ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

VOLUME III

PART II
ZEUS
A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

BY

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

χω' Ζεύς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἰθρίους, ἄλλοκα δ' ἴπτε

Theokritos 4. 43

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APPENDIX P.

FLOATING ISLANDS.

Floating islands have not yet been made the subject of any monograph. But examples of them are given by Sen. nat. quaest. 3. 25. 7 ff., Plin. nat. hist. 2. 209, and the anonymous author de aquis mirabilibus 37 ff. (formerly identified with Sotion (Phot. bibl. p. 145 b 28 ff. Bekker) and printed under that name by A. Westermann ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΙΑΡΑΦΟΙ Brunsvigae 1839 p. 183 ff., but better edited as Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus by H. Oehler Tübingae 1913 and cited as such in W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1920 ii. 420 f.). Fact and fable are so blended in their accounts that individual cases call for separate consideration:

1 Aiolos Hippotades lived on a floating island (Od. 10. 3 πάντην ἐνι νήσου as explained by Aristarchos of. schol. H.M.Q.T.V. Od. 10. 3, Apollon. lex. Hom. p. 132, 18 ff., Eustath. in Od. p. 1644, 51 ff., cp. Hesych. s.v. πλατή, Phot. lex. s.v. πλατών, Favorin. lex. p. 1523, 18 ff., Souid. s.v. πλατή νῆσος, Zonar. lex. s.v. πλωτή, and W. W. Merry ad loc.), which was perhaps originally regarded as an island of souls (supra p. 109). On it see further K. Tümpe in Fauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1032 ff.

2 The Homeric Plankta were beetle rocks against which the waves broke. No birds could pass them in safety. Even the dove that brought ambrosia to Zeus always lost one of their number, and another had to be sent by him in its stead. Never yet had any ship escaped these rocks, for billows of salt water and blasts of destructive fire overwhelmed ships and crews alike. The Argo alone, on its voyage from Aietes, had passed them, being sent past in safety by Hera for Iason’s sake (Od. 12. 59—72, 23. 327). There is no question here of clashing rocks, between which Odysseus must go (schol. Pind. Pyth. 4. 370). The poet, anxious to eliminate incredible marvels (supra ii. 989), has substituted παρειόδια διὰ (62 παρείχεται, 69 παρέπλευ, 72 παρεπεμφερω) and left us to suppose that the danger lay in being dashed against the rocks, not in being crushed between them. Nevertheless the name Παρείχεται used of them by the blessed gods (61) implies that they were originally conceived as ‘Wandering’ rocks, and the sinister phrase διὰ τὰῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φωνοί ψιλότητα λίς πέτρα (64) looks like a reminiscence of the clashing motif.

The Kyaneai (first in Soph. Ant. 966 or Hdt. 4. 85) or Symplegades (first in Eur. Med. 431) of the Argonauts’ adventure were two living rocks which rushed together, rolling faster than the winds (Pind. Pyth. 4. 208 ff.). As early as s. v B.C., if not earlier, they were located on the Thracian Bosphorus (Soph. Ant. 966 f. and Hdt. 4. 85) at the entrance to the Euxine (Eur. I.T. 124 f.), where they formed

1 Unless we concede the name to such articles as those by Mary Johnston ‘Floating islands, ancient and modern’ in the Classical Weekly 1925—1926 xix. 58, L. R. Shero ‘The Vadimonian Lake and floating islands of Equatorial Africa’ ib. 1933—1934 xxvii. 51 ff., J. W. Spaeth ‘More floating islands’ ib. p. 78, R. M. Geer ‘Floating islands once more’ ib. p. 152 or to such chapters as those of A. Breusing ‘Nautisches zu Homer. 6. ΠΑΝΤΗΝ ΕΝΙ ΝΗΧΩΝ’ in the Jahrb. f. class. Philol. 1886 xxvii. 85—92 and E. Hawks The Book of Natural Wonders London 1932 pp. 192—198 (‘Disappearing Islands’).
the mouth of the Pontos (Theokr. 22. 27 f., Nikeph. Greg. *hist. Byz.* 5. 4 (i. 134 Schopen)). Apollonios of Rhodes tells how the Argonauts on their outward voyage were warned by Phineus of the two Kyaneai, which were not firmly fixed with roots beneath but constantly clashed together amid boiling surf, and advised by him to send a dove in advance (Ap. Rhod. 2. 317 ff.); how they acted on his advice and saw the rocks shear off the tail-feathers of the bird; how they themselves making a desperate dash just got through, thanks to the helpful hands of Athena, with the loss of the tip of their stern-ornament; and how the rocks thenceforward were rooted fast and remained motionless (*ib*. 2. 549 ff.—a fine piece of writing). It should be observed that Apollonios is careful to distinguish the Kyaneai or Plegades, as he terms them (Ap. Rhod. 2. 596, 2. 645, and *Kaivou krious* frag. 5. 4 Powell *ap.* Cramer *aneid. Par.* iv. 16, 1 ff. and Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1285), from the Homeric Planktai. For it is only on the return voyage that he works in an allusion to the Planktai, which are described as having surge at their bases and flame at their tops (Ap. Rhod. 4. 786 ff., 924 ff.) in obvious reference to the Lipari Islands (cp. Ap. Rhod. 3. 41 f. δΔλ' οι μον (sc. Hephaistos) εις χαλκον και ακρων ou ιμ βεθηκει, νήσου πλαγών ειδον μαγων with schol. *ad loc.*).

Many of the Greeks, however, identified the Kyaneai or Symplagades of the Bosphoros with the Planktai (so first, perhaps, Hdt. 4. 85; then Asklepiades (? of Myrleia; see G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1629) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 12. 69 and other *σταυρον* (schol. Eur. *Med.* 2) listed by O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2546). And sundry Roman poets, placing Scylla in Sicilian waters, associate her with clashing rocks (Ov. *met.* 7. 62 ff.) called Symplagades (Ov. *her.* 12. 121) or Cyaneae (Iuv. 15. 19 f.)

The right conclusion is drawn by O. Jessen *loc. cit.*, viz. that both the Planktai and the Kyaneai or Symplagades presuppose the ancient popular belief in a doorway to the Otherworld formed by clashing mountain-walls (T. Waitz *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* Leipzig 1864 iv. 166 the Mexican dead 'hatte aneinander schlagende Berge...zu passiren,' Jülg 'über die griechische Heldensage im Wiederscheine bei den Mongolen' in the *Verh. d. 26. Philologenversamml. in Würzburg* 1869 p. 64 in the Mongolian saga of Gesser Chan bk 4 'Von da weiterhin kommest du zu einer andern Verwandlung, nämlich zu zwei an einander schlagenden Felswänden; um zwischen denselben durchzukommen, musst du selbst ein Mittel ausfindig machen,' E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture* London 1891 i. 347 f. the Karens of Burma 'say that in the west there are two massive strata of rocks which are continually opening and shutting, and between these strata the sun descends at sunset,' *ib*. i. 348 f. in an Ottawa tale Iosco and his friends after travelling eastward for years reached the chasm that led to the land of the Sun and Moon; as the sky rose, losco and one friend leapt through, but the other two were caught by the sky as it struck the earth, A. Leskien—K. Brugman *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen* Strassburg 1882 p. 350 in a Slovenian tale the hero's mother 'stellt sich krank und will Wasser von zwei zusammenschlagenden Felsen, die aber keine Felsen, sondern Teufel sind, und nur um Mitternacht zwei Minuten schlafen,' *ib*. p. 551 in a similar Slovak tale the mother 'stellt sich krank und verlangt...das Wasser des Lebens und des Todes, das unter zwei Bergen ist, von denen der eine um Mittag, der andere um Mitternacht sich erhebt und gleich wieder zufällt,' *ib*. in a similar tale from Little Russia the mother 'stellt sich krank und schickt den Sohn...nach heilendem und belebendem Wasser zu den zusammenschlagenden Bergen,' W. R. S. Ralston *Russian Folk-tales* London 1873 p. 235 f. cites stories of the
same type. In one ‘the hero is sent in search of “a healing and a vivifying water,” preserved between two lofty mountains which cleave closely together, except during “two or three minutes” of each day....“Prince Ivan spurred his heroic steed, flew like a dart between the mountains, dipped two flasks in the waters, and instantly turned back.” He himself escapes safe and sound, but the hind legs of his horse are caught between the closing cliffs, and smashed to pieces. The magic waters, of course, soon remedy this temporary inconvenience.... In a similar story from the Ukraine, mention is made of two springs of healing and life-giving water, which are guarded by iron-beaked ravens, and the way to which lies between grinding hills. The Fox and the Hare are sent in quest of the magic fluid. The Fox goes and returns in safety, but the Hare, on her way back, is not in time quite to clear the meeting cliffs, and her tail is jammed in between them. Since that time, hares have had no tails,’ M. Gaster Rumanian *Bird and Beast Stories* London 1915 p. 263 ff. in a Rumanian tale Floria, sent to fetch the Water of Life and the Water of Death, was helped by a lame stork, which went straight to the mountains that knock against one another, waited—at the advice of a swallow—till noon when they rest for half an hour, then plunged into their depth and filled two bottles, but lost his tail as the mountains closed furiously upon him. And that is why storks have no tails, J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanestische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 46 in a Greek tale from Syra (*supra* ii. 1004 ff.) the girl Moon, helped by the bird Dikjeretto, fetched the Water of Life from a spring in a mountain which opened at midday, but had to cut off a piece of her dress that was caught by the closing cleft, *ib.* ii. 280 ff. in another tale from Syra, akin to the group noted by Leskien and Brugman (von Hahn’s nineteenth *formula* ‘Schwester- oder Mutter-Verrath oder Skyllaformel’), the hero’s mother feigns illness and craves for the Water of Life (*d'habarote rebo*): the young man is directed by an old dame, in reality his Fate (*etan h' tek' to* *pudov*), to a mountain which opens every day at noon and contains many springs; he is guided to the right one by a bee, *ib.* ii. 283 ff. in a variant from Vitza in Epeiros the prince’s elder sister pretends to be ill and sends him for the Water of Life, which a lame crow obtains from a mountain that opens and shuts, *ib.* i. 238 in a tale from the Zagori district of Epeiros a prince, to win Goldylocks, must needs fetch the Water of Life from a mountain which opens only for a moment and then shuts to with a snap; he gets it from a helpful raven, who brings it to him in a gourd, *ib.* ii. 194 f. in another tale from Zagori the hero, to win the king’s daughter, has to obtain the Water of Life from a mountain which opens and closes again with the speed of lightning; he borrows the wings of a helpful eagle and escapes with filled gourd, R. Köhler in the *Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1871 ii. 1403 f. no. (3) = id. *Kleine Schriften* Weimar 1898 i. 367 f. in a modern Greek tale a king’s son sets out to find for his sick father the Water of Immortality (*r' d'habarote rebo*) ‘welches sich am Ende der Welt hinter zwei hohen Bergen befindet, die nach Art der Symplegaden immer auseinandergehen und wieder zusammenstossen’[1]...ebenso bei Sakellarios No. 8. Vgl. auch Wenzig Westslaw, *Märchenschatz* S. 148. On the Water of Life see further A. Wünsche *Die Siegen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser* Leipzig 1905 pp. 90—104 (‘Das Wasser des Lebens als Zauberbrunnen in den Märchen der Völker’), J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1915 iii. 394—401 (‘Das Wasser des Lebens’). A sea-faring people might naturally conceive of such a portal as a pair of floating rocks or islets. Thus in a Greenland tale the hero Giviok ‘continued paddling until he came in sight of two icebergs, with a narrow passage between them;
and he observed that the passage alternately opened and closed again. He tried to pass the icebergs by paddling round outside them, but they always kept ahead of him; and at length he ventured to go right between them. With great speed and alacrity he pushed on, and had just passed when the bergs closed together, and the stern-point of his kayak got bruised between them' (H. Rink Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo Edinburgh—London 1875 p. 138 f.). It would, however, be unsafe to infer from this tale that the Planktai were 'an early attempt to reproduce some sailor's story of the floating icebergs' (W. W. Merry on Od. 12. 61) and that the Kyaneai or Symplegades presuppose a dim recollection of icebergs in the Black Sea (cp. for the facts E. H. Minns Scythians and Greeks Cambridge 1913 p. 6). Both alike are but mariners' versions of the gateway to the Otherworld.


(3) As knowledge of the Mediterranean increased there was a tendency to put the clashing rocks further and further afield. Close to the Ceraunian mountains were two rocks which clashed together as often as any trouble threatened the natives (Dionys. per. 394 ff. ἦθα σφιν τίτων ἄλοι θεοὶ θεσαλίων ὡραίοι γὰρ αὐτῷ | κείνων ἄμφοτεροθεὶς ἐρήμεθαν δύο πέτραι, | αἱ δὲ μῆκος κυνικοὶ δονεύμεναι, εἰς τὸν ἄργυρον γίγνεται εὐναίτητος κυκλοφόρου κακοῦ with Eustath. ad loc. Tzetz. chil. 4. 707 ff. confines these rocks with the graves of Kadmos and Harmonia noted by Dionysios in the same context): this reads like a bit of genuine folklore and may even be older than the location of the Homeric Planktai in the Lipari Islands. Others, impressed apparently by the fact that Tartessos sounds like Tartaros (Strab. 149), transferred both the Planktai and the Symplegades to the neighbourhood of Gadeira and identified them with the pillars of Herakles (Strab. 170, quoted by Eustath. in Dionys. per. 64). Others, again, declared that Homer etc. were speaking of rocks that lay between Kilikia (?Lykia λ.Β.Γ.) and Pamphylia (Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 815—apparently by confusion with the Chelidonides Nesoi: see Ap. Rhod. Κοινον εἰς τὸν οἰκείον frag. 5. 3 f. Powell απ. Cramer anec. Par. iv. 16, 4 f.).

(4) An oriental analogue to the Planktai may be found in the Ambrosiai Petraei of Tyre. Nomn. Dion. 40. 422 ff. relates that, when Dionysos was in Tyre, he enquired of Herakles ἀστροχώρων how the city came to be. The god replied that he had roused the original earth-born natives from slumber, bidding them build the first ship and cross the sea till they should reach the Ambrosiai Petraei. These were two floating rocks, on which grew an olive in the very centre of the rock. On its topmost boughs they would see an eagle perched and a well-wrought bowl. Fiery sparks sprang from the flaming tree, which, for all that, was not consumed. A snake was coiled about it, but neither hurt nor was hurt by the eagle (467 ff. εἰς ὅπερ χαρόν οἰκασθή μεμορμένον, ῥόπθω δισαιραὶ | ἀσταθὲς πλαῦνων ἄλογων εἰς ἄλι πέτραι, | ἀν Φώσις Ἀμβροσίας ἐπεφίμεναις, | αἰς τὸν βάλλει, | ἦλκοι αὐτοῦροι ὁμάχων ἐρώτημας Σκύλοις, | πέτραι ἱγκαθόρου μεγαμοφάλου ἀκροτάτου δὲ | αἰτῶν ἄθροισι παραδράσοντα κορώμβους | καὶ φαλὴν, εὐτύκτων ἀπὸ φλαγχροῦ δὲ δενδρῶν | τιμηλῶν στενήρᾳ ἐρέγεμεν αὐτοῖρασιν | πῦρ, καὶ σέλας ἀθλείων περιβύσκεται ἐρώτημα, | καὶ φυτῶν ἑπιπετήλιον ἵλιξ | ὄμοι ἀμφιχώρων, κ.τ.λ.). They were to capture the bird and sacrifice it to Kyanochaites, pouring its blood as a libation to the sea-roaming hills and to
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Zeus and to the blessed ones. The rock would then stay rooted to the spot, and on both its peaks they would be able to plant their town. This remarkable description is borne out on the one hand by a passage in the novel of Achilleus Tatio, on the other by a modern Palestinian folk-tale.

Ach. Tat. 2. 14 quotes an oracle current among the Byzantines—νησίὸς τις πολύς ἐκτεταγμένος άμορ χαράνθος, ἢ θεοῦ ὄμοι καὶ πορθμόν ἐπ’ ἡμέραν ἴδρυσα, ἐνθαὶ Ἐβραῖς ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἰππαίσιν ἐν ὕδατι Ἰερασιλί (cp. Anth. Pal. 14. 34)—and explains that the island-city with inhabitants named after trees is Tyre occupied by the Phoinikes. Its isthmus-strait is the narrow neck of land uniting it with the shore, since water flows beneath it. Here, too, Hephaisotos in a sense enjoys Athena—witness the sacred precinct in which a flaming fire and an olive-tree are to be seen side by side, the soot of the former positively tending to the branches of the latter.

A. J. Wensinck Tree and Bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia Amsterdam 1921 p. 45 draws attention to a tale published by H. Schmidt—P. Kahle Volkserzählungen aus Palistina Göttingen 1918 p. 140 ff. no. 42, in which it is said of the hero: 'Er kam zu Schäms ed-Duhha and fragte sie nach dem Wasser des Lebens. Da sagte sie: "Hinter dem Garten der Jungfrauen eine Tagerleise zwischen zwei Bergen! Wer hinuntersteigt, über dem schlagen die beiden Bergen zusammen. Sein Lebtag ist niemand, der hinunterstieg, wieder herausgekommen. Du aber schöpfe es (das Wasser) von oben aus." Er gelangte dorthin. Da war ein Baum, über dem schwabte ein Vogel, über seinem Wipfel. Er zog sein Schwert und ging auf den Baum zu. Da war dort eine Schlange, die wollte die Brut des Vogels fressen. Sie kam auf ihn zu. Er schlug auf sie ein und tötete sie. Dann band er dem Vogel eine Flasche an den Hals. Der flog hin, füllte die Flasche und flog auf. Und während er aufflog, schlugen die Berge hinter ihm zusammen und ruftten ihm den Schwanz und die Flügel. Da nahm jener die Flasche und ging zurück zur Schäms ed-Duhha.' It will be observed that the two clashing mountains, behind which is the Water of Life, the tree, the snake, the helpful bird with the bottle attached to its neck, make up a picture curiously similar to that of the Ambrosiai Petrai as described by Nonnos.

Bronze coins of Tyre, struck by a succession of Roman imperial persons from Caracalla (211—217 A.D.) to Salonina (253—268 A.D.), have for reverse type the ΑΜΒΡΟΣΙΕ ΠΕΤΡΕ or ΠΑΙΤΡΕ (sic). These are shown sometimes as two omphaloi on separate bases, with an olive-tree growing between them (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia p. 281 no. 430 Gordianus iii pl. 33, 15 = my fig. 783 from a cast, p. 284 no. 442 Trebonianus Gallus, p. 291 no. 473 Valerianus i, E. Babelon Les Perses Achéménides Paris 1893 p. 328 no. 2241 Elagabalos, p. 330 no. 2255 Aquilia Severa pl. 37, 9, p. 331 no. 2258 Iulia Maesa pl. 37, 11, p. 333 no. 2270 Gordianus iii, p. 340 no. 2302 Volusianus, p. 348 nos. 2349—2351 Gallienus pl. 38, 24 f., W. M. Leake Numismata Hellenica London 1854 Asiatic Greece p. 140 f. Elagabalos = my fig. 784 from a cast), sometimes as two stelai on a single base, between crescent and star, with a flaming tympanum on one side and an olive-tree on the other (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia p. 281 no. 429 Gordianus iii pl. 33, 14 = my fig. 785 from a cast, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 270 no. 38 Gordianus iii pl. 77, 9 = my fig. 786, E. Babelon Les Perses Achéménides p. 334 no. 2271 Gordianus iii pl. 37, 16). Or, again, they appear in the field as a local background. Thus Herakles, with club and lion-skin, pours a libation from a phiale over a burning altar, above which are seen the two stelai, with streams issuing from their bases (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia p. 281 no. 427
Appendix P


Europe, standing to front, with basket or vase: on the left, Zeus in the form of a bull emerges from the sea; above him are the omphaloi with an olive-tree between them (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia p. 290 no. 468 Valerianus i pl. 34, 13 = my fig. 789 from a cast, E. Babelon Les Perses Achéménides p. 347 no. 2348 Gallienus pl. 38, 23, supra i. 530 n. 2 fig. 402 Gallienus, Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 20 pl. 3, 40 = Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke Aut. Denkm. i. 71 pl. 7, 6 = W. H. Roscher Neue Omphalosstudien Leipzig 1915 pp. 15 n. 34, 71 fig. Gallienus).

These coins enable us to trace the Ambrosiai Petraei back to a date nearly a century earlier than Achilleus Tatos, our earliest literary authority, and some two centuries earlier than Nonnos. As it so often the case, the earliest conception
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is the simplest. Here are seen two omphaloi or stéllai with rounded tops, from the base of which streams are flowing. Streams of what? Presumably of ambrosia. The rocks, to deserve their name, must themselves be the very source of that elixir (for the Water of Life as honey see e.g. Kalevala 15. 377 ff. trans. W. F. Kirby, cp. W. H. Roscher Nektar und Ambrosia Leipzig 1883 p. 46 ff., W. Robert—Tornow De apium mellisque apud veteres significatatione et symbolica et mythologica Berolini 1893 pp. 85—89, 122—126). I cannot, therefore, agree with Eckhel Doctr. num. vet. 3 iii. 390 'profluente subtus aqua, nimirum quod

aqua maris perpetuo humectantur.' Again, the coins give no hint of the eagle and the phiale. These are not mentioned before the fifth-century epic of Nonnos and may be an accretion due partly to the popular concept of Zeus as an eagle fed on ambrosia from the phiale of Ganymedes (e.g. Reinach Rép. Reliefs i. 115, 190 no. 1, ii. 232 no. 3, iii. 231 no. 2, 370 no. 2, 489 no. 2. I add in fig. 790 a Roman lamp of Augustan date in my possession (scale $\frac{1}{2}$), cp. a similar but smaller lamp with bungled inscription published by R. Kekulé in the Ann. d. Inst. 1866 xxxviii. 121 f. pl. G, 1, and in pl. lxix, (1) the relief on a bronze mirror-case of early imperial date from Miletopolis (Melde) acquired in 1907 by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (diameter 6$\frac{1}{2}$ inches); (2) an exact
replica of it in the collection of the late Dr A. H. Lloyd, Cambridge. On comparison with the sarcophagus at Rome (Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke Ant. Denkm. i. 87 pl. 9, 19=Amelung Sculp. Vatic. ii. 277 f. no. 97 a pl. 24=Reinach op. cit. iii. 370 no. 2) it becomes clear that the design is better suited to a circular than to an oblong space. The recumbent female figure, according to Amelung, is ‘wohl eine Personifikation des Beres Ida.’ I too should take her to be the Phrygian or Cretan nymph Ida (E. Neustadt in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ix. 880), or—less probably—the nymph Ambrosia (K. Wernicke ib. i. 1809), from whom Ganymedès has received the bowl. Overbeck Gr. Kunstw. Zeus p. 546 f., W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1599, and P. Friedländer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 748, however, contend that the scene is laid in heaven, not on earth: cp. Val. Flacc. 2. 415 ff., partly to the fact that in Levantine art of the Graeco-Roman age an eagle on a sacred stone had a solar significance (supra i. 603 f. fig. 475, ii. 186 figs. 129 f. See also F. Cumont in the Revue de l’histoire des religions 1910 lixii. 119—164, 1911 lixii. 208—214, republished with modifications and additions in his Études Syriennes Paris 1917 pp. 35—118 (‘L’aigle funéraire d’Héraklé et l’apothéose des empereurs’), S. Ronzeville in the Mélanges de la Faculté orientale de Beyrouth ‘L’aigle funéraire en Syrie’ 1912 v. 2. 117—178, 221—231, L. Deubner ‘Die Apotheose des Antoninus Pius’ in the Röm. Mitth. 1912 xxvii. 1—20, Mrs A. Strong Apotheosis and After Life London 1915 pp. 181—187). The snake is a further accretion, elsewhere connected with the solar eagle of the Phoenician Baal-šamin (supra i. 191 f. fig. 138) and comparable with the snake twined round an ovoid stone or onmphalos on other bronze coins of Tyre (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia pp. cxli, 278 no. 413 Elagabalos pl. 33, 8=my fig. 791 from a cast, E. Babelon Les Perses Akhiëménides p. 328 no. 2240 Elagabalos pl. 37, 5, p. 339 no. 2296 Trebonianus Gallus pl. 37, 29). This serpent-twined egg appears to have had a cosmic significance: cp. Epikouroï ap. Epiph. Panarb. haer. 1. 8. 1 (i. 294 Dindorf)=H. Diels Doxogr. p. 589, 11 ff. ἐναὶ δὲ ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς φθόνῳ δίκην τῷ σῶματι, τὸ δὲ πνεύμα δρακοντοειδὸς περὶ τὸ φῶς ὑπὸ στέφανον ἑνεφίλετο τῷ θνητῷ φυσίν. διήλθος δὲ διαστάσις τοίνυν θεοῦ (Diels cit. καὶ σφ. cp. Aristot. de caelo 4. 6 313 b 5) περισσοτέρως σφηκάζει τὴν πάσαν ἡλέαν εἰς ὑπὸ φύσις τῶν πάντων, οὗτο διηγέρα σὲ μὲν τὰ ὄντα εἰς τὸ δόμῳ ἡμαίραι καὶ λωπῶν ἐκ τούτων τὸ ἔτη αὐτροκρατεῖν. It does not appear with certainty on coins that represent the Ambrosiai Petrai (pace J. F. Vaillant Numismata area Imperatorum, Augustorum, et Caesarum, in colonis, municipiis, et urbibus inre Latio donatis, ex omni modo peraccus Parisiis 1695 ii. 101 fig., 151 fig., Eckhel Doctr. num. vet. iii. 389, Stevenson—Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 828). Sir G. F. Hill wrote to me (April 8, 1926) with regard to the specimens in the British Museum: ‘There is something twining (2) round the trunk of the tree between the stones, and I have no reason to suspect either Vaillant or Eckhel...’. Lastly, the fire, which Achilles Tatius makes into a marvel and Nonnos into a miracle, figures on the coins only as a flaming thymiātērion or altar. The essential elements, present from the first, are the two rocks, the Water of Life or ambrosia that flows from them, and the olive-tree growing between or beside them.

Now the whole of this ambrosial business has a suspiciously Hellenistic look about it, and we may well surmise that it has been grafted on to older beliefs of indigenous growth. Sir G. F. Hill in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia p. cxli
Plate LXX

A bronze mirror-case in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Ganymedes feeds the Eagle in the presence of a Nymph. 

A similar mirror-case in the Lloyd collection, Cambridge. See page 934.

(1) and (2)
very pertinently asks: ‘Have these two baetyl{s} any connexion with the two stelae dedicated by “Ousoo{s}” to fire and wind?’ Ousoo{s}, the eponym of Us{s} or Palai-Tyros (F. Hommel Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orientis München 1926 pp. 8, 166 f.), was the brother and rival of Samemroumos or Hypsouranios (supra ii. 981 n. 1). If Hypsouranios invented huts made of reeds, grasses, and papyrus, Ousoo{s} invented clothing made of skins from beasts that he had captured. During a violent storm of rain and wind the trees at Tyre, rubbing against one another, kindled a fire and burnt the wood. Ousoo{s} caught hold of a tree, stripped off the branches, and was the first who dared to put to sea. He dedicated two stelai to Pyr and Pneuma, worshipped them, and poured as a libation to them the blood of the beasts that he had taken in the chase. When these persons died, the survivors dedicated rods to them and, celebrating a yearly festival for them, worshipped the stelai (Philon Bybl. frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 566 Müller) ap. Euseb. praep. ev. i. 10. 10 f. δινηρον δι λαβομαι των θυσιων και αποκλαδευςαντα πρωτον τολμησαι εις θυσιαν εμπαιον ανειρωσα δε δυο στηλες ουρι και Πνευματι και προσκυνησαν, αιμα τυ σπειρεν ευται ειν δν θηρευς θηριων. τυνων δε τελευσαντων, των απολειφθησαν φροι μεθον ευται ανειρωσα, και τας στηλες προσκυνουν, και τουτοι ευραται οικει κατ’ έτος). If, as seems probable, we have here a genuine echo of Phoenician cosmogony (supra ii. 1106 ff.), we may reasonably suppose at Tyre an actual cult of two cosmic stelai (cp. supra ii. 425 f.) later equated with the Ambrosiai Petrai. Hence the abnormal representation of the Petrai on imperial coins as a couple of stelai. R. Eilers Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt München 1910 ii. 576 n. 5 asserts with confidence: ‘Es sind die zwei Massebenen, die Us{s}os...dem Wind und dem Feuer geweiht haben soll; d. h. die beiden Gipfel des Weltenberges, durch die zwei Stelen dargestellt, versinnlichen den Feuer- und den Windpunkt des Jahreskreises (oben S. 451 f.), die winterliche Wassertiefe ist durch das Meer vertreten, auf dem die διαοικησεις schwimmen. Hinter dem Namen “ambrosische” Felsen steckt hier in Palaiturus natürlich eine semitische Bezeichnung, etwa ‘amm berîth “Mutter der Quellen” oder dgl.’

On this showing there is a close parallelism between the Ambrosiai Petrai of Tyre, perhaps identified with the pillars of Pyr and Pneuma, and the Planktai or Symplegades of Gadeira, certainly identified with the pillars of Herakles (supra p. 978 n. o (3)). Even the olive-tree of Tyre reappears at Gadeira (Philol. v. Apoll. 5. 5 p. 167 Kaiyser η Πευχαμακον δι αλαι η χρυση, ανακειται δε καινη Ευ τον Ηρακλην, αει μεν, δια φανται και του ταλλου βαιματειν, η ποσκυνει, θυματανθον δι αν επι τω καιρω μαλλον, βρειν γαρ αυτων σημαναγον λιθου—noted by A. J. Wensinck ap. cit. p. 19).

(5) Boutu (Boutos, Boutoi), an Egyptian town in the north-western part of the Delta (K. Sethe in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1087 f., H. R. Hall The Ancient History of the Near East London 1913 p. 97 f., F. Hommel Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orientis München 1926 p. 903 f.), gave its name to a neighbouring lake the Boutike Limne (Strab. 802). The town was famous for its cult of Leto, the lake for a floating island called Chebbis (E. A. Wallis Budge The Gods of the Egyptians London 1904 i. 442 ‘the Island of Khebit’), which was sacred to Apollo (Hekatatos frag. 284 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 20 Müller) =frag. 305 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 40 Jacoby) ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Χεμμ). According to Herodotos, the lake near the sanctuary at Boutu was deep and wide; the island carried a great temple of Apollo with three altars, besides many palms, fruit-trees, etc.; and the local myth was as follows. When Typhon was searching high and low for the son of Osiris, Leto, one of the eight earliest deities, having
an oracle at Bouo, received Apollon in charge from Isis and hid him for safety in this island (cp. Plout. de Is. et Os. 38), which up to that time had been fixed but was thenceforward said to be afloat. Apollon and Artemis were children of Dionysos by Isis, Leto being their nurse and preserver: in Egyptian Apollon was Horos, Demeter was Isis, Artemis was Boubastis (Hdt. 2. 156, cp. Mela i. 55 Chemnis, Eustath. in Od. p. 1644, 60 f. "Exeius"). The goddess thus identified by the Greeks with Leto was the Egyptian Bouto, earlier Udô, on whom see K. Sethe loc. cit. iii. 1086 f., H. R. Hall op. cit. p. 97. Hommel claims that she was originally the chief goddess of Punt and notes an Egyptian folk-tale, dating from the early part of the second millennium B.C., in which the serpent-king of Punt inhabits an Island of Ghosts that can suddenly sink in the waves (F. Hommel op. cit. p. 636, cp. id. Die Insel der Seligen in Mythus und Sage der Vorzeit München 1901 p. 18 ff.). Gruppe regards the Egyptian floating island Chemnis as, 'direkt oder mittelbar,' the source of the Greek floating island Delos (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 813 n. 2, cp. ib. p. 239). But definite evidence of Egyptian cult in Delos is late (P. Roussel Les cultes égyptiens à Delos du iii* au iv* siècle av. J.-C. Nancy 1916 p. 239 ff., id. Delos colonie athénienne Paris 1916 p. 249 ff. ('Divinités égyptiennes').

(6) When Leto was in travail with Apollon, she went round the coasts and islands of the Aegaean seeking a home for her future son. No place would accept him save Delos, and even Delos at first feared to do so, since he was like to be a froward and masterful child, who might on seeing the rocky nature of the island overturn it with his feet and sink it in the sea. Such fears were set at rest by Leto, who swore that her son should have his cult established in Delos and honour it for ever (h. Ap. 14—88). This passage suggests that Delos was unstable, if not actually afloat—a notion far more clearly expressed by Pindar, who definitely states that the island was driven about by winds and waves till Leto, as her time drew near, set foot upon it; then and there four pillars sprang from the abyss and bore up the rocky isle, where the goddess gave birth to the god (Pind. frag. 87+88 Bergk1, Schröder ap. Theopr. ap. Philon. de incorrupt. mundi 23 p. 511 Mangey+Strab. 485, schol. Od. 10. 3, Cramer anc. Paris. iii. 464, 6 ff., Eustath. in Od. p. 1644, 54 f., cp. Arrian. frag. 73 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 599.f. Müller) ap. Eustath. in Dionys. pier. 525, Plout. de facie in orbe lunae 6, Sen. nat. quaest. 6. 26. 3). L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 2462 holds that Pindar in the same context represents Delos as 'vom Himmel gefallen.' That is hardly so. Pindar. loc. cit. says ἄν τε βροτοί | Δάλον κειλήσκουσιν, μακαρεῖ δὲ ἐν Ἄκρων πιθήκασαν κυνάριας ἄστρων—hinting at the old name Ἀστερία (supra i. 543 n. 6) and working it into a metaphor of exceptional beauty (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff Sappho und Simonides Berlin 1913 p. 121 'Hier den Namen Asteria herauszuhören, ist etwas Rätselraten aber wie grossartig ist die Vorstellung, dass die Erde für den Blick der Göttin eine blaue Fläche ist, wie ihr Himmel für uns; auf dem ihnen dann Delos, so klein sie ist, als ein heller Stern lieblich aufleuchtet. Wer an sprachlicher Kunst als solcher Gefallen findet, wird hier ein Juwel, einen seltenen Edelstein in reichster Fassung anerkennen:' etc., quoted by Sir J. E. Sandys ad loc.). But the metaphor of the fifth century becomes the myth of the third: αὐτοῖς ἀφετοσ πολύγαυστοι ἐπέπλευε, ὀδύμα δὲ ἐν σοι | Ἀστερία τὸ πολανίον, ἐπεὶ βαθὺν ἤλων τάφρον | οὐρανόθεν φρεύγουσα Δίω γάμον ῥάτη χοη (Kallim. h. Del. 36 ff.).

The story of Delos, once afloat but now fixed for ever, was popularised by Virgil and became a commonplace in later literature (Varro ap. Macrob. Sat. 1. 7. 29, Verg. Aen. 3. 73 ff. with Serv. and interp. Serv. ad loc., Prop. 4. 6. 27,
Floating Islands

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Aristot. frag. 446 Rose ap. Plin. nat. hist. 4. 66 (Solin. 11. 18) thought that Delos was so called because it had appeared suddenly on the surface of the sea—a notion repeated in scol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 308 and expanded in et. mag. p. 264, 23 ff. Δῆλος· ἥ ἒρα (so F. Sylburg for ἥ ἐρα codd. F. G. Sturz cj. ἥρα ἐρα after Favorin. lex. p. 475, 21) τοι τ' Ἀπόλλωνας, εἴρηται ὅτι κρυπτομενή αὕτη ἐν τῇ βαλασθῇ ὥς Ζεὺς δῆλῳ ἐποίησε καὶ ἀνέδωκεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν τέκνην ἡ Ἁλτώ (so, or with τέκνα, F. Sylburg for ἡ Ἁλτώ codd. A. Berkel cj. ἡ ἅλτῳ). Ζεὺς γὰρ ἔρασθεὶς Δηλώνη, τῆς Κοίον θυάτερός ἐνός τῶν Τιτάνων καὶ Φοίβης, ἑγκοιτο ἡ ἐποίησε· ὡς, διεκμεύον χρῶνος διαφεύσεσθαι, παραγένεστα διὰ βαλασθῆς εἰς 'Αστερίων ('Αστερίων Α. B. C.) την ἕραν, μίνι οὖν τῶν Κυκλάδων—ἐκεῖ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἐκφύου ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπων· ἕκειν τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἐκφύου παιδίσκην υἱὸν· 'Αρμενών καὶ 'Απόλλωνα· καὶ τῆς ἕρας ἐκείνης Δῆλον ὦτι οὗ δῆλου διάκομος ἔρασθεὶς. Plin. nat. hist. 2. 202 mentions Delos first in a list of islands that had so emerged, and Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 13 supposes that such islands were thrown up by earthquakes of a particular type (brasmatae, cp. brastae (Apul. de mund. 18)).

(7) Delos set the fashion, and Patmos followed it (F. G. Welcker in the Rhein. Mus. 1843 ii. 338, ib. 1845 iii. 270, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1398, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 813 n. 2). An inscription found there and first edited by L. Ross (Inscriptiones Graecae ineditiae Athenis 1842 ii. 72—74 no. 190) tells how Artemis appointed as her hydrophōros a girl named Vera, daughter of the physician Glaukias, who had crossed over from Argos (?), and adds that Patmos the island of Leto's daughter had remained hidden in the depths of the sea till Orestes came from Skythia (?) and established there the cult of the Scythian Artemis (Kaibel Epigr. Gr. no. 872. 1 ff. = Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 1. 258. 1 ff. (after R. Bergmann Berolini 1860) ὡν αἷοι τόν υἱόν παραβαίνειν 'Αρμενός ἀναπετρευν —θηκαῖοι κυβαλίματα, Ἡλληνικά δυναμείς, ἄμφηρον παραβαίνειν τῇ θυάτερῳ τοῖς ἰεροῖς, νομοῖς κολασθίσων (Kaibel prints παραβαίνειν τῇ θυάτερῳ τοῖς ἰεροῖς, νομοῖς κολασθίσων).
Appendix P

Rhodes was another island that had risen from the sea-bottom. A tale already ancient in 404 B.C. said that, when Zeus and the immortals were dividing the earth among them, Rhodes lay hidden in the briny depths. Helios, who was absent from the division, complained that he was left without a portion. So Zeus was about to order a new casting of the lot. The sun-god, however, would not suffer it; for, as he declared, he could see a plot of land rising from the bottom of the sea and destined to prove fruitful for man and beast. He bade Lachesis and Zeus swear that it should be his. Thereupon from the sea sprang the island, where Helios wedded Rhodos and begat seven sons, one of whom became the father of Ialyso, Kameiros, and Lindos (Pind. Od. 7. 54 ff. with scholl. ad loc.). Rhodes was thus included in the canonical list of islands that had emerged from the sea (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 202, Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 13), and C. Torr Rhodes in Ancient Times Cambridge 1885 p. 152 justifies its inclusion: 'Rhodes certainly rose from the sea. The great limestone mass of Mount Atabyros and the lesser limestone hills, Akramyta, Elias, Archangelo and Lindos, must once have formed a group of islands; and as these were gradually elevated, the lower hills were being formed round them by volcanic action. These facts were no doubt beyond the Rhodians of the mythopoeic age: but the elevated beds of sea shells at the base of the hills would readily have suggested the legend.' Perhaps in the Hellenistic age Isis, whose temple stood near the city-wall beside the sea (Appian. Mithr. 27), was believed to have raised the island from the watery abyss. That at least would square with the claim made on behalf of the goddess in an Iasian hymn of s. i B.C. found in Andros (Lebas—Foucart Péloponèse ii no. 1796. 4, 23 ff. = Kaibel Epigr. Gr. no. 1028, 70 ff. = E. Abel Orphica Lipsiae—Prague 1885 p. 301 h. in Isin 158 ff. = Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 4. 32. 70 ff. = Inscr. Gr. int. v. 1 no. 739, 160 ff. níasos δε βαθυνομένα αὐτῷ μίαν | ιε ψίλοι εκ βουλαν ποσανάγανθων ιδίων αὐτὰ | ἀρει καὶ πο[δίῳ] στρομάμαν βάσιν ὄργανδα τ' ἀκραίας | στρυκτηρίων εξ' υπερτινών, βουλαλος | μαλοκόμοι δ' ἀδείαν). A. H. Krarpe in Anglia Beiblatt 1932 xliii. 256 ff. draws an interesting comparison between Pindar's description of Rhodes and James Thomson's Rule, Britannia (1740). In the former the emergent island becomes the personified Rhodos. In the latter
the same thing happens: the opening lines run 'When Britain first at Heaven's command | Arose from out the aure main,' etc., yet the burden 'Rule, Britannia' and the succeeding stanzas bring the allegorical figure to the fore.


(10) The same Plotai was given by Dionysios the geographer to the seven islands of Aiolos in the Sicilian Sea (Dionys. per. 465 f. ἐπὶ δὲ οἱ ταῖς γ' εἰσιν, ἐπάνων οὖσαν Ἀρδαία Πλωται, | οὐκεδε μέσον ἔχουσι περίπλους ἀμφίπλετον with Eustath. and paraphr. ad loc., cp. schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 297 οἱ δὲ Πλωται νῆσοι κείονται ἐν τῷ Σικελίᾳ πελάγει). Homer had made Aiolos live πλωτῇ ἐν νῆσο (συρία (1)), and Apollonios had perhaps spoken of Hiera or Lipara as νῆσους πλωτῖς (so schol. Flor. on Ap. Rhod. 3. 42 νῆσοι πλωτῇ (συρία (2))).

(11) Theophrastos speaks of Ploades or 'Floating' Islands on the lake of Orchomenos, i.e. Lake Kopais in Boiotia, and compares them with others in the marshes of Egypt, Thesprotis, etc. (Theophr. hist. pl. 4. 10. 2 φυτεῖ δὲ ὁ πλωτὸς (σα. ἱλιαῖος, 'goat-willow', salix caprea) μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πλοάδων νῆσον· εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες καὶ ἐνταῦθα πλοάδες, ὡσπερ ἐν Λύγυτη περὶ τὰ ἁλὰ καὶ ἐν Θεσπρωτίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις λιμναῖς, 4. 12. 4 τῶν δὲ νησῶν τῶν πλοάδων τῶν εἰς Ὀρχομήν τὰ μὲν μεγεθῆ παντοπαῖσα τυχόντα, τὰ δὲ μεγατά αὐτῶν ἐστὶ δον τριῶν σταθίων τὴν περίμετρον. ἐν Λύγυτῃ δὲ μίλλατεν μεγάλα σφόδρα συνιστάται, οὐτέ καὶ ὦν ἐν αὐτῶν ἐγγίνεσθαι πολλῶν, οὐκαὶ κυνηγοὺς διαβαίνοντες, Hesych. Πλοάδες τῶν ἐν Ἑρωμήνων <νῆσος> τινες (so M. Schmidt2 for πλοάδες· τῶν ἐπισσιμένων τινες cod.) οὕτω καλοῦνται, Theophr. hist. pl. 4. 11. 1 καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἤχυρων καὶ παχύν (σα. καλαμος) χαρακίαν τῶν δ' εὐερον πλόκιμων· καὶ φύεται τὸν μὲν πλόκιμων ἐπὶ τῶν πλοάδων τῶν δὴ χαρακίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κύμοις= Plin. nat. hist. 16. 168 de Orchomenii lacus harundinetis accuratus dici cogit admiratio antiqua. characian vocabant crassiorem firmioresque, plocian (K. L. von Urlichs cf. plocimon) vero subtileorem, hanc in insulis fluitantibus natam, illam in ripis exp脂肪iantis lacus). O. Gruppe held that these Boiotian islands were connected with chthonian powers thought to issue from the Underworld in the form of winds (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 813). If so, note the belief that reeds used for pipes grew in the lake only at intervals of eight years (Theophr. hist. pl. 4. 11. 2 δ' εὐεροναπόοι= Plin. nat. hist. 16. 169 nono...anno). But Gruppe's assumption is gratuitous. We are here dealing with purely natural phenomena. H. N. Ulrichs Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland Bremen 1840 i. 192 observes
that the river Melas (Mauropotamos), which crosses the site of Lake Kopais, is surrounded by black vegetable fens and quotes the peasants of Skripou as saying ‘dass das Land um Mauropotamos schwimme.’ He identifies these patches of unstable ground with the πνασίδες of Theophrastos and the insulae fluitantes of Pliny. A. Philippson ‘Der Kopais-See in Griechenland und seine Umgebung’ in the Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin 1894 xxix. 39 and Geiger in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 1348 follow suit. Frazer Pausanias v. 120 says: ‘The fable was probably told of the islands in the bay of Tzamali, to the north of Orchomenus, whose banks overhung and quaked under the tread, as do the banks of the river Melas in some places.’

(12) Some five miles to the north of Sardeis lies the Gygaia Limne, later called the Klooe Limne, and now known as Mermereh-Gheul, the ‘Marble Lake’ (L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 1956, xi. 1107). Its brackish waters are fringed with dense beds of reeds (W. J. Hamilton Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia London 1842 i. 145), which dry up and mixing with other detritus form floating islands (G. Radet La Lydie et le monde grec au temps des Merovinges (687—546) Paris 1893 p. 13). A. H. Sayce, after a visit to the spot in 1879, writes: ‘The foundations of the old temple of Artemis (?) are very visible on the southern shore of the lake as well as of a causey thrown out into the lake....The fish caught in it are carp, which are usually of a wonderfully large size. According to the local superstition every carp has a bitter stone in its mouth. If this is not removed before the fish is eaten fever will be the inevitable result. If, however, the stone is removed the fish is considered innocuous’ (Journ. Hell. Stud. 1880 i. 87).

It is to this lake that we must attach a whole series of ancient notices about floating islands, dancing islands, dancing reeds, and poisonous fish. Attempts to distinguish the floating islands of Koloë from the dancing islands, reeds, etc. of the Nymphs (H. Oehler Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus Tubingae 1913 p. 117 ff., cp. L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 1532) are in my opinion unsuccessful.

The floating islands of Lydia are composed of light pumice-like stones (Theophrast. ap. Sen. nat. quaest. 3. 25. 7 sunt enim multi pumiceti et leves, ex quibus quae constans insulae in Lydia, natant. Theophrastus est auctor). In Lydia the floating islands named Calamiae, which are shifted not only by the winds but by barge-poles in any direction you please, proved a refuge to many during the Mithridatic war (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 209 quaedam insulae semper fluctuantur, sicut...in Lydia quae vocantur Calamiae, non ventis solum, sed etiam contis quo libeat impulse, multorum civium Mithridatico bello salus). Lake Koloë near Sardeis breeds many fish and waterfowl: its floating islands have a deceptive appearance of stability, for they change their position with the winds (anon. de aquis mirabilibus (supra p. 975) 30 ἡ κατὰ Σάρδεις λίμνη καλομένη δὲ Κολόν πληθεῖς μὲν ὅσοι πάμπολυ τρέφει· ἐχεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ νόσον οἰκομέναι πρὸς ἀπάτην· ἐπινήχχοται γαῖα· καὶ τὴν ἄνεμον πνοὴν συμμετοχόει· πτηνῶν δὲ τῶν ἐνέδραν ποτότο τρέφει πληθοῦς ὡστε καὶ ταραχηθεῖσα). Varro claimed to have seen in Lydia the Islands of the Nymphs, which at the sound of flutes move out from the bank into the middle of the lake, go circling round, and return to the shore (Varr. ap. Mart. Cap. 928 in Lydia Nympharum insulas dici, quas etiam recentior assentium Varro se vidisse testatur, quae in medium stagnum a continenti procedentes cantu tibiarum primo in circulum motae dehinc ad litora revertuntur). He further states that, when he sacrificed on the shore of the lake, fish came crowding towards the flute-player and the
altar, though nobody ventured to catch them (Varr. rer. rust. 3. 17. 4 loculatas habent piscinas, ubi dispares disclusos habent pisces, quos, proinde ut sacri sint ac sanctiores quam illi in Lydia, quos sacrificanti tibi, Varro, ad tibicinem [graecum] gregatim venisset dicebas ad extremum litus atque aram, quod eos capere anderet nemo, cum eodem tempore insulas Lydorum ibi χαρευόντος vidisses, sic hos piscis nemo cocus in ius vocare audet). Pliny, after his account of the Lydian Calaminea, goes on to say that in the Nymphaeum too are small islands called Saliare because, when choruses are sung, they move in time with the beating feet (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 200 sunt et in Nymphaeo parvae, Saliare dictae, quoniam in symphoniae cantu ad iuctus modulantium pedum moventur). Elsewhere he asserts, on the authority of Ktesias (?), that the fish in the Lake of the Nymphs are poisonous (Ktesias frag. 83 Müller ap. Plin. nat. hist. 31. 25 hoc idem et in Lydia in stagno Nympharum tradunt)—a belief still prevalent with regard to the carp of the Koloē Limne (supra).

Strabo mentions the sanctuary of Artemis Kȳlenē, on the Gymnasion or Koloē Limne, where ‘the baskets’ are said to dance on festal days (Strab. 626 εἰς τὸ σταθεῖα τετιμαρκόστα ἀπὸ τῆς πύλης [sc. Sardeis] ἕστιν ἡ Γυμναία, μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ λεγομένη [λίμνη] [ipso. A. Koraës]), Κόλων δ’ ὑστερον μεταομάβεται, ὅποιον τὸ ἵππον τῆς Κόλωνης Ἀράπημος, μεγάλην ἀγάιναν ἰχθύον. δασεὶ δ’ ἑνταῦθα χορεύειν τοὺς καλάβους (F. E. Ruhrkopp, followed by G. Bernhardt and C. Müller, cf. καλάβους. E. Müller cf. κοβάλια. πιθήκους, a curious variant in codd. m, z and edd. Ald. Cas., was altered by A. C. Lobeck Aglaophamus Regimontii Prussorum 1829 p. 226 into πιθάνας, but may imply some confusion with καλλίς, ‘apes,’ which A. Westermann would restore to the text) καθ’ τὰς ἐστάσεις, οἷς οὖν ποτὲ παραδοξολογοῦστε μᾶλλον ἡ άληθεύοντες = Eustath. in II. p. 365, 46 ff.).

Lastly, according to Isigonos the paradoxographer of Nikaia, whose floruit probably falls in s. i a.d. (W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ix. 2082, cf. W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur θ. ii. 1. 420 n. 5), in Lydia there is a lake called Tala (?) sacred to the Nymphs. It bears a multitude of reeds and in their midst one that the natives term king. A yearly festival is held, at which sacrifices are offered and a chorus sounds on the shores of the lake. Thereupon all the reeds dance, and the dancing king comes with them to the shore. The natives wreath him with fillets and send him off, praying that both he and they may come again another year; that is their sign of a fertile season (Isigonos frag. 8 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 436 Müller) ap. anon. de aquis mirabilibus 43 εἰς Λυδία ἐστι λίμνη Τάλα μὲν (C. Müller, followed by L. Bürchner, cf. Καλλίνη. But cp. II. 2. 865 τοῦ Ταλάμινου, τοῦ Γυμναί τέχνη λίμνη, where Ταλαμίνη may be a Greek adaptation of the Lydian name) καλλίμην, ἑρὴ δὲ οὐδα νυμφῶν, ἡ φέρει καλάμων (A. Westermann cf. καλλίων (?)) πλῆθος ἄβθενον καὶ μέσω αὐτῶν ἕν, ὥς βασιλέα προσαγορευόσαν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. θυσίαι δὲ καί ἐστάσεις ἐπικολούθησαν ἐνυπνίαρις ἐξελάκασμα τούτων δὲ ἐπικολούθησαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμέρας κτέσις συμφωνίας γένηται, πάντες οἱ καλάμων χορεύονται καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς συμ αὐτῶν χορευόντως παραγίνεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμέραν. οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι ταυταῖς αὐτῶν καταστέφαντες ἀποπέμπουσιν, εὐχόμενοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔτος αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ παραγενόμενοι, ὡς εὐεργείας ὑπὶ σμηνίω (F. Sylburg cf. δὲ τι σμηνίων) ὡς ἵστορει Ἰσίγνος ἐν δευτέρῳ ἀπήρτωι.

Isigonos’ work was entitled Ἀπωντα, but his statements here are by no means incredible and may easily be reconciled with those of our other sources. Artemis Καλλίνη (on whom see Schering in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 1108 f.; had a temple on a hill close to the southern shore of the lake: its ruins
are still to be seen, including walls of great basalt blocks, three Doric columns of weather-worn marble only 6 ft (?) high, and huge stone slabs with reliefs of an archer in a pointed cap, a lion's head, etc. (E. Curtius in the Arch. Zeit. 1853 xi. 152, von Olfers 'Über die Lydischen Königsgräber bei Sardes und den Grabhügel des Alyattes' in the Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1858 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 342 pl. 1 = Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art v. 267 fig. 157). Her cult involved a yearly festival, at which a dance known as οἱ καλάθῳς, 'the baskets,' took place. The beating feet of the dancers communicated their vibration to the floating reed-mats of the lake and set them in motion. The reeds eddying round appeared to share in the dance. The tallest reed, called βασιλέως by the countryfolk, would in time be drifted inshore, decorated by the worshippers, and pushed off into the lake again. The successful performance of this little ceremony was deemed a happy omen. The crowd at the lake-side and the prospect of altar-scrap would be quite enough to attract the carp. Naturally the fish were sacred to Artemis of the lake (see e.g. the large Boeotian amphora, found near Thebes, which represents Artemis with a fish on her robe (Collignon—Couve Cat. Vases d'Attiques p. 108 f. no. 462, figured by P. Wolters in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1892 p. 219 ff. pl. 10, i = Reinach 'Εφ. Vases i. 517, 2, Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art x. 40 f. fig. 30, R. Eisler Orpheus—the Fisher London 1921 p. 260 f. pl. 64, 1 (wrongly described), F. J. Dölger ΙΧΘΥϹ Münster in Westf. 1922 ii. 179 f., iii pl. 12, 2), and the facts cited by Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 1295 n. 1, 1536 n. 2, 1585 n. 2) and the reed-islands would be connected with her attendant Nymphs. The whole story is consistent and credible. After all, Varro was no visionary and Straban is a serious authority.

A point of interest remains. The dance καλάθῳς is mentioned elsewhere in the diminutive form καλαθίς. Apollonophanes, an early comedian, coupled it with the pirouette (Apollon. frag. 1 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 879 Meineke) ap. Athen. 407 ι δεῖνος ἄφθορος οὖσαν, ὃν Απολλόφανθος ἐν Δαλίθην παραστήσας οὐσίας 'δεῖνον τι δεῖνον (50 J. Schweighäuser für δεῖνον τι δείνον cod. A. J. G. J. Hermann cf. δείνον γε δείνος) καὶ καλαθίς οὐσίας' (K. W. Dindorf would write ἄφθορος τῷ δεῖνον τὶ δεῖνον, ὥς Απολλόφανθος ἐν Δαλίθη παραστήσας οὐσίας 'δείνοι καὶ καλαθίς, regarding οὐσία as a repetition of οὐσίας), and various later writers mention it in a tragic (satyrice?) connexion (Poll. 4. 105 καὶ μὲν τραγηκός ἄφθορος σχήματα σωμή χείρ, καλαθίς, χεῖρ καταγγέλτης, ξίδον παραλήψεις, δηλῇ, θερματρία, κυβίστης, παραστάτης τέταρμα, Athen. 629 οὐσίας δ' ἀπό οἴνους ἄφθορον, καλαθίς (K. W. Dindorf in Stephanus These. Gr. Ling. iv. 859 D cf. καλαθίς), καλαβίδες, σκόψις, σκόψις, 630 ο θερματρία, θερματρία, καλαθίς, σκόψις, σκόψις, 630 ο θερματρία, θερματρία, καλαθίς (so codd. A. B. καλαθίς cod. P. edd. Ald. Casaub.), στρατόπεδο).

It should be carefully distinguished from the καλάθῳς or ritual basket used in the cult of Demeter at Eleusis (Clem. Al.prot. 3. 21. 3 p. 16, 18 ff. Stählin καθά το συνόδημα 'Ελευσιώνων μυστηρίων· ένδυσεν, ἐπὶ τὸν κυκλώμα, ἐλαθὼν ἐκ κίοντος, ἐρχομένου άπεθανες εἰς καλάθῳ καὶ εἰς καλάθῳ εἰς κίόνην,' on which formula see A. Dieterich Eine Mithrasliturgie 2 Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 125 f. and S. Angus The Mystery-Religions and Christianity London 1925 p. 115), Athens, Alexandria (Kallim. h. Dem. 1 f. τῷ καλάθῳ καταστός ἐπιφθέγξασθε, γνώνεις, 'Διάμαρτα, μέγα χαίρε, πολυτρόφη ποιλῳμένως,' τὸν καλάθον καταστάτα χαραὶ θυσίαθε, Βέβαλα, κ.τ.λ. with schol. al. loc. ο Φιλάδελφος Πολυμαίος κατά μίμησα τῶν 'Ληθώνθν ἑκ τῶν ἱδρύσων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὴν τοῦ καλάθου πρόδοον.' ἰδὼν γὰρ ὣς ἐν 'Αθήναις, ἐν ωριμανῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ οἴχματος φύεσθαι καλάθων
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(κάλαθον κωδ. Ε) εἰς τῷν τῆς Δήμητρος. Variants in the text of Κallimachos are attested by Elias in Aristotelis categorias 27 a 24 ff. (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca xviii. 1. 125, 7 ff. Busse) καὶ τὸ Καλλιμάχου ἐκεῖνο τῶν καλαθων κατωτὰ χαμα δέρκασθε, γυναίκες, μηδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγνου μηδ' ὕψωθεν αἰγάσασθε (αἰγάσασθε Kallim.) and by schol. Plat. Symposium 218 b (960 b 47 f. ed. Turic.) ἐντείθεν παραφθείρει καλλιμαχος εἰς τῷν Δήμητρος καλάθον τα 'θυρας 'θ' ἐπιθεσθε, θέβηδοι.' 10. 121 ff. χῶς οἱ τῶν καλαθων λευκάριας ἔποιεν ἄγουτο τις τέσσαρες, οὐ δέ μεγάλα θεῖος τύρνανισα | λευκῶν ἐπὶ λευκῶν δὲ θυρας καὶ χίαμ φέρωσα | ἥξει καὶ φθεύσωρος, έτοι ό' εἰς ἄλλο φαλαξεῖ. Bronze coins of Alexandria show a κάλαθος containing corn-ears and poppy-heads (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 66 no. 551 pl. 30 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 95 no. 931 pl. 16 = my fig. 792 Trajan), sometimes bound with a flower and flanked by two torches with snakes (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 4 no. 29 pl. 30 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 97 no. 939 pl. 17 = my

Fig. 792.
Fig. 793.
Fig. 794.

Fig. 795.
Fig. 796.
Fig. 797.

fig. 793 Livia, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 405 no. 21 Livia) or fillets (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 42 no. 345 pl. 30 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 97 no. 940 pl. 17 = my fig. 794 Domitian, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 42 no. 346 Domitian, p. 144 no. 1212 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 97 no. 942 Antoninus Pius) or ties of some sort (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 105 nos. 903, 904, 905 pl. 30 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 97 no. 941 pl. 17 = my fig. 795 Hadrian, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 457 nos. 392—394. Fig. 796 Hadrian is from a specimen of mine). Once the κάλαθος is adorned with the rape of Persephone (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 105 no. 906 pl. 30 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 96 no. 932 pl. 16 = my fig. 797 Hadrian). More often, on large billion pieces, it appears drawn in procession by a quadriga of horses (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 67 no. 552 pl. 30 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 96 no. 935 pl. 16 = my fig. 798 Trajan) or a biga of humped oxen (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 67 no. 553 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 96 no. 934 pl. 16 = my fig. 799 Trajan) or of winged snakes wearing the šekhent (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 67 no. 554 pl. 30 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 96 no. 933 pl. 16 = my fig. 800 Trajan, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 67 no. 555 f. Trajan, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 434 no. 245 Trajan). Exceptionally it rests on the top of a column flanked by two winged snakes, one of which wears the šekhent, the other a poppy-head as crown (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 67 no. 557 pl. 30 = my fig. 801
Appendix P


tοῦ καλάθου | ἀναφορὰ τοῖς κληροθείται εἰς τὴν πομῆν ἀνδρας | μετὰ τῶν ἀρχαίον προβάλλουσα εὐαχέσθαι ἐν τῇ | οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ | βούν. | ἔτη ἄρχοστος τῆς κατοικίας | Λούκιον | Βερίου Βασιλείου φιλοσοβιστοῦ καὶ | τῶν συναρχικῶν αὐτοῦ, cr. Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 352 n. 2). K. Latte De saltationibus Graecorum Giessen 1913 p. 82 cites also Eustath. in Od. p. 1627, 49 f. καλάθους, ὅπως καὶ οἱ τῆς Δήμητρος, οὐδὲ ἀρχαία μέθος ἐν τοῖς ἱερωσύνης τῇ Δημητρίακη, but fails to perceive that Eustathios is merely confusing the Lydian dance with the rites of Demeter as described by Kallimachos (Eustath. in Od. p. 1208, 38 f., in Od. p. 1488, 60 f.). More to our purpose is Usener's discovery that in Bithynia a certain yearly festival was known as ὁ καλαθός τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος (H. Usener 'Übersehenes' in the Rhein. Mus. 1895 i. 145 f. (= id. Kleine Schriften Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 195) quoting Acta Sanctorum edd. Bolland. Iunius iii. 343 B—C Kallinikos vita s. Hypatii presb., monasterii Rufinianarum prope Chalcedonem in Bithynia hegumeni (died 30 June 446 A.D., commemorated June 17) 70 = de vita s. Hypatii 129 f. p. 96 f. edd. seminarii philologorum Bonnensis sodales ποι ἔγερνεν αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς ἐπισκεφτείν ἄδελφων εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν χώραν τῶν Βαθυνῶν.
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οποιον και ο Ῥῆβας ἀστὶ ποσαμένει. καὶ ἤν ἐν τῷ καρπῷ ἐκείνῳ, ὑπερ λέγουσιν, ὁ κάλλας τῆς μονερᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος ὑπερ κατ’ ἐναντίον ἡ χώρα φυλάττουσα, οὐκ ἔχει ἀνθρώποι ἐες μακρὰν ὅπως ἡ μερῶς παντίκαν. αὐτὸν δὲ βουλομένων ὀδείν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐντόπιοις τοῦ ἀνέχει, διάθετο, ὅσα καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐπανύστησα ἐν τῷ ὁδῷ. μὴ ὀδεῖται: πελλοὶ γὰρ ἐπηρεάσθησαν," ὁ δὲ ἦταν ἄκουσας ταῖσα ἐμπιστὸς λέγων. 'ἐμεῖς ταῖσα βοίσασθε, εὖ' ἐπί τόν συνοδευόλατον μιάν Χριστοῦν. ἐν τῷ ὁδῷ ὀδείν τὸν ταρασσόλα (ταρασσόλας συν.) ἤν. δικαίως γὰρ ὧς λίων τηροῦν (Prov. 28. 1). ἀπήντησε δὲ αὐτῷ γυνὴ μακρά (H. Usener cf. μακραί). The Bollandists print μακρά ὦ δέκα ἀνθρώπον τό μύκος. νήσουσα τε περιπατεῖ καὶ χοῦρον ἠδὸναν. ἦν ὁν ἐν ἐντόπιοι, εἴδει ἐναντίον ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἑττή εὐχόμενος τῷ θεῷ, καὶ εἴδει ἐκείνη ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ χοῦροι μεγάλη ῥοίζῃ ἐφηγοῦν, καὶ ὁ ἄθλως ἄρθρησα — a fact which Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 255 justly connects with another Bithynian festival, the κάλλας-procession of Kios (A. Körte in the Ath. Mitth. 1899 xxiv. 413 ff. no. 13 on a marble στέλε near the sea at Gemiłek, the ancient Kios or Prousias, in lettering hardly later than 100 a.d. and perhaps as early as s. i. B.C. [---1] | λασσόμεναιεἰς λειψία | διετεῖαινκαὶ ἁλίθροις (W. Kroll, followed by A. Körte, cf. ἀνελίθροι 'with no trailing feet, with active feet,' and M. P. Nilsson cf. ηπιστόσως 'with unwashed feet,' cp. supra ii. 959 f.; but K. Latte rightly restores ανελίθροι 'with unshod feet,' cp. Theokr. 4. 56 where all codds. give ἄψιλως or ἄνιπλως except cod. κ.ν.π. τε καί (ε)μισι | φαραον(ι)σας τῷ καλλήδου συνίποτε, τα δὲ | χριε[σ]υτε διετεῖ ψιθ. δια([θ]ι) γὰρ τα μεν ἐξήρανει το[ι]σιν δὲ προσαφ[δ]α 'of old she (?) hates trinkets and welcomes simple garb,' cp. e.g. Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Grp. no. 736, 15 f., 22 Andania, no. 999, 2 ff. Lykosoura). The contents of these ritual baskets were almost certainly sexual emblems (φαλλός? κτές?), cp. the Cabiric basket in Πύργια and Etruria (supra i. 107 f., ii. 299).

If the Lydian dancers represented the reeds of the Gymga Limne, they might no doubt sway and curtsy with mimetic motions. A tomb at Beni Hasan shows the dances performed at the funeral feast of the nomarch Chenemtep in the twelfth dynasty (J. G. Wilkinson Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians London 1837 ii. 416 no. 291 fig. 1, R. Lepsius Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien Berlin 1849—1859 iv. 2 pl. 126—my fig. 803. Text herausgegeben von E. Naville—L. Borchardt—K. Sethe Leipzig 1904 ii. 88, P. E. Newberry Beni Hasan London 1893 i. 68, 72 pl. 29 (tomb 3, west wall), P. Richer Le nu dans l'Art Egypte—Chaldeé—Assyrie Paris 1925 p. 240 fig. 405 (after I. Rosellini I monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia Pisa 1834 ii pl. 101, 3)). ‘One figure... parodies a royal group, one of the frequent victory reliefs, in which the monarch seizes the kneeling barbarian by the hair, and swings his sickle-shaped sword above his head. This group is called “Under the feet,” the superscription over the relief being always, “all nations lie under thy feet.” Another group in the same picture is called the wind: one woman bends backwards, till her hands rest on the ground, a second performs the same movement above her, a third stretches out her arms over them. Possibly the former represent the reeds and grasses bent by the wind’ (A. Erman Life in Ancient Egypt trans. H. M. Tirard London 1894 p. 248 f., with fig., cp. F. Weege Der Tanz in der Antike Halle/Saale 1926 p. 24 fig. 24 (= my fig. 804), A. Weigall Ancient Egyptian Works of Art London 1924 p. 258 fig. 2 from a limestone fragment at Turin referable to the reign of Seti i (1313—1292 B.C.), H. Ranke The Art of Ancient Egypt Vienna 1936 fig. 268 assigned to Dynasty xx (c. 1180 B.C.), Sir A. J. Evans The Palace of Minos London 1935 iv. 2. 507 f. fig. 452 a, b, c (‘Female Egyptian Tumblers of Social and Ceremonial Occasions’). A surer method, however, of identifying the dancers

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with the reeds was to give them a head-dress of rushes or basket-work such as Laconian women called σαλία and others θόλια (Hesych. σαλία: πλήγα καλάθι θόλων, ὁ ἐπί τῆς θύαλης φοροῦσιν οἱ λάκωναί. οἱ δὲ θόλια). It figures not infrequently on works of art and has been the subject of much speculation (L. Stephani Nimius und Strahlenkranz St Petersburg 1859 p. 111 ff. (extr. from the Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg. vi. Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 471 ff.), id. in the Compt-rendu St Pét. 1865 pp. 27 ff., 57 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 2 and 3, T. Homolle in the Bull. Corp. Hell. 1897 xxi. 605, L. Séchan in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iv 1037 f. fig. 6063 f. V. K. Müller Der Polos, die griechische Götterkrone Berlin 1915 pp. 28, 82 ff., Hug in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 1549, F. Poulsen Delphi trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 263).

The earliest ceramic example of kalathiskos-dancers occurs on a red-figured hydria from Nola, now at Naples (Heydemann Vasensamml. Neapel p. 531 ff. no. 3232), which may be dated c. 450—440 B.C. (C. Watzing in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser Gr. Vasenmalerii iii. 319 ff. figs. 151—154 pl. 171, 1 (= my fig. 805)). It is decorated with four groups of female dancers and acrobats. The section of the shoulder-frieze here reproduced shows, on the right, a seated flute-player (ΕΛΠΙΝΙΚΕ), before whom on tip-toe pirouettes a dancing-girl (\.ΓΟΝΕ) with hand outstretched in the gesture known as σμή χειρ (Poll. 4. 105 τραγική ὄρκησεν σμή χειρ, καλαθικος, χειρ καταπαραθήκα. κ.τ.λ.; Hesych. σμή χειρ: σχήμα τραγικών). To the left of her, a second dancing-girl sinks on her knee, to show that her performance is finished. The musician who has accompanied her lays aside the double flutes and takes up a κίθαρα. Behind her stands an interested youth leaning on his staff. Each dancer wears a short chitôn and a high crown of leaves painted white. A volute-krater from Ceglie, now at Taranto, of early south-Italician style (P. Willeimer in the Rev. Arch. 1929 ii. 197—202 and at greater length l.d. 1933 ii. 3—30 with figs. 1—7, of which fig. 4 = my fig. 806. I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for the photographs of detail reproduced in my pl. bxii, (1)—(3), represents the following subjects: A. Dionysos (narthex, κάνθαρος) seated on a rock between a dancing Maenad (θύρσας) and a flute-girl (long chitôn) on the left, a female torch-bearer (short chitôn with sleeves, νεbris, endromides) and a bearded Satyr (θύρσας) on the right. B. (1) Perseus dangling the Gorgon's head before five bearded Satyrs in dance-attitudes—apparently a scene from Satyric drama. (2) A square pillar inscribed ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΣ (i.e. Apollon Kárneios in south-Italian aniconic form: cp. supra i. 36 ff. pl. iii., ii. 815 fig. 781), to the right of which is a group of kalathiskos-dancers. One is about to put on his basket as ritual head-dress (cp. the figure in the lower left-hand corner of the pelike from Ruvo, wrongly interpreted by me supra i. 128 pl. xii). The second, crowned with palm-leaves (Sosibios of Sparta frag. 5 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 626 Müller)=frag. 2 Tresp αφ. Athen. 678 Β Θεοτατικά: οὕτω καλαθε- ταί τινες στέβοντες παρά Λακεδαιμονίαν, ὃς φοιτεῖτε σωσίβας ἐν τοῖς Πηρεύδων, ψιλίνον (cp. Hesych. l.xvi. ψιλίνο: ψιλός στέβανος) αὐτοῖς φῶςαν ὑπὸν ὀνομαξέσθαι, ὡσ εἰς φοινίκων. φὴρειν δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐν

Fig. 806.
(1—3) Details of krater from Ceglie, now at Taranto: a group of kalathiskos-dancers.

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Fig. 807.

head-dress. B. Two draped youths. 'The main scene is framed between two Ionic columns. The woman is elaborately draped, and holds up her hands as if to catch something thrown to her by the boy. He is nude with the large basket (in applied yellow, which has worn off) on his head, as on the Taranto Karneia-krater.' Again, a bell-krater of early south-Italian style, purchased in Rome and now at Leyden (A. E. J. Holwerda Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. Afdeeling Griekenland en Italie. 1 Deel: Vaatwerk. Leiden 1905 i. 104 no. 28), has for obverse design a girl in a short chiton dancing between two naked youths. All three wear spreading káliathoi formed of reeds (?) arranged like rays. Two wreaths are hung in the background, and the scene is enclosed by a pair of simple pillars (V. K. Müller Der Polos,
die greekische Göttkerone Berlin 1915 p. 83 n. 3 pls. 6 and 7. My fig. 807 is from a photograph supplied by Mr Trendall. This must be the vase from Gnathia (Fasano) formerly owned by R. Barone and partially published by G. Minervini in the Bull. Arch. Nap. Nuova Serie 1854 ii. 184 pl. 14 facing head of dancer only. Another bell-krater of the same style, from Ruvo (?), now in the South Kensington Museum, and attributed by Miss Moon (Mrs Oakeshott) to 'the Sisyphus painter,' represents a similar scene—two naked youths wearing spread kálathoi of reeds (?) and gesticulating as they dance on either side of a bearded flute-player in a long chitón (Noël Moon in Papers of the British
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School at Rome 1929 xi. 30 ff. pl. 12 (= my fig. 808), C. Dugas in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1931 xlv. 101 with fig. 6). Mrs Oakeshott loc. cit. notes another bell-krater by the same hand and exhibiting the same subject in the collection of Dr A. Ruesch at Zürich (Ruesch Sale Catalogue 1936 no. 14 pl. 22. The vase is now in the Wolfensperger Collection, 23 Maienburgweg, Zürich. My fig. 809 is from a photograph kindly lent by Mrs Oakeshott: the man in the centre here pirouettes. Similarly on a red-figured bell-krater at Berlin (inv. no. 3326), which A. Furtwängler in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1895 x Arch.

Fig. 809.

Anz. p. 39 f. fig. 16 (inadequate) describes as being ‘in schöner Zeichnung der Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges’ and R. Zahn in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser Gr. Vasenmalerei iii. 193 n. 84 calls ‘attischen,’ but C. Watzinger ib. iii. 323 takes to be ‘wohl eher bösischen als attischen...aus der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts,’ a girl wearing a short chiton of foldless embroidered stuff suggestive of barbaric (? Lydian) attire and the reed-crown of a kalathiskos-dancer capers before young Dionysos, who is sitting on a broad three-stepped base or platform. Eros, leaning against his shoulder, points to the lively dancer. Behind her, an Ionic column painted white implies a sanctuary; and beyond it stands a Maenad equipped with nebris, thyrsos, and large tympanon (K. Latte De saltationibus Graecorum Giessen 1913 p. 57, like Furtwängler, thought it a
shield). The best available illustration of this ritual scene is a photographic cut in H. Licht Sittengeschichte Griechenlands Dresden—Zürich 1925 i. 122. With it should be compared a bell-krater of Paestum style in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iv. 97 no. F 188, P. F. H. d'Hancarville Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines, tirées du cabinet de M. Hamilton Naples 1767 iv col. pl. 118, Corp. vas. ant. Brit. Mus. iv E. a pl. 2, 3 a and 3 b with text p. 4 by A. H. Smith and F. N. Pryce), on which the youthful Dionysos holds out fruit to a male kalathiskos-dancer performing before him (my fig. 810 is from the official photograph), and an Apulian bell-krater from Rugge at Berlin (B. Schröder in the Röm. Mitth. 1909 xxiv. 119 fig. 6), on which is a male dancer of like aspect.

Once more, on a late red-figured bell-krater at Petrograd (Stephani Vasensamml. St. Petersburg ii. 299 no. 1778, id. in the Compte-rendu St. Pit. 1869 p. 236 Atlas pl. 6, 4 and 5 (=my fig. 811), Reinach Rép. Vases i. 32, 5 and 7) a girl wearing the short chiton and kalathiskos places the pinakiskion on the kottabos-stand for a recumbent feaster (hardly Dionysos, as F. Hauser in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 68 supposed).

Other early examples of the motif are to be found among the limestone reliefs of c. 420—410 B.C. that decorate the inner surface of the herobion at Trysa. The doorway on the southern side is here flanked by two female (?) dancers wearing a large kólythos perhaps originally painted with a design of reeds or rushes (cp. the dancing-girl with yellow króblai and a white kólythos marked with red rays in a tomb-painting of s. iv (?) B.C. found in 1854 at S. Maria in Fondo Vetta, south of the amphitheatre at Capua, and published by G. Minervini in the Bull. Arch. Nap. Nuova Serie 1854 ii. 183 f. pl. 14, P. W. Forchhammer in the Mon.
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Ann. e Bull. d. Inst. 1854 p. 63, F. Weege ‘Oskische Grabmalerei’ in the fahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1909 xxiv. 111, 130, 135 no. 25. A Lydian dance might well reappear at Capua, where the Etruscans held sway till 445 or 424 B.C. (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1536)). The lintel above has a frieze of eight grotesque and Bes-like musicians wearing the same head-dress: they have been taken to be the eight Phoenician Kabeiroid (on whom see F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 772 f. fig. 918 and R. Pettazzoni ‘Le origini dei Kabiri nelle isole del mar tracio’ in the Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Serie Quinta. Roma 1909 xii. 672 ff.), and are commonly associated with the dancing figures below them (O. Benadorf—G. Niemann Das Heroon von Gjolbaschi-Trysa Wien 1889 pp. 58, 95 f. pl. 6 = my fig. 812, S. Reinach in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts 1892 viii. 306 ff.

Fig. 811.

Between c. 425 and c. 400 B.C. may be placed certain silver statêres of Abdera, which have as reverse type the magistrate's date ἘΠΙ ΜΟΛΑΓΑΡΕΩ and the canting badge of a similar dancing girl turned left (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins

Closely related to these numismatic examples are the dancers carved on two slabs of Pentelic marble, which were brought from Italy to Berlin in 1892 (figs. 815, 816 are from C. Blümel Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen Berlin 1931 iv. 45 f. nos. k 184 and 185 pl. 77, cp. F. Weege Der Tanz in der Antike Halle/Saale 1926 p. 45 figs 48 and 49). The more complete relief measures 0.95 m high by 0.54 m broad; the less complete, 0.80 m high by 0.56 m broad. It seems probable that, like three similar but fragmentary reliefs at Athens (H. Schrader Phidias Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 346 figs. 315, 316), they were intended for mural decoration. The reliefs at Berlin exhibit such delicious freshness and abandon that R. Kekulé, who first published them in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1893 viii Arch. Anz. p. 76 with two figs., did not hesitate to regard them as Attic work dating from the earlier half of s. v. B.C. (cp. M. Sauerlandt Griechische Bildwerke Düsseldorf—Leipzig p. x 'aus dem Anfange des v. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 90 no. 1456 f. pl. 26 'Griechische Werke des 5. Jh. v. Chr.', F. Weege op. cit. p. 45 'aus demselben Künstleratelier der 5. Jahrh. v. Chr.'). But Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpture p. 438 n. 3 with greater circumspection claims that they are only 'good specimens of the so-called later Attic school, by no means genuine archaic works' (cp. id. Ueber Statuenkopieen im Alterthum München 1896 i. 4 n. 3 (=Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1896 Philos.-philol. Classe xx. 528 n. 3).

