xxxvii. 215—244) to disprove the existence of mother-right in early Greece.

Frazer Golden Bough: The Magic Art i. 74 f. illustrates 'Simulation of birth at adoption' from a wide area, including one classical myth: Diod. 4. 39 (from an older handbook of mythology (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 674)] προερημένες σ’ ἡμίν τοῖς εἰρήμενοι ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀποθέωσιν αὐτοῦ Ζεὺς θηραν μὲν ἑπέκρεν ὑποκαταστάται τὸν Ἱρακλῆ τι καὶ τὸ λαύποι εἰς τὸν ἀναμνεῖς μηρός σώουει παρέχεσθαι (παρέχεσθαι cod. D.), τὸν δὲ τέκνων γενέσθαι φανε τοιαύτῃ. τὸν Ἡραν ἀναβάζειν οὖν (ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ) κλίνει καὶ τὸν Ἱρακλῆ προφασμένεYTE πρὸς τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῶν ἐνεμάσων ἀφέναι πρὸς τὴν γῆν, μιμοεῖται τὴν ἀληθινὴ γένεσιν. ὡς μέχρι τοῦ τῶν ποιῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς σῶν τῶν ποιῶν ἁβολωσι καὶ τεκνοφυτεύῃ. ὑπὸ, Lyk. Αι. 39 ο δευτέραν τεκνοφυτεύῃ π. τ. λ. τῆς Ἡρας λέγει; διὰ τοῦ κόλπου χάρ αὐτὸν ἔγενεν (ἀρρενεῖν cod. α.) ὡς τίκτωρα καὶ τεκνοφυτεύεται. Cp. three important mirrors which represent Hera suckling a full-grown Herakles: (a) An early fourth-century mirror in the Museo Civico at Bologna (F. Schiacci De Pateris, ex Gentilia J. T. Biancani sermo Bononie 1808 pl. 10, Gerhard Etr. Spiegell iii. 125 pl. 126 (= my fig. 33), E. Brizio in the Guida del Museo Civico di Bologna Bologna 1882 p. 24 Sezione antica, Sala viii, E. Vetrina di fronte, Sezione di mezzo, J. Bayet Herat Etude Critique des principaux monuments relatifs à l'Hercule Étrusque Paris 1936 p. 150 ff. no. D) shows Herakles as a well-grown youth, with his lion-skin round his neck and a smooth club at his side, bending forward to be suckled by Hera. She sits on a throne, the footstool of which is seen in perspective, and holds up her bared right breast to the hero's lips. Behind her and leaning on her shoulder is Iolaos (Gerhard says Ares), with chlamys and lance. The whole is surrounded by a beautiful ivy-wreath; and the reverse has a frilled (= rayed) solar (?) head. A similar design on a terra-cotta medallion in relief was reported by W. Helbig in the Bull. d. Inst. 1866 p. 65 f. It was found probably at Palestrina and was then in the possession of Castellani. Helbig took the medallion to be a model for a bulla. But A. Kluge in the Ann. d. Inst. 1871 xiii. 21 regarded it with more likelihood as the centre of a bowl. The group of Hera suckling Herakles was flanked by two standing youths clad in chlamys—a apparently a duplication of Iolaos. (b) A fourth-century mirror from Volaterrae (Volterra), now in the Museo Archeologico at Florence, elaborates the subject (G. Körte in Gerhard Etr. Spiegel v. 73—78 pl. 60 (= my fig. 33), A. B. Cook in the Class. Rev. 1906 xx. 416 f. fig. 4, J. Bayet op. cit. p. 150 ff. no. E
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Fig. 32.
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In the centre sits Hera on a handsome throne, the seat of which is seen from below (cp. *supra* ii. 738 fig. 668), with a footstool. She is attired in an Ionic *chiton* and a *himation* drawn over her head. She has a profusion of trinkets (*stephane*, ear-ring, finger-rings, necklace, bracelet) and is shod with strap-work shoes. Her right hand pulls forward her *himation*; her left, with spread fingers, presses her naked breast, which is being sucked vigorously by Herakles. He is a bearded man with a broad fillet on his hair, a lion-skin round his neck, a short *chiton* about his waist, and a knotty club in his right hand. He leans over the goddess' lap to play the infant's part. To the right of these two stands Zeus, with *himation*, shoes, and sceptre, signing to a young undraped goddess, who wears a large necklace with pendants of three drops (cp. *II. 14*. 183, *Od. 18*. 298 ἑρώηνα μορφήν) and, like Zeus, displays two leaves stuck in her hair. To the left stands Apollo with *chlamys*, bay-wreath, and bay-branch. In the background an older goddess appears in three-quarter position: she wears a *stephane*, a necklace with pendants, and a *himation* like that of Hera (there is indeed some confusion between the two) drawn over her head. Behind Hera's throne is an Ionic pillar supporting a tablet inscribed εἰς: σφενος: ἐν χειρὶ: ὑπνίλιος: σπέτρα: σε: *hercle: unial: clan: thor: se* The only words at present intelligible to us, *hercle: unial: clan*, denote 'Hercules son of Uni (funo)' and certainly suggest that the inscription is a label explaining the scene rather than a votive dedication involving other names. They do not of course justify Ptolemy Chennos of Alexandria (c. 100 A.D.) in his paradoxical notion that Herakles was the son of Zeus and Hera (Ptol. *onos hist.* 3 p. 186, 28 ff. Westermann *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 148 a 38 ff. Bekker τίνος οὔτος τὸ ὄνομα ἐν διάφορον ἐν Θησείοις (I. Bekker *ct. Θησαυροι*) εἰς Ἡρακλην, ἐν φό λέγει (either read λέγεται or, less probably, supply the author Μάτρας ἐν Θησαυροῖς from the context and suppose a direct quotation of the following words Διὸς καὶ Ἡρας ἀφει). The whole composition is enclosed between an upper and a lower hand of herring-bone pattern. Above is a bald Silenos, with pig's ears, drinking from a *φιλία*. He sprawls along the upper line, and from his incredibly clumsy neck I should infer that the artist had at first intended him to be an upright head (cp. Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* pl. 212) or one of two (cp. *ib.* pl. 291, a), but had later altered him into a recumbent figure (cp. *ib.* pl. 323). Below is Eros, crouching almost *en face*, with a *bulla* slung round his throat and an ovoid object (egg? ball?) in either hand. (e) An early third-century mirror from Vulci, now at Berlin, introduces some variations and adds names (C. Robert in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1888 xl. 173, A. Furtwängler *ib.* 1883 xli. 271, Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* v. 73 f. pl. 59 (= my fig. 34), J. Bayet *op. cit.* p. 151 ff. no. F). Herakles (*Hercle*) sits on a low stool, beardless but adult and equipped with lion-skin and club. He is about to suck the right nipple of Hera (*Uni*), who stoops towards him with bare breast, clasping him with her right hand and holding a horn (cp. *supra* ii. 347 fig. 241) in her left. Behind Herakles sits *Meun* raising two sprigs of olive, bent to form a wreath for the hero. In the background stands Zeus (*Tinia*), his head surrounded by two streamers and a lotiform bolt visible at his right side. He is flanked on his right by Aphrodite (*Turan*), on his left by Athena (*Meeva*, a mistake for *Menova*) with *aigis*, *Gorgonion*, and shield bearing a star. Below is a large female head between two stars. These three mirrors clearly postulate a common original, perhaps a fifth-century fresco, from which is also descended—without sundry important modifications—a *lithylos* of 'Apulian' style found at Anxia (*Anxii de Basillitico*) and now in the British Museum (G. Minervini in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1843 p. 160, *id.* in the *Bull. Arch. Nép.* 1842—1843 i. 51 ff.; *id.* il mio di Ercole che succhia il latte di Giunone Napoli 1884 pp. 1—34 with pl. (extr. from the *Memorie della Regale Accademia Ercolanense Napoli 1853* vi. 317 ff.). Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera *ib.* 141 no. 1, G. Körte in Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* v. 76 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 69 no. F 107). Herakles is here reduced to the proportions of a boy and has lost his lion-skin and club. But that he and no other is meant appears from the presence of his patroness Athena (*aigis*, spear), who offers Hera a lily—not, as Minervini thought, in allusion to the later legend of the Milky Way (*supra* i. 614 n. 5), but merely as the favourite flower of the goddess (*supra* i. 623 n. 2, ii. 515 n. 10) and a fitting reward for her services. Hera herself is a queenly figure, seated with a floral *stephane* on her head and a lily-topped sceptre in her hand. She presses
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goddess Rhapso\(^3\), but was presumably stressed as a means of explaining the obscure appellative *Eiraphidés*\(^4\). The same etymologising tendency dates the whole hostage-episode, with its play on the boy to her right breast, where he drinks his fill. Behind her stands Iris in short *chitón* and high boots. She has wings on her shoulders, and a knotted or studded staff by way of *caduceus*. She talks with a seated wreath-bearing goddess, who is difficult to identify,—probably not Peitho (G. Körte), certainly not Alkmenē (G. Minervini, H. B. Walters). This couple is balanced by a standing Eros (wreath, *spandone*) and a seated Aphrodite (mirror) on the left. A. D. Trendall cp. a *lékithos* of ‘early Apulian’ style, by the same hand, at Taranto (my pl. xv, 2), which substitutes Aphrodite and *Eros* for Athena and Herakles.

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

1 Supra ii. 184 n. 3.

Expert philologists have advanced widely different explanations. W. Sonne in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1861 x. 103 connected *eiraphidés*, Aeolic *eiraphidēs*, with the Sanskrit *ṣahā́hā* ‘bull,’ so that the word would mean ‘Befrucht.’ R. Meier *Die griechische Dialetke* Göttingen 1882 i. 146 followed suit. W. Prellwitz in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1897 xxi. 99 was still inclined to agree (*Sonne,…vielleicht mit rech’t,* etc.), and F. Sohmsen in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1897 vii. 46 ff. definitely accepted the same view, not only connecting Lesbian *Eiraphidēs*, Ionic *Eiraphidēs*, with the Old Indian *ṣahā́hā* ‘bull,’ but (after A. Meillet ib. 1895 v. 328 f.) bringing into relation with them *ērōs*, which meant either ‘ram’ (Lyk. Al. 1316 with Tetzst. *ad loc.*) or ‘boar’ (Kallim. *frag.* 335 Schneider *Ap. Tetzst*. in Lyk. Al. 1316, Hesych. *s.v.* *ērōs* (so M. Schmidt for *ērōς cod.*—*krēs*), and drawing attention to *Aρραθων* τοῦ Βρομεροῦ, Δυκησίμων Μακεδώνος Βασίλεα (Thanl. 4. 83), a man who was τοῦ Βακχειανῶν γένους (Strab. 326)—an obviously Dionysiac group of names. F. Freihde in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1896 xxi. 199, while not doubting the possibility of *Eiraphidēs*, ‘Eiraphidēs’ being related to the Sanskrit *ṣahā́hā* ‘bull,’ regarded the word as another form of *Ērphos*, the goat too being a ‘Verkörperung des lebendigen Namens des Gottes’ (F. A. Voigt in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1079). G. Legerlotz in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1899 viii. 53 had long since derived *Eiraphidēs* ‘von einem *eir-aphos=ēr-aphos* (vgl. *stauratōtēs, ἱματατή*)’ and had noted the Laconian cult of Dionysos *Ērphos*. Η. Ehrlich ib. 1906 xxxix. 367 f. likewise dwells on the connexion of Dionysos with the goat (*supra* i. 674 ff.) and remarks: ‘Daher denken Wieseler Philol. 10, 101 und Wide Lackonische Cult p. 168 an *ērphos*, und eine nebenform *ērōphos = *ērōphos *ērōphos* wäre wohl annehmbar. Da -aphos tiersuffix ist (cf. *ēvaphos* ἄκαλαφος κιδάφω κόραφος Hes.), könnte man *ērēphos* auch mit *ērōn* “listig” (*ērōn; zu *errare* st. *er-sā* eigentlich “der in die irré führt”) zusammenbringen und darin ein altes wort für den “fuchs” sehen…vgl. auch Philemon fr. 89 11 p. 50. K.: οὐκ ἐστὶ ἄλογον ἡ μὲν ἔρως τῇ φωτεί, ἡ δὲ ἀθέκαστος,…Die adjectivischen ableitungen *ērēphos -ērēphos* bezeichneten dann “das zum fuchs gehörige, das fuchsfell,” und *Eiraphidēs* *Eiraphidēs* wäre sorgsamer die griechische übersetzung von *Baccharon*, “dem fuchsfellträger” nach alter überlieferung, die recht haben kann.’ A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1894 xx. 179 f. cp. Hermes *stauratōtēs* (ib. 346), Dionysos *bauxiatēs* (Sapph. *frag.* 147 Bergk\(^4\), 172 Edmonds = Simon. *frag.* 210 A Bergk\(^4\) cp. Him. or. 13. 7), Pan *ōρατη* (Anth. Pal. 9. 814, 2 (Erykios)). As *stauratōtēs* meant ‘wrapped in the *staurōn* or “swathing-band”,’ so *ērēphōtēs, Aeolic *ērēphidēs* must have meant ‘wrapped in the *ērōphos* or “tufted skin”—a word related to *ērōs, Aeolic *ērōs “wool*” as ἔρσαφων to
(1) **Lekythos** of early Apulian style from Anxia, now in the British Museum:
Herakles suckled by Hera.

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

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

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


The month Ἐραφωτής at Arkesine in Amorgos (Inscr. Gr. inscriptions vii no. 62, 28 = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inschr. iii. 2 558 f. no. 5371, 28 = Dittenberger Syll. inscriptions Gr.2 no. 531, 28, ib.3 no. 953, 28 μέν μην Ἐραφωτής) probably corresponds with the Ionic Lenaion and the Attic Gamelion (J. Delamarre in the Rev. Philol. n.s. 1901 xxv. 180 f., W. Dittenberger in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 2118 f.).

1 δ μηνός = δυσμήνος.
2 Euripides is said to have been a pupil of Prodikos (v. Eur. 1 in schol. Eur. i. 2, 7 f. Dindorf, Souv. s.v. Εὐριπίδης τορ, Gell. 15. 20. 4), who was interested on the one hand in linguistic discussions (E. Zeller A History of Greek Philosophy trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 ii. 489 ff., 512), on the other in the origins of Dionysiac worship (id. ib. p. 481 f.).
3 The foregoing paragraph must not be taken to imply that mythical birth from the thigh always betokens the ritual of adoption. F. Liebrecht Zur Volkskunde Heilbronn 1879 p. 490 f. (= id. in Germania 1860 v. 479 f.) compiles a list of such births from the leg, the foot, the hand, etc., each of which calls for separate investigation. They include the following:

(1) A. Kuhn Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks Guttersloh 1886 pp. 13 f., 148 f. draws attention to Arvaa, son of Cyavana (son of Çuk ra son of Bghu) by Arushi daughter of Manu, who was sprung from his mother’s thigh (Mahabharata trans. M. N. Dutt Calcutta 1895 i. 93 = Mahabh. 1. 66, 41 ‘Arushi, the daughter of Manu, became the wife of the wise Chayavana, and the greatly illustrious Arvana was born in her, ripping open her thighs,’ ib. 1896 iii. 453 = Mahabh. 3. 314. 17 ‘O sinless one, you have further heard how the Brahmanic sage Arvana at one time remaining concealed in his mother’s thighs served the purpose of the celestials.’ On Arvana see further S. Sorensen An Index to the Names in the Mahabharata London 1904 p. 100 f.).

(2) A. Kuhn op. cit. p. 149 f. compares the case of Vena, son of Anga and Sunitha, who produced Nisháda from his thigh and Pythu from his arm (Mahabharata trans. M. N. Dutt Calcutta 1903 xii 86 = Mahabh. 12. 59. 94 ‘Vena, a slave of anger and malice, became impious and tyrannical towards all creatures. The Brahmavadin Rishi killed him
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with Kusaha blades inspired with Mantras. 95—96. Uttering Mantras all the while, those Rishis pierced the right thigh of Vena. Thereupon, from that thigh, sprang a short-limbed person on earth, resembling a charred brand, having blood-red eyes and black hair. Those Brahavadins said to him,—Nishada (sit) here. 97. From him have originated the Nishadas, viza., those wicked tribes who live in the hills and the forests, as also those hundreds and thousands of Mlechhas, living on the Vindhyā ranges. 98. The great Rishi then pierced the right arm of Vena. Thence originated a person who was a second Indra in form' (sc. Prithu). H. H. Wilson Works London 1884 vi. 181 ff. = Vīśṇu Purāṇa i. 13 'And they fell upon the king, and beat him with blades of holy grass, consecrated by prayer, and slew him, who had first been destroyed by his impiety towards god....The sages, hearing this, consulted, and together rubbed the thigh of the king, who had left no offspring, to produce a son. From the thigh, thus rubbed, came forth a being of the complexion of a charred stake, with flattened features (like a negro), and of dwarfish stature. "What am I to do?" cried he eagerly to the Munis. "Sit down" (nishada), said they: and thence his name was Nishāda. His descendants, the inhabitants of the Vindhyā mountain, great Muni, are still called Nishādas, and are characterized by the exterior tokens of depravity. By this means the wickedness of Vena was expelled; those Nishādas being born of his sins, and carrying them away. The Brahmans then proceeded to rub the right arm of the king, from which friction was engendered the illustrious son of Vena, named Prithu, resplendent in person, as if the blazing deity of Fire had been manifested. There then fell from the sky the primitive bow (of Mahādeva) named Ajagava, and celestial arrows, and panoply from heaven. At the birth of Prithu, all living creatures rejoiced; and Vena, delivered, by his being born, from the hell named Put, ascended to the realms above.' H. H. Wilson ad loc. cites the parallel passage in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa 4. 14. 43—46 with the rendering of E. Burnouf Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa Paris 1844 ii. 2. 78: 'Ayant pris cette résolution, les Richis seconèrent rapidement la cuisse du roi qu’ils avaient tué, et il en sortit un nain. Noir comme un corbeau, ayant le corps d’une extrême petitesse, les bras courts, les mâchoires grandes, les pieds petits, le nez enfoncé, les yeux rouges et les cheveux cuivrés. Prostré devant eux, le pauvre nain s’écria : Qu’est-ce que je fasse? et les Brāhmans lui répondirent : Asieds-toi, ami. De là lui vint le nom de Nichāda. C’est de sa race que sont sortis les Nichādas qui habitent les cavernes et les montagnes; car c’est lui dont la naissance effaca la faute terrible de Vēna,' th. 4. 15. 1—6 (ii. 2. 79 Burnouf) ‘Māitrīya dit : Les Brāhmans ayant ensuite agité les bras du roi Vēna, qui était mort sans postérity, en firent sortir deux enfants, un fils et une fille. A la vue de ces deux enfants, les Richis qui expliquent le Vēda, y reconnaissant une portion de la substance de Bhagavat, s’écrièrent, pleins d’une extrême joie: Celui-ci est une portion de la substance du bienheureux Vichu, qui est faite pour purifier le monde; celle-là est une création de Lakshmi, la compagne fidèle de Puruṣa. De ces deux enfants, le mâle deviendra le premier roi; ce sera le Mahārāja, nommé Prithu, dont la gloire et la renommée seront répandues au loin. Celle-ci sera sa royale épouse; dotée d’une taille parfaite et de belles dents, faite pour rehausser les ornementes et la vertu elle-même, elle sera, sous le nom d’Archis, inviolablement attachée à Prithu. Cet enfant est sans contredit une portion de Hari, qui est né dans le désir de sauver le monde; et cette fille est certainement Cti son épouse dévouée, compagne inséparable du Dieu qu’elle a suivi [sur la terre].’ H. H. Wilson op. cit. vi. 182 n. 1 further remarks: 'The Padma (Bhūmi Khanda) has a similar description [of Nishāda]; adding to the dwarfish stature and black complexion, a wide mouth, large ears, and a protuberant belly. It also particularizes his posterity as Nishādas, Kirātas, Bhīllas, Bahamakas, Bhrahmaraśas, Pulindas, and other barbarians or Mlechchas, living in woods and on mountains.' A. Kuhn op. cit. 2 p. 149 ff. refers to the Harivānsha, a supplement to the Mahābhārata, for the same tale.

(3) Māṇḍhāśī, an ancient king, son of Yuvanāśya, was born from his father’s side. Yuvanāśya, when hunting, had drunk sacrificial butter and so became pregnant (Mahābhārata) trans. M. N. Dutt Calcutta 1896 iii. 187 = Mahābh. 3. 126. 24—31 'O great king, as you, being very thirsty, have drunk the water prepared with sacred hymns which was
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filled with the virtue of my religious labours, you must bring forth out of your own body a son as described above. We shall perform for your sake a sacrifice of wonderful effect, so that you will bring forth a son equal to Indra. You will not feel any pain at the time of the delivery. When one hundred years passed away, a son, as effulgent as the sun, came out by riving the left side of that high-souled king. The greatly effulgent child came out, but king Yuvanashwa did not die,—it was no doubt a great wonder. Then greatly effulgent Indra came there with the desire of seeing him. Thereupon the celestials asked Indra, “What is to be sucked by this boy?” Then Indra gave his own fore finger into his mouth (to suck), and the wielder of thunder said, “he will suck me.” Thereupon the dwellers of heaven with Indra gave him the name “Mandhata”.

H. H. Wilson, op. cit. London 1866 viii. 267 = Vīshāku Purāṇa 4. 2 ‘When the Munis rose, and found that the water had been drunk, they inquired who had taken it, and said: “The queen that has drunk this water will give birth to a mighty and valiant son.” “It was I,” exclaimed the Raja, “who unwittingly drank the water”: and, accordingly, in the belly of Yuvanāśa was conceived a child. And it grew; and, in due time, it ripped open the right side of the Raja, and was born: and the Raja did not die. Upon the birth of the child, “Who will be its nurse?” said the Munis; when (Indra, the king of the gods appeared, and said, “He shall have me for his nurse” (mām ayaṁ dhāśyaṭi); and, hence, the boy was named Māndhārti. Indra put his fore-finger into the mouth of the infant, who sucked it, and drew from it (heavenly) nectar.

(4) The Buddha-karita of Auvaghosa (c. 100 A.D.) narrates the birth of Buddha from the side of queen Māyā: Buddha-karita trans. E. B. Cowell 1. 25, 26, 29 (The Sacred Books of the East Oxford 1894 xlix. 5 f.) ‘At that time the constellation Pushya was auspicious, and from the side of the queen, who was purified by her vow, her son was born for the welfare of the world, without pain and without illness. Like the sun bursting from a cloud in the morning,—so he too, when he was born from his mother’s womb, made the world bright like gold, bursting forth with his rays which dispelled the darkness.... As was Auvā’s birth from the thigh, and Prithu’s from the hand, and Māndhārti’s, who was like Indra himself, from the forehead [but see supra (3)], and Kaksivi’s from the upper end of the arm,—thus too was his birth (miraculous).’ The Fo-sho-king-ten-king, a translation of the Buddha-karita into Chinese made by the Indian priest Dharmaraksha (c. 420 A.D.), repeats the narrative: Fo-sho-king-ten-king trans. S. Beal, J. 1. 9—11 (The Sacred Books of the East Oxford 1883 xix. 2 f.) ‘While she (thus) religiously observed the rules of a pure discipline, Bodhisattva was born from her right side, (come) to deliver the world, constrained by great pity, without causing his mother pain or anguish. As king Yu-liu [sc. Auvā] was born from the thigh, as king Pi-t’au [sc. Prithu] was born from the hand, as king Man-to [sc. Māndhārti] was born from the top of the head [but see supra (3)], as king Kias-k’ha [sc. Kaksivi] was born from the arm-pit, so also was Bodhisattva on the day of his birth produced from the right side; gradually emerging from the womb, he shed in every direction the rays of his glory.’

(5) F. Liebrecht, Des Cervarius von Tilbury Otia Imperialis Hannover 1856 p. 72 notes that, according to an Old French legend, Phanuel once peeled an apple and wiped the knife on his thigh. The juice soaked into and impregnated his thigh, from which nine months later a girl—the mother of the Virgin Mary—was born (J. von Lassberg, Ein schon alt. Lied von Grave Fris von Zöve, dem Oettinger, und der Belagerung von Hohen Zolzen, nebst noch etlichen andern Liedern (Constance 1842) p. 76 f.: "Sainz fanero se sist un jour / Emmi sa sale ala froideur / Seur vn conists de cendaul / Il apela son senechaul / Des pomes li fit apourter / Es melades en veut doner / Ses seneschauz laut apourta / Et a ses piez sa genoilla / Trous des pomes et un costel / Mit en la main sainz fanelo / Ly rois les prit sy les tailla / Et es melades en dona / Quant ly rois ot taille la pome / De la seue qui tant fut bone / Entint vn poy a son costel / Or oiez de saint fanelo / Quant il vit son costel moille / De la pome quil ot taille / A sa cuisse le ressuia / Et la seue ly engenn / Vne mout gentil demoiselle / Qui mouit parfut cortoise et belle. / Quant ly rois / Il la grand merouille / A cui nulle ne sa peroille / Il hamende tons ses amis / Et les mires de son pais / Il ny vint mires tant senez / Ne feciein tant letraz / Qui schut dire la

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doéur | De la Jambe lempereur | Tant furent esbahy mière | Ly plus saige ne soit que dire | Quant vint au jour que dieux imit | Sy commen l'estricure dit | Ly rois mélades acoucha | Et de la cuisse deliriure | Ici elle gentil demoiseil | Qui tant fut coroiuse et belle | Ce fut sainte ane don ie dy | D la meire ihesu nasqui'. | Liebrecht loc. cit. thinks that this may conceivably be 'eine Reminiscenz der Dionysius[sic]-sage.' | Hardly so.

(6) S. Baring-Gould Legends of Old Testament Characters London and New York 1871 p. 30 f. 'The inhabitants of Madagascar have a strange myth touching the origin of woman. They say that the first man was created of the dust of the earth, and was placed in a garden, where he was subject to none of the ills which now affect mortality; he was also free from all bodily appetites, and though surrounded by delicious fruit and limpid streams, yet felt no desire to taste of the fruit or to quaff the water. The Creator had, moreover, strictly forbidden him either to eat or to drink. The great enemy, however, came to him, and painted to him in glowing colours the sweetness of the apple, the lusciousness of the date, and the succulence of the orange. In vain: the first man remembered the command laid upon him by his Maker. Then the fiend assumed the appearance of an effulgent spirit, and pretended to be a messenger from Heaven commanding him to eat and drink. The man at once obeyed. Shortly after, a pimple appeared on his leg; the spot enlarged to a tumour, which increased in size and caused him considerable annoyance. At the end of six months it burst, and there emerged from the limb a beautiful girl. The father of all living was sorely perplexed what to make of his acquisition, when a messenger from heaven appeared, and told him to let her run about the garden till she was of a marriageable age, and then to take her to himself as his wife. He obeyed. He called her Bahouna, and she became the mother of all races of men.' The relation of this and similar Malagasy tales to Biblical teaching is discussed by J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1912 v. 708 b. F. Liebrecht Zur Volkskunde Hellbronn 1879 p. 490 n.** (= id. in Germania 1860 v. 479) cites a variant from J. W. Wolf Deutsche Märchen und Sagen Leipzig 1845 p. 599 (on no. 198): 'Die Einwohner von Madagaskar erzählten, Adam habe stark gegessen und in Folge dessen einen natürlichen Bedürfnisse genügen müssen, was sich aber gleich im Paradiese durch den Geruch verrathen. Darob sei er vom Teufel verklagt worden und Gott habe ihn aus dem Paradiese geworfen. Einige Zeit nachher wäre sein Bein aufgeschwollen und man habe ein jung Mädchen heraush behandelt.'


(8) Persephone Ἑσερόγεια (Hesych. Χεσέρογεια· Ἡ Περσέφων) has been variously explained. I. Vossius in the notes to J. Alberti's edition of Hesychios (Ludgani Batavorum 1766) ii. 1546 n. 30 asks: 'An quod manuum labore nascuntur fruges?' M. Schmidt in Philologus 1848 xiii. 220 replies: 'Vielmehr Ἑσερόγεια, was aus Ἀχειρόγεια entstanden sein könnte; doch hängt vielleicht Ἀχειρό mit Ἐγγέμο Eccere Ceres
Hydria at Queens' College, Cambridge:
Apollon visits the Lesbian oracle of Orpheus.

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

In this connexion the design on a red-figured hydria in my possession is deserving of notice (pl. xvi)⁴. It is Attic work dating from the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. In the centre stands a slender, youthful Apollo. He wears a bay-wreath on his flowing locks and a chlamys with weighted corners over his left arm. In his right hand he holds a long bay-branch; in his left, a lyre. Both hands are lowered, and the god looks downwards at the head of Orpheus, which with parted lips and upturned face is

zusammen (Hesych. s.v. Ἀχνό (Ἀχνόω cod.)).' G. J. Vossius De theologia Gentili, et physiologia Christiana² Amstredi 1668 i. 724 = lib. 2 cap. 28, F. Creuses Symbolik und Mythologie³ Leipzig and Darmstadt 1842 i. 330, Gerhard Gr. Myth. p. 452. Pfleider-Robert Gr. Myth. i. 781 n. 3 take the appellative to describe Persephone as a goddess of birth. E. Maass De Achtyli Suppliebus commentatio Gryphiswaldiae 1850 pp. xix, xxxvi f. suggests that Χειρογοια must be daughter of a Zeus *Χειρογοιος, 'qui ut infans nascatur manu efficit.' He compares, not only the Zeus Αχεϊςτη of Alphera in Arkadia (Paus. 8. 26. 6 καὶ Δίας τε ἰδρύσαντε Αχεϊςταν βωμόν, ἢν ἐνυμένη τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τεκνίων) and the Zeus εὐάδα of Nonnos (Dion. 48. 974 f. καὶ θεοὶ ἀμπελεῖαι πατρόων αἴθρα βαίων | πατρὸν σών εὐάδα μὴν ἔφαινε τρατεῖσθαι. See further Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling.-iii. 2532 b.), but also (Zeus) Agamemnon *Ορισλόχος assumed to account for Iphigeniea Ορισλοξεια (Ant. Lib. 27) and Zeus *Εριφος assumed to account for Dionysos Εριφος (Orph. h. Lyc. Let. 50. 7 and h. triet. 52. 9 cited supra p. 4 n. o). *Id. Aratae Berlin 1892 p. 349 add: 'Ac forteasse de Dactylorum etymo hac eadem ratione edoceebatur quid sibi velit. Quid si χειρογοιος credebatur et digitis placide venti immisissi contrectando efficere, ut pararet parurtientes? Essent igitur Δακταλαι = Δακτυλογθος....Coniectura haec est, nihil amplius.' Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 860 n. 2 concludes: 'Orsilochaia und Persephone Cheirogonia...sind selbst Geburtsgöttinnen gewesen, nicht nach (Zeus) Agamemnon *Orsiloschus oder Zeus *Cheirogonas...genannt.' F. Liebrecht locc. citt. would bring Persephone into line with Prithu (infra (a)): 'Persephone heisst die Fingergeborene (χειρογοια) und deshalb auch wieder aus den Fingern Gebärende.' This is attractive, but cannot claim the support of any actual myth. The preceding statement 'die Paliken erscheinen als Fingergeburen' is erroneous, the whole context being presumably copied from J. J. Bachofen Versuch über die Griechersymbolik der Alten Basel 1859 p. 174: 'Darum erscheinen die Paliken auf bekannten Vasenkunbildern als Fingergeburt; darum heisst auch Persephone selbst Χειρογοια, die Fingergeborene, und deshalb auch wieder aus den Fingern Gebärende.'

² O. Gruppe in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1198.
³ Plat. symp. 179 Ωρίφα δὲ τὸν Ολογραφόν ἀσημήν ἀπετέυχα εἰς Ἀιδòν, ὄρεσμα διέκανε τῆς γυναίκος ώς ὡς ἦκεν, αὐτὴν δὲ ὡς δίκτυν, ἢ μαλακίζεσθαι ἔδεικε, ἢ ὡς κυκάραν, καὶ ὡς τολμᾶν ἐνεκα τοῦ ἄρωτος ἀποθεσικοῖς ὦσεος Ἀλκηνος, ἀλλὰ διαμαχασθαι τῶν εἰσελθέντων εἰς Ἀιδòν.
⁴ The vase (height 8½ inches) was found in Attike, and was acquired by me in 1933.

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chanting an oracle from the ground. Behind Orpheus stands a young woman, presumably the Pythia. She too looks down, and holds her right hand with a deprecatory gesture above the head. She has a beaded fillet and upright bay-leaves in her hair, and she is clad in a peplos with long overfold and girdle. Behind Apollo stands another woman, closely swathed in chiton and himation. She also gazes at the head of Orpheus, but with loosened hair and a look of such obvious distress that we must surely identify her with Eurydike. I take the whole design to portray the visit of Apollon to the Lesbian oracle of Orpheus—a scene graphically described by Philostratos the Athenian early in s. iii A.D.

'He (sc. Apollonios of Tyana) put in at Lesbos and made his way to the adyton of Orpheus. The story goes that once on a time Orpheus here practised seercraft with pleasure, until Apollon took notice of him. For men no longer resorted to Grynion for oracles, nor to Klaros, nor yet to the Apolline tripod; but Orpheus alone gave oracles, his head having lately arrived from Thrace. Wherefore the god came upon him as he was chanting an oracular strain and said: 'Leave my business to me: I have borne long enough with your singing'.

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

1 Philostr. Her. 6. 4 ἐ κεφαλὴ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἑργαν ἐν λειβῶν κατασχοῦσα μῆγα τῆς Λέσβου ἐκποιεῖ καὶ κοιλί τῇ γῇ ἐκρημώθησε. ὒλον ἐκρημώτα τ᾽ αὑτῷ τὰ μαντικά Δήσιμοι τε καὶ τὸ ἔμοι τῶν Δίδυμων καὶ Ἰωνίων Διδύμων πρόσελαί, χρηματικὸ τοῦ μαντικῶν τούτου καὶ τῆς Βαυδάκου ἀνεπέτοιμον. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀθηναῖοι ἐκφάλαι ἡ κεφαλὴ ἓδε, Κόρη τε τῆς ἀρχαιοχρυσοῦ ἑντευκών εἰσοδοθήκει λέγεται, "τάμα, ὑ Ἡφάστη, σά", κ. τ. λ.

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


4 Sc. Delphoi.

5 The concluding words are εφισταται οἱ χρησμοδούντες ὁ θεός καὶ "πένηπο" ἐφ "τῶν ἔμων, καὶ γὰρ δὴ (καὶ) δοκεῖται σὲ λεκάρω ἡγεγκα." Possibly the original source of the story (Damas of Nineveh? Maximus of Aigai? see Philostr. V. Apoll. 1. 3 p. 3 f. Kayser) had a hexameter passage such as χρησμοδοῦντες θεός ποτ' εφιστατο καὶ προσέπετε | "παθιασά εἴμων, καὶ γὰρ σ' λεκάρω δοκεῖ τ' ἡγεγκα" οτ 'τῶν δ' ὑπ' ἐμῶν—καὶ γὰρ σ' λεκάρω ἡγεγκα—πέταυο! But the later oracles of Apollon tend to drop verse for prose (Frazz. Pausanias v. 238). It is curious, if no more, that the words τὰ ἔμα ἐμαυρωθεῖν occur again in the oracle spoken by Orpheus' head to Kyros the Elder (Philostr. Her. 6. 4 τάμα, ὑ Ἡφάστη, σά.).

6 G. Minervini 'Oracolo di Orfeo e dell' Apollo Napeo in Lesb; vaso dipinto di fabbrica nolana' in the Bull. Arch. Nafpl. 1898 vi. 33—39 pl. 4. 1 (= my fig. 35) held that on one side Pelops is taking down an oracle pronounced by the head of Orpheus under the protection of Apollon Naraos (schol. Aristoph. NAB. 144), and that on the other Kalliope has picked up her son's lyre and a second Muse the strap from which it was hung. Reinach R.P. Vasari i. 493, 2 is more cautious: 'A La tête coupée d'Orphée rend des
visit to the oracle of Orpheus' head; its reverse, the finding of Orpheus' lyre by a couple of Lesbian women (hardly Muses). The

new vase also amplifies the oracular visit by the addition of two women, but lends a far greater significance to them by making one the devotee of Apollon, the other the wife of Orpheus. And, if that
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is the case, Eurydike must necessarily be present in phantom form—a figure comparable with the ghost of Klytaimestra as she appears on more than one Greek vase¹. Mr C. T. Seltman further points out to me that both these Orpheus-vases presuppose an interest at Athens in the *sacra* of Lesbos and handle the theme with a light-hearted semi-humorou*s* touch understandable enough during the Athenian domination of the island in 427—412 B.C.²

Lastly, there is the phantasmal Aeneas, whom Iuno in Virgil’s epic fashions out of ‘hollow cloud’ and decks with Dardanian armour


To the gems discussed by Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 245 f. add a sliced chalcedony in my collection (fig. 36 scale ½), which resembles his i pl. 20, 53 = pl. 22, 5, cp. 6, ii. 100, 107. A chip above the young man’s head has been crudely altered by some later hand into a would-be *pétasos*. See too the Etruscan mirrors figured on my pl. xvii, and a ‘Campanian’ *amphora* of c. 450—425 B.C., now in the Musée Borély at Marseille, interpreted by Prof. P. P. Jacobsthal, to whom I am greatly indebted for my pl. xviii, as a youth consulting the oracular head of Orpheus.


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

(1) A mirror from Clusium, now in the Casaruccini collection (no. 176). Villa Marcelli, Chiusi. The head of Orpheus (fig. 1) looks up from the ground with parted lips, while a young man on the right takes down the oracle (B. Bandinelli in the Mon. d. Linc. 1935, p. 542—552. fig. 10). W. K. C. Guthrie Orpheus and Greek Religion London 1935 p. 35. fig. 6).

(2) A mirror, now in Paris (De Ridder Cat. Bronzes de Louvre ii. 20. no. 175a), of similar design, but without names (E. Gerhard in the Abb. d. berl. Akad. 1885 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 197 f. pl. 2. id. Etr. Spiegel iii. 175 f., pl. 257 a. B. Bandinelli loc. cit. p. 547 f.).

(3) A fragmentary mirror, formerly in the Borgia collection and now presumably at Naples, which had once a similar design (E. Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iii. 190 pl. 196. B. Bandinelli loc. cit. p. 548).
Early 'Campanian' amphora in the Musée Borely at Marseilles:
a youth consulting the oracle of Orpheus' head (?)

See page 102 n. o.
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in order to lure Turnus from the fight\(^1\). The Roman poet probably based his figment on a passage of the *Iliad*, in which Apollon rescues Aineias from Diomedes by carrying off his *protego* and substituting a phantom resembling him in person and equipment\(^2\). We are not, however, told that the Homeric phantom was made of cloud; indeed, it would appear that in genuine Greek myth, as distinct from the inventions of a Euripides or a Virgil, the cloud-effigy was always female, since the cloud itself was feminine.

§ 7. Zeus and the Wind.

(a) Men believed to control the winds.

The Greeks, like other imperfectly civilised nations\(^3\), credited certain persons with the power of controlling the winds. At Athens the *Heudinemos* or 'Lull-winds' had an altar near the Metroön\(^4\): they seem to have been a clan tracing their descent from an eponymous founder *Heudinemos*, who was revered as an angel in Christian times\(^5\). At Eleusis too there was a well-known altar of

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\(^1\) *Verg., Aen.* 10. 633 ff. *haec ubi dicta dedit, caelo se protinus alto misit agens hiemem nimbo succincta per auras,* *Iliacumque aciem et Laurentia castra petivit. tum dea nube cava tenuem sine viribus umbra* *in faciem Aeneae (visum mirabile monstrum)* *Dardanis ornat telis, clipeumque iubasque* *divini adsumulat capitis, dat inania verba,* *dat sine mente sonum gressumque effingit euntibus;* etc. After enticing Turnus to follow him on board the ship of Osminus, the phantom disappears: *ib.* 663 ff. *tum levibus haud ultra latebras iam quaerit imago,* sed sublime volans nubi se immiscuit atrae.

\(^2\) *II.* 5. 449 ff. *αὐτὴ ὁ ἑώρων τεῖχης ἀργυρόφυτος Χάλκων* (interp. Serv. in *Verg., Aen.* 2. 601 says inadvertently: *Aeneas a Neptune opposita: nube liberatur*) *μοῖρας Ἀδελφί* *κελαί τεῖχεσι τῶν,* *ἀμφί δ' ἄρ' ἑωρῶν Τροίς καὶ διοί Λάκοι* *δύος ἄλλων ἄμφι* *σώματοι βοιῶν* *ἀνεβάσας εὐκέκελος θαυμάζει τε πτερόνται.* W. Leaf *ad loc.* comments: 'The mention of the "wraith" is not like Homer, nor does it appear on other occasions when a hero is snatched away by a god. It plays no further part in the action, nor does there seem to be the least surprise shown at the reappearance of the original Aineias in the field, l. 514. Thus 449—453 are probably interpolated; the last two lines come bodily from M. 425—6.'

On heroes etc. wrapped in a cloud and carried off by god or goddess see F. von Duhn *De Memelai Itinere Aegyptiae* Bonn 1874 p. 38. A. von Premerstein in *Philologus* 1896 lv. 636, Gruppe *Gr. Myth., Rel.* pp. 996 n. 1, 1153.

\(^3\) Frazer *Golden Bough* 3. 319—331 ("The Magical Control of the Wind"), The Scapegoat pp. 176, 178 ff., Balder the Beautiful ii. 235 ff.

\(^4\) *Arrian, an.* 3. 16. 8 καὶ ραχίς (i.e. Antenor's group of Harmodios and Aristogeiton) 'Ἀθηναίοι ἀκίνητος πάτητε Ἀλκασίων, καὶ τῶν καertos Ἀθηναίων ἐν Κρατίσσω aī eikónis, ἦ δνετω εἰ τόλμην, παντοκράτωρ μείλητα τοῦ Μυτρίδου, <ο> (ius. N. Blaunardius post B. Facili 'non procul') μακράν τῶν Ἐλευσίμων τῶν βομβῶν δαίμονας τῆς μεριμναὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνω (G. Loeschke, followed by J. Törßler, ed. in *Eleusis.* But K. Wachsmuth in *Pauly—Wissowa, Real-Enc.* v. 2335 notes other examples of *'Eleusin* wrongly altered to *'Eleusis*), oifē τοῦ θεοῦ (so A. G. Roos for τοῦ θεοῦ) Ἐλευσίμων τῶν βομβῶν (B. Vulcius reads τῶν Ἐλευσίμων βομβῶν) ἐκ τῶν δαίμων ἑλευσηνεῖται.

\(^5\) Hesych. *Ἑλλήνες* ἀγγέλους, παρά Αργολίτ. H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 259 n. 28 ej. τένων for ἀγγέλων. *Alli alter:* see C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im*
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Heudainemos1; and that the Heudainemoi had something to do with Eleusinian ritual appears from the title of a speech fathered upon Deinarchos, vis. 'The Heudainemoi v. the Kerykes in re the Basket2—presumably the sacred basket of Demeter3. At Corinth there was a similar clan of Anemokolhai or 'Wind-layers,' whose business was to hush the winds to sleep4. Even in the days of Constantine Sopatros of Apameia, a pupil of Iamblichos5, was accused of having bound the south winds and so prevented the corn-ships of Egypt, Syria, and Phoinike from reaching Byzantion: his enemies actually induced the emperor to order his execution6.

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

Alterthum Leipzig 1890 ii. 1. 441 n. 3. Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 209 n. 0 concludes: 'Hesych. v. Ἐδαιμόνες bleibt uns dunkel. Ob der Glossator Ἐδαιμόνες geschrieben, das für θεῖον ἄνεμον genommen und nach Anleitung von Hebr. i. 7 ὅ ποιον ὁτα θεγελόντες αὐτόν πνεύματα interpretet hat, oder wie er sonst zu seiner Glasse gelangt ist, lässt sich nicht sagen.' Hesychios seems to imply that the pagan eponym became a Christian angel without losing his special function of tempering the wind.

1 Supra p. 103 n. 3.
2 Dion. Hal. de Dinarch. 11 (= J. G. Baiter—H. Sauppe Oratones Attici Turici 1850 ii. 332 b g f.) Διὰδικαια Ἐδαιμόνες πρὸς Κήρυκας ὑπὲρ τοῦ κακοῦ κ.τ.λ.

4 Hesych. 'Ἀνεμοκοίται' οἱ ἀνέμους καταπανίσκοντες. γένος τοῦ κακοῦ φανεν υπάρχειν ἐν Κορίνθῳ=Σούτιδ. s.v. 'Ἀνεμοκοίται', cp. Eustath. in Od. p. 1645, 41 f. ἄνθρωπον δέ εἶ το τό ἀνέμους πανεμῆναι (Od. 10. 22) καὶ τὸ Ἀνεμοκοίται, γένος ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἀνέμους καταπανίσκοντες.
5 O. Seeck in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii A. 1005 f.
6 Eunap. v. Aedes. 41 καὶ οἱ πάλαι βασκαινότες, εὐφραίοι καὶ χαρῶν ζωομένοι κάλλιστον, "ἄλλα Σώστατοι γε," ἐφασαν, "ὁ πάρα τοῖς τιμώμεσθαι κατέληξε τοῦ ἀνέμους δι' ἦτορόλαι καθαρὰς, ἢ τὴν κατά ἐπανεῖλον, καὶ δ' ἦτος τοῖς βασκαίνοις ἐγκαθίστα τρόφισιν," καὶ ὁ Κωνσταντίνος ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ καμπανιόλα κατακοπήν κελεύει τοῦ ἀνέμου, καὶ ἐγκυτά διὰ τοῦς βασκαινούς ταῦτα βήτων ἡ ἑλέγετο.
7 Cp. the Indian 'jar of the winds' (infra § 7 b). It was believed that a toad imprisoned in a new jar and buried in the field would safeguard the crops against stormy weather (Plin. nat. hist. 18. 194 Archibius (on whom see M. Wellmann in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 466) ad Antiomach Syrine regem scripsit, si feticl novis obnatur rubeta rana in media segete, non esse noxias tempestates). The same remedy served to protect millet against sparrows and worms (Plin. nat. hist. 18. 158 multi ad milli remediam rubetam noctu arvo circumferri inbent, priusquam saria tantum defodique in medio inclusam feticl. ita nec passerem nec vermes nocere, sed erendum, priasmam metatur; alloquin amaram fieri, Geopon. 2. 18. 14 Αποστράτευσε δὲ ἤλπις (see L. von Schwabe in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 249, E. Oder ib. vii. 122 f.), τρ' πολεμών τοῦ δρόμων, φρέων, τοιντάτε βατραχον κελεύει, μακτόν περὶ αὐτήν περενεγκόντα κατακλείσαι ἐν σκεβεὶ κεραμαίῳ καὶ ἐν μέτοχ
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Alexanémas, 'Averter of Winds', or Kolysanémas, 'Preventer of Winds,' because once, when the Etesian Winds were spoiling the crops, he had asses flayed and bags made of their skins: these bags he proceeded to set round the hills and mountain-tops in order to catch the wind. His choice of the ass was certainly not accidental, for at Taras a sacred ass was allowed to run wild till it was sacrificed.

In Italy toads are said to spring from the first large raindrops of a storm (A. de Geburatis Zoological Mythology London 1872 ii. 379 n. 2), and in France to announce the coming downpour by repeated croaks (P. Sébillot op. cit. iii. 269) or leaps (id. ib. ii. 267). In Switzerland a toad crawling across the road betokens rain (H. Bächold-Stäubli in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens Berlin—Leipzig 1933 v. 609). 'Eine 'Dreissengartenkröte' im Estrich aufgehängt, zieht in Tirol alle 'bösen Winde,' an einem Faden in der Stube aufgehängt, im Kt. Bern alle giftigen Dünste in sich' (id. ib. p. 619).

9 Infrsa § 7 (b).


2 Timaios frag. 94 (Frag. hist. Gr. 1. 215 f. Müller) προ Diog. Laert. 8. 60 φροι δε και Τιμαῖος εν τῇ ὀρκοκακεδακτῇ κατὰ πολλὸν τρόπον πεταλοῦσθαι τῶν ἄνθρωπος. καὶ γὰρ ἐπηρείους τοὺς φοβοῦσας ὡς τοὺς καρπους λυμαράσσαται, κελεύουσα δι' οὗ διάκρισιν καὶ ἄσκοιν ποιεῖν περὶ τοὺς λύσο ἡν καὶ τὰς ἀκραίας διείσειν πρὸς τὸ συλλαβεῖν τῆς ῥόθους δο, Κωλυσακέμα του θυμιαύμα. Souid. s.v. ἕντον cites the same passage, but reads Κωλυσακέμα. The incident is said to have happened at Akragas (Clem. Al. Strom. 6. 3 p. 445, 11 ff. Stahlin Ἑμποδελθεῖν τε ὑπ' Ἀκραγαντίου Κωλυσακέμας ἐπερείη. λέγεται ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκραγαντίου δρόος, πεταλοῦς τοῦ ἄνεμου βαρύς καὶ νοτίωδες τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς γνωσιὰς αὐτῶν ἀγαθίας θυμούμενος, παῦεται τῶν ἄνθρωπων. διό καὶ ἄσκοιν νὰ τοίς ἐπαινεῖ γράφει (frag. 111, 3 ff. Diels): παῦεται δ' ἀκαθάρτω τῶν ἄνεμων μέσος δε' ἐν γαῖας | ὑπῃρέτους νομον, καταφυτῶν ἄνθρωπος | καὶ παῦεται, εἰς ἐθνοσκοῖς, παῦεται παῖδα | ὑπῃρέτους θυμοῦμεν. Souid. καὶ ἀκραίας ἐκείνης Ἐμποδελθεῖν ἐξιδαιμονεῖ ἀπὸ τὸ πολλὸν ἄνεμου ἐπιθετέμενος τῇ Ἀκραγαντίῳ ἐξελείπεται αὐτὴν, διὰ ὅσον ἐν πολλοι ἐπαύεται τῇ πόλει | a note re-inserted with the variation ἄνεμου πολλοῦ ἐπιθετέμενος s.v. Ἑμποδελθεῖν and thence transcribed s.v. Ἑμποδελθεῖν, where it is omitted by codd. V.C.). Here and there, in less credulous quarters, we observe a tendency to minimise the marvel. Plutarch substitutes a practical wall for the bag-magic (Plout. de cortisitate 1 ὁ δ' ἐν φυσικῷ Ἑμποδελθεῖν ὄρους των διασφάλαζε βαρύν καὶ νοτίωθα κατὰ τῶν πεδίων τῶν νότων ἐμπλέουσαν εἰσφάρξει λοιμών ὑδάτων ἔκλεισε τῆς χώρας, adv. Colot. 32 Ἑμποδελθεῖν δέ... τῆς τις χώρας ἀπῆλεξε ἀκραίας καὶ λοιμών, διασφάλαζε βρον καταγείρει, δι᾽ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ πολύν ὑπερβέβλαττα); Philostратas, a passing cloud for the persistent gales (Philos. v. Apoll. 8. 7 8 p. 313 Kaysr ἀκραίας δὲ τὰ Ἑμποδελθεῖν, ὡς νεφέλας ἀναχαίρων ἐν τῷ Ἀκραγαντίῳ βραχυγείῃ); Hesychios, promise for performance (Hesych. Κωλυσακέμας ὑπὸ Ἐμποδελθεῖν ὅπως καλεῖται, ὡς ὑπαχροήματος ἐφάνετο τοῖς ἄνθρωποις). But the fame of the exploit lasted on into the twelfth century (Tzetzs. chil. 4. 524 ff. τὸ πολύν δ’ ὑπαχρεοῦ καὶ αὐτερίω τὶ ποιγνώσκειν πάντα | Ἐθνῖς καὶ Πυθαγόρας τῷ θυμός τῆς Ἀσκράγας | Ἐμποδελθεῖν Μελίτων ὁ καὶ Κωλυσακέμας).

In the corrupt passage Plout. symp. 8. 8 ἡ καὶ τὸ ἰδιόμονον ἔμοι τὰς παναύγεις Πυθαγόρακος περαινεῖ τὰ δόγματα στέγοναι φρένος κ.τ.λ. it is probable that we should read καὶ τὸ ἱδιόμονον ἔμοι τῶν παναύγεις (cp. Aisch. Ag. 214 παναύγεις..., θυμίας) Πυθαγόρακος παραινεῖ τὰ δόγματα στέγειν ἐνοφό τὸν φρένος κ.τ.λ. or the like (see D. Wittenbach ad loc.).
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to the Winds. And his employment of bags recalls the methods used by unsophisticated folk to capture souls.

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

(b) Aiolos Hippotades.

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

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

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

'Artful contrivers and those who practice on infamous practices declare that, if a man flays a dolphin and makes its skin into a bag and then keeps it at home, he will cause to blow whatever wind he may choose.'

Somewhat similar is Philostratos' account of Indian weather-magic. Apollonios of Tyana and his party are visiting the cloud-capped hill of the Brachmanes, four days' journey from the city Parax:

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

1 Od. 10. 31 ταμήν δάφνος ποιητὲς Κρόνων, Verg. Aen. 1. 52 τεκ Αεολος, 65 ff. διών pater atque hominum rex et malicere dedit fluctus et tollere vento.

2 Paus. 5. 8. 2 είναι γάρ φασι καὶ Ἀθληόνν Αἴλων, ἄδει δὲ εὐελεκτομ. It is clear from the context that this Aiolos was the father of Kretheus. It is an assumption that he was one with Aiolos Hippodates.

3 H. Usener in the Rhein. Mus. 1898 iii. 346 ff. (=id. Kleine Schriften Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 274 ff.): 'wie eine Art Zeus' (p. 346 (= p. 275)). We need not, of course, subscribe to Usener's view that Aiolos was the 'Zig-zag' lightning of Zeus (cf. Pind. Ol. 9. 42 αἰαλόβρωτα λίθων ἄδει), or that his six pairs of children were the twelve months of the year. G. Lhertini Le isole Eolie nell' antichità greca e romana Firenze 1931 p. 61 ff. argues that Hippotes was a degraded form of Poseidon Πειπών, Aiolos an ex-appellative of Zeus (Pind. Ol. 9. 42 αἰαλόβρωτα, Orph. h. Ζευς 15. 10 αἰαλόβρωτο) or perhaps rather of Poseidon, the ever-changeful.

4 Ov. met. 1. 262 ff.


7 Cp. supra i. 239, 243.

6 Tzet. in Lyk. Al. 738=schol. Od. 10. 2 φαίνει γάρ οἱ μηχανικά (J. Potter cf. μηχανικοι G. F. Thylllitzsch cf. μαθηματικοι M. C. G. Muller) prints μηχανικοι, but notes: 'Virtuose tamen, μηχανικοι, bene se habent') et οἱ τὰ ἀγαθαυρολεκτή γράφουσιν ὃτι, ἐὰν τε δέλφινα τοίχημα ἄκτισθαι αὐτῶν καὶ ἐχθρὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς τοιχίσθαι τινὶ ἐν νυμφικοὶ ἄνεμον. E. Scheer ad loc. cp. Eustath. in Od. p. 1645, 59 f. παρ' οὐς καὶ βέβαια,...

8 Philostr. v. Apoll. 3. 14 p. 92 f. Kayser καὶ διότι ἐκεῖνοι φασι τιθέναι λίθους μελανοι δέλφινα τε καὶ ἄγκυρα δέττε, τ. ό. κ. L. Euseb. πρὸς ταύς εὔποροι Ἀπολλωνίων τοῦ Τεσσάρων Ἱερσολύνην λαβοῦν 72 p. 388 Kayser scolds at βροντάς καὶ ἀνέμους ἐν πίθου. But the incident is by no means incredible.
by drought, and sends up clouds to moisten the whole country; but if rains should be in excess, it is shut up and puts a stop to them. The jar of the winds, I suppose, plays the same part as the bag of Aiolos; for they open the jar ever so little and let one of the winds blow in season, whereby the country is refreshed.'

Other parallels to Aiolos Hippotades are collected by Sir James Frazer\(^1\). The closest hails from the Slavonic area:

'It is said that Peridoitus, the Lithuanian Aeolus, keeps the winds enclosed in a leathern bag; when they escape from it he pursues them, beats them, and shuts them up again.'\(^2\)

Certain features in the myth of Aiolos invite further investigation. His bag full of winds, opened by the prying followers of Odysseus, bears at least a superficial resemblance to the pithos or 'jar' containing evils opened by the inquisitive woman in Hesiod's *Works and Days*\(^3\), or to the pithos of Zeus containing good things opened by the over-curious man in a fable of Babrius\(^4\). The resemblance is increased if, with Miss J. E. Harrison\(^5\), we accept O. Gruppe's\(^6\) conjecture that the pithos in question was that

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1 Frazer Golden Bough\(^3\): The Magic Art i. 326 f.
2 Id. Th. i. 326 n. 5 after E. Veckenstedt *Die Mythen, Sagen und Legenden der Žmaiten (Litauer)* Heidelberg 1883 i. 153. Sir James Frazer adds: 'The statements of this writer, however, are to be received with caution.'
4 This is part of the etymology of the name of the Administrative unit of the Russian Federation. The name is derived from the Russian *pervyi* meaning 'first' or 'prime'.
5 Id. 85 verandert den Namen in Gardian und Freihof S. 142 deutet, dass Gardianos und Peridoitus ein und dieselbe Gottheit sind.'
6 If Peridoitus was really a wind-god, his name might be related to the Russian *pervyi*, Slovenian *prvi*, *pervao*, etc. (Prelwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*, p. 362, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 771, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*, p. 569) and imply a very crude and primitive conception of the wind as 'flatus ventris.'

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3 *Hes. o.d. 94 ff.*
4 Babir. 58. 1 f. Ζεύς ἐν πίθος τά χρυσά πάντα συλλέγει | θηρεύει αὐτάν πολλάσς παρ' ἀνθρώπους. | ὅ ἐκαστὴς ἄνθρωπος ἐξείλει στείλετο | τά πολλά ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τό πώσι κινήσις, | άσπερ' ἄτελείναι αὐτὰ πρὸς θεοὺς ὀκουσ. | κάκεις πέτασαι τῆς τε γῆς ἄνω φεῦγες. | μονή δ' ἐξαιρεί, ἵνα κατελυθήναι πεῖν τό πώσι. | τούχα ἐλθεὶς ἄνθρωπος | μονή σύνει, τῶν περιπερατον ἄμας | ἄγιον καταστήσει ἐγγυμνὴν δοσίν. This rewriting of the Hesiodic myth was obviously prompted by the later estimate of ἐλτρια as a good, not an evil.
5 'Or the concept of a celestie store-house or treasury see H. Usener *Die Sinfluth- a*, \(1899 p. 182 f f.
of the earth-goddess Pandora opened once a year at the festival of the *Pithoigia* for the temporary release of souls. For winds are notoriously akin to souls. Indeed, Greeks of the mythopoetic age would probably have assented to the direct equation winds are souls. It may even be that the very name *Aiolos* is cognate with the Gothic *saivala* and the English *soul*. The island of Aiolos would on this showing too be an island of souls—a typical Otherworld island, as we had already seen reason to suspect.

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

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1 See e.g. Rohde *Psyche* i. 248 n. 1, ii. 122 n. 2, 264 n. 2, K. Tümpe
6 in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2176 ff., R. v.d. Meulen "Über die litauischen Vélés" in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1914 xiv. 124 ff., L. Weber "Androgos" ib. 1926 xxii. 249 ff., suptn. ii. 62 n. 1 (the Furious Host), and the history of such words as *άνερος*, *άνιμος*, *άνιμα*, *πνεύμα*, *ψυχ*., etc.


4 *Hyg. fab.* 135 ad Aeolum Hellenis filium, cui ab Ioé ventorum potestas fuit tradita. M. Schmidt ad loc. obelizes *Hellenis*, remarking "ismo Hippotó.* Euripides in his *Melanippe deméthis* (Hyg. *fab.* 186), if not also in his *Melanippe sophé* (Greg. *Kos.* in *Hermog.* *μάθησις* *διάσωφη* 28 in C. Walz *Rhetores Graeci* Stuttgartiae et Tubingae 1834 vii. 2. 1313, 6 ff.), made Melanippe the daughter of one Aiolos and the mother of another. Diod. 4. 67 went further in the same direction. His Aiolos, son of Hippotes and Melanippe, was great-grandson of Aiolos son of Hellen, and in turn grand
cousin of Aiolos brother of Boiotos. On these fictitious genealogies see further W. H. Roscher in *Lex.* *Myth.* i. 192 ff., K. Tümpe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1037, 1040; Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* *Rel.* pp. 398 n. 3. 1393 n. 2.

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

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

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

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

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

1 Supra p. 106.
3 Supra p. 106.
4 Macrobius Sat. 5, 17. 18 with L. Jan ad loc.
5 Parthen. narr. am. praeif. 1 ff.
7 Parthen. narr. am. 2, περὶ Πολυμήλης (ιστορεὶ Φιλητᾶς ἕρμη) (on which poem see A. Meineke Analecta Alexandrina Berolini 1843 p. 348 ff., K. Kuiper 'De Philetae Col Mercurio' in H. van Herwerden's Album Gratulatorium Trajecti ad Rhenum 1902 pp. 143—149, J. U. Powell Collectanea Alexandrina Oxonii 1825 p. 91 f.)
8 Apollod. i. 7, 3, cp. Konon narr. 27.
9 Archinos θεοσαλικά frags. 1, 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 319 Müller) ap. schol. T. Od. 10. 7 ἄρχαῖων θῶν, ὃς Ἀρχίων (so W. Dindorf for Ἀρχίων cod.) εἰς θεόσαλικά: πρῶτα de Aiolow ὄρμων κράτε κάπες ἄδελφοι συνοικίαι (so W. Dindorf for συνοικείαι cod.). Cp. schol. B. Q. Od. 10. 7 ἄρχαῖων τῶν τὸ συνοικίζων ἄδελφοις. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἄδελφη ἔοιχε συνοικεὶ τῶν Ἁρμ. κ. τ. Λ. For Archinos see E. Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 541.
10 Hellanik. frag. 46 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 51 Müller) = frag. 74 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 126
Ptolemies married their own sisters is probably to be explained, not merely as a concession to Egyptian feeling¹, but also as a survival or revival of a practice proper to an old Macedonian family of Aeolic extraction. It will be observed that the spelling of the Ptolemies' name—Ptolematos, not Polemalos—certifies their Aeolic descent². Finally, H. D. Müller sought to prove that Hera was originally a goddess of the Aeolians³. If so, the conception of her as sister and yet wife of Zeus may have arisen on Aeolic ground.

Be that as it may, I am disposed to conclude that Aiolas Hippotades was in pre-Homeric days⁴ none other than Aiolas

Jacoby) ap. Const. Porphyrog. de thematibus 2. 2 (iii. 48 Bekker) ἀλλαὶ δ' (sic. derive the name Ἀκαδόνα) ἀπὸ Ἀκαδόνων τοῦ Διόνυ, ὡς Ἐλλάνων Ιερεὺς πρωτή τῶν ἐν Ἀργείᾳ καὶ Ἀκαδόνων <τοῦ (ins. A. Meineke) Αἰολοῦ, <αφ' (ins. C. Müller) αὐτω (obew cod. F., whence C. Müller prints τοῦν) νῦν Ἀκαδόνων καλοῦται, μόνον μετὰ Μυκῶν τόν ἄλλον οἰκίσθης.'


² Frazer Golden Bough: The Dying God p. 193 f. comments: ‘On this hypothesis we can understand why the custom of marriage with a full or a half sister has prevailed in so many royal families. It was introduced, we may suppose, for the purpose of giving the king’s son the right of succession hitherto enjoyed, under a system of female kinship, either by the son of the king’s sister or by the husband of the king’s daughter; for under the new rule the heir to the throne united both these characters, being at once the son of the king’s sister and, through marriage with his own sister, the husband of the king’s daughter. Thus the custom of brother and sister marriage in royal houses marks a transition from female to male descent of the crown¹¹¹’

³ This explanation of the custom was anticipated by McLennan. (The Patriarchal Theory, based on the Papers of the late John Ferguson McLennan, edited and completed by Donald McLennan (London, 1885), p. 95). In this connexion it may be significant that Creons and Zeus themselves married their full sisters Rhea and Hera, a tradition which naturally proved a stone of stumbling to generations who had forgotten the ancient rule of policy which dictated such incestuous unions, and who had so far inverted the true relations of gods and men as to expect to see their deities being edifying models of the new virtues instead of warning examples of the old vices⁴. [Compare Cicero, De natura deorum, ii. 26. 66; [Plutarch], Devita et auspicii Homeri, ii. 96: Lactantius, Divin. Inst. i. 10; Firmicus Maternus, De errore profanarum religionum, xii. 4].


⁵ H. D. Müller Mythologie der griechischen Stämme Göttingen 1857 i. 251 ff.

⁶ E. Forrer 'Vorhomeriche Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazkoi' in the
eponym of the Aeolians, a great tribal chief who after his death was believed by his people to live on in his island of souls. Such an one might well supply the hero of the Otherworld visit\(^1\) with the souls or winds that he needed to waft him back to Ithaka\(^2\).

(c) The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis.

The results of the last section throw a new and welcome light on one of the outstanding problems of Greek religion—the true character of the mysterious powers known to the ancients as *Tritopátores* or *Tritopatreis*\(^3\).

Phanodemos, a Hellenistic historian interested in religious

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1. Der dritte Name ist der Name des Volkes, dem Tavag(a)ivas angehört; er wird nämlich einmal genannt: a-ja-va-la-as-König und dies ist offensichtlich *aölites* "Ölber-König." p. 21 Fassen wir zum Schluss zusammen, was uns die Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi an grundlegenden Angaben über die Griechen liefern: 1. Der König des Landes Ahhhjavá = 'Ahmmaw war seit etwa 1330 vor Chr. als Grosskönig und damit als "Bruder" des Hatti-Königs anerkannt. 2. Er war zugleich als Vasall des Hatti-Königs mit Pamphylien belehnt. 3. Er war ein Ajaivalas = Äolier. 4. Ahhhijavá = Achaia und Lazpas = Lesbos waren seine Kernländer. 5. Ant(a)ivas = Andreas war rund 1350—1325 vor Chr. König von Ahhhjavá und Lazbas, vgl. Punkt 1. 6. Tava-givaivas = Eteokles war sein Sohn und Nachfolger seit etwa 1325 vor Chr. 7. Um 1250 vor Chr. vertreibt Attarissajas, König von Ahhhija, den Madduvattas, den Fürsten des südlichen Kariens." Etc.

2. A. D. Fraser 'The origin of Aeolus' in *The Classical Journal* 1933 xxviii. 364—366 cites *inter alia* a parallel from the north-east coast of Scotland (D. A. Mackenzie *Tales from the Moors and the Mountains* Glasgow 1931 pp. 63—67 'A weather witch, Stine Veg, supplies a party of fishermen with a collection of winds confined in a water jar whose mouth is stopped with a wisp of straw. Like the Ithacans, they are a prey to curiosity and, upon unstoppping the jar, are blown back to their starting-point'). Prof. Fraser concludes: 'The tradition apparently accompanied the Achaeans in their wanderings from some point near the Baltic to the Mediterranean, while a somewhat different version was carried by another branch of Indo-European speaking people into the heart of India.'

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

The attempt of M. Budimir, a Serbian scholar, to invalidate this conclusion, reported by L. Radermacher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* März 4, 1922 p. 199 f. ('Dass diese Form nur eine epische Bildung aus *τριτοπάτωρ* sei des Hexameters wegen, wie P. Kreitschmer meint, ist nicht anzunehmen, da Cicero und attische Inschriften, die Prosa schreiben, ausschliesslich die Form *Tριτοπατρής*—*Tριτοπάτωρ* [sic] kennen. Es ist also auch an diesem Grunde der Name der attischen *ἀνακέ* von dem gutbürgerlichen Verwandtschaftsnamen *τριτοπάτωρ* zu trennen ... und die attischen *Tριτοπατρής* haben mit *τριτοπάτωρ* nichts zu tun'), fails to reckon with the fact that an epic appellative may pass into popular parlance and acquire ritual (e.g. *Γαίηςος* supra p. 10 ff.) or mythical (e.g. *Ἰφιγένεια*) importance. The point is one deserving of further investigation.
Excavations in the Kerameikos at Athens, conducted by A. Brückner and G. Oikonomos from February 1909 to September 1910, led to the discovery of an important group of remains in the angle between the Road to Eleusis and the Street of Tombs. A

1 W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1902 ii. i. 110 no. 3.
3 A. Brückner ἈΝΑΣΚАΦΑΙ ΚΕΡΑΜΕΙΚΟΤ in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἔτ. 1910 pp. 101—111 with figs. 1—3 and pl. Α′ (= my fig. 37).

C. III.
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

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

\[ \text{HABATON } \] ‘Not to be trodden,’

showed that the spot was taboo\(^1\). Behind it were vestiges of a low
circular tomb marked out by large stones. Beyond that in turn was
a four-walled enclosure roughly trapezoidal in shape. In front of its
two eastern corners stood a pair of similar boundary-stones (fig. 37,
nos. 2 and 3), both inscribed in lettering of c. 450—400 B.C.

\[ \text{HOROS } : \text{ HIERO } \] ‘Boundary of the sanctuary
\text{TRITOPATREON } \] of the Tritopatreis.
\[ \text{HABATON } \] ‘Not to be trodden.’

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

\[ \text{HIEROON [TRITOPATA]TREON } \] ‘Sanctuary of the Tritopatreis.’

Here, then, in immediate juxtaposition with the Street of Tombs,
was the simple abaton of the fifth-century Tritopatreis. Within
a stone’s throw of it stood till recently the modern Church of the
Hagia Trias (fig. 37), which by a curious coincidence, if no more\(^2\),
recalls the triple character of the local numina.

U. Köhler\(^3\) in 1879 published a similar but somewhat later
boundary-stone, which he had copied years before in the Central
Museum at Athens. It is inscribed in letters of c. 400—350 B.C.

\[ \text{OROSIE } \] ‘Boundary of the sanct-
\[ \text{POTITIO } \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \] \}
The Tritopatres or Tritopatreis 115

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

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

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

1 J. Töppler Attische Genealogie Berlin 1889 p. 313 says: 'Die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass letztere ein γένος waren, ist meiner Meinung nach mindestens ebenso gross, wie die, dass sie eine Phratrie bildeten.' G. Lippold in the Ath. Mittl. 1911 xxxvi. 166 n. 1 decides for a γένος on the ground that the Pippaxideia (infra p. 118) certainly were such. On the other hand, U. Köhler locc. cist. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf Aristoteles und Athen Berlin 1893 ii. 268 n. 11, W. Larfeld Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik Leipzig 1898 ii. 187 'woll einer Phratrie', and W. Dittenberger locc. cist. prefer to assume a φρατρία.

2 R. B. Richardson in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1895 x. 320 f.

3 J. de Prott Leges Graecorum sacrae Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacr. p. 46 ff. no. 26 B, 30 ff. Σκιρφορίων: πρὸ Σκίρων: Τύπησαν τὰ ὕρα[τ]α οἷς Δ[ή], Κοροτρόφοι χοίροι Δ[ή], λειώσανα Δή, Τριτοπατρεῖ οἷς, λειώσανα Δή, 'Ακάματος οἷς Κατά Δή, λειώσανα

4 Id. ib. p. 46 ff. no. 26 B, 51 ff. Σκιρφορίων: πρὸ Σκίρων: Τύπησαν τὰ ὕρα[τ]α οἷς Δ[ή], λειώσανα Δή, φρατρίων Γ[ή], Τριτοπατρεῖ τραπεζά Δή

5 P. Maas in the Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1927 xlviii. 1935 ('Ακάματον γιον Ηλιγτημών δι' Ακαματιον?').

6 Reading and rendering are alike in dispute. S. Ferri 'La "Lex Cathartica" di Cirene' in the Notizario Archeologico 1927 iv. 91-148 with pls. 14-17 and a facsimile (part of which = my fig. 38) § 4, 22 ff. [cf. kα μαρτιόν ιδία πατρί καὶ ἄγρω και βασκλάτοι] πλὴν άπ' ἄνθρωπῳ Βάτω τῷ τῷ Ἀρχαγέτα καὶ[ι] τριτοπατρεῖ καὶ ἀν' Ὀνυμαντό τῷ
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

K. Latte suggests that these 'Unwearied Ones' might be either wind-spirits or else a euphemistic expression for the dead (kamontes).

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

Δελφώτες (7), | ἀν' ἄλλω δοκὴ ἀνθρώπων ἐκκαίμενοι ὦκ ὀσία ἄγρυθοι, | τῶν δὲ λαρῶν ὀσία παντὶ, 'Alla domanda se (in materia) di oracoli (esista uguale) religioso ognuno, e per il puro e per l'improvo, (Apollo rispose): tranne che (per gli oracoli provenienti) dall' uomo Batto, quello dell' Archegaeta e dei Tritopateres e da Onimastos, quello di Delfi, da qualunque altro (libro) dove uomini hanno lavorato non vi è religio per il puro (cioè: il puro non è obbligato a conformarsi; oppure: deriva empietà al puro che se ne serva). In materia di sacrifici (?) vi è invece uguale religio per tutti indistintamente.'

G. De Sanctis 'Le decretali di Cirene' in the Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica 1927 lv. 185—212 givè $4, 21 ff. [ai] καὶ μαντίς ὀσία παντὶ καὶ ἄγρυθοι καὶ βασίλεως, | πλάν ἀν' ἄνθρωπο τέκνα | [tov] τῶν Ἀρχαγέτα καὶ[1] | τροποπείρω καὶ ἀν' Ὀμηρίστω τῶν Δελφῶν | ἀν' ἄλλω δοκὴ ἀνθρώπων ἐκκαίμενοι ὦκ ὀσία ἄγρυθοι[1], | τῶν δὲ λαρῶν ὀσία παντὶ, 'Se vi è liceità sacra di oracoli (presi nelle tombe) e pel puro e per l'improvo. Salvo che dall'uomo Batto, l' Archegaeta, e dai Tritopateri e salvo che da Onimastos di Delfi, da altro (oracolo) ove un uomo morì (cioè dove è un morto) non vi è liceità sacra (di far consulto) al puro. Di sacrifici (alle tombe) vi è liceità sacra per tutti.'


See further G. Oliverio in the Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica 1928 lvi. 222 ff.

1 K. Latte 'Ein sakrales Gesetz aus Kyrene' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1928 xxvi. 41—51.


3 Supra ii. 1113 n. 7, 1125 n. 1.

4 Pending the full publication in Delos vii. 2, there is an interim-report by M. Holleaux in the Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1907 pp. 353—356 with a photographic cut. The general lie of the land can be well seen from the chart in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1906 xxx pl. 9; but the only plan hitherto published that marks the seklos of Tritopator is that by J. Replat given in Delos vii. 1 opposite p. 2.
level of the virgin soil discovered not only ashes and charcoal, but also the bones of small cattle. Trial pits sunk outside the ring-wall beneath the paving of the triangular place brought similar débris to light. It was obvious that the cult here celebrated was older than the construction of the circular edifice. And an inscription (fig. 40) incised on the inner surface of one of the curved slabs, beneath the cornice, reads as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Trapevátop} & \quad \text{Titopator} \\
\text{Pyrpakidáv} & \quad \text{of the Pyrrhakidai} \\
\text{Alqía} & \quad \text{from Aigilia.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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


3 Hesych. Párrakos: ἐρωτ καὶ ἔρωσι βων γεγονὼν.
Delos\(^1\) and there set up the first wooden statue of Apollon\(^2\). On this showing the circular structure found by Leroux would be in the nature of a Delian family herion\(^3\). Immediately to the south of it are the remains of a Byzantine church. Was this another case of the pagan Tritopatres being replaced by the Christian Trinity?

Putting together these various indications of popular worship, we perceive that the Tritopatres from the fifth century onwards had been established at the cross-roads (Kerameikos, Delos), where a hypaetral enclosure, either trapezoidal (Kerameikos) or circular in plan (Delos), was set apart for them in a roughly triangular space. The cult there carried on might be limited to members of a particular clan (the Zakyadai at Athens, the Pyrrhakidai in Delos) and involved the sacrifice of sheep etc. (Marathon, Delos). In some respects, therefore, the Greek Tritopatres recall the Lares Compitales, who were likewise worshipped at the cross-roads—that immemorial rendez-vous of family-ghosts\(^4\). This disposes us to see in the former, as in the latter\(^5\), ancestral spirits watchful over the welfare of their descendants.

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

\(^1\) Phanodemos frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 366 Müller) ap. Athen. 392 D.

\(^2\) Plaut. ap. Euseb., praep. ev. 3. 8. 1.

\(^3\) P. Roussel in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1929 lisi. 177: 'D'après les observations faites par G. Leroux, un culte était célébré depuis longtemps sur l'emplacement où s'éleva le monument du Tritopater. Tout le quartier a été si profondément remanié jusqu'à la basse époque romaine qu'il est difficile de déterminer l'aspect qu'il pouvait présenter au Ve siècle ou précédemment; mais l'hypothèse n'est point exclue qu'il ait jadis fait partie d'une vaste nécropole dont on a retrouvé des traces, d'une part dans la région à l'Ouest de la partie septentrionale de la rue du Théâtre, d'autre part dans la partie Sud-Est du sanctuaire même d'Apollon, près de l'autel de Zeus Polieus. On imaginerait volontiers que les Pyrrhakidai eurent la tombe réelle ou fictive d'un ancêtre dans cette région et qu'au moment de la purification de 456, on y substitua le monument d'un culte héroïque.'

\(^4\) Id. Delos colonie athénienne Paris 1916 p. 158 n. 6 had already commented on the fact that a similar structure, discovered in 1912 to the south of the lower reservoir of the Inopos, was dedicated to the Νόμιμος Πυρρακίδων. In the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1929 lisi. 171 ff. he adds fig. 5 plan, fig. 6 inscription, and fig. 7 restoration of this second monument.


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

1 See A. Tresp Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller Giessen 1914 p. 110 ff.
2 Paus. 10. 15. 5.
3 F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 591.
5 Philochor. frag. 3 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 384 Müller) ap. Phot. lex. i.v. Τριτοπάτερες, Τριτοπάτερες...Φιλόχορος δὲ τοῖς πρῶτοι εἰς Γῆς καὶ Ὑδάτας, ἀδένας δὲ γενέσεως.
6 Philochor. frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 384 Müller) ap. Harpokr. i.v. Τριτοπάτερες = Phot. lex. s.v. Τριτοπάτερες = Soud. i.v. Τριτοπάτερες...Φιλόχορος δὲ τοῖς Τριτοπάτερες πάντων γεγονέαν πρῶτου τῶν μὲν γὰρ γῆν καὶ τῶν ὕδατων φανέρως, δὲ καὶ Ἀκτιλίαν τῶν καλλίων, γενοῖς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς δὲ τούτων πρῶτοι πανταῖς. Cp. cit. mag. p. 768, 1 ff. (Selene substituted for Ge), Favorin. lex. p. 1775; 48.

If this passage is rightly assigned by C. Müller to the *Athéis*, it may be surmised in view of the inscription from Epakria (supra p. 115) that the other passage (supra n. 5) occurred in Philochoros' treatise on the Attic Tetrapolis (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 410 f. Müller).
7 Lobeck Aglaophamus i. 761 f.
8 Supra ii. 1135 n. 4.
9 Cic. de nat. deor. 3. 53 cited supra ii. 1135 n. 4.
all lay the greater authority of Aristotle, who is said to have used the word *tritopáter* in the sense of ‘great-grandfather’.

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


4 *W.* *Christ Geschichten der griechischen Litteratur* München 1904 II. 2. 290.

5 *Soud.* *s.v.* *Orosφίς* (p. 1175, 11 Bernhardy).


7 *Phot.* *lex.* *s.v.* *Tρισκέννῳ*; εἰς δὲ τοῖς Ὄρφικοι ἀνέμων παῖδες is presumably a blunder for ἀνέμων βηθέας.

8 *Orph.* *Φωκία* *frag.* 240 Abel, 318 Kern ap. Harpocr. *s.v.* *Tρισκέννοι* = *Phot.* *lex.* *s.v.* *Tρισκέννοι* = *Soud.* *s.v.* *Tρισκέννοι*; εἰς δὲ τοῖς Ὄρφικοι ἀνέμων βηθέας τοῦ *Tρισκέννοι* Ἀμακέλης καὶ Πρωτοκλέα καὶ Πρωτοκρόντα (Πρωτοκλέα τοῦ Πρωτοκρόντα Σουδ.), θεαματίζεται.
verse. Others went on to compare them with Aiolos Hippotades, and in so doing all but reached the only satisfactory solution of the whole problem.

For, if the Tritopatres on the one hand are ancestral spirits and on the other hand are winds, that is but another proof of our contention that to naive Greek thinking winds are souls and souls are winds. The *Tritopatres*, the 'Great-grandfathers,' were naturally invoked 'for the procreation of children.' It was they who gave life to each succeeding generation in the form of wind or breath.

Nay more, it was they who were the life of each generation. Every infant lived just because there had entered into its body the breath or wind that was the soul of some long-buried ancestor. That—I take it—was the original function of the Tritopatres, dimly remembered in fifth-century Athens, but still lingering in the background of popular belief, and strong enough to assert itself here and there, in a suburb like the Kerameikos, in a country-town like Marathon, in a distant island like Delos.


2 Τzetz. in Lyk. Al. 738 = schol. Od. 10. 2 καὶ ποτέν ὑπάρχουσα κατὰ τῶν ἄνεμων ὑπάρχουσα καὶ τίνος ἰπτέρας θυρεώσεως ὑπάρχουσα. Other forms of the names: άμαλκέιδην καὶ Πρωτοκλέιαν, καὶ Πρωτοκρέοντα, ὑπάρχουσα καὶ τίνος ἰπτέρας θυρεώσεως. 2 Supra ii. 1039, iii. 109. 3 Rohde Psyche i. 248 n. 1 'Entschlagen wir uns aller Speculation, so erkennen wir in den Tritopatres Ahnmenschen, die zu Windgeister geworden sind und mit anderen ψεύξει (die ja auch vom Windhauche benannt sind) im Winde fahren, von denen, als von wahren πνεύμα πνεύμα [sic Lobeck Aiglaophamus i. 760] ihre Nachkommen Hilfe erhoffen, wenn es sich um Lebensbergen einer neuen ψεύξie handelt. Seelen als Windgeister sind sehr wohl verständlich; bei den Griechen ist diese Vorstellung nur vereinzelt erhalten und ebendarum werden solche vereinzelt im Glauben lebendig gebliebene Windeinselen zu besonderen Dämonen, die Tritopatres nicht anders als die Harpyien (s. Rhein. Mus. 50, 3 ff.)' Cr. B. Schweitzer Heraldes Tübinger 1922 p. 72 ff. (summarised by E. Fehrle in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 1209 f.), who takes the Tritopatres to be ancestral spirits conceived as winds (p. 75 ff. 'Bei der Begattung tritt sie [sic. πνεύμα] aus dem Munde der Eltern aus und vermischt sich mit der wachsenden Frucht...Der Name bedeutet dasselbe wie πρόπατος Ιτ. tritavas = "Drittvater"...also einfach Ahne, ἀρχωγέτης des Geschlechts, der "rechte Vorfahr"').

5 On the reincarnation of ancestors in their descendants see E. B. Tylor Primitive Culture London 1891 ii. 3—5, Frazer Golden Bough: Taboo pp. 365—372. Evidence drawn from Greek and Roman burial customs, Greek nomenclature, etc. is collected by F. B. Jevons 'Greek Law and Folk Lore' in the Class. Rev. 1893 ix. 248 ff. J. E. King 'Infant Burial' ib. 1903 xvii. 83 ff. (Supra ii. 1059), Frazer Totemism and Exogamy ii. 298 ff.
So much for the main point. Sundry side-issues have yet to be settled. If *tritopéter* meant strictly a 'father in the third (ascending) generation' and so, more generally, a 'lineal ancestor,' its correlative would be represented by such words as *tritogenés*¹ and *tritokouře*². G. Lippold³ has ingeniously suggested that an echo of the prayer addressed before marriage to the Tritopatres⁴ may be heard in the first half⁵ of the proverbial line:

Grant me a child that is *tritogenés*, not *tritogénia*⁶—

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

¹ Mostly found as an epithet of Athena (*infra u. 7*).
³ G. Lippold 'ΤΡΙΤΟΠΑΤΡΕΙΣ' in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1912 xxxvi. 105.
⁴ Supra p. 113.
⁶ Schol. v. L. T. v. II. 8. 39 ή δὲ τρίτη φθόνος ἐπέχει' καὶ παρομία παῖς μαν τριτογενῆς ἄν, μὴ τριτογένεια.' ἀρενίδεις γὰρ οἱ τοιῶνται γυναῖκες. The scholiast's explanation of τριτογένεια is, of course, late and worthless (G. Lippold loc. cit. p. 107 f.), but his citation of the proverb is important.


G. Lippold's attempt in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1911 xxxvi. 106 to explain the element τριτο- in Τριτοπάτρεις, τριτογενής, Τριτογένεια, Τριτοκούρα as = γενόσ, γενεα breaks down through lack of any etymological cognates.

⁷ Τριτογενής as an epithet of Athena is not Homeric (T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes on *h. Ath. 4. Tritopatres*), but becomes fairly frequent in later verse (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 15). The earliest examples of it are Aristoph. *eq. 1180* ή Τριτογενής (where Τριτογένεια is a not very probable conjecture: see F. H. M. Blaydes ad loc.) and *oral. ap.* Hdt. 7. 141 = *Anth. Pal.* 14. 93 6 Τριτογενή.
⁸ Τριτογενής is an appellation of Athena, used normally without her name. It is frequent in Homeric and post-Homeric verse (not, however, in tragedy) (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 15), and occasional even in prose (Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. vii. 2472 C—D).

The significance of the titles Τριτογένεια, Τριτογένης as applied to Athena is discussed by T. Bergk in the *Jahrb. f. Philol.* u. *Pädag.* 1860 lxxxi. 305—309= id. *Kleine philo-
claims that the goddess was the genuine descendant of Zeus, Kronos, and Ouranos—a claim whose validity we shall later have occasion to test.

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

Misconception, however, of a sort there certainly was, and indeed still is. For as soon as the prose Tritopátores became the poetic Tritopatres, the way was open for the whole group of Triton-names to overlap and get entangled with an entirely different group of Triton-names, represented by the sea-god Triton, the sea-goddess Amphitrite, a river Triton, a spring or lake Tritonis, etc. These names presuppose triton or the like as an early word for ‘water.’ É. Boisacq, for example, following in the steps of E. Windisch, H. Osthoff, A. Fick, K. Brugmann, and H. Pedersen, relates...
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Triton the god to the Old Irish triath, genitive trethan, the ‘sea.’ This formidable array of philologists may be supposed to have fixed with some certainty the derivation of the names in question. And their assumption, that a word once existing in common speech may have survived only in a handful of proper names, is fully justified by analogous examples. Confusion between the stems Trito- and Trito- undoubtedly modified the meaning of the apppellative Tritogónea, which ceased to be thought of as ‘Great-granddaughter,’ the pendant of Tritopátor, ‘Great-grandfather,’ and was re-interpreted as ‘Born beside the Triton,’ a river variously located in Libya, Crete, Arkadia, Boiotia, and Thessaly. This

1 E.g. bach or bache, a variant of lock, in the place-names Bacup, Comberbach, Sandbach, etc. (J. B. Johnston The Place-Names of England and Wales London 1915 pp. 120, 211, 431) and the surnames Bache, Batch, Bage, Greatbatch, Huntbach (E. Weekley Surnames London 1916 p. 53). Similarly Old High German aha, Middle High German ahe, ‘running water’ (cp. Lat. aqua), survives as a, aa, ach, ache, etc. in a great variety of place-names (W. Sturmfels Eytymologisches Lexikon deutscher und fremdländischer Ortsnamen Berlin—Bonn 1925 p. 1).

2 Supra p. 123.

3 This is the usual version in lexicographers, scholiasts, mythographers, etc.: e.g. Phot. lex. s.v. Τριτόγονης = Σούλιν. s.v. Τριτόγονης: ἢ Ἀθηρία... ὅτι παρὰ < τῷ (εἰς τὸν Λ. τ. Σύριον) Τριτόνων πατομάζεσθαι ἀπελεύσατο... ἢ ἐπεὶ παρά Τριτόνων ἐγένετο... ὅτι ἀπελεύσατο ἐν τῷ Τριτόνων τῷ Λιβύης πατομαζόν. Cr. Hesych. s.v. Τριτόγονης: ἐπιθετικος ἢ Ἀθηρία... ὅτι παρὰ τῷ Τριτόνων, τῷ πατομάζει τῷ Λιβύης, ἀμφισβητοῖτε, et. mag. p. 767, 40 ff. Τριτόγονεια, ἢ Ἀθηρία... ὅτι παρὰ τῷ Τριτόνων πατομαζόν γέγονεν, et. Gud. p. 535, 32 ff. Τριτόγονεια, ἢ 'Αθηρία, ἀπὸ τοῦ πατομαζοῦ, διὸν γεννηθέναι ἀπελεύσατο, Ορίου p. 151, 10 ff. Τριτόγονεια... ὅτι παρὰ τῷ Τριτόνων (P. H. Larcher corr. Τριτόνων) πατομαζόν γεννηθέναι, ...

Schol. Aristoph. eq. 1189 ἐνεντείκοσαν... ὡς καὶ τοῦ Τριτόνων πατομαζοῦ Λιβύης, παρ' ψ' εἶναι τῇ Ἀθηρίᾳ, Eustath. in Dionys. prep. 267 ὅτι τῇ Τριτόνων, εύρεσις λίμνης, μέσης Λιβύης ἔλεγεν: περὶ ψ' καὶ τοῦ νυχτικοῦ ἐστιν εἰς ἀντὶς τῷ μύθῳ τῆς Τριτόγονειας Ἀθηρίαν παραλαμβάνεσθαι βούλετα, ὡς γεννηθέναι περὶ αὕτην, id. in Il. p. 696, 38 ff. (= Favorin. lex. p. 1775, 30 ff.) ὡς δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Τριτόνων Διβυκοῦ πατομαζοῦ καλεῖται οὕτως (sc. Τριτόγονεια), ἀλλαχότως ἄρα, ἐπὶ τὸ 1265, 7 ff. Τριτόγονεια δὲ καταίηθα ἡ Ἀθηρία, καὶ διὰ τοῦ μὲν οὗτος καλεῖται, ἀλλάξαθεν δεδῆλον. ὅτι δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Τριτόνων πατομαζόν ἄλλως λέγεται, ὡς ἐκεί γεννηθεῖσα τῆς Ἀθηρίας, ῥῆτορ εἰς τοῦτο ὑπὲρ ἐκείνο καὶ μόνον, ὡς κτλ., id. in Od. p. 1473, 11 ff. Τριτόγονεια δὲ... ἡ τοῦ Τριτόνων Διβυκοῦ πατομαζοῦ, schol. A.D. II. 8. 39 οἱ δὲ ἑνετείκοσαν τοῖς παρὰ τῷ Τριτόνων πατομαζόν γεννηθέναι, δὲ ἐστι τοῦ Λιβύης. A fine effort of scholastic harmonism will be found in schol. T. (cp. schol. B.L.V.) II. 8. 39 Μήτρια τὴν ὑπερηφάνειαν ἀμελεῖσθαι εἰς πολλὰ τῆς μορφῆς Ζεὺς βουλήσει παρ' ἐναύτῃ ἐχάριτι κατέστησιν ἐγκυών ὁλοκληρώσα ὑπὸ Βρόντος τοῦ Κύκλωπος: τελεφορηθέναι δὲ τῆς παῦσαν, ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τεκνὶ διδόσι τῷ Τριτόνων τῷ πατομαζόν γεννηθέναι τῷ Τριτόνων τῷ πατομαζόν τρέφεσθαι, ὁ θυγατίριον ὑπ' Παλάξα, κτλ. (quoted by Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 355), Mela 1. 36, 37 lection super hunc (sc. Syrtim minore) ingenios palmin annem Tritona recipit, ipsa Tritonis, unde et Minervae cognomen inditum est, ut incolae arbitrantur, ibi genitae; faciuntesque eis fabulacem aliquam fidem, quod quem natalem eius putant ludicris virginum inter se decer-
tantium celebrant, Lact. Plac. in Stat. Thb. 2.722 Tritone: iluivus vel palus in Libya, in qua Minerva dicitur nata, sicut Lucanus (Lucan. 9.354) affirmat, unde Graeci eam Minervam Tritogenium vocant, Myth. Vat. 1. 124 haec et Tritonia dicitur quia circa Tritonium lacum dicitur apparessisse in virginali aetate, 3. 10. nam quod a Libyca palude hoc nomen (sc. Tritonia) meruerit, quia illic a caelo descensum et ad caelum ascensum celebraverit, poeticae esse constat, nam legitur (Lucan. 9.354) : 'et se dilecta Tritonia ( dlg. Tritonida) dixit ab unda.'


4 Dio. 5. 72 μυθολογούσι δὲ καὶ (sc. as well as Zeus; see Dio. 5. 70 cited μυθολογούσι) i. 190 n. 2 την Ἡθήναν κατά τὴν Κρήτην ἐκ Δίος ἐν ταῖς πυγμαί τοῦ 'Trétnos ποταμοῦ γεγενηθῆ: δό καὶ 'Trétnos καὶ ὤμορηθήσθη. ἢστι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐτι πρὶν ταῖς πυγμαί ταῦτας ἑρωῶν ἀγών τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, ἡμ. τότε τῆς γένεσιν αὐτῆς ὑπάρξει μυθολογία (for Diodorus' Cretan sources see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 678).

Dio. 3. 70 (Ammon bid Dionysios, his son by Amaltheis, in a (Cretan? cave) πρός dē tain apò τῆς μυθολογίας 'Ρέας ἐκυψωνόμεν τοιοῦ του παῦλου καταστημέν την Ἡθήναν, μικρὸν πρὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων γεγραμμέν τὰ πρὸ τοῦ 'Trétnos ποταμοῦ, δό δὲ την 'Trétniāν προσθερρηθεῖσα (the source here is the 'Phrygian poem' of Thymoites (Dio. 3. 67), on which see J. Carcopino La Basilique pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure Paris 1927 p. 301 ff.).

These Cretan legends are of little or no authority. They were possibly prompted by the fact that coins of Itanos from c. 460 to the beginning of s. iv B.C. have for obverse type a sea-god, probably one with the 'Dagon' of Arados (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia pp. xx f., 1 f. p. 1, 1—10, E. Babelon Les Peres Achéménides Paris 1893 p. 123 ff. pl. 22, 1—9, id. Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 511 ff. pl. 116, 4—18), since the eponym Itanos is described as a Phoenician (Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ἰακων: πόλις ἐν Κρήτῃ, ἀνάτραυς Ἐνθήνα, ἀνάτραυς Ἐνθήνα, ἀνάτραυς Ἐνθήνα), but in aspect indistinguishable from Triton (J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crète ancienne Mâcon 1890 i. 201 ff. pls. 18, 21—37, 19, 1—9, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 3. 895 ff. pl. 244, 1—16, Head Hist. num. p. 469 fig. 251, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins etc. p. 51 pls. 12, 6—8, 13, 1—4, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 189, McClean Cat. Coins ii. 499 pl. 241, 3 f. Weber Cat. Coins ii. 532 nos. 4499—4503 pl. 163, Bement Sale Catalogue 1924 ii. 19 no. 1306 f. 45), while from c. 356 to the middle of s. iv B.C. the sea-god is replaced by the head of Athena, surviving only as an adjunct on the reverse side (J. N. Svoronos op. cit. i. 204 ff. pl. 19, 10—27, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 3. 901 ff. pl. 244, 17—20, 245, 1—11, Head op. cit. p. 470, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 52 pl. 13, 5—9, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 189 f. pl. 43, 8 f., McClean Cat. Coins ii. 499 f. pl. 241, 5—10, Weber Cat. Coins ii. 533 f. nos. 4504 f. pl. 159, 4506—4512 f. 164, Michailovitch Sale Catalogue 1922 p. 42 no. 629 pl. 24, Bertier de la Garde-Sale Catalogue 1923 p. 92 nos. 2276—2280 pl. 64). I show a representative series, of which fig. 41 = J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 18, 23 Paris, fig. 42 = Babelon Monn. gr. rom. pl. 244, 4 Jameson collection, fig. 43 = a specimen, from unpublished dies, in my own collection, fig. 44 = Photiades Sale Catalogue 1890 i. 104 no. 1393 pl. 7, fig. 45 = J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 9, 6 de Luynes collection, fig. 46 = J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 19, 9 Paris, fig. 47 = Babelon Monn. gr. rom. pl. 245, 4 de Luynes collection.

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

5 Paus. 8. 26. 6 'Ἀλφαφερέως δὲ τὸ μὲν ὅμως τῇ πόλει γέγονεν ἀπὸ Ἀλφάφερου Δικόκου παιδός, ἵνα δὲ Ἀθηναίοι τῷ ἑστὶ καὶ Ἡθήνας, ὅπερ θεῶν σέβονται μάλιστα, γεννάθαι καὶ
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τραφήνα παρὰ σφίνων ἄοτὴν Μέγατις καὶ Δίως τε λαβάσαντο Δισεκάτω (Γένος εἰ. Δισεκάτω) βιομόν ἢτε ἐνταῦθα τὴν Διδυμαύν τεκόντος, καὶ κρήνην καλοῦσι Τριτώνιδα, τὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ποταμῷ τῆς Τριτώνι υἱοικισμένον λόγον. κ.π.α. (supra ii. 782). W. M. Leake Travels in the Morea London 1836 ii. 79 with plan on p. 73 identified this Tritonis with a spring on the north-eastern side of the hill of Aliphera.

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8 Paus. 9. 33. 7 ἢτε δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἄνταῦθα (sc. near Alalkomenai) οὐ μέγας χείμαρρος· ἄνθρωποι δὲ Τρίτωνι αὐτός, ὅτι τὴν 'Αθηνᾶν τραφήνα παρὰ ποταμῷ Τριτώνι ἔχει λόγον, ὃς ἀπὸ τοῦτον τῶν Τρίτωνων ὄντα καὶ ἀληθὲς τῶν Δισιόνων, διὰ ἀπὸ τὸ πρὸς Δίαν (so F. Sylburg for Διόνυσον codd.) θάλασσαν ἐκδιώκειν ἐκ τῆς Τριτώνηδος λύμης. See also schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 1. 109, 4. 1311 (στ. Favonin. i.e. p. 1776, 5 ff.), interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 2. 171, all cited supra p. 126 n. o. The Boeotian towns Athenai and Eleusis (Paus. 9. 24. 2, Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Aθηνη) were situated on the banks of the Triton (Strab. 4077), which W. M. Leake Travels in Northern Greece Cambridge 1835 ii. 135 f. identifies with the stream near the village of Salinari. K. O. Müller Orchomenos und die
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re-interpretation, a commonplace of classical mythology, is not expressly recorded till the Graeco-Roman period, though there are stray hints of it as early as the fifth century B.C. 1.

Whether the same confusion of Trito- with Trito- ever brought the Tritopatores or Tritopatreis into relation with the water-powers seems to me more problematical. M. Budimir, who claims that the Tritopatreis had something to do with wells, quotes from the Epakria calendar certain "priestly dues on account of the well for the Tritopatreis 2." Unfortunately—as may be seen from J. von Prott's edition of the text 3— the priestly dues and the well belong to one clause, the Tritopatreis to another. The two are juxtaposed, but not connected. Apart from this, Budimir has to fall back on the somewhat remote analogy of the Vedic god Tritra, who sits in wells and presses soma 4.

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

Mightiest power that Hadria knows,
Wills he the waves to madden or compose.

Minyae 6 Breslau 1844 p. 349 ff. argued that the 'Ursitz' of Athena Τριτογένεια was Boiotia, whence the myth spread with the Minyai to Libya. Similarly Farnell Cults of Gr. States i. 266 ff. holds that Athena Τριτογένεια originated in Thessaly or Boiotia, and thence passed to Kyrene. 7


1 Aisch. Eurip. 292 ff. ἀλλ' ἐστε χώρας εν τοίσοις Λιβυστικής (so Auratus for Λιβυστικεῖα coedd.) Τριτώνος ἄμφι χεύμα γεγονόμενο πόρον / τίθησιν ὅρθων ἢ κατημετρήθη πόδα (κα. Αθηναίων), κ.τ.λ., Hdt. 4. 180 τούστων δὲ ἔχουσα τῶν Μακεδῶν Ἀσσαίων: οὖσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μάχυλες πέρας την Τριτωνίδα λίμνην ὁδοίον, τὸ μέσον δὲ σφι οὐδέρει ὁ Τριτών...ὑπῆρη δὲ ἐναντίοις Ἀθηναίων αἱ παρθένους αὐτῶν δίχα διαστάσεις μᾶχαντας πρὸς ἀλλήλας λίθῳ τε καὶ βυθοὶ τῷ ἀθώνει τῷ δέκτω λέγουσα τὰ πάτρα τοῖς ἀποστελεῖν, τὴν Ἀθηναίων καλωσάς. τὰς δὲ ἀποθηκοῦσας τῶν παρθένων ἐκ τῶν τριμνῶν γυναικεῖον καλωσάς. πρὸς δὲ ἀκράνα αὐτῶν μάχασθαι, τάδε ποιεῖσθαι κοινοῖς: παρθένων τὴν καλλιαντοῦσαν ἐκάστοτε κοιμήσας κυνή τῇ Κασανδρῇ καὶ τακτοπλήρ' Ἐλληνική καὶ ἐν ἁμίαν ἀναβιβάζαςτε περιάγετε τὴν λίμνην κόκλει. ὅτωσι δὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐκάμμον τὰς παρθένους πρὸς δὲ ἐναντίοις Ελληνας παρακουθήθην, ὅπερ ἔχω εἰπείν, δοκῶ δὲ ὡς Ἀγαπατισμὸς ὁ ποιήσαις κοιμήσας ταύτα...τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίων φωτὶ Ποσειδώνων εἶναι θυγατέρα καὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνης, καὶ μοι μεμφεῖσας τῷ τῷ πατρὶ δοῦσα εἰσιν ἐκεῖνη τῇ Διи, τὸν δὲ Δία ἐσώμενον μοι ποίησαις θυγατέρα, Eur. Ion 871 ff. καὶ τὴν ἐν ἔργοις κοιμοῦσας θεᾶν | λίμνης τ' ἐνάθροι Τριτωνίδων | πότινας ἀκτῶν, Aristoph. Lys. 346 ff. καὶ σε καλῶ σάμπαλα, ὡς | Τριτωνίδει, ἤ τις εὐκίστεις ὑποπρέπεις αὖρη, | φθειραί διὸν μεθ' ὧνων.


3 The text is given supra p. 115 n. 4.


5 Hor. od. i. 3. 15 f. trans. J. Conington.
In art, as H. Steinmetz pointed out, wind-gods approximate to the Tritonian type. Lucian touches in the portrait of Thrasyklès the philosopher with a few effective phrases:

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

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

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2. Loukian. *Tim.* 54 ἀλλὰ τῇ τούτῳ; ὦ Ῥασυκλῆς ὁ φιλόσοφος οὖσας ἑστὶν; ὦ μὲν οὖν ἀλλ᾽ ἐπετάσσει γαῖαν τῶν πάγωνα καὶ τὰς ὕφασιν ἀνατεῖν καὶ βρετηδομᾶς τέος ἀυτῶν ἔρχεται, τίτανας βλέπων, ἀνασκοπόμενος τὴν ἔτη τῷ μετέωρο κόμην, Αὐτοβορίας τις ἡ Τριτών, ὁς οὖν ἔλειψε ἐγραφείν.
5. *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2519 a ΓΕΝΙΟΣ || ΚΩΣ || ΚΙΛΙΑ || ΘΗΣ, b ΠΑΝΟΠΗ || ΒΟΡΧΟΣ || ΘΕΤΙΚ || ΤΡΙΤΩΝ, c ΔΩΤΩ || ΝΥΜΦΟΓΕΝΗΣ, ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ || ΠΛΑΣΜΩΝ || ΙΝΩ.
7. P. Gramброс in *Le Musée Belge* 1906 x. 555 ff. and in *Byzantium* 1926 iii. 29 ff. notes the discovery in Tenos, about the year 1906, of a tower like that of the Winds at Athens. This new tower has an inscription (Inscr. Gr. ins. v. 2 no. 891, cp. A. Rehm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2447) which shows that Andronikos, the constructor of both, was a native of Kyrrhos in Makedonia (not Kyrrhos in Syria) and that the tower at Athens must be dated in the time of Iulius Caesar.

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

\(^1\) H. Steinmetz De ventorum descriptionibus apud Graecos Romanosque Gottingae 1907 pp. 42 ff., 80, id. ‘Windgötter’ in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1910 xxv. 34 ff.

\(^2\) Vitr. 1. 6. 4, cp. Varr. rer. rust. 3. 5. 17.
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

Fig. 50.

Fig. 51.
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

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

4 T. L. Shear in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1931 xxxv. 428 ff. figs. 5—10 reports the finding of Roman chamber-tombs cut out in the hard clay of a hillside S.E. of Cheliotymilos near Corinth. One of these, originally constructed towards the end of s. i A.D. (fig. 5=my fig. 50), had a circular well-shaft (6'93m across, 2'30m deep) in the floor of its inner chamber—perhaps to quench the thirst of the departed (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 831 n. 1, infra § 9 (d) ii (a))—and was decorated with several paintings. That on the tympanum of the niche in the S. wall of the outer chamber (fig. 6=my fig. 51) shows a large krater (orange ground, red lines) flanked by a pair of plunging dolphins, above which are two Tritons (orange and red bodies, greenish-blue tails), each blowing a long reed and holding a wand. Wavy blue strokes below the dolphins indicate the sea. On the N. wall of the outer chamber, at the E. end of the grave is a large trident painted on the transverse wall.
5 Clarac Mus. de Sculpt. pl. 207 fig. 196 (= Reimarch Rép. Stat. i. 95 no. 3) with Texte ii. 502, Fröhner Sculpt. du Louvre i. 403 f. 430, F. R. Dressler in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 1194 f. fig. 25. A sarcophagus-front of Luna marble. Height 0'52m. Length 2'15m.
about the same time but used for a Christian burial perhaps two centuries later (fig. 53) 1.

The significance of this marine cortège has been differently conceived by different critics. F. Buonarroti 2 in 1698 held that graceful Oceanic figures were believed to escort deserving souls to the Islands of the Blest. His view, accepted by archaeologists of the eighteenth century, was extended by E. Q. Visconti 3, who remarked that sea-processions of the sort were suggestive of a Bacchic theasos. E. Petersen 4 caught at the notion and regarded the riot of sea-creatures as an attempt to symbolise the joyous revels of pious souls on entering the Otherworld. He observed that the movement of such groups is centripetal, not processional, and consequently abandoned the idea of an escort to the Islands of the Blest. He failed, however, adequately to explain why ordinary mortals should thus suffer a sea-change. Neither Ino 5 nor Enalos 6 is typical of commonplace humanity. W. H. Roscher 7 suspected that the clue lay in the Samothracian mysteries. Sundry myths of the

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1 C. L. Visconti ‘Sarcofago con rappresentanza di Nereidi e Tritoni’ in the Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma 1873 i. 192-200 pl. 4 (= my fig. 53). Found near the western side of the large square porticus to the right of the Basilica of S. Lorenzo at Rome. Height 0'68 m. Length 2'10 m.

2 The acclamation PROMOTORI HABEAS (for Promote, avete) is followed by a Latin cross with spread ends.

3 F. Buonarroti Osservazioni storiche sopra alcuni medaglioni antichi all’ Altezza servissima di Cosimo III, gran duca di Toscana Roma 1698 pp. 44, 114.


5 Pind. Ol. 23 28 ff., cp. supra i. 674.

6 Supra i. 170.

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Fig. 43.
A stucco-relief in the semi-dome of the subterranean basilica at Rome:
the last voyage of the soul over the waters of death to the Islands of the Blest.
Tyrsenian Pelasgoi, who founded these mysteries, told how mortals were transformed into sea-deities or sea-creatures—witness Ino Leukothea, Halia, Kombe, Palaimon, Glaukos Pontios, Enalos, and the Tyrsenian pirates metamorphosed into dolphins. Accordingly Roscher conjectured that any Samothracian mystic drowned at sea was said to have become a deity or a denizen of the deep. Hence the frequency of these 'Samothracian' designs. H. Steuding replied that, if so, we ought to see the deceased himself portrayed as one of the marine powers rather than his effigy borne aloft in their midst. The matter is still in dispute. Personally, I am impressed by F. G. Welecker's claim that these sarcophagi are descended from the famous group by Skopas, of which Pliny says:

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

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

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6. This escapes E. Petersen’s objection that the movement of the group is centripetal, not processionall (supra p. 133).
7. Mrs. A. Strong, *Apostlesis and After Life* London 1915 p. 215 ‘The dolphins and marine monsters, another frequent decoration, form a mystic escort of the dead to the Islands of the Blest, and at the same time carry with them an allusion to the purifying power of water and to the part assigned to the watery element in Mithraic and solar cults.’ I am not satisfied that we need to assume any such further implications.
sea with threatening breakers. A rock-bound coast looms up on either hand. From the headland on the right, where a tree is growing, a veiled woman with a lyre steps down towards the water, attended by Eros. In front of her a Triton, or perhaps rather a personification of the Wind, holds a mantle to serve as her ferry-boat across the flood. On the cliff to the left sits a man, who leans his head on his hand in an attitude of deep dejection. In front of him a second and unmistakable Triton turns away, blowing a blast on his horn. Finally, in the distance is seen a rocky island, on which stands Apollo holding out his hand as if to welcome the woman.

F. Fornari\(^1\), one of the two scholars first privileged to publish this wonderful composition, saw at once that the subject must be the last voyage of the soul over the waters of death to the Islands of the Blest. Much has been written on the relief since then\(^2\), and, though various points of content\(^3\) and style\(^4\) remain uncertain, it

by G. Bendinelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1926 xxxi pl. 11 (= my pl. xix), 12 (centre), 13 (right side), 14 (drawing). To photograph well an apsidal relief in such a position is something of a technical triumph.

\(^1\) F. Fornari in the *Not. Scavi* 1918 p. 49, being part of the initial publication (E. Gatti and F. Fornari ‘Brevi notizie relative alla scoperta di un monumento sotterraneo presso Porta Maggiore’ in the *Not. Scavi* 1918 pp. 30–39 and 39–51).


\(^3\) It is *à priori* probable that the conch of the apse represented a myth rather than a relief. There was therefore something to be said for the suggestion of C. Densmore Curtis ‘Sappho and the “Leucadian Leap”’ in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1920 xxiv. 146–150 that the stucco portrays a well-known story, namely the famous “Leucadian Leap” of Sappho in her attempt to be freed from her hopeless love for Phaon’ (Ov. *her. 15. 157–184*). F. Cumont ‘La basilica sotterranea presso Porta Maggiore a Roma’ in the *Rassegna d’Arte* 1921 pp. 37–44 held that this explanation of the scene was possibly compatible with his own Pythagorean hypothesis. J. Carcopino *Encore la Basilique de la “Porta Maggiore”* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1923 ii. 1–23 turned possibility into something very like certainty by pointing out that the Pythagoreans were much concerned with the myth of
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Sappho and Phaon (Plin. nat. hist. 32. 20 ob hoc (sc. male root of white cryngo) et Phaonem Lesbian dilectum a Sappho, multa circa hoc non Magorum solum vanitate, sed etiam Pythagoricorum). E. Strong and N. Jolliffe 'The Stuccoes of the Underground Basilica near the Porta Maggiore' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1924 xlii. 65—111 justly observe (p. 103 f.): ‘It is true that Pliny says nothing about the death or leap of Sappho, nothing therefore bearing on the subject of theapse stucco, yet we may now reasonably assume that the whole Sappho legend entered into Pythagorean lore, and that M. Carcopino by this timely discovery has disposed of any doubt as to the Pythagorean character of the basilica, or as to Sappho’s leap being the subject of the apse stucco.’ They themselves go further and, taking a hint from H. Stuart Jones (ib. p. 103 n. 124 a), interpret the relief as a scene of apotheosis by water (op. G. Glotz L’ordre dans la Grèce primitives Paris 1904 pp. 34—50 (‘Le saut de Leucade’))—’the root idea of baptism.’ See further P. Boyancé ‘Leucos’ in the Rev. Arch. 1929 ii. 211—219—an interesting discussion of Pliny’s candida cryngo=Γαργάνως, μῆλον, ἱαμπρᾶ, etc. (Dioskor. 3. 21 (24) p. 363 f. Sprengel), δῆλον (Mart. Cap. 141, where cod. A has λυκύς with gloss herba albula ut quidam lilium).

Fig. 54.

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

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

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

The deserted man on the rocks to the left has been compared by F. Cumont in the Rassegna d’Arte 1921 p. 30 with analogous figures on Attic sepulchral steii.

But much has yet to be done by way of investigating the antecedents of these and other individual motives.
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

Fig. 58.
is now generally admitted that the whole design illustrates the entrance of the soul into the Otherworld as conceived by some Pythagorean sect in the middle of the first century A.D. But we are concerned with the Tritons only, who here as on the sarcophagi are present to control the winds and waves, thereby averting the perils of the last dread voyage. If on the sarcophagus in the Galleria Corsini at Rome (fig. 55)¹ they are exceptionally equipped with the thunderbolt of Zeus⁴, the helmet sword and shield of Ares, the arrows and torch of Eros, etc., that is tantamount to saying that Tritons and the like in this connexion are not merely graceful gambollers but the equivalent of a whole heavenly host.

To sum up, it would seem that the Tritons came to be regarded as, like the Tritopatres, at once controllers of the wind and guardians of the soul. But this was a matter of similarity, not of identity. If Tritogèneta meant first ‘Great-granddaughter’ and then ‘Born beside the Triton’⁵, that was a case of sheer verbal confusion. Nor have we the right to infer from it a real relationship between the Tritopatres and the Tritons. And, in the absence of any inward identity, I find no sufficient reason for thinking that the Tritopatres were ever outwardly figured as Tritons with fishy tails; still less, for supposing that they already had the Tritonian type in the sixth century B.C. Accordingly, I definitely reject the view of Furt-


² E. Vinet in the Rev. Arch. 1835 p. 100 ff. with fig. (= my fig. 56) published a gem-impression, obtained from T. Cades, which shows a Triton equipped with thunderbolt and trident. Vinet thought him Algaion.

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

(d) Zeus Oůrios, Ikmenos, Euánemos, Bórēios.

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

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

3 B. Schweitzer Hermacke Tübingen 1922 p. 72 ff. (summarised by E. Fehrle in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 1909 f.), supra p. 123 n. 5.
4 Eur. Hs. 171 ff. τρωμάτων Τυφώνας, where P. Elmsley would not have conjectured Τυφώνας, had he lived to see the triple monster of the Hekatompedon (supra ii. 805 n. 6) or that of the black-figured klytix at Florence (T. Wiegang Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 76 f. fig. 84 a and b).
5 Supra p. 106 ff.
6 Infra Append. P (1).
7 This is nowhere stated. But the early connexion of Aeolians with Asia Minor (V. G. Childs The Aryans: A Study of Indo-European Origins London 1946 p. 47 f., supra p. 111 n. 4) and that of Achilles with Leuke (first in the Aithiopi of Arktinos ap. Prokl. chrestomath. gramm. 2 in Eicic. Gr. frag. i. 34 Kinkel—a source referred by W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1912 i. 63 and 97 to s. viii b.c.) combine to give the surmise some measure of probability. Later, of course, Aiolie was located in the west, being identified with one of the Liparisian uncles. But K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1032 ff. makes it clear that this transference from Aegean to Sicilian waters was the work of Chalcidian colonists.

W. W. Merry in his note on Od. 10. 3 writes: ‘May not the whole story of the floating island with its precipitous sides be a poetical reproduction of the story of some Phoenician sailors, who had voyaged far enough to the north to fall in with an iceberg? The sheer face of ice and the glittering summit seem to be perfectly described by the words χάλκεον τείχος and λιθος αναδυόμενον πέτρας? When it comes to the interpretation of an ancient myth, rationalism is usually wrong (supra i. 418). Nevertheless Merry’s suggestion should not be scouted; for a perusal of Append. P will suffice to show that the floating islands of the Greeks and Romans have almost invariably some foundation in fact. Moreover, icebergs in the Black Sea are not beyond the pale of possibility. W. B. Carpenter in The Encyclopaedia Britannica Edinburgh 1873 iii. 797 says: ‘It is reported...that in 401 B.C. the surface of the Euxine was almost entirely frozen over, and that when the ice broke up enormous masses were seen floating in the Sea of Marmora for thirty days [Chron. Pasch. 307 B (i. 568 Dindorf)]. In 762 B.C., again, the sea is said to have been frozen from the
there is good reason to think that Aeolian kings (Salmoineus, Keyx, Ixion, etc.) were at one time regarded as human embodiments of Zeus. Indeed, modern mythology is inclined to conjecture that Aiolos himself began life as an appellative of the same god. It would not, therefore, be surprising to find that in saga expanded from Aeolian lays a favouring wind was deemed the special gift of Zeus, or that the cult of Zeus as sender of such a wind persistently clung to the Aeolian coast-line.

In point of fact both expectations are justified. It is often and, in my opinion, rightly supposed that the Homeric poems were essentially the dactylic lays of Aeolian Thessaly put together in hexameter form by a poet or poets who somewhere on the fringe of Asiatic Aiolis, not improbably at Chios, used an Ionic dialect with an inevitable admixture of Aeolisms. Hence Homer, true to Aeolic terminal cliffs of the Caucasus to the mouths of the Dniester, Dnieper, and Danube; and contemporary writers assert that the quantity of snow which fell on the ice rose to the height of from 30 to 40 feet, completely hiding the contour of the shores, and that on the breaking up of the ice in the month of February, the masses of it carried by the current into the Sea of Marmora reunited in one immense sheet across the Hellespont between Sestos and Abydos [Theop. Chron. ii. 670 Classen, Zonar. 15. 7, Glykas ann. 4 p. 517 Bekker]. No similar occurrence has been subsequently recorded. According to Chambers's Encyclopedia London and Edinburgh 1923 ii. 206 s. w. 'Black Sea,' 'All the coasts are high, with good harbours, except between the mouths of the Danube and the Crimea; there the land is low, and the danger of navigation greatly increased in winter by the presence of floating ice..... The shores from Odessa to the Crimea are ice-bound during January and February; and although the harbour of Odessa is never frozen up, yet the drift-ice frequently renders the entrance to it dangerous.' See further Hdt. 4. 28 (cited Gell. 17. 8. 16, Macrobi. Sat. 7. 12. 31), Verg. georg. 3. 349 ff., Strab. 73 and 327, Ov. trist. 3. 10. 31 ff., ex Pont. 3. 1. 15 f., 4. 9. 85 f., Sen. H. f. 539 f., Mela 1. 19. 115, Macrobi. Sat. 7. 12. 32 f.

8 Supra p. 135. 1 Supra ii. 1088, 1122 f. 2 Supra p. 107 n. 4.

3 Literature on the subject is cited and in part criticised by W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1912 i. 68 f., K. Witte in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 2320 f., Lübbe Realex. 3 p. 473, P. Cauer Grundfragen der Homerkritik Leipzig 1921 i. 136—179. The topic is dealt with here and there by D. Mulder 'Bericht über die Literatur zu Homer (Höhere Kritik) für die Jahre 1912—1919' in the Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft 1920 clxxxii. 1—164 and 'Bericht über die Literatur zu Homer (Höhere Kritik) aus den Jahren 1920—1924' ib. 1926 cccvii. 1—90. 171—255. I follow the lead of my friend Dr P. Giles in the Cambridge University Reporter for March 9, 1915 p. 696, as does that trenchant critic T. W. Allen Homer: the Origins and the Transmission Oxford 1924 p. 193 (who, however, will not admit any 'Aeolic lays'). But see now M. P. Nilsson Homer and Mycenaen London 1933 p. 167 ff., who argues afresh that the Homeric language is a 'Kunstsprache' and concludes a most temperate discussion thus: 'We may surmise that the first Ionic minstrels took over Aeolic epics—but not the songs which we read to-day—perhaps rather mechanically substituting their own dialect and admitting chiefly such Aeolic stock expressions, words, and forms, for which metrically equivalent Ionic forms were wanting. As the songs were constantly rehandled and even new songs composed, the close fusion of Aeolic words and forms with an Ionic basis was the ultimate result. It is impossible to guess how long a time such a process may have taken. We can only be certain that it must have been long,
Zeus Oýrios, ikmenos, Euánemos, Bóreios

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

Again, Zeus as sender of the fair breeze (oýros) bore the cult-title Oýrios at least as early as 475 B.C. For, writing about that date, Aischylus makes the suppliant Danaides appeal to Zeus Oýrios. They had travelled far and would fain reach the haven of their desires. Who should waft them on their way, if not the great Argive god from whom through Epaphos they traced their descent?

Zeus Oýrios had a sanctuary on the Asiatic side of the Thracian Bosporos. This was known to the Greeks as Hieron, the ‘Sanctuary’ par excellence. The tabula Peutingeriana at Vienna, a road-map of the Roman world drawn and painted at the beginning of the beginning because the evolving of such an artificial language is a slow process. We have further to admit that this formation of a traditional epic language took place twice, first in Aeolic dialect and for a second time in the Ionic dialect, the creation of the fundamentally Ionic language of Homer with an Aeolic admixture.' Etc.

1 Od. 5. 176 ἄγαλλομεναι Δῶς ὀδῷ. 2 Od. 12. 297 ἄγαλλομενεὶ Δῶς ὀδῷ. Strab. 350 quotes the passage as reading ἄγαλλομενεὶ Δῶς ὀδῷ, in which form the line recurs in H. Ap. 427. 3 Od. 15. 475 ἐκὶ δὲ Ζεὺς ὁ ὄρος ἅλλος. 4 Ap. Rhod. 4. 1323 f. ἠθεῖε δ' ὁ ὄρος | ἄκραθι ἄκρα ὅτι δῶς, Ττετε. ἀντίκομ. 97 ἐν Ἠράρχῃ ἐπαγγέλλομεν Δῶς ἀδελθον ὀδῷ. 5 H. Ap. 433 f. ὡδ' ἀκραθὸς βέρορος μέγας αἰθροῦ, ἐκ Δῶς αἰθροῦ, ὥλαθρο ἐπαγγέλθων ἐκ αἰθροῦ, κ.τ.λ. 6 Ap. Rhod. 2. 498 f. ἔχει δ' ἄνθρωποι (so G. W. Mooney with one of the Paris codd. εἰρήνων vulg.) ὀργῇ ἐπίκρασαν, οὗ τ' ἄνδρα παῖς | γαῖαν ὁμοίας τούτῃ Δῶς πετειοναὶ ὁμοίων (A. H. Matthiae c. οἰκοὺς can claim the support of four Vatican codd.), 7. 574 f. τοῦ δ' ἐκρίει | γαῖαν ἐπιφέρουσαν ἄνθρωποι (so G. W. Mooney for ἄνθρωποι vulg.) ἐκ Δῶς ἄνθρωπον ἓκαστα ἀνθρώπου.

7 Aisch. suppl. 591 f. αὐτὸς δ' ἰπτήρ φυτοφύλαξ αὐτόχρωμ αὐτάκη | γεγονε ταλαισφεραν μέγας | τέκτων, τῷ πᾶν μύχαρ, ὀδῷς Ζεῦ. 8 The word μύχαρ in Aisch. loc. cit. hints at the Argive cult of Zeus Μυχαέτος (supra ii. 1144 n. 2). 9 So the context definitely asserts. For detailed proof see the stenmatia in Gerhard Gr. Myth. ii. 234. 10 Arrian. peripl. Pont. Eux. 37 (Geogr. Gr. min. i. 401 Müller) ἐκ δὲ Κνασέων ἐπὶ τῷ Ἴπερῳ τῶν Δών τοῦ Ὀρίου, ὦ περὶ τὸ στάμα τοῦ Πόντου, στάθηκα τεταράκτων. 11 Marcian. Heracleea. epic. peripl. Mevér. 7 f. (Geogr. Gr. min. i. 568 f. Müller) κατά τὴν Ὀρίου Βόλταρου καὶ τὸ στάμα τοῦ Βολτάρου ὡς τε δεξιά τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἄκρα ἐκὶ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἔδρας, κεῖται χωρίον Ἴπερον καλαμάκκος, εἰς ψυχάς ὡς Δῶς Ὀρίου προσαγορευόμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τῷ χωρίῳ ἄφθυμως ὡς τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον πλεοντῶν... ἀπὸ Ἴπερου Δων Ὀρίου εἰς Τρῆμα ποταμὸς εἰς στάδιαν μ' = anon. peripl. Pont. Eux. 1 and 3 (Geogr. Gr. min. i. 402 f. Müller). See further E. Oberhammer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 733 f. with large-scale map ib. 749 f.
thirteenth century, but based on an archetype of 130–150 A.D.,
duly records the place as iouis urius (fig. 57). The cosmographer
of Ravenna, whose seventh-century work, perhaps composed in
Greek, is extant in a ninth-century Latin version, terms it both
ieron and Urion, while the Italian geographer Guido in 1119 A.D.
borrows from him the name ieron or Hieron. P. Gilles (Gyllius)
in his learned commentary on Dionysios of Byzantion, whose
Voyage up the Bosporos he had discovered c. 1549, gives for the
first time a detailed description and history of the spot. E. D. Clarke
in 1816 notes that a town in the vicinity bears the name Joro or
Joron. And the Genoese castle at Anatoli Kavghi is still called

Fig. 57.

1 M. Schanz Geschichte der römischen Litteratur München 1899 ii. 1. 288.
2 K. Miller Die Weltkarte des Castorius genannt Die Peutingerische Tafel: Einleitender Text Ravensburg 1887 p. 96, id. Weltkarte des Castorius genannt Die Peutingerische Tafel Ravensburg 1888 segmentum ix. 2 (a full-sized reproduction in the original colours, from which my fig. 57 is taken). Note the proximity, in segmentum ix. 3, of the Ins. Achillis sive Lena dicta.
4 Ravenn. anon. cosmogr. i. 17 p. 38, 1 Pinder—Parthey.
5 Id. ib. s. 9 p. 364, 1 Pinder—Parthey.
6 Guido geogr. 100 p. 529, 21 Pinder—Parthey.
7 Id. ib. 121 p. 548, 13 Pinder—Parthey.
8 A work formerly believed to have been written before 196 A.D. (E. Oberhammer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 755), but more probably of later date (H. Berger ib. v. 971).
9 Gyllius in Dionys. Byz. frag. 47 (Geogr. Gr. min. ii. 57 Muller) and frags. 58, 59 (Geogr. Gr. min. ii. 75—81 Muller). The same fragments are printed in the editions of Dionysios the Byzantine by C. Wescher (Parisii 1874 p. 27, 5 ff. (Ixxv) and p. 29, 16 ff. (xciii, xcilli) and by R. Güngörrich (Berolini 1937 p. 27, 16 ff. (76) and p. 29, 30 ff. (92, 93)) without the remarks of Gyllius.
10 E. D. Clarke Travels in various countries of Europe Asia and Africa London 1816 i. 439 n. 4.
by the Turks Ioros Kalessi. Here on a bold promontory, commanding both the sequestered bay of Beuyukdere and the broad waters of the Black Sea, J. Millingen brought to light substantial remains of Greek architecture, which he attributed to the temple.

1 E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 757.
Zeus Όθιηρις, ικμενος, Ευάνεμος, Βόρειος 145
(fig. 58). These comprise a fine gateway of Parian marble flanked by two columns some 18 ft high; they rest on a great marble threshold and are spanned by a lintel 12 ft 6 ins long and 6 ft broad. Above this rises an archway in the castle-wall, topped by a Byzantine cross; and finally a marble slab on the right-hand tower is inscribed with the ancient formula 'The light of Christ shineth over all.' It is possible that a large Ionic capital found by E. D. Clarke on the neighbourly headland of Argyronion came, as he supposed, from the same site. Philostratos of Lemnos in the first half of the third century A.D. describes a picture of the Bosporos, and bids us notice various details of its coast-scenery 'until we reach Hieron. And'—he continues—'I think you can see the temple there and stèlai set round it and the beacon at the mouth of the straits, hung aloft as a signal to ships sailing from the Pontos.' One at least of the said stèlai has come down to us—a marble base found by J. Spon and G. Wheler on their Levantine tour (1675—1676) in a house near the church of Kadi-Kioi (Kalchedon), and now preserved.


2 R. A. S. Macalister The Excavation of Gezer 1902—1905 and 1907—1909 London 1912 p. 357 pl. 104, 3 (tomb 147), p. 356 f. pl. 110, 10 (tomb 160), p. 376 f. pl. 118, 16 (tomb 106) and C. M. Kaufmann Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie Paderborn 1913 p. 626 publish lamps from Gezer, Jerusalem, etc. with the liturgical phrase φως Χριστοῦ φαίνει (= φως) πάσης ἡμᾶς variously distorted, abbreviated, and amplified. Cp. F. Miltner in the Jahresh. d. orient. arch. Inst. 1929 xxiv Beiblatt p. 175 f. no. 77 fig. 15 (φως Χριστου φαίνει πάσαι ἐν οὐσί). This legend is accompanied by a stylised form of the seven-branched candlestick. I add two similar lamps in my possession, one (fig. 59, a, b, c) said to have come from Samaria, the other (fig. 60) from Ain el Sultan on the site of Jericho. Such lamps suggest that the inscription recorded by Millingen had reference to a cresset or beacon—perhaps the πυρός mentioned by Philostr. mai. imag. 1. 12. 5 (infra n. 4) and handsomely illustrated in the tabula Peutingeriana (infra p. 143 fig. 57).

3 E. D. Clarke op. cit. ii. 440 f.: 'We there found the capital of a very antient column, of the Ionic order, not less than two feet and an half in diameter. It had been hollowed; and it now serves as a vase, near to the residence of the Dervish, who relates the idle superstitions of the country concerning the mountain, and the giant supposed to be there buried' [= Amkys, as Clarke notes, citing Val. Flacc. 4. 200 gigans]. See further H. W. Stoll in Koscher Lex. Myth. i. 327, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2000, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 320 n. 5, 570 n. 2, Frelle—Robert Gr. Myth. ii. 842 ff.). Clarke ib. p. 441 n. 6: 'During a subsequent visit to the same place, the author was accompanied by Mons. Preaux, artist in the service of Mr. Spencer Smith, late Minister at the Porte. Mons. Preaux made a drawing of this Ionic capital; which is now in Mr. Smith's possession.'

4 Philostr. mai. imag. 1. 12. 5—ἐγὼ ἐγὼ Ἰερον ἀφικώμεθα. καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ των οἷων ὁμαί ὁξεῖ καὶ στήλας, αἱ περιβολαίαι (so C. L. Kayser for περιβολαίαι Lugd. alt. περιβολάωισιοι θείας, καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ των στήλας πυρόν, δὲ ηρηματικά (J. J. Reiske and H. A. Hamaker cij. ηρηματικά) ἡ ῥουκαμία τῶν νεών, αἱ πλέωνι ἐκ τοῦ Πώστου.

5 For another see Michaelis in the Arch. Zeit. 1864 xxii. 198—202 pl. 192. This slab is now at Berlin (Ant. Skulpt. Berlin p. 383 f. no. 945 fig., R. Kekulé von Stradonitz Die griechische Skulptur Berlin 1907 p. 173 fig.).
Zeus Oúrios, ikmenos, Euánemos, Bóreios 147

in the British Museum (fig. 61)\(^1\). It once supported a votive statue of Zeus Oúrios, and still sings his praises in passable elegiaca:

The mariner who sets his sail
For the Blue Eddies, where the gale
Rolls a big breaker on the sand,
Or backward bound for fatherland
Would cross the Aegean—let him call
From poop to Pilot of us all,
Zeus of the Fair Breeze, aye and put
His cakes before this statue’s foot;
For here above the watery waste
Antipatros’ son Philon\(^2\) placed
The god who meets us as we roam
With promise of safe voyage home.

\[\text{OYRPIONEKPYYMHNHSIOADHHTHRAKALEITW}
\text{XHAKATAPROTONONISTIONEKEPTASAS}
\text{EITPEIYKUNAEADAISADROMOSSENATHAPOSEIDON}
\text{KAMPYLANEILEISSEIYKUMAPARAYAMANOAIS}
\text{EITPEKATAILHNOONTOPULAKANOSSTONEREYNAL}
\text{NEIOWTOZIAEBAOWNAIASSITAPARAZOANWI}
\text{OMETONEYANTHONTANEIOEGOANTIPATROYPAIS}
\text{STEHEPIWANAGAHOHYMBOLOONEYPLAIHS}\]

Fig. 61.

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

\(^1\) Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 3797=Kaibel Epig. Gr. no. 779=Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. i. 108=F. H. Marshall The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum iv. 2. 150 f. Oxford 1916 no. 1012 with fig. (=my fig. 61) ὕδρων ἐκ πρώμης τις ὀδηγήτρια καλεῖτω | Ἰώνα κατὰ πρωτῶν ἵστον ἐκπτάσας | ἐπὶ ἐπὶ κυνάδος δίνας ὁρῶν, ἥθα Πασείδων | καπνοῦ ἐλισσε ἱμά παρὰ ψαμθᾶς, | ἐγε καὶ Λυγαῖῃ πάσιν πλάκα νόστον ἔρυκά, | μὲσθυ ὑψιὸς βαλᾶτε ψαμτα παρὰ ξοικον. | ὃν τὸν εὐάντητον ἀτε θεόν

\(^2\) F. Bücheler in the Rhein. Müs. 1881 xxxvi. 338 ff. identifies this Philon with the Philon Antas of a sepulchral inscription at Brundisium published by G. Fiorelli in Not. Scavi 1886 p. 255, a: Philon | Antas Antipatri | Tyri filius viviit (vixit) a (nnon) LX | h(ic) s(itus) | Marcia C. 1. Syntyche. His father, Antipatros of Tyre, was presumably the Stoic philosopher who died at Athens shortly before 44 B.C. (H. von Arnim in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2516). He in turn appears to have been descended from Antipatros of Sidon, the epigrammatist, who was born at Tyre (Anth. Pal. 7. 428. 11 f. Meleagros) and flourished c. 150—120 B.C. (W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur Münch. 1920 ii. 1. 327). On this showing the inscription from Chalkedon may be dated at the end of s. i B.C. or the beginning of s. i A.D. Hence too the poetic merits of Philon, who perhaps—as Bücheler conjectured—chose to describe Zeus by the rare epithet εὐάντης on account of his own name Ἀντρᾶs.
Zeus Oýrios, Íkmenos, Euánemos, Bóreios

on his return from Kolchis first sacrificed to the twelve gods.1 Pomponius Mela (c. 43/4 A.D.) puts it more curtly: 'The god of the temple is Zeus, its founder Iason.'2 But Timotheus of Rhodes, who commanded the fleet of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, makes the altar to the twelve gods a dedication of Phrixos.3 And Dionysios of Byzantium recognizes two sanctuaries, one on the European, the other on the Asiatic, side of the strait. Of the former he notes: 'They say that here Iason sacrificed to the twelve gods.'4 Of the latter he states: 'Hieron, the "Sanctuary," was built by Phrixos, son of Nephele and Athamas, on his voyage to Kolchis.'5 The founder, then, was either Iason or Phrixos. Both attributions amount to much the same thing. For Iason was son of Aison, son of Kretheus, son of Aiolas; while Phrixos was son of Athamas, son of Aiolas.6 The cult was essentially Aeolian, and Zeus Oýrios was but a later religious manifestation of Aiolas himself.

If Zeus Oýrios may thus be traced back to a buried tribal ancestor, we can understand an otherwise puzzling feature of his art-type—its markedly heroic character. The Zeus Oýrios whose statue Verres carried off from Syracuse was known to the Romans as Imperator,7 and is almost certainly represented on a Syracuse coin as a dignified male figure leaning upon his spear.8 As such he closely resembles the Zeus Strategos of Amastris in Paphlagonia.9 We divine that the old warrior-king, who had led his Aeolians to victory during life, continued to supply them with favouring winds after death, and sent the same from his island-home in the Black Sea.

1 Polyb. 4.39.
2 Mela i. 101.
4 Dionys. Byz. frag. 47 (Geogr. Gr. min. i. 57 Müller).
5 Dionys. Byz. frag. 58 (Geogr. Gr. min. i. 75 Müller).
6 Steupmata in Gerhard Gr. Myth. ii. 223 f.
7 Cic. in Verr. 2.4.118 quoted supra ii. 917 n. o. Cic. in Verr. 2.4.129 f. knew of three statues representing Zeus Óbios = Jupiter Imperator: (1) a statue brought from Makedonia c. 177 B.C. by T. Quinctius Flamininus and dedicated on the Capitol at Rome (Liv. 6.37 makes it brought from Praeneste to Rome in 380 B.C. by T. Quinctius Cincinnatus—an obvious blunder copied by the so-called P. Victor de regionibus urbis Romanae reg. 8.49 signum Iovis imperatoris a Praeneste devectum (in H. Jordan Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1871 ii. 308)); (2) the statue on the shore of the Bosporos; (3) that stolen by Verres from Syracuse.

The cji. Iovis Imóricitoris (cp. Apul. de mundo 37), Imp. (= Impuleris!), Temperatoris, and Índúperatoris, recorded by A. Drakenborch on Liv. 6.29, are all examples of ingenuity misplaced.
8 Supra ii. 708 fig. 643.
9 Supra ii. 707 figs. 639—641, ii. 918 n. o.
Zeus Οὐρίως, ἰκμένος, Εὐάνεμος, Βόρειος

It is not difficult to imagine the prayers that would be addressed to this helpful deity. Somewhere in his precinct stood the bronze effigy of a boy with outstretched arms, about which gathered a variety of idle tales. It is probable that a copy of it, if not the original, has come down to us in the 'Praying Boy' of the Berlin Museum (fig. 63)—a masterpiece justly identified with the adorans by

1. Dionysos. Byz. frag. 39 (Geogr. Gr. min. ii. 78 f.) 'in fano...statua aere est antiquae artis, actatem puerilem prae se ferens, tendens manus. causae multae afferuntur, cur haec statua sit in hanc figuram conformata. quidam...ainunt audaciae signum esse navigantium, deterrens temeritatem navigationis periculis plenam, atque ostendens reedium salutis felicitatem et pietatem: non enim sine terre re utrumque est. alli dicunt puerum in litorre errante aliquanto post venisse quam e portu navis soluta esset, salutisque desperacione affectum manus ad cæulum tendere; pueri autem preces deum exaudientem reduxisse naves in portum. alli ait in magna mari tranquillitate, omni vento silente, nave duæ retarda, nautas inopin potus laborasse; navarcho autem visionem inselisse laborante ut navarchus filium suum sacrificaret, non enim alicissimo modo posset assequi commutum et ventos: navarcho necessitate coacto et parato puerum sacrificare, manus quidem puerum tenebisse, deum vero misericordia motum ob absurdum pueri supplicium obque pueri actatem sustulisse puerum et ventum secundum immisisse. haec quidem et his contraria, ut cuie pleurerit, credibilis existimetur.' Dionysios' gossipping explanations run from bad to worse. The third, and worst, works in reminiscences of Agamemnon at Aulis, Abraham and Isaac, Zeus and Ganymedes!


2. Ant. Skulpt. Berlin p. 7 ff. no. 2 with fig. (bibliography to 1891). Good illustrations are given by Brunn—Bruckmann Denkm. der gr. und röm. Skulpt. pl. 283, H. Bulle Der schöne Mensch im Altertum München und Leipzig 1912 p. 122 pl. 64. F. Winter Kunstgeschichte in Bildern Leipzig (1923) i. 340 fig. 3. See also Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. ii. 483 f. fig. 253, R. Kekulé von Stradenitz Die griechische Skulptur Berlin 1907 p. 269 ff. figs., C. Picard La sculpture antique Paris 1916 ii. 200 with figs. 82, 229. My fig. 63 is from the Brunn—Bruckmann photograph, but a fresh restoration of the arms (infra p. 151 n. 4) is needed, which should square with J. D. Ramberg's drawing of the unrestored statue as published by A. Conze in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1886 i. 9 fig. (=my fig. 63).


The history of the Berlin bronze is discussed by A. Conze 'Der betende Knabe in den königlichen Museen zu Berlin' in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1886 ii. 1—13 with 3 figs., id. 'Zum betenden Knaben' ib. p. 213, A. Furtwängler 'Zum betenden Knaben' ib. pp. 217—219 with fig. (=my fig. 64), O. Puchstein 'Zum betenden Knaben' ib. pp. 219—
Bronze statuette from Ephesos, now at Queens' College, Cambridge: a praying Negro.

See page 151 n. 4.
Boïdas\(^1\) of Byzantion\(^2\), son and pupil of Lysippos\(^3\). The boy uplifts his face towards Zeus and, with hands turned outwards in the customary attitude of prayer\(^4\), asks for the fair breeze to speed him on his way. This, the most spiritual of all extant Greek bronzes\(^5\), is of course a votive offering, public or private, and stands for the success of some venturesome quest. One thinks of Pindar’s Iason\(^6\):

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

Nevertheless it would be rash to identify the ‘Praying Boy’ with Iason, or—as L. Stephani suggested\(^7\)—with Phrixos. He is a Lysippian modification of an earlier athletic type\(^8\). More than that

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223; its technique, by E. Pernice in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1908 xi. 323—325 fig. 97.

2 Vitruvius 3 praef. 2.
3 Plinius nat. hist. 34. 66, cp. 73.


To group the statue as a supplicant with that of a warrior brandishing lance and shield (A. Herzog *Studien zur Geschichte der griechischen Kunst* Leipzig 1888 p. 40, cp. two bronzes represented on the kylix by ‘the Foundry Painter’ (Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin ii. 593 ff. no. 326), Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hansaer *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 81—86 pl. 135, Hoppin Red-flg. Vasen i. 454 f. no. 1, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmalerei des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 187 no. 2), or as Taras with that of a colossal Poseidon (H. Willers *Studien zur griechischen Kunst* Leipzig 1914 pp. 125—159 with pls. 9—13 ‘Der betende Knabe vor Poseidon’), is a risky, not to say a reckless, expedient.

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\(^2\) L. Stephani *Parerga archaeologica* St Petersburg 1861—1876 no. 2 cited by A. Conze in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 11 n. 25 and B. Sauer in Philologus 1908 lxvii. 304 n. 1.
we do not know. Yet it may be permitted us to wonder whether the fame of this solitary figure standing with outstretched arms on the shore of the strait reached the ears of Virgil and prompted one of the most wonderful couplets in the *Aeneid*, his description of the souls on the banks of Acheron:

 üyeler orantes primi transmittere cursum
tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore.

They stood and prayed to be first ferried o'er,
Yearning with outstretched hands for the further shore.

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

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

Merchants trading with the Euxine introduced the cult of *Zeus Oúrios* to Delos*4*, where it acquired an almost cosmopolitan character. Worshippers from far and near linked the name of this *Zeus* with those of their own special deities and recorded their vows *in primis* to him. Thus a citizen of Askalon, who had escaped from pursuing pirates*5*, attested his gratitude by erecting a neat little cylindrical altar inscribed in lettering of *s. i B.C.* (fig. 65)*6*:

which gives us 'die Vorstellung von einer älteren Stufe derselben Composition.' Scale: rather less than 3.

1 *Verg. Aen. 6. 313 f.
2 *Supra* p. 147.
3 *Anth. Pal. 12. 53.* 1—8 Meleagros. In the last two lines W. R. Paton prints *ει γάρ
tοῦρ' ετσορ', εδάγγελοι (so N. Piccolos for *έλθοι* cod. with space after εθ), *αυτίκα καὶ
Zeus *ιδρύσεις προσωτάς τοις άθλοις.* Other emendations are discussed by F. Dübner
ad loc.
4 P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Delos du IIIe au Ier siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916
5 On the prevalence of these pests in the Aegaean during *s. ii—i B.C.* see J. M. Sestier
*La piraterie dans l'antiquité* Paris 1886.
6 C. Clermont-Ganneau in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1909
pp. 307—317 with fig., G. Leroux in *Delos ii.* 1. 58 fig. 81 (= my fig. 63). The
altar (height 0·53 m.; lower diameter 0·41 m.), found during August 1907 in a Byantine wall
to the south of the 'Hypostyle Hall,' is inscribed: Δι Οὐρίου καὶ Λαυρίῳ Παλαιών, *7
(Clermont-Ganneau here wrongly inserts καὶ) Λαυρίῳ Παλαιών, διά Αὐτοῦ, διά τοῦ όρατος
Δεμύτριον Λαυρίῳ, αὕτη απὸ παραστόν, εὐχαριστοῦν and in smaller lettering οὗ θεοῦ
προσάγετε | αἴγας, ἵκης, βοῶι θηλεῖα.
Zeus Οὐρίως, ἵκμενος, Εὐάνεμος, Βόρειος

To Zeus Οὐρίως and Astarte Palaistēne,
Aphrodite Ourania, Hearers of Prayer,
Damon, son of Demetrius, an Askalonite,
being saved from pirates
(paid) this vow.

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

The associates of Zeus Οὐρίως are two goddesses, who in function
must have borne a rough resemblance to each other, Astarte
Palaistēne and Aphrodite Ourania. The former appears for the
first time in this inscription: she was perhaps the patron-deity of the
port (Iamneia? Ioppe?) to which Damon's ship belonged, or possibly
the figure-head of the good ship herself. The latter goddess had a
celebrated temple at Askalon\(^1\), Damon’s native city.

Dedications to Zeus Οὐρίως, which date from the closing years of
the second century B.C., have been found in the Egyptian
sanctuary on a terrace to the north-west of Mount Kynthos\(^2\).
There two Athenian brothers, about the year 112—111 B.C., erected
a cylindrical base to Zeus Οὐρίως, Sarapis, [ Isis, ] Anoubis, Harpo-
krates\(^3\). Of greater interest was another dedication\(^4\)—

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

The bluish marble slab thus inscribed was discovered, in front
of a small marble pedestal or altar of irregular shape, to the east
of the paved way leading through the precinct\(^5\). Mithradates vi
Eupator (120—63 B.C.) was associated in the government of Pontos
first with his mother Laodike and then, for a short while in 111 B.C.,
with his younger brother Mithradates Chrestos. But being of a
bloodthirsty and cruel disposition he let his mother die in prison
and murdered his brother\(^7\). The prayer to Zeus ‘of the Fair Breeze’
for one who was heading straight towards family shipwreck sounds
to us almost grimly ironical. A third dedication, by a native of
Velia in Lucania, is a white marble base of the year 107—106 (?)
B.C., which was found on the eastern slope of the Inopos ravine,

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\(^1\) Hdt. i. 105, Paus. i. 14. 7.
\(^2\) A. Hauvette-Besnault ‘Fouilles de Délots. Temple des dieux étrangers’ in the
Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 2472, P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Délots du III\(^e\) au

\(^3\) P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Délots du III\(^e\) au Ier siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916

*Mithridate Eupator roi de Pont* Paris 1890 p. 457 no. 5 = Michel Reclus *d’ Inscr. gr.*
no. 1160 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 368 = P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens
à Délots du III\(^e\) au Ier siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 136 f. no. 134 Δι Οὔβιον ἕρω
βασιλικός | Μιθραδάτιον Εὐστάρσος | καὶ τῶν ἄδελφων αὐτοῦ | Μιθραδάτιον Χρυσότομος | καὶ τῶν
πραγμάτων | αὐτῶν.

pl. 11).

\(^6\) T. Reinach *Mithridate Eupator roi de Pont* Paris 1890 p. 457 n. 1.

below the sanctuary of the foreign gods. A fourth is a small base of white marble with a square hole for insertion or attachment. It is dated to the year 105—104 or 104—103 B.C., and was set up by a citizen of Nymphaion (Eltegen) on the western shore of the Bosporos Kimmerios as a thank-offering to Zeus Oürios, Sarapis, Isis, Anoubis, and Harphokrates (sic) on behalf of himself, his son, and—a noteworthy touch of altruisms—all that go down to the sea in ships.

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


Dittenbergen Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 559, ib. no. 1136 = P. Roussel Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du IIIe au Ier siècle av. J.-C. Nancy 1916 p. 165 no. 153 Ἐθνος Αἰθητῆς Αἰτίας τοῦ Νικηφόρου γεγονέναιν, ὥσπερ τά ἡν καὶ τοῦ νικοῦ Εὔβοιας οὐκ ἂν τῶν πολιομίων πάντων, Διὸ Οἰδίπος, Φωκάδης, Ἰππίτης, Ἀνδριάντης, Ἀρρενοκράτης, Θεοῖς συναίνει καὶ συμβοῦσκε, ἐπὶ λεπτά Θεοκράτης τοῦ Θεοτόκου Κωνσταντινοῦ, Ἀρακάτου Νικολάου, Χαρακτήρια.


Dittenbergen Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 559, ib. no. 977, 12 n. points out that the aspirate properly belonging to the latter part of the Egyptian Harphokrates (E. Meyer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2746) or Har-pe-chrêd (M. Pieper in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 2410) and recognised in the variants 'Ἀρφωκάρτης (Inscr. Gr. sept. iii. 2 no. 593, 1 Larissa in Thessaly), 'Ἀρφωκάρτης (Inscr. Gr. Delt iv no. 1260, 4, alibi.) has here and elsewhere been transferred to the former part of Ἀρφωκάρτης in order to assimilate the divine name to the frequent termination -καρτης. Further changes produced the normal Ἀρφωκάρτης and even the abnormal Καρπάκτης (E. Sittig in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1913 xv. 743—745).


C. Heius T.f. Libo
Q. Sanfeius P.f. Treb.
L. Veturius P.f.
D. Amphius Q. l.
L. Paulius L.f. Trup.
T. Mactius L.f.

L. Pomppilius [L.f.]
A. Cottius N.f.
M. Umbricius M.f.
L. Aiu disposed L.C. l. Dorot. minor
C. Seius Cn. l. Heracleo
Cn. Tutorius P. l. Olumpiod.

magistress of her pecunia Iovei Sequadan.
This curious title was known already from a passage of Martianus Capella, which assigns Jupiter Secundanus together with Iovis Opulentia and Minerva to the third of the sixteen regions of the sky recognised in Etruscan lightning-lore. Since the series commences with the north, the third division of the first quarter would correspond with the sector N.E. to E.N.E. of our mariner's compass, and this (north-east by east) is just the direction of a wind blowing down the Dardanelles. The inscription equating Jupiter Secundanus with Zeus Ourios explains in fact Capella's epithet, which had previously puzzled the commentators.

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

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

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

1 Mart. Cap. 47 nam Iovis Secundani et Iovis Opulentiae Minervaque domus illie (sic. in tertia regione caeli) sunt constitutae. sed omnes circa ipsum Iovem fuerant in praesenti.
3 Plin. nat. hist. 2. 143.
4 See U. F. Kopp\'s n. on Mart. Cap. 47. He cp. Mart. Cap. 51 sed etiam Liber ac Secundanus Pales vocatur ex septima (sic. regione caeli).
5 Cat. 4. 18 ff. et inde tot per impotentia freta | erum tulisse, laeva sive dextem | vocaret aura, sive utrumque Iupiter | simul secundus incidisset in pedem.
6 The stages marked are Mt Kytoros (11 ff.), Amastris in Paphlagonia (13), the Pontos (9), the Propontis (8 ff.), Rhodes (8), the Kyklades (7), and the Adriatic (6 ff.). But we know that Catullus en route for home made offerings at his brother's tomb in the Troad (Cat. 65. 5 ff., 68. 19 ff., 68. 49 ff., 101. 1 ff.).
7 Super p. 155.
Zeus Οὐρίως, ἰκμένος, Εὐάνεμος, Βόρειος 157

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

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

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

1 Supra pp. 141, 148.
3 II. 1. 479.
4 Od. 2. 420 = 15. 292, cp. 15. 34 f.
5 Od. 11. 6 ff. = 12. 148 ff.
6 Od. 11. 7 = 12. 149 ἰκμένος ὠδον ἐπὶ κλωσίσι, ἀσθλῶν ἑταίρων.
7 Eustath. in II. p. 964, 63 f. ὅθεν ἰκμένος ἦσαν, ὅ ἐξ ἰκμάδως καὶ τοικίδις ὅλη τήν σύντασιν ἔχει. ὅθεν καὶ ἰκμένος ὠδον καὶ Ζεὺς φασών ἰκμένος. It is tempting to infer from the first sentence that Zeus ἰκμένος is a mere blunder for Zeus ἰκμαῖος (infra § 8 (c)). But in view of Jupiter Segundanus or Secundus the inference would be precarious.
9 Hesych. s.v. ἐπὶ Βορήνης ἀγῶν Μελησαγόρας (Amelasagos frag. 3 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 22 Müller)) τοῦ Ἀδρίστου Βορήνης (so Musurus for Ἀδρίστου ἑρέμου cod.) ἐφεβηθάλ φυγή τοῦ Μινωοῦ, ἐφ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγώνα τίθενθαι <τοῦ (incipit)>—ἐπιτάφιοι 'Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Κεραιμαίῳ καὶ Ηεράδων (frag. 106 Flach, 104 Rech) Βορήνης κ' ἐν κόσμῳ (K. W. Goettling ej. ἑχομεν, R. Peppmüller ej. ἑτοιμας cp. II. 13. 480 Ἀθηνάων (so J. G. Hermann for 'Ἀθηναίων cod.) ἱπάτως (cp. Od. 11. 323). Melesagoras was a legendary Eleanian seer (Max. Tyr. dist. 38. 3), on whom was fathered an Athéis perhaps composed as early as s. v. B.C. (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. l. 1822, W. Christ Geschichtte der griechischen Litteratur München 1912 l. 454 n. 1).
Andrógeos, 'The man of earth'¹, might fairly be dubbed Eurygéres, 'He of the broad acres'². It should also be noticed that the names Andrógeos and Eurygéres are Greek, not pre-Greek; which means that we have to do with a genuine Hellenic, not 'Minoan', hero. It is therefore interesting to find that at Phaleron, where he had an altar, he was worshipped not only as a nameless 'hero'³, but also more definitely as 'the hero astern'⁴. This expression might no doubt be taken to imply that an actual effigy of Androgeos was fixed on the vessel's poop⁵, like that of the bifrontal Lithuanian Wejopatis⁶ or those of the dwarfish Phoenician Pātaikos⁷ (figs. 68, 69)⁸.

¹ W. Pape—G. E. Benseler Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen³ Braunschweig 1875 i. 87 'Erdmann.'
³ Paus. i. 1. 4 ἐκεῖ δὲ (την: at Phaleron) καὶ Ἀνδρόγεως βαμφὶ τοῦ Μίνω, καλεῖται δὲ Ἡμοὶ Ἀνδρόγεως δὲ ἔστω ἑαυτὰ ἑαυτῶν ὡς ἑστῶ ἐπικυλλέστα τὰ ἐχθρὰν σαφέστερον ἄλλων ἐπισταθείᾳ.
⁴ Clem. Al. Ἱερ. 2. 40. 2 p. 30. 20 Sählin ἐπικυλλέτα δὲ τοῖς καὶ Φαληροὶ κατὰ πρόμαθα ἤρωι with scho. add. loc. p. 309, 13 ff. Sählin Φαληροὶ μέμη τῆς Αττικῇς ὁ δὲ κατὰ πρόμαθα ἤρωι Ἀνδρόγεως ἠστῶ, ὡς Μίνωος, οὕτως ὄνομασθέν οἱ κατὰ τὰς πρόμαθας τῶν πομπῶν ἵππων. καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν δὲ τῶν Ἀττικῶν μέμηται (frag. 33 Schneider = Hero. 4 frg. 3 Schneider, A. W. Mair).
⁵ So schol. Clem. Al. loc. cit. (infra n. 4).
⁶ Supra i. 445 n. 1.
⁷ Het. 3. 37 ἐκεῖ γὰρ τοῦ Ἡραίου (την: Phaēth at Memphis; supra i. 433, ii. 34 n. 1) τῶς ἑαυτὰς ταῖς Φωνικοῖς Πάταικοις ἐμφανίστων, τοῖς οἱ Φωνικοὶ εἰς τῆς πρώτης πολεμίς περάσκοντοι. δὲ δὲ τοῖς μὲν δὴ ἐκεντα, δὲν οὕτως πυγμαίων ἀνδρός μέρης ἐστὶ. The lexicographers place these little figures on the poop, not the prow (Hesych. s. v. Πάταικος (so M. Schmidt for Pataikos cod., cp. Herodian. περὶ καθολικής προσφυγῆς 6 (i. 151, 9 Lenz) Πάταικος, id. περὶ ὁρθογραφίας (ii. 424, 18 Lenz) Πάταικος, Theognost. Byz. can. 326 in Cramer anec. Oxon. ii. 60, 25 f. Πάταικοι) θεός Φονικοῖς, οὗ ἱερᾶς κατὰ τὰς πρόμαθας τῶν ναῶν, Σούνι. s. v. Πάταικος θεός Φωνικοῖς εἰς τὰς πρόμαθας ἵππων. But Herodotos' statement is borne out by the numismatic evidence (infra n. 8).
⁸ Pataikos appears to have been the Phoenician form of the Egyptian Pth (see J. Ilberg in Koscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1675 ff.) in the mislabeled, but negriloro rather than 'embryonic', type Pth-Seker (Lanzone Dizion. di Milil. Egiz. p. 243 ff. pls. 98, 1, 99, 1—4, 100, 1—5, 101, 2, Ferrot—Chippiez Hist. de l'Art. i. 418 ff. 293), which from the eighteenth dynasty down to Ptolemaic times often occurs as an amulet (A. Erman A Handbook of Egyptian Religion trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 76 ff. 51, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie Amulets London 1914 p. 38 pl. 31 fig. 176 a—m, pl. 46 fig. 176 n, p, pl. 47 fig. 176 o. I illustrate a single and a double amulet of Pth-Seker, in green glaze, from my collection (figs. 66, 67) and presumably served a prophylactic purpose. On Pth-Seker as a dwarfish deity ancestor see further H. H. Hall in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1908 i. 441 b, D. MacRitchie ib. 1912 v. 123 a, 126 a, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie ib. 1912 v. 249 a, G. Foucart ib. 1912 v. 855 a, 856 a. Such an apotropaion would be useful on land as well as at sea, cp. Hesych. s. v. Πυγμαῖον (so M. Schmidt for Pygmaion cod., cp. Eustath. in Od. p. 1599, 1 Πυγμαῖος, p. 1880, 65 Pygmaioi), or ἐγγύς: Πάταικος ἐντυπατήσιος (so J. Selden for pataikos ἐντυπατήσιος cod.), ἐγγύς: Δύναμις Χρηστός Αἰσχρὸς ἐντυπατήσιος, Εὐφραδής: Πάταικος ἐντυπατήσιος (so M. Musurus for pataikos ἐντυπατήσιος cod.).
⁹ Double shekels of Sidon, struck in i. iv B.C., show as their obverse type a Phoenician
Zeus Oiurios, ikmenos, Euænemos, Boreios

war-galley with a small armed figure at the prow (good specimens are Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia p. 145 pl. 10, 5, 1 pl. 150 pl. 20, 7, E. Babelon Les Peres Acheménides Paris 1893 p. 38 pl. 6, 15, p. 53 pl. 9, 7 f., id. Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 597 f. pl. 121, 7, 601 f. pl. 131, 17, Weber Cat. Coins iii. 2. 782 no. 8057 pl. 297). But a more certain representation of the dwarf Patalakos is seen on statuettes of Arados, struck in S. iv. B.C., which have for reverse type a galley with a small effigy on the prow (e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia p. 6 pl. 2, 1, p. 9 pl. 2, 11 f., Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 205 pl. 70, 11, E. Babelon Les Peres Acheménides Paris 1893 p. 130 pl. 22, 20 = Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art iii. 419 fig. 292, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 523 f. pl. 116, 23 f., 537 f. pl. 117, 2 and 4. I give Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 537 f. pl. 117, 2 (= my fig. 68) and a specimen in my possession (fig. 69)). On coins of Arados struck in S. iii.—ii. B.C. this

Fig. 66.

Fig. 67.

Fig. 68.

Fig. 69.

But to my ear it suggests rather that Androgeos unseen followed the ship’s trail and supplied her with a steady breeze, much as Boreas with puffed cheeks blows along the raft of Odysseus on a grotesque vase from the Theban Kabeirion (fig. 70). In either case it is clear that in the Ionian, as in the Aeolian, area the wind following aft might be attributed to, nay more, might be identified with, an ancestral spirit.

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

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


Euánemos, the appellative of Zeus, = εὔνωμος (Scholl—Studemund anecd. i. 264 f. Ἐνώμως Δίως...no. 38 (37) εὔνωμος, 366 Ἐνώμως Δίως...no. 37 (38) εὔνωμος).

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

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

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

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

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1. Pauli. 3. 13. 8 τοῦ Δαίμονος δὲ αὐτὸν μαχάρι δίως λείας ἐστὶν Βοϊνίου, τούτῳ δὲ ἐν δειρα Πλεύρων ἰον, γεγοναί δε οἱ Τιμάθρεοι παίδες τὰ πρὸς μητέρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλεύρωνος· Θάσσων γὰρ τῷ Λήμενα πατέρα· Αἰαίων (so Palmerius for 'Aρείων cod. = Αἰαίων frag. 6 Kinkel) φθανε ἐν τοῖς Πρέσεσι Ἀγαθορόδο παίδα ἐμα ἐν τοῦ Πλεύρωνος.


5. Πλεύρων is certainly a cognate of πεύρων, παράν, 'side', and πευράων, πευρά, are possibly related to πλεύων, 'lunge' (Prellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. p. 374 f., F. Müller Altitalische Wörterb. Göttingen 1926 p. 345. Boissacq Dicht. etym. de la Langue Gr. p. 794 disagrees: 'Un rapport avec πλεύων ... se justifie mal'). Presumably in the first instance Πλεύρων meant 'Scitler' (W. Pape—G. E. Benselen Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen Braunschwei 1875 ii. 1211), but it is conceivable that the name was re-interpreted as 'Wind-Blower.'

6. Theokr. 28. 5 πεύδον γὰρ πῦλον εὐάνεόνς αἰρήτωπα πᾶρ Δάιος.

7. Supra l. 101 ff. For philosophical views see O. Gilbert Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums Leipzig 1907 pp. 511—559 (Windgenese).

8. Supra l. 142 n. 10.

9. K. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm in Der Wiss. d. Abh. Wien 1896 vii. 102 no. 182 on a round altar (height 1'17", circumference 3'27") in the village of Budchakli, about a mile from Seleukeia up stream on the right bank of the Kalykadnos Διά | Βορεία | Θάσσων | Αἰαίων | Αἴαων | Πρέσσων [with facsimile=m fig. 71, E. Maass in the Jahresh. d. ecc. arch. Inst. 1910 xiii. 121. 

C. III.
Zeus Ourios, tkmenos, Euánemos, Bóreios

lost his wife Annia Regilla (160 A.D.), he constructed a precinct known as the Triopion on the Appian Road, and there set up the ambitious inscription in which Marcellus of Side described the lady, neither a mortal nor a goddess, as dwelling with the heroines in the Islands of the Blest:

Zeus bade the Elysian breezes of the West
Bear that proud consort to her ocean rest.

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

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

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

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2 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1924 ii. 2. 578 n. 6.
6 Marcellus is thinking of Od. 4. 563 ff. Cp. also Hyg. fab. 140 at Latonam Iovis iussu ventus Aquilo sublatam ad Neptunum pertulit.
7 Supra ii. 1141.
8 The passage ends thus: οὐ δὲ Πόσειδον, ἐκ μεταφερόντος πνεύμων, μὴ κατὰ μέτωπον μὴ πρὸς πνεύμα πανεύληκών ἀντιπηγεύσας (τις) Δίος, μὴ πρὸς ἑρωοῦς ἄσπερον, οὐ δὲ εὐκραῖος πρὸς τὸν ἱππας γεγονόμενα. The sequel shows that Poseidon is not so accommodating: ibid. 7. 0 Πόσειδος ἔξιτον (ἐπὶ ἄλλοις λεγενδάριοι) ἡμᾶς ἐδοξολογάρησεν, καὶ Ζεὸς ἐκ δύνα ζήσαι τὴν ἀργαγήν ὑπηρέτατο: δὲ γὰρ θεράιτω καὶ ἀγροι Ποσείδου δὴν κυμάτων ἑμεῖς καὶ πρὸς αὐνομακρὰ Δίος ἀντιπηγεύσας καὶ δῶν διαδοξάσεως ἐρωτών εὐφυλέσει τῶν κυμάτων.
10 Aisch. P. 1056 ff.
11 Id. ib. 1085 στρωμβος δὲ κόνων ἐΔλωσούσην. Nikephoros Basilakes progrmm. 7. 10 (i. 489, 12) στρῶμβος πνεύματων is a Byzantine (c. 1150 A.D.) echo.
Zeus Oürios, tkmenos, Euánemos, Bóreios 163

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

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

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

1 Supra ii. 2 n. 4.
2 Aristoph. Lys. 971 ff. ΧΩΣ. ΤΕ. τοια γλυκέραι; μιμαρά μιμαρά δθυ. ο Ζεύς Ζέυ (συνει. 727 n. 3 τις), ἐθ' αύθη, ἄστερ τοις θησομοῖς, | μεγάλα τυφώ καὶ πυρσήρα | τυρτόρεσα καὶ ἕνεγγυχάλας | οὐκέτως φέρεις, εἶναι μεθείσας, | ἐδ' ἐφάνετ' αὔ πάλιν εἰς τὴν γῆν, | κάτ' ἐξαίφνης | πέρα τὴν ψυλλὴν περιβάλιν I have adopted the rendering of B. B. Rogers, but have altered his rendering of lines 976 and 979. In the parallel passage, thec. 56 ff., the diction again suits a whirlwind or waterspout (56 γναφάλες, 57 χοανείς, 61 σὺγγαργάλας καὶ συγράφας, 62 χοανείσας), though of course other meanings are attached to every phrase. It may be suspected that Aristophanes had recently (?) to B.C.) witnessed some striking example of a στρίβαλον os ὅνων.


4 B. Schmidt Das Volkstheben der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 123 ff. (Die Nereiden gelten gemeinzeitig auch als Urheberinnen des alles mit sich fortreissenden Wirbelwindes, άνεμοστρίβολος), (Auf Zakynthos ist das Wort corrumpirt in άνεμοστρίβολος und άνεμοστρίβολος, auf Kephalaion in άνεμοστρίβολος...) welcher in Griechenland zumal im Sommer häufig ist. In diesem Winde schreiten sie einher, und wen sie auf ihrer Bahn antreffen, den geben sie auf und führen mit sich die Lüfte. Auf Zakynthos sagt man beim Wehen des Wirbelwindes: 'die Nereiden tanzen,' χορεύουσε γ' ἄνεμοτρίβες, und hält die Kreise, welche derselbe im Staub oder im Sande bildet, für die Spuren ihrer Füsse. Die Kinder werden zu solcher Zeit ängstlich geführt und nicht aus dem Hause gelassen. Wer vom Wirbelwinde überrascht wird, muss sich decken, um von den daher stürmenden Unholdinnen verschont zu bleiben. (Vgl. die epitote Sage bei Hahn Nr. 83, wo ein Mädchen, das sich nicht decken will, von den Nereiden hinweggerafft wird.) Auch hat man für diesen Fall bestimmte Beschworungsformeln. In Athen pflegen alte Frauen bei entstehendem Wirbelwind den Kopf erdůrts zu beugen und leise zu murmeln: μέλα καὶ γάλα στῶν δρόμων σας, d. i. Honig und Milch auf euern Weg! Απ' Πιτακίν ἐν τῇ ἕφειρχ. Ἑρακλ. 1852, φ. 30, p. 647 s. Derselbe flügt hinzu, dass dies namentlich in der Nähe des sogenannten Nympenhügels beobachtet werde: ein Umstand, dem eine dunkle Erinnerung an den ehemaligen Cultus der Nympfen auf der Höhe dieses Hügels... zu Grunde zu liegen scheint.) Ganz ähnlich in anderen Gegenden. Auf Kephalaion, im Bezirk Samos, wird folgender Spruch gesagt, der seine Erklärung in dem hier bestehenden,
Zeus 
Oïurios, tkmenos, Euroëmos, Bôreios

Nymphs\(^1\) or other supernatural agencies\(^2\). Indeed, the word \textit{Anemos}, 'Wind,' is nowadays a frequent synonym of the Devil\(^3\). But the most remarkable parallel to the ancient Greek equation of Zeus with the whirlwind has yet to be stated. The \textit{vocabularius sancti Galli}, a vellum manuscript of the seventh or eighth century in the Library of Saint-Gall\(^4\), glosses the Latin \textit{turbines}, that is \textit{turbines}, 'whirlwinds,' by the Old High German \textit{ziu}. If this word has been rightly transcribed\(^5\), it must—as J. Grimm long since pointed

schon oben von mir erwähnten Glauben findet, nach welchem die Oberste der Neraiden die Schwester Alexanders des Grossen ist: Χαρόμησα, καλάμπασα, | μελι καλ γάλα | καθ' ἀπὸ

3  J. C. Lawson \textit{Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion} Cambridge 1910 p. 150 ('The habit of travelling on a whirlwind, or more correctly perhaps of stirring up a whirlwind by rapid passage, has gained for the nymphs in some districts secondary names—in Macedonia δεσμευτις, in Gortynia ἀγνομαζότας\(^4\) Παρασότη, IV. p. 765. The origin of the second part of the compound is unknown)—which might almost seem to constitute a new class of wind-nymphs. But so far as I know the faculty of raising whirlwinds, though most frequently exercised by Greeks, is common to all nymphs\(^3\).


\textit{Ex contra} J. Grimm \textit{Teutonic Mythology} trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 ii. 203: 'A remarkable gloss in the old Cod. sangall. 913, p. 193, has "turbines=ziu" (we have no business to write zui), which may mean the storm of war, the Mars trux, sevus, or possibly the literal whirlwind, on which mythical names are sometimes bestowed; so it is either Zio himself, or a synonymous female personification Zetu, bearing the same relation to Zio as diu (ancilla) to dio (servus).' \textit{Id. ib.} i. 284 n. 1, \textit{à proposito} of the story that the head of John the Baptist, when Herodias would have covered it with tears and kisses, blew hard at her and whirled her off into empty space (\textit{Reinardus Vulsus} (c. 1150 A.D.), ed. F. J. Mone Stuttgart—Tübingen 1833) i. 1153 f. oscula captantem caput affugit atque resuflat, illa per impluvium turbine flantis abit): 'This reference to the turbine (the whirlwind of his blast), looks mythical and of high antiquity. Not only did Zio or Zio, once a deity, become with the christians a name for the whirlwind, p. 203...but to this day such a wind is accounted for in \textit{Lower Saxony} (about Celle) by the dancing \textit{Herodius} whirling about in the air.' \textit{Id. ib.} 1883 i. 632: 'The OHG. ziu, turbines, we have traced to Zio, pp. 203, 285.'

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


(a) The Arrhephóroi.

Like most atmospheric phaenomena, dew had for the Greeks a certain sanctity. The wide-spread belief that, if gathered on the first of May (May Day) or the twenty-fourth of June (Midsummer Day), it beautifies or cures the human body, makes the cattle yield more milk and butter, multiplies the hay, etc., will serve to explain a somewhat mysterious Athenian rite known as the Arrhephoria. The fullest account of this rite is given by Pausanias, who after discoursing on the Erechtheion at Athens continues:

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

Now the Arrhephoria took place in the month Skirophorion, which corresponds roughly with our June-July. Moreover, there can be little doubt that the name Arrhephóroi means the 'Dew-

1 See the preceding note.
2 Supra ii. 50 ff.
4 For similar usages at the Parilia (April 21) and on St George's Day (April 23) see Frazer Golden Bough ii. The Magic Art ii. 327 (Ov. fast. 4. 778), 333 (White Russia, Little Russia, Bulgaria), 335 (Bukowina, Galicia), 339 (Bulgaria).
6 Paus. i. 27. 3 trans. Sir J. G. Frazer.
7 Et mag. p. 149, 15 f.
8 Some have regarded Αρρηφορία as a clipped form of Αρρηφορία (so schol. Aristoph. Lyr. 641, Hesych. and Souid. i.e. Αρρηφορία, et. mag. p. 149, 15. Bekker anecd. i. 446,
bearers.' Inscriptions show that the earlier form of the word was *Errhephóroi* or *Ersephóroi* rather than *Arrhephóroi*, and that the cognate verb was *errhephorein* far more often than *arrhephorein*. This enables us to derive the terms in question from *érse* or *hérse*, 'dew.' And conformably with this derivation the ancient grammarians state, on the authority of Istrae of Kyrene (c. 200 B.C.), that the *Ersephoria* was a procession for *Érse* or *Hérse*, the daughter of Kekrops, while Moiris the Atticist (c. 200 A.D.) expressly declares that the *Errhephóroi* are 'those who bear dew for *Érse*, one of Kekrops' daughters.'

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

28 f., Favorin. lex. p. 287, 33 L, and even L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 266). But this is a piece of false etymology, perhaps occasioned by the fact that the θεομοφόρα in Pyanopson were called also Σαροφόρα (schol. Lunklan, *diai. mer.* 2. p. 275 f. Rabe) and Άρρηφόρα (Clem. Al. *prot.* 2. 17. p. 14. 4 ff. Stählin); see Mommsen *Feste d.* Stadt Athen. p. 510 n. 1, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 34 n. 2.

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

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

Personally, I see no sufficient reason for discounting the explicit statements of Istrae, Moiris, etc.


2 Istr. frag. 17 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 420 Müller) ap. schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 642. The same thing is said, without a mention of Istrae, by Hesych. and Souid. s.v. 'Arrephoria, et. mag.' p. 149, 15 ff., Favorin. lex. p. 287, 52 f.

3 Moir. 141 p. 104 Pierson *'Ερρηφόροι, Άρτηκώς, αἱ τὴν ἄρδον θέσαντες τῇ 'Ερση· ζήσεν μία τῶν Κεκρότιδων.


5 Souid. s.v. ἐπιφάτοι: κατέλεξεν, ἐξελέξατο. ἐστι δ' 'Αρτηκώς. ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιφάτο ἄρρηφόροις. οἶκοι, κατέλεξεν, ἐξελέξατο. Πάλαιν ἐν Νήμαις (Plat. legg. 947 c.) J. Pierson wrongly supposed an allusion to Platon the comedian ἐν Νήμαις = et. mag. p. 362, 38 f.

6 Aristot. *ATH. pol.* 57. 1, Harpokr. s.v. ἐπιμελήτης τῶν νυστηρίων (Dem. in *Mid.* 171).
little maids, who were mere children from seven to eleven years of age, enjoyed sundry peculiar privileges. They were housed near the Erechtheion. They had a tennis-court (σφαιρίστρα) on the Akropolis, which could boast a bronze figure of Isokrates as a boy on horseback. And they were fed on cakes that were specially 'risen' (ἀνάστατοι)—possibly in view of the Arrhephoria, that great ritual for the proper performance of which they had been set apart. Again, an Athenian inscription of Hellenistic date (c. 137/6 B.C.) tells how a certain priest of Asklepios and Hygieia gave his own daughter to serve as Arrhephores at the Epidaurin, which had by that time become a recognised part of the Eleusinian mysteries. Finally, an Aeolic inscription from Mytilene, referred to s. iii A.D., commemorates Aurelia Artemisia as 'priestess of the goddesses Etephila (that is, Demeter and Persephone) and Karissai and Ersóphores of the most holy of mysteries.'


2 Paus. 1. 77, 3 παρακάθεν δέ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πελαδίδος οἰκώνοις οὐ πάντως, καλοῦσι δέ 'Ἀθηναίοι σφάτα ἀρρηφόρους: αὐτοὶ χρώνον μὲν τίμων δίαιταν ἐχοῦσι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, κ.τ.λ. (μεριμ. p. 165).

3 Plout. v. des. atal. έ Ἰσορ. 839 c.


5 Leave is symbolic of rapid growth in Matthew 13. 33 = Luke 13. 20 f. More often it is regarded as a type of corruption and therefore forbidden in ritual (e.g. Gell. 10. 15. 19 farinam fermento inbutam adtingere et ipso flamine Diali) pers non est. See C. F. Kent in J. Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1914 viii. 889 a—900 a. But O. Bronner in Heerstadt 1930 iv. 138 cp. Poll. 6. 73 ά γάρ ἄρηστασιν ἵπποι δότου τι εἴδον and perhaps rightly assumes that such cakes were of phallic shape.

6 Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 Add. no. 455 b, 13 f. = Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 974, 18 f. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 3 no. 687, 18 f. άδικε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐναυτής θηγαγόρας κ.τ.λ.

7 O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 45 f.

8 Hesych. 'Ερυθράγλης (so W. R. Paton for 'Ερυθράγλης: φόλη, cod.) ή Περιφερήης. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 712: 'Die 'Ερυθράγλης wären also Demeter und Kore. Sicherlich bezeichnet sie der Name als freundliche Göttinnen, wie Εὐδημαίης u. a. wohlbekannt. Dies wird auch in dem ersten Namenselement enthalten sein, das zu Ερυθρ Ανδροχήρης (vgl. J. Schmidt bei L. Meyer Handb. d. gr. Etymol. 1 374 oben) zu stellen ist; sie beschützen also die Sippschaft. Wenn die Form 'Ερυθράγλη bei Hesych. neben dem inschriftlichen 'Ερυθράγλη richtig ist, haben wir eine Parallele zu den gleichzeitig auf Thera vorkommenden Personennamen Πραττας- und Πραττάτης.'


10 F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. i. 92 no. 233, 31 = Inscr. Gr. int. ii. no. 255. 3 f. ἐπίστευσαν τῶν θεῶν ἐρυθράγλης καὶ Φαλάσαν καὶ ἐπίστευσαν τὰ ἅγια σπίτας ἡμῶν μετὰ πληρώματος. The inscription, which is throughout ill-spelt, actually reads ΕΤΙΦΙΛΑΝ and ΕΡΓΟΦΟΡΟΝ.
To understand these honours and prerogatives we must, I think, bear in mind the general similarity subsisting between the Thesmophoria and the Arrhephoria. The latter, like the former, appears to have been a ceremony intended to promote fertility. In the Thesmophoria we have the worship of Demeter and Kore, the two Thesmophóroí. The Arrhephóros at Eleusis and the Erosphoros at Mytilene were at least connected with the cult of the same pair of deities. An Athenian inscription of Roman date commemorates ‘Aristokles’ daughter, who served as Erphóphoros for Demeter and Kore. Seats in the theatre at Athens were in imperial times reserved for two Hersephóri of Ge Themis (fig. 72) and, immediately behind them,

![Figure 72](image)

![Figure 73](image)

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

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3) Supra p. 167, n. 6 f.
4) Supra p. 167, n. 10.
6) Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 318 (with facsimile on pl. 1 = my fig. 72) ἔρσυφοροι β’ [Γ]’ην Θείνσιν in late careless script, W. Larfeld *op. cit.* ii. 1. 266 pl. 1.
8) Supra p. 165. The precise route followed by the Arrhephóri is a matter for conjecture. If they lived ‘not far from the temple of the Polias’ and ‘lodged for a time with the goddess’ (Paus. 1. 37. 3), we may assume that their official quarters were in or near the Pandroseion. On the occasion of the Arrhephoria they may, no doubt, have quitted
The Arrhephóroi

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the Akropolis by way of the Propylaia and the western slope (A. Mommsen *Heortologie* Leipzig 1864, p. 447—an idea tacitly dropped by the same writer in his *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 309). But, in view of the close connexion between Aglauros, Pandoros, and Herse (infra § 8 (b)), it is highly probable that the Arrhephóroi went to the Aglaurion. If so, their most direct and also most secluded exit would have been, not the póruss-walled stairway in an angle of the north wall 100 ft west of the north porch of the Erechtheion (J. H. Middleton *Plans and Drawings of Athenian Buildings* London 1800 pl. 1 no. 38), as has been maintained by various critics (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1887 xii. 59 pl. 1, H. G. Lolling *Hellenische Landeskunde und Topographie* in I. Müller's *Geographie und politische Geschichte des klassischen Altertums* Nördlingen 1889 p. 351, Harrison *Alth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 163), but the stairway of later construction which led (by means of a hanging ladder?) right down into the cave at a point some 50 ft east of the pórus-stairway (J. H. Middleton *op. cit.* pl. 1 no. 42), as is urged by P. Kabrias in the *Eph. Arch.* 1897 p. 26 ff., M. L. D'Ooge (The *Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 pp. 10, 297 with plan 7), and O. Broeneer in *Hesperia* 1932 i. 51 f., 1935 iv. 129 with figs. 14 and 15. C. Belger 'Der Abstiegsweg der Arrhephoren, der Aufstieg der Perser' in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 25, 1897 pp. 1212–1214 (followed by W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen Münchens 1905 p. 170 n. 4) is non-committal: 'Wir können also mit unseren Mitteln nicht konstatieren, welchen Weg die Arrhephoren wirklich gingen.'

Equally beset with uncertainties is the other end of their journey. Their destination, according to Paus. i. 27, 3, was περίβλος ἐν τῇ πόλις τῆς κολομῆνης ἐν Κήποις Ἀρρηφόριος, but Plin. nat. hist. 36. 16 (probably copying Varro, [who copied Pausanias (born c. 188 B.C.)], who copied Antigonus of Karystos (born c. 295 B.C.), who copied Douris of Samos (born c. 340 B.C.): see E. Sellers *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* London 1896 p. xlii f.) describes the same Aphrodite as being outside the city-wall: he speaks of Alkamenes 'cuius sunt opera Athenis complura in aedibus sacris praecelaturnique Veneris extra muros, quae appellatur Ἀρρηφόρα ἐν Κήποις. hiue summam manum ipse Praxilias imposasse dicitur.' The discrepancy between ἐν τῇ πόλις and extra muros was explained by C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1874 i. 218 f., who pointed out that in the time of Pausanias the brick wall of Athens (Vitr. 7. 8. 9) had been cleared away to make room for the Hadrianeum (the *novae Athenae of Corp. Inscr. Lat.* iii no. 549 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat.* sel. no. 511 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat.* sel. no. 337, cp. Ael. Spart. v. Hadriana. 20. 4 multas civitates Hadrianopolis appellavit, ut ipsam Karthagine avt Athenarum partem, Phlegon frag. 21 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 607 Müller) *op. Steph. Byz. i. 107 'Ολυμπίων ἡ τόκος ἐν Ἁθήνα, δυναταὶ 'Αθηναίων χρήμαται Αθηναίων νέατ 'Αθηναίου 'Αθηναίων ἐκεί ποιεῖ, διὰ Θέου ἐν Ολυμπίων τυχεοῦσαν'). The precinct, on this showing, adjoined the garden-quarter on the right bank of the Ilissos (H. Hitzig and H. Blümner on Paus. i. 19. 3), and somewhere in that neighbourhood must have been the natural underground descent, through which the girls went to leave their burdens and bring back something wanting up (Paus. i. 27. 3 καὶ δ' αὐτῷ [κ. τοῦ περίβλου] κάθοδος ἐπέστησεν αὐτοῖς ταύτης κατασκοπεῖν, κάτω μὲν δὴ τὰ φαράγγια λείψανοι, λαβοῦσι δὲ ἀλλ' εἰς εὔκαλαμῳν ἐγκαλαμῳν'). The actual chasm or fissure has not yet been located. But E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1907 p. 281 n. 1 throws out an interesting suggestion: 'It seems probable that the shrine in question may have been that of earth (Ge Olympia), and the cleft may be the same one by which the waters of Denucian's deluge were said to have disappeared' (Paus. i. 18. 7 δεὶ δ' ἀρχαῖα ἐν τῷ περίβλοι τεῖν χαλκοῦ καὶ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ Ἐφεσφρ. τιμῆς τοῦ 10 J. A. Leitomne for τὴν κοιλ. Ε. Clavier καὶ τῆς τοῦ W. M. Leake καὶ τῆς Γῆς) ἐπέστησεν Ὀλυμπίων. Ὀινάδες δένον εἰ πῆκε ἐν τῷ ὕδρῳ διδέστηκεν, καὶ κέρνου κατὰ τὴν ἐνορμίαν τῆς τῆς Δεκαλλίωνος συνεθῶν ὑπορρόψιας ταύτη τοῦ ὕδραν, ἐβαλλόντως το εἰ εὕστο ἀνὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑσάρτο πλωμα μελιτεί. (I. Bekker, followed by H. C. Schubart and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner, cp. μάζας cp. 5. 15. 10. 9. 39. 11).

Recently O. Broeneer of the American School at Athens has found on the N. slope of the Akropolis, E. of the Erechtheum, 'directly below the point where the Acropolis wall makes the obtuse angle at which are the traces of the Mycenaean postern gate,' a small
sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite attested by numerous niches in the rock and two rock-cut inscriptions dating from the middle of 3rd b.c. (Hesperia 1932 i. 31–55 with figs. 1–17, of which fig. 2 gives a ground-plan and figs. 10 and 11 facsimiles of the inscriptions on rock B: (1) τού Ἐρωτι ἐς στρή | τετράτοι θυσίαμεν | Μονόχωλος μνηματή | Αφροδίτης (Jr[x]). Adjoining the sanctuary, on the west was a small area (Z) which yielded a Hellenistic relief of Eros; on the east, a cave in which were found a small votive shield of painted stone and fragments of undecorated shields in terra cotta, also the figureine of a sleeping babe. North-east of the cave was a space dotted with small stuccoed altars (a) of various shapes (a—π), oval, rectangular, triangular, or like a low wall, poorly built and resting on loose earth. These had carried small stones (phallos?) set upright in mortar—one was still in situ—and, further east, close to another group of niches (N) was a phallus of island marble (id. ib. 1933 ii. 329–417 with pl. xi (extended plan) and figs. 1–91, of which figs. 9, 14, 18=my fig. 74 a, b, c, id. ib. 1935 iv. 109–188 with pl. 1 (=my pl. xxi) and figs. 1–77, of which figs. 8 and 9 show the ‘altars.’ See further infra § 9 (h) ii (θ)

*sub fin.* It is highly probable that the relief-frieze with a procession of Erotes, c. 350–300 b.c. (Svoronos Atas. Nationalus. p. 453 ff. nos. 1451, 1452 pl. 102), and the relief of a draped woman, with a child, sitting on a rock with a cave in it (National Museum no. 3257) came from the same sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite (O. Bronner loc. cit. 1935 iv. 143 ff. no. 17 figs. 33–35 and 36).

As to the bearing of these finds on the *Arrhephoria*, Bronner loc. cit. i. 53 (cp. iv. 126) writes: ‘The whole action of the ceremony becomes clear if we admit that the sanctuary just discovered is the peribolos mentioned by Pausanias. Below the underground stairs to the Aglaurion a modern path leads eastward to the new sanctuary, and it is reasonable to suppose that the same path may have existed in ancient times, connecting with the rock-cut petrafuros below. The immense chasm, through which the descent from the Acropolis began, might well have lent color to Pausanias’ weird description of the place. The only inaccuracy which remains is the impression which the Greek text gives that the subterranean passage and the sanctuary are immediately contiguous, while actually one must first pass through the one and thence by a short path reach the other² (“Doubtless the passage in the sanctuary itself was somehow used in the ceremony; but until we know how it connected with the cave to the east it is unsafe to make any definite statement about it). It can hardly be a coincidence that a sanctuary of Aphrodite which fits so well the account
ATHENS
EXCAVATIONS ON THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS
1932-1934

Plan of the American excavations on the north slope of the Akropolis
(from Hesperia 1935 iv pl. i).
See page 169 ff. n. o.
in Pausanias should be found close to the place where we would naturally expect the
Arrhephoroi to have descended. We can only find two sanctuaries of Aphrodite in Kýrós, a more ancient one, which we have just discovered on the Acropolis
slope, and a later one, with a temple containing the famous statue of Alkamenes, near the
Iliuss. Brunner ib. p. 53 f. adds: 'The objection will naturally be raised that the text of
Pausanias does not admit of such an interpretation.' He replies that most probably
'Pausanias himself confused the two sanctuaries.' Vix inquit.

Aphrodite in Kýrós is seldom mentioned by the classical authors. But an inscription
of c. 430–417 B.C. informs us that during the years 426/5–423/2 the expenses of the
Peloponnesian War were in part met by money borrowed from her temple-treasury at a
nominal rate of interest—\[\text{h} \text{drachmi per mēnā per dēy (Corp. inscr. Att. i no.}
299 ff. no. 109, 78 [Aphrodītης εύ Kýrōs ΤΤΦΗΔΔΓΓΡΑ. τόκος των τούτων ΓΗ []] []]
|| || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || |
probably included a visit to the goddesses of Cape Kolias, that is, to Aphrodite and the Genetiyllides. Aphrodite in particular was the maker of morning dew; and her altar (figs. 84, 85) on Mount Mantel lüftenden Aphrodite”), S. Reisch ‘La Vénus drapée au Musée du Louvre’ in the *Gaz. Arch. 1887 xii. 250–269, 271–285 pl. 30, A. Conze ‘Zur sogenannten Venus Genetrix’ in the *Ath. Mitth. 1889 xiv. 199–204 pl. 4, Miss C. G. Harcum ‘A statue of the type called the Venus Genetrix in the Royal Ontario Museum’ in the *Am. Journ. Arch. 1927 xxvi. 141–152 pl. 7 figs. 1–4).

Equally persistent, and hardly more encouraging, have been the attempts made to discover representations of the *Arrhephoroi*. Many have identified them with the two stool-bearing girls on the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (supra ii. 1134 f. pl. xiv). So J. Stuart—N. Revett The Antiquities of Athens London 1787 ii. 12 f. with ch. 1 pl. 24 (‘The young figures are the two Arrephores, or Canephores,’ etc.), C. O. Müller Minervae Poliadis sacrata et aedem in aere Athenarum... Gottingae 1826 p. 14 (‘Paullae sunt er-phorae... matrona sacredos Poliadis’), E. Beulé *L’Acropole d’Athènes* Paris 1854 ii. 147 (‘la grande prêtresse reçoit des deux vierges Erréphores les objets mystérieux...’ etc.), E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Phidias am Parthenon und in Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 304 f. (‘Wo finden wir denn im athénischen Cultus überhaupt und speziell in demjenigen Athenas, an welcher hier jeder zu denken gehalten ist, halberwachsene Mädchen, wie die beiden Stuhlträgerinnen offenbar sind, die bei hohem Feste eine so bevorzugte Rolle spielen könnten? Es giebt keine ausser den Arrephoren. Auf diese aber passt alles;’ etc.), Pfeiffer—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 211 n. o (‘Die beiden Erréphores sind vielleicht auf dem Ostfries des Parthenon dargestellt’). See further A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 p. 264. Others have seen them in the processional figures of the olive-tree pediment (T. Wiegand *Die archaische Paros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 197 ff. col. pl. 14, G. Dickins *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum Cambridge* 1913 i. 69 ff. fig., E. Buschor ‘Der Oelbaumgiebel’ in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1923 xlvi. 81 ff. pl. 6).


Personally, I suspect that the *Arrhephoroi* in attendance on Athena were an extremely ancient institution, dating back to ‘Minoan’ times and comparable with the two handmaidens of the ‘Minoan’ goddess (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xliv. 11–14 figs. 11–18).


2 *Perrig. Ven.* 15 ff. ipsa roris lucidi, | nocitis aequo quae relinququit, spargit uementis aquas, | gutta praecptis orbe parvo sustinet casus suos, | et micant lacrimae trementes de
The Arrhephoroi

caduco pondera (so F. Bücheler, transposing lines 17 and 18, and retaining et codd., for which E. C. F. Schulze, followed by E. Bährrens, cj. en, while O. Müller, followed by J. W. Mackail, cj. emend.) ... umor ille, quem serenis astra rotant noctibus, | mane virgines (so J. Lipsius, followed by J. W. Mackail, for virgines codd.) papillas solvit umenti peplo. Cp. what is said of the planet Venus in Aesopn. append. 2. 17 E. Evelyn White (p. 410 Peiper) ros unus, color unus, et unum mane duorum; | sideris et floribus nam domina una Venus.

A late red-figured kytros from Euboea (Collignon—Couze Cat. Vases d'Athènes p. 689 no. 1852, Harrison Prot. Gk. Rel. 2 p. 635 fig. 170 (from a sketch by Mrs Hugh Stewart)) shows Eros watering slender flowers that spring from the ground. A female figure with bare breast (Aphrodite?) directs his efforts. On the left sits a young man with a thyrsos. On the right stands a young woman with a tympanon. Apparently Aphrodite and Eros are gardening with a Dionysiac entourage.

Differently conceived but somewhat similar in effect is the design found on a bronze medallion of Faustina Junior (Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions p. 16 no. 2 pl. 24, 1 (‘Venus

Fig. 75.

Genetrix?...in a garden’) = Gnecci Medagl. Rom. ii. 40 no. 13 pl. 68, 1 (‘Venere’) = my fig. 75. The specimen has been retouched. Venus, half-draped, stands to the front, her right hand raised to hold a small tree, which rises from (behind?) a base. On the left of her two Cupids are playing, on the right four more, one of whom leans over the battlements of a wall or tower. Above it appear other trees. The scene recurs with some variations on a bronze medallion of Lucilla, daughter of Faustina Junior (Fröhner Med. emp. rom. p. 95 f. fig. (=my fig. 76) (‘Venus dans un jardin’), Gnecci op. cit. ii. 51 no. 11 pl. 76, 8 (=my fig. 77) Bologna (‘Donna...in un giardino’)). A girl is added, filling her pitcher from a stream in the foreground. These medallions are probably time-serving attempts to identify first Faustina and then her daughter with Venus. Faustina at least was actually worshipped along with her husband M. Aurelius in the temple of Venus and the Dea Roma (Dion Cass. 71. 31 τῷ Ἁρπαγῷ καὶ τῷ Φαυστίνῃ ἐπηρέατῳ ἡ βουλή ἐν τῇ τῷ Ἀφροδίτῃ τῷ τῷ Ῥωμαίω τινώς ἀριστήρα ἀνατεθείσαι καὶ βοηθῶν ἱδρυθέναι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰς κακιᾶς τὰς ἐν τῇ ἄνθη γενομένα μετὰ τῶν νυμφῶν θεῶν), and had coins inscribed VENVS, VENVS FELIX, VENVS GENETRICE, VENVS VICTRIX OR VENERI AVGUSTAE, VENERI FELICIS, VENERI GENETRICI, VENERI VICTRICI (Rasche Lex. Num. iii. 921, Cohen Monn. emp. rom. II. 154 ff. nos. 226—283). Here are a few examples: fig. 78 from the Voutier—Collignon Sale Catalogue 1972 p. 52 no. 98 pl. 35, fig. 79 from the Bement Sale Catalogue 1924 iii. 59 no. 1066 pl. 35, fig. 80 from Gnecci Medagl. Rom. ii. 39 no. 8 pl. 67, 6, fig. 81 from the Levi Sale Catalogue 1975 p. 40 no. 632 pl. 26, fig. 82 from the Bement Sale Catalogue 1973 iii. 59 no. 1068 pl. 39, fig. 83 from the Hirsh Sale Catalogue 1905 p. 10 no. 117 pl. 7. Since coins of this sort are apt to reproduce previous art-types (e.g. fig. 78 recalls the Aphrodite of Fréjus (?), fig. 83 is an adaptation from the Aphrodite of Capua, and fig. 80 owes something even to the Zeus of Olympia), I incline to think that the
Eryx (figs. 86, 87) was covered with dew and fresh grass—

medallions representing Venus in the Garden presuppose a Greek fresco of Aphrodite Ἕρα. The trees, the river, the wall or tower with battlements would all suit the famous sanctuary beside the Ilios.

Silver itra of Eryx, struck c. 480–413 B.C., have obv. EPVΚΙΝΟΝ (retrograde) or ERVΚΑΙΒ (partly retrograde) a female figure (楣 hierodule) sacrificing, with or

without a φιλέ, at a lighted altar; the space behind her is sometimes filled by a floral pattern: rev. a hound beneath a four-spoked wheel, or ivy-branch, or honeysuckle ornament, once with volutes in exergue (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily p. 62 nos. 6, 7 with fig. (=my fig. 84), 8, 9, G. F. Hill Coins of Ancient Sicily London 1903 p. 92 fig. 11, Wehret Cat. Coins i. 274 no. 1167 pl. 50, Naville Sale Catalogue 1913 p. 36 no. 878 pl. 26 (=my fig. 85), Head Hist. num. 8 p. 138).

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


This striking expression occurs in the remarkable account of Aphrodite's precinct included by All. de nat. anim. 10. 50 and ἵψαν ἰών τὰ ἱερά τῷ θεῷ καὶ οἱ ἐπιχείροι καὶ οἱ ἠπείροι. καὶ ὥσερ βοήμων ὡς τῷ ὀφάνει ὁ μέγα μόστος ἤστι, πολλῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καθαγιαζόμενων νυμφών θέατον ὑπὲρ τὰ πνεύματα καὶ ἐστὲ ξαπτέται. ὡς δὲ ὑπολάμπης, καὶ ἀκένων ὑμῖν ἀνθρακών, οὕτως ὑμήκαντο τρφῆς δαλῶν ὑποφαίνει, ὀξιᾶν ὑπὲρ ἀνάπλεον ἄστι καὶ πολὰς νερᾶς ἤπερ ὅπως ἄναφται δεια νύκτες. τα γε μὴ λειάζει ἐκάστης ἄγεις αὐτόματα φοινίκεῖ καὶ τῷ βοημῷ παρεῖς. ἀγεῖ δὲ ἄρα πρῶτη μὲν ἡ θεά, ἐτείνει δὲ δυνάμει τε καὶ ἡ τῶν θεῶν ὁμοίωσιν.

κ.τ.λ. We gather that every morning the open-air altar of the goddess, despite the numerous burnt-offerings of the previous day, was found—or was

![Fig. 86](image1.png) ![Fig. 87](image2.png) ![Fig. 88](image3.png) ![Fig. 89](image4.png)

said to be found—overgrown with dewy verdure. Anent this miracle E. Ciaceri *Culti e miti nella storia dell' antica Sicilia* Catania 1911 p. 87 notes the beneficent influence of dew on Sicilian vegetation and adds: 'Nella divina rugiada si vedeva la protezione della dea; ed è forse degno di rilievo che sino ai nostri giorni nel popolo di Trapani si è serbata fede alla bresca notturna; onde si è creduto che essa scenda come benedizione del cielo sugli abitanti e vestiti che si espongono all' aria aperta durante la notte (1) (2) *Pitrè* Biblioth. delle trad. pop. sic. XII (Palermo 1881) p. 261.1

That Aphrodite 'Ερυξ (Inschr. Gr. Sil. It. no. 281 Eryx [Κάρυμος Αριστωκρα]) [Ἀφροδίτα] [Ἐρυξ[a]], Diod. 4. 83, Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ερυξ*, cp. Paus. 8. 24. 5 and Strab. 272. For Venus *Eryxina* see Dessau *Inscr. Lat. rid.* nos. 939, 3163—3165, De Vit Onomasticon ii. 756, Carter *Epit. deor.* p. 101, O. Jesse in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 502 ff.) was in some sense a goddess of vegetation appears also from the fact that on *Lituria of c. 413—400 B.C. she is seated with a dove on her hand and a tree behind her (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily p. 62 f. nos. 19 f. and 12, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1930 p. 136 pl. 9, 10 (=my fig. 88), *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 181 pl. 13, 8, Weber Cat. Coins i. 275 nos. 1310 pl. 50, 1312 pl. 50, 1313 pl. 50 (= my fig. 89), *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 263 no. 2234 pl. 72, 7, *Head Hist. num.* 2 pl. 138). Note too the frequency of floral ornaments, volutes, etc. on the various *Lituria* (e.g. figs. 85, 91). The plant λιχνίς, 'rose-campion,' which flourished on Mt Eryx, was said to have sprung from the bath of Aphrodite after sleeping with Hephaistos (Amerias *Biblioth. ap. Athen.* 681 F. 2, on Amerias see O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volksstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 2 ff.1)

The dove had a special significance in this cult and was in all probability viewed as an...
embodiment of the goddess (F. Dummer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2762)—witness All. de nat. an. 4. 2 in Erinna τῆς Σικελίας ἐστὶν ἐστιν, ἡ καλοῦσα Ἀναγώγα Ερυθῶν τε καὶ μόνον τε δοῦ καὶ την τῆς Σικελίας πόλις. ἀλλά αὐτί, τὴν Ἀφροδίτην λέγεις ἐν τῇ Ἀθήνῃ ἐνάντιον εἰς Ἀδρίαν ἀπεκρίνει τῷ τάσσεται τῆς ἡμέρας. δοξάζεις δὲ ἀμα τότε τούτης γεγονότοι. περιστεραῖ πλῆθος ἐστὶν ἐνεπιθήκη τὸν ἄνθρωπον. αὐτὶς αὐτὶς ὁ αὐτὸς ὁ θεός ἀνθρώποις ἐπειδήσα τῷ ἔμφασα γὰρ Ἀφροδίτης περιστερὰς ἐτιμεῖς θαυμάτων. διήλωσιν δὲ ἡμῶν ἕνα μὲν ἄλλο μὲν διαφέρουσιν τὴν ἁρμάτη γε τοῦ πελάγους τοῦ κοιμώματα ἐκ τῆς Λείψῃ ὡς οἶκοι ἐντελῶς, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔχον τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τοῦ θῶς ἡμῖν Ἀναγώγας ὑπερηφανείς παραδόθηκε, περιφέρον ἕνα λέγειν (frgs. 2 Bergk, 2 Edmonds, 2 Diehl). καὶ ὄντως δὲ εἰκοσάτριας φανερὰ ἔστε, καὶ τῶν γε κατὰ τὴν Ὀμήρου θεοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν, ἢν ἐκεῖνον ἀνακολούθησιν χρήσιμον (Ili. 3. 64. 5. 427, 9. 389, 19. 282, 72. 470, 74. 609, Od. 4. 14. 8. 337, 342, 17. 37, 19. 24, Ἀρ. Ἀφρ. 93). ἔτεσι δὲ αὐτὴ τῶν περιστερῶν τό ἑφερ τῶν λείψεως, καὶ ἐστὶν παῦλος Ερυθῶν καὶ πανάγυρα τᾶς Καταγώγας, ἠ τοῦ ἐρυτοῦ τοῦ ἄσμα.
a phrase that reminds us of Demeter Chloë, Demeter the 'Grass,' at Athens.¹

Myth. Vat. 1. 94. 1. 107), not only founded the town and temple of Eryx (Diod. 4. 83, Myth. Vat. 2. 156), but was also buried on the mountain (Hyg. fab. 260, Serv. in Verg. Aen. 1. 570, Myth. Vat. 2. 156).

All these traits are consistent with the view (R. v. Scala in the Historische Zeitschrift 1912 cxxii. 18, Lübker Reallex. 8 p. 344) that Aphrodite Ἒρυκῆ was a mountain-mother of the 'Minoa' kind, who as such would have her sacred tree and doves and πάρθενος. In a long-established cult sundry features may well have been imported from alien sources. The service of hierodules is suggestive of oriental influence (H. Hepding in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 1467, D. G. Hogarth in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1913 vi. 671 b—672 b), and many scholars have been content to regard this Aphrodite as a Hellenised form of the Phoenician Astarte (e.g. W. H. Roscher in his Lex. Myth. i. 396, T. G. Pinches in J. Hastings op. cit. 1908 i. 767 a, L. B. Paton 3b. 1909 ii. 118 a, W. W. Bandissin Adonis und Eosun Leipzig 1911 pp. 18 f., 23 n. 1, 26, 38, 273); even Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 374 dismisses her as 'ganz semitisch.' But the hound on coins of Eryx should hardly be compared with the sacred dogs of Hephaistos (Hadran) on Mt Aine (supra ii. 630); it is simply due to the dependence of Eryx on Segesta, whose city-badge was a similar hound (C. Hulsen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 603).

The tradition that the eponymous Eryx was defeated by Herakles (Hdt. 5. 43) in a wrestling-match for the kingdom (Paus. 3. 16. 4 f., 4. 36. 4), or for possession of the bull which had broken away from the cattle of Geryones (Apollob. 2. 5. 10, cp. Lyk. Al. 866 f.: see further K. Tümpler in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 604 ff.), appears later in a slightly different form. Eryx is a wrestler or pentathlete, who challenges strangers and slays them till he is himself slain by Herakles (Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 866, 958). In any case this ranges him with Phorbas, Kyknos, Kerkyon, Antaios, Amykos, and other early kings (I have discussed the series in Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 376 ff.), whose primitive rule of succession is the starting-point of Sir J. G. Frazer's Golden Bough. It is not impossible that Eryx king of the Elymots and Virbius the rex Nemosiris belonged to the same (? Ligurian: C. Hulsen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 2467) stratum of the population of Italy.

¹ At the western end of the southern slope of the Akropolis at Athens there was in the time of Pausanias a joint-sanctuary of Ge Κούρατρόφος and Demeter Χλόη (Paus. 1. 22. 3 ἄστ ἐκαὶ Γέες Κούρατρόφου καὶ Δήματρος λεῖξεν Χλόης, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐπωμισμάτων ἐτῶν αὐτῶν ἀκαθάρτως ταῖς ἐλεύθεραι ἑλέουσαι ἐς λῷγοιν). Originally, however, the two cults had been distinct. The enclosure of Ge Κούρατρόφου was called the Κούρατρόφων, as we know from three boundary-stones, one early (Corp. inscr. Att. iv. 1 no. 555 c [Κούρατρόφου]), the others later (S. A. Komnannodes in Ἀθηναίων 1877 vi. 147 f.). Adjoining it was the shrine of Blaunte (Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 411 εἰς ὅσοις πρὸς σηκὸν Βλαντής καὶ Κούρατρόφου ἀνέθουσα τῇ θησαυρῷ, cp. Hesych. Blaunte, τοῦ Αὐτῆς, and perhaps Poll. 7. 87 ἡ ἐλπὶ τῇ Βλαντής συναλλάξεις εἰς ἑλέους, καὶ ἠρεμὴ Δήματρος ἐκ τῆς Δήματρος αὐτῇ, ἤθελε περὶ τόν κατὰ τοὺς Κούρατρόφους λαῖμος τῆς σοφίας: see further O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 560 f. and Svorenos Athens Nationalmus. no. 2365 p. 484 ff. pl. 60 with figs. 331—235, no. 960 p. 599 pl. 184).


Perhaps we can go a step further. O. Gruppe⁠¹ has conjectured with much probability that the Arrhephoria was performed on the night of the Diipoliaeia, that is, on the occasion of the last full moon in the Attic year. He recalls the Greek belief—a belief based upon accurate observation⁠²—that the dew lies thickest on the night of a full moon⁢³, and Alkman’s statement that Herse the ‘Dew’ was

πάρμος ῥη, συνετέλεσεν δὲ καλὰ τῷ νῷ | Καλαμαῖον θισίαν κ.τ.λ.). This accounts for Hesych. ΙΧΟΙ (Meursius ej. ΙΧΟΙ, A. Meineke ej. ΙΧΟΙ) — δορθὴ ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν (Meursius and Meineke ejj. καρπῶν). Again, the sacrificial calendar from ΚαλλικαριανiT (supra p. 115) notes among the trieritic rites of Marathon that in Anthesterion a pregnant sow is sacrificed to Εὐνυμάη and another to Χόνη παρὰ τὰ Μείδων, i.e. Χόνη ‘next door to Meidylus’⁠¹ (J. de Prout Λεγές Γραγυρωματων Σαραγος Lipsiae 1886 Fasti sacri p. 46 ff. no. 26 B, 48 ff. ‘Ἀνθεστηριακῶν’ — Ἐνυμιαὶ δὲ κυνοῦ ΔΔ. | ἱερώνυμα —). Χόνη παρὰ τὰ Μείδων ὧν κυνα[ν] | ΔΔ. ἱερώνυμα —, ἀλφώτων ἱερός | ||, ὧν Χόνη —). In Mykonos a calendar of c. 200 B.C. fixes Poseidon 12 as the mid-winter day when a fine white ram must be sacrificed to Poseidon Τεμενίτης, a white male lamb to Poseidon Φωκος, and two fine sons, one of them pregnant, to Demeter Χόνη (J. de Prout Λεγές Γραγυρωματων Σαραγος Lipsiae 1886 Fasti sacri p. 13 ff. no. 4, 11 ff. = Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 714, 11 ff. = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.—Inscr. iii. 2. 577 ff. no. 5416, 11 ff. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.³ no. 1024, 11 ff. της αὐτῆς ἡμέρας Δημητρία Χόνη θεί | δίοι κατατέωμεν, η ἐκέρα. ἑκάτην[α] | νότοι κόμματα[ι] | τῆς ἑκάτομος. τὰς δὲ μύθης καταταξα[ν][α] | μεγάλων ἀρχαῖων | διδόντων ὀρφέων καὶ κυλίν τῆς δός τῆς ἑκέρα. ἀλφώτων[α] | δών κυνείς, ὧνοι τρεῖς κοτάθαι[α] —.)

But the real interest of Demeter Χόνη lies, not so much in the details of her cult, as in the fact that her very name identifies the goddess with the verdure. Farnell Cults of Gr. States iii. 33 says of her worship: ‘Its chief claim on our attention is that it seems to reveal a glimpse of the pre-anthropomorphic period when the natural object itself might be conceived as animate and divine, and the personal deity had not yet clearly emerged; thus such religious perceptions as “Demeter the Verdure” or “Zeus the Thunderer” on the one hand, and Demeter the Verdures-giver or Zeus the Thunderer on the other, may be the products of widely different strata of religion.’ The second stage is attested partly by the cult of Demeter Εὐχόλας at Kolonos (Soph. O. C. 1600 ff. τὸ δ’ Ἑγχολον Δημήτρος εἰς προσφώνη | πάγος μάθοις] with schol. ad loc. cited supra). On the toponymy of the site see Sir R. C. Jebb’s ed. p. xxxi with map and Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus. pp. 386 f., 392, 402, 405 pls. 124 (photographs) and 125 (plan). The broken base of Pentelic marble believed by the uncritical K. S. Pittakos to record a dedication to Demeter Εὐχόλα (Corpus inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 191) is now known to contain no such record (U. Köhler in Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 1415). Her name should be struck out in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 2347, vii. 884), partly by the poetic usage of such epithets as χλοάκαρος (Orph. Η. Dem. Eleus. 40. 5 χλοάκαρος, cp. Orph. Η. Ge. 36. 7 ἱδύνυμα χλοάρων χλαίοι).

the daughter of Zeus by Selene the ‘Moon.’ Now Plutarch, commenting on the passage from Alkm. remarks that the meaning of the poet was as follows: Zeus, the air, under the influence of Selene, the moon, turned himself into dew. Plutarch’s comment is a physical speculation of the usual sort; but it suggests a possibility. It may be that the dew was regarded as the actual means whereby the sky-father impregnated the earth-mother. Rain was certainly so regarded; and dew was held to be a gentler form of rain. Homer says that, when Zeus embraced Hera on the summit of Ida, ‘glittering dew-drops’ fell from the golden cloud that encompassed them and earth put forth ‘the dewy lotus-bloom.’ Pliny in plainer terms tells us that the planet Venus, called by others the star of Iuno or Isis or the Mother of the gods, makes the earth to conceive by means of generative dew and rouses the procreative powers of all living things. Besides, it is a significant fact that Æ̆̊ρσην, Æ̆̊ρσην, Æ̆̊ρην, the Greek word for ‘male,’ is obviously related to Æ̆̊ρση, ‘dew.’ Perhaps, then, when the Dew-bearers brought dew down the underground descent, they were simply conveying the sacred seed of Father Sky into the womb of Mother Earth.

And, if so, it may well be that in the ‘something wrapt up’

1 Supra i. 732 n. 5. Gruppe might have added Lucian’s whimsical notion that the Moon-dwellers agreed to pay the Sun-dwellers by way of tribute 10,000 amphoras of dew (Loukian. ver. hist. i. 20).

2 Plout. de fac. in orb. Ihn. 25 διὰ πρὸς αὐτὸ τρέφομαι μᾶλλον, ἢ φίλε Θεία: Μέγας γὰρ ἦμαι ἐξεγογόμενος ταῦτα τὰ Ἀλκάμοις Ἐκόπτων | ὅπως τρέφονται καὶ Σελήνης [θέλε] οὐ γὰρ τῶν ὀρὸν καλεῖ καὶ Δία φοινίκι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν Σελήνη καθυγαρμομένον εἰς δρόσου τρόπονιαι. 

3 Supra i. 29 f.

4 Infra § 9 (c) i and ii.

5 Plout. quaest. nat. 24. ἡ γὰρ δρόσοι ἀδεσθήτης τι καὶ ἀδραπή διμβρός.

6 Supra i. 154. iii. 35.

7 Plin. nat. hist. 2. 36—38 ending with the words: ‘itaque et in magno nominum ambitu est. alii enim Iunonis, alii Isidis, alii Matris Deum appellaverunt. huins natura cuncta generatur in terris. namque in alterutro exortu genitali corre perspergens non terrae modo conceptus inplet, verum animantium quoque omnium stimulat.’ Cp. Plout. de Li. et Os. 41 οὐ δέ τούτῳ τοῖς φιλοχωριακοι καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀστρολογίαις μακραίτης Τυφώνα μὲν εἴρηθαι τῶν ἡλίων κορμῶν, ὅπως δὲ τῶν σεληνιακῶν λέγεται: τῶν μὲν γὰρ σελήνης, γόβων τὸ φῶς καὶ ὄρυσσον ἔχουσαν, σιφυεῖ καὶ γονάτης ἱώσαν καὶ φωτὸς εἰναί πλαστήσθαι: τῶν δὲ ἰων ἀράτων που κακοληκοῦσαν ἥλιον τε καὶ ἀσπάζεται τα φωτεινὰ καὶ τεθελησα, κ.τ.λ., Nonn. Dion. 44. 770 ff. Τάλα φωτῶν έδία πεναίνη | μαραρογῆν ὄρθοσε ἀκωμήσῃ Σελήνης | ἔχομενη.


How are we to explain Suidas’ ἀρρηφορεῖν (certified by the order of letters) in the sense of ἀρρηφορεῖν, ἀρρηφορεῖν? Two manuscripts of Harpokr. id. ἀρρηφορεῖν have the same reading.

9 Supra p. 169 n. c.
which they brought back, we should recognise a new-born babe, the fruit of that momentous union. Dare we call him _Erichthonios_ ‘very child of the Ground’?

**i. The birth of Erichthonios.**

Where the texts are silent the monuments may be allowed to speak. A terra-cotta relief of the ‘Melian’ type, said to have been found in a grave beyond the Illissos on the road to Halimous and now at Berlin\(^3\) (fig. 93)\(^4\), shows the head and shoulders of Ge emerging from the ground. She presents the infant Erichthonios to his foster-mother Athena, who, wearing a helmet but no _aigis_, approaches from the left. Kekrops, with snaky tail, faces her on the right: he raises the forefinger of one hand in token of respect\(^4\) and with the other holds a spray of olive. Stylistic considerations would refer the relief to the first half of the fifth century, while the four olive-leaves in Athena’s helmet suit some date after the fight at Marathon\(^5\). The

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\(^2\) No. 2537.


The birth of Erichthonios
design, if genuine\textsuperscript{1}, probably falls within the period 490—470 B.C. What purpose it served in the grave is more doubtful. Possibly the rising of the boy from the depths of the dark earth to light and life was felt to be of good omen for the future of the buried dead\textsuperscript{2}.

Fig. 92.

Be that as it may, vase-painters of the fifth century took this old art-type and amplified it by the addition of other interested spectators. A red-figured \textit{hydria} from Chiusi (\textit{?}), now in the British Museum (pl. xxii)\textsuperscript{3}, makes a full-breasted Ge emerge waist-high from

\footnotesize
\begin{enumerate}
\item P. Jacobsthal \textit{Die metischen Reliefs} Berlin—Wilmersdorf 1931 p. 96 ff. pl. 75 a notes that the head, shoulder, and breast of the child, parts of Kekrops' fore-arm and of Athena's right hand, together with a bit of the base beneath the snaky tail, are due to a restorer (fig. 21 shows the relief unrestored). After frequent inspection R. Zahn and Jacobsthal decided 'es endgültig für eine Fälschung zu erklären, allerdings für eine sehr intelligente und für die siebenziger Jahre recht gelungene und gelehrte.' But could a forger over sixty years ago have been so successful?
\item Cp. supra ii. 417.
\item \textit{Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases} iii. 159 f. no. F 182, Gerhard \textit{Auserl. Vasenb.} iii. 3 ff. pl. 151, Lenormant—de Witte \textit{Él. mon. cér.} i. 287 f. pl. 85, Müller—Wieseler \textit{Denkm. d. alt.}
\end{enumerate}
Hydria from Chiusi (?); now in the British Museum:
Ge hands Erichthonios to Athena in the presence of Zeus, Nike, and Hebe (?).

See page 182 ff.
the ground, while Athena, armed with helmet, aigis, and spear, receives the babe in a striped mantle. She is confronted, not by Kekrops, but by Zeus, who, clad in a himation of like pattern and wearing a wreath, stands with his right hand resting on his hip, his left holding the thunderbolt. Behind Athena, Nike hastens forward with a large fillet in her outstretched hands. Behind Zeus and leaning familiarly on his shoulder is a female figure in a long chiton, over whose head is inscribed the name Oinanthe. The presence of this Dionysiac name led E. Braun, F. Wieseler, C. Robert, and Sir C. H. Smith to interpret the whole scene as the birth of Dionysos. But in this they were certainly wrong. The vase cannot be isolated from others of closely similar design, which beyond all question represent the birth of Erichthonios. And the name Oinanthe, accompanied as it is by the word kalé, is better explained by W. Klein, W. Drexler, and H. B. Walters as a Lieblingsinschrift of a not very unusual sort. After all, Oinanthe was a name occasionally borne by Attic women. This leaves the youthful

Kunst ii. 2. pl. 34, 401, Harrison Prolog. Gk. Rel. p. 405 f. fig. 127. J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rodfarigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 252 no. 4 ('Der Oinanthemaler,' one of 'Die Manieristen... die Vertreter eines verschmörkelten, archaisierenden Stils, der gegen Ende der archaischen Periode einsetzt und bis tief in die klassische Periode sich erhält' ib. p. 237). Pl. xxii is from a photograph.

1 Cp. the fragment of an amphora or pelike from Gela (F. Hauser in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1896 xi. 190 with fig. 33 a. B. Sauer Das sogenannte Theseion Leipzig 1899 p. 60 f. fig.), which appears to reverse the design—Zeus (?) on the right, Athena on the left, of Ge.

2 O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 750 f. records Oinanthe as a Bacchant on a red-figured krater at Vienna (Gerhard Ant. Bildw. pp. 211, 222 n. 55 pl. 17 ΔINONOH, Corp. inscr. Gr. iv no. 8531 ΟΘAΘΥ; see now C. Fränkel Satyr- und Bakchenmmen auf Vasenbildern Halle a. S. 1912 p. 51 f.), and as a Bassarid, nurse of Dionysos, in Nonn. Dion. 14. 225 ΟΘΑΘΥ βασσαρία, together with other more doubtful examples.


4 Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 2. pl. 34, 401 ('den kleinen Dionyson, oder genauer: Iakchos').

5 C. Robert Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit Berlin 1886 p. 195 ff. fig.

6 Sir C. H. Smith in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 159 f. no. E 183 ('Type of birth of Erichthonios... Dionysos').


8 W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 750 f.

9 H. B. Walters History of Ancient Pottery London 1905 ii. 265 n. 5.

10 Id. ii. 265, Pfahl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. 1. 34, iii. 978 (ΚΑΛΑΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΛΗ), P. Kretschmer Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften Gütersloh 1894 p. 79 (ΠΛΗΝ ΚΑΛΗ).

11 F. Bechtel Die attischen Frauennamen Göttingen 1902 p. 103 cites Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 2174, 3 OINANOH and no. 404 A. Conze Die attischen Grabreliefs Berlin 1893 i. 71 no. 313 pl. 77 OINANOH. W. Pape—G. E. Benseler Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1041 cite also Dem. c. Macart. 36; Polyb. 14. 11. 1 (ap. Athen. 255 8), 15. 25. 12, 15. 29. 8 and 10, 15. 33. 8; Plout. v. Cleom. 32, amat. 9.
The birth of Erichthonios
goddess on the left anonymous. From her position and attitude I should judge her to be Hebe\(^1\), whose title *Dias*\(^2\) might be added as a further justification of her proximity to Zeus\(^3\).

A red-figured *stamnos* from Vulci, now at Munich (pl. xxiii)\(^4\), repeats the central group of Ge presenting the babe to Athena in the


**Ordo VI.**

![Diagram](image)

Fig. 94.

Atlas pl. 25, 5, O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2424 with fig. 5, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 451 no. 1) on which HBH, again on the extreme left, stands with her right hand resting on her hip and her left raised towards the shoulder of Hera (so Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 429: Reinch. *loc. cit.* says ‘une Ménade,’ while Baumeister *loc. cit.* makes her the mother of Marsyas conversing with [Koβ\(\hat{\alpha}\)β\(\hat{\iota}\)]) Somewhat similar, but unnamed, is the goddess standing on the left of another *krater* in the Jatta collection (supra i. 459 n. 5 fig. 318. To the bibliography add O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlesebl.* 1889—1891 pl. 12, 2), who rests her left hand on the shoulder of a seated Zeus: I took her, perhaps wrongly, to be Aphrodite.

\(^2\) Strab. 382 τιμάω τ' ἐν Ἄναξϊν καὶ Σελευκῖν ὕπ' ἄλαξ χρῶν: καλοὶ εἰς ὁπ' ἄλαξ τ' Ἀπόλλων. On Dias as consort of Zeus I have said my say in the *Class. Rev.* 1909 xvii. 177 f., 1906 xx. 357, 377 f., 416, 419.

\(^3\) Even if the name Oinamthe be interpreted as belonging to the personage above which it is placed, she need not be Dionysiac. Athena herself seems to have been worshipped at Athens as *Oinamther*, the ‘Vine-flower,—an unremarked, but interesting, parallel to Demeter *Chîle* (Corr. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 353 (with facsimile on pl. 3 = my fig. 94) ἐπαλαξαίσιν Αἰολοσθενίος, W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1895 ii. 1. 266 pl. 1). The epithet, however, is at best uncertain.


J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 123 f., followed by Hoppin *loc. cit.* identified this vase as the work of the late archaic painter Hermonax—indeed as that artist’s masterpiece (‘Sound and able as Hermonax’s
presence of an interested god, but substitutes Hephaistos for Zeus. In lieu of himation, wreath, and thunderbolt Hephaistos has but a chlamys and a long knobbed staff. Zeus himself is accommodated on the other side of the vase, where he sits on a handsome folding stool, clad in chiton and himation. In his left hand he holds a lotiform sceptre; in his right, a metal phidie, which Nike standing before him has just filled. On the tendrils that spring from the handle-palmettes are poised four of the dauntiest Erotes to be found in the whole range of Greek art. Their presence may be taken to indicate that obverse and reverse form a single scene and one which has the multiplication of young life for its ultimate meaning.

Hephaistos is definitely established in the room of Zeus on a red-figured kylix from Corneto, preserved in Berlin. This magnificent vase (fig. 95), which has been attributed to ‘the Kodros-painter’, fortunately adds names to all the persons concerned. The external design shows again the familiar type of Ge presenting Erichthonios to Athena. Behind Athena stands a dignified, not to say Zeus-like, Hephaistos wearing a bay-wreath on his head and a chlamys over his shoulder: he holds a long staff in his right hand and rests his

work generally is, he only once shows himself a remarkable artist, and that is not on any of his signed vases, but on the Munich stamnos with the Birth of Erichthonios’).

1 So most critics, including Panofka, Inghirami, Jahn, Muller—Wieseler, Hauser loc. cit. together with Weleker Alt. Denkm. iii. 432 n. 7, B. Sauer Das sogennante Theseion Leipzig 1899 p. 58 ff., etc. C. Lenormant op. cit. i. 476 sees ‘Neptune frappant la terre avec son trident’ (trident-head missing!). Gerhard Auserl. Vasenh. iii. 3 n. 2 hesitates between Hephaistos and Poseidon, but ib. p. 5 decides for Poseidon. A. Flasch in the Ann. d. Inst. 1877 xlviii. 437 ff. is for Kekrops or Hephaistos, preferably the latter; C. Robert Arch. und Volkerkunde aus alter und neuer Zeit Berlin 1886 p. 192 n. 2, for Kekrops. E. Braun in the Ann. d. Inst. 1843 xiii. 92 ff., bent on recognising the birth of Dionysos (supra p. 183), is forced to interpret the standing god as Zeus.

2 Almost all exponents from Inghirami loc. cit. onwards have identified the seated personage as Zeus. Yet Panofka loc. cit. says ‘Neptune,’ and C. Lenormant op. cit. i. 285, iii. 34 ff. ‘Jupiter Polius’ or ‘Zeus Eleutherus’ as a deity akin to ‘Neptune Erechtheus.’ Jahn loc. cit. is content with ‘ein bärtiger Mann.’ And Muller—Wieseler loc. cit. suggest ‘Erichthonios als Herrscher und Richter des Landes, neben ihm die Göttin Dike’ (!).


4 B. Graef ‘Die Zeit der Kodrosschale’ in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1898 xiii. 66, 73, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 153 no. 1 (‘The artist belongs to the first period of the Free Style and may have been the teacher of Aristophanes’), J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rostfigurigen Stils Tubingen 1925 p. 436 no. 6 (‘Sehr feine Schalen mit Anklängen an Parthenonisches’).
left hand on his side. Behind Ge is Kekrops with serpentine tail. Beyond Hephaistos we see Herse. Then—for the scene continues—, other figures likewise moving to the left, Aglauros followed by Erechtheus, Pandrosos full-front, next Aigeus, and lastly Pallas.

Fig. 95.

1 Kekrops and his daughters Herse, Aglauros, Pandrosos supplement the theme of Erichthonios’ birth by a suggestion of its sequel, the incident of the basket (infra p. 237 ff.). Erechtheus, Aigeus, and Pallas are later kings of Athens (Gerhard Gr. Myth. ii. 231 *stemma H*) ‘here, by a pleasant anachronism, interested in the birth of their great ancestor’ (Harrison Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. p. xxx).
Krater from Chiusi, now at Palermo:
Ge hands Erichthonios to Athena in the presence of Hephaistos and Kekrops.

See page 187 f.
The birth of Erichthonios

The central medallion has Heos as a winged goddess bearing off Kephalos.

Finally Hephaistos ceases to be reminiscent of Zeus and appears in his own right on a krater from Chiusi, now at Palermo, to be dated c. 400 B.C. (pl. xxiv). Ge, who emerges more and more from the soil, as usual hands Erichthonios to Athena. This takes place beneath a conspicuous olive-tree, three young shoots of which spring from the earth in the foreground. Behind Athena is Kekrops with coiled tail. Behind Ge Hephaistos, with supported foot, shoulders.


The reverse design (inset on pl. xxiv) shows Heos in pursuit of Kephalos, one of whose brothers (Apollod. i. 9. 4 παῖς ήλ Ατένης, "Ακτωρ, Φιλακος, Κέφαλος) escapes towards the left.

Possibly the famous olive-tree on the Akropolis, called by the comedians the ἀσθένεια (Poll. 9. 17, Hesych. s.v. ἀσθένεια, Eustath. in Od. p. 1383, 7 f.) or πάγκος ἐλαια (Aristoph. fab. incert. frag. 234 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 1117 Meineke) ap. Poll. 6. 163, Hesych. s.v. ἀσθένεια and πάγκος), together with the μοπας, which were believed to be offshoots from it (Aristoph. nud. 1205 with schol. ad loc. Aristox frag. 37 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 429 Müller) and Aristot. frag. 345 Rose ap. schol. Soph. O.C. 701, Apolod. frag. 34 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 434 Müller) frag. 135 (Frag. gr. Hist. ii. 1076 Jacoby) ap. schol. Soph. O.C. 705 cited supra ii. 20 n. 4, Poll. i. 241, 5, 36, Bekker anec. i. 280, 16, Hesych. s.v. μοπάς, Phot. lex. s.v. μοπάς, Scalig. s.v. μοπάς, et. Gud. p. 398, 73 ff., et. mag. p. 590, 43 ff., Zonar. lex. s.v. μοπάς, Favorin. lex. pp. 85, 7 f., 611, 31, 1773, 53, 1643, 18 ff.). See further Boeiticher Baumkultur pp. 107—111, L. Stephani in the Comp. rendu St. Pé. 1872 p. 5 ff. with figs. 1—4 and Atlas pl. 1, Frazer Pausanias ii. 343 f., 393 f.

The sacred olive appears in various forms on the imperial bronze coinage of Athens (see e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 96 ff. pls. 16, 7, 8, 11, 17, 1, 2, 4—6, McClean Cat. Coins ii. 365 pl. 211, 1, 4, 5, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. iii. 120 ff. pl. Z, 8, 11—19, pl. AA, 16, 21, and for longer series J. N. Svoronos Les Monnaies d' Athènes Munich 1923—1926 pls. 84, 8, 36—40, 85, 32—37, 87, 15—43, 89, 1—25, 90, 1—34). Figs. 96—99 are from specimens in my collection.

his tongs. A couple of little Victories, hovering in the air, offer wreaths to father and son; for it is as father of Erichthonios that Hephaistos has at length wholly dispossessed Zeus.

ii. Hephaistos and Athena.

So far we have seen reason to think that the Arrhephoria was an annual rite in which a couple of Dew-bearers conveyed the very seed of the sky-god down into the womb of the earth-goddess, and we have surmised that they brought up thence a new-born babe named Erichthonios. Moreover, a review of monuments known to represent the birth of Erichthonios\(^1\) has made two points clear—that the group of Ge handing over the child to Athena was constant from first to last, and that Zeus as interested spectator was gradually ousted by Hephaistos. Vases distributed along the fifth century showed us in succession a Zeus of normal type, a Zeus-like personage probably to be called Hephaistos, a Zeus-like personage certainly called Hephaistos, and a Hephaistos of normal type.

How are these ritual and mythological data to be interpreted? I should infer (1) that the rite of the Arrhephoria as performed in the precinct (of Ge Olympia\(^2\)) near the Iliosos found apt expression in the Hellenic myth of Ge and Erichthonios, and (2) that in the course of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. the Hellenic myth was forced (by popular pressure?\(^3\)) to find room for the long-established persons of pre-Hellenic cult. Thus Ge the original mother must hand over her babe to Athena as foster-mother, while Zeus Olympos the natural consort of Ge Olympia is displaced by Hephaistos the primitive partner of Athena.

This reading of the story is of course in part conjectural, but it fits well with certain important facts in the history of Attic religion and it deserves to be weighed in relation to them.

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\(^1\) I have excluded from my survey the parallel, but later, series of vases and reliefs, which represent an Eleusinian (not Athenian) myth—the birth of the infant Ploutos, handed over by Ge to Demeter. On these see S. Reinach 'La naissance de Ploutos' in the Rev. Arch. 1900 i. 87—98 (= id. Cultes, mythes et religions Paris 1906 ii. 262—272), Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel.\(^2\) pp. 534—536 fig. 151, Nilsson Min.-Myc. Rel. pp. 487—489, C. Picard in the Revue historique 1931 pp. 1—76 (especially 33—42), id. in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1931 iv. 34—38 pl. 3.

\(^2\) Supra p. 169 n. 6.

\(^3\) Le régime of Peisistratos and his successors did much to enhance the prestige of Athena (see e.g. C. T. Seltman Athens: its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion Cambridge 1924 pp. 40 ff., 46 ff., 61, 68, 94 and F. E. Adcock in The Cambridge Ancient History Cambridge 1926 iv. 63, 66 f.), and pride in the city-goddess would tend to make men jealous for the credit of her partner Hephaistos (infra pp. 200, 223, 236). The 'Theseion,' if that be his temple (infra p. 223 n. 6), was no unworthy sequel to the Parthenon.
Plate XXV

Skins from Knossos, now at Candia. The Snake-goddess repeated as a proto geometric motif.
Painted terra-cotta plaque from Athens: the Snake-goddess (Athena?) of late geometric art.

See page 189 n. 1.
The Athenian Akropolis had from time immemorial been the home of Athena, a goddess comparable with, if not actually descended from, the snake-goddess of the early Cretans. Her


E. Kalinka in the Archiv f. Rel. 1921 xxi. 31 ff. regards Athena as 'eine jener vor-griechischen Muttergottheiten, die sowohl in Kleinasien wie in vielen Landschaften Griechenlands verehrt wurden'.

In this context we cannot ignore the goddess twice figured on a stamnos from Knossos found by H. G. G. Payne and published by S. Marinatos in the Jahrh. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1933 xlviii. Arch. Anz. p. 310 fig. 19. My pl. xxv is from fresh photographs of the jar kindly taken for me by J. D. S. Pendlebury. This personage has spirals like snakes starting from her hips, uplifted hands, and a pōdor on her head—a offenbar eine Göttin, und zwar eine missverstandene Weiterbildung der spät- und submykenischen Schlangengötinnen von Gurnia and Prinias. She may be dated c. 700 B.C.

A kindred, but further developed, figure occurs on the remarkable terra-cotta plaque found by the American excavators of the Agora at Athens and published by Dr T. L. Shear in The Illustrated London News for Sept. 3, 1932 p. 346 with a col. pl., V. Béguignon in the Bull. corr. hell. 1933 lvii. 243 fig. 1. My pl. xxvi is from a photograph obtained for me from Dr Shear by E. J. P. Raven, who tells me (Jan. 30, 1934) that a full publication with a col. pl. is shortly to appear in Hesperia. The plaque (9.5 x 5 ins., with two holes above for suspension) formed part of a dump near the base of the N. slope of the Areo Pago, and was associated with other objects in terra-cotta—primitive figurines, gaily coloured horses with their riders, votive shields, etc.—also with 'late Geometric' vases and a 'Proto-Corinthian' υβρίθαι. It has therefore been referred to the latter part of 8. viii B.C. and regarded as a votive offering brought from the adjacent shrine of the Eumenides. It shows a goddess facing the spectator, with raised arms and spread hands (cp. supra ii. 536 fig. 406, c). Her head and neck are in relief; the rest of her is on the flat, painted in dull red and blue. She stands between two snakes, rendered in the same colours amid a vertical framework of lotos-flowers and rosettes. Dr Shear finds it hard to say whether this unique figure should be interpreted as a snake-goddess ('possibly a survival of the Minoan tradition into later times in Athens') or more definitely as 'one of the Furies.' Perhaps the spotted transverse garment worn across her chest is meant for an aigis. If so, she is a primitive pre-warlike Athena. After all, Athena Αγορά (Zwick in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 166 f.) or Γορία (K. Zeigler 1061, 1041 f.) is near akin to the original Αγορά or Αχώρη. Cpr. Palaip. 31 (31) καλλίτειαν ἀν αγοράς τῆν Ἀθηναῖαν Βορέων, ὥσπερ τῆς Αργείον Θρησκείᾳ πέντε Βάτεν, Κράτεις καὶ Δίκαταν (Δεσποτῶν cod. x), Δακτυλίαν ἐν ὀθανί. Athena in due course was Christianised and appears on medieval leaden seals as ἌΡ ΘΥ (ср. Μηχανό Θεό) Η ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ ΖΩΡΟΕΙΠΗΚΟΟΥ (infra § 9 (b)) II (a) sub fin. The Panagia Gorgosphouos of modern Athens has a long and interesting pedigree.
snakes, her owl\(^1\), her olive-tree\(^2\), her relations to the priestly king Erechtheus\(^3\), in whose palace she had from the outset been housed\(^4\), are indefeasible proofs of her ancient lineage. Even in the Periclean age Pheidias’ great statue of the Parthenos, with a snake at her side, snakes round her waist, a snaky aigis over her shoulders, and a pillar beneath her hand\(^5\), still perpetuated the essential traits of a ‘Minoan’ prototype\(^6\).

Another pre-Greek deity of the Akropolis was Héphaistos, whose name\(^7\), equally unintelligible with that of Athena\(^8\), presumably

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\(^1\) *Infra* § 9 (b) ii (l).

\(^2\) *Supra* p. 187 n. 7.

\(^3\) *Supra* ii. 794.


\(^5\) *Supra* ii pl. xiv (in pocket at end).

\(^6\) On coins of the Oxyrhynchite name showing Athena with the double axe see *supra* ii. 624 f., figs. 259, 260. In fig. 100 I add another of these rare pieces from a specimen, struck by Antóninus Pius, now in my collection.


R. Pettazzoni ‘Philoktetes—Hephaistos’ in the *Rivista di filologia e d’istruzione classica* 1909 xxvii. 170—189 (criticised by R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 576 ff.) holds that Philoktetes and Hephaistos were originally different forms of the same non-Hellenic deity (their identity had been already asserted by F. Marx ‘Philoktet—Hephaistos’ in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1904 xiii. 673—685) and that the name of the former throws some light on the nature of the latter. Philoktetes was healed by Pylios son of Hephaistos (Ptol. Hephaist. *ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 152 b 13 f. Bekker), and the priests of Hephaistos in Lemnos had curative powers (Eustath. in *H. p.* 330, 19). Philoktetes, like Hephaistos, went limping. Philoktetes, like Hephaistos (*supra* i. 318 fig. 259), wore the *filos*. The pre-Hellenic god, who lies behind Philoktetes and Hephaistos, was equated by the Phocaceans with their Esmun-Kadmilos. The name Kadmilos covers a Semitic word for ‘gold’—Kadmios discovered the gold-mines of Mt Pangaion (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 197, Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 16 p. 49, 6 ff. Stäthlin, *cp. Aristot. frag.* 459 Rose; Strab. 680, Steph. Byz. *s. v.* ‘Τελπίας—and the names Φλοκτήτης and Χρύσσο both point in the same direction. Thus Philoktetes = Hephaistos = Kadmilos, and we can understand the equivalence of Hephaistos and Chrysor (*supra* ii. 715, 727). In fact, Kadmilos: Kabeiro
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(supra ii. 314 n. 0) = Philoktetes = Chryse = Hephaistos (Chrysor) = Aphrodite (χνώς)

A. Fick as a great philologist merits a more patient hearing. In his Vorgrischiche Ortsnamen Göttlingen 1903 p. 66 he quotes with approval Steph. Βυσ. εἰς Αἴας...ἀοὶ συνιάλλαυ τοῦ νησίου τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸ εἴ τε καὶ παρθένους θήσεως καὶ καί συνεχείο 
'Ganz fremdartig klingt auch Μαύρα...ob der Name des Gottes "Αἴας griechisch ist, kann man stark bezweifeln, jedenfalls waren die grosse Göttin, der Feuergott und der Phallos (Hermes) die Hauptgottheiten der Tyrrenherren.' In Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland Göttlingen 1909 p. 46 he returns to the charge: 'Hephaistos gehört durchweg den vorrheinzischen Pelasgern—Pelagern—Tyrsenern an. Mittelpunkte seines Dienstes sind Lemnos und Attika. Andere Namen des Gottes sind Palamoun und Palamedes, in Attika und Phokis heisst er Prometheus, in Boeotien als Wildfeuer Typhaon, dessen Kampf mit Zeus um die Weltherrschaft [supra ii. 448 n. 2, 731, 836] religionsgeschichtlich als Versuch der Verscher des Feuergottes, diesen zum Allgott zu erheben, zu denken ist. Auch der Name Hephaistos ist wohl pelagisch; gleichgeformt ist Gerastos, vielleicht der pelasgische Name des Wassergottes, der als Bahe der Demeter i. d. der Allmutter entschieden den Pelasgern Arkadiens angehört. Die Gottheiten der Pelasger waren also: Allmutter und Phallos, und die zwei elementaren Feuer- und Wassergötter, denen sich vielleicht Hermes als Luftgottheit zugesellt.'

8 Attempts to explain the name, which appears in Ionic as Θησος Θησειος, in Aeolic and Doric as Αθήνα Αθήνα, in Attic as 'Αθήνα 'Αθηνά, are collected by Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 185 f., F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 2007 f., Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rei. p. 1194 n. 1-5.

The most interesting hypothesis so far advanced is that of another famous philologist P. Kretschmer. In Glotta 1921 xi. 283—284 he treats the name as Pelasgian or Tyrsenian and relates it to the one hand to the place-name 'Αθάνασιος 'Αθάνασιος 'Ατάνασιος (Aidan) in Phrygia with the characteristic suffix -ανας (Sir W. M. Ramsay The Historical Geography of Asia Minor (Royal Geographical Society: Supplementary Papers iv) London 1890 p. 136 no. 26, Id. The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia Oxford 1895 f. 241 ff., 249 (Bishops of...Attanassos)...Philadelphius πάλαις 'Αθάνασι (Atanassos) Conc. Chalced. 451. Christophorus' 'Αθάνασιος Conc. Nicaea II 787, Philotheos' 'Αθάνασιος Conc. 869 (?), ii. 355 ff., 395 (Philadelphus 'Αθάνασι...451), W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 2180), on the other hand to a group of Etruscans (?) words denoting a ritual vessel of terra cotta (Paal. ex Fest. p. 18, 11 Müller Athenaioum est poculi fictilius genus, quo in sacrificiis ubebantur sacerdotes Romani (W. M. Lindsay p. 17, 9 prints Atanaium with cod. L. Th. Mommsen in the Ephem. epigr. 1899 viii. 244 n. 2 gives atanaium), G. Goetz Corpus glasariarum Latinorum Lipsiae 1888 ii. 32, 25 ff. = 1899 vi. 108 f. 'Ata σημαίνει «νομισμάτων δύναμις ἡφαῖστος» (?), e.g. προφθάνει πρός τοις προφήταις ἡφαῖστων, ii. 47 f. = vi. 108 Atanaius (atanaius) cod. A. Swoboda in his ed. of P. Nigidius Figulus (Vindobonae 1886) p. 16 n. 0 cj. atanaius, which is accepted by P. Kretschmer) συναν (συναν δὲ, Vulcius) ήτοι τυχείον σκεύος, κεραμίον, 1899 iv. 406, 33 = vi. 108 atanaius genus vasis, 1894 v. 591, 18 = vi. 108 atanaius genus vasis, v. 591, 46 = vi. 108 attanaius genus vasis, Nigl. frag. 9 Swoboda ap. Non. Marc. p. 58, 15 f. Lindsay itaque ex re (aere Scilicet argyro; J. H. Onions aereum) in Saliaribus atanaius (A. Swoboda a. c. atanaius) tinintat, id est sonant, Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. n. 5020 (the acta of Augustus' ludi sacrificiae, 17 B.C.), 107 and 132 ad atallam fuerunt (followed by a list of the quinquicennalia present. F. Bücheler and K. Zangemeister in the Ephem. epigr. 1899 viii. 244 took atalai to be the diminutive of atana, attana, atanaius) and perhaps to ιδνθανον an Asia Minor (?) word for 'pan' or 'pot' (Hesych. s.vv. ιδνθανον, ιδνθανος, ιδνθανας from Hippoxas frag. 36, 3 Bergk, frag. 39, 9 Diehl). Kretschmer suggests that the pre-Greek θησος = ιδνθανον gave rise to 'Αθήνα 'Αθηνά as 'eine Töpfergöttin,' the later Athena Εργαζατ (Paus. 1. 24, 3 πρωτό μν εἰς 'Αθήνα ονομάζει 'Εργαζατον, Εργαζατον sc. e. Αθηνα). Further, he hints that the clay vessel from which the goddess got her name may well have been regarded 'als Fetisch und Symbol...Die Glosse atanaius ήτοι τυχείον σκεύος, κεραμίον lässt doch fast an ein gralartiges heiliges Gefäß denken.'
Kretschmer’s ingenious speculation could, I think, fairly claim the support of certain extant types of sacred or ritual vases: (a) Gerichtswesen or ‘face-urns’ from the second city at Troy, c. 2500—2300 B.C. (H. Schliemann Troy and its remains London 1875 p. 34 f. nos. 10—13, id. 110 nos. 157—159, 339—345 nos. 227—229, 231—241 (of which 235 = my fig. 101), C. Schuchhardt Schliemann’s Excavations trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 68 figs. 66—68 (= my figs. 103, 105, 101), Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l’Art vi. 427 fig. 427, 517 figs. 376, 503 ff. figs. 454, 455, W. Dörpfeld Troya und Ilion Athen 1903 i. 255—257 pl. 33, 1—7 (of which 4 = my fig. 104), M. Hoernes Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa3 Wien 1925 pp. 358—364 figs. 5—8, Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases i. 12 nos. A 68 pl. 2, E. Pottier Vases antiques du Louvre Paris 1897 p. 4 no. A 4 (i) pl. 5). These urns begin by being distinctly human in appearance. The upper part, or the lid, has a projecting nose, arched eyebrows, and round prominent eyes, mouth, ears, and a peaked cap may also be added. Some specimens have the ears bored for metal earrings. Others indicate in relief a necklace and a transverse band across the chest, or make the head support a bowl and the hands a two-handled cup. The body is rounded and, as a rule, equipped with rudimentary arms, conical breasts, and a flat disk (navel? womb?) occasionally marked with a cross or swastika. Later the jars become less truly anthropomorphic; the peaked cap turns into a handle, the brow sinks to a straight line, the eyes dwindle into dots, the arms may be duplicated as a pair of spirals.

Now H. Schliemann was certainly wrong, when in Troy and its remains p. 113 and Idies p. 281 ff. he took such vases to represent Athena in the shape of an owl (κολώνιας Ἀθηνᾶς, Αθηνᾶς νυμφής). Similar face-urns, of the Early Iron Age, found in Pomerania, East and West Prussia, Posenland, Silesia, Poland (J. Schlemm Wörterbuch zur Urgeschichte Berlin 1908 pp. 173—176 figs. a—i, II. Seger in M. Ebert Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte Berlin 1926 vi. 395—394 p. 110—113, A. Götze ib. 1926 vi. 384 f. pl. 96 f.), Etruria (J. Martha L’art étrusque Paris 1889 p. 468 fig. 305, E. Pottier Vases antiques du Louvre Paris 1897 p. 33 no. 709 pl. 28, Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases i. 2. 350 f. no. H 213 pl. 17, H 214 pl. 17, H 215, H 216 pl. 17), and Kypros (Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l’Art iii. 505 f. figs. 503, 504, and col. pl. 4, J. L. Myres The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Handbook of the Casolina Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus New York 1914 p. 104 no. 793 fig., p. 113 no. 931 fig.) are purely human in design. Their significance is probably apotropoeic. The figure shown is the guardian, who protects the contents of the urn. At Troy this figure is always female. It is, then, very possible to be identified with the city-goddess Athena, but not as γλαύκη (M. Hoernes Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa1 Wien 1898 p. 175, ib.2 Wien 1915 p. 363). A custom of this sort does not easily die out. A thousand years later those who dug the shaft-grave at Mykenai put in a globular vase still decorated with a pair of outstanding breasts (A. Furtwängler—G. Lischke Mykenische Thongefässe Berlin 1879 p. 3 pl. 1, 1, Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l’Art vi. 912 fig. 464).

(b) A vase from tomb xiii at Mycenae, which Sir A. J. Evans refers to the ‘Early Mycenaean iii’ period, c. 2400—2100 B.C. (R. B. Seager Explorations in the Island of Mychlos Boston—New York 1912 p. 64 figs. 32, 34, G. Karo—G. Maraghiannis Antiquités Cretièennes Deuxième série Candié 1911 p. viii pl. 10, 6, Sir A. J. Evans The Palace of Minos London 1922 i. 111 fig. 84, O. Montelius La Grece préclassique Stockholm 1924 i. 27 fig. 116 a, 116 b = my fig. 106). This remarkable vessel, painted with yellowish white on a dark ground, represents a female figure wearing a kind of turban and holding her breasts, which are pierced to serve as spouts. Both Seager and Evans infer that she is a primitive mother-goddess. It is but a step from this Alima Mater to some of the Cypriote vases noted above (e.g. Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l’Art iii col. pl. 4 = my fig. 107), which being furnished with a single spout probably did duty as feeding-bottles for infants. A mother-goddess would be a wholly suitable type. A late Egyptian (?) specimen in my collection is no less appropriately topped by the head of young Horus (fig. 108. Height 4 inches).

(c) Tubular vessels from various cult-centres in Palestine, Crete, and Rhodes. At Beth-Shan (Beisan), the Hellenistic Nysa Sk judgment (supsa p. 88 fig. 31), the excavations of the University of Pennsylvania Museum brought to light an earthenware cylinder, from one side of which projects a crudely modelled head wearing a crown of feathers. This

C. III.
Hephaistos and Athena

Fig. 106.

Fig. 107.

Fig. 108.
object, found in the Amenophis iii level (1411—1375 B.C.), seems to have been connected
with the cult of the serpent-goddess Astoreth or Anaitis, who at Beth-Shan bore the
Egyptianised name Anit: the head presumably represents the goddess herself (L. B.
Holland in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1929 xxxiii. 198 f. fig. 10 = my fig. 109). Somewhat
later are the bottomless tubular stands from the same site published by A. Rowe in the
Musuem Journal. University of Pennsylvania 1926 pp. 296, 297, 299. I figure one which
has two handles surmounted by birds in the round and windows in its sides penetrated by
snakes in relief (G. Contenau Manuel d'archéologie orientale Paris 1931 ii. 1049 f. fig. 729

Fig. 109.
1931 p. 154 fig. 74). Professor S. A. Cook The Religion of ancient Palestine in the light of
Archaeology London 1930 p. 98 comments: 'The name Shām (or Shē'm) may be directly con-
ected with Shahan or Sakhan, the Semitic name of an old Sumerian serpent deity. Upon a
bowl is depicted an undulating serpent ; and a pottery model of a serpent has female breasts,
and a cup below for collecting the milk.' Etc. The burial pithoi from Beth-Shan
(c. 1800 B.C.), which have their upper part adorned with the mask of the dead man or
woman and a pair of rudimentary arms (C. L. Fisher in the Revue biblique internationale
1923 xxxii. 435 ff. fig. 9, P. Thomsen in Ebert Realllex. ii. 3 pl. 1, a, b), are hardly ad rem.
A shrine of 'Middle Minoan' date (c. 2100—1580 B.C.) on one summit of Mt Korakies,
a two-peaked hill at Koumasa in southern Crete, yielded four cylindrical clay vessels open
at the bottom. Two of these have snaky handles formed of four loops vertically arranged
on either side (S. Xanthoudides The Vaulted Tombs of Messard trans. J. P. Droop Liverpool

13—2
Hephaistos and Athena

1924 p. 50 pl. 33, of which nos. 5002 and 5005 = my figs. 111 and 112, G. Karo in D. H. Haas Bildratlas zur Religionsgeschichte Leipzig—Erlangen 1925 vii p. viii fig. 54, Nilsson Min.-Myc. Rel. pp. 90 f. (fig. 6, 271 f.). At Prinia in central Crete F. Halbherr in 1900 found two very similar vessels, one of which has an additional snake coiling upwards and encircling its mouth, together with a terra-cotta goddess emergent from a cylindrical base and the fragmentary arms of another entwined with snakes—clearly the contents of a small 'Minoan' shrine (S. Wide in the Ath. Mitth. 1901 xxvi. 247—257 figs. 1—5 (of which 4 and 5 = my figs. 113 and 114) and pl. 12, Nilsson Min.-Myc. Rel. pp. 269 f., 271, 275, 385). Renewed excavations of the site by the Italians in 1906 led
to further finds—the head of a terra-cotta figure and another tube-shaped vessel with vertical loops or handles, a ridge resembling a snake, and oval holes or apertures in the sides. But the objects associated with the new finds belong to the archaic Greek period and point to a local survival of the ‘Minoan’ cult (L. Pernier in the Bollettino d’arte 1908 ii. 455 ff. fig. 11 cited by R. Zahn in K. F. Kinch Fouilles de Vroulia (Rhodes) Berlin 1914 p. 28 and by Nilsson Min.-Myc. Rel. p. 386). The shrine of the snake-goddess at Gournia in eastern Crete (supra ii. 158), believed to be of the ‘Late Minoan i’ period, c. 1580—1475 B.C., had five tubular vessels still in situ. One, of which the base only remained, stood on the low plastered tripod. Round it were ranged four others. Three of these, practically complete, supplement the snaky loops by an extra handle surmounted by ritual horns; one adds a disk above the horns, another a pair of snakes crossing under the handle, the third a symbol now missing—possibly a bird (Mrs B. E. Williams in H. Boyd Hawes, B. E. Williams, R. B. Seager, and E. H. Hall Gournia, Vasiliki and other prehistoric sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete Philadelphia 1908 p. 47 f. pl. 11,

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Fig. 115.  
Fig. 116.  
Fig. 117.

11—13=my figs. 115—117, L. Pernier in G. Maraghiannis Antiquités Crétoises Vienne (1907) i p. vii pl. 36, 1, 2, and 4, R. Dussaud Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la Mer Égée Paris 1910 p. 200 with fig. 142, G. Karo in D. H. Haas Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte Leipzig—Erlangen 1925 vii p. viii fig. 51, Nilsson Min.-Myc. Rel. pp. 74 ff. fig. 3 b, 267, 271). Lastly, a tubular vessel, found in Rhodes, probably at Kameiros, and now in the Antiquarium at Berlin (inv. no. 4563), is of roughly similar shape. It is 0.285 m high, and again has no bottom. A ribbed handle on either side is flanked by four bosses and two snakes in relief. Three of these snakes have tongues serrated like an oak-leaf; the fourth has a tongue small and pointed. The neck of the vessel is decorated with a number of birds, separately modelled and attached, several of which are missing. The light brown clay is painted rather carelessly with maeanders, zig-zags, etc. of dark brown glaze in the geometric style—an indication that here too we have a ‘Minoan’ usage surviving into post-‘Minoan’ times (R. Zahn ‘Kultgerät aus Rhodos’ in K. F. Kinch Fouilles de Vroulia (Rhodes) Berlin 1914 pp. 26—34 fig. 13 a, b, and c (=my fig. 118 a, b, and c), E. Küster Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und
Hephaistos and Athena

belongs to the same language as the place-name *Phaistos*. Now if—as we have argued—the ‘Minoan’ earth-goddess (Rhea) had for consort a ‘Minoan’ sky-god (Kronos) armed with a double axe, it is tempting to guess that Hephaistos, whose double axe of bronze is mentioned by Pindar as a ‘holy axe’ and is often figured on sixth-century vases, was in the remote prehistoric past the veritable husband of Athena. On which showing Hephaistos and Athena

Religion Giessen 1913 p. 41 f. fig. 51 (inexact), Nilsson Min.-Myc. Rel. pp. 273, 386 f.). Bottomless vases are in the nature of funnels, and sometimes certainly, as in the Dipylon cemetery at Athens, conveyed liquid offerings through the earth to the dead (supra ii. 1056). It is therefore reasonable to think that the tubular vessels used in the cult of the ‘Minoan’ snake-goddess served a similar purpose and prove her to have been *ab origine* an earth-mother (R. Zahn loc. cit. p. 34, Nilsson Min.-Myc. Rel. pp. 271 ff., 386 f.). However, Sir A. J. Evans The Palace of Minos London 1935 iv. p. xii, 18 ff., having found in a ‘Minoan’ house at Knossos three clay tubes with cups attached to their sides, thinks that these were receptacles for domestic snakes, derived from common drain-pipes. He offers the same explanation of all the ‘snake tubes’ mentioned above, comparing their loops with the looped variety of water-pipe. Ingenious, but far from convincing.

(d) Hellenistic relief-ware of Graeco-Egyptian style has sometimes by way of prophylactic (?) decoration an emblem or emblem of Athena. I figure three small vases in my collection, which are made of salmon-coloured unglazed (?) clay and were found at Ephesus. They exhibit the following designs: (1) on the one side a helmeted head of Athena, on the other a Gorgoneion of beautiful type (fig. 119. Height 3½ inches); (2) a Gorgoneion with dishevelled hair and a large six-rayed star beneath an inverted lotus-pattern round the rim (fig. 120. Height 1½ inch); (3) two snakes with crossed tails above a single larger snake encircling the lower part of the vase (fig. 121. Height 4½ inches).

It is perhaps not too hazardous to conjecture that Trojan *Gesichtsnummern* and the like point backwards to a primitive belief that earthen vessels should take the form of the earth-mother of whose very substance they were made. Be that as it may, in view of the varied forms of these sacred or semi-sacred vessels it is quite conceivable that—as Kretschmer supposed—Athena drew her name from a clay vessel used in her service, though I should prefer to conclude that the vessel drew its name from the goddess.

1 I do not propose to treat *Hephaistos* and *Phaistos* as etymologically connected, though many years ago I toyed with the notion (Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 85 n. 1). I now agree with Farnell Cults of Gr. States v. 390 n. 2: ‘There is no vraisemblance in the supposition.’ Platon, who might be cited in its support, though a giant in philosophy, was but a dwarf in philology (Plat. Crat. 407c B. Πόλην έδώ δέ τόν Ἡφαίστος; τῇ λέγει: ΣΩ. ή τόν γενναίον τόν φάλαινα ἐστορείς; B. Εὐκά. ΣΩ. σοίναν άνθος μὲν παντί δήλοι Φαίστος δέν, τό ήτα προσκελικόναν). Nevertheless it remains probable that the language which produced the word *Phaistos* produced also the word *Hephaistos*.

2 Supra ii. 548 ff.

3 Pind. Ol. 7. 35 ἄρχ᾽ Ἀφαίστων τέχναις | καλαλατῇ πέλεκες ποτέρος Ἄθωσα χαλκα | κατ᾽ ἀκραν ἄρονσαι | ἀλλὰ δέξειν πραγμάτεις βολὴν θησαυρᾶς. 34 Bergk 4, 34 Schroeder ap. Hephaistos. 15. 13 p. 51, 16 Conbruch δε καὶ τυπές ἄρχ᾽ πέλεκες τέχνης ζωτικῶν Ἀθώσα (quoted also, less exactly, by Marius Plotius Sacerdos de metris in H. Keil Grammatici Latinii vi. 545, 8). Later writers commonly use the term πέλεκες (Apollod. i. 3. 6, Loukian. dial. dier. 8, Philos. mai. imag. 2. 27. 1, Nonn. Dion. 27. 544. 42. 250. 1, schol. Plat. Tim. 23 D—E p. 948 a 12), sometimes βατράχια in the sense of ‘an axe for felling an ox’ (Nonn. Dion. 8. 83. 27. 325; et. mag. p. 371. 4). Cp. the πέλεκες presented by Hephaistos to Polytechnos of Kolophon (supra ii. 593).

4 Infra § 9 (h) ii (6).
Xystis from Nola, now in the British Museum.

Aresidora, fashioned by Hephaistos and adorned by Athena.

See page 201 n. 7.
would be but local equivalents of Kronos and Rhea. Some such assumption at least accounts for their persistent juxtaposition in classical times. Homer's cunning craftsman, who overlays gold on silver, is 'the man that Hephaistos and Pallas Athene have taught all manner of art, and full of grace are the works of his hand.' The Homeric *Hymn to Hephaistos* opens on the same note:

Sing, tuneful Muse, Hephaistos and his craft,
Who with bright-eyed Athena taught mankind
All splendid work on earth, whereas of yore
Men dwelt like brute beasts in their mountain-dens.

Solon's description of the artificer owes something to these epic writers:

Taught by Athena and Hephaistos' skill
Another learns his trade and earns his meal.

Platon too with curious frequency insists on the partnership of Hephaistos and Athena.

Their association is further attested by mythology, art, and actual cult. If Hephaistos fashioned woman, Athena adorned her—a story as old as Hesiod and brilliantly illustrated by the Anesidora-cup (pl. xxvii).

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1 This squares with the fact that in Crete, where Kronos and Rhea bulked big, Hephaistos (Farnell *Cults of Gh. States* v. 389 and L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 314 f., 341: both rightly attach little weight to Diod. 5. 74 and Paus. 8. 53. 5) and Athena (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1911 p. 952. On Athena Keidonia see Prehn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 2308) were nobodies.

2 Od. 6. 233 f. Ὅψαυντος δὲ καὶ Παλλᾶς Ἀθηνή | τέχνην παρακοκόντα, χάρεντα δὲ ἔργα τελεῖτα.

3 Ὅ. Ἐρη. 1. 28 Ὅψαυντος κλαυθμάτων διάδοσιν, Μοῦσα Ἀγία, | δὲ μετ' Ἀθηναίης γλαυκοπόντου ἄγια ἔργα | ἀνδρώπων ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ χθονίον, οὐ τὸ πάρος περὶ ἄντροις νοιετάσσειν εἰς θάρσος, ἣντε θὰρς.

4 Sol. frag. 13. 49 f. Bergk, 149 f. Diehl ἄλλοι Ἀθηναίης τε καὶ Ἡφαιστοῦ πολυτέχνεων ἔργα δαίμονες ξυλλέγονται βιτρῶν.


6 Hes. *Theog.* 571 f., v.d. 60 ff., 70 ff.

Hephaistos and Athena


Furtwängler—Reichhold GR. Vasenmalerei i. 283, followed by Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 347 no. 31, attributes this klyix to the ‘Meister der Penthesilia-Schale’; Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. GR. ii. 530 f., to E. Buchar’s ‘Pferdemeister.’ But J. D. Beazley Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 129 denies the attribution, and in his Attische Vasenmalerei des rotfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 261 no. 6 describes the vase as in the ‘Art des Pistozenmalers.’

Found at Nola in 1828 or 1829, this great klyix (height 5 inches; diameter 12½ inches) passed through the Hope and the Bale collections before being purchased in 1881 for the British Museum. The exterior is red-figured and shows scenes in the palaistra (?). The interior has black outlines on a white ground, with inner markings in brown. Anesidora’s chiton and Hephaistos’ himation are brown with details in purple and white. Athena has a chiton with a purple girdle, and a dark brown aegis with purple border and Gorgoneion in white. The head-dresses and the top of the hammer are moulded and gilt on a raised ground. Substantial parts of the design are missing. The heads of Anesidora and Athena together with the right arm of the latter have been added in pencil, while part of the former’s chiton has been restored in water-colour. The names are ΑΘΕΝΑΑ, [Α]ΝΕΣΙΔΟΡΑ, ΗΕΨΑ[ ]ΤΩΣ (P. Kretschmer Die Griechischen Vasenschriften Gütersloh 1894 p. 103 f. no. 187, correcting the Corp. inn. Gr. iv. no. 7416).

The moment represented is that described by Her. thrag. 573 ff. [ὑπάρχει δια καλωστρον] ἐκείνην ἠδύνατο γραμμήν εἰς ... ἀμφότεροι τὸν στρατηγὸν κρυπτὸν κελαθόντων ἑτέρα, ... τὴν αὐτὸν πτήσαν περικυκίαν Ἀργοναύτης [ἀκήρως παράμικρε, χαράζοντος διὰ παραθέτειν] = unrecognizable. And the composition as a whole is comparable with that of the Triptolemos-relief from Eleusis (Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus. p. 106 ff. pls. 24 and 25 with bibliography; Brunn—

Bruckmann Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt. pl. 7, Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. ii. 140 ff. fig. 68, Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 339 no. 3).

Ἀνεσίδορας, like Πανθώρα, was an epithet of the earth-mother (Hesych. Ανεσίδορας- η γῆ, διὰ τὸ χάρις καρποῦ αὐτής, id. Πανθώρα—η γῆ, οτι τὰ πρῶτα τῷ γῆ πάντα δωρεῖται. ἀφ’ ὅσι καὶ χειρός καὶ ἄρτηδορα schol. Aristoph. nat. 971 Πανθώρα: η γῆ, ἐπειδὴ πάντα τα πρῶτα τῷ γῆ δωρεῖται, ἀφ’ ὅσι καὶ χειρός καὶ ἄρτηδορα, et. mag. p. 108, 31 Ανεσίδορας—η γῆ, Eustath. in ll. p. 1057, 47 ff. οὔτως ἐν Δασούσι ἀλληγορωθεὶν ἐκτιθέοι τῇ γῆ φασί —<τιμαθαί (in. a. a. c.)> παρά τῷ δαίμονι, ὡς διότι καὶ ἄρτηδορα καὶ χειρός (cp. the Dodonaean chant Γα καρποῦ αὐτὴς κ.λ. cited supra i. 534 p. 8, ii. 350 n. 1). In Alkiph. epist. 1. 3 χρυσώτην γῆ γῆ καὶ βοῖος ἀλεπίνοιον. οὐ μόνο γὰρ ἀνεσίδορας ταυτόν οὐσοζωσίσθην Ἀνεσίδορας αὐτοῦ δῶρα, ἦν ἕνεκ’ ἐνα καὶ νεκρὰς καὶ ἁμαρτάνει R. Hercher omits the second sentence (as a gloss)?). From Ge it passed to her ‘offshoot’ (supra i. 396 f.) Demeter, who was likewise empowered γῆς καρποῦ δῶρας (ὑ. Dem. 337). Thus in the Attic deeme Phyla the cult of Ge called Μεγάλη Θεός was supplemented by that of Demeter Ἀνεσίδορας and by that of Kore Πριηκύλη (Faus. i. 31. 4 cited supra ii. 251 n. 2 plau ii. 1066). Demeter Ἀνεσίδορας was perhaps worshipped in Melite, another deme of the tribe Kekropia (Plout. γυμν. 9. 14. 4 καὶ γῆρ ῥήματα (εἰς τοὺς Μελιταίους) ἐστιν Δακτύλιος Ἀνεσίδορας), and her appellative figures in the lists drawn up by the grammarians (Schöll—Studemund anec. i. 277 ἔτσι ἴσα μετράσας... 3 ἄρτηδορας, 277 Αἰ γῆς Δακτύλων κλῆσθαι...ἀρτηδορά, cp. 283 Κλῆσθαι Δακτύλως...ἀρτηδορά ( sic)).

Starting from this fact archaeologists, in primis C. Robert (Archaeologische Merkzeichen aus alter und neuer Zeit Berlin 1886 p. 104 ff. pls. 4 and 5, ‘Pandora’ in Hermes 1914 xxix. 17—38 with 2 figs.), J. E. Harrison (Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. p. 451 f., ‘Delphika’ in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1899 xix. 232 ff. figs. 11, 12, Proleg. Glk. Rel. p. 276 ff. figs. 67—71), and P. Gardner (‘A New Pandora Vase’ in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1991 xxi. 1 ff. pl. 1), have gone forwards towards explaining the origin of the Anesidora-type. The story shapes itself as follows. The ancients seem to have regarded the earliest agricultural operations of the year as a kind of eucratia, by means of which the earth-powers were wakened from their winter’s sleep and summoned to help the farmer in his work. When
the ager Tarquiniensis was being ploughed and the furrow was driven deep, up came on a sudden Tages, a boy in appearance but an old man in wisdom, scared the ploughman and delivered his auguries to the Etruscans (Cic. de div. 2. 50, Ov. met. 15. 553 ff.: see further C. Pauli and W. Schultz in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 3 ff.). Similarly in Greek belief, when the hard earth is broken up by men with mallets or mattocks,—and it must be remembered that the most primitive form of agriculture was Hackbau (E. Hahn in M. Ebert Realexikon der Vorgeschichte Berlin 1926 v. 12 f. pl. 11)—up comes Mother Earth herself in answer to their summons. Her epiphany, though nowhere noted in literature, is given on a series of vases (C. Robert Archaeologische Maerchen pl. 5,
But the Anesidora-cup is not the only witness. The fact is that from the beginning of the fifth century\(^1\) onwards classical art shows a well-marked tendency to bring together the craftsmen’s god and the craftsmen’s goddess. A fragmentary design from the outside of a red-figured kylix painted in the style of Euphronios (fig. 125)\(^3\) has Hephaistos seated with a phiale in his right hand and a double axe or hammer in his left. By his side stands Athena with helmet, aigis, and spear. Her hair and bracelet, like his phiale, are in gilded relief, and suggest that this is no trivial occasion. Equally impressive is the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (supra ii pl. xliv), which again shows Hephaistos seated, but this time with Athena seated too. He turns towards her, as Hera towards Zeus, the pre-Hellenic exactly balancing the Hellenic pair. A broken relief from Epidaurus, carved in Pentelic marble \(c. 400\) B.C. and now preserved in the National Museum at Athens (fig. 126)\(^3\), has another masterly composition.

\(^{1}\) L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa. *Real-Enc. viii. 348 cites in this connexion a black-figured sherd from the Akropolis at Athens noted by W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1888 xiii. 109 f. But this is not ad rem: see Graef. *Ant. Vasen Athen* p. 67 no. 601 b pl. 28 (‘wahrscheinlich von einer Athenageburt’).


Fig. 125.

Fig. 126.
Hephaistos and Athena

Hephaistos leaning on his staff presents a helmet to Athena, who stands before him in the pose of the Dresden ‘Lemnia.’ An archaistic relief from Greece now in the Jacobsen collection (fig. 127) repeats the motif of Hephaistos presenting the helmet, but combines him awkwardly enough with an Athena in the ‘Promachos’-attitude. A fresh turn is given to the kaleidoscope by the artist who designed a well-known sarcophagus in the Villa Albani. A procession of deities bringing gifts for the marriage of Peleus and Thetis is


Furtwängler took this relief to represent the Athena Lemnia of Pheidias receiving a helmet from Hephaistos the natural protector of Athenian klerodochoi in Lemnos. To account for the relief having been found at Epidaurus, he suggested that it may have decorated the base of a stèle bearing some decree of the said klerodochoi.

Reisch and Sauer regard the subject as reflecting the Hephaistos and Athena Hephaistia made by Alkmenes for the Hephaisteion (the so-called ‘Athenion’) at Athens. See further E. A. Gardner in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1899 xix. 6 ff.

Löwy holds that the god is not Hephaistos at all, but a common type of Asklepios. He thinks that Athena, paying a friendly visit to Asklepios, here doffs her armour in token of the guest-friendship enjoyed by Athenians at Epidaurus, while Asklepios extends his right hand towards her with a gesture of greeting (cp. an Attic relief of 398/7 B.C. published by P. Fossati in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1878 ii. 37 ff. pl. 10, Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. ii. 145 fig. 71, E. Löwy in the text to Einzelaufnahmen v. 3 ff. no. 1211). But the absence of a snake (unless indeed it was added in paint, which is just conceivable) tells heavily against the identification of the god as Asklepios (contrast e.g. Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus. no. 2985 pl. 197, 1); and his right hand was certainly touching the helmet, not greeting the goddess.

