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ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

BY

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VOLUME II

ZEUS GOD OF THE DARK SKY
(THUNDER AND LIGHTNING)

χὼ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει

THEOKRITOS 4. 43

PART II

APPENDIXES AND INDEX

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APPENDIX A.

KAIROS.

Kairos as a distinct personification first emerges in the middle of *s. v* B.C., when Ion of Chios composed a hymn in his honour. Pausanias¹ mentions it *à propos* of an altar to him in the north-eastern part of the *Altis*: 'Hard by the entrance into the *Stádion* are two altars. One they call the altar of Hermes *Enagónios*, the other that of Kairos. I am aware that Ion of Chios actually made a hymn to Kairos and in his hymn gives the genealogy of Kairos as the youngest of the sons of Zeus.' It has been conjectured with some probability that this hymn was written for the original dedication of the Kairos-altar at Olympia².

Whether Kairos was definitely worshipped elsewhere, we cannot say. Menandros 'spoke of him as a god³,' and Lysippos 'enrolled him among the gods⁴' by making his famous effigy. But neither phrase can be pressed to imply a practical cult.

Of the Lysippean Kairos numerous late descriptions and copies are extant⁵. These, however, differ widely among themselves: some must, many may, all might, refer to subsequent modifications of the type. Our earliest and most trustworthy source is Poseidippos (*c.* 270 B.C.), who devotes an epigram to the statue⁶. He informs us that it was fashioned by Lysippos of Sikyon, that it stood on tip-toe as a runner with wings attached to its feet, that it carried a razor in its right hand, that it was long-haired in front but bald behind, and that it was set up 'in the vestibule'—presumably of some Sicyonian building.

But how came Lysippos, the sculptor of athletes, to attempt such a curious piece of allegory? That is a problem which has never been squarely faced. My own conviction is that the statue was not, to speak strictly, allegorical at all. Lysippos, who excelled in the rendering of graceful male forms and is said to have paid special attention to the hair⁷, wished simply to portray the Age of Puberty. He therefore modelled a youthful runner, with wings⁸ on his feet, holding the razor⁹ that had shorn his votive tress for the well known puberty-

¹ Paus. 5. 14. 9.

² O. Benndorf 'Über eine Statue des Polyklet' in the *Gesammelte Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, eine Festgabe zum 4 Mai 1885 für Anton Springer* Leipzig 1885 p. 11.

³ Anth. Pal. 10. 52. 1 (Palladas) εὐ γε λέγων τὸν Καίρον εἶπες θεόν, εὐ γε, Μένανδρε, | κ.τ.λ.

⁴ Himer. *ocl.* 14. 1 ἐγγράφει τοῖς θεοῖς τὸν Καίρον, κ.τ.λ.

⁵ The fullest list is given by Lamer in his admirable article in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* x. 1508—1521.

⁶ Anth. Pal. 16. 275. 1 ff. (Poseidippos).

⁷ Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 65.

⁸ These may of course have been a later addition; but similar wings are attached to the feet of the 'Resting Hermes' at Naples (*Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 208 f. no. 841, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 282), which—in the opinion of most critics (*e.g.* M. Collignon *Lysippe* Paris 1904 pp. 112, 115 with fig. 24)—emanated from the school, and reflects the style, of Lysippos.

⁹ Lamer *loc. cit.* p. 1516 on grounds which to me seem inadequate denies that Lysippos' Kairos held a razor, and hence infers that even Poseidippos was not describing the original statue.

rite¹. The resultant figure took the popular fancy, and moralists soon² discovered a deep significance in the contrast between the front hair and the back, a significance hardly intended by the sculptor. A further aptitude was perhaps found³ in the fact that the name *Kairós* is related to the verb *keíro*, 'I shave'⁴.

Symbolism, once introduced, grew apace. Gems of the Hellenistic age⁵,



Fig. 796.



Fig. 798.



Fig. 797.

when Eros and Psyche were prime favourites⁶, added wings on the shoulders (fig. 796 ff.) and a butterfly on the hand (fig. 796 f.). The globe beneath the foot⁷ (fig. 798) and the balance suspended in the air (fig. 796 f.) or poised on the razor's edge (fig. 798), are attributes appropriate to divinities of fate such as Nike⁸ and

¹ *Supra* i. 23 n. 6.

² First in Poseidippos' epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 16. 275. 7 ff.).

³ Cp. Poll. 2. 33 ἀκαρῆς καιρός and context.

⁴ So P. Persson in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1895 xxxiii. 288 (καιρός < καρ-ιο-). Dr Giles too told me (Oct. 22, 1911) that, starting from the root of κελρω in the weak grade κρ-, we could assume κρ-ιο-ς > καρ-ιο-ς > καιρός, cp. κηγ-ιο- > χαρ-ιω > χαίρω.

⁵ (a) Convex cornelian in the collection of C. Newton-Robinson. Kairos, bearded, with forelock and bald head, wings on shoulders and heels, steps towards the right, holding a butterfly in his right hand and supporting with his left the depressed pan of a balance suspended before him (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 49 (=my fig. 796), ii. 207).

(b) Gem with the design of (a) reversed (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 51, ii. 208). This gem appears to be identical with (b').

(b') Gem from the Blacas collection. 'Kairos, bearded, with wings on shoulders and on heels, holding out pair of scales, and a butterfly' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 143 no. 1199. My fig. 797 is from a cast kindly furnished by Mr A. H. Smith).

(c) Convex gem in an unknown collection. Kairos, bearded, with wings on shoulders and heels, runs towards the right. His right foot rests on a ball. His right hand carries a razor, on the edge of which is poised a balance. His left hand is held beneath one of its pans (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 50, ii. 207 f.). This gem appears to be identical with (c').

(c') Convex onyx from the Blacas collection. 'Kairos, bald on back of head, bearded, wings on shoulders and heels; runs to r. [with right foot on ball], holding out scales in front [balanced on razor], but without butterfly' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 143 no. 1200. My fig. 798 is from a cast kindly furnished by Mr A. H. Smith).

⁶ *Infra* Append. G *sub fin.* and *supra* p. 645 n. 4.

⁷ Kallistrat. ἐκφράσεις 6. 1—4 ('On the statue of Kairos at Sikyon') states that the figure wrought by Lysippos for the Sicyonians was a bronze boy in the bloom of youth, for the most part resembling Dionysos, but with unusual hair—long in front and at the sides, free of tresses at the back—and with winged heels set on a sphere. Nothing is said of razor or scales.

⁸ F. Studniczka *Die Siegesgoetin* Leipzig 1898 p. 20 pl. 4, 23, 26 f. See also *supra* i. 48 f. figs. 20, 22.

Nemesis¹. But the most remarkable innovation of the period remains to be mentioned. The gems in question all represent the nude and agile figure, not merely with well-marked forelock and smooth occiput, but also with a full beard. This can only mean that the verbal misuse of *kairós* for *chrónos*² has led to a corresponding typological confusion of Kairos with Chronos.

It is, indeed, likely that confusion became more confounded, since Chronos was constantly interchanged with Kronos³ and Kronos too appears as a bald-

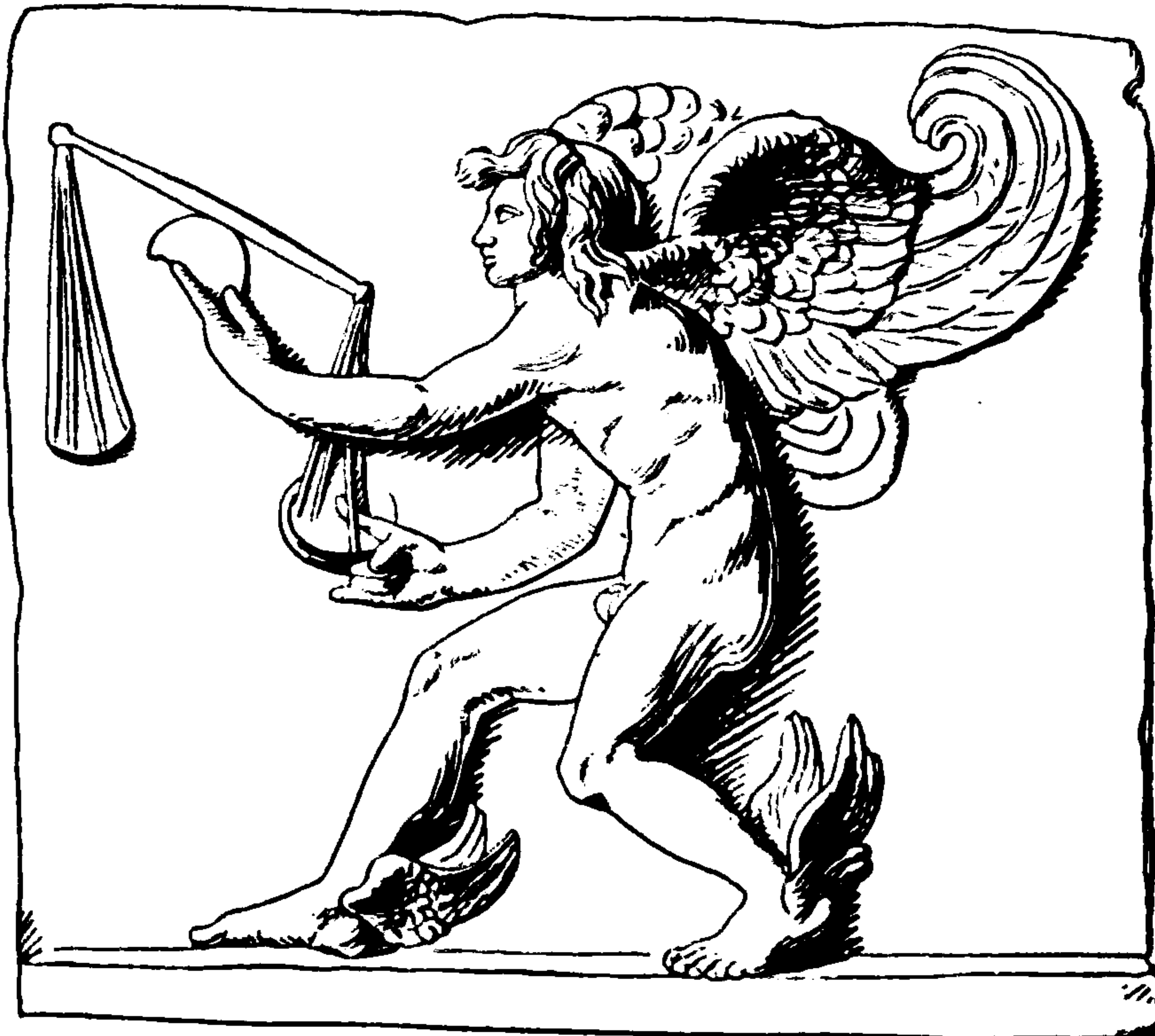


Fig. 799.

headed god hastening along with a sickle-knife in his hand⁴. Thus we reach the singular result that Kairos 'youngest of the sons of Zeus' has actually been transformed into a figure resembling that of his own grandfather Kronos⁵, while by a further surprising coincidence *Krónos*, as we have seen⁶, is derivable from the same root as *Kairós*.

Others distinguished the types and continued to portray Kairos as a youthful god. A relief at Turin (fig. 799)⁷ shows him, with forelock and tonsure, balancing

¹ H. Posnansky *Nemesis und Adrasteia* Breslau 1890 p. 113. See also *supra* pp. 99 n. 1, 734 n. 3.

² C. A. Lobeck in his ed. of Soph. *Ai.* Lipsiae 1835 p. 85 n.*.

³ *Supra* p. 374.

⁴ *Supra* p. 550 fig. 426.

⁵ We are almost reminded of Zagreus the shape-shifter, who appeared now as a youthful Zeus, now as an aged Kronos (*supra* i. 398 f., 647).

⁶ *Supra* p. 549 n. 6.

⁷ A. Rivautella—J. P. Ricolvi *Monumenta Taurinensia* Augustæ Taurinorum 1747 ii. 4 ff. no. 22 with pl., E. Curtius 'Die Darstellungen des Kairos' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxiii. 5 f. pl. 1, 1 (photograph of cast = my fig. 799), H. Heydemann *Winkelmannsfest. Progr. Halle* 1879 p. 35 Turin: Museo Lapidario no. 1 (thinks the slab a modern copy of an ancient relief: unconvincing), H. Dütschke *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien* Leipzig 1880 iv. 73 f. no. 117, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 751 no. 1897, A. Baumeister

the scales on the edge of a razor and depressing one pan with his finger¹. The would-be archaic wings, floating tresses, muscular body, and barocco pose all point to Pergamene influence.



Fig. 800.

Equipoise on the razor was a trait naturally suggested by the old Greek proverb 'it stands on the razor's edge'². An engraved cornelian of imperial date in the Berlin collection figures Kairos himself, scales in hand, treading gingerly along the narrow loom of a steersman's paddle (fig. 800)³. And Phaedrus must have seen similar representations in which the light-footed god even trod the razor's edge—*cursu volucris, pendens in novacula*⁴,—unless indeed we venture with G. Thiele⁵ to translate the last phrase 'weighing on the razor's edge,' in which case Phaedrus and the Turin relief would be in exact agreement.

The recognition of Kairos on Italian soil was attended by a certain grammatical awkwardness. Phaedrus describes the god in words of the masculine gender⁶, but names him *Tempus* in the neuter⁷, and says that he signifies *occasionem rerum...brevem*⁸. *Occasio*, as the Latin equivalent of *Kairós*, was in fact the name current during the third⁹ and fourth¹⁰ centuries of our era; and, being a feminine term, it entailed a change of sex. Ausonius in one of his epigrams¹¹ professes to expound a group of Kairos and Metanoia carved by in his *Denkm.* ii. 771 f. fig. 823 ('aus spät-römischer Zeit, aber unzweifelhaft echt'), B. Sauer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 900 fig., F. Durrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 787 fig. 4251 ('la reproduction d'un original grec'), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 423 no. 3. Italian marble. Height 0.60^m; breadth 0.65^m.

For an exact *replica* on sale at Florence see Friederichs—Wolters *op. cit.* p. 751 f. no. 1898 n.; and for a fragmentary relief of the same type at Athens, E. Curtius *loc. cit.* 1875 xxxiii. 6 pl. 2, 4, L. von Sybel *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen* Marburg 1881 p. 375 no. 5987, Friederichs—Wolters *op. cit.* p. 751 f. no. 1898.

¹ Cp. Himer. *ecl.* 14. 1 ποιεί (sc. ὁ Λύσιππος) παῖδα τὸ εἶδος ἀβρόν, τὴν ἀκμὴν ἐφηβον, κομῶντα μὲν τὸ ἐκ κροτάφων εἰς μέτωπον, γυμνὸν δὲ τὸ ὄσον ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὰ νῶτα μερίζεται· σιδήρῳ τὴν δεξιὰν ὠπλισμένον, ζυγῶ τὴν λαιὰν ἐπέχοντα, πτερωτὸν τὰ σφυρά, οὐχ ὡς μετάρσιον ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀνω κουφίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἵνα δοκῶν ἐπιψαύειν τῆς γῆς λαυθάνη κλέπτων τὸ μὴ κατὰ γῆς ἐπερείδεσθαι.

² First in *Il.* 10. 173 ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴσταται ἀκμῆς. See further Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1692 B—D.

³ Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 273 no. 7358 pl. 55, E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxiii. 4 pl. 2, 2 (=my fig. 800).

⁴ Phaedr. 5. 8. 1.

⁵ G. Thiele 'Phaedrus-Studien' in *Hermes* 1906 xli. 577 ff. Dr J. P. Postgate in a letter to me (Aug. 30, 1917) says: 'The absolute use of *pendere* is certainly possible though at first strange, and this perhaps has led to the belief that the participle comes from *pendere*. The expression of the thought is compressed in other respects; and Havet reads *Cursor uolucris pendens in nouacula, Caluus comosa fronte, nudo occipitio* for *cursu*.' Dr Postgate adds that in *Il.* 10. 173 ἴσταται 'should I suppose be understood of "weighing," a common meaning of ἴστημι, though the commentators do not say so.'

⁶ Phaedr. 5. 8. 2 f.

⁷ *Id.* 5. 8 *titulus*, 5. 8. 7.

⁸ *Id.* 5. 8. 5.

⁹ Cato *disticha* 2. 26. 2 fronte capillata, post est Occasio calva.

¹⁰ Paulin. Nolan. *epist.* 16. 4 (lxi. 230 B Migne) unde et Spes et Nemesis et Amor atque etiam Furor in simulacris coluntur, et occipiti calvo sacratur Occasio, et tua ista Fortuna lubrico male nixa globo fingitur (*figuratur* codd. F.P.U.) nec minore mendacio Fata simulantur vitas hominum nere de calathis aut trutinare de lancibus.

¹¹ Aus. *epigr.* 33 Peiper.

Pheidias (1). *Metánoia* is comfortably Latinised as *Paenitentia*. But the god *Kairós* must needs become the goddess *Occasio*, poised on a little wheel¹, with winged feet and the traditional *coiffure*.

¹ Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 30, 38, ii. 149 publishes a gem, on which Kairos as a nude youthful runner, with wings on shoulders, winglets on ankles, small round mirror (?) in right hand and whip in left, sets one foot on a four-spoked wheel. Inscription: L · S · P.

A limestone relief (height on left 0·40^m, breadth at bottom 0·27^m) of s. iii or iv from Thebes, now at Cairo, shows a youthful figure in military costume, with wreath, shoulder-wings, knife, wheel, and balance, running towards the right. Below are two females, one flying at the same pace, the other left behind in an attitude of dejection. J. Strzygowski *Koptische Kunst* (*Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte: Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*) Vienne 1904 p. 103 f. no. 8757 fig. 159 calls them Kairos, *πρόνοια* and *μετάνοια*. Cp. A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1905 viii. 150 fig. 5, O. M.



Fig. 801.

Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 158 with fig. 65 (= my fig. 801). But P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1912 xxxvi. 263 ff. fig. 1 takes the subject to be Nemesis trampling on Hybris (*supra* i. 269 fig. 195), with Metanoia behind. Cp. Lamer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1514. The latter interpretation is probably correct, though the type of Nemesis here is influenced by that of Kairos.

A relief from Thasos, now at Constantinople, has two niches side by side. In the one stands a youthful winged figure in short *chiton* and *himation*, with balance in right hand and wheel beneath feet. In the other is a pair of draped females, touching bosom of dress with right hand and holding short rod in left. A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1906 ix. 212 ff. fig. 1 viewed them as Kairos (or Bios) with Pronoia and Metanoia. But O. Rossbach in

Having rung the changes from youth to old and from male to female, this Protean personage reappears in Byzantine letters and art, sometimes under the old name of Chronos, sometimes under the new name of Bios.

Georgios Kedrenos (c. 1100 A.D.) states that the masterpieces collected in the House of Lausos¹ at Constantinople included 'the figure by Lysippos representing Chronos, bald behind, long-haired before².' Kedrenos' statement is very possibly true³, though Lamer infers from the name Chronos that we have here to do, not with the original Lysippean figure, but with a bearded copy of it⁴. Again, Ioannes Tzetzes (born c. 1110 A.D.) in his historical poem twice over informs us that, when Alexander had let slip an opportunity, Lysippos of Sikyon made him an effigy of Chronos

' Deaf, bald behind, wing-footed on a sphere,
And offering naught but a knife to his follower⁵.'

Tzetzes further spends a score of lines on insisting that this was Chronos, not, as sundry wiseacres maintained, Bios⁶. He had already said the same thing in greater detail in one of his letters⁷. And, after him, Nikephoros Blemmydes (1197/8—1272 A.D.) describes the group in almost identical terms⁸. We gather

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 157 f. fig. 6 proved that they are Nemesis and the Nemeseis; and P. Perdrizet *loc. cit.* p. 267 suggested the Nemesis of Alexandria and the Nemeseis of Smyrna (*supra* i. 270 fig. 197, 273). Cp. A. Legrand in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 54 fig. 5300, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 174 no. 3, Lamer *loc. cit.*

¹ On this see Kodinos *de signis Constantinopolitanis* 21 C (p. 37 f. Bekker) = Anonymos *πάτρια* 2. 36 (p. 170, 4 ff. Preger).

² Kedren. *hist. comp.* 322 C (i. 564 Bekker) *καὶ τὸ τὸν χρόνον μιμούμενον ἄγαλμα, ἔργον Λυσίππου, ὀπισθεν μὲν φαλακρόν, ἔμπροσθεν δὲ κομῶν.*

³ See A. Frickenhaus in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1915 xxx. 127.

⁴ Lamer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1511 f.

⁵ Tzetz. *chil.* 8. 428 ff., 10. 264 ff.

⁶ Tzetz. *chil.* 10. 275 ff.

⁷ Tzetz. *epist.* 70 (p. 61 Pressel) 'Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ποτὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων τῷ βασιλεῖ παραδραμὸντι καιρὸν καὶ μεταμέλου πείραν λαβόντι παρῶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ πλάστης ὁ Λύσιππος, Σικυώνιος δ' ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ, θειότατε δέσποτα, ὡς οὐτ' ἀκίνδυνον ἑώρα τὸν βασιλέα ἐλέγχειν, οὐτε μὴν πάντη ἀζήμιον τὸ μὴ τὴν ἐτέρων διαμαρτίαν ἐτέροις ποιεῖσθαι διδάσκαλον, τὴν ἀμφοτέρων κακίαν ἐκπεφευγῶς σοφῶς ἀμφοτέρα ἔδρασεν. ἐν εἰκόνι καὶ γὰρ τὸν χρόνον ἀγαλματώσας τὸν τε βασιλέα τῷ μὴ δοκεῖν ἐλέγχειν κοσμίως ἐξήλεγξε καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρακτικὴν τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν εἰκόνα παραίνεσιν καταλέλοιπεν. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως τὸ εἰκόνισμα. ἀνθρωπὸς τις ὁ Χρόνος ἐκεῖνῳ δεδημιούργηται προκόμιον ἔχων βραχύ, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὀπισθοφάλακρος καὶ κωφὸς ἱκανῶς, ὡς ἐστὶν εἰκάσαι, καὶ γυμνὸς ἐστὶν ὡς διολισθαίνων καὶ ἀναφῆς· βέβηκε δὲ ἐπὶ σφαίρας εὐδρόμου τινὸς μεταριπτάζων αὐτοῦ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐκείνην ὀξυκινήτως, ὡς ἡ τῶν ποδῶν ὑπαινίττεται πτέρωσις. ἐκείνου δὲ κατόπιον ἕτερος δεδημιούργηται ἄνθρωπος εὐτόνῳ κεχρημένος βαδίσματι, χεῖρά τε ἰδίαν ἐκτείνων, ἐκείνον ὡς συλληψόμενος καὶ τοῦτον μετακαλούμενος, ὡς τὸ ἀνεσπασμένον αὐτοῦ τῶν χειλέων δηλοῖ· ὁ δὲ παρέρχεται τε καὶ οἴχεται καὶ κωφεύων οὐκ ἐπάτει, μάχαιραν δὲ ὀρέγει πρὸς τὸ κατόπιον ἐπανατείνων τὴν χεῖρα, κατακαρδίους πληγὰς αἰνιττόμενος, αἴπερ ἐγγίνονται τοῖς χρόνον καθυστερίζουσιν. οὕτω πως σοφῶς ὁ Λύσιππος ἐνουθέτησε μὴ καθυστερίζειν καιροῦ, τοιαύτη τὸν Χρόνον ἀναστηλώσας γραφῇ, κἂν ἀκαιρηγοροῦντες δοκητῆται τινὲς ἀκρίτως εἶναι βίου ταύτην παραληρώσιν εἰκόνισμα, μὴ συνιέντες ὡς κ.τ.λ. Cp. *epist.* 95 (p. 86 Pressel) κωφόν· οἶον τὸν παροιχόμενον χρόνον Λύσιππος μὲν ἐζωγράφησε, κ.τ.λ. with schol. A. B. ἐζωγράφησε· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἠμδριαντοῦργησεν· ὁ Λύσιππος γὰρ ἀνδριαντοποιός, οὐ ζωγράφος.

⁸ Nikeph. Blemmyd. *oratio qualem oporteat esse regem* 10 (in A. Mai *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio Romae* 1827 ἡ. 638) λέγουσί τινες ὅτι καὶ Λύσιππος ὁ ζωγράφος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Σικυωνίος (*leg.* Σικυώνιος) βουλευθεὶς ζωγραφῆσαι καὶ ὡς ἐν παραδειγματι δείξει (*leg.* δείξει)

that some copy of Lysippos' runner, mounted on a ball, had been amplified by the addition of a second figure portraying the man who has allowed his opportunity to pass by and now pursues it in vain.

Among the wiseacres denounced by Tzetzes must be reckoned his contemporary Theodoros Prodromos (first half of s. xii A.D.), who in an extant epigram¹ describes Bios as a naked man, with wheels beneath his feet and wings about his shins, bearing a balance in his hand, and easily escaping from his pursuer, though holding out hopes of return. The poem is well illustrated by a fragmentary relief (fig. 802)² let into the pavement under the steps of the ambo in

ὅποιον ἔχει τὴν φυγὴν ὁ χρόνος ἐποίησε τοῦτον κωφόν, ὀπισθοφάλακρον (leg. ὀπισθοφάλακρον), πτερόποδα, καὶ ἐπάνω τοῦ τροχοῦ βεβηκότα, μάχαιραν διδόντα κάτωθεν ἰσταμένῳ τινί· κωφὸν μὲν, ὡς πρὸς τοὺς αὐτὸν φωνοῦντας, μηδαμῶς αἰσθανόμενον· φαλακρὸν δὲ τὰ ὀπισθεν, ὡς ἀδυνάτου ὄντος ὀπισθεν διώκοντα τινὰ κρατῆσαι αὐτόν· πῶς δὲ τις αὐτὸν παραδραμόντα φθάσαι ἰσχύσειε πτερόποδα ὄντα καὶ ἐπὶ σφαίρας ἰστάμενον; διδόντα δὲ ξίφος, διότι οἱ μῆτε δυνάμενοι τῆς κόμης κρατῆσαι μῆτε φθάσαι φεύγοντα τιτρώσκονται τῷ βέλει τῆς λύπης ὡς τῆς ζημίας ἐπαισθανόμενοι. *Id.* βασιλικὸς ἀνδριάς 10 (ii. 667 Mai) Λύσιππος ὄθεν ὁ Σικυώνιος, ὃ τι ποτὲ ἔστιν ὁ χρόνος καλῶς συμβολογραφῶν, κωφὸν αὐτὸν ἠγαλμάτωσεν, ὀπισθοφάλακρον, πτερόποδά τε καὶ σφαίρας βεβηκότα, μάχαιραν τινὶ πρὸς τὸ κατόπιον ὀρέγοντα, δηλῶν ἐντεῦθεν ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐπιστραφεῖη καλούμενος, διότι κεκώφευκεν· οὔτε τις αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀπίσω παρακατάσχοι δεδραγμένος τῆς κόμης, τὸ γὰρ ὀπισθόκρανον κατεψίλωτο· πῶς δὲ καὶ ὄλως παραδραμόντα τις καταλήψαιτο, τὴν ὀξυκινήσιαν τσαύτην φέροντα κάκ τῶν ποδῶν κάκ τῆς βάσεως; ῥομφαίαν (*ins.* ἄν) σπάσαιτο λύπης ὥστε θυμὸν ἀμύσσειν ὃ τῆς ζημίας αἰσθόμενος.