If so, they must be ranked with the kalathiskos-dancers of Arretine ware (c. 150 B.C.—50 A.D.) discussed by H. Dragendorff in the Bonner Jahrbücher 1895 xcvi—xcvii. 58 ff. A skyphos from Capua has four dancers grouped in pairs. Between the two pairs is a small Eros standing on a pillar, and between the dancers of the right-hand pair is a thymiatron (H. Dragendorff loc. cit. figs. 14, 14 a after Riccio Notizie degli scaviamenti nel suolo dell' antica Capua Napoli 1855 pl. 5). A fragmentary mould found at Arezzo in 1896 and now in the British Museum shows four girls likewise dancing in pairs and wearing a head-dress of open wicker-work. Above them runs a wreath to which festoons are looped up with large bows. Between the pairs of dancers a flower springs from the ground (Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery p. 34 no. L 108, H. B. Walters History of Ancient Pottery London 1905 ii. 493 f. pl. 66, 5). Another specimen, in the Loeb collection, has a very similar dancer standing between two bases (?) with a festoon fastened to ducraria behind her and a flower or flowering rush (?) at her feet (F. Weege op. cit. pp. 45, 48 with fig. 51 after G. H. Chase Guide to Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery Harvard University no. 53 pl. 3). Another mould
in New York shows the dancer, once more between two bases (?) with a festoon of vine and ivy behind her (G. M. A. Richter in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1936 xl. 15 fig. 4). Again, fragments of a mould found near the church of S. Maria in Gradi at Arezzo and now in the museum of that town represent two such dancers facing left. In front of one is a Dionysiac herm, in front of the other a fighting Athena, each effigy set on the top of an Ionic column (G. F. Gamurrini reported by G. Fiorelli in the Not. Scavi 1884 p. 372 gruppo v nos. 1—3 pl. 7, 2). The moulds found with this bear the signature of that admirable craftsman M. Perennius, on whom see M. Ihm in the Bonner Jahrbücher 1898 ci. 114 ff., H. B. Walters op. cit. pp. 483, 492, 494 and in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery pp. xvii, xx, xxii.


Neo-Attic reliefs, which perhaps imply Attic originals of 5. B.C. (F. Hauser in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1913 xvi. 53 f., Ada von Netoliczka ib. 1914 xvii. 132), make use of similar motifs. A three-sided base of Flavian date (60—96 A.D.) in the Museo Archeologico at Venice is adorned with two kalathiskos-dancers and an ecstatic Maenad. Each figure is framed by an over-elaborate and meaningless combination of ram’s head, lion’s leg, and bust of winged female Sphinx wearing a nayed kalathos, on which kneels Nike with spread wings (L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pé. 1865 p. 60 no. 6, H. Heydemann Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien Halle 1879 p. 65 n. 154, F. Hauser Die neu-attischen Reliefs Stuttgart 1889 p. 100 f. no. 31, Einzelaufnahmen nos. 2469—2471 with Text ix. 13 by P. Arndt and G. Lippold, Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 432 nos. 4—6, F. Weege op. cit. p. 46 with fig. 47). A second and exactly similar base in the same collection is due to a copyist of the Renaissance (Einzelaufnahmen nos. 2472—2474 with Text ix. 13 by P. Arndt and G. Lippold). Another three-sided base in the Louvre again couples the kalathiskos-dancers with a Maenad, whose head and right arm are a misleading restoration. The framework here with its rams’ heads at the upper corners is of a simpler and more satisfactory sort (Clarac Mus. de Sculpt. ii. 343 f. pl. 167 fig. 77 and pl. 168 fig. 78=Reinach Rép. Stat. i. 61 no. 3 and i. 62 no. 1, Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 133 pl. 17, 188, F. Hauser op. cit. p. 100 no. 29. Height 1‘011”). Yet another three-sided base, in the Villa Albani, shows three such dancers, of whom one uplifts a dish of fruit before a rude stone altar with fruit laid out upon it and a fire burning, a second stands before a similar altar, and a third before a reed-plant springing from the ground (G. Zoega Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma Roma 1808 i. 111—118 pl. 20=Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 152 nos. 1—3, Welcker Alt. Denkm. ii. 146—152 pl. 7, 12, L. Stephani loc. cit. p. 60 no. 2, F. Hauser op. cit. p. 96 no. 19, Helbig Guide Class. Ant. Rome ii. 67 f. no. 816. Height of
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figures o'30°). A large krater of Italian marble with grey stripes, formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond, has on one side a snake-entwined tripod, from which flames are rising, flanked by a pair of Nikai filling phialai from their raised oinochoai, on the other side an exact repetition of the central and left-hand dancers on the Villa Albani base described above—a repetition which includes both the altar with fruit and the reed-plant springing from the ground.

Fig. 817.

Under each handle are two thyrsoi laid crosswise. The handles themselves end in large ivy-leaves (A. Michaelis Ancient Marbles in Great Britain trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 638 no. 66, F. Hauser op. cit. p. 96 no. 18, Mrs S. A. Strong in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1908 xxviii. 24 f. no. 33 pl. 17 = Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 531 no. 3 f. Height o'80°; diameter c. o'80°. The surface has been worked over, but the authenticity of the vase is above suspicion). A marble relief in the Villa Albani figures a couple of kalathiskos-dancers facing each other in front of an edifice with two ranges of pilasters (G. Zoega Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma Roma 1808 i. 111—118 pl. 21 = Reinach C. III.)
Rép. Reliefs iii. 131 no. 1, L. Stephani loc. cit. p. 60 no. 3, F. Hauser op. cit. p. 97 no. 21, Helbig Guide Class. Ant. Rome ii. 38 f. no. 769, W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Leipzig 1913 ii. 422 f. no. 1807, F. Weege op. cit. p. 46 with fig. 52 from a photograph (my fig. 817, H. Licht Sittengeschichte Griechenlands Dresden—Zürich 1925 f. 73 fig.), which shows that—as Hauser observed—the kalathoi are largely restored. The restoration affects the left hand of the dancer on the right, both hands, the right foot, and the lower part of the left leg of the other dancer, together with the rocky foreground and portions of the architectural background. Height 0.85 m. A finely worked relief of Pentelic marble in the Lateran collection preserves the single headless figure of a similar dancer turned towards the right in front of a wall with pilasters (Matz—Duhn Ant. Bildw. in Rom iii. 19 no. 3499). A fragment now in the Sala Lapidaria of the Arcivescovado at Ravenna also gives a single kalathiskos-dancer from the knees upwards with the remains of a flat pilaster and wall (H. Heydemann op. cit. p. 65 no. 5, C. Ricci in Ausionia iv. 258 with fig. 10). Another in the Palazzo Farnese shows a single dancer of the same sort (Matz—Duhn op. cit. iii. 19 no. 3499). Finally, a marble puteal in the Palazzo Doria represents two pairs of kalathiskos-dancers facing each other amid a fine growth of tendrils. They are here assimilated to Nikai by having large wings on their shoulders (Matz—Duhn op. cit. iii. 112 no. 3678, cp. Comm. Datti in the Bull. d. Inst. 1866 p. 98).

Looking back over the evidence thus detailed we gather that the kalathiskos-dancers of the Arretine sherds, the Roman mural terra cottas, and the neo-Attic reliefs are archaic derivatives of similar types already existing in the second half of s. v. B.C.—witness the Naples hydria, the door-jams at Trysa, and the coins of Abdera. Furtwängler acutely conjectured that the original from which they are all descended was a famous masterpiece (in archaizing bronze relief?) by Kallimachos, the saltantes Lacaenae described by Plin. nat. hist. 34. 92 as ‘a work of faultless technique, but one which has lost all charm through over-embroidery’ (Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt. p. 438). This conjecture has been widely accepted and is indeed highly probable. But the further attempt to name the dancers Karyatides and to connect them with architectural ‘Caryatids’ in general (P. Wolters in the Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst Neue Folge 1895 vi. 36—44 after Visconti Mus. Pie. Clém. iii pl. b, ii, F. Weege op. cit. p. 44 ff.) is in my judgment a mistake (cp. supra ii. 535 n. 2). I incline to the following solution of the problem. Alkman, who came to Sparta Σαρπιδίων ἀν’ ἀκρά (Alkm. frag. 24. 5 Bergk*, 2. 5 Edmonds, 13. 5 Diehl ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Θήριον, cp. Anth. Pal. 7, 709. 1 ff. (Alexandros (of Aitolia?),) 7. 18. 3 ff. (Antipatros of Thessalonike), Krates (of Mallos?) ap. Souid. s.v. Δ’Αλκρά) is known to have composed parthenoeia for Artemis and other deities. Moreover, he wrote for the Spartan Gymnopedaii songs to be sung by boys and men wearing ‘Thyreatic’ crowns made of palm-leaves (Sosibios of Sparta frag. 5 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 626 Müller) ap. Athen. 678 B cited supra p. 996 f.). Such a poet can hardly have failed to import into Sparta the famous kalathiskos-dance of his own Sardeis. It was perhaps formerly figured on an inscribed but mutilated stilte of s. iii B.C., found in the Amyklaion (B. Schroeder in the Ath. Mitth. 1904 xxix. 29, 31 with fig. 2). Identical with it, or at least akin to it, was a dance performed at the Spartan festival of Promachia (Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 470), when the Perioikoi as distinct from the Spartiates wore a crown of reeds (Sosibios of Sparta frag. 4 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 626 Müller) = frag. 1 Tresp ap. Athen. 674 A καὶ γάρ καὶ Δακεδαιμόνιον καλάμω στεφανώνται ἐν τῇ τῶν Προμαχείων ἱερῷ, ὥς φθορι...
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Σωσίζοντο εν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ θυσίων γράφων οὕτως: ἑν ταυτί τιμωβαλεῖτε τούτον μὲν ἄντω τῆς χώρας καλύμως στεφανούσθαι ἡ στελεχώι (cf. Plout. Inst. Loc. 32 στελεχώις οὐ εὐθόμας ἀλλὰ καλύμμας ἄραντο, τούτου δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ποίας ὑπερανάλυτως ἀκολουθεῖν). Another ritual link between Lakonike and Lydia is noted by L. Stephani, who observes in the Comptes-rendus St. Plit. 1865 pp. 31, 58 that the cult of Artemis Ὀρθία at Sparta involved a Δεδων πομπή (Plout. v. Aristid. 17. C. p. the case of Artemis Κορδάκα at Olympia (Paus. 6. 22. 1 with H. Hitzig—H. Blümmer ad loc.)). 

Three dancing-girls in like attire surmounted the very beautiful acanthus-column of Pentelic (not Parian) marble, which stood on the north side of the Sacred Way at Delphi, close to the votive offerings of the Syracusan princes. Arranged back to back round a central stem, the girls supported the lêbes of the bronze tripod whose legs rested upon the leafy capital. This group of dainty light-footed damsels in some ways anticipates the art of Praxiteles. Indeed, T. Holomme in the Rev. Arch. 1917 i. 31—67 figs. 1—6 was prepared to regard it as a contemporary replica of the Praxitelean 'figures called Thyiaedes and Karyatides' later to be seen in the gallery of Asinius Pollio (Flint. nat. hist. 36. 23). But C. Praschmiker Zur Geschichte des Akroters Brunn 1929 p. 48 f. has shown that the Dancers' Column was found in the same deposit as the Charioteer, i.e. in the débris caused by the earthquake of 373 B.C., and should therefore be accepted as pre-Praxitelean and referred to a date perhaps as early as the late fifth century (S. Casson in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1932 lii. 133). In any case we may admit that the Delphian dancers with their crowns of 'sharp-ribbed ruses' are a composition of infinite grace, which forms a later (c. 400 B.C.) variation on the saltales Lacaenae designed by Kallimachos and owes its ultimate inspiration to the kalathiskos-dancers of the Lydian lake-side. See further the Foutilles de Delphes ii. 1 pl. 15 (the column restored by A. Tournier, with tripod-legs supported by dancers), iv. 2 pls. 60 (the dancers—my fig. 818), 61 (the dancers, another view), 62 (head of one dancer in profile), É. Bourguet Les ruines de Delphes Paris 1914 pp. 188—192 fig. 63 f., F. Poulsen Delphi trans. C. G. Richards London 1920 pp. 246—264 figs. 113—128, and especially H. Pontow 'Die Tänzerinnen-Säule in Delphi' in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1920 xxxv. 113—128 with figs. 1 (=my fig. 819), 2—6, who is followed by A. Rumpf in H. Haas Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte Leipzig 1928 xiii—xiv fig. 128.

A gold earring in the F. L. von Gans collection of the Berlin Antiquarium further attests the popularity of the motif in the fourth century B.C. It represents a dancing-girl with short chiton and high kalathos; her left arm is raised, her right is missing (Amtliche Berichte aus den königl. Kunstsammlungen (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen) 1913 xxxv. 76 with fig. 37 C).

A bronze statuette, formerly in the Gréau collection, again shows a dancing-girl with short chiton and basket-like head-dress (Reinach Rép. Stat. iv. 242 no. 9) after W. Froehner Collection Julien Gréau. Bronzes Paris 1891 pl. 95), as does a Hellenistic terracotta in the Louvre (J. Charbonneaux Les Terres cuites Grecques London 1936 pp. 23, 50 fig. 54, Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art Paris 1937 ii. 199 with text by Mme Massou). But examples of the type 'in the round' are rare, for terra-cotta dolls from Myrina with elaborate head-dress (Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 243 no. C 522 pl. 35, Mendel Cat. Fig. gr. de Terre Cuite Constantinople p. 378 f. no. 2640 pl. 8, 6) are hardly to be classed as kalathiskos-dancers.
Similar figures are found on gems of imperial date, either alone as on a specimen in my collection (fig. 820: scale 1/2), or else with a palm-branch (Furtwängler *Geschitt. Steine Berlin* p. 284 no. 7668 pl. 57 cornelian, no. 7669 cornelian) or a hydria containing a palm-branch (*id. ib.* p. 284 no. 7670 pl. 57 sardonyx) before them. The palm-branch is here apparently a later substitute for the original reed-plant.

Important confirmation of this hypothesis is afforded by terracotta plaques of Hellenistic date found at Praisos in eastern Crete. They show a girl with short chiton and spread kalathos, who is dancing in front of a tall, bending plant, apparently a reed (E. S. Forster in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 255 with fig. 17 = my fig. 821 (height 23 m), cp. F. Halbherr in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1901 v. 390 pl. 12, 5).

In this connexion it may be noted that some would see a phallic significance

With the extension of the kalathikos-type to runners in the Lampadedromia as represented on a series of vases c. 400 B.C. (Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 910 f. figs. 4328—4330) we are not here concerned. One such vase, that signed by the potter Nikias (Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 218 f. no. 1 fig., J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmalerei des röthischen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 466 no. 1), is reproduced on the five-drachma postage-stamp designed by J. N. Svoronos for the Greek government and issued at Athens in 1906 to commemorate the 'Olympic Games.'

(13) Floating islands are reported from various districts of Italy. Thus one or more of them existed in agro Caeccubo (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 209). The allusion is probably to the Lacus Fundanus (Lago di Fondo) in the marshy plain between Fundi and the sea (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1244).

(14) In the country of the Sabines a lake known as Aquae Cutiliae, between Reate (Ricti) and Interocrum (Antrodoco), was reckoned 'the navel of Italy' (Varr. ap. Plin. nat. hist. 3. 109, Solin. 2. 23). It could boast a floating island (Varr. ap. Plin. loc. cit. and in de ling. Lat. 3. 71) covered with trees and grasses and so easily moved by the wind that it was never to be seen in the same place for a day and night together (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 209, Sen. nat. quaestt. 3. 25. 8 f., cp. anon. de aquis mirabilibus (supra p. 975) 37). If the Greeks dubbed it Korðia (oracle of Zeus at Dodona ap. Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. 1. 19, Macrobi. Sat. 1. 7. 28, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀκτονῖα (=Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 6. 177), Paul. ex Fest. p. 51, 8 Müller, p. 44, 22 f. Lindsay), that was a well-mean etymology of the Aquae Cutiliae (Ὑδάτα Κορδία). Of greater interest is the account given by Dion Hal. ant. Rom. 1. 15 (after Varro): 'At a distance of seventy furlongs from Reate is Kotyila, a famous town, situated at the base of a mountain. Not far from it is a lake, four hundred feet across, full of spring water which is always flowing and—so they say—has no bottom to it. This lake, having a touch of divinity about it, the natives deem sacred to Victory (sc. Vacuna). They enclose it round about with fillets, that nobody should approach the water, and preserve it as a spot unprofaned by human tread except on certain yearly occasions (for καρνοίς τισι δωρισίως cod. Vat. has καρνοίς τισι ἐτσησίως), when they offer customary sacrifices and particular persons charged with the office land on the small island in it. The island is some fifty feet in diameter and rises not more than one foot above the level of the water. It has no fixed position and floats round here there and everywhere, the wind turning it now hither now thither. A plant resembling sedge grows upon it and sundry bushes of no great size—a thing inexplicable to those who have not seen the handywork of nature and a marvel second to none.' On which E. H. Bunbury in Smith Dict. Geogr. i. 721 comments: 'It is evident that this marvel arose from the incrustations of carbonate of lime formed by the
waters of the lake, fragments of which might from time to time be detached from the overhanging crust thus formed on the banks: the same phenomenon occurs, though on a smaller scale, at the Aquae Albulae near Tibur. ([Sir W.] Gell [The Topography] of Rome [and its Vicinity London 1834 i. 74, ib. London 1846.] 41)....The Cetilian Lake still exists under the name of Pozzo di Rattiagno or Latignano, though apparently reduced in size by the continual incrustation of its banks; but the floating island has disappeared."

(15) Two islands in the Lacus Tarquiniansis (more often called the Lacus Volsiniensis, nowadays the Lago di Bolsena, a quondam crater near Volsini) are described as floating groves blown by the winds now into triangular, now into circular forms, but never into squares (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 209). It is not clear how these two islands (the Isola Martana and the Isola Bisentina (cp. Plin. nat. hist. 3. 52 Vesentini and Corp. inscr. Lat. xi nos. 2910 Honori Visentium, 2911 Virtuti Visenti = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. nos. 3796, 3797)) could suggest either a triangle or a circle, let alone a square. G. Dennis The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria3 London 1883 ii. 29 shakes his head: 'Shall we not rather refer this unsteady, changeful character to the eyes of the beholders, and conclude that the propagators of the miracle had been making too deep potations in the rich wine of [the lake-side]? Now, at least, the islands have lost their erratic and Protean propensities, and, though still capt with wood, have taken determinate and beautiful forms, no longer plastic beneath the breath of Æolus.' Possibly Santa Cristina, the virgin-martyr of Bolsena (July 24), who was cast into the lake and touched bottom—witness her footprints on the rocks—but, despite the millstone round her neck, would not drown and, after gruesome sufferings, had to be bound to a tree and shot with arrows, should be regarded as the Christian successor of a pagan lake-goddess (Diana?). On her see the Acta Sanctorum edd. Bolland. Antverpiae 1727 Julius v. 495 ff. 'De S. Christina virg. et martyri apud Lacum Vulsiniunum, ut volunt, in Tuscia' (Passio 2. 11 p. 526 f Urbanus...jussit eam ligari ad saxum, & medio mari dare praepet: cunque hoc fieret, saxum disrupturn est, & ipsa ab angelis suscepta est, & ata pedibus super aquas maris fererabant, 2. 17 p. 528 A Julianus ira commotus jussit mammallas ejus abscedere. Christina dixit: Lapideum cor & abominabile, mammallas meas abscediscere jussist; respice & vide, quia pro sanguine lac in terram defluxit, 2. 18 p. 528 B Tunc iratus Julianus duas sagittas [misit] in eam, unam ad cor ejus, & aliam contra latus ejus, & cum percuteretur, cum gaudio reddidit spiritum), S. Baring-Gould The Lives of the Saints Edinburgh 1914 viii. 527—531 (p. 530 'on this day [July 24], as we are solemnly assured, her head is seen to swim about the lake'), M. and W. Drake Saints and their Emblems London 1916 pp. 26, 143, 193, alib., K. Künstle Ikonographie der Heiligen Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 p. 153 f. The tradition that she walked the water and the belief that her head still swims recall the floating islands mentioned by Pliny. Such wonders die hard.

(16) The Lacus Statoniensis, identified by P. Cluverius Italia antiqua Lugduni Batavorum 1624 p. 517 with the Lago di Mezzano, a tiny sheet of water about five miles west of the Lago di Bolsena, had once a floating island (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 209, Sen. nat. quaestt. 3. 25, 8, and perhaps Strab. 614), but now has none, so that we must either reject Cluver's conclusion, or suppose that the island has since disappeared. As there is no other lake in central Etruria which can answer to the Statonian, we must take the alternative, and consider the island to have floated, as it is described, and to have become eventually attached to the shores of the lake' (G. Dennis The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria3 London 1883 i. 494 f.)
The Vallinonis Lacus, another lakelet of Etruria, lying on the right bank of the Tiber about four miles above Horta (Orie) and in modern times variously termed the Lagoetto or Lagnrello or even Lago di Bassano or Bassanello from a village in the neighbourhood, could boast in antiquity not only one floating island (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 209, Sen. nat. quaest. 3. 25. 8, and perhaps Strab. 614) but several (anon. de aquis mirabilibus (supra p. 975) 38 ητε δὲ καὶ λιμέως οὐδέποτε καλομένη λίμνη οὐ μέγαλη ἐν ἤτοι οὖσα ἐξοσον ημίνα πλείονα πάση πνευματικώσιμα). An interesting account of them is given by Plin. epist. 8. 20 (trans. W. Melmoth rev. W. M. L. Hutchinson): 'I went close up to this lake. It is formed exactly circular (in similitudinem incensis rotae circumscripta et undique aequalis); there is not the least obliquity or winding, but all is regular and even as if it had been hollowed and cut out by the hand of art. The colour of its water is a whitish-blue, verging upon green, and somewhat cloudy; it has the odour of sulphur and a strong medicinal taste, and possesses the property of cementing fractures. Though it is but of moderate extent, yet the winds have a great effect upon it, throwing it into violent commotions. No vessels are suffered to sail here, as its waters are held sacred; but several grassy islands swim about it, covered with reeds and rushes, and whatever other plants the more prolific neighbouring marsh and the borders of the lake produce. No two are alike in size or shape; but the edges of all of them are worn away by their frequent collision against the shore and one another. They have all the same depth, and the same buoyancy; for their shallow bases are formed like the hull of a boat. This formation is distinctly visible from every point of view; the hull lies half above and half below the water. Sometimes the islands cluster together and seem to form one entire little continent; sometimes they are dispersed by veering winds; at times, when it is calm, they desert their station and float up and down separately [at times the wind falls dead and they are left floating in isolation A.B.C]. You may frequently see one of the larger islands sailing along with a lesser joined to it, like a ship with its long boat; or perhaps, seeming to strive which shall outswim the other; then again all are driven to one spot of the shore, which they thus advance, and now here, now there, diminish or restore the area of the lake; only ceasing to contract it anywhere, when they occupy the centre. Cattle have often been known, while grazing, to advance upon those islands as upon the border of the lake, without perceiving that they are on moving ground, till, being carried away from shore they are alarmed by finding themselves surrounded with water, as if they had been put on board ship; and when they presently land wherever the wind drives them ashore, they are no more sensible of disembarking than they had been of embarking. This lake empties itself into a river, which after running a little way above ground, sinks into a cavern and pursues a subterraneous course and if anything is thrown in brings it up again where the stream emerges.' 'But,' says G. Dennis The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria London 1883 i. 144, 'he who would expect Pliny's description to be verified, might search for ever in vain. It is, indeed, no easy matter to find the lake; for it has so shrunk in dimensions, that what must have been a spacious tract of water in the olden time, is now but a small stagnant pond, almost lost in the tall reeds and bulrushes that wave over it. These we may conclude represent the islets, which either never had an existence, or have now clubbed together to stop up the lake.'

A floating island in agro...Mutinensi (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 209) is mentioned but once and has not been further identified.

Yet another, on the Lacus Benacus (Lago di Garda), the largest of all
the lakes in Italy, is said to have been inhabited and to have been planted with
trees (anom. de aquis mirabilibus (supra p. 975) 37 εἰ τὴν ἐν Ἰταλία λίμνης
calouμένης μὲν Βενάκων, ὁποίης δὲ τὸ περίμετρον σταθὼν φι′ (on its real size see
E. H. Bunbury in Smith Dict. Geogr. i. 389 or C. Hülsem in Pauly—Wissowa
Real-Enc. iii. 268), νησίων ἔστων οἰκουμένη κατάφυτος διάδρας ἡμέρας ἐπινηχομένη
καὶ μεταβάσονα πρὸς τὰς τῶν πενταμάτων φοράς).

(20) Lastly, at (Aqua) Salsulae in Gallia Narbonensis, the modern Salces or
Salses on the western bank of the Étang de Leucate, was a whole plain, green
with fine slender reeds and afloat on underlying water. The centre of it, detached
from its surroundings, formed an island which could be pushed away from you
or pulled towards you. Holes made in the surface of this plain showed the sea
beneath; whence ignorant or lying authors had stated that fish were here dug
out of the ground (Mela 2. 82 f., cp. Aristot. mir. ausc. 89, Polyb. 34. 10. 2—4,
and perhaps Liv. 42. 2, also Theophr. frag. 171. 7, 11 f. Wimmer, Plin. nat. hist.
9. 176, 178, Sen. nat. quæstt. 3. 16. 5, 3. 17. 3, Iuv. 13. 65 f.). See further
E. Desjardins Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule romaine Paris
1876 i. 251 f., 256 f. and Keune in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i A. 2012.

It will be obvious from a survey of the foregoing passages that floating
islands as such made a deep impression on Greeks and Romans alike and were
almost always regarded with naive feelings of awe and veneration. Such
phenomena attached themselves readily to the cult of the local deity, often a
lake-goddess, and at least in one case gave rise to a popular ritual and an art-type
of remarkable beauty. We must not, however, lend an ear to the persuasions
of a latter-day mythologist, who would have us believe that the floating islands
of Greek story were originally nothing but drifting clouds (F. L. W. Schwartz
Der Ursprung der Mythologie Berlin 1860 p. 69 n. 1 'es sind immer ursprünglich
die Wolkeninseln der Sage'). Earthly fact plus heavenly fancy will amply
suffice to explain the whole flotilla (see e.g. the Celtic parallels in Sir J. Rhys
Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx Oxford 1901 i. 171 f., W. C. Borlase The
Dolmens of Ireland London 1897 ii. 591, H. Güntert Kalypo Halle a. S. 1919
p. 145 f.). Doubters should visit Derwentwater and enquire for the Floating
Island near Lodore which 'appears periodically about the middle of October at
intervals of four years' (M. J. B. Baddeley The English Lake District98 London
1906 p. 130 with Append. by E. D. Jordan p. 11). It has been studied with
scrupulous exactitude by G. J. Symons The Floating Island in Derwentwater, its
History & Mystery, with notes of other dissimilar islands London 1888 pp. 1—64
(Frontisp. map of the south-east portion of Derwentwater showing the position
of three floating islands on Aug. 27, 1884, p. 19 ff. list of recorded appearances
from 1753 to 1888 A.D., p. 23 ff. notice of other floating islands, etc.). Another
interesting case is examined by Marietta Pallis 'The Structure and History of
Plav: the Floating Fen of the Delta of the Danube' in the Linnean Society's
APPENDIX Q.

THE PROMPTING EROS.

The evolution of this artistic type deserves fuller treatment than it has yet received. Its successive stages may be exemplified as follows:


2. A bronze mirror-stand from Hermione, Greek work of c. 600—550 B.C., now in the Museum antiker Kleinkunst at Munich, represents a nude Aphrodite with two human-headed birds (Sirens) perched on lotos-flowers to left and right of her shoulders (J. Sieveking Antike Metallgeräte München s.a. pp. 9, 12 pl. 19 front (=my fig. 824) and back).

3. Towards the close of 6. vi B.C. other variations were attempted. A bronze mirror-stand from Corinth, now at Athens, figures Aphrodite, draped in Ionic chiton and himation, holding a dove in her right hand, while two winged Sphinxes rest a forepaw on either shoulder of the goddess (Stais Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes² p. 337 no. 11691 fig., C. D. Mylonas in the Arch. Zeit. 1873 xxxiii. 161 no. 1 pl. 14, 1, E. Pottier in A. Dumont—J. Chaplain Les céramiques de la Grèce propre Paris 1890 ii. 249 no. 2 pl. 33). Another bronze mirror-stand, Greek (Corinthian? Argive?) work of c. 500 B.C., formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond, has Aphrodite in Ionic chiton and Doric peplos, but replaces the soul-
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birds by two winged female figures (Nikai?), who fly towards the shoulders of the goddess with one hand outstretched and a small object (perfume-vasa?) in the other (A. Michaelis Ancient Marbles in Great Britain trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 631 Richmond no. 39, Mrs A. Strong in Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art London 1904 p. 38 no A 8 pl. 45, a front, b back (wrongly described as ‘two hovering Erotes’), Sir C. H. Smith in Catalogue of the Antiquities (Greek, Etruscan and Roman) in the Collection of the late Wyndham Francis Cook, Esqre London 1908 ii. 114 Bronze no. 46 pl. 35 (= my fig. 825: ‘two hovering Victories’), K. A. Neugebauer Antike Bronzestatuetten Berlin 1921 p. 45 fig. 25 (‘zwei ... Siegesgöttinnen’)).

(4) Numerous bronze mirror-stands of s. vi—v (listed by E. Pottier in A. Dumont—J. Chaplain op. cit. ii. 249—253: see also Mrs A. Strong loc. cit. p. 38) figure an archaic or at least severe Aphrodite flanked by a pair of Erotes hovering above her shoulders (e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 24 no. 241 pl. 4 Athens, p. 24 no. 242 Sounion, p. 24 f. no. 243 pl. 4 Corinth, De Ridder Cat. Bronzes du Louvre ii. 43 no. 1687 pl. 77 Hermione, ii. 43 f. no. 1689 pl. 77 Corinth, ii. 44 no. 1691 pl. 77 (= my fig. 826) Greece, ii. 44 no. 1692 pl. 77 Corinth, Staïs Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes2 p. 335 no. 7576 (6576 is apparently a misprint) with fig. on p. 336, J. Sieveking Antike Metallgeräte München a.a. pp. 9, 12 pl. 20 Boston).

(5) About the decade 450—440 B.C. Eros was represented on reliefs in terra cotta or marble as standing on the arm or stepping down from behind the shoulder of Aphrodite (supra ii. 1043 fig. 892, 1044). From this it is not a far cry to—

(6) a krateî from Falerii, now in the Villa Giulia at Rome, which dates from the period of the Peloponnesian War and shows Eros whispering in the ear of Hebe (supra ii. 737 fig. 668), or again to a krateî from Ruvo, now at Naples, which likewise belongs to the latter part of s. v B.C. and makes the small kindred figure of Himeros, kneeling beside the right shoulder of a goddess (Aphrodite? a Muse?), stretch out his arms to crown a tragic mask held in her left hand (Heydemann Vasensamml. Neapel p. 546 ff. no. 3240 (‘Muse’), J. de Witte in the Ann. d. Inst. 1841 xiii. 303 ff. (‘Aphrodite’), Mon. d. Inst. iii pl. 31, Reinach Rép. Vases i. 114, 1 (‘Muse’), B. Arnold in Baumeister Denkm. i. 388 ff. pl. 5 fig. 422, G. Nicole Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique Genève 1908 p. 120 f. fig. 29, M. Bieber Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 91 ff. fig. 97 pl. 48 (‘Muse’), P. Ducati Storia della ceramica greca Firenze 1922 ii. 415 ff. fig. 298).

(7) This conception of Eros or Himeros as a small figure haunting the shoulder to proffer his amatory advice becomes a commonplace on vases produced during the earlier part of s. iv B.C. in the style of the Meidias-painter (G. Nicole op. cit. pl. 10, 6—8, pl. 11, 18), e.g. on a hydria from Ruvo at Karlsruhe (Winnefeld Vasensamml. Karlsruhe p. 63 ff. no. 259, F. G. Welcker in the Ann. d. Inst. 1845 xvii. 172 ff. no. 59, id. Alt. Denkm. v. 403 ff. no. 59, E. Gerhard Apulische Vasenbilder des königlichen Museums zu Berlin Berlin 1845 p. 32 f. pl. D, 2, Overbeck Gall. her. Bildw. i. 233 ff. no. 67 Atlas pl. 11, 1, Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 141 ff. pl. 39, G. Nicole op. cit. p. 65 ff. pl. 2, 2, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 185 f. no. 20, Puffh Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 595 f. iii. 241 fig. 595, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmalerei des rotfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 459 no. 3, supra i. 125 f. pl. xi; Aphrodite and Alexandros), on a hydria from Populonia at Florence (L. A. Milani Monumenti scelti dal R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze Firenze 1905 i pls. 4 and 5, 3, G. Nicole op. cit. p. 69 ff. pl. 3, 2, Hoppin op. cit. ii. 185 no. 17, P. Ducati
op. cit. ii. 399 ff. fig. 290, Pfuhl op. cit. ii. 593 ff. iii. 240 fig. 594, J. D. Beazley op. cit. p. 460 no. 4: Eros with Chrysothemis, Himeros with Adonis, on an aryballos from Athens in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 345 f. no. E 697, Furtwängler—Reichhold op. cit. ii. 99 f. pl. 78, 2, G. Nicole op. cit. p. 97 no. 1 pl. 7, 1, Hoppin op. cit. ii. 196 no. 60, P. Ducati op. cit. ii. 401, 403 fig. 291, J. D. Beazley op. cit. p. 460 no. 14: Eros seated on the left shoulder of Aphrodite, on an aryballos from Ruvo in the Jatta collection (A. Michaelis Phthymi und Sappho auf einem Vasenbilde Leipzig 1865 pp. 1—18 with pl., D. Comparetta in the Museo italiano di antichità classica Firenze 1888 ii. 59—64 no. 4 pl. 5 = Reinhach Rép. Vases i. 526, 1, A. Baumeister in his Denkm. iii. 1727 f. fig. 1809, G. Jatta 'La gara di Tamiri con le Muse' in the Rom. Mitth. 1888 iii. 239—253 pl. 9, G. Nicole op. cit. p. 96 f. pl. 7, 4, Hoppin op. cit. ii. 192 no. 47 bis, J. D. Beazley op. cit. p. 460 no. 12: Eros seated on the right shoulder of Sappho (ΣΑΟ), two Erotes to right and left of Aphrodite, of whom one lets fly a bird, the other points). Cp. a hydra from Nola in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iv. 55 f. no. F 90 pl. 2: Eros stoops to touch the right shoulder of a seated female).

(8) The same conception persists throughout s. iv B.C. on Attic vases of the 'Kertch' variety such as a hydra from Jüz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani Vasensamml. St. Petersburg ii. 383 ff. no. 1924, id. in the Compte-rendu St. Péterbourg 1861 pp. 124—127 Atlas pl. 5, 1 and 2 = Reinhach Rép. Vases i. 9, 4 and 3, Furtwängler—Reichhold op. cit. ii. 102 f. pl. 79, 1: Eros leans on the right shoulder of Paris, a second Eros seated above the right shoulder of Helene looks towards him ἀνωσσορίων), a kratér from Jüz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani Vasensamml. St. Petersburg ii. 339 ff. no. 1807, id. in the Compte-rendu St. Péterbourg 1861 p. 33 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 1 and 2 = Reinhach Rép. Vases i. 7, 5 and 6, L. Weniger in the Arch. Zeit. 1866 xxiv. 185 ff. pl. 211, supra ii. 262 pl. xvii: Eros, standing by Aphrodite's right shoulder, touches her breast), an aryballos from Jüz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani Vasensamml. St. Petersburg ii. 389 ff. no. 1929, id. in the Compte-rendu St. Péterbourg 1861 p. 127 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 3 and 4 = Reinhach Rép. Vases i. 9, 2 and 1: Eros hovers behind the shoulders of Paris, another Eros with torches hovers beside Helene), a pelike from Kamereios in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 261 f. no. E 424, A. Salzmann Nécropole de Camiros Paris 1875 col. pl. 59, A. Conze in the Wien. Vorlegeb. ii pl. 6, 2, 2a, P. Ducati op. cit. ii. 427 f. fig. 306: Eros hovers above Peleus as he seizes Thetis), a hydra from Kyrene in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 179 f. no. E 227, G. Dennis in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom Second Series 1870 ix. 181 f. pls. 3 and 4, Furtwängler—Reichhold op. cit. ii. 103 f. no. 2 pl. 79, 2: Eros standing on the right upper arm of Herakles offers him apples from the tree of the Hesperides), and finally a hydra from Alexandria at Munich (Furtwängler—Reichhold op. cit. i. 204—208 pl. 40, P. Ducati op. cit. ii. 432 f. fig. 310, Pfuhl op. cit. ii. 712, iii. 244 fig. 598: Eros, reclining above the head of Paris, leans on the left shoulder of Aphrodite).

(9) B. Schröder in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1925 xl Arch. Anz. pp. 364—367 figs. 1—6 and, at greater length, in the Zeitschrift für deutsche Volkskunde 1925 xxxv. 85 ff. contends that the type of Lysippus' statue in bronze representing Herakles deprived of his weapons by Eros (Anth. Plan. 103. 1—6 (Geminos), 104. 1—6 (Philippus): see Overbeck Schriftenquellen p. 279 no. 1474, Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. ii. 425) can be recovered from a vase in the Louvre, a mirror at Athens, a bronze statuette in the British Museum, and sundry gems, which show the hero with a youthful Eros on his shoulder. Schröder
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further supports the suggestion first made by A. von Le Coq Bilderaus der Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens Berlin 1925 pp. 26, 83 fig. 159 (Pańcika and child) viz. that Herakles with Eros on his shoulder ultimately gave rise to the legend of St Christopher bearing the Christ-child (for bibliography etc. see K. Künstler Ikonephichte der Heiligen Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 pp. 154—160 figs. 86—88). It is, however, far from certain that such was the motif of Lysippus’ bronze; and another possible prototype for St Christopher and the Child is the Pompeian Polyphemus driven by the infant Eros (infra p. 1023).

(10) Eros at-the-shoulder was a motif obviously better suited to painting or to bas-relief than to sculpture in the round. Nevertheless Hellenistic art produced, not only such types as that of a marble statuette from Pella in Makedonia, now at Christ Church, Oxford, which shows Eros standing on a tree-trunk and leaning against the right shoulder of Aphrodite (Mrs A. Strong in Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art London 1904 p. 21 no. 28 pl. 27 = Reinach Rép. Stat. iv. 231 no. 5), or that of a terra cotta from Myrina, now in the Albertinum at Dresden, which makes him stand on a pillar and rest his hand on her left shoulder (Winter Ant. Terrakotten iii. 2, 84 fig. 9), but also the type of the little fellow leaning forward all agog over his mother’s left shoulder (e.g. the bronzes in Clarac Mus. de Sculpt. pl. 632 D figs. 1295 A Turin (A. Fabretti in the Atti della Società di archeologia e belle arti per la provincia di Torino 1880 iii. 99 f. pl. 15, 2) and 1295 B Paris = Reinach Rép. Stat. i. 342 nos. 4 and 5. Cp. the terracottas given by Winter op. cit. iii. 2, 46 fig. 3 (= Furtwängler Samml. Sabouroff Tertes cuites pl. 133, 2) 195 fig. 7; 200 fig. 9, 202 fig. 4) or perched precariously on either shoulder (e.g. the terracottas in Winter op. cit. iii. 2, 85 fig. 8 Asia Minor (= C. Lecuyer Terres cuites antiques trouvées en Grèce et en Asie mineure Paris 1882 pl. 110 (modern?), 101 fig. 1 Rusdia, cp. 82 fig. 7 Greece but not Tanagra (= Furtwängler Samml. Sabouroff Terres cuites pl. 133, 1) 88 fig. 4 Myrina (?), if not duplicated on both (e.g. a stone statuette from Beaune, now at Moulin (Catalogue du Musée de Moulins 1885 iii. 125, E. Tudot Collection de figurines en argile Paris 1860 pl. 75 = Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 376 no. 7), and a gold pendant from south Russia, now at Petrograd (L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Péit. 1867 pl. 47 Atlas pl. 1, 6 = Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 377 no. 6)), and even ambitious statuary groups in marble like that from Delos, now in the National Museum at Athens, which represents a naked Aphrodite defending herself with uplifted sandal against the advances of Pan and a helpful Eros hovering over her left shoulder (M. Bulard ‘Aphrodite, Pan et Eros’ in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1906 xxx. 610—631 plis. 13—16 (of which pl. 14 = my fig. 827) (fig. 2 is a second Eros belonging to some similar group) = Reinach Rép. Stat. iv. 230 nos. 2 and 3, C. Picard La sculpture antique Paris 1926 ii. 265 fig. 103).

(11) Venus with a tiny Cupid on her shoulder appears on denarii struck by M. Cordius Rufus (Babelon Monn. rép. rom. i. 383 no. 3 f. rev. fig. (c. 49 B.C.), M. Bahrfeldt Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde Wien 1897 p. 88 no. 1 pl. 4, 92, H. A. Grauer in Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. i. 523 f. nos. 4037—4039 pl. 51, 11 and 12 (c. 46 B.C.), supra ii. 99 n. 1) and by C. Egnatius Maximus (Babelon op. cit. i. 473 f. nos. 1 obv. fig., 2 rev. fig. (c. 69 B.C.), H. A. Grauer op. cit. i. 399 nos. 3274, 3275 pl. 42, 15, i. 401 nos. 3285—3292 pl. 42, 17 (c. 75 B.C.); see further F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1997 no. (27)), and on others issued by Iulius Caesar (Babelon op. cit. ii. 11 f. nos. 11 obv. fig., 12 obv. fig. (c. 50 B.C.), H. A. Grauer op. cit. ii. 368 f. nos. 86—88 pl. 101, 9, nos. 89—92 pl. 101, 10 (c. 45 B.C.)).
The same type recurs on a fine fragment of relief in the church of San Vitale at Ravenna (Friederich—Wolters Gipsabgüsse p. 762 no. 1923 f., J. J. Bernoulli Römische Ikonographie Berlin und Stuttgart 1886 ii. 1. 254 ff. pl. 6 (‘Venus genetrix...eine Umkleidung der Livia’), Mrs A. Strong Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine London 1907 p. 96 (‘Venus Genetrix (or Livia?)’), Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 128 no. 1, C. Picard op. cit. ii. 390 (‘Vénus genetrix’), on a relief in the Villa Medici at Rome (E. Braun in the Ann. d. Inst. 1852 xxiv. 338—345, Mon. d. Inst. v pl. 40, Matz—Duhn Ant. Bildw. in Rom iii. 29 ff. no. 3511. Mrs A. Strong op. cit. p. 143 f. pl. 43, 6, Reinach op. cit. iii. 313 no. 1) which represents the pediment of the temple of Mars Ullor (E. Petersen Ara Pacis Augustae (Sonderschriften des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien Band ii) Wien 1902 p. 58 ff. pl. 3, vii and figs. 26, 27) in the Forum Augustum.
Appendix Q


pl. 4, Helbig op. cit. p. 337 no. 1427\(^{4}\)), 11 and 12 (W. Zahn op. cit. ii pl. 43); to which add Antichità di Ercoleto Napoli 1779 vii (Pitute v) 25 f. pl. 5, 1.


Attendant Erotes multiply apace. We find two (e.g. with Aphrodite and Ares

C. III.

65
Appendix Q


Fig. 828.

APPENDIX R.

THE HIERΩS GÁMOS.

Greek literature from Homeric poetry to Byzantine prose links the name of Zeus with that of Hera. But this tradition, though practically universal, involves certain peculiar and even abnormal features, which, if carefully considered, make it difficult to believe that Hera was from the outset the wife of Zeus. The relations subsisting between them are deserving of detailed study.¹

Zeus, according to Kallimachos² and Nonnos³, was courting Hera for a period of three hundred years. Homer⁴ states that they met "without the

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¹ Years ago I dealt with the topic, somewhat light-heartedly, in two papers contributed to the Clas. Rev. 1906 xx. 365—378 and 416—419 (supra p. 744 n. 1).
² Kallim. aitia 2 frag. 20 Schneider ap. schol. A.D. II. 1. 609 and Tzetz. in eund. loc. (P. Matranga anecdata Græca Romanæ 1830 ii. 450, 11 ff.) ὅτι τοῦ Ζεὺς ἐστὶ μαθητή τῶν ὡμιλον τῷ Ἱππίου ἱππίου τῇ ἱππίου ἵππην.
³ Nonn. Dion. 41. 322 ff. ὅτι πολυχρονοι τῶν ἐπετείχαν ὕπολος (ср. supra p. 941 n. 1) ἰδέας ἱππίου τῇ ἱππίου. ὅτι τῳ ἱππίου ἱππίου ἱππίου ἱππίου τῷ Ἱππίου ἱππίου. ὅτι τῷ Ἱππίου ἱππίου.
⁴ P. 14. 295 f. οὖν ὅτε τῷ πρῶτῳ περ ἡμιγέφθην θείματι, ὅτι εἶ ἐν κύριον ψυχήν, ἐν τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τ
knowledge of their dear parents'; and later authors lay stress on their secrecy, which indeed passed into a proverb. But it must be remembered that such clandestine intercourse was in Samos and at Sparta, if not elsewhere in the Greek world, the recognised beginning of married life. Zeus and Hera were conforming to a custom, which savours of extreme antiquity, though it is not extinct even in modern Europe.

The union of Zeus with Hera, commonly known as the hieros gamos or 'sacred marriage,' involved at once a myth and a ritual, though evidence of the one or the other is often lacking.

1 Theocr. 15. 64 πάντα γυναίκες Ιωάννης χαί άνδρας μέν Ηρένα, with schol. ad loc., cp. Plaut. trin. 208 sciunt quod Iuno fabulatasset cum Iove.
2 In Samos the practice was referred to the example of Zeus (schol. B.L.T.V. II. 14. 296, Eustath. in Il. p. 987, 9 ff.).
3 Plaut. v. Iscecan. 15, Xen. de rep. Lat. 1. 5, Hermippos frag. 6 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 37 Muller) ap. Athen. 553 c.
4 The Lydian practice of prenuptial free love (All. var. hist. 4. 1 Άνδρας μέν Ιωάννης πρό τού συμφύλου τάς γυναίκας καιράδαν ἔθεταν, ἄνδρας κακούχθηκε συνέφεδον. τῶν δὲ καιρόπολεων ἐκ θερον συννυμφώμεν τιχών ἄδησταν ὡς) is hardly analogous. And the Naxian custom of placing a boy baby in the bride's bed on the eve of her wedding (Kallim. aitia 3. 1. 1 ff. Mair = R. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt The Oxyrhynchus Pap. Petri London 1910 vii. 15 ff. no. 101 ήθη καὶ κόρων παρθένοι εὖνατο τόθιμον οὖν ἐξελέξαν πραξάμφωμεν εἰςναυνίαν), though adulated by a parallel by Kallim. loc. cit. and schol. B.L.T.V. II. 14. 296, is better explained as a piece of mimetic magic by A. E. Housman in the Class. Quart. 1910 iv. 114 ff., D. K. Stuart in Class. Philol. 1911 vi. 302 ff., E. Samter 'Ein naxischer Hochzeitsbrauch' in the Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum 1915 xxxv. 90–98. Cp. E. Westermarck The History of Human Marriage London 1921 ii. 468 'in some parts of Sweden she should have a boy-baby to sleep with her on the night preceding the wedding day in order that her first-born shall be a son.'

5 P. Wilutzy Vorgeschichte des Rechts Breslau 1903 i. 201 argues that monogamy, since it involved the infringement of earlier communal rights, was at first viewed as an offence to society and its practice carefully concealed.

The valuable monograph of A. Klinz ΤΕΡΩΣ ΓΑΜΟΣ Halis Saxonum 1933 pp. i—134 is of wider scope (p. 118 'Gravissimas res breviter complectens affirmaverim me demonstravisse notionem sacrarum nuptiarum in religione Minoorum vi et notione iuris materni originem atque principium habere, inde in sacra Graecorum sollemnia translatae esse, antiquissimis quidem religiosis Graecae temporibus numina chthonia fertilitatis et inferorum coniugis inter se coniungi, sed postea pro iure paterno Indogermanorum tempore religiosis Olympiae Ioven ut caeli lucidi deum, qui sacris matrinonis cum veteribus terrae deabus conectitur, auctoritate plurimum posset'), but in pp. 89–111 deals systematically with 'Διή νάμος.'
The Hieros Gamos at Samos.

In the case of Samos both are to hand. Parthenia, an old name of the island, was connected with the maidenhood of Hera, who here grew up and was married to Zeus. This myth corresponded with a definite ritual. A statue of Hera in the Samian Heraion—presumably the wooden image made by Smilis of Aigina—was dressed as a bride; and at an annual festival the goddess was married to Zeus. Terra-cotta groups found in Samos show Zeus and Hera

1 The island was formerly (Strab. 637 πρόοραν ὕδωρον Καρπών) named Παρθένεια (Aristot. frag. 570 κατά Άρταν ναζ. hist. 5. 123, Herakleid. res. Σαμ. frag. 10. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 315 Müller), Kallim. h. Del. 48 f., Ap. Rhod. 1. 187 f. with schol. ad loc., Strab. 457, 637, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ζανός, Eustath. in Dionys. per. 533) after Parthenia the wife of Samos (Loukillos of Tarrha frag. 10 Linnennkugel ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187), or after the river Parthenios (Strab. 457, Eustath. loc. cit.), which was so called because Hera had been brought up there as a virgin (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187). Probably it was believed that Hera renewed her virginity by bathing in the river, just as the Argives declared that she annually became a virgin by washing in the spring Kananath at Nauplia (supra p. 314 n. 3). W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, London 1830 ii. 360 detected a trace of this notion in the saying still current at Nauplia, that the women of the place are handsome, while those of Argos are ugly, thanks to the different current of the two towns. Similarly, after her marriage with Zeus Hera was said to have bathed in the spring of the Mesopotamian river Aborras: hence the surrounding air was filled with fragrance, and shoals of tame fish dispersed themselves in the water (All. de nat. an. 12. 39). Alleged names of Samos include Παρθένεια (Eutechn. metaphr. in Nik. aex. 148 f.) and even Παρθενομαρχήσα (Plin. nat. hist. 5. 135) a bungled blend of Παρθενία and Δωρόν, as J. Hardouin saw, cp. Herakleid. loc. cit. ἕτε ῥήσος Παρθένεια, δαχτυλὸς ἕτε Δωρόν). A certain soil found in Samos was known as παρθενία (Nik. aex. 149 with schol. ad loc.). Hera herself was entitled Παρθενία both in Samos (Kallim. ap. schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187, ap. schol. Pind. Ol. 6. 149) and elsewhere (see O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1649).

2 Varr. frag. 399 Funaioli ap. Lact. div. inst. 1. 17. 8 insulam Samum scribit Varro prius Partheniam nominatam, quod ibi Iuno adoleverit ibique etiam Iovi nuperit.

3 Supra i. 444 f. figs. 313, 314. iii. 665 n. 0 fig. 446. See further Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Hera pp. 16—16 Minutaf. 1. 1—13.

4 Perhaps in the robe called πάθος (Kallim. frag. 495 Schneider ap. Cramer aned. Oxon. iii. 93, 10 ff., Hesych. s.v. πάθος).

5 Lact. div. inst. 1. 17. 8 itaque nobilissimum et antiquissimum templum eius est Sami et simulacrum in habi turbis figuratum et sacra eius anniversaria nuptiarum ritu celebrantur, Aug. de civ. Dei 6. 7 sacra sunt Iunonis, et haec in eius dilecta insula Samo celebrantur, ubi nuptum data est Iovi.

On the cult of Hera in Samos see now the results of the important excavations (1910—1914 and 1925—1929) described by E. Buschor in the *Atth. Mitth. 1936 iv. 1—59 and summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch. 1932 xxxvi. 173 f.*

Chrysippus frag. 1074 von Arnim ap. Orig. c. Cels. 4. 48 (xi. 1105 c—1108 A Migne) commented at length on a Samian picture "καὶ ἀγγελισθομένη ἡ Ἡρα τῷ Δίῳ ἐγγετικό" (cp. frag. 1071 von Arnim ap. Diog. Laert. 7. 187 f.), and frag. 1072 von Arnim ap. Clem. Rom. hom. 5. 18 (ii. 188 B Migne) on another of the same sort at Argos προς τῷ Δίῳ ἀληφος φέρεται (Wilamowitz tj. φόρος) τῷ Ἡρας προς πρόφασιν. Such works aroused the indignation of Christian (Theophil. ad Autol. 3. 3 and 8) and pagan (Diog. Laert. proem. 5. 7. 187 f.) alike: But, when it is recollected that Orpheus, possibly in his lines προς Δίῳ καὶ Ἡρας (frag. 220 Abel=frag. 115 Kern), ascribed such conduct to the gods (Diog. Laert. proem. 5), it becomes probable that these pictures were not mere libidines but had some religious significance. Cp. e.g. the figure of Geb the
seated side by side (figs. 829 and 830). Both deities wear the bridal veil and thereby justify R. Foerster’s identification of the subject as the *hieros gamos*.

It is highly probable that a Samian festival called the Tonea stood in some relation to this *hieros gamos*. The facts regarding it are as follows. A certain willow, which grew in the sanctuary of Hera at Samos, was said to be the oldest

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**Fig. 829.**

Egyptian earth-god on a papyrus in the British Museum (Lanzoni *Diario di Mitol. Egit.* p. 409 f. pl. 159, 6).

1 (1) From a child’s grave in the Samian necropolis, now at Vienna (J. Böhlau *Aus ionischen und italischen Nebropolen* Leipzig 1898 p. 45, *ibid.* in the *jahresh. d. vest. archi. Inst.* 1900 iii. 210 with fig. 84 (*my fig. 829: scale 1:1)).

(2) and (3) Two similar groups, now at Cassel, said to have come from a single Samian grave. One gives the head of Zeus an opening like a vase-mouth on the top. Both are holed at the bottom (J. Böhlau *Aus ionischen und italischen Nebropolen* pp. 48, 159 pl. 14, 6 and 8).

(4) A similar group, found at Kameiros, now in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. i. 43 fig. 3 = i. 190 fig. 1).


(6) and (7) Winter *loc. cit.* notes two similar but smaller groups, the one from Tanagra (2) in the Louvre (L. Heuzey *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* Paris 1883 p. 9 pl. 11, 6), the other from Kameiros in the British Museum (uncatalogued?).

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**Fig. 830.**

2 *Infra* p. 1033.

3 R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 24 1., followed e.g. by J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 674 fig. 4167.
The Hierds Gamos

of all existing trees: it belonged to the species known as 

by the Greeks (the vites agnus castus of Linne), and was still thriving in the time of

Pausanias. It is shown or at least symbolized on coins struck by Gordianus Pius. Some maintained that the Heraion, where the tree stood, had been founded by the Argonauts, who brought the image of Hera with them from Argos; but the Samians themselves supposed that the goddess had been born in their island beside the river Imbræos and beneath this very willow. According to Menodotos, a Samian historian, Admete the daughter of Eurytheus once fled from Argos to Samos, where she had a vision of Hera and, wishing to give the goddess a thankoffering for her safe journey, undertook the care of the temple built by the Leleges and the Nymphs. The Argives, indignant at this, bribed Tyrrehenian pirates to carry off the image, in order that the Samians might punish Admete. The Tyrrehenians came to the port of Hera, found the temple without a door to it, carried off the image, and put it on board their ship. But, though they loosened their cables, weighed anchor, and rowed their hardest, they could not get away from the land. So they set the image ashore and, after offering it sundry cakes, took their departure in fear and trembling. Next morning Admete raised the alarm, and the searchers discovered the image on the shore. Being but barbarous Carians, they believed that it had run away of its own accord, placed it against a willow fence; drew towards it the longest branches on either side of it and wrapped it round about with them. Admete released the image from these bonds, purified it, and erected it on the pedestal which it had occupied before. Hence every year the image is carried off to the shore, disappears from view, and has cakes set beside it. The festival in question is named Tenea because the image was so tightly (sýntronb) bound by those that first sought it. Further it is said that, when the Carians consulted Apollon of Hybla about these occurrences, the god bade them escape serious disaster by paying the goddess a voluntary penalty. Prometheus after his release from bonds had been willing to pay a light penalty, and Zeus had bidden him wear a willow wreath. The Carians must do the same and, when feasting, bind their heads with willow branches just as they had bound the goddess. They were to abandon the use of every other kind of wreath, with the exception of

1 Paus. 8. 23. 5. 2 Supra p. 645 n. 0 fig. 446. 3 Paus. 7. 4. 4. Cp. supra p. 1027 n. 1 f. On the probable site of the agnus towards the south-east corner of the precinct see E. Buschor in the Ath. Mitt. 1930 iv. 51 with fig. 7 and pl. 13.

4 Menodotos frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 103 ff. Müller) ap. Athen. 671 a ff. 5 So Syncell. chron. 172 A (i. 324 Dindorf) 'Αργαὶ των πεντας Εὐρυσθέων εἰ "Αργαῖοι ἱεράτευον ἡν ἱππ. τος ἀπὸ ταυτης τὴν ἰερατοῦ διαδήματοι Φαύλους ἐκαλοῦντο. 6 Strab. 637 cited supra p. 1027 n. 1. 7 κρή τι λέγων θυράκιον. 8 E. Buschor in the Ath. Mitt. 1930 iv. 33 would associate these rites with a large quadrangular flooring in the south-east corner.

9 The form Tenea is supported by all the MSS. of Athen. 672 d – Ξ and was accepted by Dindorf. For the termination cp. the Ποσειδα of Mytilene and the Ποσειδα of Megara (Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 83 f.). A. Meineke, however, cj. Tenea, and G. Kalbel cj. Tenea. The name is connectible with τετων 'stretch,' τέω 'tension, force, vigour,' cp. Diodor. i. 134 (135) p. 130 Sprengel λέγων δὲ διὰ το περὶ τὰς βάθους σκηνής ετώνων. 10 It is not definitely stated, but it is probably implied that Prometheus' wreath was of λέγων: cp. Aisch. Πορνές τε λέγων frag. 102 Nauck and Σφήν θυράκι frag. 235 Nauck, Hyg. met. astr. 2. 15. Apollod. 2. 5. 11 has δεσμῶν θυράκων τῶν τῆς Δαλας. Prometheus' ring (supra i. 329 n. 0) may be a later variant of his wreath.
bay-leaves which might be worn by those that actually served the goddess. This Samian custom of wearing willow is mentioned elsewhere. Anakreon says of a young friend from Samos:

Megistes whose heart answers mine
Ten months ago
Would wreath him so
With willow and drink deep the honeyed wine.

More important is an epigram by Nikainetos of Samos, which throws some further light upon the usage:

Ah, Philotheros, fain would I
Fanned by the western breezes lie
Feasting with Hera—not in town.
Enough for me a mere shake-down.
See, nigh at hand there is a spread
Of native willow for my bed
And osiers, the old Carian wear.
Bring wine, and list the lyre's sweet air,
That we may drink and praise beside
Our island-queen, Zeus' glorious bride.

From this it appears that at the feast of Hera the guests not only wreathed their heads with willow, but also reclined upon willow boughs and sang of Hera as the bride of Zeus.

Such rites can be paralleled, at least in part, from other cult-centres. Thus at Sparta the image of Artemis was called Lygodisma the 'Willow-bound' as well as Orthia the 'Upright' ostensibly because it had been found in a thicket of willows, which twining round it kept it upright. And at Athens it was customary for women celebrating the Thesmophoria to lie on a bed of willows. Indeed, priests in general used to strewn willow leaves under their couches, and as late as the eighteenth century Christian monks wore girdles made of willow osiers.

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1 Tenaros ap. Athen. 672 α states that willow was δρυκόκωτο...στεφάνωμα. But we do not know who Tenaros was, nor whether his δρυκόκωτο were Samians. Still less information is given by the jejune note of Aristarchos ap. Athen. 671 f. δι' και λόγων εστεφανούντο αι δρύαιοι.


3 Nikainetos ap. Athen. 673 β ff.

Both Anakreon and Nikainetos speak of the feasters as drinking wine. E. Maass in Hermes 1891 xxvi. 187 n. 3 holds that Hesych. Ἠπενθατ: Δίωνος ἐν Σάμῳ implies the existence of a Dionysos 'in the Willow' (ἐν λάφυρῳ) at Samos. But the order of the words in Hesychios demands the reading Ἠπενθατ: see M. Schmidt ad loc., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 2367.

4 Paus. 3. 16. 11 (quoted supra ii. 421 n. 3). Asklepios at Sparta was called Ἀγώνας because his wooden image was made of ἄγως (Paus. 3. 14. 7).


7 N. Venette La Génération de l'homme Londres 1779 i. 231 f. 'quelques moines chrétiens se font aujourd'hui des cœurs avec des branches de cet arbre (sc. agnus
The Hierds Gámos

The reason commonly given for these practices is that the willow possesses antiaphrodisiac qualities\(^1\). If so, the binding of the Samian Hera and her votaries with willow may have been part of a purificatory ceremony, whereby the goddess after her annual marriage with Zeus was believed to recover her virginity\(^2\). Artemis Lýgoddëma too was presumably a virgin\(^3\). And ceremonial purity was incumbent upon women at the Thesmophoria and priests at all times. This explanation might be supported by the fact that the Tonea included a visit of Hera to the sea-shore: salt-water cleansed all\(^4\).

Nevertheless there are not wanting some indications that the willow was credited with powers of a precisely opposite character and regarded as a strong aphrodisiac\(^5\). Confusion may have arisen owing to the popular but erroneous assumption that the name ἀγνὸς was derived from ἁγνὸς, 'pure,' or from ἀγόνος, 'unfruitful.'\(^6\) On this showing the ritual above described must have aimed at increasing the fertility of the goddess\(^7\). But in either case it was causus, qui se plie comme de l'osier, et ils prétendent par là s'arracher du cœur tous les désirs que l'amour y pourroit faire naître.\(^8\) Etc.—cited by A. de Gubernatis La Mythologie des Plantes Paris 1881 ii. 5. See also P. Sébillot Le Folklore de France Paris 1906 iii. 388.

\(^1\) In addition to the authorities given in p. 1030 n. 5 f. see Paul. Aeg. 7. 3 ἄγνοι ἡ λύγος... καὶ πρὸς ἀγνὸν πειστὸν ἵναι, ὁ μήνων θοῖς ἔκακος καὶ πυθόμενος δόλα καὶ ὑποστρωμένοις with the note ad loc. of F. Adams Paulus Eugineta London 1847 iii. 30. Cp. also what is said of the ἱλη or salix by All. de nat. an. 4. 23. schol. Od. 10. 510, Eustath. in Od. p. 1667. 20 ff., Plin. nat. hist. 16. 110, Serv. in Verg. geogr. 2. 43.

\(^2\) Supra p. 1027 n. 1.

\(^3\) Wide Labon. Kulte p. 130 n. 2, cp. O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1662.


Gruppe op. cit. p. 848 n. 5 finds traces of a similar ritual in the Homeric hymn to Dionysos, who appeared by the sea-shore, was captured by Tyrrhenian pirates and bound with withies of willow, but burst his bonds and took vengeance on his captors (A. Dion. 1 ff.).


A. Thomsen 'Orthia' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1906 ix. 407 ff. showed that Artemis Ἀγοδῆμα or Orthia was a tree-goddess (supra ii. 421 n. 8) and that the flogging of Spartan youths, presumably with rods of ὁ λύγος (cp. Plout. synp. 6. 8. 1 τύπτοτες ἀνίνασι βάδουν at the Βόιλιον ἔξθαλντι), transferred her virtue to the sufferers. Supra ii. 635 n. 9.

\(^6\) Most of the writers referred to supra p. 1030 n. 5 f. and p. 1031 n. 1 connect ἀγνὸς with ἀγόνος or ἄγονος—both very dubious etymologies (L. Meyer Handb. d. gr. Etym. i. 131, Boisacq Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr. p. 8).

\(^7\) R. Wünsch Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta Leipzig 1902 drew attention to a Maltese custom recorded by an Arab writer of the sixteenth century. Every year a large golden idol set with precious stones was thrown into a field of bean-flowers by a monk, who told the people that their lord had departed. Hereupon there was mourning and fasting for some three days, till the monk announced that the lord's anger was appeased. The idol was then brought back to the town in procession with great rejoicings. Wünsch holds that the idol represented John the Baptist, who here as elsewhere succeeded to the position of Adonis. His hypothesis has been called in question or controverted by
Appendix R

appropriate to a divine marriage, and we must bear in mind the fact that those who took part in the Tonea sang of Hera as 'Zeus' glorious bride.'

(2) The Hieros Gamos at Knossos.

Another locality in which the hieros gamos was represented by both myth and ritual is Knossos at the base of Mount Ide in Crete. The wedding of Zeus and Hera was said to have taken place near the river Theren (the modern Platysterama). Here in later times a sanctuary was built and yearly sacrifices offered with traditional wedding-rites. I have suggested that the earlier ceremony involved the ritual pairing of solar bull with lunar cow.

(3) The Hieros Gamos on Mount Ide.

More frequently the hieros gamos is attested by a localised myth without direct evidence of a ritual performance.

Thus the famous passage of the Iliad that describes how Zeus consorted with Hera on Mount Ide in the Troad expressly alludes to the tale of their early amours; and we are probably justified in inferring that the tale was told of the mountain in question.

However that may be, it is the myth itself, not the Homeric adaptation of it—and the myth as localised on the Trojan rather than the Cretan

W. H. D. Rouse in the Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 232 f., K. Lübeck Adoniskult und Christentum auf Malta Fulda 1904 p. 7 ff., Gruppe Myth. Lit. 1908 p. 317 f., A. Mayr Die Insel Malta im Altertum München 1909 p. 139. In any case it seems probable that contact with the beans was believed to supply the idol with a fresh stock of virility or power to bless: beans = testes.

1 A. de Gubernatis op. cit. ii. 4 'Dans les noces helléniques, les jeunes mariés portèrent des couronnes d'agnus-castus employées aussi comme un moyen d'éloigner tout empoisonnement.' I do not know the source of this statement about young married couples, which is copied by R. Folkard Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics London 1884 p. 208 and reappears in J. Mart Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie Innsbruck 1890 p. 103 f. On the plant and its uses see further P. Wagler in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 832—834.


3 Diod. 5. 72 λέγων δὲ καὶ τοῦ γάμου τοῦ τα θεῶν καὶ τῆς Ἡρας εἶν τῇ Κνεσίμαι χύρες γενέθαι καθα τὰ τόπα χαλεά σος θόρος ποτιμάει, καθ' ἐν τῷ εἰρήν ἀθικόν, ἐν ἐς θρίαν κατ' ἐναντίῳ ἄγον ἐν τῷ ἐγχώριον συντελείθαι καὶ τοῦ γάμου ἀπομείνειν, καθάπερ ἐς ἀρχή γενέθαι παρεδώκησα. Id. 5. 80 mentions as his authorities for things Cretan Epimenides, Dosiates, Sosikrates, and Laosthenidas. The river Theren in Crete may have had the same peculiar properties as the spring Kanathos at Nauplia and perhaps the river Parthenios in Samos (supra p. 1027 n. 1). It was apparently an arm of the Amnisos (K. Hooeck Kreta Göttingen 1839 iii. 315), at the mouth of which was the cave of Eileithyia (Od. 19. 188, cp. Strab. 476), a daughter of Hera born here (Paus. 1. 18. 5): hence Nonn. Dion. 8. 115 Ἀμνισίος λέγωσα...θαρ. It is noteworthy that Artemis the virgin bathes in the Parthenios (a river of Paphlagonia, according to the schol. ad loc.) or in the Amnisos, and is escorted by the nymphs of the latter stream (Ap. Rhod. 3. 875 ff., Kallim b. Artem. 15).

4 Supra i. 533. The myth of the Cretan bull was attached to the same locality (Paus. 1. 27. 9 εἰς τοῖς θερμίναις).

5 Supra i. 124, iii. 35, 180.


7 Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke Ant. Denkm. ii. 1. 38 f.
Fresco from Pompeii, now at Naples:
the Hieros Gamos of Zeus and Hera on Mount Ida in the Troad.

See page 1032 ff.
The Hierôs Gámos

1—that is represented by the wall-painting found at Pompeii in the 'House of the Tragic Poet' (pl. lxxii). Here we see Zeus, a kingly figure seated on a rocky throne. A himation wrapped about his legs is drawn up so as to cover his hair like a veil, and falls again over his shoulder and left arm. The wreath on his head is possibly, but not certainly, composed of oak leaves. He rests his left hand, the fourth finger of which wears a wedding-ring, on a long sceptre. With an affectionate gesture of his right hand he draws towards him his bride. She is robed in a white péplos and an ample veil. Her hair is confined by a richly decorated stepháme; and her jewels include earrings, a necklace, bracelets, and a wedding-ring worn like that of Zeus. Her large and brilliant eyes, which recall the epithet bobéis, are averted from the face of her bridegroom and with a subtle blend of outward dignity and inward alarm look straight into the distance. The same mixture of feelings is betrayed by her stately yet hesitating advance, and again by the studied nervous way in which she is holding the end of her veil between herself and Zeus. Hera is followed and supported by Iris, a youthful winged figure whose anxious questioning expression is the natural accompaniment of her mistress' mood, but the difference between bride and bridesmaid is finely brought out by the artist. Hera with head erect and full of virginal pride emerges into the light—a queen indeed. Iris watching her with upturned face obscured by a semi-darkness is plainly subordinate and serves as her foil. On the rocks beside Zeus sit three male figures of diminutive size, scantily clad and wreathed with flowers; they have been interpreted with much probability as the Idaean

1 In the Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 413 f. I accepted the conclusions of Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus pp. 239—243 and maintained that the scenery of the fresco is that of the Cretan mountain. Certainly the woods (supra ii. 932 n. 1), the cult of Rhea (Diod. 5. 65 f.), and the Idaean Daktylooi (Hes. I. 397, 414 Flach ap. Plin. nat. hist. 7. 197, Ap. Rhod. 1. 1129 with schol. ad loc., Diod. 5. 64, Paus. 5. 7. 6 with schol. ad loc., Porph. v. Pyth. 17, Hesych. s.v. Ídaioi Δάκτυλοι, et. mag. p. 465, 25 ff., ep. Plin. nat. hist. 37. 170) all suit the neighbourhood of Knossos. But they suit the Trojan Ida equally well: here too were woods (supra ii. 949 n. 5), a cult of Rhea (Strab. 469; see further Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1525 n. 1), and the Idaean Daktylooi (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1126 and 1131, Strab. 473; Diod. 5. 64, 17. 7, Plout. de music. 5, Clem. Al. Strom. 1. 15 p. 46, 24 ff. Stählin, Hesych. s.v. Ídaioi Δάκτυλοι). Moreover, the other frescoes found in the same atrium depict scenes from Homeric epos (Herrmann Denkm. d. Malerei i. 16), and the flowers worn by the Daktylooi may be due to a reminiscence of II. 14—347 ff.

2 Pl. lxxxii is from Herrmann op. cit. pl. 11, a photographic reproduction which supersedes all previous publications.

3 Supra i. 124 ff.

4 Supra p. 1028.

5 Herrmann op. cit. i. 17 n. 1.

6 Cp. the Homeric εἰς καρπὸς χέρων κατα (II. 24. 671, Od. 18. 258, 24. 398).


8 Supra i. 444. A drawing of Hera's head, almost full-size, is given by A. Baumeister in his Denkm. i. 649 fig. 719.

9 Herrmann op. cit. i. 17 n. 3 (cp. ib. i. 15 fig. 3) states that their wreaths consist of sprays entwined with flowers, but thinks it impossible to decide whether these flowers are, as Helbig Wandgem. Camp. p. 33 f. no. 114 supposed, primroses.
Daktyloi, who haunted the woods of Mount Ide and were associated with Rhea, the Idaean Mother. The locality is further indicated by wooded hills in the background and a pillar adorned with Rhea's attributes—three bronze lions standing on its capital, a timbrel lying against its base, flutes and cymbals bound by a fillet to its shaft. The whole fresco must be regarded as a good Pompeian copy of a splendid Hellenistic original.

The presence of Iris as bridesmaid recalls the similar, though not identical, scenes portrayed by a couple of the later Greek poets. Theokritos in the Hellenistic age writes:

So came about the wedlock of the gods,
Whom puissant Rhea bare to rule Olympos.
One couch she strewed for the sleep of Zeus and Hera—
Iris, a maid with hands all perfume-pure.

Nonnos in the age of decadence spoils the picture by far-fetched bombast:

He spake, and rolling cloud on golden cloud
Tower-wise inglobed a circumambient veil,
So shaped and fashioned forth a bridal-bower,
Which then the dazzling diverse-tinted form
Of Iris the ethereal crowned—a covert
Of Nature's make for Zeus and his bright-armed bride,
What time they lay on the mountain, and withal
A perfect copy of their destined union.

Iris and the Daktyloi, like the landscape-background, were additions to the accepted type. A Hellenistic relief in island marble, unfortunately much corroded, was found in Rhodes and is now in the Rhodian Museum (fig. 831). It shows Zeus seated on a throne, the side of which is decorated with a large Sphinx. He raises his right hand in admiration of Hera, who stands before him, one hand resting on the god's knee, the other on her own hip. Between them is seen a pillar, on which is perched an eagle with spread wings. A Maiuri well compares another Hellenistic relief, in Parian marble, likewise found in


3 Herrmann op. cit. i. 15—17, G. Rodenwaldt Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde Berlin 1909 pp. 203—206.

4 Theokr. 17. 131 ff.

5 Nonn. Dion. 32. 76 ff. The text of line 78 f. is disputed. I have translated the passage as it stands in the editions of D. F. Graefe (1836) and A. Ludwich (1911), viz. καὶ θελάμοι τυφόν ἔστιν τότε, ὅ τότε γόλια | Ἰμῖος αἰθηρής ἐπηρεχθεὶς ἐπτεφει μορφή κ.τ.λ. The Count de Marcellus (ed. Paris 1836) prints the conjectural readings ὅ τότε for ὅ τότε and ἐπιρήθει for ἐπτεφεί.

6 A. Maiuri in Clara Rhodos 1932 ii. 44—46 fig. 32 (= my fig. 831).
Rhodes and now in London (fig. 832). Zeus sitting on a very similar throne, with a winged and lion-headed Sphinx, leans his right hand on a long sceptre. Before him stands Hera, also holding a long sceptre—for she plays queen to his king. Between them appears a pillar, on which are the feet of a small statue. In front of it is an ox (for sacrifice?). Behind Zeus was a standing figure, on a

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture iii. 223 f. no. 2150, Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 493 no. 2. My fig. 832 is from the official photograph.
smaller scale, with a palm-branch in its right hand—possibly Nike, but possibly a victor in some local contest who had dedicated a statue to Zeus and Hera\(^1\).

The pillar present in these Graeco-Roman compositions was itself no part of the older Hellenic type—witness a metope from Selinous now at Palermo.

\(^1\) This relief has been variously interpreted. P. Perdrizet in the \textit{Bull. Corr. Hell.} 1899 xxiii. 559 f. pl. 3, i thinks that it represents Zeus and Hera, or else Asklepios and Hygieia. W. Amelung in the \textit{Röm. Mitth.} 1901 xvi. 258—263 fig. 1 reverts to an older view that the deities are Sarapis and Isis. Reinach \textit{loc. cit.} is non-committal.

A. Maiuri, moved by the new Rhodian discovery, inclines to Zeus and Hera. I agree with him: Sarapis, as Amelung admits, ought to have had a \textit{chiton} and a much more prominent \textit{bolathos}.

For similar thrones see \textit{e.g.} that of Epiktesis (\textit{supra} i. 536 fig. 407) and that of Dionysos (\textit{supra} i. 710 with pl. xi, 4). A relief in Pentelic marble, now at Munich (A. Furtwängler \textit{Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München} München 1903 pl. 28, \textit{Id. Glyptothek zu München} p. 183 ff. no. 206, Reinach \textit{Rép. Reliefs} ii. 75 no. 1. My fig. 833 is from a photograph), again shows Zeus on his throne with Hera (?) standing before him, a group of worshippers at their altar, and a pillar surmounted by two archaistic figures, male and female, beneath the boughs of a huge plane-tree. Furtwängler comments (p. 185): 'Leider fehlt eine Dedications-Inschrift, so dass wir das göttliche Paar nicht benennen können. Es kann ebensogut irgend ein lokaler Heros und seine Gattin wie etwa Zeus Philios mit Agathe Tyche sein.'
This metope, which may be referred to the first half of the fifth century B.C., represents Zeus seated on a rock. He has a diadem in his hair and sandals on his feet. A himation, which has slipped from his left shoulder,

![Fig. 834-](image)

1 O. Benndorf Die Metopen von Selinunt Berlin 1873 p. 54 ff. pl. 8, Brunn—Bruckmann Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt. pl. 299, 1 (= my fig. 834), Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 399 no. 1. The metope belongs to the temple commonly known as E or R and regarded as that of Hera (?). It is carved in local limestone, the face, hands, and feet of the goddess being added in white marble—a peculiar technique, which together with other traces of archaism (hair of Zeus, full-front torso, costume of Hera, etc.) points to a date c. 475–460 B.C. (G. M. A. Richter The Sculpture and Sculptors of th Greeks Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 31 with fig. 410).