Svoronos, ingenious as ever, agrees with Löwy in naming the god Asklepios, but argues that Athena is offering him her helmet and shield. In this we are to see a symbolic allusion to the events of the year 338 B.C., when Philip after the victory of Chaeroneia marched against Sparta at the head of an irresistible force. In the nick of time Asklepios came to the rescue from Epidaurus (Isyll. F 68 f. Powell, E 60 f. Dichtl επει δύον ΐακαλάντιν <ντυνυς συν Επιδωροσ | τιμών Ιεράκλου γενών. Δέ φείδηρο δρα ζωόν) and appeared to the boy Isyllos clad in golden armour (Isyll. F 68 f. Powell, E 63 f. Dichtl επει δύον Ιακαλάντιν συν Επιδωροσ | λαμψιόνον χρυσάν, Ιακαλάντιν), Svoronos surmises that Athens sent arms to Sparta through the agency of Epidaurus, and that this relief was set up in Epidaurus to commemorate the fact as soon as the death of Alexander made an anti-Macedonian dedication possible. Accordingly he would date the relief c. 322 B.C., comparing a very similar relief of that year (Ath. Nationalmus. p. 246 f. no. 1331 pl. 36, 1). The whole hypothesis is clever, but frail.

1 P. Arndt La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg Munich 1896 p. 31 ff. pl. 20, c (= my fig. 127), Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek i no. 35 pl. 3, E. Reisch in the Jahresh. d. ost. arch. Inst. 1898 i. 82.

2 G. Winckelmann Monumenti antichi inediti Roma 1767 p. 151 ff. pl. 111, G. Zoega Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma Roma 1868 i. 249 pls. 52 f. 83, Overbeck Gall. ger. Bildw. i. 201 f. Atlas pl. 8, 8, Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 4. 64 ff. pl. 75, 961, A. Baumeister in his Denkm. i. 700 f. fig. 759, A. Rapp in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2735, Robert Sark-Reifs ii. 2 ff. pl. 1, 1, 12, 1b, Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 143 no. 1, W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Leipzig 1913 ii. 436 f. no. 1887.
headed by Hephaistos and Athena, the former bearing sword\(^1\) and shield, the latter helmet and spear\(^2\). Since the whole composition is ingeniously built up of pre-existing types\(^3\), we must suppose that Hephaistos and Athena as armourers were already sufficiently familiar. In this capacity we can trace them further afield. Crude provincial reliefs from Hedernheim (figs. 128, 129)\(^4\) show a group

\(\text{Fig. 129.}\)


The schol. A.D. \textit{Il.} 16. 140 adds φορει δ' Αθηνα μεν ξειαν ανθό, 'Ηραστήρος δε κατασκευαζον.

\(^3\) W. Helbig \textit{ap. cit. ii.} 437.

\(^4\) E. Maass \textit{Die Tagesgötter in Rom und den Provinzen aus der Kultur des Niederganges in C. III.}
of three standing deities—Volcanus with Minerva at his right hand and Mercurius at his left—surmounted by busts representing the days of the week. Volcanus is here possibly a Roman substitute for Donar, Minerva for Holda, Mercurius for Wodan. In any case Volcanus and Minerva patronise arts and crafts, while Mercurius encourages trade. A contrast to these poor efforts is provided by the handsome numismatic types of Rome and Romanised Greece. Magnificent medallions issued by Antoninus Pius in his own name (fig. 13) and in that of his wife Faustina the Elder portray the ambitious scene of Hephaistos forging a thunderbolt for the Thunderer’s daughter. She stands before him, her right hand outstretched to take the bolt, her left resting on her hip. Behind

Fig. 130.

der antiken Welt Berlin 1902 p. 233 f. with figs. 25 (= my fig. 128) and 26 (= my fig. 129), Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 326 no. 4, 528 no. 8, Germania Romana Bamberg 1922 p. xvi pl. 53, i.

2 Supra ii. 69 f.
3 Supra ii. 63 n. 1. But see on the other side G. Wissowa in Roscher Lex. Myth. vi. 367.

4 Supra ii. 65, 66 n. o, 94 n. 1, 386 n. 6.
her we perceive shield, snake, and olive-tree—the *insignia* of the Athenian goddess. Another medallion of Antoninus Pius (fig. 131)\(^1\), followed by imperial coins of Samos\(^2\), Thyateira (fig. 132)\(^6\), and Magnesia ad Maeandrum\(^4\), harks back to older models by combining the pillar of the *Parthenos* with the helmet of the ‘Lemnia.’ Yet another of Antoninus’ numerous medallions (fig. 133)\(^6\) shows Hephaistos holding a hammer and forging a shield on his anvil. Before him is a helmet set on a tall *cippus*, behind him a shield, and in the background uplifted on a pedestal the statue of Athena *Parthenos*. Finally, a white paste of the Graeco-Roman period (s. i B.C.—s. i A.D.) now at Berlin has the head of Hephaistos eclipsing that of Athena, both heads being in profile on disks resembling coins\(^4\).

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1 Fröhner *M it. emp. rom.* p. 51 fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.* ii. 384 f. no. 1144 fig. (= my fig. 131).
2 Head *Hist. num.* p. 606.
5 Fröhner *M it. emp. rom.* p. 63 f. fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.* ii. 387 f. no. 1155 fig., Gneechi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 18 no. 82 (153 A.D.) pl. 52, 7 (= my fig. 133).
winter. Apollonios of Acharnai, a writer on Athenian festivals, states that the rite was observed by all the craftsmen, especially the coppersmiths, of Athens. Souidas remarks that some called it the Athenaia, while others described it as a festival of the whole folk. It was, he adds, an ancient festival once celebrated by all the people, which had come to be viewed as an affair of the artisans only, since Hephaistos had wrought bronze in Attike. Phanodemos the Atticist even denied that Athena had any part or lot in it. But here, as V. von Schoeffer points out, he must have been mistaken, for this was the day on which the priestesses with the Arrhephoroi began to weave Athena's pēplēs. Moreover, we have no sufficient

γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Μεκάνδρος δράμα Χαλκεία. Σουίδ. τ. ν. Χαλκεία: ἤσωσθ' Ἀθήνας, δὲ γέγρα 
'Αθήνας καλοῦσθ', οἱ δὲ Πανθέων διὰ τὸ ὅτι τότε ἔγερσα, Χαλκεία δις: ἤσωσθ ἄρχα 
καὶ ἑστάτη τὰν, ύπερτο τὸ ὅτι μὼν ήρετο τῶν πυρετῶν, διέ λ' Ἡφαιστος εἰς τῇ Ἀττικῇ 
χαλκῷ εἰργάζατο. οἱ δὲ δὴ καὶ νὰ τοι Ἰανάκεζως: εἰς 8 καὶ <ιε> (insula A.B.C.)> ἱερί 
μετὰ τῶν ἄρρηφόρων τῶν τέφλων διάβωναι. Χαλκεία τε: ἤσωσθ' παρ' Ἀθήνας κ.τ.λ. (from 
Harpokr. loc. cit.). Souïd. Χαλκεία δις is repeated by the et. mag. p. 805, 43 ff. and in part 
by Eustath. in Π, p. 284, 36 f. Harpokr. Χαλκεία is transcribed in extenso by 
Favorinus. lex. p. 1854, 27 ff.

1 See the diagram supra l. 501 fig. 511.
2 On the connotation of the word πάνθημος see W. Dittenberger 'ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ 
ΔΗΜΟΤΕΛΗΣ' in Hermes 1891 xxvi. 474 ff. citing Zeus Πάνθημος (Corpus. inscr. Att. 
iii. 1 no. 7, 17 f. τῷ Δίῳ τῇ Εὐρυθάλου καὶ μᾶλ] τῷ[τῷ ηεραδ -- τοῖ Δίῳ τοι Πανθήμων].
Cp. quasi-autonomous bronze coins of Synnada with οβεν. head of ΗΕΒΟΤ ΠΑΝΤ-
ΔΗΜΟΣ, rev. ΚΥΝelaideων ονων Mt Perissi (?) (Imhoof-Blumer Chois de

**Fig. 134.**

**Fig. 135.**

monn. gr.1 pl. 6, 194 (= my fig. 134), id. Monn. gr. p. 413 no. 157, Weber Cat. Coins 
iii. 2 no. 7181 pl. 256) or ΚΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ Amaltheia holding infant Zeus with goat 
at her feet (Imhoof-Blumer Monn. gr. p. 413 no. 158 and imperial bronze coins of 
the same town with rev. Zeus enthroned with Nike in right hand and sceptre in left 
no. 29 Domitian (= my fig. 135 from a cast)), ΣΕΒΟΤ ΠΑΝΑΘΗΜΟΣΣΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ 
(Imhoof-Blumer Kleinas. Münzen i. 294 no. 14 Nerva, now at Berlin), or 
ΔΙΑ ΠΑΝΑΘΗΜΟΝ ΕΥΝΑΔΕΩΝ (sic) (Mimont Descrip. de méd. ant. iv. 368 no. 987 
Nerva) or ΚΥΝΝΑΔΕΩΝ (id. ibid. and Suppl. vii. 627 no. 593 Nerva, after D. Sestini 
Descrizione di altre medaglie greche del Museo del Signore Carlo d'Ottavio Fontana di 
Trieste Firenze 1839 iii. 80. For the legend see supra ii. 950 f. fig. 842. ΔΙΑ ΙΔΑΙΟΝ 
ΛΙΑΕΩΝ, Head Hist. num.2 p. 686).

3 Cp. Poll. 7. 105 Χαλκεία ἤσωσθ' εἰς τῇ Ἀττικῇ Παναθήμων ιερά.
4 V. von Schoeffer in Pauly—Wisowa Real-Enc. iii. 1057.
5 Souïd. τ. ν. Χαλκεία δις (cited supra p. 215 n. o)=et. mag. p. 805, 46 f.
reason to doubt Souidas' statement that the festival itself was sometimes called the Athenaia. Indeed, a fragmentary inscription found on the Akropolis might be held to connect the goddess with the Chalkeia. On the whole we are justified in concluding that the festival was common to both deities, but that Hephaistos bulked bigger at it than Athena. *En revanche,* in the Erechtheion, where Athena Polias had the whole of the eastern chamber, Hephaistos was content with a mere altar. The two obtained full and equal recognition in the Hephaisteion on the Market Hill, at the foot of which the copper-smiths plied their trade. A decree of the year 421/0 B.C. concerning the celebration of the Hephaistia mentions the sanctuary (?)' of Hephaistos and Athenaia' and enacts 'that the Council set up 'the altar for Hephaistos' and 'make his' statue (?)'.


2 *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 441  
Hephaistos and Athena

His statue must be taken to include the whole cult-monument; for another decree\(^1\) has preserved the accounts of a state-commission appointed in the self-same year and charged with the duty of erecting two statues on a single base in the Hephaistion, which statues—it would seem—were completed four years later in 416. The accounts specify a great quantity of bronze as purchased for the

Hephaistos and Athena

statues and note that tin was bought for 'the floral ornament (anthemion) beneath the shield.' Hence E. Reisch\(^1\) concludes that the statues in question were two bronze effigies of Hephaistos and Athena. Further, since a famous statue of Hephaistos, standing and so draped as to minimise his lameness, is known to have been made for Athens by Alkamenes\(^2\), and since Athena with her shield supported on a floral ornament is a type existing in several replicas\(^3\) which are held to reflect more or less closely the style of that great

Fig. 137.

sculptor, Reisch not unreasonably attributes the whole group to him\(^4\). B. Sauer\(^5\), accepting these results, goes further and attempts a restoration on paper (fig. 136), which may at least give us some notion of Alkamenes'\(^6\) group. Athena thus linked with Hephaistos came

\(^1\) E. Reisch loc. cit. p. 56 ff.
\(^2\) Cid. de nat. deor. i. 83, Val. Max. 8. 11. ext. 3.
\(^3\) E.g. the Athena of the Musée Cherchel (Reisch loc. cit. p. 64 ff. fig. 33), the Athena from Crete in the Louvre (id. ib. p. 72 f. fig. 35), the Athena of the Villa Borghese (id. ib. p. 74 ff. fig. 36).
\(^4\) E. Reisch in the Erinnerungen des P. Vindobonensis Wien 1893 p. 21, id. 'Athene Hephaistia' in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1898 i. 55—93 with pl. 3 and figs. 32—38.
\(^5\) B. Sauer Das sogenannte Theseion Leipzig 1899 p. 246 ff. ('Rekonstruktion') with fig. on p. 250 (= my fig. 136).
to be called by the curious¹ appellation *Hephaistia*. In 343/2 B.C. Phanodemos son of Diyllos, jealous as ever for the credit of Hephaistos,³ proposed a decree⁴ which directed that a certain 'statue be dedicated to Hephaistos and to Athena Hephaistia.' After this we hear no more of the temple-deities for a good five hundred years. But they were still there in Pausanias⁵ time:

'Above the Kerameikos and the King's Portico as they term it is a temple of Hephaistos. Knowing the tale told about Erichthonios, I was not surprised to find that a statue of Athena stands beside the god; but observing that her statue has glaucous eyes I recognised the myth as Libyan. For the Libyans say that she is a daughter of Poseidon and the lake Tritonis and that therefore her eyes are glaucous like Poseidon's.'

A bronze statue might, as Reisch⁶ suggests, have had eyes inlaid with silver; more probably they were of precious stone⁷ or vitreous

¹ E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 8 n. 1: 'It has been suggested to me by Mr G. F. Hill that Athena Hephaestia is a title very difficult to parallel in Greek mythology, if the name be derived directly from Hephaestus; such epithets are more commonly local in origin, and this one suggests Hephaestia in Lemnos, where there was a prominent cult of the goddess, attested by coins, and where she was associated in worship with Hephaestus. He further suggests that the famous Athena Lemnia of Phidias, whose association with Athenian cleruchs is a mere conjecture, was but another form of this Athena Hephaestia. In both alike the goddess was represented in her more peaceful aspect, as patroness of art and handicraft. The suggestion of a Lemnian association is peculiarly appropriate in a work attributed to Alcamenes, who was himself a Lemnian.'

² A parallel to Athena 'Ηφαστίας of Herakles 'Ηρας (Hesych. 'Ηρειας 'Ηρακλέα). Cfr. perhaps Hera Ελώρα (infra i. 537).

³ Hesych. 'Ηφαστίας: Αθηνα καὶ πόλις τῆς Άθης. E. Reisch loc. cit. p. 89 ff. fig. 38 (= my fig. 137) recognised the appellative on the fragment of a painted terra-cotta phiale from Athens, now at Berlin (Furtwängler Vaisensammel. Berlin ii. 784 f. no. 2759, O. Benndorf Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder Berlin (1868) p. 18 f. pl. 4, 2, Wien. Vorlegb. iii pl. 2. 3), which dates from the latter part of 7 B.C. and is inscribed ΛΟΘΝΑΛΑ ΗΦΑΙΑ[ΣΤΗΑ].

⁴ Supra p. 211 n. 7.


⁶ Paus. i. 14. 6.


⁸ Phedias made the pupils of Athena Parthénos in precious stone (Plat. Hèrp. mai. 290 c. τοῦ ὑδρακότος, φάκας, οὗ καὶ τὰ μέλα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἑλεφάντων εἰργαστεῖ, ἀλλὰ λίθῳ, ὡς οὖν τ' ἐν ἡμέραινα τοῦ λίθου τὸ ἑλεφάντον ἑκτρόνων); and his pupil Alcamenes may well have followed suit. The bronze statuette of a kôre from Verona (height, without pedestal, 6 inches) in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 17 no. 192 pl. 1, A. S. Murray *Greek Bronzes* London 1898 p. 38 pl. 1 Frontispiece, H. B. Walters *British Museum*...
Hephaistos and Athena

Select Bronzes London 1915 pl. 2 with text), archaistic rather than archaic (Miss G. M. A. Richter The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks Yale University Press 1929 p. 137 with fig. 523, Miss W. Lamb Greek and Roman Bronzes London 1929 p. 223 pl. 88, a), has the pupils of her eyes inlaid with crystals of diamond, though the date of their insertion is

Fig. 138.

now regarded as doubtful. I take this opportunity of publishing another small bronze (height 6½ inches) in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 175 f. no. 960 'Poseidon Hippios'), formerly in the Blacas collection. It represents Poseidon, laureate, with a chlamys over his left arm and a horse's head on his right hand. His left hand may have held a trident with the prongs downwards. The pupils of his eyes are garnets. My fig. 138 is from a photograph taken for me by Mr W. H. Hayles. See also Plin. nat. hist. 37. 66 ferunt in ea insula (sc. Cypro) tumulo reguli Hermiae iuxta cetarias marmorco
Hephaistos and Athena

earnel. One last allusion to Hephaistos and his partner is made two hundred and fifty years later by Saint Augustine. After detailing the story of Erichthonios, the reputed child of Hephaistos and Athena, he continues:

'But it must be admitted that men of learning deny the charge and wholly exonerate their gods. They say this fanciful tale arose from the fact that in the temple at Athens, which is shared by Hephaistos and Athena, an exposed boy was found with a snake coiled about him. The snake signified that he would be famous. Accordingly, since the parents were unknown, his discovery in the joint temple led to him being called the son of Hephaistos and Athena. Yet, adds Augustine with a sudden flash of shrewdness, 'it is the mythical fancy rather than the alleged fact that accounts for the child's name.'

There is little doubt that the myth of Erichthonios, whenever and wherever it originated, had as early as the fifth century B.C. become attached to the Hephaisteion. Variations on the type of Athena Hephaistos represent the goddess with a kindly maternal air, either bearing a basket from which a snake creeps over her bosom (fig. 139), or dandling the infant on her arm (fig. 140). The myth itself—a crude, not to say ugly, narrative—is told as follows by Apollodoros:

'Some state that he (sc. Erichthonios) was a son of Hephaistos and Atthis, daughter of Kranaos; others, that he was a son of Hephaistos and Athena on this wise. Athena came to Hephaistos, wanting him to make weapons. But he, being forsaken by Aphrodite, fell in love with Athena and began to pursue her. Thereupon she fled from him. And he, when he drew near to her with much

leoni fuisse inditos oculos e smaragdis ita radiantibus etiam in gurgitem, ut territit thynni refugere, diu mirantibus novitatem piscatoribus, donec mutaveret oculis gemmam, ib. 37. 186 Aedadu...oculus (supra l. 509 n. 4).


3 Id. ib. sed quoniam Minervam virginem voluit, in amborum contentione Vulcanum commotum effuditse aiunt semen in terram atque inde homini nato ob cam causam tale inditum nomen. Graecia enim lingua ἐπεις contentio, χθαω terra est, ex quibus duobus compositum vocabulum est Erichthonius.

4 A statue from Crete in the Louvre (no. 847). Height 1.42 m. The back, the left arm, etc. are unfinished. See further P. Jamot 'Minerve à la ciste' in the Monuments grécs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études greques en France Nos. 21—23 1893—1894 pp. 17—39 with heliogravure pl. 17, Reinech Rép. Stat. ii. 275 no. 2, E. Reisch in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1898 i. 55 fig. 31 (head in profile), 72 f. fig. 35 (after Jamot), E. A. Gardner in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1899 xix. 6 ff. fig. 2 (= my fig. 139).

5 A statue from Frascati at Berlin (Ant. Skulpt. Berlin p. 37 no. 72 fig. (= my fig. 140)). Height 1.84 m. Italian marble. Restored: head, neck, right arm with shoulder, Görögönic; also the child's head and arms with the upper part of his body. See Clarac Mus. de sculpt. iii. 186 pl. 462 c, fig. 888 E, J. J. Bernoulli Über die Minerven-Statuen Basel 1867 p. 21.

6 Apollod. 3. 14. 6, paraphrased also by Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 111.
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ado (for he was lame), attempted to consort with her. But she, being a chaste
virgin, would not brook it, and he dropped his seed on the leg of the goddess. In
disgust she wiped off the seed with wool and flung it on the earth. So
as she fled and the seed fell upon the earth Erichthonios was born.7

This narrative, as appears from a scholion on the Iliad,8 was drawn
from the Hekale of Kallimachos. Its far-fetched etymology is
characteristic of the Alexandrine school. An older version, which
involves a somewhat less fantastic étymon, is attributed by Erato-
sthenes9 to Euripides10, who certainly had leanings toward sophistic
mythology11:

*With regard to the birth of Erichthonios, Euripides tells the following tale.
Hephaistos being in love with Athena was minded to unite with her. But she
turned her back upon him and, choosing rather to keep her virginity, hid herself
in a certain spot of Attike, which they say was called after him Hephaistetion.
He, thinking to master her by assault, was struck by her spear and let drop his
desire, the seed falling on the earth. Therefrom, they say, was born a child, who
for this reason was called Erichthonios.12

The three derivations of the name Erichthonios, which connected it
successively with éros 'love,' érion 'wool,' and éris 'strife,' are of
course all wrong. But their very variety proves that they are not an
essential element in the tale. It existed before them; for one of
the scenes represented by Bathylkes the Magnesian on the throne
of Apollon at Amyklai is described by Pausanias as 'Athena fleeing
from Hephaistos, who is pursuing her.13 Bathylkes made the throne

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1 Schol. A. D. Il. 2. 547.
2 Kallim. frag. 61 Schneider. The sequel is preserved on a wooden tablet among the
papyri of the Archduke Rainer in the Royal Library at Vienna (T. Gomperz in the
Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer Wien 1897 vi. 9 f.
New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature Oxford 1921 p. 103).
3 Pseudo-Eratosth. catast. 13 λέγει δὲ καὶ Εὐρύπηδης περὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τοῦ
πρῶτον τοῦτον Ἡφαίστου ἐρωτηθείς Ἀθηνᾶς βεβαιεῖται αὐτῇ μικρῆς, τῆς δὲ ἁπαξτρεφόμενη
cαὶ τῆς παρθένης μᾶλλον αἰρομένη ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κράτεσθαι, ἦν λέγοντι καὶ
ἄλλη 
ἐκείνων προσαγορεύομαι Ἡφαίστεως (καὶ F. C. Matthiae, followed by A. Olivieri, for
"Ἡφαίστου cod. C. G. Heyne cj. Ἡφαίστου or Ἡφαίστοι) δὲ (C. Robert cj. οἴνο
A. Nauck cj. δὲ) δόξας αὐτῶν κρατήσει καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖ καταλείπει ὅπ' αὐτῆς τῇ δόξῃ ἄρχεικ
τῆς ἑκάσπολος, φιλομένων εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς στορπᾶς: ἐξ ἑσειγενεῖσα λέγων παύειά δὲ ἐκ
τοῦτον Ἐρυπήδην ἐκλέγει, κ.λ.η.
4 Eur. frag. 925 Nauck sp. pseudo-Eratosth. catast. 13, cp. Hyg. poët. astr. 2. 13,
5 Supra p. 94 f.
6 J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 441 would identify the spot as
Marathon on the strength of Nonn. Dion. 27. 317 ff. καὶ αὐ, τελεσαγὼν φιλοπόθεν
νυμφίς Γαύρη, ὑμεῖς, Ἡφαίστε, καὶ οὐκ ἀλέγεις Μαραθώνοι, ἴδει θέλεις αὐτὸν γάμον
σέλας; Supra p. 181 n. 1.
7 Paus. 3. 18. 13 καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ διώκεται ἀποφεύγοντα ἵστον Ἡφαίστου.
perhaps in the middle of the sixth century B.C.\textsuperscript{1}, perhaps rather in its last quarter\textsuperscript{2}, and we have here either—as C. Robert\textsuperscript{3} suggested—the record of an ancient Ionic myth concerning Hephaistos' love for Athena or—as L. Malten\textsuperscript{4} contends—the first appearance of the Attic myth in which Erichthonios figured as the earthborn offspring of Hephaistos' frustrate desire. Bathylkes' design certainly included Hephaistos and Athena; but it hardly justifies us in inferring the Erichthonios-sequel. Athena pursued by Hephaistos was a sixth-century \textit{motif}, which seems for some time to have existed independently and later to have been supplemented by the episode of Erichthonios. Thus an early red-figured am\textit{phora} from Bologna (fig. 141)\textsuperscript{5} has on the one side Athena pursued by Hephaistos, on the other a bearded male with a long sceptre—presumably Zeus. But Lucian describes a picture in which 'Hephaistos in love is pursuing Athena, she is fleeing from him, and

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig141.png}
\caption{Fig. 141.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{1} Frater \textit{Pausanius} iii. 351.
\textsuperscript{2} C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc.} iii. 136, L. Malten in the \textit{Archiv f. Rel.}
\textit{1909} xii. 425, 446. D. S. Robertson in his admirably careful work \textit{A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture} Cambridge 1919 p. 105 says 'probably in the second half of the sixth century B.C.'
\textsuperscript{4} L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc.} viii. 349.
\textsuperscript{5} A. Zanoni \textit{Gli Scavi della Certosa di Bologna} Bologna 1876 p. 353 pl. 102, 5 (shape of 'anforetta'), 6 (obverse), 7 (reverse) (of which, 6 and 7 = my fig. 141). Obv.: Hephaistos, clad in a \textit{chlamys}, pursues Athena, who is wearing her \textit{ailis} and holds her spear in the right hand, her helmet in the left. Rev.: a bearded male figure ('Giove?') standing to the right with a long staff or sceptre.
from his pursuit Erichthonios is born. Elsewhere he insists that the pantomime must be familiar with the whole range of Attic mythology—"all that is told of Athena, all that is told of Hephaistos and Erichthonios," etc. The attempt of Hephaistos on Athena might no doubt shock those who worshipped the Virgin goddess, and that sufficiently accounts for the evasive versions of Euripides and Kallimachos. But mythological apologists had facile answers to all questionings. Athena had been given to Hephaistos but had vanished at the critical moment. Athena was Hephaistos' reward for freeing Hera from the magic throne that he had made. Athena was the price paid by Zeus to Hephaistos for his manufacture of the thunderbolt, or for his services in cleaving the celestial head.

1 Loukian, de domo 37 είναι μετά ταύτην ἄλλη Ἀθηνᾶ, οὗ λίθος αὐτή γε ἄλλα γραφή πέλει. Χραιοστάσιος αὐτήν διώκει ἑρώω, ἢ δὲ φάσι, κάκ τε διώκει Ἐρυθώνιος γέγενται.

2 Loukian, de saec. 39 καὶ δοκεῖ περὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ δοκεῖ περὶ Ἡραιοσταίο καὶ Ἐρυθώνιον, κ.τ.λ.

3 Supra p. 220.

4 Supra p. 218 ff.

5 Ameleagoras (on whom see infra p. 157 n. 9) frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. II. 32 Müller) ap. Antig. hist. mir. 12 φίλοι γὰρ Ἡραίοστα ταύτης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οὐ γνατακαλλιεύδειν αὐτὴν ἀφανισθῇν, τὸ δὲ Ἡραιοστάτος εἰς γῆν πέφυσεν προεδρεύεισ τὸ σύμφωνα, τῆς δὲ γῆς ὄστος αὐτῷ ἀναδοθεῖν Ἐρυθώνιον, κ.τ.λ. (cited infra p. 237 n. 5).

6 Hyg. fab. 166 Vulcanus Iovi cælestisque diis sola aures (so J. Scheffer loc. solum aures cod. F. T. Muncker cji. also selas aures) ex (J. Perizonius cji. nuxa) adammate cune fecisset, Iuno cum sedisset subito in aere pendere coepit, quod cum ad Vulcanum missum esset, ut matrem quam ligaret volatile, iatus quod de coelo praecepsitatur erat negat se matrem ullam habere. quen cum Liber pater eburnium in concilio (B. Bunte cji. concilium) deorum adduxisset, pietati negare non potuit: tum optionem a Iove accipit, si quid ab ilia petisset, impetraret. tunc ergo Neptunus, quod Minervae erat infestus, instigavit Vulcam Minervam petere in conuiglium. qua re impetrata in thalamum cum venisset, Minerva monitu Iovis virginitatem suam armis defendit, interque luctandum ex semine eius quoque quod in terram decidit nurus est puerus, qui inferiore partem dracoais habuit; quen Erichthonium ideos nominant, quod SUMERIACERTATIO DICITUR, χθονι autem terrae dicuit, etc.

7 Fulgent. myth. 3. 11 Vulcanus cum Iovi fulminem effertet, ab Iove promissum accipit ut quidquid vellet praesumeret. ille Minervam in conuiglium petivit; Iuppiter imperavit ut Minerva armis virginitatem defendisset. dumque cubilum introiret, certando Vulcanum semen in pavimentum lecit; unde natus est Erichthonius (erichthonius codd. R. D. G.) [cum draconis pedibus (inodius in cod. Marc.)]; erisi enim Grece certamen dicuit, etonum vero terrae nuncupatur. etc. Cp. Serv. in Verg. ecl. 4. 62 and georg. 3. 113. Myth. Vat. 2. 128, 2. 37, 7. 40, 3. 10, 9.

8 Et. mag. p. 371, 35 ff. διή σει υπόλοιπος ἀπεκάθησα ἐκ τοῦ ὑγεικόλου αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς δεδομένου αὐτοῦ τῆς πλήθους τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἄνακτος (so F. Syllburg for ἀποκαθῆ codd.) καὶ δὴ λόγους προφέρετο τῷ Ἡραίοστῳ περὶ τοῦτου. δὲ δὴ Ἡραιοστάς οὐκ ἄλλως εἴλετο σχέσιν τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Δίας, ἐλ πρὸς τὴν γεγονότητα διαπερατοῦμεν. Χραιοστάσιος δὲ Ζεῦς καὶ λαβὼν τὴν βουτιάμα τέμενε τὴν κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔξερχετο ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ ἐπεδώκειν αὐτήν ὁ Περίστας τοῦ ναῦγγελλιαν. καὶ ἑπιδώκου ἀκακεδαίον εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς τῆς λαβὼν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ λαβὼν ἵμαρτο ἐκείρῃντο τὸ σύμφωνα καὶ ἔρρημεν ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐγάινε τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ ἐντὸς ἠπεκτὸς ἐρυθώνιον ἐκεῖνον διὰ τοῦ ἐντὸς καὶ τῆς χώνου λαβὼν τὸ δῶρον τοῦτος: Nonnos Ableus in Greg. Naz. i. Julian. 2. 27 (xxxi. 1050 Migne) printed as Append. narr. 3 p. 359. 24 ff. Westermann = Endok. viol. 11. The theme is first handled by Loukian. dial. deor. 8 ὡστε, ὁ Ζεῦς, χωρίως μοι ἀνῆκε ἐγγυήσασθαι ἀνὴρ ἀναθ. κ.τ.λ.
Such explanations are the expiring efforts of the mythopoetic mind; but at least they imply that there was something to be explained. And that something was the startlingly blasphemous, but ancient, orthodox, and wholly irrepressible, conviction that Hephaistos was the mate of Athena.

Now the pairing of Hephaistos with Athena has often been regarded as a mere juxtaposition of two deities drawn together by their common patronage of the arts and crafts. And doubtless that community of interest did much to strengthen their union. But the root of the matter goes deeper. When we remember that the grouping together of these two occurs already in Homeric verse and Hesiodic myth, that it is attested by the ancient pandemic festival of the Chalkeia, that it produced the Hephaisteion, one of the noblest fifth-century buildings of Athens, and finally that the cult-statues of Hephaistos and Athena Hephaistia, in all probability the work of Alkamenes, were there worshipped side by side for more than half a millennium, it becomes increasingly difficult to resist the impression that in the remote prehistoric past Hephaistos and Athena were simply husband and wife.

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1 See e.g. Harrison Myth. Mon. Aeg. Ath. p. 119 f., F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1911, Farnell Cults of Gr. States v. 377 (a more cautious statement: ‘his association in Attica with Athena, which may have been devised originally to connect some prominent tribe that worshipped him with the national religious polity, was regarded as the natural fellowship of the divinities of art’).

2 Supra p. 300 f. 3 Supra p. 201. 4 Supra p. 211 ff. 5 Supra p. 213 f.


7 Supra p. 215.

8 Supra p. 218.


Ancient systematisers declared that the first Apollon was the son of Hephaistos by Athena (Cic. de nat. deor. 3. 55 Vulcani item complures: primus Caelo natus, ex quo et
My own opinion—if I may be allowed to state it with dogmatic brevity—is this. The Akropolis at Athens was originally called *Athéne*, a place-name comparable with the pre-Greek *Mykéne*, *Palléne*, *Mityléne*, *Priéne*, etc.1 The old singular *Athéne*, thanks to its localizing form *Athenai*, gave rise to the new plural *Athénai*, just as *Mykéne* came to be replaced by *Mykénai* or *Thèbe* (*Thebaigenés*) by *Thébai*2. The goddess was named *Athéne* like the rock, because at the outset she was the rock, a mountain-mother of the usual Anatolian sort. In classical times her motherhood, at first perhaps compatible with renewed virginity3, had passed into perpetual maidenhood. But the Elean women, tenacious of archaic beliefs4, when their land was bereft of men, prayed that they might conceive so soon as they met their husbands, and on their prayer being heard


2 So K. F. Johansson in the Beträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen 1888 xiii. 111 ff. followed by K. Brugmann Griechische Grammatik2 München 1890 p. 127. Particular points are criticised by L. Graesberger Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen Würzburg 1888 p. 147 ff. and F. Solmsen in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1893 xiii. 521 n. 1, while A. Thumb in K. Brugmann Griechische Grammatik4 München 1913 p. 267 pronounces the whole contention 'sehr unsicher.' But the principle seems sound and is of wide application. Examples near at hand are Coten (W. W. Skeat The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire Cambridge 1901 p. 8: probably 'A. S. cotan, dative pl. of cot, a cottage...the prep. at (at the being understood') and Neumham (id. ib. p. 22 and J. B. Johnston The Place-Names of England and Wales London 1915 p. 380 f.: 'an O.E.D. dat., „at the new home‟').
3 Hera recovered her virginity every year by bathing in the spring Kanathos near Nauplia (Paus. 2. 38. 2 with Sir J. G. Frazer and H. hitzig—H. Blümner ad loc.). It was perhaps with the same intention that the Argive women once a year took the image of Athena and the shield of Diomedes (Palladiom) to the river Inachos and washed them there (Kallim. Iaxvcr. Pall. 1 ff. with schol. on lines 1 and 37). On the Athenian Plynteria as implying a ἑπί ἡμῖν of Athena see the important discussion by E. Fehrer Die kultische Kenntheit im Altetum Giessen 1910 pp. 171—177. P. Saintyves Les Vierges Mères et les Naissances Miraçolentes Paris 1908 pp. 1—280 ignores the topic.
4 Cp. supra ii. 813 n. 1 (Plout. quaestt. Gr. 36).
Votive relief in island marble, found on the Akropolis at Athens: a husband, with his wife and three children, brings a sow for sacrifice to Athena.

See page 225 n. 1.
founded a sanctuary of Athena Meter. And at Athens, though Athena was Parthenos, yet even in the Parthenon her cult-image with its snakes and its pillar was, as we have seen, distinctly

1 Paus. 5. 3. 2. Farnell Cults of Gr. States i. 303 comments: *Athena Myntē need mean little more than Athena the nurse or fosterer of children, just as the nurses who reared the infant Zeus in Crete were worshipped under the name of Mētrai* (*Diod.-Sic. 4. 79,*). But see K. B. Stark in the Mem. d. Inst. 1865 ii. 243—275 and Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1366 n. 2, who cite Nonn. Dion. 48. 931 ff. (Dionysos entrusts the babe Bakchos or Iakchos, one of the twins borne him by Aura, to Athena as nurse) λαβὼν δὲ μοί ἐνέδραν ἀδέρφων τόπων εὐφήμονα νὰ τοιμᾶζῃ 'Ατριώς μυστήρια παρακάτωτε Βακχος Ἀθήνη, ἢ ταῦτα παπάρατα θέλω δὲ μοί ἐνεδρήσειν | Παλλάς ἀναμφίβολος τευχύλων δίκτυσι κόλπων | παιδί δὲ μακρὸν δρέτε, τὸν δεσπότα μοίνοις 'Ερέχθειον, | αὐτὸτέρω στάμφατα κόσμων γαλάκτων υβρισμένοι μαζὶ καὶ Dion Cass. 59. 38 (Caligula named Caesonia's daughter Drusilla) ἐς τὸ πόλιον τηρήσατε καὶ ἐς τὰ τῶν Διὸς γυναῖκαν ὡς καὶ παιδα αὐτοῦ οἴδαν ἀνέθηκες, καὶ τῷ Αθήνῃ τοποθετῆθαι παραγγέλμεν. An Etruscan statuette of a winged Athena carries a naked infant (*infra* § 9 (b) ii (N)).

H. von Prött's dictum in the Archiv f. Rel. 1906 ix. 87 *Die Akropolis-Athena ist Meter, ihr Opfertier eine trächte Sau* is justified by an early (first quarter of v B.C.) votive relief of the island to the east of the Parthenon (G. Dickins Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum Cambridge 1912 i. 116 ff. no. 581 fig. B, Stes in the *Eph. Arch. 1886 pp. 179—182 pl. 9, Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. i. 380 f. with fig. 196, Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art viii. 618 ff. with fig. 314, E. Pfuhl in the Ath. Mitt. 1933 xlvii. 132—136 fig. 4), in which a family of husband, wife (pregnant), and three children (one holding a round object, perhaps a disk or *παιδίον*) bring a sow (*Farnell Cults of Gr. States* i. 290, P. Bauer in Philologus 1899—1901 Suppl. viii. 484, 499, O. Walter Beschreibung der Reliefs im Kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen Wien 1923 p. 34 f. no. 48, cp. p. 70 f. no. 110 (?)) for sacrifice to an archaic Athena (helmet carved, crest painted). K. Lehmann-Hartleben *Athena als Geburtsgöttin* in the Archiv f. Rel. 1926 xxiv. 19—28 fig. 1 (=my pl. xviii)—an interesting article to which my attention was drawn by Mr A. D. Nock—concludes: *Es handelt sich also offenbar um einen Bittgang für eine bevorstehende Geburt.* O. Weinreich ib. p. 28 acutely suggests that the 'foolish stories' told by Euhemeros and Varro with regard to the proverb ὑπό τὴν Ἀθήνην, οὐς *Minoon* (Fest. p. 310 δ 18 ff. Müllcr, p. 408, 14 ff. Lindsay) in reality gave the *aition* for a pig-sacrifice to Athena.

In this connexion it may be noticed that Niket. Chon. 359 π. 739 Bekker says of a colossal statue in the Forum of Constantine at Constantinople—a statue almost to be identified with the Bronze Athena of Pheidias (W. Gurlitt *Die grosse erhebe Athena des Pheidias* in *Amaelez Graeciae* Graz 1893 pp. 101—121. E contra S. Reinauch in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1907 xx. 399—417) —εἴπε δὲ κατὰ τοὺς στρατιωτοὺς ἀδρέσθησον ὑπὸ τούτων αἰγυπτιῶν ἐκνώμασα. Athena is ὀδοντοσκόα in many archaising reliefs and vase-paintings (e.g. *infra* pl. xxviii. E. Schmidt *Archaische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom München* 1932 pl. 8, 1—3, pl. 9. 3, Mon. d. Inst. x pl. 47 a, 47 b, 47 c, 47 d, 47 e, 48 b, 48 e, 48 a), markedly so on certain large flat gems of the Augustan period—where however her full breast is a late Aphrodite's modification rather than an early maternal trait (1) a sardonix at Florence (Reinach *Pierres gravées* p. 61 no. 55, 1 pl. 61, Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 39, 29 (=my fig. 144 from a cast), ii. 188 ('Der Kopf ist ohne Helm' is wrong; the helmet imitates *chevelure*, Lippold Gemmen p. 170 (same mistake) pl. 21, 9; (2) a brown sard formerly in the Marbleborough collection (Reinach *Pierres gravées* pl. 117 no. 6 pl. 113, Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 65, 24 (=my fig. 145), ii. 300)).

2 *Suid. p. 189*. Note also the part played by the priestess, apparently impersonating the goddess, at Athens (Soud. *s. v.* αἰγύς... ὡς ἐτέρα Ἀθήνη τοῦ λευκοῦ αἰγύδα φέροντο τὰ τῶν γυναῖκος εὐσήμενοι = Zonar. lex. *s. v.* αἰγύς... ὡς ἐτέρα Ἀθήνη τοῦ λευκοῦ αἰγύδα φέροντο τὰ τῶν γυναῖκος εὐσήμενοι, cp. Plout. cent. 2. 21 not. crit. [ἡ γάρ] ἑτέρα τοῦ λευκοῦ

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reminiscent of a ‘Minoan’ mother-goddess. Indeed, when Alexander the Great struck his magnificent gold coins (figs. 142, 143) showing the head of Athena with a coiled snake on its helmet, we may detect a last unconscious echo of the Cretan goddess with a snake twined about her head-dress. What the name Athenez actually meant, we do not know and it is idle to guess. But if any reliance may be placed on Kretschmer’s ingenious comparisons, the word was Pelasgian or Tyrrenian and probably hailed from Asia Minor.

Hephaistos too appears to have been Pelasgian or Tyrrenian. The two chief centres of his worship on Greek soil were admittedly Lemnos and Athens, both at one time in Pelasgian occupation.

\[\text{\textit{αλβα}} \text{ \'{Α}θηνας} \text{ \φωτων} \text{ \άγγεις} \text{ [άπο τῆς ἀκροπόλεως] ἄρα κατὰ τὰ ἵππα (so cod. B; words in square brackets added from cod. A))}}: \text{\textit{supra}} \text{ i. 14 n. 1.}}

1 Hunter Cat. Coins i. 296 ff. nos. 4—7 pl. 21, 3 diētera, nos. 8—23, 24—35 pl. 21, 3 f. stateres, no. 36 f. pl. 21, 5 quarter-stateres, McClean Cat. Coins i. 51 f. no. 3404 pl. 125, 1 diēteraon, nos. 3405—3408 pl. 125, 3—5 stateres, no. 3410 f. pl. 125, 7 f. quarter-stateres, Weber Cat. Coins ii. 57 ff. nos. 2073—2078, 2080 pl. 79 stateres, nos. 2072, 2079 pl. 79 quarter-stateres, G. F. Hill Historical Greek Coins London 1906 p. 103 ff. no. 38 pl. 7 stater. Figs. 143 and 143 are from specimens in my collection.

Hunter Cat. Coins i. 298 no. 23 and McClean Cat. Coins i. 52 no. 3409 pl. 125, 6 stateres have a griffin in place of the serpent. Head Hist. num. p. 226 says ‘serpent, griffin, or sphinx.’

2 Supra p. 191 n. 8.
Herodotos\(^1\), quoting Hekataios\(^8\), tells how the Pelasgians, who had built the wall round the Akropolis at Athens, on being driven out by the Athenians went and settled in Lemnos. And Thoukydides\(^3\) in his description of the Chalcidian peninsula Akte says: 'Most of the inhabitants are Pelasgians, belonging to the Tyrssenians who once dwelt in Lemnos and Athens, together with Bisaltai, Krestones, and Edones.' I agree, therefore, with L. R. Farnell\(^4\) who in 1909 expressed himself as follows: 'It is a reasonable hypothesis...that the presence and prominence of Hephaistos in Attica and Lemnos is due to the settlement of a Pelasgic population in those localities.' A. Fick\(^5\) in the same year had independently reached the same conclusion: 'Hephaistos from first to last belongs to the pre-Greek Pelagonian-Pelasgian-Tyrssenians. Centres of his cult are Lemnos and Attike...His name Hephaistos too is certainly Pelasgian.' Further, I accept the common view that Hephaistos was essentially a fire-god. When Agamemnon and the Greek leaders sacrificed an ox to Zeus, Homer\(^6\) relates how—

Piercing the entrails with spits they held them over Hephaistos.

This is no late rhetorical trope\(^7\) or academic allegory\(^8\), but an early animistic usage\(^9\). It meets us again rather unexpectedly in Arist-
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tottle's treatise on meteorology. The philosopher compares thunder to 'the crackle heard in the flame, which some call Hephaistos laughing, others Hestia, others again their threatening.' Hephaistos, then, was ordinary fire, the fire that burns and crackles on the hearth. He was also the jet of flaming gas that leaps like a fountain from the rocky vent. For not only did such jets give rise to the Lycian place-names Hephaistion, Hephaistia, or the Mountains of Hephaistos, but the lambent flame was worshipped as the very god. L. Malten just lays stress on the well-informed words of Maximus Tyrius: 'For the Lycians Olympos sends up fire, not like that of Aitne, but peaceful and mild; and this fire is at once the place and the object of their cult.' It must not, however, be forgotten that earthly fire was commonly conceived as stolen or fallen from heaven. Hesiod, Aischylos, and others speak of Prometheus' theft. Homer tells how Hephaistos, flung from heaven by Zeus because he had dared to help Hera, fell on Lemnos and was there tended by the Sinties, or how after his fall (due to the unkindness of his mother who wanted to conceal her lame offspring) he was hidden for nine years in a hollow cave by Eurynome and Thetis. The descent of Hephaistos on Lemnos gave curative

1 Aristot. meteor. 2. 9 369 a 29 ff. γίνεται δ' ἡ πληγή τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων, ὡς παρεικάσεις μείζον μικρον πάθους, τῷ ἐν τῇ φωλγά γνωρίζεται φύσις, δι' θάλασσαν οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἡφαιστου γελάνον, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἑστίαν, οἱ δ' ἀπειλητικοὶ τούτων.

2 Supra ii. 972 n. 1.


4 Max. Tyr. diss. 8. 8 Dibneru Euvou δ' Ὀλυμπος πῶς ἔκθεδω, ὡς ὁμώς τῷ Ἀινωρῷ, ὅλα' προφορά καὶ σύμμετροι—καὶ ἐστώ αὐτοί τῷ πάρῳ τούτῳ καὶ ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἐγκαμά.


6 Supra i. 323 f.

7 Il. i. 590 ff., cp. Val. Flacc. 2. 87 ff., Apollod. 1. 3. 6, Loukian. de sacrif. 6, Myth. Var. 1. 128, 2. 37, 2. 40, 3. 10, 4. alibi. Anth. Pal. 15. 36. 8 (Diosidas) μαθηράττειν! Perhaps μαθηράττειν cod. points to a compound of μαθηροι with μαθεῖν, cp. h. Ap. 317 ταῖς ἔμπρος Ἡφαιστου, μεθορκύνοντας.

8 Il. 18. 394 ff. Cp. the refuge of Dionysos as described by Enelm. frag. 10 Kinkel ἄριστον σχολ. a. D. 6. 131 παραγενόμενοι δ' αὔτοι εἰς τὴν Ὀρφήνην Λυκόφρων δ' Ὀρφάνων λυπήσατα Ἡρας μιαῖς, μᾶτις, ἀπεκλαίαν αὐτῶν τῆς γῆς καὶ καθάρστεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τιθηνῶν ἐτύχευσαι γῆρ αὐτῶν συνοργιάζουσα. θυλάτων δὲ Λυκόφρων μάστιγα τῶν τὸν ἑσπευδα τιμορροδοσίας. δ' ὧν ἄρο πλην εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κυθάρους, καὶ ὧν Ἐριθεός ὑπολαμβάνεται καὶ θηρωρήτης. ό δ' ὧν Λυκόφρων οὐκ ἀμώθη διοιστήσῃ ἓικε τῶν ἐκ αὐθών ἅλκης ἀφράτη τῷ πρὸς τῷ Δίῳ τὴν ὄψιν. τῇ ἱεραίᾳ τολλαὶ ἐμφάνθησαν, προφυγαμονων δὲ δ' τὴν Ἐριθείαν τετειχμένον Εὔμηλον.
properties to the soil. Dioskorides\(^1\) of Anazarbos, a contemporary of the elder Pliny, states that Lemnian earth was obtained from a tunnel in a marshy spot, mixed with goat's blood, moulded, stamped with the image of a goat, and hence called the goat's seal. It was drunk in wine as an antidote to poisons, and it countered the bites of poisonous creatures. Certain persons used it also in religious rites. And it was good for dysentery. Galen visited the island twice (162 and 166 A.D.\(^2\)) to test the accuracy of Dioskorides' remarks\(^3\). On the second occasion he reached the hill near the town of Hephaistias and observes\(^4\) that its burnt colour and barren nature\(^5\) account for the myth of Hephaistos' fall. He found the mystic scattering wheat and barley on the ground, and performing

A Roman relief of blue-flecked Italian marble, formerly owned by G. Piranesi and now at Berlin (Gerhard Ant. Bildn. p. 340 f. pl. 81, = my fig. 140), Ant. Skulpt. Berlin p. 369 ff. no. 912 ff., Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 21 no. 1. Height 0.18\(^6\), length 0.84\(^6\), shows Hephaistos, in the garb and with the tools of a smith, falling through mid air. Above is heaven represented by Zeus with a thunderbolt and Hera with a sceptre (faces restored) appearing over clouds. Below is a sea-goddess (Thetis? Thalassa?) reclining with her left arm propped on a πηστίς, beneath which are waves. Close by is the rocky island of Lemnos, on which stands Athena holding a branch of her olive tree—"als auf attischem Besitze" (Ant. Skulpt. Berlin p. 370). The female figure on the left with a shield at her feet and a helmet (added by the restorer) in her hand belongs to a different scene, as does the canopy suspended on the right.

\(^1\) Dioskor. 5. 113 p. 778 f. Sprengel ἁ δὲ Ἀναζαρμα γεννωμένη γῆ δικαίως ἐκ των ὑπολόγων ἀντρώπων (cp. Plin. nat. hist. 35. 31), ἀναφορὸμεν ἀπὸ Ἀναζαρμα τῆς νήσου, ἐχομένη ἐλάδα τόκου, καθὼς δὲ ἐλεύθερα καὶ μὴ ρυθμισθέντος αὐτής ἦν οἱ ἰκεῖ ἀνθρώποι ἀναπλάσσοντες καὶ σφοραξόμενοι εὐκόνις αὐτὴς σφοράξαα καλούμενος μιντός. δίνωμεν δὲ ἐχει αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπων ναοί ταῖς ἑτοξικοῖς καταθέμενης ἐκ τῶν ἡμέρων ἔμπληκτων ἀτελείως. ἀρμόδιοι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ναῶν ἑπικυρώνων ἱεράς πληγής καὶ δήλησις μὴ ρυθμισθέντος ἀνακάθειν. ἀρμόδιοι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ναῶν ἑπικυρώνων ἱερὰς πληγής καὶ δήλησις μὴ ρυθμισθέντος ἀνακάθειν. χρώματα δὲ τούτα καὶ εἰς τετελεῖα αὐτῆς ἢτοι δὲ καὶ δυσευεραιμία χρήσιμα.

\(^2\) C. Freidrich in the Ath. Mitth. 1906 xxxi. 73 n. 1.

\(^3\) Galen. ἀρτον καὶ διανύσας τῶν ἀπλῶν φαρμάκων 9. 1. 2 (xii. 171 Kühn), cp. περὶ ἀπειδήνων 1. 2 (xiv. 8 Kühn).

\(^4\) Galen. περὶ ἀπειδήνων 9. 1. 2 (xii. 173 Kühn) καὶ τὸ γε ῥά τοῦ ταχυτοῦ λεγόμενον (II. 1. 593) ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἠραλδοῦ, κάπτετο ἐν Ῥήμη, διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ λόφου δικεῖ μοι τὸν μύθον ἐκτισθείς. φαίνεται γὰρ ὁμολογήτως κακιαμένη κατὰ γε τὴν χρονικότητα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέθοδον ἐν αὐτῷ φάνομαι. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν λόφον ἢ τε λέοντα παραγενομένου, καὶ δὲν ἐκεῖ καρπὸν ἑπότις τῆς νήσου, καὶ των πυρῶν τε καὶ κραδιῶν ἀριθμόν εμβάλλει τῇ γῇ καὶ ἄλλω τινα προσάπασα κατὰ τοῦ ἐπιχώριου αἰειμάραμ, ἐπλήρωσεν μὲν δὴν ἀμαξῶν τῆς γῆς, καυσάμενα δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἑπεκέφαλας τὰ πολυευθυγράμμην Ἀναζαρμα σφοραξόμενα. ἐδειξεν ὡς μὲν πιθανόν μὴ τί πρώτην ποτὲ γεγραμμένη αὐτὸν αὐτῇ τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ μεγεθύνων ἐν λυστηρι περιβληθομένη. εἰς δὲ πετοῦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἑγεμόνας, δὴν ἀν πεπράσαντες τἄρα θάνατον, ὅταν καὶ τῶν πεπανδρεμένων τὰ γ' ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἐπιχώριον ἑτορρίαν ήπάτας. ἄλλα καὶ βεβλημένοι παρὰ τούτων αὐτῶν, γεγραμμένοι ὡς τοὺς τῶν ἐπιχώριων ἀνδρῶν ἐμπροσθεῖν, εἴ τ' τῆς χρῆσις ἀπάντων ἐδιδάσκε τῆς Ἀμνησία γῆς, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἔργας κάθω περαθῆναι τοῦ φαρμάκου, διαμιμελαί βαλβίδων σφοραξίων. κ.τ.λ.

\(^5\) Cp. Galen. ἱβ. (xii. 170 Kühn) καὶ διὰ τής χρῆσις τούτων Ἀμνησίαν μικτῶν (συ. σοφαμαζούντων), ἔχει μὲν οὖν τὸν χρῶς τὴν αὐτήν τῇ μικτῇ, διαφέρει δ' ἄνωθεν τῷ μη μαλακῶς αὐτοκεκλημένῳ καθάπερ ἐκείνην, καὶ κατὰ τὴν νήσον εὖ τῇ Ἀμνησίᾳ τὸν δυσκολότατον τῷ χρόνῳ, καθ' δὲ αὐτὸ δεδομόκεν ἐκεῖνο ὅτε τῇ ἑτεροτίμῳ, μόνη δ' ἡ τοιαύτη γῆ.
sundry other rites, after which she filled a whole waggon with the earth, took it to the town, and made it into the famous Lemnian seals. He asked if there was anything in the tradition that the blood of he-goats or she-goats had been first mixed with the earth, but was laughed at by those who heard him. One of them, a prominent citizen of Hephaistias, furnished him with a treatise setting forth all the virtues of Lemnian earth, and said that he himself used it in cases of wounds, snake-bites, bites of savage beasts, poisonous drugs, etc. So Galen, much impressed, got 20,000 of the seals and did not scruple to try them. Elsewhere he complains that dangerous imitations of the real seals were put on the market. Philostratos of Lemnos (c. 235 A.D.) informs us that Philoktetes, when left on the island, was promptly healed by means of Lemnian earth, a sovereign remedy for madness, hemorrhage, and the bite of the water-snake. F. W. Hasluck has traced the further fortunes of this specific from the pharmacopoeia of Paulos the Aeginetan through medieval to modern times. C. Fredrich in his valuable

1. Id. ib. (xii. 169 f. Kühn) describes in detail their manufacture: ταυτήν γὰρ τινὶ τὴν γῆν ἡ χρεία λαμβάνουσα μετὰ τινὸς ἐπιγορών τιμῆς, οὐ δὲνθανατούσιν, ἀλλὰ πυρὸν καὶ κραθῶν ἀντιδεόμενον τῷ χαρῷ, κομίζει μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναφορὰς ὑδάτι καὶ τὴν ὑγείαν ἐργασίαν καὶ τοῦτον γαμάμαν σφοδρῷ, εἰτ' ἐδέσμη θανατῆσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἀφάρμα μὲν ἑκατον ὑδάτι, εἰτ' ὑπ' αὐτὸ τὸ λεπτὸν τῆς γῆς λαμβόνει καὶ μόνον ἀπολυτίκον τὸ χρύσον λιθοθάλαττον καὶ φασιθέντος ὑπὲρ καὶ ἀκρότοιον ἔσται, δῆμος τοσοῦτος ξηραίνει τοὺς λεφτοὺς πάλαι ἄχισε ἄν εἰς ἄνθοσαν αὐθεντήτης μαλάκων εὐρύς, καὶ τούτον λαμβάνουσα μόρα ἀμείβεται τὴν λειψανή τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐκμιᾶλει σφραγῖδα, κάτειτα τάλιον τούτῳ ἐν σκηνής χρησίμενα, μέχρι ἃ ἀκρίβει ἀκισμός ἀπουλείσθη καὶ γένηται τοῦτον δὴ τὸ γνωστόκομον λατρείαν ἀπαίτησον φαρμακὸν ἡ Λημνίας σφραγῖς.

2. In addition to the immediate sequel cp. Galen. methodos ἑρατειτηκῆ 4. 7 (x. 268 Kühn), 5. 5 (x. 379 Kühn), περὶ ἀντίδεων (xiv. 734 Kühn).


4. Philostr. loc. cit. 6. 2 καταλειφθένη καὶ ἑκάτερον τῶν Ἀρτέμιδος, οὐ δὲνθανατούσιν, ὑπ' αὐτὸν καταλεῖπεν τὸν Χρυσοῦ...ιαθήναι δ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τὴν βόλῳ τῆς Λημνίας, ἄθυμος τε καὶ χερίς τοῦ νηματος, ἓρως τοῦ νομοῦ τε καὶ νόμον νεκράς, ἐκτείνω δ' άμα ἤλθεν, ὑπὸ εἰς δ' ἔται μόνον δύναμις ἑπτάτοιν.


7. H. F. Tozer The Islands of the Aegean Oxford 1890 p. 200 'In Western Europe it was known from an early period as terra sigillata: but the original Greek term sphragis also found its way into the pharmacopoeias of the West, where it appears in such corrupt forms as lempnía frigidos, and even lima fragis' (Alphita, a Medico-Botanical Glossary, ed. Mowat, in the Anecdotol Oxxoniensis, pp. 96, 219. The compiler of the Glossary remarks, 'Lempnía frigidos terra est sigillata.' 'Frigidos' is a corruption of σφραγῖdos, the genitive case being used, as Mr Mowat has pointed out to me, on account of the form employed in a doctor's prescription.') Bartholomaeus Anglicus (i. xiii A.D.) London 1352 Lib. 15. 139. 98 has more to say: 'A seren veync of the erthe is called Terra Sigillata, and is singularly cold and drie. And Dioscorides callith it Terra Saracenica and argentas, and is some adec white, well smellynge and cler. The chief virtue thereof byndeth and stauncheth.' Etc.

8. C. Fredrich 'Lemnos' in the Ath. Mitth. 1906 xxxi. 72 citing A. Conze Reise auf
monograph on Lemnos notes that Oriental apothecaries still sell packets of Lemnian earth, dug before sunrise on August 6 (the Transfiguration) in the presence of Greek and Turkish clergy, and guaranteed as genuine by the impress of a Turkish seal. I may add that the well-stocked medical cabinet of J. F. Vigani, the first Professor of Chemistry at Cambridge, now preserved in the Library of Queens’ College, contains various samples of earth (c. 1700 A.D.) distinguished on their labels as Terra sigill. Lemnia, Terra sigill. alb., and Terra sigill. rubr. (fig. 147 a, b, c). Their colours are respectively light red, white, and dark red. The first and third have stamped in relief the Turkish crescent and star on a shield together with a bunch of grapes and the legend TERRA SIG(L)\textsuperscript{4} LEH(H)IA. The second shows a seven-headed dragon, with wings and a twisted tail, and reads TERRA \textsuperscript{2} SIGILLATA (?). It may be a rival earth of alien manufacture. Fredrich holds\textsuperscript{3} that this whole business of a Lemnian medicament points backwards to a marriage of the fire-god

den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres Hannover 1860 p. 121 and G. Pantelides Ιστορία τῆς ρηθού Αλμυρ Αλεξανδριν Αλεξανδρια 1876 p. 47 ff. The Turks think that drinking vessels made of Lemnian earth render any poison drunk out of them harmless (Conze loc. cit.): cp. Plout. de rect. vat. aud. 9 on pots made of clay from Cape Kolias.

\textsuperscript{2} Other details are given by P. Belon du Mans Les observations de plusieurs singularités & choses memorables, trouvées en Grece, Asie, Iudê, Egypte, Arabie, & autres pays estranges Paris 1555 p. 29 f. (Greek mass celebrated in small chapel of Sotira, after which the monks fill ‘petits sacs de poil de bestes’ with the earth, etc.). He figures a selection of the seals, which bear in Arabic letters the words τιν ἵμαχτον, ‘sealed earth’ (= Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1909—1910 xvi. 222 fig. 1, cp. is. p. 230 fig. 5).

\textsuperscript{3} On which see E. S. Peck in Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society 1934 xxxiv. 34—49.

\textsuperscript{4} C. Fredrich loc. cit. p. 74: ‘Dort oben auf dem Mosychlos loderte ja einst ein Erdfeuer; der Feuerdämon hauste dort mit der Erdgöttin. In der röthlichen Erde sind beide vermaht; sie ist Sacrament und daher wirkt sie Wunder: χρυσά τὸ τιμὸς καὶ τὸ τελεστὸς αὐτῆς (Dioskorides, a. a. O.). Wir kommen damit auf uralten Götterdienst auf jenem Hügel, auf eine Verehrung der allnährenden Erde, die nirgendwied wieder im aegyptischen Meere soviel Getreide spendet wie auf Lemnos, und des Feuerdämons, der ein Dämon der Zeugungsraft ist. ὃ Αλμυρ σὺν καὶ τὸ παγκράτες σέλας Ἔρμιοτότευκτον klagt Philoktet (v. 985).'}
Hephaistos and Athena

Hephaistos with the earth-goddess Lemnos\(^1\) (fig. 152)\(^2\), consummated

1 Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀθώς (cited supra p. 191 n. o) asserts—perhaps on the authority of Hekataios (H. Diels in Hermes 1887 xxii. 442, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 225 n. 15)—that maidsens used to be sacrificed to this μεγάλη θέα. Since Aristophanes in his Lemniant frag. 8 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 1100 Meineke) ἀφ. Phot. lex. s.v. μεγάλη θέα, cp. Hesych. s.v. μεγάλη θέα, uses precisely the same phrase of the Thracian Bendis, who is often Hellenised as Artemis (e.g. supra ii. 115, 501), it seems highly probable that the Lemnian goddess was in historic times regarded as a form of Artemis and that goats had come to be substituted for her girl-victims. This at least would account for the persistent tradition of goat’s blood mixed with Lemnian earth and for the goat as the sacred seal of the local Artemis.

Moreover, an exact parallel may be found in the story of Embaros who, after promising to sacrifice his daughter to Artemis Mounychia, substituted a she-goat clad in the daughter’s garments (supra i. 711 n. 9). This is indeed more than a mere parallel. Since Embaros was the reputed founder of the sanctuary of Artemis Mounychia (Pausanias the lexicographer ἐπ. Eustath. ἐν II. p. 331, 25 ff. ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς Παυσανίας ἱστορεῖ καὶ ταῦτα Ἐμπαροῦ ἐπὶ ἐκείνην σοφίασαι. Ἰδρύσατο γὰρ, φησὶ, Μοῦνυκτιᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν. Ἀρχὴν δὲ γενομένην ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἀναπεπείγεται, λοιμὸς ἐπεκέντε, οὗ ἀπαλαγήν ὁ θεὸς ἐξηρωμμὸν. εἰ γὰρ τὴν θυγατέρα θοῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, Βάρος δὲ ἢ Ἐμπαροῦ ὑποσχέμεθα οὕτω ποιήσας ἐπὶ τῇ τὴν θεραυσάν τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ διὰ μιὰν ἡμέραν, ἀπαλαγήσει τὴν θυγατέρα, αὐτὴν μὲν ἀπεκρυφεῖν ἐν τῷ ἀδέτε, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐπιθύμησε κοσμήσει ὡς τὴν θυγατέρα θοῦν. ὑπὲρ αἰς παρουλίας, φησὶ, περεύστη Ἐμπαροῦ εἰ, τοιοῦτο κοινέχις, φρόνιμον, who stood in the closest relation
to the Thracian Bendis (supra ii. 115), it seems likely that he came from the Thracian area. And, if so, his name Ἐμπαροῦ may well be the would-be Greek form taken by a name really akin to Ἰμμαροῦ. A mountain in Kilikia Tracheia was called Imbaros (Plin. nat. hist. 5. 93), and A. Fick Vorgriechische Ortsnamen Göttingen 1905 p. 55 ὑπὸ proopos of Imbaros writes: “Ἐμμαροῦ ist ein echt karisches Namenwort, wie schon G. Meier in der Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen 1886 s. 193, comparing however imber, ὑμμαροῦ, etc. erkannte, und [P.] Kretschmer Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache Göttingen 1896 p.] 358 [f.] weiter belegt; wir entnehmen daher Ἰμμαροῦ Gebirg und Kastell in Karien, die Insel Imbros, Ἰμμαροῦ der karische Hermes und die karischen Personennamen Ἰμμαραῖος, Ἰμμαροῦ und Ἰμμαρῆδας. Auch in lykischen Personen-, doch nicht Ortsnamen weist Kr. a. a. o. das Element Ἰμμαρ- nach.”

The further parallel between the sacrifice of Embaros’ daughter (bear killed, girl condemned, goat substituted) and that of Iphigeneia (girl condemned, deer or bear (schol. Aristoph. Lys. 645, (et. mag. p. 748, 2 f.) or bull (et. mag. p. 748, 3 f.) substituted) is of course obvious.

2 I figure five imperial bronze coins of Hephaistia. Of these, the first two are from casts of unpublished specimens now in the British Museum. One has obv. ὙΦΑΙϹ ΤΙΕΟΝ bust of Hephaistos to right, with slight beard, πλος, and χίλιον over one shoulder; rev. Athena, helmeted, standing to left with Nike in right hand, spear in left (fig. 148). The other has obv. bust of Hephaistos to right, with full beard, πλος, and
Hephaistos and Athena

in early days on Mosychlos, the mountain of volcanic vents. Be that as it may, we have in Lemnos ample evidence of the belief that the fire which leaps up from the ground had erstwhile leapt down from the sky. Nor in Lemnos only. For what else but this popular conception underlay the fiery cycle of Herakleitos, in which the way up and down is one and the same? The Stoics, influenced as usual by Herakleitos, identified Zeus with a single great continuous fire, which transformed itself into all the vast variety of the visible world. In a special sense Zeus was equated with fire in heaven, Hephaistos with fire on earth; and the myth which told

\text{Fig. 149.}

\text{Fig. 150.}

\text{Fig. 151.}

\text{Fig. 152.}

\text{chitón over one shoulder; rev. ΗΦΑΙΩΝ ΤΙΕΩΝ a flaming torch (fig. 149). A third shows obv. bust of Hephaistos to right, with full beard, pilos, and no chitón; rev. [H]ΦΑΙΩΝ ΤΙΕΩΝ a flaming torch between two stars (\textit{viz.} Kabeiri or Dioskouroi) (\textit{Ant. Münz. Berlin} Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 282 no. 22 fig. (=my fig. 150)). Another has obv. bust of Hephaistos to right, with slight beard, pilos, and chitón over one shoulder; rev. ΗΦΕΙΩΝ ΤΙΕΩΝ Athena, helmeted, standing to left with Nike in right hand, spear in left (Imhoof-Blumer \textit{Gr. Münzen} p. 5 no. 2 pl. 1, 2 (=my fig. 151)). The last gives obv. ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ bust of Lemnos to right as city-goddess, with turreted crown and veil; rev. ΗΦΑΙΩΝ ΤΙΕΩΝ a flaming torch between hammer and tongs (Imhoof-Blumer \textit{Gr. Münzen} p. 6 no. 4 pl. 1, 3 (=my fig. 152), \textit{Weber Cat. Coins} ii. 141 no. 2489 pl. 95). See further \textit{Head Hist. num.} p. 262.}


\text{2 We have more than once found Herakleitos refining upon popular beliefs (\textit{supra} i. 28 ff., 328 n. 3, ii. 12, 13 n. 1, 130 n. 7, 805 n. 6).}

\text{3 Hemkl. \textit{frag. 69} Bywater, 60 Diels (cited \textit{supra} ii. 130 n. 7).}

\text{4 \textit{Supra} i. 29 ff., ii. 845 n. 2, 846 n. 9, 858 n. 6.}

\text{5 Plout. \textit{de fac. in ordo loc. 12 de Ζεύς ἡμῶν αὐτὸς στὸ μὲν αὐτῷ φώσιν χρόνον ἐν ἔκτοτε μέγα πῦρ καὶ συνεχέτως, τὸ δ' ἀφετέρῳ καὶ εἴκαμπτοι καὶ διευθυνόμενοι, τὰς χρήμας γεγονότως καὶ ἄμεταλλας καὶ γεγονόντως ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς; = Chrysippus \textit{frag. 1045} von Arnim.}

how Zeus had flung Hephaistos down to Lemnos was taken to mean that Hephaistos might be interpreted as the lightning-flash—a fitting end for a god who began with a double axe. In short, it would appear that the Stoics by pursuing the plaguy and quite illegitimate aláres oðdei oðtewrnuχ ἔχει πάντα τελειότατα, τότε δὲ παρ’ ἑαν τὸν ὑθέαν, προϊόσκειν ῥήμα, φοβητή καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑποστροφῆς τάτω ἔκαστο τετραμενοῦμαι, διὰ τούτο τοῖς μὲν ἐξετάσαν φίλογα πελεκάνω, "Πάλιν τε καὶ Δίας προσαγορεῖν (ος ὄπου), τό δὲ ἐπὶ γῆς πῦρ Ὑπηρατος, ἔτιον άποτελέσει τε καὶ οἰκείωνους κ.τ.λ., Serv. in Verg. Aen. 1. 47 physicĻ Iovem ascherman id est ignem volunt intellegi, Iovem vero aereum, et quioniam tenuitati haec elementa paria sunt, dixerunt esse germana. sed quoniam Iuno huc est æter subiectus est igni id est Iovi, iure superposito elemento mariti traditum nomen est = Chrysippus frag. 156b von Animn.

7 Supra n. 6. Cp. Lyd. de mens. 2. 8 p. 25, 9 ff. Wunsch dēthiai o μεθίκα διαφορούσης τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ποτὲ μὲν Ὑπηρατος, τῷ χειμώνι τῷ, πότε δὲ Ἀρεί, καὶ ἀρέως, Eustath. in II. p. 151. 20 ff. ότε ἐπὶ πλεῖστων δὲ Ὑπηρατος καὶ ἀλληγωρία τὸ πῦρ αὐτὸ νοεὶ, τουτότες της κατακλυσμοῦ δεμοσίως, καὶ τότε δὲ τοῦ διακοπων καὶ περὶ γῆς τό το ἐκ πάθων ἐν τοῖς μετεωροχωμὲνοι, οὖν τὸ ἐν κεραιαῖ ν κατατηκῆ καὶ τοῦ τούτος, κ.τ.λ., p. 157, ἕ̇ Ὑπηρατος, τὸ πῦρ γῆς ἐθνοῦντο, ὡς εἰρήθη, πῦρ.


2 Cornut. theol. 19 p. 34, 3 ff. Lang μορφήν ποτὲ τοῦ Δίας εἰς γῆς εἰς ὑμαντή λέγεται διὰ τὸ τοῦ πρῶτον ζῶνος αραστικῶτα χρωσίται παρ’ ἐκ κεραιατοβλαύν κακωμένων ἄνθρωπον πυρ’, ἐν τῶν ἐπικατηγορούσων, ἐν τοῖς πάθων εἰς διάφορων, ποιομένων, Serv. in Verg. Aen. 8. 414. Vulcans... ignis est, et dictus Vulcanus quasi Volcanus, quod per aerem volet; ignis enim e nubibus nascitur. unde etiam Homerus dicit eum de aere praecipitatum in terras, quod omne fulmen de aere cadit. quod quin crebro in Lemnium insulam incitum, ideo in eam dictur cecidisse Vulcanus (cp. Myth. Vat. 2. 40, 3. 10, 4. Isid. orig. 8. 11. 39 f.), id. in Verg. Aen. 8. 454. "Lemnus" quia in Lemnium insulam, ut diximus, cecidit, [a love praecipitatum vel] a Iunone propter deformatatem delectius, quae aere esse constat, ex quo fulmina proceuntur. ideo autem Vulcanus de femore Iunonis fingitur natura, quod fulmina de imo aere nascentur: quod etiam Lucretius dicit (2. 269, 273) "fulminibus terrae proper succeditur aer, pacem summa tenent" (cp. Myth. Vat. 2. 40, 3. 10, 4. Isid. orig. 8. 11. 40). Nonn. Dion. 10. 128 ff. (Dionysos speaks to Zeus) σειράς τῆς ἐν προσφηρον ἀνθρώπῳ πυρ’ | οὐ κέφαλ’ οὐ δραματικὴν κτισμάτος | ἡμῖν ἐκεῖνος και τούτων διάφορων, τοῦτο τὸ παρὰ τῆς ἔντειον, ἕν τε καὶ τέσσαρες καταστάσεις διάφορων, ἐν τοῖς πάθων εἰς διάφορων, Eustath. in II. p. 151. 30 f. (cited supra n. 7), 40 ff. διὸ ὡς ἔπλωσιν εἰς ταῖς πλάσις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μέτατρήτα ἔστω βραχύτατον, ὡς ὁ λόγος ἐν τῷ ποιήτῃ (I. 5. 591). ὡς μὲν διάφορων ἐκείνου τοῦ Δία, ἀλλὰ μὲν λοιπὸν τῇ μητρὶ "Προεῖπος τὸ φῶς τὸ φως ὡς Ὑπηρατος ἦτο τοῦ ἐν πάθων ἐν τοῖς μετεωροχωμένοις, μηδὲν γὰρ ἐν τούτων διεαίρετο ἄθροϊς, ἀλλὰ ἄλλη ἡ διαφορὰ, ἐπείγοντες τοιαύτα πρὸς τοῦ Δία ἐκπεπειθήσατο. τότε γὰρ ὁλοκαύτων καὶ τοῦ σχεδόν χρησιμοῖς, καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο τοῦτο τοῦ ἐν πάθων μετεωροχωμένοις, p. 152, 6 ff. ἐξ ἀρεώς ἀρλωχείᾳ καὶ τοῦτος (εἰ περί γῆς) Ὑπηρατος, οὗ καὶ καὶ ἀριστερὰς ἀρκετές ἐν τὸν ἄθροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ἐκ τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἐν πάθων μετεωροχωμένοις, ἐν τῷ τῷ πυρὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκτενέστατος, κ.τ.λ., Theoc. in Lyd. Alc. 277, Ἀθηναίῳ πυρὶ αὐτὸν κεραιατοβλάυνος (cp. Dion. 1. 13) ἐν Ἐλληνικῷ χώρᾳ ἐν Λήμνῳ πῦρ ἀναβασθεῖται τῷ πυρὶ καὶ αὐτὸ ἀναβασθεῖται, καθώς ἐν τῷ πυρὶ Χιοῦ κτισμάτες Ἐλληνικοῖς ἑτορρειν μὴ κατὰ κλάτον τῶν ἑτορρειν ἐπερηματικῶς καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ὡς ὁ λόγος ἐκ τῆς ἐπερημάτωσθη οἷον Ἁλεξάνδρου frag. 112 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 60 Müller), frag. 71 b (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 125 Jacoby), who however starts the fragment with the words ὡς ἐν Λήμνῃ πυρῶν κ.τ.λ.—W. Mannhardt Die Kornidmonen Berlin 1868 likewise treats Hephaistos as a 'Blitzgott.'

3 Supra p. 300.
method of allegorical conjecture had come curiously near to divining the original significance of Hephaistos.

Hephaistos and Athena—if I am right—were at first the skyfather and the mountain-mother of a Pelasgian or Tyrrenian race, which had its prehistoric home in Asia Minor. And in the rude tale of their attempted union I should detect a popular survival of their old Asiatic myth. The earliest allusion to it is à propos of a sixth-century craftsman from Magnesia on the Maiandros. That may be accident. But it can hardly be accidental that the closest parallels to the myth are found on Mount Agdos in Galatia and among the peasants of the Caucasus. All the evidence, linguistic, religious, mythological, really points in one direction—towards Asia Minor as the cradle of both deities alike.

The worship of Hephaistos and Athena, proper to the Pelasgian or Tyrrenian population of Athens, was complicated by that of other gods and goddesses as soon as Hellenic settlers entered Attike. An influx of Aeolians, who had swarmed off from Thessaly and settled on the north bank of the Ilissos (let us say, with Periphas as their king), brought with them from Mount Olympus the cult of Zeus Olímpios and Ge Olympia. With Ge Olympia was in all probability connected the rite of the Arrhephoria and the mythical birth of Erichthonios. These purely Hellenic powers never quite dispossessed their Pelasgian predecessors, who in the sixth and fifth centuries recovered something of their former prestige thanks to the Panathenaic policy inaugurated by Peisistratos. Hence the gradual intrusion of Athena and Hephaistos into representations of a myth, which was strictly concerned with Ge as fructified by the fertilising dew of Zeus. Erichthonios, instead of being the child of Zeus by Ge, is the child of Hephaistos by Ge or,

1 Supra p. 220 f.  2 Supra ii. 969 n. 4.
3 Miss E. M. Dade, in an unpublished treatise (An Analysis of the Orphic Myths 1934 p. 13 f.) which she kindly allowed me to read in typescript, compares the myths of Mithras born of a rock (F. Cumont in Darmenber-Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1953), Aegistis, and Hephaistos with A. Ditt Kaukastische Märchen (Märchen der Welilituratur) Jens 1922 p. 182: 'Eines Tages wusch Satana ihre Hosen und bratete sie auf einem Steine zum Trocknen aus. Da kam Ustyrddy und sagte: ''Deine Hosen kommen mir nicht aus'', näherte sich und liess seinen Samen auf sie ausströmen. Davon wurde der Stein, auf dem die Hosen lagen, schwanger.' After nine months Satana split the stone and a child, the hero of the Märchen, came forth.
4 Supra ii. 1123, iii. 169 n. o.  5 Supra ii. 1121 ff.
6 Supra pp. 169 n. o, 188.  6 Supra p. 188 n. 3.
7 Supra p. 188.  8 Isokr. 12 Panathenaicus 126 Εριχθώνως μὲν γάρ ὁ φῶς ἔξ Ἡφαιστού καὶ Ἔφας κ.κ.λ., Paus. 1. 2. 6 πατέρα δὲ Ἐριχθώνως λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὖδένα εἶναι, γονέας δὲ 'Ἡφαιστοῦ καὶ 'Ἑφας', cp. Kallim. Hebale frag. 1. 2. 7 Mair (supra p. 220 n. 2) ὅτι δὴθεν ὅπ' ἡφαιστοῦ τέκες Αία and Nonn. Dion. 41. 63 f. cited infra p. 237 n. 1.
more often, of Hephaistos by Athena. But to the last an occasional poet describes him as his father's 'dew'.

(b) The Daughters of Kekrops.

The three daughters of Kekrops were Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse. All of them alike bore names suggestive of the dew. Aglauros denotes 'the Sparkling One'; Pandrosos, 'the All-bedewed'; Herse, quite simply 'the Dew'.

The oldest accessible version of their myth is that given, perhaps as early as s. v. B.C., by Amelesagoras in his Athitis:


2 The simplest and most satisfactory derivation of Ἀγλαορός is from ἄγλαιος (ἄγλαφος for ἄγνα-γλαφός: see Prellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. p. 4) and the common suffix -os. Nik. ther. 62 uses Ἀγλαορός, 'sparkling,' as an epithet of rivers, and ib. 441 as an epithet of a snake.

H. Usener. Götternamen Bonn 1896 p. 135 f. inferred from the masculine ending that Ἀγλαορός was a compound of ἄγλα(ά)- (ἄγάλλεω, ἄγαλμα) and oδρα: 'eine göttin heiterer luft, hellen himmels,' (ep. Ἀγλαορός. A. Fick in the Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen 1901 xxvi. 112 similarly derives Ἀγλαορός from ἄγλαος + ἀδρα (taking Ἀγλαορός πάνθερος ἐρσα to have been a dactylic line or half-line, 'die bei heiterer luft...alles beträufellende...betauhungen'). E. Maass 'Aglaurion' in the Ath. Mitth. 1910 xxxv. 337—341 does the same, but holds that ἀδρα (connected with ἄδρα) was an old word for 'water' (hence ἀδράον 'mountain-torrent,' Ἑσυχ. ἐπαυριον: τοις χειμάρροις ποσαμοῖς, Ἱσ. theog. 353 Πανθεόνι τῆς Γαλαζάρης τας αρεών, and perhaps ἀδραον 'abundant, affluent'), which came to mean 'moist, cool air' and so 'breeze.' On this showing Ἀγλαορός would be a water-nymph (ep. Η. 2. 307 ἄγλαος εἶδος, Hom. εφ. 4. 7 ἄγλαον... ἐδωρ) and Ἀγλαορός a Νυμφήαν. Mommens Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 7 n. 3 thinks that Ἀγλαορός may refer to the dew ('binkende Tauperlen'), but proposes no etymology.

In any case Ἀγλαορός, not Ἀγαφάος, is the inscriptions form (K. Meisterhans Grammatik der attischen Inschriften Berlin 1900 p. 83 n. 72). Both are found in literary texts (J. Toepffer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 826). Ἀγαφάος seems to have been taken by popular etymology from an epithet of Pan, to whose flute the Dew-sisters danced (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rec. pp. 1196 n. 3 sub fin., 1394 n. 4).

3 supra pp. 166, 179 f. supra p. 857 n. 9.

4 Amelesagoras frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 22 Müller) ap. Antigon. hist. mir. 13 Ἀμελεσαγόρας δὲ ὁ Ἀργαφάος ὃ την Ἀρθηδάνα ἄγγελαφος ὁ φανις κράφων προστασίας τῆς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οὔτε ἔχοι ἀν πολλοὺς ἀκρόπολες ἀκρόπολις, ἀποδιδότων δὲ τὴν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μαθῆς. φασιν γὰρ Πρατέου δεδότης τῆς Ἀμελεσαγόρας ἄγγελαφος ἄγγεφεις ἀνδρασθῆραι, τὸν δὲ Πρατέους εἶς γῆν πωνύτα προστασίας τῶν σπέρματα, τὴν δὲ γῆν ὄστερον αὐτῷ ἀναδόθαι Ἐρηκτόνοι τοῖς τρέφων τὴν Ἀθηναὶ καὶ ἐς κίστην καθεδρίζει καὶ παραθέσαι ταῖς Κέρκυροις καιοῖν, Αγαφάος καὶ Πανθεόνος καὶ Ἐρηκτόνος καὶ παράταξε καὶ ἀνοίγει τὴν κίστην, ἔμω ἄν αὐτῇ Ἐρηκτόνος. ἀριστεύεται δὲ εἰς Πελλήνην πέρειον ὅρος, ἐνα ἑρμια πρὸ τῆς ἁκρόπολεως τοιφῆς, τὰς δὲ Κέρκυροις θυγατέρας τὰς δοῖα, Ἀργαφῶν καὶ Ακρόπολεος, τὴν κίστην ἀναφεύγει καὶ ἐδών δρακόντων δῶν ἕως τῶν Ἐρηκτόνων· τὴν δὲ Ἀμελεσαγόρας τὸ ὄρος, δὲ νῦν καθετήτω Λυκαβηττών, κορωνὴν φρονὶς ἀπαντήτωσι καὶ εἰπεῖ οὖν ἐμὲ Ἐρηκτόνοι εἰς φανερῷ, τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν μῆλα τὸ ὄρος ὅπου νῦν ἔστω, τῇ δὲ κορωνῇ διὰ τὴν κακαγελίαν εἰπεῖν ὅτι εἰς ἀκρόπολιν οὐκ θέμει αὐτῇ ἑσται ἀφικέσθαι.
Amelesagoras of Athens, author of the *Attica*, asserts that no crow flies to the Akropolis and that nobody can claim to have seen one so doing. He adds a mythical explanation. He states that, when Athena was given to Hephaistos, she lay down with him and vanished. Hephaistos fell to earth and spent his seed. The earth afterwards produced Erichthonios, whom Athena nurtured and shut up in a basket and entrusted to the daughters of Kekrops—Agraulos, Pandrosos, and Herse—charging them not to open the basket until she returned. She then went to Pellene and fetched a mountain to serve as a bulwark in front of the Akropolis. The daughters of Kekrops, two of them, Agraulos and Pandrosos, opened the basket and saw two snakes coiled round Erichthonios. As Athena was carrying the mountain, which is now called Lykabettos, a crow—he states—met her and said "Erichthonios is exposed." She on hearing it threw down the mountain where it now is, and told the crow as bearer of evil tidings that never thereafter would it be lawful for it to go to the Akropolis.

1 Andron of Halikarnassos frag. 16 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 357 Müller) = frag. 1 (Tresp. Frag. gr. Kultinschr. p. 67 f.) ap. Apollon. hist. mir. 8"Ανδρων ἐν τῷ βόρειῳ π ρῶς Φήμης

2 Some modern travellers accept as true the statement that crows avoid the top of the Akropolis (R. Chandler *Travels in Greece* Oxford 1776 p. 54 'Crows, as I have often observed, fly about the sides of the rock, without ascending to the height of the top'). But such avoidance cannot be 'due simply to the height of the hill' (D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 99). Rather, the site is too rocky to furnish the crows' accustomed food. Besides, it is still tenanted by plenty of owls (on the war of owls v. crows see Aristot. hist. an. 9. 1. 9; 69 a 8 ff., Antigon. hist. mir. 57 (62), Plout. de inviaia et odio 4. All. de nat. an. 3. 9. 5. 48, Soud. i. 129 t. 17, ηλλη κορώ πνεύμα, ηλλη κορώ φθεγγεται, Zenob. 169, Diogenian. 2. 16, evno. cod. Vindob. 1. 31, Greg. Kypr. 1. 39, Makar. 1. 80, Apostol. 1. 32, Arsen. p. 44 Watz. Cz. A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1847 ii. 248 f. ('The Owls and the Crows'), D'Arcy W. Thompson op. cit. pp. 46, 98, H. T. Francis—E. J. Thomas *Attica* Tales Cambridge 1916 p. 213 ff. ('The Owl as King').

3 Pellene, an ancient city of Achaia, 'stands on a hill which rises at the summit into a sharp point. The top is precipitous and therefore uninhabited' (Paus. 7. 27. 1. But see Sir J. G. Frazer ad loc.). 'At the entrance into the city is a temple of Athena built of native stone. The image is of ivory and gold: they say that it was made by Pheidias before he made the images of Athena in the Akropolis of Athens and at Plataiai. The people of Pellene also say that there is an ἄδυτον of Athena running down deep into the earth under the pedestal of the image, and that the air from this ἄδυτον is damp, and therefore good for the ivory' (id. 7. 27. 2). The statue is shown on imperial bronze coins of Pellene (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. ii. 91 ff. 8, 10, Frazer Pausanias iv. 183 f. fig. 26, H. H. Blümner on Paus. 7. 27. 7 with Münztaf. 5. 4; Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 36 ('not by Pheidias'), G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* New Haven, Yale University Press 1929 pp. 161, 173).

Amelesagoras' mention of Pellene is borne out by Kallim. *Hekale* frag. 1. 2. 11 Mair Πελληνων ἄδυκας Ἀχαιδία. But Kallim. frag. 19 Schneider op. cit. mag. p. 160, 30 ff.
Euripides, who likewise mentions the two snakes placed by Athena as guards over Erichthonios\(^1\), further hints at the fate of the maidens: having opened the ark they must needs perish and stain the rocky cliff with their blood\(^2\). Apollodorus\(^3\) is more explicit:

'Athena, wishing to make him (i.e. Erichthonios) immortal, reared him in secret without the knowledge of the other gods. She laid him in a basket and entrusted it to Pandrosos, daughter of Kekrops, forbidding her to open the basket. But Pandrosos' sisters out of curiosity opened it and saw a snake coiled beside the babe. Then, as some say, they were destroyed by the snake itself, or, as others declare, by reason of Athena's anger they were driven mad and flung themselves down from the Acropolis.'\(^4\)

According to Hyginus\(^4\), the sisters maddened by Athena hurled

\[\gamma\,\mu\varepsilon\nu\,\alpha\varepsilon\rho\varepsilon\acute{\alpha}\iota\kappa\iota\sigma\varsigma\,\omicron\nu\alpha\varsigma\,\tau\rho\iota\varphi\omicron\varsigma\,\varepsilon\tau\iota\nu\rho\iota\nu\,\varepsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha\nu\varepsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}i\varsigma\nu\]—points rather to Pallene, the promontory of Chalkidike (Plin. nat. hist. 4. 36 oppida Pallene, Phlegra. qua in regione montes Hyphasis, etc.), and this suits better the position of Lykabettos (N.E. of the Acropolis). See further Mommssen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 498 n. 1. Pellene—Akropolis—Lykabettons—Akropolis were alternative versions of the myth.

1 Eur. Ion 21 ff. κείμενον γὰρ ἑδύν κόρην | φορομεν παραξύσασα φθάσεις ώραντος | διὰσω άθάκοντες παρθένοις Ἀθηναίοις | διδομεν σῶταις ὅθεν Ἑρεμθώνας ἔστι (so J. Barnes for ἓκει κοινuity.) | τὸν τις ἐκείνων δράκων ἐν χρυσόπαστος | τρέφει τένις (on which custom see ib. 1427 ff. with the remarks of E. Küster Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion Giessen 1913 p. 113 n.): 'so haben diese Schlangen zweifellos eine apotropäische Bedeutung, die Kinder vor Unheil zu schützen; es scheint aber hinter dieser als tieferer Kern die sehr alte Vorstellung verborgen zu sein, wonach eigentlichen Schlange und dämonischem Kind kein grosser Unterschied besteht,'\(^5\) cf. Σεισθέλος at Elis (Paus. 6. 20. 4 ff., supra i. 58, ii. 1151), Zeus Σεισθέλος at Magnesia on the Mæandros (supra i. 58) if it be he who on a coin of the town is seated above a basket and snake (supra i. 153 fig. 128, O. Kern in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1894 ix. Arch. Anz. p. 81), the snake born and suckled by Klytaimestra in her dream (Aisch. cho. 526 ff.), and the modern Greek custom of calling an un baptised child δράκος, δράκοντας or δράκων, δράκοντα, δράκοντας according to sex (C. Wachsmuth Das alte Griechenland im neuen Bonn 1864 pp. 34, 62, W. Mannhardt Wald- und Feldkultus\(^2\) Berlin 1905 ii. 64, Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel.\(^2\) p. 331 n. 91).


3 Apollod. 3. 14. 6 (continuing the passage cited supra p. 218 ff.) τοῦτον Ἀθηνᾶ κρόφας τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἐπυγμένος ἀδάματον θέλοντα ποιῆσαι, καὶ καταδέσας αὐτῶν ἐκ κατηρόντων τής Κέκρπους παρακατέθετο (εἰκοσιτάτου κατηρόντως). ἄπειρα ιδίῳ τῶν κατηρόντων, αἱ δὲ ἀδέσφοραι τῆς Πανθρόσου ἀνάγοντος όπως περιερρέας καὶ θρόνος τῷ βρέφει παραστειραμένος (C. G. Heyne cf. περιερρείσθης δράκοντας, καὶ, ὡς μὲν ἐν τούτοις λέγουσι, ὡς’ αὐτὸς διεφθάρα τούτον βρέφος, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, δ’ ἐργὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐμακαρίως γενόμενον κατὰ τῆς ἀκροτόπελος αὐτῆς ἑρήφανα.

4 Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 13 eum dicitur Minerva in cistula quadam ut mysteria contectum ad Erecíthae filias detulisse et his dedisse servandum; quibus interdixit, ne cistulam aperirent. sed ut hominem est natura cupiditas, ut eo magis appetant, quo interdicatur saepius, virgines cistam aperurur et anguem viderunt. quod facto, insania a Minerva iniecta, de arte Atheniensium se praecipitaverunt. anguis autem ad Minervae clipeum confugit et ab ea educatus.
themselves from the citadel at Athens, while the snake fled for
refuge to the shield of Athena and was reared by the goddess. But
the same author elsewhere informs us that the maidens, when
maddened by Athena, hurled themselves into the sea. The tale was
popular, and later writers repeat it with other unimportant variations.
Under the empire the versions degenerate till Fulgentius
(c. 500 A.D.) makes the fateful basket entrusted ‘to two sisters, Aglauros
and Pandora!’ Even Ovid, following some Hellenistic source
(Nikandros?) and himself followed by a prose compiler misnamed
Lactantius Placidus, rewrites the whole narrative in absurd romantic
vein.

Miss J. E. Harrison in an ingenious but hardly convincing
passage claimed that the story of the Kekropides was invented to
account for the ritual of the Arrhephoria. It may indeed have been
an actiological myth; for the Athenians are said to have performed
mysterious rites for Agraulos and Pandrosos, who had sinned in
opening the chest. But it was the Kallynteria and the Plynteria

1 Hygg. fab. 166 (continuing the passage cited supra p. 222 n. 6) quem Minerva cum
clam nutrire, dedit in cistula servandum Aglauro Pandroso et Hersae Cecropis filiabus.
hae cum cistulam aperuissent cornix indicavit (supra p. 238 n. 1); illae a Minerva insania
oblecta ipsae se in mare praecipitaverunt.

The same alternative versions were given in the case of Aigeus’ suicide (K. Wernicke
in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 954, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 31 n. 13). The attempt
to harmonise them was a failure (Nikokrates frag. 2 (Fragm. hist. Gr. iv. 466 Müller) ap.
scil. Ap. Rhod. i. 831 Νικοκράτης δέ φημεν ὃτι ἀπὸ Διότις κατακηρυσσότως ἐναυὼν ἀπὸ
τῆς ἀκρόπολεως εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ὅσα εἴθι πολύ γὰρ ἀπέχει ἡ ἀκρόπολις τῆς θάλασσας
παραπλευτη).

2 The literary evidence was diligently collected and arranged by B. Powell Erich-
thonius and the Three Daughters of Cecrops (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology xvii)

3 Fulgent. myth. 2. 11 (continuing the passage cited supra p. 222 n. 7) quem Minerva
in cistam absconditid draconequo custode opposito duabus sororibus Aclauro et Pandoran
commendavit.

4 Or. met. 2. 708—835.

5 W. Vollgraf Nikander and Ovid Groningen 1909 i. 118.

6 Lact. Plac. narr. fab. 2. 12 Athenis virgines per solemnium sacrificium canistris
Minervae ferunt pigmenta (B. Powell op. cit. pp. 5 n. 8, 40 n. 9. c. fragmenta): inter quas
a Mercurio eminens specie conspecta est Hseris Cecrops filia. itaque adgressus est
sororem eius Aglauron, precatusque ut se Hersae sorori susce intueret. at illa cum pro
ministerio aurum eum poposisset, Minerva graviter offens a eavm sententia eis, ob quam
cistulam etiam tradidit sororibus eius custodiendum adversus suum praedictum aperuisset:
Invidiae novissime imperavit eam sororis Herse exacerbat (50 A. von Staveren, after
Geslin, for sorori Herse exacerbat (cod.) fortunio: duex incrciutam saxo mutavit.

Primitive Athens Cambridge 1906 p. 50 ff.

8 Athenag. supplication pro Christianis t. 1 Schwartz ed οἱ Αἴσχραοι ἔρχομεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
καὶ τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονης καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῆς Αθηνᾶς ἀγίους (sec. E. Schwartz) καὶ
Πανδρόσου, αἱ ἐνορμελοῦσαν ἀρετὴν ἀναλάβασα τὴν λάμβανον. Athenagoras, like Ameles-
agoras (ib. p. 237 f.), makes Agraulos and Pandrosos the guilty sisters. J. Toepffer in

9 Schwartz ed ἔρχομεν ἐρχομεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
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agoras (ib. p. 237 f.), makes Agraulos and Pandrosos the guilty sisters. J. Toepffer in
rather than the Arrhephoria that were connected by the ancients with the life and death of Agraoulos 1 or Aglauros 2. And naturally so; for the Kallynteria fell on the nineteenth, the Plynteria probably on the twenty-fifth of Thargelion, and modern meteorological records taken in the Botanical Garden at Athens show that heavy dews begin to fail in May, are lacking throughout June, July, and August, and begin to return in September 3. In mythological parlance, Aglauros, ‘the Sparkling One,’ dies. Her death was associated with the Plynteria, a very ill-omened day in Thargelion (May—June). Three weeks later, in the middle of Skirophorion (June—July), when the dew was rarer still, it became necessary to fertilise Mother Earth, not only with white clay (skiros) used as a manure, but also by means of a ceremonial dew-bearing. This was done in the Arrhephoria, as we have already seen.

Closer investigation 4 makes it probable that Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse were not originally a triad of sisters. Of the three, Aglauros appears to have been the eldest and most venerable. Euripides speaks of them all as ‘the Aeglaurid maidens’ 5 or, again,

1 Phot. lex. s.v. Kallntyriia kai Plyntyria: έσορταν ανήματα: λέγονται μήν αἵται θαραγγίαν καθόρη αϊπτόμενον μηνός, ένάτη μήν εὗι δείκνυ Καλλυντηρία, δευτέρα ἐφ' εὐθυμον τὰ Πλυντηρία, τά μήν Πλυντήρημα φέρει δια <τὸ μετά> τῶν θάνατον τῆς Αγραιλίου ενώς ἐναντίον μὴ πλοῦτηρα <τὰς ίρας> σεβάστας. εἰδ' οὖσα πλοῦτισα τὴν οἰκομοσίαν λαμβάνει ταύτην· τά δὲ Καλλυντηρία, ὅπι πρώτη δοκεῖ ἡ Αγραιλίου γενομένη λέγεται τοὺς θεοὺς κοιμήσας: δια καὶ Καλλυντηρία αὐτή ἀπεδείκτηκαν· καὶ γὰρ τὸ <καλλίνια> κοιμώματα καὶ λαμπρόνια ἐστίν. The words inserted are due to S. A. Naber, who cp. Bekker anec. i. 270, 1 ff. ἀπό τού καλλώματι καὶ κοιμώματι. 1 Αγραιλίου γὰρ λέγεται πρώτη γενομένη τοὺς θεοὺς ἑκατομπρήσας. Πλυντηρία δὲ καλεῖται διὰ τὸ μετά τῶν θάνατον τῆς Αγραιλίου ἐνώς ἐναντίον μὴ πλοῦτηρα τὰς ίρας σεβάστας.

2 Heusch. s.v. Πλυντηρία: έσορτή Ἀθηνήσων, ἦν εὐι τῇ Ἀγλαύροι τῆς Κέρκυρας θυγατρὸς τιμῷ ἀγώνων.

3 Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 8 n. 2, cp. infra § 9 (h) ii (e).

4 Miss J. E. Harrison ‘The Three Daughters of Cecrops’ in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1891 xii. 350—355 was, so far as I know, the first to attempt any general investigation of the subject. She was followed by H. Usener Gotternamen Bonn 1896 p. 135 ff. And he, by B. Powell Erichthominus and the three Daughters of Cecrops (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology xvii) Ithaca, New York 1906 pp. 1—86 figs. 1—12.

as 'the three daughters of Agraules (Aglauros?)'¹, and later writers state that their mother Agraules or Agraulis² had for sire Aktaios³ or Aktaios⁴. But this duplication or distortion of her name is, of course, a mere genealogist's device. In unsophisticated times there was but one Agraules, she whose precinct lay beneath the steep northern side of the Akropolis⁵. Here the Athenian youths assembled to swear that they would fight till death on behalf of their country⁶. This solemn oath took a curious and unexpected form. The young soldiers swore that they would regard wheat, barley, the vine, and the olive as the boundaries of Attike, deeming their own all the tamed and fruitful earth⁷. The emphasis thus placed on earth as 'fruitful' (karpoφhōros) recalls the rock-cut inscription of Ge Karpoφhōros still legible on the summit of the Akropolis⁸. It is, indeed, probable that Agraules herself was, to begin with, none other than the earth-goddess 'Sparkling'⁹ with the dews which enabled her to bring forth in their season corn and oil and wine. And on these things human life depended. Demeter Kourotrīphos, 'Who rears the young,' was worshipped, and rightly worshipped, in the precinct of Agraules¹⁰.

¹ Eur. Ion 496 'Agraules (A. W. Verrall prints 'Aglaiou) kóra trígōnou.
² Enseb. præf. cxv. 4. 16. 2 τῇ 'Agraules τῇ Κέρκυραν καὶ κόμψα τῇ 'Agraules.
³ Apollod. 3. 14. 2 Κέρκυρα δὲ γένοις την 'Aktaiou κόρην 'Agraules παύτι μὲν 'εχάκεν 'Eρυσίθωνα, δὲ ἄτεκνο καὶ μεταλλαξα, 'θυγατέρα δὲ 'Agraules 'Ερην Πάνδρος, Paus. 1. 2. 6 ἀποδιάθετος δὲ 'Aktaiou Κέρκυρα ἐκδύχεται την ἀρχὴν 'θυγατρὶς σουκλαν 'Aktaiou (cr. 1. 14. 7), καὶ οἱ γήνοιτο 'θυγατὲρες μὲν ἔσαν καὶ 'Aktaiou καὶ Πάνδρος, ἕως δὲ 'Ερυσίθωνα.
⁵ Paus. 1. 18. 2, cr. Eur. Ion 497 f.
⁷ Philochor. frag. 14 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 386 Müller) ap. Ulpian, in Dem. de fals. leg. 303 (p. 95 b 32 ff. Baiter—Sauppe) 'Agraules καὶ 'Ερην καὶ Πάνδρος 'θυγατέρες Κέρκυρας, ἓς φόρων ὁ Φαλάρας. λέγων δὲ δὶ κολύμων συμβάντα παρὰ 'Aktaiou, ὅτε ὁ Εὐμακρός ἐστράτευος κατὰ 'Ερυσίθωος, καὶ ἀκμασμένου τοῦτού ἔχρησεν ὁ Ἀπαλλὰς ἀπαλλάγησοντα, ἕνα τι ἄρεθ ἀράμος ὑπέρ τῆς πόλεως, ὅ τε 'Aktaiou ἔκδωκεν αὕτην ἐξέδωκεν εἰς θάνατον ἐμφάνιτο τοῦ τέιχους. ὅταν ἀπαλλάγητος τοῦ πολέμου ἔριν ὑπὲρ τοῦτον ἐστιν ἀρεταργοῦσα ἀυτῇ περὶ τὰ Προσκλητα τῆς πόλεως· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐδόμοις ὁ ἐφηβοὶ μέλλοντος ἐξέδωκεν εἰς πόλεμον.
⁸ Plut. v. Alcib. 15 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ χρήσιμοτητῇ αὐτέχοσθαι τοῖς 'Aktaiou, καὶ τῶν ἐν 'Agraules προβαλλόμενων δῆλος τοῖς ἐφόσον δρόμον ἕργα βασιλέως, ὃμοιος γὰρ ἄνθρωπος χρήσιμος τῇ Ακταιαίω τυραίοις, κραταίοις, ἀμφο-, ἓς οἷος, ἑκατον προσέρχεται διδακτικός τοῖς ἡμεροειδεῖς καὶ καρποφόροις. Cr. Cic. de rep. 3. 15 Athenienises iurare etiam publice solent, omnem suas esse terram, quae oleum frugessive ferret.
⁹ Supra ii. 21 n. 4.
¹⁰ Supra p. 237 n. 2.
¹¹ Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 372 (with facsimile on pl. 4) Κουροπόρου ἐξ 'Αγλαύρου
The Daughters of Kekrops

Pandrosos too had a sanctuary of her own, called the Pandroseion, immediately adjoining the Erechtheion at its western end. Here grew the sacred olive, beneath which stood the altar of Zeus Hekateos. And, just as the youths of Athens in the fourth century B.C. swore in the precinct of Aglauros that they would defend their country and preserve the fruitful earth, so in the first century B.C., when about to take the field, they offered a sacrifice on the Akropolis.


1 Paus. i, 27. 2 τῷ παρὶ ὡς τῆς Ἀθήνας Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχότα ἱερό.


(2) Corp. inscr. Att. iv, 1. 3 p. 148 ff. no. 321 2, 19 f. 27 f. and 3, 6, iv, 2 p. 74 ff. no. 321 iii 31 ff. = Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 373 ii 74 f. i 114 f. 127 f. v 251 ff. = Caskey loc. cit. no. 10 i 19 f. (ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων τούτων πρὸς τὸ Πεντεστοίχος), ii 27 f. ἐπὶ τούτου πρὸς τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πεντεστοίχου αἰετό, 40 f. ἐργασίας τοῦ ἀγαλμάτος τοῦ Πεντεστοίχου αἰετό, no. 11 i 31 ff. διαφέρει οὖν ἡ τεκμήρια, τέταρτα δοκιμά, τά τῶν πρὸς τὸ Πεντεστοίχος (409/8 B.C.).

(3) Corp. inscr. Att. ii, 2 no. 829, 11 = Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii ii, 2. 1 i no. 1564 ὀ 34 = Caskey loc. cit. no. 28, 36 κατὰ τὸ Πεντεστοίχος(1) (405/4 or 395/4 B.C.).


4 Supra p. 187 n. 2.

5 Philoch. frag. 146 (Frag. hist. Gr. i, 408 f. Müller) ap. Dion. Hal, de Dinarch. 3 ἐν τῇ ὕδατι φεστὶ (ὦ ναὸς Ἡθίς) τοῦ β’ ἔμαυσιν τοῦτος (307/6 B.C.) διελθότοι, ἐπεὶ τοῦ β’ ἐξανίμησαν, ἐν αἰγόπληται σημείων ἐγένετο τοῦτο. κύριος εἰς τοῦτο ἡ πολιτεία νεώς εἰσελθόντα, καὶ δοκιμάς εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσου, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναθήματος τοῦ Ἐρέχθειον Δίως τοῦ ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτῆς κατάκηρτον. πάροιρον β’ ὡς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κύρια μὴ ἀναβαινεῖ εἰς αἰγόπλητα. The topographical bearings of this passage are discussed by J. M. Paton ap. cit. p. 747 f. On the cult of Zeus Ἐρέμου or Μεσερέους (schol. B.L.T. II, 16, 231, Hesych. s.v. Μεσερέους) see O. Jesen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii, 686 f. Plout. quaest. Rom. iii, 1, ἀ διάφορος τῆς ρήματος παῖς διέτησε τῆς Ἀθηναίου αἰγόπληται ἐξεβαινεῖ κύρια μὴ τῆς Δημητρίου νόσον, διὰ τῆς ἐμφανείας μείζων κ. τ.λ. Similarly dogs would not enter the island of Sygaros (Pim. nat. hist. 6, 155), nor the temple of Hercules in the Forum Boarium at Rome (supra ii, 783). Any dog that entered the market-place at Argos during the days called ἀρμοῖδες was killed (Klearch. frag. 79 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii, 377 Müller) ap. All. de nat. an. 12, 34, cp. Athen. 99 b—ν τὴν καὶ τῆς Κυκλοφόρους ἐφεύρην παραβεβαιῶν, ἱερά τῆς σαρ' Ἀργείου ἑπτακοσίμην),—a custom explained by the story that dogs had torn to pieces Linos the son of Apollo by Psamathe daughter of Krotos (Konon narr. 19). S. Bochart Hierosolyma rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1793 i, 781 ff., L. Hopf Thierovate und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit Stuttgart 1888 p. 55 ff., and F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii, 2757 ff. collect facts bearing on the significance of dogs in ancient religion. And Frazier Golden Bough. 2 Taboo p. 13 n. 6 has a parallel to the avoidance of dogs drawn from the Kafirs of the Hindoo Koosh.

8 Supra p. 242.
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to Athena Polias and to the Kourotrophos and to Pandrosos. It is reasonable to infer that Pandrosos, like Aglauros, was only another name for Ge. Kourotrophos too was, at Athens, an epithet of the same goddess. Ge Kourotrophos was worshipped near the western approach to the Akropolis, and Souidas dwells on the importance of her cult:

'They say that Erichthonios was the first to sacrifice to her on the Akropolis and to build her an altar, in gratitude for Earth having reared him. He also made it customary that those who sacrificed to any god should sacrifice first to her;'

Details are of interest. When a cow was sacrificed to Athena, a sheep was first sacrificed to Pandrosos or, as others would have it,
to Pandora, this preliminary sacrifice being known as *epibolion*. Pandrosos had a circular garment called *podónychon* or *podónychos*. Her priestess, according to Pollux, wore the same sacred attire. But Photios and Souidas are apparently alluding to the same vestiment when they state that the *protónion* is a small *himation* worn by the priestess and from her transferred to the man slaying the victim. They add that it was named *protónion* because Pandrosos, or Pandora, with her sisters was the first (próte) to make woollen raiment for men. The etymology, as usual, is naught, but the rite of the transferred garment is of value as providing a parallel to the custom implied by the *péplos*-scene on the eastern frieze of the Parthenon.

The case of Herse is different. She is definitely a personification of the Dew, and as such must be comparatively late. Hence, though Athenian youths swore by Agraulos, who indeed heads their list of witnessing deities, and though Athenian women might swear either by Agraulos or, less frequently, by Pandrosos, nobody swore by Herse. Nor had she, unless we can credit an unsupported statement of Ovid, any sanctuary set apart for her. Again, Athena—

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1 Souid. l.c. *épibolion* ὅταν τις τῇ Ἄθροᾷ ἤθει βοῦν, ἤθει καὶ τῇ Πανδρώῃ ὄν μετὰ βοῶς· καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ τὸ θῆμα *épibolion*. Favorin. *lex.* p. 701, 7 fl. combines Philochor. *frag.* 31 (supra p. 344 n. 8) with Souidas ὃν μετὰ βοῶς, adding ὅ τι καὶ *ἐπίστοιον* τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ βοῦ θυμάμενον.
3 Hesych. *lex.* *ποδόνυχον* (*ποδόνυχον* cod.) ἐσθήσῃ ἵππα τῇ Πανδρώει.
4 Corp. *inscr.* Att. ii. 3 no. 1160 (a broken base of Pentelic marble found on the Akropolis) τῷ ἄλοιπῳ −− −− Διόμωκροκτῷ | [-- θα]υγάειν σήμερα τῇ Πανδρώει, σρ. ε. ἀσ. no. 1390 (a round base of Hymettian marble found on the Akropolis) Ἀγαθοῦρον ἱερεῖ Φαιστοσάτῃ ἐπικολύσας Ἀδηθῆλῳ ὕψαρχον.
5 Poll. 10. 191 ἔ ἐ βωλεὶ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἔρων σκευών, ἀπὶ μὲν ὑφασμάτα, καλλιτέχνεις ἄρητα, ἐρᾶτα οὖσα ἀρχαῖα, ἐσθῆται καὶ ἄρητα, ἀργόνεια, ἐσθήσαι τῇ ἱερείᾳ τῇ Πανδρώει.
6 Phot. *lex.* τ. ν. *προτόνυον* ἵματι τῷ ιερείῳ ἑκάστοτε· ἐκλέγεται ὁ ἵματος Πανδρώει μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κατακταῖς πρὸς ἑκάστῳ τῆν ἐκ τῶν ἔρων ἱερεία. Τοι ἀπεξάρχων ἀπὸ κατά τῇ ἱερείᾳ τῇ Πανδρώει μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κατακταῖς πρὸς ἑκάστῳ τῆν ἐκ τῶν ἔρων ἱερεία.
7 Supra ii. 1136 (pl. xliii).
8 Supra p. 342 f.
9 Supra p. 1136 (pl. xliii).
10 Poll. 8. 106 ἵματος ἔοι, Ἀγαθοῦρον, Ἐνεκλεός, Ἀρτικεύς, Θεαλω, Ἀλκεύς, Ἡγευμον.
11 Aristoph. *them.* 533 οἱ τού· τό τοι τῶν Ἀγαθοῦρον (R. F. B. Brunck cf. 'Ἀγαθωρόν'), Σ. γινάετο, εὐ φοιβοῦτεν καταρχήν, σφ. δὲ τῆς Πανδρώου αὐτάκτας, κατὰ τῇ 'Βρυχοῦ ὅξω κυθρήμαα.'
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originally an earth-goddess—a mountain-mother—absorbed into her all-prevailing cult the worship of both Aglauros and Pandrosos, and was occasionally called Athena Aglauros and Athena Pandrosos; but she never came to be equated with Herse. We may, then, subscribe to Usener’s opinion that Herse is later than Pandrosos, Pandrosos than Aglauros, the three names being progressively clearer expressions for a single religious idea.

Aglauros and Pandrosos, if not Herse also, were—we have seen—intimately associated with a goddess dubbed Kourotrôphos. What better guardians could Athena have found for the infant Erichthonios? Perhaps they fed him, shut up in the basket, on dew.

Some support for this surmise might be found in the myth that the Muses fed Komatas, shut up in a chest, on honey, or in the tale of Meliteus, son of Zeus by the nymph Othreis, who through fear of Hera was exposed in a wood, but was there fed and fattened by bees. For honey, as W. H. Roscher has well shown, was held by most Greeks and Romans to be a sort of dew, which fell from the sky on trees and flowers and was thence collected by the bees.

Another case of confinement and dew-diet is that of Tithonos. Herse, some said, became by Hermes the mother of Kephalos. Kephalos, they added, was carried off by Eos, the ‘Dawn,’ to Syria quorum tu, Pandrose, dextrum, | Aglauros laevum, medium possèderat Herse. Supra p. 240 Ovid’s three thalami may be derived from the internal arrangement of the Erechtheion, modified to suit Roman readers familiar with the Etruscan temple of Jupiter Capitoline.

1 Supra p. 200 n. 26.
2 Supra pp. 224, 236.
3 Harpokr. s.v. Ἀγλαύρως (Ἀγραύλος codd. A.C.M.Q. But the alphabetical order requires Ἕλ.—) ἦ θυνήτρια Κέκροσος. ἐτη δὲ καὶ ἐκ θυσίων Ἀθηνᾶ, Athemg. suppliciatio pro Christianis 1 p. 1 Schwartz (cited supra p. 240 n. 8).
5 H. Usener Götttemmen Bonn 1856 p. 139.
6 Supra p. 242.
7 Supra p. 244.
8 It is on record that Herse, Pandrosos, and Aglauros had a popular festival called Deipnothoria, at which a dinner was served for them with much pomp in accordance with a mystic tale (supra p. 240 n. 8); and it is known that certain Deipnothoria occupied a seat in the theatre adjoining that of the Kourotrôphos worshipped in the sanctuary of Aglauros (supra p. 242 n. 10). But of the nurture supplied by the Kekropides to their khotros nothing explicit is said.
9 Theokr. 7. 78 ff. with schol. ad loc.
10 Ant. Lib. 13 (after Nikandros ἅηρωμεν 2).
12 Apollod. 3. 14. 3. Hermes’ union with Herse is hardly older than the Hellenistic age (supra p. 240 nn. 4 and 5). In Hyg. fab. 160 he becomes the father of Kephalos by Kreousa, daughter of Erechtheus. Other pedigrees are noted by A. Rapp in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1089 ff. and F. Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 217 f.
and there begat Tithonos the father of Phaethon. Some such sequence of mythical events must have been known to the painter of the red-figured kylix from Corneto, now at Berlin (supra p. 186 fig. 95); for, whereas on the outside of the cup Herse witnesses the birth of Erichthonios, on the inside Heos is carrying off Kephalos. Be that as it may, we are concerned with the fortunes of Tithonos. The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (x. vi (?)) N.C. says that, when Tithonos despite his Zeus-given immortality began to get gray-headed, Eos refrained from union with him, but tended him in her halls with food and ambrosia (i.e. honey) and, as downright old age crept upon him till he could not stir, shut him up in a chamber (thalamos), where his voice flows on unceasingly. The poet is hinting, discreetly enough, at a tale that later writers tell with more directness. When Tithonos grew so old that he rolled himself round in a wool-

basket or a basket-cradle (liknon) and slept like a baby (fig. 153), the goddess transformed him into a cicada (tettix). Confusion

1 Apollod. 3. 14. 3. But the parentage of Tithonos is variously given. He is also described as the son of Laomedon (Il. 20. 237) by Strymo (schol. A.B.D. Il. 11. 1. Tzetze. in Lyk. Al. 18) or Trymo (schol. V. Il. 20. 237) or Rhoio (schol. and Tzetze. in Lyk. Al. 18).


3 II. Aphr. 218 ff.

4 E. Gerhard Über die Lichtgottheiten auf Kunstdenkmälern Berlin 1840 pp. 8, 16 pl. 4, 4. (id. Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen und kleine Schriften Berlin 1866 i. 149, 347 pl. 8, 4) = my fig. 153, J. Schmidt in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 1929 fig. 4 an Etruscan relief in stamped gold foil, found at Vulci, then in the Campana collection, and later at Petrograd (?). It represents Eos pouring the contents of a jug (? ) over Tithonos, who lies on a concave couch or cradle.

5 Tzetze. in Lyk. Al. 18 ἄδικανων ἐδὶ τῶν Θεών τοις ταῖς ἐπολάθεσα ξωθήσατα καὶ ἀγήρω. γηράσατα ἐδὶ τοσοῦτον ὡς ἐν ταλάμῳ καὶ λίκνῳ (Eudok. vial. 930 has ὡς ἐν ταλάμῳ καὶ λίκνῳ, ἥτοι καίλοισι) καθὸν περιπεριδομένου δίκαιον δερματίων καθότοις εἰς τέττυγα μετέβαλεν, Eustath. in Od. p. 1538, 1 ff. ἄροι (ἄροι; ἄροι?) ἐδὶ ἀμέτομο περὶ Θεών, καὶ ὧν διὰ γῆαν ἐν ταλάμῳ ἤ κατάλαρ τῷ δηλωμένῳ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κυμάκου ἔκρημάσθη, ὡς ἄν δεραθῇ μη φαίνοιτο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ εἰς τέττυγα μετεβλάθη.
between the liknon and the kêrinos, which figured in similar rites, may account for the late tradition that the couch of Eos and Tithonos was on Kerne, an island off the west coast of Libya or, as mythographers and poets declared, at the ends of the habitable earth. Two points appear to justify the comparison of Tithonos with Eriçthonios. We have seen, that Athena, wishing to make Eriçthonios immortal, kept him as an infant in a basket (pl. xxix and fig. 154). Similarly Eos, bent on making Tithonos not only deathless but ageless, tended him like a babe in a basket. Again, we


The two utensils are confused by the schol. Plat. Gorg. 497 c p. 913 a 42 kêrinos διτό λικνον ἄριστο το τέινον εὐτίχεον. S. N. Dragoumites in the Ath. Mitt. 1901 xxv. 46 infers from Poll. 4. 103 τα ταύτα διὰ παικίδης ὄψις αἰθέρι ἐν ἑνὶ πήσαντο κατὰ τὴν μνήμην τοῖς πρῶτοι ἔρχεσθαι κερών διαχέοντο: kêrōn δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ἠκαλύφθη σαφῶς ὡς ὑπαρξαῖρον καὶ λικνόν ἦν διότι ἄλλα ὑπάρχαμεν ἀλλὰ σπάσωσαν ἐν τοῖς τεῖνοις τῆς περιπολίας Κρηστῆς. Ἀμμακηνίων and Ἀρκετος both come to be identified in popular parlance with the old mystic kêr松.


3 Lyk. Al. 16 ff. with Tzetzs. ad loc., cp. 1084 with schol. and Tzetzs. ad loc.

4 C. T. Fischer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 318 f.

5 supra p. 238.

6 Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 243 no. E 374 a red-figured pelike from Kameiros showing (a) Athena and Eriçthonios, who sits up in his basket to greet her. The wicker lid (cp. Ov. met. 2. 554) is off, and from the rock (Akropolis) rise two spotted snakes (Enn. Ion 23 cited supra p. 239 n. 1), one bearded, one beardless. (b) Two draped figures moving to the right, probably Aglauros and Herse, but possibly two youths by mistake of the artist (so Harrison Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. p. xxiii). See further R. Engelmann in the Ann. d. Inst. 1879 li. 62 ff. pl. x, id. in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1366 f. fig., H. Heydemann in the Ann. d. Inst. 1879 lii. 112 ff., Harrison op. cit. p. xxxi fig. 4, J. A. Hild in Darmberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 808 fig. 2766, Reisch Abh. Vases i. 342, 2. Existing illustrations being inadequate, I have given both a photographic plate and a development of the design by Miss E. T. Talbot.

7 Supra p. 247.
Pelike from Kameiros, now in the British Museum:
(a) Athena finds Erichthonios in his basket guarded by two snakes.
(b) Aeglauros (?) and Herse (?) make off.

See page 248 n. 6 and page 249 fig. 154.
The Daughters of Kekrops
The Daughters of Kekrops have conjectured that the Dew-sisters fed the infant Erichthonios on dew. So with Tithonos. Eos fed him on ambrosia, that is honey, a species of heavenly dew. Moreover she changed him into a cicala, and that little creature was popularly believed to subsist on dew. The transformation was apt, for the cicala, once more like Erichthonios the ‘very child of the Ground’, was notoriously earth-born and the traditional badge of an autochthonous Ionian people (figs. 158—161). It may even be surmised that Tithonos

1 Supra p. 246.
2 Supra p. 247.
3 Supra p. 246.

J. T. Kakridis ‘TITHONOS’ in the Wiener Studien 1930 xlviii. 25—38 makes it probable that the transformation of Tithonos into a tettix kept in a cage was an early myth, purposely ignored by the author of H. Aphi. 318 ff., but presupposed by certain of his phrases (231—238) and resuscitated by later writers. See also F. Dornseiff ‘Der homeriache Apyroditheymnos’ in the Archiv f. Rel. 1931 xxix. 203 ff.

5 Hes. sc. Her. 303 ff., Aristot. hist. an. 4. 7. 372 b 20 ff., 5. 30. 556 b 14 ff., Theocr. 4. 16, Anacreont. 32. 3 Bergk, 32. 3. Hiller—Crusius, Verg. ed. 5. 77, Plin. nat. hist. 11. 94, All. de nat. an. 1. 20, Philles de an. propr. 500.

In Loukian, Parab. 13 Empedolokes, speaking as an inhabitant of the moon, says αυτης δε αψώνα.

6 Supra p. 181.


In point of fact the cicala lays its eggs in the ground (Aristot. hist. an. 5. 30. 556 a 29 ff., Plin. nat. hist. 11. 93. O. Keller Die antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1913 ii. 401) and remains for a long period in the larval state (Aristot. hist. an. 5. 30. 556 b 7 ηττηγομήνθη, Plin. nat. hist. 11. 93 tettigometra. R. Lydecker The Royal Natural History London 1896 vii. 193 fig.), so that it would easily be regarded as earth-born.

8 Astos frag. 13. 4 f. Kinkel ap. Athen. 525 ε—φ (Samians visiting the precinct of Hera) χαίρει β' γιαμαίαν αυτή χρώματι ενυ δημαίνα, | χρήσεις δε κόμματι εν' αυτέων τέττιγεων ὡς, Aristoph. eq. 1331 ἀθ' έκείνοι (sc. the Athenian Demos) ἀθρών τέττιγοφορεῖν, ἀραχῶν σχήματι λαμπροὶ μεταξὺ σχολ., οἰ. 984 ἀραχνὰ τις καὶ Διομόδω καὶ τέττιγαν ἀνθριακά μεταξὺ σχολ. ἀκάλα衔 τῶν 'Αθηναίων τέττιγαν χρώματι εν τοῖς τῶν τρυχῶν πλέγμασιν έχουσί, διότι οἱ τέττιγεις μοιάοις οὖν άντικεῖται τῷ Αὐλόλου, διὸ τὸ πατρίος τῆς τόλεμοι σχολ. τοῖς τέττιγεις παραλλαξερίτως, έκείνοι οἱ παλαιοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀναπλοκή τῶν τρυχῶν χρώματος τέττιγεων τεκμιρὸν ἖κακον τίττες, τεκμιρὸν διὸ τὰ φανερωθέντα οἴνον ἀνατέναις εἰς. Thusk. 1. 6 καὶ οἱ πρωσβέτεροι αὐτοῖς (sc. the Athenians) τῶν εὐδαιμονίων διὰ τὸ διάβολοπώς οὐ πάλαι χρώματι έκείνοι χρώματι τῷ λόγῳ ἐκάκονας ὑποδόσας, καὶ τρυχῶν τέττιγαν ένεαρχεῖ κρύσιμοι ἀναδεικνύον τῶν τῆς καταρακτοῦ τρυχοῦ: ἀρ' οὐ καὶ Ίλιον τῶν πρωσβετέρων κατὰ τὸ διάβολοπώς εἲ ἐκάκον έστ' έστ' οὐκ ἡ κατακόμη, Corp. inter. Alt. ii. 2 no. 645, 12 = Inter. gr. ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1377, 13 (an inventory of the Parthenon 399/8 B.C.) [χρώματι διάθεσθαι ένεαρχεῖ τα πλευθυνός καὶ τέττιγαν, C. Curtius Inscriptionen und Studien zur Geschichte von Samos Lübeck 1877 p. 10 ff. no. 6, 50 ff. pl. 1 = Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 832, 50 ff. (an inventory of the Samian Heraion 346/5 B.C.) γυνή ἐν' φόνω δίκαιον κυβάνδον, χεὶς ρητοράσων
The Daughters of Kekrops


The name κρωμβόλων applied to a small species of τέττυγα (Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. iv. 1476 a—b) is noteworthy on account of its possible relation to Kēkrops (cp. P. Kretzschmer in Glotta 1913 iv. 309).

Various views have been taken in modern times with regard to the precise nature of these τέττυγας:

(1) W. Hellbig in the Bull. d. Inst. 1874 pp. 61—63, id. 'Über die goldenen Cicaden der alten Athener' in Commentationes philologae in honorem Theodori Mommseni Berolini 1877 pp. 616—626, id. in the Rheit. Mus. 1879 passim. 484—487, id. Das homerische Eclos aus den Denkmälern erläutert Leipzig 1884 p. 169 f., ib.3 Leipzig 1887 p. 2. 459 put forward the view that they were gold spirals wound round the hair. F. Studniczka 'Krobylos und Tettige' in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1896 xi. 248—291, combining Hellbig's hypothesis with that of A. Conze 'Krobylos' in the Mem. d. Inst. 1895 ii. 408—420, maintained that τέττυγας were gold spirals wound round the back-hair (krobylos) to keep it in position. This view was advocated also by H. Lechat in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1897 x. 334—344, id. 'Χρυσὰς τέττυγας' in the Recueil des études athéniennes 1899 pp. 19—22, who noted that such metallic spirals in the hair might produce a sound reminiscent of the cicada, and by A. Boulanger in Daremos—Saglio Dict. Ant. v. 164.
Similarly L. Kjellberg 'Zur τιττίγες der alten Athenen' in Evamos 1909 ix. 164—178 explained the τιττίγες as threads of thin bronze or gold twined in the hair and rustling like an Aeolian harp in the wind. W. Bremer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 2124 concludes that they were thin gold leaves sewn on to a fillet or soldered on to a metal band.

(a) F. Hauser 'Tettix' in the jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1906 ix. 75—130 would identify the tettix with the stelgens, a gold diadem covering the front hair (krublylos). This hypothesis roused much controversy. An attack by E. Petersen ib. 1906 ix Beiblatt pp. 77—86 elicited a reply by Hauser 'Tettix 11' ib. 1907 x Beiblatt pp. 9—32, and a renewed attack by Petersen in the Rhein. Mus. 1907 lixii. 340 ff. called forth a further reply by Hauser 'Tettix 111' in the jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1908 xi Beiblatt pp. 87—96. Another opponent of Hauser was W. Bremer Die Haarbeutel des Mannes in archaisch-griechischer Zeit Giessen 1911 p. 60 ff., id. in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 211 ff. The reader is inclined to quote 'Katy-did, Katy-didn't, etc.

(b) Meantime the old view that the tettix were golden cicadas can claim the support of much archaeological evidence. H. Schliemann Mycena London 1878 p. 176 nos. 759, 760 (= my fig. 155) illustrated two out of 'ten golden grasshoppers with chains' from the third shaft-grave: these he took to be 'ornaments of the breast or hair'; Staats Coll. Mycennien: Athenes p. 20 nos. 77, 78 calls them, with less likelihood, 'des jouets d'enfants.' Sir A. J. Evans, however, in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1915 xlv. 55 with fig. 52, 4 points out that these pendants are 'intended for chrysalises' and compares a better-marked chrysalis-bead of gold (ib. fig. 47 = my fig. 156) found by A. J. B. Wace in a chamber-tomb (no. 318 of the Kalkani cemetery) at Mykenai (A. J. B. Wace in The Times Literary Supplement for Oct. 36, 1927 p. 684, id. in The Illustrated London News for Feb. 24, 1933 p. 300 fig. 4, id. 'Chamber Tombs at Mycenae' in Archaeologia 1932 lxxxii. 87 no. 76, 194 pl. 38). L. Stephani in the Comptes-rendus St. Pl. 1877 p. 38 ff. Atlas pl. 2, 15 (= my fig. 157: scale c. §, F. Hauser in the jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1906 ix. 89 f. fig. 30) published a small gold pendant representing the larva of a cicada, which was found in the fourth barrow of the 'Seven Brothers' group near Temrijk on the Sea of Azov, a tomb dating from c. v B.C. (E. H. Minns Scythians and Greeks Cambridge 1913 p. 210, M. Rostovtzeff Iranians & Greeks in South Russia Oxford
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A more satisfactory *téttix* in the form of a gold brooch (length 0.160) came from the earliest Artemision at Ephesus (D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 p. 98 pl. 4, 33 and pl. 3, 3 (= my fig. 159: scale 1/2)). Another *téttix*-brooch of gold was found by A. N. Skiæ in a cave of Pan and the Nymphs, known as *Lychnospélia*, on Mt Parnes at the depth of half a metre below the surface (A. N. Skiæ in the *Ippar. dpr. et* 1900 p. 40, 'Funde' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 456, R. C. Bosanquet in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 350, and finally K. Rhomaios in the *Eph. Arr. 1906* pp. 89—96 fig. 1 (= my fig. 159: scale 1/2)). The pin has a ring at one end and originally worked on a metal axis between two other rings attached to the upper part of the insect's body. The other, pointed, end of the pin was caught by the hook on the lower part of the body. The axis having dropped out or been broken, the owner, lest he should lose the little gold pin, had twisted it up as best he could through the other two rings.

A couple of *téttiges* in gold foil, sent by Count Peroffsky in 1852, were figured in the *Antiquités du Bosphore cimmérien* St-Pétersbourg 1854 i. 155, iii pl. 22, 20 (= my fig. 160: scale 1/2) and 21 (= my fig. 161: scale 1/2), ed. S. Reinach Paris 1892 p. 69 pl. 22, 20 and 21, cp. L. Stephani in the *Mélanges gréc.-romains tirés du Bulletin historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg* St-Pétersbourg 1855 ii. 215, id. in the *Compte-rendu St. Pl.* 1870 p. 54 n. 2, E. Beulé *Fouilles et découvertes, résumées et discutées en vue de l'histoire de l'art* Paris 1873 ii. 411, V. Duruy *Histoire des Romains* Paris 1883 vi. 413 fig. (of no. 20), T. Schreiber in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1883 viii. 272, F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 282 fig. 13 (of no. 20). *Fibulae* of late Roman and early mediaeval date found in Hungary again represent the
cicadas, though with less approximation to nature (F. Studniczka in the *Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 283 f. fig. 15 (= my fig. 161)).

On the whole it may be concluded that the *télētis* of Thour. 1. 6 was a golden *fibula* shaped like a cicada, that being the traditional, perhaps the tribal, badge of Ionian autōkthōners.

We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the *télētis* occurs as a private badge on tetradrachms of Athens with two monograms struck c. 229—197 B.C. (*Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 59 no. 73 pl. 34, 6 nos. 74, 75; J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d’Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 37, 6—15) and again on tetradrachms and drachms with the names of the brothers Lysan[dros] and Glaukos issued in 159 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica* etc. pp. xliii, 62, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 64 no. 114; J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 48, 21—31. On the date see J. E. Kirchner ‘Zur Datierung der athenischen Silbermünzen’ in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1898 xxi. 84; J. Sundwall *Untersuchungen über die attischen Münzen des neueren Stiles* Helsingfors 1908 p. 96; *Head Hist. num.* 2 p. 383. *Fig. 163* is from a specimen in my collection). On bronze pieces the *télētis* is sometimes a ‘symbol’ (†) obv. head of Athena Parthenos; rev. owl on amphora (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica* etc. p. 78
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nos. 525, 526, J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 71, 17, 18 and pl. 79, 38—42. (1) obv. head of Athena Parthenos; rev. statue of Apollo at Delos by Teklaos and Angelion (supra ii. 232 n. 0 fig. 161. To the bibliography there given add J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 56, 56, 27 and pl. 85, 8—14. Fig. 164 is a further specimen from my collection), sometimes a 'type' ((1) obv. head of Artemis; rev. cicada (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 87 pl. 15, 9, J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 107, 28—35 and 47—48. In fig. 165 I append a specimen of mine). (2) obv. cicada; rev. owl on thunderbolt (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 85 pl. 15, 5, J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 107, 50—54, cp. Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 74 no. 201 pl. 34, 17). (3) obv. cicada; rev. amphora and branch (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 88 nos. 618—620 ('palm'), 621—626 ('branch'), J. N. Svoronos op.

Fig. 163.

Fig. 164.

Fig. 165.

Fig. 166.

Fig. 167.

Fig. 168.

cit. pl. 107, 55—69. Fig. 166 is from a specimen in my collection). (4) obv. cicada; rev. quiver and bow (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 88 no. 647, J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 107, 70—74). (5) obv. cicada; rev. letter, monogram, or simple type (J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 18, 26, 38, 106, 117 (? hollyhok)).

A creature with such a record behind it would serve as an excellent amulet to keep off mischief (L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pét. 1869 p. 91, 1865 p. 130 f., 1863 p. 84, 1869 p. 130, 1877 pp. 28—31, 91, 1880 p. 99 f.). Two engraved chalcedonies of early Roman date at Berlin show cicalas equipped with shield, sword, lance, etc. (Furtwängler Gesch. Steine Berlin p. 239 nos. 6524 and 6533 pl. 45. id. Ant. Gemmen i pl. 29, 41 (= my fig. 167) and 43 (= my fig. 168), ii. 144). Prophylactic virtue probably attached to the terra-cotta models of the tétix, of which sundry specimens are extant. One from Tanagra, in our national collection, has its upper side coloured black, with markings in
red, on a white slip (Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 83 no. B 72 fig. 17 = my fig. 169 (scale 1)), O. Keller Die antike Thierwelt Leipzig 1913 ii. 404 fig. 178). Another, in my possession, is a child’s rattle and by means of a pellet within makes a noise more or less resembling that of its original (fig. 170: scale 1). A phiale mesomphalos by the potter

Sotades, now at Boston, has perched upon its central boss a most life-like têteë in pale terracotta (W. Froehner Collection von Branteghem Bruxelles 1897 no. 159 pl. 38; H. B. Walters History of Ancient Pottery London 1905 i. 445 pl. 40, 1, Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l’Art x. 722 fig. 395; Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 428 no. 1 fig., J. D. Beazley Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 129). Was this prophylaxis or a practical joke?
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was *ab origine* a personification of the cicala\(^1\), and that he bore
a name which was primarily onomatopoeic\(^2\). In any case Tithonos

1 The personification of the cicala is by no means an unexampled effort of the imagination. The Laconian town Tainaros was called *the seat of Tettix* because it had been founded by Tettix the Cretan (Hesych. *s.v. Τέττιγος δρακόν*). When the Naxian Kalondas, surnamed Korax, had killed Archilochos in battle, he was hidden by the Pythian priestess to go to *the dwelling of Tettix* and appease the soul of Archilochos. *The dwelling of Tettix* meant Tainaros because Tettix the Cretan had come thither with his ships, founded a town, and dwelt beside the *psychopompos* (Plout. *de ser. num. vind. iv. 17, cp. Ail. *frag. 80* Hercher *ap. Soud. s.v. Ἀραγδαχός*). O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 401 rightly infers from Archil. *frag. 143* Bergk *ap. Loukian. pseudol. τέττιγα τοῦ πτεροῦ σωλυσάς that the poet had spoken of himself as a *tettix*, and this lends the needed point to the anecdote.

A folk-tale from Naxos says that the cicala (*tēttix*)7, the ant, the bee, and the spider were brothers and sisters. Their mother lay dying and bade them all come to receive her blessing. The bee alone came. So her mother wished that she might make wax for the saints and honey for men. The rest were cursed. The spider should spin all night and unravel her web by day. The ant should drudge the year through and eat but a single grain. The cicala should chirp, chirp till he burst (N. G. Polites *Paradoses Athens* 1904 i. 194 no. 353, ii. 943, O. Dahnhardt *Naturwissenschaften* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 iii. 468). In northern Greece the cicala is held in greater honour—witness G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 60: *'The farmers of Macedonia out of the newly ground corn make a large thin cake, which they take to the village fountain or well. They sprinkle it with water and then distribute it among the bystanders, who in return wish them *"a happy year." This cake is called *"Grasshopper-Cake* (*tēttigómkos*), and is supposed to be a kind of offering to their favourite insect. The following rhymes express the insect's satisfaction at the sacrifice: *Δωσίζετε, θεύσιστε κηλ ελια κλασίσκε, | Καὶ μείζον τη τή θρόδινα τα πῶλα τα πόρω, | Να κάνως κα τα φόλως μαζώ με τα παιδα μου, | Να πέτως να πεθώνω*. [‘A. Δ. Gouniou, *"Η κατά τη Παγγαίων Χώρα,"* p. 47] *'Thresh and mow and make a cake for me. Thrown into the fountain that I may go and fetch it, | And sit and eat it with my children, | And then lay me down and die."*"

A popular Tuscan song tells how the grasshopper (*grillo*) married the ant. After the wedding he became first a greengrocer and then an innkeeper, but finally went bankrupt, beat his wife, and died in misery (A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1873 ii. 48 f.).

See further B. Laufer *Insect Musicians and Cricket Champions of China* (*Anthropology Leaflet* 11) Chicago 1927 (reviewed in *Folk-Lore* 1928 xxxix. 112: *'A champion cricket is looked on as the incarnation of a great warrior or hero of the past, and fetches the price of a good horse. If he has won many victories, his burial will be in a small silver coffin, for good luck, and in the neighbourhood of his grave excellent fighting crickets are expected to be found in the following year".*

The main objection to my view is that the evidence directly connecting Tithonos with the cicala is not older than *s.v. b.c.* See, however, *h. Aphr. 335 ff.* and *infra n. 2.*

7 Names for the cicala generally involve a reduplicated *t* or *k* together with an *i*-sound (O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 406). So with the ancient Greek *tētτίς*, *tētτιγόνος*, *tētτιγός* (L. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thei. Gr. Ling.* vii. 709 a—b), *κίκιον* (Hesych. *κίκις*—*tētτίς*), *κίκου* (Hesych. *κίκις*: *δ* *τί* *tētτίς*). It is just possible that in *h. Aphr. 237* f. τοι *δ* *τ* *π* *φοίνικ* *αλα* *κα* *κοννί* *εσι* *κίκιν* *κιν* 

*γραμποι* *μέλισσε* the choice of the word *κίκιν* was determined by a reminiscence of *κίκου*. Neither Welecker *Gr. Götter* i. 686 (A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1253) nor J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1025 is convincing), the modern Greek *τζιτζαρς* or *tζιτζας* or *tζιτζας*, and the Latin *cicada* with its derivatives (G. Körling *Lateinischromanisches Wörterbuch* Paderborn 1901 p. 238 notes Italian *cicala*, *cigala*, Lombard *cigada*, Provencal *cigale*, French *cigale*, Spanish *cigarras*, *chicharras*, Portuguese *cigarro*, etc.
Fig. 171.

Fig. 172.

Fig. 173.
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and adds: 'Nach gewöhnlicher Annahme soll die Benennung der "Cigarre" (span. ptc. cigarro, ital. sigaro, fre. cigarette) auf span. cigarra zurückgehen, wegen einer gewissen Ähnlichkeit des Tabakröllchens mit der Cicade, sei es in Gestalt oder in Farbe.' Cp. E. Weekley An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English London 1921 p. 393. But these imitative formations are apt also to have an in-sound, as in the modern Greek τσιρακιά, τσιρισιάς (Prellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. 2 p. 458), the Macedonian-Romanian chiničală (Körting loc. cit.), and the Latin verb frimintirium (Suet. frag. p. 225, 2 Reifferscheid cicadae frimitimum (frimintirium cod. V. frimintirium ali. codd.), F. Buecheler—A. Riese Anthologia Latina 2 Lipsiae 1906 ii. 2. 248 no. 762. 35 et caculi cuculant et raucus cicadae friminti), late Latin frimintirium (Ducange Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.vv. 'baulare,' 'frimintirium').


There is some reason to think that the Etruscan Tinbun is still remembered by the peasants of north Italy. C. G. Leland Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition London 1892 p. 123 states that the Romagnoli regard Tinbuno or Tinulo as 'the spirit of thunder,' and ib. p. 215 asserts that, if it hails, people invoke Tinuno or Tignia. If his information be reliable (supra ii. 421 n. 0), it is possible to suppose that the -iu- of Tinbun led to confusion with the Etruscan Tinia. Be that as it may, Tinia, like Tinbun, is grouped with Οςαν and Θεᾶς on a mirror now in the Vatican (E. Braun in the Bull. d. Inst. 1837 pp. 73—80, Mus. Etr. Gregor. i pl. 31, 1, Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iv. 5. 44 pl. 396 (=my fig. 173), Fabretti op. cit. p. ccxx no. 2477), which presumably represents Zeus supplicated by Heos and Theitis (supra ii. 734, 735 n. 3 (3)). Leland op. cit. pp. 75—78 claims that Θεᾶς too has survived as Tisana, 'the Spirit of the Dawn,' and quotes a popular poem in which she appears as a dream to a sleeping contadino and promises to help him when he is weary.

More ingenious, but also more speculative, are the suggestions of S. Bugge Das Verhältniss der Etrusker zu den Indonesierman und der vorruthischen Bevölkerung Kleinasiens und Griecheoedland ed. A. Torp Strassburg 1909 p. 229 ff.—Τιθών was a pre-Greek Anatolian name, borne e.g. by a brother of Priam (II. 20. 237). A cuneiform tablet found at Euyk in Kappadokia mentions a town Tintunia, perhaps to be located in Armenia rather than in Asia Minor (E. Chantre Recherches archéologiques dans l'Asie occidentale. Mission en Cappadoce 1893—1894 Paris 1898 p. 45 ff. no. 1, 10 Ti-in-tu-u-ni-ia). With this agrees the form tinbun, which the Etruscans may have brought with them from their early home in Asia Minor. Tintunia (for *Tinthônia) is to tinbun as 'Ἀπόλλωνια.
had by Eos a son Memnon; and here too the dew-connexion re-appears. When Memnon was slain by Achilles, his mother Eos wept for him, and in the morning dew-drops we still see her tears.

Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse were alike associated with Zeus. Their mother was the daughter of Aktaios; and Aktaios is a cult-epithet of Zeus. Possibly Zeus Aktaios, Zeus 'of the Point,' was at one time worshipped on the high ground of Akte overlooking the harbours of the Peiraieus. More probably he drew his title from Akte, the old name for the whole promontory of Attike, which indeed represents an earlier Aktike. Pandrosos, again, stood in close relation to Zeus. In the Pandroseion was his altar; and, though we must not with O. Gruppe assume the existence of a Zeus Pándrosos, yet we may feel sure that here Zeus the sky-father,

to 'Αγλαώου. On this showing tìnùn was the god or godlike hero of Hittite-speaking Cappadocians. Memnon as son of Tithones implies that Tithones was known in Anatolia. Tithones founded Sousa on the Chospes (Strab. 728, Diod. 2. 22, cp. Hdt. 5. 53, 7. 151, Paus. 4. 31. 5) and was worshipped as a god by the Susians (Soud. s.v. Σόδων: δώμα θόους. τὸν οὐκέπται καλεστε οἱ Σόδων τὸ δέτα κομίζουσιν τῷ παρά Τίθωνος). Further, Tithones was a personification of the day (et. mag. p. 758, 27 f. Τίθων, ἡ ημέρα παρά τὸ τιθωνὸν τὸ οὐρανοῦ τὸ χρόνου τὸ ἡμέρος [Etymology at its worst! A. B. C.]). Now it seems that the Etruscan stem tin- denoted both the 'day' and the 'daylight-god' tinia or tint, the equivalent of Zeus or Jupiter (S. Bugge op. cit. p. 150 f.). Accordingly, Tīthōnēs presupposes an Anatolian form in which in before θ became a nasal (ι). The Etruscan inscription on the wrappings of the Agram mummy speaks of the Dawn of the Day-god (G. Herbiger in C. Pauli Corpus Inscriptionum Etruskarum Lipsiae 1919—1921 Suppl. i (liber linteus Zagriabienis) col. v, 19 besan-tinē with pl. 5: see further C. Pauli in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 676 f.). This makes it certain that tinēn associated with besan, the Dawn (supra fig. 171), involves the syllable tin- 'day.' The termination -bun is of doubtful origin, but may be a combination of θ the enclitic article with the suffix -un (cp. -wos- of Tīthōnēs). The schol. A. L. Π. 11. 1 equates Tīthōnēs with Trās and both with Apollon. 'Trās [sic]...scheint mir ebenfalls vorgriechischen Ursprungs und auf dieselbe Grundwurzel wie Τίθωνς zurückzugehen.' C. Pauli in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 971 f. is likewise inclined to accept an original connexion between Tīthōnēs, *Τιθων, Tīthōn, Tīthōn on the one hand and Τίνια, Τίγνια on the other. But the whole edifice is a house of cards.

2. Supra p. 242 n. 3.
3. Supra ii. 869 n. 2, 904 n. 2.
4. Supra p. 238 n. 3.
6. Drellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. p. 22 'Ἀκτή =*Ἀκτή.' But W. Judeich in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 2184 f. had already derived 'Ἀκτή' 'offenbar gleich 'Ἀκτή' from 'Ἀκτή' and had cited in support, not only the lexicographers (supra n. 5), but also the marm. Par. op. 1 p. 3 Jacoby and Strab. 397 (cp. Paus. 1. 2. 6), in both of which the precise form 'Ἀκτή' occurs.
7. Supra p. 243 n. 5.
8. O. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 29 n. 6, 111 n. 1, 1127 n. 3. Id. ib. p. 29 says: 'ursprünglich wohl 'Allbetauer.' But πάνθρος is at least as likely to be passive as active in meaning.
who distilled the fructifying dew\(^1\), had as his consort Pandrosos the earth-mother ‘All-bedewed.’ Lastly, Herse was for Alkmene the very daughter of Zeus\(^2\).

(c) Zeus Ἔρρος, Ἐρσαῖος, Ἰκμαῖος, Ἰκμίος, Ἁφρίος.

In view of the foregoing sections we are not surprised to find that Zeus had sundry titles characterising him as the god of dew, moisture, and the like.

It seems probable that Ἔρρος, an obscure name for Zeus quoted by Hesychios\(^3\) from some unknown source, meant simply the ‘Dew.’ Zeus, as Plutarch\(^4\) put it, turned himself into dew. If so, his appellation will be connected with those of the Athenian Ἐρρηφόρος\(^5\), the Lesbian Ἐρσόφορος\(^6\), and the Attic Apollon Ἑρσός\(^7\). Another

\(^1\) Even the honey-dew (supra p. 146) came from Zeus. When in summertime a cold night was followed by a hot day, and consequently trees and plants were found to be coated with a sweet exudation (βροικέτη, ἀρκεμέλη), Greek farmers exclaimed: ὁ Ζεὺς ἐβρείτες μὲν (Gal. περὶ τροφῶν νύμφων 3. 39 (vi. 739 Kühn)). Virgil says of Jupiter: mellaque decusit foelis (georg. 1. 131). See further infra p. 498 ff.

\(^2\) Supra i. 732 n. 5, iii. 179 f.

\(^3\) Hesych. Ἐρσαῖος. M. Schmidt is silent. J. Alberti, who records the guesses of G. Sopling (cp. Hesych. Ἐρσαῖος Ζεῦς) and J. J. Reiske (‘An Ἡρεύς?’), is not particularly helpful.

\(^4\) Supra p. 180.

\(^5\) Supra p. 166.

\(^6\) Supra pp. 167 n. 10, 168.

\(^7\) About an hour’s walk to the north-east of Varai (Anagrounis), some 290\(^\circ\) above the sea, near the top of one of Hymettos’ southern spurs—a height known formerly as Kapollai but now as Spelaeion—is a very remarkable cave, first thoroughly explored in 1901 by members of the American School at Athens. The best map of the neighbourhood is E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert Karten von Attika Berlin 1904, Blatt 8 (Varai) with text by A. Milchhöfer Berlin 1889 ill. 16 f. The official reports of the excavation were published by C. H. Weller in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1903 vii. 263—288 (description) with pl. 1 (plan) = my fig. 174, pl. 2 (sections) = my figs. 175, 176, and figs. 1—10, M. E. Dunham ib. 289—300 (a score of inscriptions), Miss I. C. Thallon ib. 301—319 (marble reliefs) with pls. 3—9, Miss L. S. King ib. 320—337 (vases) with pl. 10 and figs. 11, 12, 328—334 (terra cottas) with pl. 11, Miss A. Baldwin ib. 335—337 (coins), S. E. Bassett ib. 338—340 (lamps) with pls. 12—14 and figs. 1—5. The cave consists of an outer and an inner gorge, the former with a series of interesting rock-carvings and cuttings, the latter dimly lit and containing a cold spring of water said to be ἀλβαίνω. The excavators failed to find any prehistoric remains. The evidence pointed to two periods of more or less continuous resort, c. 600—c. 150 B.C. and c. 300—c. 400 A.D. Inscriptions prove that during the earlier period the cave was devoted to the worship of the Nymphs, Pan, Charis, and Apollon Ἑρσός or Ἡρέυς. Lamps etc. show that during the later period it was adapted for Christian usage.

We are concerned only with the shrine of Apollon, which is hewn out of the rock at the spot marked ε on the plan (fig. 174). This shrine was arranged in two levels, each divided into halves by a low partition. The floor of the upper niche has a couple of D-shaped cavities (for libations or votive gifts? Cp. supra i. 140). The lower divisions lack such receptacles, but may have had fitted into them a pair of similarly concave stones. Two little holes on the left of the upper level, with corresponding holes on the right, perhaps imply pillars supporting a roof as a protection against the drip of water, which is here constant. Small fluted columns—two fragments were found—may or may not have been the pillars in question. Legible till lately was the rock-cut inscription
and H. van Herwerden Appendix lexic Graeci suppl. et dialectici Lugduni Batavorum 1904 p. 90 assumes a nominative Ἐρως or Ἑρώς (id. Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum) Lugduni Batavorum 1910 p. 587 gives Ἑρώς (Ἑρώς ?). H. Stuart Jones in the new ed. of Liddell and Scott, Oxford 1924, has Ἑρως...perh. cf. Ἑρως. To the left of the shrine is a crude carving of a stone-cutter, who bears a hammer or pick and a square and is inscribed twice with the name Archedemos (Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 787 Ἀρχέδημος | Ἀρχέδημος). Inscriptions found elsewhere in the cave describe him as Archedemos of Thera (ib. no. 786 Ἀρχέδημος | Ἀρχέδημος), who being possessed by the Nymphs was bidden to adorn their grotto (ib. no. 788 Ἀρχέδημος ὁ θεραῖος ὁ νυμφιόλητος φιλεῖται Νυμφῶς τὸν τὸν ἑγκαθέστατον = Conqy Anth. Pal. Append. 1. 48), planted a garden for them (Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i nos. 784/785 Ἀρχέδημος ὁ θεραῖος καὶ Νύμφας ἐφόρεως = a sixth foot plus a complete hexameter), and constructed a
dancing-ground (ib. nos. 784/785 Ἀρχεδέρνης ἐν Θεσπανικῷ καὶ χορῷ δραζόμενος[1] Νέρφας ἔχειν [ὁπάλος] = a sixth foot plus the first half of a hexameter plus a complete hexameter). The date of Archedemos is uncertain. C. H. Weller places him c. 400 B.C. But his vagaries of dialect, lettering, and metre seem to me to indicate a much later (Hadrianic?) period, when archaisms were in fashion.

In addition to the deities already mentioned there was the seated goddess, whose rock-cut effigy and omphalos are still to be seen at the point marked β on the plan (fig. 174. Cp. the sectional drawing in fig. 178). Her headless torso has been twice portrayed (E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert Atlas von Athen Berlin 1878 p. 30 pl. 8, 1 sketch by F. Adler.
Fig. 177.

Fig. 178.
title of kindred origin preserved by Hesychios⁴ is perhaps Eræios, Zeus 'of the Dew'.

Keos was once so well watered that, like certain others of the Kyklades⁸, it was known as Hydroûssa⁹. Hither came Aristaios, one (= my fig. 178), C. H. Weller in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1903 vii. 267 ff. fig. 4 photo) and is variously interpreted as Isis (R. Chandler Travels in Greece Oxford 1776 p. 150 'Isis, the Egyptian Ceres'; J. C. Hobhouse (Lord Broughton) A Journey through Albania³ London 1813 i. 403 'supposed to represent Isis, the Egyptian Ceres'; E. Dodwell A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece London 1819 i. 553 'probably a statue of Isis') or Demeter (L. Ross Reisen des Königs Otto und der Königinn Amalia in Griechenland Halle 1842 ii. 76 'vielleicht einer Demeter') or Kybele (A. Milchhoefer in the Anth. Mith. 1880 v. 217 'offenbar...Kybele', L. Bloch in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 531. This would agree with the lion's head carved in the rock at ξ on the plan (fig. 174). See also A. Rapp in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1643, 1644) or Rhea (A. Milchhoefer in E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert Karten von Attika Berlin 1889 Text iii. 16 'Rhea?').

On the whole I conclude that the seated divinity is an earth-goddess, very possibly Ge herself, who here as at Delphi (supra ii. 169 ff., 217, 239, 1216, cp. i. 258 pl. xvii) had her omphalos. Further it would appear that deeper in the cavern, just where there was a perpetual drip of water, the Greeks established the cult of Apollo Æros or Íora, the 'Dew'-god. — Apollo, rather than Zeus, in deference to the omphalos. C. Wordsworth Athens and Attica London 1836 p. 198, ib.⁵ London 1855 p. 170, was not very wide of the mark when he wrote: 'Ærus...appears to have been venerated here, as the beneficent power to whose influence—shed like dew (ἐρένη) upon the earth,—all rural produce in its infant state, the tender blade, the opening blossom, and the young firstling, were alike indebted for their preservation and increase.' More succinctly let us say that down here, in the dark womb of mother earth, Apollo Æros with his gentle moisture impregnates Ge for the benefit of mankind. And, if so, then the cave at Vari furnishes a noteworthy parallel to the Eræophoria (supra p. 165 ff.) at the underground descent (of Ge Olympia? supra p. 188) beside the Ilios.

Finally, if—as seems probable—the cave at Vari was the actual spot on M't Hymettos to which the infant Platon was taken by his parents for a sacrifice to the rustic powers (All. vari. hist. 10. 21 ὅτι τὸν Πλάτωνα ἣ Περσίκας ἤθελον ἄγαλλίας θάνατος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρισταρχου ἐν τῇ Πόλει τοῖς Μύσαις ἢ τοῖς Νέμεασι, οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἑρωργίαν ἔστασιν, ἢ δὲ κατέληξεν Πλάτωνα ἐν τῆς πρώτῃ μούραις δασείας οὖν καὶ πυκνᾶς, καθεξῆς ἐνδύματος ἐν τῷ χάλκεις αὐτοῦ καθίσασα βρέθη, τῷ πλατώνα εὐλογητὰς μάταιος ἔμνηθε τόθις, Οἰλίπας. v. Plut. p. 1, 14 ff. Westermann and genninhæta τὸν Πλάτωνα λαβότας οἱ γονεῖς βρέφος ἀπαγόμενον ταύτης τῇ Τιμήτῳ, βουλόμενοι ὅτι αὐτὸν τοῖς ἅγγις ἆρτι καὶ Νέμεας καὶ Ἀτρακώνοι Νομίωθεν δίκτυα, καὶ κειμένου αὐτοῦ μελλόντι προσελθοῦσαν πεπληρωμένοις αὐτοῦ τὸ σώμα κηρίων μελίτοις, ὦν ἀλλήλες περὶ αὐτὸν ἕγεντα τῷ τὲ τὸ ἀπό τῆς γλώσσης μέλαις γλυκικῶν ἕως αὐτὸν' (II. i. 249), it may be that the honey found on the babe's lips was ascribed to the divine dew vouchsafed by the deities of the cavern.

1 Hesych. Ἑραγαῖος Ἴρας Ζεός (cp. supra i. 30, ii. 351 n. Ω. 804 n. Ω). A. Meineke's cj. Ἱεραγάιος is commonly approved and squares with Hesych. Ἱεραγάιος...δρόσῳδην and ἔραςι δρόσῳδην. If this is right, Nonnos had the sanction of cult-usage, when he made Semele dream of herself as a fruit-tree in a garden 'Drenched by the nurturing dews of Kronos' son' (Dion. 7. 146 νυφόμενον Κρονιώνον ἄξιοπολλώαν ἄρασις).


3 Herakl. Pont. frag. 9. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 214 Müller) 'Τήρωνα, Plin. nat. hist. 4. 62 Hydruam, Hesych. s.v. 'Τήρωνα.
of the great culture-heroes of Greece, who learnt the care of sheep and oxen from the Nymphs and of bees from the Brisai. But drought befell the island, for the Etesian Winds failed and plants and animals suffered1. At this point the narrative as told by Herakleides of Pontos, the pupil of Aristotle2, breaks off abruptly. It is continued by Apollonios of Rhodes3. Aristaios by his wisdom averted disaster. Gathering together the Parrhasian folk of Lykaon's lineage (presumably Arcadian settlers in Keos4), he made a great altar for Zeus *Ikmaios*, Lord 'of the Damp', and sacrificed on the mountains both to the star Seirios and to Zeus son of Kronos. Thereupon Zeus sent the Etesian Winds to blow for forty days and cool the earth. Hence the Cean custom that priests offer burnt-

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1 Herakl. Pont. loc. cit.
2 Aristot. frag. 511 Rose.

4 A. Pridik De Cei insulae rebus Dorpati Livonorum 1892 pp. 19—21 would discredit this notion of an Arcadian settlement in Keos ('Quod veteres scriptores Aristaeum aut cum Parrhasii ex Arcadia venisse aut postea in Arcadiam se contulisse narrant, collectorum nimirum ex Aristaei Jovisque cultu et Cei et Arcadius communi'). F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 853 is less sceptical ('Indessen hat eine Wanderung von Arkadern nach Keos an sich nichts Unwahrscheinliches; auch an der ioniischen Wanderung nahmen nach Herodot. I 146' Ἀρακάδες Πελαγοι τιλ').

5 Schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 512 Ἰκμαίοι δὲ Διὸς λεγέρε ἐστὶν ἐν Κέα, τουτεστάτο Διάγοιρον, ἐνεκερ τῆς ἱεράς καὶ τῆς πνοῆς τῶν ἀνέμων. So cod. Par. The vulgate has Διὸς Ἰκμαίοιο, ἐνεκα τῆς ἱεράς, ἐν τῇ Κέα (eic) δὲ ἐστὶν λεγέρε Διὸς Ἰκμαίοιο, τουτεστάτο Διάγοιρον, ἐνεκα αὐτοῦ γέφυρα τῆς πνοῆς τῶν ἀνέμων. K. Manthos thought he could locate the temple of Zeus *Ikmaios* at a place called μυκρά 'Ελληνικα, near 'Ελληνικα between Ioliss and Karthaia. There were remains of Cyclopean walls, which had been used as a quarry for building two neighbouring churches, one being that of the Tuxiariali (Inscr. Gr. ins. v. i no. 543).
sacrifice before the rising of the dog-star. The poet's allusion to Arkadia and Lykaon suggests that the altar of Zeus *Ikmaitos* resembled that of Zeus *Lykaios* on the summit of Mount Lykaion. We do not, however, hear that in Keos, as in Arkadia and Elis, a starving populace, when famine stared them in the face, resorted to the desperate expedient of human sacrifice. Milder methods had come into vogue. The priest of Zeus *Lykaios* made rain-magic with an oak-branch. And Aristaios, after sacrificing a bull, poured a libation of honey on the altar of Zeus *Ikmaitos*—a libation thoroughly appropriate to the god that sent refreshing dew.

Aristaios, then, was famous as a culture-hero. But admittedly he was more than that. As early as 474 B.C. Pindar identifies him with Zeus *Aristatios* or with Apollon *Agreus* and *Nómios*—high gods of field and fold. Cheiron, foretelling to Apollon the destiny of Kyrene's son, says that Hermes shall receive him from his mother and bring him to the fair-throned Horai and to Gaia:

And they shall set the babe upon their knees,  
And nectar and ambrosia take, and these  
Upon his lips let fall,  
So make him once for all  
A power that shall endure—  
Zeus and Apollon pure,  
A present help to men upon their way,  
Of flocks a guardian sure,  
*Agreus* and *Nómios* named of some to-day,  
Of others *Aristatios*, as they pray.

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1 Supra i. 81 ff.  
2 Supra i. 70 ff., 654.  
3 Infra § 9 (g) Molpis.  
4 Supra i. 76, 87, infra § 9 (a) III.  
5 Nomn. Dion. 5. 269 ff. καὶ πηλὴ στεμάννα κατέβατον ἀστέρα Μάρθης, | καὶ Δίς Ἰκμαίοις θυάτερα βοῶν ἀνάφασεν | ἀμμακτομεν δεῖθρον ἐπεκείνα το θεῷ | τοιάδα ἱερά κυστίλη κεκλεισεν:  
6 Ζεύς δὲ παθὴ θανου̂ς καὶ ὁδόν τις γεραιοὶ | τίμησιν ἀλεξικάκων ἀνέμων ἀντίκτοιν θυρήν.  
7 Infra § 9 (a) III.  
8 Hesych. l.c. Ικμαίοις ὁ ἄνδρος ἄρη, ὑγρασία. In Paus. i. 32. 7 L. C. Valckenaer  
10 Pind. Πυθ. 9. 112 ff. (quoted supra i. 572 n. 8).
Zeus Aristaïos Íknios

Pindar appears to be weaving together a warp and a woof of diverse origin. The one tradition, which we may call Boeotian since it was found in Hesiod, equated Aristaios with the pastoral Apollon. The other, which is rather Arcadian, identified him with Zeus. This is the version accepted by Kallimachus when, wishing to ascribe a noble pedigree to Akontios of Keos, he makes him descended 'from the priests of Zeus Aristaïos Íknios'. Later writers repeat, with less precision, this twofold claim to divinity. We are left wondering whether Aristaios was a god who had faded into a hero, or a mortal who had put on immortality.

And here we must take into account an attractive hypothesis advanced by L. R. Farnell, who observes that Aristaios means 'sprung from Ariste', and that Ariste was an appellative of Artemis: 'His

1 Hes. frag. 98 Flach, 139 Rass. op. Serv. in Verg. georg. 1. 14 Aristaecum invocat, id est Apollinis et Cyrenes filium, quem Hesiodus dicit Apollinem pastorem.

2 Interp. Serv. in Verg. georg. 1. 14 huic opinioni (sc. that Aristaios went from Thbes to Keos and thence to Sardinia) Pindarus refragatur, qui eum ait de Cæsa in Arcadiam migrasse ibique vitam coluisse: nam apud Arcadas pro Iove collitur, quod primus ostenderit qualiter apes debeant reparari, ut ait poetae de hoc ipso Aristaeo 'tempus et Arcadii memorandia inventa magistri' | pandere' (Verg. georg. 4. 283 f.).

3 Kallim. aitia 3. 1. 32 ff. Mairi χοροδείησιν σο' γ' ἄνωθεν η' πνεύμα, αὐτήρ ο' Κεότι | γαμ- 


Corop. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2364, 2 (Karthiaia) τῷ Αρισταϊοῦ(ι) Ἀρισταιοῦ was a misreading amended ib. p. 1071 = Inscr. Gr. ii. i. i no. 545, 2 τῶν Ἀττικῶν δεκατ. 1. 5. 2

Farnell Gl. Hero Cults p. 49 ff.

6 Paus. 1. 29. 2 κατοίκις ἦς ἄνωθεν ἄρτεικι ἔτερον ἀρτείκι καὶ θεοῦ ἅρπαγε καὶ Καλλαπτην' ὅς ἐν τοῖς δικαίως διὶ καὶ ἀμφικρατεῖ τὰ τῇ τῷ Ἀργάλοις (so A. Hecker for απαρθόν codd., cp. Paus. 8. 35. 8), τῇ ἀρτείδειν ἐναὶ ἐπικαλεῖται πόρτας, λεγόμενος δέ καὶ ἄλλον ἐκ τούτων λόγον εἴθος ὑπερπέθημι. Perhaps we catch an echo of the other version in Hesych. s.v. Καλλαπτην... καὶ ἦ ἐν τῇ Κεραμεικῇ ἰδρυμένη Ἐκατη... ὕπεν Ἀρτείμεν Νάμνοις.
name implies a powerful goddess and her son. Are we transported back once again to the domain of Cretan religion, with its great goddess and youthful companion-god? 1 Artemis certainly bulked big in Keos. She had a sanctuary at Ioulis, as we gather not only from the myth of Ktesylla 2 but also from extant inscriptions 2. Her head appears on bronze coins of the town struck in s. iii B.C. 3 And her name at least is perpetuated by that of Saint Artemidos, the Cean protector of ailing children 4. If, then, we may assume that in Keos, as at Athens, Artemis was Ariste, it is possible to plead that Aristaios was a theophoric name 5 attached to her pàredros 6—possible, but precarious.

On the whole, I am disposed to see in Aristaios another example of those early kings of Greece (Agamemnon, Amphiarao, Trophonios, Asklepios, etc.), who bore the title of the sky-god because they were regarded as his human embodiment 7. Hyginus—was it only a lucky

1 Ant. Lib. i (after Nikandros ἐγγεγομένος book 3) Hermochares of Athens saw Ktesylla, daughter to Alkidamas of Ioulis, as she danced round the altar of Apollo at Karthaia on the occasion of the Pythian festival. Falling in love with her, he inscribed an apple and let it drop in the precinct of Artemis. Ktesylla picked it up and read thereon a vow to marry Hermochares of Athens. Thereupon, moved by modesty and anger, she flung the apple away. When Hermochares pressed his suit, Ktesylla's father consented and, laying hold of the bay-tree, swore by Apollo to that effect. But after the Pythia Alkidamas forgot his oath and gave her daughter to another. The wedding was at hand, and the girl was already offering her sacrifice in the precinct of Artemis, when Hermochares indignant at losing his bride burst in. Ktesylla was smitten with love for him and, helped by her nurse, eloped with him by night to Athens, and there married him. Fate ordained, however, that she should die in childbirth, because her father had broken his word. When she was being carried out to burial, a dove flew up from the bier and the body of Ktesylla vanished. Hermochares consulted the oracle about it and was bidden to found at Ioulis a sanctuary of [Aphrodite (sac. J. G. Schneider)] Ktesylla. The Cean still worship her—"the men of Ioulis calling her Aphrodite Ktesylla, the rest Ktesylla Hekadige."


2 Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 787 = Inscr. Gr. ins. v. 1 no. 617 ('Fragmentum deforme lapidis communis, olim in casa G. F. Depastae in regione Δαιαλίων τοῦ Ὀξά inadecificatum') 'Αρτεμίδος ἐπεραῖος in lettering of s. iii B.C.

Corpus inscr. Gr. ii Add. no. 2367 = Lebas—Foucart Péloponéssie no. 1786 = Inscr. Gr. ins. v. 1 no. 618 ('Iulidis in arce') [...]. Ἐπίθεραρος καὶ οἱ παῖδες Ἀρτεμίδος [?].


4 Supra i. 172.

5 Examples of the name as borne by men are collected in W. Pape—G. E. Benseler Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen Braunschweig 1875 i. 128 and in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 859.

6 Supra ii. 294 ff.

Aristaios
guess?—dubs him 'King' of the Ceans. Diodoros, probably drawing
upon Timaios (c. 346—c. 250 B.C.), is aware that he left descendants
in Keos, and states that in Sardinia he begat two sons called
Charmos and Kallikarpas. The well-omened jingling names are
suggestive of a Dioscuric pair. Finally, Aristaios, identified by the
poets with Zeus, appears as a Zeus-like head, bearded and often
laureate, on Hellenistic coins of Keos (figs. 179—182) and of the

1 Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 4 (quoted supra p. 266 n. 3).
2 Supra p. 268 n. 4.
3 Diod. 4. 82.
4 With Χάρμος cp. Pind. Pyth. 9. 64 ἀνάδεικτος Χάρμων φίλας of Aristaios himself.
5 Supra p. 267 f.
6 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 89 pl. 21, 1—5 'Aristaeus?,' Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 203 pl. 43, 14 'Zeus (Aristaios),' Weber Cat. Coins ii. 557 nos. 4632—4634 pl. 168 'Aristaeos,' McClean Cat. Coins ii. 518 pl. 245, 26 f. 'Aristaeos,' Head Hist. num. 2 p. 482 f. 'Aristaeos represented like Zeus.' Kev. KEI or KEIΩN Seirios. I figure two
bronze coins in the Leake collection and two in the McClean collection.
Zeus Áphrios

Cean towns Ioulis (fig. 183), Kartaia (figs. 184, 185) and Koresia (fig. 186).

In this connexion a word must be added on a Thessalian cult about which we are very imperfectly informed. Three out of the four tetrarchies of Thessaly recognised a month Áphrios, which belonged to the second half of the year but cannot as yet be more nearly defined. B. Keil, K. Tümpel, and J. W. Kubitschek held that its name implied the worship of Aphrea, a clipped form of the Thessalian Aphrodite. But N. I. Giannopoulos has done good service by publishing a couple of inscriptions from Pherai, which afford a

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 96 f. pl. 21, 18 'Bearded head,' Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 204 nos. 3–4 'Zeus (Arstiatos),' McLean Cat. Coins ii. 518 pl. 245, 24 'Aristaeos,' Head Hist. num. 2 p. 484 'Aristaeos.' Rev. IOYAI Ec or IOYAI Ec. My fig. 183 is from a silver dirachm, now in the British Museum, published by W. Wroth in the Num. Chron. Third Series 1891 xi. 129 no. 75 'Aristaeus,' which reads IOY and has in the field a dog's head and H.

2 W. M. Leake Numismata Hellenica London 1856 Insular Greece p. 6 'Jupiter,' McLean Cat. Coins ii. 516 no. 738 (my fig. 184), Head Hist. num. 2 p. 483 'Aristaeos.' Rev. KAPPO Seirios.

McLean Cat. Coins ii. 517 pl. 245, 17 (my fig. 185) a 'Bearded head,' Rev. Grape-bunch.


Agričai on autonomous and imperial bronze coins of Korykya have a more distinctive type—a bearded god clad in a long chiton and holding a cornu copiae (e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc. p. 151 pl. 75, 7 f., p. 159 ff. pl. 26, 4, 6, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 21 pl. 32, 4 and p. 32 no. 57, McLean Cat. Coins ii. 262 pl. 191, 9 and 11, Head Hist. num. 2 p. 328). Obo. Zeus Kitiios (supra ii. 906 n. 3 fig. 823) or Head of emperor. I figure a specimen in my collection.

4 Hestiaiotis: Aigion (Inscr. Gr. sept. ii no. 313, 1 μηνόν 'Αφροίαν); Chryseia (ib. no. 349 δ, 4 Α(φροῖος). Pelasgiotis: Azoros (ib. no. 1925 a, 5 μηνόν 'Αφροίαν), Gomnus (ib. no. 1047, 13 f. 'Αφροίαν), Larissa (ib. nos. 543, 9 μηνόν 'Αφροίαν), Lára (ib. no. 544, 2 f. τοῦ δικαίου ἐξαίφνον, 11 Α(φροίαν, 546, 16 μηνόν) Α(φροίαν, 547, 7 μηνόν) Α(φροίαν, 556, 13 f. μηνόν Αφροίαν, 568, 4 μηνόν Α(φροίαν). 9(μηνόν) Α(φροίαν) lectio incerta': p. 330 'Αφροίαν λογίτας Ρεισχά' and 'Αφροίανιοι nihil est; 8(ν) Αφροίαν). Thessaliotis: Pharsalos (ib. no. 256 δ, 11 Α(φροίαν)).

5 Ib. no. 544, 2 f., 11 (supra n. 4).
6 B. Keil in Hermes 1885 xx. 550.
7 K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2742 and 2796.
8 J. W. Kubitschek ßib. i. 2744.
9 J. Franz in the Ann. d. Inst. 1842 xiv. 136 ff. no. 1 published a metrical inscription from Gallipoli (Kallipolis) on the Thracian Chersonese, of which a revised transcript was given by J. H. Mordtmann in the Ath. Mitth. 1881 vi. 260 ff. beginning 'Αφρειν ὥθη ἔτος [μένων] λεπίν ἄντων Ἰάρθειν [θρίμνιος κ.τ.λ. Kaibel Epigr. Gr. no. 1034 printed the poem from Franz' copy, but omitted the opening word as an obvious error. Later, in Hermes 1884 xix. 251, he suggested that 'Αφρειν might be a stone-cutter's slip for 'Αφρεῖν in the sense of 'Αφρογεῖαν. Lastly B. Keil ib. 1885 xx. 560 supported Kaibel's suggestion by noting the month 'Αφρεῖν, which according to him implied a Thessalian 'Αφροία to match the Thracian 'Αφρεῖα.
more likely explanation. Both are engraved on marble stelai topped by a small pediment. The first to be found read ΔΙΑΦΡΙΟΥ, which Giannopoulos\(^1\) shrewdly interpreted as a dedication (in dialect\(^2\)) 'to Zeus Áphrios.' Various scholars shook sapient heads over this new-fangled epithet\(^3\). But all doubts as to its authenticity were dissipated when Giannopoulos produced a second inscription from the same town, containing the god's name in full—ΔΙΑΦΡΙΟΥ, 'to Zeus Áphrios.'\(^4\).

It remains to determine the sense of Áphrios, and that is no easy task. Indeed, we are reduced to pure conjecture. I should assume derivation from the Greek aphrōs, 'foam.' Significance might attach to bubbles on the local spring\(^5\), froth on the river, foam on the sea, and any or all of these things might be attributed to the action of the sky-god. An Indian story tells how Indra—the thunder-god who

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\(^1\) N. I. Giannopoulos in the Δελτίον Φιλαρχιαίων Ερευνησ Ὀθρων 1901/2 p. 47, id. in the Ἑφ. Ἀρχ. 1913 p. 220. Height 0·38\(\text{m}\), width 0·25\(\text{m}\).

\(^2\) For ἀφρός = ωφ in Thessalian see e.g. A. Thumb Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte Heidelberg 1909 p. 242 and in greater detail F. Bechtel Die griechischen Dialekte Berlin 1921 i. 179.


\(^4\) N. I. Giannopoulos in the Ἑφ. Ἀρχ. 1913 p. 219 f. no. 4. Height 0·84\(\text{m}\), width 0·35\(\text{m}\).

\(^5\) At Phēraí this would be the fountain of Hypereia (F. Stühlin Das hellenische Thessalien Stuttgart 1924 p. 107 with fig. 5 chart of Velesintio (Phēraí)), who appears on silver drachms (W. Frechen Collection Photiadis Pacha: Monnaies grecques Paris 1890 p. 14 no. 165 pl. 1 (= my fig. 188), Head Hist. num.\(^2\) p. 307. Obv. Head of the nymph.

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Fig. 188. Hypereia crowned with reeds; behind, lion's head spouting water. \(\text{Rev. ΦΕΡΑΙΟΥΝ}

Hekate, with two torches, on galloping horse; in the field, a wreath containing the name ΑΣΤΟΜΕΔΩΝ and hemi-dracon of s. iv B.C. (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc. p. 48 pl. 15, 15 bad, McClean Cat. Coins ii. 222 pl. 175, 25 worse, F. Imhoof-Blumer in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1908 xi. 65 cp. 75, Head Hist. num.\(^2\) p. 307. Fig. 189 is from a specimen of mine. \(\text{Obv. Head of Hekate, wreathed with myrtle; behind, torch. \(\text{Rev. ΦΕΡΑΙΟΥΝ}\)}\) The nymph Hypereia, in chiton and himation, placing her right hand on a lion-head fountain; in the field, a wreath containing the name ΑΣΤΟ. Cp. M. Leumann 'Ἀστό- für 'Ἀριστο- auf thessalischen Inschriften' in Glotta 1929 xviii. 65 f.)
conquered the demons of drought\(^1\)—swore to the Asura Namuki\(^2\) that he would slay him neither by day nor by night, neither with staff nor with bow, neither with the palm of the hand nor with the fist, neither with the wet nor with the dry. So he killed him in the morning twilight by using as a thunderbolt the foam of water\(^3\).

\(^1\) A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 54.
\(^2\) *Id. ib.* p. 161 f. concludes: *‘The etymology of the name is according to Pāṇini (6, 3, 75) na-muci, ‘not letting go.’ In that case it would mean ‘the demon withholding the waters’*\(^{12}\) (\(^{12}\) Cp. KUHN, KZ. 8, 80). F. Max Müller *Vedic Hymns* Oxford 1891 p. 111 says: ‘na-muk, not delivering rain.’

\(^3\) *The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* trans. J. Eggeling Part v (The Sacred Books of the East xlv) Oxford 1900 p. 222 f. 12. 7. 3. I ff.: 1. By means of the Sūrā-liquor Namuki, the Asura, carried off Indra’s (source of) strength, the essence of food, the Soma-drink. He (Indra) hastened to the Agvins and Sarasvatī, crying, ‘I have sworn to Namuki, saying, ‘I will slay thee neither by day nor by night, neither with staff nor with bow, neither with the palm of my hand nor with the fist, neither with the dry nor with the moist!’ and yet has he taken these things from me: seek ye to bring me back these things!’

2. They spake, ‘Let us have a share therein, and we will bring them back to thee.’—‘These things (shall be) in common to us,’ he said, ‘bring them back, then!’

3. The Agvins and Sarasvatī then poured out foam of water (to serve) as a thunderbolt, saying, ‘It is neither dry nor moist; and, when the night was clearing up, and the sun had not yet risen, Indra, thinking, ‘It is neither by day nor by night,’ therewith struck off the head of Namuki, the Asura.

4. Wherefore it has been said by the Rishi (Rig-veda S. VIII. 14, 13 [cited infra]), ‘With foam of water, Indra, didst thou sever the head of Namuki, when thou didst slay all thine enemies.’ Now, Namuki is evil: having thus, indeed, slain that evil, his hateful enemy, Indra wrested from him his energy, or vital power.

W. H. D. Rouse ‘Baldrur Story’ in *The Folk-Lore Journal* 1889 vii. 61 notes the *Taittirya Brāhmaṇa* i. 7. 1. 7 (*He moulded this foam of the waters; that, you know, is neither dry nor wet. It was dawn, the sun had not risen: that, you know, is neither day nor night. He cut off his head with the foam of the water in this world*).

M. Bloomfield in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1893 xv. 155 ff. collects other allusions: ‘At Rāmāyaṇa iii. 30. 28 (Bomb.; iii. 35. 94 Gorresio) we read: *‘Khara fell down slain... as Vṛtra was slain by the thunderbolt, as Namuci by the foam.*’ At Mahābh. ix. 2436: *‘the lord Viṣṇu, perceiving a fog, cut off his (Namuci’s) head with the foam of the waters.’* Nilakanṭha in his commentary on Mahābh. i. 7306 ff. (Calc.; i. 197. 31 Bom.) says: *‘just as when Namuci was to be slain (Indra’s) thunderbolt entered into the foam of the waters...’* (A variation of this story at Mahābh. v. 318–330 tells how the great Rṣis had promised Vṛtra that they would not slay him with anything dry or wet, with a stone or arrow, with a knife or wood, or with a knife or arrow, neither by day nor by night. This promise was kept until at dawn one day Indra saw ‘foam in the sea similar to a mountain’; this along with his thunderbolt he threw upon Vṛtra; Viṣṇu entered the foam and slew Vṛtra...). Mahābhārata at VS. x. 33 says: *‘the Agvins and Sarasvatī gave to Indra a thunderbolt in the form of water-foam. With that Indra cut the head of Namuci.*’ And at xii. 71: *‘with the foam of water did you take off the head of the Asura Namuci.*’ Sāyaṇa at RV. viii. 14, 13: *‘Indra... cut off his head at the junction of day and night, with foam, which is different from dry and wet. This purport is set forth in this verse: O Indra, with the foam of the waters, turned into a bolt, did you take off the head of the Asura Namuci.*’ The Brāhmaṇas are more explicit. At MS. iv. 3. 4 we have: *‘having spread a fog at sunrise, he cut off his head with the foam of the waters...*’ The Pañc. Br. xii. 6. 8 has: *‘he cut off his head at dawn before the sun had risen with the foam of the waters. For at dawn before the sun has risen; that is neither night nor day; and foam of the waters: that is neither wet nor dry.*’

C. III.
Sir James Frazer\(^1\), who cites the tale as a parallel to the myth of Balder, adds: ‘The foam of the sea is just such an object as a savage might choose to put his life in, because it occupies that sort of intermediate or nondescript position between earth and sky or sea and sky in which primitive man sees safety. It is therefore not surprising that the foam of the river should be the token of a clan in India\(^2\).’

The Greeks apparently looked upon foam as one manifestation of the sky-god’s seed, and thus in a manner akin to dew or rain. Nonnos\(^3\) states that Hephaistos, when enamoured of Athena,

Shot forth the hot and self-sped foam of love.

The same poet elsewhere\(^4\) tells how a dolphin once carried Aphrodite to Kypros,

What time the gendering dew of Ouranos,
Down-streaming with his manhood’s gore, gave shape
To the foam of childhood and brought forth the Paphian.

The Orphic Rhapsodies\(^5\) used similar language in narrating the birth of Aphrodite from the foam that arose when the seed of Zeus fell into the sea. Both incidents of course involve the naïve derivation of *Aphrodite* from *aphrós*\(^6\). But the idea of seminal foam is as

Bloomfield \(ib.\) further contends that this legend of Indra and Namuki gave rise to a class of magical practices in which demons were routed by means of river-foam, called ‘river-lead,’ or some surrogate such as lead, iron-filings, and even the head of a lizard. See e.g. *Hymns of the Athsara-veda* trans. M. Bloomfield (The Sacred Books of the East xliii) Oxford 1897 p. 65 ff. l. 16. 1—4 with p. 256, *The Satapatha-Brähmana* trans. J. Eggeling Part iii (The Sacred Books of the East xlii) Oxford 1894 p. 92 s. 4. 1. 9 ff.

\(^1\) Frazer *Golden Bough*: Balder the Beautiful ii. 250 ff.

\(^2\) E. T. Dalton ‘The Kols of Chota-Nagpore’ in Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London 1868 New Series vi. 36—again cited by Frazer *Totemism and Exogamy* i. 24 (‘the foam of the river is an Oraon totem and not to be eaten by the clansmen’), ii. 250 (‘The Amuliar will not eat the foam of the river’).

\(^3\) Nonn. *Dion. 13. 179* θερμῷ λίμνην ἄργυρον ἀνάβανεν ἄρθρῳ Ἐρυθρῷ.

\(^4\) *Id. ib. 13. 439* οὖ νυνία γὰρ γνώσεσα κατάφη κατάφη κλαρεί νότοιροι ἄμφοτεροι λιθών ἄρθρον ἄφρον ἀλοιφή | καὶ Παθίου δόξε, κ.τ.λ.


\(^6\) Modern adherents of this time-honoured view include the following:


\((2)\) L. v. Schroeder *Griechische Götter und Heroen* Berlin 1887 i. 7 f. assumes an Indo-European *abhraditt* or *abhraditi* from Sanskrit abhr ‘cloud’ (āphó) + the root
Zeus Αφριός

d1 'to hasten' (ἀλω, ἀλεθω, etc.) "im Gewölks sich bewegen, im Gewölks dahineilend oder fliegen."


(4) Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1348 n. 2 suggests 'Ἀφρο-δήρις from ἄφρις + δήρις (ἀλω, ἀλεθω) 'wetted with foam,' cp. Anacreont. ἡδη 30 ff., Bergh 4 χαρτοῖς 3 τέκνα τῆς θαλάσσης | δεσποινής Κυθήρης | έλάχιστον πάντων ἄφρις, Himer. or. i. 30 τὸ ἀλκάτερ ἄφρις μετὰ τῆς θάλασσας ἐκ ἀκρων πλακῶν αὐθώνας.

Others treat the name as non-Greek (e.g. A. Fick Die Griechischen Personenamen Göttlingen 1894 p. 439 'Der Name Ἀφριός ist wohl kaum griechisch et al.) and advocate a variety of Semitic etymologies (listed by K. Tümpel in the Jahrb. f. class. Philol. Suppl. 1886 xi. 688 f. and Gruppe op. cit. p. 1348 n. 3). A couple will serve as examples, or at least as warnings:


(2) F. Hommel 'Aphrodite-Astarte' in the Jahrb. f. class. Philol. 1882 xxviii. 176 contends that Αφριός is a direct loan-word from the Phoenician form Aṣšūrēštē: 'das ist dieses wortes (wie auch seiner nachsemitischen nichtsemitischen urform Ishtar) wurde dem folgenden f in der aussprache möglichst angenehmen, so dass dieselbe eher Aṣšūrēštē als Aṣšūrēštē lautete; das wird unwiderleglich bewiesen durch die form Aṣšūrēštē bei den Südarabern, welche...die Astarte von Babyloniern entlehnten. auf diese aussprache des Ἀσσūrēštē wie engl. ist nun gründet sich meine identification: bekannt ist, dass in etymologisch verwandten, um so mehr aber in lehnworten, ursprünglichen θ (sprich wie engl. the) durch f, in alter zeit wohl auch ph (griech. φ) ersetzte wurde ("wer mir entgeget dass φ in ältester zeit noch nicht den laut f gehabt habe, den verweise ich darauf, dass aus Aṣšūrēštē—die Griechen hatten ja überhaupt kein f—schon des anklangs an ἄφρις halber ganz ungezwungen Aφριός werden konnte, ja muste. für fremdes f war der nachstliegende griechische laut eben nur φ); vgl. nur russisch Fedor aus griechisch Φήδωρος. die Griechen hörten nun Aṣšūrēštē wie Aφριός, was mit einer bei lehnworten so überaus häufigen metathesis umgestellt wurde zu Aφριός—Aφριός, 'id. Aufsätze und Abhandlungen arabisch-semitischem Inhalts München 1892 i. 34 n. 1. 'Auch die Griechen hörten ja Ashtoreth (vgl. Ishtaritius neben Isthar und zur Länge Namtar aus Namtar) als Aṣšūrēštē, das sie (vgl. russ. Marfa aus Martha) Aṣ Ashton und weiter Aphrote (Ἀφριός) draus machten.' Id. Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orte München 1916 p. 3040 adherses to his view 'Aφριός aus Ashtoreth (Astarct, Mittelform Afrotet)' and cites in support H. Grümme in Glotta 1925 xiv. 18 with n. 1. See also Schrader Reallex. 3. 168, who cp. as a doubtful parallel γῆρα = a Semitic gēthān.

18-2
Zeus Aphrios

old as Hesiod, reappears in fifth-century science, and quite conceivably accounts for the existence of Aphrios as an apppellative of Zeus.

On the whole, I incline to accept Hommel's hypothesis that 'Aphrodite (F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inschr. iii. 2. 130 ff. no. 4582 A, 27 'Aphrodītēs = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 527 a, 27 'Αφροδίτας in an oath from Deros in eastern Crete, c. 220 B.C., quoted supra i. 729 n. 2) really was a Greek attempt to pronounce Althēthē and at the same time to make sense of a foreign name by assimilating the first part of it to ἀφρός. G. Meyer Griechische Grammatik Leipzig 1896 p. 246 n. 1 summarises the process: 'F. Hommel...nimmt die Entwicklung Althēthē * Althēthē (sūdārāb, Aṭbar) * Aṣṭrēth und daraus mit Metathesis im Anklang an ἀφρός Alphrēthē an.'

See further V. Costanzi 'Zeis Ἀφρας e il nome 'Aphrodite' in the Atti d. r. accad. di sci. di Torino 1913—1914 xliii. 315—321.

1 Hes. theog. 190 ff. (supra ii. 447 n. 8). This and many other literary allusions are collected by L. Stephani in the Compère rendu St. Pâ. 1870—1871 p. 11 ff.

Late chroniclers, by way of providing an eponym for the Africans, personified the Hesiodic ἀφρός and put together the following pedigree:

Kronos = Philyra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aphros = Astynomē</th>
<th>Cheiron</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
forefather of the Aphiroi | Aphrodite |

So Sex. Iulius Africanus (c. 200 A.D.) ap. Kedren. hist. comp. 15 D (i. 28 Bekker), Io. Antioch. (i.e. Malalas, s. vi) frag. 4. 4 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 542 Müller), cp. the Chronicle Paschale (early in s. vii) 36 D—37 A (i. 66 Dindorf) which speaks of ὁ Ἀφρασος, ὅσις ἐγένετο τὴν Ἀστυνομὴν ἐκ τῆς Λακερίας νήσου (K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2756). On this whole genealogy see supra ii. 693 n. 4. 2

Diogenes of Apollonin frag. 6 Diels ap. Aristot. hist. an. 3. 2. 512 b 8 ff. ἀνάμει (sc. αἱ φλέξει) σπειρατίδες καλοῦσιν, τὸ δ' αἷμα τὸ μὲν παχύτατον ἐπὶ τῶν σαρκωδῶν ἐκτένεια: ὑπερβάλλων δὴ ἐπὶ ποὺ ἵππου λεπτόν καὶ θερμάν καὶ ἄφρωδες γρηγεῖται, cp. Clem. Al. ped. 1. 6 p. 119, 2 ff. Stählin tivēs δὲ καὶ τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ ἰχθύον ἀφρόν εἶναι τοῦ αἷματος κατ' ὀσοῦν ὑποπλάσθηται, δὴ τῇ ἐμφύτῃ τοῦ ἀρέσκεις βθήνα πάντα τὰς συμπλοὰς ἐκτραχὺς ἐκερποβόνον ἐξαφροῦσι καὶ ταῖς σπειρατίσιν (L. Dindorf cf. σπειρατίσιν) παραπληθεῖσα φλέγειν ἐνετέθει γὰρ ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτης Διογένης τὰ ἀφροῦσια κεκληθησαί δικαίως. The same it is found in the medical writers, e.g. Galen. περὶ χρείαι τῶν ἐν ἀράθαντον σώματι μορίων 14. 9 (iv. 183 Kühn) ἀνῆρ δὲ τὸ σπέρμα πνευματιδίου ἐστὶ καὶ ωὸν ἀφρόδες, id. p. 191 σπέρματος 1. 5 (iv. 531 Kühn) σοῦ γὰρ (sc. Aristotle) εἰς δὲ καλῶς εἰλαξάς ἀφρόν τὸ σπέρμα, Vindician. frag. Bruxell. de semenie 1 (in M. Wellmann Fragmentationen der griechischen Arzte Berlin 1901 i. 208, 2 ff.) Alexander Amator veri (sc. Φιλαλήθης) appellatus, discipulus Asclepiadis, libro primo De semen spumam sanguinis eius essentiam dixit Diogenis placitis consentiens... 3 (i. p. 210, 8 ff.) Diogenes autem Apolloniates essentiam < seminis > similiter spumam sanguinis dixit libris physis: etenim spiratione adductus spiritus sanguinem suspendit, cuius alia pars carne bibitur, alia superans in seminales cadit viae et semen facit, quod < non > est alius quam spuma sanguinis spiritu collisi. It occurs also in theological and exegetical authors such as Cornut. theol. 24 p. 45. 3 ff. Lang 'Ἀφρόδιτη δὲ ἐστιν ἡ συγγίαζον τὸ ἄριον καὶ τὸ θῆλυ δύσιμος, τάχα διὰ τὸ ἀφρόδη τὰ σπέρματα τῶν ἰχθυῶν εἰσὶν ταύτῃ ἐκχυνών τὴν άνθρωπον, schol. Eur. Tro. 990 τὴν Ἀφρόδιτην ἐτυμολογούσιν οὐ μὴν παρὰ τὸν ἄφρον τὸν ἐν τῇ άνωμολίᾳ, οἰ δὲ κ.τ.λ., Isid. orig. 8. 11. 77 quod autem Saturnum fingunt Coelo patri genitalia ascidiscidi et sanguinem fluxisse in mare, atque ex spuma maris concreta Venus nata est, illud aiunt quod per coitum salis humoris substantia est, et inde 'Ἀφρόδιτη Venerem dici, quod coitus spuma est sanguinis quae ex succo visceraum liquido salisco constat.
Zeus Thaúlios

That, however, is guesswork, and other guesses are almost equally permissible. For instance, philologists have shown that aphrós is related both to ὀμβρός, 'rain,' and to ἁνέφος, nephéλε, 'cloud.' We might, therefore, without deserting the Greek area, conjecture that Zeus Ἀφρίως was originally a Thessalian rain-god or cloud-god. Further evidence is much to be desired.

(d) Zeus Thaúlios.

Some twenty minutes west of Pherai (Velesinto), on the right bank of a small torrent known as Michali-Revma, A. S. Arvanitopoulos located a large and important cult-centre. Since 1919 he has been at work, helped latterly by Y. Béquignon and P. Collart of the French School, uncovering the area and determining its history. No fewer than six successive epochs are involved. The site was already occupied in neolithic times—witness numerous sherds and a marble idol. Then came a 'Mycenaean' sanctuary, evidenced

The widespread beliefs attaching to 'cuckoo-spit' are not unworthy of attention. The name is popularly given to a mass of froth concealing the larvæ of certain insects. One of the main genera of the cecropidae or frog-hoppers is labelled aphrophora, and one of its species is aphrophora spumaria (R. Lydekker The Royal Natural History London 1896 vi. 195 f. with figs.). J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 682 says: 'The froth on willows, caused by the cicada spumaria, we call kuukuus-speichel, Swiss guggerspex, Eng. cuckoo-spit, -spittle, Dan. giøgestyp, but in some cases witch's spittle, Norweg. trolld-kåtringspyn.' E. H. Meyer Germanische Mythologie Berlin 1891 p. 111, à propos of the cuckoo as a 'Gewittervogel' notes: 'Sein Speichel verkündet Regen und hilft gegen Ausschlag' (after K. Bartsch Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Meklenburg Wien 1880 ii. 175). P. Sédillot Le Folk-Lore de France Paris 1906 iii. 303 'd'après un vieil auteur, les cicades et grillons naissaient du crachat et essuie de l'oiseau appelé cocu ou coucou' (after E. Rolland Faune populaire de la France Paris 1879 ii. (Les oiseaux sauvages) 98, who cites Jean de Luba (leg. Johannes de Cuba) Ortus sanitatis). J. Jonston Thaumatographia Naturalis Amstelodami 1666 p. 351 'Cicadas ex cuculorum sputo nasci scripsit Isidore' is alluding to Isid. orig. 12. 8. 10 cicadæ ex cuculorum nascuntur sputo. See further C. Swainson The Folk-Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds London 1886 p. 122, who states inter alia that 'In Devonshire, boys take the insects in the spittle for cuckoos in their early stage.'


2 Was Zeus here as elsewhere (supra ii. 894 n. 3) superseded by St Michael?


by terra-cotta figures and vase-fragments. Next, a necropolis of the 'geometric' period. Over a score of graves, rectangular in shape, built of and covered with large stone slabs\(^1\), were but poorly furnished; they contained a few vases, small bronzes, and iron weapons. The cist-graves had, however, been left undisturbed by later builders. Immediately above them was placed the Hellenic temple, or rather a sequence of three Hellenic temples. The first, which appears to have been constructed, in part at least, of timber\(^2\), dated from s. vii B.C., to judge from the fragment of an early Doric capital. To it belonged a mass of votive offerings in bronze, silver, gold, ivory, and other materials\(^3\). These had been deposited in two bóthroi or favissae, one about 11.50\(^{th}\) to the south, the other to the west of the temple: the contents of the latter were thrown in with the earth as filling for a retaining-wall of the next temple. The offerings included many bronze animals (horses, cocks, geese, etc.), a bronze handle in the form of a griffin’s head, the bronze statuette of a warrior\(^4\); gold and silver ornaments of ‘orientalising’ date; an Egyptian head of good style, scarabs with bogus hieroglyphs; terra-cotta figurines of kóras seated or standing, some being fragments of almost life-sized figures, sundry types of kotóri, statuettes of sick or deformed persons, several ex-voto effigies of hands and feet; carved ivory seals and couchant beasts recalling those from Sparta\(^5\). The second temple, built c. 550—500 B.C. and burnt c. 400 B.C., is represented by many architectural remains found underneath the south-east corner of its successor. Here were four Doric columns in póros with fragments of archaic Doric capitals and frieze-blocks in the same material, showing traces of painted stucco—all used as foundations of the latest edifice\(^6\). Within the temple was the base of a bronze statue, inscribed in lettering of 450—400 B.C. ‘[? Strongylij]on made me\(^7\).’ Parts of a female statue in marble were also found, half life-sized and of good fifth-century work\(^8\). The third temple was erected in the first quarter of s. iv B.C.

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A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture Cambridge 1929 p. 65 n. 3.
7 A. M. Woodward in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1926 xlvii. 247 n. 26 [— -]or μ’
8 id. ib. p. 247.
and in its turn destroyed by fire c. 200 B.C. It was approximately 26.50 m long by 16.82 m broad. On the east side the stylobate is preserved, with the two lower steps of white local marble. The building itself was a hexastyle peripteral temple of the Doric order. Its columns, of póros coated with stucco, carried an entablature of which portions have come to light. Among them may be noted a marble metope with the relief of a lion killing a bull; also various fragments of the cornice with carved and painted decoration. To the east of the temple are the foundations of six structures differing in date: one at least of these seems to have been a naîskos, the rest bases or altars of rectangular plan, built of póros in massive blocks. The finds comprise many pedestals and fragments of statues, bronze phialai for libation, and broken vases ranging as late as s. iii or s. ii B.C. Of greater moment are the inscriptions. There are ten bronze plaques preserving the terms of twenty-five laws or proxeny-decrees. There is the fragment of a decree in the Thessalian dialect. And there are other records of interest. For instance, five large and five small pieces of inscribed stelai, which include a fresh dedication to the Thessalian goddess Enhodia. Finally, in post-classical times the temple-area was used as a Christian cemetery.

It would seem, then, that from the neolithic age down to our own era the spot was in some sense holy ground. It is not, however, quite obvious what deity or deities were here worshipped by the Greeks. On the one hand, the prevalence of female terra-cotta figurines in the archaic period points to the possibility that the sanctuary was then devoted to a female divinity. On the other hand, A. S. Arvanitopoulos, on the strength of certain inscriptions actually found at some distance from the temple, believes that it was the cult-centre of Zeus Thaúlios. Perhaps it may be suggested that at Pherai, as at Larissa, the cult of Zeus was associated with that

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3 E.g. a dedication in large letters στάσατο κ.τ.λ., the formula εχεμένα καὶ κατα
6 Supra ii. 1155 n. 4.
of *Enhodia*\(^1\), whose head indeed appears on the coinage of the town (fig. 190)\(^2\). Her ritual—if we can trust a tale told by Polyainos\(^3\)—might require the sacrifice of a choice bull with gilded horns, fillets, and blue gold-spangled draperies.

Zeus *Thaúlios* undoubtedly had a cult at Pherai. A votive stèle of marble, found there by Arvanitopoulos\(^4\), has a small pediment

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\(^1\) A dedication to *Enhodia* at Pherai was published by P. Monceaux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 60 no. 14 (*Vestiste* Ἀλαδιλίκαια | Παραμενέκου | Ἐννονία εὐξαμένη.

\(^2\) A silver drachm struck by Alexander of Pherai (359—357 B.C.) has obv. head of Hekate *Enhodia* to right inscribed ἘΝΝΟΔΙΑΣ, rev. ΑΛΕΞ lion’s head (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly* etc. p. 47 no. 17 (wrongly described) pl. 10, 13, Head *Hist. num.*\(^2\) p. 308). Fig. 190 is from J. Hirsch *Rhodospolos Safe Catalogue* p. 88 no. 1446 pl. 19, on which see K. Regling ‘ΕΝΝΟΔΙΑ in the *Journ. Intern. d’Arch. Num.* 1905 viii. 175 f.

\(^3\) Polyain. 8. 43 τῆς Ἰωνικῆς ἀποικίας ἐς τὴν Ἀσσαὶν ἀφικομένης τὸς Ἐρυθρᾶς κατέχουσιν ἐπολέμει Κριτῶν τοῖς Κεύταρων γένοις. ἦν ἐξ ἐκτροχίων αὐτῷ στρατηγοῦν παρὰ Θεσσαλῶν λαβόντος τὴν ἱερείαν τῆς Ἐννοδίας· δὲ προανεβαίνεται πρὸς Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ μαντεύει τὸ λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. δὲ ἐπιμείχεται αὐτῷ τὴν ἱερείαν τῆς θεοῦ Κριτῶν, αὐτὴν, φαράκιαν ἐπιπείρει οὔσα, ταῖρου ἐκ αὐτός μέγιστον καὶ κυβίστας συλλαβοῦσα, τὰ μὲν κάρτα κατεχόμεθαν καὶ τὸ εἴρημα κατεικόρισε στέμματι καὶ χρυσοκάταστα ἀλουρίον καὶ μετα ἐκ προφήθη ἀναμίζασα μαντοποιοῦν φαράκιαν ἐθάλακτα αὐτῷ φαγείν· τὸ δὲ φαράκιαν αὐτῶν τοῖς ταῖροις ἐξέστησαν καὶ τοῖς γενναμένοις αὐτῶν μαντοτυχείς ἐμελεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὲ πολέμῳ ἀντεστρατοπέδειν, ἢ δὲ ἐν δείξι τῶν πολεμικῶν βοῶν παραδέσατο καὶ διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐκλεύεται προσάγει τοῖς ταῖροις, δὲ δι’ αὐτὸ τοῦ φαράκιος μεμυρίως καὶ οἰστρῶν ἠπετίρησε καὶ μέγαν ἰκνικωμένων ἄργων. οἱ πολέμιοι χρυσοκερωτοὶ κατενεμοῦν ὥραντες καὶ φερόμενον ἐκ τὴν ἱερατόστοδον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦς τῶν ἐναυσίων τοῖς ἀγάθην σημείων καὶ ἀλώσσαμα αἰτούς ἐδέχατο καὶ συλλαβῶντες καλλιεργοῦν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν κρεων ἱερατοὺς φιλοτιμοὺς ἰδανικὸν ὑπὸ δαμασίαν καὶ θείας λεπτομερίας μεταγεγράφεσα. αὐτή δὲ διὰ τὸν ἱερατόστοδον ἐντὸς μανιας καὶ παράφωσιν ἐξέστησαν· πάντες ἄνευς, ἀδέον, ἀνάστηρον, τὰς φυλακὰς ἀπέλευσαν. Χρυσῇ τοῦ πολεμίου ἔκλεψε ἐκ τῶν τοῖς ταῖροις ἐπέλεμεν ὄμων ἄνω οὕτως ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς πόλεως μεγάλης καὶ εἰδαμένοις. It can hardly be doubted that this curious recital has borrowed more than one trait from the Thessalian cult of *Enhodia*.

above, a space left blank for a painted portrait below, and in the middle a Thessalian\(^1\) inscription:

\[
\begin{align*}
\Delta \iota & \quad \text{'To Zeus} \\
\Theta \gamma \nu \iota \upsilon \iota & \quad \text{'Thaúlios.'}
\end{align*}
\]

A second stèle from Pherai, published by N. I. Giannopoulos (fig. 191)\(^2\), bears a relief representing a stèle with pediment, akrotéria, and central disk\(^3\), beneath which is the fragmentary inscription:

\[
\begin{align*}
\Delta \iota \iota \omega \alpha \gamma \nu \iota [\omega y] & \quad \text{'To Zeus Thaúli[os].'}
\end{align*}
\]

Yet another dedication to the same god has recently been found at Pherai, but is still unpublished\(^4\).

**Zeus Thaúlios** was worshipped also at Pharsalos\(^5\). Above the springs of the Apidanos, in a quarter called Tampachana, rises a fair-sized hill commanding a wide prospect\(^6\). Remains of isodomous masonry suggest that the place was fortified in ancient times\(^7\). The

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1. *Supra* p. 272 n. 4.
2. N. I. Giannopoulos in the *Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1913* p. 218 fig. 3 (= my fig. 191) Pherai no. 1 Δι Θαυλι[ου]. Height 0.37 m., breadth 0.21 m.
3. *Supra* i. 293 ff.
5. A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the *Ηπατ. Ἀρχ. έτ. 1907* pp. 151—153 ("Ἅρων Διός Θαυλίου").
6. F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1914 p. 138 fig. 9 gives a small plan.
7. *Ibid.* i. 190 p. 136 reports that he found on this hill ('auf dem Hügel der Fatihmoschee an der Apidanosquelle') prehistoric sherds and one of geometric date. He conjectures that it was the site of Phthia, the town of the Myrmidones.
rocky surface of the hill-top has been so worked as to leave outstanding sundry breast-shaped knobs, meant presumably to fit into corresponding hollows on the under side of votive bases. One such patch of tooled rock at the north-eastern edge of the summit exhibits a carefully incised dedication

\[ \Delta \Theta \Upsilon \Lambda \Omega \]  ‘To Zeus Thaülios’

by certain ‘kinsfolk of Parmeniskos’. The hill (fig. 192) is crowned by an old Turkish mosque, founded—so it is said—centuries ago on the site of an older church. The minaret fell and could not be set up again till a cross was fixed on its highest point. So here the Turks must needs reverence the cross! This mosque is built of ancient materials: many statue-bases, architectural blocks, and a very early Doric capital of *πόρος are still to be seen in its walls. A trial excavation west of the mosque proved unproductive. But the inhabitants aver that here inscriptions and marble statuettes and numerous coins have come to light. Again, in the quarter of Pharsalos known as *Koloklompos* N. I. Giannopoulos found an altar inscribed in lettering which dates from the latter part of s. iv B.C.:

\[ \Delta \Theta \Upsilon \Lambda \Omega \]  ‘Of Zeus Thaülios.’

The appellative has been traced further afield. Hesychios gives *Thaümos* (?) or *Thaülos* as a title of the Macedonian Ares, and *Thaúlia* as the name of a festival held by Kteatos and the Dorians. Lastly, the clan *Thaulonidae* at Athens had an eponymous ancestor *Thaulon*, who figures in a myth relating to the cult of Zeus Polies. It looks as though *Thaülos, Thaülia, Thaulon* had been in early days a divine epithet used by more than one Greek community.

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2. See the view in the *Praet. arch. et*. 1910 p. 177 fig. 1 (= my fig. 192).
7. Hesych. Θαύλη (so Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 257 a for Θαύλια cod.): ἑχθή [Ταπανίων (referred to the preceding gloss by J. V. Peiper)] ἀκεθήσον ὑπὸ Κτεάτου (I. Voss cf. ἐπὶ ἐκτητοῦ): παρ’ ὑ αὐτὴν ἔκθεσιν <φασι (ins. T. Hemsterhuyς) > λέγειν τοῖς Δωρείοις. Even thus emended, the gloss remains obscure. The allusion to Kteatos (?) the son of Molione (supra ii. 1018 n. 8)) is not found elsewhere, and perhaps postulates ἀκεθῆσαι.
8. *Supra* § 9 (h) ii (8).
With regard to its original meaning nothing is known. Conjectures have been advanced by W. Tomaszek, F. Hiller von Gaertringen, F. Bechtel, and F. Solmsen. But none of these is convincing. I venture therefore to add to their number the suggestion that Thaulios denotes 'god of the Dew,' being in fact a word akin to the German Tau, the Dutch dauw, and the English dew.

2 F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Hermes 1911 xxvi. 150 considers the possibility of connexion with θάλλω, θάλλος, θαλόσια, but rightly observes that the av of θαλόσια, θαλόσιν is quite incompatible with the a:ā of τῆθαλάκα: θαλόσιν.
3 Id. ib. cites a suggestion of F. Bechtel: 'Nur als einen Einfall will es Bechtel gelten lassen, dass θαλόσια den Töter bedeute: θαυ, zu kombiniren mit germanischem dau im gotischen daufus, abh. dō, nhd. dott. Dann würde θαλόσια dasselbe wie bουφόρος, θαλόσια=bουφόρος sein, und Zeus θαλόσιος der Gott, dem die θαλόσια gelten. Sachlich dürfte hiergegen nichts einzuwenden sein; das Verschwinden des Wortstammes im täglichen Sprachgebrauche der Griechen wäre ein Beweis für das hohe Alter der religiösen Sitte und Vorstellung.'
4 F. Solmsen 'Zeus Thaulios' in Hermes 1911 xxvi. 286—291 criticises Bechtel's view: 'So verfrühlicherisch die Deutung erscheint, so erheben sich doch gegen sie lautliche Bedenken von gotischer Seite her. Neben dauōs "tot" dauōs "Tod" nämlich steht hier diaωns "sterblich." Dessen -av- geht auf -ey- zurück, also muss...das -av- von dauōs dauōs älteres -av- fortsetzen, und damit lässt sich das -av- von θαλόσια usw. schlechterdings nicht vereinigen.' Solmsen further propounds a conjecture of his own: θαλόσια kann sich Laut für Laut mit -dau- decken, dem zweiten Bestandteil des lydischen, genauer lydisch-phrygischen Namens Κανάδαλας. Über das eigentliche Wesen dieser Figur belehrt uns der bekannte Hipponaxvers 'Ερυμώ κωναγχα [leg. κωνάγχα], Μημοντι Κανάδαλα' (Hipponax frag. 1 Bergk, 4 Diehl, 45 Knox). On this showing θαλόσια would denote 'Throttler,' (Würger), θαλόσια 'the Throttling-festival,' (Würgfest), and θαλόσιος the god served with such rites. Sacrifice effected by, or at least accompanied with, strangulation appears to have been an early institution: Solmsen adduces the bull-dragging for Poseidon Eλευθόρος (II. 20, 403 f. cited supra i. 366 n. 1), the bull-hanging for Athena at Ilium (supra i. 533 fig. 406), the slaughter of a bull for Poseidon at intervals of five and six years alternately, on the top of a pillar made of 'mountain-bronze' (? bronze) and inscribed with the laws, by the natives of Atlantis (Plat. Critias 119 c—8), and the yearly hanging of a young kid for Aspasia Aemilete Hekaerge in the precinct of Artemis at Melite in Phthia (Ant. Lib. 13 after Nikandros Θρησκευόμενα 2). Analogous cases are mentioned by W. Robertson Smith Lectures on the Religion of the Semites London 1927 p. 343 n. 3. But, unfortunately for Solmsen's view, Thaulion is expressly said to have slain his ox with an axe (infra § 9 (h) ii (8)).

If it be objected that the Macedonian Ares Θαλόσια (supra p. 282) can hardly have been a dew-god, we must remember that at Athens an early myth made Ares the husband of Agraulos the dew-sister (Hellanik. frag. 69 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 54 Müller)=frag. 38 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 119 Jacoby) ap. Souli. s.v. "Δρεσίσ πάγος=et. mag. p. 139, 14 Gf. = Bekker anecd. i. 444, 8 ff., cp. Paus. i. 21, 4, Apollod. 3. 14, 2: see K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 650, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 32, 1204 n. 1, Farnell Cults of Gk. States v. 402). It is by no means certain that Ares was ab origine only a war-god, and that Macedonia is the sort of place in which we might expect to find traces of wider functions.

(a) Rain-magic.

i. Rain-magic in modern Greece.

Rain-making by means of magic, with some admixture of prayer, is practised even nowadays in the less frequented parts of Greece. Mr J. C. Lawson¹ tells us that in Thera (Santorini) he found the local rain-maker high busy with her spells:

'I chanced one day upon a very old woman squatting on the extreme edge of the cliff above the great flooded crater which, though too deep for anchorage, serves the main town of the island as harbour—a place more fascinating in its hideousness than any I have seen. Wondering at her dangerous position, I asked her what she was doing; and she replied simply enough that she was making rain. It was two years since any had fallen, and as she had the reputation of being a witch of unusual powers and had procured rain in previous droughts, she had been approached by several of the islanders who were anxious for their vineyards. Moreover she had been prepaid for her work—a fact which spoke most eloquently for the general belief in her; for the Greek is slow enough (as doubtless she knew) to pay for what he has got, and never prepays what he is not sure of getting. True, her profession had its risks, she said; for on one occasion, the only time that her spells had failed, some of her disappointed clients whose money she had not returned tried to burn her house over her one night while she slept. But business was business. Did I want some rain too? To ensure her good will and further conversation, I invested a trifle, and tried to catch the mumbled incantations which followed on my behalf. Of these however beyond a frequent invocation of the Virgin (Παναγία μου) and a few words about water and rain I could catch nothing; but I must acknowledge that her charms were effectual, for before we parted the thunder was already rolling in the distance, and the rain which I had bought spoilt largely the rest of my stay in the island. The incantations being finished, she became more confidential. She would not of course let a stranger know the exact formula which she employed; that would mar its efficacy: she vouchsafed to me however with all humility the information that it was not by her own virtue that she caused the rain, but through knowing “the god above and the god below” (τὸν ἄνω θεόν καὶ τὸν κάτω θεόν). The latter indeed had long since given up watering the land; he had caused shakings of the earth and turned even the sea-water red. The god above also had once rained ashes² when she asked for water, but generally he gave her rain, sometimes even in summer-time.³

The names of Zeus and Poseidon have long since passed into oblivion.⁴ But, in view of this remarkable confession, who shall say that their memory does not in some sense linger yet?

¹ J. C. Lawson Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion Cambridge 1910 p. 49f. Supra ii. 829.
² In the drying-up of the springs and in the rain of ashes Mr Lawson sees an allusion to the great eruptions of 1666, which were graphically described to him by the old crone.⁵ Supra i. 165.
Better known is the rain-magic of northern Greece and the Balkans. In times of prolonged drought a girl is dressed up in flowers and, with a troop of children at her heels, is sent round to all the wells and springs of the district. At every halting-place she is drenched with water by her comrades, who sing this invocation\(^1\):

Perperià, all fresh bedewed,
Freshen all the neighbourhood;
By the woods, on the highway,
As thou goest, to God now pray:
O my God, upon the plain,
Send thou us a still, small rain;
That the fields may fruitful be,
And vines in blossom we may see;
That the grain be full and sound,\(^1\)
And wealthy grow the folks around;
Wheat and barley
Ripen early,
Maize and cotton now take root;
Rye and rice and currant shoot;
Glades be in gardens all;
For the drought may fresh dews fall;
Water, water, by the pail;
Grain in heaps beneath the flail;
Bushels grow from every ear;
Each vine-stem a burden bear.
Out with drought and poverty,
Dew and blessings would we see.

At Shatista in south-west Makedonia the song is alliterative\(^2\):

Perperuna perambulates
And to God prays:
'Ve God, send a rain,
A right royal rain,
That as many (as are the) ears of corn in the fields,
So many stems (may spring) on the vines,' etc.

Similarly on the island of Imbros a girl dressed up with leaves and

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\(^2\) Text and translation in G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 110 ∧Πετρειδα περπατεί | Κύ τού θεο περικαλεί | Σ' ε μου, βροχή μαι βροχή, Μαι βροχή βασιλική, | 'Οσ δασάχω τά χαράφια, | Τόσα κολόσσω τ' αμπέλια.'
flowers goes round the village and at every house is drenched with water, while her comrades sing:\footnote{1}

\begin{quote}
The Walker walks her ways  
And God the Lord she prays.  
God, send the rain  
On us again,  
That strong the corn may grow  
And strong the laddies too.
\end{quote}

The name \textit{Perperiad} has many variations. At Kataphygi it has been corrupted into \textit{Piperia}, ‘Pepper-tree’:\footnote{2}

Piperia, dew-collecting piperia, etc.

In Zagorion, a district of Epeiros, it has become \textit{Papparouda}, ‘Garden-poppy,’ and the chief actor in the ceremony must be largely dressed in poppies\footnote{3}. Other forms used by the Greeks are \textit{Perperina}, \textit{Perperitsa}, \textit{Purperouda}, \textit{Purpirouna}.

In Bulgaria we hear of \textit{Preperuga} or \textit{Peperuga}; in Wallachia, of \textit{Papeluga}\footnote{4} or \textit{Papaluga}\footnote{5}:

\begin{quote}
Papaluga, climb into heaven,  
Open its doors,  
Send down rain from above,  
That well the rye may grow.
\end{quote}

\textit{E. Gerard}\footnote{6} gives the following account of \textit{Papaluga}:

\begin{quote}
‘When the land is suffering from protracted and obstinate droughts, the Roumanian not unfrequently ascribes the evil to the Tziganes [sc. gypsies], who by occult means procure the dry weather in order to favour their own trade of brick-making. In such cases, when the necessary rain has not been produced by soundly beating the guilty Tziganes, the peasants sometimes resort to the \textit{Papaluga}, or Rain-maiden. This is done by stripping a young Tzigan girl quite naked, and dressing her up with garlands of flowers and leaves, which entirely cover her, leaving only the head visible. Thus adorned, the Papaluga is conducted round the village to the sound of music, each person hastening to pour water
\end{quote}

\footnote{1}{Text and translation (by R. M. Dawkins) in M. Hamilton \textit{Greek Saints and their Festivals} Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 130 \textit{Παπαρώδης παρατεθής} | \textit{Καὶ θεὸν παρακάλει} | \textit{Κόρον, θεί,} | \textit{Βρέχε μὴ βροχή}, | \textit{Νὰ ἀδόνος τὰ στόμα,} | \textit{Νὰ ἀδέσποτος τὰ παλικάρια.}}
\footnote{2}{G. F. Abbott \textit{Macedonian Folklore} Cambridge 1903 p. 119.}
\footnote{3}{J. C. Lawson \textit{Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion} Cambridge 1910 p. 24 (after Lamprides \textit{Zagorou} p. 172 ff.).}
\footnote{4}{B. Schmidt \textit{Das Volkseben der Neugriechen} Leipzig 1871 i. 30.}
\footnote{5}{\textit{Ib.}, J. C. Lawson \textit{op. cit.} p. 24.}
\footnote{7}{W. R. S. Ralston \textit{The Songs of the Russian People} London 1872 p. 228.}
\footnote{8}{W. R. S. Ralston \textit{op. cit.} p. 228, W. Mannhardt \textit{op. cit.} i. 329.}
\footnote{9}{W. R. S. Ralston \textit{op. cit.} p. 229.}
\footnote{10}{J. Grimm \textit{op. cit.} ii. 593 n. 9, W. Mannhardt \textit{op. cit.} i. 329.}
\footnote{11}{E. Gerard \textit{The Land beyond the Forest} Edinburgh and London 1888 ii. 13.}
over her as she passes. The part of the Papaluga may also be enacted by Roumanian maidens, when there is no particular reason to suspect the Taiganes of being concerned in the drought. The custom of the Rain-maiden is also to be found in Servia, and I believe in Croatia."

Sir James Frazer\(^1\) notes:

'In Roumania the rain-maker is called Paparuda or Babaruda. She is a gypsy girl, who goes naked except for a short skirt of dwarf elder (Sambucus ebulus) or of corn and vines. Thus scantily attired the girls go in procession from house to house, singing for rain, and are drenched by the people with buckets of water. The ceremony regularly takes place all over Roumania on the third Tuesday after Easter, but it may be repeated at any time of drought during the summer.'

In Dalmatia those who take part in the procession are called Prporushe and their leader Pri'pats\(^2\) or Prpats\(^3\). The origin of the word Perperia has been much discussed. It is often derived from a Slavonic root meaning ‘to flutter’ and taken to denote a ‘butterfly’\(^4\). Butterflies were believed to spring from dew-drops\(^5\), and this would suit the opening words of the rain-song: ‘Perperia, all fresh bedewed,’ etc.\(^6\) But a butterfly, even if we identify it with the soul? has no essential connexion with the present form of rain-magic. More probable by far is Mr J. C. Lawson’s\(^8\) contention that perperia (for periporeia) began by meaning any ‘procession round’ the village, then acquired the special force of ‘procession in time of drought,’

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\(^1\) Frazer Golden Bough\(^8\): The Magic Art i. 273 f. (citing inter alios W. Schmidt Das Jahr und seine Tage in Meinung und Brauch der Roumanien Siebenbürgens Heimannstadt 1866 p. 17).

\(^2\) W. Mannhardt op. cit.\(^2\) i. 330, Frazer op. cit. i. 274.

\(^3\) W. S. Ralston op. cit.\(^2\) p. 328, Frazer op. cit. i. 274.

\(^4\) F. Miklosich Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen Wien 1886 p. 243


\(^6\) Plin. nat. hist. 11. 112, cp. Aristophanes of Byzantion hist. an. epit. 1. 36 p. 8, 10 f. Lambros (cited supra ii. 646 n. 9).

\(^7\) A. Passow Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris Lipsiae 1860 no. 311. 1 f. Περπέρινα δροσολογια [δροσαλεία] τον γεινών.


\(^9\) J. C. Lawson op. cit. p. 24: ‘But the most general, and, as I think, most correct form is περπέρα (οι περπερελα). With the ancient word περπέρα, derived from the Latin perperus and used in the sense of “boasting” or “ostentation,” it can, I feel, have no connexion; and I suggest that it stands for περπερελα, with the same abbreviation as in περπερατο, “walk,” and subsequent assimilation of the first two syllables.’

Etc.
and lastly became the title of the leader in that procession. The Macedonian Perperolina\textsuperscript{1} and the Imbrian Porpatéra\textsuperscript{2} are both expressly said to ‘go their round.’

Another Bulgarian name for the chief performer is Djudjul, corresponding with the Serbian Dodola\textsuperscript{3}. The Serbian usage is as follows. A girl called the Dodola is stripped naked, but so wrapped up in grass, herbs, and flowers that nothing of her can be seen, not even her face. Escorted by other girls, she then passes from house to house. Before each house her comrades form a ring. She stands in the middle and dances alone. Out comes the goodwife and empties a bucket of water over her. But still she keeps dancing and whirling, while her companions sing\textsuperscript{4}:

\begin{quote}
To God doth our Doda call,  
That dewy rain may fall,  
And drench the diggers all,  
The workers great and small,  
Even those in house and stall,  
\textit{oy Dodo oy Dodo le!}
\end{quote}

Sometimes they sing, not a prayer for rain, but a rain-charm of a simple order\textsuperscript{5}:

\begin{quote}
We go through the village,  
The clouds go across the sky;  
We go faster,  
Faster go the clouds;  
They have overtaken us  
And wetted the corn and the vine.
\end{quote}

\textit{Or:}

\begin{quote}
We go through the village,  
The clouds go across the sky;  
From the clouds fell a ring,—  
Our leader seized it.
\end{quote}

At Melenik in Makedonia, where the surrounding rustics speak Bulgarian, the corypheus is saluted as Ntountoulé\textsuperscript{6}:

\begin{quote}
Hail, hail, Dudule,  
(Bring us) both maize and wheat,  
Hail, hail, etc.
\end{quote}

It should be added that, whereas in Serbia and Bulgaria the principal part in this performance is always assigned to a girl, in

\textsuperscript{1} Supra p. 285 n. 2.  
\textsuperscript{2} Supra p. 286 n. 1.  
\textsuperscript{3} W. Mannhardt \textit{op. cit.}\textsuperscript{2} i. 329 f.  
\textsuperscript{4} J. Grimm \textit{Tentum Mythology} trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 593 f.  
\textsuperscript{5} W. R. S. Ralston \textit{op. cit.}\textsuperscript{2} p. 248, W. Mannhardt \textit{op. cit.}\textsuperscript{2} i. 330, Frazer \textit{Golden Bough}\textsuperscript{2}: The Magic Art i. 273.  
\textsuperscript{6} G. F. Abbott \textit{Macedonian Folklore} Cambridge 1903 p. 119.
Makedonia and Dalmatia it is given to a boy or a young unmarried man. The name Dodola is unfortunately of unknown origin.

As to the significance of the rites here noticed, W. Mannhardt held that the leaf-clad girl personifies vegetation, and his lead is followed by Sir J. G. Frazer and Mr J. C. Lawson. W. R. S. Ralston, however, regarded her as representing the earth, and so do B. Schmidt and G. F. Abbott. The two lines of explanation are not widely divergent; indeed, they practically coincide. For in Greek lands the corn-mother seems to have been but a differentiated form of the earth-mother. Accepting Ralston’s interpretation, I think it not improbable that the girl clad in greenery, who is supposed to catch a ring falling from the clouds, really plays the part of the Earth married to the Sky amid a mock shower of fructifying rain. Be that as it may, this at least is clear, that the drenching of the maiden with water is intended as a rain-charm, potent enough according to the principles of imitative magic, and that the company

2 For guesses see J. S. Stallybrass in J. Grimm op. cit. ii. 594 n. 3 (‘Slav. dozhd is rain, and zhzh represents either gd or dd; if this be the root, dodo-la may be a dimin.’), W. R. S. Ralston op. cit. p. 229 (‘The name of Dodola is by some philologists derived from doiti = to give milk. Dodola being looked upon as a bountiful mother, a type of teeming nature. Others connect it with Did-Lado, from the Lithuanian Didis = great, and Lado, the Slavonic Genius of the spring’).

I risk yet another suggestion—Hellenic, not Slavonic. F. Bechtel in the Nachr. d. kön. Gesell. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe 1890 pp. 29–31 and in his recent work Die griechischen Dialekte Berlin 1921 i. 64 has established the fact that the Aeolic name for Demeter was Δωδώνη, with a clipped form Δωδ. first restored by J. G. J. Hermann in h. Dem. 122 for δῶς θεωρή τουτέσσερι of cod. M.). R. Meister Die griechischen Dialekte Göttingen 1883 i. 75 had already cited in this connexion the place-names Δωδώνεις Πεδού and Δωδώνης. O. Hoffmann Die Griechischen Dialekte Göttingen 1893 ii. 374 f. concludes that the North Achaeans in general originally worshipped the goddess under the title Δωδώνη. On this showing Dodona was the town of Δωδώνη, a reduplicated *Δωδ, cp. Sim(m)ias of Rhodes (c. 300 B.C.) ap. Steph. Byz. i.w. Δωδώνη...Σιμιλας ὁ Πάθος: ‘Σιμιλας ἦνοι Κροιδανά μάκαρο υἱὲδέξατο Δωδώνη.’ The same reduplication might, I conceive, account for the Serbian Dodo, Dodola, etc.

3 W. Mannhardt op. cit. i. 331.
4 Frazer Golden Bough: The Magic Art i. 272, 274 f.
5 J. C. Lawson Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion Cambridge 1910 p. 25.
7 B. Schmidt op. cit. i. 31.
8 G. F. Abbott Macedonian Folklore Cambridge 1903 p. 120.
9 Supra i. 396 f.
10 Supra p. 288.
11 Infra § 9 (e) ii.

C. III.
of maidens moving through the village is in like manner what it
definitely claims to be—a cloud-charm.\footnote{1}

Similar in character, but more obviously suggestive of a wedding,
is the May-day ceremonial of the \textit{Kledona}. Miss M. Hamilton\footnote{2} (Mrs G. Dickins) says of it:

\begin{quote}
In Thessaly in the district of Karankunia\footnote{3} the day is dedicated to the
blessing of the wells and springs, and the festival is called the \textit{Kledona}\footnote{4}, which
means omen. Little girls go round singing in bands of five during the early
morning, the smallest being dressed as a bride. Two carry a water-vessel, and
the other two are bridemaids. From the vineyards they take twigs, and drop
these into the vessel along with tokens from the youths and maidens of the place.
Then they visit all the wells and pour in half of the water, afterwards refilling
the vessel, while they sing a petition for blessing on the waters and crops.\footnote{5}
\end{quote}

I am indebted to Professor A. J. B. Wace for the following description
of the rite as performed by the Vlachs at Midsummer:

\begin{quote}
In the summer of 1910, while travelling in South-west Macedonia, I had the
opportunity of seeing how the girls of the Vlach (Macedo-Roumanian) village of
Sámáriná celebrated the festival of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist on
24th June (O.S.) with the custom of the \textit{kliðhona} (sing. \textit{kliðhona}) and other
\end{quote}

\footnote{1} Supra p. 288. W. R. S. Ralston \textit{op. cit.} p. 228: ‘The people believe that by this
means there will be extorted from the “heavenly women”—the clouds—the rain for
which thirst the earth, as represented by the green-clad maiden Dodola.’ Frazer
\textit{Golden Bough}: The Magic Art i. 275: ‘The words of the Servian song...taken in connec-
xion with the constant movement which the chief actress in the performance seems
expected to keep up, points [sic] to some comparison of the girl or her companions to
clouds moving through the sky. This again reminds us of the odd quivering movement
kept up by the Australian rain-maker, who, in his disguise of white down, may perhaps
represent a cloud! (See above, pp. 260 sq. This perpetual turning or whirling movement
is required of the actors in other European ceremonies of a superstitious character. See
below, vol. ii. pp. 74, 80, 81, 87. I am far from feeling sure that the explanation of it
suggested in the text is the true one. But I do not remember to have met with any other).’
Whatever the explanation of the flutter, the flutter accounts for the confusion of \textit{per-
toreia, perporeia, perporeia, procession} (\textit{supra} p. 287 n. 8), with \textit{perpērēma, perpērēvna,}
\textit{butterflies} (\textit{supra} p. 287 n. 4).

\footnote{2} M. Hamilton \textit{Greek Saints and Their Festivals} Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 164.

\footnote{3} \textit{Eýría} 1890 p. 268.

\footnote{4} M. Hamilton \textit{op. cit.} p. 158 on St John’s Eve: ‘The consultation of oracles belongs to
the magic of the Eve. The usual ceremony in Greece is called \textit{kledonas}, which is
worked by the \textit{νεφό δαλάνες}—speechless water. A water-vessel is filled at the spring and
carried to the house by some maiden without speaking. Into it are thrown tokens of all
kinds, which are drawn out next morning, and from them each forms his conclusions as to
future fortunes. Usually it is merely a case of marriage-questionings on the part of
the village girls.’ etc.

\footnote{5} Prof. Wace appends a brief bibliography including L. M. J. Garnett—J. S. Stuart-
Glennie \textit{The Women of Turkey and their Folk-lore} The Christian Women London 1890
p. 20 (‘The procession of the \textit{Perperuda}...is also an institution among the Vlach
women...The third Thursday after Easter is the day chosen for this propitiation of
the Water Deities.’ ‘The ceremony of the \textit{Kliðhona}, observed by the Greeks on St John’s
Eve, is also performed by the Vlach youths and maidens under the same name, but with
observances. On the eve of the festival (the evening of June 23rd O.S.) the girls collected in bands and went about the village singing songs from conduit head to conduit head, putting water in the crock containing the *klidhona* and pouring it out again. Finally, at the last conduit visited, the water is left in. The *klidhona* are trinkets, one contributed by each girl and tied up with a flower or sprig of basil or some other herb, so that each can easily recognise her own again, and are placed in an earthenware crock. The trinkets remain in the water over night; and the next day after church the bands of girls collect together again and go about the village with one of their number dressed up as a bride called *Romană*, singing songs as before and with the crock containing the *klidhona*. In the evening about sunset they go to a retired spot just outside the village, and joining hands and singing suitable songs pour away the water and take out the *klidhona*

Fig. 193.

one by one. They tell fortunes by the condition of the trinkets: for instance, if one has gone yellow, the omen is good; if black, the omen is bad. It seems possible that the dressing up of a girl as a bride and the visiting of the conduits is connected with a rain-charm

slight differences of detail), p. 130 ff. (the *Klithena* on St John’s Eve in Thessaly and Macedonia, *Perperia* during drought in the same districts), G. Weigand *Die Arvomenen* Leipzig 1894 ii. 130 (Pirpiruna or Dudula in South Roumania, etc.), 136 f. no. 80 (a *Pirpiruna*-song in Vlach with German rendering), G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 pp. 43—57 (a minutely careful account of δ Κληθέως on St John’s Eve and Day in Macedonia, with text and translation of the songs appropriate to the occasion), Cosmulei *Datui, Credușe, și Superstiții Arvomenști*, p. 42 (St John’s Day brides etc. among the Vlachs).

P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinslavischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg i. E. 1913 p. 142 f. (*Das Fest des Klažbora*) gives a good account of the festival as observed in western Asia Minor, in the Aegean islands, and in some parts of European Greece on June 24, the Birthday of St John the Baptist.

1 Prof. Wace translates the *Pirpiruna*-song from G. Weigand op. cit. ii. 136 no. 80 (Kruševo) *Pirpiruna | saranđuna* | give rain, give, | that the fields may grow, | the fields and the vineyards, | the grasses and the meadows.*

19—2
to get any detailed information as the girls, especially the older ones, are shy, and only the smaller girls go through their observances in the light of day. The others prefer the screen of night, which shelters them from the prying eyes of the boys.'

G. F. Abbott¹ points out that this picturesque custom, which is now little more than a pastime, had once a serious purpose. Behind the water-jar with its sprigs of basil and talk of sweethearts lies the old-world endeavour to bring about fertility. The hydromancy presupposes rain-magic; and the little girl in her bridal veil, who goes the round of the conduits, is—if I am not much mistaken—the playful and unconscious representative of Mother Earth herself.

Another group of festivals that imply rain-magic is characterised by much mutual drenching of the celebrants with water, salt or fresh. For instance, off the coast of Lykia lies Megiste (Kastellorizo), an island destitute of springs and exposed to serious droughts. Miss M. Hamilton² (Mrs G. Dickins) has given a graphic account of the way in which its inhabitants keep the festival of Saint Elias (July 20):

'St Elias is considered lord of rain, and at the time of his festival in July a great amount of reciprocal drenching takes place. For many days before the feast the children throw each other clothed into the sea, and get drenched head to foot; they go round the roads calling aloud τὸν Ἀλα, making the saint's name their cry, and drag along everyone whom they find dry. This they do with the impunity which comes from ecclesiastical support. On the feast-day no one can go dry through the streets, and sponge-fishers even drag people from their houses to the sea. The whole village is drenched as if with rain.'

Miss Hamilton² justly compares the chief celebration in Kypros:

'At Pentecost the seaports, such as Larnaka and Lemesso, are frequented by large assemblies of country people. Every one bathes in the sea, where they call it the Holy Shore ("Αῖος Τύλος). Then they take little boats and sail near to the shore all day long, amusing themselves with music and such pleasures as mutual drenchings. It is unlucky not to get wet on this day, and they have the custom of sprinkling water all over their houses also. In inland districts they go to rivers and springs, and bathe and splash each other. The festival is officially called the Deluge (Kορασανά), but in common talk the islanders speak of it as the festival of Aphrodite, for they cherish the memory of the goddess of Paphos.'

¹ G. F. Abbott Macedonian Folklore Cambridge 1903 p. 53.
Dr J. Rendel Harris\(^1\) has drawn attention to analogous rain-charms practised throughout Armenia and Syria:

'Amongst the Armenian people it is the custom, on a particular day in the year, to throw water over one another. The day of this exercise is the Feast of the Transfiguration, and the festival itself is called by the name of Vartevar. Although in its modern form the custom of water-throwing is little more than a sport of boys, the evidence is abundant that the throwing of water was originally a religious exercise, and that it goes back to very early times. Its religious character is attested by the fact that in the Armenian Churches there is an aspersion of the people by the priests on the Transfiguration festival; while the boys are throwing water out of doors the priests are throwing water indoors....The custom can be verified all over Armenia; we found it at Moush, at Pirvan, at Egin, at Harpoot, at Ourfa, and practically in every place where we made enquiry ... we were told that at Sivas, Erzeroum, and some other places, it was the custom to let a pigeon fly, *in remembrance of Noah*.\(^2\) This is not done at Egin, nor could we verify it in other places visited. At Aintab we found that they not only threw water over one another, but that they made a special point of throwing water upon the graves....Upon enquiry from the Jacobite Syrians as to whether they had a Vartevar like the Armenians, the reply was in the affirmative, only they differed from the Armenians in keeping the custom upon the Feast of Pentecost instead of the Transfiguration....The more intelligent amongst the Armenians said that they thought the custom had come down to them from the worship of Anahid, which preceded their conversion to Christianity.'

Dr Rendel Harris\(^3\) further notes that at any time of drought the Armenians may have recourse to the primitive practice of making a puppet and immersing it in water:

'At Egin, when rain is wanted, the boys take two sticks in the form of a cross, and with the addition of some old clothes and a cap they make a rain-dolly. This figure they carry round the town, and the people from the roofs of the houses throw water on it. They call the dolly the "Chi-chi Mamma," which they interpret to mean "the drenched mother." As they carry the dolly about

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2 F. Macler in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 804 b: 'The festival of the Transfiguration (*Vardavar*) is called the Festival of Roses, after an old heathen festival which was celebrated on the same day. On the day preceding this festival, the commemoration of the Tabernacle of the Jews is held. On that day people sprinkle each other with water when they meet in the streets; and in certain provinces of Armenia pigeons are set free, either in recollection of the Deluge, or as a symbol of Astlik, the Armenian Venus.'

Was the famous type of Noah in the ark on coins of the Phrygian Apameia Kibotos (literature *supra* ii. 610 n. 9) occasioned by a local festival of this sort?

they ask, "What does Chi-chi mother want?" The reply is, "She wants wheat, 
*boulgour* (cracked wheat), &c. "She wants wheat in her bins, she wants bread 
on her bread-hooks, and she wants rain from God." The boys take up contributions 
at the rich houses. At Ourfa the children, in times of drought, make a rain-bride, 
which they call Chinché-gelin. They say this means in Turkish “shovel-bride.” 
They carry the bride about and say, "What does Chinché-gelin want?" "She 
wishes mercy from God; she wants offerings of lambs and rams." And the 
crowd responds, "Give, my God, give rain, give a flood." The rain-bride is then 
thrown into the water. At Harpoot they make a man-doll and call it “Allah-potik.” 
I cannot find out the meaning of the last half of this name. The doll is carried 
about with the question, "What does Allah-potik want?" "He wants rain from 
God; he wants bread from the cupboard; he wants meat from dish; he wants 
*boulgour* from bins; salt from the salt-cellar; money from the purse." Then they 
all cry out, "Give, my God, rain, a flood." At Trebizond, as we were told, they 
make a rain-dolly. The children dress it up as a bride and veil its face. They 
ask money from the people. I was unable to find out whether the dolly was 
thrown into the sea, which is what one would expect from parallel cases.

Professor R. M. Dawkins¹ and Miss M. Hamilton² (Mrs G. Dickins) have shown that the universal Greek custom of immersing the cross and blessing the waters at Epiphany is not merely an 
ecclesiastical commemoration of Christ's baptism in the Jordan but also a popular rain-charm of the usual mimetic kind. Professor 
Dawkins³ observes:

'At Epiphany a priest goes in procession to a spring, river, cistern, or to the 
sea, and immerses a cross three times. At the same time a white dove is released. 
The cross is fetched out by a man who dives for it.'

Miss Hamilton⁴ records numerous local varieties of the custom. 
A few samples will suffice:

'At Athens an imposing procession goes from the church of St. Dionysios to 
the large reservoir on the slope of Lykabettos, and the bishop there performs 
a ceremony similar to that at the Piraeus. Some of the city churches, too, 
celebrate the Blessing of the Waters, either within their walls or outside on an 
erected shrine. The seaports and island towns have great celebrations. At Syra, 
the chief commercial island, an urn of water is first blessed in the church, and 
then a procession marches down to the harbour, where all the boats and steamers 
are waiting. After the ceremony is finished, the ships are free to sail away. At 
Nauplia also the ceremony is interesting, and it differs in a few respects from the 
preceding. The archbishop in full regalia proceeds to the harbour, and amid 
a great assembly throws in the wooden cross, to which no ribbon is attached. 
The local fishermen, as divers, are stripped ready to find it, and a struggle

¹ R. M. Dawkins in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 214.
² M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 
pp. 112—127 ('Epiphany. The Blessing of the Waters and its connection with Rain-
charms').
³ R. M. Dawkins loc. cit.
⁴ M. Hamilton *op. cit.* p. 112 ff.
ensues among them. When the cross is successfully found, all the surrounding people are sprinkled with the water. The successful diver has the right of visiting all the houses of the town to levy a contribution on that day. He may gain a large sum of money thereby, and sometimes companies are formed on the agreement that all the members shall share in the profits of the successful one. This commercial spirit prevails at Phaleron also.

The village of Lytochoro\(^1\) in Thessaly gives an elaborate and curious version of this ceremony. The name of Sichna is given to the festival, on account of the tall standards used. Each church of the district possesses one of these Sichna with a gilt cross at the top, and on the Eve of Epiphany they are conveyed to the two central churches of the town. During the vigil which is held all wait for midnight, when the heavens are believed to open and the Holy Spirit descends upon the head of Christ. Then at dawn they leave the churches, taking the ikons of the saints and the flags and standards, and go to the river Lakkon to baptise the cross and bless the water. The priests line up on the banks, and round about are half-naked divers as at Nauplia. On the rising ground stand the citizens. At sunrise a song is sung calling on St. John to baptise the Christ Child, and a priest prays. Then three times the tall standards are bent and dipped in the water, and three times they are raised in the air, in imitation, it is said, of the trees by the Jordan banks. It is a common belief that all trees on Epiphany Eve bow down in adoration of Christ...

To continue the Sichna. The cross itself is cast into the river, and the divers struggle for it. The successful diver returns to town and gathers up contributions from the houses. All drink of the holy water, and after general blessings they march back in procession to the two churches, where Benediction is held. Next day the Sichna are restored for another year to their respective churches.

In Samos\(^2\) Epiphany is celebrated in the following way. All the women send on Epiphany morning a vessel full of water to the church, and the priest blesses the water. The same day a servant is sent into the fields with this blessed vessel to sprinkle the ground and the trees, singing meanwhile the song of Christ’s baptism.’

An Epiphany song from Imbros connects the Jordan water used for baptism with the rain which blesses the earth\(^3\):

‘There came the day of lights and baptisms. There came great rejoicings and our Lord. Down to the river Jordan went [leg. Down by the river Jordan was sitting] our Lady the Panagia. She took water and washed herself, and with a gold kerchief dried herself, with the Gospels in her arms and the censer in

\(^1\) Παρθενος, 1882, p. 582.
\(^2\) Σαμακάκη, p. 48 [E. Stamatiadis Σαμακάκη].
\(^3\) M. Hamilton op. cit. p. 126 f. citing Συλλογος ix. 341 Ἡθοπευκενά τὰ φῶτα κ’ οἱ φωτισμοί | κ’ ἡ χαρᾶς μεγάλαις τ’ Ἀθάντης μασ. | Κάτω ’ε τ’ Ὀρδάνη τ’ ποταμών | κάτων ἡ κυριὰ μας ἡ Παναγία | Ἡ χαρᾶς καὶ ύβιοντας καὶ χρυσῆς μανδηλι’ σφεγγίζωντα | Με τὰ Ἐθάντης | τὸν ἄγκαλα | καὶ τὰ δύναστος τ’ τὰ δάκτυλα | Και τὸν ἄγοι Παναγι παρακαλεῖ. | Ἀγιο Γεώργιον Ἀθάντη καὶ πρόδρομος. | Δύνασι καὶ σώζει καὶ προδρόμαις. | Διὰ τὰ βαπτίστρι τὸν Ναὸ Χριστοῦ. | Γιὰ κοντοκαρέτες ως τὸ πιστόν. | Γιὰ κατάβασα [π’ αναβάσιν] τὰν ναὸ | τὸν χαρᾶς | Γιὰ νὰ ἢγου εἰδώ τό κατό τ’ τὴν γην. | Νὰ δροσθῇ Αθάντης μὲ τὴν κυρία. | Νὰ δροσθῇ η [leg. ol] βροχείς μὲ τὰ νερά. | Νὰ κατὰ πρόνους [leg. καταπράσανα] τὰ χυτόμελα. | Γιὰ νὰ κατατέσσει τὸ Γεώργιος.


Rain-magic in ancient Greece

her hands, and she called on St. John: "St. John, Lord and Forerunner, thou art mighty; thou savest and goest before to baptise the young Christ." "Wait for the dawn that I may go up into Heaven, and may throw down refreshment on the earth, that our Lord with our Lady may be refreshed, that the springs and waters may be refreshed, that the flocks may prosper and the idols fall." 

Even more explicit is another song from the neighbourhood of Mount Olympos, which represents the baptism in Jordan as accompanied by a deluge of rain:

'At the river Jordan, the holy place, the Lord is baptised and saves the whole world. And a dove came down, white and feathery, with its wings opened; it sent rain down on the Lord, and again it rained and rained on our Lady, and again it rained and rained on its wings.'

ii. Rain-magic in ancient Greece.

No description of a ceremony exactly resembling the rites of modern Greece has come down to us from classical times. But points of similarity are not wanting. Thus we have seen reason to conjecture that the early Greek rain-maker, probably clad in a sheep-skin to copy the fleecy clouds, worked his magic on the nearest hill. Some such ritual was, we thought, presupposed by the Homeric epithet nephelegérétas and by the Aristophanic chorus of Cloud-maidens, if not also by the Orphic hymn that bade the Clouds send showers to fertilise Mother Earth.

Usage, no doubt, differed from place to place. In Rhodes the Telchines are said to have been charlatans who by their magical arts could produce at will clouds, rain, hail, and snow. Unfortunately no details of their procedure are on record.

At Kranon in Thessaly drought was cured by the shaking of

1 M. Hamilton op. cit. p. 127 citing Παπασσών, 1882, p. 580; Laspopoulos, "Ολυμπίας καὶ οἱ κάτοικοι αὐτοῦ; —Στὸν Ἰορδαίαν ποτάμῳ, στὸν ἀγάλ τοῦ τόπου | ὁ Κόρος βαφτίζεται καὶ σώηται οὐλομά τὸ κόσμο. | Καὶ καταβάνει μια πέρδικα, ἀσπρη καὶ πλουκιζομένη | μὲ [leg. με] τὰ φθερά της ἀνυητά καὶ βρέχει τὸν ἀφέπτα | καὶ πάλιν ἐναπροβίαιεται καὶ βρέχει τὰ φθερά της.
2 Supra pp. 31 f., 68.
3 Supra p. 30 ff. Cr. i. 14 n. 1.
4 Supra p. 69 f.
5 Supra p. 70. Cr. Orph.  ὸ. Νοτ. 82 ΝΟΤΟΣ, ὑμᾶς λίβανοι. 1 ff. ιασίπηρον πτήδημα ὡς ἔφρος ὑποστηρίζει. | οὐκ εἰσὶ πτέρυγα πτερομένων ἠθα καὶ ἔθα, | ἄδοι καί κεφαλάς νοτησά, δύνασα γεφάρξα. | τοῦτο γάρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστι σέθεν γέρας ἡράμοιον, | δύστοοκος νεφέλας ἐς ἔφρος ἐς (so E. Abel for e) χθωνά πέμπειν. | τοίχῳ τοι τοίχῳ, μάκαρ, ἱερότα χαρέτα | πέμπειν καρποτρόφους δήμους ἐς μιστέρα γαίαν.
6 Zenon of Rhodes frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 175 Müller) ὁ. Diod. 5. 55 λέγεται δ' ὁ οὖν τοὶ ὁ Τελχίνοις καὶ γνῆσε γεγονέναι καὶ παράγειν ὅτε βουλουτος πέφη τε καὶ δήμους καὶ χαλάζει, ὡςου δέ καὶ χιὼν εἶρεικεθείς· ταῦτα δὲ καθάρει καὶ τοῖς μάγοις τουλάχιστοι ἰστοροῦσιν. ἀνάλαγονα (ἀλλάττων cod. C.F.G. ex silento Wesselingi) δὲ καὶ τὰς οἰδας μορφάς, καὶ εἶναι φθοροῖν ἐν τῷ διασκελεῖ τῶν τεχνῶν.
a bronze car and the recital of a prayer for rain. Coins of the town show this car, always with an amphora or a fluted bowl resting upon it, and often with a raven or two perched on its wheels.\(^1\)

At Eleusis the first formal act of the yearly festival was the proclamation, on Boedromion 16\(^2\), ‘To the sea, initiates\(^3\)!’ On hearing this, the assembled multitude hurried down to bathe in the nearest salt water. Passing through a gate, which adjoined the Dionysion\(^4\) in the south of the town and is possibly to be identified with the Itonian Gate\(^5\), they made their way to two lagoons called the Rheitoi, sacred to Demeter and Kore respectively\(^6\). More than one notorious incident was connected with their wholesale immersion. It was said\(^7\) that Phryne, who habitually wore a clinging chitón and scorned to use the public baths, nevertheless at the Eleusinia and at the Poseidonia laid aside all her garments, loosened her hair, and stepped into the sea before the whole concourse of people—a sight which inspired Apelles to paint his Aphrodite Anadyomène.\(^8\) Again, it was remembered that in 339 B.C., when the initiates had gone down to purify themselves in the sea, a shark carried off one—some said two—of their number\(^9\). This curious happening, whether fact or figment, seems to have provoked imitation. For we are told\(^10\) that on another occasion, when an initiate was washing a pig in the harbour of Kantharos at the Peiraeus, a shark seized and bit off the lower half of his body. The Eleusinian bathe has been commonly regarded as a rite of purification\(^11\), and as such

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1 Supra ii. 831 ff. figs. 788—792. S. W. Grose in the McLean Cat. Coins ii. 203 no. 4566 pl. 171, 20 (=my fig. 791) says oddly ‘insect on r. wheel.’
4 Corp. inscr. Att. iv. 1, 7 no. 53 a, 34 ff. = Michel Recueil d’ Inschr. gr. no. 77, 34 ff. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.\(^2\) no. 550, 34 ff. = ib.\(^2\) no. 93, 34 ff. (Attic decree of 418/7 B.C.) καὶ τὲν τάφον καὶ τὸ ὑθατον κρατεῖν τὸ ῥῆν διὰ τὸν μαθατόμον, ὡτόν οὖν ἐντὸς ηοὶ τὸ Δαιονεία καὶ τὸν πυλὸν ἐτί (ἐν) δάλαι ἐξεπλάλασαν οἱ μοῖραι.
5 Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 215 n. 1, P. Foucart op. cit. p. 315.
7 Athen. 590 f.
8 Overbeck Schriftquellen p. 349 ff. nos. 1846—1863, A. Reinach Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l’histoire de la peinture ancienne Paris 1921 i. 332 ff. nos. 425—445 (id. ib. p. 332 n. 1 dates the incident ‘avant 340’).
9 Schol. Aischin. in Ctes. 130 p. 45 a 8 ff. Baiter—Saupe.
10 Plout. v. Phoc. 3.
compared with Christian baptism\(^1\). Other views, however, might be defended. G. Glotz has shown that to be plunged in the sea was a not infrequent form of popular ordeal\(^2\). Mrs A. Strong and Miss N. Jolliffe have much to say on ‘Apotheosis by Water’\(^3\). But in any case the resemblance of the ancient to the modern custom of a communal dip makes it probable that the opening rite at Eleusis, which came ‘at the end of the long drought of summer and before the first rains of autumn\(^4\), served the purpose of a powerful rain-charm.

Again, on the closing day of the mysteries, Boedromion 23\(^5\), two top-shaped bowls of terra cotta known as the plêmochôbai or ‘flood-pourers’ were first filled and then turned upside down, one towards the east, the other towards the west, with the addition of a mystic formula\(^6\). Since Kritias or Euripides in his Perithous\(^7\) described these plêmochôbai as emptied into a cleft in the ground, it may fairly be suspected that at Eleusis as at Athens\(^8\) an attempt was made to fertilise Mother Earth by means of an obvious rain-charm. What the mystic formula was, we do not know. Possibly it consisted in the enigmatic saying kônß, ómpax, the meaning of which is still to seek\(^9\).

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2 G. Glotz *L’ordalie dans la Grèce primitive* Paris 1904 p. 11 ff. (‘Les ordalies par la mer’).


5 Mommsen *Feste d. Stadl Athen* p. 242 ff.

6 Athen. 496 A–B ΠΑΛΗΜΟΧΗΣ. οικεῖος κεραμεῖος βεβαιωθεὶς ἔδραίως ἡμερινῇ, ὁ κοτυλικὸς ἔνοι προσαγορεύοντος, οὐ φησι Πάμφιλος. χρώμα δὴ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἑλευσίν τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῶν μυστηρίων ἡμέρᾳ, ἢ ταῖς ἀυτοῦ προσαγορεύοντος Πλημοχάς: ἢ τὰς θέρες πλημοχαίς πληρώσατες, τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολάς, τὴν δὲ πρὸς δύσιν ἀνωτάμως ἀνατρέποντες, ἐπέλεγοντες βρέκων μακρινῶν. μεταφεῖτε δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὧν Πειρήβων γράφων, εἰς Κράτια ἄκιν ὁ θάρρος ἦ Εὐρυτέη (frag. 592 Nauck), λέγων οὖν: ἔνα πλημοχάς τάσον εἰς χTHON στΗΣΕΙ εἰφόδους πληρώσων.

7 *Socr.* n. 6.

8 *Socr.* pp. 179 ff., 188.

9 Heusch. κόγξ, ὀμπάξ (C. A. Lobeck *cj.* κόγξ ὀμπάξ, παξ). ἐπιφώνημα τετελειμένους καὶ τῆς δικαιοστοχοίας ψήφου ἠχός, ὡς ὡς τῆς κλεψύδρας. παξά δὲ ᾿Απειροῦς βλέψ. The witty polemic of Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 775–783 hardly suffices to establish his emendation (which is printed as a certainty in both editions by M. Schmidt) and in any case should not absolve us from the duty of seeking an explanation for the formula. I should infer
But there is more definite evidence than this of a rain-ritual at Eleusis. Hippolytus¹ (c. 235 A.D.) mentions 'the great unspeakable mystery of the Eleusinians ἱερὸ κόλπο, that is "rain—conceive."' And Proklos² (438 A.D.) states that 'at the Eleusinian rites they looked up to the Sky and shouted ἱερὸ, "rain," then down to the Earth and added κύριο, "conceive."' The words have at once the directness of primitive thought and the jingle of primitive magic.³ Dr L. R. Farnell⁴ is right when he comments:

'This genuine ore of an old religious stratum sparkles all the more for being found in a waste deposit of neo-Platonic metaphysic. The formula savours of a very primitive liturgy that closely resembled the famous Dodonaean invocation to Zeus the sky-god and mother-earth; and it belongs to that part of the Eleusinian ritual "quod ad frumentum attinet."'

For, if the culminating act of the mysteries was the exhibition to the initiates of a corn-ear reaped in silence⁵, we can well believe that rain-magic was essential to the performance.

from Hesychios' gloss that κύριο, κύριος or the like was a purely onomatopoeic phrase—'splish, splash!'—meant to imitate the sound of falling rain-drops. This might fitly terminate the naive rain-magic of the 'lood-pourers.'

F. M. Cornford's 'Διάθηκα κύριο, "Sound the conch—enough"!' (Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel.³ p. 161 n. 2) is open to Lobbe's objection: 'quid ab Hierophantae persona magis alienum esse potest, quam illic ludicum vocabulum Pax? quod non minore audientium risu exceptum fuisse, quam si hodie aliquid sacrae cathedrae orator pro eo quod in fine concionis pronunciari solet Amen, dicereet Rasta!'⁶

¹ Hippol. ref. hæres. 5. 7 p. 146 Duncker—Schneidewin τοῦτο, φησι, ἐστὶ τὸ μέγα καὶ ἄριστον Ἑλευθερίαν μνημέων ὑπὲρ κύριον.
² Prokl. in Plat. Tim. iii. 176, 26 ff. Diehl δ ἐν καὶ οἱ θεοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἴδοτες προσέττατον ὀμώας καὶ γῆ προκελεύτων τόσω γάρια, εἰς δὲ τῶν βέλων καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἐλευθερίαις λειώσει εἰς μὲν τὸν ὀμώας ἀναβέλων ἐπώλιας "ἐν" (so C. A. Lobbeck for udiv codd.), καταβέβλωτες δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν τὸ "κύριον" (so C. A. Lobbeck for udiv codd. Q.D.), διὰ τόσων ὡς καθός καὶ μέρῳ τῆς γένεσις τῶν πᾶντων γονάκων. Infra § 9 (c) ii.
³ W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur ii. 2. 1059.
⁴ See R. Heim 'Incantamenta magica graeca latina' in the Jahrb. f. class. Philol. Suppl. 1893 xix. 544 ff. (citing e.g. Varr. rer. rust. 1. 2. 27, Verg. ecl. 8. 80 f., Pelagius. 19, Marcell. de med. 15. 1) and, for a modern parallel, supra i. 413 n. 0.
⁵ The relation of such an 'uralte Wunschausdruck' to actual prayer is considered by F. Schwenn Gebet und Opfer Heidelberg 1927 pp. 1—8 ('Ein Stück der Liturgie von Eleusis')
⁶ Farnell Cults of Gr. States iii. 185.
⁷ Aug. de civ. Dii 7. 20 in Cereris autem sacrasi praedicantur illa Eleusinia, quae apud Athenienses nobilissima fuerant. de quibus iste (ac Varro, cp. frag. 140 Funaioli) nihil interpretatur, nisi quod additus ad frumentum, quod Ceres inventit, et ad Proserpinam, quam rapiente Oro perditi; et hanc ipsis dicit significare fecunditatem seminum... dicit deinde multa in mysteriis eius tradi, quae nisi ad frugum inventionem non pertinent. Farnell op. cit. iii. 358 gives a misleading reference and an erroneous text.
⁸ Hipp. ref. haeres. 5. 8 p. 163 Duncker—Schneidewin (cited supra ii. 295 n. 3). Farnell op. cit. iii. 183 n. 8 takes the phrase εἰς σωρῆς to go with the words before it, not with those after it, but admits that its position in the sentence is against him and can only plead that 'Hippolytus is not careful of the order of his words.' The same view had long

With regard to the significance of the rite, we are all informed and widely diverse hypotheses have been propounded:

(1) The context in Hippolytos asserts that the Athenians in their Eleusinian usage were following the lead of the Phrygian, who spoke of God as 'a green ear reaped' (σημα νεα 295 n. 2 χλωρων στάχυν τεθερμανένων). The allusion is to a Naassene hymn describing Attis in very similar terms (σημα νεα 296 n. 4 χλωρων στάχυν ἀμηθήνα, cp. Firme. Mat. 3. 2 ἀμαρ τεραμ volunt (σε. Phryges) fruges, Attin vero hoc ipsum volunt esse quod ex frugibus nascitur, poenam autem quam suscitat hoc volunt esse, quod facere messor maturus frugibus facit: mortem ipsius dicunt, quod semina collecta conduntur, vitam rursus, quod facta semina annuis vicibus reconduunt (C. Halm ct. re Ascuntur. K. W. A. Reifferscheidt ct. re Ascuntur. C. Bursian ct. re Ascuntur). But Attis never had any footing at Eleusis; and Hippolytos' attempt to find an Eleusinian counterpart of him ends in a sentence probably defective and certainly obscure (Hippol. ref. haeres. 5. 8 p. 161 f. Duncker—Schneidelwin ὃς ἐκ στάχυν οὖν εὕς καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ὁ παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχακρατηστοῦ φωστήρ τέλειος μέγας, καθάπερ αὐτός ὁ ἱερόφαντι, αὐτὸ ἀποκεκλημένα μὲν, ὡς ἂν ἂν ἀποκεκλημένας ἐκ διὰ ταυτόν καὶ τάσσων παρατηρησίων τῶν σαρκακήν γένεσιν, μεντο ἐν Ἁλευσίν ἕπο τιλαὶ παρὰ τέλεων τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἄρρητα μυστήρια βοᾶ καὶ κάκραγε λέγων ἣ ἐκεῖ ἔστει τὸν ἄρχων Βραμών Βραμών, τοιοῦτον ἀμαρ τεραμ ἀμαρ τεραμ). (2) According to F. B. Jevons, the corn-cultivated at Eleusis implies a corn-totem in the remote past. 'Originally every ear of corn was sacred to the tribe which took corn for its totum...Then some one particular ear or sheaf of ripe corn was selected to represent the Corn-Spirit, and was preserved until the following year, in order that the worshippers might not be deprived during the winter of the presence and protection of their totum. The corn thus preserved served at first unintentionally as seed, and suggested the practice of sowing; and even when a larger and proper stock of seed-corn was laid in, the one particular sheaf was still regarded as the Corn-Mother, which, like the Peruvian Mother of the Maize, determined by her supernatural power the kind and quantity of the following harvest. In Eleusis this sheaf was dressed up as an old woman (σημα νεα 397 n. 4), and was preserved from harvest to seed-time in the house of the head-man of the village originally, and in later times in a temple. This sheaf was probably highly taboo, and not allowed to be touched or even seen except on certain occasions...This manifestation of the Corn-Goddess afforded not merely a visible hope and tangible promise that the sowing of the seed should be followed by a harvest of ripe corn, but in itself constituted a direct communion with the deity...' (F. B. Jevons An Introduction to the History of Religion 2 London 1902 p. 354 ff.). 'When, then, we find that in later times an ear of corn was exhibited, we may fairly infer that it was an ear of corn which was exhibited in the primitive agricultural rites, and that it was originally the embodiment of the Corn-Goddess' (id. ib. 2 p. 381). Cp. S. Reinach Cultes, mythes et religions Paris 1906 p. xi
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'Recourant aux textes, nous y trouvons une trace certaine non seulement du culte, mais de l'adoration et de l'exaltation (au sens chrétien) de l'épí de blé.'

(3) Elsewhere Reinach treats the corn-ear as the offspring of a priest and a priestess, representing Zeus and Demeter, whose union ensured the fertility of the soil by means of sympathetic magic (S. Reinach in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1906 ix. 344 'Cet épi que montre l'hierophante représentée, à mon avis, le produit du mariage du prêtre et de la prêtresse qui constitue un des actes mystiques les plus importants du rituel; le prêtre et la prêtresse, dans cet épisode, figurent le dieu cèlète et la déesse chthonienne—en langage mythologique, Zeus et Déméter—dont l'union assure la fécondité des champs'). A very similar account of the rite is given by Harrison Proleg. Gk. Rel. p. 548 ff. and Frazer Golden Bough: The Magic Art ii. 138 ff., who further equate the corn with the child Brimos. Now the union of Zeus and Demeter, impersonated by the hierophant and the priestess, is certainly attested by several late authorities (Tertull. ad nat. 2. 7 cur rapitur sacerdos Ceres, si non tale Ceres passa est? (J. Topffer Attische Genealogie Berlin 1899 p. 94 n. 4 thinks that here Demeter is not to be distinguished from her daughter), Clem. Al. prafr. 2. 15 ff., p. 12 ff. Stählin is cited supra i. 392 n. 5, Arnob. adv. nat. 5. 20 f., 37 (cited supra i. 393 n. 0), Asterios bishop of Amaseia (dated c. 330-c. 410 A.D. by W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1924 ii. 2. 1439) hom. 10 enncinion in sancto martyrze (c. 324 n. Migne) oμ κεφάλαιος τός αυτής θρησκείας τάς Ἐλληνικής ματρόσα και δῆσμας Απόλλωνι καὶ Εὐαγέλια πίνακα οἰκνύα, ὅμως τολμάηταί ὡς: οὐχ ἐκεῖ τὸ καταβάσαι πόστερον καὶ αὐτὸς σωμάτως τῆς ἐρωτοποιημένης τῆς θρησκείας συνεχής ἀνατρέφει καὶ αὐτός ἐν τῷ καταβάσαι τῆς θρησκείας συνεχῆς ἀνατρέφει καὶ αὐτός ἐν τῷ καταβάσαι τῆς θρησκείας συνεχῆς ἀνατρέφει τοῦ νομίζοις εἴ τι τὸ καταβάσαι πόστερον δεῖ προσδίδειν; schol. Plat. Gorg. 497 c p. 913 a 37 ff. ὥστε δὲ ταύτα καὶ βρόμη καὶ Κόρη, ὅστε ταύτην μὲν Πλούτου ἀρπάξεις, Δημώς δὲ μετέξει Ζεύς· ὅστε δὲ ταύτα μὲν ἀνατρέφει σαρκάζει, ἀλλά εἴ τι κ. τ. λ., Ρεύμα τίνα περὶ δαμάσκων δασαίτων Ἐλλήνων: p. 39 f. (cited supra ii. 133 n. 2)). It is probable that in early days this union was a real one, the hierophant having actual intercourse with the priestess, but that later became merely symbolic, the hierophant using an application of hemlock as an antaphrodisiac (Hippol. ref. haeres. 5. 8 p. 164 Duncker—Schneidewin cited supra p. 300 n. 0 (i), with the remarks of Frazer Golden Bough: The Magic Art ii. 139 n. 1). But though the ceremonial marriage of the hierophant (Zeus) with the priestess (Demeter) has some claim to be regarded as fact, yet it must be admitted that not one of the ancient writers calls in evidence describes the offspring of this marriage as an ear of corn. At most we can say that in the Salamian myth Zeus became by Deo Brum or Demeter the parent of Pherephassa or Kore (supra i. 392 ff.). It might also be maintained—the hypothesis is not extravagant—that Kore was at Eleusis represented by a bunch of wheats-cares, possibly arranged in the form of a corn-daughter or harvest-maiden (supra i. 397 n. 4 pl. xxviii).

(4) F. M. Cornford 'The ΑΤΤΑΡΧΩ and the Eleusinian Mysteries' in Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway Cambridge 1913 pp. 153—166 likewise identifies the τεθψαμένων στάχθων with Kore. His argument may be briefly resumed as follows. The ἀτταρχοι or 'first-fruits,' sent by the Greek states to Eleusis, were in accordance with ancient custom stored in underground granaries (P. Foucart in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1890 iv. 215 ff. line 10 ff. pl. 15 = Corp. inscr. Att. iv. i. 2 no. 27 b, 10 ff. = Michel Recueil d'inscr. gr. no. 71, 21 ff. = Roberts—Gardner Gk. Epigr. ii. 27 ff. no. 9, 10 ff. = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen Leges Graecorum sacras ii no. 4, 10 ff. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 83, 10 ff. = Inschr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 76, 10 ff. (an Athenian decree of c. 425/4 B.C. found at Eleusis) eἰκοδομήθη δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν Ἐλληνῶν κατὰ τὸ πάρημα λόγοι διὰ δοκεῖ τῶν λαυροσποκοί καὶ τῶν ἀρξαλε[τοί] τῶν εἰκόνων εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἄργον τῷ τῶν θεῶν, τῶν δὲ καθήμερων ἐρπασμένοις ἐκαθήμεροι δι' αὐτὸ τῶν δαμασκῶν, ἀπάρχουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν χοιμακάρα κατὰ τὰ ραβδα. Such a granary might be called μέγαρον (Hesych. s. v. μέγαρα, Phot. lex. s. v. μέγαρον, Eustath. in Od. p. 1387, 17 ff.) or φάρα (H. Dem. 99. Παρθένοι φάρας, Paus. i. 39, 1 φάρα...Ἀντίων καλομένον, i. 38, 6 φάρα...καλομένον Καλλήρων (ep. h. Dem. 272), [which, however, were wells for water. A. B. C.]). The purpose of the custom was 'to put these specimens of grain that was to be used for seed into fertilising contact with the sacred store' (p. 163). In the autumn, at the Eleusinia,
the ἀπαρχαὶ were taken up from the subterranean store-house. The best part of them, made into a ἀλεηνᾶς, was offered in sacrifice, the rest would be sold (the Athenian decree already quoted continues 36 fl. θεῖον ἡκατον καί θεῖον πολιω [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδαι [χολλιδα

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The áparχai thus became veritable 'starting-points' of the κύκλος γενέσεως. All this was aptly expressed in mythological parlance. Kore is carried off and wedded to Plouton in his underground abode. 'She re-emerges as the potential mother of the new crop' (p. 163). And 'When we are told that the final revelation to the Eleusinian epoptes was a στάχυς πεθεραμαθίως...is it possible that we may see in this στάχυς the epiphany of Kore herself as represented by the áparχai?' (p. 162). Lastly, the 'redistribution of the áparχai...is reflected in the myth of Triptolemos, charged by Demeter with the dispersal of the seed-corn to all the civilised world' (p. 164).