¹ Theod. Prodr. *eis* εἰκονισμένον τὸν βίον (cxxxiii. 1419 A—1420 A Migne)

ἐμὲ τὸν Βίον, ἀνθρώπε, δέξαι σου παραινήτην.
 ἔτυχες, εὖρες, ἔλαβες, κατέσχεες μου τὰς τρίχας;
 μὴ πρὸς ῥαστώνην ἐκδοθῆς, μὴ πρὸς τρυφήν χωρήσης,
 μηδὲ φρονήσης ὑψηλὰ καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου.
 γυμνὸν με βλέπεις· νόησον γυμνὸν μου καὶ τὸ τέλος.
 ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου τροχοί· φρίττε μὴ κυλισθῶσι.
 περὶ τὰς κνήμας μου πτερὰ· φεύγω, παρίπταμαί σε.
 ζυγὰ κατέχω τῇ χειρὶ· φοβοῦ τὰς μετακλίσεις.
 τί με κρατεῖς; σκιὰν κρατεῖς· πνοὴν κρατεῖς ἀνέμου.
 τί με κρατεῖς; καπνὸν κρατεῖς, ὄνειρον, ἔχνος πλοίου.
 ἐμὲ τὸν Βίον, ἀνθρώπε, δέξαι σου παραινήτην.
 οὐκ ἔτυχες, οὐκ ἔλαβες, οὐκ ἔσχεες μου τὰς τρίχας;
 μὴ σκυθρωπάσης τοῦ λοιποῦ, μηδὲ δυσελπιστήσης.
 γυμνός εἰμι, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐξολισθήσας τούτων
 ἴσως μεταρρῆσομαι πρὸς σέ καὶ μεταπέσω.
 ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου τροχοί· τάχα σοὶ κυλισθῶσι.
 περὶ τὰς κνήμας μου πτερὰ· τρέχω, προσίπταμαί σοι.
 ζυγὰ κατέχω· τάχα σοὶ τὴν πλάστιγγα χαλάσω.
 μὴ τοίνυν ἀποπροσποιῶ τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας.

There is a line lost from the second of the two stanzas, which were clearly meant to correspond.

² O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1853 pp. 49—59 pl. 4, E. Curtius 'Die Darstellungen des Kairos' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxiii. 6 f. pl. 1, 2, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 752 no. 1899, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* ii. 772 fig. 824, B. Sauer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 900 fig., F. Dürrbach in Datemberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 787 f. fig. 4252, A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1904 vii. 132 ff. fig. 4, O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 158 f. fig. 91, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 422 no. 3.

A further fragment of the relief, found by the architect R. Cattaneo in a mason's shop at Venice, was published by him in the drawing here reproduced (R. Cattaneo *L'architettura*

the Duomo at Torcello near Venice. The relief, which may be dated *c.* 1100 A.D., represents Bios as a half-naked youth hastening on winged wheels from right to left. His left hand, stretched forward, carries the scales; his right, drawn backward, brandishes a knife. In front of him stands a young man, who succeeds in grasping his hair. Behind him stands an old man, who fails in the attempt. To

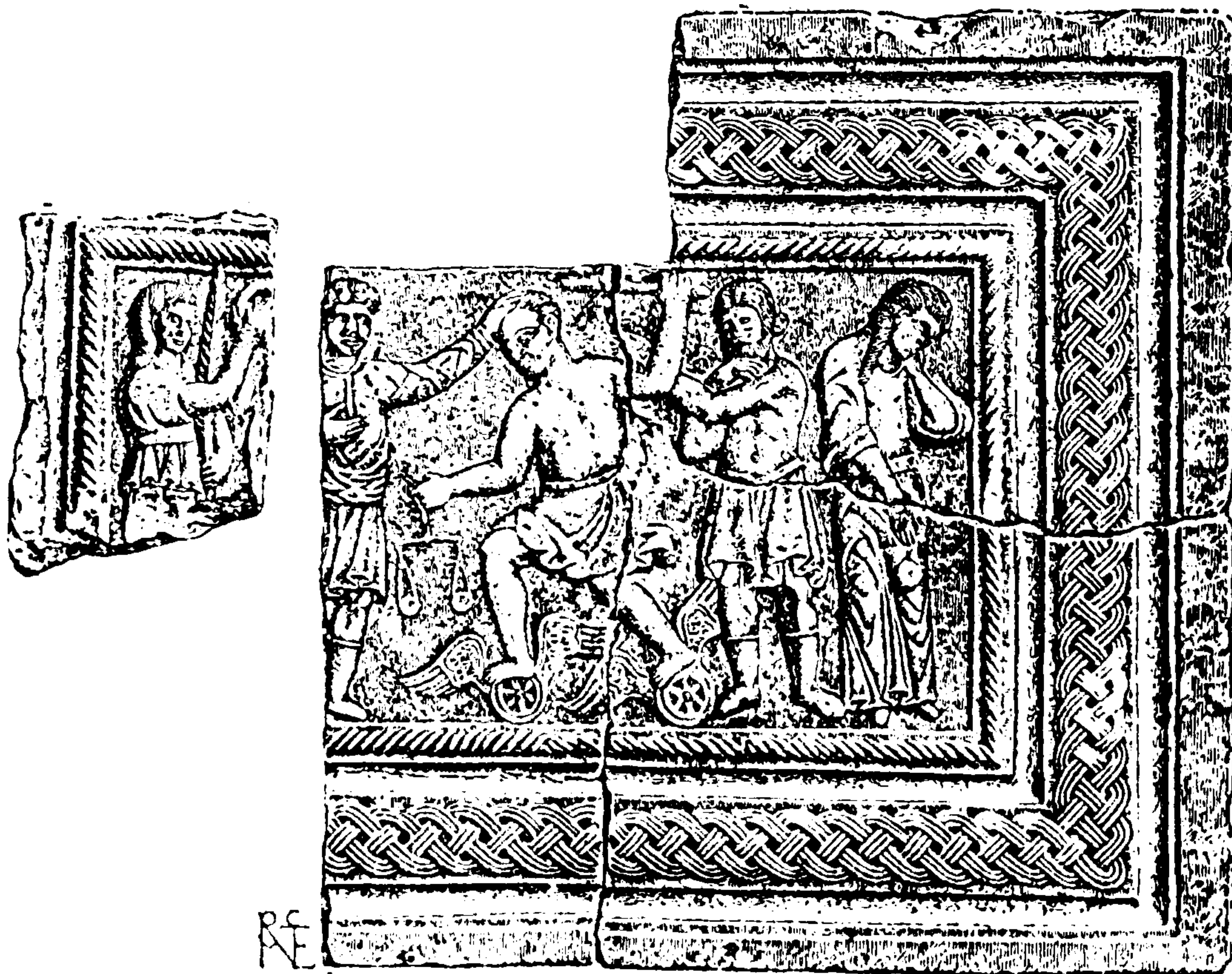


Fig. 802.

the left of the former is Nike with wreath and palm; to the right of the latter is Metanoia in an attitude of despair. Less elaborate is the symbolism of a later epigram on the same subject by Manuel Philes (*c.* 1275—*c.* 1345), who speaks of life (*bios*) as a nude youth, with bald head and winged feet, admonishing a frustrated follower¹.

in Italia dal secolo VI al mille circa Venezia 1888 p. 287 fig., trans. Contessa I. Curtis-Cholmeley in *Bernani* London 1896 p. 334 ff. fig. 165 = my fig. 802) and by A. Muñoz from a photograph (A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1906 ix. 214 f. fig. 2). The completed design is discussed by R. von Schneider 'Ueber das Kairosrelief in Torcello und ihm verwandte Bildwerke' in the *Serta Harteliana* Wien 1896 pp. 279—292 with figs., P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1912 xxxvi. 264 ff. fig. 2, Lamer in *Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc.* x. 1513 f.

R. Cattaneo *loc. cit.* was the first to assign this relief to its right place among the decorative sculptures of *s.* x and *s.* xi A.D. A. Muñoz *loc. cit.* first showed that the central figure was that of Bios.

¹ Philes *carm.* 67 (i. 32 Miller) *εἰς μεῖράκιον γυμνόν, εἰκόνα φέρον τοῦ βίου*
φεύγω, πτερωτός εἰμι· τί λαβεῖν θέλεις;
τὰς τρίχας; ἀλλ' ἔρρευσαν. ἀλλὰ τοὺς πόδας;
καὶ πῶς πτερωτοὺς εὐρεθέντας ἂν λάβοις;
τὸ σῶμα; γυμνόν ἐστι· τί σπεύδεις μάτην;

Yet another turn of the kaleidoscope, and this shifting personality puts on, if not a fresh form, at least a new colouring. Bios the naked runner on winged wheels, who has hitherto, in accordance with pagan thought, been represented as a good thing eagerly pursued by mankind, is now, within the pale of the medieval Church, viewed as a bad thing itself in hot pursuit of men. A Vatican manuscript of the *Ladder of Paradise* by Saint John Klimax¹, written about the close of s. xi A.D., has two relevant miniatures. In the one² Bios, a naked youth on wheels, makes after a monk, who bearing a small basket on his shoulder and looking behind him in terror does his best to escape, under the escort of a woman in blue and violet dress called *Aprospátheia*, 'Indifference to the World.' In the



Fig. 803.

other (fig. 803)³ Bios again appears on his roller-skates, extending a hand to seize the monk, who stands irresolute, hesitating whether or not to abandon for *Aprospatheia*'s sake his wife and children and happy home. A notable picture—one wonders if John Bunyan had somewhere seen the like.

We have traced the career of Kairos *alias* Chronos *alias* Bios for close upon eighteen centuries. It is possible that further investigation might find him with us still, 'offering' as of old 'naught but a knife to his follower.' 'It would be interesting to know,' says Prof. E. A. Gardner⁴, 'whether the scythe of Time is the ultimate development of this same symbol, and his hour-glass of the balance.'

ἄνθρωπε ταλαίπωρε, λήξον τοῦ δρόμου,
μὴ κατενεχθῆς τῷ δοκεῖν τι λαμβάνειν.
σκιά γάρ εἰμι, κἀν δοκῶ τέως μένειν.
ἀφίπταμαί σου καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐκτρέχω,
καὶ γίνομαι ροῦς ἀν συνέξης δακτύλοις.

Another ms. of Philes (cod. Paris.) has the *ἑπιπταία εἰς τὸν βίον μεϊράκιον ἐξωγραφημένον*, whence A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1904 vii. 131 n. 2 justly concludes that the poem alludes to some work of art.

¹ *Supra* p. 134 f. The ms. is cod. Vat. Gr. 394.

² A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1904 vii. 132 with fig. 2. The three characters are inscribed ὁ βίος, ὁ μοναχός, and ἡ ἀπροσπάθεια, above whose name is written ἡ φυγή κόσμου.

³ A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1904 vii. 132 with fig. 3 (part of which = my fig. 803). The inscriptions are ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ μοναχοῦ, οἱ παῖδες τοῦ μοναχοῦ, ὁ βίος, ὁ μοναχός, and in the field ἀπελθε μοναχέ εἰς καταλύουσαν ἀπροσπάθειαν and ὁ δὲ βίος σκιά καὶ ἐνύπνια.

⁴ E. A. Gardner *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* London 1897 ii. 411 n. 1.

The scythe of Time¹ should, I think, rather be derived from the scythe of Death, who was often conceived as a reaper or mower² and in folk-celebrations of Mid-Lent was sometimes represented by a straw puppet with a scythe in his hand³. The hour-glass of Time likewise copies the hour-glass of Death so frequently figured in the *Danse Macabre*⁴ of the Middle Ages. But Time himself is presumably the lineal descendant of the Byzantine Chronos or Bios. And it may well be that the knife, if not the balance, of Bios was modified to suit the popular effigy of Death. After all, the Church's idea of Life has often borne a suspicious resemblance to the world's idea of Death. *τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἐστὶ καθανεῖν, | τὸ καθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν κάτω νομίζεται*⁵;

If the main lines of the pedigree are as I have supposed, a further point may be descried. As at the first the razor of Kairos, so at the last the scythe of Time, was a symbol drawn from ritual usage. Such symbols live longest.

APPENDIX B.

THE MOUNTAIN-CULTS OF ZEUS.

Since the mountain-cults of Zeus have not, even in Germany, been made the subject of separate and detailed investigation⁶, it seemed worth while to collect the evidence both literary and monumental bearing upon them. The inferences that can be drawn from the evidence have for the most part been already stated⁷.

The Greeks worshipped Zeus *Óreios* 'of the Mountain'⁸, Zeus *Koryphaíos*

¹ Ancient, medieval, and modern representations of Time are discussed by F. Piper *Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1851 i. 2. 389—409.

² J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 848, 1888 iv. 1558, K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie*⁵ Bonn 1878 p. 479.

³ J. Grimm *op. cit.* 1883 ii. 772, W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*² Berlin 1904 i. 155 f., 412, 418, 421, cp. 420, Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Dying God p. 247.

⁴ On the various forms of the *Danse Macabre* see F. Douce *The Dance of Death* London 1833 with 54 pls., E. H. Langlois *Essai historique, philosophique et pittoresque sur les Danses des morts* Rouen 1852 in 2 vols. with 54 pls. and many figs., J. G. Kastner *Les Danses des morts* Paris 1852 with 20 pls. Bibliography in H. F. Massmann *Literatur der Todtentänze* Leipzig 1840 and E. Vinet *Bibliographie méthodique et raisonnée des beaux-arts* Paris 1874 pp. 116—121.

⁵ Eur. *Polyeidos frag.* 638 Nanek². See further F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. *ran.* 1477, *infra* Append. N *init.*

⁶ R. Beer *Heilige Hohen der alten Griechen und Römer* Wien 1891 pp. x, 86, written as a supplement to F. v. Andrian *Der Höhencultus asiatischer und europäischer Völker* Wien 1891, is a slight and disappointing book. C. Albers *De diis in locis editis cultis pud Graecos* Zutphaniae 1901 pp. 1—92 is likewise quite inadequate (see Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 115, 316). The lists given by Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 169 ff., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 116 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 50 ff., 152 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1103 f., though useful, are incomplete.

⁷ *Supra* i. 117 ff. *et passim.*

⁸ Zeus *Óreios*. E. Renan *Mission de Phénicie* Paris 1864 p. 396 f. recorded two identical inscriptions on blocks of gritstone formerly used for the lintel of the church-door at *Halalieh*: *ἔτους ζνς', μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου ιέ, Θρεπτίων (Ν)είκωνος τοῦ Σωσίππου τοὺς δύο | λέοντας δι' Ὀρείω, κατ' ὄναρ, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, εὐσεβῶν ἀνέθηκεν.* The year 257 in the Seleucid era would be 55 B.C., in that of Antioch 209 A.D., in that of Sidon 147 A.D. Renan held

'of the Peak¹, Zeus *Aktaïos* 'of the Point², Zeus *Akraïos* 'of the Summit³,

that the last date agrees best with the lettering. He pointed out that a little lion in white stone, found in 1863 at the foot of the hill on which the church stands, may well have been one of the two lions here mentioned. G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 57 notes that 'the lion, as an inhabitant of the mountain rather than the plain, is naturally sacred to the mountain deity' [cp. 2 Kings 17. 25 f.], in this case to the Mountain Baal, Hellenised as Zeus *Óρειος*, whose consort Astarte (?) rides a lion on coppers of Sidón struck by Severus Alexander (G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* pp. cxiii n. 6, 198 pl. 25, 8).

Zeus *Óρομπάτας*. E. Sittig in *Hermes* 1915 l. 158 f. publishes a dedication on a block of dark limestone at Amathous in Kypros: *Κυπρ* ||||| ||||| | Πολυξένου: *Αινιάν*[ος θυ]γάτηρ: *Εύβιάτα* | Παναίτιον Πολυξένου *Αινιάνα*, | Διὸς *Óρομπάτα* *ιερέα*, τὸν αὐτῆς *ἀνδρα*, | αὐτῆ καὶ τὰ *παιδιά*. The lettering suggests s. iii B.C.; and Sittig regards *Óρο-μπάτας* as = *δρειβάτης* ('Offenbar neigte das Kyprische dazu, β spirantisch zu sprechen; da in dem Dialekte der Ainianen β Verschlusslaut blieb, vollends in einem sakralen Worte, so half man sich bei der Schreibung so, dass man ΜΠ statt des Β setzte, mit dem die Eingeborenen einen anderen Lautwert verbanden'). This is ingenious; but, apart from the fact that μπ for β is unexampled at so early a date, *δρειβάτης* is an epithet which suits Pan (*Anth. Pal.* 16. 226. 1 (Alkaios of Messene)) rather than Zeus. I suspect that Zeus *Óρομπάτας* was a god of streams worshipped by the Ainianes. We hear of Ainianes as settled in Kirrha the harbour of Delphoi (Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 13 and 26), and of *δρεμπότης* as a Delphic term for 'river' (Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 24 *ἀπέπαυσε δὲ τὴν Πυθίαν ὁ θεὸς πυρκαϊούς μὲν ὀνομάζουσιν τοὺς αὐτῆς πολίτας, ὄφιοβρούς δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, δρεῖνας δὲ τοὺς ἀνδρας, δρεμπότας δὲ τοὺς ποταμούς*). On this showing Zeus *Óρομπάτας* resembled his neighbour Zeus *Νάιος*, a god 'of Streaming Water' (*supra* i. 369). The head of Zeus on coins of the Ainianes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly* etc. p. 10 ff. pl. 2, 1, 4, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 292), which in the case of coppers struck c. 168—146 B.C. often has a thunderbolt in the field (so on two specimens in my collection), may be that of Zeus *Óρομπάτας*.

¹ Zeus *Κορυφαῖος*. Selenkeia Pieria, at the foot of Mt Koryphaion (Polyh. 5. 59. 4), had a priest of Zeus *Óλύμπιος* and Zeus *Κορυφαῖος* (*Corr. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4458, 3 f., 3 ff., = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 245, 3 f. *Διὸς Óλυμπίου* | καὶ *Διὸς Κορυφαίου*, 27 ff. *Διὸς Óλυμπίου* [καὶ] | τῶν θεῶν τῶν | *Σωτήρων*] καὶ *Διὸς* | *Κορυφαίου*, cp. Liban. *legat. ad Julian.* 79 (ii. 152, 10 f. Foerster) τὸν *Δία τὸν τε ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς καὶ τὸν ἐν ἄστει, παρ' ὃν εἰσῆλθες ὕπατος, ὅθεν ἐξῆλθες θαρρῶν, ᾧ γέγονας ὀφειλέτης*). Philadelphia in Lydia, at the base of Mt Tmolos, also had a cult of Zeus *Κορυφαῖος* (*supra* p. 285 n. 0 no. (3) and Addenda *ad loc.*), whose head is seen on an imperial bronze coin of the town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 190 pl. 21, 9 = my fig. 804 (from a cast), *Head Hist. num.*² p. 655). The title has a variety of meanings in Paus. 2. 4. 5 (Corinth) *ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ θέατρον ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Διὸς Καπετωλίου φωνῆ τῇ Ῥωμαίων· κατὰ Ἑλλάδα δὲ γλῶσσαν Κορυφαῖος ὀνομάζοιτο ἄν*, Aristeid. *or.* 1. 8 (i. 11 Dindorf) *οὗτος βασιλεύς, πολιεύς, καταβάτης, ἰέτιος, οὐράνιος, κορυφαῖος, πάνθ' ὅσα αὐτὸς εὔρε μεγάλα καὶ ἐαυτῷ πρόποντα ὀνόματα*, Max. Tyr. *diss.* 41. 2 Dübner τὸν *Δία...τὸν κορυφαῖον τῆς τῶν ἀστρων περιφορᾶς καὶ διήσεως καὶ χορείας καὶ δρόμου*, cp. Ioul. *or.* 7. 230 D *ἀγαγὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τι μέγα καὶ ὑψηλὸν ὄρος*, 'Ἐπὶ τούτου, ἔφη, τῆς κορυφῆς ὁ πατήρ πάντων κάθηται τῶν θεῶν, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 59 (Minerva) *quarta Iove nata et Coryphe, Oceani filia*, Clem. Al. *prottr.* 2. 28. 2 p. 21, 1 f. Stählin (*supra* i. 155 n. 10, to which add Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14 and 16), Orph. *h. Poscid.* 17 b. 3 (Poseidon) *ὅς ναιεὶς κορυφαῖος ἐπ' Óλύμπιοιο κρήνων*, Paus. 2. 28. 2 *ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ ὄρους (sc. of Mt Koryphon near Epidaurus) Κορυφαίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἄρτεμιδος*, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Κορυφαῖον· ὄρος ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐπιδαυρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τιμᾶται Ἄρτεμις Κορυφαία*.



Fig. 804.

² Zeus *Ἄκταῖος*. Dikaiarch. 2. 8 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 107 Müller) *ἐπ' ἄκρας δὲ τῆς τοῦ ὄρους (sc. of Mt Pelion) κορυφῆς σπηλαίων ἐστὶ τὸ καλούμενον Χειρώνιον, καὶ Διὸς Ἄκταίου* [³ For note 3 see p. 871.]

(F. Osann, followed by C. Müller, cj. Ἀκραίου) ἱερόν, ἐφ' ὃ κατὰ κυνὸς ἀνατολήν κατὰ τὸ ἀκμαιότατον καῦμα ἀναβαίνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀκμάζοντες, ἐπιλεχθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱερέως, ἐνεζωσμένοι κώδια τρίποκα καινὰ· τοιοῦτον συμβαίνει ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ψῦχος εἶναι. On this passage see *supra* i. 420 f. The sanctuary of Zeus Ἀκταῖος has been located and partially explored by A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ. 1911 pp. 305—312 fig. 5 (= my fig. 805). The discoveries there described may be here summarised (brief notice also in *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1913 xvii. 109):

The highest peak of Pelion (1635^m), now called *Plissidi* or *Pliassidi*, has been repeatedly ransacked by treasure-seekers, some of whom coming from *Drákeia* are said to have been devoured by wolves. The rocky eastern side of the summit shows traces of ancient hewn habitations, like those of Demetrias, Pagasai, Phthiotic Thebes, etc., with holes for roof-timbers and coarse tiles perhaps manufactured on the spot. These dwellings are called by the shepherds *Skoleió*, because they resemble the benches in a school.

Close by is a ruined gate of hewn stone (E) with two towers (Π, Π), continued as a wall some 3^m thick, which forms a large elliptical precinct and probably had another gate on the south, though most of the stones have here disappeared. The wall and towers may date from s. v B.C. Adjoining this precinct, on the south-east, is another, of whose

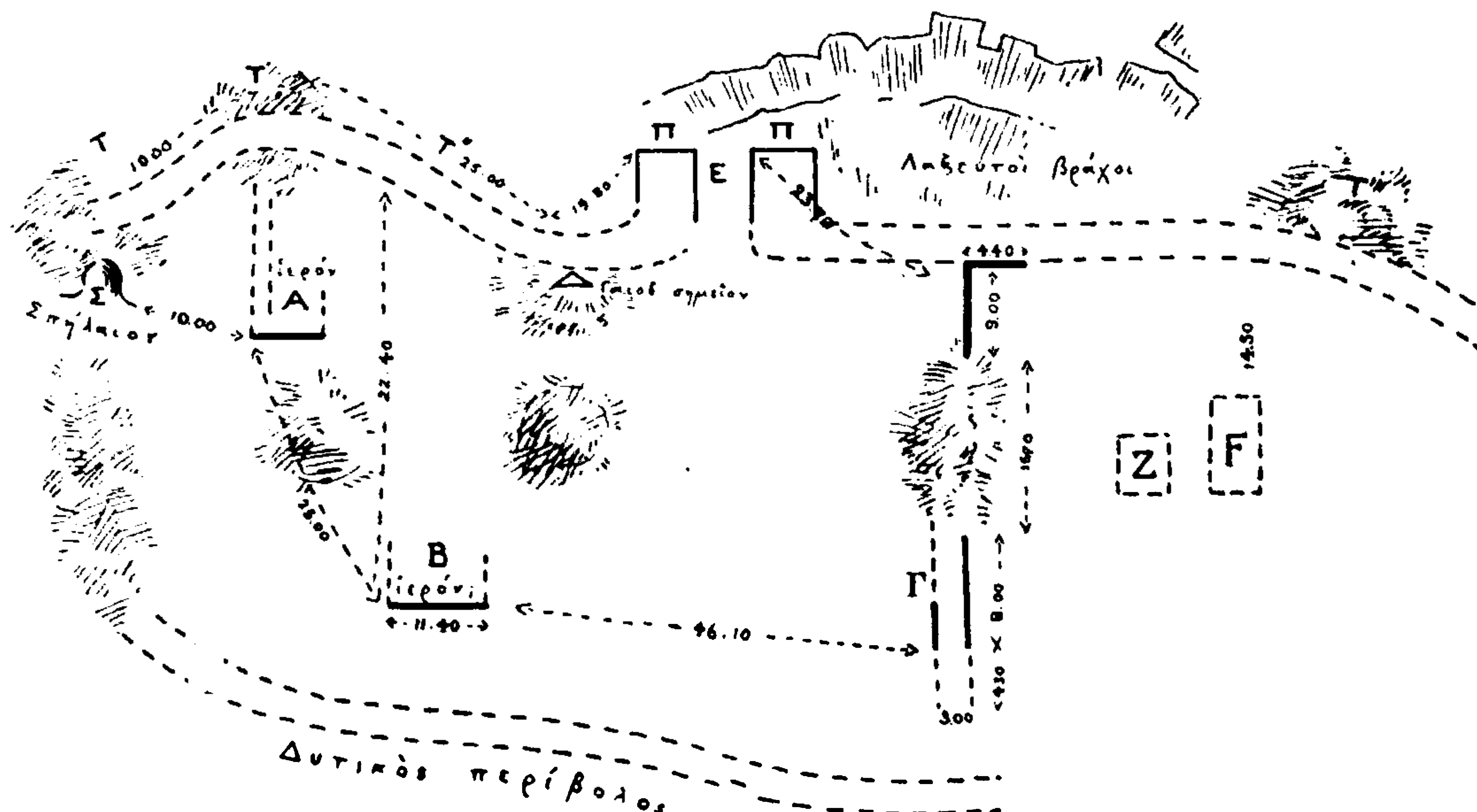


Fig. 805.

wall nothing remains beyond a small portion of the eastern side. The two precincts are separated by a wall of small stones (Γ), again 3^m thick, which was roofed on both sides so as to make a *stoá* for the sale of commodities during festival seasons.

At the north-west end of the large precinct is a steep rock-face, in which is the mouth of a cave (Σ), 2^m across, blocked with stones by the natives in recent times. The walls of the cave appear to have been hewn. Near it are traces of a building (A), which seems to have been of apsidal or horse-shoe shape, like the temple of Athena *Poliás* at Gonnoi (Arvanitopoulos *loc. cit.* p. 316 fig. 6), and was presumably the temple of the divinity worshipped in the cave. Further west was the quadrilateral temple (B) of another related deity: this was on a larger scale, one side partly excavated reaching a length of 11.40^m with a wall 0.55^m thick. Both buildings were carefully constructed of clay, the roofs being supported on trunks of trees. Numerous red tiles and black cover-tiles remain. Miscellaneous finds in this area include small cups of s. v—iv B.C., a copper coin of Chalkis of s. iv, butts and blades of iron lances, a flat unpainted idol like those of island make, three fragments of votive marble *stélai*, six *amphorae* buried full of embers and ashes. In the gateway (E) was a fragmentary *stéle* of hard white limestone inscribed in lettering of s. iv B.C. [οἱ δεῖνες ἀνέθηκ]αν Μ[ούσ(?)]|αις.

Inside the second precinct are two buildings (F and Z). Of these one (F) is a rect-

angular structure, built of large hewn blocks, with many roof-tiles. It stands on a slight elevation and, as the finest building on the site, is probably to be identified with the temple of Zeus Ἀκραῖος. Its position outside the large precinct is curious [and may imply that Zeus was a later comer than the deity worshipped in the cave—Cheiron son of Kronos and Philyra (?) A. B. C.]. Arvanitopoulos was unable to complete the excavation of this temple, because at midnight on Aug. 15, 1911, a storm burst on the summit of the mountain, inundated his tent, and forced him to beat a retreat. The small neighbouring structure (Z) was left wholly unexcavated.