2 It would be rash to identify this rock with Mt. Ide or any other definite locality.
A head cast in blue glass (Greek work of c. 400 B.C.), from Girgenti, now at Queens' College, Cambridge: Hera Lakinia (?)
is wrapped about his legs; but otherwise his broad and powerful figure is undraped. Leaning back on his left hand, he raises his right and clasps Hera by the wrist. She is bare-footed and clad, like the archaic maidens on the akropolis at Athens, in a long sleeved chitón with a himátion slung over her right shoulder and under her left breast. But the stepháne above her brow and the large veil that falls over her head and forms a framework for her whole figure betoken that she is Hera as a bride. With her left hand she is unveiling herself to her bridgroom. In her right she probably held a sceptre.

Variations of the same type may be detected in late Greek vase-paintings, which introduce Zeus and Hera among other deities as accessory figures. Thus a fragmentary Apulian vase in Sir William Hamilton’s collection represented a battle of Greeks and Persians below with a council of the gods in the upper register (fig. 835). Here we see Zeus seated on a rock with Ganymedes (?) standing behind him and Hera in front. Zeus is half-draped in a himátion and has a fillet in his hair. His left hand, decorated with a bracelet, holds a long sceptre; his right he raises in conversation with Hera. She wears an Ionic chitón, ornamented with a broad stripe down the middle, and a bridal veil, which she is lifting with her right hand. In her left she supports a long sceptre topped by a palmette; and on her head is a handsome stepháne.

A large kratér from Ruvo, now at Naples, shows the rape of Persephone,

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1 Other interpretations are considered and dismissed by R. Foerster Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera Breslau 1867 p. 34 n. 6.

C. III.
again with an upper tier of divine spectators (fig. 836). The design is much damaged, and the greater part of Zeus is a modern restoration. But enough remains to prove that the god sat on a richly embellished throne, which has a couple of swans by way of arm-rests. A himation is wrapped about his legs; and his feet, which are shod, are placed on a footstool. The sceptre in the right hand of Zeus is surmounted by an eagle with spread wings. Before her lord with downcast eyes stands Hera. She is clad in a Doric peplos with a long overfold, and has sandals on her feet. She has also a stephane on her head and a veil. This she raises with her left hand, while in her right she holds a long sceptre. Behind the throne of Zeus stands Ganymedes. And, between them, a winged thunderbolt points downwards to the scene of tumult in progress below.

Fig. 836.

On a bell-shaped krater from Saticula (Santa Agata dei Goti), now in the same collection, there is a further variation of the type (fig. 837). The centre of the design is occupied by a group of Athena and Perseus. But adjoining them is a seated Zeus and a standing Hera, the pose of both being reminiscent of the hieros gamos. Zeus is clad in a himation and wears a wreath in his hair. He rests his right hand on a sceptre and turns to face the centre of interest, regardless of a small hovering Nike, who somewhat needlessly presents him with a second wreath. Before him at a lower level stands Hera, draped in Doric peplos and star-spangled veil. In her right hand is a long sceptre, and

on her head a rayed στέφανε. She too faces the central group, but is obviously conceived as the bride of Zeus.

(4) The Hierōs Gámos on Mount Oche.

Euboia, a great centre of Hera-worship, was another place associated with the hierōs gámos. It was believed that Zeus had met Hera on Mount Oche, the highest point in the south of the island. In this belief, no doubt, folk-etymology played a part. But it is to be observed that bronze coins of Karystos at the foot of Mount Oche, struck in s. ii B.C., show sometimes a laureate head of Zeus, sometimes a veiled head of Hera—a suggestive choice of deities.

(5) The Hierōs Gámos at Elymnia.

Elymnia or Elymnia, an island-town off the coast of Euboia, has been identified with the largest of the Petalian Isles near Karystos, but is better placed on the north coast near Oreos. Sophokles in his Naúpiios spoke of 'bridal Elymnia,' because this too was reputed to have been the spot where

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Fig. 837.

1 Supra ii. 902 n. 1.
4 There is, however, no reason to connect with either of them the early corbelled building on Mt Oche (for which see T. Wiegand 'Der angebliche Urtempel auf der Ocha' in the Ath. Mitth. 1896 xxii. 11—17 pls. 2 and 3).
5 Steph. Byz. s. v. Ελύμνιοι.
8 Soph. Naúpiios frag. 404 Nauck, 437 Jebb ap. schol. Aristoph. rax 1126 Καλλιστατος φησι τόσον Εθνοις το Ελύμνιον. 'Αποκλώνιον δε λαυε (αι τοὺς ηθον; A.B.C.) φησιν ειναι πληροι Εθνοις. νυμφαδον δε τινει αυτον φαινει, δια ο Ζευς τη 'Ηρα εκει συνεγερεται. μυρται και Σοφοκλης δι προν πετραις 'Ελυμνιαις, και εν Ναυπλων νυμφικον 'Ελυμνιον.'
Zeus consorted with Hera. But that Zeus in Euboea, like Poseidon in Lesbos, bore the cult-title El'ymnios is an unsupported conjecture.

(6) The Hierós Gámos on Mount Kithairon.

Plutarch, who as a native of Chairenia knew the mythology of Boiotia well, gives us a more detailed account. Hera was brought up as a virgin in Euboea, but was stolen away by Zeus and carried across the strait to Boiotia. Kithairon, the mountain-god, provided the run-aways with a shady nook and a bridal chamber of nature’s making. And, when Makris the nurse of Hera came in search of her and was minded to cry too far, Kithairon prevented her by saying that Zeus was there resting with Leto. So Hera escaped detection and later showed her gratitude by admitting Leto Mychía, ‘of the Nook,’ or Nychía, ‘of the Night,’ to share her altar and her temple. Others declared that Hera herself, since she companied there in secret with Zeus, was called Letó Nychía, ‘the Secret One of the Night,’ but when their union was made public—and this happened first in the neighbourhood of Kithairon and Plataiai—came to be known as Hera Teleía, ‘of the Wedding Rites,’ and Gamélia, ‘the goddess of Marriage’.

Plutarch’s narrative proves that the cult of Zeus and Hera on Mount Kithairon, its ancient ritual notwithstanding, had been influenced by the Euboean worship of Hera, and must in fact be treated as the remodelled form of an earlier cult, in which Zeus had been paired, not with Hera at all, but with Leto Mychía or Nychía.

1 Hesych. 'El'ymnios: Παρεθέων ἐν Λέσβῳ καὶ νήσος τῆς Ἐβοιας. But also Hesych. 'Ελ'υτός: Παρεθέων ἐν Μεσσαίῳ.
3 Plout. περὶ τῶν ἐν Πλαταιαίᾳ Δαιδάλων 3 ap. Euseb. praep. ev. 3. 1. 3.
6 At Plataiai Hera bore the titles Τελεία and Νυμφευομένη (Paus. 9. 2. 7).
7 For these epithets see Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1134 nn. 5 and 3 f.
8 Supra ii. 898 n. 6.
9 Schöll—Studemund anecd. i. 269 Εὐιθέρα Ἡπα... περί ἐν Ρ. 15 νύχιας with the note: ‘νύχιας potius quam νυχιάς videtur in L existere; nisi potius νυχίας ex μυχίας correctum est.’ See further O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3298.

An interesting relic of this goddess is a paste in the Vienna collection (fig. 838 is enlarged (?) from T. Panofka Gemmen mit Inschriften Berlin 1852 pp. 123, 135 pl. 4, 40), which shows a cock surrounded by the inscription ΛΕΤΟΜΥΧΙ(Lcorr. incebr. Gr. iv no. 7861 d) = Ληθώ(? Μυχή(?). The cock was dear to Leto, as to all women in childbirth, because he stood by her to lighten her labour (All. de nat. 4n. 4. 29). Possibly Leto Φερία of Phaistos (Ant. Lib. 17 (after
The Hieròs Gámos in the Cave of Achilles.

A parallel to the 'nook' of Kithairon in the Boeotian myth is furnished by the cave of Achilles. Ptolemaios Chénnos ('the Quail'), who flourished in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, in his New or Surprising History told the tale as follows. When Hera was fleeing from the embraces of Zeus, Achilles the earth-born received her in his cave and persuaded her to yield to the importunity of the god. This was their first union, and Zeus rewarded Achilles by a promise that all who bore his name thereafter should become famous. Hence the fame of Achilles son of Thetis. The teacher of Cheiron, too, was called Achilles; indeed Peleus' son was named after him by Cheiron. Now we are not definitely told by Ptolemaios where his cave of Achilles was situated. But it may fairly be surmised that Achilles the earth-born was one with Achilles the teacher of Cheiron; and, if so, the cave of Achilles the earth-born must have been the famous cave of Cheiron on Mount Pelion. The whole story is meant to sound like a genuine Magnesian myth.

(8) The Hieròs Gámos at Argos.

(a) Zeus and Hera at Hermione.

Another locality specially connected with the hieròs gámos is the Argolid. At Hermione there was a sanctuary of Hera Parthénos; and pious but ignorant folk derived the name of the town from the notion that Zeus and Hera had come to an 'anchorage' here after their voyage from Crete. Aristotle, or perhaps rather Aristokles, in a lost treatise on the cults of Hermione had included the local myth, which told how Zeus had transformed himself into a cuckoo in order to consort with Hera. But we have no proof that the union of these two deities was celebrated at Hermione by actual marriage rites.

(b) Zeus and Hera at Argos.

The same conception of the manner in which Zeus gained his desires was current at Argos also, thirty miles away, in the fifth century B.C. The cult-statue of Hera at the Argive Heraion had in one hand a pomegranate

Nikandros ἔτερωσομενα book 2) stood in some relation to Zeus Ἀλκάδας of Phaistos, whose sacred bird was the cock (supra ii. 946 f. n. o figs. 838—841).


2 On the cave of Cheiron see supra ii. 869 n. 2. Zeus was worshipped on Mt Pelion as 'Aktaios (λ.) and 'Aktaios (supra ii. 871 n. 3 (1)).

3 Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἑρμού καὶ Ἑρμώη... Ἑρμοῦ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Δία καὶ τῆς Ἡρᾶς ἑνεβαίνα ἀπὸ Κρήτης ἐφικτόντων ἐφικτήσας, καὶ τραυματίζον τοῦ εἰς καὶ ἀδεν καὶ ἀείν Ἡρᾶς παρθένου ἐν αἰώνι (cp. Eustath. in Il. p. 286, 39 ff.).

4 Aristot. frag. 287 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 190 Müller) = Aristokl. frag. 3 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 258 Jacoby) ap. schol. vet. Theokr. 15. 64 (Eudok. viol. 414b) cited supra ii. 893 n. 2. For attempts to alter 'Ἀριστοκλῆς' into 'Ἀριστοφάνης, Ἀριστάθης, Ἀριστοκλῆς, etc. see C. Müller ad loc. The most plausible emendation is 'Ἀριστοκλῆς, on whom see Tresp Frag. gr. Kultchr. p. 126 ff. (Frag. 1).

5 Supra p. 65 from Paus. 2. 36. 2 (cited supra ii. 893 n. 2).

6 Supra p. 65 f.
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(fig. 839)\(^1\) about which strange things were said, and in the other a cuckoo-sceptre which Pausanias\(^2\) explains by the story of Zeus' metamorphosis.

But was the hierôs gamos at Argos represented by definite rites? W. H. Roscher\(^3\) has collected various facts which point towards that conclusion. On the right hand side of the prómeas or vestibule of the Heraion stood a couch known as Hera's couch\(^4\). A sacrifice offered to the goddess was called by the Argives Lechēma\(^5\), a name presumably related to the word léchos 'a bed.' In the story of Kleobis and Biton the priestess of Hera had to visit her temple on a car drawn by white oxen\(^6\)—a circumstance suggestive of a bridal procession\(^7\).

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2. Paus. 2. 17. 4 (cited supra p. 65 n. 3).


4. Paus. 2. 17. 3 κλίθη τῆς Ηρᾶ, cp. Poll. 3. 43 κλίθη τινὶ δυνατὰ ὑμαντή.

S. Casson in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1920 xl. 137—142 developed the curious view that the central figure of the 'Ludovisi Throne' is Hera, who annually recovers her virginity by bathing in the spring Kanathos (Paus. 2. 38. 2; supra p. 224 n. 3). She is successively Teleda and Παρθένος (cp. Paus. 8. 22. 2). As Teleda she is immersed with breasts covered by a cloth symbolic of matronhood. As Παρθένος she emerges with cloth lowered and virginal breasts fully displayed. The figures on the side-arms are typical of Teleda and Παρθένος.

J. N. Svoronis 'Le lit de la Héra d'Argos œuvre de Polyctète ou le 'trône Ludovisi' avec son 'pendant' à Boston in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1920—21 xx. 108—159 pl. 3 f. goes further and fares worse. He contends that the 'Ludovisi Throne' and its Boston pendant were the actual couch of Hera seen by Pausanias in the Heraion, and that every detail of their relief-decoration has reference to the hierôs gamos of the goddess. He cites as relevant Philarg. expl. in Verg. ecl. 4. 63 (H. Hagen Appendix Serviana Lipsiae 1902 p. 88, 6 ff.) pueris nobilibus editis in atrio Iunonis Lucinae lectus ponitur, Herculi mensa, Myth. Vat. 1. 177 templum Iunonis sicut, in quo mensam Hercules et Diana lectum habuit; ubi portabantur pueri ut de ipsa mensa ederent et inde acciperent fortitudinem, et in lecto Dianae dormirent ut omnibus amabilis fierent et illorum generatio succerseret. But Philargyrius is obviously alluding to a Roman custom (Class. Rev. 1906 xx. 374), and the Vatican mythographer is copying him with a blunder or two thrown in. Neither writer says a word about the Argive Heraion.


6. Supra i. 447 f.

The Hieròs Gámos

And on billon coins of Alexandreia struck by Nero (fig. 840)\(^1\) Hera Argela is conspicuously veiled.

These considerations, despite the doubts of M. P. Nilsson\(^2\), do raise a certain presumption that the marriage of Hera was duly celebrated at Argos, though they do not of course prove that the original consort of the goddess was Zeus\(^3\). But that as early as the fifth century B.C. Zeus had come to be regarded as the rightful partner of the Argive Hera, and that their union was commemorated by the ritual of a hieròs gámos, seems to me a reasonable inference from the final scene of Aristophanes' Birds\(^4\).

At this point the argument can be strengthened by taking into account Roman as well as Greek evidence. Apuleius in his Metamorphoses makes Psyche pray to Hera as follows: ‘O sister and wife of mighty Zeus, whether thou abidest in the ancient temple of Samos, which alone can boast thy birth, thine infant cries, and thy nursing, or hauntest thy blissful seat in lofty Carthage, which worships thee as a virgin carried up to heaven on a lion\(^5\), or presidest over the famous walls of the Argives near the banks of the Inachos, which tells of thee as already the bride of the Thunderer and the queen of the gods\(^6\), etc. etc. Argos is here chosen as a typical centre for the cult of Hera conceived as the bride of Zeus. The same conception underlies the Agamemnon of Seneca, in which a chorus of Mycenaean women invokes Hera thus:

Come, consort of the mighty sceptre, come,  
Hera the Queen,—  
All we that in Mykenai have our home  
On thee must lean?.

Later in the play Agamemnon on reaching his palace exclaims:

O father, hurler of the cruel bolt,  
Driver of clouds, sovereign of stars and lands,  
To whom the conqueror brings his triumph-spoils,  
And thou too, sister of an almighty lord,  
Argolic Hera, gladly will I serve you  
With gifts of Arabay and suppliant entrails\(^7\).

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\(^2\) Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 44. He notes, however, that the marriage of Hebe and Herakles, a relief on a silver altar in the Heraion (Paus. 2. 17, 6), was perhaps viewed as a parallel to the marriage of Hera and Zeus. And he accepts as probable the suggestion of W. H. Roscher Juno und Hera Leipzig 1875 p. 33 that the wedding of Demetrios Poliorketes, when agonothètes at the Heraia, with Deidameia, daughter of the Molottian king Alaikides and sister of Pyrrhos (Plout. v. Deumtr. 25), was designed in imitation of the hieròs gámos.

\(^3\) I am hinting at Herakles, on whose relations to Hera I have said my say in the Class. Rev. 1906 xx. 371 ff.

\(^4\) See supra p. 58 ff.


\(^6\) Apul. met. 6. 4 sive propre ripas Inachi, qui te iam nuptam Tonantis et regimen décorum memorat, inclitis Argivorum praesides moenibus.

\(^7\) Sen. Ag. 348 ff.

\(^8\) Sen. Ag. 839 ff.
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But more explicit and detailed is a passage in the *Thebaid* of Statius. The poet is describing how the wives and children of the Argive warriors implored Hera to protect their absent ones in the perilous expedition against Thebes:

The day of prayer was done, but all night long
They kept their vigil round the altars' flame.
Ay, and they brought a robe by way of gift,
Whose wondrous woof no barren hand had woven
Nor such as lacked a husband—this they brought
In a basket as a veil acceptable
To their chaste goddess. Rich the purple shone
With broidered work and threads of glittering gold—
On it the bride of the great Thunderer
Within her bridal bower: nought she knows
Of wedlock and is fearful to lay by
Her sisterhood; with down-dropped eye she kisses
The lips of youthful Zeus, a simple maid
As yet untroubled by his stolen loves.
With this same veil the Argolic matrons clothed
The ivory goddess, and with tears and prayers
Besought her:—'Look now on the sinful towers
Of Kadmos' daughter, who seduced thy lord,
Queen of the starry sky. Oh, bring to nought
The foemen's rebel hill, and on their Thebes
Fling—for thou canst—another thunderbolt.'

We are surely justified in maintaining that this veil, woven for Hera by fruitful wives and embroidered to represent her wedlock with Zeus, implies the existence of an actual marriage-rite.

One other indication of such a rite is forthcoming, and that from a later and unexpected source. Cyprian, bishop of Antioch, *de profis* of the numerous pagan ceremonies through which he passed in his youth, says: 'I went and at Argos, in Hera's rite, was there initiated into the purposes of union—the union, I mean, of lower with upper and of upper with lower air, and likewise of earth with water and of water with lower air.' It can hardly be doubted that this, as L. Preller long since conjectured, refers to the old *hieroi gamos* of Zeus and Hera, still kept up in the third century A.D., though then encumbered with a symbolic and quasi-philosophical significance.

2 Cp. supra i. 110 f., iii. 775.
5 For Zeus as αὖθη and Hera as ἀπό see supra i. 31. Such teaching as that to which Cyprian listened would easily be grafted upon the Heraclitean doctrine of flux or a Stoic adaptation of the same (supra i. 28 ff.).
The Hierôs Gamos at Athens.

At Athens, and at Athens alone, we have evidence of the rite without the myth. The Athenians had a definite festival called the Hierôs Gamos, at which they commemorated the marriage of Zeus and Hera. A. Mommsen rightly identified this festival with the Theogamia, which took place towards the end of Gamelion, the month of Hera (our January to February). H. Usener drew attention to a passage of Menandros, which enables us to fix the date more exactly as the twenty-fourth or the twenty-seventh of that month. H. von Prött and L. Deubner further connect with the same festival the sacrifice of a pig for Zeus Heraldos recorded in a ritual calendar of the early fifth century found on the Akropolis at Athens. The unique epitaph by which the husband is named after the wife recalls the fact that at Samos and perhaps elsewhere Zeus in deference to Hera wore the bridal veil.

1 Hesych. λεξικόν γάμου: ευρήξ Δίος καὶ Ἡρας, Phot. lex. s.n. λεξίκον γάμου. Ἀθηναίοι ευρήξ Δίος ἄγωνι καὶ Ἡρας, λεξίκον γάμου καλοῦντα τῇ ἑαυτῷ εὐρήξ (H. Usener c. loquax πρὸς ἑαυτὸν σῶσον. T. Bergk, Beiträge zur griechischen Monumentendi Giessen 1845 p. 366 f. and W. H. Roscher, Juno und Hera Leipzig 1875 p. 75 and in his Lex. Myth. 2100 held that Pröklos was referring to the first day of the month. But A. Mommsen, Heortologie Leipzig 1864 p. 343 and A. Schmidt, Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie Jena 1888 p. 544 showed that the reference must be to the last third of the month, when the conjunction of sun and moon was approaching.

2 Prokl. in Hes. o.d. 780 ἐν καὶ Ἀθηναίος τὰ πρὸς σῶσον ἡμέρας εὐχετώντων τρὶς γάμους καὶ τὰ Θεογία εἴτε, τῶν φυσικῶν εἴτε πρῶτον οἴμενοι γάμους, τῆς σελήνης ἑαυτῶν (H. Usener c. loquax πρὸς ἑαυτὸν σῶσον. T. Bergk, Beiträge zur griechischen Monumentendi Giessen 1845 p. 366 f. and W. H. Roscher, Juno und Hera Leipzig 1875 p. 75 and in his Lex. Myth. 2100 held that Pröklos was referring to the first day of the month. But A. Mommsen, Heortologie Leipzig 1864 p. 343 and A. Schmidt, Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie Jena 1888 p. 544 showed that the reference must be to the last third of the month, when the conjunction of sun and moon was approaching.

3 Hesych. Γαμήλων: ἐν (τί) τῶν μυρίων, τὴν Ἡρας ἱερόν.


5 Menandros, Ἐθέρας fr. 2 (Frag. comp. Gr. iv. 161 Meineke) ἐρήκει τὰ θεογία άνθρωποι λεξίκον γάμου. Ἀθηναίοι λεξίκον γάμου καλοῦντα τῇ ἑαυτῷ εὐρήξ (H. Usener c. loquax πρὸς ἑαυτὸν σῶσον. T. Bergk, Beiträge zur griechischen Monumentendi Giessen 1845 p. 366 f. and W. H. Roscher, Juno und Hera Leipzig 1875 p. 75 and in his Lex. Myth. 2100 held that Pröklos was referring to the first day of the month. But A. Mommsen, Heortologie Leipzig 1864 p. 343 and A. Schmidt, Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie Jena 1888 p. 544 showed that the reference must be to the last third of the month, when the conjunction of sun and moon was approaching.

6 J. de Prött Leges Graecorum sacrae Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 4 expounds: "gloriorum Claercho phosphite suæ dicere matrimonium Iovis ac Jovis, quod Gamelionis diei ultimo adhibuisse usum sacrwm sumendum est, domini sese die nefasto [cp. et. mag. p. 131, 13 II.] antecedente celebraturum esse, ne hospites accedant; at Anthesterionis sollemni Veneris apud alios esse cæneturum."

7 F. G. Allinson ad loc.: 'here the "Fourth," may mean the 24th, i.e. the fourth day after the twenty-fourth, or, more probably, the 27th, i.e. the fourth (the third) day before the "New and the Old."'

8 J. de Prött op. cit. p. 4.

9 L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 177 f.

10 J. de Prött op. cit. p. 1 ff. no. 1, 30 f., Inter. Gr. ed. min. i no. 840, A 20 f. [- - ∆ιοι ἄνθρωποι: χαῖρες - - - - - ]. Class. Rev. 1906 xx. 416 n. 6.

11 J. de Prött op. cit. p. 4 'Plane singularem esse dìa Ἡρας ipse faterit. Non est quod miremur Ἀθηναίοι Ηρασίαν [supra p. 216 n. 2], Ἀμφιτρίτην Ποσειδώνα (schol. Hom. γ 91) aut Ἀφαλλων Λατρέων, Διανομον Θεωνεία. At deum ab uxoré denominari aliud est. He adds ἐν. n. 4 'Non habeo exemplum similis nisi Hesychii glossam Ἡρας- Ἡρακλέα [supra p. 216 n. 1].'

12 Supra p. 1028 figs. 829 and 830.

13 Supra p. 1033 pl. lxxii.
Appendix R

Greek art normally recognises Hera as the lawful bride of Zeus. Accordingly they are grouped together in a succession of hieratic types, which perhaps postulate a ritual origin.

(a) Zeus with Hera behind him.

Vases of the mid sixth century, whether Attic or otherwise, represent Olympos by the king and queen of the gods sitting in state. Zeus is enthroned to the right. Hera is enthroned to the right behind him.

(b) Zeus with Hera beside him.

By the end of the sixth century painters had learnt to economize their design. They now represented Olympos by Zeus enthroned to the right with Hera sitting at his side. Zeus as the more important deity is nearer to the eye

1 Cp. supra pp. 668, 669 f., 688.
2 So on the krater of Kilitias and Ergotimos (Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 58 pl. 11—12, Hoppin Black-fig. Vases p. 150 ff. no. 2, Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 255 ff.).
3 So on a ‘Chalcidian’ klyix in the British Museum (supra ii. 771 n. 1 with fig. 734).
4 The red-figured klyix by the potter Sosias, at Berlin (supra ii. 1167 n. 6, iii. 818 n. 0), shows Zeus seated with Hera by his side. The upper part of both figures is missing, but enough remains to prove that Zeus in chiton and himation was holding out a phiale, while his eagle-tipped sceptre leant against his stool (lion-footed and covered with a spotted lion-skin), and that Hera in like costume held sceptre and phiale. Before her stands Hebe ("H[θη]", not [Nθη], nor "H[ρη]") with spread wings, filling Hera’s phiale from an oinochoe.

A red-figured amphora at Munich, attributed to ‘the Nikoxenos painter’ (Gerhard
of the spectator (fig. 841). Hebe or Iris or other attendants may stand before them.

(γ) Zeus with Hera facing him.

Meantime other painters had hit upon a more effective arrangement. They represent Olympos as an assemblage of deities seated vis-à-vis². The partner of Zeus, who still looks towards the right, is almost always Hera, though once

Auerl. Vasenb. i. 31 ff. pl. 7, Jahn Vasensamml. München p. 137 f. no. 405. Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Hera pp. 31 ff., 32 ff., Hoppin Red-fig. Vasen ii. 233 no. 6. J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmalerei des röthfigurigen Stiles Tübingen 1925 p. 91 no. 1, E. Buschor in Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei iii. 250 f. pl. 158 (=my fig. 841), again has Zeus and Hera seated side by side and served by a winged attendant—Hebe (Gerhard, Jahn, Hoppin) or Iris (Beazley) or possibly Nike (Buschor). Buschor notes that the throne of Zeus is shown as if seen from the front, the two Sphinxes being arm-rests and the two wrestlers decorative supports for the seat (cp. supra p. 682 figs. 492 and 493).

He draws up a list of such thrones, which he regards as characteristic of Zeus.

¹ A black-figured hydria from Vulci, at Berlin (Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin i. 387 f. no. 1899, Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. cér. i. 39 ff. pl. 22 (=my fig. 842)), promotes Athena to the place of honour—a novelty pardonable on the part of an Athenian painter. With a spear that length she can hardly be Hera, pace R. Foerster Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera Breslau 1867 p. 31 ff.

Appendix R

J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tubingen 1925 p. 15 no. 49, has Zeus served by Ganymedes and Hestia seated in place of Hera. The figures from left to right are: A: Hebe (pomegranate, flower), Hermes (flower), Athena (spear, helmet), Zeus (*phidias*, thunderbolt), Ganymedes (*einochei*), Hestia (branch, flower), Aphrodite (flower, dove), Ares (spear, helmet), and B: Thero (*thyrsoi*, doe, snake), Terpes (*plethron, phorminx*). Dionysos (wine, *kintharoi*), Kalis (lion, *thyria*), Terpon (double flute). On the foot is an Etruscan graffito: *Itun Turus Venaia Tinos Clinisaraa*.

(3) A red-figured *stamnos* in the Louvre, by the 'Providence painter' (supra ii. 735 n. 4, E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 3ème Série Paris 1922 p. 237 f. no. 6 379 pl. 138, J. D. Beazley op. cit. p. 134 no. 31). My fig. 844 is from the *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 58, 2. The figures from left to right are: Zeus, Nike, Apollon, Hera, Hermes, Poseidon, Athena, Pluto, Persephone (?).

(4) A red-figured *kylix* in the British Museum, attributed to the school of Brygos (Bröt. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 96 f. no. 67, E. Gerhard *Trinkschalen und Gefässe des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin und anderer Sammlungen Berlin* 1848 i. 25 f. pl. D
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(= my fig. 845), P. Hartwig _op. cit._ p. 361 f., Hoppin _Redfig. Vases_ i. 131 no. 61, J. D. Beazley _op. cit._ p. 184 no. 1), shows Zeus seated over against Hera. Ganymedes serves the one; Iris, the other. Ares as a sample god stands between them.

(8) A red-figured _hydria_ at Leyden, by the 'Oinanthe painter' (Roulez _Vases de Leide_

Fig. 845.

p. 1 ff. pl. 1 (= my fig. 846), Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke _Ant. Denkm._ i. 16 f. pl. 1, 7, Reinach _Rép. Vases_ ii. 266, 1, J. D. Beazley _op. cit._ p. 252 no. 3). Zeus is seated opposite to Hera. Nike (rather than Iris) crowns his head. Hermes starts away, prepared to do his bidding. J. Roulez, followed with some hesitation by S. Reinach, took this vase to
by way of exception, Hestia takes her place. Iris or Ganymedes or both may be there, and sometimes a Doric column marks the scene as the celestial palace. Others again varied the scheme by making Zeus and Hera change sides, so

Fig. 847.

represent the hierôs gômos. But K. Wernicke concludes: 'Einen tiefen Sinn in dem Bild zu suchen wäre verfehlt; es ist gewissermassen eine Genrescene im Olymp.'


Fig. 848.

fig. 19). Zeus seated on an elaborate throne (arm-rest, supported on a lion, ends in a Gorgon-head) has his hêmâtion drawn up like a veil over the back of his head and holds a sceptre tipped with a dove (Richter) or, more probably, a small eagle (Scheffold). Opposite to him is a seated goddess, presumably Hera. And Eros, flying from her to him, presents him with a wreath. Again the scene is suggestive of the hierôs gômos.

that he looks to the left and she to the right. But such transposition is due to mere love of variety.

(8) Zeus with Hera on the frieze of the Parthenon.

The 'Kodros painter,' as Professor Beazley put it, was 'Parthenonian' in his effects. But the Parthenon itself on its eastern frieze combined in one triumphant synthesis all three traditional types—the tandem, the side-by-side, and the face-to-face arrangement. The deities are mostly seen en échelon. Hera is thus behind Zeus, and yet beside him, while with a gesture characteristic of the bride she turns herself to face her bridegroom. Zeus, alone of the gods, sits on a throne with back and arms: its top-bar terminates in a circular disk and its side-rail is supported on a winged Sphinx. His attitude is one of dignified ease. The right arm, sceptre in hand, rests on his lap; the left leans on the back of his throne. He wears a wreath or fillet in his hair, a himation about his legs, and sandals on his feet. Hera sits on a stool, wearing sandals, a Doric péplous, and a large outspread veil. She too has a wreath, which is composed of pointed and serrated leaves—probably those of her sacred tree, the willow. At her side in a Doric péplous stands Iris, who raises her left hand to adjust a mass of hair and in her right probably held a fillet or garland. In this complex Pheidias—for the design was surely his—has given faultless expression to the current Athenian belief about the wedlock of Zeus and Hera. Moreover, as in the vase-paintings, so on the frieze the Zeus and Hera is extended to include a series of other seated deities.


2 Cp. supra p. 694 fig. 502.

J. D. Beazley op. cit. p. 425 'Sehr feine Schalen mit Anklängen an Parthenonischen.'

4 Supra ii. 1135 n. 5 with pl. xliiv.

5 Cp. supra p. 1036 fig. 834.

6 Supra i. 91 f. fig. 64.


8 The choice lies between Nike (Overbeck Gr. Plastik i. 444, F. Studniczka Die Geschiebetteim Leipzig 1898 p. 90 pl. 9, 39—40) and Iris (J. Stuart and N. Revett The Antiquities of Athens London 1787 ii. 13 pl. 24, followed by most modern critics). Somewhat in favour of the former is her long clothing; but decisive for the latter is her position next Hera, not Zeus.
Not altogether uninfluenced by the Parthenon frieze is the upper row of figures on an 'Apulian' amphora in the Santangelo collection at Naples (fig. 850). The painter of this vase has represented in crude and clumsy juxtaposition a sequence of Aphrodite, Hera, Zeus, Athena, and Nike. The arrangement of Hera, Zeus, and perhaps Athena owes something to the Pheidias scheme, modified of course to suit the subject in hand.

(4) Zeus with Hera in archaistic reliefs.

Zeus and Hera, conceived as a wedded pair, had long since taken their place among the traditional gods of Greece. They figure therefore as two of the canonical twelve, who from the fifth century onwards tend to be represented in an affected archaistic style suggestive of long-standing cults. O. Weinreich in a recent article has traced with masterly skill the whole rise and development of these 'Zwölfgötter.' He shows convincingly that they were ab origine the Olympian counterpart of an earthly 'Zwölfsstaat'—a divine 'Synoikismos' which shaped itself on Ionion soil at least as far back as the seventh century B.C., that in the fourth century owing to Iranian influence on the Platonic school they came to be viewed as 'Monats- oder Zodiacusgötter' and that in Graeco-Roman times they played a noteworthy part in the formation of political and social ideals, in theological speculation, and in magic. Here I am concerned merely to illustrate the various positions assigned to Zeus and Hera in the archaistic renderings of the canon.

A votive relief, said to have been found at Tarentum and offered for sale in Paris, was well published by E. Schmidt (fig. 851), who now dates it as early as c. 460 B.C. It represents, on Pentelic (?) marble and in curiously flat technique, the twelve gods standing, not walking, with left foot advanced, as if they were lined up for the start of a procession. Their order from right to left is Apollon

1 Cp. supra i. 300 n. 6.
3 Her relative position may be reminiscent of the Parthenon frieze, but her type is obviously taken from the balustrade of Nike Apteros (R. Kekulé Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike Stuttgart 1881 p. 7 pl. 2, e, R. Heberdey 'Die Komposition der Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike' in the Jahrb. d. östl. arch. Inst. 1912 xx1—xxii. 14 f. fig. 10), as is that of the helmet-bearing Nike who stands beside her (Kekulé op. cit. p. 8 pl. 4, m, Heberdey loc. cit. p. 22 f. fig. 18).
5 O. Weinreich in Roscher Lex. Myth. vi. 768 f., 771 f., 829 f.
7 O. Weinreich loc. cit. vi. 830 ff.
8 Id. ib. vi. 835 ff.
9 Id. ib. vi. 837.
11 E. Schmidt Archaische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom München 1922 p. 57.
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(Phletron, kithara, bay-wreath), Artemis (bow, quiver), Zeus (thunderbolt, eagle-sceptre), Athena (spear, owl, helmet, aigis); Poseidon (trident), Hera (sceptre), Hephaistos (shorter staff), Demeter (corn-ears, sceptre); Ares (spear, helmet, breastplate), Aphrodite (small oval fruit between fingers of right hand), Hermes (caduceus, pilos), Hestia (phiale, sceptre). The twelve form three fours, the divisions between them being marked by the fact that the leader of the second and third group turns to address his immediate follower—an action repeated by the final pair. Throughout the line god alternates with goddess. But it is to be observed that Hera's place next Zeus is usurped by Athena—a variation which, as in the case of a black-figured vase already mentioned, points to the patriotic design of an Athenian craftsman.

The same arrangement in three fours appears five centuries later on the so-called ara Borghese in the Louvre (fig. 852, a–c). This triangular base of Pentelic marble, meant to support a candelabrum or a tripod, is embellished with two ranges of divine figures. Above we see the twelve gods grouped as follows from left to right: Zeus (thunderbolt) with Hera (sceptre, bridal veil) and Poseidon (trident) with Demeter (corn-ears?); Apollon (Phletron, Kithara?—wrongly restored as a goddess?) with Artemis (arrow?, quiver?, bow?) and Hephaistos (pincers—again wrongly restored as a goddess!) with Athena (spear, aigis, helmet?, shield?); Ares (spear, shield, helmet?, breastplate?) with Aphrodite (dove) and Hermes (caduceus, talaria) with Hestia (veil, sceptre). Below on a larger scale are the three Charites (joining hands for the dance); the three Horai (flower, grapes, corn); the three Moirai (sceptres). The general effect is that of an archaising sorte conversazione. But it is clear that Zeus and Hera head the assembly, and that the Charites, the Horai, the Moirai are all introduced in relation to Zeus.

The arrangement in fours underlies also the grouping of the twelve on the puteal Albanii, a well-mouth of Roman date formerly in the Alban collection but now in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 853). This relief, of Greek marble but Roman design, divides the gods into two unequal companies, eight moving towards the right, four towards the left. On the one hand we have Zeus (thunderbolt, sceptre), Hera (stephane, bridal veil), Athena (aigis, helmet, spear),

1 Supra p. 1049 n. 1.
2 Clarac Mus. de Sculpt. ii. i. 170–181 pls. 172–174 figs. 11–17 = Reinach Rép. Stat. i. 65 f., Müller–Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst i. 8 pl. 12, 43 and 44; pl. 13, 45 (=my fig. 852, a, c, d); Fröhner Sculpt. du Louvre i. 3 ff. no. 1. Height: 2.089m.
4 Supra i. 155, ii. 232 n. o fig. 160, iii. 925.
5 Supra ii. 37 n. 1, 94 n. 2, 232 n. o, 372 f., 1138 n. 5, iii. 955.
6 Supra ii. 231 n. 8, 1138 n. 5.
7 Stuart Jones Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome p. 106 ff. Galleria no. 31 b pl. 29 (six photographs, each showing two deities), Müller–Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 137 ff. pl. 18, 197 (=my fig. 853), W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümner in Rom Leipzig 1912 i. 431 ff. no. 783 (who notes that, according to old drawings, the present restored head of Aphrodite should have been looking backwards to link up with the other company), O. Weinreich in Roscher Lex. Myth. vi. 798 f. with fig. 4. Height: 0.492m.
8 E. Schmidt Archaische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom München 1927 p. 25 ff. ('flavische Zeit ist mir das wahrscheinlichste, hadrianische das späteste mögliche Datum').
Heraclès (lion-skin, club, bow), Apollo (phléktron, lyre), Artemis (bow), Ares (breastplate, helmet, shield, greaves), Aphrodite (bud, flower); on the other hand, Hephaistos (double axe), Poseidon (trident, dolphin), Hermes (plátos, winged caduceus, goat), Hestia? (sceptre).

Not three fours, but four threes, was the distribution of the twelve on the so-called ara Albani, a quadrangular base of marble still in the Villa Albani (fig. 855). Three slabs only of this relief are extant. They represent a procession of deities passing from left to right—Artemis (torches), Leto? (sceptre), Zeus (thunderbolt, eagle-sceptre), Hera (stephánē, sceptre, bridal veil), Poseidon (trident), Demeter (poppies and corn-ears, sceptre), Dionysos (nephris restored as breastplate, thýrōs), Hermes (caduceus, talaria). But these figures were not all. A fragment of drapery to be seen in front of Artemis' right knee (fig. 855, c) makes it probable that Apollo, chanting, originally led the way. And a fore-arm visible behind Hermes (fig. 855, a) proves that he was followed by another deity, possibly Hestia. It seems likely that the canonical number was completed by the presence of two more gods on the missing slab.

J. G. Zoega's was the first to suggest that this monument showed the wedding of Zeus and Hera. His opinion was adopted by F. G. Welcker, who noted the wreaths worn by all the extant figures, and met P. A. Visconti's objection that Zeus and Hera appear on separate slabs by the conjecture that the procession was designed for a circular, not a quadrangular, base. K. Wernicke too endorses Zoega's view, though with some hesitation. But W. Ameling finds this explanation far from convincing. No doubt a well-mouth so decorated would be suitable enough in a private house: the wedding of Zeus and Hera was the prototype of all weddings. Nevertheless it would be safer to conclude

1 Welcker Alt. Denkm. ii. 14—26 pl. i, 1, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Hera p. 174 ff. Atlas pl. 10, 29 a—c, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke Ant. Denkm. i. 18 ff. pl. 1, 9, Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 139 no. 1, W. Helbig op. cit. iii. 458 f. no. 1930, O. Weinreich loc. cit. vi. 800. My fig. 855, a—c is from photographs of the cast at Cambridge. Height: 0·65 m.

The face of Hera has been retouched, that of Demeter more seriously altered. The head and right arm of Hermes, the face and right arm of Dionysos, perhaps also the legs of the latter, are modern. Hermes was originally bearded; and Dionysos wore, not a breastplate, but a nephris over his short chitón. The bird on the sceptre of Zeus is not a cuckoo, as G. Zoega thought, but an eagle.

2 See, however, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke op. cit. i. 19; Hier, unmittelbar vor dem Brautpaar, is the Stelle der Brautmutter; man hat daher entweder auf Rhea oder Tethys (als Pflegemutter) gedeutet; der Gedanke an Leto (weil sie den Mantelzipfel der Artemis fasst) ist entschieden zu verwerfen, solche in dieser Klasse von Reliefs typischen Züge sind inhaltlich ohne Bedeutung.

3 G. Zoega Li bassirliivi etichii di Roma Roma 1808 ii. 251—257 pl. 101.


5 Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke op. cit. i. 18 ff. pl. 1, 9.

6 W. Ameling in W. Helbig op. cit. iii. 459: 'Doch ist die Deutung auf den Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera keineswegs zwingend.'

7 Diod. 5. 73 προθύανει δὲ πρὸ την ἔνατην τῷ Δίῳ τῷ Τελείῳ καὶ Ἡρᾷ Τελείῳ διὰ τῶν τῶν άρχοντων γεγονότων καὶ πάντως εὐφωτάτω, Dion. Hal. art. rhet. 2. 2 καὶ οἱ οὗτοι (sc. οἱ νεκροὶ) οἱ εὐφωτές καὶ διευθύντες τῶν γάμων τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Ζεύς γὰρ καὶ Ἡρα, πρῶτοι ξενώνυμοι τε καὶ συνυδαμεῖτε, οὕτω τοι ἐνέγκας καὶ Πατήρ καλεῖται πάντως, ἢ δὲ Ζωγία ἂν τῶν βραχύνων τῷ ἄνθω τῷ ἄνθω. Cp. Aisch. Æn. 455 Nauck² ap. schol. Pind. Isthm. 6. 10 and see also schol. Aristoph. Thesm. 973.
that the twelve gods are here portrayed simply as a divine team arriving to bless the home of their worshipers. They are the plastic counterpart of the painted twelve found more than once at Pompeii (figs. 856, 857). It may be doubted whether their religious significance was much greater than that of our own Apostle-spoons.

(10) The Hieros Gamos in the Far West.

There is no reason to think that the myth of the *hieros gamos* was ever located at Athens. Athenian poets do indeed occasionally refer to such a myth. Sophokles speaks of the Gardens of Zeus and their proverbial felicity, Aristophanes of the Plain of Zeus and the bridal bed towards which at the triumphant close of his great comedy the birds wing their way. But the home

W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 75 n. 6 (=id. in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2100) 'Nach den Worten des Lex. rhet. p. 670, 28 Pors. [on which source consult W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1924 ii. 2. 876 f.] ιδίοι πουσον ρεί τον Διο και την *Iepo* λειποι γάμους scheint man jede Hochzeit als eine Art Hieros-gamos aufgefasst zu haben.' But?

1 Cp. e. g. Plaut. *Epid.* 610 f. si undecim deos praeter sese secum adducat Iuppiter, ita non omnes ex cruciatu poterunt eximere Epidicum.

2 (1) On the outer wall of a corner-house, where the *Vico dei dodici idoli* runs into the *Strada dell' Abbondanza* (Reg. viii. 3) (E. Gerhard in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1849 xxii. 206—214 pl. k, Helbig *Wandgym. Camp.* p. 5 f. no. 7, J. Overbeck *Pompeji* Leipzig 1884 p. 244, Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 62 ff. pl. 6, 2 (=my fig. 856), A. Mau *Pompeji its Life and Art* trans. F. W. Kelsey New York 1920 p. 256, Reinach *Rép. Point. Gr. Rom.* p. 5 no. 2, A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji* Leipzig 1928 p. 130). The gods, standing between two bay-trees, are—from left to right—Vesta (cup (not apple), sceptre, ass), Diana (spear, bow and arrows, fawn), Apollo (*chitra*), Ceres (corn-wreath, torch), Minerva (helmet, spear, shield), Jupiter apparently of youthful beardless type (sceptre), Ino (sceptre), Volcanus of beardless type (*pileus*, hammer, tongs), Venus *Pompeiana* (*modius*, small branch?, sceptre, rudder?), Mars (helmet, breastplate, greaves, shield), Neptune (trident), Mercurius (winged *pétasos*, *talaria*, purse, winged *caduceus*). Beneath the twelve and under their protection was the painting of an altar set out with various fruits and approached by two snakes (beards, crests, forked tongues) with a background of bay-bushes.

(2) On the outer wall of a house in the *Strada dell' Abbondanza* (Reg. ix. 11) (M. Della Corte in the *Not. Scavi* 1911 p. 417 ff. figs. i, 2, 2a, R. Delbrueck in the *Jahrh. d. hist. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxxviii Arch. Anz. p. 157 with fig. 17, Reinach *Rép. Point. Gr. Rom.* p. 6 no. 3, A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji* Leipzig 1928 p. 133 fig. 62, F. Saxl *Mithras Berlin* 1931 p. 75 n. 4 with pl. 30 fig. 165 (=my fig. 857), O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 808 with fig. 3). The gods, standing en face between two (?) Corinthian pillars, are—from left to right—Jupiter (sceptre, thunderbolt), Ino (*stephané*, veil, *patera*, sceptre), Mars (Oscan helmet, breastplate, spear, round shield, *balteus*, sword?), Minerva (crested Corinthian helmet, *Gorgoneion*, *patera*, spear, round shield), Hercules (lion-skin, *balteus*, *skaphos*, club), Venus (veil, winged Cupid), Mercurius (purse, *caduceus*), Proserpina (*modius*, sceptre), Volcanus of juvenile type (*pileus*, hammer), Ceres (corn-wreath, torch), Apollo (bow, quiver, *plectrum*, lyre), Diana (crown, bow, quiver, *patera*, sceptre). Adjoining this group is an altar on which were found charcoal and cinders, remains of the last offering, and above it the painting of a sacrifice by the vicomagistri.

3 Supra p. 1047.
5 Aristoph. *av.* 1758 (cited supra ii. 1021, iii. 59).
of Zeus is placed in the far west—a sunset fancy, for which mortals sigh in vain. Thus Euripides in his Hippolytous makes a chorus of Troezenian women, fain to escape from the troubles of this life, exclaim:

O to win to the strand where the apples are growing
Of the Hesperid chanters kept in ward,
Where the path over Ocean purple-glowing
By the Sea’s Lord is to the seafarer barred!
O to light where Atlas hath aye in his keeping
The bourn twixt earth and the heavens bestarred,
Where the fountains ambrosial sunward are leaping
By the couches where Zeus in his halls lieth sleeping,
Where the bounty of Earth the life-bestowing
The bliss of the Gods ever higher is heaping!

The myth here touched upon is set out more fully by Pherekydes, the logo-
grapher of Leros, who is called an Athenian also, probably because he spent
most of his life at Athens. When Zeus married Hera,—he says—the gods
brought wedding-gifts to the bride. Among them came Ge, bearing boug-
hs of golden apples. Hera, astonished at the sight, bade plant the boughs in her
garden hard by Mount Atlas. But Atlas’ virgin daughters, the Hesperides,
kept taking of the apples; so Hera set a monstrous snake to guard the tree.
This snake was slain by Herakles and translated to the stars by Hera.

Pherekydes’ tale gives prominence to Ge; and it is to be observed that a
Pindaric fragment, our oldest source for a marriage of Zeus in the remote
west, mentions as his consort, not Hera at all, but Themis—a goddess ex-
pressly identified with Ge both in the poetry of Aischylos and in the official nomen-
clature of Athens.

(11) Inferences concerning the Hieros Gamos.

We have now passed in review the evidence, both literary and monumental,
for the hieros gamos of Zeus and Hera. Two points emerge and must be
emphasised.

2 Soud. l. v. Φερεκύδης, on which see W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1912 i. 454 f. and W. Schmid—O. Stählin Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1929 i. 1. 710 ff. Supra p. 455.
4 This garden is called Ηρης λευκών (Kallim. h. Artem. 164) or θειών κήπος (Pherekyd. frag. 33 a (supra n. 3)). It is identical with the θειανοῦ κήπος, where the Clouds array their dance (Aristoph. nuv. 271). Cp. τῶν Σελήνης καὶ Λαμπρότητος λευκῶν (Plout. amat. 30).

Here grew the trefoil χάνθουρ (Hesych. l. v.), used as fodder by the fawns of Artemis and the horses of Zeus (Kallim. h. Artem. 163 ff.).
5 Supra p. 489 n. 318 and 319.
6 Supra ii. 37 n. 1.
7 Supra ii. 176 n. 1.
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In the first place, the great bulk of the evidence is comparatively late. If we except one passage in the Iliad, neither ritual nor myth is attested before the fifth century B.C. Moreover, the single exception is itself certainly an addition, probably a late addition, to the Iliad. W. Leaf and M. A. Bayfield assigned it to the third and latest stratum of the poem, a stratum which they date between 1000 and 800 B.C. Professor G. Murray, who lays stress on the 'Milesian' tone of the episode, speaks of it as 'that late Homeric story of the Outwitting of Zeus' and refers it to a period when 'the Epos as a form of living and growing poetry was doomed'. However that may be, not a single allusion to the sacred marriage of Zeus with Hera is forthcoming from the Homeric hymns or Hesiod, from Pindar or the other lyrical poets, one indirect reference only from Aischylos, none from Sophokles, none from Herodotos, Thoukydides, Demosthenes, Xenophon, Platon, none even from Pausianias. Nor is the scene represented by monuments of any kind belonging to the genuinely archaic period of Greek civilisation. This almost complete absence of early evidence raises a suspicion that the hieros gamos was of comparatively recent introduction.

In the second place, this suspicion is deepened by the fact that here and there, even where the hieros gamos is attested, Zeus seems to have had an older partner, who was not Hera, or Hera an older partner, who was not Zeus. For example, we have seen reason to think that on Mount Kithairon Leto Mychiae or Nyckia was paired with Zeus before the arrival of Hera, and that in the myth of Zeus' western marriage Themis, not Hera, was the original bride. A kylis by the painter Oltos strangely ignored Hera in favour of Hestia in a scene perhaps reminiscent of the hieros gamos. At Argos the evidence pointed to a marriage of Hera, but did not prove that her original consort was Zeus; while at Knossos it was practically certain that the ritual marriage of Zeus and Hera had been preceded by a ritual marriage of a sun-god and a moon-goddess in bovine form.

In short, the case for Hera as essentially and ab origine the bride of Zeus is neither proven nor probable.

3 Supra p. 1060 n. 7.
4 Supra p. 1045.
5 Supra p. 1064.
6 Supra p. 1049 n. 2 (1), fig. 843.
7 Supra i. 523, iii. 1032.
ADDENDA

i. 2 n. 2. For the blue-black eyebrows of Zeus cp. Apul. met. 6. 7 nec reunit Iovis caeruleum supercilium. See also S. Marinatos in the 'Arch. Eph. 1927—1928 p. 198 ff. (Mesopotamian technique with inlay of lapis lazuli or blue paste), J. L. Myres Who were the Greeks? Berkeley, California 1930 p. 192 f. (normal colouring of Mediterranean physique).

i. 7 n. 2. Add Anth. Plan. 121. 3 ἡν ἐφορώνο δὲ αἴθερος αἱ Δίας αἴγαι.

i. 15 n. 6. A parallel to the line of Emnios is the fine passage in Paus. Chr. frag. 6 (Trag. Rom. frag. p. 99 f. Ribbeck) ap. Varr. de ling. Lat. 5. 17, Cic. de nat. deor. 2. 91, de div. 1. 131, Non. Marc. p. 209, 8 f. Lindsay.


S. Aurigemma Il R. Museo di Spina Ferrara 1935 p. 116 pl. 63 publishes a fine Etruscan statuette, of bronze washed in silver, which represents a clad in chlamys, severing a long tress of his hair with his sword.

i. 26 n. 10. Eustath. in Dionys. per. epist. p. 209, 14 ff. Müller καὶ Ζέως μὲν ὁ παρ' οὐκόμοιο τοῦ πάντας θώκους ἐμπέμφων αἴθερος, αὐτῷ γὰρ αὑτῷ τε βαλαντά τα κάτω μετασταξόμενο βρέθηται, αὐτῶς δὲ μὴ ἐχαλασθεῖν κάτω ἀλασωντέσθαι κ. t. l., id. in H. p. 1057. 49 Ζέων ἀνὰ Δωδεκαναί, τούτων αἴθερε καὶ περίγει.


i. 41 ff. See further the careful dissertation of A. Schlachtner Der Glaube: seine Entstehung und Verwendung in der Antike (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ viii) Leipzig—Berlin 1927 pp. 1—118.
Addenda

i. 46. Cp. R. Browning The Bishop orders his Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church 47 ff. ‘So, let the blue lump poise between my knees, [Like God the Father's globe on both his hands] Ye worship in the Jesu Church so gay.’

i. 47. A gilded bronze statuette with eyes of silver inlay, formerly in the Sommere Collection, represented Zeus enthroned with his left foot resting on a high footstool, restored as a large globe (A. Furtwängler Sammlung Sommere München 1897 p. 581. no. 87 pl. 34. Reimach Rép. Stat. ii. 780 no. 1).

i. 52 n. 7. R. M. Dawkins in Folk-Lore 1924 xxxv. 273 n. 29 f. deals with this apple as the ‘orb of dominion.’

i. 53 with fig. 31. E. Lattes Le iscrizioni paleolitiche dei fittili e dei bronz di provenienza etrusca Milano 1902 pp. 104 f. 111, id. Saggi e appunti intorno alla iscrizione etrusca della mummita Milano 1894 p. 24 f. regards the Orvieto cone as an altar for libation to the dead, and reads Tinia. tinxivt | s. asi. sacni = lovis diovia (haec est) super ara sancta.


i. 60 with fig. 36. A complete publication of this important sarcophagus is now available, F. Gerke Der Sarkophag des Inhumanus Basius Berlin 1936 pp. 1—37 with 32 plates.


i. 66 n. 5. See further J. van der Vliet Quo discrimine dei et homines inter se dignoscantur in Mnemosyne 1901 xxix. 207 f. and S. A. Naber Deorum coronae ib. 1901 xxix. 304—306.

i. 67 n. 3. W. R. Halliday The Greek Questions of Plutarch Oxford 1928 p. 172 doubts my explanation of Plutarch’s human ὁμοιος. But such usages are very ancient and wide-spread. Engraved and painted on the rock-wall of a cave at Les Trois-Frères near S. Girons (Arriege) is a male figure of the middle Magdalenian period. He has human hands and feet, and a full beard, but hairy animal ears, stag’s antlers, and an equine tail (H. Obermaier Fossil Man in Spain Yale Univ. Press 1924 p. 233 fig. 103, M. Hoernes Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa Wien 1925 p. 606 ff. fig. 1, R. de Saint-Périer L’Art préhistorique (Époque paléolithique) Paris 1932 p. 57 pl. 49, 6). Stag-nummers in south Gaul c. 500 A.D. are attested by Caesarius of Arles and Eligius of Noyon. Caesarius serm. 130. 1 says: ‘Quid enim est tam demens, quam virilem sexum in formam mulieris turpi habitu commutare? quid tam demens, quam deformare faciem et vultus induere, quos ipsis etiam daemones expavescent? quid tam demens, quam incompositis motibus et impudicis carminibus vituorum laudes invincenda delectatione cantare, indi ferino habitu et capræae ut cervo similibus fieri, ut homo ad imaginem Dei et simulitudinem factus sacrificium daemonom frat?’ (xxxix. 2003 Migne), id. ib. 130. 2: ‘Quicumque ergo in Calendari Januarit quibuscumque miseris hominibus sacrilego ritu insanientibus potius quam ludentibus aliquam humanitatem dedenter, non hominibus sed daemonibus se dedisse cognoscant. Et ideo si in peccatis eorum participes esse non vultis, cervulum sive caniculam (so E. Maass for anniculum, annulas, agriculum codd.) aut aliqua quaelibet canicula portenta ante domos vestras venire non permetatis...’ (xxxix. 2004 Migne). Eligius de rectitudine cathedrae conversationis 5 follows suit: ‘Nullus in Calendar Januarit nefandar et ridiculosus, vetulas aut cervulos aut <cænae venae> ticos (so I would read for joticos, joticos, joticos codd.), faciales...’ (xli. 1172 Migne). E. Maass in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1907 x. 108 ff. infers that at Arelate on the first of January three mummers represented an old woman, a stag, and a hound—in short, the masque of Aktaion, whose story as portrayed by Polygnotos at Delphi involved precisely these three figures (Paus. 10. 30. 2). J. A. MacCulloch The Religion of the ancient Celts Edinburgh 1911 p. 269 f.
more wisely postulates a native origin for the custom. And R. D. Barnett in "Folk-Lore" 1929 xli. 393 f. does good service by collecting allusions to it and by noting that a last trace of it is "the running of the deer" in the carol "The Holly and the Ivy." A. Nicoll " Masks, Mimes, and Miracles" London 1931 p. 165 fig. 115 shows a performance of such masked dancers (stag, hare, fox, old woman, etc.) from a fourteenth-century miniature in the Bodleian MS. 246 of "Li Romans d'Alexandre."

J. G. McKay "The Deer-Cult and the Deer-Goddess Cult of the Ancient Caledonians" in "Folk-Lore" 1932 xliii. 144-174 breaks fresh ground and raises a whole crop of important contentions (succinctly stated on pp. 167-169).


i. 68 n. 1. The Hesychasts of Mt Athos in the fourteenth century held that divine light shone about the summit of Mt Tabor (S. V. Troitsky in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1913 vi. 427f).

i. 70. C. T. Sethman Greek Coins London 1933 p. 165 pl. 35, 8 shows that Charis and Olym-must be the names of magistrates, not engravers.


i. 100. Olympos, a pre-Greek word for "mountain" (C. Theander in Erato 1915 xvi. 127-136, M. P. Nilsson Homer and Mycenae London 1933 p. 206). R. J. H. Jenkins in a valuable, but unpublished, dissertation on "The Religions and Cults of Olympia during the Bronze Age Cambridge 1932 p. 71 n. 4 (MS.) conjectures that Olympos was the "Early Anatolian for "Mountain"," and that at Olympia it was Early Helladic or Early Macedonian (two branches, south and north, of the same race).

i. 102 n. 4. D. M. Robinson in Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 1934 lxv. 103 ff. publishes an inscription, of 356 B.C., recording a treaty between Philip of Macedon and the Chaldians. This was to be set up by Philip (line 9) [ἐπὶ Δία τε [τῶν ἔρωτας τοῦ Δία τῶν ἔρωτας] ὁ Ολυμπιακός, κ. τ. λ. Id. ib. p. 117 n. 26 speaks of the excavations at Dion.

i. 102 n. 5. Mt Carmel affords a good parallel to Mt Argoia (Tac. hist. 2. 78 est Iudaean inter Syriamque Carmelum: ita vocant montem desuneque. nec simulacrum deo ant templum—sic traditores maiores—: ara tantum et reverentia). In Mexico and Peru the most prominent peaks were likewise objects of direct worship (E. J. Payne History of the New World called America Oxford 1892 i. 402).

Addenda

i. 107 n. 2. On the Korybantes see further J. Poerner 'De Curetibus et Corybantibus' in the Dissertations philologicae Helvetiae 1915 xxii. 245—428.


i. 132. W. H. Roscher Onphalos Leipzig 1913 p. 48 ff. argues that Archelaos was representing the onphalos of Branchidai and the Thessalian or the Mysian Olymps.

i. 134 ff. A rock-cut throne on a mountain near Temenothyrai in Lydia was taken to be that of Geryon son of Chrysas (Paus. 1. 35. 7).

W. K. C. Guthrie in 1932 discovered, just outside a village called Selki, on Finides Tepe at the western edge of the Konieh plain, a double rock-cut throne with footstools (figs. 858, 859). Close by were two narrow rock-cut troughs, ‘like couches in shape’ (fig. 860). I am indebted to Mr Guthrie for the photographs here given of the thrones as seen from below and above, and of the ‘couches’. H. Latttemann and F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the Ath. Mitth. 1915 xi. 75 ff. fig. 3 and pl. 13, 2 record a rock-throne near the village of Konia (Stymphalos). They suggest that this throne, which is cut in conglomerate over an empty grave (?)-chamber, is to be connected with the local cult of Hera Χάρα (Paus. 8. 22. 3), implying a dead Zeus as in Crete.


i. 153. On the cult of Zeus at Synnada see also W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—W. K. C. Guthrie in Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua Manchester Univ. Press 1933 iv. 14 no. 49 pl. 19=my fig. 861 (white marble stèle of local style, h. 200 B.C., showing Zeus enthroned with thunderbolt in right hand and round object in left, votary with round object in right hand, bag or basket on left arm, and two eagles in pediment).


i. 155 n. 8. Add B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt The Oxyrhynchus Papyri London 1922 xv. 105 no. 1793 col. ix. 1. 157 n. 3. My friend and former pupil Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury writes to me: ‘The following is the story I heard in June 1935 from an old friend Kosta Kounales of Anoagea, who really does know his mountains παρακαλέω παρακαλέω as they say. It was a propos of a small heap of stones by the Church of Holy Cross on the Nidha Plain, called locally σταυρωθά των Τροχάλων. ‘They say that in Venetian times there was a prince Erotokritos who was out hunting wild boar, and one day his foot slipped as he was about to spear the boar, and his friends shot quickly with their bows to help him, but they shot him instead and they buried him here.’’ In view of what A. Papadakes reports concerning the tomb of Zeus at Anoagea ( supra i. 153), it seems fairly certain that we have here a local modification of the belief that Zeus was a Cretan prince killed by a wild boar and buried.

i. 162 n. 1. Cp. Sir A. J. Evans The Palace of Minos London 1921 i. 154 with fig. 113 a, 1928 ii. 1. 81 f. figs. 37 and 38.

i. 169. See further Olga Rojdestvensky Le culte de saint Michel et le moyen âge latin Paris 1922 pp. i—72 (summarised by S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1923 ii. 357).

i. 181 n. o. On horse-sacrifice in antiquity see H. M. Hubbell in Yale Classical Studies 1928 i. 181—192.
A bust of Zeus Sarapis (supra i. 188 ff.) in lapis lazuli, presented by Sir H. Howorth in 1912 to the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems² p. 368 no. 3939 fig. 94). Height 0'131". A socket worked in the top of the head implies the insertion of a kalathos.

The technique points to a date c. 300 A.D.
Addenda

i. 187. Cp. W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—W. K. C. Guthrie Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua Manchester Univ. Press 1933 iv. 36 no. 113 (a) an altar at Kara Adili, adorned with reliefs of eagle (front), ox-head (left side), etc. and inscribed in lettering of l. ii or iii A.D. [Καρροσφ; θυσήν θοριη Φ[Η]Ι[Μ]] w και [Γ]Ι εν χειρ. 
i. 187 n. 4. See now E. Peterson ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ Göttingen 1926 pp. 139, 241, 306.
i. 192. In Bekker anecd. i. 338, 26 ‘Ἀγὼς ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Κυανῆς the ordo verborum demands Ἀγὼς. F. W. Hasluck Cyprius Cambridge 1910 p. 223 held that the epithet ‘referred to an Avenger of Blood.’

Fig. 861.

i. 193 n. 3. W. M. Calder in the Class. Rev. 1910 xxiv. 77 ff. no. 2 (id. ib. 1924 xxxviii. 29 n. 4) published the inscription, of c. 260—270 A.D. (not of l. i.), on an oblong pillar built into a house-wall at Balıklı-Laou and derived from a temple of Zeus at or near Sedasa (Σέδασα), where Zeus was identified with the sun-god and presented with a sun-dial: Τιθεὶς Μ[α][ν]αττον ὁ κ[α][λ]εόντας καὶ Ἀλκάναιος καὶ Βασιλείων Βρεγιάνδος ἴμεν γείτον ἐκ τὰς[ν] ἰδίων (ἀπολαμάσαντων ἀνετο[ς]) σοι Δι [Τ]Η[λ]. Since Sedasa lay some twenty-five miles south-west of Lystra, this association of Zeus and Hermes is rightly held to illustrate Acts 14. 12. Moreover, in 1916, at Kasucae near Lystra, W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder found an altar dedicated 'to the Epokoos and to...and to Hermes' (Class. Rev. 1916 xi. 114) and saw a bronze statuette of Hermes with a caduceus resting on his left shoulder and an eagle beside his right foot (The Manchester Guardian for Jan. 19, 1916, S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1926 ii. 281)—further proof of the same association.

i. 192. Another cult-epithet of Zeus that may be of solar significance is Hesych. Φάεις Ψέλων Ἰ τεις.

i. 196 n. 9. Mr A. S. F. Gow in a letter dated 1 July, 1917, drew my attention to Cormut. theor. 11 p. 11, 20 Lang πάτερ ἑφορὲς Διὸς Ὀφθαλμός καὶ πάτερ ἑρακόει.
Addenda

i. 198 on the sun conceived as a wheel. Actios ἅλκης 2. 20. 1 (p. 348, 3 ff. Diels) Ἀκαλλήμενος οὐκ ἦν εἰς (ἐν τὸν ἤλιον) ἀκατακτείασαπελαίων ἐν τῇ ἁλῇ, ἀραμαίως τρόχῳ παραπλήσιον, τὴν ἄβδη ἔχοτα κολλήν, ἐπάθη πορη, κ.λ.λ., Achilles Tatius Ιάμπι 19 (p. 40, 20 ff. Maass) τέτις δέ, Ὦ ἄλη τι καὶ Ἀκαλλήμενος, φολί πέμπτον αὐτῶν (ἐν τὸν ἤλιον) τὸ φῶς ἀκαλλήμενο τρόχῳ· ἵπποι γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ κολλή στὶς ἐν ἔμπλαμά, ἔχει δέ ἀπ' ἀνατεταγμένος τὰ κυμαία πρὸς τὴν ἀριθμόν τῶν ἀβδῶν τερματικαὶ, ἀντίκα καὶ αὐτῶν ἀντί κολλὸν τὸ φῶς ἀκαλλήμενο τὴν ἀριθμόν τῶν κυμαίων τερματικά καὶ ἐξημέρω ἀντίκα κολλή φανεροῖς, κ.λ.λ., Eumelius frag. 335 Bährens σφ. Ιανδ. orig. 18. 36. 3 ἴνδε πατετέκτι τοιοῦτον ὀρών ὀργάς καλέμ, ἀπολ. ἡμ. 9. 28 εἰς κρίνι μονο ὄρασιν λυκίδη διεμ περίπτερον.

i. 199 ff. on representations of Ixion. I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for photographs of an unpublished amphora in the Museo Campano di Capua (pl. lxxv), which shows the hero on his fiery wheel.


R. von Schneider in the Serta Harteliana Wien 1890 p. 281 f. with fig. (after the Bulletinino di arti e curiosità veneziane 1894 iv. 39 ff. fig.) notes a relief of c. 1100 A.D. found between the Duomo and the Baptistery at Torcello near Venice, in which Ixion appears stretched, face outwards, round the external circumference of a wheel. To right and left of him stand two women, in long girded attire, one with her torch raised, the other with her torch lowered.

i. 211 on the religious origin of punishments. Cp. F. Kunze 'Der Birkenbesen ein Symbol des Donar' in the Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie 1900 xiii. 130 f. ('to kiss the rod' implies its sanctity).

i. 225 n. 4 Dryas. Another parallel is the myth of Idas ('Woodman') as told by schol. B.D. II. 9. 557.

Sphaires occurs as a magistrate's name on a bronze coin of Rhodes (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 261 pl. 41, 4). F. Bechtel Die historischen Personenamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit Halle a. d. S. 1917 p. 653 notes Σφάρεις Αἴανερος as an Olympic victor of 640 B.C. (Europ. chron. i (i. 198, 39 Schoene)).

i. 231 n. 8 P. Cousin's deals with 'casques à rouelle' in the Rev. Arch. 1923 ii. 77 ff.

i. 232. Professor S. A. Cook informs me (Oct. 1, 1929) that he regards the lettering of the Gaza coin as Aramaic rather than Phoenician, on account of the H. Id. The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology London 1930 p. 147 n. 1 'The lettering resembles that on the papyri of Elephantine and is rather more archaic than the jar-handles of Jericho; it is Aramaic rather than Phoenician (note the form of the h),' cp. ib. p. 186.

E. L. Sukenik in The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society 1934 xiv. 178 ff. pl. 2 and fig. 1 cites a fourth-century silver coin, of the same Philisto-Arabian or Egypto-Arabian series, now at Jerusalem in the collection of M. Salzberger, which reads, not Yhwh, but Yhhd— that is Yehoud 'Judaḥ.' He and others following his lead (e.g. W. F. Albright in the Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 1934 II. 20—22, R. Dussaud in Syria 1935 xvi. 211 f., D. M. Robinson in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1934 xxxviii. 471) conclude that Yhhd must be the true reading of the coin in the British Museum, But Professor S. A. Cook in a further letter to me (Oct. 23, 1935) asks very perceptively 'Is it natural to put a mere place-name on a coin, like "Judaḥ"?' Any Greek numismatist would answer 'No.'

In this connexion note also the seal of 'Elishama son of Gedaliah' published by G. Dalman in the Palastina-Jahrbuch der deutschen evangelischen Institut für Allerntumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem 1926 ii. 44 ff. (S. A. Cook The Religion of Ancient Palestine p. 34 f. pl. 9, 1. A. T. Olmstead History of Palestine and Syria New York—London 1931 p. 528 with fig. 177). The seal shows Jehovah as a bearded god in long robe and high crown, apparently brandishing a thunderbolt in his uplifted right hand. He is seated on a throne, with a footstool, between two stands supporting seven-branched palmettes—the whole on a boat, which at stem and stern ends in a bird's head.

i. 238 ff. On Kirke's gloriole see S. Eitrem in the Class. Rev. 1931 xxiv. 72 f. The alleged Persian lab is perhaps derived from the έτυμολογία τοῦ ἀλαβρήτου in the et. Gard. p. 598 λαβρά. . . παρά το λαβρ. λαβ δέ το δια μισον τοῦ ἕβραον καὶ τῆς γῆς χάμα λέγεται.
Amphora in the Museo Campano di Capua:
Ixion on his fiery wheel.

See page 1073.
cp. Lobeck Aglaophamus ii. 1341 λαβὲ ὀφράνων πῦρ, and see further F. Dornseiff Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie Leipzig—Berlin 1912 p. 30 f.

F. Wolters 'Kirke' in the Ath. Misth. 1930 lv. 209—236 pls. 14 and 15 discusses a Boeotian ἵψφος at Nauplia, which represents Kirke as magician, Odysseus, and three of his sailors transformed into swine.

E. Schwezer in Indogermanische Forschungen 1930 xxxviii. 128 f. takes Ἀλάις (Ἀλάίς) to be for δαίλα ἄλαίς, 'die Insel der Morgenröte.' But R. B. Onians in the Cambridge University Reporter for Nov. 30, 1926 p. 454 derives Ἀλάις and Ἀλῆς from Ἀλα = Ἀλα', the Hebrew or Phoenician word for 'sparrow-hawk, falcon.' See further V. Béard Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée Paris 1902 l. 214, 1903 ii. 261 ff. An altar at Ptolemais (Mentheh) dedicated to Ἀπάθατος καὶ Τιναξ αἰθών [κ.τ.λ. (Dittenberger orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 22) implies that Horos was conceived as a sparrow-hawk (O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 636 f.). The hawk is also an attribute of Apollo (supra i. 626 n. 0; add J. D. Beasley The Lebes House Collection of Ancient Gems Oxford 1920 P. 41 f. 47 pl. 3).

E. Reiss 'Studies in Superstition and Folklore vii. Homer' in the Am. Journ. Phil. 1925 xlv. 222 ff. discusses the magic circle (pp. 222—224) and Kirke as a witch (p. 227 f.).


3. 259 n. 0. The fragment of Pindar has now turned up on a papyrus of 1. 1 A.D. (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt The Oxyrhynchus Papyri London 1922 xxv. 84 ff. no. 1791 pl. 3). It confirms the conjecture of Schneidewin. See also D. S. Robertson in the Class. Rev. 1929 xliii. 218.

4. 263 ὕγες of gold. G. Karo 'Schatz von Tiryns' in the Ath. Misth. 1930 lv. 127 f., 138 ff., pls. 30 A and 31, publishes a pair of wheels made in gold wire with four spokes of bronze covered with amber beads, and portions of a second similar pair of wheels, dating apparently from late Mycenaean times. Karo τῆς p. 128 compares the 'ear-phones' of the Lady of Elche, and ἰῆς p. 139 conjectures a northern origin for the head-gear. Is it possible, however, that the wheels were solar ὕγες?


6. 270 n. 3. But H. B. Walters in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems 3 p. 183 no. 1696 points out that the supposed car is merely a wheel at her feet plus a fracture of the stone!

7. 271 on the wheel of Fortuna. D. M. Robinson 'The Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthos' in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1934 xxxviii. 501 ff. describes and illustrates Hellenic pebble-mosaic from the two rooms in the north-east corner (fig. 1) showing a four-spoked wheel with quadruple rim and a smaller four-spoked wheel with double rim—the whole accompanied by the inscription ΑΓΑΟΝΤΥΧΗ (fig. 2, 6), also a double axe, swastika, hand (?), etc. disposed round a Macedonian square, which is lettered ΑΦΡΙΔΙΤΗΧΚΑΑΗ and accompanied by a second inscription ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΚΑΑΗ (fig. 2, a). Id. ib. p. 505 n. 1 collects literary allusions from Pind. Ol. 2. 23 f. and Soph. frag. 787 Nauck²=871 Jebb ap. Plout. v. Demetr. 45 (cp. frag. 575 Jebb) onwards, adding that the wheel of Fortune appears here for the first time in art.


9. 273 on the relation of Némésis to Nemetona etc. J. Coman L'idée de la Némésis chez Éschyle Paris 1931 p. 21 f. states and criticises the theory here advanced. He accepts the first part of it, but objects to my suggestion (i. 285) of a confusion between Némésis goddess 'of the Greenwood' and némeis 'righteous wrath.' On p. 27 n. 2
Addenda

Coman, following Boisaq, tries to find a possible link. F. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa. Real-Enc. xvi. 2384 f. inclines to my view of Nemetona as akin to Nemesis. i. 276 n. 5. On ἡραῖος χήρα or χήρας. Hyperdexios. Hypercheiros, etc. see J. G. Leroux in the Rev. Arch. 1935 i. 260 f.


i. 284. G. Seure in the Rev. Arch. 1929 i. 81 ff. no. 286 fig. 125 publishes a plaquette (antefix?) of black terra cotta dug up at Philodip (Philippopolis). On it is a relief representing a horned head (Tyche? Nemesis? Men??) surmounted by a wheel with eight projecting spokes.

i. 288 f. the Celtic god with a wheel. M. Prou in the Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France 1915 pp. 100—104 with 2 figs. publishes a terra-cotta statuette of this god (Taranis?) found at Néris (Allier). His head and the lower parts of his legs are missing. His right hand, which is slightly flexed, holds a wheel against his side. His left hand rests on the head of a small figure with uplifted arms.

i. 293 n. 1. The second disk from Corinth is now included in de Ridder Cat. Bronzes du Louvre ii. 44 no. 1964 pl. 76 ('Oracle d'amour (?)'). A third from Corinth is in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 161 no. 878 ('Child's Toy'). Another, of somewhat simpler type, from a tomb at Valci, is figured by E. Saglio in Darembourg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 1561 fig. 2064 ('Crepitaculum, Crepitaculum').


i. 299 Séries used of the sun. C. S. Ronzevalle 'Hélioseirs' in Archæus 1930 pp. 1—12 with 4 pls. and 5 figs. (an important article).

i. 300 ff. the Lycian Symbol. C. Anna Roos Greek Geometric Art, its Symbolism and its Origin Oxford 1933 p. 39 ff. fig. 21—23.

i. 303 the Kyklopes as builders. So B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt The Oxyrhynchus Papyri London 1919 xiii. 33 no. 1504 Pind. dith. i. 6 f. [Κυκλοποί τρίτον ἀνέθησα] | [ τοῦ Ἀργείου μεγάλῳ | . See further S. Estrem in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 2326 f., 2327 f.

i. 305 n. 9 G. F. Hill on the Sicilian trikèlês. But C. T. Seltman in his Greek Coins London 1933 p. 190 shows that the trikèlês as symbol of Sicily occurs first on coins of Dionea of Syracus and struck shortly before 383 b.c., then on those of Timoleon, and thirdly on those of Agathokles.

i. 307. H. Mattingly in The British Museum Quarterly 1934 ix. 51 pl. 16, 9 publishes as 'probably unique' an as with rev. SICILIA S.C. and a large Gorgon's head in a trikèlês.

See also J. Newton 'The armorial bearings of the Isle of Man: their origin, history and meaning' in the Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool xxxvi. 1925—1926.

i. 309 figs. 247 and 248. N. E. Henry 'Classic Sicily' in Art and Archaeology 1916 iii. 147 figures an 'Ancient Mosaic Symbol representing Three-Cornered Sicily'—much like the coins of Ebron Cerialis.

i. 309 on solar legs. P. Sébiliot Le Folklore de France Paris 1904 i. 35 n. 5: 'En Haute-Bretagne, on dit que le soleil a des jambes [ou des tirants] quand il y a en dessous des rayons qui semblent toucher la terre' (id. in his Traditions et superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne Paris 1882 ii. 363).

i. 312 fig. 249. A photograph of this wall-painting is given by F. Weege Etruskische Malerei Hallé (Saaale) 1921 p. 28 pl. 64.