(5) Count Goblet d'Alviella Eleusinia Paris 1903 pp. 71—73 holds that the nature of the deities worshipped at Eleusis facilitated the coming of higher hopes for a future life. Demeter received into her bosom both the sown corn and the buried dead. She would extend her protection not only to the former but also to the latter—witness their name Δαμήστριαι (Plout. de fac. in orb. Isa. 18 και τοις νεκροίς 'Αθηναίων Δαμήστριαι συγκαθάρσαν, αυτοῦμενον τῷ γάμῳ τῆς ἑγράτητος) and at Eleusis played Theos to her Thea (but see, for other possibilities, O. Höfer in Koscher Lex. Myth. v. 536—539. A.B.C.), he being the Greek equivalent of Osiris as she of Isis (P. Foucart op. cit. p. 96 ff.). On this showing the presentation of the corn-cars to the Eleusinian mystics was a rite derived from Egypt, where harvesters were wont to set up the first ears reaped, beating their breasts before the sheaf and calling aloud upon Isis (Diod. 1. 14 μαρτέρων δὲ φέρουσα τῆς εἰρήνης τῶν εἰρήνων καρπῶν τὸ τυρφώμενον παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξ ἀρχαίων νόμων. 'Ἡ γὰρ καὶ νῦν κατὰ τὸν θεράμαν τῶν πρῶτοις αὐτοῦμεν τὰι τρίτης, δύσης τὰς ὀψίνων κόσμησαν πλασίων τῷ δράγματος καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀνακαλεῖν, καὶ τούτῳ πράκτων τιμὴν αὐτούμενας τῇ θεῷ τῶν εἰρήνων κατὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς εἰρήνων καρπῶν, op. Firm. Mat. 2. 6 f. defensores eorum volunt addere physicam rationem, frugum semina Osirim dicentes esse, Isim terram, Tyfonem calorem: et quia maturatae fruges calore ad vitam hominum colliguntur et diviseae a terrae consortio separantur et rursus adpropinquante hieme seminantur, hanc volunt esse mortem Osiridis, cum fruges reconduunt so K. W. A. Reifferscheid for reddunt cod. J. F. Gronovius cfr. condunt, F. Oehler
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cj. recidunt), inventionem vero, cum fruges genitalia terrae somento conceptae annuas
rursus coeperint procreatione generari. pone hanc veram esse sacrorum istorum rationem;
cur plangitis fruges terrae et crescentia lugestis semina?) as they mourned for Osiris,
probably in the dirge called Marques (A. Rusch in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xiv. 1048 ff.).
Foucart pursues the theme of corn as an emblem of Osiris, and draws attention to the
curious ‘Osiris beds’ found in 1905 by the late Theodore Davis, in a tomb dating from
the reign of Amenhotep iii (1412—1376 B.C., according to H. R. Hall), and now preserved
in the Museum at Cairo (T. M. Davis The Tomb of Tawia and Tawia London 1907 p. 45
J. E. Quibell Tomb of Yusa and Thuis Le Caire 1908 p. 35 no. 51032 pl. 15, p. 36
no. 51023). Quibell says of no. 51032: ‘This object consists of a wooden frame, on
which was laid a papyrus mat: over this was stretched a double cover of coarse cloth,
stitched down the side: on this a bed of clay was placed, of the shape of the body of
Osiris, and in it barley planted. When the plants had grown to a height of about
0 m. 15 cent. a doubled cloth was laid over them and the whole was lapped round with
a series of strips of cloth’; etc. My fig. 192 is from a fresh photograph. Similarly in
1898—1899 V. Loret found in the tomb of Mahempra, fan-bearer under Hatshepsut (reign
1501—1479 B.C., according to H. R. Hall), a frame of cedar-wood, on which is stretched
a thick mat of reeds covered by three layers of linen. On the linen is drawn in black ink
the profile of Osiris (1.42 m high). The contour is filled in with a mixture of earth, barley-
grains, and a gummy fluid. The grains had sprouted to a length of 6—8 centimetres
(G. Daresy Feuilles de la vallée des Rois Le Caire 1902 p. 25 f. no. 24061 pl. 7 = my
fig. 194). A. Wiedemann ‘Osiris végétant’ in Le Musée Nouvelle série 1903 iv. 111—
123. H. Haas Bildatlas zur Religionsgeschichte Leipzig—Erlangen 1924 ii—iv p. vii
fig. 115). Again, in the ‘Innermost Treasury’ of the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen (1360—
1350 B.C., according to H. R. Hall) the late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter
discovered a mock figure representing the reanimation of Osiris’ (H. Carter The Tomb
of Tut-ankh-Amen London 1933 iii. 39, 61 pl. 64, 4 and 8). Carter says: ‘This object...
comprises a wooden frame moulded in the form of that god, hollowed out, lined with linen,
filled with silt from the Nile bed, and planted with corn... This was moistened; the grain
germinated, and the inanimate form became green and living; thus symbolizing the resur-
rection of Osiris and of the deceased. This life-size effigy was completely wrapped in linen
winding-sheets and bandaged in the like manner as a mummy.’ Foucart further notes that
in the Saitic period an Osiris-figure made of Nile-mud and filled with corn-grains was
occasionally placed between the legs of the mummy: the sprouting of the corn would
typify the resurrection of the god (A. Erman Die ägyptische Religion Berlin 1925 p. 188,

(7) This aspect of Osiris-worship has been more fully explored by Sir James Frazer
and Prof. A. Moret. Frazer Golden Bough2: Adonis Attis Osiris3 ii. 89 ff. describes
inter alia the decoration of a chamber dedicated to Osiris in the Ptolemaic temple of Isis
at Philai (cp. supra ii. 773 n. 0): ‘Here we see the dead body of Osiris with stalks of
corn springing from it, while a priest waters the stalks from a pitcher which he holds in
his hand. The accompanying inscription sets forth that “this is the form of him whom
one may not name, Osiris of the mysteries, who springs from the returning waters”’
(Champollion Le jeune Monuments de l’Egypte et de la Nubie Paris 1835 i. 6 pl. 90
south wall of the hall of Osiris (second and third registers = my fig. 196), Lanzzone
Dizion. dis Miti. Egra. p. 702 f. pl. 261, 31 f., E. A. Wallis Budge Osiris and the
Egyptian Resurrection London—New York 1911 i. 38 fig., A. Moret Kings and Gods of
Egypt New York—London 1917 p. 84 ff. fig. 7 f. pl. 11, id. in J. Hastings Encyclopaedia
of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1917 ix. 75b, id. Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne
Paris 1926 p. 104 fig. 23. H. Haas op. cit. p. vii fig. 155). Frazer op. cit. ii. 89 n. 3
adds: ‘Similarly in a papyrus of the Louvre (No. 3377) Osiris is represented swathed as
a mummy and lying on his back, while stalks of corn sprout from his body’ (Lanzzone
op. cit. p. 801 f. pl. 303, 2 (= my fig. 197)). A. Moret La mise à mort du dieu en Égypte
Paris 1927 deals in detail with ‘La passion d’Osiris, dieu agraire’ (p. 17 ff.), ‘Rites de
la moisson’ (p. 19 ff.: illustrations of Dios. 1. 147 evolution of the Osirian fetish stat,
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'that which is drawn along,' later mort 'bride' or mori stat, from a portable granary (?). 'Les larmes d'Isis et la crue' (p. 31 ff.), 'Rites des semaines' (p. 32 ff.), 'Fécondation de la terre par des statues' (p. 38 ff.), with an appendix 'Sur le culte particulier de la gerbe en Egypte' (p. 54 ff.: corn-maidens in ancient and modern Egypt, after Miss W. S. Blackman 'Some occurrences of the Corn-ariseh in ancient Egyptian tomb paintings' in the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 1922 viii. 235 ff.). Now Frazer op. cit. ii. 89 ff. expressly compares the corn-stalks that represent the resurrection of Osiris on Egyptian monuments with the reaped ear of corn exhibited to the worshippers at Eleusis. But he moreover makes the mistake of supposing, as Foucart did, that the latter custom was derived from the former. They were analogous rites, that is all.

(8) Thus the way is left clear for the conclusion enunciated years ago by Dr L. K. Farnell. All the evidence, he says, goes to prove that among the sacred things reverentially displayed at Eleusis there was a corn-token. 'And,' he continues, 'it may have also served as a token of man's birth and re-birth, not under the strain of symbolic interpretation, but in accordance with the naive and primitive belief in the unity of man's life with the vegetative world' (Farnell Cults of Gr. States iii. 184). N.B. the occasional use of καλάμος in the sense of 'old, withered body' (Od. 14. 214 f., Aristot. rhet. 3. 10. 1410 b 13 ff., Anth. Pal. 11. 36. 5 f. (Philippus), Cougny Anth. Pal. Appendix. 6. 250. 3 ff. = ovpl. ap. Polyaen. 6. 53, Loukian. Alex. 5).

![Fig. 197.](image)

In this connexion special interest attaches to two finds from the west of the classical area and to one literary record in the east.

An Apulian amphora, formerly in the Barone collection, then in the Museo Campana, and now at Petrograd (Stephani Vasensaml. St. Petersburg i. 241 ff. no. 428), has the following designs: A (i) Zeus, with Hermes as charioteer, in a car drawn by four horses, and Dionysos (wrongly restored) in a car drawn by two panthers or lynxes, enter the Gigantomachy, led by a Fury between them. (ii) Within a heredia, surrounded by conventional figures bearing garlands and gifts, are seen five stalks of bearded wheat. B (i) A young warrior is escorted by Nike with the two of his companions. (ii) A domestic scene of man, woman, and maid—perhaps the homecoming of the successful warrior. The vase has been published and discussed by G. Minervini Monumenti antichi inediti possesti da Raffaele Barone Napoli 1852 i. 99 ff. (mystical interpretation) pls. 21 and 22, 1—5 (=my pl. xxx), F. Lenormant in the Gaz. Arch. 1879 v. 31 ff. with 2 figs. (follows Minervini), id. in Darenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 1066 fig. 1368 ('Adoration des épis à Éleusis'), Farnell Cults of Gr. States iii. 215 f. pl. iii. 6 ('the first-fruits or oblations consecrated to the local Apollo or Demeter or Persephone'), R. Pagenstecher Unterteilische Grabdenkmäler Strassburg 1912 pp. ix. fig. 100 (E. Fehrle cp. A. Dietrich Mutter Erde Leipzig—Berlin 1905 p. 48 f.), P. Wolters 'Die goldenen Ähren' in the Festschrift für James Leb München 1930 pp. 123—125 figs. 13 and 14 (photographic) (the old Attic custom of sowing grain on the fresh-made grave, cp. Demetrios of Phaleron ap. Cic. de legg. 2. 63 nam et Athenisiam ille mos a Cecrope, ut aiunt, permansit, oculos terrae humani: quam cum proximi inmecerant, obductaque terra erat, frugibus obserebatur, ut simul et gremium quasi matris mortuo tribueretur, solum autem frugibus expiptum ut vivis reedere put). The point to notice is that, in the lower register of the obverse, the heredia instead of containing the customary representation of the dead (H. B. Walters History of
An amphora at Ptolemais:

1. A bētheros containing five stalks of bearded wheat, flanked by conventional figures bearing garlands and gifts.
2. A young warrior, wraithed by Nike, between two companions. A domestic scene (his homecoming?).
3. The whole vase. (4) Head of Scione.
4. Palmette.

See page 306, n. 8 (b).
Three gold ears of barley found in a grave near Syracuse and now in the Loeb collection at Murnau.

See page 307 n. 9.
The Eleusinian formula ἴψε κυρε occurs in an extended version on the inner surface of three curved terra-cotta blocks, which together made up a well-mouth outside the Dipylon gate at Athens. This

Ancient Pottery London 1905 i. 476 l. fig. 152, ii. 158) substitutes a small crop of wheat. Cp. an Apulian ἴψε κυρε in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iv. 175 no. F 353) on which the ἴψε κυρε contains a large acanthus-plant in lieu of a σελή, and an Apulian κρατερ formerly in the Coghill collection (J. Millingen Peintures antiques de vases grecs de la collection de Sir John Coghill Bart Rome 1817 p. 42 l. pls. 49 and 51, 2, Reinach Rép. Vases ii. 17, 1 and 18, 2) on which the ἴψε κυρε has within it nothing but a bay-branch.

In a grave near Syracuse was found (c. 1930) a veritable triumph of the goldsmith's art, which I am able here to re-publish (pl. xxxi), thanks to the kind offices of Dr A. H. Lloyd. It has already been figured by S. P. Noe The Coinage of Metapontum (Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 32) New York 1927 p. 9 and, more adequately, by P. Wolters 'Die goldenen Ähren' in the Festschrift für James Loeb München 1930 pp. 111—129 pl. 16 and figs. 1—15, id. 'Gestalt und Sinn der Ähre in antiker Kunst' in Die Antike 1930 vi. 284—301 pl. 1 and figs. 1—10, who refers it to the fourth or third century B.C. The jewel itself, now in the Loeb Collection at Murnau, consists of three superb ears growing on a single stalk. Wolters, accepting the opinion of Prof. G. Gentner, says: 'Dargestellt sind Weizenähren; wahrscheinlich die des Binkel- oder Igel-Weizens, Triticum compactum...Heutigen Tags werden noch verschiedene Varietäten in Sizilien gehabt. Möglich wäre allerdings auch, dass ein besonders kurzhaariger Hartweizen vorläge, von dem hauptsächlich die Varietät Triticum durum affine, ebenfalls in Sizilien gebaut wird; sie ist vermutlich identisch mit dem πυρὸς τριμυκτος Theophrasts und heist im heutigen Sizilien Timilia oder Tremilia.' Sir R. H. Biffen, however, has informed me (Jan. 14, 1930) that these gold ears are barley, not bearded wheat, and certainly not a cross between the two. He notes that some details in the arrangement of the shields at the base of the ear are not true to nature. And he adds that the ears represented on Greek coins are regularly, not wheat, but barley (e.g. the hordeum hexastichon on coins of Metapontum (F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums Leipzig 1889 p. 54 pl. 9, 1, p. 56 pl. 9, 24, p. 58 pl. 9, 35)). In any case we are once reminded of the 'golden harvest' sent by the Metapontines to Delphi (Strab. 264 ob. ὅσων ἐκ τῆς γεωργίας εὐρύχορες πασί ὅτε θρός χρυσῶν ἡ Δήλῳς ἄνωθεν). This, though very different in intention, must have been very similar in technique.

Finally, it is not, I think, irrelevant to compare a well-known incident in the Gospel narrative. When certain Greeks, proselytes of the gate attending a Jewish festival, came to Philip of Bethsaida saying 'Sir, we would see Jesus,' Philip sought out Andrew and together with him told Jesus. Thereupon Jesus made answer: 'The hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified. Verily, verily, I say unto you. Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit' (John 12: 20 f.). The Master here hints at his own impending Passion as the supreme example of the law that Life must be reached through Death. That much is certain. But, in view of the fact that the fourth Gospel was written primarily for Greek readers, it is further probable that these profound words were meant to convey some message specially appropriate to the Greeks. And, if so, it is at least possible that the symbolism employed aimed at recalling the great lesson taught by the hierophant to the mystics of Eleusis.

1 F. Lenormant Monographie de la Voix Sacrée Éléusinienne Paris 1864 p. 85 ff. no. 30, id. in Darenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 573; E. Pottier ib. n. 682 (first recognition of Men). P. Perdrizet in the Bull. corr. hell. 1896 xx. 78 ff. no. 2 (with facsimile of the inscription. 'H. de chaque brique, om 42; ép., om 04; diamètre probable du puits, om 80; h. des lettres, de om 05 à om 07. Sur le bord supérieur de chaque brique, deux lettres rapprochées ΦΣ').
deeply incised inscription reads:

\[ \text{ΩΝΟΜΗΝ ΧΙΡΕΤΕΝ ΥΝΦΑΙΚΑΛΑΙ ΕΚ ΨΕΥΣΕ} \]

\[ \text{ΠΕΨΥΣΕ} \]

ο Πάν, ο Μήν, χαίρετε Νυμφαι καλαί. ὦε, κύμε, ὑπέρχωε! Πan, Men, and ye fair Nymphs, all hail! — Rain! Conceive, conceive abundantly!

The association of Men with Pan and the Nymphs is noteworthy. The same triad appears on a votive relief of Pentelic (?) marble found in or near Athens (fig. 198), which might almost serve as an illustra-

Fig. 198.

1 A mistake for ὑπέρχωε. H. Günther, however, in his interesting treatise Über Reimwörterbildungen im arischen und altgriechischen Heidelberg 1914 p. 217 f. holds that ὑπέρχωε was a new formation from χολω on the analogy of ὦ κύμε and under the influence of κύματα, κυτός, etc. In any case we can hardly infer, with F. Lenormant, that this word formed part of the original Eleusinian formula.

tion of our text. For it arranges the divinities in the same order—Men in the centre between Pan on the left and a sample Nymph on the right. Pan and the Nymphs are natural protectors of grottoes, springs, and the like. Men is present partly because he was assimilated to Hermes, partly because in his own character of moon-god he would be responsible for the dew, which in Attike meant so much to the cultivator of the thirsty ground. We may take it, then, that the owner of this particular well sought to ensure his water-supply by a silent and undemonstrative invocation of appropriate deities, coupled with the old magical cry ‘Rain! Conceive, conceive abundantly!’

That cry was addressed to the divine Sky above and to the divine Earth below. No names were used, but it is probable that these powers had long been anthropomorphic. I should venture to identify them with the nameless Theos and Thea of Eleusinian inscriptions, who elsewhere emerge into clearer light and more

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1 *Supra* ii. 285 n. o.  
2 *Supra* i. 193 ff. 143, 642 ff. 501, 731 ff. 540.  
3 W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2765.  
4 (1) An Athenian decree of c. 433/2 B.C., found at Eleusis, mentions in line 38 (cited with context *supra* p. 302 n. o (4)) gifts τῶν θεών (v. Demeter and Kore), Τριπλόλυμφ, ἡ Θεώ, ἡ Θεά, ἡ Εὐατρήσ, ἡ Δροσή.  
5 The votive relief of Lysimachides, found in 1885 during the excavation of the ‘Ploutonian’ at Eleusis (D. Philius in *Eph. Arch.* 1886 p. 19 ff. pl. 3, 1, A. Bouché-Leclercq in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1008 fig. 4380, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 135 ff., 258 ff. 1, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 554 ff. no. 1519 pl. 88, Reimach *Rcp. Reliefs* ii. 412 no. 2), renders in the style of 350—300 B.C. a Totenmaht or hero-feast inscribed (*Corpus inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1560 b) Θεός Θεά | Διονυσίδος άνθηκε. The dead man, here represented as a chthonian Zeus (cp. Zeus Επιθείς *Philios supra* ii. 1162 s. fig. 970), holds ῥυθύμ and bowl. His consort, the chthonian goddess, has apparently a *hypothymis* or garland for the neck. Beside them are seated the Eleusinian deities Demeter (sceptre) and Persephone (wreath with leaves added in paint, pair of torches burning). Demeter’s seat is round and consists in four courses of stone, perhaps meant for the well-mouth of Kallichoron (Kallim. h. Dem. 15, Nik. ther. 486, Apollod. 1. 5. 1).  
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specific function as Zeus and Ge. Eubouleus was ab origine an appellation of the former, Demeter and Persephone a bifurcation of the latter.

Other evidence of rain-magic in Attike is of very doubtful value, though it may be granted notoriously 'light-soiled' the rain-maker must sometimes have been in request.

[Δακρατείας Σωστράτου Ἰκαρέως θεοῦ καὶ θεάς καὶ Ἐβοῦλεως καὶ Δισένους], kai tov [εὐμβαζεῖς τοῦ | [Ἀθηναίων δήμων εὐφυρεῖυστων ὑπὲρ ἐαυτῶν καὶ τῶν ὕδων Σωστράτου καὶ Δισενοῦς καὶ τῆς [γυναικὸς] Διωνούσης (filiation, deme) kai τῆς θεοῦ γατρός χαραστηριών Δήμητρα καὶ Κόρης καὶ Θεὸς καὶ Ἐβοῦλεως ἀνέθετε]. (b) J. N. Svoronos loc. cit. pl. 1H—Κ': [Δακρατείας Σωστράτου Ἰκαρέως θεοῦ καὶ θεάς καὶ Ἐβοῦλεως καὶ Δήμητρας καὶ τῶν [Ἀθηναίων δήμων] τοῦ [τοὺς θεῶν τῶν εὐφυρεῖυστων ὑπὲρ ἐαυτῶν καὶ τῶν ὕδων Σωστράτου καὶ Δισενοῦς καὶ τῆς [αμακρίνης] Διωνούσης καὶ Κλαίου τῆς εἰκότων θεοῦ γατρός χαραστηριών Δήμητρα καὶ Κόρης καὶ Θεῶν καὶ Θεᾶς καὶ Ἐβοῦλεως ἀνέθετε]. Svoronos p. 495 adds that the fourth line may have started with καὶ Τριπτολήμοιο, for which there would be space above the head of Kleo. (c) D. Philios in the Ath. Mitt. 1905 xxv. 186: [Δακρατείας Σωστράτου Ἰκαρέως θεοῦ καὶ θεάς καὶ Ἐβοῦλεως καὶ τῶν [αμακρίνης] τοῦ [τοὺς θεῶν τῶν εὐφυρεῖυστων ὑπὲρ ἐαυτῶν καὶ τῶν ὕδων Σωστράτου καὶ Δισενοῦς καὶ τῆς [αμακρίνης] Διωνούσης καὶ Κλαίου τῆς (filiation, deme, e.g. Κλείον του Ἰκαρέως) θεοῦ γατρός χαραστηριών Δήμητρα καὶ Κόρης καὶ Θεῶν καὶ Θεᾶς καὶ Ἐβοῦλεως ἀνέθετε]. The centre of the relief is occupied by an assemblage of the Eleusinian powers. Theos (θεός), in the guise of Zeus, is seated, sycophant, in hand, on a throne, the arm of which rests on a small Sphinx. Thea (θεία), a matronal figure, lifting the back fold of her φέρας, stands at his side. Further to the left, Ploutos (Πλοῦτος) leans on a sycophant and looks toward the group of Kore and Demeter. The former stands, holding a pair of torches. The latter sits, with a veil over her head. Her left hand holds a sycophant; her right, a bunch of corn ears. These presents to Triptolemos (Τριπτολήμασι), who receives them as he sits on his serpent-car. In the background is seen the dedicant (Δακρατείας Σωστράτου Ἰκαρέως). The remaining persons are harder to identify. Those who take them to be divine regard the long-haired youth on the right as Eubouleus bearing a vine-branch in one hand, a torch in the other, the female behind Demeter as a personification of Eleusis (so O. Kern in the Ath. Mitt. 1892 xvii. 117, R. Heberdey loc. cit. p. 116), and the boy carrying myrtle in front of her aslakeos (A. N. Skias in the Ἑρ. ᾿Αρχ. 1903 p. 34) or Ploutos (R. Heberdey loc. cit. p. 116). But, in view of the fact that Eubouleus (see D. Philios in the Ath. Mitt. 1905 xxv. 188 ff.)—not to mention Ploutos—is sufficiently represented by Ploutos, there is more to be said for the view (J. N. Svoronos, D. Philios) that the flanking figures are purely human and belong to the family of Lakrateides—Sostatos with vine-branch and torch on the right, Dionysia and her son Dionysos with myrtle on the left.

(4) Two lists of Athenian officials, dating from the period 117—129 A.D. (W. Larfeld Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik, Leipzig 1898 ii. i. 334), mention as koumēs or 'marshal' of the ἱπποδοι (F. Freisgké in Pany.—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 1490 ff.) a certain priest of Theos and Thea (b) Corp. inscr. Gr. i Add. n. 274 b, 4 ff. = Corp. inscr. Att. iii no. 1108, 4 ff. καὶ [εὐμβαζον] τῆς ἰρενὸς θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς ἐβοῦλεως Παμήναυς. (b) Corp. inscr. Gr. i no. 274, 3 ff. = Corp. inscr. Att. iii no. 1109, 3 ff. [καὶ θεοῦ] ἐβοῦλεως θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς ἐβοῦλεως Παμήναυς (as) as an arbitrary sign for an identical patronymic see Larfeld ep. cit. Leipzig 1902 ii. 2. 535 f.).


1 Supra i. 669 n. 2, 717 n. 6, 3, 131, 258 n. 3, 259 n. 6, 1076, 1105.
2 Supra i. 396 f.
Miss J. E. Harrison’s recognition of a rain-making scene on a ‘Dipylon’ jug from Athens (fig. 201), though plausible, is far from certain. And little importance can be attached to Marinus’ statement that Proklos was an adept in Chaldean charms, who by spinning his ἰσχύρερα might cause a downpour and so freed Attike from drought.

Lastly, the lapidary tradition perpetuated a belief (originating when and where?) that polished green quartz or ‘plasma,’ if worn during religious rites, would conciliate the gods and ensure a good shower on the thirsty fields. A stone resembling water might well cause water to fall.

Fig. 201.

3 Supra i. 512 n. 6. I was there inclined to accept Miss Harrison’s hypothesis. But it is undeniably frail. The alleged rattles are perhaps not rattles at all; and, if, they are, they may represent thunder rather than rain (C. Clemen in the Archiv f. Rel. 1914 xvii. 157 f.). The shield need not be on the altar; and, if it is, the scene may be one of Palladion-worship, or even of mere holoplatry (cf. supra ii. 544 ff.).
4 Supra i. 264 n. 6.
Rain-magic in the cult of Zeus.

Primitive rain-magic was in Greece commonly taken up into the cult of Zeus. The epic appellative *nephelegereita* implies that already in the second millennium B.C. Zeus was conceived as a rain-making magician. And a like inference may be drawn from his constant epithet *aigiochos*. Indeed, in more than one passage of the *Iliad* we can detect a literary reminiscence of the weather-maker’s devices; for instance, in Agamemnon’s ominous words—

The day shall come when holy Ilios,
Priam, and Priam’s folk (stout spearman he),
Shall be destroyed, and Zeus the son of Kronos,
Seated on high, dwelling in light divine,
Shall shake his darkling *aigis* at them all,
Wroth for this guile—

or, later, in the poet’s description of the fighting over Patroklos—

Then Kronos’ son caught up his tasselled *aigis*,
Gleaming, and hid Mount Ida under cloud,
Lightened and thundered and made quake the ground.

Clearly, to shake the *aigis* is to cause a storm—a thoroughly magical procedure.

If it may be assumed that such poetic phraseology was founded on cult-usage, the actual rain-maker was probably the priest of Zeus impersonating his god. It is tempting to interpret in that sense a curious statement in the *Aeneid*. Virgil, concerned to derive Roman antiquities from Greece, is hinting apparently at a supposed connexion between the *Arx* and the *Arcades*, when he makes Evander say to Aeneas *a propos* of the wooded Capitol—

This grove, this hill with leafy top some god—
We know not who—inhabits. My Arcadians
Believe that they have seen the very Jove
Oft shake the darkling *aegris* in his hand
And call the rain-clouds.

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1 *Supra* i. 14 n. 1, iii. 30 ff., 296.
2 *Supra* i. 14 n. 1.
3 *II. 4* 164 ff. *καὶ κακοὶ ὅσπερ ὁλοκληρωμένοι ἔρημοι ἢμαρ ὅτι ὁ μικρὸς θεὸς ἤτοι ἡμῖν. Πλατ. ἡμῖν ἀνθρώποι, παρακάμπτον, ὑπακούει τοιούτῳ ἡμῖν ἀρχῆς ἧμοι τοσούτῳ ἀνθρώποις. Κρίθ. II. 15. 139 ff. where Zeus lends his *aigis* to Apollo and says: ἄλλα τίς ἐν χειρός μασ ἡ γῆ ὑποενδόθησαν, ἠγησίας, ἢ (with variant τής) μᾶλλ’ ἐπιστήμην φοβείειν ἠρωτήσει Ἀχαίων.
4 *II. 17*. 593 ff. *καὶ τότε ἀρα Κρονίδης ἔλεγεν ἀγίθας ὑπερανάλον, μαρμαρεῖς. Ἡ ἔρημος ἰδίᾳ ἐκλεγεί, ἀνατρέφεὶ δὲ μάλα μεγάλ’ ἐκτεινόμεν, τής (Zecondotus read τῆς) δὲ τιναζέ.
5 *Solin. i. 1* quam *et Romam* Arcades quoniam habitassent in excelsa parte montis, derivatum deinceps, ut tutissima urbiam arces vocarentur.
6 *Supra* i. 711 ff. (Vedolvis, the youthful Jupiter).
7 *Verg. Aen. 8* 351 ff. hoc nemus, hunc,” inquit, “frondoso vertice collem, qui Deus
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Virgil may, of course, be drawing upon sources no longer accessible to us. And presumably he was familiar with the fact that in Arkadia the priest of Zeus Lykaios regularly made rain for his neighbours. Pausanias, speaking of the spring Hagno on Mount Lykaion, says:

"If there is a long drought, and the seeds in the earth and the trees are withering, the priest of Lycaean Zeus looks to the water and prays; and having prayed and offered the sacrifices enjoined by custom, he lets down an oak branch to the surface of the spring, but not deep into it; and the water being stirred, there rises a mist-like vapour, and in a little the vapour becomes a cloud, and gathering other clouds to itself it causes rain to fall on the land of Arcadia."

It would seem then that on Mount Lykaion the magical practice was preceded by a prayer, which—as M. H. Morgan has observed—

incertum est, habitat deus; Arcades ipsum credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum sacre nigrantem | aegida concurret dextra nimbosque cieret. Serv. ad loc. ipsum credunt se vidisse Iovem in hoc scilicet nemo cre. sane ad illud adludit quod primi dicuntur Iovi templo [et rem divinam] faciisse—[Aeacus enim primus in Arcadia templum Iovi constituisse dicitur]—nee enim longa sunt a qua Olympico: unde eos dicit Iovem vidisse, et quod ipsi sunt προκλάμα, ut [ait] Statius 'Arcades astris lunaque priores' (Stat. Theb. 4. 775): licet dicit Sallustius Cretenses primos invenisse religionem, unde apud eos natus fuit Iuppiter (Sall. hist. 3. 60 Dietsch, 63 Kritz. Cp. Myth. Vat. 3. 3. 9).


1 Supra i. 65, 76 f., 87.
2 On the identification of this spring see Frazer Pausanias iv. 383 and Bolte in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 2310. It is now known as Kopre, a name given to small stone, or more often wooden, troughs, which are one of which the water at present runs. The inhabitants of the district declare that here there was once a regular river (νεό πόταμος), but that, when the son of Hellenopoulus was drowned in it, they dammed it up with twelve woolly fleeces and twelve caldrons, each caldron having forty handles. When in 1903 K. Kourouniotess was digging beside the spring, they believed that the water would burst out again. He found near by the ruins of a large ancient cistern (Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904 p. 162). Perhaps we have here a lingering belief in the water-magic of the sacred spring.

3 Paus. 8. 38. 4 trans. Sir J. G. Frazer.
4 M. H. Morgan 'Greek and Roman Rain-Gods and Rain-Charm' in the Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 1901 xxxii. 92: 'The prayer, though offered by the priest of Zeus, was obviously offered not to Zeus, but to Hagnos, the nymph of the spring (προκλάμα, ή τὸ δορυ). The sacrifice (καλ θῶσα) may have been offered to Zeus, but Pausanias gives us no information on this point.'

When Diotima as priestess of Zeus Lykaios (supra ii. 1167) postponed the plague at Athens for a decade by means of prayer (schol. Arist. p. 458, 15 Π. Dindorf ή διοτίμα ηῳς γγαες του δικαίου δύο του ερακίδια. αὕτη δέ, μελεύοντι της νόσου, ής θεουκιθότα μετρανέ, εκκεναντίαν της θηφανίας, εκφύζων εκλύσανε αὐτήν επιλέθεν (so cod. B. επιλέθειν cod. D.) ἐτι δικα ἐτέρι, she must be assumed to have prayed to her namesake deity. See further T. Zielinski in the Archiv f. Rel. 1906 ix. 43.
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was apparently directed to that old-world sanctity, the sacred spring.

Similarly in Thessaly magic was eked out by prayer. When the men of Krannon in time of drought shook their bronze car, they likewise ‘prayed the god for rain'. And ‘the god' concerned was almost certainly Zeus.

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Prayers to Zeus for rain

Other cults that gave the sanction of religion to the rites of rain-magic were the worship of Zeus Aktatoš on Mount Pelion in Thessaly and the worship of Zeus Polièteis on the Akropolis at Athens. The ritual of the former presupposed a procession of rain-makers clad in sheep-skins by way of copying the clouds. The ritual of the latter included the significant action of the Hydrophôroi, who poured water over axe and knife at the Dipolieia.

The vitality of such usages is amazing. I conclude with an instructive example noted by Sir A. J. Evans in the Balkans:

'İbrahimovce itself is a small Bulgarian village, but it contains a monument of antiquity, interesting in itself, and of greater interest in its connexion with a local cult which has at least all the superficial appearance of being a direct inheritance from Roman times. Lying on its back on the village green was a large block, which proved on examination to be a Roman altar, erected to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, by an Edile of a Colonia, of which we learn no more than that its name began with CO..., who was also Duumvir of the Colony of Scupi.

'To my astonishment, I learnt that this monument of Roman municipal piety towards the “cloud-compeller” is still the object of an extraordinary local cult. I was informed by one of the inhabitants that in time of drought the whole of the villagers, both Christian and Mahometan, with a local Bey at their head, go together to the stone, and, having restored it to its upright position, pour libations of wine over the top, praying the while for rain. The language of the villagers is at present a Slavonic dialect, and the name of Jove was as unknown to them as the inscription on the stone was unintelligible. Nevertheless, it was difficult not to believe that in this remote Illyrian nook some local tradition of the cult of Jupiter Pluvius had survived all historic changes.'

(b) Prayers to Zeus for rain.

Marcus Aurelius has preserved the Athenian equivalent of our prayer 'In the time of Dearth and Famine.' It runs as follows:

Rain, rain, dear Zeus,
On Athens’ tilth and Athens’ plains.

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1 Supra pp. 31 f., 68 f. 2 Inscr pp. 583, 603 ff.
3 Sir A. J. Evans in Archaeologia 1885 xlix. i. 104 f. fig. 48 (=my fig. 201), id. in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1925 xlv. 10 n. 44.

The address ο φίλε Ζεῦ is appropriate to a simple, not to say primitive, prayer (supra ii. 1167. Cp. also Struttis Φοινικιανος frag. 7 (frag. com. Gr. ii. 781 Meineke) ap. Poll. 9. 133 f. οὐκ ἦσαν μόνον πεπιθέατον τοῖς νεωτίσις ἤττον Μέγασιον ἤεῖχεν, ο φίλε τοῦ = Zosar. lex. s.v. ήεῖχεν and Aristoph. Νῆσον frag. 4 (frag. com. Gr. ii. 1110 Meineke) ap. Suid. s.v.
Prayers to Zeus for rain

A parallel to this was published by A. Körte. Near Tschukur-hissar, a village in Phrygia, he found an inscribed marble stèle now used as the doorstep of a house. The inscription (fig. 203), so far as it can be restored, gives us three or four passable hexameters and is dated in the consulship of Salvius Iulianus and Calpurnianus (sic) Piso, that is, in 175 A.D. We may render it:

Wet thou the ground
That with thick crops and corn it may abound.
Zeus Kronos' son, thus Metrodoros prays
And victims fair before thine altar slays.

ΣΑΛΒΙΩΝΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΝΚΑΙΚΑ
ΛΠΟΥΡΝΙΑΝΝΠΕΙΣΝΝΙΥ
ΠΑΤΟΙΣ

Fig. 203.

Alkiphron, a later contemporary of Lucian, pens a graphic little sketch of an Attic village distressed by lack of rain. His description takes the form of a letter from Thalliskos to Petraios:

'The drought is now on. Not a cloud above the horizon. What we want is a real downpour; for the absolute dryness of the soil shows the fields to be suffering from thirst. It would seem that our sacrifices to the Rain-god have been addressed in vain to deaf ears. And yet all the inhabitants of our village fairly vied with each other in their offerings. We contributed, according to our ability or our abundance, one man a ram, another a he-goat, a third a boar. The poor man brought a cake, the poorer still a pinch of frankincense. Nobody could manage a bull, since we who occupy the thin-soiled part of Attike are not well off for cattle. However we have done us no good. It looks as

εξέχαν τον ἄρσων and Eustath. in II. p. 881, 43 β. λέγεται ἀεα | ἄνω το ταῦτα ἢ ἔχε', ὁ φίλος Μενου. | Athen. 619 ή δέ εἶτ' Ἀτηλίαν ὑδάτων φιλονία, ὡς Τελεύτα (frag. 2 Bergk) | παλατίων. In Aristoph. vesp. 88 φιλονίασθε there is of course a sly reference to Philokleon's second childhood).

1 A. Körte in the Ath. Mittth. 1900 xxv. 421 f. no. 33 [βρέχει γαῖαν, | καρπῶν βριθῆ καὶ ἐν ἀπαχόσαι ταῦτα. | ἦλθεν [sic] Μητρόπολος ἐγὼ λίτωμα, Kρη|ξία Ζεῦ, | ἀμφι τεις μισην ἐγρομάτα θύματα ὑδέων. Σαλβίων Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ Καλπουρνίας Πελαῖοι ὑπάτοι (a would-be ablative absolute on the analogy of the Latin formula).

2 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1914 ii. 2. 826.
though Zeus has turned his attention to foreigners and is neglecting the folk at home. 1

Of course the god that could send the rain was also the god that could stop the rain. An epigram by Asklepiades of Samos (s. iii B.C.) tells us how a lover, wet to the skin at his loved one's door, appealed to Zeus for a cessation of the deluge 2.

(c) The relation of rain to Zeus.

Apart from general phrases such as \( \text{Zeus rains} \), \( \text{Zeus drizzles} \),

1 Alkiphr. erit. 3. 35 υπάρχω τινί; αιδομένου υφές ενείρ γῆς άρσεν. δε δε εκμύρια 
διέκοψε γάρ τις αροσίας το κατάβασιν τη βουλαί δείκνυα. μάταια ήμιο, ώς άλοχε, και αίκεια 
τέθεται τω θείω. καίτοι γε εξ αμιλλής ακαλληρήσματος πάντες οί της κόμης αικήροι, και 
ότι έκαστο υπάρχω ή περιουσία ήχην συνεκαρεγκαμεν, εμν εν κρίνων, δε τέρανος, δε κατώρνο 
τοίς πόνοις, δε έτη πενεκτόραν λαμπιστοι χώρας: ταύρον δε άθεος, οί εγνύ ειρη 
βοσκημάτων ήμιο την λειτόμον της Αττικής καταφύσις. αλλ' ιδιοφθολος των δασασωμάτων 
θαυμά γάρ πρός έτροποι έθεσεν δ ιένας απουσία.

2 Anth. Pal. 5. 166. 8 f. (Asklepiades) θέλω (J. F. Dübner cjr. το δέ H. Stadtmüller 
cjr. παιδί) τοπαίρι θάφτον αυτάγγελον: 'ξέρι τίνος, Ζεύς; Ζεύς φίλε, σήμερον' κατότι έρω 
εμαθέν.* Συνα. ii. 1167 n. 4. Cp. Anth. Pal. 7. 533. 1 (Dionysios of Andros) καὶ Δία 
καὶ Βραχος με διάφορος οὐ μέγεθος, ενθά με, which 'Zeus' means rain and 'Bromios' wine.

3 Il. 12. 35 f. (Συνα. α. 1 n. 4), Od. 14. 457 f. οί δ' έρα Ζεύς; ταύροις, Hes. s. d. 
415 f. (Συνα. ι. 1 n. 4), 488 f. τάμος Zεύς δοι τριίτω ήματι μηδ' άπολογεί, μη' άρ' 
ύπερβαλλον μοι άπληθυ μηδ' ἀπόλεοντος, Alkai. frag. 34. 1 Bergk 4, 157. 1 Edmonds, 90. 1 
Dicht bei (A. Hecker cjr. υφές, J. M. Edmonds cjr. ποιότης) μην ο Ζεύς αρ' Athen. 430 a, 
Theogn. 75 f. οθόδι γάρ Ω Ζεύς; άθεο' δως τάγματα τών άρχεον οχι' άρχεον (quoted by Apostol. 
89 = Monumenta Asia Minoris antiqua iv. 14 f. n. 49 (t) a round pillar of white marble at 
Allh Hisar near Synamur, recording in letters of s. iii A.D., the dedication of a statue 

to toy in, who had transferred to the temple of Νέα ΘΕΟΛΥΔΗ ην αυτός, reconstructed by her husband, to serve as a protection against rain: 4 ff. και 
ϊπεράνεον τω ταυτά τι χλεόν ό λόγοι, νιν άτε έκει το ΘΕΟΛΥΔΗ έκει 
των βροούν (would-be hexameters), Liban. apol. Socr. 78 (v. 57, 1 f. Foerster) άλλα 
τω τω άκων δωτό κατάρα ήγο κατο κατάρα βουνόν ώς αδάκμενα καὶ τι ταυτά 
θετόν τη ἔρωτα τιμιοσ εν την περί 
την γνώρισμαν και ταυτό τά τον καταγορίαν έγρατες. ΘΕΟΛΥΔΗ (αντί τω 

to 

p. 387. 40 f. (but see sec. 3. 3 n. 2).

Cp. Aristoph. naud. 1328 f. κάθετός μοι, | τάσπερ χιουις κακων αει των Δια | δει 
vöδος έκκαστος, ή των ήλιων, έκειν καυσθεν τών τοις δειδ' διώρων 
πάλιν: Silenos of Chios (on whom see F. Jacoby in Panly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii A. 59) frag. i. (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 100 n. 4 Müller, Frag. gr. Hist. i. 211 f. Jacoby) αρ. schol. E. M. T. Od. 1. 75 Σαλαντ δε ο Χίος 

e δε τειχος Μεσοκά ιστορος—οτι δε δε διβαλλα—Αντικείμενα φορο της Οδυσσείας μετα 

γίγνεται διώρων ποια το Νησιόν, δικε έτευ τη της Παλιάς δρους, δωτό το Νησιό δι 

γάμος και ωραίας κατασκευάσοντο των Ωδος στοιχείαν, και δια το το ταύτη την ωραίας 

to ταύτη την αυγοσ εντού πολύς δ Ζεύς (a story repeated by Tzetzes in Lyk. Al. 786, 

Ευστάθ. in Od. p. 1871. 21 ff., Eutok. vol. 61. 727, and 918, Natalis Comes myth. g. 1 

(p. 934 ed. Parisius 1603), cp. schol. Vind. 156. 1. 21 f. Od. 1. 21), Paulus. 1. 24. 2 εις 

ης γαλαγία λειτουργίαν ώς ώ των Δια, είτε αυτοίς δώδεκα δέσατο άθραναι, είτε 

και των πάσων 

έλαμα συμβάσα ακούσι (Συνα. ι. 21 n. 4).

4 Philol. v. Apsit. 4. 45 p. 164 Kayser (Apolлонιος recalls a Roman girl to life) and 

είτε 

αυτούς της υπερτής αίρειν τη δόξαν, δε ελληνικοί τους θεατησώντας—λέγεται γάρ, ότι 

νά 

μεν τον Ζακυνθιανό, δε άγαλμα κατά της πορείας—είτε ανεξηγητικά της υπερτής ανεξαρ 

τα και 

ανέλεψε, δροποσ τη κατάληψη του τότεν γένος οικο μυθο, αλλά και τοις παρατηρούντοις.
The relation of rain to Zeus

‘the shower of Zeus’, ‘water from Zeus’, etc. there is good evidence to prove that the Greeks of the historical period regarded rain as essentially connected with this god. Philosophers and grammarians even made a misguided attempt to derive his name in its dialect form Δείας from the verb δείειν, ‘to moisten’, because he moistened the ground with his rain or gave living creatures the dampness without which none could live.\(^1\)

\[^1\] Δείας διαβρότος: Ἰ. 5. 91, Ι. 493, 12. 286 (of snow), Od. 9. 111, 328, Ησ. ο.δ. 626, 676, Πινδ. ιστ. 5. 49 (of hail), Aristoph. ναύ. 426, Theokr. 17. 78, Nonn. Δίαν. 3. 215, 42. 292, 47. 591. Cp. Lahan. monod. de templ. Απολλ. Δαρβ. 9 (iv. 318, 2 ff. Foerster) ἄλλα οὖν ὁ Ζεὺς διαβρων ἡμέρα ἔχων διαβρόντως ἄθεα ἀθέας ἐν τῇ φύλεσί τινα καὶ τάντα Διόνυσος ποτὲ βασιλεύει διανυφεταὶ σφέννεσται πυρὸς; copied by his pupil Ι. Χρύσ. in S. Βασιλαμέν. ε. Ι. Συλλαμμ. ε. τ. c. gentiles 90 (xlix. 504 ff. Migne).

\[^2\] Ἡττ. 2. 13 εἰ μὴ ἀκούει σφα ἔτι ὁ θεὸς ἄλλο αὐξωμ ἀκοιμάσθαι, λέγων ὁ Ἐλληνες αἰρέθησονται: ἀν γὰρ ὁ σφα ἐκεί ἔτοι διαβρόντως ἀκοιμάσθαι ἀνατριττὴρ ὁ μὴ ἐκ τῶν Διῶν μοίρων, Plat. legg. 761 ἅ τῶν ἐκ Διῶν ὀδόντων, 844 ἃ τοῦ ἐκ Διῶν ὀδόντων...κατακρατεῖ, Crit. 111 ἃ τοῦ ἐκ Διῶν ἔπαινων διασπρόντος ἐκ Διῶν, Θεοπρ. διήσ. pl. 6. 2. 6 ἐκείρθητε χάλαλλον τὸ μαντατικόν διορίζεται ἐκ τῶν Διῶν, 7. 5. 5 ἀγάθα ἐκ τῶν ἐκ Διῶν (ἰερ. ὀδόντων), 8. 7. 7 τὰ μαντατικὰ συμφέρουσαν μᾶλλον αὕτης τῶν ἐκ Διῶν, εἰς μελ. 1. 19. 5 γυμνομένων ὀδόντων ἐκ Διῶν, 2. 6. 1 ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκ Διῶν ὀδόντων, 3. 8. 3 διὰ τὴν στάντινα τῶν ἐκ Διῶν (ἰερ. ὀδόντων), 3. 9. 5 μὴ ἔπειρομενον τῶν ἐκ Διῶν (ἰερ. ὀδόντων), Ap. Rhod. 2. 1110 ἃ τοῦ μέρους ἐκ Διῶν διαβρῶν μέρος ἐκ Διῶν, ἄντι τινας ὑλικις, Plout. quaest. nat. 2 ἅρα οὖν κοινότατον ἔτι τό ἐκ Διῶν διαβρὸν καὶ ἄρωδες, καὶ τυποματικοὶ μερομενοὶ ὁδογείται το καὶ ἀνατριττεῖται ταχέως εἰς τὸ φυτὸ ὑπὸ λαττυτότων;

\[^3\] Supra ii. 344 n. 0. Cp. F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. Ἀκ. 911 ἵππω Δειάς.

\[^4\] Cornut. theol. 2 p. 3. 10 ff. Lang πάρα ἐκ τοῦ καὶ Δείας λειτεύει, τάχα ἀπὸ τοῦ δείων τὴν γῆν ἢ μεταβάλλει τοῖς ζῷων ἄφθονοι (ζωοματικὴς κοινικ. Χ. L.) ἱμαδιότης, et. mag. p. 409, 2 ff. ἢ πάρα ἐκ τοῦ δείων τὸ βέρος, διεσφαίρεται, Δείας καὶ Δείας, δείτοις γὰρ ὁ θεὸς (ἀπό τοὺς γάρ ἕντοσιν τοῦ καὶ Δείας λειτεύει, ἵππω Δειάς λειτεύει, καὶ τυποματικοὶ μερομενοὶ ὁδογείται, καὶ ἀνατριττεῖται ταχέως εἰς τὸ φυτὸ ὑπὸ λαττυτότων, Eustath. in Il. p. 153, 34 ff. δείτο τὸ βέρος τὸν Δείας καὶ τοῦ Δείας λέγεται ἕκατον. On the summit of Mt. Tmolos was a place called Γοιών Δείας Θείων and later Δείσων, whence K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 281 inferred the existence of an appellative Δείσων = 'Τέντον'; but see supra ii. 957 n. 2.

The notion that the name of Zeus implies moisture has been revived in modern times. I possess the abstract of a paper written by Prof. T. G. Tucker of Melbourne and dated June 3, 1912, but not—so far as I know—published, in which the following propositions were advanced. Religion begins with the obtaining of food and drink. Where there is insufficient moisture, there is not enough to eat. Hence the earliest religious efforts of Mediterranean man aimed at rain-making, or rather water-getting. His nunima were practically all concerned with human maintenance—the Earth-mother and her cognates with the food-supply, the rest with the water-supply. *Δείας in particular was the ‘Moistener,’ the ‘Wetter,’ not the ‘Shiner’ [supra i. 1 ff., 14 ff., 775], cp. βυθὸς ‘wet,’ διάσων ‘I moisten.’ Thus Κατ. βλαίον is the equivalent of Παῦ-δροσος; the festivals Δείας, Πάνας, Δίας, Δυσάλα all involved rain-making ceremonies (as did the θυρτήρα, from *Ἰσθῆρα = 'Ισθήρα, 'rain-maker,' in spite of Athen. 95 ff.—96 οὐδὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἄφροδιτος ἐν τεθανείς μαρτυρεῖ Καλλιμαχος [frag. 100 no. 1 Schneider] ἡ ζυνόνθος ἐν ἑσπερικοῖς ὑπομηχασε [frag. 2 (frag. See Hist. i. 183 Jacoby)] γράφων υπελεῖ: ‘Ἄργαλος ἄφροδιτος ὁ ζυγινής καὶ ἡ ἑσπερία καλύπτει Θυρτήρας’); and θυρτήρα (Dioch. Dion) stands beside the fountain-goddess Τέτωνα (Diuturna [Lotte in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 1349]). Various cult-epithets of Zeus are cited in support of this interpretation, not only *Ὀμόρφης, ‘Τέτωνα, Ἰκαμοῖς, but also *Νάδος (cp. νάνα [supra i. 369 n. 2, ii. 351 n. 0, 869 n. 01]. Πανορμύπαιος (‘of the Voice’ [Supra ii. 1997 n. 2, 1211), but originally ‘of the Rain.’ The composite root *mēlē- has for Ablaut-grades *mēlē-, *omēlē-, *mēlh- in νέφος, ὄμελος, ἀφρός. The δυσάλας was a ‘rain-gathering’ stone, cp. διαμέλας, Ὀλυμπεῖος (‘Ολυμπος meant
The relation of rain to Zeus

But, though rain was always referred to Zeus, its exact relationship to him was variously conceived.

'Cloud-collector,' so that
νεφεληγερτα Ζεσ in a sense was the mountain—just as the Mexican rain-god Tlaloc was also Mt Popocatepetl. The Mysian flute-player Olympos [P. Weiszäcker in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 860 ff.] whistled for the wind. A Cretan Olympos was 'teacher' of Zeus [Ptol. Hephast. ap. Phot. bibl. p. 147 b 38 f. Bekker] in control of the rain-power. On this showing τα 'Ολυμπια would be ceremonies of cloud-gathering, Μαυμακτής (not 'Raging' [Plout. de coth. 149 d 9 ηυ κα των θεων των βασιλεω Μελίχων, 'Αθηναίων), ουκεία, καλούμε το δε καλαστικά ερωτήδε και δαμασκήνες, ου καθον δε οδή 'Ολυμπιος, Ηραπόκρ. s.v. Μαυμακτήμαρα... ωνομασται δε απο Δωρ Μαυμάκτης. Μαυμάκτης δε εστιν ενθυσιατις και ταραττότα, ου καθον Ασισταχίδης (Ασισταχίδης cod. Ven.) (Lyseumachos of Alexandria frag. 22 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 341 Müller)) εν τω πεω των 'Αθηνάων μηνων άργων δε λαμβάνοντο το χειμών των τοις τω μηνι δε άθρο παράτηται και μεταβαθείν τεσεως. Soud. s.v. Μαυμακτήμαρα. Alliter Phot. lex. s.v. Μαυμακτήμαρα... ωνομασθη δε απο της μαυμακτής της περι των άμπελων έμπαικτης γαρ, δε εστιν ομοιατες, εφόρηγαν άμπελον και οων εποίησε. H. W. Stoll in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2244 f. notes that the 'Raging' god might be appeased (Hesych. Μαυμάκτης - Μελίχων, Καθάρως) and cp. Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 no. 77, 12 f. cited supra i. 176 n. 21, but 'Giving Increase.' The root μαπ- meant 'enlargement' (μαπρός), 'increase,' 'benefit,' 'blessing' (μάκαρες θεος = δυστήρες εδώ, cp. macte esto). The reduplication is of a common type (εταλλάκτω). Zeus Μαυμάκτης was probably developed from human Μαυμακτήμαρα, whose rain-making rites Μαυμακτήμαρα gave their name to the month Μαυμακτήμαρα. With this μαβ- goes φαρμακοι (cp. φαρφ- μακοι, 'promoters of bearing (or produce),' cp. Φαρμακεία. The by-form μαβθή is found in μαβθή (Zeus Μαβθήων: supra ii. 1144 n. 2, infra § 8 (li)) Μαυτις the month of increase, Iupiter Maius [Macrobr. Sat. i. 12. 17 sunt qui hunc mensem ad nostras fastas a Tusculanis transisse commemorant, apud quos nunc quoque vocatur deus Maius qui est Iuppiter, a magnitudine sicut et maiestate dicitur. See further Link in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xiv. 613 f.], etc.), Φαλλάρος (Zeus Φαλλάρος [supra ii. 875 n. 2, 1235]) or rather Φαλλάρος was god 'of the Swelling Tisps' on plants, fruit-trees, oak, and beeches. The compound φαλλ- ἀρρος has for its first element the φαλλ- ('ηθολ- ' hyperlink=##' ) of φάλης, φαλλός (the 'growth-making,' a magic instrument), etc., as in the case of Hermes Φαλάλος [Corp. inscr. Att. i. 3 no. 1666 Δικτιλός Ναυκλεούς | Άρμιειοι Φαλαλοί άνθρωποι, where however the god's epithet may be Φαλαλθης, an ethnic from Mt Phalanthon in Arkadia; see O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2337], who makes the flower or bloom of things to grow, cp. Hesych. Βραδιφόλων (Α. Meineke ej. 'Ερφύλολων) — των 'Ανδριλων και των 'Ερωταν, Λαφιστόν (If this title of Zeus [supra ii. 898 n. 1, 904 n. 1] had anything to do with λαφίστον, 'to devour,' it meant 'who enables men to gorge,' not 'who gorges himself'; but the connexion is somewhat doubtful). It is contended also that Nikes (later Nikês [but this is merely a Byzantine mis-spelling]), the attribute of Zeus, meant 'Bearing' or 'Winning'—originally what the season 'brings' or 'bears' for you, what you 'win' or 'carry off' in the way of produce.—being thus in form akin to ενέχω (Boisacq Dict. éym. de la Langue Gr. p. 251 notes that the root ενέ- had reduced forms ενή- and κεν-, cp. Walde Lat. etym. Worterb., p. 560 f. s.v. 'nanciscor') and in sense comparable with Fort, Fortuna (fero) [supra i. 272].

Prof. Tucker's reading of Greek religion is simple and so far attractive. But the etymologies on which he relies vary in value from the certain (e.g., 'Ομβρος) or highly probable (e.g. 'Νάος) to the highly improbable (e.g. 'Ομφαλός) or impossible (e.g. 'Ολυμπος), and I doubt whether any tenable position can be constructed out of such miscellaneous materials.

1 E.g. Eur. Thèa 78 f. (cited supra ii. 1 n. 6). Hdt. 2. 13 πυθνομεν χαιρ. (εγ. οι Αγάπτοι) ως τατη πλησια χαιρομεν των Ελληνων, αλλ' ου πονηρωι αρδεται κατα περ χαιρετηρ, ονταν Ελληνως πυθνομεν κετων ελιδως μεγαλη χαιρομεν πενθεται. το δε εποτο εθελε λεγειν ως, ει μη έδεικθησε εστι δειν ο τεθα αλλ' αχιμο διαχαθαι, λυμφ οι Ελληνες αρθηθονται.
The relation of rain to Zeus

Matron, a parodist of Homer in the days of Alexander the Great,3 dubbed it 'the child of Zeus'.4 Orphic writers spoke of it as 'the tears of Zeus'.5 Ovid's story

οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφών οὐσὶ διάτοιο οἰδώμα τοῖς ἄνθρωποις θείω ἀποστραφής ὑπὲρ ἐκ τῶν Δίων μοῖρων, Ἰσοκρ. Ἰτικ. 12 τῶν γὰρ διάμετρος καὶ τῶν ἀδιάμετρος τοις μὲν ἄλλως ὁ θεὸς ταύτας ἑκάτερα, ἑκάστων δὲ ἑκάστως (οὐκ τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδος) ἀμφοτέρων νομίμων αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ψωφί καθήκτης, Θεοπρ. διαφ. 18 Ἰεββ. καὶ εἰ νοσθήσει οἱ θεοὶ θεοὺς τὰ τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκείνην ἔσχοαι, 22 Ἰεββ καὶ τῷ Διὸς ἐγκαταστάτιν, οὐ δόταν οὐχ θεῖ, ἀλλὰ δόταν ἑκεῖνον. See further M. H. Morgan 'Greek and Roman Rain-Gods and Rain-Charms' in the Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 1901 xxxii. 83 ff.

In the Class. Rev. 1905 xvii. 175 and in Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 267 I drew attention to the remarkable term ζήνων ὄνομα used for 'rain-water' in the magical papyri (C. Wessely Griechische Zauberpapyri von Paris und London Wien 1888 p. 26 pap. Pat. 222 ff. = K. Preisendanz Papyri Graecae magicae Leipzig—Berlin 1928 i 79 no. 4 222 ff. a lecanomantic prescription σκεύης, ἔπειτα ποτα βουλεῖ· σκέφτεσθαι περὶ πραγμάτων, λαβεῖν ἄγγειλ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα λάμβανη σημείωσιν, ἵνα λάμβανεν. —ἔνα μὲν τοὺς ἐκπραματίσεις θεοὺς ἐλέγξῃ ζήνων, ἵνα τοῖς ἐπεισόδιοι, ἀλάξεσθαι, ἢ ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ἰαραίην ποταμοῦ, ἄλλος δὲ τοῖς καθέεσθαι τοῖς γωνίαις σηκοῦν, ἀκείμενοι διαλείπειν διαμερίσματος καὶ σοὶ αὐτὸς ἐκκατέρων ἐν τῇ σκεύῃ πέντε τῶν ἀθρόν τῶν ὑποστηθέντων καὶ προσκαλεῖ, ἄλλος δὲ βουλεῖ, ἵνα ἔπειτα, περὶ ὑδάτων, καὶ ταιριατάσθαι σοι· καὶ ἐρεὶ σοι περὶ πάντων. κ.τ.λ. C. Wessely Neue griechische Zauberpapyri von Wien 1893 p. 41 pap. Lond. 629 f. (F. G. Kenyon Greek Papyri in the British Museum London 1893 i. 83 ff. no. 111 omits the fragment) σκεύης [σχεδεία γ' φοινικος οστα γ' μικλω] καὶ ἀρ' αὐγάσκερ γ τούς ναότος καὶ κ... in a list of magical ingredients]. H. van Herwerden Lexicon Graecum supplementum et dialecticum Lugduni Batavorum 1910 p. 628 says rightly 'ζήνων (= διω, i.e. διάμετρος) ὄνομα' but has done better to print 'Ζήνων ὄνομα' with a capital letter as Dr H. Stuart Jones prints it in the latest edition of Liddell and Scott. The choice of the new form ζήνων in preference to the older and better-established Δίων [supra i. 3 f.] probably implies the usual attempt to connect Zeus, Ζώνα, etc. with ζῆνυ [supra i. 11 n. 5; 28 n. 8, ii. 259 n. 0; 855 n. 3]. Rain as the seminal fluid of the sky-god was indeed aqua vitæ (M. Ninck Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten Leipzig 1921 p. 25 ff. See also S. Ettmüller Offertorium und Voroffert der Griechein and Römer (Wissenschaftskapets Schriften 11. Hist. Filos. Klasse 1914 No. 1) Kristiania 1915 p. 115). ζήνων ὄνομα would have the further merit of rounding off fitly a hexameter verse.


2 Matron frag. 2. 3 f. (Corpus, pass. Gr. iudic. 1. 91 Brandt) ap. Athen. 64 c βοσφόρου θ' αἱ ζηνών οἰκείων δοδολάτου (G. Kaibel cf. γενέτεσθαι or γενοῦς) U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff cf. ἡσυχία. But A. Ludwig with more probability reads οἰδώμα, which C. B. Galick renders 'theme of Olympian Zeus's song'), ἢ ἐν χρόνοις ἑρέφη Δίων παῖς ἀνίσθεν διάβολος, κ.τ.λ. Cp. Eustath. in II. p. 1053, 10 ff., who after quoting the same passage from Matron continues ἐν τούτου ἐν τῷ γὰρ ἐν τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ὕπνων ἐντεύξει τὶ τούτων τούτων ἀνισθείς, δια θεοῦ ἄχρι δόξαι γενέσθαι. Eustathios appears to be hinting at an etymological connexion between ἀνισθηθαῖς and ἀνισθεῖς.

3 Clem. Al. Strom. 5. 8 p. 350, 10 ff. Stählin o. Übersetzung (a grammarian of the Alexandrine age, on whom see L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 64 f.) ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ὀρφείου ποιήσεως τὴν ἑιδικότατα παρὶ ἢ ὀρφεί ἐκτείνεσθαι φησί... "διάβολον Δίων" τὸν διάμετρον διδομένῳ, κ.τ.λ.: O Orph. frag. 253 Abel, 33 Kern. Similarly the Pythagoreans called the sea Κράκων διάβολος (Aristot. frag. 191 Rose (196 Rose) ap. Porphy. v. Pyth. 41, Plout. de Is. et Os. 32, Clem. Al. Strom. 5. 8 p. 360, 20 ff. Stählin): supra II. 557 n. 1.

The Ethyomans speak of a "Wind mother," who "weep's" when the rain falls during a storm, and "dances" in whirlwinds (U. Holmberg Finno-Ugrian Mythology Boston 1927 p. 237).
that the Kouretes sprang from a heavy rain-shower\textsuperscript{1} is paralleled by the anonymous statement that they sprang from the tears of Zeus\textsuperscript{2}. And Herakleitos the Stoic (s. i A.D.\textsuperscript{3}) interprets the blood-rain sent by Zeus in the \textit{Iliad}\textsuperscript{4} to portend the death of Sarpedon\textsuperscript{5} as the tears, not indeed of Zeus, but of the \textit{aither}\textsuperscript{6}—which amounts to the same thing\textsuperscript{7}.

Artists of Roman date represent rain as falling in large gouts or drops from the hand of Zeus. A bronze coin of Ephesos, issued by Antoninus Pius, shows Zeus enthroned on Mount Koressos, with a thunderbolt held in his left hand and a shower descending from his right upon the recumbent figure of Mount Peion\textsuperscript{8}. To the example

in the British Museum (\textit{supra} i. 134 fig. 100) must be added others in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris (fig. 204)\textsuperscript{9} and in the Löbbecke (fig. 205)\textsuperscript{10} and Gréau (fig. 206)\textsuperscript{11} collections—all apparently from the same dies. Again, an engraved chalcedony of the Graeco-Roman

\textsuperscript{1} Ov. \textit{met.} 4. 28 ff. te quoque, nunc adamas, quondam fodiacise parvo, | Celmi, Iovi larguo satos Cureas ab imbris | praetero. The section is discussed by W. Vollgraff \textit{Nikander und Ovid} Groningen 1909 i. 141. See also O. Immisch in Roscher \textit{Lex. Myth.} ii. 1598.


\textsuperscript{3} C. Reinhardt in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc.} viii. 508.

\textsuperscript{4} Il. 16. 458 ff.

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Infra} p. 478.

\textsuperscript{6} Herakleitos the Stoic \textit{quest.} Hom. p. 64, 1 ff. Soc. Philol. Bonn. τὸν τοῦ φόνου δρέβουν ἀληθηράς εἰσὶν αὐθέντος δάκρυα, Δίως μὲν ὁδὸν ἀδελβάστησο γὰρ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὑπεράνω τῶν ὀψερτέρθος μεθύμησεν καταρράγητον ὑετοῦ.

\textsuperscript{7} \textit{Supra} i. 27 ff.

\textsuperscript{8} \textit{Infra} i. 134, ii. 962 n. 2.

\textsuperscript{9} O. Benndorf \textit{Forschungen in Ephesos} Wien 1906 i. 56 fig. 15a (= my fig. 204).

\textsuperscript{10} A. Löbbecke in the \textit{Zeitschr. f. Num.} 1890 xvii. 10 no. 2 pl. 1, 17 (= my fig. 205).

O. Benndorf \textit{op. cit.} i. 56 fig. 18a.

\textsuperscript{11} H. Cohen \textit{Description des médailles grecques} \textit{de M. J. Gréau} Paris 1867 no. 1767 pl. 4.

O. Benndorf \textit{op. cit.} i. 56 fig. 18d (= my fig. 206).
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period, formerly in the Castellani collection and now in the British Museum (fig. 207)\(^1\), has Zeus in a car drawn by a pair of eagles. His left hand holds one of the reins, his right lets fall a shower of
drops. Above and below are Sagittarius and Pisces, which—as
H. B. Walters\(^2\) observes—stand for two of the rainy winter months.
The god so figured would presumably have been called Jupiter
\textit{Pluvius}\(^3\) or \textit{Pluvialis}\(^4\) by the Romans. No other certain representa-

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{image1.png}
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{image2.png}
\caption{Fig. 207.}
\caption{Fig. 208.}
\end{figure}

tion of him is known\(^5\). But it is probably he who appears on the
column of Marcus Aurelius in connexion with the campaign against
the Quadri\(^6\) (174 A.D.).

For our knowledge of that famous episode we are mainly

\(^1\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Gem. p. 92 no. 591, ib.\(^7\) p. 144 no. 1267 pl. 18. See also O. Keller \textit{Dieene des classischen Alterthums in cul
turgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung} Innsbruck 1887 p. 275 "wo Zeus mit zwei Adlern fährt\(^2\) wie der Jehova des Psalmisten, der im Wetter-
sturm mit Kernub (Greifengespann) einherfährt\(^2\) [Psalm 18, 11]' with p. 457 no. 372.


\(^3\) Tib. I. 7. 25 f. te (sc. Father Nile) propter nulos tellus tua postulat imbens, | arida
 nec Pluvio supplicant herba Iovi. The last five words are cited, but wrongly attributed to
Ovid, by Sen. nat. quaest. 4. 2. 2. Stat. Theb. 4. 788 f. tu (sc. Hyppipyle) nunc ventis
Pluvioque rogaris | pro Iove. \textit{Anth. Lat.} 395. 46 Riese (in a description of December)
Pluvio de Iove caneta madent.

\(^4\) Corp. inscr. Lat. ix no. 324 = Orelli—Henzen \textit{Inschr. Lat. sel.} no. 5641 = Desso
\textit{Inscr. Lat. sel.} no. 3043 (found at Naples) Iovi | Pluvialii]. See further Preller—Jordan
\textit{Rom. Myth.}\(^5\) i. 190 n. 7, Wissowa \textit{Rel. Kult. Röm.}\(^5\) p. 120 n. 10.

\(^5\) Babelon \textit{Mnem. rép. rom.} i. 476 fig. describes the obverse design of a \textit{denarius}
struck by L. Cornelius Lentulus c. 49—47 B.C. at Ephesos (?) as ‘Tête nue et barbe de
Jupiter Pluvius à droite’ (my fig. 308 is from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum).
But this description, presumably suggested by the fact that the reverse type shows the
cult-statue of Artemis Ephelia, is highly conjectural. And other conjectures have been
barbatum Herculis, ut credidit Ursinus, Jovis Olympii, ut sentit Vaillantius, ut nobis
videtur, Jovis Eleutherii sive Liberatorius.’ H. A. Grueber in the \textit{Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom.}
\textit{Coins} Rep. ii. 467 pl. 110, 15 has merely: ‘Head of Jupiter r., with long beard.’

Equally illusory is the coin said to bear the legend \textit{ZEYC OMBRIOC} (Rasche
\textit{Lex. Num.} iv. 1221, xi. 1261)—perhaps a misreading of \textit{ZEYC OLYMPIOC}.

\(^6\) On this great Germanic tribe see the monograph of H. Kirchmayr \textit{Der altdeutsche
Volkstamm der Quaden Wien 1890} (pp. xv, 173 with 13 figs.) and L. Schmitz in Smith
\textit{Ddict. Geogr.} ii. 689, M. Schönfeld \textit{Wörterbuch der allgermanischen Personenn- und Völker-
namen} Heidelberg 1911 p. 181 f. \textit{Quadi,' Libker Realex.}\(^8\) p. 878, R. Much in
Hoops \textit{Reallex.} iii. 431 f. \textit{Quaden.'}
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dependent on the account given by Cassius Dio (c. 210—222 A.D.), or—to speak more strictly—on an abridged version of it made by the monk Ioannes Xiphilinos of Trapezous for the Byzantine emperor Michael vii Parapinakes (1071—1078 A.D.). The epitome reads:

'So Marcus subdued the Marcomani and the Iazyges after many hard struggles and dangers. A great war against the people called the Quadi also fell to his lot and it was his good fortune to win an unexpected victory, or rather it was vouchsafed him by Heaven. For when the Romans were in peril in the course of the battle, the divine power saved them in a most unexpected manner. The Quadi had surrounded them at a spot favourable for their purpose and the Romans were fighting valiantly with their shields locked together; then the barbarians ceased fighting, expecting to capture them easily as the result of the heat and their thirst. So they posted guards all about and hemmed them in to prevent their getting water anywhere; for the barbarians were far superior in numbers. The Romans, accordingly, were in a terrible plight from fatigue, wounds, the heat of the sun, and thirst, and so could neither fight nor retreat, but were standing in the line and at their several posts, scorched by the heat, when suddenly many clouds gathered and a mighty rain, not without divine interposition, burst upon them. Indeed, there is a story to the effect that Arnophis, an Egyptian magician, who was a companion of Marcus, had invoked by means of enchantments various deities and in particular Mercury, the god of the air, and by this means attracted the rain.

[This is what Dio says about the matter, but he is apparently in error, whether intentionally or otherwise; and yet I am inclined to believe his error was chiefly intentional. It surely must be so, for he was not ignorant of the division of soldiers that bore the special name of the "Thundering" Legion,—indeed he mentions it in the list along with the others,—a title which was given

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1 Dion Cass. 71. 8—10 trans. E. Cary.
2 Dion Cass. 71. 8 ...τέλος πολλά ἐξαίφνης συνέθρησι καὶ ὑπὸς πολὺς οὐκ ἄθετος κατατράγης καὶ γάρ τοι λόγος ἔχει 'Αρνούπιος τινα μᾶς νόησιν τῷ Μάρκῳ ἄλλοις τί τινά διάμορας καὶ τῶν Ἐρμήν τῶν ἄραν οἵ τινες μαγγανίας τῶν εἰκολαμβάνει καὶ δι’ αὐτῶν τὸν οὐρανόν ἐπιτέθανεν.
3 Is. 71. 9 ὅμως ὃς τὸ πλέον ἐκώς καὶ τάς γάρ ὅδε, δοσις οὐκ ἄθνης τό τάγμα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸ κεραυνοφόρον ἄλοις καλούμενων (ἐν γάρ τῷ τῶν λοιπῶν καταλάγῳ καὶ αὐτοῦ μημονεόνοις), ὅπερ κ.τ.λ. The reference is to 55. 23 καὶ τὸ δωδέκατον τὸ Ἐκ Κατανδοκία τὸ κεραυνοφόρον. But neither κεραυνοφόρον, 'bearing a thunderbolt,' nor κεραυνοβόλοι, 'hurling a thunderbolt,' is a correct rendering of the Latin epithet leg. xii fulminata (F. Ritterling in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 1710), which must mean either 'struck by a thunderbolt' (Thes. Ling. Lat. vi. 1533, 10 ff.) or 'hurled like a thunderbolt, quick as a thunderbolt' (ib. p. 1531, 48 ff.). The latter interpretation, which is commonly assumed as correct (cp. Ruhn. hist. ecc. 5. 3, 4 legionem...vocitatum...fulmineam, anon. notitia dignitatum in partitiones orientis 38. 14 (ed. O. Seeck Berolini 1876) praefectus legionis duodecimae fulmineae (fulmine caed. C. V. fulminae caed. P. M. fulminatæ eed.), is supported only by Stat. satir. 2. 7. 93 ff. sic natum Nasamoni Toniatis | post ortus obitusque fulminatos | angusto Babylon premit sepulcro with F. Vollmer's note ad loc. The former is in accord with the normal usage of fulminatus, and presupposes that on some definite occasion the legion was literally struck by lightning—a manifest token of divine favour (supra ii. 8 ff., 22 ff., 33 ff.).
it for no other reason (for no other is reported) than because of the incident that occurred in this very war. It was precisely this incident that saved the Romans on this occasion and brought destruction upon the barbarians, and not Arnephis, the magician; for Marcus is not reported to have taken pleasure in the company of magicians or in witchcraft. Now the incident I have reference to is this: Marcus had a division of soldiers (the Romans call a division a legion) from Melitene; and these people are all worshippers of Christ. Now it is stated that in this battle, when Marcus found himself at a loss what to do in the circumstances and feared for his whole army, the prefect approached him and told him that those who are called Christians can accomplish anything whatever by their prayers and that in the army there chanced to be a whole division of this sect. Marcus on hearing this appealed to them to pray to their God; and when they had prayed, their God immediately gave ear and smote the enemy with a thunderbolt and comforted the Romans with a shower of rain. Marcus was greatly astonished at this and not only honoured the Christians by an official decree but also named the legion the "Thundering" Legion. It is also reported that there is a letter of Marcus extant on the subject. But the Greeks, though they know that the division was called the "Thundering" Legion and themselves bear witness to the fact, nevertheless make no statement whatever about the reason for its name.

Dio goes on to say that when the rain poured down, at first all turned their faces upwards and received the water in their mouths; then some held out their shields and some their helmets to catch it, and they not only took deep draughts themselves but also gave their horses to drink. And when the barbarians now charged upon them, they drank and fought at the same time; and some, becoming wounded, actually gulped down the blood that flowed into their helmets, along with the water. So intent, indeed, were most of them on drinking that they would have suffered severely from the enemy's onset, had not a violent hail-storm and numerous thunderbolts fallen upon the ranks of the foe. Thus in one and the same place one might have beheld water and fire descending from the sky simultaneously; so that while those on the one side were being drenched and drinking, the others were being consumed by fire and dying; and while the fire, on the one hand, did not touch the Romans, but, if it fell anywhere among them, was immediately extinguished, the shower, on the other hand, did the barbarians no good, but, like so much oil, actually fed the flames that were consuming them, and they had to search for water even while being drenched with rain. Some wounded themselves in order to quench the fire with their blood, and others rushed over to the side of the Romans, convinced that they alone had the saving water; in any case Marcus took pity on them. He was now saluted imperator by the soldiers, for the seventh time; and although he was not wont to accept any such honour before the senate voted it, nevertheless this time he took it as a gift from Heaven, and he sent a despatch to the senate.

This passage together with other ancient allusions to the same event has in modern times given rise to a lively, not to say acrimonious, controversy. The upshot of the matter appears to be as

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1 In reality the name goes back to the time of Augustus (see D. Vaglieri in Ruggiero Disser. cist. iii. 335, E. Ritterling in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 1710).
follows. A certain historic happening lent itself to two different interpretations, the one Christian, the other pagan, in character. The kernel of fact was the rescue of the Roman army from dire straits by means of a timely rain-storm, which on the one hand refreshed the fainting legionaries and on the other did serious damage to the enemy. The dramatic escape of his troops was expressly mentioned by the emperor in a letter to the senate and was by him attributed

2 I subjoin a précis of the positions taken up by the various disputants:
E. Petersen ‘Das Wunder an der Columna M. Aurelii’ in the Röm. Mitth. 1894 ix. 78–89 collects and critiques most of the evidence for the alleged miracle. He cites as literary sources Apollinaris ap. Euseb. hist. eccl. 5. 5. 4. Tertull. apol. 5. ad Scap. 4. Dion Cass. 71. 8–10 (including Xiphilinos, who is followed by Zonar. epit. hist. 12. 2 and Kedren. hist. comp. 250 C–D (i. 439 Bekker)), Iul. Capit. v. M. Ant. philos. 24. 4. Euseb. chron. p. 172 Schoene (=Chron. Pasch. 260 D–261 A (i. 486 f. Dindorf) and vers. Armeni. ann. Abr. 2188), Themist. or. 15 p. 191 B, Oros. 7. 15. 7–11, Claud. de VI cons. Honor. 339 ff., and a forged letter of M. Aurelius (printed as an appendix to Just. Mart. (ed. J. C. T. Otto Ienae 1875 i. 1. 246 ff.). Recent texts by A. Harnack in the Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin 1894 p. 878 ff. and by J. Giecksen in the Neue Jahrb. f. kl. Altertum 1890 iii. 253–260). Dion’s account (helpful rain, renewed fight, hail and thunderbolts destroying the foe) is distinguished from the Christian version, in which (1) lightning plays as big a part as rain, (2) both being due to the prayers of Christians in the Twelfth Legion, (3) hence called κεκαυμωσθένας; (4) a letter of M. Aurelius recognises these services of the Christians and (5) prohibits their persecution. Since Apollinaris gives (1) and (3), but not (4) and (5), and since the legio fulminata had already acquired its name under Augustus, it is clear that Aurelius’ letter either never existed or existed only as a Christian forgery. Granted, however, that (4) and (5) are an addition to the story, we have yet to reckon with (1) + (2) + (3) as an independent version. Dion and Themistios are in general agreement, though the latter makes the emperor Antoninus Pius, not M. Aurelius, and says that he had seen the incident represented in a γραφή (Themist. loc. cit.) and added ἢ γὰρ ἐν γραφῇ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἤργου, τῶν μὲν αὐτοκράτορα προσευχόμενον ἐν τῇ φάλαιγι, τοὺς στρατιώτας δὲ τὰ κράνη τῷ δυρμῷ ὑποστήσαται καὶ ἐπιπλακάνευον τοῦ νίκητος τοῦ θεοσώμου. Now this γραφή may well have been the extant column of M. Aurelius. In short, it appears that both Dion and Themistios are describing the column, but describing it wrongly. The Romans were not catching the rain in order to drink it, but using their shields as umbrellas in the attempt to protect themselves against it. The winged god, hovering like a cloud, is a simple personification of Rain, comparable with Ovid’s Notus (infra p. 333) and not at once suggestive of any figure in Greek or Roman mythology. The Christians, accepting him as a mere personification, would further note the true form shield-signs of the legionaries and misinterpret the attitude of the barbarians, kneeling to prevent the Romans from crossing the river, as that of Christians at prayer. Finally, in the adjacent scene of enemy-defences fired by a thunderbolt they would see the punitive lightning and its effect upon the foe.