³ Zeus Ἀκραῖος. (1) The cult of Zeus Ἀκραῖος on Mt Pelion is attested by an inscription found near *Burha* on the Gulf of Pagasai and now in the Museum at *Volo* (J. v. Frott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 82, 1 ff. = O. Kern in the *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1110, 1 ff. [---- παριστάναί τὰ θύματα λευκὰ ὀλόκληρα [κα] [[θαρὰ ἂ δεῖ θύ]εσθαι τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐθιζόμενα καθὼς [κα] | [πρὶν ἐ]γίνετο, τὰς δὲ τούτων δόρας πωλεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ [νῦν χρὸ] [νου κα] τ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὸ κήρυκα τῆι ἑκτῆι ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ἀρτεμισιῶνος μην] [νός πρὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας γινομένης ἐννόμου ἀπὸ τοῦ ----- | ρίου ὑπὸ τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀρχόντων, συμπρόντων καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου καὶ τῶν ἐξεταστῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τούτων | γενόμενον διάφ[ορον ἱερὸν εἶναι] τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου. . . . | νου τὰς ἀγορὰς ----- ἀμα τῷ θεῷ συναχθεῖσθαι | --- κ.τ.λ. (eight lines badly mutilated)): on this see *supra* i. 421 f. In s. ñ B. C. the priest of Zeus Ἀκραῖος was a personage of importance, who proposed decrees along with the chief magistrates of the Magnetes (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 307, 7 f. = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1103, 7 f. Ἀδαῖος Ἀδύμο[υ] ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ [Ἀ]κραίου, *ib.* iii. 2 no. 1105, 11, 6 f. Θηβαγένης Ἀπολλωνίου ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ | Ἀκραίου, Michel *op. cit.* no. 309, 6 = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1108, 6 [Λυσίας Ἐπιτέλου ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου). About 100 B. C. the priest of Zeus Ἀκραῖος was eponymous magistrate of the Magnetes, and those who were charged with the up-keep of the oracle of Apollon Κοροπαῖος took oath by Zeus Ἀκραῖος, Apollon Κοροπαῖος, and Artemis Ἴωλκία (Michel *op. cit.* no. 842 A, 1 ff., B, 5 ff., 21 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 1157, 1 a, 1 ff., 1 bc, 54 ff., 11, 70 f. = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1109, 1, 1 ff. ἱερέως Κρίνωνος τοῦ Παρμενίωνος, μηνός Ἀρείου δεκάτη, | Κρίνων Παρμενίωνος Ὁμολιεύς ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου κ.τ.λ., 54 ff. (cited *supra* p. 730 n. ο *sub fin.*), 11, 70 f. ἱερέως Κρίνωνος τοῦ Παρμενίωνος, μηνός Ἀρτεμισιῶνος δεκάτη, | Κρίνων Παρμενίωνος Ὁμολιεύς ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου κ.τ.λ.). Cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1128, 1 ff. Ἀῦρ. Τειμασίθεος | Κενταύριος ὁ ἱερ[ε]ύς τῷ Ἀκραίῳ Δι[ί].

(2) On the Pindos range between Thessaly and Epeiros there was a sanctuary of Zeus Ἀκραῖος (Liv. 38. 2 templum Iovis Acraei), whose figure seated on a rock or throne appears on coins of Gomphoi or Philippopolis (*supra* i. 124 figs. 90—92).

(3) At Trapezous in Arkadia, beneath Mt Lykaion, sacrifices were offered to Zeus Ἀκραῖος (Nikol. Damask. *frag.* 39 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 377 Muller) ταχὺ δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς (sc. Κρεσφόντου) ἤθελον (sc. οἱ ἐγχώριοι ἀποκτεῖναι), οὗς τότε ὁ μητροπάτωρ (sc. Κύψελος) ἄμα τῇ θυγατρὶ κνούσῃ θύειν μέλλων Διὶ Ἀκραίῳ εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα μετεπέμψατο).

(4) At Praisos in eastern Crete, where there was a temple of Zeus Δικταῖος (*supra* i. 660), the god seems to have borne the second appellative Ἀκραῖος. He appears on silver

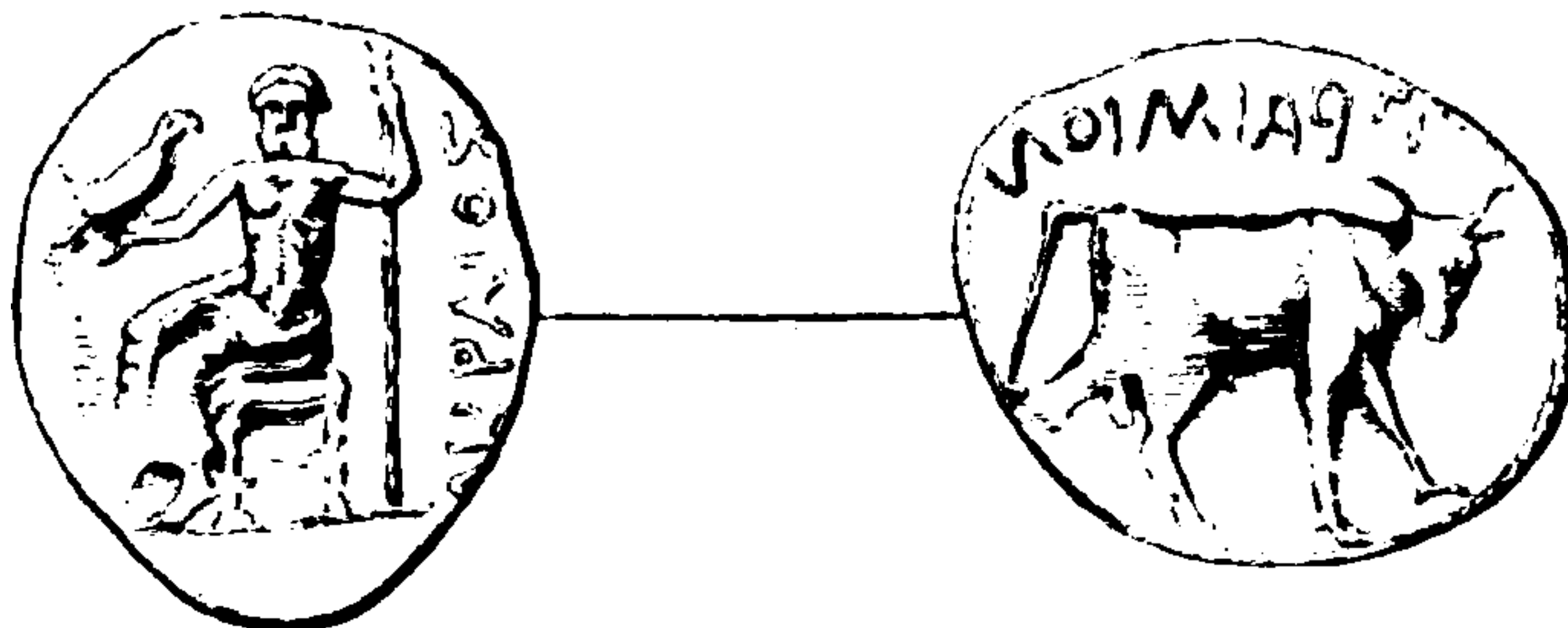


Fig. 806.

coins of the town (*supra* i. 660 n. 3) enthroned with sceptre and eagle and accompanied by the title ΔΙΚΤΑΙΟΣ (first correctly deciphered by C. T. Seltman): fig. 806 is from a

specimen in my collection. Since the coins in question go back to a date *c.* 400 B.C., this is the earliest known example of ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ as a numismatic legend.

(5) At Halikarnassos Aphrodite, who shared a temple with Hermes on high ground beside the spring Salmakis (Vitr. 2. 8. 11), probably bore the title 'Ακραία, since the Halicarnassians are known to have built a temple of Aphrodite 'Ακραία beneath the *akrópolis* of their mother-city Troizen (Paus. 2. 32. 6). Zeus too was worshipped at Halikarnassos under the same title (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 501 Διονύσιος | Διὶ 'Ακραίωι εὐχή[ν]). T. Bergk *Exercitationum criticarum specimen VI* Marburgi 1850 p. vi (= *id.* *Kleine philologische Schriften* ed. R. Peppmüller Halle a. S. 1886 ii. 297), K. Keil in *Philologus* 1854 ix. 454, and G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1193, would read 'Ακραίω for 'Ασκραίω in Apollon. *hist. mir.* 13 ἐν τῷ κατὰ τόπους μυθικῷ· ἐν 'Αλικαρνασσῷ θυσίας τιτὸς τῷ Διὶ τῷ 'Ασκραίω συντελουμένης ἀγέλην αἰγῶν ἄγεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἴστασθαι· τῶν δὲ κατευχῶν συντελεσθειῶν προβαίνειν μίαν αἶγα ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀγομένην καὶ προσέρχεσθαι τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν δὲ ἱερέα λαβόμενον αὐτῆς καλλιερεῖν. But I have argued in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 415 f. that Zeus 'Ασκραῖος, to whom the Lydians brought their first-fruits (Plout. *animine an corporis affectiones sint peiores* 4 οὔτοι συνεληλύθασι...οὐκ



Fig. 807.



Fig. 808.



Fig. 809.



Fig. 810.



Fig. 811.

'Ασκραίω Διὶ Λυδίων καρπῶν ἀπαρχὰς φέροντες), had a cult in Halikarnassos also; that he was an oak-Zeus (Hesych. ἄσκρα· δρῦς ἀκαρπος, cp. O. Schrader *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* trans. F. B. Jevons London 1890 p. 226, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 59, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 90); and that he is to be seen on imperial coppers of the town as a bearded god crowned with rays and standing between two oak-trees, on each of which is a bird (raven? dove?) (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria*, etc. p. 110 no. 83 pl. 19, 2 (= my fig. 807) Trajan, no. 85 (= my fig. 808) Antoninus Pius, p. 111 no. 88 (= my fig. 810) Septimius Severus, W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1854 Asiatic Greece p. 64 (= my fig. 809) Commodus, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 210 f. Münztaf. 3, 12, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 619 fig. 305. Fig. 811 Gordianus Pius is from a specimen in my collection). „It is of course possible that 'Ακραῖος was a second appellative of Zeus 'Ασκραῖος (cp. *supra* no. (4)).

(6) W. R. Paton in the *Class. Rev.* 1907 xxi. 47 f. publishes an inscription, in lettering of about *s.* i B.C. or *s.* i A.D., found at Myndos: [Πο]σίδεος Κλεωνύμου καθ' ὑπόθεσιν | [δὲ] Ποσιδέου καὶ ἡ γυνὴ 'Ηδεῖα 'Απολλωνίδου | [καὶ] οἱ υἱοὶ Κλεώνυμος καὶ 'Απολλωνίδης | ['Αλ]ικαρνασσεῖς Διὶ 'Ακραίω. Paton proposes 'Ακραίω for 'Ασκραίω, not only in Apollon.

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'of the Crest'.¹ These titles, and perhaps certain others², proclaim him to be a

ιδρυμένος. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ὀρῶν τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῷ ἰδρυόντων ὡς ἐπιπολύ, Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1747, 59 ὅθεν καὶ Ζεὺς ἐπάκριος, ᾧ ἐπ' ἀκρων ὀρέων ἰδρύοντο βωμοί. E. Ziebarth in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1900 lv. 502 f. published an inscription from Athens, in which certain ὀργεῶνες let on lease (?) [τὸ ἱερὸν τ]οῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἑπα[κρίου]. But the reading of the appellative is doubtful: ΕΠ/ are the only surviving letters.

² Zeus Καραίος. Hesych. s.v. Καραίος· Ζεὺς παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς οὕτω προσαγορεύεται· ὡς μὲν τινὲς φασι διὰ τὸ ὑψηλὸς εἶναι, ἀπὸ τοῦ κάρα, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3208 on a small unfluted column at Orchomenos in Boiotia [Δι] Καραιοῖ | [..... ἀρχ]οντος Κλιωνίω (W. Dittenberger *ad loc.* says: 'Vocem ἀρχοντος (aut ἱεραρχλοντος, ἱερατεύοντος) mediam sumpsit interpositam fuisse inter nomen proprium et adiectivum patronymicum. Sed id quoque fieri potest, ut [Δι]οντος, [Σπένδ]οντος aut aliud simile nomen proprium fuerit'). Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 6 draws attention to the proper names derived from this appellative: Καραιδγειτος (Thespias), Καραῖς (Anthedon), Καραίχος (Lebadeia, Orchomenos), Καραίων (Orchomenos). E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 13 extends the list, adding Καραίος (*Corp. Inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 1045, 5 (Athens), *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 729, 16 (Hermione), F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 235 f. no. 4942 a, 10 (Aptarà in Crete)). The title suits a mountain-god, cp. *Il.* 20. 5 κρατὸς ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο, 1. 44 κατ' Οὐλύμποιο κερήνων (Eustath. in *Il.* p. 1193, 9 f., Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 95, 22 ff. Bekker), *alib.* On Kratinos *Nemesis frag.* 10 see *supra* i. 280 n. 4. Phot. *lex.* Κάριος Ζεὺς· ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καὶ Βοιωτίᾳ refers more probably to the Carian Zeus (*supra* p. 577), cp. the Boeotian name Κάρων (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2787, 5 Kopai, 2974 Koroneia).

Zeus Κλάριος (Aisch. *suppl.* 359 f. ἰδοῖτο δῆτ' ἀνατον φυγὰν | ἱκεσία θέμις Διὸς Κλαρίου, Paus. 8. 53. 9 f. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ὑψηλόν, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ βωμοὶ Τεγεάταις εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοί, καλεῖται μὲν Διὸς Κλαρίου (κάρου codd. Vb. M.), δῆλα δὲ ὡς ἐγένετο ἢ ἐπικλησις τῷ θεῷ τοῦ κλήρου τῶν παίδων ἕνεκα τῶν Ἀρκάδος. ἄγουσι δὲ ἑορτὴν αὐτόθι Τεγεᾶται κατὰ ἔτος· κ.τ.λ.). Farnell *Cults of Grk. States* i. 56, 71 takes Κλάριος to mean 'he who sanctified the original allotment of land,' 'the god of allotments' (κλήροι) (so already Paus. *loc. cit.* and schol. Aisch. *loc. cit.* πάντα πασι (H. Weil corr. πάντα πᾶσι) κληροῦντος καὶ κραίνοντος). W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*³ Braunschweig 1875 i. 666 cite Hesych. κλάρες· αἱ ἐπὶ ἐδάφου(s) ἐσχάραι, which might be held to justify Κλάριος = ἐφέστιος (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1212). But F. Solmsen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1898 liii. 157 f., observing that the Tegeate tribe Κλαρεῶτις (Paus. 8. 53. 6: Schwedler cj. Κλαριῶτις) had tribesmen Κραριῶται (F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 351 ff. no. 1231, 357 ff. no. 1247), and that the names of the three other tribes Ἰπποβοίτις, Ἀπολλωνιάτις, Ἀθανεᾶτις are all derived from deities, contends that Zeus Κλάριος is for Zeus *Κράριος, 'ein "höchster Zeus" oder ein "Zeus der Bergeshöhe."' His view is accepted by Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 552 and may well be right.

Zeus Κλάριος of Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* 444 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Διὸς Κλαρίου μαντεῖον εἶναι αὐτόθι (*sc.* at Κλάρος near Kolophon) must not be confounded with Zeus Κλάριος.

¹ Zeus Λοφείτης. A cult of this deity at Perinthos (later known as Herakleia) on the Propontis is evidenced by the following inscriptions: (1) on the back of a rectangular marble altar, between *Kodosto* and *Eregli* (Perinthos), in letters of s. ii A.D. Διὶ Λοφείτῃ Ε[ύ(?)][δίων Φιλλύδ[ου] | ἱερεὺς νέοις λυ|...ρίοις δῶρον (E. Kalinka in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1896 xix. 67 f., F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 565. Kalinka suggests that the altar was a gift to a corporation of νέοι αὐράριοι). (2) From Perinthos: Διὶ Λοφείτῃ | ὑπὲρ Οὐα(τ)εινίου Καλλιμάχου οἱ φίλοι καὶ | οἰκιακοὶ εὐχὴν (A. Baumeister in *Philologus* 1854 ix. 392 f. no. 15, F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 565, *id. ib.* 1908 xxxiii. 161 f. Baumeister wrongly supposed that this inscription had come from Herakleia, the small island off the coast of Naxos). (3) From Perinthos: gable with garland, beneath which [Δι]ὶ Λοφείτ(η)ι καὶ | [συ]ναγωγῆι -ΝΑ | ..ων νέων Πρεῖ[σκ]ος ἐκ τῶν (εἰδ)ίων | καθιέρω[σε]ν (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Ath. Mitth.*

[² For note 2 see p. 875.]

god of mountain-tops. And, when he is called *Hýpatos* 'the High'¹ or

1908 xxxiii. 162 suspects an allusion to the *νέοι αὐράριοι* (?) of (1) and proposes [συ]ναγωγῆ (τῶν) Α[ύ - -][ρ]ίων νέων). The title *Δοφείτης* was due to the situation of the town: ἡ γὰρ Πέρινθος κείται μὲν παρὰ θάλατταν ἐπὶ τινος αὐχένος ὑψηλοῦ χερρονήσου, σταδιαῖον ἐχούσης τὸν αὐχένα· τὰς δ' οἰκίας ἔχει πεπεκνωμένας καὶ τοῖς ὕψει διαφερούσας. αὐταὶ δὲ ταῖς οἰκοδομαῖς ἀεὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν λόφον ἀνάβασιν ἀλλήλων ὑπερέχουσι, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ὄλης πόλεως θεατροειδὲς ἀποτελοῦσι (Diod. 16. 76). For Zeus 'Επιλόφιος at Naïssos see *infra* Moesia.

² Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1103 n. 2 suggests that Zeus Φαλακρός at Argos (Clem. Al. *prot.* 2. 39. 2 p. 29, 6 f. Stählin οὐχὶ μέντοι Ζεὺς φαλακρὸς ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τιμωρὸς δὲ ἄλλος ἐν Κύπρῳ τετρίμησθον;) was a mountain-god. This is probable enough, for the summit of Mt Ida was called Φάλακρον, Φάλακρα, Φαλάκρα, Φαλάκραι, a promontory in Korkyra Φάλακρον, Φαλακρὸν ἄκρον, another in Epeiros Φάλακρον, another in Euboeia Φαλάκραι (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* viii. 604 B—D). For Zeus Κλάριος see *supra* p. 874 n. 2.

¹ Zeus Ὕπατος was worshipped (1) on Mt Hypatos above Glisas in Boiotia (Paus. 9. 19. 3 ὑπὲρ δὲ Γλισᾶντός ἐστιν ὄρος Ὕπατος καλούμενον, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Διὸς Ὕπατου ναὸς καὶ ἀγαλμα). The mountain, now called *Sagmatás*, rises to a height of 749^m: 'it is bold and rocky, and has a flat summit which is crowned with a monastery of the Transfiguration, founded by Alexis Comnenus. The church of the monastery contains fine mosaics, and stands on the foundations of the temple of Zeus. Both the church and the monastery, as well as two neighbouring chapels, contain many considerable fragments of antiquity built into the walls. The dome of the church is supported by two ancient monolithic columns, with their bases and capitals' (Frazer *Pausanias* v. 61). The view from the monastery embraces the three lakes Kopais, Hylike, Paralimne, the Euboean sea, and on the horizon a whole series of mountains—Messapion, Dirphys, Parnes, Kithairon, Helikon, Sphingion, Parnassos, Ptoion (H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Berlin 1863 ii. 28 f.). Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 6 notes the frequent Boeotian name Ὕπατόδωρος. E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 13 f. quotes examples of Ὕπατόδωρος from Thebes, Tanagra, Delphoi, Smyrna, of Ὕπατίας from Thebes, of Ὕπατοκλῆς from Rhodes.

(2) He had an altar, founded by Kekrops 'in front of the entry' to the Erechtheion at Athens, where he was served with cakes but no wine- or animal-offerings (Paus. 1. 26. 5 ἐστι δὲ καὶ οἶκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον· πρὸ δὲ τῆς εἰσόδου Διὸς ἐστι βωμὸς Ὕπατου, ἐνθα ἔμψυχον θύουσιν οὐδέν, πέμματα δὲ θέντες οὐδέν ἐτι οἴνω χρήσασθαι νομίζουσιν, 8. 2. 3 ὁ μὲν γὰρ (sc. Κέκροψ) Δία τε ὠνόμασεν Ὕπατον πρῶτος (πρῶτον cod. La.), καὶ ὅποσα ἔχει ψυχῆν, τούτων μὲν ἤξιωσεν οὐδέν θῆσαι, πέμματα δὲ ἐπιχώρια ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καθήγισεν, ἃ πελάγους καλοῦσιν ἐτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι). He was on occasion associated with Athena Ὕπάτη and other deities (Dem. c. *Macart.* 66 (a Delphic response) συμφέρει Ἀθηναίοις περὶ τοῦ σημείου τοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ γενομένου θύοντος καλλιερεῖν Διὶ Ὕπάτῳ, Ἀθηνᾷ Ὕπάτῃ, Ἡρακλεῖ, Ἀπόλλωνι Σωτήρῃ, καὶ ἀποπέμπειν Ἀμφίβνεσσι). Cp. Cougny *Ath. Pal. Append.* 1. 201. 1 ff. = *Courp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 170, 2 ff. Ὑψιμέδων Ὕπατε, πάτερ εἰρήνης βαθυκά[ρπου,] | σὸν Ἐλαίου (for Ἐλέου) βωμὸν ἱκετεύομεν ἡμεῖς, (scansion!) | Θρηῖκες οἱ ναλοντες ἀγάκλυτον ἄστῦ τὸ [Σά]ρδε[ων(?),] | κ.τ.λ.

(3) The tetrapolis of Marathon sacrificed to him in Gamelion (R. B. Richardson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1895 x. 209 ff. col. 2, 13 Διὶ ὑπ[άτῳ οἷς ΔΤΤ(?)]=J. de Protte *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 46 ff. no. 26, B 13 Διὶ Ὑπ[άτῳ - - -]).

(4) At Sparta he had a statue of hammered bronze by Klearchos of Rhegion (Paus. 3. 17. 6 (*supra* p. 739 n. 1), 8. 14. 7 τοῦ ἐς Σπαρτιάτας λόγου τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦ Ὑπατου Διός).

(5) In Paros on the top of Mt *Kounidos* the little church of the Prophet Elias has built into it boundary-stones belonging to Zeus Ὕπατος, to Aphrodite, to Histie Δημήη (O. Rubensohn in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 215). The first of these, a rough block of white marble, is inscribed in lettering of s. v B.C. [δ]ρος Ὑπάτο· ἀ[τε]'[λ]έστοι οὐ θέμ[ι]ς οὐδὲ γυναι[κ]ῆ (sc. εἰσελθεῖν) (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 183 with fig.).

Hypsistos 'the Most High¹' there is reason to suspect that the epithet had originally a literal rather than a metaphorical sense.

(6) At Rome the road between the Curia and the Basilica Aemilia yielded a block inscribed Δι' Ὑπάτωι (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 994).

(7) An honorary inscription of s. ii A.D. found at Priene contains the clause ἀναγραφάτω (sic) (τό)δε [τ]ὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λευκοῦ λίθου καὶ ἀνατεθή[τ]ω ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ[ι τ]οῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὑπάτου (sc. in Thessaly(?)) (F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Inscriptionen von Priene* Berlin 1906 no. 71, 28 f.).

(8) M. Schweisthal 'L'image de Niobé et l'autel de Zeus Hypatos au mont Sipyle' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1887 xii. 224 argues that Zeus on Mt Sipylos was invoked under the name of Ὑπατος, cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 533 ff. ὀψέ δὲ δύσνιφον οἶδμα καὶ ὑδατέσσαν ἀνάγκην | Ζεὺς ὑπατος (ὑδατος codd. F. M.) πρήνυε, καὶ ἐκ Σιπύλοιο καρήνων | κλυζομένης Φρυγίης παλι-ἀγρετον ἤχασεν ὕδωρ. But ὑπατος is a commonish epithet of Zeus in the poets (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 141) and is used elsewhere by Nonnos (*Dion.* 33. 162 Ζεὺς ὑπατος καὶ θοῦρος Ἄρης καὶ θέσμιος Ἑρμῆς) without local significance.



Fig. 815.

A leaden anchor, found off the coast of Kyrene and now in the British Museum, bears in relief the ship's name ΣΕΥΣ ΥΠΑΤΟΣ (C. Torr *Ancient Ships* Cambridge 1894 p. 71 f. pl. 8, 45, 46 and 47 (= my fig. 815)). The lettering points to s. i A.D.

According to schol. T. *Il.* 13. 837 some persons understood Διὸς ἀγᾶς as denoting τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῶν ὀρώων!

¹ Examples of this appellative have been collected, classified, and discussed by E. Schürer in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1897 pp. 200—225 and F. Cumont *Hypsistos* (Supplément à la *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique*, 1897) Bruxelles 1897 pp. 1—15, *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 444—450 s.v. Ὑψιστος. I am under deep obligation to their labours, as the following list will show.

Zeus Ὑψιστος was worshipped (1) at Athens in the Pnyx. For a good survey of the problems that cluster about this much-disputed site see *in primis* J. M. Crow and J. Thacher Clarke 'The Athenian Pnyx' in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1885—1886 iv. 205—260. The view adopted from H. N. Ulrichs by

F. G. Welcker *Der Felsaltar des Höchsten Zeus oder das Pelasgikon zu Athen, bisher genannt die Pnyx* Berlin 1852 pp. 1—75 with pl., *id.* 'Pnyx-oder-Pelasgikon' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1856 x. 30—76, *id.* 'Ueber C. Bursians "Athenische Pnyx"' *ib.* 1856 x. 591—610, and defended especially by E. Curtius *Attische Studien* i Pnyx und Stadtmauer in the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1862 xi. 53—132 with pls. 1, 2, *viz.* that the so-called Pnyx was an ancient sanctuary of Zeus Ἰψιστος with the so-called *bēma* for its altar, is nowadays discredited. But it is generally admitted that in imperial times, when the Pnyx had long ceased to be used for public assemblies, a cult of Zeus Ἰψιστος as a healing god was here carried on. In the rock-cut back-wall of the Pnyx, between its eastern angle and the *bēma*, there are more than fifty rectangular niches cut to receive tablets. Many of the tablets that had been in the niches were found by Lord Aberdeen in 1803 buried in the earth at the foot of the wall and are now in the British Museum (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i nos. 497—506, C. T. Newton in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1874 i nos. 60—70, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 nos. 147—156, 237, 238). They are dedications, mostly by women of the lower class, to Zeus Ἰψιστος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 148 Σύντροφος | Ἰψιστω Δι | χαριστήριον,



Fig. 816.

no. 153 Ὀνησίμη εὐχὴν | Δι Ἰψιστω with relief representing a female breast) or to θεὸς Ἰψιστος (*ib.* no. 237α θεῶ Ἰψ[ιστω] | [ε]ύχην with relief of part of a shoulder) or more often to Ἰψιστος alone (*ib.* no. 149 Εθοδος Ἰψιστω εὐχὴν with relief of a pair of eyes (cp. *ib.* no. 238 = C. T. Newton *loc. cit.* no. 69), no. 150 Ὀλυμπιάς Ἰψιστω | εὐχὴν with relief of a woman's abdomen, no. 151 Τερτία Ἰψιστω | εὐχὴν with relief of a face from the bridge of the nose downwards, no. 152 Κλαυδία Ἰρέπουσα | εὐχαριστῶ Ἰψιστω with relief of a pair of arms, no. 154 Εὐτυχίς Ἰψιστω εὐχ(ήν) with relief of a female breast (= my fig. 816), no. 155 Ελισιάς Ἰψ[ιστω] | εὐχ(ήν) with relief of a female breast).