C. C. van Essen 'De Cyclop en Cula' in Mnemosyne 1930 lviii. 302—308 advances some venturesome views. Baing on Eva Fiesel Namen des griechischen Mythos in Etruskischen (Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung Ergänzungsheft v) Göttingen 1928 pp. 35 and 48—56, he argues that pre-Indo-European peoples of the period
Helladic I knew a god of death, *Cuclup* (Etruscan *Cuclus*), dwelling in a cave. Into this cave a sea-faring hero *Uthissē* descends with followers, some of whom he is forced to leave behind. Early in the second millennium B.C. Indo-Europeans arrive with a story involving the 'No-man' stragelam (*infra ii. 98*). Hence in the Mycenaean age *Uthissē* develops into both Οὐθίσις and *Oðisēsē* (οὐθίσεως), while *Cuclup* becomes Κυκλοπός, and in the *Odyssey* the original σκαβωμένος is attached to other adventures of Odysseus. Summary in the *Class. Quart*. 1931 xxv. 213.

I. 326. On the fire-boards of the Chuckchees see also Miss W. S. Blackman in *Folk-Lore* 1916 xxvii. 361 f.

I. 327. L. Siret 'Prométhee' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 i. 131—135 with 2 fgs. attempts to show that the myth of Prometheus' offence and punishment is but an animistic interpretation of the fire-drill, the wood anthropomorphized into the hero, the bow zoomorphized into his eagle.

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Cf. G. Vigfusson—F. York Powell *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* Oxford 1883 i. 64 Βουρδαμίδος mad 22 'Mundilfiori (Fire-auger) was the father of the Moon and also of the Sun' with note ib. ii. 468 'the Fire-Auger, the holy Drill by which some Teutonic Prometheus first woke the elemental flame.'

I. 328 Odysseus akin to Prometheus the fire-god(?). J. A. Scott 'Odysseus as a Sun-God' in *Class. Philol.* 1917 xii. 244—252 justly ridicules the contentions of J. Menrad *Der Urmythus der Odyssee und seine dichterische Erneuerung, Des Sonnengottes Erdenfahrt München—Lindau 1910*.

I. 330 n. 1. Eumath. 6. 14 τούτα φησι τον άετον (*infra ii. 1141) ὑπανειλεξιά τῆς τοῦ Δίαν προσμηχία is taken in connexion with Zeus with Prometheus, cp. 6. 15 τῷ γάρ τοι Ἡμιάσθει τὸ μεταμέλεια ἀνωθέν ἐφοσιωσα, κ.τ.λ., but lends no support to the assumption of a Zeus Προσμηχίας.

I. 333. In the *Rigveda* 10. 89. 4 heaven and earth are compared with the wheels at the two ends of an axle (A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 9).

A bronze amulet of the Geometric Period (W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1920 p. 36 ff. pl. 13), said to have come from Phthrai (*Pelecina*), and now in my possession, shows a duck on a shaft which rises from the axle connecting two wheels (fig. 861: scale 4). Since the duck is pierced for suspension, it is perhaps to be regarded as perched on a celestial chariot.

I. 333 ff. the solar chariot. L. Curtius in *Die Antike* 1917 iii. 161 ff. deals with the cult of the horse among the Greeks and discusses the solar chariot.
Addenda

Anna Roos Greek Geometric Art, its Symbolism and its Origin Oxford 1933 p. 22 f. fig. 13 (after A. Minto Mariliana d’Albegna Firenze 1921 p. 291 fig. 30 pl. 52=F). von Dahn in Ebert Reufer. viii. 53 pl. 11, b) cites a horse with a four-spoked wheel apparently resting on its back—a motif impressed on a bucchero-jar from Marsiliana.

Cp. the combination of horse with wheel below it, which occurs frequently on Gaulish imitations of the gold coins issued by Philip of Macedon.

i. 324 fig. 265. With this pointillé design of horse+disk+bird-like man (?) cp. the pointillé design of horse+wheel+bird+man on the bronze double axe mentioned supra p. 605 n. 7 and figured infra Addenda on ii. 635 ff.

i. 324 n. 2 the Trudholm chariot. See now J. Brøndsted ‘Pferd und Sonnenscheibe auf dänischen jungbronzezeitlichen Rasierrüsseln’ in Acta Archaeologica 1931 ii. 190 ff., J. Bing Der Sonnensagen von Trundholm Leipzig 1934 pp. 1−46 with 47 figs. and 7 pls.


i. 338 n. 1 Zeus conceived as driving a chariot. Mr C. T. Seltman notes II. 8. 41−50.


i. 341. D. M. Robinson in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1935 xlix. 194 reports that at Tanis (Avaris) in 1934 P. Montet and P. Bucher unearthed a granite group of a falcon with a child Pharaoh crouched at its feet. The base was inscribed: ‘The good god, son of the sun, beloved of Hrun of Ramses’ (i.e. of Pi-Rameses, the Deltaic capital of Ramses II). It is argued that Hrun was the falcon-god of the Horites of Mt Seit, who had gained a place for himself in Egypt by the end of the eighteenth dynasty.


i. 348 Zeus Ammon. O. Eissfeldt ‘Zeus Ammon’ in Forschungen und Fortschritte 1936 xii. 407 f. (‘Der Gott der Osse ist also—von einer vielleicht noch älteren heimischen Vorgeschichte abgesehen—von Haus aus der phönizische Baal Hammon, der erst sekundär, vom 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. ab, mit dem ägyptischen Amon verschmolzen worden ist’).

i. 349 fig. 271. The Naples bust of Zeus Ammon is now well published by O. Waldhauer in Archäologische Mitteilungen aus römischen Sammlungen Berlin-Leipzig 1928 i. 1−51 ff. no. 37 pl. 20.

O. Rubensohn in the Jahrb. d. deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1933/4 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 337−341 with figs. 4−6 describes a seated cult-statue of Zeus Ammon found at el Quf near Behnassa (Oxyrhynchos). The statue, of which head and torso are extant (120−20 high), was made in several pieces of marble and showed the god, in childh and aimation, enthroned with right arm raised and left lowered—Roman work much influenced by the type of Sarapis.

A terra-cotta antefix (6 inches high), formerly in the Blacas collection and now in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 420 no. D 697), has the horns coloured red (my pl. lxxvi is from an unpublished photograph).

i. 350 f. Our earliest reference to the Ammonion occurs in a fragment of Hes. gnauoukai kataloogae (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt The Oxyrhynchus Papyri London 1913 xi. 44 ff. no. 1358 frag. 2 col. 1, H. G. Evelyn-White in the Class. Quart. 1916 x. 60, id. in an Appendix to his Hesiod in the Loeb Classical Library p. 632 ff. frag. 40 a, 10 ff. [θεῖα τ' ἄρτεστοι Μελανίων ἅβεον τον Ἠραδό τον τε τοῖς πλαξίνοις χρυσα- λόγοι τον μακροχυτικόν τε πανοβρακίον δότι εἰδότας αὐτῷ, ἵππος χαλίους υφαλίους τέους ἀλόγας θηρίον] [ἄρχηται, τὸν ἄρχειν τοῖς ἑαυτῆς καινοὶ ῥαβδοί].

i. 352 n. 6 A. H. Krappe ‘The Karneia’ in the Archiv f. Rel. 1930 xxviii. 380−384 treats Karnos as a ram-shaped deity of the grape-vine akin to Dionysos.


Antefixal ornament from Italy, now in the British Museum:
Head of Zeus Ammon.

See page 1076.
Fig. 863.

p. 304), identifies the image of the Libyan god with an enthroned bundle representing a dead man in the sitting posture. They appeal to two bronze plaques from Memphis, three faience models from Karnak, and a relief of Roman date at Medinet Habu—of which evidence a different and, I think, less probable interpretation has been given by G. A. Wainwright (supra p. 882 n. 3).

For the sandstone *omphalos* from Napata see supra p. 882 n. 2 with fig. 719.

i. 360 n. 6. E. Bevan A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty London 1927 p. 10 explains the alleged guidance of the two snakes on rationalistic lines.

i. 361. On the identification of the Nile with Zeus see H. T. Deas in the Cambridge University Reporter Feb. 15, 1927 p. 758 (reading Pind. *Isthm.* 2. 42 Νειλος ἐνεξ ἄγετας, cp. schol. vet. *ad loc.*) and in the *Class. Rev.* 1927 xii. 213 (‘Thus the Alexandrians may have argued that the Nile is the same as Zeus, and that if Homer can say Δωρ ἄγετας, Pindar can say Νειλος ἐνεξ ἄγετας’). *Supra* p. 348 f.

Addenda

pre-history. Further literature in A. Götze Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients München 1933 pp. 186–188 ("Die ägyptische Wanderung").

i. 365 f. the grove of Ammon. M. Schede in the Ath. Mitt. 1912 xxxvii. 212–215 fig. 10 publishes a votive relief of island marble (height 1'17''), found in 1910 at Tigani in Samos. This represents, in the style of s. i. n. c. (?), a half-length herm of Zeus Ammon with a long sceptre in his raised right hand, a palm-tree at his left side, a shield (?) slung above his head, and an altar before him, on which stands a ram, presumably the gift of the woman suppliant. She holds a sprig of olive in her left hand and raises her right in prayer to the god. My fig. 863 is after A. de Ridder in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1913 xxxvi. 414 fig.

i. 369 K. A. Neugebauer in Grund 1930 vi. 268 regards the Berlin bronze statuette of "Poseidon from Dodona" (W. Lamb Greek and Roman Bronze London 1929 p. 172 pl. 63, c) as probably a Zeus Naios of late Hellenistic, eclectic style.

i. 370 n. 4. The inscription may perhaps be read as ALIVIA for LIVIA, who by a play onApollo is linked with Ammon.


i. 376. M. Bieber Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 141 pl. 78 (my fig. 864) publishes a pithos-vasse at Bari, which shows a visit to the oracle of Zeus Ammon. On a wooden platform supported by Ionic pillars sits Zeus, a dismal white-haired figure, characterized as Ammon by his ape-like features and the palm-tree at his side. He grips his eagle by the throat, and turns to face his visitor—an old man with pointed pèlou and knotted staff, who is mounting the steps to the platform. Meantime the traveller's servant, with a stick in one hand, a basket and a nail in the other, and a bundle on his back, looks longingly at the provender.


i. 390. E. D. J. Dutilh in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1898 i. 437–440 describes a small bronze coin. found in the oasis, with abu a ram walking to the right, rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ an eagle on a thunderbolt to the left and a six-rayed star before it ('Nous concluons ainsi qu'il s'agit, probablement, d'une pièce frappée sous un des premiers Pontéless à l'Oasis').

i. 395 vercewaitus Jupiter. Cp. Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4477 (at Asia ben Tellis in Numidia) d. b. s. (dis bovis sacrum?) | C. Aponius | Secundus saccerdos agnu do/mino, tauru domi/nio, ovicina Nutrici, berbecce Iovi, ovicina Teluri, agnu Herculi, agna Veneri, ed | Mercurio, | verbe. Testimonia ... m. LXV (date?) (instrumentum ad sacrificandum), no. 4477 (in the same place) d. b. s. | C. C. Primus, | sac. Saturni, agnu tauro domi/nio, ovicina Tel/ui, berbecce Iovi, ovicina | Nutrici, capone | (H[euculli,] ed | Merc[ur], | aedae Veneri, ber|[bec]je Testimonia | (dove animalia) | [pecora] | ....

i. 395 n. 2. A. H. Krapp Mythologie universelle Paris 1930 p. 45, accepting the etymology of Indra propounded by H. Günther Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland Halle (Saale) 1923 p. 13 f., views the name as 'derivé d'une forme *indro', apparentée au slave jedro, "testicule," tchèque jedro, "moelle," au pluriel "testicules," et dont la base commune est *a�= tumescere. Comparer aussi sītā et le v. nor. eita, "testicule." Indra est donc l'homme fort, viril, comme en Scandinavie Thorr, qui était souvent appelé Thorkari'. The sequel in Krapp is also ad rem. But other derivations of Indra are noted by Walde—Pokorny Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr. ii. 332, and a timely warning is sounded by Schrader Riallexii. ii. 247b.

i. 395 n. 3 'IYANK. Better 'IYAR, as J. Keil 'Meter Hipta' showed in the Wiener Erasm zur fünfzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen and Schulmänner in Graz 1909 Wien 1909 p. 109 f. (O. Kern on Orph. frag. 199).

i. 401 n. 7. Cp. Prob. in Verg. col. 1 prooem. (iii. 2. 339, 1 Hagen) hicurus Libyca lingua tilurus appellatur.


i. 404 golden-fleeced sheep. E. L. Mijatovich Serbian Fairy Tales London 1917 pp. 141—149 ('The golden-haired Twins') tells how the Twins became successively two trees with golden leaves and golden blossoms, two boards of a bed made from these trees, two sparks from the fire that burnt the bed, 'two beautiful lambs with golden fleeces and golden thorns,' two golden-haired boys. See also S. Thomas, Motif-index of Folk-literature (FF Communications No. 106) Helsinki 1932 i. 296 B 105. 1 'Ram with golden fleece.'


i. 406 the golden lamb identified with the sceptre. Cp. Sen. Thes. 228 f. tergore ex huius novi | aurata reges sceptram Tantalei gerunt.

i. 414 ff. the golden ram of Phrixos. G. Goeres Studien zur griechischen Mythologie (Berliner Studien für classische Philologie und Archäologie x 3) Berlin 1889 p. 72—120 ('Zeus Laphystios und die Athamassage'), A. H. Krapppe 'The Story of Phrixos and Modern Folklore' in Folk-Lore 1923 xxxiv. 141—147, id. 'La légende d'’Athamas et de Phrixos' in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1934 xxxvii. 381—389 (contends that the myth arises from the fusion of two elements—the ancient custom of sacrificing the king or the king's eldest son in time of famine, and a familiar type of Märchen. Krapppe attempts to reconstruct the original form of the story), J. A. Scott 'The origin of the myth of the golden fleece' in The Classical Journal 1926—1927 xxii. 541.

i. 416 a sanctuary of Leukothea. A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the Ph. Alex. 1910 pp. 378—382 no. 25 fig. 9 publishes a broken stele of white marble, found at Larissa in Thessaly, which shows Danae daughter of Aphthonotes on her knees before Leukatheis. The goddess, seated on two blocks of stone, raises her left hand to adjust her himation. In the background is seen the doorway of her circular temple. The inscription, in lettering of the early third century B.C., runs: Λευκοθέα | Δάνα | Αμφοτέρων (i.e. οικίσκους or the like). See further L. R. Farnell 'Iono-Leukothea' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1916 xxvi. 35—44 (a Minyan myth under Creto-Carian influence) and J. Wackernagel 'Leukothea' in Glotta 1915 xiv. 44—46 (c. λευκοθέωρως in Hes. ix. Her. 146 ἱδέως...λευκάβορως, cp. λευκάβειν 'weiss glänzen').

i. 419 n. 5. But, according to O. Rosbach, the text of the cod. Vaticanus gives in qua ipsius in cælum ascendit (L. Deuber in J. Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1913 vi. 519). It is tempting to conjecture in quo ipsius in cælum ascendit, 'wearing which the sheep (golden ram) went up to heaven.'


P. Roussel in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1932 xiv. 218 cites R. Mouterde in the Comptes rendus de l’Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1931 pp. 141—147 an inscription from Athis in El Lejo recording a thunderstorm and a death by lightning, Λαχθής θύγης ἄσθενες I ὡς ἑ κοραὶ σώματα βυθισάται; (F. Cumont would read καταπέθεθη), Αὐστρον Ἀμφοτέρως ἐπιστρέψεις ζῆν... (129 in the era of Byrsa = 323/324 A.D.).

Addenda

i. 423 the 'fleece of Zeus.' W. Kroll in the Archiv f. Rel. 1905 viii Beilheft p. 39 discusses the Scythian custom recorded by Loukian. Tazwar. 48 [with which cp. Aristot. hist. an. 9. 45. 630 a 22 f.]: 'So wird auch das Sitzen des Mysten auf dem Fell zu erklären sein: er schliesst einen Bund mit dem Gotte, indem er die Haut des diesem geweihten Tieres betritt.' T. Zachariae 'Auf einem Fell nieder sitzen' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1912 xv. 635—638 adds Indian parallels.

Fig. 865.

i. 423 ff. figs. 305 and 306. H. Lewy in the Archiv f. Rel. 1917 xxv. 198 ff. deals with the Jewish rite of Ἑλπίς. A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas Bilderalas zur Religionsgeschichte Leipzig 1928 xiii—xiv p. xi with fig. 173 dates the Lambert hydria c. 470 B.C., notes that it is now in the Czartoryski collection at Goluchów near Posen, and interprets the central figure as 'der nackte bekränzte Bräutigam, neben ihm Schwamm und Waschbecken.' But W. Kroll in Glotta 1936 xxv. 154 observes that the vase is better figured by K. Bulas in the Corp. vas. ant. Pologne, Goluchów p. 23 f. pl. 32, 3 a, 3 b, and that the queer object under the man's left foot is in reality non-existent! As Bulas remarks: 'La prétendue peau de mouton sous le genou droit de Thésée n'est que son pied gauche mal dessiné.'

i. 424. On the mouse in religion and folklore see J. V. Grohmann Apollo Smintheus und die Bedeutung der Mäuse in der Mythologie der Indogermanen Prag 1862 pp. 1—87.


i. 429 n. 4. A marble purse-bearing Hermes found in a Delian shop has his phallus tipped with a ram's head (M. Bulard *La Réligion Domestique dans la Colonie Italienne de Delos* Paris 1936 p. 261, *ibid.* p. 483).

i. 431 Mnevis. H. Bonnet in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas sur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1934 ii—iv p. ii with fig. 48 illustrates a stele of New Kingdom date at Copenhagen (Valdemar Schmidt *Choix de monuments égyptiens* pl. 16) showing the worship of Mnevis, who appears a bull-headed man with solar disk and plumes.

i. 432 Apis with tokens of sun and moon. Late Egyptian terracottas represent Apis as a bovine bust with a solar disk and uraeus set between his horns and a lunar crescent slung round his neck. So e.g. on a specimen in the Whiteway Collection now in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge (*fig.* 865).


i. 436 n. 4. In Alkaion *frag.* 35, W. Bergk, 158, 3 Edmonds, 91, 3 Diehl op. Athen. 430 b—c & Bézécr in and in Alkaion *frag.* 46 b. 10 Diehl op. *Oxyrhynchus* 1334 frag. 3 καὶ πέδα Βάκχιδος the ancients took Βάκχις to be an Aeolic form of Βάκχος (cf. *mag.* p. 216, 47 ff. = Herodian. *pars* *mag.* *frag.* 553 (ii. 351, 9 f. Lente) Βάκχος δρομα Λιδικίου. παρά τό Βάκχος Βάκχις καὶ Βάκχος άττιον ήτις καὶ Βάκχος οίκει καὶ τραπεζια του άττιον νόμον, *ibid.* 78, R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Götttingen 1882 i. 58 (sceptical).


C. Sourdille *'Une théorie récente sur la formation du mythe d'Epaphos' in the Recueil des études anciennes* 1917 pp. 167—176, J. Vürthheim op. cit. pp. 30—41 ('Epaphos').

i. 438 Bäckbos in Asia Minor. A. Götte in the *Kulturgeschichte des Altertums* München 1933 iii. 195 notes the existence of a Lydian deity Baki (W. H. Buckler in *Sardis* vii. 2. 40 ff. no. 22 (pl. 9), 9 (= J. Friedrich Kleinesprachliche Sprachdenkmäler Berlin 1932 p. 117 no. 25, 9) ἥκετα βακίλης, 'priest of Baki' (?), on a marble stèle of s. iv B.C. found in 1911 near the temple of Artemis at Sardeis), whom the Lydians themselves identified with Dionysos (see the bilingual inscription given by W. H. Buckler in *Sardis* vii. 2. 38 no. 20 (pl. 8) (= J. Friedrich op. cit. p. 116 no. 201)了许多 bakilitis artimu | Νάρων διωσκορίδος Ἀρτεμίδος on a marble statue-base found in 1913 near the temple of Artemis at Sardeis and referred to the second half of s. iv B.C.). Cp. also *Sardis* vii. 2. 39 no. 21 (pl. 9) an Ionic column from a marble statue-base inscribed [Ἰπαφός] bakilitis man(eis) [t]a(?e) (?= J. Friedrich op. cit. p. 116 no. 21.

i. 441 ff. and priestesses with animal names. O. Gruppe in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klas. Altertum* 1918 xlii. 298 thinks that Peleiaides (women dressed as doves) and Hyades (women dressed as sows) were 'alte Bezeichnungen für Zeus' Ammen'. Their καταστή-σια came later. W. M. Ramsay 'Pisidian Wolf-priests, Phrygian Goat-priests, and the Old-Ionian Tribes' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1930 xl. 197—202 would interpret the Pisidian name Gagathos Stagathos with the help of Ἱεσύχ. βάτος---καὶ ἵππος ἀργυροῦ λύκος as 'Wolf-wolf the chief Wolf' implying 'an order of priests called Wolves,' the Phrygian
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Attakolos with the help of ἄρης (Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 2 no. 389, 50 ff., Eustath. in Od. p. 1635, 37 ff.), attagus (Arnob. adv. nat. 5, 6), and Hippomax frag. 2 Bergk, 46 Knox ap. Teetz. in Lyk. Al. 435 and 741 καθίζει (W. H. Buckler—D. M. Robinson in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1913 xvii. 362 ff.), Hesych. καθίζει καθίζει καθίζει καθίζει...οOcc de καθίζει as 'goat-priests,' and the Old-Ionian ἀγάρων as priests wearing Athena's aegis.

B. F. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt The Oxyrhynchus Papyri London 1922 xv. 155 ff. no. 1802 (a glossary of late second or early third century frag.) frag. 3 col. ii. 29 ff. [x[i]ά[v]οῆς: βι]ν[τιδις ἐκ τῆς ἡμερήσιας έκ τῆς θ' καὶ τῆς έργος η τῆς Περιφέρειας, ἐν μὲν ταχύνεται εἰς Παοῦ καὶ ἕξωνες[ιαν]αν παιδὲ τοῖς βασιλείς Μελιάοις χαράζεσθαι ταῖς θεοῖς τῆς θυσίας αὐτῶν εἴσηκον πάντα τῆς Φεροφορίας ἐκ τῶν πλατών, καὶ πώτερα αὐτάς ἀναδοῦναι τά πέρι αὐτῆς πάθος τε καὶ μουσταμάδες καὶ μελίσσας ἐκτοτε καθίζοντας τὰ θεσμοφορίας (καθίζοντας) γαίας [c]. P. Clement 'New evidence for the origin of the Iphigeneia legend' in L'Antiquité Classique 1934 iii. 393—409 cites two Thessalian dedications to Artemis by devotees called νέιφος (Inscr. Gr. sept. iii. 3 no. 1123 Δυσαίτης Μελιατίων Ἀρτέμιδα Παγαντίδις νέιφος[α]ι...), where F. Miller von Gaertringen notes: 'An νεφέστροφος[α]ι ιταντίσσεσα, i.e. postquam deae νέιφου [της] nomine inservivit.' and N. I. Giannopoulos in the Ἀρχ. Ἑφ. 1931 p. 178 ff. no. 18 fig. 1 the white marble capital of a statue-base from Larisa inscribed Ἀρτέμιδι Θεοσια Ίππαλκος μελιατις ο[ι]η Πέθανος τόπων [τυρω]κα, Clement interprets Θεοσια as 'goddess of fertility' (θρο- θρο- θρο-[με] [κροια i. 681 n. 4]), derives νέιφος from νεφή- as a parallel of νεφί-βος, and claims that the legend of Iphigenia's sacrifice arose from the ritual of the νέιφα in the cult of Artemis at Aulis—a most attractive hypothesis.

F. R. Walton in Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 1933 xvi. 167—189, discussing the Icnithae of Sophokles, contends that the chorus of Satyrs were conceived as a pack of hunting dogs, cp. Poll. 5. 10 ἵππες ἄνδρα καὶ κόμος and Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 1651 an inscription from the Asklepieion in the Piraeus which conceived 3 f. Παναγία Πενναρρία τύμων τρία: 'Ἀλκίλαμος τύμων τρία: Ερατά πέννα τρία: Αἰαῖσι πέννα τρία: Λακεώτιας πέννα τρία: Παναγίας τύμων τρία: Κυκλάτια τύμων τρία: Κυκλάτιας τύμων τρία: Κυκλάτιας τύμων τρία: Κυκλάτιας τύμων τρία.' But it is far from certain that the Κυκλάτια and Κυκλάτια of this inscription were human beings. G. Kaibel in the Nachr. d. kôn. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe 1901 p. 506 points out that in Plat. Phaed. frag. 2 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 674 ff. Meineke) ὁτι Αθηνα. 441 B—442 A Orhanes, Konisalos, London, Kybdasos, Keles are grouped with Κυκλάτια καὶ Κυκλάτια and infers that the latter, like the former, were Priapic deities. L. Ziehen in Leves Graecorum sacrae ii. 70 ff. no. 18 after further examination concludes: 'Itaque inferos daemonas Κώνια καὶ Κωνιάς dici persuasum habeo' etc. C. M. Bowra Greek Lyric Poetry Oxford 1936 p. 43 ff. holds that Alkmán's famous parthenion was sung at a festival of Dionysos and Helenē. 'The λεκκάπτες, led by their two leaders or πάμους, sing the song in competition with the Πελεάδες before the presentation of some gift to the appropriate gods and a race at the dawn' (ib. p. 54).

F. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi A. 906—910 has compiled the latest and most serviceable list of these usages. But it would be possible, and profitable, to go yet further in the same direction. Many examples of mythical metamorphosis might be explained along these lines. To give but one instance—the Κατωβδωτής of the Boeotian tale told by Ant. Lib. 25 (ἱστορία Νικάνδρου ἐτερογενῶν 8' καὶ Κώμης γεροντῶν a') and retold with variations by Οῦν. met. 13. 685 ff.


i. 448 Zeus at Nemea. On the American excavations of 1924—1927 see C. W. Blegen 'The American excavations at Nemea. season of 1924' in Art and Archaeology 1925 xii. 175—184, id. 1927 xxiiii. 189, id. 'Excavations at Nemea 1926' in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1927 xxxi. 421—440 ffs. 1—14 (of which fig. 3 = my fig. 867), cp. M. Clemmensen 'Le temple de Zeus à Némée' in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1925 xliii. 1—12 ffs. 1—9 and pls. 1—2 (my fig. 866) plan and 3—4 details of order, R. Vallois 'Remarques sur le temple de Némée' ib. pp. 15—20 ffs. 10—14, Ernst Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvi. 2318—2322. The scanty remains of an archaic temple on the same site include blocks of πύραυς, some with U-shaped lifting-holes, re-used for use in the later building and a fragmentary antefix of terra cotta adorned with the plaster of the later têmenos yielded proto-Corinthian and Corinthian sherds, terracottas, and small bronzes. The new temple, built c. 330 B.C., was a Doric peripteral structure with 6 x 12 columns, 2 columns in the πρώομα, but no οπισθόδωμοι. Inside were two rows of 6 Corinthian columns. At the western end of the μαῖαν 2 other columns marked off an ἅγιον, which took the form of a sunken but unroofed
crypt with a flooring of white stucco (possibly of Roman date) laid some 1-98m below the level of the naos and reached by a roughish flight of five steps (fig. 867); but the precise purpose of this semi-subterranean sanctum is unknown. The temple had a marble stoma carved in relief with deinathos-work and lion-heads. Three of its lanky Doric columns are still standing. And parallel to the temple-façade are the foundations of a great sacrificial altar, prolonged at some period towards the north so that it now measures 40-18m long by 7-43m wide.

One or two individual finds deserve mention. A phos base embedded in a wall at the west end of the Gymnasium was inscribed with a dionysophoreion dedication in lettering of s. vi b.c.1 Αριστερα με την θησεσιν Δι Θεων ταιαετει παιερατον ιναθον τετρατει | εν Νεμεα Φιλοψοφοι ινδος το Κλεονιοι (C. W. Blegen in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1937 xxxi. 432 f. fig. 10, W. Peck in the 'Αρχ. Εφ. 1931 p. 103 f. no. 1). The inscription, which appears to be our oldest example of an agonistic epigram, was conceived as an elegiac couplet eked out by an iambic pentamody. H. N. Couch 'An Inscribed Votive Bronze Bull' in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1937 xxxv. 44—47 figs. 1 and 2 publishes a solid-cast

bull (ο'083m in length, o'070m in height) found in 1937 near the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea and now in the Museum of Classical Archaeology and Art at the University of Illinois. The bull bears on its left side the pointille inscription ΑΛΕΑΤΙΣ | ΑΝΕΕΚΕ. On artistic and epigraphical grounds it is assigned to the first half of the fourth century B.C.

1. 450 n. 1 'Other Authors.' See Auth. Pal. 3. 18 lemma.

1. 453 Io Kallithyes, F. Jacoby 'ΙΩ ΚΑΛΛΙΘΥΕΣΣΑ' in Hermes 1921i. 366—374 supports the main contention of A. Frickenhaus in Tiryns i. 19 ff. that there was an ancient cult of Hera at Tiryns (προφέρει την ήρα ηρας τον άργες και τον ήρα την Άργης) into two Argive figures—Kallithya the first priestess and Io (cp. Frag. gr. Hist. i. 455 Jacoby).

1. 453 n. 8. On the pillar of Hera Argelia see now P. Kastriotes 'Ηρα Αργείας ζωού' in the 'Αρχ. Εφ. 1930 pp. 53—56 with figs. 1—3.

1. 456 Epimenides and the Nemean lion. G. W. Dyson in the Class. Quart. 1929 xxiii. 195 thinks that Epimenides perhaps claimed to be a reincarnation of the soul of the Nemean lion.

1. 457 Hera Argelia and the Moon. A late Graeco-Roman relief in reddish marble (height 2 ft 14 ins), found at Argos and now in London, shows a facing bust of Selene in an arched niche bearing the signs of the zodiac. The goddess has a horned moon on her head and seven stars grouped round her. Below has been added the 'Gnostic.'

i. 464 Teos Tauros. A. Flussart in the Bull. Corr. Hel. 1926 i. 393 f. nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 (my fig. 321 is his no. 11 or 12) and ib. p. 393 n. 4 is able to cite four fresh examples of the inscription Θεός | Θαρσός, making a total of six, all found at Thespiae. A gold coin of the city Pushkalavati, with rev. Indian bull inscribed TAYPOC above and UPADHA below (E. J. Rapson in The Cambridge History of India Cambridge 1912 i. 557, 567 pl. 6, 10) represents Nandi the bull of Čiña (ιπτάμια i. 657, ii. 791 n. 2). Mosch. 2. 125 τῇ με φάνες, θεότατος (v. l. ἦ ταῦρος); uses the compound of Zeus.

Fig. 868.

i. 469 n. 7. A. Fick 'Asklepios und die heilschlangen' in the Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen 1900 xxvi. 313 ff. c. μικρός <οχλείν > δίφορος, 'playing at blindman's buff.'

Fig. 325 is better published and discussed by Furtwängler Ant. Gennemen i pl. 22, 16, ii. 108. Cp. J. H. Middleton The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings London 1892 p. 50 no. 23. See also Reinach Piérets Gravées p. 29 f. no. 43, 2 pl. 58 'Polyeidos, Glycas und Mimos' with n. 5.

i. 472 ff. The Labyrinth continues to provoke discussion—witness the following monographs: K. de Launay 'Les fallacieux détours du Labyrinthe' in the Rev. Arch. 1915 ii. 114—125, 348—365, ib. 1916 i. 205—300, 387—398, ii. 119—128, 281—300, 413—421 (takes as its starting-point the Round Building of Early Helladic date (third millennium B.C.), some 28m in diameter, at Tiryns (K. Müller in Tiryns iii. 80 ff. pls. 5, 29, 30), which appears to have been the earliest palace (Müller loc. cit. p. 87, G. Karo in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi A. 1455)). E. Hommel 'Zur Geschichte des Labyrinths' in the Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung 1919 xxii. 63—68 (holds that the maze-form in Crete and on Babylonia tablets represents the internal organs of man's body. On which showing the Labyrinth is 'a microcosm of the earth and a macrocosm of the human anatomy' (W. F. J. Knight in Folk-Lore 1925 xlv. 103)). H. Diels 'Das Labyrinth' in the Festgabe A. v. Harnack Tübingen 1921 pp. 61—72. W. H. Matthews Mazes and Labyrinths London 1922 pp. 1—254 (well illustrated). A. Piganol Recherches sur les jeux romains Strasbourg 1923 p. 103 (le ludus Troiae). Humborg in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 312—321, G. Karo ib. 321—323, H. Kees ib. 323—326. R. Winter 'Das Labyrinth in Tanz und Spiel' in the Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft
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und Jugendbildung 1929 v. 707—720 figs. 1—6 ('Es ist hier versucht worden, Verbindungs-
linien zwischen dem S äden und dem Norden Europas im Altertum nachzuweisen').
R. Eilmann Labyrinthos Athen 1931 pp. 1—106 with figs. 1—25 (p. 12 criticises my contention [ supra i. 476 f.] that the Cnosian coin-types originated in a swastika). C. N. Deedes The Labyrinth ed. by S. H. Hooke London 1935 pp. 1—42 (thinks that in Egypt the Labyrinth originated in the baffling defences of the royal tomb or, later, of the royal palace). J. Layard 'Maze-Dances and the Ritual of the Labyrinth in Malekula' [an island of the New Hebrides] in Folk-Lore 1936 xlvii. 123—170 (the Labyrinth provides a clue to the journey of the soul after death), id. ib. p. 170 'the horned dancers of Abbots Bromley are thus seen to be not far removed from the bull-headed Minotaur', id. ib. 1937 xlviii. 115—182 'Labyrinth Ritual in South India: Threshold and Tattoo Designs.'
i. 481 the Labyrinth at Taormina. By a curious coincidence a square mosaic repre-
senting the Labyrinth, with battlements all round, angle-towers, and a gateway, has actually come to light at Taormina (P. Orsi in the Not. Scavi 1920 p. 340 ff. figs. 26—29).
i. 482 the Labyrinth-dance at Delos. The Delian dance had ropes (yooal) to guide the dancers (L. K. Arnold in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1933 xxviiii. 455 [F. Dürrbach Inscriptions de Delos Paris 1926 ii. 77 ff. no. 316, 75 ff.]).
i. 482 n. 1 the altar of horns at Delos. See further É. Cahen 'L’autel de cornes et
l’hymne à Délos de Callimaque' in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1923 xxxvi. 14—25 ('il est peut-être difficile de voir dans le Kéra tri le 'autel principale du culte apollinien à Délos. Ce sera plutôt, à côté du Bouwos centre de la liturgie officielle, comme un autel très antique, où s’attachaient les souvenirs les plus vénérables de la religion délienne, avec les rites primitifs de la ἔφαρμος, de theo alpha, d’autres encore [Kallim. h. Del. 300—324, Hesych. s.v. ἐπιτάφιος μαντεῖον] K. R. Valladon 'Topographie délienne'. i. L’Artémision, le
The archaic temple of Doreos, built for Apollon Delphinios (supra i. 729 n. 2) early in the 6th c. B.C., was perhaps half a century later furnished with an altar of unusual form. A hollow lid of vertical slabs set against the back wall was covered by a wooden (?) lid with a circular hole in it (0.15 m. across), which itself was closed by a carefully rounded pateshār. On this box-altar stood three statuettes of hammered bronze (one male, two smaller female) together with two small iron knives: within it were numerous horns (mostly left horns) of young goats—clearly a kera tri comparable with that of Delos (supra i. 482) (S. Marinos in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1936 i. 224 f., 244—244 ff. figs. 17, 18, p. 26, 27, id. in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1936 ii Arch. Anz. pp. 215—222 and 247 with figs. 1—4).
i. 483 swastika and maeander. A. S. Georgiades in the Apo. 'Ep. 1914 p. 195 pl. 5
figs. 1, 2, 3. 1915 p. 94 fig. i publishes a fine swastika-pattern, which he calls the
'Επωρυχοι καλασδάς,' from the monastery of S. George at Eretria.
i. 485 Theseus and the Minotaur as central panel of the Labyrinth. C. Burnian Aventicum Helvetiorum Fünftes Heft Zürich 1870 (= Mittheilungen der antikarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich. vii. Abth. 1. Heft 3) p. 58 pl. 29 publishes a handsome mosaic, found in 1850 at Corsmed in the county of Freiburg and now in the Freiburg Museum: the design shows a Minotaur with towers at the angles and Theseus with the Minotaur in the centre.
i. 490 ff. the Minotaur. Materials bearing on this vexed problem may be here
F. Quilling Minotauros. Der Verordnervesten im Saalburgmuseum Leipzig 1919
pp. 1—40 (severely criticised by E. Anthes in the Berl. philol. Woch. April 3, 1920
pp. 312—326).
Prof. Max Semper of Aachen, in a letter to me dated Dec. 14, 1926, maintains that
there is no convincing representation of the Minotaur in 'Minoan' or Mycenaean art,
and that the seal-impression always cited as such would never have been so understood
had the wish been father to the thought. He holds that the mixed creatures of human
+animal type, which occur first in the 'Late Minoan' age, are due to the impact of
C. III.
Caucasian immigration and a change in the ruling race. Such Mischwesen had long been known to the peoples of the eastern Pontos and may well have been introduced as a novel motif into ‘Minoan’ art by the victors. Semper surmises that the Minotaur was first discovered by the Hellenes, probably to represent some traditional ‘Minoan’ word, whose true sound and sense remain obscure. He notes that the legend of the Minotaur is known from Greek sources only and involves an element of sex (lithos tactes), which points to the presence of a non-‘Minoan’ factor in the population of Crete. This factor he regards as uragaischen and believes to have been racially connected with Asia Minor, whereas the genuine founders of the ‘Minoan’ civilisation were a Mediterranean folk racially akin to the Libyans.

Eva Fiesel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi a. 370 f. comments on a bronze Etruscan mirror (F. Borie ‘La mort du Minotaure’ in the Ecole française de Rome. Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire 1898 xviii. 51—63 pl. 1—2), which shows not only Minos, Athena, Ariadne, and Herakles (mine, menma, ariata, hercle), but also the bull-headed Minotaur (buvruminul). P. Kretschmer in Glotta 1931 xix. 216 had pointed out that this Etruscan compund was the equivalent of Taşpos Mirdos on a ‘Chalcidian’ ἢδερα from Caere (Cervetri) (Louvre F 18, best published by A. Rump Chalkidische Vasen Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 13 no. 17, 175 fig. 3 pl. 26).

The culten Nuamaent München 1931 ii. 213 notes the prevalence of the bull-cult throughout Iberia. Id. ib. ii. 262 f. pls. 24 and 25 (＝my fig. 869) gives the black painted decoration of a red pottery dolium, which in a highly stylized geometric manner (A. Del Castillo in Ebert Reallex. ix. 138) renders a couple of bulls. Id. ib. ii. 257 pl. 16 (＝my figs. 870 and 871) shows the designs on a polychrome jug, which represents two male dancers wearing bulls’ horns on their arms and bulls’ hoofs (？) on their feet. The dance may be that mentioned by Strab. 164 as celebrated by night ἀναηύεμεν τοι ὑπ. In any case the previous existence of such a bull-cult in Spain explains in part the archaic popularity of the Spanish bull-fights. See further V. Alford Pyrenean Festivals London 1937 p. 193 f. on the Basque Toro de Fuego or ‘Fire Ball’ (‘probably...a form of bull-devotion, separate from, though existing side by side, with the corrida or bullfight’).

T. L. Shear in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1933 xxxvii. 540 fig. 1 (J. Charbonneau in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1935 xviii. 83 fig. 2) publishes a gold ring from a Mycenaean tomb found near the ‘Theesion’ at Athens: ‘The scene represented on the ring is of unusual interest. On the right a man is striding to the right. He has the head of an animal with long ears or short horns. In one hand he carries a branch or spear, and with the other holds the end of a double cord, which is attached to the waist of the foremost of two women behind him. The women have veiled heads, high ruffs around their necks, and pleated skirts. On the extreme left is a sacred pillar, and a small object resembling a bird or butterfly appears in the background above the figures. A group consisting of a bull-headed man who is leading two captive women recalls the legend of the Minotaur and the Athenian maidens. The new discovery in Athens may illustrate an early version of the later familiar myth.’ But Shear’s interpretation of the scene is far from certain.

E. Sjöqvist in the Archiv f. Rel. 1933 xxx. 344—347 fig. 11 gives the upper part of a terra-cotta statuette from Aija Irini in Kypros, which portrays a priest wearing a bull’s mask drawn over his head. Sjöqvist cites analogous figures and concludes: ‘Es scheint daher, als ob die Tiermaskenverkleidung eine rituelle Tracht wäre, besonders mit zereemoniellen Prozessionen und Tänzen verknüpft. Es ist sicher kein Zufall, dass die mit Sicherheit bestimmmbaren Priestermasken Stierköpfe sind. Die Reminiszenz in Aija Irini von einem ursprünglichen Stiergott sind sicher noch lebendig gewesen, und der Stier war sein heiliges Tier und sein Symbol, auf gleiche Art, wie es mit Hadad in Syrien und seinem Gegenstück in Anatolien der Fall war. Indem der Priester sein Bild anlegte, ging er eine greifbare Vereinigung mit der Gottheit ein, auf gleiche Art wie Demeters Priester in Pheneos bei gewissen Kultakten die Maske der Göttin anlegte [supra ii. 1136 n. 4]. Der Bruch hat bereits während der Bronzzeit eine grosse Verbreitung auf Cypern und innerhalb des syro-hettitischen Gebietes gehabt und scheint sporadisch auch in dem minoisch-mykenischen Kreise spürbar zu sein.’

With this conclusion I have long been in substantial agreement (Journ. Hell. Stud. 1894 xiv. 120—133 (‘The Cult of the Bull’)). I would, I conceive, be true to say that all round the shores of the Mediterranean in early times the thunder-god was envisaged as a bellowing bull, whose human representative, the king or priest, identified himself with the deity by donning a bull-mask or at least by wearing bull-horns. Even Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah, when he claimed to speak in the name of the Lord, ‘made him horns of iron’ (I Kings 22. 11).

i. 497 ff. ‘Minoan’ Bull-fights. Sir A. J. Evans in Archaeologia 1914 lv. 90 L fig. 96 illustrates a couple of ἢδερα from ‘Early Minoan’ ossuaries in the Messara, Crete, showing bulls with acrobatic performers (‘the earliest record of these sports’). W. Crooke ‘Bull-
baiting. Bull-racing, Bull-fights' in Folk-Lore 1917 xxviii. 141—163 discusses the subject with many parallels from India, Nigeria, etc. Ella Bourne 'Ancient Bull-fights' in Art and Archaeology 1917 v. 142—153 cites inter alia fig. 9 a marble relief from Smyrna, now at Oxford, inscribed ΤΑΥΡΟΚΑΘΑΥΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΑ θ Β (R. Chandler Marmor Alabantis Oxford 1763 ii. 105 no. 58 pl. 8, Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 526 no. 1). Sir A. J. Evans in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1921 xli. 257 f. fig. 9, Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 3212) and a similar marble relief from Sardes inscribed [ΤΑΥΡΟΚΑΘΑΥΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΝΗΓΙΩΝ] ΗΜΕΡΑΣ (H. C. Butler in Sardis i. 1. 95 fig. 56, W. H. Buckler—D. M. Robinson Ἁθ. vii. 1. 88 f. no. 82 fig. 60), with which cf. a relief found west of the theatre at Ephesos (R. Hecker in the Jahrb. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1899 ii Beiblatt p. 46 fig. 12) and an inscription from the Ephesian stage Μ[η]ρ[φ]άδος Μήμφιν θεόν το ελικοῦ καὶ το πε[ρ]θερατείας τοῖς Κραστίους (id. in Forschungen in Ephesos Wien 1912 ii. 152 no. 72). Sir A. J. Evans 'On a Minoan Bronze Group of a Gallopping Bull and Acrobatic Figure from Crete' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1921 xli. 247—259 figs. 1—12. Id. The Palace of Minos London 1936 Index p. 21 r.v. 'Bullsports.' Ziehen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v A. 24—27 (concluding with some friendly criticism of my own views).


i. 500. On the significance of the drinking-horn see H. Thiersch 'Kretische Hornbecher' in the Jahrb. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1913 xvi. 78—85 figs. 30—45 (p. 83 f. 'Die Vorstellung, dass das Trinken aus solchem Horne überirdische Kräfte verleihe, ist ja nur die weite Konsequenz des ganz allgemein verbreiteten Gedankens, dass die Kraft des Tieres auch noch in dem von ihm abgetrennten Horne weiterlebe, dass dieses darum auch zur Abwehr allerlei dämonischen Angriffe in hohem Masse geeignet sei').


R. C. Bosanquet drew my attention (7 June 1915) to Hesych. Γάρδαρος μα ο ταυροκρατής ο Ἡδος. The reference is apparently to the Graeco-Buddhist art of ancient Gandhara in north-western India.


i. 514 bees from bulls. A. E. Shipley 'The "Bagonia" myth' in the Journal of Philology 1915 xxxiv. 97—105 endorses the view of C. R. Osten Sacken On the Oxen born bees of the Ancients Heidelberg 1894 pp. 1—80 that the honey-bee (apis mellifica) was confused with the drone-fly (cratistis tenax), which superficially resembles the honey-bee and is often found in a stray carcass or in rotting vegetation.

i. 518 ff. the altar as object of cult. See further E. Maass 'Bienen und Verwandtes'.
in the Archiv f. Rel. 1925 xxiii. 227 n. 4, and cp. the mediaeval use of Deus 'pro ipso altari ubi Dominicum Corpus asservatur' (Ducange Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. ii. 829 i.e. 'Devs').

R. Kittel in the Journal of Biblical Literature 1935 xliv. 132-133 deals at large with the transformation of sacred places or objects into deities (Qadeh 'sanctuary,' Aiserab 'sacred post,' Hammam 'pillar')—summarised by E. H. Heffner in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1926 xxx. 487.

i. 521 ff. The Marriage of the Sun and the Moon in Crete. S. Estrem 'Zur Apostrotheose iv. Die heilige Ehe' in Symbolae Oslenseae 1933 xi. 11-21 deals with 'Die Theogamie des Herrscherkultus,' points out that Caligula as θεός Ηλιος (Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. ii. no. 798, 3 Kyzikos) married the Moon (Suet. Calig. 22, Dion Cass. 59. 27), and does not sweep the hypothesis of 'eine althellenische Theogamie, zwischen Sonne und Mond vollzogen' (p. 18 n. 1).

i. 522 f. the wooden cow. Suet. Ner. 12 inter pyrricharum argumeta taurus Paphnae ligneo iuvence simulacro abditam inudit, ut multi spectantium crediderunt.

Frazet Golden Bought: Taboo p. 113 (Hindus born again by being enclosed in the golden image of a cow and dragged through the usual channel or, failing that, through an image of the sacred Yoni).

Lady Sterry, wife of Sir Wasy Sterry, kindly sent me the following note (Aug. 21, 1931): 'According to the Christians of the Lebanon, the Druses have a sacred calf used in their worship. The calf is said to be made of wood hollowed out inside, and at one of its feasts cakes and sweetmeats are passed through the calf, which are considered blessed and are distributed to their friends, not necessarily only to Druses. The calf is said to be kept in their place of worship, which is open only to the initiated, and women are not allowed to be initiated.'

i. 528 f. the cult of Helios. C. W. Vollgraff in Mnemosyne N.S. 1919 xlvi. 162 no. 7 publishes a squared block of limestone, found at Argos, which is inscribed in lettering of ß v. ß. ß. ß: he|ξ[λ]στ[ρ]ο, that is ßερ[ο]σ Ελλ[ο]ριος, and infers that the Cretan goddess Ελλιριος must have had a shrine Ελλιριωτεο near the road to Mantinea.

A. Lesky 'Helios—Heliotis' in the Wiener Studien 1926/27 xliv. 152-173, ib. 1928 xlvii. 48-67 and 107-139 would recognise a leap γάμος between the earth-goddess Europa, who in Crete was originally named Heliotis, and the sky-god Zeus, who in pre-Greek times had the form of a bull. Lesky finds traces of the same beliefs at Dodona in the Heliot and their eponym Hellos (cp. Hellas, Hellenes, etc.), also at Corinth and Marathon in Athena Heliotis, and less certainly in Helle of the Hellespont.

i. 530 n. 2. O. Könnecke in the Rhein. Mus. 1914 lxix. 547-551 discusses the golden basket of Europe (Mosch. 2. 37 ff.) viewing it as Moschus' attempt to outsight the wooden bowl of Thyris (Theokr. 1. 27 ff.).

i. 531 n. 3. On the name Εὐρώπη see also W. Aly in Glotta 1913 v. 63-74, who connects it with θέηρος, θέηράς, θέηράτης θύρας, in which case it is a variant of θύρας, and concludes: 'so stammt der Name, wie seine Bildung zeigt, aus jener Schicht, die zutage tritt, wenn wir Thessalien mit Arkadien vergleichen, ein Resultat, das für die Einordnung der Göttin zeitlich und räumlich bedeutsam sein dürfte. Neben Europa in Boiotien und Europa in Skeyon finden wir nun erstere auch in Kreta und zwar genau in dem Teil der Insel, wo in Gortyn neben peloponnesischem Einfluss auch unmittelbar thessalischer bereits anderweitig nachgewiesen ist.'

i. 534 n. 2. A. von Sallet 'Die Umschrift der Europa auf Silbermünzen von Gortyna' in the Zeitschr. f. Num. 1879 vii. 263 ff. (Mt Tituron), J. N. Svoronos 'The inscription Τύρων on coins of Gortyna' in the Num. Chron. Third Series 1887 vii. 126 ff. (an ethnic =Τύρωνιος, cp. Καρπενειδες (supra i. 471) and Κορώνεος (Hesych. Κορώνεος to Καρπενειδον)), A. Skias 'Τύρων, Καρπενειδες' in the Εφ. Αρχ. 1891 p. 191 ff. (citing schol. Theokr. 3. 2 (supra i. 534 n. 2)).


i. 542 n. 5. See now Babelon Numm. gr. rom. ii. 3. 921 ff. no. 1478 pl. 246, 22 London and no. 1479 pl. 246, 23. The reverse of the latter is inscribed ΧΕΡΣΟΝΑΣΙΟΝ. Babelon comments: 'La belle tête de Zeus Κρήτης... est inspirée de celle du Zeus 'Olympe sur les statères d'Elis....'
Addenda


Fig. 872.


l. 551 n. 2. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi. 4 no. 36893.

i. 567 ff. Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the Bull. R. Dussaud, 'Heliopolitanus' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 50–57. Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 31 ff. no. 829 fig. (= my fig. 872) publishes a small altar (height 0.65 m.), of local limestone, from *Nisiba* a village of Lebanon at the foot of *Djebel Sannin*, which shows the god holding a whip and corn-ears, with a *pōlas* on his head, a necklace with central medallion on his chest, and stiff drapery with six four-leaved rosettes arranged in panels. He stands on a pedestal, the front of which has a goddess in a niche. And he is flanked by two bulls. Mendel ib. iii. 613 ff. no. 1404 fig. (= my fig. 873) adds a statuette (height 0.76 m.), of local limestone, from *Soukhni* to the north-east of Palmyra, which shows a similar type with even richer decoration. On the breast is engraved the god himself, flanked by Helios and Men; on the abdomen, Hera or Demeter, flanked by Athena and Hermes(?). On the base is inscribed in lettering of the iii. A.D. *Novo* O *ptimo* M *aximo* Heliopolitanus *Sex(tus)* Rasius Pracculus praefectus coh(ortis) I *Thracum* v*otum* plausuit. But
The most important monument of the cult yet found is the idol of gilded bronze (height 0.384 m) from Ba'albek itself, slashed and broken by some fanatic but skillfully repaired by M. André for the Charles Sursock collection and admirably published by R. Dussaud in Syria 1930 i. 3—15 pls. 1—4 (of which 1 and 2 = my figs. 874 and 875), S. N. Deane in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1921 xxv. 94 fig. 2, Reinauch Rép. Stat. v. 10 no. 5, The Illustrated London News for May 2, 1931 p. 743. The bronze, which may be dated c. 120 A.D., represents the god as he stood with his usual attributes, wearing a hádathus (of interlaced reeds?) decked with four corn-ears and a disk between globules perhaps meant for schematized uraei), a long chitón with short sleeves, and a cuirass-like sheath with numerous reliefs (on the chest, a winged disk; below, seven busts—Helios and Selene, Athena and Hermes, Zeus and Hera, Kronos; and above the feet a lion-head for Gennais (supra p. 888): behind, another winged disk, an eagle, two rams’-heads to suggest Zeus Ammon, six four-leaved rosettes or stars of diminishing size: at the sides, two elongated thunderbolts). The whole figure is erect on a cubical plinth adorned with a relief of Tyche (turreted crown, rudder, cornu capite). And the plinth, flanked by a pair of young bulls, rests on a larger base, which is pierced with a circular opening (c. 0.073 m across)—possibly a letter-box for the codicilli of persons consulting the god (Macrob. Sat. 1. 23. 14 ff. (supra i. 552 f.)). See further R. Cagnat in Syria 1924 v. 108 ff. and S. A. Cook The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology London 1930 pp. 15, 141 n. 4, 187, 218—223 pl. 59. 1.

The biggest harvest of fresh facts bearing on the Ba'albek cults is, however, that garnered in the posthumous work of Sébastien Ronzeville Jupiter Héliopolitain, Nova et VETERA (Notes et Études d’Archéologie Orientale. Troisième Série, ii) in the Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph xxi, i Beyrouth 1937 pp. i—181 with 17 figs. and 51 pls. (reviewed by F. R. Walton in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1938 xlii. 435 f.). This monograph publishes a mass of new or little known gems, including altars, stélai, engraved gems, lead seals, bronze rings, etc. In particular it furnishes a full account of the rock-cut relief in the quarry at Ferzol (pp. 29—71) and of the carved octagonal altar at Fiki or Fākī on the west slope of Anti Lebanon (pp. 87—129). Incidently it discusses many, if not most, of the associated deities of Koile Syria. And it ends (p. 138 f.) by laying stress on the symbolic corn-ears of Ba'albek (supra i. 558, 559, 572, iii. 1903): ‘C’est dans cet épi que se concentre finalement toute l’essence de la religion hiéloplastique sous l’empire romain. Issue de la triade familiale (supra i. 553 f. Hadad, Atargatis, Seimios) groupée autour du grand dieu syrien du tonnerre et de la pluie, Hadad, cette religion devint progressivement celle du dieu du Ciel, Bēl-Sāmīn, embrassant dans ses flancs les traits qui, dès l’époque hellénistique, méritèrent à Baalbek la dénomination d’Héliopolis, et firent d’elle avec le temps le centre crypto-éphére de tous les cultes solaires de l’époque romaine. Tout se résolut pratiquement dans l’adoration de l’astre brillant du jour, dans ses fonctions de dispensateur de vie et de prospérité agraire, telles qu’elles nous sont résumées dans l’image récemment découverte à Doura du Bēl-Sāmīn—Zoīn bēt, image par laquelle je mets fin à toute cette étude (pl. XLII)’ (M. Rostovtzeff Dura-Europos and its Art Oxford 1938 p. 63 f. pl. 11 ‘A Bas-relief of Zeus Kyrios,’ p. 68 ff. pl. 13 ‘Painted decoration of the cella of the temple of Zeus Theos. (Restoration by F. Brown)’; The Excavations at Dura-Europos Prelim. Report vii—viii. Yale Univ. Press 1939, 180 ff. (The Temple of Zeus Theos), 284 ff. (The Temple of Zeus Kyrios)).

i. 571 n. 2. leonine gods. At Bir-Derbal near Gharidmaou in Tunisia a Punico-Roman sanctuary containing a dedicatory inscription to Saturn was found; also other rustic sanctuaries of j. ii A.D., which could boast life-size statues of terracotta and many statuettes. One life-size head had the face of a lioness wearing fillets and is thought to have represented the Genius Terrae Africæ (L. Carton ‘Note sur des édifices renfermant des statues en terre cuite, découverts dans la région de Ghardimaou (Tunisie)’ in the Comptes rendus de l’Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1918 pp. 338—347, W. N. Bates in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1919 xxiii. 320), because a denarius issued by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio in 47—46 B.C. shows Sekhet with leonine head, disk, and ankhs accompanied by the legend Γ-Τ-Α (Babelon Monn. rép. rom. i. 280 no. 51 fig., Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. ii. 572 no. 8 pl. 121, 4 and no. 9 (Genius Tutelaris Africæ or Genius Tutelaris Africæ)).

i. 581 the golden thunderbolt of Adad. Cp. Liv. 22. 1 (when prodigies occurred in 217 B.C.) commemoration monitu decretum est, Iovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondi quinquaginta fieret, etc. Aristoph. av. 1750 (supra p. 50).

A magnificent relief in basalt from Arrilam-Tash, dating from the reign of Tiglath-pileser iii (746—727 B.C.), shows Adad, with a double three-pronged thunderbolt in either hand, standing on the back and head of a bull as he advances rapidly from left to right (L’art de la Méopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre Paris 1936 v. 300 fig. A).
Addenda

i. 586 Atargatis with her lions. R. Dussaud "Patère de bronze de Taifas" in *Syria* 1924 v. 212—215 with pl. 54, 1 and 2 (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xxx. 342) describes a bronze *patera* of Roman date, found at Taifas in the Hauran but later stolen from the Mohammedan Museum at Damaskos. The central relief shows a

Fig. 876.

lion standing in front of a column on which is an image of Priapos. The lion rests his forepaw on a *scabellum* (?). At the left is a musician playing the double flutes; at the right, a woman with a timbrel, towards whom the lion turns his head. Dussaud thinks that the lion of Atargatis prefers the native timbrel to the foreign flutes!

Addenda 1097

i. 590 fig. 450. See now Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Arabia etc. pp. xxxii, 28 pl. 4, 15 and 16.

N. Glueck in The Illustrated London News for Aug. 21, 1937 p. 298 ff. publishes finds from a Nabataean temple known as Khirbet et-Tannur and situated on a hill in southern Transjordania, directly south of the Wadi al-Hez (the 'brook Zered' of Deut. 2. 13, cp. Num. 21. 12). Excavations in March 1937 yielded bearded heads probably representing Zeus (Adad) (p. 298 fig. 3, p. 299 fig. 11); a relief of Zeus (Adad) enthroned between two young bulls, his neck encircled by a lion-headed torque, his right hand raised perhaps to hold a double axe, his left hand grasping the bull's ear and partly concealed by a conspicuous thunderbolt (p. 299 fig. 15 = my fig. 876 from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr Glueck); an incense-altar with reliefs of Zeus (Adad) and Tyche (p. 298 figs. 7–9); the bust of Atargatis in relief with leaf-like decoration (fish-scales? A. N. C.) on forehead, cheeks, and chest (p. 299 fig. 6); the bust of Atargatis in relief with head-dress formed of two fishes (p. 299 fig. 5); a snake-entwined eagle standing on a wreath with a plaster basin below (p. 300 fig. 18); etc. For a fuller account of these important finds see N. Glueck 'The Nabataean Temple of Khirbet et-Tannur' in the Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research for October 1937 No. 67 pp. 6–16 figs. 2–8, id. 'A newly discovered Nabataean temple of Atargatis and Hadad at Khirbet et-Tannur, Transjordania' in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1937 xlii. 361–376 figs. 1–18, C. Picard 'Les sculptures nabatéennes de Khirbet-et-Tannour et l’Hadam de Pouzoles' in the Rev. Arch. 1937 lii. 244–249 figs. 1–4.

i. 592 n. 0 the sacred 'cock.' H. Geschmann 'Der heilige Hahn zu Hierapolis in Syrien' in the Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft Giessen 1925 Beihefl xlii. 88–95 (cp. Corp. inscr. Gr. iii no. 4000, 5 (Ikonion) as read by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1918 xxxviii. 157 φαυλωσάν διόχετος[a], and modern Palestinian customs (J. A. Jaussen 'Le coq et la pluie dans la tradition palestinienne' in the Revue biblique internationale 1924 xxxiii. 574–582).


i. 603 n. 5 Di-Sandas. R. Rochette in the Mémoires de l’Institut National de France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres) Paris 1848 xxvi. 161 insists 'qu’il faut certainement lire de cette manière: Δι-Σανδά.'

604 the rock-carvings near Boghaz-keui. These are now well published by K. Bitte1 Die Felsbilder von Yavuzbaya Bamberg 1934 with bibliography, map, plan, 28 photographic pls., and panoramic drawing, id. Die Ruinen von Bogazköy Berlin—Leipzig 1937 pp. 1–107 with 63 figs., chronological table, and 3 plans. It appears that the great procession of Iasbel Kaya may be dated between 1350 and 1330 B.C. (C. Picard in the Rev. Arch. 1937 lii. 256).

i. 604 ff. Zeus Dolichaios and Iupiter Dolichenus. To the bibliography given on p. 604 n. 8 should be added F. Cumont Études syriennes Paris 1917 pp. 173–202 ('Doliché et le Zeus Dolichénoi') with figs. 55–70, id. 'Groupe de marbre du Zeus Dolichénoi' in Syria 1930 i. 182–189 pl. 17 (found 'entre Marash et Birekji': Zeus stands on bull supported by altar with base inscribed Κεςας και Σαμπατ(|φ]|φ), K. A. Neugebauer Antike Bronzestatuetten Berlin 1921 p. 118 f. fig. 65 (Genius of Iupiter Dolichenus from Mar'aash, now in the Antiquarium at Berlin), p. 120 fig. 63 (Iupiter Dolichenus from Berlin—Lichtenberg, now in the Antiquarium at Berlin), id. in Gnomon 1930 vi. 269, J. Leipoldt in H. Haas Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—
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i. 611 f. eagle between horns of bull and on short column beneath bull. Perhaps cp. the terra-cotta group published in pl. lxxvii, a and b.

i. 610 n. 4. A rosette on the forehead of a bull is a commonplace in ancient art: see J. Dechelette Manuel d’archéologie Paris 1910 ii. 480, 1914 ii. 3. 1310. A couple of examples will suffice. A gold earring of Greek work (i. iv.—iii. B.C.), found in Palestine and now in my possession, shows a bull’s head with a spiral rosette on the forehead. A gold strap-buckle of the La Tène period, found in the tomb of Chiperich i at Tournai in 1653 and stollen from the Cabinet des Médailles 1854, had also a spiral rosette on the forehead (F. Dahn. Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker Berlin 1883 iii. 480 fig. 18 f. J. Dechelette op. cit. ii. 3. 1308 (fig. 778, 2). Both are possibly symbolic.

S. Ronzevalle Jupiter Heliopolitain Beyrouth 1937 p. 51 ff. publishes a pair of monuments from the Hauran. A basalt statuette (0.875 m. high) from Tell Ahtari near Tafas, now in the Museum at Damascus, shows a bull-headed god en face. His horns make a large crescent enclosing a rosette. Under his left arm is a smaller rosette. And across his body is a sword (pl. 14 bis, 51 and 52). An almost exact replica of this relief (0.80 m. high) is to be seen in a niche at ‘Awas south of Saljuh (fig. 12). Ronzevalle cp. a square altar of basalt (0.88 m. high) from Saljuh, on which a bull’s head appears in relief between the two parts of a Greek dedication to Zeus μεγας ὁ κυρος (M. Dunand La Musée de Sourida: Inscriptions et monuments figurés Paris 1934 p. 99 no. 200 Δι μεγας τυ ρε φων | στερ εστιν παν ισω βασιλειου Κ[ρονο] | Δου γενεσιν και εστιν εικον ισιώτεροι).

i. 624 the Milky Way and Hera. So in Siberian mythology a Buriat tale explains the Milky Way as the overflow from the breasts of the Heaven-goddess Manza Gormo (U. Holmberg Finnia-Ugric, Siberian Mythology Boston 1927 pp. 414, 434).


i. 626 the Byzantine list of planets, plants, animals. S. Langdon in the Museum. Journal: University of Pennsylvania 1918 ix. 131—136 with fig. describes a Babylonian tablet of c. 1600 B.C. dealing with symbolism in the Cassite period. W. N. Bates in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1919 xxiii. 179 summarises: 'The text explains the divine powers which are controlled by various substances and utensils employed in the rituals. Thus the jar of holy water signifies Ninhursag, queen of incarnations; the tamerisk signifies the god of the heavens; the head of the date palm, Tammuz; the cypress, the aid of Adad; the censer invokes the god of the spring sun, Usruca, etc. It also gives the only information yet recovered about the mystic meanings of metals. Silver is the god of the heavens, gold the earth god, copper the god of the sea, lead the great mother goddess.' Prof. Langdon adds in a letter of Oct. 31, 1919: 'the sky god is symbolized by silver...because for astronomical reasons the Moon (or the silver god) was identified with the sky god at the summer solstice.' See further C. O. Zuretti Alchemistica signa (Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs viii) Bruxelles 1932 p. 1 ff.

i. 626 ff. Akin to the silvered or gilded plates of Jupiter Dolichenus is one of repoussé bronze, found by E. Cunnington in 1883 at the Romano-Celtic temple in Maiden Castle and now in the Museum at Dorchester (fig. 877, a front, b back, from the official photograph). It represents Minerva standing en face with helmet, spear, Gorgon’s head, and shield, the whole on a raised oblong surrounded by the usual spear-head and lily-work (R. E. M. Wheeler in The Antiquaries Journal 1938 xv. 272). At the bottom edge are the remains of one or two letters, part of a lost inscription (Lt.-Col. C. D. Drew in a communication dated March 20, 1938). Minerva is known elsewhere on the plates of Dolichenus (supra 1. 616 fig. 487, 619 with fig. 490), and it is conceivable that the cult of this maiden goddess, domiciled in the fourth-century temple (for which see R. E. M.}
Terra-cotta group in the British Museum, possibly connected with the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus (?).

I am indebted to Mr. C. M. Robertson for the following official description: '1907, 5, 69. Terra-cotta eagle with wreath in beak standing on bull's head, all on a flat square base. This now stands on a terracotta column, but it is not certain that they originally belonged together, though both are of doubt antique. They were acquired among a large collection formed at Odessa from excavations of tombs at Olbia.'
A bronze mace from Willingham Fen, now in the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, Cambridge.

See page 1099 f.
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Wheeler _loc. cit._ p. 270 ff. pls. 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, Miss M. V. Taylor in the _Journ. Rom. Stud._ 1935 xxv. 220 f. pls. 40 and 41, 1, _Rev. ib._ 1937 xxvii. 242 f., contributed something to the popular etymology of _Maiden_ (properly Mai-Duni) Castle. The temple itself may have been that of _Dolichenus_, a Celtic form of whom is suggested by a votive offering found in 1934 just outside the south-east corner of the building, viz. a three-horned bull (_supra_ i. 639) made of tin-bronze and bearing a triad of busts, one minus its head (R. E. M. Wheeler _loc. cit._ p. 272 pl. 39 (=my fig. 878), Miss M. V. Taylor _loc. cit._ p. 250 pl. 41, 2).

![Fig. 877.](image)

Another power associated with _Dolichenus_ in the Celtic area as a pendant to Minerva with her spear was Hercules with his club (_supra_ i. 616 fig. 487). And here we must take into account the interesting bronze mace found in 1857 by a ploughman on Willingham Fen, ten miles north-west of Cambridge (M. Rostovtzeff—M. V. Taylor 'Commodus-Hercules in Britain' in the _Journ. Rom. Stud._ 1923 xiii. 91 ff. pl. 3 (inadequate), L. C. G. Clarke in _The Antiquaries Journal_ 1926 vi. 178 f. pl. 31, F. M. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa _Real-Enc._ vi A. 925 f., _id._ in _Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society_ 1935—1936 xxxvii. 56 ff. pl. 4, b). The mace had been deliberately broken, perhaps by way of _damnatio memoriae_ after Commodus' assassination in 192 A.D., and enclosed in a wooden chest along with a number of votive bronzes—soldiers on horseback, a bull's head, an eagle, an owl, etc. The three fragments of the mace, which together measure c. 0'345 m in height and had once a
wooden core, are decorated as follows (pl. lxxviii): (1) A bust of Commodus, wearing the *palaudamentum*, forms the handle. (2) On the shaft is a nude beardless god with right hand uplifted (as if to brandish a bolt) and left hand raised (as if to hold a sceptre or spear). He sets his left foot on the bearded (?) head of a giant emerging from the ground. To the left an eagle, now headless, is perched on a globe, which rests on a six-spoked wheel marked with rays. To the right projects the head of a bull with three horns, one of which is now broken off. At the back plunges a dolphin. (3) The mace terminates as a knotted club. It is clear that the artist was primarily concerned to identify Commodus with Hercules (*supra* ii. 255 n. 0, 903 n. 2). But, since Commodus also posed as a youthful Jupiter holding thunderbolt and sceptre (*supra* i. 276 n. 5)

Fig. 878.

fig. 201, ii. 1185 figs. 987, 988), a corresponding figure appears on the shaft. Further syncretism equates this Jupiter with the Germanic Ziu, the victorious rider of the Jupiter-columns, who tramples his giant under foot (*supra* ii. 74 ff.). It equips him also with the eagle-on-globe and the radiate wheel as a sky-god, with the three-horned bull perhaps as an earth-god *P. Dis pater*. But F. M. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2281 ff., 2453 ff. stresses 'Beziehungen zur Wassertiefe' and suspects connexion with Tarvos *Trigaranus* (*supra* i. 482 n. 0), and even with the dolphin as a sea-god—thereby completing his claim to universal dominion.

i. 630 ff. 'where iron is born.' M. P. Charlesworth in a note to me (Oct. 29, 1934) cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 33. 118 Iuba minium nasci et in Carmania tradit, Timagenes et in Aethiopia, etc. But a closer parallel is furnished by the *Kalèvala* runo 9. 25 ff. Kirby, where Väinämöinen says 'Well I know the birth of Iron, | And how steel was first created.' He goes on to tell how—
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Ukko, God of realms supernal,
40 Rubbed his mighty hands together.
    Both his hands he rubbed together,
On his left knee then he pressed them,
And three maidens were created,
Three fair Daughters of Creation,
Mothers of the rust of Iron,
And of blue-mouthed steel the fosterers.
    Strolled the maids with faltering footsteps
On the borders of the cloudlets,
And their full breasts were overflowing,
50 And their nipples pained them sorely.
    Down on earth their milk ran over,
From their breasts’ overflowing fulness,
    Milk on land, and milk on marshes,
Milk upon the peaceful waters.
    Black milk from the first was flowing,
From the eldest of the maidens,
    White milk issued from another,
From the second of the maidens,
    Red milk by the third was yielded,
60 By the youngest of the maidens.
    Where the black milk had been dropping,
There was found the softest Iron,
    Where the white milk had been flowing,
There the hardest steel was fashioned,
    Where the red milk had been trickling,
There was unended Iron.

i. 631 n. 8. A. H. Sayce in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1910 xxx. 315 notes: "Ἄλαδη, or rather Άλαδη, corresponds with a Hittite Khaly-wa, "'the land of the Halya," just as Αραϊωά corresponds with Araawa. The Halizonians are the Khalitū of a (cuneiform) inscription of the proto-Armenian king Rusas II. (B.C. 680),...who says that he had made a campaign against "the Moschians, the Hittites, and the Khalitu." The silver mines of the Taurus, which were worked by the Hittites, were the chief source of the silver supplied to the early oriental world: hence the metal was a special favourite with the Hittites, from whom the rest of the world obtained it." Cp. Sir A. Evans The Palace of Minos London 1928 ii. 1. 169 n. 2. More hazardous conjectures in J. Karst Die vorgeschichtlichen Mittelmeervolker Heidelberg 1931 pp. 71 f., 254, 348.

i. 632 n. 5. Add Iul. Obs. 39 (Lycosthenes) mures in aede Iovis aurum roserunt.

i. 633 ff. The monograph of L. Malten 'Der Stier in Kult und mythischem Bild' in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1928 xliii. 90—139 has a useful collection of evidence from Egypt (pp. 92—98 figs. 1—11), Mesopotamia (pp. 98—107 figs. 12—27), Asia Minor (pp. 107—114 figs. 28—41), Syria (pp. 114—117 figs. 42—51), Palestine (pp. 117—119 figs. 52—54), Phoinike (p. 120 fig. 55), Crete (pp. 121—137 figs. 56—89), a brief notice of survivals in classical cults and myths (p. 137 f.), and some consideration of the Bull's significance from first to last (p. 138 f.).

i. 636 bull with body-marks. The best example is one from Ur published by C. L. Woolley in The Antiquaries Journal 1913 iii. 331 pl. 34 fig. 1, a: 'U 239 is a part of a shallow bowl of steatite originally surrounded by four bulls, of which one is preserved intact. The carving is remarkably good; the ground is inlaid in ivory with designs of sun, moon and stars; on the bull's body are trefoil marks resembling those on the Hathor caws of Egypt, on its shoulder and leg round spots arranged in the order of the stars of the Great Wain; it is the "great Bull of Heaven." A fragmentary inscription assigns it to the Third Dynasty.' Mr Sidney Smith kindly informs me (March 24, 1938) that the original is in the Baghdad Museum and should be dated c. 2300 B.C. or a little earlier: he adds that there is a poor cast of it in the British Museum. P. S. Bartoli Museum Odeoscalchum Romae 1752 ii. 99 ff. pl. 42 shows a marble base with relief of a bull walking to the right. On his side is a crescent moon ☿, and above him the inscription BVE API. Ia. 58. ii. 122 pl. 53 shows a similar (other surface of same) base with relief of a bull walking to the right. On his side is a six-rayed star.

i. 638 bull in bowl surrounded by millet. Cp. perhaps the seated goddesses (of fertility?) and other discoid figures in clay found with grains of barley, beans, and peas in urns of the Bronze Age at Tarxien, Malta (Sirs T. Zammit Prehistoric Malta
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i. 638 f. H. Frankfort in The Illustrated London News for Sept. 14, 1935 p. 430 fig. 6 publishes the ornament from a Sumerian harp of c. 3000 B.C., which was found at Khafaje, Iraq. It is a bull's head in copper with inlaid eyes and forehead. The white of the eyes is shell, the iris lapis lazuli, and the triangle on the forehead mother-of-pearl.

i. 639 n. 2 the Celtic cult of bulls. See now an important paper by A. D. Lacaille The Bull in Scottish Folklore, Place-names, and Archaeology in Folk-Lore 1930 xii. 221—248 plis. 3—8, F. M. Heichelheim i.e. 'Tarvos Trigaranus' in Pauli—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv A. 2453—2457, Wirth i.e. 'Stier' in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens Berlin—Leipzig 1936 viii. 482—486.


i. 642 n. 4. On Zeus as 'tyrant' in Aisch. P. v. see G. Thomson 'Zeus Téparros' in the Class. Rev. 1929 xxil. 3—5.

i. 643 Mount Tábir. See further J. Boeheiner 'Der Name Tabor' in the Zeitschrift für Semittistik und verwandte Gebiete 1929 vii. 161—169, O. Eissfeldt in the Archiv f. Rel. 1930 xviii. 25 n. 3.

i. 643 Soph. frag. 348 Dindorf (assigned to the Αμμοίδα), 708 Nauck², 776 Jebb ap. schol. vet. Theokr. 7. 7677 d. and ap. ct. mag. p. 26, 16 ff. 'Αθώσ οκφίτο κύτωτ Αμμοίδα βοῦς (so, without Sophokles' name, Cramer anec. Paris. iv. 96, 17 ff., Zonar. i.e. Αθώς, Eustath. in ll. p. 980, 45 ff. Schol. B. L. V. II. 14, 379 ὥρα for μήρα!) already implies the proverb which later writers commonly quote as 'Αθώς καλεῖται πληθυρί Αμμοίδας βοῦς (Greg. Kypr. 1. 73, alii. A Latin form of it perhaps in Var. de ling. Lat. 7. 25 'cornu <t> a taurum umbram iacti', which O. Ribbeck Trag. Rom. frag. p. 311 would restore as '<A-tós > in cornu taurum umbram iacti'). Paroemographers etc. explain that the allusion is to the shadow of Mt Athos which touched a white marble cow on Lemnos (Makar. 1. 46, Apostol. 1. 57, Arsen. i.e. 25 Wals. Socid. i.e. Ακυψ). Plout. de fac. in orb. l.22 and ct. mag. p. 26, 17 ff. state, with greater probability, that the cow was of bronze. Others add that the shadow at the solstice reached the marketplace of Myrina (Ap. Rhod. l. 601 ff. with schol. ad loc., Plin. nat. hist. 4. 73, Solin. 11. 33, cp. Stat. Theb. 5. 49 ff.). The fullest discussion of the facts is that of A. C. Pearson in his edition of The Fragments of Sophocles Cambridge 1917 iii. 26 ff. It is tempting to conjecture that the bronze cow of Lemnos, thus associated with sun and shadow, was akin to the bronze cow of Mt Athabylon. If so, it had a Hittite ancestry.

i. 643 the bull of Perillos. On the bull-headed furnace at Byzantium, known as ο Βόις and used for the burning of criminals, see E. Oberhummer in Pauli—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1072. The principal text is Kodinos de signis Constantinopolitanis 25 D—26 A (p. 46 Bekker) = Anonymus târmos 2. 53 (p. 180, 8 ff. Preger) περί τοῦ Βόις. είς τοῦ καλούμενου Βοῦς κάμως ἐν ἑκάτερο παμμεγήθη εκτασιν βοῦς ἔχουσα κεφαλή εὐθανατοίς καθότι καὶ οἱ κακῶροι ἐποροεί ταύρου κατακαίνειαν ἐν αὐτῷ καθάρισαν ταῦρον στομάτον καὶ εἰς τὸν κύκλον βοῦς τὸν παμμεγηθέντας θάνατος όλα κατά μίαν καὶ εἰς τὸν Βοῦς βοῦς ἐπετυμπισθή, ἐν ἐν καμάσον οὐκ Φοώο (602—610 A.D.), ἈΛΣ ἐν Σερακίλιον (610—641 A.D.) ἔχουσαν λόγον ὄψεως γλύπτων. This bronze Bull is said to have been brought from Pegamon, where it had been used for the martyrdom of Antipas (Kedren. hist. comp. 353 B (i. 566 Bekker) ὡς ὁ χαλκὸς βοῦς ἐκ Περγάμου ἔδρα, κάμων δὲ ἐν ἐν ἐν ἐν πέφεκται ὁ αἰμοῦ μάρτυς Ἀντίπαρος, Zonar. 14. 14 (iii. 304, 11 f. Dindorf) τὸ δὲ δύνατον αἰμω (ι. ο. Φοώος) καθάρισαν κατὰ τὸν Βοῦς, ἐνα κάμων ἐν, ἐν στεγναίς, ἐμφάνισα τὸν μεγάλα, έτερ ἐκ Περγάμου κεκατομμύρῳ, ἐκ δὲ καὶ οἱ τούτοι άνθρώποι. A. G. Sofiano Pergamo Moderne et Antique Athènes 1930 p. 111 figures St Antipasa being hurled in the copper bull, and ib. p. 112 observes: 'Ce bouc avait été élevé par Attale 1er en mémoire de sa victoire sur les Galates; plus tard, il fut transporté à Constantinople où on le fit servir à diverses exécutions: y furent brûlés, entre autres, Théodore et Stéphane, ministres de Justinien.' See further S. Baring-Gould The Lives of the Saints Edinburgh 1914 iv. 136 S. Antipas (April 11), 304 S. George of Cappadocia (April 23), v. 66 S. Pelagia (May 4), x. 316 SS. Eustathius, Theopista, Agapius, Theopistus (Sept. 20). The last-mentioned holocaust is figured in the Ecclesia militia militantis triumphi Paris s.a. pl. 9.