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who seems to be preserving a Cappadocian oral tradition of the same event. Accordingly Harnack constructs the following *stemma*:

```
          Melitenian tradition
      +------------------+
     /                 /
    /                 /
   X                 X
   +------------------+
  /                 /
 /                 /
Dion (using other sources of information)  The *south* seen by Themistios

      +------------------+
     /                 /
    /                 /
   X                 X
   +------------------+
  /                 /
 /                 /
Dion (using other sources of information)  The *south* seen by Themistios

Apolinarius  Tertullian

            +------------------+
           /                 /
          /                 /
         X                 X
         +------------------+
        /                 /
       /                 /
   Eusebius            Forged letter of M. Aurelius

            +------------------+
           /                 /
          /                 /
         X                 X
         +------------------+
        /                 /
       /                 /
   Soudas              Gregorhaus

            +------------------+
           /                 /
          /                 /
         X                 X
         +------------------+
        /                 /
       /                 /
   Xiphilinos          Zonaras

Apollinaris, who was bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia and probably wrote only one or two years after the event, Tertullian, who composed his *apologeticus* in 197 A.D., and Dion, an exact contemporary of Tertullian, are independent of each other, but all three go back to a genuine letter of the emperor to the Senate—a document used by the author of the extant forged letter. Tertullian implies that this genuine letter, perhaps ironically, spoke of the prayers of the Christian soldiers as having brought down the rain (*apoc. 5* at nos c contrario edimus protectorum, si litterae M. Aureliigravissimi imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum fortis militum precipitationibus impetrato imbrarum discussam contestat). Christians of the east soon quoted the letter, putting their own construction upon it, and Dion half-polemically retorts with the story of the mage Arnouphis. Later writers refer to the prayers of the emperor himself. Petersen's hypothesis of the scene on the column as misconceived both by pagans and by Christians is unacceptabe ("die Überlieferung, wie sie Apollinaris, Tertullian und Dio bieten, kann nicht auf die bildliche Darstellung zurückgeführt werden"). We are forced to admit the historicity of the thrust which brought the Roman army into dire straits, the sudden relief effected by a rain-storm, the prayers of the Twelfth Legion, the Christianity of part of that Legion, the letter of the emperor, and its mention of the prayers of the Twelfth Legion.

L. D'uchesne 'Le miracle de la Légion Fulminante' in the *Bulletin critique* 1894 xv. 476 and P. H. Grisar 'Il prodigio della legio fulminata e la Colonna di Marco Aurelio' in *La Civiltà Catolicca* 1895 i. 209 ff. are in substantial agreement with Harnack.

A. von Domaszewski 'Das Regenwunder der Marc Aurel-Säule' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1894 xlix. 612—619 would completely discredit the Christian tradition. He holds with Petersen that the column shows, not the rescue of the Roman army from death by thirst, but the bursting of a thunderstorm. He notes that the column places this storm at the beginning of the war, whereas the Christian tradition places its marvel at the close; and that all the legions had the lightning on their shields and the eagle on their standards simply as a symbol of Jupiter *Optimus Maximus*, protector of the army. He contends that Apollinaris was no contemporary of M. Aurelius, but as like as not was Eusebius himself(!); that during the war with the Marcomanni the *legio XII fulminata* was stationed in Melitene to guard the crossing of the Euphrates; and that, to judge from sepulchral inscriptions of *s. iii*, no Christians would have been likely to enlist voluntarily in the Roman army. Finally, he accepts Petersen's conclusions with regard to the origin of the whole legend.

K. Weizsäcker *Einleitung zu der abad. Preisverteilung, Tübingen 6. Nov. 1894 also*
agrees with Petersen. Dion Cass. 71, 10 was in part a Christian forgery by Xiphilinos. Had the emperor's letter really ascribed the miracle to the prayers of Christians, the sequel would have been very different. The figment was but a Christian anticipation of final victory.

A. von Domaszewski 'Die Chronologie des bellum Germanicum et Sarmaticum 166—175 n. Chr.' in the Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher 1895 v. 123 returns to the charge. . . . 'Dies ist das Kriegsjahr 171, und in dieses Jahr fällt das Regenwunder. Ein echter Bericht darüber ist bei Dio erhalten 71, 8. Er ist an falsche Stelle ins Jahr 174, gerückt, um der sicheren christlichen Interpolation des Capitels 71, 10 willen.' Th. n. 2 'Von Kampf oder Abwehr ist keine Rede, so wenig bei Dio 71, 8. Es betet niemand. Der Wolkenbruch ist ein Naturereignis. Der Regengott ist Notus, genau wie Ovid ihn schildert' [sic].

Th. Mommsen 'Das Regenwunder der Marcus-Säule' in Hermes 1895 xxx. 90—106 steers a mid course between Skylla and Charybdis. The alleged marvel is neither pure fiction (Petersen and Domaszewski) nor absolute fact (Harnack). Domaszewski's chronology is wrong: the miraculous rain must be dated in the summer of 174, not 171. Equally wrong is Domaszewski's assumption that Dion Cass. 71, 10 is a Christian interpolation. The imperial letter cited by Tertullian was genuine and did actually tell—though without Dion's extravagant rhetoric—how a great thunderstorm saved the Romans, man and beast, when they were perishing of thirst, and did much damage to their foes. This reliable literary tradition agrees well enough with the scene represented on the column. The lightning is there omitted because the principal agent was the rain, and the rain appears as a divine figure intervening to rescue the Roman host ('Die Darstellung des Regengottes ist eine so eigenartige und so ungewöhnliche, dass der Bildhauer unzweifelhaft damit die offizielle Auffassung des Vorganges, den Regen πάρο, θεος hat zur Anschauung bringen wollen. Wenn die Blitze vermisst werden, von denen der Kaiserbrief wahrlich auch sprach, so ist die Ursache einfach die, dass, wenn als leitende Gottheit der Jupiter fulminator dargestellt worden wäre, der Regen zur Nebensache werden musste und das Wunder seine Sonderart eingebüsst hätte'). The emperor attributed his victory to God (Dion Cass. 71, 10 ο ὁ θεός πάρο λαμβάνον, Euseb. chron. p. 173 Schemoe = Chron. Pasch. 261 A 487 Dindorf) δαιμόνιον το θεον εντονο — not to a specific god, and made no mention of Christian prayers. Later writers particularised according to their own beliefs. Pagans would naturally think of magic (Lamprid. v. Ant. Heiligenb. 9, per Chaldæos et magos) and suggested Arnouphis (Dion Cass. 71, 8 f., Soiid. s. v. Ἀρνουφής) or Julianus (Soud. s. v. Ἀρνουφής, Ιουλιανός (i. 2. 1007, 14 ff. Bernhardy)). Christians of course thought otherwise. Tertullian supposes an answer to the prayers of Christian soldiers (apol. 5 Christianorum forte militium precautionibus impetratus imbrui). Apollinarius was really an early writer (not a mere invention of Eusebios, as Domaszewski would have it), but one of little credibility—witness his blunder about the origin of the name κεραυνομάς (Euseb. hist. eccl. 5. 5. 4: supra p. 325 n. 3, p. 326 n. 1).

E. Petersen resumes the fight with a second article, 'Blitz- und RegenwUNDER an der Marcus-Säule' in the Rhein. Mus. 1895 i. 453—474, adding three photographic cuts. He now admits that he was mistaken in regarding the Christian tradition with all its five points (supra p. 327 n. 2) as having arisen merely from a misunderstanding of the column. He does not deny the existence of an imperial letter, but treats the one cited by Christian authors as a forgery ('Nur den Brief, auf welchen sich die christlichen Autoren, besser sofern sie sich darauf beziehen, habe ich für gefälscht erklärt'). He launches a sharp attack against both the method and the results of Harnack's investigation, and he certainly scores some successes. For instance, according to Euseb. chron. p. 172 Schemoe vers. Armen. ann. Abr. 2188 and Hieron. in Euseb. ann. Abr. 2189 M. Aurelius was not present in person at the rain-storm, but only his legate Pertinax, and this is borne out by the evidence of the columnar relief. Petersen goes on to give a more exact description of the scenes on the column. He shows that the Romans were represented first as suffering from drought, then as drinking, and later still as trying to protect themselves against the storm, while their foes were overwhelmed by the flood. The notion that the enemy was
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simultaneously struck by lightning was prompted by another incident, recorded by Iul. Capit. v. M. Ant. philos. 24, 4 and portrayed on the column, the destruction of a wooden tower by a thunderbolt. Euseb. hist. eccl. 5. 5. 2 spoke of a single flash (εκπύρω) before the rain, as does Xiphilinos ap. Dion Cass. 71. 9 (εκπυρων). But Dion Cass. 71. 10 already turns this into numerous flashes (εκπυρον ους διστης) with the downpour. And Greg. Nyss. or. 80 xi. mart. 2. (xvi. 760 a—b Migne) has both σφακτος θεωριον...και άστραπας φλαμωθειν and also των εκπυρω των συνέχειαν amid a deluge of rain. Tertullian, the Sibyline oracle, and Themistios mention the rain only, thereby preserving the true tradition. Themistios' γραφή may have been the extant column, but was probably some more accessible representation now lost.

Next appeared the great official publication F. Petersen—A. von Domaszewski—G. Calderini Die Marcus-Säule auf Piazza Colonna in Rom München 1896 with text and two vols. of 125 photographic pls. (supra ii. 166 n. 1). In the text Petersen sketches the history of the column (pp. 1—20),Mommsen traces the course of the war against the Marccmanni (pp. 21—28), Calderini deals with the architecture of the column (pp. 29—38), Petersen describes its sculpture (pp. 39—104), and von Domaszewski—still differing from Mommsen in regard to chronology—discusses the historical and geographical aspects of the relief (pp. 105—123). On pls. 17, 18+18, A the enemy's siege-tower, struck by a thunderbolt, collapses, while the emperor looks on at the fallen foe. On pls. 22, 23, A (= my pl. xxxii) the Romans, advancing in the formation known as agmen quadratum, are overtaken by the rain-storm. The cattle in their midst are thrown into confusion: one ox has fallen, another springs over it. A soldier in the uppermost row raises hand and eyes to heaven; and next moment down comes the rain. Another soldier, behind the artillery-wagon (carroballista), is giving his horse a drink.

We gather that here it is a case of heat and thirst rather than of hostile attack, and that the rain is helping the Romans. It does not, for artistic reasons, reach those in the foreground; and most of those in the top tier are raising their shields to serve as umbrellas (nos. 22, 23), not buckets. But one man at least (no. 20) is drinking the rain. Then comes the personification of the storm, a bearded pathetic face recalling that of Nélos in the Vatican. From his hair and beard, from his outstretched wings and arms, as in Ovid's conception of Notus (met. 1. 264 ff.), the rain is streaming, to the detriment not of the Romans but of the enemy. In the mountain-gorges we see horses struggling with the flood—a flood not actually shown—or collapsing in it, while barbarians great (no. 40) and small (nos. 38, 41) lie dead and weapons are swept into a heap. On pls. 20, 21+21, A one of the soldiers (no. 6) has his helmet decorated with a griffin in relief, from which detail von Domaszewski (p. 112 f. with fig.) infers the presence of the legio XV Apollinaris, a Cappadocian legion. The inference is brave. However that may be, the treatment of the whole episode is realistic. We must certainly conclude that the Roman army was parched with thirst and relieved by a sudden downpour, which proved too much for the foe.

J. Geffcken 'Das Regenwunder im Quadenerlande' in the Neue Jahrh. f. klas. Altertum 1899 iii. 253—269 begins by passing in review the previous disputants in this 'antik—moderne Streitfrage' (pp. 253—258) and ends by reconstructing the probable course of events (pp. 258—269). M. Aurelius himself witnessed the 'Blitzwunder,' his general the 'Regenwunder.' The emperor wrote to the Senate a straightforward un rhetorical letter, in which he made no mention of Christians. Apollinaris was the source of Euseb. hist. eccl. 5. 5. 1—4 (apart from one Eusebian gloss δια πτευτος εκ εκεινων και εις δευρο συνετοων). He gave a wrong explanation of the legio fulminata, but a right account of the single lightning-flash followed by the rain. An anti christian ripost attributed both flash and rainfall to the prayers of the emperor (Iul. Capit. v. M. Ant. philos. 24. 4 fulmen de caelo precibus suis contra hostium machinamentum extortis suis pluvia impetrata, cum siti laborarent, orac. Sleb. 12. 156 ff. Geffcken οπταν μεγα ημαθειον ουρανιον πνευματω και τα άθρα χιλιοκοροτας τριχομενοι σωσσει δε εισοδενει βασιλειον: αυτς γηρ θεος ουρανος μαλα παντο ουκοκοις: ειςεβεβλης (so C. Alexandre for ειςεβεβλης codd. Q. V. H.) βρεξει (Wilamowitz c). βρεξαι παρακαλων (so C. Alexandre for παρα καλων codd. Q. V. H.) διπρων δευερ). Dion, a superstitious narrator and himself the author of a book on dreams.
Reliefs from the Column of Marcus Aurelius at Rome:
Jupiter Pateras and the rain storm. See page 330 n. o.
to divine interposition. Later tradition went further and busied itself over an attempt to discover whose prayers had been thus signally answered. Christians asserted that it was the prayers of converts from Melitene belonging to the ‘Thundering’ Legion. Pagans retorted that it was the prayer of the emperor himself, whose piety was well-pleasing to the ‘Thunderer,’ or else the

and portents (Dion Cass. 72. 23: W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur. München 1924 ii. 2. 796 n. 11), referred the rain to the magic arts of Arnophys. Christians retorted with the assertion that the emperor had prayed, yes, but had prayed in vain. If it be asked where this statement is made, Geflicker points us to the forged letter in which M. Aurelius says ἐξετάσας αὖν ἔμαθαι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἐμὸν πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ πολεμικῶν κατέρριμος εἰς τὸ θεοῦ εὔχεθαί πατρὸς: ἀμελλόμενος δὲ οὖ ἀπὶ καὶ τὴν στενοχωρίαν μον θεωρήσῃ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν παρεκάλεσα τοῖς παρ ἑμῖν γεγομένους Χριστιανοῖς, κ.τ.λ. This document, sometimes dated as late as x. xii A.D., belongs to a much earlier period: it perhaps emanated from Asia Minor at the beginning of s. iv (‘Auf Kleinasien deutete Mommsen hin, hier mag es, Galerius’ Edikt benutztend, in der bösen Zeit entstanden sein, als Licinius mit neuer Verfolgung drohte, als das Schicksal der 40 Legionare den christlichen Osten erregte, als Konstantin die Gebete der Geistlichkeit für sich in Anspruch nahm—ein letztes Stück Apologie angesichts des letzten grossen Gefahr’)—a hypothesis consistent with its diction and structure, not to mention an apparent allusion to its contents in Rufus. hist. eccl. 5. 5 tradunt historiae cum sibi eius (sc. M. Aurelii) periclitaretur exercitus aestuam et quae rement quid facto opus esset, reperisse in legione quadam militibus Christianos. Euseb. chron. p. 172 Schoene (=Chron. Pasch. 260 c—261 A (i. 486 f. Dindorf) and vers. Armen. ann. Abr. 2188) followed S. Iulius Africanus rather than Apollinarius: hence his omission of the story as to the name legio fulminata. Gregory of Nyssa too omitted that story, but believed that the soldiers came from Melitene. His account (or. in xii mart. 2 (xlv. 757 c ff. Migne)) was not, as Harnaeck claimed, a local tradition, but a rhetorical and in part ridiculous amplification of Dion’s description. The pagans too could exaggerate. Themistios, Gregory’s contemporary, professes to quote the very words of the imperial prayer (or. 15 p. 191 Β ἀνασκοῦ τίνων ὀλίγων τὸ χείρον ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τῶν οὐρανῶν, ταπείνη, ἐγκάρ, τῇ χειρὶ πραγματέαρχην σε καὶ λείτουργα τὸν οὐ πολλή, ἐγκάρ αὐτὸν ἀδελφόμενον, cp. or. 34. 21). Claudian, the last of the heathen to tell the tale, after describing the storm in a crescendo of high-salutin’ phrases (de VI cons. Honor. 343 ff. laus ibi nulla ducum; nam flammens imber in hostem | decedit; hunc dorso trepidum fumante ferebat | ambustus sonipes | hic tabescente solutus | subsidet galea | liquefactaque furgure cuspis | candui [!] et subitis fluxere vaporibus enses [!] attributes these remarkable effects either to Chaldæean magic or, preferably, to Marcus’ blameless life—a conclusion more improving than impressive.

In fairness to British scholarship it should be added that, long before the start of this continental controversy, a full list of the sources had been got together and critical notes appended by H. Fynes Clinton Fisti Romani Oxford 1850 ii. 23 ff.


2 Apollinarios ap. Euseb. hist. eccl. 3. 5. 4, Greg. Nyss. or. in xii mart. 2 (xlv. 757 c ff. Migne), Xiphilinos ap. Dion. Cass. 71. 9, Kodren. hist. comp. 250 c—d (i. 439 Bekker).

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incantation of some magician in the imperial retinue, Arnophis the Egyptian¹ or Iulianus the Chaldaean². But it can hardly be maintained that the great commemorative column, which aims at furnishing a realistic representation of the incident, figures either the God of the Christians or the Hermes Ætrios (Thoth³) invoked by


The appellative ἄρρητος is not elsewhere used of Hermes; but it might easily be attached to him in his capacity of φυσικοποιήτης, since it was common Pythagorean doctrine that the αὐτός was made of souls (Diog. Laer. 8. 32 εἶναι τε πάντα τῶν ἄρα φυσών ἐμπληκάκε παύσαται δαίμονες τε καὶ ἱπποὺς αναμφίπολας...ятьес тούτων γίνεται τοῖς τε καθαροῖς καὶ ἀποπληρωμω μακελειον τε πᾶσι καὶ κληρώσει καὶ τὰ ἱπποῦς, Philon de gigantibus 2 ovi ἀλλο τούτων αἰτιότητον, ἀν αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαι οὐδέν ἂν αὐτοῦ). The Testament of Benjamin, a Greek translation of a Hebrew or Aramaic original dating from 3 B.C. (W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur Münchon 1920 ii. 1. 583 f.), calls Beliar τὸν κόσμον φυσᾶ (Test. Benj. 3. 4 p. 317 Charles ὅ τι πάντα καὶ ἀγάπη καὶ κάμπες τῶν εἴδων (so cod. e. codd. a. a. a. e. f. g. and S14 add ἄποικον) ὕπο τοῦ πνεύματος (so cod. e. τοῦ κόσμου πνεύματος codd. b. d. e. f. τοῦ ἐναέριον πνεύματος cod. g) τοῦ Βελιάρ δὲ δύσως πληγώσω). And a passage in the late Platonian epistle shows how readily such daemonic powers might be associated with Hermes (ἐπιμο σο. 984 D—ε μετὰ τοῦτοι καὶ ὑπὸ τούτοις ἐξήκη δαίμονας, ἄριστος δι (D. F. Ast c. τὸν τότε καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐρανοτητος αἰτίος, εἶχος ἔραν τὸν καὶ δὲ εν τῇ ἐρανοτητος τῷ εἰρημένοις ἔραγεν τῇ ἐρανοτητος). In this connection we may venture to compare Eph. 2. 2 κατὰ τῶν αἰῶνα τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον, κατὰ τῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν ἀρτού, τοῦ πνεύματος τῶν ἐνεργωμένων ἐν τῶι νόμῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ ὀ στὸ ἀρχαῖα, πρὸς τᾶς ἔξουσιας, πρὸς τοῦ κοσμοπάραστον τῶι αἰῶνων τοῦ ἀρχαίων τοῦτον, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς σωρείς ἐν τῷ ἐνεργοτατομεῖ σωματικῶν νομοτοκηγαίων οὐράνιων, τοῦ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐναέρου μυστήριον, τοῦ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐναέρου καὶ ἐναέρου καὶ ἐναέρου ἐναέρου καὶ ἐναέρου καὶ ἐναέρου. (F. G. Kenyon Papyri Græci magicae Leipzig—Berlin 1928 ii. 194 f. 401 ff. = K. Preisdanz Papyri Graecae magicae Leipzig—Berlin 1928 i. 78 no. 45. 401 f. K. Preisdanz Papyri Graecae Leipzig 1891 p. 63 ff. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1339 n. 4. F. Legge Forerunners and Rituals of Christianity Cambridge 1915 i. 98 ff.). The same hymn in a third-century papyrus reads παντεοπάραστωρ instead of κοσμοπάραστος (Kenyon op. cit. i. 105 no. 121, 668 ff. = Preisdanz ii. 30 no. 7, 668 ff.). Ephesos had long been a hot-bed of magic (supra ii. 410 n. o εἴρηνα γράμματα).
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Arnouphis. We should rather suppose that the sculptor was endeavouring to personify and portray the actual rain-storm. Details of his new artistic type were presumably borrowed from Ovid’s description of the South Wind as a winged figure with water streaming from his beard and pinions. But the face is that of Jupiter, and in view of the close parallelism between the column of Marcus Aurelius and the column of Trajan, which in a like position had placed Jupiter fulminant, we are practically compelled to identify this novel personage with Jupiter Pluvius.

Rain, then, was conceived sometimes as the child of Zeus, sometimes as the tears of Zeus, sometimes as water falling from the hand of Zeus—a conception which the Romans shared with the Greeks. One other image is notorious. Aristophanes in a line already cited spoke of rain as the water of Zeus passed through a sieve.

W. Scott *Hermetica* Oxford 1934 i. 32 n. 1, with Frontispiece, describes a sectile pavement at the west end of the Duomo in Siena, which shows Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus | contemporaneus Moyei. Hermes is here an elderly man with long hair and beard. He wears a high pointed hat or mitre and hands an open book to a turbaned Egyptian (?) in the presence of a hooded Italian (?). But we have no reason to think that the Hermes invoked by Arnouphis would have been represented as a winged deity with rain dropping from his pinions. ‘Gnostic’ amulets, e.g. fig. 209 from a specimen in my collection (material, bloodstone: scale 3), give variations of the usual type.

1 Ov. *met.* i. 264 ff. mulidis Notus evolat alis, | terribilem picea tectus caligine voltum. | barba gravis nimbis; canis fruiit unda capillis; | fronte sedent nebulae; rotant pennaeea sinque. | utque manus late (lata cod. e') pendentia nubila pressit, | fit fragor; hinc (et codd. A.e.A.) densi fundantur ab aestere nimbí. The rain-god of the column bears so close a resemblance to Ovid’s Notus that A. von Domaszewski did not hesitate to call him by that name (*supra* p. 339 n. 2). The source of *met.* i. 244—312 is unknown (W. Vollgraff *Nikander und Ovid* Groningen 1909 i. 104).


3 *Supra* i. 60 fig. 34.

4 This is in fact the common identification (e.g. W. Ramsay in Smith *Dict. Biogr. Myth.* i. 441, Reimach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 300, no. 23 f.).

5 Aristoph. *nub.* 373 κατά τὸ πρώτον τῶν Δί’ ἀληθῶν ἐμπὶ διὰ κοσμίου οὔρων (*supra* ii. 2).
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The line in question is put into the mouth of Strepsiades, an old-fashioned and simple-minded peasant, and must not be discounted as a mere Aristophanic jest. At most Aristophanes has combined two separate notions current among the lower classes in his day.

That rain was explained as Zeus making water is likely enough. Not only is this homely notion common to the unsophisticated folk of Asia\(^1\) and Europe\(^2\) in general, but it survives


\(^2\) U. Holmberg in *The Mythology of all Races: Finno-Ugrian, Siberian* Boston 1927 p. 444 states, on the authority of N. P. Pripuzov, that *Both the Yakuts and Burials call the rainbow also the urine of the she-fox.*

I. Goldziher *Mythology among the Hebrews and its historical development* trans. R. Martineau London 1877 p. 73 f. *The clearest evidence of a worship of the rainy sky and the storm among the Arabs is furnished by the name Kuzzah, to which storms and rainbows were attributed [ib. pp. 169, 423]. But it is probable that this name Kuzah is derived from the signification “mingere,” which belongs to the corresponding verb (used specially of beasts), and that it is due to a mythological conception of the Rain.*


Etc., etc.

W. Mannhardt *Roggenwolf und Roggenhand* Danzig 1865 (ed. 2 1866) p. 10 has collected instances from Germany and France. Thus in the Oberpfalz, when it rains for long together, people say *‘Nu pissen sie da oben all wieder’* (F. X. von Schönwerth *Aus der Oberpfalz. Sitten und Sagen Augsburg 1859 iii. 20*). In the Tirol St. Medardus, since his festival on June 8 often brings rain, is called ‘Hebruner’ (L. V. Zingerle *Sitten, Brauche und Meinungen des Tiroler Volkes* Innsbruck 1871 p. 157 no. 1326). In Picardy too *‘Saint Médard est un grand pissard’* (O. Freiherr von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld *Das Wetter*
among the modern Greeks in particular, at least in out-of-the-way places\(^1\).

The mention of the sieve also points to a popular conception\(^2\), which appears to have left its traces on more than one language of the Indo-European family\(^3\). It can indeed be exactly paralleled from modern phraseology. The Greeks still say ‘It’s drenching with the sieve’\(^4\) or ‘God is drenching with the sieve,’\(^5\) and use the proverb ‘God’s sieve has big holes.’\(^6\) In the district of Parnassos it is believed that Borras, the north wind, possesses a sieve with which he prepares and sifts the hail. Notos, the south wind, has skin bottles, which he

\[ \text{im Sprichwort Leipzig 1864 p. 141} \]. At Cologne, if it rains on July 13, ‘Margriht hát en de Nöss gepess.’ Elsewhere on the Rhine, if it rains on June 10, ‘Margarete pistet in die Nüsse.’ In the former case the rain will last four weeks; in the latter, a fortnight, and will spoil the nuts (\emph{id. ib. pp. 145, 154}). So in the Mark district, if it rains on June 22, ‘Sünne Magdelena pistet in de Nüete’ (J. F. L. Woeste \emph{Volksüberlieferungen in der Grafschaft Mark} Iserlohn 1848 p. 61).

\(^1\) B. Schmidt \emph{Das Volksleben der Neugriechen} Leipzig 1871 i. 31 illustrates Aristoph. \emph{pid.} 373 by certain locutions heard at Arachova near Delphi. When it rains, people say κατουράει δ’ θιόδ. When it rains hard or continuously, they say τσουφ, τσωφ, τσοφ (ommatoph.), κατούρωσα τ’ θιόδ μαζό πάσι (=έδάφει, ‘he has feuln gemacht,’ d. h. ganz eingeweicht). Even more remarkable is the parallel adduced by N. G. Polites \emph{Δημώδεις μετεωρολογικοὶ μύθοι} (extract from \emph{Παρασοφό}) Athens 1880 p. 20: ‘Εστι σανεχαί καὶ διαλλάττων βροχής οἱ χυδαίτεραι λέγοντες ἀστεῖόμενοι “κατούραει θεός” ἐν ‘Αραχώβη μάλιστα προστίθεισι “μὲ τὸ κόκκινον”’ (\emph{id. I. Ελλ. χρ. 35}). ‘Εν Μεσονήμι ὁ τουτούτο καιρὸς καλάται “Κατούρλαις” καὶ ἀλλαχοὶ “Κατούρλης.”’

\(^2\) F. L. W. Schwartz \emph{Der Ursprung der Mythologie} Berlin 1860 p. 7 first drew attention to this.

\(^3\) O. Schrader in J. Hastings \emph{Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics} Edinburgh 1909 ii. 40b: ‘In Greece the phrase Δίς θεὸς is used for “it rains,” which, when traced back to an older stage of the language, can only mean “The father (heaven) presses grapes” (Skr. \emph{sūndī} “I press,” \emph{sōma}, “the pressed,” “the soma drink”). It is also customary to charm the rain by an offering of honey, where the rain which drops on the trees and branches is likened to honey. Exactly corresponding to these ideas we find in India the belief that by letting the soma, which itself is called a son of the rain-god Parjanya, drip through the strainer, rain is enticed to fall. Thus the very fact that the man “presses” the juice on the earth, incites or rather compels the god in heaven to “press,” i.e. to cause the rain to fall (cf. E. Windisch in \emph{Der Feste: Studie auf Rudolf von Roth zum Doktorjubiläum} 24. August 1893 Stuttgart 1893 p. 140 f., H. Oldenberg \emph{La religion du Veda} Paris 1903 p. 392, Gruppe \emph{Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 819}).’ \emph{Id. in Schrader Reallex.} ii. 227: ‘Eine mythologische Vorstellung liegt vielleicht dem griech. θεί, berōς zugrunde (vgl. tochar. A. \emph{ws. su.}, \emph{swad “regnet,” swasse “Regen,” B. sωβαι “es regnet,” swes “Regen.”} Sie gehören zu sīr. \emph{swe.}, \emph{swāh “keltiere,” spec. den Soma (sīr. sōmā, vgl. auch ahd. sou, lit. \emph{swas “Salt,” sīr. sās “Kelter”).} Das homerische θεί berōs kann daher ursprünglich nur bedeutet haben: “der Himmel keltet”, indem die Erzeugung des Regens auf gleiche Stufe wie die Auskelterung des idg. Rauschtranks (Mets...) gestellt wurde, eine Vorstellung, die in dem Verhältnis zwischen Soma und Regen dem vedischen Altermut noch durchaus lebendig ist.’

\(^4\) N. G. Polites \emph{Δημώδεις μετεωρολογικοὶ μύθοι} (extract from \emph{Παρασοφό}) Athens 1880 p. 18 τὸ ρήξει μὲ τὸ κόκκινον.

\(^5\) \emph{id. ib. o Θεός τὸ ρήξει μὲ τὸ βεμώνι (a large-sized sieve).

\(^6\) \emph{id. ib. τὸ βεμώνι τοῦ θεοῦ ἔχει μεγάλαι τρόπαις.}
flings through the clouds into the sea, fills with water, carries up to the sky, and empties in turn on the earth through sieves of varying size. His finest sieve produces a drizzle, his ordinary sieve rain, his wide-meshed sieve heavy rain, while his skin bottles poured out all at once cause a regular deluge\(^1\). The interval between ancient and modern times may be bridged by a passage from Michael Psellus, who states that in his day (s. xi A.D.) most people ignorantly supposed rain to be water strained by God through a sieve-like sky\(^2\).

In view of this long-lived superstition it is probable that a primitive Greek rain-charm consisted in pouring water though a sieve\(^3\) and that may well have been one reason for the use of a sieve\(^4\) in divination (koskinomanteia)\(^5\). In any case the matter calls for

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1. *Id. ib. after N. 'Ελλ. άρ. 35.*
2. *Psell. πρός μαθήτας ἁμελούμενα p. 150 f. Boissonade τοσούτο γὰρ αὐχλὸς σφαιρᾶς ἐπὶ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὰ βιών ἐγένητο, καὶ οὕτω πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀμαθοστάτου πάνην ἐπιστήμην κοινῶς συνηλάβομεν, ὥστε τῶν πᾶλλων αἰνεθαί μή καὶ τῶν δεινῶν εἰ τῶν ρεφῶν καταρρήγγεωσαί, ἄλλα, κατὰ τὸ Ἐρατοσθένους λεγόμενον κόσμου, διατετράτηθαι τῶν διαρανῶν, κάκειθεν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀνυόλιστα <τῶν θεών> τὸ ὄμωρ δεικνύειν. 'The sieve of Eratosthenes' was an arithmetical table for the discovery of prime numbers (F. Hultsch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1994, G. Knack ib. vi. 364) and is here merely a learned allusion brought in by association of ideas. J. F. Boissonade ad loc. says justly: 'aptius et opportunius poterat adducere Psellus ad cribrum Strepsiadea.'
3. E. O. James in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1920 xi. 506\(^a\) quotes modern parallels from the Ainus, Russian peasants, Buddhist monks, etc. (after Frazer *Golden Bough*\(^2\): The Magic Art i. 251 and 258).
5. G. Pictorius Villinganus 'De speciebus magiae caeremonialis, quam goetiam vocant, Epitome' in H. Cornelii Agrippae ab Netteshey *Opera Lyvdivni s.a.* (1531?) i. 472 cap. xxi 'Hvc etiam Coscinomantia scribenda venit, quæ demone virgente, per cribrum diuinationem suscifiri docet, quis rei patrati author sit, quis hoc commiserit furturn, quis hoc dederit vulnus, aut quicquid tale fuerit. Cribrum enim inter duorum astantium medios digitos, per forccm penduntur, ac deleratione facta per sex verbas, nec sibi ipsis, nec aliis intellecta, quæ sunt: DIES MIES LESCHET, BENEDOEFEF, DOVVINA, ENITEMAVS, demonom in hoc compellunt vt reo nominato (nam omnes suspectos nominare oportet) confestim circumagatur, sed per obliquum instrumentum è forccpe pendens, vt reum prodat: iconem hæc ponimus [= my fig. 210]. Annis ab acis plus minus triginta, ter huius diuinationis genere sum ipse vsus, primo furti patrati causa: secundo propter rete, vel cases quibus ues capiantur à quodam inuido mihi deflectos. Et tertio amissi canis mei studio, vbi semper pro voto aleam eccidisse comperi, in posternum tamé quiœl, imnes ne demon veritate quæ preter naturam, in me vsus fuerat, os mihi subliniret è amplius seducendo illaquearet. Hanc diuinationem ceateris arbitrabuntur verorem, sicut etiam Erasmus scribit in proerhibio: Cribro diuinar. 'The charm here quoted probably belongs to that 'crazy assemblage of formulas no longer understood even by the reciter himself... obviously debased learned materials, taken from Mediterranean collections which may well go back to the magic-saturated last days of the Roman Empire' (A. Haggerty Krappe *The Science of Folk-lore* London 1930 p. 189). On this showing it would be
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the *dilebris* of a late Latin incantation, say *Deus meus Iesus Christus, | benedicta fiet dividatio ista* or some such jingle: possibly the enigmatic *entremas* contains the neo-Latin *tenuis*, ‘sieve’ (Schrader *Reallex.* ii. 390), which is a loan-word of Germanic origin (Dutch *teun*, *teem*, provincial English *tens*, *tense*, *tempus* (J. O. Halliwell *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* London 1901 ii. 837 ‘Temse A sieve North.’), French *tamis* (A. Brachet *An etymological Dictionary of the French Language* trans. G. W. Kitchin Oxford 1882 p. 379)). J. Pratorius *De Coccinomantia, Oder vom Sieb-Latiffe diatribe curiosa* Curie Variscorum 1677 devotes 86 small quarto pages to a collection and discussion of earlier authorities, e.g. C1 *Delrio* [M. Delrio *Disquisitionum Magicarum libri sex* Lugduni 1613] p. 606. *xoroamareía, qve usurpata veteribus* (*Theocrit* [3, 31], *Luciano* [Alex. 9.], *Polluci* [7, 188]) unde & Adag. *cribrum divinare. Cribrum* imponebatur

forcipi, forcipem binis digitis comprahendebant, & elevabant, & præmissis conceptis verbis subjiciabant nominis corum, de quibus suspicabatur eos *furtu*, vel aliud occultum crimen patrassæ: eum verò judicabant illum; qvo nominatò *cribrum* trenehabet, nutabat, movenbatur [sic], vel convertebatur: qv. qvi digitis forcipem tenebant arbitratu subo *cribrum* movere non potuerit. Qvod formulam *Pictorum* proponat verborum pronuncian- dorum, fecit invenisse: qvod eà sit unus ter, & qvod eventum certum predict, fecit ipmi & mentitur policendo.1 Here and there Pratorius reports local usage, e.g. Cz ‘in *Poloniis* hunc habent morem patrum qvod tot Schedulas sumant, qvod personas in suspicione habent, & singulis inscribant singula nomina, imponantqve *cribro*, & hoc superimponant cupse cum aqvâ repletas: ubi hinc maximè omnes schedas oportet madidas sieri, sed illam tamen, non, dicunt, qve verum Reum sustinet inscriptum: hanc enim haud tungi aqvâ ferunt.

Apart from this monograph, which is tough reading, the topic has been handled by A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1879 i. 183 (alright), J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 iii. 1108 f. (*sieve-driving*, *sieve-turning*, *sieve-running*, *sieve-chasing*, *sieve-dance*), i. 1888 iv. 1635 (*sieve-running*), C. Kiesewetter *Die Geheimwissenschaften* Leipzig 1895 pp. 375–377 (examples from u. xvi and xvii), Frazier *Golden Bough*3; Balder the Beautiful i. 236, 22

C. III.
The holed vessel in Egypt

further enquiry, as it has important bearings on both ritual and mythology.\(^1\)

(d) Rain as water poured through a holed vessel or sieve.

i. The holed vessel in Egypt.

On the west bank of the Nile, south of Memphis, lay the town of Akanthos, famous for its sanctuary of Osiris and its magnificent grove of Theban acacias\(^2\). Here, according to Diodorus\(^3\), it was the


The essential facts are indicated by Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 831 f.

Several Christian saints have a sieve as their attribute. M. and W. Drake, *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 p. 215 connect it with St Benedict (March 21), St Amalberga (July 10), and St Hippolytus (Aug. 13). Greater detail will be found in C. Cahier, *Caractéristiques des saints dans l’art populaire* Paris 1867 i. 276 (‘Crible, tamis, etc.’) *Saint Benoit de Norcia...* Près de lui un crible brisé. Saint Grégoire le Grand raconte que sa nourrice ayant emprunté un crible en terre cuite, et l’ayant brisé par mégarde, l’enfant rétablit cet instrument en son intégrité première. *Les hymnes et proses en l’honneur du saint ne manquent guère de rappeler ce premier miracle d’un homme qui en fit tant d’autres....* *Id. ib.:* ‘SAINTE AMALBERGE, vierge; 10 juillet, v. 772....* On lui met parfois en main un tamis*4 [AA. SS. Jul. iii. 80], où je crois bien pouvoir signaler un simple rébus; car elle possédait la terre seigneuriale de Temesche sur l’Escaut, dont le nom est en latin *Tumisia*, et *Tumise* en français. Sur cette espèce d’armes parlantes, qui d’ailleurs ne disaient pas grand’chose à la population flamande de l’endroit, on aura construit plus tard l’historiette que voici: *Les gens de Temsche (*Tumise*) se plaignaient à la sainte d’être réduits à une seule fontaine, laquelle se trouvait au milieu d’un champ dont le propriétaire leur créait toutes sortes d’embarras. Pour terminer une bonne fois les contestations, Amalberge se rendit à la fontaine, armée d’un tamis qu’elle remplit d’eau; puis transportant le contenu dans un lieu plus accessible, elle y renversa l’eau qu’elle avait apportée de la source. En ce nouvel endroit s’établit une source qui donnait plus d’eau que l’ancienne, mais l’autre tarit immédiatement. On dit que cette fontaine est celle qui se voit aujourd’hui près d’une petite chapelle dédiée à sainte Amalberge, et qui est visitée par beaucoup de pèlerins à cause des guérisons qu’elle procure*\(^5\) [Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Calendrier belge*, t. ii. p. 31, sv.1]. See further S. Baring-Gould, *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 iii pl. opposite p. 388 (St Benedict with the broken sieve at his feet, after Cahier), vii. 263 f. (St Amalberga at Temsche, where an annual procession is held in her honour on the third day in Whitsun week).

\(^1\) Strab. 809, Ptol. 4. 5. 25, Steph. Byz. s.v. *‘Akarthos*. See further R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa, *Real-Enc. i. 1148.

\(^2\) Diod. i. 97 ἡπὶ μὲν ἁγίας Ἀκαρθίων πόλεως, πέρας τοῦ Νείλου κατὰ τὴν Δίσσων ἀπὸ σταδίων ἐκατὸν καὶ ἐκείνη τῆς Μεθύπου, πῶδον εἶναι τετράθυρον, εἰς τὸν ιερόν ἐξεῖχον καὶ τρικόσμους καὶ ἐκλάνυε ἡμέραν ὁδοὺς φέρειν τε αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου τὴν δὲ τῆς τε νυμφίτι περὶ τῶν Ἅγιων (so H. Stephanus for ἄνων coadd.) μισθοῦν δὲ ἱεροὶ πάντων κατὰ τινά
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custom for three hundred and sixty priests to empty Nile-water day by day into a holed pithos: presumably one priest was told off for the task every day in the year. Diodorus' statement was almost certainly transcribed from Hekataios of Teos or Abdera, whose account of Egypt was composed under priestly influence in the time of Ptolemy I Soter (323—285 B.C.). It would seem, then, that early in the Hellenistic age the Egyptians, rightly or wrongly, claimed to be keeping up a religious custom strictly comparable with the mythical water-carrying of the Danaides.

Alongside of this Egyptian rite we may place a story, which can be traced back to the fourth century A.D., and connected with the

2 Infra § 9 (d) ii (a).
3 Rufin. hist. eccl. 2. 26 iam vero Canopi quis numeret superstitione flagitia? ubi praeextus sacerdotalium litterarum—ita et enim appellant antiques Aegyptiorum litteras—magicae artis erat pacene publica schola. quem locum velut fontem quendam atque originem daemonum in tantum venerabantur pagani, ut multo ibi maiore celebritas quam apud Alexandriam haberetur. sed de huic quoque monstru errore, cuiusmodi originem tradant, absurdam non erit paucis exponere: ferunt aliquando Chaldaeos ignem deum suum circumferentes cum omnium provinciarum diis habuisse confictum, quo scilicet qui vidisset, hic esse deus ab omnibus credenter. reliquarum provinciarum dii seris aut anri argentine aut ligni vel lapidis vel ex quacumque materia constabat, quaerat per ignem procul dubio corrupseret. ex quo hebat, ut ignis locis omnibus obtineret. haec cum audisset Canopi sacerdos, callidum quidam excogitavit. hydriae fieri solet in Aegypti partibus fictiles undique crebris et minutis admodum foraminibus patulae, quibus turbida aqua desudamus defaceacent ac purior redditur. harum ille unus cera foraminibus obturata desuper etiam varias coloribus pictam, aqua repl mam statut ut deum. et excisum veteris simulacri, quod Memelai gubernatoris ferebatur, caput desuper posuit diligenter aptavit. adsunt post haec Chaldaeae, iter in conflictum, circa hydria ignis ascenderit, cera, qua foramina fuerant obturat, resolviatur, sudante hydria ignis extinguitur, sacerdotis fraude Canopis Chaldaeorum victor ostenditur. unde ipsum Canopi simulacrum pedibus perexignis adtracto collo et quasi suggillato, ventre tumido in modum hydriae cum dorso assequaliter tereti formatur et ex hanc persuasione velut deus victor omnium celebatur. sed fecerit haec fortasse aliquando Chaldaeus, nunc vero adventante sacerdoti Dei Theophilo nullus profuit sed ceris fruus oblecta subvenit: vastata sunt omnia et ad solum deducta.

Rufin's narrative is repeated in Greek by Soudi. i.e. Κάνωπος. δ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. τοτε, ὡς λόγος, Χαλδαιοὶ τὸν ἄθνος θεόν, ὅπερ (δοτεροι cod. E.) ἦστι τὸ πύρ, ἀποστειρώνοντες πανθαρεῖαν περιήφανον· ὡστε τός θεός πασῶν (πάσις cod. E. ed. Med.) τὸν ἐπάρχον εὐφεβέρην, καὶ τὸν νικότα ἔκλειναν παρὰ πάντων νομίζοντες θεῶν. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων ἑπάρχων οἱ θεοὶ ἀτο χαλκοῦ ἢ ἀθόρυβου ἢ ἔλευσιν ἢ Ἑθῶν ἢ Ἀλλης τουταύτης ἠθῆς ἔτυχον εἰρήνα, ἢ δὲ τουταύτη ἠθή ἐυχέρεια ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐφθασείς· ὡστε πανθαρέα τὸ πύρ ἀναγκαῖος νεκρόν, τῶν ἀκοῦσας ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Κανώπου (so codd. A. V. τοῦ Κανώπου ιερεύς vulg.) πανουργὸς τι τουταύτι ἐπέμαχθη. ἠδοαίς ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἔλατον γίνεσθαι ὑστράκινω, τρῆσεις ἔκειναινεμέλας ὡστε διὰ τῶν τρῆσεως ἔκειναι τὸν πεθολομένον ὑστον διελεύθερον ἀπαλλάθηναι καθαροτάτον, ἐκ τῶν τῶν θανάτου μιᾷ λαμβοῦ ὁ τοῦ Κανώπου ιερεύς καὶ τάς τρῆσεις ἔκειναις ἀποφθέγματι ἐπικρατεῖν ἡμᾶς ἢθους καὶ πανεμορφοῖς ζωογράφησαι (διαμαραθοῦ ωθοῦσι μιᾷ λαμβανόμενος τῆς κηράδης). ὡστε λέγετο μεθελόν τῶν κυβερνήτων γεγονότας, ἐπιμελῶς ἐπιθεῖς ἠμέσως αὐτῷ τῷ
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town of Kanobos or Canopus near the most westerly mouth of the Nile. The Chaldaeans—we are told—endeavoured to prove that their god, Fire, was superior to all other gods by subjecting cult-images of bronze, silver, wood, stone, etc. to the action of fire and pointing triumphantly to the result. They were, however, outwitted by the priest of Kanopos. He took a terra-cotta strainer, such as were used by the Egyptians for clarifying muddy water, that is to say a hydra with many small holes in it, stuffed these holes with wax, painted the surface of the jar with various figures, filled it with water, and set it up as a god. He completed his work by cutting off the head of an old image, regarded as the helmsman of Menelaos, and fixing the same carefully on the top of his jar. The upshot of these preparations was that, when the Chaldaeans came and kindled a fire round the hydra, the wax melted, the jar appeared to sweat, and the water issuing forth from the holes put out the fire of the unbelievers! Hence the figure of Kanopos has tiny feet, a thin neck, a body swollen like that of a hydra, and a rounded back.

This curious narrative can be illustrated by certain amulets of

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1 H. Kees in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 1869 f.
roughly contemporary date, published long since by J. Chiflet\(^1\) (fig. 211) and A. Capello\(^2\) (fig. 212). Kanopos, from whose perforated body thin jets of water are streaming, is here associated with the pentagram\(^3\)


\(^2\) A. Capello *Prodomus Iconicorum sculptularum* Gemmarum, Basilidiani, Amulectici, atque Taliariani generis de Museo A. C. Venetiis 1702, Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1731 ii. 233 pl. 53 no. 70 (redrawn from Capello = my fig. 212).

\(^3\) During the last twenty years the pentagram or pentalpha has been the subject of much fruitful investigation. F. Hommel in R. Eisler *Weltallmacht und Himmelzeit* München 1910 i. 304 n. 5 shows that the old Babylonian ideogram AR [F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orient* München 1926 p. 1021 ‘besser ar zu umschreiben’] or UB meaning ‘steps of heaven’ (UB = *tubbatt*) or ‘space’ (P. Jensen *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* Strassburg 1890 p. 165 ff., J. Henn in the *Leipziger semitische Studien* 1907 ii. 5. 7) is represented in a fragmentary archaic votive inscription on the relief of a lion couchant (V. Scheil in the *Délégation en Perse: Mém. de Perse 1900* ii. 66 ‘Texte du Lion,’ line 16) by the pentagram \(\star\) and on the obelisk of Manîštassu (sign no. 115 in Scheil’s list) by a pentagram with open top \(\star\). Hommel further points out that already in the Gudea inscriptions we find the ideogram consisting of five *cunei* \(\star\), whose recumbent form \(\star\) must have given rise to the old Babylonian UB \(\star\).

F. X. Kugler in *Klio* 1911 xi. 489 f.: \(\star\) (5) is Ideogramm für *nādu* ‘erheben, verherrlichen,’ *nātu* ‘erhaben, hehr,’ *tānu* ‘Erhabenheit, Majestät.’ Die 5 ist in erster Linie das Symbol der überirdischen, göttlichen Würde und Vollkommenheit, der gloria divina; erst an zweiter Stelle bezeichnet sie die königliche Majestät. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass diese Bedeutung der 5 sich von den 5 Planeten ableitet, zumal dieselben nach babylonischer Ansicht über die Fixsternsphäre ihre Bahnen gehen und die vorzüglichsten Verkündiger des göttlichen Willens sind (Diodor, ii. 30...). Wie 5, so bedeutet auch das Ideogramm UB: *nādu*, *tānu*, drückt also gleichfalls den Begriff ‘Erhabenheit’ aus. Und merkwürdigerweise ist die archaische Form von UB: \(\star\), dem pythagoreischen Pentagramm ganz ähnlich. Ausserdem bezeichnet UB auch tupku, kibratu, ursprünglich = kosmischer Raum (vgl. ub-da tab-tab-ba ‘vier Himmelsgegenden’). Dies alles legt den Gedanken nahe, dass die kosmische Zahl 5 des Pythagoräer mit der babylonischen Auffassung der 5 nahe verwandt ist.\(^4\)

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2400 v. Chr.)...Das Pentagramm als planetarisches Zeichen ist in der ganzen Welt als Schutzmittel gegen die bösen Geister in Gebrauch, als Drudenfuss, Pentalpha, Alpenkreuz, salus Pythagorae. In alten Kirchen gilt es als Riegel gegen Dämonen (vgl. Otto, KirchI. Archäologie 1479). "Das Pentagramma macht mir Pein." [See further S. Seilgmann Der böse Blick und Verwandtets Berlin 1910 ii. 10 (with fig. 23), 795, 796, 797, and especially 293 f. (with figs. 212, 213).] I append a few numismatic examples: (1) A silver stater of Melos, struck in 2 v. B.C., has obv. a pomegranate with traces of two leaves, rev. ΝΑΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔΙΔИΔΙΔΙΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔΙΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИДИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИДИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИДИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИДИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИДИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИДИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИДИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИДИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИДИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИДИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИДИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИДИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИДИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔΙΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИДИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔИΔI
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and a variety of magical marks, including Θ and perhaps scattered letters of the word Hygieia.

also on coins of Ascensi (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy p. 67 no. 5). Beneventum (ib. Italy p. 68 no. 1 fig.), Teanum Sidicinum (ib. Italy p. 126 no. 11), Velia (ib. Italy p. 315 no. 102). Bruttii (ib. Italy p. 321 no. 22), the Mamertini (ib. Sicily p. 111 no. 30), Syracuse (ib. Sicily p. 190 no. 372), Leukas (ib. Corinth, etc. p. 131 no. 75 pl. 36, 5). Rhodes (ib. Caria, etc. p. 246 no. 173), Seleukos i in Alexandrine empire of the East (ib. Arabia etc. pp. xxviii, 187 f. pl. 22, 4 (= my fig. 219)), Kyrene (ib. Cyrenaica p. 61 no. 292 pl. 26, 1), and Rome (Babelon Monn. rép. rom. i. 25, 48, 49, 101 (gens Acilia), ii. 382 no. 140 (gens Papia). Rasche Lex. Num. vi. 827.]

F. Dornseif Das Alphabet in Mystic und Magie Leipzig—Berlin 1912 p. 84 n. 3: ‘Das Pentagramm ist Ideogramm für “Weltraum.”’ Id. ib. goes on to connect the Babylonian pentagram and heptagram with Pherekydes’ πετάλως and ἐπέταμος.

S. A. Cook in his important book The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology London 1930 p. 213 f. collects examples of the pentagram as a Jewish symbol: ‘It is found at (a) Nerab, (b) Gerar, (c) a jar-handle from Ophel, and a curious type with Hebrew letters found at (a) Tell Zakariya, (b) Gezer, and (b) Ophel, (c) Syria, ix. 306; (d) Pétre, p. 19, pl. xxxii. no. 101; (e) P. E. F. Annual, iv. fig. 305, no. 31; (d) Bliss and Macalister, pl. lvi. no. 44: (e) Q.S., 1904, p. 211 sqq., Macalister, Gezer, i. 209, fig. 359, and (f) Annual, iv. p. 191, fig. 203, no. 7. Cf. also the early inscribed (Arable) stone from Latron (Q.S., 1904, p. 174).’ The legend has been acutely taken to be Shelem and identified with the Shelema of Neh. xiii. 131. (So Albright, J.P.O.S., vi. 100 sqq.) The Pentagram is also used as a potter’s mark (So Bliss and Macalister, pl. xxix. no. 42; cf. pl. lvi. no. 53. (From Tell Sandahannah, ib. p. 122 sqq.), Gezer, pl. exc. no. 59.)

Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie Decorative Patterns of the Ancient World London 1930 pl. 48 has a short comparative series of pentagons from Egypt, Asia Minor, Crete, Greece, Italy, etc.

Θ was a character, which would commend itself to all who engaged in Egyptising magic. As a letter, it was at the beginning and end of Thoth (ἐγγυσηγϊων τοῦ ἁλαβάθους printed in et. Gud. p. 597 Θήγα τὸνεν ἐγγυσηγιωτας: παρὰ τὸ Θάο: ὢν δὲ λέγεται τὸ πέταλον (cp. K. B. Hase in Stephanus Thet. Gr. Ling. vi. 1009c τῶν παλαιών λεπρῶν). As a numeral, it stood for the great Egyptian ennead (F. Dornseif Das Alphabet in Mystic und Magie Leipzig—Berlin 1921 p. 23). As a symbol, it represented the universe (Philon Bybl. frag. 9 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 571 ff. Müller) cp. Euseb. præp. ev. 1. 10. 51 ἐὰν μὴ ἐν λαοῦ τόῦ τε ἐν τῶν κλώμαί γραφόντας περιφερής κύκλον ἀφεξεν καὶ παρακλητούντος καὶ μέκος τεταμένος δύον ἱερακύδοις, καὶ ἐπί τῷ εὐχαμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀθρά σῶτον, τὸ δὲ μέσον δύον αὐτοκεφαλικοῦ τούτου Ἀγαθοῦ Δαιώνων σημανόντως (ὑπρά i. 1127 f.) = Lyd. de menx. 4. 161 p. 177, 16 ff. Wünsch διὰ σχιζών ῥά κύκλος τελείωτον: διὸν Αἰγύπτου τῶν κλώμαν γραφόντας περιφερής κύκλον ἀφεξεν καὶ παρακλητοῦντος καὶ μέκος τεταμένος δύον ἱερακύδοις, οἷον αὐτοκεφαλεῖ ν Ἀγαθοῦ Δαιώνων: καὶ ἐπί τῷ εὐχαμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἁθρά σῶτον. Dornseif loc. cit. cp. schol. Dionys. Thrik. p. 321, 37 and 488 Hilgard Θήγα διὰ τοῦ παντὸς θέου μαμελεί: ὢν δὲ τοῦ παντὸς θεοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ ὀφανσος, δὲ τὸ τε κυκλοτερεῖ ἔχει καὶ τὸ δὲ μέσον ἄξονα τῇ κατὰ μέσον χαρακτηρεῖτα μακρὰ. Lobeck Aclaephezmu i. 1341 had already quoted et. magn. p. 441, 3 ff. Θήγα τὸ στοχεῖον, παρὰ τὸ τῆς θεοῦ τοῦ παντὸς μαμελεί: ἐγὼ τοῦ ὀφανσος τοῦ κυκλοτερεῖ ἔχων (κυκλοτερον cod. V. marg.), καὶ τὸ δὲ μέσον ἄξονα τῇ κατὰ τὸ μέσον μακρὰ < ἀκαλυπτον (ins. Lobeck) > ἔχει. Add et. Gud. p. 261, 45 ff. Θήγα, ἐκτισμός, διὰ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς θείος μαμελεί: ὢν δὲ τοῦ παντὸς θείος ὀφανσος ἐστὶν, δὲ τὸ τε κυκλοτερεῖ ἄξονα κατὰ (ἐξοι καὶ τὸ δὲ μέσον ἄξονα (ἐξοι ἄξονα τῇ κατὰ τὴν μέσον ἀκαλυπτον < ἀκαλυπτον ἔχει (inscrii) : > χαρακτηρεῖν ων ὀφανα, εἰκόνας καὶ τουκανον θαλαθὸν ὄφωμαιν). That was the initial of αὐτὰς and was itself transfixted with a dart (schol. Pers. sat. 4. 13, Βιδ. orig. 1. 3, 8, 1. 23, 1, cp. Pers. sat. 4. 13, Mart. ep. 7. 37, 1 f., Auson. ep. 87. 13 Peiper, Rufin. apol. adv. Hier. 2. 36 (xxi. 615 Migne), Sidon. carm. 9. 334 f. See also Sir J. E. Sandys Latin Epigraph Cambridge 1919 p. 62 with n. 2) is hardly ad rem: an infelix littera would be out of place.

2 Supra i. 109 n. 3.
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The story of Kanopos implies the local cult of an actual man, who died and was buried near the river-mouth. As a dead man he would of course be identified with Osiris, and—from the position of his grave—with Osiris as god of the Nile. Nile-water was in fact regarded as the very seed of Osiris and credited with generative and fertilising powers of the highest order. Apparently the divinised Kanopos was represented by a terra-cotta strainer full of Nile-water. Its holes were caulked with wax. Its surface was painted with divers figures. And its neck was completed by the addition of a human head. This peculiar, but not impossible, image must have served some practical purpose; and it lies near at hand to conjecture that in the hottest weather the wax would melt, the image would stream with water, and a fertility-charm of exceptional potency would automatically protect the neighbourhood from drought. The alleged *rencontre* with the Chaldaeans is on this showing a later moralising version of the previously existing rite.

1 Heliod. 9. 9 θεωπλαστοβοι τον Νειλον Λυγυτοι αι κρατών, τόν μεγατον ἀγωνιον, αὖτις καιν ἄχτοιν τόν ποταμόν σκαμνησατο, οἷα δὴ δίκα νεφελῶν καὶ ὑπότων ἄρησεν τῷ ἄμφοτερῳ αὐτοῖν ἄρσοις καὶ εἰς ἐτοίς ἔτει νεταγμῶν ἐπομεβριζότα, καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν ὁ πολη λεώς, ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖναν, ἐκεῖνα. τοῖς ἐναι καὶ ἡν ἀναβάσεων, τὴν ἀρχήν τοῦ καὶ ἕξηρο τὸν πόταμον σύνοδον αὐτοῖν μάλιστα νομίζοις, τα δ' ἄλλα στοιχεία τούτων συναπάρχουσα τα καὶ συναπαρθούσα τα λέγοντες (αἱ λέγοντες) καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄρχην, τὸν Νείλον, οὕτε δὴ τὴν γῆν τὴν αὐτῶν ἐμφάνειν, καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν δημιουργοῦσι. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο μιστὰς Ἰσαίας τὴν Γῆν καὶ Ὀσίριν τὸν Νείλον εὐκαγγέλλουσι, τὰ πράγματα τοῖς δέομαι μεταλαμβάντες. Οὗ εἰς αὐτοῖς οὐκέτας τὸν Ὀσίριν Ὀσίριον καὶ τὸν Νείλον καταγγέλλουσι, τὰ πράγματα τοῖς δέομαι μεταλαμβάνωσι. On this equivalence of Osiris and the Nile see further Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 1573 n. 5, 1580 n. 8.

2 Supra ii. 483 n. a, infra n. 6.

3 Aisch. vespel. 852 οἱ ηθοποιοί ἢστατοπαλίην ὑδάτων, ἢ ἔθεν ἀξιόλογον ἔφορον αἰμα βρατόεις θάλαι with schol. 854 τὰ ἄχτοια τὰ βρατύματα, ὡς τιτικιν, μεταφορέτοι. Μέγις δὲ < τὸ > τὸ Νείλον οὐδὲν 860 ἀρεσκούσιν γὰρ τὸ ὑδατὸς τὸ εὐκαγγέλλην Ἰσαίας. This exploit of Zeus is unrecorded elsewhere. Is the reference to the Egyptian Ares of Paphrenis (Hitt. 2. 63, cp. 2. 83)? Other allusions to the fertilising virtues of Nile-water are collected by R. Wagner in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 93.

4 Heliod. 9. 9 καὶ γὰρ ποιος συνέδυε καὶ τὰ Νείλα τὰς τὰς τινὶς μεγάς παρ' Λυγυτίας λόρην ἐνεκτρέκεια, καθε τροπᾶς μὲν τὰς θέρμας μάλιστα καὶ δὲν ἄρχην τὴν αὐτῆς τῶν συμβαίνοντες θεολογίας, κ.τ.λ. On the Νείλα see R. Wagner in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 91.

5 Sweating or weeping statues, whether ancient (e.g. Cic. de div. i. 74, 2. 58, Inf. Obs. 31, Loukian. de dea Syr. 36 (supra i. 58), ep. supra ii. 428) or modern (e.g. P. Schollot, Le Folk-lore de France Paris 1907 iv. 163), are allusio Losos.

6 W. Weber Diei Untersuchungen zur ägyptisch-griechischen Religion Heidelberg 1911 pp. 42, 48 (summarised by G. Roeder in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 1871 e) comes to the conclusion that the god Kanopos was a local type of Osiris-Neilos worshipped at the mouth of the Nile. Osiris was hidden inside the jar in the form of Nile-water, which is known to have played a considerable part in late religious rites (e.g. Plout, de Is. et Os. 36 οὐ μόνον δὲ τὸν Νείλον ἄλλα πάν ὑγιόν ἄνεκον Ὀσίριος ἀπότρυν ἐπομενοι καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, καὶ προσπορευτεῖ το ὄνομα ἕτει τούτο τοῦ θεοῦ). More exactly, according to Weber, Kanopos was the Osiris-Neilos of fresh water: Set-Typhon, his opponent, stood for
The so-called 'Canopic jars' of Egypt, surmounted by the heads of the four children of Horos:

(2) A set in veined alabaster, now at Queens' College, Cambridge.

See page 345 n. 1.
the salt water of the sea, which as the river sank forced its way up the river-bed. Thus the old conflict between Osiris and Set was interpreted at Kanopos as a struggle between the river-water and the sea-water. When the priests of Kanopos found fresh water streaming into their holy vessel, they celebrated with joy the finding of Osiris. Weber seeks support for his reconstruction in Plut. de Is. et Os. 39 (Typhon's drought attacks and masters the moisture that generates and nurtures the Nile. Typhon's ally is the Queen of the Aithiopes, i.e. south winds that master the etesian winds, which were driving the clouds towards Aithiopia and so bringing rain to increase the Nile. Typhon and his ally send a weakened and lowered river to the sea—a fact represented by the enclosure of Osiris in his coffin. This happens in the month Athyr, when the nights grow longer and daylight declines. The priests then drape a gilded cow in a black himation of fine linen—the cow representing Isis or the earth—and exhibit it for four days from the 17th of the month [Nov. 13—16; see Frazer Golden Bough 2; Adonis Attis Osiris 3 ii. 84]. But on the 19th they go down by night to the sea, and the drapers (στολευταί) and priests bring out the sacred ark (εἴση) containing a golden casket (κάρσιον), into which they pour drinkable water. A shout is raised by the people present, who cry that Osiris has been found! Then they mix fruitful soil with the water (τῆς κάρσιος) Xylander and others cjr. τῆς κάρσιος) φυτεύω τῷ δθητὶ, add costly spices and incense, and mould a little moon-shaped image (μηνοείδες ἀγαλμάτιον), which they clothe and adorn, thereby indicating their belief that these deities are essentially earth and water.

1 E. A. Wallis Budge The Mummy Cambridge 1893 pp. 194—201 states that four such jars were regularly employed by the Egyptians to contain the principal intestines of the dead. They were dedicated respectively to the man-headed Mesth or Amset, the dog-headed Häpi, the jackal-headed Thumamete, and the hawk-headed Qebshennuf. These four gods of the dead are described as the children of Horus or the children of Osiris and themselves stood under the protection of four goddesses, viz. Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Selket or Serqet. G. Elliot Smith—W. R. Dawson Egyptian Mummery London 1924 pp. 144—147 (‘The Canopic Jars’) point out that down to the end of the eighteenth dynasty the jars had human heads, but that later they were made to resemble the four children of Horus (human, hawk, jackal, ape), the liver being protected by Inasty, the stomach by Duamutef, the lungs by Hapy, and the intestines by Qebshu-nef. A. Erman Life in Ancient Egypt trans. H. M. Tirard London 1894 p. 317 describes and il. p. 306 figures (= my pl. xxxiii, 1) a typical set of the four jars. Pl. xxxiii, 2 is from a set, made of alabaster, in my possession. See also H. R. Hall in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1911 iv. 429; J. H. Gardner The Tomb of Amenemhat London 1915 p. 113. In no case is there any justification for the current term ‘Canopic.’

Forrer Realexx. p. 392, without citing his authority, says that such jars served 'zur Aufbewahrung des Nilwassers und der Mumieneingeweide.' In this connexion note Aristid. or. 48, 362 (ii. 485 Dindorf) μονε δε δω λεγεν Αλεξάντος κεράμα δλητων ὁστερ ἄλλων ὃνου πεμελή, και ἔγινεν τρεις καὶ τεττάρων ημῶν ἐνδόκοι καὶ ὅτι κλεισκότας καὶ τῷ χρυσῷ σεμφονούντων ὁστερ ἑκέσ τὸν ὁνον, καὶ τοῦτον φῆμεν τῷ αἰτίῳ εἶναι ὅτι ἐξ δραμων αὔστερα. In view of the fact that corpses or parts of corpses, e.g. the head, are frequently drenched with water as a rain-charm (Frazer Golden Bough 2; The Magic Art i. 284 ff., J. Rendel Harris in Folk-Lore 1904 xx. 431 (‘At Ourfa...we were told that in dry seasons they dig up the body of a recently buried Jew, abstract the head and throw it into the Pool of Abraham’)), it is presumably possible that ordinary intestine-jars may on occasion have been used for the same purpose; but evidence is lacking.
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on the imperial coinage of Alexandria (figs. 220—232). R. S. Poole said of them:

'The Canopi represent Osiris and Isis, Osiris being probably Sarapis. The Canopus of Osiris is of two forms, (1) draped and wearing the atef-crown, which consisted of the crown of Upper Egypt, between two plumes, above the rams' horns [fig. 220]; and (2) adorned with figures and wearing the crown with disk and plumes above the ram's horns with uraei [figs. 221, 222, 224, 223]. The Canopus of Isis is draped, with a uraeus in front of the body of the vase, and wears the headress of cow's horns and lunar disk [fig. 225]. These types cannot as yet be further discriminated. The two headresses of Osiris are indiscriminately used by the ancient Egyptians, and therefore we cannot assign them to particular forms. No doubt in Alexandrian usage they designated such forms, or they would not occur together in one coin-type [figs. 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 232].'

These joint representations show the two 'Canopi' of Osiris set on a couple of cushions and facing us upon a garlanded base.

The 'Canopic' shape might be given to a variety of gods and goddesses. J. G. Milne in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 286—290 published a limestone stèle in the Ghizeh Museum (no. 9267), which on each of its four faces had a sunk panel with reliefs, flanked by a verse quotation, below the panel a row of 'Canopic' figures, and lower again a metrical inscription: (a) A helmeted bust with a circular shield and crossed spears beneath it, flanked by Il. 5. 31, then from right to left 'Canopic' of Osiris, Horus, Isis, Nephthys (?), and the lines είσι μέν εγώ τε στρατεύμα θελεύων ἄροις | Καίσαρος εἰς πολέμους δόθη Ἀρείος θερμών. | πολλὰ δ' εν εὐεργεσίαις ηεθαν ὁ ἄγγελος | οὐκ ἀναμνῆσθαι [βίοι] | καὶ θάνατος | οὕτως ἐς αὐτοῦ τοὺς θεοὺς | ἀνεγέρσθαι τ' ἀσταθέσθαι. (b) A helmeted bust with a sea-horse beneath it, flanked by Od. 9. 328, then 'Canopi' of Thoth, Amon, Mut, and in lieu of an epigram Il. 15. 187—191. (c) A helmeted bust with an eagle on a thunderbolt beneath it, flanked by Il. 2. 412, then 'Canopi' of some missing deity. Shu, Tefnut, Hathor, and the lines είς Κάισαρ, μέγας οἰσκεράτως, εἰς κοῦρος ένυστο, εἰς μασελλός, ψ όλως Κράνου παῖς ἀγκλαμηθηκτη (ιες—aan adaptation of Il. 2. 304f. On such formulas see E. Petersen *ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ* Göttingen 1926 p. 211): ζήνα μέγας Κρισάρι θείον ἄρτικον ἄργαλον [κανονοί] | [ . . . ] ἀπὸ προφορῷ | | | (e.g. τοῦ θ' ἀπὸ προφορίαν | ἄριστον | ἀναμνῄσθαι τοὺς | τοὺς | τοὺς [θεοὺς] πάντας | | | οὔτως ἀνεγέρσθαι τοὺς | θεοὺς καὶ | θανάτος | οὕτως ἀνεγέρσθαι τοὺς | θεοὺς καὶ | θανάτος | ('Canopi' of Ra, Atum, Nut, and the lines Αγγείοι ισαίας κατ' ξένου δίον άνατα | Πατός | οργανιμοῖο κατ' εἰλατ[τοῖς Πολυμονοίον, ἀνδρέα δ' ἀρχομεῖ καλλίως κατὰ θεοὺς ἄστατων. | | [τοῦ | κυρίαν ισαίας τού | θεού] ἀναμνῄσθαι τοὺς | θεοὺς καὶ | θανάτος | οὔτως ἀνεγέρσθαι τοὺς | θεοὺς καὶ | θανάτος. The stèle dates from the end of ι. i. n.c. and comes from Alexandria. F. L. Griffith suggests that the underlying idea is probably astrological: thus, the opposite sides (4) and (5) are headed by Ra and Thoth for Sun and Moon: (1) has Osiris, possibly for the planet Jupiter, and the lost figure in the front of (3) may have been Geb, the planet Saturn. To each of these leaders were then added his usual associates in Egyptian religious tradition.'
The holed vessel in Egypt

Fig. 220.

Fig. 221.

Fig. 222.

Fig. 223.

Fig. 224.

Fig. 225.

Fig. 226.

Fig. 227.

Fig. 228.

Fig. 229.

Fig. 230.

Fig. 231.

9. Fig. 228 is from a specimen in my collection (Hadrian [L] I H) = 133–134 A.D. Cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 92 no. 779 pl. 18 (= my fig. 239).

10. Ib. p. 134 no. 1134 pl. 18 (= my fig. 230, from a cast) Antoninus Pius.

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(fig. 226), or more often confronting each other (figs. 227—231), sometimes with a flaming thymiaterion between them (fig. 230) or housed in a common shrine with papyrus-headed columns (fig. 231\(^1\)), or finally upborne side by side on the spread wings of an eagle (fig. 232).\(^2\). The numismatic ‘Canopi’ of Osiris resemble the legendary effigy of Kanopolis more closely than do the ordinary ‘Canopic’ jars, and that in two respects. For one thing, there can be no doubt that the Osirian ‘Canopi’ were definitely worshipped as deities. For another, they were not only surmounted by a human head, but also decorated with various figures. It is even possible that the series of dots seen on the Osiris ‘Canopi’ (figs. 224, 228, etc.) were holes stuffed with wax like those of Kanopolis himself.

A further possibility is deserving of mention. Since Nile-water was in effect the equivalent of snow and rain, the Nile was popularly regarded as in some sort a copy of the sky.\(^3\). Parmenon of Byzantion (s. iii B.C.) ventured to equate the river-god with the sky-god, when he penned a choliambic address to—

\(^{1}\) Nile, Zeus of the Egyptians.

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\(^{1}\) *Ib.* p. 102 no. 877 pl. 28 (= my fig. 231) Hadrian. *Cp. Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 453 no. 365 Hadrian, 481 no. 544 L. Verus.

\(^{2}\) An engraved cornelian at Florence shows the Canopus of Isis carried by a female griffin, which rests its right paw on a four-spoked wheel (A. F. Gori *Museum Florentinum Florentiae* 1731 i pl. 58, 9, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 33 no. 58, 9 pl. 29).

\(^{3}\) Heliod. 9. 9 (cited *infra* p. 344 n. 1).


A coin of Alexandria already figured (*infra* i. 361 fig. 277) equips Zeus with the cornucopia of Neilos.
At Silsillis (Djebel Selseleh), on the right bank of the Nile in Upper Egypt, a stèle was found bearing an inscription flanked by two reliefs—on one side a sacred tree, on the other a bull and a young man holding a torch or stick in his left hand. This was ‘the salutation of Leonidas the helmsman to Neilos Zeus called Nephōtes the Greatest’ and is dated in the year 106/7 A.D. Now Nephōtes, as A. H. Sayce pointed out, is a Grecised form of the Egyptian Neb-pet, ‘Lord of Heaven.’ There was, moreover, a long-standing belief that the Nile was a celestial river, and sundry mythographers identified it as such with Eridanos or Okeanos. Kanobos the helmsman gave his name to a star appearing low down beneath this constellation. It is therefore quite conceivable that the rounded body of Kanopus was treated as a quasi-sky, and that the figures with which it was decorated were those of stars or constellations. Support for the conjecture is not far to seek.

If Kanobos was thus identified with Osiris, his wife Theonoe or Eumenouthis seems to have been equated with Isis. In this connexion a small Nolan amphora once belonging to the Museo Vivenzio must be taken into account. An old drawing here reproduced (fig. 233) shows the two sides of the vase as one continuous

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1 C. R. Lepsius Denkmaler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien Berlin 1849—1849 xii. 82 no. 188 (inscription only).
2 A. H. Sayce in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1894 vii. 297 f. no. ix (inscription only) = Dittenberger Orient. Gr. instr. syl. no. 676 = F. Preisigke Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten Strassburg 1915 i. 7 no. 23 το προσικόνυμια [Δεάεων κυβερνήτην Νείλου] Δοσ καλού[μενον] Νεφών τού [με]γάλου. | Κανόπους, Κανόπους τού κυόνων. Sayce and Dittenberger assume that κυβερνήτην Νείλου should be taken together as ‘helmsman of the Nile.’
4 Supra i. 349 n. 2.
5 Supra ii. 1025.
6 Plout. de Is. et Or. 22.
7 Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 32 Canopus, whose source (see W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1920 ii. 1. 248 n. 4) was pseudo-Eratosthen. catast. 37 Kanoβος.
8 Konon narr. 8 το περὶ Πρωτίς τοῦ Διονυσίου μάρτυρος, οὗ θηγήσθη θεϊκή ἐρασθείσα κανόβος (ὑπὸ οὗ τοῦ κυβερνήτης Μενελαίου τοῦ Τρόφου (D. Hoeschel cf. ‘Aριστίς) ἀποσχεδόνες εἰς την καστᾶνα καὶ ταύτα), νῦν δὲ τοῦτον γεννηθέν τινι ἄλλων νομοθετήσας καὶ τοὺς τοῦτον γεννηθέντος ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τεθαμμένος τιμῶνται πρὸς τὴν ὁχήματα τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀλλὰ δεκαδός σαμιτῶν διαιτήσεις.
9 Epiphanius, anecor. 106 (i. 209 Dindorf) Kανόβος τοῦ Μενελαίου κυβερνήτην καὶ τοῦτον γεννηθέντα ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τεθαμμένον τιμῶνται πρὸς τὴν ὁχήματα τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀλλὰ δεκαδός σαμιτῶν διαιτήσεις.
10 G. Patrolii Vasi dipinti del Museo Vivenzio disegnati da Costanzo Angelini nel MDCCLXVII Rome and Naples 1900 p. 5 pl. 29, Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel. p. 279 f. fig. 70 (my fig. 233).
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design. The obverse gives a scene from Greek cult; the reverse, a corresponding scene from Egyptian cult. In the one case we have the evocation of the Greek earth-goddess: she starts up at the very feet of a youth, who has just struck the ground with his mattock. In the other case a bearded and somewhat deformed man with a staff in his right hand is consulting a 'Canopus.' The jar, as on sundry Alexandrine coins (fig. 225) and gems of imperial date, has its cover shaped like the head of Isis. It is decorated with two stars—a feature in which it is not unique; for Isis was the 'Queen of Heaven' and wore a robe glittering with stars. It is surrounded by rosettes and circles, the meaning of which is doubtful. The object lying on the ground between the Isis-jar and the worshipper is (if we may put faith in Angelini's drawing) probably not a spiked crown, but cult furniture of some sort. It might conceivably be the

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3 A. F. Gori Gemmae antiques ex thesauro medecio et privatorum dactyliothecis Florentiae exhibentes tab. C etc. Florentiae 1731 i. 49 pl. 59. 2=Reinach Pierres Graves p. 33 no. 59, 2 pl. 29, cp. C. W. King Antique Gems and Rings London 1872 ii. 46 pl. 7, 9 (‘Canopus, with the head of Achor, flanked by two Asps; on the belly of the vase is the solar disk’).

4 Apul. met. 11. 2 regina caeli, 11. 4 per intactam extremitatem et in ipsa eius planitie stellae dispersae coruscabant earumque media sememstris lunaflammeeos spirabat ignes. See W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 433 ff. and R. Eisler Weltenmantel und Himmlischzelt Munchen 1910 i. 69 f.

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mountain-emblem of \(HA\), one of the most ancient gods of the Delta, whose priest purified the king at his coronation with the 'waters of all-satisfying life'. But I incline to think that rosettes, circles, and quasi-crown are merely loaves and cakes set out before the goddess. In any case the Egyptian scene balances the Greek scene; for Isis too was an earth-power—indeed Plutarch says that the Egyptians spoke of the earth, when flooded and fructified by the Nile, as 'the body of Isis'. That a Greek potter should thus combine home ritual with foreign ritual is certainly exceptional, but not altogether surprising. If an early Ionic hydria could represent the sacrifice of Bousiris with some approach to Egyptian vraisemblance, a late local Italian (?)Oscan) amphora may well have reflected the growing familiarity of the Greek world with the observances of the Delta. In after days Egyptian spells came to be much valued in Greek lands. But this vase has a special interest as affording the earliest extant Greek or quasi-Greek representation of a 'Canopic' divinity.

The Vivenzio vase, after being drawn by Angelini in 1798, disappeared from view. But thirty years later Raoul Rochette published an amphora of remarkably similar aspect (fig. 234)—so similar in fact that it must be the self-same vase—and this in 1865

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1 See the important paper by P. E. Newberry 'Two Cults of the Old Kingdom' in the Ann. Arch. Anthr. 1908 i. 24 ff.
3 Plout. de Is. et Os. 38 ὁς ἐν Νείλῳ Ὀσύραδος ἀπορροή, ὁτως Ἰσίδος ἁμα γῆς ἕχων καὶ ποιμένων, ὁμό πάσαν ἄλλ· ἐν Νείλῳ ἑτεραίας ποιμανής καὶ μεγάλων.
4 R. Hackl 'Munienverehrung auf einer schwarzfigurig attischen Lekythos' in the Archä. f. Rel. 1909 xii. 192—203 with 3 figs. (Am. Journ. Arch. 1909 xiii. 498 with fig.) publishes a black-figured lekythos at Munich (height 6.17 m; provenance unknown), which in the clear but slightly careless style of c. 500 B.C. shows three men prostrating themselves with gestures of grief before and behind a narrow vertical oblong, covered with a network- or trellis-pattern and surmounted by a male head in profile with wreath (?) and pointed beard. The men wear loin-cloths only: two cloaks are hung in the background. Leafy sprays are visible to left and right of the pillar-like figure. Hackl argues that this figure cannot be a herm (no arm-stumps, no phallos), nor yet a Dionysos Periobdoutas (tree-stem or pillar usually clothed, Dionysos-mask above adorned with vines), but must be the mummy of some Greek, who dying in the Delta was embalmed and lamented by his friends in Egyptian fashion (προεκύψος, loin-cloths)—possibly as a divinised Osiris-Dionysos.
5 Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 355 ff. pl. 51, Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 179 ff. iii. 35 figs. 152, 153, M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting Yale University Press pp. 136, 134, 163 figs. 214, 257. Supra i. 513 n. 1 with fig. 381.
6 Loukian, φιλοτις. 31.
7 Raoul-Rochette Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée Paris 1833 p. 359 ff. pl. 64 (=my fig. 234). The learned author interprets the vase-painting as a combination of two analogous scenes—'nécromancie homérique' (Odysseus evoking the soul of Anticleia) and 'τὰ νεκρομαντεῖα' near Cumae (Diod. 4. 32, Strab. 244) at which Demos or Choros is consulting the oracle of a 'Canopic' jar.
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passed from the Pourtalès collection to a permanent home in the British Museum. It is a red-figured amphora of late, coarse style, and is officially stated to have come from the Basilicata in South Italy. Its design is identical with that of the Vivenzio vase, apart from the fact that the decorative details about the 'Canopus' (stars, rosettes, circles, 'crown') are now missing. Mr H. B. Walters, however, who kindly examined the vase afresh on my behalf, reports as follows (May 15, 1911):

'F 147. R.-Rochette's publication seems to be fairly adequate and accurate. I should like to know if there is any record of the history of this vase before it came into the Pourtalès collection, where it evidently was about 1825—1830.

Fig. 234.

It must surely be the same as the Vivenzio vase though Miss H[arrison] hasn't realised the fact. As to the stars and circles I can only suppose they were restorations which were subsequently removed. I had no knowledge of the Vivenzio publication when the Catalogue was made.

P.S. Since writing the above I have again carefully examined F 147, and find the marks as given by Miss H[arrison] are all there, but very faintly engraved in the varnish. I doubt if they are original. There is also a crown on the other side of the vase, not given in the drawing. Any way this proves its identity with our vase.'


2 *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 71 no. F 147. Mr Walters takes the subject to be 'Probably a representation of digging a spring' ('(a) Bearded male figure...looking...towards a Canopic jar resting on a plinth, which terminates in a female head. (b) Part of the same scene: A female figure...probably representing the Nymph of a spring)...extending r. hand to a beardless male figure...'). The explanation is unconvincing.
Antikythera, from the British Museum:

(1a–1b) Offering of the Greek Eucharist.
(2a–2b) Consecration of an Iola ‘Crepuscula’

Plate XXXIV
Finally Mr F. N. Pryce has furnished me with recent photographs of the four figures (pl. xxxiv), on which the faint markings have been added in white paint.

The use of holed vessels as a rain-charm agrees well with what we know of Libyan beliefs concerning the sky. According to Herodotos, the Libyans who planted the followers of Battos beside the fountain of Apollon at Kyrene addressed them in these words: ‘Men of Hellas, here it is fitting for you to dwell, for here the sky is bored through.’ My friend and colleague the late Dr A. Wright pointed out that this description furnishes us with an answer to the conundrum propounded by Virgil’s Damoetas:

Say in what lands—and be my great Apollo—
There is a hole in heaven three ells across.

Eustathios takes Herodotos’ words to mean that the sky resembled a reservoir, which though sound elsewhere was holed over Libye and so dropped abundant rain to the advantage of Libyan vegetation. It would seem then that the Libyans thus naively accounted for the torrential rain, which in point of fact commonly falls at Kyrene during the rainy season from the middle of November onwards. It is also noteworthy that, according to Theophrastos, the wood near Kyrene sprang up as the result of a heavy pitchy rain, and that silphion had been produced for the first time from

1 Hdt. 4. 158 ἄνφερες Ἁλλήρας, ἐνδαυρία ὡμῖν ἐπετήθησαν αἰείναι· ἐνναύτα γὰρ ὁ ὁφραυνὸς 
tέτρηται.

On the analogous Semitic conception of ‘the windows of heaven’ (Gen. 7. 11, 8. 2, 2 Kings 7. 2, Is. 24. 18, Mal. 3. 10) see I. Benzinger Hebärische Archäologie Leipzig 1927 p. 165.

It is possible that some such significance was attached to the louver or circular opening in the dome of the Pantheon at Rome. For the coffered ceiling of that remarkable structure (Durm Baukunst d. Röm. 2 p. 550 ff., especially fig. 645. A fuller bibliography will be given infra p. 441 n. 7), spangled with rosettes or stars (?) of gilded bronze (Durm op. cit. 2 p. 565, W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers The Architecture of Ancient Rome rev. by T. Ashby London 1927 p. 81), must have produced and been intended to produce much the effect of a miniature sky (cp. supra i. 751 f., ii. 354 f., 360 f., 1150).

2 Verg. ecl. 3. 104 f. dic quibus in terris—et eris mihi magnus Apollo—tris pateat caeli spatium non amplus ulnas. Wright’s solution of this well-known problem (in the Class. Rev. 1901 xv. 258) appears to me much more probable than either of those advanced by Serv. ad loc. (the grave of Caelius, the well at Syene—the former the guess of a would-be wit, the latter a pedantic attempt to improve upon the claims of Libye), let alone the follies recorded in F. Conington’s note.

3 Eustath. in Í. p. 742. 22 ff. ἐὰν δὲ περὶ τῶν Λιβυκῶν γῆς τετρήθησαι τὸν ὁφραυνὸν φάμενος ἄλλως γνωρικὸς ἐτραχεῖος. ἔθελε γὰρ εἰσείν τὸν ὁφραυνὸν ὡς οἷα καὶ τῶν δεξαμενήν ἐν μὲν 
tαῖς ἄλλαις γαιαις ἐστεγανωσθαι, περὶ δὲ τῶν τόπων ἔκεινων οἷῳ συντρήθησαι ὡς ὅτιν ὁ σχῆν 
ἐξερεύνηται καὶ ἀδέαν τὰ ἔκει πρὸς τροφήμματα.

4 See H. Stein on Hdt. 4. 158, and A. W. Lawrence on Hdt. 2. 14, 22, 3. 10, 4. 185.

C. III.
The holed vessel in Greece

a similar shower of pitch\(^1\) seven years before the date (c. 611 B.C.\(^2\)) of Kyrene's foundation\(^3\).

ii. The holed vessel in Greece.

The custom of pouring water into a holed \textit{ptithos} or \textit{hydria} by way of a rain-charm has left traces of itself, not only in the rites and myths of northern Egypt, but also in those of Greece. Nor is this to be wondered at, if—as I incline to surmise—the said custom belonged to a race, which at an early date occupied both regions, the Graeco-Libyans or Libyo-Greeks postulated by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie\(^4\). It is even permissible to use less general terms and to refer the practice to a particular tribe, the \textit{Daana\acute{u}r} or \textit{Danauna}, who along with other maritime allies are known to have attacked the kingdom of Rameses iii at a date shortly after 1200 B.C.\(^5\). For there can be little or no doubt that this tribe has been correctly identified with the Danaoi\(^6\) of Homer; and they in turn cannot be separated from their eponym Danaos\(^7\), or his daughters the Danaïdes, whose water-carrying furnishes the best parallel to the alleged ritual of Akanthos in Lower Egypt\(^8\).

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\(^1\) Theophr. \textit{hist. pl.} 3. 1. 5 ff., \textit{de caus. pl.} 1. 5. 1, Plin. \textit{nat. hist.} 16. 143. 22. 100.


\(^3\) Theophr. \textit{hist. pl.} 6. 3. 3, Plin. \textit{nat. hist.} 19. 41. The schol. Aristoph. \textit{eq.} 894 states that Aristaos, son of Apollon and Kyrene, was the first who discovered how to cultivate \textit{siphion} and to produce honey.


The latter loc. \textit{cit.} p. 83 n. 1 is tempted ‘to see some connection, in name at least, between the Danuna and Dan...Perhaps Danite sea-farers [Judges 5. 17] were in the service of the Philistines and migrated with them,—the tribe disappears from later Hebrew history,—or possibly one section of the Philistines occupied territory that had belonged to Dan, and so were called Danuna.’ Such speculations are rash, though far less so than those of the Abbé E. Fourier concerning ‘the emigrant tribe of Dan’ (discreetly abbreviated in the \textit{Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions} Oxford 1908 ii. 183, cp. the same writer in the \textit{Revue d’Exégèse mythologique} vii no. 39 pp. 313—318).


\(^8\) \textit{Supra} p. 338 f.
(a) Water-carrying in the myth of the Danaïdes.

The story of the Danaïdes is told as follows by Apollodorus. Danaos and Aigyptos were twin-brothers. Belos, their father, settled Danaos in Libye, Aigyptos in Arabia. Aigyptos, however, conquered the Melampodes and named their land Egypt after himself. The two brothers had, by various wives, a numerous progeny—Danaos fifty daughters, Aigyptos fifty sons. They became rival claimants to the throne; and Danaos, fearing the sons of Aigyptos, at Athena's instigation put his daughters on board a ship, which he devised for the purpose, and fled. He touched at Rhodes, where he set up the image of Athena Lindia. Thence he came to Argos, and Gelanor the Argive king abdicated in his favour. Having thus become master of the country, he named the inhabitants Danaoi after himself.

> The country was then suffering from a drought; for Poseidon had dried up its springs, being wroth with Inachus for

1 Apollod. 2. 1. 4, cp. schol. II. 1. 42. Hyg. fab. 168—170. For variants see K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1905 ff., O. Waser id. iv. 2087 ff., 2094 ff.
3 On whom see a valuable paper by C. Blinkenberg 'La déesse de Lindos' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1930 xxviii. 154—165 with figs. 1—11.
4 On the succession of Danaos to Gelanor see Paus. 2. 16. 1 and the interesting omen in Paus. 2. 19. 3 ff. (wolf kills bull = Danaos deposes Gelanor, and founds sanctuary of Apollo Aëstos). Plut. v. Pyrrh. 32 locates the omen near Pyramia in Thyreatis, and speaks of Gelanor as driven out by a στάριες. Interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 4. 377 makes Apollon give an oracle to Danaos 'ut profectus ubi invenisset taurum et lupum inter se pugnantes, spectaret exitum pugnae, et si taurus vicisset, Neptune templum construeret: si vero lupus, Apollini delubrum sacraret. sed cum Danaus lupum videret vicisset, Apollini Lyceio templum dedisti.' This famous encounter is commemorated on a late autonomous bronze coin of Argos, which has Ἀβιν. the forepart of a wolf to the right, rev. ΠΡΑΚΕΙΟΥ the forepart of a bull to the right. This is usually described as 'running' (P. Gardner) or 'charging' (S. W. Grose), but may rather be moribund (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus p. 147 pl. 28, 9 (= my fig. 735), McLean Cat. Coins ii. 460 pl. 232, 31, Head Hist. num. 2 p. 440).

Fig. 735.

8 These words were added to the text of Apollodorus by B. Aegius in the editio princeps of 1555 from the concluding sentence of schol. A. D. II. 1. 42 αὐτοὶ δὲ κρατήσατ τὴν χώραν ὥσπερ ἐκατογὺς τὸν ἐνομοίν την ἲμμασεν. ἱστορεῖ Ἀκαδημιάς ἐν ὅτι.
declaring that the land belonged to Hera. Danaos therefore sent his daughters to seek for water. One of them, Amymone by name, while going on this errand, shot at a stag, but hit a sleeping Satyr, and was saved from his embraces by the appearance of Poseidon. To him she yielded; and he showed her the springs at Lerna. Meantime the sons of Aigyptos came to Argos, demanding the restoration of peace and a marriage with their fifty cousins. Danaos, who distrusted these professions and bore a grudge on account of his exile, agreed to the proposals and distributed the damsels by lot. The names of grooms and brides are duly recorded. Danaos made the wedding-feast, but secretly supplied his daughters with daggers. They, when their bridegrooms fell asleep, slew them all, with a sole exception—that of Hypermnestra, who saved Lynkeus for respecting her virginity and was for that reason imprisoned by Danaos. The rest of his daughters buried the heads of their bridegrooms at Lerna and performed funeral rites over the bodies in front of the city. They were purified themselves, at the bidding of Zeus, by Athena and Hermes. Danaos subsequently bestowed Hypermnestra upon Lynkeus, and offered his other daughters as prizes in a gymnastic contest.

The tale thus told is long and clearly composite. It is not difficult to pick out certain parts of it and to bracket them as being mythical accretions or embellishments of no central significance. The explanation of the Argive drought as due to Inachos' partisanship of Hera was hardly an original feature, at least of this story. The incident of Amymone, the Satyr, and Poseidon is an obvious

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1 *Athen.* cod. C. G. Heyne ej. "Hras, cp. Paus. 2. 15. 5.
3 So also schol. Fl. 4. 171, schol. Pind. Nem. 10. 10. But schol. Eur. Hec. 886 μὴ δὲ μοῆς τοῦ Τηρεμνήστρα έφεσάντο τοῦ Δαναίας, ἀπὸ τῆς μέγας διάθεσις ἔκχησε ἴππος aetron assigns a love-motive, which—as C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 132 points out—is as old as Aisch. P.v. 865 f. μίαν δὲ παιδίῳ ζαρπας θέλει τό μή [κείναι σωσίσθαι, κ.τ.λ. and is further supported by the pleading of Aphrodite in Aisch. *Danaiides* [frag. 44 Nauck] ap. Athen. 600 a—b].
4 Others agree that Danaos deposited the heads of the Aigyptiadai in Lerna (Zenob. 4. 86, Apostol. 10. 57, Arsen. viol. p. 334, Hesych. s.v. άρισθ. άρης, Phot. lex. s.v. άρης άρης, Soud. s.v. άρης άρης). But, according to Paus. 2. 24. 3, the sons of Aigyptos were murdered at Lerna, and their wives cut off the heads to show their father that the deed was done. The headless trunks remained at Lerna, but the heads were buried in a tomb on the left of the road leading up to the Argive aeropelis.
5 So too Pind. Pyth. 9. 113 ff. with scholl. *ad loc.,* Paus. 3. 12. 2. Hyg. fab. 170 makes Lynkeus, after Danaos' death, present Abas, who had been the first to inform him of it, with the shield dedicated by Danaos to Hera. Lynkeus then consecrated the games held quinto quoque anno and known as *αργες* έν "Αργει. The Danaides after their father's decease married Argive husbands.
6 Its proper setting is given by Paus. 2. 15. 5.
excruciance⁴. The catalogue of one hundred names reads like a didactic (Hesiodic?) addition⁵. And the suitors' race was not the only method of rounding off the tale⁶.

But, subtractis subtrahendis, the residue of the myth has been handled in more ways than one. F. G. Welcker⁷ took the Danaïdes to be the fifty weeks of the year—an opinion that remained his own. K. Schwenck⁸ had suggested that they were the fifty moons which composed the cycle of the Olympian festival; and this notion, since with a little ingenuity it could be made to fit the case of other fifties⁹, especially the fifty daughters of Endymion and Selene, and even the fifty daughters of Thesitios, found considerable favour and is still hardly extinct⁰. Symbolism of another sort, topographical rather than chronological, appears in the picturesque but highly improbable view of L. Porellsat. Making the most of a few particular cases—Amymone, Physadeia, Polydora—he argued that all the Danaïdes were fountain-nymphs of the Argolid. The Aigyptiadai, descendants of the mighty Aigyptos (that is, of the Nile), could then be explained as torrents and rivers, which in winter rushed headlong

¹ H. D. Müller Mythologie der griechischen Stämme Göttingen 1861 i. 50, C. Bonner in Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 1903 xiiii. 142—144.
² They are interestingly discussed in Porellsat—Robert Gr. Myth. ii. 267 f. C. Robert argues that the list preserved by Apollodoros goes back to an epic source, probably to Hesiod (hence the epic character of the names, their epic prosody, often their Ionic dialect, and their suitability to hexameter verse. Peculiarly Hesiodic is their use of alliteration and even rhyme), but that the list given by Hyg. fab. 170, which has only 22 or perhaps 23 names in common with Apollodoros, is derived from some prose author (hence such names as Themistagora, Demarchus, Demophile, Pamphilus).
³ C. Bonner in Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 1903 xiiii. 162 f. shows that the suitors' race (Pind., Paus., Apollod.) and the Danaïdes' punishment in the Underworld (Hyg., etc.) 'belong to distinct traditions which are not easy to reconcile.' Id. ib. p. 133 holds that the latter version squares with that of schol. Eur. Her. 886 (perhaps cp. Ov. her. 14. 115—118), in which Lynkeus avenge his brothers by slaying Danaos and all the Danaïdes except Hypermestra.
⁴ F. G. Welcker Kleine Schriften zur griechischen Literaturgeschichte Bonn 1867 v. 50.
⁸ L. Porell sat Griechische Mythologie Leipzig 1854 ii. 33 ff.
¹⁰ Pherekyd. frag. 23 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 74 Müller) = frag. 8 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 61 Jacoby) ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 192, Ant. Lib. 32 (after Nikandros κρεπονομέρων α'). See further O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2642 f.
like importunate suitors, but in summer sank low or were dried up altogether, their head-waters cut off by the local nymphs. Thus decapitated they were buried in the Lernaean marsh, where alone moisture yet lingered. Preller's explanation, accepted as sound by Bernhard, N. Wecklein, O. Waser, etc. and described as 'Ein geistvoller Erklärungsvorschlag' by C. Robert, is of course open to serious objections, which have been forcibly put by C. Bonner and G. A. Megas. Nor is the case materially strengthened, if, with V. Henry, we pronounce the Danaïdes to have been rain-goddesses.

These attempts at explanation, however ingenious, must be discarded. There is more to be said for the folk-tale comparisons made by L. Laistner and C. Bonner. Laistner, who regarded the race of the Argive suitors as the most important feature of the myth and combined it with the endless labour of the Danaïdes, took the whole story to exemplify the following mythical formula: 'A water-carrying field fairy is freed from an enchantment by a man who, in order to accomplish her deliverance, has to perform some feat involving bravery, strength, or endurance, as well as mortal danger in case of failure.' The Danaïdes are enchanted maidens, nymphs of the rain or the dew. The endless water-carrying is the magic spell. The sons of Aigyptos fail to free them, and lose their own lives in consequence. Now Laistner's comparison is not only forced and far-fetched, but—as C. Bonner points out—definitely vitiated by taking for the original core of the myth two different and alternative endings to it!

1 Bernhard in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 950.
5 C. Bonner in Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 1902 xiii. 146 ff. notes that 'the use of κεφαλή, meaning source, is very scantily attested' (Hdt. 4, 91, cp. Strab. 377. Latin caput and Modern Greek κεφαλή are quoted in support); that Paus. 2. 24. 2 gives, apparently as a genuine Argive myth, a very different account of the decapitation (infra p. 346 n. 4); that the alleged invention of wells by Danaos or his daughters does not prove the latter to have been spring-spirits; that the numeral fifty is not necessarily an indication of a nymph-like nature, but rather suggestive of a folk-tale family; that the river of Egypt, though known to Homer as Αἴγυπτος, is already Νεῖπρος in Hes. theog. 338; etc.
6 G. A. Megas 'Die Saga von Danaos und den Danaïden' in Hermes 1933 lxviii. 415—428 (see infra Addenda).
8 L. Laistner Das Räitel der Sphinx Berlin 1889 i. 283—292.
10 Id. ib. p. 162 f.
Nevertheless Laistner deserves credit for suggesting\(^1\) that the incident of Lynkeus being saved by his bride was borrowed from some other folk-tale such as an Icelandic version\(^2\) of the *Hop o’ my Thumb* formula\(^3\). Acting on this hint, C. Bonner\(^4\) went further and reached the conclusion that the whole episode of the Danaides murdering the Aigyptiadai was comparable with a folk-tale still current in Greece\(^5\) and in many other parts of Europe from the Caucasus to the Pyrenees: ‘A band of brothers lose their way in a forest, and take refuge in the hut or cavern of an ogre or witch. The youths pass the night with the daughters of their host. The youngest and shrewdest of the brothers suspects that treachery is intended, and by a trick, such as an exchange of head-dress or a shifting of positions\(^6\), causes the ogre to cut off the heads of his own daughters. Thus the youths escape.’\(^7\) Sundry variants of the folk-tale assimilate it more closely to the Greek myth, for instance the Icelandic version mentioned above\(^8\) in which a captive maiden warns the visitors of their danger, or again a Milanese version\(^9\) in which the father of the youths is their companion and himself suggests the stratagem. Nevertheless it is distinctly unfortunate for Bonner’s hypothesis that in the folk-tale all the brothers escape and all the sisters are killed, whereas in the myth all the brothers but one are killed and all the sisters escape\(^10\).

The foregoing criticisms must not be taken to imply that both Preller and Bonner were wholly off the track. The former at least saw that the Danaides had some essential connexion with water. And the latter maintained with success that their myth bore much

\(^1\) L. Laistner *op. cit.* ii. 88 f.
\(^2\) J. C. Poestin *Istándische Märchen* Wien 1884 p. 297 ff. no. 36 (‘Thorstein, der Häuslersohn’).
\(^3\) C. S. Barne *The Handbook of Folklore* London 1914 p. 346 no. 13 (‘*Hop o’ my Thumb type*. 1. The parents; very poor, desert their children. 2. The youngest child leads the rest home several times, but at last fails to do so. 3. They fall into the power of a supernatural being, but the youngest robs him and they all escape’).
\(^5\) J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 75 ff. no. 3 (‘Von dem Schönen und vom Drakos’), ii. 178 ff. (four variants, and notes).
\(^7\) C. Bonner in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 1900 xxi. 31.
\(^8\) *Supra* n. 2.
\(^9\) V. Imbriani *La Novellajja Milanesi* Livorno 1877 no. 1.
\(^10\) C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1903 xiii. 151 notes, however, that in schol. Eur. *Heq.* 886 Lynkeus avenges his brothers by slaying all the Danaides but Hypermestra (*supra* pp. 356 n. 3, 357 n. 3).
resemblance to a folk-tale. But I do not think that either Preller or Bonner sufficiently realised the complexity of the story. Symbolists on the one hand and folklorists on the other largely ignored its legendary, not to say historical, basis. This factor of legend was indeed suspected in 1893 by W. Schwartz, who urged that the myth of the Danaïdes, like that of the Argonauts, was a mariner's or merchant's epos. But suspicion became virtual certainty, when it was perceived that the Danaoi of Homer were none other than the Daāniu or Danauna of Egyptian records. And the ground thus won was still further consolidated by L. B. Holland in 1928.

1 J. Vürthheim Aischylou Schutzglehende Amsterdam 1918 p. 17 prefers to speak of it as a Pelasgian saga: 'Das Sagenmotiv kennt die beiden streitenden Brüder; der eine hat Söhne, der andere ebensoviele Töchter. Eine Ehe würde den Hader beendet haben, aber die Schönen mochten ihre Vettern nicht. Auch die Zahl fünfzig ist in der Sage gegeben: Priamos' Haus kannte sie. Dann folgt der Mord, und hier denkt man gleich an Ἕρα νεκρα. Auch die lennischen Weber töteten ihre Männer (Herod. VI, 139 [138]); auch hier geschah es auf pelasgischem Gebiete; auch hier war eine, die den Mord nicht verübte und eine Ausnahme bildete. Diese Jungfrau—Hypsipyle—wurde schuldig erklärt, wie in Argos Hypermestra. Fast möchte man von einem pelasgischen Sagenmotiv reden; denn bringen nicht lennische Pelasgen mit eigener Hand die athenischen Frauen um, bei denen sie bereits Kinder gezeugt hatten (Herod. VI, 139 [138])? It may be conjectured that the Lemnian myth has been partially assimilated to the Argive. The resemblance of the two was already remarked by F. G. Welcker Die Aetychische Trilogie Prometheus Darmstadt 1824 p. 594 f.

2 W. Schwartz in the Jahrb. f. class. Philol. 1893 xxxix. 101 ('es ist die Danaidsage...ein schifferepos wie die Argonautensage, man könnte fast sagen ein handelsepos'), cp. 165 ('etwa um 900, eher vorher als nacher, muss demnach unsere sage entstanden sein, die einer der ausbreitungen griechischer seehändler und -räuber aus Ägypten ihren ursprung verdankt').

3 On the historical element in the myth of the Argonauts see Now the admirable treatment of Miss J. R. Bacon The Voyage of the Argonauts London 1925 p. 107 ff. (ib. p. 168 *In its original form the Argonaut story was a narrative of a real voyage in the Euxine Sea, made by Minyans of Thessaly in the late fourteenth or early thirteenth century B.C.)*.

4 O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 1089 aptly quotes E. Meyer Forschungen zur alten Geschichte Halle a.S. 1892 i. 79. The context runs: 'Wir sind, und mit Recht, gewohnt, die “hiesiodesche” Poesie als unmittelbare Vorgänger der Logographen zu betrachten; aber die Danaiden stehen den letzteren mindestens ebenso nahe—wie sie denn auch durch das starke Hervortreten des genealogischen Elements mit Hesiod sich eng berühren—und zeigen, dass auch die “homerische” Poesie der allgemeinen Strömung Rechnung getragen hat. Das Interesse an Ländern und Völkern, an der Erweiterung der geographischen Kenntnisse, an Urgeschichte und Wanderungen bildet den Inhalt der Danaiden wie der Schriftsteller der Hekataeos; ihm verdankt das Epos die grosse Wirkung, die es nicht formell aber durch seinen Inhalt erzielt hat. Gleich zu Anfang boten die Schicksale der Io die Gelegenheit dazu. Io konnte von Argos nach Ägypten nur auf dem Landwege gekommen sein, musste also so ziemlich die ganze im siebenten Jahrhundert den Hellenen bekannte Welt (mit Ausnahme Italienes) durchwandert haben. So konnte das Epos gewissermassen einen Abriss der Geographie geben.'

5 Supra p. 354.

Epic tradition, which not improbably rested on Argive folk-memory, associated Danaos and his daughters with the discovery of a water-supply. This trait, and it alone, is involved in our earliest reference to their myth. The Iliad speaks of Argos as *polydipson*, 'very thirsty', and Euripides calls it *dipsian...chthôna*, a 'thirsty land'. Both phrases presumably allude to the fact that the streams Inachos (Panitsa) and Charadros (Xerias), which traverse the Argive plain, run dry for the greater part of the year, so that there is need to make up for their lack of water by means of irrigation. But ancient critics, finding Argos well-watered and fertile, were perplexed by the Homeric epithet. Eustathios finally offers us a choice of explanations: 'Either because the Greeks thirsted for it'; or because the myth says that it was once ill-watered but afterwards became well-watered, when Poseidon caused the springs at Lerna to burst forth through his love for Amymone, the namesake of the Amymonian Waters at Argos; or it may be on account of the Danaides, who came from Egypt and taught the digging of wells, as Hesiod observes—

Waterless Argos Danaos made well-watered.1

Strabon, without naming the author, cites another version of the line, in which the 'Danaan maids' take the place of Danaos:

Waterless Argos Danaai made well-watered.

It appears, then, that a Hesiodic line mentioned Danaos as the cause

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1 *L. 4. 171*, cp. Hesych. *s.v. δίψων* "Αργος, Eustath. in Dionys. per. 419.
2 *Eur. Alc. 560.*
4 Strab. 370 περὶ δὲ τῶν μυθεομένων πηγῶν εἴρησα, διότι πλάσματα πηγῶν ἐστὶ πλάσμα δὲ καὶ τὸ "Αργος ἄνυδρος—θεοὶ δ᾽ αὐθέντες "Αργος ἄνυδρος (A. Meinecke accepts T. Tyrwhitt's cjt. "Αργος ἄνυδρος ἐώς Danaai θέσαν "Αργος ἄνυδρος, cp. Strab. 371 quoted *infra* n. 9)—ἀτε χώρας κολάζη σῶσθαι καὶ ποταμοῖς διαρροῦντες καὶ ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα παρεχομένη, καὶ τῆς πόλεως εὐπροσομείως οἴος φρεάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἐκπολιαίων, αἰτίως δὴ τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ "καὶ κει ἐκέχυσα τοῦδε ψυσίων "Αργος ἰκοίμης" (*L. 4. 171*). τούτου θύρας ἀντὶ τοῦ πολυπόθητον καὶ, ἀρείς τοῦ δευτερύφων, κ.τ.λ.
6 A desperate guess of Aristarchos (Hesych. *s.v. δίψων* "Αργος quoted *infra* n. 8, cp. Athen. 433c).
7 *Eur. Phoen. 188 f.*
8 *Hes. frag. 45* Kinkel, 24 *Rach* "Αργος ἄνυδρος ἐώς Danaai τοίς πηγῶν ἄνυδρος, cp. Hesych. *s.v. δίψων* "Αργος. "Πολυπόθητος μὲν τὸ ἄνυδρος, Ἀραταρχεῖς δὲ τὸ πολυπόθητον (δίψων γὰρ τὸ ἐξετάζω) ἕνεκεν Δίῳ βεβαίως Μ. Schmidt in his ed. min. tentatively suggests the insertion of 'Πολύδωρος (?!) after the word 'Πολυπόθητος.'
9 Strab. 371 "Ἀργος ἄνυδρος ἐώς Danaai θέσαν "Αργος ἄνυδρος, cp. *ibid.* 370 quoted *infra* n. 4.
of Argos' fertility, while a variant and perhaps later reading spoke of the 'Danaan maids' rather than Danaos himself.

It is not unreasonable to contend that this ancient tradition was, in the main, true. Immigrants from Egypt—let us say the Danauna—came by sea via Rhodes and settled at Argos. They called themselves Danaoi—a name which would be appropriate to desert-dwellers if, as Herakleides of Kyme asserted, it really meant the 'Dry' or 'Parched ones.' But etymology is capable of a volte-face, and modern scholars have maintained that Danaoi should rather be connected with the Sanskrit dānu meaning 'fluidity, dampness, drops.' Be that as it may, Gelanor the reigning king of Argos was, owing to

1 W. Schwarte in the Jahrb. f. class. Philol. 1893 xxxix. 105 infers that "Argos ἄνθρωπος ἐν τῷ Δάναοι θέων" is a later recension of Hesiód's line from the fact that 'Argos is repeated as a mere 'flickwort.' It might be added that Δαναός, though a metrical necessity, is a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute for Δαναίστη.

2 Herakleides of Kyme (a contemporary of Philip II of Macedon; see F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 469 f. no. 41) frag. (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 97 Müller) ap. et. mag. p. 247, 41 f. δανάσει ρομαιότατον ἐστὶν δωρα μαραθικον, πλέω ἄθολοι, ὡ τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐν τοῖς στήμασιν εἴδεθεν...ἐρρήνει δὲ δανάσει, ὡ τοῖς δαναίοις ἅμαλλημοσί...Δαναῖς γὰρ οἱ νεκροί, τυντουτί ἑαυτοῦ, δανᾶ γὰρ τὰ ἑρμά: Ημελευθία τίνι δευτέρῳ τῶν Περσαῖς. Opinions have differed as to the trustworthiness of Δαναίος = ἑρμά. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Kel. p. 831 accepts the equation; J. Miller in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 2093 rejects it. The word δάνας, 'dry,' remains unexplained (L. Meyer Handb. d. gr. Etym. iii. 224).

I would suggest confusion with δανάς, 'ancient,' in its Doric form Δανάς (Aisch. Eun. 845. 879).

3 V. Henry in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1892 v. 384 ff. Cp. H. Usener Götternamen Bonn 1896 p. 306: 'Unter den bezeichnungen, welche die hymnen des Rigveda für den von Indra bekämpften dämon anwenden, erscheint auch Dānu, teils mit Vṛtra oder Ahi zusammengestellt, teils für sich, und in patronymischer fortbildung Dānavī...Einmal...wird Dānavā sichtlich identifiziert mit Vṛtra. Die mehrzahl Dānavās kommt im Rigveda noch nicht vor, wohl aber zweimal im Atharvaveda, und heir bereits gleichbedeutend mit den Asuren, der allgemeinen bezeichnung der bösen dämonen. Diesem plur. Dānavās entsprechen die gr. Δαναώι auf das vollkommenste, ausgenommen die quantität der ersten silbe. Aber derselbe übergang zur kurze hat sich im sanskrit vollzogen; schon im Ḫatapathaḥrāmanas wird das grundwort dānu, obwohl der hochton auf diesem volk ruht, mit á angewandt, und so bei späteren durchweg. Noch begreiflicher ist die kürzung in der fortgebildeten form Dānavās als wirkung des vorgeschobenen hochtons. Man versteht jetzt das gehet des alten Chryses τικαρ daṇo ἤκα δάρμα (A 42). On the Dānavās see further H. Jacobi in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1909 ii. 8094, id. ib. 1911 iv. 390—3926, A. A. Macdonell ib. 1921 xii. 6108. As to Dānu, id. Vedic Mythology Strassburg 1897 p. 158 says: 'Vṛtra's mother is called Dānu and is compared with a cow (1, 32). This name seems to be identical with the word dānu, which is several times used as a nutter meaning "stream" and once as a feminine to designate the waters of heaven. The same term is applied as a masculine, apparently in the sense of a metronymic, to Vṛtra or the dragon (7, 17; 4, 30), as well as to the demon Aupavâbha (2, 11), and to seven demons slain by Indra (10, 120). The regular metronymic Dānava is used five times to designate a demon combated by Indra and doubtless identical with Vṛtra. Indra cast down the wiles of the wily Dānava (2, 11), he struck down the snorting Dānava (5, 29), to release the waters (5, 32).' Infra p. 366 n. 4.
a season of drought, forced to abdicate; and the chief of the newcomers took his place. Why? Because he or his women-folk succeeded in getting water and so saved the Argive crops.

L. B. Holland has argued with much cogency that this dynastic change corresponded with the transition from shaft-graves to tholos-tombs. The shaft-graves, on his showing, belonged to the Achaioi, the tholos-tombs to the Danaoi. He even ventures upon an approximate dating of the events:

'The marble chronicle from Paros, compiled in Athens in the third century B.C., probably from older official Athenian documents, specifically states that the pentecoster of Danaus arrived in the year 1510—1509 B.C. Archaeology shows that the change from the "shaft-grave" to the "tholos-tomb" dynasty at Mycenae occurred about 1500 or a little earlier, and that the great fortification walls, with the Lion Gate and the existing court and megaron of the palace there, were all built about 1400. Since these dates agree so perfectly with the traditional dates for the coming of the Danaans and the "founding" of Mycenae by Perseus, is it not reasonable to accept the traditions as substantially historical?'

The people who dug the rectangular shaft-graves (the Achaioi?) dug also rectangular wells. Two such were found by A. J. B. Wace cut in the soft rock at Mykenai, one by the north-western angle of the 'Warrior Vase House,' the other below its eastern wall: neither of them can be more recent than the beginning of the 'Late Helladic iii' period. But the people who constructed the far more elaborate tholos-tombs (the Danaoi?) may fairly be credited with the introduction of tholoid reservoirs or wells, whether carved out of the native rock like the bottle-shaped cisterns of later date to be seen on the site of Melite at Athens, or lined with concentric courses of masonry like the beautifully built and still serviceable Fountain of

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1 This is not actually stated in our sources (supra p. 355), but is implied by the sequel (Apolod. 2. 1. 4).
3 74 f.: 'Collating these literary traditions with the archaeological evidence at Mycenae, we should naturally equate the rulers of the fifteenth to the twelfth centuries, the tholos-tomb kings, with the Danaoi; the earlier shaft-grave dynasty would then be Achaioi, whose tribal ancestors first occupied the land at the beginning of the Middle Helladic period, "long before human memory" to classical Greeks; and the still earlier inhabitants, the Aegean people of Early Helladic days, might be the Pelasgians whose scattered remnants still persisted in historic times.'
4 [Marm. Par. ep. 9 p. 5 Jacoby.]
6 [Paus. 2. 10. 4-]
8 E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert Atlas von Athen Berlin 1878 p. 18 ff. description, with plans but no sections, W. Judeich Topographie von Athen Munchen 1905 p. 347.
Bourina in Kos. The underground chamber of bronze in which Akrisios king of Argos imprisoned his daughter has been aptly compared by W. Helbig and others with the bronze-decorated tholoi of the Argolid. And, in view of the connexion presumed to exist between such tholoi and the Danaoi, the name of Akrisios' daughter, Danae, is significant.

F. Chabas, the Egyptologist half a century since proposed to equate the Daanae, not with the Danaoi, but with the Daunioi; and this equation, though it has not attracted much notice in recent times, raises further questions of considerable interest. To begin with, it seems possible that the Daunioi were nothing but a branch of the Danaoi, which crossed over from northern Greece to southern Italy. According to Festus, Daunus was an Illyrian chief, who quitted his own land and settled in Apulia. His provenance suggests that *Danf-aoi, a name with true Illyrian suffix, became by legitimate compensatory lengthening *Daun-aoi, whence Daunioi, its


2 Supra i. 414, infra § 9 (e) iii.


7 Paul. ex Fest. p. 69, i. f. Muller, p. 60, 15 ff. Lindsay Daunia Apulia appellatur a Dauno, Illyricum gentis claro vico, qui eam, propter domesticam seditionem excendam patriae, occupavit. The Illyrian connexion reappears in Ant. Lib. 31 (after Nikandros et prosumnouν ἔνα) λυκον τοῦ αὐτοχθόνος ἔγενε πάντες Ἰατίου καὶ Δαινίου καὶ Πιεκτίτου, ὥστι λαῶν ἄθροιστες ἀφίκοντο τῆς Ἴταλίας παρὰ τὴν Ἀδραν.; ἐξελάγαντες δὲ τῶν ἐναυσίων αἰκωνών ἄθροισιμοι, ἵνα ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔποικοι, Ἰλλυροὶ Μεσσατίοι (so cod. P. Berkelius cjr. Ἰλλυροὶ καὶ Μεσσατίοι, O. Schneider cjr. Ἰλλυροὶ Μεσσατίοι, Ο. Oder cjr. Ἰλλυροὶ Μεσσατίοι) οἱ Ἴταλικοὶ καὶ Μεσσατίοι. ἤπειρα (so G. F. Unger for ἤπειρα cod. P.) δὲ τῶν στρατιῶν ἀσια καὶ τῶν γῆς ἐρμίτους ὀργάνον ἐνεκάστω εὔποιον <δομον> (ins. F. Bücheler) >ἐλευθερία καὶ Ἰατίαν καὶ Πιεκτίτας καὶ Μεσσατίας κ. τ. λ. ὑπολογ. Steph. Byz. s.v. Δαινίων: πᾶλοι Ἰατίους ἐπελευθερώσαντες καὶ Δαινίους τέχος, πᾶλα Θράκης....

8 So Dr B. F. C. Atkinson, who from his great and as yet unpublished work on Illyrian names has kindly furnished me with the following examples: Annam (Corp. inus. Lat. 192 no. 2198, v. no. 8288 Aquileia) Annamia (ib. v. no. 1072 Aquileia) Annamia (ib. v. no. 8973 Aquileia), Atavllans (ib. iii no. 4558 Vindobona), Batans (ib. iii no. 1.
normal form in Greek writers. Had Virgil tradition behind him, when he made Danaë found Ardea, the capital of Turnus the son of Daunus? Danaë—Daunus may be more than a mere assonance. But, if the Daunioi were really akin to the Danaoi, we might look to find the former like the latter associated with the irrigation of a waterless region. In point of fact the Roman poets do emphasise the arid character of Daunia. Horace speaks of it as the land

Where Daunus, scant of water, ruled
The rustic tribes.

And Ovid mentions

the parched fields
Of Iapygian Daunus.

That the Daunioi, like the Danaoi, constructed tholos-tombs is a possible, though precarious, inference from a few lines in Lykophron. This writer of prophetic rigmarole sets out to tell how the Daunioi shall bury alive certain Aetolian envoys, sent to recover the quondam possessions of Diomedes:

Within a darksome grave that savage folk
Shall hide them, living yet, in the inmost nooks
Of a hollow passage. Aye, for them the Daunites
Shall build a tomb, with never a funeral rite,
Roofed over by a pile of rounded stones.

But whether the Daunioi had tholoid wells, we cannot even conjecture. Surviving examples of the type on Italian soil are the

4890 Virumum), Carius (ib. v no. 3922 Arurnates near Verona), Concordus (ib. iii no. 10954 Mursella in Upper Pannonia), Licaus (Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 2577 Dalmatia) Licaus (Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 26528 Rome, ix no. 43 Brundisium) Licaus (ib. iii no. 3324 Lussorium), Lomoliamus (ib. v no. 450 Piquentum), Opianus (ib. iii nos. 10121, 13295 Dalmatia) Opianu (ib. iii no. 1900 Corinium), Paragon (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 no. 347, 37 Αδελθοντα Παρανον Πανον [cp. the silver coins of Paonia, struck c. 340—315 B.C., with legend ΠΑΤΡΑΟΥ (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia, etc. p. 2 f. figs., Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 348 pl. 24, 8, McClean Cat. Coins ii. 81 f. pl. 137, 13—20, Head Hist. num. 2 p. 236 f. fig. 149)), Quassanaus (Corp. inscr. Lat. v no. 3463 Verona), Kidaus (ib. iii no. 5905 Raetia), Timanu (ib. ii no. 2495 near Aquisca) god of the river Timi in Venetia, Thaos (cited by F. Ribeux La lingua degli antichi Musapii Napoli 1907 p. 6 from Manduriae in Calabria), Verus (Corp. inscr. Lat. v no. 3842 a Verona). Add Σαλαίος or Σαλαίος τόπος, a town in Phrygia near Laodickea (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigenworte Braunschweig 1873 ii. 432).
Water-carrying and the Danaïdes

Tullianum at Rome and—perhaps one should add—the well-chamber at Tusculum. In neither case have we the slightest reason to connect the structure with the Daunioi. It cannot, therefore, be claimed that the rôle played by the Daunioi in Italy answers to that played by Danaos and his daughters in Greece.

But here a further possibility has to be faced. If the Danaoi were indeed Illyrian Danaoi, and if the Daunioi were a branch of the same stock transplanted to Apulia, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that both tribal names are akin to that of the great river Danuvius (Danube), which in turn—as O. Schrader points out—is certainly related to the river-names Dânapris (Dnieper) and Dânastris (Dniester), and probably to the Thracian Sân-danos, the Thessalian Api-danôs, the Italian Eri-danîs, and the Celto-Ligurian Rho-danôs, if not also to the Scythian Tánaîs. Dânuvius and its cognates must moreover be connected with the Avestan dānu-, 'river,' and the Ossetic don, 'water' (whence Don, the modern name of the Tánaîs). On this showing, the Danaoi and the Daunioi both bore a name that meant the 'River-folk' or 'Water-folk.' That, one imagines, would have signified, at least primarily, the folk that dwelt along the River or beside the Water. Secondarily such folk, since they lived beside the water-ways, might be expected to know the ways of water, and would thus come to be regarded as good water-magicians or experts in irrigation. Now it is commonly admitted that the name Dânuvius is of Celtic origin. And, this being so, it

4 C. G. Brandis in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 2105. In der That ist aber, was
lies near at hand to surmise that the whole group of congeners stands in some relation to the Celtic Tuatha Dé Danann, the 'Folk or Tribes of the goddess Danu', a curious title more suggestive of men than gods. In fact, it begins to look as though, far back in the Middle Bronze Age, some proto-Celtic tribe or tribes had traversed Europe along the great river-routes and appeared at places as widely separated as Argos and Ireland, nay more, that this adventurous race, everywhere expansive and intrusive, had pushed on to the very confines of Egypt. Nor is that a fantastic impossibility. After all, if in the third century B.C. Celts could force their way into the heart of Asia Minor and leave a permanent population in Galatia, for aught we know, in the second millennium B.C. their ancestors


3 C. Squire op. cit. p. 230 ‘In the Tuatha Dé Danann are variously found Gaels, Picts, Danes, Scandinavians, Ligurians, and Finns.’ But the prevailing view (d’Arbois, Squire, MacCulloch, etc.) is still that the Tuatha Dé Danann were gods, not men. The question cannot here be discussed; but we should note their frequent association with burial-mounds (falid) conceived as underground palaces.

4 Since ‘Celtic’ is a term of linguistic rather than racial significance, it might be safer to say simply ‘Aryan’ or ‘Indo-European.’ But I mean to imply that the descendants of this tribe were of Celtic speech. The Germans have coined Urkelen (E. Rademacher in Ebert Reallex. vi. 282 ‘Sie können als Urkelen bezeichnet werden, als K[elten] noch nicht, da ein wichtiger Bestandteil noch fehlt: die Vermischung mit Urnenflelsleuten alpiner Rasse’).

5 S. Müller Urgeschichte Europas Strassburg 1905 p. 74 f. fig. 55 f. prints in impressive juxtaposition the section and ground-plan of the ‘Treasury of Atreus’ with those of the Bronze-Age tumuli of New Grange in County Meath, Ireland.

6 V. Gordon Childe The Aryans London 1926 p. 200 ‘The victorious expansion of the Nordic culture, whatever its origin, is the dominant fact of European prehistory from 1500 to 1000 B.C.'
may have penetrated yet farther south¹ and as Danauna have occupied, at least for a time, some portion of the Egyptian coast.

Returning now to the myth of Danaos and the Danaïdes, we are in a position to understand better the early Hesiodic line—

Waterless Argos Danaos made well-watered².

A tribe that bore an Illyrian name³ and at one time dwelt as 'River-folk' or 'Water-folk' along the banks of the Danube⁴ would be just the right tribe to cure a 'very thirsty'⁵ land of its drought. The Danube itself was at a later date believed to gather clouds and cause incessant rain⁶. The fact that the Danaïdes bulk bigger in the myth than the Danaoi is, however, suggestive of magic rather than scientific irrigation; and here there were various possibilities. To begin with, Danaos son of Belos was a twin⁷; and twins are notorious as rain-makers⁸, especially if their father is, like Belos⁹, a

¹ *Ib. ib. p. 24 ‘The only certain result that has emerged as yet is that there was a centum element somewhere within the Hittite realm just after 1500 B.C. About that date the Taurus ranges seem to have represented in a sense a frontier between satem and centum Indo-European speech.’

² *Supra p. 361 f.*

³ *Supra p. 364.*

⁴ *Supra p. 366.*

⁵ *Supra p. 361.*

⁶ *Lyd. de magistr. 3. 32 p. 131, 1 ff. Wünsch perl de τὴν Θράκιαν εἴλοιχρον αὐτοῖς ἀποδέλλει μὲν (sc. αὐτοῖς) παρὰ τοῖς εἰτυμοῖς τὸ ἐμπροσθέν οὐκομω. Δανοῆθαι μετέχεθαι· οὕτως δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ Θράκες ἐκάλεσαν, διότι ετὶ <τα>—πρὸς ἄρκτον δρή καὶ θρακίαν ἄκρων συνεφη ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐνσυνεφηχεῖ τῶν νομίμων σχέσει διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ των εἰκοῦτων ἐκομμᾶς, διστασάμενος ἀντεπελεύηνος αὐτοῖς ἀνταὐτὸς ἀντεπελεύησαν συνίσταται. Δανοῆθαι δὲ τοῦ γερελοφορίαν ἐκείνον καλούντας πατρίως. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ὑπὸ εἰς παραβάσει κατὰ Σαμος <παρ> τοὺς Τουραϊν ιστορικοῖς, διὸ πρὸς Διοκλητιανόν καὶ Γαλέριον τὸν γέροντα περὶ τούλιν οἰκίματος ἀκελάνθη. The reference is presumably to Serenus Sammonicus, an antiquary who wrote *rerum reconditarum libri* (Macrobi. Sat. 3. 9-6) under Septimius Severus (193—211 A.D.): see M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* München 1905 iii. 190 ff., H. Funaioli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2129 ff. Ioannes Laurentius the Lydian has placed him a century too late.

⁷ *Supra p. 355.*

⁸ *Frazier Golden Bough* i. 91 f., *ib.* The Magic Art i. 261 ff., J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 26 ff., E. S. Hartland in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1921 xii. 498². Especially noteworthy in its bearings on the myth of the Danaïdes is the practice of the Baronga in south-east Africa. When a drought threatens, the women strip and put on girdles and head-dresses of grass, or short petticoats made of the leaves of a certain creeper. Thus attired they go from well to well, cleansing the well-holes of mud. They must also repair to the house of a woman who has given birth to twins (such a woman is called *Titia*; 'Sky'; her twins are *Bana ba Titia*; *Children of the Sky* [*supra* ii. 434]) and drench her with water, which they carry in little pitchers. Then they go on their way shrieking loose songs and dancing immodest dances, which men may not witness. They also pour water on the graves of their ancestors in a sacred grove, and on the graves of twins who are regularly buried near a lake (Frazier and Rendel Harris loc. cit.).

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sky-god. Again, O. Gruppe detects a rain-charm in the tradition that the heads of Aigyptos' sons were buried by Danaos' daughters at Lerna or dropped into the spring there as offscourings (apo-katharmata) by Danaos himself. Lastly, we note the side-issue or inserted tale that Poseidon showed Amyone the Lernaean springs in consequence of her union with him. I am disposed, therefore, to conjecture that the wholesale endogamic marriage of the Danaïdes with the Aigyptiadai was regarded as a most potent fertility-charm.

So far little or nothing has been said about a point which to the later Greeks and to the Romans after them became the point of the whole story—I refer of course to the punishment of the Danaïdes in the world below. Here they must for ever carry water to fill a holed pithos, and so atone for the murder of their cousins. This water-carrying on the part of the Danaïdes cannot, however, be traced back in literature beyond the pseudo-Platonic Axioschos, which betrays Epicurean influence and has been assigned to the Alexandrine


3 J. Rendel Harris in Folk-Lore 1904 xiv. 431 ('Occasional Rain-charms'): 'At Ourfa ... we were told that in dry seasons they dig up the body of a recently buried Jew, abstract the head and throw it into the Pool of Abraham.' O. Janiewitsch 'Durstige Seelen' in the Archiv für Rel. 1910 xiii. 627 cites several examples of Russian peasants in time of drought pouring water on the corpse or grave of one who had committed suicide or who had been hanged, such persons being held responsible for the lack of rain. On the dry, thirsty dead see further O. Immisch 'AIAIBANTES' ib. 1911 xiv. 449-464 and two interesting articles by J. C. Lawson 'H 3 E P I A A I B A N T O N' in the Class. Rev. 1926 xi. 52-58, 116-121. Supra p. 362 n. 2, infra p. 440 n. 9.

4 Supra p. 356.

5 Xenob. 4. 86, Apostol. 10. 57, adlib. (supra p. 356 n. 4).

6 Supra pp. 356, 357.

7 Frazer Golden Bough: 'The Magic Art ii. 97 ff. ('The influence of the sexes on vegetation') notes that parents of twins sometimes exercised a fertilising influence (in Uganda on the plantains (ib. ii. 102), in Peru on the beans (ib. i. 265 f., ii. 102 n. 1)), and collects many cases in which the intercourse of the sexes, promiscuous or otherwise, was and is believed to quicken the growth of the crops.

If I am right in my interpretation of the myth, it is easy to see why Danaos cast Hypermetra into prison. She had saved Lynkeus because he spared her virginity (supra p. 356): the love-motive was merely a poetic recasting of the prosaic fact (supra p. 356 n. 3).


9 Plat. Axiosch. 371 E ἔρημος ἄφθον καὶ Δαναὸν ὑφεῖαι ἐρήκειν.


C. III.
Water-carrying in connexion with marriage

In attempting to answer these questions we must first turn our attention from mythology to ritual. Athenian custom prescribed that, when a wedding had been arranged and the wedding-day had come, the bridgroom must bathe in water from the fountain of Kallirrhoe—Enneakrounos, as it was styled at a later date\(^6\). The

\(^1\) W. Christ \textit{op. cit.} München 1920 ii. 1. 53.
\(^2\) \textit{infra} p. 473 ff.
\(^4\) \textit{Supra} pp. 356, 369 n. 7.
\(^5\) The situation of this fountain has been the subject of long and lively debate. Till the closing decade of last century it was commonly held (see \textit{e.g.} W. Smith in Smith \textit{Dict. Geogr.} i. 292 ‘The Fountain of Càllirrhoe, or Enneakrounos’) that Kallirrhoe was the spring, which flows from the foot of a broad ridge of rocks crossing the bed of the Ilios due south of the Olympicion, and that it was re-named Enneakrousos, when fitted with nine pipes by the Peisistratidae (Thouk. 2. 15 καὶ τῇ κρήτῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυφώνων οὐκ ἔχει καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ιωτῶν οὐκ ἔχει, ὡς ἐκ τῆς τελευτέως ἄρης ἔρημως, καὶ τὸν οἶκον συνελεύσας τῷ ἔδαφος καὶ τῷ ἔρημῳ πρὸς τῆς πλευρᾶς καὶ τῆς τελευτάτης ἀπὸ τῶν ιωτῶν ὑπέρεσπε} (The name Kallirrhoe still attaches to this spring). But an excavation by A. N. Skinias in 1893 failed to discover any evidence of Peisistratid construction (E. A. Gardner in the \textit{Journ. Hell. Stud.} 1894 xiv. 226), and the excavator concluded that the modern Kallirrhoe was neither Kallirrhoe nor Enneakrousos (T. Homolle in the \textit{Bull. Corr. Hell.} 1893 xvii. 624). Meantime W. Dörpfeld, as the result of excavations carried out from 1891 to 1894, was able to show that in antiquity several natural springs rose at the foot of the Pyx hill, that here at least seven tunnels and six cisterns (still containing water) had been cut in the rock, that one large cistern immediately above the site of an ancient fountain was built of polygonal masonry dating from 6th or 7th B.C., that a great rock-cut conduit which could be traced from the upper valley of the Ilios along the southern slope of the Akropolis probably ended at this cistern, and that two sets of water-pipes diverging from it, made of a yellowish clay with a red glaze inside, exactly resembled those of Eupalinos’ aqueduct in Samos and could therefore be dated to 6th or 7th B.C. Hence Dörpfeld concluded that Kallirrhoe was the name originally given to the open springs on the Pyx hill, that these then enclosed with masonry and formed into a fountain with nine jets by Peisistratos were re-christened Enneakrousos, and that the old name Kallirrhoe was from 5th onwards transferred to the spring on the Ilios (W. Dörpfeld in the \textit{Ath. Mitth.} 1891 xvi. 444 ff., 1892 xvii. 92 ff., 439 ff., 1894 xix. 143 ff., 504 ff., \textit{id.} ‘Ἡ Ἐννέακρουσον καὶ ἡ Καλλιρρή’
water had to be fetched in a pitcher by the next of kin, a boy, who, like the vessel that he bore, was called a loutrophóros or 'bathcarrier'. The bride too had her bridal bath fetched from the same fountain by a female loutrophóros. And in both cases, according to Photios, the bath-water was brought on a car drawn by a yoked


But Dörpfeld's hypothesis, however attractive, is far from being unassailable. Sir James Frazer, after a patient hearing of both sides, can sum up thus: 'On the whole the evidence of all ancient writers except Pausanias goes to show that the names Callirrhoë and Enneakronos were always applied to one and the same spring, and that this was the spring in the bed of the Ilissus which still bears the ancient name of Callirrhoë' (Pausanias ii. 116). Twenty-one years later W. Kroll, despite the fact that Gräber's persuasive article had appeared in the interim, again pronounces the same verdict (in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 1669–1672) 'Daher muss man denen Recht geben, die wie neuerdings noch [A.] Malinin [Hat Dörpfeld die Enneakronos-Episode bei Pausanias tatsächlich gelöst oder auf welchem Wege kann man diese gelöst werden? Wien 1906 pp. 1–38, cp. id. Zwei Streitfragen der Topographie von Athen Berlin 1901 pp. 21–43 'Die Enneakronosepisode'] und [E.] Pfuhl [in the Gott. gel. Anz. 1907 clxix.] 472 die Dörpfeldsche Hypothese ablehnen, während Judeich Topogr. von Athen (München 1905) 179 und Baedeker Griechenland 29, 37 sich ihr angeschlossen hat. Ungelöst bleibt nach wie vor das Rätsel der Pausaniasstelle. Vgl. F. Frazer Paus. ii 112'). It amounts to this; Dörpfeld is justified by the spade. But the literary evidence is almost all against him; and at any moment discoveries might be made on the Ilissos-bank. Super. ii. 1116 'the later Callirrhoë' follows the view of A. N. Skias.

1 Harpocr. s.vv. loutrophóros καὶ λουτροφορεῖς: ἦσος ἦ τοῖς γαμοίς λουτρά μεταπέμφεθαι καὶ ἔτη τοῦ γάμου ήμέραι, ἔπεμπον 3' ἐπὶ ταύτα τὸ ἐγώντα γένος παίδα άρρηκτα, καὶ οίτοι λουτροφορίας. έποις ἦ τοῖς ἀγάμοις ἀποθανόντων λουτρόφορον ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα ἔφιλεν ἔπεμπον τὸν τῶν τοῖς τινά ὄρθραν ἔχον. λέγει περὶ τούτων Διονυσίου Εἰφ. τῆς κατὰ Θέοδοτος καὶ τῆς κατὰ Καλλικράτους εἰς (Inscr. P. J. de Maussac) > αγγελία (Deinarch. or. 82, frag. 1 Baiter—Sauppe and or. 18, frag. 5 Baiter—Sauppe). ὦ τα λουτρά ἐκμοῖον ἐκ τῆς νῦν μὲν Ἑννακρόνου καλουμένης κρήνης, πρότερον δὲ Καλλιρρήθιον, Πηλούτεραν (so M. H. E. Meier for Πηλούτεραν, cp. Athen. 331 D—E) ἐν τῷ περὶ κρήνης φησὶ. μεμωρίαν δὲ τοῦ ἐθνὸς οἱ κωμικοὶ = Soud. s.vv. λουτρόφορος καὶ λουτροφορεῖς, who omits to mention his sources. Favorin. lex. p. 1192, 27 ff. copies out Harpocr. loc. cit.


3 Polls. 3, 43 (quoted in infra p. 372 n. 2).

pair of animals. The custom was observed in other places besides Athens: at Thebes the water was drawn from the river Ismenos; elsewhere from any convenient source.

If a man died unmarried, his relatives still performed the ‘bath-carrying’ for him and—we are told—set up over his tomb the representation of a boy with a pitcher, known as a *loutrophoros*. Similarly, if a woman died unmarried, a girl with a pitcher, that is to say a female *loutrophoros*, was erected over her tomb. But, since no such statues or reliefs or paintings have come down to us, the testimony of the old grammarians has been discredited. Other ancient authorities, however, state that pitchers called *loutrophoroi* were placed over those who died unmarried, or that black pitchers called ‘Libyans’ were set upon their tombs. And these statements

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4 Hesych. *lex. λαυτρόφορα ἄγγι, λαυτρόφορος* (quoted *supra* p. 371 n. 2).
5 Beckker *anc. l. 376, 27 ff. λουτρόφορος ἐν τῷ μυκετὶ τέκτων* (cr. Dem. *adv. Leoch. 30 quoted *infra* p. 373 n. 1) ἑδοὺ τοῖς Ἀδέρφαις τῶν ἢμών ἀποθανοῦσι, λαυτρόφοροι ἐν τῷ μυκετῇ καταστάσει. τούτῳ δὲ ἐν παῖς ἄριστω ἑχον, ἐκ λίθων πενταμάκιοι.
6 Poll. *8. 66* τῶν ἠγάμων λαυτρόφορος τῷ μυκετῷ ἐκτάσει, κήρη ἄγγελον ἔχουσα ὅρροφορον, ὕδραν ἢ πρόχον ἢ κρωσόν ἢ κάλλιον. τὴν ἐν ἑωταμένην ἑκάτον, εἶναι λαυτρόφορον ἐν ἐν ἀλλια τεῖ, ἐκπατήσα τοῖς κύκλῳ (Isiasos *απαράπασα* frag. 31 Baiter—Sauppe).
7 A. Herzog ‘Eine Loutrophoros’ in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1882 xl. 131 ff. supposes that Harpokration and Pollix are confusing the marriage-rite (boy or girl carrying pitcher) with the funeral-rite (pitcher set up on tomb). Furtwängler *Samtl. Sahurouff Vassen* pl. 58 f. p. 3 n. 1 regards Herzog as over-sceptical. But Nachod in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 1908 says with some justice: ‘die Erklärungen [z. B. Pollix and Harpokration] beweisen nur, wie wenig die späten Lexikographen von solchen Gebrauchen noch wussten.’
8 Eustath. *In II. p. 1293, 8 ff.* καὶ τοῖς πρὸ γάμου δὲ τελευτάων ἠ λουτρόφορος, φαίνεται ἔπειτα καλώς εἰς ἅπειρον τοῖς διὶ δούλοις τὰ νυμφικά καὶ ἄγγον ἄκουι (context cited *infra* p. 396 n. 3).
9 Hesych. *s.v. λιβάδιος* (L. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thea. Gr. Ling.* v. 277 n. cij. Λιβάδιος) τῆς μελανῆς ὀργίας εἰς τοῖς τρόποις τεθείον. The name probably refers in *primis* to the black colouring of these pitchers (Nachod in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 1909 admits ‘Das ziemlich lange Festhalten an der sf. Bemalung,’ but demurs to Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. L.* 342 ‘der technische und teilweise auch stilistische Archaismus der schwarzfigurigen Loutrophoren und panathenäischen Amphoren hat unkünstlerische, religiöse Gründe’). But there is, to my thinking, an Aristophanic touch about the phrase, which suggests a secondary allusion to libations (λιβάδια etc.), if not also a tertiary allusion (see e.g. *supra* ii. 2 n. 4) to the Libyan custom of pouring water into a holed jar (*supra* pp. 339 f., 354). Note also the grave of Antaios, shown at Tingis in Mauretania: it was a hill resembling a man lying on his back; and it was said that, whenever a hole was made in it, rain fell till the hole was filled up again (Mela *3. 106*).
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can fortunately be confirmed, at least in part, both by literary1 and by monumental evidence.

Over some of the graves in the 'Dipylon' cemetery at Athens stood a huge sepulchral jar, measuring from three and a half to nearly six feet in height.2 Such jars might be kratères3 but were more often four-handed4 or two-handed amphorae5. They are regularly decorated with scenes representing obsequies or funeral sports, and—an important feature—they have either no bottom or a bottom with a hole left in it.6 A. Brückner and E. Pernice, after a careful study of the subject, came to the conclusion that the jars were holed in order that libations might filter through the earth beneath and so reach the dead.7 This may well be. Yet A. Milchhöfer8 was certainly right when he claimed kinship between the 'Dipylon' amphorae and the black-figured or red-figured loutrophoroi of later Athenian times—vases of an elongated and graceful shape, from ten to forty inches in height,9 usually furnished with a hole through the bottom, and painted with scenes of prothesis or of marriage-rites according as they were intended to play their part at a funeral or a wedding. Surviving specimens of the loutrophoroi, listed by Nachod10, range in date from the last decade of the sixth century

1 Dem. adv. Lecch. 18 αν ταλλυ δε χρωνε βατερον... ἵππωσαν ο ’Αρχαίας, καὶ τελευταὶ τῶν βίων ἀπότοι τῶν Μεσολογίων... τὶ τῶν αὐτῶν: λουτροφόροι ἐφάστηκεν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ’Αρχαίας τάφων, 30 καὶ ἡ λουτροφόρος ἐφάστηκεν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ’Αρχαίων μνήμων.
4 Collignon—Couve Cat. Vases d’Athènes p. 48 ff. no. 214 pl. 12.
6 Supra ii. 1056 with fig. 911.
7 Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l’Art vili. 60.
9 See the important monograph of G. P. Oeconomus De professionum receptaculis sepulcribus Athenis 1911 pp. 93 with 17 figs. (especially p. 22 ff. ‘Vasa funebria perforata,’ p. 33 ff. ‘Sepulcrum perforatum,’ p. 37 ff. ‘Sepulcrum tubum exihiens’).
12 Nachod in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xiii. 2100 records 16 loutrophoroi, of which he assigns 5 to the last decade of v. vi, 7 to the first third of v. v, 5 to the middle of v. v, and 8 to the last third of v. v. See also Grieß Ant. Vasen Athen p. 128 ff. nos. 1144—1198 pls. 68—70, H. B. W[alters] in the Brit. Mus. Quart. 1928—1929 iii. 42 f. pl. 24 a, b, R. H[mits] i. 1930—1931 v. 11 f. pl. 4 a, b.
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Loutrophóros in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York:

(1) Whole vase showing mourners with loutrophóros above, mourners at prósēthesis below, and subsidiary zones of lions and horsemen.

(2) Detail of same vase.

See page 375 n. 1.
to the last third of the fifth century B.C. (pl. xxxv, figs. 236–239). A point connecting them with the 'Dipylon amphorae' is that some early examples have their handles adorned with snakes, while many have rings and handles marked with a snaky pattern. The usage of loutrophoroi lasted on into the fourth century, and late examples, made on a smaller scale, acquired a third handle under the influence of the three-handed hydria. Other evidence of the shapes taken by fourth-century loutrophoroi may be found in the magnificent series of marble stelai yielded by Attic graves. These extend in

1 W. Zschietzschmann, 'Die Darstellung der Prothesis in der griechischen Kunst,' in the Ath. Mith. 1928 iii. 17–47 pls. 8–18 includes useful lists of Attic black-figured loutrophoroi (pp. 40–43 nos. 44–83) and Attic red-figured loutrophoroi (p. 44 f. nos. 95–117). The finest example of the former is that in New York published by G. M. A. Richter in the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art 1928 xvi. 54–57 figs. 1–3 and dated c. 575 B.C. My pl. xxxv is from the official photograph, kindly lent by Mr C. D. Bicknell. I also figure:

(a) Three broken specimens found together at Trachones near Athens and now at Berlin (Furtwängler Vasenmml. Berlin i. 371 ffs. nos. 1887–1899, G. Henzen in the Ann. d. Inst. 1843 xv. 276 ff., Mon. d. Inst. iii pl. 60 (a composite drawing, of which my fig. 236 a, b is a part), O. Bensdorff Griechische und sizilische Vasenbilder Berlin 1877 p. 6 nos. 2–5). The main design on each vase is a black-figured prothesis, with mourners on the neck and animal-zone or horsemen below.

(b) A vase in the Louvre (CA. 453) (M. Collignon, 'Loutrophore attique à sujet funéraire' in the Mon. Prot. 1894 i. 40–60 with figs. 1 and 2 and pls. 5–7, Perrot–Chipiez Hist. de l'Art x. 674 ff. figs. 365, 370, 371, Corp. vas. ant. Louvre iii 1 c pl. 56, 3–3 (=my fig. 237 a–c) with text p. 45 by E. Pottier). The main design is a red-figured prothesis, with red-figured mourners on the neck and black-figured horsemen towards the foot. J. D. Beazley in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1910 xxx. 67 no. 35, id. Attische Vasenmalerei des rotfigurigen stil-Tübingen 1925 p. 71 no. 19 assigns the vase to the Kleophrades painter ('Schüler des Euthymides'), cp. Leonard in Pauly–Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 804 no. 35 ('Zeigerose des Euphronios oder Euthymides').

(c) A vase from Athens, now at Berlin (Furtwängler Vasenmml. Berlin ii. 645 ff. no. 3372, id. Samml. Sabouroff Vasen col. pls. 28 main subject, 29 ensemble (=my fig. 238). The body-design is a red-figured bridal procession, with an elongated female figure on either side of the neck.

(d) A vase found at Athens and now in the Schliemann collection (P. Wolters 'Rotfigurige Latrophoros' in the Ath. Mith. 1891 xvi. 371–405 figs. 3 (=my fig. 239)–4 and col. pl. 8). The main design is a red-figured scene of dedications at a sepulchral stèle, the dead man being apparently represented as an equestrian statue.

2 Supra ii. 1025 fig. 911. 3 Supra pl. xxxv. 4 Supra pl. xxxv and figs. 236–239–299.


A last term in the series may perhaps be found in a fluted hydria of red ware from Kourion in Kypros, formerly in the Pierides collection and now in mine (fig. 240 a–d. Height: 14¼ inches). This vase too has no bottom to it, and is further pierced under its three handles by three holes, the purpose of which is not clear (P? to prevent contents rising above the level of the handles, even if foot were blocked).

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Fig. 238.  

Fig. 239.
Fig. 240.
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Fig. 241.

Fig. 242.
stately sequence from the close of the fifth century down to the year 317 B.C., when Demetrios of Phaleron passed a sumptuary law that no monument should be erected on a grave-mound but a small pillar, not exceeding three feet in height, or a table-like slab, or a bathbasin. Accordingly we see loutrophoroi in the round, sometimes quite plain and presumably painted (fig. 242), sometimes exquisitely carved with a profusion of motives—vegetable (fig. 243), animal (fig. 244), human (figs. 244, 250), divine (fig. 245)—and further

1 Demetrios of Phaleron περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων νυμφησίας (Diog. Laert. 5. 80) frag. 9 (Frag. gr. Hist. ii. 963 f. Jacoby) ap. Cic. de legg. 2. 66 sepulcris autem novis finivit modum: nam super terrae tumulum noluit quid statui, nisi columnam, tribus cubitis ne altiorem, aut mensam, aut labellum: et haec procurationi certum magistratuum praefecerat. The columnae, of which there is a large collection in the National Museum at Athens (the tallest specimen, that of Poseidon Meninos Synthrophos, measures 1.65 m. in height, or 1.76 m. inclusive of its rough end) and very few elsewhere (e.g. that of Theseus in the British Museum (E. L. Hicks The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum i. 144 Oxford 1874 no. 87, Corp. inscr. Gr. i no. 638, Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 2 no. 1747 Οδός | Ὀρασίων | Ὀρασώσατον | Κάκινον; in lettering of 100—50 B.C. A. Conze Die attischen Grabreliefs Berlin—Leipzig 1911—1922 iv. 18 no. 1793 gives bibliography and photograph), are usually of Hymettian marble. They are cylinders that taper slightly towards the bottom, and were either stuck in the ground or inserted in a holed stone socket. Near the top they have a projecting collar, which sometimes shows traces of fillets painted in red. The medusa are solid plinths, oblong in plan, with upper and lower mouldings. They originally served as bases for sepulchral vases or stelai (A. Brückner Der Friedhof am Eridanos Berlin 1909 p. 99 f. fig. 64 three medusae still supporting portions of marble vases on their flat tops, A. Conze op. cit. iv. 14 f. no. 1769 a medusa decorated, exceptionally, with a loutrophoros in relief on the front and traces of a statue let into the top). The labela are best represented on a South Italian hydria at Bari (inv. no. 1369, A. Conze op. cit. iv. 6 f. with fig. (=my fig. 241)), as no complete examples have come down to us. But numerous short fluted pillars with spreading feet, obviously basins, are known. See further A. Conze op. cit. iv. 5 ff.

2 From the Elgin collection, now in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture i. 325 no. 683, E. L. Hicks The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum i. 151 Oxford 1874 no. 105, Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 3754, A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1906 iii. 364 no. 1715 pl. 367, 2 (=my fig. 242)). The circular plate on the top is, as usual, missing. The roughened foot was meant for insertion in a stone base. Details must have been added in colour. And there was presumably a painted design, to which the name ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΣ : ΝΑΥΚΡΑΤΙΤΗΣ inscribed on both sides in neat fourth-century lettering has reference. White marble. Height 1.03 m.

3 Still in situ outside the Dipyron at Athens (C. Curtius in the Arch. Zeit. 1871 xxix. 30 no. 76, Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 3754, A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1893 i. 49 no. 208 pl. 56 (=my fig. 243)). On the left side of the pýros base is inscribed Ἦθεαρον | Καρνοκάρδο | (sic); on the vase, over the man, Ἦθεαρον; over the woman, Παρθένον. Under the relief is a strip painted red. White marble. Height 1.54 m.

4 Fragment found at Sparta in Attike, now at Constantinople (Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinop. ii. 91 f. no. 335 fig., A. Milchhöfer in the Arch. Mitt. 1887 xii. 92 no. 49, A. Brueckner Ornament und Form der attischen Grabreliefs Strassburg 1886 p. 35 no. 3, A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1906 iii. 367 no. 1730 pl. 374 (=my fig. 244), Reimach Rép. Reliefs ii. 177 no. 1). The handle is formed by a pistrix with dragon's head, spiky body, and fish's tail. On a large leaf is a young Satyr dancing to the left with a chlamys thrown loosely round him. He raises his right hand, which is open, and lowers his left, which
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adorned with a sepulchral subject (fig. 243). Or, again, we have loutrophóroi in low relief represented, with varying degrees of complexity, on upward tapering tombstones (figs. 246—250) and, holds a lagobolon. Pentelic marble. Height 0'53m. The same type recurs in A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1906 iii. 366 f. nos. 1730 a and 1731, ep. 1732.

6 G. A. S. Snijder, 'Une représentation eschatologique sur une stèle attique du ive siècle' in the Rev. Arch. 1924 ii. 37—45 pl. 3 has proved (i) that the youthful figures on the handles mentioned supra n. 4, with which must be grouped those of the relief shown infra fig. 250, are not mere mortals, but dancing Satyrs as conceived in the second half of 4. iv b.c.; and (i) that they are present, not as purely decorative features, but as

Fig. 244.

significant symbols of the Dionysiac faith (p. 43 f. 'Sans doute, leur caractère symbolique n'est pas accusé; mais un "bon entendeur," c'est-à-dire un initié, comprenait sans hésiter leur langage. Ils expriment à la fois l'espoir et le voeu que le jeune défunt...soit reçu, sous les traits d'un bienheureux Satyre' (Cf. Dieterich, Nebiya, p. 78), dans le thias de Dionysos et les champs fréquentés par les bienheureux') (Suivant l'Anthologia Palat., vii, 37, on voyait sur le tombeau de Sophocle un Satyre tenant à la main un masque. On se demande si c'était seulement une personnalisation du drame et non une allusion à l'ordre d'idées étudié dans cet article...1).

6 Fragment found év θέσει Μονομάρτι δήμου Φθόγγου, now in the National Museum at Athens (no. 2345) (A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1906 iii. 369 no. 1733 a pl. 375 (= my fig. 245)). The handles enclose two crudely worked Sirens beating their heads and breasts. Pentelic marble. Height 0'53m.

1 (a) Found near the church of Hagia Trias in the Kerameikos at Athens (R. Schoell in the Bull. d. Inst. 1879 p. 146 ff. no. 4, Kaibel Epigr. Gr. no. 34, Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 2339, Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 2. 48, A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1906 iii. 295 no. 1357 pl. 285, 1 (= my fig. 240)). The abrotérion or pediment of the stile is missing. The decoration of the loutrophóros was doubtless ekeled out in paint. Right and left of the vase, from above downwards, runs a four-lined epigram, which U. Köhler transcribes
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πότι[α Σ]ωφρόσινη, θύγατερ μεγαλόφρονος Αίδοὺς, πλείονα σε πειρήσαι εὐπόλεμον τε Ἀρετῆν Ἡμίονιον Μελιτείων Κλειδομίδου ἐνθάδε κεῖται | [Θ]λος πατρί - μη--

Hymettian marble. Height 1'40".


1882 p. 270 Cambridge no. 111, Kaibel Epigr. Gr. no. 49, Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 1994, A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1900 ii. 214 no. 1066 pl. 195, 3 (=my fig. 247). The sunk relief on the vase shows an older man, who wears a "kinōdion", advancing from the left to clasp the hand of a younger man, who has a "chlamys" round his arm. Each man is accompanied by a dog. The flat cornice of the pediment is inscribed [Εθνήκρως ἉΛΙΑΙΟΣ (?) (P. P. Dobree), ...ἈΛΗΙΟΣ (K. O. Müller), [ΟΙΝ]ΑΙΟΣ (?) (A. Boeckh), ΛΒΑΙΟΣ (?) (A. Conze), ΛΕΛΙΟΣ (A. Michaelis), [ΕΙΤ]ΕΛΙΟΣ (U. Köhler). On the stile, above the vase, is the epigram ἐνθάδε τὸν πάνη ἀρετῆ ἐπὶ τέρμα μωλόντα|
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[Ὑβρίσκοντων πατρία χήθων ἐκλείψα τάφων, | μηρὶ φιλῶν καὶ πατρὶ, κασὶς[γ]ρήσας τε ποῦενοι | πᾶσι τε ἐπειδὰς δύναμιν ὁλίγησ. Pentelic marble. Height 1'72 m.

(c) From Ποντικ, near Αμβελοκίπη, now in the National Museum at Athens (A. Milchhöfer in the Ath. Mitt. 1888 iii, 355 no. 693. Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3. no. 1810, A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1906 iii. 392 no. 1350 pl. 283 (=my fig. 248)). The rounded akroterion is decorated with finely wrought anthis-leaves, palmettes, and central lotos-

Fig. 250.

bud (symbol of resurrection). The highly ornamental loutrophoros has a tainia slung from its handles. Above the vase is the inscription Ἀρατογεῖτων | Νικού | Ἀλκεσιάδος. Pentelic marble. Height 995 m.

(d) Found to the west of Καλυβια Κυβαρία, now in the National Museum at Athens (A. Milchhöfer in the Ath. Mitt. 1887 xii. 285 no. 181 pl. 9, A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1906 ii. 904 pl. 178 (=my fig. 249), Reich. Rép. Reliefs ii. 409 no. 3). The akroterion shows in relief a Siren beating her head and breast. The handles of the loutrophoros terminate below in inverted ducks'-heads (swans'-heads?), and must have been finished in colour. The sunk relief on the body of the vase represents a woman with long hair, in

C. III.
finally, on the downward tapering pillars prescribed by Demetrios (fig. 251).\(^1\)

\textit{chiton} and \textit{himation}, bringing a \textit{taina} to tie on a large one-handled \textit{loutrophoros}. Beyond it are seen a second woman with long hair, who is followed by a third woman, both similarly clad. White marble. Height 1'58".

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\textbf{Fig. 251.}

\(\epsilon\) Fragment found in the northern corner of the harbour (C. Curtius), ι τοῦ Κουμάνων (S. A. Koumanoudes), and now in the Museum at the Peiraeus (C. Curtius in \textit{Philologus} 1870 xxix. 697; A. Brueckner \textit{Ornament und Form der attischen Grabstelen} Strassburg 1886 p. 33 no. 1, \textit{Corp. Insr. Att.} ii. 3 no. 2463; A. Conze \textit{op. cit.} Berlin 1906 iii. 294 no. 1354 pl. 284 (≡ my fig. 250), Reinach \textit{Rep. Reliefs} ii. 409 no. 4. The dancing Satyrs enclosed by the handles of the \textit{loutrophoros} resemble those described \textit{supra} p. 380 n. 4 and p. 382 n. 5. Above the vase, in letters not earlier than 200 B.C., is inscribed \textquoteleft\textit{Αριστοτέλης \ Αριστομένου \ Περιγενής}. White marble. Height 1'56".

\(^1\) Found near the church of Hagia Trias in the Kerameikos at Athens (\textit{Corp. Insr.}
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Ceramic evidence further assures us that a loutrophoros might be carried by a mourning maiden in the funeral procession (fig. 237)\(^1\), and set up on the summit of the grave-mound—a custom traceable from the early fifth\(^2\) to the late fourth century (fig. 253). Again, we

Att. iii. 2 no. 1981, A. Conze op. cit. Berlin—Leipzig 1911—1912 iv. 16 no. 1778 pl. 379 (=my fig. 251). The sunk relief shows an ornamental loutrophoros, with abroteria on its rim and a tainia slung from its handles. Above it, in lettering of imperial date, is inscribed ΑΠΟΔΩΣΟΙ | ΣΩΤΕ | ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΥ. Hymettian marble. Height 1'36m.

\(^1\) From a red-figured loutrophoros, dating from the first third of s. v, in the Louvre (supra p. 375 n. 1 (6)).

\(^2\) Supra ii. 1956 ff. fig. 912.

M. Mayer in the Ath. Mitth. 1891 xvi. 310 n. 2 and P. Wolters ib. p. 389 f. with fig. (=my fig. 253) draw attention to an early yellow-ground kyathos, from Eretria, at Athens (Collignon—Couve Cat. Vases d’Athènes p. 330 no. 1061), on which, behind a woman with a basket of funeral offerings, is a large amphora set on a rectangular base and decorated with a cavalier in black-figured technique. The black figure and the long handles strengthened with struts indicate that the amphora is of terra cotta.

\(^3\) Extract from the reverse design of a red-figured amphora, careless in style, found at Ruvo, now at Naples (Heydemann Vasensamml. Neapel p. 204 no. 2147, R. Pagenstecher Unterritalische Grabdenkmäler (Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslands xxiv) Strassburg 1917 p. 27 f. pl. 13, a, id. in the Röm. Mitth. 1917 xxvii. 103 n. 1, G. P. Oeconomus De profusionum receptaculis sepulcralibus Athenis 1921 p. 35 f. fig. 4 (=my fig. 253)). As is often the case, the vase shown resembles in shape the vase upon which it is painted. Pagenstecher rightly infers from the black figure that the vase shown is of terra cotta, not metal, and observes that its foot is firmly planted in the grave-mound.

Oeconomus op. cit. p. 27 f. fig. 5 cp. the obverse design of a red-figured neck-amphora, careless in style, found at Nola, now in Petrograd (L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pit. 1866 p. 38 no. 25 with fig. on p. 67 (=my fig. 254), id. Vasensamml. St. Petersburg ii. 220 no. 1598). Between two Ionic columns, on which are perched a soul-bird (Siren), and an owl, is seen a large one-handled jug half-sunk in the ground.
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gather from vases that a *loutrophoros* might be borne by a young girl in the bridal cortège (fig. 255), or decked with myrtle-sprays (fig. 256) and set beside a pair of similarly decked lébetes (figs. 257, 258).

1 A red-figured *loutrophoros* at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vasae d’Athènes* p. 391 f. no. 1275), assigned to 'Der Frauenbadmaler' (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1928 p. 431 no. 6), who flourished c. 430—420 B.C. (M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* New Haven: Yale University Press 1979 p. 193), has (a) a wedding procession, in which the bride (bowed head, myrtle-wreath above, Eros hovering near) is preceded by a young girl bearing a *loutrophoros* and accompanied by women with torches to the sound of the double flute; (b) a conversation between two women, of whom one holds up a decorated coper (T. Schreiber in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876 xlviii. 333 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* 2 pl. 34, 1 (= my fig. 255), O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlesungsbl.* 1888 pl. 8, 2, P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1891 xvi. 381 no. 18 with fig., Reinach *Rep. Vasae* i. 206, 3, M. Collignon in Darembert—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1318 fig. 4558).

2 A fragmentary three-handled vase, of red-figured technique, found at Athens (P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1891 xvi. 382 no. 21 with fig. (= my fig. 256)), shows among other bridal preparations a woman holding a three-handled *loutrophoros*, which has a row of white dots round its shoulder and three sprigs of myrtle in its mouth.

3 (a) A red-figured *ppys* from Athens, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vasae* iii. 366 f. no. E 774, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 380 pl. 57, 3 (= my fig. 257), C. Lécrivain in Darembert—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1649 fig. 4862, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vasae* i. 346 no. 4, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils*
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which presumably contained water for the bath of bride and bridegroom.

Tübingen 1925 p. 429 no. 1, attributed—first by Purtwänger—to ‘Der Eretriamaler,’ who flourished c. 430–410 B.C. (M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting New Haven: Yale University Press 1929 p. 193), depicts preparations for a wedding. These include a one-handled, black-figured loutrophoros, visible behind a rouge-pot of alabaster (? on a coffer, while two black-figured bridal lebeses are set on stands near by—all three vases being similarly adorned with myrtle-sprays.

(b) A red-figured ephialtron or doxos by the same painter, from Eretria, now at Athens (Collignon—Couve Cat. Vases d’Athènes p. 503 ff. no. 1588, P. Hartwig in the 'Ep. 'Agx. 1897 pp. 129–142 pl. 9–10 (of which the second half—my fig. 258), C. Lécrivain in Daretberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1649 f. fig. 4863, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases i. 345 no. 1, Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 567, 570, iii. 220 fig. 561, J. D. Beazley Attische

Fig. 255.

Fig. 256.

Vasenmaler des rothfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 429 no. 1), again introduces a black-figured loutrophoros and a pair of black-figured lebeses on stands, decorated with sprigs of myrtle by women, while the bride and the bridal bed are seen through the open door of the tholos.

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Fig. 258.

Fig. 259.
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What is the meaning of these customs, and why should a ceremony performed at a wedding also be performed, or at least imitated, at the burial of a bachelor or spinster? A typical case may serve to point the question. Here, for example, is a stèle in the Ny Carlsberg collection (fig. 260). Hippon, son of Agonippos, has died unwed.

Fig. 260.

Mus. Cat. Vases ii. 12 Type G). The deities, from left to right, are Apollo, Zeus, and Hera, Dionysos, Aphrodite, Poseidon, Artemis, Hermes. Aphrodite carries on her head a lēber, of which A. de Ridder in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1001 says: ‘Il contenait sans doute l’eau lustrale.’ Cp. the black-figured hydria published by Gerhard Anserl. Vaseb. iv. 85 f. pl. 313, where the lēber rests on the head of a torch-bearing goddess.

F. Poulsen in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1913 xxxviii Arch. Anz. p. 61 f. no. 4 with fig. 5, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek i no. 227 a Tillæg pl. 4 (=my fig. 260). The
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and will leave no children to carry on the proud tradition of knightly names. His mother Philostrate, seated in the foreground, looks with steadfast gaze at the young man’s face, while she clasps his hand for the last time. His father, a bearded figure with furrowed forehead, stands in the background leaning on a staff and lays a detaining hand on the lad’s shoulder. And in the centre of the little gable above their heads is carved in low relief the wedding-vase. Now, how is this seemingly inappropriate addition to be explained?

Is it to be regarded as a pathetic reminder of all that might have been? Hardly so. That would be modern, not ancient, sentiment. The Greeks did not care to be reminded of their sorrows, and we never find in their graveyards such a poignant symbol as a broken column. M. Collignon, taking a more practical, not to say prosaic, view, holds that the vase commemorates the ‘chthonian bath’—a final act of the obsequies, in which water for washing the dead was brought to the tomb. But, if so, we are left wondering how a rite once common to all the dead ever came to be restricted to those that died unmarried.

More to our purpose is an explanation advanced by Sir J. G. Frazer:

‘It may be suggested that originally the custom of placing a water-pitcher on the grave of unmarried persons...may have been meant to help them to obtain in another world the happiness they had missed in this. In fact, it may have been part of a ceremony designed to provide the dead maiden or bachelor with a spouse in the spirit land. Such ceremonies have been observed in various parts of the

inscription on the cornice is ΠΡΩΝ ΑΓΩΝΙΠΟ ΡΕΙΡΑΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΘΗ. The termination of Αγωνιπο points to a date in the first half of 3. iv B.C. Pentelic marble, Height 160cm.

For the loutrophoros thus placed Poulsen cp. the stèle of Silenis, daughter of Myiskos, at Berlin (no. 1492, R. Kekulé von Straondonz Die Grischische Skulptur Berlin—Leipzig 1912 p. 186f. with fig., Reimach Rép. Reliefs ii. 40 no. 3), which has for abetroüria a Siren flanked by a loutrophoros on its right and a Sphinx on its left.

2 Hdt. 6. 21.
3 M. Collignon in Daremburg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1319.
5 Frazer Teutonias v. 389 ff.
world by peoples who, like the Greeks, esteemed it a great misfortune to die unmarried.'

The examples quoted in support of this explanation prove beyond all doubt that *post mortem* marriage is or has been a widely prevalent custom.

But marriage with whom? O. Schrader, who more than once attacked the problem, summarised his contentions as follows:

'It is only by comparing the Greek customs with those of other Aryan peoples that we can discover the meaning of this custom. We then find that the placing of the bridal *λοιπροφόρος* on the grave of unmarried people represents the symbolical preservation of a custom...still very wide-spread among the Slavonic races...a ceremonial imitation-marriage was celebrated at the graves of unmarried men and maidens, during which a bride or a bridesmaid was there and then assigned to the dead person.* (Remains of this custom are found also in Germany; for in Hesse the coffins of single men who have died must be accompanied by "wreathed girls," who must wear mourning for four weeks, etc. (cf. [C.] Hessler ([Hessische Landes- und Volkskunde Marburg 1904 ii. 152]).) The third and last stage of the custom under discussion is presented to us in the accounts of the Arabs regarding the oldest Slavonic and Russian conditions of life. According to them, not only...was the wife of the dead *married man* given to him as a companion in death, but the *single man* too was, after his death, married in regular fashion to a young girl, who also was therefore doomed to die (cf. Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d'or*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861—1865, ii. p. 9, n. 7). One of these "death-weddings" is described in detail by the Arab Ibn Fossan (text and translation ed. by C. E. Fränk, St. Petersburg, 1823 [See now Miss H. L. Lorimer 'A Scandinavian Cremation-Ceremony' in *Antiquity* 1934 viii. 58—62, an article which includes a fresh and full translation made from the text of Ahmad bin Fudhlan by Miss C. Waddy]). But it follows from isolated traces that the custom of the wife dying along with her husband was prevalent also in Greece in prehistoric times (cf. Pausanias, ii. 21. 7), and in the story of the Trojan maiden Polyxene, sacrificed at the grave of Achilles, there exists also on classical soil a case of the barbarian custom of "death-marriage".'

Thus, on Schrader's showing, the death of a bachelor or spinster once involved the provision and actual killing of a human consort—a grim practice, which had indeed left lasting traces of itself in mythology, but in real life had long since decayed into a mimetic ceremony and thence into the mere symbolism of the marriage-vest.

Mr. J. C. Lawson viewed the matter from a somewhat different standpoint. He too regarded the *loutrophóros* rite as implying that

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1 First in his monograph *Totenhoheitszeit* Jena 1904 pp. 1—38, then in his book *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* Jena 1906, 1907 i. 219 f., ii. 335 n. 3, 532, lastly in his *Reallex.* ii. 528—561 s.v. 'Totenhoheits.'


3 J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 pp. 526, 566.
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a definite marriage awaited the dead bachelor or spinster. But he treated it as one out of many facts tending to establish the important conclusion that, in Greek belief, every man might look forward to becoming the groom of Persephone, every woman to becoming Hades' bride:

'Custom past and present, ancient literature, modern folk-song, all agree in their presentment of death as a marriage into the house of Hades.'

To me it seems that the opinions of Schrader and Lawson are not mutually exclusive. It may well be (though the evidence for it is slight) that in prehistoric times the dead bachelor demanded—like Achilles?—a bride to keep him company. And, when this savage custom had dwindled into a set of merely mimetic rites and symbols, it may well have left behind it the feeling that the prematurely dead must needs be married somehow in the world beyond the tomb. If so, the great wave of oriental influence which swept the Mediterranean c. 600 B.C. and the subsequent (or consequent?) growth of Greek mysticism very possibly intensified a latent belief in the divinity of the dead. The Egyptian identification of the mumified man with Osiris is at least paralleled by the Orphic declaration:

'Happy and blest one, a god thou shalt be in place of a mortal.'

1 Supra ii. 1164 n. 7.
2 See the objections raised by P. Stengel in the Woch. f. klass. Philol. Mai 3, 1905 pp. 489—491 and by F. Kauffmann in the Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 1907 xxxix. 138f. and answered by O. Schrader Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte Jena 1906, 1907 i. 220 n. 1, ii. 335 n. 3, 532. Stengel loc. cit. p. 490 n. 3 aptly quotes Loukian. de deis 14 πάρα...καὶ παλλακάδα...σπετασμάτα...οὐ χρησαμένοι εἶκε καὶ ἀπολάφωσιν αὐτῶν κατά;
3 Supra ii. 769 f.
4 See e.g. A. Erman A Handbook of Egyptian Religion trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 pp. 95 ff. H. R. Hall in J. Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1908 i. 440 n. 443, A. M. Blackman lh. 1920 xi. 132 n. b ('Identification with Osiris'), Fraser Golden Bough 2: Adonis Attis Osiris ii. 16 ('Thus every dead Egyptian was identified with Osiris and bore his name'). Supra p. 343.
5 One of the gold tablets from Orphic graves of s. iv—iii B.C. near Thourii (supra ii. 118 n. 2) gives the verse ἐνδοκτὲ καὶ παραστῆτε, ήθος ἐκ τοῦν ἄπειρον (Inscr. Gr. Sic. It. no. 641, 1. 14 f., G. Murray in Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel. 2 p. 667 no. 5 (with facsimile), H. Diels Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker Berlin 1912 ii. 176 Orph. frag. 18, 10, Orph. frag. 32 c, 10 Kern), which seems to have been spoken by the mystagogos or hierophantes of Persephone (so J. H. Wieten De tribus laminis aureis quae in sepulcris Thurinii sunt inventae Amstelodami 1913 p. 118). Another tablet of the same date and provenance substitutes the prose formula ήθος τρισθενευς καὶ ἀνθρώπου (Inscr. Gr. Sic. It. no. 643, 4 f., G. Murray loc. cit. p. 662 no. 3 (with facsimile), H. Diels οφ. cit. ii. 177 Orph. frag. 20, 4, Orph. frag. 32 f, 4 Kern). Cp. yet another, of s. i or more probably s. ii A.D., from Rome, which has the would-be hexameter Καλλίδα Σουτετίνα, πνεύμα | ἄθεα δία γέγονα (G. Murray loc. cit. p. 672 no. 8 (with facsimile) reading δία for δία, H. Diels οφ. cit. 3 ii. 176 f. Orph. frag. 19, 4, Orph. frag. 32 g, 4 Kern).
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Final felicity for the divinised, but unmarried, dead would be felt to imply a marriage-union in the house of Hades. The Orphic initiate in fact carried with him to the tomb, engraved on a golden tablet, the assurance that he had become the very consort of Despoina. And such hopes in less tangible form were certainly entertained by wider circles.

But, if the sepulchral loutrophóros is thus reducible to a nuptial loutrophóros, we have yet to enquire what meaning attached to them both. Eustathios, though he does not reach a satisfactory solution of the problem, at least goes some way towards one.

'The ancients,' he says, 'treat river-water as something solemn....Bridegrooms had their bath fetched from a river as an omen of fertility....And over those that died before marriage the so-called bath-carrying pitcher was set, to show that the deceased took his departure unhathed of the bridal bath and unfertile withal.'

This insistence upon the idea of fertility is right. Water-carrying, whether for the married living or for the unmarried dead, was a fertility-charm of a simple and intelligible sort. As such it can be paralleled by a variety of popular customs. But the employment of a holed vessel for the purpose justifies us, if I am not mistaken, in defining the fertility-charm more nearly as a rain-charm. Rain, as we shall have occasion to note, was the very means by which Father Sky impregnated Mother Earth.

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\(^1\) Supra i. 650 n. 0, ii. 119 n. 2, 132 f.
\(^2\) Supra ii. 1163 f.
\(^3\) Eustath. in H. p. 1293. 6 ff. οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ σεμνύοντο τὸ ποτάμιον ἤγρων, καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες τὸ λυπρόν ἐκ ποταμοῦ τόδε νιμφίαν ἐκμίλετο, ὀλονικρότως τὸ γάμμαν. διὸ καὶ ἑνρχα μῆλα ἥμισυ, ὡστε τῷ Ἰσοτίδοις, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ποταμοῖς εἰς τὰ πνεύμα, γόνιμα γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἅρθρα, καὶ τοῖς πρὸ γάμου ἐν τελευτώσιν ἡ λυπροφόρος, φασιν, ἐπειδῆθο κάλπης εἰς ἔθεος τοῦ ὁτι ἁλυτος τὰ νυμφικά καὶ ἄγαν ἄνειοι (Supra p. 374 n. 7).


\(^5\) Infra p. 457 f.
Water-carrying and the mysteries

Water-carrying in connexion with the mysteries.

Water-carrying in a holed vessel reappears in connexion with the mysteries. Polyclitus in his famous fresco of the Underworld (painted shortly after 458 B.C.) represented certain women bearing water in broken pitchers: one of them was in the bloom of youth, the other advanced in years; and an inscription common to them

1 So A. Reinach *Textes Peints*, Anc. i. 86 n. 1, 90 n. 0 followed by Miss M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* New Haven: Yale University Press 1929 p. 201 n. 30.
Water-carrying in connexion

both set forth that they were of the uninitiated. Further, the same picture showed a pithos, an elderly man, a boy, and a couple of women—one young, the other elderly. They were all bearing water; but the old dame's pitcher seemed to be broken, and she was emptying into the pithos such water as was left in her crouch. Pausanias, who saw the fresco in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi, adds: 'We inferred that these persons also were of the number of those who held the Eleusinian rites of no account.' In thus connecting the two groups of water-carriers and assuming one label for the lot Pausanias was almost certainly correct. An approximate arrangement of the contiguous figures may be seen in C. Robert's clever reconstruction (fig. 261).

Platon in his Gorgias (written between 399 and 388 B.C.) likewise states that in Hades the uninitiated carry water in a sieve to a holed pithos. Indeed, their punishment became proverbial, and can be illustrated from more than one extant vase-painting.

1 Paus. 10. 31. 9 ff. αἱ δὲ ὀστρακῶν πετοῦσαι πὺρ ἐστίν ὅπως ἐπὶ καταρχής ὁμορράκουσιν, νηπιάσθαι δὲ ηὺς ἐπὶ ὑπάρξει τοῦ ἔδοξεν, ἢ δὲ ἔδοξεν ἡ ἥλια γραφή. ηὑς μὲν δὲ ὁδὸν ἐπεράγματα ἐπὶ καταρχὴς τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐν κορίῳ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡμεῖς ὄρθρος ἐστίν ὅτι τῶν οὐκ εἰμινόν μεταμοσχεύνεις. (10) ἀνάγεται τούτων ἥτιν ἡ Καλλικάτω, καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν μην ὅπως ἐπὶ τῶν γυναικῶν. (11) ἔςτι δὲ καὶ πίθον ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, προμήτως δὲ ἀνθρώποι, ὡς ἐπὶ πάντα, καὶ γυναῖκες, ἐνό τινι ὄπως (so F. G. Welcker in codd.) τῇ πέτρᾳ, παρὰ δὲ τῶν προμήθειαν ἑκείνην ἐκείνην τὴν ἥλιαν. οἱ μὲν άλλοι πέραν ὅπως εἰς, τῇ γραφῇ καταχθαὶ τῷ θάνατον εἰκόσι: διότι δὲ ἐν τῷ ὀστρακῷ λαχνῷ ἐν τῷ ὄμητος, ἐκδοθεῖται ἡ ἐν τῷ πίθῳ, ἐκεκατομμύρια β' εἰσὶ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν τὰ δράματα Ἔλευσιν (H. Hitzig—H. Blümner cjt. τὰ Ἐλευσίνων ἐν ὀστέαν χρυσάνθεων λύχνῳ.

2 C. Bonner in Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 1902 xii. 166 'The circumstance that the intervening figures are said to have been on a higher level than the first group removes all difficulties in the way of bringing the two groups of ἄμμος together.'

3 C. Robert Die Nekyia des Polygnot (Winckelmannfest-Progr. Halle 1892) p. 68 with lithographic pl., drawn by H. Schenck (part of which=fig. 261).

4 W. von Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1912 i. 670.

5 Plat. Gorg. 493 κ—καὶ τούτῳ ἀρά τῷ μιθόδουν κοιμότος ἄνθρωπος, λαοὶ Σκιλλός τι ἢ Ἡλικεὶς, παράγων τῷ ἁμαρτία διὰ τὸ πιστικόν ἁμάρταν πίθον, τοῦ δὲ ἀνοίκτως ἄμαρτον. τῶν δ' ἀμάρτητων τούτῳ τῷ ἰχθύι τό αἰτιαμένοι εἰς τὸ ἄδαρκον ἀνάμματα τήν, ὥστε τηρημένοι καὶ πίθον, διὰ τὴν ἀπεκβάλλειν ἀπεκάθιασα. τοιούτιον δὴ ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ὥς Καλλικλαίς, ἐπέκειτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἀιδοῦ—τὸ αὐτίκα δ' Λέγω—οὕτω ἀδίστατον δὴ εἰς καὶ ἀμάρτια, καὶ προφέρειν εἰς τὸν τηρημένον πίθον ὃδε ἐπὶ τοῦτον τηρημένον κολληθείς, διὰ τὸ κύκλως ἀρά νέος, ὡς ὅτι οὔ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, τῷ ἰχθύι εἰς τὴν ἀμάρτησαν τὴν ταῦτα ἀμάρτησας, ἢτοί δυσκόμητον στέγης δ' ἀπεκβάλλασα τῇ καθήσασα. Ср. ετής 363 ὅτι τοῖς δὲ ἀναφέρονται αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις εἰς πολλὰ τὰ καταράτωμα ἐν Ἀιδοῦ καὶ κολληθεὶς ὁδὸν ἀναγκάζομαι φέρεις. The 'Sicilian or Italian' of the former passage is probably Philolaos or some other Pythagorean, e.g. Archytas (E. Frank Plato und die sogenannten Pythagoreer Halle (Saale) 1933 pp. 90 ff., 298 ff., 394 n. 219. P. Frutiger Les mythes de Platon Paris 1930 p. 111 f.). The 'mud' of the latter passage is definitely Orphic (A. Dieterich Nekyia Leipzig 1893 p. 75 n. 3, Rohde Psychê i. 313 n. 1, J. Adam on Plat. rep. 363 d).
An archaic black-figured amphora, formerly in the Canino collection and now at Munich¹, has for obverse design (fig. 262)² four winged souls emptying pitchers into an enormous pithos partly sunk in the earth: the presence of Sisyphos rolling his stone up a hill shows that the scene is laid in the Underworld, as does the reverse design (fig. 263)³ of Herakles dragging off a two-headed Kerberos. Both sides of the vase may be indebted to some sixth-century fresco.

Fig. 262.

6 Zenoob. 2. 6 ἀπληστος πίθος...λέγεται γὰρ οὗτος ὁ πίθος ἐν" λιδοῦ εἶναι οὐδὲνετε πληροφορεῖνος...κελώιας δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀμυντῶν ὄντος καὶ κόραι δὲ τῶν Δαναίδων λέγωμεν...πληροφορεῖν ἐν καταγώγων ἄγγελισιν ὑθορ πρὸς αὐτῶν φέρουσι τετραμένους, Apostol. 6. 79 εἰς τετραμένους πίθους ἄντλεσι...καὶ γὰρ μυθοκομεῖν ἐν" λιδοῦ τούτω οὗτοι εἰς πίθους τετραμένους ἄντλεσι. πάσχους δὲ περὶ τούτων τῶν Ἀμυντῶν (καὶ ἄγγελος τῶν Ἀμυντῶν) ὄντος, καὶ κόραι δὲ ἐπεδαγμέναι (καὶ πρὸς κόραις δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀμυντῶν) λέγομεν δὲ καὶ κόραι ἐπεδαγμέναι, ταυτότερα ἐσθενεῖσθαι, παρὰ τὸ ἀπεδομένον. Μᾶλλον ἐπεδαγμένη συνελθεῖα τῆς τοῦ πίθου τοῦ ἄγγελος τῶν Ἀμυντῶν τοῦ πίθου εἰς τὸν πίθον. τοῦτο εἰς τὴν ἐπεδαγμένην τοῦ πίθου τοῦ ἀγγείου. τὸν πίθον τοῦ πίθου καὶ τὸν πίθον τοῦ πίθου καὶ τοῦ πίθου τοῦ ἀγγείου. τοῦτο εἰς τὸν πίθον τοῦ πίθου τοῦ ἀγγείου...καὶ γὰρ μυθοκομεῖν ἐν" λιδοῦ τούτω οὗτοι εἰς πίθους τετραμένους ἄντλεσι.

1 John Vossenstam. München p. 49 f. no. 153.
2 Inghirami Vas. fitt. ii. 56 ff. pl. 135, E. Gerhard Über die Flügelgestalten der alten Kunst Berlin 1880 pp. 5 n. 37, 17, Muller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 4. 40 pl. 69, 866, A. Baumeister in his Denkm. iii. 1924 fig. 2040, W. H. Roscher in his Lex. Myth. i. 952 with fig. on p. 950, Harrison Proleg. Gk. Rel. II p. 616 f. fig. 164, ed. Themis² p. 529 f. fig. 152.
3 Inghirami loc. cit. pl. 136.
not recorded in literature, but very possibly illustrative of Orphic teaching\(^1\).

Again, a black-figured \textit{lékythos}, which was found in 1820 beneath the feet of a skeleton buried on the slope of Monte Saraceno near Ravanusa in southern Sicily and is now preserved in the Museo Nazionale at Palermo (pl. xxxvi and fig. 264)\(^2\) depicts men and women hastening to empty vessels of various shapes into a huge

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{1} The late Orphic poem \textit{xarábaas} els "Aidou (on which see A. Dieterich \textit{Nébula} Leipzig 1893 pp. 128 ff., 136 ff., Ganschiniets in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc.} x. 2400 f., O. Kern \textit{Orphicorum fragmenta} Berolini 1922 pp. 304—307, W. Christ \textit{Geschichte der griechischen Literatur} München 1924 ii. 2. 984 n. 7) may well have had metrical forerunners; and Orphic influence is already traceable at Athens in s. vi b.C. (L. Malten \textit{Altorphische Demersage} in the \textit{Archív f. Rel.} 1900 xii. 417 ff.).

\textsuperscript{2} T. Panokka in the \textit{Arch. Zeit.} 1848 ii. 284 ff. (eine Parodie des Gemäldes des Polignot... sowohl der Scene in der Frauen und Jünglinge als Hydrophoren sich einem grossen Pass näher zur Anspielung auf die Strafe der Danaiden. Sterbliche darstellend, die während ihres Lebens die Mysterien nicht achteten, als der Fabel des Oenos'), H. Heydemann \textit{ib.} 1870 xxviii. 42 f. no. 22 with pl. 31 (= my fig. 264) (Wir haben eine Parodie der Danaiden und des Oknos vor uns'), A. Furtwängler in the \textit{Jahrb. d. kais. deutsc. arch. Inst.} 1890 v. Arch. Anz. p. 24 f. (eine sehr ernste Darstellung... Es sind eben noch nicht die Danaiden..., sondern allgemeine Bilder der Seelen und ihrer Pein, weshalb auch nicht auffallend ist, sie auch männlich gebildet zu finden. Ferner ist Oknos mit dem Esel dargestellt,...), Harrison \textit{Proleg. Gk. Rel.}\(^5\) p. 617 f. fig. 165 (emphatically not Danaides... but "Uninitiated"... The ass and... Oknos'), Pfuhl \textit{Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.} i. 311 (Schwerlich mit Recht hat man... eine Mythenparodie in dem Unterweltsbild... finden wollen... Die allzu schwächlichen Körper und grosse Köpfe, einzelne lange Nasen und drohige Bewegungen wirken zwar in diesem Zusammenhang auch auf den geschulten Betrachter leicht komisch, sind aber schwerlich so gemeint'). Pl. xxxvi is from a photograph kindly supplied to me by Profs G. M. Columba and E. Gábrici.}
Lékythos from Monte Saraceno, now at Palermo:
the uninitiated in the Underworld, together with Oknos and his ass.

See page 400 f. with fig. 264.
with the mysteries

pithos, as before planted deeply in the ground. Here Oknos and his ass\(^1\) serve to fix the locality. The lively and humorous rendering of the whole scene makes it difficult to resist the impression that there is present an element of intentional caricature. And if so, the artist was conceivably inspired by some actual pre-literary performance of a mimic or comic sort, though when and where escapes us\(^2\). Be that as it may, of these two vases the first probably, the second certainly, shows the penance of the uninitiated in general, not that of the Danaides in particular.

The same may perhaps be said of a splendid 'Apulian' krater, which came to the Munich collection from a grave near Canosa\(^3\). This famous vase dates from the second half of s. iv B.C.\(^4\) and is

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1 A. Furtwangler _loc. cit._ rightly interpreted the lame ass and the lame driver looking stupidly at the sticks, which have fallen from his pack, by a reference to Apul. _met._ 6. 18  
iamque confecta bona parte mortiferae viae contaminabatur (so J. van der Vliet for _continuauersis_ codd. F. d. g. _continuueris_ codd. F. g (man. rescript.)); clandum asinum gerulum cum agasone similis, qui te rogabant decidentis sarcinæ fusticulos aliquos porrigas ei; sed tu nulla voce deprompta tacita praeterito (a variant version of Oknos and his ass). F. Boll 'Oknos' in the _Archiv f. Rel._ 1916–1919 xix. 151–157 holds that this curious figure originates in a 'Traumphantasia' of the sort known as 'Behinderungstraum' (cp. _Il._ 22. 199 ff. (= _Verg._ _Aen._ 12. 908 ff.), 23. 99 ff., _Enn._ ann. _frag._ 28. 6 ff. Baehrens). He cites (after A. Grünwedel in the _Original-Mitteilungen aus der ethnologischen Abteilung der königl. Museen zu Berlin_ 1885 i. 42, W. H. D. Rouse in _Folk-Lore_ 1890 i. 409, _Frazer Pausantas v._ 377 f.) a Buddhist parallel from the seventh dream of the king of Kosala (_Jataka Tales_ edd. H. T. Francis and E. J. Thomas Cambridge 1916 p. 84 f.): 'A man was weaving rope, sir, and as he wove, he threw it down at his feet. Under his bench lay a hungry she-jackal, which kept eating the rope as he wove, but without the man knowing it. This is what I saw.' Etc.).

2 O. Gruppe and F. Pflister in _Koscher Lex. Myth._ vi. 43 f. discuss the appearance of the Underworld in the comic and satyrical drama of s. v B.C.

3 The same grave yielded the Medea-krater, described and illustrated _supra_ i. 251 f. pl. xxiii.

4 _Supra_ p. 370.

C. III.
decorated with an essentially Orphic\(^1\) design (pl. xxxvii)\(^2\). Hades, sceptre in hand, sits on a sumptuous throne in his nether palace, while before him, holding a cross-topped torch, stands his bride Persephone. Round them are grouped the stock denizens of their realm. To the right appear the judges of the dead—the kingly figure of Aiakos, Triptolemos wreathed with the springing corn of Eleusis\(^3\), Rhadamanthys with hoary hair and a brow furrowed by thought\(^4\). Above these is Dike, who executes their sentence. She guards with drawn sword Peirithoos; for he must remain a prisoner, though his friend Theseus, thanks to Herakles, is about to return to the upper air\(^5\). Below we see Herakles himself dragging a three-

1 The Orphic character of this and similar vases from south Italy was justly emphasised by Harrison Proleg. Gk. Rel.\(^2\) p. 599 ff. (‘Orphic Vases of Lower Italy’). See, however, the discussion of the point by E. Kuhnert ‘Unteritalische Nekyien’ in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1893 vii. 104—113, A. Milchhöfer ‘Orphisch’Unterweltliches’ in Philologus 1894 iii. 385—399, E. Kuhnert ‘Orpheus in der Unterwelt’ in Philologus 1898 liv. 193—204, and W. K. C. Guthrie Orpheus and Greek Religion London (1925) pp. 187—191.


3 Supra p. 299 n. 7.

4 The three judges of this vase have been variously identified:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tantalus</th>
<th>Cronos</th>
<th>Rhadamanthys (A. L. Millin op. cit. p. 22 f.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lyceus</td>
<td>Kronos</td>
<td>Rhadamanth (F. Creuzer in the Heidelbergerische Jahrbühren der Litteratur 1817 ii. 798)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tantalos</td>
<td>Crono</td>
<td>Radamanth (Inghirami op. cit. iv. 124 f.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhadamanths</td>
<td>Kronos</td>
<td>Minos (E. Gerhard in the Arch. Zeit. 1843 i. 202)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhadamanths</td>
<td>Aekos</td>
<td>Minos (C. O. Müller op. cit. i. 55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minos</td>
<td>Aikos</td>
<td>Radhmanths (A. Winkler Die Darstellungen der Unterwelt auf unteritalischen Vasen Breslau 1888 pp. 16, 25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minos</td>
<td>Triptolemos</td>
<td>Radhmanths (Harrison op. cit. p. cxlv i.f.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aiakos</td>
<td>Triptolemos</td>
<td>Radhmanths (Furtwängler—Reichhold op. cit. i. 48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eaco</td>
<td>Triptolemos</td>
<td>Radamanth (P. Ducati op. cit. ii. 458).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An analogous group on the vase from Altamura (Heydemann Vasensamml. Neapel p. 510 ff. no. 3223, infra p. 423 n. 2 (3)) is inscribed ΤΡΙΟΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ, ΑΙΑΚΟΣ, [PΑΔA]ΜΑΝΟΥΣ. The only reasonable doubt is, therefore, whether on our vase the series should be called A + T + R or R + T + A. I have followed Furtwängler and Ducati, though with some hesitation.


W. Deonna ‘Thésée assis aux Enfers’ in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1931 xlv. 361—367 studies the
Krater from Canosa, now at Munich:
Orpheus leads a family of initiates into the presence of Hades and Persephone, whose palace is surrounded by the stock denizens of the Underworld.

[From Furtwängler-Reichhold Griechische Vasenmalerei pl. 16 by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.G. Munich.]
head1 Kerberos away from Hekate and her torches towards some
folk-lore motif of the immobilised hero and thinks that it may have originated in dream-
phenomena [cp. II. 23. 199 f.] ultimately occasioned by paralysing fear.
1 Both in literature and in art there was a natural tendency to make the monster more
monstrous still. Heads could always be multiplied, and tails turned into snakes. It must,
however, be borne in mind that a dog with fifty or a hundred heads could hardly be
visualised unless, as Acr. and Porphyry. in Hor. od. 2. 13. 34 long since suggested, the
heads were those of snakes. Similarly J. P. Postgate in his preface to M. Bréal Seman
that such polycephalismon connotes a frill of serpentine heads, like those of Typhoeus
(J. Schmidt in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 1429 f.) or the Hydra (Bolte in Pauly—Wissowa
Real-Enc. ix. 45 f.).
Hes. theog. 767 ff. gives the dread hound of the under-world god a tail and two
cars, presumably therefore one head. But the same author (according to F. Jacoby ed.
Bergolini 1930 p. 87, a rhapsoide of v. vii—vii) ib. 310 ff. describes ravening Kerberos, the
bronce-voiced hound of Hades, as fifty-headed. Hor. od. 2. 13. 34 f., perhaps in imitation of
Findli. frag. 249 Bergk4 ap. schol. A.B.V. 7. 8. 368 (though schol. Hes. theog. 311
suggests some confusion with the Typhon of Findli. Pyth. 1. 16 or the Typhon of Findli.
frag. 93 Bergk4 ap. Strab. 637), makes him a beast with black cars and a hundred heads.
Aristophanes more than once paints Kleon as a Kerberos (eq. 1017, 1030, pa. 313) whose
head was fringed by a hundred flatterers with flickering tongues (vesp. 1079 ff. = pax 75 f. ff.).
Hor. od. 2. 19. 29 ff. mentions Kerberos' tail and his 'three-tongued mouth,' trilinguis | ore
—a curious phrase, which does not mean (as A. F. Naucke supposed) a single mouth with
three tongues, or a triply forked tongue, in it, but (as J. C. Orelli—J. G. Baiter—
W. Hirschfelder urge) three mouths with a tongue in each. Horace was pleased with the
conceit, for he repeats it in od. 3. 11. 15 ff., where the hound has a hundred snakes about
his head and a 'three-tongued mouth,' ore trilinguis—again a precious description of the
1097 ff., normal in this as in so much besides, calls him 'Αἰδοὺ τρίκαρχον σκῦλον'... | δεινής
'Εχίλως θρήμα, and Eur. Hf. 24 f. βιβυχα' είς "Αἰδοὺ τόν τριώματον κόινα | εί φῶς ανάξαν,
611 καὶ θύρα τ' εί φῶς τόν τρίκαρχον φφαγον, 1277 f." Αἰδοὺ πολλάριν κόινα τρίκαρχον εί φῶς
ὅσαν πορφύραμ' follows suit. Latin writers in general settled down to the belief that
he was three-headed (Cic. Tusc. 1. 10 triceps apud inferos Cerberus, 2. 22 (in a rendering of
Sopli. loc. cit.) tricipitum...Hydra generatam canem, Verg. Aen. 6. 417 latrata...trifaciae,
Tib. 3. 4. 88 cui tres sunt linguæ tergeminumque caput, Prop. 4. 7. 52 tergeminumque
canis, Ov. trist. 4. 7. 16 tergeminumque canem, met. 10. 21 f. villosa colubris | terna
Medusae...guttura monstr., Sen. Hf. 787 ff. saecus...Stygis canis | quì trina vasto capita
(R. Peiper cf. latera) concutientes sono | regnum metur, Oed. 594 triceps...Cerberus, Sil. 11.
6. 629 tripliçes monstri, Stat. Theb. 2. 53 f. Letique triforinos | ianitor, silv. 3. 27 tergeminus
custos, Hyg. fab. 151 canis Cerberus triceps, Aug. de civ. Dei 18. 13 triceps
inferorum canis, Fulgent. myth. 1. 6 tria habere capita). Hence he was Τρικάρχως for
excellence (Loinkan. philopatr. 1, cp. pseudolog. 29). But the title Τριχάρχως, which
frequently figures in late sources (Serv. in Verg. Aen. 1. 133, Fulgent. myth. 1. 6, Myth.
Vat. 1. 92, 1. 107, 1. 108, 2. 11, 2. 154, Io. Malal. chron. 3 p. 67 Dindorf, Kedren. hist.
comp. 81 c (i. 143 Bekker), Suid. s.v. Koph, Tzetz. chil. 7. 75 f., Kosmas of Jerusalem ad
carm. Greg. Naz. index 64 (xxxviii. 676, cp. 493, Migne)), is of less certain interpretation:
the rationalists at least took it to mean merely a dog of monstrous size.
On the 'ring of Nestor,' a handsome gold signet found by a peasant in the largest
tholon-boat at Kakovatos above the Pylian Plain, Sir A. J. Evans claims to detect 'the
solitary glimpse that we possess of the Minoan Underworld, and of the admission of
43—74 figs. 47, 44, 45, 55 (= my fig. 265: scale 1), pl. 4, 2 intaglio, col. pl. 5 restoration
as fresco (!), id. The Palace of Minos London 1928 ii. 4. 482 fig. 289, 1930 iii. 145—157
figs. 94, 95, 96, 104, col. pl. 20A, S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1925 ii. 302 f. fig. 16,
Water-carrying in connexion

with the mysteries

paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Chounnos of Chandax (Candia) in Crete (F. H. Marshall Old Testament Legends from a Greek poem on Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Chounnos Cambridge 1935 p. 24 ff. 4. 71 ff. eleads de murders poor fildon eisai pro tis paraos, | ouv tis Elos eubdlevon o dros sto kalma, | eis deimai piaa loghe agma kal fragma | atoioon tis fildo denvroi, atoxulma sthiau bize, | drouxwv smereul | ouv tis filo denvroi toussarmon, | ouv euriv patermous, tis fella marxemous, | eli tis bize tou denvroi, mera tou paraosou, | kal atoioin katai epeiros or sthia badei sthia ambousou, | kal enai parakamphi elois tis parafan vou denvroi, | ouv euriv visible dixeis dixi xero, | Hard by the river-banks there rose a tree exceeding tall, | Wherewith the serpent had deceived his (sc. Seth's) mother to her fall. | Wild beasts of every tribe and kind were gathered all around, | About the roots of that high tree they conched upon the ground. | The bark had fallen to the earth o'er spun with spider's web; | The tree was dry and desolate and of all leaves was reft. | While in the midst of Paradise he looked at the tree's roots, | Down to the bottom of the abyss its fibres deep it shoots. | And lo! on the tree-top a babe, and swaddling bands he wears. | That babe incessantly did weep unmeasurable tears, | and compares for some details the Arab fable of Kalila and Dimna (of which a Greek version was made c. 1080 A.D. by Symeon Seth: K. Krumbacher Geschichte der

Fig. 266.

byzantinischen Litteratur 
Muenchen 1897 pp. 615, 617, 896) (Kalila and Dimna, or the Fables of Bidpai trans. W. Knatchbull Oxford 1819 p. 80 f. cap. 4 'I therefore compared the human race to a man, who, flying from a furious elephant, goes down into a well; he suspends himself from two branches, which are at the brink of it, whilst his feet rest upon something projecting out of its sides, which proves to be the heads of four serpents appearing out of their holes; at the bottom he discovers a dragon with its mouth open ready to swallow him if he should fall; and raising his eye towards the two branches, he sees two rats, one white and the other black, which are incessantly gnawing their stems; at the same moment his attention is arrested by the sight of a bee hive, and beginning eagerly to taste the honey, he is so taken up with its sweetness, that he forgets that his feet are resting upon the serpents, that the rats are gnawing the branches to which he is hanging, and that the dragon is ready to devour him, and thus his insconsiderateness and folly only cease with his existence,' cp. Io. Damask. (more probably a Greek monk Ioannes writing c. 600—650 A.D. in the ancient Palestinian monastery of S. Sabas; see K. Krumbacher op. cit. 2 p. 888) v. Barlaam et Josaph (xcvii. 976 a—c Migne, p. 186 ff. ed. H. Mattingly). A harvest of relevant material is garnered by U. Holmberg in the Annales Academia Scientiarum Fennica Series B xvi. 3 (*Der Baum des Lebens*) Helsinki 1927—1927 pp. 1—13 with 30 fgs. and in The Mythology of all Races: Finno-Ugrie, Siberian Boston 1927 pp. 333—360 with pl. 42 and figs. 13—15. See also supra ii. 88 n. 3.)
Fig. 267.
with the mysteries
Water-carrying in connexion

Cerberus. If so, on a ring which Evans would refer to the period ‘Late Minoan i.a’ (c. 1550–1500 B.C.) Kerberos has but a single head.

H. B. Walters in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1898 xviii. 296 f. draws up a list of 49 vases representing the subject of Herakles and Kerberos. Of these—

1 Corinthian skaphos shows Kerberos with 1 head and a frill of snakes.
2 ‘Caecean’ hydria show . . . . 3 heads and a frill of snakes.
1 Attic black-figured vase shows . . . . 3 heads.
1 Attic black-figured vase shows . . . . 2 dogs’ heads and 1 snake’s head.
3 Attic black-figured vases show . . . . 2 heads.
5 Attic red-figured vases show . . . . 2 heads.
1 Attic red-figured vase shows . . . . 1 head.
6 ‘Apulian’ vases show . . . . 3 heads.
1 relief-vase shows . . . . 3 heads.

I illustrate the main ceramic types: (1) the Corinthian skaphos from Argos (A. Conze in the Arch. Zeit. 1859 xvii. 34 f. pl. 128, 28 (half of which = my fig. 166), 36, 3 = Reimach Rép. Vases i. 389, 1, 2, 5. A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2105, O. Immisch ib. ii. 1121 with fig. 1. Hades, threatened with a stone by Herakles, springs up from his throne in alarm and leaves Persephone to face the intruder, whom Hermes has conducted in safety past the entrance of the underground palace and its ravening watch-dog). (2) a ‘Caecean’ hydria (E. Pottier Vases anciens du Louvre 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 66 no. E 701, A. Conze in the Ann. d. Inst. 1859 xxxi. 398 ff., Mon. d. Inst. vi pl. 36 (= my fig. 467) = Reimach Rép. Vases i. 153, 3. F. Dürrbach in Darmerg-Saggio Dict. Ant. iii. 98 fig. 3771. Herakles brings Kerberos to Eurystheus, who takes refuge in his pithos). (3) an Attic black-figured amphora from Argina, now in the British Museum (H. B. Walters in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1898 xviii. 293 ff. fig. 6 (= my fig. 268). Herakles, escorted by Hermes, drags Kerberos from the palace of Persephone. The monster has 2 heads, a leonine mane, and a snaky tail). (4) the ‘Apulian’ krater from Canosa (supra pl. xxvii).

On coins there is a like variation. An electrum stater of Kyzikos, struck c. 450–400 B.C. shows two heads, with a collar round either neck, and a snaky tail (B. V. Head in the Num. Chron. New Series 1876 xvi. 384 pl. 8, 24, W. Greenwell ‘The electrum coinage of Cyzicus’ ib. Third Series 1887 vii. 116 f. no. 141 pl. 6, 3. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia p. 31 pl. 8, 2 (= my fig. 269). Babelon Monn. gr. rom. iii. 2. 1443 f. (wrongly described) pl. 176, 8 (cp. ib. 9 a similar klete at Paris), Head Hist. num.2 p. 525). A unique silver drachme (?) of some Etruscan town, now in the British Museum, has for reverse design a three-headed hound with a snaky tail (F. Bompouis ‘Drachme inédite frappée dans l’Étrurie’ in the Rev. Arch. 1879 ii. 28–38 with fig., Garrucci Mon. It. ant. p. 49 f. pl. 71, 30 (= my fig. 270). Sambon Monn. ant. It. i. pl. 1, 21, Head Hist. num. p. 15). Bronze coins of Italy inscribed RVB and possibly issued by the gens Rubria (J. Millingen Considérations sur la numismatique de l’antique Italie Florence 1841 p. 233, Imhoof-Blumer Monn. gr. p. 13 no. 50) have RVB bearded head of Hercules with club, rev. three-headed Kerberos (Garrucci Mon. It. ant. p. 59 pl. 77, 1 and 2 (= my fig. 271). Babelon Cat. Monn. gr. de Luynes i. 6 no. 18 pl. 1). Similarly bronze coins of Capua have RVB, beardless head of Hercules with club, rev. three-headed Kerberos (Garrucci Mon. It. ant. p. 88 pl. 86, 28, Head Hist. num. p. 35). At Sebastopolis in Pontos, a town so devoted to Herakles that it was also known as Herakleopolis (W. Ruge in Paul—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii A. 966), Caracalla struck a bronze piece with rev. Herakles, wearing lion-skin and grasping club, as he drives after him a three-headed Kerberos (Imhoof-Blumer Gr. Münzen p. 57 no. 68 pl. 5, 4 Berlin, Waddington—Babelon—Reimach Monn. gr. d’As. Min. i. 104 no. 15 pl. 15, 3 (= my fig. 272) Berlin). Other renderings of the same scene on bronze coins of Germe (Head Hist. num. p. 658) and Saitai in Lydia (Imhoof-Blumer Kleinasi. Münzen i. 182 no. 1 pl. 6, 14). See further Rasche Lex. Num. ii. 477 f. Suppl. i. 1738 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 454 f., F. Gnech in the Rivista italiana di numismatica e scienze affini 1916 xxix. 38 (‘Cerbero’).

The variation in gem-types is even greater. A cornelian scarab in the British
Museum, early Ionic rather than Etruscan in character (A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2212 fig.), shows Herakles carrying off the Delphic tripod: the hero is accompanied by Kerberos, a hound with a single head, snakes starting from his back, and a snaky tail (Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems² p. 75 no. 670 pl. 11, Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i. pl. 8, 9, ii. 38, Lippold Gemmen pl. 38, 33 p. 173 (Archaisch italisch-griechisch)). My fig. 273 is after Lippold: scale 3. A cornelian scarab of late Etruscan style, formerly in the Durand collection, gives the hound three heads (E. Braun in the Bull. d. Inst. 1839 p. 103 no. 38, Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i. pl. 18, 49 (= my fig. 274: scale 3), ii. 90, Lippold Gemmen pl. 83, 6 p. 180). Another Etruscan scarab, of the same material and style, now at Berlin, shows the three heads facing, not in profile (Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums Leipzig

Fig. 269.

Fig. 270.

Fig. 271.

Fig. 272.

Fig. 273.

Fig. 274.

Fig. 275.

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(= my fig. 278: scale 3) and a jasper of like kind in the British Museum (Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums Leipzig 1889 p. 151 pl. 25, 35 (= my fig. 279: scale 3)) figure him with a canine body, but three serpentine heads.

It would thus appear that Kerberos started with one head, and that in Attic art he normally has two, but that in old Ionic art he had already acquired three, and that this threefold type ultimately prevailed. J. P. Postgate in M. Bréal Semanties trans. Mrs H. Cust London 1900 p. xx ff. rightly insists on his snaky adjuncts (for which see especially O. Immisch in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1133 (citing Hekataios, frag. 346 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 27 Müller) = frag. 27 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 14 Jacoby) ap. Paus. 3. 25. 5 'Ekataios mēn ὁ Μιλήσιος λόγον εὑρεν εἰκότα, δεδομένος ἐν τῇ Ταυράμε τραφήνας δεινώς, κληθήθη ὅτι Ἅιδος κόνα, ὅτι ἐδει τὸν δικαίωτα τεθνάω παρανόητα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀοτῶν καὶ τὸν ψυχήν ὑπὸ Ἰρακλείου ἄχθηνα παρ' Ἐδοροῦ) and S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 274).

Fig. 276.

Fig. 277.

Fig. 278.

Fig. 279.

but ib. p. xxiv wrongly explains his double and treble heads ('Let us hazard a conjecture. May not the double head of the κόνα Ἅιδου, the ἱμίτωρ Ορκί, whose duty it was to keep the threshold of the lower world from being trespassed on from either side, be compared to the double aspect of the god of the doorway, upon which his triple head is a later refinement to symbolize the τρίφθος or forking of the ways, the one leading to Elysium and the other to Tartarus [Plat. Gorg. 524 A]?)'. We should rather conceive of the duplication and triplication as early efforts at multiplication, implying intensified power to watch and to bite.

Single, double, and treble heads are found again in the case of Orthos or Orthos, the hound of Geryones (O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1217 f.), who had the same mother as Kerberos, τις. Echidna (ib. ib. iii. 1314), and appears in fact to have been his doublet.

At this point we must note the ingenious view of M. Bloomsfield 'The Two Dogs of Yama in a New Rôle' in the Journal of the American Oriental Society 1893 xv. 163—172,
with the mysteries

id. Cerberus, The Dog of Hades Chicago 1906 pp. 1—41, id. in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1910 iii. 316—318. This eminent philologist revived an idea originally put forward by F. Wilford in Asiatic Researches London 1799 iii. 408 ff. (‘Yama, the regent of hell, has two dogs, according to the Purémas, one of them, named Cerberus and Sabala, or varied; the other Śyāma, or black; the first of whom is also called Triitrus, or with three heads, and has the additional epithets of Calyndika, Chitra, and Cimira, all signifying named, or spotted: ... the Cerberus of the Hindus is indubitably the Cerberus of the Greeks’) and later supported by numerous scholars including A. Kuhn (in the Zeitschrift für deutsche Alterthum 1848 vi. 125 ff. (equating Śrāmeyas with Ḫepesas, Ḫeṣu) and ‘Namen der milchstrasse und des höhlenhunds’ in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1854 ii. 311 ff. (accepting A. Weber’s śyāma and ēbala, karvari = kēbēseros), F. Max Müller (in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 14 April 1848 (Kerberos = kara = ‘night’)), id. in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1856 v. 149 ff. id. Chips from a German Workshop London 1868 ii. 185 ff. id. The Science of Language London 1891 ii. 595 (‘Kerberos and Orthros’), id. Contributions to the Science of Mythology London 1897 ii. 677 ff. (‘Kerberos’), A. Weber (Indische Studien Berlin 1883 ii. 295 ff. (śyāma = ‘checkick’ and ēbala = ‘schwartz’, later ēbala, glossed kara = kēbēseros), id. The History of Indian Literature trans. J. Mann and T. Zachariae London 1878 p. 35 (Sabala = kēbēseros), id. in the Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin 1885 p. 848 ff. (ēbala = kēbēseros), M. Bréal (Hercule et Cacus Paris 1863 p. 132 ff. (accepting A. Kuhn’s dog Śrāmeyas = the god Ḫepesas, Ḫeṣu and A. Weber’s ēbala = kēbēseros)). Gruppe Cult. Myth. orient. Rei. i. 114 summarises their case thus. In a prayer interpolated into the earliest collection of Veda and in several of the more recent Vedic poems (see especially Rig-Veda 10. 14. 10—12) Yama is invoked to protect the deceased from the two spotted four-eyed dogs of Sarama, watch that with wide nostrils and raving mouths roam the world as dark messengers of death. These dogs in the Rig-Veda have no names, but in later Indian writings are called respectively śyāma ‘the Black’ and ēbala ‘the Motley’—epithets presumably drawn from the aforesaid passages of the Rig-Veda. The dictionary of Amara [Amarasipha Amaraabhuda] gives also karvari, ēbala as meaning ‘dappled’, and this according to Kuhn was the form of which ēbala arose. Karvari, ēbala is to be compared with kēbēseros. See further Monier Williams A Sanskrit-English Dictionary Oxford 1873 p. 295 (Śrāmeyas = kēbēseros). J. van den Gheyn Cerbēre. Étude de mythologie comparée Bruxelles 1893, E. W. Hopkins The Religions of India Boston etc. 1893 p. 132 n. 3 (Kēbēseros = (Śrāmeyas = ēbala), Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rei. p. 408 (‘Kerberos, der “Bleiche,” cp. Hebr. אֲרֹן. κ᾿ ἱπάτωρ. tāράρως ἄρσις. καὶ χῶν μέγας ἄρσου (τραύραρος). Doubts are expressed by H. Oldenberg La religion du Veda Paris 1903 p. 259 n. 3. Rohde Psyché ii. 366 n. 6. A. A. Macdonell Vedic Mythology Strassburg 1897 p. 173. J. P. Postgate in the Class. Rev. 1905 xix. 417, Schrader Reallex. ii. 561 (‘Jedenfalls haben sich alle sprachlichen Gleichungen wie griech. Kēbēseros = scrt. ēbala, ēbala- (Beiname eines indischen Totenhunds), griech. Tērāpēs = scrt. tābala- (später Name einer bestimmten Hölle), griech. Ḫepesas = scrt. śrāmeyas (von den Hunden der indischen Totenwelt gesagt), griech. Mērōs = scrt. mānu- u. a., von denen man früher auf das Bestehen derartiger und zwar schon sehr ausgebildeter idg. Toten- und Höllenreiche geschlossen hat, als hinfällig erwiesen’).

Uncertainties abound; but on the whole I incline to accept as probable the following conclusions: (1) The two hell-hounds of Yama, at first nameless, then called śyāma ‘Black’ and ēbala ‘Motley’ (cp. ēbala = dappled, dark’), came to be viewed as Night and Day respectively, and even as Moon and Sun (F. Max Müller Contributions to the Science of Mythology London 1897 ii. 618 ff. ‘Thus in the Kāthaka-samhitā xvii. 14, it is simply stated that the two dogs of Yama were day and night. And in the Kāth.-brāhmaṇa we read: “Sabala, the speckled, is the day, Śyāma, the dark, is the night.”... Sometimes these two dogs represent not only day and night, but even sun and moon.... Thus we read in Ath.-veda vi. 80—‘He (the sun) flies through the air, looking down upon all beings, we desire to do homage with havis to thee (who art) the majesty of the heavenly dog.’...
But the moon also was called the heavenly dog. In Sat.-br. xi, 1, 5, 1, we read: "He (the moon) is the heavenly dog; he watches the animals of the sacrifice." See further M. Bloomfield in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1910 iii. 317-8." (2) The name Κέρκερος is akin to κίτρων 'dappled, dark.' But we can hardly suppose that Kerberos and Orthros formed an original pair resembling the dogs of Yama. And that for two reasons. In the first place, Kerberos and Orthros belong to different myths, and are brought together only by a pedigree-making rhapsodie of the seventh or even sixth century B.C. (Hes. theog. 306 ff. 'Ορθὼν μὲν πρῶτον κύων γενεάτα γηρωσάτη... διότερον ἂντις ἐπεκτενὶ ἀμφίκειν, οὗ τὸ φατασὶ Κέρκερος ἁμησυτά... Δίδυμον κύων χαλκεόφων, τ. e. l. with the comments of F. Jacoby ed. 1930 p. 87). In the second place, if Kerberos corresponds with Oralna (ep. ὢδροσα), he ought to be the dog of daylight. And, if Orthros is analogous to Κυλίμα, he should be the dog of darkness. But, of the two, Kerberos is the more suggestive of darkness, and Orthros of dawn. Accordingly I infer that the Greeks had but one hell-hound—Kerberos, of whom Orthros or Orthos was a mere variant or doublet.

Kerberos is still remembered by the peasants. At Koliomera, a village in Zakynthos, B. Schmidt *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* Leipzig 1877 pp. 178 ff., 266 f. heard a song containing a graphic description of the three-headed hound that keeps guard over the dead (no. 39-13 ff. Charon σαλατά ἐκόμοι γάτα, τ' οὐδοὺς μας μάς φιλεῖς, καὶ ἄπνες μὲ ἑξῆ, τραίρεσαι καὶ θέλει τὰ μὲ φῶς. ἐναί σκούλω τράβερα, ποῦ καλεῖ τὰ φωτά, ἐχει τὰ νύχια πουντερά καὶ τὴν ώμα μαφρα. ἐφ' ἀκίνητα φτερά τα μάτια του, ἀπὸ τὸ στόμα λάβαρα, ἢ γλώσσα του είναι μαφρα, τὰ δόστια του είναι μαφρα. καὶ ἄντε πετείει, τὰ δόστια του τ' ἐνα μὲ τ' ἄλλο σκάνε, καὶ σαλατά εκεί κατά φάρος ποῦ πελαίων. Schmidt's suspicion that this song was not an 'echtes Volkslied' (id. *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 245 n. 2) is countered by J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 99 f., who notes (a) that in a folk-tale from Zakynthos the hero, enamoured of the Mistress of Earth and Sea (τῆς κυρίας τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης), has to obtain the skin of the three-headed snake and the crest (?) (τὸ κόκκαλο, literally 'bone') that it wears on its heads (B. Schmidt *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* pp. 79 ff., 227 no. 7 'Die Herrin über Erde und Meer' translation of an unpublished text, J. C. Lawson op. cit. pp. 91 ff. summary and identification of ἓρα δισυνων with Demeter, 99 'This is Kerberos without doubt; and if the story calls him "serpent" rather than "dog," ancient mythology and art alike in part the description'); (b) that in an Albanian tale from Riper the hero, who descends into the Underworld to get a golden hair from the Beauty of the Earth, finds her guarded by a three-headed hound that sleeps neither by day nor by night (J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 112 ff., 310 no. 97 'Das Haar der Schöneneder Erde' translation of an unpublished text, J. C. Lawson op. cit. p. 97 "the beautiful one of the earth...can be none other than Persephone"); (c) that a traveller in Makedonia, tette G. F. Abbott, heard recently of a three-headed dog belonging to Charos (J. C. Lawson op. cit. p. 100). Further, B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* i. 245 n. 2 observes: 'ebenso kennen die Romänen einen Höllehund (vgl. Schuller Volkstümml. Glaube und Brauch I, 13, Anm. 41). Der Name des Kerberos selbst kommt vor bei Georgillias Θαρσύς τῆς Ρέθου v. 213 Wagn., eine Stelle, die mir übrigens nicht recht verständlich ist (E. Georgillias τὸ θαρσύτικα τῆς Ρέθου (Oct. 1498 A.D.) 210 f. (W. Wagner *Carmina Graeca medii aevi Lipsiae 1874 p. 39) πάλαι στή ζῆς αριστοσ τῆς Ρέθου)... άνδρας τὸ τι χιλιάδας καὶ κάθες εἶπον— ἢ ἄλλης ἀναβράζων καὶ κάθες εἶπον— ἢ μᾶλλα διὰ τοῦ ἀπόθεμα, ἢ καὶ σκεύασμα τοῦ ἀποθείμα, ἢ καὶ σκεύασμα τοῦ τρομαχίαν, εἴρων εἰς τὸν Κέρκερον αυτονομοβιβάζων, πρόσωπον εἰς νεομακρύν, корұн καὶ διὰς πρόκαμ, μετὰ γιγάντων πρῶτον σου, τα ὡμά διὰ σῶν γράμματα, τα εὐρομακρύν καὶ κάλλη σου τα ὡμά βασιλεί σου, κράτων παιδού ἀρματα καὶ με τὰ δράτα σου). Endlich sei noch an ein Lied bei Passow n. 467 b erinnert, das ich indessen auch nicht für ein wahres Volkslied halte, wo v. 16 die Wörter Στήνη κλᾶσαν ἐπάνεις (?) ἢ σεβάς την ψυχή της schwerlich anders als auf den Höllehund bezogen werden können (vgl. Passow Ind. Verb. p. 633 u. σέβας ['canis Tartarli'], wiewohl die Art seiner Erwähnung seltsam genug ist [A. Passow *Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* Lipsiae 1869 p. 350 no. 467 b ὂν ἄναστατος ἄγιος (after

S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 274 f. thinks that the conception of the soul of the dead as a hound (e.g., Pythagoras in Xenophanes frag. 7 Diels ap. Diog. Laert. 8. 36) had deep and wide-spread roots on Greek soil. He cites in this connexion, not only Hekate [Σκυλάκια (Orph. h. Hek. 1. 3), cp. Artemis Σκυλακίτης (Orph. h. Artem. 36. 12): see further B. Kock in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 6. 619] and Skywalker [Quint. Smyrn. 10. 147 f. tells how Skywalker, returning alone from the Trojan war to Lykia, was stoned by the mothers and wives of his comrades, how his hair adjoined the precinct and tomb of Bellerophontes at Tlos, and how at the behest of Apollon he was later a god. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 804 n. 3 assumes an ‘Apollo Skywalker’], but also the Cretan Zeus Σκυλλός [Steph. Byz. s.v. Σκύλλος, ὡς Κρυφάς οἱ παρακολουθεῖ Σκυλλός Σκυλλός γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸ τιμᾶται, ἑαυτὸν ἐποδέχεται τὸν Κοῦρης μετὰ τῶν τίμιας τῶν Δίας. Salmasius’ cf. Korebathen may be right, pace Lobbeck Aglaophamus ii. 1146 f. who defends Σκυλλοτάτων = Σκυλλότων. Zeus Σκύλλος is invoked by one with the Ζεὺς Σκύλλος invoked by Gortyna, Hierapytina, and Prinansos [supra ii. 723 n. 0] and the Coan Dionysos Σκυλλτάς [W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks The Inscriptions of Cos Oxford 1891 p. 77 ff. no. 37, 45 f., 58 f., 63 = P. Müller in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial. Inscr. iii. 1. 357 ff. no. 3636, 45 f., 58 f., 63 = J. de Pott Leges Graecorum sacræ Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 19 ff. no. 5, 45 ff., 58 f., 63 = Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 716, 45 f., 58 f., 63 = Dittenberger Syll. Inscr. Gr. 3 no. 1075 (ritual calendar of c. 300 B.C.), 45 f. Διονύσως [Σκύλτας] χοῖρος καὶ θρόφος, 58 f. Διονύσως Σκυλλτάς χοῖρος [καὶ] [Ἀρείφος, 63 [Διονύσως] Σκυλλτάς [χοῖρος καὶ θρόφος]]. J. N. Svoronos too in the Βιβλ. Ἀρχ. 1893 pp. 3—8 (‘Zeus ὑπὸ τὸν χοῖρον τρεφόμενον’) pl. 1 f. ff. and in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894 xviii. 116 would relate Zeus Σκύλλος to σκύδα, σκάλα, contending that coins of Kydonia (id. Numismatique de la Crète ancienne Mácon 1890 i. 104 pl. 9. 22—26, 107 pl. 10, 2, 109 pl. 10, 111 f. pl. 10, 12—14, 21, 26,
Water-carrying in connexion

with the mysteries


Fig. 284.

Fig. 285.

Fig. 286.

nos. 18—20 pl. 120, 13—15, G. F. Hill Historical Roman Coins London 1909 p. 126 ff. no. 79 pl. 13. Fig. 286 is from a specimen in my collection. It should be noted that other tetradrachms of Akragas replace Skylla by a large fish (Head Hist. num. 2 p. 121. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller op. cit. p. 44 pl. 7, 3, after E. v. Martens, say 'Polyprion cernium, ital. cernia' [our 'stone-bass']). S. W. Grose McLean Cat. Coins i. 239 pl. 65, 14, after Sir A. E. Shipley, says 'a Gurnard, Genus Trigla') perhaps called σκόλλας or σκόλλα (7), but not to be confused with the σκόλλων or 'dog-fish' (H. Bonitz Index Aristotelicus p. 686 a 37 ff.), and that the 'Campanian' hydria attaches to her the head of this fish in lieu of a
exit pointed out to him by Hermes. On the left Sisyphos, lashed
by an Eriny, vainly pushes his great stone up a hill. On the right
Tantalos suffers perpetual terrors on account of an overhanging
rock, which threatens to crush him. At their feet flows the river
Acheron, with a duck pecking here and there and asphodel growing
dog's head). Indeed, it is not impossible that Σκέλα ab initio meant 'Dog' (O. Waser in
Hesych. s.v. κέλαλα: κέλαλα (so I. Voss for κέλλας. κέλας cod.). 'Πελέας και κέλλας τῆς
κόσμου λησμονεῖ, et. mag. p. 720, 19 s. κέλλας: κυρίως ἐπὶ κυνὸς κογγαρόν· ἀντὶ τῶν ἄνυχων
ἐκ τῶν διακεραίων, κέλαλα τὶς ὅπων. 'Προὶς Ζωνάρ. lex. s.v. κέλλας = Favorin. lex. p. 1663,
18 ff. (reading, rightly, κέλαλα τὶς ὅπων) and Tzetz. chil. 6. 482 τῷ δὲ Κανθάλαις Λινδηκῶν
tῶν αὐτονικίτωρ λέγει μετάχει σχολ. ad loc. in Cramer anec. Oxon. iii. 351, 8 ff. citing
Hippox. frug. 4. Diehl, 45 Knox Αράχ κυνάγχα Μνωμερίνι Κανθάλα (cited also by Tetz.

Fig. 287.

in II. p. 843 Bachmann)), and that as a mythical monster she was 'eine Aburt des
Totenhundes' (Pfister Rel. Gr. Köln. 1930 p. 166). Be that as it may, E. Maass in Hermes
1891 xxxvi. 188 derives Dionysos Σκελλαριας from skedala 'die Hunde, besonders die
Schunde, von denen die griechischen Gewässer wimmelten,' cp. W. Aly in Philologus
1909 lxviii. 430 n. 8. But that Ζεσσ Σκελλαρια had anything to do with dogs is at best
a remote possibility. And Dionysos Σκελλαριας is explained with far greater probability by
W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks The Inscriptions of Cai Oxford 1891 p. 86, H. Dilberth
quote Hesych. κέλαλα: κέλαλως = Favorin. lex. p. 1663, 18.

1 The literary evidence for Tantalos is most fully collected by J. E. Hyllén De Tantalō
Upsala 1896 pp. 1—129. But the best survey of all our sources is that given by W. Scheuer
in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 75—86. See also E. Thrasemus Pergamos Leipzig 1888 pp.
84—99 ('Tantalos'), S. Reimach in the Rev. Arch. 1923 i. 172—177 (=id. Cultus, mythet
A Handbook of Greek Mythology London 1928 pp. 81, 97 (slight).

It is within the bounds of possibility that Tantalos began his career as an actual man.
G. Poisson 'Tantale, roi des Hiittites' in the Rev. Arch. 1923 ii. 75—94 seeks to identify him
with Todhalajas (S. A. Cook in The Cambridge Ancient History Cambridge 1923 i. 236: 'The
name of Tidal of Goitim ('peoples, hordes') [Gen. 14: 1. 9] may be the Hiittite Dudhkhali,
known In the thirteenth century'), and R. J. H. Jenkins, accepting Poisson's identifica-
tion, urges that Pelops son of Tantalos may well have been an Achaean prince of the East-Achaean empire, who as a Hittite vassal would be called the 'son,' i.e. the servant, of the great Hittite king.

Tantalos' grave was shown in two localities, both Hittite centres. He had a shrine at Polion in Lesbos (Steph. Byz. s.v. Πόλις, ἐν Δέσποι τόπος, ἐν τῳ ἵρῳ Ταντάλῳ), where a mountain bore his name (Steph. Byz. s.v. Τάνταλος, ἄρος Δέσποι, ἄντων Ταντάλος). The mountain has not been identified with certainty (L. Bürchener in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 2116), but is probably the height near Cape Plagias on which stands the modern Polis (id. ib. xii. 2131), despite the reported absence of ancient remains (A. Conze Reise auf der Insel Lesbos Hannover 1865 p. 50 pl. 1 map). Again, Tantalos had a famous grave on Mt Sipylos in Lydia. In view of Paus. 2. 22. 3 τοῦ δὲ λεγομένου Δίδω τε ἄναυ καὶ Πλοτοῦσ (πλοτοὺς cod. M. λεγούν codd. Vab. M. L. R. Pa., the last two with πλοτοῦς in marg. Supra i. 156 n. 13) ἰδών οὖν ἐν Σίπυλῳ πάφων θεᾶς δίοιμον and 5. 13. 7 Πέλεσως δὲ καὶ Ταντάλων τῆς παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἔνθρακες σημαία ἐτι καὶ ἐν τόθε λείπεται, Ταντάλων μὲν λαμψ τε ἄτρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καλομένη (cp. 8. 17. 3) καὶ οὐκ ἄφωνη τάφος, Πελεσως δὲ ἐν Σίπυλῳ μὲν θρόνος κ.τ.λ. (supra i. 137 ff., ii. 956 n. 2) Harrison Proleg. Gk. Rel. 2 p. 607 justly concludes: 'Tantalus is a real king, with a real grave. Pausanias...mentions no cult, but a grave so noteworthy would not be left untended.' It must also be remembered that the bones preserved in a bronze cista (?) close to the tomb of Pelasgos in the precinct of Demeter Pelasgy at Argos were by some taken to be those of Tantalos (supra ii. 1144 n. 2). P. Friedlaender Argolica Berolini 1905 p. 74 with p. 17 holds that Tantalos was originally connected with Lesbos, later located 'a poeta aliquo' on Sipylos, and never had any substantial existence in the Peloponnese.

Tantalos in Greek times became almost a doublet of Atlas (F. Creuzer Symbolik und Mythologie Leipzig and Darmstadt 1836 i. 9 'einem Atlas des Morgenlandes,' G. Dumézil Le festin d'immortalité Paris 1924 p. 91 'Atlas, où l'on a depuis longtemps deviné un doublet de Tantalo,' cp. ib. p. 131, J. Karst Die vorgeschichtlichen Mittelmeeerlander Heidelberg 1931 p. 433 'Der 'Phryger-Lyder' Tantalos ist eine Doppelfigur des herapischen Atlas.' How this happened is far from clear. Conceivably the Lesbian mountain Tantalos was locally regarded as a sky-pillar, and the place Polion mistakenly connected with ρόδος, the 'sky.' If so, Tantalos supporting Polion might be suggestive of Atlas bearing his pílos (Aisch. P.x. 430. Eur. frag. 294 Nauck 2 [Kritias frag. 18 Diels] ap. Clem. Al. Strom. 5. 6 p. 350. 13 Stählin and schol. Aristoph. av. 179=Soud. s.v. πόλος, Ov. Fast. 5. 180). A parallel is afforded by Tanagra: here was a tomb of Orion, a Mr Kerykon on which Hermes was born, and a place called Polos where Atlas sat to ponder the things under the earth and the things in heaven—Atlas ὁ τε θαλάσσης ὁ τὰρπας βρέθηκα ἑκάτερον, ἔξω δὲ τε κίνουσα αὐτός ἡ μακρόν αἵ θαλάσσης ἐς ἄνθρωπον ἐξερχόμενον (Paus. 9. 20. 3 citing Od. 1. 52 ff.). Another reason likely to assimilate Tantalos to Atlas is that both names were of kindred significance (W. Scheuer in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 82 'Τανταλός wird allgemein gestellt zu den Wurzeln ταλ-, ταλ-, ταλ-, deren Grundbedeutung 'heben, aufheben, tragen' ist. Also ist der Name herzuleiten von ταλαοω=ρηκεια 'tragen'; ταλ- ist zur Intensivform redupliziert worden. Demnach lautete die Form ursprünglich Τάλαος 'der Träger' (nicht 'der viel Duldende', sondern wohl eher 'der das Himmelsgewölbe Stützende'...), wobei dann das erste λ durch Assimilation an Dentele (τ, θ) zu ν geworden ist... Zu Τανταλός gehört etymologisch auch der Heros 'Aθλος (a intensivum und der Stamm ταλ-), also 'der schwer Tragende.'') C. A. Fick Die Griechischen Personenennamen Götingen 1894 p. 410, Boisacq Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr. p. 938, Walde—Pokorny Vergl. Wörterb. d. indo german. Spr. i. 739).

Accordingly, Euripides tells how 'Tantalus, the reputed son of Zeus, hangs suspended in mid air, quailing at the crag which looms above his head' (Or. 5 ff. trans. E. P. Coleridge), and makes Elektra sigh 'Oh! to reach that rock which hangs suspended midway 'twixt earth and heaven, that fragment from Olympus torn, which swings on chains of gold in ceaseless revolution, that I may utter my lament to Tantalus my forefather, who begat the ancestors of my house' (Or. 982 ff. trans. E. P. Coleridge). The schol. Pind. Ol. 1. 91a (p. 38, 6 ff. Drachmann) claims that in these passages Euripides,
Water-carrying in connexion

on either bank. In sharp contrast with these doleful surroundings is a group of three persons approaching the palace. They are not mythical characters at all, but just a typical human family—father, mother, and child. The father sets a myrtle-wreath on his brow as disciple of Anaxagoras, is referring to the sun, and the schol. A.B.M.I. Eur. Or. 981 agrees with him. That may be so (Diog. Laer. 2. 8 οὐ καί ἐνεικόμεθα τον ἡλιόν μέσῳ εἶναι διάφως καὶ μείζων τῆς πλευρικῆς: οἱ δὲ φασί Τάνταλος, ἦν τὸν τοι Ανασάγοραν εἰκότως ὡς ὅτι ἡ ὄραμας ἐκ λίθων αναγκαία: τῇ σφοδρῇ δὲ περικυκάς αυτητέως καὶ ἀνεθέσαι κατενεχθήσατα, κ.τ.λ., cp. Ioseph. c. Ap. 2. 365, Harpocr. s. v. 'Ανασάγορας, Plout. de plac. phil. 2. 20 and Stob. ecl. 1. 25. 31 p. 209, 21 ff. Wachsmuth = H. Diels Dazographi Gracci Berolini 1879 p. 349 a 6 f., b 6 f., Olympiod. in Aristot. meteor. p. 17, 19 ff. Stüve). In any case, the notion of Tantalus terrified by the rock about to fall is a moralising version of Tantalus as supporter of the sky and involves the old-world dread of a collapsing heaven (supra ii. 54 f.). Morality bulks bigger still in John Bunyan's allegory of Christian under Mount Sinai. Nomn. Dion. 18. 32 Τάνταλος ἰχνοφόρος (the Count de Marcellus wrongly accepted C. F. Graebe's c. ἱστορικὴν) and 35. 295 f. ᾠδὴ ἄρτης | Τάνταλος ἰχνοφόρος is trying by means of a single allusive epithet to recall both Pind. Ol. 1. 58 ἐβρροσον万吨 ἅλατει and Eur. Or. 7 ἀρά τοῦτο. The epithet is of course modelled on Homer's ἱχνοφόρας Ἐρυθρός (II. 9. 571, 19. 87).

The change from the world above to the world below probably hangs together with the conception of Tantalus as a Giant or Titan (M. Mayer Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst Berlin 1887 p. 88 f., Gruppe Gr. Myth. Kel. pp. 277; 434 n. 7, W. Schaefer in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 78, H. J. Rose A Handbook of Greek Mythology London 1928 p. 97 n. 13). As such, he was buried beneath Mt Sipylos (J. E. Hylén De Tantalos Uppsala 1866 pp. 44 ff., 54), and S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1903 i. 173 ff. (= id. Cultes, mythes et religions Paris 1906 ii. 177 ff.) explains the Homeric description of Tantalos agonising among the shades (Od. 11. 583 ff.) by reference to local conditions (Demokles of Pygela or Phygela (i. v. or iv. B.C.) frag. i (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 20 Müller) cited by Demetrius of Skepsis (i. ii B.C.) ap. Strab. 58 μνηστεύεται ἵπτα ταῦτα τῶν ὑπὸ Δημοκλῶν λεγομένων, συγκοπᾶ τειν μεγάλοι τοῖς μὲν πάλαι περὶ Λιδίας γεγομένων καὶ ἑαυτίαν μέχρι τῆς Τραϊάνος ἀναγραφότας, ὡς ὅν καὶ καίμα κατεπόθησαν καὶ Σινιδος κατετρέφθη, κατὰ τὴν Τανταλοῦ βασιλείαν, καὶ ἐν ἰδίῳ (S. Reinach c. ἱδίῳ) ἐνετὶ ἕγερσα, τὴν δὲ Τραϊαν ἐπίλοκον κύμα, id. 579 καὶ τὰ περὶ Σινιδοῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνατροπὴ αὐτοῦ μύθον ὁδὲ δεὶ τίθεσθαι: ...ἀκούσεις δ' ἑτοι καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν συγγραφῶν, ὥστε φησίν ὃ τὰ Λιδία συγγραφῆς Ἴδιον, διαφορέωσιν, οἷος μεταβάλλει κατακόρυ χρώμα τῶν, ὣς ἡμισφαίριον ποιεῖς τὴν χώραν ταὐτον, ὡς ἠμφαίρεσιν ποιεῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθετοι (ib. 49) = Xanth. frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 36 f. Müller), cp. Plin. nat. hist. 2. 205, 5. 117). Reinach concludes: 'The roi Tantale is l'éponyme de la ville de Tantalis. Cette ville fut engloutie dans un lac à la suite d'un tremblement de terre qui ébranla toute la montagne du Sipylo. Donc, l'image funéraire de Tantale pouvait le représenter dans un lac, ayant de l'eau jusqu'au menton et cherchant vainement à se raccrocher à des branches d'arbres; ou elle pouvait le figurer sous des rochers du Sipylo prêts à l'écraser sous leur masse. Ces deux images ont dû exister et les supplices de Tantale, tels qu'ils sont décrits par les textes et reproduits par les monuments de l'époque classique, ne sont que des traductions de ces formules graphiques beaucoup plus anciennes.' But it is dangerous to assume that the details of a Greek myth originated in the misunderstanding of an earlier representation, if no example of such a representation has come down to us.

Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 49 ('der Skyx oder der Acheron. An dem Uferande spriesen Pflanzen, wobei wohl an Asphodelos zu denken ist, und Enen suchen ihre Nahrung').

2 This is well argued by Furtwängler op. cit. i. 48 with n. 3.

3 Cp. Plat. rep. 362 c ἐστηφανωμένους (of Orphic mystai feasting in Hades). The initiate at Eleusis wore a myrtle-wreath, perhaps as prospective consort of a cthonian
as he turns unconcernedly to his wife, who is followed by her little son with his toy. They are in fact the souls of the blest, Orphists who can claim intimacy with 'the Mistress, the Queen of the Underworld'; and Orpheus in person, making music on his kithara, conducts them into her presence. Led by him, they have escaped the 'well-spring to the left of the house of Hades'; from which the deity (supra ii. 1165 n. 1), the ἀδάμβως καὶ στεμματόν ἐγιθεῖσις being the penultimate stage of initiation (supra ii. 1168 n. 3).

1 Supra ii. 132 f.
2 Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 48 f.

![Greek inscription](image)

**Fig. 288.**

text[fig. 288 is the facsimile published by D. Comparetti in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1882 iii. 112 'slightly larger than its real size') printed by O. Kern Orphicorum Fragmenta Berolini 1922 p. 104 f. ('Fragmenta veteriora' 32 a) as follows:

εὐρακεῖσι δ' Ἀδάμβος δόμος ἐγ' ἀριστερὰ γρηγνotypes τ, πάρ ὁ ἀυτὸς Λευκής ἄστικτων κυπάρισσων |

ταῦτα τῇ σύνθεσι μεθὲ ἄχεδον ἐμπλακασίας, |

εὐρακεῖσι δ' ἐκεῖνω, τῇ Μυθησάνθης ἀπὸ λαμνής |

5 ὕσχρον θώρη προφέρου· φόλακες ὁ ἐπιτροπθέν βασιν. |

εἰς ἔνθεν. Γῆς παῖς εἰς καὶ Ὄμησιεν ἀδέρφοντος, |

ἀρκά οἴοι γένος ὁμάδων. τόδε ὁ ἐν τοῖς καὶ αὐτοῦ. |

ὅπως δ' εἰμ[ ] ἀπὸ καὶ ἀπολλυματι. ἀλλὰ δὲν' αἴνα |

ψυχρών θώρη προφέρων τῇ Μυθησάνθην ἀπὸ λαμνής.'

10 οἴκτυο(λ) ο(ό) νόσουσι | πιεῖν θείας ἀπ(δ̅) ἐκρηκτης| |

καὶ τῶν ἑπτα ὑπὸθ/αὶ μεθ'/ ἡρωθ'ουσιν ἀδάμβως(λ). |

……………………………………… τὸ δειγ' 16 lint. …………….[πανεύθα]| |

τόδ' ἑγραψα(ο) 16. |

togulou; εἰσα. οἰκτος ἀμφικαλως.

Water-carrying in connexion

The Otherworld landscape, here described in language of haunting beauty and profound significance, includes the palace of Hades, with a white cypress standing beside it, and a fountain on either hand. The soul must avoid that on the left—the water of Lethe—and beg a draught from the other, the water of Memnosyne. Guardians are set before it; but he is to challenge them boldly with the words:

I am the child of Earth and starry Sky.

Sky-born—ye know it of yourselves—am I.

Now parched with thirst I perish; cool the cup

Of Memory's water—let me drink it up.

At this the Guardians will suffer him to drink from the fountain divine, and thereafter he shall live as a king among heroic peers.

The same scenery appears in the Celtic Elysium—the palace, the silver apple-tree beside it, the shining well with its five streams (Folk-Lore 1906 xvi. 144 ff.). Much the same is implied by the quests undertaken in south-European 'Expulsion' Tales—the golden seat, the apple-tree beside it, the Dancing Water with its formidable guardians (supra ii. 1016). Nay more, the self-same landscape furnishes not a little of the imagery in The Revelation of St John—the throne of God, the tree of life, the river proceeding out of the throne (Rev. 2. 7, 22. 1 ff.). All such pictures, if I am not mistaken, presuppose in a more or less sublimated form the essential features of the old-world king, as Sir James Frazer first described him. He is the local champion, the strongest man of the district, who is prepared to defend his title against all comers. He is found at an appropriate centre, beneath a sacred tree, beside a sacred river. He must keep up his strength by feeding perpetually upon the fruit of his tree. He fights, indeed, with a branch of it in his hand. And if he feels faint with the effort, there is the magic water gushing at his feet.

Last but not least, he is a divine personage, at once mortal and immortal, a priestly king, a kingly priest. In such an one we recognise not only the Orphic votary, but the Otherworld visitor, the folk-tale hero, and 'him that overcometh'.

As to details, the λευκὴ κυνάρισος is hardly to be explained as a white-poplar (D. Comparetti Laminette orfiche Firenze 1910), despite the name (λεύκος) and cethonian associations of that tree (supra ii. 467 ff.). One recalls, by way of warning, Joshua Barnes' comment on Eur. Hel. 384 'figura Leanae, i.e. Ursaæ, or for that matter Sir John Sandys' note on Eur. Bacch. 1017 'It is highly probable that by the "lion" in these passages a panther is really meant!' That κυνάρισος was not used at random appears from its recurrence on the three gold tablets of s. ii b.c., found at Eleutherai in Crete and now in the Museum at Athens (A. Joublin in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1893 xvii. 121 ff., T. Gomperz ib. p. 134, J. L. Myres [2] ib. p. 629, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inschr. iii. 2, 245 no. 4959 a, Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel. 2 p. 574, G. Murray ib. p. 660 f., H. Diels Die Fragmenta der Vorsokratiker Berlin 1912 ii. 176 (Orph. 'Althebeurgte Fragmente' 17), A. Olivieri Lamenlae anorae Orphicae Bonn 1915 p. 14 ff., O. Kern Orphicorum Fragmenta Berolini 1922 p. 105 f. ('Fragmenta vetera' 32 b)), of which the archetypic as restored by Olivieri runs: 'δεξαί αυτοι ἐρω καὶ ἀκάλλουμα.' 'Ἄλλα πε τινον | κράνας αιενοὶ εἰς δεξία, τῆς(κ) κυνάρισος. | τῆ δ' ἐστι; [πῶ δ' ἐστι;] 'Τὰς υἱὸς ὄσι καὶ Ὀρφεῶν ἄστροφοτο.' But why should a cypress be described as λευκή? F. Lajard Recherches sur le culte du cyprès pyramidal Paris 1834 pp. 126 ff., 311 f., observes that the oracular trees of the Sun and Moon consulted by Alexander the Great in Prasiai are said to have been cypresses (pseudo-Kallisthenes hist. Alex. Magi. 17. 27 ff. Kroll and elginogen haīmā eis tina paradoimai, ἐνθα...ὅσιος καὶ [τῆ] σελήνη ἐν μέσῳ του παραδίκου; τα κατὰ αὐτῶν φορμή...ιερὸν ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην. δόσ τε τὴν δένδρα τὰ προειρήματα, δὲ τὴν παράκλησιν κυνάρισος...κύκλω τὴν δένδρα [τὰ προειρήματα] παράδομα τῆ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μυκεβάλισσ, καὶ ὁ κατὰ ὅσιος, προπομφρέων δὲ τὸ μεν ἄρρητον ἄρρητον λογισμόν, τὸ δὲ πραγμάτων θηλεύων οὖν οὖν ἔν τού ἡλίου, τῆς δὲ θηλεύς σελήνης, (ἀ) ἔλεγεν τὴν ἑδίκος φώς μουθὶς ἑμοῦσαν. ταῦτα δὲ περιβεβληστὸν ἄργυρον θηλεύς, τὸ μεν ἄρρητον ἄρρητον τὸ δὲ θηλεύς, παρ' αὐτοὶς δὲ σύνθος οὐχ ὑπήρχων οὐσὶν θαλάσσιν οὐσίν καταστοροὶ αὐτὲν πελάς (εἰς) πλασαί, εἰμοί δὲ ἐρωτῶν τῶν τινών αἱ δοραὶ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, ἐφεσιν λευκῶν καὶ παράδων. οὐκ ἔκειτο δὲ ὁδὲ τάφων ἐκεῖν εἰ μὴ...
with the mysteries

τὸν τόδε ἠλένα καὶ τῆς σελήνης (λεπία). περιβολαῖς δὲ ἐξαρτᾶτο τῶν θηράων ταῖς δομαῖς, cp. Iul. Val. 3. 24 ff., that the Florentine priest Jacopo di Carlo in his poem Alessandro Magna or Alessandroide describes the Sun-tree as having leaves red like burnished gold, the Moon-tree as having them white like pure silver (canto 10 ed. Venezia 1627: L’arbor del Sole le sue foglie hauia | Rosse si come lo oro lustrante; | Quello della luna bianche le tenia | Si come argento chiare, candidante"). and that in Chinese—according to the Sinologue Stanislas Julien—the pyramidal cypress is called cs, the ‘white’ tree, because, while other trees turn towards the south, it alone turns towards the west and white is the western colour. Lajard concludes that the leuciferous was ‘à la fois symbole de la lune et emblème funéraire’ (op. cit. p. 313), O. Gruppe in the Berl. philol. Woch. Jan. 21, 1912 p. 105 f. makes no such attempt to link up Europe with Asia, but is content to say: ‘Zwar nicht von der Farbe ihres Laubes, wohl aber nach dem weissen Stamm.’ Another line of explanation is suggested by the fact that the tablet carrying ἀκοφράσσωs hail from Eleutherai. Coins of the town show Apollon flanked by storax-trees (supra ii. 491 f. fig. 377), which bear some resemblance to the pyramidal cypress but, like the λεύκη, have a white under-surface to their leaves (Steler in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv A. 65 ‘das Blatt des S[torax]-Baumes...länglich, lederartig und unterseits weissflzig ist’). Hence O. Gruppe’s conjecture that on Greek soil λευκη was a surrogate of στάρας (supra ii. 492). Yet another possibility would be to suppose that the leuciferous was in fact the East Indian species Cupressus glauca (J. Lindley—T. Moore The Treasury of Botany2 London 1884 i. 362, The Encyclopædia Britannica11 Cambridge 1910 vii. 694), or the Cupressus nirea (R. Thompson—W. Watson The Gardener’s Assistant2 London 1900 i. 2. 330). On the whole, however, it seems most likely that the tree of the tablets was a miraculous cypress, peculiarly consistent in its assimilation to that other Borderland tree, the white-poplar. It would thus come into line with such marvels as the silver apple-tree of the Celts or the twelve-fruited tree of The Revelation.

On the waters of Lethe and Mnemosyne see an interesting section in M. Nieck Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten Leipzig 1921 p. 104 ff. together with the comments of W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 2141—2144. It seems to me probable (a) that the two fountains of the Petelia tablet were an Orphic conception (Orph. h. Mne. 77, 9 f. ἀλλὰ, μάκαιρα θεά, μοσταί μύημα ἐπέγειρε | εὐθύροι γελατησ, λήθη 6 ἀνό θῶδ’ (so G. Hermann for τῶν codd.) ἀπόστειε), traceable back to the time of Pindar (Pind. frag. 129, 130 Bergk4 ap. Plout. de occulta vío. 7 κατὸς τῆς γε δόξης καὶ τοῦ ελαιὸν φῶς (D. Wytenbach ch. φῶς εἰσεβαλόν χειρός. I should prefer φῶς μετέχους or the like) εἰσαβαλὼν χειρός, τοὺσ λάμπει k. t. l., καὶ ποταμὸς τινὲς ἀπόστειε καὶ λεύχι διαφθειρότω, καὶ διαφθειρός ἔχοντον ἐν μυθίαις καὶ λόγοι τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ὠθῶν, παρατέφθαντες αὐτῶν καὶ συνάρτες. <...> ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ἀνοικίων βεβαιώντων καὶ παραχώμων ὁδὸν ἄνων εἰς ἐρήμω τι καὶ παραθρόν ἄνωθεν τὰς ψυχὰς, ἣν ἐν τῶν ἀναμαφήμενων αἰετῶν | ἐνθν οἱ διοφθαιρὰς νυκτὸς ποταμοῦ, δισχόμενοι καὶ ἀποκριθτῶτες ἀγώνα καὶ λήθη τοῦ κολάζουμεν, (b) that this conception presupposes a folk-belief in two contrasted fountains of Death (Forgetfulness) and Life (Memory) (cp. Theopomp. frag. 76 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 289 ff. Miller)—Frag. 75 c (Frag. gr. Hist. ii. 551 f. Jacoby) ap. Ath. var. hist. 3. 18 rivers of Ἡδωρ and Λήδη near Anostos in the land of the Meropes, Theophr. ap. Plin. nat. hist. 31. 19 springs called Κλαιών and Γέλνων καὶ Κελαινίες in Phrygia, Mel. 3. 152 springs causing death from laughter and restoration to health in one of the Fortunatae Insulae, Plin. nat. hist. 2. 231 in Carrinensi Hispaniae agro duum fontes iuxta fluent, alter omnia respens, alter absorbens, Isid. orig. 13. 13. 5 in Sicilia fontes sunt duo, quorum unus sterilis fecundata, alter fecundum sterilum facit. in Thessalia duo sunt fluminia: ex uno bibentes oves nigras fieri, ex altero autem albas, et ex utroque varias (from Plin. nat. hist. 31. 13). 7 in India Siden vocari stagnum, in quo nihil innatat sed omnia merguntur. at contra in Africæ lacu Apusidamino omnibus fluient, nihil mergitur (from Plin. nat. hist. 31. 21 f.), in Epiro esse fontem, in quo faces extinguuntur accensus et accenduntur extinctae. apud Garamantes fontem esse ita algetem die ut non bibatur, ita ardentem nocte ut non tangatur (supra i. 368)—a list which could easily be lengthened, and (c) that the said folk-belief was itself an extension of the very ancient (and originally oriental?) belief in the Fountain of Life.
Water-carrying in connexion

water of Lethe can be seen gushing. These happy ones have no
sorrows to forget. But beside that fountain the vase-painter has
placed another family—Megara and her murdered boys. Despite
the bandages bound tightly about them, the blood still trickles from
the wounds inflicted by their father in his madness. No wonder
that they linger beside the waters of oblivion. Finally, on the
brink of the infernal river is an object interpreted by A. Furtwängler
as a large sieve with many holes in its upper surface. Rather,
perhaps, we should see in it the mouth of a big pithos, sunk in the
soil and riddled with holes. The context in which it is found favours

(A. Wünsche Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser Leipzig 1905 pp. 71—90 'Das
Lebenswasser in seiner eigentlichen Bedeutung in den verschiedenen Kulturreligionen,'
90—104 'Das Wasser des Lebens als Zauberrunnen in den Märchen der Völker'). Local
adaptations and ideas of the idea are found at Ledebano (Paus. 9. 39. 9 ἐπείδὴ ἡ ἀργά ἀνήρ
τῷ θεῷ πληθὺς τῷ ὅμοιον, ὡσ τὴν γέννησθαι οἱ πάρκοι τῷ τῷ ὁρφανίτης,
καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλὰ ἀνὴρ τῷ πληθὺς Μοῦσαςαν' ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ μυγματαὶ τὰ ὀρφανὰ οἱ
καταβαίνει, Plin. nat. hist. 31. 15 in Boeotia ad Trophonium deum iuxta flumen Hercynum
e duobus fontibus alter memoriam, alter oblivionem adservat, indicet nominibus inventis, Isid.
orig. 13. 13. 3 in Boeotia duo fontes alter memoriam, alter oblivionem adservat), at Ephesos
(E. L. Hicks The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum iii. 2.
321 f. Oxford 1890 no. 600, a 2 f. [τὰ ἅγια τῶν παντοκράτων θεῶν Δαυίδος], [καὶ Δωδὲ
Πανελλήνιον καὶ Ἡραλίτος, ε 28 f. [Μελεγίας] Μεγαίρης] [Ἀθηναίη ἄνεξ . . . . . . .
This inscription, discovered by J. T. Wood on the site of the great theatre, gives a list of persons
who on a certain occasion in honour of Dionysos, Zeus Πανελλήνιος (= Hadrian; supra
ii. 1170 f. n. 0) performed a mystic play, taking the parts of Mnæa, Lethe, etc.: see
W. Quandt De Baccho ad Alexandri adatæ in Aria Minor culture Halis Saxonum 1913
p. 365 ff.), and—perhaps in Lusitania, where the river Limia (the modern Lima) was
identified with Lethe (Strab. 153, Appian. Iber. 71 f.) or Oblivio (Mela 3. 16, Plin. nat.
hist. 4. 115 (112), Flor. 1. 33. 12, Liv. periöch. 55, cp. Sall. hist. 3. 44, Sil. It. 1. 235 f.,
13. 555, 16. 476 f.), if not also in Kyrenaike, where the river Leitus was similarly
explained (Lucan. 9. 355 f. Solin. 27. 54).

O. Kern in Hermes 1916 li. 555 infers from lines 6 f. of the Petelia tablet that the mystic,
though a child of Gaia as well as Ouranos, claims to be essentially ὄρθος and as
such contrasted with the χελώνα (Orph. h. Th. 37. 6 f. εἰ δύον γὰρ πᾶσα τέλει γαρν
κατὰ σῶμα, | ἐνάκτει τέκνοι μὲν χαλέπι καταχράσθη, | τι τι ἀντὶ χελώνων προχρονικ
σκέυων πληκτῆρα). Id. ib. 1917 iii. 475 interprets in the same manner the epigram on
a temple of the Theon at Phaistos (F. Halbherr in the Muso Italiano di Antichità
Classica 1850 iii. 733 f. no. 183, E. Maass in the Ath. Mitth. 1893 xviii. 227 ff., K. Wernicke
ib. 1894 xix. 290 ff., E. Maass Orpheus München 1894 p. 309 ff., G. de Sanetis in the
Mon. d. Lincei 1901 xi. 542 ff. with a facsimile (the inscription is not earlier than z. ii B.C.),
F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtle Gr. Dial. Inschr. ii. 2. 360 no. 5113) πηθυμα μὲν ἀνθρώπων
πάραν ἀναπήδησαν τοῖς διδασκαι δινθητεν καὶ ὅπως ἐκφεύγον: | κ. τ. λ. ('die
ihren Adel (ihre Abstammung von Uranos) nachweisen können').

1 Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 50.
2 This explanation is dismissed by Furtwängler cf. cit. i. 50 n. 1 ('...noch das Fass
der Danaiden, das im Boden stecken müßte, auch nicht das umgekehrte Fass, das ganz
andere Form haben müßte...'). But the analogy of the Munich amphora (supra p. 399
fig. 261) and of the Palermo Iklysos (supra p. 400 pl. xxxvi) affords the strongest pre-
sumption that the doubtful object is really meant for the mouth of a great jar buried in
the ground. And how else should the vase-painter have indicated that it was leaky except
by the naive expedient of adding dots to represent the leaks?
the supposition that by means of it the artist wished to suggest the pains awaiting any who would not undergo initiation into the Orphic mysteries.1

Other 'Apulian' vases of a similar kind substitute the Danaïdes with their hydræ for the aforesaid pithos.2 For example, a fine krater

Fig. 289.

1 The allusion may, of course, be to the punishment of the Danaïdes. But if so, one or more of them would surely have been shown beside the pithos, as on the vases mentioned in the next paragraph.

2 (1) Hermitage (Stephani Vasensamml. St. Petersburg i. 223 ff. no. 424, Raoul-Rochette Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée Paris 1833 p. 179 n. 3 pl. 45, E. Gerhard in the Arch. Zeit. 1844 ii. 223 ff. pl. 13 = Reinach Rép. Vases i. 355, O. Benndorf in the Wien. Vorlegebl. E pl. 4 and 5, 1). Six Danaïdes with their pitchers—four of them hastening from right to left, the fifth and sixth seated with two mirrors and a casket.


   (3) Karlsruhe (Winnefeld Vasensamml. Karlsruhe p. 99 ff. no. 388, E. Braun in the Ann. d. Inst. 1837 ix. 219 ff. pl. H, 1—5, Mon. d. Inst. ii pls. 49, 50 = Roscher Rép. Vases i. 108, F. G. Welecker in the Arch. Zeit. 1843 i. 177 ff. pl. 81, C. Scherer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1895 with fig. on p. 1809 f., O. Benndorf in the Wien. Vorlegebl. E pl. 3, 1). One of the Danaïdes, listening to Orpheus, holds her empty pitcher (Hor. od. 3. 11. 22 ff., Ov. met. 10. 43 ff.), while two others—one of whom originally carried a hydræ in her
from Campania, now in the Hermitage collection (fig. 289)\textsuperscript{1}, shows four Danaïdes sitting or standing on the further bank of the Acheron. They have their hydriae with them, but seem more intent on talking together or surveying their charms in a mirror than on drawing water from the river. A fifth sister, busier than the rest, empties her vessel into a large unburied pithos.

Comparable with these 'Apulian' vases both in subject and in style, and referable to approximately the same period (350—300 B.C.)\textsuperscript{2}, is a limestone relief from Apulia now in the Glyptothek at Munich (fig. 290)\textsuperscript{3}. It probably formed the left-hand half of a frieze decorating the plinth of a naïskos-tomb at Tarentum\textsuperscript{4}. In the centre of the extant portion sit Hades and Persephone. On the left stand two Danaïdes emptying their pitchers into a large half-sunk jar. On the right Hermes hastens towards Herakles, whose lion-skin flutters in the breeze. Beyond the break would come Kerberos, Erinys, and other familiar figures of the Underworld.

(5) Conclusions with regard to the myth of the Danaïdes

In view of the foregoing evidence, both literary and monumental, E. Rohde\textsuperscript{5} and A. Dieterich\textsuperscript{6} drew the following conclusions. The mysteries and marriage are analogous, for both involve rites of lustration. Those that neglect such rites in the world above must perform them in the world below. Hence on the one hand the uninitiated, and on the other hand the unmarried, are bound to carry lowered left hand (J. Overbeck in the Arch. Zeit. 1884 xliii. 261)—stand idly by, facing in the same direction.

\textsuperscript{4} Naples (Heydemann Vasensamml. Neapel p. 816 ff. no. 709 in the Santangelo collection, O. Benndorf in the Wien. Vorlegebl. E pl. 3, i, P. Hartwig in the Arch. Zeit. 1884 xliii. 360 f. pl. 18 = Reinaich Rép. Vases i. 425, 1). One of the Danaïdes, leaning at ease on a rock as she chats with Erinys: above her head is seen a pithos with pointed base.

\textsuperscript{5} infra n. 1.

It should be noticed that, where Orpheus is present ((1), (3), (4)), the Danaïdes are idling; where he is absent ((1), (5)), some at least of them are at work.


\textsuperscript{2} Supra p. 370.

\textsuperscript{3} P. Wolters in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1914 xxix Arch. Anz. p. 453 f. (no. 1) with fig., \textit{id.} Führer durch die Glyptothek König Ludwigs I. zu München München 1922 p. 38 no. 494 with fig. (= my fig. 290). Cp. A. W. Lawrence \textit{Later Greek Sculpture} London 1927 p. 54 pl. 90, b for 'a limestone version of the floral decoration common on painted Apulian vases.'

\textsuperscript{4} R. Pagenstecher \textit{Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler (zur Kunstgeschichte des Anländes xciv)} Strassburg 1912 p. 22.

\textsuperscript{5} Rohde \textit{Psyche} i. 326—329.

\textsuperscript{6} A. Dieterich \textit{Nekyia} Leipzig 1893 p. 70 n. 1.
water themselves after death, or at least to have it carried for them by others. The Danaïdes undergo this post mortem penalty because they died unmarried.

The explanation advanced by Rohde and Dieterich is not, in my opinion, altogether satisfactory. It assumes that the Danaïdes were typical spinsters. But this is not the case. They were duly married to the Aigyptiadai, and Hypermnestra was the only one of them who retained her virginity. Rather, their marriage was, as I have suggested, in the nature of a fertility-charm, the operation of which would be hindered, indeed absolutely nullified, by the guilt that they incurred through murdering their husbands. The guilt of murder would suffice to bring drought upon the land. Thebes, for instance, stricken for the unavenged death of king Laios, is described as—

Blighted in fruitful buds and grazing kine,
Blighted in throes of barren womanhood,
While, lo, the fiery god, the fever dread,
Has fallen and makes havoc of the town.

If the Danaïdes thus frustrated an all-important fertility-charm, they deserved to be punished. And the punishment meted out to them consisted, appropriately enough, in the perpetual performance of a similar charm.

1 Somewhat different, but exposed to a like objection, is the view taken by H. J. Rose in the Class. Quart. 1925 xix. 148: ‘the half-married are clearly in a very parlous state, belonging neither to one class nor to another, and therefore in a tabu condition, from which they can release themselves only by fulfilling the rite they have begun. This, doubtless, is the reason why in Hades we find not only the Danaïdes, who on the most plausible explanation of their punishment spend eternity in trying to get married, but also a host of unhappy lovers, who have nearly all this in common, in Vergil (Aen. vi. 444 sqq.), that at the time of their death they were betwixt and between in some way or other.’

2 Supra p. 356.

3 Supra p. 369.

4 Soph. O. T. 75 ff. Similarly when Lykourgos, king of the Edonoi, slays his son Dryas in a frenzy-fit, his land remains barren and, according to an oracle, cannot recover its fertility till he himself be put to death (Apollod. 3. 5. 1. supra i. 75). Again, when Orestes kills Clytemnestra and is acquitted of the deed, the Erinys (supra ii. 206 n. 2 with fig. 146, a) threaten to bring a blight upon the land (Aisch. Eum. 778 ff.).

5 There is, of course, no need to bring in the far-fetched symbolism of the schol. Aristeid. p. 158, 12 ff. Dindorf τῶν δε δαναίδων ὁ τερμημένος πτείωρ (ἰς, αἰνιγμέναι) τὸ μήτε ταῦτα μετὰ τὸν φόνον τῶν φιλάτων τὴν ἀνεφόλοον ταῦτα εἰ τῇ ἀνάμορφῃ κεδαμονίᾳ χάριν παρ’ ἄλλοις τιγχάνειν, πάσι γενομέναι ὑπόπτως διὰ τὸ ἄγον, καὶ μηθαμένην, ταῦτῃ πληρομένῃ κόρειν.

6 In the Swiss canton of Valais it is believed that old bachelors, when they die, are bound to live in a certain place and there spend their time bringing up sand from the Rhone in baskets with holes in them (E. L. Rochholz Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit Berlin 1867 i. 155, Haberland in Globus 1878 xxxiv. 205 cited by O. Waser in the Archiv f. Rel. 1899 ii. 61).
iii. The holed vessel in Italy.

In the preceding sections it has been argued that certain phrases and beliefs current among the modern and Byzantine Greeks, taken together with the wording of a well-known Aristophanic verse, point backward to the existence of a primitive rain-charm, which consisted in pouring water through a sieve. It has been suggested that such a custom would fitly explain the use of a sieve in divination and of a holed vessel in various myths, rites, and doctrines—the water-carrying of the Danaides, the nuptial and sepulchral loutrophoroi, and the punishment of the uninitiated in Hades, who are doomed to bear water in broken pitchers, or in a sieve to a leaky pithos.

Now it seems à priori probable that the same ancient fertility-charm was at one time practised in Italy as in Greece. But that this was actually the case, cannot be proved. At most we may suspect that the usage underlies a few proverbial phrases and popular traditions.

Plautus, for example, makes a slave say to a lover, who is moping for his mistress:

> Unless you weep for her with tears of silver,  
> That which you claim to prove by these your tears  
> Is worth no more than rain-drops caught in a sieve.

Doubltless this is, as it is commonly assumed to be, a proverb for futile effort after the unattainable. But whether Plautus was here simply writing Latin or—as is certainly possible—translating from a Greek original (say, by Menandros), we have no means of deciding. In either event the form of the expression is peculiar and

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1 Supra p. 335 f.  
2 Supra ii. 2, iii. 333 f.  
3 Supra p. 336.  
4 Supra p. 336 n. 5.  
6 Supra p. 370 f.  
8 Plaut. Pseud. 100 ff., where for the vulgate 'non pluris refert quam si imorem in cribrum geras' G. Götz and F. Schöll, following the cod. Ambros., read 'legas.'  
8 M. Schanz Geschichte der römischen Litteratur München 1898 i. 53.  
10 There are several Greek variants of the proverb, but all of Roman or Byzantine date: (1) Plout. prot. 8 κοσκίνη ὄσσω αὐτής, Makar. 116 κοσκίνη ἄντι ἵνα τῶν ἁρμονίων καὶ μάρτιν πανοπλίων. (2) Plout. prot. 50 κοσκίνη φέρεις ὄσσω, Apostol. 9. 91 κοσκίνη ὄσσω φέρει ἐτι τῶν ἀδικώτων, Soud. 1. n. κοσκίνησθι (Loukian. Timi. 3, epist. Saturn. 34...καὶ παροιμία κοσκίνη ὄσσω περιφένουν ἐτι τῶν ἀδικώτων. (3) Loukian. Demost. 28 ἢ δεκα ἵμα, ἐφι, ἢ φίλοι, ὃ μὲν ἔτερος τοῦτον πάγου ἀμέλειαν, ὃ δὲ αὐτῷ κοσκίνων ὑποδεῖσαι.  
A similar location substitutes a net for a sieve: (4) Plout. prot. 31 παρὰ δικτύων ὄσσω κομίζεις, Georgides gnomologia in Boissonade ncecd. i. 29 δικτύων κομίζει τῶν ἀδικών παλαιον ἐπιτεί, ἢ κακίαν παραθέσαν χρώμα τολλά ἐν ἀθρόποισί ψυχῆς ἐξελέγκτον διανοσά.  
Both images are already combined in Sen. de benef. 7. 19. 1 'reddere est' inquit
may well have been derived from the rain-charm aforesaid. For, when men had once begun to distrust the magician and his magic, a charm to produce rain might easily pass into a proverb for labour wasted in the attempt to compass impossibilities.

Further, a typical impossibility of this sort would furnish the ideal test for an early ordeal\(^1\), since the performance of it implies the manifest interposition of the gods in favour of the accused. Thus, when the Vestal Tuccia was charged with violation of her vows, she proved her chastity by successfully carrying water in a sieve from the river Tiber to the house of Vesta in the Roman Forum\(^2\). The event, which is said to have occurred in the year 235 B.C.\(^3\), has repeatedly furnished artists with a theme. Count Clarac\(^4\) published a couple of marble statues representing Tuccia with her sieve, one in the Museo Chiaramonti\(^5\), the other at Dresden\(^6\). Montfaucon had previously made known a statuette belonging to a M. Boisot and an engraved gem from the cabinet of M. de la Chausse\(^7\), not to mention a print communicated by Baron Crassier\(^8\), all of which portrayed the same subject with minor variations. M. P. Lévesque de Gravelle was able to figure another gem illustrating the scene\(^9\). There are, however, grave doubts as to the authenticity of any of these representations\(^10\). They appear to be nothing but modern

\(^{1}\text{accepturo tradidisse. quid enim? si cui vinum debeas et hoc ille te infundere reticulo iubeat aut cribro, reddidisse te dices? aut reddere voles, quod, dum redditur, inter duos peraret?}^

\(^{2}\text{Rohde Psyche\textsuperscript{3} i. 327, E. Fehrle in the Archiv f. Rel. 1916—1919 xix. 550.}
\text{On trial by ordeal among Greeks and Romans see K. H. Funkhäl 'Gottesurtheil bei Griechen und Römern' in Philologus 1847 ii. 385—402, R. Hirzel Der Eid Leipzig 1902 pp. 187—199, G. Glotz L'ordalie dans la Grèce primitive Paris 1904 pp. 1—136, P. Vinogradoff in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1917 ix. 521\textsuperscript{b} (Greek), A. C. Pearson ib. 528\textsuperscript{a}—529\textsuperscript{b} (Roman).}

\(^{3}\text{Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. 2. 69, Val. Max. 8. 1 absol. 5, Plin. nat. hist. 28. 12, Ter. apol. 22, Liv. epit. 20, Aug. de civ. Dei 10. 16, 22. 11 (after Varro).}

\(^{4}\text{Plin. nat. hist. 28. 12 anno urbis DXXVIII (so coedd. V (?). E. DCLVIII cod. R., followed by D. Detteisen.—VIII codd. d. T.). Liv. epit. 20 supports the earlier date.}

\(^{5}\text{Clarac Mus. de Sculpt. iv. 359 f. pl. 771 figs. 1918, 1921, Reinach Rép. Stat. i. 456 nos. 1, 2.}

\(^{6}\text{Amelung Sculpt. Vatic. i. 780 no. 686 pl. 84.}

\(^{7}\text{H. Hettners Die Bildwerke der königlichen Antikensammlung zu Dresden\textsuperscript{4} Dresden 1881 no. 168.}

\(^{8}\text{Montfaucon Antiquity Explained trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 40 pl. 14 nos. 21 and 22.}

\(^{9}\text{Id. ib. London 1725 Suppl. i. 39 pl. 6 no. 4.}

\(^{10}\text{M. P. Lévesque de Gravelle Recueil de pierres gravées antiques Paris 1732 i pl. 88 (Pierres de Steich p. 434 no. 170), Reinach Pierres Gravées p. 77 no. 88 pl. 77.}

\(^{11}\text{In both the statues published by Clarac the sieve is a restoration: they may have portrayed priestesses carrying baskets (Clarac loc. cit.). The statuette and gems figured by Montfaucon and Lévesque de Gravelle do not inspire confidence, and seem to have vanished.}
restorations or copies, just conceivably based upon some genuine antique which has since disappeared.

The probability that a holed vessel was formerly used as a rain-charm in Italy would be strengthened, if it could be shown that the Italians ever believed rain to fall through a hole or holes in the sky. Unfortunately direct evidence to that effect is altogether wanting, and indirect evidence is at best disputable. Nevertheless certain facts connected with the mundus and the manalis lapis at Rome appear to presuppose some such belief.

The mundus¹ was an underground dome or tholoid structure, LippoldGemmenpl.159, 7—9p. 186 are eighteenth-century works by L. Pichler and G. Pichler. The cut that appears even in the third edition of Smith—Wayte—MarindinDict. Ant. ii. 943 has no more authority; it is a redrawing of Crassier's print (infra p. 428 n. 8) as seen in a mirror, i.e. with right for left and left for right.

Morell. Thes. Num. Fam. Rom. i. 139 f. pl. Licinia 4, 5 and Rasche Lex. Num. x. 459 would detect Tuccia on the reverse of a sestert struck by P. Licinius Nerva, which shows a woman on the prow of a ship holding something. Babelon Monn. rep. rom. ii. 139 f. no. 8 fig. says 'tenant une patère.' H. A. Gruber in Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. ii. 275 fig. is non-committal ('female figure standing r.').

¹ During the last decade there has been much discussion of this difficult topic. The disputants include the following:

E. Täubler 'Roma quadrata und mundus' in the Röm. Mitth. 1926 xii. 217—226 (Roma quadrata was the early settlement on the Palatine surveyed as a templum with its decumanus extending from the supercilitum Scalarium Caci to the summa Sacra Via. The mundus, an opening to the lower world, enclosed by a square stone wall, formed the centre of this Roma quadrata. When the Palatine settlement was enlarged into the city of the Four Regions, Rome ceased to be quadrata in the original sense, but antiquarians perpetuated the old name for the new foundation. Summary and criticism in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1927 xxxi. 494), id. 'Terremare und Rom' in the Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1931/2 Abb. ii especially pp. 43—63 (the mundus was the central point of Roma quadrata, a templum or sacred square on the Palatine: it is therefore comparable with the ritual pits within the square Terremare settlements).

S. Weinstock 'Mundus patet' in the Röm. Mitth. 1930 xlv. 111—123 (most ancient authors speak of the mundus as connected with cult-usage: Ovid and Plutarch alone associate it with the legend of Rome's foundation by Romulus. Mundus must be carefully distinguished from Roma quadrata: there was no mundus on the Palatine—Boni's find was a mere cistern—nor is there the least reason to connect mundus with templum either square or round, with the ritual pits of Terremare villages, with the dedication of boundary-stones and the like. There was a mundus on the Comitium at Rome, and another at Capua (Corp. inscr. Lat. x no. 3926, infra p. 438 n. 9). The mundus was essentially a pit in sacro Ceres (schol. Bern. in Verg. ecl. 3. 105, infra p. 438 n. 9), the said sacrum being a small chamber built to contain it. Analogous structures are noted by F. Studniczka 'Altäre mit Grubenkammern' in the Jahrb. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1905 vi. 123—186. But the Ceres in question need not be the old Roman goddess: she might be the Latinised Demeter; she might be an Etruscan deity—F. Ribezzo in the Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica di filologia, lingua, antichità 1928 xii. 89 draws attention to Etr. mutna = "sepolcro, casa, ossuario", id. ib. 1932 xvii. 120 n. 1 criticises Täubler's view that Roma quadrata was not identical with mundus, nor yet the special name of the Palatine settlement, but originally the square or templum round the mundus, and hence applied to the Palatine town. Weinstock reaffirms his belief that the mundus must be
sought neither on the Palatine, nor in Terremare, and that its sacred functions—Ovid and Plutarch notwithstanding—had nothing to do with the foundation of Rome).

L. du Jardin 'Mundus, Roma quadrata e lapis niger' in the Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia 1930 vi. 47 ff. (mundus and Roma quadrata were originally on the Palatine, but, when built over by Domitian's palace, were removed to the Comitium).

H. J. Rose 'The Mundus' in Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni 1931 vii. 115—127 (largely in agreement with Weinstock puts forward the following contentions: (1) The word mundus, in the sense of a pit or underground shrine of some kind, is probably not Latin. (2) So far as we know, it was applied to at least two underground structures in Rome, one in the Comitium, the other of unknown locality, which were, or had been, used for wholly different rites. (3) Neither of these had anything to do with Roma Quadrata, or with the lapis manalis. (4) Neither of them had anything to do with the so-called mundus found on the Palatine in 1914. (5) The connection of either with the pit to be found in terremare is possible, but unproved ').

W. Kroll 'Mundus' in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvi. 560—564 (the mundus was a chthonian cult-centre, probably close to the Comitium. It was a circular pit opened thrice a year, on days that were all comitials, for the emergence of souls of the dead (cp. the Greek Anthestheria: supra i. 687)—no concern of Ceres or any other deity. The lapis manalis of Festus (infra p. 432) must have been the famous lapis manalis outside the Porta Capena (infra p. 432 ff.) and should not—with E. Samter in the Archiv. f. Rel. 1922 xxi. 332 f. and in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 784—be assumed to have closed the mundus. Weinstock and Rose rightly rejected the identification of this mundus with the Roma quadrata of the Palatine and doubted the analogy of the Terremare pits. As to etymology, the Etruscan goddess mundux (E. Fiesel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvi. 643 f., infra p. 439 n. 2) is better ignored. P. Kretschmer suggests connexion with German Mund, Gothic munja.

L. Deubner 'Mundus' in Hermes 1933 lxviii. 276—287 (Ov. fast. 4. 821 ff. describes three successive rites: (1) frugger thrown into a deep fossa; (2) earth from the neighbouring soil likewise thrown in; (3) an altar placed above the filled-in fossa and kindled. The parallel in Plout. v. Rom. 11 proves that Ovid's pit was the mundus. Ovid's altar above the pit is due—as C. O. Thulin Die etruskische Dissiplina iii (Goteborgs Hoga Skolas Arsksrift 1900 i) p. 20 saw—to contamination with the rites of Terminus. Ovid's earth thrown in was another accretion wrongly connected by him with the mundus: the clods really symbolised Rome's mastery over all the neighbourhood (Lyd. de mens. 4. 73 p. 124, 21 ff.). Ovid's frugger thrown in were a gift to chthonian powers made at the moment of founding the town. Kroll and Weinstock dismiss this association of the mundus with the founding of a town as an antiquarian figment. Deubner sees no ground for their scepticism: town-foundations, the planting of boundary-stones, the erection of buildings, all involved breaking into the earth and the earth-powers must in each case be propitiated by gifts. Ovid does not definitely state that the mundus was on the Palatine; but he is speaking of Romulus as the founder of Rome, and everyone knew that Romulus' foundation was on the Palatine. Weinstock wrongly refuses to admit the real existence of a Palatine mundus. Plutarch errs in locating Romulus' mundus on the Comitium. Probably there was a mundus there; but, if so, it was the mundus of a new foundation—the Etruscan town of Four Regions (Plout. v. Rom. 11 brings the experts from Etruria). Deubner thinks it likely that this mundus on the Comitium, though described by Plutarch as βόθρος κυλοτερής, should be identified with the quadrangular pit for offerings in the Grave of Romulus: Plutarch may well have blundered here also and attributed to the mundus on the Comitium the shape of the mundus on the Palatine. As to the phrase mundus patet, that refers to the Palatine mundus. Weinstock misunderstands schol. Bern. in Verg. ecl. 3. 15 mundus in sacro Ceres: this might mean, not a mundus in a small chamber built to contain it, but a mundus in the sacred precinct of Ceres: more probably, however, it was a mere guess of the scholiast or his source. Roma quadrata too was on the Palatine and had something to do with the founding of the town (Fest. p. 310. 35 ff. Lindsay, infra p. 435 n. 0). Thulin op. cit. p. 20 n. 1 already compared it with the quadrangular
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concerning which M. Porcius Cato—the jurist perhaps rather than his more famous father—in his Notes on Cases of Civil Law remarks: 'The mundus gets its name from the "sky" above our heads; indeed in shape it resembles the sky, as I have been able to ascertain from those who have entered it.' Another jurist C. Ateius Capito, the consul suffectus of 5 A.D., in his work On Pontificial Law states that thrice a year, on August 24, October 5, and November 8, the mundus was left open. Festus adds that the lower part of it was consecrated to the Di Manes and kept closed except on these days, when their secrets were brought to light. Varro emphasises the solemn character of the said days: 'When the mundus is open, it is as though the gate of gloomy underworld gods were left ajar. Hence it is taboo, not only for a battle to be joined, but even for a military

templa of the Terremare settlements. F. von Duhn in Ebert Reallex. ii. 286 remarked that their east-west trench had five pits in it containing sherds, pebbles, mussel-shells, and animal-bones—'sacrale Dinge, die mit der Inauguration der Siedelung und dem, was die Römer später mundus nannten, in Zusammenhang stehen werden,' etc. Täubler was justified therefore in emphasising the resemblance of Roma quadrata and the mundus to the Terremare templum and their pits. Weinstock again was over-sceptical.

My own account of the mundus, which was penned before I had read any of the foregoing articles, is in the main compatible with Deubner's cautious and convincing conclusions. Deubner keeps clear of the manalis tabis, and ignores Boni's alleged mundus. Perhaps he was wise. At any rate I alone must bear the responsibility of conjecturing that the mundus on the Palatine was originally the Bronze-Age tholos of a Palatine king, and of seeking a parallel to it on the adjacent Capitol.


2 Fest. p. 154 b 33 ff. Müller, p. 144, 17 ff. Lindsay qui quid ita dicatur sic referit Cato in commentaris iuris civilis (frag. 16 Funaioli): 'Mundo nomen inpositum est ab eo mundo, qui supra nos est; forma enim eius est, ut ex is qui intravere cognoscere potuit, adsimilis illae.'

3 P. Jörs in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1906.


5 Fest. p. 157 a 4 ff. Müller, p. 144, 21 ff. Lindsay eius inferiorem partem veluti conscentram Dis Manibus clausam omni tempore, nisi his diebus qui supra scripti sunt, maiores c...m (K. O. Müller cj. conservarunt habendum): quos dies etiam religiosos iudicaverunt ea de causa, quod quo tempore ea, quae occultae et abditae religionis Deorum Manium essent, veluti in lucem quandam adducerentur et pateferent, nihil eo tempore in republica geri voluerunt. itaque per eos dies non cum hostes manus conserebant: non exercitus scribhabatur: non comitia habebant <ntur: non> aliud quicquam in republica, nisi quod ultima necessitas admonebat, administrabatur.
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levy to be held, for a soldier to set forth, for a ship to weigh anchor, for a man to marry and procreate children.¹

The mundus, then, was in some sense the gate of the Underworld. But Paulus epitomizing Festus, himself the epitomator of Verrius Flaccus², says that the portal of Orcus, through which souls of the dead (Manes) streamed³ up to join the living (ad superos manarent), was known as manalis lapis.⁴ Unless we are to suppose that Rome boasted of rival entrances to the nether regions, we are driven to conclude that this manalis lapis was a single stone by which the mouth of the bottle-shaped mundus was corked or stoppered. Paulus obviously connects the word manalis both with Manes, 'the dead,' and with manare, 'to stream.' The former connexion is possible, but improbable; the latter alone is valid. He continues⁶: 'They used the term manalis lapis also of a certain block (petra?), which was outside the Porta Capena close to the temple of Mars. When in time of severe drought they dragged this block into the City, a shower immediately followed,⁸ and since the block streamed

¹ Macrobi. Sat. i. 16. 16 ff. nam cum Latiar, hoc est Latinarum sollemne, concipitur, item diebus Saturnaliorum, sed et cum Mundus patet, nefas est praetium sumere: quia nec Latinarum tempore, quo publice quondam inducias inter populum Romanum Latinosque firmatae sunt, inchoati bellum decebat, nec Saturni festo, qui sine ullo tumultu bellico creditor imperasse, nec patente Mundo, quod sacrum Diti Patri et Proserpinæ dicatum est: meliusque occulta Photini saece eundum ad praetium putaverunt. unde et Varro ita scribit: 'Mundus cum patet, deorum tristiam atque infernum quasi ianua patet: propter non modo praetium committi, verum etiam dilictum rei militaris causa habere, ac militem proficiisci, navem solvere, uxorem liberum quae reorum causa ducere, religiosis est.'
² Supra ii. 1170.
³ Cp. Mart. Cap. 160 Manes...qui parentum seminibus manaverunt.
⁴ Paul. ex Fest. p. 128, 4 ff. Muller, p. 115, 6 ff. Lindsay Manalem lapidem putabant esse ostium Orci, per quod animae inferorum ad superos manarent, qui dicuntur manes. Manalem vocabant lapidem etiam petram quandam, quae erat extra portam Capenam iuxta aedem Martis, quam cum propter nimiam siccitatem in Urbem petrarentur, insequebatur pluvia statim, eunque, quod aquas manaret, manalem lapidem dicere.
⁵ Ernout—Meillet Dict. éym. de la Langue Lat. p. 557: 'Pour la formation, cf. finissimales; finissimales etc.'
⁶ Supra n. 4.
⁹ Cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 2, 12 ff. Muller, p. 3, 24 ff. Lindsay Aquaeclium dicitur, cum aqua pluvialis remediis quibusdam elicitur, ut quondam, si creditor, manali lapide in urbem ducto. Since rain was sent by Jupiter, the old magical rite was attached to his cult (Petron. sat. 44. 18 ante stolatae ibant nudis pedibus in clivum, passis capillis, mentibus puris, et Iovem aquam exorabant, itaque statim urceatim plevabant: aut tune aut nunquam: et omnes redibant udi tanquam mures, Tert. apol. 40 denique cum ab imbris aestiva
hiberna suspendunt et annus in cura est, vos quidem cotidie pasti statimque pransuri, balneis et cauponias et lupanarisbus operantibus, aquilica Iovi immolatis, nudipedalia populo denuntiatis, caelum apud Capitolium quaeritis, nabila de laquearibus expectatis, aversi ab ipso et deo et caelo, cp. de ielum. 16 sed et omnein ταυροφόροις ethnici agnoscant. cum supra caelum et aret annus, nudipedalia denuntiantur, magistratus purpuras ponunt, fasces retro avertunt, precem indigitant, hostilam instaurant. The stone was drawn by the priests (interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 3. 175 'manabant,' fœbat, hinc et lapis manalis quem traheat pontifices, quotiens siccitas erat, cp. Varr. ap. Non. Marc. p. 877, 8 ff. Lindsay (cited infra p. 435 n. 2)), and was perhaps drenched with water as a magical or quasi-magical cure for the drought (Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 268 ff.). Why this particular stone was chosen, we do not know. Was it the sepulchral stele of some once famous Etruscan water-finder (Varr. Menipp. frag. 444 Bücheler ap. Non. Marc. p. 97, 16 Lindsay at hoc pacto utilior te Tusces aquillex) or rain-maker (Frazer Golden Bough)? The Magic Art i. 310 n. 4)?

G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 310, id. Rel. Kult. Röm. 2 p. 191 approves the connexion of aqua-elicium with Iupiter Eliicus propounded by O. Gilbert Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum Leipzig 1885 ii. 154 and accepted by E. Aust in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 658, id. in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 2366 ff., despite the objections of M. H. Morgan 'Greek and Roman Rain-Gods and Rain-Charms' in the Transactions of the American Philological Association 1901 xxxii. 100 ff. (especially p. 105 f.). I was formerly attracted by this view (Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 269), but am now satisfied that Iupiter Eliicus was essentially a lightning-god, not a rain-god (pace J. B. Carter De deorum Romanorum cognominitis Lipsiae 1898 p. 42, P. Perdrizet in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 710). He had an altar on the Aventine (Varr. de ling. Lat. 6. 94) founded by Numa, whom he had instructed in lightning-lore (Liv. i. 20). About this altar an odd tale was told by Valerius Antias (frag. 6 Peter ap. Arnob. adv. nat. 5. 1, cp. Ov. fast. 3. 285 ff. Plout. v. Num. 13). Numa, at the advice of Egeria, posted a dozen chaste youths in ambush beside a spring, from which Faunus and Martius Picus were wont to drink, and further mixed much wine with the water. The gods drank deep, fell into a stupor, and were bound fast by the young men (Sir J. G. Frazer in his note on Ov. fast. i. 289 regards the incident as 'probably modelled on' the ruse by which Midas captured Silenos). Faunus and Martius Picus were thus forced to disclose to the king the means by which Iupiter could be enticed from heaven to earth. The king thereupon offered sacrifice on the Aventine, enticed Iupiter to come down, and pressed him to reveal the right method of expiating thunderbolts. 'With the head..., said Iupiter: '...of an onion,' added Numa. 'With a human..., said Iupiter: '...hair,' put in Numa. 'With a living creature,' said the god: 'With a sprat,' concluded the king. And so surrogates for the head and hair of a live man were found in an onion, a hair, and a sprat (apparently the 'hair' suggested a small fish, cp. the use of τριχής, τριχίς, τριχίδας, etc.), which things continued to form the ingredients of a lightning-spell (Plout. v. Num. 13) (in the Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 269 and 370 n.) I have discussed the similar mitagation of human sacrifice to Dis and Saturn (Varr. ap. Macrobi. Sat. 1. 7. 28 ff., 1. 11. 48 ff., cp. Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. 1. 19) and to Mania (Macrobi. Sat. 1. 7. 34 f.). Iupiter returned to heaven in a 'gracious' mood and the place was called Ilicium in consequence (Plout. v. Num. 15 καὶ τῶν μὲν θεῶν ἀκαλυφῶν θεῶν γενήματος, τῶν δὲ τοιῶν Ἄπλων ἀκοί τε κείμενον προσαγορεύθησαν). Later, however, he slew with a thunderbolt Numa's successor, Tullus Hostilius, who had made some slip in the due performance of these rites (L. Calpurnius Piso frag. 10 Peter ap. Plin. nat. hist. 2. 140 and frag. 13 Peter ap. Plin. nat. hist. 28. 14, Liv. i. 31, Aur. Vict. de viris illustr. 4. 4).

Since the wooded slope of the Aventine (A. Merlin L'Aventine dans l'antiquité Paris 1906 p. 110) was 'black with the shade of the ilex' (Ov. fast. 3. 293), I conjectured years ago (Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 270, ib. 1904 xviii. 363 f.) that Iupiter Eliicus should rather be Iupiter Ilicius, god of 'the Oak' (ilex, ilticës, iltignus, iltignus). Prof. Goldmann tells me that he had independently hit upon the rendering Eliicus, 'of the Oak.' He kindly drew my attention to a paragraph by H. Schuchardt in the Zeitschrift für romanische
with water they called it *manalis lapis*. Once more we hear of *manales lapides* or *petrae* in a suggestive context. Fulgentius (c. 480—550 A.D.1) in his *Explanation of antiquated Phrases* asks what *manales lapides* are, and answers: ‘Labeo’2, who expounded the Etruscan lore of Tages and Begoë(?)3 in fifteen volumes, has the following observation: “If the lobes of the liver prove to be coloured like red arsenic, then you need to trail the *manales petrae*.” These are blocks which the ancients used to draw like rollers round their boundaries with a view to curing a dearth of rain.4 G. Wissowa denounced the extract from Labeo as a forgery5, but there is no real ground for doubting the accuracy of Fulgentius’ explanation. It is quite possible, indeed highly probable, that the *manalis lapis* outside the Porta Capena was an old sepulchral pillar of the Etruscan sort6: the *via Appia*, bordered with tombs, skirts the hill on which stood the temple of Mars.7 Similarly the *manales petrae* mentioned

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4 G. Wissowa ib. iii. 194.


7 H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *formae urbis Romae antiquae* 2 Berolini 1912 tab. 1.
by Fulgentius were in all probability Etruscan tomb-pillars or boundary-stones, which in time of distress would be trundled round the area under their especial protection. Finally, Varro informs us that aquae manale meant a small water-jug. The term had an interesting history, and seems to have been re-interpreted as a basin for the hands in the aquimanile or aquiminarium of Christian ritual.

Early in 1914 Commendatore Boni, digging on the Palatine under the north-eastern part of the peristyle of the domus Augustiana, discovered a tholos, which he identified with the mundus. This identification was promptly accepted by T. Ashby, O. L. Richmond, A. L. Frothingham, and others on grounds that seem prima facie plausible. Ashby reports: 'a chamber with a beehive roof was found, the sides of which are lined with blocks of cappellaccio (a soft tufa); in the centre of it a circular shaft descends to two underground passages cut in the rock...which diverge but (after forming a right-angled triangle with a hypotenuse of 12 metres) meet again in a rock-cut domed chamber, half of which has been destroyed by Domitian's foundations.' Some further details are given by Richmond and L. A. Constans, but so far no complete ground-plan or section has been published.

1 Supra i. 53, ii. 1090.
2 Varr. frag. 198 Funatoli ap. Non. Marc. p. 877, 7 ff. Lindsay 'ureculum aquae manale vocamus, quod eo aqua in trullem effundatur. unde manalis lapis appellatur in pontificibus sacris, qui tunc movetur cum pluviae exoptantur; ita apud antiquissimos manale sacrum vocari quis non nomen? unde nomen illius.'
3 E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 346, Smith—Cheetham Dict. Chr. Ant. i. 134, A. Mau in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 310 ff., W. Henry in F. Cabrol Dictionnaire d'archeologie chrétienne et de liturgie Paris 1907 i. 2647 ff.
8 H. J. Rose, however, in Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni 1931 vii. 134 ff. argues that Domitian, being 'pious to the point of religiosity,' would never have allowed his architects to build over, far less break into, a monument so venerable and at the same time so ill-omened as the mundus Cereris.'
Now à priori a tholoid structure underground might be one of three things—a granary, a well, or a tomb. And arguments are not wanting in support of each identification.

K. O. Müller long since drew attention to Plutarch’s account found that the ancient “mundus” had been excavated at the augural centre of the hill, on the true summit, and that the direction of the caverns followed the lines of “cardo” and “decumanus.” Domitian covered it with indestructible concrete several feet thick, over which was his area Palatina. The position is to the east of the Apollo temple. It is thought that the mouth had been covered over and disused not later than the fourth century B.C. In 1913–1914 the excavators discovered over the round mouth of the ancient “mundus” on the Palatine a square depression, and a rectangular block of specially hard stone fitting one half of it. There were fragments of a second such block near by.

Richmond naturally claims that these facts confirm his restoration of Fest. p. 238 b 5 ff. Müller, p. 310, 35 ff. Lindsay Quadrata Roma in Palatio ante templum Apollinis dicitur, ubi reposita sunt, quae solent boni ominis gratia in urbe condenda adhiberi, quia saxo mundus munitus est initio in speciem quadratam. eos loci Ennium meminit cum ait (ann. 2 frag. 75 Bachrens, frag. 3 Steuart): ‘et quis erat Romae regnare quadratae’ (E. Bachrens and the latest editor Miss E. M. Steuart both accept C. O. Müller’s c. qui and Salmasius’ c. se sperat—a brilliant combination involving the change of but a single letter. J. Vahlen prefers M. Hertz’ c. qui sectus erat). Sir J. G. Frazer in his note on Ov. Fast. 4, 521 (p. 386 n. 3) says: ‘Perhaps we should insert locus after Quadrata Roma or after saxo to correspond with munitus.’ But Richmond’s emendation is more attractive.

11 L. A. Constans in the Comptes rendus de l’Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1914 pp. 109–111: ‘M. Boni a trouvé... une voûte à thelas, faite d’une superposition de blocs quadrangulaires, ouverte, et inclinée vers le midi, en telle sorte qu’elle ne forme pas une circonférence parfaite. Là s’ouvre un nouveau puits, creusé dans le tuf; au fond de ce puits, à 12 mètres au-dessous du niveau du sol, deux couloirs bifurquent: l’un, le plus étroit, est droit; l’autre, plus large, est coulé, au bout de quelques mètres, à angle droit, en telle sorte qu’il rejoint l’extrémité du premier, déterminant avec lui un triangle rectangle dont l’hypoténuse, formée par le couloir étroit, a une douzaine de mètres de long.

M. Boni imagine que lorsqu’on portait dans le mundus, grenier sacré, les grains, primices de la saison, on allait par le couloir long et revenait par le couloir étroit. On suivait la marche inverse quand on voulait chercher du grain dans le mundus pour les semaines. Ces deux couloirs aboutissent l’un et l’autre à une chambre circulaire, tout entière taillée dans le tuf, avec une coupole haute au sommet de laquelle un trou circulaire laisse voir le jour; sur les parois, des ouvertures à sommet formant angle aigu semblent être l’accès d’autres couloirs. Une banquette est ménagée à une assez grande hauteur en face de l’aboutissement des deux couloirs. Les couloirs et la chambre circulaire sont tapissés d’un enduit argileux: à la rencontre du sol et des parois, le tuf est taillé de façon à former une bague arrondie; M. Boni prétend que, d’après un texte de Columelle [de rust. 1, 6], ce serait une particularité de la construction des greniers, destinée à éviter des odeurs où des animaux pourraient faire leur nid. Le mundus en question se trouve à peu près sous l’emplacement du trône impérial, dans le fond du tablinum du palais des Flaviens.... M. Boni pense qu’on-dessus du mundus, et non dans la Regia, devait être le sanctuaire de Mars, protecteur de l’agriculture: les Saliens auraient conservé les armes sacrées dans la chambre à thelas du premier étage. On a recueilli au cours des fouilles un objet conique en bronze, avec des ornements en fer, formant douze lignes, qui rayonnent à partir du sommet. M. Boni y voit un casque.’


2 Plout. v. Rom. 9 Ῥωμόλος μὲν ὁ ἄνδρας τὴν καλοῦσθαι Ῥώμην κοινοβόταν, ὥστε ὃτι τετράγωνον ἐκτεινόμενον, καὶ ἐκείνοι ἐβολεύτων τοῖς τόποις, Ῥώμης ἑξ χιλ. τοῦ Ἀβεβεκτοῦ καρπέρου, δ ἐκείνων μὲν ὄνομάσθη Ῥωμίων, νῦν δὲ Ῥωμαίον καλεῖται.... 11 δ ἐκείνων Ῥωμόλος
of the foundation of Roma Quadrata and inferred from the casting of first-fruits into the pit\(^1\) that the mundus was the larder or storehouse of the new city. W. Warde Fowler urged that, if it was used for storing grain, we can see why it should have been opened on August 24\(^3\). That date 'follows the Consualia [Aug. 21], a festival which almost beyond doubt has reference to harvesting, and immediately precedes the Opiconsivia [Aug. 25], which almost as certainly represents the storage of the grain as completed\(^2\). Warde Fowler further conjectured that on August 24 'the seed-corn for the autumn sowing was separated from the rest of the grain, and deposited in an underground storing-place\(^4\)', the mundus. Since the rough old-fashioned wheat called far was sown throughout October\(^5\), whereas the better wheat called triticum was not to be sown till after the setting of the Pleiades\(^8\) (on or about Nov. 9), the other two days for the opening of the mundus—October 5 and November 8—are equally intelligible. When the city ceased to be a practical centre of agriculture, and the Etruscans established their dominion in Rome, 'the mundus took on a new meaning connected with the Etruscan ideas of a nether world\(^7\)' and the lapis manalis was wrongly linked with the Manes. The transition would be facilitated by the fact, duly noted by Sir J. G. Frazer, that 'the spirits of the dead are often supposed to watch over or further the growth of the crops: that is why the firstfruits are often presented to them\(^8\).'

\(^1\) I take it that βάθρος... ὠργή περί τὸ κοίλων κυκλοερήθη means 'a round hole was dug in the neighbourhood of what is now called the Comitium,' not 'a circular trench was dug round what is now called the Comitium.' A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 315 and, apparently, Sir J. G. Frazer in his note on Ov. *fast. 4.* 386 (p. 386) mistranslate the passage.

\(^2\) W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 211 f.


\(^4\) *Id.* in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1912 ii. 27= id. Roman Essays and Interpretations Oxford 1920 p. 27.


\(^6\) Verg. georg. i. 219 ff., cp. Colum. de re rust. 2. 8.


\(^8\) *Id.* in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1912 ii. 30 n. 1 = id. Roman Essays and Interpretations Oxford 1920 p. 32 n. 6.
Warde Fowler's explanation of the mundus as essentially a subterranean granary for the seed-corn commended itself to Professor F. M. Cornford, who worked out an interesting parallel in Eleusinian usage. Boni too regarded the mundus that he found on the Palatine as the sacred granary of early Rome and sought to elucidate its arrangements on that assumption. This granary-hypothesis, which obviously suits the name Cereris mundus used by Festus, Apuleius, etc. and can at least be made to fit the accounts of Quadrata Roma given by Festus and Plutarch, is in fact the accepted solution of the problem.

Still, it must be borne in mind that other tholoi on the Palatine are beyond question in the nature of early cisterns, and that the

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1 F. M. Cornford 'The ἈΠΑΡΧΑΙ and the Eleusinian Mysteries' in Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway Cambridge 1913 pp. 153—166. The seed-corn first buried in an underground granary (supra, cp. Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 3 no. 83, 10 ff. (c. 423/2 n.c.) cited supra p. 301 n. 0 (4)) and then taken out for sowing—Descent and Ascent of the Corn-maiden or Kore (supra ii. 295 n. 2).

2 Supra p. 436 n. 11.

3 Supra p. 431 n. 4.

4 Apul. Apol. 13 magis placulum decernis speculum philosopho quam Cereris mundum profano videre.


6 Supra p. 436 n. 0.

7 Supra p. 436 n. 2. There is an important discrepancy here between Plutarch and Ovid. Plutarch places the mundus, into which at the foundation of the city first-fruit and earth were thrown, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the later Comitium. Ovid puts his corresponding fossa on the Palatine (fast. 4. 815 alter adit nemorosi saxa Palatii... 821 f. fossa fit ad solium, fruges incantur in ima | et de vicino terra petita solo. | fossa repletur humo, plenaque imponitur ara, | et novus accenso fungitur igne focus). It is usually assumed that Plutarch has blundered. But A. L. Frothingham in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1914 xvii. 316 f. notes 'the transfer to the Comitium of so many of the sacra and traditions of the Palatine' and concludes: 'When the city of the Four Regions was established and the new classification of the population was made that is associated in one tradition with the famous augur Attus Navius, it is reasonable to suppose that the founding of the new and larger urbem of Rome with its single and extended pomerium, centring in or near the Comitium, would be celebrated by a new mundus in the centre of the new urbem. It is curious that it is precisely with Attus Navius that tradition connects the transfer from the Palatine to the Comitium of the Ficus Ruminallis of Romulus and Remus, and also with him the establishment of the putal of circular sacred enclosure in the Comitium. It seems probable that when Plutarch wrote, the old mundus of the Palatine had long ceased to be used, and may even have been forgotten; and that in speaking of the mundus as in the Comitium he was not making any blunder.'

8 Supra p. 366 n. 1.
rock-cut chambers and channels of Boni’s mundus could, not unreasonably, be explained as a somewhat more extensive reservoir. Besides, such an explanation would make sense of the manus lapis. The well-mouth would be appropriately closed by a ‘streaming stone.’ More than that. Recent philologists derive the word mundus, both adjective and substantive, from a root meaning ‘damp, wet, moisten, wash.’ They suggest that mundus the adjective denoted successively ‘watered, washed down, clean, neat,’ and that mundus the substantive continued the series ‘neatness, adornment, order, cosmic order, world.’ But on this showing it is thinkable that mundus the substantive at an early stage in its history meant ‘place washed down, cistern’ or the like, being perhaps a Reimwörtlzung to pair

1 So S. Weinstock in the Röm. Mitth. 1930 xlv. 131 with n. 3. Viewed in this way, some of the details mentioned supra p. 236 n. 11 become more understandable, e.g. the ‘ouvertures à sommet formant angle aigu’ in the walls of the ‘chambre circulaire.’

Sec. however, F. Muller Jen Althiltsches Wörterbuch Göttingen 1936 p. 277 ff., who distinguishes *mundus-< *mēdu(s)udo(s) orbis...Schon die Alten stellten es zu movēs: Varro L.L. 6, 3, Paul. 125 L., Isid. 3, 3, 8; 13, 1, 1 and ‘mundus, i, ‘sauber, rein, schmück...Zur W. mey (+ā)- ‘waschen,’ also *mānd-s altes Gerundiv oder *mānd-ās...wie xā-bāvā: xēa (Schulze QE. 170 ff., 469, KZ. 45, 235), vgl. Isid. 11, 1, 138: quod eo sc. lotus id est mundus vestimenta officinatur...[Wenn< *mānd-ās, dann zur erweiterten W. meu +ā-: gr. κρύστ. ‘feucht,’ mōdor M. ‘Nässe,’ air. mānd ‘Wolke,’ ndl. molotegen ‘feiner Regen,’ ll. māndāyati ‘baden’]—Hierher und identisch mundus, i M. ‘Schmuck,’ seit Fest, nicht rom.; genau wie d. Schmuck: schmuck.’ Ernout—Melliet Dict. étym. de la Langue Lat. p. 668 f. likewise separate mundus the adjective from mundus the substantive meaning ‘world,’ but identify mundus the substantive meaning ‘adornment’ with the latter, not with the former, ‘à l’imitation du gr. κόρμον.’ They sum up: ‘Pas d’étymologie claire. L’hypothèse d’une origine étrusque a été avancée (une déesse minvi, mundi, mundi, dont le rôle est de parer et d’ornier figure sur plusieurs miroirs étrusques; v. Deecke, dans Roscher, Lexicon, ii, 2, p. 335).’ Sur le groupe de mundus, voir Kroll, Festscr. Kretschmer, p. 120 sqq., qui conclut par un ‘non liquet.’
with fundus. The mundus on the Palatine may in fact be a religious survival, perpetuating the equipment of a primitive homestead.

Neither the granary—nor the well-hypothesis will quite adequately explain the dreadful sanctity that in Roman belief attached to the Palatine mundus or justify its description as the jaws of Pluto, the gate of gloomy underworld gods, and the portal of Orcus. These expressions point rather to a third possibility. Was the mundus originally neither a granary, nor a well, but a tomb—say the Bronze-Age tholos of the Palatine king? As such it might fairly be dubbed mundus by a later generation and held to imitate the celestial vault. Offerings of food and other necessary brought to the buried king might in Italy as in Greece lead to his grave being deemed a thesauros and even, in post-regal times, being treated as a real or symbolic store-house for the seed-corn of the community. Lastly, the stone that formed the apex or finial of the tomb would doubly deserve its name manalis. For, while some would think of the Manes returning from the Underworld to help their people in distress, others might remember that to open up the grave of a buried king was one method of inducing a deluge of rain. In short,

1 Not included as such by H. Glanzert Über Reisewörterbildungen im Arischen und Altgriechischen Heidelberg 1914. J. Vendryes 'La famille du latin mundus “monde”' in the Mémoires de la société de linguistique de Paris 1914 xviii. 305—310 regards mundus as a dialect-form of fundus ('C'est d'un ancêtre commun *bundo- que mundus et fundus seraient sortis... On peut d'abord recourir à l'hypothèse d'une distinction dialectale et d'un fundus rural opposé à un mundus urbain; mais ce mundus urbain lui-même est peut-être d'origine étrangère (ombrienne?) etc.), and both as related to a Celtic *dubno- preserved in the Irish domun 'world,' the Gallic Dubhnata, Dubnicouer, Dumnorix, etc. But all this is highly speculative.

2 Supra p. 432 n. 1. 3 Ibid. 4 Supra p. 432 n. 4. 5 Supra ii. 1150.

6 In the epitaph on Cn. Naevius preserved by Gell. i. 24. 2 I should take Orco traditus thesauro to mean 'handed over to Orchos as a store-house.' F. Skutsch would render 'handed over to Orcho for a treasure,' cp. dono dare. E. Bährens in Poet. Lat. min. vi. 296 attributes the epigram to M. Terentius Varro and prints his own cf. Orco traditus thesauros ('coffer, i.e. coffin'). Cod. Busidianus gives orchi and thesauri. Hence the restorations Orci traditus thesauro (possible) and Orcino, Orcio, Orco traditus thesauro (highly improbable): see De Vit Lat. Lex. s.v. 'Orcinus.' The term θησαυρός as applied to the tholos-tombs of Greece is criticised by Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art vi. 356 f., Frazer Pausanias iii. 126, H. Hitzig and H. Blümmer on Paus. 2. 16, J. L. Myres Who were the Greeks? Berkeley, California 1936 p. 382, and many others.

7 Cp. Sir J. G. Frazer on Ov. fast. 4. 821 (p. 390).

8 On the Manes I have said my say in Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 293 ff.


A striking case is that of Antaios king of Mauretania: Mela 3. 466 hic Antaeus regnasse dicitur, et signum quod fabulae clarum prorsus ostenditur collis modicis resupini hominis imagine incensis, illius ut incolae ferunt tumulus: unde ubi aliqua pars eruta est solent imbres spargiri, et donec effossa repleautur eveniunt. Gerhard Ausserl. Vasenh. ii. 105 n. 75, 132 n. 18 and K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2340 think that the myth of Antaios
the assumption that the mundus was a prehistoric tomb is found to cover the whole spread of usages connected with it in historic days. Nor have we far to look for a somewhat analogous case. Adjoining the Palatine was the Capitol, and we have already seen that in the Capitoline temple, side by side with Jupiter on his throne, stood an ancient grave-stèle or boundary-stone 3, which was viewed as an appanage of the sky-god and in art portrayed as a blue globe resting on a square plinth 5—a mundus of the celestial sort. Roman writers called it the stone of Terminus 3. But such a stone, at its erection, had the blood of a burnt sacrifice along with incense, corn, honeycombs, wine etc. placed in the hole prepared for it 4. In other words, it was treated as the tombstone of a man and received the offerings normally brought to the Manes 5. Nor is the notion of an early tomb on the Capitol beyond the pale of possibility. The story of Aulus' head dug up on that very spot is more than a mere piece of bad etymology 6.

In this connexion it is impossible to ignore that most impressive of all Roman temples, the Pantheon 7. For its amazing dome, while

has borrowed this trait from the myth of Kyknos (Hes. ac. Her. 472 ff. Κύκνος ὁ ὄν Κάες θάνατοι καὶ λαός ἀτελείως, ἐν ἔργον ταῦτα πάλαις κλειτοῦ βασιλέως | ... τῶν δὲ τάφων καὶ σημάτων τὸν Ἀρατέα | δεύτερος ἐμπνεῦσις πάθεως | τῶν γὰρ μὲν Ἀπόλλων | Δητοθήν ἄνει, ὅτι μὲν κλειτὸς ἐκθάνατο | ὅποτε ἄγει Πυθαγόρη παῖ σόλακας δοκεῖν). But the resemblance between the two stories is remote.

3 Supra i. 53. 4 Supra i. 47 pl. vi. 5 Supra i. 53 n. 5.


5 H. B. Smith in Smith—Wayte—Marindin Dict. Ant. i. 893 f. See also E. Samter (supra ii. 1900).


The holed vessel in Italy

obviously comparable in shape with the *mundus*, seems to have been in the nature of a vast imperial *herōion*¹ 'built for the glorification of the gens Iulia, and... dedicaed in particular to Mars and

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¹ In some respects the closest parallel might be found in the *Philippelon* at Olympia (Faus. 5. 20. 9 f., cp. 5. 17. 4), on which see F. Adler in *Olympia* ii. 128—133 pls. 79—82, E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History & Remains* Oxford 1925 pp. 131—135 figs. 41, 43—45.
Venus, the most prominent among the ancestral deities of that family.

'Also he (sc. Agrippa) completed the building called the Pantheon. It has this name, perhaps because it received among the images which decorated it the statues of many gods, including Mars and Venus; but my own opinion of the name is that, because of its vaulted roof, it resembles the heavens. Agrippa, for his part, wished to place a statue of Augustus there also and to bestow upon him the honour of having the structure named after him; but when the emperor would not accept either honour, he placed in the temple itself a statue of the former Caesar and in the ante-room statues of Augustus and himself.'

Fig. 292.


2 Dion Cass. 53. 27 τὸ τε Πάνθεων ἄφθωσις ἐστίν τέλειον: προφαγόρευται δὲ οὕτω τάχα μὲν ὅτι πολλοῖς θεοῖς εἰκὼνα ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, τῷ τοῦ Ἀρεως καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἐδείξατο, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ νομίζω, ἵνα θυσιείς ἄν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ προσεύκη, ἡθολόγημα μὲν εἰς τῇ Ἀγριππᾶς καὶ τῷ Ἀγοναστῶν ἑπτάδεικται ἱερώτατον τε τοῦ ἐκείνου ἐπίκλησεν αὐτῷ δοῦναι μὴ δεαμένου δὲ αὐτῶι μηδέτεροι ἕκα μὲν τοῦ πρωτέου Καίσαρος, ἐν δὲ τῷ πρωτῷ τοῦ τε Ἀδονίστου καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἀνδριάνας ἄστηνε trans. E. Cary.

Opinions differ as to the character and general aspect of Agrippa’s Pantheon.

In 1892 the architect G. Chedanne, from careful examination of the consoles etc. in the existing portico, concluded that Agrippa’s building was a decastyle, peripteral hall, originally facing south and covering the whole space now occupied by the Piazza del Panteon (H. Jordan—C. Hülser _Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum_ Berlin 1907 i. 3. 589). Further, by means of brick-stamps taken from many parts of the extant rotunda, he showed that this was constructed by Hadrian in 120—124 A.D. (ib. p. 587 n. 81).

Subsequent investigations have been held to establish the following points: (1) that the temple built by Agrippa consisted of an oblong cela with a portico of ten columns facing the south; (2) that in front of this temple, viz., on the south side, was an immense circular piazza, of which a portion of the enclosing wall concentric with and contiguous to the rotunda has been found; (3) that this circular piazza was uncovered, as its pavement, found 8 feet below the floor of the Pantheon, sloped downwards from the centre to the circumference. It is probable that this piazza was surrounded with a portico, the founda-
The holed vessel in Italy

The resemblance of the whole edifice (fig. 291) to the sky would be enhanced by its ceiling coffered with bronze flowers or stars (fig. 292), and perhaps also by its seven niches tenanted—if Mommsen's conjecture is sound—by the seven gods of the week.

tion walls of which were uprooted when the rotunda was built); (4) that the rotunda was built on the site of the circular piazza, some 7 or 8 feet above the pavement of the same; and (5) that at a subsequent period Agrippa's temple and its portico were taken down and rebuilt at a higher level, to form the portico of the existing Pantheon facing north. In rebuilding the portico it was made octostyle instead of decastyle, the eight columns of the front resting on what must have been the rear wall of Agrippa's cells. The entablature, with the inscription on the frieze, and the pediment also belonged to Agrippa's temple.