Sporadic inscriptions attest the existence of the same cult elsewhere in Athens. L. Ross *Die Pnyx und das Pelasgikon in Athen* Braunschweig 1853 p. 15 cites three inscriptions discovered in the foundations of a house on the northern slope of the Akropolis (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1843 xv. 330 ff.) and now at Berlin (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 270 no. 718 Εὐτυχία | Ἰψιστω | εὐχὴν with relief of a female breast, no. 719 Εθπραξι[s] | εὐχὴν with relief of a female breast, no. 720 Ελισδοτή Δι Ἰψιστω with relief of eyebrows, eyes, and bridge of nose. Cp. no. 721 an unscribed relief from the same spot, representing the middle part of the body of a nude female). A column of Pentelic marble, found to the

west of the *Propylaia*, has Γλαῦκος, | Τρύφαινα, | Λέων | [Υ]ψιστω | [εὐχὴν] ὑπὲρ | [τῶν γονέων(?)] (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 146). A small Ionic capital from the southern slope of the *Akrópolis* is surmounted by a broken eagle, beneath which is inscribed ἀγαθὴ τύχη. | Ἰουλ(ία) Ἀσκληπιανῆ | θεῷ Ὑψιστω ὑπέ[ρ] | Μαξίμου τοῦ υἱ[οῦ] | εὐχαρισστήριον ἀνέθ[ηκεν].

(2) At Thebes near the Hypsistan Gates (Paus. 9. 8. 5 πρὸς δὲ ταῖς Ὑψισταῖς Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐπικλήσιν ἐστὶν Ὑψιστου). H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.* note that these Gates are assumed to have been on the south-western side of the city, where they are shown, adjoining a hill of Zeus Ὑψιστος, in the map given by Frazer *Pausanias* v. 32.

(3) At Corinth three statues of Zeus stood in the open air. One of them had no special title; the second was Χθόνιος; the third, Ὑψιστος (Paus. 2. 2. 8 τὰ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς, καὶ ταῦτα ὄντα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, τὸ μὲν ἐπικλήσιν οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν Χθόνιον καὶ τὸν τρίτον καλοῦσιν Ὑψιστον). We are hardly justified in asserting with Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 87 that the nameless Zeus was 'ohne Zweifel ein...Zenoposeidon,' or in conjecturing with P. Oelberg *Sacra Corinthia, Sicyonia, Phliasia* Upsala 1896 p. 7 that he was a Zeus ἐνάλιος. Such a god would surely have had a distinctive appellation. See, however, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1094 n. 27, *supra* p. 582 ff.

(4) At Argos Smyrna, the wife of Maenius Apollonius and apparently priestess of Zeus, in an interesting epitaph describes her tomb as a barrow adjoining the sanctuary of Zeus Ὑψιστος (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 620, 4 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 286. 8 ὑψιστου δ' ἥριον ἀ[γχι Διὸς]).

(5) At Olympia Zeus Ὑψιστος had a couple of altars on the way to the Hippodrome (Paus. 5. 15. 5 πλησίον δὲ καὶ Μοιρῶν βωμός ἐστιν ἐπιμήκης, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἑρμοῦ, καὶ δύο ἐφεξῆς Διὸς Ὑψιστου. K. Wernicke's cj. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν δύο ἐφεξῆς Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Διὸς Ὑψιστου is unnecessary).

(6) In Skiathos is a marble slab inscribed with a dedication [Διὶ Ὑ]ψιστω καὶ τῇ Πόλει | κ.τ.λ. (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* viii no. 631).

(7) At Hephaistia in Lemnos is a round altar of white marble inscribed in lettering of s. ii or iii A.D. Ἐπηκόω | θεῷ Ὑψιστω | Βεῖθυς ὁ καὶ | Ἀδωνίς | εὐχὴν (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* viii no. 24).

(8) In Imbros was a slab of white marble, broken at the right side, with the inscription Διὶ Ὑψισ[τω] | Ἀθηναίω[ν] | Ἀριστω[ν] | εὐχ<ης> ἦν (A. Conze *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres* Hannover 1860 p. 90 pl. 15, 2, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* viii no. 78. In line 4 Conze suggests εὐχῆς (ξ)ν[εκα]. Wilamowitz says: 'Fortasse Διὶ ὑψιστω [ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τῶν νελ καὶ τῶι δήμωι τῶι] Ἀθηναίω[ν τῶν ἐν Ἰμβρωι ἀνέθηκεν] Ἀριστων [patris ἐξ] εὐχῆς ἦν [εἴξατο ὁ δεῖνα]').

(9) Makedonia has furnished dedications from Aigai (L. Duchesne—C. Bayet *Mémoire sur une mission au mont Athos* Paris 1877 no. 136 Διὶ Ὑψιστω εὐχὴν Μάκρος Λιβύρνιος Οὐάλης, no. 137 Διὶ Ὑψιστω Πο. Αἴλιος Τερεντιανὸς Ἀττικὸς κατ' ὄναρ), Kerdylion (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 110 M. Λευκέλλιο[s] | Μακλᾶς θεῷ[ι] | Ὑψιστωι χαριστήριον), and elsewhere (Delacoulonche *Le berceau de la puissance macédonienne* no. 20 to Zeus Ὑψιστος, cited by P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 347 n. 2).

(10) In Thrace we have inscriptions from Anchialos (C. Jireček in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1886 x. 173 no. 3 ΔΗΥΨΙΣΙΙΔΕΣΣ | ΓΗΠΟΛΥΠΡΟΣΣ | ΟΝΤΕΙΙΝΩΝ-ΚΑΙΣ | ΑΥΤΟΥΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΗ | ΡΙΟΝ, which is read by O. Benndorf *ib.* n. 32^a as Διὶ ὑψισ[τω] ἐ[πὶ]β[η]τῆ(?) Πολύ[βι]ος [τῶν τέκνων καὶ [ἐ]αυτοῦ εὐχαριστήριον) and Selymbria (R. Cagnat *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1911 i. 255 no. 777 Θεῷ ἀγίωι ὑψιστωι | ὑπὲρ τῆς Ποιμητάλκου καὶ Πυθοδωρίδος ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Κοιλα[λ]ητικὸν | πόλεμον κινδύνου | σωτηρίας εὐξάμενος | καὶ ἐπιτυχῶν Γάιος | Ἰούλιος Πρὸκ(λ)ος χαριστήριον).

(11) Moesia. An altar of reddish limestone, found among Roman remains between the villages of *Selenigrad* and *Miloslavci*, and now in the Museum at *Sofia*, is inscribed θεῷ Ὑψιστωι | ὑπὲρ Αὐφιδίων οἰκων | [..... Αὐφιδίω[s].....] (E. Kalinka *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien* Wien 1906 p. 133 f. no. 145). A limestone altar at *Pivot* reads ἀγαθῆ [τύ]χ[η] | Θεῷ ἐπηκόω ὑψιστωι | εὐχὴν ἀνέστησαν | τὸ κοινὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων διὰ

Ἄγαθῶ Ἀγγελῶ, | Κλαύδιος Ἀχιλ(λ)εὺς καὶ Γαλατ[ι]α ὑπὲρ σωτηρί[as] | μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων | πάντων, χαριστ[ή]ριον, A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 182 f. no. 3 Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ | καὶ Θεῶ Ἀγγέλῳ Νέων | καὶ Εὐφροσύνῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν | ἰδίων, no. 4 [Δι(ῶ)] Ὑψίστῳ καὶ | Θεῶ Φρόνιμος καὶ | Πειθῶ κα[ι](sic) | ὑπὲρ τῶν [ι]δίων χαριστήριον, G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 418 f. no. 1 at *Djidi* [Δ]ιὶ Ὑψίστ[ῳ] | καὶ Θεῶ Εὐτύχῃ καὶ Σ[υν]φιλοῦσα, Ἀνδρέας, Ἀντίοχος ὑπὲρ ἐαυτῶ[ν] | καὶ τῶν ἰδίων χαριστήριον), and Tralleis (I. Misthos in the *Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ* 1873—1875 p. 95 no. 89 Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ | κατ' ὄναρ on a small quadrilateral *stèle*).

(18) Kos. W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 116 no. 63 record a small *stèle*, with *aedicula* and rosette, inscribed Θεανὸς | Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ εὐχὴν.

(19) Delos. Two votive inscriptions, the one certainly, the other probably, from Rheneia, both dating from the close of s. ii B.C. and couched in terms so similar as to be practically identical, record prayers to the Θεὸς Ὑψίστος for speedy vengeance on behalf of

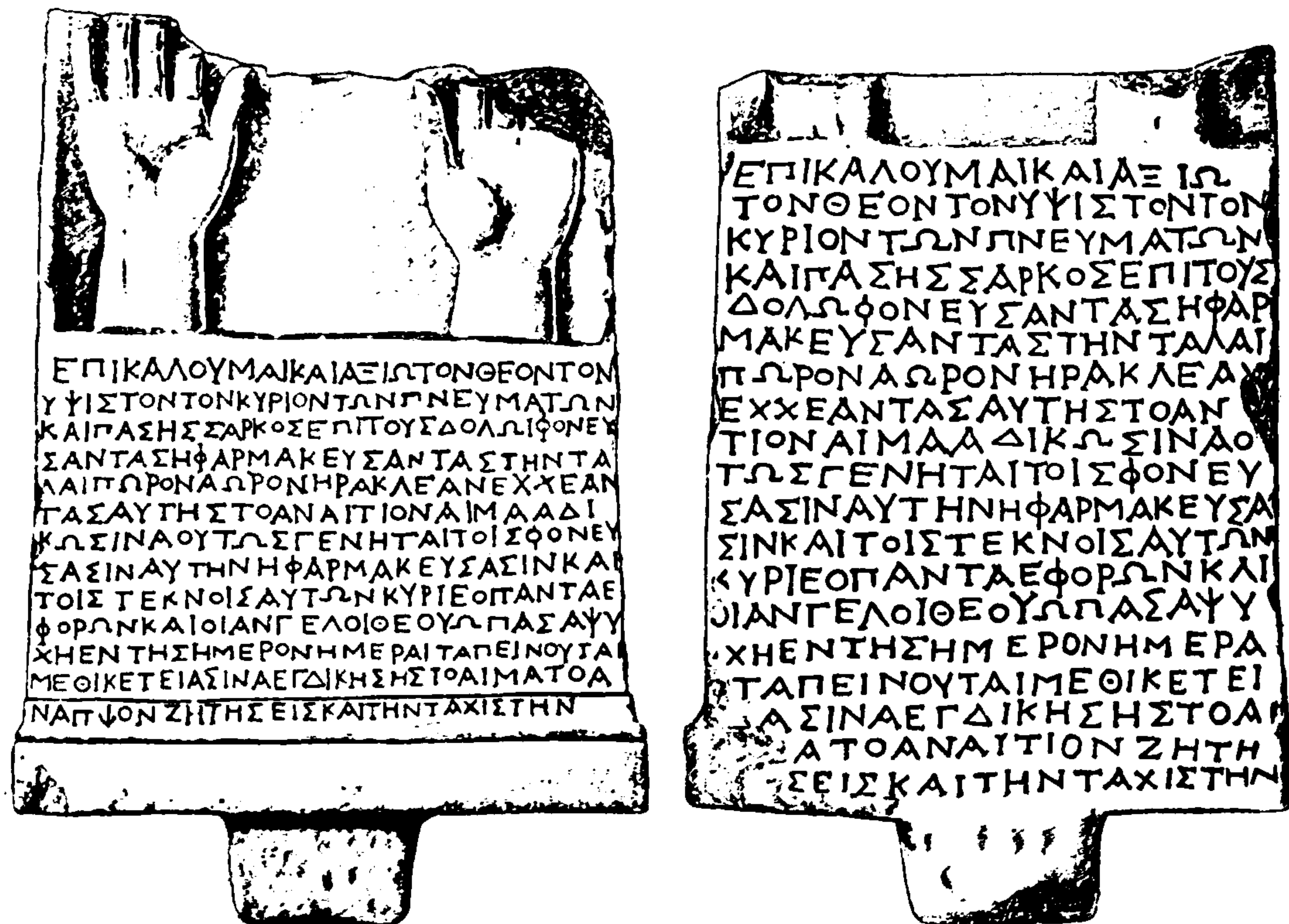


Fig. 817.

two Jewish maidens named Marthine and Heraklea respectively (the names recur in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii Add. no. 2322 b⁷⁸ and no. 2322 b⁶⁰ = Lebas—Foucart *Iles* no. 2041 and no. 2039), who had been done to death by violence or witchcraft. The Marthine-inscription, much mutilated, is now in the National Museum at Athens (best published by A. Wilhelm in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1901 iv Beiblatt p. 9 ff. fig. 2). The Heraklea-inscription, better preserved, is in the Museum at Bucharest (*id. ib.* p. 9 ff. fig. 3 = my fig. 817): its text and relief are repeated on the back as well as on the front of the *stèle* (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 1181, 1 ff. ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ ἀξιῶ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν | Ὑψίστον, τὸν κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων | καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ἐπὶ τοὺς δόλωι φονεύ|σαντας ἢ φαρμακεύσαντας τὴν τα|λαιπωρον ἄωρον Ἡράκλεαν, ἐχχέαν|τας αὐτῆς τὸ ἀναίτιον αἷμα ἀδίκως; ἵνα οὕτως γένηται τοῖς φονεύ|σασιν αὐτὴν ἢ φαρμακεύσασιν καὶ | τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν, κύριε ὁ πάντα ἐ|φορῶν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ, ᾧ πᾶσα ψυ|χὴ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέραι ταπεινοῦται | μεθ' ἱκετελας, ἵνα ἐγδικήσης τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον ζητήσεις καὶ τὴν ταχίστην (Dittenberger *op. cit.*² on no. 816 says: 'Exspectes ἵνα ζητήσης τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον καὶ ἐγδικήσης τὴν ταχίστην.' The Marthine-text, however, runs: ἵνα ἐγδικήση[s] | τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον καὶ τὴν ταχίστη[ν],

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817 VOTIVE RELIEF B.M. Inscr. 1007
Marble *stèle* from Panormos near Kyzikos, now in the British Museum,
with dedication to Zeus *Hypsistos* and votive reliefs representing Zeus,
Artemis (?), Apollon and a banquet.

See page 881.

omitting the second verb altogether. A. Deissmann, who has a detailed discussion of both *stélai* in his *Licht vom Osten* Tübingen 1908 pp. 305—316 figs. 55—57, thinks that the archetype had *ἵνα ἐγδικήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀνάτιον καὶ ζητήσῃς τὴν ταχίστην*). The uplifted hands are those of the suppliant: cp. *infra* no. (33) Aegyptos.

(20) Lydia. Hierokaisareia (A. M. Fontrier in the *Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρῃ* 1886 p. 33 no. φί = P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 95 no. 16 at *Sasoba* Δούκιος Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ εὐχὴν). Koloe in Maionia (M. Tsakyroglou in the *Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρῃ* 1878—1880 p. 161 no. τκδ' Ἀπολλωνίσκος | ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἐρμιογένους Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ εὐχὴν). Philadelphia (*Ala-Shehir*) (J. Keil—A. von Premerstein 'Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1910 ii Abh. p. 27 no. 39 on a *stèle* with gabled top *ἔτους σξθ'* (269 of Actian era = 238/9 A.D., of Sullan era = 184/5 A.D.), *μη(ν)ος* | *Αὐδ(ν)αίου* ἰ. Φλαβία Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ | εὐχὴν). *Sari-Tsam* (A. M. Fontrier *ib.* 1886 p. 68 no. φνζ' = P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 84 f. no. 4, a *Τειμόθεος Διαγόρου* | *Λαβραντίδης* (Foucart justly cp. the epithet *Λαβρανδεύς*) καὶ *Μόσχια[ν]* | *Τειμοθέου ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ* | *Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ εὐχὴν τὸν* | *βωμόν, β* (by another hand) *Διαγόρας, Τειμόθεος, Πύθεος* | *οἱ Τιμοθέου τοῦ Διαγόρου υἱοῖ* | *Λαβραντίδαι τὰς λυχνάψιας* | *Ὑψίστῳ* ('Ὑψίστῳ Fontrier) *ἀνέθηκαν*). Silandos (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 708 Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ | εὐχὴν ἀνέθηκε Ἑλένη ὑπὲρ Θρασυβούλου τοῦ υἱοῦ | Θρασυβούλου). *Tchatal Tere* (K. Buresch *Aus Lydien* Leipzig 1898 p. 119 no. 57 on a small marble altar Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ Ἀγαθόπους καὶ | *Τελέσειρα εὐχὴν*· *ἔτους σν'* | *μη(ν)ος Δαισίου κ'*). *Phata*, three hours east of *Theira* (A. M. Fontrier in the *Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρῃ* 1876—1878 p. 32 on an altar-step Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ. | *Νευκηφόρος Ἐρμιοκράτου ἱερε[ῦ]ς σὺν καὶ Ἐρμιο[κρ]άτει τῷ ἀδ[ελ]φῷ τὸν βωμόν* | *ἀνέστησαν*· | *[ἔτ]ους σκ'*). *Thyateira* (A. Wagener in the *Mémoires de l'académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique* Série in 4^o Classe de Lettres 1861 xxx. 39 = A. M. Fontrier in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1902 iv. 239 no. 4 a relief of an eagle: on the base is inscribed *Μοσχιανὸς Βασιλεὺς* | *Ὑψίστῳ Θεῶ εὐχὴν*. J. Keil—A. von Premerstein 'Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1911 ii Abh. p. 17 f. no. 28 on a small altar of bluish marble in lettering of the end of *s.* ii or *s.* iii A.D. *Ἐβελ(πι)στ[η]* | *[Θ]εῶ Ὑψ[ίστ]ῳ* | *[τ]ῳ εὐχ[ή]ν* | *[ἀν]έθη[κεν]* | *[εὐτ]υχῶ[ς]*, no. 29 on a small altar of similar material and date *[Τ]ρυφῶσα* | *[Θ]εῶ Ὑψίστῳ* | *εὐχὴν*). Cp. *Ak Tash* (Temenothyrai?) (*ib.* p. 129 no. 237 on a *stèle* of whitish marble with gabled top, in lettering of *s.* ii A.D., beneath an incised wreath *Τύρανις Ἀφ[φ]ιάδος Ὑψίστῳ* | *εὐχὴν*) and *Gjölde* near Koloe (*ib.* p. 97 no. 189 on a *stèle* of whitish marble, in lettering of *s.* i or ii A.D., beneath a sunk panel representing in front view a male (?), with *chiton* and *himation*, raising the right hand in adoration and holding a staff in the lowered left Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ | *Γλύκων* | *εὐχὴν*). The references to J. Keil—A. von Premerstein were kindly furnished to me by Mr A. D. Nock.

(21) Mysia. At Kyzikos a small cubical base of pink St Simeon marble, found near the theatre, reads *[Σ]ωγ[ένης(?)]* | *Νεικάνδ[ρου]* | *Δι' Ὑψίστῳ* | *εὐχὴν* (Sir C. Smith—R. de Rustafjaell in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 207 no. 14, F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 p. 271 no. 11). From Panormos (*Pandermia*) near Kyzikos came a votive *stèle* of white marble, presented by A. van Branteghem in 1890 to the British Museum (A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 374 f. no. 817, F. H. Marshall in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* London 1916 iv. 2. 153 no. 1007 with fig. I am indebted to Mr Smith for the photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming from which my pl. xxxix is taken). This relief, which has aroused much interest (see e.g. A. S. Murray in the *Rev. Arch.* 1891 i. 10 f. no. 1, H. Lechat—G. Radet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 520 f., F. Cumont *Hypsistos* Bruxelles 1897 p. 12 no. 3 pl., P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxiii. 592 f. pl. 4, E. Ziebarth 'XOTΣ' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1905 xxx. 145 f., F. Poland *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* Leipzig 1909 p. 370, F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 pp. 207, 271 no. 13, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 493 no. 3), represents three deities standing side by side in a sunk panel—Zeus in *chiton* and *himation*, with a *phidie* in his right hand, a sceptre in his left; Artemis (Persephone, or perhaps

Hekate, according to Murray *loc. cit.* Dionysos, according to Smith and Reinach *loc. cit.*) in short *chitón*, *chlamys*, and high boots, with a *phiale* in her right hand, a torch in her left; Apollon in long *chitón* and *himátion*, with a *phiale* in his right hand, a *kithára* in his left, and a snake-twined *omphalós* beside him. Beneath, in low relief, is a banquet of six men, who recline on cushions placed upon a long mattress. On the right a cup-bearer, in a short *chitón*, holds an *oinochóe* in one hand, an *askós* in the other, and draws wine from a large *kratér* partially sunk in the floor. On the left a seated musician plays two flutes, one straight, one curved, while his feet beat time with *kroupézai*. In the centre a girl, stark naked, is dancing, and a man in the costume of a mime-performer, with a pair of long *krótala* in his hands, is running round her at a lively pace. The pediment above is filled with an inscription, whose ligatures point to a date in s. ii A.D. Δι·λ·Τ·|ψιστω·κ(αλ)·|τῷ χώρῳ Θάλλος | ἐπώνυμος·τὸν·|τελαμῶνα·ἀπέδωκα, 'I Thallos, the name-giver (of the *thíasos*), duly presented the relief to Zeus *Most High* and to the Place (where the *thíasotai* assemble).' So Marshall *loc. cit.* Perdrizet *loc. cit.* understood: 'Thallos, magistrat éponyme, a voué ce cippe à Zeus céleste et au bourg.' Murray, Smith, and Cumont *loc. cit.* thought χώρῳ a blunder for χορῶ (to which not one of them gives the right accent). Ziebarth *loc. cit.*, following T. Reinach in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1894 vii 391, will have it that χῶ was the name of the *thíasos*, cp. T. Wiegand in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 316 an altar-shaped base of white marble from *Nuserat*, one hour south of *Kebsud* in Mysia, inscribed τὸν Βρομίου μύστην | [ι]ερῶν, ἀρξάντα χοῦ, | κ.τ.λ. At Pergamon the Θεὸς Ὑψιστος, presumably Zeus (M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* Berlin 1895 ii. 243 f. no. 331 on a small altar of white marble Τλύκινα | Θεῷ Ὑψιστῷ | εὐχὴν ἀνέθηκα, ἐρωμένη μετὰ τὸν | [δνειρον(?) - - -] | [- - - - -] (the last two lines covered with white daub)), was further identified with Helios (*id. ib.* n. 243 no. 330 on a small altar of white marble from the precinct of Athena [Ἡλ]ίωι, | Θ[ε]ῷ | Ὑψ[ι]στῷ, | Τάτιον | ε[ὐ]χὴν). At Plakia near Kyzikos was another thank-offering to the Θεὸς Ὑψιστος (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3669 ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. | Γ. Πεσκέννιος Ὀνήσιμος | Θεῷ Ὑψιστῷ σωθεὶς ἀνέθηκα ἐκ μεγάλου κινδύνου μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων. | νεκῆς εὐχαριστήριον | ἀναθεῖναι (the last two lines are incomplete: sc. ἐπέταξεν ὁ θεός or the like). On the remarkable dedication to Zeus Ὑψιστος Βρονταῖος, now in the Tchibili Kiosk at Constantinople, but probably derived from the Cyzicene district, see *supra* p. 833 ff. fig. 793.

(22) Lesbos. Several dedications to the Θεὸς Ὑψιστος have been found at Mytilene (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 115 on a large base or altar of white marble, above and below a relief representing an eagle with spread wings in a great olive-wreath Θεῷ Ὑψιστῷ εὐχ[α]ριστήριον Μάρκος || Πομπήιος Λυκάων μ[ετ]ὰ τῆς συμβουῆς Φοίβης | καὶ τῶν ἰδίων, no. 119 on a small base or altar Γ. Κορνήλι(ο)ς | Χρηστίων, Κορνηλία Θάλλου|σα, Γ. Κορν<ι>ήλιος | Σεκοῦνδος χει|μασθέντες ἐν | πελάγει Θεῷ Ὑψιστῷ χρηστήριον (the last word a blunder for χαριστήριον), no. 125 (= A. Conze *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos* Hannover 1865 pp. 5, 12 pl. 5, 3) Θεῷ | Ὑψιστῷ | II. Αἰλιος Ἀρβριανὸς Ἀλλ[έ]ξανδρος, | βουλευ(τῆς) | Δακίας κολωνεῖας | Ζερμιζεγ[ε]θούσης, εὐχ[η]ν | ἀνέθηκεν), and one of these by adding the title Κεραύνιος makes it clear that Zeus is meant (*supra* p. 807 n. 3 no. (3)).

(23) Phrygia. * Here too the Θεὸς Ὑψιστος had a considerable vogue—at Aizanoi (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 987 = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3842 d [ὁ δεῖνα] Ἀλεξάνδρου | Ἰόνιος ([Π]ειόνιος Lebas. Cp. Πειονίου = *Pioni* in *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1363, 5 ff., Πιονίου in the *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8866, 9. A. B. C.) | [Θεῷ vel Δι] Ὑψιστῷ εὐχὴν), at *Hadji-keui* near Aizanoi (A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 405 no. 9 on an altar of half-marble Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδ[ης] | ἐλεθθεὶς ἀπ' ἄλλων (!) τῶν παθημάτων | εὐξάμενος Θεῷ Ὑψιστῷ μετὰ | τῶν εἰδίων (so Körte. Better ἀπὸ <πο>|λλῶν by lipography. A. B. C.), at *Yenije* near Akmoneia (W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 ii. 652 f. no. 563 [ἐὰν δέ τις ἕτερον σῶμα εἰσενέγκῃ, ἐσ]ταὶ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὕψιστον, καὶ τὸ ἀρᾶς δρέπανον εἰς τὸν ἕκον αὐτοῦ [εἰσελθοῖτο καὶ μηδένα ἐγκαταλείψαιτο], where the *formula* ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν and the phrase τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὕψιστον suit the epitaph of a Jew or perhaps a Jewish Christian), at *Hadji-Eyub-li* near Laodikeia (W. M. Ramsay *op. cit.* 1895 i. 78 no. 14 [. . . .]s Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ εὐχὴν), at Nakoleia (*Seidi Ghazi*) (W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 258 n. 2 no. 9 on a small

slab of marble Θεῶ Ἰψίστω εὐχὴν Δύρῃλιος | Ἄσκληπῶν, ἣν ὁμολό(γ)ησεν ἐν | Ῥώμῃ, at *Arslan Apa* in the upper valley of the river Tembrogios or Tembrios (J. G. C. Anderson in W. M. Ramsay *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* Aberdeen 1906 p. 211 no. 9 on an altar with a garland in relief [. . . η] Νικο[μά(?)]χου [. . .] | [ἔτου]ς τλη' (= 253/4 A.D.). Δύρ. Ἰάσων Θεῶ Ἰψίστω εὐχὴν). The Θεὸς Ἰψιστος was here, as Anderson saw, Zeus Βένιος or Βεννεύς the native god of the district (W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 259 f. no. 11 on a marble *cippus* from *Karagatch Euren* near *Altyntash*, below a relief representing a bunch of grapes, an eagle, and a radiate head of the sun-god Διὶ Βεννίῳ | Διογένῃς ὑπὲρ | Διογένους πάππου | καὶ Κλ. Χρυσίου | μάμμης καὶ τῶν | κατοικούντων | ἐν Ἰσκόμῃ καθιέρωσεν. | Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰσγερειανὸς ἐποίησεν. Ramsay refers the *cippus* 'most probably to the second century after Christ,' adding 'I understand this inscription to be placed by Diogenes on the grave of his grandparents; in preparing the grave Diogenes considers that he is dedicating the spot to Zeus Bennios. The grave is a shrine of Zeus, and the funeral offerings to the dead were considered at the same time as offerings to Zeus.' *Id. ib.* p. 258 f. no. 10 on a *stèle* at *Serea (Κυγιζακ)*, three hours north-west of *Nakoleia* Μάρκος | Μάρκου | Διὶ Βροντῶντι καὶ Βεννεί | Σερεανῶ στέφανον. Ramsay remarks: 'Here it is evident that Benni-s, or Zeus Benneus, the god of the western side [of the mountains], and Papas, or Zeus Bronton, the god of the eastern side, are expressly identified.' Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 774 = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3857 l = G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* etc. Paris 1872 i. 122 f. no. 86 on a cylindrical *cippus* at *Altyntash* ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος | Νερούα Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος | Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ | Δακικοῦ νεκρῆς Διὶ Βεννίῳ | Μηροφάνῃς Τειμολόου | τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέστησεν | Βεννεισοηῶν. W. M. Ramsay *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor (Royal Geographical Society: Supplementary Papers* iv) London 1890 p. 144 f. (cp. S. Reinach *Chroniques d'orient* Paris 1891 p. 498) was the first to read the concluding line aright as Βεννεί Σοηνῶν, *Soa* being the chief town of the *Praipenisseis* in the neighbourhood of *Altyntash*), whose priests, the Βεννείται, are mentioned in another inscription from the same locality (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3857 between *Aizanoi* and *Kotiaieion* Τρύφων Μενίσκου Διὶ | καὶ τοῖς Βεννείταις). W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1887 viii. 512 f. takes Zeus Βένιος or Βεννεύς to mean 'he who stands on a Car,' cp. the Gallic (Paul. ex Fest. p. 32, 14 Müller, p. 29, 24 f. Lindsay *benna lingua Gallica genus vehiculi appellatur, unde vocantur conbennones in eadem benna sedentes*), Messapian (W. Deecke in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1882 xxxvii. 385 f. no. 22), and Thraco-Illyrian word *benna* (Steph. Byz. s.v. Βέννα, πόλις Θράκης, κ.τ.λ., *Thes. Ling. Lat.* ii. 1907, 48 ff. *Bennius*, 69 f. *Bennus*).