A final trace of the Hittite bull-cult, drawn from some classical source and modified by medieval imagination, may be detected in Perceval le Gallois ou le conte du Graal trans. S. Evans London 1903 p. 314 ff. Branch 18 Title 9 '...he came to the Castle of Copper. Within the castle were a number of folk that worshipped the copper and believed not in any other God. The bull of copper was in the midst of the castle
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upon four columns of copper, and bellowed so loud at all hours of the day that it was heard for a league round about, and there was an evil spirit within that gave answers...'

with the sequel.

i. 645 n. 4 on the 'shields' of the Idaean Cave see also F. W. von Bissing in the Jahrh. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1923/24 xxxviii/ix. 211 ff.


i. 650 n. 1 the ἄνδυς or 'bull-roarer.' See further R. Battaglia 'Sopranvivenze del rombo nelle Provincie Venete' in Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni 1925 iii. 190—217 with 7 figs., A. S. F. Gow 'ΙΤΕΣ, ΡΟΜΒΟΣ, ΡΗΟΜΒΟΣ, ΤΥΡΟΣ' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1934 liv. 1—13 with figs. 1—11.

i. 651 n. 1 Zagreus as the god 'of Mt Zagros.' The same derivation is proposed independently by F. Hommel Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients München 1926 p. 731 n. 3.

i. 653 the Praisians sacrifice to a pig. Cp. Loukan. Iap. trag. 42 Ἀσύπωμος περιοτέρα (sc. θεόννες).

i. 655 on the etymology of Τήστιν. A. Nehring 'Griechisch τίκατ, τίκατι und ein vorgriechisches κ-Suffix im Glotta 1925 xiv. 153—192 discussing inter alia the word Tiris, Tiris (p. 157 ff.) postulates an original τίκατ as a 'Lallwort' meaning 'Vater' 'Väterchen,' cp. τίκατ, τίκατα (IHesych. s.v. τίκατ cited supra ι. 655 n. 2) and relates the whole group to Etruscan and the languages of Asia Minor.

i. 657 n. 2 Minos διόδωρον. K. Marôt 'Ἀτλας διόδωρον' in the Berl. philol. Woch. Mai 27, 1926 pp. 185—200 concludes 'that the Atlas of Minos διόδωρον is not to be applied to a moralistic child, bodes on the Boshfähigkei of 'Täters,' d. h. on a mythic-vorethésis 'Verderbemsinnen' beziehen kann.'

i. 662. W. K. C. Guthrie Orpheus and Greek Religion London 1935 p. 109 would amend my rendering of Firm. Mat. 6. 4 and 5 πρὸ τοῦ τύμπων έκτετεῖ τέμπλουμν and δευτέρος est qui habere non potuit tempus et regnum by translating 'he built a temple in place of a tomb' and 'has made a god out of one who was not able to find burial.'


i. 671 pillar with Dionysiac mask or masks. See now W. Wrede 'Der Maskengott' in the Ath. Mitt. 1928 liii. 66—95 with pls. 1—4, supplementary pls. 21—28, and figs. 1—4 (E. H. Heffner in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1929 xxxiii. 554 f.).

στόλον ἑώρακαν' (θεοῦ)

i. 674. Apollodoros of Athens no doubt lived in 'The second century B.C.' and wrote his great work περί Θεών in 24 books (R. Münzel De Apollodori περί Θεών libris Bonnæ 1883 pp. 1—35, 39 f., W. von Christ Geschicht der griechischen Literatur München 1920 ii. 1. 393 f.). But the extant ἐνθεολογία, long attributed to him, is now believed to be a work of Hadrianic date based on a handbook of mythology compiled between 100 and 25 B.C. (C. Robert De Apollodori Bibliotheca Berolini 1873 pp. 1—91, E. Schwartz in C. III.)
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i. 673 the caldron of divination in the cult of Leukothea. See further L. R. Farnell Ino-Leukothea in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1916 xxxvi. 36—44, especially p. 43 f.

i. 674 Dionysos done to death as a kid by worshippers who took the name of ‘kîds’? An interesting Scandinavian parallel is the Æftirleik described by B. S. Phillips The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama Cambridge 1930 p. 124 f.: ‘The performers are three boys, two of whom personate “father and son,” while the third is dressed up as a goat. The doggerel recited by the “father and son” is corrupt, but it recounts the slaughter of the goat and its resurrection, and this is accompanied by appropriate action on the part of the third performer. The Norwegian verses appear to retain a memory of the partition of the goat-skin: “how much will thou give for the goat its skin—wool?” We have here another case of the actual performances of a slaying and resurrection, with the additional primitive feature of a beast-skin disguise shed by the victim and at one time apparently allotted to one of the persons present.’ Cp. E. K. Chambers The English Folk-play Oxford 1933 p. 311: ‘Perhaps, therefore, we may go a step further, and guess at the existence...of some original European Indul, with just this Mock Death and Revival as its central point and with men dressed as animals for its performers.’

i. 677 n. o. K. Buresch Aus Lydien Leipzig 1898 p. 160 found at Kalch near Temenothyrai ‘ein marmornes, dem Zeus Galaktos geweihtes Altärechen’ and inferred that the site bore the name Galaktion—an inference accepted by L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 514. See also J. Keil in Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsey Manchester 1921 p. 360 no. 8, E. Fehrle in Roscher Lex. Myth. vi. 615.


No ancient representation of the Lupercalia is known. Reinach Pierre Gravelles p. 77 no. 77 pl. 77 ‘Sacrifice des Lupercalia,’ a stone published at Paris in 1732 by Lévesque de Gravelle, is an obvious forgery.

i. 679. W. K. C. Guthrie Orpheus and Greek Religious London 1935 p. 132 adds ‘the Bassetirs of Aeschylus which told of the dismemberment of Orpheus.’

A doublet of the myth of Pallas may perhaps be seen in that of Minos done to death in a hot bath at Kamikos by Kokalos or his daughters (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 360, Poland in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xv. 1918 f.).

i. 681 n. 4 θερμαῖος. The suffix is discussed by H. Petersson ‘Die altindischen Wörter auf-amba’ in the Indogermanische Forschungen 1934 xxiv. 232—249.

Zacher ‘Die Ursprunge und der Name des Iambus’ in the Jahres-Bericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur 1904 lixxii Abteilung iv. 3 f. hit upon a derivation of θερμαῖος near akin to mine: ‘Endlich müßte θερμαῖος sein = δύναμις, d. h. wohl den θερμος beisingend. Θέρμος könnte eine Nebenform von θέρμων sein, und dieses bedeutet “Sohn des Zeus” (θέρμος von θερέω; θέρος die Zuzungsruste?).’ This acute conjecture is too summarily dismissed by Boissier Dict. d’yms de la Langue Gr. p. 188.

W. M. Calder ‘The Dithyramb—an Anatolian Dirge’ in the Class. Rev. 1922 xxxvi. 11—14, dissatisfied with all previous views, mine included, proposed to connect διθηραμβος with two Phrygian words or loan-words διθήραμβος and διθήραμβος. The first of these occurs in an inscription from Tyria (J. G. C. Anderson in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1898 xviii. 121 f. no. 67 = J. Friedrich Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler Berlin 1932 p. 123 f. no. 31), the second in another from Ikonion (W. M. Calder in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1911 xxxi. 188 ff. no. 49 = J. Friedrich op. cit. p. 135 no. 49). It is claimed that διθήραμβος must be a noun, and διθηραμβος must be either a noun or an adjective...meaning “monument” or some sepulchral attribute or characteristic, possibly the “double door” (διθήραμβος = δύναμις, θέραμβος, foress) of the Phrygian family-tomb “symbolically leading in two directions—outwards to the world of life, inwards to the world of death.’ On this showing διθηραμβος means “grave-song” or “dirge,” and we must regard the θερμων διθηραμβου of II. 24. 731 as the counterpart of τῶν θερμων τῶν διθηραμβων in Aristot. poët. 4 1449 a 11.
Calder's explanation, though ingenious and attractive, is however—as he frankly admits—beset by difficulties and uncertainties. Moreover it seems hard to reconcile with the Platonic equation διθρόμαδος = Διόνυσος γένος (supra i. 682 n. 1). Are we to assume that the 'dirge' dealt with Dionysos' birth, and compare the funeral character of the Attic Γειώνα (P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 1131, id. Die griechischen Kultusaltertumer? München 1920 p. 227 f.)? Or to argue with J. A. K. Thomson (in a letter to Jane Harrison dated March 31, 1911) that the Dithyramb celebrated the γειώνα of Dionysos, his grave-ritual.... The Early Christians celebrated the γειώνα or γειώνα, "birth-day," of a martyr on the day of his martyrdom, because he was then truly the only "born again"?

Calder returns to the change in the Class. Rev. 1929 xliii. 214 with a shrewd emendation of Glaucos Rheg. frag. 4 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 24 Müller) αφ' [Plout.] de μυστικα 10 ξοσεως γαρ υποθεσαν σταργαμα (for πράγματα cod.) θεονων κ.τ.λ. "For such was the theme of the dithyramb (διαστασεως των και διανεμεως) according to Pultarch de Ei apud Delphos 389 λ.'

W. Brandenstein in the Indo-Germanische Forschungen 1936 liv. 34—38 would interpret ἡμοιος, ὑμας, διθρόμαδος as 'Zweischritt, Dreischritt, Vierschritt.'

i. 682 n. 1. Of the three Pindaric dithyrambs published by B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt The Oxyrhynchus Papyri London 1919 xiii. 27 ff. no. 1604 one (O. Schroeder Supplementum Pindaricum Berolini 1913 p. 5 f. frag. 70*) describes a festival of Dionysos held by the gods in heaven, another (Schroeder op. cit. p. 7 f. frag. 70) speaks of a Dionysiac banquet, and the third (Schroeder op. cit. p. 7 f. frag. 70) must also be concerned with the same deity since it mentions wreaths of ivy. See further J. U. Powell New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature Third Series Oxford 1933 pp. 48—51.


i. 684 n. 11. L. Deubner Attische Festen Berlin 1932 p. 65 f. pl. 3, 4 and 3, thinks that this vase represents the Haliae and cites modern usage in Herzegowina ('hier stellt man, wenn die Wintersaat aufgeht, auf dem Felde durch eine tiefe Furche den Umriss eines erigierten Phallus mit Hoden her. Diese Form des Fruchtbarkeitszaubers wurde früher auf dem Balkan allgemein angewandt' (*Vgl. R. N. Salaman, Man 30. 1930, 49*).

i. 684 date of the ritual marriage unknown. L. Deubner in the Jahrb. d. d. Arch. Inst. 1927 xiii. 177 ff. argues that the marriage of Dionysos and the Bastilina is both represented (figs. 4. 5. 7. 8. 9. 16) and parodied (fig. 6. cp. fig. 19) on the 'Choenkännchen' and must therefore have taken place 'am Choentage' (Anthesterion 13). But the argument is insecure, for—as Deubner himself admits (Attische Feste p. 97)—'Nicht alle Bilder, mit denen die grossen oder kleinen Kannen der typischen Choenform geschmückt sind (es sind jetzt 500—600 bekannt), brauchen sich auf das Choenfest zu beziehen.' And it remains possible to urge that these little vases are simply children's toys, often decorated with Dionysiac scenes, but not necessarily illustrative of the Choes.

i. 687 n. 3 trees planted on graves as a vehicle for the soul. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 709 n. 1 gives further references for this folk-belief. See also H. Marzell in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 955 'Der B'baum, der aus der Erde hervorquillt, und besonders der aus den Gräbern Verstorbenen hervorwachsende B'baum soll die Seele beherbergen.'

i. 689 n. 5 the Boeotian Xanthos or Xanthhos slay by the Neleid Melanthis with the aid of Dionysos Melanogenios. A doublet in Plout. quaest. Gr. 13 κε δε τούτῳ μαραθωσαν οι βασελεί, και των των ιαχών Τερόχος το τω Μελανην θησιω δώρω μετα κυνοι αυτη προφερομενοι ουκ έρη δικαιο ποιης, δευτερον επάγωνα μαχόμενον απελαιωτον δε τον Τερόχος των κύνων και μεταπρετερομενου, λυθη βαλλω ο θησις αυτω αναρει, κτησαμεν δε την χωραν, τους ιαχωνει μετα των Αχμων εξαλλωτες, των μην λιθινων οι λευκοι σφυντα και θωσων αυτη τω τιτων τω βελε σεραλκουσων. W. R. Halliday 'Xanthos—Melanthes and the Origin of Tragedy' in the Class. Rev. 1926 xl. 179—181 and in his note on Plout. loc. cit. thinks that both the Attic and the Boeotian tale were 'a purely secular traditional legend to which no esoteric meaning need be attached.'

i. 694. A. J. B. Wace 'More Mummery Plays' in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1912—1913 xix. 248—265 figs. 1—6 concludes that the festival is really a winter festival and has in different places been transferred to a different season. Secondly, that it is by no means a typically Greek festival, for it occurs only in North Greece where there is much mixed blood, and is known almost to all the other South Balkan races.'

i. 695 Athenian substitute for dramatic omophagy. W. M. Lindsay in the Class. Quart. 1916 x. 108 cites a newly discovered note of Fest. in Isid. wrfg. 8. 7. 6 Hos
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Hyginus (e.g. 'nus cod.) primum frustam hircinae carnis praemium acceptissime dicit et inde nomen traxisse, scilicet a trago quem Latini hircum vocant.

1. 67 n. 4. P. Kretschmer comments on Σηλφος again in Glotta 1915 vii. 308. But F. Solmsen 'Σηλφος Σηλφος Τηρός' in the Indogermanische Forschungen 1912 xxx. 1—47 connects the word with "οἶκος, σίλους, a by-form of ὅμηρος, 'snub-nosed.'


In the fourth century these goatish dancers were assimilated to the south-Italian Pan, e.g. on an 'Apulian' vase published by T. Panofka Musée Blacas Paris 1839 pl. 23 (F. Weege Der Tanz in der Antike Halle/Saale 1926 p. 3 fig. 2) or on an Italiote bell-krater at Lecce published by Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmaleri no. 100 pl. 86, 3 (F. Weege op. cit. p. 106 fig. 144, L. Séchan in Dardenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iv. 1644 fig. 5006). Yet A. Hartmann certainly goes too far when he says at the end of his article on 'Silenos und Satyrren' in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii A. 53: 'So bleibt es dabei, dass die bockartige Bildung von Satyrn erst ein Erzeugnis der in der hellenistischen Zeit aufkommenden Einmischung des Pantypus in den Satyr- und Silentlypus ist.'

1. 700 n. 4. E. M. W. Tillyard has since discovered the faint inscription ΚΑΛΟΣ ΗΦΑΙΡΣΤΟΣ (sic), which makes it probable that the central figure is Hephaistos carrying his axe. If so, the scene shows Dionysos persuading Hephaistos to accompany him to Olympus—a scene perhaps drawn from Achaïos' satyr-play ΗΦΑΙΡΣΤΟΣ (Trag. Gr. frag. p. 750 f. Nauck 2) (E. M. W. Tillyard The Hope Vases Cambridge 1923 p. 79 ff. no. 136 pl. 23).

1. 704 early seal-stones portraying human goats etc. Any serious attempt to discuss these much-disputed figures must nowadays take into account analogous types found over a wide area of the ancient world. A sample or two will suffice to show the sort of data required. A whorl of green steatite from Hagios Onuphrios near Phaistos shows a horned figure with human legs (A. J. Evans Scripia Minos Oxford 1909 i. 118 fig. 52 a, id. The Palace of Minos at Knossos 1921 i. 69 fig. 38 A). A prism-seal in black steatite from Karnak shows a human figure with bovine head running (id. Scripia Minos i. 123 fig. 58 c, Palace of Minos i. 69 fig. 38 B, c). Both these are assigned to the 'Early Minoin i' period (3400—2000 B.C.). Sir J. Marshall Mohenjo-daro and the Indian Civilization London 1931 ii. 389 fig. 356 on pl. 111 notes two human figures (from seals no. 317 and no. 230) with the hoofs, horns, and tail of a bison. Id. ib. ii. 389 fig. 357 on pl. 111 gives a seal with a similar figure is seen struggling with a fabulous horned tiger. Sir John compares the type with that of Enkidu the companion of Gilgamesh. H. R. Hall, lecturing at Cambridge on Oct. 31, 1928, quoted an 'ibex-headed man on a proto-Elamite tablet' and an 'animal-headed man on a seal from South Caucasus' as evidence of Mesopotamian priority to the fantastic sealings from Zakro (supra p. 845 n. 3). See also Addenda to i. 67 n. 3.

1. 705. R. C. Flickinger 'Tragedy and the Satyric Drama' in Class. Philol. 1913 viii. 261—283 (especially pp. 269—272) discusses the derivation of τραγῳδίη, defending the goat-prize tradition and rejecting the goat-men conjectures. Id. The Greek Theater and its Drama Chicago 1918 pp. 12—15, 18 4 1926 pp. 13—15, maintains the same standpoint. E. Rostrop Attic Tragedy in the light of Theatrical History trans. I. Andersen Kjøbenhavn—Kristiania—London—Berlin 1923 p. 59 ff. denies the dancers 'costumed as he-goats' and holds, on anthropological grounds, that the τράγοι were young men who had undergone puberty rites and were known by an animal name—the χορὸι ποιδῶν, χορὸι τραγῳδων, and χορὸι ἀνδρῶν representing successive age-groups. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy Oxford 1927 pp. 149—166, after a careful discussion of all the possibilities, revers to the view that τραγῳδωι may well mean 'singer at the goat-sacrifice' or 'singer for the goat-prize.' The two may even be reconciled, if the goat was first won and then sacrificed' (p. 165).

1. 706 Zeus Astis. W. M. Calder in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1913 xxxiii. 103 compares this appellative with an Old Phrygian text from Eynuk in Kappadokia (J. Friedrich Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler Berlin 1932 p. 127 no. 15 a. 3 περτοκόσμηνι, of which
he says: 'it can hardly be doubted that tērkos is the "Hittite" tērkū meaning "god" or a particular god, and it is very tempting to read the name of the god in the following legends. Whether we read Asū śē-puṣ... or Asū õ-ùnu... we appear to be dealing with the divine name Asis, which is attested elsewhere, and may be not unconnected with the name which the Greeks gave to the lands east of the Aegean... Ramsay is probably right in taking ACEIC [infra i. 706 fig. 531] as a non-Phrygian name; if our interpretation of the Euyuk inscription is correct, Asis is the name of a god who belonged to the religion which the Phrygians found in the country when they entered it, and who was worshipped at the old Hittite centre of Euyuk at the date to which this inscription belongs. The name Ἀσιώκτων expresses the proprietorship of the god Asis in a village on his estate, just as the village-name Ἀσσοφράγα in Phrygia indicates that the village belongs to Atys. In the Lydian genealogies Asis figures as the nephew or as the brother of Atys [E. Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1579 ff., 226]. The name Atis occurs on an Old-Phrygian inscription (if Phrygian it be) found by Garstang at Tyana [J. Friedrich Arch. cit. p. 137 no. 10 a. 3 aivos, 5 aivos].... The name is written with the symbol ϊ, which suggests that the names Atis and Asis were originally identical. Not impossibly, then (cp. supra ii. 293), Zeus ACEIC meant ab origine 'Father' Zeus, while Asis was the 'Fatherland.'


i. 708 ff. E. Fiechter—R. Herbig Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen Stuttgart 1935 ii (Die Skulpturen vom Bühnenhaus). 36 pls. 9—16 accept my interpretation of the relief from Phaëdros, but regard my restorations as 'keineswegs immer glücklich.'

i. 709 n. 1 no distinctive art-type for Hestia. Yet see Porph. ap. Euseb. praep. ecol. 3. 11. 7 = Lyd. de mens. 4. 94 p. 139. 2 ff. Wünsch κατά τό μὲν ἡγεμόνιον τῆς θεᾶς Ἀθηνᾶς θεσπίζεται, ἡ ἄγια λαβορίου έργον ἐτεύχεται καθ' δὲ τὸ ψάμητος ἡ ἰδώρας, σημαίνονται αὐτῶν γυναικὸς εἶδε πρωμάτων.

170 Aligera. This town possessed a notable sanctuary of Zeus with a seated image of the god wrought in Pentelic marble by Eukleides of Athens (Paus. 7. 26. 4). Local coins issued by Septimius Severus and Plautilla show Zeus seated on a high-backed throne in the attitude of Zeus Olympios with Nike on his right hand and a long sceptre in his left (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus p. 17 no. 5 pl. 4, 10 Plautilla (my fig. 879 is from a cast), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. ii. 90 pl. S. 6 Plautilla, Head Hist. num. p. 412). Portions of this cult-statue are still extant. O. Walter 'Ein Kolossalkopf des Zeus aus Aligera' in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1919 xix—xx. 1—14 figs. 1—9 pls. 1 (my fig. 880) and 3 published the large head (height c. 89 cm) which he had found on Aug. 31, 1916, inside the temple. The marble is hollowed at the back and, as the dowel-holes prove, was eeked out before and behind with adjusted pieces. The eyes were inlaid. Id. 'Der Arm der Zeustatue von Eukleides' ib. 1932 xxvii. 146—152 figs. 94—97 was able to add the left arm, found by the villagers of Plvowka in 1920 close to the same building, and one finger of the right hand, found in 1925 inside it. The fragments (now in the National Museum at Athens, nos. 3377 and 3481) are all of Pentelic marble, imply a figure about three life-size, and suit the pose of the god as shown on the coins. See further D. M. Robinson in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1933 xxxvii. 480. O. Walter 'Eine archäologische Voruntersuchung in Aligera' in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1919 xix—xx Beiblatt pp. 5—42 figs. 1—36 and 'Vereinigung in Aligera' ib. 1932 xxvii Beiblatt pp. 232—234 figs. 109—115 gives a good account of the town and temple, from which it appears that a large podium at the west end of the cela bore a base designed for a much smaller statue. It seems likely that, at some date later than Pausanias' visit, the big Zeus was damaged and

Fig. 879.
replaced by a life-sized figure, perhaps that of a Roman emperor. Otherwise we should have to conclude that the temple to which the big Zeus belonged is still to seek. Eukleides, to judge from the style and technique of this statue, may be regarded as a contemporary of Damophon and dated c. 200 B.C. (A. Hekler 'Eukleides' *ib. 1912* xxi—xxii. 120—133), though O. Walter and G. Lippold would place him in the middle of the fourth century B.C. or a little later (Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc. Suppl.* v. 220).

Fig. 880.


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Fig. 881.

1. 713. A figure-sinope (Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 408 f.) in my collection shows the infant Dionysos, with a kitharos in his right hand, mounted on a vigorous goat (fig. 881). The vase, which was polychrome, has traces of pink (flesh), red (cloak), yellow (hair, kitharos), and blue (wreath) on a white ground. Height, exclusive of the handle which is in part restored, 51/2 ins.

1. 713 n. o. On the cult-statue of Apollon see a mutilated relief from the Amyklaion published by B. Schröder in the Ath. Mitth. 1904 xxxix. 24—31 fig. 2, also E. R. Fiechter 'der Amykläische Thron, Bericht über die Untersuchungen im Amyklaion 1907' in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. pp. 66—70, id. 'Amyklae-
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i. 717 n. 2 bulls sacrificed to Zeus. Add Xen. Cyrop. 8, 3, 11 πρώτων μόνον ἄργους τῷ Διο ταύρων πάγαλοι εἰς τέταρτος καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν οἱ μάγοι ἔξοντο. Also the Ταιρωφόροι at Mylasa (supra ii. 583 n. 5, iii. 570). See, however, Serv. in Verg. Aen. 12. 130 sic in Thracia civitatem condens Aeneas, quam mox fuerat relictus, contra morem Iovi de tauro sacrificavit (Aen. 3. 20), Isid. orig. 12. 1. 28 iuvencus dictus eo quod iuvencum invenit hominum usus in terra colenda (supra p. 591 n. 1), vel quia apud gentiles Iovi semper ubique iuvencus immolabatur et nunquam taurus. Nam in victimis etiam aetas considerabatur.

i. 717 n. 3 goats sacrificed to Zeus. W. M. Lindsay in the Class. Quart. 1916 x. 109 cites Fest. in Isid. orig. 8. 11. 84 Iou Ioucretenses capram immolant.

i. 720 the golden hound of Crete. An Attic black-figured skýphas found at Kameiros and now in the Louvre (A. 478) (Pouquet Cat. Vases du Louvre i. 171, id. Vases antiques du Louvre Paris 1897 p. 20 pl. 17) is interpreted by L. D. Barnett in Hermes 1898 xxxiii. 638 ff. as illustrating the metempsychosis of the outcry by Iris and Hermes in the golden hound of Pandaroes—an interpretation now commonly accepted (H. N. Fowler in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1899 iii. 304, W. H. Roscher in his Lex. Myth. iii. 1502 n. ** Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 328).

i. 723 the cire perdue method of hollow-casting in bronze. Miss van der Kolf in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv A. 2084 is disposed to adopt my explanation of the Talos-myth ('eine ansprechende Vermutung'), but regards both myth and method as "ziemlich jung." S. Casson The Technique of EarlyGreek Sculpture Oxford 1933 is more precise: 'One thing is certain—that the Minoans had no knowledge at all of hollow casting by the cire perdue process' (cp. L. K. Farnell supra ii. 624 n. 1). But is that so certain? K. Kluge, our greatest authority on Greek bronzes, in his Die antiken Grossbronzen Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 91—101 ('Der antike Wachserzguss') cites the potter's mould for an axe to be cast by the cire perdue process, which was found in the seventh stratum at Troy and is now in the Berlin Museum (W. Dörpfeld Troja und Ilion Athen 1902 i. 405 fig. 404, 408 f. supplementary pl. 46, viii a, vii b). Again, Kluge 'Die Gestaltung des Eres in der archaisch-griechischen Kunst' in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1929 xliv. 1—30 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1931 xxxv. 456 f.) says (p. 6): 'Bereits in primitiven Kulturlagen—es sei an die Gässe von Benin erinnert—wird diese Methode des Wachserzgusses beherrscht, und in der ägyptischen Kunst können wir den steilen Anstieg dieses Könners verfolgen....' Indeed, Mr H. Frankfort in The Illustrated London News Oct. 8, 1833 p. 528 figs. 7—9 shows a statuette from Khafaje in Iraq representing a bearded priest cast in bronze by the cire perdue process c. 3300 B.C. Mr Sidney Smith (Jan. 1, 1926) refers me further to F. Thureau-Dangin in the Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale 1924. xxii. 15 n. 3 and 155, who cites A. Ungnad in the Vorderasiatische Schriftenkünstler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin Leipzig 1909 Heft viii. 51 no. 103 ('un qurquurr reçoit 2½ de mine de cire pour la fabrication d'une clé en métal; c'est le procédé de la cire perdue'). For modern cire perdue casting see A. Toft Modelling and Sculpture London 1911 pp. 187—191.

i. 723 n. 3. For proof that the Sardinians of the Bronze Age worshipped a bull-god in their subterranean temples see R. Pettazzoni 'Le antichità protostorie di Santa Vittoria' in the Bulletino di paleontologia italiana 1910 xxxv. 159—177, A. Taramelli in the Mon. d. Linc. 1915 xxiii. 313—436 (especially p. 332 ff.), T. Ashby in The Times Literary Supplement for Jan. 22, 1920 p. 50, H. Philipp in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i A. 2488, J. Whatmough The Foundations of Roman Italy London 1937 p. 373 ('Of special interest are the temples discovered in recent years by Taramelli. These are circular in construction and were regularly built over a sacred spring or well. With them is associated the cult of the sacred pillar and also of a deity who took the form of a bull, as the large stone bulls' heads from the front of the temples show. It is difficult not to admit in these the evidence of oriental influence, as also in the indications of ordeal by water, and of "incubation"...').

i. 725 Talos, nephew of Daidalos, and the saw. G. M. A. Hanfmann in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1935 xxxix. 189—194 figs. 1—3 pl. 25. A. B publishes a magnificent gold bulla of Etruscan workmanship, found near Ferrara (?) and now in the Walters Art
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Gallery, Baltimore. Two archaic winged figures in relief, with incised retrograde inscriptions, show Daidalos (ΔΙΑΔΑΙΛΟΣ) and Ikaros (ΙΚΑΡΟΣ), the former holding a saw in his left hand and an adze in his right, the latter a double axe and a square. E. Fiesel loc. cit. pp. 195–197 thinks that the inscription originated in Central Eturia, probably in the fifth century B.C. Tisèle and Févère are correct Etruscan forms of Daidalos and Ikaros, the one being Greek, the other—to judge from the suffix έρα—pre-Greek or Aegean. A cornelian scarab, from the Hamilton collection, now in London, again represents Daidalos, Tisèle (?), as a beardless winged figure, flying above waves, with an adze in his right hand, a saw in his left (Brit. Mus. Cat. Gemm. p. 97 no. 329 pl. 11, bv 3, p. 82 no. 663 pl. 11). A second cornelian scarab, from the Bucellas collection, also in London, has a somewhat similar, but uninscribed, Daidalos flying with saw in right hand and adze (?) in left (Brit. Mus. Cat. Gemm. p. 68 no. 330 pl. E. eb 3 p. 80 fig. no. 727 pl. 12, cp. Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 19, 28, ii. 93 (‘Geflügelter Dämon’), Lippold Gemmen pl. 25, 7 p. 171 (‘Eros’)). Lastly, a stèle from Bologna, assigned to the date 380–360 B.C., includes among its reliefs the same beardless Daidalos flying through the air with square and double axe in his right hand and saw in his left (E. Brizio in the Not. Scavi 1890 pp. 139–142 pl. 1, 3).

The art-type of the winged male figure posting through the sky with a double axe may be traced back to a very early date (sub–Minoan?) in the Archipelagos: see the Melian (?) gem supra ii. 544 fig. 419. From Melos to Ikaros (Ikaría) is a bare hundred miles. Talos, Daidalos, and Ikaros were perhaps all originally independent but analogous figures (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 240 n. 2; Heeg in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ix. 986, G. M. A. Hanfmann loc. cit. p. 194), various forms taken by the winged sun-god.


J. D. Beazley 'Icarus' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1927 xvii. 272–333 illustrates inter alia (p. 271 fig. 6) a small red-figured lekythos of c. 470 B.C. in New York, on which a winged youth sinking into the sea (?) has above his head a bird 'flying almost straight down'. 'The bird acts as the directional arrow in cartography.' H. J. Rose 'Ikaros and Perdix on a Fifth-Century Vase?' ib. 1928 xviii. 9 ff. acutely conjectures that the painter 'had in his mind the mythical Perdix.'

On περδίκων see R. M. Dawkins ib. 1936 lvi. 8 (botanical identifications).


i. 733 n. 6. On Zeus Nónos of Miletus see now gr. Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvii. 1953, who, after mentioning the late sixth-century offering άλ Νόσιος (in inscription no. 319 a sacrificial calendar on the wall of the old hall in the Delphiion), adds: 'Nósios findet sich dann noch in einer Inscrip. 125, einer "Schreibstuben" collection,' aus der Zeit vor der Perserkatastrophe... Auch v. Wilamowitz G G A 1914, 100 hält άλ Νόσιος für gesichert, fügt aber mit Recht hinzu: 'es kann wohl nur ein πόνοις sein, so sehr es befremdet.'

i. 737 ff. Zeus as a Satyr. Titian's 'Jupiter and Antiope' in the Louvre shows the lustful god, with the ears and legs of a goat, just twitching the last garment off a recumbent and sleeping Antiope (Sir J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle The Life and Times of Titian London 1881 ii. 317 with pl.), J. Addison Classic Myths in Art London 1904 p. 57 f. with pl.).

H. W. Stoll in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3200 takes Sil. It. 3. 105 ff. (lascivo genitus Satyro nymphaque Myrce | Milichus indigeni late regnatar in oris | cornigeram attollens genitoris imagine frontem) to mean that Meilichios the horned king of Spain was the son of the nymph Myrike by Zeus in the form of a Satyr.

Zeus Περδίκης is attested by Scholl—Studemund aneud. i. 264 f. 'Ερίθστερα Διδαξ... 96 ψάλων, 466 'Ερίθστερα διδαξ... 74 ψάλων. The epithet, a derivative of πέτος (Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. vi. 743 D—744 A), would suit a god of Satyr-like propensities, 'soll also wohl den Zeus als Gott der Fruchtbarkeit bezeichnen, wenn es nicht christlich-apologetischen Ursprungs ist' (O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1751).

i. 735 n. 3 Lykourgos. Bronze coins of Alexandria struck by Antoninus Pius represent Lykourgos with his double attacking Ambrosia, who according to Nonn. Dion.
Addenda

21. 17 ff. was transformed by Gaia into a vine (K. D. Mylonas in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 233 ff. (wrongly numbered 133 ff.) and J. N. Svoronos ib. p. 466 ff.).


i. 741 Aphrodite and her dove in Kypros. W. N. Bates 'Aphrodite's Doves at Paphos in 1932' in the *Am. Journ. Philol.* 1932 liii. 260 ff. notes that the church of St George at New Paphos, built over a temple of Aphrodite (?), has in front of its iconostasis five white doves, which hold in their beaks cords supporting lamps. A larger church recently erected in the neighbourhood again has the same arrangement of five white doves holding lamp-cords. Finally the twelfth-century monastery of St Neophytus, some seven miles from Kitma, can boast the bones of the saint kept in a wooden box made by himself. 'Above them is a sort of canopy surmounted by two rude wooden doves gilded.' Bates rightly concludes that 'Aphrodite's doves still have a place in their ancient home.'

i. 744 n. 4 Zeus Ma'ēs. Cp. F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1897 xxxiv. 49 n. 21: 'Auch in Ma'ēs & Zēs παιά Ψελη Hes. wird wohl nur der pers. Auar-masāku zu erkennen sein, wie schon de Lagarde annahm.'


i. 750. For the star on the shoulder of a lion cp. a basalt relief from the level of Thutmose III (c. 1501—1447 Breasted) at Beisan, which shows two scenes of a lion attacked by a Molossian mastiff (G. Contenau *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 1047) with fig. 727: 'Nous notons sur ce bas-relief une particularité de facture: à l’épaule du lion, les poils forment une sorte de rosace en étoile à raies courbes; on la retrouvera plus tard sur un lion d’Arsal-Tash; à Zendjirli la plupart des lions portent au même endroit du corps deux traits croisés en X'.


i. 753 Tios or Tion in Bithynia. L. Robert in the *Rev. Arch.* 1934 i. 93 f. figs. 1—5 gives an account of his visit to the site with views of its *zebraïtès*.

i. 754 Zeus ringed with the zodiac. R. Wood *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor of the Desert London* (1753) p. 45 pl. 19, A publishes the circular medallion of a ceiling, which shows Zeus surrounded by six deities and a zodiacal ring. The spandrels are occupied by four eagles. The whole decorates the soffit of the temple of Sol at its southern end—a temple restored by Aurelian (see his letter to Cerronius Bassus in Vopisc. v. *Aurelian*. 31. 7 ff.).

i. 754 traces of astrology in early Greece. See A. Engelbrecht 'Vermeintliche Spuren altgriechischer Astrologie' in the *Eratos Vindobonensis* Wien 1893 pp. 115—130, who argues that there are 'von einer eigentlichen Astrologie mindestens bis zum vierten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert keine positiven, wohl aber negative Spuren in den Schriften,' and W. Capelle 'Älteste Spuren der Astrologie bei den Griechen' in Hermes 1925 ix. 373—395, who claims to find such traces in the Hippocratic *φαλαρη* 4. 89 Littre (iv. 426 ff. Jones) at the end of σ. v. and probably also in Demokrit. *Ap. Aeti. 2. 15. 3* (H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* Berlin 1912 ii. 33).

i. 754 ff. Zeus as lord of the constellations. G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 90 fig. 17 (= my fig. 881) reproduces the fine illustration of *Atr. phaen. s. i* given in cod. Bonon. 188 fol. 20. An eagle with spread wings carries a thunderbolt in his claws and Zeus recumbent, with globe, sceptre, and rayed nimbus, on his back. Background blue, framework vermilion, eagle brownish yellow, flesh dark brown, nimbus and globe silver, diadem yellow, *himation* rose.

i. 756 n. 6 Zeus Bēs. J. Cantineau 'Textes palmyréniens provenant de la fouille du temple de Bēl' in *Syria* 1931 xii. 119 f. no. 3 publishes a bilingual inscription of the year 504/503 B.C., which (Greek 4 ff.) mentions an ἄρχοντας [ε] [α]μαρτυροντας της θεος [μ]ποτον θεου [ riots Bēs[os]]. See further P. Roussel in the *Rév. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xiv. 327.

i. 766 the Dioskouroi on Etruscan mirrors. C. Brakman 'De Iuturna et Dioscuria' in *Munusynye N. S.* 1931 lx. 427—430, following up the trail blazed by F. Altheim *Griechische Glitter im alten Rom* Giessen 1930 pp. 4—39 ("Iuturna und die Dioskuren") and F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 243—245, claims that the Etruscans when in Asia had taken over from Greeks or pre-Greeks the cult of the Dioskouroi. These they would have called *Diuuturers, 'sons of Zeus,'* cp. *Diuuturna* [Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 3856] = *Iuturna, 'daughter of Zeus,'* hybrid formations. *A stirpe *Diu (love) per suffixum patronymicum -buri vel -tur derivatum
est *Diutur, unde per Etruscum formans -na formatur Diuturna... *Diutures respondet igitur *Tyndaros quod per prae-Graecum suffixum -apat- eandem vim habens atque Etruscum -bur vel -tur derivatum est a Ty, quod idem est in lingua Etrusca valens Δια. Itaque Tyndaros vel amplior forma Laconica Tyndarida synonynum est Dioscurorum.

But, if Brakman is indebted to Altheim, Altheim in turn owes much to others. G. Maresch 'Der Name der Tyndariden' in Giebta 1923 xiv. 298 f. had already suggested that Tyndarida or Tyndarida was simply the Etruscan name for Zeus—Ty, tıı, tıııa—with an Asia-Minor patronymic suffix -apat- and a Greek patronymic suffix -id- ('so hätten wir denn das spätere Διόκουρος für eine griechische Übersetzung des vorhellenischen Namens Tyndarida annehmen'). And P. Kretschmer in an article of cardinal importance had proposed ib. p. 303 ff. Tyndarida = Etruscan Tııı (Zeus) + Etruscan patronymic -apat or -id (cp. tinbur as a personal name in a tomb-inscription at Naples). He supposes that the θ or ıı of the Etruscan suffix became θ under the influence of a personal name "Tyndaros related to the place-name Tynd as Πινδαρος to Πινδος or Μινδαρος to Μινδη. These northern names carry with them the northern suffix -apat- (cp. Addenda to i. 725). Kretschmer concludes ib. p. 308: 'Die vorgriechische Bevölkerung, in der die undig. Urbewohner und die protid. Zuwanderer verschmolzen waren, nannte also die mit Zeus gepaarte Göttin einfach mit dem Appellativum für Frau. Der Gott hiess Tin-, wonenb vermutlich unter dem Einfluss einer jüngerer Schicht *Tııı, *Tıııa trat; ihm stand eine Göttin als seine Frau, iada [supra i. 763 n. 4], zur Seite. Ihre Zwillingssöhne hiessen *Tiıııor- oder ähnl. Wenn wir zu dem Ergebnis kommen, dass diese Tyrheno-Pelagier bereits den idg. Zeus-Kult nach Hellas gebracht hatten, so wird damit zugleich das Rätsel der berühmten Iliasstelle Π 233 gelöst: Ζεῦ ἄνω Δωδώναιε, Πελαγωίκε, ....'
Addenda


i. 776 Zeus Andrius. A. Aymard 'Le Zeus fédéral achaïen Hamsarios—Homarios' in the Mélanges offerts à M. Octave Navarre par ses élèves et ses amis Toulouse 1935 pp. 453—479 (defends the form 'Ἀνδριος, cp. the summary in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1936 xlix. 349). Id. 'Le rôle politique du sanctuaire fédéral achaïen' in the Mélanges Francesco Cusumano (Annuario de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves iv) Bruxelles 1936 i. 1—16.

i. 781. A. D. Knox in the Cambridge University Reporter 1915 xlv. 695 (Cambridge Philological Society, Feb. 25, 1915) suggested that in Phoinix of Kolophon frg. 2. 4 δι' ὃν τ' ἀπερ' εἶναι άφρ' ἀνήγερα the word 'ἄφρ' or the like is Persian for heaven, taken with +κ. 5, 6 from (Ktesias) άφρ' Stem p. 733, following or correcting Hdt. i. 132.' But the text as given in cod. A of Athen. 450 εν δε' δ' ἄπερ' ἀνήγερα is very corrupt. Emendations are numerous (see the note of J. U. Powell Collectanea Alexandrina Oxonii 1925 p. 232). Knox himself in the Loeb edition (London 1929) frg. i. 4 now prints δε' δ' ἄπερ' εἶναι [θ' ἀνήγερα, and E. Diehl Anthologia Lyrica Graeca 2 Lipsiae 1936 i. 108 frg. 3. 4 is still content with Nauck's δε' δ' ἄπερ' εἶναι [θ' ἀνήγερα.


i. 784 bull-carrying on a coin of Nysa. Brüder Egger Auktionen-Katalog stvii Griechische Münzen (Sammlung des Herrn Theodor Prowe, Moskau, u. a.) Wien 1914 p. 70 no. 151 pl. 24 ('Stier auf den Schultern von sechs nackten Ephesien getragen, davor schreiender Flötenspieler') Maximus. See also K. Kourouniotes in the Αρχαία Δηλητία 1921—1923 vii. 4 fig. 2 (enlarged).

i. 784 Syro-Hittite bulls enclosing human victims. We may perhaps compare the hollow bronze horse containing the body of a man, found by Gygges in Lydia (Plat. rep. 359 D. Apostol. 15. 85).

i. 788 statue of gilded bronze from the Syrian sanctuary on the Ianiculum. Reinach Rés. Stat. iv. 293 no. 2 'Ategaris', H. Grossmann in the Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1925—1928 Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 186 pl. 5, 10 'Ategaris.' But the statue, which is now in the Museo delle Terme, has been cleaned and proves to be a male figure, possibly that of Adad (T. Ashby in The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1914 p. 14) or Chronos (R. Paribeni Le Terme di Diolesiano e il Museo Nazionale Romano2 Roma 1927 p. 120 f. no. 188). J. Leipoldt in D. Hans Haas Bildertafeln zur Religionsgeschichte Leipzig—Erlangen 1916 ix—xi p. xiv f. 19 is content to say 'Syrischer Gott vom Ianiculum.'

ii. 3 n. o pot-Zeuses. Cp. Aristoph. ran. 22 Δίαντος, νιῶ κατάνων with schol. δών εἶναι νιῶ δός, κ.τ.λ. H. J. Rose in the Class. Quart. 1932 xxvi. 48 aptly explains Hesych. έχειν: ἡ Σήμερα ὀνόμα εὔκλεις as a comic formation from έχειν.


ii. 8 n. 7. G. H. Macurdy in the Class. Quart. 1926 xx. 179 f. treats Εκτόρ as a short form of Εκθάνατον (Attic Εκθάνατον).

ii. 9 apotheosis by lightning. See now H. J. Rose in the Class. Quart. 1924 xviii. 15 f.

ii. 12 Keraunos. H. Güntert Über Reimwürftelbilder im arischen und altgermanischen Heidelberg 1914 p. 213 f. regards the god Κεραυνός as a rime-word to the Slavonic *Peraunos.

R. Gazzeuic 'Zeus Keraunos' in Eos 1930/1931 xxxiii. 66 cp. 'Schibélé, der Gott des Donners, des Krieges und der Gerechtigkeit' worshipped by the Aigiehe or Circassians, who treat as sacrament any tree or man struck by lightning (F. Bodenstedt Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freundschaften gegen die Römer Frankfurt 1848 p. 201).

ii. 13 f. Zeus Kataibates. See now H. Stilvall Zeus im altgermanischen Hauskult Lund 1931 pp. 108—114 ('Zeus Kataibates'). A. S. Arvanitopolos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1924 p. 140 f. no. 389 fig. 3 publishes a stèle of blackish marble found in the wall of the church of Hagia Kyriake at Selos near Python in Thessaly. The stèle has an altomia with akrotória above, below which is a smooth space originally occupied by a painting, and below that an inscription in letters of c. the beginning of c. iii B.C. Δί Καταιβατῆς ἵστος
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This Epikrates was either a chthonian hero or, more probably, a man killed by lightning and worshipped as a hero. On the Thessalian festival Karabáta see Adler in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 246 f. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xcvii. 71 n. 4 adds the base of a bronze statue found in Thasos, which bears a dedication of Roman date to Zeus Katabaltes (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1923 xlvii. 527). And G. Daux in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1928 i. 245 f. no. 25 records an inscription from Thasos (on a block of local marble, once a statue-base, to be dated c. the beginning of our era) Días Karabáta.


ii. 21 n. 5. G. W. Elderkin in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1924 xxxviii. 32 conjectures that this dedication of Zeus Katabaltes marks the spot on which Demetrius Poliorcetes (infra i. 58, cp. K. Scott 'The Deliberation of Demetrius Poliorcetes' in the Am. Journ. Phil. 1928 xlii. 217—239 summarised by P. Clocé in the Rev. Et. Gr. 1930 xliii. 218) 'descended in a blaze of glory' from his chariot—a descent parodied by Plaut. Curc. 413 ff. where Curculio announces himself as Summanus, the god who sends nocturnal lightnings, and explains that at night he sometimes 'descends in a shower' (summano!)

ii. 23 n. 2 Numata's law about the man struck by lightning. E. Bickel in the Rhein. Mus. 1931 ixxx. 279—308 cf. hominem fulmine (or fulminis) facere occult, and examines in detail relevant religious and linguistic usage.


ii. 30 n. 3 etymology of Brundizium. P. Skok 'Brendisium und Verwandtes' in the Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung 1925/26 i. 81—90.

ii. 31. tēras. See further P. Stein ΤΕΡΑΣ Marpurgi Cattorum 1909 pp. 1—66. He classifies the uses of the word and connects Teperias with it, but does not elucidate its etymology. Schrader Realex. 2 ii. 143 b, 481 a—b and H. Lewy in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1930 livii. 30 f. connect tēpas, tēpēs, Teperias and suppose that the word, which originally meant 'star,' was widened to include omens in general.


ii. 33 ff. Zoroastro. A masterly exposition of Zoroaster's life, teaching, and works will be found in J. Bidez—F. Cumont Les Magi helléniques: Zoroastre Ostasié et Hystatye d'après la tradition gréco-française Paris 1938 i. 1—297 ('Introduction'), ii. i—244 ('Les Textes').


ii. 44 the 'straight light like a pillar' (Plat. rep. 616 b) without a counterpart in astronomical fact or fancy. But what of the zodiacal light (J. F. Julius Schmidt Das Zodiakallicht Braunschweig 1866 pp. 1—110)? J. Helmholdt Der Atlasmythus und Verwandtes Mülhausen i. E. 1906 (Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Gymnasiurn zu Mülhausen i. E.) p. 5 fig. shows the zodiacal light looking much like an obelisk with rounded top. He thinks that the pillars of Atlas (Od. i. 52 ff.), the pillar of Prometheus, the Elysian Way, the tower of Kronos, etc. were all zodiacal myths. Prof. R. A. S. Macalister subsequently, but independently, hit upon the same explanation. In a letter to me, dated Jan. 19, 1929, he says: 'Apropos of the Sky-pillar...I have been wondering if you considered the possibility that it might have been suggested by the Zodiakal Light.' This soft beam of light, which rises vertically from the evening horizon in Spring and the morning horizon in Summer, is not often to be seen in our latitudes: I have often looked for it, in vain. But I have seen it in Palestine, where it looked just like a faintly
luminous pillar with tapering point.... I never saw it as a complete belt across the sky, as some have seen it in high tropic latitudes.'

ii. 45 the 'spindle of Ananke.' P. M. Schuhly in the Rev. Arch. 1936 ii. 48–64 pls. 6 and 7 and fig. 1 holds that the spindle of Ananke may be derived from the ancient oriental theme of a spindle-holding goddess, 'la Dame au fuseau' [for which see U. Holmberg 'Der Baum des Lebens' in the Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae ser. B 1922–1923 xvi. 3. 106 ff.].

ii. 52 n. 2 Früher vwe. Add Stegemann in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens 1934 vi. 373 n. 36.

ii. 52 ff. (cp. iii. 418 n. 0) the Irminsul as a sky-prop. G. Dottin in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1911 iv. 138: 'This belief in the fall of the sky is seen frequently in the oaths of Irish epic poetry.' Frazer Worship of Nature i. 148 notes that, according to the Upotos of the Upper Congo, 'the day will come when the sky will collapse and flatten us all out, blacks and whites alike' [a reference that I owe to my friend Dr J. J. Rendel Harris]. H. J. Rose in The Hibbert Journal 1937 xxv. 381 n. 1 cp. our own proverb 'If the sky should fall, we should all catch larks' [W. G. Smith The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs Oxford 1935 p. 210 f.], but refuses to believe that this ever expressed a real fear. Weiser-Aaal in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens 1930 ii. 147: 'Das Weltgebäude ist nach der Vorstellung vieler Völker wie das Wohnhaus aufgezogen. So muss der Himmel wie das Dach durch eine Säule bzw. durch den Weltsbaum gestützt werden' etc. (Scandinavians, Lapps, Celts, Germans). A. H. Krapppe Mythologie universelle Paris 1930 p. 130 f. defends my view against criticism and supplies a parallel from the Veda (H. Oldenberg La religion du Veda Paris 1903 p. 60 n. 2 'Pourquoi le ciel ne tombe-t-il pas sur la terre?—parce qu'un grand bouc à une seule patte lui sert de pilier' [cp. A. A. Macdonell Vedic Mythology Strassburg 1897 p. 73 f.]). J. Erdöli in the Indogermanische Forschungen 1932 i. 314–319 discusses the Sanskrit Skambha, 'himmelsstützender Baum' (Atharva-Veda 10. 8. 3 'Vom Skambha wird der Himmel und die Erde | Ewig gehalten auseinander, | Auf Skambha ruht') this bescelte All, | Was atmet, was die Augen schliesst'), as source of the Finnish Sampo, which in the Kalevala denotes 'eine wunderbare Mühle, Glücksmühle,' but is akin to the Wotyak sammas, 'Säule, Wetterhahn,' and Estonian sammas, 'Säule, Pfoisten.'

Further evidence for the sky-prop in belief and practice is collected by U. Holmberg in the Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae ser. B. 1922–1923 xvi. 3–93 figs. 2–15 ('Die Weltsäule'). Id. in J. A. MacCulloch The Mythology of all Races Boston 1927 iv (Finno-Ugric, Siberian). 421 f. says: 'the Samoyeds (Turuhansk District) call the North Star the "nail of the sky," around which the heavens revolve.' The ancient Finns had also a corresponding but now forgotten term, as proved by the name of the North Star, borrowed by the Lapps from the Finns, Bohi-nville ('the nail of the north'); its counterpart among the Estonians being the Põhjaanel.... This nail is, at the same time, regarded as supporting the sky.... Missionaries relate that the Lapps sacrificed to their highest god Veraldon rade ('Ruler of the world') so that 'he should not let fall the sky,' erecting at the altars a tree either split in two or forked naturally, or also, at times, a high pillar, called the "pillar of the world" (Veraldon tshhold) for the god to "support the world with, and keep it in its present form and condition, that it might not grow old and fall from its former nature." The tree was besmeared with blood from the sacrifice. A "pillar of the world" of this description was seen by Leem in the vicinity of the Porsanger Fjord [supra ii. 443 n. 3 with fig. 325].... That these pillars of the Lapps had a heavenly counterpart is shown by the fact that, in some places, the name of the North Star is "pillar of the world" (Veraldon tshhold). It is probable that the Lapps obtained both their ideas and their sacrificial customs from the Scandinavians...; the "nail" may be compared with the Scandinavian Veraldar nagli, the "world-nail."' Id. ib. p. 333 ff.:

'From this belief spring the curious names given by the Altaic stocks to the North Star. The Mongols, Buriats, Kalmucks, and the Altaï Tatars and Uigurs call the star in question "the golden pillar"; the Kirghis, Bashkirs and certain other Siberian Tatar tribes call it "the iron pillar"; the Teleuts "the lone post," and the Tungus-Orotshons "the golden post." From the similarity of the names given it by these widely separated peoples we may conclude that the conception of a sky-supporting pillar reaches back among the Altaic race to a comparatively early period.... Although none of the available sources mention directly that the peoples of the Altaic race made images of this great world-pillar, we can still be reasonably certain that they did so from the fact that several of the more northern peoples have kept up this custom even to our days.... The Ostiaks call these wooden images of the pillar, "town-pillars" or "the strong pillars of the town's centre." Those more simple in construction are erected by being slightly sunk
into the earth, and are hardly ever observed to be shaped at all in any way. The pillar of the village of Tsingala is about two fathoms in height, a squared, slender log, not very old.... This pillar of Tsingala, which the Ostiaks of that place regard as a deity, is called by them "The iron pillar man," a similar name being given to the post of another village of Irtysh, resembling greatly the afore-mentioned "Iron pillar" of the Tatars.... Some peoples in North-West Siberia, who have a similar custom, place on the world-pillar a wooden figure of a bird, which sometimes has two heads.... The pillars, on which these birds are placed and which have sometimes cross-pieces like branches, are, according to the Dolgans, a symbol of the "never falling props" before the dwelling of the Supreme God. On the cross-pieces, so it is said, dwell the sons of God.


ii. 57 ff. Jupiter-Columns. These are now published and illustrated in detail by Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* (Index in x. 253 'Chapiteau,' 266 Restes de colonnes, 275 f. 'Quatre divinités') and *Bas-reliefs de la Germanie Rom.* (Index p. 480 'Cavalier et anguipède,' 'Colonne votive,' p. 484 'Quatre divinités'). Add R. L'antier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 276—278 fig. 1 (group from Neschers).

ii. 61 n. o Iuno Lucina. In 1934 on the dispersal of the Harland-Peck collection I acquired a fine marble head (Sotheby's *Sale Catalogue* 1934 p. 11 no. 48: height 22 inches), which represents Iuno wearing a *stéphane* adorned with nine crescents (pl. lxxix). I take her to be Iuno Lucina as goddess of childbirth—the Roman copy of a Greek type resembling Hera Ludovisi.

ii. 62 f. the Wild Hunt or Furious Host. See further F. Liebrecht *Des Germanicus von Tilbury Oitio Imperialia* Hannover 1826 pp. 173—111 ("La Mesnie furieuse, ou la Chasse sauvage"). K. Meisen *Die Sagen vom Wütenen Heer und Wilden jäger* Münster 1933 pp. 1—144.


ii. 69 ff. the octagonal *Wochengötterstein*. F. Cumont in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1938 xxviii. 88 suggests that the influence of Syrian religious art may account for these eight-sided blocks, mounted on a square plinth and supporting a cylindrical column with its crowning group of cavalier and anguipède.

ii. 86 n. 3 L. Barbedette 'Le symbolisme des totems gallo-romains' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 i. 277—277 deals with Lussous and Bricia, deities of the hot springs at Luxovium. Numerous local reliefs show persons holding a bottle or box in the left hand, a glass or cup in the right. Several such *býati* bear the sepulchral dedication *D.-M.*

ii. 88 the world-pillar of Rhenic Germany. Miss J. R. Bacon in 1929 kindly drew my attention to Skymm. Chi. rep. 188 ff. τοικόν δὲ (τού τῶν Κελτών) εκείνα λεγομένα τις ἄκρης | στις βάροις ἐστι στήλη ἀπὸ ψυγῆ πάντων | εἰς κηρύξεως πλάγος ἀντικειμένος ἄκραν. | ἀκοίνω της στήλης δὲ τοις ἐγγίθα τόκους | Κελτῶν δεσμών ἔστω τόχοντος | "Ευτερό τε καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς εἰς τῶν Αράνων | Ἰστρων καθήκων: λέγοντος 'άρτων' τῶν Ἰστρων ἀρχήν λαμβάνετο τοῦ βέλατος.

ii. 88 n. 3 Jack and the Beanstalk. On which see L. Mackensen 'Böhmenranke zum Himmel' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1933 i. 399—401.

ii. 97 n. o Nero as Zeus. A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 18 notes Brit. Mus. Cat. Coin Lydia p. 75 no. 7 (Dioschiron) *σεύς|σεύς | ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ heads of Zeus to left and Nero to right, face to face. Nock cites Calp. Sic. 4. 142 f. του quoque mutata seu Iuppiter ipsa figura, | Caesar, ades etc.

ii. 107 n. 4. For the spiral column see also the materials collected by M. Avi-Yonah in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1930 i. 303—309.

ii. 111 n. o Zeus *Tropaiophóros*. A. M. Woodward in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Art.* 1926—1927 xxviii. 117 no. 1 publishes an inscription from Klaizomenai (Δία τροπαειωμοφόρος) [Ἰωάννης] [Καστορ] [Καλλιόπος] [Θεόδωρος].

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P. Casimir Le trophée d'Auguste à la Turbie Marseille 1933 pp. 1–168, S. F. Gimenez 'Ce que j'ai vu à la Turbie' in the Revue des études anciennes 1933 pp. 165–168 (built round a pre-existing monument, perhaps several centuries older).

ii. 114 ff. the Pillar of Light. Kallisthenes of Olynthos frag. 8 (Script. hist. Alex. Mag. p. 13 f. Müller)=frag. 20 (Frag. gr. Hist. ii. 646 f. Jacoby) ap. Sen. nat. quaest. 6. 26. 4 (cp. ib. 7. 5. 3–5) inter multa...prodigia, quibus denuntiata est duarum urbis Helices et Buris eversio, fuere maxime notabilia columna ignis immensi et Delos agitata. But this fiery pillar was presumably a species of comet (O. Gilbert Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums Leipzig 1907 p. 166 n. 1). The Jewish tragedian Ezekiel (2. ii. B.C.: see A. Jacoby in the Archiv f. Rel. 1927 xxv. 278 n. 1) ap. Euseb. frag. ed. V. 29. 16 locates Moses' rock at Elim and says τὸν ἤθελεν δὲ τὰ φόσσα ἐξεπλήξατι νῦν, καὶ ἀποφόβησαν οἱ μαίνετο ἐκ στετος τοῦτοι—apparently combining the 'pillar of fire' (Ex. 13. 21 f. alibi) with the 'rock in Horeb' (Ex. 17. 6, cp. Num. 20. 8), if not with the 'rock that followed them' (1 Cor. 10. 4).


ii. 121 'I have fallen as a kid into milk.' C. W. Vollgraff ΕΠΙΦΟΣ ΕΣ ΓΑΛΙ ΕΙΕΙΟΝ (Mededelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde Deel 57, Serie a, N°. 2) Amsterdam 1924 pp. 1–35 (in Dutch, with summary in French) holds that the formula means 'I, become a kid, flung myself upon the milk,' i.e. upon the breast of the deity. Cp. the Villa Item fresco, where a Satyrress suckles a kid [A. Maini La Villa dei Misteri Roma 1931 p. 140 ff. fig. 53 and col. pl. 8 f.].

ii. 121 n. 3 vases showing Thracian women tattooed. To the six examples listed add:

(7) A kylix from Caere, now at Schweiner, signed by the potter Pistoxtenos (Hoppin Red-f. Vasen ii. 372 f. no. 3 fig., J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmalerei des rothfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1935 p. 259 no. 1) shows young Herakles followed by an old crone Geropos, who is tattooed in the Thracian manner with parallel strokes on neck, forearms, and feet (the best publication is that of J. Maybaum in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1912 xxvii. 24–37 fig. 1 pls. 8–9). (8) A fragmentary kylix-brotla from Tarentum, now at the Hague (C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei iii. 355–356 pl. 178), represents the assailants of Orpheus with numerous tattoo-marks on arms, legs, and necks. 'Dieser Körperschmuck besteht nicht nur aus geometrischen Mustern, senkrechten und wagrechten Strichen, Zickzack- und Mäanderbändern und pünktlichen Sternen [on which solar symbol see supra i. 256 fig. 219, C. T. Selman Athenis its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion Cambridge 1924 p. 55 ff., id. Greek Coins London 1933 p. 51 pl. 4, 1, and S. Casson in the Am. Jour. Arch. 1935 xxxix. 514 ff.], sondern an Armen und Beinen sehen wir auch sich empormiegende Schlangen und hochheinige Vierfüssler, Rehe und Hirsche und einmal am Arm wohl eher ein springendes Reh als einen Hasen' (p. 359).

ii. 123 n. 0 ritual tattooing. See further F. J. Dölger Antike und Christentum Münster in Westfalen 1930 ii. 100 ff. ('Die Gottesweihen durch Brandmarkung oder Tätowierung in ägyptischen Dionysoskult der Ptolemäerzeit'), 107 ff. ('Zur Frage der religiösen Tätowierung in dem thrakischen Dionysoskult...'), 297 ff. ('Religiöse Tätowierung im Atargatiskult von Hierapolis in Syrien'), 1933 iii. 257 ff. ('Der Sinn der sakralen Tätowierung und Brandmarkung in der antiken Kultur').

ii. 124 ladder as soul-path. Hence perhaps that favourite motif in Pompeian art—Eros on a ladder (e.g. Reinach Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom. p. 85, 3–5, p. 91, 4).

ii. 124 n. 2 pl. vi. J. D. Beazley in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1927 xlvii. 230 n. 29 justly objects that I have ignored the explanation of the scene offered by F. Hauser in the Jahresh. d. ost. arch. Inst. 1909 xii. 96 fig. 55 (Ἀδωναϊώνα : the woman on the ladder personates Aphrodite).

ii. 125 Jacob's ladder. C. F. Coxwell Siberian and other Folk-Tales London 1933
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p. 988 (in Little Russia the staircase seen by Jacob is formed of seven heavens—blue, green, violet, yellow, white, pink, and fiery red).

ii. 128 n. 2. See now T. Dombart Der babylonische Turm Leipzig 1930 pp. 1—36 with 9 figs. in text and 4 pls.

ii. 129 n. 2. Prof. Max Semper of Aachen, in a letter dated Dec. 14, 1926, kindly points out to me that in Chwolssohn’s translation from Makrissi ‘Leiter’ means, not ‘ladder,’ but ‘leader’ (‘etwa die Bedeutung von “spiritus rector”’).


For the snakes of the ladder Deonna cp. the vision of St Perpetua (supra ii. 133), a fresco of c. 300—350 A.D. from the crypt of St Marcus and St Marcellianus in the Cemetery of St Balbina (H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie Paris 1910 ii. 149 f. with fig. 1239, cp. id. ib. 1921 iv. 1718 fig. 3900, and the twelfth-century Hortus Deliciarum by Herrad de Landsberg (supra ii. 136 n. 3). Does the same symbolism survive in the modern game of ‘Snakes and Ladders’?

ii. 131 the terra-cotta disks from Tarentum. See now P. Wuilleumier ‘Les disques de Tarente’ in the Rev. Arch. 1931 i. 26—34 with 4 pls. and 2 figs. K. Kerényi in the Archiv f. Rel. 1933 xxx. 371—397 with fig. 397 adds an interesting example in the Museum at Brindisi (‘Ἀρδος-Darstellung...mit einem Zodiakus von 11 Zeichen’).

ii. 131 f. with fig. 79 Baubo. This terra cotta is now in the Antiquarium at Berlin: a photograph of it is given by H. Licht Sittengeschichte Griechenlands Dresden—Zürich 1926 ii. 16, also by O. Rubensohn in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1924 xiv Arch. Anz. p. 199 with fig. 2 (‘Die Frau ist ganz nackt...und berührt mit der rechten Hand die Scham. In Ägypten kennen wir die Gestalt dieser Frau in derselben Haltung und mit derselben Geste in zahlreichen Wiederholungen, nur mit dem Unterschied, dass sie nicht auf dem Schwein sitzt. Es sind kleine Figürchen, die gewöhnlich unter dem Namen Baubo gehen, ohne dass sie irgendwelches Recht auf diesen Namen haben. Sie tragen meist reichen Schmuck an Armen und Beinen, Kränze auf dem Kopf, und als Attribut kommt neben Sistrern und Flaschen einmal auch eine Leier vor, die die Scala’).

See further S. Reinach ‘Un mime byzantin’ in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1919 xxii. 433—442 (= id. ‘Un mime byzantin sur Baubo à Byzance’ in Cultes, Mythes et Religions Paris 1923 v. 103—113), C. Picard ‘L’épisode de Baubô dans les mystères d’Éleusis’ in the Revue de l’histoire des religions 1917 xxv. 250—254, G. Pansa Mitì, leggende e superstizioni dell’Abruzzo Sulmona 1927 ii. 91 ff. (‘Il mito Eleusimio (sic) di Baubo ed il simbolo talismanico della rancocia’) with 11 figs., S. Reinach ‘Baubô japonaise’ in the Rev. Arch. 1929 ii. 337, U. Pestalozza in the Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni 1931 vii. 64 ff. (Baubo etc.), P. Demargne ‘Deux représentations de la déesse minoenne dans la nécropole de Mallia (Crète)’ in the Mélanges Gustave Glotz Paris 1932 i. 305—314 with pls. 1—3 and fig. 4 (a painted anthropomorphic rhyton of ‘Early Minoan iii’ date and an incised ostrakhe of ‘Middle Minoan I’—both showing a goddess comparable with Baubo), H. Vorwäh ‘Ein apotropäischen Kriegsbruch’ in the Archiv f. Rel. 1933 xxx. 395—397 (‘so wird eindeutig, dass es sich hier um dynamistische Vorstellungen handelt, die Ausstrahlung von Kraft im apotropäischen Sinne’). An external corbel on the apse of the Norman church at Kilpeck, Monmouthshire, is sufficient proof that Baubo is with us yet.

ii. 142 n. 1. Cp. also A. Taramelli ‘Chiamamonti—Navicella votiva protosara rinvenuta a Nuraghe Spiena’ in the Not. Saccii 1925 pp. 322—327 fig. 1 (bronze boat with stag-head prow), F. Behn in Ebert Reallex. xi. 248 with pl. 64, a.


ii. 146 Diana-Pillars. Cp. a fresco from Pompeii which shows Mercury facing Venus and, between them, a Diana-pillar with crown-shaped top, a pair of px-horns (?) attached

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to the shaft, and a small ithyphallic ex-voto at the base—the whole erected on a rock (B. Quaranta in the Real Museo Borbonico Napoli 1824 i pl. 32 with pp. 1—9, Helbig Wandgem. Camp. p. 8 no. 20, Reinach Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom. p. 97 no. 3).


ii. 160 ff. Agyieis-Pillars. With figs. 104—106 cp. a square bronze weight in the British Museum (1930. 4—17. 2) with an Agyieis-pillar in relief surrounded by the letters A M B P.

C. A. Rhomaioi in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1925 xlix. 311 ff. fig. 1 publishes as an 'Agyieis d’Apollon' a limestone pillar (1.44 m. high) of cylindrical shape and tapering towards the top, which was found in Korkyra and bears the inscription [·.] ΠΕΧΕΙΓΕΩΝ ΑΣΕ, that is δροτος Πνευματος τον Πνευματος τον Πνευματος, cp. ib. fig. 6 a tapering limestone cylinder (90 cm. high) hollowed at the upper end to serve as an altar, likewise found in Korkyra and inscribed ΟΡΈΟΣΗΛΟΣ | ΤΑΣΚΡΑΙΟΣ, that is δροτος λευκος | τας Άκρας τον Ηρας Άκρα. Rhomaioi is followed by C. Picard La sculpture Paris 1933 i. 82 fig. 1. W. Dittenberger in Insgr. Gr. sept. 1. 1 no. 690 (misread) and 698 had included both pillars in his list of local boundary-stones. Id. ib. iii. 1 no. 704 accepted as 'Apollinis Agyei simulacrum' the stone of Mys (μυρα ii. 161 n. 3). So does A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas Bilderdarst auf Religionsgeschichte Leipzig 1928 xiii/xiv p. iii fig. 11.

At Hephaistia in Lemnos the Italians have found a village of the Geometric Age with a sanctuary comprising three large chambers. That to the south has in the centre a small octagonal pointed column, and yielded sherds of Ionic and black-figured attic wares together with a rich deposit of terra-cotta figurines and local pots (E. P. Hlegen) in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1931 xxxv. 166 f., D. Levi in The Illustrated London News for Feb. 28, 1931 p. 328 with a view of the sanctuary.

C. Bonner has suggested to me in conversation (July 10, 1931) that even in Homer there may be traces of sacred stones comparable with the Agyieis. Thus in Ιλ. 12. 445 ff. Ηεκτώρ καταηγε τον λευκον ... δυνατον Εκθέτει προσεκτικάν, προσθηκής παχώς, αοιδή υπερφέρειν ἄξιος ἕρως. Also in Od. 3. 406 ff. Νεστόρ σαυ τει 'ατ' rather than 'ον' ξεφοτοί λίθων, οἱ των πατριώτων ήφαγον τρυπών | λευκοι, δύοντας δὲ λιβοσοτοὺς λιβάσας (libations of fat, not polish). οἱ των εἶνα τειρύθη εὐτυχίας κ.τ.λ. Again, elders in the market-place sat εξερέοντο λίθους λειφούν εἰς κύκλον (Il. 18. 504, cp. Od. 8. 6). I suggested to Bonner that perhaps to sit on the sacred stone was to be filled with the wisdom of the immanent deity. Hence the Agyieis-block might serve as a seat (cp. Priamos on his ΔΑΚΟΣ at the gate of Troy as shown on the François-vase (Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vaseumalerei i. 58 pl. 11—13)), and the elders in council might actually sit on a sepulchral stone-circle to acquire the wisdom of the buried chieftain. Much relevant evidence will be found in a book of intense interest by A. H. Allcroft The Circle and the Cross London 1927 i. 80 ff. ('The Achean Moot' and successive chapters).

ii. 167 ff. fig. 111. Cp. a copper drachma of Byzantium cited by F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 1094 fig. 1355: obv. ΒΥΖ head of Apollo, laureate, to right; rev. ΔΑΡΑΙΕΥΜΑ pillar with finial, set on a broad base (?).

ii. 169 ff. the Delphic omphalos. Sir A. Evans The Palace of Minos London 1929 ii. 2. 839 ff. with fig. 555 publishes a plaster-fragment from Knossos, found near the 'Cow-boy Fresco' on the east slope of the palace, which shows a pale blue omphalos (?) with a deep red band twined about it in an irregular net-like fashion.

L. B. Holland The Mantic Mechanism at Delphi in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1933 xxxvii. 211—214 argues that the omphalos shown in my pl. ix, a—c with fig. 119 stood on a low square plinth beside a circular base supporting the tripod. Omphalos and plinth were alike pierced by a square hole. There was probably a tube of bronze in the hole. The knife was inserted to extract this metal lining, but got stuck in the hole. The nails were used in a vain attempt to pry it out. The purpose of the pipe was to convey the inspiring fumes from the crypt below to the feet of the Pythoness, who sat on the tripod. This ingenious view, though largely hypothetical, is deserving of careful consideration.

H. Lacoste in the Fouilles de Delphes ii La Terrasse du Temple i pl. 4 gives a
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restored ground-plan of the fourth-century temple of Apollo, on which is marked the exact position of the side-chapel. *Ibid.* *Addenda et Corrigenda* p. (2) amends the facsimile of the inscription on the *amphora* (my fig. 110) by prolonging the first stroke of the *alpha* so that it crosses the second. But there is no doubt that the letter intended was Α.

F. Chapouthier in the *Rev. Ét. Gr. 1929* xlii. 336 draws attention to the curious resemblance of the inscription engraved on an *amphora* from Mykenai (A. J. Evans *Scripta Minora* Oxford 1909 i. 58 fig. 33).

P. de la Coste-Messelière—R. Flacelière *Une statue de la Terre à Delphes* in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1930 liv. 283—295 figs. 1, 2 and pl. 14 publish a limestone base inscribed retrograde ΑΛΑΙΩΝ on its upper surface and Α on later lettering on its front. The base shows four holes for the two feet of a bronze statue. It was found near Kastalia just opposite the big plane-tree, which local tradition identifies with that of Agamemnon. With this base were found five other blocks which may have come from the same monument (p), one inscribed retrograde ΣΙΜΟΣΘΕΙΜΑ on its upper surface and ΟΕΜΙΧ in fourth-century letters on its front, another with nothing above but ΚΑΛΛΙΕΤΙΝ in fourth-century style in front, a third with the artist’s signature ΑΟΝΔ followed by ΡΓΩΝ (F. Courby in the *Feuilles de Delphes* ii La Terrasse du Temple. 2. 163—165).

On the whole it seems clear that the bases of Ge and Themis must be connected and prove a joint cult at Kastalia. A deep cavity between the two statues was meant for a large bronze tree-trunk, perhaps a bay (cp. Paus. 10. 5. 9).

ii. 176 n. 2 the Delphic Ε. This famous symbol continues to provoke lively discussion. H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* Berlin 1912 ii. 214 n. regards it as *vermutlich eine kleinere wort, die zunächst als eine Erfindung gewehrt, dann symbolisch gefasst und endlich als σ ε gedeutet wurde. Denn das Balanosschlüssel sieht eines archaischen σ ε sehr ähnlich.* F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ VII) Leipzig—Berlin 1932 p. 23 cites with approval Diels’ explanation, but notes as an alternative possibility R. Eisler’s suggestion that we have here to do with *kleine Tempelmodellechen:* im Sohar wird der Buchstabe נ hejkal = babyl. ס GAL= ἐκαλα Temple genannt,* etc. W. H. Roscher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Dez. 23. 1932 pp. 1909—1911 still insists that Ε is εί = τι ‘kommt, tritt ein!’ (id. ‘Neue Beiträge zur Deutung des delphischen Ε’ in *Hermes* 1901 xxxvi. 470—489). W. N. Bates ‘The Ε of the Temple at Delphi’ in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 239—246 takes it to be a Cretan character, which on a gem in New York is associated with two bulls and two double axes and hence is probably to be read as a symbol of the Cretan Zeus or of the Cretan goddess, at Delphi called Gaia. Sir T. Zammit *Prehistoric Malta* Oxford 1930 p. 92 f. with pl. 23, 7 publishes an oval stone pebble, bored as a pendant and incised with JT, from a neolithic site in Malta: significance unknown. C. Fries ‘De Ε Delphico’ in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxxix. 343 f. claims that the symbol derives from Sumser: *‘Jeremiás...interroganti mihi scribit,* Ε in Sumserorum lingua idem esse quod aedem vel cameram vel domum id quod sescenties in Sumserorum inscriptionibus inveniatur.* Finally, R. Demangel ‘Triglyphes bas’ in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1937 lxxi. 421—438 with 17 figs. (especially pp. 426—427) reverts to my explanation, and extends it in some directions beyond my purview.

ii. 183 n. 3 Rhapsos. See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1926 xlii. 281 (cp. ίαυφοιδικός).

ii. 187 the *ampholeis* as a mound (p). S. H. Hooke in *Folk-Lore* 1926 lxxviii. 24 f. derives the *ampholeis* and its *agronom* from ‘early Sumerian seals of the “mountain” in which the dead god is imprisoned.’

ii. 187 n. 8 Zeus and Aigina. Zeus in pursuit of a young woman, a not infrequent scene on red-figured Attic vases, is often by a process of elimination labelled ‘Zeus pursuing Aigina’ (see L. D. Caskey—J. D. Beazley *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* Oxford 1931 i. 13 ff. no. 17 pl. 6, 43 no. 48 pls. 22 and 26, 45 no. 50 pl. 23). That is very possibly right, but the interpretation is secure only when accompanied by names, or at least by one name—that of the heroine. Thus a *δαμασκ* from Vulci, now in the Vatican (H 504), attributed to the painter Hermonax (c. 470—455 B.C.), shows *ΙΕΠΙΣ with sceptre held horizontally just overtaking ΑΙΝΙΑ, whose sisters hasten to tell their father ΛΘΟΤΟΣ (Mus. Etr. Gregor. ii. 5 pl. 20, 1 and 18, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 400 f. no. 4, Atlas pl. 6, 1, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 65 f. pl. 6, 4, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 36 no. 37, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmalerei des röm. ungen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 300 no. 8), while a column—
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krater in New York, attributed to the 'Boreas Painter' (c. 460 B.C.), shows Zeus with uplifted bolt catching AΛΘ. She turns to touch his chin in supplication. Her sisters flee in alarm. The reverse perhaps depicts Asopus, at home, receiving the news from his other daughters (Hoppin op. cit. i. 81 no. 8 bis, Beazley op. cit. p. 305 no. 3 'Semele verfolgend') (i, G. M. A. Richter Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 116 ff. no. 86 pls. 94 (= my fig. 883) and 170). On the ethnic implications of the myth see J. P. Harland Préhistorie Aigina Paris 1932 pp. 59—63.


ii. 189 n. o. Dr A. H. Lloyd pointed out to me (Dec. 24, 1926) that on certain tetradrachins of Gela (c. 460—415 B.C.) a flying eagle is attached by two reins to Nike's quadriga. He suggested that this implied Zeus in eagle form. But E. S. G. Robinson in Syll. num. Gr. ii pl. 34, 986 says: 'The lines which run down on the obverse from eagle to chariot rail and goad and at first sight seem intended to connect the bird to the chariot appear to be in fact die-flaws.' It must, however, be admitted that on a duplicate given to me by Dr Lloyd the alleged 'die-flaws' are in exactly the same condition (cp. supra ii. 657 n. 3).

ii. 191 original character of the Delphic omphalós. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xcviii. 85 n. 2 is more disposed to accept the view that the omphalós was the tomb of Dionysos as advocated by T. Homolle 'Ressamblance de l'omphalos delphique avec quelques représentations égyptiennes' in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1919 xxix. 335—358. Picard thinks the analogies with modern Greek custom 'fort superficielles.' K. Schwendemann 'Omphalos, Pythongrab und Drachenkampf' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1920—1921 xx. 481—484 rejects the 'Völk-Theorie' and reverts to the older 'Erdnabeltheorie.'