Recently, however, the pendulum has swung back. G. Cozzo Ingegneria romana Roma 1928 pp. 255—297 ("La costruzione del Pantheon") with pls. 96—111 figs. 183—214 argues that the Pantheon of to-day is essentially the structure raised by Agrippa in 27 B.C.; that its original entrance was on the south through a great outer hall; that later this hall became part of the Thermæ, the rotunda-entrance being then transferred to the north; and lastly that the solid projection and porch of the Pantheon were added, perhaps in the time of Septimius Severus, on the site of a quite separate pre-Agrippan building.

D. S. Robertson A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture Cambridge 1929 p. 248 à propos of Cozzo's view concludes: 'This bold theory, which is supported by many arguments of detail, could perhaps be adapted to fit a Hadrianic date for the rotunda, but, even so, it seems very unlikely that it will win general acceptance.' Id. In the Class. Rev. 1934 xlvii. 279 demurs also to F. Granger's contention, 'most fully explained in J. R. I. B. A. 26 November 1932,...that the Pantheon is a huge sundial, designed to show the summer solstice by the passing of the sun's rays through the centre of the imaginary sphere of which the dome forms the upper half.'

An item of evidence hitherto, I think, unnoticed may be found in the fresco-work illustrated above (fig. 292). Wall-decorations of the 'Third Pompeian Style' (c. 25 B.C.—c. 20 A.D.) might well be inspired by Agrippa's Pantheon, a recent architectural triumph just finished in 27 B.C. No doubt, the quasi-architecture of the 'Third Style' was often fantastic and unreal. Still, the occurrence of this novel and striking motif demands some explanation. It is fittingly explained, if we admit that Agrippa's building was a domed structure like its Hadrianic successor.


2 W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers The Architecture of Ancient Rome rev. by T. Ashby London 1927 p. 81: 'The coffers of the vault were all gilded with bronze flowers in the centre, and M. Chedanne found the bronze bolts in the vault.'

3 A. Mau Geschichte der dekorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji Berlin 1882 p. 474 pls. 13 and 14 (=my fig. 292: scale 1) from the right side-wall of the tablinum in the house of the banker L. Caecilius Iucundus (v. 760). Id. Führer durch Pompeji bearbeitet von A. Ippel Leipzig 1928 p. 54 f. fig. 19. The design shows a spacious dome as seen from below. Seven concentric rows of lacunaria in diminishing perspective lead the eye up towards the zenith of a cupola crowded with whitish stars on an imbricated ground of dull blue and purple. The whole rests on a widely spaced Ionic colonnade, and is cleverly illuminated by slanting shafts of sunlight. The Ionic columns, the concentric lacunaria, the stars, and the imbricated cupola are all suggestive of the Pantheon.

4 H. Jordan—C. Hulsen Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1907 i. 3. 581 n. 61: 'Mommsens Vermuthung, in den sieben Nischen hätten die sieben Planetengötter gestanden, hat, wenn man das jetzige Pantheon denkt, viel Bestechendes, begegnet aber Schwierigkeiten für das ursprüngliche.' S. B. Platner—T. Ashby A Topo-
Saturnus, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurius, Jupiter, Venus. Now at the very summit of this great rotunda, at a height of 43'20m (144 ft.) above the coloured pavement, was a circular opening some 9m (29 ft.) across, surrounded by an ornamental cornice of bronze. Through that opening rain fell, and still falls, unheeded. Is it fanciful to suggest that such an arrangement of the louver points to, or at least accords with, a long-standing belief that rain habitually fell through a hole in the sky?

iv. The holed vessel elsewhere.

An analogous Semitic conception, the 'windows of heaven' (a rubboth hashshamayim), has been mentioned in a foot-note, but is deserving of fuller treatment. The Hebrew phrase is rendered by some the 'lattices of heaven,' and the late Dr A. Wright reminds us 'that in Egypt and Libya the open windows of the harem are regularly fitted with lattice work containing minute perforations.' The transition in meaning from a window to a sieve was therefore not difficult. Hence we may explain the vulgate version of an obscure passage in the Old Testament: 'He made darkness a hiding-place round about him, sending waters from the clouds of the skies as through a sieve.' Hence too Theodoret in s. v A.D. could describe God as 'raining from the clouds...and separating the drops and letting them fall now in fine rain, now in copious streams, and parting as it were with a sieve the offspring of the clouds.'

The graphical Dictionary of Ancient Rome Oxford 1929 p. 382 f.: 'Mommsen's conjecture that the seven niches were occupied by the seven planetary deities is attractive, and Hulsen is now in favour of it.'

1 Supra ii. 60 f.
2 Supra p. 353 n. 1.
3 I have already touched upon ceilings made to represent the sky in the case of Babylonian palaces (supra i. 264 f.), Egyptian tombs (supra i. 752 n. 1), Mycenaean tholoi (supra ii. 1150, iii. 364, infra 458), Greek temples (supra i. 751, 752 n. 1) and porticos (supra i. 752 n. 6), Roman arches (supra ii. 354 ff., 359 ff.), temples, and palaces (supra i. 751 n. 8).

The subject could readily be expanded into a monograph (R. Eisler Weltentanzel und Himmelszelt München 1910 has shown the way and collected much relevant material) for such treatment, losing its significance, passed into the repertory of renaissance and modern decorative art. To give but a single instance, the hall of Queens' College, Cambridge, has a timbered roof painted blue and spangled with stars of lead-gilt round its central louver.

4 Supra p. 353 n. 1.
5 See S. R. Driver on Gen. 1. 6. The views of the early church fathers are collected by J. A. Letronne 'Des opinions cosmographiques des pères de l'église, rapprochées des doctrines philosophiques de la Grèce' in the Revue des deux mondes 1834 i. 616 f.
6 So Prof. A. S. Peake on Is. 24. 18.
7 A. Wright in the Class. Rev. 1901 xv. 258.
8 Supra p. 335 ff.
9 2 Sam. 22. 12 (= Ps. 18. 11) posuit tenebras in circuitu suo latibulum, cribras aquas de nubibus caelorum.
10 Theodoret. de providentia 1. 34 (lxxxi. 572 Migne) θων ἐκ νεφῶν...καὶ τὰς ξεκάθαρα διακρίνων καὶ νῦν μὲν σιμπλὰ ἁρμάσεις νῦν δὲ μεγάλα καὶ κρουθηδάν φερομένας καὶ οἷον τίνι κοσκίνῳ διαίρων τῶν νεφῶν τὰ ὀξύνως.
alleged examples of rain-charms in Scripture\(^1\) do not, however, illustrate the actual usage of a holed vessel or sieve\(^2\).

A remarkable instance of rain-making through a celestal sieve is recorded by Major S. C. Macpherson in his account of the Khonds' religion. A great Janni with two smaller priests and some of the principal elders address the following prayer to the rain-god Pidzu Pennu:

'Oh, give us abundant rain, enough to melt the hill-tops. Go and fetch water for us, if need be, by force or fraud, from the stores of your friends the gods of rain. Bring it in brass vessels, and in hollow gourds, and resting on the sky above our land, pour the water down on it through your sieve until the sambur, unable to live in the forests; shall seek shelter in our houses, and till the soil of the mountains shall be washed into our valleys\(^3\).' Etc.

In the Finnish Kalevala Louhi, the lady of the north country Pohjola, prays thus:

Maiden of the Clouds, Mist-Maiden,
Scatter from thy sieve the cloudlets,
And the mists around thee scatter,
Send the thick clouds down from heaven,
Sink thou from the air of vapour,
O'er the broad lake's shining surface,
Out upon the open water,
On the head of Vaïnämöinen,
Falling on Uvantolainen\(^4\).

Over a great part of Germany we find the recognition of a supernormal and commonly beneficent being called Frau Holda (Hulda, Holle, Hulle, Holl, etc.\(^5\)). She is a sky-power of some sort\(^6\);

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\(^1\) D. B. Stade Biblische Theologie des Alten Testamentes Tübingen 1905 i. 190.

\(^2\) A. Marmorstein 'Das Sieb im Volksglauben' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1916—1919 xix. 235—238 shows that the sieve plays a considerable part in Rabbinic literature and popular Jewish custom.


\(^4\) Kalevala trans. W. F. Kirby 42. 338 ff. According to the Hon. J. Abercrombie The Pre- and Proto-historic Finns London 1898 i. 306 f. (cp. ii. 341 f.), 'The daughter of nature (juonto), Udutar, and the sharp maiden Terhetar sifted mist in a sieve at the end of a misty promontory, thereby giving origin to fevers and pleurisy.'

In Languedoc it is said that the Drae or water-spirit has hands pierced like a sieve (F. Liebrecht Des Germanus von Tilbury Otia Imperialia Hannover 1856 p. 135 n. cited by F. L. W. Schwartz Der Ursprung der Mythologie Berlin 1860 p. 7 n. i).

\(^5\) J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 265—272 ('Holda is the kind, benignant, merciful goddess or lady, from hold (propitius) ...'by the side of our dame Holde there are also holden, i.e., friendly spirits, a silent subterranean people, of whom dame Holde, so to speak, is the princess'), 1888 iv. 1367 f., E. H. Meyer Germanische Mythologie Berlin 1891 pp. 272 ff. ('Der Mythus der deutschen Wolken-göttin'... 'Frau Holda, Hölle, Hulle, Wolle, Wulde, Holde, von hold, g. holps freundlich,
for, when it snows, she is making her bed and the feathers fly. She
geneigt oder an. huld'r verborgen, wofür die jedenfalls wesensverwante dän. norweg. 
Hulla, Huldra, Huldrø spricht..."Wahrscheinlich gehört auch die engl. Madame Gould
hieher, eine weise Frau, die auf einem Pfluge sitzt und ihr Haar kämmst (§ 366. [W.]
Henderson Notes on the Folk-lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders
London 1879 p.] 330 [ff.]), 282 ff. ("Der Frühlingsmythos von der Erlösung der weissen
Frau", E. Mohl in the Grundriss der germanischen Philologie Herausgegeben von
H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 278 f. ("Deutscher Volksgläube des späten Mittelalters und
der Gegenwart weiss von einer Frau Horda oder Holle und Perchta zu erzählen, die mit
ihren Scharen durch die Lüfte fahren, besonders zur Zeit des grossen winterlichen Seelen-
festes sich den Menschen zeigen und sie bald behohnen, bald bestrafen"..."Nun findet sich
für die seelischen Wesen neben unheld schon frühzeitig der Name holden. Die Wasser-
geister erscheinen als Wasserheld, Brunnenholde ([J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans.
J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 268 with n. 3]), als Holten erscheinen die Zwergen
([A.] Kuhn Sagcn, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen]en Leipzig 1849) i. 193 f.,
200 u. 600.), überhaupt die Seelen Verstorbener (ebd. ii. 124)"....Überall sehen wir auf
germanischem Gebiete den engsten Zusammenhang zwischen den Holten und den Seelen
der Verstorbener, und wir brauchen deshalb das holdan des Correctors des Burchard von
Worms nicht in unheldan ([F. Kaufmann 'Dea Hulvana' in Beiträge zur Geschichte der
deutschen Sprache und Literatur 1894 xviii. 190] zu ändern, wo es von der Schar der
nachtfahrenden Dämonen heisst "quam vulgaris stultitia holdam vocant [leg. vocat]."
Dies holda gehört aber etymologisch zu abd. helan "verbergen" und beruht sich so mit
an. hel, unserem Hölle. Demnach sind die Holden von Haus die Unterirdischen, die
nach dem Tode noch ihr Wesen treiben. Wie das sprachliche Verhältnis dieser zu den
Unholden gewesen ist, dünkt mich noch nicht genügend aufgeklärt. Aus dieser Schar
der Holden ist nun in später, vielleicht erst in christlicher Zeit und z. T. unter dem
Einflusse fremden Volkes eine Führerin entstanden, der die Volksphantasie das
nomen proprium aus dem Kollektivbegriff geschaffen, die aber im Laufe der Zeit die von
ihr geführten Wesen zurückgedrängt hat. Das ist die Frau Hölle oder Holda unserer
Märchen und sagen'), id. in Hoops Reallex. ii. 256 f. z. v. holdan; Frau Holda, Holle,'
K. M. Meyer Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte Leipzig 1910 p. 114 (Frau Hölle als 'eine
Kollektivierung' of the Holden, originally 'freigewordene Seelen Verstorbener'), P. A.
('The name of the Huldré or Hill-Lady, huld'r, probably comes from at hyggja, "to hide,"
'to cover.' The Germans are conversant with a somewhat similar being, Helle, Frau Holle,
Mutter Holle or Holde, whose name appears at an early period to have been associated
with the adjective hold, Old Norse hällr, "kind," "amiable," "friendly"...Our Huldré,
on the contrary, bears a name which linguistically has always been kept distinct from the
adjective hollr').

6 See, however, A. H. Krappe Études de mythologie et de folklore germaniques Paris
1928 p. 101 ff., id. The Science of Folk-Lore London 1930 p. 90 ("Dame Holle is an old
chthonic divinity, the Teutonic parallel of the Greek Persephone and the Roman Bona
Dea and at the same time a divinity of the fertility of the soil. Wherever her procession
passes the fields will produce twice their usual harvest"), id. Mythologie universelle Paris
1930 pp. 196 ("Hel, apparentée à Holda, est une ancienne déesse de la terre, l'équivalent
exact de la Perséphone hellénique. Seulement, son aspect purement chthonien et sinistre
a prévalu sur ses qualités plus aimables. Dans le cas de Holda, d'autre part, les deux
aspects de son caractère, l'affable et le terrible, se sont maintenus dans la tradition. Ce
qui est encore plus intéressant, de même que sainte Agathe vint prendre la place de
l'ancienne Perséphone chez les populations méditerranéennes, sainte Lucie prit celle de
la Holda germanique"), 752 ("la Holda germanique (dont le nom est dérivé de l'adjectif
hold)").

1 J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 267 f., where
parallels are cited to Hdt. 4. 7 and 31.
also haunts lakes and fountains, where she may be seen at noon as a fair white lady. In the Harz district it is believed that, between eleven and twelve o’clock at night, she carries water in a vessel without a bottom. Or again, in the same locality she appears as a black woman with two buckets that have no bottom to them.

The motif of the holed bucket is worked into the German folk-tale of ‘Master Awl’ (Meister Pfriem). This tells how a shoe-maker, who grumbled at everything, once dreamt that he was knocking loudly at the door of heaven. Saint Peter let him in, provided he gave up his grumbling ways and found fault with nothing inside.

‘So he went in, and walked up and down the wide expanses of heaven. He looked around him, to the left and to the right, but sometimes shook his head, or muttered something to himself. Then he saw two angels who were carrying away a beam. It was the beam which some one had had in his own eye whilst he was looking for the splinter in the eye of another. They did not, however, carry the beam lengthways, but obliquely. “Did any one ever see such a piece of stupidity?” thought Master Pfriem; but he said nothing, and seemed satisfied with it. “It comes to the same thing after all, whichever way they carry the beam, straight or crooked, if they only get along with it, and truly I do not see them knock against anything.” Soon after this he saw two angels who were drawing water out of a well into a bucket, but at the same time he observed that the bucket was full of holes, and that the water was running out of it on every side. They were watering the earth with rain. “Hang it,” he exclaimed; but happily collected himself, and thought, “Perhaps it is only a pastime. If it is an amusement, then it seems they can do useless things of this kind even here in heaven, where people, as I have already noticed, do nothing but idle about.” He went farther and saw a cart which had stuck fast in a deep hole. “It’s no wonder,” said he to the man who stood by it; “who would load so unreasonably? what have you there?” “Good wishes,” replied the man. “I could not go along the right way with it, but still I have pushed it safely up here, and they won’t leave me sticking here.” In fact an angel did come and harnessed two horses to it. “That’s quite right,” thought Pfriem, “but two horses won’t get that cart out, it must at least have four to it.” Another angel came and brought two more horses; she [leg. he] did not, however, harness them in front of it, but behind. That was too much for Master Pfriem, “Clumsy creature,” he burst out with, “what are you doing there? Has any one ever since the world began seen a cart drawn in that way? But,” in your conceited arrogance, think that you know everything best.” He was going to say more, but one of the inhabitants of heaven seized

1 J. Grimm op. cit. i. 268.
3 H. Pröhle op. cit. p. 135 quoted by A. Kuhn op. cit. i. 203.
5 ‘Alle Hagel!’ platste er heraus.
him by the throat and pushed him forth with irresistible strength. Beneath the gateway Master Pfriem turned his head round to take one more look at the cart, and saw that it was being raised into the air by four winged horses. At this moment Master Pfriem awoke.  

J. Bolte and G. Polivka in a thorough-going commentary on this tale regard it as composed of two distinct elements—an early legend involving symbols of fruitless labour, and a popular story about an impudent fellow who pushed his way into heaven. They trace the former element back to a date c. 800 A.D., when it is found in a Greek legend of Saint Arsenios the Great, ex-tutor of Arcadius and Honorius (c. 334—449 A.D.). This anchorite saw in a vision three successive symbols of human vanity—(1) an Ethiopian trying to lift a pile of wood, but adding logs to his burden instead of subtracting them from it; (2) a man baling water out of a pit into a cistern, which had holes in it; and (3) two men on horseback carrying a pole between them, but endeavouring to enter the door of a sanctuary side by side, because neither of them was willing to let the other enter first.

Such symbols for labour lost may occur singly and give rise to proverbial phrases. Thus the Germans say:

Wasser in ein lücheriges Fass schöpfen.
Wasser in ein sybeckin schöpfen.
Wasser schöpfen mit einem Siebe.

Often the emptying of a lake or pool with a sieve is an impossible task laid upon a human by a superhuman being. In a folk-tale from Haute-Bretagne Blue Beard bids a man, who enters his service, drain a pond with a sieve. In another from central Germany

2 *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Julius iv. 626 E—F ('Vita S. Arsenii anchora'. 3. 39) kathismou onw autou eis to kallio phile phantasia autou. 'Deo, deixw sou to erga twn antrwptwn.' kai evastis ezedhen, kai aktepvn onw eis to to fow kai eideken autou Aithron koptonta xwla kai poikwnta ferner (leg. ferner) mEga, eneparete de bountas autou kai oik hodwnta, kai antr to troi eis autou epelw xwla ekoste xwla kai prwsthtia to ferner (leg. ferner). kai oibad odhgon theleste autou twn iatram. eti laksou kai antwnta tode eis autou kai metaballwta eis dekamhnon tetrapomhnon. to autou odhro ekkholon. kai xwla ligei autou. 'Deo, deixw sou.' kai thewri ligein kai deo anbres kathismoun toin kai bounta xwla xwla plagwma eina kata toin enos. xwlo w dia tis xwla twn lewv eukalesthe kai oik hodwnta dij to to evai to xwlo autou plagwma oik eukalesthe de autou (leg. to taion) o eis odhna (leg. eis odhna) to odhno enkepia to xwla eis eukalein kai dia to to xwla xwla xwla.  

4 Id. ib. no. 795.
5 Id. ib. no. 799.
The holed vessel elsewhere

the ghost of a dead woman is put under a ban to empty a pool with the same utensil\(^1\). In an English tale a girl is ordered by her step-mother to fill a sieve at the Well of the World's End, and succeeds in so doing thanks to the advice of a friendly frog:

\[\text{'Stop it with moss and daub it with clay,}\
\text{And then it will carry the water away.'}\]

The performance of manifest impossibilities\(^2\) was throughout the middle ages held to be a signal proof of divine favour or at least of superhuman powers. As late as 1209 A.D. the Poles were confident of victory because a certain sorceress (\textit{Pythonissa}) marched at the head of Duke Wlodislaus' army bearing water in a sieve\(^4\).

In general it may be maintained that the frequent connexion of witches with sieves\(^5\) depends on the belief that witches are rain-makers, and that rain can be made by pouring water through a sieve. It is not, however, easy to cite unequivocal evidence of a sieve

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1. E. Sommer \textit{Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Sachsen und Thüringen} Halle 1846 Sagen no. 10 quoted by A. Kuhn \textit{Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen} Leipzig 1859 i. 204.

2. J. Jacobs \textit{English Fairy Tales} London 1898 p. 327 ff. (\textit{The Well of the World's End}) with note on p. 360 (\textit{The sieve-bucket task is widespread from the Danais of the Greeks to the lepers of Uncle Remus, who, curiously enough, use the same rhyme: "Fill it wid moss en dob it wid clay."}).


Cp. J. Michelet \textit{Origines de droit français cherchées dans les symboles et formules du droit universel} Paris 1837 p. 350 'Les Indiens croient qu'une vierge peut servir l'eau en pelote, ou la porter dans un tamis.'


On sieve-superstitions in general see supra p. 336 n. 5 and G. F. Abbott \textit{Macedonian Folklore} Cambridge 1903 pp. 96, 101, 219 n. 2.
being actually used in a rain-charm within the confines of Europe. Perhaps the clearest case is one quoted by Sir James Frazer:

'In 1868 the prospect of a bad harvest, caused by a prolonged drought, induced the inhabitants of a village in the Tarashchansk district to dig up the body of a Raskolnik, or Dissenter, who had died in the preceding December. Some of the party beat the corpse, or what was left of it, about the head, exclaiming, "Give us rain!" while others poured water on it through a sieve.'

The last stage in the history of such a conception is reached, when it ceases to be serious and becomes merely jocular. Verbally there is not much to choose between the threat of the witch in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*—

But in a sieve I'll thither sail—

and the performance of Edward Lear's *Jumbies*—

They went to sea in a Sieve, they did,

In a Sieve they went to sea.

Yet the two are poles asunder. Three centuries have intervened and brought with them the momentous change from belief to disbelief.

(c) Rain as the seed of Zeus.

i. Zeus identified with rain.

That rain was regarded by the Greeks as the water of Zeus, we have already seen. It may next be shown that Zeus himself was thought to descend in the falling shower and thereby to fertilise Mother Earth.

Euripides speaks of rain as 'Zeus-drops' in the opening lines of the *Helene*:

See the fair virgin streams of Neilos, who—

Instead of Zeus-drops—waters all the plain

Of Egypt, fed by the white melting snow.

Similarly Greek magical papyri found in Egypt refer to rain more than once as 'Zeus-water.' These curious adjectival phrases are

1 Frazer *Golden Bough*; The Magic Art i. 284.
2 Shakespeare *Macbeth* i. 3. 9.
4 Supra p. 333 f.
noteworthy, because they seem to imply that Zeus was in a very special sense connected with, perhaps even identified with, the rain that fell from the sky.

Direct identification of Zeus with the rain is, however, a product of philosophizing thought, and is not expressed in literature till Roman times. Thus Varro writes: ‘These same deities, sky and earth, are Jupiter and Iuno; for, as Ennius puts it,—

There is the Jupiter for me: the Greeks
So name the air. He’s wind and cloud, then rain,
From rain turns cold, then once again thin air.
Yes, the same things are Jupiter just because
He helps both mortal crowds and all the beasts1.

Again, Arnobius makes a hypothetical opponent explain away the pagan belief in a union between Jupiter and Ceres by saying that ‘Jupiter’ really means the rain and ‘Ceres’ the earth—an easy method of allegorical interpretation, which he goes on to apply to other cases also2.

ii. Zeus descends in rain to fertilise the earth.

More genuinely Greek is the conception of rain that occurs in a beautiful passage of Virgil’s Georgics. The poet is describing the spring-time:

Spring helps the leafy grove; spring helps the wood;
Spring makes Earth swell and crave the seeds of birth.
Then the omnipotent sire, the Burning Sky,
Into the bosom of his joyous wife
With fruitful rain comes down, and mightily
Himself commingled with her mighty body
Nurtures all life that thence originates3.

1 Ennius frag. 507 Bährens ap. Varr. de ling. Lat. 5. 65 idem hi dei Caelum et Terra Jupiter et Iuno, quod ut ait Ennius: ‘istic est is Jupiter quem dico, quem Graeci vocant] aerem, qui venus est et nubes, imber postes, | atque ex imbre frigus, ventus post fit, aer (Bährens cj. tennis post fit aer) denuo. | haec (L. Spengel cj. haec) propter Jupiter sunt ista quae dico tibi. | qua mortalis atque urbes (Bährens cj. aequa turbas) beliusque omnis iuvat.’ The hymn ‘Jupiter...qua...iuvat’ is untranslatable.

2 Arnob. adv. nat. 5. 32 ilaque qui dicit: cum sua concubuit Jupiter matre, non incestas significat aut propudiosas Veneris complexiones, sed Iovem pro pluvia, pro tellure Cereare nominat. et qui narsus perhibet lascivias eum exercuisse eum filia, nihil de foedis voluptatibus loquitur, sed pro mundi nomine ponit Iovem, in filiae significacione sementem.

3 Verg. georg. 2. 323 ff. With 325 f. tum pater omnipotens fecundus imbribus Aether conuigis in gremium laetae descendit cp. ecl. 7. 60 Jupiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbris. Similiarely pervig. Ven. 49 ff. cras erit quam primus Aether copulavit nuptias | vel pater totum creavit vernis annum nubibus: | in sinum maritus imber (ib. 4) fluxit almae conuigis, unde fetus mixtus omnis alet magno corpore—a passage containing obvious echoes of Virgil.
Zeus descends in rain to fertilise the earth 453

Virgil's description, according to J. Conington¹, was evidently suggested by certain lines of Lucretius:

Lastly rain perishes
When downward dropped by the sire, the Burning Sky,
Into the bosom of mother Earth².

Lucretius in turn, according to H. A. J. Munro³, may have had in view a remarkable fragment from the Danaïdes of Aischylus, in which Aphrodite says:

The pure Sky yearns to pierce the soil, and Earth
Yearns likewise for that wedlock. Whereupon
Rain falls from the bridegroom Sky and wets the Earth;
And she brings forth her brood for mortal men—
Grass for their sheep and grain, Demeter's gift,
While trees from that same watery brilliance grow
Their fruits to fullness. And I help them all⁴.

But indeed the thought was a commonplace in classical poetry⁵. Euripides in words often cited by ancient writers expresses it thus:

Earth yearns for rain, whenever her parched field
Lacks moisture and a drought destroys the corn.
The great Sky filled with rain is fair to fall
Into the Earth through Aphrodite's might.
Soon as the two are one, they generate
And nurture for our sake all things whereby
The race of mortal man may live and thrive⁶.

¹ J. Conington on Verg. georg. 2. 324. ² Lucr. 1. 250 s. postremo perenum imbres, ubi eos pater Aether | in gremium matris Terrai praeceptavit. Cp. the Lucretian colouring of a fine passage in Colum. de re rust. 10. 204 ff. maximus ipse deum posito iam fulmine fallax | Acrisonoeos veteres imitatatur amores | inque sinus matris violento depluit imbrem. | nec genetrix nati nunc aspennatur amorem, | sed patitur nexus flammata cupidine tellus. | hinc maria, hinc montes, hinc totus denique mundus | ver agit: etc. (note 218 rerum causas).
³ H. A. J. Munro on Lucr. 1. 250.
⁴ Aisch. Danaïdes frag. 44 Nauck² ap. Athen. 600 a — b and Eustath. in ll. p. 978, 25 ff. έρα μὲν ἄγνοις οὐρανός τρώσαν (H. Grotius cj. τρήσαν, B. Heath cj. χρώσαν) χθόνα, | ἐρός δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γάμον τυχεῖν | ὄμμος δ' ἄπτ' εὐνάτηρος (so A. Nauck for εὐνάτηρος Athen. εὐνάτηρος Eustath.) οὐρανόν πεῦψι | έδεικτε (so B. Heath for ἑδείκτη κατά). γαῖαν: ἥ δὲ τίκταται βρότος | μήλων τε βοσκάς καὶ βιων Δημήτρον | τέθεον τόπωρα (so J. A. Hartung for τεθέον τοίχωρα) δ' ἐκ νυσίζων γάμων | τέλεος ἐστι. τῶν δ' ἑγὼ παρατίθημα.
⁵ Plout. amater. 24. ὡμα γὰρ ἐράω διαμβροῦ γαῖαν οἱ συμμαχοῦ Μέγανἰ καὶ γῆς οὐρανόν.
Zeus descends in rain to fertilise the earth

An equally famous passage from the Chrysippus of the same poet expands the idea:

Mightiest Earth and Burning Sky of Zeus—
He was the sire of men and gods alike,
And she from him received
The pelting watery drops
And mortals bare, bare too both blade and beast,
Wherefore aright we deem her mother of all.
Yea, and the things that spring
From Earth to Earth return,
But such as grow from seed aetherial
Home again go to the very height of heaven.
Nothing that lives shall die,
But, scattered now by this and now by that,
Put on fresh forms of immortality.

Vitruvius informs us that Euripides took these views—views which left a lasting trace on the poetic thought of Rome—from the philosopher Anaxagoras. But if so, it is merely one more case of Greek philosophy starting from the premises of folk-belief. And that belief I take to have been that the rain falling from the sky was in very truth the seed of the sky-god.

Nowhere, perhaps, is this put more simply than in Proklos’ commentary on the Timaios of Platon. After remarking that Orpheus speaks of the Earth as the first bride and her union with the Sky as the very first marriage, he proceeds: ‘The ordinances of the Athenians were aware of this, when they bade the preliminary marriage sacrifice be offered to Sky and Earth. It was with the same intent that at the Eleusinian rites they looked up to the Sky and shouted ἱφε, “rain,” then down to the Earth and added κύρ, “conceive”: they realised, in fact, that all things spring from Sky and Earth as from a father and a mother.'

1 Edit. Chrysippus frag. 839 Nauck; 2 ap. Sext. adv. nat. 6. 17, Philon. de incert. mundi 11, de mundo 11, alibi. θαίρ μεγίστη καὶ Δίας Αἰδηρ, ό μὲν αἰθράπων καὶ θεών γενόσιν, ὡς ἔργεσιον (J. Tour cij. έργεσιον) στοιχεῖα νοῦτα ἐπάρεισαμένη τικτεῖ θυείον, τικτεῖ βοτάνη (E. Müller cij. βοτάνη καὶ βοσόν codd.) φόλαι τε θηρίων οὐκ οίκεις, ἃ καὶ τάμημα πάνω νεόμαται. χωρεὶ δ’ ἐμεῖς, τά μὲν ἐκ γαλατίας φατν’, εἰς γαλατεῖν. τά δ’ ἅπα αἰθρίων διἀστάτα τεινθέντ’ εἰς οἴκον τῶν πάλαι ἀνθρώπων, ἄλλα πρὸς ἄλλαν μορφήν εὐπραξίαν ἀπέδοσεν. This passage was translated by Lucr. 2. 991 ff. (cp. ib. 5. 318 ff.) and paraphrased by Paucc. Chryser frag. 6 Ribbeck. Supra i. 26.

2 Vitruv. 8. frag. 1. See also Aet. 5. 19. 3 = H. Diehl Doxographi Graeci Berolini 1879 p. 430 a 10 ff., id. Die Fragmente der Vorschriften Berlin 1912 i. 398, 9 ff.

3 Supra i. 11, 27 ff., 285 n. 7, 310 ff., 357 n. 4, 422 n. 1, 505 n. 1, 672 n. 1, 804 n. 6, 1132 n. 3, etc. For a fine expansion of the theme see Prof. F. M. Cornford’s stimulating book From Religion to Philosophy London 1912.

4 Orph. frag. 113 Kern ap. Prokl. in Plat. Tim. 40 B (iii. 176, 10 ff. Diehl).

5 Prokl. in Plat. Tim. 40 B (iii. 176, 26 ff. Diehl) cited supra p. 399 n. 2.
iii. The myth of Danaë and analogous myths.

The belief enunciated in the foregoing paragraph explains more than one incident belonging to an early stratum of Greek mythology1. Thus it was as a fall of golden rain that Zeus visited Danaë2. Apart from a few stray allusions3, the oldest version of her myth is that given by Pherecydes of Athens, an ancient logographer who drew from epic sources4. His narrative is preserved by the learned scholiast on Apollonios Rhodios in the following form5:

Pherecydes in his second book tells how Akrisios married Eurydike, daughter of Lakedaimon. They had a child, Danaë. But when her father consulted the oracle about male offspring, the god at Pytho replied that a son would be born, not to him but to his daughter, and that he himself would be slain by that son. Thereupon Akrisios returned to Argos and made an underground chamber of bronze in the courtyard of his house6. Here he brought Danaë with a nurse, and kept watch over her lest she should give birth to a son. But Zeus was enamoured of the maiden and poured from the roof in the likeness of gold. She received it in her bosom; and Zeus manifesting himself had intercourse with the maiden7. They had a son, Perseus. Danaë and the nurse reared him unbeknown to Akrisios. But when Perseus was three or four years old, Akrisios heard the voice of the child at play, and sent his servants to fetch Danaë and the nurse. The latter he slew. The former with the child he brought to the altar of Zeus Herakles, and asked herprivily whence came the boy. She said “From Zeus.” He did not believe her, but put her and the boy into a chest, shut the lid, and cast it into the sea. They drifted to the island of Seriphos, and there Diktys the son of Peristhenes when fishing with a net ( diktyon) drew them to land. Then Danaë begged him to open the chest. He did so, and on hearing who they were took them to his home and brought them up as his own kith and kin.8

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4 Precise date uncertain: see W. Schmid—O. Stählin Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1929 i. 1. 711 n. 1.
6 ὁ δὲ ἀναχωρήσας εἰς Ἀργον θάλαμον ποιεῖ χαλκόν ἐν τῇ ἀληθῇ τῆς οἰκίας κατὰ γῆς, ἐπηκ ν. v. r. l.
7 ἔρωτες δὲ Ζεὺς τῆς παιδίν ἐκ τοῦ ὅρφου χρισάμενος παραπλήσιον τεί. ὁ δὲ ὑποθέκηται τῷ κολύτῳ, καὶ ἴδυθετα αὐτὸν ὁ Ζεὺς τῷ παιδὶ μὴ γνωταί.
The myth combines the episode of the golden rain with that of the floating coffers—a folk-tale motif which we have already had occasion to notice. Both subjects are represented (figs. 293, 294) on a red-figured krater in the Hermitage, found at Caere and attributed to the 'Foundry Painter' or to the 'Triptolemos Painter'. In either case the artist must have been at work between 490 and 470 B.C., a period when the relations of Athens to Persia might well quicken Athenian interest in the story of Perseus. The obverse shows Danaë sitting at the foot-end of a richly decorated couch and looking up in amazement as the long brown drops descend upon her. Mirror and skhkos hanging on the wall imply that this is her private bower.

The reverse gives the moment when the carpenter with mallet and bow-drill (? ) is putting the last touches to the chest, and

In Soph. frag. incert, 1016 Nauck, 1137 Jebb ap. Clem. Al. str. 5, 14 p. 401, 10 ff. Stählin (quoted by Euseb. præp. ev. 13, 13, 38) Zeus as consort of Danaë is χαρνομορφός. Was it a confused subconscious reminiscence (see the Class. Rev. 1907 xvi. 258 ff.) of this epithet that led Lyk. Al. 838 to call Perseus τὸν χαρνομορφὸν μῆδαμων?

1 Supra ii. 671 n. 4. See also A. Taylor 'Aussetzung im Baut' in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Münchens Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1933 i. 155 f.

8 Stephani Vasenmalerii, St. Petersburg ii. 281 f. no. 1733. To the bibliography given supra il. 1155 n. 9 no. (1) add J. E. Harrison & D. S. MacColl Greek Vase Paintings London 1894 p. 25 (Brygos) pl. 34, 1 and 2, P. Perdrizet in Darmangen—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 706 fig. 4219. My figs. 293 and 294 are reproduced from E. Gerhard Danae ein griechisches Vasenbild (Winckelmanns Fest-Progr. Berlin xiv) Berlin 1854 pp. 106 with col. pl. But note the express statement of Stephani op. cit. ii. 281 'Von der angeblich vorhandenen Namensbeischrift des Akrokors ist auch nicht die leiseste Spur zu bemerken'.


5 M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 192.

6 Opinions differ as to what the carpenter is doing. G. P. Campa in the Bull. d. Inst. 1848 p. 216: 'il est intento alla sua opera adoperandosi col trapasso a formare un foro nella cassa all'oggetto di chenderla e di connetterla col coperchio, il quale scorgesi ancora semiaperto e possimo a calare.' R. Kochotte Choix de peintures de Pompéi Paris 1853 p. 192 (the vase is described p. 189 ff. and the reverse figured pp. 181, 225): 'qui, penché en avant sur le çoffre, est tout occupé à y pratiquer, à l'aide de la tarière ou du foret qu'il fait mouvoir de ses deux mains, un trou propre à y ajuster le couvercle.' Gerhard op. cit. p. 2: 'beschäftigt, mit beiden ausgestreckten Händen, deren eine einen Stab hält, etwa ein durch senkrechte Unterlage getragenes Schloss einzupassen.' Welcker Alt. Denkm. v. 280: 'Er setzt mit der Linken einen länglich viereckten Stöpsel mit einem schmäleren Ende auf den Kasten und hält daran mit der rechten, wie anpassend, einen unten und oben eigen zugeschnittenen Stab, fast von der ganzen Länge der Breite des Kastens, etwas schräg über diesen hin. Es muss dies, obgleich der Mechanismus selbst unbekannt ist, eine Art festen Verschlusses bedeuten,' etc. with n. 7: 'Bohren eines Lochs scheint nicht ausgedrückt zu sein: auch ist der Deckel, in welchen es gehobt werden müsste, aufgespitzt. Dieser Nebenumstand ist völlig unklar.' Stephani op. cit. ii. 282:
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Fig. 293.

Fig. 294.
Akrisios bids him close the lid upon the protesting mother and her unheeding child. The starry decoration of the chest was perhaps traditional, for it occurs with equal insistence on other representations of the same scene (pl. xxxviii, figs. 295, 296). Indeed, it is tempting to conjecture that the star-spangled coffers were, by those who first designed it, felt to be the equivalent of a gilded coffin, fitting sequel of the star-spangled vault in which Akrisios had confined his daughter.

A red-figured oinochoe in the Louvre again has Danaë sitting alone and looking upwards at the shower that falls upon her. But


1 There is a further difference of opinion as to whether mother and child are standing behind the chest (Welcker op. cit. v. 279) or already within it (R. Rochette op. cit. p. 191, Gerhard op. cit. p. 2, Stephani op. cit. ii. 281 f., Overbeck op. cit. Zeus p. 413). The former view is supported by the analogy of a red-figured stamnos from Caere now in the Hermitage (Stephani op. cit. ii. 139 ff. no. 1357, Bibliography supra ii. 1155 n. 9 (2)). My fig. 295 is from the Mon. ed Ann. d. Inst. 1846 pl. 8 and a red-figured hydria at Boston (Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston 1914 xii. 6 fig. 4). J. D. Beazley Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 51 ff. (attributed to the 'Painter of the Diogenes Amphiara') fig. 31—my pl. xxxviii, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases i. 206 no. 1, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rostfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 111 (attributed to the Painter of the Munich Amphiara 2303): both vases belong to the decade 490—480 B.C. and involve the same personnel—Akrisios, the carpenter, Danaë, Perseus, the nurse (hardly Eurydice). The latter view relies on another red-figured hydria at Boston (P. Hartwig in the Mon. Lit. 1903 x. 55—59 pl. 8. R. Engelmann in the Jahrbuch. d. öst. arch. Inst. 1906 xii. 166 fig. 75, J. D. Beazley Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 161, id. Attische Vasenmaler des rostfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 364 no. 5 (attributed to the 'Danaemaler'), on the fragment of a red-figured bell-krater (?) formerly in Dendene (E. M. W. Tillyard The Hope Vases Cambridge 1925 p. 81 no. 137 pl. 32 'Danae and Perseus in the chest....The fragment dates about 450 B.C. Beazley approaches it to the work of the Painter of the Boston Phiale'), and on the vase recorded in the following note.

2 A red-figured boudle of 'Ialitote style' (J. D. Beazley Greek Vases in Poland Oxford 1928 p. 73 n. 2) from Nola, now at Naples (Heydemann Vasennamml. Neapel p. 479 f. no. 3140). A. de Jorio in the Real Musio Borbonico Napoli 1825 ii pl. 39, 4 (=my fig. 296) with p. 3 f. (Aystanax hidden in a tomb by his mother Andromeda sic), E. Gerhard in the Arch. Zeits. 1844 ii. 268 f. (Temes and Hemithei), R. Rochette Choix de peintures de Pompéi Paris 1853 p. 196 (Perseus and Danaë), J. Overbeck 'Über die Lade des Kypselos' in the Abb. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1865 iv. 612 (24) no. 12 (Tennes and Hemithei), E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 353 fig. 454 (Tennes and Hemithei)).

3 II. 24. 755 καὶ τὰ θέαμα χρονείας ἐφ᾽ Ἰάσμαν θηκας ἔλωτεν. The word ἐλωτει can mean 'coffin' as well as 'coffer.'

Hydria at Boston:
The carpenter completes the chest in the presence of Akrísios, Danaé, and the nurse holding the infant Perseus.

See page 458 n. 1.
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an arýballos of late, crude style, found in Kyrenaïke and now in London (fig. 297), complicates the scene by the addition of Eros moving away with a gesture of encouragement on the right, and an attendant woman—presumably the nurse of Pherekydes’ narrative—struck with wonder on the left. The painter has here used actual gilding to denote the golden drops.

Nikias of Athens, an artist who flourished c. 350—300 B.C. and was famous at once for his careful rendering of women and his skilful chiaroscuro, must have found in Danaë a congenial subject. Tiberius is said to have dedicated this masterpiece, along with the same artist’s Hyakinthos, in the temple of Augustus at Rome. Not

improbably Danaë was depicted sitting on the nuptial couch and receiving the gold in her lap, as she did in a painting described by Terence (or by Menandros whom Terence copied). Martial’s epigram


2 A. Reinaeh Texts Peint. Ant. i. 286.

3 Plin. nat. hist. 35. 130 f.

4 Plin. nat. hist. 35. 131.

5 A. Reinaeh op. cit. i. 288 n. r.

6 Ter. Enn. 583 ff. dum adparatur, virgo in conclusi sedet | suspectans tabulam quandam pictam ; ibi inerat pictura haec, Iovem | quo pacto Danae misisse aitut quondam | in gremium imbre aureum. | ego me quoque id spectare coepi : et qui consimilem luserat | iam olim ille ludum, inpendio magis animus gaudebat mihi, | deum sese in hominem con- | vortisse atque in alienas tegulas | venisse cunctum per pluvium factum factum mulier. | at quem deum! qui templo caeli summa sonitu concutit. | ego homuncio hoc non facerem?

ego illud vero item feci ac lubens.

7 M. Schanz Geschichte der römischen Litteratur München 1898 i. 82.
on a picture of Danaë¹ may well refer to the work of Nikias, with which the poet must have been familiar. But certainty is unattainable.

Variations on the same theme occur in Pompeian art². The simplest and finest of these, which—I should suppose—perpetuates the scheme of Nikias with the addition of a conventional³ landscape background, is a fresco from the Casa di Pansa (fig. 298)⁴. Danaë, recumbent, is half-draped in a purple garment. Zeus is represented

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¹ Mart. cp. 14. 173 Danaë picta. cur a te pretium Danaë, regnator Olympi, | acceptit, gratis si tibi Leda dedid?

² F. Knatz Quomodo Persei fabulum artifices Graeci et Romani tractaverint Bonnae 1893 p. 7 gives a list of four paintings, which—along with others of more doubtful interpretation—are figured in Reinach Rep. Peint. Gr. Rom. p. 10 nos. 2, 4, 7 and p. 11 no. 1.

³ Hardly to be explained from Hyg. fab. 63 Acrisius eam in muro lapideo praeclusit.

The myth of Danaë and analogous myths

only by the golden drops that fall from the sky upon her bare body. Another fresco, in the Casa della Regina Margherita (fig. 299)\(^1\), shows Danaë seated on a couch within her chamber. She has a golden fillet in her hair, a bosom-band round her breast, and wrapped about her right leg a *himation*, which she lifts with both hands to catch the descending shower. Side by side with her on the same couch

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sits a youthful beardless (? ) Zeus with golden bay(?)-wreath, long sceptre, and reddish violet himation— a kingly presence, but illogically

combined with the rain into which he had transformed himself. Perhaps he is to be thought of as not yet made manifest; for he
The myth of Danaë and analogous myths does not look at Danaë, nor Danaë at him. A third picture, from the Casa della Caccia, now at Naples (fig. 300), imports fresh motifs. The advent of the god is symbolised by a great winged thunderbolt, which falls upon a neighbouring block. Danaë—to match a pendant figure of Leda—stands erect, while a hovering Eros shoots the golden rain at her out of a big amphora on his shoulder. These innovations are none too happy. The painter, however, had an eye for colour: the heroine's hair is dark, her snood rosy-red, her fluttering 

Fig. 301.

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2 A point noted by Herrmann op. cit. p. 256 n. 1.

C. III.
himation yellow with green lining and deep violet shadows. Yet another fresco, in the House of M. Gavius Rufus (fig. 301), unites the standing Danaé and the hovering Eros with the youthful (?) seated Zeus in a novel, but thoroughly unsatisfactory, whole.

Zeus changing himself into a lapful of gold in order to win his innamorata was a subject not likely to escape the notice of comedians, rationalists, and moralising expositors. Terence (or Menandros?) already makes capital of the situation. Latin poets, both Greek and Roman, follow suit. Prudentius at the beginning of the fifth century talks roundly of the crafty god turning himself into hard cash (nummi). Indeed, the gibe had long been a commonplace with the Christian fathers and is the accepted explanation of belated allegorists. Small wonder, then, that Renaissance and post-Renaissance art perpetuated the libellous tradition. Titian harped on the theme

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2 Supra p. 400 n. 7.

3 Anth. Pal. 5. 30. 5 f. (Antipatros of Thessalonike), 5. 32. 1 f. and 5. 33. 1 f. (Parmenion).

4 Hor. od. 3. 10. 1 ff. with Acr. and Porphyry, ad loc., Adna 90, ov. am. 3. 8. 29 ff., Petron. sat. 137. 9, Mart. ep. 14. 175 (quoted supra p. 402 n. 1), Sulp. Luper. de cupiditate 7 f. (Poet. Lat. min. iv. 108 Bachrens), Rutil. Namat. de raditu suo i. 360 (Poet. Lat. min. v. 17 Bachrens).

5 Prudent. c. Symm. 1. 78 et nummos fieri et gremium penetrare puellae.

6 Tert. apol. 21 amatorem in auro conversum Danaidis with J. E. B. Mayor ad loc., Lact. div. inst. 11 Danaen violantur aureos nummos largiter in sinum eius infudit, haec stupri merces fuit, Epiphan. anecr. 105 (i. 208 Dindorf) prós Dánavh dé χρυσῇ ἐγένετο, ἵνα πάθουν σῳφρον θαλαμοναύλην φθείρῃ, χρυσῇ δὲ ἔτηνα ὀψιν ἡδύνατο γενεσθαι, ἕλλα γῆς ὑπὲρ χρυσοῦ δορυθλῶν τὰν πάθον ἡμάτιον. Hieron. adv. Rufin. 3. 4 (xxiii. 481 A Migne) habes enim, per quod Danaes est victa pudicitia, Aug. de civ. Dei 18. 13 (=Isid. orig. 8. 11. 35) vel Danaes per imbre aurem adipiscit concubitum, ubi intellegitur pudicitia mulieris aureo fusisse corrupit, Fulgent. myth. i praef. 20 nec imbre mendaci lusa [Danae] virgo cantatur, i. 19 dum et Danae imbre aurato corrupto est non pluvia, sed pecunia, Columbus (abbot of Luxeuil and Bobbio, died 615 (?) A.D.) carm. 3. 61 f. (in M. H. Goldast, Parametricorum voerum pars i Insulæ, Ad lacum Acronium 1604 p. 54 f.) Femina sepe | Perdit ob aurum | Casta pudorem. | Non Iouis aurī | Fluxit in imbre, | Sed quod adulter | Obulit aurum, | Aureus ille | Fingitur imber.


On the other hand, F. Piper, Mythologie und Symbole der christlichen Kunst Weimar
A Roman mosaic from Palermo: the amours of Zeus—Antiope, Danaë, Leda.
and attempted several variations of it. At Naples Cupid raises a deprecating hand as he escapes across the foot of the couch. At Madrid and Petrograd the face of Jove is half-seen amid the clouds and an attendant duenna tries to catch some of the gold in her apron. At Vienna (fig. 302) the god’s face again peeps through the clouds, while the old crone holds an alms-dish to take the collection. Finally, Van Dyck’s Danaë at Dresden (fig. 303) extends her arms towards a shower, not only of coined money, but of chains, rings, and trinkets. So the heroine, who began by adorning a tale, ends by pointing a moral.

Little is added to our understanding of the myth by other representations of it in ancient art. A fine Roman mosaic, found at Palermo in 1869 and dating perhaps from the early part of s. ii A.D., figures side by side three amatory exploits of the sky-god: on the left he woos Antiope as a Satyr (supra i. 735 fig. 541), on the right he courts Leda as a swan, and in the centre he falls as a golden shower upon Danaë (pl. xxxix). Another great mosaic, at Ouled Agla 1847 i. 155 f. draws attention to the Defensorium inviolatae virginitatis b. Mariæ virginis, a work compiled by the Dominican Franciscus de Retza (professor of theology at Vienna in 1388), in which various classical parallels to the immaculate conception are added and illustrated: ‘So erscheint in dem einen Bild die Danaë hinter einem Vergitterten Fenster stehend, wie sie von den goldenen Strahlen des Halbmondens beschienen wird,—mit der Unterschrift: Si Dana(e) auri pluvia praegnant a Jove clarit. | Cur spiritu sancto gravida virgo non generaret.’ See F. Jacobs—F. A. Uberti Beiträge zur älteren Literatur oder Merkwürdigkeiten der Herkogl. öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Gotha Leipzig 1835 i. 112 (leaf T’ fig. 1 of this xylographic work).


4 J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle op. cit. ii. 229 f. (perhaps not carried out without assistance from Cesare Vecelli, or Girolamo), J. Addison op. cit. p. 40 f. (‘The finest, in modelling, chiaruscura, and atmosphere’), C. Ricketts op. cit. p. 132 (‘perhaps by Orazio’), O. Fischel op. cit. pl. 187, 1. Fig. 302 is from the Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerkönigsten Kaiserhauses: Die Gemälde Galerie Alte Meister Wien 1866 p. 55 no. 174 with pl.

5 J. Addison op. cit. p. 44 f. Fig. 303 is from H. Knackfuss Van Dyck London 1899 p. 40 with fig. 27.

6 F. Knatz Quomodo Persic fabulam artificis Graeci et Romani tractaverint Bonnæ 1893 p. 7 f.

H. Heydemann in the Arch. Zeit. 1869 xxvii. 38—40.

(Equivetum?)\(^1\) in Mauretania Sitifensis, again shows a series of the canonical amours: Zeus with Ganymedes and eagle occupies the middle of an oblong composition, being flanked on the left by the swan with Leda (mostly missing) and the Satyr with Antiope, on the right by the golden rain with Danaë and the bull with Europe (fig. 304)\(^2\).

Intaglios with their smaller field have room only\(^3\) for the isolated

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\(^1\) P. Gauckler in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 2109. But see H. Dessau in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 324.


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figure of Danaë receiving the celestial shower. A silver ring at Boston, Greek work of s. v B.C., shows her standing with upturned face as she holds out her himation to catch the falling drops: behind her is inscribed her name (fig. 306). A fifth-century scaraboid of red jasper with white stripes, formerly in the Tyszkiewicz collection and now likewise at Boston, makes her sit the while on a two-cushioned bed (fig. 307). An amethyst from the cabinet of Baron von Gleichen has her, almost nude, in the attitude of a crouching Aphrodite, raising her hands to the small rounded rain-drops (fig. 308). And a fourth-century chalcedony of unknown ownership

Fig. 306.

Fig. 307.

Fig. 308.

Fig. 309.

Fig. 310.

Fig. 311.

1 Lippold Gemmen pl. 47, 1 (=my fig. 306) p. 175.
2 Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 61, 36, ii. 375, Lippold Gemmen pl. 47, 3 (=my fig. 307) p. 175.
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leaves the drops to our imagination, but gives us a Maenad-like Danaë sitting on a stool, with bare breast and wide-flung mantle, as she turns her face towards the sky (fig. 309). The last two gems attest the all-pervading influence of such popular types as those of Doidales' Aphrodite and Skopas' Maenad.

Finally, a bronze coin of Argos, struck by Hadrian (fig. 311), represents Danaë seated on a throne, her head thrown back, her breast bared, and her garment held wide in the same significant manner.

The episode of the floating coffer found its highest expression, not in art, but in literature. Simonides of Keos, perhaps in one of his thrēnoi, limned the scene with exquisite skill:

When in the well-wrought chest
She felt the blowing wind and moving mere,
She cowered in tearful terror and
Round Perseus cast a loving hand:
  'Child, I am sore distrest.
But thou, a baby-boy, art slumbering here
In this same comfortless bronze-bolted bark,
Stretched out 'neath starlit night and the blue dark.
The brine that passes higher than thy hair
Thou heedest not, nor dost thou even hark
The whistling wind; but lo, thou liest there
To the crimson cloak turning thy forehead fair.
If terrors had been terrible to thee,
Thy tiny ear had listened unto me.
  But now sleep babe, sleep surging sea,
Sleep all our trouble infinite.
Yet, Father Zeus, some better plight
Send; and if overbold this prayer I pray,
Forgive each wrongful word I say.

1 Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 14, 25, ii. 68 (Wohl Danae?), Lippold Gemmen pl. 47. 1 (=my fig. 309) p. 175.

G. Sangiorgi in the Röm. Mitth. 1933 xlviii. 284—288 pl. 48, 4 (=my fig. 310) publishes an oval carbuncle, on which is engraved another half-draped Danaë, leaning on a pillar and holding out the upper part of her garment to catch the shower. Good work of c. 300 B.C.


3 Supra p. 456 ff. See further F. Knats Quomada Persei fabulam artifices Graeci et Romani tractaverint Bonnæ 1893 pp. 8—10.

4 P. Schwarz De fabula Danaea Halis Saxonum 1881 p. 10 ff.

5 W. Schmid—O. Stählin Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1929 i. t. 516.

Simonides' verses are of course merely a poet's elaboration of a mythical theme. But the Greek mind, even in the fifth century B.C., passed readily from myth to moral; and the tale of Danaë, like many another, could on occasion be made the vehicle of serious thought. Later, it was not without its influence upon Christian legends.

1 For an instructive example see W. Stechow Apollo und Daphne Leipzig—Berlin 1933 pp. 1-76 with 34 pls.
2 Supra p. 466 f.
(When baptised by Timothy, a disciple of S. Paul, she broke up her idols and cast them down. Her father in anger bound her to a wild horse, which bit off his arm but did not hurt her. Etc.) ib. Antwerpiae 1680 Mainz ii. 4 ff. 'celebrata Constantinopolis,' F. G. Holweck A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints St. Louis, Mo. 1924 pp. 508 ('a Byzantine martyr of the first century. According to a worthless legend she was instructed by angels and baptised by S. Timothy; she converted her parents, for which reason she was beheaded by command of the Propraetor Ampelianus at Ephesus, under Domitian or Trajan. Her relics were brought to Constantiopolis, where she once had three churches and was highly venerated. She may be identical with the 'Irene' of Lecce and Southern Italy. The Greeks call her "Megalomartyr."') F.(east) 3 May, full office in the Greek Church), N. Nilles Kalendarium manuale utriusque Ecclesiae Orientalis et Occidentali (Enipont 1563 ii. 152, 1881 ii. 413 n. o. S. Baring-Gould The Lives of the Saints Edinburgh 1914 xv. 35 ff. Dec. 4 ('S. BARBARA, V.M. (A.D. 235).... Usuardus and Ado in their martyrologies make S. Barbara a martyr in Tuscany; Metaphrases says she suffered at Heliopolis; Baronius, in the Roman Martyrology, sets her down as a martyr at Nicomedia. One authority is just as right as the other, for S. Barbara is a wholly mythical personage. There was once upon a time a very wealthy and noble Greek named Dioscorus, an idoler, who had a daughter so beautiful in face and form that he shut her up in a tower, very lofty and inaccessible, so that no man might see her, and that thus she might be kept out of mischief. According to one account, however, he allowed her to take lessons of masters, of advanced age, or, no doubt, of disagreeable appearance. Her father, before departing on a long journey, built her a bath at the basement of her tower with two windows high up in the wall. On his return he was indignant to find that Barbara had insisted on the workmen making a third window. Taking these windows as her text, she preached to him the mystery of the Trinity. Dioscorus was furious; but, when he attacked her with his sword, the rock opened and received her into its bosom. Afterwards, directed by a wicked shepherd, her father found her and hailed her by the hair to the chief magistrate, Marcian. When she refused to sacrifice to the gods, Marcian had her stripped and beaten, torn with iron combs, and hammered on the head. Juliana, a girl who pitied her, was arrested and treated in the same manner. Marcian then had the breasts of Barbara cut off, and gave orders that she should be led naked round the town. But Christ, in answer to her prayer, came from heaven and clothed her. Marcian finally gave sentence that Barbara and Juliana should be executed with the sword. On reaching the destined place, her father cut off her head, and Juliana suffered likewise. A flash of lightning fell and consumed Dioscorus, another flash reduced Marcian to a smoking ash-heap. Accordingly S. Barbara is held to be the patroness of firearms, and is invoked against the lightning') with pl. of S. Barbara after the painting by Hans
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All this, however, does not help us to grasp the original significance of Danaë and her golden shower. Recent investigators have attempted to explain the myth in terms of sun or shooting stars. Thus Sir James Frazer writes:

'It has its counterpart in the legend which the Kirghiz of Siberia tell of their ancestry. A certain Khan had a fair daughter, whom he kept in a dark iron house, that no man might see her. An old woman tended her; and when the girl was grown to maidenhood she asked the old woman, "Where do you go so often?" "My child," said the old dame, "there is a bright world. In that bright world your father and mother live, and all sorts of people live there. That is where I go." The maiden said, "Good mother, I will tell nobody, but shew me that bright world." So the old woman took the girl out of the iron house. But when she saw the bright world, the girl tottered and fainted; and the eye of God fell upon her, and she conceived. Her angry father put her in a golden chest and sent her floating away (fairy gold can float in fairyland) over the wide sea. The shower of gold in the Greek story, and the eye of God in the Kirghiz legend, probably stand for sunlight and the sun."

Sir James goes on to quote other legendary examples of impregnation by the sun. But he does not meet the obvious objection that Holbein the elder, one of the wings of the altarpiece of S. Sebastian, now in the Pinakothek at Munich, N. Nilles, op. cit. i. 341. 404 f., 486, ii. 606. M. and W. Drake Saints and their Emblems London 1916 p. 16.

But it should be observed that neither the tower of S. Irene nor the tower of S. Barbara was an underground structure of bronze or iron, and that the sequel did not in either case involve the motif of the Floating Coffer. The Danaë-myth was but one ingredient of the hagiographer's strabotaur.

1 Frazer Golden Bough 2: Balder the Beautiful i. 74.
2 [For the same variation from bronze to iron see supra i. 632 n. 3 (the sky), 719 n. 2 (Talos). Alluding to Danaë, Prop. 2. 26. 11 f. has 'in te ego et aeratas rumpan, mea vita, catenas, | serratam Danaeae transiliamque domum' and Loukian. Thm. 13 says ἐν χαλκῷ θυσία τῷ θάλαμῳ καθήκετο τὴν Δανάην παρθενεῖσα (id. dial. marin. 12. 1 επαρθενέως ἐν χαλκῷ τῷ θάλαμῳ ἐρμαλώσα). Cp. Nonn. Dion. 8. 136 ff. τὸ Δανᾶ πολλὰ τῷ δειτέρῳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ζευς, | ἀλλὰ σιδηρομορφῶς (οὐ σιδηρομορφῶς legendum? A. W. C.) μετὰ σφραγὶς μελάνου | μεμορφοῦσ' χρώον θάλαμοι πολλοὶ νεκροὶ νόμῳ (but ib. id. 47. 543 ff. χαλκομορφῶς (C. F. Graefe cf. χαλκομορφῶς) δὲ | μῶς παρθενεῖσα, ὡς Δανάη δὰ κλησθῇ | χρώειν δικαίου ἐχθές γαμοελάτων ξύτων Ζεὺς), Tzetzs. in Lyk. Al. 838 Δανᾶ, ἢ Ἀθριαῖος ὁ πατὴρ σιδηρῶν τοιχάρχας θάλαμοι ἑνεκελοῦσ' ὡς τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ μενυγ παρθένων.)
3 W. Radloff, Proben der Volkssprache der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibirien, ill. (St. Petersburg, 1870) pp. 82 sq. E. S. Hartland The Legend of Perseus London 1894 i. 139—142 gives the story at greater length, drawing upon the same source.

4 Frazer Golden Bough 5: Balder the Beautiful i. 74 f.

Classical parallels are not wholly wanting. E. Norden Die Geburt des Kindes Leipzig—Berlin 1924 p. 188 f. draws attention to Asklepiaides of Mendes frag 3 (frag. hist. Gr. iii. 306 Müller) ap. Suet. Aug. 94 (cp. Dion Cass. 45. 1) in Asclepiadis Mendetis (C. Müller, after Voss, cf. Mendetis) Theologumenon libris lego, Atiam, cum ad sollemne Apollinis sacrum media notae venisset, posita in templo lectica, dum eum materatorm dormirent, obdormisse: draconem repente irepsisse ad cam pauloque post egressum; illam expegefactam quasi a concubitu mariti purificasse sé; et statim in corpore eius exitisse maculum velut picti draconis, nec putuisse unquam exigu, adeo ut mox publicis balneis perpetuo abstinuerit; Augustum natum mense decimo et ob hoc Apollinis filium existi-
Danaë is invariably said to have been impregnated by a golden rain, and that rain is not a very natural description of sunlight or the sun.

L. Radermacher\(^1\) contends that the Greeks believed in impregnation by a falling star. In support of his contention he quotes the story told by Nikephoros Skeneophylax\(^2\) about Saint Theodoros Sykeotes, archimandrite of Galatia and bishop of Anastasiopolis (590—613 A.D.)\(^3\). His mother Maria kept a public hostelry at Sykeon, where she met the magistrate Kosmas. On the night of her child’s conception, a glittering star fell from the sky and entered her womb, symbolising—says the pious Nikephoros—the purity of his actions. The Greek life of the saint\(^4\) and its Latin version\(^5\) both vouch for the miracle. On the strength of this, and of sundry modern matum. eadem Atia prius quam pararet sommiavit, intestina sua ferri ad sidera explicarique per omnem terrarum et caeli ambitum. sommiavit et pater Octavius, utero Atiae liberis solis exercitum (cp. Rev. 12. 1 ff.), Konon narr. 33 και ὁ Ζυλίκος των τῶν ἐν Μίλησι τεθένων ἀναστήματα γαμεῖ, καὶ αὐτὴ τέκτωνα ὅμως διὰ τῶν ἤλιων αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦ στομάτου εἰσεύθεν διὰ τὴν γαστρόν καὶ τῶν ἄλοιπων διεξέλθων· καὶ ἦν τὸ δραμα τῶν μάτων ἀγάθων. καὶ ἔτεκε κόρην, βραχίονι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠψείου καλίσσα, ὅτι ὁ ἄλιος αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦ βραχίου (με βραχίους ἢ ἦλιος) διεξέλθε. καὶ ἦν ὁ παῖς κάλλιστος ἀνθρώπων, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξελέφανον ἐρασθείς Ἀδᾶλπης, εὐφόρων ποιμανόντα ἐνὴ βωμὴ ἀνέστηκεν Ψελλίου θεᾶς ἤμετρα.

L. Radermacher in the Archiv f. Rel. 1927 xxv. 218 notes also Artemid. onsizom. 2. 36 ἡλίος ἀπὸ ἀναστήματα ἀνάξιων λαμπρός καὶ καθαρὸς καὶ καταδυόμενος ἐν δυναι ἄγαθός τῶν τεθένων μὲν γὰρ πρᾶξεως προσορεύεται... οὗ τε ταῦτα γενόμενα ἡλίον γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἀρκετά τέκνα τοῖς υποκερδώμεναι καλοὶ, τὸ ἡλίον ἐν τῇ καθαρᾷ τοῦ κατακειμένου καὶ ἀντέχου τῶν μεγάλων καὶ φλεγόμεναι προσορεύεται, λέγει δὲ τί ἄγαθόν ἐν τῇ καθαρᾷ καὶ καθαρέστηκεν πρὸς σημεῖα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ γένεσι προσγέρεσεν. Add. Achim. onsizom. 166 p. 127, 26 ff. Drexel ei de ἦσθε, ἵνα ἤλιος ἦν αὐτὸς ἠλίθιόν εἰσεύθεν ἐν τῷ ὕλεῳ αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ βασιλεῖα, γεννάται βασιλεία, εἰ δὲ μέγατο ἦν οὐκούλι, ὑποθέσεται καὶ χαρεῖται, τάχα καὶ βασιλεῖα ὑποθέτεται. See also Soph. frag. diph. 1017 Nauck\(^2=\) frag. 732 Jebb ‘Ἡλι’, ἀκτίποις ἕως | ἐν ὁ de | σοφιὴ λέγουσι γεννήθη θεῶν | καὶ θεὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀν. απον. de Arati interp. p. 28, 17 ff. Maass (opus 1. 461 p. 7). Dreams, visions, and philosophemes may equally rest on a basis of popular belief. ‘Happy is the bride the sun shines on.’

\(^1\) L. Radermacher ‘Danae und der goldene Regen’ in the Archiv f. Rel. 1927 xxv. 216—218.

\(^2\) Nikeph. Skeneophylax encomium in S. Theodorum Sizontam 5 (Analecta Bollandiana Bruxelis 1901 xx. 254) των τεθένων ἐκφύσε τεκνητῶν ἡ τοῦτον τεκνήτρια οὐ τῶν πράγματι ἤρεμων ἐν ἰδίᾳ προσδέχεται ἐκ μέτρων ἄγαθαμενοι καὶ τῷ Θεῷ προσφέροντες ἀμεροῦσας. ὡς ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ συνθείῳ πληθύσσας τῶν πολεμίων ἔκεινα μαραθότων ὑπελθάτων, αὐτὴ ὑπεράνθη ἡμιασιά ἀστράτων ἀμαραθώς τὸν τόσον ἦλιον ὑπελέχεται τὸ καθαρὸν ἔκεινα τῶν πράξεων συμβολικές αἰνετῶσας. κ.τ.λ.


\(^4\) Th. Ioannes Μνημεία ἤγκονομα 1884 p. 361 ff.

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superstitions about meteors, Radermacher suggests that Danaë’s golden rain was essentially just a fine display of shooting stars. His suggestion would indeed account well for the curious persistence with which stars appear in connexion with Danaë’s coffer. But shooting stars, after all, were a phenomenon familiar enough to the Greeks, and were never confused by them with rain, golden or otherwise.

Looking further afield we find that ordinary rain is sometimes credited with procreative powers. H. H. Bancroft in his account of the Pueblo religion describes the birth of ‘the great leader, teacher, and god Montezuma’:

1 L. Radermacher in the Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Phil.-hist. Classe 1916 clxxxi. 3. 69 (Basilisios, Bishop of Seleucia in Isauria c. 435—465 A.D., de vita et miraculis D. Theod. i. 10 (ii xcv. 881 a Migne) notes that S. Thekla attended her yearly festival at Seleucia, and that any one who on the vigil of the feast kept watch upon the heights above Dalisandros might see her cross the sky in a fiery chariot (δεὶ πυρκαγιᾶς ἀρματὸς, ψηφοῦ τοῦ ἄρθρου βεβαιωθῶν της παρθένου καὶ διφθερατοῦσαν, cp. III. 5). 745 ff., 8. 389 ff.), A. Wuttke Der deutsche Volksberglauhe der Gegenwart Berlin 1869 p. 183 (in Germany, Switzerland, etc. a shooting star implies the death of a man), id. ib. 3 p. 94 (in Oldenburg ‘Bovistine sind ausgebrannte Sternschnuppen... n. machen die Kühe brünstig...’), W. Gundel Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit Bonn—Leipzig 1922 p. 295 (‘Die Griechen bezeichneten einzelne Sternschnuppen als Böcke und Geissen, und die Deutschen sahen besonders in den Kometen, aber auch in den Meteoren, Schlangen und das dämonische Fabeltier, den Drachen’), N. G. Polites Παρακολούθησε τον κατακόπτες κεραυνός σχηματιζότας λίθοι, βαμμασίως κεκτημένοι ιδιότητα, εἰς καλὲ ἀστροπόλεις ἀστροπόλεις κ. τ. λ. Supra ii. 506, 844).


3 H. H. Bancroft The Native Races of the Pacific States London 1875 iii. 175 n. o (after Fremont). E. S. Hartland The Legend of Perseus London 1894 i. 136 n. 3 regards this version as more primitive than that given by A. W. Bell in The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London New Series 1868—69 i. 250f. ‘Two good-sized ruins are situated near the Fima villages; one is known as Casa Montezuma, the other as Casa Grande... Long ago a woman of exquisite beauty ruled over the valleys and the region south of them. Many suitors came from far to woo her, and brought presents innumerable of corn, skins, and cattle to lay at her feet. Her virtue and determination to continue unmarried remained alike unshaken; and her store of worldly possessions so greatly increased that, when drought and desolation came upon her land, she fed her people out of her great abundance and did not miss it, there was so much left. One night, as she lay asleep, her garment was blown from off her breast, and a dewdrop from the Great Spirit fell upon her bosom, entered her blood, and caused her to conceive. In time, she bore a son, who was none other than Montezuma, and who built the large casas and all the other ruins which are scattered through the land. After instructing his people in the arts of civilization he departed for the south and then disappeared.’
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1 His mother was, it is said, a woman of exquisite beauty, admired and sought after by all men, they making her presents of corn and skins and all that they had; but the fastidious beauty would accept nothing of them but their gifts. In process of time a season of drought brought on a famine and much distress; then it was that the rich lady showed her charity to be as great in one direction as it had been wanting in another. She opened her granaries and the gifts of the lovers she had not loved went to relieve the hungry she pitied. At last with rain, fertility returned to the earth; and on the chaste Artemis of the Pueblos its touch fell too. She bore a son to the thick summer shower and that son was Montezuma.

The same story is current among the Pimas of California, the Mojave of the Rio Colorado in Arizona, and the Apaches. Indeed, the belief in conception through magical contact with water is of world-wide distribution.

We are justified, then, in the surmise that Danaë's golden shower was but a mythical expression for the rain whereby the sky-god fertilises the earth. But what of Danaë herself? She is hardly to be regarded as an earth-goddess, for she has no cult. Rather she is a heroine, whose name stands in obvious relation to that of the Danaat or Danalides. Her myth too is in some points analogous to theirs. If Akrìsios, king of Argos, imprisoned Danaë in an underground chamber to safeguard her virginity, his action bore an odd resemblance to that of his forefather Danaos, likewise king of Argos, who had imprisoned Hypermestra, the one Danaïd that remained a virgin. And if Zeus descended upon Danaë in the form of a golden rain, we cannot forget that the Danaïdes stood for the performance of a mimetic rain-charm. It may well be that Danaë's complex tale includes at least one episode of an aetiological sort, and that the princess secluded, drenched with rain, and even sent adrift in a coffer was a mythical prototype of actual human happenings.


"Exceptionally, as in the beautiful legend told by the Pima Indians concerning the inhabitants of the deserted Casas Grandes, the maize-spirit appears as an actual mother of mankind. They describe her as a maiden living in isolation, unmoved by the addresses of suitors, and giving maize to the hungry Indians in times of dearth. One day, as she lay asleep, a raindrop fell on her naked bosom, and she became the ancestress of the maize-growing Pueblo Indians." J. G. Bourke loc. cit. tells the Mojave myth: "This Earth is a woman; the Sky is a man... the Earth was asleep and a drop of rain fell upon her causing conception... two gods were born in the west... They were Ku-ku-matz and his brother, To-chi-pa."


3 Supra p. 364. See also A. H. Sayce in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1895 xlv. 162.

4 Supra p. 356.

5 Supra p. 368 f.

6 Supra p. 485 f.
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Be that as it may, two similar epiphanies of the sky-god are recorded by Pindar, whose knowledge of the details of mythology was equalled only by his appreciation of their beauty. The poet in an Isthmian ode asks his native town of Thebes on what local scene her memory most delights to dwell. On the birth of Dionysos (at whose nativity Zeus rained ambrosia)?

Or when at midnight in a snow of gold
Thou didst receive the greatest of the gods,
What time he stood
Before Amphitryon’s door
And wooed Amphitryon’s wife
To bear him Herakles.

Again, in an Olympian ode Pindar speaks of Rhodes—

Where once the mighty king of the gods,
With golden snow-flakes rained upon the town,
When by Hephaistos’ craft
The crown of the Father’s head
Was cleft by a bronze-wrought axe,
And lo, Athena leapt to light
And cried aloud with a far-carrying cry—
Whereat Heaven shuddered, ay and Mother Earth.

Pindar does not expressly assert that Zeus was in this wondrous shower. But that such was the original concept is almost certain; for another Rhodian tale made Zeus consort with the earth-born Himaia ‘by means of rain’.

1 Pind. Isthm. 7. 1 ff. τινι των πάροι, ὕ μάκαιρα Θήβας, καλων ἐπιχορήγησα μάλιστα θυμὸι τεύν | ἐθραμμα.; ὅβα καλοκαρτόν πάρεδρον Αμφιτριώτης ἀνίκε ἐθραμμα; Βασιλείας Δίόνυσου; ἄρης μεσονικτόν νύφων δεσμαία τῶν φέρτων θεῶν, ὅτω τ’ Ἀμφιτριώτους ἐν θυρέτοις σταθεὶς Ἀλκιδίων μετήθησαν Ἡρακλείως γυνάι.; with schol. vet. 5 α. ἄρης μεσονικτόν; ὅτε τι μεσονικτὸν χρυσῷ καταστάσωτα ἔδειξε τῶν θεῶν ἐξηρημὸν Δίαν. b. ἄλως. ἰδιῶς λεγεὶ τὸν Δίον για τούχων, νύκτα ἐμέγαντο Ἀλκιδίῳ ὅ τ’ ἐπὶ Δαναί’ μεθενόμενα ἐπί Ἀλκιμήνα μετήθησαν.

2 Supra ii. 275 n. 12. In qua § 9 (l) Zeus Ηιδες.

3 Pind. Ol. 7. 34 ff. ἑνδα ἐνθα βρέχει θεῶν βασιλείαν ο λέγει χρυσαῖς νυόδεσσα πάλιν, ἀν’ Ἱλία Αμφιτρίωτον τέχναιον ἀνακαλάν πελέκει πατέρος Ἀθαναία κορώφαν κατ’ ἀκραν ἀνακοπάσαν ἁλίσκην ὑπερήγιει βω.; ὄφανός τ’ ἐφεξῆς κεῖ καὶ Γαία ματηρ. The schol. ad loc. (63 a 63 b, 64 Drachmann) and Strab. 654 l. wrongly supposed that Pindar was embroidering II. 2. 670 καὶ σφι θεαστέον πλοῖσιν κατέλειψε Κρονώς (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1212 n. 2. L. Radermacher in the Archiv. f. Rel. 1927 xxv. 210). With the sequel in Pind. Ol. 7. 49 l. κεῖσθαι ὅ μὲν (sc. Ζεὺς) εἶχαν ἄγαγάν νεφέλας | πάλιν δ’ ἐν χρυσὸν κρήνης χρυσοστ. mai. imag. 2. 27. 3 Πολιόν δ’ ἐγείρεται χρυσὸν εἰς οὐρανοῦ πέρας καὶ διαπέφαται φῶν τὰς ὅλις καὶ τοῖς στρατάρχαις νεφέλας εἰς αὐτοὺς βάφσεις τοῦ Δίου κτλ. See further for this favourite theme Strab. 655, Aristotle. or. 43. 546 (i. 807 Dindorf), Menandros περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν 3. 2 (ix. 200 Walz), Lykeion. or. 31. 6 (vii. 10 Foerster), frg. Gymn. 9 vitup. 6. 3 (viii. 312 Foerster), epist. 351. 11 (x. 330 Foerster), Himera. ecl. 13. 34. Ioul. frg. epist. 290 b.

4 Diodoros, probably drawing upon Zenon of Rhodes (W. Christ Geschichte der
The myth of Danaé and analogous myths

A similar belief underlies the statement of Ovid that the Kouretes were 'sprung from an abundant shower of rain', if not also the tradition preserved by the same author that at Corinth 'in the far past mortal bodies were born of rain-begotten mushrooms.'

(f) Ominous rain sent by Zeus.

i. Rain of blood.

At critical moments Zeus expressed his mood by sending some abnormal shower. Specially ominous was the fall of blood-red rain. The Iliad makes it the prelude to a battle between Achaeans and Trojans:

Then Kronos' son sent evil strife among them
And from aloft, out of the burning sky,
Let fall drops dank with blood; for he was fain
To hurl to Hades many a valiant head.

Again, when Sarpedon the Lycian was about to be slain, Zeus—

Shed gouts of blood upon the ground to honour
His own son, whom Patroklos was to kill
In fertile Troyland far away from home.

The Hesiodic author of the Shield (c. 650—600 B.C.) has a similar description of the fight between Herakles and Kyknos:

griechischen Litteratur München 1910 ii. i. 217 who is named in the context (frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 175 f. Müller) σφ. Diom. 8. 55 f.), had said γενέθιαν δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι ἐν μέτρῳ τῆς θνοῦ τούτου κληρέται γέγονεν (E. Bethc ej. γέγονεν). οὐκ ἐδο καὶ Ζεὺς λέγεται καταπεπλεμένη Σικελίας ἐρασθήρα μᾶλλον νυμφών Ίμαλίας ὀσμαζόμενης, καὶ τρεῖς ζῇ αὐτῆς τεκνίσας παιδὰ, Σφεραίων (v.t. Παραίων), Κρόνων, Κύνων. Hence in Clem. Rom. hom. 5. 13 (ii. 184 a Migne) ἔφη τῇ γηγενεῖ ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ δύιρου συνθήκην, ἐξ ὑπὸ Παραίων, Κρόνων, Κύνων, Κότων Α. Schwiegler corrected ἐφη σὲ Ιμαλία.

1 Ov. met. 4. 282 quoted supra p. 323 n. 1.
2 Ov. met. 7. 391 ff. tandem vipereis Ephyren Pirenida pennis | contiguit (sc. Medea), hic aequo veteres mortalia primo | corpora vulgarant pluvianibus edita fungi.

This singular tradition perhaps implies the folk-etymology of Μυκήναι from μῦκη (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen Braunschweig 1875 ii. 958). Note especially Paus. 2. 16. 3 ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ οὐ διψώντες (sc. τοῦ Περσαί) ἐπήλθεν ἀνδρίστας οἵ μύκης ἐκ τῆς γῆς, διότι οὐ μάλλον τοῖς παῖσι καὶ ἰδαίς Μυκήναι ἢτο τὸ δώρα τῷ χωρίῳ—an obvious piece of folk-lore. The inhabitants of prehistoric Mykenai might well pass for the earliest race of men. On the mushroom's womb see Plin. nat. hist. 22. 93 vulvam enim terrar ob hoc prius gignit, ipsum postem in vulva, cec in ovo est luteum. nec tumisco minor gracia in cibo infantis boleti.

3 II. 11. 52 ff.
5 H. G. Evelyn-White Hesiod: The Homeric Hymns and Homerica London 1914
Rain of blood

With fearsome battle-cry
They closed; and wise Zeus, thundering aloud,
Let gouts of blood drop from the very sky—
War's signal to his own high-hearted son1.

Silius Italicus, therefore, is following in the beaten track, when he makes Jupiter portend the death of Marcus Marcellus (in 208 B.C.) by the downfall of blood-drops from a clear sky2. With other writers, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine, the portent passes into a commonplace and Zeus or Jupiter is ignored3. The same prodigy was repeatedly chronicled during the dark ages4. It has, indeed, attracted the

p. xxvi. W. Schmid—O. Stählin Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1929 i. 1. 271 argues for a date nearer to 600 than to 500 B.C.
1 Hes. ii. Hes. 382 ff.
2 Sil. It. 18. 363 ff. with N. E. Lemaire's note ad loc.
3 I subjoin in tabular form the time and place of each fall of blood-rain recorded by classical writers;

718 B.C. At Rome and at Laurentum after the murder of the Laurentine ambassadors and of Titus Tatius (Plout. v. Rom. 24).
214 At Rome in the Forum Boarium (Liv. 24. 16).
194 At Rome in the Forum, in the Comitium, and on the Capitol (Liv. 34. 48).
184 At Rome for two days on the Area Volcani (Liv. 39. 46. Ian. Obs. 59 = 4. under the date 183).
183 At Rome for two days on the Area Concordiae (Liv. 39. 56. Ian. Obs. 59 = 4).
181 At Rome on the Area Volcani and on the Area Concordiae (Liv. 40. 19. It seems probable that the portents of 184, 183, 181 were in reality the same occurrence variously dated).
172 At Saturnia in Etruria for three days (Liv. 47. 20).
169 At Rome by day on the temple of Fortuna Primigenia (Liv. 43. 13).
166 In the territory of Praeneste (Ian. Obs. 71 = 12).
134 At Ameternum (Ian. Obs. 86 = 27).
128 At Caere (Ian. Obs. 88 Lycothene).
106 (Ian. Obs. 101 = 41).
104 At Luna in Etruria (Ian. Obs. 103 = 43).
102 Round the river Anio (Ian. Obs. 104 = 44).
52 At Rome (Dion Cass. 40. 47).
43 At Rome (Cic. de div. 2. 58. cp. Ov. met. 15. 788).
37 At Aspis on the north coast of Africa (Dion Cass. 48. 52).
30 In Egypt portending the subjugation of its inhabitants (Dion Cass. 51. 17).
54 A.D. At Rome (?) portending the death of Claudius (Dion Cass. 60 (61). 35).
68 In the Alban territory portending the death of Nero (Dion Cass. 63. 26).
399 Before the downfall of the eunuch Eutropius (C. Lycothene (K. Wolfhart) Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronion Basileae 1557 p. 208).

4 The following list will suffice:
541 A.D. In France (Sigebertus Gemblacensis chronographia ed. L. C. Bethmann in G. H. Pertz Monumenta Germaniae historica Hannoverae 1844 viii (Scriptores vi). 317).
570 In Italy, when the Lombards under Alboin invaded the land (C. Lycothene (K. Wolfhart) Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronion Basileae 1557 p. 208).
Rain of blood

attention of serious scientists\(^1\), who point out that it reposes upon a substantial basis of fact\(^2\). Thus we get the usual *diminuendo* of classical religion—the definite naming of Zeus or Jupiter, the vaguer concept of God or Heaven, the mediaeval portent, the modern scientific phenomenon.

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\(^{583}\) In France (Gregorius Turonensis *istoria Francorum* 6. 14 (lxxi. 387 A—B Migne, cp. *Hist. Franc. epist.* lxxi. 603 A Migne)).

\(^{584}\) In Italy (Paulus Diaconus *de gestis Langobardorum* 4. 4 (xcv. 540 A Migne) *in regione Brionum*= Brescia (?). There may be some confusion here with the portent listed under the date 869).

\(^{782}\) At Constantinople (?) (C. Lycotheneis (K. Wolffhurt) *op. cit.* p. 338).

\(^{786}\) In England (J. Wolf *Lectiones memorabilia et recondita*\(^3\) Francofurti ad Moenum 1671 i. 510 'Sangiuia de ccelo, anno 786 in Anglia profuxit').


\(^{869}\) At Brescia in Italy for three days (J. Twinger von Königshoven *Königshoven Chroith* p. 104. H. Barlandus *Historia Coloniae* 1603 p. 16 states that this portent happened at Brixen=Brescia. The date, however, is differently reported. B. Platina *Storia delle vite de’ Pontefici* Venezia 1761 ii. 90 places it shortly before the death of Hadrian ii, which occurred in 872: 'Poco innanzi, ch’egli morrise piové sul Bresciano tre giorni sangue.' J. Wolf *op. cit.* ii. 308 says: 'Narran historiographi, quod circa annum 873, plurima se exhibuerint mundo monstra & prodigia. Nam in Italia, in civitate Bressa, integri tridui spacio continuo pluit sanguine.' C. Lycotheneis (K. Wolffhurt) *op. cit.* p. 356 has under the date 874: 'Anno Ludouicci imperators decimonono, in Italia Brixiae tribus diebus & tribus noctibus sanguis de ccelo plussie dicitur'.

\(^{900}\) In the days of King Robert (P. Gassendus *Viri illustris Nicolai Claudii Fabricii de Péruse, senatores Aquitatiensis*, vida Quedlingburg 1706 p. 118 f. 'Itémeque quod memoratur temporibus Regis Roberti sanguine plussie, circiter finem Iunii;'*udéut ut* etc., cp. Erasmus Francisci *Der Wunder- Räthe Überzug unserer Nider-Welt, oder Erd-umgebende Luft-Krones* Nürnberg 1680 p. 730).


\(^1\) First in the field was C. G. Ehrenberg ‘Passatstaub und Bistregen’ in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1847 Phys. Abh. pp. 169—460 with tables and 6 col. pls. This admirable monograph includes a chronological list of all comparable phenomena.

\(^2\) Stegemann ‘Bistregen’ in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 1445—1447 with bibliography (Reddish dust from the Sahara, composed of silicic acid, argillaceous earth, iron- and copper-oxides, is sometimes swept by strong winds into the upper regions of the air and carried over southern or even northern Europe, with or without an admixture of rain: the water evaporating, there remains a deposit of reddish or yellowish dust. Again, bees and butterflies, when quitting the chrysalis, leave behind them some drops of blood. Finally, masses of red seaweed and ‘Wundermonade’ may also occasion a precipitate of red liquid).
There was an awful rainbow once in heaven:
We know her woof, her texture; she is given
In the dull catalogue of common things1.

Different in character is a mystic and possibly Orphic anthropo-
gony quoted by Julian2 in his Letter to a Priest—

‘the saying of the gods, which has been handed down to us by the theurgists of bygone days, to wit that, when Zeus was ordering all things, there fell drops of sacred blood, and that from these sprang the race of men.’

This rather isolated notion seems to have arisen, in some more or less philosophical milieu3, from an attempt to combine two passages of Hesiod. In the Theogony4, when Kronos mutilated Ouranos, Gaia received the blood-drops and in due course gave birth to the Erinyes, the Gigantes, and the nymphs called Mellai, ‘Ash-trees.’ In the Works and Days5 Zeus produces the men of the Bronze Age from mellai, ‘ash-trees.’ It followed, or seemed to follow, that the men of the Bronze Age were sprung from the blood-drops of Ouranos himself. Alkaios too and Akousilaos, presumably remembering that Phaiakia was named Drepane after the drepanon or ‘sickle’ used by Kronos6, had claimed that the Phaeacians likewise were sprung from the blood of Ouranos7.

1 J. Keats Lamia 231 ff.
2 Ioull. frag. epist. 592 a—b ... eis twn twn theon phymen, η paraedethosai da twn archaiwn ηmwn theougyw, ως, ὅτε Zeus ekosmei tα πάντα, stachyous almatos leboi pentous, ἵον το tων ἄνθρωπων βιασθηκει γένος. Miss W. C. Wright in the Loeb edition (London 1913) renders: ‘when Zeus was setting all things in order there fell from him drops of sacred blood.’ But the words ‘from him’ are not in the Greek and may be misleading.
3 The clause ὅτε Zeus ekosmei tα πάντα recalls the phraseology of Anaxagoras (frag. 12 Diels ap. Simplic. in Aristot. phys. p. 156, 26 Diels πάντα διεκδημενα νοις; ib. p. 177, 5, cp. Plat. Phaed. 97 b—c. Philodem. περι ευαγγελιας 4a=H. Diels Doxographi Graeci Berolini 1879 p. 532 b 4 ff., Diog. Laert. 2. 6, etc.), who moreover held that plants and animals had arisen from seed dropped by the sky upon the ground (Theophr. hist. pl. 3. 1. 14, Eirenaios adv. haer. 2. 14. 3 (vii. 751 A Migne)).
4 Hes. theog. 154 ff.: supra ii. 447 n. 8.
5 Hes. o.d. 143 ff. That theog. 187 was early brought into connexion with o.d. 145 appears likely from theog. 563, where the right reading meliosi (codd. D. E.) has the curious variant meliosi (codd. F. K. L.) with schol. meliosi δε ἔτι τοις ἄνθρωποις δι' ἐκ Μελιδων ἐγένετο υμηφων δι' ἐτι γενόμενοι ἐράπτωντο ὡδ' ταῖς μελίαις, δ' ἐτοὶ δέντρας.
6 Supra ii. 448 n. o.
7 Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 991 l. (ὅς ἔκ καλ αὐτόν | αἰματος Ὀρφανίου γένους Φαϊκες ἔσων) Ακοουλαιος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ (frag. 29 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 103 Müller)=frag. 4 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 49 Jacoby)) φησιν δι' ἐκ τῆς ἐκτομῆς τοῦ Ὀρφανοῦ ὑμιδάς ἐνεχθηκεν συνεπέσεσθαι, τοιτέκτι τὰς παστάγεισαν, κατὰ τῆς γῆς, εἰ δν γενοηθηκαί τοὺς Φαῖκας· οἱ δὲ (ἐκ Hes. theog. 183 ff.) τοὺς Γιγαντας καὶ Ἀλκαίος (frag. 116 Bergk4 ('Nescio an Ἀλκμάυν sit legendum')=frag. 96 Edmonds (e.g. Φαϊκες ὑμιδῶν παστάγων γένους)) δὲ λέγετι τοὺς Φαῖκας ἐχειν τὸ γένος ἐκ τῶν σταγών τοῦ Ὀρφανοῦ.
Rain of stones

ii. Rain of stones.

Equally portentous was the rain of stones, which in early times men attributed to the direct intervention of the sky-god. A good example is furnished by La Crau, a large plain in the south of France, occupying the western portion of the department Bouches-du-Rhône. The name *Crau* is said to have come from a Celtic stem meaning 'cairn' or 'heap of stones', being akin to our own word 'crag'. The arid surface of this plain is in fact covered with boulders and has been described by a French authority as a 'véritable mer de cailloux'. Strabo calls it the 'Stony Plain'; Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Solinus, and Martianus Capella—not to mention later writers—the 'Stone Fields.' Attempts to explain along scientific lines such an enormous outcrop of stones were made by Aristotle and by Poseidonios. The former thought them thrown

1 J. F. Cerquand *Taurans lithobole* (Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse 1880) Avignon 1881 argued for the recognition of an Indo-European god, who was at once a hurler of stones and wielder of a hammer, the hammer being a later substitute for the stone. As evidence of such a lithobolic deity in Gaul Cerquand quoted Aisch., *frag.* 199 Nauck (*ephr. p. 483 n. 3*) and, more doubtfully, Paus. *ix.* 23. 1 ff. But see Reimann *Bronzes Figurés* p. 159 ff. Other stone-throwers (Talos, Minotaur, Kyklops) are possibly solar or stellar (*ephr. i.* 770 f., *ii.* 491 n. 9 (6)).


4 F. Diez Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen* Bonn 1887 p. 536.

5 P. Joanne *op. cit.* i. 1147, *sp. ib.* 1148 'Ce plan robuste de galets avait étonné les anciens, comme il surprend aujourd'hui les voyageurs que le ch. de fer mène d'Arles à Marseille.'

6 Strab. 181 f. *μεταφέρω γάρ τις Μασσαλίας καὶ τῶν ἑκείων τοῦ Ρωμαίου πεδίου ἐστὶ τῇ βαλάντὶ δέχων ἐν ἑκατὸν στάδιοι, τοσοῦτον δὲ καὶ τῇ διάμετροι, κεκλεισμένο τὸ σχήμα καλεῖται δὲ Λιβύης ἀπό τοῦ υμβεβλυκτος. μοτέν γάρ ἐστὶ λιθων χειρακεφληθῶν, κ.τ.λ.'

7 Mela 2. 78 aliquote litus ignobile est, Lapideum (lapidescod. A, whence Keune in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 777 'vielleicht ist *campus* ausgefallen') ut vocant, in quo Herculem contra Alethion et Dercyon (so C. Bursian for *albione et argyron* cod. A. But see O. Gruppe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 997) Neptuni liberos dimicantem cum tela defectissent ab invocato Iove adiutum imbre lapidum ferunt. credas pluvias, adeo multi passim et late inuent.


9 Solin. 2. 6 in Liguria quoque Lapidarios Campos, quod Iovi eo (sc. Hercule) dimicante credendur pluvia ssa.

10 Mart. *Cap.* 647 ex cuius laboribus in Liguria Campi Lapidarii sunt appellati, quod codem dimicante saxis ferunt pluissae caelum.


up by earthquakes of the type termed brāstai\textsuperscript{1}. The latter\textsuperscript{2} held that they were a sort of beach resulting from the solidification of a previous lake. But Aischylos\textsuperscript{3} in his Prometheus Unbound had given a mythical explanation of the scene, which concerns us more closely. Prometheus, telling Herakles of the route from the Kaukasos to the Hesperides, had said:

Then shalt thou come to the undaunted host
O' the Ligyes, where, fighter as thou art,
Thou shalt have fight enow. For here Fate bids
Thine arrows fail thee; nor shalt thou avail
To get a stone from the ground—the ground is soft.
Howbeit Zeus, in pity for thy plight,
Will send a cloud to cover the whole land
With rounded stones, thick as the snowflakes fall.
These hurling, thou shalt thread that Ligyan host.

The incident appealed to certain astro mythology of the Hellenistic age as providing a plausible account of that much disputed constellation Engonasin or Ingeniculus\textsuperscript{4}. In the northern hemisphere, midway between Lyra and Corona, Draco and Ophiuchus, appears a male figure on bended knee. The Babylonians had named him ilu kašd, 'the fettered god,' and had regarded him as one of the seven astral powers called \textit{da-}ik \textit{A.N. KI}, 'Breakers of Heaven and Earth\textsuperscript{5}.' It is tempting to suppose that some transmitted memory of Mesopotamian lore led to the identification of him with Prometheus chained to the Kaukasos, or again with Ixion fastened to his wheel\textsuperscript{6}. The neighbouring constellation Corona

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{1} Aristot. \textit{de mundo} \textit{4}. 396 a 2 f.
\textsuperscript{2} Poseidon. \textit{ap. Strab. 182.}
\textsuperscript{5} A. Rehm in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc.} \textit{v.} 2563–2568 devotes a succinct article to this constellation, including its various names, identifications, descriptions, etc. See also F. Boll \textit{Sphaira} Leipzig 1903 pp. 100–104 and Index p. 555.
\textsuperscript{7} Hyg. \textit{post. astr. 2. 6 hunc etiam nonnulli Ixionis brachis vincit esse dixerunt, quod vim Iunoni voluerit adferre; aliis Prometheus in monte Caucaso vincetur, schol. \textit{Artur. phaen. 74 od de Promethei legonis...tvtes de Ixiona auton legonis elnav.}}
\end{footnotes}
might pass in the former case as the ring of Prometheus, in the latter as the wheel of Ixion. These, however, were stray opinions of doubtful date. More persistent is the idea that Engonasin was a nameless sufferer—tiring, says Aratos, at some unknown task; tired and mournful, says Cicero; weary and pitiable, says Germans. Teukros of Babylon (c. 100 A.D.) went so far as to call him Talas the Man of Sorrows.

Others attempted to identify the kneeling figure with a definite mythical supplicant or the like and in so doing took further constellations into account. Araithos of Tegea (5 iv B.C.) made him out to be Keteus, son of Lykaon and father of Megisto (= Kallisto), lamenting the transformation of his daughter into Ursa Maior and beseeching the gods to restore her to him. Hegesianax (c. 200 B.C.) saw Theseus raising the rock at Troizen beneath which lay his father's sword (fig. 312): Lyra could then be viewed as the lyre of

1 Supra i. 329 n. o.
3 Arat. phaece, 63 ff. τὸν αὐτὸν μοιχότων κυλεύσεται οὐδέρ εὐκαθεί | ἔθελων. τὸ μὲν οὕτως ἐγιστάσα τιμώμενος ἑπείνει, | οὗτ' ὄτι κρέμαται καίον τόνω, ἀλλὰ μὲν αὐθήν | ΔΗΙΝΑΣΙΝ κυλώνω.
5 Germ. Arat. 74 succiduis genibus lassum et miserabile sidus, 633 miserabile sidus.
6 Teukros of Babylon was an astrologer who at the end of c. i A.D. wrote τοῖς τῶν παραπαρτικοῖς, a work dealing with horoscopes (W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1920 ii. 1. 416, 448).
7 F. Boll Sphaira Leipzig 1903 p. 275 τὸν τις ηθείον τις κατακράφη καίωμα, κυλεύσα ὁ Μάλας, καὶ κόρας ψυχέων αὐτὸν τῆς κεφαλῆς, κατέρριθ. T.R. (two MSS. of Retorii, an Egyptian astrologer of 5 vi, who has preserved extracts from Teukros τὸι τῶν δυσκόλων), Teukros as a native of Babylon appears to perpetuate the old Babylonian tradition of a 'fettered god.'
8 E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 374.
9 Araithos frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 318 Müller) ap. Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 1 Araethus autem Tegetates historiarum scriptor non Callisto, sed Megisto dicit appellatam, et non Lycaonis, sed Ceti filiam, Lycaonis neptem; praeterea Cetea ipsum Engonasin nominari, ib. 2. 6 Araethus autem, ut ante diximus, hunc Cetea Lycaonis filium, Megistus patrem, dicit; qui videtur, ut lamentans filiam in uraeae figuram conversam, genu nuxus palmas diversas tendere ad caelum, ut cam sibi dixit restituant.
11 Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 6 Hegesianax (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 325 Jacoby) autem Theseae dixit esse, qui Troesene saxum extollere videtur, quod existimaver Anteus sub eo ellopium (allopopium cod. D. J. Molsheim c. Pelopon. Heinsius, with more genealogical justification (see Gerhard Gr. Myth. ii. 231), cij. Cecropium. B. Bunte says: fortasse legendum est ellopium ex Gr. ἔλλοπος (quid?). But, if Ellopia was a district in northern Euboea
extending as far as Chalkis (R. Philipppson in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 2438), it may be that we should keep Elypium to denote a sword 'of true Elloiphan bronze.' A. B.C.) ensem possisse, et Aethrae Thesei matri praedixisse, ne ante eum Athenas mitteret, quam sua virtute lubate subito, potuisset gladium patri referre. itaque niti videtur, ut quam altissime posit, lapidem extollat. hac etiam de causa nonnulli lyram, quae proxima ei signo est collocata, Thesei esse dixerunt, quod ut eruditus omni generi artium, lyram quoque didicisse videbatur. idque et Anacreon (frag. 99 Bergk, 121 Edmonds) dicit: ἰχθυόν τοῦ θαύματος ἔστιν ἱππος, scol. Arist. phæn. 74 θ' Φιλόπορος.

12 Theseus raising the axe was a subject in vogue with artists for some five hundred years. The hero is regularly represented with bent knee, a modification of the archaic Kniaia. His attitude is awkward, and even unreasonable, on an Etruscan scarab of banded sardonyx at Vienna (R. von Schneider Album auserlesener Gegenstände der Antiken-Sammlung der Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauser Wien 1865 pl. 40, 3, Furtwängler Ant. Gymnasia i pl. 17, 55 (= my fig. 312: scale ½), ii. 85. Inscribed Thetis, more natural on a relief from Trysya, to be dated c. 470—410 B.C. (O. Benndorf—G. Niemann Das Heros von Göklaschi-Trysa Wien 1889 p. 173 pl. 19, 11 (= my fig. 314), Reinauch Rép. Reliefs i. 469), on a small pedimental relief surmounting a sêle of Hyemnattian marble incised c. 130—133 (i) B.C. with a decree in honour of the Trocornian Telesias (Corp. inscr. Att. iv. 2 no. 458 §, W. Larfeld Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 139, F. von Duhn in the Arch. Zeit. 1877 xxxv. 171 f. no. 104. Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus. pl. 217, 5), and on Roman mural reliefs in terra cotta referable to the period c. 30 B.C.—c. 140 A.D. (G. P. Campana Antiche opere in plastica Roma 1842—1851 pl. 117, Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 398 no. D 594 pl. 39, H. von Rohden—H. Winnefeld Architektonische römische Terrakotten der Kaiserzeit Berlin 1911 l. 98, ii. pl. 12 (= my fig. 315). Inscribed ΘΕΟΧΟΥΣ = Θηξοχούς. Beneath the rock lie the shield, the sheathed sword and the quiver (i) of Aigeus. Aithra points to them). A marble relief from Ostia, now in the Villa Albani, has a similar rendering of the scene complicated by the presence of other onlookers (G. Winckelmünz Monumentum aetatae inditi. Roma 1821 ii. 130 pl. 56, Einschlaufnahmen no. 1126 with Text iv. 38 by W. Ameling. Reinauch Rép. Reliefs iii. 146 no. 1, W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom 1893 ii. 455 f. no. 1924), and so has a white marble tripod-base from Mt Gerizim, now in Constantinople, Attic work of Roman date (Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople ii. 38 f. no. 638 fig., O. Brendel in the Jahrh. d. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1933 xlvi. 201 f. fig. 2 (= my fig. 316) inscribed Θηξοχούς | γυραμύνα. Theseus raises the rock in the presence of Aithra and two maids. Pausanias c. 150 A.D. saw on the Akropolis at Athens a bronze statue of Theseus pushing up an actual rock, beneath which were the shoes and sword of Aigeus (Paus. i. 37, 8). This curious work of art is shown on imperial bronze coins of Athens (E. Beulé Les monnaies d' Athènes Paris 1858 p. 397 f. fig., Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 108 pl. 18, 8, Imhof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. iii. 145 f. pl. dd. 2, J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies d'Athènes Munich 1925—1926 pl. 98, 25—36, McClean Cat. Coins ii. 366 no. 3993 pl. 211, 11. Fig. 315 is from a well preserved specimen in my collection). At Troyzen too, where the original rock of Theseus was to be seen (Paus. 2. 32. 7 cited supra i. 519 n. 2, cp. Kallim. Heliod. frag. 66 Schneider, 20 Mair 10 μέν γὰρ Ἧριξιν κολωρίας ὑπὸ πέτρας θ' θεόν ἀρχάγγελον), the same type reappears on bronze coins of imperial date (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus p. 167 no. 20 pl. 31, 5 Commodus, p. 168 no. 24 Geta, no. 25 pl. 31, 9 Phillipps Junior, Imhof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. i. 49 pl. m. 11 Commodus, Weber Cat. Coins ii. 487 no. 4258 Caracalla). See further F. Wieseler 'Die erhaltenen Denkmäler mit Darstellungen der Troizenisch-Attischen Sage von Augeus, Aethra und Theseus, soweit diese die zu Troyzen vorgefallenen Ereignisse betrifft' in the Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe 1886 pp. 65—73 (numerous other gems and pastes representing Theseus and the rock are listed ïš. pp. 69—71) and H. Steuding in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 680—682 fig. 1.
Rain of stones

Fig. 314.

Fig. 315.
Rain of stones

Theseus. The vicinity of Lyra justified two other interpretations—Thamyris at the knees of the Muses who had blinded him, and Orpheus slain by the women of Thrace for intruding upon the Dionysiac rites.

But such attempts too often involved a misconception of the old starry schéma. E. Bethe has done well to urge that Engonasin was first represented on some Ionic globe of the sixth century B.C. as an anonymous man in the attitude of Knielauf dear to archaic art. Hence Aratos' professed inability to expound 'the mysterious phantom.' Hence also the total absence of attributes both in the detailed descriptions given by Aratos, Hipparchos, Ptolemaios, and in the clearly cut relief that adorns the Farnese globe (fig. 317). Since, however, the attitude of Knielauf was frequently employed by early artists to express the energetic action of Herakles, it was

1 Our earliest evidence for the lyre of Theseus is the krater of Kiltios and Ergotimos, c. 600—550 B.C. (supra i. 481 n. 9). Next in date is the fragment of Amakreon, c. 550 B.C. (supra p. 485 n. 0). Theseus with the lyre seems to have been an Ionian rival of the better known lyre-playing Herakles (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 500 n. 1).

2 Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 6 alli autem Thamyrim a Musis exccecatum, ut supplicem ad gemma inacitem dicit, schol. Atar. phae. 74 ἄλλον Ὁμάρον.

3 Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 6 alli Orphic a Thraciis nullieribus interfici, quod viderit Liberi Patris initia. Supra i. 111 n. 1, ii. 121 fig. 76 with n. 3.

4 E. Bethe 'Das Alter der griechischen Sternbilder' in the Rhein. Mus. 1900 iv. 426 f.

5 Supra i. 204 n. 4, 298 fig. 219, ii. 544 fig. 419, 731 fig. 663, etc.

W. Deonna Dédale Paris 1930 p. 249 'Certaines attitudes mêmes, qui jadis paraissaient anormales, sont justifiées par la chronophotographie... et cette course "agenouillée" est l'attitude exacte du saut, le corps étant saisi au moment où il se ramasse sur lui-même pour franchir l'obstacle' (id. ib. nn. 2 and 3 adds a useful bibliography).

6 Atar. phae. 270 ἀνεπόδεικτον ἐιδύδων.

7 Atar. phae. 63—70.

8 Hipparch. in Arist. et Euclidi phæn. comment. 1. 7. 6 Manitius with the translation of Sir T. L. Heath Greek Astronomy London & Toronto 1932 p. 119.

9 Ptol. syntaxis mathematica 7. 3 (ii. 52 ff. Heilberg) with the translation of K. Manitius Leipzig 1913 p. 36 f.

10 J. B. Passeri Atlass Farnesianus marmoreus insignis vetustissimum monumentum commentario inlustrus Florentiae 1750, Clarac Mus. de Sculpt. v. 25 ff. pl. 793 fig. 1999 a = Reinach Rép. Stat. i. 468 no. 1, Muller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 4. 13 f. pl. 64, 821, E. Vinet in Darmerg—Suglio Dict. Ant. i. 527 fig. 615, A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 711 with fig. on p. 710, A. Baumester in his Denkm. i. 224 f. fig. 175 (from a photograph), Guida del Mus. Napoli p. 169 no. 579. But these publications are all eclipsed by the careful study of G. Theile Antike Himmelsbilder Berlin 1898 pp. 19 ff. ('Die Neapler Statue'), 27 ff. ('Der Globus des Hipparchos') with figs. 1—7 and pls. 2—6. My fig. 317 is from Theile's pl. 6.

11 E. Schmidt 'Der Knielauf' in the Münchener archäologische Studien München 1909 p. 309 fig. 28, p. 312 fig. 31, p. 313 fig. 32 (Herakles attacking Centaurs on a bronze plate from Olympia (A. Furtwängler in Olympia iv. 101 no. 696 pl. 38), on a 'Laconian' dish in the Louvre (O. Fuchstein in the Arch. Zeit. 1881 xxxix. 219, 240 pl. 11, 1 and pl. 12, 1 = Reinach Rép. Vas. i. 435, 8 and 435, 6), on an Ionian amphora at Munich (Sieveking—Hackl Vasensammel. München i. 103 no. 836 fig. 106). A modification of this attitude
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easy to equip the nameless figure with club and lion-skin and to make him fight the snake of the Hesperides (Draco), as was done by Eratosthenes and his followers\textsuperscript{1} (figs. 318, 319)\textsuperscript{2}, or to imagine him groping for stones in his contest with the Ligyes, as was done by other Alexandrine scholars\textsuperscript{3}. Both interpretations occasioned further

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figures.png}
\caption{Fig. 318.}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figures.png}
\caption{Fig. 319.}
\end{figure}


\begin{enumerate}
\item Fig. 318 is from a twelfth-century MS. of Germanicus at Madrid (cod. Matrit. A 16 fol. 36\textsuperscript{b} published by G. Thiele \textit{Antike Himmelbilder} Berlin 1898 p. 145 fig. 63). Fig. 319 is from the edition of Hyginus printed by Erhard Radolt at Venice in 1485 fol. d\textsuperscript{4}.
\item Hyg. \textit{poet. astr.} 2. 6 Aeschylus autem in fabula quae inscribitur Προμηθεύς λύμνων (\textit{supra} p. 483) Herakleum ait esse, non cum draconem, sed cum Liguribus depugnantem, dicit enim, quo tempore Herakles a Geryone boves abducerit, iter fecisse per Ligurum fines; quos conatus ab eo pecus abduceré manus contulisse et complures eorum sagittis confixisse, sed postquam Herakleum tela deficerent, multitutine barbarorum et inopia armorum defessum se ingericulasse multis iam vulneribus acceptis. Iovem autem miserrum filli curasse ut circa eum magna lapidum copia esset, quibus se Herakleum defendisse et hostes fugasse. Itaque Iovem similitudinem pugnantis inter sidera constituisse, schol. Arat. \textit{phai.} 74 (wrongly attached to the description of Ophiuchus) ᾠδὴ δὲ φατὲς αὐτόν εἶναι τὸν Ηρακλῆς τοῦ Ἀλέφιος (A. Rehm in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc. v.} 2564 makes the obvious correction Ἀλέφιον) λαμπλωνεται. ἐπιλαλήτων αὐτῷ τῶν ταξιμάτων ἐπὶ γάρ ἦν πεπληρα Ὀλύμπου μαλείν, οὗτ αὐτῷ Ζεὺς ὑπὲρ ἐξαμένε.
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misunderstandings. Herakles grasping his club was confused with Boötes grasping his *lagobolon*—witness the Carolingian paintings (figs. 320, 321) in the *codex Vossianus*¹. Herakles throwing stones was equated with the stone-thrower Talos², whose name bore a convenient resemblance to that of the sufferer Talas³. It was altered by some wiseacre into Tantaloṣ⁴, a hero who lived in dread of the falling rock, and by some fool of a copyist into Taos the Peacock⁵! A final muddle, prompted perhaps by Tantaloṣ under his rock, perhaps by Herakles fighting his snake, produced the name Atlas⁶. Modern sky-charts are content with the label Hercules. But rival claimants have been numerous, as may be seen from the appended *stemma*:

The Fettered God  
(Babylonian Original)  
  Prometheus  
  Ixion  
  The Suffering Hero  
    Ketos  
      (Araithos of Tegae, c. IV B.C.)  
      Thesius  
        (Hegesianax, c. 200 B.C.)  
      Thamyris  
      Orpheus  
    Herakles  
      (Aratos, c. III B.C.)  
      Herakles v. Draco  
        (Eratosthenes, c. III B.C.)  
      Herakles v. Ligyes  
    Talos  
      (Teukros of Babylon, c. 100 A.D.)  
      Atlas  
      Tantaloṣ  
      Taos  

¹ A ninth-century MS. of Germanicus at Leyden (cod. Voss. Lat. qvo 79 fol. 6' Hercules (= my fig. 330) and fol. 12' Boötes (= my fig. 321) published by G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 93 fig. 19 and p. 96 fig. 22.  
² By Antiochos of Athens (c. II A.D.), author of a famous astrological poem *Theaturoi*, of which one fragment in hexameters is quoted by the astronomer Palchos (c. V A.D.) and other parts survive in an old prose paraphrase given by various MSS. (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1914 ii. 2. 678). See further F. Boll *Sphaera* Leipzig 1903 p. 279, who restores Tαλας from Tαλος πίστων λίθον cod. V⁷ and ταυς cod. A.  
³ Supra p. 484.
Having thus seen that certain anonymous Alexandrines used the Aeschylean myth of Zeus sending a rain of stones to Herakles as a plausible explanation of Engonasin, we must next enquire whether the myth itself was a mere figment on the part of an imaginative poet or an episode strictly in accordance with popular classical belief. And here I shall at once cite a remarkable parallel recorded by Livy as having taken place in the reign of Tullus Hostilius (672–640 B.C.):

'After the defeat of the Sabines, when King Tullus and the whole Roman state were at a high pitch of glory and prosperity, it was reported to the king and senators that there had been a rain of stones on the Alban Mount. As this could scarce be credited, envoys were dispatched to examine the prodigy; and in their sight there fell from the sky, like hail that the wind piles in drifts upon the ground, a thick shower of stones. They thought too that they heard a great voice issuing from the grove on the mountain-top, which bade the Albanians offer sacrifices after the fashion of their fathers: these they had in fact given over to oblivion, as though they had forsaken their gods along with their country, having either adopted Roman rites or in anger at their fortune, such as men sometimes feel, abandoned the worship of the gods. The Romans also, in consequence of the same portent, undertook an official nine days' celebration, whether so commanded by the divine voice from the Alban Mount—for this too is handed down—or on the advice of soothsayers. At all events it remained a regular custom that, whenever the same prodigy was reported, there should be a nine days' observance.'

The great voice heard from the grove on the mountain-top was that of Iupiter Latiaris, whose temple on the summit of the Alban Mount (Monte Cavi) was the earliest religious centre of the

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4 Schol. Arat. phain. 74 et 84 Τάνταλος.
5 F. Boll op. cit. p. 278 with n. 2.

1 Supra p. 483. The Hercules Lapidarius worshipped in the neighbourhood of Nikaa (Nizza, Nice) (Orelli Inscri. Lat. sel. no. 2012 = Corp. inscr. Lat. v. 2 no. 7869) a small pedestal, found near the monastery of S. Ponzio and thence transferred to a vineyard adjoining the Cappuccini of Nizza, inscribed HERCVLI | LAPIDARI | ALMANI|CENSES | p) is hardly to be connected with this myth, but may be a local variant of Hercules Saxanus, the god 'of Quarries' (De Vit Onomasticon iii. 354, 355), on whom see now the exhaustive article by Keune in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii A. 366–397.

2 Liv. r. 31 trans. B. O. Foster altered.

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Latins\(^4\). And, since the Alban Hills were certainly prehistoric volcanos, which even in historic times continued to give intermittent proof of their smouldering fires\(^8\), it is permissible to suppose that a


\(^4\) C. Hülsen loc. cit. ‘die höchste Erhebung des vulkanischen Albanergebirges, jetzt Monte Cavi (weniger correct Monte Cavo), 984 m. über dem Meer.’

\(^1\) H. Last in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1928 vii. 348.

\(^2\) Sir W. Gell *The Topography of Rome and its Vicinity* London 1846 p. 38: ‘Albano has been at different periods subject to earthquakes; these, however, have hitherto been productive of no serious mischief. Shocks were felt here in the year 1829, and in many of the villages around. After continuing for a considerable period, during which they were at times repeated as often as thrice in one day, they ceased in the autumn. The strange stories then current among the people, of flames breaking forth from a chasm, and of trees withering from volcanic effluvia, give an air of probability to the showers of stones and other prodigies, said to have occurred in ancient times on the Alban Hill. These phenomena may be referred to the volcanic nature of the mountain, which, at the time that they are said to have happened, was so much nearer the epoch of its vigour and activity.’

C. Daubeney *A Description of active and extinct Volcanos, of Earthquakes, and of Thermal Springs* London 1848 p. 160 L: ‘To the south of Rome the whole of the country for several miles round Albano abounds in volcanic appearances. Amongst the mountains in this group are several lakes which appear originally to have been craters, as for instance that of Albano, Vallariccia, Nemi, and Juturna, to which we may add, intermediate between the Alban mountains and the Anio, the Lake of Gabii, noted for a particular variety of Peperino called the Gabian stone, and the singular hexagonal one of Cornafelle, near Frascati, supposed by Gell to be the Lake Regillus....In proof that the volcanic action had not entirely ceased even in modern times, I may state that Pliny [*nat. hist.* 2. 240] mentions a report which had reached him as to the ground under the lake [of Ariccia or Vallariccia] being hot enough to set fire to charcoal; and Livy [22. 36] notices a shower of stones that fell there, as well as the bursting out of a warm spring, having its water mixed with blood, which Heyne supposes to have been bitumen \(^5\) († Heyne, *Opusc. Acad. vol. ii.* p. 263). There are indeed some passages in ancient writers, which might lead us to suppose a volcano to have existed among these mountains even at a period within the limits of authentic history, for Livy [25. 7] notices a shower of stones which continued for two entire days from Mount Albano during the second Punic war, and Julius Obsequens in his work *De Prodigiis* [98=38] remarks, that in the year [641] A.D. [=113 B.C.] the hill appeared to be on fire during the night....These accounts indeed, if not confirmed by other testimony, might be rejected as fabulous, but they may perhaps suffice to establish the comparatively modern date at which the volcanic action continued, when viewed in connexion with the physical structure of the lake itself....This however, and the other lakes above-mentioned, if even they be considered as volcanic craters, are but the dependencies and offsets, as it were, of the great extinct volcano, the traces of which still remain upon the summit of the Alban hills.’

To these contentions E. H. Bunbury in *Smith Dict. Geogr.* i. 92 opposes a dogmatic denial, difficult to accept: ‘Numerous prodigies are recorded by Roman writers as occurring on the Alban Mount: among these the falling of showers of stones is frequently mentioned, a circumstance which has been supposed by some writers to indicate that the volcanic energy of these mountains continued in historical times; but this suggestion is sufficiently disproved by historical, as well as geological, considerations.’
Rain of stones

fall of pumice or scoriae thrown up from some re-opened vent would be viewed as an omen directly indicating the will of Jupiter.

Later showers of stones\(^1\), ashes\(^2\), or the like\(^3\), though on occasion

1 217 B.C. Hot stones fell from the sky at Praeneste (Liv. 22. 1).
1 216 A rain of stones on the Aventine at Rome and at Arcia (Liv. 22. 36).
1 215 A rain of stones round the temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium (Liv. 23. 31).
1 212 A rain of stones for two days on the Alban Mount (Liv. 25. 7).
1 211 A rain of stones at Eretum (Liv. 26. 23).
1 207 Stones fell from the sky at Veii, and again there was a rain of stones on the
    Arimiulustrum at Rome (Liv. 27. 37).
1 194 A rain of stones in the territory of Hadria (Liv. 34. 45).
1 188 Showers of stones on the Aventine (Iul. Obs. 56 = 2).
1 186 A rain of stones in Picenum (Iul. Obs. 89 = 4).
1 169 A rain of stones at Reate (Liv. 43. 13). At the close of the same year stones fell simultaneously in the ager Romanus and in the ager Veins (Liv. 44. 18).
1 153 A rain of stones at Arcia (Iul. Obs. 77 = 18).
1 94 A rain of stones on a farm of the Vestini (Iul. Obs. 111 = 51).
5 52 Notes:
41 A rain of stones (C. Lycosthenes [K. Wolfharr] Prodiigorum ac antiquorum
    chronicon Basileae 1557 p. 228).
897 A.D. A rain-storm followed by the fall of white and black stones at Ahmed-dad
    near Koufah (an Arabic MS. of Ibn-al-Athir quoted by E. Quatremère
    Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l’Egypte, et sur quelques contrées
    voisines Paris 1811 ii. 487).

So far as Italy is concerned, the decreasing number of entries rather suggests that this
particular form of volcanic activity had petered out before the beginning of our era.

2 87 B.C. A rain of ashes at Athens (Paus. 9. 6. 6).
473 A.D. A rain of fiery dust or ashes at Byzantium (Kedren. hist. comp. 350 c (l. 614
    Bekker), Glykas ann. 4. 264 A (p. 489 Bekker), Zonar. 14. 1 (iii. 253
    Dindorf). Theophan. chronogr. p. 105 (l. 185 Casseri) refers this rain of
    fiery dust to the year of Leon I’s death, which he places in 466 A.D.
    C. Lycosthenes (K. Wolfharr) op. cit. p. 296 dates it in the second year
    of Leon 1, 462 A.D. (1), cp. Nikephor. eccl. hist. 15. 20 (ex. lxx. 60 B
    ann. 472 (li. 931 c Migne) attribute the fall to an eruption of Vesuvius.
    The monologium Basilianum for Nov. 6 p. 170 (ex. lxxvii. 147 A-B
    Migne) says that the ashes fell glowing hot and burnt up πάντα τὰ φυτὰ.)

3 214 B.C. A rain of chalk at Cales (Liv. 24. 10).
194 A rain of earth on several occasions at Rome (Liv. 34. 45).
190 A rain of earth at Tusculum (Liv. 37. 3, Iul. Obs. 55 = 1).
172 A rain of earth at Auximum (Liv. 42. 20).
167 A rain of earth at Anagnia (Liv. 45. 16, Iul. Obs. 70 = 11).
166 A rain of earth at many places in Campania (Iul. Obs. 71 = 12).
133 A rain of earth at Ardea (Iul. Obs. 86 = 27 a).
101 A rain of clay on the Aventine at Rome (Iul. Obs. 104 = 44 a).
98 A rain of white chalk in the theatre (Iul. Obs. 107 = 47).
52 At Rome ‘many thunderbolts, many clouds, stones, ashes and blood went
    flying through the air’ (Dion Cass. 40. 47).
50 A rain of baked tiles at Rome (Plin. nat. hist. 4. 147, cp. Lyd. de ostent. procem.
    6 p. 13. 13 ff. Wachsmuth κατηχιζόμενοι διὸ πλεθοι πολλάς υπαι και
    καίναι, διότι ἐπὶ Ζήρωνος τῶν κακῶν ὑμῖν),
    8. 3. 15 (ex. 1048 c—1049 A Migne)).
attributed to divine agency¹, are more often recorded as a purely anonymous portent.

### iii. Rain of food.

Another form of abnormal shower is the alleged fall of actual food from the skies. Thus in the book of Exodus² it is stated that the children of Israel on entering the wilderness of Sin, between Elim and Sinai, were distressed with hunger:

> 'Then said the LORD unto Moses, Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you...At even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread; and ye shall know that I am the LORD your God. And it came to pass at even, that the quails came up, and covered the camp: and in the morning the dew lay round about the camp. And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness a small round thing, small as the hoar frost on the ground...And the house of Israel called the name thereof Manna: and it was like coriander seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey.³'

This timely provision of tamarisk-droppings⁴ and migrating quails⁵ made a profound impression upon the people and is the subject of repeated allusions by other writers throughout the canon⁶. Indeed, it came to be regarded as frankly miraculous: e.g.

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¹ Paus. 9. 6. 6 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Αθηναίοι οὐσι τέφραν ὅ θεός ἐπαινυτὶ πρότερον πρὸν ἕ τόν πόλεμον τῶν ἐπαχθήνη ὧδε Σόλλας τά μεγάλα σφένων ἐνεγκέλων παρῆμα, Prokop. de hell. Goth. 6. 4. 27 καὶ ποτε μὲν φασὶν ἐν Βουκριτὶ ἐπιπεσοντο (i.e. the ashes from Vesuvius) οὕτως ἐκπλήσσει τοὺς τάφην ἀνθρώπους ὅτε παντομεῖ εἰς ἐκείνον δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν λιταῖς ἐναποιοῖ ἔξελακτησαν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐφόσον, κ.τ.λ., Georg. Monachos cron. 4. 209. 2 (ex. 756 C Migne) ἐφο' οὖ (σμηνιοῦ) ἐφόσον ἐν τῷ ὀμφασφο' νεφέλη σαλπιγγισθη ἐπὶ ἕμερας μή, καὶ στοδόν ἑξειεῖ εἰς Κ.Ι.Ι. σπιθαμόν τό πάγος· τῶν γὰρ νεφών ὡς πῦρ δραμένων ἔδεικε πῦρ· μένω· δὲ ταῦτα πάντων ἀνακούσων, τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀφθαρσθῇ καὶ εἰς κόλας μετεβλήθη κ.π. Nikephor. eccl. hist. 15. 10 (exvii. 61 το Migne) νεφέλη γὰρ σάλπιγγος σχῆμα περιβαλλόμενον ἐπὶ ἕμερας τεσσαράκοντα ἡκένικα καὶ στοδόν ἄνωθεν ἔστησε τῇ Κοσμαντίνῳ, <achinery (inerr.)> ὡστε παλαιστὴν ὡς τῶν κράμων καθεῖσαι, εἰς πῦρ τῶν νεφῶν ἀλλαιωθέντων· δὲ δὴ σύμβολον ἀκραιφυστάνων ὣς τῇ δεινῷ οὕσαν εἰσελθαί μελλόντης περικεῖται· οὗτοι πάντες σὺν τῷ μόρῳ ἔξοντες, δυσαπατῶντες ἑαυτοὺς Θεοῦ, λέγοντες, Πῦρ ἐπιβρέχειν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀφαίρεσθαι ἐν βουλαρχεί Θεοῦ· φιλανθρωπίᾳ δὲ κοιμήθησον (leg. κοιμήθησον), ἀφθαρσθῇ.

² Ex. 16. 1 ff.
³ Ex. 16. 4.
⁴ Ex. 16. 13—14.
⁵ Ex. 16. 31.
⁸ Num. 11. 6 ff., 31 ff., Deut. 8. 3, 16, Josh. 5. 12, Neh. 9. 20, Ps. 105. 40, 106. 15, John 6. 31 f., 49, 58, Heb. 9. 4, Rev. 2. 17.
Rain of food

'Yet he commanded the skies above,  
And opened the doors of heaven;  
And he rained down manna upon them to eat,  
And gave them of the corn of heaven.  
Man did eat the bread of the mighty:  
He sent them meat to the full.  
He caused the east wind to blow in the heaven:  
And by his power he guided the south wind.  
He rained flesh also upon them as the dust,  
And winged fowl as the sand of the seas:  
And he let it fall in the midst of their camp,  
Round about their habitations.  
So they did eat, and were well filled;  
And he gave them that they lusted after.'

'He rained down manna...,' 'He rained flesh also...,' It may be doubted whether classical authors can furnish a complete parallel to the Hebrew tradition. There is, however, reason to think that the same naive belief in food, at first let fall by the sky-god, and later simply dropping from the sky, long haunted the imagination of Greeks and Romans alike.

W. H. Roscher², in a dissertation published half a century since, succeeded in proving two relevant points. In the first place, the Greeks and Romans, the Indians, the Germans, and the Finns all held that honey falls as a dew from the sky³ on trees and flowers, and consequently viewed it as a sort of celestial diet. In the second place, ambrosia, the gods' food, and nectar, the gods' drink (or vice

¹ Ps. 78. 23—29.
³ Hence the names δερωμέλα (Ammias frag. 1 (Script. hist. Alex. Mag. p. 135 Muller) = frag. 1 (Frag. gr. Hist. ii. 637 Jacoby) ap. Athen. 500 D, Galen. έπι τροφάω δερωμέλα 3. 39 (vi. 739 Kühn), cp. Verg. Georg. 4. 1 aerii mellis caelestia dona, δηρωμέλα (Galen. loc. cit., cp. Verg. ecl. 4. 70 rosicida mella, Plin. nat. hist. 16. 31 rores melleos e caelo, ut diximus [e.g. 11. 30], cadentes), μέλα διρωθ (Diod. 19. 94, Matthew 2. 4, Soud. 2.v. διρωθ), διρωθ μέλα (Polyain. 4. 3. 32, cp. Aul. de nat. an. 15. 7 θεωρεῖ η Ιδιον γη δια νησώ Ἰρωθ μελιτ άρωμα).

A curious story is told by Hadrianus Junius (Adriaan de Jonghe) in his Animalversa Roterodami 1708 p. 170 f. (lib. 3, cap. 9): 'Locum accepisse in regno Nepopolitano, prestantissimi mellis aerii (quod δερωθ μέλα Suidas, δηρωθ Galenus, vulgus hominum Manna nominat à voce Hebrew Man, quae genericio donum significat) proventus nobilem, quem Nepopolitani reges perpetuo muro claudiendum curaverant, incertam ob causam, sive ulterior proventus atque inde opimus reditus, sive parior ejus collectio eos hue stimulavit: quacunque tandem de causa denegato illius contactus, celeste illud sal διρωθ donum in universum cadere desit: nolam quem jussu Regum interrupta suisset muri series, demus labi affluentem, & à pube rustica colligi passim cepit. Repetitur iterum magno studio cingendi loci propositum, sed temerarium: sibi incidisse circaque preclusa muri lorica, stetit melleus ille imber, neque manavit amplius, donec, dissipata disjectaque macerizet illius crater, liberò ingressu petitus rusticus cocus, avidissimè defluvium illud manne colligere permesso regum potuit.'
versa\(^1\)), were originally identical, both being forms of the self-same substance honey. This identification is borne out by etymology: *a·mbrosia*, the ‘non-mortal’ food\(^2\), and *néktar*, the ‘death-vanquishing’, or perhaps rather *né·ktar*, the ‘not-dead’, are obvious equivalents.

1 Athen. 39 A αἰτα δι᾽ ὅπων Ἀμβροσία (Sub. incert. frag. 7 (Frag. cim. Gr. iii. 198 Meineke)) τὸ νέκταρ ὡς τότον, ἄλλα τρόφεια εἶναι λέγει θεοῖς; τὸ νέκταρ ἔθινα πᾶν ἵππον διατείναι τὰ ἀμβροσίαν καὶ τὴν Δίαν ἀλλοιων καὶ σιμέων εἰτὶ ἐκάστοτε; Ἡρμή λαλῶν καὶ Κόρες παρακαθήμεναι. καὶ Ἀλκμήν (100 Bergk\(^4\), 88 Edmonds, 3 Diehl) δὲ φησὶ τὸ νέκταρ ἔθιμαι αὐτὸν καὶ Σαπφώ (frag. 51 Bergk\(^4\), 146 Edmonds) δὲ φησὶ: ἡ ἀμβροσία μὲν ἢ κατὰ εὐκρατον, ἢ Ἐρμῆ ἢ Αλκμή θεοῖς ἄνωθεν. Ἐκαθαθ. in Od. p. 1632, 61 ff. abbreviates this passage of Athenaios. The same conception underlies Eur. Hipp. 748 ff. κρηναὶ τὰ ἀμβροσία χείρων; Ζηνός (W. Dindorf cij. Zahn) παρὰ νοικιᾷ; δὲ ἡ διδοῦσιν (so L. C. Valckenier from ὅμως διδοῦσιν cod. A. δὲ διδοῦσιν vulg.) ἀδέξῃ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ ἀμβροσίαν θεῶν.


4 H. Günter *Kalyptos Halle a. S. 1919 p. 161 ff. is dissatisfied with the solution of the problem advanced by Prenowitz and now commonly accepted (’Aber mit dem zweiten Kompositionsglied steht es nicht zum besten; man verweist auf ai.-tara-, aw. -tara- “überwindend, besiegender,” zu ai. tara- “setzt über, gelangt hinüber, überwindet, rettet,” oder auf ai. ἀπ-ταρ “die Wasser besiegend”; ich würde schon lieber auf ved.-ṣṝd “zerstörend” als zweites Kompositionsglied hinziehen, das im griechischen Auslaut als -tāp erscheinen müsste und von dieser Stellung aus verallgemeinert sein könnte. Aber auch der Zerlegung von νέκταρ in νεκτ-αρ “neem superans” haftet meines Empfindens etwas “Gemachtes” an, es fehlt ihr die innere Überzeugungskraft. Dazu kommt, dass die Silbe -tāp nur noch Heranziehung weit entfernter Formen einigermaßen gedeutet werden kann”). Accordingly, he proposes a new and undeniably attractive explanation (’Ich möchte daher einen neuen Deutungsvorschlag vorlegen, der hinsichtlich der Bedeutung der Etymologie GRIMM’S ebenbürtig ist, aber den Vorzug hat, nur mit im Griechischen selbst üblichen Wortformen auseinander: ich will nämlich νέκταρ zerlegen. νε- = idg. *ne* ist die Vollstätt der Negation, die wir in so üblichen Formen, wie lat. ne-cte, ne-fas, n-ntnam, n-nilus, ne-ctus, ne-cesse, ne-cissarius, nīnus aus *ne-hemo. ...Im Griechischen selbst ist ne- erhalten bei vokalischem Anlaut, da sonst das alte *ne- durch *o- ersetzte wurde; vgl. *o-tis, oxe θέλω: lat. nilo. In solcher Kontraktion aber war *ne- nicht durch *o- zu ersetzen, und so begegnet es in Fällen wie νυλῆς, νήμοις, νέκτασι, νέκτρος, νέκτρης, νέκτοις, ημέρητης, νέποι. Sonst kann *ne- also nur in Wörtern mit undurchsichtiger Bedeutung von der Ersetzung durch *o- verschont geblieben sein; ein solcher Fall ist meiner Ansicht nach νέκταρ, aus dem wohl schon die Griechen den Stamm νεκ- “Tod” in νέκτ, νέκυ, νεκός herausgehört haben werden. Der zweite Teil dieses also sehr altertümlichen Kompositums, dessen eigentliche Bedeutung die Hellenen nachweislich selbst nicht mehr kannten, gehört in tiefstufiger Stammesgestalt nach dem Hauptton zu hom. κτέρα “Reigabe an Tote.” Heysch. glossiert κτέρα “νεκός, και αὐτήν τον ou δόμαο. Ferner gehören hierher κτεβάζω, hom. κτεβεῖα τω “jem. die letzte Ehre erweisen,”

C. III.

32
The facts on which these fancies rested are partly botanical, partly entomological. On the one hand, a sweet, sticky exudation, usually caused by a superfluity of sap, is to be found during hot weather, in small drops resembling dew, on the leaves of sundry trees and herbs, especially the oak, the ash, the

Theophr. frag. 190 Wimmer ap. Phot. bild. p. 539 b 16 ff. πίπτει δε το εκ του ἄδρος μέλι και ἐπὶ την γην και ἐπὶ τα προστρύχων των φυτων. ἐφοδεύται δε μάλαστα ἐπὶ το φόλλως της δρύις και ἐπὶ το τοια (περιγραφή A. B. C.) της φίλοπος, δομη την τυχώντα χει τυχών και ἐνικάτα ἐπὶ. δει δε μήτε πελώνων οίαν ἔρχα, ηλια μη εἰς αἷς ἅλκη, μήτε μα σα, μη μη διηγη- τατά και και ἑκείως και πτυχώτας ἔχει, τα (so F. Wimmer for το κοττά) δε της φίλοπος και γλυκώτατα. ἔχει δε πως ἡ μέλαινα (so F. Wimmer for μάλαστα κοττα.) αἰσθάνομαι του προ την δρόμον, ιδ. hist. pl. 3. 7. 6 φαίνεται ο οιν και ἡ μελατόρθων ἁπτος χει το το ἀδρος επι τυχών (οι την δρόμο) μάλαστα προσέρχεται, Diod. 17. 73 ἐστι δε και δε χωνυ μα το των ἑρυρίσχων (του των ὧν) παραλήπνης δρόμο κατά την ἐπιφάνειας, αὐτο το των φόλλων ἀπολείποντο μέλι και τοτο τονε επεθάνουτε διαβάλῃ την ἀπάλαιων αὐτος ποιότητα==Curt. 6. 4. 27 frequens arbor faciem quercus habet, cuites folia multo melle tingens; sed, nisi solis ortum incolae occupaverint, vel modico tepore susus extinguitur (cp. Ex. 16. 21), Plan. nat. hist. 16. 31 constatque rores mellicos e caelo, ut diximus, cadentes non alis magis insidere frondibus (iv. quam roboris). Honey dripping from the oak is a characteristic of the golden age (VerG. ecol. 4. 6 redeunt Saturnia regna; ... 30 et durae quercus sudabant rosicida mella, Ctes. 1. 131 melleaque decussit (iv. Iupiter) foliis, Thib. 1. 3. 45 ipsae mella dabant quercus, Ov. met. 1. 111 f. iam fluminia nectaris ibant, | flavaque de viridi stillabat illice mella). But Hes. oed. 232 f. ὁμορος δε δρόμοι ἀρχαι το φοίνικας βαλεκαν, μέσα δε μαλλισ αρισ Lager, rather, as Tazet. ad loc. saw, to beaneast in hollow oak-trunks (pseudo-Phokyl. 171 ff. Bergk4. 177 ff. Diehl, Hor. ephod. 16. 47. Ov. am. 3. 8. 40). Anth. Pal. 9. 72. 1 (Anti- patros) ἐδολος Ἁρμικος, δο σουκέτε, ἐν δε γάλατι | χιλιαρ και δοτηρι στηλιμνός (A. Hecker and F. Dümmer would read στελιμνίου). H. Stadtmüller: 'nalis fert. πειδέμενος conlati Antipatri Thess. versu 93, 4 (Dλιγο πειδέμενος διδάσκει) μέλαι is of doubtful interpretation.


More weight attaches to a northern parallel. The ancient Scandinavian world-tree was an ash (aer Yggdrasils), from which trickled a bee-nourishing dew named 'honey-fall' (hundingsfall). See K. Simrock Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie Bonn 1878 p. 38,
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lime, and some sorts of reeds. On the other hand, certain insects, such as the aphides, secrete a sugary liquid, which is often spread in a shiny layer over the upper surface of leaves. Both saccharine substances are known to us as ‘honey-dew,’ to our neighbours as miellet or Honigthau.


1 Theophr. frag. 190 Wimmer (quoted supra p. 498 n. 2) τῆς φοίλου.

More than fifty years ago my brothers and I, as boys in our father’s garden, used in the heat of summer to creep under the green translucent shade of some over-hanging limeoughs, and I well remember tasting the sweet sticky liquid with which the leaves were coated.

2 Sen. epist. 12. 2. 4 niunt inveniri apud Indos mel in arundinum foliis, quod aut illius coeli aut ipsius arundinum humor dulcis et pinguior gignit, Philos. her. 20. 43 τρέφοντο δι’ (οι αι Λαμβάνοντε έκ της γαλακτι της φορμίδων ἵππων και δρόκων κηροίς, ή μελητέο διεκείστι άπό τους δόρακας των ποταμίων ζώιν, Αιτ. de nat. an. 15. 7 θετία ή άτι πάσο ή γάλα του δρόκου μελαί ουργό, και άπό τη σκλαέον της καιρόρροιας, ήπερ αν δι’ εκείνης πιάς και τοις δέντροι καλαμών κόμια νομίζει τοις βοου και τοίς κρύπτοι ναρκεψανθάνει, και τά πέπτο πάλιν άποκαλύπτει λόγον ώσ’ άποκαλύπτει λόγον ώσ’ άποκαλύπτει λόγον ώσ’ άποκαλύπτει λόγον ώσ’ άποκαλύπτει λόγον έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκείνης, έκείνης έκεί

3 R. Lydekker The Royal Natural History London 1896 vi. 198 ‘The sticky substance known as honey-dew, which is often spread in a shiny layer over the upper surface of leaves, is, in most cases, nothing but the liquid dropped by the crowds of plant-lice living above on the under side of other leaves.’

4 The Encyclopaedia Britannica London 1929 xi. 715 ‘The exudation of a nectar-like or saccharine fluid is a function exclusively of flowers but may be found as a secretion or excretion on all parts of various plants which occur above ground. A sweet material, manna, is produced by leaves and stems of a species of ash, and nectar-secreting glands are found on leaves, petioles, stipules, bracts and even on the outer surfaces of corollas and calyces of various plant species. The origin of nectar-secretion manifested specially by flowers among the several parts of plants has been carefully considered by Darwin, who regards the saccharine matter in nectar as a waste product of chemical changes in the sap. The secretions or excretions of nectar from parts of plants other than the interior of flowers are commonly called plant honey-dews. Another important source of sweet liquid for honey-bees is the excretions of many species of sucking insects, these being called insect honey-dews to distinguish them from normal plant secretions. Various orders of Hemiptera form this material which is eagerly gathered by bees, but only when no supplies of nectar are available.’

5 ‘Honey dew, a secretion consisting of exudations of sugar from the leaves of various trees under certain atmospheric conditions. It is usually the result of a superfluity of sap, but may also be produced by the puncture of certain insects.’

6 La grande encyclopédie Paris (1898) xxiii. 956 s.v. ‘Mielat, mielée ou milleur.’

J. Grimm—W. Grimm Deutsches Wörterbuch Leipzig 1877 iv. 2. 1793 s.v. ‘Honigthau’ (‘von blattläusen herrührt’).
Rain of food

Country folk in the second century A.D., when they observed such honey-dew on the leaves, would say with a smile 'Zeus has been raining honey!' And what they said in jest, their forefathers had said in earnest. Hence the curious belief that Dionysos was called Hyes because at his begetting 'Zeus rained ambrosia upon him'—a point to which we shall return.

But if honey, why not honey-cakes? Why not dainties of all sorts? The comedians caught at the notion. Pherekrates in his Persians (towards the close of s. v B.C.) imagines a happy land in which rivers of black broth with rich spice-nuts and best barley-bread shall flow from the springs of Ploutos, all ready to be ladled up,—

While Zeus rains wine, well-smoked and fine, in one tile-drenching sputter (A bathman's souse), till every house massed grapes and cheese-cakes clutter, And soup all hot and Lord-knows-what goes gurgling down the gutter.

Nikophon, a later contemporary of Aristophanes, in his Sirens pictures a similar scene, but omits the name of Zeus:

Then let it snow with meal,
Drizzle with loaves, and rain with lentil-soup;
Let broth roll tit-bits all adown the streets,
And cake invite us to consume itself.

From such classical Utopias it is not a far cry to the mediaeval

1 Galen. Τροφή διαμόρφωσα τον πήγα μέχρι δόρο διοταίρεις καλέσας περιλοφοθείας, τὸ μὲν ἔτερον ἀπὸ τῶν ὀξυτῶν εἴχε, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον ἐκ νόμων ἐκατέρω θανῦ ἀπὸ τῶν μακρῶν ἔντετελετε μᾶλλον. γίνεται μὲν γάρ ἐπὶ τῶν φὐλλῶν τῶν φυτῶν, ἔτι δὲ ὅστε χιλιάδες αὐτῶν, ὅστε καρποὺς, ὅστε μέρον, ἀλλ' ὠμογενής μὲν ταῖς δρόσοις, οὐ μὴν ὅστε ἄνευς ὡς ἅμιας εἰκονίζατο γίνεται δαφνίς. οὖ πεποιηθὸς ὄρος πλευστὸν δοξαὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τῶν δενδρῶν καὶ βάσμων καὶ τῶν μομπατῶν φύλλων εὑρέθην, ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν γεωργῶν λεγόμεθα παντοτόνων, 'ὅ τε ζεύς ἐπερεῖ μέλι. τ' ἐπιρρέω ἐπὶ τοῖς μὲν εὐφυζής, ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ, (θεοῦ γὰρ ἐν ὧν κατακείται,) δερματὰ καὶ ἕνα καίρεις ἐπὶ τῆς προερατ. παρα' ἤμιν μὲν ὅσον αὐτοῖς φαίνεται τοῦτο γεγονός, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς τῆς Λιβάνης καὶ ἐκατον ἔρις ὑπὸ θέου ἄλλου, ὡς ἐκτακτεύοντες ἐπὶ γής δέρματα καὶ σιναιντε ὅτα δένδρα δέχονται τοῦ χῶρου καὶ χήρας καὶ κράμα πληροῦσι τῶν μέλιτος, ὠμοφώνως δ' αὐτὸ ἀφορομελοὶ τοι τοῦ ἀφορομελούς (ὑστος p. 496 n. 3). πρόβασες μὲν οὗ ὅτι ἐν τῷ γενέσθαι τοῦ μέλιτος ομογενηθῇ τις οὐσά ταῖς δρόσοις, κ.τ.λ. ὁμοίοι p. 261 n. 1.  

Galen's statement that on Libanios men spread skins upon the ground to catch the honey-dew may throw some light on Judges 6. 36 ff., where Gideon says to God: 'If thou wilt save Israel by mine hand, as thou hast spoken, behold, I will put a fleece of wool on the threshing-floor; if there be dew on the fleece only, and it be dry upon the ground, then shall I know that thou wilt save Israel by mine hand,’ etc.

Rain of food

Land of Cokaygne in its English, French, Italian, or Teutonic varieties. A frequent element in these Wonderland is the fall of


2 J. E. Wells A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050—1400 Yale University Press 1916 p. 228 f. 'The land of Cockaygne...consists of 95 short couplets of 1250—1300 in MS. Harley 913 f. 3. The MS. was written probably between 1308 and 1318, at latest before 1325....possibly...from a lost French source.' Bibliography ib. p. 798 f. The text was first published by G. Hickes Linguarum Vett. septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archaeologicus Oxonie 1705 i. 231—233, then e.g. by T. Wright in M. Haupt—H. Hoffmann Alldeutsche Blätter Leipzig 1836 i. 396—401, and with revised readings and useful notes by E. Mättner Alltenglische Sprachproben Berlin 1867 i. 147—152.

Similar fancies crop up here and there in much later verse (cp. T. Crofton Croker The Popular Songs of Ireland London 1839 p. 76 'Then let it, ye powers, | Rain whisky in showers,' or T. Hood's 'I've heard about a pleasant land, | Where omelettes grow on trees, | And roasted pigs run, crying out, | 'Come eat me, if you please').

3 E. Barbazan Fabliaux et contes des poètes français des xi, xii, xiii, xiv et xv siècles Paris 1808 iv. 175—181 ('C'est li fabliaux de Coquaigne. Manuscripts, n° 7218 et 7615'), especially vv. 96—100 'Trois fois i pluet en la semaine | Une ondée de flaoues (ex. "tartes, gateaux") chauz | Don't ja ne cheveluz ne chauz (ex. "chauve") | Niert destornez, jell sai de voir, | Ainf en prent tout à son voloir.' This thirteenth-century French poem is copied in a Dutch version 'Van dat edele lant van Cockaengen' (R. Priebsch in the Tijdschrift voor nederl. taal-en letterkunde 1894 xii. 185—191), where it rains flat cakes and pancakes (J. Poeschel in H. Paul—W. Braune Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 1878 v. 413). In M. A. Le Grand's comedy Le roi de Cocagne acte i scène 3 (composed in 1718, ed. Paris 1742 ii. 146) Bombance declares: 'Le pigeonreau farci, l'alouette rôti, | Nous tombent ici bas du Ciel comme la pluie.'

4 The earliest allusion occurs in one of the Carmina Burana (ed. J. A. Schmeller Stuttgart 1847 p. 254) entitled Confessio Goliae, which was written at Pavia c. 1162—1164 by a wandering cleric and addressed to Reinald von Dassell, Archbishop of Cologne (W. Giesebricht in the Allgemeine Monatschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur 1853 p. 364). The author states: 'Ego sum abbas Cucaniensis et consilium meum est cum bibulis et in secta Decii voluntas mea est.' But the first detailed description is found in Boccaccio's Decamerone. G. Boccaccio The Decameron trans. J. M. Rigg London 1920 ii. 187 (Eighth day, Novel iii): 'Chiefly in Berlinoz, in the land of the Basques. The district is called Bengodi (sic. ubi bene gaudetur), and there they bind the vines with sausages, and a denier will buy a goose and a gosling into the bargain; and on a mountain, all of grated Parmesan cheese, dwell folk that do nought else but make macaroni and ravioli' (A sort of rissole), and boil them in capon's broth, and then throw them down to be scrambled for; and hard by flows a rivulet of Vernaccia, the best that ever was drunk, and never a drop of water therein.' Dr H. Meier draws my attention to A. Bertarelli L'imagerie populaire italienne Paris 1929 pp. 50 fig. ('Le Pays de Cocagne des femmes'). Rome. Taille-douce vers 1650 and 51 fig. ('Description du Pays de Cocagne'). Taille-douce coloriée au pinceau, de Remondini Bassano. xviiie siècle.

comestibles in a shower from the sky. The gap between ancient and modern examples is filled, on the one hand, by folk-tales that tell of eatables and drinkables falling like rain, on the other hand, by would-be historical happenings, sometimes susceptible of a scientific explanation, sometimes exaggerations or distortions of residual facts.

The Story of Schlaurenland' is a German poem of the fourteenth century (printed from a Strassburg MS. by M. Haupt—H. Hoffmann Altdeutsche Blätter Leipzig 1836 l. 163—in 63 short rime lines). In this topsy-turvy country e.g. 'sweet honey flowed like water from a deep valley at the top of a high mountain.' A. Alsephen Johann Fischarts Geschichtblätterung (Gargantua) Halle s. S. 1891 p. 143 (cap. 6) 'In dem Land von mir ich nicht mehr bleiben, der luft that mich in Schlaurenland treiben, dreyst mehinder Weihenacht, da seind die Läbchenwand, Schweineparenstöt, Maluasproven, Bachschnitzbach, Bachschselbach, Eyer im Schmalz für Hartz und Gummi da die Taubenschlag mäuler gepraten Wachteln, die dem Baure über Nacht im gefass geruht haben, da der Milcharegenget, der Zuckerehne Hagel, der speisvoll rund schlaissen regiert, O der Pratwürst Zäm, honigips, fladendächer, welche die Weiheländ vorstümmung des vollen Berge sehr verschonten,' etc. Fischarts' Gargantua was first printed in 1575. My pl. x is from the Bilderkatalog zu [M. Geissberg: Der deutsche Einblatt-Holzschnitt (a woodcut printed by W. Strauch, Nürnberg)]. The book was kindly lent to me by Dr H. Meier. C. Reinaich Rép. Peintures ii. 735. 2 (a painting by Breughel le Vieux, now at Berlin)


Das Schauffenslandt, 'The Country of Cokayne,' from a woodcut printed by W. Strauch of Nuremberg.

See page 503 n. 6.
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I add two recent examples. The Daily Telegraph Saturday 17 March 1934 p. 11: 'The inhabitants of Pistoia, a Tuscan hill town forty miles from the sea, were amazed to find red rain falling. It contained small fishes swept up from the sea by the gales.' The Cambridge Daily News Tuesday 13 March 1934 p. 1: 'Cambridge is still puzzling over the showers of fish which fell on the Market-place on Monday morning and Monday afternoon. On two distinct occasions it was found small fish of the stickleback breed, and anything up to two inches in size, were scattered about the cracks in the cobbles on Market-hill...At least one of the fish found on the Hill was alive this morning and browsing around in a jar in a private laboratory in the town. Others were taken away by passers-by or by interested students of natural phenomena....No one apparently saw
Rain of food

The Land of Cokaygne was represented, not merely by mediaeval tales of a far country where viands of the choicest sort were to be had for the asking, but also by popular customs in which a determined effort was made to get there and feast to heart's content. Thus at Naples the name Cuccagna was given to a yearly merry-

the fish actually fall, but when the sun dried up the water which filled the crevices between the cobbles after the heavy showers, it was found that a large number of small fish were lying there. Some were silver, some red, and some of an entirely different colour. With them was found a small quantity of vegetation...one stallholder recalled that three years ago he had a similar experience on the road between Foxton and Shepreth, when a multitude of small frogs suddenly descended. The Superintendent of the Cambridge Botanical Gardens also recollected a similar experience with minnows and tadpoles on the Bath—London road some years ago.'

In speaking of fish, frogs, and meal as dropped from the sky, Athenaios and his sources used throughout, not the name Zeos, but the vaguer term dé theon. The Roman historians omit even that acknowledgement of the divine, when they record—

(1) a rain of flesh:

461 B.C. (Livy. 3, 10; Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. 10. 2, Nepotan. ep. Val. Max. 7. 5; Plin. nat. hist. 2. 147, Lyd. de ostent. prooem. 6 p. 13, 3 ff. Wachsmuth at Rome.)

(2) a rain of milk:

274 B.C. (Oros. 4. 1. 1.)

209 (Livy. 27. 1.)

194 (Livy. 34. 48 Interamnae lac fluxisse with many variants, for which see A. Drakenborch ad loc. J. F. Gronov c. Nare amni.)

163 (Iul. Obs. 73 = 14 Gabisis.)

130 (Iul. Obs. 87 = 28 Romae in Graecostasi.)

125 (Iul. Obs. 90 = 30 in Veientc.)

124 (Iul. Obs. 91 = 31 in Graecostasi.)

118 (Iul. Obs. 95 = 35.)

117 (?)(Iul. Obs. 96 = 36 Praeneste.)

114 (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 147.)

106 (Iul. Obs. 101 = 41 in agro Perusino et Romae locis aliquot.)

103 (Iul. Obs. 102 = 43 in Lucanis.)

98 (Iul. Obs. 110 = 50 Caere.)

92 (Iul. Obs. 113 = 23 Romae.)

(3) a rain of oil:

125 B.C. (Iul. Obs. 90 = 30 in Veiente.)

1 These have been collected and discussed by J. Poeschel 'Das Märchen vom Schlaraffenlande' in H. Paul—W. Braune Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 1878 v. 389—417 (universal belief in a happy childhood of mankind : Greek reign of Kronos and its parodies, in which distant age becomes distant place e. g. India: Romance-languages postulate a definite 'wunschland,' the Latin Cucagna, Italian Cucagna, Spanish Cucana, French Couquaine, Cocagne: German Schlaraffenland points the moral), A. Graf Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo Torino 1892 pp. 229—238 ('Il Paese di Cucagna e i Paradisi artificiali'), E. Schmidt Charakteristiken Zweite Reihe Berlin 1901 pp. 51—70 ('Das Schlaraffenland' with verse-quotations), J. Bolte 'Bilderbogen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts' in the Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde 1910 xx. 187—193 ('Das Schlaraffenland' with a woodcut of 1575—1600), J. Bolte—G. Pollivka Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm Leipzig 1918 ii. 244—258 ('158. Das Märchen vom Schlaraffenlande' (a full account of all European versions).

2 J. Poeschel loc. cit. 1878 v. 409 f., J. Bolte—G. Pollivka op. cit. iii. 748.
making, which has been traced back to the early part of the sixteenth century\(^1\): on the last Thursday before Lent a pyramid stacked with poultry, sausages, and eatables of every kind was taken in procession through the streets and, on reaching the big marketplace, was handed over to the mob, which scrambled for the prize. In Spain a similar celebration was called *Cuchaña*\(^2\): comestibles and other things were fastened to the very top of a tall well-soaped pole, up which competitors clambered to the amusement of all. The same sport, which in Italy is known as the *Gioco della Cuccagna*\(^3\), was introduced into France in 1425, and thenceforward the *mât de cocagne* became a frequent feature of public festivities\(^4\). It seems never to have obtained much footing in Germany, where its equivalent was to be found in such rites as the thirteenth-century *Gral* at Magdeburg\(^5\). But it was certainly the ancestor of our own Greasy Pole\(^6\), still a favourite item on the programmes of provincial regattas. Indeed, it is not a little curious to reflect that a ceremony,

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\(^2\) J. Poeschel *loc. cit.* 1878 v. 416; J. Bolte—G. Polvka *op. cit.* iii. 248. See also the *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana por la Real Academia Española* Madrid 1914 p. 302. *'Cucena*...f. Palo largo, untado de jabón o de grasa, por el cual se ha de trepar, si se hinca verticalmente en el suelo, o andar, si se coloca horizontalmente a cierta distancia de la superficie del agua, para coger como premio un objeto atado a su extremidad. *' a Diversion de ver trepar por dicho palo.'

\(^3\) A. Hourie *An Italian Dictionary* Cambridge 1925 p. 196b. *'Cuccagna f.*...*Gioco della —*, climbing a greasy pole for a prize fastened at the top of it.'

\(^4\) *La grande encyclopédie Paris* 1890 xi. 755 i.e. *'Cocagne'*. *'Un terme très employé, mât de cocagne, désigne un mât rond, lisse et élevé, planté en terre, dressé pendant les rejoignances publiques; il porte à son sommet des objets de toutes sortes, des prix qui appartiennent à celui ou ceux qui parviennent à grimper jusqu'en haut sans secours. Ce mât est soigneusement savonné, ce qui complique encore la difficulté des ascensions. Ce divertissement populaire a été, il semble, introduit pour la première fois à Paris en 1425, ainsi qu'on le voit par le *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous Charles vi* [A. Potthast *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi* Berlin 1896 i. 686 f.], *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* Paris 1932 i. 250 i.e. *'Cocagne'*. *Mât de cocagne, Mât rond et lisse, planté en terre, au haut duquel sont suspendus des prix qu'il faut aller détacher en grimpant sans aucun secours. On plante ordinairement des mâts de cocagne les jours de fête publique.'

\(^5\) J. Grimm—W. Grimm *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1873 v. 1980 s.v. *'Krales'... es muss aus Niederdeutschland gekommen sein. dort hieran gral w. ein fest, wie es s. a. die Magdeburger schöpschrentō* [A. Potthast *op. cit.* Berlin 1896 ii. 1002 f.] um 1280 als in Magdeburg gefeiert schilde... denn bei jenem feste, z. b. in Magdeburg, bildete den mittelpunkt ein auf einer Ellnicht errichteter ba, der gral, in dem helden hausten und zum kampe daraus hervor kamen, eine darstellung des graltempels, gedacht als inbegriff aller herlichkeit; der name des bleinads gral gieng dabei auf das gebäude über, das ihm diente. eigen bei fischart 'den Gral oder Venusberg besuchen' Gary. 414 Sch. ...er ist da in Italien gedacht.'

\(^6\) The Spanish *Cuchaña* was sometimes, like our Greasy Bowsprit, a pole projecting horizontally above the water (*supra* n. 2).
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which began as a serious attempt to climb up into heaven and share the food of the gods, should end as a comic failure to carry off the coveted ham.

iv. Pyre-extinguishing rain.

On sundry occasions Zeus by means of a timely rain extinguished a pyre and saved the life of a victim.

A case in point is furnished by the myth of Alkmene, at least in its later and fully developed form. The Homeric Nêkyia includes among the list of dead heroines Alkmene, the wife of Amphitryon, who became by Zeus the mother of lion-hearted Herakles. An excerpt from the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women, now serving as proem to the Shield of Herakles, gives further detail. Amphitryon might not consort with his wife till he had avenged the death of her brothers, who had been slain by the cattle-raiding Taphians and Teleboans. Meantime Zeus quitted Olympus, and came by way of Typhaonion (the mountain of Typhon) and the top of Phikion (the mountain of the Sphinx) to Thebes, where he lay with Alkmene. The self-same night Amphitryon returned from the fighting, and likewise consorted with his wife. Thereafter she bore twins, Herakles the stronger to immortal Zeus, Iphikles the weaker to mortal Amphitryon.

Thus far the myth is a typical tale of Boeotian twins. The extra birth, abnormal and hard to understand, was regarded as due to the action of some god. And since Amphitryon as king stood in a special relation to Zeus and even bore a name suggestive of the lightning, it was natural to assume that the god in question was Zeus, and to view the superior twin as his son, the inferior as that of the human father.

1 Od. 11. 266 ff.
3 Hes. sc. Her. 1—56.
4 Cp. Hesych. Τυφών · ὁ ὀρνετος.
5 Apollod. 3. 5. 8, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ψικών, Hesych. s.v. Ψικών, Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 7, 1465. On Ψικα, acc. Ψικα (Hes. theog. 326), as the Boeotian form of Δίκαιος see R. Meister Die griechischen Dialekte Göttingen 1882 i. 267.
8 Supra ii. 1074, 1088.
9 Supra ii. 1072. Christodoros' expression ἀμφιτρόπων δ' ἑταράτευ (Anth. Pal. 2. 367) is a coincidence, but no more.
10 Supra ii. 445 ff.
The story passed early into the repertory of the mythographical artist as well as into that of the mythological poet. The famous Chest of Kypselos, dedicated at Olympia not later than 582 B.C. when the dynasty of the Kypselidai came to an end, represented Zeus in the form of Amphitrion offering gifts to Alkmene. He, clad in a chiton, was bearing a cup in his right hand, a necklace in his left; she was taking hold of them both—a simple, significant group. Pindar more suo adds one glittering touch. The epiphany of the god at midnight was accompanied by a snow of gold. Neither the gifts nor the snow-storm should be dismissed as meaningless adjuncts. Hédna, ‘bride-resents,’ in general were the proper preliminaries of an epic union, and this cup in particular was an heirloom of divine origin. The golden downpour here, as elsewhere, betokens the advent of the impregnating sky-god.

But the theme lent itself to further elaboration. Apollodoros, 6

1 Frazer Pausanias iii. 600.
2 Paus. 5. 18. 3.
4 Supra p. 477.
5 Anaximandros frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 67 Müller)=frag. 1 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 160 Jacoby) ap. Athen. 498 B—C states that this σκοτόφως had been given by Poseidon to his son Teleboos, by Teleboos to Pteryges, and that Amphitrion had claimed it as his share of the booty. Cp. Athen. 474 F (Macrobi. Sat. 5. 21. 3, Eustath. in Od. p. 1473, 17 ff.) ἀρχαίστατον δ' ἐνι σπήματον τὸ κεφάλαιον, εἰ γε ὁ Ζεὺς ἀρμάλης Ἀλκμήνῃ βάπτει διὸ τῶν μῖξθων, ὁς Φερεικός (frag. 27 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 77 Müller)=frag. 13 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 63 f. Jacoby)) ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Πέτρων ὀδή της Πέτρως (frag. 3 (Frag. gr. Hist. ii. 20 Müller)=frag. 16 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 219 Jacoby)). Plaut. Amph. 256 f., 530 f. makes it the golden στεφανόσε in which king Pteryges used to drink. Charon of Lampsakos frag. 11 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 35 Müller) ap. Athen. 475 B—C says that the δέως given to Alkmene by Zeus was still shown at Sparta in his day (second half of 5. v. B.C.). On cups as royal heirlooms see supra i. 406 n. 3. Other alleged relics of Amphitrion were the θέαμοι built for him at Thebes by Trophonios and Agamedes (Paus. 9. 11. 1 with inscription (Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 3. 108. 1—3)) and a tripod dedicated by him in the sanctuary of Apollo Ithemnitos at Thebes (Hdt. 5. 59 with inscription in Cadmean letters (Anth. Pal. 6. 6)), cp. a tripod dedicated by him to Apollo on behalf of Herakles in a relief of Roman date (L. Stephani Der ausruhende Herakles St. Petersburg 1854 pl. 1, 1, id. in the Compièrèndu St. Pét. 1873 p. 228 ff., O. Jahn Griechische Bilderchroniken Bonn 1873 pl. 5, Reimnach Rép. Reliefs iii. 140 with inscription (Inschr. Gr. St. II. no. 1293=Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 3. 126 a)).
6 Apollod. 2. 4. 8.
in all probability following Thucydes of Athens (floruit 454/3 B.C.), re-tells the story thus:

"Now before Amphirion reached Thebes, Zeus had come by night and, making that one night three times its length, had taken upon him the likeness of Amphirion and bedded with Alkmene and related to her what had befallen the Teleboans. But Amphirion, when he arrived and saw that he was not welcomed by his wife, enquired the cause. She told him that he had come the night before and slept with her; and he learned from Tereusias that her bedfellow had been Zeus. So Alkmene bore two sons, Herakles—the elder by one night—to Zeus, and Iphikles to Amphirion."

1 Sir J. G. Frazer Apollodorus London 1911 i. 175 n. o quoting Thucydes frag. 27 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 77 Müller) = frag. 13 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 63 f. Jacoby) ap. schol. II. 14. 323, schol. Od. 11. 266. Cp. Athen. 474 ν (infra p. 597 n. 3).

2 W. Chr. Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1912 i. 454 f.

3 Apollod. 2. 4. 8 τὴν μὲν τραπεζάδαν κάντα, τὴν δὲ τραπέζαν πτερναναλωθαίς o, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τραπέζησιν ἑξώσας λέγεσθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα. Cp. Lyk. Al. 35 τραπέζησιν λέγειν with Tzetz. ad loc., Anth. Pal. 15. 26. 11 (Diosaidas) τραπέζησιν καλεῖν, and other passages noted by Stephanus Thees. Gr. Ling. vii. 2438 D; also the variant phrase τραπέζησιν in Nonn. Dion. 25. 242 f. ἐδόθη μὲν Ἡρακλῆς, ὁ ἄρον ἄδικον Ζεὺς ἢ Ἀκμάης τραπέζησιν ἔχων παυσάρτον κόαιν, Anth. Pal. 9. 441. 3 (Palladas) Ἄμφικης τραπέζης. The protracted night, once accepted, of course tended to grow longer and longer: see e.g. Pp. A. 112 f. Æres etus pater nunc intus hic cum illa cubat, et et haec ob emum non est facta longior, dum cum illa, quaeum volt, voluptatem capit, 268 sos. credo ego hac nocti Nocturnum obdormisse eburnium, 272 f. sos. neque ego hac nocte longiorum me vidisse censeo ...

This tale was perhaps that dramatised by Sophokles in his *Amphitryon*¹, and it reappears with some variation in the works of later mythographers².

Euripides, the great innovator, substituted a more romantic version. Of his play, the *Alkmene*, we have little direct knowledge. A few tantalising fragments, like stray bits of a jig-saw puzzle, show us a dense growth of ivy with nightingales singing in it³—a pine-torch fetched by somebody from somewhere⁴—rescue from a desperate plight by the help of heaven⁵—day and dark night bringing many things to birth⁶—again a reference to the gloom of

δραφην, Lact. Plac. in Stat. Thob. 12. 301 (ep. Myth. Vat. 7. 148) ne adventu diei con-
cubitus minueretur voluptas, ipsis Iuppiter illam noctem triplicem fieri, qua triplices cursus Luna peregrit. The Christian Fathers, bent on aggravating the enormities of Zeus, even
turned three into nine: Clem. Al. protr. 2. 33. 3 p. 24. 14 ff. Stählin els des 3' ελάχιστων
ἀνθελγασ συνελατός ἐνεκύκλεος ὑπερασπάσην νύκτας, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀλήθεια αἱ ἐννέα τῷ ἀκόλουθῳ μακραί (ἀπα τι δειπνασ ὁ βλατ ἀκρασι δραυχοί ἦν), δεὶ ἡ ἁμα ὁ τών
διελέκτων σπείρας νυκτός, Arnob. adv. nat. 4. 26 quis illum (qu. Iovem) in Alcmena novem
notibus fecit pergivillase continuus? non vos?...ille noctibus vix novem umam potuit
prolem extundere, concinnare, compassing, etc., Kyrill. c. Illust. 6 p. 196 (xxvi. 800 a—b Migne) γεγοράθη δὲ καὶ 'Αλκμήνῃ, μεθ' ὑπὸ τὰ τὸν διατέλεικε νύκτας ὁ καὶ ἐν
tοῖς ὁ πληρω ἐξίσου πέραν ὅλης ἐγνὸς.

The successive steps in this mythical extension appear to have been as follows:

| Night + Night = 2 nights. |
| Night + (Day) + Night = 3 nights. |
| Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night = 5 nights. |
| Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night = 7 nights. |
| Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) = 9 nights. |

The terms τρισκέρος, τρισελήθως would be justified by the third step, when the sun ceased
to shine for one day and so produced three continuous nights. See further A. Winter
Alcmena und Amphitryon Breslau 1876 p. 34 ff. and K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa
Real-Enc. 1. 1572 ff.

¹ K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. 1. 1573.
² In Hyg. fob. 29 and Interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 8. 103 Oichalia appears in place of the
Telboans.

According to C. B. Lewis Classical Mythology and Arthurian Romance Oxford 1932
p. 795, 'Try as we may, we cannot avoid the conclusion that stories of classical mythology
had penetrated everywhere in the early Middle Ages... and the transformation of Uther
into the likeness of Gorlois in order that he might consort with Igeria...is a reminiscence
of the story of Zeus, who assumed the likeness of Amphitruo in order to deceive Alcmena'
(id. ib. p. 214 n. 1 after J. D. Bruce The Evolution of Arthurian Romance from the
Beginnings down to the Year 1300 Göttingen—Baltimore 1923 i. 135, 148)—a passage
quoted with approval by H. J. Rose in Folk-Lore 1933 xlv. 24.


night—and of course the usual crop of moralising maxims. These scattered hints have been put together with the utmost acumen by R. Engelmann, who supplements them from two important sources, on the one hand Paestum and Campanian vase-paintings, on the other hand the plays of Plautus.

I begin with the vases, since they are the earlier. A bell-krater, found at Santa Agata dei Goti and now in the British Museum, was painted by the ceramic artist Python (c. 320 B.C.) with the following

Fig. 322.

3 On Python see G. Patroli La ceramica antica nell' Italia meridionale Napoli 1807 pp. 65—70 figs. 40 and 41, F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser Gr. Vasenmalerei iii. 69, Fuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 719, M. H. Swindler Ancient
A krater from Santa Agata dei Goti, now in the British Museum: Alkmene rescued from a fiery death at the hands of Amphitryon and Antenor by the intervention of Zeus.

See page 515 ff.
design (pl. xli)\(^1\). Alkmene sits as a suppliant on an altar, a handsome structure built with fenders and a triglyph-frieze. In front of it is stacked a pyre of round logs. Amphilithron on the right and Antenor on the left are even now firing the logs with torches. But at the last moment Alkmene raises her hand to Zeus, whose figure, closely resembling that of Amphilithron, is visible in the upper air. In answer to Alkmene’s cry Zeus sends an instant storm. Two thunderbolts

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\(\text{Fig. 373.}\)

*Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 295. He was successor and imitator of Asteas (*c.* 350–320 B.C.).

\(^1\) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 72 f. no. F 149, A. S. Murray ‘The Alkmene Vase formerly in Castle Howard’ in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 225–230 with 1 fig., col. pl. 6 (obverse) and pl. 7 (reverse) (= my pl. xli and fig. 373), C. Dugas in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 653 fig. 7370, P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze s. a. ii. 444 ff. fig. 321, Hoppin *Black-f.ig. Vases* p. 452 f. no. 1, *Corp. vas. ant.* Brit. Mus. iv E. a pl. 1, 2 a (reverse) and 2 b (obverse) with text p. 3 f. by A. H. Smith and F. N. Pryce.
Pyre-extinguishing rain

have already fallen, one beside Amphitrion, the other at the feet of Antenor. Moreover, two Hyades from above are drenching the pyre with streams of water from their *hydræi*. And (a remarkable trait\(^1\)) the black air thick with white raindrops is spanned by a rainbow of reddish purple and white. The presence of Aos, the dawn-goddess, who holds a mirror in the top right-hand corner, marks the time of day and seems to promise a fairer future. An *amphora* from Capua, also in the British Museum, repeats the scene with some modifications (fig. 323)\(^2\). Alkmene on the altar raises both hands, appealing to Zeus, who is not seen. Antenor approaches with a torch in either hand: Amphitrion is omitted. Over both figures in the foreground extends a rainbow painted in three colours, red, white, and black, while the Hyades, as before, are employing their *hydræi* to extinguish the flames. These attendant nymphs furnish an interesting case of adaptation from an earlier art-type. Python, wanting to represent the extinction of a theatrical pyre, recalls the cremation of Herakles\(^3\) as shown in Satyr drama. An Apulian *krater* from Ruvo, formerly in the Caputi collection (fig. 324)\(^4\), has Herakles in full vigour stepping on to the chariot of Nike, who will drive him up the slopes of Olympos. Above, the gods are represented by Aphrodite and Eros. Below, the blazing logs are drenched by three damsels, perhaps fountain-powers\(^5\). And a dancing Silenos sufficiently indicates that the scene is taken from some Satyr-play. A *pelike* at Munich (fig. 325)\(^6\) in the style of ‘the Kadmos Painter’ (c. 420—410 B.C.)\(^7\) gives the fire consuming the

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\(^1\) This appears to be the earliest naturalistic representation of a rainbow in ancient art. For another remarkable rendering see *supra* p. 36 f. pl. iv.


\(^3\) *Supra* ii. 903 n. 2.


\(^5\) S. Reina ch. *loc. cit.*: ‘les Hyades apportent de l’eau pour éteindre le bûcher.’


\(^7\) M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 193.
hero's breastplate. On the left two Silenoi, Skopas\(^1\) and Hybris\(^2\),
are stealing his club and lance. On the right two water-nymphs,

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\(^1\) *Nomen omen.* Cp. *supra* i. 709, ii. 461 n. o.

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Arethousa¹ and Preumnousia², are quenching the fire with their hydriai. Above, that is beyond³, the pile is Herakles himself, a youthful bay-wreathed form, borne off to Olympos in the chariot of Athena. Behind such a vase in turn lies the more serious representation of the myth. A late Attic krater published by E. Gerhard (fig. 326)⁴ makes Philoktetes carry off the quiver and arrows from the pyre, while a mere handmaid⁵ does her best to put out the flames⁶. Above, Nike drives the hero up to the pillared palace of Olympos⁷. Hermes leads the way towards a seated Apollon, and Zeus—it must surely be he⁸—waits in the background to welcome his divinised son.

¹ R. Wagner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 679 ff., W. Aly 'Αρέθουσα in Giotto 1914 v. 57 ff. (rejects the connexion with ἄρθως asserted by Herodian. περὶ μυρ. λεξ. i. 13 (ii. 919, 28 ff. Lentz), Steph. Byz. s.v. Αρέθουσα, and accepted e.g. by G. Hirschfeld in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 679, in favour of relation to άρθως, cp. βεβρως—βεβρωσκω and the like).
² Hesych. Πρεμνουσια: κρηνη ἐν τῇ 'Αττικῇ.
³ F. Hauser in Furtwangler—Reichhold—Hauser Gr. Vasenmalerei ii. 256 points out that the ground-line beneath chariot and horses together with the tree behind them quite excludes the notion of 'Luftfahrt....Also auch hier wieder Kavalier-Perspektive' (cp. id. ib. p. 253).
⁴ Gerhard Ant. Bildw. p. 275 pl. 31, H. Blümmer in Baumeister Denkm. i. 307 fig. 323 (=my fig. 326), Türk in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2328 no. (3) fig. i, F. Hauser loc. cit. ii. 256 with fig. 90.
⁵ Yet Gerhard loc. cit. says: 'die Nymphe des Oeta.'
⁶ Wine was used to quench the ashes (Il. 23. 237 f., 250 f., 24. 791 f., Verg. Aen. 6. 227, Stat. silv. 2. 6. 90 f.)—a practice prohibited by Numa (Plin. nat. hist. 14. 88, cp. Cic. de legg. 2. 60). But the usage was certainly not a matter of mere luxury. Wine was presumably employed on account of its life-giving properties (supra ii. 1025 Dionysos Ἡσσαράδος = οὐκοθήρης. Cp. our whisky for usquebaugh = Irish nihe beatha, 'water of life,' or the French eau-de-vie). Also its red colour would be a surrogage for blood (supra i. 58 n. 2, ii. 522 n. 2. See now E. Wunderlich Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer Giessen 1925 pp. 1—116 and a review by S. Eitrem in Nénon 1926 ii. 95—102, and ashes steeped in it would in a sense be revitalised. Was this the reason why, even in palaeolithic times, skulls and other parts of skeletons were overlaid with iron oxide (G. Wilke s.v. 'Ockerbestattung' in Ebert Reallex. ix. 156 f.: 'Oder endlich—and this Erklärung ist am wahrscheinlichsten—man wollte dem bleichen Toten durch den Ocker die Farbe und belebende Kraft des Blutes wiedergeben und ihm dadurch ermöglichen, als „lebender Leichnam“ (s.d.) weiter zu existieren')?
⁷ Supra i. 114.
⁸ The dignified bearded figure with chlamys and petasos has been variously explained. Gerhard Ant. Bildw. p. 275 says: 'hinter ihm ein Mann in Reisentracht zunächst für seinen Waffengefährt Jolaos uns gilt.' J. Roulez in the Ann. d. Inst. 1847 xix. 271: 'Je préfère regarder ce personnage barbu comme la personification du mont OÉla, ou bien, avec M. Gerhard, comme Iolas.' Türk in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2329: 'ein Berggott.' But a mountain-god pure and simple would rather have been recumbent (e.g. supra i. 116 n. 8 fig. 85, ii. 962 n. 2 with i. 134 fig. 100), or at least seated (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1888 iii. 289 f. pl. 9, 13 (=my fig. 327) a bronze coin of Laodikeia on the Lykos (Plin. nat. hist. 5. 105 appellata primo Diospolis), struck by Caracalla and now at Berlin, which shows a kneeling woman (Rhea?) offering her child (Zeus?) to a seated mountain-god in the presence of a nymph (Adrasteia?); id. ib. p. 291
So much for the evidence of the vases. They portray the crisis of the drama, when Alkmene appeals from Amphitryon to Zeus, and a helpful thunderstorm extinguishes the pyre. But Plautus’ *Amphitruo* at once clears up the antecedents of the scene and provides it with a satisfying sequel. Hercules, returning in triumph to Thebes, first rebukes his wife for her chilling reception of him¹ and afterwards attempts to punish her for supposed infidelity by bursting into the house and killing her on the spot². Just in the nick of time Alcumena, already in travail with twins, calls on the gods to aid her; whereupon—

Roar, rumble, crash, and thunder:
Sudden, swift, strong the wonder³.

The whole house reels and glitters as though it were made of gold⁴. Jupiter has come to the rescue of Alcumena; and Amphitruo falls senseless to the ground. Finally, as deus ex machina, the god explains the situation and all ends well. Plautus’ comedy, based of course on a Greek exemplar, almost certainly preserves the main outline of

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¹ Plaut. *Amph.* 705 f.
² Id. ib. 1048 ff.
³ Id. ib. 1061 f.
⁴ Id. ib. 1092 f.
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the Euripidean Alkmene. Indeed, in another play Plautus actually uses Euripides' title as a synonym for a prodigious storm\(^1\), and makes Labrax threaten to burn alive Palaestra and Ampelisca who have taken refuge on the altar of Venus\(^2\).

Accordingly we may without reservation accept Engelmann's\(^3\) view that the argument of the Alkmene was as follows. Amphi'tryon, angered at the reception given to him by Alkmene, resolves to take vengeance on her. She flies for sanctuary to an altar, followed by him and his friend Antenor. Instead of dragging her away from the altar, they proceed to sacrifice her upon it. They build a pyre of wood in front of it and fetch torches to kindle it. Alkmene in her extremity appeals to Zeus, who comes to her aid, hurling his thunderbolts and sending a tempest of rain to put out the fire.

One further point. Vases and comedies alike prove that the original purpose of the golden shower, still discernible in Pindar's ode\(^4\), was completely misconceived by later Greeks and Romans. Pindar made Zeus come to Alkmene 'at midnight in a snow of gold,' just as he consorted with Danaë\(^5\) or Himalaia\(^6\). Python used the downpour merely as a convenient method of putting out the fire: his Hyades might be well-drilled members of a modern fire-brigade. Plautus, or his Greek source, transforms the procreative shower into a punitive thunderstorm, and works in the Pindaric gold as a touch of unearthly glamour.

Another example of a pyre extinguished by timely rain occurs in the story of Kroisos, king of Lydia. According to Herodotos\(^7\), when the Persians captured Sardeis, Kyros built a great pyre and

\(^1\) Plaut. rud. 86 non ventus fuit, verum Alcumena Euripidi.
\(^2\) Id. ib. 761 ff.
\(^3\) Supra p. 510 n. 2. See further the admirably careful chapter of L. Séchan Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique Paris 1926 pp. 242—248 ('Alkmène') with pl. 5 and fig. 73. He holds with Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. ii. 614 that, in Euripides' version, Amphitryon's wrath was roused, not by the coldness of Alkmene, but by her all too apparent infidelity. He also insists, in view of Plaut. rud. 86, that the Euripidean thunderstorm was represented on the stage rather than reported by a messenger. And, with regard to the contention of N. Wecklein in the Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1890 i. 39 that, whatever Aischylos might have done, Euripides would not have tolerated an actual apparition of Zeus, he remarks: 'Zeus n'apparaît jamais, en effet, dans aucune tragédie subsistante d'Euripide non plus que, d'ailleurs, dans les œuvres conservées d'Eschyle et Sophocle. Mais ce peut être à un pur effet du hasard.' For Zeus on the theologien in Aisch. Íyvpyoristia see supra ii. 734 n. 3, and for Zeus in Phrynich. Ilësos (l) supra ii. 853 l. pl. xxxviii.
\(^4\) Supra pp. 477, 507.
\(^5\) Supra p. 476.
\(^6\) Supra p. 477.
\(^7\) Hdt. i. 86 f. See also O. Meiser Vom Ende des Königs Kroisos Speyer 1907 pp. 1—43. P. Soedel De fabellis ad Cremum pertinentibus Gottingae 1911 p. 1 ff., F. Hellmann Herodotos Kroisos-logus Berlin 1934 p. 103 ff.
placed upon it Kroisos bound with fetters and twice seven Lydian boys beside him. On hearing Kroisos recall the warning of Solon, Kyros repented of his purpose. But the fire was already kindled, and his servants tried in vain to stay the flames. Kroisos as a last resource called upon Apollon, 'and suddenly in a clear and windless sky clouds gathered and a storm burst and there was a deluge of rain insomuch that the pyre was put out.' Now this, though romantic enough and edifying to boot, was from a strictly theological standpoint all wrong. Apollon had no business to control the weather; that was the essential prerogative of Zeus. Herodotos' account, admittedly drawn from a Lydian informant, perhaps the logographer Xanthos (465—425 B.C.), has points in common with the narrative of Ephoros as preserved by Diodoros and was certainly the main source of the long rhetorical description given by Nikolaos of Damaskos. Ktesias too, though he says not a word about the pyre, like Herodotos makes much of Apollon's aid. Bakchylides, however, an older contemporary of Herodotos, in an ode which commemorates Hieron of Syracuse as victor in the chariot-race at Olympia (468 B.C.), puts a somewhat different complexion on the whole affair. Here it is not Kyros who dooms Kroisos to the pyre, but Kroisos who, on witnessing the sack of Sardeis, bids a pyre be built in front of his palace and of his own will mounts thereon with his wife and daughters. Here, again, Kroisos' appeal, though obscurely worded, is addressed to Zeus

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1 Supra ii. 1 ff.
2 Hdt. 1. 87 Μέλατα ὑπὸ Αἰδώλων.
3 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1913 i. 484.
5 Diod. 9. 34.
6 F. Jacoby Frag. gr. Hist. ii ε p. 352: 'zweifelhaft nur, ob das auftreten der Sibylle (vgl. F 67, 2) und die erwähnung Zoroasters (§ 12), die allein nicht aus Herodot genommen oder entwickelt sein können, als "antiquarische gelehmsamkeit der hellenistischen zeit" (E. Meyer 5d A 1 503) anzusehen sind. Zoroaster kam bei Xanthos vor (Diosc. L. 151; möglicher weise also auch bei Ktesias); und was hier von ihm gesagt wird, passt nicht schlecht für einen lydischen autor, der die wichtigkeit seiner heimischen geschichte übertreibt.' Etc.
8 Ktes. fragg. 29. 4 (p. 46 Müller) ap. Phot. bibl. p. 36 b 7 ff. Bekker ἰδον τε ἀποκινήθη την πόλεως πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦρμο τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καταφεύγει ὁ Κροίος, καὶ ὡς τριή τῷ ἢρμῳ πεδινὲς υπὸ Κροίου λύνεται τρῖτον ἄραται, καίτοι σφαγίωσι τῷ ἢρμῳ ἐπείκηκεν καὶ τοῦτον τὴν φωλιὰν Ὀλύμπα ἐμπεσαντείμενον. Ἰδον τε ὁ συνοδόμοι τοῦ Κροίου τάς κεφαλὰς ἀπεμένουσιν ὅτι καταπεριδεόμενα λύεται Κροίου, καὶ ὅτι ἀπαλπθείς ἐν τῷ βασιλείαι καὶ ἑδεις ἀφαλεσταριν, βροτῶν καὶ σκητῶν ἐπεσφέδωσι, λύνεται πάλαι, καὶ τότε μόλις ὑπὸ Κροίου ἀφεται.
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rather than to Apollon: lifting his hands to the high heaven the king exclaims—

O Spirit of surpassing might,
Where is the gratitude of the gods,
And where is Leto's lordly son? ¹

In the event it is Zeus who sends the saving storm:

He spake, and bade a softly-stepping thrall
Kindle the wooden pile. The maidens shrieked,
And up they threw their hands
To pray their mother’s aid,
A fate foreseen being bitterest of all.
But, when the shining strength
Of that dread fire
Would spread apace,
Zeus brought a black cloud over it
And quenched the yellow flame.²

After which we are told that Delos-born Apollon carried off the aged king to the Hyperboreoi and there caused him to dwell with his daughters as a reward for his generous gifts to Pytho.³ So, even in the earlier version of Bakchylides, Apollon plays a noteworthy part, as was but fitting in view of the previous relations between Kroisos and the Delphic oracle.⁴ Yet the actual rain-sender is Zeus—a fact remembered for centuries.⁵ The famous amphora at Paris attributed to the painter known as Myson (fig. 328)⁶ carries the story

¹ Bakchyl. 3. 37 ff. ὑπὸ τῆς σμίκρυος θυσίας; πα meter ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν; ὅτε ἔπειτα ὑπὸ θείαν χάριν; πα ὑπὸ Λατοῦδας ἀντίς;
² Id. 3. 48 ff.
³ Supra ii. 46 ff.
⁴ Hdt. i. 40—55, 92, 8. 35 f., Diod. 16. 56 (?Theopomp. frag. 184 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 300 Müller)), Strab. 430 f., Plut. v. Solon. 4, v. Sall. 12, de Pyth. orac. 16, de seru num. vind. 12, Paus. 10. 8. 7, Athen. 231 b—f, pseudo-Kallisth. hist. Al. Mag. i. 45, 2 (p. 52, 10 ff. Kroll), Anth. Pal. 6. 60. 3 f. (Palladas), 14. 12, Tzetz. chil. 1. 19 ff. Kroisos also made valuable gifts to the oracle of Apollo at Branchidai (Hdt. i. 97, 5. 36). On the recognition of Apollon by the Persian kings see G. Radet La Lydie et le monde grec au temps des Mermnadès (567—546) Paris 1893 p. 256 f.
⁵ Liban. or. 60. 9 (iv. 318, 2 ff. Foerster) ἀλλ’ αὕτη ἂν Ζεὺς δείξῃ χρὸς ἐν τῷ ὀλυμπῷ διδόναι νόμον ἔνυπηρε ἄρχα τὸν τοῦ ὀλυμπίου πόλεως; (cited by Io. Chrys. or. de S. Babylia c. Illianum et gentil. 19 (xlvir. 563 Migne), schol. Eur. Or. 165 ὠν ὑπὸ τὸν Κροίονος ἂν τὸν ἄντων ὄρῃ τὸν πόλεως, τάχ’ ἀποταλαίπτονται, εἶρων πῶς ἄντων συνυπάρχουσας. Cp. Beth. de cons. phil. 2. 3 pros. 34 ff. nesciebus Creuseum regem Lydorum Cyro paulo ante formidabilem mox deinde miserrandum rogi flammis traditum missio cælicibus imbres defensionem? Myth. Vat. i. 196 subito tanta pluvia exorta (2. 190 facta) est, ut ignis extingueretur.
⁶ E. Pottier Vases antiques du Louvre 3ème Série Paris 1921 p. 201 f. no. G 197 pl. 128 (obverse and reverse). See also the duc de Luynes ‘Crésus’ in the Ann. d. Inst. 1833 v. 237—251, Mon. d. Inst. i pl. 54 (obverse) and 55 (reverse) = Reinch. Rép. Vases i. 85 (obverse) and 87, 1 (reverse), Inghirami Vat. fitt. iv. 30 ff. pls. 319 (obverse) and 320 (reverse), Welecker Alt. Denkm. iii. 481—487 (‘Kroisos auf dem Scheiterhaufen’) pl. 33
back to the decade 500—490 B.C. and is in general agreement with the poem of Bakchylides, but drops no hint either of Zeus or of

Fig. 328.

(obverse), A. Baumeister in his Denkm. ii. 796 f. fig. 860 (obverse), A. H. Smith in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1898 xviii. 267 f. fig. 1 (obverse), F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei ii. 777 ff. figs. 97—100 and pl. 113, 1 (reverse) and 2 (obverse = my fig. 328), Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l’Art x. 638 ff. fig. 335 (obverse), Hoppin Rod-fig. Vasel ii. 309 no. 16, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 97 no. 1. Inscribed ΚΡΟΞΟΣ = Κρο(θ)σος, ΕΥΘΥΜΟΣ = Εὔθυμος, etc. (Copp. inscr. Gr. iv no. 7756). With the name Εὔθυμος επ. Xen. Cyrop. 7. 2. 29 ἄκοφος ὅ ὦ Ἐὔθυμος τοῦ ἀφετατοῦ ἐπίκτητος μετὰ τὰς ἐφημερίας, μ.τ.λ.

1 M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 191.
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Apollon. The same is true\(^1\) of an engraved gem in the cabinet of Monsieur le Comte Chandon de Briailles\(^6\), of which by the courtesy of Mr C. T. Seltman I am enabled to figure an impression (fig. 329)\(^3\). According to the very late Vatican mythographers\(^4\), Kroisos subsequently boasted of his escape and was rebuked by Solon. The same night he dreamt that Zeus drenched him with water and that the Sun dried him. His daughter Phania explained the dream to mean that her father would be crucified and so exposed to the effects of rain and sun—a fate which ultimately overtook him at the hands of Kyros\(^8\).

A third case of a pyre opportunely extinguished by rain is to be found in the Love Stories of Parthenios\(^6\), who writes in the first century B.C.\(^7\) and is professedly quoting from local histories by Theagenes\(^8\) and Hagesippos\(^9\). Sithon, king of the Odomantoi, had a beautiful daughter Pallene, to win whose hand men came from far and near. At first Sithon bade each suitor take the girl and fight him—the unsuccessful fighter to be slain. In this way he slew many; but, when his strength failed him, he resolved to give his daughter in marriage. He bade two suitors, Dryas\(^10\) and Kleitos, fight each other—the successful fighter to receive both the kingdom and the bride. Now Pallene herself was in love with Kleitos, and an old servitor of hers bribed the charioteer of Dryas to omit the chin-pins of his master’s chariot\(^11\). Thus Dryas was thrown, and slain

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1. Unless indeed the sign \(\mathcal{I}\) in the field is meant for the initial of Zeus, or for a thunderbolt falling in response to the king’s uplifted hand. But neither suggestion is probable.

2. At La Cordelière, Chaource (Aube).

3. Scale \(\frac{1}{4}\).


5. The mythographers, as A. Mai and G. H. Bode ad loc. saw, are transferring to Kroisos the fate of Polykrates narrated in Hdt. 3. 124 ff.

6. Parthen. narr. am. 6. 1 ff. The story is told, with slight variations, by Konon narr. 10. Nonn. Dion. 48. 90 ff. makes Dionysos beat Pallene in a wrestling-match and afterwards slay Sithon with a blow of his \(\theta\)\(\nu\)\(\rho\)\(\iota\)\(\varsigma\)\(\iota\). In Theophil. ad Autol. 2. 7 we should perhaps read ‘\(\Lambda\)\(\rho\)\(\alpha\)\(\omega\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\delta\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\varepsilon\)\(\alpha\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\tau\)\(\iota\)\(\rho\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\xi\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)’ instead of ‘\(\iota\)\(\rho\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\rho\)\(\omega\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\varepsilon\)\(\iota\)\(\varepsilon\)\(\iota\)\(\varepsilon\)’ etc., and after ‘\(\iota\)\(\rho\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\circ\)\(\omega\)’ ‘\(\iota\)\(\rho\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\circ\)\(\omega\)’ ‘\(\iota\)\(\kappa\)\(\alpha\)\(\iota\)\(\theta\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)’ (see the Class. Rev. 1894 viii. 246 ff.).


10. On the name Δρας as implying the cult of an oak-Zeus in northern Greece see the Class. Rev. 1904 xvii. 80 ff.

11. An obvious doublet of the Myrtilos-myth at Olympia (supra i. 225 n. 4).
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by Kleitos. Sithon, perceiving his daughter's guile, made a great pyre and placed upon it the body of Dryas. He was about to slay Pallene as well, when a divine apparition\(^1\) was seen and a sudden deluge fell from the sky. Thereupon he changed his mind, gave a wedding-feast to all the Thracians present, and suffered Kleitos to marry his daughter. We are not here told that the rain was due to Zeus, the agency of the god being vaguely implied, not definitely expressed.\(^2\)

There were, therefore, mythical antecedents to a miracle recorded in the Acts of Paul and Thekla\(^3\). According to this romantic narrative—one section of a much longer document, the Acts of Paul, originally drafted by an Asian presbyter before the close of the second century A.D.\(^4\)—Thekla the daughter of Theokleia, a woman of rank at Ikonion, was betrothed to a young noble named Thamyris, but becoming a convert to Paul was filled with zeal for virginity. Thamyris brought both Paul and Thekla before the

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\(^1\) According to Konon narr. 10, Aphrodite visited all the townsfolk by night and saved the girl from her doom.

\(^2\) The words of Parthenios are: "φαντάσματος δὲ θείου γενομένου καὶ ἐξανεμωτος δάκτος ἐξ οἰκονομοῦ πολλῶν καταρραγεντὸς μετέγρας τε καὶ γάμοις ἀρεσάμενοι τῶν παρὼν Θρακῶν ὠμολογότας ἐφημὲν τῷ Κλειτῷ τῆς κόρης ἀνέκεια.


\(^4\) Tertull. de bapt. 17. See further J. Gwynn in Smith—Wace Dict. Chr. Biogr. iv. 882—896 and, for more recent criticism, W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1924 ii. 2. 1203 f.

The pyre-extinguishing rain recurs in a modified form at Nikomedia in connexion with the martyrdom of SS. Adrian, Natalia, and others (304 A.D.). S. Baring-Gould The Lives of the Saints Edinburgh 1914 x. 116: 'According to the orders of Maximian, the bodies of the martyrs were placed on a pile of wood to be burnt, but they were so many that the burning was not perfectly carried out, and a heavy rain during the night having extinguished the smouldering pyre, the Christians were able to recover the remains of the martyrs before they were completely reduced to ashes.'
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judgment-seat of the proconsul Kastelios, and, when Thekla would give no answer to his interrogation,

"her mother cried aloud "Burn the lawless girl, burn the unmarried maid in the midst of the theatre, that all the women taught by this man may be afraid." The governor, deeply moved, scourged Paul and cast him out of the city, and ordered Thekla to be burned. He then went straight to the theatre, and all the multitude came out to see Thekla. She, like a lamb in the desert looking round for its shepherd, sought to see Paul. In the crowd she saw the Lord seated in the guise of Paul and exclaimed "Lo, when I can endure no longer, Paul has come to behold me!" And she fixed her eyes on him, till he went up to heaven. But now the girls and virgins brought logs to burn Thekla. She came in stark naked, whereupon the governor burst into tears and marvelled at the power that rested upon her. The executioners strewed the logs for her to mount the pyre. She made the sign of the cross and set foot on the logs, while the attendants kindled them below. A great fire blazed up, but did not touch her. For God in his mercy caused an underground rumbling, and a cloud full of water and hail overshadowed her from above, and poured forth all its contents insomuch that many persons were like to be drowned, and the fire was extinguished, and Thekla was saved."

Finally, a downpour, if not in time to save life, might at least indicate divine disapproval of the victim's death. When Britannicus, poisoned by Nero, was being carried to a pyre hastily built on the Campus Martius, so fierce a rain-storm fell that the common folk held it to portend the anger of the gods at a crime which most men were prepared to excuse. So Tacitus¹. Dion Cassius² adds lurid detail: Nero, to hide the ravages of the poison, had smeared the body with gypsum; but, as the procession passed through the Forum, the heavy rain washed off the gypsum and left the tell-tale discoloration for all to see.

In Egypt the place of Zeus the rain-god was taken, as we have had occasion to note ³, by the Nile, which in Hellenistic times was actually worshipped as Neilos Zeus. Hence in the novel by Xenophon of Ephesos⁴ (c. ii or iii A.D.⁵), when the hero Habrokomes is condemned by the governor of Egypt to be burnt alive, the pyre in answer to his prayers is extinguished by a miraculous rise of the river Nile.

¹ Tac. ann. 13. 17. ² Dion Cass. 61. 4. ³ Supra p. 348 f. ⁴ Xen. Ephes. 4. 2. ⁵ W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1914 ii. 2. 810 n. 3 assigns the work, with some hesitation, to the half-century 250—300 A.D. But J. U. Powell New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature Third Series Oxford 1933 p. 254 n. 3 is content to place it between 98 A.D. and 263 A.D.
Zeus Ómbrios

(g) Zeus Ómbrios.

Lykophron in his Alexandra speaks of Elis as—

the rock of Molpis,

Whose body was cut up for Zeus the Showery.

This enigmatic allusion is expounded as follows by the scholiast and by Tzetzes. Elis once suffered from a prolonged drought, till the inhabitants consulted an oracle and were bidden to offer Zeus a human sacrifice. The victim was to be a boy of noble parentage. Thereupon a young Elean named Molpis volunteered for the post. No sooner was he slain than a copious rain fell. So the Eleans in memory of the event set up a sanctuary of Zeus Ómbrios, 'the Showery,' in which was to be seen a statue of Molpis.

Is this to be taken as serious fact or sensational fiction? F. Schwenn in his monograph on human sacrifice among the Greeks and Romans simply ignores the case of Molpis. But the antiquarian lore of Alexandrine scholars was in general trustworthy, and we have already found traces of human sacrifice in the cult of Zeus at Lyttos in Crete, of Zeus Atabyrios in Rhodes and Sicily, of Zeus Laphýstios in Thessaly and Boiotia, of Zeus Ithomátas in Messene, and of Zeus Lýkaioi in Arkadia. Indeed, it is precisely in connexion with Zeus that such primitive traits were likely to linger. For the rain-supply, vital to every early community, was given or withheld by him. It was on account of a persistent drought that Athamas proposed to sacrifice Phrixos and Helle, and after their escape was himself all but immolated at the altar of Zeus. Again, it was when the crops failed and famine stared them in the face that the Arcadians had recourse to human sacrifice at the sanctuary of Zeus Lýkaioi, whose priest was official rain-maker for


3 F. Schwenn Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern Giessen 1915 pp. 1—

4 Supra i. 652 ff.

5 Supra i. 924 n. 0.

6 Supra ii. 904 n. 1.

7 Supra i. 414 ff., ii. 899 n. 1.

8 Supra ii. 900 n. 6.

9 Supra i. 70 ff.

10 Supra i. 415 ff.

11 Supra i. 76.
Zeus Ómbrios

the district\(^1\). It may well be, then, that in Elis too the same desperate means were on occasion adopted to propitiate the reluctant rain-god. And if in Arkadia King Lykaon was said to have served up his son or his grandson as a dish at the table of Zeus\(^8\), we can hardly rule out the possibility that Melpôs’ body was likewise cut up in the rites of the Elean Zeus Ómbrios. His noble birth\(^2\) and his well-omened name\(^4\) would make him a most suitable victim. Perhaps in Elis, as in Arkadia\(^5\), blood-guiltiness was avoided by the expedient of a communal meal.

On Mount Parnes in Attike stood an altar at which sacrifices were made, sometimes to Zeus Ómbrios, but sometimes also to Zeus Apêmios\(^6\), the god ‘who Saves from Harm?’ Mount Hymettos too had an altar of Zeus Ómbrios\(^8\). And a large round base of marble, found in 1900 on the site of the Agora at Corinth, still bears in late lettering part of an elegiac couplet in which one Heliodoros honours Zeus Ómbrios\(^9\). To these or other such monuments Plutarch is alluding, when he protests that the abduction of food would involve the abduction of agriculture, and asks what would then become of

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\(^1\) Supra i. 76, iii. 315.
\(^2\) Supra i. 78 f.
\(^3\) Cp. Lamprid. v. Helios. 8. 1 cecidit et humanas hostias lectis ad hoc pueros nobilibus et decoris per omnem Italian patriminis et matriminis, credo ut maior esset utrique parenti dolor.
\(^5\) Supra i. 76, 80.
\(^6\) Supra ii. 897 n. 6.
\(^7\) On the strength of this Attic cult A. Boeckh in the Corp. Inscr. Gr. ii no. 2374, 6 f. read Δακαλαίων τοίν οἱ δῆμοι ὑφεισαν δὲ ἐκατεροῖς καὶ Ἰδιὰς ἑκατοντάقدمεν (Palmerius c. τριτοσεκοῦς), καὶ τῶν Διός τοῦ Οὐμέδου Ἀκμής τὸ ἱερὸν ἰδίαν ἔθους καὶ τὰ σωτηρία Θεόν—re decorations defended by J (= Hans). Flach Chronicum Parium Tchingae 1884 p. 3 n. 7. But R. Chandler’s restoration Διός τοῦ Οὐμέδου (cp. Paus. i. 18. 8) is rightly accepted by Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 11 n. 3, F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Inscr. Gr. ins. v. 1 no. 444, 6 f., and F. Jacoby Das Marmor Parium Berlin 1904 p. 4.
\(^8\) Supra i. 897 n. 5, 1936. The inscribed ‘Geometric’ sherds found by the Americans near the top of Mt Hymettos have now been published by C. W. Blegen in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1934 xxxviii. 10—28. No. 1 fig. 1 is a small one-handled cup incised Ἀδαμᾶς Κατάφιλος Δέος Δήμου. No. 11 fig. 5 is a small bowl scratched with the start of an abecedarium ΑΒΛΔ ΝΩΣ. 13 and 14 fig. 6 are parts of a small cup incised ΛΜ and ΠΩ and Χ, perhaps from another alphabet. No. 15 fig. 7 is the lower portion of a small jug inscribed on its bottom ΛΔΑΣ, probably for Πατ(α)ίνας. These inscriptions, of c. 750 B.C., hardly suffice to determine the name of the deity concerned. But the connexion of Zeus Ómbrios with Gaia is not impossible (Paus. i. 24. 3 θετὶ ἀγαλμα λεκτοῦσε τῷ Ἰδίᾳ κ.τ.λ.).
\(^9\) Inscr. Gr. Pelop. i no. 1598 (= = = = = ΔΓ) ‘Ομέδου Κατάφιλος, | (= = = = =) εὐεργείας ἄνευ.
the altars and sacrifices of Zeus Ómbris, Demeter Procrôsta, and Poseidon Phytâlminus. Zeus Ómbris here heads the list of agricultural deities: it was doubtless in that capacity that he was worshipped.

Gods that sent rain, wherever they were recognised, were apt to be identified with Zeus Ómbris. Examples may be drawn from Phrygia, India, and Palestine.

Phrygia had a legend of the flood, which has come down to us in two somewhat different versions. Zenobios, who taught at Rome under Hadrian and published an epitome of the proverbs collected by Didymos (s. i B.C.) and Tarraios, states that the tears of Nannakos was a phrase used of ancient happenings or of persons making loud lamentation—

"for Nannakos was a king of Phrygia, as Hermogenes asserts in his Phrygian History, before the days of Deukalion. Having foreknowledge of the deluge that was to be, he gathered all men into the sanctuaries and made supplication with tears. Herodes the iambic poet says

"Though I should weep the tears of Nannakos."

Stephanos of Byzantion (s. v. a.d.) in his account of Ikonion pursues the story further:

"They say that there was a certain Annakos, who lived for over three hundred years. His neighbours asked an oracle how long his life would last. The answer

1 Plout. sept. sap. consiv. 15.
2 F. Lenormant Les Origines de l’histoire d’après la Bible Paris 1880 i. 440—442 (Apameia Kibotos, Ikonion, Mt Baria, etc. attest a Phrygian tradition of the deluge fused later with a Judaean-Christian account), T. Reinach Les monnaies juives Paris 1887 p. 71 f. = id. Jewish Coins trans. M. Hill London 1903 pp. 61—63 pl. 11 (a Phrygian myth fused with Jewish tradition), E. Babelon ‘La tradition phrygienne du déluge’ in the Reuve de l’histoire des religions 1891 xxiii. 174—185 (the supposed Phrygian myth was not original, but merely a Jewish tradition brought to Apameia by Jewish settlers under the early Seleucid kings), H. Usener Die Sintfluthsagen Bonn 1899 pp. 48—50 (already in the time of Agrippa and Augustus Asia Minor was overrun by Jews, whose Noah displaced the local Nannakos or Dardanos), A. Reinach Nôé Sangarion Paris 1913 pp. 1—95 (à propos of a Thasian epitaph Nôé | Σαγγαρίου | γυνὴ argues that a Phrygian water-power ‘Na-Nana-Nac-Noë’ was daughter of ‘Nannakos-Annakos,’ hero of the Phrygian flood. When the latter was confused with ‘Hénoch-Noah,’ the former became ‘Nôéra, fille de Nôé’), Frazer Folk-Lore in the Old Testament i. 155—157 (‘I confess that the arguments adduced in favour of an aboriginal flood legend at Apameia appear to me to carry little weight, resting rather on a series of doubtful combinations than on any solid evidence’).
3 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1920 ii. 1. 432.
4 Souid. s.v. Τρόπης.
5 Hermog. peri Φρυγίας frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 524 Müller).
6 Herond. 3. 10 καὶ τὰ Νανάκου κλάσσων with W. Headlam ad loc.
7 Zenob. 6. 10 s.v. τὰ Νανάκου (cod. B reads ἀπὸ Νανάκου· ἐπὶ τῶν σφόδρα παλαιῶν καὶ ἄρχαιων. Νανάκου γὰρ παλαιῶν καὶ ἄρχαιων βασιλέα γενότητα Φρυγῶν ἐν Πασινναυτὶ (ἰς) καὶ θὰ αὐτὸς καταστήσει. καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν αὐτῶι Θά ἀπὸ Νανάκου). Cp. Makar. 2. 23 s.v. ἀπὸ Νανάκου, 8. 4 s.v. τὰ ἐπὶ Νανάκου, Souid. 520. Νανάκου, τὰ ἀπὸ Νανάκου, and τὰ Νανάκου κλάσσομαι.
given was that, when he died, all men would be destroyed. The Phrygians hearing it made great lamentation. Hence the proverb "to cry as in the days of Annakos" used of those who mourn overmuch. When the flood came in Deukalion's time, all were destroyed. But when the ground was dry again, Zeus bade Prometheus and Athena to make images of clay, and calling upon the winds he bade them to breathe upon all these and so bring them to life. The place got its name Ikónion from the fact that the "images" were designed there.¹

It seems probable that neither of these versions was wholly independent of Jewish tradition. Indeed, Buttmann² more than a century since concluded that Annakós, who lived for over three hundred years, was none other than Enoch, who reached the age of three hundred and sixty-five³. And it is easy to surmise that the nasalised form of the name, Ἅβνακος, arose under the influence of Noah. Be that as it may, the popularity of the Hebrew story is sufficiently established by the remarkable coins of Apameia Kibotos⁴.

² P. Buttmann Mythologus Berlin 1828 l. 176, citing W. Baxter 'Philological letters' in Miscellaneous Tracts on Antiquity London 1779 l. 206.
³ Gen. 5: 23.
⁴ H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie Paris 1907 l. 2. 2513—2518 figs. 825—827 discusses these coins and ib. pp. 2521—2523 appends a full bibliography of them, which ranges from O. Falconerius Dissertatio de numo
Zeus Ómbrios 529

issued by Septimius Severus (fig. 330)\(^1\), Macrinus (fig. 331)\(^2\), and Philippus Senior (figs. 332, 333)\(^3\). The design unites two consecutive scenes. On the right, an ark inscribed NOE floats on the waters of the flood. Its lid is open, and from it Noah and his wife look out. Upon the lid perches the raven, and towards it flies the dove with an olive-twig in its claws. On the left, Noah and his wife stand on dry ground, uplifting their hands in gratitude to God for their escape. This pictorial type\(^4\) presupposes some famous original, perhaps a frescoed Stoà\(^5\), perhaps an illustrated Pentateuch\(^6\).

But, though Jewish influence was undeniably strong at Apameia,

1 F. W. Madden in the *Num. Chron.* Second Series 1866 vi. 194 f., 198 pl. 6 f (= my fig. 330) from the specimen in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, with *rev. legend* ΕΠΙΑΙ ΩΝΟ ΘΕΟΓΡΑΦΕΣ ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ and ΝΟΕ[\(\epsilon\)].

2 F. W. Madden loc. cit. pp. 195 f., 198 pl. 6, 2 (= my fig. 331) from the specimen in the Imperial Cabinet of Antiquities and Coins at Vienna, with *rev. legend* ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ and ΝΟΕ[\(\epsilon\)].

3 F. W. Madden loc. cit. pp. 196—198 pl. 6, 3 (= my fig. 332) from the specimen in the Waddington Collection, now in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, with *rev. legend* ΕΠΙΑΙ ΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΟ ΟΥΒΑΡΧΙΑΤ ΑΜΕΩΝ and ΝΟΕ. My fig. 333 is a fresh drawing made from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum (supra p. 528 n. 4).

4 C. Lenormant in C. Cahier—A. Martin *Mélanges d’archéologie, d’histoire et de littérature* Paris 1853 iii. 199—202 pl. 30 publishes a ‘sculpture dans les catacombes de Rome’, which repeats exactly the two juxtaposed scenes of the coin-type. E. Babelon in the *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 1891 xxiii. 181 and Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bisphories of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 i. 2. 670 are impressed. But H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1907 i. 2. 2513 says: ‘malheureusement il n’existe rien de pareil et la planche XXX du tome III des *Mélanges d’archéologie* ne représente pas du tout une *sculpture dans les catacombes de Rome*, mais le type de la médaille d’Apamée agrandi. M. Babelon y a été trompé.’ C. F. W. Madden loc. cit. p. 206 (‘The other drawing is an enlarged copy of the type of the coins, and not, as stated, a drawing from the catacombs’).

5 Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bisphories of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 i. 2. 432 (‘pictures in some public buildings’), 670 n. 3 (‘Either a wall-painting or a scene in low relief’), B. V. Head in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. xxxix (‘probably a copy of some painting at Apameia’), *id. Hist. num.* 2. 666 (‘probably copied from some painting in the city’).

6 V. Schultz *Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften* Gütersloh 1922 ii. 1. 455 (‘Man hat vermutet, dass ein Gemälde in einem öffentlichen Gebäude, etwa in einer Stoà, die Vorlage abgegeben habe; näher liegt, an einen illustrierten Pentateuch zu denken, der also Text und Bild zugleich hat’).
it remains at least possible that the Jews had there fastened on native names and myths, adopting or adapting them to suit their own tradition. The town was called Kibotos, apparently the Grecised form of some Phrygian name, whose significance escapes us. Another coin of Apameia, struck by Hadrian, shows (figs. 334—337) Marsyas with cornu copiae and flutes seated in a rocky grotto: beneath him water streams from an inverted vase; above him are several chests and the legend kibotos. F. Imhoof-Blumer cites this coin-type in support of G. Hirschfeld’s conjecture that Apameia was nick-named Kibotos on account of its commercial importance. To me it seems more likely that Kibotos was the name of some local festival. But, whatever be the explanation, Jewish settlers would be quick to discover an allusion to their own ark and would probably claim that it had grounded on some neighbouring mountain. Again, we may conclude that

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1 Sir W. M. Ramsay op. cit. i. 2. 671, V. Schultze op. cit. ii. 1. 456 n. 2. cp. Kibota in Phrygia (supra ii. 771).
2 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia pp. xxxix, 96 nos. 155 pl. 11, 10 (= my fig. 335 from a cast) and 156, no. 157 pl. 11, 11 (= my fig. 336 from a cast), no. 158 pl. 11, 12 (= my fig. 337 from a cast), McClean Cat. Coins iii. 235 nos. 8771 pl. 308, 15 and 8772. Imhoof-Blumer Kleinias. Münzen i. 211 no. 19 pl. 7, 11 (= my fig. 334), Weber Cat. Coins iii. 495 no. 7036 pl. 290, Head Hist. num. ii. 666.
3 Imhoof-Blumer op. cit. i. 211.
5 Strab. 576 Ἀπάμειας ἦ Κβωρός λεγομένη καὶ Λαοδίκεια. αἰτή ἐνε ἑγιστεῖν τὸν κατὰ τὴν Φρυγαν πόλιν, 577 Ἀπάμειας δ’ ἔστιν ἐπιφανῆ μέγα τὴν Ἰδίας λεγομένης Ἀσίας, δευτεροῦν μετὰ τὴν Ἀφεσον.


L. Grasberger Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen Würzburg 1888 p. 117 notes that an artificial harbour at Alexanderia was called Κβωρός (Strab. 795).
6 For numismatic parallels see supra i. 354 n. 8. Our own Boxing Day is roughly analogous.
7 Cp. ornit. Sib. i. 261 ff. Geoffken έτη δὲ τε Φρυγαν ἐν τῇ θρόφῳ μελανή; ηλίβατον ταφομηκέ δροσ. Ἄραράτ δὲ καλείται, δ’ ἄρα σωθενουθα ἐν ἀντὶ πάντες θμέλλον, ἐν
Zeus Ómbrios

a genuine Phrygian flood-myth underlies the story of Priasos, which Nonnos\(^1\) relates as follows. When Zeus Ἑὐπτεῖος flooded the plain of Phrygia with his showers and submerged both oak-trees and thorn-brakes, Priasos left his water-logged home and went off to the land of Aonia (sc. Boiotia), avoiding the deadly rain of Zeus. But amid strangers he ever shed tears as he thought of the Sangarios and longed for his familiar spring. At length Zeus Ἡγατός quelled the flood and drove the waters back from the peaks of Sipylos, while Ἐννοσίγαιος with his trident turned the whole stream into the depths of the sea. Then Priasos hastened to quit the soil of Boiotos and hied him back to his native land. His strong arm supported his aged father in the flood, and Zeus the Great in return for his piety brought him in safety from a watery grave—Zeus whom men call Brómbios. The meaningless title brings us up with a jerk. It is taken by C. F. Graefe, H. Köchly, and A. Ludwisch from the manuscripts' Brómbios. But there can be little doubt that Count de Marcellus was right in restoring the appellative of Zeus Ómbrios, 'the Showery.'

Strabo\(^2\) states that, according to 'the historians' (Kleitarchos?)\(^3\), the Indians revered Zeus Ómbrios, the river Ganges, and local divinities. He is presumably fitting a Greek name to Indra, son of Dyaus, who fought Vṛtra, the demon of drought, and released the waters pent up by him\(^4\).

\(^1\) Nonn. Dion. 13. 522—544. Within this short passage we get the sky-god called successively 'Τέτοιος Ζεὺς (522), Ζήνος (529), Ζεὺς Ταταρός (534), Ζεὺς Μέγας (543), Βρόμβος (ἐγ. Ομβρίος) (544).
\(^2\) Strab. 718 λέγεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα παρά τῶν συγγραφέων, ὅτι σύμβολοι μὲν τῶν δυνάμεων Δία ἵνα καὶ τῶν Γαῖης ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν ἑγγορόντων βασιλέως.
Zeus Οmbrios

In this connexion space must be spared for a few words regarding the Zeus-types of early Indian coinage. Diodotos ii, satrap of Baktriane, c. 261—250 B.C. struck for his suzerain Antiochos ii Theos of Syria both gold statères and silver tetradrachms (fig. 338) bearing as obverse type his own portrait, and as reverse his canting badge—Zeus fulminant\(^1\). The god strides from right to left with a thunderbolt in his uplifted hand, an aigis on his outstretched arm, and an eagle at his feet. On attaining independence, c. 250 B.C.,

Diodotos ii continued to issue gold and silver coins of the same types (figs. 339 and 340), but of course substituted his own name for that of Antiochos\(^2\). The Zeus-type proved popular and

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was repeated, perhaps by Demetrios i c. 190 B.C.\(^1\), certainly by Agathokles c. 150 B.C. (figs. 341, 342)\(^2\) and his contemporary Antimachos i Theos (fig. 343)\(^3\).

The type itself was a Hellenistic modification of the old Hellenic striding Zeus\(^4\). By displacing the eagle on the hand of the god it had found room for the aigis, which in those days of intensive

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\(^1\) G. Macdonald *loc. cit.* 1, 450 f., 465 pl. 3, 9 silver tetradrachm in the British Museum: ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.[Σ].


\(^3\) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings pp. xxviii f., 164 pl. 30, 6 (= my fig. 343).

\(^4\) *Supra* ii. 739 ff.
Zeus Ōmbrios

Homeric study had become one of his most essential attributes—witness e.g. Zeus fighting Porphyiron on the great Pergamene frieze (pl. xlii)\(^1\) or such lesser works as the Zeus from Kyrene

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

See page 34, opp. page 56 n. 0 (3).
Zeus Ombrios

(fig. 346) and its counterpart from Falero (Fallerone) in Picenum


The same subject, but without the aigis, is already found on the Gigantomachy amphora with twisted handles, from Melos, now in the Louvre (no. S 1677) (bibliography supra ii. 443 mm. 4 and 5, iii. 55 n. o). This handsome vase, attributed by Furtwangler to the Talos Painter (Furtwangler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei ii. 193 ff. pls. 96 (= my pl. vii) and 97), is referred by Beazley to the post-Mediterranean period (J. D. Beazley Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 184), but even so must be more than two centuries earlier than the Pergamene frieze.

Vase and frieze presuppose a common original, perhaps the Pheidiace painting inside the shield of Athena Parthenos (supra ii. 435 n. 5).


On a terrace south of the Akropolis at Kyrene the Italians, in Aug. 1915, excavated the ruins of a temple overthrown by an earthquake in the second half of the 5th A.D. The temple, a tetrasyle prostyle building of the Corinthian order (20 m. long x 12’50 m. wide), contained the remains of an oblong mosaic pavement and a large statue-base (3’60 m. wide x 1’50 m. deep) set against the back-wall of the cella. On the pavement lay the figure of Zeus, broken but almost all there. The same site, in 1861, had yielded two female figures, a Hera (?) and an Athena (R. Murdoch Smith—E. A. Porcher History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene London 1864 p. 106 nos. 120 and 121). The three together appear to have formed the favourite Capitoline triad (supra i. 45 ff. fig. 14, 60 ff. fig. 35, 71 ff. fig. 566). Zeus now stands in the Museo di Bengasi (E. Ghislioni loc. cit. p. 211 fig. 11); his partners, in the British Museum (A. H. Smith in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture ii. 255 nos. 1478 and 1479).

Zeus, an imposing statue (2’18 m. high) in crystalline Parian marble, wears his aigis like a chlamys over the left shoulder. His raised left hand rests on a long sceptre; his lowered right held a thunderbolt, as attribute rather than weapon. A tree-trunk (oak?) at his side and an eagle at his feet complete the figure, which should be regarded as an original of late Hellenistic times. Two inscriptions were found on the statue-base. One, of 128 B.C., occupies the broad side with a dedication to Hadrian and Antoninus Pius: αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα, Οὐς Τρειακοῦ Πατήρκου | ὴ, Οὐκ Νεκρόν οὐκέτοι, Τραιανό Άδριανο Σεβαστ[ου], | αὐτοκράτορα τὸ β’, ἄρχερει μεγίστα, δημαρχικής ἐξουσίας κ’, ὑπάτω τὸ γ’, πατρι πατρίδος, | συνήμει καὶ κτάση, καὶ αὐτοκράτορα Τίτω Λιδίο Καίσαρα Αντωνίου, ὴ, Άδριανο Σεβαστοῦ, | η Κυριακῶν πόλις κοιμηθείς ἐν’. αὐτόν | καὶ τοῖς δόμοις. (E. Ghislioni loc. cit. p. 197 fig. 1 gives a photographic facsimile, cp. ib. p. 205 fig. 8. G. Bagnani loc. cit. p. 238 has an inaccurate transcription). The other, on the narrow end of the base, reads Ζηνίων | Ζηνίων (E. Ghislioni loc. cit. p. 200 fig. 2)—sculptor? magistrate? priest? in any case a well-known name (cp. supra ii. 921 n. o). Bagnani loc. cit. p. 241 concludes:

‘My own theory is that when the temple of the Capitoline Triad was built or extensively restored by Hadrian, the people of Cyrene took as cult images a Zeus and an Athena of
Zeus Ómbrios

Fig. 346.
Zeus Ómbrios

(fig. 347). Zeus as conceived by the great cameo-artists of the Hellenistic age (pls. xliii, xlv and fig. 348) wore an oak-wreath

the same late Hellenistic sculptor which stood in different buildings in Cyrene but were both of suitable size.... To complete the Triad they executed a statue of Sabina and dedicated the whole to the glory of the Emperor who had shown such signal interest in their welfare.' L. Mariani loc. cit. p. 10 fancies 'un' intenzionale somiglianza del Dio rappresentato coll' imperatore.'


2 A splendid Arabian sardonyx of two layers, whitish grey on opaque black, found at Ephesus towards the close of the eighteenth century, is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum of the Ducal Palace at Venice. It shows a majestic bust of Zeus, in three-quarter position, wearing oak-wreath and aṅgīs. Furtwängler noted the Scopalic character of the design, but reached the right conclusion—'Ein herrliches Werk gewiss hellenistischer Zeit.' This is borne out by the abundant curling tresses of the head, its expression of
round his head and an aigis over his left shoulder. Even the
inward effortless triumph, and the pictorial quality of the whole (Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 2 f. pl. 1, 8; Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke Ant. Denkm. ii. 1. 36 pl. 3, 7; Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 243 ff. Gemmentaf. 3, 3; Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i. pl. 59, 8 (=my pl. xliii: scale $\frac{1}{2}$), ii. 266, iii. 155, Lippold Gemmen pl. 2, 3 (enlarged) p. 168).

Hardly less remarkable is a cameo of mottled green malachite, now in my collection and here published for the first time (pl. xlv. : scale $\frac{1}{2}$). Zeus appears as a noble full-face head, again wearing an oak-wreath (with three acorns) and a scaly aigis (in deeper green). This masterpiece may be placed somewhat later in the Hellenistic age than the sardonyx

above recorded, though earlier than such degenerate works as the mask from Otricoli in the Rotunda of the Vatican (Overbeck op. cit. Zeus p. 74 ff. no. 1 Atlas pl. 2, 1 f.), the bust from Pompeii in the Museum at Naples (id. ib. p. 87 f. no. 13 Atlas pl. 2, 3 f.), or the colossal head at Florence (id. ib. p. 86 f. no. 17 Atlas pl. 2, 5 f.). Malachite, obtained from mines between Suez and Sinaí, was known to the Egyptians at a very early date (G. F. Kunz The Curious Lore of Precious Stones Philadelphia & London 1913 p. 97), and amulets made of it have been widely credited with protective and curative powers (S. Seligmann Der böse Blick und Verwandtes Berlin 1910 ii. 30, id. Die magischen Heil- und Schutzmittel Stuttgart 1917 p. 261, cp. p. 287, W. M. Flinders Petrie Amulets London 1914 p. 53, Sir E. A. Wallis Budge Amulets and Superstitions Oxford 1930 p. 318). Pliny speaks of it as highly prized for making seals (Plin. nat. hist. 37. 114), though extant examples seem to be of the greatest rarity. Possibly malachite, like 'plasma' (supra i. 357 n. 4), was a rainy stone and as such deemed appropriate to Zeus.

Later still (I. ii ii c.? ) and of much less merit is a grandiloque circular sardonyx of three layers, now at Petrograd, which represents Zeus as a profile head with exaggerated frontal furrow and occipital curve: oak-wreath (one acorn) and aigis as before (Overbeck op. cit. Zeus p. 243 ff. Gemmentaf. 3, 4; L. Stephani in the Comptes rendus St. Pit. 1881 p. 77 ff.
A sardonyx cameo from Ephesos, now in Venice:
Zeus with oak-wreath and aigis.

See page 337 n. 2.
A malachite cameo, now at Queens' College, Cambridge:
Zeus with oak-wreath and aigis.

See page 538 n. o.
human Zeus was not complete without at least some hint of the aigis.

Demetrios, the son and successor of Euthydemos, expanded the kingdom of Baktria to include the Indus valley. About 190 B.C. he struck silver tetradrachms (fig. 350) bearing on the obverse his own bust, on the reverse Zeus standing with thunderbolt and sceptre. The Greek legend of the one side is translated by the Kharoshthi legend of the other. And it is at least possible that the figure of Zeus the storm-god was intended as the Greek equivalent of the ancient native god Indra. The reverse subject was repeated half a century later on the silver coins of Heliokles, both those struck in Baktria with a Greek legend and a purely Greek type

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Atlas pl. 5, 1 (photograph of gem—my fig. 348, a: scale ½) and 2 (photograph of cast), Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen iii. 158 fig. 112, Lippold Gemmen pl. 3, 1 (enlarged) p. 168. My fig. 348, 6 (scale ½) is from a cast by T. Cades Collezione di N° 1400 Impronti delle migliori pietre incise, i antiche, i moderne, ricavati dalle più distinte Collezioni conosciute dell’ Europa 1°° Classe, A 18).

It should be added that all three cameos owe something to the ever-popular type of Alexander, especially the thick neck, the upward glance, and the lionine hair above the forehead. If Alexander was figured in the likeness of Zeus (supra i. 57, 279), Zeus in turn borrowed an occasional trait from Alexander (see e.g. the Alexander-like Zeus in the Casa dei Vetii (supra i. 57 n. 4)). The ancients played on the parallel (supra i. 6 f.).

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1 E.g. supra ii. 811 n. 5 (Dominian?), 2794 (Nero, Dominian, Nerva).

A bronze statuette in the Fouquet Collection—of which several replicas are extant (Reinach Rép. Stat. v. 311 no. 7, 312 nos. 1, 4, 6)—shows Alexander the Great wearing the aigis as his chlamys (P. Perdrizet ‘Un type inédit de la plastique grecque’ in the Mon. Piot 1913 xxix. 59—72 figs. 1—7 pls. 4 and 5 (≡ my fig. 349). See further I. I. Bernoulli Die erhaltenen Darstellungen Alexanders des Grossen München 1905 pp. 114 f. fig. 38, 136 ff. pl. 9, 1, 133 f. pl. 8, 3, C. C. Edgar ‘A statue of a Hellenistic King’ in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1913 xxxii. 50—52 (Ptolemy ii Philadephos?) pl. 2).

2 Strab. 516, citing Apollodoros of Artemita frag. 5 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 308 f. Müller) —a historian dating from the first half of 1st B.C. (W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1920 ii. i. 399, 412 n. 2). See also G. Macdonald in The Cambridge History of India Cambridge 1922 i. 444 ff.


4 Supra i. 190 n. 3, 741 n. 4.
Zeus Ómbrios

(fig. 351)\(^1\) and those struck in India with a bilingual legend\(^2\) and a slightly orientalised type. The latter coins have for obverse design the king’s bust\(^3\), wearing sometimes a helmet marked with the head and wing of Medousa\(^4\), sometimes a helmet with the horn and ear of a bull and an aigis over the left shoulder (fig. 352)\(^5\). Tetradrachms of the Indo-Scythian Azes are marked by progressive decadence (fig. 353)\(^6\). On the one side is the king on

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1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 21 pl. 7, 2 (=my fig. 351), Head Hist. num.\(^2\) p. 439 fig. 370, G. Macdonald in The Cambridge History of India Cambridge 1922 i. 466 pl. 4, 8 tetradrachm of Attic weight. On the drachm (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins loc. cit. pl. 7, 3) the head of Zeus is radiate.

2 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ = Maharaja dharmikasa Helisaka


5 Id. The Pre-Mohammedan Coinage of Northwestern India (Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 13) New York 1922 pl. 6, 2 (=my fig. 352 from a cast), id. in the Num. Chron. Fifth Series 1923 iii. 322 pl. 14, 10.

horseback with lance at rest; on the other, a radiate Zeus standing, with bolt and sceptre, in an attitude of oriental slackness. The pompous superscription is again bilingual.

Archebios, who reigned in the upper Kabul valley, gives more animation to his Zeus by making the god not merely hold but brandish the bolt (fig. 354)\(^1\) and, in some cases substituting the aigis for the sceptre (fig. 355)\(^2\). He also, following the example of Antialkedas (fig. 356)\(^3\), issued square bilingual pieces in bronze with a dignified bust of Zeus on one side and the caps of the Dioskouroi on the other (fig. 357)\(^4\).

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No less dignified is the Zeus who appears on a silver coin of Peukolaos, another king in the upper Kābul valley. The god stands erect holding a long sceptre in his left hand and making a gesture with his outstretched right (fig. 358). The type recurs on a few rare tetradrachms of the Indo-Scythians Maues (fig. 359) and Azes (fig. 360).

A fresh and somewhat perplexing aspect of Zeus is found about 150 B.C. on tetradrachms of two contemporary and perhaps

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1 R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 324 f. pl. 15, 4 ("The right hand may with outstretched finger and thumb be making a gesture of benediction or command. But I appear to see in the hand a small object in the shape of horns or a crescent...not a lotus"). Head *Coins of the Greeks* p. 81 pl. 45, 23 (= my fig. 358). E. J. Rapson in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 558 observes: "The association of Peucelaus with Pushkalavati is proclaimed by his name, which is simply the adjective of Peucolaitis, an alternative form of the Greek Peucelaotis."


3 *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 73 pl. 17, 8 ("r. hand advanced"), R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 349 ("thin, curved object in outstretched r. hand") pl. 17, 12 (= my fig. 360).
associated Bactrian rulers, Agathokles and Pantaleon. Agathokles has for reverse design Zeus holding Hekate as a torch-bearer on his extended right hand and leaning on a spear with his left (fig. 361)1. Pantaleon has Zeus holding the same Hekate and leaning on the same spear, but seated on a throne (fig. 362)2. Now the combination of Zeus with Hekate, though occasionally met with in the classical area3, is hardly to be explained from Greek sources4. It is far more likely that we have here to do with the Hellenised version of a native Indian cult. Indra as a storm-god controlled both fire and water. Fire in the Vedic religion is Agni, and according to the *Catapatha Brāhmaṇa*5 Agni had three


3 *Supra* i. 141 f. fig. 166 (double rock-cut throne on Chalke, inscribed Δός. Εκάρντς[)], ii. 714 n. 3 (inscription at Stratonikeia honouring (λεπά τω Χαρακάνω Αξς καλ) της Εκάρντς τ(ή)ς (θεοδοφόρου), ii. 835 n. 6, 838 (inscription at Rome by sacerdos dei Brontonis et Aetate (sic)).

4 *Supra* i. 543 n. 1 Zeus and Hekate as parents of Britomartis (?).

5 *Catapatha Brāhmaṇa* i. 2. 3. 1 f. (*The Sacred Books of the East* ii) Oxford 1881 p. 47): “1. Fourfold, namely, was Agni (fire) at first...[ib. i. 3. 3. 13 ff. relates that the three former Agnis fled from fear of the thunderbolt] Thereupon the one who still constitutes the fire in our own time, concealed himself from fear. He entered into the waters. Him the gods discovered and brought forcibly away from the waters. He spat upon the waters, saying, “Bespitten are ye who are an unsafe place of refuge, from whom they take me away against my will!”
sons Ekata, Dvita, and Trita. Their names simply betoken 'First,' 'Second,' and 'Third.' But it certainly seems possible that Ekata child of the fire-god, was Grecised into a torch-bearing Hekate.

Further proof that in the upper Kabul valley Zeus was but another name for Indra may be had from the coinage of Eukratides and his successor Antialkidas. Certain square coppers of Apollodotos i Soter, re-struck by Eukratides c. 165 B.C., show the king's bust with a Greek legend on the obverse, a seated Zeus with a Kharoshthi legend on the reverse (fig. 363). The latter describes the god as 'the divinity of the city of Kapici,' i.e. Kapisa a city of the Parapanissadai visited in 630 A.D. by the Chinese pilgrim Huien-tsiang:

'To the south-west of the capital was the Pi-lo-sho-lo Mountain. This name was given to the mountain from its presiding genius who had the form of an elephant and was therefore called Pi-lo-sho-lo.'

It will be seen that the forepart of the elephant in front of Zeus and the conical mountain behind him are alike appropriate to the god of Kapisa, here figured as Zeus enthroned with wreath and

Thence sprung the Apitya deities, Trita, Dvita, and Ekata. They roamed about with Indra, even as nowadays a Brahman follows in the train of a king.... Eggeling ib. p. 48 n. 0 comments: 'Trita, the Apitya (i.e. probably "sprung from, or belonging to the a.p., or waters of the atmosphere"), seems to have been a prominent figure of the early Indo-Iranian mythology, the prototype, in many respects, of Indra, the favourite god of the Vedic hymns... Dvita (the second) and Ekata are no doubt later abstractions suggested by the etymology of the name Trita (the third), although the former, Dvita, occurs already in the Vedic hymns.' See further Hymns of the Atharva-veda trs. M. Bloomfield (The Sacred Books of the East xlii) Oxford 1897 p. 521, A. A. Macdonell Vedic Mythology Strassburg 1897 p. 68 f., id. in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1921 xii. 624b.


4 A. Herrmann in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 1898 f.


4 T. Watters On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India 620—645 A.D. London 1904 i. 129. On the Sanskrit phulu, 'elephant,' see Schrader Realllex. 2 i. 245b.
Zeus Ombrios

palm. A handsome tetradrachm of Attic weight issued by Antialkidas has room for greater detail (fig. 364). On the obverse is the royal bust within a fillet-border. On the reverse, surrounded by a Greek legend, a radiate Zeus clad in chiton and himation sits on a decorative throne holding a long sceptre in his left hand and a Nike with wreath and palm in his right. In front of him appears the forepart of an elephant, which wears a bell round its neck and uplifts its trunk in salutation. A rare tetradrachm of the same ruler, struck on the Indian standard with bilingual legend, shows

Zeus parading with his elephant, which carries Nike on his head, wears a bell on his neck, and again raises his trunk at the salute (fig. 365). It will be remembered that Indra's famous elephant, Airavata or Airāvana, played a prominent part in the battles of

E. W. Hopkins The Religions of India Boston etc. 1895 p. 431 f. quotes from the Book of Peace, a later addition to the Māhā-Bhārata, the famous episode of the White Island (12. 337. 30 f.): 'Three priests with the insignificant names "First, Second, Third," ['Ekata, Dvita, Trīta] go to the far North (diṣ uttard) where, in the "Sea of Milk," they find an Albion called "White Island," perhaps regarded as one of the seven or thirteen "islands," of which earth consists; and there Vishnu is worshipped as the one god by white men of extraordinary physical characteristics.'
Zeus Ómbrios

his master\(^1\). The elephant that occurs so frequently on the Indian and Graeco-Indian coinages of the Kābul valley and north-western India—I figure bronze pieces struck by Menandros c. 165 (? B.C. (fig. 366)\(^2\), Maues c. 72 B.C. (fig. 367)\(^3\), and Azes i.c. 58 B.C. (fig. 368)\(^4\)—must be identified with, or at least derived from\(^5\), this same redoubtable beast, is in fact ultimately none other than the theriomorphic storm-god.

Fig. 366.

Fig. 367.

Fig. 368.

Fig. 369.

\(^{1}\) A. de Gubernatis Zoological Mythology London 1872 ii. 97.
\(^{2}\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 50 pl. 12, 6 (=my fig. 366),
\(^{3}\) C. J. Brown The Coins of India Calcutta 1922 p. 26 pl. 2, 6.
\(^{4}\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 68 pl. 16, 1 (=my fig. 367),
\(^{5}\) E. J. Rapson in The Cambridge History of India Cambridge 1923 p. 586 pl. 6, 2,
\(^{6}\) C. J. Brown The Coins of India Calcutta 1922 p. 28 pl. 3, 4.
\(^{7}\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 87 pl. 19, 7 (=my fig. 368).
\(^{8}\) So Professor Rapson loc. cit. p. 557.
Zeus Òmbrios

Quasi-Greek in effect is a unique tetradrachm of Amyntas (c. 100—50 B.C.), which shows on one side a helmented bust of the king wearing the aigis and thrusting a lance, on the other a radiate Zeus clad in chiton and himation, who sits on a decorative throne with a long sceptre and a palm-branch in his left hand and Athena (not Nike) in his right (fig. 369)¹.

Finally tetradrachms of Hermaios (figs. 370, 371)², successor of Amyntas and last Yavana prince of the house of Eukratides, from

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¹ R. B. Whitehead in the Num. Chron. Fifth Series 1923 iii. 333 pl. 15, 7. My fig. 369 is from casts kindly sent to me by Mr Whitehead, who loc. cit. points out that even on the drachms of Amyntas (e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 61 pl. 14, 10) the tiny figure carried by Zeus is not the usual Nike, but the exceptional Athena.


Square bronze pieces issued by Spalirisas have obv. the king standing with battle-axe and bow, rev. the same type of Zeus enthroned (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 101 pl. 22, 2. I figure a specimen in the Fitzwilliam collection). ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΟΥ = Maharaja māhātakasa Spalirijasa.
c. 50 B.C. onwards combine the enthroned type of Zeus with the
gesture first seen on the coin of Peukolaoa. This gesture, if I am
not mistaken, is simply one variety of that ancient world-wide
superstition, the prophylactic use of horns.

Another example of a local rain-god identified by the Greeks
with their Zeus is that of the Philistine Marna or Marnas. Bronze

1 Supra p. 543 fig. 388.
2 C. Sittl Die Geboren der Griechen und Römer Leipzig 1890 pp. 103 f., 124,
F. T. Elworthy Horns of Honour London 1900 pp. 1—3135, I. Scheffelowitz 'Das Hörner-
motiv in den Religionen' in the Archiv für Rel. 1912 xv. 451—487 ('Die ursprüngliche
Darstellung der Götter in Tiergestalt' (451—456). 'Die Hörner am Haupt der Götter'
(456—466). 'Dämonen mit Hörnern' (460 f.). 'Die Beziehungen der Götterhörner
zum Monde' (461—471). '5 Hörner auf dem Haupte der König und Priester als Symbol
göttlicher Macht' (471—473). '6 Hörner am Altar als Symbol der Heiligkeit' (473 f.).
7 Hornamulette zur Abwehr von dämonischen Einflüssen und zur Überwindung feind-
litcher Angriffe' (474—483). '8 Die magischen Wirkungen des Horns als Behälter
und Blasinstrument' (483—487), id. 'Horn L' in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aber-
glaubens Berlin—Leipzig 1911 iv. 325—327, J. A. MacCulloch 'Horns' in J. Hastings
Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics 1913 vi. 791—796 ('1. Divinities with horns'
(792—793)). 2. Semi-divine and demoniac beings with horns' (793—794). 3. Horned
and other rites' (796)), supra i. 506—511 ('Ritual Horns').
3 On whom see the painstaking, though hardly exhaustive, article by K. Preisendanz
in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xiv. 1899—1906. This should be supplemented by the
admirable survey of my friend Professor S. A. Cook The Religion of Ancient Palestine
in the light of Archaeology London 1930 pp. 130—186. See also W. W. Baudissin
Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religiongeschichte Giessen
1929 ii. 38 ff., iv. 5, 185 f.

I take this opportunity of publishing a bronze seal (fig. 373), which came to me with
a parcel of miscellaneous antiquities from Egypt. The inscription (fig. 373, b) is deeply
coins of Gaza struck by Hadrian (figs. 374\(^1\), 375\(^2\)) and again by Faustina Iunior and Lucilla\(^3\), Septimius Severus\(^4\), Caracalla\(^5\), Plautilla\(^6\), and Geta\(^7\) show the façade of a temple within which stand two youthful deities, apparently Apollon with his bow confronting the huntress Artemis. Fortunately for our understanding of the scene, the Apolline figure is expressly named Marnas (or more often Marna), and Sir G. F. Hill\(^8\) has made out a strong case for regarding this divine pair as Marnas, the young Cretan Zeus, who—be it remembered—was himself a hunter\(^9\), with Britomartis, a Cretan form of Artemis\(^10\). The pair borne names of kindred origin and significance; for if Marnas recalls the Cretan marna, ‘virgin\(^11\), and denotes simply ‘young man,’ Brito-martis is said to have been a Cretan term for ‘sweet maid\(^12\).’ Consorts could hardly have been better matched. Naturally, however, among a Semitic people the name Marnas was re-interpreted as Marna, ‘our Lord,’ and tended to drop its final sibilant\(^13\).

incised in an archaic alphabet of Graeco-Phoenician character (see e.g. Roberts Gr. Epigr. p. 4 § 4), and Professor S. Langdon has suggested to me that the second line of the impression (fig. 373) contains in retrograde script the name Marnas (𐤓𐤃𐤄𐤊𐤉 JAVA).

But the first line, though perfectly legible, remains obscure (𐤑𐤃𐤄𐤊𐤉 = s.w.l. (or g) q?)

1 F. De Sauley Numismatique de la terre sainte Paris 1874 p. 216 pl. 11, 4 (=my fig. 374).
3 Ib. p. 158 pl. 16, 6.
4 Ib. p. 161 no. 119.
5 Ib. p. 164 no. 133.
6 Ib. p. 165 no. 135.
7 Ib. p. 166 no. 137.
9 Supra i. 157 n. 3, 645, 652, 663 n. 2, ii. 522, 727.
10 Supra i. 542 n. 4.
11 Supra i. 149 n. 1.
12 Supra i. 543 n. 3, cp. 543 n. 1.
13 The point is contested (K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xiv. 1899 f.). Sir G. F. Hill Some Palestinian Cults p. 16 f. concludes ‘that the two deities, looking like Apollo and Artemis, in the temple at Gaza, are Marnas and his consort Britomartis,
Zeus Ómbrios

Markos Diakonos, writing c. 420 A.D., tells how in 395 the people of Gaza ascribed a two months’ drought to the presence in their midst of Saint Porphyrios. They therefore offered sacrifices and prayers to Marnas, whom they took to be ‘lord of showers’ and identified with Zeus, or more particularly with Zeus Kretagenés. For a week they continued reciting hymns and resorting to a place outside their city called the place of prayer. But, when nothing happened, they gave up the attempt to coerce their god and returned to their usual avocations. The Christians then, men, women, and children, to the number of 280 came together and besought Saint Porphyrios to go out with them and pray for rain. He agreed to do so, proclaimed a fast, and bade all keep a night-long vigil in the Holy Church. This they did, with thirty prayers and as many genuflexions, not to mention choruses chanted and the lessons read. At dawn they took the standard of the Cross and, with the saint at their head, proceeded with hymns to the Old Church, founded by Bishop Asklepas, on the west of the city, where again they offered the

the Cretan Zeus and the Cretan Artemis, connected in name in the same way as Zeus and Dionysus; and that the name Marnas is probably Cretan in origin, its Syrian appearance being fortuitous. Contrariwise Prof. S. A. Cook op. cit. p. 181 ff. argues that Marnas, primarily a Semitic name, was later etymologized to suit the Cretan Marnas. However, that the god was really of Cretan extraction seems clear, not only from the statements of Epiphanius (ancor. 106 i. 289 Dindorf) και Μάρνας δούλος λευτράριου τοῦ Κρητού παρὰ Ταύρινον, Markos Diakonos (infra p. 553 n. 1), and Stephanos of Byzantium (super i. 149 n. 1), but also from other mythological evidence (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 248 ff.) and above all from a mass of archaeological data (see e.g. F. B. Welch ‘The Influence of the Aegean Civilisation on South Palestine’ in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1899—1900 vi. 117—124 (ceramics), H. Thiessen in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1908 xxviii Arch. Anz. p. 378 ff. (ceramics), A. J. Evans Scripta Minoa Oxford 1909 i. 77—94 (‘Cretan Philistine and the Phoenician Alphabet’), R. A. S. Macalister The Philistines: their History and Civilisation London 1913 pp. 106—113, id. in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1917 ix. 840 ff., H. R. Hall in The Cambridge Ancient History Cambridge 1924 ii. 283—298, J. L. Myres Who were the Greeks? Berkeley, California 1930 pp. 126—131).


3 Mark. Diak. v. Porph. 19 ἦν δὲ ἐπίμενεν μὴ βρέχων ὁ θεὸς τοῦ παρών αὐτοῦ πρῶτον μήρα καλόμενον Δίων, ἐν δὲ καὶ τοῖς δεύτεροις Ἀκάλλης, πάντως ἐφεύρηνον. οὐκ ἔφευρην δὲ αἱ τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας εἰς τὸ Μάρσιον, πολλὰς δυνάμεις καὶ εἰκάνων τῶν θεοῦ ἐκεῖνον θεόν ἐφάρμοζεν εἰς τὸ Μάρσιον γράφων εἶναι τῶν ὑμάνθων, τὸ δὲ Μάρσιον λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν Δία.

4 Id. ib. 64 (quoted infra p. 553 n. 1).
same number of prayers. Then on to the shrine of the martyr Timotheos, which contained also the relics of the martyr Maior and the confessor Thea. Once more they offered the same number of prayers and genuflexions. After which they returned to the city, with three prayers and three genuflexions on the way. But here a hitch occurred. They found the city-gates closed against them by the jealous heathen, and a two hours' wait ensued. Thereupon God, beholding their patience, in his mercy stirred up a strong south wind. The sky clouded over, lightnings and thunders began at sundown, and so heavy a rain fell that it looked more like hail. Sundry Greeks, beholding these marvels, believed and opened the gates. They joined the Christians, shouting: 'Christ alone is God—He alone has conquered.' The saint had them into the Holy Church, where he baptised 78 men, 35 women, and 14 children of whom 5 were girls. That night and the next day rain fell in such abundance that all men feared the collapse of houses, most of which were of crude brick. 'Our Lord Jesus Christ'—we read—'spent from the 8th to the 10th of Audynaios (January 3—5) in raining,' and on the 11th his followers celebrated the Epiphany with hymns and thanksgivings. Indeed, the same year witnessed the accession of another 105 to their numbers.

The sequel is too long to quote in detail. But it appears that Porphyrios was vexed with the ungodly conduct of the idolaters; for at Gaza they still dealt in divinatory dreams, especially at the Marneion. So he wrote a letter of protest to Ioannes Chrysostomos, Bishop of Constantinople, who informed Eutropius the Chamberlain, who in turn brought his influence to bear upon Arkadios. The upshot was an edict that the temples of Gaza be closed and the traffic in divination stopped. Hilarios, an imperial commissioner, was sent to Gaza to carry out this decision. He did close the temples in general and overthrew their idols. But, in return for a substantial bribe, he allowed the traffic of Marnas to continue. Porphyrios then went in person to visit Ioannes the metropolitan of Kaisarea in Palestine; and together they repaired to Rhodes, where the anchorite Prokopios informed them that Chrysostom was not a persona grata at court and commended them to Amantios, Chamberlain of the Empress Eudoxia. The two Bishops reached Constantinople on 7 January 401. Eudoxia received them favourably

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1. *Id. lib. 21* ἐπιλήσεσα δὲ βρέχειν ὁ κύριος ἦμών Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἀπαίστως ἀπὸ τῆς ὕδατος Ἀδώνατος μέχρι τῆς δεκάτης. κ.ἄ. The naive phraseology would be hard to parallel. ὁ κύριος ἦμών is, of course, the Christian rendering of Marnas (*ibid* p. 550).

2. *Id. lib. 26* ἐπὶ τὰ χρημάτισιν ἐν Γάδη, μᾶλλον τὸ καλούμενον Ἐυδοξίαν.
and herself broached the matter to Arkadios, who at first was unwilling to take action. The Bishops, however, prayed that Eudoxia, then pregnant, might bear him a son; and she promised that, if this should befall, she would do all they wanted and further found a Christian church in the heart of Gaza. And so it fell out. Theodosios ii was born, and Arkadios, moved by gratitude, granted the Christian petition. The Bishops returned to Rhodes, reached Gaza on 1 May 401, and were followed ten days later by the arrival of the commissioner Kynegios and a large body of troops. These at once set about the task of demolishing the eight idolatrous temples of Gaza—those of Helios, Aphrodite, Apollon, Kore, and Hekate, the Heroeion, the Tychaion of Tyche, and, most famous of all, the Marneion of Zeus Kretagenés. But the priests of Marnas, getting wind of this attack, barricaded the doors of the inner temple with big stones, brought all valuables down into the adyta, concealed there also the effigies of the gods, and themselves escaped through the same adyta by a variety of ways leading upwards. The attackers thus repulsed turned their attention to the other temples, overthrew some, fired others, and plundered all their treasures. Saint Porphyrios, however, strictly forbade the Christians to partake in such looting. For ten days the crowd laid waste the temples. There was some doubt as to the fitting treatment of the Marneion—should it be demolished? should it be burnt? should it be purified and consecrated as a church?—till the Bishop proclaimed a fast and a solemn evening service. At this a boy, seven years old, who stood there with his mother, suddenly cried aloud: 'Burn the inner


Proklos the neo-Platonist, who held that the philosopher should be the hierophant of all mankind, composed a special hymn in honour of Marnas (Marin. *v. Procl. 19* οὔς ἄνες ἐν τοῖς ἰδωμαίς αὐτῶν πραγματεία, οὗ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνες μισός τιμόθεν εὑρίσκομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μάρτιν Γαύαίων ὠροῦθα καὶ Ἀκτυπών Λεωντοῦχον Ἀσκαλωτίτην καὶ Θυατήτρος ἄλλος Ἀραβίος πολεμιστήριος θέον καὶ Ἴσω τῇ κατὰ τὰς Φλώς ἄνες τιμόθεν καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ἄμαυς ἀπαντάτων. καὶ γὰρ πρόξειρον ἔκειν ἤξεσ νεὰ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ θεοσθετήτος ἄνερ, ὅτι τὸν νομολόγον προτόρχει οὗ μᾶς τῶν ἱερῶν ἐνεδώ τῶν παρ' ἔνοισι φαρμά οἷς θεραπεύειν κοὐν̣ δὴ τοῦ διόν κόσμου εὐροφάντη).

temple down to the ground, for many dreadful things have happened there, and, most dreadful of all, the sacrifices of men! Burn it on this wise. Bring liquid pitch and sulphur and pigs’ lard. Mix the three and anoint therewith the doors of bronze. Then set fire to them, and so the whole temple is burnt: otherwise, it cannot be. But leave the outer temple with its precinct. And after the burning purify the place and there found a Holy Church. This inspired utterance he repeated, first in the Syrian tongue, later in Greek. The Christians, accordingly, with the help of Kynegios and the magistrates followed the boy’s advice and burnt the Marneion to the ground. The conflagration, which lasted many days, was succeeded by a house-to-house search for idols and books of magic used in the idolaters’ initiatory rites. So the great pagan temple was utterly destroyed in June 402, and a Christian church, which took five years to build, was erected on the site of it. Some advised the preservation of the old circular plan; but Porphyrios, accepting the plan furnished by Eudoxia, preferred a cruciform structure and dedicated the same on Easter Day 407, calling it Eudoxiane after its illustrious patroness.

Incidentally we learn various details about the old Marneion. It was circular, it was surrounded by two concentric colonnades, and it had by way of centre an elevated dome. It had also a veneer of marble incrustations, which were regarded as sacred and restricted.


1 Id. ib. 66 (εἰς 68) καὶ ταύτα τοῦ καί τοῦ ἐνδού δια έρευναν. τολὴ γὰρ δεινὰ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ, μάλιστα αἱ ἀνθρώπων θυσίαι, τοιοῦτοι δὲ τράπεζα καθάσαντες αὐτῶν, ἀγάμενεν γράφαιν πίσων <καὶ> θείως καὶ στερών χαρίσεως καὶ μετα τᾶ τριά καὶ κρίνετε τὰ ταξιλάθες καὶ ἔτα αὐτᾶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπιβάλλετε, καὶ οὕτως πᾶς ὁ ναὸς καλεῖται. ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ ἔστων δυνάτων. τῶν δὲ ἐξόπλων ἑπάτη σοι πῦρ περιβάλλω, καὶ μετα τὸ κακύρατα τῶν τόπων ἐκεί κτίσετε ἄγας ἐκκλησία. All this, and more, in the Syrian tongue. Porphyrios advised the boy’s mother to tell him whether the utterance was due to any trickery. She most solemnly denied it and suggested that the saint should examine the boy with threats. So the Bishop had a whip fetched and the boy hoisted up, while the whip-holder bade him confess or be beaten on the spot. The boy at first remained silent, but suddenly repeated exactly the same advice in the Greek language, which neither he nor his mother had learned!

2 Id. ib. 71 εἱλίκωσε δὲ καὶ βιβλία πεπληρωμένα γοντιαία, ὅταν ἠρά αὐτοῦ Λεγών, ἐξ ὅλως τὴν τελείας καὶ τά ἄλλα ἀδέματα ἐγόνοι τῆς εἴδωλομανίας, καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ ὁμοίοι ἦσα τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν ἔτασκεν.

3 Id. ib. 75 συνεβηθέν τούτων εἰς τίμια κτισθῆρε ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ εἴδωλου: στρογγυλοῖς γὰρ ὑπήρχεν, περιβεβλημένοι δύον στοίχει ἄλληπος εἰρήνη πολύν.
to a place that no man, and certainly no woman, might enter: Porphyrios set them in the pavement outside the new Church on purpose that they might be trodden under foot, not only by men, but by women, dogs, pigs, and cattle—an outrage which offended the idolaters more deeply than the burning of their temple; indeed most of them, particularly the women, thenceforth refused to walk on those marble slabs. Within the precinct were certain wells, one of considerable depth, equipped with buckets, ropes, and a wooden top, being at the west end of the Christian Church.

Finally, it is tempting to conclude that this round building, with concentric colonnades, underground chambers, and secret means of egress, dedicated moreover to Zeus Kretagenés in whose service human victims were slain, really did—as we have already suggested—a bear a significant resemblance to the Cretan Labyrinth. Gaza Minâ presupposes Minos.

Be that as it may, Marnas was admittedly equated with Zeus. A stone embedded in a modern wall at Kanatha (Kanawdî) in the Haurân reads:

'Annelos, son of Kamasanos, made this for Zeus Marnas the Lord.'

Further, it is on record that a certain Septimius Arabianus (whose name points to his nationality), a man notorious for alleged thefts but set at liberty by Heliogabalus, once came among the senators

autòv ἴν ἀναψυχήσην κιβώριον καὶ ἀνατεταμένων εἰς ὕψος, εἶχεν δὲ καὶ ἀλλα των αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς εἰδώλους ἐπετεικτα. οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰ γενέθλια παρὰ τῶν εἰδώλων μισαρέα τοι καὶ ἀδέματα.


1 Mark. Diak. v. Porph. 76 ἐκχορούσαντος ὡς τῆς τέφρας καὶ πάντων τῶν βεθένισμάτων περιαρχοῦσαν τὰ ὄστεονον σκόπηλα τῆς μαρμάρους τοῦ Μαρνᾶος, ἀπερ ἔλογον ἤσαν καὶ εἰς τῶν ἄρατον τυγχάνειν, μόλιστα γυναῖκες, ταῦτα συνειδότα διὸ διδοὺς ἐπικοινώνειν πρὸ τοῦ μαρνᾶος ἐξ ἡγείεισθαι τούτο μέσον ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κυρών καὶ χιλων καὶ κοινων. τούτο δὲ πλέον ἐκτείνειν τοὺς εἰδολολάτρας τῆς καθέσεως τοῦ μαρνᾶος. δέν οἱ πλείους ἄντων, μόλιστα αἱ γυναῖκες, οὐκ ἐπὶ λαμβάνουσι τοὺς μαρμάρως ὡς τῶν τῶν ναῶν.

2 Id. ib. 80 φρέστα τυχάνοντο ἐνθυμεῖν τοῦ περίβουλον τοῦ λεοντος ἐς καὶ ἐν τῶν δυτικοῦ Μέρεως τῆς τῆς ἀγας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλήσιας, οὐκ ἐλέγεον βάθος ἐν Κ. τ. λ.


4 Supra i. 235 with fig. 174.

5 Lebas—Waddington Asia Minor etc. iii no. 2412 Ανωνυμίας Καμασάους κτῆσις Διός Μαρνᾶ ναοί.

6 Septimius frag. 1 Peter ap. Lamprid. v. Alex. Sev. 17. 3 f. nam cum quiddam Septimius Arabianus (so H. Peter for Arabinus codd. B. F., ed. Med.), famous crimen furorum et sub Heliogabalum iam liberatus, inter senatores principem salutatem venisset, exclamavit: 'O Marna, o Iuppiter, o di immortales, Arabianus (Arabinus ed. Med.) non solum vivit, verum etiam in senatum venit, fortassì etiam de me sperat: tam fatuum, tam stultum esse me indicat.'
to salute Alexander Severus. The indignant Emperor cried out: ‘O Marnas, o Iupiter, o gods immortal, Arabianus is not only alive, but actually ventures into the Senate and, like as not, hopes to get something out of me: does he deem me such a fatuous fool?’ The combination ‘O Marna, o Iuppiter’ amounts—as Friedländer¹ saw—to a virtual identification. It is probable that Marnas, like other oriental deities², had a cult-centre as far west as Ostia. An inscription³ found at Portus Traiani states that the men of Gaza, at the bidding of their ancestral god, were honouring their benefactor the Emperor M. Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix by the hand of Ti. Claudius Papirius custodian of the sanctuary.

Marnas as ‘lord of showers’ must also have been a god responsible for the fertility of the land and for the very life of its inhabitants. As such he seems to have acquired a fresh appellation, Aldémios or Áldos⁴. Perhaps he had a specialised cult on the hill Aldioma, which lay on the east side of Gaza and furnished great stones for the foundation of the Christian Church⁵.

Zeus Kretagenés was conceived sometimes as an infant⁶, sometimes as a youth⁷, sometimes as a full-bearded god⁸. Marnas too had his variations of type. On coins of Gaza from the time of

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¹ L. Friedländer Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Rom’s in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine⁴ Leipzig 1910 iv. 151 n. 2.
² G. Calza Ostia² Milano—Roma (1933) p. 18.
³ Inscr. Gr. Stil. H. no. 936 άγα(θ)ή τόξον, οικοκράτορα Καίωνα, Μ. 'Αντώνιον, Γορδιανος Υπηρετής, Εδικηφύτας τού ηθοφιλότατον. Κοπάκλαι τού τῶν τόξων και τῶν οικοκράτων καταστάσεως μεταταξώσεως ἔκκλησις, λαμπρά καὶ μεγάλη ἐν τούτω συναρπάζων. Τὰ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνεφέρθη εἰς Πάναθανον έκπαιδεύσεως τοῦ λεοντος. The restoration ἐν ἐκκλησίῳ is due to P. Wesseling. G. Kaibel ad loc.: ‘Deus patrius Marnas est.’
⁴ Supra ii. 675 n. 4. 1187 n. o.
⁵ Mark. Diak. v. Porph. 79.
⁶ Supra i. 51 f. figs. 27 and 28. 150 figs. 116 and 217. 401 fig. 298 (?).
⁷ Supra p. 550 n. 9.
⁸ Supra i. 149 figs. 113—115.
Zeus Ombrios

Hadrian to that of Geta (figs. 374, 375) he is a youthful hunter. Under Gordianus Pius (fig. 376), though still youthful, he approximates more closely to the normal aspect of Zeus; for, while raising his right hand, he holds a thunderbolt on his left arm and sometimes has an eagle at his feet or else is crowned by Nike standing on a column behind him. On bronze pieces issued c. 250—150 B.C. (fig. 377) he appears as a mature man half-draped in a himation and uplifting a wreath. On other bronze pieces struck in s. ii or i B.C. (fig. 378) a laureate head with a bushy beard is aptly described by Sir G. F. Hill as 'Zeus, that is to say Marnas.'

The same god is represented on a colossal scale by a figure found near Gaza in 1879 and now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople (fig. 379). In a sand-dune known as Tell el Ajoul ('Hill of the Calf') on the left side of the Wadi Gazze, some two hours to the south-west of Gaza, Arab masons had dug up certain well-cut blocks of stone and sold them in the town. Prospecting for more they discovered, lying on its back in a pit 2m deep, the floor of which showed remains of a mosaic pavement, the upper half of

1 Supra p. 550.
3 G. F. Hill Some Palestinian Cults p. 17.
5 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine pp. lxxiv, 143 pl. 15, 1 and 2 (= my fig. 378 from a cast).
Zeus Ombrios

a statue in white crystalline marble. The god is seated on a throne with no elbow-rests but a high back adorned at its base with two large rosettes. He wears a himation in Olympian fashion over his left shoulder and round his legs, which were carved in a separate block. His right arm, to judge from its mortise, held out some attribute, probably a thunderbolt or a phiale, hardly a Nike. His left was raised and the hand must have rested high up on a long sceptre. The head has abundant but irregular locks of hair and a full beard. The forehead is marked by two deep furrows, and the eyes are sunk beneath troubled brows. G. Mendel, after a careful analysis of the style, concludes that we have here mediocre work of c. ii A.D. No doubt the sculptor aimed at being impressive and, with that end in view, sought to combine a Pheidias arrangement of the drapery with Scopiae eyes and post-Lysippian hair. But above all he—like his predecessors of Pergamon or Rhodes—relied on sheer size. The actual height of the fragment is c. 3'20m, and it must rank as at least the largest of all extant statues of Zeus.

It is possible that before this fusion of the Philistine Marnas with the Greek Zeus there had been an earlier rapprochement of the Philistine god with the Hebrew Jehovah. The famous quarter-shekel of the Philisto-Arabian series, which represents Jahu as a solar Zeus on a wheeled and winged seat, places in his hand a hawk(?) instead of an eagle (supra i. 232 f. fig. 171, b and pl. xxii)1. And a hitherto unpublished coin of the same series, struck at Gaza in s. v B.C., shows for obverse design the profile head of a grave bearded god wearing a wreath, and for reverse a hawk and an olive-spray (fig. 380)2. Have we here, in this obvious copy of Athenian mintage, not Athena and her owl, but Jahu and his bird?

At Halikarnassos rain was connected with Dionysos, for there was a local cult of Bakchos Ombríkos, 'god of Showers.'3 The date

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3 Bekker added: i. 225, 2f. 'οί δὲ Ὄμπρικος (κακίον Ὄμπρικος) ὑπὸ Ἁλκαρωσάων (κακίον Ἁλκαρωσάων) θέατον.
of this cult is unknown, but the appellative is already found in a Dionysiac context as early as the first half of the sixth century B.C. F. Dümmler\(^1\) many years ago published a Corinthian krater, found at Caere and now preserved in the Louvre\(^2\), which illustrates two successive scenes (fig. 381, a and b) from a Dorian farce\(^3\). The one

![Figure 381](image)

shows a flute-player and a masked man\(^4\) dancing to the sound of the flutes, while two companions are surprised by their master in the act of carrying off a full wine-jar. The men are named Εὔνο(ο)ς,

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1 F. Dümmler in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1885 lvii. 127—131 pl. D, 1 (= my fig. 381, a), 2, 3 and pl. E, 1, 2 (= my fig. 381, b).
4 E. Pottier *loc. cit.* ‘un compagnon barbu à masque de Satyre.’
'Kindly,' and Ὀφελανδρōς¹, 'Helpful'; the master, Ὄμριγος, that is Ὄμη(μ)βηρικός, 'he of the Showers.' He grasps a couple of lissom sticks and has the naked men at his mercy. The other scene gives the sequel²—the two misdemeanants confined in the wine- cellar, with their ankles in fetters and their heads in a sort of cangue or pillory (xylon, κόφην), dependent for their food on the services of a small handmaid. Laconian δεικτικταί are known to have represented fruit-stealers³ or the like⁴; and there can be little doubt that H. Schnabel⁵ was right in claiming a ritual origin for such burlesque. If so, the master of the wine-bin began by representing Dionysos and naturally continued to bear his name⁶.

Finally, we may note that in Kypros the part of Zeus Ὄμβριος was played by a goddess, not a god. An interesting terra cotta sketched by Cesnola at Salamis (fig. 382)⁷ portrays a naked and nymph-like female kneeling on her left knee as she empties a large pitcher borne on her shoulder. Behind her is a rock with a lion's-

¹ Inscr. Gr. sept. i. no. 2314 Thisbe (Kokos) Ὀφελανδρός = Lebus—Foucart Böttic no. 383 = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. i. 247 no. 750. Inscr. Gr. sept. i no. 2872 Koroneia (Hagios Georgios), 3790 Ὀφελανδρός = Lebas—Foucart Böttic no. 666, 2.
² H. Payne Necrocorinthia Oxford 1931 p. 122: 'No one has ever doubted that the scene on the back is connected with that on the front.' That is wrong: A. Körte in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1893 viii. 91 n. 61 doubts it.
³ Sosibios fragm. 10 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 627 Müller) ap. Athen. 621 D—E.
⁴ Poll. 4. 104 f.
⁵ H. Schnabel Kordax München 1910 p. 53 'Der ursprünglich sakrale Raub der Opfergaben wird zur mimischen, burlesken Diebesgasse, die in der Posse fortlebt durchs ganz Altertum bis auf unsere Tage.'
⁶ A. Körte in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1893 viii. 90 ff. fig. 8 regards Εὐρυχωραῖος, Ὀφελανδρός, and Ὄμη(μ)βηρικός as Bacchic dámones, not men. C. Frankel 'Korinthische Posse' in the Rhein. Mus. 1912 lxvii. 94—106 with 2 figs. takes all three to be slaves and Ὄμη(μ)βηρικός in particular to mean 'the Umbrian' (cp. Ὑδράξ, Ὑδράξ, Λυδίς)—a view which H. Payne Necrocorinthia Oxford 1931 p. 122 n. 3 pronounces to be 'the only reasonable suggestion!' But Miss Frankel admits that the missapostorian dancers are in general daemonic ('Ein sicheres Ergebnis der Forschung ist gleichfalls, dass jene Vorbilder der attischen Schauspieler dämonischer Natur sind, da sie auf mehreren Darstellungen mit mythischen Personen gruppiert werden') and that the performers represented on this exceptional vase are drawn and costumed in their likeness ('Und damit ergibt sich überraschender Weise, dass der Dümmlersische Krater ein Zweisellungen bietet zwischen der korinthischen Dämonenwelt und den attischen Schauspielern. In Gestalt und Tracht der korinthischen Dämonen wird eine korinthische Posse gespielt, und diese enthält bereits die Grundelemente der attischen Komödie, ohne dass freilich das Bühnenbild konsequent festgehalten würde'). She demurs to a divine apppellative in Ὅμη(μ)βηρικός ('denn eine Bildung auf -κός ist unter der Fülle altertümlicher Götter-Epiklesen bis jetzt unerhört!). But, apart from Bakchos Ὅμη(μ)βηρικός (supra p. 558 n. 3), we can at least quote Κλείδας, Δαδαύος, Πάλαικας (II. 16. 233).
head spout, from which gushes a stream of water still coloured green. The base is inscribed ‘The Goddess of Showers’\(^1\). This terracotta combines, cleverly enough, two Hellenistic motives—that of the crouching Aphrodite\(^2\) and that of the lion’s-head fountain\(^3\). Perhaps we are meant to conclude that the pitchercarrying goddess was mistress of some neighbouring spring. If so, we can hardly forget that Chýtroi, the ‘Pitchers,’ with its well-known double spring\(^4\), was within easy reach of Salamis.

\(\text{Fig. 382.}\)

(h) **Zeus Hyétiøs.**

Essentially similar to Zeus Ómbrios, ‘the Showery,’ was Zeus Hyétiøs, ‘the Rainy’\(^5\). We have already seen that Nonnos applied both names to one god\(^6\); and, whereas Plutarch’s list of agricultural

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\(^1\) The inscription ΘΕΑ ὉΜΒΡΙΟΣ (sic) is given in the text as ΘΕΑ ὉΜΒΡΙΟΣ. The discrepancy may be due to mere carelessness, but rouses our suspicion. Where is the terracotta in question?


\(^3\) A. Cartault, *Terres cuites grecques* Paris (1899) p. 75 f. pl. 22 collection Lecuyer (modern?).


\(^6\) *Supra* p. 531.
Zeus Hyétiós
deities was Zeus Ómbrios, Demeter Proérosia, Poseidon Phythálmios, that of Themistios includes Demeter's daughter, Zeus Hyétiós, and Poseidon Phythálmios.

The cult of Zeus Hyétiós was fairly wide-spread. He was said to have been born on the summit of Mount Tmolos in Lydia. At Antimacheia in Kos the members of the local dame and any who cared to join them used to go in procession and offer sacrifices on an altar of Zeus Hyétiós. The same god had an open-air altar in

1 Supra p. 527.
2 Themist. or. 30, 349 A el de kai Δίωνος παρακαλοῦμεν καὶ Νόμφας καὶ Δήμητρος Κόρης Τέτιν τε Δία και Ποσειδώνα Φυτάλμου, πηγαίνομεν ἢ διὰ τελετῶν κ.τ.λ.
3 Supra ii. 957 n. 2.
4 G. W. Elderkin in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1933 xxxvii. 393, moved by the analogy of the Cretan Zeus, conjectures "that somewhere near the Lydian birthplace of the god was also his tomb" and that this may be referred to in the late Homer i. Hesiod certamen 94 f. Rzech οὐδεὶςτοῦ ἄμφισΤῶν ἀκακοῆς ἡττο | ἄμφοτε εὐρήξειν ἐρίζοντες περὶ υἱόν | Plout. ἐστὶ. σαφ. con. 10. 154 A attributes the passage to Lesches, but see W. Christ Geschicht der griechischen Litteratur München 1912 i. 128, W. Schmid—O. Stuhlin Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1929 i. 1. 253 f.). He holds that the Roman custom of the magistrate presiding at the games in the attire of Jupiter Capitolinus (Iuv. 10. 36 ff.) "may have been of Etrusco-Lydian provenance", and notes that "The alytarth of the Olympic games at Antioch impersonated Zeus" (Io. Malal. chron. 12 p. 286 f. Dindorf καὶ ἑγενότο ἐν αὐτῷ Ἀρταχεὶ αὐτάρχης ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ θησὶ κελεσθείην δομασθείης πρῶτος Ἀράφων | Ἐμφάνοντος εἰς ἤμερα | Ἀράφων σφ. εἰς ἄμφατο 17 p. 417 Dindorf) ὁ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχου, τοῦτος Ἀρταχεὶς. ὡς φορέσας τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ αὐτάρχου τᾶς ἡμέρας ἐτιμάτω καὶ προκουσκείνῳ ὣς αὐτὸς ὁ θεός, ἢ ἀνάκτως ἡμέρας μηκὶς ἢ κλίνω ἀναπτύσσει, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἐξάρχον καθεδρῇς εἰς ἐραφός ὑπεράρχων ἱλίῳ καὶ καθαρῶν στρωμάτων καὶ θρήσκευτος ἡμῶν. ἔφερεν δὲ στολὴν διάχρονον ἄσπρων ὦνοι καὶ στέφανον ἀπὸ λυχνίων καὶ ἄλλων τιμων, καὶ κατεύχει βάρδον ἤδεικνυτον, φορῶν εἰς τοὺς ἀνίους πάθους καὶ φροντίδας ἀναμειν. εἰς κάθεθεν δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας εἰς τὸ ἐξάρχον τῆς λεγομένης βασιλείας τὸν Κασάρον, τὸ κτισθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κασάρου Ἰουλίου τοῦ δικτάρου, ἤτοι ἵστατο ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κασάρος ἡ ἐξή τῆς Κχήνης τῆς βασιλείας.

Elderkin's article points many interesting possibilities, but hardly amounts to a rigorous demonstration of any one.

F. Bechtel in Collitz—Rechtl Gr. Dial. Inschr. iii. 1. 396 f. 3718 = Michel Rechtl d’Inscr. gr. no. 1004 = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 1107 (in the old church at Antimachia, the decree of a religious society c. 200 B.C. conferring honours on two of its members), 1 τῆς ἐπὶ μιναρίχου (εἰς an eponymous magistrate of the Coans) Νικόφρανος, μνη[ν] | 'Αρταχεὶς (εἰς the first summer month) ἡδυῖ δούλων καὶ | τῶν συμπεριφέρσων παρὰ Δία | 1 τῆς Χάρμυππος Παρακεντοῦ | καὶ Φιλίστου Φίλαστου καὶ Δίκαια | ἔφεσιν διάκομος Νικανόρας Θεναύρων | Δίκαιας Λευκίκησος, γενόμενος ἐπίμωρος | εἰς πρεσβύτερος (εἰς priests who were the monthly offerings) αὐτοτραγελλοῦν, τὰ τε ἐπὰρξαν τῆς | 1 τοῦ καὶ ἀνεκδοτών τῶν θυσίαν τοῦ Δία, καὶ τῶν ὑποδοξῆς | [εἴποραν τῶν δαμαμῶν καὶ | τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἄξιον τῶν] [ἐβεβηκα] | στοιχεῖα καὶ προπλασμα | [ἐβεβηκα] ἔλεγχεσαν: ὡς οὖν καὶ | [ο] μετὰ ταῦτα αἰρομένου ἐπιμέλειας (πολ[λ] ἡ προσφώτητος, αὐτοῦ παρέχε[γ]μα, εἰδότας τῶν δαμαμῶν [ἐ] [παρακεφάλαιον ἔπεμβα] [ἐ] [διαμετα, καὶ στεφανωσάμενοι ται] [τῶν χρύσων δέκα τοι] | ται πατὴρ ἀναγγέλτων τῶν | [τοῦ φάλαινο ἐπάλληλον καὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶι] [διεθής, καὶ στεφανωσάμενοι καὶ τῶν χρύσων δέκα τοι] | ται πατὴρ ἀναγγέλτων τῶν | [τοῦ φάλαινο] ἐπάλληλον καὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶι] [διεθής, καὶ στεφανωσάμενοι καὶ τῶν χρύσων δέκα τοι]

See further Nilson Gr. Fest. p. 4. Apparently the sacrifice to Zeus Tétius had been allowed to lapse for some years and had
the grove of Trophonios at Lebadeia. And it was at his altar in Argos that Polyneikes' friends swore to capture Thebes or perish in the attempt.

i. The Ox-driving of Zeus Ἰππείων at Didyma.

Alkiphron informed us that Attic villagers in time of drought presented Zeus Ippéios with a ram, or a he-goat, or it might be a boar; failing these, a cake or even a pinch of incense would serve. But admittedly the most desirable victim for him was a bull.

This squares with a couple of inscriptions from Didyma near Miletos, which describe one Theon, son of Theon, a personage of importance, as 'driver of the ox to Zeus Ἰππείων.' The official question cannot have been prior to the first century B.C.; but by the help of other inscriptions from the district B. Haussoullier has shown that the ceremony of 'ox-driving' at Didyma was an institution of earlier date, and has made it probable that it was an old rite celebrated before a statue or altar of Zeus Ἰππείων in the precinct of Zeus Sotér—a rite which had fallen into neglect and had been restored subsequently at some date impossible to determine with accuracy but hardly before the second century B.C.
In this context Haussoullier aptly cites from Hesychios the following gloss: 'Zeus' ox, i.e. the sacred ox, set free for Zeus; this is a festival of the Milesians.' He further attempts to reconstruct some details of the 'ox-driving' from a consideration of analogous customs elsewhere. Thus in the neighbouring island of Kos on

To these inscriptions should be added a marble slab built into the churchyard wall at Olamis between Klazomenai and Teos (F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.—Inscr. iii. 2, 621 ff. no. 2633, 1 ff.— [kai tais ἄλλοις Υπαντάτῳ, ὡς ἐκτραχεῖον παραδείγματι] [—] [καὶ τῶν γελών, ἀνέλεις δὲ αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ Χρυσῶν καὶ [εἰς ὀστοχίων καὶ βασιλείων καὶ λαμπάδων, κτλ.].

1 Hesych. Δίῳ βοῦς. οἱ τό ἄγαντος μιξοί, ἐστου. ἵστατι διὸ ἐμφατοὶ Μηθυσίων.
2 W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks The Inscriptions of Creos Oxford 1891 p. 77 ff. no. 37 = J. de Prott Leges Graecorum sacrae Lipsiae 1891 Fasci sacri p. 19 ff. no. 5 = P. Müllensieben in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.—Inscr. iii. 1. 357 ff. no. 2636 = Michel Reinweil d'Inscr. gr. no. 716 = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. gr. 3 no. 1025 part of an extensive marble calendar (c. 300 B.C.), detailing Coan rites for the month Batromios (supra ii. 238 n. o; but this month is now equated with Anthesterion, not Poseideon): the inscription formerly lay, face downwards, in a tank near the hospital at Kos. 1 ff.— [καὶ τῶν ἀλλοί τοῦ Υποδοτητοῦ, ὡς περίμενον παράδειγμα] [—] [καὶ τῶν γελών, ἀνέλεις δὲ αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ Χρυσῶν καὶ [ἐν τούτῳ καὶ βασιλείων καὶ λαμπάδων, κτλ.].
the twentieth day of the spring month Batromios there was a sacrifice to Zeus Polieus. The victim was an ox chosen the previous day with due solemnity. Seven and twenty oxen, given by the nine subsections of each of the three Dorian tribes, were led in procession to the market-place. Here nine of the beasts were set apart and mixed before presentation. A table was placed, presumably in the precinct of Zeus, whose priest sat beside it with the sacrificial attendants near him. He had or held something sacred; but what it was we do not know for certain, because unfortunately the text at this point is illegible. The most probable conjecture makes him dressed in a sacred garment. Each tribe in turn then presented three of the nine oxen to the priest. First the Pamphyloi drove up the three finest; next the Hylleis, another three; lastly the Dymanes, the remaining three. If none of these were chosen, the process recommenced; and so on, till the whole number of twenty-seven oxen had been driven up to the table. If all these proved unsatisfactory, a further selection of nine oxen, one from each of the three sections of each tribe, was made. These were mixed with the rest and driven up to the table as before, when the final choice took place. The ox that bowed its neck (and so signified its willingness to die) was sacrificed to Hestia by a priest described as the 'prerogative-bearer' of the kings, that is, of the tribal kings. The ox chosen for Zeus was brought by the heralds into the market-place, where its owner or his representative declared: 'I present the ox to the Coans; let the Coans pay the price thereof.'
to Hestia. With the further details of the sacrifice we are not here concerned; but it is clear that the driving up of the cattle (to ensure the self-selection of the victim) was an essential part of the ceremony. In similar fashion an ox was chosen every alternate year by the Coans for Zeus Machaneus. The animal was selected

1 Partly cited supra ii. 238 n. o.

Zeus Μαχανεύς is here associated with Athena Μαχανεύς. At Argos near the tomb of Pelasgos was a vessel of bronze supporting archaic figures of Artemis, Zeus, and Athena: Lykeas took the second figure to be that of Zeus Μαχανεύς and said that the Argives who went to Troy had here shown to capture the city or die in the attempt; others declared that the vessel contained the bones of Tantalos (Paus. 2. 22. 2. See further supra ii. 1144 n. 2, but observe that the words ἀνέχεις διὰ αὐτοῦ ἀγάλματα ἄρχεια κ.τ.λ. are ambiguous. The meaning may be that the ἀνάγκη was itself supported by archaic figures of the three deities, in case ep. the tripods with anthropomorphic supports discussed by P. Gardner in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1895 xvi. 275—280). An inscription found at Argos in 1905 contains the last few paragraphs of a treaty concluded c. 450 B.C. between the two Cretan towns Knossos and Tyllisso. Both had clearly been colonised by settlers from Argos, and the fifth of the extant sections provides that, when sixty rams are sacrificed to Μαχανεύς, a leg of each victim should be reserved for Hera, obviously as the paramount Argive goddess (W. Vollgraff 'Inscription d'Argos' in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1910 xxxiv. 331—354 with fig. 1 photo, transcription, and facsimile, part of which (vv. 9—11) = my fig. 383):

Fig. 383
on the eleventh day of some month later than Pedageitnios (=Poseideon) and Batromios (=Antheaterion), possibly Karneios(?), and was sacrificed on the twelfth.

With the examples of ox-driving adduced by Haussoulier

At Tanagra Zeus Μαχανεύς and Athena Λαυκοεπία were worshipped together (Cope. inscr. Gr. sept. i no. 428 (with facsimile = my fig. 384) = Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 766 a ρήσος slab in the Museum at Tanagra (Skimtaniα) [Διή] | Μαχανεύς, | Λαυκοεπία] [Zagstyle]s). At Megalopolis there was a cult of Athena Μαχανεύς (Paus. 8. 36. 5 ἀστικὴ δὲ Ἀδριανὸς άρχης ἦν ἀπελθών Μαχανεύτος, διὸ βουλευμάτων ἦτοι η ἡθεί κατοίκιον καὶ ἐπιστημόματος εὐχής) and an acrolithic image of Aphrodite Μαχανεύς (Paus. 8. 31. 6 ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ Δαμοῖον ὑποτείχον Ερμῆν ἑδύν καὶ Ἀφροδίτην ἑδύν καὶ ταύτης κρεβί δὲ εἶναι καὶ πρόσωπον τοῦ καὶ ἀκοῦ πάλιν, τὴν δὲ ἐπιείρον τῇ θεῷ Μαχανεύῳ ὑδράται ἐκέντο ἐμὸς δεκαῖος. Ἀφροδίτης τε γὰρ (Ins. Clavier) ἐπέκακα καὶ ἐρων τῶν ταύτης πλησται μὲν ἐπιειράχει, πατοί δὲ ἄθροις ἀνευρισκόντες τὴ λόγου ἐστία). On the

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Fig. 38.

Dorian month Μαχανεύς or Μαχανεύς, which in Korkyra was the equivalent of the Attic Παμπλών, at Kalchedon and Byzantium of the Attic Μαχανεύς (?), see Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 2 no. 594 p. 19, J. de Pott Leges Graecorum sacrae Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 26, and the cautious statements of W. Sontheimer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xiv. 141.

The meaning of Μαχανεύς as an appellative is uncertain. Lykeas' attempt to connect it with μάχεσθαι (Paus. 2. 22. 2) involves a false quantity. The usual rendering 'Gott der Belagerung (?)' (Prelle—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 142 p. 9, W. Dittenberger in Hermes 1881 xvi. 164 n. W. Sontheimer loc. cit.) assumes a relation to μαχαναί, 'engines of war,' which could hardly be earlier than 4 iv B.C. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1315 thought that Zeus derived his title from Athena 'die Erfinderin auf dem Olympos': this would at least square with Pindar's conception of Zeus as patron of the arts, cp. Pind. frag. 57 Bergk1, 57 Schroeder ap. Dion. Chrys. or. 12 p. 239 Dindorf Δυσκαλοθείος μηγάθαρος ἀμαρτοτέχνα πάτερ (id. Pyth. 1. 41 εἰς θέαν γὰρ μαχαναί πάνοι βρῶσεις ἀργαί) and with Pausanias' explanation of Athena Μαχανεύς (Paus. 8. 36. 5 cited supra). But Pausanias elsewhere gives a broader sense to Aphrodite Μαχανεύς (Paus. 8. 31. 6 cited supra) as 'Contriver' of devices and wiles; and E. Masses De Atchili Supplécius commentato Gryphiswaldiae 1890 p. xxxiii, aptly citing h. Herm. 436 μαχανή, holds that an allusion to the Argive cult of Zeus Μαχανεύς underlies Aisch. suppl. 594 τὸ πάν μάρτυς, ἄρεις Ζείνας καὶ τὸ πάν διάλογον ἐξ ὁμοίου ἐσχατικὸν λεγόμενον μαχανῆς θεοῦ πάρα. Personally I incline to think that the title is an old one, 'Conraver' in the sense of 'Crafty' (note Aisch. P. n. 981 f. ἀκολούθω, ἀκολούθω, ἀκολούθω, ἀκολούθω ἄριστον μαχανήν' ἀκολούθω μαχανήν ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω μαχανήν ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθω' ἀκολούθο") and very possibly goes back to the early belief in Zeus as a magician (cp. the myth of Zeus and Metis or the epic tag μαχανής Zείνας (supra p. 14 n. 1, ii. 1147)).

1 See Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 2 no. 1026, 11, 15, 22 with n. 1.
should be grouped two or three other cults from the same district of Karia. A bronze coin of Stratonikeia, struck by Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna, has for its reverse type a very similar rite (fig. 385). A humped bull of its own accord approaches a garlanded altar or platform, on which stands a man wearing a short chiton, a chlamys, and endromides. This personage in his left hand holds a sceptre, in his right a dagger, which he is about to plunge into the neck of the bull. Other coins of Stratonikeia, issued by the same imperial couple or by their immediate successors Caracalla and Geta, show Zeus himself attired in the self-same costume (figs. 386, 387). I infer, therefore, that the sceptre-bearing slayer of the bull was a priestly king, who acted the part of the god. It will be noticed that the rite takes place in front of a fine spreading oak, the sacred tree of Zeus. An interesting confirmation of this coin-type may be read in an inscription from Panamara. It appears that on one occasion, during the procession of the Panamareia, the free ox went before the priest to the council-chamber at Stratonikeia and actually showed him the way.

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria etc. p. 157 pl. 24, 8. My fig. 385 is from a drawing made by the late Mr F. Anderson and published in the Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 417 fig. 14.

2 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria etc. p. 156 no. 55 Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna, Weber Cat. Coins iii. 1, 382 f. 6568 pl. 231 (=my fig. 386) Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna; Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria etc. p. 158 pl. 24, 10 (=my fig. 387) Caracalla and Geta (the bust of the latter purposely obliterated). See also supra i. 19 figs. 4 and 5.

3 Supra i. 20.

Zeus Ὑήτιος at Didyma

Again, at Halikarnassos the cult of Zeus Ἀσκρατος, who—as we have already seen—was likewise essentially related to the oak, involved a strictly analogous sacrifice. A herd of goats used to be driven up to a certain spot in front of the god's sanctuary. Prayer was offered, and on its conclusion one of the goats under no constraint advanced to the altar. The priest thereupon took hold of it and slew it as being an acceptable sacrifice.

Not unlike the ritual of Zeus Ἀσκρατος at Halikarnassos was that of Zeus at Pedasa. Here the custom was that a great concourse of people assembled to witness a strange procession. A goat bound with a cord and followed, not led, by the priest passed through the midst of the crowd and, turning neither to right nor to left, went straight along the road to its destination seventy furlongs away.

It seems, then, that the 'ox-driving' of Zeus Ὑήτιος at Didyma finds its explanation, not as an attenuated form of 'Minoan' bull-grappling sports, but as a rite analogous to those of Zeus Πολιεύς and Zeus Μαχανεύς at Kos, Zeus at Stratonikeia, Zeus Ἀσκρατος at Halikarnassos, and Zeus near Pedasa. Further, these Carian cults may be found to throw light on that mysterious service, the Athenian Bouphonia. For it is known that the Carian Zeus had some foothold in Attike; and it is to be observed that the nearest

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1 Supra ii. 872 n. o (5) figs. 807—811.
3 Aristot. mir. anœc. 137 (149) p. 50, 1 ff. Westermann.
5 The kinsmen of Isagoras, son of Tisandros, sacrificed to Zeus Κάρως (Hdt. 5. 66 ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ (σχ. at Athens) δοῦ ἄγας ἐδωρόσαντος, Κλεασθένης τε ἄγαρ Ἀκρωνεὺθη...καὶ Ἰαγοφόρας Τισάλδου οἰκίᾳ μὲν ἐν δοκίμῳ, ἄγαρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐν ἐξ ἔμοι φράσας· θύσιν δὲ οἱ συγγένεις αὐτοῦ (Διὸ Ἐκριμ.) Φραυ Adler in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 1949 comments: 'Herodotus 66 erzählt, dass die Familie des Isagoras dem Zeus K. opferte, als Beweis der unmitteligen Herkunft derselben (vgl. v. Wilamowitz Kythäthen 143, 64). Jedenfalls ist dieselbe der frühesten Nachrichten von einem eingeführten orientalischen Culte, nicht ein Überbleibsel einer "käsichen" Urbewölkung, deren Vorhandensein überwiegend auf andere Weise gesichert scheint.' C. T. Seltman Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion Cambridge 1924 p. 88 f. would find a trace of the Cypriot cult on certain Eupatrid coins, which he believes to have been struck by Tisandros (ib. pl. 4, P 66, P 67) and by Isagoras during his brief supremacy at Athens (ib. pl. 14, P 260, P 261). These coins, didrachms and tetradrachms respectively, show on their reverse the facing head of a panther—the sacred beast of Zeus Κάρως (cp. supra ii. 575 fig. 483, 599 n. 2).

On the other hand it must be borne in mind that Attike was ravaged by Carians before Kekrops' foundation of the dodecapolis (Philochoros frag. 11 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 386 Müller) ap. Strab. 397). The akropolis of Megara was called Καπηλα after Kar, son of Phoroneus (Paus. i. 40. 6, Steph. Byz. Καπηλα): on it stood a roofless temple of Zeus Κόνος (L. C. Valckenaer cj. Κονολοκ, Welecker Gr. Alterth. i. 643 n. 75 cf. κωνοῦ 'kegel-förmig, metæ modo,' K. F. Hermann cj. σκοτεινος or χθονος—all unconvincing), a νίκεραν of Demeter erected by king Kar, etc. (Paus. loc. cit.).
The Ox-slaughter of

verbal parallel to the *Bouphónia* of Athens is the *Taurophónia* of Mylasa in Karia\(^1\), a possible stepping-stone between the two localities being Anaphe in the Kyklades\(^2\).

ii. The Ox-slaughter of Zeus *Poliús* at Athens.

On the Akropolis at Athens, north of the north-eastern angle of the Parthenon\(^4\), stood the altar and statue of Zeus *Poliús*; and close to it, another statue of Zeus, by the sculptor Leochares\(^4\). The form and fashion of these two statues can hardly be determined with certainty. But Otto Jahn has made it at least probable that both of them were represented on the bronze coinage of Athens\(^5\). The relevant types are as follows.

Of coins issued during the Hellenistic age, from c. 322 B.C. onwards, one group, and that the most numerous, shows Zeus as a nude figure striding forward with his left foot in advance: his right hand is uplifted and brandishes a bolt; his left is thrown out before him as if to secure balance (figs. 388—390)\(^6\). If we stress the analogy of bronze statuettes made during the early decades of the

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4 *Paus.* 1. 24. 4 καὶ Δίος ἄτον ἄγημα τοῦ τέλεωραν καὶ τοῦ δυσμαξέμου Πολιείου, ὡς τα καθεστρεφόντα ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς γράφων τόν ἐν' αὐτῶν λαμεῖναν αὐτίνων ὠν γράφων. κ. τ. λ. (cited infra p. 577 n. 2).


fifth century, it is tempting to suppose that the statue here portrayed had originally an eagle poised on its left arm. Indeed, this would account well for the fact that many of the coins add an eagle seated at the god's foot (figs. 391, 392), and some an eagle actually resting on his outstretched arm (fig. 393). Zeus as omnipotent antagonist might be thought to need both thunderbolt and lightning-bird. Nevertheless the eagle was hardly an essential adjunct, and the evidence of the coins, on the whole, tells against it.

A second group represents Zeus in milder mood. He no longer strides forward against the foe, but stands erect with left foot less advanced. Instead of brandishing the bolt, he merely holds it in his lowered right hand. This leaves his left arm extended in a rather meaningless manner (fig. 394) and beneath it the diesinker found room for a variable symbol—an owl (fig. 395), an ear.

1 Supra i. 84 ff., ii. 739 ff.
2 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 80 nos. 541—547, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 72 pl. 34, 14, McClean Cat. Coins ii. 363 pl. 210, 12, J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926 pl. 72, 25, pl. 73, 13, pl. 78, 13, pl. 81, 17—31. My fig. 391 is from a specimen of mine, fig. 392 from E. Beulé Les monnaies d'Athènes Paris 1858 p. 301 fig.
3 J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926 pl. 80, 25 (= my fig. 393), 36—28.
4 See e.g. P. Gardner Types of Gr. Coins p. 159 pl. 8, 47.
5 J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926 pl. 80, 22 (= my fig. 394), 23, 24.
The Ox-slaughter of barley (fig. 396)\(^1\), a ship’s prow (figs. 397, 398)\(^2\). If this group too, as seems probable, shows an actual statue of bronze still existing on the Akropolis at the time of issue, that statue must have been a later and somewhat clumsy modification of the old militant figure, and may perhaps be assigned to the second or third decade of the fifth century B.C.\(^3\)

\[\text{Fig. 394.} \quad \text{Fig. 395.} \quad \text{Fig. 396.} \quad \text{Fig. 397.} \quad \text{Fig. 398.}\]

In imperial times a fresh set of bronze pieces (figs. 399—402)\(^4\) presents us with a refined and amended version of the foregoing type. The stance of the god is more springy and natural, and his

\(^1\) J. N. Svoronos, *Les monnaies d’Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 81, 7 (=my fig. 396) and 8.


\(^4\) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 104 pl. 18, 5, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 137 pl. BB, 3. J. N. Svoronos, *Les monnaies d’Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 92, 5 and 6. My figs. 399, 400 are from Overbeck, *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 54 fig. 7 a, b, id. *Gr. Plastik* ii. 93 fig. 165, Müller—Wieseler, *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 13 pl. 2, 23, all of which depend on the drawings in E. Beulé, *Les monnaies d’Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 396 fig. and T. Combe, *Vetustor populorum et regnum numi qui in Museo Britannico admiravetur* Londonii 1814 p. 131 no. 99 pl. 7, 1. But, since in these drawings the *phidile* appears with much greater distinctness than in the photographs of the coins, I have for honesty’s sake added fresh drawings taken from J. N. Svoronos, op. cit. pl. 92, 5 (=my fig. 401) and from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum (=my fig. 402). If the alleged *phidile* is discredited, it might be possible to explain the outstretched hand of the god as a gesture of welcome. He is hardly putting a pinch of incense on his own altar.
outstretched hand is better employed in holding a *phi̱lē (?)* over a conspicuous altar. One specimen (fig. 403)¹ shows an eagle on the extended arm—another case of intrusive adjunct, but useful as serving to connect the latest with the earliest statue.

I gather that the three series of coins represent three successive statues of Zeus *Polieus*, the third being Leochares' improvement, not—as Jahn² supposed—upon the first, but—as Overbeck³ saw—upon the second. If so, we have to recognise in Zeus *Polieus* a development at once external and internal, aesthetic and ethical, to be compared with that which transformed the sixth-century *Pallás* advancing with uplifted lance⁴ into the fifth-century *Parthenos* standing with lance at rest.

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¹ J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d' Athènes* Munich 1913—1926 pl. 92, 7 (= my fig. 403).
² O. Jahn in the *Nuove Memorie dell’ Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 1865 ii. 23 f.
⁴ Whether this was the type of Athena *Palladai* is a moot point. O. Jahn *De antiquissimis Minervae simulacris Atticis* Bonnæ 1866 p. 10 ff., citing both literary and monumental evidence, pronounced in favour of the fully armed fighting goddess in the so-called ‘Palladion’ pose, and his verdict has been accepted by the majority of subsequent critics (see e.g. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 332 ff., E. Petersen *Die Burgtempel*...
Sundry dedications to Zeus Poliesís are on record. A base of throne of Pentelic marble found on the Akropolis was put up for him by a member of the deme Paania. And a silver bowl belonging to him was kept among the treasures of Athena.

The importance of his cult at Athens may be judged from the fact that in the theatre his priest occupied a marble throne immediately adjoining the splendid central seat of the priest of Dionysos Eleuthereus.

The festival of the god was known by a variety of names as der Athenia Berlin 1907 p. 40 ff.). Others, however, have argued cogently in favour of a seated figure (eg. E. Gerhard Úber die Minervenidole Athens Berlin 1844 pp. 4-6 ('Athena Polias') pl. 1, td. Ausserl. Vasenb. iv. 6 ff. pl. 242, i, R. Schöne Griechische Reliefs aus athenischen Sammlungen Leipzig 1872 p. 12 pl. 2, i, A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 689 ff.), and A. Frickenhaus 'Das Athenaibild des alten Tempels in Athen' in the Ath. Mitt. 1908 xxxiii. 17-32 has proved from inscriptions that for some thirty years in the course of the fourth century B.C. the goddess of the árkhias neói wore a ştefánοι, πλάτσα ('ear-rings'), βρύχοι βάτη τῆς τραχήλου οἵο περὶ τῆς τραχήλου ('necklace'), ὀρμοὶ πνήμα, γλαύξ χρυσῆ, αἰγίς χρυσῆ, γοργόνεσσί (χρυσόν), φιάλη χρυσῆ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ—a continuity of garb which allows us to suppose that it was an old traditional costume and is at least compatible with the monumental evidence for a seated weaponless Athena. Accordingly G. von Brauchitsch Die panathenäischen Triachamporen Leipzig—Berlin 1910 pp. 167-180 ('Das Bild der Athena') concludes that the standing armed goddess was the Athena of Peisistratos, the cult-statue of the Hekatompedon, to whose care Athens was entrusted during the Persian invasion, when the older and more sacred seated goddess, Athena Polás, was temporarily withdrawn from her sanctuary in the then existing Erehtheion.

1 Corp. inscr. Att. iv. 2 no. 1550 b [— II]a[n] [e]n [i]a[n] [e]v [i]a[n] [a]i[π] Πολε[ι]ο[ι]s[ì]s.
2 Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 2 no. 652 A, 48 f. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 2 no. 586 a, 48 f. - Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 814 A, 48 f. = Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1388 A, 48 f. [καρχίσιον Δίος Πολείος ἄργυρο[ς, χρ]t]ἀθοὺς τοίχοι: | [ι]Δ[ι]Δ[ι]Δ[ι]Δ[η][τ][τ][τ]:]. This καρχίσιον was an object of value, which is frequently mentioned in the temple inventories—first in 428-427 B.C., when it weighed 200 drachmas (Corp. inscr. Att. i no. 149, 10), last about 390-389 B.C., when its weight had fallen to 199 drachmas (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. no. 661, 4). See further O. Jahn—A. Michaelis Arx Athenarum Bonnæ 1901 p. 52 on Paus. i. 24. 4.
3 Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 242 ἵδεον | Δίος Πολείουs. Roberts—Gardner Gh. Epigr. ii. 470 no. 281 date the lettering 'Little before Christian era.' A photographic view of this and the adjacent thrones is given by M. Bieber Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Allerium Berlin—Leipzig 1920 pl. 4. A. E. Haigh The Attic Theatre Oxford 1898 p. 142 observes: 'That the thrones belong to the fourth century, and were erected in the time of Lycurgus, appears to be proved by the excellence of the workmanship. Each of them has an inscription in the front, recording the title of the priest or official for whom the seat was reserved. These inscriptions are all of the Hellenistic or Roman period; behind them are faint traces of older inscriptions, which may possibly go back to the fourth century.'

the Dipoleia or Dipopolia, the Dipoleia or Dipopolia, the Dipoloeia or Dipeltia, and even the Diospolia. The ancient grammarians derive these names from that of Zeus Polieus, and we have every reason to accept their derivation. The same festival, or rather the


1. J. Wackernagel in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1890 xlv, 480—482 argues for Δυτικεία as the correct form, and restores accordingly *Corp. Inscr. Att.* i no. 2 A, 18 ff. [Δυτικείειον κατα Πανεπιστημενων et Corp. Inscr. Att. iv. i no. 555 a, 7 [ἐφ]εράνωv, δύτικείειον]). L. Ziehen *Laget Graecorum sacer Lipsiae* 1896 ii. 1. 65 ff. no. 16 A a, 8 vindicates these restorations and publishes a more exact reading of the latter line, *viz.: Κρατονησσαν των Δυτικείον*—

2. Δυτικεία Hesych. s.v. (cod.). M. Schmidt ad loc. assumes a fusion of two forms, *viz.* Δυτικεία. In favour of this is the reading of cod. V. in the *et. mag.* p. 275, 1 

Δυτικεία. Against it is the evidence quoted *supra* n. 1.

3. Δυτικεία school Aristoph. *pax* 419, 420. Δυτικεία Choirbosek. orthog. in Cramer *addit.* Oxon. ii. 192, 20 (A. Lenz in Herodian. ii. 1. 493, 2 prints Δυτικεία and 18. Δυτικείων et. mag. p. 275, 3 (cod. D)).


6. Δυτικεία Antiph. tetr. t. 4. 8, Ail. var. hist. 8, 3, Porph. de abst. 2. 10, school Aristoph. *pax* 419 (cod. V.), school Aristoph. *nub.* 480, 984 (cod. V.), Harkrok. s.vv. Δυτικεία (codd. except B. C. I. N. and E.), Bekker *addit.* i. 238, 21, *et. mag.* p. 275, 1, Hesych. s.vv. Βουφώνα, Βουφώνα, Δυτικεία, Soud. s.vv. Βουφώνα, Δυτικεία (codd. except A. B. C. E. V.), Δυτικεία, Θαύμων. Favorin. lex. p. 385, 8 and 24. Δυτικεία *et. mag.* p. 275, 1. Δυτικεία Soud. s.vv. Δυτικεία after ἄνθρωπο (codd. C. V.).

7. Δυτικεία Porph. de abst. 2. 30.


most impressive portion of it, was called the Bouphonia or 'Ox-slaughter.' It took place on the fourteenth day of Skirophorion, a month corresponding roughly with our June—July.

contends that the old dative Δι Πολιτεί gave rise to the form Διολεία, which was subsequently changed into Διολεία to suit the later dative Δι Πολιτεί. He holds that in like manner the *Διολεία became the Διολεία. The earlier form may be inferred from the name of the god's temple Διολείαν (Bekker anec. i. 91, 6 f. Διολείαν καλοῦν *Αθηναίοι τόν παρά τον Σωστήρον Δίος, έστε θα Αττικόν τό σχήμα. Διολεία γαρ καλεῖται ύποτι. κ.τ.λ.;) the later form naturally occurs in the inscriptions, which are all of Hellenic date. As to the successive terminations Διολεία, Διολεία, Διολεία Wackernagel loc. cit. p. 481 compares the series οὐραν, οὐραῖα, οὐρα (F. Blass Pronunciation of Ancient Greek trans. W. J. Purton Cambridge 1890 pp. 18, 61, K. Meisterhans Grammatik der attischen inschriften Berlin 1900 p. 49 n. 363, G. Meyer Griechische Grammatik Leipzig 1896 p. 132 n. 2, A. Thumb in K. Brugmann Griechische Grammatik München 1913 p. 76).

E. Curtius Attische Studien Göttingen 1862 i. 247 proposed to connect Διολεία with the root νεή- and to regard it as the festival of the Διόλειαι or 'Zeus-worshippers.' But the term Διόλεια is nowhere found.

Harrison Proleg. Gk. Rel. p. 111 n. 3 would render 'the festival of the Plough Curse' (ib. p. 23 δύο- for διόσ=δώρον). But she later abandoned this derivation.

Hesych. s.v. Βουφώνα (Favorinus lex. p. 385, 8) ... δ ναι οι Διόλειαι τό Βουφώνα δώρον. The two names occur together also in Aristoph. Nub. 984 f., All. var. hist. 8. 3 Διολεία τόν οφρίζεν καλοῦν καί Βουφώνα, Hesych. s.v. Βουφώνα = Σώδιον s.v. Βουφώνα, schol. Aristoph. Nub. 985 = Σώδιον s.v. Βουφώνα ἔστε.

That the Βουφώνα was, to speak strictly, a definite rite which took place at the festival of the Διολεία, is recognised by J. Toepffer Attische Genalogie Berlin 1889 p. 149, P. Stengel in Hermes 1893 xviii. 489, in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 liii. 407, in his 'On the Origin of the Greeks' Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 203, and in Pauli—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1055, Suppl. iii. 339 f., L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 158 f., and the great majority of modern scholars. Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 512 (ib. p. 517 n. 1) thought that the festival might have been called Διολεία in official language, Βουφώνα in popular parlance. H. von Prott in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 lii. 197 inferred from All. loc. cit. 'dass zwei Berichte über zwei Feste zusammengeworfen sind.' U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff Der Glaube der Hellenen Berlin 1932 lii. 173 (ib. p. 353) 'die attischen Διολείαι, Διολεία, Βουφώνα' is doubly inept.

2 Βουφώνα Aristoph. Nub. 985 with schol. ad loc., All. var. hist. 8. 3, Harpocr. s.v. Βουφώνα, Hesych. s.v. Βουφώνα (Favorinus lex. p. 385, 8), et. mag. p. 210, 30, Σώδιον s.v. Βουφώνα, Eustath. in Il. p. 601, 64. Βουφώνα Hesych. s.v. (cod.) Bekker anec. i. 321, 22. Βουφώνα Σώδιον s.v. Βουφώνα (cod. E.).


4 Schol. Aristoph. θέας 419, et. mag. p. 210, 30 ff. The only divergent statement is found, among other blunders, in Bekker anec. i. 250, 11 ff. Διολεία γαρ ἔστιν ἐστίνι θεότητος μετὰ Διός, ἢ καὶ Διολεία (Bekker ej. Diáste) καλεῖται, γίνεται δὲ ἐκταν. (A. Mommsen ej. έκτα) ἐτεὶ θέα τοῦ Σκληροφορφώνος (Bekker ej. Σκληροφορφώνος) μενοῦ.
Ritual of the Dipolieia

(a) Ritual of the Dipolieia.

The ritual of the Dipolieia is known to us primarily from passages in Porphyrios¹ and Pausanias². Porphyrios appears to be

¹ It will be convenient here to print the passages in extenso as they stand in the Teubner text (ed. A. Nauck) and further on to discuss particular points.

² Porph. de abst. 1: το βοων δὲ Δίαν καταφέρει πρώτος, εἰρείναι ὡς τοῦ Πολεώδους Δίας, ὑπὸ τῶν Διαμελίων (so Nauck for Diameleios) ἀγώνων καὶ καταχθυμαχών κατὰ τὸ πάλαι ἔθος τῶν κατωτέρων ὁ βοῦς προσελθὼν ἀπεγείρατο τὸν ἱερὸν πελάτων· συνεργοῦτο γὰρ λαβὼν τοὺς ὄλλους ὅσα παρῆσαν, ἀπέκλειε τούτων.

Porph. de abst. 2: τὸ γὰρ πελάτων, ὃς καὶ πρόθεν ἔλεγομεν, καρπὸς τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων θυσίων, ἔγα τε οὖς, ὧν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτὴν προφήτην καταχθυμάτων, λέγεται κατ' ἑαυτήν ὥσπερ ἂνθρώπων. Ἔριδα γὰρ τοι νύμφην εὐτύχον, προσέλθη δὲ πελάτῳ τοῦ τε καὶ τῶν θυλημάτων ἐπὶ τὴν τραπέζην ἑαυτῆς κεφαλῶν, ἵππο τοῖς θεοῖς ταῦτα θυσίας, τῶν βοῶν τε ιερῶν ἀνέργον τα τοῦ κατακτήσαν τὰ δὲ συνετάχθησαν. αὐτῶν δὲ άνεφορείνυσαν τὰ συμβάντα, πελάτες (J. J. Reiske cf. πελάτες) των πληρών ἀκομαρίων, τούτων ἀρτάξαστα, πατάξαν τῶν βοῶν. τελευταίος τοῦ δὲ τοῦ βοῶν, ἦξε τῇ ὑγίῃ καταστασιά συνέργοντές τινα ἄργουν, οὐ τον ἱερὸν ἐπηγούμένους, τῶν μὲν τῶν βοῶν θάττε, φημεν δὲ ἐκσκόπους ἀράμενος, ἀράμενος εἰς Κρήτην. ἄρχεις δὲ κατακτήσαντας δὲ διενεργεῖς γεγομένης, ἐπεράτωσε κατα τῶν θεῶν ἄνευ (so R. Hercher for ἄνευ) ἡ Πνευματικὸς ἐν εἰς Κρήτην φυγάδω ταῦτα λύσειν (Nauck cf. παοῦς), τὸν τε φοράν τιμωρησάμενου καὶ τὸν τεθερίαν ἀναστάτως χωρὶς ἄργους (so C. A. Lobeck for the corrupt ἀνάστατον χωρὶς) (Nauck cf. παοῦς). τῷ τε φονεί τιμωρησάμενου καὶ τὴν τεθερίαν ἀναστάτως χωρὶς ἄργους (so C. A. Lobeck for the corrupt χωρὶς). τῷ τε φονεί τιμωρησάμενου καὶ τὴν τεθερίαν ἀναστάτως χωρὶς ἄργους (so C. A. Lobeck for the corrupt χωρὶς). τῷ τε φονεί τιμωρησάμενου καὶ τὴν τεθερίαν ἀναστάτως χωρὶς ἄργους (so C. A. Lobeck for the corrupt χωρὶς).

37
Ritual of the Dipoleia

quoting *verbatim* from Theophrastos' treatise *On Piety* (c. 332 B.C.); and Pausanias writes (c. 170 A.D.) as one who has visited the Akropolis and taken a personal interest in its cults. The following account is in the main that of Porphyrios, words enclosed in square brackets being additions from Pausanias:—

[Barley and wheat] made up into semi-solid porridge and solid cakes, were placed on the bronze table [or altar of Zeus Polieus].

31 othi othi tov palaiou ouloin de etekevin tā sunevγa tovth bloutai μυμύν γυα, wv tē tauto phulakōn etā plērtæv.

2 Paus. 1. 24. 4. (after the sentence cited supra p. 370 n. 4) tōv Diōv tōv Polieon krithēs kataβhēvēs eti tōv boulōm meugumvēs purov othiēv phulakōn. O boulō 5 hē de, ὥστε eti tōv oulov etomomastikē phuláxovn, anstev tōvōv schermatōv phulōv eti tōv boulōv. kalobolēi de tēv tōv lewv boulōn, <de eti eti eti tōv boulōv (ins. Λ. Michaelis in v. F. Syllburg) > kai tāv tōv tēlelōn mēbas—othi γαρ στενοι oi νόμοι—ocheita phulōv. O de ἄτε tōv ádærō de ἐδρασε τό ἔρχον ὦιν εἰδέτει, ἐθήνει ὑπαγόντων τῶν tēlelōn. taute mēn tēlōn tōv orphēmōv ὄρους. *infra* p. 583 n. 2.

Paus. 1. 28. 10. tē bē ἐν πρωταγελι καλόμενον, ἑνα τῆς πνεύμα ἂν πέσαν ὁμοίως τῆς ἀφοσίων δικάρων, ἐπί τῶν άρξατ' σωμάτων. Ἀθηναίων υποβολούντως Ἑρεθείας, τότε πρῶτον bēν ἐκτίνοιο οὐκ boulōn ἐπί τῆς boulōm tōv Polieon Diōv. kai de mē ἀπολακον tāv tōv tēlelōn tēwphērē ἐπί tῆς χώρας phulōv, ὁ de tēlelōn parantikē ἀρέλη (H. Hitzig 5. ἀρέλη ἂν ἡθάλασαν) krithē kai ἐν tōde ἀν ἀν tōn tōv kou kērata. *infra* p. 583 n. 5.

1 That Porphyrios is transcribing from Theophrastos tēpi eoutēs, was detected by J. Bernays *Theophrasto's Schrift über Fürnömmigkeit Berlin* 1856 p. 122 ff.

2 H. von Prott in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 liii. 187 ff. contends that Porphy. de abst. 2. 30 is citing from Theophrastos, not the ritual of the Athenian Dipoleia, but that of some Ionian, probably Delian, cult (*infra* β. Sophatros). And this 'ioniache Hypothese' has met with some measure of approval. Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 14 accepts it outright. So did P. Stengel in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 lll. 399 ff., but later withdrew his support (id. *OppONENTBRECKE DER GRIECHEN Leipzig—Berlin* 1910 p. 204 ff.) and ended by definite denial of von Prott's contention (id. in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. Suppl. iii. 350). C. Robert also in the Gött. gel. Aus. 1899 cxxi. 565 rejected the idea, and so does L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 167. F. Schwenn *Gebet und Oppor Heidelberg* 1927 p. 100 regards the rite as Attic, and at most will say: 'Es ist möglich, dass ein solches Fest auch einem anderen ionischen Orten stattfand.'

To me it would seem that to accept von Prott's hypothesis is practically to charge Porphyrios, a very learned and honest man, with incredible ignorance or deliberate misrepresentation of the facts. For he had himself lived and studied at Athens under Apollonios and Longinus, so that he certainly ought to have known the ritual of one of the chief Athenian festivals, and he asserts in perfectly explicit terms ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκτίνου μέχρι τῶν ἕνων ἐν τοῖς διοικητοῖς Ἀθηναίων ἀριστεύει οἱ εἰρήνη τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων παρουσίαζε τῆς τῶν βοῶν ἰωανὸν. I cannot, therefore, adopt von Prott's assumption that Porphyrios is contaminating Attic with non-Attic elements.

2 Paus. 1. 24. 4. krithē...meugumvēs purov, described in the sequel as τῶν schermatōv. Cp. Porph. de abst. 2. 10 tōv scharōn, subsequently called tōv lewv tēlānou.

sind grosse altarförmige massive Basen (Brückner, Ornament und Form der att. Grabstelen t. f.). Die Form beider geht ineinander über (Puhl, Athen. Mitt. xxviii 336).  
(2) H. von Prött himself loc. cit. regards the discrepancy as evidence that Pausanias is describing an Attic, Porphyrios, or rather his source Theophrastos, a non-Attic cult. But see supra p. 378 n. 2.  (3) H. Mischkowski Die heiligen Tische im Götterkult der Griechen und Römer Königsegg i. Pr. 1917 pp. 1-3 ('Das Verhältnis von Tisch und Altar') holds that table and altar served the same purposes and were covered by offering; 'Wie in der Darstellung so werden auch in der Sprache die beiden Kultgegenstände miteinander vermengt. θυμία—ara bezeichnete mehr den allgemeinen Zweck, τράπεζα—mensa die besondere Form.' But his premises are far from secure. He thinks that the Naples vase noted below (fig. 404) represents two tables, on one of which a fire is burning; that the use of a table for animal burnt-offerings is proved by Diog. Laert. 4. 56 = Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 5. 377 ff. ὡς τολιὰ ξυλίνας βροτοῖς, δου τεῖχος ἠθεόν _αδετον_ ἄτως βρώμων ἵνα καὶ τράπεζα | κτῆσιν, λεπίδοι, χελώματι, ἱδροτικοῖ, ὑδατίκοι βρώμοι; that the silver βρόμων of Paus. 2. 17. 6 and the bronze βρώμοι of Loukian, de dea Syr. 39 were really metal τράπεζα; etc. etc.—a string of highly disputable contentions. (4) I have elsewhere urged that an altar for the presentation of vegetable offerings was normally shaped like a table and called τράπεζα, whereas an altar for the burnt-sacrifice of animals was a solid structure called βρώμο (Class. Rev. 1895 ix. 370 ff.). If so, it is natural to suppose that
the barley and wheat were set out ἐν τῇ χαλκῇ τράχηλί (Porph. de asid. 2. 30), while
the ox was slain ἐν τῷ βωμῷ (Paus. 1. 28. 10). Zeus Πόλικος, in short, like Zeus
Ἀκείνω (Paus. 8. 30. 2), had both kinds of altar, doubtless close together—perhaps even
in actual contiguity (cp. the τράχηλι + βωμός of Dionysos on a volute-amphora from Ruvo,
d. Inst. 1860 xxx. 5 ff., Mon. d. Inst. vi pls. 37 and 38 = Reisch Kp. Vases i. 154,
1 and 2, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 349 fig. 417. My fig. 404 is
an extract from Jahn's pl. 37, illustrating the juxtaposition of the cult-statue with both
types of altar)). On this showing the statement that the cereals were placed ἐν τῷ
βωμῷ (Paus. 1. 24. 4) is inexact.

I take this opportunity of publishing (fig. 405) a votive table in terra cotta, found in
the Kabeirion near Thebes and now in my collection. Oblong top, 4½ x 2½ inches; legs

(one restored), 1½ inches high. The clay is covered with a white slip, which shows many
traces of paint: the table itself was yellow, the offerings on it were red. In the centre is