(24) Bithynia (?). J. H. Mordtmann in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1885 viii. 198 no. 18 publishes a miniature base from the coast of Asia Minor inscribed ἀγαθῇ τύχη· | Θεῶ Ἰψίστω | Ἄσκληπιόδοτος Σωσιπάτρου κατὰ δῆναρ.

(25) Paphlagonia. Inscriptions from the district of Sinope record the cult of the Θεὸς Ἰψιστος (G. Doublet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 303 f. no. 7 = D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 306 no. 29 Θεῶ Ἰψίστω | Ἄλιος Θρεπτιῶν, | Ποντιανὸς, Σεουήρος, Μάκερ, οἱ | ἀδελφοὶ ('brethren' in a religious sense) εὐξάμενοι) or Θεὸς Μέγας Ἰψιστος (G. Mendel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903 xxvii. 333 no. 49 = D. M. Robinson *loc. cit.* p. 304 no. 26 with fig. on a marble altar pierced to serve as base for a post at *Emrilé* near *Chalabdé* Θεῶ Μεγάλῳ | Ἰψίστω εὐχῆς | χάριν ἀνέθηκε ... [λ]ος | μετὰ [τῆς γυ]ναί[κ]ος Ρου[φ]ε[ρ]ης)).

(26) Pontos. J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie (Studia Pontica* iii) Bruxelles ii no. 284 *Sebastopolis* (cited by F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 448).

(27) Bosphoros Kimmerios. Gorgippia (*Anapa*) (B. Latyshev *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* Petropoli 1890 ii. 208 ff. no. 400, 1 ff. (manumission of a slave) Θεῶ Ἰψίστω παντοκράτορι εὐλογητῶ, βασιλεύοντος βασιλέως [Πολέμωνος] φιλογερμα[ν]ικοῦ καὶ φιλοπάτριδος, ἔτους ηλτ' (338 of the Bosphoran era = 41 A.D.), μηνὸς Δελοῦ, Πόθος Στι[ρά]τωνος ἀνέθηκεν <ἐν> | τῆ [προσ]ευχῆ κατ' εἰχ[ή]ν Ἰσθρῆν ἑαυτοῦ, ἣ ὄνομα Χρύσα, ἐφ' ᾗ ἡ ἀνεπα[φ]ος καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστο[ς] | ἀπὸ παντὸς κληρο-

ν[όμ]ου ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον (cp. *supra* p. 729 n. o), no. 401, 1 ff. = R. Cagnat *Inscriptions Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1911 i. 299 no. 911 (manumission of a slave) [Θεῶ Ἰψιστῶ παν] [τοκράτ]ορι εὐλο[γῆ] [τ]ῶ βασιλεύοντ[ος] | βασιλέως Τιβερίου Ἰουλιου <λου> Σαυρομάτου (sc. Tib. Iulius Sauromates ii, king of Bosphoros in the time of Caracalla) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλορωμαίου εὐσεβοῦς | Τειμόθεος Νυμφαγόρου Μακαρίου σὺν ἀδελφῆς Ἥλιδος γυναικὸς Νανοβαλαμύρου κατὰ εὐχὴν | πατὴρ ἡμῶν Νυμφαγόρου Μακαρίου | ἀφαιλομεν τὴν θρεπ[τὴν ἡμῶν Δ]ωρέαν | [ἐλευθέραν ---], B. Latyschev *op. cit.* Petropoli 1901 iv. 249 ff. no. 436 b, 4 Θεῶ Ἰψιστῶ ---, 15 [---] Θεῶ Ἰψιστῶ Ποθῆν[ος ---] i.e. the name of the god inserted twice in a list of his worshippers).

Tanais (B. Latyschev *op. cit.* Petropoli 1890 ii. 246 ff. nos. 437—467, R. Cagnat *op. cit.* i. 300 ff. nos. 915—921, of which some samples must serve: no. 437, 1 ff. = no. 915, 1 ff. (topped by relief of gable with shield inside and eagle on apex: see L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1870—1871 p. 230 f. fig.) [Θεῶ Ἰψιστῶ εὐχῆ]. | [β]ασιλεύοντος βασιλέως Τιβερίου [Ἰουλιου] Ροιμητάλκου (sc. Tib. Iulius Rhometalces, king of Bosphoros in the time of Hadrian) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλορωμαίου εὐσεβοῦς, ἐν τῶ... ἔτει, | μῆνός Περειτίου ἧ, [ἡ σύνοδος ἡ περὶ] | ἱερέα Πόπλιον Χαρίτωνος (?) καὶ πατέρα σὺν ἰδίου Ἀντίμαχον τοῦ δέυνος ---, no. 447, 1 ff. ἀγαθῆ τύχη | Θεῶ Ἰψιστῶ ἐπηκόω ἡ σύνοδος περὶ Θεὸν Ἰψιστον καὶ ἱερέα Χόφρασμον | Φοργαβάκου καὶ συναγωγὸν Εὐπρέπην | Συμφόρου καὶ φιλάγαθον Ἀντίμαχον Πασιώνος καὶ παραφιλάγαθον Σύμφορον Δημητρίου καὶ γυμνασιάρχην Βαλῶδιον Δημητρίου | καὶ νιανισκάρχη Σαυάνων Χοφράσμου καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θιασῶται κ.τ.λ., no. 449, 1 ff. = no. 918, 1 ff. (with incised decoration of two eagles and a wreath between them: see L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 254 ff. fig.) Θεῶ [Ἰψιστῶ] | βασιλεύοντος βασιλέως Τιβερίου [Ἰουλιου] Ρησκουπόριδος (sc. Tib. Iulius Rhescuporis, king of Bosphoros 212—229 A.D.) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλορωμαίου εὐσεβοῦς | ἰσπονητοὶ (= εἰσπονητοί, 'adoptivi') ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι | [Θεὸν] Ἰψιστον ἀπέστησαν τὸν | τελαμῶνα ἐνγράψαντες ἑαυτῶν | τὰ ὀνόματα κ.τ.λ., no. 452, 1 ff. = no. 920, 1 ff. [ἀγαθῆ] τύχη | Θεῶ Ἰψιστῶ εὐχῆ. | βασιλεύοντ[ος] βασιλέως Τιβερίου | [Ἰουλιου] Κότυος (sc. Tib. Iulius Cotys, king of Bosphoros c. 228—234 A.D.) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλορωμαίου εὐσεβοῦς εἰσπονητοὶ | ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι Θεὸν Ἰψιστον | ἐνγράψαντες ἑαυτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα | περὶ πρεσβύτερον (sc. the senior of the adoptive brethren) Μ..... Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Ἀρίστωνα [Μ]ενεστράτου καὶ Καλλιγένην Μύρωνος, Ἀλεξίωνα Πατρόκλου, κ.τ.λ. (list of names), 17 τὸν δὲ τελαμῶνα ἐδώρησατο τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Σαμβίω Ἐλπίδιωνος. Φούρτας Ἀγαθοῦ, Ἀγαθήμερος Ποπλιου. | ἐν τῶ ἐκφ' ἔτει (525 of the Bosphoran era = 228 A.D.), Γορπιαίου ἀ, no. 454, 1 ff. ἀγαθῆ τύχη | Θεῶ Ἰψιστῶ ἐπηκόω εὐχῆ ἡ σύνοδος περὶ | ἱερέα Πάπαν Χρήστου καὶ [σ]υναγωγὸν Νυμφέρωτα Ὀχωζιάκου κ[α]ὶ φιλάγαθον Θέωνα | Φαζιναμὸν κ[α]ὶ παραφιλάγαθον Φαζιναμὸν Καλλιστίωνος κ[α]ὶ γυμνασιάρχην Μακάριον Μαστοῦ καὶ νεανισκάρχη Ζήθον Ζήθου | κ[α]ὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θιασῶται κ.τ.λ.

These inscriptions have been studied by L. Stephani, I. V. Pomjalónskij, V. V. Látyshev, E. Schürer, E. H. Minns, and others. L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1870—1871 p. 228 ff. argued that the Θεὸς Ἰψιστος, whose emblem was an eagle, must have been the Greek Zeus, but that the regular omission of the name Zeus implies an incipient Christianisation of his cult. I. V. Pomjalónskij in the *Transactions of the Sixth (1884) Archaeological Congress at Odessa* (published in Russian) Odessa 1888 ii. 24 ff. compared the god with Zeus Σωτήρ, Zeus Στράτιος, Zeus Λαβράυνδος, Zeus Χρυσαιορέως, etc. and saw no reason to regard his epithets Ἰψιστος, Ἐπήκοος as indicative of Christian influence. B. Latyschev *op. cit.* Petropoli 1890 ii. 246 f., in view of the dedication Θεῶ Ἐπηκόω Ἰψιστῶ by a θιασος Σεβαζιανός (*supra* no. (11)), concluded that here too the god worshipped was Sabázios—a possible link between Zeus and the κύριος Σαβαώθ (*supra* i. 234 n. 4, 400 n. 6, 425 n. 2). But E. Schürer 'Die Juden im bosporanischen Reiche und die Genossenschaften der σεβόμενοι θεὸν Ἰψιστον ebendasselbst' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1897 p. 200 ff. (followed e.g. by E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 620 ff. and F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 448) has made it clear that the worshippers were Bosphoran Jews, who however did not scruple to use the gentile formula ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον. Their worship was a compromise between the strictly Semitic and the strictly Hellenic ('weder Judenthum noch Heidenthum, son-

dern eine Neutralisirung beider'). At Tanais, for example, there were several small religious societies (*θιασοι, σύνοδοι*), each comprising some 15 to 40 members (*θιασῶται, θιασίται, θιεσείται, συνοδεΐται*). These members were either of recent introduction (*εἰσποιητοὶ ἀδελφοί*) or of senior standing (*πρεσβύτερος*). Their officers in descending order were *ἱερεὺς, πατήρ συνόδου, συναγωγός, φιλάγαθος, παραφιλάγαθος, γυμνασιάρχης, νεανισκάρχης, γραμματεὺς* (omissions and transpositions occur). Their aims included the cult of the *θεὸς Ὑψιστος*, the education of the young, and (to judge from similar inscriptions at Pantikapaion) the due burial of the brethren.

(28) Kappadokia. An analogous blend of Jewish and Persian beliefs is found in the case of the *Ὑψιστάριοι*, according to Gregory of Nazianzos, whose own father had belonged originally to this sect (Greg. Naz. *or.* 18. 5 (xxxv. 989 D—992 A Migne) *ἐκεῖνος τολύμν... ῥίξης ἐγένετο βλάστημα οὐκ ἐπαινετῆς... ἐκ δυοῖν τοῖν ἐναντιωτάτοιον συγκεκραμένης, Ἑλληνικῆς τε πλάνης καὶ νομικῆς τερατείας· ὧν ἀμφοτέρων τὰ μέρη φυγῶν ἐκ μερῶν συνετέθη. τῆς μὲν γὰρ τὰ εἰδῶλα καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἀποπεμπόμενοι τιμῶσι τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὰ λύχνα· τῆς δὲ τὸ σάββατον αἰδοῦμενοι καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ βρώματα ἔστιν ἄ μικρολογίαν τὴν περιτομὴν ἀτιμάζουσιν. Ὑψιστάριοι τοῖς ταπεινοῖς ὄνομα, καὶ ὁ Παντοκράτωρ δὴ μόνος αὐτοῖς σεβάσμιος). Gregory of Nyssa speaks of the same sect as *Ὑψιστιανοί* (Greg. Nyss. *contra Euknomium* 2 (xlv. 481 D—484 A Migne) ὁ γὰρ ὁμολογῶν τὸν πατέρα πάντοτε καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχειν, ἓνα καὶ μόνον ὄντα, τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας κρατύνει λόγον... εἰ δὲ ἄλλον τινὰ παρὰ τὸν πατέρα θεὸν ἀναπλάσσει, Ἰουδαίους διαλεγέσθω ἢ τοῖς λεγομένοις Ὑψιστιανοῖς· ὧν αὕτη ἔστιν ἡ πρὸς τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς διαφορά, τὸ θεὸν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι τινα, ὃν ὀνομάζουσιν Ὑψιστον ἢ Παντοκράτορα· πατέρα δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι μὴ παραδέχεσθαι). See further C. Ullmann *De Hypsistariis, seculi post Christum natum quarti secta, commentatio* Heidelbergae 1823 pp. 1—34, G. Boehmer *De Hypsistariis opinionibusque, quae super eis propositae sunt, commentationem* etc. Berolini 1824 pp. 1—102, W. Boehmer *Einige Bemerkungen zu den von dem Herrn Prof. Dr. Ullmann und mir aufgestellten Ansichten über den Ursprung und den Charakter der Hypsistariier* Hamburg 1826 pp. 1—75, G. T. Stokes in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iii. 188 f.*

(29) Syria. Palmyra (*Tadmor*) (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4503 = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 2571 *b* on a bilingual altar now at Oxford Δι' Ὑψιστῶ καὶ [Ἑ]πηκόῳ Ἰού(λιος) Ἀύρ(ήλιος) Ἀντίπατρος ὁ καὶ | Ἀλαφῶνας Ἀαλαμεῖ τοῦ Ζηροβίου τοῦ Ἀκοπάου | εὐξάμενος ἀνέθηκεν, ἔτους δμϛ', | Ἀύδυναλου κδ' (= Jan. 24, 233 A.D.) = C. J. M. de Vogüé *Inscriptions sémitiques* Paris 1868 p. 74 no. 123a iii with translation of the Palmyrene text 'Action de grâces à celui dont le nom est béni dans l'éternité' etc. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4502 = Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2571 *c* = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr.* no. 634 on an altar near the great sulphurous spring at the entrance to the town Δι' Ὑψιστῶ Μεγιστῶ Ἐπηκόῳ Βωλαρὸς Ζηροβίου | τοῦ Αἰράνου τοῦ Μοκίμου τοῦ Μαθθα, ἐπιμελητῆς | αἰρεθεῖς Ἐφκας πηγῆς (I. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2859) ὑπὸ Ἰαριβώλου τοῦ θεοῦ (*supra* p. 814 n. 3) τὸν βω(μ)δ(ν) | ἐξ ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν, ἔτους δου', μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου κ' (= Oct. 20, 162 A.D.). Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2572 on an altar in the Mohammedan cemetery Δι' Ὑψιστῶ καὶ Ἐπηκόῳ τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθηκεν Ἰούλιος Σ. ςις ἀπειλεύθερο(ς) Γατου <ς> Ἰουλίου Βάσσου ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Ἰλειβας υιο(ῦ) | αὐτοῦ, ἔτους μϛ', μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ (= April 179 A.D.). Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2573 on a fragmentary altar from the same site Δι' Ὑψιστῶ Α(ύρ.) Διογένης Σωσιβίου ἄμα | Δόμνη εὐξάμενοι καὶ ἐπακουσθέντες [- - -] | [- - -]. Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2574 on a small altar from the same site Δι' Ὑψιστῶ | καὶ Ἐπηκόῳ | εὐξάμενος | ἀνέθηκεν | Α...ευρος καὶ | Σώπατρος καὶ | Θεῶ Μεγάλῳ | Σαλλούντῳ (?) | Ἐνεουάρει (?) | [- - -]. Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2575 on a small bilingual altar from the same site Δι' Ὑψιστῶ καὶ Ἐπηκόῳ τὸν βωμὸν ἀν[έθηκεν] εὐχαριστ[ῶ][ν ὁ δεῖνα] | [- - -] = C. J. M. de Vogüé *op. cit.* p. 68 no. 101, who reads εὐχαριστ[ῶ][ς - - -] and renders the Palmyrene text 'Que soit béni son nom à toujours : le bon et le miséricordieux!' etc. M. Sobernheim *Palmyrenische Inschriften (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 1905 x, 2) Berlin 1905 p. 38 f. no. 31 on a *stèle* built into the western wall of the steps leading up to the roof of the 'Fahnenheiligtum'; the pilasters of the *stèle* have Corinthian capitals adorned with filleted wreath and winged thunderbolt [Δι' Ὑψιστῶ καὶ] Ἐπηκόῳ - - - | [- - -] τῶν κα[ρ]πῶν, οὖς [ἐ]κ [ταύτης· τῆς χώρας] | [- - -] κατ' ἔτος τ[ε δ]γαθῆ ἡμέρα διὰ π[α]ντὸς ε[- - -] |

[— — — ετους] δου', μηνι Ξανδικῶ 5 (= April 6, 163 A.D.). M. Sobernheim *op. cit.* p. 40 no. 20 on a *cippus* built into the eastern wall of the small court in front of the 'Fahnenheiligtum' Δι' Ὑψιστῶ καὶ Ἐπηκόῳ ὁ δεῖνα | ὁ καὶ Ἰαριβω[λέης τοῦ δεῖνα]. M. Sobernheim *op. cit.* p. 40 fl. no. 34 pls. 16, 17 on a bilingual *cippus* in the court before the 'Fahnenheiligtum' Δι' Ὑψιστῶ καὶ Ἐπηκ[ῶ τὸν βωμὸν] | ἀνέθηκεν Ζαβδ[ίβω]λος τοῦ Ἰαριβωλέους | τοῦ Λισαμσαίου τοῦ Αἰ[ράνου ὑπὲρ τῆς] | ὑγείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τέκνω[ν καὶ] | ἀδελφῶν, ἔτους δμυ' Ὑ[περβερεταίου] (= October 132 A.D.) followed by a Palmyrene text, which he translates 'Diesen [Altar] brachte dar dem, dessen Namen in Ewigkeit gesegnet sei,' etc. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4500 = Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2627. Some 3½ hours from Palmyra on the road to Emesa are three large altars of similar size placed close together; that on the east has a relief representing a large thunderbolt and a bilingual inscription; that on the west has a similar relief and inscription, except for a variant in the Palmyrene text; that in the centre is damaged and appears to have a different emblem but the same inscription Δι' Ὑψιστῶ καὶ Ἐπηκόῳ ἡ πόλις εὐχὴν· | ἔτους εκυ', Δύστρου ακ' (= March 21, 114 A.D.), ἐπὶ ἀργυροταμιῶν Ζεβείδου Θαιμοαμέδου καὶ | Μοκίμου Ἰαριβωλέους καὶ Ἰαραίου Νουρβήλου καὶ Ἀνάιδος Μάλχου = C. J. M. de Vogüé *op. cit.* p. 74 f. no. 124, who renders the Palmyrene text 'La ville (de Thadmor) a élevé (cet autel) à celui dont le nom est béni à toujours,' etc. R. Dussaud *Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie* (extr. from the *Nouvelles Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* x) Paris 1903 p. 238 no. 2 a dedication, south of Damaskos, Δι' Μεγίστῶ Ὑψιστῶ (quoted by F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 445). The Syrian Zeus Ὑψιστος is probably *Ba'al-šamin* (M. Sobernheim *op. cit.* pp. 41, 43, 44 f.; *supra* i. 8, 191 f.).

(30) Phoinike. Sanchouniathon of Berytos (*supra* i. 191) in Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 12 f. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 567 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 14 f. κατὰ τούτους γίνεταί τις Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος Ὑψιστος καὶ θήλεια λεγομένη Βηρούθ, οἱ καὶ κατῴκουν περὶ Βύβλον. ἐξ ὧν γεννᾶται Ἐπίγειος ἢ Αὐτόχθων (W. Dindorf reads Ἐπίγειος αὐτόχθων), ὃν ὕστερον ἐκάλεσαν Οὐρανόν· ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς στοιχεῖον δι' ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ κάλλους ὀνομάζειν οὐρανόν. γεννᾶται δὲ τούτῳ ἀδελφῇ ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων, ἣ καὶ ἐκλήθη Γῆ, καὶ διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἀπ' αὐτῆς, φησὶν, ἐκάλεσαν τὴν ὀμώνυμον γῆν. ὁ δὲ τούτων πατήρ ὁ Ὑψιστος ἐν συμβολῇ θηρίων τελευτήσας ἀφιερῶθη, ᾧ χοῆς καὶ θυσίας οἱ παῖδες ἐτέλεσαν. Here Ἐλιοῦν is but the Phoenician for Ὑψιστος, who naturally weds Βηρούθ because he is the solar Ba'al of Berytos (R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 140 f.). W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 p. 76 supposes a blend of Adonis (killed by the boar) with the 'Kronos' of Byblos. Two votive hands of bronze formerly in the collection of M. Péretié at *Beirut* are dedicated to the Θεὸς Ὑψιστος (M. Beaudouin—E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 265 no. 20 [ἡ δεῖνα] | εὐξ[α]μέν[η] ὑπὲρ αὐτῆ[ς] | καὶ Θε[ο]δῶ[ρου] ἀνδρῶ[ς] | καὶ τέκνων | Θεῶ Ὑψιστῶ, *ib.* no. 21 Θεῶ Ὑψ[ιστῶ] Γηρ[ίων] εὐξά[μ]ενος ἀνέθη[κ]εν in dotted letters), as is a third described in the *Catalogue de la Collection Hoffmann, Bronzes*, no. 570 (F. Cumont in R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* p. 122). The god in question is presumably Adad or Ramman, the Zeus or Iupiter of Heliopolis (R. Dussaud *ib.* p. 123 f., F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 445). Possibly some confusion of *Ramman* (*supra* i. 576) with *Rama*, *Ramath*, *Ramatha*, 'Height' (Beer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 132), underlies the glosses in Hesych. ράμα· ὑψηλή, ράμας· ὁ ὕψιστος θεός, and the aetiological tale in Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λαοδίκεια· πόλις τῆς Συρίας, ἡ πρότερον Λευκὴ ἀκτὴ λεγομένη καὶ πρὸ τούτου Ῥάμθα. κεραυνωθεὶς γὰρ τις ἐν αὐτῇ ποιμὴν ἔλεγε ραμάνθας, τουτέστιν ἀφ' ὕψους ὁ θεός· ράμαν γὰρ τὸ ὕψος, ἄθας δὲ ὁ θεός. οὕτω Φίλων. At *Sahin*, five hours from Antarados (*Tortosa*, *Tartûs*), is the dedication [Θε]ῶ Ὑψιστῶ Οὐρανίῳ Ὑ[πάτω] καὶ Ἡλίῳ Ἀνικήτῳ (?) | [Μι]θρᾶ ὁ βωμὸς ἐκτίσθη[η]· | [ὀ]ρθῶς ἐν τῷ κφ' (= 208 A.D.), ἐπ[ικρατείας] (?)· | [ὑπὲρ] σωτηρίας Θεο[φ]ρά[στου]· | ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς Σολωμάνο[υ]· (E. Renan *Mission de Phénicie* Paris 1864 p. 103 f., F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 92 no. 5).

At *Abédut* above the door of the church of Mar-Eusebios is a block inscribed ἀγαθῆι τύχη· | ἔτους ιζ' Καίσαρος Ἀντωνεῖνου τοῦ κυρίου, | μηνὸς Λῶου (= August 154 A.D.), Δι' Οὐρανίῳ Ὑψιστῶ Σααρναίῳ (a title derived from the ancient name of the village (?)) Ἐπηκόῳ | Γ. Φλάουιος [Γλ]άφυρος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθηκα (E. Renan *op. cit.*

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temple which, since it first appears on coins of Pius, is doubtless the temple of Zeus Hypsistos built by Hadrian [E. N. Adler—M. Séligsohn ‘Une nouvelle chronique samaritaine’ in the *Revue des études juives* 1902 xlv. 82 ‘le roi Hadrien vint à Sichem et fit du bien aux Samaritains; il fit construire pour lui un grand temple près du mont Garizim et le nomma Temple de Saphis...Le roi Hadrien prit les battants d’airain qui avaient été mis à la porte du temple de Salomon, fils de David, et les plaça à la porte du temple de Saphis,’ *ib.* p. 233 ‘les battants d’airain que les gens de l’empereur Hadrien avaient enlevés du temple des Juifs à Jérusalem et placés dans le temple construit sur l’ordre d’Hadrien dans l’endroit choisi, le Mont Garizim...les battants d’airain enlevés par Hadrien au temple juif et placés par lui au temple qu’il a construit au pied du Mont Garizim.’ Cp. the parallel passages in E. Vilmar *Abulfathi annales Samaritani* Gothæ 1865 and T. G. J. Juynboll *Chronicon Samaritanum, Arabice conscriptum, cui titulus est Liber Josuae* Lugduni Batavorum 1848 cap. 47 p. 188. But the chroniclers’ description can hardly refer to a temple on the mountain-top. And C. Clermont-Ganneau in the *Journal des Savants* Nouvelle Série 1904 ii. 40 f., in view of the variants *sagaras* lib. Jos., *sapsis*, *sîpas* Abu’l Fath, *sapsis* chron. Adler, concludes that the god established by Hadrian was Iupiter Sarapis. This is certainly better than Iupiter *Sospes* the conjecture of E. N. Adler—M. Séligsohn *loc. cit.* p. 82 n. 2 or *Caesaris* the suggestion of T. G. J. Juynboll *op. cit.* p. 334 f.]. Behind it is a small erection which may be an external altar. On the other (right-hand) peak is a construction which seems again to be rather an altar than a small temple. Since the mountain is doubtless supposed to be seen from the town, i.e. from the north, this smaller peak must lie to the west of the larger. We may perhaps identify it with the spur west of the main summit on which are the ruins known as *Khûrbet Lôzeh* or *Luzah*, where is still the Samaritans’ sacrificing place. The 300 steps by which, in the time of the Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333), one ascended to the summit [*Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society: Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem* trans. A. Stewart annot. Sir C. W. Wilson London 1887 p. 18], are indicated on the coins, with chapels at intervals, as on many another *sacro monte*; but no trace of them has been recorded as surviving to the present day. Along the foot of the mountain was a long colonnade; an opening gave access to the foot of the stair and to the road, perhaps for wheeled traffic, which wound up the hill between the two peaks, branching about half-way up.’ Prokop. *de aed.* 5. 7. 2 states that the Samaritans worshipped the actual mountain-top, but denies that they had ever built a temple on it (τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν οἱ Σαμαρεῖται εἶχον· ὡς εὐξόμενοι τε ἀνέβαινον ἐς τὴν τοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβολὴν, οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρὸν· οὐχ ὅτι νεῶν τινα ἐνταῦθα ᾤκοδομήσαντο πώποτε, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν αὐτὴν σεβόμενοι ἐτεθήπεσαν πάντων μάλιστα). He goes on to say (*ib.* 5. 7. 7) that Zenon, emperor of the East, expelled the Samaritans from the mountain, handed it over to the Christians, and built on the summit a church dedicated to the Virgin (τῇ θεοτόκῳ) with a wall, or rather a fence, about it. The *Chronicon Paschale* 327 B (i. 604 Dindorf) for the year 484 A.D. remarks ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ζήνων εὐθέως ἐποίησε τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτῶν τὴν οὖσαν εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Γαργαρίδην εὐκτῆριον οἶκον μέγαν τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας = Io. Malal. *chron.* 15 p. 382 f. Dindorf. For an account of the ruins still traceable on the mountain see Sir C. W. Wilson ‘Ebal and Gerizim, 1866’ in *Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement for 1873* pp. 66—71 with plan, and for modern celebrations on the site J. A. Montgomery *The Samaritans* Philadelphia 1907 p. 34 ff. with photographic view (*ib.* pp. 322—346 Samaritan bibliography). I. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 767 comments: ‘Der Berg verdankt den heiligen Charakter seiner kosmischen Bedeutung: Ebal und G. zusammen sind für Palästina der doppelgipfelige Weltberg, der Gottesberg mit dem Pass dazwischen’—a dogmatic statement of a possible (cp. *supra* p. 422 ff.), but by no means proven, hypothesis.