V. Nordström Poseidon och hans skurēnavous Helsingfors 1931 pp. 1—40 and Om Hermes χρυσότροπος Helsingfors 1932 pp. 1—30 contends that Poseidon's staff (II. 13. 59), Poseidon's trident, and Hermes' rod were all modifications of the umbilical cord! H. J. Rose in the Class. Rev. 1932 xlvii. 182 deals faithfully with such vagaries.


ii. 199 n. 2 with pl. xii the Chigi base. A marble replica of (a) and (c), dredged up in the harbour at the Peirenaeus and referred to a date c. 100 B.C., is figured in The Illustrated London News for Jan. 31, 1931 p. 164 ff. A full account of the find is given by E. P. B[legen] in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1931 xxxv. 91.

ii. 201 n. 1. J. D. S. Pendlebury tells me (March 2, 1927) that at Delphi the plane-tree of Agamemnon is still shown, below Kastalia, at the outlet of the gorge.

ii. 205 n. 1 dolphins. See Biedermann Der Delphin in der dichtenden und bildenden Phantasie der Griechen und Römer Halle a. S. 1881 pp. 1—26, E. B. Stebbins The Dolphin in the Literature and Art of Greece and Rome Benasha, Wisconsin 1929 pp. 1—136 (reviewed by A. M. Duff in the Class. Rev. 1930 xlviii. 185 f.).


ii. 209. On the Pythia as a case of artificial and voluntary possession see T. K. Oesterreich Possession demonica and other among primitive races, in antiquity, the middle ages, and modern times London 1930 pp. 311—331.


ii. 212 n. 3. An almost exact replica of the black-figured ōkythos at Leyden is
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published by R. B. Bandinelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1925 xxx. 534 f. no. 201 fig. 5. Another black-figured *lyktos* of similar style and period, found at Gela, was discussed by P. Orsi *ib.* 1906 xvii. 125 ff. fig. 88. It shows the youthful figure emerging from the cauldron, which is surrounded by roaring flames and flanked by two scared women (Peliades?).


ii. 224 the ivory shoulder of Pelops. H. W. Parke *The Bones of Pelops and the Siege of Troy* in *Hermathena* 1933 xxiii. 153—162 discussing *Paus.* 5. 13. 4 ff. holds that the shoulder-blade of Pelops there mentioned as brought from Pisa to Troy and later lost off Euboea in a storm, but recovered from the sea by the fisherman Damarmenus and at the bidding of the Delphic oracle restored by him to the Eleans, was identified in *c. vi B.C.* with Pelops' ivory shoulder—a highly primitive feature of sacrificial or cannibalistic origin, being in reality the *scapula* of some cetacean!

I suspect that *Eur. Bacch. 1300* (Agave asks of her son's scattered limbs) *Που ἐν ᾿Ερέσι οὐγκεκαθημένον καλά;* points to an original form of the myth in which Pentheus was recalled to life. This may have been detailed in the lacuna immediately following line 1300.

Cp. the shepherds' treatment of the boy killed by a bear in *Apul. met.* 7. 26 nec uspiam ruris aperitur ille sed plane corpus eius membratim laceratum multisque dispersum locis conspicitur...et cadaver quidem discinctis partibus <collectis > tandem totum repertum agreque concinnatum ibidem terrae dedere. Note also the queer story of Domitia Longina, who collected the flesh of her butchered husband Domitian, put the pieces accurately together, sewed up the whole body, and had a bronze statue of it made and set up at Rome (Prokop. *anecdota* 8. 15—21).

ii. 224 n. 1. the golden breast. J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1920 xi. 410*: 'The story of Caradoc, which forms part of the French Perceval cycle [ed. Potvin li. 101 ff.], relates how a serpent fastened on his arm and sucked away his life. He was saved by a young maiden presenting her breast to the serpent, which took the nipple in its mouth. Cador then cut off its head, but with that also the nipple, which was magically replaced by one of gold. A close parallel exists in a Gaelic folk-tale ['Sheen Billy' in Campbell i. xciv f.], and less close in a Scots ballad ['The Queen of Scotland' in Child no. 301], but it is probable that the source is Celtic, as the name of the wife of the Welsh Karadawe is Tegau Eurfyn, Tegau 'with the golden breast'. For a full discussion of the tale and its variants see C. A. Harper 'Carados and the Serpent' in *Modern Language Notes* 1898 xiii. 417—431. G. Paris 'Carados et le serpent' in *Romantia* 1899 xxviii. 214—231.


ii. 330 ability to stare at the sun. On this *Sonnenmotiv* see E. Norden *Die Geburt des Kindes* Leipzig-Berlin p. 160 n. 2.

ii. 231 n. 6. A convex sardonyx (owner unknown) shows the Delian Apollo, a nude standing figure with the three Charites on his outstretched right hand and a bow in his left (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 40, 7, ii. 191, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 7, 8 [enlarged]). C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 l. 573 fig. 199 illustrates a relief at Munich on which the upper part of the Delian Charites is shown—profile to left, full-face, profile to right—perhaps after the cult-stature.


ii. 258 n. 3. *Zeus Bouleus.* O. Bronner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvi. 544 with fig. 8 publishes a white marble slab—part of a gaming board—found in the well of a shop at Corinth, which is inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΟΣ and ΔΑΜ[- -] ΝΗ[? Ν]Ν again associating Zeus Bouleus with Demeter.

ii. 258 n. 3. *Zeus Bouleus* or *Eubouleus* grouped with Demeter and Kore. With this chthonian triad M. P. Nilsson in the *Archæos* f. *Rel.* 1935 xxxii. 87 justly cp. the Damaters and Zeus Dandritos of two Rhodian dedications (1) found by the Danish excavators on *the akropolis* of Lindos (['Αριάδνη, Δαμάτερη και Δάνι Δανδρίτης, (2) found at *Siuna* in Rhodes *Zeus* *τρέφων* *ιεράν* *Δαμάτηρι* *καὶ *κυνήθη.* Both
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inscriptions are of late Hellenistic date. Nilsson comments: 'Die Bezeichnung der beiden Göttinnen als Δαιμόνια, die μ. W. sonst nicht in Griechenland vorkommt und an das Lateinische Cereres [Thes. Ling. Lat. Suppl. i. 341, 37 ff.] erinnert, lässt sich nur durch ihre Wesensidentität erklären; sie sind sozusagen die ältere und die jüngere Auflage derselben Gottheit' [Supra i. 396 f.].

ii. 259 n. o Zeus Boualos. His cult at Thasos (noted in the Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1914 p. 288, Bull. Corr. Hell. 1933 xvii. 537 n. 3) is attested by a couple of dedications (G. Daux in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1932 ii. 57 f. no. 9 fig. 4 a rectangular base of Thasian marble, from the pyrgaton, with oval sinking, inscribed ε. 250 Β.Ι. Ρ. χαλκος Ευρυτάς [Βουαλός καὶ Δήλ] Βουαλώνοι, no. 10 fig. 4 a rectangular base of Thasian marble, from the theorphism, with rectangular sinking, inscribed ε. 250 Β.Ι. Ρ. χαλκος Ίερευς Βουαλός [καὶ Δήλ Βουαλών] ΣΤΕΡΕΑΙ ΝΕΑΙΔΗΣ [Πολύτιμος Ὄρθομενος] [Ἀραττίδης Αλέξ.] [Supra i. 396 f.].


268 n. 4. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xcviii. 91 n. 1 notes that C. W. Vollgraff ΕΡΙΦΟΣ ΕΣ ΓΑΛΓΕΙΕΝ [Supra Addenda to ii. 121] p. 19 ff. 'suggère un rapport entre Dionysos et le sermône Domouzi, plus tard appelé Tamouz.'


270 n. 5. G. Kazarow in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 490 records the proper name Βασίμας (Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Bordeaux iv. 93).

278 n. 2. The Phrygian formula of execution. W. M. Calder 'Corpus inscriptionum Neo-Phrygianarum iii' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1926 xlv. 22—28 adds fresh examples, and contends that they all belong to the latter half of the third century [A.D.], and represent an artificial revival of the epigraphical use of the Phrygian language by the Tekmoreian Association [on which see now the useful article of W. Ruge 'Xenoi Tekmoreioi' in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 158—160, also Canon E. C. Hudson 'Psidian Antioch and the Xenoi Tekmoreioi' in Theology 1938 xxxvi. 230—235]. A. H. Sayce in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1926 xlv. 22 ff. appends a few notes. He objects to Calder's acceptance of Kretschmer's rendering δεως καὶ ξυναντήρω 'heavenly and chthonian gods': 'This does not take account of the very definite statement in Hesychius: ξυνα̣ντήρων ἄνθρωπον ἀνδράσιον φρόντης. The Boghaz Keui texts clear up the difficulty. The Phrygian phrase corresponds with the Hittite 'the gods and the dead' (akhdasuat). The dead were deified, and ξυναντήρω must have literally signified "ghost" or "devil"' (Cp. "printer's devil" in English). J. Friedrich Kleinschlächtische Sprachdenkmäler Berlin 1937 pp. 138—140 has a handy collection of all the texts. On the Phrygian language in general and its grave-formula in particular see N. Joki in Ebert Reallex. n. 141—153.

281 n. 9 Zeus Dios with grape-bunches and a plough. R. Vallois in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1929 xliii. 453 cites W. M. Calder Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua Manchester Univ. Press 1928 i. xiii for 'le Zeus aux épis et Dionisus (=Dionysos), gardien de la tombe.'
The reference is to Calder *op. cit.* i. 4 no. 5 an altar of bluish limestone at Shahr *Ören* in Eastern Phrygia inscribed Μελισσος Ναυμα δέσποτης εκατα ακλήας τοις Διαν. On the shaft are three reliefs: (a) in front, a pedestal supporting a bust of Zeus, who holds a bunch of grapes and an ear of wheat; (b) to the left, two wheat-ears planted in round bowls (?); (c) to the right, a pedestal supporting a bust of Helios, radiate. *Ib.* i. 5 no. 7 an altar of bluish limestone at Kadın *Khan* in Eastern Phrygia inscribed Ε[...]. Ο[...]. On the shaft in relief is a pedestal supporting a bust of Zeus, who holds a bunch of grapes and corn-ears. W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1918 xxxviii. 133 no. 2 restored *Ε[δαίμων]ο* and added: 'Ε[δαίμων]ον? was the steward in charge of this department on the imperial estates at Zizyama. About this time another oikonomos, Callidimus? the young, made a dedication to Jove Dionysos[()]. The dedication is to *ΙΩ[Δ]ΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ*... which halts between Jove and Jehovah... at Zizyama.' Calder *op. cit.* i. 216 f. 413, § 5 a sculptured stèle from Baghjia in Eastern Phrygia, which names Διονυσος as guardian of the grave.

ii. 282 Zeus *Dionysos*. D. Detschew in the *Jahrb. d. ost. arch. Inst.* 1934 xxix. Beiblatt p. 165 f. fig. 60 (= my fig. 884) publishes a square altar of grey marble, still

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Fig. 884.

Fig. 885.

used to support the table-top in the church of the village *Sarmadisz* (Bezirk Malko-Turnovo, Regierungskreis Bürger) in Bulgaria. On the altar is inscribed in would-be hexameters: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΙΣΙ ΑΛΛΑΚΩΝ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟ νεκρώσας Βραχυν Μεγάλον ἐν τῷ Ειρήνων τοῖς Θεοίς ἔτι Μισθώσας Μετοδίας [κ.λ.μ.ν.]. Detschew *ib.* p. 166 collects evidence for the identification of Zeus with Dionysos (for Orph. frag. 235 Abel, 236 Kern δυάλει Ζεὺς Διόνυσος κ.τ.λ. see *supra* i. 187 n. 10). W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1939 vi. 123 no. 360 pl. 62 (= my fig. 885) publish an altar of bluish limestone from *Haci Beili* in the Upper Tembris Valley (front relief, *krater* with ivy-sprays; back, snake biting grape-vine) inscribed [ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας (?) Καλλιάρου νεκρός καὶ διαιμητὴς Ταραχτής | γενεια(ι) Διονύσως δέσποτης].

ii. 285 n. 0 (2). Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilization* London 1927 p. 212 ff. fig. 4 gives a drawing (inexact) of this relief and its inscription made in 1884.

ii. 285 n. 0 (4). M. V. Taylor and R. G. Collingwood in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1929 xix. 199 pl. 9 publish a similar *plaque* of base silver, with figures of the three Mother Goddesses in *repoussé* work, found in London, and note other examples from Barkway in Hertfordshire. See also *supra* p. 1100 fig. 878.

ii. 290 n. 0 the tombstone of Abirkius and Theuprebia. Sir W. M. Ramsay *op. cit.* p. 240 ff. fig. 5.

ii. 290 n. 0 the head as the seat of the soul. See further G. A. Grierson 'The Headless Horseman' *(an Indian ballad)* in *Pedia-Lore* 1914 xxv. 383, H. A. Rose

ii. 291 n. 2 προφήτησι. K. Latte in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. iv a. 1028—1031 demurs to my explanation (‘wobei nicht zu sehen ist, wie aus der Abwehr drohenden Unheils der verleumderische Angriff geworden sein soll’) and falls back on that of A. Bocck Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener Berlin 1886 i. 56 (‘s. berechnet jemand, der um einer Sache von geringem Wert willen eine Anzeige erstattet (vgl. etwa ital. ammazzar qualcuno per uno fico ‘jemand um nichts ermorden’) Andererseits ist die Beziehung auf die Phasis in dem zweiten Teil des Wortes offenkundig und gibt ihm erst seinen Inhalt, denn bei der Phasis erhielt der obsiegende Kläger die Hälfte der Strafsumme oder des eingezogenen Vermögens’).


Addenda

silver *patera* rescued from oblivion by Miss A. Levi and now in the Brera at Milan. When found at Parabiago in Lombardy it was serving as the lid of a grave-ampora. It shows in fine relief of c. 150—200 A.D. the triumph of Attis. He is seated with Kybele in a car drawn by four lions and accompanied by three dancing Kourêtes. Above are the rising Sun and setting Moon with Morning and Evening Stars. Below, Okeanos and a Nereid, with fish showing their heads above water. On the left, two Fresh Water Nymphs with reeds. On the right, Earth with *cornu copiae*, various animals, and a pair of infants. Between, the four Seasons as children. Higher up, Atlas carrying Aion in a zodiacal ring, and an Obelisk twined about with a snake. This cosmic design on a coneave circular field is a magnificent specimen of symbolic art, and is to be published with full commentary by Miss Levi in *Opere d'Arte del R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* (Roma).


ii. 298 fig. 190. F. J. Dölger IXΘYC Münster in Westf. 1927 iv pl. 168 gives a photograph of this singular *medusa*.

ii. 300. W. Techau in the *Jahrh. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlv Arch. Anz. pp. 655—657 with figs. 10—14 publishes the sarcophagus of a priest of Kybele and Attis, found in a large *columbarium* at Porto. The lid shows the priest recumbent, his left hand with five thick rings supporting his head, his right with *bēkaoph* or 'arm-band' holding pine-spring and rosary. The arm-band is decorated with reliefs of Kybele seated between two standing figures, Attis and Hermes. And at the priest's feet is the usual *kitha* Two oblong reliefs from the same find-spot represent the same priest with his *tauromachy* offering fruit before a seated Kybele and holding torches before a standing Attis.


ii. 307 n. 1 the epitaph of Aberkios. See further A. Abel *Étude sur l'inscription d'Abercious* in *Byzantion* 1926 iii. 311—411.

ii. 312 n. 5 παρὰ δὲ Ἀκαζίου ζεύς Ζεύς. A. Nehring in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 588 supports Ζεύς-α-ιος as a Lydianised form of θέας by quoting *θιμος-α-ιος and the lika* from Lydian inscriptions.

ii. 313 ff. the *Kabeiroi*. The fullest survey of the facts is that given by O. Kern 'Kabeiros...und Kabeiroi' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1399—1450, with supplementary notes by the same author 'Kαβηρον' in the *Archiv f. Rel. 1916—1919* xix. 551—553 and 'Noch einmal Karkinos' ib. 1920—1921 xx. 236.

G. Pansa 'La leggenda di traslazione di S. Tommaso apostolo ad Ortona a mare e la tradizione del culto cabirico' in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (École française de Rome) 1920 xxviii. 29—62, carrying further the contention of J. Rendel Harris *The Dioscures in the Christian Legends* London 1903 pp. 20—41 that S. Thomas as 'twin' brother of Jesus was essentially Diascoric.

A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 163 would identify Kabeiroi with Khabiriyas the body-guard of the Hittite kings, and so derive them ultimately from the Khabiri or 'Comrades' of Babylonia. He notes an early deified Hittite king *Khasamitis* = *Kasuvalos*.

ii. 314 f. Axiokersa, Axiokersos, Axieros. O. Montelius *La Grèce préclassique* Stockholm 1924 i. 211 with figs. 349 and 351 regarded as sacred axes the tapering stone heads (in two cases painted) stuck into terra-cotta bodies, which Wace found at *Rakhmani* in Thessaly [A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 4 with fig. 25, a, b, c].

E. Maas in the *Archiv f. Rel. 1926* xxiii. 225 is content to explain *ᾲξιοκερός* and *ᾲξιοκέρω* as deities (Hades and Kore) 'who slay valuable beasts (ᾲξις) with the sickle-knife' and *Ἄξιως* as the goddess (Demeter) 'who receives valuable victuals'.

A. H. Sayce in the *Class. Rev.* 1928 xlii. 162 connects *Ἄξιος-κερός* and *Ἄξιο-κέρω* with *Hesych. κέρω- ἄξις* and in the other Hesychian glosses (quoted supra ii. 315 n. 1) ἄξιος or ἄξιος for γιάμις cod. and ωδέλλος for γιάμου cod.
G. Seure in the Rev. Arch. 1929 i. 60 n. 6 discusses coins of Odessos with legend θεός μεγάλου ΚΥΡΣΑ (supra ii. 1126 figs. 923, 923) and the possibility that Κόρα = Κόρα was the name of an indigenous deity akin to Αἰαοεράης (sic). Id. in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1939 xiii. 249 is even more venturesome (κόρας) Σάλβαρις or Σάλβαρος). But A. Seale "Le grand dieu d’Odessos-Varna et les mystères de Samothrace" in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1928 ii. 395—398 had already argued that the Theos Megas at Odessos was Αἰαοεράης or Δεράθαης, one form of the chief male divinity of the ancient Thracians.

For Αἰαοεράης as the 'Axe-Eros' cp. Anakr. frag. 47 Berghk, 48 Edmonds, 45 Diehl ap. Hephaist. 12. 4 p. 39, 5 ff. Consbruch μεγάλος διψάτη μ’ Ερωτικοφένντα την χαλκούντα with the comments of E. Schwyzer 'Axt und Hammer' in the Rhein. Mus. 1930 lxix. 314—318 (πέλακα = φυγρωπέλακα, a smith's axe serving also as a hammer).

Fig. 887.

ii. 316 Zeus transformed into Eros. Such a concept provides a partial justification for the late syncretistic figures of Zeus Panthés (L. Robert in the Rev. Arch. 1933 ii. 141 no. 176 cites a dedication from Carthage, now in the Louvre, Δει Ιππια Ιππια (Ναουσκος Ναουσκος = Corr. inscr. Lat. viii no. 12493) or Jupiter Pantheus (Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 5423 (Nescania Baeticae) Iovem Pantheon Aug. | cum aede et tetrastylo solo [pub. etc.]. A bronze from the Gréau collection, obtained from Greece in 1885 and now in Paris (Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 17 no. 4 'Zeus panthée?'). De Krijder Cat. Bronzes du Louvre i. 71 no. 482 pl. 36 (= my fig. 887): height 0'192m, shows a nude Zeus with the wings of Eros, the greaves of Ares, and a stephane surmounted by three 'fleuorns.' Another, from Cahon (Somme), now at Abbeville (C. Louandre in the Revue des Sociétés Savantes des Départements Cinquième Série 1873 v. 327—327, Reinach Rép. Stat. iii. 8 no. 2 'Zeus Panthée') shows a nude Jupiter holding thunderbolt and eagle, with the wings
of Victory, the rayed crown of Apollo (Sun), the disk and horns of Isis (Moon), the cock of Mercury, the fawn-skin of Bacchus, the corona capite of Ceres or Fortuna or Abundantia, and a Gaulish armilla on his right arm (my fig. 888 is from a photograph kindly supplied by M. Richard, Conservateur des Musées, Abbeville).


ii. 326, 374 f., 377 f. Janiform masks. V. Alford 'The Springtime Bear in the Pyrenees' in Folk-Lore 1930 xii. 275 reports that two-faced masks are worn by men on Feb. 2 at Arles-sur-Tech in the French Catalan Pyrenees. Ead. 'The Candlebear' in The National Review 1931 xxvi. 235–244 gives further details. The same observer and R. Gallop in their joint article in Folk-Lore 1935 xlv. 322 f. state that at Arles-sur-Tech the Candlebear is escorted by four to twelve two-faced attendants, who wear women's cotton dresses, leathern belts with eight or ten cow-bells attached, and small barrels painted with a face fore and aft by way of head-dress.

ii. 338 ff. the Salian Hymn. On Italian and Dutch reconstructions of the carmen Salisare by E. Cocchia (1917), F. Ribezzo (1917–1918), and F. J. Enk (1921) see M. Bacher in the jahrbücher für die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft 1925 cccv. 84.

ii. 335 Ianus. O. Huth Janus. Bonn 1932 pp. 1–66 is adversely criticised by H. J. Rose in Gnomon 1933 ix. 320–331. Huth finds the essence of Ianus to consist in a certain 'polarity,' the contrast of birth-death, summer-winter, fire-water, entry-exit symbolised in Italy by a god with double face, in Germany by the runic sign Δ. But the early Italians were no philosophers, and the sign Δ was not nico (cf. H. Arntz Die Runeninschrift ihrer Geschichte und ihrer Denkmäler Halle/Saale 1938 p. 98).

ii. 337 n. 4 divum deo. C. Tertull. ad Scap. 4 (i. 783 A Migne) tunc et populos adclamans deo deorum, qui solus potens, in Iovis nomine deo nostrum testimoniun reddidit. Supra p. 327.

ii. 339 n. o òstis = 'Striae.' See further C. Pauli in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 1906 f.

ii. 340 n. o Demonomium, quod rustici Dianam appellant. Lobeck Aglaophamus ii. 1992 f. 'Acta Symphoriand Ruinart. Act. Mart. p. 70 [ib.2 Amstelaedami 1713 p. 81]. Dianam quoque daemonium esse meridianum sanctorum industria investigavit, quae per compita curres et silvarum sacra periustrans incredulis hominum mentibus zimamie tribulos sceleris sui arte disseminat. Triviae sibi cognomen dum trixis insidiat obtinuit.' Csp. S. Estrem in the Symbolae Olausenses 1929 viii. 32 n. 1 'das demonomium meridianium, das die Christen Diana nannten.' It is tempting to suppose a mere confusion between meridianum and Diana. But see V. Alford—R. Gallop 'Traces of a Dionic Cult from Catalonia to Portugal' in Folk-Lore 1935 xlv. 350–361 (p. 358 f. 'Immediately to the west of the Basque lands we find the word Jana in all its purity... In Sardinia Jana means witch. In the old Neapolitan dialect Jana means nymph... The old Spanish form was Jana. In the Montafia de Santander we find Jansiana... In Asturias... Janaus means Devil, and the Diano Burián is a kind of faun. In Galicia... the Devil is again o Diano... In Portugal... Dianho. In the Algarve... women called Fas or Jana for whom it was customary to leave a skein of flax and a cake of bread on the hearth.' Etc.


ii. 344 Zánes. Csp. Epiphan. anec. 106 (i. 208 Dindorf) Zánes | dé óx | el el dé, álla kai treis kai tósoaros Lýkous tóv ámbous. k.t.l.

ii. 344 n. o Déos. This form of the name occurs also on a two-handled Rhodian jar of c. 400 B.C., now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (T. L. Spear in the Am. Journ. Phil. 1908 xxiv. 461–466 with pl., C. D. Buck Introduction to the Study of the Greek Deltaics Boston 1910 pp. 67, 793), which bears the painted inscriptions καλλιετα Γαζα Η Βρασια | Ηνε Εμίν Δόκει (would-be iambic) and Δένς Νέρμα Διάρμας | Αρταμίς Αοαναία.
Marble head of Pan from Greece, now in the British Museum.

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ii. 347 ff. Παν δέ μεγάς τέθηκεν. The literature of this famous episode (supra ii. 349 n. 20) should include I. Nyman De magnio Pane Plutarchi Upsaliæ 1734, W. H. Roscher ‘Die Legende vom Tode des grossen Pan’ in the Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Philol. 1892 exx. 465—477, E. Nestle ‘Zum Tod des grossen Pan’ in the Archiv f. Rel. 1909 xii. 150—158, O. Weinreich ‘Zum Tod des grossen Pan’ ib. 1910 xiii. 457—473, A. Taylor ‘Northern Parallels to the Death of Pan’ in Washington University Studies Series iv 1922 (Humanistic Series x. 1) pp. 3—102 (discusses 246 variants and concludes that ‘the voice of loud lament is an hallucination, an auditory illusion, and not a myth relating to the spirits of vegetation’, A. D. Nock in the Class. Rev. 1923 xxxvii. 164 (cp. Hdt. 6. 105), O. Weinreich in the Archiv f. Rel. 1923—1924 xxvii. 328—330, G. Meautis ‘Le grand Pan est mort’ in the Musile Belge 1927 xxv. 51—55 (cp. Phil. de Is. et Os. 12 ενως δε Παμάλων τυμ λέγοντων ἐν Θεσβί Ιεράρχων ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διότ φωνη ἀκόουσι δακτυλομοιρήν άνευτων μετὰ βοῶν ὑπὲρ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΤΕΡΙΤΗΣ ΟΣΙΡΙΣ ΓΕΘΟΝΕ). Fresh light has been thrown upon the whole business by a simple but convincing discovery of A. Fick Forogriechische Ortsnamen Göttin gen 1905 p. 147 ‘Παν is nicht ‘der Hirte,” sondern der ‘ Papa,” gehört zu den ‘Lallnamen’ Kretschmers 334 f. [P. Kretschmer Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache Göttin gen 1896 p. 334 ff.] Das weibliche Gegenstück zu Παν ist Μα, in Arkadien als Μαία, Mutter des Hermes Μαίανδρος erhalten. ‘If so, Pan was in effect another Zan, and I had no need to postulate that the former had stepped into the shoes of the latter. Pan the Great was all along a parallel figure to Zan the Great. Pan the goatherds’ god took the form of a goat just as Zan the oxherds’ god took that of an ox (supra ii. 345). And the ritual of the dead Pan, implied by Plutarch’s narrative, may well have resembled the ritual of the dead Zan.

On this showing Pan was a more dignified deity than advancing civilisation was prepared to admit. He had some reason to complain of his neglect by the Athenians on the eve of Marathon (Hdt. 6. 105). But before the close of that century, or very soon afterwards, Attic sculptors had made the amende honorable by devising a type which gave the god an almost Zeus-like majesty and yet by retaining curved horns and prick ears, a shag of hair and a twist of lip, contrived to remind men that after all he was but a glorified goat. H. B. W[alter] in the Brit. Mus. Quart. 1931—1932 vi. 33 f. pl. 16 was able to publish a head in Pentelic marble (height 83 inches) recently unearthed in Greece. Relying presumably on the proportions of the eye, the absence of overlapping lids, etc. he ventures to say: ‘the style recalls some of the heads on the Parthenon metopes. It certainly cannot be dated later than the latter part of the fifth century.’ My pl. lxxx is from the official photographs.

ii. 347 n. o Hipta. P. Kretschmer in Glotta 1926 xv. 76 ff. takes Hipta to be an Asiatic mother-goddess—the Hittite Hēpit.


ii. 364 the 'yoke' of spears. M. Cary—A. D. Nock Magic Spears in the Class. Quart. 1927 xxi. 122—127 (sub ignum, sub hasta, etc.).


ii. 381 ff. double herms. R. Lullies Die Typen der griechischen Herme Königsberg Pr. 1931 pp. 66-69 ('Doppelhermen mit nach entgegengesetzten Seiten blickenden Köpfen') argues that this type was originally intended to represent 'Hermes als Totengott' (ib. p. 86)—a view questioned by S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch., 1931 ii. 330.

ii. 382 n. 1 double bust of Dionysos. Cp. a fine archaistic double bust at Ny Carlsberg (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Billedtavler no. 151 Dionysos pl. 11).

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Fig. 889.


ii. 386 Odhins' broad hat. H. Naumann 'Breithut' in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 1550-1552 (ep. ib. ib. i. 1386 f. Blauhutel').


ii. 390 with pl. xxi Janiform arŷbaules of male and female Dionysiac heads. See now J. D. Beazley 'Charinos' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1929 xlii. 61 (Group N, no. 1 'head of Herakles and woman's head' [?]).

ii. 392 with fig. 300 double bust of Apis and Isis. H. Grossmann in the Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924 Berlin—Leipzig 1926 p. 183 pl. 3 fig. 6 assigns this bust to the time of Hadrian and regards it as combining the human and animal forms of Haithor. J. Leipoldt in D. H. Haas Bilder atlas zur Religionsgeschichte Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—xi p. vi with fig. 25 ('Die Büste 25 ist insofern altägyptisch empfunden, als Isis auch mit einem Kuhköpfen ausgestattet ist (allerdings handelt sichs um eine künstliche Ägyptisierung; es fehlen altägyptische Analogien einer derartigen Isis), Etc.).

ii. 392 ff. double herms at Nemi. On Feb. 10, 1930, during the excavation of Caligula's second galley, a double herm of bronze was found, representing the conjoined heads of a bearded and beardless Satyr. The former is wreathed with vine-leaves and...
grapes, the latter with pine and cones: both wear a nobris (W. Technau in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1930 xliv Arch. Anz. p. 351 with fig. 13). In the summer of 1931 further work on the second galley brought to light another double herm of bronze, the exact counterpart of the first, and a third combining two youthful female heads wreathed with ivy and draped. There can be no doubt that all these herms served as decorative posts of the ship's rail (id. ib. 1931 xlvi Arch. Anz. p. 648 with figs. 4 and 5). In the spring of 1932 yet another bronze double herm from the rail was found (id. ib. 1932 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 470). See also The Daily Telegraph for June 18, 1931 p. 9 and The Illustrated London News for July 4, 1931 p. 10.

I take this opportunity of publishing (fig. 890, a—c) a small double bust of white marble in my collection (height 3½ inches), which represents adossitz a bearded and a beardless Satyr, wreathed with ivy. It probably topped a slender pillar in somebody's peristyle in 21 A.D.

![Fig. 890.](image-url)

ii. 394 foliate faces. T. Tindall Wildridge The Grotesque in Church Art London s.a. p. 113 ff. (‘ Masks and Faces’) gives examples of foliate masks at Beverley Minster (Yorkshire), Dorchester (Oxfordshire), St Mary's Minster (Isle of Thanet), Westminster Abbey, Ewelme (Oxfordshire), Lincoln Cathedral, etc. C. J. P. Cave ‘The Roof Bosses in Ely Cathedral’ in the Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society Cambridge 1932 xxxii. 35 ff. with pl. 2 shows bosses representing heads with oak-leaves coming out of mouth and nostril. Cave acutely conjectures ‘some survival from pre-Christian times.’ Finally Lady Raglan ‘The “Green Man” in Church Architecture’ in Folk-Lore 1939 l. 45—57 figs. 1—17 concludes that classical and quasi-classical types (figs. 10—13) were from s. xiii. onwards influenced by ‘the figure variously known as the Green Man, Jack-in-the-Green, Robin Hood, the King of May, and the Garland.’ In 1934 I acquired from Mr J. Sinclair of Swanage a limestone corbel (height 7¼ inches) said to have come from a fourteenth-century continental church. It represents (fig. 890, a, b) a male head with oak-leaves springing from eyes, nose, and ears, and bears traces of yellow priming and red paint.

ii. 407 n. o. On stages in relation to Artemis (Ma, Anaïtis, etc.) see S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1932 i. 151 ff., who cites F. Cumont 'L'archevechê de Pédachetô et le sacrifice du Faom' in Byzantion 1931 vi. 521—533 ('Voilà bien un banquet ritual, tradition païenne christianisée').

ii. 410 n. o. 'Εφέσια γυρισματα. See further A. Deissmann 'Ephesia Grammata' in the Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft (Baudissin-Festschrift) ed. W. Frankenberg—F. Küchler (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Altertumswissenschat 1918 xxxiii. 121—124).

ii. 410 n. o. On the occurrence of Zeus-emblems (thunderbolt and bay-wreath) in relation to Artemis Ephesia see H. Thiersch op. cit. i. 46 ff., 65 ff., who notes a statue of S. ii A.D. in the Museum at Tripolis (no. 29 pl. 27, 1, 3, 4) and a mosaic from Poggio Mirteto in the Vatican (no. 56 pl. 46).

ii. 411 Bendis. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xciii. 87 n. 3 draws attention to the numerous representations of Bendis on the rocks of Philippi (ib. 1922 lxxvi. 117 ff.).

ii. 411 n. 6. C. Picard—C. Avezou 'Le testament de la prêtresse thessalonicienne' in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1914 xxxviii. 38 ff. correct F. Perdrizet's reading ηπειρα θεῖα | ηπειρα Παραφεύρον ηπειρα θεία | ηπειρα Παραφεύρον, 'Eucia daughter of Prinophorus,' and show that the remainder of this much-misunderstood inscription refers to the ἀκάκων or ritual burning of roses on the tomb—a very different story.

ii. 419 n. 2. A writer in the Times Literary Supplement for June 17, 1926 p. 413 justly objects that 'compare' means 'vanished,' not 'scattered.'

ii. 421 Artemis Orthia. H. Licht Sittengeschichte Griechenlands Zürich 1928 Ergänzungsb. p. 110: 'In Wirklichkeit ist Orthia, was freilich noch niemand gesehen hat, von ὅπατοι, "aufrechtstehend," abzuleiten, und der Beiname der Göttin erklärt sich aus den Ekrektionen an ihrem Altar gepeitschten nackten Jünglingen und der Zuschauer,' But such ultra-Aristocratic grossness is quite gratuitous.

ii. 424 the divine Sky as a double-faced god. K. F. Johansson Über die altindische Göttin Dhipaṇa und Verwandtes Uppsala 1919 p. 136 ff. argues for a proothen Indo-germanic 'zwei-aspektig gedachten herrn gott' with dark and light sides, viz. Varuna (also Vṛtra and Dyaus (also Mitra). So in Scandinavia we have Ulfr and Týr (also Frórr), cp. the Van pair of gods Ullin and Fillin (bb. pp. 33, 139).


ii. 427 fig. 331. A somewhat clearer illustration of this gilded glass is given by I. Benzinger Hebräische Archäologie Leipzig 1927 p. 218 with fig. 329.

ii. 434 ff. The Twins. In addition to the monographs of S. Etirem (supra ii. 431 n. 1) and J. Rendel Harris (supra i. 760 n. 7) see the contributions of E. S. Hartland 'Twins' in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics 1921 xlii. 491—508, Schrader Reallex. i. 868, A. H. Krappe Les dieux jumeaux dans la religion germanique (extr. from the Acta philologica Scandinavica) København 1930 pp. 1—25, Frazer Golden Bough 5: Aftermath pp. 83, 154.


K. Scott 'Drusy' nicknamed 'Castor' in Class. Philol. 1930 xxv. 155—161 thinks
that Germanicus and the younger Drusus, like Tiberius and the elder Drusus, may have been associated or even identified with Castor and Pollux—a view confirmed by a recently found inscription from Ephesus (Clas. Quart. 1931 xxv. 58).

E. Kornemann Doppelprinzip und Reichstellung im Imperium Romanum Leipzig—Berlin 1930 pp. 1—210 is reviewed by M. F. Charlesworth in the Class. Rev. 1933 xlvii. 143—146.


ii. 445 Zethos and Amphion. J. Rendel Harris in the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 1926 x. 345 observes that the Egyptian twins Set and Horos were the architects of Thebes in Egypt just as Zethos and Amphion were the architects of Thebes in Greece. He suggests that the name Zethos may be simply Set, whom Plutarch actually transcribes as Șēb [Where? Plout. de Is. et Os. 41. 49, 61 says Șēb without variants. A.B.C.].

A. H. Krappe in the Archiv f. Rel. 1933 xxx. 249 ff. repeats and reinforces the conclusions of Rendel Harris.

ii. 445 ff. double-headed deities in Asia Minor etc. G. Contenau 'Idoles en pierre provenant de l'Asie Mineure' in Syria 1927 viii. 193 ff. pls. 44—45 publishes six idols in the Louvre, probably found at Kül-Tepė ('La colline de cendres') near Kaisarea in Kappadokia, close to Mt Argois, where a Semitic colony had long been established—witness numerous tablets in cuneiform from the same site. All the six idols are in alabaster, with a reddish patina. They represent deities with one (pls. 44, a), two (pls. 44, b, 45), and three heads (pls. 46, 47, 4), but only a single rounded body. Id. ib. p. 100 compares Syrian bronzes in the Louvre, which represent a god embracing a goddess attached to his right leg at the knee, or again four deities arranged fan-wise. Id. Manuel d'archéologie orientale Paris 1931 ii. 324 f. figs. 593 and 594 dates the Cappadocian idols c. 3000 B.C. and the Syrian bronzes c. 1000 B.C. A better illustration of a two-headed Cappadocian goddess is given in the Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art L'Art de Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre Paris 1936 i. 284 f. fig. A, and of a Syrian group ib. Cansaan, Phénicie Paris 1937 ii. 106 fig. G. On the significance of pyclopaphilic gods in general see L. Weber in the Archiv f. Rel. 1934 xxxi. 172—175.

ii. 448 n. 0 the sickle of Kronos. See now Oxyrhynchus Papyr. London 1927 xvii. 65 no. 2080, 71—73 (= Kallim. frags. 502+172 Schneider) with A. S. Hunt ad loc.


ii. 453 ff. the original home of Apollo. Wilamowitz' view that Apollo came from Lykia is energetically attacked also by E. Bette 'Apollo der Hellene' in ANTIΩΔΩΝ Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel...gewidmet Göttingen 1933 pp. 14—21.

F. Poulsen Delphische Studier (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser viii, 5) København 1924 pp. 3—40 ('Apollo und Asien') suggests that the name Apollon is to be explained by the Babylonian terms apuš 'the Firstborn' and apuš alaridu 'the Firstborn Son,' a fixed epithet of kings in honorific inscriptions. Poulsen sees in Apollo a blend of Sama, god of the sun, of wisdom, of law, with Marduk, who as symbolising sunlight fought Tiamat the dragon of darkness. Hence the lunisolar calendar, the ritual number seven, the omphalos (cp. the Babylonian kudurru), etc.

C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xcvii. 90 ff. thinks it possible that the Hellenic Apollo was a blend of (a) a Creto-Anatolian god and (b) a Hyperborean god—each called Apollon.

L. Weber 'Apollo' in the Rhein. Mus. 1933 lxxxi. 165—191, 193—219 contends that Apollo, originating in Crete as an archer-god (cp. Nilsson Min. Myc. Rel. p. 296 f. fig. 85, where note eye and ear), passed thence to Delos and Lykia to the Troad, was carried across the Bosphorus by the Myrians and Teucrians some time before the Trojan War, and made his way southward through Thrace, Makedonia, and Thessaly to Delphi. Homer's epa represents him as a foe of the Greeks because it was a product of the Aeolians in Thessaly, who were naturally hostile to the god of their northern neighbours. Delos as his cult-centre was prior to Delphi.
ii. 460 n. 2 (b) Apollon riding on a swan. A rock-crystal scarab of early archaic style shows him thus crossing the sea (waves below, dolphin behind). He guides the swan by the beak with his right hand and holds a leafy branch in his left (Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen iii. 96 f. fig. 66, Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems ii. p. 55 no. 460 pl. 8).

ii. 462 n. o fig. 362 Zeus drawn by eagles on a disk from Tarentum. Other examples at Trieste and Berlin (P. Wagner in the Rev. Arch. 1932 i. 43 no. 78).

ii. 464. C. Picard 'La Crète et les légendes Hyperboréennes' in the Rev. Arch. 1927 i. 349-360 holds that the sacrifice of asses and other 'Hyperboréan' tales belonged originally to Crete, and were transferred to the north only when Crete had been captured by northern invaders. Unconvincing.


ii. 475 Zeus seated, yet harling a thunderbolt. A silver statér of Corinth, struck c. 335-300 B.C., has for symbol Zeus enthroned with thunderbolt in raised right hand and eagle on outstretched left (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Corinth, etc. p. 33 no. 308 pl. 12, 13. There is a second specimen of the type in Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 96 no. 72. I have a third).

ii. 477 n. o. G. A. Snyder 'De symbolica Phaethontis fabulæ interpretatione apud Romanos' in Mnemosyne N.S. 1927 lv. 401-409 claims that in Roman times the myth was interpreted as a Mithraic expression for the ascent of the soul to heaven (Class. Quart. 1928 xxii. 210, cp. S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1928 i. 218). A. Lesky 'Zum Phaethon der Euripides' in Wiener Studien 1933 i. 1-35 puts the play late in Euripides' career and attempts to reconstruct the plot. M. F. Scalvizzari Il Mito nel ΦΑΕΘΩΝ di Euripide Napoli 1937 pp. 1-80 includes a pl. of the οστία σαραγόφαγος.

ii. 483 the kiküaná-tree. F. P. Dhorme 'L'arbre de vérité et l'arbre de vie' in the Revue biblique internationale Nouvelle série 1907 iv. 272 ff. shows that in the time of Gudea (c. 2600 B.C.) the Babylonians believed in two trees planted at the entry of heaven, gil-ti the 'tree of life' and gil-ša-an-na the 'tree of the gate of heaven.' He says: 'Le gil-ti ou "arbre de vie" ne sera autre que le kikānu, connu sous le nom de gil-ša-an-ša.' Dhorme is followed by A. J. Wensinck Tree and Bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia Amsterdam 1921 p. 4. See now S. Langdon 'The Legend of the kikānu' in The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland 1928 pp. 843-848. Miss N. Perrot Les représentations de l'arbre sacré sur les monuments de Mésopotamie et d'Élam Paris 1937 pp. 143 with 32 pls., G. Leclerc in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1939 xliii. 352 f.

ii. 484 n. 6. The etymology of ἀρέσκω is discussed by F. Muller in Altitalisches Wörterbuch Göttingen 1926 p. 348.

ii. 487 n. 3 Apollon as an 'apple-god.' Rendel Harris' view is adversely criticised by J. Toutain in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1921 lxxxii. 160-200. But there is far more to be said for it than the critics will allow. Rira bien qui rira le dernier.

On Demeter Malophoros at Megara see K. Hanell Megarische Studien Lund (1934) p. 174 ff. Terracottas from her sanctuary at Selinous were published by E. Gärbric in the Not. Scavi 1930 pp. 67-91 figs. 1-33, and we have now the same author's sumptuous monograph Il Santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte in the Mon. d. Linc. 1938 xxxi. 1-419 with 97 pls. and 192 figs. (reviewed by F. von Duhn in Gnomen 1929 v. 529-539).

The Times for Oct. 8, 1936 p. 11 in a report by J. Borodzin on 'Excavations in South Russia' notes the discovery by Prof. Farmakovski in 1924 of Apollon's temple at Olbia. Its ruins stand in the centre of the old town at the outlet of the river Bug. See further E. Diehl in Pau-Commons Real-Enc. xvii. 2417, 2421.

ii. 492 n. 3 amber routes. The most thorough and authoritative investigation of the subject is that of J. M. de Navarro 'Prehistoric Routes between Northern Europe and Italy defined by the Amber Trade' in The Geographical Journal 1935 lxvi. 481-507 with distribution-maps of Bronze Age Amber Finds in Central Europe and Early Iron Age Amber Finds in Central Europe, also a map of Trans-continental Amber Routes distinguishing Central Routes (opened Early Bronze Age), Western Routes (opened Middle Bronze Age), and Eastern Routes (opened Early Iron Age), and two plans of Bronze Age Amber Finds in Italy and Early Iron Age Amber Finds in Italy. Mr de Navarro does not deal with the amber trade to Greece and the East Mediterranean area, remarking only 'The Baltic-Black Sea route is, in my opinion, a late development.'

ii. 493 ff. the Hyperboréans. Rendel Harris 'Apollo at the back of the North Wind' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1925 xlv. 239-242 includes chapters on 'The prehistoric
amber routes,' 'Apollo and the Hyperboreans,' 'The Apollo stations,' and 'a possible third amber route from the land of the Hyperboreans into Greece.' G. H. Macurdy in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1928 viii. 685 argues thus: 'It seems improbable that barbarians devoid of all Hellenic connections would have troubled to keep in touch with Delian Apollo. The chief Istrian cult was Apolline. Istrus, like other Milesian Pontic Colonies, was populated by Mix-hellenes and monopolized Danubian trade, having factories far up the river... Perhaps these barbarized descendants of Istrian, i.e. Milesian, stock sent the offerings. If so, the *Herodotean* Adriatic route employed about 450 B.C. would have been closed by the Celtic invasions of the early fourth century B.C. and the later Istrus, Sinope, Prasini-route, of (?) Phanodemus, would have been used subsequently. The fourth century B.C. coins of Istrus and Sinope with identical reverse types point to close connections between these States... Accordingly, if the people who sent offerings to Delos were geographically "Hyperborean," but not racial or mythical Hyperboreans; if they are less likely to have been the barbarian Proto-Hellenic parent-stock left behind in Central Europe than the semi-barbarized descendants of Ionian traders located in the south of Central Europe, then there is no longer any need to seek for a partially northern origin for Apollo merely on the grounds of his supposed *Hyperborean* connections.' This acute hypothesis is welcomed by A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev. 1929* xxiii. 136 and by M. Cary *ib. 1929* xxiii. 214. The latter, quoting Kallim. *A. Del.* 283 f. on μέν τοῦ καλάμου τι καλὰ δράματα πρῶτοι | ἀσταχών φωρώσας, adds: 'Surely, then, they were the ears of wheat whose hulls served as packing.' Yet the actual custom of packing an egg (Οιδίρει) in the first or last sheaf, cited by Mannhardt (infra ii. 489 n. 2), tempts us to conjecture that the offerings in question were swans' eggs similarly packed: this would at least suit both their Hyperborean starting-point and their Delian destination, and might further be supported by the ritual preservation of Leda's egg (infra ii. 1015 n. 7). A more remote parallel may be found in a former (c. 1860 A.D.) usage of the Easter Islanders: the man that brought in the first turn's egg of the year, which his servant had procured from a neighbouring islet, swimming across with it in a small basket tied on his head, was saluted as *Tangata-Mau* [sic], 'Man-Bird,' and chosen as chief for the year (S. Chauvet *L’île de Pâques et ses mystères* Paris 1935 pp. 35—37).


ii. 500 Phobios. W. Schmid 'Φῶδης Ἀτάλλων' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1923—1924 xxii. 217—223 tries to persuade us that Φῶδης is a metrical substitute for Φῶδης!

ii. 505 ff. lightning as a weapon. H. Balfour 'Concerning Thunderbolts' in *Folk-Lore* 1920 xi. 37—49, 106—172 with 23 figs. on 2 pls. surveys and illustrates popular beliefs about 'thunderbolts,' prophylactic or otherwise.

ii. 510 ff. inscribed neolithic celts. The best parallel to figs. 390 and 391 is the implement published by my friend and former pupil J. H. Iliffe 'A neolithic celt with Gnostic inscriptions at Toronto' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxiv. 304—309 with 2 figs. It is a polished celt of hard brown stone, acquired in Smyrna but said to have been found at Ephesus, and bears on one side a well-cut design with lettering of s. i. v. w. A.D. Enclosed by a snake biting his own tail, stands a nude winged and tailed figure holding a whip with double lash in his right hand, a short rod in his left. A bunch of leaves springs from his head, which bears some resemblance to a winged *Gorgoneion* (?). 'He is flanked by
two tall sceptres with animal-headed (?) tops, and surrounded by words of power: ΑΙΑΟΥΑΗ ΤΤΑΙ ΖΗ | ΦΕΛΟΨΑ | ΙΑΙΟΥΗ ΕΑΒΑΨΕ | ΑΔΚΟΝΑΙΕ | ΑΚΡΑΜΜΑ | ΧΑΜΑΡΕΙ | ΤΕΕΣΕΝΙΕΝ | ΦΑΡΑΝΓΗΣ | ΑΒΛΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΒΑ | ΔΑΜΝΑΜΕΝΥ.

ii. 512 ff. The double axe in 'Minoan' cult. M. E. L. Mallowan in The Illustrated London News for Sept. 16, 1933 p. 436 f. fig. 7 publishes beads or amulets in the shape of the double axe, which were found in Iraq at Arpachiyya, a prehistoric mound four miles east of Nineveh, and are attributed to a period earlier than 4000 B.C. These he claims as prototypes of the 'Minoan' symbol.

B. Schweitzer Heracles Tübingen 1922 pp. 21–58 ('Die Doppelaxt in nachkretischer Zeit') adduces a mass of miscellaneous evidence, not always judiciously handled.

ii. 516 n. 6 the sarcophagus of Hagia Triada. To the bibliography add R. Vallois 'Autels et culte de l'arbre sacré en Crète' in the Revue des Études anciennes 1926 pp. 121–133. Id. in the Mélanges Gustave Glots Paris 1932 ii. 859–847 cp. a similar arrangement of altar and base in the earliest Artemision at Ephesus.


ii. 528 ff. double axes imbedded in columns. H. Sandars in the Rev. Arch. 1926 i. 229 f. fig. 2 (= my fig. 891) publishes an Iberian column from the Mina de la Plata between Baena and Jaen. Its square stone capital is decorated with double axes on all four faces.

ii. 526 hands raised, one palm outwards, the other in profile. The same peculiar and at present unexplained gesture may be seen in a seated terra-cotta goddess of the 'Geometric' period (height: 42 inches), from northern Greece, now in my collection (fig. 892 a, b).

ii. 543 the 'hour-glass' ornament on the indigenous pottery of Apulia perhaps derived from the double axe. This is doubtful. Paintings from the rock-shelters of southern Spain, belonging to the Copper Age, show Θ or the like as the stylised form of a woman (H. Breuil—M. C. Burkitt Rock Paintings of Southern Andalusia Oxford 1929 p. 84 'Spanish Art Group III')

ii. 544 fig. 410 gem from Melos. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xxiii. 70 objects that 'Minoan' deities are wingless and cjt. 'plutôt un génie ptérophore.' Nilsson Min.-Myc. Rel. p. 187 n. 1 adds: 'upward curved wings do not occur in this age' (cp. V. Müller 'Minoisches Nachleben oder orientalischer Einfluss in der frühkretischen Kunst?' in the Ath. Mitt. 1925 l. 54 f. with fig. 1). Lastly, the attitude of Knie law (supra i. 296 n. 6) also points to a post- Minoan though still archaic period. Probably the term 'sub-'Minoan' 'or 'sub-Mykenaeen' would best fit the case. One thinks of Daidalos (supra on i. 725)
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ii. 544 n. 3 the Egyptian "neter. Miss M. A. Murray 'The sign " in "Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith "London 1932 pp. 312—315 pl. 49 argues that this sign represents a pole with votive streamers and is descended from an early cult of the poplar or willow.

ii. 547 n. 2 the sacrificial table. H. Mischkowski Die heiligen Tische im Götterkultus der Griechen und Römer Königsburg i. Pr. 1917 p. 32 f.

ii. 548 n. 0 sword-worship. Among the Quadi (Amm. Marc. 17. 12. 21 quorum regalis Vitrodorus, Viduari filius regis, et Agilimundus subregulus, alique optimates et iudices, variis populis praesidentes...eductis...mucronibus, quos pro numinibus colunt, iuravere se permansuros in fide). In the south-east of Sweden (A. Nordén Östergötlands Bronsälder Linköping 1935 pp. 1—407 is summarised by A. J. Uppwall in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1937 xxxi. 394—397, who notes among the rock-carvings in the region of Bräviken 'gigantic swords...now carried by one man, now by two, and found in processions where one being—a giant—towers above the rest.' Cp. O. Almgren in Ebert Reallex. iii. 216 with pl. 51, i, H. Shetelig—H. Falk Scandinavian Archaeology trans. E. V. Gordon Oxford 1937 p. 167 ff.).


ii. 549 Kronos as 'Chopper,' R. Eisler Weltenmantel und Himmelsselt München 1910 ii. 385 n. 0 attempts to combine two incompatibles: 'Kronos als "Köp-ro = Keipov
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= "Schnitter" und Ερυμος "Brunnen\". G. A. Wainwright in The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 1933 xiii. 51 quotes parallels e. g. Káros, which 'probably originated in the Semitic root ḫēṣ, ḫēṣ, \"\" The Cutter, Breaker\", and Mōšir the 'Crusher.'

ii. 550 ff. fig. 426. F. Imhoof-Blumer in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1898 xviii. 178 f. no. 51 pl. 13, 18 observes that on this coin there is drapery over the back of Kronos' head and a small crown with three peaks, also some object in his left hand.


ii. 561 Tyrannos. A. H. Sayce \‘The Phrygian hero Tyris\’ in the Class. Rev. 1932 xlii. 11.

ii. 569 Zeus Asbamaios. E. Kalinka in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1933 xxviii p. 61 no. 8 figures a marble altar at Amasra in Bithynia inscribed Θεόν | ἄνωτερον | Αὐραμιμαῖος καὶ ἐπὶ Τίθινα | κατεσχεσάτο τὸ μνημείον = Corp. inscr. Gr. iii. no. 4102. No. 2 at Karagou on a tile surmounted by a fragmenatry wreath ΑΤΩΡ. Φιλίτας | Ἐ στρατηγόν | κατέτατο | ιστότων κατέτατο | Διὸς Βοσσουραγός ζωῆς | φοροῦ τοῦ μνημείου κατεσχεσάτω. Anderson loc. cit. p. 165 adds: \‘The epithet Bussurigos is undoubtedly Celtic, as is clear from a comparison with Bussumaros or Bussumarios, a Celtic god identified with Jupiter Optimus Maximus in two inscriptions of the Dacian Apulum and probably in an inscription of Moesia Inferior [Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 4921 with n.]. The termination -murus, -murus, \‘great,\’ is common in Celtic personal names... As Bussumaros is Bussus magnus, so Bussurigos is Bussus regius. The Celtic equivalent of rex (O. Irish rí, gen. ríg) is one of the commonest terminations of Gallic personal names...\’


ii. 582 Poseidon originally a specialised form of Zeus. C. Picard in the Revue de l\‘histoire des religions 1916 xcviii. 72 n. 2 pronounces this view to be \‘fort vaissemblable.\’


A. Carnoy \‘Étymologie du nom du dieu de la mer Poseidon\’ in the Revue belge de Philologie et d\‘Histoire 1924 iii. 350 f. \‘Hors signifiant \‘maître\’ (mis au vocatif donne voris) et un mot déformant signifiant \‘eau\’ et qu\‘on retrouve dans diverses langues indo-européennes avec le sens de corps liquide.\’

G. H. Macurdy \‘The Name Ποσίδαν and Other Names Ending in -ou in the Iliad\’ in the Am. Journ. Philol. 1930 li. 286—288 argues that all such names are either Trojan or Northern and postulates a Northern origin for Poseidon.

ii. 587 Zeus PALLAXOΣ or PALLAXOS. W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—C. W. M. Cox in the Journ. Rom. Stud. 1924 xiv. 71 ff. no. 105 pl. 16, 105 a, b publish the back of a limestone seal found at Ak Killes in Isauria bearing a dedicatory inscription Πολλάκτων Πολλάκτων καὶ τά κάθαν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τέντας | ἀντών, which probably means \‘Podadhbiōn (an indeclinable personal name) dedicated this seat of Pallas and so did the god\‘s village in accordance with a dream: Podadhbiōn himself and T... son of Attes set it up.\’ See further T. Kaiser Die Kathedra im Totenkult der heidnischen und christlichen Antike Münster in Westf. 1927 p. 49 n. 21.
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ii. 587 n. 7. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xviii. 73 n. 2 doubts the equation παλαγ = ἅλαγ, citing C. Autran 'La Grèce et l'Orient ancien' in Babylonica 1924 viii. 185 n. 1 ('ἥλαγ dont le sens probable est bien plutôt de ἱρτος, ou ἱρτος'), id. Summération et Indo-européen Paris 1925 p. 1. Further literature on this disputed question is noted by A. Nehring 'Studien zur indogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat' in the Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik 1926 iv. 31 n. 11.

ii. 594 pectoral ornament (?). In favour of such a προστόθιον see also W. Müller in the Röm. Mitth. 1910 xxxiv. 93 ff. C. Picard Éphèse et Claros Paris 1922 p. 559 ff. id. in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xviii. 73 n. 1, and especially G. Furlani 'Ornamenti astrali e corazzee di dei dell'Asia anteriore antica' in Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni 1931 vii. 43 ff.

ii. 594 the temple of Athena Átēna. C. Dugas—J. Berchmans—M. Clemmensen Le sanctuaire d'Alta Athéna à Tégée au iv° siècle Paris 1924 i. 1—144 with 41 figs. and ii Atlas of 110 pls.

ii. 600 f. The double axe and the Labyrinth. R. Ganszyniec 'Labrys' in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xiii. 286—307 gives a well-arranged and interesting survey of the facts. Humboldt ib. xii. 314 ff. and G. Karo ib. xii. 331 deal with ἄλαγ and λαβρόνας. G. Dumézil 'L'AABPTZ' in the journal asiatique 1929 ccxx. 237—252 derives λάβρος and its congeners ('j'asiânique et égén λαβρ-, ἄλατ-, λαβρ-, ἄλατ-) from a pre-Greek word which he connects with the classical and modern Georgian labrari, lance.' Early Georgian lances, preserved in churches and museums, have a bifurcated blade. In Mingrelia they are regularly taken to be the arms of St George, who mounted on horseback attacks evil spirits issuing from the sea with his double lance ('il leur porte des coups avec sa lance; chacun de ces coups s'accompagne du tonnerre que nous entendons, et fait jaillir des étincelles, qui sont l'éclat'). Dumézil views the double lance labrari as the linear successor of the double axe ἄλαγ, the essential point being its twofold blade ('force redoubleée; perfection; union des sexes')—a convincing conclusion. H. Güntert 'Labyrinth. Eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung' in the Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1924/3 Abh. i. 1—49 would relate λαβρόνας to λαφας 'stone,' and takes λαβρος as 'Steinbeil.' But his contentions are traversed by P. Kretschmer in Glotta 1934 xii. 252 ff. ('Diese Etymologie scheint daran, dass λαβρόνας, λαβρος, λαβρονως immer nur mit β, λαφας dagegen nur mit υ bezeugt ist, die Bed. 'Stein' an die Form mit υ geknüpft ist'). See further C. Picard 'Les origines du Labyrinthe' in the Rev. Arch. 1939 i. 264 ff.

ii. 601. H. J. Rose in The Hibbert Journal 1927 xxv. 380 thinks that I am here confusing the Quinquennalia of Maxentius, i.e. the celebration of the fifth year of his reign, with the quinquennial agen Capitolinus of Domitian, which had ceased to exist centuries before Maxentius was born. But the Quinquennalia of Maxentius would have fallen in 311. not 312. Also, Lactantius states that the Quinquennalia in question were ending and that Maxentius' day had not yet come. He is probably alluding to the ludi Capitolini, which were still being held. (G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. 1928, L. C. Purser in Smith—Wayte—Marindin Dict. Ant. ii. 86). I adhere therefore to my view as expressed in the text.

ii. 607 E. Conybeare's suggestion that the labarum was derived from the librys. The same solution of the problem was reached independently by E. Harrison, who however—so far as I know—did not publish it.

H. Grégoire 'L'Étymologie de 'Labarum'' in Byzantion 1927—1928 iv. 477—482 comes to the following conclusion: 'La laurea en or qui enferme le Christe est l'élément caractéristique du sublime étendard décoré en outre des images laurées des pieux empereurs. De même qu'on disait le dragon ou l'aigle, draco, aquila, pour l'étendard surmonté du dragon ou de l'aigle, on a dû qualifier le nouveau vexillum à la couronne d'un nom dérivé de laurea. Et, de même que le labarum n'est qu'une variante du lauratrum, laureum n'est qu'une variante de laureatum.'

ii. 613 the hidden meaning of knife or double knife. R. Eiser drew my attention (Oct. 14, 1908) to the small axe received by the Essenes when admitted to the order (Ioseph. de bell. Jud. 2. 8. ταύτα ἄλλα κεφαλὴς βαθῶν δρόσωσε τινας τοβῆν τῇ σκαλᾷ, τοιούτων γὰρ χείρι τὸ δύκαντον εκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ περατεύσας τὸν θρόνον, ὥς κάτι αὐτὴν ἐξαραμένην τοῖς θου, ἀπακοῦσιν εἰς αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ.).

ii. 613 Simias's poem on the axe of Epeios. W. Deonna 'Les "poèmes figurés"' in the Revue de philologie de littérature et d'histoire anciennes 1926 l. 187—193 ('Il s'agit d'un procédé instinctif et universel, ancien et moderne, européen ou oriental, qui n'a qu'une intention: résumer en quelque sorte par une image le sens du texte écrit, donner de
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celui-ci une transposition figurée. On constate de plus que certains de ces arrangements ont un sens religieux ou magique."

ii. 614 ff. Zeus (?) and the Centaur. J. C. Hoppin in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1900 iv. 443 ff. pl. 6 (part of which is my fig. 893) published a proto-Corinthian *ibythis of the early seventh century at Boston (inv. no. 6508), interpreting the main scene as a Centaur attacked by Herakles (sheathed sword, branch, tree-root). K. F. Johansen *Les vases siciliens* Paris—Copenhagen 1923 p. 146 ff. fig. 109 pl. 22, 2 d thinks that we have here an early version of the Lapith *v Centaur myth.* E. Buschor *'Kentauren'* in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1934 xxxvii. 128 ff. fig. 1 rightly recognises Zeus with a sword at his side, a sceptre in his right hand, and a thunderbolt in his left, but would have us believe that the horse-monster is Typhon. To my thinking, this thunderbolt-bearing figure strongly supports our explanation of the axe-bearing figure as Zeus.

ii. 620 Sucellus the mallet-god. For a Cornish counterpart of Sucellus see *'Jack of the Hammer,'* whose exploits are told by W. Bottrell *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* Penzance 1870 p. 10 ff. He passed as 'a travelling tinkard... hammer in hand,' but proved more than a match for Tom the eight-foot giant-killer. 'The tinkard, taking his black-thorn stick in the middle, made it spin so fast that it looked like a wheel flying round Tom's head and ears.... Tom didn't know the play:'—though the few downright blows he gave came down with the force of a sledge hammer.

Fig. 893.

they had no effect on the tinkard, because he wore a leather coat, the like of which was never seen in the west country before. This coat, made of a black bull's hide, left almost whole, was without a seam, and dressed with the curly hair on it. On the breast, back, and shoulders it was as hard as iron, and roared like thunder whenever Tom struck it, which made him think he had to deal with the devil.' Etc. See further Keune *'Succellus'* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 240—240.

ii. 620. Thor's hammer used as a pendant or amulet is well illustrated by J. J. A. Worsaae *Nordiske Oldsager i Det Kongelige Museum i Kjøbenhavn* Kjøbenhavn 1859 p. 113 fig. 469 and P. Paulsen *Der Goldschatz von Hiddeense* Leipzig 1936 p. 65 ff. figs. 24—26 pls. 17, 2 and 23, (3).

ii. 630. Mrs A. Strong *'Sepulchral Relief of a Priest of Bellona'* in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 1920 ix. 205—213 pl. 26 discusses an inscribed tombstone from the Via Triumphalis, now in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana at Rome (Corr. inscr. Lat. vi. no. 2333—Dessau *Inscr. Lat. s. i.* no. 4182, Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw.* in *Rom* iii. 173 f. no. 3876). The relief shows L. Lartius Anthus, a *citophorus* and priest of Bellona *Pulvinensis* wearing a bay-wreath with three medallions (Mars, Bellona, Minerva?) and carrying in his right hand a bay-branch, in his left two small double axes.

ii. 632 n. 6 axes with animal heads. Other examples are collected by P. Couissin in the Rec. Arch. 1928 i. 261 ff. figs. 6, 7, 8, 9, 15.


ii. 635 f. Trojan axe-hammers of blue or green stone. H. Schmidt *'Zu den trojanischen

ii. 637 amber axes. An amber axe from Birka in Sweden is published by P. Paulsen *Der Goldschatz von Hiddensee* Leipzig 1936 p. 73 fig. 30 a.

ii. 637 Cretan double axes. S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1934 xlix Arch. Anz. pp. 251—254 records important finds made at the cave of *Arbalochori* in a hill 15 hours from Lykto. First children and then adults of the neighbourhood discovered in one corner of the cave a mass of bronzes and a pair of small double axes in gold. The authorities hearing of it intervened and appropriated some twenty gold double axes, leaving perhaps another ten in the hands of the rustics. Bronze double axes, knives, and swords were found in considerable numbers, all heaped together in a space of two or three square metres. The small double axes of gold (ib. fig. 3 shows four) are decorated with a leaf-pattern which points to the beginning of the ‘Late Minoan ii’ period (1450—1400 B.C.) or else with engraved lines of a more usual type. A few axes are of silver. The whole treasure had been sealed up by a fall of rock, probably occasioned by an earthquake. But votive offerings continued to be made at the mouth of the cave down to the end of the ‘Minoan’ age and even later (a few proto-geometric finds?). Marinatos concludes: ‘Es erhebt sich die Frage nach der Gottheit dieser an Funden bisher reichsten Kultohle Kretas. Sollte sie nicht die berühmte Hölle des Zeus und der Rhea sein [supra ii. 925 n. 1], die manche in Psychro zu finden glaubten? Reports in *The Times* of June 26, 1935 p. 13 and in *Antiquity* 1935 ix. 354 mention that the recent excavations in the *Arbalochori* district have found hundreds of copper ‘Minoan’ axes (one with three lines of hieroglyphic inscription (c. 1600 B.C.), a number of silver axes, and twenty-seven gold double axes with golden shafts. These finds have been taken to the Candia Museum for cleaning. See further Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 1. 346 f. fig. 290 (three gold axes, enlarged) and 378 fig. 315 bis (four miniature bronze axes). S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 i Arch. Anz. pp. 248—254 figs. 3 (gold model of mountain?), 4 (bronce double axe), 6 (the ten hieroglyphic characters of the inscribed double axe) now concludes: ‘Da sich aber nach Abschluss der Grabung ergab, dass die Hölle nichts jüngeres als SM.I enthielt, gehören m.E. auch die goldenen Beile in diese Zeit,’ etc. F. D. S. Pendlebury *The Archaeology of Crete* London 1939 pp. 213, 234, 256 pl. 36, 3 (three gold axes).

ii. 641 n. 2. Recent writers on Charon are B. Schmidt. ‘Charon in the *Arcbe f. Rel.* 1927 xcvii. 79—82; F. de Ruyt *Charon démon étrusque de la mort* Bruxelles 1924 pp. 1—305 with 58 pls. (reviewed by A. Grenier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 ii. 128—131, by F. Pfister in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 28, 1935 p. 1992 f., by H. J. Rose in the *Class. Rev.* 1935 xlix. 24 f. and in *Gnomon* 1935 xi. 278 f.). Schmidt holds that the Etruscans, originally dwellers in Asia Minor, owe their conception of Charon to the influence of Assyrian demons. Rose makes the further helpful suggestion that Charon’s mallet or hammer on Latiscian soil was the double axe of a thunder-god, which might well be used by an underground power to produce the subterranean thunders that portended death (cp. *Plin. nat. hist.* 2. 138)—a view anticipated by me supra ii. 641.

ii. 643 n. 3 fig. 559. With the upper end cp. the votive terra-cotta *ktelis* in the Berlin Antiquarium (H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1916 ii. 76 fig.), also the votive marbles in *Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 164 nos. 1954 ff., 1651, 2730.

ii. 643 n. 7 designs incised on neolithic celts. O. Tafrafi in the *Rev. Arch.* 1931 i. 26—28 figures a flat celt of smooth stone bearing an incised quadruped and inscription. This suspicious-looking object is said to have been found at Kadasani, near Petelicen, in Moldavia. Prof. Tafrafi deems it to be of neolithic date and comparable with finds at Glozel!

ii. 643 ff. designs incised on double axes of bronze. In a small collection of ‘Minoan’ double axes I have two which, on account of their decoration, are deserving of special notice.

One is an almost oblong axe of bronze (fig. 894 a, b, c. Length 7½ inches) with dark green patina. On either side of it is incised a lion recumbent on rough or rocky ground with whisking tail. I obtained this axe from a Cretan vendor with no indication of its *provenance*. But Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury tells me that he had already seen it at Mokhos, 14 hours south of Malia. He adds: ‘It comes from a place called Moupí (the “meeting place”), where are MM and LM sherds, close by a small lake 1½ hour east of the village. There is an EM site on a hill 15 minutes to the north-east called *Eikos or 'Ampara* and, from somewhere not far off come Neolithic sherds. Classical-Roman, near Moupí.'
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The rocky ground is characteristic. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 450—454 dilates on the 'Minoan passion for rock scenery': cp. e.g. Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 848 pl. 16, 12 and 840 fig. 424 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 3, 2 and 46, ii. 14 and 16 = H. T. Bossert *The Art of Ancient Crete* London 1937 p. 36 pl. 231

Fig. 894
fig. 394, a and p. 37 pl. 235 fig. 398, g. The same feature recurs on occasion in later Cretan art (supra i. 528 fig. 394).

The second axe (fig. 895 a, b. Length 7½ inches) was found near Athens. It is of yellow bronze with blackish patination, in part scrubbed off by sand-paper. Its outline is of a later type with more pronounced curves, and it is decorated on both sides with pointillé patterning. Within a border of chevrons are a man, a waterfowl, a horse, and a wheel. I have suggested (supra p. 605 n. 3) that these are the constituents of a solar...
equipment as rendered in the Hallstatt period. If so, the axe was presumably in some sense a sacred object.

ii. 645 n. 4 the soul as a butterfly. The Copenhagen gem (fig. 552) is now included in P. Fossing *The Thorsdalen Museum: Catalogue of the antique engraved gems and cameos* Copenhagen 1929 p. 91 no. 504 pl. 7. The Berlin amphora (no. 1634) is figured by H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Zürich 1928 Ergänzungsband p. 73.

ii. 648 n. 1 axe-pendants from Benin. P. Amaury Talbot *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults* Oxford 1937 p. 8 'A considerable number of examples of the old Minoan double-headed axe cult were found in other parts of West and Central Africa' (criticised by A. R. Wright in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 215 f.).

ii. 656 n. 0 ingots. C. T. Selman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 1 ff. figs. 1–4 points out that these ingots were cast in the shape of an ox-hide dried and stretched, one side rough and hairy, the other raw with inward curling edges, just because they were an ox-unit, the price of an ox in base metal. *Cp. id. Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 7 f. with figs. 1 and 2. K. Regling in *Ebert Reallex. iv.* 1. 233 with pl. 100, a–d still (1926) speaks of them as 'die doppelheilförmigen Kupferbarren des Mittelmeergebieten.' H. T. Bossert *The Art of Ancient Crete* London 1937 p. 43 pl. 277 fig. 528, a–c is non-committal. But Selman is clearly right.


ii. 664 fig. 603. This bronze plaque is now at Berlin (photograph in F. J. Dölger *IXΟΥΟ Münster in Westf. 1923 ii. pl. 33). A marble altar of *II* (i.e. (ii) A.D. from *Ionia, Phrygia (Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople iii. 52 ff. no. 846 with 4 figs.),* has reliefs on its front, back, left, and right sides. (a) On the front, a rider-god on horse-back, brandishing a double axe, galleys up-hill; above him is inscribed θεός ἀνθρώπινς Τιός *Οίνος καὶ Δαίμονις Πατρὸς Πατρὸς.* (b) On the back, a draped goddess holding grape-bunch and cornu copiae stands on a small plinth beside a fruitful vine and a large krater. (c) On the left side, Asklepios with oval object (fruit? egg?) and serpent-staff stands on a small plinth: above him is inscribed Ἀσκληπιός καὶ Ἀσκληπιάς, οί Ἀσκληπιάς Θανάτου Κεφαλαίων. (d) On the right side, Nemesis draped and veiled holding scales (?) and cubit-rule stands on a small plinth between two thick garlands terminated at either end by three ivy-leaves.

ii. 665 n. 1. See further K. Tümpele *Der Karabos des Perseus' in *Philologus 1894 liii. 544–553.

ii. 666 n. 1 Cancer, 'the Crab.' D'Arcy W. Thompson *The Emblem of the Crab in relation to the sign Cancer' in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* 1899 xxxix. 603–611 maintains that the crab as divine attribute or emblem regularly presupposes the constellation Cancer, which was *domus Lunae, exaltatio Jovis, ideo Mercurii, etc.*

ii. 667 n. 3 fig. 606. *Cp. Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 1547 f. no. 2326 pl. 78, 12, McClean Cat. Coins i. 238 no. 2032 pl. 65, 3. Syll. num. Gr. ii pl. 26, 794 f. Lloyd.* Since on a later tetradrachm of Kamarina Λ + θ is the beginning of an artist's name (Syll. num. Gr. ii pl. 29, 868 Lloyd), presumably that of Exekestidas (ib. pl. 29, 871 Lloyd), *Ionice Exekestides,* it is probable that Λ + θ on the Agrigentine coin stands for the name of a magistrate or artist Exakestidas, grandfather of the later engraver. *For + instead of Λ see W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1907 i pl. 3 ('Westliche Alphabete').

ii. 673. A bronze coin of Chersonesos Taurike, struck c. 300–200 B.C. copies the Tenedian combination of god and goddess (Ant. Rückl. Berlin Taurisch Chersonesus, etc. i. 3 pl. 1, 7 Artemis and Herakles, *Head Hist. num.* 3. p. 379 young Dionysos (?) and Zeus(?), E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pl. 4, 7 Artemis and bearded Dionysos (?). I have another specimen of this scarce coin, and I incline to agree with Head that the type represents Dionysos and Zeus).

ii. 675 androgynous deities. See now the important study of J. Halley des Fontaines *La notion d'androgynie dans quelques mythes et quelques rites* Paris 1938 with 16 figs. pp. 1–131 (pp. 216–219 'Résumé et conclusions').

ii. 681 figs. 621–624. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'historie des religions* 1936 xcii. 75
observes that in the tree-cutting scene on the coins of Aphrodiasis the second man averts his face owing to a sort of visual taboo, for which parallels are cited.

ii. 687 rock-carvings of the hafted axe. At the base of Ben Vorlich, not far from the shore of Loch Lomond, a great rock called in Gaelic Clach nam Tairbh, 'The Rock of the Bulls,' bears the rough outline of a hafted axe (A. D. Lacaille in Folk-Lore 1930 xii. 233 ff. pls. 4 and 5).

ii. 688 ff. n. a. M. C. Burkitt 'Rock Carvings in the Italian Alps' in Antiquity 1929 iii. 155—164 with map and pls. 1—7 discusses the designs rock-marked on the red rock-surfaces of Monte Bego and attributes them to seasonal pilgrimages of a neighbouring agricultural population made during the Bronze Age at different dates but in all cases prior to c. 300 A.D. (absence of Christian symbols). P. Reinecke in Germania 1934 xviii. 46—48 reports on two sandstone blocks in the Val Camonica and would date their drawings to the pre-Roman Iron Age or more probably to the Bronze Age. P. Jacobsthal 'Celtic Rock-Carvings in Northern Italy and Yorkshire' in the Journ. Rom. Stud. 1938 xxviii. 65—69 accepts the contention of F. Altheim and E. Trautmann 'Nordische und italische Felsbildkunst' in Die Welt als Geschichte 1937 iii. 85—113 that the largest of all rock-carvings in the Val Camonica (fig. 3 = Jacobsthal pl. 9, 1) represents the Celtic stag-god Cernunnos with a small-scale worshipper. See further sid.' Neue Felbilder aus der Val Camonica: Die Sonne in Kult und Mythos' in Wörter und Sachen N.F. 1938 i. 12—45 pls. 1—32.

ii. 690 Penelope's marriage-test. E. Westermark The History of Human Marriage* London 1921 ii. 490 notes that among the Mundas of Chota Nagpur the bridegroom shoots an arrow through the loophole formed by the bride's uplifted arm, and suggests that this was a magical means of securing the bride's safe delivery. I suspect that we have here the ultimate explanation of the marriage-test proposed by Penelope.


ii. 699 "wine-skin" and "hatchet." 'Y.' in The Cambridge Review 1926 xlvii. 468 draws attention to a better solution of this long-standing problem propounded by S. Koujeas 'ΑΣΚΟΣ-ΠΕΛΕΚΤΣ in Hermes 1926 xlii. 478—480, who remarks that at Abia in Lakonike words meaning 'wine-skin' and 'hatchet' are used in popular speech to denote the contrast of light and heavy: thus πράσινον 'έμποτα 'he swims like a wine-skin,' νάχων επι 'έμποτα 'he swims like an axe.' The visitor bouncing the baby says the tactful thing.

ii. 699 small bronze axes. F. Haverfield in The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Norfolk London s.a. i. 192 fig. 9 illustrates a tiny bronze axe found at Caister-by-Norwich (Vesta Ionenum).


ii. 707 n. 1. E. Kalinka in the Jahresh. d. ost. arch. Inst. 1933 xxviii Beiblatt p. 69 ff. no. 17 gives a facsimile of this inscription, and dates it in 68 A.D.

ii. 723 Zeus Hērēkias at Olympia. On the exact site of this statue see E. N. Gardner Olympia Its History &c Remains Oxford 1925 p. 274.

ii. 724 n. Ο. On oaths that must be taken in the open, not under a roof, see P. Sartori 'Das Dach im Volksbrauch' in the Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde 1915 xxv. 234 f., Weiser in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 124.

ii. 725 fig. 660 f. A. Della Seta Italia Antica Bergamo 1922 p. 252 fig. 281 has a photograph of this statue with the arms restored as holding a bow in the right hand, a hawk (?) in the left.