a φίδια ωμαλοῖς. In each corner is a cake (or cup? — μαύροι, μαύρων supra ii. 346
n. 0) shaped like a female breast with central nipple. Smaller circular cakes, some of
which may be meant for fruit, are scattered about. And there are two slices of meat
(eels?). For Egyptian, Assyrian, Syro-Phoenician, Persian, and Hittite parallels—see
K. Galling Der Altar in den Kulturen des alten Orient Berlin 1924 p. 9 ff. ('Altartische')
pl. 2 figs. 14—17, p. 49 ff. ('Der löwenfüssige Altartisch') pl. 10 figs. 34, p. 50 ff. ('Die
privaten Altartische') pl. 10 fig. 25, a—p. pp. 64 ff. ('Der Tischaltar'), 77 ('Tischaltäre:
1—26'), p. 83 ff. ('Der Tischaltar') pl. 15 figs. 9—15, 16—19, p. 92 ff. ('Der chettische
Tischaltar') pl. 15 figs. 8, 11, pl. 16 fig. 12. Recently W. Deonna in a clearly conceived
1—90 with 61 figs.) has traced the whole evolution of 'la table d'offrandes' from earliest
pagan beginnings up to latest Christian usage. His series includes food set out on the bare
soil or mound or rock; the platter; the platter with low feet; the platter with legs; the
table; the table with rings or hollows; the table with vases and viands in relief; etc.
Oxen assigned for the purpose\(^1\) were then driven round\(^2\), and the ox

One piece of evidence must be examined with special care. In the eastern frieze of the temple of Athena Nike (Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 127 Archit. pl. 9, a, b =Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 15 nos. 1, 2) the central group of assembled deities (fig. 406) comprises, from left to right, Poseidon seated and Athena standing, balanced by Zeus enthroned, and, in front of his footstool, certain traces on the background of the relief. B. Sauer ‘Das Göttergericht über Asia und Hellas’ in *Aus der Anomia* Berlin 1890 p. 96 f., relying on a sketch by Gilliéron, took these traces to represent a ‘Zählisch’ like that on the Darcios-vasse (*supra* ii. 853 pl. xxxvii). Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 449 saw in them, not a table for votes, but a table for wreaths to indicate the victory bestowed by Zeus’ *Ekephesos*. ‘It was,’ he says, ‘a sacred table, like that brazen trapeza which stood in front of Zeus Polies on the Akropolis, and upon which the

Fig. 406.

sacrificial ox was at the Bouphonia.’ Now if the said traces were really those of a table, they might indeed have been identified as the table of Zeus *Pauoan* But the two legs, when photographed from a cast, appear rather to be human and, if so, are better explained by C. Blumel *Der Fries des Tempels der Athena Nike* Berlin 1923 p. 12 f. pl. i—iii (part of which =my fig. 406) as those of a winged Nike standing before the seated Zeus (again cp. the Darcios-vasse). L. Ross—E. Schaubert—C. Hansen *Die Akropolis von Athen nach den neuesten Ausgrabungen i. Tempel der Nike Aetos* Berlin (1839) p. 12 pl. 11, c had long since suggested Ganymedes, and R. Förster in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1870 p. 39 f. and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1874 xxxii. 107, with much less likelihood, a goat-legged Pan.


2 This part of the ceremony—a moment of tense anticipation—is, if I am not mistaken, represented on two Attic vases of late black-figured style, very probably the work of the same artist: (1) An *amphora* at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasenamml.* Berlin i. 367 f. no. 1882, Gerhard *Auseri. Vaseb.* iv. 8 pl. 242, 3 (= my fig. 407) and 4, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 172, 7 and 8) shows a rectangular altar, surrounded by four oxen, with an olive(?)-tree
that [drew near the altar and] tasted of the meal was slain. Minute regulations were observed in connexion with its slaughter. Chosen virgins called *Hydropsoroi* or 'Water-carriers' brought water, with which certain men whetted an axe and a knife. This done, another man handed the axe. Another [, named the *Bouphos*, used the axe and] struck the ox. Yet another slit the animal's throat, presumably with the knife. After that, it was flayed. Its flesh was distributed to all and tasted by all. Next they sewed up the skin, stuffed it with hay, raised up the would-be ox, and yoked it to a plough as though it were alive again and at work. [Meantime the *Bouphos*, having struck the first blow, dropped his axe beside the altar, left it there and fled the country. The axe was at once tried (presumably in the Prytaneion) and definitely acquitted.] At the

in the background. One of the oxen, seen against the black altar, is necessarily painted white. Two others, emerging to right and left, face outwards. A fourth, on the far side of the altar, is by the law of early perspective raised above it, though not completely so.

1) An *oinochoe* at Munich (Jahn Vatsamml. München p. 306 f. no. 1335, G. Micali Storia degli antichi popoli italiani Firenze 1832 ill. 173 no. 3, id. Monumenti per servire alla storia degli antichi popoli italiani Firenze 1833 Atlas pl. 98, 3 = *my* fig. 408) has an almost identical group, except that the white ox seen against the altar is on a slightly smaller scale, while those to right and left of it are differently disposed. The same trick of perspective makes the feet of the furthest ox disappear behind the altar. We must not, of course, assume with Jahn that the first ox was merely painted on an oblong pedestal or that the last ox was actually standing upon it.

2 Paus. 1. 24. 4 ὃ βοῦς Ἰλ., ἵνα ἐὰν θυσίαν ἐπαίσκαιντος φιλάσσουσαν, ἀπετατον τῶν στέρμάσων φατόν ἐκ τῶν βομῶν. I should endorse the opinion of L. Deubner Attische Festen Berlin 1932 p. 159 n. 4: 'Dabei wird weniger daran zu denken sein, dass man ihn hungern liesse (Prott, Rh. Mus. 53, 1897, 194), als an die übliche Säuberung und Schmückung des Opferieres. Der griechische Ausdruck ἐπαίσκαζαν setzt eher eine positive Handlung voraus.' It is, however, possible that in Pausanias' day the finest ox was at the critical moment induced to come forward, apparently of its own accord.

3 The nearest mend of this defective passage (*ὑπηρετήσει τῆς βοῦς*) is certainly A. Michaelis' insertion of <ὅς κτίσας τὸν βοῦς> after the word *βουθήσαν.* This was an improvement on F. Syllburg's *<οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ βουθοῦ τὸν βοῦς κτίσαν>.* Michaelis also suggested *ἐκ τῶν βομῶν.* <τόπον ὅς κτίσας ὁ Βουθήσαν> (καλοῦτο τινά ἐκ τῶν κεφάλων βουθήσων) καὶ ταῦτα κ. τ. λ. All attempts to fill the lacuna must, of course, rely on Paus. 1. 28. 10 (*ὑπηρετήσει τε βοῦς*) p. 577 n. 2).

4 Porph. de abst. 2. 30 ὃ ἐπαίσκαζε τὸν βοῦς, ἄλλος ἐπαίσκαζεν. So in Od. 3. 447 ff. Thrasymedes struck (δίωσεν) the ox for sacrifice with an axe, and Peisistratos then cut its throat (σφάξας) and let the blood run out, so that it died; after which it was cut up, etc.


5 Paus. 1. 24. 4 (context *ὑπηρετήσι* p. 577 n. 2) ὅ ἐκ τῆς ἄμμος ὅθεν ἔδρασεν τὸ ἱέρων οὐκ ἐδόται, ἵνα ἐκ τῶν ἐπαίσκαζον τοῦ πέλεκου, 1. 28. 10 (context *ὑπηρετήσι* p. 577 n. 2) ὅ ἐκ πέλεκου
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trial all that had shared in the bad business were charged with bloodshed and forced to plead in defence of their action. So the Water-carriers blamed the men that whetted the axe and knife. The men that whetted the axe and knife blamed the man that handed the axe. The man that handed the axe blamed, not indeed the man that first struck the ox, for he had left his axe and fled, but the man that completed the slaughter with his knife. The man that completed the slaughter with his knife blamed the knife. Finally the knife, since it could not say a word in its own defence, was condemned as guilty of the bloodshed and cast into the sea.

It thus appears that the real culprits, the man that first struck the

παρανυκτικά ἀφείθη κραθεῖσι καὶ ἔστει ἣν τῶν ἐχθρόν τρίζεται. Mommsen Feste d. Stadl Athen p. 514 n. 2 justly remarks that ἀφείθη must here mean ‘was acquitted’ because a few lines before, in the clause πρὸς ὧν Θεσσαλία ἀφείθη, Pausanias had used the same word in that sense. E. Tamaro also in the Anmario della r. scuola di Atene e delle missione italiane in oriente 1921—1922 iv. — v. 5 (cp. id. ‘La Boulphonia’ in the Cronaca delle Belle Arti 1920 p. 10 f.) accepts that meaning. Even H. von Prott, who holds that the axe was really cast out of the country, does not deny that Pausanias meant ‘the axe was acquitted’ and is reduced to supposing that he must have misunderstood his authority (Rhein. Mus. 1897 lii. 194 n. 1). L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 159 f., while admitting that von Prott’s solution is possible, inclines to adopt an emendation proposed by E. Pottier in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 270 n. 24 and printed in the text as a certainty by H. Hitzig ἀφείθη < ἐς θάλασσαν > (cp. Paus. i. 3. 1 ἀφείθη Θεσσαλία ἐς θάλασσαν Σκύρων). But this expedient confuses the axe with the knife and misses the whole point of the situation.

1 In Porph. de abst. 2. 30 (context supra p. 577 n. 1) ὄν ἃ τι μὲν θροφόροι τοὺς ἀκούσαντας αὐτῶν ἦταν ἀλλὰ καὶ παλαιότερο πάλλον, οἱ δὲ ἀκουσάντες τῶν ἐπιδότων τῶν πέλεκυν, οὗτοι δὲ τῶν ἐπισφάλσεως, καὶ οὐ κατέγραψα τὴν ῥάχαμαν, καθ’ ὡς οὖς ἀκούον τῶν φώνων κατέγραψαν τοὺς γεγονότας. The text is sound. A. Nauck wanted to read οὗτος δὲ < τῶν παταξάντων, οὐ δὲ παταξάς > τῶν σφαλάντων and J. Bernays printed οὗτος δὲ < τῶν παταξάντων, οὐ δὲ > τῶν ἐπισφάλσεως. But obviously οὐ δὲ οὗτος could not blame anybody, for he had made good his escape. In fact Pausanias says: οὐ δὲ ἄρα τὸν ἄφθον οὐδὲ τὸν ἔργον οὐκ εἴδον ἐκεῖνον ὡς πάντως τῶν πέλεκυν (i. 24. 4). P. Stengel in Hermes 1893 xxvii. 494 takes this to mean that the bystanders did not know where the doer of the deed was to be found. But strictly speaking, we can only render the phrase, as H. von Prott in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 lii. 198 insists, ‘not knowing the man that had done the deed.’ Probably Mommsen Feste d. Stadl Athen p. 514 is right in saying: ‘Die übrigen Versammlten thun so, als wenn sie den, der das Kind erschlagen, nicht kennten, und führen das am Orte gebliebene Vor Gericht.’ Yet Stengel Opernebräuche der Griechen Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 204 is dissatisfied: ‘Der Erklärung Mommsens…steht das ἄτε entgegen: man wird zu verstehen haben, sie wissen weder den Namen noch sonst etwas Näheres von dem Mann, der plötzlich erscheint, den Stier tötet und sofort wieder verschwunden ist.’

2 Porph. de abst. 2. 30 (context supra p. 577 n. 1) πληρώσαντες δὲ τὴν βόραν, ὅταν πρὸς τὴν κράτιν ἁχθεῖσιν, κατεπεράσαν τὴν μάχαιραν. J. Bernays ej. καταπετούοιτο; but H. von Prott loc. cit. p. 195 ingeniously suggested that the aorist κατεπετούοιτο, like the preceding aorist κατέγραψα, was taken over from the text of Theophrastos. L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 169 agrees.

Cp. All. var. hist. 8. 3 καταμυκόσκοι νὶ τῆς μαχαίρας, καὶ λέγουσι ταυτὴν ἀποκτείναι αὖθιν.
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ox and the axe with which he did it, both escaped, the blame being transferred from them to the knife. Why the Athenians took such elaborate precautions to ensure the safety of the assailant and his tool, is a question that must be considered in due course.

Those that took part in the ritual of the Dipoleia belonged to three sets of persons known from their respective duties as the Boutýpoi or ‘Ox-strikers,’ the Kentríadai or ‘Goad-men,’ and the Daitroi or ‘Carvers.’ Theophrastos seems to have described them as géne, ‘clans’ But Photios speaks of the Kentríadai as a patria of Kerykes; and this may well be taken to mean a family of the clan Kerykes.

Further, as J. Toepffer pointed out, the Kerykes are said on good authority to have performed the solemn functions of Mágéiroi (another name for Daitroi) and Boutýpoi. Hence in all probability A. Mommsen is right, when he contends that the Boutýpoi, Kentríadai, and Daitroi, who discharged the priestly duties connected with the cult of Zeus Polieus, were three families all belonging to the great clan of Kerykes.

The Boutýpos, then, was a priest, whose business it was to strike

1 Infra p. 604 f.
2 Theophr. ch. Porph. de abst. 7. 30 (context supra p. 577 n. 1) kal γένη τῶν τάφων δραμάτων ἐτών τῶν; οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες τῶν παράβατων [Σωσάτωρ] Βουτύποι καλούμενοι πάντες, οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ παραβατοῦ Κεντράδας τοῦ δ’ ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπιστράτων Δαίτρως δυσμένους διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς κραυματίας γενομένην δαίτα.
3 Phot. lex. Kentrādaiv παράκενδροι (i.e. Κεντράδαιοι).
4 The Delphian Labydai, who seem to have been a phratry rather than a clan (L. Ziehen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 308) at any rate they swore by Poseidon Phrátio as well as by Apollon and Zeus Hapadhos (supra ii. 233 n. 7), comprised several παράκες or ‘families’ (J. Baunack in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. ii. 718 ff. no. 2561, A 26 n., Dittenberger Syn. Insr. Gr. ii. no. 438, A 26 n. 19 on παράκες (sic), H. van Herwerden Lexicon Graecum supplicatum et dialecticum? Lugduni Batavorum 1910 p. 1130). H. von Prött in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 lxx. 195, 197 was mistaken in regarding παράκες as necessarily an Ionic word for γένος (on the strength of Hdt. 2. 143, 3—75). H. S. Jones’ new ed. of Liddell and Scott p. 1348 distinguishes the two uses of the term as clan and ‘family,’ but unfortunately assigns the Labydai inscription to the former, not the latter, heading.
5 J. Toepffer Attische Genealogie Berlin 1889 p. 151 f. cited Athen. 660 A ὅτι δὲ οἰκονόμον ἢ μαγευρικὴ μαθὴσιν ἐτῶν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Κέντραδον. οὖ δὲ ἅν τοὺς Μαγευροὺς καὶ Βουτύπους ἐπιγείως τὰ τέκνα, ὡς φησὶ Κελείδους ἐν Πρωταιομανίᾳ πρῶτοι (frag. 17 Frdg. hist. Gr. i. 362 f. Müller), cp. ὅβ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῶν Μαγευρῶν Κέντραδος ψηθ᾽ καλεῖται (frag. 3 Frdg. hist. Gr. i. 339 Müller). On Kleidemos of Athens (Tertull. de an. 52), the oldest Athidographer (Paus. 10. 15. 5, cp. Plout. de glor. Athen. 1), see F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 531 ff.
6 Hesych. τ.ν. Μαρσίων...οἱ τοῦ Μαγευροῦ, Εαυτοῦ Ἔαν μαγευροὺς τὰ κρέατα, ἢ ἀν τρίπτυχον ἐντὸν τὰ μέρη. Δαις γὰρ ἡ εἰςκειμένη.
7 Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 521 f. J. Toepffer op. cit. p. 149 ff. had supposed that the three γένη of Porph. de abst. 7. 30 were merely three ‘classes’ of officials taking part in the Bouphonia. But H. von Prött in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 lxxi. 195 f. points out that this view is incompatible with the use of ἄπο in Porphyrios’ sentence (supra p. 2).
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the first blow. It follows that he must be identified with the Bouphónos; for he, as Pausanias informed us, was a priest who struck the ox with his axe. It seems likely that Boutýpos was a euphemistic equivalent of Bouphónos. The one meant ‘Ox-striker’; the other, ‘Ox-slaughters’. However that may be, we have inscriptional evidence of Boutýpoi both early and late. A narrow stèle of white marble, found by R. Chandler built into a wall at Athens and now preserved in the British Museum (fig. 409), mentions a Boutýpos in connexion with the Dipolieia. To judge from its lettering, this important fragment must be dated as far back as the seventh century B.C. Fully eight hundred years later, in the decade 190—200 A.D., one Lakrateides son of Eutychides the Azenian is thrice recorded as Boutýpos priest and Kosmetés or ‘Marshal’ of the Athenian épheboi. The tenacity with which Athens clung to its old-world rite—a rite already antiquated in the time of Aristophanes—is indeed remarkable. Doubtless the Boutýpos was an impressive

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2 J. Toepffer, indeed, op. cit. p. 159 attempted to distinguish the Bouútopos from the Bouphónos, regarding the former as a subordinate helper of the latter. But Momsen op. cit. p. 520 satisfactorily established the equation Bouútopos = Bouphónos, which is accepted alike by H. von Prött in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 lii. 197 n. 2, C. Robert in the Gütt. gel. Anz. 1899 cxi. 536, and L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 162.
3 Supra p. 577 n. 2.
4 E. L. Hicks The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum Oxford 1874 i. 136 no. 74 with facsimile (=my fig. 409). Hicks notes that the contents appear to be a list of official requisites or perquisites.
5 Corp. inscr. Gr. i no. 9, 8 ff., Corp. inscr. Att. i no. 531, 8 ff. = ib. iv. i no. 531, 8 ff., Inschr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 839, 8 ff. καὶ τοῖς [β] χρονικοῖς: χρονικοῖς: Δικροικέσσας [ἑ]ρώτεις. It is a Boustrophedon inscription, with +, β, and + beside Χ.
6 Corp. inscr. Att. iii. i no. 52, 1 ff., iii. i no. 1163, 2 f., iii. i no. 1164, 2 f. = Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 2128, 1 f. οὐκ ἐγὼ γεγονός ἢ ἐγών τὸν Λακρατέιδου Ἐθνοχίδου Ἀντίπαντος, ib. no. 2128, 2 f. ὄνομα τῶν ἑρώτων ἢ ἐγών τὸν Λακρατέιδου Ἐθνοχίδου Ἀντίπαντος, ib. no. 2129, 2 f. οὐκ ἐγὼ γεγονός ἢ ἐγών τὸν Λακρατέιδου Ἐθνοχίδου Ἀντίπαντος, ib. no. 2128, 2 f. οὐκ ἐγὼ γεγονός ἢ ἐγών τὸν Λακρατέιδου Ἐθνοχίδου Ἀντίπαντος, ib. no. 2129, 2 f. οὐκ ἐγὼ γεγονός ἢ ἐγών τὸν Λακρατέιδου Ἐθνοχίδου Ἀντίπαντος, ib. no. 2128, 2 f. οὐκ ἐγὼ γεγονός ἢ ἐγών τὸν Λακρατέιδου Ἐθνοχίδου Ἀντίπαντος, ib. no. 2129, 2 f. οὐκ ἐγὼ γεγονός ἢ ἐγών τὸν Λακρατέιδου Ἐθνοχίδου Ἀντίπαντος, ib. no. 2128, 2 f. οὐκ ἐγὼ γεγονός ἢ ἐγών τὸν Λακρατέιδου Ἐθνοχίδου Ἀντίπαντος, ib. no. 2129, 2 f.
7 Aristoph. nub. 984 f.
figure. Armed with his axe\(^1\) and rising on his toes to deliver a crushing blow\(^2\), he furnished the Alexandrine poet with more than one effective simile\(^3\). Nevertheless the cause of his longevity is to be sought, not in his stirring of the artistic imagination, but in his appeal to deep-seated religious instincts, than which nothing on earth is more permanent.

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Archaizing hieratic reliefs frequently represent deities, heroes, priestesses, etc. on tip-toe (e.g. supra ii pl. xii the Chigi base). This peculiarity is explained by Overbeck \textit{Gr. Plastik} i. 261 ff. as ‘eine sehr mangelhafte und durchaus manierirte Nachbildung des eigenthümlich gebundenen Rhythmus der Bewegungen echt alterthümlicher Kunstwerke.’ Mr C. D. Bicknell tells me (20 December 1934) that he too views the tip-toe attitude as a stiffened and stagey attempt to reproduce the old-time stiffness, which struck a later, looser age as mere affectation. E. Schmidt \textit{Archaische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom München 1922 pp. 23, 29} speaks of ‘Zehengang’ as a processional gait characteristic of a late period, and \textit{wv. p. 35} suspects that a step devised for dancing (cp. \textit{supra} i. 150 figs. 116, 117) became fashionable for quieter persons also (cp. \textit{supra} i. 707, 709 figs. 556—563). Probably a variety of causes contributed to produce the mannerism, in the vogue of which the popular figure of the \textit{Bouútos} may have played its part.

\(^3\) Ap. Rhod. 2. 90 ff. (supra n. 2), 4. 468 f. τῶν δ' ὃς, Bouútos ὡστε μέγαρ κεραλέκα ταύρων, | πλήξεις ὁπιντεύωσα with schol. ad loc. 468 τῶν δὲ Ἀφρονὸς ὁ Πάσων ἐπιληζει, ὃς τις βοῦς καταβάλλων. \textit{Cp. Or. mel. 12. 248 ff.}
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Even when paganism succumbed to Christianity room was still found for the Boutýpos. On the ancient calendar-frieze of the Panagia Gorgoepíkoos, the metropolitan church at Athens, he stands facing us to this very day (figs. 410, 411). The Boughphonia is here represented by a priest wearing a short chitón, endromides, and a wreath, who is about to strike with his double axe a diminutive

1 In the eighth century of our era the Christianised Parthenon had in the conch of its apse a famous mosaic of the Virgin, which had taken the place of Phidias' chrys- elephantine Athena and was known by the titles of that goddess—Γοργώ and ἔνθιος. The Virgin was in fact Athena herself to all intents and purposes: indeed, on late leaden seals she is often described as ΜΡ Ὕ ὜ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ ΓΟΡΓΟΕΠΙΚΟΟΣ or ΜΡ ὍΥ Υ ΑΘΗΝΙΩΤΙΚΑ (K. Michel and A. Struck 'Die mittelbyzantinischen Kirchen Athen' in the Ath. Mitth. 1906 xiii. 318 after Neroutsos 'Αθήναια Χρυσαλλακ' in the Δεικτόν τῆς ιστορικῆς καὶ θεολογικῆς εταιρίας 1889 ii. 24, 39, 41). The church of the Panagia Gorgoepíkoos (St Eleutherios), probably erected by Eirene, empress of Constantinople, c. 800 A.D. on the site of a ruined temple of Sarapis (Paus. 1. 18. 4) and Isis, or of a temple of Elétheihs (ib. 1. 18. 5) transformed into a church of St Eleutherios (Michel—Struck loc. cit. p. 310), thus directly perpetuates the name and fame of Athena. Athenblätter appears c. 1175 A.D. on a lead seal of Michael (Akominos?), Metropolitan of Athens, in the Photiades collection (S. Lambros Α' Αθήναια περί τὴν ης ης αἰώνος Athens 1878 p. 36 pl. 1, 2, G. Schlumberger Sigillographie de l'empire byzantine Paris 1884 p. 173 f. fig. (=my fig. 412)).

See further A. Mommsen Athenae Christianae Lipsiae 1868 p. 115 with nn. ad loc., p. 118 n. 5, F. Gregorovius Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter Stuttgart 1889 i. 50 f., 68, 164 with n. 2. Supra p. 189 n. 1.

2 The frieze has been well published and discussed several times during the last forty years: see G. Thiele Antike Himmelsbilder Berlin 1868 pp. 57—64 ('Der Tierkreis im attischen Bilderkalender') with figs. 8 and 9 (from photographs of the cast at Vienna). J. N. Svoronos 'Der athenische Volkskalender' in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1899 ii. 21—78 pls. 2—6 (from drawings by Gilliéron, whose pl. 5 nos. 35—37 = my fig. 410), and L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 pp. 248—254 ('Der Kalenderfries von Hag. Eleutherios') with pls. 34—40 (from fresh photographs of the original: pl. 39 nos. 27—29 = my fig. 411).

Other publications include those by C. Boetticher in Philologus 1865 xxii. 412 ff. figs. 30, 31, Friederichs—Wolters Gipsabgüsse p. 755 ff. nos. 1909, 1910, C. E. Ruelle in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 823 f. fig. 1030, E. Pottier ib. ii. 279 f. fig. 2453, F. Cumont ib. v. 1054 f., Lebas—Reinach Voyage Arch. p. 68 f. Mon. Fig. pls. 21, i—iii, iv—vi, C. Robert in the Gütt. gel. Anz. 1899 cxxi. 544 ff., Reinach Rép. Reliefs i. 7 nos. 1—3 and 8 nos. 1—3.

Fig. 412.
bull. The costume of the celebrant recalls that of the official who slew a humped bull in an analogous rite at Stratonikeia. And the sign of the Crab, above the bull, denotes the hottest time of year.

Whether the Bouýtôpos should be identified with the priest of Zeus Polieús, is a moot point. On the one hand, according to Porphyrios the first man that ever slew an ox was Diomos, a priest of Zeus Polieús, sacrificing at the Dipolieia. On the other hand, Bouýtôpos is beyond question a synonym of Bouphónos, and Pausanias describes the Bouphónos as ‘one of the priests’. Is this description suitable to so exalted a personage as the priest of Zeus Polieús, who in the second century B.C. sat in the forefront of the Athenian theatre next to the priest of Dionysos himself? On the whole I conclude that, whatever may have been the case in the Hellenistic age, originally and in good Hellenic days the Bouýtôpos or Bouphónos was one and the same with the priest of Zeus Polieús.

Still more puzzling is a gloss of Hesychios, which states that the performer of the Bouphíaia was known as Bouîtes, the ‘Ox-herd’. If, as it seems reasonable to suppose, this Bouîtes is to be identified with the Bouýtôpos or Bouphónos, then—inasmuch as the Bouîtopoi were a family of the clan Kerykes—he cannot be connected with the hero Boutes from whom the clan Eteouboutadai traced their descent. If, conversely, we start by assuming that this Bouîtes was a member of the Eteouboutadai, we must regard him as a priest, or priest’s attendant, distinct from the Bouýtôpos or Bouphónos; and in that case it will not be easy to find a Bouphonic function that he can appropriately discharge. The first horn of the dilemma is, I think, the less precarious. A priest armed with a double axe or

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3 Supra p. 568 fig. 385.
2 Arat. phae. 149 ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπάρχει ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. Hippar. in Arat. et Eudox. phae. 2. i. 18.
3 J. Toepfer Attische Genealogie Berlin 1889 p. 159 identifies the priest of Zeus Polieus with the Bouphónos, but regards the Bou sûr as an underling. H. von Prött in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 liii. 197 n. 2 identifies the Bou sûr with the Bouphónos, but distinguishes the Bouphónos from the priest of Zeus Polieus. L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 161 f. sides with von Prött: Der Bou sûr ist nicht mit dem Priester des Zeus Polieus identisch, sondern ein Gehilfe von diesem. Er kann aber auch die Bezeichnung Priester führen... Dass Bou sûr und Bouphónos miteinander identisch sind, geht aus ihrer gleichem Funktion deutlich hervor.
4 Porph. de abst. 2. 10 (supra p. 577 n. 1, infra p. 593 ff.). Deubner op. cit. p. 162 is reduced to saying: ‘An Stelle des bou sûr erscheint hier inkorrekt der Weise der Zeus-priester selbst, Diomos mit Namen, als der Töter des Ochsen.’
5 Supra p. 585 f.
6 Paus. 1. 24. 4 katókou dé tòv n àrχv tòn nàpou tòn nàpou.
7 Supra p. 574.
8 Hesych. s.v. Bou sûr (cited supra p. 576 n. 1).
9 Supra p. 585.
11 Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 522 n. 1.
bouplex\(^1\) might perhaps, for shortness' sake, be called Boötes. But, again, Hesychios, or our manuscript of his work, may be blundering\(^2\).

\(\beta\) **Myths of the Dipolieia: Sopatros.**

To account for the singular ritual of the Dipolieia various tales were told. They are attached to three names—those of Sopatros, Diomos, and Thaulon.

According to Theophrastos\(^3\), time was when men offered to the gods the fruits of the earth and abstained from sacrificing, or even eating, animals. But once, during a common sacrifice at Athens, a certain Sopatros—\(\alpha\) an alien occupying a farm in Attike—had set out barley-meal and cakes for the gods on a table-altar, when one of his oxen came in from the field and partly ate, partly trampled on his oblation. Sopatros in anger caught up an axe, which was being whetted near by, and struck the ox a fatal blow. On his anger abating he realised what an impious deed he had done, buried the ox, and fled as a voluntary exile to Crete\(^5\). At home a drought ensued, and the land yielded no crops\(^6\). Thereupon men consulted the Delphic oracle. They were told that the exile in Crete would put an end to their evil plight and that, when they had taken vengeance on the slayer and raised up the dead in the very sacrifice\(^7\) in which he had been killed, it would be better for them to taste of the dead and not refrain\(^8\) from so doing. Search was made therefore, and the guilty party was discovered\(^9\). Thinking

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2 O. Jahn in the *Nuovo Mem. d. Inst.* 1865 ii. 4 n. 3 'Una terza denominazione presso Esichio, Boötes ... sembra riposare su un equivoco,' W. W. Hyde in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1917 xxxviii, 152 n. o 'The Boumédia can have had nothing to do with the Bouphona or Bouthros, as Hesychius affirms,' L. Deubner *Attische Feste Berlin* 1932 p. 161 'Wenn Hesych die gleiche Person Boötes nennt, so kann nur eine Verwechslung oder Nachlässigkeit vorliegen.'
5 *Id. ib.* p. 164 n. 3 compares Leukippos, son of Xanthios, who having unintentionally killed his father retired to Crete (Parthen. narr. am. 5 ποριτείας Ερμισθάνας Λεωνίου), 'dem klassischen Lande der Mordsuchte' (see e.g. *supra* ii. 934 n. 0).
6 *Supra* p. 426.
7 A. Nauck (*supra* p. 577 n. 1) of course accepts the convincing emendation of Lobeeck *Aeglaephantos* ii. 1039, who from the meaningless ἀναστησάτων εν ἐνεπτικθανον σελαθέν (or διτ) ἐκεῖνα restored ἀναστησάτων εν ἐνεπτικθανον θυελα λοιον ἐκεῖνα.
8 So P. Stengel in *Hermes* 1893 xxvii. 499 n. 1.
9 H. von Prött in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 189 n. 2 retains the manuscript reading τοῦ
that he might be rid of his offence with its attendant curse, if all acted in common, Sopatros told those who had come to fetch him that an ox must be cut up by the city. And, when they could not say who should strike the beast, he undertook to do it himself, provided they would make him a citizen and so take their share in the slaughter. They agreed, and, on returning to Athens, arranged the ceremony, which has been performed there ever since.

This story is undeniably constructed with ancient materials. In particular, the treatment of the ox as sacrosanct and the alleged necessity for common action in the slaying of it are features that look backwards to a very remote past. Nevertheless the story as

Σωπάτρου μετὰ τῆς πράξεως ἄνευρεθέντος. But the Greek is so unusual as to be almost certainly corrupt. A. Nauck, after J. J. Reiske, prints τοῦ [Σωπάτρου] μετατίθην τῆς πράξεως ἄνευρεθέντος. L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 164 n. 5 desiderantes μετὰ τοῦ ὀργάνου τῆς πράξεως. I suspect the word πράξεως and suggest τοῦ Σωπάτρου μετὰ τοῦ πελεξοῦς (οἷς τῆς ἀγάνακτης ἄνευρεθέντος).

1 Aristoxenos of Tarentum frg. 7 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 273 Müller) ap. Diog. Laert. 8. 20 ὁ γε μὴ Ἀριστείδεις πάντα μὲν τᾶλα εὐχαριστεῖν αὐτὸν (οἷος τῶν Πυθαγόρας) ἐστιν ἐμφύλια, μόνον δὲ [αὐτὸν] ἀπέγνωσαν αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον καὶ κρυπτοὶ, Arat. phaen. 129 ff. αἴνει ἂν ἓδη κάκειν οὐκ ἔσθάραν, οἱ θ' ἐγένοντο, ἵππαι θανατοῖ προτέρα θλούσθεροι ἀνδρεῖς, οἱ πρῶτοι κακοβοροὶ ἐχαλάσαντο μάχαιραν εὐθανασία, πρῶτοι δὲ βοῶν ἔπαυσαν ἀργόρρων, καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἄρθρων ἐπιταθ' ἐπορευθεῖν with schol. ad loc. (Maass p. 350, 14 ff.) (ὁ) ἄρχων ἐφελάττετο τούς ἐργάτας βοῦς καθερείνει...ἀγαθὰς μαρ ἔδεικε τούτο εἶναι τὸ (σφα)πολαῖραμ ἄρθρην, πρῶτοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐγείραν τῶν ταύτων βοῶν, ἐπεὶ θυγονείς ἀγαμῆς πόσις κατέφαγεν (sic). Varr. rer. rust. 2. 5. 3—4 hic (sc. bos) socius hominum in rustic opera et Cereis minister, ab hoc antiqui manus ita atstineri voluerunt, ut capitane sanxerint, siquis occidisset, Verg. georg. 2. 536 ff. ante etiam spectum Dictaei regis, et ante | impia quam caesis gentes est epulata iuvencis, | aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat, Colum. de re rust. 6. praef. 7 (expanded from Varro loc. cit.) quod item Athenis Cereris et Triptolemi fertur minister...quod deinde laboriosissimum adhuc hominis socius in agricultura: cuius tanta fuit apud antiquos veneratio, ut tam capitale esset bovem necasse quam civem.

Frazer Great Bough: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 6. n. 1 (ep. his Pausanias ii. 304) suggests that ‘Varr’s statement may be merely an inference drawn from the ritual of the boughs and the legend told to explain it.’ So, no doubt, may be the allusion of Aratos, to judge from the schol. ad loc. But the tradition concerning the Pythagorean taboo is of a different order and certainly implies the sanctity of the ploughing ox and the ram. Further evidence of that sanctity may be found in Plin. nat. hist. 8. 180 socium enim laboris agrique culturae habemus hoc animal tantae apud priores curae ut sit inter exempla damnatus a populo Romano die dicta, qui concubinum profaci rure omasmum edisse se negante occidatier bovem, actusque in exsiliim tamquam colono suo interempto, if not also in Porph. de abst. 2. 11 parv. γούνω Λιθυντίω καὶ Φοίνιξ θάντον ὅ τι αὖ τον ἄνθρωπον κρέας γενόστη ἡ θηλεία βοῦς, αὐτόν δὲ δὴ χρήσιμον τὸ γίγνοντα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπισκέπτικον παρ' αὐτοῖς. διὸ ταῦτα μέν καὶ ἐγείρασαν καὶ ἀπήραυντο, τῶν δὲ θηλείων φειδόμενοι τὴν γορνήν ἐπέκει, ἔμποτε τὸ ἑσσαρι ἐνομοθέτησαν. W. W. Hyde in the Am. Journ. Phil. 1917 xxviii. 163 n. 2 remarks: ‘The old idea has survived in some parts of Greece into modern times; see G. Marini, Travels through Cyprus, Syria and Palestine (1791—2) 1, 35.’ [M. l'Abbe Mariti Voyages dans l'isle de Chypre, la Syrie et la Palestine, avec l'histoire generale du Levant traduits de l'italien Neuwied 1791 i. 39 ‘Les bouclets sont petits & maigres. Les Grecs n'en mangent jamais; ils ont pour maxime, que l'animal qui
a whole is unsatisfactory. The circumstances of the original ox-
slaying do not tally with those of the ritual that they ought to
explain. Sopatros slew his ox in a fit of passion, on his own
responsibility, and apparently without witnesses. The occasion, too,
is described in the vaguest of terms, no mention being made of
Zeus Polieus from start to finish. Besides, the burial of the ox in
the story has no counterpart in the ritual. Again, why did Sopatros,
who ex hypothesi was an alien, flee into voluntary exile, thereby
behaving as though he had slain a member of his own tribe or
city? Finally, is it likely that a sacrilegious metic would be trusted
to arrange the ritual of Zeus Polieus, the very god whose service he
had himself profaned? No doubt strangers as such could claim
divine protection, and perhaps special virtues were ascribed to
foreigners fetched from Crete. Also, the principle that the doer of
a deed is best able to undo the same will assuredly explain much.
Still, these considerations can hardly be stretched to cover the
present case; for Athenian law expressly ordained that the alien,
even if he were made into a citizen by a formal vote of the people,
should not hold any office as priest, though the embargo was
removed from his children. These objections are serious and suffice
to justify the opinion expressed by J. Toepffer, P. Stengel, and
L. Deubner, vis. that the tale of Sopatros as told by Theophrastus
was a moralising version, which aimed at showing that in the good
laboure la terre, que le serviteur de l'homme & le compagnon de ses nobles travaux, ne
doit point servir à sa nourriture.

As to Nikol. Damasc. frag. 128 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 461 Müller) ap. Stob. flor. 44. 41
(ed. Gaisford ii. 196 f.) ἔτων δὲ τι παρ' αὐτῷ (sc. the Phrygians) γεωργικὸν βωλ' ἁπόκτεινη
ἡ σκείον τῶν περὶ γεωργίαν κλήσει, ἡμεῖς οὖν ἢμοιός ἐσθιετος. de nat. an. 12. 34 ἑφώριες δὲ ἔτων
παρ' αὐτῷ τις ἄρα ἁπόκτεινη βῶλ' ἡ ἑκάστα ἅθανας αὐτῷ, P. Stengel Opferbräuche der
Griechen Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 111 n. 1 says 'Aber das ist doch wohl zu verstehen:
einem andern den Ochsen töten.'

1 See H. E. Seebohm On the Structure of Greek Tribal Society London 1895 p. 41 ff.
('The Liability for Bloodshed').
2 Supra ii. 1191.
3 One thinks of Thales invited to Sparta, of Epimenides invited to Athens, and of
Phemonoe's advice to the Delphians (Paus. 10. 6. 7): see K. Hoeck Kreta Göttingen 1829
iii. 164, 257.
4 H. Hubert in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1508, K. F. Smith in J. Hastings
Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1915 viii. 274, W. Heiligendorff in the
Handwörterbuch der deutschen Mährisch. Berlin—Leipzig 1930—1933 i. 565, etc. The
principle is of world-wide application, but has not, so far as I know, been made the
theme of a separate article or monograph.
5 Dem. c. Eubuli 48 (= I. B. Tély ἡμείς γυναῖκας των Ἀττικῶν νόμων Pestini et Lipsiae
7 P. Stengel in Hermes 1893 xxviii. 491 ff., id. Opferbräuche der Griechen Leipzig—
Berlin 1910 p. 208 f.
old days men and gods alike were content with vegetables and abstained from animal food. Further, I think we may infer that the philosopher, or his unknown authority, anxious to explain a bizarre custom of immemorial age, and aware perhaps that axe and bull played an important part in ancient Cretan Zeus-cults, hazarded the conjecture that the Bouphonia had been introduced into Athens from Crete.

(y) Myths of the Dipolieia : Diomos.

A second aetiological tale is given by Porphyrios in the following form. The first man to slay an ox was Diomos, a priest of Zeus Polieus. The Diipolia was being held, and the fruits of the earth had been prepared in accordance with ancient custom, when the said ox drew near and tasted the sacred barley-meal. Diomos then took all that were present as partners in his deed, and killed the ox.

This recital is one of four, which profess to explain how the pig, the sheep, the goat, and the ox came to be sacrificed. Klymene struck a pig unintentionally and killed it: her husband, wishing to avoid the consequences of this unlawful act, consulted the oracle at Pytho and obtained the sanction of the god. Episkopos, a descendant of the Theopropoi, was minded to offer up the

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1 Supra i. 648 ff., ii. 516 ff., 528 f., 538 f.
2 H. von Prout in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 lvi. 193 ff. urged that the Sopatros-tale of Porph. de absct. 2. 29 f. should be connected with some Ionian cult, probably that of the εὐτεθέων βωμῶν in Delos, which had been actually mentioned ib. 2. 28 θεωρήσαι δὲ εστὶν ἐκ του ἀριθμού τῶν περί Δήλου ἐτὸν νῦν σφραγισμένου βωμοῦ, πρὸς δὲ ὀφεπλήγων προσαγωγένων παρὰ αὐτῶν ὀδὴ θυσίαν ἐκ αὐτῶν ζητεῖ εὐτεθέων κέκληται βωμὸς. von Prout (p. 200 n. 2) recalled the fact that the Delians had a festival Σωπάρως (T. Homolle in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1882 vii 144 = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 588, 54 φιλάς || || | dé εφοσον παράδοξα ὑπὸ ταμών Τελπόμενον καὶ Νυκάρχιον <ο> Ἐκβολείας, Φιλεταρείων, Σωπαρείων, Παταικείων, δνει) ΗΗΗΗΗ. This combination is, however, more ingenious than probable, involving as it does the assumption that the worthy Porphyros was either a fool or a knave (supra p. 578 n. 2). J. Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii A. 1000 thinks rather that the Attic Sopatros gave rise to the Delian, or else that the two were accidental homonyms.
3 Porph. de absct. 2. 10 (cited supra p. 577 n. 1).
5 Porph. de absct. 2. 9 f.
6 Κλυμήνη was perhaps an appellative of Persephone (so H. Dibbelt Quaestiones Coepti mythologiae Gryphiswaldiae 1891 pp. 36—42 (De Clymene et Clymeno)) and W. H. Roscher in his Lex. Myth. ii. 1227. For Κλυμήνης = Hades see supra ii. 1113 n. 9 (2)), whose connexion with the pig is well-established (Frazer Golden Bough 3: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 16 ff. Supra i. 784, ii. 1140 n. 5).

C. III.
Myths of the Dipoleia: Diomos

firstlings of his flock, and was permitted to do so with all due caution by the oracle, which said:

It is not right, son of the Theopropoi,
For thee to slay the sheep, a faithful breed;
But that which bows the head of its own accord
Towards the lustral water sacrifice,
Episkopos,—’twill be a righteous deed.1

A goat was killed first in the Attic deme Ikaria, because it cropped a vine.2 The story of Diomos must have been added to this series by some quasi-philosophical writer; for it exhibits the same moralising tendency that we have noticed in the story of Sopatros.

Again, J. Toepffer3 has drawn attention to the fact that the tale of Diomos and the ox bears a suspicious resemblance to another aition, in which Diomos figures with better right. He was the favourite of Herakles and eponym of the Attic deme Diomia, where a famous festival of the like name was held in Herakles’ honour.4 According to the lexicographers, Diomos was once sacrificing on a hearth to Herakles, when a white dog came and caught up the thigh-pieces and carried them off to a certain place. Diomos in alarm consulted an oracle. The god bade him build an altar to Herakles on the spot where the dog had deposited the flesh. This was done, and the place called Kynosarges, the place ‘of the White Dog,’ in memory of the event.5 Toepffer concludes that the name Diomos has made its way into the Bouphonia-tale from that of the Kynosarges.

This conclusion, though challenged by subsequent investigators,6

1 Porph. de abst. 2. 9 οδ σε θείας κτείνειν οίον γένος ἐστι βέβαιον, | ἄγαν Θεοπρόπων.
2 ο δ’ έκοισιν ἐν κατανεμισί | ἄρρηπτον το θεῖον το κυνός, Υπάλλεξα, φομῖ δικαίων. Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 6. 263 accepts G. Wolff’s cj. ἄρρηπτον, ήθει, θείον το θεοῦ in preference to A. Nauck’s ἄρρηπτεν θείον το σ’.
3 Supra i. 689 n. 1, cp. i. 678, 709 (pl. xl, 2). Porph. de abst. 2. 10 ἐν Ἡκάρω τῆς Ἀθηνής. Nauck adopts Meursius’ cj. Ἡκάρω, but the correction should be itself corrected into Ἡκάρω.
4 J. Toepffer Attische Genealogie Berlin 1889 p. 155 f.
5 P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 831.
6 Phot. lex. and Soud. s.v. Κυνόσαργες. That the sacrifice was to Herakles, is stated by Steph. Byz. and Hesych. s.v. Κυνόσαργες. Phot. loc. cit. says Διόμος ὁ Αθηναῖος θείον τῇ Ἐστίᾳ, but cp. Soud. loc. cit. Δίομος (which Meursius corrected to Διόμος) ὁ Αθηναῖος θείον τῇ Ἐστίᾳ (cod. V. omits ἔν).
8 Maass loc. cit. p. 828 f. supposes that Diomos was priest of Zeus Πολυέστρεν before
seems to me to be essentially sound. Indeed, I am disposed to go a step further in the same direction. Bearing in mind that the Boupnonia-tale shows traces, on the one hand of vegetarian doctrine, on the other of Kynosarges tradition, I would infer that it emanated originally from Antisthenes or some other teacher of the Cynic school. The inference becomes stronger still, when we look into the parallel case of sheep-sacrifice connected with the Theopropoi. For Menedemos of Eretria, a member of that noble clan, was scorned by his fellow-citizens as a Cynic and, like the Cynics, was a free-thinker in matters of religion.

Thaulon, and that the Diomeles gave up the cult of Zeus to the Thaulonidai at a comparatively late date, when they themselves took over the cult of Herakles. But this hypothesis involves more than one improbable assumption, notably that the cult of Herakles at Diomeia was of recent importation, and that a long-standing and popular cult such as that of Zeus Παιείων could be transferred from clan to clan. See further L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 162.

H. von Prutt in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 lii. 191 ff. (followed by G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 832) denies the resemblance between the two aetiological tales told of Diomos. In his view Diomos is the rightful priest of Zeus Παιείως and the original hero of the Boupnonia-story, which marks the change from a bloodless to a bloody sacrifice at the Diomeia. The name Διομος, a derivative of Ζεύς, Δίος, suits the connexion between the priest and his god. The derivation here proposed was already recognised by Byzantine scholars: Cramer aedid. Oxyt. i. 83, 1 ff. ('Ομρησον ἐπιμερασμοι, on which see L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 180) ἀνήρ ἀνέρος ἄνδρος, ἄνδρομος, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρο παραγωγῇ κτιτηκῇ ἄνδρομος, ὦ παρὰ τόν Διόν γενεκὴν Διόμον (τίς) ὁ ἄνδρος ὁ πατὴρ Ἡρακλεόν, ἀφ' ὧν Διομεία ἐγέρθη. κ.τ.λ., et. mag. p. 101, 44 ff. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνδρον ἄνδρομος, ὦ Δίος Διόμος, κύρως ὁ πατὴρ Ἡρακλεόν, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ παραγωγῇ κτητικὴ ἄνδρομος, ib. p. 277, 24 ff. Διομεία: βομπά κύριον ἄνδρος Ἀθηναίων ἀφ' ὧν Διομεία ἐγέρθη. παρὰ τὸν Διὸν γενεκήν Διόμου, ὦ ἄνδρος ἄνδρομος (A. Meineke Analecta Alexandrina Berolini 1843 p. 177 f. cf. παίδηκες, in the sense of παιδεύσει, for παῖδης). Further Usener sp. cit. p. 213 n. 110 remarks that there was a cult of Zeus Διομείου (Eustath. in Il. p. 444, 21 ἐκ τοῦ Διομείου Ζεὺς Διομείου τά Δίσμαα).

Diomeia the dame lay, not to the east (A. Milchhöfer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 830 f.), but to the south of Athens (W. Judeich Topographie von Athen Münch. 1931 p. 159 f. with fig. 14 map).

1 When, however, Toepffer proposes to substitute θαλάους for Διομος in the text of Porph. de abst. 2. 10 (supra p. 577 n. 1), I can no longer follow him: see E. Maass loc. cit. p. 528.

2 Antisthenes not only taught in the gymnasium of Kynosarges (Diog. Laert. 6. 13) and took Herakles for his 'patron-saint' (E. Zeller Socrates and the Socratic Schools trans. O. J. Reichel London 1885 p. 307), but also—like other Cynics—lived ordinarily on a simple vegetarian diet (id. id. p. 318 n. 3) and treated the popular religion with considerable freedom (id. id. p. 328 f.). Such an one may well have been the author of our tale.

3 Supra p. 593 f.


5 Diog. Laert. 2. 140 τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα κατεφανεῖται, κύριοι καὶ λήμοι ὑπὸ τῶν 'Ερετρῶν ἄκουσον κ.τ.λ.

6 E. Zeller sp. cit. p. 284.
Myths of the Dipolieia: Thaulon.

We come now to the third version of the Bouphonia-legend, that associated with the name of Thaulon. Our earliest source is Androtion, the author of a fourth-century Atthis or 'History of Attike' much quoted in antiquity. He states that once on the occasion of the Diipoleia an ox ate the cake prepared for sacrifice and that thereupon a certain Thaulon, just as he was, killed the beast with his axe. Souidas, drawing from the same source, says that Thaulon killed it with his own axe.

Sundry other details we owe to Agallis, a learned lady of Korkyra, who is known to have expounded Homer in the third century B.C. A proposito of the shield made by Hephaisostos for Achilles she argued that Hephaisostos, being the father of Erichthonios, represented on the said shield a whole series of scenes drawn from the early history of Attike. Following out this whimsical notion, she maintained that the two cities portrayed on the shield were Athens and Eleusis. The ploughing and harvesting took place in the neighbourhood of Eleusis; and the king, who sceptre in hand watched the reapers and binders at their work, was Triptolemos. We are bidden to note that some copies of the text insert an extra line describing the crops of Eleusinian Demeter, Giver of bright gifts.

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1 He is probably to be identified with the Athenian orator of the same name (E. Schwatrz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 3173 ff.).
2 Androt. frag. 13 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 372 Müller) ap. schol. Aristoph. nub. 985 [τὰ δὲ Βούφανία παλαιάς ἠρητή ἦν φαινὶ άνεταὶ μιᾶ τὰ μικρὰ, ὅτε καὶ βοῶν θύαναι εἰς ἕκτον ἐκ τοῦ πρῶτον φαινεθήντος βοῦν ἐν ἀρχαῖς, ἀφαινέας τοῦ πελάδου ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ τῶν Διπολείων.] ἀρητή ἔτι παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτελουμένη τῇ Αθήνῃ. cod. V. (Ἀλκι.) ἀρητή Ἀθηναίων πάνω ἄρχαια. ἐν γὰρ τῶν Διπολείων φαινὶ (φησὶ καὶ κ. r.) βοῦν τὸ πόλαν καταφαγεῖν τὸ παρακεκουσάμου εἰς τὴν θυσίαν, καὶ τοῦτον χάριν βοῶν θύαναι εἰς τῶν Διπολείων, διὰ τῶν βων τῶν φαγώντα τὸ πόλαν καὶ τεθύτα. [Θεόλογον δὲ τις, ἢ ἐπεῖ, τῷ πελάδει ἀποκρεῖσθαι τὸ βοῦν, καθὰ καὶ Ἀθηναίων μεμνημην διὰ τῆς τετάρτης.] = Souid. i. v. Βούφανία δίς, Βούφανία, and Θεόλογος, Favorin. loc. c. p. 384, 20 ff.
3 Souid. i. v. Θεόλογος, Θεόλογως, ἢ τῷ ὑδρι πελάδει ἀπεκτείνει τὸ βοῦν τῶν φαγώντα τὸ πόλαν, διὰ τὴν περιτιμονέας εἰς τὴν θυσίαν εἰς τῶν Διπολείων. On the wording see P. Stengel Oeiferbränche der Grieche Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 208 n. 2.
4 'Ἀγάλλης ἰ. Κερεφαία (Athen. 14 v, schol. T. 118, 483). Posteriorly dealt hardly with the name of this poor lady, transforming her into a man, a fool, a pimpmell: 'Ἀγάλλης ἰ. Κερεφαίαι schol. A. 118, 491, Ἀγάλλης τις, Κερεφαίαι ἀνήρ Eustath. in 118. p. 1126, 39 f., Ἀλλίς ἢ Κερεφαίαι schol. V. 118, 483, 'Ἀγάλλης ἢ Κερεφαία Souid. i. v. 'Ἀγάλλης, δρέχεται παντόμμος, φαῦνα (ii. 996, 18 n. Bernhardy). Attention was drawn to schol. 118. 483 by J. Töpfer Attische Genealogie Berlin 1889 p. 155.
5 G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 718. Supra i. 224.
6 Il. 18. 551* (Ludwich) κατὸν Ἑλευσίμην Δημήτριος ἄγιονδόρων. G. M. Boilling The External Evidence for Interpretation in Homer Oxford 1925 p. 182 was perhaps
Myths of the Dipolieia: Thaulon 597

And lastly, when the poet goes on to tell how

Heralds apart beneath an oak made ready
A feast and sacrificed a mighty ox¹,

Agallis has once more a local interpretation: 'Here first, they say, Thaulon sacrificed an ox after his exile².' Agallis, then, was aware that Thaulon had been in exile—a point in which his tale recalls that of Sopatros³. Further, the whole context shows that she connected Thaulon with Eleusis and the harvest of the Eleusinian plain. And, since her allusion to him comes in by way of comment on the action of the Homeric kénykes or 'heralds,' it is highly probable that she regarded him as a member of the great Eleusinian clan Kénykes.

Indeed, thanks to Agallis, it seems possible to define Thaulon's relation to the Kénykes even more closely. We have already seen that three families belonging to this clan—the Boutýpoi, the Kentriádai, and the Daitrot—performed the rites of the Athenian Dipolieia. If Thaulon, as Agallis states, was the first man to sacrifice an ox, he must have been, as A. Mommsen⁴ surmised, the ancestor of the Boutýpoi. In short, the Boutýpoi are to be identified with the Thaulonidai, a noble clan resident at Athens⁵. This identification, in which L. Deubner⁶ concurs, is supported by a curious and apparently mutilated gloss of Hesychios⁷: 'Boutýpon, a base at Athens <on which stood the Boutýpos> appointed by the clan Thaulonidai.'

over-hasty in saying 'The only interest of the interpolation is its obvious Attic origin. Its purpose is to supply for [of line 551] an object.'

¹ II. 18. 558 f. kénykes δ' ἀκάπηθεν ὅτα ὁ ὄψε διὰ τινὸς θόντος, | βοῦν δ' ἔρεθαι τοὺς μέγαν

² Eustath. in II. p. 1156, 59 διότι πρῶτον ἐκεί, φασί, ἔθνος βοῦν Ὄλλων (νί) φυγαδεύεται, scholl. T. V. II. 18. 483 ἐκεῖος γὰρ πρῶτος ἔθνος βοῦν τῶν Ὅλλων φυγαδεύεις. Wilamowitz would emend the reading of scholl. T. into φυγαδεύεις <δ' αὐτό>. But that insertion lessens the resemblance of Thaulon to Sopatros.

³ Supra p. 591 f.

⁴ Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 521 f.

⁵ Hesych. Θαυλωνίδαι. γένος τοιαύτου 'Αθηναίοι.

⁶ L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 161 'Jedenfalls sind die Thauloniden als kultische Βουτύπων gesichert: aus ihnen erwuchs mit Notwendigkeit der Eponimos Thaulon als der Βουτύπως der attologischen Legende.'

⁷ Hesych. Βοούτων νῦθημεν 'Αθηναίοις ικαλείτο, ἐκ τῶν Θαυλωνίδων γένους καθατάμαντος (cod.), for which J. Toepffer Attische Genealogie Berlin 1889 p. 156 proposed Βοούτων νῦθημεν 'Αθηναίοις ικαλείτο, «οὐ θύει ὁ λεγότας δ' ἐκ τῶν Θαυλωνίδων γένους καθατάμαντος. H. von Prott in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 lit. 198 improved upon this by reading <οὐ τῶν βουων ηττων ἐκ Βουτύπων δ> But he wrongly supposed that νῦθημεν was a pit into which the body of the stricken ox was flung. Adopting von Prott's insertion, I should rather take νῦθημεν to have been a base like that in use at Stratonikeia (supra p. 568 fig. 385). L. Deubner op. cit. p. 161 prefers the suggestion of M. Schmidt that the words 'Αθηναίοις —καθατάμαντος are properly the end of the next gloss, which should read Βουτύπως ο βοῦν
It would seem, then, that the Dipolieia was properly a clan-festival belonging to and jealously guarded by the Kerykes of Eleusis. Tradition told of a war between Eumolpos king of Eleusis and Erechtheus king of Athens, in which the former had been defeated by the latter: peace was made on condition that the Eleusinians should perform the mysteries by themselves, but should in all other respects be subject to the Athenians. In historical times Eleusis, though treated as one of the Attic demes, continued to be called a polis. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the cult of Zeus Polieus was brought by the Kerykes from Eleusis to Athens. Nor shall we be disconcerted if on the Athenian Akropolis itself we find traces of an analogous but yet different cult—a cult essentially connected with the foremost clan of Athens, not Eleusis.

(ε) Purpose of the Dipolieia.

Before taking leave of the Dipolieia we have yet to ask what meaning the festival had for its original celebrants. It would be tedious and, I think, needless here to discuss the whole welter of opinions held by critics ancient and modern with regard to this much-debated business. But, for convenience’ sake, I add in a footnote a conjectus of recent views concerning its most im-

καταβάλλω <‘Αθηναίων ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐκ τοῦ Θεουλονδῶν γένους καταστάμαντοι>. So far well and good. But when Deubner goes on to contend that the remainder of the first gloss βουθώνων ποθῷν is complete in itself, ποθῷν being the root-end of a tree used as a cudgel to fell the ox, I am filled with mild surprise. Has he forgotten the πέλακες, a far more effective implement?

1 Hdt. i. 30, Thonk. 2. 15, Paus. i. 38. 3. See further C. Picard ‘Les luttes primitives d’Athènes et d’Eleusis’ in the Revue historique 1931 clxvi. 1—76.

2 Strab. 396.

3 Hesych. Κυνθάδας τῶν περὶ τὰ μυστήρια and the schol. Aristoph. nub. 985 τὰ δὲ Βουφόντα παλαιά ὄρθιον ἢ παν χαλέπιοι μετὰ τὰ μυστήρια (infra p. 566 n. 2) both possibly point towards Eleusis, though the latter involves a direct misstatement since the Bouphonia took place in Skirophorion, the Eleusinian Mysteries three months later in Boedromion (infra i. 691 fig. 511). But see infra p. 662 n. 9.

One wonders whether any buiphonic traits still linger in the folk-beliefs of the district. When E. D. Clarke in 1801 played Verres and attempted to carry off the marble κυνθάδος known as St Demetra, an ox butted the statue and ran bellowing into the Eleusinian plain, nor would the villagers be appeased till the priest of Eleusis in full canonicals struck the first blow with a pickaxe (infra i. 173 n. 1). Coincidence, or survival?


6 (1) W. Robertson Smith Lectures on the Religion of the Semites London 1927 p. 504 ff. treated the Bouphonia as a typical case of totemic ritual. In the totem stage of society each kinship or stock of savages believes itself to be physically akin to some
natural kind of animate or inanimate things, most generally to some kind of animal. Every animal of this kind is looked upon as a brother, is treated with the same respect as a human clansman, and is believed to aid his human relations by a variety of friendly services (ib. p. 124). 'precisely this kind of respect and reverence is paid to domestic animals among many pastoral peoples in various parts of the globe. They are regarded on the one hand as the friends and kinsmen of men, and on the other hand as sacred beings of a nature akin to the gods; their slaughter is permitted only under exceptional circumstances, and in such cases is never used to provide a private meal, but necessarily forms the occasion of a public feast, if not of a public sacrifice (ib. p. 296). Robertson Smith was followed by Farnell Cults of Grk. States i. 88 ff., S. Keimach in the Revue scientifique 13 octobre 1900 (= id. Cultes, mythes, et religions Paris 1905 i. 18 ff.), and Harrison Themis vi. p. 141 ff. But it is not yet certain that the Aryans ever had totemism (Frazier Golden Bough:) Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 4, cp. id. Totemism and Exogamy iv. 12 ff.), and Robertson Smith's theory of sacrifice has been severely handled (W. Schmidt The Origin and Growth of Religion trans. H. J. Rose London 1931 p. 108 ff.).

(2) H. von Prott 'Buphonia' in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 iii. 187 ff. held that the ox slain at the Buphonia was an animal surrogate for a man. 'Ich sehe nur eine Möglichkeit: der Stier ist an die Stelle eines Menschen getreten.... In der heissen, den Unterdirenden geweiherten Jahreszeit nach der Ernte ist in alter Zeit dem Stadt schirmers Athens ein Mensch erschlagen (1) Wahrscheinlich vom Zeu s priester, wie die Dionsoslegende ja auch keinem Βορροδος konnt) und in eine Grabe gewor fen worden. Der Priester muss mit Blutschild beladen fliehen, die That wird im Prytaneion untersucht.... Als fàr das Menschenopfer wie in so vielen Fàllen das Thieropfer eintritt, dart der alte Sitz in Athen fort, der Stier wird als Mensch behandelt (ib. p. 202). B. Laun Das Europäer der Spartaner Braunsberg 1924 p. 47 goes further in the same direction, maintaining that originally a mystic garbed as a θαύρος was killed and eaten. Such views receive some support from the Tenedian cult of Dionysos Α'νθρωποποιότης (supra i. 659 f.), the Chian and Tenedian cult of Dionysos Θαύρος (supra i. 566), the Ephesian cult of Poseidon served by human θαύρος (supra i. 443), etc. and hardly merit the curt dismissal of L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 171 'Prott's Deutung...schwebt ganz in der Luft und ist fast allgemein abgelehnt worden.'

(3) W. Mannhardt Mythologische Forschungen Strasburg 1884 p. 68 ff., arguing that the date of the festival (Skironphorion 14: supra p. 576) corresponded with the close of threshing in Attika, took the ox killed at the Buphonia to be the Vegetationsdaimon in animal form. His interpretation has been widely accepted, e.g. by Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 27 ('Wenn nun das Stieropfer an Zeus Sosipolis [supra i. 717 n. 2] mit Recht durch das kioische Opfer an Zeus Polies [supra p. 564 ff.] mit dem Stieropfer der Buphoni en in Verbindung gebracht worden ist, kann man sich doch zuletzt gegenüber den widerstreitenden Meinungen über dieses Fest entscheiden; denn wenn der Stier des Zeus Sosipolis ein Korgneist ist, muss der des Zeus Polies es auch sein') and Frazier Golden Bough: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 6 ff. ('The ox sacrificed at the buphonia appears to have embodied the corn-spirit.' 'The mode of selecting the victim suggests that the ox which tasted the corn was viewed as the corn-deity taking possession of his own'...'The time of the Athenian sacrifice, which fell about the close of the threshing, suggests that the wheat and barley ladied upon the altar were a harvest offering; and the sacramental character of the subsequent repast—all partaking of the flesh of the divine animal—would make it parallel to the harvest-suppers of modern Europe, in which the flesh of the animal who stands for the corn-spirit is eaten by the harvesters. Again, the tradition that the sacrifice was instituted in order to put an end to drought and famine is in favour of taking it as a harvest festival. The resurrection of the corn-spirit, enacted by setting up the stuffed ox and yoking it to the plough, may be compared with the resurrection of the tree-spirit in the person of his representative, the Wild Man (1) See The Dying God, p. 208). Still more clearly, perhaps, does the identification of the corn-spirit with an ox come out in the sacrificial ritual which the Greeks of Magnesia on the Maeander observed in honour of Zeus Sosipolis, a god whose title marks him as the equivalent of Zeus
600 Purpose of the Dipolia


(4) P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 213 f. held that the change from an old-established bloodless cult of Zeus Polies to the ritual of animal-sacrifice was an innovation demanding at least a make-believe punishment. He laid weight on Hesych. Δίος θάνατο καὶ πεσοί· τυγχ γράφουσι ψύφοι. φαζι δε· εν τυ των Ἀθηναίων διαψφασει· οτι ημεριοτητι Αθηνα και Πολειδόων, της Ἀθηνας Δίως δεσφούσει υπ' αυτοις της ψυφον ἔναγκεται και υπαγειθαι αντι τούτων τω τω Πολειδων λεγεις πρώτων θηραιναι τοι εκείνων (= Favorin. lex. p. 215, 26 ff.), cp. Soud. ix. 26. Δίως ψύφοι· οὔτος κατελείνειν, εν ψ' Αθηναι και Πολειδων εκραυγάσειν. Κρατίον τις ἀρχαλός· ηθέν Δίως μεγάλου θάνου σεσοί τε καλούσται. ἀν ἄρα τότε, εν ψ' εκραυγάσειν, Δίως ψύφοι κατελείνειε. τάπτεται δε η παρομοία εκ των λεγέων και διόξων (ὑπερα i. 147). Id. *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer* München 1920 p. 249 adheres to his opinion ('Der Sinn der eigentümlichen, schon im 5. Jahrhundert als sonderbar empfundenen Zeremonien, ist wohl, dass es einer besonderen Entschuldigung, einer fortgesetzten wenigstens scheinbaren Bestrafung dafür bedürfe, dass man einen Kult, der nach alter Überlieferung unblutige Opfer verlangte, in einen blutigen umgewandelt hatte').

(5) K. F. Hermann *Lahrbuch der gottdienstlichen Alterthümer der Griechen* Heidelberg 1858 p. 420 f. falls back on the Varronian idea (ὑπερα p. 291 n. 1) that the ox was sacrosanct as *socii homines and thinks that the Bouphonia 'die Helligkeit des Ackerstieres als des wesentlichsten Gehilfen zum Landbaue symbolisch zu veranschaulichen bestimmt waren.' Similarly G. F. Schoemann *Griechische Alterthümer* Berlin 1902 ii. 250: 'Das Schlachten des Pfütgers, des Gehilfen des Menschen bei der Bearbeitung des Feldes, war von Alters vorbedingt, und dass man auch nachher dazu nicht ohne Gewissensscrupel gesritten, sprechen einige alterthümliche hier und da übliche Opfergebräuche aus.' Etc. But the most persuasive exponent of this somewhat sentimental view is U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Euripides Herakles* Berlin 1889 i. 62: 'der mensch, der sich zu der hohen culturstufe des ackermans erhoben hat, empfindet eine innere scheu, den stier, seinen arbeitsgenossen, zu schlachten und zu essen, den er doch als jager und hirte ohne anstand getö tet hatte, und er kann und will doch den genuss des rindfleisches nicht entbehren, wir mögen nur daran denken, dass wir unsere näherstehenden gefährten, roh und hund, auch nicht essen mögen, und auch ein rind, das uns als individuum wert geworden ist, schwerlich für unserm stich schlachten lassen möchten. aus diesem widerstreit der empfindungen entsteht der ritus der Buphlonen, die symbolische ceremonie, entsteht die geschichte vom ersten rinderschlachtler Thalan, auf den die befeckung des mordes abgewälzt wird.' Cp. id. *Der Glaube der Heiligen* Berlin 1931 i. 296. The same explanation contents Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 12 ff. and even L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1922 p. 172.

(6) F. Schwenn *Gebet und Opfer* Heidelberg 1927 p. 99 ff. takes his stand on the firmer ground of anthropology. Primitive man commonly dreads a great strong beast that he has killed, because he thinks it may still harm him after death. Accordingly he makes elaborate attempts to appease it and in some cases even flees into hiding and is mourned as if he were himself dead (J. Spieth *Die Religions der Eweer in Süd-Togo* Leipzig 1911 p. 139 ff. [Frazier *Golden Bough* 2: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 228 ff., 244]). 'Wenn die Eweerpriester den Schuldigen scheinbar suchen, um an ihm für das Tier, für "unseren Vater," die Strafe zu vollziehen, so verurteilen die Athenae das Beil, das den Stier getö tet hat, und werfen es ins Meer; der Täter selbst aber muss in Afrika wie in Athen
Purpose of the Dipolieia

pressive feature, the bizarre ritual of the Bosphonia. I shall
approach the problem from a somewhat different angle, endeavour-
ing to keep in mind the probabilities and improbabilities of the
various contentions.

The statues of Zeus Polieus, if I am not mistaken, represented
him as a storm-god, at first with uplifted bolt and impetuous
advance, later with lowered weapon and in milder mood. Close by
was the remarkable group of Ge beseeching Zeus to rain upon
her, ‘either,’ says Pausanias, ‘because the Athenians themselves
needed rain, or because there was a drought all over Greece.’

1. Schwenn op. cit. p. 109. The parallel is certainly striking, and Schwenn goes on to explain that
the setting up of its stuffed hide was an admirable means of propitiating the dead beast
(op. cit. p. 109). He supposes that the tasting of the corn originally aimed at
strengthening of the creature’s magic powers (p. 110 ff.), that the communal feast enabled
the participants to absorb those powers into themselves (p. 109), and that the whole
procedure was later attached, appropriately enough, to the cult of the sky-god Zeus
Poseid (p. 111). Schwenn, in fact, has put together a hypothesis which explains much.
1. At this time we should do well to note the judicious comment of Deubner op. cit.
p. 171: ‘Er musste freilich zugeben, dass diese historische Stufe im Ritus des Zeusfestes,
das mit dem Ackerbau zu tun hat, nicht mehr sichtbar sei, und nahm daher an, das der
Bophionienose ursprünglich ein Jagdtier gewesen sein müssse [Schwenn p. 109]. Auf
diesen schwachen Punkt der Beweisführung hat denn auch Nilsson mit Recht hingewiesen
und die Erklärung Schwenns abgelehnt* (6 Deutsche Lit.-Zeit. 1928, 1748 ff.).’ I doubt
whether this ‘weak point’ is really fatal to Schwenn’s hypothesis. The same difficulty
besets the earliest phase of the ‘Minoan’ bull-fights, which may likewise have originated
in the hunting stag of the community (supra ii. 497).

1. Supra p. 570 ff.

2. Paus. i. 24. 3 f. (supra ii. 21 n. 4). Not much is known concerning this group.

C. Lenormant in the Ann. d. Inst. 1832 iv. 60–68, Mon. d. Inst. i pl. 44, a, b, attempted to
connect it with the statue of a kneeling woman in Earian marble brought by Blouet
from Mykonos and now in the Louvre (Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 682 no. 2). H. Heydemann
that there was a half-length statue of Ge emerging from the ground in front of the rock-cut
inscription Γη Καιρονόποι | κατὰ μαθήματι λέγεται (Corp. inscr. Att. iii. i no. 166) ‘Hadriani
fere metwos titumum adscribemus,’ Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 754. Facsimile in Harrison
op. cit. p. 415 fig. 31. Supra ii. 21 n. 4, iii. 243). K. Förster in the Arch. Zeit. 1874
xxxii. 165 cp. the type of Gaia recumbent with hand uplifted in supplication on sarcophagi
representing the rape of Kore (Overbeck Gr. Kultgrown. Demeter—Kora pp. 590, 607 ff.
Atlas pl. 17). E. Kühnert in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1581 says: ‘Mir scheint allein ein Relief,
Gaia vor Zeus der Erde entsteigend, möglich.’ Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gr. Sculpt.
pp. 468–471 reverts to Heydemann’s view of a half-length figure of the goddess rising out
of the rocky ground. He cp. the impression of a seal on a little pyramid
of terra cotta, which came from Athens to Berlin (Antiquarium, T. C. Inv.
6775) and may belong to r. iv or r. in c. It shows (fig. 185 = my fig. 413) the
upper part of an undraped female form bending backwards and looking up
to heaven with raised hands and dishevelled hair: her body rises from a
car covered with cut grass, corn, or the like and drawn by an old-fashioned
wheel. Furtwängler supposes that this singular vehicle was used for
country processions and supplications in time of drought, being a more
advanced analogue of the bronze car at Kranon (supra ii. 831 ff. figs. 788–793).

Fig. 413.
Purpose of the Dipolieia

O. Jahn, C. Robert, and G. F. Schoemann infer from the proximity of this monument that by means of the Dipolieia men sought to propitiate Zeus as the god who sent rain and dew with their attendant fertility.

But more certain indications may be drawn from the date of the festival. It was celebrated during the very hottest days of the year at a season when, according to modern meteorological observations, the dewfall is at its minimum. In this respect it resembled the *Arrhephoria* or 'Dew-bearing,' which appears to have been a ceremony intended to fertilise Mother Earth. The same intention undoubtedly accounts for the Skirophoria, which took place on the twelfth of Skirophorion, two days before the Dipolieia, and on the calendar-frieze of the Panagia Gorgoepekoos (supra figs. 410, 411) is represented by a young man holding a couple of corn-ears. To judge from these data, it would seem that the Dipolieia probably aimed at enabling the Sky-father to impregnate the Earth-mother aright by ensuring an adequate dewfall and rainfall at a critical time of year.

That we are on the right track in adopting this explanation will appear from a further consideration of the *personnel* and ritual of the feast. Those that took an active part in it belonged, as we have seen, to the Kerykes of Eleusis. The Kerykes of Eleusis claimed that Keryx the founder of their clan was a son of Hermes by

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1 O. Jahn in the *Nuov. Mem. d. Inst.* 1865 ii. 7 f.
3 G. F. Schoemann *Griechische Alterthümer* Berlin 1902 ii. 528.
4 *Supra* p. 588.
5 *Supra* p. 744 n. 3.
6 *Supra* p. 165 ff.
7 Was the use of the *Δῶρα νόθων* at the Skirophoria (supra i. 423 n. 1) comparable with the Palestinian use of fleeces spread to catch dew (supra p. 500 n. 1)? The question is easier to ask than to answer.
9 The belief of A. Mommsen *Griechische Hervortrieben* Leipzig 1864 p. 445, id. *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 509 and O. Band *De Dipтолoioi τεκν Aθηναίων* Halae Saxonum 1873 p. 14 that the Arrhephoria too was held shortly before the Dipolieia must not be based on Souda, *s.v. Βούρφεια* ἐν τῇ θυρή παλαιά, ἣν ἑαυτὸν ἄτερτόν μέτα τὰ μωρήρα (=schol. Aristoph. *Aph.* 985). For it is improbable that τὰ μωρήρα alludes to the Arrhephoria. Almost equally improbable is the cj. of J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 153 that we should emend μετὰ τὰ μωρήρα into μετὰ μωρήρα. There is more to be said for the suggestion of H. von Prött in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 187 n. 1 that Soudas' source is confusing the Dipolieia with the Diasia. See, however, supra p. 598 n. 3.
11 *Supra* p. 588.
Aglauros, daughter of Kekrops. Androtion, however, the fourth-century historian who linked the Dipolieia with Thaulon, made Keryx the son of Hermes by Pandrose; and so did the grammarian Polydeukes in the time of Commodus, except that he gave the mother’s name its usual form Pandrosos. Whether Keryx was the son of Aglauros or of Pandrosos makes little difference, for we have already found that Ἀγλαοῦς, ‘the Sparkling One,’ and Πάνδρος, ‘the All-bedewed,’ were but successive names of the Earth-mother fertilised by the dew. Such being their lineage, the Βούτυροι, Κεντρίαι, and Δαίτροι were better qualified than any other Athenians to obtain from heaven ‘the nurturing dews of Kronos’s son.’ Indeed, Thaulon the forefather of the Θαυλοντίδαι or Βούτυροι, bears a name which stands in obvious relation to that of Zeus Θαυλίος, and seems, as we have conjectured, to denote ‘the Dew-man’ and nothing more sinister.

The ritual of these moisture-makers was complex. The beginning and the end of it appear to have been magical rather than religious ceremonies.

Virgins called Ηydrophóroi brought water, ostensibly for the sharpening of axe and knife. But this may have been an after-thought or later interpretation. The only other Hydrophória that took place at Athens had a very different significance. Soudas describes it as ‘A mourning festival, which, according to Apollonios, was celebrated over those that perished in the deluge.’ The funereal aspect of this Hydrophória suggests comparison with the sepulchral loutrophóri, which we traced back to the vogue of a primitive rain-charm. If the Hydrophória too was a rain-charm, associated

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1 Paus. 1. 38. 3. 
2 Supra p. 596.
4 Poll. 8. 103. 
5 Supra pp. 237, 241 ff.
6 Supra p. 265 n. 1.
7 Supra p. 597. 
8 Supra p. 277 ff.
9 Supra p. 283.
10 Supra p. 583.
11 Soud. s.v. Ὄνοφορος: ἡ ὅπως Πενθόμοις Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ καταλύμων ἀπολογήσας, ὁ Απόλλωνος (Apollon. Ascal. in Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 313 Müller) Phot. lex. s.v. Τρόφορος. The gloss is abbreviated in the et. mag. p. 774, 56 f. s.v. Ὄνοφορος (= Favorin. lex. p. 1799, 57 f.), and still more so by Hesych. s.v. Ὄνοφορος (cod.).
12 Similarly Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 172 f. concludes that the Ὄνοφορος of the Aeginetans (schol. Pind. Nem. s. 81), which he justly identifies with the Ἄμφορίτης (et. mag. p. 95, 4 ff.) or Ἄμφορίτης ἀγὼν (Kallim. frag. 80 Schneider ap. schol. Pind. Ol. 7. 156) instituted by the Argonauts (Ap. Rhod. 4. 176 ff., Apollod. 1. 9. 25) and with the Δελφίς (schol. Pind. Pyth. 8. 88), is to be connected with a cult of the dead.
13 Supra p. 372 ff. 
14 Supra p. 427.
in the popular mind with Deukalion’s downpour, we can better understand certain circumstances attending Sulla’s capture of Athens in 86 B.C. He entered the city on the Kalends of March, at a time when, as Plutarch says, the Athenians ‘do many things to recall the disastrous deluge of rain and the destruction that it caused, believing that the flood happened just about that time of year.’ It has been conjectured with much probability that the rites here referred to were those of the Hydrophoria. Shortly after Sulla’s entry, when Aristion on the Akropolis capitulated through thirst, ‘heaven at once gave a portent. On the very day, and at the very hour, when Curio was bringing him down, the clouds gathered in a clear sky and there descended such a quantity of rain that it filled the Akropolis with water.’ Now, if we may argue from the Hydrophoria to the Hydrophoroi, it seems at least likely that the opening rite of the Dipolicia was the fetching of water by way of a rain-charm. The water so fetched was poured over an axe and a knife. A civilised age of course jumped to the conclusion that the water was required simply for the sharpening of the tools. But I shall venture to read a deeper meaning into the ceremony. May we not fairly surmise that the axe—a double axe, as the frieze of the Panagia Gorgoepekoos shows—was the weapon of the stormgod Zeus, was in fact an Attic counterpart of the lábrys? Perhaps, after all, the Sopatros-legend, which spoke of the Boupheon as introduced from Crete, was not so wide of the mark as some have supposed. To wet such an axe with water would be a method of


To the Τυροφόρα may be added the Χώρα of Anthestorion 13, when a pot of mingled seeds was boiled over the fire and offered to Dionysos and to Hermes Xibinos on behalf of the dead (Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen pp. 391 n. 4, 397 ff., Harrison Proleg. Gk. Rel. 3 p. 36 ff., L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 pp. 93 ff., 113 ff., 118, 121. Supra ii. 684, ii. 1139), and also the annual ceremony of unspecified date (Mommsen op. cit. p. 474 n. 3), when wheaten meal kneaded with honey was cast into a cleft in the precinct of Zeus 'Onómatos (Supra p. 170 n. o) near the grave of Deukalion (Supra ii. 1118).

3 Plut. v. Sull. 14. 4 Supra p. 587 figs. 410, 411. 5 Supra ii. 559 ff.

6 Supra p. 590 ff.

obtaining a rain-storm quite in accordance with the recognised rules of magic. 1

An Attic counterpart of the Cretan ἀγρυς would be of course an object of special sanctity—a 'holy axe' as Pindar 2 called it. An example of the sort, found near Athens a few years ago and now in my possession, is decorated with all the resources of Hallstatt art. 3 Accordingly, at the Bouphonia the utmost pains were taken to transfer the guilt of bloodshed from the axe to its accomplice the knife, while all present agreed to ignore the escape of the axe-bearing priest. Even the knife, when condemned, was not, like any ordinary inanimate object that had caused death, flung beyond the frontier 4, but was sunk at sea 5—presumably one more rain-charm to complete the performance.

Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios.

It remains to consider the central act of this yearly drama—the real death and simulated resurrection of an ox among worshippers who partake of his flesh.

The ox is throughout treated as divine. Nothing short of this will fully account for the ritual rule that the bolos must be a voluntary victim as it were consenting to his own death, for the feeling of Himmels.' L. Malten in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1928 xliii. 138 is convinced: 'Dabei ist an einer Reihe von Einzelkulten beobachtet worden, wie in ihnen der Stier ursprünglich noch Eigengestalt war, dann aber der Vater Himmel awuchs. Einen Eckpunkt bilden die attischen Buphonia, die mit ihren Wurzeln in vorgriechische Zeit zurückreichen; in ihnen unterliegt der "Mord" an dem Stierdämon einer besonderen Süßne, wobei das Doppelbein eine Rolle hat.' Another convert is B. Schweitzer in the Gött. gel. Anz. 1918 exx. 17: 'So sind...die Buphonia...eine vorjurdischen Bauernfest.'

L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 remains dissatisfied: 'Beider Beurteilung der Zeremonie des Zeusfestes ist nicht zu übersehen, dass dieses keineswegs in das gräuseste Altertum hinaufreichen kann.... Es sollte doch klar sein, dass Zeus Polies auf der Burg von Athen unbedingt jünger sein muss als Athena und erst später zu dieser hinzugezogen sein kann; und auch dann erhielt er nur einen Altar. Ich glaube nicht, dass man mit seinem Kult über die archaische Zeit hinausgehen kann.' But Deubner ignores the possibility (which I hold to be the truth) that the cult of Zeus Ἡλιαῖος came to Athens in archaic times from Eleusis, where with its peculiar personae ritual it had survived the passage from Mycenaean to post-Mycenaean conditions.

1 See e.g. Frazer Golden Bough: The Magic Art i. 247 ff. ('The Magical Control of Rain').
2 Supra p. 200, infra § 9 (h) ii (9).
3 Published infra Addenda on ii. 635 ff. ('The decoration of the double axe'). Since the decoration of this specimen consists in pointill designs of a four-spoked wheel, a bridled and branded horse, a waterfowl, and a man—symbols all suggestive of a solar interpretation (supra i. 333 ff.)—it is probable that we have here a sacred axe, and remotely possible that it once belonged to a Bouphónia, who wielded it at some forgotten Bouphonia when the sun was at its hottest (supra p. 288).
4 Poll. 8. 120.
5 Supra p. 284.
utter guilt that drove the actual Bouphónes into immediate exile, and for the solemn communion of those who together devoured the sacred flesh and so—at Athens as in Crete—absorbed into their own bodies the very substance and virtues of the divine beast. When we remember that in Mesopotamia, in Asia Minor, and all round the shores of the Levant the sky-god with his bellowing thunder and his fertilising rain has been from time immemorial conceived as a bull, we cannot but conclude that the ox of the Dipolieia was one more example of this universal concept, in a word was the embodiment of Zeus Polieus himself—slain that he might live again in younger and more vigorous form, stuffed with hay and yoked to a plough that he might work as of yore for the benefit of his polis.

A plough on the Akropolis-rock seems déplacée. Yet Plutarch in his Advice to Bride and Groom goes some way towards explaining it:

'The Athenians,' he says, 'observe three sacred ploughings: the first at Skiron, in memory of the most ancient of sowings; the second in Raria; and the third near the base of the Akropolis, the so-called Bouzygias.' Bouzygias, 'Yoker of Oxen,' was an old-time Athenian, the first who ever ploughed with such a pair. In token of his achievement the plough that he used was dedicated on the Akropolis. And he himself may be seen using it on a red-figured bell-krater, said to

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1 Supra i. 650, 662 ff., ii. 345, 354, 530.
2 Supra i. 633 ff.
3 Thus far I find myself in agreement with B. Schweitzer Herakles Tübingen 1922 p. 45 ('Der Stier war das geweihte Tier sowohl des vorderasiatischen Himmelsgottes wie des kretischen Zeus gewesen, sie selbst waren sicherlich einst in der Gestalt des Himmelsstieres gedacht worden, wie der Europamythos zeigt. Es ist vor allem das Steieropfer, das durch die Doppelaxt dargebracht wird. In dieser besonderen Bedeutung kann sie bouvyge heissen... Der steinopfer...spielt eine merkwürdige, auch von P. Stengel noch nicht befriedigend erklärte Rolle in den düsteren drômen...der attischen Buphoniens'). But the further contentsions of B. Laum Heiliges Gold Tübingen 1924 p. 113 ('Aus der sakralen Funktion erklärt sich also die Verehrung des Doppelbelles. Zunächst ist es das Beil, mit dem der Priester das Opfertier niederschlägt; dann wird es Symbol der Stergotheit und ist als solches Kuligegenstand und Weihgabe.' Etc.) seem to me to outrun discretion.
4 Plout. consil. praepet. 42 'Althnaim treit òrastou ieroun ògousai, πράτων ὑπὶ Σαλήφ, τοῦ πάλαιοτάτου τῶν σπόρων ὑπόμηνα, δεύτερος εἰς τῇ Παρίσι, τρίτος ὕπο σόλον (so Froben in the ed. Basel 1542 for πέλος) τῶν καλλόμενων Βουβύγων. τούτων δὲ πάλιν Ἰερώτατον (Madvig ej. Ιερωστάτο) ἄσταν ὁ γαμμάλιος σπόρος καὶ ἀρόστοι ἐπὶ παῖδων τεκνώαι. κ.τ.λ.
5 H. W. Stoll in Recher LXX, Myth. l. 839. J. Toepfer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1095 ff. Supra i. 469 n. 3.
6 Schol. Aischin. de fals. leg. 78 τοῦ Βουβύγου, τοῦ Βουβύγου, τοῦ Βουβύγου, τοῦ κάρα καὶ τοῦτο γένος τιμώμενον παρὰ τῶν 'Αθηναίων, ἐξ οὗ έγένετο ἡ ἱερα τῆς 'Αθήνας. Βουβύγη δὲ ἐκλάθη τεκνίτη ἤμετρα δεῖ (H. Sauppe ej. Επιμετρηθείη, cr. infra p. 610) 'Αθηναίων τῶν πάλαι, δείκτες ἔγειραν βωβὸς ζύγους. οὗτοι καὶ τὸ άγαλμα αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεκαν εἰς τῇ ἀκρόπολις πρὸς μνήμην.
Asante from Yali, now at Bologna:

(6–8) Bourgeois ploughing in the presence of Athena and an elderly male spectator.

See page 66.
have been found in pieces near Vari and now in the collection of Professor D. M. Robinson at Baltimore (pl. xlv)\(^1\). This interesting vase, which has been attributed to ‘The Painter of the Naples Hephaistos Krater\(^2\)’ and may be dated c. 430 B.C., shows Bouzyges successfully driving his yoke of oxen in the presence of two spectators. One of these, wearing *stephéne* and Doric *péplos*, is characterised as Athena by the spear in her right hand and the olive-tree at her side. But she holds in her left hand six\(^3\) ears of corn and turns to encourage the ploughman. So does a bald-headed white-bearded man, who stands in the background, wearing a *himation* and leaning on his staff. He has been called Kekrops\(^4\) or Boutes\(^5\); but neither appellation is probable and we must be content to leave him anonymous. It is of more importance to note that the whole vase-painting was designed for an Eleusinian, not an Athenian, myth. Compare it with the Berlin *skýphos* illustrated *supra* i. 224 fig. 165 and you will realise that Athena and Bouzyges are simply adaptations from Demeter with her corn-ears and Triptolemos with his plough. Or set it beside the Palermo *krater* *supra* i. 218 pl. xviii and you perceive that Athena and the elderly male spectator have been substituted for Demeter and Keleos, or possibly for Persephone and Hippothon. In short, the Baltimore *krater* drops more than one broad hint that behind the Athenian ploughman at the base of the Akropolis lurks a half-obliterated figure, his Eleusinian predecessor on the Rarian Plain. Athena holding corn-ears at a plough-scene is quite unconvincing unless we see that she has stepped into the shoes of Demeter and that the type appropriate to the earlier discovery of the thrice-ploughed

\(^{1}\) D. M. Robinson ‘Bouzyges and the First Plough on a Krater by the Painter of the Naples Hephaistos’ in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 153—160 with figs. 1 (obverse) and 2 (reverse). I am indebted to Professor Robinson for the large-scale photographs, lent to me by Mr C. T. Seltman, from which my pl. xlv was made. Height of vase 0'41m. Height of main scenes 0'175m.

\(^{2}\) J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmalerei des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 pp. 415 f., 478.

\(^{3}\) D. M. Robinson *loc. cit.* p. 155 says: ‘In her left hand she holds the promised harvest consisting of eight (sic) ears of corn, the stems of which, once in white paint, have vanished.’

\(^{4}\) *Id.* *ib.* p. 156. A graffito, of which the first two words are scratched on the reverse, the third on the obverse of the vase, reads $\Delta \gamma \kappa \lambda \varepsilon [\varepsilon] \Lambda \alpha \varepsilon \iota \varepsilon \varsigma \varsigma [\varepsilon]$ $\kappa \varepsilon \kappa \rho \omicron \omicron \pi \omicron \alpha \varepsilon$. Cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. ‘Αλιάλ Αἰξωνίδαι ... ὁ Αἰξωνός (κακ. δημοκ.) θῆς Κεκροπίδος ψυκῆς.

\(^{5}\) D. M. Robinson *loc. cit.* p. 156 n. 1: ‘Professor Elderkin makes the interesting suggestion that the old man is Butes whose name would make him logically present in the scene. He thinks further that the paintings of the Butades in the Erechtheum [Paus. 1. 26. 5] may have inspired the scene.’
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

field had been borrowed to depict the later discovery of the yoked oxen. The transference from Demeter to Athena as ploughman's patroness was perhaps eased by a knowledge of such cults as that of Athena Boarmita in Boiotia and that of Athena Boudeia in Thessaly. The former appellative is said to have meant 'She who fits the Oxen' to yoke and plough; the latter, 'She who binds the Oxen' to plough and yoke.

I pass on to observe that Bouzyges was the eponymous ancestor of a noble Athenian clan, the Bouzygai, who dwelt on the

1 Supra i. 224 f.
2 Cp. the curious tale told by interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 4. 407: in Attica regione quaedam puella Myrmix nomine fuit, Minervae ob castimoniis et sollertiam dilicta, quae postea hoc modo (H. A. Lion prints loco) Minervae in se odium concitavit. namque cum vidisset Minerva Cererem segetes invenisse, volens ipsa ostendere Atticis quo expedietius segetes pararent, aratum dicitur invenisse. quod cum manu ageret, et Myrmix ei adhaeret, ausa est occulta aratri sitvam subripiere, et apud homines se iactare, infructuosum esse Cereris munus, nisi suo uterentur invento, quo terra aratro resoluta expedieius ederet fructus. quod cum proficit aegre tibus Minerva, Myrmicem illam virginem in formicam convertit eamque, ut prodirerem, adversam frumentis, quae semper insequitur et subripit, esse praecepsit. quae res cum Iovi missionem movisset, excogitavit quemadmodum formicae hominum dare. nam cum Aeacim, silium suum ex Aegina suscepsit, Thessalis imponeret regem et agros ipsos videret hominibus indigere, formicas colligi in unum insit saxaque in homines commutavit: unde Myrmidones appellati sunt. See further J. Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvi. 1106.
4 Lyk. Al. 359 f. (Kassandra) ἡ πολλὰ δὲ Βοῦαι Ἀθηναῖοι Κόρης ἄρων οὐδὲ ἴπτον ταρρόθον γὰρ μὲν τοῖς ὑπὸ Βοῦαι ἡ Ἀθήνη ἐν Θέσσαλῃ (=Steph. Byz. s.v. Boueia, who is cited also by Eustath. in ll. p. 1076, 28 Βοῦαιαι ἀργοὺς Αὐγοὺς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ... Βοῦαια γὰρ ἡ φρόνησις, διί τοῖς ὑπὸ Βοῦαι ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ...). Boueia ἴπτον ἄρων, ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ Βοῦαι ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ... This etymology has found favour, not only with K. O. Müller op. cit. 181, Gerhard op. cit. i. 226, 231, 243, Welcker op. cit. ii. 301, Preller—Robert op. cit. i. 222 n. 1, O. Jessen op. cit. iii. 988, Gruppe op. cit. p. 1205 n. 8, etc., but with expert philologists such as P. Kretschmer Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache Göttingen 1896 p. 419, who holds that similar place-names are derived from the name of the goddess ('Ende der Name der Göttin selbst auf -ia, so konnte er unverändert als Ortsname dienen: Boueia in Thessalien nach der Athena Boueia der „Rinder anchirrenden“, daneben Boueion (ll. II 572.)' Cp. F. Stählin Das hellenische Thessalien Stuttgart 1924 p. 78 n. 2 (4)). It is, however, equally possible and—to my thinking—decidedly more probable that the goddess drew her appellative from an old place-name of unknown meaning; the appellative being later re-interpreted as 'Oxen-binding.'
Akropolis\(^1\) and were entrusted with the discharge of several sacred duties. It is said that the priestess of Athena was drawn from their number\(^2\). More certainly, they provided the priest of Zeus Télēios\(^3\), who as a marriage-god yoked man and wife together\(^4\). They also furnished the priest of Zeus at the Palladion\(^5\). In Roman times both these functionaries had seats reserved for them in the theatre. And on one occasion the latter, at the bidding of the Pythian Apollo, had a new image of Pallas made at his own expense and dedicated to the gods and to the city\(^6\). Why the cult at the Palladion should have been in the hands of the Bouzygai appears from a story told by Polyainos\(^7\):

1 Demophon received the Palladion in trust from Diomedes and took care of it. When Agamemnon asked it back, Demophon gave the genuine image to an Athenian named Bouzyges to take to Athens, but made another of the same size and shape and kept it in his tent. When Agamemnon attacked him with a strong force, Demophon for a long time put up a great fight and so created the impression that he was defending the genuine image. But when many men had been wounded, the followers of Demophon gave way, and Agamemnon seized the false Palladion and, falling into the trap, went off with it.

We gather from other writers that Demophon was the first person tried by the court at the Palladion, which dealt with cases of involuntary homicide, though several versions of his crime are extant\(^8\). The noteworthy point is that the name Demophon again directs our attention to Eleusis, where he was Demeter's nurseling even before Triptolemos\(^9\). We are not, therefore, surprised to find

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\(^1\) Aristeid. or. 2. 13 (i. 20 Dindorf) καὶ Βουζύγης τίς ὑπηλήθε μὲ τῶν ἐὰν ἄροιοίλεωσ, κ.τ.λ.
\(^2\) Schol. Aischin. de fals. leg. 78 (quoted supra p. 606 n. 6). Does this in reality refer to the priestess of that Athena who was worshipped έιν Παλλαδίω (Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 374, 78 ['Αθεναίαι έιν Παλλαδίων, 95 'Αθεναίαι έιν Παλλαδίων)?
\(^3\) Supra ii. 1163 n. 2 fig. 971.
\(^4\) Cp. Hesych, s. vv. Ζευς: γὰρ "Ηρα... Ζιγών: Ζεύς... Supra i. 488 n. 8 and ii. 60 n. o, 605 n. o, 723 n. o, 954 n. o.
\(^5\) Corp. inscr. Att. iii. i no. 273 = Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 860. 34 = Roberts—Gardner Gr. Epigr. ii. 467 ff. no. 271 Βουζύγων | έρεων Δίσο εν | Παλλαδίων η σε ιν τον θεατρα η σε ηλιο διαθεσμον η σει σεμινη.
\(^6\) Corp. inscr. Att. iii. i no. 71 [ὁ δείπνα — — έρεων των Δίσο των έιν Παλλαδίων και Βουζύγων, Πολικαϊρου?] Μαραθωνίων, | κηφεαντος των Πεθών 'Απόλλωνος, ητε χρει έτερον τον εν τῆν Παλλαδον κατασκευασθαι έκ των αληθών ταχνα τοις τε θεοις και τή τολεί άνθρωποι. A. Boeckh in the Corp. inscr. Gr. i no. 491 had proposed to read Μαραθωνίους, but W. Dittenberger replies: 'ne ita quidem omnis difficulitas removetur, cum admodum mirum sit nomen patris hoc demum loco positum.'
\(^8\) Paus. i. 28. 8 f. with Sir J. G. Frazer ad loc.
\(^9\) Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rtl. pp. 52, 652 f. Supra i. 211.
that ultimately the Bouzygai were responsible for keeping the sacred oxen that ploughed at Eleusis. Probably J. Toepffer is right in his contention that, when the Eleusinian state ceased to be an isolated priestly power, all three ploughings passed into the control of the Attic Bouzygai. O. Gruppe too attributes these changes to political movements in progress at the end of s. vii and during the first half of s. vi B.C.—the temporary predominance of Megara and the permanent union of Eleusis with Athens. Indeed it is likely enough that the original home of the Bouzygai was not Athens, but Eleusis. The Eleusinians, says Pausanias, 4, 1, 7, assert that the Rarian Plain was the first to be sown and the first to bear crops, and therefore it is their custom to take the sacrificial barley and to make the cakes for the sacrifices out of its produce.

Not only Eleusis, but Crete also is involved in the legend of Bouzyges. A tradition which goes back to Aristotle boldly declared that Bouzyges was none other than Epimenides, the famous Cretan prophet who is known to have visited Athens c. 500 B.C. That is a very remarkable identification, which—so far as I can see—must have been propounded by somebody bent on tracing an analogy between the sacred ox of Athens and the sacred bull of Crete. We have already insisted on the resemblance of the communal feast at the Bouphonia to the communal feast in Crete. And we can hardly help wondering whether there had ever been at Eleusis, as there certainly was in Crete, an earlier phase of bovine

1 Aristeid. or. 36. 129 f. (ii. 174 f. Dindorf) cites Eupol. Δήμων frg. 7 ὂποιος γὰρ ἐστὶ νῦν τις, ἵνα ἐστὶ λέγειν; ὡς Βουζήγης ἀράτος ἀληθής (Frag. compl. Gr. ii. 460 f. Meineke), and schol. A. ad loc. (iii. 473 Dindorf) comments ὁ Περικλῆς ἐστιν ἀράτος ὁ Βουζήγης ὁ ἀληθής. Βουζηγής μὲν οὐν αὐτὸν φησι κατὰ τὸν τούτον (ἐπ. τούτου τὸν) τρόπον: ὅτι τοὺς πρεσβύτας ἐν Ἑλευσίνω τοὺς ἱεροὺς βοῶς ἀργοτρίβων Βουζηγης ἐκάλων. τούτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἔδησαν παντὶ τῷ βουλαμένῳ ποινέν, εἰ μὴ μοῦνοι τοῖς ἱερεῖς. παραδόθην οὖν ἐκ τῶν ταύτων ἐπεκ τὸ γένος ὁ Περικλῆς: καὶ διὰ τούτο Βουζηγῆν αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν, κ. κ. l., while schol. B. D. O. Oxon. (ib.) has Βουζηγῆν καλοῦσαν οἰς τάς ἱεράς βοῶς εἰς Ἑλευσίνω ἀργοτρίβας πρεσβύτας ἐκ τῶν ταύτων δὲ ὁ Περικλῆς κατηγέον. τὸ γάνος δὲ τούτῳ ἦν ἱεροῦ, κ. κ. l.


4 Paus. 1. 38. 6 τῶν τῶν Ῥάμων σπαράγησεν πρῶτον λέγοντα καὶ πρῶτον αὐξήσας καρποὺς, καὶ διὰ τῶν ὅλων ἄρον χρῆσθαι οὖσαν καὶ ποιήσας πέμπατα ἐς τᾶς πικραίας καθέστασιν.

5 Aristot. frag. 386 Rose 4 ap. interp. Serv. in Verg. georg. i. 19 'unicique puer monstrator aratūrum'... vel Epimenides, qui postea Bouzyges dictus est secundum Aristotelis, sc. Hesych. s.v. Βουζήγης ἄρως Ἀττικός, τ. (n. cod.) πρῶτος βοῦς ὑπὸ ἄροτρον δεξαμενακοῦσιν ἑκατέρῳ ἐπὶ ἐπιμενίδης, schol. T. V. II. 18. 483 καὶ ἄροτρον δὲ πρῶτος ἐπιμενίδης (ἐκείνη Μαῦροςς cod.) καὶ Βουζηγῆς εξεδέχον.

6 Plat. legg. 643 b—E, on which see J. Toepffer op. cit. p. 141 and O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 177.

7 Supra p. 606.
omaphogy, not to mention a yet more primitive stage of sheen cannibalism in which the local king or some human substitute was killed and eaten, the ox being—as H. von Prott and B. Laum imagined—a later surrogate for the man. Definite evidence of such a grim past is lacking, but the legends concerning the cult of Zeus
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ōlmios

Ombrios in Elis, that of Zeus Lykaios in Arkadia, and that of Zeus Eilapinastés or Splanchnotomos in Kypros look ominously like it.

A further point of doubtful significance may here be set down. Pausanias, describing the statues on the Akropolis, says:

'There is Athena rising from the head of Zeus. There is also a bull dedicated by the council of the Areiopagos for some reason or other; one might make many guesses on the subject, if one cared to do so.'

This 'bull on the Akropolis' was of bronze and passed into a proverb for a thing to be admired. It has, as Pausanias anticipated, given rise to a whole crop of more or less plausible explanations, none of which however can pretend to certainty. More ad rem is a possible, indeed probable, vase-painting of the bull itself. The facts are as follows. E. Gerhard in 1858 published a black-figured hydria of c. 500 B.C., which he had found in possession of the

The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology London 1930 p. 29 n. 2), the phrase 'ἀφ' ἐστις μονήθες would take on a very sinister meaning. But that is obviously an unjustifiable assumption.

Nor can human sacrifice be invoked to account for the Ballastos or 'Stone-throwing,' by which the Athenians commemorated Demophon (Hesych. Ballastos: ἐφορτήθη Αἴγυπτος, ἐπὶ Δημοφώτη ἤ Κελευ ἀγομένη, cp. Athen. 406 D τὴν δ' αὕτη ἢ λατρευ ἔργα, ἔδειξαν γὰρ τῇ ἐμῇ ὀδὴν τινα πανήγυρις ἀγομένην καὶ καλομενὴν Βαλλαστόν: πέρι ή τινι ἀν ἀν ἠκούσαν μὴ παρ' ἐκάστων μιθοσ λαζόνοι,)—'A Scheinkampf!' (cp. H. Dem. 265 ff.) resembling the Libolida of Damia and Auzexia at Troizen (Paus. 2. 32. 2 with Frazer Pausanias iii. 266 f.) or the stone-throwing on the Nonae Caprotinae at Rome (Plut. v. Rom. 29. v. Cam. 33). See further O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 2830 f., Scherling th. xiii. 769 f., Nilsson Gr. Festp. p. 413 ff., Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 901 n. 3.

1 Supra p. 525 f.
2 Supra i. 70 ff.
3 Infra p. 663 f. n. o.
4 Paus. 1. 24. 2 'Αθηνα τὸ ἐστῖν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῶν Δίων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀνάθημα τῆς βαλλής τῆς ἐν 'Αρείῳ πάγῳ, ἐφ' ὧν ἡ ἀνάθεσις ἡ βοῦλή· πολλαὶ δ' ἀν τις θεῖον εἶδεν.
5 Heniochos Polyenct. frag. 1 (Frag. com. Gr. iii. 560 f. Meineke) cp. Athen. 369 D Ἡλειος Πολυεκτ.' ὁ βοῦς <ὁ (ins. Porson) χαλκοῦ ἢ ἄφιον δεκάπελον, ἡ χαλκοῦ ἡ χαλκοῦ ἡ χαλκοῦ, Diosc. 3. 67 βοῦς ἐν πόλει· ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλευμένων, Apostol. 5. 15 βοῦς ἐν πόλει· ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλευμένων, Δαυὶς γὰρ ἐν ἀκρωπόλει βοῦν ἐθέασε (= Arsen. viol. p. 146 reading ἀνάθεσις) — a curious addition which Hitzig—Blümmer in their commentary on Paus. loc. cit. successfully explain away ('Die Prov. Bodd. et Vatic. bieten den Zusatz Ἀνακαλέσας γὰρ ἀνάθεσι βοῖον, der Cod. Coislin. aber Ἀνάκαλε δὲ εἶπε βοῖον, wofür Meineke (Exerc. philol. i 29) conjicitre Ἀνάκαλε δ' ἔπολε βοῖον, besser Bergk (Ztschr. f. d. A. W. 1845, 980): Pausanias δε εἶπε βοῖον, wobei freilich nicht der Perieget, sondern der Grammatiker Pausanias, der Vf. eines attischen Lexikon, gemeint wäre'). The proverb is Latinised by Lucilius frag. 286 Babelrens 'ne! quam in arce bovem descripsit magnifice inquit.'

In Plat. com. fab. incert. frag. 24 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 688 with ν. 50 α Ἡσιχ. κραῖ χαλκοῦ ἀνακαλέσας· ἦν ἐν τῇ ἀκρωπολεί κραῖ ἀνακαλέσας μέγας χαλκοῦ. ἀνακαλέσας δὲ αὐτῶν εἶπε Πλάτων ὁ κοινὸς διὰ τὸ μέγαν εἶναι, καὶ συναρτῆσαι αὐτῷ τῶν το δόμους ἐπιενοὺς. . . . . . . . . Meineke plausibly fills the blank by inserting <καὶ τῶν χαλκοῦ βοῖον>, a conjecture that has been well received.

6 See Hitzig—Blümmer on Paus. loc. cit.
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

Fig. 414.
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Olbios

dealers Basseggio and Depoletti at Rome. This noteworthy painting (fig. 414)\(^1\) shows Athena Polias\(^2\) seated on the left with helmet, spear, phidile, and attendant snake. In front of her\(^3\) is a blazing altar with Ionic volutes and a próthysis or wide base. Between them stands a priestess, barefoot like her goddess and holding an olive-branch. She looks toward Athena, but raises her hand to salute a stately bull, the forepart of which is seen standing apparently on the stylobate of a flat-roofed Doric structure\(^4\). Gerhard after mooting various possibilities was disposed to identify this bull with the votive gift of the Areiopagos\(^5\), which—he thought—might have some connexion with the city-goddess and perhaps also with the Zeus of the Bouphonia. Gerhard’s interpretation was taken up and carried further by over-zealous followers. Miss J. E. Harrison\(^6\), in discussing the Dipolicia, ventured the view ‘that the sacred ox, about whom so much ado was made, may have had a sort of shrine on the Acropolis, or that he may have lived in a shrine belonging to Zeus Polieus.’ She went on to suggest ‘that the votive gift of the Areopagus may have been connected with this Polieus hieron, and that the much-disputed naos mentioned by Pausanias may have been a small shrine set up in connection with the Bouphonia.’ Thirty-seven years later Miss Harrison\(^7\) had dropped Zeus overboard. ‘Now it is,’ she says, ‘of course impossible

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\(^1\) Gerhard *Auserl.* Vaseb. iv. 6 ff. pl. 242, 1 (=my fig. 414) and 2, Reinsch *Ksp. Vase* ii. 122, 5 and 6. The present whereabouts of the vase, to me at least, is unknown. But there is not the smallest reason to doubt its antiquity.

\(^2\) *Supra* p. 573 n. 4.

\(^3\) Gerhard *op. cit.* iv. 123 rightly connects the altar with the ‘Götterbild.’

\(^4\) *Id. ib.* notes that the building looks more like a hall than a temple.

\(^5\) *Supra* p. 612. T. Bergk in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthums.wissenschaft* 1845 iii. 979 ff. held that the Bronze Bull of the Akropolis was of colossal dimensions. Gerhard *op. cit.* iv. 123 f. says that O. Jahn, like himself, was inclined to view the bull on the hydra as ‘ein Standbild.’ T. Panofka too in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1852 iv. Arch. Anz. p. 158 decided that the bull in question must be meant for ‘ein ehrliches Weihgeschenk’ and compared it with the small bull standing on a pedestal to be seen on tetradrachms of Selinos struck c. 466—415 B.C. (Hunter Cat. Coins i. 217 pl. 15, 20 f. See now Brit. *Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily. p. 140 ff., fig., p. 142 fig., Weber *Cat. Coins* i. 321 f. nos. 1534, 1535 pl. 58, no. 1536 pl. 59, and above all the splendid series in the Lloyd collection (Sylloges nummorum Graecorum vol. ii) with the important re-interpretation of A. H. Lloyd in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1935 xv. 86 ff. pl. 4. 14, 16, 18, 20—24, pl. 5, 25, 27 (the river-god Selinos, sacrificing at the altar of Apollo, protects Himera (the cock) against Akratas (the bull of Phalaris)). Panofka thought that the Athenian bull, like the Selinunte, might have been a votive offering to avert plague, grouped with the seated figure of Athena Γύλεα. Failing that, he suggested a ‘Standbild des Stier-Dionysos oder des Acheleous.’


\(^7\) *Ead. Themis* p. 145 fig. 25.
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios
to be certain that we have here the ox of the Bouphonia. What is
certain is that we have a holy ox, holy on his own account with
a sanctuary of his own, and that this holy ox is associated with
not Zeus, but Athena. Whatever Olympian was dominant at the
moment would take over the intrinsically holy beast.' F. Schwenn,
who held that the Bouphonia was later attached to the cult of Zeus
Polieus\(^1\), likewise regards the bull as the essential centre of the rite
and assumes that a bronze effigy of it was set up to perpetuate the
blessings believed to stream from it\(^2\).

Without attempting further to investigate the prehistory of the
Bouphonia—a task for which the evidence available is hardly
sufficient—we may at least admit that Greeks of the classical and
post-classical periods commonly recognised the bull as an animal
form of Zeus\(^3\). They were familiar from their youth up with the
story of him and Europe. The Hellenic age loved to portray the
god metamorphosed into a bull and bearing his venturesome rider
across the sea\(^4\), in the west from left to right\(^5\), in the east from

\(^1\) Supra p. 600 n. 0 (6).

\(^2\) F. Schwenn Gebet und Opfer Heidelberg 1927 p. 111.

\(^3\) Witness the myths of Antiope (supra i. 535 n. 1, 736, 740), Deo or Demeter
(supra i. 393), Europe (supra i. 551 f., 458 f.), Pasiphae (supra i. 544, 739 f.), Tyro (supra ii. 449 n. 0 (3)).

\(^4\) Supra i. 526 n. 1 (bibliography).

\(^5\) So during s. vi and the early decades of s. v B.C. in the art of Sicily and central
Greece. Typical examples are the following:

(1) An archaic metope from temple 'F or S' at Selinous, which was at first dated as
far back as the end of s. vii or the beginning of s. vi (A. Salinas 'Nuove metope arcaiche
1896 xx. 670, J. Escher in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 1396 f.), but is now more
reasonably placed c. 560 (Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art viii. 488 ff. fig. 248, D. S.
Roberts A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture Cambridge 1919 p. 323) or even
by W. B. Dinsmoor London 1927 p. 193). The bull combines profile body with full-face
head, horn ear and knee breaking the framework to convey a sense of motion. His back
is unduly depressed to secure approximate isoccephaly. His tail is too long, but serves to
lend interest to the flat monotonous flank. The whole effect is awkward, since Europe's
far hand grasps the near horn of her mount: if he turns his head, she will be pulled off his
back. Two dolphins below the group betoken the sea (Brunner—Bruckmann Denkm. der
gr. und röm. Sculp. pl. 288, b = my fig. 415). The metope is carved in 'tufo bianco di
Menfi' (Salinas loc. cit.).

(2) A late black-figured lékythos from Kyme in Campania, now at Naples (G. Fiorelli
Notizia dei Vasi dipinti rinvenuti a Cuma nel 1856 Napoli 1857 col. pl. 9, 2, G. Minervini
in the Bull. Arch. Nap. 1847 v. 140 pl. 10, 13 (=Reinach Rép. Vases i. 488, 13 with text
p. 878 Racolta Cumana no. 218, J. E. Harrison—D. S. MacColl Greek Vase Paintings
London 1894 p. 14 pl. 4, 2 (=my fig. 416), has given rise to several misconceptions.
L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pit. 1863 p. 135, on account of 'die Rebzwige' by
which she is surrounded, took the bull-rider to be a Maenad, not Europe at all. But
right to left. The Hellenistic age, tiring a little of this hackneyed

id. ib. 1866 p. 106 no. 3 remarks that the said ‘Rebuseige’ are laden with white fruit, not
grape-bunches, and concludes, on account of the fish in the water and the rocks on either
side of it, that after all Europe must be meant. G. Minervini loc. cit., followed by O. Jahn
Die Entfuehrung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken Wien 1870 p. 21, supposed that
the rocks in question were merely high-flung waves and quoted Il. 15. 29 ἐπειδὴ ἔρχεται
θᾶλασσα διαταραῖ of a similar scene. Overbeck loc. cit. hedges. Returning to sanity, we
note the impression of speed given by the five dolphins hurrying in the opposite direction
to the bull, the daring though unsuccessful attempt to show the bull’s legs underwater,
Europe’s hand thrown up in astonishment at sight of the farther shore even at the risk of
letting go that horn—altogether a brilliant little picture. The apple-tree need be no more
than a conventional background, though Stephani loc. cit. 1866 p. 119 may be right in
regarding it as a substitute for a flower held in the hand: Europe was certainly a tree-
and-flower goddess (supra i. 525 ff.).

(3) A late black-figured oinochoe with trefoil mouth, now in the possession of Mr C. T.
Selman and as yet unpublished, shows on a red panel Europe, draped, riding to right
right hand is empty. Behind her is seen the apple-tree with white fruit. Beneath her
the sea is rendered by a wash of thinned glaze with white curved lines to indicate the waves—
an early example of naturalism in colour (cp. supra i. 336 figs. 267, 268, where the
undulations are in thinned glaze without white contours).

(4) A red-figured amphora at Petrograd (supra i. 531 fig. 405), attributed by Hoppen
Red-Fig. Vases i. 288 no. 98 to Douris, by J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des
rötfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 168 no. 3 to ‘Der Maler der münchenener Amphora
239.’

(5) The famous Europe-klytix at Munich (supra i. 526 n. 1 with col. pl. xxxii), on
which alone the bull was inscribed ΔΕΥΣ, details were gilded, and the sea was simply
ignored—the result being a simultaneous appeal to our interest in mythology, our
appreciation of splendour, and our imaginative powers. As often as the klytix was filled
at feast or festival, the god and his glittering consort would be visible, an appropriate
group, in the midst of a wine-dark sea.

(6) The red-figured fish-plates at Petrograd (supra i. 547 with fig. 414) supply the
anticlimax. The galloping bull and the floating Europe, with her train of fish, dolphins,
and sea-powers, would all be literally submerged in the brine that formed a popular
sauce (γάσις).

1 (1) By far the earliest example of this arrangement is found on a ‘Caeretan’ hydria
in the Louvre (supra i. 471 fig. 327), produced by a brilliant Ionic artist in some Asia
Minor town c. 550 b.c. (Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 180 f., M. H. Swindler
Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 pp. 126, 163 fig. 256 (detail of trees, hare, etc.).

(2) Next in order of seniority is the group that appears c. 500 b.c. on the oldest staress
of Phaistos. Of this crude and dumpy coin only one specimen has been published

Fig. 417.

Coins Crete etc. p. 61 pl. 14, 14, J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crète ancienne
Mâcon 1890 i. 254 pl. 22, 34, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 3. 979 f. no. 1620 pl. 255, 1;
Head Hist. num. p. 472). I therefore figure a second, now in my collection (fig. 417).
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

type, sought to vary the traditional pose, imported fresh elements

which shows some features of the obverse more clearly. The reverse has an incuse square containing a lion’s scalp surrounded by the inscription ΑΜ | ΡΑΟ | [ΤΝΩΤΣ] | ΜΔΑ (Pausanias ὁ φαίνων). Analogous types occur on the oldest coins of Gortyna; but on these the bull more often moves towards the right. Sundry specimens on which the movement is towards the left seem to be of slightly later date (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 37 pl. 9, 4. J. N. Svoronos op. cit. p. 158 no. 4, p. 159 no. 8 pl. 12, 24, no. 9 pl. 12, 25. Babelon op. cit. ii. 3, 979 ff. no. 1621 pl. 255, 7, no. 1622 pl. 255, 3 assigns these coins to Phaistos: on their reverse the legend surrounding the lion’s scalp has either been replaced by a border of dots or disappeared altogether). For further light on the relations between the series of Gortyna and Phaistos we await the forthcoming study of the subject by Mr E. J. P. Raven.

(3) The terracotta plaque here published (pl. xlvi, 1) is said to have formed part of a frieze from a tomb at Hadra, the eastern suburb of Alexandria, which passed into the collection of Florence Lady Ward and thence into mine. Excavations carried on at a great depth in 1898—1901 led to the discovery of two cemeteries, ‘that of Hadra on the east of the city containing Hellenic graves, and that of Gabbari on the west, which is late Hellenistic and Roman’ (R. C. Bosanquet in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1901 xxx. 351 f. See further E. Breccia Alexandria ad Aegyptum Bergamo 1922, and for details id. ‘Fouilles de Hadra’ in the Municipalité d’Alexandrie. Rapport sur la marche du service du musée 1913 pp. 13—33 pl. 10—12, id. ‘Nuova esplorazione nella necropoli di Hadra’ in the Bulletin de la société archéologique d’Alexandrie 1914 xv. 56—58, A. H. Tubby—H. E. R. James ‘An account of excavations at Chatby, Ibrahimieh, and Hadra’ ib. 1918 xvi. 79—90 pl. 3). Height 5½ ins., width 4½ ins. There is one hole for attachment. The relief is throughout covered with a delicate white slip, on which Europe’s mantle is touched in with light blue pigment. The design shows a magnificent bull turned towards the left and pawing the ground, on which flowers are springing. Couched on his back in an easy attitude is Europe, looking towards the right. Her feet are crossed, and her body is half-draped in a light wrap which she holds as a sail with either hand. The forms of the bull, the spacing of Europe’s breasts, the rendering of the flowery meadow, are all characteristic of the fourth century B.C. and suggest a fine original dating from the period of Ptolemy i Soter or, at latest, Ptolemy ii Philadelphos.

Mr A. D. Trendall, however, draws my attention to a bronze mirror (pl. xlvi, 2) now in the possession of Mr Bisset in Rome. This mirror, which measures 15 m. by 16 m. (or 19 m., if the handle be included) is said to have been found at Athens, where it was bought from a dealer in February or March 1935. The design of its relief is obviously identical with that of the terracotta plaque.

How is this identity to be explained? Is the plaque a forgery, or the mirror, or both? Or should we point to the fact that a bronze mirror-case of c. 300—250 B.C. at Paris (M. Collignon in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1885 ix. 322 ff. pl. 7), no. 1355 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, is similarly duplicated, or at least closely paralleled, by a terracotta mould found in the Peiraieus and now at Berlin (Babelon—Blanchet Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat. p. 544 f. no. 1355 fig.).


1 Europe floating (supra i. 547 fig. 414), recumbent with front to spectator (supra n. o (3) pl. xlvi, 1, 2), recumbent with back to spectator (infra p. 626 ffigs. 475, 476), standing (supra i. 530 n. 2 fig. 403), stooping (infra p. 619 n. 2 (1) pl. xlvi, cp. p. 620 n. o (2) figs. 419, 420), sitting (infra p. 622 n. o fig. 432), etc.
(1) Terra-cotta plaque from a tomb at Hadra (?), now at Queens' College, Cambridge: Europe on the Bull.

(2) Bronze mirror from Athens (?), now in Rome: Europe on the Bull.
of interest into the scene, or changed the time of action by showing the bull still on terra firma while the meadow broke into flowers at his feet. Europe, fully draped to begin with, then semi-draped, and finally in Roman art frankly naked, was from first to last

1 Basket (supra i. 530 n. 2 fig. 402, i. 531 fig. 405), Asterion (supra i. 531 fig. 405, i. 547 fig. 414), Erotes (supra i. 547 fig. 414, infra n. 2 (1) pl. xlviii, p. 627 n. o (3) pl. xlviii), sea-powers (supra i. 547 fig. 414, infra p. 627 n. o (3) pl. xlviii), etc.

A good example of the sort is a "Lucanian" amphora in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iv. 95 no. F 184), which has for its main design Europe on the bull riding towards the left. The sea is indicated by a dolphin (mostly repainted), a fish, a lobster, and a cuttle, seen above a rocky bottom on which are sea-urchins and seaweed. Behind

![Image of Zeus as an ox, Zeus Ólbios]

Europe flies Eros with a tainia, and on the shore she has quitted stands a bearded male figure with bay-wreath, embroidered himation, and staff—presumably Phoinix or Agenor (J. V. Millingen Peintures antiques et inédites de vases grecs tirées de diverses collections Rome 1813 p. 44 f. pl. 25 (= my fig. 418), Reinach Vases Ant. p. 105 f. pl. 25, Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. cér. i. 60 ff. pl. 27, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 428 f. (no. 19) Atlas pl. 6, 11, J. A. Hild in Darmenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 863 fig. 2847). The suggestion of Overbeck op. cit. p. 439 that the bearded figure is Zeus strikes me as a little tactless. Zeus should at least be advancing towards his bride's arrival (ep. supra i. 531 fig. 405, i. 547) rather than speeding her departure.

A small group of South-Italian vases combines this representation of Zeus as a bull with that of Zeus in propria persona:

(1) An Apulian amphora, found in 1851 in a rich rock-cut grave at Canosa (E. Gerhard in the Arch. Zeit. 1857 xv. 56 ff. pl. 104, 2 shows the tomb) and now at Naples (Heydemann Vasensamml. Neapel p. 495 ff. no. 3218), has the upper zone of its body decorated with two scenes in which Zeus plays a part: (1) Europe and four of her companions are playing at ball in a flowery meadow, watched by an old paidagogos, when the great bull, yellow above and white below, appears in their midst and kneels at the feet of Europe. One Eros on his back urges him forward, another holding a tainia hovers above her. A dove brings
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

up a wreath as omen of successful love. And four stars indicate the sky, which is the true home of the metamorphosed god (G. Minervini in the Bull. Arch. Nap. 1853 ii. 46 ff., 57 ff., O. Jahn Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken Wien 1870 p. 1 ff. pl. 1, a (= my pl. xlvii), Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 434 ff. (no. 15)). Overbeck op. cit. p. 435 n. (a) illustrates the colour of the bull from Didymos ap. Eustath. in Od. p. 1430, 63 ζ. καὶ ταῦτα ἀργυρότητι ὄψιν λευκότα φαινομένον, αἱ διακοσίων τῆς Ἑλέρτης, Ἔσσις. ἄρχομεν ταῦτα ταχύμενοι ἑ τευκότα παραγώγως. Μέγετα δὲ ἐκ τοῦ διακοσίου τῆς Ἑλέρτης, Loukan. dial. mar. 15: 2 ο θεῖος δὲ τῶν ἐκδόσεων αὐτῶν συνέσχεις αὐτᾶς κάλλιστος φανερός: λευκότα τε γὰρ ἑκατόμων καὶ τὰ κέρατα κύκαμητη καὶ τὸ χέρων ἱματα: κ.τ.λ., On. met. 2. 852 quippe color nivis est, 861 flores ad candida perrigint ora, 863 nunc latus in fulvis niveum deponit harenis, Sil. It. 14. 568 f. ardet et Europe, nivei sub imagine tauri | vecta Iove, Anth. Lat. cod. Salmas. 14. 3 (l. i. 49 Riese) Europam nivei solutur amore invenci, atque—for the admixture of yellow—from Mosch. 2. 84 f. τοῦ δ' ἅτοι τὸ μὲν ἄλλο δέ μεν ἄραθρον ἄσεσε, κόκλος δ' ἄργυρος μέσῳ μάρμαρε.

Fig. 419.

μεσων. (B) Zeus, half-draped in a himation, with a bay-wreath on his head and shoes on his feet, is seated on a rock, holding an eagle-sceptre in his left hand, a phiale in his right. This he extends towards Eros, who stands in a four-horse car. The horses are led by Hermes, with caduceus and palm-branch. He is preceded by a small horned Pan, who shoulders his lagobolon with the right hand and holds his zephyr with the left, turning his head to glance at Hermes. Before both, leaning on a rock over which his chlamys is thrown, stands a young man with horns, wearing a broad band round his head: he holds a lagobolon in his right hand, a phiale in his outstretched left (quis? Heydemann op. cit. p. 499 n. 8 suggests 'Diopan im Gegensatz zum kleinen Aigipan?' and quotes in support O. Benndorf in the Ann. d. Inst. 1866 xxxviii. 111 ff. Better, perhaps, Pan as opposed to Aigipan, cp. supra i. 375 ff. 287). Below, flowers and grasses. Above, four stars. The significance of the scene is doubtful. But the recurrence of these four stars justifies us, I think, in linking the reverse (B) with the obverse (A). L. Stephani was perhaps on the right tack when in the Compte-rendu St. Pét. 1866 p. 121 he wrote: 'in einem dritten Gemälde derselben Vase sieht man Zeus, umgeben von anderen Gottheiten, auf seinem Throne sitzen und daneben ein Viergespann, auf welchem er sich wahrscheinlich nach Kreta begeben wird.'

(3) An Apulian amphora in the Museo Gregoriano of the Vatican has the upper zone of its body decorated with an analogous design (A. F. Gori Museum Etruscum Florentiae 1737 i pls. 162 (whole vase), 163 (obverse), 164 (reverse). ii. 316 ff., J. B. Passerini Picturae Etruscerorum in Vasculis Romae 1767 i. 5 ff. pls. 4—6 (coloured but inadequate), O. Jahn op. cit. p. 4, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 436 f. (no. 17) Atlas pl. 6, 18
An amphora from Canossa, now at Naples: Europe playing with the Bull.

See page 619 n. 3 (1) (A).
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

a vegetation power\(^1\) and as such associated with flowers and fruit. The fertilising god must needs have a fertile bride.

The Greek type of Europe with her flowers seated on the back of the bull Zeus seems to have originated in the Hittite type of Chipa with her flowery kirtle standing on the bull of Tešub\(^2\), and

(from a tracing of the original) = my fig. 419, Alinari's photo no. 35731 = my fig. 420). Europe stoops to attach a cord to the horns of the submissive bull (cp. Ov. met. 3. 867 f., Auth. Lat. cod. Salmas. 14. 17 f. (l. i. 49 Riese), while one of her playmates holds him by the tail. The bull is painted white. Eros with a \textit{taiinia} and a flower in his left hand extends his right with a wreath towards Europe. The rest of the figures are divine, and correspond with those on the reverse of the preceding vase. On the left Aphrodite, uplifting a mirror, leans over a pillar to watch the scene. On the right Hermes, with \textit{pétasos}, \textit{chlamyds}, \textit{caduceus}, and wreath, awaits the issue in his favourite attitude of the supported foot (supra ii. 479 n. 6, infra p. 706). Finally, seated at a higher level and half-draped in a fine \textit{himation}, with a wreath in his hair, is the bridegroom looking towards his bride. The sceptre in his hand marks him as Zeus. Jahn \textit{loc. cit.} speaks of it as crowned with an eagle. Overbeck too calls it an ‘Adlerscepter’ and figures it as such, though in the modern photograph the bird is hard to trace. Jahn further describes Zeus as ‘umbärtg.’ Overbeck says ‘in seltener Erscheinung jugendlich’ and compares Zeus as a beardless lover on an \textit{Io-amphora} of the Coghill collection (Lenormant—de Witte \textit{El. mon. cit.} i. 55 ff. pl. 26. Overbeck \textit{op. cit.} Zeus p. 466 f. (no. 1) Atlas pl. 7, 7, infra p. 638 n. 0 fig. 435); but Overbeck's own tracing shows that the god's face is modern and Gori \textit{op. cit.} pl. 163 gives it a beard!

(3) A South-Italian \textit{krate} (\textit{hydræa})?, likewise in the Museo Gregoriano, simplifies the scene (O. Jahn \textit{op. cit.} p. 5, Overbeck \textit{op. cit.} Zeus p. 437 (no. 18) Atlas pl. 6, 13 (from a tracing of the original) = my fig. 421). Europe hurries forward to caress the white bull, which stands erect before her on the flowery plain. Her old nurse (?) turns away with a gesture of astonishment. Above Europe is seen a \textit{taiinia}. Above the bull's head, a long-winged Eros with mirror and dulcimer. On a higher level, left and right, sit two deities facing each other—Zeus with \textit{phásile} and long sceptre. Aphrodite with mirror and toilet-box.

An Apulian \textit{krate} in the Louvre represents a slightly earlier moment in the action and gives no hint of Zeus in human shape (Overbeck \textit{op. cit.} Zeus p. 434 (no. 18) Atlas pl. 6, 12 (from a tracing of the original) = my fig. 422). The treatment is interesting and was perhaps inspired by some such painting as that described in Ach. Tat. 1. 1 ἐκὸς πολλοὶ ἄνθεοι ὅ λαμβανον ἐνὸς ἀντίκεισον φαλάγη καὶ φιάτων· ἡμισύχτας σύνοψει τὰ πέταλα· συνήχθην οἱ πέτρες τὰ φίλλα, καὶ ἐγκέντρο τοῖς ἀνθέοις δρόφος ὁ τῶν φίλλων συμπλοκής. ἔγραψεν ὁ τεχεῖτο ὅτι τὰ πέταλα καὶ τὴν σκιάν... ὅπως ὅ ἐπὶ κατὰ μέσον ἐρρεῖ τοῦ λειμὼν τῆς γραφής, τὸ μὲν ἀναβάλλων κατοθέν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἄνθεως καὶ τῶν φυτῶν περιχειδεύον. Here too in the midst of the meadow is a spring welling from a hollow rock, on which sits Europe beneath two overarching trees. On the left a swathed woman bears a large pitcher. On the right a great bull, coloured white and red, lowers his head before Europe, who looks longingly at him and toys with her veil. Higher up Aphrodite is seated, with Eros standing beside her. And above the horizon are seen a male and a female (\textit{̓}t\textit{w}o females) conversing together.

1 So most frequently, \textit{e.g. supra} i. 471 fig. 327, 536 pl. xxxii, 531 fig. 405, 547 fig. 414; iii. 615 n. 5 (1) fig. 415, 615 n. 5 (2) fig. 416, 619 n. 1 fig. 418, 619 n. 2 (1) pl. xvii, 620 n. 0 (2) figs. 419, 420, 622 n. 0 (3) fig. 421, 622 n. 0 fig. 422.
2 \textit{E.g. supra} i. 539 fig. 411, iii. 618 n. 0 (3) pl. xlvi, 1 and 2.
3 \textit{E.g. infra} p. 637 n. 0 (3) pl. xlviii.
4 \textit{Supra} i. 514 ff.
5 \textit{Supra} i. 526 n. 2, 606, 644 figs. 503 and 504.
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with sundry modifications\(^1\) to have lasted on well into Roman

\[\text{Fig. 471.}\]

\[\text{Fig. 472.}\]

\(^1\) A possible Europe—we can hardly rate the evidence higher—hails from the tholos-tomb at Dendra, near Midea on the Argive Plain, excavated by A. W. Persson in 1936 and dated by him and A. J. B. Wace c. 1400—1350 B.C. \(\text{(A. W. Persson. The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea Lund 1931 pp. 67, 143).}\) Among its rich contents were eight metope-like plaques of glass paste, six light blue, two violet in colour, but all bearing a design in relief described as follows by their discoverer: *An animal with head borne
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times—
a total duration of nearly two thousand years. The theme
high moves swiftly towards the right; on its back sits a woman (there is a fastening hole
on each side of her waist) with both legs at one side, the knees very much bent... The
representation naturally recalls those dating from a later period, showing Europa on the
bull, especially that on the archaic metope from Selinus, with a beading on the upper
edge (supra p. 616 fig. 415)—our plaques have one also on the lower edge. On the small
glass plaques from Midea we have the first illustration of the Europa legend, an illustration
of the Mycenaean period (Peresson op. cit. pp. 36, 65 fig. 43, pl. 25, 1 (part of which = my
fig. 423; scale †) and pl. 26, 2). Peresson’s view was adopted by M. P. Nilsson The Mycenaean

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Der Glaube der Hellenen Berlin 1931 p. 112 (‘Bronzereif ’!) and A. Roess in the Journ.
Hell. Stud. 1934 liv. 25 call for caution. If the plaques in question really represent
Europe, this is far the earliest trace of her myth on Greek soil, and the bull—as we
should have anticipated (supra p. 615)—moves from left to right. But Europe, though
the likeliest, is not the only possible bull-rider. What of Artemis Ταυρονόμος (supra i.
417 n. 7, 538 fig. 409, ff. 729 n. 9, 925 n. 9, 1214 (7))? Or, for that matter, what of Chipa
herself?

1 Roman wall-paintings and floor-mosaics of Europe are listed by Helbig Wandgem.
Camp. p. 36 ff. nos. 122—130, p. 454. Sogliano Pitt. mur. Camp. p. 21 f. nos. 79—82,
1—6. One painting and a couple of mosaics will serve to illustrate the range and variety
of these later representations:

(i) The finest of the wall-paintings was found in a house at Pompeii (Rép. i. 5. 18,
room f on the plan by A. Mau in the Bull. d. Inst. 1879 p. 22 pl.) and is now at Naples
(A. Sogliano in the Guida del Mus. Napoli p. 193 no. 1296, G. Rodenwald: Die Komposi-
tion der pompejanischen Wandgemälde Berlin 1909 p. 69 ff. fig. 11, Herrmann Denkm.
d. Malerei pl. 68 (=my fig. 424) Text p. 59 f., L. Curtius Die Wandmalerei Pompejis
Leipzig 1929 p. 280 fig. 4 (a good reproduction in colours), O. Elia Piture murali e
mosaici nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli Roma 1933 p. 37 no. 47 fig. 12). Europe, half-
draped in a violet kimianion with sea-green border, is seated, not to say enthroned, on
the back of a splendid brown bull, which stands steady though his eye is turned seaward
and he is already thinking of the perilous transit. The heroine’s right hand raises her mantle;
his left is laid on the bull’s head and holds a red riband (?) to twine about his horns, cp.
Ov. met. 2. 867 f., Of Europe’s playmates, in wine-red, golden yellow, and greenish
blue, the first stoops to embrace the bull, the third has set down her pitcher—a detail
which implies the proximity of a spring (supra p. 622 n. 6 fig. 422), as perhaps does the
squared structure on the right. The landscape background shows a wooded mountain,
left by a ravine in which are seen a stately fir-tree (?) and before it a tall sacred column
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to indicate that this is holy ground. The whole composition, with its clear-cut contours and sharp sculpturesque qualities, belongs to Mau's Third Style of mural painting (25 B.C.—50 A.D.). But the mysterious glow, which lights up the rock-face, the column, the further

Fig. 474.

legs of the bull, and glints on the breasts of Europe, is a light-and-shade device already heralding the advent of the Fourth Style (50—79 A.D.). The work in general presupposes a good Greek original of the Hellenistic age, to which the Roman copyist has added a conventional background and accessories.

C. III.
(2) A mosaic, found at Praeneste (Palestrina) towards the end of the seventeenth century and now preserved in a bedroom of the Palazzo Barberini at Rome, raises several problems of interest (O. Jahn Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken Wien 1870 p. 7 ff. pl. 2 (= my fig. 425) from a drawing by Schulz, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 484 ff. (no. 41) Atlas pl. 7, 20, W. Heltig Untersuchungen über die
A Roman mosaic from Aquileia: Europe on the Bull, escorted by Eros and Poseidon.

See page 617 n. 0 (3).
appealed, not only to artists and craftsmen, but to poets¹ and

campanische Wandmalerei Leipzig 1873 p. 224 ff., id. in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1412 ff.
fig., id. Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom²
Leipzig 1913 ii. 395 ff., Reinach Kasp. Peint. Gr. Rom. p. 12 no. 1). The bull (white,
shaded with brown) is already in the sea, escaping towards the left, with Europe scantily
draped in a himation (deep orange, shaded with red) on his back. Her adventure is
watched with astonishment and interest by two female figures (local Nymphs?) on the
sea-shore. Above are seen five of Europe's playmates fleeing in alarm towards the right.
Some of them look back as they run. And finally from behind a rock advances a grave
bearded man in a himation (red) with a long staff (yellow) in his hand. Overbeck op. cit.
p. 426 would see in him Zeus, at whose sudden appearance the nearest of the maidens is
collapsing in a swoon! Jahn op. cit. p. 8 had more sensibly taken him to be Aegon
the father of Europe or Kadmos her brother. Helbig Führer² p. 395 f. notes that, apart
from minor injuries and repairs, there is something wrong about the whole composition.
Europe's companions are not looking at the elopement, but forwards or backwards; nor
is Europe herself being carried off from their midst. All would be well, if the mosaic
were bisected and rearranged with its lower half on the left, its upper half on the right
(fig. 426). Accordingly he conjectures that the original design was an oblong fresco,
which the Praenestine craftsman compressed into a square (382 x 382) to fill a given space.
The lively attitudes and the fine colouring point to an artist of marked ability. We are
thus led towards the conclusion that this mosaic is a modified copy of the famous painting
by Antiphilos, a rival of Apelles, whose 'Kadmos and Europe' was to be seen in the
Porticus Pompeia at Rome (Plin. nat. hist. 35. 114; cp. Mart. op. 2. 14; 3. 5, 15 ff.,
3. 20. 12 ff., 11. 1. 11). See further A. Reinach Textes Peint. Anc. i. 385 n. 2.

(3) Of almost equal interest and of even greater beauty is the mosaic found in 1860
near the Cathedral at Aquileia on the estate of Count Cassis and thence removed on
rollers to his Museum in the Castle of Monastero (O. Jahn op. cit. p. 52 ff. with pl. 10
(= my pl. xlviii) from a coloured drawing carefully executed on the spot by the painter
Gr. Rom. p. 12 no. 2). The divine bull here is figured as a sea-beast, brown to grey in
colour: his forefeet plunge in the brine; his hindquarters end in two fish-tails flung aloft
as he frisks along. Europe, wearing a blue fillet on her blond hair, but otherwise stark
naked, sits gracefully on his back, resting one hand on his head, the other on his flank.
Eros, with short wings coloured blue and red, leads the way, holding a flowery halter
in his right hand and a burning torch in his left. Lastly, Poseidon, a wreath of green weed
on his dark brown hair, rides on a big grey dolphin and is followed by a second of smaller
size as he accompanies the bridal cortège and calms the sea for his brother. His right arm
is seen, as if swimming, through the clear water (cp. Nonn. Dion. 1. 74 f.)—an effect made
possible by a clever use of blue glass tesserae. The mosaic, badly cracked and damaged,
must have seen service for many years before Attila captured Aquileia in 452 A.D. Indeed,
von Steinbächel and Jahn assigned it, reasonably enough, to the palmy days of the town
under Trajan and Hadrian. Jahn poses the question whether this rider on a marine bull
might not have been meant for Aphrodite or some Nereid, say Galateia, rather than for
Europe (Nonn. Dion. 1. 57 ff.; cp. supra p. 133 f. figs. 52, 53), but decides rightly for the
last; and even Overbeck says 'eine sichere Entscheidung ist nicht möglich.' I do not
share their hesitation. The obvious intention to represent a wedding train and the general
agreement with other pictures of Europe really leave no room for doubt, not to mention
such confirmatory details as those recorded by Ach. Tat. 1. 1 'Ἐρως ἔλεικε τὸν βούς. Ἐρως,
μακρὸν παιδίον, ἠπόκοιτο τὸ πετρόν... ἔκρατε τὸ πῖπρ ἐπετραπτὸ δὲ ὃς ἐπὶ τὸν Δία καὶ
ὑπεμείθα, ὅτερον αὐτὸν καταγελάω, ὅτι δὲ αὐτὸν γέγονε βοῦς.

¹ The only allusion to Europe in the Homeric poems occurs in the Δίας ἀντίστροφος (Il. 14.
321 f. 323' ὃτε Φοῖνικος κρύον πωθήκε κελευτίως, ἣ τεκέ μοι Μινώω τε καὶ ἀντίθενον Ραδάμανθων).
This bowdlerizing (?) episode omits the actual name of the heroine and ignores the bull.

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prose-writers also. And I suggest that its long-lived appeal implies a deep-seated belief among the Mediterranean peoples that the sky-god could and on occasion did take shape as a bull. If so, it may well be that—as we conjectured above—the ox of the Dipotia was originally held to be the visible form or embodiment of Zeus Polieus himself.

Here we may pause to note a partial parallel from northern Greece. A stèle of Proconnesian marble, found at the village of Kavak between Panderma (Panormos near Kyzikos) and Gunen and acquired in 1908 by the Imperial Ottoman Museum, is shaped like a chapel with gable and akrotéria (fig. 427). The gable is adorned with an ox-head, round which is a garland tied between the horns. In the chapel stands Zeus Ólbios. He wears a chiton

They are found first in Hes. frag. 209 Flach, 52 Kinkel, 30 Rauch ap. schol. A. B. II. 12. 292 Eóρωπη την Φωκικόν Ζεύν θεασάμενον ευ των λειψών μετα νησιών άνθη άναλεγόντων άραξην κατελθών άλλαξεν εαυτόν εις ταιρών και άντι του στήματος κρόκον ἔπνεεν οὕτως τε την Εώρωπην άνατύπος ἡδόνας καὶ διαπρορμέσας εἰς Κρήτην ἐμέρῳ αὐτὴν ἐβ' ἄφθασεν συνυφάκες αὐτήν ΄Αστερήν του Κρήτην βασιλέως. Σεμανήθη ἐν Εγκύοις ἐκείνη τρεῖς παύσας ἐγέννητο, Μίνωα Σαρπεδόνα καὶ Ραδαμνών. Η Ιστορία ταύτη Ίσιδωρ καὶ Βακχύλιδης, cp. schol. T. I. 12. 292 Ἡσίωδος ὁ Πολυάλτης καὶ Δοῦς αὐτῶν (ἐπ. Σαρπεδόνα) φσκόν, schol. Eur. Rhes. 28 ὁ δὲ Ἡσίωδος Βορώπης μὲν φήσεωι αὐτῶν (ἐπ. Σαρπεδόνα: lacunam indicavit Schwartz) δὲ Ελλάνικος (frag. 94 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 131 f. Jacoby)) supra i. 546 n. 5. Enneelos of Corinth, whose floruit (supra i. 738) should have been fixed later than c. 740 B.C. (W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1912 i. 131, W. Schmid—O. Stählin Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1929 i. 1. 290 f.) wrote a Βορώπην dealing with the tale of Europe, but the three extant fragments are not ad rem (Epic. Gr. frag. i. 192 f. Kinkel). Other Greek poets that handled the theme include Eur. Κρήτες frag. 472 Nauck (cited supra i. 648 n. 1) cp. Io. Malal. chron. 2 p. 51 Dindorf καλός καὶ Εώρωπης ὁ σοφότατος ποιητικός συνεργός ὁ, φήσει, Ζεύς μεταβαθείες εἰς ταῖρον τῆς Εώρωπης ἡγέσεως, Mosch. 2. 1—166, Anat. 52 Bergk, 52 Hilfer, (Hom.) Battr. 78 f., Nonn. Dion. 1. 46 ff., 326 ff.

Among Latin poets treating of the same subject the following deserve notice: Hor. od. 3. 27. 25 ff., Ov. Met. 2. 836 ff., fast. 5. 603 ff., Germ. Arat. 536 ff., Anth. Lat. cod. Salmas. 14. 1—34 (i. 1. 49 f. Riese).

1 First in Akouslaitos of Argos frag. 20 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 102 Muller) = frag. 29 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 55 Jacoby) ap. Apollod. 2. 5. 7 ἐθάλην έπέλεγαν άδην τῶν Κρήτης άγαγελον ταῦρον. τούτων 'Ακουσλαίοις μὲν εἶναι φήσι τῶν διαπρορμέσαντα Βορώπην Δι' τινες ἐν τῷ ὕπο τισίν διαθέτοντας άνακολήθα τῇ θαλάσσῃ, δηκοῦσιν Ποιονδαίου Μίνως εἶπε τὸ φαντασμένο γένος τῇ θαλάσσῃ supra i. 544 n. 6. Then follow Theophr. hist. pl. 1. 9. 5 (cited supra i. 526 n. 4), Apollod. 3. 1. 1, Loukian. dial. mar. 13. 1—4, Apul. met. 6. 29, Arch. Tat. 1. 1. 1—1. 2. 2.

2 Supra p. 606.

3 Edhem Bey in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1908 xxxii. 511—528 pls. 5 (=my fig. 427) and 6 (lower part of stèle on larger scale), Reinauc Rép. Reliefs ii. 108 no. 1 (whole) and 175 no. 1 (lower part), Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople iii. 39 ff. no. 836 fig., Harrison Themis p. 148 f. fig. 26.

4 The inscription at the foot of the stèle, apparently composed in imperfect hexameters, runs: Εὐδόκωσι εἰρέσι Διὸς Ὅλην | ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱδίων πάντων καλὸν ἐκδηλώσας ἄνθρωπον φιλημοροῦντας. Others, listed by F. W. Hasluck in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1905 xxv. 56 f. and in his Cyneget Cambridge 1910 p. 272, all came from the same
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and a himation. His left hand grasps a sceptre, the lower end of which disappears behind an eagle with spread wings. His right hand holds a bossed phiale, from which he is pouring a libation above the flame of a small altar. But the most noteworthy feature of the design is that the head of the god with its full beard and long hair combines two bovine horns. Below the figure of Zeus is a sacrificial scene. In the centre is a flaming altar. Before it, and represented on a small scale so as not to conceal the altar, a man with a double axe is about to strike a bull, whose head is bound by a cord to a ring fixed in the ground. On one side stand a boy and a man. Their raised right hands held objects of an oval shape (fruit?). The boy's lowered left hand is holding a bunch of grapes. On the other side stand a girl and a woman. The girl carries in her left hand a dish of fruit and flowers. The woman has fillets in her left hand, and raises her right with open palm in a gesture of invocation.

Zeus Ólbios, the god 'of Welfare', was evidently a giver of fertility; and his bovine horns were due, not to a late confusion with other deities, but to an early conception of him as tauromorphic.


1 Harrison Themist. p. 146 n. 2: 'Miss M. Hardie [Mrs F. W. Hasluck], of Newnham College, kindly examined the original of the relief and writes to me that, so far as it can be made out, there is all the appearance of a bull-mask worn by a human head. If this were certain we should have the figure of a priest impersonating a bull-god, which would be of singular interest.' It would indeed (cf. supra i. 490 ff. fig. 354, 496). But the assumption is too precarious. Edhem Bey in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1908 xxiii. 531 says merely 'la tête barbue, à long (sic) cheveux flottants sur le cou, est surmontée de deux cornes, recourbées comme celles d'un bovidé,' and Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople iii. 39 echoes him: 'la tête est barbue, avec de longs cheveux flottants et deux cornes de taureau.' Neither suggests a mask.

2 So on a fragmentary relief from Tralleis (Edhem Bey in the Rev. Arch. 1904 ii. 361 pl. 15, 1, ed. in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1904 xxviii. 71 ff. pl. 7, 1908 xxiii. 536 ff., Reinh. Rép. Reliefs i. 169 no. 2, Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople ii. 266 ff. no. 547 fig.), which showed a similar sacrifice about to take place at the foot of an old plane-tree.

3 Edhem Bey in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1908 xxxii. 532 says 'ils ont...la main droite relevée et tenant un objet indistinct, de forme ovale, peut-être une torche.' Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople iii. 40, 'un homme debout...lève la main droite en signe d'adoration; à côté de lui, un jeune garçon...dans la même attitude,' etc.

4 Edhem Bey loc. cit. 'un plat chargé de fruits et de fleurs.' Mendel loc. cit. 'un plateau chargé de fruits.'

5 Cp. Apollon Óλβος in Anth. Pal. 9. 573. 16 Óλβος, Óλβων, Óλβων-

6 Edhem Bey loc. cit. p. 535.
(1) *Amphora* at Munich:
Io as a heifer with Argos and Hermes.
*See page 631 n. 3.*

(2) *Stimnos* from Caere, now at Vienna:
Io as a steer (!) with Argos, Hermes, and Zeus.
*See page 633 n. 6.*
Aischylus in the first of his extant plays makes the chorus of Danaides at Argos appeal to Zeus Olbios as the god who had touched Io and thereby become the forefather of their race. But it was in the form of a bull, as the same play shows, that Zeus came into contact with Io, who from that time forward is figured as a heifer.

1 Aisch. supers. 524 ff. Wilamowitz ἄνας ἄνδρων, ἄνδρας, ἄνδρας καὶ τελέων τελεστάντων κράτος, δύνα Ζεῦ, πάνω τε καὶ γένος αὐτοῦ ἄληθεν ἀδριάν ἐκ στιγμής. Μινᾶς ὅ ἐμβαλε πορφυροεδέσι τῶν μελανοθύρευσιν ἄταντα, τὸ πρὸς γυναικῶν ἐπὶ φιλαξίαν ἀμέτρων ἀγένους προγόνους γυναικῶν, πρὸς αὐτὸν σάπους. ἄνω, γενοῦ πολυμνίτωρ θραύστω Ιοῦ. Διὰ τοῦ γένους εὐχήμερον ἕτων ἂς ἀπὸ τάσθενεν.

2 Supra i. 438 f.

3 Representations of Io are collected and discussed in primis by R. Engelmann De Ione commentatio archaeologica Berolini 1868 (first as cow, then under the influence of tragedy as cow-horned maiden, finally as cow once more), id. in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 270—280, id. 'Die Jo-Sage' in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1903 xviii. 37—58 figs. 1—10 and pl. 2 (pp. 51—57 groups the extant monuments as follows: (i) 'Liebeswerben des Zeus um Jo' = nos. 1—3; (ii) 'Jo von Argos bewacht' = nos. 4—8; (iii) 'Tötung des Argos' = nos. 9—27; (iv) 'Jo's Ankunft in Ägypten' = nos. 28—39; (v) 'Einzeldarstellungen der Jo' = nos. 30—50, and p. 57 f. concludes: 'Bis zum Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts, ja man kann auf Grund der Neapler Vase (Taf. 2) noch bestimmter sagen, bis in die siebzig Jahre des 5. Jahrhunderts, wird Jo nur als Kuh dargestellt; nach der Vorführung des Prometheus dagegen erscheint Jo nur als boökeros παρθένος; zwischen beide Darstellungsweisen scheidet sich...die durch das Bostoner Gefäß vertretene Mischbildung einer Kuh mit menschlicher προτομῇ. Dass schon vor Aischylus die menschliche Bildung der Jo bestanden haben kann, ist wegen der Gleichung mit der ägyptischen Isis zuzugeben. Wenn man aber bedenkt, dass der Wechsel in der Darstellungweise der Jo chronologisch genau mit dem Dithyrambus (Kuhform), den Supplikes (Kuh mit menschlicher προτομῇ) und dem Prometheus des Aischylus (boökeros παρθένος) zusammenfällt, und dass weder ein monumentales, noch ein literarisches direktes Zeugnis für einen anderen Entwicklungsgang vorhanden ist, dann wird man sich doch genötigt sehen, die nachgewiesene Abänderung, die mit den Bedürfnissen der Tragödie übereinstimmt, auch als durch die Tragödie veranlasst, anzunehmen'). See also Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus pp. 465—488 ('Jo', distinguishing (i) 'das Liebesabenteuer des Zeus und der Io', (ii) 'Jo von Argos bewacht', (iii) 'die Überlistung oder Einschlafung des Argos durch Hermes', (iv) 'Hermes gewalthätig gegen Argos', (v) 'Jo in Ägypten', (vi) 'Monumente, welche keiner bestimmten Situation angehören').

4 Thus already before the close of s. vi b.c. (supra p. 221) on the throne of Apollo at Amyklaí (Paus. 3. 18. 13 Ἡμὰς δὲ ἄφορον πότῳ τῷ τίνι Ἰνάχῳ βοῦν ὀφεσάν Ἐσχ. An amphora of the 'Northampton style' at Munich (Jahn Vasensamml. München p. 189 no. 573), akin to the Clazomenian variety of Ionic ware, shows the heifer Io held in check by a monstrous Argos, with an extra eye on his chest, while Hermes, with πέλασσα and winged shoes, advances stealthily to free her from the tether. Argos' dog looks round at the intruder; and in the background is a palm-tree, to which Io should be fastened (T. Panofka 'Argos Panoptes' in the Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1837 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 43 ff. 47 col. pl. 5, E. Braun in the Ann. d. Inst. 1838 x. 329, Mon. d. Inst. ii pl. 59, 8, Reinach Rép. Vas. i. 111, 2, Lennémar—de Witte El. mon. cér. iii. 239 ('positivement comique') pl. 99, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 474 (no. 19) ('offenbar komisch oder parodisch') Atlas pl. 7, 19, Wien. Vorelgl. 1890—1891 pl. 12, 1 and 12b (= my pl. xix, 1), Pfuhl Materie ii. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 173, 178, iii. 34 fig. 148). An Attic black-figured panel-amphora, now in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases ii. 115 f. no. R 164), depicts a later moment in the attack (supra ii. 379 fig. 286 from a reversed drawing by E. Vitet. R. Engelmann in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1903 xviii. 52 f. fig. 7
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

Fig. 428.

Fig. 429.
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

(=my fig. 428) was the first to publish the correct design and to include a point noticed by A. S. Murray, that in front of the heifer's head stood the letters (O) for 'Iō'. An early red-figured plate by 'the Cerberus Painter' c. 520—510 B.C. (M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 191), found at Chiusi and later in the Pizziati and Blaydes collections, makes Hermes administer the *coup de grâce*, while Iō as a heifer bounds away on her wanderings (E. Gerhard in the Arch. Zeit. 1847 v. 17 ff. pl. 2 (=my fig. 439), Reinach Rép. Vases i. 363, 1, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 479 (no. 17) Atlas pl. 7, 18, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases i. 145 no. 7, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rothfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 30 no. 5). A red-figured *stamnos* from Cuero, now at Vienna (Masner Samml. ant. Vazen u. Terracotten Wien p. 52 no. 338), by 'the Argos Painter' c. 480 B.C. likewise has Hermes slaying Argos, here covered with eyes, but by a slip represents Iō as a steer (!), and adds a seated and sceptred Zeus, completing the picture by an olive-tree on the left and a palm-tree, with a doe behind it, on the right (R. Schöne in the Ann. d. Inst. 1862 xxxvii. 147—149 pl. 1—K (interprets the gesture of Zeus as a hint of his ultimate intervention, cp. Aisch. P. v. 848 f. ἐνταῦθα δή σκειρία τιθηναι διοραματικά | ἐπάφος ἀνατρεπτική ξεραῖ καὶ θέρετρα μόρφως, Mosch. 2, 50 ff. ἐν δὲ ἔναν Ἰωνίαν Κρόνιδα ἐκφαίρομεν ἡμᾶς χερεῖν | πόρτος Ἰαλαχίας, τὸν δὲ ἐκφαίρομεν παρὰ Νεάπολι | ἐκ βωδοὺς οἰκεράσιον πάλας μεταμεταβοῦσα γυναικα), Reinach Rép. Vases i. 314, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus pp. 38 (c), 477 f. (no. 15) Atlas pl. 7, 10, Wien. Vorl. 1890—1891 pl. 11, 1 (=my pl. xix, 2), J. D. Beazley op. cit. p. 110 no. 1). A red-figured *hydra* by 'the Girgenti Painter' c. 475 B.C., formerly in the Pascale collection at Santa Maria di Capua and now at Bryn Mawr, has a finely painted design of Argos, with eyes all over his body (even one between the straps of his right boot and another under his left boot), leopard-skin cape, fur pilos, club, and sword, pursued by Hermes (wreath, pilos, chlamys) in the act of drawing his sword. Iō as a heifer bounds away to the left. The Doric column, the altar, and the priestess with temple-key and poppy-headed sceptre, mark the scene as taking place in the Argive Heraion. The four small bushes are its sacred grove (Apollod. 2. 1. 3 says of Argos ὁδοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐθνικῆς ἡσαμαγμένης αὐτῆς, ἢτοι ἐν τῷ Μικραίαν ὑπήρχεν δέλατα). Finally, Zeus and Hera balance each other on the left and right (E. Petersen in the Röm. Mitth. 1893 viii. 328 no. 17, J. C. Hoppin 'Argos, 10, and the Prometheus of
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ōlbios

as a heifer with human face, as a maiden with heifer’s ears and horns, as a horned maiden, or at least as a maiden with a heifer at her side.


Graeco-Roman gems revert to the animal form of Io. A brown chalcedony from the Blacas collection, now in the British Museum, shows Hermes on the left holding the heifer by her horns and Zeus on the right standing with left hand raised and an eagle at his feet (T. Panofoκ loc. _cit._ pp. 48 ff., 46 pl. 1, 7, G. P. Secchi in the _Ann. d. Inst._ 1898 x. 315, E. Braun _ib. 339, Mon. d. Inst._ ii pl. 59, 4 (=my fig. 431: scale 1) from an impression by T. Cades, _Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems_ p. 143 no. 1201 pl. 18). See also the gem noted _supra_ i. 440 n. 4 fig. 212, of which there is a photograph in Imhof-Blumer and O. Keller _Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen der klastischen Alterthums_ Leipzig 1889 p. 132 no. 28 pl. 21.

1 K. Engelmann in the _Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst._ 1903 xviii. 38 ff. fig. 1 (=my fig. 432) was the first to publish an important vase at Boston, on which Io appears as a heifer with human face. This red-figured _minoide_ came from south Italy and is described as ‘wahrscheinlich apulisch, in direkter Nachahmung attischer Ware aus der Mitte des V. Jahrhunderts.’ Engelmann adds: ‘Meiner Meinung nach dürfte man mit der Zeitbestimmung noch etwas höher hinaufgehen.’ The vase represents a beardless Hermes, with _χλωμή_ _πήλακτος_ _καδακέας_ and _σαρεφό_ and sword, advancing against Argos, who wears _κιθήν_ _οξ-ηδίκα_ ( _supra_ i. 468 f.), leather cap, and brandishes a club as he turns to face his pursuer. Io moves off towards the right: her body is that of a heifer, but her head has bovine horn and ear combined with the features of a maiden, and a veil the folds of which serve to conceal the ungainly combination. Engelmann acutely remarks that the same _quasi-oriental_ ‘Mischbildung’ is presupposed by the earliest of the extant Aeschylean tragedies (Aisch. _suppl._ 265 ff. Wilamowitz _βορτ_ _έα_ _γάτος_ _τριάνθον_ _κλωμόρ_ _δειματι_ _θωμόν_ _τάθοον_ _όφηΔ_ _οντι_ _βακκί_ _δρώτης_ _θυγ_ _μηδιβρότος_ _τάρ_ _μύον_ _βοίς_ _κατωκτόρ_ _τώρα_ _εθάμβως_). But S. Eitrem in _Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc._ ix. 1739 replies: ‘Aber Aischylus braucht ja nicht absolut an ein solches Mischwesen zu denken, _Iō_ mag auch in den Hlk[etides] nur als kuhhörnig gedacht worden sein, um als ein “wunderbares Mischgeschöpf” bezeichnet zu werden.’


A good example of Io with cow’s horns and cow’s ear is the Jatta _krater_ already figured ( _supra_ i. 459 n. 5 with fig. 318), of which Overbeck _Gk. Kunstmyth._ Zeus p. 480 (no. 19) says: ‘Den Mittelpunkt bildet Io, welche als kuhgehörnte und daneben, als
Antefixes of terra cotta, semi-elliptical in shape and adorned with the head of Io in relief, have been found in some numbers at Tarentum. The British Museum has two, one certainly, the other possibly, from that town (Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 415 no. D 665 Tarentum 1884 (height 6½ ins.), p. 419 no. D 692 Towneley collection (height 7¼ ins.)). The Museum of Fine Arts at Boston has other specimens of the same sort.
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Olbios

(Annual Report Boston 1901 p. 63 n.). There are several in Berlin, and many in the Tarentine Museum (A. Furtwängler in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1888 iii. 273 n. 1 = id. Kleine Schriften München 1913 ii. 216 n. 1). One of the Berlin examples, found at Tarentum, is figured by R. Engelmann in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1903 xviii. 55 no. 34 fig. 8. I add one of the same type, likewise found at Tarentum in 1919, and now in my collection (fig. 433: height 7½ ins., breadth 8 ins.). It represents Io en face with budding horns and bovine ears. Between her horns is seen part of a veil (Engelmann

loc. cit. says ‘Zwischen den Hörnern Binde’; and Walters loc. cit. D 692, ‘over the forehead, indications of cow’s hide (?)’; and from her ears hang earrings of one drop. Lastly, round her throat is a necklace of fourteen pendants. She is in fact figured as the beloved of Zeus in full bridal array. Furtwängler loc. cit. remarks: ‘Der stallistische Charakter dieses Typus auf den Stirnriegeln...ist derjenige der Zeit gegen 400.’ I agree. But I dissent from his further contention, that we have here a goddess—say Artemis Tyberipolos—rather than the heroine Io. It must not be forgotten that Io, as priestess of Hera, was herself in some sense divine (supra i. 453 ff.). I am disposed therefore to think that these antefixes came from a sanctuary of Hera, whose head with transparent veil (Tyberipolos), earring, and necklace appears c. 340–c. 302 B.C. on the splendid gold coinage of Tarentum (M. P. Vlasto in the Journ. Intern. d’Arch. Num. 1899 ii. 303 ff. pls. III', I–9, 17 f., IS', 1–5. C. Saltman Greek Coins London 1933 p. 198 f. pl. 45, 11, 12, 18).
Bovine ears, an unnecessary deformation, are discarded in most representations of Io as a horned maiden, e.g. on a red-figured krater from Ruvo in the Barone collection (supra ii. 379 f. fig. 487), and as time goes on even her horns tend to be minimised (infra i. 237 n. 3) until they are scarcely, if at all, discernible (infra figs. 434, 438 f.).

Fig. 434.

Nikias of Athens, the famous contemporary of Praxiteles (Plin. nat. hist. 35. 133), is known to have painted a large picture of Io (id. ib. 35. 132). Pliny, describing his technique, says that he 'devoted special attention to women, was careful in his treatment of light and shade, and took particular pains to make his figures stand out against the background' (id. ib. 35. 130 f.). This inter alia justifies W. Helbig Untersuchungen über
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

die campanische Wandmalerei Leipzig 1873 pp. 113, 140 ff. In his conjecture, now commonly accepted, that the fresco of Io in the 'House of Livia' on the Palatine (G. Perrot in the Rev. Arch. 1870–1871 i. 387 ff. pl. 15 (=my fig. 434). Overbeck Gr. Kunsthymn. Zeits p. 483 (no. 20) Atlas pl. 7, 11. A. Mau in the Ann. d. Inst. 1880 iii. 136 ff., Mon. d. Inst. xi col. pl. 22, A. Reinauch Texte Peint. Anc. i. 288 n. 5, Reinauch Rég. Peint. Gr. Rom. p. 16 no. 3. Pflühl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 753, iii. 316, fig. 708, H. Bulle 'Untersuchungen an Griechischen theatern' in the Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1928 Philos.-philol. Classe xxxiii. 399–411. M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1939 p. 279 fig. 448 (from photo), L. Curtius Die Wandmalerei Pompejus Leipzig 1939 p. 258 ff. with figs. 62 (wall), 154 (head of Io from photo), 155 (whole picture from photo) is in its essentials a copy of Nikias' work. Io, with the faintest indication of horns on her brow, sits in dejection at the foot of a pillar, on which stands the effigy of a sceptre-bearing Hera. The background is occupied by a big rock. On the right Argos, a young man equipped with spear, sword, and spotted panther-skin (in lieu of extra eyes), leans forward in the favourite Lyssiphan attitude of the supported foot (supra p. 622 n. 0 (2), infra p. 706) gazing intently at Io. On the left Hermes (his name is given in Greek lettering), with radiceus, winged pétasos, and chalmys, approaches to carry out the behest of Zeus. The theme was popular, for it occurs not only in this picture, which is of Mau's 'Second or Architectural Style' (r. i b.c.), but—with omission of Hermes and Hera—in sundry Pompeian paintings (Helbig Wandgem. Camp. p. 38 f. nos. 131—134, Reinauch Rég. Peint. Gr. Rom. p. 15 nos. 4 and 6, p. 16 no. 2), of which the best are one from Reg. ix. 7. 14 in the 'Third Style' (c. 25 B.C.—c. 50 A.D.) (Herrmann Denkm. d. Malerei Text p. 67 ff. fig. 16, L. Curtius op. cit. p. 258 ff. fig. 126) and one from the Macellum in the 'Fourth Style' (c. 50—79 A.D.) (Herrmann op. cit. p. 53 Text p. 67 ff., L. Curtius op. cit. p. 260 ff. fig. 157). Pictures of the sort were certainly known to Propertius (i. 5. 19 f. sed sic intentis haeretam fixus ocellis, | Argus ut ignotis cornibus Inachidos), if not also to Statius (Theb. 6. 276 f. Io post tergum, iam prona dolorque parentis, | spectat inocciduis stellatum visibus Argum). Nikias' masterpiece exerted a powerful influence over the vase-painters of South Italy, who borrowed its main features and used them, inappropriately enough, to express the happy ending of Io's sad story—the moment when in far-off Egypt Zeus sent long last would by his touch restore her to her senses and claim her as his bride (Aisch. suppl. 310, P. v. 848 ff. Wilamowitz). A red-figured amphora of 'Lucanian' style, found at Anzi, Basilicata, and later in the Coghill collection (J. Millingen Peintures antiques des vases grecs de la collection de Sir John Coghill Rome 1817 pl. 46, T. Panofka loc. cit. pp. 20 ff., 47 col. pl. 4, 1 (=my fig. 435), Lenormant—de Witte Et. mon. cér. i. 55 ff. pl. 26, Overbeck Gr. Kunsthymn. Zeits p. 466 f. (no. 1) Atlas pl. 7, 7, Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 19 f. pl. 3, 37, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke Ant. Denkm. i. 73 ff. pl. 7, 12, Reinauch Rég. Peint. Vases ii. 16, 2), shows Io after her wanderings seated on the altar of Hera, while Eros empties his perfume above her. On the right, Zeus, beardless (originally bearded, but repainted: cp. supra p. 622 n. 0 (2) fig. 419) and half-draped, draws near, holding his eagle-sceptre. On the left, Hermes, with supported foot, walks the issue. Behind Hermes, an olive-tree. Behind Zeus, a Satyr (?) Pan, repainted with pan-pipes. The scene is repeated and amplified on another 'Lucanian' vase, a red-figured hydria from Apulia now at Berlin (Gerhard Ant. Bildw. p. 366 ff. pl. 115, T. Panofka loc. cit. pp. 22 ff., 47 col. pl. 4, 2 (=my fig. 436), Lenormant—de Witte Et. mon. cér. i. 47 ff. pl. 25, Overbeck Gr. Kunsthymn. Zeits p. 467 ff. (no. 2) Atlas pl. 7, 8, Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin ii. 873 ff. no. 3164), which makes Io sit on the pedestal of the goddess (here treated as Artemis with bow and wheel-torch: cp. supra i. 408 f. fig. 304) holding a casket and lotos-fillet. These are the love-gifts of Zeus, who approaches coyly from the right, shouldering a long lotiform sceptre. On the left, Hermes, his foot supported as usual, rests one hand on a club and holds tablets in the other. Behind Hermes is Hera in person, now reconciled to her rival. Behind Zeus, dove on finger, stands Aphrodite, present to bless the lovers. Eros, with hoop and hoop-stick, spreads his pinions above them. Trees, plants, a tripod, and a hydria mark the spot as a sacred precinct, while
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ὀλβίος

Fig. 435.

Fig. 436.
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

Artemis’ fawn in the foreground shows to whom that precinct belongs. Finally, in the top right hand corner, partly concealed by a hill, is Pan with his pipes, a frequent adjunct on South-Italian vases (e.g. supra i. 222 pl. xix, i. 375 fig. 287; ii. 416 with fig. 322).

On comparing these two vases with the Palatine copy of Nikias’ painting it becomes clear that they have taken over much from the Athenian original—(a) the central figure of Io herself, seated, half-draped, and with budding horns on her brow; (b) the statue of Hera on a pillar or pedestal, unsuitable to its new Egyptian context and therefore transformed into a more barbaric Artemis; (c) the helper Hermes on the left, who having now slain Argos is free to appropriate his attitude—an exchange the more pardonable because that attitude had belonged to Hermes in fifth-century art (supra ii. 738 fig. 668) long before it was borrowed by Argos. On this showing we shall not agree with H. Bulle loc. cit. that the statue of Hera on a pillar was a stagey addition due to the Roman copyist, nor with L. Curtius loc. cit. that Hermes (carefully inscribed, remember, in Greek letters) was merely ‘eine Zitat des Malers des zweiten Stils.’ Curtius is, however, right in contending that in other Pompeian frescoes representing Io, Argos, and Hermes (Helbig op. cit. p. 39 f. nos. 135 and 137, Curtius op. cit. p. 263 f. figs. 158 and 159) the figure of Io was copied or modified from the type first devised by Nikias. Modification has gone further and fared worse in paintings of her arrival in Egypt (Helbig op. cit. p. 40 f. nos. 138 and 139, Curtius op. cit. p. 215 ff. figs. 137 and 129).

The popularity of this seated Io may be gauged from the fact that she is found as an isolated and purely decorative figure, surrounded by a fantastic floral arabesque, on a hydria from Basilicata now at Naples (Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 487 f. (e), Heydemann Vasenannml. Neapel p. 443 no. 2922, O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 279 with fig. (= my fig. 457)).
A cornelian signed by Dioskourides, the supreme glyptic artist of the Augustan age (Plin. nat. hist. 37. 8, Suet. Aug. 50, cp. Dion Cass. 51. 3), shows a deep-cut head of Io, again with budding horns, earrings, and necklace. This gem, admittedly the loveliest of his works, is said to have been found in 1756 on the estate of the Duca di Bracciano, from whose possession it passed into the Poniatowski collection. In 1839 that collection was sold in London, and the present owner of the gem is unknown (S. Reimach in the Chronique des Arts jan. 5 and 12, 1895, pp. 2 and 11, E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 1478 n. 1). Publications include Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 486 (b).

Fig. 438.

Gemmentaf. 5, 10 (inadequate), A. Furtwängler in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1888 iiii. 224 ff. no. 6 pl. 8, 25 (= id. Kleine Schriften München 1913 ii. 215 ff. no. 6 pl. 26, 25), id. Ant. Gemment. i. pl. 49, 9 and pl. 51, 17 (enlarged), ii. 234, J. H. Middleton The Engraved Gems of Classical Times Cambridge 1891 p. 78 f. My fig. 438 is from a fine impression of the original by T. Cades Collezione di N° 1,400 Impressioni delle migliori pietre incise, da antiche, che moderne, ricavati dalle più distinte Collezioni conosciute delle Europa Ima Classe, A no. 42.

Fig. 439.

Copies of this masterpiece have, of course, been made in modern times (A. Furtwängler locc. cit.). But ancient copies also exist. One such is a sard from Kalchedon, formerly in the Tyszkiewicz collection and now in that of Mr E. P. Warren (J. D. Beazley The Lewis House Collection of Ancient Gems Oxford 1926 p. 94 f. no. 113 pl. 6). Another, which came to me in 1926 from Mr A. P. Ready and was previously in the Evans collection, is a clouded cornelian, very deeply cut and still set in its ancient gold bezel (fig. 439: scale 2). Common to these two stones is the unusual depth of the intaglio and the series of straight cuts by which the bust is terminated below.

4 E.g. (1) A painting of Io with a cow, Hermes, and Argos, from the temple of Isis at Pompeii (Helbig Wandgem. Camp. p. 39 no. 135, Herrmann Denkm. d. Malerei pl. 57 C. III. 41
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

By a natural play upon names Zeus Ólbios was taken as the patron-deity of such towns as Olba in Kilikia and Olbia on the

Text p. 73 f.). (2) A variant of the same subject from the Casa del citarista at Pompeii (Helbig op. cit. p. 40 no. 137, Herrmann op. cit. pl. 58, 1 Text p. 73 f.). Herrmann ib. p. 73 n. 1 says of (1): 'Ob Io selbst an der Stirn die Kuhhörner trägt, wie Helbig im Katalog angibt, ist bei der mangelhaften Erhaltung des Bildes nicht mehr sicher zu erkennen. Wahrscheinlicher ist mir, dass sie fehlen, und dass durch die Kuh selbst neben Io die Verwandlung der Jungfrau angedeutet wurde, so dass die Kuhhörner an der Stirn ein unnützer Pleonasmus waren. Auch auf dem Bilde der Casa del citarista ([2])...kann ich keine Kuhhörner bei Io entdecken.'

For the coins of Gaza see supra i. 236 nn. 3 figs. 176, 177.

1 For recent investigations on the site see J. T. Bent in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1891 xii. 222—223 (visit and description), E. L. Hicks ib. 262—270 (inscriptions), R. Heberdey—A. Wilhelm in the Denkm. d. Akad. Wien 1896 vi. Abh. 'Reisen in Kilikien' pp. 83—91 (mainly inscriptions) with figs. 14 (temple of Zeus) and 15 ('Hallenstrasse'), E. Herzfeld in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1909 xxiv Arch. Anz. pp. 434—441 with fig. 1 (plan of ruins at Úzundja Burdić), J. Keil—A. Wilhelm in the Jahrbuch d. ost. arch. Inst. 1915 xviii Beiblatt pp. 55—64 with figs. 8 (tower), 9 (temple of Zeus), 10 (temple of Tyche), 11 (gateway), 12 (inscription), and especially J. Keil—A. Wilhelm in Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua 1931 iii. 44—79 ('Úzundja Burdić—Doikasareia') and 80—89 ('Úrula—Olba') with figs. 66—116, numerous facsimiles of inscriptions, and pls. 1 (map), 20 figs. 64 and 65 (tower), 21 f. (plans), 23 f. (temple of Zeus), 25 (architectural details), 26 f. ('Torbau'), 28 (gateway), 29 (temple of Tyche), 30—34 (other monuments etc. at Úzundja Burdić), 35 (plan of Úrula), 36—39 (other monuments etc. at Úrula). I append a brief summary of their conclusions with regard to the temple of Zeus.

On a limestone plateau in southern Kilikia, which rises to a height of 1100 or more (J. T. Bent in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1891 xii. 222 says 3800 ft. above sea-level), there is an impressive pile of ruins known as Úzundja Burdić, 'Tall Tower.' It gets its name from a Hellenistic five-storeyed fortress (built c. 200 B.C. and restored c. 150—100 B.C.), which is represented apparently on a bronze coin of Olba struck in the time of Hadrian (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia etc. p. 124 no. 21 pl. 22, 8) and still dominates the scene. There was a tendency to protect the oblong tómenos of Zeus 'Ολβος, whose temple has been identified from an inscription on the back wall of its western stoa recording repairs to the stoa-roof c. 60—50 B.C. (fig. 440 = part of Herzfeld's sketch in Mon. At. Min. 1931 iii. 50 fig. 71; cp. Heberdey—Wilhelm loc. cit. p. 85 no. 166 = Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no 1231 ἕρακλειον μ[ε]γ[ά]ς Τειέρας Ζυρμόφανου [φω]τ[η]ήρας Δι[ο]ς Ο[λβος] τά[ς] [π]ρότ[ε]ρ[ό]ς [ο] [π]αρί[τ]ερον [γ]εράς [τ]άκη[ν]όν [τ]άκη[ν]όν [τ]άκη[ν]όν [τ]άκη[ν]όν [τ]άκη[ν]όν [Τ]έσαλοι Νικά[τορος]. The tómenos-wall and the temple itself, to judge from the style of their architecture, were erected under Seleukos i Nikator (312—281 B.C.). The temple is remarkably well preserved (fig. 441 is from the photograph in Mon. At. Min. 1931 iii pl. 24, which shows the temple as seen from the S.W.). Its thirty-two Corinthian columns are all standing, though only four of them retain their capitals (fig. 442 = Herzfeld's elevation and sections...
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ölbios

in Mon. As. Min. 1931 iii. 47 fig. 67). The rest were removed in Christian times, when the walls of the naos were demolished, the columns of the peristasis built in, and an apse added to transform the temple into a fifth-century church (fig. 463 = Herzfeld’s plan in Mon. As. Min. 1931 iii. 49 fig. 68).

The temple was the main sanctuary of Ὄλβη or Ὀλβα (Ura), which lay on lower ground a few miles to the east and was connected with it by means of a plastered and partly rock-cut road running between ancient tombs—one of many cases in which the local ἱερόν was at some distance from its town. But little by little the ἱερόν of Olba
grew to be a town in its own right, till at length—probably in the reign of Vespasian—it acquired, as we infer from an inscription found by W. Bauer on the north front of the town-gate, the name Diokaisareia (Mon. As. Min. 1931 iii. 44 f., 71 no. 73, 1 ff. ἐπὶ τῆς εὐρυχεατὰς τῆς βασιλείας τῶν διδυμών [τῆς οἰκουμένης] τῆς Φλ(αβίου) Ἀρκαδίου καὶ Φλ(αβίου) Ὄνυ[ψ]ου τῶν [εἰκών] Ἀγίων [ωστών] τῷ πάν ἐργον τῷ ὑπὲρ τιμῆς Διοκα(σαρίων ἐν θεμισίου ζ[πίκ]ατεσσοκε[άσθν] | ἀρχο[τος] τῶν λατρε[υσάνων] [κ]αὶ ὑθ[μασιοεστάνων κ]όμης πρ[οτού τάγματος] | καὶ δο[μος Ἱανουρίας] Φλ(αβίου) Δεοτί[ῶν]. The first three words of line 3 might also be restored as τοῦ [τιχοῦ] τῆς ο[ν] τοῦ τὸν πόλεις τῆς, but the general sense is clear).

The cult is said to have been established by Aias, son of Teukros; and the whole district was ruled in historical times by priestly dynasts, most of whom were named Teukros or Aias (Strab. 672). This is largely borne out by epigraphic evidence. An inscription, in letters of the third century B.C., built into a fortress of polygonal masonry, on which is carved the triskelion symbol, at a place variously called ᾿Ακανθίον or Κανιδέλι (Kanytelis: see W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 1886) three miles from the
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

Fig. 442.

Fig. 443.

ΔΙΟΛΒΙΩΙ
ΙΕΡΕΥΣΤΕΥΧΡΟΣ
ΤΑΡΚΥΛΡΙΟΣ

Fig. 444.
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

coast at Ayash (Elaiousa Sebaste: W. Ruge ib. v. 2778 f. and J. Keil—A. Wilhelm in Mon. At. Min. 1931 iii. 220 ff.), has been claimed as the oldest Cilician document yet discovered: E. L. Hicks in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1891 xii. 276 no. 1 with cut (my fig. 444) = Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 1530 Διὶ Οἶλβιον | ἵππων θέμενοι | Παρευάς ('son of Tarkyaris'). Other inscriptions of the sort, collected by J. Keil—A. Wilhelm in Mon. At. Min. 1931 iii. 67 ff. nos. 63—71, include p. 69 no. 68 pl. 34 a limestone base from the valley of tombas at Usunedja Burdj reading 'Olbës Í Oθòs Í Kànûnà Zêpôfàmûn Théôkrou τοῦ Υψόφατον | ἅρα μάζα Δῖας Οἶλβιον ἄρτης | οὖν καὶ κοῦν αὐτοὶ εἰς αὐτοῖν διατέλει. The name Zenophanes, which occurs repeatedly in these inscriptions, was of excellent omen for a priest of Zeus (cp. Zàr as priest of Zeus at the Corycian cave (Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 418 n. 2) and supra ii. 921 n. 6).

The name Alas, son of Teukros, is further attested by the coinage of Olba. The earliest coins, referable to the end of 6th c., have a throne as their obverse, a winged thunderbolt as their reverse type (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycoania etc. pp. iii. 119 pl. 21, 7). Later coins, struck from 10/11 A.D. onwards by Alas, son of Teukros, high-priest and toponym of Kennatis and Lalassis (ΑΙΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΕΥΚΡΟΥ | ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΕΝΝΑΤ- ΆΛΑΣΣΟΣ etc.), have obv. head of Alas as Hermes with cap, ear-rings, chlamys, and caduceus, rev. triskeles (ib. pp. iii f., 119 pl. 21, 8, McClean Cat. Coins iii. 291 pl. 337, 1 f., supra i. 304 fig. 234) or winged thunderbolt (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycoania, etc. p. 172 pl. 21, 10) or inscription (ib. p. 170 pl. 21, 12) or obv. triskeles (ib. p. 119 pl. 21, 9) or thunderbolt (ib. p. 170 pl. 21, 11, rev. inscription. Similar types occur with obv. head of Augustus (ib. p. 130 f. 22, 1—3, McClean Cat. Coins iii. 291 pl. 337, 3), Tiberius (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycoania, etc. p. 122 f. pl. 27, 4 f.), and M. Antonius Polemo (ib. p. 123 f. pl. 22, 6 f.).

Imperial coins of Diokaisarea, apart from variations of such types as the head of Hermes with caduceus (ib. p. 71 pl. 12, 11), the thunderbolt (ib. p. 71 f. pl. 12, 13), and the throne (ib. p. 73 pl. 13, 1), make some positive additions to our knowledge of the cult. Bronze pieces issued by Septimius Severus (ib. p. 72 pl. 12, 14, my fig. 445 from a cast) show obv. the emperor's bust wearing cuirass and paludamentum (countermarks: eagle and winged thunderbolt), rev. the hexastyle temple of Zeus 'Olbës, with a bucranium in its pediment, two Nikai (?) as abrotaria, a thunderbolt upright in the central intercolumniation, and on the left an altar in front of a tree (or possibly a tree in a square vase, cp. the shrub in a pot beside the temple of Hera on a coin of Samos struck by Gordianus Pius (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia p. 383 no. 704. Fig. 446 is from a specimen in my collection) and the storax-trees of Selge (supra ii. 492 n. o figs. 378—381). The remarkable coins of Julia Domna showing a winged thunderbolt erect on a high-backed throne have been already illustrated (supra ii. 810 fig. 773 f.), and I have ventured to infer from their leonine arm-rests that Zeus had here taken over the throne of the Anatolian mother-goddess or her consort. The inference may be strengthened by the fact that other coins, struck by Philippus Senior, represent the city as a veiled and
turreted goddess seated towards the right, while Tyche—her second self—with kilathos, rudder, and cornu copiae stands before her, and a river-god swims at her feet (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia, etc. p. 74 ff. pl. 13, 3 = my fig. 447 from a cast). Substantial remains of the Tychoion (E. L. Hicks in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1891 xii. 254 no. 50 'Οχθιος ὁ Κύρη Λευκών ἡ γυνὴ Οχθιώ τῆς Τριαδος τῆς πάνω), a temple dating from the second half of 6 c. i. A.D., are still to be seen at Usuncja Burführ (Mon. As. Min. 1931 iii. 56 with pl. 29 and figs. 80, 83).

It seems likely that the temple of Zeus at Olba, founded by Aias, son of Teukros, was a filial of the earlier and more famous temple of Zeus at Salamis in Kypros, founded by Teukros himself (Tac. ann. 3. 61 exim Cyproi tribus <see (ins. Bezenberger)> delubris, quorum vetustissimum Paphalæ Veneri auctor Aërias, post fulius eius Amathus Veneri Amathusiae et Iovi Salaminio Teucer, Telamonis patris ira profugus, possemiss). Not much is known of the Salaminian Zeus. Ampelius, drawing from some Alexandrinian source (G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1880), mentions among the wonders of the world a Cyprian colossus of the god (Ampel. 8. 20 Cypros sigillum Iovis Olympiæ aereum, facies ex auro, quem fecit Phidias + in (C. H. Tischbein. Figures c. altum) cubitis centum quinquaquinquaginta et latum cubitos sexaginta); but nobody is likely to believe him—confusion (Overbeck Schriftquellen p. 134 no. 738) and exaggeration are all too obvious. E. Assmann (ed. 1935) assumes a conflation of Ampelius' text (Cypros <sigillum > aereum, facies ex auro, altum > cubitis centum quinquaquinquaginta et latum cubitos sexaginta) with a marginal list of the seven wonders (sigillum Iovi Olympi quem fecit Phidias). Justin in his third-century abridgement of Pompeius Trogus (whose historiae Philippicae, written under Augustus, were in all probability the Latin version of a Greek original by Timagenes, itself based on the Phaiusidæ of Theopompus and on other historical works by Ephoros, Timaios, Kleitarchos, Polybios, Poseidonios, Deinon, etc.; see W. S. Teuffel—L. Schwabe History of Roman Literature trans. C. W. Warr London 1891 i. 537 f., M. Schanz Geschichte der römischen Literatur München 1899 ii. 1. 178 f.) tells how Elissa, after her husband Acherbas had been murdered by her brother Pygmalion, fled from Tyre to Cyprus and was there joined by the priest of Jupiter, who bargained that he and his descendants should hold the priesthood in perpetuity (Iust. 18. 5. 1—3 primus illis adpulsus terrae Cypros insula fuit, ubi sacros Iovis cum coniuge et libris deorum monitu comitem se Elissae sociumque praebuit, pactus sibi posteroque perpetuum honorem sacerdotii. condicio pro manente omine accepta). Ammianus Marcellinus, writing shortly after 383 A.D. (M. Schanz op. cit. München 1904 iv. 1. 90), notes the fame of Jupiter's shrines at Salamis and Venus' temple at Paphus (Amm. Marc. 14. 8. 14 Cyprum itidem insulam...inter municipia crebra urbes dua facient clarum, Salamis et Paphus: altera Iovis delubris, altera Veneris templi insignis). A curious legend told about Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, who died an old man in 403 A.D. (R. A. Lipsius in Smith—Wace Dict. Chr. Biogr. ii. 152), proves that in Christian times the temple of Zeus, though closed and of evil repute, was still standing and known as the 'Security' (or 'Strong Room?') of the god, apparently because it contained much treasure within sealed doors. The story, which exists in a longer (Polybios v. Epiphan. 53 in Dindorf's ed. of Epiphanius Lipsiae 1859 i. 38 f.) and shorter form (v. Epiphan. epit. 53 in Dindorf's ed. v. xx), is to this effect. Once during a sore famine a certain rich man named Faustinius sold wheat and barley to the people. Epiphanius begged him for corn to feed the hungry poor and undertook to repay him for it. Faustinius bade him go and ask his God to supply their need. So Epiphanius went out one night, as was his wont, to pray among the tombs of the martyrs and besought God to succour the needy. Now there was an ancient temple called the Security of Zeus, and people believed that, if any man approached it, he would be promptly carried off by death. But while Epiphanius prayed God's voice was heard saying: 'Go to the temple called the Security of Zeus, and the seals of the doors shall be loosened, and entering in thou shalt find gold in abundance. Take it and buy all the wheat and barley of Faustinius, and give food to the needy.' Thereupon Epiphanius went to the temple and, as he approached it, the seals fell, the doors flew open, and he found gold enough to buy up
The longer version of this narrative says ἂν δὲ ναὸς ἐξείπο ἀρχαῖος, διότι ἐκάλεσε Δώσι ἀσφάλεια, τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ναῷ εἰ ποτε ἤγγισε τις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἔλεγε τοὺς κότας ὡς θαντὸν λαμπάνεται and again ἀπελθεῖ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ καλοῖς ἄσφαλεία, καὶ λυθήσεται αἱ τῶν θυρών σφραγίζεται, καὶ εἰπεῖς τὸν ἐξήλθες χρυσίον πολύ. The epithet would explain away the difficult name by writing ἄθαν ἀτόμῳ ἐν μῇ φωνῇ ἀφανίθῃ, κατέλθει ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ ναῷ τῷ ἐπιλεγομένῳ τῷ Δώσι ἕτοι τον ἀσφαλείαν πολλῆς. καὶ δὴ ἀπελθόντος ἀτόμου ἀρσάτος τὰ κλειδαὶ διαφυγή ὑπὸ θεοῦ, καὶ εἰπεῖς τὸν ἐξήλθες εἴρετε χρυσίον πολύ. But ἀσφάλεια is probably concrete, cp. Hesych. s.v. κλειδαὶ: μοχλοῖς ἀσφάλεια (ἀσφαλείας cod.). πολύ = Favorin. lex. p. 1061, 53. There can be little doubt
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

that the building in question was the old heathen temple of Zeus Σαλαύμων (E. Oberhumer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i A. 1842), not the much later tomb still extant as the 'Prison of Saint Catharine' (on which see J. L. Myres in Archaeologia 1915 lxvi. 179—194 with fig. 1 and pl. 21 f.).

The remains of the old temple have not yet been found. But a large oblong precinct, first located in 1882 by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter (Kypros p. 23 ff.) and partially excavated

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ΙΜΩΞΩΛΝ}
\text{ΥΝΩΚΤΩΚΕΙΤΩ}
\text{ΛΙΩΥΛΕΡΩΔΟΥ}
\text{ΕΙΝΤΟΥΤΟΙΛΑΤ}
\text{ΓΩΣΕΡΩΤΟΤΙ}
\text{ΚΑΛΑΝΔΩΝ}
\text{ΕΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ}
\text{ΦΙΛΟΖΕΝΟΥ}
\text{ΑΛΟΥ}
\end{align*}
\]

Fig. 449.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ΔΙΟΛΥΜΠΙΩ}
\text{ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ}
\text{ΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝ}
\text{ΕΜΠΥΛΩΝ}
\text{ΕΜΠΥΛΟΥΤΟΥΧΑΡΙΑΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΗ}
\text{ΣΑΝΤΑ ΤΟ ΘΟ ΕΚΤΟΥΙΑΙΟΥΠΙΩΚΑ}
\end{align*}
\]

Fig. 450.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ΔΙΟΛΥΜΠΙΩ}
\text{ΙΩΝΤΗΝΤΥΝΑΙΚΑΤΟΥ}
\text{ΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ}
\text{ΤΟΥ}
\end{align*}
\]

Fig. 451.

in 1890 by J. A. R. Munro and H. A. Tubbs (Journ. Hell. Stud. 1891 xii. 66, 106—120 with four figs. and pls. 5 (map) and 6 (plan = my fig. 448)), seems to have been sacred to Zeus. For a fragmentary plaque of white marble, built into some masonry at its southeastern angle, records in lettering of s. iii or perhaps s. ii, the dedication of a slave to the service of Zeus, no doubt with a view to his emancipation (ib. pp. 78, 119, 193 f. no. 48 fig.), F. H. Marshall in The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum London 1916 iv. 2. 138 no. 986 with fig. (= my fig. 449)
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbiós

Other inscriptions referable to the same deity include a fragment of white marble found more than a mile away on 'Michael’s Hill' (J. A. R. Munro—H. A. Tubbs loc. cit. pp. 104 ff., 188 no. 35 fig., F. H. Marshall loc. cit. p. 138 no. 985 with fig. --- ρ(ο)--- | (Δ)ούς ι(φρον)--- | --- Φηλακ---), a large blue marble pedestal from a neighbouring field, bearing socket-holes for the feet of a bronze statue and an honorific inscription (J. A. R. Munro—H. A. Tubbs loc. cit. pp. 105, 150 no. 44 fig. (=my fig. 450) Δι Όλμπιος | Κυνηγάν το κοινὸν Εμπόλιον | 'Εμπόλιον τού Χαρίλα γυναῖκας τού Θ'L (the ninth year of the province would be 47 B.C.; the ninth year of the province as reconstituted by Augustus and transferred to the senate would be 14 B.C.) ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου προικᾶ, three fragments of a white marble slab found in the agora and dealing with the produce of the temple lands (J. A. R. Munro—H. A. Tubbs loc. cit. pp. 78, 185 no. 25 (b) fig., F. H. Marshall loc. cit. p. 136 no. 978 (b) with fig. --- αφαί --- | --- Όλμπιος τῷ (b) --- | --- ἐκ (λ)οίπην ἐ --- | --- χωρῆς φαί --- ---), and the re-cut pedestal, in blue marble, of a statue of Livia Augusta, likewise found in the agora (J. A. R. Munro—H. A. Tubbs loc. cit. pp. 78, 176 no. 5 fig. (=my fig. 451) Δι Όλμπιος | Διδίκον τῷ γυναικά τοῦ | [αδ]ροκράτους καὶσαρὸν | [Σελέν]ίτου | κ.τ.λ.). The excavators comment (loc. cit. p. 78 f.): 'Until further evidence of a more conclusive nature can be obtained these indications may serve to give a name to the temple. But important as the site is, lying as it does at the very heart of the city's life, there is no reason as yet to identify the presumptive Zeus Olympios with the chief deity of Salamis, Zeus Salaminios', (ib. p. 120) 'The temple is probably still hidden under the sand, but its western wall may be that which has been spoken of hitherto as the eastern column-wall. Beneath it the eastern limestone-wall may be the remnant of an older temple. The peristyle would then be an annexae, comparable in some respects to the Atrium Vestae in the Roman Forum.'

Less uncertainty attaches to the art-type of the Salaminian Zeus, who appears on imperial coins of Kypros as an erect bearded god, clad in chiton and himation, holding a phiale in his outstretched right hand and resting his left on a short sceptre, with an eagle perched on his left wrist (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Cyprus pp. xxvi f., 73 pl. 14, 4 Augustus, 75 pl. 14, 9 Drusus Iulius Caesar, 77 ff. pl. 15, 5, 6 (=my fig. 452), 10 (=my fig. 453), and 11 Vespasian, 79 f. pl. 16, 1 and 3 Titus, 81 pl. 16, 5 Domitian, 83 pl. 16,
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

10 (= my fig. 454) Trajan, Head Hist. num. 2. p. 746. His effigy, on pieces struck by Drusus Iulius Caesar, usually stands side by side with the cone of the Paphian Aphrodite, thus combining in one the two most famous cult-figures of the island (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins. Cyprus pp. cxxi, 74 pl. 14, 6 and 7, McClean Cat. Coins iii. 313 pl. 331, 38 and pl. 332, 1. Figs. 455 and 456 are from specimens in my collection).

Salamis in Kypros was said to have been founded by Tenkros son of Telamon (so first Pind. Nem. 4. 45. μελός περιληψον | Ὄλφων (σε Αιγίνα) τε καὶ Κώτρα, έπιθα Τεκρος ἀνάρχε | δ Μελαιωναδός | άναρ | Μας Σαλαμῶν' ήξει πατρίδαν with scholi. ad loc., cp. Aisch. Pers. 894 ff. with scholi. ad loc., Soph. I. 1016 ff., ad Tēkron frags. 576—579 Jebb with A. C. Pearson's introductory note, Eur. Hel. 144 ff., Isokr. 3 Nikokles 28, 9 Enagoras 18, Lyk. Al. 450 with Tzetzes ad loc., Hor. ad 1. 7. 21 ff. with Acron and Porphyrio ad loc., Verg. Aen. 1. 619 ff. with Serv. ad loc., Strab. 682 (cited infra), Vell. Pat. i. 11. 1, Tac. ann. 3. 62 (cited supra), Paus. 8. 15. 7, Dictys Cretensis 6. 4), who arrived in or about 1202 B.C. (marm. Par. ep. 26 p. 10 Jacoby) and presumably brought the cult of Zeus with him from his former home in Salamis the island. Since this island was in mythical times colonised by the Aiakidai of Aigina (see e.g. J. Töpffer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 923 ff.), where the cult of Zeus bulked big (J. P. Harland Prehistoric Aigina Paris 1925 pp. 81—88 ('The cult of Zeus Hellanios'), it seems certain that the Salaminian Zeus was of Achaean extraction (cp. Strab. 682 εν ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΧΑ ΙΩΝ, ος ΚΩΤΡΑ ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ δ ο κωτρα ΣΑΛΑΜΙΝΑ) την εν ΚΩΤΡΑ, κ.π.λ.). More than that it would be unsafe to say. But it is at least curious to note that, in tracing backwards the Cilician cult of Zeus Ólbios, we have come within easy reach of Argos where the Danaides appealed to the self-same god (supra p. 631).

The prehistory of Aias and Tenkros is a very tangled business, which cannot be unravelled here. Recently the tendency has been to regard both of these heroes as faded gods. P. Girard 'Ajax fils de Télamon' in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1905 xviii. 1—75 would have us believe that Aias τέλαιον was in Mycenaean times a sacred pillar (τέλαιον) humanised and equipped with a large shield, to be seen e.g. on the gold rings from Mykenai (supra ii. 47 fig. 18) and Knossos (supra ii. 48 fig. 19) or on the painted larnax from Milai (supra ii. 49 with fig. 20): 'Voia donc le Télamonien sorti tout armé du Pilier, portant le bouclier du dénon, son ancêtre, qui devient entre ses mains l'arme énorme que l'on sait,' etc. (Girard loc. cit. p. 74). A. J. Reinsch 'Itanos et l' Invention Scuti' in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1909 lx. 161—195, 369—351, 1910 lx. 197—237 discusses at length the evolution of shield-worship and argues that the shield attached to a pillar by degrees took to itself arms and wings, the paludament being ultimately transformed into Pillus, but he expressly dissociates himself from much of Girard's article (Reinsch loc. cit. 1909 lx. 328 n. 1). Farnell too in his Greek Hero Cults p. 282 is definitely adverse ('This is certainly ingenious, but much that is ingenious is not worth saying'). Nilsson Min.-Myc. Rel. p. 349 ff., after shrewdly criticising the views of both Girard and Reinsch, concludes: 'the evidence is not sufficient for the assumption that the shield was a cult object in the Minoan age and that it was anthropomorphized and became a war goddess. Neither is the assumption necessary in order to explain the existence of armed gods' (Nilsson op. cit. p. 353). J. Vürth De Aiaco origine, cultu, patria Lugduni Batavorum 1907 pp. 1—134 sums up as follows: 'Demonstrate conatus sum Aiaces, quales in carmine epicico depinguntur, ab origine suisse unum Aiacam, locrensem, non hominem, sed daemonem quendam gigantum a natura non absumilem. Conicisco hunc daemonem, cum formam humanam induisset et notitia eius ad sinum Saronicum pervenisset, ibi factum esse Aiacei maiorem, sed apud Locrenses remansisse illum, qui, cum altero comparatus, minora ob facta minore ob gloriam, utpote intra parvae regiones fines coercitam, ipsa quoque minor habetur... nesciue reticuis omni- onem nostram Teucrum quoque tertiam figuram ex Aiaco primario esse ortum et ipsa quidem in Locride, ubi iuxtaponebantur heros artemen et heros hastifer... Deinde indagavimus Telamonis veram naturalis atque patriam, impugnavimus sententiam eorum, qui e scuti balneo hunc heroicum provenisse pro re haberent explorata, argumentis haut debilibus eo ducti sumus, ut statueremus hunc Telamonem, quasi alterum Atlantem,
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numen fuisset marinus circa Salaminem cultum' (H. Steuding in the *Woch. f. klas. Philol.* Okt. 9, 1908 p. 1105 applauds: O. Gruppe in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 30, 1909 p. 686 ff. is also, with some reservations, favourable). A useful sequel to this work is J. J. G. Vörthine, *Teukros und Teukros Rotterdam 1913 pp. 1-44* (summarised by J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 427-429). The same author here argues that the Teukros were a historical folk, probably of Lelegian stock. Pushed southwards by tribes entering Greece from the north, they occupied both Trosas and Lokris, left traces of themselves here and there on the coast of Asia Minor, and passed from Kilikia to Kypros. Their eponym Teukros, according to one tradition, came to Troy from Crete; according to another, from Attike. Again, a Teukros who wandered from Troy to Kypros was later confused with Teukros son of Telamon. Teukros' son Aias founded the cult of Zeus and a priestly dynasty at Olbe in Kilikia. *Teukros* is the Hellenised form of *Tarkos*, a god of the Leleges in Asia Minor, whose name was borne by his priests likewise. The oldest stratum of the *Iliad* was Locrian-Thessalian in origin and recognised a triad of Locrian heroes, the two Aiastes and Teukros. Homer knows nothing of Teukros' banishment to Kypros; but later writers extend his wanderings to Egypt (Eur. *Hel.* 89 ff.), Phoinike (Verg. *Aen.* 1. 619 ff. and Serv. *ad loc.*), and even Spain (Asklepiades of Myrleia *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 301 Müller) *op. Strab.* 1571; *Iust.* 44. 3. 2 ff., *Sil. It.* 3. 368, 15. 191 f.; Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 5. 5 p. 167 f. Kayser). Of this and other such reconstructions F. Schwenn in Pauly—*Wissowa Real-Enc.* v. A. 1174 remarks rather grimly: 'das meiste bleibt hier stark hypothetisch.' Cp. Old father *ib.* xiii. 1117. It is, however, commonly admitted that, at least in Asia Minor, *Teukros* was the Hellenised form of *Tarkos*, the name of a native (*Hittite*) deity. Frazer *Golden Bough*: Adonis Attis Osiris' p. 61 f. says: 'Teucer (*Teukros*) may be a corruption of Tark, Trok, Tarkus, or Troko, all of which occur in the names of Cilician priests and kings. At all events, it is worthy of notice that one, if not two, of these priestly Teucers had a father called Tarkuarius, and that in a long list of priests who served Zeus at the Corycian cave, not many miles from Olba, the names Tarkuarius, Tarkumios, Tarkimos, Trokoarios, and Trokombigremis, besides many other obviously native names, occur side by side with Teucer and other purely Greek appellations [E. L. Hicks in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 243 ff. no. 27, Michel *Recueil d’Inscr. gr.* no. 878]. In like manner the Teucers, who traced their descent from Zeus and reigned at Salamis in Cyprus, may well have been a native dynasty, who concocted a Greek pedigree for themselves in the days when Greek civilisation was fashionable.' *Id. ib.* p. 65: 'If, as many scholars think, Tark or Tarkus was the name, or part of the name, of a great Hittite deity, sometimes identified as the god of the sky and the lightning, we may conjecture that Tark or Tarkus was the native name of the god of Olba, whom the Greeks called Zeus, and that the priestly kings who bore the name of Teucer represented the god Tark or Tarkus in their own persons.' *Id. ib.* p. 78: 'On that hypothesis the Olbian priests who bore the name of Ajax embodied another native deity of unknown name, perhaps the father or the son of Tark.' Similarly E. Herzfeld in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv Arch. Anz. p. 435 observes that the names of priests in the list from the Corycian Grotto include *Tarkios, Tarkios, Tarkos, Tarkos*, *Tarkos*, and comments: 'Dass die ersten Hälfte dieser Namen, Tarku und Jan, auch den Namen Teukros und Aias zugrunde liegen, ist deutlich.' H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen Strassburg 1905 i. 56, ii. 569 further compares the Etruscan *Tarcna, Tarchna, Tarquenna, Tarchu, Tarquius, Tarcontius*, and the Latin *Tarquinius*. F. Schachermeyr in Pauly—*Wissowa Real-Enc.* iv.A 2348 says of *Tarquinius*: 'Der Name geht letzten Endes zurück auf den des kleinasiatisch-ägäischen Gottes Tarku (so im östlichen Kleinasien; vgl. [J.] Sundwall Die einheimischen Namen der Lyker nebst einem Verzeichnisse kleinasiatischer Namenstämme [Leipzig 1913] [Klio Beih. 11, 1913] 213 ff.), der uns in Lydien als Zeus *Targararios*, auf Kreta als *Talaktum* entgegentritt. Von den aus Kleinasien nach Italien einwandernden Etruskern wurde der Gott nach Etrurien verpflanzt... Hier trat er als Tarchon...immer mehr zurück und wurde schliesslich nur mehr als Heros verehrt' etc. Zeus *Targararios* is attested by two inscriptions of St. i A.D. (J. Keil—*A. v. Premerstein in the Denkschr. d.
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Akad. Wien 1910 ii. Abh. p. 26 f. no. 37 with fig. 17 (= my fig. 457) the lower part of a white marble stèle from Philadelphia in Lydia (Alaskheir) Δι Τάργυσην ἐπηκόον | Φιλοποιήσοι Σοφιν εὐξάμενος ἄνθρωπος, eid. ib. 1914 i. Abh. p. 61 f. no. 78 on the lower part of a white marble stèle from Idelli—-------- [Δανον] ϊόιοι -------- | Δι Τάργυσην(ς έξηκόον), but his apppellative is merely the local epithet (ὑπά: supra ii. 1228) of Targuya or Targya, a township of which substantial remains exist in the fruitful basin of Ak Tash, half an hour east of Idelli (J. Keil in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv A. 2320). R. Blumel in Glotta 1927 xv. 78 ff. would extend the 'lykisch-etruskischen Wortfamilie' to include the Homeric ταρχών, which he regards as a Lycian word (ep. II. 16. 455 ff.): he argues that ταρχώ meant 'einen Mann, der weit über die gewöhnlichen Sterblichen erhoben ist' and ταρχών 'wie einen Gott oder (königlichen) Hero oder Helden, also prächtig be- stattten' (Pfister Rel. Gr. Röm. 1930 p. 119). As to the alternation of the names Aias and Teukros at Olba, Sir W. M. Ramsay in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1918 xxxviii. 131 n. 10 put forward a rival hypothesis, which he repeats in his Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilization London 1927 p. 47: that these two names represent respectively the sons of

Yavan (the early Ionian settlers on the south coast) and the older race of Tarku (the worshippers and people of the Hittite and old Anatolian god Tarku). It is obvious that the genealogical relationship is the ancient expression of an agreement by which the hieratic power was divided between the older race of Tarku and the Ionian sailor-settlers.

One other point in connexion with Teukros and the Cypriote Zeus is of outstanding interest. Lactantius c. 305—311 A.D. states that Teukros offered a human sacrifice to Zeus in Kypros and so started a custom which was abolished in the reign of Hadrian (Lact. div. inst. i. 21 apud Cyprios humanam hostiam Iovi Teucrus immolavit idque sacrificium posteris tradidit; quod est nuper Hadrianum imperante sublatum, inst. epit. 18. 1 Iovi Cyprio, sicut Teucrus instiuuerat, humana hostia mactari solebat). We have no sufficient ground for doubting Lactantius' statement. The Cypriote custom stands first and foremost in his list of human sacrifices, and less than two centuries had elapsed since its formal abolition. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 335 n. 15 compares the Cypriote cult of Zeus Ελπηταρχός and Σπαποχρότωμος (supra i. 654 n. 4)—appellatives which to Greek ears would have a euphemistic, not to say ogreish, sound. Gruppe also thinks it possible that there was a Cypriote Zeus Κεραστί (cp. supra ii. 1023 Pan as Ζεῦς ὁ κεραστί), perhaps connectible with the poetic names of Kypros Κεραστί (Nomn. Dion. 5. 614) or Κεραστίας
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Hypanis¹, whence his cult spread still further afield², even to central Italy and Germany⁴.

(Steph. Byz. s. v. Κύρος), Korwías (Menandros of Ephesos frag. 7 [Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 448 Müller] and Xenagoras frag. 8 [ib. iv. 527] ap. schol. and Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 447 = et. mag. p. 738, 51 ff. He recalls Ovid's allusion to the horned Cerastae of Amathus, who used to sacrifice a stranger to Jupiter Hesperes (i.e. Zeus Κέρως) till Venus in indignation transformed them into savage bulls (Ov. met. 10. 222 ff. illos, gemino quondam quibus aspera cornu | frons erat, unde etiam noemn traxere Cerastae. | ante fores horum stabat Iovis Hospitias ara; | ignarius sceleris (so J. N. Madvig for in lugubris sceleri (sceleris N.) codd. J. P. Postgate cf. lugubris; incenso) quam siquis sanguine tintam | advena vidisset, maestatos crederet attonitos Amathusiacaque bidentes; | hospes erat caesus! sacris officia nefandis | ipsa suas urbes Ophiussiaque arva parabat | desicerem alma Venus, 235 ff. dum dubitabat, quo mutet eos, ad cornua voltum | flexit et admonita est hanc illis posse reliqui | grandiosa in torvos transformat membra iuvenesco), and finally remarks that Bousseiris' sacrifice of a stranger to Zeus (Hdt. 2. 45: see further F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1074 ff.) is derived from this Cypriote practice through Pygmalion (interpre. Serv. in Verg. georg. 3. 5 Busiris, Aegypti rex, omnibus annis Iovi hospites immolat: nam per octo annos sterilitate Aegypto laborante, Pygmalion Cyprius finem futurum non ait, nisi sanguine hospitium litatum fruebatur. primus autem Thystes alienigena immolatus originem sacrificii dedit) or his brother Phrasios (Apollod. 2. 5. 11 ταύτης εγίασεν Βοτόρας, Ποσειδώνος παιὸς και Λυσιανός τῆς Τηλέφου. οὖν τοις ξένων θείοις οὖς βωμῷ Δίωσ κατὰ τινὰ λόγον. ἐνεά γὰρ ἐνά τὴν αἰωρή τῆς Δίῳ πανταλεῖ. Θράσιος δὲ θηρίων ἐκ Κύρος, μάτις τὴν ἐπιστήσας, ἐφὶ τὴν ἀφρόνια παντασαβεί. εἰς ἔναν ἄνθρω Ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡ τῆς Βοτόρας διάφορος χαῖρας τῷΔίωσ οὐκ ἔπαι. Βοτόρας δὲ ἐκείνων πρῶτων ὥσσατο τῶν πάντων τοὺς κατανέα τὰς εὐφαίης, cf. Hyg. fab. 96 who calls him Thrasybus, as does Ov. ara am. 1. 047 ff.). J. J. G. Vürtheim Teukros und Teukros Rotterdam 1913 p. 40 and Frazer Golden Bough;² Adonis Atthis Osiris³ i. 145 f. apparently refer to Teukros also the Salaminite of spearing a man for Agraulos or Diomedes (Porph. de abst. 2. 54 f. = Euseb. praef. ev. 4. 16. 2 f. en δὲ τῷ νῦν Σαλαμίνι, πρότερον δὲ Κορωνίδος (κορωνίδος codd. Koroivtis Kyrill. c. Iulian. 4. 128 (lxxvi. 697 C—D Migne). Korone tod Euseb. praef. ev. 4. 16. 2 and 24, cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. Κορώνης...τεταρτή τόλμη Κύρος, Κορώνη...βασι καὶ Κορώνη μοῖρα τῆς Σαλαμίνος τῆς εν Κύρος) οὐσαμομενη, μπρι κατὰ Κυρωνίας Ἀφροδίτης ἐνθιστο ἄνθρωποι τῇ Ἀγραίλῃ τῇ Κέρκυρας καὶ νύμφην Ἀγραίλαδος. καὶ δεμένε τὸ θέστε ἂστρα ἐν τῶν Διομήδων χρῶν. εἶναι μετέβαλε, δωτὲ τῇ Διομήδει τὸν ἄνθρωπον θυσίαν. ὡς ἐνα δὲ περίθολον ἵνα τῇ Διομήδας καὶ καὶ Ἰάρας Ἀγραίλαι καὶ Διομήδης. ὃς ἄφθονος ὑπὸ τῶν ψιθυρίων ἄγομεν τρίς περιέβαλε τὸν βούμα. ἐπεί τις ἀρχιπυρός λαύχη θείαι κατά τοῦ στομαχὶ, καὶ αὐτοὶ αὐτῶ οἱ ἀρχιπυρός νομισάτων (νομισάντων codd. νομισάντων Euseb. praef. ev. 4. 16. 2 and de lunde Const. 13. ἄφθονας Κυριλ. loc. cit.) πυρᾶν ὀλοκλάπων—a rather late modified εἰς βουθείαν (supra i. 659 n. 4). F. Schwenne Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern Giessen 1915 pp. 11, 70 f., 186 discusses this Salaminian rite, but entirely ignores all the foregoing evidence for human sacrifice in the Cypriote cults of Zeus at Olbia and in the neighbourhood see Miss G. M. Hirst in

1 B. Latyschev Inscriptiones antiquae orate septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Petropoli 1885 i. 61 ff. no. 24 assigns to the reign of Septimius Severus (193—211 A.D.) a slab of grey marble framed by Corinthian pilasters and a pediment, which contained the relief of a man on horseback, his horse held by a naked boy. The inscription below is a decree in honour of a public benefactor, Kallisthenes son of Kallisthenes, who is described thus: 16 ff. λέγετο τα δράματα καὶ πράγματα τα συνεχόμενα παρὰ ἀπεικόνισε τῆς πάλαις: λαχεῖς δὲ γεγομένοις τοῖς προσετέθη τῆς πάλαις ἡμῶν θεῶν Δίως Οὐλίνων [καὶ ... οἰονίας (Ε. Η. Minns suggests 'a compound of λοῦς, a natural rain charm.' Perhaps rather a slip for θεραπ(ε)ίων A. B. C.) τῶν θεῶν ἄγεις, τῆς τῶν ἄρεων ἐκείσεσθαι δέμονος] ἵπτευτεν ἐφευραμένα τῆς τε θυσίαν πάπαν ἐξανήλως, τοῖς] [6]ναμάνοις εἰποδ[ή]νοι χρήματα, δωσιν έδοντο ( glGen...)

On the worship of Zeus at Olbia and in the neighbourhood see Miss G. M. Hirst in
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the _Journ. Hell. Stud._ 1903 xxiii. 36—39 and E. H. Minns _Scythians and Greeks_ Cambridge 1913 p. 476. Professor Minns remarks: 'Evidently Zeus Ólbios was the god of Olbia and the giver of Olbos: especially in the form of a good harvest. The two ideas were inextricable. Surely it was in the temple of this Zeus that the council met and before it the open space into which Dio's hearers crowded [Dion Chrys. or. 36 p. 53 Dindorf]. A priest of his in Roman times made a dedication to Achilles Pontarches? _("Trans. Od. Soc. xxvii. Minutes, p. 11._)' _Id. ib. p. 456_ (with plan on p. 450 figs. 331): 'The opening up of the walls described above gives us the position of the acropolis and the limits of the Roman town. In the middle of the triangle there have been found the remains of a considerable building apparently a temple, and further work may tell us where were the temples [_sic_] of Zeus Ólbios and the chapel of Achilles Pontarches.'

Zeus _Σωτῆρ_ is represented at Olbia by three inscriptions, one of s. iv B.C. (Latyschev _op. cit._ i. 25 ff. no. 12 a decree granting _1000_ gold pieces and a statue to Kallinikos son of Euxenos and ending with the words ὁ _δήμος_ Δι _Σωτῆρα_, another of s. ii A.D. (Latyschev _op. cit._ i. 124 f. no. 91, i. ii. α[γ]αθ[ς] τοῦ[ν] | [Δ]ι _Σωτῆρα_ εὐχαριστ[ησ]ι[ν] | [ὑπ[έ]ρ

ΣΠΙΑΡΧΟΝ
ΤΟΝΤΩΝΠΕΡΙ
ΣΟΣΙΝΑΤΡΟΝ
ΝΙΚΗΡΑΤΟΥ
ΑΝΑΞΙΜΕΝΗΣ
ΠΟΣΙΔΗΟΥΜΕ
ΤΑΤΩΝΑΔΕΑ
ΦΟΝΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ
ΤΟΝΠΙΡΓΩΝΩΔΗ
ΠΟΛΙΑΡΧΗΚΑΙΤΟ
ΔΗΜΟΕΠΕΥΤΥΧΙ
Α

Fig. 458.

eἰρήνης (?) καὶ σ[ωτηρίας | [τῆς πόλεως Ἀρμi]β[ορjε[κoix o]ρεί[μονος? — — ὁ] καὶ Ὅλιμπο[ν[λείτε τις ἀνθετεκτε k.t.l.], and a very fragmentary third (Latyschev _op. cit._ i. 125 no. 92, 2 ... Δι _Σωτ[ηρ...]).

Another fragment, assigned by Latyschev to the first half of s. iii, by Miss Hirst to s. iii, and by Professor Minns to s. iv B.C., is from a dedication to Zeus _Ελευθέρως_ (Latyschev _op. cit._ 1901 iv. 299 f. no. 458 Τὸ δεξιὰ Ἴκεσιον | [. . . . . Ἐκα[τ]έρον Δι[τ]Ελευθέρως]).

A large statue-base in veined grey marble, which had probably supported an equestrian figure, was originally, in s. iii B.C., dedicated to Zeus _Βασιλεύς_ (Latyschev _op. cit._ i. 137 no. 105 [ὁ _δήμος_ Εὐφραίης _Δημητρίου_ Δι _Βασιλεύς_ | [ἀρτήριος] ἐκέκριτο καὶ ἐνισχύει τῆς εἰς αὐτόν), but was later, perhaps in s. ii A.D., used for a long decree passed ἑτο ἄρχοντας τῶν περὶ Ὀμφάλακον Ἐνισχύεις (i. i. i. 52 ff. no. 21, cp. 94 ff. no. 58). See further E. H. Minns _op. cit._ Index p. 697 s. v. 'Heuresibius.'

A tower built in s. ii A.D. was dedicated to Zeus _Πολιάρχη_ and the _Demos_ (Corp. inscr. Gr. ii. no. 2081, Latyschev _op. cit._ i. 134 f. no. 101 with facsimile (=my fig. 458) ἐπὶ ἄρχοντας τῶν περὶ | Σωματικοῦ | Νικηρατοῦ | Ἀναξιμένην | Ποιεῖται μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιτίθεν | τῶν π[ερίμο]ν Δι | Πολιάρχη καὶ τῷ ὁ _δήμῳ ὠρ| εὐπροσθ.]


Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

As to Zeus' Ἀργαῖον, see supra ii. 975 n. 2.

Zeus appears occasionally on the bronze coins of Olbia, usually as a bearded head in profile to the right, with a sceptre or more often an eagle on the reverse (Ant. Münz. Berlin Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 22 nos. 63—65, 27 nos. 125—137, Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands i. 1 pl. 11, 3—6 (≡ my figs. 459—461), E. H. Minns op. cit. p. 476 n. 8 pl. 3, 12 f.), rarely in imperial times as a seated figure holding a sceptre, with Tyche erect grasping corona civica and rudder on the reverse (B. de Koehe Description des Musée de feu le Prince Kotschoubey St. Pétersbourg 1857 i. 88, Ant. Münz. Berlin Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 28 no. 134 fig. (≡ my fig. 462) 'Sitzender Apollo,' Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands i. 1 pl. 11, 22 (≡ my fig. 463). Miss Hirst in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1903 xxiii 39 n. 103: 'If the attribution to Zeus is accepted, might it be considered as a representation of Zeus' Ὄλβος, in consideration of the reverse type?'

![Fig. 459.](image1)

![Fig. 460.](image2)

![Fig. 461.](image3)

![Fig. 462.](image4)

![Fig. 463.](image5)

It is undeniably curious that Zeus 'Ólbos, as namesake and paramount deity of the Greek town, does not bulk bigger on its coinage. I am tempted to suggest a further possibility. E. H. Minns op. cit. p. 478 f. writes: 'The commonest coins of Olbia, coins which were issued for many generations to judge by the varieties of style, bore on their obverse a horned head with long rough hair and sometimes ox ears (Pl. iii. 4, 5). There has been some doubt whom this might represent: the Russian peasants recognise the Devil and call the place where they are mostly picked up the Devil's Dell; others find him, as they put it, like a Scythian or a Russian peasant; to others he is Poseidon. But no doubt he is really a river god Hypanis or Boryshene. It is a less crude version of such an idea as the god Gelas on the coins of that city.' However, it is a far cry from Sicily to Sarmatia, and a much closer analogy is at hand. A 'horned head with long rough hair' is precisely what we saw on the νέα found near Kyzikos (supra p. 679 fig. 477), which was fortunately inscribed with the name of Zeus' Ὄλβος. I conjecture, therefore, that the horned head on the Olbian coins (e.g. Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands i. 1 pl. 9, 26—29. E. H. Minns op. cit. pl. 3, 4 f., McClean Cat. Coins ii. 153 f. pl. 159, 12—15. My figs. are from Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands i. 1 pl. 9, 26 (≡ my fig. 464), 37 (≡ my fig. 465),
Zeus struck with a double axe. The birth of Athena.

The bovine form of Zeus familiar to us from the myths of Europe and Io, together with the semi-bovine type of Zeus Ὀλβιος, suffice to prove that Zeus as a god of fertility might be represented by an ox, not only in prehistoric times, but far on into the classical period. Yet, fully to justify our reading of the Dipolieia, more is needed than that. In the Attic rite the divine ox was struck by the Bouphónos, who thereupon dropped his double axe and fled for his

29 (=my fig. 467), from McClean Cat. Coins ii. 155 pl. 159, 12 (=my fig. 466), and from two other specimens in the Fitzwilliam Museum (=my figs. 468 and 469) is after all not a river-god but Zeus Ὀλβιος himself, partly human, partly bovine in type.

2 Inscriptions from the vicinity of Kyzikos have been noted supra p. 628 n. 4. Two more dedications θεῷ Ὀλβιῶ were found at Sestos (Marcopoulus in the Μουσείων καὶ Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Βέροιας Συλλογή εν Σύμφωνα Σύμφωνα 1878 ii. 12 f. nos. 206 and 204 = A. Dumont Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie Paris 1892 p. 456 no. 111) a sepulchral relief inscribed θεῷ Ὀλβιῶ, Φλάβις Τυ... | ἐγχαράσσαρον (sic) and no. 111 a similar dedication θεῷ Ὀλβιῶ, Ἐτυχως ὑπὲρ ἱδίας αὐτῶν Θηρίας καὶ τῶν βασιῶν (sic) ἐγχαρασσάρους (sic). Hence J. H. Mordtmann in the Ath. Mitth. 1881 vi. 264, 1882 vii. 257 attributes to Sestos an inscription from the Thracian Chersonese (correctly copied but incorrectly emended in the Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2017) Καμπῆς(ος) ὑπὲρ τοῦ... | νιὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου Διότζη ὑπὲρ ἱδίας = A. Dumont op. cit. p. 431 no. 100. Eutychos' thankoffering for his cattle would have special point, if Zeus Ὀλβιος at Sestos also was quasi-bovine.

Fig. 464.
Fig. 465.
Fig. 466.

Fig. 467.
Fig. 468.
Fig. 469.

2 Dessau Inscr. Lat. sed. no. 4085 (found at Capua in 1885) pro salute | August. M. Aur. Commod. | Ιοβιό | Σαβακο | ... Longus | [mil.] leg. | ... (with carved thunderbolt and eagle). The words M. Aur. Commod. are in smaller letters than the rest and seem to be a later addition. As to Sabaec, Dessau remarks: 'Plane incertum utrum a Sabaecis Arabiae derivatum sit cognomen, an componentum cum Sabaicio.'

4 Dessau Inscr. Lat. sed. no. 4084 (found at Hedderheim, cp. supra ii. 71 n. 6, 89 n. 6) Ιοβιό | Σελεύκους | Ηρμοκράτος qui et Diolgenes d. d. (preceded by carved thunderbolts). Ηρμοκράτος = Ερμοκράτος.
The birth of Athena

life. Can we really suppose that at Athens, the chief centre of Hellenic civilisation, Zeus Polieus himself was conceived as struck by a double axe? Or that the sacrilegious striker, after poleaxing his god, was allowed to flee from the spot and escape into safety?

Pausanias emboldens us to answer Yes. For no sooner has he described the ceremony of the Dipolieia than, in the very next sentence, he goes on to say: 'All the figures in the gable over the entrance to the temple called the Parthenon relate to the birth of Athena.' And it may be shown that the birth of Athena as there represented involved exactly the situation stated above—Zeus Polieus struck with the double axe, the escape of the striker, and the acquiescence of the bystanders.

The middle group of the figures in question is lost beyond hope of recovery. But its main features are in all probability preserved by the relief-frieze of a marble puteal or 'well-mouth' in the Madrid collection (fig. 470, 1 and 1 a), and partly also by a marble replica of its left end formerly in the Palazzo Rondinini (fig. 470, 2 and 2 a) and by another of its right end found in the Villa Palombara—both now transferred from Rome to the Schloss Tegel near Berlin (fig. 470, 3). The puteal as a whole portrays Zeus sitting quietly upon his throne. He is draped in a himation and holds a sceptre in

1 Paus. 1. 24. 5.
2 These reliefs were published together and discussed in detail by R. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena Wien 1880 pp. 32—45 pl. 1, 1 a, 2, 2 a, 4 (= my fig. 470, 1, 1 a, 2, 2 a, 3). Further references in Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 193 no. 5 and ii. 87 f. nos. 6—8.

The puteal was for long in the Moncloa near Madrid, where sunk deep in the ground it served as a flower-pot for the Royal Gardens. Previously, it had belonged to the Dukes of Alba. Earlier still, its history is uncertain: Schneider thinks that it was originally found in Italy, probably at Rome, that it formed part of the collection owned by Queen Christina of Sweden (1626—1689), and that it was purchased by Philip V of Spain to adorn his castle (1724)—see E. Hübner Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid Berlin 1862 p. 14. In consequence of these vicissitudes it had received some injuries and had at one time—perhaps in the seventeenth or eighteenth century—been prepared for restoration. It was virtually rediscovered by J. de Dios de la Rada y Delgado, director of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, and published with good illustrations by J. de Villa Amil y Castro 'Puteal griego encontrado en la Moncloa' in the Museo español de antigüedades Madrid 1875 v. 235 — 246 pl. 1 f. There is a cast in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, and another at Berlin (Friederichs—Wolters Gipsabgüsse p. 735 f. no. 1862).

The two slabs from the collection of the Marchese Rondinini belong together and were still one when published by G. Winckelmann Monumenti antiqui inediti Roma 1821 ii. 5 with Frontispiece. Subsequently they were sawn in two and separately framed as a pair of mural reliefs. They passed into the possession of W. von Humboldt (1767—1835) and are now in his castle at Tegel. See further G. F. Waagen Das Schloss Tegel und seine Kunsterwerke Berlin 1850 p. 13. The restorations, which can be well seen in the Einschauenzahlen nos. 2988 (Zeus) and 2989 (Prometheus) with Text x. 90 by W. Amelung, include Zeus—left forearm, most of left leg, front part of right foot, most of footstool;

C. III.
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his raised left hand, a thunderbolt in his lowered right. His head has just been cleft with the double axe; for behind him a youthful god or demi-god, still grasping his weapon, starts to flee from the scene of his sacrilege and yet in the very act of flight looks back to note the marvellous issue of his blow. In front of Zeus Athena, already full-grown and clad in her panoply, speeds forth into the world, but as she goes glances towards the sires from whose head she has sprung. Nike, hovering between them, presents her with a victor’s wreath. Adjoining her are the three Fates.

Prometheus—forehead, nose, mouth, half the right forearm with the right hand, front parts of both feet. There are casts at Berlin (Friederichs—Wolters op. cit. p. 736 no. 1865 f.), Height o’685m.

The remaining slab, of a different marble and in a finer style, was discovered about 1770 in the Villa Palombara behind the church of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, and in 1809 was sold by its possessor, Prince Massimi alle Colonne, to Frau von Humboldt, who handed it over to A. B. Thorvaldsen and C. D. Rauch to be patched up and made presentable. Rauch in 1816 had the luck to find the head, breast, and left hand of the seated Fate, which had been treated as a medallion and set in a gilded frame, in the studio of the sculptor A. Malatesta at Rome. The fragments are now reassembled at Tegel. See further G. F. Waagen op. cit. p. 16, Einszaufnahmen no. 1990 with Text x. 90 f. by W. Amelung. Modern parts: right arm, right hip, and lower body of the seated Fate; nose and part of the right upper arm of her neighbour; fingers of right hand and lower left arm of the third figure together with roll, globe, and pillar. There is a cast at Berlin (Friederichs—Wolters op. cit. p. 736 f. no. 1865). Height o’73m.

F. Hauser in the Jahresh. d. unst. arch. Inst. 1903 vi. 79—107 attempts to combine these slabs (figs. 46–48) with Neo-Attic fragments of reliefs, now in Rome, Florence, and Munich, representing the three Horai and the three Agraules (pl. 5–6). Since all the fragments were found, though at different times, in the Villa Palombara, and since they all correspond in size or nearly so, he holds that the whole composition was a series of four oblong altar-reliefs, copied from a fine work of the Attic school to be dated near the end of 5. iv B.C. Lastly, he conjectures that they were copies of bronze reliefs by the younger Kephisodotos, which—he thinks—adorned the altar of Zeus Soter and Athena Sioeira in the Peiraieus. See, however, the objections raised by P. Arndt and G. Lippold in the Einszaufnahmen vi. 44 W. Amelung ib. X. 90.

J. N. Svoronos in the Journ. Intern. d’Arch. Num. 1902 v. 167–188, 285–377 (= id. Tá kaoufía tôn Mourosin pros Athens 1904 pp. 9–40) and again in his Ath. Nationalmut. pp. 179–236 nos. 215–217 pls. 30, 31, 31, ventures another combination, arguing that the design of the Madrid pateal and the Tegel reliefs, incomplete towards the right, can be completed by that of the Apollon-and-Marysia slab from Mantinea. The resultant frieze (fig. 134 and fig. 140= my fig. 471) representing the musical victory of Apollon once decorated the front of a thyméla or platform for singers assumed to have stood in the orchestra of the local theatre. The two remaining slabs from Mantinea with their six ‘Praxitelean’ Muses could then have formed the two sides of the same platform (figs. 141, 142= my fig. 472). The whole to be dated c. 250–150 B.C. On this showing, the Fates (π? the three missing Muses (p. 266)) forestell the doom of Marysia, while Zeus watched the issue from afar and Nike with her wreath flew to crown the victorious Apollon (ep. the πελήκω from Ruvo figured supra i. pl. xii); ‘Prometheus’ was a second Satyr (π’ ein Quelldämon (p. 213 f.)) equipped with an axe and inserted as a sympathiser with Marysia; and Athena, a figure identical with he Athena of the Finlay vase (Svoronos Ath. Nationalmut. p. 136 ff. no. 137 pl. 25, Collignon Hsit. de la Sculpt. gr. i. 466 with fig. 743, Harrison Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. 42—2
Zeus struck with a double axe

The only uncertainty in this design relates to the axe-bearing figure. Orthodox writers from Pindar downwards said that the head of Zeus had been cleft by Hephaistos\(^1\); and such was the

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\(^1\) Pind. Ol. 7. 33 ff. with schol. \textit{ad loc.} To the references given \textit{supra} p. 200 n. 3 add Philodem. \textit{epi eido\(s\)e\(t\)as} 59 p. 31 Gomperz (cited \textit{infra} p. 661 n. 4).
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tradition followed by the vase-painters of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.1 Others, including Euripides, ascribed the blow to Prometheus2—the first, according to Pliny, who ever felled an ox3. A poem that passed under the name of Eumolpos4 or Mousaios5 called the striker Palamaon. Lastly, Sosibios, a Lacedaemonian scholar of the third century B.C., spoke of him as Hermes6; and some early artists, as might be seen for example in the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta, represented Hermes in hand, standing beside Zeus7.

But, whatever name we give to the axe-bearer on the Madrid puteal, it is clear that the Athenians even of the Periclean age were prepared to tolerate the conception of Zeus as struck on the head by an axe—a ‘holy axe’8 said some, an ‘ox-striker’9 said others. This they would never have done, unless behind the myth there

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1 Mon. d. Inst. ix pl. 55 ΟΥΛΑΦΕΘ, ib. vi pl. 56, 3 ΑΦ·Η, Lenormant—de Witte El. mon. écr. i pl. 65 a ΟΥΛΑΦΕΘ (black-figured vases); ib. i pl. 64 ΕΦΑΙΤΟΣ (red-figured vase, attributed to Hermonax (Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 31 no. 12) or a nearly allied painter (J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils Tubingen 1925 p. 304 no. 1.1).
2 Eur. Ion 452 ff. Πάρθηνος ἐν τοις ὁδόις λαξίων | ἀνελίκθυναν, ἔμαν | Ἀθηνᾶς ἰκετεύων. | Προμηθεῖς ἑταῖραι λαξίθυεται καὶ ἄκροταται | κορυφαὶ Δίος, ἡ πότα Νίκα, κ.τ.λ., Apollod. i. 3. 6 ὡς δὲ τῇ γενέσεις (γενέσεως εἰπ. followed by R. Wagner) ἐνίοτε χρόνος, πληξάντως αὐτὸν τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκη Προμηθείος ἢ καθάπερ ἄλοι λέγουσι Ηφαιστοῦ (Λέγουσι καὶ Ηφαιστοῦ κατ' Ηφαιστοῦ codd. plerique followed by A. Westermann), ἐκ κορυφῆς (R. Hercher would either delete these words or write ἐκ τῆς κορυφῆς αὐτοῦ), ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ Τρίγωνος (damnat C. G. Heyne), Ἀθηνᾶ σὺν ὀξοῖς ἀνέθετο, schol. Pind. Ol. 7. 66 a ἐνοι ἐπὶ τῶν Προμηθεία λέγουσι, ἔνδο ὡς ἐπὶ Προμηθεία.
3 Supra i. 469 n. 4. But see what is said of Sopatros (supra p. 590), Diomos (supra p. 593), and Thaulon (supra p. 597 n. 2).
4 Philodem. peri esbēseias 59 p. 31 Gomperz τὴν κεφαλήν ὅτι Ηφαιστοῦ διαμεῖναι, κατὰ δὲ τῶν Εὐσαληκτῶν ἡ τῶν αὐθεντητά τῆς τοιοῦτον ἢ τοῦ Παλαιμᾶσος.
5 Schol. Pind. Ol. 7. 66 a ἐν τοῖς Μουσαιοῖς Παλαιμᾶσῳ λέγεται πλεξας τοῦ Διὸς τὴν κεφαλήν, διὰ τῶν 'Αθηνᾶς ἐγένεται (Mous. frag. 8 (Epit. Gr. frag. 1. 225 Kinkel)), 66 b οἱ μὲν Παλαιμᾶσος λέγουσι βῆκε τὸν τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς δὲ 'Αθηνᾶ ἐγένετο. The story was perhaps told in the Εὐσαληκτὴς of Mousios; this would account for its attribution to Eumolpos. So Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. 1213 p. 4.
6 Schol. Pind. Ol. 7. 66 a Σοσίβιος δὲ Ἐρμήν πόθη (Sosib. frag. 7 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 627 Müller)), ἔνδο δὲ Ἐρμήν. The statement may have occurred, as C. Müller supposes, in Sosibios’ work peri τῶν ἐπὶ Ἀκαδαίων θυσίων (on which see Tresp Frag. gr. Kultschr. p. 131), or, as R. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena Wien 1880 p. 5 s. 24 suggests, in his peri Ἀλκαίου.
7 Philodem. peri esbēseias 59 p. 31 Gomperz ἐνοι δ’ ὄφει Ἐρμοῦ παραθεδόθαι. καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων τινῶν δημιουργῶν τούτων παρθένωτα τῇ Δίῳ ποιοῦ μέλειν ἔχοντε καθάπερ ἐν τῇ τῶν Χαλκεικαίων. The allusion is very possibly to the work of Gitiadas (Paus. 3. 17. 2).
8 Pind. frag. 34 Bergk, 34 Schroeder (cited supra p. 200 n. 3, cp. p. 605 αὐτῆς μέλει.)
9 Nonnos etc. (supra p. 200 n. 3) use βουκλῆς apparently as a mere synonym for μέλειν without any further mythical significance.
The birth of Athena in art

had been some ritual practice of immemorial sanction; and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the practice concerned was that of the Dipoleia.

The matter calls for careful investigation. Fortunately we know that the subject of Pheidias' pediment was no new thing. Rather it was the last term of a whole series, which, mainly by the help of numerous extant vase-paintings, can be traced back to the early part of the sixth century B.C. Our business therefore is to classify the vase-paintings and, adding any collateral evidence that is found, to consider how far they may be based upon underlying cults either at Athens or elsewhere.

(θ) The birth of Athena in art.

Vases representing the birth of Athena fall into five groups, according as they depict (1) Zeus in labour helped by the Eileithyias; (2) Athena emerging from the head of Zeus, which has been cleft by Hephaistos; (3) a fusion of these two types—Zeus attended

by

1 R. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena Wien 1880 p. 8 ff. distinguishes four types: (a) the moment of birth; (b) the moment before birth; (c) the moment after birth; (d) a later moment. These correspond with my types as follows: (a) = (2) + (3) \( \frac{3}{2} \); (b) = (1) + \( \frac{3}{2} \); (c) = (4); (d) = (5). Schneider's useful list of vases and Etruscan mirrors (op. cit. pp. 9—16) is extended by P. Baur 'Eileithyia' in Philologus 1899—1901 Suppl. viii. 503 (= P. V. C. Baur 'Eileithyia' in The University of Missouri Studies 1902 i. 478), who adds a fine, though fragmentary, black-figured pelinx belonging to my type (3), found on the Akropolis at Athens (F. Studniczka in the Eph. 'Aρχ. 1886 p. 117 ff. pl. 8, 1 (= my fig. 484), Graef Ant. Vasen Athen iv. 255 i. no. 2578 pl. 189), and a black-figured vase of my type (4), now in the Museo Municipale at Orvieto (G. Karo in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1899 xix. 140 n. 3). The most important addendum to the lists of Schneider and Baur is the black-figured vase of my type (5) lately found in Rhodes (infra fig. 475).


Collections of vases for comparative study are given by Gerhard Ausserl. Vaseb. i pls. 1—5 and by Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. cér. i. 174 ff. pls. 54—64 a; of mirrors, by Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iii. 67 ff. pl. 66, iv. 11 ff. pls. 284—285 a, v. 12 pl. 6.
Amphora at Munich:
Zeus in labour, flanked by two Eileithyiai.

See page 663 n. 1.
both by the Eileithyiai and by Hephaistos; (4) Athena, armed but
not yet fully grown, standing on the knees of Zeus; (5) Athena,
armed and fully grown, standing before Zeus.

(1) The first type, which is confined to black-figured vases,
shows a sceptred Zeus sitting on a throne towards the right, at
first (fig. 474 and pl. 1)\(^1\) with an Eileithyia in front of him and
another Eileithyia behind him. They are by their gestures aiding\(^2\)
the birth of Athena; but the goddess is not yet born, nor is there
the least indication that her birth will be brought about by a blow
from an axe—the type being simply the older representation of an
"accouchement"\(^3\) applied to the particular case of Zeus. One interesting

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1 A 'Nolan' amphora at Florence published by J. B. Passerius Picturae Etruscorum
Romae 1770 ii. 38 f. col. pl. 152 as red-figured (!)—a blunder corrected by Lenormant—
de Witte Ét. mon. cér. i. 190 fig. (=my fig. 474). R. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena
Wien 1880 p. 13 no. 29. A black-figured amphora at Munich (Jahn Vasensamml.
München p. 29 no. 101) likewise shows a seated Zeus, with a sceptre in his left hand,
flanked by two Eileithyiai. My pl. 1 is from a photograph most kindly sent to me by
Dr C. Weickert (June 3, 1935).

2 R. Schneider op. cit. p. 17, C. Sittl Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer Leipzig
1890 p. 322 f. On Persephone Χειρωπτες see supra p. 98 n. 9 (8). Similarly Lucina, to
lighten the throes of Myrrha, 'admovitque manus et verba puerpera dixit' (Ov. met. 10.
511). Here the Eileithyiai extend the open hand in token of delivery (cp. Paus. 7. 23. 5 f.
the acrolithic xplanon of Eileithyia at Aigion τάς χεραί τῇ μετέ ὕδω ἐκτέταται, τῇ δὲ
ἀνέκτε δίσις) or point with the forefinger—a gesture copied by Zeus. On the other hand,
Lucina, wishing to delay the birth of Hercules, 'subsedit in illa | ante fores ara, dextraque
a poplite laevum | pressa genu et digitis inter se pectine incinctis | sustinuit partus' (Ov.
met. 9. 297 ff., cp. Ant. Lib. 29 after Nikandros έρεσπαυμένων δ').

3 Supra p. 80 n. 2 (1) fig. 23 or the supporters of a goddess on an archaic pithos with
reliefs from Boiotia (P. Wolters in the 'Eph. 'Arχ. 1892 p. 225 ff. pls. 8, 9, A. de Ridder
The birth of Athena in art

example from Rhodes (fig. 475) marks the divinity of the persons concerned by giving wings to the Eileithyiai. Others, now at

Fig. 475.

p. 111 f. no. 466, H. B. Walters History of Ancient Pottery London 1905 i. 497 pl. 47. Doubtful parallels of 'Minoan' date may be seen in Sir A. J. Evans' 'Διάσκοκωπα' (sic!) (Journ. Hell. Stud. 1925 xlv. 11 ff. figs. 11—15) or 'Διάς Κούραι' (sic!) (ib. p. 65 ff. fig. 55, cp. The Palace of Minos London 1928 ii. 1 339 ff. figs. 193 and 194, a—f).

1 G. Jacopi in Clara Rhodos Rodi 1929 iii. 179 ff. (tomb cxxix, 3) with col. pl. C (=my fig. 475) and fig. 177. This black-figured hydria has a shoulder-decoratisation of a hen flanked by two cocks, beneath which in a metope bordered by sprays of ivy is the main design. Zeus, wearing a purple head-band, a purple chiton, and a short black himation, sits on a stool towards the right and holds a tall slender sceptre. Before and behind him stand two winged females (whom Jacopi calls 'Arpte?') in short purple peploai and black endromides: they make magical passes, raising the left hand and lowering the right with open palms—a gesture thoroughly characteristic of the Eileithyiai. It is tempting to conjecture that the painter by giving them wings was anticipating W. Prellwitz'
Amphora from Girgenti, now at Karlsruhe:
Zeus in labour, with two Eileithyiai and Hermes in attendance.

See page 668 n. 1.
Karlsruhe (pl. li), Vienna (fig. 476), and Florence (figs. 477, 478), produce the same effect by adding to left and right one or more deities as spectators of the great event. Sometimes, as on a vase in

Fig. 476.

notion that Ἐλειθων, from ἐλλος + θήνα, means 'in der Bedrängnis schnell herbeieilend' (Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. p. 139). But that notion is itself improbable, and the wings may be explained as in the text. The same explanation fits the Etruscan Eileithyiai, who appear as winged women (Thæus and Θηάουσα) on a mirror from Praeneste given below (infra p. 676 fig. 483).

1 A black-figured amphora from Girgenti, now at Karlsruhe (Winnefeld Vasensamml. Karlsruhe p. 31 f. no. 161), has Zeus flanked by two Eileithyiai, while Hermes on the left moves towards the right. The sceptre of Zeus is surmounted by a ram's head (cp. supra i. 406 fig. 302). My pl. li is from a photograph kindly supplied by the Direktor of the Badisches Landesmuseum.

2 Masoer Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien p. 30 f. no. 337 pl. 4, a black-figured catix-krater formerly in the Castellani collection. The group of Zeus and the two Eileithyiai is amplified by the addition of Ares on the left, Hermes and a gesticulating goddess on the right. For a fresh photograph of this lower register (my fig. 476) I am indebted to the kind offices of Mr A. D. Trendall.

3 A black-figured amphora found near Vulci, later in the possession of Dr Guarducci at Florence (Inghirami Vas. fitt. i. 117 f. pls. 75, 76, Gerhard Ausserl. Vasenh. i. 25 f. pl. 5, 1, 4, Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. cér. i. 7 pl. 1 and 185 ff. pl. 54, Reinach Rép. Vases ii. 21, 1—3), adds Hermes (?) and Apollo on the left, Herakles (?) and Ares on the right. My fig. 477 is from a photograph by C. A. Bonelli.

Another black-figured amphora, likewise in the Museo Archeologico at Florence, has a seated Zeus flanked by a bearded god and Eileithyia on the left, Hermes departing and a second Eileithyia (?) holding a tendril on the right. The sceptre in the hand of Zeus is topped by the forepart of a winged horse; a gecko creeps up behind his seat; and a wreath fills the blank beneath him. My fig. 478 is again from a photograph by Bonelli.
Amphora from Vulci, now in the Vatican:
Zeus in labour, with one Eileithyia and two gods in attendance.

See page 667 n. 1.
Amphora from Caere, now in the Vatican.

Zeus in labour, with one Eileithyia and Hermes (?). Poseidon, Ares in attendance.
the Vatican (pl. lii)\(^1\), there is but a single Eileithyia. And once, on a second vase in the same collection (pl. liii)\(^2\), the approaching birth is heralded by the appearance of a small owl which has the temerity to perch on the very sceptre of Zeus.

A similar scene is shown on a marble slab found in 1900 at Haidar-pacha near Kadi-Keui and now preserved in the Museum at Constantinople (fig. 479)\(^3\). The relief, surmounted by a dedication in lettering of 550—500 B.C\(^4\), portrays Zeus seated on a high-backed throne and facing—an unusual circumstance—towards the left. An Eileithyia standing behind him places her right hand on

![Fig. 479.](image)

his head, her left on his left shoulder. Another Eileithyia standing before him apparently clasps both his hands with hers. The group is flanked by two further figures. A female personage on a somewhat smaller scale holds out her hands on the left; another female,

\(^1\) A black-figured amphora from Vulci, found in 1835, and now in the Vatican (Mus. Etr. Gregor. ii. 8 pl. 39, t.a.), shows Zeus seated, sceptre in hand, on a folding-stool towards the right, while a single Eileithyia stands before him. On the left a draped god gesticulates, on the right another draped god stands still. My pl. lii is from a photograph kindly procured for me by Mr A. D. Trendall.

\(^2\) A black-figured amphora from Caere, found in 1836, and now in the Vatican (Mus. Etr. Gregor. ii. 9 pl. 48, t), Albizzati Vasi d. Vaticano p. 139 f. no. 353 pl. 45 (part of which = my pl. liii), renders a similar scene with somewhat greater elaboration. The throne of Zeus has its back ending in a swan’s head and its seat resting on a small draped male. The god’s left hand grasps a sceptre with curved top, to which a small owl is clinging. Eileithyia in patterned peplos gesticulates before him. Behind Zeus stand Poseidon and Hermes (?); behind Eileithyia stands Ares.


\(^4\) S. Reinach restored [N]e[ , . . . patronymic] ἵππος e[ , . . .]
still smaller, raises her right hand to her head on the right. S. Reinach, who first published this monument, observed that Kadi-Kenl occupies the site of Kalchedon, a colony of Megara\(^1\), and that Pausanias mentions a sanctuary of the Eileithyiai at Megara itself\(^2\). Hence he inferred that the relief was an ex-voto dedicated to the Eileithyiai, whose cult had been carried by the colonists from Megara to Kalchedon. Reinach indeed contended—and his contention is *prima facie* plausible—that the type of Zeus *accouché* by the Eileithyiai originated in connexion with their cult and ultimately hails from Megara. Other evidence cited by him will be mentioned later\(^3\). Meantime it may be conceded that in general a definite art-type does pre-suppose a definite belief and not infrequently a definite cult.

(2) The second type, which shows Zeus delivered without the aid of the Eileithyiai by the axe-bearer alone, is so far as I know represented by a single black-figured *kylix* (fig. 480)\(^4\). This fine

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\(^2\) Paus. i. 44. 2 καὶ Εἰλείθυιας ἔστω ἱνα θᾶναι ἄνθρωποι.

\(^3\) *Infra* p. 671 ff.

vase, which J. D. Beazley dubs ‘the best of all little-master cups’, was found at Vulci in 1867, passed from the Durand into the Blacas collection, and is now to be seen in the British Museum. It is signed by the maker Phrynos, one of the minor Athenian artists at work in the middle of 5th c. B.C. Zeus in a purple chiton and an embroidered himation is seated, facing to the right, on a decorated throne. Its back ends in a swan’s head, its legs are leonine, and its arm is supported by four small Doric pillars. The god, as J. Overbeck pointed out, has dark hair but a grey beard—an indication of old age most unusual in the case of Zeus. His long locks are bound by a fillet. He raises both arms, brandishing a lotiform bolt in his right hand and making the gesture of delivery with his left. Before him a male figure, clad in a short purple chiton and endromides, starts to make his escape, but looks backward as he goes. He raises his right hand with open palm and holds in his left the double axe, with which he has just cleft the head of Zeus. From the cleft emerges the upper half of Athena, a long-haired goddess wearing a purple chiton and armed with lance and shield.

The birth of Athena as here portrayed has, if I am not in error, been strongly influenced by the ritual of the Dipolieia. Zeus with uplifted bolt is Zeus Polieus. The axe-bearer with double axe, short chiton, and endromides is the Boutýpos, who—armed with just this weapon and clad in just this costume—struck the sacred ox and then fled for his life. This is indeed no mere starting back in terror or surprise; other vase-paintings show Hephaistos running off as fast as his legs will carry him. And, if the Dipolieia was celebrated to ensure an adequate dew-fall and rain-fall, it must not

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be forgotten that in the Rhodian myth Zeus sent a shower of golden snowflakes, when his head was cleft by the bronze axe of Hephaistos for Athena's birth. Whether our vase-painter was conscious of any relation between the scene he has given us and the ritual of the Bouphonia, is questionable. But is it merely by accident that he has placed upon Athena's shield a blazon which it nowhere else exhibits—an ox-head in relief with projecting horns?

(3) Thirdly, the type of Zeus delivered by the Eileithyiai was fused with that of Zeus delivered by Hephaistos. This fusion was effected in the early part of s. vi B.C.—hardly earlier—and thence-

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\[1\] Supra p. 477.

\[2\] On a fragmentary red-figured kôstix at Paris (De Ritter Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat. ii. 418 f. no. 559 fig. 102), attributed to Hieron (Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 93 no. 37 bis) or to the Brygos Painter (J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rothfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p., 186 no. 4), Athena's round shield has as its blazon an ox-head en face.

\[3\] H. G. G. Payne Nekrocorinthia Oxford 1931 p. 142 cites an Argive-Corinthian relief from Delphoi (P. Perdrizet in the Fouilles de Delphes v. 2, 124 pl. 21 (part of which =my fig. 481)), which he calls 'late Protocorinthian' in style, as 'by far the earliest representation' of the birth of Athena. But the Argive-Corinthian bronze strips in low relief, of which this is a very characteristic example, have been hitherto assigned with confidence 'to the second and third quarters of the sixth century' (W. Lamb Greek and Roman Bronzes London 1929 p. 120). The relief in question forms a square metope in a quasi-architectural frame. Zeus with long hair and pointed beard sits to the left on a throne, the back of which ends in a swan's-head. He is clad in a long chiton and himation (?) and holds in his right hand a lotiform bowl with twisted spike (supra ii. 779 f.).
forward remained the dominant type for Athenian vase-painters. It was perhaps first brought about by some Megarian resident in Athens; for S. Reinach has given reasons for thinking that the names painted on the two oldest specimens of it imply a knowledge of the Megarian alphabet and dialect. The said specimens are here

Behind him stands a similarly draped Eileithyia, raising her left hand with open palm to his head—a gesture repeated by Zeus with his extended left hand. Before him a male god (Hephaistos?), wearing a cap and a short chiton, departs towards the left, but turns to face Zeus. He too holds his left hand with open palm, but downwards—perhaps another variety of the same gesture. His right hand was raised and may have held the axe, though this is uncertain as the relief here passes beyond the limits of the metope. T. Homolle was the first to recognise the scene as the birth of Athena. Payne op. cit. p. 142 n. 2 says 'the figure of Athena is almost obliterated': but is she there at all?

Fig. 482.

Kleanthes of Corinth (? early in 6-7 B.C.: M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 144 f.) is known to have painted a 'Birth of Athena,' which was preserved in the temple of Artemis 'Aphasia near the mouth of the Alpheus (Strab. 343). But our only clue to his treatment of the theme is the obtuse remark by Demetrios the antiquarian of Skepsis (c. 180—140 B.C.) that in it Ποιεῖται τὴν ἔνδομα τῷ Δίῳ προσφέρσεις ὑλίνες (Demetr. Skeps. frag. 5 ed. R. Goede (Gyphiswaldiae 1880) op. Athen. 346 B—C)—of course a mere attribute as often on black-figured vases (A. Reinach Textes Peint. Anc. i. 67 n. 7).

1 R. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena Wien 1880 p. 9 ff. So on Etruscan mirrors: Gerhard Etr. Spiegel pls. 66, 284, 1, 2, 283, 1, 2.
3 Mon. d. Inst. ix. pl. 55 (=my fig. 484) ΔBEYS and ΚΟΥΕΝΙΟΙΣ, ib. vi. pl. 56, 3, 4 (=my fig. 491) ΙΔΕVS. ΔBEYS shows Corinthian and Megarian B=c followed by an explanatory Athenian E. ΚΟΥΕΝΙΟΣ shows a similar juxtaposition
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of the alternatives Athenian \( \Delta \) and Corinthian (and Megarian?) \( \Omega \). \( \Delta \) may be accounted for by the hypothesis that a Megarian, accustomed to the form \( \Delta \), was working at Athens, where the name was written \( \Delta \).

The theory advanced by G. Kaibel in the _Ann. d. Inst._ 1873 siv. 112 and by G. Loeschcke in the _Arch. Zeit._ 1876 xxxiv. 116 (ep. H. B. Walters in the _Journ. Hell. Stud._ 1898 xviii. 284), viz. that the Attic vase-painter was copying Corinthian models, on which \( \Delta \) was spelled \( \Delta \) and \( \kappa \) had an initial \( \Omega \), makes shipwreck—as P. Kretschmer _Die griechischen Vaseninschriften_ Gütersloh 1894 p. 163 points out—on the fact that the Corinthians said \( \Delta \), not \( \Delta \). Two of the archaic inscribed _pinakes_ found in 1879 at _Ponte Sforbria_ near the Akrokorinthos and referable to a date c. 600 B.C.

![Fig. 483.](image)

put the form of the name beyond doubt (E. Pernice in the _Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst._ 1897 xii. 13 and 20, id. in the _Ant. Denkm._ ii. 6 pl. 30, 12 (= my fig. 482) and pl. 79, 13 (= my fig. 483), P. Kretschmer in the _Ath. Mitt._ 1897 xxii. 343 f., _Inscr. Gr. Pelop._ i nos. 263 fig. and 264 fig., F. Bechtel _Die griechischen Diakete_ Berlin 1923 ii. 235. The first and better preserved of these two is further published by Roehl _Inscr. Gr. ant._ no. 20, 66, id. _Imagines inscriptionum Graecarum antiquissimarum_ Berolini 1907 p. 43 no. 5, 1, _Furtwängler Vasenamml._ Berlin i. 61 no. 490, Roberts _Gr. Epigr._ i. 174 no. 90, 66). True, Megarian inscriptions too give the forms \( \Delta \), \( \Delta \), \( \Theta \), \( \Theta \), etc. (ep. E. Schneider _De dialecto Megarico_ Gissae 1882 p. 71 f.) but that ‘ne prouve rien, ces textes étant relativement récents’ (S. Reinach in the _Rev. Ét. Gr._ 1901 xiv. 134 n. 3 (id. _Cultes, Mythes et Religions_ Paris 1906 ii. 281 n. 4)).

A _pinax_-fragment found on the Akropolis at Athens preserve1 the head of Zeus, the body of Athena, and the hands of Eleutheria (F. Stadniczka in the _Eph._ 1886 p. 117 ff. pl. 8, 1). Graec _Ant. Vase Athen_ iv. 251 f. no. 2578 pl. 109 (= my fig. 484) comments: ‘Obwohl die Inschrift attisch ist, darf an dem korinthischen Ursprung des Pinax nach Still, und Farbe des Tons, der dem der protokorinthischen Ware entspricht, nicht gezweifelt werden.’
Athena born from the head of Zeus, with two Eleutheraii and other deities in attendance.
reproduced, because they illustrate the two possible forms of compromise between the Megarian and the Athenian type, according as Athena is, or is not, visible.

The first is a 'Tyrrenian' amphora from Caere, now at Berlin (fig. 485 and pl. iv)\(^1\). Zeus in a chiton and patterned himation is seated on a throne of which the back ends in a swan's head, the legs in lion's claws. In his left hand he grasps a thunderbolt. From his head emerges Athena armed with a lance, a circular shield, and a high-crested helmet. Hephaistos, then, has already struck his blow;

![Image](fig. 484)

indeed he is to be seen hurrying off on tip-toe\(^2\) towards the left\(^3\). Nevertheless two birth-goddesses are still standing, Eileithyia behind Zeus, Demeter\(^4\) before him, and are lifting their hands with

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2. *Supra* p. 587 n. 2.

3. A cameo published by A. L. Millin *Pierres gravées inédites* Paris 1817 i pl. 56 (= Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 128 f. no. 56 pl. 122) shows Hephaistos with his mallet standing still to watch Athena received by the hands of the two Eileithyiai. But E. Braun in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1849 vii. 112 pl. 6, 1 justly pronounced the gem to be a forgery.

4. G. Kaibel in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 107 takes this figure to be a second Eileithyia, and refers the name [ΔΕ]ΜΕΤΕΠ to the fragmentary figure next to it on the right. But on this vase most of the names are well towards the right of the persons named. Moreover, the fragmentary figure is certainly male, and holds an object with a long handle—presumably Poseidon with his trident.

C. III.
Amphora from Vulci, now in the British Museum:
Athena born from the head of Zeus, with two Eileithyiai, Hermes, and Hephaistos in attendance.

See page 678 n. 3 (1).
Pelike from Vulci, now in the British Museum:

(a, b) Athena born from the head of Zeus, with one Eileithyia and other deities in attendance.

See page 576 n. 6 (g) and page 710 with fig. 556.
open palms as though they would conjure the new-born maiden to appear. Other deities are present. To the left of the central group, and separated from one another by the rapidly retreating figure of Hephaistos, are Dionysos and Hermes. The former wears an ivy-wreath and holds a κάνθαρος. The latter, in festal attire, bears a caduceus of unusual form and announces his presence with the naive remark—'I am Hermes of Kyllene.' To the right of Zeus and his attendant goddesses is a god, probably Poseidon, conversing with a goddess, probably Aphrodite, while behind them stands Apollon with bow and arrow in his hands.

Fig. 486.

1 So G. Loeschke in the Arch. Zeit. 1876 xxxiv. 109, R. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena Wien 1886 p. 9, and with a query Reinaich Rép. Vases i. 197. The mutilated word ιβεί is probably an appellative of Poseidon; Furtwängler loc. cit. says 'am ehesten wol Ἐπιτυθωράω wenn man ein schiefgestelltes Δ zulässt,' cp. O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 1334. Less likely is ὦντλδή—there is not much room for one. More improbable still, Wilamowitz' reading Παρηθυρώ. Quite impossible, a hovering Τουαρως.

2 Furtwängler loc. cit. proposes Α[μα]τριφαντροσ, which is accepted, again with a query, by Reinaich loc. cit. But Poseidon is more than once paired with Aphrodite (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1145 n. 42.), and the initial 'Αφρ—is beyond question.

3 Noteworthy variations on the theme of this vase include the following:

1 A black-figured amphora from Vulci, now in the British Museum (Gerhard Ausserl. Vaseb. i. 6 ff. pl. 2, 1, Lenormant—de Witte Ét. mon. cér. i. 196 f. pl. 58, Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases ii. 155 no. 2 244 with fig. 21 on p. 11, Reinaich Rép. Vases ii. 20, 3—5, II. B. Walters History of Ancient Pottery London 1905 ii. 16 fig. 113), which J. D. Beazley in the Journ. Hell. Stu. 1917 xlvii. 78f. fig. 16 f., 82 attributes to his 'Antimenes painter' c. 530—500 B.C. My pl. iv is from the official photograph. Zeus and Athena are flanked by a pair of Eileithyiai with Hermes on the left and Hephaistos on the right.

2 A red-figured hydria from Nola, now in Paris (De Ridder Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat. ii. 337 ff. no. 444 fig. 74 (= my fig. 486), Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 542 ('karikaturenhafte Schlankheit') iii. 196 fig. 518), which J. D. Beazley assigns to his
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manneristic 'Nausikaa painter' c. 470 B.C. (Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 123 no. 9, Attische Vasenmaler des rothfigirigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 253 no. 13, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 213 no. 8). This gives Zeus an unexpected phile and makes Athena jump the wrong way to the manifest surprise of Hephaisitos and the two Eileithyias. De Ritter names the figures from left to right Iris (?), Hera (?), Zeus, Athena Prōmachos, Hermes, 'Déesse (?)'.

Fig. 487:

(3) A red-figured pelike from Vulci, now in the British Museum (Gerhard Anw. Vaseb. i. 6 ff. pl. 3—4, P. W. Forchhammer Die Geburt der Athene Kiel 1841 with pl., Lepramont—de Witte Él. mon. cir. i. 311 ff. pls. 64 and 65, Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 356 f. no. 410, Reinach Rép. Vases ii. 20, 6), which is attributed either to Hermonax c. 465—455 B.C. (Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 31 f. no. 12, but see Leonard in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 901) or to a painter closely resembling him (J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rothfigirigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 304 no. 1). My pl. lvi is from the official photographs, cp. infra fig. 526. Zeus, enthroned en face, makes the gesture of delivery with his right hand as Athena rises from his hand. Eileithyia and Artemis on the right are balanced by Hephaisitos and Poseidon on the left. The design is then
amplified by the addition of other immortals. Under the left handle Nike hastens towards the right followed by a draped youthful male wearing a wreath (Apollon?), Dionysos, a bald and bearded deity also wreathed (Hades?), and a white-haired personage resting on a staff (Nereus?). The identification of the last two figures is quite uncertain: provisionally I follow Gerhard. For other guesses see R. Schneider Der Geburt der Athena Wien 1880 p. 11 f.

Etruscan mirrors, under the influence of imported red-figure vases (W. Lamb Greek and Roman Bronzes London 1939 p. 129 f.), repeat the design with additions and subtractions:
(1) A mirror from Arezzo, now at Bologna (supra ii. 709 ff. pl. xxix), shows Tinia delivered by Thanr and Thalma, while Sethians with his double axe stands aloof.

by Thanr and Ethanaa—the former fastening a bandage round his head, the latter laying her hands on his head and shoulder—gives birth to an armed Menesia. All the goddesses wore Etruscan (supra p. 662 n. 10) are winged. On Thanr see C. Pauli in Roscher Lex. Myth. vi. 537—539. On Thalna, C. Pauli ib. v. 459—463, cp. 447. E. Vetter in Glotta 1924 xiiii. 146—148, Eva Fiesel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. A. 1227—1232. On Ethanaa, W. Deecke in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1390, E. Samter in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 717. It must be remembered that Strab. 326 says of

Fig. 490.

Pyrgoi, the port of Caere: ἡ και Ἡληθίας ἱερόν, Πελασγῶν Πρωτα, πλατύνθη τοις γενόμενοι, κ.τ.λ.

(3) A third, now at Berlin (no. 2979) (E. Braun in the Ann. d. Inst. 1881 xxiii. 141 ff. pl. 6—11, Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iv. 12 f. pl. 284, 1 (=my fig. 488), A. Fabretti Corpus inscriptionum Italicarum Aug. Taurinorum 1867 p. ccxv no. 2478, C. Pauli in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2933 f.), has Tinia sitting on a throne with lowered bolt and Menesia in armour rising from his head. Left and right of him, leaning on the back of his throne, are Thalna and Uni (Juno)—both appropriate as birth-goddesses. These in turn are flanked by two young warriors described as Lalan and Proale. Lalan is an obvious slip for Larar, the Etruscan Ares (W. Deecke in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1866 f.). Proale occurs here only, but must be a deity akin to Mars (C. Pauli loc. cit.). Finally, in
The second form of compromise between the Megarian and the Athenian type is exemplified by another 'Tyrrhenian' amphora from Caere, now in the Louvre (fig. 491). Zeus, clad in a white chiton and a red himation, is seated on a throne—carefully inscribed as such—with swan's-head back and lion's-claw legs. His left hand holds the thunderbolt, his right a lotos-topped sceptre. His feet rest on a footstool, upon which stands one of the birth-goddesses with a wreath in her uplifted right hand. Her fellow, definitely named Eileithyia, stands behind the throne of Zeus and the background is seen a temple-front with four Ionic columns, which is hardly to be identified with the newly built Parthenon (J. Roulez in the Ann. d. Inst. 1861 xxxii. 318), but suggests that the scene is being enacted in Olympus (Gerhard p. 17).

(4) Very similar is the design of another mirror, now in London (Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iv. 13 f. pl. 284, 3 (= my fig. 489), A. Fabretti op. cit. p. cccxiv no. 7471 bis, Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 116 no. 696). Tinia and Minerva are again supported by Thalna and Uni. On the left is Larun, on the right a bearded Marsistiunta (so H. B. Walters, who thinks he 'may be meant for Poseidon'). C. Pauli in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 3933 f. reads μορφή, μοστα and, with more probability, assumes some relationship to Mars). In the background, as before, is a temple-façade with four Ionic columns (cp. also Gerhard op. cit. iv. 14 f. pl. 385, t).

(5) Yet another mirror, formerly in the Museo Campana, now in the Louvre (J. Roulez in the Ann. d. Inst. 1861 xxxiii. 314 f. Mon. d. Inst. vi pl. 56, t, Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iv. 16 f. pl. 285 a (= my fig. 490), De Ridder Cat. Bronzes du Louvre ii. 51 no. 1738), makes Tinia beardless and surrounded by three goddesses—one with wings (Thanor or Uni (Roulez) rather than Nike (Gerhard, De Ridder)), a second with Phrygian cap (Thalna (Roulez). Artemis (Gerhard), Artemis? (De Ridder)), a third with veil (Iuno (Gerhard) or Hera? (De Ridder)) rather than Venus (Roulez). A sketchy pediment still marks the background.


2 ΦΡΟΝΟΤ.

3 HILEI0VF.
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raises both arms to his head. Athena is not yet born; but owing to the fusion, or rather confusion, of types Hephaistos with his double axe is already making off to the extreme right of the spectator. Left of the central scene is a group of interested deities—Dionysos with a garland of vine-leaves, Aphrodite draped and veiled, Ares with lance and shield, and lastly Leto. Right of the central scene appear other deities—Poseidon leaning on his trident (?) as he talks to Amphitrite, and a nude bearded god, perhaps meant for Hermes, who holds a long-handled caduceus (?) with one hand and gesticulates with the other.

(4) The fourth type, which represents Athena standing—a half-grown maiden—on the knees of Zeus, is again but a special application of a much older mother-and-child motif. As applied to Zeus and Athena, it occurs on several black-figured amphorae and one red-figured pelike.

The earliest of the black-figured vases is an amphora in the style of Amasis noted by G. Karo in 1899 as being then in the Museo Municipale at Orvieto. It seems probable that this is the vase published by Miss E. H. Hall (Mrs Dohan) as ‘excavated from an Etruscan tomb at Orvieto in 1907 [sic] by Mr A. L. Frothingham’ and now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum at Philadelphia (fig. 492). It has been to some extent repainted, but the original parts can be well made out from the official line-drawing. Zeus, holding a lotiform bolt, sits stiffly erect on a throne towards the right. Its back ends in a ram’s head. Its seat rests on a Nike with spread wings and gesticulating hands. On his lap stands Athena in her panoply. Before Zeus is Eileithyia with ex-

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1 So Pottier loc. cit. S. Reinach loc. cit. supposes that the female figure on the footstool is Athena. But F. Dürbach loc. cit. justly observes that on a black-figured amphora from Chiusi representing the same scene (Lenormant—de Witte El. mon. crr. l. 194 f. pl. 57) one of the Eileithyiæ is carrying a wreath. Besides, the figure on the footstool has no attribute distinctive of Athena.

2 A gold ring from one of the later tombs at Thisbe in Boiotia, published by Sir A. Evans The Palace of Minos at Knossos London 1930 ill. 470 ff. and by him assigned at latest to ‘a Mainland-Mycenaean phase equivalent to L. M. III a,’ shows a draped goddess sitting on a throne with a nude boy standing on her knees. Behind the throne is a small female attendant; in front of it, two armed worshippers approach with offerings.


4 E. H. H[all] in The Museum Journal 1912 iii. 68 ff. figs. 33 (photo of whole), 34 (= my fig. 492), and 35 (drawing of reverse). The date 1907 is possibly a slip for 1897: it is in any case inconsistent with Miss Hall’s statement in the same paragraph that A. Furtwängler saw the vase at Philadelphia in 1904 and, upon his return to Europe, made a report of it to the Munich Academy of Science [see the Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1905 p. 257 no. 16].
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pressive fingers. Behind him, Apollon with kithára and pléktron. On the right, Ares in full armour is accompanied by a hound. On the left are traces of Poseidon(?). Finally a few blanks are filled by a couple of soul-birds and sundry meaningless inscriptions.

Another amphora, now in the Musée d’Art et d’Histoire at Geneva, is included in the Genevan series of Giraudon’s photographs. A third, here given (fig. 493), was found at Vulci and passed from

Fig. 494.

1 On the use of dogs in war see F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 2566 f.; and on their relation to Ares, id. ib. viii. 2573 f. (cp. the same author’s monograph Der Hund im Altertum Schleusingen 1910). The subject had been already handled by O. Keller Die antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1909 i. 116 ff., 141.

2 R. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena Wien 1880 p. 14 no. 32 (Genf: musée Fol. (Kat. n. 154)); P. Milliet Vases antiques des collections de la ville de Genève Paris 1892. (Text to A. Giraudon’s plates.)

3 G. Micali Monumenti per servire alla storia degli antichi popoli italiani Firenze 1832 pl. 80, 1, Lenormant—de Witte El. mon. écr. i. 197 ff. pl. 29 (=my fig. 493); Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 164 pl. 21, 228, L. Urlich’s Verzeichnis der Antikensammlung der Universität Würzburg Würzburg 1872 iii. 44 f. no. 243.
the Feoli collection to Würzburg. Zeus is seated on a stool, which has decorated legs and a central support in the shape of a bearded and draped male figure. The god holds a thunderbolt in his right hand, and uplifts his left with open palm. On his lap stands Athena, not yet fully grown, but armed with aigis and shield. Before Zeus, with one hand raised and open, the other lowered and shut, stands a birth-goddess, presumably Eileithyia. Behind him Apollon with

![Image](Fig. 495)

kithára and pléktron makes music. To the right of all stands a bearded and draped god, perhaps Poseidon—though no attribute is visible; to the left, a bearded and nude god with a peaked and pointed pétasos—probably Hermes, but possibly Hephaistos.

The red-figured vase, a pelike from Nola now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (fig. 494), is referred by J. D.

1 A. de La Borde Collection des vases grecs de M. le comte de Lamberg Paris 1813 i. 88 pl. 83, Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. étr. i. 191 pl. 25 (= my fig. 494), R. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena Wien 1880 p. 14 no. 35, Reinach Rép. Vases ii. 207, 3.
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Beazley to his 'Geras Painter', a minor artist of c. 480—470 B.C. It depicts the middle group of deities only, and rather clumsily exaggerates the size of Eileithyia at the expense of Zeus.

Fig. 49i.


2 It may be noticed in passing that this mother-and-child motif was applied by Athenian vase-painters not only to Zeus and Athena, but also to Zeus and Dionysos. A black-figured example of the latter has already been given (supra ii. 173 n. 3 with fig. 177, which having suffered an accidental exchange of right for left is here replaced by the more correct fig. 49i); in it Zeus kept his own thunderbolt and sceptre, 'Zeus' boy' brandished torches, and the original Eileithyia was transformed into Hera. A red-figured bell-krater found, full of ashes and small vases, in tomb no. 311 of the Val di Trebbia necropolis near Comacchio (A. Negrioli in the Not. Scavi 1917 p. 166 pl. 16 (=my fig. 49b), M. I. Rostovtzeff Mystic Italy New York 1927 Frontispiece, C. Dugad in the Rev. Et. Gr. 1929 xlii. 89 fig. 5) has a noble long-haired Zeus sitting on a high-backed chair. He wears an olive (?)-wreath, a tagged or embroidered chiton, and a plain himation. But the painter has given him a distinctly Dionysiac character by making him shoulder a thyrsus by way of sceptre and use a fawn-skin as his antimacassar, while he supports the infant Dionysos already equipped with ivy-wreath, vine-stem, and knoutoros. In this
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(5) The fifth and final type, in which Athena has reached her full stature, is attested by a couple of vases, a black-figured hydria from Vulci now at Würzburg and a red-figured stámnos from Vulci now in the Vatican.

The hydria (fig. 497)\(^1\) shows Zeus seated on a throne, facing towards the left. He holds a sceptre with a curious Janiform head\(^2\) in one hand, but no thunderbolt in the other. Athena, armed and fully grown, stands before him. She has issued from him, as we might infer from the position of her feet, but she turns her face directly towards him while adjusting her high-crested helmet. To either side of this group stand the two Elléithyiai, and beyond them Poseidon and Hermes. Hephaistos is not there.

The stámnos (fig. 498, a and b)\(^3\), regarded by J. D. Beazley as the case the two Elléithyiai have become stately Nymphs holding flowers or clothing for the new-born god.

It is possible, though not certain, that Dionysos borrowed the type from Athena, who—to judge from our few examples—appears to have been first in the field. In any event his adoption of the scheme was very understandable: it is but a step from some vase-illustrations of Dionysos emerging out of his father's thigh (supra p. 81 fig. 35 and pl. xiii, 1—3) to these of Dionysos standing upon it.

\(1\) O. Benndorf in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxvii. 368 f., *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 24 (part of which = my fig. 497), L. Urlichs *Verzeichniss der Antikenammlung der Universität Würzburg* Würzburg 1873 iii. 28 no. 132, Reinsch *Kép. Vases* i. 171.

\(2\) The conjointed profiles are respectively bearded and beardless (cp. supra ii. 387 ff. on the differentiation of the sky-god's faces), and two arms are attached to the common torso. But Urlichs *loc. cit.* says: 'eine Scepter, worauf ein Doppelgesicht (modern?)'.

\(3\) *Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 5 pl. 21, 1 (= my fig. 498, a and b).
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a late 'Schularbeit' of his 'Berlin Painter', may be dated c. 465 B.C. Front and back of the vase are decorated with sections of the same scene, in which the familiar figures are regrouped with sundry infelicitous variations. On the obverse, Zeus is standing not seated, having vacated his chair for Hera, who sits there raising her right hand as if to greet the hasty arrival of Nike from the left. Nike presumably brings tidings of Athena's birth. And meantime Athena herself, armed and fully grown, stands holding out her helmet behind Hera's back. In short, a complete rearrangement of the traditional scheme. No less wilful is the artist's treatment of

Fig. 498.

1 J. D. Beazley *Attische VASENMALER des vatfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 83 no. 91.
2 *Der Berliner Maler* Berlin 1930 pp. 15, 19 no. 110.
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the reverse. The divine witnesses are not relegated to the left and right as flanking figures, but are paired off as conversing couples—Poseidon with Hermes(?), Kore(?) with Hades(?).

The fifth type of vase-painting leads up to and culminates in the great complex of sculptural decoration employed by Pheidias for the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. The ultimate dependence of this complex on actual cults may be seen from the following diagram:

CULT OF THE EILEITHYIAI
AT MEGARA.

Vase-type (1): Zeus in labour helped by the Eileithyiai.

Vase-type (2): Athena emerging from the head of Zeus, which has been cleft by Hephaistos.

Vase-type (3) due to Megarian potters resident in Athens:
Zeus in labour helped by the Eileithyiai: his head has been cleft by Hephaistos, and Athena either (a) is, or (b) is not, visible.

Developments of the theme due to Athenian potters:
Vase-type (4): Athena, armed but not yet fully grown, standing on the knees of Zeus.

Vase-type (5): Athena, armed and fully grown, standing before Zeus.

PHEIDIAS’ DESIGN FOR THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.

The foregoing enquiry has brought us to the threshold of a difficult, not to say dangerous, enterprise. If Pheidias’ design was indeed the climax of certain pre-existing ceramic types, which can

1 Chlamys, pélasos, and endromédos suggest Hermes. Is the rather obvious pair of pincers a caduceus repainted by somebody who thought the presence of Hephaistos essential?

2 Mus. Etr. Gregor. ii. 5 ‘Venere o meglio Proserpina con fiore in mano.’

3 Ib. ‘Plutone.’ The wish to work all three of the Kronidai into the company of heaven is understandable, though Hades is quite out of place dans cette galère.

4 G. Bendinelli in Ausea 1921 x. 109—130 claims that the seated Zeus from a pòros pediment of the sixth century at Athens (supra i. 2 n. 2) should be combined with a standing Athena, like the duplicated goddess of an archaic relief (Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus. p. 101 ff. no. 81 pl. 26, Reinauch Rép. Reliefs ii. 331 no. 1), to form a pedimental composition representing the Birth of Athena. But his fig. 6 is far from convincing. See further C. Picard La sculpture Paris 1935 i. 599 ff.
Drawing of the east pediment of the Parthenon by J. Carrey (1674), and attempted restorations by E. A. Gardner (1902) and K. Schwerzek (1904).
1. J. N. Svoronos (1912).

2. Rhys Carpenter (1933).

3. A. B. Cook (1917).

Attempted restorations of the east pediment of the Parthenon by J. N. Svoronos (1912), Rhys Carpenter (1933), and A. B. Cook (1917).
be determined and arranged in an intelligible series, we are thereby encouraged to play Childe Roland and, undeterred by the fate of our predecessors, once more attack that Dark Tower of Athenian archaeology—the time-honoured problem of reconstructing the eastern pediment of the Parthenon.

Two factors in the situation make the attempt less foolhardy nowadays than it was a century since in the time of Christopher Wordsworth\(^1\). On the one hand, R. Schneider\(^2\) in 1880 justly emphasized the importance of the Madrid puteal\(^3\) and inferred from it that Pheidias' Zeus was seated in profile\(^4\) to the right with the axe-bearer behind him and Athena before. On the other hand, B. Sauer\(^5\) in 1890—1891 published and discussed the first minutely accurate chart of the Standspuren or actual traces left by the sculptures on the floor of the gable\(^6\). His investigation corrected Schneider's idea that Zeus occupied the middle of the pediment\(^7\).

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\(^1\) C. Wordsworth: *Athens and Attica* London 1836 p. 116 'The attempt to infer the treatment and details of the altorlifevo groupe which once occupied the eastern pediment from the fragments of it which remain, would be as futile an enterprise as that to reconstruct an Athenian Tragedy from a few broken lines.'


\(^3\) *Supra* p. 657 ff. Others have attached little or no weight to the puteal, on the ground that its figures were neo-Attic—'eine Compilation älterer Typen' (P. Arndt in *Einselauflnahmen* nos. 1724—30 Text vi. 42 ff.) or 'klassizistische Einzeltypen' (E. Pfuhl in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1926 xlii. 170). Thus, for example, W. Amelung: *Die Basis des Praxiteles aus Mantinea* München 1895 p. 13 ff. maintains that the Fates of the puteal were taken from fourth-century prototypes closely resembling the Muses of the Mantinean base, and that they are therefore non-Pheidias in character and post-Parrheenonian in date—a view sufficiently refuted by Rhys Carpenter in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 123 ff. Most critics, however, would admit that the puteal-groups, even if they were mediate rather than immediate copies of the pediment, are yet highly relevant to a reconstruction of their lost originals (*supra* p. 660 n. 0).

\(^4\) This would not necessarily preclude the slightly oblique position assigned to the throne and body of Zeus by K. Schwerzer: *Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels* Wien 1904 p. 17: 'Wegen der geringen Tiefe des Giebels ist es nämlich aus technischen Gründen ganz unmöglich, die Zeus-Statue in der reinen Vorder- oder Seitenansicht anzubringen.'

\(^5\) B. Sauer in the *Ant. Denkm.* i. 48 ff. pl. 58, B and C, id. 'Untersuchungen über die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon' in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1891 xvi. 59—94 pl. 3.

\(^6\) Rhys Carpenter in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 130 ff. fig. 7 and pl. 3, A was still operating with Saner's floor-plan, but in 1931—thanks to the great scaffoldings erected by M. Balanos—he was able to pay repeated visits to the actual floor and in various points to control or supplement the observations of his predecessor (*Hepteria* 1933 ii. 2—12 with pls. 1 [photograph of floor-blocks 19—11] and 2 [= = my pl. lviii, 2: restoration of pediment and revised plan of floor]).

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by showing that the central marks required, not one colossal figure, but two large-sized figures of about equal weight. E. Pfuhl in 1926 improved upon this by arguing from a fresh consideration of the same data that, of the two central figures, the left was 'heavier than the right and apparently rectangular in plan.

It will be observed that the citation of the Standspuren was by no means fatal to the relevancy of the Madrid puteal. Indeed it

Rhys Carpenter, dead to derision, revives Six's central group in the 'Am. Journ. Arch. 1925 xxix. 137 ff. pl. 3, A with a drawing which E. Pfuhl in the 'Jahrbr. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1926 xli. 168 n. 2 condemns as incompatible with the floor-traces 'und auch sonst unmöglich.' Unperturbed by hard words, Rhys Carpenter returns to the charge in 'Hesperia 1933 ii. 1, 34-39 with fig. 7 and pl. 2 (= my pl. Iviii, 2), where he still advocates a colossal Zeus sitting in quasi-profile to the right on a central throne 'not set quite parallel to the tympanon but at this slight angle of about 3°. By this minute turn the throne was swung sufficiently to suggest that the pose was not a pure profile, and the torsion in the upper body of Zeus was made more natural. The narrowness of the pediment prevented a more thoroughgoing displacement. On the Madrid puteal relief the throne of Zeus is drawn with exactly this slight but indispensable obliquity.'

Many of the older authorities assumed a central Zeus enthroned 'en face with Athena either emergent above his head (R. Schneider op. cit. pl. 2 Quatremaure De Quincy, pl. 3 E. Gerhard) or in close proximity to him (ib. pl. 5 C. R. Cockrell, pl. 6 L. Drossis). The model exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of New York is of this latter type (W. H. Appleton in 'Art and Archaeology 1916 iv. 11 with pl. on p. 20).

1 Rhys Carpenter in 'Hesperia 1933 ii. 30-39 discusses in great detail the floor-marks of the pediment, which he regards as pointing clearly and unmistakably to the existence of a single central statue of formidable weight—Zeus enthroned to the right as on the Madrid puteal. This arrangement is plausible and, I suppose, possible. But it suffers from three serious drawbacks. It involves a grave discrepancy with the scheme of the western pediment, which had two central figures, not one. It makes Zeus bulk too big in a temple that belonged to Athena. And it is reckoned by a grouping of the Fates, etc., which to me at least is very unconvincing (see e.g. the criticisms of C. Picard in the 'Rev. Arch. 1933 i. 273).

A. Furthwangler Intermessi Leipzig—Berlin 1896 p. 22 f. had likewise disputed Sauer's conclusion, arguing that the two stout iron bars converging on block 13 were intended to support the plinth of a heavy central figure. He proposed to find that figure in the 'torso Medici' of the École des Beaux Arts at Paris. But later ('Aegina München 1906 i. 330 f.) he confessed himself convinced by further argumentation on the part of Sauer ('Der Weber-Laborde's Koef und die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon Giessen 1903) and reverted to his original view that the 'torso Medici' is a copy of the so-called 'Promachos' of the Akropolis.

was with an eye to both sources of evidence that the sculptor K. Schwerzek in 1904 produced the first really satisfactory filling of the central space—Zeus enthroned to the right, Athena moving away from him but facing left, and Nike hovering between them wreath in hand. A. Prandtl in 1908, following the puteal with more absolute fidelity, went further in the same direction. He plotted in, not only Zeus, Athena, and Nike, but also the axe-bearing god behind the throne of Zeus. Moreover, taking a hint from Sauer, he added next to Athena the extant torso of a god starting back in surprise or alarm. This fine figure on the right aptly balances the retreating axe-bearer on the left.


2 A. Prandtl ‘Fragmente der Giebelgruppen des Parthenon’ in the Ath. Mitt. 1908 xxxiii. 1 ff. fig. 1 (= my fig. 499). Prandtl would recognise, among the fragments attributed to the Parthenon pediments, the right heel of the axe-bearer, the left hand and part of the drapery of Zeus, also two fragments from the right wing of Nike.

Frag. 36 in A. H. Smith The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1910 p. 23 pl. 14 A (fig. 500), a right male thigh, to the knee (height 0.41 m), is on a scale large enough to suit this axe-bearer.

3 E. Pfuhl, like R. Sauer, regards a hovering Nike as ‘undenkbar’ and postulates at most a Nike held in the god’s hand (Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1916 xli. 170).

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Approaching the matter by a different route Sir Cecil Smith\(^1\) had in 1907 arrived at substantially similar results, at least in so far as the three central figures were concerned. He based his argument on the acute observation that Attic vases painted within a decade or so of the erection of the pediment are full of suggestions of motives directly or indirectly borrowed from the Parthenon. In parti-

\[\text{Fig. 501.}\]

cular he referred to the magnificent krater of the Villa Giulia (\textit{supra} ii. 737 with fig. 668) as evidence that Pheidias filled the central space by Zeus seated towards the right, Athena standing before him, and Nike with a wreath hovering between them in the apex (fig. 501)\(^2\).


\(^2\) He contends that the types of Zeus and of Athena (with her crested helmet and gorgeous \textit{helmet}) are precisely what we should expect of Pheidias, that a hovering Victory
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He also cited the polychrome pelike from Jüz Oba (supra ii. 258 ff. pl. xvi) as another vase reminiscent of the Parthenonian design.

We may take it, then, that this disposition of the central group is so highly probable as to be practically certain. But, before attempting to extend it right and left, I would draw attention to one or two details.

It is surely hard to believe that Pheidias would have left, as on the Madrid puteal, a large blank rectangle beneath the throne of Zeus. K. Schwerzek in his reconstruction (pl. lvii, 3) tries to minimise this objectionable feature by inserting a cross-bar and a sunk panel between the legs of the throne. The effect is not good: Zeus appears to be seated on a pile of boxes. It occurred to me\(^1\) that a simple

![Fig. 502.](image)

would admirably fill the apex of the pediment, and that the vase-painter observing the statuery-group from below might well indicate, as he has done, the under-surface of the throne of Zeus. The last of these arguments is, I think, the weakest: the drawing of the throne may be merely an effect of pseudoperspective (see supra p. 92 with fig. 33 and e.g. Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 604 f.*, Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasmalerie iii. 145* ("Was ganz besonders auffällt, ist die stark betonte Unteransicht verschiedener Gegenstände, z. B. sieht man unter die Kline, unter Laomedons Chiton hinein, von dem Schemel sogar sämtliche Querleisten seiner Unterfläche").

\(^1\) I first put forward my reconstruction in a paper read to the Hellenic Society on 13 Feb. 1917 (*Journ. Hell. Soc. 1917 xxxvii p. xlv ff.*). But years afterwards I found that already in 1912 J. N. Svoronos had hit upon the same solution of this particular problem (*Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1912 xiv. 274 pl. 19*') and had sought to justify it by sundry parallels drawn from coin-types (*e.g. Gnecci Medagl. Rom. ii. 15 no. 53*).
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way out of the difficulty would be to place an eagle below the throne. There were ancient religious reasons for fixing an eagle in the pediment of a temple, and it seemed natural to put the lightning-bird in immediate juxtaposition with the thunderbolt of Zeus. My conjecture was confirmed by the design of another puteal (fig. 502), clearly a later variation on the Pheidian theme, which transposes left for right but retains the bird beneath the throne.

A second detail in regard to which I should differ from Sauer, Schwerzek, and E. A. Gardner is that they all make Athena hold her lance in the right hand. But, thus held, it endangers the well-meaning Nike; or, if Nike be absent, at least it interposes a weapon of offence between the new-born goddess and her sire, while it creates an ugly parallel or quasi-parallel with his sceptre. Besides, Athenian bronze coins of imperial date (figs. 503—510) represent an

pl. 48, 8 a bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius) and votive reliefs (Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus. pl. 142 no. 2357, pl. 143 no. 2383, pl. 219 no. 2. 1330, cp. O. Kern in the Ath. Mitth. 1891 xi. 75, O. Walter in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1910 xiii Belblatt p. 219 ff. figs. 141—143 [Sopra ii. 1161 fig. 969].

1 Supra i. 259. It may be added that the Zeus enthroned in the eastern pediment of the old Hekatompedon held an eagle in his hand (T. Wiegand Die archaische Forsch.-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 105 fig. 108, p. 106 fig. 109).


3 E. A. Gardner Ancient Athens London 1922 p. 308 ‘Sketch Restoration of East Pediment.’

Athena identical, as Schneider¹ points out, with the goddess of the Madrid puteal and therefore, as Svoronos² saw, clearly derived from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon³: this Athena is shown proceeding from Zeus⁴ but looking back towards him with a gesture of uncertain import⁵; she carries her shield and commonly her spear too in the left hand. The same type occurs on engraved gems

![Fig. 511.](image1)
![Fig. 512.](image2)
![Fig. 513.](image3)

are from Beulé loc. cit.; fig. 503, from Svoronos pl. 85, 24 Paris; fig. 505, from Svoronos pl. 85, 19 Athens; fig. 507, from Svoronos pl. 85, 8 Gotha; fig. 509, from Svoronos pl. 85, 35 McClean.

¹ R. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena Wien 1880 p. 39 pl. 1, 3.
³ C. Robert in Hermes 1881 xvi. 68 f., E. A. Gardner in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1882 iii. 251 ff., and Friederichs—Wolters Gipsabgüsse p. 389 f. no. 1176 traced this type of Athena to the west, not the east, pediment. But, apart from the fact that Athena is moving in the wrong direction, her right arm should then have been raised to hold the spear. These critics were misled by the presence of the olive and the snake—variable attributes, which, like the owl, were useful for filling a blank on the circular field of the coin.
⁴ J. N. Svoronos in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1912 xiv. 273 pl. 15, 2 and 1 (= id. Les monnaies d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926 pl. 91, 3 Athens and 4 A. Romanos) thinks that certain rare Athenian bronze coins of imperial date, which represent Zeus enthroned towards the right with a sceptre in his right hand and an eagle on his left, were likewise copied from the Zeus of the eastern pediment. He modifies his restoration accordingly (Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1912 xiv pl. 10'), but is inconsistent enough to accept the sceptre in the god's right hand while he rejects the eagle on his left as τρισθήκη τοῦ αφρωτισθηλόν. It seems wiser to follow throughout the pattern of the puteal.
⁵ S. W. Grose in the McClean Cat. Coins ii. 364 f. no. 5949 'patera in extended r. hand,' no. 5950 'patera not clear.' But is there any patera, clear or otherwise, on either specimen? Cp. supra p. 572 n. 4.

On a bronze medallion of Commodus, struck in the year 191 A.D., a very similar Minerva holds a sprig of olive in her outstretched hand (Fröhner Méd. emp. rom. p. 137 f. fig.), Gneccchi Medagl. Rom. ii. 57 no. 47 pl. 81, 6 Paris. The specimen, formerly in the Weber collection and now in the British Museum, figured by Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paris. iii. 126 pl. Z, 13 shows Minerva plucking the sprig from the olive, but is unfortunately 'tropo ritoccato' (Gneccchi loc. cit.).
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(fig. 511)\(^1\), sometimes in an architectural surround which to some extent confirms our attribution of the original to the Parthenon (figs. 512, 513)\(^2\).

The central group thus determined is flanked by the axe-bearer starting to escape behind the throne of Zeus and a male deity recoiling in astonishment from Athena. If the axe-bearer was Hephaistos or Prometheus, some other name must be found for this god. Following Furtwängler\(^3\), I have identified him with Poseidon\(^4\) and restored him in an attitude somewhat resembling that of Myron’s Marsyas\(^5\). I do so with some confidence, partly because

\(^1\) A cornelian of Graeco-Roman date, from the Hertz collection (C. W. King *Antique Gems and Rings* London 1872 ii. 52 pl. 19 b, 9 (= my fig. 511), Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 45; ii. 207).


\(^3\) A. F. Gori, *Museum Florentinum Gemmæ antiquæ ex thesauro Mediceo et privatorum dactylithecis Florentiae exhibitae tab. cc Florentiae 1732* ii. 124 pl. 77 no. 2, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 66, no. 77, 2 pl. 66 (= my fig. 513), from a red jasper of the *Mus. Gherard.*

These two gems, if genuine (and there is no obvious reason to doubt them), appear to be of Roman imperial date.

\(^4\) A. Furtwängler *Intermensi Leipzig—Berlin 1896* p. 28 f.

\(^5\) Note that Poseidon occupied a similar position to the right of the central group in several of the vase-paintings already considered (supra figs. 492, 491, 493 (?)), though in others he was placed on the left (supra figs. 492 (?), 497).

J. N. Svoronos in his restoration (Journ. Intern. d’Arch. Num. 1912 xiv. 283 ff. pl. 10) completes this figure as Ares carrying a trophy—a numismatic type for which he would have done better to substitute Ares the shield-bearer (supra fig. 477 and pl. liii. Cp. Reinach *Rep. Vases* i. 116, 3, ii. 30, 1).

Furtwängler *Maitresses de Gr. Sculpt.* p. 465. His observation *ib. n. 3 ‘Only the right arm was lifted up, not both as is generally stated. The difference in the marking of the muscles on back and breast between the two sides shows this indubitably’* is traversed by K. Schwerzer, *Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels* Wien 1904 p. 25 ‘beide Achseln zeigen, dass die Arme erhoben waren . . . der rechte Arm viel höher kommt als der linke, obgleich beide fast gleichmäßig in die Höhe streben.’ The question is one for anatomists to decide.

Among the extant fragments attributed to the pediments by A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1916 p. 22 ff. I have found two (figs. 514, 515) which may fairly be referred to this Pheidias Poseidon. One (frag. 34 pl. 13) is part of a colossal right hand (Smith inadvertently says ‘left’), held up, thrown back, and spread open. The other (frag. 39 pl. 14 A) is part of a colossal right foot, of which Smith justly remarks: ‘The hinder part of the foot seems to have been slightly raised from the ground.’ Both fragments are of the right size to form the extremities of that splendid body, which we commonly call Torsò H. They help to assure me that H does not spell Hephaistos. And here I part company with my friend Mr Smith, who in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 111 attributed the torso to Hephaistos or Prometheus, adding: ‘Perhaps both hands held an axe above the head, as if about to strike.’ That was a plausible suggestion, but surely mistaken; for not one of our vase-types showed Hephaistos in act to strike—he was always consistently running away with lowered axe. Eighteen years later in *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* p. 22 Mr Smith modified his opinion: ‘It is probable that
the west pediment also places a Marsyas-like Poseidon next to an impetuously moving Athena—the result being a sort of echo from front to back of the temple—, and partly because the Finlay relief on a vase of Pentelic marble now at Athens combines the Athena of the east pediment with Marsyas himself in a Hellenistic reproduction of Myron’s group. It may be added that energy and movement, actual or potential, is thoroughly characteristic of Poseidon in all periods of Greek art.

Continuing our reconstruction we next note that immediately beyond Hephaistos on the left and Poseidon on the right broad iron bars were set askew in, or rather just over, the floor of the gable. These, as Sauer pointed out, were meant to support (on the cantilever principle) two heavy seated figures; and, ceteris paribus, it may be presumed that the said figures faced towards the centre in three-quarter position, i.e. along the lines of the supporting bars.

the figure was represented as drawing back, after the stroke by which the cleaving of the head of Zeus was accomplished. It is more probable still that Torso H was Poseidon, not Hephaistos at all.

6 Sauer loc. cit. p. 87 thought otherwise (‘Die Figuren wären dann wie Zeus im Profil zu denken’).
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They probably sat on rocks¹, not on thrones²; for the presence of other thrones would inevitably have detracted from the majesty of Zeus.

But have we definite evidence as to the name and nature of any such figure? I make bold to maintain that we have. In 1901 C. Waldstein³ (Sir Charles Walston) published two marble statuettes, which had been bought at Rome in 1892 for the Dresden Albertinum. They are of the same uncommon dimensions⁴; and, since they were bought together, they had in all probability been found together—a couple of figures from the pediment or pediments of a small-sized shrine. One of them is a free copy of the reclining god (‘Ilissos’ or ‘Kephisos’) from the west pediment of the Parthenon, not uninfluenced by the corresponding figure (‘Theseus’) of the east pediment. The other (fig. 516)⁵ represents a goddess half-draped in an ample himation, which, as the folds at the back indicate, covered her head behind like a veil and was drawn upwards by her right hand. Beyond all question she is an Aphrodite, and an Aphrodite of Pheidian type⁶. We need not,

¹ So in the restoration proposed by E. A. Gardner Ancient Athens London 1902 p. 308.
² A. Furtwängler Internessi Leipzig—Berlin p. 19 flanked his central Athena (supra p. 690 n. 1) by Zeus enthroned on the left and Hera enthroned on the right.
³ J. N. Svoronos in the Journ. Intern. d’Arch. Num. 1912 xiv pl. 10 has Dionysos enthroned on the left, Poseidon rock-seated on the right—a clumsy, lop-sided expedient.
⁵ The male figure measures 0.35 m long by 0.20 m high; the female figure, 0.31 m long by 0.31 m high. Cp. the marble statuettes, one-third of full size, found at Eleusis and similarly derived from the west pediment of the Parthenon (D. Philius in the PAx, Ἐρ. 1888 p. 27 (cp. ib. 1887 p. 51), ib. in the Eph. Ἀρχ. 1890 p. 124 n. 1, p. 218 ff. pl. 12 f., E. A. Gardner in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1889 x. 271, Staix Marbris et Bronzes: Athênes p. 59 nos. 200—202, Rhys Carpenter in Hesperia 1932 i. 11 ff., 22 ff., C. Picard in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1933 xiv. 427).
⁶ From a photograph of the cast at Cambridge.

⁷ The broad treatment of the body with its widely-spaced breasts, the easy yet dignified pose, the simple, harmonious drapery, and the action necessarily attributed to the right hand, all go to prove the Pheidian character of this little figure. It is, therefore, of considerable interest as evidence of a semi-draped Aphrodite in the fifth century B.C.

After my paper to the Hellenic Society (supra p. 693 n. 1) I received a letter (Feb. 19, 1917) from my friend Mr (now Sir George) Hill containing the politest of demurrers: ‘Are you sure about the semi-nude Aphrodite? It looks to me, fine as it is, far too sensuous, not to say sensual, to be a Pheidian type. Is there any other case as early, except under Oriental influence, of a semi-nude Aphrodite? It struck a jarring note to me in what was otherwise a concord of sweet sounds. And how do you reconcile her with the Aphrodite of the frieze? Are those statuesque genuine??’

It has not, I think, been noticed that evidence for half-draped female figures in Attic sculpture at least as early as 475—423 B.C. (the date of the play: see G. H. Macurdy The Chronology of the extant Plays of Euripides Lanenster, Pa 1905 pp. 5, 40 ff., cp. W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1912 i. 361 n. 2) may be drawn from
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therefore, hesitate to accept Waldstein's contention that she has preserved to us one of the missing figures from the east gable of the Parthenon. And, since she is seated on a rock in precisely the position that we require, I have restored her\(^1\) as occupying the block adjacent to Poseidon\(^2\). We have already seen a probable case of Aphrodite ranged next to Poseidon in the right-hand half of a

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\(^1\) _Supra_ ii pl. xxxiii.

\(^2\) C. Waldstein _loc. cit._ p. 18 originally gave her a different position: 'I should place her in the left half of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, immediately following the extant figure of Iris, the body turned towards the Iris, the head towards the centre...and I should call her Aphrodite.' But this position will not suit the marks in the gable-floor, which at that point demand two standing figures, not one seated figure. Later, in the _Journ. Hell. Stud._ 1913 xxxiii. 395 fig. 20, Waldstein was willing to accept my restoration of the goddess, whose head he thought to identify with the 'Aphrodite' of Holkham Hall—a notion promptly and properly scoffed by G. Dickins _ib._ 1914 xxxiv. 122 ff. Waldstein's rejoinder _ib._ p. 312 ff. is unconvincing.
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vase-picture showing the birth of Athena; and it will be granted that this association of the foam-born goddess with the sea-god was reasonable enough. The amount of rock visible at her left side makes it likely that here, as on the frieze, she was grouped with an Eros standing at her knee.

As a counterpoise to Aphrodite we need another figure seated on a rock in three-quarter position towards the right. A suitable personage would be Hera, who in sundry vase-illustrations of the birth appears behind the throne of Zeus, and is expressly mentioned

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1 Supra p. 675 n. 2.
2 A fragment of this figure perhaps survives in a left thigh of marble (fig. 518: height 0.32\text{\textsection}) attributed by A. Michaelis Der Parthenon Leipzig 1871 p. 232 pl. 8, 39 to the nude seated female S in the west pediment, but by A. H. Smith in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture i. 1901, no. 335 (ep. id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1910 p. 22 frag. 6 pl. 13) to the boy E in the same pediment.
   (2) A black-figured amphora from the Campana collection, now in the Louvre (J. Roulez in the Ann. d. Inst. 1861 iii. 207 ff., Mon. d. Inst. vi pl. 56, 2 (=my fig. 536), E. Pottier Vases antiques du Louvre 2\textsuperscript{ne} Série Paris 1901 p. 80 no. E 861 pl. 60 (reverse), Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art x. 107 figs. 76 and 77). Hera, not named but carrying sceptre, stands next to Dionysos.
   (3) A black-figured amphora from Italy (?) formerly in the Fouil collection, now in the Louvre (G. Conestabile in the Bull. d. Inst. 1861 p. 214 l., R. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena Wien 1888 p. 10 no. 11, Pottier Cat. Vases du Louvre iii. 729 no. F 33, id. in the Corp. vasis ant. Louvre iii H. e pl. 14, 8 (obverse), pl. 15, 2 (reverse), pl. 16, 3 (detail) with text p. 12 no. 8). Hera (?), not named and without attributes, stands next to Poseidon.
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by Philostratos of Lemnos (born c. 190 A.D.) in a rhetorical description of the scene as portrayed in a picture-gallery at Naples. Schwerzek has restored her as enthroned in the right place. But we want a rock-seat, not a throne. And it so happens that on the east frieze of the Hephaisteion ('Theseion'), a temple whose sculptures owe much to direct imitation of the Parthenon, we find Hera sitting on a rock in just the requisite attitude. I have transferred her bodily from Sauer's drawing of the 'Theseion' frieze to my restoration of the Parthenon pediment, not of course as a certain, but at least as a possible or even probable, figure in the composition.

1 Sir J. E. Sandys A History of Classical Scholarship Cambridge 1906 i. 336.
2 Philostr. mai. imagg. 2. 27. 2 καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς Ἡρᾶς τι δειδαι εὐταῖθα, γέγραπτο δὲ, ὡς ἄν εἰ καὶ αὕτη εὕτερα.
4 Supra p. 223 n. 6.
6 Sauer op. cit. pl. 3, 7 with over-leaf.
7 Supra ii pl. xxxii.
8 Again I would draw attention to three fragments of the pedimental sculptures extant at Athens (figs. 519—521).

One is a large female head (height 0.25m), which J. Six in the journ. Hell. Stud. 1911 xxxi. 66 f. fig. 2 described as 'a nearly formless block.' That is a bit too severe. A. H. Smith in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture i. 198 no. 339, 2 and in The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1910 p. 22 frag. 14 pl. 14A had been content to say 'much defaced.' Points deserving of emphasis are these. It was certainly a veiled female head. It appears to have worn a head-band or stephane. And in both respects it resembles the Hera of the Hephaisteion ('Theseion').
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At this point prudence would perhaps pause, content with probabilities, for in what follows the element of conjecture is necessarily larger. Nevertheless a bow drawn at a venture has before now hit the mark. So I proceed with as much circumspection as the facts allow.

Between Hera and the first of the extant figures from the southern angle is a gap, which—as the floor-traces suggest—was once filled by two standing persons. But, since these persons have entirely disappeared, how are we to identify and restore them? Our only clue will be the fact noted above, that Attic vases painted within a few decades from the completion of the pediment are full of motives derived from the Parthenon. Now a splendid krater at Petrograd (fig. 522), attributed by J. D. Beazley to his 'Kadmos'.

The other two fragments possibly derived from the same figure are a left breast (height 0.18 m) with close-fitting chiton (Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture i. 202 no. 339, 39. The Sculptures of the Parthenon p. 34 frag. 87 pl. 14 b) and the front part (width 0.35 m) of a sandalled right foot (The Sculptures of the Parthenon p. 33 frag. 40 pl. 14 A).

So far as I can judge, these three fragments fall well into place on my drawing, which was— I may say—completed before I began my search for confirmatory remnants. On the other hand, Six loc. cit. p. 66 claims that the veiled head was found by Ross before the western front of the Parthenon. If that be so, it of course tells against the assignment of frag. 15 to my seated Hera. But the statements of Ross himself are not quite so explicit and leave some room for doubt (L. Ross Archäologische Aufsätze Leipzig 1853 i. 89 f. 'Die Ausgrabung ist jetzt (sc. 1835) schon bis an die Mitte der Westseite [des Unterbaus] des Tempels fortgeführt.... Die Menge der gefundenen Bruchstücken von Bildhauerarbeit und Inschriften ist gross.... Unter den übrigen Bruchstücken sind noch viele sehr schöne, namentlich ein Paar Fragmente von Köpfen, die aber wohl nicht (A. Michaelis Der Parthenon Leipzig 1871 p. 196 on nos. 8 and 9 asks: 'warum nicht?') zu den Figuren des Giebelsfeldes gehören möchten; von einer der Metopen der Südseite ist ein sehr schön erhaltener Centaurenkopf ausgegraben worden,' etc.). Such a dump of fragments as he reports, some sculptured, others inscribed, may well have yielded a stray piece from any part of the building. Smith in the British Museum publications simply ignores the alleged find-spot.

1 Supra p. 693.
2 Supra ii. 261 n. 4, iii. 184 n. 1 (i). The obverse of this vase is published in the Compte-rendu St. Pétersb. 1861 Atlas pl. 3 (= my fig. 522); the reverse, ib. pl. 4 (= my ii pl. xvii).
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Painter\(^1\) (c. 420—410 B.C.\(^2\)), depicts the judgment of Paris in terms, so to speak, of the eastern pediment. The scene is flanked by two quadrigae. In the centre an armed Athena stands before her judge. To the right is a seated Aphrodite grouped with Eros; to the left, a seated Hera with Hebe standing behind her. I submit that in Pheidias' design too Hebe stood behind Hera. And, if so, her companion was almost certainly Herakles, whose presence at the birth of Athena is attested by vases of our first\(^8\) and third\(^4\) types. This conjecture is strengthened by the fact that on the krater of the Villa Giulia\(^6\), which demonstrably borrowed its three central figures\(^6\) and very possibly borrowed all its figures from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, Herakles and Hebe stand side by side. In my restoration I have adopted from that krater the gesture of Hebe's right hand, which may be characteristic as it occurs in another vase-representation of her\(^7\), and also the entire figure of Herakles\(^8\), including his club and lion-skin\(^9\).

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\(^1\) J. D. Beazley Atthische Vasenmaler des rosfurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 451 no. 5.
\(^2\) Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 191 no. 44 had been content with a more general attribution to the circle of Meidias.
\(^3\) Supra p. 665 n. 3 (fig. 477).
\(^4\) Supra p. 700 n. 3 (t) (fig. 517).
\(^5\) Supra ii. 737 with fig. 668.
\(^6\) Supra p. 692 (fig. 501).
\(^7\) A red-figured krater from Ruvo, in the Jatta collection (no. 1093) (F. Gargallo-Grimaldi, in the Ann. d. Inst. 1867 xxix. 160—166, Mon. d. Inst. viii pl. 42, 1, 2, A. Bamberger in his Denkm. ii. 590 f. fig. 582 (Kv369), O. Jessen in Roscher Lex.-Myth. ii. 425 f. fig. 53), attributed to 'the Kadmos Painter' (J. D. Beazley Atthische Vasenmaler des rosfurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 451 no. 1).
\(^8\) In order to make Herakles approach from the left, not from the right, I had a racing of the vase-figure turned back for front.

Fig. 53 in A. H. Smith The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1910 p. 23 pl. 14 A (fig. 533) is perhaps part of Herakles' left thigh (height 0.366).

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The gap between Aphrodite and the extant marbles from the northern angle is wider, and requires three figures to fill it. At first sight this might seem a yet more hopeless task. But in point of fact we are here much helped by the floor-traces and by certain à priori reasonings. The traces in the floor appear to show¹ that the two blocks behind Aphrodite were occupied by one figure standing and another advancing from right to left. The remaining block was covered by a mass of marble supporting a third figure, which probably faced right, since the drawing attributed to Carrey and now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale has the head of the nearest seated goddess turned towards the left as if in conversation² (pl. lvii, 1).