(32) Ioudaia. The Hebrew Godhead in the later books of the Old Testament, in the Apokrypha, and in the New Testament is often styled (ὁ) Ὑψιστος, sometimes (ὁ) Θεὸς (ὁ) Ὑψιστος or Κύριος (ὁ) Ὑψιστος (details and statistics by E. Schürer in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1897 p. 214 f.). Cp. Philon in *Flaccum* 7 ὁ τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ νεῶς, *leg. ad Gaium* 23 ἀπαρχὴν τῷ Ὑψίστῳ Θεῷ, 40 θυσίας ἐντελεῖς ὀλοκαύτους τῷ Ὑψίστῳ

Hýpsistos, however, was obviously susceptible of a less material interpretation. Accordingly, in Hellenistic times, the name of Zeus *Hýpsistos* became attached to the supreme deity of more than one non-Hellenic area. In Syria it meant *Ba'al-šamin*. In Samaria it meant Jehovah. Further denationalised, but still recognisable by his eagle (Athens, Thyateira, Mytilene, Tanais), the *Theòs Hýpsistos*—often called *Hýpsistos* and nothing more—was worshipped throughout the Greek-speaking world in early imperial days. The propagation of his cult was due, partly perhaps to a general trend towards monotheism, but mainly to definite Jewish influence. The Jews of the Dispersion, accustomed to use the term *Hýpsistos* of their own august Godhead, carried it with them into Gentile lands, where they formed small and—truth to tell—somewhat accommodating circles of worshippers (Moesia, Bosphoros Kimmerios, Kappadokia). Here and there they continued to light their ceremonial lamps (Pisidia, Lydia); but they could hardly be described as whole-hearted devotees of the Mosaic law. Thus

Θεῶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 16. 6. 2 ἀρχιερέως Θεοῦ Ὑψίστου, Celsus *ap. Orig. c. Cels.* 1. 24 μετὰ ταῦτά φησιν οἱ ἀπλόοι καὶ ποιμένες ἓνα ἐνόμισαν θεόν, εἶτε Ὑψίστον εἶτ' Ἀδωναί εἶτ' Οὐράνιον εἶτε Σαβαώθ, εἶτε καὶ ὄπη καὶ ὄπως χαίρουσιν ὀνομάζοντες τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, 5. 41 οὐδὲν οὖν οἶμαι διαφέρειν Δία Ὑψίστον καλεῖν ἢ Ζῆνα ἢ Ἀδωναῖον ἢ Σαβαώθ ἢ Ἀμοῦν, ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι, ἢ Παπαῖον, ὡς Σκύθαι, 45 Κέλσος οἴεται μηδὲν διαφέρειν Δία Ὑψίστον καλεῖν ἢ Ζῆνα ἢ Ἀδωναῖον ἢ Σαβαώθ ἢ, ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι, Ἀμοῦν ἢ, ὡς Σκύθαι, Παπαῖον, *Lyd. de mens.* 4. 53 p. 110, 4 ff. Wunsch καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτε πρὸς Πέρσας ἐστρατεύετο, γράφων Ἰουδαίοις οὕτω φησίν· ἀνεγείρω γὰρ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ, A. Dieterich 'Papyrus magica musei Lugdunensis Batavi' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1888 xvi. 797 verse 23 ff. κατ' ἐπιταγήν τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ Ἰάω Ἀδωναί αβ[λα]ναθαναβα (cp. A. Audollent *Defixionum tabellae Luteciae Parisiorum* 1904 p. 500 f.), | σὺ εἶ ὁ περιέχων τὰς χάριτας | [ἐ]ν τῇ κορυφῇ λαμπρῇ, C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 47 pap. Par. 1068 καλὸν καὶ ἱερὸν φῶς τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ, *ib.* p. 104 Brit. Mus. pap. 46. 45 ff. = F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 66 no. 46, 44 ff. καὶ διατήρησόν με καὶ τὸν παῖδα | τοῦτον ἀπημάντους ἐν ὄνματι | τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ, *oracl. Sib.* 2. 245 Geffcken ἤξει καὶ Μωσῆς ὁ μέγας φίλος Ὑψίστοιο. Aisch. *frag.* 464. 12 Nauck³ *ap. Iust. Mart. de monarch.* 2 δόξα δ' Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ (δ' om. Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 415, 15 Stählin = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 60) is a Jewish forgery.

(33) Aegyptos. The Jews of Athribis (*Bencha*) in Lower Egypt dedicated a house of prayer to the Θεὸς Ὑψίστος (S. Reinach in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 178 ff. no. 1, cp. *id. Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 579, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 96 ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου (sc. Ptolemy v Eriphanes (205—181 B.C.) or Ptolemy vi Philometor (181—146 B.C.)) | καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας | Πτολεμαῖος Ἐπικύδου | ὁ ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακτικῶν | καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀθρήβει Ἰουδαῖοι | τὴν προσευχὴν | Θεῷ Ὑψίστωι). A woman of Alexandria invokes his aid (*Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien* 1872—1873 no. 12 p. 116 f. cited by E. Schürer in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1897 p. 213 and by J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* iii) Bruxelles 1910 i. 17 Θεῷ Ὑψίστω καὶ πάντων Ἐπόπτῃ καὶ Ἠλίω καὶ Νεμέσεσι αἰρεῖ Ἀρσεινὸν ἄωρος τὰς χεῖρας· ἡ (= εἰ) τις αὐτῇ φάρμακα ἐποίησε ἢ καὶ ἐπέχαρὲ τις αὐτῆς τῷ θανάτῳ ἢ ἐπιχαρεῖ, μετέλθετε αὐτούς. For the raised hands cp. *supra* no. (19) Rheneia).

(34) Africa. At Hadrumetum in Byzacium several curse-tablets invoke the *Deus Pelagicus Aerius Altissimus* Ἰάω (A. Audollent *Defixionum tabellae Luteciae Parisiorum* 1904 p. 403 ff. no. 290 ff., e.g. no. 293, B adiuto te demon | quicumque es et de[m]ando tibi ex hanc | die ex hanc ora ex oc | momento ut crucieltur; adiuro te per eum | qui te resolvit ex vite | temporibus deum pela'gicum aerium altissimu[m] | Iaw oi ou iaiaw iwiwe | o oriuw aηia | Lynceus (sc. the name of the horse to be cursed)). *Altissimus* = Ὑψίστος (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 449).

their *milieu* on occasion provided a congenial soil for the growth of the Christian church. Indeed, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether a given dedication to the *Theos Hýpsistos* was the work of a Jew or of a Jewish Christian (Phrygia). After all, *Hýpsistos* was a title that any honest man could use with a clear conscience¹.

Zeus appears as a mountain-god in connexion with the following localities:

Lakonike

Mount Taleton, a peak of Mount Taygeton².

The *Akrópolis* at Sparta³.

Cape Malea⁴.

Cape Tainaros(?)⁵.

Messene

Mount Ithome⁶.

¹ For *ύψιστος* as applied to Zeus by the Greek poets see Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 142.

² A broken *stèle* of white marble, now at Sparta (M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 43 f. no. 222), mentions Zeus *Ταλετίτας* along with Auxesia and Damoia (J. de Frott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 35 f. no. 14, 1 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 363, 1 f. cited *supra* i. 730 n. 6). The god derived his title from Mt Taleton (*supra* i. 155 f. pl. xiv), on which horses were sacrificed to Helios (Paus. 3. 20. 4 *ἀκρα δὲ τοῦ Ταῦγέτου Ταλετόν ὑπὲρ Βρυσεῶν ἀνέχει ταύτην Ἡλίου καλοῦσιν ἱεράν, καὶ ἄλλα τε αὐτόθι Ἡλίῳ θύουσι καὶ ἵππους· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Πέρσας οἶδα θύειν νομίζοντας. Supra* i. 180 n. 5): cp. the Cretan sun-god Talos (*supra* i. 719 ff.). The goddesses, Peloponnesian equivalents of Demeter and Kore, were worshipped at the foot of the mountain in Bryseai (*Kalybia Sochiotika*), where traces of an Eleusinion have come to light (H. von Frott in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 8. *Id. ib.* p. 7 holds that Taleton was not the very summit of Taygeton, but a lower and more accessible crest).

³ Zeus *Ἰπατος* (*supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (4)).

⁴ Zeus *Μαλειαιῖος* (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Μαλέα* ... καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μάλεια Μαλειαιῖος Ζεὺς).

⁵ Tainaros, who founded the Taenarian temple of Poseidon, was the son of Zeus (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Talnaros*). *Supra* i. 156.

⁶ Zeus *Ἰθωμάτας* had a cult, but no actual temple (D. Fimmen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 2306 quoting Oikonomakis *Τὰ σωζόμενα Ἰθώμης, Μεσσήνης* 1879 p. 14 f.), on the top of Mt Ithome, where he had been brought up by the nymphs Ithome and Neda (Thouk. 1. 103, Paus. 4. 3. 9, 4. 12. 7 ff., 4. 27. 6, 4. 33. 1 f.). Water was carried daily from the spring Klepsydra to his sanctuary (Paus. 4. 33. 1). The statue of him made by Hageladas for the Messenians of Naupaktos was kept in the house of a priest annually chosen (Paus. 4. 33. 2 cited *supra* p. 741 n. 4): its type is reflected on coins of Messene (*supra* p. 741 f. figs. 673, 674). At Messene (M. N. Tod in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1905 xxv. 53 f. no. 11, 1 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1399, 1 ff. *τειχιθεσ|σα παρ' ἀγλαδν | ἱρόν Ἰθώμης Μεσ|σήνη*) in *s.* i—ii A.D. the priest of Zeus *Ἰθωμάτας* was eponymous magistrate (*Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1468, 4 ff. *ἐπὶ ἱερέος τοῦ | Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθω|μάτου Ἀπελ|λίωνος τοῦ Φιλίππου*, cp. *ib.* no. 1467, 1 and no. 1469, 1). The yearly festival (*ib.* nos. 1467—1469 record as its officials *ἀγωνοθέτης, ἱεροθύται, γραμματεὺς, χαλειδοφόρος* (= *ἀκρατοφόρος*, cp. *χάλις*, 'pure wine')) was called *Ἰθωμαῖα* (Paus. 4. 33. 2), *Ἰθωμαία* or *Ἰθωμαῖς* (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Ἰθώμη* ... καὶ Ζεὺς Ἰθωμάτας, καὶ ἑορτὴ Ἰθωμαία καὶ Ἰθωμαῖς). It dates back to the time of Eumelos (*s.* viii B.C.), and originally involved a musical competition (Paus. 4. 33. 2 *ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν ἐπέτειον Ἰθωμαῖα· τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐτίθεσαν μουσικῆς. τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἔστιν ἄλλοις τε καὶ Εὐμήλου τοῖς ἔπεσιν· ἐποίησε γοῦν καὶ τάδε ἐν τῷ προσοδίῳ τῷ ἐς Δῆλον* (Eumel. *frag.* 13 Kinkel, cp. Paus. 4. 4. 1, 5. 19. 10)· 'τῷ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτῳ καταθύμιος ἔπλετο Μοῖσα | ἀ καθαρὰ <ν κίθαριν (ins. T. Bergk; but see H. W. Smyth *ad loc.*) > καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ' ἔχοισα.' οὐκοῦν ποιῆσαι μοι δοκεῖ τὰ ἔπη καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα ἐπιστάμενος τιθέντας). A tradition of human sacrifice (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 32) attached

ElisMount Olympos¹.Olympia².**Arkadia**Mount Lykaion³.

to Mt Ithome, as to Mt Lykaion (*supra* i. 70 ff.); for Aristomenes is said to have slain 300 persons, including Theopompos king of Sparta, as an offering to Zeus Ἴθωμάτας (Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 42. 2 p. 31, 23 ff. Stählin (= Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 12) Ἀριστομένης γοῦν ὁ Μεσσηνίος τῷ Ἴθωμήτῃ Διὶ τριακοσίου ἀπέσφαξεν, τοσαύτας ὁμοῦ καὶ τοιαύτας καλλιερεῖν οἰόμενος ἑκατόμβας· ἐν οἷς καὶ Θεόπομπος ἦν < ὁ (Euseb.) > Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς, ἱερεῖον εὐγενές, Kyrill. Al. c. *Iul.* 4 (lxxvi. 696 D—697 A Migne) Ἀριστομένης μὲν γὰρ ὁ Μεσσηνίος τῷ ἐπὶ κλην Ἴθωμήτῃ Διὶ τριακοσίου ὁμοῦ νεκροῦς ἐχαρίζετο· προσετίθει δὲ τοῦτοις καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύσαντα· Θεόπομπος οὗτος ἦν. ἀξιάγαστος ἐντεῦθεν ὁ τῶν θεῶν ὑπατός τε καὶ ὑπέρτατος. ἐπεμειδία γὰρ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἀνδράσιν ἀθλίως διολωλόσι, καὶ πλήρη βλέπων τὸν ἐκείνων βωμῶν δαιτὸς ἔτισης. ἐντρυφᾶν γὰρ ἔθος αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων συμφοραῖς). Philippos v of Makedonia (in 214 B.C.?) sacrificed to Zeus on Mt Ithome, took the entrails of the ox in both hands, and showed them to Aratos of Sikyon and Demetrios of Pharos, asking each for his interpretation of the omens (Plout. v. *Arat.* 50). The latest notice of Zeus Ἴθωμάτας is in Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπιθετα Διὸς (51) Ἴθωμήτου, 266 Ἐπιθετα Διὸς (43) Ἴθωμήτου. Nowadays on the highest peak of Ithome the traveller sees a ruined monastery, a branch from that at *Vourkano*: its paved threshing-floor is the scene of the annual festival of the Panagia [Aug. 15], at which the peasants dance crowned with oleander-blossom (Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 437). Among the ruins lives a solitary monk (D. Fimmen *loc. cit.* p. 2307).

Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 22 infers a tree-cult of Zeus Ἴθωμάτας at Leuktron or Leuktra (*Leftro*) in Lakonike from Pans. 3. 26. 6 ὁ δὲ οἶδα ἐν τῇ πρὸς θαλάσση χώρα τῆς Λευκτρικῆς ἐπ' ἐμοῦ συμβάν, γράψω. ἀνεμος πῦρ ἐς ὕλην ἐνεγκὼν τὰ πολλὰ ἠφάνισε τῶν δένδρων· ὡς δὲ ἀνεφάνη τὸ χωρίον ψιλόν, ἀγαλμα ἐνταῦθα ἰδρυμένον εὐρέθη Διὸς Ἴθωμάτα. τοῦτο οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ φασι μαρτύριον εἶναι σφισι τὰ Λεῦκτρα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς Μεσσηνίας εἶναι. δύναιτο δ' ἂν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τὰ Λεῦκτρα ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκούντων ὁ Ἴθωμάτας Ζεὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔχειν τιμάς. He justly cp. the figure of Dionysos found in a plane-tree broken by the wind at Magnesia ad Maeandrum (A. E. Kontoleon in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1890 xv. 330 ff. no. 1 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 856). We might also cite in this connexion a modern parallel from Ithome itself. Miss M. Hamilton (Mrs G. Dickins) *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 170 f. writes: 'According to the popular legend, the monks of the monastery of St. Basil on Mount Eva, opposite Ithome, saw one night a flaming tree on the opposite ridge. They crossed the valley and found this ikon of the Panagia on a tree, with a lighted candle beside it. They conveyed it across to their monastery, but it transferred itself miraculously back to the place at which it was found, and the monks believed themselves forced to change to the other ridge. Since then the monastery of St. Basil has been deserted. The trunk of the tree was made into the lintel of the monastery door, and it is said that at the festival it is hacked by the faithful, who take pieces of it as a cure for fever. The ikon is inscribed with reference to the legend—The Guide to the Hill of Ithome—Ὁδηγήτρια τῷ βρει Ἴθωμάτει. In celebration of the festival this ikon makes a short tour of the country. On 12th August it goes up from Voulkano to its old home with pomp and ceremony, accompanied by the monks and its worshippers, a goodly company, comprising a large number of babies brought to be baptised on the top of Ithome ... On the 15th a solemn procession reconducts the ikon to the lower monastery, and nine days later it is taken to Nisi, near Kalamata, where a fair ends the celebrations of the district. The rest of the year the ikon remains at Voulkano.'

¹ *Supra* i. 100, ii. 758.² Zeus Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (5)).³ Zeus Λύκαιος (*supra* i. 63—99, 154 f., 177 f.).

A hill near Tegea¹.

Trapezous².

Korinthos

Corinth³.

Phliasia

Mount Apesas⁴.

Argolis

The Larisa at Argos⁵.

¹ The high place on which stood most of the altars of the Tegeates was called after Zeus Κλάριος (Paus. 8. 53. 9 f. cited *supra* p. 874 n. 2). Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.* identify this eminence with the hill of St Sostis. See further *supra* p. 807 n. 2.

² Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 871 n. 0 no. (3)).

³ Zeus Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (3)).

⁴ Apesas (*Phouka*) is a mountain which rises north of Nemea to a height of 873^m. It figured in two distinct myths. On the one hand, Perseus here sacrificed for the first time to Zeus Ἀπεσάντιος (Paus. 2. 15. 3 καὶ ὄρος Ἀπέσας ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Νεμέαν, ἐνθα Περσεὺς πρῶτον Διὶ θύσαι λέγουσιν Ἀπεσαντίῳ, cp. Stat. *Theb.* 3. 460 ff., 633 ff.), also known as Zeus Ἀπέσας (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀπέσας· ὄρος τῆς Νεμέας, ὡς Πινδαρος (*frag.* 295 Bergk⁴) καὶ Καλλιμαχος ἐν τρίτῃ (*frag.* 29 Schneider), ἀπὸ Ἀφέσαντος (*sic*) ἥρωος βασιλεύσαντος τῆς χώρας, ἣ διὰ τὴν ἀφῆσιν τῶν ἀρμάτων ἢ τοῦ λέοντος· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς σελήνης ἀφελθῆ. ἀφ' οὗ Ζεὺς Ἀπεσάντιος. Καλλιμαχος δὲ ἐν τοῖς λάμβοις (*frag.* 82 Schneider) τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀπέσας φησὶ 'κούχ ὦδ' Ἀρείων τῷ Ἀπέσαντι παρ Διὶ | ἔθυσεν Ἀρκὰς ἵππος'). On the other hand, Deukalion on escaping from the deluge here built an altar of Zeus Ἀφέσιος (*et. mag.* p. 176, 33 ff. Ἀφέσιος Ζεὺς ἐν Ἄργει τιμᾶται. εἰρηται δὲ ὅτι Δευκαλίῳ τοῦ κατακλυσμῶ γενομένου διαφυγῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄκραν τὴν Ἄργου (so H. Usener for Ἀργούς) διασωθεὶς ἰδρύσατο βωμὸν Ἀφείου Διός, ὅτι ἀφελθῆ ἐκ τοῦ κατακλυσμῶ. ἣ δὲ ἄκρα ὕστερον Νεμέα ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τῶν (τοῦ add. cod. V) Ἄργου βοσκημάτων ἐκεῖ νεμομένων. οὕτως Ἀρρειανὸς ἐτυμολογεῖ ἐν τῷ β' τῶν Βιθυνιακῶν (Arrian. *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 591 Müller))). H. Usener *Die Sintfluthsagen* Bonn 1899 pp. 65 ff., 233 (cp. *id.* in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1901 lvi. 482 ff. = *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 383 ff.) contends that Δευκαλίῳ presupposes a simpler form *Δεύ-καλος (whence Δευκαλίδαι), 'kleiner Zeus,' 'Zeusknäblein.' Other views are collected by K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 275 f. and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 446 n. 7, 718 e, 1100 n. 1, 1608 n. 3, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 456. Imperial coppers of Kleonai represent Mt Apesas as a rock surmounted by an altar with an eagle perched upon it (Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. i. 1836 Septimius Severus, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 155 pl. 29, 8 = Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 9 no. 57 pl. 2 Iulia Domna, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 154 no. 1 Geta, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 33 f. Septimius Severus, Iulia Domna, Geta). Traces of the altar of Zeus are still to be seen on the flat rocky summit (É. Puillon Boblaye *Recherches Géographiques sur les ruines de la Morée* Paris 1836 ii. 41 'M. Peytier y a vu quelques ruines qui doivent avoir appartenu à l'autel de Jupiter Apésantius,' E. Curtius *Peloponnesos* Gotha 1852 ii. 505 'der Apesas, auf dem sich bei einer verfallenen Kapelle Palaá Ekklesia genannt, noch Ruinen vom Heiligthume des Zeus Apesantios finden').

⁵ Zeus Λαρισαῖος had a roofless *naós* with a wooden statue on the top of the Larisa at Argos (Paus. 2. 24. 3 ἐπ' ἄκρα δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ Λαρίσῃ Διὸς ἐπικλήσιν Λαρισαίου ναός, οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ξύλου πεποιημένον οὐκέτι ἐστηκὸς ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ). Near it was a *naós* of Athena containing a three-eyed *χόανον* of Zeus, said to have been the paternal god of Priamos (Paus. 2. 24. 3 f. continues καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ναός ἐστὶ θεᾶς ἀξίος· ἐνταῦθα ἀναθήματα κεῖται καὶ ἄλλα καὶ Ζεὺς ξόανον, δύο μὲν ἢ πεφύκαμεν ἔχον ὀφθαλμούς, τρίτον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου. τοῦτον τὸν Δία Πριάμῳ φασὶν εἶναι τῷ Λαομέδοντος πατρῶν, ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς αὐλῆς ἰδρυμένον, καὶ ὅτε ἠλίσκετο ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Ἴλιον, ἐπὶ τούτου κατέφυγεν ὁ Πρίαμος τὸν βωμὸν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ λάφυρα ἐνέμοντο λαμβάνει Σθένελος ὁ Καπανέως αὐτόν, καὶ ἀνάκειται

Phalakron (?)¹.Mount Kokkygion².

μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα· τρεῖς δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἂν τις τεκμαίροιο αὐτόν. Δία γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλεύειν, οὗτος μὲν λόγος κοινὸς πάντων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων. οὐ δὲ ἄρχειν φασὶν ὑπὸ γῆς, ἔστιν ἔπος τῶν Ὀμήρου (*Il.* 9. 457) Δία ὀνομάζον καὶ τοῦτον· 'Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινή Περσεφόνηα.' Αἰσχύλος δὲ ὁ Εὐφορίωνος (*frag.* 436 b Dindorf, who cp. Prokl. *in Plat. Crat.* 148 p. 83, 28 f. Pasquali ὁ δὲ δεύτερος δυαδικῶς καλεῖται Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος καὶ Ποσειδῶν) καλεῖ Δία καὶ τὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ. τρισὶν οὖν ὀρῶντα ἐποίησεν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅστις δὴ ἦν ὁ ποιήσας; ἄτε ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ ταῖς λεγομέναις λήξεσιν ἄρχοντα τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον θεόν. This remarkable figure is mentioned also in schol. Eur. *Trö.* 16 τὸν δὲ ἔρκειον Δία ἄλλοι ἱστορικοὶ ἀναγράφουσιν ἰδίαν τινὰ σχέσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱστοροῦντες, τρισὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτὸν κεχρησθῆναι φασιν, ὡς οἱ περὶ Ἀγλαν (*frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 292 f. Müller)) καὶ Δερκύλον (*frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 386 Müller)). I formerly accepted Pausanias' explanation of the three eyes (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 174 f., 1904 xviii. 75 f., 325), but later came to the conclusion that it was merely a sophisticated attempt to account for a very primitive feature, plurality of eyes implying superhuman powers of sight and three being a typical plurality (*Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 282 ff., 1905 xvi. 275 f.). Excavations in the large court of the Venetian castle on the Larisa have brought to light the tufa foundations (11·70^m broad) of a building orientated towards the east. On the rock were sherds of geometric ware, and 14^m east of the building was a fifth-century inscription mentioning the Ἑλλεῖς (W. Vollgraff in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1904 xxviii. 429 no. 11). On the lower terrace of the Larisa, to the east, are the ruined foundations of a second building. These two may well be the temples of Zeus Λαρισαῖος and of Athena respectively (*id. ib.* 1907 xxxi. 149). Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λάρισσα·...καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις τοῦ Ἄργου Λάρισσα. καὶ ὁ πολίτης Λαρισσαῖος καὶ Λαρισεὺς Ζεὺς.

¹ Zeus Φαλακρός (*supra* p. 875 n. 2).

² There was a sanctuary of Zeus on the top of Mt Kokkygion (Paus. 2. 36. 2 ἱερὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε ἐπὶ ἄκρων τῶν ὀρῶν, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Κοκκυγίῳ Διὸς, ἐν δὲ τῷ Πρωνί ἐστὶν Ἥρας), where Zeus had become a cuckoo in order to woo Hera (schol. vet. Theokr. 15. 64 Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἑρμιόνης ἱερῶν (*frag.* 287 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 190 f. Müller) = Aristokles *frag.* (*ib.* iv. 330 f. Müller): but Grashof's cj. Ἀριστοκλῆς (cp. Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 4) [for Ἀριστοτέλης codd. is far from certain) ἰδιωτέρως ἱστορεῖ περὶ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ [τοῦ τῆς (om. Wilamowitz)] Ἥρας γάμου. τὸν γὰρ Δία μυθολογεῖται ἐπιβουλεύειν τῇ Ἥρᾳ μιγῆναι, ὅτε αὐτὴν ἰδοὶ χωρισθεῖσαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. βουλόμενος δὲ ἀφανῆς γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ ὀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὴν ὄψιν μεταβάλλει εἰς κόκκυγα καὶ καθέζεται εἰς ὄρος, ὃ πρῶτον μὲν Θόρναξ (Hemsterhuys cj. Θόρναξ (cp. Paus. 2. 36. 1)) ἐκαλεῖτο, νῦν δὲ Κόκκυξ. τὸν δὲ Δία χειμῶνα δεινὸν ποιῆσαι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ· τὴν δὲ Ἥραν πορευομένην μόνην ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος καὶ καθέζεσθαι εἰς αὐτό, ὅπου νῦν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἥρας Τελείας. τὸν δὲ κόκκυγα ἰδόντα καταπετασθῆναι καὶ καθεσθῆναι ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα αὐτῆς πεφρικτότα καὶ ριγῶντα ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος. τὴν δὲ Ἥραν ἰδοῦσαν αὐτὸν οἰκτεῖραι καὶ περιβαλεῖν τῇ ἀμπεχόνῃ. τὸν δὲ Δία εὐθέως μεταβαλεῖν τὴν ὄψιν καὶ ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῆς Ἥρας. τῆς δὲ τὴν μῆξιν παραιτουμένης διὰ τὴν μητέρα, αὐτὸν ὑποσχέσθαι γυναῖκα αὐτὴν ποιήσασθαι. καὶ παρ' Ἀργείοις δέ, οἱ μέγιστα (οἱ μέγιστοι codd. Hemsterhuys cj. οἱ μέγιστον vel μάλιστα. Ahrens cj. οἱ μέγιστα) τῶν Ἑλλήνων τιμῶσι τὴν θεόν, τὸ [δὲ (om. Hemsterhuys)] ἀγαλμα τῆς Ἥρας ἐν τῷ ναῷ καθήμενον ἐν [τῷ (om. Wendel)] θρόνῳ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει σκῆπτρον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ σκῆπτρῳ κόκκυξ = Eudok. *viol.* 414^b, cp. Paus. 2. 17. 4, 2. 36. 1). For the chryselephantine statue by Polykleitos see Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 166 f. nos. 932—939, *id. Gr. Plastik*⁴ i. 509—511, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 509—512, 516, C. Waldstein (Sir C. Walston) 'The Argive Hera of Polycleitos' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 30—44 with pls. 2, 3, A. B. Cook 'Nephelokokkygia' in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* Cambridge 1913 pp. 213—221 with pl. Cp. *supra* i. 532. The old name of the mountain, Θόρναξ or Θρόναξ, is said to have meant 'foot-stool' (Hesych. *s.v.* θόρναξ) and perhaps implies an ancient throne-cult (*supra* i. 134 f.). On Mt Thornax in Lakonike was a statue of Apollon Θορνάκιος (Hesych. *s.v.* θόρναξ, cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Θόρναξ) or Πυθαεὺς resembling that at

Mount Arachnaion¹.