Fig. 896.

ii. 727 Zeus and the boar. The stèle of Zeus Karaíos at Thespiai (infra on ii. 874 n. 2) has three reliefs—a filleted bacranium, a boar's skull, and a boar's jaw (?) (P. Jamot in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1922 xlvi. 152 with fig. 37).

ii. 727 n. 3 Zeus in relation to oaths. An engraved gem of pink jasper (?), found in Makedonia and now in my collection (fig. 896: scale ί), shows Sarapis (bilateral, wheat) standing before Zeus (sceptre, thunderbolt) and between them the word ΩΜΟΙ:CA. Fairly good Hellenistic work. Possibly the seal of some public functionary.

ii. 731 fig. 663 Zeus wielding thunderbolt. A. Rumpf Chalkidische Vasen Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 13 f. no. 10 pls. 23—25.


M. P. Nilsson * Homer and Mycenaen* London 1933 6. 267 with fig. 56 claims that a Cypro-Mycenaean vase of c. 1300 B.C. found during the Swedish excavations in the upper burial stratum of chamber tomb no. 17 at Enkomio, represents 'Zeus taking the scales of destiny in order to determine the fate of the combatants, a famous scene of the Iliad,' etc. But Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 659 n. 2 fig. 646 justly demurs. The scene is merely commercial, or at most a matter of ransom.

Fig. 898.

ii. 739 ff. early types of Zeus advancing from left to right. C. D. Bicknell suggests to me (Jan. 3, 1934) that a precursor of Zeus advancing with bolt and bird may be seen on a pitch-lead from Knossos, Cretan work of c. 700 B.C., published by S. Marinatos in the *Jahrh. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlvi. Arch. Anz. p. 311 figs. 20 and 21 (=my fig. 898), cp. T. B. L. Webster in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1939 lix. 103 fig. 1. Pl. 1xxi is from a photograph procured for me from H. G. G. Payne through the kind offices of my old pupil Mr E. J. P. Raven. The lid shows a nude male figure advancing to the right with a triple lightning-fork in his right hand, a bird on his left. Before him is a tripod, on which is another bird with a third on a stone beside it. Beneath the tripod a human head rises from the ground (as central support of the tripod: *supra* ii. 193). Marinatos comments: 'Es handelt sich wohl um eine mythologische Szene.' But it is possible that the 'tripod' was meant for an altar, and that the head seen on the face it marks it as the altar of the advancing god. The interpretation is very uncertain.

A bronze statuette (height σ'168") : bright green patina), later in the Tyskiewicz and Dutuit collections, and now in the Petit Palais at Paris, represents a nude bearded male figure advancing to the right with his right arm raised and his left thrown forward—the whole on a bronze base inscribed ΗΒΡΙ[Σ]ΤΑΣ]

ΕΠΟΙΧΕ. Peloponnesian work of 600—550 B.C. K. Wernicke in the *Röm. Mitt.* 1889 iv. 167 f., cp. p. 339 took the subject to be a young warrior with spear and shield. But most critics have assumed Zeus fulminant (W. Fröhner *La collection Tyskiewicz* Munich 1892 p. 18 pl. 21 (=my fig. 899) ('Un angle perchait sur le revers de la main gauche du dieu; cette main est d'aillleurs perforee'), Reinaich *Rép. Stat.* ii. 1 no. 2, A. Furtwängler *Kleine Schriften* München 1913 ii. 467 fig. 9, G. Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 33, A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas sur Religionsgeschichte*
Pithos-lid from Knossos, Cretan work of c. 700 B.C.: Zeus advancing with triple lightning-fork and bird.

See page 1148 and page 1150 fig. 898.
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Leipzig 1928 xiii./xiv. p. ix fig. 116 (‘um 460 v. Chr.’), W. Lamb Greek and Roman Bronzes London 1929 pp. 95 (c. 530 B.C.), 148 f., 153 pl. 32. a. Fröhner’s facsimile of the inscription is repeated in Inschr. Gr. Pelop. i no. 1476.

Between April 1926 and September 1928 a magnificent bronze god was fished up piecemeal from a depth of more than 25 fathoms in the sea off Artemision. It seems to have formed part of the cargo on board a ship, which was carrying barrels of late

Fig. 899.

Hellenistic style from northern Greece towards Rome, but foundered in a gale off the upper end of Euboea. If so, the statue had probably been pillaged from some temple in Thessaly or Chalkidike or even Thrace. After careful cleaning from accretions and corrosions, the whole figure (c. 2.10 m. high) proved to be a nude bearded god striding forwards with right arm drawn back and left arm outstretched—one of the most impressive of all Greek statues (Ch. Karouzos ‘The Find from the Sea off Artemision’ in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1929 xliv. 141—144 figs. 1 and 2 pls. 7 and 8, id. ‘Ο Παναχάς τοῦ Ἀρτέμισιος’ in the Αρχ. Δελτ. 1930—31 xiii. 41—104 figs. 1—42 pls. 1 (=my fig. 900)—5, H. G. Beyen La statue d’Artémision La Haye 1930 pp. 1—55 pls. 1—13 with further bibliography p. 1 n. 1). Several problems arise: (1) To what period, school, and sculptor

C. III. 73
should it be assigned? It belongs clearly to the later part of the transitional period when fighting-man developed into fighting-god (supra ii. 730 ff., 1332 ff.) and may be dated c. 460 B.C. Beyen attributes it, on rather insufficient grounds, to the Siclyonian school; Karouzos, more explicitly, to the Siclyonian-Boeotian school of Kalamis. (2) Votive figure or cult-image? Hardly the latter. A cult-image should be strictly frontal: the worshipper expects to find a propitious and friendly presence, not to be met by a tremendous antagonist in the act of hurling a missile! (3) Zeus or Poseidon? The attitude would suit either, according as we assume thunderbolt or trident in the right hand. Karouzos and Beyen think that the fingers imply a cylindrical trident loosely held rather than a tightly grasped thunderbolt: yet we must remember that the Greek thunderbolt often had a rounded handle in the middle, to prevent the god burning himself. They note further that there is no trace of an eagle on the extended left hand, and that there is a marked resemblance to the head of Poseidon (certified as such by the trident over his shoulder) in a terra-cotta relief at Munich (Furtwängler Glyptothek zu München² 3. 74 f. no. 62). On the other hand it must be admitted that the striding-warrior type points primarily to Zeus fulminant and only secondarily to Poseidon.
Indeed, Poseidon leaning on a trident, or striking with a trident, may be fairly frequent. But Poseidon hurling a trident is quite exceptional; and where he is so represented, as on the early silver coins of Poseidonia, he regularly wears a chlamys over his arms. Also the head, with its neat plait twisted round trim locks, its long silky moustache, and its full beard with undulating strands, seems too refined and dignified for any deity beneath the rank of Zeus. I conclude that the originator of this remarkable type was deliberately portraying Poseidon in the guise of Zeus (cp. supra ii. 795 n. 3 figs. 762–764). After all, Poseidon was but a by-form of the greater god (supra p. 736). J. Jüthner,

however, in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1937 lxii. 136–148 decides for an athlete hurling his aboption!

ii. 741 Zeus Ithomatas. C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1932 lxii. 799 claims that the Brussels tetradrachm of Zankle-Messana (supra ii. 794 f. fig. 757), which should be dated ca. 461 B.C., the year of liberation from the tyranny, has on the obverse a figure, not of Poseidon, but of Zeus fulminating (*Num. Chron.* 1883, p. 168) which closely resembles the Zeus Ithomatas on coins of Messenia from 359 B.C. onwards (*B.M.C. Peloponnesus*, Pl. xxii, 1, 6, 7, 10). Thus the Messanians of Zankle showed their sympathy with the Messenians, who in 461 were being besieged on Ithome. Apparently, therefore, Hagelaidas made the statue before 461, therefore at
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Ithome, and not at Naupactus after 455 B.C. This agrees with other dated works by the sculptor and does away with the need either for inventing a younger sculptor of the same name, or for assuming his unnatural longevity.

ii. 745 n. 4. F. Matz 'Ein Zeuskopf in Villa Borghese' in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1931 xlv. 1-31 with figs. 1-21 and pls. 1 and 2 reaches the following

Fig. 902.

ii. 746 n. 2 pl. xxxii, 1 silver statuette of Zeus. A. W. Van Buren in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1937 xii. 489 ff. fig. 6 (= my fig. 901) illustrates a silver bust of ‘Jupiter,’ which was found in 1924. In a crushed state, at a Roman station on the Little St Bernard (‘Moni Minoris Jovis’) together with a patterned silver ribbon and a figure of Heracles within the front of a small shrine, likewise of silver (P. Barocelli in the Not. Scavi 1924 p. 391). The bust has now been restored and installed in the Museum at Aosta. The thunderbolt in relief on the right side of the chest implies that the silversmith was copying some statue of the god with that attribute in his right hand.

ii. 748 f. beardless type of Zeus. T. Birt ‘Anxius und Anxius’ in Glotta 1917 xv. 118 discusses the epithet of the Volscian Jupiter Anxurus (on whom see E. Aust in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 640 fig., id. in Pauli—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2653) and supports the derivation from Άξως, already given by Serv. in Verg. Aen. 7. 790 circa hunc tractum Campaniae colebat puere Iuppiter, qui Anxurus dicebatus, quasi Άξως, id est sine novacula, quia barbam numquam rassisset, et Iuno virgo, quae Feronia dicebatusa, cp. Akron in Hor. sat. i. 5. 26 Anxur [autem] dictum, quod ibi inberbis Juppiter colitur.

ii. 752 the eagle of Zeus. R. J. H. Jenkins (June 3, 1930) notes: ‘With regard to eagles and Zeus, it is interesting to recall that some 3000—4000 B.C. A-anii-padda built a temple to the Earth Mother Nin-khursag at al ‘Ubaib, and over the door flew the eagle of the sky-god, Im-dugud.’ See C. L. Woolley The Sumerians Oxford (1919) p. 40 f. fig. 10.

ii. 754 n. 1 Tavium. P. Kretschmer in Glotta 1925 xiv. 304 derives the name of the town Tavium ‘von einer vorphrygischen Stammmform Ταῦς = Zeus, wie die bithynische Stadt Ταῦς (Strabo [543 f., 565]), kontrahiert Τεῶς (Τεῖαν ο[ν] α[ν]τός, 5. 7. Τεῖαν Πτολ. [5. 1. 7]) von der phrygischen Namensform Ταῦ-’, armen. Ταῦ = gr. Δαὖ.’

ii. 757 n. 8 the chronology of Pheidias’ career. Recent discussion by G. Lippold ‘Das Ende des Phidias’ in the Jahrh. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1923/4 xxviii/lix. 135—155 (Pheidias was already at work on his Zeus c. 448, but may well have been simultaneously engaged upon his Athena), H. Schrader Phidias, Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 27 (his Zeus must be dated between c. 460 and 448, i.e. before his Athena), W. Judech ‘Zum "Phidias-Papyrus"’ in Hermes 1925 lx. 30—48 (rejects H. Schrader’s view: holds that Pheidias finished his Athena in 438/7, retired to Elis in 433/2, and was at Olympia making his Zeus from 432 onwards), E. N. Gardner Olympia Its History and Remains Oxford 1925 p. 240 f. (his Zeus should be dated 438—432, i.e. after his Athena), C. Picard in the Revue de l’histoire des religions 1926 xxiii. 80 n. 3 (accepts the finding of H. Schrader), G. M. A. Richter The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks Yale Univ. Press 1929 pp. 166—170 (the later dating of Zeus ‘would seem to be the more likely,’ but ‘We must leave it an open question whether Pheidias left Athens in 438 or in 432’).
The contest continues.

ii. 759 the marble statuette of Zeus at Lyons. Espérandieu Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom. iii. 46 f. no. 1810 with three views.

ii. 760 n. 2 throne-legs of white marble. Cp. the statue of Zeus (?) enthroned found in Delos (J. Chamonard in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1933 lvi. 155 ff. fig. 16) and the statuette of Kybele enthroned from a neighbouring site (id. in Dellos viii. 1. 250 with fig. 97).

ii. 760 f. Alexander’s reversion to a pre-Pheidias type of seated Zeus. One of the town-gates of Thasos, which can be dated 415—411 B.C., is adorned with an archaising relief (G. Mendel in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1900 xxiv. 560—569 pls. 14 and 15 wrongly dated c. 470 and interpreted as Demeter with Iris, Nike, or Hebe. J. f. Baker-Penoyre in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1909 xxix. 223 says more correctly ‘the fine relief of Zeus and Nike.’ C. Picard ‘La porte de Zeus à Thasos’ in the Rev. Arch. 1912 ii. 43—76, id. ‘Encore la porte de Zeus à Thasos’ id. 1912 ii. 389—398, id. in the Revue de l’histoire des religions 1926 xxiii. 81 n. 1 recognises Zeus and Iris). Within a naiskos, the pediment of which is surmounted by an eagle with spread wings, sits Zeus on a throne with back, arm-rest, support in form of dancer (cp. supra p. 682 f. 492, 493, p. 705 fig. 517), and footstool. He wears an Ionic chiton and himation with formal pleats, holds a long sceptre
in his left hand, and fingers a tress of hair with his right. Before him stands Nike, winged and wearing chiton and himation.

ii. 764 ff. Modifications in the shape of the thunderbolt. E. Unger 'Dreizack' in Ebert Realex. ii. 462 deals with the near East (Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, Asia Minor). G. Furlani 'Fulmini mesopotamici, hititici, greci ed etruschi' in Studi Etruschi 1931 v. 203—231 is a careful and well-documented survey, but without illustrations.

At Rūs el-Šamaūrā, 'Fennel Head,' the capital of ancient Ugarit, some ten miles north of Laodikeia on the Syrian coast, Prof. Claude F. A. Schaeffer, Director of the French Archaeological Mission, in 1933 recovered from a small sanctuary in the western periphery of the great temple a splendidly preserved stèle (14th, high), which shows on the reverse relief Ba'al and, under his protection, a small man—probably a local king. Ba'al brandishes a club in his right hand and holds in his left a stylised thunderbolt of unique design. Above, it seems to be an elaboration of the bipartite fork with zig-zags. Below, it ends in a straight shaft and fine spear-head. The date appears to be 12 xiv B.C.

(C. F. A. Schaeffer in The Illustrated London News for Feb. 11, 1933 p. 212 with figs. 5 and 15 on pp. 178 and 181, Mille M. Ruten in the Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art Le Musée du Louvre: Canaan, Phénicie Paris 1937 ii. 102 with fig. [= my fig. 901]).

As to the thunderbolt on coins of Olympia, another specimen of the very rare 'fly'-type (supra ii. 781 pl. xxxvi, 5) is now in my collection. Mr C. T. Seltman informed me (April 25, 1934) that one or two examples of a late drachmi had come to light, on which the handle of the bolt took the shape of a small human head, perhaps Keranos. I am indebted to Mr E. S. G. Robinson for the casts from which my fig. 903 was made. But I should prefer to describe the little facing head as a Gorgoneion, with obvious allusion to the agla of Zeus aglaophos, and Mr Robinson (Sept. 7, 1938) agrees that the head is probably that of a gorgon.

ii. 782 sacrifice to living animals on Greek soil. The goddess Boumbrostis, to whom a black bull was sacrificed at Smyrna (Metadrosor of Chios (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 205 Müller)=frag. 3 (frag. gr. Hist. i. 266 Jacoby) ap. Plout. symp. 6. 8. 1 ἐδόκει δ' Ἡ βουμπροστή ἔτρευ Ομηρος ἐκ ἅτι τοῦ θυσίατος τῶν Βασιλέων ἐκ τῶν Ἠρωισμοι ἐκ τῶν Ἐρμομεντῶν ἢμικράσ. ἢ ταῦτα ἔξαγεν ἢ μεγάλα καὶ μεγαλόντας ταῖα ἑλέους) may well have been a personified Gaia (see W. Leaf on II. 24. 532, but also O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 933). An Athenian inscription of the early fourth century B.C. prescribes Κοῦν πορναρά τρία (Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 672, 9), on which see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff Jyllas von Epidaurus Berlin 1886 and supra p. 1085.

ii. 784 Keranos. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xcviii. 81 n. 3 suggests that the small figure beneath the throne of Zeus on the gateway at Thasos (supra on ii. 760 f.) may be 'une personification de la foudre.' Improvable.

ii. 788 n. o. Two five-pronged forks, aptly illustrating the πυερατομά of II. 1. 463 = Od. 3. 346, were found in a 'Depotfund' of c. 3000 B.C. at Tecchiarello di Pianina in the province of Massa-Carrara and are now at Florence (F. von Duhn in Ebert Realexx. ii. 378 no. 118, id. 'Pempoholon' in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1916 xlii Arch. Anz. pp. 331—334 fig. 1).

ii. 789 ff. the trident as a lightning-fork. See now G. Furlani 'Sulla preistoria del tridente di Posidon' in Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni 1932 viii. 42—47 with figs.

E. F. Coote Lake 'Shrove Tuesday in South Dalmatia' in Folk-Lore 1927 xxxviii. 371—375 describes the Carnival at Cattaro in 1922, when a young man wearing a black mask with sheep's horns and carrying a small black trident, about two feet long, leapt high in the air throughout the procession. Lake suggests (p. 374) that this was magic to make the crops grow high, and that the magician bore 'his old trident-thunderbolt as part of the fertility rites.' Possible, but precarious.

Sir John Marshall's discovery of a chalko-lithic civilisation on the Indus has enabled us now to trace the figure of Civa back to a period c. 3000 B.C., when he appears as an ithyphallic god with bull's horns and a raised point between them. Sir John suggested to me in conversation that this arrangement of two curved horns and a central spike may have developed at a later date into Civa's attribute the trident.

ii. 802. In Jan. 10, 1927 I saw two other specimens of the M. Herennius terra cotta belonging to Messrs W. S. Lincoln & Son. One of these corresponded closely with that
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described by Mr. E. J. Seltman (supra ii. 1235) and was obviously modern. The other, of heavier make and devoid of the signature T. AF, represented three herms in juxtaposition—Poseidon, Zeus, Hades—all wearing kalathoi and each marked in front by his attribute. Was this M. Herennius the decurio of Pompeii who was struck by lightning on a cloudless day (Plut. nat. hist. 3, 137: F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 664)?

ii. 803 the Etruscan sidental. See further G. Furlani 'Il sidental etrusco e un' iscrizione di Tiglatepileser I d' Assiria' in Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni 1930 vi. 9—49 (reviewed by G. B. Pighi in Aevum 1930 iv. 415—417 and by L. Banti in Studi etruschi 1931 v. 614).


ii. 808 n. 6 (6) Zeus Kerainios in Moesia Inferior. C. M. Danoff 'Eine neue Weihung an Zeus Kerainios aus Niedermoesien' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1936 xxxiii. 166—169 with

![Fig. 904.](image_url)

fig. (=my fig. 904) publishes a rectangular limestone altar of Roman date found in 1925 at Tirmeso near Nikopolis. Its dedication runs 'Αγαθή Τύχη | Διό Κερανίων | Έπιφανου | Βελείδη | Εκτροπος [ | Ουτος ο ολοκληρωτις και τετων ἀντικειμενος] | Δε....... | Σαριου | κατ' των τετων κατ' αυτών | [Δ]ίων ευχής χάρον ἀνέστησεν. The husband's name was perhaps Δικαιός or Δικαιομεν.

ii. 808 n. 1 (13) Zeus Kerainios in Thessaly. A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the 'Αρχηγ. Εφ. 1924 pp. 143—146 no. 388 fig. 2 (=my fig. 905) publishes a stele of local grey marble, found in the ruins of a temple of Zeus at Python (Topholie) in Thessaly. This is inscribed in lettering of c. 300 B.C. or a little earlier [Διο των Πυθιων Αριτωνοι] [Δ]ικαιός and bears a relief representing Zeus as a bearded god, in a kōnasion, striding from left to right. His raised right hand brandishes a bolt; his outstretched left has an eagle on the forearm and appears to touch the apex of a tombstone, round which is a bound fillet painted purple. To the right of the tombstone stands Epinike, fully draped and perhaps carrying a phiale. Kern thought her a priestess, but Arvanitopoulos with more probability supposes that she was the wife of Δικαιοκράτης, that her husband had been killed by lightning, and that she put up this votive relief to avoid sharing in his fate.

ii. 808 n. a (17) Zeus Kerainios at Rome. This inscription is included in the latest (1933) fascicule of the Corp. inscr. Lat. vi. 4 no. 36802.

ii. 811 n. 5 fig. 777. Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 48, 4, ii. 4 comments: 'früher Sammlung Blacas...wohl Titus oder Domitian.'

ii. 812 fig. 778. C. T. Seltman in The Cambridge Ancient History Cambridge 1934 Plates iv. 144 fig. b speaks of a small Cupid (wing and lower part only preserved) helping to support the huge thunderbolt.' I see rather a Giant with snaky legs and curled wing. The Pergamene frieze had set the fashion.
ii. 814 n. 3 with fig. 780 the relief from Emesa. Similar reliefs have been found at Palmyra (Tudomar). H. A. Seyrig in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1933 xlvi Arch. Anz. pp. 715–747 figs. 1–9 presents a preliminary report on the excavations carried out there by the French Department of Antiquities in 1930–1933 and supplements on many points the handsome work of T. Viegand and his colleagues (Palmyra Berlin 1932 i. 1–171 with plan of town, ii pls. 1–100). It appears that the Palmyrene temple was dedicated on April 6, 32 A.D. to the triad Bel, Iaribol, and Aglibol. Somewhat later it

was surrounded by four colonnades, on the north, east, and south by a double row of lower columns, on the west, where the main propilion lay, by a single row of higher columns, all of the Corinthian order, but unfuted. Work began at the north-west angle in early Flavian times, and continued along the north, east, south, and west sides, reaching completion c. 150 A.D. Within this great quadrangle, some 200 m square, still stands on its broad podium a Corinthian pseudodipteral temple (8 x 14 columns, fluted) with the foundations of its altar on the north and its lustral basin on the south. It had originally two pediments and was quasi-Greek in plan, a north-to-south oblong with a door at the southern end. The plan, however, underwent sundry modifications. The southern door was built up. A fresh door was opened in the western side, south of its centre. A couple of dromos was constructed at either end of the naos. The northern dromos, with much mythological decoration, seems to have housed the psephroi of Bel—the sun-god Iaribol and the moon-god Aglibol. These names suggest that the principal

Fig. 905.
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Palmyrene god was properly called Bol, not Bel, the latter spelling being due to Babylonian influence. The southern adyon, with simple geometric and plant designs, was possibly used for the lexisterminum of the god. The roof of the northern adyon is a square monolith hollowed out to form a dome, which is decorated with hexagonal compartments containing busts of the seven gods of the week—in the middle Jupiter, round him Sol, Mars, Luna, Venus, Saturnus, Mercurius—and ringed by the signs of the zodiac with four eagles in the spandrels. Bel was clearly conceived as a cosmic power. The lintel of the adyon-door (cp. supra ii. 431) showed a great eagle with spread wings seen against a background of stars and flanked by Iaribol on the right and probably Aglibol on the left. On a level with the eagle’s claws is a long snake, symbol of the sun’s course, between six balls representing the other planets. Lastly, the space between the columns and the north-wall was spanned by a series of vertical slabs supporting the roof of the pylon and carved with reliefs illustrative of the cult. The reliefs have been studied by H. A. Seyrig ‘Bas-reliefs de la cella du temple de Bél’ in Syria 1933 xiv. 245—306 fig. 3 lintel, fig. 5 dome, id. ‘Bas-reliefs monumentaux du temple de Bél à Palmyre’.

Fig. 906.

ib. 1934 xv. 155—186. One of them (ib. 1934 xv. 178—181 fig. 2) renders Iaribol in military dress, with rayed nimbus and sceptre, standing between Aglibol, likewise in military dress but with crescent horns and spear, and a fully draped goddess with sceptre (Bélis?)—a fairly close parallel to the relief from Emesia. Another (ib. 1934 xv. 173—178 pl. 21) shows Aglibol joining hands with a second and ill-preserved god over an altar set out with pine-cones, a pomegranate, and an apple, above which hovers an eagle bearing a snake (?) in its beak and a palm-branch in its talons. The scene takes place in a sanctuary marked by a cypress-tree etc. Fortunately a Palmyrene relief at Rome with a bilingual inscription enables us to name the second god Malachbelos (W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Leipzig 1913 i. 566 f. no. 988, Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 177 no. 5, Stuart Jones Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome p. 257 f. Scala v no. 3 pl. 100. Inscr. Gr. Sic. It. no. 971 ‘Αγλιβόλος καί Μαλαχβέλος πατρόκνη τεύτων καί το σύνο κυριον εν τω ταυτί κόσμω ανεθές. [. . .] Τ. Ἀγλιβόλος Παλαμύρας Άρματος Παλαισμός εν των ιδίων υπερ [σωτηρίας αυτοῦ καὶ τ(ος) σωμάτι καί τ(ος) τεσσαρ. έτεος ζειω (547 Seleucid era = 235 A.D.) μφητ Περιονίων. —another solar power (W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2393—1301, K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xiv. 814—828).

ib. 818 f. Zeus Zebltheus with snake. C. Picard in the Revue de l’histoire des religions 1926 xclii. 77 n. 3 cp. a small unpublished bronze in the Musée Saint-Pierre at Lyons, which portrays the god with a snake rolled round the arm that holds the thunderbolt. But does this betoken his aigis?

G. I. Katsarov in the Bulletin de l’Institut archéologique bulgare 1934 viii. 44—68 lists new dedications to deities, e.g. ‘rough statues of...Zeus Zebltheus, Kybele, Mithras, Dionysus, etc.’ (D. M. Robinson in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1936 cl. 140).
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ii. 823 n. i. Dionysos as ἡρως? W. R. Halliday, The Greek Questions of Plutarch Oxford 1928 p. 29 prints my emendation εἴδεκεν ἥρως, αὐτὸν ηρως and p. 157 f. is 'inclined to welcome' it.

G. Seure 'ΝΕΟΣ ΗΡΩΣ, ΚΟΡΟΣ ΗΡΩΣ' in the Rev. Et. Gr. 1920 xliii. 241—254 discusses two sepulchral ιτικες from Odessos [Varna], one inscribed 'Αγαθόντωρ Απατούριου νεός ἡρως' (fig. 1), the other 'Αρεμβαρος Ναυπακτος, καθορώς ἢρως ομφαλος, χαῖρε (fig. 3).

ii. 824 ff. The whip of Zeus. L. Laistner Nibelungen Stuttgart 1879 pp. 45, 160 f. also cites from German folk-lore proof that lightning was regarded as a long whip held by a fiery female form amid thunder-clouds, as a blue whip held by the storm-god, etc. Stegemann in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens Berlin—Leipzig 1917 i. 1400 'Auch als Feitsche, Rute und Kugel in der Hand mythischer Gestalten dient der [B]itz.'

ii. 833 n. 8 with fig. 793. See now Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople iii. 47 f. no. 843 fig. Id. ib. p. 48 ff. describes and illustrates a series of small altars dedicated to Zeus Brotontes: (1) p. 48 ff. no. 843 with three figs. (= my fig. 906) (Ineunus, early s. iii A.D.) 'Αγαθόντωρ Τέχνη,' Διώ Βρωτοτέρων Ἐπικύρως θεῷ Δημήτριος Δαμας τοις τέχνησις ὁ Οὐρφαίης καὶ Δαιμόνιο | καὶ Χηρωνίης δικαίως | διῶς νεων ἀνέπτυχα. Front: bust of Zeus facing, with large garland round head; below, Hermes with caduceus, purse, and ram before a wreathed altar, on which is perched an eagle with a leafy sprig in its beak. Back: rosette between horns; bull running to right uphill. Left side: two-handled vase with grape-bunches; two bucrania with frontlets above plough. Right side: traces of bust with radiate nimbus. (2) p. 50 f. no. 844 fig. (Ineunus, early s. iii A.D.). Front: rosette and the inscription 'Αγαθόντωρ Τέχνη | Διώ Βρωτοτέρων Μέντων Θαλών σω | τῶν τεχνών καὶ ἔπιταγήν ἀνέπτυχα. Back: bust of god, bearded (?); eagle on wreath, below which is inscribed Δημήτριος, Sides: rosette above bucrania. (3) p. 51 f. no. 845 fig. (Cumaras, s. iii A.D.) 'Αγαθόντωρ Τέχνη | Διώ Βρωτοτέρων Μέντων [ ἐπί τοὺς καὶ | ἐπιτάγης ἀνέπτυχα]: Front: crescent; half-length bust of Zeus with short beard and long hair, eagle on right shoulder. Back: two bucrania above plough. Left side: rounded vase above thunderbolt. Right side: rounded vase with two handles, vine-branch. Supra ii. 836.

S. Ferri 'Nuovi monumenti plastici dello Zeus di Bitinia' in Historia 1931 vi. 238—233 starts from a bust of coarse-grained Asiatic marble (figs. 1—3) and a similar head (fig. 4) in the Museum at Brusa (Prona). Both are third-century effigies of Zeus, comparable with a head at Berlin (fig. 5) and with the inscribed bust of Zeus Brotontes in the British Museum (fig. 6 = supra ii. 837 fig. 794). Ferri goes on to consider analogous heads in later art, e.g. the silver bust of Zeus from Little St Bernard (fig. 7 un-restored, supra p. 1153 fig. 901 restored), which he regards as descended from the original type of the Bithynian Zeus.

But by far the most important contribution to our knowledge of Zeus Brotontes is the painstaking study by C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron in Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiquae Manchester Univ. Press 1937 v pp. xxxiv—xxxiv. These two scholars in the course of a four-weeks' vacation (March 26—April 21, 1931) traversed the districts of Dorylaeum and Nakoleia, and catalogued there no fewer than 325 monuments, 283 for the first time. Among the new finds are 56 dedications to Zeus Brotontes: and a useful compendium of previously published inscriptions is added by way of appendix (pp. 172—176). A propos of 'sepulchral-dedicatory inscriptions' the authors comment (p. xxxvii): 'It is curious that nowhere else in Asia Minor should epithets explicitly combined with dedications have been found or epithets concealed beneath dedications have been reasonably suspected; that the area should be virtually identical with that of the Zeus Bronton cult; and that Zeus Bronton, though by no means monopolising the dedications of the region and very far from dominating the coin-types, should virtually monopolise the dedicatory epitaphs.... It may well be that the explicit dedication of the grave to the god was here thought to be the most effective means of rendering it inviolable, and that Zeus Bronton receives the dedications, not only as the most prominent local deity, but as the god who made his presence felt most potently and whose wrath might most drastically strike down the impious or, by drought or storm, devastate their means of livelihood.' But Cox and Cameron 'regard it as still open to question whether Zeus Bronton was a chthonic deity' (p. xliii) and urge that inscription no. 225 (Sevilt Gazi [Nakoleia]) Θεός Καρθαγηνος και [Διώ Βρωτοτέρων] "need not imply any intimate connection" between him and the Θεός Καρθαγηνος, though they hasten to add: 'None the less, if only from his constant association with the tomb, Zeus Bronton no doubt came to be conceived as having a chthonic aspect' (p. xliii). They demur (ib.), perhaps rightly, to my contention that he was served with mystic rites in a cave (supra ii. 836 ff. ζῆλος, θελος), and note (p. xlii) that he and Apollo 'may
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have been σωματες θεοι (nos. 173 Αυτακις, 181 Κυουκις). Lastly, they dissent from Sir W. M. Ramsay's view that Zeus Brontōn was called 'the Father god' and 'the Victorious Father' ( ventured ii. 836). In inscription no. 232 from Σεπίτ Γασί (Nakoleia) Ἄνω Βορράτην εὐλήνη καὶ ταρπα θεόω it seems probable that, as Körte thought (A. M. xxx, 1900, p. 443), ll. 3—4 link to the dedication to Bronton an epitaph to the dedicator's father, now dead and deified, and not a further dedication to a deity known to the citizens of Nakole as Παρθά θεός (p. 111). 'Even in the Nauclean village dedication Νεάκρως καὶ Τυγκαί Δια Βορράτην και Νεάκρως ταρπα (Ann. dell' Inst. xxiii, 1861, p. 188, no. 38, at Ayvalik)'... we incline (partly owing to the resemblance of the names) to see in Νεάκρως ταρπα the deceased father of Neikanor... and not a god Νεάκρως Παρθάς (p. 112).

ii. 836. On Zeus as 'Hearer of Prayer' see the valuable article by O. Weinreich 'ΕΔΟΙ ΕΠΙΚΟΟΙ in the Ath. Mitth. 1913 xxvii. 59—68 (especially pp. 55—56) and an interesting supplement to it by the same author in his Gehet und Wunder Stuttgart 1919 pp. 200—204 ('Die θυσίαι am Himmel, beim Ort der Gebetsandienzen. Eine Interpretation von Lukian. Ikaromenippos 73 ff.').

ii. 838 Dionysios Brömios. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1916 xxiii. 83 n. 2 would explain the appellative by a reference to R. Pettazzioni I misteri Bologna (1925) pp. 1—40 ('Il rombo').


ii. 861 fig. 799. The fragmentary replica at Athens is included in O. Walter Beschreibung der Reliefs im Kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen Wien 1923 p. 74 no. 175 fig. Another, better preserved, was found at Tragurium (Τραγύρι) in Dalmatia in 1928 and is published by M. Abramici 'Ein neues Kairos-Relief' in the Jahresh. d. a. oest. arch. Inst. 1930 xxvi. 1—8 pl. 1 with figs. 2 and 3. A relief at Petrograd is similar, but has the bearded type of Kairos (E. Curtius in the Arch. Zeit. 1876 xxxvii. 8 pl. 2, 1 condemns it as a forgery, Reinsch ῎Ιτης. Reliefs iii. 490 no. 3).

ii. 863 n. 1 fig. 801. H. Volkmann 'Studien zum Nemesiskult' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1918 xxvi. 298 no. 4 with fig. 2.

ii. 869 n. 2 Zeus Ακτάλας on Mt Pelion. The alleged discoveries of A. S. Arvanitopoulos stand in much need of verification. On June 27, 1934 Dr N. Bachtin wrote to me from Athens to say that early in May he had visited Πλάστδι and found the place indicated by Arvanitopoulos 'still covered with deep snow.' Dr Bachtin continues: 'The πόλεμος was nowhere visible (though I cannot absolutely assert that it does not exist, since it might have been under the snow). Moreover, there is not a single sherd anywhere round to suggest the idea of a site that has ever been built on. Three weeks later I returned there with Mr Wade-Gery of Wadham. There was still too much snow to allow a thorough examination, but all that could be seen fully confirmed my suspicions, and Mr Wade-Gery agreed with me entirely. After that, I had the opportunity of meeting in Volo Giannopoulos... and mentioned my fears to him. He too expressed the gravest doubts as to the reliability of the results claimed by Arvanitopoulos.' With praiseworthy persistence Dr Bachtin visited Πλάστδι yet again in the summer, when the snow had melted, and camped there for some time. He reports (Dec. 11, 1938): 'I found that the site I had examined with Wade-Gery in the spring was not the one which Arvanitopoulos meant: the supposed temple site is just above it—on the very summit marked 1548 on the Greek sheet map. The shallow cave, or rather hole, is just below the trig. point and there seem to be some traces of a wall running from summit 1548 towards the lower summit marked 1529. There are also bits of tile... That is all, so that my conclusion remains substantially the same: Arvanitopoulos' sketch of his 'excavation' is pure invention.'
ii. 874 n. 2 Zeus Karaios. A. Plassart in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1926 ii. 399 ff. no. 17 gives the text of the dedication from Thespiai (supra on ii. 727) to σφεχην Θείον | Καραίον άνθήσει | Πολύονον | Σιλευκόν | Πνευσίματος | Δαμωνότερον | Διόνυσον | Μένεν | Αντιφόρον | Ανάστατον. He cp. a stèle from Akraiophon, now at Thebes (inv. no. 957), inscribed Λαον | Διόσ | Κεραία and perhaps another from the same town inscribed Κέρασι (P. Derrizet in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1898 xii. 253 no. 7 had transcribed it as Κεράσι).

ii. 875 n. 1 (1). E. Sittig should have said Erythrai, not Smyrna (L. Robert in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1933 viii. 472 n. 5).

ii. 876 n. 1 Zeus Hippistas. Further evidence includes the following items: (5a) Sparta. A. M. Woodward in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1923—1924 xvi. 222—224 publishes three dedications on small marble altars, perhaps used as building material, in the theatre at Sparta: no. 16 Διώ | Τύιόστερ | Νεώλφερ | εύχηθεν, no. 17 Διώκληδος | Διώ Τύιόστερ | εύχηθεν, no. 18 'Αρθαδέσιον δούλον | Κλαυμ. Προεδρικού θυσίας Διώ Τύιόστ[ερ] | εύχηθεν with an epigram restored by A. W. Wilkins [θρακεασεί | καιροίς | ψυχή | | θρακείας] | βορράς τις | είς δόμον | θόου | εκκραδίζεται | εύχητα (or θρακείας): "θυσία | γι' αρμ] (C. Picard in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1913 xxvii. 100 no. 8 (a broken slab of white marble at Thessalonike) Θεου 'Τύιόστου κατ' ευχήταν ΙΩΥΕΛ ("L’existence d’une colonie juive à Thessalonique dans l’antiquité [Acts 17, 1] fait supposer que le Θεός Τύιόστος est ici, comme en d’autres cas, le Jahvé des Hébreux"). This gifting of Jewish henotheism on to a Greek stem is comparable with St Paul’s treatment of the dedication Άγνωστος θεός (Acts 17. 23). C. F. Edson in the Harvard Theological Review 1936 xxxix. 62 no. 53 reports that Ch. I. Makononas has found more Zeus Hippistos inscriptions at Kastani in Makedonia.


A. Plassart in Delos xi. 289—293 ("Le sanctuaire de Zeus Hippistos") includes fig. 234 ground-plan, figs. 233 and 236 views, fig. 237 four leaden "figurines d’envoltement" found in the precinct, and one inscription on a white marble block Πολύονον Πνευσίματος Διώ Τύιόστου and | άνθήσεως | βορράς | δί Τύιόστου | άνθήσεως. "The god on the car, Benneus or Zeus Bennios, was the peasant-god, the trainer of men in the art of agriculture. He lives in legend as Gordius, whose ox-drawn car was preserved as a holy relic at the Phrygian Gordion. [Swoboda in Paulus—Wissova Real-Enc. vii. 1159 f. A. Korte Gordion (Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. Ergänzungsheft v) Berlin 1904 p. 16 already claims that the famous waggon was first meant for Zeus [supra i. 338 n. 2 and later transferred to the 'Bauernkönig' Gordios]."

(23) Phrygia. Sir W. M. Ramsay Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation London 1937 pp. 182—189 devotes a chapter to 'The Waggon (Benna) and again concludes (p. 188): 'The god on the car, Benneus or Zeus Bennios, was the peasant-god, the trainer of men in the art of agriculture. He lives in legend as Gordius, whose ox-drawn car was preserved as a holy relic at the Phrygian Gordion.' [Swoboda in Paulus—Wissova Real-Enc. vii. 1159 f. A. Korte Gordion (Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. Ergänzungsheft v) Berlin 1904 p. 16 already claims that the famous waggon was first meant for Zeus [supra i. 338 n. 2 and later transferred to the 'Bauernkönig' Gordios]."


(25) Paphgeonia. E. Kalinka in the Jahrb. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1933 xxvii Beiblatt pp. 64—66 no. 33 with fig. 31 publishes the 'Vogelfels' at Kuskhaja near Amstrais. An

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ii. 890 n. 2 Mt Taygeton. D. W. Freshfield Below the Snow Line London 1923 pp. 124–128 describes his ascent of this mountain (7874 ft.): 'The highest top of Taygetus lies some twelve miles south-south-west of SpartÃ. The peasants who make a pilgrimage annually to the chapel on the summit in the month of August follow a path which climbs to the village of Anavryti, on the middle shelf of the mountain, and then slants upwards to a gap in one of the spurs and across the upper slopes to the saddle north of the culminating crest...The top of Taygetus has been curiously treated. When I reached what had from a distance looked like a dilapidated stone man it proved to be the ridge of the roof of a small chapel. The rest was buried under snow-whirls, which choked up a little stone enclosure and several cells built round it...I envied the pilgrims who watch sunsets and moonrises here in August. It was just mid-day when I arrived, and local mists were playing round the mountain, which promised, and before long produced, a brief thunder shower. The distant panorama was imperfect; but I saw a great deal under beautiful shifting lights. To the north the eyes overlooked all Peloponnesus to the v apours that rested on its northern heights. To the west the green hills of Messenia glowed in sunshine; its great bay swept round in a wonderful curve, and beyond lay Pylos and the distant islands. At our very feet a little town hung over its haven, a tiny bay of the Gulf of Kalamata. To the south the long promontory of Cape Matapan stretched out, peak beyond peak, all far below me. A transparent opalescent mist hid Crete, but only veiled Cythera.'


J. P. Harland 'An Inscribed Hydria in Aigina' in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1925 xxix. 76–78 fig. 1 f. publishes a bronze hydria found by L. Curtius (1906) in an ancient cistern high up on Mt Oroë. Round the rim of this beautiful vessel runs a dedication in lettering of c. 470 B.C. ΠΛΑΟΝ: ΕΚΕΣΟΕΝΕΣ: ΑΛΕΟΕΝ: ΗΠΙΟΙ: ΠΡΟΚΛΕΟΣ: ΗΕΛΛΑΝΙΟΙ: ΔΙΙ 'P lathon (and) E cheathenes, sons of Procles, dedicated (this) to Hellanios Zeus.' Id. Prehistoric Aigina Paris 1925 p. 83 adds: 'Professor Ludwig Curtius wrote me that a roof tile with several letters of the god's name had been found on this site.'

G. Welter 'Der Heilige Berg des Zeus Hellanios' in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1938 liii Arch. Anz. pp. 8–16 republishes this hydria (fig. 3 f.) and goes on to describe his own excavations of August 1933. He laid bare a terrace, approached by steps and partly cut out of the rocks, on the northern slope of the Oroë (fig. 5 f.). On the terrace are the foundations of a hostel for pilgrims, which could be dated by sherds of 'Megarian' bowls, to the Pergamene period of Aigina (210–133 B.C.). The actual altar of Zeus Hellanios occupied the highest point of the Oroë, where there had been a Late Mycenaean settlement (fig. 7 plan). The summit on its west and south sides was partly encircled by a retaining wall and built up to form a round platform comparable with the γυδί κυμα (Paus. 8. 38. 7) on the top of Mt Lykaion (supra i. 81 f.). It was further equipped in Hellenistic times with hostels and stoas, suggestive of games perhaps held below on the level at the foot of the terrace. Bronze coins of Pergamene date, struck either at Pergamon or more probably in Aigina, have άδω, the head of Aiakos, rev. Α[ ] τ ] ΝΗ nude archeia Apollon advancing to right with filleted bay-branch and strung bow (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 145 pl. 36, 4 f., H. Thiiersch 'Aginetische Studien' in the Nachk. d. Gesellschaft. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe 1938 pp. 141–147 pls. 1–3). Aiakos was appropriate as the forefather both of the Aeginetans and, through Pergamenes, of the Pergamenes. G. Welter Aigina Berlin 1938 includes p. 91 f. a brief chapter on 'Die Kultstätte des Zeus Hellanios auf dem Oroë' and p. 123 the 'Fasti' of the site. The Late Mycenaean settlement on the summit was vacated c. 1325 B.C.; 'Geometric' sherds found there imply the arrival of the cult, which thenceforward was kept up throughout the whole classical period. The lay-out of the terrace and the building of its hostel may be dated c. 170 B.C. From the ruins of this
building, in Byzantine times, was constructed the monastery of St Nikolaos. That in turn was left derelict in the middle ages, and is now succeeded by the church of the Taxiaruchs.

ii. 895 n. 1 Zeus Aphesios. On the cults of Zeus at Megara—Zeus Olímpios (Paus. 1. 40. 4), Aphesios (1. 44. 9), Kóntes (1. 40. 6), with the Muses (1. 43. 6)—see now E. L. Hightower The History and Civilization of ancient Megara Pt i (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology No. 2) Baltimore 1927 pp. 41—43. K. Hanell Megarische Studien Lund 1934 pp. 79—82 deals with Zeus Aphesios and his relations to Zeus Apešántios (Zeus Aphesios is the alte Gott des argivischen Apeasberges, dessen Kultus die Argiver nach Megara mitgebracht haben, wo der Kultus, wie die Funde zeigen, in der geometrischen Zeit gegründet wurde... An den Kultus des Zeus Aphesios knüpft sich wie in Argos die Flutsage. Stifter des Kultus ist ein der Flut geretteter Heros [supra li. 897 n. 1], in diesem Falle ein Sohn des Gottes selbst und Επώνυμος des Landes. Sein Rettungsgeschichte übrigens in einer sehr eigenartigen Weise, indem er dem Geschrei fliegender Kraniche nachschwimmt. Hierdurch wird noch eine schöne Etymologie gewonnen [Paus.

Fig. 907.

1. 40. 1 ἀλλὰ—νήχησαν γὰρ πετομένων ἀγάλματος τρόπῳ τὴν βολὴν τῶν ὀρίων αὐτῶν—Διὰ

tοῦτο Γεράκιαν τὸ ὄρος ἀναμαθήσατο], und eigentlich ist dieser Zug hinreichend, um die

ganze Geschichte als späte dichterische Erfindung zu charakterisieren).

ii. 898. To the mountain-cults of Zeus in Boiotia add that of Zeus Keraios at Akraiaphia and that of Zeus Keraios at Thespisi [supra on li. 874 n. 3).

ii. 899 n. 1 Herakles Chórps. N. G. Pappadakis 'Περί τοῦ Χάρυπτου τῆς Καρπείας'

in the 'Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1916 ii. 217—272.

ii. 901 n. 2 Mt Parnassos. D. W. Freshfield Below the Snow Line London 1923 pp. 128—130 gives the height of Parnassos as 8064 ft. and says of his ascent: "When I got to the top a faint gleam was already visible in the eastern sky. It quickly deepened and broadened until, without warning, a spot of light shone on the dark sea horizon, grew to an arch, and in a few moments the sun's orb was floating on the sky. To the sailors on the Aegean it had not yet risen, and it was some minutes before a path of light flashed across the waters to Euboia. Then the long backbone of the great island stood out with all its heights and hollows blue against the golden east, throwing a clear-cut shadow on the strait that divides it from the mainland. The plains of Boeotia next took the day; the mist rose from its lakes, and the rivers flashed out as silver threads across its broad fields. On the northern horizon, beyond the Gulf of Volo, Pelion, Olympus, and
even distant Athos took shape as grey phantoms. Still the shores of the Gulf of Corinth were slow to awaken. Night hung reluctantly over the Adriatic long after Attica was in broad day. But at last the veil of twilight was lifted everywhere; hills and valleys, cities and harbours stood out clear and distinct in local detail and colour. I shall not attempt a catalogue of the famous sights in view. I had had that rare enjoyment, a most successful sunrise, worth a night in the open, and worthy of the Poets' Mountain.' Fig. 907, which shows the summit of Parnassos as seen from the south-west, is from a photograph taken by Mr C. M. Sleeman on Sept. 9, 1926.

ii. 902 n. 2 Mt Kenia. N. Pappadakis in 1924 attempted to locate the sanctuary of Zeus Kinaiaos. He found a massive precinct-wall, 27th thick, extending for a stretch of c. 50m. The side towards the sea was missing, but three angle-towers were preserved. Neither temple nor altar came to light (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1924 xlviii. 480, A. M. Woodward in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1925 xlv. 324, E. H. Hefner in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1925 xxix. 142). Resuming his search, Pappadakis discovered that the precinct was pentagonal. On the south and south-east the wall had been largely destroyed. The angle-towers also had suffered. They were well built with regular courses of ψέκταν blocks. The walls, 3rd thick, had two faces of proisiodomous masonry with internal filling, the stones being taken from the Lichades. Minor finds were disappointing—a large marble phiale near the north tower, sherds of Graeco-Roman date (none older than c. 300 B.C.), etc. Within the precinct stands the Church of St Constantine (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1926 I. 554 f.).

ii. 903 Akarnania. At Stratos the temple of Zeus occupied a commanding hill-top. A. K. Orlandos "Ο Λαός Ἐρυθράς ἐν τῇ Ἀκαρνανίᾳ ἀναφέρεται τοῦ Δέλτα" in the Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1923 viii. 31—51 with 43 figs. and 2 pls. purports to give the first full account of the building. But it is not free from inexactitudes, and the author seems to have poached unduly upon the preserves of the French School at Athens, which had been at work on the site intermittently ever since 1892. We must therefore rely on the definitive publication by F. Courby—C. Picard Recherches archéologiques à Stratos d'Acarnanie Paris 1924 pp. 1—124 with 78 figs. and 19 pls. The temple—possibly not the first on the spot—
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was built c. 330 B.C. It is a Doric peripteral structure of fine grey limestone with 6 x 11 columns as yet unfluted. Prōnaos and episthōmos had each two columns in antis. Within the naos were Ionic columns, ranged round three sides of it, and these may have carried a carved (?) frieze and dentils. The roof was perhaps, but not certainly, hypaethral. A. Joulin in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1893 xvii. 451 f. no. 4 = Inscr. Gr. sept. iii. i 1 nos. 447 f. published an inscription which proves that at Stratos in i. ii B.C. slaves were manumitted by a deed of sale to Zeus: lines 3-5 read (Courby—Picard p. 13) [ Κεϊθος Δεκανών Στράτον Ταύς Διττας Ήλευθερίας Σώματος ΚΕΙΝΗΣ] ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝ ΤΑΥΣ ΔΙΤΤΑΣ ΉΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ ΣΟΜΑΤΟΣ ΚΕΙΝΗΣ Κ. Κ. Λ. ii. 904 Mount Ossa. I am indebted to Dr N. Bachtin for photographs of the mountain and of the chapel on its summit taken by Mrs Bachtin in 1934. Fig. 908 shows Ossa as seen from Speilia on the north-west. Fig. 909 gives the entrance into the little chapel of

Fig. 910.

Hagios Elias. Steps down lead to a doorway, within which is a round-headed arch. The roof of the chapel forms the actual summit of the mountain. 'People nowadays prefer to worship St Elias lower down in the valley.'

ii. 904 n. 1 Zeus Laphystios. N. I. Giannopoulos in the *Arch.* Eph. 1925-1926 pp. 183-185 figs. 1 a, 1 b (= my fig. 910 a, b) publishes a bronze statuette ploughed up in a field among the ruins of Halos, where once stood the sanctuary of Zeus Laphystios. It shows a bearded male figure advancing with right hand raised and left held forward. If, as seems likely, this was meant for Zeus, his right hand must have brandished a thunderbolt, his left may have carried eagle or sceptre (?). Hair projecting like a cap, wedge-shaped beard, mere holes for eyes, incised lines for mouth, triangular chest with two small projections for nipples, double belt above, single belt below—the whole suggesting a date c. 700 B.C. Reinach *R.P. Stat.* vi. 164 no. i.

ii. 905 n. 2. My friend and colleague Mr C. M. Sleeiman on Sept. 3, 1926 and again on July 14, 1929 made the ascent of Mt Olympus and secured a series of excellent photographs. These include my pl. lxviii Mithna, the highest peak, as seen from the Ridge, fig. 911 the 'Throne of Zeus' from Mithna Ridge, fig. 912 Sketion from the Brèche, fig. 913 the chapel of St Elias (supra i. 103) from the south-west.

ii. 906 Mount Tomaras. E. Polaschek in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi a. 1697 f. draws attention to a group of mountain-names found mainly, if not entirely, in the Illyrian area: (1) Tomor on the Dalmatian coast, north-west of Ragusa; (2) Tomar on in northern Epeiros, east of Berat; (3) Tomaros or Tomoros, the modern Olička, south-west
of Dodona; (4) *Tndrian* in Arkadia (Hesych. *_Τμάρως* ή *Άρκαδια*). Whether these names are of Greek or Illyrian formation is uncertain (H. Krahe *Die alten balkan-illyrischen geographischen Namen* Heidelberg 1915 p. 58). N. Jokl in Ebert *Realex.* vi. 34 decides for the latter. In either case they would be connectible with the root *ten-* of *τείω*, *τεῖ*, etc. and so signify ‘sheer-cut’ or the like (cp. *Τίμω*, *Τίμωρα, Τομές*, *Τόμος*). In Greek times such mountains would be the natural habitat of Zeus. That is certain for Mt *Tomasos* or *Tmidos* near Dodona (Claud. *de bello Getico* 16 ff. iactent...Minervam...caeso *Tomari Iovis augure luco* | arbore praesaga tabulas animasse oquaces, Hesych. *Τμάρως* ή *εῖν χω *Δωδώνη*, where the priests of the god were called

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Fig. 911.

toμεύροι (Strab. 338 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τομάρου των ἀπὸ τοῦ τουργού λεγόμενοι ὑποβρύχα τοῦ
Δωδώνη, οὐ δὲ αὐτάκτος, χαμακεύας καλεῖ, τομεύρους φασὶ λεγόμενοι κ.τ.λ.) οἱ τόμεύροι
(*supra* ii. 693 n. 3). It is probable also that Zeus was worshipped on Mt *Tomori* near Berat, to judge from the sacred character of that mountain and from certain cult-usages reported by recent travellers. To attest these curious and little-known facts, I cite three eye-witnesses:

J. Swire *King Zog’s Albania* London 1937 p. 250 ff. describes in graphic terms his ascent of *‘Tomori’s holy summit’* and *ib.* p. 255 gives the local legend: *‘One August 25 long ago...Abas Ali came from Arabia to Berat; and mounting a great white horse (which has left hoof-marks upon the mountain) he fought the barbarians of the neighbourhood. When he had overcome them he rested for five days on Tomori, then went to dwell on Mount Olympus; but every year he returns on August 25 for five days, when*
there come Bektashis—and Christians too—sometimes eight or nine thousand people, to pay him homage. They bring their sheep for food, slaughter them on the summit, then take them down to their bivouacs by the tekke. So Tomori is a holy mountain and per Baba Tomorit a sacred oath. The shrine was built, so Baba Tyrabiu told me, on the site of an antique pagan shrine, so Abas Ali probably inherited his supernatural powers from the pagan god he displaced.' *Id. ib. p. 280* mentions a sacred cave made by Mahomet with 'passages which may not be defiled by man; and they lead underground...to the top of Tomori and to the tekke on the crag above Kruja.'

R. Matthews *Sons of the Eagle* London 1937 p. 273 ff. (*'A mountain of Zeus') has much the same tale to tell. He too climbed the mountain under the guidance of a kirjee, who had been up it often before and said: "Last year there had been twelve hundred sheep sacrificed on top, or it might be fifteen. And it didn't do to be disrespectful about these matters either." When asked why the mountain was so holy, he replied: "Many hundreds of years ago...there were two brothers, very holy men, who lived in Arabia. One day they arrived in Albania: no one knows how, some say through the air. The younger of the two set up his house in Berat, where he was highly venerated for his sanctity and became the patron saint of the town. But the elder brother, Ali, was a great warrior. Through all the countryside he rode on his wonderful horse, challenging and conquering the barbarians who lived around. His horse could cover miles at a single bound. You may still see the marks of its hooves on the rocks of Tomori...At last a day came when Ali had overcome all his enemies. So he retired to the summit of Tomori, to
the spot where the shrine stands to-day. For three days he meditated alone there on the fate of his foes and the future of his country, Albania. Then one last time he vaulted into the saddle of his great horse. Through the air it bore him to the top of Mount Olympus, in Greece, and there he lives for ever. But every year, on August 15, the day when he and his brother first arrived in the country, he returns to Tomori's summit. For three days he remains there to receive the homage of his people. And it is because of that and because of his guardianship that Christians and Moslems alike make their pilgrimage every year and for three days offer sacrifices at the shrine. "Living for ever on Olympus... Then it was indeed to Zeus, under this so thin disguise, that the people of southern Albania still paid their homage." *Ibid.* p. 285. "All I could feel as I halted finally beneath the shadow of the shrine was a sentiment of immense pathos. For hundreds of years, thousands probably, pilgrims had been making their way up the great mountain to sacrifice to Something on the spot where we stood now... Round these few square yards had centred the reverence of tens of thousands of men populating a score of centuries. Yet they had left nothing behind to see. Just a sacrificial stone. And four bare walls. Unroofed. Partially breached on one side. The home of Zeus: the Zeus who had never died for the people of this country round. His last home on earth, probably, and he had not wherewith to cover his head. But it was easy to understand, lifting one's face to the strong clean wind that blew out of nowhere, that a god or a saint should have chosen the summit for his residence. Beneath, and to the west, the whole land lay stretched out and visible, to the distant silver of the Adriatic, eight thousand feet below; only in the south did the chain of the Acroceraunian mountains cut off the view. To the east, wave beyond wave of peaks, tumbling black in the sunset, conducted the eye to the imagined Serbian frontier. The evening haze had hidden from sight all trace of human habitation but one: a square white monastery, folded in a lonely pineclad valley at our feet on the further side, whose head was the guardian of the sacrifice. We stumbled down another stony path in the failing light. At the monastery the *babu*, a young and scholarly man, had more to tell (ib. p. 284 f.): "You must know...that the shrine isn't Tomori's only claim to veneration. Somewhere on this northern side, they say, is a crag from whose topmost pinnacle there springs an apple tree. I've never been near there myself, I only speak of what I hear, but every one talks about it. For this apple tree's fruits are of more than natural size. But so steep are the precipices that tumble beneath it that not the hardiest climber has yet been able to scale them to pluck one. Now and then, in
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the autumn, a windfall will roll down the rocks to the turf below. Peasants who pass at that time of year always look to see if there is one there, for those great apples, they say, have the power of healing all diseases. Even the dying, I have heard men say, can be brought back to life if such a fruit is given them." Mr. Matthews ends his narrative by noting the resemblance between Tomori in the north and Tomaros in the south: "se. p. 286 'If you go one way up Tomori to-day, you will eventually reach a village, itself called Tomori. Above it is a collection of ruins, so far unexplored, and known locally as Tytell (the city). And the biggest among them is named by the villagers Dodona.'

Mr. Hugh Hunt of the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, made the ascent of Tomori in the spring of 1929 and has kindly furnished me with an account of his experiences: "In a tekke (small monastery) at the foot of Mt Tomori I spent the night. I was on my way from Koritza to Berat...accompanied by an English police officer and an interpreter. We were welcomed by the monks, who were of the Bektashtie branch of Mohammedans. The monks professed great interest in the Christian religion and asked me many questions about the Anglican church, particularly about Saint George, whom they held in great reverence and whose feast day they celebrated. We learnt that on the following day a pilgrimage was to be made to the summit of Mt Tomori, where a sacrifice of a white bull was to take place, and accepted the invitation to join in this festival. On the following day we rose at dawnbreak and commenced the climb. The full complement of monks were in attendance—one forty in all—and a few servants. The climb was an arduous one and the day was hot. The summit was veiled in clouds—a good omen, the monks told me, for this indicated the presence of Zephyr, to whom the sacrifice was to be dedicated. I became interested, for although my knowledge of Greek mythology is remarkably small I began to see that there must be some connection between this cloud-loving deity and Zeus. But questions proved of little use; the monks appeared as little informed as myself; the ceremony was an annual rite—or perhaps of more frequent occurrence, for I am of the opinion that they informed me that they celebrated St George's day in like fashion, but I cannot be sure of this. We reached the summit—it was late in the day—and there we found a bull, brought up earlier by the villagers, and a fire was already kindled. The killing of this beast was an unpleasant spectacle, and I did not attend very closely, interesting myself in the glimpses of the valley below, which appeared every now and again like pools of water through the cloud rifts. Prayers were offered by the chief monk; and the bull, now happily released from pain, was hoisted on a stout wooden construction and roasted. So far as I remember, it had a garland of bright flowers round its neck; but these were, I believe, put on after its decease. I left earlier than the rest, accompanied by the interpreter and my companion, and regained the village after nightfall. What was the ultimate fate of the bull, I never discovered."

The foregoing statements appear to involve a threefold blend of Bektashti usage, common folk-belief, and classical reminiscence. On the Bektashti order and its syncretism of Islam with Christianity see G. Jacob Die Bektschijje (Abh. d. bayer. Akad. Philos.-philot. Classe xxiv. 3. 1) Munich 1909 pp. 1-53 figs. 1-3, also F. W. Hasluck Christianity and Islam under the Sultans Oxford 1929 ii. 859 Index s.v. Tomor, Mount (Bektasli tekke on, 1635, 548: Abbas All haunts, 935, 548, 5483: gold plant on, 6482: oath by, 5483). Folk-belief has provided the magic horse, the underground passages, the apples of immortality, the gold plant. Classical reminiscence will explain the hoof-marks on the mountains, the departure to Olympia, above all the survival of the name Zeha. Nevertheless, when due allowance has been made for all these factors, the abiding sanctity of the mountain, the annual pilgrimage to its summit, and the solemn sacrifice of a white bull by the assembled villagers are ample proof that the ancient cult of the sky-god on his holy hill goes on from generation to generation almost untouched by the passing changes of politics and religion.

ii. 996 n. 3 the stone ship of Agamanmon. W. Dörpfeld Alt-Olympia Berlin 1935 i. 265 cites as a possible parallel a ship-like foundation of river-worn stones in the Atlantis at Olympia.


ii. 910 n. 1. The great temple of Zeus at Akragas is still a battle-ground for the architects. R. Vallois in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1924 xxvii. 198 criticises the results reached by B. Pace (supra ii. 1227). S. R. Pierce 'Il tempio di Giove Olimpico a Girgenti Sicilia' in Architettura e arti decorative 1923/1924 iii. 385-391 returns to the charge. P. Marconi
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Agrippina. Topografia ed arte Firenze 1929 pp. 1—238 with 163 figs. (especially pp. 57—66 figs. 29—36)—an important work, of which T. Ashby in The Times Literary Supplement for May 15, 1930 p. 413 says: 'the excavations conducted some years ago in the vast temple of the Olympian Zeus..., which proved that the telamones faced outwards (and not inwards, as Pace and Pierce had believed), are for the first time adequately described.' P. Marconi 'Novità nell' Olimpione di Agrigento' in Dedalo 1932 pp. 165—173 gives 5 figs. of these telamones and a reconstruction. Lastly, W. B. Dinsmoor read a paper, as yet unpublished, on 'The Giants of Agrigento' at the General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New York 1935 (Am. Journ. Arch. 1936 xl. 126).

ii. 918 n. 1 Zeus Míthra. See the succinct article by gr. Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xv. 524. C. Bosch of Halle a. S. in the Numismatisches Literatur-Blatt 1932 xix. 2575 f. reviews Kruse's article and tries to discredit this apppellative: 'Vaillant und Fiorenze sind Minnet Gewährsmänner...Das Zeuge aber ist ganz wertlos, denn die Minnen sind bis heute nicht belegt.' Bosch wants to jettison all the early coin-men, Cohen included. That strikes me as hypercysceptical.

ii. 918 Mount Kynthos. Three years after the publication of my note the final and authoritative report of A. Plassart Les sanctuaries et les cultes du Mont Cynthos Paris 1928 pp. 1—319 with 260 figs. and 6 pls. was issued in Délos xi. The sections that chiefly concern me are pp. 51—69 ('Sonnet du Cynthe. Le culte de Zeus et d'Athéné aux temps archaiques'), 71—92 ('Sonnet du Cynthe. Le sanctuaire de Zeus et d'Athéné au temps de l'indépendance Délienne (314—166)'), 93—144 ('Sonnet du Cynthe. Le sanctuaire de Zeus et d'Athéné sous la seconde domination Athénienne'), 228—255 ('Sanctuary of the lante'). Plassart has here and there corrected my statements: e.g. on p. 66 n. 2 he regards as arbitrary my assumption that in 'Minoa' times the top of Mt Kynthos was tenanted by the earth-mother (Rhea) as well as by the sky-father (Kronos), and on p. 242 n. 4 he refutes my attempt to find traces in Délos of Rhea's lions. Again, he has succeeded in proving what—in spite of having visited the spot— I had never suspected, viz. that the supposed prehistoric cave-temple was in reality only a pseudo-antiquity, an artificial grotto put together in Ptolemaic times for Herakles as ancestor of the Ptolemies!

O. Rubensohn in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1931 xvi Arch. Anz. p. 360 f. adds some points of interest. In pp. 361—367 ('Zur Vorgeschichte des Delischen Kultes') he notes the small prehistoric settlement underneath the sanctuary of Zeus and Athena on the mountain-top as being of early Cycladic date and as probably postulating a cult akin to that of the Cretan Zeus; he connects with the same settlement two large Cycladic graves in the Témenos of Apollon—the θηρία of Opis and Arge (Délos v. 63—74 ('Le "Tombeau mycénien"')) and the σήμα of hyperoche and Laodiike (C. Picard—J. Replat in the Bull. Coll. Hell. 1924 xviii. 247 fl.) and he finds a survival of early Helladic worship in the altar of horns and its arcaic ritual (supra i. 482 n. 1, iii. 1087). In pp. 367—370 ('Zeus Kynthios und Athena Kynthia') he distinguishes an arcaic period when the square precinct had only a rock-cut altar in the midst; a third-century reconstruction with stairways, proßylon, peribolos, and two Ionic αἰθοί; and a later lay-out of three small terraces on the east side, of which the most southerly had an oblong building and a masonic inscription (supra ii. 919 with fig. 829) of doubtful significance, possibly the banquet-hall and lustral centre of some mystic society. In pp. 375—379 ('Das Höhlenheiligum am Kynthos') he accepts Plassart's dating of the bogus cave, but questions his interpretation of it as a Herakleion. Herakles in Délos was associated with the Kabeiroi (P. Roussel Délos Colonic athénienne Paris 1916 p. 232 f.), who had there two distinct sanctuaries, one on the left bank of the Inopos, the other described as τῷ Καστελλίῳ ἐπὶ ἄλλο Κύθων (Inscr. Gr. Delisci. i. no. 144. 490) and probably to be identified with the famous cave-temple.

Plassart in Délos xi. 265 records two inscriptions to Zeus Mégistos (e.g. Ἡλλόδωρος Διί | Μεγίστῳ | κατα προστάγμα | on a block of white marble found with some Roman lamps in the south-west portion of sanctuary c on the northern slope of Mt Kynthos) and justly treats him as a Semitic god.

ii. 922 Mount Atabyrian. R. Herbig in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1928 xiii Arch. Anz. p. 633 f. mentions as a new undertaking the excavation of the sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios. No remains of a temple were found, but a massive peribolos-wall (fig. 26) and a building of uncertain use ('Halle für Votive? Monumentaleingang?'). Many dedications of Graeco-Roman date, all to Zeus Atabyrios, made the votive reading. Votive objects included numerous small balls and zebras in bronze and two fine fragments of bronze statuettes representing the god (fig. 27).

O. Essfeldt 'Der Gott des Tabor und seine Verbreitung' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1934 xxxi. 14—41 claims that the name and cult of the Palestinian Tabor spread viá Cretan to
Rhodes in the second millennium B.C., and thence in 580 B.C. to Agrigentum and later to the Crimea (Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2103 b ('Prope Sympheropolin (Akmedsched), hau
d procul a montibus Taurorum') a base inscribed Διό Δαυ απόθεος Ποιάων χαρα-
further discusses the character of the god, who dwelt on a mountain and had the bull for
his symbol, concluding that he was a mountain- and storm-god comparable with Hadad,
Rimmon-Ramman, and Tels My, but also capable of taking an interest in human affairs.

ii. 939 n. 1 Mt. Juktas as a recumbent face. My friend Mr. N. G. L. Hammond
supplies me with a good Greek parallel. He writes (Feb. 25, 1931) 'The mountain
identified locally with Dion in repose is called Emértas (Gk. Εμερτηα). The Austrian
Staff map 1/200,000 (Korfu sheet 38° 40') wrongly calls it Nemérake. The mountain
lies on the Albanian frontier north of the headwaters of the Kalamas (in antiquity
Thymis).'

ii. 941 f. n. o. To the references for the tomb of Zeus add Ptol. Hephaist. ap. Phot.
Hedr. p. 147 b 37 ff. Bekker ως δ εν Κρήτης ταφος λεγόμενος του Διός Ολύμπου του Κρήτου
εΐστιν, δι παρά του Κρόνου λαβών του Δια άρτοθε τε και άταλαν το αθέα. άλλα γάρ βάλλει
(φοιν) δ Ζεύς τον τροφήα και διάδεκαλον κεραυνον, δη δη τούτο Ιέστανται από τη
βασιλεία.

Fig. 914.

ἐπιθέασαι ὑπετιθέta. ἀλλά βάλλει καὶ κεκρów ἕκας μετεμελεῖται. μη ἔξων δ' ἄλλως η τόθε
ἐκλάθαι, δίδως το άλοις δύναμι τῷ τάφῷ του άνεμωμένου. Ερείπιαν. aporr. 106 (l. 208
Dindorf) καὶ τι μα το πλῆθι λέγει του γεραιού τούτου φθοράς καὶ φθοράς διαδέξατο; αὐτο τι
κακόν οὖν δίδων ἔτει δίδων. ἐν Κρήτῃ γάρ τῇ νύμφῃ τού άρτοθε τού άνεμωμένος Δαυίδ
(φρ. Laithhi) ἐνθαρρυ βακτιλοθετήται.

ii. 946 n. o. Zeu5 Ενεδρον. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Gymnos 1930 vi. 428 cites
Inscr. Gr. inscr. v. 2 no. 1027 fig. (=my fig. 914) a white marble slab inscribed βουλή Δαυίδ
'Ενεδρίου, τῶν ἀπὸ Μαρκονόμον, μέλεις στηρεσσα. See further id. 'Zeusaltar aus

ii. 946 f. n. o. Ζευς Βελξανός. Attempts to connect Βελξανός with Volcanus are still
rife: see e.g. A. Nehring in Schrader Reallex. ii. 239 n. i, F. Muller Jn Altitalisches
ii. 321, Margherita Guarducci 'Velchanos—Volcanus' in Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo
Nosera Citta del Vaticano 1937 pp. 184—203 pl. 20, 1—4. But such proposals, however
specious, are of very doubtful value.

Prof. J. Vürthime of Leiden informed me (Feb. 13, 1926) that in a paper communicated
to the Royal Academy of Amsterdam and published in December 1924 he had inde-
pendently reached the same conclusion as Dr. Atkinson and myself, viz. that Βελξανός
means 'god of the Willow-tree.' See J. Vürthime Europa (Medailleungen der koninklijke
Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde Deel 57, Serie A, N° 6) Amsterdam
1924 p. 6 ff.

C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1916 xcvii. 92 n. o suggests that a
large vase (2) or ρυθέμιν (2) of enamelled gold, shaped like a cock's head, which is figured
among the presents of the Kefiu (Cretans?) in the second register of the tomb-paintings
of Rekhmaré (G. A. Hoskins Travels in Ethiopia 1835 col. pl. between pp. 330 and 331),
bore to the cult of Zeus Veilhónos the same relation as the lioness-heads of Knossos, Delphi, and Mykenai (in gold) to that of Hera. He also cp. a sherd of 1425—1123 B.C. found in the Valley of the Kings by Lord Carnarvon in 1920—21 (The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 1923 i. ff. pl. 80, 1 wrongly described as the earliest known drawing of the domestic cock in Egypt) and a genus (?) with a cock's head on a Cretan intaglio from Mt Ida now in the Museum at Candia.

More about cocks in magic and religion supra p. 45 n. 2. Add J. Praetorius Aleuver- 
manitia, Seu Diovinatio Magica cum Gallis Gallinacis ferracta ... Franciscofuri & Lipsie 1680 
93 ff. (Eros and Cocks!), Güntert in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens 
Berlin—Leipzig 1930/31 iii. 1325—1346 r.s.w. 'Hahn, 'Hahnenballen, 'Hahne, 
'Hahnenkampf, 'Hahnenkrähen, 'Hahnenflaschen, 'Hahnentanz,' D'Arcy W. Thompson 
A Glossary of Greek Birds Oxford 1936 pp. 33—44.

ii. 951 n. o with fig. 844 the Stroganoff bust of Zeus. O. Waldhauer in Archäologische 
Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen Berlin—Leipzig 1928 i. 1. 58 ff. no. 41 pl. 23 cp. 
a fine bronze head from the Uvárov collection, now in the Historical Museum at Moscow 
(ib. fig. 14, S. Reinach Recueil de têtes antiques idéales ou idéalistes Paris 1903 p. 194 
pl. 239).

ii. 960 n. o contact with Mother Earth. W. Kroll 'Unum exuta pedem—ein volks- kundlicher Seitensprung' in Glotta 1936 xxv. 152—158 questions my view of the 
Doddonean rule and discusses alternatives. His list of relevant usages is interesting, 
but—so far as I can judge—what he calls the 'Antiaxismotiv' remains the most probable 
exploration.

ii. 961 n. o. The cult of Hektor at Thebes in Boiotia (Paus. 9. 18. 5) is handled by 
Miss G. H. Macurdy in the Class. Quart. 1926 xx. 179 f. But her contentions (Hektor 
a shortened form of Eckhélos (cp. II. 5. 473) = Echeles, a god of death) are risque.

ii. 962 n. 2 Zeus at Ephesos. Excavations carried on from September to November 
1926 under the direction of J. Keil, M. Theuer, and A. Deissmann discovered on the 
northern slopes of Panakhir Dagh (Mt Peion) a number of rock-cut votive niches and 
near them a témenos of Zeus, Oretas (Kybele), and other deities. An altar-shaped 
rock is inscribed in lettering of x. v.b.c. Zoros | Páthelo | lipón, and a relief-inscription 
of c. 300 B.C. reads Zoros lepón Páthelo kai 'Apóllanos | 'Apolóssenos | róv Kn vêdès. 
The site yielded no temple, but many inscriptions together with eight complete and three 
fragmentary Hellenistic reliefs showing the triad Kybele, Attis, and Zeus, or the pair 
Kybele and Attis, all bearing the lions symbolic of the goddess (J. Keil in the fahrehr. d. 
oest. arch. Inst. 1926 xxiii. Beiblatt pp. 256—261 with figs. 48 rock-altar, 49—51 reliefs, 
260). Keil infers from the repeated absence of Zeus on these reliefs 'that the Cultttrias, 
Vater, Mutter und Sohn, nicht ursprünglich ist, dass vielmehr die grosse Mutter zunächst 
nur den jugendlichen Gott zum Begleiter hatte. Wie die griechischen Ephesier diesen 
jugendlichen Gott benannten baw. welchem ihrer Gütter sie den altanatolischen Paredros 
der Bergmutter gleichsetzten [Hermes? Apollon?], bleibt noch zu ermitteln.'

ii. 963 n. o Δωτερής. The word is used in a secondary sense 'struck by lightning' 
in Aristophanes ἱππόφοροι frag. 2 ( Frag. comm. Gr. iii. 338 Meineke) ap. Stob. flor. 6. 27 (ed. 
Gaisford l. 163) αἳ τῶν ἐτατρων ὡς δυστετῆς oeciā | γεγονέναι ἄρατοι τῶν ἔχων 
μηδὲ ἔν.

ii. 969 n. 4. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1916 xxiii. 92 n. o doubts 
the religious intervention of the Eumolpid Timotheos at Alexandria and at Pessinou.

ii. 970 n. o Attis and Gallos. A. H. Sayce in the Class. Rev. 1928 xlii. 161 f. quotes 
Išhālis as the Hittite name of Attis and connects it with the Hittite verb issgil-, išhall- 
'to cut.' Hence išgallat and išhalleis 'eunuch,' which appears in Greek as ἴδαλλος.

ii. 970 n. o the finger of Attis. This curious belief may belong to the group of primitive 
notions studied by R. D. Scott The Thumb of Knowledge New York 1930 pp. 1—296 
(Finn mac Cumaiil, Sigurd, Taliesin, etc.). S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1930 ii. 203 
comments shrewdly: 'Est-ce le caractère sacré attaché, depuis l'époque quaternaire, à 
la main de l'homme?... A-t-on déjà songé aux statuettes alexandrinues d'Harpocrate, l'enfant 
dieu qui se met les doigts dans la bouche?'

ii. 970 n. o Agdistis. T. Zelinski La Silyle Paris 1924 pp. 76—81 distinguishes the 
Phrygian myth of Agdistis, leading up to the rite of 'autocastration' and subsequent 
recovery, from its doublet the Greek myth of Attis, leading up to the doctrine of death 
followed by new life.