Now the vase-paintings regularly represent two witnesses of the birth for whom room has not so far been found—Hermes holding his caduceus and Apollon playing his kithára. Several modern critics accordingly have suggested that Hermes should be installed next to the extant figures on the north: he would thus balance the hasting female ('Iris') on the south. To this position he has been relegated by A. Furtwängler³, E. A. Gardner⁴ (pl. lvii, 2), K. Schwerzek⁵ (pl. lvii, 3), J. N. Svoronos⁶ (pl. lviii, 1), and Rhys Carpenter⁷. It has not, however, been noticed how admirably the Hermes of the Villa Giulia vase is adapted to fill the space.

Praxitéle Paris 1907 p. 34. cp. F. P. Johnson Lysippos Duke Univ. Press 1927 pp. 53 f., 208 ff. pl. 41. But Lysippos, as P. Gardner locc. citt. has urged, was alike in style and in date closer to Skopas than is commonly assumed. And both sculptors appear to have been influenced strongly and permanently by the Parthenon marbles. It is therefore by no means improbable that the Lansdowne Herakles is a Lysippean or Scopiea modification of an original to be sought among the missing figures of the east pediment. If we may judge from the Villa Giulia vase on the one hand and the Lansdowne statue on the other, the Phidian Herakles turned his head towards the Standbein, whereas the Lysippean or Scopiea modification looked towards the Standbein. But that is a change characteristic of the transition from fifth-century to fourth-century sculpture in general.

¹ Longe a1ter Rhys Carpenter in Hesperia 1933 ii. 68 ff., 81. He holds that on block 17 was a standing Muse, on block 18 a seated Apollon (both recoverable, the latter with a right-for-left turn, from the Mantinean base), and on block 19 probably a Hermes (less probably an Iris) running or moving rapidly towards the right.

² L. de Laborde Athènes aux xve, xve et xvie siècles Paris 1844 ii. 133 pl. (a lithographic facsimile in red and black, the colours of the original). Franke1 in the Amt. Denkm. i. 2 pl. 6 A, 2 and 3, H. Omont Athènes au xve siècle: Dessins des Sculptures du Parthénon Paris 1898 pl. 1.

³ A. Furtwängler Intermessi Leipzig—Berlin 1896 p. 18 ff. fig.

⁴ E. A. Gardner Ancient Athens London 1902 p. 307 f. fig.


⁷ Rhys Carpenter in Hesperia 1933 ii. 81.

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If the painter of that vase was indeed, as we have supposed, copying the recently erected Parthenon pediment, then it follows that the beautiful device of giving wings to Hermes' head—a device with a future before it—must be ascribed to Pheidias himself. Again, it has long been known that the restful attitude of the supported foot, a favourite motive with Lysippus, is found in the west frieze of the Parthenon, where twice over a youth wearing a chlamys is seen raising his left foot on a rock to tie his shoe-string or fasten his sandal-strap. But now we perceive that Lysippus, who employed the same stance for his wonderful multifacial Hermes, was inspired not by a Pheidias relief but by a

1 Supra pp. 692, 704.
2 It came to be used, not only for Hermes (C. Scherer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2400, 2422), but also for the Gorgon (J. Six De Gorgone Amstelodami 1885 p. 70 ff.), Perseus (on cap or helmet, but not head: see F. Knatz Quomodo Persi fabriam artifices Gracci et Romanis tractaverint Bonnæa 1893 pp. 38 ff., Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 119 pl. 27, 31), Hypnos (B. Sauer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2849 ff.), the wind-gods (H. Steinmetz in der Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1910 xxv. 33 ff. pl. 3), etc.
3 On Hermes with winged head in existing copies of fifth- and fourth-century originals see Furtwängler in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1901 xxi. 214 f. pl. 11 f., Farnell Cults of Gr States v. 54 f. pl. 24 f.
4 K. Lange Das Motiv des aufgestützten Fusses in der antiken Kunst und dessen statuarische Verwendung durch Lysippus Leipzig 1879 passim.
7 W. Klein Praxitelische Studien Leipzig 1899 p. 4 ff. distinguished two varieties of the sandal-binding 'Hermes.' The statue in the Lansdowne collection (A. Michaelis Ancient Marbles in Great Britain Cambridge 1882 p. 464 ff. no. 85 with pl., Farnell Cults of Gr. States v. 58 f. pl. 30) and the torso at Athens (F. Studniczka in the Athl. Mitt. 1886 xi. 362 ff. pl. 9, 1, Eismelzlanger 188, 181) are identical with Text ii. 28 by P. Arndt, Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 153 no. 10) he compares with the sandal-binding Nike of the Nike-balustrade and assigns to Lysippus. The copies at Munich (Furtwängler Glyptothek zu München p. 291 ff. no. 287, ib. 2 p. 309 ff. no. 287, id. Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München 1903 pl. 63; P. Wolters Führer durch die Glyptothek König Ludwig i. zu München München 1922 p. 43 f. no. 287 with pl.) and Paris (Fröhner Sculpt. du Louvre i. 210 ff. no. 183) he regards as representing an athlete, compares with the figures on the west frieze of the Parthenon, and attributes to a pre-Lysippian master. Klein's results were accepted by E. von Mach A Handbook of Greek and Roman Sculpture Boston 1905 p. 240 ff. pl. 238 a, b, but by nobody else (see e.g. Furtwängler Glyptothek zu München p. 294 n., ib. p. 312 f. n., F. P. Johnson op. cit. p. 172 f.), and later were abandoned by Klein himself (W. Klein Geschichte der griechischen Kunst Leipzig 1905 ii. 364 f.).
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Pheidias sculpture in the round, not by the ἐπεχομ of the west frieze but by the Hermes of the east pediment. The abiding influence of Pheidias' representation may be judged from the fact that in the pediment of Domitian's Capitolium temple a similar figure of Mercurius occupied almost the same relative position.

The two blocks next to Aphrodite were filled, we have said, by one figure standing and another advancing from the right. If the former was Apollon kitharoidos, the latter was presumably Artemis. Brother and sister thus formed a good pendant to the pair of lovers, Hebe and Heracles, in the opposite wing of the gable. They are restored in this position by Schwerzck (pl. ivii, 3) and in the corresponding position behind Zeus by Furtwängler.

Apollon would almost certainly have been wearing the long chitón customary with kithária-players. His type is, I believe, preserved with slight modifications by the Munich statue of Apollon kitharoidos, which Furtwängler attributed to Agorakritos, the pupil

It may be observed that one copy of the sandal-fastening Hermes, a statuette in the Vatican (Clarac Mus. de Sculp. pl. 81 a fig. 3047), makes the god stand towards the right and raise his left foot. But this inversion of the established pose can hardly be viewed as a survival of the Parthenon motive.

Of the actual statue one possible portion (fig. 524) remains, two fragments at Athens which together make the right knee and leg of a male figure suitable in size (height c. 38 m) (A. H. Smith in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture i. 190 no. 339, 10, id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1910 p. 23 frag. 59 pl. 14 a).


Supra p. 705.

K. Schwerzck Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenonostels Wien 1904 p. 29 ff. with pl. (= my pl. ivii, 3).

A. Furtwängler Intermezzi Leipzig—Berlin 1896 p. 28 f. fig.

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and intimate of Pheidias. L. R. Farnell says of it: 'The pose is that of the musician pausing in his music. The stately and elaborate drapery...has much of the solemnity and arrangement of the folds found in Pheidian works: only, if we may trust a replica discovered at Rome some years ago, the lower folds of the mantle on the left side were inflated as if the wind had caught them.' In my restoration (pl. lviii, 3) I have copied this replica. The peculiar treatment of

Fig. 538.


2 Farnell Cults of Gr. States iv. 347 pl. 41.

3 L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pét. 1875 p. 122 ff. argued that this form of drapery, a long chitó̂n with a large chlamyds fastened either under the chin or on both shoulders so as to cover the back only, was not introduced till the second half of the fourth century B.C. See also Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Apollon p. 182 ff. and Farnell loc. cit. K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 98 rejects the opinions of Stephani and Overbeck, accepting Furtwängler's view that the Munich Apollon goes back to a fifth-century original and 'steht in enger Beziehung zur Kunst des Pheidias.' C. Picard La sculpture antique Paris 1926 ii. 43 includes it in his list of anonymous works referable to 'Le cinquième siècle après Phidias.' P. Wolters loc. cit. puts it later ('Gute und wirklichvolle Kopie eines Originals des 4. Jahrhunderts, das wohl als Kultstatue geschaffen viel von der würdevollen Haltung älterer Zeit bewahrt hatte').

4 C. L. Visconti in the Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma 1887 p. 336 ff. pl. 20—21, ib. 1888 p. 44 ff., L. Savignoni 'Apollon Pythios' in Aesonia 1907 ii. 21 ff. fig. 4. The statue, discovered in 1887 in the Prati di Castello (Via Orazio) at Rome, is now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Leipzig 1912 i. 514 no. 997, Stuart Jones Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome p. 116 f. Galleria no. 69 pl. 42) 'The Conservatori statue is the severer in style and represents a work not much later than the Pheidian period; whereas the
the said folds may be due partly to what Furtwängler called the 'processional gait' of the god, but partly also to the proximity of Artemis hastening up from the right. A very similar figure of Apollon appears in later works of art\(^1\), e.g. on a pelike found near Barheini Apollo in Munich represents a later more fluid version of the same or a similar type, which Flasch (A.B. 856, 837), followed by Amelung (A.B. 1169), refers to the period immediately preceding Phraakes's).

\(^1\) Listed by L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pitt. 1875 p. 145 ff.
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Kerch and now at Petrograd, which represents his contest with Marsyas (fig. 525) and obviously borrows most of its ideas from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon.

For Artemis we must depend on a red-figured pelike from Vulci, now in the British Museum (fig. 526 and pl. lvi). This handsome vase, attributed by Ducati to Hermonax and by Beazley to a painter akin to Hermonax, should be dated c. 460 B.C. Its Artemis cannot, therefore, have been copied from the pediment, but may well, I conceive, preserve for us the type adopted by Pheidias. The goddess is seen advancing hastily from the right towards the central group: she raises her right hand in surprise and holds a bow with her left. This type in the course of the fifth century made its way from painting to sculpture. For the Artemis Colonna at Berlin—to mention but one out of many replicas—gives the goddess approximately the same attitude and is regarded by Furtwängler, Bullé, Kekulé, and more recently by Schröder, as a fifth-century creation. L. R. Farnell says of her: 'The pose and action are


5 M. H. Swindler, Ancient Painting, Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 192 f.

6 Ant. Skulpt. Berlin p. 20 ff. no. 59 fig.


9 H. Bullé in the Röm. Mitth. 1894 ix. 159 places it 'noch ins v. Jh.'

10 R. Kekulé von Stradowitz, Die griechische Skulptur, Berlin 1907 p. 133 ff. fig. says: 'Diese ist keine originale Arbeit, sondern eine spätere Nachbildung, aber sie führt uns, während ihr aufgesetzte Kopf einen oft wiederholten Typus aus dem vierten Jahrhundert wiedergibt, in die erste Hälfte des fünften Jahrhunderts oder wenigstens in nicht viel jüngere Zeit zurück.... Wie sehr noch in der Artemis Colonna die altertümische Sinnesart und Formensprache vorwaltet, kann der Vergleich mit der sogenannten Iris aus dem Ostgiebel des Parthenon lehren.'

11 B. Schröder, 'Artemis Colonna' in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1911 xxvi. 34—48 with 7 figs. concludes (p. 44) 'dass Körper und Kopf der Artemis Colonna zusammengehören und als Einheit der ionischen Kunst des v. Jahrhunderts entstammen.'

12 For attempts to refer the 'Typus Colonna' to the fourth century see F. Studniczka in the Röm. Mitth. 1888 iii. 278 and K. Wernicke, in Pauky, Wissowa, Real-Enc. ii. 1425 f.

13 Farnell, Cults of Gk. States ii. 544 pl. 36.
somewhat difficult to explain. She is hurrying forward, with both arms partly stretched out; the right hand certainly held nothing, but the left was grasping something that must have been either a torch or a bow.' He suggests 'that she has just discharged an arrow...and that the action of the archer still lingers, so to speak, in the hands.' I should prefer to think that the original type, taken over by Pheidias from the painters' tradition, represented Artemis hasting to greet the new-born goddess.

We come now to the extant marbles—a topic less precarious but almost equally problematic. And first for the maidenly figure ('Iris') escaping towards the left. Iris she cannot be; for, as A. H. Smith¹ points out, she has neither the wings nor the regular costume of that goddess. Besides, her action is not that of a steady flight through the air, but rather that of a person starting aside in alarm. Latterly the opinion has been gaining ground that she is Eileithyia. This was conjectured in 1876 by G. Loescheke², and was for some time maintained by A. S. Murray³. J. Overbeck⁴ was inclined to follow suit, but doubted whether Eileithyia could be so juvenile in appearance. W. R. Lethaby⁵, to whose restoration of the figure I am much indebted, speaks of her as 'Ilithyia.' What, to my thinking, makes this identification practically certain is the fact that the vase-paintings of Athena's birth show two and only two persons flying from the scene. One is Hephaistos; the other, Eileithyia (fig. 526)⁶. If, then, Pheidias designed his gable with reference to the existing ceramic tradition, an escaping female figure must be Eileithyia. Overbeck's objection that this figure is too youthful loses its force when we remember that, according to Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and half a dozen later writers, Eileithyia was the daughter of Hera, indeed—if we may argue from the Hesiodic genealogy—was younger even than Hebe⁷.

² G. Loescheke in the Arch. Zeit. 1876 xxxiv. 118.
³ A. S. Murray A History of Greek Sculpture London 1883 (ed. 2 London 1890) ii. 70 f. pl. 4. id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1903 p. 39 f. regards her as a third Hora.
⁴ Overbeck Gr. Plastik i. 408.
⁵ W. R. Lethaby Greek Buildings represented by fragments in the British Museum (iii The Parthenon) London 1908 p. 129 fig. 128.
⁶ Supra p. 709 fig. 526 and pl. lvi.
⁷ I have collected and sifted the literary evidence in the Class. Rev. 1906 xx. 367.
⁸ 'Iris' has been identified with Hebe by H. Brunn in the Sitzungber. d. kais. bayr.
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The naming and restoring of the two seated goddesses beyond Eileithyia is an easy task, thanks to F. Studniczka and G. Dickens. Studniczka in 1904 showed that the goddesses are sitting, not on stools or low thrones, but on square hinged chests, so that they must be identified, not as P. O. Bröndsted in 1830 suggested with Pindar’s ‘well-throned Horai’, but with Demeter and Persephone on their mystic boxes (kibotai). Dickens in 1906—1907 after a brilliantly successful restoration of Damophon’s group at Lykosoura observed that the Messenian sculptor’s Demeter and Despoina were direct adaptations of the seated goddesses in the Parthenon pediment. This discovery not only enables us to decide with regard to the Parthenon pair that Demeter is the goddess on our left, Persephone the goddess on our right, but further justifies us in restoring Persephone with a long s sceptre. Enough of Demeter’s right hand remains to make it certain that she was not grasping a torch but, at most, holding a bunch of corn-ears and poppies as in the Chiaramonti statuette. Damophon, transforming the pediment-group to a cult-monument, put a long torch into the hand of Demeter in order that it might balance the long sceptre in the hand of Persephone. I have given Persephone corn-ears in her right hand rather than a basket (kritê) like that of Despoina because I conceive that Despoina’s basket was the equivalent of the box on which Persephone is sitting. Damophon had to make his


1 F. Studniczka in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1904 xix. 3 ff. figs. 1—6 pl. 1.

2 P. O. Bröndsted Voyages dans la Grèce accompagnés de recherches archéologiques Paris 1830 ii p. xi (‘des trois Heures (Saisons)’).

3 Vind. Pyth. 9. 105 othrônos’Arasi (for context see supra p. 267).

4 Paus. 10. 28. 3 (Polygnotos’ painting of the Underworld in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi showed Tellis and Kleoboia on board Charon’s boat) Kleoboia de eti parthénon, exa de eti tòis génais kibotai, othônas poikiliasou noùtôiou Démeter..., Kleoboiai de eti Ósou tòs órhoi tòs Démeteros enthekou prôsth ek Porou phain.


7 Damophon’s group had already been brought into connexion with the Parthenon figures by E. Petersen Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia Berlin 1873 p. 125 n. 3 and by Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Demeter—Kora pp. 423 n. 6, 431.

Déspoina, in accordance with her cult-title, a ‘Queen’ seated on a throne; he therefore found room for the sacred receptacle on her lap and ipso facto displaced the corn-ears of his original. The restoration of the Parthenon Persephone with corn-ears in her right hand and a sceptre in her left is supported by the existence of a similar type on the imperial bronze coinage of Athens (fig. 527).

The reclining god next to Demeter is Dionysos. This identification, first mooted by F. G. Welcker in 1817, doubted by W. M. Leake in 1821, but re-affirmed by E. Gerhard in 1840, admitted with a query by A. Michaelis in 1871, and then more definitely established by E. Petersen in 1873, is accepted nowadays by most critics and has in fact become the official view. The main reasons advanced on its behalf are that the skin over which the young god has spread his mantle appears to be a panther-skin not a lion-skin, that the soft seat and comfortable sandals suit a lover of ease, and that Dionysos occurs in a very similar pose on a dramatic relief from the Peiraeus, on the choragic monument of

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2 F. G. Welcker in the Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Ausleung der alten Kunst 1817 i. 208 f. ‘Jaccos.’
3 W. M. Leake The Topography of Athens London 1821 p. 255 n. 2 ‘To those who are inclined to think that this figure is Bacchus, reposing upon the skin of a panther, it may be observed, that Bacchus was a deity of too much importance among the Athenians not to have had a place nearer the centre of the composition.’ But see infra p. 714 nn. 4, 5.
6 E. Petersen Die Kunst des Phidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia Berlin 1873 p. 116 ff.
9 E. Petersen op. cit. p. 120 f.
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Lysikrates, on a moulded askós in the British Museum, and as a recumbent figure forming the lid of a Roman sarcophagus in the Louvre. It should further be noticed that vase-painters introducing Dionysos into the scene of Athena’s birth regularly place him at, or towards, the extreme left of their composition. I have restored him with a thyrsos in his right hand and nothing in his left, partly because the muscles of the left fore-arm, so far as it is preserved, suggest an attitude of simple repose and are inconsistent e.g. with his holding a phiale as on the Peiraieus relief, and partly because this type for the god passed into the répertoire of later ceramic art (fig. 528). No doubt analogous types were used by the die-sinkers of Magna Graecia c. 400 B.C. to represent Herakles at Kroton, Herakleia, and Tarentum, and to represent Pan at Pandosia.

Fig. 528.

1 A. H. Smith in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture i. 253 no. 430. 1, Overbeck Gr. Plastik ii. 120 ff. fig. 174, Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. ii. 365 ff. fig. 188, Reinach Rép. Reliefs i. 13 f.
3 Clarac Mus. de Sculpt. pl. 273 fig. 1592 = Reinach Rép. Stat. i. 138 no. 2, Fröhner Sculpt. du Louvre i. 240 f. no. 228.
4 Supra p. 674 fig. 485.
5 Infra p. 716 fig. 530; supra p. 680 fig. 491; supra p. 677 n. o.
6 Compte-rendu St. Pét. 1873 Atlas pl. 4, 2 (= Reinach Rép. Vases i. 40, 2), ib. 1875 Atlas pl. 4, 4 (= Reinach Rép. Vases i. 47, 1) reproduced in my fig. 528, etc.
8 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy p. 226 no. 15 fig., Garrucci Mon. It. ant. p. 133 pl. 102, 4, Head Hist. num. 27 fig. 32, Syll. num. Gr. ii pl. 9, 268 Lloyd.
10 Carelli Num. It. vet. p. 97 pl. 175, 2, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy p. 370 f. figs.,
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But we have seen reason to put Herakles elsewhere in the pediment; and Pan is a god who never appears in vase-paintings of Athena's birth. The claims of Dionysos to be identified with 'Theseus' are indeed so strong that we may fairly dispense with a detailed discussion of other hypotheses.

Corresponding with the deities of corn and wine we have another triad in the opposite wing of the gable. Here again Pheidias took a hint from ceramic tradition; for a black-figured amphora in the Louvre (fig. 530) shows three goddesses in a row to the extreme right of the birth-scene. F. G. Welcker held that the Parthenon

Fig. 529.


3 Kephalos (P. O. Brøndsted Voyages dans la Grèce accompagnés de recherches archéologiques Paris 1830 ii p. xi n. 3, Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt. p. 468, A. S. Murray The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1903 p. 35 ff.).

4 Kekrops (E. Falkener in The Museum of Classical Antiquities 1851 i. 394 f., Welcker Alt. Denkm. i. 81).


6 Louvre E 861, on which see supra p. 700 n. 3 (2).

3 Welcker Alt. Denkm. i. 77 ff.
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triad was Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos; and J. Roulez was inclined to give the same explanation of the three goddesses on the Paris vase. Their view is attractive and the title 'die "Thauschwester'' still finds some defenders. Nevertheless the discovery of the Madrid puteal has gone far towards proving that the old name, 'the Fates,' is right. Even F. Hauser, who argues that the Fates of the puteal were not taken from the same model (Vorbild) as its other figures, yet admits that they too may well go back to the east pediment of the Parthenon as their original. Further, while granting that their attributes have not yet been found on pre-Roman works of art, he urges that Roman reliefs here as elsewhere presuppose Greek prototypes. Fate as a spinner is Homeric; cleromancy was no discovery of the Romans: oracle-

   But J. Verbeck, who in 1857 took the triad to be the Kekropides (Gr. Plastik i. 250 f.), in 1893 wrote of them as the Moirai (op. cit. i. 416). And M. Collignon, who at first had favoured 'les noms de Thallo, d'Axo et de Karpo, les trois Kharites attiques' (Phidias Paris n.d. p. 46), was later content to call them 'les Parques' (Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. ii. 30 ff.).
3 Collignon op. cit. ii. 30 'sur la foi de Visconti, de Bröndsted, de Cockerell, et de Beulé.'
4 F. Hauser Die neu-attischen Reliefs Stuttgart 1889 p. 67 f.
5 Il. 20. 127 f., Od. 7. 197 f. See further H. Ebeling Lexicon Homericum Lipsiae 1885 s.vv. ἐπικλάδες, κλάδες.
rolls can be quoted from older Greek sources. I have not scrupled, therefore, to use the Madrid *puteal* and the Tegel *replica* for the restoration of these goddesses, assuming that the first designer of such reliefs adapted the pedimental group to the requirements of his frieze by the simple expedient of making two of the figures stand up. In the pediment the Fate sitting on a separate rocky seat is *Klotho*, the ‘Spinner.’ She holds a distaff in one hand, a spindle in the other, and—a thoroughly natural touch—has drawn back her right leg to leave room for the spindle to twirl. Lachesis too is seated (Platon speaks of her lap) and holds the *léche* or ‘lots,’ of which Atropos the left-handed has just drawn the one that she is reading. She lies on the knees of Lachesis and thereby declares herself a personification of that irreversible fate which, as Homer has it, ‘lies on the knees of the gods.’ Intentionally or not, Pheidias conceived her in accordance with the strange Hesiodic description—literally lower than her sisters and yet the eldest and in a sense the most exalted of the three. Details apart, the common interpretation of this famous triad as the Fates is so apt that we may again without scruple jettison a cargo of divergent and sometimes fantastic misunderstandings.


1 *E.g. supra* i. 128 pl. 12, *cp. 130 pl. 13.

2 Rhys Carpenter in his restoration (*supra* pl. lviii, 2) has contrived to work in the Fates of the *puteal* as three standing figures, but at the expense of more than one improbability. He has to place this triad in the left wing of the gable, whereas the vase-painter relegates it to the extreme right of the scene (*supra* fig. 530). Again, Carpenter must represent his Fates as three figures on an ascending scale, large, larger, largest—a variation which might be tolerated in the case of three diverse deities but becomes grotesque if applied to three powers of equal prestige. And lastly, the aesthetic effect of so many single figures standing erect in parallel, pillar-like lines is architectural rather than sculptural: it recalls indeed the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, but is in flat and flagrant contradiction of Pheidias’ closely knit and subtly balanced design.

3 Plat. *rep. 617 d λαβώντα ἐκ τῶν τῆς Δαὐχεσών γονάτων κόλπων τε καὶ βίων παραβίασμα.

1 In the Platonic image (*ib. 617 c*) Klotho uses her right hand, Atropos her left, Lachesis either hand alternately. Platon is probably Pythagorising (J. Adam *ad loc.*), and where that is the case we may well suspect a basis of popular belief (to the passages cited *supra* ii. 222 n. 1 add i. 283 n. 0, ii. 272 b., 354, 649, 1129, etc.).


3 *Hez. xc. Hes. 258 ff. Κλωθώ καὶ Δαὐχεσών σφίν ὠφάσσων τινὶ, ὑμιν ὠφάσσων [Ἀτρόπος ὀφθη τινω μεγάλη θεός, ἄλλω ἄρα ἦγε] των γε μὲν ἄλλων προφέρετ' ἔν προσβύτατη τε.*

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The whole scene of Athena's birth is flanked by two angle-groups representing daybreak and nightfall. On the left Helios drives his team of four horses up from the sea. On the right Selene drives her sons behind the hills. The rising Sun thus synchronises with the setting Moon and fixes the time as that of a full moon. Pheidias has indicated this with subtlety and success by making

(2) Amphitrite with Kirke (Aphrodite?) on the lap of Perse (Thalassa?) (L. de Rouchaud Phidias sa vie et ses ouvrages Paris 1861 p. 260 f.).
(4) Hestia with Aphrodite in the lap of Peitho (E. Petersen Die Kunst des Phidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia Berlin 1873 p. 128 f.).
(8) Hestia with Aphrodite in the lap of Dione (H. Lechat Pheidias Paris 1924 p. 117 f. fig. 42).
(9) Artemis with Aphrodite in the lap of Peitho (Rhys Carpenter in Hesperia 1933 ii. 86 ff.).

1 The juxtaposition of these groups with Dionysos on the left and the Fates on the right was more or less defensible on religious grounds. Dionysos had points of contact with Helios (supra ii. 253 with n. 4), and the Fates were sometimes reckoned daughters of Nyx (frag. lyr. adesp. 140 Bergk4, 5 Diehl, 76 Edmonds ap. Stob. ecl. i. 5. 10—13, 6 f. p. 76, 14 ff. Wachsmuth Ἀδα <καί> Κλωθώ Δάριμιτι τοῖς εὐδέλεοι Νοῦν χαίραι. But the main idea was, no doubt, to provide the Olympian event with a cosmic setting.

2 A. S. Murray The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1903 p. 32 f. 'An Athenian standing at dawn before the east front of the Parthenon and looking towards the pediment might see the sun rising from the sea on his left and the moon passing on his right away over the hills... With equal justice to the natural phenomena the sculptor could have imagined himself facing in the opposite direction. The sun would then have been on his right hand and the moon on his left, as on a beautiful vase in the British Museum about contemporary with the Parthenon (E 466) [Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser Gr. Vasenmaleri ii. 33 ff. pl. 126]... It is true that the Greeks generally and Pheidias in particular regarded the east as on their left hand. On the base of his statue of Zeus at Olympia, representing the birth of Aphrodite, the sun was seen rising on the extreme left, the moon retiring on the right (Pausanias, v. 11, [8]), and on the base of his Athenè in the Parthenon itself the same phenomenon occurs, if we may judge from the Lenormant copy of the statue.... But granting that this was a mere habit on his part, we must still regard it as a happy coincidence that on the Parthenon the sun rises exactly as in the sky at Athens.' See further Schrader Realllex.2 i. 500 f. s.v. 'Himmelsgegenden,' T. D. Atkinson in J. Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1918 x. 734 f. s.v. 'Points of the Compass.'

A. Michaelis Der Parthenon Leipzig 1871 p. 167, after quoting Od. 3. 1 f. Ηέλιος ἄφοντος, λευκά τε καλλία λιων, ἀφράτοις δὲ πολύχαλκοι, ὣς ἀναστάτως φαίνοντο κ. τ. λ. (cp. Il. 7. 421 ff.), adds 'Selene auf der anderen Seite versinkt in Nacht und Nebel, ohne eine Andeutung des Meeres, wie denn auch in den betreffenden Schilderungen der Dichter das Meer keine Rolle spielt; eher kann man sie sich hinter dem Berge verschwindend denken, wie auf dem schönen Krater Blacas.'
Selene look round towards the new-born goddess and so reveal the full beauty of her face. Here, however, a certain difficulty must be met. Scholiasts and lexicographers attempt to explain the ancient epithet Tritogēnia by asserting that Athena was 'born on the third' day from the end of the month, which would be quite incompatible with a full moon. August Mommsen held that the Pheidias' combination of rising sun with setting moon might have meant that Athena first saw the light on the morning of a 'setting day' (phthinhē heméra), i.e. a day towards the end of the month. August Mommsen was a learned man, but foolish at times. H. Nissen would reject the testimony of the late grammarians as a worthless etymological speculation and accept Pheidias' grouping as evidence that Athena was born on the morning of a full-moon day. I incline to a modification of his view. We have seen reason to believe that the myth of Athena's birth presupposes some such rite as the Dipolia; in fact we have derived thence the startling motive of Zeus struck on the head by a double axe. Moreover we observe this: the ceremonies of the Dipolia aimed at securing an adequate dewfall and rainfall at a critical time of year; and the story of Athena's birth told how, at the moment when Hephaistos clef the head of Zeus, a golden shower descended upon Rhodes.

1 E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 157: 'Selene wandte, wie noch am Ansatz des Halses zu erkennen, den Kopf um, wie um vor ihrem Scheiden noch einen Blick auf diese Welt zu thun, wohl ohne bestimmtes Ziel.' Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 465: 'Even Nyx, who must withdraw before the rising Helios, turns back her head to look at the action in the centre.'

2 Supra i. 738 n. 11.

3 On which see supra p. 123 ff.

4 Schol. B. L. T. V. ii. 8. 39 *Tριτογένεια ἐκλῆθι... ὡς τρίτη φθίνοντος ἐτείχθη, Phot. lex. s.v. *Τριτογενητή... τῇ τρίτῃ φθίνοντος ὡς καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἀγωνίς* (cp. Souid. s.v. *Τριτογενή*).


5 Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 346 n. 1.


7 Supra p. 661 f., cp. p. 688.

8 Supra p. 602 ff.

9 Supra p. 477.
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We may, then, perhaps assume that the birth of Athena, whatever its original date, was early brought into connexion with the cult of Zeus and celebrated at the time of the Dipolieia, i.e. on the occasion of the last full moon in the Attic year. But the ever-growing importance of the Great Panathenaia would predispose men to identify this festival rather than the obscure and old-fashioned Dipolieia with the real birthday of the goddess. And, since the Great Panathenaia was held on the third day from the end of Hekatombaion, the way was open for ingenious etymologists to explain the title Tritogêuia.

The rocky summit compassed about by the Sun and Moon is the Akropolis itself: Athena must needs be born in Athens. The local setting is further shown by the personnel of the assembled gods. The central group comprised Zeus the thunderer and Athena his armed daughter, together with Hephaistos and Poseidon the gods of fire and water. We think at once of Zeus Polieus, who

1 Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 513 'Wir entscheiden uns danach für den 14. [sec. of Skirophorion: supra p. 601]; die Dipolienfeier hat am letzten Vollmond des attischen Jahres stattgefunden; im Vollmond hat man auch zu Olympia den Zeus gefeiert.'

2 Prokl. in Plat. Tim. i. 26, 18 f. Diehl.

3 A. Michaelis Der Parthenon Leipzig 1871 p. 166 f., after a review of previous opinions, concludes that the scene is laid ἄκρογήν κορυφή πολυθεράδος Οἴδυμακοι (II. i. 499). E. Petersen Die Kunst des Phidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia Berlin 1873 p. 110 ff. likewise argues for the rocky summit of the 'Götterberg,' Mt Olympus. C. Waldstein Essays on the Art of Phidias Cambridge 1885 also assumes 'the summit of Mount Olympus.' Others are less precise and inclined to make Olympus mean, not the mountain, but the sky above it (supra i. 115). So e.g. Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt. p. 455: 'The whole space enclosed within the border of the pediment is in fact Olympos' etc., Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. ii. 22 'Le lieu de la scene est le ciel des Olympiens,' II. Lechat Phidias n.d. p. 98, ib. Paris 1924 p. 115 'alors, à ces pensées, comme la scène s'élargit comme grandit ce fronton de moins de 30 mètres, qui contient tout l'Olympe peuplé de dieux, et à ses extrémités, en bordure de l'Olympe, l'Océan, et, sur la divine assemblée, la courbe lumineuse du ciel entier, de l'horizon du matin à l'horizon du soir!'

Dissent is expressed by that sturdy independent A. S. Murray The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1903 p. 31 f. Urging that the western pediment admittedly portrays the gods as 'invisibly present in the atmosphere of the Acropolis' and that the eastern frieze does much the same, he claims 'at least a strong presumption that the same principle had applied to the central deities of the east pediment... Let us call the invisible sphere where she was born Olympos, but define it as for the moment just over Athens.'

I would go even further in the same direction. If the olive-tree and the salt well were represented in the west gable, why not the hollowed theatre and the rocky stairway in the east? Many localities could boast their own Olympos (supra i. 100) : was Athens unworthy of the like honour?

4 No adverse argument can be based on the authority of h. Ath. 28. 4 ff., which may in fact be of very recent composition (W. Schmid-O. Stählin Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1929 i. 1. 243 'ob der Dichter an die Bildwerke vom Ostgiebel des Parthenon gedacht oder der Künstler das Gedicht im Sinn gehabt hat oder ob beide von Steichoros (fr. 62 B.) abhängen, ist nicht auszumachen').
stood beneath the open sky, of Athena Poliás in the neighbouring Erechtheion, and of Poseidon and Hephaistos with whom she shared her ancient dwelling. In a word, we have before us all the most important deities worshipped in the eastern half of the Akropolis.

Again, the same local significance attaches to the extreme figures on the south and on the north. On the south Dionysos sits at ease upon his rock spread with panther-skin and mantle, a spectator as it were in his own theatre¹. Was it not hollowed out of the hill-side immediately below him? On the north the three Fates are seated on rocks, which—to quote A. H. Smith's description—are 'levelled on the top, and...cut in step form to suit the composition²'. This surely suggests the ancient rock-cut steps leading down through the cave of Aglauros towards the Gardens³, where the Fates were⁴, and for that matter still are⁵, worshipped.

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¹ Cp. the fourth slab inserted in the stage of Phaidros (supra i. 710 pl. xl. 4).
³ Not, of course, the postern-steps of the Helladic fortress (L. B. Holland in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1924 xxvii. 143 ff. with pl. 7 and figs. 2 and 3; W. Judeich Topographie von Athen² München 1931 pp. 118, 259), for that exit had been long since blocked and filled in, but the underground stairway by which the Arrhephoroi went down through the Aglaurion (supra p. 169 n. 1).
⁴ Paus. i. 19. 2 (cited infra p. 722 n. 3). P. Weiszäcker in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3089 notes that these Moirai were associated in cult with Zeus Megarês (supra ii. 231 n. 8 (a)).
⁵ B. Schmidt Das Volksleben der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 217 f. cites two items of evidence, which may refer to the same locality. (1) J. Galt Letters from the Levant London 1813 p. 109 f. an Athenian friar mentions that at Athens young girls, when they become anxious to get husbands, on the first evening of the new moon, put a little honey, a little salt, and a piece of bread on a plate in a certain spot on the bank of the Ilissos, near the Stadion, and on setting it down mutter some ancient words of forgotten meaning in which they beg Fate to send them 'a pretty young man': after this they return home and eagerly await the fulfilment of their charm. (2) F. C. H. L. Pouqueville Voyage de la Grèce² Paris 1827 v. 66 f. states that women at Athens who long to bear children and also those who are already pregnant come and rub themselves on a rock near Kallirhoe and invoke the Moirai to be gracious to them, using the formula 'Ελάτη, Μοῖραι τῶν Μαρμάρων, νὰ μολῆτε κ' ἐμεῖν (Schmidt cj. μολάθετε γι' νὰ μολῆτε). See further N. G. Polites Melētē ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἐλλήνων Athens 1874 ii. 227 (ἐν τῷ Παραπάνωκοι στάδω ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ βόου τοῦ λαχόμου τοῦ λεγομένου "τρόπιο βοου")', J. C. Lawson Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion Cambridge 1910 p. 120 with n. 4 ('Apparently the old subterranean passage by which competitors entered the stadium').
Lawson ib. p. 130 notes the modern 'belief that the Fates invariably visit each child that is born in order to decree its lot,' adding: 'I do not wish to engage in the controversy which has raged round the identification of the figures in the east pediment of the Parthenon; but those who would recognise among them the three Fates may fairly draw a fresh argument from the strength of this popular belief.'

C. III.
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E. Petersen¹ and F. Studniczka² contend that the lovely reclining Fate of the Parthenon gable must be Aphrodite and none other. But close to the temple of Aphrodite in the Gardens stood a herm-like statue of Aphrodite Ourania with an inscription declaring that she was the eldest of the so-called Fates.³ And, as Furtwängler⁴ points out, the Fates are repeatedly represented with the chiton slipping from the shoulder—a motive manifestly Aphroditesque.

It seems probable that this principle of local significance applied not only to the central and side-figures of Pheidias' composition, but to the rest of it as well. Certainty is of course unattainable; yet a few tentative suggestions may be made.

The deities between Dionysos and Hephaistos were, from left to right, Demeter, Persephone, Eileithyia, Herakles(?), Hebe(?), and Hera(?). Demeter and Persephone represent the cult at Agra, where the Lesser Mysteries were celebrated⁵. Pheidias has made Persephone slightly larger in scale and decidedly more prominent in pose than Demeter. Why? Because the daughter, not the mother, was the chief goddess of Agra.⁶ As such she appears, sceptre in hand, on the painted tablet of Ninnion (fig. 531).⁷

¹ E. Petersen Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia Berlin 1873 p. 130 ff.
² F. Studniczka in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1904 xix. 8 f.

For the association of Aphrodite with the Fates cp. Epimen. frag. 19 Diels apol. Soph. O.C. 43 and ap. Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 406 ἐκ τοῦ (ἐν Κρόνον) καλλίστου γένετο χρυσὴ Ἀφροδίτη | Μοῖραι τ' ἀθάνατοι καὶ Εμφύτευς αὐθολόφῳ, and also Inschr. Gr. Arch. Lat. Mess. i no. 602, 8 f. (near Sparta) καὶ Μοίραι λαμάθεσας καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Ἐποδίων in a dedication assigned to the beginning of s. iii a.D.

⁶ Farnell Culs of Gk. States iii. 169, 242 f.

This tablet of painted terra cotta (height 0'30", width 0'15") was found by Skias in 1895 during his excavations at Eleusis and is now in the Museum at Athens. Its lower edge bears, in lettering of s. iv b.C., the dedication Νίκην τούτων θεῶν θείαν δίσφυκεν. Who Ninnion was, we do not know. Svoronos tries to identify her with the hetaira Nannion (Athen. 567 E—F Nannion, 587 F Nannaria). But this—though Miss Harrison op. cit.²
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p. 558 n. 2 agrees—is quite impossible, and very gratuitous. 
Néistos is the affectionate diminutive of nýmē, 'aunt' (F. Bechtel Die Attischen Frauenamen Göttingen 1902 p. 66), and nobody would have been more shocked at Svoronos' identification than 'Auntie', herself!

Fig. 531.

The tablet is shaped like a temple-front with pediment and akroterion. The decoration of its pilasters and triglyph-frieze is peculiar and certainly symbolic: the pilasters suggest ἑρμής; the frieze, cymbals (?) or basins (?), hardly phases of the moon.

The main design has two registers. To the right of each is a seated goddess, towards
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Eileithyia too had a sanctuary at Agra and a couple of Hersephoroi for whom seats were reserved in the theatre. These Agraean goddesses are admirably placed between Dionysos on the left and Herakles on the right. For on the one hand the Lesser Mysteries are described as 'a representation of Dionysos' story,' and on the other hand their first initiate is said to have been Herakles. However, a more famous centre of Herakles-worship was that at Kynosarges in the north-easterly suburb Diomeia, where he had a temple and an altar. His consort there was Hebe, daughter of

whom three and four figures respectively are advancing. Presumably the two seated goddesses are Demeter above, Persephone below, since Demeter is larger and coloured red, Persephone smaller and coloured white. If so, there is (pace M. P. Nilsson in Archiv f. Rel. 1935 xxxii. 93 f.) something to be said for Miss Harrison's suggestion that the upper register shows the mysteries of Eleusis, the lower those of Agra, which were a preliminary purification (προεκδοχή) for the greater rites to follow. This agrees with the indications of landscape. Above we see the groundlines of a rocky floor and a pillar standing at the foot of a hill, suggestive of the Telestriaon at Eleusis (cp. supra i. 213 pl. xviii., 221 fig. 164). Below we have again a hilly surface. The omphalos and the crossed ἄνδρος perhaps imply that at Agra the omphalos was deemed to be the grave of Dionysos (supra ii. 219 n. 4).

Demeter is approached by a female daidouchos, who bears a couple of blazing torches, and a girl who carries the κέρασθος or κέρας, a vessel containing lamps, fitted with a lid having apertures in it, decked with myrtle-twigs, and attached to the bearer's head by means of white ribbons (see the literature cited supra p. 248 n. i., especially O. Rubensohn in the Ath. Mitt. 1898 xxiii. 295 f. with fig.). The kernophoros is followed by two men, big and little. The big man has a staff in his right hand, the little man has a jug. I take the scene to be the initiation of Herakles: the staff is his club, the jug hints at the banquet of the blest.

Persephone in like manner is approached by a male daidouchoi with two blazing torches, another kernophoros, and a bearded man with a staff over his shoulder—Herakles again.

Finally, in the pediment we see the same personnel in a scene of final felicity—the kernophoros in the centre, a flute-girl making music on the left, Herakles draining his jug on the right, with a couple of other feasters in the angles.

1 Kleidemos frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 359 Muller) ap. Bekker anecd. i. 326, 30 ff., Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 1550 = Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. 3 no. 4682 (on a small column of Hymettian marble, found on the bank of the Iliissos to the east of Kallirrho and assigned to s. iii B.C.) Εὐκαλλῆς (perhaps an apppellative of Eileithyia (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 1055). supra ii. 118 n. 3 and 1114 n. 4 (4)) Πειθής.

2 Supra p. 168 fig. 73.

3 Steph. Byz. l.c. "Ἀγρα καὶ Ἁγρα (quoted supra i. 692 n. 5)."


5 O. Gruppe in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. Suppl. iii. 926 ff.
Zeus, who had an altar of her own\(^1\), and again special seats in the theatre\(^2\). Hera's temple stood somewhere on the road from Phaleron to Athens\(^3\). In the Parthenon pediment, as restored, she is turning round\(^4\) to encourage her timorous daughter Eileithyia, with whom indeed she was actually identified at Thorikos and Argos\(^4\).

The deities between the Fates and Poseidon were, from right to left, Hermes(?), Artemis(?), Apollon(?), Eros(?) and Aphrodite. Hermes sets foot on a rock at the top of the stepped seats, on which the Fates are sitting. He presumably represents the oldest Hermecult of Athens, that of the Erechtheion\(^5\), hard by the top of the Aglaurion staircase. Artemis will probably be Artemis Agrotera, the divine huntress of Agra, whose statue was equipped with a bow\(^6\). Apollon the kithara-player is Apollon Pythios of the Python adjoining the great Olympieion\(^7\). Finally, Eros and Aphrodite had a joint-sanctuary among the rocks on the north-east slope of the

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\(^1\) Paus. 1. 19. 3.

\(^2\) Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 370 (with facsimile on pl. 4) Ἡρας and no. 374 (with facsimile on pl. 5) Ἡρας. Inschr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. 3 nos. 5150, 5154. For the exact position of these seats see the annotated plan in W. Larfeld Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik Leipzig 1898 ii. 1 pl. 1.

\(^3\) Paus. 1. 1. 51. 10. 35—2.


\(^5\) Paus. 1. 27. 1 κείμεναι δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ἕλιον, Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάμνησι, ἐν τῷ κλάδῳ μυροκίνθου ὁ ἄφορος. I suspect that the original intention was, not so much to consult decency by the concealment of a rude feature, as to promote fertility by the application of leafage (supra ii. 244 n. 4) credited with quickening powers (supra ii. 1165 n. 1).

A. Frickenhaus in the Ath. Mitth. 1908 xxxii. 172 holds, rather unnecessarily, that Kekrops' Hermas was nothing but a wooden phallos, like that on Mt Kyllene (Artemit. oneirocr. 1. 45, Paus. 6. 26. 5. 8. 17. 2, Loukian. Inp. trig. 41, Philostr. v. Apoll. 6. 20 p. 234 Kayser, Hippol. ref. huires. 5. 7 p. 144 Duncker—Schneidewin: De Visser De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum. p. 93 § 101). For early types of herms see supra ii. 384 n. 9; for later types, R. Lullies Die Typen der griechischen Herme Königsberg Pr. 1931 pp. 1—90 with 9 pls.


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citadel\(^1\), and Aphrodite was also goddess of the Gardens, which are believed to have occupied the low ground on the right bank of the Ilissos\(^2\).

On this showing every figure in the east pediment of the Parthenon corresponded with an actual cult, either on the eastward half of the Akropolis itself, or at any rate in some easterly suburb of Athens. The gods of the town had assembled, as it were, on their local Olympos to witness with joy and wonder the epiphany of the all-conquering goddess.

\(^1\) *Supra* p. 170 f. n. o.
\(^4\) Chrysippus\(^4\) explained that Athena meant Wisdom, located her in the breast, and said that she issued from the head as Voice, being delivered by Hephaistos, since Wisdom was produced by Skill, and rightly named *Athena*, that is *Athrenad*\(^5\) 'Observation,' and *Tritonis* or *Tritogèneia* as comprising the triad of Physics, Ethics, and Logic. Diogenes the Babylonian\(^6\),

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The myth represented in the Parthenon pediment is so peculiar in character that it has evoked a great variety of interpretations of critics both ancient and modern.

The Stoics of course allegorized\(^3\). Chrysippus\(^4\) explained that Athena meant Wisdom, located her in the breast, and said that she issued from the head as Voice, being delivered by Hephaistos, since Wisdom was produced by Skill, and rightly named *Athena*, that is *Athrenad*\(^5\) 'Observation,' and *Tritonis* or *Tritogèneia* as comprising the triad of Physics, Ethics, and Logic. Diogenes the Babylonian\(^6\),
a philosopher from Seleukeia on the Tigris\(^1\), born c. 240 B.C.\(^2\), identified Zeus with the universe or the universal soul and Athena with its highest part, the \emph{aithér}, and was thus enabled to work in the Stoic clichés ‘from the head’ and ‘Zeus male and female.’ Lastly Cornutus\(^3\) in his \textit{Compendium of Theology} offered a blend of Chrysippos and Diogenes.

Aristokles\(^4\) the historian, presumably in his \textit{Theogony}\(^5\), went off on a different tack. He declared that Athena was born in Crete, where she lay hidden in a cloud till Zeus cleft it and so brought her to light. This mention of the cloud recalls the Theogony of the Orphic Rhapsodies, in which the cosmic egg containing Metis was called ‘the cloud’\(^6\); and it may be that Aristokles was here indebted to Orphism.

Where the ancients left off, the moderns began. P. Buttmann\(^7\),

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1] W. Christ \textit{Geschichte der griechischen Literatur} München 1920 ii. i. 106.
\item[6] Supra ii. 1024.
\end{footnotes}
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E. Rücker\textsuperscript{1}, and G. Hermann\textsuperscript{2} early in the nineteenth century, following the lead of the Stoics, accepted Athena as a personification of divine Wisdom and laid stress on the myth of Metis\textsuperscript{3}. Dictionaries and handbooks spread the edifying doctrine, until no gentleman's library was complete without a bust of Pallas.

The second half of the century rebelled against excessive moralising and substituted a string of so-called 'physical' interpretations\textsuperscript{4}. F. G. Welcker\textsuperscript{5}, like Diogenes, took Zeus to be the supreme spirit and equated \textit{Athêne} with \textit{aïther}, the divine effluence that issues forth from him as, in Philon's theology, the Logos proceeds from the Godhead. Others, obsessed by equally impossible etymologies, spent much eloquence in maintaining that Athena, daughter of the sky-god, must needs be the Dawn\textsuperscript{6}, or at least the Morning Twilight\textsuperscript{7}.

Such vagaries gradually gave way before the advance of another 'physical' school, the advocates of Storm-cloud and Lightning. They too founded upon classical lore, since they claimed the support

\textsuperscript{1} E. Rücker \textit{Der Dienst der Athena, nach seinen örtlichen Verhältnissen dargestellt} Hildburghausen 1839 pp. 63. 'Athena ist ja die Klugheit, die Weisheit, Metis, des Vaters Zeus, und darum, nach der Theogonie, aus dessen Haupte entsprungen,' 193. 'Dies ein Athenen angewendet, müssen wir es streng verneinen, dass in ihr irgend menschliche Weisheit, Klugheit oder Tapferkeit verehrt worden sei. Vielmehr, wenn wir die mannichfaltigen Formen ihres Kultus überblicken, werden wir zu der Übereinstimmung gelangen, dass es die allweltliche göttliche Macht, Weisheit und Güte, die göttliche Vorsehung gewesen sei, die man als die gewaltige, hochsinnige, heldhreiche Tochter des Himmelsrechters, als Pallas Athena anbetete.'

\textsuperscript{2} G. Hermann \textit{De Graece Minerva} Lipsiae 1837 p. 11 (\textit{id. Opuscula Lipsiae} 1839 vii. 271) cites Tsetz. in Lyk. \textit{Al.} 350 ἡ δὲ φόρμως Ἀθηνᾶ εὐθυτὸ δαίμονα κάταλα, \textit{Boedea} γὰρ ἤ φόρμως, κ.τ.λ. (\textit{id. supra} p. 608 n. 4).

\textsuperscript{3} Cp. L.-F. A. Maury \textit{Religions de la Grèce} Paris 1847 i. 425 ff. 'Dans le principe, personnification des eaux ou tout au moins des vapeurs qui, des eaux, s'élèvent dans l'air, elle n'est plus guère, à l'époque de Péricles, qu'une hypostase de la sagesse divine et de la providence de Zeus' (\textit{Arnob., Adv. gent.}, iii. 31...). De déesse de l'élément humide, elle devient déesse de l'air pur, de l'éther, et par là elle se confond avec le roi des dieux, Zeus, qui personnifie le firmament... Athéné représente en conséquence la sagesse, la pensée de Zeus... Déjà, dans Hésiode, on a vu Mitis représenter, sous une forme analogue, la sagesse divine; mais, en passant dans Athéné, cette idée s'épure et s'agrandit. Toutes les vertus, toutes les perfection qui s'attachent à l'idée de l'intelligence suprême, servent à composer le personnage de la déesse... Telle est l'origine du mythe qui nous montre la déesse sortant tout armée de la tête de Zeus.'

\textsuperscript{4} O. Gruppe \textit{Geschichte der klassischen Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte während des Mittelalters im Abendland und während der Neuzeit} Leipzig 1921 p. 179 ff.

\textsuperscript{5} Welcker Gr. Götterl. i. 300 ff.

\textsuperscript{6} F. Max Müller \textit{Lectures on the Science of Language} London 1864 ii. 503 (\textit{id. The Science of Language} London 1891 ii. 623 ff.).

\textsuperscript{7} C. Ploix \textit{La nature des dieux} Paris 1888 pp. 213—215.
of Aristokles and his 'cloud.' J. F. Lauer\(^1\) in 1853 was the first to characterize Athena as mistress of the Clouds. F. L. W. Schwartz\(^2\) in 1860 elaborated the notion: he contended that the head of Zeus cleft by the axe of Hephaistos or Prometheus was the storm-cloud split by the lightning, Athena Sāλpīnx\(^3\) being the trumpet-blane of the thunder.\(^4\) T. Bergk\(^5\) in 1860, W. H. Roscher\(^6\) in 1886, and C. Robert\(^7\) in 1894, with greater or less enthusiasm, rallied to the same standard. Even F. Dümmler\(^8\) in 1896 was still largely under its spell. But in that year L. R. Farnell\(^9\) showed convincingly that 'physical' explanations in general and storm-symbolism in particular must be abandoned in favour of some less arbitrary hypothesis.

Symbolism, however, dies hard. Birth from the heavenly height might be discredited; but birth from an earthly height took its place. O. Gruppe\(^10\) suggested that the Argive cult of Athena Akrīta\(^11\) perhaps gave rise to the myth that Athena sprang 'from the summit (akrotātass) of the head of Zeus.'\(^12\) U. von Wilamowitz-

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\(^1\) J. F. Lauer *System der griechischen Mythologie* Berlin 1853 p. 370 ff. ('Herrin der Wolken').

\(^2\) F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 87.

\(^3\) Paus. 2. 21. 3 (at Argos) Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ἰδρύσασθαι ζήλης νείρῶν φασιν Ἡγέλων.

\(^4\) Τυρησοῦ δὲ τοῦτον τὰν Ἡγέλων, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέως εἶναι καὶ γνωστὸν λέγωμα τῷ Ἀθηνᾷ, Τυρησόν δὲ σάλπιγγα εἶρεν πρῶτον, Ἡγέλων δὲ τὸν Τυρησόν διδάξαν τοὺς συν Τιμήμων Δωράς τὸν θρόνον τὸν φόρον, καὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπονομάσασι ζήλης νείρων, schol. T. II. 18. 219 (copied by Eustath. in II. p. 1159. 54 ff.) σάλπιγγαν δὲ ἢδη ἐζεῖ—πρῶτη ἢ Ἐλληνική,

\(^5\) μακρὰ τὸ σχῆμα, ἢν Τυρησόν (G. Wentzel, cf. Τυρησόν) εἶρεν ἡ 'Ἀθηνᾶ' διὸ καὶ 'Σάλπιγγα'

\(^6\) παρὰ Ἀργείων τιμᾶται, Hesych. τ.ν. σάλπιγγας...ἐκδέχονται δὲ καὶ ζήλης νείρων παρὰ Ἀργείων, et. mag. p. 708, 2 ff. Σάλπιγγας 'Ἀθηνᾶ' δὲ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτόν εἶρεν σάλπιγγας, καὶ ἱδρύσασθαι (ἀν ὡς ἱδρύσασθαι;) ζήλης νείρων ἡ 'Ἀργεία.' Hence Lykophoros twice uses Ζήλης as a synonym of Ἀθηνᾶ (Lyk. Al. 915 with Teet. ad loc., 986). If Athena, as I conceive, was originally a mountain-mother (ὑπὲρ p. 244) of Pelasgian or Tyrsenian name (ὑπὲρ pp. 191 n. 8, 226), the Tyrsenian trumpet (A. Reinach in Darmere—Saglio Dic. Ant. v. 522 ff., Maux in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. A. 2000) may well have been venerated as the very voice of the goddess.

\(^4\) More explicitly Nonn. Dian. 2. 527 ff. προθετισμένα δὲ κελάριον βουρτανίως πατάγως Δώς μυθήσατο σάλπιγγας, 22. 284 ff. Κρονίων ὧν σάλπιγγας καλεῖσθαι, καὶ Διακόνου εἰς φώνας 'Ηρίων Βουρτανίως πατάγως Δώς προκαλεῖται σάλπιγγας, Tryphiod. 326 ff. ὑποανήθα δὲ ἐκ Δώσ ἐκλάμκομαι κελάρια μακρατείον σάλπιγγας.


\(^6\) W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 675 ff.


\(^8\) Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 280 ff.

\(^9\) O. Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* Rel. p. 111. 2 n. 2.

\(^10\) Supra ii. 1156 n. 5.

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Moellendorff, possibly taking a hint from T. Bergk, claims that in a pre-Greek myth Athena issued from the crest of Mount Olympus, the 'Götterberg,' for which the head of Zeus was the later Hellenic equivalent. O. Weinreich accepts Wilamowitz's view as well worthy of attention: F. Pfister attends, but is non-committal. O. Kern and A. H. Krappe are frankly convinced.

Apart from these typical explanations we have to reckon with a few more isolated and individual conjectures. Thus W. Deonna, impressed by the fact that a Cycladic marble statuette at Karlsruhe


5 O. Kern Die Religion der Griechen Berlin 1936 i. 180: 'Denn nachdem Zeus den alten Berggott vom Olymp verdrängt hatte, wurde der Mythos erfunden, dass die alte vorgriechische Göttin Athene...gewappnet seinem Haupte entsprungen sei...Die Anthropomorphisierung war erfolgt: Zeus thronete auf dem Olympos, und aus dessen Gipfel wurde in der Sage von der Geburt der Göttin das Haupt.'

6 A. H. Krappe in Litteris 1928 v. 633: 'Zeus is most convincingly shown [by Kern] to have taken the place of a proto-Hellenic mountain divinity, and Athena was born from its top, later identified with Zeus' head, a truly admirable solution of one of the most puzzling of mythological problems.'

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shows a nude female standing erect with a similar but smaller nude female on her head (fig. 532)\(^1\), took this curious group to represent a mother-goddess and her daughter\(^2\), compared the like arrangement of an Indo-Chinese father-god with his child (fig. 533)\(^3\), and suggested that the same method of figuration—presupposing a

Fig. 532.

Fig. 533.

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1 E. Gerhard Über die Kunst der Phönizier Berlin 1848 pp. 14, 37 (‘Vielleicht als Geburt einer Gottheit zu fassen,’ etc.) pl. 4, 5 = my fig. 532 (id. Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen und kleine Schriften Berlin 1868 ii. 13 pl. 44, 3), Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art vi. 740 fig. 332 (‘Ce que le sculpteur s'est proposé de montrer en disposant ainsi ses personnages, c'est que la déesse est une déesse mère; la figurine qui forme le sommet du groupe, c'est l'enfant par lequel se continuera la chaîne des générations’), H. T. Bossert Altkreta Berlin 1921 p. 30 fig. 116 (photo), ib. Berlin 1923 p. 14 fig. 15 (photo), M. Hoernes Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa Wien 1925 p. 62 with fig. 8 on p. 60 (‘wie an den Wappenpfählen der Indianer Nordwestamerikas und der Polynesier und an den Zauberkristallen der Battaks. Der genealogische Charakter dieses barbarischen Bildwerkes ist vollkommen deutlich’), V. Müller Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien Augsburg 1929 p. 14 n. 27, C. Picard La sculpture Paris 1935 i. 95 fig. 13.

From Paros. Height: 0'2'13".


3 J. Deniker in L'Anthropologie 1890 p. 352 with fig. 14 on p. 358 (= my fig. 533) after E. Modigliani Un Viaggio a Nias Milano 1890 p. 245 fig. 48 ‘Un idolo’ in the Museo di Leida.
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primitive notion of paternity— is to be found in the Greek type of Athena emergent from the head of Zeus (figs. 480, 484 ff., pls. liv, lv, lvi). The myth would then be of the purely iconographic sort, due, that is, to the misunderstanding of an early art-form. Such cases no doubt occur, though they are exceptional. It should, however, be observed that on this showing the relation of Zeus to Athena was primary, the intervention of Hephaistos secondary. But we have already seen strong reasons for regarding Hephaistos and Athena as the pre-Greek deities of the Akropolis, and Zeus as a later importation. If therefore Deonna’s view is to stand, we must at least assume—a not impossible assumption—that the art-type of Athena’s birth denoted her conventional adoption rather than her natural filiation.

That may be hazardous, but it is far less so than a rival explanation put forward the next year by G. Ancyé. He holds that Athena, who ended by becoming a divine Thought (Métis), began by being merely an oracular Voice or cephalic Sound. She was in effect the Big Noise, the awe-inspiring Sneeze of Zeus! We are bidden to reflect that the Laconian form of her name, Asána, is obviously onomatopoeic, and that words connected with her—kórê, kórre, kórys—are suspiciously like kórysa, ‘a catarrh’.

Oddly enough, the learned author does not mention Athena Sálpinx, and fails to produce what might have been his trump card, the Aristotelian query ‘Why do we regard a Sneeze as a deity?...Because, like reason, it issue from our head, the divinest part of us?’

Having thus run through the whole gamut of explanations, from the sublime to the ridiculous, we are in a position to affirm that the

1 See the list of abnormal births cited supra p. 93 n. 3.
2 See W. Deonna L’archéologie, sa valeur, ses méthodes Paris 1913 f. 319 f., ii. 436 f., iii. 92 n. 11.
3 Examples of the sort may be found in the myths of Chimaira (Perrot—Chipies Hist. de l’Art vi. 857, Brit. Mus. Cat. Genis p. 24 no. 183 pl. 4, p. 25 no. 208 pl. 3), Glaukos (supra i. 469 n. 7), Europe (supra i. 644), Talos (supra i. 723 f.), etc.
4 Supra pp. 189 ff., 224 ff., 236. 6 Supra pp. 236, 598.
6 Ibid. p. 310 ‘Le réve infébrun de qui devait inspirer Phlias [supra i. 2 f.] n’aurait pas suffi à “faire oscillier le grand Olympe.” Zeus a délivré un πταμός: Zeus a éternisé.’
7 But see supra p. 20.
8 G. Ancyé ibid. p. 710 ‘Athéna est la kórê kókoroũmen, kórrys (upó kórou) en kórryũ kórroũmen.’
9 Supra p. 729 n. 3.
10 Aristot. probl. 33. 7. 961 a 21 ff. διὰ τι τὸν μὲν πταμός θεὸν ἔφησεν εἶναι, τῷ δὲ βίοτα, ἢ τῷ κόμῳν ὅ; ἢ διότι ἐκ τοῦ θειοτάτου τῶν περὶ ἑαυτῆς τῆς ασφάλειας, ὑπὲρ δ’ λόγον τὸν ἔστι, γίνεται: κ.τ.λ.
Pelike in the British Museum:

(A) Zeus and Nike.  
(B) Hera and HEBE (?).

See page 733 n. 5.
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myth of Athena's birth as set forth in the Parthenon pediment admits of no single, satisfactory clue. So far we have recognised certain elements in the design as drawn from the ritual of the Dipolieia—Zeus Polieus, like his representative ox, struck with the double axe, the escape of the striker, the acquiescence of the bystanders, and the intent to safeguard the fertilising power of the sky-god.¹

But that is not all. The rites of the Dipolieia on the animal plane were in a sense paralleled by the rules of royal succession on the human plane. Sir James Frazer² has taught us that an early community is apt to regard its king as a god incarnate. Where this is the case, the king is not allowed to grow old, lest his divine powers should dwindle with the decay of their bodily vehicle. He must in fact—if society is still in a backward stage—be put to a violent death at the first symptom of physical decline: grey hairs may be his death-warrant. When he is slain, the immanent divinity, the potency that made him what he was, leaves his body to take up its abode in a younger and more vigorous frame. This rule is of world-wide validity, and the Greeks formed no exception to it. I have argued elsewhere³ that early Greek kings, honoured as embodiments of Zeus and actually called by his name, were within traditional memory killed as soon as they began to exhibit the signs of old age. Further, I have pointed out that, when they were killed, the indwelling divinity was believed to quit their bodies in the form of a bird.⁴ I am now emboldened to conjecture that the myth of Athena's birth reflects just this stage of social and religious development. At least it can be expressed in terms that are highly suggestive of the same. Zeus—say the vase-painters in effect—was king of the gods and sat, sceptre in hand, on a magnificent throne. But he had reached a mature age; indeed, according to Phrynos (supra p. 668 f. fig. 480) and the Villa Giulia Painter (pl. lix)⁵, he was already a grey-beard. So another god

¹ Supra pp. 656 f., 661 f., 719.
³ In the Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 268 ff., 403 ff., ib. 1906 xx. 417, and especially in Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 299—315, 369—385, 392—408.
⁴ In Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 385—392.
⁵ I am indebted to Mr C. D. Bicknell for the observation that Zeus on this important palle is white-haired. The vase, which came from Athens and is now in the British Museum (95. 8—31. 1), is referred by Professor Beazley to his 'Villa Giulia Painter' (J. D. Beazley in the Röm. Mitth. 1913 xvii. 288 no. 18, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 468 no. 21, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rathauslichen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 351 no. 27), an artist of the 'early free style,' at work c. 450—450 B.C. (M. H.
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drew near and smote him on the head with an axe. Whereupon a
divine power conceived as resident in his head flew forth and left
him—Athena was born.

Yet a moment’s reflection will convince us that, although the
scene shown in the pediment corresponds well enough with the
requirements of a royal succession, the correspondence is by no
means absolute. Certain essentials are altogether missing. Had the
situation been true to type, Zeus ought to have been killed, and
the killer in virtue of marriage with the late king’s daughter ought
to have succeeded to her father’s throne. Now it might indeed be
claimed that Hephaistos mated, or attempted to mate, with Athena.
But we never hear that Zeus was killed by Hephaistos, or that
Hephaistos succeeded to the throne of Zeus. Why is this?

Swindler Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 192 f.). Previous illustrations being
inadequate (O. M. von Stackelberg Die Grueper der Hellenen Berlin 1836 p. 16 pl. 18, 2,
Lenormant—de Witte Ét. mon. cér. i. 28 pl. 14, 75 ff. pl. 30), I publish it here from the
official photographs. Lenormant—de Witte op. cit. i. 75 f. comment quaintly: ‘Pent-être
Zeus figure-t-il ici comme un dieu-montagne, dont le sommet est couvert de neige; c’est
ce que semblent indiquer sa chevelure et sa barbe blanches. Ainsi, Jupiter est identifié
avec le mont Olympe, où il fait sa demeure, ou avec telle autre montagne sur laquelle il
est l’objet d’un culte particulier. Mais comme il s’agit ici d’une peinture attique, le nom
de Jupiter Hymettius nous semble devoir être préféré. D’un autre côté, la chevelure
blanche (pouvoir, blanchi par l’âge), qui, sur ce vase, distingue Jupiter, nous fait souvener
encore du surnom Poïès, le protecteur de la ville, que Jupiter portait à Athènes et cette
particularité si rare sur les monuments antiques, de voir Jupiter avec des cheveux blancs,
puisque nous n’en connaissons pas d’autre exemple, tend également à faire accepter ici le
dieu comme une divinité locale.’ But, if justification were needed, the contrast with Hebe
would suffice.

Mr Bicknell further notes Raphael’s design of a white-haired Jupiter for the frescoes
of the Villa Farnesina at Rome (A. P. Oppé Raphael London 1609 p. 172 f. pls. 121
and 123 ff.), which however was very possibly inspired by Dan. 7. 9 or Rev. 1. 14.

The worried, white-haired Zeus of the phylake is, of course, Ἀλεπ όιγος. See the
South-Italian bell-brašler in the Vatican (M. Biehe Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im
Alterthum Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 140 no. 101 pl. 76 (= my fig. 354). Ehrwanger—
Reichhold—Hauser Gr. Vasenmalerie iii. 181, 189 f. fig. 95. Earlier literature in W.
Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom
Leipzig 1912 i. 316 f. no. 510), which shows with considerable humour a love-adventure
of the elderly but amatory god. Wearing a trumpery crownlet and carrying a ladder, he
advances from the left, while Hermes on the right holds up an absurd little lamp. The
young woman, prinked and preened, awaits her lover at the window, and betrays her
eagerness by the finger-tips already resting on its sill.

1 The owl clinging to the sceptre of Zeus on a black-figured amphora from Caere
(supra p. 667 n. 2 pl. ili) or perched on his wrist on a black-figured amphora at Munich
202 ff. pl. 60) is—as Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs Van Buren) suggested (Journ. Hell. Stud.
1912 xxxii. 176 f.)—perhaps significant. But we can hardly say the same of the soul-birds
on another from Orvieto (supra p. 682 f. fig. 582), nor of the bird between Hephaistos
and Hera on a fourth from Vulci (supra p. 700 n. 3 (1) fig. 517), nor yet of the eagle behind
Thalna on the mirror from Arezzo (supra ii. 709 ff. pl. xxix).

2 Supra p. 218 ff.
Significance of the birth of Athena

The fact is, the myth represented in the pediment was a myth of accommodation\(^1\). At this vital focus of Athenian worship allowance had to be made for the racial and religious changes through

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\(^1\) The only critic who has perceived this important point with adequate vision is Professor H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 50 f.: 'The close connexion between Zeus and Athena is probably due to historical causes. The chief god of the invaders must come to some sort of terms with the powerful and well-established
which the worshippers had passed. If the results of our somewhat scattered enquiry may be gathered up in the form of a diagram,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ZEUS</th>
<th>storm-god</th>
<th>thunderbolt and eagle</th>
<th>Attic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POSEIDON</td>
<td>(by-form of Zeus) god of streams, lakes, sea</td>
<td>(lightning-fork) trident fishing-spear</td>
<td>Ionian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from Boiotia (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEPHAISTOS</td>
<td>lightning-god fire-god</td>
<td>double axe hammer</td>
<td>Pelasgian or Tyrsenian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from Asia Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATHENA</td>
<td>rock-goddess</td>
<td>olive, snake, owl</td>
<td>Pelasgian or Tyrsenian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from Asia Minor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I should maintain that the cults of the Akropolis can be arranged chronologically in a threefold stratification. Athena and Hephastios came first, being a pre-Hellenic pair, the rock-goddess and the fire-god of an Anatolian people best called Pelasgian or Tyrsenian. The next to arrive, perhaps *via* Boiotia, was the Ionian Poseidon, originally a lightning-god to judge from his trident, though later taken to be a sea-god with a fishing-spear: at first in conflict with

Minoan-Mycenaean goddess; but he cannot be her husband, since she, like the rest of her kind, has either no consort or an insignificant one; therefore he must be her father. But she can have no mother, for that would subordinate her to some other goddess, such as Hera or Persephone, and she is far too important for that. Hence her miraculous birth, which represents, if we could but recover the details, an interesting chapter in early diplomacy and ecclesiastical polity.  

1 I first put forward this scheme in a course of Lectures on *The Gods of Athens, their Significance and Stratification*, which was given at Cambridge on the J. H. Gray Foundation, Feb. 14, 21, and 28, 1936.

2 *Supra* pp. 189 ff., 224 ff., 236.

3 On Boiotia as an early centre of Poseidon-worship see *supra* ii. 583 n. 3. If Boeotian Δήβαν = ‘Zeus’ (*supra* ii. 542 n. o. 344 n. o), then πόρνη-Δήβαν = ‘Lord Zeus’ (*supra* ii. 583), cp. πόρνη-Ηρά = ‘Lady Hera’ (*supra* i. 444 n. 5, 456 n. 8).

Poseidon, though coming from Boiotia, may still have been Ionian by descent. For Boiotia, as Professor Myres has recently proved, was overrun by Ionians in pre-Dorian days (J. L. Myres *Who were the Greeks?* Univ. of California Press 1930 pp. 158, 561 n. 133).

4 *Supra* ii. 789 ff., 850.

5 *Supra* ii. 786, 790 f., 850.
Significance of the birth of Athena

Athena, he was ultimately identified with her protégé Erechtheus, the 'Cleaver,' and accommodated in the Erechtheion. Last came the Attic storm-god Zeus, introduced by the clan Kerykes from Eleusis, and worshipped in his festival the Dipolieia with rites that go far towards explaining the pedimental design. The divine ox was struck with the double axe in order that he might come to life again with vigour unimpaired and work for his people as of old. Zeus is hit over the head for much the same purpose. The blow releases Athena, a further manifestation of his might. Three strata: but from the lowest to the highest it is Athena who really dominates the scene. Zeus himself lives on in her younger, fresher life.

If this sequence be conceded, several disturbing features in the pediment find a ready explanation. Room must be made in the central group for the predecessors of Zeus—Athena, Hephaistos, and Poseidon. At the same time Athena and Hephaistos cannot be regarded as the next occupants of the divine throne. And that for two reasons. On the one hand, as the original divinities of the Akropolis they were pre-Zeus and could not well be represented as post-Zeus. On the other hand, religious thought was beginning to outgrow its primitive phases and had by now reached a stage in which Zeus, as power supreme, could not conceivably be superseded by any other deity. Nor again could Zeus be affiliated to Athena, who, though originally a mother-goddess, had long since come to be viewed as a Virgin. It remained for Athena, by a daring device, to be affiliated to him. We must not, however, assume that the myth of Dionysos sprung from the thigh of Zeus here furnished the model; for in all probability the myth of Athena was the older. In any case the choice of the head rather than the thigh for this simulated birth involves the archaic belief that an indwelling spirit may be forcibly delivered by a timely crack on the crown.

1 Supra ii. 793 f.
2 Supra p. 598. Zeus Ὁλυμπίων, however, came from Mt Olympos to the north bank of the Ilissos (supra p. 736). The Zeus-cults of Athens call for careful distinction.
3 Supra p. 574 ff.
4 Supra pp. 626 f., 661 f., 720, 733.
5 Supra p. 224 f.
6 Supra p. 724 with n. 3.
7 Supra p. 79 ff.
8 Welcker Gr. Götterl. i. 301 rightly stresses the epic epithet ἀβραματάργη (II. 5. 747; 8. 391, Od. 1. 101, 3. 135, 74. 540—always at the end of a line) as implying 'Dass sie keine Mutter habe, sondern nur den Vater, aber den Gewaltigen,' and notes that Ares is even more explicit (II. 5. 872 ff. Ζεὺς πάτερ...οἱ πάντες μικραίων. οὐ γὰρ τέκνες ἄφορα κούρην, ἀθυλομήν, ἥ τις αἵθυλη θραύ αἰθήλην).
9 On the head as the seat of the soul see supra ii. 290 n. 0.

Sir A. J. Evans in The Palace of Minos London 1935 iv. 2. 476 n. 5 remarks: 'The Tibetans think that the soul issues from the top of the head, and that the cutting off of the hair there facilitated its escape on death. So, too, the Kânikârs, a mountain tribe of C. III.
Significance of the birth of Athena

The ancients, like ourselves, found the idea entertaining—witness a delightful parody of the Athena-myth on a phlyax-vase at Bari (fig. 535). Leda’s egg has been set carefully in a basket to hatch. But Zeus, who knows from experience what Hephaistos’ double axe

Travancore, cut off the top-knot of the deceased (see Frazer, Burial Customs, p. 83. note). But when Sir Arthur quotes (op. cit. p. 476) as a classical parallel Numa’s words to Jupiter in Ov. fast. 3. 341 ‘Summos, ait ille, capillos,’ he is relying on a worthless variant. The better manuscripts read ‘‘sumes” ait ille “capillos”—a very different story (supra p. 433 n. 0).

This releasing of the spirit from the head is an immemorial usage, which explains many things from the trepanning of neolithic skulls (K. Sudhoff s.v. ‘Trepanation’ in Ebert Keillex. xiii. 430—432 with bibliography) to ‘The Holy-mawle’ described by Aubrey, ‘weh (they fancy) hung behind the Church door, weh when the father was seaventie the sonne might fetch, to knock his father in the head, as effeete, & of no more use’ (supra ii. 723 n. 2).


A more brainless bit of bogus mythology based on the myth of Athena’s birth may be found in schol.(n.)r. I. 19. 126. When Zeus in anger seizes Aτε κεφαλής λυταροπλοκάμου and flings her down from heaven to earth, the nitwit scholiast comments: ομ μέν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐαυτῶς κεφαλῆς τῆς λυταροπλοκάμου εἴλε τῆν ‘Ατην’... φορὶ γαϊῶν ‘κράτας βασιλεί’ (I. 19. 93)... οὶ δὲ τὸ ‘κεφαλῆς λυταροπλοκάμου’ ἐπὶ τῆς ‘Ατης ἦκονσα... See W. Leaf ad loc.
Significance of the birth of Athena 739

can effect, sends him to crack the shell. Out pops Helen to the amazement of Tyndareos, while Leda herself, mindful of the celestial swan, peeps shyly through the doorway.

(κ) The superannuation of Zeus.

If the foregoing analysis be sound, one element in the complex myth of Athena's birth was the primitive persuasion that Zeus, king of the gods, must like all other kings in due course be superseded by a stronger than he. But—it will be said—what right have we to speak of Zeus being superannuated? Was he not looked upon as a power permanently supreme1? To this the true answer is both Yes and No2. Philosophical and quasi-philosophical writers certainly regarded Zeus as eternal, or at least everlasting, ruler of the universe. But the populace, heirs of the mythopoetic age, did not3. Even Aischylos, who in his moments of deepest insight approximates to the philosophers' view, speaks of succession to the divine throne as the prize of a grand Olympian wrestling-match, and tells how Ouranos was overthrown by Kronos, and Kronos in turn by Zeus:

He who of yore was great
And boldly challenged all
Hath lost his former state
Nor cometh at the call.
And he who thereupon
Rose in his stead is gone—
He too hath met his fall.

But if a man with glad triumphant cries
Hail Zeus as victor, verily he is wise4.

1 Soph. O. T. 903 ff. δυτικας, εισερ ουδινες, η ζευς, ταιναι ουσιν, μη λαθωι | οι των τε των οσανων αλιν δραχων is typical.
2 Lact. div. inst. 1. 11 has a trenchant passage on the subject of Zeus being superseded: 'utquim divinum imperium aut semper inmutabile est aut si est mutabile, quod fieri non potest, semper utique mutabile est. potest ergo Juppiter regnum amittere, sicut pater eius amisset? ita plane.'
3 I am not here concerned with the progressive senescence of art-types—a matter interestingly handled by E. Pottier 'La vieillesse des dieux grecs' in the Annaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales 1934 ii (Mélanges Bides) 729—743. In a few well-put paragraphs (pp. 730—733) he traces the gradual change that comes over Zeus as conceived by sculptors etc. from early Hellenic to late Hellenistic times. We see successively a warrior brandishing his bolt or a king sitting on his throne, a man of fine physique attacking his foes or pursuing his amours, the more mature and pacific ruler imagined by Pheidias, the ideal of philosophers and poets, and the anxious thinker portrayed by the Otricoli bust. In short, brute force, youthful vigour, active benevolence, moral grandeur, providence, and at the last pensiveness deepening into melancholy.
4 'C'est un Zeus vieilli, en qui l'on aurait peine à reconnaître l'epoux triomphant qu'Homère nous dépeint dans les bras de Héra, sur un lit de lotus et d'hyacinthes.'
4 Aisch. Ag. 167 ff.
Moreover, Aischylos is aware of the popular belief that Zeus holds his throne upon the same precarious tenure as his predecessors. That belief is involved in the plot of *Prometheus Bound*. Prometheus there says to Io:

But now no limit is appointed me  
Of torment, till Zeus fall from his high throne.

*Io* Zeus fall! Comes there a time when that may be?

*Prom.* 'Twould gladden thee, I trow, to see that day.

*Io* Most surely, since from him are all my woes.

*Prom.* Then be assured the very truth is so.

*Io* What hand shall wrest from him the staff of power?

*Prom.* His own vain counsel, lorn of wisdom's light.

*Io* In what wise? tell me, so it bring no harm.

*Prom.* Winning a bride, whose wedding he shall rue.

*Io* Of Heaven or Earth? If not forbidden, tell.

*Prom.* Inquire no more. 'Tis not to be revealed.

*Io* Shall his new consort oust him from his throne?

*Prom.* Their son shall be more puissant than his sire.

*Io* And may he not avoid that overthrow?

*Prom.* Only when I, delivered from my bonds—¹

But the sentence is broken off, and Prometheus does not reveal how Zeus may escape the impending doom. Later in the same play he reverts to the subject in the presence of the Ocean nymphs:

*Prom.* Yet Zeus himself, though stubborn be his will,  
Shall be brought low at last, through the marriage-bond  
He purposeth. For it shall hurl him down  
From power supreme to nothing. Then shall come  
To pass the curse his father Kronos cried  
In that same hour when driven from his throne  
Of primal sovereignty. To avert this doom  
No god but I can point him the sure way.  
I know each turn thereof. Then let him reign  
Securely, trusting to his thunder's noise  
And wielding there aloft his lightning brand!  
Naught shall they warrant him from that sure fall,  
Intolerable, unhonoured, unreprieved.  
So dire a wrestler he himself provides  
Against himself, a portent huge in might,  
The weapons of whose forging shall o'er-blaze  
His lightning and out-blare his thunder-blast.  
And the new sea-god's spear, the trident dread,  
Poseidon's arm that plagues the stricken lands  
With earthquake, shall be shattered by his power.  
Zeus, foundering on that rock, shall fathom then  
What space divides the ruler from the slave.

The superannuation of Zeus

Cho. Thou word'st thy wishes against Heaven's high king.
Prom. My wishes, and the truth of what shall be.
Cho. Must we then look for one to master Zeus?
Prom. Yea, with a yoke yet heavier than mine.
Cho. How can'st thou talk so rashly, and not fear?
Prom. Why should I fear, whose fate is not to die?
Cho. He might decree some doom more painful still.
Prom. Let him! Naught can surprise me, who foreknow.
Cho. Wisdom bids bow before Necessity.
Prom. Ay, bend and worship, fawn upon the strong!
Less than the least care I for Zeus's will,
Let him employ his strength even as he may,
For this brief hour. His reign will soon be o'er.¹

But despite this attitude of defiance and exultation the Titanic sufferer in the following play, Prometheus Unbound, consents at length to give up his secret—the oracle concerning Thetis—and thereby obtains release from his bondage.² Thus in the end Zeus is saved by Prometheus, and Thetis the fateful bride is bestowed upon Peleus.³

The myth is set out more lucidly by Aischylos' contemporary Pindar:

These things the immortals planned,
When Zeus for Thetis' hand
With great Poseidon strove,
And either suitor vied
To have her as his own, his comely bride,
So learnt the power of love.
Howbeit their deathless wisdom did not take
The prize they purposed; for, lo, Themis spake
And gave unerring counsel for their sake,
How that by Fate's decree
The mistress of the sea
Should bear her lord a prince more potent yet—
One who should launch a shaft
By his consummate craft
Swifter than lightning-flash,
Fiercer than trident's dash—
If she with Zeus or with Zeus' brethren met.

¹ Aisch. P.v. 907 ff. trans. L. Campbell (with a few alterations).
The superannuation of Zeus

'Nay, strive not,' Themis said,
But let some mortal bed
Receive her that she may
Behold a son to perish in the fray,
His hands like Ares' own,
His feet like lightning flown.
I counsel you to give
This guerdon that a god might gain
To Peleus, who as Aiakos' son doth reign,
The holiest man of all the men that live
On Iaolkos' plain.1

Pindar, it will be observed, speaks of two competitors for the hand of Thetis, Zeus and Poseidon.2 Tzetzes adds a third, Apollo.3 It is, however, probable that the original story recognised but one, Zeus himself, and that his mythical association with Thetis arose

έγνυθαι. τεθρόνησαν δὲ ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τε συγγραφέων καὶ ταυταῖς, ἀκριβῶς δὲ κεῖται καὶ παρὰ Αἰσχύλων ἐν Προμηθεί Δεμωτῆς. J. Resler Ultimae Pindari Isthmiae...<scholia>
Vratislavicae 1847 p. 22 f. pointed out that Δεμωτῆς must be a mistake for Αἰσχύλως, since nowhere in the extant play are we told that Zeus was prevented from marrying Thetis by Prometheus. The blunder has affected Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 178 Πίναρος δὲ λέγει Ποσειδώνα Ἀπόλλωνα Δία περὶ γάμου τῆς Θετίδος ἐρώτησε, κυλεύοντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ταύς τῶν ἱστορικῶν ὡς ὁμιλεῖν ὑπὸ Αἰσχύλως ὑπὸ Προμηθείους φνεύ γὰρ followed by the quotation of Aisch. Π.ν. 766 and Apollod. 3. 13. 5 οὖν δὲ δια, Δίῳ ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ταυτίζει συννοίων, εἶναι καὶ Προμηθέα τοῦ ἐκ ταύτης αὐτῷ γεννηθέντα θυσίαν διακυβέρνεσθαι may be based on Aisch. Προμ. λ.β. The same is probably true of later references such as Hyg. fab. 54, Myth. Vat. 2. 63, 3. 11. 20 (where a Proteo is by confusion for a Prometheo).

1 Pind. Isthm. 8. 66 ff.
2 So does Apollod. 3. 13. 5, probably following Pindar.

For three as a typical plurality see supra ii. 893 n. α.
4 Schol. vet. Pind. Isthm. 8. 57 b (iii. 496 f. Abel, iii. 273, 25 ff. Drachmann) διαφωνεῖται δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς καὶ ιδιαίτερον ὁ Πίναρος καὶ Ποσειδώνα φασιν ἀμφιβοληθὲν περὶ τοῦ γάμου τῆς γυναικός τινα κατηγολοιθέντων ὁ Πίναρος. The vulgate, then, recognised Zeus alone: cp. Ου. nat. 11. 221 ff., Πομ. Fab. 54, myth. Vat. 2. 63, 2. 205, 2. 206, 3. 11. 20 f. In the Κυπρία it is Monomos who suggests to Zeus τὴν Θετίδος θυσίαν (frag. 1 Kinkel ap. schol. ΙI. 1. 5 f.).
at some Thessalian\(^1\) cult-centre where Zeus and Thetis chanced to be worshipped side by side\(^2\).

Different in origin, but similar in development, was the myth of Metis\(^3\), which may be regarded as a Boeotian doublet of the Thessalian story. The Hesiodic, like the Homeric, Zeus is *metiēs\(^4\), *metiēs\(^5\), the 'Magician'. But, whereas *mētis in Homer was merely abstract 'prudence' or concrete 'counsel', *Mētis in Hesiod is a full-blown personality. She ranks as one of the many daughters borne by Tethys to Oceanus\(^6\), for supernatural wisdom belongs to the deities of the deep\(^8\). If now we ask how Zeus came to be so full of *Mētis, Hesiod\(^8\) is ready with a naive explanation. Metis, the

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5. *Sapph. i. 14 n. 1, ii. 1147.


Much the same idea lies under the negro plantation-song *Old Man Ribber*, the refrain of which runs: 'Old Man Ribber, | He must know somethin', | But don't say nothin', | He just keeps rollin' along.'

The superannuation of Zeus

first wife of Zeus, surpassed in wisdom all mortals and immortals, and was fated to bear children exceeding wise—Athena equal to her father in might and counsel, and after Athena a son of such prowess that he should become king of gods and men. Hence Gaia and Ouranos advised Zeus to deceive Metis with crafty words and swallow her, lest another god should arise and deprive him of his kingly honours. Zeus accordingly did so, and himself bore Athena from his head. Others add some details that belong to the same context. It appears that Metis was wont to change her form with a view to escaping the embraces of Zeus—a barbaric expedient clearly copied from the ugly habits of Kronos.

theological speculation. F. Jacoby in his edition of the Θεογνη (Berlin 1930 pp. 37, 186, 188 f.) takes the same view. And F. Schwenn Die Theogonie des Hesiodos Heidelberg 1934 p. 50 is inclined to acquiesce, though he objects that Zeus' marriage with Metis would then be left without offspring. But to assume that the swallowing of Metis by Zeus must necessarily be a late invention is quite unjustifiable. The episode in itself is thoroughly consonant with primitive thought (see e.g. S. Thompson Metis-index of Folk-literature (FF Communications No. 107) Helsinki 1933 ii. 276 D 1793 'Magical results from eating or drinking'), and Zeus may well have been early credited with rivalling the digestive feats of Kronos. If it be borne in mind that the μῆτρα of the μητέρα was magical wisdom or cunning, theological speculation is seen to be out of place.

1 According to Hes. theog. 886 ff., Zeus wedded (1) Metis, whom he swallowed before producing Athena; (2) Themis, who bore the three Horai, Eunomia, Dike, Eirene, and the three Moirai, Klotho, Lachesis, Atropos; (3) Eurynome daughter of Oceanos, who bore the three Charites, Aglaia, Euphrosyne, Thalia; (4) Demeter, who bore Persephone; (5) Mnemosyne, who bore the nine Muses; (6) Leto, who bore Apollo and Artemis; (7) Hera, who bore Hebe, Ares, and Eileithyia.

I have discussed the marriage of Zeus and Hera in two articles published in the Class. Rev. 1906 xx. 365—378 and 416—419 under the title ‘Who was the Wife of Zeus?’

2 Hes. theog. 924 ff.

3 Apollod. i. 3. 6 μὴ γίνοιται δὲ Ζεὺς Μήτη, μεταβαλλόμενος εἰς πολλὰς ἱδέας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συνελθῶν, καὶ αὐτὴν γενομένην ἄκους κατάπινες φθάσας, ἐπείπερ ἔλεγε γεννᾶν πάθος μετὰ τὴν μελλοντας εἰς αὐτὴ γεννᾶσθαι κόρην, τὸ δεινὸν δυνατότερον γεννᾶται. τούτῳ φοβηθεὶς κατέτειν αὐτήν. κ. τ. λ. Cp. schol. B. I. τ. V. Η. 8. 39.

4 Schol. Hes. theog. 886 λέγεται ὅτι Η Μήτη ποιήσεται εἰς δύον μοναν ὡς μεταβάλλεται εἰς ὅπως ἐν ἡμισερεία. πλανήσας δὲ αὐτὴν δὲ Ζεὺς καὶ πικρᾶς (F. A. Paley would read μικρᾶ.) I suspect that the scholiast meant πικρᾶ, the antithode 'higgry-pigry' (leπα πικρα), which would suit κατέτειν A. B. C.) ποιήσας κατέτειν

Farnell Cults of Gk. States i. 283 says: ‘According to a later legend she comically took the shape of a fly.’ But he quotes no authority for the statement, and I am not aware of any such legend—unless indeed Farnell was confusing Metis with Periklymos, son of Neleus and Chlora (schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 156 ἀνάγκῃ σε δαυτων Ἡρακλῆς εἰς μιαν μεταβλήθητα ἐν τῷ πρὸς Πιλούν πολέμως κατὰ συμβολὴν Αθρατής τῷ μονάλῳ αὐτῶν πλήπας κ. τ. λ.).

5 F. Schwenn Die Theogonie des Hesiodos Heidelberg 1934 p. 50 cp. theog. 888 with 468, 891 with 463, 892 f. with 461 f.

6 Supra i. 154 (note that the myth is localised in Boiotia), 181 n. o. 299, 520 n. 2, ii. 191 n. 10, 549, 928 n. o. 933 n. o. See now the careful treatment of the theme by M. Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 1991 ff.
The superannuation of Zeus

The general resemblance between the myths of Metis and Thetis is unmistakable. Metis, like Thetis, was a sea-power. Metis, like Thetis, was a shape-shifter. Metis, like Thetis, was loved by Zeus. Metis, like Thetis, was destined to bear a son that should oust his father—a danger averted in either case by an oracular utterance and consequent guile. But the Metis-myth is more than a mere parallel to the Thetis-myth. For it definitely associates—at least in its present Hesiodic form\(^1\)—the birth of Athena with the superannuation of Zeus, and so justifies us in claiming\(^2\) that the superannuation-motif may be detected in the art-types of the birth.

The subsequent history of the Metis-myth is curious. In the Theogony of the Orphic Rhapodies\(^3\) Metis is one of the names borne by the bisexual Phanes who, emerging from the cosmic egg, begat and consorted with Nyx, thus becoming the parent of Gaia and Ouranos, Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus. This first creation was followed by a second creation. Zeus at the advice of Nyx leapt upon Phanes and swallowed him whole. Zeus was thus enabled to make afresh within himself the world and all its contents, gods and goddesses included: Athena, for example, in full armour sprang from his head. Zeus therefore as a pantheistic god comprises—

Fire and water and earth and \(a\)ithēr, day too and night; Metis the first forefather and Eros of much delight\(^4\).

\(\text{M\text{\-}etis} \) is here boldly made masculine, perhaps as tantamount to \(\text{metēta} \), the epic appellative of Zeus\(^5\). But the license offended the neo-Platonist Syrianos, who quotes the same line with one small correction—

\(\text{Metis} \) the first foremother and Eros of much delight\(^6\).

Apion in the Clementine Homilies\(^7\) sets forth a somewhat

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\(^1\) *Supra* p. 744 n. 2. It remains possible, and even probable, that a pre-Hesiodic form of the myth represented Zeus as swallowing Metis simply in order to acquire her magic, but that later, owing to some social or political exigency (*supra* p. 737) room had to be found for Athena, goddess of the old Pelasgian *stratum*. *The Theogony*, as it stands, is certainly a patchwork.

\(^2\) *Supra* p. 739.

\(^3\) *Supra* ii. 1024 ff. (consecutus on p. 1034).

\(^4\) *Supra* ii. 1028 πῦρ καὶ ὄδορ καὶ γαία καὶ αἰθήρ, νός τε καὶ ημαρ, καὶ \(\text{Μ\text{\-}η\text{\-}ι\text{\-}ς} \) πρῶτος γενέτωρ καὶ \(\text{Ε\text{\-}ρ\text{\-}ω\text{\-}ς} \) πολυνερτής.

\(^5\) *Supra* ii. 1025.

\(^6\) Orph. *frag.* 169 Kern ap. Aristokrit. Manich. in the Theosoph. *Tubing.* 50 (K. Buresch *Klasse Leipzig* 1889 p. 110, 4) καὶ \(\text{Μ\text{\-}η\text{\-}ι\text{\-}ς} \), πρώτη γενέτης, καὶ \(\text{Ε\text{\-}ρ\text{\-}ω\text{\-}ς} \) πολυνερτής. Φόρων γενέτης *Wisdom* 7. 12 εὐφράσθην ἐκ ἐπι πᾶσιν, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἤγειται σοφία, ἡγούμενον ὅτι αὐτὴν γενέτης εἶναι τοῦτον.

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similar Theogony, which may be described as a quasi-Orphic account with a strong etymological colouring. When the bisexual Phanes emerged from the cosmic egg, the rest of its material contents sorted themselves out. The heavier dregs subsided in time (chronos) and so were said to have been swallowed by Kronos: their abundance (pléthos) caused them to be called Plouton. The fluid floating on the surface of this sediment got the name Poseidon. The highest and purest portion, consisting of translucent fire, was termed Zeus by reason of its heat (seousa). This was not swallowed by Kronos, but in virtue of its own warmth drew upwards the finest and most divine element left in the fluid layer, a spirit named Metis. Absorbed by the aither and passing through its upper part or head, this spirit set up a perpetual agitation (palmós), in short produced Understanding or Pallas.

In Plato’s Symposium² Dietima of Mantinea³ has a tale to tell about the parentage of Eros. When Aphrodite was born, Poros son of Metis (‘Way’ son of ‘Wisdom’) was feasting with the other gods. Being drunk with nectar—in it was before the days of wine—he betook himself to the garden of Zeus⁵ and there fell asleep. Meantime Penia (‘Poverty’) got wind of the feast and came begging at the door. Anxious to cure her distress (aporia), she lay with Poros and became by him the mother of Eros, who is attached to Aphrodite because he was begotten on her birthday. He is poor (pénés) and homeless like his mother, but eager, ingenious, and fertile in resource (pórimos) like his father. As a daimon, he is neither mortal nor immortal⁶, but in a single day will live and die

1 Ἰθ. 7—8 (ii. 201 B—204 A Migne) τὸ δὲ λαύθω τρῆτον τὸ καθάρατασθαι καὶ κορυφαιώτατον οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἀναφέρεται θεοίν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ἡσυχίων: ἀναφέρεται γὰρ ὁ τῷ πῶς πρὸς τῶν καὶ πότῳ τὸ ὅρον τοῦ Κρόνου οὐ καταπόθηκε, ἀλλὰ, ὡς ἔφη, ἣ ποτισμὸς οὐδὲ ποτὶ τῷ σπουδῆ τε καὶ ἀναφέρεται οὕτως εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνέστη τῶν ἄριστος, δι καὶ φρονιμωτάτως ἐστι, διά τῶν καθαρότατα. τὸ δὲ ἁθικὰ περίποντα ὁ Ζεὺς —τούτοις ἡ ἱστῶν οὐδὲν—τὸ καταλειφθέν τῶν ἐπισκεψϋον ὑγρὸ τό ἱερόποτα σωθίναι, καὶ θεοὶ ἁπατήται πνεύμα, ὥσπερ Μήτης ἐκάσιαν, κατὰ κορυφήθη δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάσιαὶ τοῦ αἰθέρος καὶ συμμοῦν ψυχήν αὐτῶν ὀστὶ παραγείνεται. τῶν ἁλίκων ταῦτα ῥηθήτως, γενέα τῶν σύνταγμα, ἡ δὲ Παλλάδα ἐπομούμενος διὰ τὸ πάλλεσθαι, τεχνικῶν τῶν οὐκ ἄφοβοι, ἡ χρώμενος τῶν πάντων ἐκείνως νόμον ὁ αἰθέρος τεχνίτης.

2 Plat. symp. 203 b—e.

3 Supra ii. 1167. W. Kranz ‘Diotima von Mantinea’ in Hermes 1926 lii. 437—447 argues that Dietima was historical and was in Athens to stay the plague by sacrifice (Plat. symp. 201 b) about the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (Class. Quart. 1927 xxi. 209).


5 Orphic again? Cp. supra ii. 1021 (but also 1119).

6 For Eros as belonging to this category of betwixt-and-between see E. Hoffmann ‘Methexis und Metaxy bei Plato’ in the Jahresberichte des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin 1919 xlv. 53 f. (at end of Sokrates 1919 vii).
and rise again thanks to his father's nature. This transparent little allegory may or may not have been invented by Platon. In any case it offered possibilities to the allegorists of a later age, and was obviously susceptible of a Christian re-interpretation. A. von Sallet first drew attention to the fact that a medallion, finely struck by Giovanni Cavino 'the Paduan' (1500—1570 A.D.) in dark copper with a border of brass (fig. 536), has for obverse design a head of Christ inscribed PORVS CONSILII FILIVS, and acutely recognised in this legend the Latin rendering of the Platonic 'Poros son of Metis'.

Fig. 536.

So in the long run the oracle concerning Metis came true, and Zeus, despite his most desperate shifts, found himself superseded by a Son of divine 'Wisdom,' One who was indeed the 'Way'—and the Truth, and the Life.

(λ) The attributes of Athena.

The affiliation of the pre-Hellenic Athena to the Hellenic Zeus produced a goddess whose powers, as evidenced by her attributes,


2 Plout. de Is. et Os. 57 (ο ἀρ Πορος ὁν ἐφέρε ἐστι τον πρώτον ἐραστόν καὶ ἐφετο ἐν τελείῳ καὶ αὐτάρκᾳ μν. λ.), Plotin. enn. 3. 5. 5 ff. (λόγος δὲ ἐλέγετο τῶν πάντων ὁ Πόρος with context, in which Zeus is νοῦς, Aphrodite is ψυχή, Penia is θλη). Cp. Porph. de antr. nymph. 16.


4 Plat. Symp. 203 B 4 ἐ τῆς Μητίδος νὸς Πόρος.
belonged partly to the old order, partly to the new, but contrived to reconcile both in the brilliance of a fresh and vivid personality.

The said attributes can best be understood as the direct outcome of certain conclusions already reached. The Akropolis, I have said, was originally called Athéné, a place-name whose locative *Athenai occasioned the plural Athénai habitual in later Greek. Homer—be it observed—in the Odyssey, when speaking of Athens, can still use the singular form:

'She came to Marathon and wide-wayed Athene.'

I further insisted that the goddess was named Athéné, like the rock, simply because at the outset she was the rock, a mountain-mother of the Anatolian kind.

No doubt objections will be brought against both these points of view. I shall be told that to use the same word Athéné at one moment of the goddess, at the next of her rocky abode, would have been intolerably confusing. Homer thought otherwise. The immediate context of the line quoted above tells how 'Athene...left lovely Scherie, and came to Marathon and wide-wayed Athene.' So Athene came to Athene! The poet is serenely unconscious of anything amiss.

Others may demur to Athena being treated as a mountain-mother. She was so notoriously a Virgin that to call her a Mother at all borders on the blasphemous. But we are apt to forget that in early illogical days the status lost might by appropriate means be regained. Pausanias, for instance, informs us that Hera recovered her virginity every year by bathing in the spring Kanathos near Nauplia. And it is not unreasonable to suppose that the same

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1 Supra p. 224.
3 Od. 7. 80 Ικέας δ' Ιε Μαραθώνα καὶ ευρόγαυναι Αθηνας. But 'Athêna in II. 1. 546, 549. Od. 3. 278, 307, 11, 323.
4 Supra p. 224.
5 Dr B. F. C. Atkinson has suggested to me that a masculine parallel might be found in Aðôr, a mountain which bore a name of Anatolian type (cp. Kòs, Kôs, Tês), was addressed by Xerxes as 'Aðô baûnôi (Plout. de cohâ. i 3), was later personified as a giant (H. W. Stoll in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 704, K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 2665 and 2669), supported a population of Macrobii (Plin. nat. hist. 4. 37; cp. supra ii. 500 n. 4), and down to the present day is regarded as a 'Aγιον 'Όρος of the utmost sanctity (supra ii. 906 n. 1).
6 Od. 7. 78 γλαυκώτις Αθηνα, 80 ευρόγαυναι Αθηνα—both at the end of the line and all the more likely to catch the eye.
7 Supra p. 224 n. 2.
thing happened to Athena, both in Argos and at Athens. The
Argive women once a year took the image of Athena and washed it
in the river Inachos\(^2\). At Athens it was the old wooden statue in
the Erechtheion that had the annual bathe. It was escorted down
to Phaleron by the éphēboi, dipped in the sea by two loutrīdes or
'bathing-women,' and brought back in the evening with a torch-
light procession—the whole business being termed the Plynteria or
'Washing Day.'\(^2\) Now we may be very sure that it was some
strong religious reason—godliness rather than cleanliness—which
prompted the Greeks to bathe their goddess in river or sea.
And, if we may argue from what is told us of Hera, the object
was to transform the Mother into a Maiden once more. Of course
to all and sundry in up-to-date Athens Athena was Parthenos. But
the women of Elis, country folk who clung to archaic beliefs, had
a sanctuary of Athena Mēter, a mother-goddess confessed.

I take it, then, that Athena was the pre-Greek mountain-mother
of the Akropolis rock. As such she would stand in specially close
relation to the rock-products, whether vegetable or animal. Any life
issuing from crevices or holes in the rock would be her life. The
flora and fauna of the place would be venerated as divine mani-
festations of herself. And of these manifestations there are three
that claim our special attention.

(1) The olive of Athena.

Only one tree, so far as we know, grew on the Akropolis—
the famous olive in the Pandroseion\(^4\) (fig. 537)\(^5\). The antiquary
Philochoros\(^8\) mentions it in connexion with a curious happening of
306 B.C. He says:

'This year had ended and another begun, when the following portent took place
on the Akropolis. A bitch got into the temple of the Polides and, diving into
the Pandroseion, mounted the altar of Zeus Herkelos, which stands under the
olive tree, and there lay down, though it is an old-established custom at Athens
that dogs\(^7\) are not allowed on the Akropolis.'

\(^1\) Ib.

\(^2\) G. E. Marindin in Smith—Wayte—Marindin Dict. Ant. ii. 440 f., Mommsen Festes
799—801, E. Pflahl De Atheniensiun pomps sacril Berolini 1900 pp. 89—92, L. Deubner
Attische Feste Berlin 1932 pp. 17—72.

\(^3\) Supra p. 224 f.

\(^4\) Supra p. 743.

\(^5\) I reproduce the restoration of M. Scheide Die Burg von Athen Berlin 1922 p. 105

\(^6\) Philochor. frag. 146 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 408 f. Müller) ap. Dion. Hal. de Dinarch.
1ud. 3.

\(^7\) Cp. Plout. quaest. Rom. 90 with H. J. Rose ad loc. See further O. Keller Die
The olive of Athena

One fancies the scene—the dog dodging pursuit, the horrified bystanders, the fattish sacristan in full cry, but balked of his prey as the creature leapt into safety beneath the shade of Athena’s olive!

This was the tree said to have been planted by Athena as

Fig. 537.

evidence that the Akropolis belonged to her and not to Poseidon. Apollodoros\(^1\) tells the tale:

\(^1\) Poseidon...with a blow of his trident on the middle of the Akropolis produced a sea, which they now call Erechtheis. After him Athena, having summoned Kekrops as witness of her right, planted an olive-tree, which is still shown in the Pandroseion. But when the two strove for possession of the place, Zeus\(^2\) parted


\(^2\) *Supra* i. 147.
The olive of Athena

them asunder and appointed as arbiters...the twelve gods. By their verdict the land was adjudged to Athena, because Kekrops bore witness that she had been the first to plant the olive. Athena, therefore, called the city Athens after herself, while Poseidon\(^1\) in hot anger flooded the Thriasian plain and laid Attike under the sea.\(^3\)

The story is related by Greek and Roman writers with some variety of detail\(^2\). But the main points are sufficiently clear. And it is the unanimous, or all but unanimous, opinion of modern scholars that this legend covers a historic fact—the attempted supression of Athena-cult by Poseidon-cult\(^3\). Or, as I should venture to put it, the intrusion of the Ionian god upon the Pelasgian goddess\(^4\).

And here we must take into account the western pediment of the Parthenon, about which Pausanias\(^5\) says simply: 'The back gable contains the strife of Poseidon with Athena for possession of the land.' This pediment at once met the eye of all visitors to the Akropolis, and in ancient times lent dignity to a somewhat barren

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\(^1\) Poseidon, despite his stormy strength, really seemed born to lose lawsuits! Similar legends told how he strove with Hera for Argos, lost his case, and in anger first drained the country of water and then swamped it with a flood (Paus. 2. 15. 5. 22. 4); how he contended with Zeus for Aigina and again lost (Orph. frag. 335 Kern ap. schol. Pind. lsthm. 8. 92 ὅτι ἐφαλοκείσαν Ποσειδών τε καὶ Ζέῳ περὶ Αἰγίνης, ἢτ οἱ καὶ μεταβάλειν δοκεῖ τιν ὁρὸν Ποσειδών, καθά ἀλλο τέ φασι καὶ Ἴσθμαίνως (an addendum to Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 487 Müller) προσαγόμενον Ὀρφέα. See further J. P. Harland Prehistoric Aigina Paris 1925 pp. 54, 81 ff.; how he disputed the possession of Troy with Athena, but was forced to go shares, and vented his spleen by flooding the land with salt water (Paus. 2. 30. 6. 2. 32. 8). But, so far as Athens is concerned, notice the orderly and decorous nature of the proceedings—the two litigants, the rival claims, the production of evidence and material exhibits, the peaceful settlement by adjudicators on the ground of well-attested priority. I should infer that the legend took shape in comparatively recent times, and I should be disposed to conjecture that the original dispute was a fight, not a lawsuit at all.


A conspectus of literary variants is given in A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1908 p. 32.

\(^3\) To quote but one recent judgment, Prof. H. J. Rose op. cit. p. 68 sees here 'a local Attic legend, which perhaps reflects the contests between a Greek (Ionian?) people, coming, it may be, by sea, and the natives of the place with their ancient cult of a Minoan goddess.'

\(^4\) Supra p. 736 f.

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\(^5\) Paus. 1. 24. 5.
The olive of Athena

rock by representing it as a bone of contention between two major deities. Nowadays the sculpture has almost completely vanished from the pediment-floor; but, so far as the principal antagonists are concerned, extant fragments suffice to prove the general trustworthiness of the fourth-century hydria from Pantikapiaon, which gives us in gilded relief a close copy of the central group (fig. 538). Both claimants are in strenuous action, Athena striking downwards with her lance, Poseidon with his trident. Beside the former is her olive with a snake twined about it and a Nike hovering in the branches. Beside the latter is his sea with a couple of dolphins plunging in it. And the vase-painter has acknowledged his debt to the sculptor by adding a small temple in the top right-hand corner, as who should say 'I owe my inspiration to the Parthenon.' Sir Cecil Smith in 1907 was able to show that the existing portions of Athena and Poseidon could be aptly superposed on the corresponding vase-figures. That is reassuring. But sundry difficulties remain. Why after producing their tokens are the gods depicted as

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1 Sir Cecil Smith in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1907 xxvii. 245 ff. with fig. 2.
2 L. Stephani loc. cit. Atlas pl. 1 (=my fig. 538), A. Conze Wien. Vorlesgeb. vi pl. 9, A. Baumeister in his Denkm. i. 221, iii. 1394 f. fig. 1543, Harrison Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. p. 441 f. fig. 44, Reinauch Rép. Vasos i. 37, t f., H. B. Walters History of Ancient Pottery London 1905 ii. 24 pl. 50, Pfuhl Malerei n. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 713 fig. 604, M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 357 with fig. 476. The olive-tree is completely gilded. Athena (head broken away) and Poseidon are in high relief. The goddess wears a green péplon and carries a yellow shield, but her lance and adornments are golden. The god is brown-skinned and has a reddish chlamys, a gilded trident, and a white horse.

C. Robert in Hermes 1881 xvi. 60—87 argues that the scene shows Poseidon attempting to destroy with his trident the newly created olive-tree, which is protected both by the snake Erichthonios and by Dionysos Διόνυς (Plut. symp. 5, 3, 1), while Athena raises her lance to attack Poseidon himself. The remaining figures, from left to right, will be Pandrosos, Amphirite, Kekrops. The vase, like the pediment, thus depicts the actual facts, of which no literary description has come down to us.

4 C. Robert loc. cit. p. 67 thought 'daß der kleine Tempel mit Stephani als Erechtheion, oder um es ganz correct zu sagen, als der Palast des Kekrops...zu erklären ist.'

C. III.
striking downwards? Studniczka\(^1\) suggested that to drive a spear into the ground was to claim possession of the soil—a piece of symbolism current in antiquity, like the modern hoisting of a flag. But the examples of the alleged custom quoted by him are not very convincing\(^2\). More often we are told that Athena strikes the rock with her lance and so creates the olive, Poseidon strikes it with his trident and so makes the salt well. The action and its immediate result are combined in one simultaneous scene. That may be so. Only, it is not what Apollodoros said. According to him\(^3\), Athena never struck the rock at all! Poseidon with a blow of his trident on the middle of the Akropolis produced his sea, but Athena merely planted her olive-tree. What, then, are we to make of her action with that spear? It looks to me as though Pheidias or whoever designed the western pediment of the Parthenon had taken an old combat-motif, two people fighting one another, and modified it to suit a new situation—the more peaceable producing of proofs, right rather than might.

Fig. 539.  
Fig. 540.

Imperial bronze coins of Athens (figs. 539, 540)\(^4\) are often cited in illustration of the pediment. But I doubt their relevance. For one

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\(^1\) F. Studniczka in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2865.

\(^2\) Studniczka (after W. Judeich) quotes Diod. 17. 17 (Alexander from his ship hurled a spear at the Troad and ἀπεθανεῖ πάντως τὸν Ἀσσύριον δέξασθαι δορεῖτην) and Serv. in Verg. Aen. 3. 46 (Romulus, captato aegypto, hastam de Aventino monte in Palatinum iecit: quae fixa fronduit et arborem fecit). But how far was the hurling of the spear an essential part of the symbolism (cp. supra ii. 703 n. 2)? The Centumviral hasta (B. ten Brink De hasta praecipua aepud Romanos signo, imprimis insi dominii Groningae 1839 pp. 1–116) may or may not be in point (see É. Cuq in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 41 ff. and M. Wlassak in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1935 ff.).

\(^3\) Supra p. 750 ff.


Mrs J. P. Shear in Hesperia 1936 v. 296 connects the contest-type of Athena κ. Poseidon (her fig. 8, 1–11) with the Athenian festival of freedom, the Niketeria (L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 235 n. 2).
The olive of Athena

thing, Poseidon and Athena are to the left and right of the tree: in the pediment their position was the reverse. Again, the coins put an owl on the tree, where the pediment had a hovering Nike. And lastly, the coins make Poseidon strike the rock, but Athena merely point to her tree: on no specimen known to Svoronos has she a lance. The inference is clear. The coins are presenting the myth as told by Apollodoros, not the myth as represented in the pediment.

Pausanias¹, when he visited Athens, noticed yet another memorial of the famous Strife. On the summit of the Akropolis, at a point closely adjoining the altar of Zeus Polieus, he saw ‘Athena exhibiting the olive-plant and Poseidon exhibiting a wave.’ It is commonly, but with no great certitude², maintained that the type of this group is attested by a series of minor antiquities³ including a silver buckle from Herculaneum (fig. 541)⁴, an imperial bronze coin of Athens

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¹ Paus. 1. 24. 3 οποίων δὲ καὶ τὸ φοῖνικος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Αθηνᾶς καὶ κύμα ἀναφαίνεται Ποσειδόνι with H. Hitzig—H. Blümner ad loc.

² Protests were raised by B. Sauer Die Anfänge der statuarischen Gruppe Leipzig 1887 p. 65 n. 233 (the Smyrna relief presupposes post-Lysippian statuary types, but not necessarily a statuary group; and the same is true of the minor antiquities in general) and in Aus der Anthropia Berlin 1890 pp. 96—113 (the Smyrna relief is abbreviated from the eastern frieze of Athena Nike: but see supra p. 581 n. o).

My own feeling is that the minor monuments in question do not illustrate the group described in Paus. 1. 24. 3. ‘Athena exhibiting the olive-plant’ suggests rather such a pose as she takes infra fig. 549, a. And ‘Poseidon exhibiting a wave’ sounds like a misunderstood motif—Poseidon holding a curled ὕφαλαστον as e.g. on a silver coin of Hadrian (Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Poseidon p. 295 Münztab. 6, 6).


The olive of Athena

(fig. 542), bronze medallions struck by Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius (fig. 543), together with sundry gems of which the most important is a late (c. 300 A.D.) cameo of sardonyx formerly owned by Prince Nikolas Gagarin (fig. 544). There is here no sign of

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1 L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pét. 1872 pp. 5 fig. 4, 134 f. (Hermitage).
2 Guechi Medagl. Rom. iii. 20 no. 100 pl. 146, 8 (Rome) and 9 (Vienna).
4 (1) A small cornelian in the Dutch collection (L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pét. 1872 pp. 5 fig. 4, 140 f.).
7 L. Stephani loc. cit. pp. 221 fig. (= my fig. 544), 222 ff. This large sardonyx-cameo of three layers supplements the central group of Poseidon and Athena with two flanking.
hostility. Athena's snake no longer hisses defiance, and Poseidon leans quietly on his trident. The two might be arranging, amicably enough, some *modus vivendi*. It was said that during the dispute Athena begged Zeus to give his vote for her, promising that, if he did so, a victim should for the first time be sacrificed on the altar to him as Zeus *Policus*. A marble relief at Smyrna (fig. 545)\(^2\) and

figures—on the left Apollon (*Δείπνιος (?)*), who rests one hand with his lyre on a tripod and holds the other with a wreath (?) towards a swan; on the right Dionysos, who rests one hand with his *θύριος* on a short pillar and holds the other with a cup (?) or grape-bunch (?) towards a panther. Clumsy, but symmetric.

1 Hesych. *s.v.* Δίωθει βάκου καὶ πεσαος τοις γράψοντοι ψήφοι. φαι δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων διαφημίας, ὅτι ἔμφαιθετ᾿ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν, τινὰ Λητῶν Διὸς δειρήθη ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς ψήφου ἐνεγκώ&aelig; ϊαὶ ἐνταύθαυς ἀρτὶ τούτον τὸ τοῦ Πολιῶν ιερὸν (καὶ L. Küster loc. 9) προτότῳ θέσθη ὑπὶ βωμὸν, Σουλίδ. *s.v.* Δίωθ ψῆφος ὅστις καλείται, ἐν ψ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐκδήρθην. Κρατίδος Ἀρχελόχοις (*frag. 4* (*Frags. com. Gr. ii. 18 f. Meineke*). ἡθα Δίωθ μεγάλου βάκου πέσαλ τε καλοτάτα, ὁ γὰρ τόπος, ἐν ψ ἐκδήρθην, Δίωθ ψῆφος καλείται, τάττεται ἐν ἄρα αὐτὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἄθλων. *Suhr. l. 147* with fig. 109 f.

2 C. Robert 'Die Schiedsgericht über Athena und Poseidon' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1882 vii. 48—58 pl. 1, 2 (= my fig. 545) a relief in greyish marble (0'83 m. high, 0'70 m. wide)
The olive of Athena

another in the Villa Carpega

Ino, who is drawing out the votes from the voting-urn. And

a bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius (fig. 546)² plays a variation on the same triumphant theme.

Athena had indeed won her victory, and henceforward Poseidon, abating his

claim to sole possession, must be content with a very subordinate rôlê, that of a

mere lodger in the ancient temple of Athena Poliás. To effect an entry into that

august abode, he had to become as like as possible to Erechtheus, the acknowledged

protégé of the goddess. The ‘strong house of Erechtheus’ seems to

have had a rock-cut cistern, which would serve as his ‘sea’ under the

respectable old name Erechtheis.³ Above this ‘sea,’ which could be seen and heard through an opening in the pavement, was the west chamber of the later Erechtheion, and here stood three altars fortunate described by Pausanias.⁴ ‘On entering the building,’ he says, ‘you find three altars, one to Poseidon on which at the bidding of a certain oracle they sacrifice also to Erechtheus, a second to the hero Boutes, a third to Hephaistos.’ Now Hephaistos we can understand: he was the original husband of Athena.⁵ Boutes too had a right to be there: he was the ancestor of the Eteboutheadai, hereditary priests of the Erechtheion.⁶ But Poseidon and Erechtheus must make do with a single altar. The fact is, Poseidon had long since been officially identified with Erechtheus.⁷ As early as the

from Aphrodiasis in Karia, now in the Evangelical School at Smyrna. The olive, here
duplicated for symmetry’s sake, accommodates Athena’s owl. The dolphin, coiled about an anchor, betokens Poseidon’s ‘sea.’

1 Id. ib. p. 50 ff. pl. 2 a rough Roman relief, probably a sarcophagus-lid, in the Villa Carpegan (Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Poseidon p. 306 fig. 8, Matz—Duhn Ant. Bildw. in Rom iii. 17 f. no. 3495), which on the extreme right includes part at least of the scene more completely shown on the slab at Smyrna.

2 Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions p. 9 no. 12 (wrongly described) pl. 10, 3; Gneechi Medaill. Rom. ii. 18 no. 79 (wrongly described) pls. 51, 1 (Bologna) and 52, 5 (Paris) (= my fig. 546).

3 J. M. Paton The Erechtheum Harvard Univ. Press 1927 pp. 169—171 with figs. 68 (plan), 106 (photo) and pls. 1 (plan), 15 (sections) identifies the ‘sea’ with a shaft about 090 m square, sunk in the rock about 175 m, within the extreme south-west corner of the building, but admits that the original Erechtheis may have been a natural hollow in the rock still visible below the floor of the large mediaeval or Turkish cistern.

4 Paus. 1. 26. 5.

5 Supra p. 188 ff.

6 Supra p. 589.

7 Supra ii. 793.
fifth century B.C. we have a dedication ‘to Poseidon Erechtheus’, and plenty of later inscriptions and texts bear witness to the blend. Now and again there is some consciousness that the two were not really one, as when in the first half of the fourth century the tribe Erechtheis sacrifices a bull ‘to Poseidon and to Erechtheus’. But then, after all, the tribe Erechtheis would naturally be jealous for the credit of its namesake Erechtheus. For the most part, the populace acquiesced in this slight simplification of theology. Peaceful penetration had as usual succeeded.

The actual olive, token of Athena’s triumph, rose from a cleft in the rock beside the altar of Zeus Herketo (figs. 547, 548). A tree of immemorial sanctity would presumably be thick-stemmed and bent with age; and as such it is represented on Athenian coins of

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1 Corp. inscr. Att. i no. 387 = Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 580 (cited supra p. 12 n. 3).
2 Supra ii. 793 n. 12, iii. 12 n. 3. See also Roberts—Gardner Gr. Epigr. ii. 469 no. 268 with n. on p. 473, E. H. Meyer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2849, Escher in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 405.
3 Corp. inscr. Att. iv. 2 no. 556 c, ff. = Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. i no. 1146, 1 ff. (cited supra p. 12 n. 3).
5 Theophr. hist. plant. 4. 13. 2 τιν γὰρ μακροβιοῦσαν μαρτυρίαν ἔτι γέ τινων καὶ ἑμίραν καὶ ἄγραν καὶ ἁ παραδεξόμενα φημασ παρὰ τῶν μυθολόγων: ὅλων μὲν γὰρ λέγοντο τῶν Ἀθηναίων, κ. τ. λ., cp. Plin. nat. hist. 16. 234 durant in Lernino Africani prioris manu satae olea, etc.

The olive of Athena

imperial date. In popular parlance it was dubbed sometimes 'the Stunted or Withen Olive,' but sometimes also 'the Citizen Olive'—a very notable name, since it assured the citizens that the Olive was one of themselves. They were astoi: it, or rather she, was aste. But this sympathy between tree and townsfolk went further than that. There is reason to think that the Olive of the Erechtheion was regarded as the life-tree of Athens, on whose preservation the very existence of the state depended. When the Persians sacked the Akropolis, this all-important tree was burnt. 'But,' says Herodotos, 'on the day after its burning, when the Athenians bidden by the king to sacrifice went up to the sanctuary, they saw a shoot of about a cubit's length sprung from the stump and duly reported the matter.' Pausanias tells the same tale, except that his olive, instead of one cubit in two days, grows two cubits in one day. Stories can grow as well as olives!

Clearly the tree was a hardy perennial, and the Athenians were well advised when they took twelve slips of it and planted them in the Akademeia. The resultant trees furnished the sacred oil for the Panathenaic victors and were known as mortai, not because they


1 Supra p. 187 figs. 98 and 99.
2 ἡ πάγκος θάλα 
3 ἡ ἀθάντη 
5 Hdt. 8. 55.
6 Paus. 1. 27. 2.
7 Supra p. 187 n. 2.
were fractions (mēre) of the original stock, but because on them depended the fate (móros) of the people. A similar life-tree was the wild olive in the market-place at Megara: an oracle had announced 'that, if this were cut open, the city would be taken and plundered; which'—adds Theophrastos—'came to pass when Demetrios took it.' Athena herself, as mistress of the fateful olives, bore the title Mórios, therein resembling Zeus Mórios. A red-figured amphora published by Gerhard (fig. 549) shows the goddess holding out her

Fig. 550.  

Fig. 551.  

Fig. 552.  

Fig. 553.

1 Theophr. hist. plant. 5. 2. 4, Plin. nat. hist. 16. 190.
3 Supra i. 196 n. 6, ii. 20, 502 n. 2. See also Kruse loc. cit., who notes that L. Stephani in the Comptes-rendus St. Pit. 1872 p. 33 n. 2 would identify Zeus Móros with Zeus 'Elaios (Hesych. 'Elaios) en Kóρoς o Zéus. Musurus cj. 'Elaios. O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 3228 would emend another Hesychian gloss 'Elabós.' Δέον λέων en Kóρoς into 'Elaios to 'Elaiosos). But Zeus 'Elaios may be an attempt to extract Greek sense from a Semitic name. R. Meister Die griechischen Dialekte Göttingen 1884 ii. 208 thought to find the Phoenician 'Eh [more correctly 'El] in a whole group of Cypriote names, including Hesych. ἐθελὴς, αἰθής, καὶ τ' ζεὺς τ' Κόραυ (cp. Hesych. 'Ελαιος, Ζεὺς τ' Θηβαις) and such titles as Ελαθή ( supra i. 517 n. 0, and Ελληνοστή ( supra i. 654 n. 4, iii. 652 n. 0). He related Zeus 'Elaios to 'Ela a headland of south-eastern Kypros (Ptol. 5. 14. 3). H. Lewy in Philologus 1892 lii. 745 and in the jahrb. f. class. Philol. 1892 xxxviii. 186 cp. the Phoenician deity 'Elamo mentioned in Philon-Bybl. frag. 2. 12 ( Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 567 Müller) ap. Euseb. praepl. ev. v. 10. 14 Ελαμον καλαμους Τύραννος (context quoted supra lii. 886 n. 0 (30)).
4 Gerhard Antwrl. Vaseb. iv. 12 f. pl. 245 (= my fig. 549) a red-figured amphora formerly with the dealer Basseglio at Rome.
The olive of Athena

olive, while a priestess (?) or worshipper (?) extends an oinochoe towards her

But the exact nature of the relationship between goddess and tree (figs. 550, 551) is nowhere recorded. Jane Harrison, never lacking in courage, and impressed by the fact that the olive is called Athena, the ‘Athena-tree,’ roundly declared ‘that at Athens... Athene herself at one period of her development was’ Athena, ‘the sacred olive tree.’ Miss Harrison went on to observe: ‘The image of the goddess was made of her olive-tree,... But this is a second step on from the time when the goddess was the tree, dwelt in the tree, her life and that of the people intimately bound up, practically identical with it.’ Those lines were written over forty years ago, and today they may stand in some need of revision. Personally I would

1 Gerhard loc. cit. notes that the two sides of the vase must be regarded as forming a single picture, in which Athena and her priestess or worshipper face each other. He cp. Achilles and Bries on the amphora by Oltos figured in his pl. 187 (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 195 f. no. E 158). In both cases the composition is illogical.

2 For Athena standing beside her olive see e.g. J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies d’Athènes Munich 1923—1926 pl. 87, 15—32 (of which 15 Athenas=my fig. 550 and 25 J. Anderson =my fig. 551).

For Athena seated beside her olive see e.g. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 87, 33—37 (of which 34 Athenas=my fig. 552). Fig. 553 is from a specimen in my collection (same dies as Svoronos pl. 87, 36 J. Anderson).

On a silver statér of Aphrodias (?) or Nagidos (?) in Kilikia, struck in the time of Pharnabazos (379—374 B.C.), the local copy of Athena Parthenos appears. She rests her right hand, bearing Nike, on an olive-tree, which stands in place of the Athenian pillar (supra ii pl. xlvi), and her left on a shield, of which the inside and snakes fringing the Gorgonion on the outside are seen. Three specimens of the coin are known to exist in London (P. Gardner Types of Gr. Coins p. 170 f. pl. 10, 28, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia, etc. pp. xxii n. 4, 117 pl. 19, 14, K. Regelung Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk Berlin 1924 p. 132 pl. 29, 669, Head Coins of the Greeks p. 35 pl. 19, 48). Paris (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. iii. 126 pl. Y, 22 (=my fig. 554), W. Lermann Athenatenpytten auf griechischen Münzen München 1900 p. 78 n. 1 pl. 2, 6), and Turin (Imhoof-Blumer Monn. gr. p. 372 ff. no. 76 pl. G, 16).

3 J. E. Harrison in the Class. Rev. 1895 ix. 89.

4 Hesych. 'Αθηναίης η αλαία και άλευ (so M. Schmidt) suggests for 'Αθηναίης—Αθηναίης, διότι cod. But M. Schmidt is content to print 'Αθηναίης η αλαία και 'Αθηναίης διότι), et. mag. p. 24, 57 'Αθηναίης η αλαία και 'Αθηναίης η άγριαλαία, Favorin. lex. p. 51, 2 'Αθηναίης (sic) η αλαία.

The last gloss recalls a curious passage of Nonnos, in which apparently Athena’s name is used as a simple equivalent of Αλαία (Nonn. Dion. 15. 111 ff. of a sleeping Indian τινη δε ψάρη κινούσα Λαμνωταίνων ἐπὶ λέκτρων | ἄροκομοι φιλοκοι εὐδίδηθ᾽ Αθηναίης | μενίζων ἄψαρων έκας ἀποτειχὼν δραπέτες). Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1198 n. o comments: 'Ελλάδος Αθηναίης, die Bezeichnung des Oelbaums bei Nonn. D 13 112 ist vielleicht ein alter formelfahrer Ausdruck, der sich ursprünglich auf solchen Zauber bezogen haben könnte.' But, in place of Αθηναίης codd., H. Köchly cjt. Αλαία—a reading since confirmed by the papyrus (Berolinensis P. 10567), which has ελαιαία—.
The olive of Athena

rather put it thus. Athena was the mountain-mother of the Akropolis. Everything that issued from its rocky surface was instinct with her vitality and must be accepted as a manifestation of herself. The rock is primary, the tree is secondary: it is the divinity of the former that makes the latter also divine.

(2) The snake of Athena.

But life emerging from the surface of the Akropolis might be animal as well as vegetable. There was a widespread belief in antiquity that snakes were the children of Mother Earth. Herodotos¹ makes the Lycian priests tell Kroisos that the snake is the child of Earth. Centuries later the same thing is said by Artemidoros²: 'A child of Earth he is, and in the earth he dwells.' Pliny³ too remarks: 'Some creatures will not harm natives, though they kill strangers. This is the case with the small serpents at Tiryns, which are said to be sprung from the earth.'

Now the Akropolis, since it abounds in crevices and holes, must in early days have harboured plenty of these reptiles, especially the Tarbophis fallax, a species that still haunts the rocks and ruins of Greece⁴. A petithex from Kameiros already figured⁵ shows two such snakes, apparently male and female⁶, creeping out of the Akropolis rock to protect the infant Erichthonios, who sits up in his basket and takes notice of Athena. The basket-lid has been lifted off by the disobedient sisters Aglauros and Herse. Scared by the snakes, they flee for dear life and are represented on the other side of the vase hurrying off to their death⁷.

¹ Hdt. 1. 78 λέγοντες οὖν εἶναι γῆς παιδα...
² Artemid. oneriocr. 3. 13 γῆς γάρ ἐστι καὶ αὐτοῦ πάλι καὶ τὰς διαρμῆσαι ἐν τῇ γῇ παῦσώρα.
⁴ My colleague Dr J. A. Ramsay kindly refers me to G. A. Boulenger The Snakes of Europe London 1913 pp. 217—219 fig. 32 (a poisonous species of the genus Tarbophis, which 'grows to a length of 2 feet 10 inches... The names Katzenschlange and Ailurophils, translated Cat-snake, probably originated from the way in which this snake stalks its prey, and suddenly pounces upon it.... Stony localities, old walls, and ruins, are the favourite abodes of this snake, which does well in captivity').
⁵ Supra p. 248 n. 6 with pl. xxix and fig. 154.
⁶ One bearded (!), the other beardless. For bearded snakes cp. eg. supra ii. 1060, 1061 fig. 914, 1128 n. 5 fig. 956. See further the interesting observations of Harrison Protég. Grk. Rel.² pp. 326—328, with the criticisms of E. Küster Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion Giessen 1913 p. 76 n. 3.
⁷ Supra p. 239 E.
The scene recalls an early passage in the *Ion*:

To earth-born Erichthonios Zeus' daughter
Assigned as watchful guards a pair of snakes,
And bade the Aglauros maidens keep their trust.
Wherefore Erechtheus' sons in Athens still
Are wont to rear their babes 'mid snakes of gold.

The sequel makes it clear that the last couplet alludes to prophylactic snakes hung round the necks of infants (*períderaia*). For the mutual recognition of mother and son at the close of the play turns largely on the preservation and production of such a gaud:

*Ion* Is there aught else,—or canst thou guess but once?
*Kreousa* Snakes all of gold, the custom of my race.
*Ion* Athena's gift, and used by her command?
*Kreousa* Copied from Erichthonios of yore.
*Ion* How is the trinket used and worn? Explain.
*Kreousa* As necklace for a new-born babe, my child.
*Ion* The snakes are here!

No necklace of the sort, so far as I know, has come down to us. Anguiform bracelets (figs. 555, 556, 557), ear-rings (fig. 558), finger-

1 Eur. *Ion* 20 ff.
3 Two specimens in my collection will serve: Fig. 555 is a slender bronze bracelet, of unknown *provenance* but exquisite Greek workmanship, representing a single snake complete from head to tail.

Fig. 556 is a thick silver bracelet, one of a pair found in a fourth-century grave at Sinope. Each bracelet ends in two snake-heads (*dáphnebeta*) with neck-markings roughly rendered.

Fig. 557 is an armlet of solid gold, one of a pair from Pompeii (Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* vii *Bzonges* 3° Série p. 190 f. pl. 92, 1 = my fig. 557 (scale 3)). Each elastic spiral is a single snake with garnets serving as eyes and a thin metal tongue inserted in the mouth.

5 Fig. 558 is a bronze ear-ring in my collection. It was found in Syria together.
The snake of Athena

rings (figs. 559—562), etc., which served the same apotropaic purpose, are common enough. But gold jewellery of the sixth and seventh centuries B.C. is rare.

with a small hoard of silver coins ranging in date from Seleukos I (312—280 B.C.) to Demetrios II (146—142, 138—132 B.C.).

1 Figs. 559—562 are gold finger-rings in the British Museum. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings* p. 150 no. 929 pl. 24 (=my fig. 559) is a Graeco-Roman ring showing a single snake coiled. *Ib.* pp. xlvi, 151 no. 935 fig. 124 (=my fig. 560) is another of the same period showing a single snake partially uncoiled. *Ib.* pp. xlv, 41 f. no. 241 fig. 49 (=my fig. 561) pl. 6 is a third of similar date, ending in busts of the two human-headed snakes Isis and Sarapis (cp. supra i. 360).

2 Examples abound in all Museums. The texts include *Anth. Pal.* 6. 206. 7. 10 (Antipatroos of Sidon) τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς δράκους, ἢ χρυσῆς βαδιῶν κόσμος ἐπὶ σφυρίων, 6. 207. 7 (Archias) καλὸν σπέρμα περσαφυρίου δράκους, Louchian. αὐξο. 41 τοῦ πέρι καρποῦ καὶ βραχίων δρακούς. ό όφεινον δοτοὺς ἀντὶ χρυσοῦ δρακούς εἶναι, Moiris *s.n.* ὑφεῖς, Ἀστικῶς τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησ σφυρία, Poll. 5. 99 περὶ τοῦ καρποῦ περικάρπια καὶ ἀφθάδες καὶ ὑφεῖς καὶ σφυρία καὶ χιλιώνας καὶ βουβάλια, ό εὖ καὶ τοῦ πέρι τοῦ βραχίων ἐπορομάξων καὶ τοῦ περὶ τοῦ πάντας, μάλιστα δὲ τὰς ἀμφιδές καὶ τοὺς χιλιώνας, Philostr. *epist.* 22 (40) καὶ οἱ ἐπικάρπια ὑφεῖς καὶ οἱ χρυσαῖ χέδως, Clem. *Al."
fifth centuries is notoriously scarce. However, it is certain that Euripides, an antiquarian at heart, is here giving the attion of an actual custom, which placed the young Athenian under the protection of Athena’s snakes.

It is tempting to recognise the same two guardian snakes in a couple of fragmentary reptiles found in 1888 to the east and south-east of the Parthenon. They are the angle-figures of a pedimental group executed in painted ábroi between 580 and 560 B.C.


E. Küster Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion Giessen 1913 p. 113 n. 0 put forward an interesting but perhaps over-venturesome conjecture (quoted supra p. 239 n. 1), viz. that the Athenian custom and its aetiological myth presuppose a primitive belief ‘wonach eigentlich zwischen Schlange und dämonischem Kind kein grosser Unterschied besteht.’ He adduced inter alia the modern Greek practice of calling an unbaptised infant δηαςτα, δηαστα, or the like. His Excellency Mr D. Caclamanos assures me (6 June 1936) that this practice still obtains in Greece, but he inclines to accept my suggestion that, in the Greek view, ‘the old serpent’ (Rev. 12. 9, 20. 2), the Devil, has not yet been expelled from the child by baptism. For the Devil as a serpent see N. G. Polites Μελέτη των τῶν Σακτίς Έλληνων Athens 1871 i. 165 ff.

Possibly the myth of the infant Herakles and the two snakes, familiar to us both in literature (Pherekyd. frag. 28 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 77 Müller) =frag. 69 a, b (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 79 f. Jacoby) ap. Apollod. 2. 4. 8 and schol. Pind. Nem. i. 65, Pind. Nem. i. 33 ff., Eur. H. f. 1266 ff., Theocr. 24. 1 ff., Plaut. Amph. 1121 ff., Diod. 4. 10, Verg. Aen. 8. 287 ff., Paus. 1. 24. 3, Hyg. fab. 30) and in art (e.g. the decorative bronze (height 097") at Vienna published by von Sacken Ant. Bronzen Wien i. 96 pl. 49. 3 (=my fig. 56j), Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 238 no. 7, or the Pompeian wall-paintings noted in Reinach Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom. p. 186 nos. 3—2) implies the existence of a Theban custom comparable with that of the Athenians. A body-guard of snakes might easily be taken for foes, not friends. But see E. Küster Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion Giessen 1913 p. 108.

3 G. Dickins Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum Cambridge 1912 i. 74 f. figs.
The snake of Athena

T. Wiegand\(^1\) held that they came from the eastern gable of the old Hekatompedon, and thought to combine them with a central trio, of which he claimed to identify two figures—Athena seated full-front and Zeus seated in profile beside her (fig. 564)\(^2\). But Wiegand's arrangement of the centre, though accepted by H. Lechat\(^3\), is rejected by more recent critics. R. Heberdey\(^4\) assigned this Zeus and the seated goddess, whom he calls Hera, to a smaller pediment, 6·60\(\text{m}\) long, representing the introduction of Herakles to Olympos. In this he is followed by G. Dickins\(^5\), M. Schede\(^6\), and the majority

\[\text{Fig. 564.}\]

\[\text{Fig. 565.}\]

of archaeologists. Heberdey then attempted to pack into the western Hekatompedon gable a central group of lion, lioness, and bull, flanked by the two big snakes, but later realised that the presence of a step in the gable left insufficient space for this menagerie\(^7\), and was content to assume a single lion holding down a hypothetical stag\(^8\). E. Buschor\(^9\), dissatisfied with Heberdey's results, combined the snakes with yet another leonine group, comprising an extant big lioness and a non-extant big lion, each at work on the body of a bull: this imposing circus he would regard

\(^1\) T. Wiegand *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 90 ff. with fig. 109 (= my fig. 564) and col. pl. 5, A and B.

\(^2\) Supra i. 2 n. 2, ii. 757 n. 1, iii. 688 n. 4.

\(^3\) H. Lechat *La sculpture attique avant Phidias* Paris 1904 pp. 53—58.


\(^5\) G. Dickins *op. cit.* p. 64 ff. fig.

\(^6\) M. Schede *Die Burg von Athen* Berlin 1922 col. pl. 1.

\(^7\) G. Dickins *op. cit.* p. 86.

\(^8\) R. Heberdey *op. cit.* pp. 109—113.

\(^9\) E. Buschor *Größenverhältnisse attischer Porosgiebel* Athen 1924 p. 4 f. fig. 2

The snake of Athena

as the front gable of an early apsidal Parthenon! H. Schrader\(^1\) is much better advised when he reaffirms Heberdey's contention that the snakes belong to the second gable of the Hekatompedon, but makes no attempt to fill the space between them (fig. 565). Dickins\(^2\) had already drawn the sound conclusion: 'At present...the central group of this pediment is unidentified.' And here, at the risk of making confusion more confounded, I cannot help remarking that snakes in the angles of a pediment, though mythological in origin, may be merely decorative in usage—a feature due ultimately to Egyptian influence\(^3\). On this showing one might suppose that the blank between the pedimental snakes was originally occupied by some simple solar device, a disk or phiale or Gorgineion.

More certainly connected with Athena is the pair of snakes, which on a red-figured pyxis at Copenhagen (fig. 566)\(^4\) are drawing

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2. G. Dickins op. cit. p. 86.
3. Supra i. 205 f., 203 ff.
The snake of Athena

doress in her chariot to face the judgment of Paris. A later vase, a gilded aryballos at Athens (fig. 567), shows the judge, here lettered Alexandros, considering his verdict in much perplexity. On the one hand, a seductive Eros points out to him that Helen is already approaching from the left with open arms. On the other hand, between him and his promised bride is set the small but threatening figure of the Palladion, while from the right comes an indignant Athena accompanied by a single gigantic snake with forked and flickering tongue. Jane Harrison more suo observes: 'The artist seems dimly conscious that the snake is somehow the double of Athene.

Fig. 567.

At Athens the relation of snakes to the city-goddess was emphasised, not only by myth, but also by cult. Kekrops the earth-born, who is at least half a snake (figs. 93 and 95), was buried in

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1 Supra i. 125 f. pl. xi. iii. 67 f. pl. xi. The theme is handled at large by P. Gardner (supra p. 68 n. 2) and, far more thoroughly, by Türk in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1386—1392 and 1607—1631 figs. 3—10.

2 Collignon—Couve Cat. Vaset d'Athènes p. 635 f. no. 1042. The older publication by J. de Witte in the Arch. Zentr. 1867 xxv. 64 pl. 234, 2 (Reinach Rép. Vases i. 402, 3 f.) is of course superseded by that of E. Kernize in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1896 xi Arch. Ans. pp. 36—38 with a careful drawing by E. Gilliéron (= my fig. 567).

3 The letters Ὅηρ visible above the maiden are taken by Kernize to be the start of ᾨδηρία—a piece of old-fashioned orthography still possible at the end of s. v B.C. The completion 'Ηπά is possible, but less probable (Collignon—Couve op. cit. p. 656). C. Robert's conjecture ἩπαΗρός (ap. Kernize loc. cit. p. 38 n. 1, cp. O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 176 f., v. 477 ff.), a goddess of Persuasion akin to Peitho (Paus. i. 43. 6), fails to persuade me.

The choice between the claims of passion (Eros) and those of honour (Athena) is all the more piquant, if the third claimant (Hera) is suppressed.


5 Supra p. 181.

6 Supra p. 186.
the Kekropion at the south-west corner of the Erechtheion, close up against the Poliochos herself, as Theodoret puts it. Here he had a hieron and a hereditary priesthood. Erichthonios, another son of the soil, was represented sometimes as an infant mothered by Athena, sometimes as a snake held by her in a basket—a pose suggestive of ritual usage. Again, there was the nameless snake.

1 M. Collignon 'L'Emplacement du Cécropion à l'Acropole d'Athènes' in the Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions 1920 xli. 1—17 (p. 13 ff.). Il y avait, contre le mur Ouest, entre la porte du Pandroseion et le soubassement, un petit édifice dont la place est nettement déterminée par la niche qui s'ouvre obliquement dans le mur Ouest.

2 A défaut d'autres renseignements sur le petit édifice, nous en connaissons au moins la hauteur...on peut l'évaluer à 3 mètres environ. Nous savons aussi...que le monument était de bois par rapport au mur Ouest, et qu'il s'engageait en partie sous le portique des Corè. Il est donc permis de songer à une construction basse et rectangulaire...

3 Le nom de Cécropion désignait à la fois le petit édifice et l'enceinte comprise entre le mur Sud du Pandroseion et le soubassement de l'Hécatompédon...rien n'empêche de croire qu'il y avait là, tout près de l'Erechtheion, un tombeau remontant à une haute antiquité, et contemporain des vestiges de l'époque mycénienne retrouvés sur l'Acropole.

4 (O.) Petersen, Die Burgtemple der Athenia, p. 36. M. E. A. Gardner suppose que c'était un tombeau voûté de petites dimensions (Ancient Athens, p. 361)). J. M. Paton The Erechtheum Harvard Univ. Press 1927 pp. 117—117 (p. 136 ff.). 'On the north side of the Old Temple was a terrace or precinct having at its eastern end something which was later believed to be the tomb of Cecrops. The appearance of this monument is unknown, but it can hardly have been of stone on the outside, since it is improbable that the Erechtheum would have been so planned as to bring its corner on a spot already occupied by a solid structure of so sacred a character. It seems more likely that only a mound of earth was visible and that it was not until an attempt was made to lay foundations that something more solid was discovered—perhaps a corner of the old "Mycenaeans" palace, etc.). Older views in W. Judeich Topographie von Athen München 1923 p. 372 n. 3.

5 Theodoret. Gesta sanctarum affectionum curatio 8. 30 (lxxxiii. 1017 C Migne) καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ Ἀντιοχος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ γέροντος ἱστορίᾳ, ἦλθεν γέροντος ὁ Κέκρως ἐν τῷ γάφῳ τῆς Πολιοχώς αὐτῆς, cp. Clem. Al. prodr. 3. 45. 1 p. 34. 10 ff. Stählin Ἀθηναίος δὲ καὶ Ἀντιοχός Κέκρως (κ. τάφος θεός), ὁ δὲ Ἀντιοχός ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Ἱστορίων (frag. 15) (frag. hist. Gr. i. 184 Müller = frag. 2 (frag. gr. Hist. i. 213 Jacoby)) = Euseb. praep. ev. v. 8, 6, 2, Arnob. adv. nat. 6, 6 in historiam Antiochii nono Athenis in Minervio memorat Cecropem esse mandatum terrae.

6 Inter. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. i no. 1156, 34 f. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 3 no. 957, 59 f. on the base of an offering dedicated by the ἔφηβος of the tribe Kekropis in 334/3 B.C. άγαγήνας δὲ τόδε το ψηφωτόν σα ἀντιοχός καὶ σήμειον ἐν τῷ τότε τοῦ Κέκρως (κ. τάφος). Inter. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. iii no. 1938, 1 ff. in a list of the Amyndridai, between 177/6 and 187/5 B.C. ἀγαγή τόχυ ἄρει τὸν Δωρίανον Παιμανήτην | ἄρχοντα τῆς πόλεις ἄρχων τοῦ γένους | τοῦ Αμυναρθὼν Δωρίωνον Παιμανήτην τουδε ἄρχων γεννήτης ἐπεδίκαιόν τινα δοκαίναν εἰ τῶν ἄνθρωπον | ἄρχων τοῦ γένους | ['Αρείος] Δωρίους Παιμανήτην άρχων. [κ. τάφος] Κέκρως (κ. τ. τ. λ., cp. Hesych. Αμυναρθών] γένος, εἰ δὲ ἐπείρο 'Αθηναίων.


7 Supra p. 181.

8 Supra p. 218 n. 5 with fig. 140.

9 Supra p. 218 n. 4 with fig. 139.

The snake of Athena

which actually lived in the Erechtheion. Herodotos\(^1\), describing the
eve of Salamis, writes as follows:

The Athenians say that a great snake dwells in their sanctuary\(^2\) and guards the
Akropolis. So they say and in proof of their words set out for it a\(^*\) monthly
offering, to wit a honeycake. This cake had always before been consumed, but
was now left untouched. When the priestess made that known, the Athenians
were more willing to leave their city, because they deemed that the goddess too
had deserted the Akropolis.

Plutarch\(^3\) tells the same tale, except that he regards the whole
business as a ruse on the part of the artful Themistokles. Other
authors add nothing of importance, and the common assumption
that the snake was Erechtheus or Erichthonios is a probability
rather than a certainty. At most we know that Aristophanes\(^4\) called
it 'the house-keeping snake,' masculine in gender and therefore not
to be identified with the goddess herself.

The original significance of the snakes that figure so frequently
in the myths and rites of Athens is by no means easy to determine.
In view of the curious\(^5\) belief that the spinal cord of a dead man
turns into a snake—\(^6\)—a belief still current in Palestine\(^7\)—it would

\(^1\) Hdt. 8. 41.

\(^2\) On the actual haunt of this reptile see supra ii. 1148 n. 2, J. M. Paton The Erec-
theum Harvard Univ. Press 1927 pp. 435 n. 3, 456, 486 n. 1 (3), 491 n. 1 (4) (\text{"It is perhaps
allowable to see in the crypt beneath the North Portico and in its probable extension
along the inside of the north wall the reputed dwelling-place of the sacred serpent...if
indeed the serpent had any real existence, and was not a mere hypostasis of the chthonic
divinity, Erechtheus (Petersen, Burgtempel, pp. 61—93')}).

\(^3\) Plout. v. Thesei. 10.

\(^4\) Aristoph. Lys. 738 f. Ælia, ὁ δὲ δύσης "γωγὼς ὃδε κοιμᾶσθ' ἐν πόλει | ἐκ οὗ τὸν ἄρην
ἐδον τὸν οἰκονύμον πατεῖ σχολ. αὐτὸ τὸ ιερὸν ὄφεως τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸν φίλακα τοῦ
ναοῦ καὶ Ἑσχυρ. οἰκονύμων ὄφεων τῆς Πολιάδος φίλακα ὄφεως. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκά
φαινε, οἱ δὲ δύο ἐν τῷ ιερῷ τῆς Ἐρεχθείου. τούτοις δὲ φίλακα τῆς Αρτεμίδος φαινεῖν, ὃ καὶ
cελατοῦσιν παρατίθεσθαι, Phot. lex. s.v. οἰκονύμων ὄφεων τῆς Πολιάδος φίλακας καὶ
Ἡρόδωτος: Φίλαρχος δὲ αὐτοῦ διό (F. Creuzer cx. καὶ Ἡρόδωτος <μὲν ἐκά
φαίνε ἐν τῷ ιερῷ> Φιλαρχος δε αυτου διο) (Phylarch. frag. 74 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 355 Muller)=frg.
72 (Frag. gr. Hist. ii. 186 Jacoby), cp. Eustath. in Od. p. 1423, 8 ff.)

\(^5\) Not so very curious, either. For there is, of course, a rough resemblance between
the cord with its tapering end and the snake with its tapering tail, as my friend and
colleague Dr F. Goldie assures me. The likeness of the vertebral column to a snake’s
skeleton is less pronounced.

\(^6\) All. de nat. an. i. 51 μάχις ἄνθρωπον νεκροῦ φαινε ὑποσημένων τῶν μεν ήπ
τρέπει ἐς δρῶν | καὶ ἐκπιέτει τῷ θόρυβῳ, καὶ ἔρπε τὸ ἀγωνίστως έκ τοῦ ἑμερωτάτου | καὶ τῶν
μεν καὶ τῶν ἄγων τῶν λείψανα ἀναπαύεται, καὶ ἔχει ἀδέν ήγκαινα, ὃς τέραν καὶ ή
ψυχή τῶν τοιούτων τὰ ἄδειμα τε καὶ ἐμφαίνετα τῶν συρόν | πονηρῶν δὲ ἄνθρωπων
μάχις τοιούτα τίκτωσα καὶ μετά τῶν μισεῖ, ή, ἐλ ταῖς ἀνένθως
πεπίστευται, πονηρὸς νεκρός, ὡς κρίνειν ἑμέ, ὡφεῖ γενέθαι πατήρ τοῦ τρόπου μοῖχον
ἡγεμόνος.

\(^7\) J. E. Hanauer Folk-Lore of the Holy Land London 1907 p. 283 'According to
not be unreasonable to regard the single male snake as the soul of a buried king. The pair of snakes, male and female, would then be the souls of the ancestral couple. In the case of Kekrops and, according to some late authorities, in that of Erichthonios the half-snake would imply the tail-end, so to speak, of the snaky tradition. Even so it must be admitted that these Akropolis-snakes are a terrible tangle, and raise problems to which at present no sure solution has been found. Who or what, for example, was the bearded snake that Pheidias set beside Athena? Pausanias says 'He might be Erichthonios.' But was Pausanias right? Again, Jewish notions, "the spinal cord of a man who does not bend his knees at the repetition of the benediction, which commences with the word 'Modim,' after seven years becomes a serpent.'

1 Supra ii. 1061, 1087, 1111 f., 1148, 1152 ff., 1174.

An amusing account of Herakleides Pontikos is preserved by Diog. Laert. 5. 89 f. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τῷ πατρίδα τιμαρισμένην ἐλευθερά, τῷ μόνορχῳ κεῖνα, ὡς φορεῖ Δαμίτριος ὁ Μάτης ἐν ὁμώνωμῳ (on this work see W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1902 ii. 1. 439). δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτος ἵστορει περί αὐτοῦ: "θρήνοι αὐτῶν δράκων ἐκ νέου καὶ αὐξηθέντα, ἐπετήρθη τελευτάν ἥμιλλε, κελεύσα τινς τῶν πιστών αὐτὸ τὸ σώμα κατακρόψα, τὸν δὲ δράκων ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης θείας, ἵνα δέσσει εἰς θεοὺς μεταβδηκήσω. ἐγένετο δὲ πάντα καὶ μεταξὸς παραπεμπτῶν 'Ἡρακλείδην τῶν πολέμων καὶ εὐθυμομόντων, ὁ δράκων ἀκούσας τῆς ἐπιβολής ἐξῆκε τῶν ἰματίων καὶ διετέταξε τοὺς πλεῖστον. ὃτεροι μὲν τοῦτο ἐξελαμφώθη πάντα καὶ ὥθησε 'Ἡρακλείδην ὁ γὰρ ἵνα ἤκουσε, ἀλλ' ὤγον ᾧγ." καὶ ἐστὶν ἱμάνων εἰς αὐτὸν οὕσιν ἔχων. "Ἡθεῖ τέρωψοι λατέναι φάτων. 'Ἡρακλείδη, ὅταν βασιλεῖς ἐγένετο ζωὸς ἀπειρή δράκων. ἄλλη διεφθόρησεν οὐκ ἔνθεμεν: ὅ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θηρὸς ἢ δράκων, οὐ δὲ θηρὸς, οὐ σοφὸς ἤν, ἐλατέ. τάῦτα (ἀν ταῦτα λεγέντα;) δὲ φορεῖ καὶ Ηππόδοτος (W. Christ op. cit. ii. 1. 85). Daebritz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 474 asks 'is the dwarf a hephaestian found in the Parthenos of Pheidias' Ende vorgetragen hatte?... Mekler Adw. zu Acad. ind. x. 10' (W. Christ op. cit. München 1912 2. 621).

The same variation between one snake and two (supra p. 772 n. 4) may be seen in the wall-paintings that decorate the lararia of Pompeii (collected conveniently by Reinach Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom. pp. 102 no. 6 (one), no. 7 (two), 103 no. 3 (one), nos. 5 and 6 (two), 104 no. 1 (one), no. 2 (two), nos. 3 and 8 (one), ep. J. A. Hild in Darmember—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 942 fig. 4343).

See e.g. O. Immisch in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1022 ff., L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 126 ff.

3 Schol. Plat. Tim. 23 D p. 948 a 17, et. mag. p. 371, 47, append. narr. 3 (p. 360, 7 f. Westermann) χριστότατος. Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 13 angiina tantum crura, fab. 166 inferiore partem draco habuit, Serv. in Verg, georg. 3. 113 draconteis pedibus, interp. Serv. in Verg, georg. 3. 113 angiinus pedibus.

4 Frazer Pausanias ii. 160.

5 The Varvakeion and Lenormant statuettes of the Parthenos both show a bearded snake (hence my restoration supra ii. col. pl. xlv.), as does Sir W. Gell's drawing of the lost Ambelokipi relief (P. Wolters in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894 xvii. 488 fig., W. Amelung in the Jahrb. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1908 xi. 187 f. fig. 69), which—unless I am mistaken—represents the Athena Areia of Pheidias at Pataiai (Paus. 9. 4. 1).

6 Paus. i. 24. 7 καὶ πλεσθὸν τοῦ διορατοῦ δράκων ἐστὶν. 'Εγένετο δὲ ὕπερθυμόνος οὕσιν ὁ δράκων.

7 Frazer Pausanias ii. 160. "He may well have been right" (on the assumption that Erichthonios and Erechtheus 'were originally identical.' But see supra p. 181 n. 1). I should rather suppose that the snake beside the goddess was the animal form of her protégé Erechtheus.
what are we to make of a white-ground lékythos from Gela, now in
the British Museum (fig. 568)? A female figure is seen standing by
a column with a phiale in her right hand and a snake in front of her.
H. B. Walters thought her perhaps a priestess of Athena acco-
panied by the Erechtheion-snake. A. Fairbanks suggested 'a simple
scene of libation' and equated the woman with Artemis. But deities
are rare on vases of this class, and Mr C. D. Bicknell is content to

Fig. 568.

Athenian Vases in the British Museum London 1896 p. 36 pl. 26, a (= my fig. 568).
A. Fairbanks Athenian Lekythoi with outline drawing in glaze varnish on a white ground
New York 1907 i. 39 f. Group A, Class ii, no. 4. Inscribed ΗΟΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΛΟ[Σ].
3 A. Fairbanks op. cit. i. 39.
4 So he tells me (29 June 1936).
The snake of Athena

suppose that we have here a dead woman ready to receive offerings in the presence of her ancestral snake. Of course the early date of our vase, c. 470 B.C., rules out any attempt to interpret the subject as Athena Hygieia beside the corner column of the Propylaia or Hygieia herself arriving with the divine snake in the newly-built Asklepieion. But why, by the way, did Asklepios ever come to dwell on the southern slope of the Akropolis? Had the snakes of the rock anything to do with it (fig. )?

A final puzzle: what did Cyprian, bishop of Antioch in the third century after Christ, mean by stating that as a boy of ten he had ‘performed the liturgy of Pallas’ snake on the Akropolis’? The empress Eudokia hitched into hexameters the recital of his various initiations and makes him say:

I wrought the snaky rites
Of Athena on the citadel.

But what exactly were these rites? We are reduced to blank conjecture.

The fact is, snake-myths and snake-cults of every kind fairly cluster round the Akropolis-rock, almost all of them in close association with Athena the rock-mother. Is it not fair to infer that

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1 Supra l. 727.
J. Tamborino in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ix. 94 concludes that Hygieia ‘schon vor der Zeit des Peloponnesischen Krieges in Athen verehrt wurde, zu einer Zeit also, wo Asklepios in Athen noch eine unbekannte Grösse war. Die Zeit, wann H. zur persönlichen Gottheit ausgebildet wurde, lässt sich selbstdend nicht genau angeben. Wir müssen uns mit der Tatsache begnügen, dass die Entwicklung im 5. Jhdt. ihren Abschluss erreicht hat.’


3 Sundry small bronze coins of late date have obv. the head of Athena, rev. ΑΘΗ and a rearing snake (J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies d’Athènes Munich 1924—1926 pl. 98, 17 Berlin (= my fig. 569), Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 102 no. 740). Is this the snake of Athena or that of Asklepios?

4 Confessio S. Cyprian (supra i. 110 p. 6) 1 καὶ οὐ Αθηναίων ἑσθήκοτος οὐ, οὐδὲ οὕς γενετότων με δια σπουδὴς πολέμως γεγένετο, ὡσὶ οὐ δέκα ἐκτὸς, εἰδοκόρης τῇ Δημήτρῃ καὶ τῇ Κόρη τῷ Λευκῷ πένθῳ ἐπιμελεί τῇ καὶ τῇ ἐν τῷ ἀκρωτίῳ Παλλάδος τῷ δράκωτῳ Πελαγοφησε, εἰς προκοπίνην τινα κάταβατο.

5 Eudok. de s. Cyprian. 2. 20. f. 'Αθηναίης ἁ' ης τόλμων ἐστίν ἐσκορμήσις ἔκα τρακων-τέστις ἦλθα.

6 Possibly we should compare διὰ κόλπων θέσα (supra i. 393 p. o. 394).
these daemonic powers drew their vitality from her? We must not, I suppose, at this stage prematurely assert that Athena herself was conceived as a snake at Athens, though I for one should not deny that elsewhere such may have been the case. An Orphic hymn does address her definitely as Drakaina, the 'She-Snake'. And on the road from Sparta to Arkadia Pausanias saw standing in the open an image of Athena Pareia. That surely can mean one thing, and one thing only, Athena the 'Adder'.

(3) The owl of Athena.

But snakes are not the only living things that slip silently out of holes in the Akropolis rock. Of an evening the owls come out. I have seen them in the dusk, and I dare say my readers have too, flitting with low undulatory flight across the roads and gardens to the south of the Akropolis. In antiquity their number gave rise to the proverb 'an owl to Athens' in the sense of 'coals to Newcastle'. Another proverb, 'an owl on the citadel,' was explained as alluding to an owl dedicated by Phaidros on the Akropolis. Ausonius describes it as that owl on the citadel painted with colours of such magic power that it lures birds of all sorts and destroys them by its stare. A colossal owl of white marble has in fact been found on the Akropolis (fig. 570) together with a couple of pillars bearing

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1 Orph. h. Ath. 32. 11: αιολόμορφος, δράκαινα, φαλάνθεσις, φυλαττόμενη.
2 Paus. 3. 30. 8 τὴν δὲ ἐν 'Ἀρκαδίας θάλασσαν ἐκ Σαρτής Ἀθηνῶν ἱστηκεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἥβους παρείναι ἀγάλματι ἐν ὑπάλθρῳ.
3 This proverb occurs in various forms: γάλακτις Ἀθηνᾶς (Aristoph. av. 301, Hesych. s.v.), Eustath. in II. p. 88, 1, f., Apostol. 5. 46, Arsen. p. 163 Walz, append. prov. 2. 33), γάλακτις εἰς Ἀθηνᾶς (Loukian. Nigrin. p. 1, f. cp. schol. Aristoph. av. 301 εἰς ἑτέρων γάλακτις ἐνθέσαντες) or γάλακτις εἰς Ἀθηνᾶς (Gregor. Kypr. 2. 11, Apostol. 5. 55, Arsen. p. 164 Walz, cp. Diog. euseb. 3. 27 γάλακται εἰς ἑτέρων δώρων, schol. Aristoph. av. 1093 γάλακτα καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς), γάλακτις Ἀθηνᾶς (Apostol. 5. 46, Arsen. p. 163 Walz), γάλακτις εἰς Ἀθηνᾶς (Eustath. in II. p. 87, 45, Zenob. 3. 6, Diog. euseb. 3. 81, cp. Diog. euseb. Vindob. 2. 13 γάλακτις εἰς Ἀθηνᾶς).
5 Hesych. γάλακτις ἐν πύλαις: παραμελη. ὁπεκεκοῦ κύρι ὤν παῦ Φαϊδρον (append. prov. 1. 76 Φαϊδρων Μεγαλίας κλ. Φαϊδρον) ἐν τῇ ἐκτροβείᾳ.
6 Auson. Mos. 388 ff. vel in arce Minervae | Ictinus, magico cui nocturna perlitus fuco | adlicit omne genus volucrum perimitio tuendo. The owl was tantamount to a Gorgoneion.
Amphora from Nola, now at Berlin:
a spectator stands before the Owl on the Akropolis.

See page 781 n. 1.
The owl of Athena

ey early inscriptions\(^1\): the carving of the bird is slight and must have

\[\text{Fig. 570.}\]

\(^1\) Corp. inscr. Att. i no. 351, Roberts—Gardner Gr. Epigr. ii. 437 no. 188, Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 579’Βορνός καὶ Ὀφριάδες ἀνεβένε | ἀπαρχέω τάθεναυ. Corp. inscr. Att. i no. 393, Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 1252, Dittenberger Syll.
been eked out by painting. L. Ross¹ held that this owl was originally perched on the pillar that bears the name 'Timotheos of Anaphlystos,' and has on its upper surface two bronze dowels run

*Fig. 571.*

inser. Gr.² no. 50, inser. gr. ed. min. i no. 651 Τιμόθ[ε]ος [Κόνωνος] | 'Αναφλύστος.

*Fig. 572.* Before c. 459 B.C. This Timotheos was probably the father of Konon the famous Athenian general.

¹ L. Ross loc. cit. This conjecture has been widely accepted, and is consistent with the known facts. Was Phaidros (supra p. 776 n. 5) a local sculptor? Diog. Laert. 7. i. 12 mentions a possible descendant in one Φαιδρος 'Αναφλύστος, who helped to build the tomb of Zenon in the Kerameikos.

J. N. Svoronos loc. cit. fancied that the marble owl was perched on the olive-tree in the centre of the west pediment of the Parthenon and quoted in support the bronze coins, which certainly show such an owl (supra figs. 96, 539, 540). But I have already argued that these coins do not represent the said pediment at all (supra p. 754 f.). Besides, owl-on-column was a familiar type in connexion with Athena. Ross loc. cit. justly compares a Panathenaic amphora, on which Athena is flanked by two Ionic columns with an owl on each (E. Gerhard Etruskische und kampnische Vasenbilder des Könige. Museums zu Berlin Berlin 1843 pl. B. 29. My fig. 571 is from Ross pl. 14, 5), and the Roman mural relief, in which Athena as she superintends the building of the Argo has at her back an owl on a round pillar (Von Rohden—Winnefeld Ant. Terrakotten iv. 1. 12 ff. distinguished
with lead (fig. 572). S. Casson¹ agrees that the owl was probably

(1) an older and better type in Louvre no. 4144 (G. P. Campana Antiche opere in plastica Roma 1843 p. 39 ff. pl. 5, E. Saglio in Darmberg-Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 416 with fig. 504, Von Rohden-Winnefeld op. cit. iv. i. 13 fig. 14, Reinauch Rép. Reliefs ii. 250 no. 4) and (2) a later, less satisfactory version of it in Villa Albani no. 181 (G. Winckelmann Monumenti antichi inediti Roma 1811 i p. (ix) with pl. on title-page, Reinauch Rép. Reliefs iii. 133 no. 1) and British Museum no. D 603 (K. Seeliger in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 536 with fig. on p. 503, Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 400 f. no. D 603 pl. 43, Von Rohden-Winnefeld op. cit. iv. 2 pl. 31). To these should be added the owl-on-column that appears before Athena in the Lansdowne relief (Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of ancient Greek Art London 1904 p. 31 f. no. 50 pl. 35 (= my fig. 576), H. Schrader in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1911 xiv. 68 ff. fig. 72, Reinauch Rép. Reliefs ii. 519 no. 2) and behind her on sundry imperial bronze coins of Athens (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. iii. 133 pl. AA, 1 Naples, J. N. Svoronos Let monnetae d'Atene Munich 1923—1926 pl. 84, 9 Berlin, 10 Athens (= my fig. 573), 11 Athens, 12 f. Berlin, 14 J. Anderson, id. in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1912 xiv. 278 fig. 23 Athens), on a bronze medallion struck by Commodus in 191 A.D. (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner op. cit. iii. 129 pl. 2, 13 British Museum (supra p. 698 n. 5), J. N. Svoronos in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1912 xiv. 275 f. pl. 15*, 5 British Museum; Fröhner Med. emp. rom. 137 f. fig. (= my

Fig. 573.

fig. 574) Paris, Gnechi Medagl. Rom. ii. 57 no. 47 pl. 81, 6 Paris), and on one of the gold medallions from Abukir (H. Dressel Fünf Goldmedaillons aus dem Funde von Abukir (supra i. 59 n. 6) Berlin 1906 pp. 15 f., 55, 74 f. pl. 3, 3 (= my fig. 575), J. N. Svoronos loc. cit. 1912 xiv. 278 ff. fig. 24. The column is inscribed ΩΑΩΜΙΠΝΩΙΔΟΚ, which, as R. Mowat saw, must be read ΩΑΩΜΙΠΝΩΙΙΔΟΚ i.e. the Olympic games held in the year 274 of the Actian era (= 242/3 A.D.). Cp. supra p. 388 fig. 24. These examples of owl-on-column recall the description in Longfellow's Hyperion Liverpool 1848 p. 79: 'the owl is a grave bird,—a monk, who chants midnight mass in the great temple of Nature,—an anchorite—a pillar saint—a very Simeon Stylistes of his neighbourhood.'

The owl of Athena

fixed on one or other of the pillars. And what Casson regards as probable is, I think, susceptible of proof. An unpublished amphora
The owl of Athena

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at Berlin dating from the latter part of the fifth century (pl. ix)\(^1\) shows a worthy citizen of Athens obviously fascinated by the uncanny bird! And well he might be, for the owl was the goddess herself in animal form—\textit{thēa glaukōpis Athēnē}\(^2\). Whatever that phrase denoted or connoted to the readers and even to the writers of the Homeric poems\(^3\), it was certainly a line of pre-hexameter verse\(^4\) describing Athena in all probability as a ‘goddess with the eyes, or face, or aspect, of an owl.’ On this showing it points backwards to a time when it was believed that Athena could take shape as a bird. Homer makes her appear on sundry occasions as a pigeon\(^5\), a hawk\(^6\), a kite or a shearwater\(^7\), a vulture\(^8\), a

\(^1\) Furtwängler \textit{Vasenmuseum. Berlin} ii. 386 no. 2993 from Nola. Height 0.33m. Furtwängler notes: ‘L. eine eigentümliche Säule ohne Kapitell (Holz-Pfeifer); davor r. ein niedriger Pfeiler, darauf eine Eule (Anathanum?). R. gegenüber ein bättiger Mann im Mantel nach L, mit Stock.’ I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for the photograph reproduced in my pl. IX. He tells me that the vase belongs to a group of local Campanian imitations of Attic ware, for a list of which see J. D. Beazley \textit{Greek Vases in Poland} Oxford 1937 p. 77 n. 5.

\(^2\) The tags γλαυκώπης Αθηνή and θεά γλαυκῶπη Αθηνή are both frequent, alike in \textit{Iliad} and \textit{Odyssey}, but always at the end of the hexameter and normally in the nominative case. On occasion we find the accusative γλαυκῶπης Αθηνή (Od. i. 156, h. Ap. 314, h. APh. 8) or γλαυκῶτας Αθηνή (h. Ap. 323), the genitive 'Αθηναίς γλαυκώπης (II. 6. 88, h. Hepha. 7), the dative 'Αθηναίῃ γλαυκῶτιδι (II. 9. 390, 11. 729, 23. 769). Fuller phrases are Παλλάς 'Αθηναίῃ (h. Ath. 28. 21 f), Δίω γλαυκώτιδι κόρη (Od. 2. 433), κόρη γλαυκώτιδι και Δίο παρά (Od. 44. 518), and even γλαυκῶτιδι κόρη without mention of Zeus (II. 24. 26). On the other hand, γλαυκώτερ can be used by itself in nominative (II. 8. 486, Od. 6. 47), vocative (II. 8. 490, Od. 13. 389), accusative (II. 8. 373, Od. 3. 135, 24. 540), and genitive (h. Ath. 28. 10). See further H. Ebeling \textit{Lexicon Homericum} Lipsiae 1885 ii. 36 and 259.

For the analogous usage of βουτᾶς τόντα Πηρ see supra ii. 444.\(^9\)


\(^9\) \textit{Supra} i. 444, ii. 384 n. o.

\(^8\) II. 5. 778 (with Hera).

\(^4\) II. 7. 88 f. (with Apollon). D’Arcy W. Thompson \textit{A Glossary of Greek Birds} Oxford 1895 p. 16 took αγυρνός in Homer and later writers to mean ‘vulture.’ But Sir W. M. Ramsay \textit{Aristic Elements in Greek Civilisation} London 1937 pp. 60–71 adduces strong reasons for thinking that the Homeric αγυρνός were ‘hawks,’ not vultures at all.


\(^5\) \textit{Oot.} 3. 371 f. I render φόνη by ‘vulture’ as \textit{supra} ii. 1122. So too D’Arcy
The owl of Athena

swallow\(^1\), and a bird of indeterminate kind\(^2\). The precise species would depend on local conditions. At Korone in Messenia, where Pausanius\(^3\) saw a bronze statue of Athena holding a crow, the goddess herself may have been symbolised by her attribute\(^4\). At Megara, where a headland projected into the sea, there was a well-

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\(^1\) Od. 32. 239 f.

\(^2\) Od. 1. 320.

\(^3\) Paus. 1. 34. 6. C. Robert in the Arch. Zeit. 1882 xl. 173 mentions among objects recently found in Italy, especially in Hadrian’s Villa, ‘eine Bronzestatuette der Athena mit einer Krähe auf dem Arme.’


A Boeotian plate in the British Museum shows *inter alia* the sacrifice of an ox to Athena. Behind the goddess is her snake, and a Doric column to indicate her temple. Before her is an altar from which flames are rising, while a bird—crow rather than cock—is perched proudly on the top of it (Sir C. Smith in the Journ. Hell. Stud. i. 202–209 (‘a crow’) pl. 7 (part of which = my fig. 577), Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases ii. 76 f. no. B 80 (‘either a crow, or a cock’), W. Reichel *Über vorhelleneiche Götterkuife* Wien 1897 p. 41 f. fig. 11 (‘der Krähe’), S. Wide in the Sertum philologicum Carolo Ferdinando Johansson oblatum Göteborg 1910 p. 63 pl. 1. 1 (‘ein Vogel’), Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 207 with n. 1 iii. 39 fig. 169). Such a position no doubt implies that the bird stands in a special relation to the deity (Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs Van Buren) in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1912 xxxii. 174 f. well compares a black-figured amphora in the Archaeological Seminar at Upsala (fig. 1 = my fig. 578) and an engraved gold ring of 400 B.C. in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings p. 13 no. 59 pl. 2) (fig. 2 = my fig. 579). In the one case the owl on the altar betokens a sacrifice to Athena: in the other, the eagle on the altar spells a sacrifice to Zeus), but hardly amounts to a demonstration of ornithomorphism.
The owl of Athena

known cult of Athena *Aithyia*, 'the Gull'. The Megarians declared that Athena once took upon herself the form of a gull, hid Kekrops beneath her wings, and carried him across to Megara². At Athens

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1 Paus. 1. 5. 3 καὶ δὴ καὶ Πανδιών ἐβασίλευσεν δ' ἔτε (so Bekker for ὁ τοῦ codd.) Ἑραθυμίῳ καὶ ὁ Κέκροπος τοῦ δευτέρου· τοῦτον Μητισῶν ἔχει ἄριστα ἐγελασιώναι, καὶ οἱ φυγώντες ἐς Μέγαρα—θυγατέρα γὰρ εἶχε Πώλα τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ἐν Μεγάροις—συνεκτίτωσιν οἱ παίδες. καὶ Πανδιώνα μὲν αὐτὸν λέγεται νοσησάντα ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι βαλάσαντι μεμάζειν εἶν ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι ἐν τῇ Ἀθήναι (so Xylander for ἡμέρας codd.) Ἀθήναις καλομένης σκοπέων, 1. 41. δ' ἔκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λεπότον κατανεῖν Πανδιώνος ἐστιν ἱρόν. καὶ δὴ μὲν ἐπάφη Πανδιών ἐν Αθήναις (so Xylander for ἡμέρας codd.) Ἀθήναις καλομένης σκοπέων, δέθηκεν δὲ λέγως ἡδίς μοι· τιμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει παρὰ Μεγαρίδων ἔχει. The relations of Megara to Athens are discussed by K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund 1934 p. 35 ff. See further A. Klock 'Athene Aithyia' in the *Archiv f. Rel*. 1915 xviii. 127—133, who notes that Leukothea too after helping Odysseus dived into the sea aithyia electa (Od. 5. 333, cp. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 844 n. 8) and that the sea-nymphs after saving the Argonauts disappeared into the deep aligkei aithyron (Ap. Rhod. 4. 966).

The appellation *Aithya* denotes some species of gull (D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 17: 'Probably a large Gull, e.g. *Larus marinus*, the Black-backed Gull (Sundevall), or *L. argentatus*, the Herring Gull (Krüper), the former being rare in Greece'), perhaps the shearwater (D'Arcy W. Thompson in the *Class. Rev.* 1918 xxxii. 94 f. with the very rash suggestion that the modern name for this sea-fowl *Pallante* (at Naples and Lucca) or *Fallante* (in the island of Giglio, S. Italy) 'can scarcely be other than the "Bird of Pallas," or Pallas herself,' while another Italian term for it, *Aitna*, may contain 'an echo of aithya'). Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1385, 63 f. καὶ Αἴθυνα ὡς εἰκός παρὰ Λυκόφρων Ἀθηνᾶ (Lyk. Al. 359 quoted supra p. 608 n. 4), ἣ φωσφόροι does not justify R. Hildebrandt *op. cit.* p. 19 in supposing an allusion to Athena's 'aetherean sive ignea natura' (supra p. 781 n. 3).

2 Hesych. ἐν δ' Αἴθυνα· οὖν ὁ Ἀθηνᾶ μιᾶς παρὰ Μεγαρίδων ἐπειδὴ εἰς Αἴθυνα ἀπεκαθέσθαι ὑπὸ τὰ πτερὰ ἔκρυψε τὸν Κέκροπα, καὶ διεκκόμαε εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα. The manuscript gives the lemma as ἀνδραθύα, a reading which, though repeated by Favorin.
of course she was an owl. Hence the appearance of an owl was hailed as an omen of victory. In the *Wasp* the old dikasts attribute their repulse of the Persians to the timely arrival of an owl:

Yet we drove their ranks before us, ere the fall of eventide:

As we closed, an owl flew o'er us, and the Gods were on our side!

The scholiast—shrewd fellow—remarks: 'He is here speaking of Athena as an owl.' According to Plutarch, just before Salamis an owl came flying from the right, perched on Themistokles' mast-top, and so induced the Greeks to follow that commander's advice. Pernyter concluded that Themistokles was a man of resource. Agathokles too on one occasion (310 B.C.) routed the Carthaginians by the simple expedient of uncaging a few owls. They settled on the shields and helmets of his men, who with confidence restored promptly defeated the foe. An allusion to this incident has been detected on a unique gold statér of Agathokles, struck between

lex. p. 643, 5 f. ἐνδαφιὰ, is clearly corrupt. Scaliger cj. ἐν δ' ἄρ' ἀθώνα, Salmisius and Heinsius Ēνδαφια, Hemsterhuisius ἐν δ' ἀθώνα, M. Schmidt ἐν δ' Ἀθώνα. The phrase is, however, out of order between ἐνδαφια and ἐνδαφιαται.

A black-figured oinochoe at Paris, which possibly illustrates the foregoing myth, is given infra (fig. 618).


3 Aristoph. nesp. 1085 f. ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπωκάμεσα ἐν ὧν θείος πρὸς ἐσπέραν· γλαυξ γὰρ Ἰμώρ πρὸς παχεσθαι τῶν στρατιών δέσποτας. B. B. Rogers. The last line became proverbial (Apostol. 5. 44 b): infra p. 785 n. 2.

4 Schol. Aristoph. nesp. 1086 γλαυκὰ δὲ τῆς Αθηνᾶς καλεῖ. W. G. Rutherford Scholia Aristophanica London 1896 ii. 474 printed Γλαικε <Γλαίκα> τῆς Αθηνᾶς καλεῖ, and commented: 'The annotator imagines a proper name derived from γλαύκως, the verb often used in explaining γλαυκώπως.' But it is much more probable that γλαίκα has here its usual force.

5 Plout. v. Them. 12.

6 Bekker anecoll. i. 232. 30 ff. Γλαίκα ἐπτάτο: παρομία ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρευόντων, ὅτι πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐν Σαλαμίνι γλαύκα φασὶ διαπῆραι, τὴν νίκην τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσμηνιώναι. Θεομακόλοι δὲ παύσασθαι αὐτοῖς, περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας ποιομένου τῶν Λόγων, γλαύκα περὶ τὸ δεξιόν μέρος τοῦ κέρατος ὀφθέραν.

7 Diod. 20. 11.

310 and 304 B.C., which has for its reverse type (fig. 580) Athena winged and weaponed advancing into the fray with an owl at her side. As a presage of victory the bird passed into a proverb. 'There goes an owl!' men said when there were obvious symptoms of a coming triumph.

If the owl was indeed regarded as Athena herself in bird-form, we can understand why the town-arms of Athens were an owl between two sprigs of olive. A good example, which came to light in 1839 at Palaiopolis (Korkyra), is now in the British Museum (fig. 581). An inscription in silver-filled letters of s. iv B.C. records a grant of *proxenia* made by the Corcyraeans to a certain Athenian named Dionysios, son of Phrynichos. It is incised on a bronze

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1 The bird which portended victory to friends naturally portended defeat to foes. Consequently the owl had also a sinister significance, on which see P. Perdrizet 'Sur le folk-lore de la chouette dans l'antiquité' in the *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1905 pp. 164-170. I add a couple of contrasted examples. Hieron ii of Syracuse was entering on his first campaign, when an owl perched on his spear and an eagle on his shield: this meant that he would be both a prudent counsellor and a powerful king (Iust. 23. 4. 10). Pyrrhos i of Epeiros was riding towards Argos by night, when an owl perched on the top of his spear: this foretold his miserable death (All. de nat. an. 10. 37). We must remember that the Argives were protected by their goddess Athena *Ωξιέρός* (Paus. 1. 24. 2: *supra* ii. 502 n. 2), who may well have appeared to Pyrrhos as an owl.


2 Γάλαξ ἐπτατοῖ (Zenob. 2. 89, Diogeneian. 3. 72, Apostol. 5. 54, Gregor. Kypr. cod. Leid. 1. 85, Soud. s.v.). Γάλαξ ἐπτατοῦ (Bekker *anecd.* i. 233, 264 ff. cited *supra* p. 784 n. 5). Γάλαξ διήπτας (Diogeneian. 3. 93).


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plate, which takes the shape of a small temple surmounted by a pediment with *akrotéria*. In the pediment stands an owl between two olive-sprays, which form a sort of wreath round her. The same city-arms reappear on a whole series of red-figured *skýphoi*. Of these over one hundred and fifty specimens are known, ranging from c. 490 B.C. down to the end of Attic vase-painting and on

Fig. 581.

1 D. M. Robinson—C. G. Harcum—J. H. Iliffe *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology Toronto*. The Univ. of Toronto Press 1930 i. 183 f. nos. 373 and 374 pl. 65, no. 375 pl. 67 list some 106 examples. W. B. Dinsmoor in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 420 n. 6 cites 35 more, and draws attention to yet others recovered from the Akropolis (Grace *Ant. Vasi Athen* ii. 47. nos. 529—537 (*Eulenskyphoi*) pl. 40).

into the period of south-Italian imitations. I give an example from my collection (fig. 582), in which the red is an opaque pigment laid on the black glaze, the idea of the potter being to produce a cheap copy of red-figured ware. Sir Cecil Smith maintained that such cups were 'made for some special official or religious occasion.' But, unless there is some further indication of solemn or sacred usage, we should be ill-advised to assume it. It would be wiser to compare the china mugs of our childhood inscribed in gilt lettering 'A present from Brighton' or the modern souvenirs of Goss ware adorned with local arms. Greater seriousness of intention attaches to a broken kylix (fig. 583) found on the Akropolis at Athens in the excavations of 1886 and referable to a date preceding the Persian sack of 480 B.C. Owl and olive-sprays are painted inside, brick-red on a black ground. But this time the potter, a young man offering as in duty bound his maiden effort to Athena, has encircled the design with an inscription: '[: ...] os dedicated (this) as his firstfruits.' Again, in 1867 the Museum at Athens acquired a cylindrical vessel of red ware, made with the utmost

1 Id. ib. n. 5.
2 Thick fabric. Height 3½ ins. The design on both sides is practically identical.
5 J. Six in the Gaz. Arch. 1888 xiii. 290 pl. 29, 9 (= my fig. 583).
6 [- -] OSANEOEKENAPAD+EN.
nicety to serve as an official chotnix or 'quart'. Half way up its outer surface is an inscription, which, though imperfect, can be read as demōsion, 'a public (measure).’ Near the first letter of this word is stamped an owl looking towards the right with an olive-branch on its left: it is accompanied by the legend Ath[......]. Under the fourth letter of demōsion, and in part concealed by it, is a second stamp—a helmeted head of Athena facing right. These two reliefs, implying small stamps or seals of excellent work, were compared by A. Dumont with Athenian coins of the 'new style' (c. 220 B.C. and later). His comparison was most just; for coins, as T. Burgon pointed out long ago, are nothing but 'pieces of sealed metal,' and

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2 T. Burgon in the Numismatic Journal 1837 i. 118.
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their types, as Sir George Macdonald\(^1\) has made abundantly clear, are for the most part simply badges of the issuing town or magistrate. I think we may go further and assert that, alike on the quart-measure and on the coins, the owl and Athena represent the animal form and the human form of the self-same goddess\(^2\).

A similar explanation must be given of the owl stamped on the bronze tickets (figs. 584, 585)\(^3\) and on the bronze (figs. 586,

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\(^1\) Sir G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 43 ff., C. Seltman *Greek Coins* Cambridge 1933 p. 27 and context.

\(^2\) Cp. the Janiform head and the double axe on coins of Tenedos, as explained by Sir A. J. Evans (*Inscriptions*, ii. 654 ff.).

\(^3\) *E.g.* *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 876 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1837 Διονυσίος Διόνυσιος έσκε Κόλλοι with initial Α and three stamps: (a) owl in olive-wreath lettered ΔΙΩΚΟ, (b) double-bodied owl between Α and Α (?), (c) *Gorgoneion*. My fig. 584 is from E. Caillemer's article in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 190 fig. 2410.

*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 900 with fig. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1864 with diagram Α\(\alpha\)ι\(\alpha\)κράτας Ε\(\alpha\)κερ (μουσείου ?) | Διονυσίος has initial Ε and two stamps: (a) owl, (b) *Gorgoneion*. O. Kern *Inscriptions Graecae* Bonnæ 1913 pl. 22, 4 gives a photograph of it.

*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 5 no. 908 b = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1877 with diagram Θεσσαλία | Αμφικτηρία καθεν (κέρδη) i.e. 'of Upper Lamptra' has initial Δ and two stamps: (a) owl in olive-wreath lettered ΗΑΘΟ, (b) *Gorgoneion*. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 50 no. 332 fig. 17, *A Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life* London 1908 p. 7 fig. 3 (= my fig. 585).

See further T. Thalheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 567 ff. and C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1931 lxi. 752 ('The Athenian jurymen's bronze tickets, described in J.G. ii, 2, 875 sqq., and *J.G.* ii, 5, 875 b sqq., together with four other specimens, on an analysis of the 30 complete specimens proved to have had the following devices stamped upon them: 12 had a circular Gorgoneion device, probably the seal of the State; 27 had a circular stamp with a facing owl between olive-twigs; 12 were surcharged with an additional square stamp displaying an owl with two bodies. The two last corresponded to the reverse types of contemporary triobols and diobols of the first half of the fourth century B.C. It was suggested that the triobol-device on such a pinakion was a voucher guaranteeing his three-obol pay for jury-service to a dikast. Probably the diobol-device surcharged on some of the tickets was likewise a guarantee of *theoric* pay.'
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587) or lead tokens (figs. 589, 590) of Athenian dikasts, of the owl branded on the bodies of Athenian slaves, and doubtless of other analogous cases.

![Fig. 586](image1)
![Fig. 587](image2)
![Fig. 588](image3)
![Fig. 589](image4)
![Fig. 590](image5)

Either a limited number of jurors took the trouble to acquire this surcharge on their tickets, or the custom of surcharging all jurors' tickets prevailed for a limited period.

1 J. N. Svoronos 'ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΗΘΡΙΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ' in the _Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num._ 1898 i. 37—120 pls. 3—6, ed. _Les monnaies d'Athènes_ Munich 1924—1926 pls. 100—103. Babelon _Monn. gr. rom._ 1. 1. 696—700. E. Cailleler in Daremba-Saglio _Dict. Ant._ ii. 191 figs. 2411 Berlin and 2412 Meletopoulous (my figs. 587 and 586) published two specimens, which have for reverse type four owls grouped about two sprigs of olive with the legend ΘΕΟΣΟΘΕΩΡΙΩΝ. They bear a curious, but presumably accidental, resemblance to a clay seal-impression found by Sir A. J. Evans in 1903 towards the bottom of the 'Eastern Repository' at Knossos and referred by him to his 'Middle Minoan iii' period, i.e. c. 1700—1580 B.C. (Sir A. J. Evans in the _Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath._ 1902—1903 ix. 55 ff. fig. 33 (=my fig. 588: scale )), ed. _The Palace of Minos at Knossos._ London 1921 i. 695 ff. fig. 518, f. cp. ib. 1935 iv. 2. 487 with fig. 410, a—b 'Early Minoan' breccia cup from Mochlos and fig. 410 bis, a—d ivory seal of similar date from Mesara—both cut into the shape of a little owl).

2 J. N. Svoronos 'ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΗΘΡΙΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ' in the _Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num._ 1900 iii. 319—343 pls. 17—20, Babelon _Monn. gr. rom._ 1. 1. 700—705. E. Cailleler in Daremba-Saglio _Dict. Ant._ ii. 191 f. figs. 2413 and 2414 (=my figs. 590 and 589) published two specimens, on which the owl appears between two spray of olive lettered ØAH.

3 During the Samian War the Athenians branded their prisoners on the face with an
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We have said that the owl, as issuing from the Akropolis rock, was held to be a special manifestation or embodiment of Athena the rock-goddess. It is, however, possible that there was a further cause for its sanctity at Athens, and one which brings it into closer connexion with Zeus. O. Gruppe has pointed out that over a wide area of the ancient world birds of prey were believed to be filled with the fire of the celestial region from which they came darting down, a fire that blazed in the colouring of their beaks or glittered in their flashing eyes. Some birds indeed got their name from their fiery nature—the *phlegias*, the *phléxis*, the *incendiaria avis*, the


1 Supra pp. 749, 764, 776 ff.


Analogous modern beliefs are collected by N. W. Thomas in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 529 sq. (‘Thunder-bird’), J. Kendell Harris *Beaumares Cambridge* 1913 pp. 98–100 (‘The Thunder-bird’), Harrison *Themis* p. 113 ff. (‘Manna of Birds’, ‘Sanctity of Birds’).

4 Supra i. 190 and ii. 1134 n. 9.

5 Aristoph. *av.* 884 with schol. ad loc. D’Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 181 suggests relation of φλέγο to φλέγω, from φλέγω, fulgeo, etc. The suggestion is highly probable.

6 Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 36 inaspiisata et incendiaria avis, quam propter saepenúmero lustratam urbem in annalibus invenimus, sicut L. Cassio C. Mario cos. (107 B.C.), quo anno et bubone viso lustratam esse. quae sit avis ea non reperitur nec traditur. quidam ita interpretantur, incendiariam esse quae cumque apparuerit carbonem ferens ex aris vel altibus, alli spinturnicum eam vocant, sed haec ipsa quae esset inter aves qui se scire dicet non invent.

Pliny’s account of the *incendiaria avis*, which, some said, appeared bringing embers from the altars, leaves us guessing. On the one hand, we are reminded of the phoenix carrying its parent’s body to the altar of the Sun at Helipolis and burning it there (Tac. *ann.* 6. 28: see further Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3450 ff., *supra* i. 341). On the other hand, the name may cover some forgotten rite, perhaps comparable with the *Scoppio del Carro* on Easter Eve at Florence. The ‘Sacred Fire’ is then struck from flints brought by one of the Pazzi family from Jerusalem in the middle ages and kept in the church of the Holy Apostles on the Piazza del Limbo. A candle thus lit is taken in solemn procession to the high altar in the Cathedral. Meantime two splendid white oxen with crimson housings and gilded horns, wreathed with flowers and evergreens, have drawn the *Carro*, a four-sided erection tapering both towards the top and towards the base and covered with fireworks, to a point on the Piazza del Duomo between the Cathedral and the Baptistry. Here it is connected by a wire with a pillar set up in front of the high altar. Precisely at noon the “Gloria” was reached, and as the first words were sung the sacred fire was applied to the pillar, which, like the “Carro,” was wreathed with fireworks. This was the supreme moment of the ceremony: with a hissing sound, amid a shower of sparks, a dove, apparently of fire, flew from the pillar along the wire—it should have reached the “Carro,” and setting that alight, returned to the altar from whence it came, on the success or non-success of its flight depending, in the opinion of the Contadini, the fate of this year’s harvest. By some unhappy chance it flew no farther than midway down the nave, where, with a last despairing “fizzle,” it became extinguished,
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spinturnix. So charged with heat was the eagle that, had it not introduced a piece of cool jet into its nest, it would positively have cooked its own eggs! Viewed in this context the name Aithyia becomes significant. It is best explained as an old participle of the verb atitho, ‘I burn’, and suggests a burnt or fiery colour. In point of fact the herring-gull is distinguished by its yellow bill, which has a patch of bright red at the basal angle; the eye too is of a beautiful straw-colour set in a frame of vermillion formed by the rim of the eyelid. Again, the little owl—Athene noctua, as the ornithologists term it—certainly derived its name glaitx from the fiery glance of

revealing itself as a stuffed bird tied on to a bundle of spuits. Immediately the spectators rushed upon it, each trying to secure at least a feather. That evening the walls were placarded with the announcement of a "Mala Pasqua," and all sorts of misfortunes for the present year were freely prophesied (Jessie L. Weston in Folk-Lore 1905 xvi. 183—184. Frazer Golden Bough: Balder the Beautiful i. 156 f.). I witnessed the ceremony myself on Saturday, 15 April 1972, when the fiery bird made its double flight in safety, the Carrs bust in fine style, and the crowd filling the Piazza scrambled for the smouldering fragments.


2 Myth. Vat. 3. 3. 4 quod vero aquilam eius deputant tutelae, quam refert fabula Jovi contra Gigantes dimicanti fulmina ministrata, et hanc dant physici rationem, quod aquila per naturam nimii est caloris, adeo ut et ova, quibus supercedes, possit coquere, nisi gigaten, lapidem frigidissimum, admoveat. unde Lucanus (6. 676) 'foeta tepfexa sub alite saxa.' addunt etiam, adeo acutum esse aquilae intumuit, ut pro fulgentissimis solis radiis numquam deflectat obtutum. matres etiam, ut ajunt, pullos suos contra solis ortum obvertunt, ut si in ipsos solis radios lumina figere sustinuerint, in vitam reserventur, si non, a nido dejecturant. unde Lucan in ix (9. 903) dicit ‘utque Jovis volucris calido quum protulit ovo’ etc. (CP. supra i. 104 n. 1, ii. 230.) elemento iugit calidissimo et limpidissimo, videlitchens eathere, illid als consecutur, quod et calore abundat et perspicacitate. Dionys. ὑπηθακ (printed in the Didot Bucolici p. 107 ff. in the form of a Byzantine epitome wrongly ascribed to Euteknios) i. 1 says of the eagle’s stone (the ἀριηης, on which see A. Nies in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. l. 704 f., Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 777 n. 1, G. F. Kna The Curious Lore of Precious Stones Philadelphia & London 1913 p. 34. J. Evans Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance particularly in England Oxford 1922 Index p. 251 a. d. ‘Actives’) ‘ἀς ἐν λήψης παραλαζουσος ἐνευφασιον, τῆς τοῦ πέπος νικεις πάντως λαμάχη.

3 Supra p. 783 n. 1.

4 K. Brugmann Grieichische Grammatik München 1900 p. 210 (cp. 8ywa and the like). Boisacq Dict. éym. de la Langue Gr. p. 23 doubts this derivation, being more impressed by the fact that so many bird-names begin with αλ-, possibly to be identified with αλλα.


its eyes. Such birds, swooping upon their prey by sea or land, would appeal to the imagination of a simple folk and might well be regarded as lightning-birds appropriate to Athena, who wielded the thunderbolt of Zeus. This is speculative, and of course uncertain. But, so far as the owl is concerned, further evidence is forthcoming. Columella, describing the rites by which the country people sought to avert wind and weather, says:

Hence Amythaon's son, whom Cheiron taught,  
On crosses hung the night-birds and on roof-tops  
Would have them cry no more their deadly dirge.

Palladius follows suit, and in his farmer's calendar, among other magic means of warding off hail-stones, gives the recipe: 'Or else an owl is nailed up with wide-spread wings.' The same cure is still popular in Germany and elsewhere. C. Swainson, a well-known authority on bird-lore, remarks: 'Owls are often nailed up on barn doors or walls. The meaning of this custom is now unknown in our own rural districts; but in Germany the peasants will tell you it is done to avert lightning. The owl, it is to be observed, is a lightning bird.' If so, we get rid of one small difficulty. It might have been thought that the divine power resident in the head of Zeus would have been born as an eagle, not an owl. But the owl of Athena, as we now perceive, was virtually equivalent to the eagle of Zeus. The equation seems to have struck the Greeks themselves in

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Modern philology supports the ancient derivation: see L. Meyer Handb. d. gr. Etym. iii. 68, Prellwitz op. cit. 2 p. 95, Boisacq op. cit. p. 120.

2 First in Aisch. Eum. 827 f., cp. Pind. frag. 146 Bergk, 146 Schroeder πῦρ πυρεύνως ὃς ἐκ φενοῦν ἄγχωμα δεξίων κατὰ χείρα πυράς ἑ (ἡμέρα)...; then on coins, gems, etc. See Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 191, W. H. Roscher in his Lex. Myth. i. 677 ff., Farnell Cults of Gr. States i. 330, and Infr. § 9 (b) ii (λ) (S).

3 Colum. de re rust. 10. 348 ff. 4 Melampous. 5 Pallad. i. 35. 1.


8 Supra p. 733 f.
The owl of Athena

Hellenistic times. Bronze coins of Pergamon (fig. 591)\(^1\) show an owl on a winged thunderbolt inscribed ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, 'of Athena the Bringer of Victory.' A similar type occurs on gold\(^2\) and silver of Tarentum\(^3\) and on bronze of Heracleia in Lucania\(^4\) and Amastris in Paphlagonia\(^5\), while small bronze pieces issued at Athens have two owls face to face on a thunderbolt\(^6\). Finally, Zeus himself has an owl, not an eagle, as his attribute on imperial bronze coins of Akmoneia in Phrygia (figs. 592—594)\(^7\) and on others struck by Alexandros i Balas at Kyrrhos in Syria (supra ii. 15 n. 5 fig. 2).

The passage from the ornithomorphic to the anthropomorphic conception of Athena involves several successive stages:

1. Athena as a bird.
2. Athena as a bird with human arms.
3. Athena as a bird with human head.
4. Athena as a goddess with bird's wings.
5. Athena as a goddess with a bird for her attribute.

\(^1\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia p. 132 pl. 27, 13, cp. 10, p. 131 pl. 27, 11 f. and McLean Cat. Coins iii. 62 no. 7680 pl. 264, 6, Head Hist. num. 2 p. 536. 1 figure a specimen in my collection. H. von Fritze in the Corolla Numismatica Oxford 1926 p. 56 f. pl. 2, 25 connects the coins inscribed ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ with the Nikephoros of 183 B.C.

\(^2\) Hunter Cat. Coins i. 68 no. 24.


\(^4\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy p. 202, Hunter Cat. Coins i. 76 nos. 96—100 pl. 5, 18, McLean Cat. Coins i. 92 nos. 642—645 pl. 25, 9 and 10, Syll. num. Gr. ii. pl. 8, 236 Lloyd.


\(^7\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus etc. p. 84 pl. 19, 5, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach Monn. gr. d'As. Min. 5 i. 174 no. 10 pl. 18, 8.


\(^9\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia pp. xxiii, 9 f. pl. 3, 3 (=my fig. 593) and 4 (=my fig. 594). Fig. 592 is from a specimen kindly given to me by Mr C. T. Seltman, who notes that the magistrate L. Servienius Capito and Julia Severa are apparently husband and wife, both holding priestly office under Nero.
The owl of Athena

The first stage we have already considered. It was perhaps best exemplified by the Megarian cult of Athena Athyia, 'the Gull.' But there were substantial grounds for thinking that at Athens Athena took the form of an owl.

We have next to note how the bird becomes human-armed. A series of moulded terra-cotta pendants found in south Italy, especially in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, represents an owl that has not only wings but human hands as well and is spinning with distaff, yarn, and wool-basket all complete (figs. 595, 596). These odd-looking objects are always pierced with a couple of holes and seem to have served originally as loom-weights. There can be little doubt that the owl spinning is Athena Ergane in her character as patron of women's handiwork.

The transition from bird to human-headed bird can be illustrated by an early Corinthian aryballos, found in Aigina and now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Breslau (fig. 597). This shows Herakles contending with the Lernaean Hydra. The hero has already cut off one of the monster's ten heads: it is to be seen above, that is beyond, the horses on the right. Undaunted by two

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1 Supra p. 783 nn. 1, 2.
3 The examples so far known are two in the Museum at Bari—nos. 2910 (R. Engelmann in the Rev. Arch. 1906 ii. 453 fig. 1) and 1881 (id. ib. fig. 3), one in the Jatta collection at Ruvo, another at Brindisi (id. in the Rev. Arch. 1903 ii. 132 fig. 1 wrongly described), another belonging to C. Hulsen at Rome (id. in the Rev. Arch. 1906 ii. 453 fig. 2), a sixth in the Louvre (E. Pottier in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1908 xxxii. 541 pl. 7, 3 (the most complete and the most grotesque)), a seventh in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (P. Perdrizet in the Milanges Perrot Paris 1902 p. 264 fig. 4, G. Fouthres in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1915 fig. 5043), an eighth in the Museum at Lausanne (W. Deonna in the Anzeiger fur Schweizerische Altertumskunde. Indicateur d'antiquites suisses. N.S. 1910 p. 46 fig. 17). I add a specimen from Tarentum now in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 420 no. 3 179, my fig. 593) and another in my possession (fig. 596).
4 So R. Engelmann in the Rev. Arch. 1903 ii. 112 f., 1906 ii. 453 f. But P. Wuilleumier ib. 1932 i. 47 still includes them among the religio-magical 'disques de Tarente' (on which see supra ii. 131 n. 1).
5 So first P. Perdrizet in the Milanges Perrot Paris 1903 p. 264 f.
6 O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 428—430. C. Swainson The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds London 1886 p. 134 records a (German?) tradition that the owl is an old weaver spinning with silver threads. Id. ib. p. 97 notes that the nightjar is called a 'Churr owl' in Aberdeen and a 'Spinner' in Wexford. Cp. G. Meredith Love in the Valley 35 f. 'Lone on the fir-branch, his rattle-note unvaried, | Brooding o'er the gloom, spins the brown eavejar.'
7 O. Rossbach Fast-Gruss... der vierzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmannen in Goerlitz Breslau 1889 pp. 5—19 with fig. (=my fig. 597) reproduced on a smaller scale by Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel. 2 p. 393 fig. 81.
The owl of Athena
more heads, which are biting deep into his shoulders, and by a large crab, which is nipping his legs, Herakles has run a long sword through two of the snaky necks, wounded a third, and grasped a fourth by the throttle. Even so he would be in imminent danger, were it not for the presence of Iolaos, who, attacking the Hydra from the opposite side, reaps three of its heads with a single pull of his toothed sickle. To right and left, marked off from each other by a flying bird, stand the chariots of Iolaos and Herakles, four-horsed and two-horsed respectively. In the former a young charioteer, Lapythos by name, holds his goad and reins in readiness for flight, while he turns his head to watch the combat. In the latter Athena had escorted Herakles. She has now dismounted and stands close at his back, inviting him with a gesture of her left hand to refresh his strength with a draught from the cup that she holds in her right. On the reins of the chariot is perched her owl; on the goad, a woman-headed bird, beside which is inscribed the word ωους. M. Mayer took this to be a variant form of ψήδος or ρόδος, an echoic name for ‘gull.’ The woman-headed bird would then be an alter ego of Athena Aithyia. But my friend the late Dr P. Giles informed me years ago that Mayer’s explanation is phonetically impossible: the assumed interchange of an initial labial with an initial digamma depends on the mistaken view that digamma was pronounced like our letter f. Dr Giles himself suggested that ωους might be a local onomatopoeic name for ‘owl,’ comparing the imitation of an owl’s hoot, which in a poem by Thomas Nash appears as to-twitta-woo! and in another by Shakespeare as "Tuwhit! tuwhoo!" I gladly accept this suggestion, especially as the


O. Rossbach op. cit. p. 14 leaves the word (Mail) unexplained, but ib. n. 1 adds that Studemund proposed a connexion with the root βαῦ of βαῦζω.

2 F. T. Palgrave The Golden Treasury London 1882 p. 1 Spring 4, 8, 12.

3 ib. p. 17 Winter 8, 17.

4 Onomatopoeic names for ‘owl’ are common in the Indo-European languages (Schrader Reallex. ii. 216b, citing J. Winteler Naturlaute und Sprache Ararau 1892 p. 10 f.), e.g. Sanskrit ॐ, Latin ululatum, ululam, Old High German ῥωλı, Lithuanian ˀ, Armenian ˀ, Greek βως, βος, Latin õ. Cp. Hesych. τυτό: ἡ γνωκές, Plaut. Men. 653 f. ME. egon dedi? MA. tu, tu istic, inquam. PE. vin adierri noctuam. que tu tu’ usque dictat tili?

J. D. Beazley in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1927 xxxi. 348 no. 8 fig. 1 publishes a red-figured amphora on sale in Paris, which shows an owl with the letters KYXY scratched just below its beak (fig. 598 from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr C. D. Bicknell).
The owl of Athena

wouš on the vase, except for its human head, resembles in all respects the unmistakable owl perched beside it. In short, I con-

Fig. 598.

Prof. Beazley cp. Aristoph. av. 261 κικκαβαὶ κικκαβαὶ, schol. ad loc. τὰς γαλακὰς οὕτω φωνεῖν λέγουσι. ὅτεν καὶ κικκαβαὶ αὐτὰς λέγουσιν. ἢτι δὲ λεπά τῆς Αθηνᾶς. κ.π.λ. (more in Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. iv. 1551 c and in F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. Lys. 760 f. ἐγὼ δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν γαλακῶν τάλαιν ἀπὸλυμαί | ταῖς ἀγρυπνίαις κικκαβαῖς (κυκλών ἀεὶ). and the modern Greek κουκουβαγία, κούκκος (where, however, we have to reckon with assimilation to the note of the cuckoo (Schrader Reallex., ii. 216 b f.)). I would rather illustrate the grafito KYYY from Browning’s line in Andrea del Sarto ‘The cue-owls speak the name we call them by.’

E. Pernice ‘Ein korinthischer Pinax’ in the Festschrift für Otto Benndorf Wien 1898
ceive that the Corinthian potter has here synchronised in an
instructive series three distinct stages in the evolution of Athena—
the ornithomorphic, the semi-ornithomorphic, and the anthropo-
morphous. Another Corinthian aryballos, in the Karlsruhe collection

Fig. 599.

pp. 75—80 with fig. (= my fig. 599. Scale 11) puts together four fragments of a Corinthian pínax at Berlin (Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin i. 76 no. 683, 78 no. 757, 89 f.
os. 821 and 829 'Stil des Timonidas'), on which a man named Λόκησ stokes a potter's
oven. Before it stands a small ithyphallic figure of the sort known as βασκαννος
Bekker anecd. i. 30, 5 ff.), here named Λαν— (?) cp. λακαστής, λακαστής, or the like.
Upon it is perched a large owl named φώκα (Roehl Inscr. Gr. ant. no. 20. 69, F. Blass
in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inschr. iii. i. 66 no. 3119 h 69 Φώκα or φώκα, Inscr. Gr.
Pind. i no. 313 φώκα), cp. Hesych. φοικίων· ἄρσις πουβ. The word, like φώκη 'a seal,'
may be a derivative of the Indo-European *phōu- 'to blow, puff': so φως (Prellwitz
if not also our puffin (but see E. Weekley An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English
London 1921 p. 1166).

It is interesting to see the same three stages combined on a red-figure kyłix potted
by P ampaso, found at Todi, and now preserved in the Villa Giulia (G. Bendinelli in the
Mon. d. Linz. 1916 xxiv. 874—880 pls. 3 and 4 (= my fig. 600), Hoppin Red-fig. Vases
ii. 304 no. 19 bis fig., Corp. vas. ant. Villa Giulia iii i. c pl. 25, 2 and 3. pl. 26, 2 with
text p. 13 by G. Q. Giglioli), which represents another exploit of Herakles. While the
hero wrests the tripod from Apollo, Iolaos holds in readiness his four-horsed chariot and
Athena advances to his aid at once as owl, as human-headed bird, and as goddess. By
this time, however, the human-headed bird has ceased to be conceived as an owl or
labelled as such and has become a commonplace soul-bird of the Seiren sort (G. Weicker
in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 617 ff.).
The owl of Athena
The owl of Athena

(fig. 601), represents a human-headed bird wearing a helmet. This can hardly be, as G. Weicker supposes, the soul of a valiant warrior; for in that case it would, according to custom, have been bearded. Rather, it is Athena herself, no longer a bird, not yet a goddess.

This transitional conception lay dormant for centuries, while Greek art was in its prime, and then—like so many other half-forgotten ideas—awoke to a new lease of life in imperial times. Certain rare bronze pieces of small size—whether coins (kollyboi, kollyba) or counters we cannot say—were struck at Athens in the Roman period and have as their reverse device an owl en face with a female helmed head (figs. 602, 603). The archaistic legend

\[ \text{Fig. 601.} \]

\[ \text{Fig. 602.} \text{Fig. 603.} \]

\[ \text{AŒ} \] (fig. 602) suggests that we are here concerned with the restoration of an ancient type though, except for the aryballos just mentioned, no prototype is known. Again, denarii of the gens Valeria, issued by L. Valerius Acisculus in the year 46–45 B.C., show for reverse a human-headed bird with helmet, shield, and

1 Winnefeld Vasensamml. Karlsruhe p. 16 no. 81 from Siana in Rhodes.
2 G. Weicker Der Siedenvogel Leipzig 1901 p. 38 fig. 15 (= my fig. 601).
3 Id. ib. p. 137 ff.
4 Babelon Monn. gr. rom. i. 1. 466, K. Regling in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 1099 f.
5 E. Beulé Les monnaies d’Athènes Paris 1858 p. 391 with figs. (= my figs. 602, 603).
6 C. III.
The owl of Athena

spear (fig. 604)\(^1\) or more often spears (figs. 605, 606)\(^2\). C. Lenormant\(^3\) and, after him, E. Babelon\(^4\) ingeniously explained this as a black eagle named *Valeria*\(^5\). But F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller\(^6\), followed by M. Bahrfeldt\(^7\), observe that the feathers of the bird are spotted as in some species of owls. There can then be little doubt but that here too we see Athena as a quasi-bird. The same type, with sundry variations, occurs on a series of engraved gems and pastes of Roman date (figs. 607, 608)\(^8\), which were probably sup-

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2 Babelon, *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 519 f. no. 18 wrongly described with figs. of two spears crossed and two spears parallel. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 535 nos. 4106 pl. 53, 5 and 4107 with two spears crossed, i. 536 no. 4108 pl. 53, 6 (= my fig. 606) with two spears parallel. Fig. 605 is from an example in my collection.

3 C. Lenormant in the *Novis. Ann.* 1838 ii. 142 ff. pl. 4, 2 with two spears parallel.


8 Brit. *Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 248 no. 2484 pl. 28 a black jasper from the Towneley collection: bird to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and one spear; inscribed with the owner’s name CHARITO (my fig. 607 is enlarged (†) from T. Panofka, *Gemmen mit Inschriften Berlin* 1852 pl. 103 pl. 4, 12 (= *Abb. d. berl. Akad.* 1851 Phil. hist. Classe p. 487 pl. 4, 12)).
posed to bring good luck to their wearers, and is even found in the form of small bronze statuettes (figs. 609, 610) presumably designed to serve a like practical purpose. A refinement upon the owl-Athena was the cock-Athena, whose very absurdity would raise

(2) Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems p. 248 no. 2485 pl. 28 (where it is wrongly numbered 2488) a burnt agate from the Townley collection: bird to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and two spears parallel.

(3) J. H. Middleton The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings London 1892 p. 87 no. F 10 a pale blue paste: bird (‘Siren’) to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield with Gorgoneion and two spears parallel. Fig. 608 is from a cast of the original (scale 3).

(4) Furtwängler Geschnitt. Steine Berlin p. 147 no. 3340 pl. 27 a cornelian: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield with Gorgoneion (Furtwängler ‘mit Gorgoneion auf der Brust’) and two spears parallel; the owl stands on palm-branch and wreath.

(5) Id. ib. p. 219 no. 5928 pl. 40 a brown paste: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and spear.

(6) Id. ib. p. 264 no. 7690 pl. 55 a red jasper: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, shouldering a spear (id. Ant. Gemmen 1 pl. 46, 30, ii. 222).

(7) Furtwängler Geschnitt. Steine Berlin p. 317 no. 8660 pl. 61 a bloodstone: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying two spears parallel (Furtwängler ‘Doppelflöte unter dem I. Flügel’); the owl stands on a Gorgoneion, flanked by helmet and snake on the right, shield (?) and spear (?) on the left.

(8) P. S. Bartoli Museo Odescalchi Rome 1752 ii. 70 f. pl. 30 a bloodstone: owl to left, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and spear; the owl stands on a Gorgoneion; to the left is an olive-spray, to the right a pillar, on which is set a one-handed vase, and to which is bound a quiver.

(9) F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen Leipzig 1889 p. 161 pl. 26, 61 an onyx at Vienna (no. 1667): owl to left, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and spear; the owl stands on a round base probably meant for a kôsté.

(10) Eid. ib. p. 161 pl. 26, 62 a cornelian in the Postolacca collection at Athens: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and spear.

See further G. Weicker Der Seeleuwendung Leipzig 1902 p. 35 n. 1.

1 Reinach Rép. Stat. iii. 207 no. 1 a bronze at Avignon: owl, with helmeted head of Athena.

Id. ib. no. 2 a bronze in the Bourguignon collection (Collection d’antiquités grecques et romaines provenant de Naples Paris 1901 pl. 6, 206): owl, with helmeted head of Athena.
The owl of Athena

a laugh and so heighten the prophylactic effect. A bronze in the Castellani collection (fig. 611) represented the goddess as a cock with human face, wearing by way of helmet the skin of a cock's head complete with comb, wattles, and beak. This singular fowl, perched on a winged skull, perhaps betokens the victory of vigilance over death or points some equally edifying moral.

Fig. 611.

The fourth stage in the evolution of Athena is that in which she appears as a goddess with the wings of a bird. It has indeed been maintained that the conception of a winged Athena is not found on Greek soil till the Hellenistic age and should be explained as a case of late syncretism—Athena and Nike rolled into one. But

1 Cp. the numerous examples of Athena's head wearing a helmet with the features of Sokrates, Silenos, etc. (Reinach *Pièces Gravées* pl. 74, 75, and 30), often misnamed *grylli* (J. H. Middleton *The Engraved Gems of Classical Times* Cambridge 1891 Append. p. xx, E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1480 f., Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 113 f. 288, 353, 363).

2 *Castellani Sale Catalogue* Paris 1884 p. 43 no. 262 with fig. on p. 44 (= my fig. 611: scale 1/2). Height 0'17m.

3 A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 704.
that is seriously to underrate both the quantity and the quality of the evidence for an Athena winged in her own right.

On the one hand, a winged Athena is familiar enough in Etruscan art. A cornelian scarab of careful archaic style shows the goddess without helmet, but with spear and aigis and two well-marked wings on her back. A bronze in the Museo Gregoriano (fig. 612) again represents her with wings: this time she wears a helmet and an aigis decorated with a Gorgoneion, apparently viewed as the sun, a crescent moon, and sundry stars. Her

Fig. 612.

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2 Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 157 f. pl. 20, 210 e, Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 16, 12, ii. 30, 76.

3 E. Gerhard Über die Gottheiten der Etrusker Berlin 1847 p. 61 pl. 4, 1 (=my fig. 612), G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1928 with fig. 5075.

4 Supra i. 393 with fig. 212. E. Gerhard, however, loc. cit. says 'ein Mondgesicht (Gorgoneion)' and is followed by G. Fougères loc. cit. 'le symbole de la lune en guise de Gorgoneion.' Cp. Epignenes περὶ τῆς Ὀρφείας πολέμου (Orph. frag. 33 Kern: supra p. 322 n. 3) cf. Clem. Al. str. 5, 8 p. 360, 17 f. Stählin καὶ "Γοργόνων" τὴν σελήνην διὰ τὸ ἐν υἱίῳ πρόσωπον, and Hippol. ref. λαερ. 4. 35 p. 102 Duncker—Schneiderin where Hekate is invoked on a moonless night as Γοργώ καὶ Μορσίλ καὶ Μήση καὶ ἔλαμβορφα
right hand supports an owl, her left rests on her hip. A similar bronze, which once formed the handle of a patera, passed from the Gréau\(^1\) into the Hoffmann\(^2\) collection and is now in the Louvre (fig. 613)\(^3\): Athena’s right hand raises her cheek-piece, her left holds a broken rod bearing the owl. Again, a bronze candelabrum from Chiusi, formerly owned by G. P. Campana and then by A. Castellani, is topped by the statuette of a winged Athena, who wears a helmet with cheek-pieces up and an aigis with Gorgoneion: her right hand is empty, her left carries a naked infant (fig. 614)\(^4\). Lastly, on the bronze mirrors of Etruria Athena is often winged\(^5\).

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\(^2\) W. Fröhner Collection Hoffmann Paris 1888 no. 376.

\(^3\) De Rüdler Cat. Bronzes du Louvre ii. 138 no. 3024 pl. 106 (= my fig. 613), Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 297 no. 3.


\(^5\) Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iii pls. 36, 1—9, 69, 87, 134, 146, 246 (owl as shield-sign), 254 A, 3, iv pls. 286, 2, 395, v pl. 61, 2.
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On the other hand, Ionian art of the sixth century B.C. does not hesitate to equip the goddess with wings. A scarab in banded onyx, set in a gold bezel attached to a bronze ring, came from Amathous to the British Museum and shows (fig. 615) Athena standing towards the right. Two recurved wings start from her back. Her breast is full and prominent. One hand grasps a spear, the other holds up her chiton. Behind her back are visible the snakes of her aigis and a Seilenos-mask, which appears indeed to form part of her crested helmet, but is better explained as her Gorgoneion seen in profile. Behind her feet are three lines of doubtful meaning. Again, a white-figured sarcophagus from Klazomenai, now at Berlin, has a frieze of late sixth-century style, in which a central Athena standing to the left with round shield and four recurved wings is flanked by two warriors with horses and hounds. Lastly, the west frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (c. 525 B.C.) represents Athena setting foot on a chariot drawn by four winged horses, but pausing to adjust a large aigis on her shoulders. The goddess herself had recurved wings of the archaic sort: the end of one is still visible in the relief; the other was originally added in paint on the background.

Attic black-figured vases tell the same tale. A fine sixth-century bowl in the Faina collection at Orvieto (fig. 617) has

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1 Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 6, 56, ii. 30, 76, iii. 93, 98, 115. Lippold Gemmen pl. 20, 5 (enlarged) p. 170, Brit. Mus. Cat. Gemm p. 53 pl. 437 pl. 8. My fig. 615 is drawn (scale 1/2) from a cast kindly supplied by Mr E. J. Forsdyke.
2 Supra p. 225 n. 1 sub jun.
3 J. D. Beazley The Lewis House Collection of Ancient Gems Oxford 1920 p. 8. 'The helmet...is stated by Furtwängler to have a mask of silenesque type attached behind; but the mask belongs to the aegis and not to the helmet' (cp. ib. p. 19 f. no. 26 pl. 2). That is right: yet, Beazley's suggestion notwithstanding, G. Lippold and H. B. Walters loc. cit. still see what Furtwängler saw.
4 H. B. Walters loc. cit. says: 'In the field, three drops of blood (?)'. Snakes of aigis? Extra wings begun but left unfinished?
5 R. Zahn in the Ant. Denkm. ii. 5. 10 pl. 58 (part of which = my fig. 616), id. in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1908 xxlii. 169—180, Pfühl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 165 ff., iii. 31 fig. 140, M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 132 fig. 221.
6 C. Picard and P. de la Coste-Messelière in the Fouilles de Delphes iv. 2. 130 ff. pl. 7—8, 1 (with statement and criticism of previous views).
The owl of Athena

Fig. 616.

Fig. 617.
The owl of Athena

for obverse and reverse type an Athena advancing towards the right between two prophylactic eyes. On both sides she wears helmet, chiton, and himation. But, whereas the one design shows her wingless, with shield and spear, the other shows her winged and bearing an outstretched aigis. Similar curled oriental wings are given to Athena on a small amphora found in Etruria and

now in the Louvre.¹ The goddess, wearing a high-crested helmet and carrying a spear, is seated on a folding-stool: her owl is beside her, perched on the tip of her left wing. Finally, on an oinochoe from Kameiros in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (fig. 618)² we see Athena, armed with a spear and a long-crested Corinthian helmet, winging her way through the air as she bears

² De Riedesel Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat. i. 172 f. no. 260 fig. 23 (= my fig. 618).
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a dead warrior (? Kekrops\textsuperscript{1}) across the sea. Her protective air recalls Aischylos\textsuperscript{2} phrase at the end of the *Eumenides*: ‘them that shelter beneath the wings of Pallas the Father honoureth.’ Yet the same poet\textsuperscript{3} in the same play makes Athena come from Troyland ‘without wings, flapping but the *aigis*-fold.’ Clearly

\begin{center}
\textbf{Fig. 619.}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{1} This is possible, but far from certain. On the one hand, the representation suits the myth of Athena *Athea* (\textit{infra} p. 783 f.). On the other hand, the myth does not say that Kekrops was actually dead when carried off by Athena to Megara; and, unless we accept Pausanias’ assumption (\textit{i. s. 3}) that there were two kings named Kekrops, we should expect him to be serpentine form (\textit{infra} pp. 181, 186 ff., 770, 773).

\textsuperscript{2} Aisch. *Eum.* 1001 f. Παλλάδας δ’ υπὸ πτερῶν | ὑπὸ ἄρες τὴν πατήρ.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Id. ib.} 404 πτερῶν ἀτερ ροιπθῶν κόλπον αἰγίδοι. The expression πτερῶν ἀτερ suggests that Athena had only recently shed her wings (I am indebted for the observation to Miss D. Lamb of Newnham College: see also Harrison *Proleg. Grk. Rel.*\textsuperscript{2} p. 306 f.).
Aischylos, like the painter of the Orvieto bowl, could think of her either as winged or as wingless.

During the fifth century, when humanising tendencies were rife, Athena ceased to be treated at will as a semi-bird. We have reached the point at which Nike split off from Athena Nike and went her own winged way, leaving the older goddess wingless. But just here we encounter an obvious difficulty. If Nike with wings was indeed an abstraction from Athena Nike¹, how is it that Athena Nike had no wings, was indeed so notoriously 'wingless' that she came to be known as Nike Αἴπτερος²? The texts describe her cult-effigy as a xoanon without wings, holding a pomegranate in its right hand, a helmet in its left³. It was in all probability seated, for an Attic oinochoe of the later black-figured style, now at Altenburg and

¹ So Harrison Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. p. 366 'From Athene Polias, invoked as Athene Polias Nike, the personality of Nike separated off and developed attributes of her own, impossible when she was only a form of Athene. Such an attribute were her wings' etc., A. Baudrillart Les divinités de la Victoire en Grèce et en Italie d'après les textes et les monuments figurés Paris 1894 p. 7 'Simple don ou attribut d’Athéna, elle se détache d'elle, prend une personnalité distincte, et apparaît bien réellement comme la seconde personne d’une sorte de dualité,' ib. p. 13 'C’est donc vers le commencement du cinquième siècle qu’a dû s’achever la séparation progressive de Niké d’avec Athéna et la conquête de son indépendance, fait qui d’ailleurs n’empêche point l’antique Athéna-Niké de subsister.'

² E. E. Sikes, who does not accept this view, argues that 'if Nike is to be regarded as an abstraction from any greater deity, she must be an abstraction from Zeus' ('Class. Rev. 1895 ix. 112'). Mr Sikes' criticism is approved by H. Bulle in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 310. See, however, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1666 n. 3 (id. Myth. Litt. 1908 p. 566) 'Athens Beziehungen zu Nike scheinen alt, älter als die spezifisch attische Kultur: darauf weist, dass Nike T. des Pallas und der Styx heisst, Hsd. Θ 384 [383 ff. Στέξ δ’ ἕτεκε Στενακόν θυάτηρα Πάλλωμεν μεγίστα | Ζῆλω και Νίκην καλλίφωρα ἐν μεγάρων | καὶ Κράτος ἔδωκε ωρίζετες μεγαρῳ τετέκτα | τῶν οὐκ ἔτι ἀπάντηθαι Διὸς δόμω, οὐδὲ τι ἐδρήσαι, | οὐδ’ ὁδὸν, ὑπηκ αἰτίας ὑπὶ ἡγεμονίας, | Διὸ ταῦτ’ ἀν ἔρημος μαρωνίτης ἑκατονταῖοι. k.t.l.' But in 384 codd. d.G.H.K.L. read νεὶκον. An leg. Nekion? Nike is elsewhere personified as the equivalent of Ἑρα (Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. v. 1502 c, H. Stuart Jones in the new Liddell and Scott p. 1162), cp. 783 Νεῖκες καὶ σκότος, and the sinister sense is perhaps more appropriate to a sister of Ζηλος, Κράτος, and Βίος. This Pallas will be from Dion. Hal. 1 33 dem Lykaonsohn gleichgestellt, der die Athena auferzogen habe, sodass diese Milchschwester oder Jugendgespielin der Nike wird. Hier scheinen attarkische Ueberlieferungen wenigstens mithbenutzt.'

hitherto unpublished, shows Athena seated with a helmet on her head and a pomegranate in her left hand (fig. 619)\(^1\). A white-ground *lékythos* by a minor painter of the middle archaic period, about 480 B.C., gives head and hand only, helmet and pomegranate being the essential points (fig. 620)\(^2\). The head is simply copied from the current coinage of Athens—its position in profile to the right, its scroll-pattern, its neck-plate, its leaves to commemorate Marathon\(^3\)—unless of course both vase and coins are copies of the cult-statue. Replicas of this vase exist, for the type was

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\(^1\) A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 689, *id. Masterpieces of Gr. Sculpt.* p. 448 n. 5. I am much indebted to Dr F. Matz of the Staatliches Lindenau-Museum at Altenburg for most kindly sending me the photograph of vase no. 203, from which my fig. 619 was made.


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plainly popular. In fact, some seventy years later, in 409 B.C., Sophokles in his *Philoktetes* can still make Odysseus invoke the same goddess:

'Nike Athena Poliás, saviour mine.'

On the whole, the available evidence seems to point to the following conclusions. The worship of Athena on the Nike-bastion was of ancient date. The goddess as an earth-mother was represented by a seated statue—Athena Poliás—holding a pomegranate, symbol of fruitfulness or life renewed. At some period of warlike achievement, say that of Marathon, the helmet was added and the

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1 An almost identical *idion* is published by W. Fröhner Burlington Fine Arts Club: *Catalogue of objects of Greek ceramic art* London 1888 p. 57 f. no. 135 with pl. (no pomegranate visible). And J. D. Beazley locc. cit. notes a red-figured replica at Bonn.


3 H. Bulle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 311 concludes with regard to this cult: 'Er ist als ein altershaimischer anzusehen und zwar gerade auch wegen des ungewöhnlichen und altertümlichen Attributs des Granatapfels.' This sensible conclusion is substantiated by the recent excavations carried out by N. Balanos beneath the temple of Athena *Nike* (E. P. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 145—147 with 4 figs.: 'The work of taking down the Nike bastion is continuing. The temple itself has been entirely removed except for the foundations and lower step on the north side which it is hoped may be left undisturbed, as well as the north face of the bastion. Just inside the north foundation wall of the marble temple, blocks of an earlier, probably post-Persian, poros temple, were found *in situ.* This is orientated with the altar and bases found by Welter in the space between the marble temple and the Propylaea. The Turkish cistern which had been cut in the centre of the bastion had destroyed most of this earlier temple and no one had been sure of its existence').

4 *Supra* p. 574 n. o.

5 The significance of this pomegranate has been much discussed. O. Benndorf 'Ueber das Cultusbild der Athena *Nike* in the *Festschrift zur 50jähr. Gründungsfest des deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Rom* Wien 1879 pp. 17—47 conjectured that Kimon organized the cult and built the temple of Athena *Nike* after the great Athenian victory on the Eurymedon (467 or 466 B.C.), and that he introduced the art-type of the goddess from the neighbouring town of Side in Pamphylia: σιδό means 'pomegranate' and coins of Σιδό from s. ν onwards show a pomegranate, Athena, and Nike, though not Athena or Nike actually holding a pomegranate (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia*, etc. p. 143 ff. pl. 25, 7 ff.; *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 510 ff. pl. 58, 6 ff.; *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 262 ff. pl. 317, 1 ff.; *Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 535 ff. pl. 24, 4 ff., ii. 2. 931 ff. pl. 142, 6 ff., *Head Hist. num.* p. 703 f.). But this ingenious hypothesis has to face two serious objections: (1) An inscription published by F. Kabbadas in the *Ekphr. Ἀρχ.* 1897 p. 173 ff. pl. 11 (Michel *Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 671, A., Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 63, α, *Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 24), which can be dated by its lettering to the period 460—446 B.C. and by the name Ἀθηναῖος, sc. son of Kallias, to the year 448 B.C., records a proposal (line 4 ff.) [τὰ Ἀθηναίαι τέι Νικαί] ἡ περπατάν ἡ ἐγὼ δέ [α βίο ἡμῶν] ἔχει Ἀθηναίων λατρείαν διὰ καθοσαθαθα καὶ τὸ λειπόν θυράσα, καθαὶ ἐν Καλλικράτες χαραγγράφον ἀπομεθεοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐκ τῆς Δεοτηρίδος προτεκαλο- φέρον δὲ τέι τῶν χρώματα παρακολουχία καὶ τὰ σκέλη, καὶ τὰ ἑρματα φέρον τῶν δεμάχων νήμα δὲ οἰκοδομεῖσα καθαὶ | ὡς Καλλικράτες χαραγγράφος καὶ βοῶν λιθῶν. (2) For some unknown reason the matter was long delayed. Indeed the architecture and sculpture of the existing temple are carried out in a style which points to a date c. 425 B.C. (Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gr. Sculpt.* p. 442 ff.). In that year the Athenians won
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successes against the Ambraciotes and their Peloponnesian allies at Olpai, the Corcyraean insurgents on Mt Istone, and the inhabitants of Anaktorion. They testified their gratitude by dedicating a fresh statue of Athena Nike, and this in turn was restored at some date between 350 and 370 B.C. (Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 403, a; Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 2 no. 264, a). These considerations have led to a summary rejection of Benndorf’s hypothesis (E. Curtius in the Arch. Zeit. 1879 xxxvii. 97, C. Robert in U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff Aus Kythaken Berlin 1880 p. 184 n. 1, R. Kekulé Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike Stuttgart 1881 p. 25, A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 689, H. Bulle ib. iii. 310 f., Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.

Fig. 621.

ii. 99 n. 1, W. Judeich Topographie von Athen München 1931 pp. 218 n. 1, 272 n. 2), and indeed it is clear that Kimon cannot have had any hand in the building or equipping of the extant temple. It might, however, be contended that he built and equipped an earlier structure on the same site, especially in view of the ‘post-Persian’ blocks of phryg found by N. Balanos (supra p. 813 n. 3). Even so it remains highly improbable that the cult of Athena Nike was introduced from Pamphylia, or that the pomegranate in her hand was a piece of canting heraldry.

Assuming then, as we have every right to do, that the pomegranate in Athena’s hand was an ancient symbol, we have next to discover the nature of the symbolism. The Greeks were struck by two characteristics of the fruit—its red colour and its numerous seeds (cp. Kallim. Ias. 27 f. of Athena’s toilet before the Judgment of Paris τὸ δ’ ἔρισθος ἄνθρακες, πρῶαν ὤδεν ἥ δόκησαν κόκκοις θείοι χόραι). The first certainly suggested blood (Artemid. anēkata. 75 ἄνδρα δὲ τραυμάτων ἑκοι ἵππων τῇ κολώνῃ). The second possibly suggested fertility (Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gr. Sculpt. p. 445, Farnell Cults of Gr. States ii. 656 n. 7), though of this we have no definite proof (yet P. Saintyves Les Vierges Mères et les Naissances Miraculeuses Paris 1908 p. 94 remarks that pomegranates occur in a Florentine spell against sterility in women). The two
The owl of Athena

together seem to have betokened the renewal of life after death. And this would agree
well enough with the observed habits of the tree (Theophr. Hist. pl. 4. 13. 3 tnv δὲ
γεμάκαι μὲν καὶ σφιταί ταχέως, παραβιβλαστάνει δὲ πάλιν εἰ τῶν αὐτῶν, ὅπερ αἱ δάφναι
cαὶ ταῖς μέλης τε καὶ αἱ βατοί καὶ τῶν φίλδρων τὰ πολλά).

Thus pomegranates sprang from the blood-drops of Dionysos; whence women cele-
brating the Thesmophoria would not eat pips of the pomegranate that fell on the ground
(Clem. Al. prodr. 2. 19. 3 p. 15. 9 ff. Stählin. Enseh. proc. cr. 2. 3. 28. üep. supra ii.
1129). The same fruit was taboo at the Athenian Hallow (schol. Loukian. dial. mar. 7.
4 p. 280, 22 Rabe), at the Eleusinian mysteries (Porph. de abst. 4. 16, cp. Artemid. anacreon.
1. 73), and in the Arcadian temple of Despoena (Paus. 8. 37. 7). Again, a pomegranate
sprang from the sacred member of Agdistis; and Nana, who placed some of its fruit in
her bosom, thereby conceived and became the mother of Attis (supra ii. 969 n. 4). Attis
has pomegranates in his wreath (supra ii. 298 with fig. 189), and his priest holds one
together with three pomegranate(?)-twigs (supra ii. 300 with fig. 193).

On the common tomb of Eteokles and Polynikes grew a pomegranate, said to have
been planted there by the Erinyes: its fruit bled, when plucked (Philos. mai. imagg.
3. 29. 4). On the tomb of Menoikes near the Neistan gate of Thebes grew another
pomegranate: when the rind of its fruit was broken, the inside looked like blood (Paus.
9. 25. 1). A pomegranate, therefore, was desirable food for the dead, and figures fre-
quently on funeral monuments of the archaic period (Spartan sthais, 'Harpy' tomb, etc.).
A fragmentary Laconian hydria in the British Museum shows a woman presenting a
pomegranate to a seated man (supra i. 93 fig. 68). A polychrome Attic lkythos at
Berlin depicts a stile, and a woman holding out four pomegranates on a plate for Charon
to take (Furtwängler Vasenansamml. Berlin ii. 765 no. 2680, F. von Dahn in the Arch. Zeit.
1885 xiii. 20 ff. no. 6 pl. 3 = my fig. 631), Reinauch Rép. Vases i. 457. 4). A similar lkythos
from Alopeke near Athens, also at Berlin, has the dead man seated by his stile leaning on
a couple of spears. His chiton is decorated with a sprig of pomegranates (green leaves,
purple fruit), and both chiton and himation have a border of green leaves. On the right
stands another man, whose himation is adorned in the same way with two large pome-
grante-sprigs and with sundry separate leaves and fruits. On the left a maiden approaches
with a basket of offerings. She wears péplon and himation, the former decked with leafy
borders and two large pomegranate-sprigs, the latter with a third sprig of the same sort
(Furtwängler Vasenansamml. Berlin ii. 766 no. 2682, W. Riebler Weißgerberige Attische
Leukthen München 1914 p. 140 f. pl. 92).

The pomegranate as the food of the Underworld recurs in the myth of Persephone,
who might not remain on earth with Demeter because she had eaten one (h. Dem. 377.
472, Apollod. 1. 5. 3) or three (Ov. fast. 4. 627 ff., Lact. Plac. in Stat. Thb. 3. 513) or
seven (Ov. met. 5. 533 ff., cp. Serv. in Verg. georg. 1. 39, interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen.
4. 462, Myth. Vat. 1. 7. 2. 100) pips of a pomegranate growing in Hades' domain. An
enamelled amethyst in my collection shows, according to A. S. Murray, Persephone
holding a pomegranate over against Demeter. A bronze statuette from the Payne Knight
collection represents Persephone with a pomegranate in her left hand and a torch (?) in
her raised right hand (Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 179 no. 982). A bronze mirror at Paris
makes her stand with a pomegranate held out in her right hand (Babelon—Blanchet Cat.
Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat. p. 530 no. 1370). Persephone is often associated with a pome-
grante in terra-cotta figures, the fruit or flower being regularly held against her bosom.
Usually the flower is in her right hand between her breasts (Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas
Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 93 no. B 246 Kos, p. 234 no. C 474), occasionally in her left hand
as well (ib. p. 87 nos. B 86 Melos, B 87 Melos); or a flower is in her right hand between
her breasts and a fruit in her left under her left breast (ib. p. 149 no. B 462 Lokroi
Epizephyrioi (?) (my fig. 622 is from E. Braun in the Ann. d. Inst. 1849 xxi. 114 ff., Mon.
d. Inst. v pl. 9. 1), cp. p. 143 no. B 418 Kamaria); or she is seated with the fruit in her
right hand on her lap and the flower in her left hand on her left shoulder (ib. p. 137
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no. 6 390 Tharros in Sardinia). Her priestess or worshipper similarly has a shallow basket containing two pomegranates, which she holds in her left hand against her breast (ib. p. 281 f. no. c 798 Benghazi). A tomb-painting from Nola, now at Berlin, shows Persephone, or more probably a dead woman, seated on a throne, holding a pomegranate in her left hand against her breast and a flower in her uplifted right hand (E. Gerhard in the Arch. Zeit. 1850 viii. 148 ff. pl. 14 (= my fig. 623), Reinach Fastes Ant. p. 88 f. pl. Millin ii, 75, 9, Farnell Cults of Gk. States iii. 228 pl. 11, F. Weege in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1909 xxiv. 130 (s. v or iv), M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting


In view of the foregoing evidence it is reasonable to conclude that a pomegranate in the hand of a deity implied perpetual regeneration and was virtually regarded as fruit from the Tree of Life. Polycleitos' chryselephantine Hera was enthroned with a pomegranate in one hand, a sceptre in the other (Paus. 2. 17. 4: supra i. 134, iii. 65 ff.). A bronze statue representing Milton the Olympic victor as standing on a diskos with a pomegranate

Fig. 622.
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grasped in his left hand and the fingers of his right hand raised and spread, while his head was bound with a fillet, was said by Apollonios of Tyana to portray the athlete as a priest of Hera (Philos. v Apoll. 4. 28 p. 76 f. Kayser, but cp. Paus. 6. 14. 6, Ail. de nat. an. 6. 55, var. hist. 2. 24). A statue of the youthful Zeus Ἰάσιος at Pelousion held a pomegranate in its outstretched hand (supra ii. 986 n. 6).

Aphrodite is said to have planted the pomegranate in Kypros (Eriphos Meliboea frag. 1. 11 f. (Frag. com. Gr. iii. 556 f. Meineke) ap. Athen. 8. 4, c.). Her connexion with the fruit comes out also in the story of Melos. According to the interp. Serv. in Verg. ecl. 8. 37, a certain Delian named Melos fled to Kypros in the reign of Kinyras. Kinyras made him companion to his son Adonis and gave him to wife Pelia, a relative of his own who was likewise a devotee of Aphrodite. Pelia bore Melos a son, called Melos after his father; and the boy was brought up intern aris, i.e. in the precinct of Aphrodite. When Adonis was killed by the boar, Melos i in his grief hanged himself on the tree from which he got his name Melos: Pelia, his wife, hanged herself on the same tree. Aphrodite in pity for their fate made perpetual lament for Adonis, transformed Melos i into the fruit that bears his name, Pelia into a dove (πέλεα), and bade Melos ii return with followers to Delos. He did so, and becoming powerful there founded the state of Melos (ep. Arrianos of Nikomedea frag. 71 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 599 Müller)=frag. 70 (Frag. gr. Hist. ii. 865 Jacoby) ap. Eustath. in Dionys. per. 530). It should be added that the μῆλον on coins of Melos is always a pomegranate, never an apple (see e.g. Babelon

Fig. 623.

C. III.
The owl of Athena

Munn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 1310 ff. pl. 62, 10--14, ii. 3. 847 ff. pls. 141, 8--21, 242, 1--19, 243, 1--23, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Cret et al. p. 103 ff. pl. 93, 16 ff., ib. Lycia etc. p. lxxxi. Supra i. 305 n. 14). An archaic Greek bronze in the British Museum shows a goddess assumed to be Aphrodite holding a pomegranate in her right hand, her drapery in her left (Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 18 no. 198 pl. 3). An Etruscan mirror-stand in the same collection repeats the motif (ib. p. 77 no. 549). Terra-cotta statuettes from Kition (Larnaka) in Kypros, which represent a goddess holding a pomegranate to her breast (Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 47 nos. A 370, A 271, p. 59 no. A 394) or on her knee (ib. p. 47 no. A 269), may be meant for Aphrodite (see ib. p. xxxvii, and cp. supra ii. 807 n. 5 (4)). One of the Horai on the magnificent red-figured kylix by the potter Sosias (bibliography supra ii. 1167 n. 6; add J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmalerei des rotfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 59) is holding a branch laden with pomegranates in either hand. An oval bronze tablet of Graeco-Roman date in the British Museum has a high relief of three goddesses (Horai?), each of whom wears a triple-pointed crown with an inverted crescent in front of it and holds a pomegranate in her right hand; their left hands hold respectively a bird, a flower, and an indistinguishable object (Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 156 no. 862. My fig. 624 is from a new photograph). How Rheo (O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 121 ff., Weicker in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i A. 1004 ff.) and the Rheial (O. Höfer loc. cit. iv. 119), nymphs of the pomegranate-tree, were represented, we do not know.

Older than any of these is a clay idol (0'80m high) found in a small circular hut of the latest 'Minoan' phase between Tyllous and Herakleion. The half-length figure of a goddess with uplifted hands rises from a cylindrical base (cp. supra ii. 536 fig. 406, c): she wears, stuck upright in her hair, three pins topped by pomegranates. A similar, but smaller (0'23m high), goddess from the same sanctuary has on her head 'horns of consecration' flanked by a pair of doves (Elizabeth P. Blegen in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1930 XL 371 f. figs. 1, 2 (=my fig. 625), 3).

A modern Greek folk-tale from Syros (Syra) makes a prince transform himself into a huge pomegranate growing on a tree in the king's garden (J. G. von Huhn Griechische und albanische Märchen Leipzig 1864 ii. 38 no. 68).
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appellative *Nike* became fixed. The rock-goddess had sent forth her owls, omens of victory, and henceforward these emissaries—the Nikai of her famous balustrade—must needs be winged, though she their source and origin remained wingless.

However that may be, the winged Athena reappears in Hellenistic times. Comparable with the gold *statēr* of Agathokles (fig. 580) are the bronze coins of Boiotia, struck c. 288—244 B.C.

1 A terra-cotta statuette in the Antiquarium at Munich, referred by Bulle to the middle of 7. v. B.C., represents a winged Nike standing with her left arm supported on a tree-stem. She holds a pomegranate in her left hand, an *oinochoe* in her right, being apparently conceived as a handmaid (cp. E. Bernert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 293, 301) about to offer food and drink to some deity, perhaps to Athena *Nike* (H. Bulle in Koscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 340 with fig. 18 = my fig. 636).

2 *Supra* p. 785 fig. 580.
The owl of Athena

(fig. 627), on which a winged Athena advances towards the right, one arm outstretched and covered with the aigis, the other raised and brandishing the thunderbolt. Bronze coins of Prousias i (fig. 628), who was king of Bithynia from c. 228 to c. 183 B.C., vary the type. A winged and helmeted Athena with lowered left hand holds a shield bearing in relief a Gorgon's head, while with uplifted right hand she crowns the king's name (in place of himself). Bronze coins of Demetrios ii Nikator (fig. 629), king of Syria, to be dated

1 F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Die Flügelgestalten der Athena und Nike auf Münzen' in the Num. Zeitschr. 1871 pp. 1 ff., 48 ff. pl. 5, 1 ('Geflügelte Pallas'), Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece p. 39 pl. 6, 3 and 4 ('Winged Pallas or Nike'), Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 37 no. 12 ('Winged Pallas or Nike'), McClean Cat. Coins ii. 327 no. 5626 pl. 203, 1 and no. 5627 ('Winged Nike'), Head Hist. num. p. 333 ('Winged Athena'). Fig. 627 is from a specimen in my collection. The goddess intended is presumably Athena Itonia: see G. Fougeres in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1917 fig. 5050.

2 F. Imhoof-Blumer loc. cit. p. 7 pl. 4, 5, Hunter Cat. Coins Pontus, etc. p. 209 pl. 37, 4 and 5, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 359 nos. 3—6, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach Monn. gr. d'As. Min. i. 223ff. no. 16 pl. 36, 10 London and 11 Berlin, McClean Cat. Coins iii. 39 no. 7528 pl. 258, 2, Head Hist. num. p. 519. Fig. 628 is from a specimen in my collection.

An example belonging to the French consul L. E. Cousinéry (1747—1833) showed wings on the helmet, not on the shoulders, of Athena (Miornet Descr. de méd. anc. ii. 508 ff. no. 47). Athena has a winged helmet also on a terra-cotta mural relief in the Louvre (G. Fougeres in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1915 fig. 5060: see further infra Append. P. 1006), and on coins of Herakleia in Lucania, Metapotum, Arkesine in Amorgos, etc. (Imhoof-Blumer loc. cit. p. 44). The earliest instance occurs on a unique electrum staater of the Ionian revolt, 500—494 B.C., obtained by Jameson from the hoard at Vuria (Klazomenai) (R. Jameson in the Rev. Num. 1911 p. 60 no. 4 pl. 1, 4, H. Dressel—K. Regling Die Münzen von Priene Berlin 1927 p. 17 ff. no. 1 pl. 1, 1 (=my fig. 631), C. Seltman Greek Coins London 1933 pp. 83, 88 pl. 12, 3).

144, 143, etc. B.C., introduce a further variation. Athena, winged and helmeted as before, supports with her left hand shield and spear, but on her right hand carries a small Nike, who extends a wreath towards her. *Denarii* of Domitian (fig. 630)\(^1\) issued in 95 and 96 A.D. show the same goddess winged and flying towards the left with helmet, spear, and shield.

The owl of Athena

Graeco-Roman gems likewise represent Athena winged and armed, carrying a Nike, or holding a wreath and accompanied by her snake, or grouped with a diminutive warrior.

Among the finds made in a Scythian grave-mound at Alexandropol and now preserved in the Hermitage was the skeleton of a horse still wearing its phalara of gilded silver. The frontlet is embossed with a facing figure of the winged Athena—an excellent apotropaion. The goddess mounts guard with spear, shield (?), and aigis, her faithful owls beside her (fig. 632). L. Stephani and F. H. Marshall referred these horse-trappings to the fourth century B.C., but E. H. Minns, on stylistic grounds, assigns them with greater probability to late Hellenistic times.

2 Furtwängler *Gesch. Steine Berlin* p. 127 no. 2779 a violet paste, and no. 2780 a red paste, both from the Uhden collection.
4 *Supra* i. 336.
6 L. Stephani in the *Comptes rendus St. Pit.* 1865 p. 167 f.
The owl of Athena 823

An ingenious application, or misapplication, of the type occurs in a Pompeian fresco (fig. 633)\(^1\), one of several which represent Auge the priestess of Athena pursued by Herakles\(^2\) and were presumably based on some Pergamene original\(^3\). Auge was the daughter of Aleos, king of Tegea\(^4\), and the scene is laid at the foot of Mount Parthenion. The artist personifies the mountain as Parthenos and, thinking of Athena Parthénos, equips her with the Gorgóneion and the filleted olive-branch of the goddess. Then, remembering that Parthenos was also the constellation Virgo\(^5\), he adds dark blue wings spangled with yellow stars and a blue nimbus\(^6\) with golden rays. Perhaps too he realised that Parthenos the constellation was by some identified with Dike\(^7\), the daughter of Zeus by Themis\(^8\), who might well be moved by this exhibition of lawless love.

Less learned, but more noble, is a fine Flavian goddess in white Italian marble, found at Ostia near the Porta Romana, of whose attic she once formed part (fig. 634)\(^9\). She has the three-crested helmet of Athena Parthénos, a circular shield with a central Gorgóneion at her right side, and a pair of splendid pinions on her back. Accordingly, G. Calza\(^10\), on the analogy of Athena Nike, calls her 'Minerva Vittoria.' Minerva Vici[trix] would perhaps be better Latin; but that appellative is known almost entirely from coins\(^11\),


2. Four examples of the subject are conveniently grouped by Reinach *Rép. Point. Gr. Rom. p. 188 nos. 2-5.


4. *Supra* ii. 1147.


7. First in *Arat. phaen. 96* ff., cp. pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* \(\gamma=\text{Arat. Lat. in E. Maass Commentariorum in Aratum reliquiae} \text{ Berolini 1898 p. 201.}

8. Later authorities for the identification of Parthenos with Dike or Iustitia are collected by O. Höfer *loc. cit. p. 1656*. Their ultimate source was a mere misunderstanding of *Hes. o. d. 356 \(\text{ἐρήμης ἅλεῖς ὡς ἀρτέριον Ἀδηνός Ἀθηναία*}.*


10. From a photograph by Alinari (no. 32711). Height 2'40". See further L. Savignoni in *Austria 1910* v. 69-105 pl. 4 and figs. 13, 13 bist.

11. G. Calza *Ostia* Milano—Roma s.n. (1792) p. 32 with fig. 8 (showing shield).

12. C. W. Keyes *‘Minerva Victor?’ in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1912* xvi. 490-494 with figs. 1 (from left) and 2 (from right), after deducing the evidence of coins (p. 493 n. 2).
The owl of Athena

and the numismatic type is unfortunately wingless. Mrs Strong with greater caution speaks of 'the winged Minerva' as an 'adaptation of a Greek model of the fifth century' and in that respect compares the (wingless) Minerva of the Forum Transitorium. C. Picard too is content to recognise a 'Minerve ailée,' aptly citing the similar goddess from Bulla Regia in Numidia.

Finally, in the fifth stage of her evolution Athena becomes purely anthropomorphic. But even then the owl is retained as an attribute or adjunct. Goddess and bird, originally connected by a bond which amounted to identity, were never wholly separated. Their association might of course be expressed in a great variety of ways. In point of fact, however, it commonly took shape in certain art-types of long-standing sanctity and significance, the bird appearing on the pillar, on the head, on the hand of the goddess, or duplicated and attached to her chariot.

Of the owl on a pillar I have already spoken. It conforms to the wide-spread type of bird-on-column, which can be traced back to 'Minoan' times and, as M. P. Nilsson justly claims, implies the epiphany or embodiment of the deity concerned.

The owl on the head of Athena is indeed attested by two and inscriptions (p. 494 n. 1) (add one literary reference, in Acta 581) concludes: 'Briefly, the winged goddess of Ostia represents a fusion of the Parthenos type and the Victory motif, whether this fusion be derived from a Greek Athena Nike or be due to the originality of the Roman artist. In all probability it stands for Minerva Victrix and not for Roma Victrix. For the only other known Roman example of a winged Athena type represents Minerva and not Roma, and the conception of Minerva Victrix appears to have been more popular under the Empire than that of Roma Victrix, particularly from the reign of Domitian on.'

1 Unless it can be maintained that the winged but nameless figure on Domitian's denarius (supra p. 811 fig. 632) was also a Minerva Victrix.

2 E. Strong Art in Ancient Rome London 1929 ii. 67.


4 C. Picard La sculpture antique de Phidias à l'ère byzantine Paris 1916 ii. 446, 451 with fig. 178.

5 L. Poinsot in the Catalogue du Musée Alaux (Supplément) Paris 1910 p. 57 no. 1017 pl. 33, 3 and no. 1018 pl. 33, 2, Reinauch Rép. Stat. iv. 172 no. 8 ('Traces d'ailes'), L. Savignoni in Ausetia 1910 v. 84 ff. with figs. 16, 17, and 18 (two marble statues found in a temple of Apollo at Bulla Regia represent Minerva. One gave her marble wings, a mural crown, a shield on her right arm, and a cornu copiae in her left hand. The other had bronze wings, now lost).

6 Supra p. 778 n. 1.

7 Supra i. 34 f., 66, 83, ii. 1133 n. 1.

The owl of Athena

Fig. 635.
The owl of Athena

827

passages of Aristophanes, but remains unexampled. It was, I think, modified into the owl on her helmet, of which sundry specimens are extant. W. Deonna illustrates the motif from a couple of Graeco-Egyptian terracottas at Geneva, a lamp at Berlin, and a fine bronze statuette of Roman date found in 1916 at Avenches (fig. 635). He assumes an original emanating from the school of Pheidias in the second half of the fifth century and dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis. But again we may reasonably suspect that the type had a long history behind it, being a late but lineal descendant of such figures as the Cnossian goddess with a dove on her head.

Imperial coins of Athens presuppose other statues of Athena with an owl on her hand. She stands uplifting the owl in her left hand and holding out a phiale in her right (figs. 636, 637)—clearly a cult-image. Or, bearing the owl and leaning on a spear (fig. 638).

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1 Aristoph. *eq.* 1092 f. καὶ μοθάκει ἡ θεός αὐτῇ ἵκα τούλαμεν ἡθον καὶ γλαύξ αὐτῇ 'εναγθῆσαι, *av.* 513 f. ὁ Ζεύς γὰρ ὁ νῦν βασιλεὺς ἄρην ὁμοῖον ἑβατεν ἱχνον ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς, βασιλείαν ἱκών | ἂ δ' ἀληθέστερα γλαύξι', ὁ δ' Ἀττικὸν ὁσσον χερᾶς ἔφεκεν.

2 Supra p. 46 n. 4.

3 W. Deonna in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 i. 281—284 with fig. 1 (head of Athena in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Genève, no. 10004), fig. 2 (do. do. no. 10005), fig. 3 (upper part of the Athena from Avenches), pl. 2 (the Athena from Avenches (=my fig. 635))—summarised in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 305 f.


5 W. Cart in the *Indicateur d'antiquités suisses* 1917 p. 87 f. pl. 11, Reinach Rép. Stat. v. 121 no. 3.

6 Supra ii. 536 fig. 466 c, H. T. Bossert *Alkleta* Berlin 1923 p. 82 fig. 115, Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 1. 340 fig. 193 a 1 and a 2.


The owl of Athena

Fig. 639.
The owl of Athena

Fig. 640.
The owl of Athena

Or, holding the owl in her raised right hand and the spear in her lowered left (figs. 641, 642). This last pose occurs also in plastic art. An Attic bronze statuette of early fifth-century style, lent by the Earl of Elgin to the British Museum (fig. 639), represents Athena in the act of letting the bird fly. And a relief in Pentelic marble, dating from c. 465 B.C. and now preserved in the Lancekorofski Palace at Vienna (fig. 640), adds Gorgon-shield and boundary-herm to indicate that the scene is her own precinct on the Akropolis. Once more it is obvious that the owl sent forth from the hand of the goddess is comparable with the small running figure on the arm of the Cauloniate Apollon or with winged Eros on the arm of Aphrodite—in short, embodies the very soul of Athena.

An engraved cornelian at Berlin—good work of the Graeco-Roman period—shows Athena with helmet, spear, and shield, standing in a chariot drawn by a pair of owls (fig. 643). Just so Zeus was drawn by eagles and Apollon by swans. These

(owl in left, spear in right); 39 and 41 Athens, 42 J. Anderson (=my fig. 638) (owl in right, spear in left); 38 and 40 Athens (with shield).

1 Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 77 no. 229 pl. 35, 5 (with snake), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner op. cit. iii. 133 pl. AA, 4 Rhoussopoulos (with snake) (cp. my fig. 641). J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 84, 1 J. Anderson, 2 Berlin (=my fig. 642), 3 Athens, 4 Hirsch, 5 London, 6 Berlin (3—6 with snake). B. Pick in the Index to Svoronos p. vi says 'Archégetis'.


3 H. Schrader 'Athena mit dem Kätzchen' in the Jahresber. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1913 xvi. 1—32 with a fine heliogravure (=my fig. 640).

4 Supra ii. 1040 ff. figs. 888—890.

5 Supra ii. 1043 f. fig. 892.


7 Supra ii. 461 n. o fig. 362.

8 Supra ii. 460 n. 2 (a) fig. 388.
Hellenistic fancies are not without some warrant in Hellenic literature and art. Apollon’s swans go back to Alkaïos,1 Aphrodite’s sparrows to Sappho,2 and Athena herself on a fifth-century vase has a team of snakes.3 But the Hellenic grouping of divinity and divine animal more often figures the former as riding on the latter—Apollon on his swan,4 Artemis on her doe, Poseidon on a dolphin, Dionysos on a bull,5 Aphrodite on a goat, and so forth. At an earlier date Anatolian and Mesopotamian art made the god or goddess stand erect on the back of the sacred creature—Sandas on a lion,6 Adad7 or Ramman8 or Jupiter Dolichenus9 on a bull, his consort on an ibex,10 or a hind.11 In such cases the anthropomorphic and theriomorphic representations of the deity are simply juxtaposed.

And here a point of some interest emerges. In the foregoing sections I have contended that Athena was a pre-Greek mountain-mother of the Anatolian kind, whose life was manifested in the flora and fauna of the Akropolis-rock. The olive,12 the snake,13 the owl14 were all alike daemonic powers instinct with the vitality of Athena. The owl in particular was regarded as Athena herself in

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1 Supra ii. 459 f.
2 Sapp. frag. i. 5 ff. Bergk, i. 5 ff. Diehl, i. 5 ff. Edmonds. Edmonds translates ἀγαλματικόν τῆς ἐν αἰεί ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπων ἐν ἀνθρώπων ἀντί θανάτου (cp. Hor. Od. 3. 28. 15 oloribus, 4. 1. 10 oloribus, Stat. Silv. 1. 2. 142 olores, 146 cygnii, 3. 4. 12 cygnos, Sil. It. 7. 441 olores, and a terracotta from Egnatia in the Museo Nazionale at Naples (no. 6688) which represents Aphrodite drawn across the sea in a shell by a pair of swans (T. Panofka in the Arch. Zeit. 1848 ii. 300, J. J. Bernoulli Aphrodite Leipzig 1873 p. 409, Winter Ant. Terrakotten iii, i. 2. 196 no. 6). But see Aristoph. Lys. 723 and Athen. 391 f.—P. Not improbably the swans were a later common-sense substitute for the sparrows.
3 Supra p. 769 f. fig. 366. 4 Supra ii. 460 n. 2 (b) with pl. xxv and figs. 359—361.
4 Supra ii. 854 with pl. xxxviii. 5 Supra p. 627 n. o (3) with pl. xlvi.
6 Supra ii. 661 fig. 600.
8 Supra i. 599 ff. figs. 462—468, ii. 560.
9 Supra ii. 709 n. o with fig. 730, n. 2 with fig. 732.
10 Supra i. 576 with fig. 446, 666, ii. 765 n. 1 with figs. 714 and 716, 766 n. 1.
11 Supra i. 606 ff. with pl. xxxiv and figs. 478, 480, 481, 484, 487, 488, 494.
12 Supra i. 617 with fig. 488. Cp. i. 610 f., ii. 99 n. o.
13 Supra i. 630 pl. xxxiv.
14 Supra pp. 224, 748 f., 764.
15 Supra p. 763 f.
16 Supra p. 775 f. 17 Supra p. 775 f. 18 Supra p. 781 ff.
The owl of Athena

visible form. Indeed, we have traced in some detail the stages through which the bird was developed into the goddess.

A curious confirmation of these claims may be found in a Sumerian tablet of baked clay referable to the time of the Larsha dynasty (c. 2300–2000 B.C.), recently published by Mr Frank Davis, and now to be seen in the art-collection of Mr Sydney Burney (pl. lxi). This remarkable relief shows a nude goddess en face, standing erect on two lions and flanked by two owls. She herself has the wings and talons of an owl, and an additional spur on either leg. She wears a head-dress of bovine horns, bunches of hair that hang down over her shoulders, a broad necklace round her throat, and bracelets on her wrists. Lastly, in either hand she displays an emblem which Mr Sidney Smith interprets as a measuring rod and looped cord. As to technique, the eyebrows

Fig. 644.  

Fig. 645.

1 Supra p. 794 ff.
2 In The Illustrated London News for June 13, 1936 p. 1047 with a full-page photographic reproduction. D. Opitz 'Die vogelfüssige Göttin auf den Löwen' in the Archiv für Orientforschung 1937, xi, 350–353, fig. 1 seeks to discredit the relief as exhibiting sundry rare or unexampled features. But E. Douglas Van Buren 'A further Note on the Terra-cotta Relief' ibid., pp. 354–357, figs. 2–6 aptly cites several parallels, e.g. fig. 3 the Louvre plaque AO 6501 (infra p. 833). An authoritative discussion by H. Frankfort is shortly to be published.
3 Mr Burney, of 4 Bruton Street, Westminster, W. 1, kindly allowed me to examine the original at my leisure, while Mr Sidney Smith spared time to discuss its significance and furnished me with the fine photograph from which my pl. lxi is taken. The tablet itself measures 19 inches in height, and is in a state of almost complete preservation.
4 Certainly not a 'snake head-dress,' as Mr F. Davis loc. cit. states. Cp. e.g. supra i. 263 fig. 190 Šamaš (4 horns), i. 577 fig. 446 Ramman (1 horn) and Istar (1 horn), i. 578 fig. 447 Ramman? (4 horns), ii. 546 fig. 424 Adad (1 horn) and Istar (1 horn). Good examples in Ebert Reallex. vii pl. 143 Sun-god (4 pairs of horns) and pl. 145 b Sun-god (4 horns). Better still in the Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art Paris 1935–1936 L'Art de Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre pp. 218 A, ii, 226 A, 247, 258, A, 259 C, 260 A, 263 C, D, 286 A, B.

Sir E. A. Wallis Budge in his account of the Sippur relief ( supra i. 263) spoke of this emblem, there held by the Sun-god, as 'a disk and bar, which may be symbolic of the sun's orbit, or eternity.'

Mr Sidney Smith would recognise rather a measuring rod with a coil of cord. He compares part of the stilte of Ur-Nammu, on which the coil is rendered as having separate strands and a dependent loop (C. L. Woolley in The Antiquaries Journal 1925 v. 398 pl. 48) 'I imagine that the staff and looped cord are the measuring-rod and line of the architect such as were held by the angel whom Ezekiel saw in a vision in Babylonia
A Sumerian relief in baked clay:
Lilith (?), a possible ancestress of the Owl-Athena.

See page 832 ff. and page 1193
are in relief, the lines on the palms incised\(^1\); the eyes were inlaid, the whole body painted red, except perhaps for a darkened pubes; the wing-feathers are picked out in red and dark colouring. The nearest analogue to the entire figure is furnished by a similar, but much smaller, plaque in the Louvre\(^2\), which again shows a nude

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\(^1\) So in early 'Ionic' sculpture, e.g. the left hand of the rejoicing woman or of the lyre-playing youth on the Boston relief (F. Studniczka in the * Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi pl. 1 and fig. 61, L. D. Cuscky *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture* Harvard Univ. Press 1925 p. 39 ff. no. 17, G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 31 with figs. 477 and 478).

\(^2\) Picture-postcards of the plaque are procurable in Paris.
The owl of Athena
goddess *en face*, with bird’s wings, claws, and spurs, but makes her stand on two goats and omits the two owls.

It is not easy to give a name to this singular personage. Her nudity suggests a goddess akin to Aphrodite or Astarte or Ištar. Her lions recall Kybele, the mountain-mother of Asia Minor; and we observe that the ground beneath the lions is marked with the regular conventional design for mountains. A nude goddess standing erect on a lion occurs in Hittite art\(^1\) and—since she suckles an infant—must be regarded as maternal. I am therefore emboldened to surmise that in this unique, or all but unique, Mesopotamian type we have—incredible as it sounds—the remote ancestress of Athena, half-bird half-goddess, *thea glaukôpis* as Homer’s forebears called her.\(^2\)

To this venturesome view Mr Sidney Smith demurs. In a recent letter to me (June 25, 1936) he puts forward a less precarious hypothesis:

‘The plaque presents some very interesting problems in Sumerian religion. The goddesses are very difficult to place, and many of the names merely represent different aspects of one and the same conception—given at different points in a ritual, or at different times of the day, or on different occasions. The point is to decide the class of deity represented on the plaque; and this, I think, can be done with some certainty. The claw-feet and the spur on the leg (a new feature) place her in the demon class. Her obvious beauty consorts with that. She is the kind which ravishes young men, in lonely places, by night, leaving them unsexed. Finally, her association with the lions points to a connection with the celestial Ishtar, the morning- and evening-star: and Ishtar was a ravisher of men, see the Gilgamesh epic. What then are the owls (an entirely new feature)? They are, as I guess, her night servants: they serve her fell purpose as watchers.


\(^2\) Supra p. 781.


A relief in Greek marble, which passed from the collection of J. Gréau into that of W. Frömler, shows a Nightmare of the sort, assaulting her victim, in the guise of a nude woman with a bird’s wings and talons (T. Schreiber *Die hellenistischen Reliefsbilder* Leipzig 1889—1894 pl. 61 (= my fig. 648), Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*, p. 204 f. fig. 38, G. Weicker *Der Seelenwagen in der alten Literatur und Kunst* Leipzig 1902 pp. 74, 181, id. in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 609 with fig. 8).

For Germanic parallels see F. Ranke *‘Alp’* in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 281—305 (especially p. 294 f.).
The owl of Athena

If this be right—it cannot be far wrong—the plaque is an apotropaic: the thing pictured drives away the thing immaterial, a well-established principle in Babylonian magic.

I turn back to your letter of the 18th with its very fascinating thesis....It seems to me that a difficulty immediately occurs. Athene was preeminently the virgin, and that is just the reverse of the character we may assume for the Babylonian goddess. You say that the Parthenos is later, that she was originally Meter, but recovered virginity yearly⁴. But Meter also is very far from our demon, whose name may have been Lilitu (Lilith) Ardal Lili (the slave-girl of the Night) whose characters you can discover in R. C. Thompson, Devils and Evil Spirits². To establish a firm connection between Athene and the goddess of the plaque, will it not be necessary to show that the goddess was not originally, as later, representative of Law, Liberty, and Reason, but a local demon who fell upon the transgressor (witting or unwitting)?

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Fig. 648.

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¹ Supra pp. 224 ff., 748 f.
The owl of Athena

The strongest point in favour of your argument would be the association of
snakes and owls with the same deity. It might be possible to assume that the
snakes who are associated with Ishtar are the snakes who carry out the
commands of Shamash, the god of Law and Righteousness. 3

In answer to the friendly criticisms of Mr Sidney Smith I would
urge that the formidable and rapacious aspect of the goddess
desiderated by him is to be sought in Athena’s relation to the
Gorgon, who sometimes at least was conceived as a ravening bird
of prey (fig. 649). 3 That this side of her nature made a strong
appeal to the popular mind is sufficiently proved by the survival of
her epithet Gorgoepikoos 4.

Fig. 649.

1 Supra p. 833 n. o sub fin. 2 Supra ii. 502 n. 2, iii. 189 n. 1.
3 A black-figured hydria of late Etruscan, style, found by E. Gerhard at Vulci in
1834 and now at Berlin, shows a Gorgon-headed monster, with four wings and the talons
of a bird, clutching two naked youths (Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin i. 477 no. 2157;
R. Engelmann in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1886 i. 210 ff. fig. (=my
fig. 649), id. in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1847 fig., G. Weicker Der Seeenvogel in der alten
Litteratur und Kunst Leipzig 1902 p. 6 fig. 1, E. Sittig in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc.
vii. 2422 f.). The very similar figure, which appears twice as a decorative relief on a
bronze Etruscan situla, found at Offida, Picenum, in 1877 and now in the British Museum,
has a purely human face with dishevelled hair in place of the Gorgoneion (Brit. Mus. Cat.
Bronzes p. 107 f. no. 650 fig. 18). Weicker loc. cit. rightly assumes that the Etruscan
hydria and the Etruscan situla presuppose a common source.
4 Supra pp. 189 n. 1, 588 n. 1.
The *aigis* and *Gorgoneion* of Athena.

If, then, Athena, originally the rock-goddess of the Akropolis at Athens, manifested herself sometimes as a Snake, more often as an Owl, we obtain at last a satisfactory explanation of that puzzling attribute, her *aigis*. For, when a sacred animal becomes anthropomorphic, the resultant deity tends to retain the old animal-skin as a relic charged with the virtues of his former estate. One thinks of the Hittite lion-god fairly covered with lions or lion-skins, of the Egyptian Zeus *Thebaeus* masquerading in a ram-skin, of the Italian Iuno *Sospita* habitually garbed in a goat-skin, perhaps too of the Greek Dionysos *Melanaigis* and of Argos wearing his black bull’s-hide. Now Athena’s *aigis*, as represented by painters and sculptors, is a skin-cape either scaly (figs. 650, 651) or feathered (figs. 652, 653), and normally displaying the *Gorgoneion*, a fearsome head with staring eyes. My belief is that in both cases the humanised Athena is wearing the *exuviae* of the animal that once she was. As a Snake, she dons the scaly skin with its baleful head. As an Owl, the feathered skin with its round glittering eyes.

Further, since the skin most commonly worn was the rustic’s everyday goat-skin (*aigis*), people would be apt to speak of any

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1. Frazer *Golden Bough*: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 173 f. (‘Use of the skin of the sacrificed animal’).
2. Supra ii. 550 ff. fig. 428.
3. Supra i. 347 f.
5. Supra i. 689 n. 5. See further H. W. Stoll and W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2574 f.
6. Supra i. 458 f.
8. Fig. 650 is from the *aigis* of the Varvakeion statuette; fig. 651, from that of the Cassel statue.
9. Fig. 652 is from the *aigis* of the archaistic Athena found at Herculaneum; fig. 653, from that of the Albani Athena.
The aigis and Gorgóneion of Athena

skin-cloak as an aigis, regardless of its original species. Thus Athena's snake-skin or owl-skin would equally come to be designated as her aigis. And, when origins were forgotten, the way would be clear for ingenious enquirers to explain Athena's sacred attire as a glorified goat-skin. Accordingly Herodotos asserts that the aigis

Fig. 650.

Fig. 651.

Fig. 652.

Fig. 653.

\[\delta\ e\ η\ π\ ο\ ρ\ ο\ ν\ τ\ ο\ τ\ ο\ ν\ ,\ πε\ ρ\ ε\ μ\ β\ ι\ βλη\ τ\ ι\ τω\ ν\ α\ γ\ ί\ ο\ ν\ ν\ άκατ\ κα\ προβάτων\ ,\ οι\ δε\ και\ θηρίων\ δέρματα\ κα\ μάλα\ τα\ ι\ ο\ ν\ ε\ ν\ ι\ τω\ ν\ Λικαδιών\ λικανώ\ τε\ κα\ άρκτων\ ,\ σχολ.\ Αρ.\ Ριχοδ.\ 1.\ 324\ σύνορες\ τα\ ί\ ά\ ροι\ δέ\ ρμα\ τα\ φατένιον.\]

1 Similarly, since the ordinary leather cap was made of dog-skin, we find the term κυνέη applied to caps made of bull's-hide (Hdt. 10. 257 f. δηλ\ δε\ οι\ κυνέη\ κεφαλήων\ θηρε\ ταυρείων\ ) or weasel-skin (Hdt. 10. 323 κατά δηξεν\ κυνέην\ ,\ ὑπερηρομένον\ κατά\ νάρα\ κυνέην\ κεφαλή\ εξε\ ) or goat-skin (Od. 24. 250 ὑπερηρομένον\ κυνέην\ κεφαλή\ εξε\ ).

2 Hdt. 4. 189 την\ δε\ ἁμα\ ἐσθήτη\ κα\ τά\ αἰγίδα\ τῶν\ αἰγαμάτων\ τῇ\ Αθηναίη\ εκ\ τῶν\ Λαμπμαθῶν\ ἐποιεύετο\ καὶ\ Ἕλληνες\ πλὴν\ γάρ\ ὡς\ καὶ\ εἰς\ μανάκες\ τῶν\ Λαμπμαθῶν\ ἀκτὶ\ καὶ\ τὰ\ θάλαμα\ τῶν\ εἰς\ τὰ\ αἰγίδα\ αἰγίδα\ ἐκάλεσε\ ἅξιον\ δέ\ ἀλλά\ εἰς\ κατὰ\ τά\ θανατόν\ ἐπιλάτηκε\ .\ καὶ\ δὴ\ κα\ το\ αὐτόμα\ καταγράφε\ ὡς\ ἀκτὶ\ νομοσχένη\ τοῖς\ Παλλάδιων\ αἰγίδων\ γὰρ\ περιβάλλοντα\ φιλά\ περὶ\ τὴν\ ἐσθήτη\ ὕστατα\ τα\ Διώνυσοι\ κακομενές\ ἐρευνηθέντων,\ ἐκ\ τῶν\ αἰγίδων\ ποιτῶν\ αἰγίδα\ τοῖς\ Ἕλληνες\ μεταφόμεθαν.
of Athena was derived from the fringed or tasselled goat-skins worn by Libyan women—a rationalistic view which A.W. Lawrence wisely pronounces to be 'plausible but far from certain.' It would entail our accepting Herodotos' highly improbable contention that Athena herself came from Libye. Nevertheless this Herodotean notion has met with some favour both in ancient and in modern times. An Etruscan mirror, of fourth-century style, found at Tarquinii and once owned by E. Gerhard, represents in mythological guise Prodikos' story of Herakles' choice between Virtue and Vice (fig. 654). Within a flowery framework stands Herakles (Hercle) midway between Athena (Menrfa) and Aphrodite (Turan). The artist, wishing to stress the simple hardihood of the more manly goddess, has given her by way of aigis a mere goat-skin with pendent head and feet. He has, however, added the usual Gorgoneion on her breast, not to mention a griffin's head on her shield, while a single snake coiled on her shoulder hisses at Aphrodite's dove. Later mythologists, accepting the explanation of the aigis as a goat-skin, toyed with the theme. Athena slew the earth-born fire-breathing monster called Aegis and used its skin as her breastplate in subsequent encounters. Or, Zeus at the advice of Themis flayed the goat Amaltheia, his foster-mother, and donned its skin as his protection in the war against the Titans. Recent

1 In his commentary ad loc. p. 420.

2 Hdt. 4. 180 (cited supra p. 128 n. 1), on which see Farnell Cults of Gk. States i. 267 ff.

Wilkinson the Egyptologist went further in the same direction, and fared worse. He stoutly maintained that Athena was but the goddess ΝΗΘ written, as in Egyptian, from right to left and eked out with an Α added fore and aft! (Sir J. G. Wilkinson Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians London 1837 i. 47 n. 8, Second Series London 1841 i. 284, ib. London 1878 iii. 41).

3 Gerhard Etr. Spiegel ii. 144 f. pl. 156 (=my fig. 654). Id. ib. v. 46 ff. pl. 398 describes and figures another mirror, from Caere, on which the Palladion wears an aigis adorned with a Gorgoneion and 'zwei den Brustharnisch abschliessende Ziegenköpfe.' But H. B. Walters in the Brit. Mu. Cat. Bronzes p. 96 f. no. 627 says: 'The aegis is bordered by two snakes with rearing heads, crested and bearded.'

4 Xen. mem. 7. 1. 21 ff.

5 Diod. 3. 70 (from the mythographical romance of Dionysios Skylotrhacion: see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 673).


theōν, βδελυγμένους τὴν μορφήν τὴν παῖδος, ἀνέβαιναι <τὴν (int. C. Robert)> Γῆν κρύφαται αὖθιν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Κρέθην ἄστροιν· καὶ ἀποκρυφαμένην ἐπιμέλειαν αὖθις τῇ Ἀμάλθει.
This late recital includes some early traits. In particular, the monstrous Goat penned in a Cretan cave is analogous to the Minotaur in the Labyrinth and may rest on a bit of genuine ‘Minoan’ folk-belief. Cp. the goat-men on ‘Minoan’ gems (supra i. 703 f. figs. 513—516) and on the clay-sealings from Kato Zakro in eastern Crete (D. G. Hogarth in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1902 xxii. 80 f. no. 34 fig. 12, no. 35 fig. 13, nos. 36, 38, 39).
advocates of the view that the aegis was from the first a goat-skin have sometimes been content to follow the lead of Herodotus, but have more often pointed out that the goat, normally taboo on the Akropolis at Athens, was once a year driven up there for a solemn sacrifice and have urged that the skin of the victim so slain, being possessed of magical potency, was wrapped round the effigy of the goddess. It must, however, be objected that any derivation of the

1 Miss C. A. Hutton in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1897 xvii. 314 f. (citing W. Reichel Über homerische Waffen Wien 1894 pp. 65—72) says of Athena's aegis: 'Probably, it and the lion skin of Heracles were the sole survivals of a time when the only thing available for protective armour was a skin, worn as a cloak in time of peace, and brought round over the left arm in battle ἐν προφοδωλή.'

Sir W. Ridgeway, as reported in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1900 xx p. xlv, claimed 'that the primitive garb over a wide Aegean area at an early date was a goat-skin, worn in such a way that the head hung down in front of the wearer; the edges of this skin were either themselves frayed or adorned with a fringe of leather; and the scalp was decorated till it became γοργηθεὶς κεφάλη δεινοὶ πέλαγος. A Dyak's skin-costume, trimmed with feathers and embellished with a plate of shell where the head should be, was exhibited in support of the argument.' *Id. The Origin of Tragedy with special reference to the Greek Tragedians Cambridge 1910* p. 89 f.: 'Some years ago the present writer explained the aegis and Gorgoneion of Athena as nothing more recondite than the primitive goat-skin covering used in ancient Athens as the ordinary dress. A slit was made in the back of the skin through which the wearer's head was put, and the grinning skin of the animal's face hung down on the breast of the wearer.' *Id. The Early Age of Greek Cambridge 1931* ii. 482 repeats the same contention, but produces no proof that a goat-skin was ever 'the ordinary dress' at Athens.

2 Varr. rer. rust. i. 3. 19 f. contra ut Minervae caprini generis nihil inmolarent propert oleam, quod eam quam laeserit féri dicunt sterillem: eam enim salivam esse fructus venenum: hoc nomine etiam Athenis in arcem non inigii, praeterquam semel ad necessarium sacrificium, ne arbor olear, quae primun dictur ibi natis, a capra tangi possit.

3 W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* London 1917 p. 437 'Herodotus, when he speaks of the sacrifices and worship of the Libyans, is at once led on to observe that the aegis or goat-skin, worn by the statues of Athena, is nothing else than the goat-skin, fringed with thongs, which was worn by the Libyan women; the inference implies that it was a sacred dress.' *Id. ib. n. 1* adds 'that the victims were goats is suggested by the context, but becomes certain by comparison of Hippocrates, ed. Littré, vi. 356' [Hippokr. de morbis 4 (ii. 375 Kühn) καὶ τῶν μὲν Διήθων χρῶματοι οἱ πλεονίτω τῶν κτηρίων τοῖς μὲν δύρμασιν ἀντὶ ιματίων, τῷ δὲ κυλίνθων ἀντὶ θιλάκων].

Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 100 'It would be quite in accord with the ideas of a primitive period, when the divinity and the worshipper and the victim were all closely akin, that Athena should be clothed in the skin of her sacred animal, and that in this, as in many other cases, the sacrificial skin should possess a value as a magical charm. Being used in the ritual of the war-goddess, it was natural that it should come to be of special potency in battle; but the skin of the sacred animal of the tribe ought also to have a life-giving power as well, and it is interesting to find that the aegis in an Athenian ceremony possessed this character also, being solemnly carried round the city at certain times to protect it from plague or other evil, and being taken by the priestess to the houses of newly married women, probably to procure offspring.' In the concluding lines Farnell presumably had in mind Plout. *prov. Alex* 3. 21 (E. L. von Leutsch—F. G. Schneider von Paroemographi Graeci Gottingae 1839 i. 359 app. crit.) [Αγίας περὶ πόλεων...[ἡ γούν] ἱππαν ἑράν αἰγίδα Αθηνῆς φέρουσα ἀγείρει [ἀνὰ τῆς ἀκροτέλεως]
The aigis and Gorgoneion of Athena

Aigis from an original goat-skin leaves quite unexplained the scaly or feathered character of its surface. This is so constant a feature that it cannot be lightly dismissed as mere decoration. Rather it points back to the snake-skin sloughed off, or the owl-skin laid aside, by the emergent deity.

Mythology has a word to say about both types of aigis, the scaly and the feathered. Apollodorus, in his account of the Gigantomachy, after mentioning that the Giants had the scales of snakes for feet, goes on to state that Athena flayed one of them named Pallas and used his skin to protect her own body in the fight. A variant and perhaps older version made Pallas the father of Athena by Titanis, daughter of Oceanos. When Pallas attempted to violate Athena, she slew him without mercy, wrapped his skin about her as an aigis, and fitted his wings to her feet.

ἀγίς δὲ τὰ τοιαύτα τάττεται ἡ παρομοία ἐν τῷ ἀναίδῃ (ἐν τῷ ἀνάμφῳ) περιστῶν (ἢν ἄρα) κατεχόμεθα ἐν τῷ λεπτῷ Ἑθήνης τῆς λεπάνια ἀγία ἐμφανίσατο πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας εὐηθύχεστο. ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνάμφω τὸν ποιοῦσαν τὰ τάττεται ἡ παρομοία.

1 Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 120 f. 'Als Thierfell erscheint dann auch die Aegis in der Regel auf den Bildwerken, während andererseits die schabracke- oder schuppenartige Ornamentierung der Aussenseite an Metallverzierungen erinnert,' quoted by P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 971 f. Miss C. A. Hutton in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1897 xvii. 315 says: 'An unsuccessful attempt to represent the tufts of hair on the skin may be the basis of the scales...but the main reason for them arises from the combination of the aegis and the gorgoneion,' when 'the Medusa legend with its snakes dominated the conception.'

2 Apollod. i. 6. 1 εἰκόνι τὰς βάτοις φυλάττοι δρακόντων (an iambic tag?). On Typhon or Typhon as a 'Slangenfürsäler' see M. Mayer Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Künst Berlin 1887 p. 274 ff. we have already seen him represented as such on a 'Chalcidian' hydria of c. 550 B.C. (supra ii. 731 fig. 663). The earliest example of a Giant with serpent-legs occurs on an Attic aryballos at Berlin (inv. no. 3375), which dates from the beginning of 5th. from than from the end of 6th. it shows Dionysos, in a chariot drawn by a pair of griffins (cp. supra i. 270 fig. 197 Nemeseis, ii. 532 pl. xxvii, d Rhea (f) and female companion, attacking two Giants, of whom one has human, the other serpentine, legs (H. Winnefeld 'Gigantenkampf auf einer Vase in Berlin' in the Festschrift für Otto Benndorf Wien 1898 pp. 72—74 pl. 1, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. Suppl. iii. 690 f. no. 132, 735 'Nicht allzufür, wohl erst um die Wende des 5. and 4. Jhdts. kommt für die G. der schlangenbeinige Typus auf, wahrscheinlich auf sie übertragen von Typhon').

3 Apollod. i. 6. 2 Παλλάσιον δὲ τὴν δορὰν ἀκτιμαίως ταύτην κατὰ τὴν μάχην τὸ θεὸν ἐπιδέχετο (ἐποίησεν τῷ θεῷ ἐπιδέχετο) σῶμα.

4 Cic. de nat. dorn. 3. 59 (last in the list of Minervas) quinta Pallantis, quae patrem dicitur interemisse, virginatatem suam violare comitant, cui pinnarum talaria affigiunt, Ampel. 9. 10 (last in the list of Minervas) quinta Pallantis et Titanidus filia; haec patrem occidit pro suae virginatatis observatione qui-cæ cupidi sui, Clem. Al. prot. 7. 28. 2 p. 21, 3 f. (last in the list of five Athenas) εἰς τὰς τοῦ Παλλασίος καὶ Ττανίδος τῆς Ὀμηρίως, ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρα τουσφανδοι καταθέτεαι τῷ πατρῷ κακοσφαντὶ δέρματι ἐφετερ κρηδίῳ, Arnob. adv. nat. 4. 14 (last in the list of Minervas) et quae Pallantem occidit patrem incesterum adpetitorem est quinta (ep. 12. 4. 16), Firm. Mat. 16. 1 f. (last in the
Kratér at Leipzig:
Perseus presents Athena with the Gorgon's head for her aigis.

See page 843 n. 2.
Krater at Gotha:
Perseus presents Athena with the Gorgon's head for her shield.

See page 843.
More familiar is Pherekydes' story of Perseus, who, helped by Athena, slew the Gorgon and gave her head to the goddess to put on her aegis. An unpublished bell-krater at Leipzig (pl. ixii) shows the hero, harpe in hand, peering down a well to glimpse the horror held aloft by Athena. The Silenos on the right turns away and hides his face. A kylix-krater in Gotha (pl. lxiiii) gives Athena a blank shield and shows the head reflected upside down in the well. Such is the common tale. But Euripides in the Ion tells it

list of Minerva): quinta Pallante patre ct Titanide mater ora est...haec parricidalis amentia furoris et vesanae temeritatis instinctu patrem Pallantem crudeli morte igulavit nec simplici patris morte contenta, ut diutius malis suis frueretur et ut de morte patris crudelius triumpharet, exuviae corporis eius ornata est (so ed. princ. ornatis sunt cod. P. C. Halm ej. ornatis sunt manus), ut parricidi facinus ex crudeli ostentatione publicaret. 

The mention of 'wings to her feet' recalls such figures as the running goddess on early coins of Mallos in Kilikia (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia, etc. p. 93 pl. 15, 11, cp. Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 593 ff. pl. 25. 5—8, 11. Figs. 653 and 656 are from specimens in my collection), the winged Nike from Delos (G. M. A. Richter The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 28 (dated c. 570—550 b.C.) fig. 78, cp. fig. 80), or the yet older flying god on a gem probably from Melos (supra ii. 544 fig. 419).

2 T 83. Pl. lxiiii is taken from a photograph most kindly procured by Mr. A. D. Trendall.

The shield is tantamount to the aegis (cp. supra ii. 711 pl. xxx). The same variation occurs e.g. in imperial coin-types. An unpublished bronze piece issued by Valerian i for Laertes in Kilikia shows the one (fig. 657); a similar piece struck by Gordian iii at Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia, etc. p. 136 no. 38, cp. fig. 658) shows the other. Figs. 657 and 658 are from specimens in my collection.


5 Eur. Ion 991 ff.
The aīgis and Gorgóneion of Athena

in a simpler and presumably Attic1 form. Athena herself, not Perseus, here slays the Gorgon and wears its skin as her aīgis.

The evidence is incomplete, but it looks as though the feathered skin with its Gorgóneion went back to a Gorgon represented as a ravening bird of prey—precisely the representation that we have already seen on a black-figured vase at Berlin (fig. 649)2. It is noticeable too that the Gorgon of modern Greek folk-tales, who turns men into stone, is usually conceived as a bird, the Bird of Truth3, the Speaking Bird4, the Bird Dikjeretto5, or the Tzitzinaina who knows the language of all birds6. Anyhow, in view of the Berlin vase, it may well be maintained that the feathery type of aīgis with its Gorgon-face points back to an Owl Athena. Homer called her glaukópīs7: Sophokles, gorgópis8.

In claiming that Athena’s aīgis with its Gorgóneion was thus developed out of a snake-skin or owl-skin, the exuviae of her old animal self, I do not pretend to have tracked the Gorgon to its original lair. I maintain merely that the horrifying head of the snake or owl tended from the earliest Greek times9 to acquire the characteristics of that essentially pre-Greek10 horror, the Gorgóneion.

2 Supra ii. 1010 f., 1016.
3 Supra ii. 1005, 1016.
4 Supra ii. 1004, 1016.
5 Supra p. 781 n. 2.
6 Soph. Ai. 450 Ἡ Δίος γοργώτης ἀδάματος (so P. Elmsley for ἀδάμαστος codd.) θεά, frag. 844. 2 Jebb ap. Plout. de fort. 4 τὴν Δίος γοργώτην Ἐρυθρήν.
7 Il. 9. 741 f. ἐν δὲ τε Γοργήν κεφαλὴ δεινοῦ πελάτων, ἐπὶ δεινῆς σμερδήν τε, Δίος τέρατον αἰγάλχων, cp. Od. 11. 634 f. μὴ μοι Γοργήν κεφαλὴν δεινοῦ πελάτων ἐξ Αἰαδὸς τέμφεις ἀδιανή Περσεφόνεια.
8 It is notorious that in the western pediment of the second (c. 580—570 b.c.) temple of Artemis at Palaïopolis, Corfu, the huge pre-Greek group of the Gorgon and her lions completely dwarfs the small Hellenic flanking figures, e.g. Zeus attacking the Giant towards the southern angle (G. M. A. Richter The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 28 with figs. 76 Gorgon, 96 Zeus v. Giant, 159 reclining male, 141 head of Chrysarōn, 374 whole pediment, H. Schrader Archaische griechische Plastik Breslau 1933 p. 80 f. with figs. 49 lion, 80 reconstruction of façade, 81 Zeus v. Giant,
The *aegis* and *Gorgoneion* of Athena 845

The earliest Gorgon's head known to me occurs on a signet-seal of black steatite now in my collection (fig. 659: scale \( \frac{1}{3} \)). It is Cretan work of the 'Middle Minoan II' period (1900—1700 B.C.) and, though broken, shows clearly enough the broad full face with its emphasised eyes, gross ears, and bristling hair. The nearest contemporary parallels are afforded by the horned imp on a signet from Mochlos and one or two of the 'demonic' types on the clay-sealings from Kato Zakro.

On the primary significance of the *Gorgoneion* there has been much rash speculation. Scholars ancient and modern have elaborated not a few mutually destructive hypotheses. Plutarch dwells on the hideous face in the moon, and an Orphic fragment dubs it *Gorgonion*. Hence E. Gerhard, G. R. Gaedechechs, and many more have identified the Gorgon's head with the moon, though on occasion it appears in a solar rather than a lunar context. Others,

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1 See Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 274.
2 R. B. Seager *Explorations in the island of Mochlos* Boston—New York 1912 p. 58
3 Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 703 fig. 326. 1936 Index p. 171 n. 1 ('M.M. II or III'), S. Marinatos in the 'Eph. Arch. 1927—1928 p. 17
5 D. G. Hogarth in the *Journ. Hell. Stud. 1922* xxii. 84 no. 76 fig. 20. 78 fig. 22.
6 Plout. *de soc. in orb. loc. 29 ἐφοβησε δὲ αὐτὰ (ἐκ τάς τῶν καλαμοβόρων ψυχάς) καὶ τὸ καλαμίου ἀγάλαιον, διὰ τὸ γέγον γένεσιν, βλεφαρίνι τι καὶ ὀφρωδίνερ ὀρύγλενων.
7 *Supra* p. 805 n. 4.
8 Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 383.
11 *Supra* i. 292 f. fig. 212. 306 f. figs. 247—248. 305. Cp. J. Six *De Gorgone* Amstelodami 1885 p. 91: 'Huius tamen (sic. ducis Lyunensis) argumentis longe facilius demonstraveris Gorgonis caput solem esse quam lunam.' Kaiser Wilhelm II. *Studien zur Gorgo* Berlin 1936 p. 79 ff. treats her as 'Nachtsonne' or 'Unterweltsonne.'
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including J. F. Lauer4, F. L. W. Schwartz2, C. Dithyey3, and W. H. Roscher4, have equated its scowling features with those of the storm-cloud, partly because the word aigis is found in the sense of 'a rushing storm', partly because Quintus Smyrnaeus late in the fourth century A.D. compares the crash of Athena's aigis with the roll of thunder. A. de Gubernatis7 in milder mood makes Medousa 'the evening aurora.' Others again drop from heaven to earth and offer a zoological explanation. F. T. Elworthy9 argues at length that the Gorgon must have been a cephalopod, the octopus, and L. Siret9 assures us that the aigis worn by god or goddess was his ubiquitous cuttle-fish10. T. Zell11 is equally insistent that the Gorgoneion was the face of a gorilla. K. Gerogiannes32 derives it from a lion's head. O. Jahn12, less daring but more discreet, stresses its use as an amulet potent to ward off the evil eye. Jane Harrison14 suggests that it was a ritual mask worn for prophylactic purposes, and R. G. Collingwood15 labels it 'an apotropaic mask.' Finally, H. J. Rose16 is inclined to think it 'a nightmare, a face so horrible that the dreamer is reduced to helpless, stony terror.' I am myself

2 F. L. W. Schwartz Der Ursprung der Mythologie Berlin 1860 pp. 34, 63, 85.
5 First in Aisch. ch. 591 f. πανά δὲ καὶ πεδοθύμων κάνειμον' ἀρ οι γῆς ἥρωα κότος, then in Pherekr. μυρμεκάθρωτας frag. 9 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 314 Meineke) αρ. Soud. ι. ν. αἰγίς: καταγίς. Φερεκράτης Μυρμεκάθρωτας... οἰνοι κακοδιόμοι, αἰγίς ἐρχεται (F. V. Frische cf. αἰγίς, αἰγίς ἔρχεται, which is possible, but uncertain). See further H. Stuart Jones in the new Laddell and Scott ι. ν. αἰγίς.
6 Quint. Smyrn. 14. 457 f. ἐφάμη β' αἰγίς ἐκατον τελε στήσονθεν ἀλάσητοι, ὁ ὅν ὅτι στροφῶν τε ἐπιθίμας ἀπνίτος μετὰ ἄθηρα... Ταστ. in Lyk. Al. 17 (p. 17 f. Scheer) has a far-fetched attempt to interpret Perseus' decapitation of Medousa in terms of atmospheric phenomena (cp. supra i. p. 746).
7 A. de Gubernatis Zoological Mythology London 1872 i. 305.
8 F. T. Elworthy 'A Solution of the Gorgon Myth' in Folk-Lore 1903 xiv. 212—242 with pls. 6 and 7 and figs. 1—27, id. ib. 1905 xvi. 350 f. with two figs.
9 L. Siret Questions de chronologie et d'ethnographie ibérique Paris 1912 i. 443.
10 Supra i. 87 n. 4.
11 T. Zell Wie ist die auf Korfu gefunden Gorgo zu verstößtindigen? Berlin 1912 pp. 50—125 ('Die Deutung des Gorgonen-Mythus').
more impressed by the platyrrhine negroid aspect of early Gorgoneia, which prompts me to guess that their archetype came from north Africa. If so, Euripides\(^1\) was not far wrong when he spoke of 'Libyan Gorgons.'

\[\text{Fig. 660.}\]

\[\text{Fig. 661.}\]

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\(^1\) Eur. Bacch. 990 f. λείπον δὲ τινα 68' Ὑ. Γοργόνων | λιθοτάξις γένος. W. H. Roscher Die Gorgonen und Verwandte Leipzig 1879 p. 27 n. 50 cp. Aristoph. ran. 477 Γοργόνως Τιθέναι with schol. R. ad loc. Τιθέναι: Τίθεναι: τότε τις θύσιν | ένθα αἱ Γοργόνες διέμενον>, Hdt. 2. 91 οὐδεντα (κα. τὸν Περσαί) ἐκ Αἰγύπτου τὴν Αίγυπτοι κεφαλή, Diod. 3. 52 ff. κατὰ τὴν Ἀιγύπτιον...τὸ τε ἱδρ τῶν Γοργώνων θεάς, ἢ ὧν ἐκ γένεσιν τὸν Περσαίον στρατεύειν, κ.τ.λ., Paus. 2. 21. 5 καὶ τὰς μάγκας ἄμεληται (κα. τὴν Μήδουσαν) τοῖς Αἰγύπτιοι, 3. 17. 3 Περσαί δὲ ἐκ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῇ Μήδουσαν ὑγραμμάτων, Iuv. 12. 4 προγνατοί (κα. Μενέκης) Gorgone Maura, schol. vet. Pind. Pyth. 10. 72 b οἱ δὲ Γοργόνες κατὰ μὲν τινα ἐν τοῖς Αἰθιοπίκου...κατὰ δὲ τινα ἐκ τῶν περάτων τῆς Αἰγύπτιον...οὐτώς.

J. Six De Gorgone Amstelodami 1884 pp. 94—97 discusses, but rejects, the suggestion that the Gorgon was derived from the Egyptian Bes (cp. supra ii. 457). It remains, however, highly probable that this godling with his pygmy stature and Sudanic traits (Lanzone Dissim. di Mitel. Egiz. pp. 201—211 pls. 73—81, Sir E. A. Wallis Budge The Gods of the Egyptians London 1904 ii. 284—288 with two figs. and col. pl., id. From Fetish to God in ancient Egypt Oxford 1934 pp. 253—255 with two figs.), his apotropaic powers (W. M. Flinders Petrie Amulets London 1914 p. 40 f. nos. 188—190 pls. 33 and 34), and his curious attachment to the full-face view (supra ii. 674 figs. 611, 612) affords a real analogy to the Libyan Gorgon. His wrinkled forehead and nose, broad face, and hanging tongue are comparable features. And it must not be forgotten that Bes, like the Gorgon, was connected with snakes (Lanzone op. cit. p. 211 pl. 79, 2, K. Sethe in Panly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 325 'als Abwehr der schädlichen Tiere,' Sir E. A. Wallis Budge From Fetish to God in ancient Egypt p. 254 'a slayer of serpents and all kinds of noxious animals') and on occasion was represented in female form.
The aigis and Gorgoneion of Athena

Be that as it may, the Gorgon's head, thanks to the humanising tendency of Greek art, had an evolution of its own from lower to higher forms. The archaic type (fig. 662) was a round face with formal curls and a wrinkled forehead. The mouth was wide, showing teeth and formidable tusks. The tongue was protruded. The ears often had circular earrings. Snakes were sometimes added, or even a beard.

Fig. 662.

Fig. 663.

(Lamzone op. cit. p. 208 pl. 78, 8 limestone statue at Turin). I figure two amulets, in my collection, to illustrate the resemblance of Bes to a negro. Fig. 660, a, b is an Egyptian plaque of schist (?) with the head of Bes on one side, the name of Thothmes iii and two adornants on the other (cp. Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie Amulets London 1914 p. 41 no. 190 n pl. 34). Fig. 661, a, b is a cornelian head of the 'Middle Minoan iii' period, from the Messara in southern Crete, with the head of a negro on one side and two crossed lines on the other. Both amulets have a markedly wrinkled forehead and eyes sunk in, or sketched over, a transverse slit.

1 See the succession of types drawn up and discussed by A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1709-1718 ('Archaischer Typus'), 1718-1721 ('Der mittlere Typus'), 1921-1927 ('Der schöne Typus'), G. Glotz in Daremberg-Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 1672-1674 ('type archaïque'), 1614-1627 ('Le type moyen'), 1627-1639 ('Le type beau'), K. Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 1632 f. ('Der archaische Typus'), 1633 f. ('Der mittlere Typus'), 1634 f. ('Der schöne Typus').

2 An antefix of terracotta found on the Akropolis at Athens. Lips, tongue, gums, and earrings are painted dark-red; hair, snakes, and pupils of eyes, black; face, buff. Seven fragments from a single mould survive, and date from the second half of the 6th B.C. (L. Ross Archäologische Aufsätze Leipzig 1855 i. 109 pl. 8, in colours (= my fig. 662), 2 side view, A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1715 with fig., D. Brooke in the Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum Cambridge 1921 ii. 289 no. 32, 78 fig., 322 f., 426). The bronze Gorgoneion of Deros, which anticipates the milder type, may be dated c. 600-575 B.C. (S. Marinatos in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1936 lx. 270 ff. pl. 29).
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The middle type (fig. 663)\(^1\) retained the round face, the furrowed forehead, the wide toothy mouth, and the lolling tongue, but made all these traits somewhat milder and less horrific. The snakes are apt to pass into snaky locks, and the beard vanishes. The whole effect is repellent rather than repulsive.

The beautiful type appears for the first time in the head grasped by Perseus on a red-figured vase dating from c. 475 B.C. (fig. 664)\(^2\) and then, mostly in Satyric scenes, on later Attic or early South Italian vases\(^3\). It was perhaps inspired, as

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1 An antefix of terracotta found before the east front of the Bouleuterion at Olympia. The tongue is red; the teeth, white. To be dated 450–400 B.C. (R. Bormann in *Olympia* ii. 195 f. fig. 13 restoration, pl. 120, 1 in colours (= my fig. 663) with side view, A. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* p. 1720 f., E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History & Remains* Oxford 1925 p. 9 with fig. 69 opposite p. 276).
2 A *hydra* from Kyreneiske (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibli. Nat.* ii. 346 and 348 no. 456 fig. 79 (= my fig. 664)). Mr C. D. Bicknell notes the influence of Kritios' Tyrranicides, set up in the Athenian Agora in 477 B.C. Head in profile.
(2) A volute-krater from Ceglie, now at Taranto (figured *infra* Append. P. p. 996), which gives the Satyric setting in completest form. Head full-face.
(3) A bell-krater from Basilicata (Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 94 pl. Millingen 3, O. Jahn in *Philologus* 1868 xxvii. 16 f. pl. 1, 3), of which Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 201 n. 2 says: 'early Lower Italy vase...' reproduces an Attic model.' Head full-face.