Epidauros².

Aigina

The mountain of Zeus *Panhellenios*³.

Amyklai (Hdt. 1. 69, Paus. 3. 10. 8), *i.e.* standing on a throne (Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 351 ff.). The hero Boupagos shot by Artemis on Mt Pholoe was the son of Iapetos and Thornax (Paus. 8. 27. 17).

¹ Mt Arachnaion above Lessa had altars of Zeus and Hera, on which sacrifices were offered when there was a dearth of rain (Paus. 2. 25. 10 cited *supra* p. 467 n. 2). Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 233 f. says: 'This is the high, naked range on the left or northern side of the road as you go to the Epidaurian sanctuary from Argos. The most remarkable peak is Mt. *Arna*, the pointed rocky summit which rises immediately above the village of *Ligourio*. It is 3540 feet high. The western summit, Mt. *St. Elias*, is a little higher (3930 ft.)... The name Arachnaea is said to have been still used by the peasantry in the early part of this century. The altars of Zeus and Hera... appear to have stood in the hollow between the peaks of *Arna* and *St. Elias*, for there is here a square enclosure of Cyclopean masonry which would appear to have been an ancient place of worship.'

² Zeus Κάσιος (P. Kabbadias in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1883 p. 87 no. 22 = W. Prellwitz in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 150 no. 3330 = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1287 a rectangular base of limestone inscribed Δι Κάσιω | 'Ελληνοκράτης | 'Ηρακλείδου with

the numeral λα' and the symbol , on which see *infra* Append. L *init.*).

M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i. 286 observes: 'Iuppiter Casius notus erat in Graecia, postquam Traianus spolia e victoria contra Getas reportata in eius templum in Cario (*sic*) monte ad Euphratem situm dedicavit [*infra* Append. B Syria]... Hadriani fere aetate collocatus fuerit lapis noster.'

³ The highest peak in Aigina (531^m), a landmark for many miles around, is known nowadays as the *Oros*, sometimes also as *Hagios Elias* from the little chapel that crowns its summit. A. Furtwängler *Aegina* München 1906 i. 473 f. reports that excavations carried out in the spring of 1905 discovered an ancient settlement on the mountain-top. The site yielded a quantity of local ware, not unlike that from Troy, and also imported vases of late Mycenaean make. The inhabitants appear to have been Myrmidones, a division of the Thessalian Hellenes (C. Mueller *Aegineticorum liber* Berolini 1817 p. 14 ff.), whose heroes were Aiakos and the Aiakidai. They brought with them the cult of their Zeus 'Ελλάνιος, and Pindar represents the sons of Aiakos, when they prayed for the welfare of Aigina, as standing *πὰρ βωμὸν πατέρος 'Ελλανίου* (*Nem.* 5. 19). Zeus being a weather-god (*supra* p. 1 ff.), his mountain served as a public barometer (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 1. 24 *καὶ ἐὰν ἐν Ἀγιγνῇ [καὶ (om. J. G. Schneider)] ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ 'Ελλανίου νεφέλη καθίζηται, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ὕδωρ γίνεται*). Tradition said that during a great drought the foremost Hellenes besought Aiakos, as son of Zeus by Aigina daughter of Asopos, to intercede with his father on behalf of all, that Aiakos did so with success, and that on the spot where he had prayed the whole people raised a common sanctuary (Isokr. 9 *Euagoras* 14 f., Diod. 4. 61, Apollod. 3. 12. 6, Clem. Al. *strom.* 6. 3 p. 444, 13 ff. Stählin, schol. Pind. *Nem.* 5. 17, Eudok. *viol.* 13). Accordingly this came to be called the sanctuary of Zeus Πανελλήνιος (Paus. 1. 44. 9 cited *infra* p. 895 n. 1, 2. 29. 7 f., 2. 30. 3 f.). Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 265 describes the site: 'On the northern slope of Mt. *Oros*..., in a wild and lonely valley, there is a terrace supported upon walls of great blocks of trachyte. On this terrace there is a ruined chapel of the Hagios Asomatos (the Archangel Michael), which is entirely built of fine pieces of ancient architecture. About the middle of the terrace there are a number of large flat stones laid at equal intervals, as if they had been the bases of columns.' In the ruins of St Michael's chapel was found a stone block bearing an

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0.13^m deep and beside it a base about 0.50^m high. The largest chamber of all (11) was probably entered from the court by a door on the south. Round three sides of it were remains of stone seats. The north-east and north-west corners showed traces of a rough mosaic paving. The middle of the floor had five slabs, which had probably served as bases for pillars. Six lesser apartments (1—6) at the south-east angle were built of small stones bonded with clay and were clearly of later construction. The court also contained a hearth of baked bricks (o), another pit full of ashes (ν), etc. The western portion of the building was protected against water pouring down from a higher level by an extra wall (Γ—B—Δ), part of which (B—Δ) was specially strong. And on the southern side the foundations were strengthened by a retaining wall (E—Z). Miscellaneous finds (at Ω and elsewhere) included the relief of a griffin in limestone, animals in clay (leonine foot, pig's snout), the head of a dove (?) in Pentelic marble, etc. No Mycenaean vases were discovered, but fragments of large *psithoi* with impressed geometric designs, also Corinthian ware in some abundance, and sherds of black-figured and red-figured technique. A few broken vases etc. were inscribed (*Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i nos. 3492—3497), of which the most important were a *kylix*-foot incised ΦΕΞ or ΦΕΣ=[Διὸς 'Α]φεσ[λου], or [Διὸ 'Α]φεσ[λω] (no. 3494) and a stone slab reading ΗΒΡΟ.....="Ηρω[ος] or "Ηρω[ι] (no. 3492). See further D. Philios in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1890 pp. 35 ff. (with careful plans and illustrations: pl. 4, 3=my fig. 822), 63 f., H. G. Lolling *ib.* 1890 p. 55 ff., D. Philios in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ.

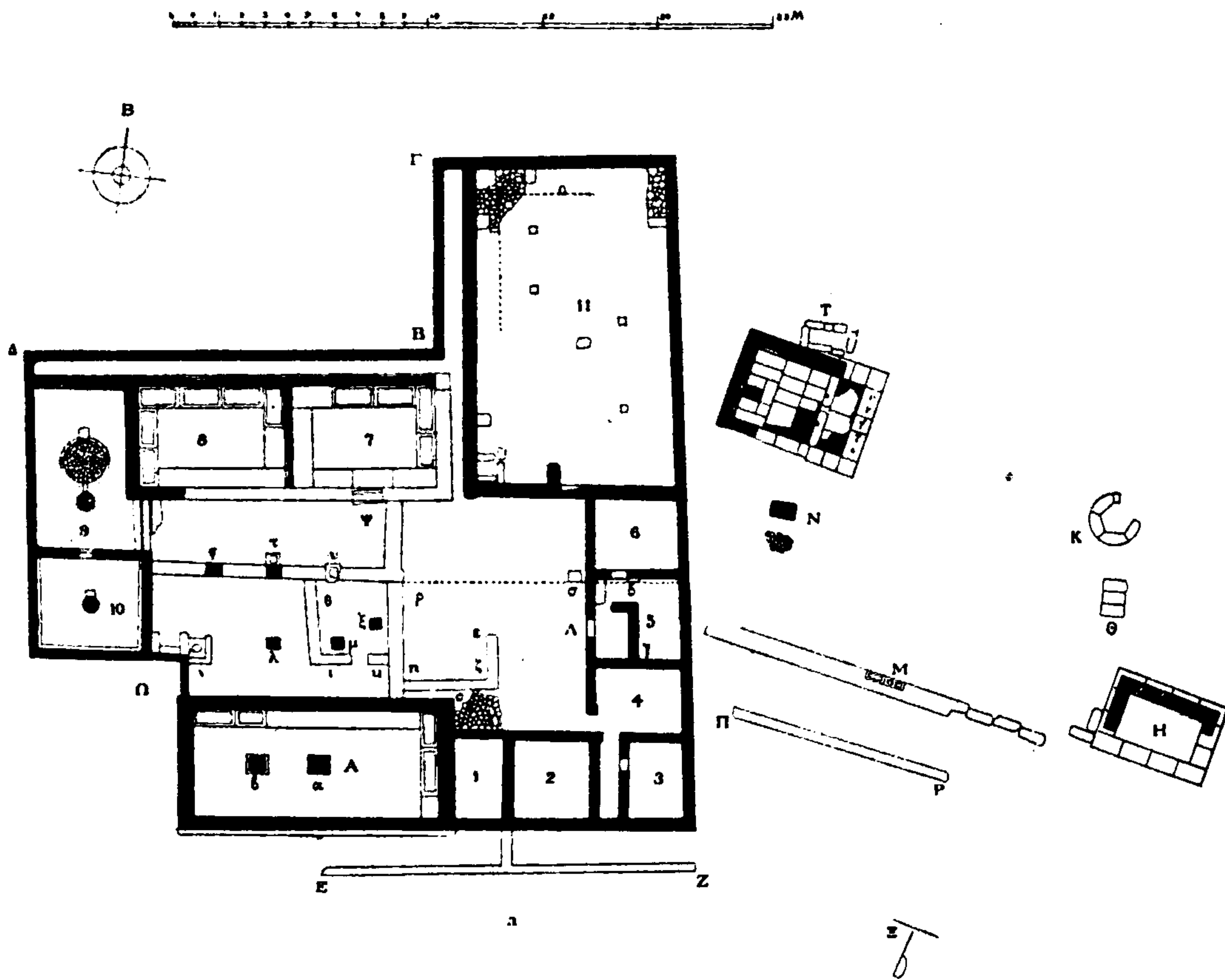


Fig. 822.

ἐτ. 1889 p. 26, W. Doerpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 xiv. 327, and Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 550 f.

The interpretation of the western group of buildings is disputed. H. G. Lolling held that it was originally a private dwelling-house, to which a sanctuary had afterwards been attached; D. Philios, that it was from the first an edifice containing chambers for the priest and the temple-attendants (cp. Paus. 10. 34. 7). I incline to think that the chambers with stone couches (A, 7, 8) were used for incubation, and that the rooms with circular

Mount Gerania (?)¹.

Attike

The *Akrópolis* at Athens².

The Pnyx at Athens³.

Mount Anchesmos⁴.

Mount Hymettos⁵.

Mount Parnes⁶.

pits and rectangular bases (9, 10) betoken a chthonian cult. On this showing the worship of Zeus *Ἀφείσιος* was associated with that of a local Megarian hero (cp. F. Pfister *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* Giessen 1909 i. 1 ff. 'Die mythische Königsliste von Megara'), who not impossibly had been regarded as Zeus incarnate. A similar combination occurs e.g. at Olympia, and the surviving inscriptions [Διὸς Ἀ]φείσιου and Ἡρω[ος] are decidedly suggestive.

¹ Paus. 1. 40. 1 τὰς δὲ Σιθνίδας νύμφας λέγουσι Μεγαρεῖς εἶναι μὲν σφισιν ἐπιχωρίας, μῆ δὲ αὐτῶν [θυγατρὶ (secl. C. G. Siebelis)] συγγενέσθαι Δία, Μέγαρον τε παῖδα ὄντα Διὸς καὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς νύμφης ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλιωνὸς ποτε ἐπομβρίαν, ἐκφυγεῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανίας (*Makri Plagi* 1370^m above sea-level), οὐκ ἔχοντός πω τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο, κ.τ.λ. Cp. Dieuchidas of Megara *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 388 Müller) *ap. Clem. Al. Strom.* 6. 2 p. 443, 9 f. Stählin and *frag.* 11 (*Frag. Hist. Gr.* iv. 290 Müller) *ap. Harpokr. s.v. Γερανία. Et. mag.* p. 228, 22 ff., telling the same tale, speaks of Μεγαρεῖς ὁ Διὸς καὶ μῆς τῶν καλουμένων θηίδων (L. Dindorf corr. Σιθνίδων) νυμφῶν.

² Zeus Ἰππῆτος (*supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (2)). Zeus Πολιεύς (*infra* § 9 (h) ii).

³ Zeus Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 876 f. n. 1 no. (1)). The Siphnian Zeus Ἐπιβήμιος probably implies a statue of the god on the orator's platform (*infra* Append. N *med.*); but it would be unsafe to argue from Siphnos to Athens, and in any case it was not as mountain-god that Zeus supported the speaker (Plout. *praecip. gerend. reip.* 26 κωδὸν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν τὸ βῆμα Βουλαίου τε Διὸς καὶ Πολιεύς καὶ Θέμιδος καὶ Δίκης).

⁴ Anchesmos is commonly identified with *Turkounni*, a range of rocky hills which divides the Attic plain into two unequal parts watered by the Kephisos and the Ilisos respectively (C. Wachsmuth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2103, H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 1. 32. 2). It attains a height of 733^m. Somewhere on this range was a statue of Zeus Ἀγχέσιμος (Paus. 1. 32. 2 καὶ Ἀγχεσιμὸς ὄρος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα καὶ Διὸς ἀγάλμα Ἀγχεσιμῶν). A. S. Georgiades in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1920 p. 59 notes foundations on its E. slopes.

⁵ On the top of Mt Hymettos (*Monte Malto* or *Trelo-Vuni* 1027·10^m) was an altar (*et. mag.* p. 352, 49 ff. cited *supra* p. 873 n. 1) and statue of Zeus Ἰμῆτιος, also altars of Zeus Ὀμβριος and Apollon Προβύσιος (Paus. 1. 32. 2 ἐν Ἰμῆτι ὄρει ἀγάλμα ἐστὶν Ἰμῆτιου Διὸς· βωμοὶ δὲ καὶ Ὀμβρίου Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός εἰσι Προβύσιου). Hesych. Ἰμῆτιος· Ζεὺς παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς. Clouds on Hymettos portended rain (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 1. 20 and 24), wind (*id. ib.* 2. 9), and storm (*id. ib.* 3. 6). W. Kolbe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 138 f. thinks it very probable that the statue of Zeus Ἰμῆτιος stood on the small plateau close to the highest point of the mountain, and that the cult of Zeus Ὀμβριος is perpetuated on its ancient site by the chapel of St Elias perched upon a conspicuous crest (508^m) on the eastern slope of the main *massif*, above Sphettos, north of the *Pirnari* Pass, to which chapel in times of drought whole troops of pilgrims still resort (A. Milchhöfer in E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Karten von Attika* Berlin 1883 Text ii. 32).

⁶ On Mt Parnes was a bronze statue of Zeus Παρνήθιος and an altar of Zeus Σημαλέος; also another altar on which sacrifices were made sometimes to Zeus Ὀμβριος, sometimes to Zeus Ἀπήμιος (Paus. 1. 32. 2 καὶ ἐν Πάρνηθι Παρνήθιος Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς ἐστὶ, καὶ βωμὸς Σημαλέου Διὸς. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Πάρνηθι καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς, θύουσι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοτὲ μὲν Ὀμβριον τοτὲ δὲ Ἀπήμιον καλοῦντες Δία, *et. mag.* p. 352, 49 ff. cited *supra* p. 873 n. 1). Parnes (*Ossa*) is at once the highest (1413^m) and the most extensive mountain in Attike. C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 252 would locate the statue of Zeus Παρνήθιος and the altar of Zeus Σημαλέος (*supra* p. 4) near Phyle, on the bare rocky ridge

Marathon¹.

Boiotia

Mount Hypatos².

Thebes³.

Orchomenos⁴.

Mount Helikon⁵.

Mount Kithairon⁶.

which the ancients on account of its shape called the Chariot (*supra* p. 815 f.), but the altar of Zeus Ὀμβριος and Ἀπήμιος on some other eminence. Lightning over Parnes, Brilettos, and Hymettos betokened a big storm; over two of the three, a less serious storm; over Parnes alone, fair weather (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 3. 6). Clouds over the western side of Parnes and Phyle, with a north wind blowing, meant stormy weather (*id. ib.* 3. 10).

¹ Zeus Ὑπατος (*supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (3)).

² Zeus Ὑπατος (*supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (1)).

³ Zeus Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (2)).

⁴ Zeus Καραίος (*supra* p. 874 n. 2).

⁵ Zeus Ἐλικώνιος had an altar on Mt Helikon, near the spring Hippokrene, round which the Muses danced (Hes. *theog.* 1 ff. with schol. *ad loc.* 2 ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γὰρ ὄρει καὶ κρήνη ἦν καὶ βωμός, 4 ἐν Ἐλικῶνι δὲ ἦν ὁ βωμός, ὡς εἴρηται, τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλικωνίου). On the north-eastern summit of Helikon (*Zagora* 1527^m) now stands a little roofless chapel of St Elias: it is surrounded by fir-trees, and its walls of small well-jointed polygonal stones probably formed in antiquity the *peribolos* of the altar of Zeus (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 239, H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Berlin 1863 ii. 99, Frazer *Pausanias* v. 158, Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 7). See also *supra* i. 132.

⁶ Mt Kithairon was sacred to Zeus Κιθαιρώνιος (Paus. 9. 2. 4 ὁ δὲ Κιθαιρῶν τὸ ὄρος Διὸς ἱερὸν Κιθαιρωνίου ἐστίν. This sentence is out of place in its context. H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz excised it as a gloss. C. L. Kayser in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1850 viii. 392 transposed it to stand before καθότι δὲ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος κ.τ.λ.). Nominally every sixth year, but really at shorter intervals, the Plataeans held a festival called Δαίδαλα μικρά. Going to an oak-wood near Alalkomenai they set out pieces of boiled flesh, followed the crow that pounced on the flesh, felled the tree on which it perched, and made of it a wooden image called a δαίδαλον. Every fifty-ninth year the Plataeans joined with the Boeotians to celebrate the Δαίδαλα μεγάλα. The various townships drew lots for the fourteen wooden images provided by the Δαίδαλα μικρά. Apparently each township took its image to the river Asopos and placed it on a waggon along with a bridesmaid. Again casting lots for order of precedence, they drove the waggons from the river to the top of Kithairon. Here an altar had been built of blocks of wood with brushwood piled on it. Each township then sacrificed a cow to Hera and a bull to Zeus, and, filling these victims with wine and incense, burnt them along with the images on the altar. The result was a huge column of flame visible at a great distance. The local myth explained that Hera, enraged with Zeus, had once retired to Euboeia, and that Zeus, at the advice of Kithairon king of Plataiai, had made a wooden image and put it wrapped up on a bullock-cart, giving out that he was taking to wife Plataia, daughter of Asopos: Hera had flown to the spot, discovered the trickery, and made it up with Zeus (Paus. 9. 3. 1—8). According to Plutarch, Hera had been in hiding on Mt Kithairon (not in Euboeia), and the stratagem was suggested to Zeus by Alalkomeneus the autochthon (not by Kithairon): together they cut down a fine oak, shaped it and decked it as a bride and called it Δαιδάλη; the wedding chant was raised, the Tritonid nymphs brought water for the bath, and Boiotia furnished flutes and the band of revellers. Hera with the women of Plataiai in her train came down from Mt Kithairon in jealous anger, but laughed at the ruse and was reconciled to Zeus (Plout. *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 1. 6). Aristeides before

Mount Laphystion¹.A mountain near Lebadeia².

the battle of Plataiai (479 B.C.) was bidden by the Delphic oracle to pray to Zeus, Hera *Κιθαιρωνία*, Pan, and the Sphragitid nymphs (Plout. *v. Aristid.* 11): Pausanias, turning towards the Heraion outside Plataiai, prayed to Hera *Κιθαιρωνία* and the other deities of the Plataean land (*id. ib.* 18). The image of Hera *Κιθαιρωνία* at Thespiiai was a lopped tree-trunk (Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 46. 3 *καὶ τῆς Κιθαιρωνίας Ἥρας ἐν Θεσπειᾷ πρέμνον ἐκκεκομμένον*, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 11 *ramum pro Cinxia Thespios*). She had a sanctuary also at Thebes (schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 24 *ἢ ὅτι Κιθαιρωνίας Ἥρας ἐστὶν ἐν Θήβαις ἱερόν*). Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 269 *Ἐπίθετα Ἥρας (το) κιθαιρωνίας*.

In the traditional singing-match between Kithairon and Helikon (for which see Demetrios of Phaleron *ap. schol. Od.* 3. 267 and Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1466, 56 ff., Lysimachos (? Lysanias) of Kyrene *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 342 Müller) *ap. schol. Hes. o.d.* p. 33, 4 ff. Gaisford, cp. Tzetz. *chil.* 6. 917 ff., Hermesianax of Kypros *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 428 Müller) *ap. Plout. de flux.* 2. 3) the former sang of the childhood of Zeus (Korinna in the *Berliner Klassikertexte* Berlin 1907 v. 2. 19 ff. no. 284, cp. *ib.* p. 47, = *frag.* 1 Diehl³).

¹ On Mt Laphystion near Orchomenos was a precinct and stone statue of Zeus *Λαφύστιος*. It was here that Athamas was about to sacrifice Phrixos and Helle, when Zeus sent the ram with the golden fleece to aid their escape (Paus. 9. 34. 5, cp. 1. 24. 2). Higher up on the mountain-side was a Herakles *Χάροψ*; for here, according to the Boeotians, Herakles had brought up the hound of Hades (Paus. 9. 34. 5). Dionysos too was worshipped on the mountain as *Λαφύστιος* (*et. niag.* p. 557, 51 f. *Λαφύστιος ὁ Διόνυσος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ Λαφυστίου ὄρους* = Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 1237), and his Maenads were *Λαφύστιαι* (Lyk. *Al.* 1237 with Tzetz. *ad loc.*).

Laphystion has been identified with *Granitsa*, a steep mountain (896^m) of reddish stone with a summit like a crater and warm springs at its north-eastern foot (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 235 f., Frazer *Pausanias* v. 172, H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 9. 34. 5).

That *Λαφύστιος* must be connected with *λαφύσσειν*, 'to devour,' is commonly admitted. But beyond this point agreement ceases. Was the god named after the mountain, or the mountain after the god? (1) U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in his ed. 2 of Eur. *H.f.* Berlin 1895 i. 34 n. 67 holds that Mt Laphystion got its name from the crater that engulfed the unwary. And doubtless Zeus *Λαφύστιος* could have derived his appellation from Mt Laphystion. But we have already (*supra* i. 416 f., 428) seen reason to think that Zeus *Λαφύστιος* was originally a Thessalian god, and we hear of no Mt Laphystion in Thessaly. (2) Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 8 conversely assumes that Mt Laphystion derived its name from Zeus *Λαφύστιος*. It is then open to us to interpret *Λαφύστιος* as 'Devouring' with allusion to human sacrifice. For that grim tradition attached to the cult of Zeus *Λαφύστιος*, not only in Bolotia, but also in Thessaly (*infra* Append. B Thessalia); and the Dionysos of Orchomenos had an equally sinister reputation (Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 38, Ant. Lib. 10, Ov. *met.* 4. 1 ff. Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Dying God p. 163 f.). See further P. Buttmann *Mythologus* Berlin 1829 ii. 230, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1850 f., J. W. Hewitt in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1908 xix. 102 f.

² Paus. 9. 39. 4 *ἀναβάσει δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον (sc. τοῦ Τροφωνίου) καὶ αὐτόθεν ἰούσιν ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ ὄρους, Κόρης ἐστὶ καλουμένη θήρα (καλουμένης θήρας codd. fam. L¹. K. Goldhagen cj. καλουμένης Σωτείρας. H. N. Ulrichs cj. καλουμένης Ἥρας. F. Spiro: 'ἀν θύρα?') καὶ Διὸς Βασιλέως ναός. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἢ καὶ τῶν πολέμων τὸ ἀλλεπάλληλον ἀφελκασιν ἡμετέρον· ἐν δὲ ἐτέρῳ ναῶ Κρόνου καὶ Ἥρας καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν. The unfinished temple of Zeus *Βασιλεύς* is believed to have stood on Mt St Elias, a height which rises west of the castle-hill of *Livadia* at a distance of half an hour from the town. Here the ground is still strewn with big building-blocks, though most of the material was carried off in Turkish times (Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*). The temple seems to have been 46.02^m in length (E. Fabricius *ap. H. Nissen**

Mount Homoloïon (?)¹.

in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1887 xlii. 54). A long inscription, of 175—172 B.C., relating to this temple was found built into the wall of a blacksmith's forge at *Livadia* (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3073 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 589 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 972). It specifies the conditions under which the custodians (*ναοποιοι*) of the temple of Zeus *Βασιλεύς* are prepared to place the building-contract with the contractors (*ἐργῶναι*). The first section (*vv.* 1—89) deals with the slabs (*στῆλαι*) on which the specification is to be inscribed; the second (*vv.* 89—164) with the paving-stones to be laid in one of the external colonnades (*v.* 89 ff. *εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ | Διὸς τοῦ Βασιλέως εἰς τὴν ἔξω περίστασιν τοῦ σηκοῦ | τῶν εἰς τὴν μακρὰν πλευρὰν καταστρωτήρων ἔργα|σια καὶ σύνθεσις*). It appears that the temple was constructed, not by the inhabitants of Lebadeia only, but by the Boeotians in common (*v.* 156 f.), probably—as A. Wilhelm saw—with money supplied by Antiochos iv Epiphanes. Other fragments of the same contract are *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i nos. 3074—3076, A. de Ridder and Choisy 'Devis de Livadie' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 318—335 (*v.* 58 *εἰς τὸ <ν> [ἡμι]κύκλιον* is taken to imply an apsidal end to the temple: restoration *ib.* pl. 9. Other Boeotian examples at Arne, Ptoion, Kabeirion, Thespiai are noted by F. Noack in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 424: cp. *supra* i. 120), A. Wilhelm 'Bauinschrift aus Lebadeia' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 179—182.

The Boeotians after vanquishing the Spartans at Leuktra (371 B.C.) established at Lebadeia an *ἀγῶν στεφανίτης* in honour of Zeus *Βασιλεύς* (Diod. 15. 53). These games, known as the *Βασιλεια*, are repeatedly mentioned in inscriptions (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i Index p. 761, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 82), one of which has *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ* within a bay-wreath (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2487). If, as seems probable, Zeus *Βασιλεύς* was associated with Hera *Βασιλις*, the games were quadriennial (*ib.* i no. 3097). Plutarch's story about Aristokleia the *κανηφόρος* of Zeus *Βασιλεύς* (Plout. *amat. narr.* 1) implies a ritual procession (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 34).

On the relation of Zeus *Βασιλεύς* to Trophonios see *infra* Append. K.