Phil.-hist. Classe 1913 Abh. v. 15—19 collects all essential references to ΘεόΛ Αγρίος, ΘεόΛ
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'Αγρότες, άγεί and considers their significance. He argues that they were primarily 'Hunters'—Sondergötter in Usener's sense (supra ii. 13 n. 1)—who were secondarily identified with a variety of greater gods. A similar conclusion, as Weinreich observes, had been reached by L. Malten Κυρενε (Philologische Untersuchungen xx) Berlin 1911 p. 10.


Fig. 918.


ii. 977 ff. Mount Argaios. The engineer E. J. Ritter 'Erdjias Dag' in the Zeitschrift des Deutschen und Österreichischen Alpenvereins Innsbruck 1931 lxii. 124—148 gives a full account of Mt Argaios (pp. 124—127 (i) 'Vorgeschichte,' 127—133 (ii) 'Der Berg (Lage, Aufbau und Gestalt), 133—137 (iii) 'Ersteigungsgeschichte,' 137—148 (iv) 'Erlebnisse') with p. 129 'Kartenskize vom Erdjias Dag,' opposite p. 134 a fine photographic plate of 'Erdjias Dag gesehen von der Soldschuberg in Kaisser,' etc., and p. 146 'Zeichnung des Gipfelsturnes.' Mr C. M. Sleeman, to whom I am indebted for my knowledge of this article, himself climbed the mountain on Aug. 30, 1936 and took a series of excellent photographs, of which I reproduce two—fig. 915 the rocky summit with the upper part of a snow slope on the northern side, and fig. 916 a rock-pinnacle a little beneath and south-east of the summit with the plain of Everek in the distance.
I take this opportunity of publishing two small bronzes illustrative of the cult on Mt Argaiai. They were obtained from a Greek refugee formerly resident in Kaiserlich and are now in my collection. The one is a tiny model of the mountain with a disproportionately large eagle perched on the top of it (fig. 917: height 2 inches). There is some indication of the aquilaet near the summit, also of streams descending from the snows, of a cavern high up in front, of two foothills (breasts of the mountain-mother), etc. In brief, the coin-type shown supra ii. 979 fig. 862 is here rendered in the round. The other little bronze (fig. 918: height 3 inches) represents an eagle on a pillar, the top of which is shaped like a cone and decorated with six leaves. The waist has a band round it. The base is patterned with crisscross lines and rests on a square plinth. Akin to these diminutive exvotos is a bronze (height 0'13\text{m}) in the Louvre, assigned to the latter half of the second millennium B.C., which figures an eagle perched proudly on the antlers of a stag (Encyclopedia photographique de l'art v. 392 fig. c with text by Milie Rutten).

The coin-type of Tranquiliana as Tyche of Kaisarea wearing Mt Argaiai as a head-dress (supra ii. 979 fig. 877) can be paralleled by an engraved serpentine of Roman work c. 250 A.D., which has on one side a solar charioteer in his quadriga, on the other the veiled head of Kaisarea in profile to the right with Mt Argaiai as a crown and the inscription ΕΥΤΩΧΙ ΒΟΚΟΝΤΙ εκκόρεας Βόκος (Brit. Mus. Cat. Genii ii. p. 179 no. 1653 pl. 21). Another rare coin-type of Kaisarea shows Zeus standing with a καλαθος on his head and Mt Argaiai in his left hand (F. Lenormant in Darmember — Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1906 fig. 5140 after Mionnet Deser. de méd. ant. iv. 432 no. 178 Alexander Severus (‘Sérapis’), ib. Suppl. vii. 742 pl. 13. 4 (= my fig. 919)).

ii. 981 n. 1 Mt Kasion in Syria. O. Eissfeldt Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer Halle (Saale) 1932 pp. 1—72 with sketch at beginning and map at end, especially p. 30 ff. (‘Zeus Kasios’)—reviewed by G. Bertram in Gnomon 1933 ix. 554 ff., by F. Nötscher in the Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 1933 xl. 140 f., and by A. Wendel in the Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 1934 xxxvii. 105 f.—holds that the Semitic Baal Zaphon became by interpretation Graeca Zeus Kasios both in Syria and in Egypt, where his rescue of the Israelites was attributed to Jehovah.


ii. 987 n. o anchor inscribed Ζεὺς Καίσιος Ζωὖς [wv]. A ‘Campanian’ hydra from S. Maria di Capua, now at Karlsruhe, represents a scene of departure, in which a young man bids farewell to a woman and is about to step on board his ship. The stern of the vessel has, not only an ἀφασθὼν adorned with light and dark fillets, but also a στρατιώτης set on the steersman’s seat and labelled ΙΕ [E]ΣΕ ΣΟΝ ΤΗΡ (Winnefeld Vasensamml. Karlsruhe p. 83 f. no. 350, dated by F. von Duhn in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1888 iii. 239 ff. c. 300 B.C.; H. Diels ‘Das Aphaston der antiken Schiffe’ in the Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde 1915 xxv. 69 fig. 4, L. Deubner in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1927 xlii. 180 ff. fig. 12).

ii. 987 n. 4 Zeus Hymnaraeis. U. von Wilanowitz-Möllendorff Der Glaube der Hellenen Berlin 1931 i. 137 n. 3: ‘Wer Hesiod mit Ἀργείων das kretische Βοιαντικον wiedergeben lässt, traut ihm eine verwunderliche Sprachkenntnis zu.’

ii. 1012 n. 8. Similar tales in C. F. Coxwell Siberian and other Folk-Tales London 1933 p. 414 (‘Three Sisters’) and pp. 540—552 (‘The Story of a Wise Maiden’).

ii. 1015 n. 8. The Moliones as figured by a Boeotian fūka from the Idaean Cave and by a geometric sherd from the Argive Heraion have one body, but two heads, four arms, and four legs (C. Blinksenberg Fūkules greques et orientales (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser xiii. 1) Kbhenhavn 1926 p. 163 ff. figs. 197, 198). See also O. Weinreich in the Archiv f. Rel. 1925 xxvii. 63 ff.


ii. 1021 Nyx in the Orphic theogony. W. K. C. Guthrie Orpheus and Greek Religion Cambridge 1925 p. 103 notes Aristot. met. 1071 b 26 f. οὗ ἀληθῶς οἴκ τοῦ Νυκτός γεννώτες and ib. 1091 b 4 f. οἴ των παιήτων ἄρχεεν ὀργήν ὁμοίαν, ἡ ἱσάλλων καὶ ἄρχεεν φαύλον οὗ τῶν πρώτων, οἷς Νυκτί καὶ Ὀρμανὸν ἦ Χνός ἢ Ὀκεανόν, ἀλλα τὸν Δία με τὸν Δ�ίνα με Αἴρην. Ἀριστ. ad loc. (p. 821, 10 ff. Hayduck) αἰνίστηται δὲ τῶν Ὀρφέων καὶ οἴκος γὰρ φάραγον ὅτι τὸ
άγαθον καὶ ἁρμότον ἐστι τῶν ἄλλων. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ βασιλεῖον καὶ κράτος τῆς τῶν ἀνατῶν φόσεως ἐστὶ τὸ ἄγαθον καὶ ἁρμότον, ὦ δὲ Ζεὺς βασιλεῖαι καὶ κρατεῖ, ὦ Ζεὺς ἁρμότον τὸ ἄγαθον καὶ ἁρμότον. καὶ ἐπεὶ πρῶτον μὲν καὶ Ἄρθρα τὸ Χάος γέγονε, εἶδο γὰρ Ἀρχαῖος, τρίτον Νεῖς, τέταρτον ὁ Ὀδρανός, εἰτ' ἀθανάτων βασιλεῖα θεῶν ὁ Ζεὺς, δὴ λοιπὸν ὦτι καὶ οὗτοι

Fig. 920.
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tov Δία, ταύτα δ' είναι τό άγαθόν καί δέσμων, διέτρεψε ρατίφη καί του Χάιων καί του Άλκανου καί της Νικήτου καί του Οδρώνου, ήτοι του κόσμου.


ii. 1075 Erēbōpale. A papyrus of s. iii b.c. found at Gurob addresses Iρεοκαυγή in an Orphic context (J. G. Smily Greek Papyri from Gurob Dublin 1921 (Royal Irish Academy. Cunningham Memoirs xiii) p. 1 ff. no. 1 pl. 1, Orph. frag. inv. 31 col. iii. 22 Kern [-]ϊαε Σμίλιον) c. βασιλεύον ου Εφεσιαίων Ιρεοκαυγή σωσία με [κ. τ. λ.] W. K. C. Guthrie op. cit. p. 98.


ii. 1039 χέως connected with χάσω. F. Börtzler 'Zu den antiken Chaoskosmogonien' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1930 xxwii. 253—268 discusses the history of the rival ancient etymology from χέως, σφυχνεις, etc.

ii. 1040 the horse-cult in Hispania Tarraconensis. A. Schulten Numantia München 1931 ii. 213 pl. 21 (=my fig. 320) publishes a red Iberian vase (infra p. 1090) bearing the black-figured design of a horse-headed god with human hands and feet—possibly the actor in some mumming play—and notes (op. cit. i. 248) that the Celtiberians worshipped the Celtic horse-goddess Epona.


ii. 1044 fig. 893 Helene and Menelaos. See now E. Buschor in Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Fainsmaleri in iii. 207—311 fig. 147 pl. 170. i. But E. Löwy 'Archaeologisch-Philologisches' in Wiener Studien 1939 xvii. 59 f. still (cp. id. 'Entstehung einer Sagenversion' ib. 1912 xxxiv. 282—287) argues with much force that Aristoph. Lys. 155 f. (1709 Mevriς 1917 ταύτα ἔμαθα τα μαλά πάνα γιαντάρ παρακαύοντος ἡμᾶς, ἡμᾶς το ξύφος must have had in mind some famous painting by a contemporary Attic artist.

ii. 1046 fig. 806 Eros with thunderbolt and sceptre. Another Roman gem has Eros leaning on a pillar with thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre in left (Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 42, 53, 209, Lippold Gemmen pl. 38, 6 p. 171).

ii. 1048 fig. 906 Eros whipped. Cp. the genre scenes in Furtwängler Gesch. Steine Berlin 1937 ii. 267 no. 6918 pl. 51 = id. Ant. Gemmen i pl. 42, 50, ii. 203 and in the Wilson gems (infra p. 39. n. 6) no. 5218, where three schoolboys, not Erotes, form a similar group.

ii. 1953 fig. 310 Aion. Other effigies of Aion are given by H. Gressmann in the Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924 Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 186 pl. 4, 8 and 9. O. Brendel in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1933 xliv. Arch. Anz. pp. 592—599 fig. 8 adds an interesting statue at Castel-Gandolfo, which shows him as a four-winged and four-armed god with leonine head, an eye on his chest, small lion-heads on his belly and on either knee. He is flanked by two snakes, which are not twined round him. At his right foot is a hydra and a horned lion; at his left foot is Kerberos. Altogether, an aggregate of symbols worthy of this syncretistic deity (supra p. 914 n. 0).

Fig. 921

ii. 1954 f. i Zeus Ktesios. H. Sjövall Zeus im altgriechischen Haushult Lund 1931 pp. 53—74 deals at length with this curious cult. After stating my conclusions (pp. 64—66), he proceeds to develop a rival hypothesis, which is roughly as follows. He starts with a primary piece of magic: the jar containing ἄµβοτα is charged with ἀρενία and serves as a praedeleistic means of ensuring perpetual supplies in the storeroom. In course of time come secondary modifications: water and oil are added, and so the whole becomes ἀµβοταία and is taken to imply a 'Sondergott' Ktesios ('Der ursprünglich magische Zwangsritus ist zum Opferritus geworden'). Ktesios under the influence of the 'Hauschlangel' is conceived as a snake, and is finally identified with an Olympian deity as Zeus Ktesios. Reviews by H. J. Rose in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1937 lit. 149 and in the Class. Rev. 1932 xlvii. 181, by A. Momigliano in the Statt e Materiali di storia delle religioni 1932 viii. 119, by K. Keyser in the Ber. philol. Woch. Mai 6, 1933 pp. 492—497, by C. Picard in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1934 xlvii. 377 f. and in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1934 ex. 247—249.
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W. Peck in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1924 lix. 43 ff. 6 (Aigina: archaic) Δής Ηαρία [και Στέφανον], cp. *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 61 (supra i. 520 n. 2) and W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cor. Oxford* 1891 no. 36, d 37 and 40 τῶν Ηαρίων.


iii. 1959 ff. burial in the house. H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1930 xxxiv. 130 quotes F. von Duhn *Italische Graberufhände* Heidelberg 1924 i. 36 (Saepinum, Sepini) for the only example of an Italian buried in and with his house. In 1930 G. Mylonas found 'Middle Helladic' houses, both rectangular and apsidal, on the southern slope of the akropolis at Eleusis. 'Under the floors of these houses and between the walls were found burials of small children' (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 197. Further details by G. Karo in the *Jahrb. d. deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 331 ff.). But the evidence of such practices is abundant and quite conclusive, as will be admitted by anyone who reads the important articles of G. Wilke 'Wohnungsbestattung' in *Ebert Realex.* xiv. 443—445 and 'Hausgrab' ib. v. 215 ff.


vi. 1968 the jars of Zeus. A Pompeian painting from a house in the *Strada della Fortuna* published by H. Heydemann in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1868 p. 19 ff. and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1868 xxvi. 33—35 pl. 4 (= my fig. 91) and reproduced by Reinhart *Kleid.* *Point. Gr. Rom.* p. 9 no. 4 ('Jupiter consulte le sort') shows the god seated with one of the Fates holding lots (?) and Nike bearing a palm-branch behind him. He has a long sceptre in his left hand and extends the right, with the lot that he has drawn or is about to draw, over a jar set on the ground at his feet. This painting deteriorated so fast on exposure to the air that a month after its discovery a thunderbolt, originally painted beside the jar in front of the god's right foot, had completely vanished. Heydemann would connect the whole scene with a picture of Herakles and the snakes painted vertically beneath it on the same wall.


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and stresses the importance of *pieri ingenii patrimi et matrimi* in a variety of ancient cults, mystic and otherwise.

ii. 1073 ff. Zeus *Trophonios*. F. Peeters 'À propos de l'oracle de Trophonios. i. Les onctions d'huile et le bain dans l'Hercyna' in *La Musée Beige* 1929 xxxii. 27–32 (the anointing with oil before the bath (Paus. 9. 39. 5–7) was not a religious rite, but a practical precaution against cold).


Fig. 922.

ii. 1082 metopes from the temple of Asklepios. But K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrh. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli. 83 f. infers from their lack of an upper border, from their exact height, and from other indications that these are votive reliefs, not metopes at all.

ii. 1082 ff. *Asklepios* and the Snake. An echo of Asklepios' snake at Epidaurus may be heard in the legend of St Hilarion (Oct. 21), who at Epidaurus or Epidaurus (Ragusa vecchia) in southern Dalmatia burnt a huge snake, of the sort called *baie* because they can swallow an ox (S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 xiii. 516 f.). The story is told by Hieron. v. S. Hilar. erem. 39 (xxiii. 50 n.—C Migne). On *Alexandros or the Sham Seer* see also A. D. Nock 'Alexander of Abonuteichos' in the *Class. Quart.* 1928 xxii. 160–163.

Comparative with the coin-types of Glykon is the snake that appears on bronze pieces issued by Carcalla at Pautalia in Thrace. This monster rises erect on quadruple coils with the tail of a fish and a radiate nimbus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 144 f. nos. 30–32, *McLean Cat. Coins* ii. 195 no. 4535 pl. 170, 2) or wreath (ib. ii. 196 no. 4526) round his head. A specimen issued by Geta gives him a lion's head (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 146 no. 46). Other bronze coins of Pautalia struck by Carcalla show Asklepios with his serpent-staff borne through the air by a winged and bearded snake (ib. p. 145 no. 34 fig.). And the same type occurs, under Severus Alexander, at Nikaia in Bithynia (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach Monn. gr. d'As. Min. i. 474 no. 597 (wrongly described as holding a mask in his right hand) pl. 32, 24. Fig. 922 is from a coin of mine).

ii. 1087. One more effort to find a satisfactory etymology for *Asklepios* is that of D. Detlev, who in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 1925 iii. 131–164 derives the name from a Thracian stem *ασκ*—*snake* and *κάλαυς*, *καλαύς* cognate with the Thracian place-name *καλαύ*—*dāra* (connected with *γλαυ* and *απίο* 'to bend'). On which showing *Asklepios* might mean 'he who moves with serpents coils.' Further summary of these very rash speculations is supplied by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 207 f.

ii. 1089 ff. Telesphoros. G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1916 ii. 161 ff. no. 376 fig. 117, A publishes a Thracian statue of Asklepios, with Telesphoros beside him, now in the Museum at Plovdiv. Other examples of the hooded type are fairly numerous: they occur e.g. in bronze at Amiens (Reinach Rép. Stat. iii. 13 no. 2), Avignon (ii. 470 no. 5), Djmila (ii. 450 no. 6), Florence (v. 273 no. 6), Nona in Dalmatia (iii. 22 no. 4 f.), Paris
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(ii. 470 no. 4), Trèves (iv. 293 no. 3), Troyes (ii. 470 no. 2), in marble at Mantinea (ii. 469 no. 1), Munich (vi. 110 no. 1), in stone at Nîmes (vi. 110 no. 2), and even in amber at Oedenburg (iv. 293 no. 6). The type is further discussed by J. Schmidt in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 315 ff., H. Herter De Priapo Giessen 1934 p. 193 (‘Priapus agricolarum potius exemplum hoc vestimenti genere uti videtur’), R. Egger ‘Genius Cucullatus’ in the Wiener prahistorische Zeitschrift 1932 xix. 311—323 (two altars inscribed Genio Cucullato in a small Celtic temple at Wabedorf in Carinthia: this deity, worshiped throughout the Romano-Celtic area, was introduced into Greece by the Galatians from Asia Minor, and under the Greek name Telesphoros traveled far and wide during the early centuries of our era), K. Kerényi ‘Telesphoros’ in Egyetemskes Philologiasz Kooleony Budapest 1933 lii. 7—11 (the cult of Telesphoros was essentially Graeco-Roman), F. J. de Waal in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1933 xxxvii. 446 n. 2 (two figurines from Corinth ‘may represent a similar small divinity, a predecessor of Telesphoros, as Euanmer...in Titane (Paus. 11, 11, 7)’), F. M. Heichelheim ‘Genii Cucullati’ in Archaeologia Aeliana Fourth Series xii. 187—194 (‘among the Celts of the Danube region, Gaul, and Britain, native deities who wore the cucullus were assimilated not only to the Roman genius and the eastern Telesphoros...but also to the Cabiri...A survival of the genius cucullati in the similar representations of dwarfs, hobgoblins, and the like, in the post-Roman period...does not seem unlikely’).

ii. 1089 Grabhalle. Paus. 8. 34. 2 (near Megalopolis) γῆς χώμα...ἀπώθημα ἔχουσι λιθόν πεποιθημένον δάκτυλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ βραχὺ τὸ χώματι ἐστὶ δακτυλῷ μιμάτα is interpreted by C. Belger in the Berl. philol. Woch. Mai 14, 1892 p. 640 as a phallicus. But see the facts collected by Frazer Pausanias iv. 354—357.

ii. 1090 Zeus Hórias. On Zeus 'Oros see also H. J. W. Tillyard in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1904—1905 xi. 65, S. Ettrem Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte in Christiania 1920 iii. 33, and E. Fehlre in Roscher Lex. Myth. vi. 648. It must be borne in mind that Zeus 'Oros was not merely the Greek rendering of Jupiter Terminus or Terminalis, but also a genuine Hellenic deity, the natural protector of boundaries. Plat. legg. 842 ε Δίως ὄρους μὲν πρῶτοι τόμοι δε διήφθασα...μὴ καταλύει γῆς δρακ μαθῆς κ.τ.λ. implies the sanction of long-standing usage. The calendar of the Attic tetrapolis found at Kedoumari, which dates from the earlier part of s. iv B.C., prescribes for Skirophorion the sacrifice of a sheen to Zeus 'Oros (R. B. Richardson in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1895 x. 209 ff. col. 1, 17 ff.), de Pratt Leces Gracorum Sacrarum Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 46 ff. no. 26, A 11 [τάδε δρακὸν ὡς?] Δι 18 Orac. als Δ—). And the northern boundary of the Thracian Chersonesos was marked by an inscribed altar of the same god [Dem.] de Halomnes. 39 f. κατὰ Χερωνοκαὶ οἱ δρακ οὖσα, οὐκ ἀγαθό, ἀλλὰ βωμὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ 'Ορους, διὸ έστὶ μετὰ Πέλειον καὶ Λευκῆς Λείτης, ἂ δὴ διορχήσαβε Χερωνοκάς ἐπαθήσατο, ὡς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἑπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ 'Ορους δῆλον. ἐστὶ δὲ τούτι...τάδε καθοδόρωσεν τὴν περικλάσσα βωμοῦ...Λευκῆς καὶ Πέλειος μὲσον δρον ὀκτείνον ἐκατέταθε, χῶρας σκηνών...ἀμφόριοι δέ | αὐτὸς ἀναῖ ἀμφόριοι ἐκεῖνος μετὰ Κροῦσθε | (J. H. Vince translates 'Zeus is Warden of our No Man's Land.' F. Blass had εἰς μισθὸν σημαίνον ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἑαυτούς τὰ ἔργα in the strength of Od. 20. 75 Ε). Hence Schilling—Studemund Insc. i. 165 'Εὐθυβόλη Δῆσ...71 ὄροι...66 ὄροι, εἰς...66 ὄροι, a dedication of the Abbederis to Hadrian as Τρώαποι Αἴφαμα Σκέπασθαι Τιτίνι.Εφόν (G. Bakalakis in Τρώακας 1937 viii. 29 = Rev. Arch. 1937 ii. 386 no. 170).


ii. 1095 κόρβατα. M. Guarducci ‘‘Axones’’ e ‘‘kyrbeis’’ in the Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia 1929—1931 vii. 101—107 distinguishes ἄρκιν three or, more probably, four tables of wood set at an angle to each other and revolving on a common axle, from κόρβατα, prismatic or pyramidal blocks of stone tapering towards the top but not made to move: both forms of monument were inscribed hosustrophodon. She publishes the laminate front of a law-κόρβα from Prinias (Rhinia?) and compares with the inscribed tapering stone from Dreros (Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 23, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtle Gr. Dial.—Inscr. iii. 2. 239 ff. no. 4957, Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 2 no. 527) and a similar inscription on a block of red trachyte from Chios (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff Nordisnische Steine (Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1909 Phil.-hist. Classe ii. 64 ff. pl. 2 no. 25). E. Schwyzer Dialectorum Graecorum exempla epigraphica potiora Lipsiae 1933 p. 337 f. no. 687, M. N. Tod A selection of Greek

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ii. 1099 n. 2 the altar of Zeus *Litos* on coins of Nikaia. On these coins see now C. T. Seitz in the Cambridge *University Reporter* 1926 liii. 256 (report of a paper read to the Cambridge Philological Society, Nov. 25, 1926).

ii. 1101 Zeus *Xénios*. J. Vürtheim *Aischylos' Schutzgefährte* Amsterdam 1928 pp. 6—8 ('*Zeus Xénios*'), O. Weinreich *z.v.* 'Xénios' in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 522—525 (a careful and comprehensive collection of data).

ii. 1102 n. 4 *Arántides*. H. Krahe *Zu makedonisch APANTISI: EPIΣΥΣI* in the Archiv f. Rel. 1933 xxx. 393—395 regards the name as Illyrian.

ii. 1103. F. N. Pryce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1936 l. 77 ff. pl. 5 publishes a small Attic bell-krater, said to have been found at Corinth and now in the collection of Mr E. Armytage, which appears to show Theseus waiting at the altar of Zeus *Melichios* to be purified of blood-guiltiness, cp. Bakhchyl. 17, 46 ff.

ii. 1103 n. 7 Zeus *Sykistos*. H. Vorwalt 'Zum Ursprung des "Feigenblatts" in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lixiii. 319 f. rightly concludes: 'So ergibt die philologische Untersuchung eine Bestätigung der psychoanalytischen Bemerkung, dass das Feigenblatt nicht das Symbol der Keuschheit, sondern der bewusst gewordenen Sexualität sei.'

ii. 1105 Zeus *Melichios* enthroned. A. Plassart in the *Bull. corr. hell.* 1926 l. 474 n. 3 cites a votive relief in the Museum at Corfu (inv. no. 352), which represents Zeus seated to the right on a rock with a sceptre in his left hand, a *phóle* in his right. On either side of him two snakes advance, raising their heads. Before him are traces of a small female votary with uplifted arm. The relief is inscribed in letters of i. iii or earlier 'Hýgaiou Δia Μελίχιον.'

ii. 1114 Zeus *Melichios* associated with Helios. S. G. Paraskeuaides in the *'Arx. Ef.* 1932 ἄρχ. χρον. p. 12 f. no. 1 fig. 1 publishes a grey marble slab from Mytilene bearing a manumission of c. 200 B.C. *Týmēs Εὐκείμενη* ἀφείται ἔλευθερον Ἡλίαν υπὸ Διό καὶ Ἀλών, ἀνακτηθήντος μον γενομένος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν βιον ἐγινέτη. *Týmēs Εὐκείμενη* ἀφείται ἔλευθερον ἡλιαίου ἐν θῷο Διά καὶ Ἀλών. He quotes other manumissions υπὸ Διά Γῆς Ἡλίαν (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 3 no. 1212 with n. 2, *in pra* ii. 729 n. o) and υπὸ Διά Ἡλίαν (K. A. Rhomaïos in the *'Arx. Δελ.* 1924—1925 ix παράρη. 5 Thermos).


ii. 1124 n. 9 a goblet inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Such γραμματικά εκκάματα have been listed and discussed by C. Picard 'À propos de deux coupes du Vatican et d’un fragment du Musée Kircher' in the *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* (École Française de Rome) 1910 xxx. 99—116 pls. 2 and 3 and id. in the *Rev. Arch. 1913* ii. 174—178 ('ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΑ ΕΚΚΑΜΑΤΑ'). He enumerates sixteen specimens, of which no. 7 is a *státhmos* from Fasano with a painted inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iv. 226 no. F 548), no. 15 a *kýlix* of black Attic ware from Pantikapaion incised [ἄμφι σῶτος Σωτηρος] (B. Pharmakowsky in the *Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xv Arch. Anz. p. 209 f.), no. 16 fig. 5 a fragment of a black-glazed *kantharos* from the Peiräneus lettered in orange-red paint [ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ]. See further C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1938 ii. 105—107.

ii. 1132 the soul of the divine king escaped as a bird. A. H. Krappe in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1928 lxxvii. 184 cites an Iranian tale from F. Spiegel *Erzählende Altertumskunde* Leipzig 1873 ii. 43: 'So hören wir (Vt. 19, 34) dass sich die königliche Majestät in Gestalt eines Vogels von Yima entfernte, als denselben anfing lügnerische Worte zu sprechen; immerhin wird man gedacht haben dass die Majestät auf ein anderes Glied der königlichen Familie überging.'


ii. 1135 the central slab from the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (pl. xlvii). One or two fresh facts and fancies must be recorded. W. R. Lethaby 'The Central Part of the
Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon in the Journ. Hill. Stud. 1929 sliq. 7—13 figs. 1—6 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1929 xxiii. 555 f.) observes that exquisite sepia-drawings made in all probability by William Pars in 1765—6 and now in the Elgin Collection at the British Museum bring out sundry details no longer distinct (heads of Athena and Hephaistos, etc.). 'The central group is divided off from the rest of the frieze right and left by intervals of space drawn through which, on either hand, a slightly scored line may be traced. It is probable, 1 think, that these lines defined a difference of colour in the background which showed that the central action was on a different plane from the rest, that is, in the interior of the Temple.'

Lily Ross Taylor 'Seats and Peplos on the Parthenon Frieze' in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1936 xi. 121 and earl. 'A Selinitomum on the Parthenon Frieze' in Quantulcnumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake London 1937 pp. 253—264 figs. 1—7 suggests that the μφύλος was intended, not as clothing for the xoanon of Athena, but as drapery to be placed over the chair of one of the gods.

ii. 1135 n. 4. N. Valmin 'Die Zeus-Stoa in der Agora von Athen' in the K. Humanistische Vereinigungsmündung s Landt Architekten 1933—1934 i (Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund 1933—1934 i) Lund 1934 pp. 1—7 with fig. 1 ('Skizzenplan') rightly located the Stoa Basilieus and identified it with the Stoa of 'Zeus Soter-Eleutherios.' O. Walter 'Zeus- und Königshalle der Athenen Agora' in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1936 xxx Beiblatt pp. 92—100 maintains that the Stoa Basilieus (c. 500 B.C.) was distinct from the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (shortly before 400 B.C.). But that is not the view taken by the American excavators of the Agora (Hesperia 1937 vi. 215 f.). Thanks to their highly successful researches it is now possible to assert with some confidence that the Stoa Basilieus was identical with the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, and to get some idea of its history and appearance. See the definitive account of the building contributed by H. A. Thompson to Hesperia 1937 vi. 5—77 ('Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios') with pl. 1 groundplan, actual state, pl. 2 groundplan, restored, and 39 figs. By the courtesy of Mr. Thompson I am able to reproduce both the restored plan (pl. 2 = my fig. 933) and the restored elevation (fig. 34 = my fig. 924) of this important structure. It seems probable that certain earlier remains found beneath the Stoa (rectangular base of πόρα with neighbouring altar) belonged to a sanctuary of Zeus Soter on Eleutherios (schol. Aristoph. Plout. 1175 η πολιτεία Διός Σωτῆρα τιμῶν, ἐνα καὶ Σωτῆρος Διός ὑπὸ τοῦ λειτοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς και ἐν Ελευθερίων φασὶ, who owed his second title to the deliverance from Persia that he had wrought (Harpokr. ἡλίθος Άθήνας. ὅ τι ἐν τῇ γῆς τοῦ Σωτηρίου ἐν τῶν Μυτταῖων ἐπιλαμβάνεται τοῦ Αθηναίων. ὅτι δὲ ἐνυπανιστᾶται τοῦ Σωτηρίου, ἐν τῶν Μυτταῖων ἐπιλαμβάνεται τοῦ Αθηναίων: ὁ τι δὲ ἐνυπανιστᾶται μὲν Ἐλευθερίων διὸ καὶ τῶν Μυτταίων ἐπιλαμβάνεται τοῦ Αθηναίων. οὐδὲ δὲ ἐνυπανιστᾶται μὲν Ἐλευθερίων, ἐν τῶν Μυτταίων ἐπιλαμβάνεται τοῦ Αθηναίων, ὁ τι δὲ ἐνυπανιστᾶται μὲν, ἐν τῶν Μυτταίων ἐπιλαμβάνεται τοῦ Αθηναίων. ὁ τι δὲ ἐνυπανιστᾶται μὲν Αθηναίων, ἐν τῶν Μυτταίων ἐπιλαμβάνεται τοῦ Αθηναίων. οὐδὲ δὲ ἐνυπανιστᾶται μὲν Ἐλευθερίων, ἐν τῶν Μυτταίων ἐπιλαμβάνεται τοῦ Αθηναίων. οὐδὲ δὲ ἐνυπανιστᾶται μὲν Αθηναίων, ἐν τῶν Μυτταίων ἐπιλαμβάνεται τοῦ Αθηναίων.) The Pre-Persian statue of the god presumably perished in the sack of 408/407 B.C. and was later replaced by another statue bearing the appellation Eleutherios. When the Stoa was designed, c. 430 B.C., room was left in front of it for the famous figure on a large circular base. The building, which was virtually completed by 409/408 B.C. (Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 115, 7 f. ἐποθήσει τῆς [Στοα] τῆς Βασιλείας, was a Doric colonnade with a façade of seven columns and two wings of six by four columns—an arrangement perhaps suggested by that of Mnesikles' Propylæa. On the back-wall were paintings of the Twelve Gods (Paus. 1. 3. 3); on the wall beyond, probably the south wall, paintings of Theseus and Demokratia and Demos (Paus. 1. 9); also, presumably on the north wall, a painting of the battle fought at Mantinea by the Athenians sent to help the Lacedaemonians (Paus. 1. 3. 4). The paintings were by Euphranor (Val. Max. 8. 11. ext. 5, Plin. nat. hist. 35. 139, Plout. de giror. Ath. 2, Loukian. imag. 7, Paus. 1. 3. 4, Eustath. in II. p. 145, 10 ff.). The tiled roof had two akroteria in terra cotta, which represented Theseus harling Skiron into the sea and Hemera carrying Kephalos (Paus. 1. 3. 1), perhaps a relic of the official quarters assigned to the basilieus before the Persian invasion (see, however, the suggestions of C. Picard in the Rev. Arch. 1932 ii. 95 L.). An annex of two large rooms was built behind the Stoa in s. 1 A.D. to secure greater privacy for the court of the basilieus and for occasional meetings of the council of the Areopagites (cp. Dem. in Arisig. 1. 22).

ii. 1137 n. o the basilieus about to wear Athena's μφύλος (?). Cp. Dio. 1. 14 (each of the gods honoured Herakles with special gifts) Ἀθηνᾶς μὲν πέτηρ, Ἐπικυρίως δὲ ποτειῶ καὶ Μισείας. For interchange of clothing see further W. R. Halliday The Greek Questions of Plutarch Oxford 1928 p. 216 ff.

ii. 1143. K. A. Neugebauer in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1932 xxvii Arch. Anz. p. 76 no. 25 records the acquisition by the Berlin Antiquarium (inv. no. 30021,
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photo 3440) of a small bronze snake (0.187 m long) with raised head and inlaid pupils. Its back is inscribed in archaic lettering IAROSEMITOMELAIYOITO-
TELANAI (ιαρός ηιιο νελαίο ηο τελαίαι). This was purchased at Paris in 1911 as coming from the Peloponnesse, and A. Plassart in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1926 l. 424 n. 4 states that in 1916 he saw near the find-spot (Pellana in Achaia) a second small bronze snake, but uninscribed, which was said to have been found at the same time.

ii. 1146 n. o pyramidial tombs for horses at Agrigentum. C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell found at Saqqara two mummies of horses, dating from the reign of Ramses II (Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1926 p. 205 F.). But on Greek pyramidia structures see now the important paper of L. E. Lord in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1939 xiii. 78–84.

See further id. The Palace of Minos London 1935 iv. 2. 975 and context.

ii. 1151 Zeus Melichios at Thespiae, etc. A. Plassart in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1926 l. 422 f. no. 43 cites a fragmentary inscription from Thespiae Δεξίαδας [Πηγάρων ιωδον Διφ] Μελαιχιόν ιωδοι Δις Μελαιχιόν, i.e. and no. 43 another from the same place Θασιάδας Ωωιος ιωδοι ιωδοι Δις Μελαιχιόν. Id ib. p. 435 n. 2 refers to A. D. Keramopoulos in the Αρχα. Αναπλ. 1917 iii. 422 n. o no. 2 (Limbadeira) a marble stelion (height c. 0.95 m) bearing an ophisos (height c. 0.05 m) and beneath it the inscription |Σωσιας Δαμιου Μελαιχιος with a snake creeping up towards it: Keramopoulos observes that Δαμιου Μελαιχιος may well be the Αγαθος Δαμιου. Plassart p. 423 n. 3 adds A. Jardé—M. Laurent in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1907 xiv. 374 ff. no. 17 (Anthemion) a marble stelion (height c. 0.40 m) with a snake [Ά]ραιαίος(ίς) [Κ]αραδάιος[ίς] [Δεί]χε (or [Ζεν]είς) Μελαιχίος[ις] found above the door of the church of Hagios Athanasios, which appears to stand on the sanctuary of the site of Zeus Melichios.


ii. 1155 Zeus Melichios in Thessaly. Inscr. Gr. sept. iii. 2 no. 145 (Thebais Phtitho-
tides) a white stone inscribed Δις Μελαιχιος | Καρν [οι] | Αραιαίος(ίς) | φιλούσας(ίς).

ii. 1156 Akrisios. A. H. Krappe in the Rev. Et. Gr. 1930 xliii. 157 treats Akrisios as 'le vieus dieu Cronos lui-même' and compares Akrisios' expulsion of the infant Perseus (influencing the legend of Astyages and Kyros the Persian) with Kronos' expulsion of the infant Zeus, concluding that a folk-tale motif may be traced in both myths and even in the quasi-historical legend. L. Bieler in Wiener Studien 1931 xlix. 120–123 ('Der Tod des Akrisios') regards 'Akrisios' as Illyrian, Teurwabas as 'vorge-

griechisch-pelagisch'. H. Krahe 'Sprachwissenschaftliches zur Sage von der Flucht des Akrisios' inb. 119–143 argues that both 'Akrisios' and Teurwabas are names of Illyrian origin.

ii. 1156 Zeus Melichios in Samos. E. Preuner in the Ath. Mitth. 1924 xliii. 45 no. 9 a votive inscription from Τιγανι Κάλας Μεγάλου | Δις Μελαιχιος.

ii. 1156 Zeus Melichios in Nisyros. W. Peek in the Ath. Mitth. 1932 lvii. 57 f. no. 8 an inscription of Roman date from Rhodes (G. Jacopi in Clara Rhodi 1932 ii. 213 f. no. 52) Καλλακρατης λευκά πατρός γεγανατα Θεονος Ζωρος Μελαιχιος κλητη Νειαιος αδελφος and Ζεν Μελαιχιος Νειαιος, ατύμα αυξε θεωρα | Καλλακρατης, δυ στέθαι, ἐπι 

τοις ειδον ἐκτοχυ. The two distichs are engraved within two wreaths on a tabula ansata of white marble. R. Herbst in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvii. 765 adds Inscr. Gr. ins. iii nos. 95 and 96.

ii. 1157 Zeus Melichios in Kypros. T. B. Mitford in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1937 lvii. 29 no. 2 a boundary-stone at Amathous ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΙΑΙΧΙΟΥ in large lettering with ΩΝ (quid?) in smaller lettering to the left of the second line.

ii. 1157 n. o Zeus Apotrópaios. E. A. Gardner—F. L. Griffith Neurkratis London 1888 ii. 13, 61, 68 no. 14 pl. 22 (of) Δι(ως Αποτρόπαιος) on a stone found in the telenos of Hera.

ii. 1158 Zeus Meilichios at Kyrene. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in Hermes 1930 lix. 257 f. (Lesefriichte’ no. 280) cites rock-cut inscriptions at and near Kyrene to show that the dead were associated in cult with the Eumenides and with Zeus Meilichios (after S. Ferri Contributi di Ciriena alla storia della religione greca (Collezione Grafici 2) Roma 1923) pl. 10.

ii. 1158 Zeus Meilichios at Selinous. K. Lehmann-Hartleben in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 179 fig. 36 briefly reports the discovery by E. Gàbrici of a sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios at Selinous. This small tèmenos occupied the north-east angle of the large site sacred to Demeter Malaphos, just as the tèmenos of Hekate Propylaxis occupied the south-east angle. For a full account of it see E. Gàbrici’s official publication in the Mon. d. Lincei. 1928 xxxi. 91—107 figs. 53—64

Fig. 925.

(‘Edicola ed altari di Meilichios e della Pasikrateia (?)’), 174—181 (‘Steile figurate del recinto di Meilichios’), 381—383 (inscriptions), 405—405 (cult). The precinct (pl. 2, part of which = my fig. 925) included a little temple, the base of which measured only 5’20” by 2’97”—a mere casket for the statue or statues within. Two Doric columns stood opposite the antae; but their entablature was of a simplified Ionic order (fig. 38 = my fig. 926). In front of the temple were two oblong altars, one large, one small; and it was originally flanked by a pair of porticoes, each with five columns. Behind the west wall of the precinct were found numerous stèlae, mostly small piers square in section, or pyramidal, or cylindrical, and nearly all without inscription. The few inscribed blocks were archaic in character: p. 381 f. no. 3 pl. 97, 4 τὸ Δίως τὸ Μιλιχίου ἔμι | πρὸς Ἕδους ἐκ Πεδιαρχοῦ; ‘I, the first-fruits of Eumenides son of Pedias, belong to Zeus Meilichios.’ Wilamowits in Hermes 1930 lix. 258 cf. πρὸ τύπων Ἐκεμίθου, p. 382 no. 4 pl. 97, 1 = my fig. 927 Λυκιάρα (perhaps Πλυκιάρα) δ’ Μιλιχίου, p. 383 f. no. 5 pl. 97, 2 Μιλιχίου, p. 384 no. 9 pl. 97, 3 τὸ Μιλιχίου, etc. Other finds on the site were a double altar of simpler type (fig. 62), and several small wells (figs. 63—66) for the storage of lustral water, etc. Offerings made to the god were vases and objects of minor worth, which were burnt along with the animal sacrifice and buried in the ashes; over them was erected a stèle, often surmounted by a pair of busts, male and female (pls. 27, 1—4, 28, 1—6, 39, 1—5, of which 27, 3 f. = my figs. 928 f.). Gàbrici concludes
that the whole cult had a chthonian character, Zeus Meilichios and Pasiprateia (? being the Selinuntine equivalents of Hades and Persephone.

ii. 1158 Zeus Meilichios at Pompeii. For a description of his temple in Reg. viii. 7 (8). 32 see A. Man—A. Ippel Führer durch Pompeji Leipzig 1928 p. 167 f. R. C. Carrington in the Journ. Rom. Stud. 1933 xii. 132 pl. 10 figures the wall of it and dates it after 7 B.C.


ii. 1161 ff. Zeus Philios at Athens. Gabriel Welter ‘Eine Weihung an Zeus Philios' in the Ath. Mitth. 1925 ii. 165 f. publishes an inscription of the early fourth century B.C., found in a Byzantine wall above the odelon of Herodes Attikos at Athens and probably

-derived from the adjoining Asklepieion: Διασπάθης [Λ]υσιελος | ἐκ Κολυμποῦ Δεὶς Φίλιος [Ἀμφιθρόη][σ] [ἀ]φ[θ][ν][κερ].

ii. 1162 n. 6. H. J. Rose ‘The Bride of Hades' in Classical Philology 1925 xxv. 238—243 (the idea underlying Soph. Ant. 815 and other Greek passages is that the earth receives increased fertility from the potential, unused fertility of the chaste).

ii. 1167 love in relation to Zeus. Dion Chrys. or. 4 p. 71 Dindorf ὡς τὴν ἅλλην ἀληθῶς ταῦτα θεωρήσατε καὶ διαφιλοθείτε, ὡς τοῦτον τὴν ἁλλην λέγεται, καὶ ἴνα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τά τις ἐρωτευότατον ἁμαρτάνεται ἡ παρεχόμενη τι καὶ ἀληθῶς διαφιλοθείται; On this subject of personal intimacy with Zeus see further the able articles of F. Dirlmeier on ‘ΘΕΟΦΙΛΑΙ—ΦΙΛΟΘΕΙΑ' in Philologus 1935 xvii. 57—77 and 167—193.

ii. 1167 f. Diotima's τέλεα καὶ ἐπιτομά. A. M. Desrousseaux 'Plutarque, Mor. 382α' in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1933 clxvi. 210—213 (Flout. de Is. et Os. 78 δό καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀραστόλης ἐπιτομήν τά ὧν τὸ μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας καλοῦσιν, ὡς (Desrousseauex corv. γ' νεμι, γυνοί ῥεσιγαίων, ἐν τῇ·) οἱ τὰ δοξαστά καὶ μικτὰ καὶ παντοδικαία ταῦτα παραμελεῖοι τῷ λόγῳ τρόπο τοῦ πρῶτον ἐκείνο καὶ ἀπλῶν καὶ ἄνων ἔξελλονται καὶ, θυγάτες ἄπλως (so Reiske for ἄλλως) τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ καθαρᾶς ἀληθείας, οἷον τῇ τελείᾳ (so Reiske for τετελείᾳ) τέλος, ἡκεν φιλοσοφόν τοῦτοι—so which it is clear that Aristotle was following the very words of his master in symp. 210 Λ).

ii. 1176 n. 4 Zeus Epheliotos. See now H. Sjövall Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult Lund 1931 p. 115 f.

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ii. 1179 ff. Trajan and Zeus Phileus at Pergamon. W. H. Buckler 'Auguste, Zeus Patroos' in the Rev. Philol. Troisième Série 1935 lxi. 177—188 adduces a series of official Pergamene inscriptions (nine decrees and two letters) to show that the complete dedication of Augustus was reached through three successive phases: (1) from 27 B.C. to 3 B.C. he was autokratōr Kaisar theou vōn Seβastōn, and his highpriest ὁ ἄρχοντας θεᾶς Ἁρμις καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος theou vōn Σεβαστοῦ; (2) from 3 B.C. to 14 A.D. Augustus was autokratōr Kaisar theou vōn Seβastōn, ἄρχοντας μεγατός καὶ πατή τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν συμπάττων τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους, and his highpriest ὁ ἄρχοντας θεᾶς Ἁρμις καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος theou vōn Σεβαστοῦ ἄρχοντας μεγατός καὶ πατή τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν συμπάττων τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους; (3) from 15 A.D. onwards (after his death on Aug. 19, 14 A.D. and his consecration by the Senate on Sept. 17, 14 A.D.) Augustus became θεὸς Σεβαστός Kaisar Zeina Πατρός autokratōr καὶ ἄρχοντας μεγατός, πατὴ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν συμπάττων τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους, and his highpriest ὁ ἄρχοντας θεᾶς Ἁρμις καὶ θεὸς Σεβαστός Kaisarōs Δεόν Πατράς autokratōr καὶ ἄρχοντας μεγατός, πατὴ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν συμπάττων τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους. Thus Augustus while alive was treated as (1) a hero and (2) a demi-god, when death was raised to the rank of (3) a god and identified with Zeus Πατρός.

The documents relevant to this third stage are (a) Sir C. T. Newton A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchače London 1862—1863 ii. 2. 594—596 no. 6 pl. 87, G. Hirschfeld in The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum London 1893 iv. 1. 63—65 no. 894; (b) J. Keil 'Zur Geschichte der Hymnusbänder in der fruhchrist. d. ostl. arch. in der 19. Jh.' xi. 101—107 (Odenisch near Hyppaipo); (c) Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 3187 (Smyrna). Cp. also (d) a marble pedestal from Aphrodiasis, which must have carried a statue of Zeus with the features of Augustus, inscribed Δεόν Πατράς [Σεβαστός] Kaisarōs (W. Kubitschek—W. Reichel in the Anz. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien Phil.-hist. Classe 1893 p. 103 no. 123; and (e) a dedication from Dorylaion [θεὸς Σεβαστός Καισαρῷ] θεῶν οἵον Σεβαστῶν, πατὴ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν συμπάττων ἀνθρώπων γένους, κ.τ.λ., κ.τ.λ. (I. Melopoulos in the Ath. Mitth. 1897 ii. 460 ff., Dittenberger Orient. Gr. inscr. sel. no. 479). Mr Buckler concludes his very noteworthy article on Augustus at Pergamon by a further suggestion: 'By accepting the epithet divine, Trajan imitated the most illustre of its predecessors; he would have chosen the epithet of Zeus Philios, the god of his presence, in preference to the contrasts with the antiques splendides of the Zeus Patroos?'

ii. 1167 n. 2. fig. 990 Zeus Νέεις at Alexandria. His wreath is probably of oak-leaves, not στίλβων. Oak-wreath and aigis are characteristic of Zeus on Alexandrine cameo (nupra p. 527 f.).


ii. 1167 n. 4. D. M. Robinson at Olympos found Botticenean pottery of quasi-Aegean character (A. W. Lawrence on Hdt. 8. 127. See G. E. Mylonas in D. M. Robinson Excavations at Olympos Baltimore 1933 v. 60—63 (Group iii, second half of 5. vi to beginning of 5. 6 B.C.)).

ii. 1167 n. 3. To the bibliography of Antiochea add E. S. Bouchier A Short History of Antioch 300 B.C.—A.D. 1268 Oxford 1931 pp. 1—374.

ii. 1167 n. 4. M. F. Nilsson 'Zur Deutung der Jupitergigantensäulen' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1925 xxii. 181—184 argues from the question of the wheel etc. that the god in question was a German deity (Taranis?), not a god of the wheel or the chariot.

ii. 1167 n. 5. The Column of Mayence. On Quilling's view see also L. Duemner in the Archiv f. Rel. 1925 xxiii. 310 f.

ii. 1167 n. 6. The emponhías found by F. Courby at Delphi. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xxiii. 85 n. 1 states that in the Rev. Arch. 1921 (not 1920) l. 172 he did not regard Courby's emponhías as 'faux,' but holds that the inscription on it
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ii. 1219 the Milky Way conceived as a tree. U. Holmberg in J. A. MacCulloch The Mythology of all Races Boston 1913 iv (Finno-Ugric, Siberian). 84 cites the ‘song of the Great Oak’—a Finnish account of the Milky Way ‘regarded by some Arctic tribes as being the trunk of a great tree, along which those killed in battle wander.’

ii. 1221 the axe from Mailla. J. Charbonneaux in the Mon. Piot 1925—1926 xxviii. 6 ff. pl. 2 and figs. 3, 4, 6 publishes this axe as ending in the forepart of a panther, not a lioness. So also C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1925 xxii. 70 n. 1, 78 n. 3, and P. Couissin in the Rev. Arch. 1928 i. 261 fig. 6.


ii. 1221 the ‘Tomb of the Liector’ at Vetulonia. See now H. Mühlstein Die Kunst der Etrusker Berlin 1939 p. 85 n. 0 and p. 228 f., who in fig. 149 publishes a good photograph (Alinari 45 823) of the ‘Eisernen Rutenball <Labrys> aus Vetulonia <Tomba del Liitore> Museo archeologico Florenz’ and refers it to z. vii B.C.

ii. 1221 carvings in amber. Other examples (human and simian figures) from Vetulonia) in D. R. Maciver Villanovans and Early Etruscans Oxford 1924 p. 107 fig. 25.

ii. 1222 fig. 1017 the earliest representation of Zeus (?) S. Benton in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1934—1935 xxxv. 85, 98 pl. 21, i—3 provides three excellent photographs of this little bronze, but calls it cautiously ‘the Dodona thrower,’ ‘the Dodona figure.’

M. P. Nilsson Homer and Mycenae London 1933 p. 80 suggests that a terra-cotta head and a stone axe found in the Myceanan sanctuary at Asine ‘are the earliest representations of Zeus, the Greek god of thunder.’ See further O. Frödin in The Illustrated London News for Sept. 25, 1926 p. 348 fig. (3) and Nilsson Min.-Myk. Rel. pp. xx—xxii pl. 4. The head (o' 106 m high) showed traces of white on the face, but had eyes, lips, and hair painted red. With it were found five smaller female figures in terra cotta and sundry vessels, including a two-handled bowl of the ‘Granary Class’ (A. J. B. Wace in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1921—1922, 1922—1923 xxv. 40 f. (‘The Granary Class of L. H. iii. Pottery’) and a composite vessel of three cups conjoined.

ii. 1228 Zeus Telesiovogos at Mileos. K. Latte ‘Zeus τῆλεσιογόνος’ in Philologus 1930 lxxxv. 225—227 notes that in both inscriptions this is the god to whom sacrifice is made by a new priest at his ordination. Hence. he thinks, we obtain light on Hesych. τελεσίωρος ταίνας: τὸν ἐπιτελεστὸν τῷ τὰς θεῖς ἐπιτελευμένων λεβά, where the meaning of the word reading τελεσίωρος was wrongly altered by T. Hemsterhuyxus into τελεσιωρος— a blunder perpetuated by M. Schmidt in both his editions. Sir H. Stuart Jones, however, in the new Liddell and Scott p. 1770 (following E. Diehl Supplementum Lyricum² Bonn 1917 p. 66) says ‘prob. a gloss on τελεσιωρος ταίνας in Pr. Pse. 7. 2.’ Unfortunately the text in Pindar is very insecure. O. Schroeder Supplementum Pindaricum Berolini 1923 p. 3 records Wilamowitz’ cj. τελεσιωρος ταίνας cp. schol. ἔνιος.

ii. 1229 relief of Agdistis and Attis. A Hellenistic relief (height o' 61 m), found in the Peiraieus and now in the Berlin Antiquarium, shows Agdistis as a draped goddess, with a tympanon in her left hand, presenting a flower to a youthful Attis, who sits before her clad in the costume of Asia Minor (Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum² Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 106 no. 1613).

iii. 35 n. 10. Cp. Nikephoros Basilakes procogn. 7. 10 (i. 489, 5 f. Walz) ἄνθρωπος τὰς ἐν ζώοις ἀναβάς ἃς ἐν ζώοις.


iii. 63 n. 3. See now E. Kapp Ἰππέραπτος in Philologus 1929 N.F. xxxviii. 259—261 (defends Ἰππόθ- against Ἰπόθ-).
Addenda

iii. 85 n. o (2) fig. 28. This sarcophagus, now at Zagreb, is better published by G. M. A. Hanfmann in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 239 ff. fig. 2.

iii. 164 the sanctity of dew. J. Roscoe *The Northern Bantu* Cambridge 1915 p. 28: Among the Banyoro is a clan called 'The Baisia,' whose principal totem is the Milk Cow which has been with a bull, and whose second Dew upon the Grass. The members of this clan avoid for several days drinking milk from a cow which has been with a bull, and also refrain from walking in grass while dew rests on it.

iii. 245 f. The *epiphon* as its name implies, was a sacrifice subsequent to, or additional to, that of a cow for Athena, and must not be viewed as a preliminary rite.

iii. 292 sea-bathing as a rain-charm. Miss M. A. Murray has kindly sent me a note (July 17, 1938) 'about ceremonial bathing (by the whole population), on a set day in the spring, in the sea. It is done at Gaza by Bedu and fellahin alike, men, women, children & animals. I think it may be connected with the cult of Atargatis.' May we not rather suppose that this is only another case of communal rain-charm?

iii. 298 the formula kôux, ômêrx. I would venture to compare a spell to stop nose-bleeding by a whispered mokk, pâk, rôk (G. F. Abbott *Macdonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 233 no. 40 and p. 360 µ). Περί ματικών ὁποία τρέχει, κάτω εἶν τὸ μέρος ἑκεῖν ὃποία τρέχει, κρούς εἰς τὸ αὐτί: μός, πάς, ἄρις, καὶ θάλα παρέγα—a extract from a medical treatise contained in an eighteenth-century MS. possibly written by a physician named Constantine Rizioti.

iii. 323 n. 0 Ζηρίων ὀδόρ. Cp. the sacred and caritative character of Ascension Day rain-water. A. R. Wright—E. Lones *British Calendar Customs* (England i) London 1936 p. 144 f. cite examples from five counties, of which one will serve: 'A Warwickshire cook of a relative of mine was seen last Ascension Day, May 1, standing out of doors, basin in hand, to catch the rain that was falling. In explanation she said that Holy Thursday rain was holy water, and came straight from heaven. The reason that she preserved it was that it was good for weak or sore eyes' (Cuthbert Bede in *Notes and Queries* Sixth Series 1883 vii. 367).

iii. 336 n. 5. Sieve-superstitions are collected with a wealth of detail by Eckstein in the *Handwörterbuch der deutschen Altgermanischen Berlin—Leipzig 1936 v. 1665—1668* ('Siebe'), 1668—1701 ('Siebdrachen, Sieblaufen, Siebtrieben').

iii. 341 n. 3. On the pentagram see further Col. Alotte de La Fuye *Le Pentagramme pythagoricien, sa diffusion, son emploi dans le syllabaire cunéiforme* in *Babylonica* 1934 xiv. i—56 figs. 1—10.

iii. 345 n. 1. With regard to Egyptian receptacles for *viscera* Mr Sidney Smith informs me (Nov. 17, 1934) (1) that limestone pots with plain lids go back to the late Old Kingdom (Dyns. v—vii), (2) that jars with lids in the shape of the deceased's head are typical of the Middle Kingdom and occur down to Dyn. xviii, and (3) that the four children of Horus belong to the New Kingdom from the late xviii th Dyn. onwards.

iii. 348 the 'Canopi' of Osiris. See now F. W. Freiherr von Bissing *Ägyptische Kultbilder der Polmater- und Römzeit (Der Alter Orient xxxiv. 1/2) Leipzig 1936 pp. 28—34 'Das Kultbild von Canopus' pl. 4, 10 a and 10 b (an Osiris of Canopus in marble, from Egypt), pl. 4, 11 a (an Osiris of Canopus in bronze, from Egypt, resting on an 'Opferpfat'), pl. 5, 11 b (an Osiris of Canopus, owned by the Queen of the Netherlands), pl. 8, 18 (a Canopus with spiral fluting, in the Vatican).

iii. 348 Nile-water. The sanctity of Nile-water is discussed by F. J. Dölger *Antike und Christentum* Münster in Westfalen 1936 v. 3. 153—187 ('Nifwasser und Tafuwasser').

iii. 349. Theonoe was not the wife, but the unsuccessful lover, of Kanobos (n. 8).

iii. 358 n. 5. G. A. Megas in *Hermes* 1933 lxxxv. 415 ff. argues that the story of the Danaids was a folk-tale later localised at Argos. He cites (after B. Chalatianz in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde 1909 xix. 362*) an Armenian parallel, heard at Etschmiatsin in 1890, which however so closely resembles the Greek myth that I should rather assume classical influence, direct or indirect.

iii. 426 the Danaids and the fertility-charm. C. F. A. Schaeffer in his Schweich Lecture of Jan. 27, 1937 ('Fertility cult and cult of the dead at Ugarit. Devices for libations in the Mycenaean tombs. The jar of the Danaids') compared the *vòwos* τερπουκόν of the Danaids with the libation-funnels at Ras Shamra. *Id.* 'Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Septième campagne (printemps 1932)' in *Syria* 1936 xvii. 105—148 refers to the period 'Minoen ou Helladic récent III' (i.e. xiv—xiii b.C.) several sepulchral deposits (p. 112 f. with fig. 4) 'caractérisés par la présence d'un grand entonnoir à libation percé d'ouvertures enfilés verticalement dans la terre avec, à sa base, une accumulation de vases. Parmi eux des rhytons attestent bien le caractère votif de ces dispositifs (fig.

iii. 429 the manalis lapis. F. Bömer *Dber sogenannte lapis manalis* in the Archiv f. Rel. 1936 xxiii. 276—281 discusses previous interpretations of this *Regenstein,* rejecting both the derivation from *manare* and that from *Manes.* He starts afresh from the authoritative statements of Varro (supra p. 435 n. 3) and contends that *aquae manale* meant a 'Handkrug für Wasser,' being derived from *manus* (cp. id. *Lat. aquae manales* in Glotta 1937 xvi. 1—7); that *manalis lapis*—originally termed *manale sacrum*—was a sacred water-pot, probably a hollow stone of pot-like formation used for ritual purposes (so O. Gilbert Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum Leipzig 1885 ii. 154 n. i); and that later this *manale lapis* was confused with the *lapis Manalis* or 'stone of the Manes,' *Festus* ostium Orvi (supra p. 432 n. 4). Bömer sums up: 'Das Instrument des römischen Regenraubers war ein *manale sacrum,* ein heiliges Wassergefass; der wirkliche *lapis manalis* ist der Stein der Manen, steht mit dem Regen in keiner Verbindung. Ein *lapis manalis* ist den Regen, an den man bisher glaubte, hat es nie gegeben. Er ist eine etymologische Konstruktion der Antiquäre.'

iii. 434 f. the *manales petrae.* T. F. G. Dexter The Sacred Stone Perrenporth (1929) p. 17 nos. 31 cites from Morris Celtic Researches a *Manns Glaeu* or "Rain Stone," "which they rolled about when they wanted rain," and compares the *Lapis Manalis* at Rome.

iii. 472 s. the birth of Montezuma. C. E. S. Hartland Primitive Paternity London 1909 i. 11: 'A pearl fell into the bosom of a girl and she swallowed it, as the Chinese tell, with the result that a boy was born (according to one version, from her breast) who afterwards became the great emperor Yu.'

iii. 538 n. 0 pl. xliv. F. Lenormant *Jupiter Argivos, camée sur chrystophrase* in the Gaz. Arch. 1875 i. 95—99 pl. 13 published a very large cameo from the Northwick collection (then owned by Feuardent), a chryzophrase in the Asia Minor style of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. Its subject is a facing Zeus, almost exactly like that of my malachite relief, but coarser in effect and without acorns on the oak-wreath.

iii. 564 ff. 'ox-driving.' F. Cumont *Ste. George and Mithra* 'The Cattle-Thief' in the Journ. Rom. Stud. 1937 xxvii. 63—71 notes that at the monastery of Iorici in Mingrelia, as late as c. 1850 A.D., 'every year on the Festival of St. George, to whom the church of the monastery was dedicated, an ox mysteriously entered the building ready for sacrifice.' Cumont argues that St George has here replaced Mithras the *bov-kronos theos* (Porpl. de antr. nymph. 18).

iii. 573 Zeus Poleis and altar. (Mrs) J. P. Shear in Hesperia 1936 v. 316 with fig. 22, 6—8 says: 'Is it not possible to connect this type [my figs. 399—402] with the greatest of the Athenian festivals of Zeus, the Diasia, which was of a propitiatory character?' End. th. p. 301 with fig. 11, 1—2 [my fig. 434] would recognise the altar of Zeus Poleis *sic* and associate it with the Dipoleia. She gives the same explanation of the *bucramium* type (her pl. 5, 1—29).

iii. 580 n. 0 with fig. 404. See now C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser Gr. Vasenmaleri iii. 343 ff. figs. 163 and pl. 175.

iii. 593 Dions, priest of Zeus Poleis, first to lay an ox. But Synkell. chron. 153 b (i. 289 Dindorf) says of Kekrops *oños prwos bov evwiax kal Ἰθώρα πρωγγρίνεν, ὅτι τιρες.*

iii. 613 n. 0. On the Βαλλαρίες see also S. Weinstock in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvii. 856.

iii. 623 n. 1 with fig. 432. The design on these glass plaques is drawn (rather unsuccessfully) to a larger scale by W. Techau in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1937 i. 98 f. fig. 12.

iii. 634 n. 2. E. C. Yorke in the Class. Quart. 1936 xxx. 153 f. maintains that the *Prometheus Bound,* 'if Aeschylus was its author,' must have been the latest of his extant plays, to be dated between 458 and 456 B.C. Prof. D. S. Robertson in the Cambridge University Reporter 1938 lixx. 387 reviews recent opinions and argues from the 'Sophoclean features' of the play for 'the latest possible date.' He even suggests that Aeschylus left the *Prometheus* trilogy incomplete and that some of the odes may have been 'supplied by one of his sons, Euphonius and Euaion, or by his nephew Philocles, all tragic poets.'

iii. 655 n. 0 with figs. 464—469. My conjecture that the head on these coins represents Zeus Ολίβο can, I find, claim the support of A. Reinach, who in the Receiv...
Bronze statuette of Zeus Ὄλυμπιος from Bulgaria, now in the Museum of the Augusta Trajana Society at Stara Zagora.

See page 1196.
Addenda

épigraphe 1913 i. 172 no. 461 anent an inscription from Lampsakos dedicated Ὄμηλος observed: ‘À la lumiére de cette inscription il y aurait lieu de se demander si ce n’est pas Zeus Olbios à cornes de taureau qu’il faut voir sur les monnaies à tête cornue qu’on qualifierie de Zeus Ammon, Pan ou Priape corniger.’ Johannae Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvii. 2430.


iii. 813 n. 3 the cult of Athena on the Nike-bastion. F. Lemerle in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1937 lxxi. 443 with figs. 4–7 reports that N. Balanos now recognises at least two successive sanctuaries below the level of the classical temple. One, the less ancient, is connected with the altar found by G. Welter.(fig. 6). The other, the more ancient, included a hollowed block on which idols were lying (fig. 7) and an altar of Athena Nike mentioned in an archaic inscription [Michel Revue d’Inscr. gr. no. 671, s 11 f., Dittenberger Syll. Inscr. Gr. 3 no. 63, a 11 f. kal Bojús λιθάρων (‘Adjectivum indicat fusisse quidem iam antea aram, sed non lapideam’), Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 24, 14 f.].

iii. 832 n. 2. Dr H. Frankfort’s paper on ‘The Burney Relief’ has now appeared in the Archiv für Orientforschung 1938 xii. 118–135 accompanied by three fresh photographic illustrations. This paper, of which he most kindly sent me an offprint, conclusively vindicates the genuineness of the relief, refers it on stylistic grounds to the Lares period, and inclines to identify the female figure as Lilith or some other inhabitant of the Land of Death.’ Her domed crown with four horns marks her as divine. Her so-called ‘ring and staff’ are either a ‘measuring rod and line,’ as on the stèle of Ur-Namma, or ‘on our relief they might well be a continuous coiled piece of rope,’ such measuring instruments serving as symbols of justice.

iii. 845 the earliest Gorgônieon. F. Chaponnier ‘À travers trois grèzes primitatives (époque Minoenne [‘M. M. M.’]) in the Mélanges G. Glots Paris 1932 i. 183–201 publishes a three-sided seal-stone in greyish steatite from Mallia, of which one side represents a facing Gorgônieon with bristling hair, large ears and eyes, wide cheeks but small mouth, and pointed chin (photographic pl. and fig. 2 = J. Charbonneaux in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1933 xvi. 76 fig. 3). The face is flanked by two small branches.

iii. 927 Akmon. On Doias the ‘Twin’-brother of Akmon see Norbert Jokl in Ebert Realex. x. 144 and 147 (after A. Fick in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1927 xlii. 347).

iii. 958 the temple of Zeus at Olympia struck by lightning (Paus. 5. 11. 9). C. Picard ‘Zeus, Aristophane and Socrates’ in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1938 li. 60–63 finds an allusion to this incident in Aristoph. nud. 401 f. ‘Prodige favorable et pieuse intention du ciel, disaient les bons esprits! Ti makhō; eût répliqué le Socrate d’Aristophane, introduit de dieux nouveaux et destructeur de la tradition religieuse.’ This is much better than, with V. Coulon in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1937 l. 453 f. to assume a like happening in the sanctuary of Zeus Sêter and Athena Sêteria at the Peiraeus (Lykourg. in Leetr. 17, 11b.—see Severin Solders Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikus Lund 1931 p. 2). Picard takes the opportunity of listing all the Zeus-cults in or near Athens—a useful record.

iii. 964 copies of the Pheidias Zeus(?). Mr R. M. Cook in a letter from Athens dated Aug. 16, 1933 drew my attention to a small bronze figure of Zeus Olymposi recently discovered in Bulgaria, and very kindly enclosed the photograph reproduced in my pl. lxxii. He comments: ‘It is a bronze statuette, found last March casually at Smero, a village a little north-east of Stara Zagora. The overall height is about 25 cm.; the height of the figure alone, 18 cm. All of the base is, I believe, original. It is not yet published, though photos of it (from the same negative as this) have appeared in a local paper & in one of the Sofia dailies. It is now in the Museum of the Augusta Trajana Society, at Stara Zagora: the director is M. C. Raikov.’

iii. 973 Christ in the likeness of Zeus. In the Christian appropriation of pagan statuary two methods were followed, which it might be convenient to distinguish as the outward and the inward. The one imposed some external sign of the new religion. The other sought to appreciate the internal qualities of the old. The first adapted. The second adopted. And naturally the former, as the easier process, was more frequent than the latter. The facts are fairly obvious, and I shall content myself with a single example of each.

H. Bulle in the Einselauflahmungen nos. 1436 and 1437 (= my fig. 930, a and b) Text v. 93 publishes a bearded head of Pentelic marble (height 0.33 m.), which came from the neighbourhood of Athens and is now at Karlsruhe, and comments: ‘Gehörte ohne Zweifel zu einer Hermé.... Wohl originale Arbeit aus der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrh.'
Marble head from Jerash:
a third century Zeus (?), which perhaps served as a fifth-century Christ.

See page 1197.
v. Chr.' Bulle ignores the incised cross, which is simply omitted also in the small sketch given by the *Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 v Arch. Anz. p. 5 no. 11. But A. J. B. Wace in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlvi. 65 says with more circumspection: 'Cases are known...where a cross was scratched on a work of art in early Christian times to sanctify what would otherwise have been ungodly.'

J. Garstang in *The Illustrated London News* for July 31, 1926 pp. 193—197 devotes a whole article to the interesting head found by H. Horsheld on the east side of the 'Street of Columns' at Jerash (Gerasa). For a detailed study of the site see the reports of J. W. Crowfoot *The Church of S. Theodore at Jerash* in the *Palaeisne Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1929* London pp. 17—26, *id. The Churches of Gerasa, 1928, 1930* *id. Quarterly Statement for 1930* London pp. 32—43, *id. Recent Work round the Fountain Court at Jerash* *id. Quarterly Statement for 1931* London pp. 143—154, *id. Churches at Jerash* A Preliminary Report of the Joint Yale-British School Expeditions to Jerash, 1928—1930 (British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Supplementary Papers. iii) London 1931 pp. 1—48 with 13 pls. and a plan. Garstang loc. cit. says: 'Between the doorway of the Basilica and that of the circular church, nearer to the former, and in the cloister into which both doors open, the head was found lying upon debris about a foot from the floor, and covered with more debris mixed with architectural remains...Such, briefly, is the evidence which attests that the head was in use contemporaneously with the Christian buildings of the area in which it was found.' Garstang well suggests 'that the head was originally chosen from among the earlier pagan sculptures of the place, or imported specially, as responding to a Christian conception.' He agrees 'that it belongs to the latter half of the second century A.D.' but adds somewhat inconsistently: 'One thing seems clear—that it was fashioned by a great artist who, working upon the established and familiar models of pagan Zeus or Asklepios, glorified them in the realisation of an ideal. Did such a genius exist in the fourth or fifth century at Jerash? And was that ideal the Suffering of Christ?' Accordingly the fine full-face view prefixed to his article is labelled: 'The earliest representation of Christ?...a remarkable sculptured Christ-like head (probably of the latter half of the 2nd century A.D.) found in a 4th-century Christian church at Jerash.' I confess that Garstang's enthusiasm leaves me a little breathless. I had the opportunity of examining the original head soon after its arrival in London (pl. lxxxiii is from the official photographs) and judged it, on stylistic grounds, to be a third-century head of Zeus. I did not think that its pathos was so pronounced as to justify us in calling it an ideal of Suffering. Indeed, the vertical furrows between the eyes, as distinct from the horizontal furrow across the forehead, were suggestive of concentrated thought rather than intense pain. I held, therefore, and still hold, that the Jerash head came from a third-century statue portraying Zeus, perhaps in his character of Providence (supra p. 946), a statue which may conceivably have served the fifth-century Gerasenes as an embodiment of Christ.
CORRIGENDA

i. 13. For 'bliss' read 'bless.'
i. 117 n. 6. For 'p. 444' read 'p. 317.'
i. 134 n. 4. For 'Lydia' read 'Ionia.'
i. 175 n. 2. For 'Maas' read 'Maass.'
i. 216 n. 3. For 'Athen. 84 c ff.' read 'Athen. 456 c ff.'
i. 220. For 'bēkefor' read 'bēkefor,' and so elsewhere (i. 331, 425, 442, 648, 649, 673).
i. 236 n. 10. For 'Liban. or. ii' read 'Liban. or. 11.'
i. 245. For 'daughter of Helios' read 'granddaughter of Helios.'
i. 272. For 'man' read 'men.'
i. 302 n. 5. Delete comma after 'Machry.'
i. 330. For 'Saltzmann' read 'Salzmann.'
i. 335 n. 7. For '104' and '105' read '267' and '268.'
i. 375. For 'Libye' read 'Libya.'
i. 398 n. 4. For 'p. 92' read 'p. 311.'
i. 474. After 'sautanga-patterns' insert 'and.'
i. 513 n. 5. For 'fig. 113' read 'fig. 387.'
i. 546 n. 4. For '471 n. 4' read '471 f.'
i. 571 n. 2. For '§ 10 (a)' read '§ 10 (b).'s
i. 591 n. 3. For 'In this' read 'In the.'
i. 604 n. 10. For 'mother-god' read 'mother-goddess.'
i. 646 n. 3. For 'Zan' read 'Zar.'
i. 669 n. 2. For 'Strab. 476' read 'Strab. 475.'
i. 675. For 'Kuster' read 'Küster.'
i. 717 n. 2. For 'E. Cunoptim' read 'F. Cunoptim.'
i. 732 n. 1. For 'n. 2' read 'n. 1.'
i. 768 n. 0. For 'in Alterthum' read 'im Alterthum.'
i. 776. For 'millenium' read 'millennium.'
i. 800. For 'Zeus Πελωαίος' read 'Zeus Πελωαίος.'
i. 824. For 'Kynados' read 'Kounados.'
i. 827 s. v. Makedonia. For 'Zeus 136 ff.' read 'Zeus 100 ff.'
i. 837 s. v. Phrygia. For 'Zeus Πανίας 3992' read 'Zeus Πανίας 3992.'
i. 842 s. v. Seimios. For '533 f.' read '533 f.'
i. 855 s. v. Zeus nursed by. For 'by goat 112 and 720' read 'by goat 112 and 720.'
i. 856 s. v. Zeus Attributes. For 'blue mantle 333' read 'blue mantle 333.'
i. 867 s. v. Fick, A. For '690' read '690.'
i. 867 s. v. Fire. For 'Zeus 704' read 'Zeus 704.'
i. 870 s. v. Heydemann, H. For '698' read '698.'
i. 870 s. v. Hill, G. F. For '356' read '356' and for '6024' read '6024.'
i. 875 s. v. Nilsson, M. P. For '669' read '669.'
i. 879 s. v. Rolland, E. For '3575' read '2575.'
i. 888. For 'Svoronos, J. H. (cont.)' read 'Svoronos, J. N. (cont.).'
ii. 864. For 'forms' read 'informs.'
ii. 1093 n. 1. For 'recept' read 'recept.'
ii. 1096 n. 4. For 'μουσαρον' read 'μουσαρον.'
ii. 1113 n. 0. For 'λαμβανοντας' read 'λαμβανοντας.'
Corrigenda

ii. 1313 i.e. Syria. The last entry 'Sun, Moon, and Morning-Star in folk-tale from 1004 ff.' should have been i.e. Syra.

ii. 1361 i.e. Eitrem, S. For '1042' read '1142.'

iii. 57 n. 2. For 'ἀρείνα' read 'ἀρείδα.'

iii. 79. For 'Man said' read 'Men said.'

iii. 104 n. 1. For 'n. 3' read 'n. 4.'

iii. 360 n. 4. For 'vi. 3089' read 'iv. 2089.'

iii. 400 n. 2. For 'Gābrici' read 'Gābrici,' and so on p. xxi of vol. ii.

iii. 416 n. 6. For 'Tetz.' read 'Tzetz.'

iii. 518 n. 3. For 'être à' read 'être là.'

iii. 775. For '(fig. )' read '(fig. 569).'

iii. 976. For 'Brugman' read 'Brugmann,' and so on p. 977.

iii. 981. For 'pl. lxix' read 'pl. lxx.'
Fig. 931.

Zeus 

on a bronze coin of Hierapolis in Phrygia

(Imhoof-Blumer Gr. Münzen
p. 214 f. no. 693 pl. 12, 22).
Supra ii. 571 n. 6.
INDEX I

PERSONS PLACES FESTIVALS

The contents of each item are arranged, as far as possible, under the following heads: Cults Epithets Festivals Oracles Rites Priests Worshippers Personages Myths Metamorphoses Genealogy Functions Etymology Attributes Types Identifications Assimilations Comparisons Relations Supersede.

In the Genealogies f. = father, m. = mother, s. = son, d. = daughter, b. = brother, st. = sister, gf. = grandfather, gm. = grandmother, gs. = grandson, gd. = granddaughter, h. = husband, w. = wife.

The larger numerals refer to pages, the smaller numerals to foot-notes.

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p. 104 no. 784 pl. 18, 4, E.
Beulé Les monnaies d'Athènes
Paris 1848 p. 396 fig., Imhoof-
Blumer and P. Gardner Num.
Comm. Paus. iii. 137 f. pl. BB, 4,
J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies
d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926
pl. 92, 1 Athens, 2 London)
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copy of Pheidias' statue set
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