(4) A South Italian krater(?), probably from Bari, in the Fontana collection at Trieste (E. Curtius *Herakles der Satyr und Draufssträuber* (Winckelmannfest-Progr. Berlin xii) Berlin 1853 pp. 1 ff., 14 n. 1 with col. pl. = id. in his *Gesammte Abhandl.*

C. III.
The aegis and Gorgoneion of Athena

Wuilleumier has suggested, by Pythagoras' bronze Perseus, or, as Furtwängler and Glotz have maintained, by Myron's masterpiece on the Akropolis representing Perseus fresh from the slaughter of Medousa, though these sculptors themselves may have drawn their inspiration from the Pindaric Perseus 'bearing off the head of fair-checked Medousa.'

Fig. 665.

lungen Berlin 1894 ii. 215—230 pl. 6, O. Jahn in Philologus 1868 xxviii. 16 pl. 1, 2). Head in three-quarter position.

1 P. Wuilleumier in the Rev. Arch. 1929 ii. 199.
2 Pythagoras of Rhegion made a bronze statue of Perseus with wings (on his feet? (Dion Chrys. or. 37 (ii. 296, 3 f. Dindorf)). We have no right to assume that this is a blundered reference to Myron's Perseus.
3 Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gr. Sculpt. p. 201.
4 G. Glotz in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 1647.
5 Paus. 1. 23. 7 και άλλα ὕπο τῆς Ἀθηναίως ἀκροπόλεως θεοτάκινον ὁλίγον...καὶ Μῆδουσας Περσέα τῷ τῷ Μῆδουσα τῶν θρησκευμένων, Plin. nat. hist. 34. 57 fecit (ex. Myron)...et Perseum.
6 Find. Pyth. 12. 18 f. ὑπάρχουσι κράτα ανδάσεως Μῆδουσας | ὦτα Δανας with schol. vet. on 24 ὑπάρχον δὲ φως τῆς Μῆδουσας, οἷς ὅτι οὕτω φωσίων ἐίχεν, ἄλλα ὅτι περὶ ηματίας τῆς Μῆδουσας ὡς ἑγερθῆν τίτικτες...ὅπως καὶ περὶ κάλλους τῆς Δήηρης ἐφωτεί καταβαίνοντα. This contest of beauty between Medousa and Athena was a commonplace of the later mythographers (Apollod. 2. 4. 3, schol. vet. Find. Nem. 10. 6, interp. Serv. and Serv. in Verg. Aen. 6. 289 (citing Serenus (Sammonicus?) the poet). Lact. Plac. narr. fab. 4. 70, Myth. Vat. 1. 134, 2. 112, altib). According to Ov. met. 4. 794 ff., clarissima forma | multorumque fuit spe svis invidiosa procorum | illa, nec in tota conspector ulla capillis | pars fuit. Cic. in Verres 2. 4. 124 tells how Verres carried off from the gold and ivory doors of Athena's temple on the island of Ortygia at Syracuse 'Gorgonis os pulcherrimum, crinitum anguibus.'

Medousa as a beauty is παρὰ προσόμοιαν and calls for explanation. The epithet εὑράριον is clearly complimentary (Poll. 2. 87, 9. 162) and could hardly be taken as 'large-checked, broad-faced.' Nor would it be safe to see in it a mere euphemism as in Ἐδέλφης, Ἐκάλης, and the like (Hepha. ii. 1112 b. 7). We must fall back on the assumption
The *aigis* and *Gorgéneion* of Athena 851

In any case, once introduced, the new type ran through a whole succession of phases, becoming in turn sinister (fig. 665)\(^1\), pathetic (fig. 666)\(^2\), and ultrapathetic (fig. 667)\(^3\), but at the last tranquillised

that the Gorgon among her original (African?) folk was frankly regarded as a reigning beauty. Hence her name Mébouqa, the 'Queen,' her diadem, and her earrings. A modern parallel from an Epeireote tale is 'the Beauty of the Land,' who can turn men into stone (supra ii. 1007, 1016).

\(^1\) The Medusa Rondanini in the Glyptothek at Munich is a mask of Parian marble, copied in Roman times from a Greek original in bronze to be dated c. 400 B.C. or perhaps somewhat earlier (Brunh—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 239, A. Furtwängler—H. L. Ulrichs *Denkmaler griechischer und römischer Sculptur* München 1898 p. 42 ff. pl. 13, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gl. Sculpt.* pp. 156—161 (attributed to Kresilas) fig. 63, *id. Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München* München 1903 pl. 54, *id. Glyptothek zu München* 2 p. 260 ff. no. 257, G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 177 (Kresilas?). Apart from the cold and cruel beauty of this face, the sculptor has imported a fresh element of interest in the pair of small wings attached horizontally to the head. Buoyed on these, with her concentrated stare and half-open mouth, Mébouqa hovers before us like some keen-eyed maleficent Night-bird.

\(^2\) An onyx cameo of two layers, milk-white on bluish white, found on the Via Appia near Rome and formerly in the Tyskiewicz collection (W. Froehner *Collection d'antiquités du comte Michel Tyskiewicz* Paris 1898 p. 32 pl. 33, 7, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 50, 47 (= my fig. 666), ii. 244). A smaller and less finely worked cameo in my possession (fig. 669; scale 1) ivory white on dark grey, has the same troubled forehead and painful expression. Traces of subsequent gilding on hair etc.

\(^3\) An amethyst cameo of Hellenistic date, found on the Aventine at Rome and
The aigs and Gorgoneion of Athena
Plate LXV

(1) Etruscan kylix at Leipzig:
Pegasos born from the blood of the Gorgon.

(2) Etruscan kylix in the British Museum:
Pegasos born from the blood of the Gorgon.

See page 853 n. 4.
The *aegis* and *Gorgoneion* of Athena 853

and dignified by death (fig. 668). It will be seen that this final type, under the influence of regal portraiture, discards the full-face for the profile view and thereby exchanges its old prophylactic quality for a new ideal value.

Where prophylaxis was still required, the older horrors survived, as on Greek relief-ware of the fourth century (fig. 670, a, b), or might be made yet more horrible, as on Etruscan bronze-work of the same period (fig. 671).

The entire range of these modifications could be illustrated by a sequence of Greek and Roman coin-types, of which a few samples are here given (figs. 672—693). And a similar series might equally well be made out for vases, or gems, or other products of minor art.

formerly in the Laurenti and Blacas collections, now in the British Museum (C. Lenormant *Nouvelle galerie mythologique* (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 117 no. 1 pl. 28, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 59, 2 (= my fig. 667), ii. 266 'von der pathetism Typus,' Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 77, i p. 179, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 333 no. 3542 pl. 35). Even the eyebrows are whiten and snaky. C. Davenport *Camus* London 1900 pl. 6 gives a fine coloured illustration of this amethyst and adds the conjecture that it was one of a pair of *phalerae*.

1 A clouded chalcedony of Graeco-Roman date, found on the Caelian at Rome, later in the Strozzi (hence known as the 'Strozi Medusa') and Blacas collections, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 148 f. no. 1256 pl. II, pl. 1829 pl. 23, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 180 f. no. 63 pl. 137, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 40, 18 (= my fig. 668), ii. 191 f., Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 77, 4 p. 179). The inscription ΣΩΛΩΝΕΞ behind the head is, as Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 192 concluded, a genuine signature of that Julian engraver (J. Sieveking in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii a. 978 f.). Medousa has twelve snakes in her hair.

2 Cp. the head of Alexander the Great on tetradrachms of Makedonia issued under Acallas and Sura (93—88 B.C.) (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, etc. p. 19 f. no. 84 fig. and no. 87 fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 355 pl. 24, 15, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 86 pl. 138, 10 and 11).


4 From a bronze *lēbes*—handle in my possession. The plate at either end is protected by the relief of a *Gorgoneion* with flying hair (scale ½). Equally gruesome is the bearded and snake-fringed *Gorgoneion* on two Etruscan *byllikes* in Leipzig and London (pl. lxv).

5 Fig. 672 a tetradrachm of Athens 310—307 B.C. (*McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 347 no. 5791 pl. 204, 23). On the *Gorgoneion* as official Athenian badge see C. T. Seltman Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion Cambridge 1924 p. 50 ff. fig. 37 f. pl. 4, A 54—57, 60 f., v, 66 (c. 550—546 B.C.), p. 86 ff. fig. 52 pl. 14, A 208—213 (510—507 B.C.).

Fig. 673 a bronze coin of Olbia, probably cast in 2. vi—v B.C. (*McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 133 no. 4274 pl. 184, 5) in imitation of the Gorgon-type at Athens (E. H. Minns Scythians and Greeks Cambridge 1913 p. 484 pl. 2, 1, C. T. Seltman *op. cit.* p. 132 ff., *Ed. Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 180, 303 pl. 40, 1). This was the earliest issue of Greek coinage in bronze.

Fig. 674 a bronze *hemilitron* of Kamarina c. 413—405 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 39 from a cast). Cp. the *hemilitron* of Himera before c. 413 B.C. (*McClean Cat. Coins* i. 272 pl. 75, 6 and 7).
The *aigis* and *Gorgóneion* of Athena

Archaic Type, without snakes.

![Fig. 673.](image-url)

Archaic Type, with snakes.

![Fig. 678.](image-url)

Transition to Middle Type.

![Fig. 680.](image-url)

![Fig. 681.](image-url)

![Fig. 682.](image-url)
The *aigts* and *Gorgoneion* of Athena

**Middle Type.**

Fig. 683.  
Fig. 684.

Fig. 685.  
Fig. 686.

**Beautiful Type.**

Fig. 687.  
Fig. 688.

Fig. 689.  
Fig. 690.

**Assimilation of Helios to the Gorgon.**

Fig. 691.  
Fig. 692.

Fig. 693.
856 The aigts and Gorgoneion of Athena

Fig. 675 a billon statér of Lesbos c. 550—440 B.C. (McClean Cat. Coins iii. 103 no. 7985 pl. 275. 1).

Fig. 676 a silver statér of Neapolis in Makedonia c. 500—411 B.C. (McClean Cat. Coins ii. 2 no. 3075 pl. 112, 8).

Fig. 677 a silver hemidrachm of Neapolis in Makedonia c. 411—350 B.C. (McClean Cat. Coins ii. 3 no. 3078 pl. 112, 11).

Fig. 678 a silver drachm of Abydos c. 480—450 B.C. (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas, etc. p. 1 pl. 1, 2).

Fig. 679 a silver drachm of Apollonia ad Rhynacum in Mysia c. 450—c. 330 B.C. (ep. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia p. 8 pl. 2, 2).

Fig. 680 a silver hemidrachm of Parion in Mysia c. 400—300 B.C. or later (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia p. 95 pl. 21, 8).

Fig. 681 a silver hemidrachm of Parion in Mysia c. 400—300 B.C. or later (McClean Cat. Coins iii. 58 no. 7654 pl. 263, 8).

Fig. 682 a silver hemidrachm of Parion in Mysia c. 400—300 B.C. or later (from a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum).

Fig. 683 a silver piece of ten units from Populonia in Etruria c. 450—350 B.C. (McClean Cat. Coins i. 18 no. 123 pl. 8, 1). On the Etruscan Gorgoneion as inspired by the early coinage of Athens see the illuminating remarks of C. T. Selman Athens its History and Coinage p. 130 ff.

Fig. 684 a silver piece of twenty units from Populonia in Etruria c. 350—280 B.C. (ib. i. 19 no. 128 pl. 8, 6).

Fig. 685 (from a specimen of mine) and fig. 686 (from another in the Fitzwilliam Museum) are Roman denarei struck by L. Plautius Flancus c. 47 B.C. (Babelon Monn. rép. rom. ii. 325 ff. nos. 14—16 figs. (no. 16 in gold is a forgery), M. Bahrfeildt Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde der römischen Republik Wien 1897 p. 205 ff. pl. 9, 217 and 218, Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. i. 516 f. nos. 4005, 4006, 4009 pl. 50, 15, 16, 17). It appears that C. Plautius Venox, who was censor also with Appius Claudius Caecus in 312 B.C., had allowed the flute-players to wear masks at their festival the Quinquatrus Minuciae on the Ides of June, when they roamed about the city and assembled at the temple of Minerva (Ov. Fast. 6. 651 ff. with Sir J. G. Frazer’s commentary ad loc.). The mask on the coins of L. Plautius is treated as a Gorgoneion of the middle type and often shows a couple of snakes in the hair.

Fig. 687 a bronze coin of Seleukos i Nikator (312—280 B.C.) (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 6 f. pl. 2, 14, P. Gardner Types of Gr. Coins p. 195 f. pl. 14, 6, cp. McLean Cat. Coins iii. 325 no. 9246 pl. 325, 9).

Fig. 688 a bronze coin of Amphipolis issued in imperial times but without emperor’s head (from a specimen of mine, cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia, etc. p. 48 nos. 44 and 45, McLean Cat. Coins ii. 29 no. 3227 pl. 117, 22).

Fig. 689 a bronze coin of Chabakta in Pontus issued in the time of Mithradates Eupator (120—63 B.C.) (McLean Cat. Coins iii. 8 no. 7382 pl. 251, 4, cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus, etc. p. 27 pl. 5, 4, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach Monn. gr. d’As. Min. i. 77 pl. 11, 23, ib. ii. 105 pls. 11, 23 and K. 3).

Fig. 690 a Roman denarius struck by L. Cossutius Sabula c. 54 B.C. (from a specimen of mine, cp. Babelon Monn. rép. rom. i. 437 f. no. 1 fig., Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. i. 405 f. no. 3234 pl. 42, 22).

Fig. 691 a silver drachm of Rhodes c. 304—166 B.C. (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 245 pl. 39, 2, cp. McLean Cat. Coins iii. 205 no. 8598 f. pl. 300, 26 f.). Magistrate’s name ΓΟΡΟΣ.

Fig. 692 a silver drachm of Rhodes c. 304—166 B.C. (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 245 pl. 39, 1). Magistrate’s name ΑΙΝΗΤΟΡ. On this coin the hair of Helios is markedly snaky and two snakes are tied under his chin.

Fig. 693 a silver drachm (?) of Rhodes c. 87—84 B.C. (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. cxii pl. 45, 3). Magistrate’s name ΓΟΡΟΣ. On this coin the assimilation of
The *aigts* and *Gorgoneion* of Athena 857

We are, however, concerned primarily with the *aigts* of Athena. And here it is interesting to see how, through contact with that dominant and yet gracious personality, the *Gorgoneion* was gradually converted from demon to angel. On the Albani statue\(^1\) (fig. 694),

\[\text{Fig. 694.}\]

Helios to the Gorgon—perhaps originally suggested by the name Gorgos—is completed by the addition of small wings in the hair.

which presupposes a bronze original of c. 450 B.C., the negroid face with animal tusks and lolling tongue has already become less frightful. The tusks have gone; the tongue is going. On the Dresden ‘Lemnia’ (fig. 695), one of two marble copies of a Pheidias (?). Athena in bronze, c. 450—440 B.C., the cheeks are still too broad, but the tongue is pulled in, and the snakes are no longer knotted under the chin. On the Kassel statue (fig. 696), a later version of the same original, the tongue is just visible, but the face is a better oval, and the snakes are replaced by a tangle of snaky tresses. Finally, on the Vavakeion statuette (fig. 697), a Hadrianic reduction of the Parthenos, the head in the centre of the shield develops a pair of winglets and might be mistaken for a mediaeval cherub!

One other Gorgoneion remains to be considered—the expiring effort of Graeco-Roman accommodation in the west. The British goddess presiding over the hot curative springs at Bath was Sul or more correctly Sulis, whose name—probably akin to the Old Irish súil ‘eye’—was the Celtic equivalent of the Latin Sol. These hot springs at Aquae Sulis are unique in the British Isles, and the natives seem to have thought that the sun as it sank beneath the western waves warmed the waters below and sent them up hot and bubbling to the surface. Their healing properties would

4 S. Marinatos in the Eph. Αρχ. 1927—1928 p. 17 f. fig. 7 (after Sir A. Evans The Palace of Minos London 1921 i. 276 f. fig. 207, c 2) cp. one side of a four-sided cornelian seal (‘Middle Minoan ii’) from central Crete, on which appears a facing head with apparent side-wings. But Sir Arthur is careful to explain these as ‘locks flowing out on either side and terminating in coils’ like those of Ishtar.
5 The only forms of the name at present known are the genitive Sulis and the dative Sulii. But other inscriptions may yet be forthcoming, for much of the ground adjoining the Bath still awaits excavation. Prof. J. R. R. Tolkien in R. G. Collingwood—J. N. L. Myres Roman Britain and the English Settlements Oxford 1936 p. 264 n. 1 points out that the Celtic nominative must have been Sulis.
6 M. Ihm in Roscher Lex. Myst. iv. 1592 and 1599. For the sun conceived as an eye see supra i Index p. 882, ii Index p. 1389.
then lead to the equation of Sulis the sun-goddess with Minerva, who at Rome and elsewhere bore the title Medica. The equation is attested not only by three out of the ten inscriptions so far discovered at Bath, but also by an interesting passage in Solinus who says:

1 The circumference of Britain is 4875 miles. Within this space are many great rivers, hot springs too equipped with luxurious arrangements for the


2 (1) Corp. inscr. Lat. vii no. 43 = Dossau Inscri. Lat. sel. no. 4660 (on a small altar figured by H. M. Scarth Aquae Sulis London 1864 p. 47 pl. 13) deae Suli Minervae | Sulinus | Matu|r|ri fil | v. s. 1 m. The name Sulinus, which recurs in Corp. inscr. Lat. vii no. 37, is no doubt theophoric. Cp. the Welsh saints Sul (Tyssul), Sulian (Tyssilio), Sulien (F. G. Holweck A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints St Louis, Mo. 1924 pp. 939-994).


3 (3) Corp. inscr. Lat. vii no. 42 (on an altar figured by H. M. Scarth op. cit. p. 48 pl. 14) deae Sulii Minervae et n[u]minibus Aug(ustorum) C. | Curciatus | Saturninus | 7 (centurio) leg(ionis) II Aug(stae) | pro se suisque | v. s. 1 m.

3 The fullest collection, though marred by a few misprints, is that of F. Heichelheim in Paulus—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv A. 723 f.


Galfredo Monnomutensis (Geoffrey of Monmouth), writing between 1136 and 1189 A.D., works this passage of Solinus into his fabulous Historia regum Britanniae 2. 10 successit deinde Bladud filius, tractavitque regnum viginti annis: hic aedificavit urbeum Kaerbadum qua nunc Badus nuncupatur, fecitque in illa calida balneae ad usus mortalium apta. quibus praefecti numen Minervae: in cujus aede inextinguibles posuit ignes, qui numquam decibebant in favillas, sed ex quo tabescere incipiebant, in saxes globos vertebatur.

H. M. Scarth op. cit. p. 3 (after T. D. Whitaker(? in The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine 1801 x. 232 f. 'loose coals fused into nodules') offers a simple explanation of the concluding sentence in Solinus and Galfried. The fire was not built of wood, which turned to white ashes, but of coal, which burnt into cinders. He adds that coal is to the present day dug up at Newton St. Loe, three miles from Bath: a point which is the more noteworthy, since if the interpretation be correct, it is the first mention of the use of coal in Britain. To the same effect San-Marte (A. Schulz) in his edition of Geoffrey (Halle 1854) p. 220 and R. G. Collingwood—J. N. L. Myres Roman Britain and the English Settlements Oxford 1936 p. 232.

The aigis and Gorgoneion of Athena

Fig. 698.
The *aigis* and *Gorgoneion* of Athena
service of mankind. The power presiding over these springs is Minerva. In her temple are perpetual fires which never pass into white embers, for as soon as the fire has died down it turns into stony nodules. 1

The local cult was, during the Roman occupation, thoroughly classicised, and a noble bronze head (figs. 698, 699) 2 'found under Stall Street in 1727, close to the south-west corner of the Baths' may well be that of Sulis Minerva herself. 3 It was originally fitted with a helmet, beneath which the hair escaped about the brows. This, and the long neck clear of drapery, recall Niketas' 4 description of the great Bronze Athena on the Akropolis at Athens. Indeed, there are so many marks of Pheidian style here present—the long narrow eyes, the emphasised lower lid, the absence of overlap, the strong broad nose, the short upper lip—that we need not hesitate to recognise a Roman copy of that famous original. The surface bears numerous traces of thick gilding, and when first set up the whole statue must have been a resplendent sight, the sun-goddess in a glory of gold. 5

Among the architectural remains of her temple, 6 discovered under the Pump Room in 1790, are large portions of a triangular relief (pl. lxvi and fig. 700) thus described by Mr A. J. Taylor: 7

'Fragments from the tympanum of a temple pediment. When complete, the sculpture represented a group of arms, viz., a shield bearing a head inside oakwreaths, upheld by two winged Victories; a helmet with large cheekpieces and a crest like an animal's head; something, possibly a standard, with an owl perched on it, and, to the extreme right what may be the traces of a floriated cuirass. The head on the shield is marked by an astonishing and almost barbaric vigour and both in style and in vehement character stands almost if not quite alone among the sculptures of the western Roman Empire. It has wings and snakes in the hair and, though bearded, may represent some

1 H. M. Scarth *Aqua Solis* London 1864 p. 35 ff. with Frontispiece, J. Hatton *The Book of Bath* s.i., s.a. p. 17 fig., A. J. Taylor *The Roman Baths of Bath Bath* 1933 p. 40 no. 31 with 2 figs. (full-face and profile). I am indebted to Mr Taylor for the photographs from which my figs. 698, 699 were made.

2 This is the conclusion justly reached by Mr Taylor op. cit. p. 40. Mrs D. P. Dobson *The Archeology of Somerset* London 1931 p. 150 is content to say 'the bronze female head, possibly that of Minerva.'

3 Niket. Chon. 359 C p. 739 Bekker (cp. *supra* p. 725 n. 1) ὁ δὲ τὸ ἄχινο χείλιον ἄρτου καὶ πρὸς τὸ δεισδεόμενον ἀπαθείμονον ἄραχον εἰς ἠδονὴν βίαιαν ἢ ... ἢ δὲ κόρη ἐκ πλέγμα δεισδεόμενη καὶ ἀειμορμένη ὑσιαι, ὁδὸ κάθητο ἐκ μετάκων, τροφή τι ποῦ ὁφθαλμῶν, μη ἐπιστεύει τοῦ θέαντι συνεχομένη, ἀλλὰ τι καὶ παρεμφαίοναι τοῦ πλαιμοῦ.

4 On the impression produced by golden statues see S. Eitrem in *Symbolsae Osloenses* 1936 xvi—xvii. 177 ff.

5 A restoration of its tetrasystyle Corinthian façade is given by S. Lysons *Remains of two Temples and other Roman Antiquities discovered at Bath London* 1802 p. 7 ff. col. pl. 5.

6 A. J. Taylor *op. cit.* p. 23 no. 1 with pl. (part of which = my fig. 700).
Pedimental relief from the temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath.

See page 862 ff. with figs. 700, 701.
The *aegis* and *Gorgóneion* of Athena 863

variation on the common Medusa, whose head often appears on shields. This Medusa, if such it be, and the owl suggest that the temple was dedicated to Minerva, goddess of Bath.¹

The *Gorgóneion* of Sulis Minerva (fig. 701)² has been diversely interpreted. G. Scharf³ in 1855 declared that it is not a *Gorgóneion* at all, but just a personification of the Hot Spring itself. Most critics admit that it is indeed the head of Medousa, but a Medousa of a peculiar, provincial type. F. Haverfield and H. Stuart Jones⁴, to account for the beard and moustaches, suggest the contamination of Medousa with Phobos. R. G. Collingwood⁵ derives the type, 'glaring, ferocious, apotropaic,' from 'the human or demonic masks of early La Tène art,' and hints at the possibility that the Bath sculptor may have been no Briton, but 'Priscus of Chartres'⁶ or one of his Gaulish colleagues. My own belief is that the *Gorgóneion* here as elsewhere⁷ is treated as a representation of the sun. Sulis was a sun-goddess. The centre of a pediment is the right place for a solar disk⁸. The head itself has 'locks standing out flame-wise' and a 'fiery suffering expression.' If in Rhodes the head of Helios could be assimilated to the *Gorgóneion*, I conceive that at Aquae Sulis (Aquae Solis some called it)⁹ the *Gorgóneion* could be assimilated to the head of Sol.¹⁰ Thus, in a sense, the Gorgon ends

¹ From a photograph by Mr S. R. Lewin kindly procured for me by Mr A. J. Taylor.

² G. Scharf in *Archaeologia* 1855 xxxvi. 194 ff. The flowing locks are streams of water; the great hollow shield is the basin in which they collect; the two wreaths are oak-groves surrounding the spot. Etc. H. M. Scarth *op. cit.* p. 23 f. is inclined to follow suit.


⁵ Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4661 (found at Bath) Priscus | Toutil f. | lapidariu[s], | civis Car[nu][tenus Su[ll]] | deae v.[f.s.].

⁶ *Supra* p. 845 n. 9.

⁷ *Supra* i. 293 ff. figs. 213—218.


⁹ *Supra* p. 855 figs. 691—693.

¹⁰ In *itin. Anton. Aug.* p. 486, 3 Wesseling (p. 74 Cuntz) Aquis Sulis m. p. vi cod. B (Parisinus Regius 4807, i. ix A.D.) reads solis. So also the *tabula Peutingeriana* (on which see *supra* p. 142 f.) segmentum i. 5 aquisolis.

¹¹ This would be a concession to Roman sentiment. In any sun-cult the Romans would expect some indication of a masculine Sol. It is worth observing that fragments of two smaller pediments were found at Bath, one showing the bust of Luna in a concave panel (H. M. Scarth *op. cit.* p. 24 pl. 6, A. J. Taylor *op. cit.* p. 39 no. 5 fig.), the other three rays of a radiate Sol in a similar medallion (J. Carter *The Ancient Architecture of England* London 1798 (ib.² London 1837) p. 9 pl. 9 fig. A, S. Lysons *Remains of two Temples and other Roman Antiquities discovered at Bath* London 1802 p. 8 col. pl. 9 fig. 6, G. Scharf in *Archaeologia* 1855 xxxvi. 198 f., H. M. Scarth *op. cit.* p. 24).
where she began. For early Greek *Gorgonêia*, by way of added horror, were apt to grow a beard; and here we have a late

Fig. 701.

Roman *Gorgonêion* producing the same effect by the self-same means.

(5) The aigis of Athena transferred to Zeus.

It would seem, then, that the aigis was, and had been from time immemorial, an attribute of Athena. That pre-Greek mountain-mother was wont to manifest herself as Snake or Owl, and on attaining human form continued to wear the old snake-skin or owl-skin as a potent relic of her animal estate. Further, the snake’s head or owl’s head tended from the first to take on the apotropaic features of the Libyan Gorgon: as a Gorgōneion it had, we saw, quite a history of its own.

If such was the story of the aigis, one point is still obscure. Should we not expect to find that in the earliest extant literature of the Greeks the aigis would be treated as the exclusive property of Athena? And yet that is far from being the case. Athena wears it, of course1. But so also does Apollon2, and even uses it to wrap round the dead body of Hektor3. More than that. Among the pre-Homeric appellatives embedded in Homeric verse4 few are so frequent or so universally recognised as Zeus aigiochos, Zeus the ‘aigis-bearer’, which in Iliad and Odyssey together occurs just fifty times5, but is never once applied to Athena6. How, we may well ask, did Zeus come thus to usurp the sacred prerogative of Athena? Fully to answer that question would demand a better knowledge than we possess of the momentous transition from Aegean to Achaean worship7. Homer at most drops a single significant hint:

The copper-smith Hephaistos gave the same
For Zeus to wear and rout mankind withal8.

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1 Iliad 2. 446 ff., 5. 738 ff., 18. 203 f., 21. 400 f.
2 Iliad 15. 307 ff., 318, 360 f.
3 Iliad 24. 20 f.
4 Supra i. 444, ii. 384 n. 9, iii. 781.
5 Supra i. 14 n. 1, iii. 13.
6 A. Gehring, Index Homericus Lipsiae 1891 p. 73 (almost always in the gen. aigiochos, but Od. 9. 275 gen. aigiochoi, and Iliad 2. 375 nom. aigiochos Kronidēs Zeōn and Iliad 8. 287, Od. 15. 345 nom. Zeōn τέρας aigiochos).
7 The nearest she gets to it is in such phrases as Αθηναίης κοβρη Diōs aigiochoi (Iliad 5. 733, 8. 384, Od. 13. 255, 371, 24. 529, 647 etc.), θεγατερ Diōs aigiochoi (Iliad 5. 818). Zeōn τέρας aigiochos καλ. Αθηναίη (Iliad 8. 287). See H. Ebeling, Lexicon Homericum Lipsiae 1885 i. 41.
8 For what may be reasonably conjectured with regard to this transitional period see especially the works of M. F. Nilsson The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion Lund 1927, The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology Cambridge 1932, Homer and Mycenaean London 1933. There is a helpful statement of its outstanding problems by A. W. Gomme in E. Eyre, European Civilization Its Origin and Development Oxford 1933 i. 597—538.
9 Iliad 15. 309 f. ἡ δὲ χάλκης [Ἡφαιστος Δίῳ δώκε φορήματι ἐς φόβον ἄνδρων].

Aristonikos of Alexandria, a famous Homeric scholar who lived in the time of
Thunderbolt of Zeus transferred to Athena 867

So Zeus got his aigis from Hephaistos, the consort of Athena. Our problem begins to solve itself. We shall not be far wrong if we maintain the following positions: (1) The aigis belonged by right to the pre-Hellenic Athena. (2) When the Achaeans arrived with their all-conquering Zeus, he must needs take over the magical garb of the goddess, and the minstrels coined for him that persuasive epithet aiglochos. (3) For all that, the common people were not persuaded, and—apart from one half-hearted attempt on the part of an Ionian vase-painter—the artists never equipped Zeus with an aigis so long as Hellas was genuinely Hellenic. (4) But, when Hellenic art gave place to Hellenistic culture, Homer once more dominated the imagination of men and Zeus aiglochos regained his canonical supremacy.

(6) The thunderbolt of Zeus transferred to Athena.

If Athena in Hellenistic times ceded her aigis to Olympian Zeus, Olympian Zeus had not long before lent his thunderbolt to Athena. And indeed Athena was no unworthy recipient. The western part of her ‘ancient temple’ on the Athenian Akropolis was devoted to the lightning-powers—Hephaistos of the double axe, Erechtheus the ‘Cleaver’, Poseidon with his fork. Was this perhaps the point of Athena’s strange boast at the close of the Eumenides? ‘I alone of the gods know the keys of the store-chamber in which the thunderbolt is sealed up’?

Euripides is more outspoken than Aischylos. In the Troiades Athena, because of Aias son of Oileus has torn Cassandra from her sanctuary, is minded to take vengeance on the Greeks.

Augustus and Tiberius (L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 964—966), was impressed by the passage, as we gather from schol. A. ll. 13. 310 ἡ διπλή (i.e. the marginal mark >, which was tantamount to our N.B.) ὅτι σαφῆς Διι ἐκκάκωσται ἡ αἰγίς, καὶ οὐκ ἔστω Αθηνᾶς, καθὼς οἱ νεῶτεροι πονηταί λέγονται.

1 Supra pp. 189 ff., 234 ff., 236, 736.
2 Supra ii. 712 f. pl. xxx.
3 Supra p. 533 ff.
4 Paus. i. 36. 5, on which see supra p. 758.
5 Supra pp. 700, 735, 736. For Athena herself holding the double axe see supra ii. 675 f. figs. 529, 530, 532, iii. 190 n. 6 fig. 100.
6 Supra ii. 793 f., iii. 737.
7 Supra ii. 789 ff., 850, iii. 736.
8 Aisch. Eum. 827 f. καὶ κλήδας οἶδα δώματος μόνη θεών | ἐν ὃ κεραυνός ἐστιν ὀφθαλμα-μένος.
9 Eur. Tro. 77 ff.
She discloses her design to Poseidon and explains what will happen
When homeward bound they sail from Ilion.
On them will Zeus send rain and endless hail
And darkling storm-winds from the upper sky—
Saith he will give me too his fiery bolt
To smite the Achaeans and to burn their ships.

Sundry later writers state that in the event Athena struck Aias with the lightning\(^1\), and Heron of Alexandreia\(^2\), taking his cue from the *Nauplius* by Philon of Byzantium\(^3\), describes how the story was staged for his marionettes. In the fourth scene of their little play Nauplius the wrecker raised his torch, while Athena stood beside him. In the fifth and concluding scene Aias was shown swimming towards the shore, when, with a crash of mimic thunder, the fatal bolt fell\(^4\) and the puppet hero disappeared in the waves.

It is not, however, till the third\(^5\) century B.C. that Athena is actually represented with the thunderbolt in her hand. Antigonos Gonatas (277—239 B.C.)—or, less probably\(^6\), his nephew Antigonos Doson (229—220 B.C.)—issued imposing tetradrachms with the reverse type (figs. 702, 703)\(^7\) of an archaistic Athena, seen from behind, who bears a Gorgon-shield on her left arm and brandishes

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2 Heron *abstratorius* 22. 3 ff. (i. 417 ff. Schmidt).
3 *Id.* *ib.* 20. 1 (i. 403 Schmidt), 20. 3 (i. 408 Schmidt).
4 K. Titel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 996—1000 contends that Heron's life should probably be dated in the beginning of 3. i B.C., *ib.* 997 f. that he was a younger contemporary of the mechanic Philon, and *ib.* 1051 that, with a few alterations, he simply took over Philon's representation of the Nauplius-myth.
5 We are not told that Athena herself flung the bolt. But that is because the text at this crucial point is defective: 22. 6 (i. 414 Schmidt) \(\dot{\eta} \tauων \tauευεν \varepsilonκτωρος \varepsilonφαινετο \\& \\delta \ Αιας \varepsilonπανκοσ < \eta \ \delta \ \varepsilonφων \ \\varepsilonπι\) (suppl. H. Diels) = \(\muηχαυη \tauε \ \& \ \\varepsilonνοθεν \ το\ \varepsilonπικον \ \varepsilonξαθη, \ \& \ \varepsilonποημεναι \ ειν \ \varepsilonπι \ το\ \varepsilonπακε \ \varepsilonπορευεν \ \varepsilonπι \ \το\ \varepsilonλαβο \ \& \ \varepsilonπαν \ του \ \varepsilonνεμου.
6 Browning was guilty of more than one slip when, confusing the third-century demagogue Lachares with the fourth-century sculptor Leochares, he made Aristophanes declare that 'Lachares the sculptor' had carved a naked Pallas and remark: 'Moreover, Pallas wields the thunderbolt | Yet has not struck the artist all this while' (*Aristophanes* *Apology* ed. 1889 p. 132). The whole context has been convincingly cleared up by C. T. Seltman in a paper on 'The Dismantling of the Pheidian Parthenos' read to the Cambridge Philological Society on Nov. 3, 1932 (Cambridge *University Reporter* 1932—1933 p. 337 f. = *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 1932 cli—clii. 12 f.).
7 *Hunter* *Cat.* *Coins* i. 340 pl. 73. 19, *McClean* *Cat.* *Coins* ii. 70 pl. 134, 2 and 3; *Head* *Coins of the Ancients* p. 75 pl. 41. 5; *Id.* *Hist. num.* 8 pl. 231 fig. 144, *Id.* *Coins of the Greeks* p. 62 pl. 38. 3, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 223, 260 pl. 50. 8. Figs. 702 and 703 are from two specimens in my collection.
a thunderbolt with her right. An exceptional specimen at Florence (fig. 704)\(^1\), believed by Svoronos to have been struck at Athens\(^2\), shows the same goddess as seen from in front, advancing to the right, not the left. On tetradrachms of Philip v (220—178 B.C.) she reappears, a comparatively clumsy figure in the usual stance\(^3\).

She is commonly called Athena Alkis\(^4\) and identified with the Athena Alkis or, better, Alkidemos worshipped at Pella\(^5\). But the goddess of Pella, to judge from the coins of her town (figs. 705, 706)\(^6\),

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1 J. N. Svoronos _Les monnaies d’Athènes_ Munich 1923—1926 pl. 21, 23 (={my fig. 704). A similar reverse, but not from the same die, is found on another _unicum_ at Berlin (W. W. Tarn _Antigonus Gonatas_ Oxford 1913 Frontispiece and p. 174 n. 20). Two further specimens are noted by Imhoof-Blumer _Monn. gr._ p. 119 f. no. 69.

2 On account of the small _kolathos_ behind Athena (Imhoof-Blumer _op. cit._ p. 130 n. 21a), but C. Seltman _Greek Coins_ London 1933 p. 260 expresses himself with caution. We await an authoritative statement from Mr. E. T. Newell.


4 So by numismatic writers in general (B. V. Head, Sir G. Macdonald, Sir G. F. Hill, S. W. Grose, etc.). W. W. Tarn _Antigonus Gonatas_ Oxford 1913 pp. 177 n. 31, 200 says ‘Athene Alkis or Alkidemos.’

5 Liv. 43. 51 Pellae, in vetere regia Macedonum, hoc consilium erat...ipse (sc. Perseus, last king of Makedonia) centum hostis sacrificio regaliser Minervae, quam vocant Alcidemon, facto cum purpuratorum et satellitum manu profectus Cithurna est. So W. Weissenborn (ed. 2 Lipsiae 1930). Older editors, e.g. A. Drakenborch (ed. Lugd. Batav—Amstelaeadami 1743), had printed _Aclidem_. The right reading was already divined by Turnebus (1517—1603).

6 _Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins_ Macedonia, etc. p. 90 no. 5 fig. (={my fig. 705), _Hunter Cat. Coins_ i. 362 pl. 25, 2, _McLean Cat. Coins_ ii. 90 f. pl. 140, 4 and 5. Head _Hist. num._\(^2\) p. 244. Fig. 706 is from a specimen of mine.
brandished a spear, not a thunderbolt, and in this guise appears already on tetradrachms issued by Ptolemy I Soter c. 314 B.C. in the name of the young prince Alexander IV (figs. 707, 708)\(^1\) and copied by Demetrios Pollorketes\(^2\), Agathokles\(^3\), and Pyrrhos\(^4\). She was therefore a warlike goddess comparable with the Thessalian

![Fig. 707.](image1)

![Fig. 708.](image2)

![Fig. 709.](image3)

\(^1\) McLean, *Cat. Coins of the Ancients* p. 58 pl. 28, 21 ("Pallas Promachos...perhaps a representation of the statue of Athena Alkis at Pella"), *Id. Hist. num.* p. 848 f. fig. 374 (wrongly described as "Athena Promachos, hurling fulmen"), *Id. Coins of the Greeks* p. 51 pl. 18, 19 ("Athena fighting...a representation of the statue of Athena Alkis at Pella"), Sir G. F. Hill, *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 107 ff. no. 62 pl. 8 ("Athena...wielding spear in r."), C. Seltman, *Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 223, 240 pl. 58, 2 and 3 ("a fighting Athena...a thunder-weapon in her upraised right hand"). Figs. 707 and 708 are from specimens of mine which show clearly that the supposed thunderbolt is meant for a spear.

\(^2\) J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 301 pl. 1A', 9 a gold statér with *obv.* Nike on prow, *rev.* an archaic Athena advancing to left in the Promachos-attitude with Gorgon-shield on left arm and spear in raised right hand.

\(^3\) Supra p. 784 n. 7 with fig. 580.


During the presence of Pyrrhos in Sicily the Syracusans, by way of compliment to their gallant ally, struck bronze coins which have for reverse type Athena advancing to the right with uplifted spear. But not unfrequently the compliment was intensified and the effect heightened by the substitution of a thunderbolt for the spear. See *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 266 f. with fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 243 f. nos. 216 f. and 218 ff., McLean, *Cat. Coins* i. 344 pl. 104, 6; 7 and 8–10, Sir G. F. Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 163 f. fig. 46.
Athena *Itonia* (fig. 709). Perhaps we may claim that Antigonos sought to magnify the Athena of Pella by giving her the thunderbolt, just as his Boeotian contemporaries added a thunderbolt to their own winged form of *Itonia*.

Athena fulminant on the bronze coinage of Athens in pre-Roman times (fig. 710) may reflect some temporary rapprochement between the Athenians and Antigonos.

In any case the type was attractive and travelled far afield. It is found, under Attic influence, on a drachm of Phaselis in Lykia struck c. 190—168 B.C. (fig. 711). It was very popular with the Graeco-Indian kings from Menandros to Gondophranes (figs. 712, 713, 714).

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2 *Supra* p. 810 n. 1 fig. 627.


4 See W. W. Tarn *Antigonos Gonatas* Oxford 1913 for the political situation in 182/1 (p. 127), in 276—273 (p. 218), in 270 (p. 390), and later (pp. 705, 723).

5 *Brit. Mus.* Cat. *Coins* Lycia, etc. pp. lxvii, 81 pl. 16, 13 (= my fig. 711).

Thunderbolt of Zeus transferred to Athena

713). And it appealed of course to Domitian (fig. 714), a notorious devotee of Minerva.

If Athena thus borrowed the thunderbolt of Zeus, while Zeus appropriated the aigis of Athena, small wonder that the populace came to regard the goddess as second self to the god, and associated the two in not a few Hellenistic cults. A sample will serve. P. Aelius Aristeides, himself apparently a priest of Zeus and not likely to minimise the honour due to his deity, in 164 A.D. pronounced an encomium of Athena at Pergamon where Daughter and Sire were worshipped side by side. I translate a few sentences from beginning and end of the oration just to show his drift:

'It seems to me that she was the deity actually foremost in honour, or assuredly one of the few who then stood first. That is why Zeus could not have ordered all things aright, had he not set Athena by his side as partner and counsellor. She alone wears the aigis perpetually. She alone arranges for

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1 Fig. 712 is from the Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 44 pl. 11, 7 Menandros; fig. 713, from ib. p. 78 pl. 18, 2 Azes.


Mr C. T. Seltman first drew my attention to the seal-impression of Athena fulminant, found at Niya in Chinese Turkestan, which is figured on the title-page of several works by Sir Aurel Stein, e.g. M. A. Stein Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan London 1903 p. 396 f. title-vignette and fig. i on p. 395 a Kharoshthi document on a double oblong tablet (N. xv. 166) with clay impress of a Hellenistic gem, which shows an archaising Athena to right with uplifted thunderbolt and Gorgon-shield.

2 Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Emp. ii. 447 Index. Fig. 714 is from an aureus of 83 A.D. published ib. ii. 306 no. 42 pl. 60, 10.


5 Supra ii. 127.

6 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1924 ii. 2. 702, 1494.

7 Supra i. 118 ff., ii. 955.
the Homeric warfare in her Father’s armour. And as in a conjurer’s hall Zeus and the goddess appear together in the same equipment.

‘To sum up, Athena’s portion is the agorā of the gods, where all business is transacted. Hence she is nearest to Zeus, and, whatever be the matter in hand, the same decision always commends itself to both. Here I suppose I ought to stop; for my speech has returned to its starting point, nay rather has reached its goal. If one claimed that she was the very Power of Zeus, one would not—I contend—be far wrong. Why then go into detail by expounding her particular activities? Enough to say that the works of Zeus are works common to Zeus and to Athena.

(i) Zeus Hŷes.

The whole topic of Athena and her relation to Zeus, which has occupied us for the last two hundred pages, has been (I am well aware) something of a digression. It arose naturally, indeed inevitably, from a consideration of the Parthenon pediment, the design we found to be based, at least in part, on the curious ritual of the Bouphonia, an Attic equivalent for the rites of Zeus Hyéteios.

If now we rejoin the high-road and pursue the main line of our investigation, we have next to ask whether there is any further evidence for the worship of Zeus Hyéteios, ‘the Rainy,’ in the Greek area.

A gloss of the lexicographer Hesychios, echoed by the grammarian Theognostos, explains that Hŷes (perhaps better

1 Aristeid, op. 2. 10 (i. 14 Dindorf) δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ πρεσβυτάτη θεών φίλαι, ἡ κομίδη τῶν εὐαρέσχων καὶ τῶν πρώτων ὄντων ἐν τῷ τότε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως ἔκαστα δέ Ζεὺς διεῖλεν, εἰ μὴ παρέδρον τε καὶ σύμβουλον τῷ Ἀθηνᾶ παρεκθίσατο. καὶ γάρ τοι μόνη μὲν τῆς αἰγίδας δὲ αἰώνιος φορεῖ, μόνη δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ πάτρου ὑπὸ λογίου εἰς τὸν Ὀμυρίκου τῦλμον κοσμεῖται· οὖν δὲ ἐν αὐξήθη θυσιαστικοῖς ἄμα τοὺς αὐτοὺς δε τε Ζεὺς καὶ ἡ θεὸς χρῆται.

2 Id. ib. 16 (i. 27 Dindorf) ὡς δ’ εἰσέθη ἐν κεραλαίῳ, τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς μέρος ἡ θεών ἁγιά <ο> (ins. Causabon) πάντες ἐστὶ τὰ πράγματα· ταύτη ἁμα καὶ τού Δίως ἄστιν ἐγγύτατο καὶ περὶ παντὸ παντὸ ἐν ἀμφίῳ δοκεῖ. καίμους πεπαινθεῖ κακῶν ἐναπθὸς ποι. ἀνελήλυθε γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἄρχην ὧν λόγος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐλήλυθε πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἔσχατον. σχεδὸν γὰρ δύναμιν τοῦ Δίως εἶναι λέγω τις αὕτης ἕκτους ὅποις ἱκανον. ὡς τί δεῖ μικρολογεῖσθαι τάς ἐν μέρει πράξεις αὐτῆς διηγομένων, ὅποτ’ ἔξεστι τὰ τοῦ Δίως ἐργα καυμα τοῦ Δίως εἶναι φήσαι καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς;

With the description of Athena as δόμασι τοῦ Δίως cp. the stone at Thyecteira inscribed Δίως Ἀθηνοίον | δόμασι (ὑπός ii. 808 n. o (o)).


3 Supra pp. 656 f., 661 f., 720, 733, 737.

4 Hesych. Τής Ζεύς διμήρους. See M. Schmidt in ed. 1. Id. in ed. 2. prints Τῆς for ὑπ φοις cod.

Zeus Ἰήσ

accentuated Ἰήσ means Zeus Ὄμβριος, 'the Showery.' Hesychios, a trustworthy source, unfortunately omits to mention the locality where Zeus was called Ἰήσ. But in the preceding gloss he states that Ἰήσ was a name given to Semele 'from the rain.' And Ἰήσ as a name for Semele is attested by Pheraykides as early as the fifth century B.C. It is therefore tolerably certain that Ἰήσ and Ἰήσ (perhaps Ἰήσ and Ἰήσ) were Thraco-Phrygian appellatives of the sky-god whom the Greeks named Zeus and of the earth-goddess whom they named Semele. The one rained, the other was rained upon.

But if this divine pair was really Thraco-Phrygian, we should expect them, in accordance with Thraco-Phrygian belief, to have had a son bearing the same name and evincing the same nature as his father. And that is precisely what happened. Dionysos—as we have already had occasion to note—was called Ἰήσ, a name variously explained by the ancients from Kleidemos (c. 350 B.C.) onwards, but always in allusion to rain. When Aischines, grown to manhood, capered through the streets, with a posse of Sabazian revellers behind him, shouting

'Ἰήσ Ἀττες, Ἀττες Ἰήσ,'

he was, I take it, much like the mystics of Eleusis, raising the old-world cry

'Rain Father, Father Rain,'

not, as Sir James Frazer conjectures, calling Attis a Pig!

1 Herodian. περὶ καθολικὴς προσφύλας 3 (l. 59, 20 f. Lentz) το δ' ὶης περισσάται ἥχον τὸ ὦςτεν καὶ τὸ θύρη, Κερὴ λασύλλωθαι κλίνουσα.
2 Supra p. 225 ff.
3 Hesych. Τῆς Ἡ Ἐμελὴ ἀνὸ τῆς (θ)ησεως καὶ δ' δείχθη (αι λέγ. δ' ἰκεληρεν ετειλη βραδευότατος κα κοινωνεα κελευοντων. W. Dindorf in Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. VIII. 66 c doubts the connexion).
4 Pherayk. frag. 46 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 84 Muller)=frag. 90 n—e (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 84 f. Jacoby). Supra ii. 274 f.
5 H. Usener in his discussion of Sondergöttter was the first to distinguish this primitive pair of rain-deities as'Τῆς, 'Της (Götternamen Bonn 1896 p. 46 f.).
6 Supra ii. 287 f.
7 Supra ii. 275.
8 Kleidemos frag. 2 (Trasp Frag. gr. Kultschr. p. 42 f.) quoted supra ii. 275 n. 11.
9 F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 591.
10 Supra ii. 275.
12 My explanation was long since anticipated by Michael Psellus (supra ii. 292) τοπ ὅτε δοκάμεν τὁτ δεκά p. 109 Boissouade (quoted supra i. 399 n. 5, cp. O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ix. 88 ΟΣ Ὁ ΖΕῦ Σαβάτε, άη 'du mögest regener').
13 Supra p. 299.
14 Supra ii. 297 f.
15 Frazer Golden Bough: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 22 'Perhaps the cry of 'Ihes

Zeus and the Hail.

At this point something must be said about one special form of rain, the frozen pellets that we term hail. For hailstones provide an obvious transition from the soft beneficent raindrops to the harder and more formidable aerolites.

Hail bulks big in modern folk-lore. It could scarcely be otherwise: fruit-grower and farmer know what damage it may do and are quite ready to try any and every superstitious recipe that promises to avert the threatened mischief.

Similarly in ancient times the peasant had recourse to a singular variety of expedients, which have been admirably collected and discussed by E. Fehrle.

Pliny the elder (25—79 A.D.), a man of vast erudition, is shy about mentioning irrational or indecorous detail, but here and there drops a significant hint, while on occasion his love of the marvellous prompts him to include this or that item of folk-belief. He says, for example:

\textit{natt. hist. 17. 267} Most people hold that hailstones can be averted by a charm, the wording of which I should not seriously venture to quote.

28. 29 There are charms against hailstorms and against various diseases and against burns, some even attested by experience, but I am prevented from giving particulars by a feeling of extreme diffidence in view of the great variety of men's minds. So each must form his own opinions about them as he may feel inclined.

Attest! Hyes Attest!" which was raised by the worshippers of Attis, may be neither more nor less than "Pig Attis! Pig Attis!"—\textit{\ γνις}, "a pig." \textit{id. ib. n. 4} says that this suggestion was made to him in conversation by R. A. Neil of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

I note one scrap of evidence which might be pressed in favour of Frazer's etymology. At the Weber Sale in 1919 the British Museum bought the bronze statuette (\textit{\ ο\ η\ η\ α\ η\ η\ α\ ι\ ο\ ν\ ε\ η\ ι\ ή\ ς} long by \textit{\ θ\ ο\ θ\ α\ } high) of a boar standing on a thin base-plate. The figure is of poorish workmanship and is inscribed along the left side of the body in late lettering \textit{MYPTINHQC|OCABAZIQ}. May we infer that Myrline thought of Sabazios himself as a Boar?

1 Two monographs are deserving of special mention: (1) G. Bellucci \textit{La grandine nell' Umbria}, con note esplicative e comparative e con illustrazioni \textit{(Tradizioni popolari italiane no. 1)} Perugia 1903 pp. 1—136 (now out of print). (2) The rich collection of classified facts contributed by Stegemann to the \textit{Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens} Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1304—1320 ("Hagel, Hagelsauber").

Zeus and the Hail

28. 77 Hailstorms and whirlwinds, they say, are driven off if the monthly course be exposed to the actual lightning-flashes. Thus the violence of the sky is averted, and storms at sea even without the courses.

37. 124 It is said too that this stone (sc. the amethyst) averts hail, and locusts likewise if a prayer be added, which they show you.

More explicit are the directions given by the Geoponika, a farmer's handbook, which devotes two chapters to the subject:

1. 14 Concerning Hail. By Africanus. 1

1. Let a woman in her courses exhibit her person to hail, and she turns it aside. All wild animals too flee such a sight. 3

2. Or take a virgin's first cloth and bury it in the midst of the place, and neither vine nor seeds will be injured by hail. 4

3. And if a strap from the skin of a seal be hung from a single conspicuous vine, hail will do no damage, as Philostratos observes in his Heroikós. 6

4. Some say that, if you show a mirror to the impending cloud, the hail will pass by. 8

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1 This collection of excerpts on agriculture, made at the bidding of the Byzantine emperor Constantius VII Porphyrogennetos (913–959 A.D.), was based on an older compilation by Cassianus Bassus, a sixth-century scholar, who himself drew from two fourth-century sources, the comparatively rational and scientific σωφρονεῖν γνωρίζων είσοδονάσων by Vindobonius Anatolius of Berytos, and the more magical and mystical περὶ γνωρίας ἐκλογαί by the younger Didymos of Alexandria (see K. Krumbacher Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur München 1897 pp. 261–263, L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 1038, E. Oder ib. vii. 1221–1725, W. von Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1920 ii. i. 291 f.).

2 From the καυστος of Sex. Iulius Africanus (W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 119), to be dated c. 300 A.D. (supra ii. 695 n. 9).

3 E. Fehrle in Allemannia 1912 Dritte Folge iv. 15 cites Plin. nat. hist. 28. 77 (supra p. 876).

4 E. Fehrle ib. cites Plout. symp. 7. 2 σεν ἐδεικτε τὸ περὶ τὴν χάλαζαν εἶναι τὴν υπὸ χαλασμοφιλάκων ἀλματείον ἀπόθελον καὶ βρασὶς γυναικεῖον ἀποτροπαμήν. Fehrle in ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ iii. 7 remarks that two manuscripts, a cod. Guelferbytianus and a cod. Palatinus in the Vatican, in place of the indecent recipes (1) and (2) substitute the following: (1) εἴρων λίθων χαλαζίναν (cp. Plin. nat. hist. 37. 189),  ἔχεις καὶ ὅταν ἱερεῖς τὴν χάλαζαν, κρούσαν αὐτὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τὴν ἀμφιθραύσει, καὶ ἀποστραφᾶς. (2) καὶ ἕτερον πτερὸν τὸ δεξιὸν λαβὼν μέσον τὸν κορνοῦ χύσω, καὶ ὅταν ἡ ἀμπέλιον ὅστε τὰ σπέρματα ὑπὸ χαλάζης ἀδικηθήσεται.

5 E. Fehrle in Allemannia 1912 Dritte Folge iv. 16 f. was the first to point out that for Φιλοστράτου ἐν τῷ ἱστορικῷ κατὰ μήκος, the allusion being to Philostr. her. 3. 25 (Palamedes to the peasant) 'σού δέ ἐπικοῦν φιλεῖς τού ἀμπέλους, εἰτέ μου, τί λαμβάνει περὶ αὐτοῖς ἡδονάς; τί δέ ἑλάσον,' εἶπεν, 'τής χαλάζας, ὅφ' ὦτι ἀκτιλούσαι τε καὶ ῥήγησας; τί μεν οὗτος; εἶπεν ὁ Παλαμήδης, περικτάσωμεν μά τοι ἀμπέλου καὶ βεβηλοῦμεν αὐτοῖς.'

Pallad. 1. 35. 15 itemi vituli marini pellis in medio vinearum loco uni superiecta viticulacae creditur contra immensus malum (sc. grandinis) totius vinearum membra vestitise.

6 Pallad. 1. 35. 15 nonnulli uhi instare malum (sc. grandinis) videntur, oblato speculo imaginem nubis accipiant et hoc remedio nubem (seu ut sibi objecta displiceat, seu tanquam geminata alteri cedat) avertunt.
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5. Again, if you carry the skin of a hyaena or crocodile or seal round your place and then hang it up before the doors of your house, hail will not fall.

6. Or, if you hang many keys of different rooms on a string round your place, the hail will pass by.

7. And, if you set wooden bulls on your buildings, that will help greatly.

8. And, if you take a tortoise found in the marshes and place it on its back in your right hand, you should then carry it all over your vineyard. When you have gone the round of it, then proceed to the middle of your vineyard, set the creature still alive on its back, having heaped a little earth round it in order that it may not be able to turn itself about and get away (it will not be able to do so, if the ground under its feet is a bit hollow, for having nothing to push against it must needs stay where it is), and if you do this, no hail would fall on your field or whole estate.

9. Some folk say that you should carry round and deposit the tortoise at the sixth hour of the day or night.

10. Apuleius of Rome asserts that, if you paint a bunch of grapes on a tablet and dedicate the same in the vineyard when Lyra is setting, the fruit remains free from injury. Lyra begins to set on the 23rd of January and sets completely on the 4th of February.

11. This is what has been said by the ancients. But I hold that some of their sayings are too unseemly and should be rejected, and I advise all and sundry to ignore them altogether. I have included them simply that I may not seem to be omitting anything said by the ancients.

12. And strips cut from the hide of a hippopotamus, placed at each of the boundaries, stop the threatening hail.

1. 15 More concerning Hail. By Africanus.

[The text of this chapter is brief, but so corrupt that little can be made of it.]

1 Pallad. i. 35. 14 Grandini creditur obiari, si quis crocodili pellem vel hyaenae vel marini vituli per spatia possessionis circumferat et in villae aut cortis suspendat ingessu, cum malum viderit imminere.

2 Pallad. i. 35. 14 Item si palustrem testudinem dextra manu supinam ferens vinces perambulet, et reversus eodem modo sic illam ponat in terra, et glebas dorsi eius obiciat curvaturnae, ne possit inerti sed supina permaneat. hoc facto furtur spatium sic defensum nubes inimica transcurrere.

3 Apul. de mundo 3 and 8 mentions hail, but says nothing of this method of averting it. Is Ἀποκλάνθων ό Ρωμαίων a blunder for Ὁδύρων (infra n. 4)? Confusion is worse confounded by the Armenian version ‘Paulus der Römer’ and the Syriac ‘Theophilus Decimus,’ on which see E. Fehrle in ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ iii. 13 n. 8.

4 Plin. nat. hist. 18. 294 Varro auctor est, si fidiculae occasu, quod est initium autumni, una picta consecratur inter vitas, minus nocere tempestates.

5 For τῇ πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν Δεκεμβρίων codd. Fehrle restored τῇ πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν Φεβρουαρίων (from τῇ πρὸ ἔνδεκα καλανδῶν Φεβρουαρίων cod. Parisin. 2313).

6 Sueton. p. 876 n. 2.

7 H. Beckh in the Teubner ed. of 1895 prints without comment Ξόλα δοφήσας παρθενον κυνήμα μελανήματι τῇ δέ ἔκαστῳ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν κυνήμα χρή εἶναι τέ καὶ χώρα. He records but one variant—Δελφορίαν cod. H.

Peter Needham (Cantabrigiae 1704) gave up the passage as hopeless. J. N. Niclas
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Palladius in the fourth century gives several of the foregoing recipes (nos. 3, 4, 5, 8) and prefixes others of his own:

1. 35. 1 For the prevention of hail numerous remedies are current.—Meal is covered with a russet cloth. Again, bloodstained axes are raised in a threatening manner against the sky.

Again, the whole garden is surrounded with white vines. Or else an owl is nailed up with wide-spread wings. Or the iron tools to be used are anointed with bears’ suet.

1. 35. 2 Some keep by them bears’ fat pounded with oil and anoint the hooks with it when they are going to prune. But this cure must be worked in secret so that no pruner may be aware of it. Its efficacy, they say, is so great that no harm can be done by a frost or cloud or any wild beast. It is well to add that the thing, if bruited abroad, is useless.

Magic of this sort might be worked by anyone. But for its proper performance some skill was needed, and the later Greeks had recourse to professional ‘cloud-chasers’ (nephodiōktai), who knew the right spells to use. At Kleonai in the Argolid official ‘hail-guards’ (chalazophylakes) were employed, as we gather from an interesting passage in Seneca:7

‘I will not refrain from exposing all the follies of our Stoic friends. They say that certain men are specially skilled at observing the clouds and can tell

(Lipsiae 1781) at first suggested Ξολα δέσφης καὶ παρθένου κυήμας (a maiden’s shin-bones) κατόρχες. Εἰς ἐκαστὸν δὲ κλῆμα χρῆ εἶναι τὲ καὶ χώασαι, but concluded in favour of Ξολα δέσφης, τὸν παρθένου μήτα (a virgin’s menses), ἀλλόρξιον (or better ἀλλόρξαμ, for ἄλλοι βίοι) εἰς ἐκαστὸν κλῆμα χρῆ θείαι τὲ καὶ χώασαι. I should myself prefer Ξολα δέσφης, ἀσταλάδων κυήμας (sprigs of thorn), ἄλλοι βίοι: τὴς δὲ ἀλοίη καθ’ ἐκαστὸν κλῆμα χρῆ θείαι τὲ καὶ χώασαι or the like (cp. Colum. de re rust. 8. 5 plurimi etiam infra cubilium stramenta granimis aliquid et ramulos lauri nec minus allii capita cum clavis ferreis sublicient: quae cuncta remedia creduntur esse adversus tonitrui, etc.).

1 Supra i. 58 n. 2. ii. 522 n. 2. See now the careful study by Eva Wunderlich Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer Giessen 1925 pp. 1—116 and an interesting review of her book by S. Eitrem in Gnomon 1926 ii. 95—102.

2 Supra ii. 704.

3 Colum. de re rust. 10. 346 f. utque Iovis magni prohiberet fulmina Tarchon | saepe suas sedes praecinxit vitibus albis.

4 Supra p. 793.

5 Geopon. 5. 30. 1 ἄρκεις υπάται τὸν φλοίων ἐκτίμε, καὶ οὐ ποιήσει φθείρας ἡ ἄμφελος, ἢ ἄρκεις στέατα τὰ δρέπανα χρῆ μήνην αἰῶνα, ἐν οί δὲ ἄμφελους τέμνεις: ἢ γὰρ τοὐ άλλομυάτος γραφισι καταλύει τὴν ωφέλειαν καὶ οὔτε φθείρες οὔτε πανετός ἄδικητες τὴν ἄμφελος.

6 Supra p. 33 with n. 4.


See further Frazer Worship of Nature i. 45 f.
when a hailstorm is likely to come. That they might have realised from experience pure and simple, having noted the colour of the clouds commonly followed by hail. But this is hard to believe, that at Kleonai were public officials called chalasophylakes, posted to look out for the coming hail. When these persons had signified the hail’s approach, what think you? That folk ran for their cloaks or leather capes? Not a bit of it. They offered sacrifice for themselves, one man a lamb, another a chicken. And forthwith the said clouds, having tasted blood, took themselves off! You laugh? This will make you laugh louder. If anyone had neither lamb nor chicken, he did what he could without serious damage—he laid hands on himself. Do not imagine that the clouds were greedy or cruel. No, he just pricked his finger with a sharp-pointed pen and made his offering with this drop of blood. And lo, the hail turned aside from his plot of ground quite as much as from that on which it had been begged off by greater sacrifices.

They want a rational explanation of this practice. Some, as befits truly wise men, declare that it is impossible to bargain with hail or buy off storms with trumpery gifts, though indeed gifts vanquish the very gods. Others affirm their suspicion that there is some virtue inherent in blood, which has the power to turn aside and rout the clouds. But how in a little drop of blood could a force reside potent enough to penetrate on high and influence the clouds? Far simpler to say, “This is a lie and utter nonsense.” But, if you please, the men of Kleonai passed judgment upon those who had been entrusted with the duty of foreseeing the storm, on the ground that through their negligence the vineyards had been beaten down and the crops laid low.

One step more, and magic passes upward into religion. A stone built into a wall at Amaseia in Pontos bears an inscription in late lettering (fig. 715), which H. Grégoire was the first to interpret as a dedication to Aither Alexichálasos, ‘Averter of Hail.’ This is the only known case of an actual dedication to Aither, though the Orphic hymn to that deity prescribes saffron as an offering appropriate to him. However, since Aither is invoked by the Clouds of Aristophanes as their father, he may well have been asked on occasion to ward off the cloud that threatened hail.

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1 F. Haase read decuriones with cod. E. But A. Gercke restored Cleonai from cleone (or deone) of cod. Φ and cleonis of cod. δ.
2 T. Reinach in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1895 viii. 84 no. 24 bis with facsimile on p. 78.
3 In J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l’Arménie (Studia Pontica iii) Bruxelles 1916 i. 138 f. no. 114 a with facsimile (= my fig. 715) Ἑδερα δι’ Αλεξίχαλας. See further O. Kern in Hermes 1916 li. 566, id. Die Religion der Griechen Berlin 1916 i. 95 n. 3. Cp. the title Αλεξίχαλας applied to Zeus (supra i. 422 n. 7; Plout. adv. Stoic. de commis. not. 33; Orph. lth. i, Schöll—Studemund aeneid. i. 264 Exeítera ἄδος no. 7, ib. 266 ‘Εξείτερα ἄδος no. 8) and other deities (see G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1464 f).
4 Supra i. 33.
5 Orph. h. Aith. 5 lemma.
6 Aristoph. nud. 569 f.
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Proklos in his account of the Boeotian Daphnephoria states that the bay-bearing procession used to go to the sanctuary of Apollon Isménios and Chaláziós. If the text be sound—and there is no real reason to doubt it—the second appellative implies that the Theban Apollon too was a god 'of Hail.'

But, of course, normally it was Zeus the weather-god who sent both rain and hail. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that in Phrygia he was worshipped as Chaláziós Sóson, the god 'of Hail,

who gives Deliverance.' A stèle of white marble, found at Mahnum Keni (Thracia Kome) near Panderma and now in the Museum at Constantinople, has an inscribed relief of perhaps the first century B.C. (fig. 716). A sunk panel between pilasters shows Zeus, in


2 Eur. Tvo. 78 f. (quoted supra ii. 1 n. 6), Loukian. dial. deor. 4. 2.

3 F. W. Hasluck in the Journ. Hall. Stud. 1904 xxiv. 21—23 no. 4 fig. 1, id. ib. 1906 xxvi. 39, id. Cyprian Cambridge 1910 pp. 223—225 fig. 21, 272 no. 23, Edhem Bey in
chiton and himation, standing with a phiadile in his right hand, a
long sceptre in his left. Beside him is his eagle. Beyond it, a small
altar decorated with a bull sinking on its knees and held by a
young attendant. A draped worshipper approaches the altar from
the left. The background is occupied by a sacred tree, presumably
an oak. On the architrave above the pilasters is inscribed:

Zeus Chaladzios Sbzon.
In the time of Dionysios—

Then below the relief the inscription runs on:

the Thrakiokometai consecrated this stile to the god
to secure good crops and the safety of their fruits
and the health and preservation of the land-lessees and
those who repair to the god and reside in
Thraokia Kome.

Meidias, son of Straton, as first mayor handed over the stile
to the god and to the villagers at his own charges
as a free-will offering.

It will be noticed, in the matter of hail, Greek religion like
Greek magic was throughout concerned to avoid damage, not to
cause it¹. Things were otherwise with the vindictive witchcraft of
the middle ages (fig. 717)².


(a) The cult of meteorites.

It remains to mention what is in some respects the most
amazing and terrifying of all celestial phenomena—the fall of
meteorites³. Scientifically speaking, we must of course group these

¹ See V. Stegemann in the Handvörerbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens Berlin—
Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1305—1311. My fig. 717 is reduced (§) from Ulricus Molitor
De laonis et phallonicis materibus [Strassburg c. 1488—1492], where it is prefixed to
cap. 3. Apparently the witch and two of her followers are travelling through the air,
transformed into animals and mounted on a forked stick, while a hailstorm breaks from
a dark cloud to injure the trees.

² The facts with regard to meteorites are well set out and illustrated by O. C. Farrington Meteorites Chicago 1915 pp. 1—233 with 65 figs. There is also a series of
10 cards in monochrome (set D 1) issued by the British Museum (Natural History) to
illustrate its collection at South Kensington.

The folklore of the subject is touched upon by H. A. Miers ‘The Fall of Meteorites
C III.

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The cult of meteorites

with the shooting-stars. But in popular belief they are very different, not soundless streaks of light moving across the nocturnal sky, but an explosive bombardment from above leaving the earth littered with visible débris. Hence shooting-stars are as a rule a good omen, meteorites a sign of downfall and ill-luck. Accordingly these mysterious bodies, when they were not dissipated into impalpable powder, but reached the ground in some bulk, were always viewed with peculiar veneration, their sudden arrival being attributed directly or indirectly to divine agency, most often that of a sky-god.

Much material said to bear on their cult in ancient Egypt has been collected in a series of important papers by Mr G. A. Wainwright. I shall therefore restrict myself in the main to evidence drawn from the Hellenic or Hellenistic area.


'Aérolithes ou Météorites,' W. Gundel 'Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben der Alten und der Neuzeit' Bonn—Leipzig 1923 p. 352 Index 212. 'Meteore,' id. in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii a. 2446; and more systematically handled by V. Stegemann in the Handwörterbuch der deutschen Altertumswissenschaft Berlin—Leipzig 1934 vi. 217—228.


2 G. A. Wainwright 'The aniconic Form of Amon in the New Kingdom' in the Annales du service des antiquités de l’Egypte Le Caire 1928 xxviii. 175—189 argues that the aniconic form of Amon—evidenced by a sûfie from Asyut (fig. 1: dynasty xviii—xix), a couple of bronze plaques from Memphis (figs. 2 and 3: 593—588 B.C.), three models from Karnak (fig. 5 after G. Daressy 'Une nouvelle forme d’Amon' ib. 1908 ix. 64—69 pl. 1, a, b, c, d, of which a front + d right side=} my fig. 718: Persian or early Ptolemaic period), and a Roman sculpture at Medinet Habu (fig. 4 after Daressy loc. cit. pl. 2)—is normally associated with Min the thunderbolt-god and may well have been a 'meteorite, or a fragment of one, which was kept as a sacred thing, on a stand or throne, wrapped up, and decorated with a feather on top and mystic figures on the wrappings' (p. 183).

Where an actual meteorite was not available, it might be represented by an omphalos—witness the one found by G. A. Reisner in the inner part of Amon’s temple at Napata (Gebeb Barkal) (fig. 7 after F. Ll. Griffith ‘An Omphalos from Napata’ in The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 1916 ii. 255 with fig. = my fig. 719. Material: sandstone. Date: c. 1 A.D.) or the omphaloid fetish in the Ammoniteion (supra i. 315 ff.).

Id. ‘The Relationship of Amün to Zeus and his connexion with Meteorites’ in The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 1930 xvi. 35—38 restates his view ‘that Amün of Thebes was a god of the air, a sky-god; that his sacred object at Thebes was a meteorite; that he was intimately connected with, if not actually derived from, his far older neighbour Min, the thunderbolt-god of Koptos; and that the omphalos of Zeus-Ammon at the Oasis of Ammonium (Swah) had of itself certain characteristics which associate it with the weather.’ He makes three further points in support of the same thesis. (1) Zeus was identified with Amün of Thebes as far back as 900 B.C., for D. G. Hogarth in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1899—1900 vi. 107 pl. x, t.f. published a small bronze statuette of Amun-Rā, good early work of the New Empire, found by him in the Psychro Cave (supra ii. 916 n. 6). (2) At Kassandra on Pallene imperial coins show the head of Zeus Ammon (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonias, Etc. p. 65 nos. 3
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and 4 Claudius, 5 Vespasian, 6 Domitian, [Hunter Cat. Coins i. 273 f. nos. 1—3 Claudius, 4 and 5 Nero, 6 Vespasian, 7 pl. 19, 32 Titus and Domitian, 8 Caracalla, 9 Caracalla or Elagabalus, McClean Cat. Coins ii. 24 nos. 3194 and 3195 pl. 116, 13 Nero, 3196 pl. 116, 16 Caracalla] and a famous meteorite is known to have been worshipped (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 150, infra p. 886). (2) At Gythion again there was a cult of Zeus Ammon (supra i. 351) and the stone of Zeus Kappatos (infra p. 939ff.), 'clearly a meteorite.'

Id. ib. 1931 vii. 151 f. in a trenchant critique of K. Sethe Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis (Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1929 Phil.-hist. Classe no. 4) Berlin 1929 demurs to Sethe's view that Yahweh originated in Egypt from Amun as a result of the Sojourn, and concludes: 'As a matter of fact there are other Egyptian gods who are as much, or more, like Yahweh than is Amun. The probability is that they, and Amun, and Yahweh himself, as well as many other gods of the Near East, were all local developments of the one primitive conception of the air-, storm-, or sky-god.'

Id. 'The emblem of Min' ib. 1931 vii. 185—193 discusses the thunderbolt first recognised by P. E. Newberry as the symbol of Min (supra ii. 767 n. 7). Wainwright too traces its development chronologically from the middle prehistoric period, when it was an arrow-like weapon with triple or double or single barb at either end, through a time of transition (end of dynasty vi to beginning of dynasty xiii), till from c. 2000 B.C. onwards it attained a final form identical with that of the normal Greek thunderbolt. 'Min thus comes into relationship with Zeus; and this is not unnatural, seeing he was the original of Amun, who was Zeus' (p. 188). Since coins of Seleukia in Syria exhibit both the thunderbolt of Zeus Keratonios (supra ii. 809 figs. 771 and 772) and the omphaloid stone of Zeus Kashmir (supra ii. 982 f. figs. 880—884), Wainwright is able to urge that the one is the Greek, the other the Semitic form of the same object. He recalls the contention of F. Lenormant 'Zeus Casis' in the Gén. Arch. 1880 vi. 142—144 (id. in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1881 iii. 41, id. in Darmest-Dubois—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 935) that the Aramaean god Qase was Hellenized into Zeus Kasios or Zeus Keratonios: 'Qase = Zeus Casis était donc positivement un dieu-foudre ou un dieu-aérolithe, ce qui nous induit à tirer son nom de la racine originairement bilitère qui donne à l'hébreu qedem, 'tailler, rompre,' et qedem, 'tailer, couper,' au syriaque qas, 'brisier,' en rapportant le sens primitif à l'explosion qui accompagne et précède de quelques secondes la chute de tout aérolithe.' On this showing, as Wainwright says (p. 189), 'meteorite, omphalos, and thunderbolt were all one and the same thing in religion.' He further dwells on the close association of 'the three partners, Amun, Min, and Horus' (p. 190), and adopts Newberry's interesting suggestion (Ann. Arch. Amherst 1911 iv. 99 n. 3) that Min's worship was established at Akhmim just because the rocks there are full of Lithodome, a fossil much like belemnites (supra ii. 767 n. 2, 932 n. 1).

Id. 'Letopolis' ib. 1932 xviii. 159—173 argues for the existence of a similar thunderbolt-cult at Letopolis and claims that 'the way into heaven, which was offered there by a rope ladder, was derived from the flight of a meteorite' (p. 165). The cult was established at Letopolis because another quasi-thunderbolt, the fossil Nerinea Requienia, abounds in the rocks there and seems to be characteristic of the locality.

Id. 'The Bull Standards of Egypt' ib. 1933 xix. 42—52 contends that the bull, which occurs on the standards belonging to four of the nomes in the Delta (the sixth, Xois; the tenth, Athribis; the eleventh, the Cabasis; the twelfth, Sebennytus), in each case has reference to the sky- or storm-god, and that the symbols in front of the said bulls, vis. mountain, shield, pole, sickle-shaped meteorite, calf, are at least consistent with this interpretation.

Id. 'Jacob's Bethel' in Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement for 1934 pp. 32—44 applies the results gained from the foregoing investigation of Egyptian meteor-cults to a study of the Palestinian Bethel. Impressed by common features (the ladder set up from earth to heaven, the gate of heaven, the golden calf, etc.) and confirmed by the equation bethêl = Bairavos, Wainwright concludes: 'Thus, there can be no reasonable doubt that Jacob's Bethel was a sacred meteorite, or an omphalos its substitute.'
Classical literature, if we exclude the speculative explanations of philosophers, is seldom concerned with meteorites. But epic poetry has two possible allusions. The Iliad makes Athena dart from heaven to earth like a brilliant and scintillating star that Zeus sends as a sign to men—in short, like a meteor. And the Hymn to the Pythian Apollo represents that god as having landed at Krisa in the same meteoric form.

The most famous of all Greek meteors, the aerolite that fell at Aigos Potamos in 405 B.C., was perhaps associated with the Dioskouroi. A lurid account of it has been left by Daimachos of Plataiai, an early Hellenistic historian, who says:

Before the stone fell, for seventy-five days in succession, there was seen in the sky a fiery body of vast size like a flame-coloured cloud, not resting in one place but borne along with intricate and irregular motions, so that fiery fragments broken from it by its plunging and erratic course were carried in all directions and flashed fire like so many shooting-stars. However, when it had sunk to earth at that point and the inhabitants, recovering from their fear and amazement, had come together, no effect or trace of fire was to be seen—only a stone.

In some aspects of Amin in The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 1934 XX. 139—153 returns to the charge and considers further the relation of Amin to Min. Amin was derived from the much older Min, with whom he had much in common. Yet they differed somewhat. Min had the thunderbolt, while Amin had the meteorite. Min became a fertility-god, while Amin became solarized. Min belonged to the bull-gods and was related to Horus, while Amin belonged to the ram-gods and inclined towards Seth. Amin also differed somewhat from the other ram-gods, for their ram was not his. They were Heryshef, Khnum, and the Lord of Mendes. They primarily controlled the waters on earth, a function not foreign to Amin, who came to do so as well. But from the beginning he had been an air-, sky-, and weather-god. He was the blue firmament, the heavenly counterpart of the earthly waters. His sacred object was clearly a meteorite which came to earth from his very self. Like other meteorites its representatives were omphaloai, of which one at least suggests a fallen star in its material.

These articles, taken together, certainly present us with a consistent picture of meteorite-cult over a wide area of the ancient world. I feel bound, however, to enter two pleas for caution: (1) The equation of thunderbolt = meteorite = omphaloai is not universally valid. Other things beside meteorites might be reckoned as thunderbolts, e.g., flint implements (supra ii. 505 ff., 643). And other things beside meteorites might be represented as omphaloai, e.g., a tomb (supra ii. 219 n. 4), a mound of earth (supra ii. 187), a mountain (supra ii. 983 n. 0). (2) Apart from this assumed equation, we have no adequate proof that Min or Amin had any connexion with meteorites. That the aniconic form of Amin was a meteoric fragment is an attractive hypothesis, but hardly more.

1 On which see O. Gilbert Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums Leipzig 1907 pp. 638—642, 688 f.

2 Supra i. 760.

3 Supra i. 760.

4 Supra i. 762.


7 Cp. O. C. Farrington Meteorites Chicago 1915 p. 27 'Meteorites show little warmth when they arrive upon the earth...Neither are there any indications of any heating effect where meteorites have struck the earth. No bakin' of the soil or charring of vegetation can be observed.'
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lying there, a big one to be sure, yet little or nothing in comparison with the fiery mass observed in the sky.

Plutarch\(^1\) states that the great stone was still shown in his day by the dwellers in the Chersonese, who held it in reverence, and adds that Anaxagoras had predicted the possibility of a fixed star becoming loosened and falling to earth as a heavy stone. Pliny\(^2\) improves on this: Anaxagoras in 467/6 B.C. had predicted the days within which a stone would fall from the sun, a prediction fulfilled when this burnt-looking stone, a waggon-load in size, fell in the daytime at Aigos Potamos. Both Aristotle\(^3\) and Pliny\(^4\) remark that there was also a comet shining in the night at that time. Pliny\(^5\) goes on to mention that in the gymnasium at Abydos another aerolite was worshipped. It was a smallish stone, but Anaxagoras was said to have predicted that it would fall in the middle of the earth. Yet another was worshipped at Kassandraia, the ancient Potideaia, which had been founded on the spot where it fell. Pliny\(^6\) concludes by informing us that he had himself seen such a stone which had recently fallen in the territory of the Vocontii, a tribe of Gallia Narbonensis. One other incident of the sort is on record. Kedrenos\(^7\) the Byzantine annalist notes that in the year 460 A.D. three huge stones fell from the sky in Thrace and Eudokia wife of Theodosios II died at Jerusalem.

\(^1\) Plout. s. Lyc. 12. 1 ff.

Bronze coins of Aigos Potamos, struck in the fourth century B.C., occasionally show a star beneath the goat which forms their reverse type (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 187 no. 4. My fig. 729 is from a cast of this specimen kindly supplied by Mr H. Mattingly). The said star very possibly represents the famous meteorite.

\(^3\) Aristot. meteor. 1. 7 344 b 31 ff.
\(^4\) Plin. nat. hist. 2. 149.
\(^7\) Kedren. hist. comp. 346 b—c (i. 607 Bekker).
Bailtyloi, Baitylia, and Zeus Bétylos

Few terms in the nomenclature of Greek religion have been more loosely used than the word bailtylos. It is so persistently misapplied to sacred stones in general\(^1\) that in 1903 Professor G. F. Moore\(^2\) of Harvard felt constrained to protest against its indiscriminate employment and quite rightly insisted that bailtyloi or baitylia formed a distinct class of holy stones endowed with the power of self-motion. Yet more than thirty years later Sir Arthur Evans still strews broadcast his allusions to 'baetylic' pillars and 'baetylic' altars.

Sotakos\(^3\), a well-informed lapidarist of the early Hellenistic age\(^4\), states that certain ceramiae, black and round, were sacred. Towns and fleets could be captured by their means. And they were called baetuli.

Sanchoniathon of Berytos in his Phoenician history\(^5\) had more to say. Ouranos married his sister Ge and had by her four sons—Elos called Kronos, Bailtylos, Dagon that is Siton, and Atlas\(^6\). Later we read that Ouranos invented baitylia or living stones\(^7\).

The qualities of magic potency mentioned by Sotakos and animation recorded by Sanchoniathon both come out in Photos's extracts from Damaskios' Life of Isidoros\(^8\). The Isidoros in question

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\(^3\) Sotakos ap. Plin. nat. hist. 37. 135.

\(^4\) Kind in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii A. 1211 ('lebte frühesten im Ausgang des 4. vorchristlichen Jhds').

\(^5\) Supra i. 191, ii. 553, 715, 886 n. o (30). 981 n. 1, 984 n. 4, 1021, 1025, 1037 f., 1109 n. o. See now the excellent article by Grimm in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. 1a. 213—2224.

\(^6\) Philon Bybl. frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 367 Müller) ap. Euseb. praep. ev. 1. 10. 16 παραλλαξιν δε τον Οραμαθην την του πατρος (on his father Ευλυμος Τύπις (see supra ii. 886 n. o (30)) ἀρχὴν ἀνέγει πρὸς γάμοι την ἀδελφὴν Γαρ, καὶ ποιώνην εἰς αὐτὴν παῖδας τέκεσας, 'Ἡλαν τὸν καὶ Κρόνον, καὶ Βαυθυλον, καὶ Δαγαν (leg. Δαγῶν) δι' ἄνθροι (supra i. 238 n. o), καὶ Ατλαντρα.

\(^7\) Philon Bybl. frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 368 Müller) ap. Euseb. praep. ev. 1. 10. 23 ἀφ' δε, φαῦνε, ἐπειδὴ δε λεγεν Οραμάθης βαυθύλια, λίθοις ἐμφύοις μηχανήματοι.

was the neo-Platonic philosopher, who was in Athens at the time of Proklos' death (485 A.D.) and shortly afterwards for a while succeeded Marinus as chief of the Athenian school. The scornful and at times indignant Photios gives the following résumé of Damaskios' narrative.

"He says that at Heliopolis in Syria Asklepiades made the ascent of Mount Libanos and saw many of the so-called bátylía or bátylos, concerning which he reports countless marvels worthy of an unhallowed tongue. He declares too that he himself and Isidoros subsequently witnessed these things with their own eyes....

I saw, he says, the bátylos moving through the air. It was sometimes concealed in its garments, sometimes again carried in the hands of its ministrant. The ministrant of the bátylos was named Eusebios. This man stated that there had once come upon him a sudden and unexpected desire to roam at midnight away from the town of Emesa as far as he could get towards the hill on which stands the ancient and magnificent temple of Athena. So he went as quickly as possible to the foot of the hill, and there sat down to rest after his journey. Suddenly he saw a globe of fire leap down from above, and a great lion standing beside the globe. The lion indeed vanished immediately, but he himself ran up to the globe as the fire died down and found it to be the bátylos. He took it up and asked it to which of the gods it might belong. It replied that it belonged to Gennalos, the "Noble One." (Now the men of Heliopolis worship this Gennalos and have set up a lion-shaped image of him in the temple of Zeus.) He took it home with him the self-same night, travelling, so he said, a distance not less than two hundred and ten furlongs. Eusebios, however, was not master of the movements of his bátylos, as others are of theirs; but he offered petitions and prayers, while it answered with oracular responses.

Having told us this trash and much more to the same effect, our author, who is veritably worthy of his own bátylía, adds a description of the stone and its appearance. It was, he says, an exact globe, whitish in colour, three handbreadths across. But at times it grew bigger, or smaller; and at other times it took on a purple hue. He showed us, too, letters that were written on the stone, painted in the pigment called tīnābari, "cinnabar." Also it knocked on

1 W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ix. 2063.
2 A neo-Platonic, expert in Egyptian theology (J. Freudenthal ib. ii. 1631 no. 35).
3 Zotar. lex. 570. bátylos. λίθος γεγομένος κατὰ τὸν Διβάρα, τὸ δρός τῆς Παλαιόλοψης, cp. et. mag. p. 192, 55 (text imperfect).
4 For such λιθόφορο see J. Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xiii. 774 f. and E. Maass in the Rhein. Mus. 1929 lxxviii. 18.
5 A well-omened name appropriate to a priest (supra ii. 921 n. o).
6 Athena stands next to Kerainos on the relief from Emesa (supra ii. 814 n. 3 with fig. 780).
7 Supra i. 571. cp. 578 with fig. 443 a.
8 Cp. supra i. 355. 357. 552.
9 An odd parallel may be seen in G. Pansa Miti, leggende e superstizioni dell' Abruzzo Sulmona 1927 ii. 39 ff. G. Mascetti, an abbot who lived at Pentima at the end of the seventeenth century, in his MS. description of Corfinium states that about 1698 there was
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a wall; for this was the means by which it gave the enquirer his desired response, uttering a low hissing sound, which Eusebios interpreted.

After detailing these marvels and many others even more remarkable concerning the baiyls, this empty-headed fellow continues: "I thought the whole business of the baiyls savoured of some god; but Isidoros ascribed it rather to a daimon. There was, he said, a daimon who moved it—not one of the harmful nor of the over-material kind, yet not of those either that have attained to the immaterial kind nor of those that are altogether pure." He adds in his blasphemous way that different baiylloi are dedicated to different deities—Kronos, Zeus, Helios, etc.

At this point codex A, the Venetian manuscript of Photios, appends a marginal note, which is worth translating.

'‘I too,' says the annotator, 'have heard of a daimonion of this sort in Greece. The people who live there told me that it appeared in the neighbourhood of Parnassos. They recounted other things concerning it even more singular, which deserve to be passed over in silence and not set forth.'

From Kefr-Nebo near Aleppo came a dedication, dated 223 A.D., 'to Seimios and Symbetylos and Leon.' Since the Syrian god Seimios appears to have had a consort variously spelled Seimia, Semea, Sima, it is possible that she is here designated by a Greek apppellative Symbetylos meaning 'Partner in his Battylos.' But the papyri of Elephantine in the fifth century B.C. repeatedly unite two divine names in a compound of which the second element is Bethel, e.g., 'Anathbethel, Ishumbethel, Herembethel.' It may be, therefore, that we have here a late Syrian parallel to the older formation, and that—as O. Eissfeldt suggests—Symbetylos actually represents the Ishumbethel of Elephantine. In which case the first element Sym- would stand for the Babylonian fire-god Isum. But Professor

found near the valley of Virana a very ancient stone fallen miraculously from the sky. It was a 'ceramia' of planispherical shape, four ounces in weight, and milky white in colour. Sunry lines like little veins of cinnabar made raised letters on its surface and were read by the learned as D. DE. SVPER on one side of the stone and IPRI on the other. To this apparent inscription some magical meaning was attached.

1 Codex olii Besselion, nunc inter Venetos S. Marci 450, membranaceus, s. x.

2 The mention of Parnassos suggests that this curious note may contain a Byzantine reminiscence of the stone of Kronos, which was set up γοναθὸς ἔρωτος (Hes. theog. 499) and is often called baiyls (infra p. 936 n. 4). But the whole district was, and is, grossly superstitious. For the beliefs of the peasants at Arachova beneath Parnassos see supra ii. 585 n. 6, 993 n. 2.

3 Supra i. 571 n. 2.

4 Supra ii. 814 n. 3.


7 O. Eissfeldt 'Der Gott Bethel' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1930 xxviii. 20—22.
S. A. Cook\(^1\) reminds us that Ishumbethel at Elephantine is strictly "-s-m-bethel, where vocalisation and meaning are alike uncertain. For, while some take "-s-m to be the Hebrew shēm, 'Name,' a reverential substitute for a divine name, he would prefer to write Ashima-bethel\(^2\). The choice between the Greek and the Semitic interpretation of Symbétylos is indeed far from simple.

More to our purpose, however, is a quadrangular altar (0\(^{72}\)m high) found in the sanctuary of the Palmyrene gods at Dura-Europos (fig. 721)\(^3\). It is dedicated by a Syrian legonary, Aurelius

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\(^1\) S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology* London 1930 pp. 144 f., 150 f.

\(^2\) Id. in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1925 iii. 429, 1927 vi. 143, 180.

Diphilianus, to his national god Zeus Bētylos. And the lettering of the inscription points to a date early in the third century A.D. But whether the appellative implies that the Greek Zeus was here worshipped under the form of a bātylos, or that he had succeeded to the position of some Semitic deity of the -bethel-type, is not clear. Sanchouniathon's personified Baitylos is hardly decisive.

It is commonly assumed as self-evident that the Greek word bātylos is an approximate transliteration of the Hebrew Bēthel, 'House of God.' But the equation is not free from difficulties. My colleague Mr H. St J. Hart points out to me that in Scripture the name Bethel is attached to two quite distinct places. The better known one, twelve miles north of Jerusalem, is in Hebrew Bēthel, in Greek Baithēλ. The other, in the Negeb or 'Dry' plateau of Judah, is variously spelled—not only as Hebrew Bēthēl = Greek Baithēλ, but also as Hebrew Bēthūl = Greek Bathoul and Hebrew Bēthūl = Greek Bathoul. It may therefore be argued that the Hebrew Bēthēl had an alternative form Bēthūl, which gave rise to the Greek bātylos, bētylos. Failing that, we are driven to posit some dialect (Phoenician?) in which the same connective u-sound occurred.

Whether Jacob's stone at Bethel was an ordinary Massēbhah, as I have supposed, or a meteoric block, as Mr G. A. Wainwright thinks possible, is a further problem. The name Bēthēl is intelligible on either hypothesis. But to cite in support of the latter view certain neo-Babylonian cylinders on which appear shield-shaped objects marked with a ladder and set upright on divine seats (figs. 722-724) is, I fear, to explain ignotum per ignotius.

1 See in primum O. Eissfeldt 'Der Gott Bethel' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1930 xxviii. 1-30.
2 H. Seyrig loc. cit. p. 71.
3 Supra p. 887.
4 I. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 363.
5 1 Sam. 30. 27.
6 Jos. 19. 4.
7 1 Chron. 4. 30. Cp. also the man's name Hebrew Bēthūl=Greek Bathoul (Gen. 22. 22 f.).
8 E. Meyer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1224, followed by K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 2780, cp. 'Ain-El, Eye of God' = Αὐνός or 'Βαύνος (Arrian. 2. 30. i) king of Byblos.
9 Supra ii. 127 n. 7.
10 Supra p. 884 n. 6.
12 W. H. Ward The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia Washington 1910 pp. 193-195 figs. 544, 546-549, 550 (=my fig. 724), 550 (=my fig. 721), 552 (=my fig. 723), 555, 556: 'The irregular oval object resting on the divine seats, and surmounted by a star or a crescent, is not easy to explain, but it is not itself important except as the support for
Yet, whatever be the case with the stone at Bethel, there can be little doubt that the Syrian *battlyoi* or *baityllia* really were—as G. F. Moore¹ contended—either smallish meteorites or neolithic implements believed to have fallen from heaven².

The Syrian cult of meteorites is attested by one other record, which does not contain the actual word *battlyos*. Sanchouniathon³ states that Astarte⁴, 'as she travelled round the world, found a star fallen from the sky, picked it up, and consecrated it in the holy island of Tyre.' Sir G. F. Hill⁵ would bring this statement into connexion with an omphaloid stone in a portable shrine represented on imperial coins of Tyre. But we have already ventured to explain that stone as the emerald-block of Herakles⁶, who at Tyre bore the star of Ishtar and the crescent of Sin. It may represent, in a corrupted form, the horned turban of the god as seen, two or three together, on kudurru's.'


⁴ On the Tyrian Astarte, who was identified sometimes with the moon, sometimes with the planet Venus, see F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1777 f.

⁵ Sir G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxi. 61 f. pl. 4, 25 (enlarged §).

⁶ *Supra* i. 356 fig. 273.
the remarkable epithet *Astrochiton*, 'He of the Starry Robe.' Since the Tyrians treated the celestial Herakles (Melqarth) as consort of the celestial Astarte, the two explanations are not necessarily irreconcilable.

(c) Kybele and meteorites.

An odd tale, which associates Kybele with the fall of a meteorite, is told by Aristodemus of Alexandreia, a pupil of Aristarchos. It appears that a certain flute-player named Olympichos was being instructed by Pindar on the mountain where he used to practise. Suddenly there was a loud report, and a flame came flashing downwards. Pindar, perceiving it, discerned a stone image of the Mother of the gods falling at his feet. Whereupon he set up close to his house an image of the Mother of the gods and of Pan. Meantime the citizens sent to enquire of the god concerning the portent. He bade them build a sanctuary for the Mother of the gods. So, astonished at Pindar's anticipation of the oracle, they joined the poet in his cult of the goddess.

We have here, if I am not mistaken, an attempt to give historicity to a myth. Pindar teaching the flute-player Olympichos on a mountain-side is but Pan teaching the flute-player Olympos, eponym of the Mysian mountain. If historical happenings may give rise to myths, it is also true that myths may give rise to would-be historical happenings.

The story is of interest, however, because it suggests a meteoric origin not only for the sacred stone of the Mother in her temple on the Mysian Ide, but also for her 'Zeus-fallen image' at Pessinous in Phrygia. This celebrated image is expressly said to have dropped

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1 *Nomn. Dion.* 40, 387 ff. (Dionysos at Tyre) εἶτ δόμων Ἀστροχίτων ἑκάμας, καὶ πρόμοι ἄστρων. τοῖον ετε χαλάσατο μοστάδι φωνή: Ἀστροχίτων Ἡρακλῆς, ἀνά χυόν, ἤχαμα χάμαν. Ἡδίς, κ.τ.λ. *Ib.* 408, 413, 422, 423.
2 Supra i. 386, ii. 761.
5 E. Schwarte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 925.
6 P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 860 ff. is curiously blind to this rather obvious parallel.
7 Supra i. 100, ii. 983 n. 2.
8 Claud. *de rapt. Proz.* 1. 201 f. hic sedes augusta denue templique colendi | religiosa silex. (M. Platnauer mistranslates 'the sacred statue').
Kybele and meteorites

from the sky\(^1\), and is described as a stone of sooty colour and black substance, of small size, easily carried in the hand, and rough with projecting angles\(^2\). The Romans in obedience to an oracle sought and obtained possession of it (205—204 b.c.)\(^3\). Appian\(^4\) serves up the traditional tale:

'Now at Rome certain direful signs sent by Zeus befell, and the Decemvirs on consulting the Sibylline books declared that at Pessinous in Phrygia, where

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1 Appian. *bell. Annib.* 56, Herodian. 1. 11. 1, Amm. Marc. 22. 9. 7.
the Phrygians worship the Mother of the gods, something would shortly fall from heaven and must be brought to Rome. Not long afterwards news came that the image had fallen, and to Rome it was brought. Indeed the day of its arrival is still kept as a festival for the Mother of the gods. The story goes that the ship bearing it stuck in the mud of the river Tiber and could by no means be floated off until the soothsayers predicted that it would follow only if drawn by a woman pure from intercourse with strangers. Claudia Quintia, who had been charged with adultery, but not yet tried, and on account of fast living was thought a most likely culprit, vehemently called the gods to witness her innocence and fastened her girdle to the hull. Thereupon the goddess followed, and Claudia passed from the depth of infamy to the height of fame. But before this affair of Claudia the Romans had been bidden by the Sibylline books to transport the image from Phrygia by the hands of their best man. So they had sent the man reckoned their best at the moment—Scipio Nasica, son of Cn. Scipio who had been general in Iberia and had fallen there. Nasica was cousin of the Scipio that had robbed the Carthaginians of their empire and first earned the title Africanus. In this way the goddess was brought to Rome by the best of their men and women.

An altar of Luna marble dedicated to the Mother of the gods by one Claudia Syntyche was found more than two centuries since at the Marmorata on the Tiber-side and is now in the Capitoline Museum. A relief on the front face (fig. 725) shows the Vestal

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1 Better Claudia Quintia, on whom see F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 2899 no. 435.
2 L. Re—F. Mori Sculture del Museo Capitoline Roma 1896 i Attrio pl. 24, Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 4. 11 f. pl. 63, 816 (=my fig. 726), Stuart Jones Cat.

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Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome p. 181 f. Sala delle Colombe no. 109 b pl. 43 (=my fig. 725), W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Leipzig 1912 i. 442 f. no. 798, H. Haas Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—xi p. xix fig. 157, E. Strong Art in Ancient Rome London 1929 i. 43 with fig. 38. Height 0.85 m. On the right face, a pedum and cymbals; on the left face, a Phrygian cap with lappets; on the back, pipes. The inscription is given in Orelli Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 195, Corp. Inscr. Lat. vi no. 492 = 30777; Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4096 Matri deum et Navi Salviae | Salviae voto suscepto | Claudia Syntyche | d. d. The second word Salviae is probably a mere case of dittography, though L. Bloch in
Claudia standing statue-like on a plinth as she draws the ship by her girdle. The sacred stone is not to be seen, unless we can identify it with the small object on deck in front of the seated goddess.

Once received at Rome the black stone of Kybele was treated with exceptional honours. A. Audin even contends that it was regarded as a second Palladium imported to replace the Trojan original, whose protective power would not last beyond the fated limit of a thousand years. The stone was housed at first in the temple of Victory on the Palatine, and subsequently in a temple of its own dedicated to the Magna Mater at the top of the Scalae.

Philologus 1893 lxxi. 581 f. thought that it was a Greek freedwoman's indifferent Latin for pro salute Navis Salviae.

A replica of this inscription, brought from Rome to Verona (no. 131), is given in F. S. Maffei Museum Veronense Veronae 1749 p. xc no. 1, Orelli Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 1966, Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 493, Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4097 Navi Salviae et Matri deum d. d. Claudia Sinty[che]....

A third inscription, likewise found at Rome and relating to the same cult, is given in Orelli Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 2403 ("Veiluris"), Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 494, Wilmanns Ex. inscr. Lat. no. 106, Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4098 Matri deum [et Navi Salviae Q. Nummius | Telephus mag. | col. culto. eius | d. s. d. d. (=magister) col(legii) culto- (rum) eiusmodi (suo) d(onum) d(edit)).

Maffei supposed that Navisalviae was a single word designating the divinised Claudia as 'Ship-saving' on account of her exploit. But Orelli with far greater probability took Navi Salviae to mean 'the Ship Salvia,' associated in cult with the goddess whom she carried. L. Bloch loc. cit. points out that a trireme in the praetorian fleet at Misenum was actually called Salvia (E. Ferrero L'ordinamento delle armate romane Torino 1878 p. 29), being presumably a namesake of Kybele's well-omened vessel. A ship built with timber from the pine-woods of Mt Ida (Ov. fast. 4. 273 f.) was a fitting vehicle for the Mater Idaea (supra ii. 950 n. 0).

1 Ioule or. 5 p. 209 Hertlein speaks of these miracles as kowd mév ἐν τῷ πλειστών ἱστορογράφων ἀναγραφόμενα, συνήθεσιν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χαλκῶν εἰκόνων ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ καὶ θεωφόλει Υάμη. A statue of Claudia in the vestibule of the temple of the Magna Mater on the Palatine survived two conflagrations of that edifice, in 111 B.C. and 3 A.D. (Val. Max. i. 8, 11, Tac. ann. iv. 64).

2 Not impossibly Claudia would be conceived as attaching her girdle to the sacred stone of the goddess, much as the Ephesians at the time of Croisos' invasion bound their gates and walls by cords to the columns of Artemis' temple (Ail. var. hist. 3. 26), or as Kylon and his men fastened a braided thread to the statue of Athena on the Akropolis at Athens (Plout. v. Sol. 12). The object in each case was to maintain close contact with the goddess. Cp. supra ii. 408 and perhaps ii. 657 fgs. 591—593.

3 A. Audin 'Le Palladium de Rome' in the Rev. Arch. 1929 ii. 46—57 (a very venturesome article).

4 Herakl. frag. 12 Bywater, 92 Diels ap. Plout. de Pyth. or. 6 Σιβόλλα ὑπὸ μαυρομένῳ στόματι καθ' Ἐφελτιών ἄγοντα καὶ ἀκαλώποτα καὶ ἀμφώτερα φθεγμένη χίλιων ἑτῶν ἐξεκινεῖ τῇ φωνῇ δίὰ τῶν ἰδίων. Audin reckons that 1000 years from the fall of Troy (1184 B.C.), when Kassandra the Trojan Sibyl announced the migration of her countrymen to Rome, would expire in 184 B.C. The importation of the Mater Idaea in 205, at the advice of the Sibylline books, might secure a new lease of life for the state!

5 Liv. 29. 14.
Caci. Here it remained for a good six hundred years, set in silver to serve as the face of a statue, the base of which is still to be seen. This black, quasi-human face, with its silver setting and its rich jewellery, must indeed have presented a singular sight, comparable with that of some black mediaeval Madonna.

But its original form is imperfectly known. E. Beulé, followed

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2 Prudent. peristeph. 10. 156 f. lapis nigellus evehendus essedo, | muliebris oris clausus argento sedet.

3 Arnob. adv. nat. 7. 49 (after the passage cited supra p. 894 n. 2) et quem omnes hodie ipso illo videmus in signo oris loco positum, indolatum et asperum et simulacrum faciem minus expressam simulatione praebentem.

4 M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1525 thinks that the stone from Pessinus was placed in the mouth of the statue; but he appears to be mistranslating the words of Arnobius.

The statue was still existing in the time of Theodosius the Great (378-395 A.D.), for Serena his niece robbed it of its necklace (Zosim. 5. 38).

5 H. Jordan—C. Hülser op. cit. i. 3. 23 with pl. 2, k, S. B. Platner—T. Ashby op. cit. p. 325.


7 E. Beulé Les monnaies d'Athènes Paris 1858 p. 317 ff. with fig. (=my fig. 730: Munich).

C. III.
at first by B. V. Head\textsuperscript{1}, made the interesting conjecture that it is represented on new-style tetradrachms of Athens bearing the names Kleophanes and Epithetes (figs. 727—730)\textsuperscript{2}. The magistrate's badge on these coins is an upright conical stone with projections suggestive of a face and seemingly with a 
\textit{ktes} beneath it. Attached to its apex by a knot is a fillet or covering, which hangs down on either side and recalls Damaskios' description of the \textit{battvlos} 'concealed in its garments'\textsuperscript{3}.

A possible parallel to the \textit{battvlos} of Kybele, set in silver and decked with a necklace, may be found in a singular object here published for the first time (pl. lxvii and fig. 731). It is, essentially, a neolithic pounder (6\frac{1}{4} inches high) of dull green stone, which has been subsequently faceted and inlaid with tin\textsuperscript{4}. Since faceted axe-hammers occur sporadically throughout central Europe towards the end of the stone age\textsuperscript{5}, and since tin-inlay is frequent on the contemporaneous pottery of the Swiss pile-dwellings\textsuperscript{6}, it may be inferred on technical grounds that this pounder was decorated c. 2000 B.C. Several of its features—green

\textsuperscript{1} Head \textit{Hitt. num.} p. 374. But \textit{id. ib.} p. 386 says merely: 'Conical stone (\textit{bairvol}) with knotted taenia hanging over it'. Date, shortly after Sulla's conquest ([\textit{J. F.} Sundwall \textit{Untersuchungen über die attischen Münzen des neueren Stiles} Helsingfors 1908] p. 114).'' And B. Pick in J. N. Svoronos \textit{Les monnaies d' Athènes} Munich 1913—1916 Index p. xi is equally non-committal: 'BÊTVLE, entouré des deux côtés par une ténie.' Sir G. Macdonald in \textit{Hunter Cat. Coins} ii. 68 had hazarded the curious idea that 'hanging down on either side, is a goatskin' \textit{[bairvolos from \textit{bairvol}]}.\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{2} Adr. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. pp. lii, 60 nos. 431 pl. 13, 2 (=my fig. 727), 432, 433, \textit{Hunter Cat. Coins} ii. 68 f. nos. 145 (cp. \textit{my} fig. 728), 146, J. N. Svoronos \textit{Les monnaies d' Athènes} Munich 1913—1916 pl. 73, 3 Berlin (=my fig. 729), 4 A. Romansos, 5 Munich (cp. \textit{my} fig. 730), 6 Glasgow, 7 Glasgow, 8 Athens. \textit{Supra} p. 888.

\textsuperscript{3} On submitting this implement to the Department of Mineralogy and Petrology in the University of Cambridge, I received the following expert opinion from Dr F. C. Phillips (Feb. 24, 1907): 'The metal is tin, with a small amount of antimony. The rock is some kind of chloritic schist, much softer than nephrite, and easily worked and facetted.'


\textsuperscript{5} R. Munro \textit{The Lake-Dwellings of Europe} London 1890 pp. 42 with figs. 193, 6.
A baitylos (?) from Ephesos, now at Queens' College, Cambridge.

See page 898 ff. with fig. 731.
stone, surface facets, projecting bands and bosses—are seen again in an axe-hammer from the second city of Troy 1 and serve to confirm the suggested date. Even the tin-inlay, though not itself discovered at Troy, is at least postulated by the Homeric description of Achilles' shield 2 and Asteropaios' corselet 3. However, the really remarkable thing about our pounder is the arrangement of its decoration, which transforms the neolithic tool into a quasi-human shape 4. The head is surmounted by a conical tin cap, secured by three tags or tenons of tin, any one of which might suggest a nose. The shoulders are covered by a broad tin cape. The waist is represented by a deep groove. Below this is a double belt of tin. Lower down, the faceted surface looks like folds of drapery encircled by a tin band, from which hang four pairs of tin pendants symmetrically placed. Finally, at the foot, opposite each pendant is a hole for the insertion of a stud, perhaps of amber or vitreous paste. In short, we may venture to recognise a primitive idol comparable with the bottle-shaped goddesses figured on coins of Asia Minor (figs. 732—737) 5. Now neolithic implements are

and 195, 13, 45 with fig. 193, 4, 58, 63, 68, 87, 96 with fig. 192, 4 and 5, 107, 529.

1. W. Dörpfeld 'Troy and Ilion Athens 1901 1. 374 f. fig. 323, supra ii. 635 f.

2. supra ii. 1021.

3. In ascending order of anthropomorphism we have e.g. Aphrodite Paphia on coins of Kypros, Sardeis, and Pergamon (supra ii. 424 with figs. 325 f., 327, 328), Artemis (?) on coins of Pogla in Pisidia (supra ii. 363 with figs. 359 f.), Artemis Ephesia on coins of Ephesos etc. (supra ii. 408 n. o figs. 309—313, 566 f. fig. 461), Hera on coins of Samos (supra i. 444 f. figs. 313 f., iii. 645 fig. 446).

The additional examples here given are: (1) A bronze coin of Aspendos in Pamphylia, struck by Gallienus, showing two images of Artemis (?) side by side under roofs (E. Babelon Inventaire sommaire de la collection Waddington Paris 1898 p. 180 no. 3263 pl. 7, 17 (= my fig. 732) ΑΣΠ Ε ΝΔ[1] ΩΝ). (2) A bronze coin of Myra in Lykia, struck by Gordianus iii Pius, showing Artemis Eleuthera (supra ii. 681 n. 1) with her veil (E. Babelon op. cit. p. 172 no. 3124 pl. 7, 5 (= my fig. 733) ΜΥΡ ΕΩΝ). (3) A bronze coin of Hypaipa in Lydia, struck by Trajan Decius, showing Artemis Anaitis with long double chiton and veil (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia p. 119 no. 62 pl. 13, 13 (= my fig. 734) ΥΠΑΙΠΗΝΟΝΕΝΤΙ ΤΡΦΑΕΡΜΟΛΟΥΝ ΝΕΙΚ ΩΝ 1). Similar types seated, not standing, are: (4) Kore between corn-stalk and poppy on a bronze coin of Sardeis in Lydia, struck by Caracalla (fig. 735 from a specimen of mine ΕΠΙ Σ. ΚΑΛΚΑΔΑ ΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΡΑΙΛΟΥ ΣΑΡΔΙΟΝ. (5) Kore between poppy and corn-stalk, with a corn-ear in her right hand, on a bronze coin of Dalbis in Lydia, struck by Tranquillina (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia p. 72 no. 14 pl. 8, 6 (= my fig. 736) ΕΠΑΛΑΥΡΦΗΛΙΝ ΤΩΝΟΚΑΡΧ ΑΤΒ ΑΑΩΝΙΩΝ). (6) Kore, closely draped, between corn-stalk and poppy, on a bronze coin of Maionia in Lydia, issued in the time of Trajan Decius (fig. 737 from a specimen of mine ΕΠΙΑΥΡΑΤΦΙΛΙΝΟΒΑΡΧΑΜΑΙΝ ΟΝ ΩΝ).

57—2
often supposed to have fallen from the sky. It is therefore tempting to compare this humanised pounder with the 'Zeus-fallen' image of Artemis Ephesia. And all the more so, when we learn that, by an impressive coincidence, the pounder actually came from Ephesos.

(d) The stone of Elagabalos.

Akin to the stone of Kybele at Pessinous in Phrygia was the stone of Elagabalos, the god of Emesa in Syria. This too was a 'Zeus-fallen' stone, of large size, conical shape, and black colour. It was marked with certain small projections and impressions;

1 Supra ii. 505 ff.
2 Supra ii. 963 n. o.
3 It was obtained by Sir William Ridgeway, through Mr H. Lawson of the consular service at Smyrna, together with a miscellaneous lot of arrow-heads etc. from Ephesos. Sir William acutely detected its true character and had intended some day to publish it as a good example of an aniconic deity. On his death it was passed on to me by Dr J. A. Venn, President of Queens', and Mrs Venn, Sir William's daughter, to whom I am greatly indebted for this opportunity of publishing a relic of rare interest.

and its worshippers regarded it as an unworked image of the Sun. The eagle, which on imperial coins of Emesa appears either upon (fig. 738) or in front of the stone (fig. 739), seems to have been an


H NWN a bronze coin struck by Antoninus Pius. The star on the stone is probably one of the marks noted by Herodian. 5. 3. 5 (τιμνη p. 901 n. 1). Gold and silver coins issued by Elogabalus again show the stone ornamented with stars (Cohen Monn. emp. rom. ii. 325 no. 16 fig. (=my fig. 741) gold, Paris, no. 17 silver, Vienna, no. 18 gold; G. de Ponton d’Amécourt, Stevenson—Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 357). Cp. the star that appears in the field of his coins (e.g. infra p. 902 fig. 743) and medallions (e.g. infra p. 904 fig. 745).

EMICIN KOLWN with ΖΚΦ (327 of Seleucid era=215 A.D.) a bronze coin struck by Caracalla, showing the stone of Elogabalus at Emesa in a hexastyle temple with an
The stone of Elagabalos

attribute plastically rendered in gold¹, and in any case is to be viewed as the solar eagle of Syrian art². It led the Romans to equate Elagabalos with their own supreme deity Jupiter³.

This stone of the Emesenes, as F. Cumont⁴ insists, was in all probability an actual aerolite. It rose into sudden notoriety when its youthful high priest, Varius Avitus Bassianus, through the intrigues of his grandmother Iulia Maesa was proclaimed emperor by the troops in Syria (218 A.D.). He was saluted as Marcus Aurelius Antoninus; but, since the Syrian priest identified himself with his god, he was commonly called Elagabalus. On quitting Emesa for Rome he took his stone with him. A temple, which Marcus Aurelius had built for Faustina at the foot of Mount Tauros, Elagabalus dedicated to his own godhead⁵. Wintering at Nikomedea, he appeared in public as a priest⁶ (figs. 742, 743)⁷; and before he reached Rome he sent a large picture of himself oblong (quid?) in its pediment. The stone is set on a base, protected by a balustrade, with a wreath-bearing eagle before it and a parasol on either side of it. Bronze coins of Iulia Domna give the great altar at Emesa decorated with niches and sculpture (ib. p. 238 no. 9 pl. 27, 11, nos. 10—12. Fig. 740 is from a specimen of mine).

1 F. Studniczka in the Röm. Mitth. 1901 xvii. 275 f.
2 Supra i. 603 f. fig. 475, ii. 186, 431.
3 Spart. v. Caracall. 11. 7 Heliogabalus Antoninus sibi vel Iovi Syrio vel Soli—incertum id est—templum fecit, Lampid. v. Heliog. 1. 5 fuit autem Heliogabali vel Iovis vel Solis sacerdos, 17. 8 praeter aedem Heliogabali dei, quem Solem alii, alii Iovem dicunt.
4 F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 2219.
6 Herodian. 5. 2. 3 f. ὅ ἐὰν Ἀντωνῖνος ἀπάρασ τῆς Συρίας ἐθάνατο τε ἐξ ὑπὸ τοῦ Νικομήδειαν ἔχειασε, τῇ ὑπέρ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν τὸ ἢ ἄνθρωπον ὀνόματι ἀπαυγάζεται. εἰδὼς τε ἐξερχασθεῖσαι, τῷ τε ἐρευνήσαι τοῦ ἐπικύριου θεοῦ, ἦ ἐντεῦθεν, περιερχόμενον ἐξωρχίζοντο, σχίσαμα τε ἐσθήτος πολυτελεῖς ἀπότομοι χρώματος, διὰ τοῦ πορφύρας χρυσοῦ ὑφάσματι περαδεραίοι τε καὶ ψυλλοὶ κοσμώμενοι, ἐς εἴδως τε πάρας στεφάνην ἐπικύριον χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθους τοιχὴν τυμωλ. ἢ γὰρ τοῦ σχίσματι ἐν τῷ διαφόρῳ Φωκίσσης λείψανος καὶ τὴν ἔμφασιν παραθεῖσας, κ.τ.λ.
7 Cohen Monn. emp. rom.² iv. 329 no. 58 fig. (=my fig. 742) silver, Paris, 330 nos. 59—65, 350 no. 276 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 356. Fig. 743 is from a specimen of mine. The horn set on the ground behind Elagabalus in fig. 742 suggests comparison with the horn set behind the Kabeiros on coins of Thessalonike (supra i. 108 f. figs. 79, 80). H. Cohen loc. cit. p. 329 n. 1 remarks that Elagabalus' head here and elsewhere is often surrounded by a horn-like projection, which he believes to be ‘le symbole de la puissance.'
The stone of Elagabalos

officiating in front of the stone to be set up in the Senate-house
over the statue of Victory and duly worshipped by the Senators.  

At Rome Elagabalus erected two temples for his god, one on
the Palatine close to his own residence, the other in some suburb
by way of summer quarters. The exact position of both is
disputed.

In the temple on the Palatine he surrounded the stone with the
most venerated objects of Roman cult, including the stone from
Pessinuous and others of the like sanctity. He even imported the
ancient image of Ourania from Carthage to be the consort of his

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1 Herodian. 5. 6 f. 2 Lamprid. v. Heliogab. 3. 4. 3 Herodian. 5. 6. 6.
4 A concise summary of the evidence is given by S. B. Platner—T. Ashby A Topo-

5 Lamprid. v. Heliogab. 3. 4 eique templum fecit, studens et Matris typum et Vestae
ignem et Palladium et ancilia et omnia Romanis veneranda in illud transire templum et
id agens ne quis Romanus dixi Heliogabalus coleretur, cp. ib. 6. 7 ff., 7 f.

6 Id. ib. 7. 5 lapides qui divi dicuntur ex proprio templo, simulacrum (add. I. Ober-
dick. R. Unger cf. typum)] Diaae Laodiciae ex adyto suo, in quo id Orestes posuerat,
adferre voluit.

7 Dion Cass. 80. 12. 1 ff. (ix. 460 Cary), Herodian. 5. 6. 3 ff.

Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte Münchenc 1904
pp. 73—77 with figs. (a), (b), (c)).
The stone of Elagabalos

1899 near the same spot. The cap, a work of Septimian date, shows (fig. 744, a, b) the conical stone set on a lion-footed stool, which is covered with a fringed cloth. On the left stands Minerva with aegis and helmet; on the right, Juno (?). Both lay a hand caressingly on the stone. The third person of the Capitoline Triad, Jupiter, is identified with the stone itself and attested by the eagle placed in front of it. The scene is completed by Victory sacrificing a bull, behind which is Tellus with cornu copiae and child.

Once a year, at midsummer, the stone was taken from the Palatine to the suburb temple. Elagabalus himself conducted it on a chariot resplendent with gold and jewels (figs. 741, 745, 746). But these vagaries were terminated by his death in 222 A.D. The

Fig. 745.

Fig. 746.

1 C. Huelsen in the Röm. Mitth. 1902 xvii. 67 n. 1.
2 F. Studniczka 'Ein Pfeilercapitell auf dem Forum' in the Röm. Mitth. 1901 xvi. 273—282 pl. 13 (parts of which = my fig. 744 a, b), Mrs A. Strong Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine London 1907 p. 307 ff. pl. 94. The cap measures 0'35" high and broad, 0'37" deep.
Studniczka loc. cit. thought that the block might have come from the temple on the Palatine. Huelsen loc. cit. p. 67 would rather refer it to a small sacellum in the Forum. A. von Domaszewski in the Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1918 Abh. xiii. 150—153 held that the Palatine was full up and put the temple of Elagabalus in Regio xi on the site of the temple of Dis Pater (Lamprid. v. Heliogáb. 1. 6 Heliogabalus a sacerdotio dei Heliogabali, cui templum Romæ in eo loco constituit, in quo prius aedes Orii fuit, quem e Scuria secum advexit). E. Strong Art in Ancient Rome London 1929 ii. 148 accepts the view that the capital came from the precinct of a large temple on the north-east side of the Palatine—a temple erected by Elagabalus to house the stone of Emesa and re-dedicated by his successor Severus Alexander to Jupiter Uller (supra ii. 1107 n. 8 with figs. 940 and 941); but see the objections of S. B. Platner—T. Ashby A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome Oxford 1929 p. 307.
3 Herodian. 5. 6. 6 ff.
4 Supra p. 901 n. 2.
5 Cp. a dimarius at Berlin (J. Leipoldt Die Religionen in der Umwelt des Urchristentums in D. H. Haas Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte ix—xi Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 p. xii fig. 97), a bronze medallion at Paris (Fröhner Mitt. emp. rom. p. 167 fig. 2, Cohen Monu. emp. rom. iv. 323 fig. 20 fig.), Gnecci Medagl. Rom. ii. 79 no. 1 pl. 98, 2 (= my fig. 745) 'ritoccato') and Vienna (Gnecci 8), and a billion coin struck by Elagabalus at Alexandria in 211/2 A.D. (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria etc. p. 194 no. 1520 pl. 25 (= my fig. 746)).
black stone was returned to Emesa\(^1\), and its cult at Rome by degrees died out\(^2\).

At Emesa, however, the cult continued to flourish. The usurper Uranius, whose full name was Lucius Iulius Aurelius Sulpicius Uranius Antoninus, issued not only bronze coins showing the temple (fig. 747)\(^3\) or the stone in the temple with its two parasols and a lunar crescent in the gable (figs. 748, 749)\(^4\), and billon coins showing the solar eagle with a wreath in its beak (fig. 750)\(^5\), but

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\(^1\) Dion Cass. So. 21. 2 (ix. 478 Cary).
\(^3\) W. Fröhner ‘Les monnaies d’Uranius Antoninus’ in the \textit{Annuaire de la société française de numismatique et d’archéologie} Mâcon 1886 p. 194 no. 12 pl. 7, 11 (\(=\) my fig. 747) Berlin. The date \(ΕΞΦ\) \(=\) Seleucid era \(=\) 253 A.D.
\(^4\) Id. ib. p. 193 f. no. 11 pl. 7, 10 (\(=\) my fig. 748) Paris, no. 10 pl. 7, 9 (\(=\) my fig. 749) the bezel of an ancient ring formerly in the Charvet collection. The date \(ΕΞΦ\) \(=\) 253 A.D.
\(^5\) Id. ib. p. 193 f. no. 8 pl. 7, 7 (\(=\) my fig. 750) London (\textit{Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia}, etc. p. 340 no. 32 pl. 28, 1).
also gold pieces giving us the processional type (fig. 751)\(^1\) and—best of all—a detailed representation of the stone itself (figs. 752, 753)\(^2\). It stands between parasols, clad in drapery, with a three-pointed tiara above and a kteis below. The front is marked by three horizontal bands and three rows of points, the whole effect being that of a quasi-face.

Uranus' domination was brief (248—253 A.D.). But a fresh fillip was given to the cult, when Aurelian in 272 routed the forces of Zenobia near Emesa and entered the town to pay his debt of gratitude to its guardian god. After founding temples on the spot and enriching them with vast donations\(^3\) he returned to Rome in 273 and there built the famous temple of the Sun, whose porphyry columns are still to be seen at Constantinople in the church of

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\(^{1}\) Id. ib. p. 191 no. 4 pl. 7, 4 (= my fig. 751) G. de Ponton d'Amécourt.

\(^{2}\) Id. ib. p. 189 f. no. 1 pl. 7, 1 (= my fig. 752) London (‘Rapporté d'Orient par un consul anglais, acheté par Prosper Dupré et plus tard (1854) par Edouard Wigan, qui l'offrit au Musée britannique’), Cohen Monn. emp. rom.\(^{2}\) iv. no. 1 fig., F. Lenormant in Darenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 644 fig. 738, ii. 520 fig. 1618; Stevenson—Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 908 f. fig. My fig. 753 is from a fresh cast of the original, kindly supplied by Mr H. Mattingly (scale \(\frac{1}{2}\)).

\(^{3}\) Vopisc. v. Aurelian. 25. 2—6.
The stone of Dousares

Saint Sophia. The Sun worshipped by Aurelian was in all probability a fusion of several oriental Ba'alin, among whom not the least in importance was Elagabalus.

(c) The stone of Dousares.

Dousares, the ancestral god of the Nabataean Arabs, was likewise represented by a black stone. Clement of Alexandreia says simply: 'The Arabs used to worship their stone.' Our next witness, Maximus Tyrius, is more explicit: 'The Arabs worship I know not whom; but their image I have seen—it was a square stone.' A century later Arnobius, who cannot claim to be an eye-witness, calls it contemptuously 'a shapeless stone.' Finally Souidas, drawing from some unknown source, writes as follows:

'Theusares, that is the god Ares at Petra in Arabia. The god Ares is worshipped by them, for him they honour above all others. The image is a black stone, square and unshapen, four feet high by two feet broad. It is set on a base of wrought gold. To this they offer sacrifice and for it they pour forth the victims' blood, that being their form of libation. The whole building abounds in gold, and there are dedications galore.'

The evidence of the texts is borne out by that of the coins. At Adraa in the Hauran imperial bronze pieces show a hemispherical stone set on a cubical base (Arabic kabah) or seat (Aramaean moltab), which is approached by a flight of steps (figs. 754—756).

3 A good account of Dousares is given by E. Meyer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1306 f., and a yet better one by F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1865—1867. T. Nöldeke in J. Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1908 i. 665, 666 is more sketchy.
4 Clem. Al. prot. 4. 46. 3 p. 35, 14 f. pāla μὲν οὖν οἱ Σκύθαι τὸν Ἀράμην, οἱ Ἀράμεοι τὴν θέσιν, οἱ Πέτροι τοὺς πατήμας προσεκάκασαν, κ.τ.λ.
5 Max. Tyr. 8. 8 'Ἀράμεοι οἴζουσι μὲν, δυσταὶ δὲ οὐκ ἄληθε, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα έδώ, ἀόρος ἡ τετράγωνος.
6 Arnob. adv. nat. 6. 11 ridetis temporibus priscis Persas fluvios colasse, memorialis ut indicant scripta, informem Arabas lapidem, aei naenum Scythiae nationes, etc.
7 Souid. i.c. Θεός 'Αρης: τούτων θεός 'Αρης, ἐν Πέτρῃ τῆς Ἀραβίας. αὔβεται δὲ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ παρ' αὐτῶν· τόθεν γὰρ μάλιστα τιμώντο. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα έδώς ἐστὶ μελάς, τετράγωνος, ἀγάθου, ὅφει ποιόν τεταράχων, ἐφορεῖ δεόν· ἀνάκαινη δὲ ἐως βάσεως χρυσαπάνων. τούτῳ θάνων καὶ τῷ αἰρετή τῶν οἰκείων προχαίρων· καὶ τούτῳ ἐπί εἰκόνα ἡ στοηθῇ. δὲ δὲ οἰκοὶ άπαν ἑαυτοῖ πολεχρωστον, καὶ ἀναδώμαστα τολλα.
The stone of Dousares

At Bostra other pieces represent a triad of stones, surmounted by flat disks (shew-bread) and again put on a plinth or platform reached by steps (figs. 757—760). At Charachmoba a unique coin of Elagabalus has a figure seated before an erection, on which is

Fig. 754.

Fig. 755.

Fig. 756.

Fig. 757.

Fig. 758.

Fig. 759.

Fig. 760.

Fig. 761.

Fig. 762.

a pile or pillar between two smaller stones (fig. 761). All these are best interpreted as stones of Dousares, and it has been well suggested that on a coin of Petra struck by Severus the object held in the hand of the city-goddess is none other than Dousares' sacred pillar (fig. 762).

Dussaud remarks that the same triad of stones is to be seen on other Nabataean monuments. Thus at el-Umμματιyyeh, some hours south-west of Bostra, the lintel spanning the main gate of an ancient pagan temple shows in relief the three stones on their stepped base with altars right and left, all visible between the pillars of a long arcade (fig. 763), while at Medain Sālih (el-Ḫejr)

fig. 760) Elagabalus ΔΟΥ with ΟC (probably for ΘΕ[ΟC]), S. A. Cook op. cit. p. 25 pl. 33. 4.

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Arabia etc. pp. xxxi, 27 no. 3 (my fig. 761 is from a cast)  
2 ΔΑΡΙΑΝΗΤΕΡ ΡΑΜΗΤΡΟ-
PΟΛΙC.
4 R. Dussaud Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1905 p. 173 f. fig. 41 ( = my fig. 763).
rock-cut niches adjoining the hewn chamber called *el-Divân* offer similar groups of sacred stones (figs. 764—766). Such triads of stones, *massábhôth*, are indeed wide-spread throughout the Semitic world and presumably stand in some relation to the *'âshêrin*—tree-stems or sacred posts frequently figured in Cypriote art. Possibly the plurality of the *'âshêrin* led to the pluralisation of the *massábhôth*. But the problem is a complex one and still awaits solution.

1 C. M. Doughty *Travels in Arabia Deserta* London 1921 i. 120 figs. 1—3 (=my figs. 764—766).
2 See e.g. S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 24 pl. 6, 2.
4 Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypres* pp. 172 ff., 410 pl. 69.
5 The analogy of Woodhenge and Stonehenge in the west suggests that the sacred tree or trees were genetically prior to the standing stone or stones. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that a tree, which in time became a leafless tree or bare trunk (e.g. supra ii. 681 figs. 621—624), might be conventionalised into a post or pole (supra ii. 157 n. 1). And, since any object of timber ultimately decays, it might—like the wooden columns of the oldest Greek architecture—be replaced by the substitution of a permanent stone pillar (supra ii. 56 ff.). If so, the earlier forms would of course continue to subsist alongside of their later equivalents. Some such evolution has in fact already been indicated and exemplified (supra ii. 149).

Nevertheless this pedigree remains, in part at least, conjectural. Confining ourselves to verifiable facts, we might conclude with A. Lods *La croyance à la vie future et le culte des morts dans l'antiquité israélite* Paris 1905 p. 201 f.: *nous avons la preuve que la massábâh servait à un véritable culte des morts...Il serait pourtant possible aussi que, au temps de David, on regardait la massábâh funéraire comme destinée simplement à *perpétuer le souvenir* du défunt...Mais, même dans ce cas, la stèle n'était pas un simple aide-mémoire pour les vivants; c'était une sorte d'incarnation du défunt lui-même, lui permettant de "faire figure parmi les vivants" [F. M. J. Lagrange *Études sur les religions sémitiques* Paris 1905 p. 199]....La massábâh a donc, au fond, le même sens lorsqu'elle est dressée sur une tombe et lorsqu'elle est érigée dans un sanctuaire; elle est le corps, la demeure d'un esprit.* *Id.* *Israel from its Beginnings to the Middle of the Eighth Century* trans. S. H. Hooke London 1932 pp. 87 f. with pl. 5, 1 and 2, 94 f., 116 n. 2, 227, 258—263 ("the most probable explanation seems to be that advanced by Robertson Smith: the purpose of the sacred stone was to provide the god who had manifested himself in a particular place, with an abode, a body, and to enable the worshippers to establish permanent relations with him. The reason why a stone was selected for this purpose was because it was the most suitable object to receive the sacrificial blood"). As such, the *massábâh* had a long history, not to say pre-history, behind them; for, whether they marked a sepulchre or a sanctuary, they cannot be separated from the megalithic erections of Palestine and Syria, and so take us back through the Bronze Age to Neolithic times (see now P. Thomsen in Ebert *Realexx. viii.* 106—115 pls. 34—37 and especially *ib. ib. pp. 139—143 pl. 44*).

At a late stage in their evolution they began, like the standing stones of Sardinia or the *monstrîrs-sculptés* of France, Siebenbürgen, etc., to be shaped into *quasi-human* form—witness a curious block of grey, polished, stone (height 0.74 m) found in 1922 on
Soudas' attempt to explain Dousares as a form of Ares\(^1\) is, of course, a piece of puerile etymology, though Cumont\(^2\) may be right in thinking that the same whimsy gave rise to the genitive *Dousâreos* found earlier in inscriptions\(^3\). When viticulture was introduced into Arabia, Dousares as principal god of the country may have taken it under his protection: Isidoros of Charax on the Tigris, a geographer of s. i A.D.\(^4\), made Dousares a Nabataean name

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\(^1\) *Snpr* p. 907.

\(^2\) F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1867.


The stone of Dousares

for Dionysos. The same native god was perhaps Hellenized as Zeus Epikárpios at Bostra, for a Nabataean vizier is known to have erected a votive offering to Zeus Dousáres Sotér (?) at Miletos. A solar aspect of the god has also been deduced from the occurrence of Helios' epithet Aniketos in connexion with him.

As regards the ritual of Dousares, apart from Souidas our sole informant is Epiphanius, bishop of Constantin in Kypros. This

1 Hesych. s.v. Σουράρης τής Διόνυσου. Ναβαταῖος. ὦς ἤρισεν Ἰούδαριν.
2 Lebas—Waddington Attis Minorum iii no. 1907 (Bostra, in the half of s. ii A.D.) (ἐκ προιόντων . . .) | Φωκήτην τοῦ κυρίου ἡγεμόνα, [ὁ] πάλιος Ἐπικάρπος. Διὶ τῶν βωμῶν | ιδρύσατο, ἐπὶ Σαμπετίου Ἀμπαίλου | προσόδου τῷ β' καὶ συναρχείσιν. On Zeus Eπικάρπος see supra l. 236 n. 10, ii. 360 n. 5, 1065, 1177 n. 2, 1186 and Hesych. s.v. Επικάρπος. Ζεάς ἐν Ἐδορίᾳ. Cumont loc. cit. p. 1867 says: 'Of mit dem Zeus Επικάρπος von Bostra... auch D[usares] gemeint ist, muss dahingestellt bleiben.'
3 Supra ii. 317 n. 2.
4 Supra p. 911 n. 3. See also supra l. 193 n. 1.
Another form of Zeus recognised at Bostra was Zeus Αμμων, who appears on the coins sometimes with a solar disc on his head (e.g. F. De Saulcy Numismatique de la terre sainte Paris 1874 p. 368 pl. 21, 9 (=my fig. 768) Iulia Mamaea COLONIA BOSTRA) as on a coin of Alexandria (supra l. 360 fig. 276), sometimes with a δακτάλιος.

Fig. 768.

(R. Dussaud Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1903 p. 179 fig. 42 (=my fig. 769) Philippus Senior COLMETRO POLISHOSTRA) as in another Alexandrian type (supra l. 361 fig. 277). Dussaud asks: 'Ne serait-ce pas Dusarès ayant emprunté les traits de Jupiter Ammon?'

Sum-worship pure and simple is attested for the Nabataeans by Strab. 784 ήλιος τιμῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ δωματίου ιδρυσόμενοι βασιλεῖ. σπάναις ἐν αὐτῷ καθ' ἱμέραν καὶ λιβατιζότως.

5 Supra p. 907.
6 Epiphani. panar. haeret. 51. 22. 9—11 πρῶτον μὲν ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρει ἐν τῷ Κορέλῳ <αυτῷ> τῆς καλούμενος ναὸς δὲ ἔστι μεγάστος τουτέστι τῷ τέμνον τῇ Κόρηι. διὸν γάρ τὴν νόστην ἀτραυτήτατα ἐν ἱερατί καὶ ἀξιότα τῷ εἰδικῶς ἀδοτεὶ καὶ παντοκράτος ἀταλάντεται μετά τῆς τῶν ἀγκών γνατημάτων κατέχεται λαμπαδόροφος εἰς σακχαρόν ἑκάτερα καὶ αναφέροντο ἑξάκοι τῷ κυρίῳ ἠρίσεις ὡς φορεῖς καθάρισμον γυμνά, ἐχον σφραγίς διὰ τῶν κατεβαίνων τῷ μετέχον διάχρος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἱερῶν ἄλλω παταρίων σφραγίδαις καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν τῶν γυμνῶν ἄλλων, ὅμως δὲ [ταύτης] προσφέροντες ἀπὸ κρεμόν τετευμένης καὶ περιφέροντες αὐτὸ τὸ ξύλον ἐντάξεις καλωάσαις τὸν μεταπάτειαν μετὰ αὐτῶν καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ ἱμάτιον καὶ κομπανάτες καταφέροντες αὐτὸ ἀδέσποτον τῶν ἱππαρχών τόπων. εἰρωνεύομεν δὲ διὰ τὸ ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ μοντάριον ἀποκρίνονται καὶ λέγοντες ὅτι ταῦτα τῷ ῥώμη σημειον ἡ Κόρη (τοντειστήνη παρθένον) ἐγένετο τῷ Αἰών ἡν ὁπότε καὶ ἐν Πέτρᾳ τῷ πόλει (μητρόπολις ἡ ἑστὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας, ἢτις ἐστὶν Ἑδωρ ἡ
prelate in a noteworthy passage of his *panárion*, ‘A Medicine-chest to cure all Heresies’ (374—378 A.D.), is concerned to record pagan parallels to the Christian Epiphany as celebrated on the night of January 5 to 6:

‘First at Alexandria in the *Kôreion* as they call it—a very large temple, the precinct of Kore. All night long they keep vigils, chanting to their idol with songs and flutes. The nocturnal service over, at cock-crow torch-bearers go down into an underground chamber and bring up a wooden image, sitting naked on a litter, with the imprint of a golden cross on its forehead, two similar imprints on its hands, and other two on its knees, all told, five golden marks impressed upon it. They carry the image itself seven times round the central part of the temple with flutes, timbrels, and hymns. And after the procession they bring it down again to its underground quarters. If asked what they mean by this mystery, they make answer: “This day and hour Kore (that is, the Virgin) has given birth to Aion.”’

Fig. 770.

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4. For Aion at Alexandria K. H. *ad loc.* ep. a billion coin of Antoninus Pius issued there in 138/9 A.D. (*Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 459 no. 404 pl. 87, 37) and in 144/5 A.D. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria etc. p. 117 no. 1004 pl. 36. Fig. 770 is from a specimen of mine): other examples of both issues are listed by J. G. Milne *Catalogue of Alexandria Coins* Oxford 1933 p. 40 nos. 1600—1604 and p. 42 nos. 1734—1737. Holl also quotes Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 3. 8 pp. 164, 166 Duncker—Schneidewin καθάρη αὐτὸς ὁ λειψάνθης, οὐς αὐτοκεκλαίμενος μὲν ὡς ἦ Αὕτη, εὐνουχισμόν δὲ διὰ κυνείου καὶ κάλλος παραστάτων τῶν σαρκικῶν γένεσις, μνητικὸ τὸ Ἐλευθερὸν ύπὸ πολλῷ πρὸς ἀντά τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀρρητά μυστήρια βοή καὶ κέρατα λέγων. “ιερὸν ἑκατον καθὸν Βραχίῳ Βραχίῳ, τοῦτ’ ἀνάχρις ἱσχυρὸν... αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ παρθένος ἡ ἐν γαστρὶ ἑξωθεν καὶ αὐλαμπάσσων καὶ τικτουσαν ὑπὸ, ὡς ψυχικώ, ὡς σωματικῶ, ἀλλὰ μακάμων Αὐτοῦ Αὐτοῦ, ὕλη ἐν μένι. 4. 1 p. 64, 6 ff. Wünsch (cited supra ii. 337 nn. 1 and 2), Soud. *s.v.* Ἰαβράσκος (of Egypt), a neo-Phatic connoisseur of deities, under Zenon emperor of the east (474—491 A.D.)... οὕτω δὲ ἐξελεύσεται τὸ ἄρρητον ἀγάμω τῶν Ἀνόητων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄκρως καταχωμένως, ὥσπερ ἄκρως καὶ Ἀδωνις ὁμοίως καὶ μοῦ ἐκ τῆς ὁμοίως φανερωμον. and an inscription of the Augustan age from Eleusis (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 3 no. 1135 Κώτου Ποιμήνος Αἴλους [305] | ἐπόεις καὶ ἀνέθης | σοι δὲ ἐκεῖνοι Αἴλους καὶ Σέλτος | Αἴλου | εἰς κράτος Ρώμαιος καὶ διαμνήσαι | μυστηριωμ. | άλων ὃ ἄλων ἐν τούτῳ αὐτὸ τοίς καὶ φῶς θεῖας μέχρις κόσμου τε εἰς | κατά τὰ αὐτά, ὅπως ἄρτι καὶ ἤτοι δικαίως τεῖλος | οὐκ ἔχων, μετα-βαλτός άκμάτως | θεία τέχνης ἐργάστης αἰνώνιον πάντα, on which remarkable outburst of philosophic praise see O. Weinreich ‘Aion in Eleusis’ in the *Archiv f. Rel. 1916—1919* xix. 174—192. As to the five golden crosses imprinted on Aion, Weinreich *loc. cit.*
Again, at Petra (the metropolis of Arabia, that is the Edom mentioned in the Scriptures) in the idol-house there the same thing takes place. They hymn the Virgin in the speech of Arabia, calling her in Arabic 'Aṣma'ūl', that is p. 187 n. 2 approves a suggestion of F. Boll, that they represented the five 'Lebenssterne' of the Egyptians, i.e. the five planets, but also cites the oracle given by Amphion to Alexander (Cougny Anth. Pal. Appendix 6. 178 from pseudo-Kallisth. 1. 33. 2 ω βασιλέω ηθοποίους αυγόφιλους / τοις ς θεος αίωνος αυγήλατα νεάζεται, | αύτω θελα περτήμον προκάθη | Αἰώνων καταφέροντας πέντε στέφους κύματα | ακάτοσων πενταλφαίων κυριακάτων ἀτέρμων κύματα κύμασιν)


These lucubrations tend to show that the Hellenistic cult of Aion was a semi-philosophical synthesis of several elements, all derived from the near east—the Chaldaean connexion of eternity with astrology; the old Persian god Zervan, underlying the later Mithraic Kronos or Aion (supra ii. 1043); the Phoenician Oulomes 'Eternity' (supra ii. 1037), and Aion the human son of Baaut 'Night' and Kolpias 'Wind' (supra i. 191); the Egyptian Heb, god of Eternity, who as Aion came to be equated with Osiris and Adonis, and appears not only as a sun-god (Osiris) but even as a moon-goddess (Isis); and finally the Gnostic series of Aiones, whose supreme summation was the absolute Aion. In short, it would appear that the cult of Aion was the product of a comprehensive religious movement, which in some ways recalls the all-embracing ontology of Neo-Platonism.

1 The text of Epiphanius, here dependent on a single manuscript (Marcianus 125) reads Χασπόβ, which is kept by both K. W. Dindorf and K. Holl. The latter cites in support B. Moritz 'Der Sinaikult in heidnischer Zeit' in the Abb. d. gott. Gesellsc. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1916 Abb. ii. 18, who records numerous inscriptions with such names as Χασποβ, Χασποβα, Χασποβάου, Χασποβο, Χασποβ, etc.

But E. Meyer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1206 would read Χασποβ, adding '...dagegen bedeutet Ka'ta'ab odbyerdings eine bluhende Jungfrau; dabei ist...der Nachdruck nicht auf die Jungfräulichkeit, sondern auf die strotzende Fülle zu legen. Ob diese Mutter des Dusares mit dem in Mekka verehrten Steinkolte, der Ka'ta'ab, an die sich bekanntlich auch die Verehrung mehrerer Göttinnen, der Allat, der 'Uzza und der Manat, anschloss (Quran 53. 19 f.), identisch oder nahe verwandt, muss bei dem gänzlichen Mangel genauer Nachrichten dahingestellt bleiben.'

F. Camont, too, in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1866 writes: 'Dieses Baetylion, das als jungfräuliche Mutter des Gottes angesehen wurde, wie die Πέτρα γενετρικη των Μιθρασμυστηριων, war Χασποβ genannt, d. h. wohl des der Würfel.'

"Kore" or "Virgin," and her offspring Dousaires, that is "Only-begotten of the Lord."

In the town of Elousa also the same thing takes place that night as happens there in Petra and at Alexandria.

1 The derivation of Δουσάρης is disputed. The name is commonly interpreted as Δόσα, 'Lord' (=north Semitic Ba'at), of Sharô, a place-name. This might be one of several localities (J. Wellhausen, Kuste arabischen Heidentum 2, Berlin 1897 p. 51), but was probably a mountain-range in Arabia (cp. Steph. Byz. Δουσαρης κομφετυς και κομφετυς νυτιωτατ στρατου. εστει δι απ του Δουσαρης, ιδον δε ουτω παρα 'Αραβων και Δαχαροις τιμωτοι. ου αποκευεται Δουσαρης, ου δαχαρεωι—'the scriptural 'mount Seir' (Smith Dict. of Bible, s.v.)). G. Dalman Petra und seine Religiositaten Leipzig 1908 i. 49 hazards a Sumerian etymology Di-lar-ru = 'All-besieger.' In any case the notion that Δουσάρης meant μονογενής τον θεοτόκον is absurd.

2 Elousa (Hałatia) was a town in Idumaea, 71 miles from Jerusalem (L. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 2457). The local cult is mentioned incidentally by Hieron. v. Hilarion. 25 (xxii. 42 b—c Migne) vadens (sc. St Hilarion) in desertum Cades ad unum de disciplis suis visendum, cum infinito agmine monachorum pervenit Elusam eo forte die, quo anniversaria solemnitas omnem oppidi populum in templum Veneris congregaverat. colunt autem illam ob Luciferum, cuius cultui Saracensium natio dedita est...quos ille blande humilitere susciptes, obscurabat ut Deum magis quam lapides coheret. R. Eisler in the Archiv f. Rel. 1912 xv. 630 n. o comments 'Σαρακηνος von δε τοις "Morgenstern" wie Λαγαρεφις von βαχας "Stein."'


The stone of Dousares

This curious passage, whatever else it implies, at least asserts that at Petra in the fourth century Dousares was viewed as the offspring of Chaamou, a goddess comparable with Kore, the Greek Queen of the Underworld, and further that his birth was the subject of an annual mystery-show. Of his sire we hear nothing except the improbable claim that Dousares meant the 'Only-begotten of the Lord.' Beyond these obvious pronouncements it would not be safe to speculate.

We are not then, so far as I can see, in a position to state definitely that the black stone of Dousares was an actual meteorite. At the same time we must concede that it is found in suspiciously stellar company. Its analogues at Alexandria and at Elousa were both of the starry order. For Aion at Alexandria was marked

1 R. Eisler in successive articles ('Kuba—Kybele' in Philologus 1909 lxvii. 118–121, 161–209, 'Kuba—Kybele' in the Revue des études anciennes 1909 pp. 358–372, 'Das Fest des "Geburtstages der Zeit" in Norderabien' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1912 xv. 628–635) has maintained that throughout the near east the Semites worshipped a great matriarchal goddess under various connected or connectible names—Χαμώ, Χαμω, Χαμώρ, Χαμώρ, Χαμώρ, Καμώρ, Καμώρ, Καμώρ. In Asia Minor she was the Mother of the gods, Kybele, the Mater Kubit or Phrygian inscriptions (F. Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 2250), whose cult had spread to Greece by s. vi B.C. and reached Rome in 204 B.C.

These names, linked together 'durch das Band des Gleichklangs und der Buchstaben-gleichheit, die Basis aller morgenländischen Wortmystik und religiösen Begriffsbildung,' were associated with three distinct word-groups: (1) Arabic ḫa'ab, Greek κύβης, Latin cubus, English cube—the goddess being represented by a stone block (cp. Lyd. de mens. 4. 63 p. 114, 8 Wünsch Koubély ἀνὰ τῶν κυβίκων σχήματος). (2) Arabic ḫa'aba 'to have swelling, prominent, or protuberant breasts' (see E. W. Lane An Arabic—English Lexicon London and Edinburgh 1885 Book 1 Part vii p. 2615 f.), ḫa'ab 'maiden with full breast,' ḫa'āb 'bosom,' ḫa'aba 'virginity.' Cp. the Hittite Mother of the gods, whose sign is < > a pair of breasts (F. Hommel Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orient Münch. 1926 p. 52 n. 2), the Ephesian Artemis (ὑπέρ α. 405 n. 4 figs. 307—315), and the Persian Anahita from Arabic nāḥāda 'to be full-breasted.' (E. Blochet 'Le culte d'Aphrodite-Anahita chez les Arabes du Paganisme' in the Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparée 1902 xxxv. 8 n. 1 'nāḥāda désigne une "fille aux seins arrondis"; ce mot est très probablement une transcription du nom de la grande déesse perse Anahita, l'aspect iranien de l'Ashtarte sémitique.') But my colleague Prof. W. H. Hallie tells me that this derivation is frankly impossible: Anāhita means 'Undeleted.' Again, Eisler blunders badly when in this connexion he speaks of 'der kleinasiatischen "Demeter" Μεγάλωσσα and Δεκάμορφα' (see Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 84 n. 2, 1178 n. 7). (3) Greek κύβα, κύβη, κύβελος, Latin cubus, and other words for 'cup' or 'hollow.' The Meccan K'ayba, a feminine substantive, was originally a goddess embodied as an aërolite and annually draped in accordance with an ancient marriage-rite. In her case the 'hollow' was of course the womb, cp. the kíels on the stone of Kybele (?) (ὑπέρ a. 995 f. figs. 777—779) and on that of Elagabalus (ὑπέρ a. 956 figs. 757, 753).

From ῥυπέρ Eisler passes on to Ἰάμελας, contending that the Lydian Omphale was a form of Kybele—witness her lion-skin etc.—and dealing with many other topics which do not immediately concern us. On the whole, his articles are brim-full of learning and abound in novel suggestions, some of which deserve to be followed up; but they are, to my thinking, largely vitiated by an admixture of doubtful or worse than doubtful etymologies.
with five golden crosses, a star-spangled child; and Venus at Elousa was worshipped ‘on account of the Morning Star.’ The phrase recalls Astarte’s discovery of a star dropped from the sky—Lúcifer fallen from heaven. If we were right in regarding the dropped star of Tyre as a meteorite, the black stone of Dousares may have been meteoric too.

That conclusion was reached more than a century since by F. Münter and F. v. Dalberg, who went on to argue that the black stone still to be seen in the Ka’bah at Mecca was in pre-Islamic times the meteoric form of an Arab deity, either Dousares himself (Münter) or the Moon (V. Dalberg). They rightly drew attention to Arab beliefs concerning the origin of the stone and its early history. Of these the most important is contained in an extract from Niketas Choniates written between 1204 and

1 Supra p. 932.  
3 F. Münter Antiquarische Abhandlungen Kopenhagen 1816 p. 281 f.  
5 F. v. Dalberg op. cit. p. 95 f. ‘Die Araber behaupten, der Engel Gabriel habe ihn vom Himmel zur Erbauung der Ka’bah gebracht... Der Saghe nach soll er anfänglich weiss und schimmernd gewesen seyn (vielleicht weil er als ein glühender Stein herab fiel), nachher aber ware er der Thränen willen, die er für die Sünden der Menschen vergoss, ganz schwarz geworden, und habe seinen ersten Glanz verloren.’ So R. F. Burton Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Meccah and Medina London—Belfast 1879 p. 493 n. 3  
6 Moslems agree that it was originally white, and became black by reason of men’s sins. It appeared to me a common aerolite covered with a thick slaggy coating, glossy and pitch-like, worn and polished. Dr Wilson of Bombay showed me a specimen in his possession, which externally appeared to be a black slag, with the inside of a bright and sparkling greyish-white, the result of admixture of nickel with the iron. This might possibly, as the learned Orientalist then suggested, account for the mythic change of color, its appearance on earth after a thunderstorm, and its being originally a material part of the heavens. Kutb el-Din expressly declares that, when the Karamitah restored it after twenty-two years to the Meccans, men kissed it and rubbed it upon their brows; and remarked that the blackness was only superficial, the inside being white.’  
7 F. Lenormant Lettres archéologiques et épigraphiques sur l’histoire & les Antiquités de l’Asie antérieure Paris 1872 ii. 126 n. 1 cites an unpublished passage of Niket. Chon. θρεαφόν ὀρθοθοξίας from cod. Gr. Flor. xxiv, platt. ix, fol. 259 ră ἀναθεματίζω καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν εἰς τὸν Μέκα ὤλον τῆς προσευχῆς, ἐν γὰρ φασὶ κείσιν μέσῳ λίθῳ μέγαν ἑκτόσιμον τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐχοῦν, τιμᾶσθαι δὲ τούτῳ ὄν ἐκάνων αὐτὸ τῇ Ἀγαρ διαλυόμενος τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ, ἢ ὡς αὐτὸ τῆς κάμυλος προδιόριστος ὅτι τοῦ Ἱσαὰκ ἐμμέλε τοῖς: τοῖς δὲ εἰς προσευχήν ἔκει ἀπείπονται μὲν μῖαν (ἐπ. μίαν μὲν) αὐτῶν χεῖρα πρὸς τὸν λίθον ἑκτέινε, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ τὸ ὅσιον κατέχειν τὸ ἱδρύν, καὶ οὕτω κυκλοφορεῖ ἑαυτὸς περιφέρειν ἐν ἀνέχως σκοτοῦνταισι καὶ further ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς προκυκουντίς τῷ πρώτῳ ἄστρῳ ὑπὸ τῆς ἑωράφωρος καὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἦν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων γλώσσαν Χαμήρ ὁμομαζομενος, τούτωσι μεγάλων.

With this second anathema cp. supra p. 915 n. 2 and Const. Porphyrogen.
The stone of Dousares

1210 A.D., but based on the earlier evidence of Euthymios Zigabendes (c. 1100 A.D.). From this it appears that the stone was marked with the shape of Aphrodite, presumably a *ktels*, and associated traditionally with the union of Hagar and Abraham. It was long since surmised by Falconnet that the allusion must be to a natural stone simulating the womb. Such stones were known to early naturalists as 'hystérolithes', 'Hystero lithen'.

Sir Richard Burton, who made his famous pilgrimage to Mecca in 1853, has described and illustrated the Ka'bah as decked in its annual attire, a covering of brilliant black with a golden band.

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2. Id. ib. p. 82 ff.
4. The expression *ektýma* used by Zigabenos and Niketas is well illustrated by Lenormant op. cit. p. 127 f. from Plout. de Ang. 12, 2 (Sagart) genetëvtai d' *en autw* *Λίθος* authlogfou kalologmenon, eýfóreeta *γάρ* tétanoméwn ἡκὼν τῆς *Μυτέρα τῶν θεῶν*. τούτων τῶν Λίθων ἐκ ἑφότι, τούποι εὐρικάκομεν, τῶν ἐπτερεμένων αὐξ ἐνιεῖται. ἄλλες εὐφόρα φέρει τῆς παρὰ φώιν πράξεως τῆς ἡμῶν καθὼς Ιστορίας Ἀρτάξεις ἐν τοῖς Φρουράσισι (Areades of Kalidos frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 316 Müller)). Anna Komm. Alexias io. 284 d (2, 30. Schopen) ἑκὼν τοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀσταράν ρωτείται καὶ εἴσανται καὶ τοῦ δατρού τῶν τόπων περὶ πλεονάζων τιθέται καὶ τῆς χρώσεις παρ' ἐκείνοις Χαβάρ is more vague. But there can be little doubt that the νέες in question was a *ktels*.

5. Falconnet 'Dissertation sur les Bateyes' in the Mémoires de littérature tieres des registres de l'académie royale des inscriptions et belles lettres Paris 1739 vi. 538 compares 'la Pierre de la Mere des Dieux' with 'ces Pierres figurées, que les Naturalistes appellent Hystérolithes.' The Oxford English Dictionary Oxford 1933 v. 516 s.v. 'Hystérolith' says: 'internal casts of a fossil shell (Orthis striulata) were so called by old authors.'
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bearing inscriptions (fig. 771). He adds a sketch of the Black Stone, which is now built into the south-east corner of the Ka'bah near the door and forms part of the sharp external angle at a height of four feet nine inches above the ground (fig. 772). He endorses the words of Burckhardt, who says:

'It is an irregular oval, about seven inches in diameter, with an undulating surface, composed of about a dozen smaller stones of different sizes and shapes, well joined together with a small quantity of cement, and perfectly well smoothed: it looks as if the whole had been broken into many pieces by a violent blow, and then united again.... It appeared to me like a lava, containing several small particles of a whitish and of a yellowish substance. Its color is now a deep reddish-brown, approaching to black. It is surrounded on all sides by a border composed of a substance which I took to be a close cement of pitch and gravel of a similar, but not quite the same, brownish color. This border serves to support its detached pieces; it is two or three inches in breadth, and rises a little above the surface of the stone. Both the border and

2 Ib. p. 494 f. quoting J. L. Burckhardt, with sundry notes of his own by way of corrections or additions. My fig. 773 reproduces the sketch of the Black Stone given by Burton on p. 494.
3 On the injuries suffered by the stone at various times see D. S. Margoliouth in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 513–514.
4 Fig. 773, a and b, are reduced (scale 3) from the half-size section and elevation of the Black Stone and its border given by Sir William Muir *The Life of Mahomet from original sources* London 1894 p. 27. Muir says: 'This stone, which is semi-circular, measures some six inches in height and eight in breadth; it is of a reddish-black colour, and notwithstanding the polish imparted by myriads of kisses, bears to the present day in its undulating surface marks of a volcanic origin.' But see L. Beck *Die Geschichte des Eisens in technischer und kulturgeschichtlicher Beziehung* Braunschweig 1884 i. 18:
The stone siderites or oreites

The stone itself are encircled by a silver band, broader below than above, and on the two sides, with a considerable swelling below, as if a part of the stone were hidden under it. The lower part of the border is studded with silver nails.

The silver setting of the Black Stone is of interest, for it forms a point of comparison with the Black Stone of Kybele which was likewise set in silver.

(f) The stone siderites or oreites.

If the meteoric stone was sometimes regarded as a mother, marked with a kteis, and draped in a veil, it was also on occasion viewed as a babe, carried in the arms, and wrapped in swaddling bands. An example of the latter treatment is afforded by the stone known indifferently as siderites the 'iron-stone' or oreites the 'mountain-stone.'

Of this Pliny, our earliest authority, has little to say. He is aware of its twofold name, but adds merely that the stone is globular in appearance and unaffected by fire.

Much more may be learnt from Damigeron the Mage, who wrote a lapidary attributed to s. ii A.D. Some fragments of the original Greek have come down to us, but the whole text is available only in a Latin version of s. v fathered upon an Arabian king Euax, who in a prefatory letter greets the emperor Tiberius. This prose work was rewritten in Latin hexameters by Marbode,
bishop of Rennes, between 1067 and 1081, and in that form became the most popular lapidary of the middle ages. More than a hundred manuscripts of it are extant, not to mention versions in six or seven languages.

The Latin Damigeron distinguishes three varieties of orretes or siderites. The first is deep black and round. It is good for bites. If pounded and rubbed in with rose unguent, it quickly cures wounds made by wild animals. If tied on to the sufferer, it makes his sinews unite. Whoever takes it with him will foil any attack by wild beasts. Hence it is worn by the Magi when they cross the desert. The second sort is green with whitish spots. If genuine, it will not be consumed by the fiercest fire. It is invaluable as a protection against all dangers and alarms. The third kind looks like an iron plate smooth on one side but studded with sharp nails on the other. Great are its virtues. Kings bind it upon their concubines to prevent them from losing their good looks, or from producing imperfect offspring, or from failing to conceive at all. Indeed, so powerful is its effect on childbirth that, placed on a pregnant woman, it will at once bring on her delivery.

The ‘Orphic’ Lithiké, a work assigned on stylistic and other grounds to the latter part of the fourth century, expatiates in a tasteless way on the virtues of the stone as recorded by Damigeron, but prefixes a passage of much mythical and magical interest drawn from some unknown source—hardly Damigeron, certainly not Orpheus.

Helenus—we read—advised the Greeks to fetch Philoktetes from Lemnos to Troy, and the arrival of Philoktetes meant the

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1 For a detailed and documented account see Joan Evans op. cit. p. 33 ff.
2 Damig. de lapid. 16 Abel, 39 Evans.
3 Cp. Plin. loc. cit. (supra p. 920 n. 3).
5 Cp. Plin. loc. cit. (supra p. 920 n. 3).
7 The text of the last two sentences is defective and stands in need of emendation (see Abel ad loc.). But the general sense is clear from a passage in the prose epitome of Orph. lith. p. 147, 2 l. Abel καὶ στειράτας δὲ γυναῖοι περάδεσμους εὑρακαὶ φοιάν παρέχετι.
8 See E. Abel’s ‘praefatio’ pp. 1–4.
9 Orph. lith. 399–473.
10 Ib. 387–389.
11 In spite of Tzetz. posthym. 372 ff. καὶ τῶν μὲν Ἐλευσι, δεδομένου μάκτη ἱμάρων, ἢ καὶ συνεπαλαλείπο, καὶ ἵππου ἀνθρώπου, μαθῶν δέν τεφέρεται Τραῖτος, ἢ τις φαντάζομαι κομίσαι ἄνδρα Ἰδωμοῖς, καὶ ἄλληθιν τίς τε ἱμάρων τεράστιοι τοῖς ἤλεγχε, καὶ ἐπὶ οἱ ἄνδρες δὲ χρυσόις ἄνεναι ταΐνης, ὡς τίς τεράστες οἱ καθάτερ διεστάζομαι τίμοις, ἢ εἰπε δὲ ἄνεναι κομίσαι καθάτερ διεστάζομαι, ἢ καὶ ταύτης καὶ ἢ Ἐλευσινόρθεσιν Τρόιας ἤρθη.
death of Paris. But how came Helenos to give such fateful advice? It was because Phoibos Apollon had bestowed upon him—

A voiceful stone, the unerring siderites,
Which some the live oreites please to call,
Round, somewhat rough, strong, black of hue, and dense,
While over and about it every way
Stretch sinews like to wrinkles drawn upon it.

For ten days Helenos observed rules of ceremonial purity touching bed and bath and food. Meantime he washed the wise stone in flowing water, and tended it like a babe with clean garments. He offered sacrifices to it as if it were a god, and brought breath into it by the use of potent spells. He lit lights in his hall, and dandled the godfearing stone in his arms as a mother might dandle her infant. Anyone who does the same will at last hear the stone utter a cry like that of a new-born babe whimpering for milk. It will then and there answer truly any questions that you may choose to ask it. After which, if you lift it and look closely at it, you can see it die down in wondrous fashion. It was through hearkening to this prophetic stone that Helenos told the sons of Atreus how his fatherland might be taken.

Helenos the seer was, like his sister Helene, a genuine figure of Trojan mythology. And Troy was dominated by the mountain-range of Ide, where iron was first discovered by the Idaean Daktyloi—Kelmis, Damnameneus, and Akmon—servants of the mountain-mother. It was, therefore, natural that the ‘iron-stone’ or ‘mountain-stone’ described by Damigeron should sooner or later be connected with Helenos. Moreover, it is often maintained that this iron to be worked was meteoric iron. That is doubt-

1 Orph. lith. 360 άπρο Απόλλων Φοίβοις έχεις λίθον αύθεντα | δόκει σιδηρότην
2 Ιδ. 369 πέτραν ἐξέφεραν.
3 Ιδ. 371 καὶ θεόν ὁ δειμησθης ἀρεσσάμενος θεωρίν, | λαίμων ὑπερμνήσουσιν οὐδαίς
4 Ιδ. 374 θεοῦδα πέτρων.
5 Ιδ. 389 θεοῦδα πέτρων.
6 Ιδ. 387 θεοῦδα πέτρων.
7 Sphaia ii. 949 n. 5.
8 Phereclus frag. α Κίνκελ ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 1.1120 ἐνθα γένοτα | Ιδαίοι φύομεν
The stone siderites or oreites

It would be safer to say that sundry simple or unsophisticated communities are known to have used meteoric iron for making their tools and weapons. We cannot, then, decide offhand whether the stone called siderites or oreites came from a telluric outcrop brought to light by an accidental conflagration, or whether it was

Zeitpunkt oder an einem bestimmten Ort—Da gemetemlich nur in sehr geringer Menge, aber überall auf der Oberfläche der Erde zerstreut sich findendem Meteoriteisen gemacht habe', J. L. Myres. *Who were the Greeks?* Univ. of California Press 1930 pp. 433 ('Much confusion might have been saved if it had been more clearly recognized that, as meteoric iron may fall from time to time on any part of our planet, occasional discovery and use of this "metal of heaven" (as the Egyptians believed it to be) cannot be excluded at any period and in any region'). 591 n. 118, *id. in E. Eyre. European Civilisation its Origin and Development* Oxford 1933 I. 135 ('In Egypt where iron is occasionally found worked, from Predynastic times to the Nineteenth Dynasty, it was always ba-n-pet, "the metal of heaven," even when eventually imported and well known. Probably most Sumerian iron was of similar origin; and it must be remembered that the actual rarity of meteorites does not represent their frequency before men learnt their value and picked them up'), 165. A. Neuburger. *The Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients* trans. H. L. Brose. London 1930 p. 30 ('the most ancient iron implements were probably meteorites...a meteoric stone manipulated by hand constitutes a good hammer. Moreover, it can be sharpened on a stone, and so forth').

1 L. Beck. *Die Geschichte des Eisens in technischer und kulturgeschichtlicher Besprechung* Braunschweig 1884 I. 18, 39 ('Da nun die Schmiedbarkeit des meteorischen Eisens erwiesen ist, könnte es nahe liegen, die kontroversen Frage, von der wir ausgingen, ob nämlich die Menschen der Urzeit zuerst die Meteoriteisen aufgesucht und verarbeitet hätten, zu bejahen. Es hat auch diese Annahme bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung etwas Verführerisches. Je mehr man aber auf die Sache eingeht, je mehr muss man zu der Überzeugung kommen, dass diese Theorie falsch ist'), 33 ('Die Thatsache, dass aus dem unbekannten Himmelsraume zuweilen Massen metallischen Eisens auf die Erde herabfallen, war schon in sehr früher Zeit bekannt; doch bildete die Auffindung solcher Massen nicht den Ausgangspunkt der Eisenindustrie, vielmehr wurden sie erst als Eisen erkannt, nachdem die Ausschmelzung der Eisenerze bereits bekannt war'), L de Launay in Daremburg—Saglio. *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1976 ('En ce qui concerne précisément les métaux natifs, on a voulu faire jouer aux météorites un rôle, à notre avis, très exagéré, en supposant que le premier fer avait pu en être extrait. D'abord, les météorites sont fort rares: ce qu'on pourrait, à la rigueur, expliquer par le soin avec lequel les anciens les auraient recueillies; mais, surtout, celles d'une certaine taille seraient très difficiles à façonner; car le fer natif millénaire qui constitue celles, dites holosières, dont on aurait pu être tenté de faire des outils, ne fond qu'à une haute température et ne peut être découpé qu'avec de l'acier. Quant aux météorites plus ou moins pierreuses (ysсидères et sporadosidères), il n'y avait pas de raison pour en extraire le fer que de toute autre roche à silicates ferrugineux'), W. Ridgeway. *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1901 i. 598 ff.


indeed a meteorite like others already found in the service of Kybele. It may be that the varieties distinguished by Damigeron include both the telluric and the meteoric sort. Certainly the epithets chosen in the Lithikíd—somewhat rough, black, dense, covered with sinews like wrinkled—would be easy to parallel from actual meteorites of the kind called siderites.

(g) Ákmon.

The name Ákmon in this Idaean context raises a point of interest. In a familiar passage of the Iliad Zeus awakes on the summit of Ide and, angered at Hera’s deception, threatens her with the lash. He goes on to taunt her with past punishment:

Dost thou not mind how thou wast hung aloft,
While to thy feet I fastened anvils twain
And bound thy hands too with a golden bond
That none might break? In the aither and the clouds
Thou hangedst helpless, ay and all the gods
In long Olympus were exceeding wroth,
Yet could not take thy part or loose thy chain.

W. Leaf observes that the word rendered ‘anvils’ (ákmonas) ‘originally meant large stones, especially meteoric stones, commonly known as thunderbolts.’ And Eustathios informs us that some texts here added a couple of lines:

Till I unfettered thee and cast the clogs
Down on Troy-land—for future folk to see.

This sounds like a piece of local lore. Two conspicuous blocks in the Trojan plain were pointed out as being the very ‘anvils’ dropped by Zeus. Moreover, since the term used of them (mýdros) means properly ‘a glowing mass of metal,’ Leaf is justified in concluding that ‘such blocks can only have been meteoric masses.’

1 See O. C. Farrington Meteorites Chicago 1915 pp. 78 ff. (‘Crust of meteorites’), 85 ff. (‘Veins of meteorites’). L. Beck op. cit. p. 19 states that the earliest exact description of meteoric iron is in Plin. nat. hist. 2. 147 item ferro in Lucanis (sc. pluissae) anno ante quam M. Crassus a Parthis interemptus est (53 B.C.) omnesque cum eo Lucani milities, quorum magnus numerus in exercitu erat. effigiis quo pluit ferri spongiam similius fuit.
2 II. 15. 11 ff.
3 Supra i. 154, ii. 950 n. 6, 1100, iii. 156, 180.
4 II. 15. 18 ff.
5 W. Leaf A Companion to the Iliad London 1892 p. 256.
6 Eustath. in II. p. 1005, 13 ff. eis δὲ τῶν τόπων τοῦτον προσγράφοντι τινα καὶ τοῦτον τούτος στίχονς: ἐπὶ γὰρ ὅτε δὴ ἂν ἰέναι τὸν χώραν, μόδον δὲ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καβάλου, δόρα πέλατο καὶ ἀσσομένας πυθοῖαν: καὶ δείκνυται, φασιν, ὅπο τῶν περιτόιων οἱ τοιοῦτοι μόδοι, οἵτινές ἂν ἀντιέρρηκαν ἐκείνοι.
8 W. Leaf op. cit. p. 256.
F. Münter thought it not impossible that the meteorites in question might yet be identified.

But the philologists have more to tell us. R. Roth of Tübingen in 1853 first drew attention to a group of related words, which may be amplified as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek ákmon</th>
<th>sky</th>
<th>thunderbolt (?)</th>
<th>pestle</th>
<th>anvil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit áśman-</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>sky (?)</td>
<td>stone missile, thunderbolt</td>
<td>hammer-stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avestan asman-</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>sky</td>
<td>stone missile, thunderbolt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Persian ásmān</td>
<td>sky</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Persian ásmān</td>
<td>sky</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sogdian 'sm'n</td>
<td>sky</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Roth rightly inferred that there must have been a time when men of Indo-Europeaen speech thought the sky to be made of stone.

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1 F. Münter *Antiquarische Abhandlungen* Kopenhagen 1816 p. 275 n. o.
2 R. Roth ‘Ákmon, der vater des Uranos’ in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprach- forschung 1853 ii. 44—46.
3 In arranging this table I have been helped by my friend Professor H. W. Bailey, whose own researches in the subject will shortly be published.
4 Hesych. s.v. ákmou...ófrabónt.
5 Hes. *theog.* 722 ff. *éndá γρ ώκτας τε καὶ Ὑματα χάλκου δικυῖον | οδρανόθεν κατων δεκάτη ε' (so Thiersch for δ' codd.) | ἤ ώκτας τε καὶ Ἡματα χάλκου δικυῖον | ἤ ταραντον τεκνὸι. The passage belongs to the ‘emblemata vetustissima,’ which F. Jacoby in his ed. p. 87 attributes to rhapsodes of ii. vii—vi. 1. Cp. F. Schwenn *Die Theogonie des Hesiodos* Heidelberg 1934 p. 17 n. 2. H. Stuart Jones in the new Liddell and Scott p. 51 says ‘ákmou...orig. prob. meteoric stone, thunderbolt,’ and illustrates that meaning by quoting χάλκου δικυῖον οδρανόθεν κατων from this Hesiodic passage. An Iapygian parallel has been considered supra ii. 30 ff.
6 Hesych. ákmova...áletriβανων. Κόψων. Cp. the neolithic pounder discussed supra p. 898 ff.
7 H. Grassmann *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda* Leipzig 1873 p. 139 recognises the following senses: ‘ácmán (1) Felt...; (2) der Stein als Werkzeug zum Schlagen, Hammer, Hammer und Ambos und andere, ursprünglich aus Stein gemachte Werkzeuge des Schmieden; (3) der Donnerkel; (4) der bunte Edelstein...; (5) der Himmel, der als steinernes Gewölbe gedacht ist.’ Sir M. Monier-Williams *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* Oxford 1899 p. 114 says: ‘Aíman a stone, rock...any instrument made of stone (as a hammer &c.)...thunderbolt...the firmament.’
8 Cp. the Chinese identification of the heavens with jade (A. E. Crawley in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 391), the Mohammedan belief in seven heavens made of emerald, white silver, large white pearls, ruby, red gold, jacinth, and shining light (G. F. Kunz *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* Philadelphia & London 1913 p. 349), the Jewish belief in ‘a paved work of sapphire stone’ (Ex. 34. 10, cp. Ezek. 1. 26), and the like. See also supra i. 357 n. 4.
an inference now accepted by all philologists\(^1\). Further it may be contended that the weapon of the sky-god—whether the thunderbolt of Zeus, the *vajra* of Indra, or the hammer of Thor\(^2\)—was at first just a fragment of the stone vault broken off and hurled downwards. As such it would be essentially akin to a meteorite.

When the Stone Age passed into the Bronze Age, and the Bronze Age into the Iron Age, the thunderbolt—originally a stone missile\(^3\)—

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\(^1\) E.g. G. Curtius *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie* Leipzig 1873 p. 131.


\(^3\) Schrader *Reallex.* i. 499\textsuperscript{b}. *Supra* ii. 64 n. o with fig. 26, 547 n. o, 620.

The double axe of bronze, so frequent in Cretan cult (*supra* ii. 513 ff.), was preceded by the double axe in stone. The Tysskiwicz axe-head with a Sumerian inscription (*supra* ii. 510 with fig. 389, E. Unger in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 449 pl. 213, a—c) is strictly an axe-hammer rather than a double axe. But the British Museum possesses (no. 54429) a small votive double axe in brown flint, acquired at Luxor and certainly of pre-dynastic date (H. R. Hall in S. Casson *Essays in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Sir Arthur Evans in honour of his 75th birthday* Oxford 1927 p. 42 pl. 5 (= my fig. 774, a and b).
took on metallic forms. But to the last a memory of the old thunderstones lingered in the by-ways of Greek mythology and odd corners of Greek folklore. The sky-dynasty comprised three successive sovereigns—Ouranos, Kronos, Zeus. Of these, Ouranos was reckoned as the son of Akmon, if not as Akmon himself. Kronos too was equated with Akmon. And Zeus himself (as we shall see in the next two sections) exhibits certain features of both cult and myth strongly reminiscent of the same tradition.

(h) The stone of Kronos.

The stone siderites or oreites, wrapped in swaddling bands and treated as a babe, recalls the stone swallowed by Kronos as a substitute for the infant Zeus. If the one myth was connected with Kybele and Mount Ide in the Troad, the other concerned Rhea and the mountains of Crete.

Scale [)]. See also J. Schlemm Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte Berlin 1908 p. 105 f. figs. a, b.

1 Supra ii. 764 ff. 2 Supra p. 739 f.

3 Hes. frg. 113. R. 266 Diehl 'Akmonidai de ipsis toun ouroanw. Καλλιμ. Ταύα μεν Ακμοσ ζητείς, κατά δ' 'Ακμοσ θ' Ουρανος. T. Bergk Poetac lyríce Graeci Lipsiae 1882 ii. 68 ff. acutely conjectured that this hexameter Γαία μεν ''Ακμός ζήτησ'. Τά ἄρα Ακμος Ουρανος ζητείται (add. Natalis Comes?) was taken from the Timaeomachia (cp. Cramer op. cit. Oxy. i. 75, 11 ff. οί δ' άκμος τού ουρανος. Ἀλέθρω δ' οντος ουρανος, ως τι Θεοποιομενοι γράφασι (frsg. i Kinkel)), a Cyclic poem ascribed by some to Eunomos or Arktonos (Athen. 277 D) and by others very possibly to Hesiód.

Antim. Theb. frg. 44 Wyss ap. Plut. quaest. Rom. 42 χρόνος δε ἀργάπαρ τέμων ἂν τοις μηδέν πατέροις | Ουρανος 'Ακμονίδων λάντες Κρόνος ἀυτηρτότω | (was represented as a pendant figure) on some work of art: see B. Wyss ad loc.).

Kallim. frg. 147 Schneider ap. et mag. p. 49, 47 ff. 'Ακμος σηκείναι τον το σιθηρον ἐφ' οί χαλείν τοπίου, και τον Ουρανον τον πάνθρα. οὔτε τίς γαρ αὐτῶν γενεάλογος. Καλλιμαχος τως περὶ ἀληθείᾳ 'Ακμονίδων ἐβαλεν (so Schneider for τϊς περὶ ἀληθείᾳ 'Ακμονίδων ἐβαλεν). Bentley had proposed το περὶ ἀληθείᾳ 'Ακμονίδων ἐβαλεν.

Cornut. theol. 1 p. 1, 1 ff. Λαγν ο ουρανος τε τοις ποιητϊς 'Ακμονος ἐφρασεν αὐτῶν ἐν εὖνει, κ.λ.μ.

Hesych. s.v. 'Ακμονίδων. ο 'Χάρων, καὶ ο Όυρανος. 'Ακμονος γάρ ταϊς Βεκκερ ad loc. i. 367, 12 f. M. Schmidt ad loc. notes: Ποσις ἄν Χάρων sc. Lampsacenus; edition tamen tueut Bekk. 367, 12. Charon with his hammer (supra ii. 647 u. 3, 641 fig. 557) might be dubbed 'Son of Anvil' (cp. T. Bergk op. cit. iii. 69).

4 Alkm. frg. 111 Bergk, 103 Edmonds ap. Eustath. in II. p. 1154, 24 ff. 'Ακμος δε δαι καὶ ο τοῦ Ουρανος. ουτ ἐρωθει, λέγεται πατήρ... δαι τον Ακμονιδαν ον Ουρανους παλαιον οι παλαιοι. ου δε 'Ακμονος ο Ουρανος ο 'Αλκμας, φασιν, ἵστοροι. But in view of Eudok. vio. 29 δε δαι 'Ακμος ο Ουρανος, δαι 'Αλκμας ἵστοροι; and, indeed, of Eustath. in II. p. 1150, 39 δι τον Κρόνον πατηρ 'Ακμονος ἐκείνοτο κ.λ.μ. it seems certain that Alkm an used 'Ακμονος as the equivalent of Ουρανος.

Hesiod, our primary source, tells the tale in the following form:

'And Rhea, wedded to Kronos, bare splendid children—Hestia and Demeter and Hera of the golden sandals and strong Hades, who dwells beneath the ground with pitiless heart, and loud-sounding Ennosigaes and Zeus the magician, father of gods and men, by whose thunder the wide ground itself is shaken.

And these great Kronos would swallow, as each came forth from the holy womb of his mother to her knees, with intent that none of Ouranos' proud children save himself should have kingly honour among the immortals. [For he learned from Gaia and starry Ouranos that it was fated for him, mighty as he was, to be overcome by his own son, through the designs of great Zeus. Wherefore he kept no blind vigil, but ever on the watch would swallow his own children; and grief unforgettable had hold of Rhea.] But when she was about to bear Zeus, father of gods and men, then straightway she besought her dear parents (Gaia, to wit, and starry Ouranos) to devise some counsel with her, that she might in secret bear her dear child and might require the vengeance of her own father (for the children, whom great Kronos of the crooked blade was wont to swallow). And they verily heard and heartened to their dear daughter, and told her all that was fated to happen touching Kronos the king and his stout-hearted son—[So they sent her to Lyktos, to the fat land of Crete, when she was about to bear the youngest of her children, Zeus the great. Him huge Gaia received from her to nourish and to rear in wide Crete.] [Thither she came, carrying him through the swift black night, to Lyktos first; and taking

1 Hes. theog. 453—506 (cp. Apollod. i. 1. 5—1. 2. 1). I have given a rendering of the text as it stands in the critical edition of F. Jacoby (Berolini 1910). Sentences enclosed in square brackets are his 'emblemata vetustissima.' (supra p. 506 n. 5), double square brackets being used for patches upon patches. Sentences in curved brackets are 'serioris aevi emblemata, interpolationes.' The letters a— are to indicate 'singulorum versuum duplex recensio,' a line condemned by F. A. Paley. See further the shrewd observations of F. Schwenn Die Theogonie des Hesiodos Heldenberg 1934 pp. 127—130.

2 Supra p. 7.

3 Supra p. 743.

4 Supra i. 8, ii. 1023.

5 Literally 'might get paid the Erinys of her own father' (cf. Ouranos), whom Kronos had mutilated (supra ii. 447 n. 8). Cp. II. 21. 412 ουτα κεν της μητρος Ερηνοδ ξεραντων.

6 Reading νιφον with the manuscripts. But the reason assigned for Ouranos' vengeance is not the true reason, and the line is rightly regarded as an interpolation. A. Rauch adopts G. F. Schoemann's cf. νιφον θ' (cf. 'Ερηνοδ).

7 Supra ii. 549, 845. C. Picard in the Rev. Et. Gr. 1926 xxxix. 194 n. 1 objects to my interpretation of γακολομήσης that the ending -ης implies an agent, and cites in support of the orthodox view the epic word ποτιλομήτης. But nouns in -ης are by no means always nomina agentis (see e.g. K. Brugmann Griechische Grammatik München 1913 p. 236 f.), and ποτιλομήτης, which occurs once in the Iliad (11. 428), with variants ποτιλομητης, ποτυλωμητης, six times in the Odyssey, and always of Odysseus, may be a later formation based on a misunderstanding of γακολομήτης. I should say the same of all the post-Homeric compounds of -ης listed by E. Fraenkel Geschichte der griechischen Nomina agentis auf -ης, -ευς, -ης (τ?) Strassburg 1910 i. 45.

8 Jacoby says: 'post 476 lacunam indicavi, cum γεγαλομήσετι 485 ne retentis quidem interpolationibus habeat quo referentur.'

9 Supra ii. 915 n. 1. Later, Lyttos (supra i. 652 ή, ii. 723 n. 0, 934 n. 0, 948 n. 0 (4)).

10 Cp. supra ii. 344 f., 350.

11 Rhea. The change of subject makes it clear that at this point we pass from a primary to a secondary patch.
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him in her arms she hid him in a sheer cave beneath the coverts of earth divine, on Mount Aigaion thickly clad with woods. But to him she handed a great stone wrapped in swaddling bands, even to the son of Ouranos, ruling in might, the former king of the gods. That he then took in his hands and bestowed in his own belly, poor wretch, nor marked in his mind how that in place of the stone his own son was left behind, unvanquished and unconquered, who was soon like to overcome him by might and main and drive him forth from honour, himself to rule over the immortals.

[And quickly thereafter waxed the strength and splendid limbs of the prince; and as the year came round again, beguiled by Gaia's prudent promptings, great Kronos of the crooked blade brought up again his offspring, vanquished by the arts and might of his own son. And he vomited first the stone that he swallowed last. This Zeus set up in the wide-wayed earth at goodly Pytho beneath the glens of Parnassos, to be a sign thenceforward and a marvel to mortal men.

And he freed from their baleful bonds the brothers of his father, sons of Ouranos whom his father in the flightiness of his thoughts had bound. Grateful they were to him and mindful of his benefits, for they gave him thunder and the burning bolt and lightning, which ere that huge Gaia had hidden. Trusting in these he rules over mortals and immortals.]

The swallowing of the stone by Kronos was variously located. Some said that it happened on Mount Thaumasion in Arkadia; others, on a rocky summit called Petrachos at Chaironeia in Boiotia.

Be that as it may, the myth was accepted on the authority of Hesiod and made a lasting impression on the writers and artists of the ancient world.

The fifth century minimised the horrors. A red-figured krater with columnar handles, painted by one of the Attic Manieristen, c. 460—450 B.C., found in Sicily and now in the Louvre, has for obverse design (fig. 775, a) a noble figure of king Kronos, originally

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1 Supra i. 925 n. 1.
2 Praeternatural rapidity of growth is characteristic of gods (supra i. 647, 692) and heroes and even of divine trees (supra p. 760).
3 Of his previous digestive feats we hear only that he swallowed a horse, or at least a foal, in place of Poseidon (supra i. 181 n. 9). But a different account is given in Myth. Vat. 3. 15. 10 (infra p. 936 n. 5).
4 Supra i. 154 n. 10.
5 Supra i. 154, ii. 991 n. 1.
7 Pottier Cat. Vases du Louvre iii. 1902 no. G 366, id. Vases antiques du Louvre 3me Série Paris 1922 p. 236 no. G 366, id. in the Corp. vases ant. Louvre iii i. d pl. 28, 5 (obverse), 6 (reverse), 7 (detail) with text p. 18 nos. 5—7.
8 J. de Witte 'Cronos et Rhés' in the G. Arch. 1875 i. 30—33 pl. 9 (=my fig. 775, a), M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1551 ff. fig. 3, M. Pohl in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 2017.
9 Cp. the fifth-century head of Kronos on a silver coin of Himera (supra ii. 588 fig. 436).

C. III.
white-haired\(^1\), who sceptre in hand and swathed in an ample himation stands ready to receive from Rhea the well wrapped and carefully held substitute for the infant Zeus\(^2\). Rhea, like an epic queen, is accompanied by a couple of handmaids\(^3\), who, to judge from the obvious alarm of the first and the simulated stance of the second, are both quite aware of the plot. The reverse (fig. 775, b)\(^4\) shows the sequel. Kronos in the same pose as before, only with staff instead of sceptre, has received the stone. And Rhea, her mission accomplished, turns herself about, partly to conceal her satisfaction, partly to give a message to the sympathetic Nike, who hurries from the presence of Kronos. Zeus, as Hesiod said, 'was soon like to overcome him by might and main\(^5\).

Again, a red-figured pelike of c. 460—450 B.C., said to have come from Rhodes and now at New York, represents the famous ruse as conceived by 'the Nausikaa Painter'\(^6\) (fig. 776)\(^6\). On the left stands Rhea, one foot supported\(^7\) on a rock (was she not a mountain-mother?) while she holds out the stone, convincingly dressed and capped like a long Clothesbaby, towards the expectant Kronos. He stands on the right, raising one hand in amazement and holding his sceptre in the other. Clearly this scene\(^8\) is but

\(^1\) See E. Pottier Vases antiques du Louvre 3\(^{\text{e}}\) Série Paris 1922 p. 236 no. G 366.

\(^2\) A. Rapp in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 95 is over-sceptical when he says: 'Verfehlt ist auch der Versuch in den Vasebildern Gazette archit. 1 pl. 9 und 3 pl. 18 die Übergabe des Steins durch Rhea an Kronos zu erkennen; was de Witte für den Stein hält, ist eine eigen tümliche Verhüllung der Arme (vgl. übrigens Petersen, Arch. Ztg. 37 S. 12).'

\(^3\) ὁδὸς οὖς, ἀνα τῇ ἔτη καὶ ἀδυνατοῦ δὸ 'ἔπωνυ (II. 3. 143, Od. 1. 331, 18. 207, and similar passages). J. de Witte loc. cit. suggested that the two attendants of Rhea were the nymphs Adrasteia and Ide, to whom along with the Kouretes she entrusted the infant Zeus (Apollod. i. 1. 6).

\(^4\) E. de Chanot 'Cronos, Rhéa et Niére' in the Gas. Arch. 1877 iii. 116 pl. 18 (=my fig. 775, b). M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 152 f. attempts to cast doubt on the authenticity of this reverse design. But quite unjustifiably, as E. Pottier op. cit. p. 236 points out (‘des doutes non justifiés et non vérifiés, car il n'avait pas examiné l'original’).

\(^5\) Supra p. 929.

\(^6\) J. D. Beazley Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 122 (either by the Nausikaa Painter or by an associate), id. Attische Vasenmaler des rothfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 254 no. 3 (‘Folgende Vase sind den Werken des Oinanthemalaris einerseits, andererseits denen des Nausikaa Malers eng verwandt und weisen vielleicht auf die Identität der beiden Maler. Nausikaa = später Oinanthemaler?’), id. Greek Vases in Poland Oxford 1928 p. 44 n. 1 (such vases ‘can hardly be kept apart from those of the Oinanthemaler’), G. M. A. Richter Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 100 f. no. 72 pls. 75 (=my fig. 776) and 173 (photograph of whole vase) (‘by Nausikaa Painter (?).’).

\(^7\) An early example of the supported foot, on which see supra p. 766 f. and P. Jacobsthall Die Malischen Reliefs Berlin—Wilmersdorf 1931 pp. 190—192 (‘Das Motiv des hochaufragenden Fusses in frühklassischer Malerei’).

\(^8\) The scene on the reverse side of the New York pelike is not mythological at all, but
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a slight elaboration of two figures on the contemporary Paris krater.

Later Greek art was almost equally reticent. Pausanias\(^1\) says:

'The Plataeans have a temple of Hera worth seeing for its size and its sculptural decoration. As you enter there is Rhea bringing to Kronos the stone wrapped in swaddling bands as if it were the child that she had borne. This Hera they call Teleia\(^2\). It is an upright figure of large size. Both are made in Pentelic marble, wrought by Praxiteles.\(^3\)

![Image of a vase with two figures](image)

**Fig. 776.**

The precise character and arrangement of these sculptures is matter for conjecture. To me it seems probable that the statue of

social. A woman talks with a youth, who leans on his staff and gesticulates. Between them stands a chair. On the wall hangs a bag.

\(^1\) Paus. 9. 2. 7 Πλαταίες δέ ναὸς ἔστιν Ἡρας, θέας ἅγιος μεγέθεις τε καὶ ἐς τῶν ἁγιαματός τόν κόσμον. Ἀκολουθοῦσα μὲν Ἡρα τῶν πέτρων κατελιμένων σπαργάνους, οὐδὲ τὸν παιδα ἐν τεκε. Κρόνῳ κοιλίσωσά ἐστιν τὴν Ἡραν Τελείας καλάθια, πεποίηται δὲ ὅρθιον μεγέθεις ἁγαλμα μέγα τὸν κατὰ ἀμφότερα τοῦ Πεντελησίου, Πραξιτέλου δὲ ἐστὶν ἑργα.

\(^2\) Cp. supra i. 20. ii. 893 n. 2, 1150.
Hera Teleia¹ stood on a square plinth decorated in relief with the figures of Kronos and Rhea, both statue and plinth being, rightly or wrongly, ascribed to Praxiteles². Obvious parallels are afforded by Phidias' statue of Athena Parthenos on its sculptured plinth³, and Praxiteles' statues of Leto and her children on 'the Mantinean base⁴. If so, it is likely enough that a Romanised copy of the Praxitelean relief survives in a beautiful composition on the ara Capitolina (fig. 778)⁵. Kronos, a kingly figure⁶, enthroned on the right, rests one hand on the veil that covers his head⁷ and extends the other to receive the stone from Rhea, who, veiled likewise, advances with dignity from the left. H. Stuart Jones⁸ observes:


² Fürstwängler Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt. p. 102 argues that, since the temple of Hera at Plataea was built in the year 427/426 B.C. (Thouk. 3. 68), its sculptures must be assigned to 'the elder Praxiteles,' whose floruit he would date c. 445–425. The same opinion is expressed by several modern critics, e.g. Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. ii. 179 n. 9, G. M. A. Richter The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 141.

³ But the existence of this 'elder Praxiteles,' postulated by W. Klein in the Arch.-ep. Myth. 1886 iv. 1–25, is still highly problematic: see e.g. U. Koehler 'Praxiteles der ältere' in the Ath. Myth. 1884 ix. 78–82, P. Perdrizet 'Note généalogique sur la famille de Praxitèle' in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1898 xi. 82–95, C. Picard La sculpture antique Paris 1926 ii. 77 ('le pseudo-Praxitèle l'Ancien').

⁴ Supra ii pl. xlv.

⁵ Supra i pl. xlv.

⁶ In addition to the bibliography given supra i. 43 n. 1 see now Stuart Jones Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome p. 276 f. Salone no. 3a (2) pl. 66 (= my fig. 778).

⁷ Not uninfluenced by the type of Zeus as conceived by Alexander the Great (supra ii. 760 f. figs. 704–707).

⁸ On the veiled Kronos see M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1558–1563 figs. 9–16, 18. M. Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 2015–2017. To the examples cited by them may be added a malachite cameo (cp. supra p. 538 n. 0) of Graeco-Roman date in my possession (fig. 777: scale ½). The engraver has, quaintly enough, tried to represent 'hunc maustum, senem, canum, caput glauco amictu coopertum habentem, fillorum suorum voratorem' (Myth. Vat. 3. 1. 1) by using the darkest part of the stone for the sinister face, a lighter green for the hair and beard, and a white streak for the top of the veil.

The significance of Kronos' veil is far from clear. A. Jeremias Der Schleier von Sumur bis heute (Der Alte Orient xxxi Heft 1/2) Leipzig 1931 pp. 1–70 omits Kronos altogether. M. Pohlenz loc. cit. p. 2017, after dismissing earlier views, suggests 'alte Kultelemente wie bei der Harpe.' A. H. Kruppe in his Balar With the Evil Eye Columbia University 1927 p. 23 ff. and in his courageous survey Mythologie universelle Paris 1930 p. 250 conjectures that the Greek Kronos and the Italian Saturn had, like the Irish Balor, a third eye in the back of the head, which being an evil eye 'had to be covered up lest it should strike innocent people with its destructive glance.'

⁹ Stuart Jones op. cit. p. 277.
The group is evidently composed for a relief. Its gentleness, and the absence alike of the barbarous and the ludicrous, may well indicate the Attic art of the fourth century as the source of the composition.

Very different is the impression produced by a tomb-painting (fig. 779)\(^1\) which came to light in 1865 on the road from Ostia to

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\(^1\) C. L. Visconti in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 312–319 (not earlier than c. 200 A.D., perhaps even later; but probably copied by an indifferent artist from a good exemplar), *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 28, 3 (part of which = my fig. 779), M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1569 ff. fig. 18 (but see A. Rapp ib. iv. 95), B. Nogara *Le nostre Aldobrandine i passaggi con scene dell’ Odissea e le altre pitture murali antiche conservate nella*
Laurentum. Kronos and Rhea, both veiled, are sitting side by side. Rhea, in blue chiton and red himation, presses her hands nervously together. Kronos, completely draped in a large yellow himation, bends forward to seize a naked boy, who flings up his arm in a gesture of frantic supplication. But the ogre, with grim face and horrible wide mouth, has him by hair and hand and leg. His fate is apparently sealed; for the old and terror-stricken paidagogos, who, clad in a yellowish chiton and a blue himation, appears, stick in hand, from the background, will obviously arrive too late. But just in the nick of time a handmaid\(^1\), in reddish chiton and yellow himation, rushes forward to present Kronos with the stony substitute. There can, I think, be little doubt that this sensational picture—very possibly with some symbolic meaning\(^2\)—presents the subject of Kronos' teknothagia, which we know to have been the theme of a late Greek pantomime\(^3\).

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\(^1\) I cannot agree with Visconti, who loc. cit. took the paidagogos and the handmaid to be Ouranos and Gaia! Nor yet with M. Mayer, who loc. cit. thought that the artist had combined two moments in the myth—Kronos about to rend and devour one of his sons in propria persona, and Kronos about to receive another of his sons in effigie. Least of all can I accept the verdict of A. Rapp, who loc. cit. includes this wall-painting in a list of monuments 'Ohne Wahrscheinlichkeit...auf Rhea gedeutet.'

\(^2\) The infant devoured to all seeming and yet escaping from death would make an appropriate decoration for a tomb. Cp. the subjects of sarcophagi noted supra ii. 417, 478, iv. 135.

\(^3\) Loukian. de salt. 80 οι δὲ εδρυώμα μὲν, τὰ πράγματα δὲ μετάχρωσα ἢ πρόχρωσα, οἷς ἐγὼ ποτὲ ἴδων μεμνημέναι. τὰς γὰρ Διὸς γονάς ὁρκομενός τις καὶ τὶς τοῦ Κρόνου τεκνοφαγίαν παραρχεῖτο καὶ τὰς Θεοῦ πνεύματα τῷ ὅμω τοῖς παραγμένοις. κ.τ.λ.
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The myth as a whole is a complex involving two originally distinct elements. On the one hand, there is the folk-tale motif of the Unnatural Parent who eats his Children. On the other hand, the acceptance of a swathed stone as a substitute for Zeus suggests the ritual of litholatry and in particular recalls the draped meteorites worshipped in sundry Levantine cults. The stone swallowed by Kronos is described by late writers as bearing more than one significant name. It was diskos, perhaps with a solar connotation. It was batyllos because of its wrappings. It was abaddir, a Semitic term meaning 'mighty father'.


2 Pohlese in Fauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 1902 is reminded of Rothkoppchen (J. Bolte—G. Polivka Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm Leipzig 1913 i. 234 ff. No. 26), in which the little girl rescued from the belly of the wolf fetches great stones and fills him up with these. See also A. H. Kruppe Mythologie universelle Paris 1930 p. 281.

3 Supra pp. 888, 898, 906, 916 n. 1, 918, 922.


5 Priscian. insl. 3. 6 (i. 47, 9 Hertz) 'abaddir' vel 'abaddier,' 5. 18 (i. 153, 19 Hertz) 'abaddir,' 6. 45 (i. 234, 16 f. Hertz) 'abaddir' quoque ("abaddier," o "betaioi"), declinatum non legi, 7. 32 (i. 313, 24 ff. Hertz) quidam addunt 'hic abaddir,' o "batyllos," 'huius abaddiris,' lapsis, quel pro Iove devoravit Saturnus, sed in usu hoc non inveni, Myth. Vat. i. 104 sed tunc quem natus essest Juppiter, ut partum ejus celaret mater, misit Saturno gemman in similitudinem pueri celsam, quem ABIDIR vocant, cujus natura semper movetur. quem accipiens pater dentibus collisit et consunxit, 3. 15. 10 primo ergo traditit ei Neptunum, quem in mare submersit, et factus es deus marinus. secundo dedit ei Pluto nem, quem in foceam suffocavit, et factus es deus inferorum. tandem nato Iove mirae pulchritudinis, ipsius ismetra misit Saturno lapidem nomine abidir, quem pulveratum devoravit. deinde egestus et formatus est in speciem humanam et vivificatus, cp. G. Goetz Corpus glossarium Latinorum Lipsiae 1888—1901 iii. 8, 52 betaioi abaddir, 83, 6 betaioi abaddir, 289, 53 berthos auaddir (with corr. abaddir), v. s. 89, 4 Abadir lapis, 632, 1 Abadir lapis, 615, 37 Abadir est lapsis quem devoravit satiatus pro ioue filio suo, vi. 1. 1 abderites id est Satumus. 125 Baculum (bellium cod.) lapsis que <c.m > ferunt commodissimae Saturnum pro filio suo Iove (= v. 563, 3), Gloss. Pap. cited in the Thes. Ling. Lat. i. 43, 27 ff. abaddir deus dicitur, quo nomine lapsis vocatur, quem devoravit Saturnus pro Iove. dicitur quoque abaddir vel Abdira vel Abderites, quem Graeci badellation vocant.

We gather from Augustine that the term was used of certain deities by the Punic
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These two elements, the folk-tale motif of the child-devourer and the ritual usage of a baitylos, were perhaps first fused in ancient Crete. For, on the one hand, the Kouretes had of old sacrificed children to Kronos and saved the infant Zeus by deceiving his father, while, on the other hand, pillar-cults were admittedly rife and even natural stones might on occasion be treated as divinities.

Further, in view of the relations between 'Minoan' Crete and Pytho, it is not surprising to find that what purported to be the actual stone swallowed by Kronos was still to be seen at Delphi in the second century of our era.

population of north Africa (Aug. epist. i. 17. 2 miror quod nomen absurditate commoto in mentem non venerit habere tuos et in sacerdotibus eucaddires (v.l. eucaddares) et in numinibus abaddires). This is confirmed by an actual inscription found in Mauretanica at Militaria (Miliab) on the slopes of the Lesser Atlas (Corp. inscr. Lat. viii Suppl. 3 no. 21381 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4478 Abaddiri sancto cultu popares juniores | suis suntis | aram constitu | [proc]. . .


1 Supra ii. 548 f.
2 Supra i. 647 n. 8.
4 Sir A. J. Evans The Palace of Minos at Knossos London 1928 ii. 1. 342 'the late Shrine found in the Little Palace at Knossos with its grotesque fetishes consisting of natural concretions,' 346 fig. 198, ib. ii. 520, J. D. S. Pendlebury A Handbook to the Palace of Minos at Knossos London 1935 p. 52 'on the stone balustrade were placed the "fetish" figures of natural stone, the objects of adoration of the period of reoccupation (L.M. III.).'
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'As you leave the tomb of Neoptolemos,' says Pausanias¹, 'and pass on up the hill you come to a stone of no great size. On this they pour olive oil every day, and as each festival comes round they put upon it wool of the unspun sort. There is also a belief with regard to it that this stone was given to Kronos instead of the child and that Kronos spewed it out again.'

The stone oiled and clad in wool was certainly a bætylos and possibly, as Sir James Frazer² and others³ have conjectured, an aerolite. What it looked like we know from a silver simpulum with gilded details, found in 1633 at Wettingen near Basel⁴, which is decorated with the seven deities presiding over the days of the week⁵ (fig. 780). Kronos, the god of Saturday, stands beside a pillar topped by an oval stone: this can be none other than his Delphic monument.

¹ Paus. 10. 24. 6 ἐπαναβάντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος (sc. Νεαπτολέμου τοῦ 'Ἀχιλλείου) λιθοῦ ἐστὶν οὗ μεγαστούν καὶ θαλων δημηριᾶ καταξέων καὶ κατὰ ἑορτὴν ἐκάστην ἔρα ἐκτίθεοι τὰ ἀργά· διότι δὲ καὶ δόξα ἐς αὐτὸν, δοθῆμα Κρόνου τῶν λιθῶν ἀντι τοῦ παιδός, καὶ ἤμεθα ἡμεὺς ἀυτῶν ὅ ἐν Κρόνος.
² Frazer Pausanias v. 355 ('Perhaps the sacred stone at Delphi may have been meteoric.')
⁵ Supra l. 753. ii. 69 f. fig. 28, iii. 209 f. with figs. 128 and 129.
Zeus Kappótas

(i) Zeus Kappótas.

Pausanias\(^1\) in his account of south-western Lakonike says:

'About three furlongs from Gythion is an unwrought stone. The story goes that Orestes sat upon it and was thereby stayed from his madness; wherefore the stone was named Zeus Kappótas in the Doric tongue.'\(^2\)

Attempts to determine the exact site of this famous stone have led to some divergence of opinion. On the one hand, E. S. Forster\(^3\) in an article dealing with Laconian topography writes as follows:

'Near the modern Gymnasion, at the side of the Sparta road, is an abrupt face of reddish stone some ten metres high, cut into the side of the hill of Kumaro and now called Πελεκητό. At a point about four metres above the level of the neighbouring road is the rock-cut inscription Μοίρα Δίου Τερασίω.\(^4\) It was cut by hammering with a round-pointed instrument, which made dot-like incisions.

The distance from this spot to the centre of the ancient site agrees well with the "about three stades" of Pausanias, and it may, I think, be regarded as certain that this inscription marks the site of the sanctuary of Zeus Kappótas. Τερασίως must then be regarded as the official title of the god, Kappótas as a local popular epithet. The spot as figured by Le Bas—Waddington [\(^5\)] shows a rocky platform at the foot of the cliff, which perhaps was the "unwrought stone" mentioned by Pausanias.'

On the other hand, W. Kolbe\(^6\), writing six years later in his Inscriptiones Laconiae, reverts to the view put forward by W. M. Leake\(^7\), that the stone called Zeus Kappótas was to be seen in antiquity some two hundred yards further south at the point where the rock still shows an archaic inscription in small letters difficult to decipher and interpret, but possibly prescribing penalties for any who should shift or damage the sacred object?.

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1 Paus. 3. 22. 1 Γυθίων δὲ τρεῖς μᾶλιστα ἄπεχες σταδίους ἄργας Λίθος. 'Ορέστης λέγεις καθάνθετα εὖ αὐτῷ παύσανθαι τῆς μανίας: διὰ τούτο ὁ Λίθος ὁμολαγή Ζεὺς Καππότας κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Δωρίδα.
3 [Supra ii. 31 n. 7.]
4 Lebas—Reinach Voyage Arch. p. 32 pl. Itin. 25 (=my fig. 781). R. Weil in the Ath. Mitth. 1876 i. 151 ff. compares this 'Felsenlage' with that of Zeus Ἱππίστος at Athens (supra ii. 876 n. 1 no. (1)).
6 W. M. Leake Travels in the Morea London 1830 i. 248.
7 R. Weil in the Ath. Mitth. 1876 i. 154 f., Roehl Insr. Gr. arc. no. 72, Roberts Gk. Epigr. i. 261 no. 260, A. N. Skias in the Βιβλ. Ἀρχ. 1892 pp. 185—191 no. 1, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inschr. iii. 2. 60 ff. no. 4564, Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 609, J. v. Prött and L. Ziehen Leges Graecorum sacrae ii no. 55, Insr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess. i no. 1155, μεθένων ἄποστριβήσαι, τι βέβη κα ἄποστριβήσει, ἀρατέα | ἐπὶ δοῖνος | μαίνετος, ἄποστριβήσαι, μεθένων. The interpretation depends on the meaning assigned to the unknown verb ἄποστριβήσαι. H. Stuart Jones in the new Liddell and Scott has 'ἀποστριβήσαι, perh. = disturb, move, dub. in IG 8 (1). 1155. 2
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Neither of these explanations is quite satisfactory. The first assumes that Zeus **Kappótas** was the popular name of the god officially called Zeus **Terástios**. But it is not easy to find a strict parallel to such double nomenclature. Besides, Pausanias’ phrase ‘an unwrought stone’ (**argós lithos**) suggests something isolated and smaller than ‘a rocky platform at the foot of the cliff.’ The second explanation is even more precarious. We are invited to think that a verb of unknown meaning in an inscription which does not mention Zeus at all perhaps referred to misdemeanants guilty of knocking bits off his sacred rock. I should sooner conclude that the relic in question was a comparatively small stone long since buried or lost.

The belief that ‘Orestes sat upon it and was thereby stayed from his madness’ recalls other curative stones, but not very probable, derivation of **Kappótas** from **katapaúein,** ‘to stay.’ Equally unconvincing is M. Mayer’s con-
tention that \textit{Kappótas} means 'the Swaller.' For though in the Hesiodic myth Zeus swallowed Metis\textsuperscript{4} and in the Orphic theogony Zeus swallowed Phanes and all that in him was\textsuperscript{3}, yet where a stone is in question we should inevitably think of Rhea's ruse and desiderate either Kronos the Swallowed or Zeus the Swallowed. There is more to be said for S. Wide's\textsuperscript{3} suggestion that \textit{Kappótas} involves the root \textit{pet- pót-}, which appears in the verb \textit{pót-á-omai}, 'I fly.' Only, we must not translate 'the Down-flier'\textsuperscript{4} or imagine that the reference is to a winged thunderbolt. There is little or no evidence to show that Greek thunderbolts were winged before the fifth century\textsuperscript{6}, and this cult savours of a much hoarier antiquity. Rather, it should be borne in mind that the same root \textit{pet- pót-} had another meaning, 'to fall' as well as 'to fly.' H. Usener\textsuperscript{7} and F. Solmsen\textsuperscript{8}—a strong combination—between them went far towards proving that Zeus \textit{Kappótas} really meant Zeus 'the Fallen,' and that his stone was in all likelihood a meteoric block.

If so, it must be conceded that among the peasants of Gythion we are face to face with extremely archaic beliefs. Zeus is the Sky\textsuperscript{9}. The Sky is made of stone\textsuperscript{10}. A bit of it breaks off and falls\textsuperscript{11}. That is Zeus 'the Fallen.' On this showing, our third volume ends where our first volume began, with the primary and yet age-long conception of the animate Sky.

\textsuperscript{1} Supra p. 743 f. \textsuperscript{2} Supra ii. 1027, iii. 745. 
\textsuperscript{5} E. Maass in the \textit{Rhein. Mus.} 1929 lxxviii. 7 ff.: \textit{Kátopos=Herniedergeflogen}. 
\textsuperscript{6} Supra ii. 777, 780 f. 
\textsuperscript{8} H. Usener in the \textit{Rhein. Mus.} 1905 lx. 12: 'Viel mehr gehört \textit{pet-} zu Wurzel \textit{pet-} (Aor. dor. \textit{ketos} = \textit{ketos}) wie \textit{petásai} zu \textit{petésai}, vgl. \textit{spáphi} \textit{spáphi} \textit{spáphi} \textit{spáphi}. Es ergibt sich also mit \textit{Kátopos} 'dem herabgefallenen' ein Synonymon zu \textit{Kataifátai}, und mit \textit{Zeis Kátopos} eine neue Parallele zu \textit{Zeis Kataiános}. Der Stein, der diesen Namen trug, konnte nur ein Meteorstein sein, der als leibhafter Donnerkeil verehrt wurde.' 
\textsuperscript{9} F. Solmsen in the \textit{Rhein. Mus.} 1907 lxii. 337: 'Morphologisch ist diese schöne... Deutung am leichtesten zu rechtfertigen, wenn man \textit{Kátopos} als Verkürzung von \textit{Kátopos} auffasst und mit att. \textit{kapta} aus *\textit{kapta} zu \textit{kapta} (vgl. hom. \textit{kapta} und Kretschmer Vasaninschr. 88) und \textit{prosai} \textit{prosai} aus \textit{prosai} zusammensteht.' 
\textsuperscript{10} Supra i. 1 ff. and passim. 
\textsuperscript{11} Ib.
The highest peak of Mount Olympos (Mitka, the 'Needle').

See page 943 n. 3.
§ 11. General Conclusions with regard to Zeus as god of the Dark Sky.

We have now gone the round of our subject, surveyed its main lines, and explored in detail some at least of its ramifications. It remains in a few concluding paragraphs to gather up results and attempt some estimate of their significance.

Starting from the primitive belief in an animate Sky, we surmised that already in remote pre-Homeric times Zeus, 'the Bright One', had developed from Sky to Sky-god and was conceived after the fashion of an earthly weather-making monarch. He dwelt in isolated splendour where the summit of Mount Olympos (pl. lxviii) towers up through the cloudy air into the cloudless aether. Universally recognised as head of the Hellenic pantheon, he came in the Hellenistic age to be connected more or less closely with sun, moon, and stars—other manifestations of the same celestial brightness.

Even when the sky was dark with a lowering storm, 'the Bright One' might be seen to flash downwards in a dazzling streak. This was regarded sometimes as his destructive glance, more often as his irresistible weapon—a double axe, a spear, a sword, a lightning-fork or thunderbolt. Zeus, who thus sent the lightning and the thunder, was naturally thought to send all kinds of weather, rain, snow, or hail. Indeed, any phaenomenon of a meteorological sort was apt to be dubbed *Diosmetia*, a 'Zeus-sign,' and viewed as an omen of serious import.

Prominent among such *Diosentai* was the Earthquake attributed either to Zeus or to Poseidon, a specialised form of Zeus, whose trident was originally the lightning-fork of a storm-god. Clouds, again, played a certain role in the ritual and mythology of Zeus, as Aristophanes was aware when he wrote and rewrote his *Nephele*—or elaborated that brilliant extravaganza his *Nephele*—

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1 Supra i. 1 ff.
2 Supra i. 9 ff.
3 Hitha, the highest peak of Mt Olympos, photographed from the Ridge by Mr C. M. Sleeman, Sept. 3, 1926. See further supra ii. 904 n. 6.
4 Supra i. 101 with pl. ix, 1 and 2.
5 Supra i. 777 ff.
6 Supra i. 186—730.
7 Supra i. 730—740.
8 Supra i. 740—775.
9 Supra ii. 11.
10 Supra ii. 587 ff.
11 Supra ii. 501 ff.
12 Supra ii. 513 ff.
13 Supra ii. 704 ff.
14 Supra ii. 1 ff.
15 Supra ii. 722 ff.
16 Supra iii. 1 ff.
17 Supra iii. 4 ff.
18 Supra iii. 69 f.
19 Supra i. 717 ii. 31 n. 8, 582 ff., 786 ff., 846, 850, 893 n. 0, iii. 20.
20 Supra ii. 789 ff., 850, iii. 20.
21 Supra iii. 30 ff.
22 Supra iii. 69 f.
General Conclusions with regard to kokkygia. The Winds too were not unconnected with Zeus. Their guardian Aiolos was one with Aiolos forefather of the Aeolians, and perhaps began life as a tribal chieftain believed to embody the sky-god. Zeus' titles Ovrios, Ikmenos, Eudemos, Boreios afford more definite proof of his power over the Winds. A further group of his epithets—Errhos, Ersatos, Ikmatos, and the like—associates him with the Dew. The Errhephoroi were 'Dew-bearers' who carried dew, conceived as the very seed of the sky-father, down into the womb of the earth-mother, while the dew-sisters Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse are best explained as successive names of the earth-mother herself. More obvious and constant is the relation of Zeus to Rain. Rain-magic is found at several of his cult-centres, in Arkadia, in Thessaly, on the Akropolis at Athens. Moreover, the belief was rife that Zeus descended in rain to fertilise the earth—witness the poets in general and the myth of Danaë in particular. His appellatives Ombrios, Hyetios, Hyess, Chaldeios speak for themselves. Lastly, Zeus on occasion let fall a meteorite, a fragment of the solid sky, or even himself fell in meteoric form. In which context we can cite, not only the Syrian Zeus Betylos and the Arabian Zeus Dousares, but also the Laconian Zeus Kappostas and the stone devoured by Kronos.

Such in rough outline were the physical foundations of the cult of Zeus. I have used them throughout as providing a convenient framework for a somewhat discursive investigation of his worship. But the more nearly we study these aspects of it, the more clearly we perceive that they were after all just the ground-plan or lower storey of a greater and grander whole. Resting upon them and rising all the time, here a little and there a little, was a structure of fresh religious concepts, whose height and breadth—pinnacles of individual aspiration and prospects of interracial understanding—were quite without parallel in the pagan world. The fact is that always and everywhere the cult of a Sky-god has proved to be an

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1 Supra iii. 44 ff.
2 Supra iii. 103 ff.
3 Supra iii. 106 ff.
4 Supra iii. 140 ff.
5 Supra iii. 165 ff., 602.
6 Supra iii. 314 ff.
7 Supra iii. 237, 241 ff., 603.
8 Supra iii. 284 ff.
9 Supra iii. 314 ff.
10 Supra iii. 451 ff.
11 Supra iii. 455 ff.
12 Supra iii. 535 ff.
13 Supra iii. 809 ff.
14 Supra iii. 890 f.
15 Supra iii. 927 ff.
16 Supra iii. 106 ff.
17 Supra iii. 165 ff., 602.
18 Supra iii. 314 ff.
19 Supra iii. 535 ff.
20 Supra iii. 875 ff.
21 Supra iii. 912.
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elevating and widening force. Inevitably so, for it tends to raise the thoughts of men from earth to heaven. And the quick-witted Greeks were prompt to seize the opportunity of such uplift and expansion.

Almost every section of this treatise serves to illustrate the process. Zeus Hýpsiostos, for example, was 'the Highest,' not only literally, but metaphorically too. He may have started, like Zeus Hýpatos, as a Hellenic mountain-power. But he ended by being identified with the supreme deity of more than one non-Hellenic people, and not least of the Jews. This took place in the Hellenistic age, which also saw the rise of Zeus the Sun and his fusion with a variety of solar gods all round the eastern end of the Mediterranean—Âmen-Râ at Egyptian Thebes, Sarapis at Alexandria, Ba’al-hammânu in north Africa, Ba’al-šamin in Syria, not to mention the Mithras of Chaldean magic. Moreover, it was as a pure sun-god that at Tripolis in Phoinike Zeus acquired the striking appellative Hágios, and on the coinage of Gaza was actually equated with the Hebrew Godhead and inscribed with the trilliteral form of the name Jehovah. These and other such lines converged and ultimately met in the solar monotheism of Aurelian.

Again, the ram and the bull, whose procreative powers were connected by pastoral and cattle-breeding peoples with all the fertilising agencies of sun and storm, both alike served to facilitate the union of the Greek Zeus with similar gods in contiguous areas. The ram linked him to the Graeco-Libyan Ammon and the Thraeto-Phrygian Sabásios; the bull, to the Amorite Adad, the Babylonian Ramman, and the Hittite god who in Roman times figures as Jupiter Heliopolitanus or Jupiter Dolichenus.

Of all the attributes ascribed to Zeus the most formidable was


1 Supra ii. 876 n. 1.
2 Supra ii. 875 n. 1.
3 Supra i. 186 ff.
4 Supra i. 347 ff.
5 Supra i. 188 ff.
6 Supra i. 353 ff.
7 Supra i. 191 f.
8 Supra i. 190.
9 Supra i. 192, 400 n. 6, cp. ii. 1122 n. 9.
10 Supra i. 232 ff. fig. 171, b and pl. xxi, iii. 558.
11 Supra i. 166.
12 Supra i. 428 ff.
13 Supra i. 433 ff., iii. 666, 615 ff.
14 Supra i. 348 ff.
15 Supra i. 399 ff., cp. ii. 275, 387 n. 2, 1184.
16 Supra i. 549 ff., 581 f.
17 Supra i. 576 ff., 633 ff.
18 Supra i. 550 ff., 576 ff.
19 Supra i. 604 ff.
the thunderbolt. Yet its terrors were not wholly terrific. Zeus might fall as a lightning-flash, but the Diōbletos or Zeus-struck man was deemed divine and even treated as a god. The spot where the fatal bolt fell was elysion and its victim enelpsios, literally 'in Elysium.' He had entered upon the road of Zeus, the Elysian track, which led up the steeps of heaven and was identified by Pythagorean sages with the Milky Way. He, like Er son of Armenios, could stand at last on the axis of the world, the central column supporting the very sky, there to witness all that heaven could show. The celestial ascent was sometimes conceived as a ladder—a conception which begins with Egyptian amulets, continues with Thracian and Orphic beliefs, only to end with the mediaeval Ladder of Salvation. Again, Zeus armed with a thunderbolt in either hand, a primitive storm-god, at Olympia was sublimated into Zeus Hórkios, 'God of Oaths,' a terror merely to perjurers, just as on Italian soil Dies Fidius, 'the Cleaver,' a lightning-god, became, thanks to popular etymology, a peaceful 'Protector of Pledges.' In general it may be said that from the sixth century onwards the thunderbolt of Zeus begins to be replaced by his sceptre, surviving mainly as a symbol of omnipotence or continuous divine activity. Indeed, under Constantine its old Anatolian form, the lábrys, was deliberately re-shaped into the labarum and adopted as the emblem of the all-conquering faith.

Omnipotence leads on towards omniscience and omnibenevolence. A Hellenistic type of Zeus enthroned and sceptred shows the god with serious deep-set eyes, brow furrowed by thought, and head propped on hand in an attitude of serene meditation. We can hardly fail to recognise the insight and foresight of the divine ruler, who takes a kindly interest in the affairs of men. His mood, best described by the Greek term prónoia or the Latin providentia, comes close to our own conception of Providence. Thus in imperial times Jupiter Conservator extends a strong protecting arm above the puppet emperor, while his Syrian counterpart Jupiter

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1 Supra ii. 852.
2 Supra ii. 22 f.
3 Supra ii. 36 ff.
4 Supra ii. 84, 114.
5 Supra ii. 44, 108, infra iii. 974.
6 Supra ii. 125 ff.
7 Supra ii. 129 ff.
8 Supra ii. 722, 726 f.
9 Supra ii. 731 ff.
10 Supra ii. 723, 731 ff.
11 Supra ii. 853.
12 Supra ii. 854.
13 Mr H. Mattingly draws my attention to the fact that the same gesture of head propped on hand occurs also in the Roman numismatic type of a seated Securitas (Stevenson—Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 726. J. Ilberg in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 595 ff., Hartmann in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii A. 1000 ff.).
14 Supra ii. 34 ff., ii. 762 f.
15 Supra i. 276 n. 5 fig. 291.
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Dolichenus 'Best and Greatest, the Eternal' is hailed as 'the Preserver of the Whole Sky, a Godhead Pre-eminent, a Provider Invincible.'

More and more, as time went on and men's sympathies widened, the cosmic character of such a god tended to find expression in poetry, philosophy, and art. Homer began his Iliad with the parenthetic hint that its plot was but the progressive fulfilment of the will of Zeus. Sophokles ended his Women of Trachis with the reflexion—

In all which happenings is nought but Zeus—

and we are left with that impressive monosyllable ringing in our ears. An Orphic fragment paraphrased by Platon said:

 Zeus first, Zeus midmost, Zeus hath all things made.

And later Orphists under Stoic influence, or Stoics with a leaning towards Orphism, expanded the same theme into hymns of a definitely pantheistic sort. Theokritos and Aratos have echoes of the opening line, which for Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, and Calpurnius Siculus passes into a poetical commonplace. Aratos in his great exordium dwells on the ubiquity and helpfulness of the god. The haunts of men are 'full of Zeus'—all the streets, all the markets, the sea and its harbours. Zeus distinguishes the seasons by his signs in the sky above and thereby determines the labours of the earth beneath. And all this with beneficent purpose. So men do well to worship him ever first and last; and the poet in a burst of gratitude cries—

Hail, Father, mighty marvel, mighty boon!

Even the dry-as-dust pedant with his faulty philology attempts to persuade us that Zeus gets his name Zena as being the giver of

1 Supra i. 608, 633. 2 Supra i. 14 n. 1.
3 Soph. Trach. 1278 κολόνν τοῖσων ὤ τι ἐν Ἰερι. 4 Supra ii. 1033 n. 1.
5 R. Harder 'Prismata' i. in Philologus N.F. 1930 xxxix. 243—247 argues that Orph. frag. 21 a Kern is not only not early (Kern), nor even merely Stoic in tone (Wilamowitz), but is actually a Stoic forgery (Class. Quart. 1931 xxv. 216).
6 Supra ii. 1027 f.
7 Theokr. 17. 1 f. έ κ θ Δίας ἄρχωμεθα κα τ δ Θ Ισικ. Θυσιά, ἂ άρσαν ιτόν ἄριστον
8 Arat. phaen. 1 έ κ Δίας ἄρχωμεθα (supra ii p. vi).
9 Cic. de legg. 2. 7 'a Iove Musarum primordia'—sicut in Aratio carmine orsi sumus.
10 Verg. ecl. 3. 60 ab Iove principium, Musae, Aen. 7. 219 ab Iove principium generis.
11 Ov. met. 10. 148 f. 'ab Iove, Musa parentes,—cedunt Iovis omnia regno—| carmina nostra move.'
12 Calp. Sic. 4. 82 ab Iove principium, si quis canit aethera, sumat.
13 Arat. phaen. 1 ii. (supra ii p. vi).
General Conclusions with regard to life to all things, and Dia as being the cause through which they came to be. Zeus enthroned as cosmic lord is a frequent theme of imperial art. So he appears, surrounded by all the host of heaven, in a fine ceiling-fresco of Nero's Golden House. And analogous designs were used to decorate minor works of art, an onyx phalera, a terra-cotta lamp, or what not? Anything circular would serve. Thus handsome bronze coins struck at Nikaia in Bithynia and Perinthos in Thrace show Zeus seated in the midst with smaller flanking figures of Sun and Moon, Earth and Sea, the whole enclosed by a broad band exhibiting all the signs of the zodiac—an irrefutable witness of his claim to world-dominion. Martianus Capella had indeed ample warrant for his hymn to Jupiter as ruler of the starry universe. Small wonder that the type of the infant Zeus seated on a globe surrounded by stars was adapted for figures of the Father and the Son in church-mosaics of the fourth and following centuries, or that the similar type of Zeus enthroned with the globe as his footstool is found on a fourth-century gold-glass simply lettered CRISTVS.

Meantime morality was on the march, indeed was on the warpath. But reflexion shows that patrician satire on the chronique scandaluse of Zeus, however excusable in the heat of controversy, is not to be taken too seriously. It consists mainly of misdirected attacks on the alleged amours of the god with this, that, or the other mortal maiden. But in reality such liaisons point to the legitimate union of the sky-god with the earth-goddess, who in divers places had divers names and on occasion faded from goddess to heroine. It might even be urged that this notorious characteristic of Zeus was a virtue rather than a vice, proving his permanence and adaptability in the face of changing conditions. The earth-mother of many names took on a score of shapes: the sky-father remained constant to her in them all.

It was precisely this moral stability that made Zeus not merely the wedding-god par excellence on account of his own hieros gamos.
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but also the confessed patron of law and order. For as husband of
Ge Thémis¹ he was the natural guardian of thémistes or ‘precedents’² and
the parent of Dike³ ‘the Right Way of Things,’ that is
‘Justice.’⁴ It was his to judge between the lawful and the lawless,
whether human or otherwise. Archilochos of Paros as far back as
the middle of the seventh century⁵ could say:

Zeus, Father Zeus, thou reign’st in heaven above
Watching the works of mortal men,
Knavish or just; yea, all the beasts that move
Have rights and wrongs within thy ken⁶.

There are grounds for suspecting that the laws inscribed on Solon’s
kýrbeis and áxones were held to be the very voice of Zeus⁷. Aischylos⁸ makes Dike a close ally of her father. Sophokles⁹ speaks of her as seated at his side¹⁰. Euripides in the Melanippe


¹ Super ii. 37, 267, 841. Hence, presumably, Plutarch’s Zeus θεὸς τῶν συναστήσ (infra p. 994 n. 2).

² H. ii. 237 f. τίνι αὖτε μνεῖται ἄχαιων | ἐν παλαίρη πορεύοντα δικαστήν, οὗ τε θῆματα | πρὸν Διὸς εἴρεται, Od. 16. 403 et μὲν οὐδὲνοι δᾶν μεγάλοι θήματα.


⁵ W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur Munich 1912 i. 184.

⁶ Archil. frag. 88 Bergk⁴, 88 Edmonds, 94 Diehl¹ ap. Stob. ecl. i. 3. 34 p. 58, 11 ff. Wachsmuth (ep. Clem. Al. strom. 5. 14 p. 417, 3 ff. Stählin (Euseb. praep. ec. 13. 13. 54)).

² Ζεῦς, πάτερ Ζεῦ, οἷν μὲν ὁμοιοῦ κράτος, | οὗ δὲ ἐργῇ ἐκ ἀνθρώπων ὁμάτιον | ἑνεργὴ καὶ θευματία, σοὶ δὲ θηρεύον | ὑβρίσι τε καὶ δίκη μελεῖ | with R. Hirzel op. cit. p. 318 n. 5. P. Shorey in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1918 x. 801.

In a fable of Archilochus there is an appeal to Zeus who regards both the Hybris and the Dike of beasts. This may be little more than the literary tone of Kipling’s ‘law of the pack’ and Aristophanes’ ‘laws of the birds’ [scr. 1343 ff.]. Pindar echoes Hesiod with the compound beasts ‘unwitting-of-justice’⁸ [Νάμ. i. 63 θῆμα διδακτές]. Anaximandros even spoke of all individual things as paying the penalty for their injustice (frag. 9 Diels⁹ ap. Simplic. phys. 74. 13 (Theophrast. phys. opin. frag. 2 in H. Diels Doxographi Graeci Berolini 1879 p. 476, 8 ff.) ἐν ψυχῆς ἡ γένεσις ὃστις τοῦ ὄντος, καὶ τὴν φύσαν ἐν τῇ ἀτάκει ἀγενοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀλληλούς τῆς ἄξονας κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τάξιν).

⁷ Super ii. 1003 n. 1.

⁸ Aisch. cho. 244 f.

⁹ Soph. Trach. 279, O.C. 1381 f.

¹⁰ O. Kern Orphicorum fragmenta Berolini 1932 p. 196 thinks that Sophokles was here following Orphic doctrine (infra p. 990 n. 4).
950 General Conclusions with regard to Bound's scoffs at the crude Hesiodic idea of Dike acting as court-assessor to Zeus, but in the Tristades still couples his name with hers:

O Earth's Upbearer on the Earth enthroned,
Whoe'er thou mayest be, hard to guess or know,
Zeus, be thou Nature's Law or Mind of Man,
To thee I pray; for stepping silently
Thou lead'st all mortal things on the path of Justice.

Orphic teaching represented both Dike and Nomos as parēdros of Zeus. And the eclectic author of the pseudo-Aristotelian work On the Universe (s. i B.C.), after quoting with approval an Orphic hymn to Zeus, concludes his treatise with the words?:

'God, then, as the old story has it, holding the beginning and the end and the middle of all things that exist, proceeding by a straight path in the course of

1 Eur. frag. 506 Nauck ap. Stob. ecl. i. 3. 14a p. 54, 12 ff. Wachsmanth doksire ptyhnon rhydrhmatou eis theos ipterov, euphrosyn, en Dios deinov trikoi garofon tov adēs, Zηmy ov eisorodoi mnu | deithento dikaxos | adēs o tis adēs | Dios garofon tis deikun | amariski | epexeiremen aoi exzeiws en xekouv | ptymata ektho iwmai | al η Diek | eurakia ptothi eugomai, eis boletho 2 ορδ. Cp. Deut. 30. 11. 11 ff. 'For this commandment which I command thee this day... It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest know, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it?... But the word is very nigh thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.'

2 Hes. o. d. 238 ff.

3 Eur. The. 884 ff. EK. ο γης χειμα κατι γης ξαν θανα, | δοσι ποιει ει σοι, δισματικοι εις ιθηνα, | Zeus, εις αναγκα φονεσ εις νοθε βροτων, | πρωσιπαξην σω παντα γαρ δι άφορον | βαινον κελευν κατα βεκα τα θητης δη λυπη.

4 Orph. frag. 23 Kern ap. pseudo-Dem. c. Aristot. i. 11 (on the spurious character of this speech see W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur 6 München 1912 i. 602 n. 1) και την απαραιτητα και σεμνη Δικη, ην ο τας αγωστης ημων τελετα καταδεξατ 'Ορφεος παρα των του Dios θρων φοιρον καθημενα παντα τα των ανθρωπων θειον, εις αυτων ηικον νομισαν της θανατου ων δει φοβηθεσθαι, ϕαινομενον και προφανομεν μη καταχωναι τατην, κ.τ.λ., cp. Orph. h. Dik. 61. 1. 2 δη ημιν Δικη μελη πανερετηκι, αγλαμοδικον, | δη και ηυις ανακοινων εις θρων ιερον ημι | ουρανος καθωρισε μελε θειων κατωδησων, | κ.τ.λ.

See further G. Caramia 'Chi è la dea BAZIAEIA negli Uccelli di Aristofane?' in the Rivista Indo-Grecia-Italiana di filologia, lingua, antichità 1925 ix. 209 ff., who concludes that Basilea (supra p. 60 n. 5) was Dike the parēdros Dios (Soph. O. C. 1381 f., Arrian. 4. 9-7), and F. Ribezzo 'La Dike parēdros Dios degli Orfici' in the same Rivista 1925 ix. 209 f., who regards the three functions of Basileia—εμποδι, ενομα, συφρονισιν (Aristoph. av. 1359 f.)—as those of an Orphic Dike.

5 Orph. frag. 166 Kern ap. Prokl. in Plat. Alcib. 1 p. 499, 2 Cousin 2 πανορ η πρὸ τοῦ κτισμοῦ Δικη συνέτατη τῷ Διί (παρεδρον γαρ ὁ Νόμος τοῦ Διοῦ, ὁ φθορὰς ὁ Ὀρφεύς) and ap. Prokl. in Plat. Tim. 315 f. 8 ff. Dichi ἐν δὲ τῷ Τορτιί (323 A) συνάντησε τα αὐτὰ (τοῦ τοῖς Διοῖς τοῦ Κρινώτας καὶ εξαράγων αὐτῶν, ἢ καὶ πρὸ τῶν τρώγων οὐ καὶ μετέχει μνί αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν Νόμων αὐτῶν συγκαθορίστων, ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ Ὀρφεύς· καὶ τὰ καὶ ἢ ὧν συνέκαθιν τὴν Νοῦτα καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνῳ παρέδροιν παρέδροιν τὸν Νόμον· ἦν δὲ τῶν Δίκην ὁλίγον ἄκαθαν αὐτῶν τιθέμενον εν Νόμω (4. 716 A), ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ θεόλογος.

6 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur 8 München 1912 i. 736, München 1920 ii. 1. 376.

7 [Aristot.] de mundo 7. 401 b 24 ff. trans. E. S. Forster.
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nature brings them to accomplishment; and with him ever follows Justice, the avenger of all that falls short of the Divine Law—Justice, in whom may he that is to be happy be from the very first a blessed and happy partaker!¹

Plutarch² in his address To an uneducated Ruler is dissatisfied with such conventional views and protests that Dike is no mere παρεδρος of Zeus but must, like Themis and the highest Nomos³, be frankly identified with Zeus himself:

¹ Now it is true that Anaxarchus, trying to console Alexander in his agony of mind over his killing of Cleitus, said that the reason why Justice and Right are seated by the side of Zeus is that men may consider every act of a king as righteous and just; but neither correct nor helpful were the means he took in endeavouring to heal the king's remorse for his sin, by encouraging him to further acts of the same sort. But if a guess about this matter is proper, I should say that Zeus does not have Justice to sit beside him, but is himself Justice and Right and the oldest and most perfect of laws; but the ancients state it in that way in their writings and teachings, to imply that without Justice not even Zeus can rule well.³

When Antiochos i of Kommagene called himself by the bombastic title Θεὸς Δικαίου Επιφανῆς, 'the Just God Made Manifest,' he was perhaps posing as Zeus Oromásdes incarnate. In late times Zeus acquired the appellation Δικαιοσύνος as Judge of the just and unjust⁴, and at Karousa in Paphlagonia was worshipped as Δικαιοσύνοις Μέγας⁵.

But, before perfection can be reached, justice must be tempered with Clemency, Mercy, and Love. Of which kindlier qualities there are stray hints and previsions in the cults of Zeus Meilichios⁶, Zeus Hikoios⁷, and Zeus Philios⁸. Particularly impressive for its moral implicates is the attitude of Zeus towards the man-slayer. It would seem that the bloodguilty person, who fled from the vengeance of his victim's kin and appeared in some far off village as a suppliant stranger, was—according to ancient Greek usage—believed to be under the special protection of a divine escort⁹, nay more, was

¹ Plout. ad primum inerudit. 4 trans. H. N. Fowler.
³ Supra ii. 742 n. 5.
⁴ Supra ii. 1092 n. 8.
⁵ Ib.
⁶ Supra ii. 1091 ff. (Append. M).
⁷ Supra ii. 1093 n. 1; 1097 n. 2.
⁹ Supra ii. 1097 n. 9.
originally regarded as himself a potential god. Hence we hear, not only of Zeus Ἦκτειος 'the God of Suppliants,' but also of Zeus Ἦκτες, himself 'the Suppliant,' and even of Zeus ἀλάστορ, Zeus 'the curse,'—a daring and desperate identification of the deity with the sinner. These things are strangely suggestive. Simple souls dwelling round the Mediterranean were prepared to believe that any day a god might appear in their midst in the likeness of a man. Why not as 'the man Christ Jesus'? Further, it would not stagger them to think that such an one might somehow condescend to identify himself with the sinner and even to 'become a curse for us.'

Other 'august anticipations' may be detected, by those who have ears to hear, in all parts of the ancient world. If for cultural and religious purposes Greece as a whole be divided into three zones, northern, central, and southern, it will naturally be found that of these the first and third were to a large extent independent and pursued their own lines of development, while the second lay open to influences received from either side. But in all three the same upward trend is observable.

Thus in the north the Thraco-Phrygians recognized a sky-god Dios, an earth-goddess Zemela, and their offspring Dios Νύσσος, Dios 'the Younger.' The son was held to be a rebirth of the father, whose name and nature he duplicated. Hence the ill-understood association of the Anatolian mother-goddess with a partner conceived at once as her husband and her child—Kybele, for example, having a youthful consort invoked as άττις, 'Daddy,' or Πάπας, 'Papa.' And hence too the success with which Christianity was propagated in Phrygia and Thrace among a people who already believed in a Father manifesting himself anew in the person of his Son. Even the rites and formae of Attis might pass muster as quasi-Christian.

In central Greece Dios, Zemela, and Dios Νύσσος became naturalised as Zeus, Semele, and Dionysos. But again there were

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1 Supra ii. 1096 n. 4. 2 Supra ii. 1096 n. 1.
3 Supra ii. 1098 n. 5, ep. lb. nn. 4 and 6.
4 Supra ii. 1096 n. 4. 5 1 Tim. 2. 5.
6 Gal. 3. 13.
7 R. Browning Paracelsus 5 suh fum. 'But in completed man begins anew | A tendency to God. Prognostics told | Man's near approach; so in man's self arise | August anticipations, symbols, types | Of a dim splendour ever on before | In that eternal circle life pursues.'
8 Supra ii. 277 ff., 842.
9 Supra ii. 294 with n. 1, 842.
10 Supra ii. 294 ff., 842.
11 Supra ii. 294 ff., 842.
12 Supra ii. 588 ff., 303, 842.
13 Supra ii. 305 ff. 14 Supra ii. 277 ff., 842.
obvious points of contact between Dionysiac and Christian practice. The former, like the latter made much of collective emotion, treated the inspired devotee as one with his god, transcended the narrow limits of Hellenism, and taught the mystery of life through death. It is notorious that the Christus Patiens, a play written in the middle ages on the supreme tragedy of Calvary, was composed largely of lines and half-lines culled from the Bacchae.

In the south we have a similar but older triad—the sky-god Kronos, the earth-goddess Rhea, and their youthful son Zagreus or the Cretan Zeus, whose death and resurrection were annually celebrated as a means of reviving the life of all that lives. Zeus Idatos in the fifth century had mystics, who by their sacraments assimilated themselves to their god and thereafter, clad in white raiment, led a life of ceremonial purity. Zeus Astéros of Gortyna seems early to have taken on a solar character, but in the Hellenistic age is viewed as god of the starry sky. Aratos, when about to describe the whole series of constellations, starts with the Bears and tells how once in Crete they hid the infant Zeus in a cave and nurtured him there for a year, while the Dictaean Kourêtes were deceiving Kronos. Now Aratos was a native of Soloi or, some

1 Supra i. 667, 672, 688, etc.
2 Supra i. 648 ff., 673, 675 ff., 705.
3 The Dionysiac nomenclature was syncretistic. Dióniyos came from Thrace (supra i. 695, 780, ii. 268, etc.). Bakchos perhaps came from Egypt, where at Hermomithis men worshipped the bull Bakha (supra i. 436 ff., ii. 268 n. 4). Zagreus probably came from Mt Zagros or Zagron in Assyria, passing first through Phoinike and then through Crete (supra i. 641, ii. 268 n. 4). Thus elements drawn from north, south, and east combined to form a religion of well-nigh universal appeal.
4 Dionysos, the life-god of the Thracians (supra ii. 1024 f.), dies only to rise again. Those who took part in his drômenon, those who witnessed his drôma, thereby became partakers of his immortality (supra i. 663 f., 673).
6 K. Krumbacher op. cit. 2 p. 746 'Ein volles Drittel der 2640 Verse (ausser den vereinzelten Anapästen V. 1466 ff. nur Trimeter), aus welchen das Drama besteht, ist fremdes Eigentum. Den grössten Teil dieses Lehngutes lieferten sieben Dramen des Euripides, nämlich Hekabe, Medea, Orestes, Hippolytos, Troades, Rhesos und Bacchen; dazu kommen einige Dutzend Verse aus dem Prometheus und Agamemnon des Aeschylus und aus der Kassandra des Lykophrôn.' As to the Bacchae, Sir J. E. Sandys in his edition of that play (ed. 3 Cambridge 1892 p. lxxxv) says: 'a large number of its lines were appropriated by the compiler of the dreary cento known as the Christus Patiens, once attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus.'
7 Supra ii. 548 ff.
8 Supra i. 649 n. 3, ii. 515, 548.
9 Supra i. 646.
10 Supra i. 648.
11 Supra i. 547.
12 Arat. phaen. 30 ff. (cited supra ii. 928 n. o).
said, of Tarsos. It is therefore of interest to note that Paul of Tarsos in his speech before the Areiopagos actually quotes the words used by his fellow-countryman with regard to the Cretan Zeus—

"For we are also his offspring,"

and in the same context cites, perhaps from a lost poem by Epimenides, Minos' panegyrical of the god—

"in him we live, and move, and have our being."

Paul must have been struck, and struck forcibly, by the Cretan parallel—a divine child born to be king, hidden in a cave from his enemies, apparently weak and helpless, yet able to control the stars in their courses, one with whom his worshippers the world over could claim kinship, while dependent on him for life, and breath, and all things. Truly the cult of Zeus Astérios has once more landed us on the very confines of Christendom.

Proofs might be multiplied, but I have said enough to show that the physical basis of the cult of Zeus involved mental, moral, and spiritual issues, which themselves rose to great heights and were prophetic of even greater things to come.

Many, if not most, of these sublimier aspects were caught and canonized when Pheidias at the very zenith of his fame made his statue of Zeus Olímpios for the fifth-century temple in the Áltis. For a detailed description of it we are in the main dependent on the dry paragraphs of Pausanias, eked out by allusions elsewhere. It appears that the god, a colossal figure in gold and ivory, sat enthroned with a Victory likewise of ivory and gold, bearing a fillet and wearing a wreath, in his right hand and a sceptre, embellished with various metals and topped by an eagle, in his left. He had an olive-wreath on his head and golden sandals on his feet, his himation

1 G. Knauz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 391 f. ("Wahrscheinlich war die Familie... von Tarsos nach Soloi übergesiedelt; deshalb wohl nennt Asklepiades von Myreia Tarsos als Geburtsort (Vit. 1 p. 52, 5 [p. 76, 4 ff.]. Maass: "Ἀσκληπιάδης δὲ ὁ Μύρειαν τῇ ἐν τῷ μέτα του γεραρμαντικῶν Ταρσα τῆς φησὶν αὐτὸν γενομέναι ἄλλῳ τόν Σολίδα = Frug. hist. Gr. iii. 299 Müller)"). B. A. Müller. De Asklepiade Myreiano Leipzig 1903 p. 43.
2 Acts 17. 28 (cited supra i. 664 n. 3).
3 Supra i. 157 n. 2, 663 n. 2, 664 n. 1.
4 Supra i. 664 ff.
5 Supra ii. 757 f.
6 Paus. 5. [i. 1—11.
7 Overbeck Schriftenwissen p. 125 ff. nos. 692—695, 697—754. A shorter set of extracts, with English rendering and brief notes, will be found in H. Stuart Jones Select Passages from Ancient Writers Illustrative of the History of Greek Sculpture London 1895 p. 84 ff. nos. [i. 1—114.
8 Paus. 5. ii. 1 τῇ ὁ άστερι τοῦ θεοῦ χυήν εὐσπ. (so Porson for χυρείν ἐντι codd.) σκῆτρων μετάλλων τοῖς τύσιν χρυσόμενων.
of gold being inwrought with living creatures and lily-flowers. His throne, decked with gold and jewels, ebony and ivory, had upon it numerous figures painted and carved. It was surmounted by groups representing the daughters of Zeus—three Charites and three Horai. Each throne-leg showed four dancing Victories above, and two others below. On the two front legs were Sphinxes grasping Theban children, and beneath them Apollon and Artemis shooting down the Niobids. The throne-legs were connected by four bars. The front bar carried seven, originally eight, figures illustrative of ancient athletic contests. The other three bars had, all told, twenty-nine figures—Heraclès and his allies, Theseus among them, engaged in fighting the Amazons. The throne was supported not only by four legs, but by four pillars between them. The space beneath it, however, could not be entered, being pro-

1 Ib. τῆς δὲ ιερᾶς ζῳδίας τῆς κρινᾶς ... ἑπεταυτοῦμενα. The ζῳδία perhaps typified fertility in the animal world; the κρινα (supra i. 622 ff.), in the vegetable world.

2 Supra i. 155.

3 Supra ii. 37 n. 1, 94 n. 2.

4 H. Böll in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 328 and 338 (‘Es ist das erste bezeugte Beispiel einer ausgedehnteren dekorativen Verwendung der Nischen an einem monumentalen Kunstwerke, wofür die zahlreichen kleinen dekorativen Bronzefigürchen von der athenischen Akropolis und die Verpuppung der Niké auf Vasenbildern kaum als Vorläufer angeführt werden dürfen.’ Etc.)

5 F. Eichler ‘Thebanische Sphinx’ in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1937 xxx. 75—110 figs. 19—32 has made it probable that two fragmentary groups in a blackish stone (‘Diabastuff (“Schalstein”)’) found by the Austrians at Ephesos and now in the Depot at Vienna were copied from one of the ebony (?) arm-supports of Pheidias’ Zeus.

6 Supra ii. 475 n. 7.

7 Paus. 5. 11. 3 adds that the man binding his head with a fillet was said to resemble Pantarkes (cp. 6. 10. 6, 6. 15. 2), an Elean youth who won a victory in the wrestling-match of Ol. 86 (436—433 R.C.) and was the παίδια of Pheidias.

Later writers affirm that Pheidias inscribed Παντάρκης καλὸς on the finger of Zeus (Clem. Al. probr. 4. 53-4 p. 41, 18 ff. Stählin, Arnob. adv. nat. 6. 13, Phot. lex. and Souiid. s.v. Παντυάρης καλὸς). But Gregory of Nazianzos tells the same tale of Athenia Parthenia (Greg. Naz. poemata 1. 2. 10. 863 f. (xxvi. 743 A Migne)); and Libanios, of Aphrodite (Liban. ap. schol. Clem. Al. probr. p. 313, 7 f. Stählin)—perhaps meaning the Nemesis of Rhamnous (supra i. 275) ἐν Ἀφροδίτης σχήματι (Phot and Souiid. locc. cit.). Lastly, Eunapios, if his text be sound (λαοὺς 177 p. 101 Boissonade μὴτε Φειδία τοῦ τῶν δακτυλῶν παραλαβεῖν καὶ τοῦ παιδί τοῦ ἵππου τῆς θεᾶς), appears to connect the incident with a goddess; but D. Wytenbach’s ej. τὸ δὲ for παιδί may well be right (so J. F. Boissonade ed. 2 Paris 1878 and W. G. Wright ed. London 1923). On the whole, this famous anecdote, if not absolutely incredible (it might conceivably be argued that an Olympic victor was an embodiment of the Olympic god (Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 399 ff.), that Zeus mindful of Ganymedes might make allowance for the sculptor, that Παντάρκης could be explained away as Πανταρκής—an epithet worthy of Zeus himself (Aisch. Pers. 855 f. πανταρκής ἀδάκτως ἀπόκρης βασιλεύς, ἰσόθενος Δαρκίου (cp. supra ii. 835), Hesych. εὐάκρης πανταρκής. τῶν βοσκῶν, πανταρκής τῶν αὐταρκῶν, etc.), is at least highly improbable.

In any case Pheidias’ statue of a boy binding a fillet on his head (Paus. 6. 4. 5) is not ad rem (see Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gr. Sculpt. p. 49 n. 1, Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümmer ad loc.).
ected by barriers like walls. Of these, the one that faced the door was simply coloured blue; the rest were painted by Panainos the brother of Pheidias with pictures of Atlas and Herakles, Theseus and Peirithoös, Hellas and Salamis, Herakles and the Nemean lion, Aias and Kassandra, Hippodameia and Sterope, Prometheus and Herakles, Penthesileia and Achilles, and lastly two Hesperides. The footstool had golden lions and a frieze showing Theseus.

1 Paus. 5. 11. 4 f. ἀνέχοντι δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς μοῦν τοῦ θρόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ κινεῖς ἐνα ἄλλο μεταξὺ ἑστηκότως τῶν ποσών. ἔπειτα δὲ οὐκ ἐναν ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, διότι γε καὶ ἐν Ἀμφίνοις ἐν τις ἄλλος τοῦ θρόνου παρέχομαι. οἴομαι δὲ ἐπί μας πρῶτος τάξεως πεποιημένα τὰ [ὅτι τοῖς Κοραίς] ἀνεχόμεθα ἡταὶ τοῖς τῶν ἐφαρμούσι δοσιμένα μὲ ἀπεκτερὸ τῶν τοιοῦτον ἄναυν, ἐλθοῦσιν κυνή μάνον, τὰ δὲ λωτα αὐτῶν παρέχεται Παναινος γραφῶν.


In my restoration (supra ii. pl. xvi) I have assumed (1) that the four bars (καθώς), as the coins seem to show, carried small figures in the round (ἀνάφωμα) representing athletes or combatants; (2) that the wall-like barriers (ἐμφασία), which prevented people from passing under the throne, were painted screens filling the four spaces between the legs (τούς) and beneath the bars; (3) that the pillars (κινεῖς), equal in number to the legs (ὅσοι τοῖς ποσών), stood literally between the legs (μεταξύ ἑστηκότως τῶν ποσών), connecting the bar as stylolabe with the seat as atrichave (for an earlier arrangement see supra p. 669 with fig. 480). This would not exclude the possibility that, as in the case of Athena Parthénos (G. Fouqué L'Acropole d'Athènes: La Parthénon Paris 1910 ii. 2 pl. 134, 1), there was a strong central pier or mast to ensure the stability of the whole colossal figure. Indeed, I suspect that a symbolic value was attached to this group of four pillars with a central stem. We have already seen (supra ii. 141 ff. fig. 83) a similar quincunx of columns apparently serving as a Sardinian model of the sky. The tomb of Porsenna at Clusium with its five pyramids and its superposed pétaius (supra ii. 1219) is susceptible of the same interpretation. Recently L. Frobenius Kulturgeschichte Afrikas Zürich 1933 p. 173 ff. figs. 174—139 has cited interesting parallels from Yorubaland, Egypt, Crete (cp. supra ii. 193 n. 2 pl. xi), Etruria, etc., and in particular has shown that in Dahomey, Togoland, Yorubaland, and Assyria thrones for deities and kings often took this precise form. We may therefore justifiably conclude that, if Zeus sat on a seat supported by four pillars and a central stem, he did so in his character of sky-god.

2 Lions were a traditional feature in the decoration of divine or royal thrones. The seat might be flanked by two lions (supra ii. 810 figs. 773 and 774, cp. i. 886 fig. 449) or...
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Contest with the Amazons. The pedestal was adorned with an elaborate composition in gold. In the centre Aphrodite rose from the foreparts of lions (i. 61 fig. 36), or it might have lionine legs (iii. 663 fig. 474, 664 fig. 475, 665 fig. 476, 668 fig. 480, 684 fig. 495, 716 fig. 530, 810 fig. 619) or lionine claws (i. 747 fig. 584, iii. 674 fig. 485, 680 fig. 491), or at least a footstool with lionine feet (i. pl. i). And the usage could be traced further afield. Solomon's chryselephantine throne had lions standing beside the stays and on each of the six steps (I Kings 10. 19 f.). Egyptian chairs of state often have lionine legs and arm-rests in the shape of lions (J. G. Wilkinson Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians London 1837 ii. 196 with col. pl. 11). The finest example is the throne of Tut-ankh-Amen, which has lionine legs surmounted by lion-heads of chased gold (H. Garter—A. C. Mace The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen London 1913 i. 117 ff. with pls. 2, 62—64). In India too the lion is a symbol of royalty (A. de Gubernatis Zoological Mythology London 1872 ii. 153 ff.). Mr E. J. Thomas draws my attention to the Hindu Sinhubāna or 'lion-seat' (Sir M. Monier-Williams A Sanscrit-English Dictionary Oxford 1899 p. 1213 'Sīnhāsana, n. "lion's-seat," "king's seat," "a throne," M.Bh.; Kāv. &c.), the thirty-two statuettes of which related to Kṛśna thirty-two tales about their former owner king Vikrama (F. Edgerton 'A Hindu Book of Tales: the Vikramācaritā' in the Am. Journ. Phil. 1912 xxxiii. 249 ff. ed. Vikrama's Adventures or The Thirty-two Tales of the Thrice Cambridge, Mass. 1936 vols. i and ii (Text, Translation, and Notes)). A Hittite god at Carchemish was enthroned on a pedestal representing two lions controlled by a servitor (G. Contemnou Manuel d'archéologie orientale Paris 1934 iii. 134 ff. 747). The archaic goddess from Priene in Crete was similarly enthroned on a base adorned with a frieze of lionesses (E. Löwy in the Jahrb. d. ost. arch. Inst. 1909 xii. 246 ff. 123. V. Chapot in Darmberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. v. 280 with fig. 6917). The huge gilded throne in the Magamur at Constantinople was guarded by lions with movable tongues, which could roar and lash their tails (Ludovrand of Cremona monstra anipotides 6. 5 p. 134 J. Becker (cxxxvi. 894 A—B Migne)).

Such parallels are hardly fortuitous. Behind them all we can dimly discern that Felidencultur of which L. Frobenius Kulturgeschichte Afrikas Zürich 1933 pp. 63—101 figs. 1—20 has much to say. Among the Baganda and allied tribes of Bantu speech the lion is a royal totem (J. Roscoe The Baganda London 1911 pp. 128, 187), and it is believed that kings after death are reborn as lions, their mortal remains breating maggots which turn into lion-cubs (J. Roscoe The Banyankole Cambridge 1923 pp. 27, 54, F. H. Melland In Witch-bound Africa London 1943 p. 121 (chiefs of the Ba-Kaonde)). The king, then, as such was a lion. And I should conjecture that his throne with lionine legs originally emphasised his claim by transforming the human biped into the animal quadruped. Relics of these forgotten or half-forgotten beliefs may be found in prophecies (Aisch. Ag. 1233 ff., 1258 ff.), dreams (Hdt. 6. 131, Plout. v. Per. 3, Artemid. oneirocr. 2. 12, 3. 66, Achines onetor. 267 (κ ε των Πειραιων και Μυμπτιών περι λεωνοι και θηριων) p. 218 ff. Dreal), and popular locations (Aristoph. th Byz. 514 λεων λων σα γέγονεν, cp. Plout. v. Lyct. 3 βασιλεως ζωο γέγονεν). Much ancient lore gathered about the birth of Alexander (Plout. v. Alex. 2 η μη νυσμα, προ της νυσμα τη συνειρθησαν εις των θηλαμων, ηδει βρωτη γεννησαν εμτεύμοναν αυτη τη γατη της α ηλαν, εξε της γατης τοκον περη αναθητη, ες μη μη κρεμνως και φλογας πετα φερομενα δαληθησην. α δε Φιλαππος ωττερος χρυσος μετα της γατης εδει δε αυτην ελπιζων αυτην εκβαλλοντα φραγκια της γατης της γενειας. η δε γατη της αραγιας, η ιδον πειραη και άνευ, των δε αλων μεταν διορομμων της φως, ακαμιστης φειδας της θηριων της Φιλαππος των περι της γατης, Αριστανδρος α Τέλμανες κεκτην ηπι την αραγιας, εις εις γατη ολοφρεαζοντας των κενων, και εκεινη παιδα γαμμαται και λατωται της φως), whose lionine looks were successfully rendered by Lysippos (Plout. de Alex. Mag. fort. aut viril. 2. 3) and—it may be added—most unsuccessfully by the later numismatic die-sinkers (e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia, Etc. p. 19 no. 845. fig. p. 20 no. 87 fig.), Hunter Cat. Coins i. 355 no. 1 pl. 24, 13. McClean Cat. Coins ii. 86 nos. 3716 and 3717 pl. 138, 10 and 11).
the sea, received by Eros and crowned by Peitho. On either side of this group were a dozen deities arranged in pairs—on the left, Zeus and Hera, Hephaiastos and Charis, Hermes and Hestia; on the right, Apollon and Artemis, Athena and Herakles, Amphitrite and Poseidon. The whole assemblage was flanked on the left by Helios in his chariot, on the right by Selene riding her horse or mule.

In front of all this splendour, with its wealth of mythological meaning, was a bare black pavement of Eleusinian stone, which—whatever its practical purpose—aesthetically must have served, in the half-light of the temple, to isolate the statue from the spectator and to uplift the whole glittering vision towards the starry roof.

Pausanias' penultimate comment is worth quoting:

'I am aware that the measurements of the Zeus at Olympia in point of height and breadth are on record, but I cannot commend those who measured it. For even the measurements they mention fall far short of the impression made by the image upon such as have seen it. Why, the god himself, they say, bore witness to the art of Pheidias. When the image was finished, Pheidias prayed the god to grant a token if the work was to his mind. And, straightway, they declare, he hurled a thunderbolt into the ground at the spot where down to my time stood a hydra of bronze.'

What this masterpiece really looked like in the full glory of its ancient setting, we cannot, of course, hope to know. Any attempt to reconstruct it on paper (supra ii pl. xlvi), partly from Pausanias' careful enumeration of details, partly from the small-scale copies of form and features on imperial coins of Elis.

1 Infra p. 967.
2 Paus. 5. 11. 9.

These articles between them cover all the Zeus-types on the coinage of Olympia from the latter part of s. vi B.C. onwards.

Some at least of the earlier types (e.g. the seated Zeus supra ii. 757 figs. 700 and 701, 1224 fig. 1022) may well be reminiscent of a pre-Pheidias cult-image. I agree with
Coins, struck by Hadrian, representing the Zeus *Olympios* of Pheidias:

1a, 1b) Two differently lighted views of bronze coin now at Paris.
(2) Bronze coin now at Florence.
(3) and (4) Bronze coins now at Berlin.

See page 989 n. 1.
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(pl. lxix), must remain almost laughably inadequate. But, after all, as Pausanias implies, the important thing about the Pheidias Zeus was not his dimensions but his dignity, not his physical greatness but his moral grandeur. And if we cannot recreate his vanished effigy with much assurance, we can at least recall the impression

Miss G. M. A. Richter The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 169: 'For the long interval between the completion of the temple and Pheidias' statue we may be permitted to hazard an explanation. Can we not suppose that originally a marble cult statue was made for the temple and stood duly in its place when the building was completed in 456? The existence of such an earlier image is indeed suggested by recent investigations of the floor of the temple which have indicated the presence of a substructure with votos beneath the Pheidian construction [K. Lehmann-Hartleben 'Libon und Pheidias' in the Jahrh. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1923/24 xxxviii/ix pp. 37—48]. Possibly the noble and severe head of Zeus (fig. 610) and the enthroned figure (fig. 611) which appear on the coins of Elis...were inspired by it. The expense of this statue—as well as of the temple—was defrayed from the spoils taken by the Eleans when they reduced Pisa and the other dependent cities which had revolted, just as Pausanias [5. 10. 3] tells us. Then thirty years later the same great earthquake which caused the mutilation of the crouching figures from the angles of the western pediment [cp. W. Dörpfeld in Olympia lii. 222]...also damaged this statue of Zeus. By this time the praise of the great gold and ivory statue of the Athena Parthenos was resounding throughout Greece; and Olympia determined to have a similar resplendent figure by the same master sculptor.'

But not till imperial times can we expect to find any accurate renderings of the Pheidias figure (P. Gardner Types of Gk. Coins pp. 77 ff., 146, 176 ff., 197 with pl. 15). Under Hadrian, when art took an antiquarian turn (W. Weber in The Cambridge Ancient History Cambridge 1936 xi. 310 ff. and G. Rodenwaldt ib. p. 800 ff.) and the emperor himself posed as Zeus Olympios ( supra ii. 926 n. 0, 929 n. 0, 927 b. 2, 1120 b. 0, 1121 n. 0), we get our first really relevant copies of the final cult-statue.

1. Pl. lxix gives photographic reproductions, to the scale 1/2, of the four most important coins:

(a) and (1 b) are two differently lighted views of a unique bronze coin, struck by Hadrian, now at Paris. It was first figured by J. Friedlaender in the Berliner Blätter loc. cit. pl. 30, 2. See further Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 36 Münztaf. 1, 34.

(2) is another bronze coin struck by Hadrian, now at Florence, which has long been known. See Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 35 f. Münztaf. 2, 4. H. G. Evelyn-White in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1908 xxviii. 49 fig. 1 illustrates it to the scale 1/2. A second specimen, formerly owned by Queen Christina of Sweden (1626—1689), is lost. A third, from a slightly varied die, was found by H. Dressel, thickly oxidised, among the duplicates at Olympia and is published by R. Well in the Zeitschr. f. Num. 1912 xxix. 368 f. pl. 10, 3a. The obv. bust of Hadrian is inscribed AVTOKPATOP || AΔPIANOΣ || ΔIC, a very exceptional formula perhaps denoting an honour conferred on the emperor by the Panhellenes, when he was present in person at the Olympic festival of 179 A.D. (so Well loc. cit. p. 370 f.).

(3) is a third bronze coin struck by Hadrian and secured by J. Friedlaender for the Berlin cabinet. H. G. Evelyn-White loc. cit. p. 51 fig. 2 illustrates it to the scale 1/2. Several replicas were found at Olympia, of which the best preserved, now at Athens, is published by R. Well loc. cit. p. 370 pl. 10, 4a.

(4) is a fourth bronze coin struck by Hadrian, also in the Berlin collection. H. G. Evelyn-White loc. cit. p. 51 fig. 3 illustrates it to the scale 1/2. This coin, like no. (2), shows small projections on the stipe of the throne representing the ἄγαθος of the κυριοτητες ( supra p. 926 n. 0), but the bared body of the god and his highly raised left arm ( supra ii. 754) are concessions to the taste of a later age.
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that it made on men of various tempers and types—the soldier, the man in the street, the scholarly thinker, the religious reformer, the eclectic moralist.

L. Aimilius Paullus after his brilliant Macedonian campaign travelled through Greece (167 B.C.), and having long been anxious to see Olympia made his way thither, only to find his expectations utterly eclipsed by the reality. Livy puts it with dry, unconscious humour:

'Passing through Megalopolis, he went up to Olympia. Here he saw sundry things worth seeing, and on beholding Zeus as it were face to face was moved in his spirit. And so, just as if he had been about to offer victims on the Capitol, he ordered a bigger sacrifice than usual to be made ready.'

It took much to 'move' a Roman general of the old school.

The popular verdict is voiced by Quintilian:

'As an artist Pheidias is held to have been better at making gods than at making men, but as a worker in ivory to have been quite without a rival—even had he made nothing beyond the Athena at Athens or the Olympian Zeus in Elis. The beauty of the latter is thought actually to have added something to the received religion; so far did the majesty of the work go towards equality with the godhead.'

Reflective minds would want to know the source of a beauty so striking that it could be described as a real contribution to Greek religion. Cicero speculates along Platonic lines:

'I maintain that nothing is ever so beautiful as not to be beaten in beauty by that from which it is copied as a portrait is copied from a face, that original which cannot be perceived by eye or ear or any other sense but grasped only by

1 Polyb. 30. 10.
2 Liv. 45. 38 unde per Megalopolim Olympiam escendit. ubi et alia quidem spectanda visa, et Iovem velut prescentem intuens motus animo est. itaque haud secus quam si in Capitolio immolaturus esset, sacrificium amplius solito apparari insit.
4 E. Klebs in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 578 f.
5 Quint. inst. or. 12. 10. 9 Phidias tamam dii quam hominibus efficiendis melior artifex erit, in ebo vero loco citra aemulum vel si nihil nisi Minervam Athenis aut Olympium in Elide Iovem fecisset, cuius pulchritudo adiecisse aliquid etiam receptae religioni videtur; adeo maiestas operis deum acquavit.

Lucian in cynical mood bears witness to the same effect on the mind of the populace: ὃς ὤν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πτωχῷ τῷ τύχῃ τῷ παρασύρεται, ἐν ἀστράγαλῳ ἐν δοῦλῳ ἐντελεῖ τὸ ἁλὸν τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μεταλλευθὲν χρυσόν, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ τὸν Κρόνον καὶ Ραμ σὺ τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ θείου μετεκαθημένον καὶ τὴν Πεισίστρατον ἐφαρμοσάντ� εκείνους ἀντιτύπων, ἀμφοῦτα εἰ δὲ πέντε δολοὶ ἐτῶν θύσει τοῦ αὐτού πάρομον Ὀλυμπίων.

6 Cic. orat. 8 f. The passage ends: nec vero ille artifex, cum fecerit Iovis formam aut Minervae, contemplatatur aliquem e quo similitudinem duceret, sed ipsius in mente insident species pulchritudinis eximiae aequanam, quam intuens in eaque defixam ad illius similitudinem artem et manum dirigebat. Sir J. E. Sandys ad loc. quotes Plotin. 5. 8. 1 ἄνευ καὶ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τῶν Δίων πρὸς οὖν αὐθεντικῶς τοιχόσα, ἀλλ' ἀμφότερον οὖν ἐν γένεσι, ἐλάβει ὁ Ζεὺς τὶ ἀμαμίτων ἐθλίων φανήσας and an interesting parallel in a letter from
thought or mind. Thus we can think of forms more beautiful even than the statues of Pheidias, the most perfect things of their kind that we can see, or than those paintings that I have mentioned. Yet that great artist, when he was fashioning the shape of his Zeus or Athena, did not fix his gaze on any individual whose likeness he drew. No, in his own mind dwelt an ideal of surpassing beauty. Beholding that and lost in the contemplation thereof he turned art and hand to the task of reproducing its likeness.¹

Platonic too in its essence is the remark attributed by Philostratos to that eccentric genius Apollonios⁴ of Tyana:

“When he saw the statue enthroned at Olympia he said "Hail, good Zeus, whose goodness consists in giving of thine own self to men."²

In the summer of the year 97 A.D. Dion of Prousia delivered a semi-Stoic discourse to the Greeks assembled at Olympia.³ The greater part of it is concerned with the cult-effigy of Zeus, to which the orator returns again and yet again with an ever fresh ardour of devotion and an astonishing variety of encomiastic phrases. He describes it as being "of all the images on earth the most beautiful and the most beloved of heaven."⁴ And he calls upon Pheidias, "this wise, inspired maker of a creation at once solemn and supremely beautiful,"⁵ to expound and justify his rendering of Zeus.

All would admit, says Dion, that it is "a sweet and welcome vision, a spectacle of untold delight to Hellenes and barbarians alike."⁶ Nay, even brute creatures, could they but observe it, would be impressed: bulls led to the altar would be content to suffer, if it pleased the god; eagles, horses, lions would lose their wildness and be soothed at the sight.⁷ While of men, whosoever is utterly Raphael to Baldassare Castiglione: "To paint a figure truly beautiful, it might be necessary that I should see many beautiful forms, with the further provision that you should yourself be near, to select the best; but seeing that good judges and beautiful women are scarce, I avail myself of a certain "idea" which comes into my mind (io mi servo di certa idea che mi viene nella mente)."²

¹ Philostr. v. Apoll. 4. 28 p. 167 Kayser ἵνα δὲ ἔτι ἔστω τὸ ἔν Ολυμπίᾳ "χαῖρε," εἰπὼν: "ἄγαθε Ζεῦ, σὺ γὰρ οὗτος τὸ ἄγαθον, ὧν καὶ σαυτὸν καθισμὼν τοῖς ἄθροίσιν." This is not the colloquial "γαθεί," but a more serious use of the adjective as in Plat. Tim. 29 D—Ε λέγωμεν δὴ δὲ ἡμῖν αὐτίνα γένεως καὶ τὸ πάν τόδε ὡς σωστά εξουσίως ἄγαθον ἦν, ἄγαθή δὲ ὑπὲρ ὁδοῖς ὁδῆς ἐγγράφεται φύσις: τούτον δὲ ἔτοι ὁ πάντα δὲ τοιαύτα γενότατα ἐβουλθή τεραπεύει εναυτῷ. Ὁπ. Δικ. 10. 17 ἐν, Luke 18. 18 f. (Matt. 19. 16 f.).

² W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1910 ii. 1. 361.

³ Dion Chrys. or. 13 p. 220 Dindorf πάντων, δου ἐνὼ ἐκ ἡς ἀγάλματα, καλλίτατο καὶ θεοφόρεστατον.

⁴ Id. ib. p. 219 Dindorf τῶν ἀρχῶν τούτων καὶ διάμοιρών εἰργάτη τοῦ περίκα καὶ τάγματος δημιουργήσατο.

⁵ Id. ib. p. 219 Dindorf ἦν µὲν ἐκου καὶ προασθεῖ ἄριστα καὶ τέχνη ἀνήχουν θέας εἰργάσασιν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καὶ βαρβάρους, δου κητὸν Ἑραί τοῦτον πολλὰς πολλακᾶς, ὡδεῖς ἄντερει.

⁶ Id. ib. p. 229 Dindorf.

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weary in soul, having drained many sufferings and sorrows in his life without the solace of sweet sleep, even he, methinks, if he stood over against this statue, would forget all the terrors and hardships of humanity.1 Aforetime, adds Dion, in lack of clear knowledge we dreamed our several dreams and fashioned our individual fancies, or at most combined the unconvincing likenesses produced by previous craftsmen.2 'But you,' he says turning to Pheidias, 'through the potency of your art have conquered and combined Hellas first and then the rest of the world by means of this marvel, a work so amazing and brilliant that no man who had once set eyes on it could afterwards readily form a different conception.3

Yet, granted all this, continues Dion, in making a human figure of more than human beauty and magnitude out of these pleasing materials, did you really select the right type and create a form worthy of the god? To which penetrating question Pheidias in his own defence replies, that he was not the first exponent and teacher of truth heard by Hellas in her infancy. He had to deal with a people already grown up and holding earnestly enough religious views already accepted and established. He would not stress the agreement of sculptors and painters in the past, but look rather to those other craftsmen, the poets, older and wiser than himself. They by virtue of their poems could lead men to form concepts, whereas his handiwork could at best raise a sufficient probability....

Mind and wisdom no modeller or painter can portray. Their task is to know the human body in which these qualities reside, and they attribute the same to God. In default of the original, they seek by means of that which is seen and imaginable to show forth that which is unimaginable and unseen, using a symbol superior to the animal types by which barbarians represent the divine.... Nor can we maintain that it would have been a better plan to have made no statue or semblance of the gods, but to have looked only upon the heavenly bodies. The wise man worships every one of these, deeming that he can see the blessed gods afar off. But all men are so disposed towards the divine that they feel a passionate

1 Id. ib. p. 210 f. Dindorf ἀνθρώπων δὲ, δὲ ἦν ἡ παρελθόν ἐνίκησα τὴν ψυχήν, πολλαὶ ἀπεισόδησα συμφοράς καὶ λύσας ἐν τῷ βιω μηδὲ ὑπὸν ἄλλων εἰπώλαμεν, καὶ ἐν δοκεῖ μοι καὶ ἐνκαίνιος στὰς τῶν τῆς ἐλεοῦς ἐκλαυθέσθαι πάντων δεόν ἐν ἀνθρώπινῳ βιω δεικτῇ καὶ χαλέπος γίγνεται παθεῖν.
2 Id. ib. p. 230 Dindorf.
3 Id. ib. p. 230 Dindorf οὖ ὑδαίν τέχνην ἐνίκησα καὶ συνελέξα τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρῶτον, ἐπάνω τῶν ἄλλων τόθε τῷ φθαρτῷ, ὑστερών καὶ λαμπρῶν ἀποθείας, ὡς μνήμα τῶν ἔθνων δόξαν ἐγείραν ἐν λαβεῖν μάθημα.
desire to honour and tend it near at hand, approaching it and touching it with conviction, offering sacrifices to it and setting wreaths upon it. Just as little children, when torn away from father or mother, are stricken with sore longing and yearning, and often in dreams stretch out their arms to the absent ones, so men, justly loving the gods because of their kindliness and kinship, are eager to associate with them in every way and to share their company. Hence many barbarians through poverty and lack of art give the name of gods to mountains, rough tree-trunks, and shapeless stones, things that are assuredly no more suitable than this form of ours. In choosing the human shape I have followed the lead of Homer...though handicapped by the limitations of my art. Poetry is opulent and can afford to lay down its own laws. It has such resources of language and phrase that it can express every wish of the heart and proclaim aloud any conceivable aspect or achievement, mood or magnitude.... Not so I, who am restricted to a special spot in Elis or Athens. You, Homer, wisest of poets, were admittedly the first to show the Greeks many fair portraits of all the gods, their greatest included, in shapes sometimes gentle, sometimes terrible and appalling. 'But ours is a god of peace and universal mildness, overseer of a Hellas free from faction and at harmony with itself. By the help of my art and the counsel of Elis, a state both wise and good, I have established him, gentle and solemn with untroubled mien, the giver of livelihood and life and all good things, the common Father and Saviour and Keeper of mankind, imitating so far as mortal thought can imitate the nature that is divine and beyond our ken.' See, then, whether you will not find this his effigy aptly reflecting all his titles. For Zeus alone of the gods is called both Father and King, Polieus and Homiguios and Philios and Hetairelos, aye and Hikleis and Phyxios and


2 Id. ib. p. 236 f. Dindorf ο δ' οὕτως συμπληρωματικό καὶ πανταχοῦ πρός, οὗοι δασιστάντων καὶ διωμούσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος εύποροι: δι᾿ έγώ μέτα τῆς έπαινος τέχνης καὶ τῆς Ηλλήνων τόπων σοφίας καὶ άγαθής μουσικάμονος ιδρύσατο, ήμερας καὶ σεμείων εν αλλόποτε σχέσεις, τῶν μὲν καὶ θεῶν καὶ συμπαθῶν διατύπων τῶν ἁγιων, καίνων άνθρωπων καὶ πατέρων καὶ συμμπαθητικών φίλων, οὕτως διδομένης διενεργηθεὶ μυστήρια τῶν καί ἀμήχανον φέον.
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Xénios and Ktésios and Epikárpios and countless other appellations, all of them good1...

The speech, which had risen like a rocket, might have concluded with that burst of stars, lingering awhile in memory as a galaxy of glittering points. But the speaker, being Greek, prefers to end on a note of greater quietude and self-restraint. He does so very simply, very effectively, by contrasting the human workman, a Pheidias or a Polykleitos, who has made the most of his paucity materials and trumpery tools, with Zeus the creator of the universe, whom Pindar2 addresses as—

'Mighty Lord of Dodona, Best of all Artificers, our Father.'

How comes it that this great statue, for centuries the acknowledged masterpiece of ancient religious art, has not, like many others of less merit, left behind it a trail of Greek and Roman copies? Apart from the wonderful Zeus of Mylasa (supra ii pl. xxviii), a fourth-century head of modified Pheidias style3, there is hardly an extant marble or bronze in which we can trace with certainty the influence of the original at Olympia4.

1 Id. ib. p. 237 Dindorf. L. François 'Dion Chrysostômé critique d’art: le Zeus de Phidias' in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1917 xxx. 105—116 regards this list of epithets as a Stoic etichet, comparing Kleantus’ Hymn to Zeus [supra ii. 855 ff.], [Aristot.] de mundo 7. 401 a 12 ff., Dion Chrys. or. 1 p. 9 Dindorf, Arist. ed. or. 18 (i. 10 f. Dindorf). The theme is handled in greater detail by J. Amann Die Zeusrede des Aelius Aristidis Stuttgart 1931 pp. 99—102 'Die Entstehung des Zeus'.

2 Pind. frag. 57 Schroeder ap. Dion Chrys. or. 12 p. 239 Dindorf διὸ πάνω καλὴ τοιηθα προσείτεν ἔτερον, 'Δωδονεῖα μεγάθεσε | ἀρατοτέχνα πάτερ.' k.t.l. (as supra ii 693 n. 3). Bergk ad loc. conjectured that the next line in Pindar’s παίδιν was ἰδεῖν δημοτρίτης καὶ εὐνοίαμ— a restoration based on Plout. præc. ger. coër. 13 δὲ πολυτικὸς, ἀρατοτέχνας τις ὣς, κατὰ Πινδαρον, καὶ δημοτορχης εὐνοίαμ καὶ δίκης, k.t.l., de ser. num. 5. 7. 4 καὶ Πινδαρο δημοτορχῆς, ἀρατοτέχνας ἀνακαλούμενος τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ χειρὸς ἀπάντητος θεῶν, ὡς δὴ δίκης οὐτα δημοτορχῆς, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄνθρωπος νεᾶν, de fac. in orb. lab. 13 δὴ τινὸς γέγονεν ποιηθής καὶ πατὴρ δημοτορχής ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἀρατοτέχνης. The passage evidently haunted the memory of Plutarch, who quotes it again in his symp. 1. 1. 2. 3. καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄραν, δὴ ἀρατοτέχνας ἰδεῖν ὁ Πινδαρος προσείτεν, k.t.l. and adiv. Stoic. 14 δὲ Πατρίως καὶ Θεολάτρας Ζεὺς, καὶ ἄρατοτέχνας κατὰ Πινδαρον, οὐ δράμα δόντων μέγα καὶ ποικίλων καὶ πολυμάθες δημοτορχῶν τὸν κρόσου, ὄλλα χεῖρω καὶ ἀνθρωπών οὕτω κοινῶν, καὶ κυνηγοῦσιν μετὰ δίκης καὶ ἄρετης ὁμολογομίμης καὶ μακραίων, k.t.l. See also Clem. Al. Strom. 5. 14 p. 305. 2 f. Ἀρτάκης καὶ ἐνά τῶν τοῦτων δημοτορχῶν, δὴ ἀρατοτέχνας πατέρα λέγει (cf. δὲ Πινδαρος) = Euseb. praep. ec. 13. 13. 27 and C. B. Hase in Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. i. 2. 1972 λ.—Β.

3 Supra ii. 597 f.

4 A marble head in the Hermitage (L. Stephani in the Compt-rendu St. Pét. 1875 pp. 187—200 Atlas pls. 6 and 7. 1), the Oricoli head in the Vatican (Brunner—Brückmann Denkm. der gr. und röm. Skulpt. pl. 130, cp. pl. 665, G. Lippold in Amelung Sculpt. Vatic. iii. 1. 110—113 Sala Rotonda no. 539 pl. 36); the Jacobsen head at Ny Carlsberg (P. Arndt La glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg Munich 1869 p. 17 f. Atlas pl. 13, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antikes Kunstverker Kjøbenhavn 1907 pl. 17, 241), and a bronze head at Vienna (H. Schrader in the führer. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1911.
Zeus as god of the Dark Sky

No doubt there were critics of its scale and proportions. Strabon\(^1\) says:

'It was wrought of ivory, and so huge was its size that, although the temple is very large, the artist is thought to have missed the proper symmetry; for he represented the god as seated but almost touching the roof with the crown of his head, and thus produced the impression that, if he arose and stood upright, he would unroof the temple.'

Others, as we might infer from Pausanias\(^2\), felt the force of the objection, and Caecilius the rhetorician, a contemporary of Strabon, even ventured—the blasphemer—to speak of 'the blundered colossus'.\(^3\) To which detractors Pheidias might well have retorted that the temple-roof was expressly designed to suggest the starry vault of heaven.

But the real reason for the comparative unpopularity of the statue was not a mere matter of measurements. The gravamen was this. Pheidias, seeking to express a beneficent supremacy, had deliberately omitted the thunderbolt,\(^4\) formerly the essential characteristic of the sky-god. The populace could not, or would not, understand the omission, and some writers who ought to have known better actually describe the figure as if it were equipped with the familiar attribute. Seneca\(^5\), for example, in defiance of plain fact, can say:

'Pheidias never saw Zeus, yet made him as it were thundering.'\(^6\)

\(^1\) Strab. 353 (quoted by Eustath. in II. p. 145, 15 f.).
\(^2\) Supra p. 958.
\(^3\) Longin. de sublim. 36. 3 πρὸς μὲν τοὺς γε τῶν γράφοντα, ὃς ὁ Κολοσσὸς ὁ ἱμαρθημένος οὐ κρείστων ὡς Πολυκλέτους Δομοφόρος, παράκειται πρὸς πάλαις εἰσίν, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τέχνης \(\xi\) αὐθαίρετον, ἐν τῷ τό ποιεῖ εἰσίν, φίλοις ἐν λογικῶς ἃ ἀνθρώποι· κατὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπους οὐκείται τῷ ὅμοιοι άνθρώπῳ, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ὑπεραιρόν, ὄς ὑπήρχε τοῦ τραύματα. F. Granger in his recent translation (London 1933) p. 89 renders 'the Colossus which failed in the casting' and p. 113 notes 'The Colossus of Nero was a failure owing to the decline in the art of casting bronze, Plin. N.H., xxxiv, 46. But U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 'Der verfehlte Koloss' in the Strena Helbigiana Lipsiae 1900 pp. 334—336 argues convincingly from the context: 'Caecilius also hat dem Doryphoros, dem Kanon, einen Koloss entgegen gesetzt. Damit ist die auch sonst hattlose Beziehung auf den Koloss des Nero vorab beseitigt. Aber der Gedanken zusammenhang fordert auch, dass der verfehlte Koloss ein berühmtes, von anderen als misterhaft anerkanntes Werk ist. Er muss sich zu Platon verhalten wie der Kanon Polykleits zu Lysias. Da kann man auch den Koloss des Chares nicht brauchen, der nicht der Vertreter eines gehobenen, aber incorrecten Stiles sein könnte. Wer es ist, lehrt ein Zeitgenosse des Caecilius, Strabon, der bei Gelegenheit der Hera sagt, dass 'die Werke des Polyklet an Kunst die schönsten wären, wenn sie auch an Kostbarkeit und Grösse denen des Pheidias nachstünden' [Strab. 372].'\(^6\)
\(^4\) Supra ii. 760.
\(^5\) Sen. contro. 10. 5. 8.
while Lucian\(^1\) goes much further and in a passage of bitter sarcasm upbraids Zeus for failing to use the thunderbolt in his hand:

'O Zeus, where is now your resplendent lightning, where your deep-toned thunder, where the glowing, white-hot, direful bolt? we know now 'tis all fudge and poetic moonshine—barring what value may attach to the rattle of the names. That renowned projectile of yours, which ranged so far and was so ready to your hand, has gone dead and cold, it seems; never a spark left in it to scorch iniquity. If men are meditating perjury, a smouldering lamp-wick is as likely to frighten them off as the omnipotent's levin-bolt; the brand you hold over them is one from which they see neither flame nor smoke can come; a little soot-grime is the worst that need be apprehended from a touch of it. No wonder if Salomeeus challenged you to a thundering-match; he was reasonable enough when he backed his artificial heat against so cool-tempered a Zeus. Of course he was; there are you in your opiate-trance, never hearing the perjurers nor casting a glance at criminals, your glazed eyes dull to all that happens, and your ears as deaf as a dotard's.

When you were young and keen, and your temper had some life in it, you used to bestir yourself against crime and violence; there were no armistices in those days; the thunderbolt was always hard at it, the aegis quivering, the thunder rattling, the lightning engaged in a perpetual skirmish. Earth was shaken like a sieve, buried in snow, bombarded with hail. It rained cats and dogs (if you will pardon my familiarity), and every shower was a waterspout. Why, in Deucalion's time, hey presto, everything was swamped, mankind went under, and just one little ark was saved, stranding on the top of Lycoreus and preserving a remnant of human seed for the generation of greater wickedness.

Mankind pays you the natural wages of your laziness; if any one offers you a victim or a garland nowadays, it is only at Olympia as a perfunctory accompaniment of the games; he does it not because he thinks it is any good, but because he may as well keep up an old custom. It will not be long, most glorious of deities, before they serve you as you served Cronus, and depose you. I will not rehearse all the robberies of your temple—those are trifles; but they have laid hands on your person at Olympia, my lord High-Thunderer, and you had not the energy to wake the dogs or call in the neighbours; surely they might have come to the rescue and caught the fellows before they had finished packing up the swag. But there sat the bold Giant-slayer and Titan-conqueror letting them cut his hair, with a fifteen-foot thunderbolt in his hand all the time!'

So Lucian, like Seneca, was labouring under the delusion that Zeus Pheidias\(^2\), as he came to be called, was fulminant. Roman rhetoric and Greek satire had equally failed to grasp the sculptor's new conception.

In truth that new conception was too exalted for a public which preferred truculence to tranquillity and could appreciate

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\(^1\) Loukian. 

\(^2\) Schol. Greg. Naz. in Catalogus sive notitiae manuscriptorum qui a E. D. Clarke comparati in Bibliotheca Bodleiana adserantur Oxfoni 1813 i. 36 (Overbeck Schriften p. 134 no. 739) Φείδιας...ἀγαλματισθέν αριστος...οτ τω μεν Δι έξανον ήγειρεν ιδο ομοραθήηνα Διος Φείδιανος...
a triumphant victor or even a threatening tyrant more readily than a peaceful, undemonstrative ruler. The god whose government was based upon right not might, love not fear, was an ideal for future ages, born five hundred years in advance of his time.

During those five centuries his statute experienced some surprising vicissitudes. The descendants of Pheidias, entrusted by the Eleans with the task of cleaning it, were called officially the Phaidryntai or 'Burnishers,' and before setting about their duties used to sacrifice to Athena Ergive. Oil was poured out in front of Zeus to preserve the ivory from decay, a dark oil made from pitch being regarded as best for the purpose. H. C. Schubart, however, with the approval of the technologist H. Blümmer,

1 Paus. 5. 14. 5 ταύτη τῇ Ἑρμήνευ καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι Φειδίου, καλούμενοι δὲ Φαϊδρυνταί, γέρας παρὰ Ἡλείων ἐλεφόμενοι τῷ Διός τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν προσελκυόμενον καθάρσεων, οὗτοι θούμων ἐπεταύθα πρὸς ἑλπισμένοι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀρέσκοι. A base found at Olympia records one of these Phaidryntai (E. Loewy Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer Leipzig 1885 p. 367 f. no. 536, 3 f. W. Dittenberger—K. Furgold in Olympia v. 555 f. no. 466, 3 f. TICKON ΦΑΙΔΡΥΝΤΑΙ Ἡθόκλειτον, τῶν ἀπὸ Φειδίου, Φαϊδρυντήριον τῶν Διός τῶν Ὀλυμπιον. Others are mentioned in inscriptions from Athens, where they had a special seat in the theatre (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 no. 293 = Inschr. Gr. ed. min. ii.—iii. 3 no. 5064 of Hadrianic date Φαϊδρυντών Διός εἰς Πέτραν and might hold office as archdên (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 no. 1058, 2 ff. = Inschr. Gr. ed. min. ii.—iii. 2 no. 1828, 2 ff. of c. 210 A.D. [ἐπὶ] ἀρχων Ἀθηναίων Καλλιφάνθων [Δα][μ][π][ρ][θ][ώ][ρ][ο][ς]. The corresponding official attached to the Athenian Olympiion had another reserved seat in the theatre (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 no. 291 = Inschr. Gr. ed. min. ii. 3 no. 5072 of Hadrianic date Φαιδρυντών Διός Ὀλυμπιον οὕτωι διδοῦνται) and dedicates a statue of his wife at Eleusis (Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 928, 2 ff. = Inschr. Gr. ed. min. ii. 3 no. 4075, 2 ff. after 150 A.D. [ἐπὶ] Κορώνη [Χερσονήσιος καὶ Οὐρακλής τῆς Δίος Ἐρυθρώς, Φαϊδρυντῆς τῆς Δίος Ἐρυθρῆς]). The duties of this office are discussed by E. Kuhnert 'De cura statuarum apud Graco' in the Berliner Studien für classische Philologie und Archaeologie 1884 i. 336 ff.

2 Paus. 6. 1. 10 δυον δὲ τοῦ ἐλάφου οὖν ἐμπρόσθεν τοῦ ἀγάλματος, τούτῳ οὐ λευκῷ, μελανὶ δὲ κατασκευαστὶ τῷ λῆθῳ, περιβαλέτα δὲ ἐν κόκκῳ τὸν μέλανα λῆθος Παρων κρητη, εἴρηται τῷ Παρων τῷ ἐκχυμένῳ. Παλαιὸς γὰρ τῷ ἀγάλματι οὖν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ συμφέρον καὶ Παρων ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπίστροφον μή γίνεσθαι τῷ ἐλάφῳ σχῆμα διὰ τὸ ἄξον τῆς Ἀττικῆς κ.τ.λ. Similarly Methodios, bishop of Olympia in Lykaia, who was martyred under Maximinus Daza in 311 A.D. (W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1924 ii. 2. 1355), ap. Phot. bibl. p. 293 b 1 ff. Bekker οὐ γάρ φειδίας νῦν ἀγάλματα τῆς Καλλιφάνθων τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἐπίστρωμα εἰς ἡσυχίαν ἐπιστάση ρίθυμοτος προστάτα ρίθυμοτος θαυμάζει άγαλματος ἑκείουν, ὡς δέ εἴκοσι τὸν ἡμέραν συνήκει (cited also by Epiphanius, panar. haeres. 64. 19 (ii. 619 Dindorf)).

3 Plin. nat. hist. 15. 31 f. e pice fit quod pittum appareat, cum coquitur, vellerribus supra halitum eius expansis atque ita expressae existimaturque et ebori vindicando a carie utile esse. certe simulacrum Saturni Romae intus oleo repletum est.


5 H. Blümmer Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern Leipzig 1879 ii. 374 n. 1.
suggests that the wooden core of the great chryselephantine figure was pierced by tubes or channels, which conveyed the oil in all directions and prevented the wood from being affected by changes of temperature. A similar device was employed for Endoios' xíanons of Artemis at Ephesos\(^1\) and for the cult-image of Saturn at Rome\(^2\). Such precautions notwithstanding, by the middle of the second century B.C.\(^3\) the ivory of Zeus Olympios was cracked and had to be refurnished by the sculptor Damophon\(^4\).

But graver dangers than slow disintegration were to follow. In the days of Iulius Caesar the statue is said to have been struck by lightning\(^5\), we do not know with what effect. Worse than that, in 40 A.D. Caligula actually gave orders that it should be brought to Rome. P. Memmius Regulus, commissioned to carry out the sacrilege, was warned by the architects that the removal of the statue would entail its destruction, and was further deterred by the occurrence of incredible portents. Accordingly he abandoned the attempt and wrote to the emperor explaining his reasons. These scruples might have cost him his life\(^6\), had it not been for the opportune assassination of the tyrant on January 24, 41 A.D.\(^7\)

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1. Mucianus, the consul of 52, 70, and 75 A.D., op. Plin. nat. hist. 16. 213 f. (supra ii. 410 n. 6) states that the ancient statue of Artemis at Ephesos was made by Endoios (but see C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa. Real. Enc. v. 3554) of vine-wood (J. Murr. Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie Innsbruck 1890 p. 102 'die Keuschlamm's would derive utilissimum from vitex'); adicit multis foraminibus nardo rigari, ut medicatassum alat tenet aquae interjecturas.

2. Plin. nat. hist. 15. 32 (quoted supra p. 967 n. 3).


4. Paus. 4. 31. 6 Δωμοφάστος δὲ έργον, δι καὶ ταύτα τὰ συνήμασεν συν καὶ τὸ ἀκριβότατον, καὶ οἱ δεδομένη τιμιωτέρα καὶ θεός ελιών εἰστ. A. Neuberger. The Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients. trans. H. L. Brose London 1930 p. 64 f. says: ‘it is now a lost art to join ivory plates without leaving traces or [log. of] the joins and without the differences of external temperature giving rise to cracks owing to the resultant change of dimensions.' On modern Museum methods of treating ancient ivory see A. Lucas. Antiques. their Restoration and Preservation London 1924 pp. 55—58.

5. Euseb. praep. et. 4. 2. 8 ἀμφοτέρων 1000. Καλώντα τὸ μέγα τῶν Ελλήνων καὶ Καλώσων ἀγάλματι, τὸ ἐν αὐτάτι Ολυμπίας, κεραυνός πρὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βλέψεων ἀναγράφοντο. Cr. Lucr. 6. 417 ff. with H. A. J. Munro ad loc.


Caligula's intention had been to replace the head of Zeus by a portrait-head of himself. But whenever the workmen approached to lay hold of the pedestal, loud laughter burst from the lips of the statue and put them to instant flight. Also, the ship built to transport it was shattered by thunderbolts. So Caligula, after threatening Zeus, had perforce to substitute another effigy in his own temple on the Palatine. About the middle of the second century Lucian mentions that thieves, greatly daring, had recently cut off two of Zeus' golden tresses weighing six minas apiece. In 394 A.D. Theodosius i, pursuing his policy of suppressing all paganism, abolished the Olympic festival despite its unbroken record of 1169 years. And in the reign of his grandson Theodosius ii (408—450 A.D.) the temple of Zeus Olympios perished in a conflagration.

Not so the great statue, which had hitherto contrived to escape the successive threats of decomposition and lightning, mutilation and robbery. At some uncertain date, after the overthrow of its worship and before the destruction of its temple, it was removed to Byzantium and set up in the House of Lausus among such world-famous works as the Samian Hera of Athens and Boupalos,

1 Suet. Calig. 22 datoque negotio ut simulacra numinum religione et arte praecella, inter quae Olympi Iovis, apportarentur e Graecia, quibus capite dempto sumum imponeret, partem Palatii ad forum usque promovit, etc., ib. 27 Olympiæ simulacrum Iovi, quod dissolvit transferre Romam placerat, tantum cæcumium repente edidit ut machinis labefactis opifices diffugerint; supervenitque illico quidam Cassius nomine, iussum se somnio affirmans immolare taurum Iovi, Dion Cass. 29. 28 sùv mè égérw te vèlon én to Ἡλλάδας πτυχανθήσατο καί ἀγάμα έπι υδατώ έδέλει το τοῦ Διός τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου έν τού θυμίω εἶδος μεταφθύμενα, µη διανοηθεί δέ (το το γάρ πλαιά το προς την κομήθην αὐτοῦ καταγραφθηκε ἐκεραυνίωσε, καί γέλαις, ὀδύς τινα ἄν καί τοῦ θρόου ἐφαρμοσμεν προσβολήν, παλαῖς ἥρωικοι) ἐπείνας μὲν ἐπετηρεῖε, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔγερεν ἐνσέχθη.

This was the laugh of divine derision (cp. e.g. Psa. 2. 4, 37. 13, 59. 8), very different from the unsympathetic exaltation of Zeus in the late Homeric thomachla (II. 21. 388 ff. at the sight of the gods fighting, 508 at the plight of Artemis) or his rather undignified mirth over the post-Homeric pranks of Hermes (h. Herm. 389, Loukian. dial. dior. 7. 3).

2 Loukian. Tim. 4 (quoted supra p. 966), ἱππ. ἐπιγ. 25 ἀ' ἐν' ἐν' ἐν' το πρίγγα ἢν, ἢναν µ' ἵππον τοῦ Ἱππισθέον πρόην ἀνελεῖν ἐκεραυνίωσεν ἐν Παυσ., διὸ μον τοὺς πλοκά- μους ἀπεκέφασεν ἢ μὲν ἑκάτερον Ἱλεοτα;

3 Supra loc. 167.

4 Kedren. hist. comp. 326 δ᾽ ἐν τούτῳ ἡ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου αὔριον παντώμερον, ήνια κατὰ τετραετή χρονὸν ἐπετελεῖτο. θρατού δέ ἡ τούτῳ πανηγύρις ἢτο Μακαιριά τῶν Θουαλίων ἐμφάτευσε, καί ἐφοιλάττευτο ἐκ τῆς ἄρχητον αὐτοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοδοσίου.

5 Schol. Loukian. rhet. prac. 9 (p. 175, 3 ff. Rabe) καὶ δήρισαν ἀφέσαναι αὕτη τῶν καὶ τῶν θραύσεως μέχρι τοῦ μικροῦ θεοδοσίου ἐκπροσθέντων γὰρ τοῦ ὕπ' Ὀλυμπία νυν ἐξέλθετε καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἡλειών πανηγύρις, ib. (p. 178, 4 ff. Rabe) ἀφέσαναι δὲ αὖτε τῆς ἐπιχεί- ρης καὶ τῶν θραύσεως ἐν τῷ Ιδίου ἤπατον μὲν χείρισθαι τοῦ μικρὸ καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοδοσίου, δι' ἀρκαδίου ὄλης τοῦ, τῶν χρώματος τοῦ δέ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Δώρη ἐμφάς καὶ στὸν τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Παυσίων ἐκείνου ἐπέλευος καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἡλειών πανηγύρις καὶ ὁ ἄγους ὁ Ὀλυμπίος.

6 Supra loc. 864 n. 1.
General Conclusions with regard to Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, and the Kairos of Lysippos. But its exile was of no long duration. The Laisease in turn was burnt in 462 A.D., and with it disappeared for ever the masterpiece of Pheidias.

The statue had gone; its influence remained. Theodoros Anagnostes (c. 530 A.D.) tells a strange tale of a certain painter who ventured to portray the Saviour in the guise of Zeus. The hand with which he painted thereupon withered away, but was restored again in answer to the prayers of Saint Gennadios. Later writers repeat the incident, Theophanes and Kedrenos referring it to the year 403—just a twelvemonth after the destruction of the statue. Theodoros and most of the later authorities add the comment that the type with curly and short hair was the more authentic likeness.

We have here a clear recognition of two main types in the iconography of Christ—the one youthful and beardless, with comparatively short, curly hair, the other more mature and bearded, with moustache and flowing tresses. It used to be thought that the bearded type was considerably earlier than the bearded, the former alone being found till the end of the fourth century, the latter dating from the first half of the fifth. But we now know that the two had existed side by side.

1. Kedren. hist. comp. 322 be—c (i. 564 Bekker) ὅτι ἐν τοῖς Λαύνοι ᾧσαν... ἵστατο δὲ... καὶ ὁ θείδιος ἥλεφάντως Ζειν, ὃν Περικλῆς ἀνέθηκεν εἰς νεών Ὀλυμπίων.

2. Kedren. hist. comp. 348 A—B (i. 569 f. Bekker) τῷ ἐκεί γέγονεν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει... ὁ θείδιος τοῦτον ἐκατέρθησεν καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῇ μέσῃ τῆς θάλασσας τοῖς Λαύνοι καταληψασθείς, Ζωντ. Λ. 14 (ii. 62 B Ducange) συνεμενες δὲ οἰκοδομεῖς της θαλασσας της έκατερτησαν, δι' ὅτι ἔρχοντας ἄμορφον ἄστρον, καὶ πολλά μεγάλα τέ καὶ καλλίστας ἀκούσαντες κατηράθωσεν, καὶ γνώμαις κατέβαλαν ἀρχαίων ἀνδρῶν εἰκώνων ἐπὶ σφην καὶ ἐπὶ ἄνθρωπο, κτλ.

On this and other conflagrations at Constantinople see E. Oberhammer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 1000.

3. Theodor. Anagnost. ecl. hist. i. 18 (lxxxvi. i. 173 A Migne) ἐστι Γενναίας ἡ χέρι τοῦ έγγραφου της Σωτηρίας τοῦ εν τάξει Διός τῆς Σωτηρίας γράφατος τολμάσαντος ὅτι ἐξήν ἐστάτο Γενναίας. φορεὶ δὲ ὁ ιστορικὸς ὅτι τὸ ὀλλο αὐτῇ τῆς Σωτηρίας τοῦ έγγραφος ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀλλον καὶ ἐξοδεύοντο αὐτὰ τὰ ἐξοδεύοντα.


5. Theophan. Chronogr. 97 B (i. 174 Classen) on ann. mund. 5958 = 463 A.D. τῷ τῷ θείδι τοῦ έγγραφου τῆς Σωτηρίας γράφατος τολμάσαντος καὶ ὁμοιότητα τοῦ Διός, ἐξωρίζη ἡ χέρι δὲ ἐγγραφάρσαντα δὲ εἰχής ἐστάτο Γενναίας. φορεὶ δὲ τοῦ τῶν ἱστορικῶν, ὅτι τὸ ὀλλον καὶ ἐξοδεύοντο αὐτὰ τοῦ έγγραφος ἐξοδεύοντο ἐστίν.

6. Kedren. hist. comp. 348 D (i. 611 Bekker) τῷ τῷ έγγραφου τῆς Σωτηρίας γράφατος τολμάσαντος καὶ ὁμοιότητα τοῦ Διός, ἐξωρίζη ἡ χέρι δὲ ἐγγραφάρσαντα δὲ εἰχής ἐστάτο Γενναίας. φορεὶ δὲ τοῦ τῶν ἱστορικῶν, ὅτι τὸ ὀλλον καὶ ἐξοδεύοντο αὐτὰ τοῦ έγγραφος ἐξοδεύοντο ἐστίν—A verbal transcript from Theophanes.

7. V. Schultze Grundriss der christlichen Archäologie München 1919 p. 133 contends that, in the absence of authentic portraiture, throughout the first four centuries of our era the prevalent conception of Christ, derived alike from the Old Testament (Psalms 45, 2) and
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by side at least from the second half of the second century, though their relative frequency underwent continuous change. At first the
the New (John 1. 14; 2 Cor. 4. 4; Col. 1. 15; Hebr. 1. 3), necessitated an ideal rendering of him as the Son of God: ‘Daraus ergaben sich für das Christusbild der Kunst zwei Forderungen und Forderungen, Schönheit und Jugend. Sie bestimmen und erklären das Christusbild bis zum Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts, wo der erste Abschnitt seiner Geschichte schliesst.’


E. von Dobschütz Christusbilder Leipzig 1899 pp. 1—294 deals exhaustively with one special type of representation, the alleged ἀγερσαονία (p. 263 ‘Der christliche Architekten-Glaube ist die Fortsetzung des griechischen Glaubens an ἄπειρον’).

1 See especially J. Sauer Die ältesten Christusbilder Berlin 1920 pp. 1—8 with 2 figs. and 13 pls., and the same scholar’s enlarged study ‘Das Aufkommen des bärigen Christustypus in der frühchristlichen Kunst’ in the Strena Bulliciana Zagrebüa 1924 pp. 393—329.

The bronze group at Kaisareia Panas is described by Euseb. hist. eccl. 7. 18 άλλ’ έποιθ’ δέρκε τού πόλεων είς μονήν ἑλλόσω, ον αύξων γραμματών παραλέγειν αἰσθήμα και τούτου μεθ’ άμας μηκονεθείς άδεια. τήν γάρ αμοφοροῦν, ύς ἐκ τόν θερόν έναγγέλεσι πρό τοῦ αυτόν τιμήν τόν τῶν ακαστών παλαιάν εύρον αμεθέματι ευθύνεις μιανθέκας, άθυθα οθύμον οριάσας, τό τε άνυκός άπό την πόλεως διερκής, και τοῦ οὗ τοῦ αυτόν ως αύτόν ευρεχθά θαυμαστά τρόπων παραμένει. έλατάναι γάρ εις άνιολοι λίθους πρὸς μέν ταῖς πόλεις τοῦ άνυκός άκαστός εκποίημα χάλκου είς γόνδιαν καί τεσσάρων επί τοῦ πρόθεσθα ταῖς χερείς, διενοθείων εικόνι, τούτων δε δνικρίνει άλλα τήν αύτόν εχρα δοῦτ όρθων σχέδων, διδάσκαλων κοσμίων παραβιβάζων και τήν χείρα τή γνωσι διερκῶν, ον παρά τοῖς τούτο έπεί τής στήλης αυτήν έξειν τη μπασθία εύθυς φόνοι, δ ρέμα του κρατίδου τῆς τοῦ χαλκοῦ ἀκατάδικον αυτόν αληθεατάς παραθηματούς ταξιθανής τούτων τοῦ ανδράτω τοῦ έσταθος άρρητον θεού ώς εύθυς φρένο θεού. έπειε δέ και είς άμας, έστι και διέ άπαλαξεν ευθύρωδως αύτού τή πόλει. Cp. Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopolou histor. eccl. 6. 15 (exil. 1160 c—1161 a Migne). J. Wilpert ‘Alte Kopie der Statue von Panas’ in the Strena Bulliciana pp. 295—301 has shown that this much-discussed monument was certainly Christian not pagan in character, but represented the Syrophoenician woman (Mark 7. 26) rather than the woman with an issue of blood (Mark 5. 25). He accepts the suggestion of R. Garrucci Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa Prato 1881 v. 44—47 pl. 323, 4—6 that a marble sarcophagus (no. 174) now in the Lateran Museum (O. Marucchi
beardless type was by far the more common, the bearded was rare and exceptional. But scenes of judgment, law-giving, and teaching, in which stress was laid on the majesty of the central figure, gradually popularised the maturer type until it almost superseded the more youthful. It seems probable that both were to some extent influenced by pre-existing pagan types. I have already suggested that the boyish figure of Christ on the chalice of Antioch is reminiscent of the child Zeus or Dionysos. And Furtwängler,

I monumenti del museo cristiano Pio-Lateranense Milano 1910 p. 21 pl. 29, 3, 3A, 7 B) has preserved on its right-hand side a faithful copy of the Paneras bronze. If so, the figure of Christ was of the bearded type. Asterios, bishop of Amaseia, ap. Phot. bibl. p. 505 b 5 ff. states that the bronze was destroyed by Maximinus, i.e. Galerius Valerius Maximinus (305—314 A.D.). But Philostorg. hist. eccl. 7, 3 (lxv. 537 c—539 c Migne) puts its demolition in the time of Julian (361—363 A.D.), as does Sozom. hist. eccl. 5, 21 (lxvii. 1288 b—c Migne) adding a story that, when Julian set up a statue of himself in its stead, this was struck by lightning: Philostorgios claims that the head of Christ was separately preserved by the Christians; Sozomenos, that the fragments of the whole figure were piously put together and bestowed in the church. See for details E. von Dobschütz, Christusbilder Leipzig 1899 p. 250 ff.

The Apollaeum discovered at Rome in 1919 close to the Viale Manzoni was decorated with paintings which range from the second half of 2, ii to the first half of 3, iii A.D. (G. Bendinelli in the Not. Sacri 1920 pp. 131—141 with figs. 1—3 and pls. 1—4, Am. Journ. Arch. 1931 xxv. 304, R. Parisenbi Antichristimne Piture Crisitane a Roma Milano 1921, R. Lanciani in The Illustrated London News for Jan. 14, 1922 p. 354 f. with 7 figs.). These include fine portrait-figures of the eleven Apostles, four representations of the Good Shepherd carrying a ram on his shoulders, and some more problematic landscape scenes. The most impressive of the second-century paintings shows a bearded man sitting on a wooded or bushy hillside with an open roll in his hand: below him sheep and kids are assembled (Bendinelli loc. cit. p. 131 f. pl. 3, M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 407 fig. 621, E. Strong Art in Ancient Rome London 1929 ii. 155 with fig. 493). We can hardly fail to recognise the Shepherd-Judge and Divine Ruler (supra ii. 1208 f.). And Bendinelli does well to recall the epitaph of Abercius: μνήμην ἀγαλήν ἀυτῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πενθοῦς τε, ὡνθαμεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ μέγαλον
κόσμον καθορισθέντα, ὅσιός γὰρ μ’ ἐδίδειν < > γάμμαμα πατά (text and commentary in C. M. Kaufmann Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie Paderborn 1913 pp. 717—725 and more fully in F. J. Dölger ΙΧΘΥC Münster in Westf. 1922 ii. 454—507).


2 Supra ii. 1209 f. For other possible influences see L. Dietrichson Christusbildet København 1880 p. 146 ff. (Zeus, Apollo, Dionysos, with their 'Nebentfiguren' Sarapis, Asklepios, Orpheus), H. Holtzmann in the fahrbucher für protestantische Theologie 1884 x. 93 ff. (Orpheus, Hermes), A. Furtwängler in the Musées Perrot Paris 1902 p. 119 (Tripèlemos or Euboulæus, Bonus Eventus).
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no mean critic of art-pedigrees, has contended that the Byzantine bearded type had for its actual 'Vorbild' the Pheidias Zeus.

Be that as it may, Theodoros' tale of the fifth-century painter, who drew Christ in the likeness of Zeus, is one more reminder that Pheidias' ideal had gone far towards satisfying the aspirations of the new faith. Even the lower classical conception of Zeus as a threatening storm-god appealed to the barbarians of the empire and finally made its way into the religious art of the Renaissance (fig. 782)\(^1\).

And what—it may be asked in conclusion—is the ultimate significance of all this coil—this cult of Zeus with its crude physical

p. 344 'Nur einmal ist auf einem Sarkophagrelief im Museo Kircheriano, wo ein ganz unfähiger Bildhauer Scenen aus dem Leben Jesu—Bergpredigt und Heilungen—zusammengeführt hat (Fig. 108), ein barbarisierter Zeustypus übernommen. Besonders tritt derselbe bei dem lehrenden Christus hervor. Für den Kopf, den Nackten Oberkörper, die Haltung lassen sich genaue antike Parallelen finden. Aber dieser Fall ist eine Ausnahme und will so beurteilt sein.' H. Holtzmann loc. cit. p. 87 ff. dwells on the influence of Asklepios (Zeus Asclepios supra ii. 1076 ff.) and Sarapis (Zeus Sarapis supra i. 188 ff., ii. 1158, iii. 945). A. Alföldi A Festival of Isis in Rome Budapest 1937 p. 38 n. 54 pl. 7. 16 advocates Sarapis.

\(^1\) I give as an example (or warning) a woodcut which appears in Alberto da Castello Rosario della gloriosa Vergine Maria Venetiis 1511 p. 190. See V. Masséna prince d'Easling Les Livres à figures vénitiens Florence—Paris 1909 ii. 2. 426. The illustration
Conclusion

beginnings, its slow mental and moral growth, its adolescent complexities, its later multifarious advances, approaches, contacts, over-lappings, fusions, and identificationis? That is a grave question, which I find hard to answer unless, like Browning's Ixion,

'Out of the wreck I rise—past Zeus to the Potency o'er him.'

Let us be bold to assert that throughout all ages and in every clime God has been making his mute appeal to men, drawing them, Jew and Gentile alike, with the cords of love nearer and nearer to Himself. Progressive illumination has been given them from above as they were able to bear it. The poets and thinkers of Hellas were receptive souls, and to them were vouchsafed glimpses and more than glimpses of eternal truth. If Phercydes¹ taught that Zeus transformed himself into Love when he created the world, if Aischylos² found in Zeus the only possible solution for the problem of evil, if Aratos³ said that 'always we all have need of Zeus,' if Dion⁴ described Zeus as 'the common Father and Saviour and Keeper of mankind,' then Phercydes and Aischylos and Aratos and Dion were not far from the Kingdom. And, unless I am greatly in error, the cult of Zeus took them one stage, one long stage, on the road thither. Platon⁵ in the Phaidros speaks of those who follow Zeus and all the gods by an uphill path to the summit of the heavenly vault, the right view-point of the universe. What is the panorama that greets their purified eyes? A vista of ideal verities, says Platon⁶, such as 'no earthly bard has ever yet sung or ever will sing in worthy strains.'

ΚΕΙΝΩΝ ΕΡΑΜΑΙ, ΚΕΙΘΟΙ ΓΕΝΟΙΜΑΝ?

is entitled 'Maria vergine sempre praga el figliolo per gli peccatori.' Christ, seated on the globe of heaven (supra ii. 306 n. 2), is almost equally pagan.

¹ supra ii. 316.
² supra i. p. v.
³ supra ii p. v.
⁴ supra i. 593.
⁵ supra ii. 43 f.
⁶ Plut. Phaedr. 247 B—C έποθα δι' πόνον τε και άγνω επχατο ψυχή πρόσκειται, αι μεν γαρ ἀδάναται καλωσμεναι, ήνει δε προς άκρα γεγονται, εξω παρωθεναι έστησαν τοι τοι οδοντον γίγνοντο, στάσας δε αυτά περανά η περαφαρά, αι δε θεωροι τα δε και οφρυνον, τωδε τω επτροβάναι του το τε τε έμπρος πε των τηδε ποιητη το τε τοι οήματο και τε άξιαν, εχει δε αυτες τοι τοι τε γε αληθεις ειπειν, αλλα τε και περι αληθεις λέγειν. The Christian equivalent will be found in 1 Cor. 2. 9 and 10.
⁷ Eur. οτι Aristoph. excp. 751. The schol. ad loc. says κείνων έραμαι. εξ Ιππολύτου Ελφικέου. F. H. M. Blaydes, after L. C. Valkenener, supposes a quotation from the earlier Ιππολύτου καλεντήμενον. In any case the meaning of the original may be divined from Eur. Alc. 867 f. γαλα φυμένον, κείνων έραμαι, | κείνων επίθεμα δόματα ειπειν.