¹ Zeus *Ὁμολώιος* was worshipped in Boiotia (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Ὁμόλη*), particularly at Thebes (Hesych. *s.v.* *Ὁμολώιος* (*Ὁμόλοος* cod.) *Ζεὺς Ἱθίβησιν οἴτω προσαγορεύεται ὁ Ζεὺς*); and Aristodemos of Alexandria, who wrote a learned work on Theban antiquities, appears to have derived the name of the *Ὁμολωίδες πύλαι* at Thebes from their proximity to a *Ὁμολώιον ὄρος* (Aristodem. *Theb. frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 309 Müller) *ap. schol. Eur. Phoen.* 1119, cp. Steph. Byz. *loc. cit.*). It may be inferred, though not with certainty, that there was a cult of Zeus on this hill (see Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 9 f.). A small column, found at Thebes and now in the local Museum, has inscribed in archaic letters on its fluting *Δι' Ὁμολωῖται | Ἀγειμῶνδας ἀπὸ δεκά[τας]* (P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 130 ff., Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 191, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 227 no. 665, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 212 no. 198, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2456), which is perhaps a clumsy attempt at a hexameter line. Doubtless this column once supported a votive offering in the Theban sanctuary of Zeus *Ὁμολώιος*. His festival the *Ὁμολώια*, mentioned in lists of victors from Megara (*ib.* i no. 48, 2) and from Orchomenos in Boiotia (*ib.* i no. 3196, 24 f., no. 3197, 36 f.), was specially discussed by Aristodemos (Aristodem. *Theb. frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 309 Müller) *ap. schol. Theokr.* 7. 103). The same god was worshipped, not only in Boiotia, but also in Thessaly (Phot. *lex. s.v.* *Ὁμολῶος Ζεὺς· ἐν Θήβαις καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσι Βοιωτίας· καὶ ὁ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἀπὸ Ὁμολῶος προφήτιδος τῆς Ἐννέως, ἣν προφήτιν εἰς Δελφοὺς πεμφθῆναι ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης (sic cod. S. A. Naber corr. Ἀριστόδημος, sc. Aristodem. *Theb. loc. cit.*) ἐν δευτέρῳ Θηβαϊκῶν· Ἴστρος δὲ ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ τῆς συναγωγῆς διὰ τὸ παρ' Αἰολεῦσιν τὸ ὁμονοητικὸν καὶ εἰρηρικὸν ὄμολον λέγεσθαι (*frag.* 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 419 Müller))· ἔστι δὲ Δημήτηρ Ὁμολῶος ἐν Θήβαις = Souid. *s.v.* *Ὁμολώιος Ζεὺς*, cp. Apostol. 12. 67, Arsen. *viol.* p. 381 Walz, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1358, 38 ff., Endok. *viol.* 414^g p. 314, 10 ff. Flach). O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2263 f. remarks that the name of the month *Ὁμολώιος*, *Ὁμολῶος*, *Ὁμολούιος* found in Boiotia, Aitolia, and Thessaly (E. Bischoff *ib.* viii. 2264) implies a wide-spread cult of deities with this appellative, such as Zeus *Ὁμολώιος*,*

Mount Petrachos¹.

Phokis

Delphoi².

Demeter 'Ομολωία (*supra*), and Athena 'Ομολωίς (Lyk. *Al.* 520 with schol. and Tzetz. *ad loc.*), and concludes: 'Da der Boiotien und Thessalien gemeinsame Monatsname einen gemeinsamen Kult des Zeus H. wahrscheinlich machen, dürfte Zeus H. ähnlich wie Zeus Olympios von Thessalien nach Mittelgriechenland gekommen sein.' His cult reached Eretria also; for a fragmentary slab discovered close to the western gate of Eretria is inscribed in lettering of s. iii. B. C. Διὸς 'Ομ[ο]λω[ι]ω[ν] (K. Kourouniotes in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897 p. 150 n. 3, who cp. the Theban 'Ομολωίδες πύλαι). See further O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 105 f. (Λωίος = 'Ομολωίος), E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophroris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 14 f. (collects derivatives of 'Ομολωίος, Λωίος, and infers from the occurrence of the month 'Ομολωίος at Eresos in Lesbos (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 527, 44) 'Iovem omnes Aeoles, priusquam discesserint, hoc cognomine esse veneratos'), F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 19, 142, 264. *Supra* p. 857 n. 6, *infra* Append. B Thessalia.

¹ The *Akrópolis* of Chaironeia was a sharp rocky summit named Petrachos (Plout. *v. Sull.* 17). Here Kronos received from Rhea a stone instead of Zeus; and there was a small statue of Zeus on the top of the mountain (Paus. 9. 41. 6 *ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλιος κρημνὸς Πετραχὸς καλούμενος. Κρόνον δὲ ἐθέλουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἀπατηθῆναι δεξιόμενον ἀντὶ Διὸς πέτρον παρὰ τῆς Πέρας, καὶ ἄγαλμα Διὸς οὐ μέγα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους*). For the extant remains of Chaironeia see C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 205 f., Sir J. G. Frazer on Paus. 9. 40. 5, and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 9. 40. 7; for the history of the town, E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2033 ff.

² The Delphians originally occupied a town Λυκώρεια higher up on the side of Mt Parnassos (Strab. 418, cp. schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1490, Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 1 where W. R. Paton cj. Λυκώρεια for Λυκουρία). H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Bremen 1840 i. 120 and C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 179 f. found traces of Λυκώρεια in sundry Hellenic walls still visible on a height to the west of the Corycian Cave. W. M. Leake *Travels in Northern Greece* London 1841 ii. 579 with truer topographical instinct identified the site of the ancient city with the village of *Liakouri*. Here Deukalion had reigned as king (*metam. Par. ep.* 2 p. 3 Jacoby, *ep.* 4 p. 3 f.)—indeed, the town had been founded by survivors of his deluge, who followed the 'howling of wolves,' λύκων ὠρυγαίς, to the mountain-top (Paus. 10. 6. 2). Another account made its founder Λύκωρος, son of Apollon by the nymph Korykia (Paus. *ib.*, cp. *et. mag.* p. 571, 47 ff.). He is called Λυκωρεὺς by schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 711 (cp. Hyg. *fab.* 161), who adds ἀφ' οὗ Λυκωρεὺς αἱ Δελφοί. Finally Anaxandrides (*supra* p. 238 n. 1) of Delphoi, who wrote a monograph *περὶ Λυκωρείας*, spoke of Λυκωρεὺς as a king (Anaxandrides *frag.* 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 107 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λυκώρεια).

The town had a cult of Apollon (*et. mag.* p. 571, 47 ff.), who is mentioned as Phoibos Λυκώρειος (Ap. Rhod. 4. 1490), Apollon Λυκωρεὺς (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Ανεμώρεια), Phoibos Λυκωρεὺς (Euphorion *frag.* 53 in A. Meineke *Analecta Alexandrina* Berolini 1843 p. 95 f., Kallim. *h. Ap.* 19, Orph. *h. Ap.* 34. 1, *oracul. ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 14. 5 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 82. 9 f.), or Λυκωρεὺς alone (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 54. 1 (Paulus Silentarius)). There was also a Zeus Λυκώρειος (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λυκώρεια... *ἔστι καὶ Λυκώρειος Ζεὺς καὶ Λυκώρειον διὰ διφθόγγου*), who was presumably worshipped on the peak known as Λυκώρειον (*id. ib.*) or Λυκωρεὺς (Loukian. *Tim.* 3, where for τῷ Λυκωρεῖ I should restore τῷ Λυκωρεῖω), later Λυκορεῖ (schol. rec. Pind. *Ol.* 9. 70). The highest point of Parnassos (2459^m) is still called τὸ Λυκέρει. J. Murray *Handbook for travellers in Greece* London 1900 p. 540 f. says: 'The...summit, locally called Lykeri (8070 ft.), is marked with a wooden cross. At the top of the mountain is a small plain, enclosed in a crater-like basin, and containing a pool generally frozen over... The view on a clear day exceeds in grandeur and interest almost every other prospect of the kind. To the N., beyond the plains of Thessaly, appears Olympus with its snowy tops brilliant in sunlight. Further W.

Euboia

Mount Oche¹.Mount Kenaion².

is seen the long chain of Pindus; on the E. rises Helicon, with other Boeotian mountains. To the S. the summit of Panachaion is very conspicuous; Achaia, Argolis, Elis and Arcadia are seen as in a map, while the Gulf of Corinth looks like a large pond. The Aegean and Ionian seas bound the horizon E. and W.' It appears probable that the cult of Zeus Δυκώρειος was displaced or overshadowed by that of Apollon Δυκώρειος. Their common epithet may be connected either with λύκος, 'a wolf' (according to H. N. Ulrichs *op. cit.* i. 118 wolves still haunt the woods of Parnassos: 'In Chrysó sah ich vier Hirten, von denen jeder eine Wolfshaut an einem langen Stocke trug, dessen oberstes Ende aus dem geöffneten Rachen des Thiers hervorsteckte. Sie zogen von Dorf zu Dorf und empfangen an jedem Hause freigebige Geschenke für die Befreiung von diesem gefährlichen Feinde der Herden.' Paus. 10. 14. 7, Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 26, 12. 40, Plout. *v. Per.* 21 associate wolves with the Delphian Apollon), or with Λύκος, an ancient name for the god of the daylight (?) (*supra* i. 64 n. 3).

When Deukalion, after traversing the flood for nine days and nights in his ark, landed at length on Mt Parnassos, he sacrificed there to Zeus Φύξιος (Apollod. 1. 7. 2, cp. schol. cod. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 2. 1147 Φύξιον δὲ τὸν Δία οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἔλεγον, ἦτοι ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμοῦ κατέφυγον εἰς αὐτόν, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὸν Φρίξον καταφυγεῖν εἰς αὐτόν). This title too is found attached to Apollon (Philostr. *her.* p. 711 Palamedes prays 'Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκίῳ τε καὶ Φυξίῳ to be delivered from wolves, cp. Soud. *s.v.* Φύξιος).

For Zeus at Delphoi see further *supra* pp. 179 ff., 189 ff., 231 ff., 266 f.

¹ Popular etymology derived the name of Mt Oche (Ὀχη) from the union (ὄχη = ὄχελια) of Zeus and Hera, which was said to have taken place there (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κάρυστος... ἐκλήθη δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκεῖ ὄχελιας, ἦτοι τῶν θεῶν μίξεως Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὰ πρόβατα κυσκέσθαι ὄχευόμενα ἐν τῷ τῶπῳ· οἱ γὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν τροφήν ὄχην φασί). The summit of the mountain (1475^m) is nowadays known as *Hagios Elias* (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1872 ii. 398).

² On the top of Mt Kenaion (677^m), a height untouched by clouds (Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 786 f. hic rupe celsa nulla quam nubes ferit | annosa fulgent templa Ceneae Iovis), was an altar and sanctuary of Zeus Κήναιος (Aisch. *Γλαῦκος πόντιος frag.* 30 Nauck² *ap.* Strab. 447, Soph. *Trach.* 237 f., 752 ff., 993 ff., Skyl. *per.* 58 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 47 Müller), Apollod. 2. 7. 7, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κάναι...Καναῖος Ζεὺς οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τοῦ Καναίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Κάνης, Soud. *s.v.* Κηναῖος· ὁ Ζεὺς, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπίθετα Διὸς (57) κηναίου, 266 Ἐπίθετα Διὸς (49) κηναίου, 274 Ἐπίθετα Διὸς...κηναῖος (καναῖος codd. C¹.O¹.), Ov. *met.* 9. 136 f., Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 102, 786 f.). According to Sophokles, Herakles after sacking Oichalia dedicated here altars and a leafy precinct to Zeus Πατρῶος. He offered 100 victims on a pyre of oak, including twelve bulls free from blemish, and put on for the purpose the deadly robe brought to him by Lichas (Soph. *Trach.* 750 ff.). According to Bakchylides, he offered from the spoils of Oichalia nine bulls to Zeus Κήναιος, 'lord of the far-spread clouds,' two to Poseidon, and a cow to Athena (Bakchyl. 15. 17 ff.). Cp. Diod. 4. 37 f., Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 50 f., Eudok. *viol.* 436. Fragments of a volute-*kratér* from *Kerch* show Herakles (... ΚΛΗΣ) holding a sacrificial fillet for one of these victims in the presence of ΛΙΧΑΣ and Hyllos (?). All these are wreathed with bay or olive. At their feet is a pile of stones; in the background, a tripod on a column and a pillar decorated with acanthus-leaves (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1869 p. 179 pl. 4, 1, *ib.* 1876 p. 161 pl. 5, 1 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 31, 12, *ib.* i. 50, 3. This vase-painting was attributed by F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 53 f. fig. 24 to the painter Aristophanes c. 400 B.C., by J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 184 to a contemporary artist, 'the painter of the New York Centauromachy' (Hopkin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 217 no. 4)). A fragmentary bell-*kratér* in the British Museum has Herakles wreathed with olive and wearing

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Halos¹.
 Mount Pelion².
 Mount Ossa (?)³.
 Mount Homole (?)⁴.
 Mount Pindos⁵.

Makedonia

Mount Olympos⁶.

the accommodation of priests and pilgrims opened into a colonnade (40^m long) with octagonal columns. Sundry tiles of this *stoa* are inscribed ΙΗΡΑΗ or ΙΙΠΟΧΗ = *ιερά, ιερὸς Ἡρακλέους* (N. Pappadakis in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1920 xlv. 392 f., 1921 xlv. 523).

¹ Halos at the foot of Mt Othrys was founded by Athamas (Strab. 433). There was here a sanctuary and grove of Zeus *Λαφύστιος*. Tradition said that Athamas, son of Aiolos, had together with Ino plotted the death of Phrixos. The Achaeans were bidden by an oracle to enjoin that the eldest of Athamas' descendants should never enter the Prytaneion. They mounted guard over it, and their rule was that, if any such person entered it, he might leave it only in order to be sacrificed. Many fearing the rule had fled to other lands. If they returned and entered the Prytaneion, they were covered all over with fillets and led out in procession to be slain. The reason given for this strange custom was that once, when the Achaeans in accordance with an oracle were treating Athamas as a scape-goat for the land and were about to sacrifice him, Kytissoros, son of Phrixos, came from Aia in Kolchis and rescued him, thereby drawing down the wrath of the god on his own descendants (Hdt. 7. 197, cp. Plat. *Min.* 315 c). When Phrixos came to Kolchis, he was received by Dipsakos, son of the river-god Phyllis and a local nymph. Phrixos there sacrificed the ram, on which he had escaped, to Zeus *Λαφύστιος*, and it was a custom for one of his descendants to enter the Prytaneion and sacrifice to the said Zeus (so schol. vulg. Ar. Rhod. 2. 653 καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν νόμος ἓνα τῶν Φρίξου ἀπογόνων εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον, καὶ θύειν τῷ εἰρημένῳ Διί. But there is an important variant in schol. cod. Paris. καὶ μέχρι νῦν νόμος εἰσελθόντα εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἓνα τῶν Φρίξου ἀπογόνων θύειν τῷ εἰρημένῳ Διί. The accusative *εἰσελθόντα...ἓνα* is ambiguous. It might be the subject of *θύειν* and mean that the man sacrificed to Zeus. It might be the object of *θύειν* and mean that the man was sacrificed to Zeus. In view of the custom at Halos, the latter alternative is more probable than the former. If so, amend Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Dying God p. 165 n. 1). *Supra* i. 416, ii. p. 899 n. 1.

Coins of Halos show the head of Zeus *Λαφύστιος*, sometimes filleted, sometimes laureate (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly* etc. p. 13 pls. 2, 6, 31, 1). On occasion a thunderbolt is added in front of the head on the obverse (W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1899 xix. 91 pl. 7, 1) or below Phrixos and the ram on the reverse (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly* etc. p. 13 no. 3). The coins are coppers of two periods, 400—344 B.C. and 300—200 B.C. (Head *Hist. num.*² p. 295 f.).

² Zeus *Ἀκραῖος* (*supra* p. 871 n. 3 no. (1)) and *Ἀκταῖος* (*supra* p. 869 n. 2). A cloud on Pelion meant rain or wind (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 1. 22).

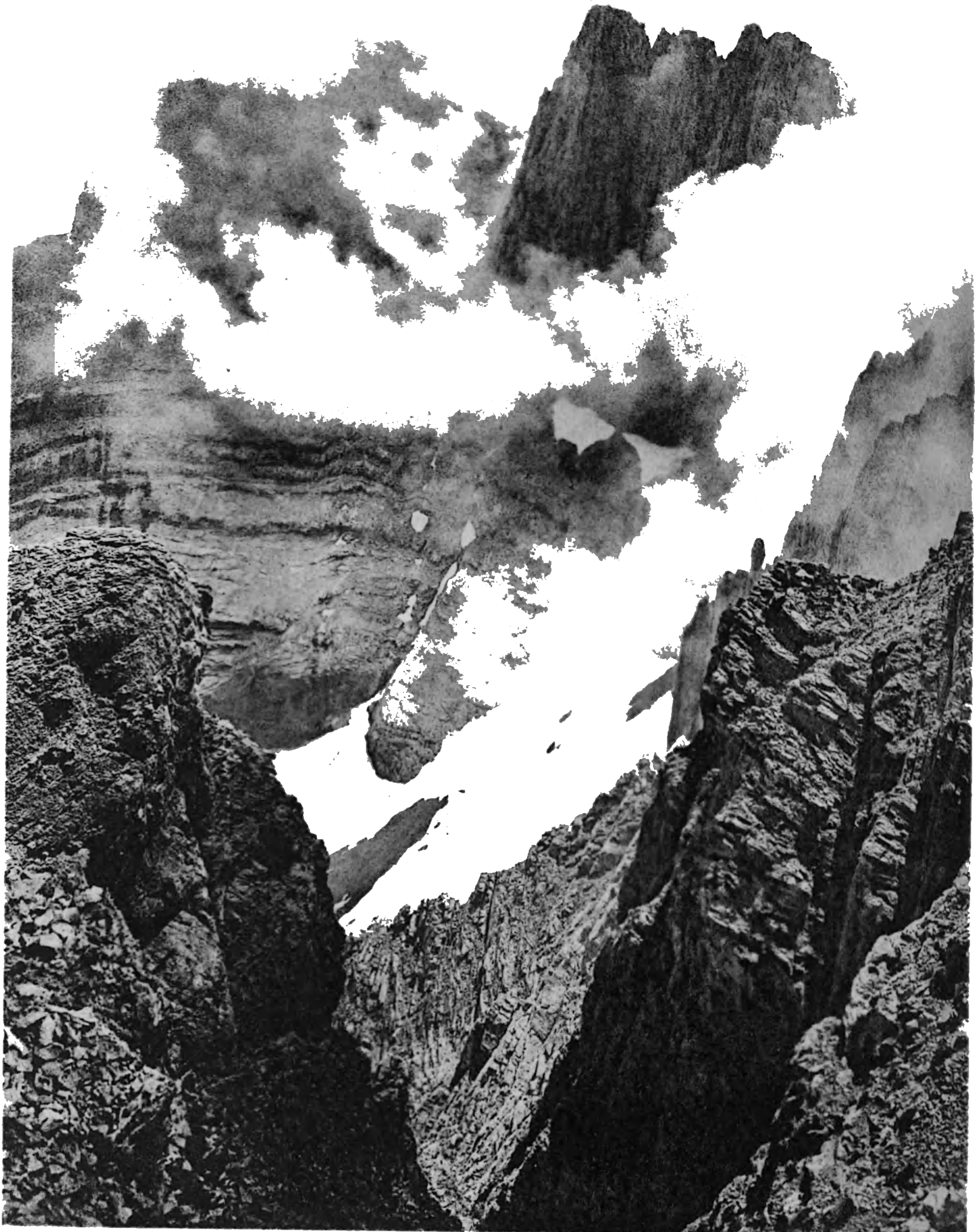
³ Zeus *᾽Οσσαῖος* (Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 *Ἐπιθετα Διὸς* (76) *ὄσσαλου*, 266 *Ἐπιθετα Διὸς* (68) *ὄσσαλου*) is not necessarily to be taken as the god of Mt Ossa (1950^m). He may be the sender of Rumour (*᾽Οσσα*) the 'messenger of Zeus' (*Il.* 2. 93 f. *μετὰ δὲ σφισιν ᾽Οσσα δεδήει | ὀτρύνουσ' ἰέναι, Διὸς ἄγγελος*, cp. *Od.* 1. 282 f., 2. 216 f., 24. 413).

⁴ Homole or Homolos, one of the northern spurs of Mt Ossa in Magnesia, on which stood the town Homolion (Stählin in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2259 ff.), was 'the most fertile and best watered of the Thessalian mountains' (Paus. 9. 8. 6, cp. Strab. 443). The *᾽Ομολωίδες πύλαι* of Thebes were said to have been called after it (Paus. 9. 8. 6 f.; but see *supra* p. 900 n. 1). It is possible that the Theban cult of Zeus *᾽Ομολωῖος* had spread southwards from Mt Homole (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 12 f., *supra* p. 900 n. 1).

⁵ Zeus *Ἀκραῖος* (*supra* p. 871 n. 3 no. (2)).

⁶ The cult of Zeus on Mt Olympos has been discussed at some length *supra* i. 100—

Plate XL



The summit of Mount Olympos.

See page 905 n. o f.

[By permission of Messrs Boissonnas, Geneva.]

117. My statement that the published illustrations of the mountain are very inadequate (i. 101 n. 3) no longer holds good. A. J. Mann—W. T. Wood *The Salonika Front* London 1920 pl. 7 give a coloured silhouette of Olympus as seen from *Mikra*, the reproduction of a fine original owned by Lieut.-Col. G. Windsor-Clive. And the noble view of the summit here shown (pl. xl) is from a large heliogravure of exceptional merit published by F. Boissonnas of Geneva.

D. Urquhart *The Spirit of the East* London 1838 i. 398 ff. describes with much enthusiasm, but little precision, his ascent of Olympus in 1830: 'I spent no more than an hour at this giddy height, where the craving of my eyes would not have been satisfied under a week. I seemed to stand perpendicularly over the sea, at the height of 10,000 feet. Salonica was quite distinguishable, lying north-east; Larissa appeared under my very feet. The whole horizon, from north to south-west was occupied by mountains, hanging on, as it were, to Olympus. This is the range that runs westward along the north of Thessaly, ending in the Pindus. The line of bearing of these heaved-up strata seems to correspond with that of the Pindus, that is, to run north and south, and they presented their escarpment to Olympus. Ossa, which lay like a hillock beneath, stretched away at right angles to the south; and, in the interval, spread far, far in the red distance, the level lands of Thessaly, under that peculiar dusty mist which makes nature look like a gigantic imitation of an unnatural effect produced on the scene of a theatre. When I first reached the summit, and looked over the warm plains of Thessaly, this haze was of a pale yellow hue. It deepened gradually, and became red, then brown, while similar tints, far more vivid, were reproduced higher in the sky. But, when I turned round to the east, up which the vast shadows of night were travelling, the cold ocean looked like a plain of lead; the shadow of the mighty mass of Olympus was projected twenty miles along its surface; and I stood on the very edge, and on my tiptoes' (*ib.* i. 429 f.). On enquiry he found that the shepherds of Olympus 'had no recollection of the "Thunderer" ...but they told me,' he adds, 'that "the stars came down at night on Olympus!" "that heaven and earth had once met upon its summit, but that since men had grown wicked, God had gone higher up"' (*ib.* i. 437, B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 35, N. G. Politis *Δημιώδεις κοσμογονικοί μύθοι* Athens 1894 p. 7, cp. p. 41 ff., *id.* *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 i. 122 no. 217, ii. 805).

Later and more scientific ascents were made by L. Heuzey (1856), H. Barth (1862), and H. F. Tozer (1864). Then followed an interval during which brigandage made mountaineering extremely hazardous: for example, in 1911 E. Richter, an engineer of Jena, had to be ransomed by the Porte at a cost of 500,000 francs. But by 1913 political changes had improved the conditions, and the series of ascents was resumed—D. Baud-Bovy and F. Boissonnas (1913), Profs. E. P. Farquhar and A. E. Phoutrides (1914), Major-General Sir W. Rycroft (1918), D. Baud-Bovy, F. Boissonnas, and the son of the latter (1920), M. Kurz and the chamois-hunter Ch. Kakkalos (1921). See further L. Heuzey *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarmanie* Paris 1860, H. Barth *Reise durch das Innere der Europäischen Türkei* Berlin 1864, H. F. Tozer *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey* London 1869, E. Richter *Meine Erlebnisse in der Gefangenschaft am Olymp* Leipzig 1911, Profs. E. P. Farquhar and A. E. Phoutrides in *Scribner's Magazine* for November 1915 (good photographs), D. W. Freshfield 'The summits of Olympus' in *The Geographical Journal* 1916 xlvii. 293—297, C. F. Meade 'Mount Olympus' in *The Alpine Journal* 1919 xxxii. 326—328 (with photographs taken by Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, R.E., from an aeroplane piloted by Lieutenant-Colonel Todd, R.A.F.), D. Baud-Bovy 'The mountain-group of Olympus: an essay in nomenclature' in *The Geographical Journal* 1921 lvii. 204—213 (with a sketch-map of the *massif* of Olympus and four fine photographs of the summits by F. Boissonnas).

D. Baud-Bovy *loc. cit.* concludes: 'Thus, to sum up, the High Olympus is constituted by two ranges, which, though not parallel, run generally east and west. The northern range is that of Kokkino-Vrako, the southern, that of Bichtes. A high rocky barrier running north and south contains three "stones," three "pipes," or three "brothers," quite separated from each other, the Tarpeian Rock in the south, the Throne of Zeus in

Mount Athos¹.

Aigai, Kerdylion, etc. (?)².

Korkyra

Kassiope³.

the north, and in the centre the Venizelos peak, the highest of the three. The point of junction between this barrier and the northern range is the St. Elias. The joint which unites the central peaks with the southern range is more complicated. It includes the Skolion, which forms the counterpart to the St. Elias on the opposite side of the Megali-Gurna, and the Isto-Cristaci more to the west. The St. Anthony and the domes of Stavoidia link these two summits to those at the western end of the southern range, of which the Sarai is the most important.' [The peaks seen in pl. xl, from left to right, are—according to Baud-Bovy's nomenclature—(a) the Throne of Zeus (capped by cloud), (b) Peak Venizelos (the true summit), (c) the Cock's Comb, (d) the Virgin, (e) the Tarpeian Rock.]

M. Kurz in *The Alpine Journal* 1921 xxxiv. 173 f. reports that in August 1921 he surveyed the whole mass of Olympos with a photo-theodolite and that he has in preparation a map, covering an area of c. 100 square kilometers, on a scale of 1 : 20,000. The heights calculated to date are: Skolion = Δ 2905.45^m, Pic Venizelos (*Mitka*, 'Needle') = 2917.85^m, Throne of Zeus (*Stephan*) = 2909.94^m.

¹ Zeus 'Αθῶος (Soph. *Thamyras frag.* 216 Nauck², 237 Jebb *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 358, 40 f. Θρηῆσαν σκοπιὰν Ζηνὸς 'Αθῶου, cp. Aisch. *Ag.* 285 'Αθῶον αἶπος Ζηνὸς ἐξεδέξατο) was worshipped on Mt Athos (Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 218, 3, 358, 43 f., 953, 45 f., schol. *Il.* 14. 229), where he had a statue (Hesych. *s.v.* 'Αθῶος· ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἄθω τοῦ ὄρους ἰδρυμένος ἀνδριάς, ὁ Ζεὺς) and a sanctuary on the summit (*et. mag.* p. 26, 47 f. 'Αθῶου Διὸς· Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν ἄκρῳ Ἄθω τῆ ὄρει, 'Αθῶου καλουμένου). For beliefs concerning the mountain-top and its altars see *supra* i. 82 n. 1, 103 n. 4 (Solin. 11. 3 there adduced is dependent on Mela 2. 31). The presence or absence of clouds on Mt Athos betokened rain or fine weather (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 3. 6, 4. 2). Other allusions are collected by W. Capelle *Berges- und Wolkenhöhen bei griechischen Physikern* (Στοιχεῖα v) Leipzig—Berlin 1916 pp. 1, 27, 32 n. 5, 37, 39. On the various monasteries of this Ἅγιον Ὄρος see the literature cited by E. Oberhammer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2068 f. and by C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 120.

² Zeus Ὑψίστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (9)).

³ Kassiope, a town and promontory (Ptol. 3. 13. 9 Κασσιόπη πόλις καὶ ἄκρα) in the north-eastern corner of Korkyra, is still called *Kassiopi*. As a convenient haven it figures from time to time in ancient records (L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2314 f., xi. 1413). It possessed a temple of Iupiter *Cassius* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 52 et oppido Cassiope temploque *Cassi Iovis*), at whose altar Nero sang (Suet. *Ner.* 22 ut primum Cassiopen traiecit, statim ad aram Iovis Cassii cantare auspicatus certamina deinceps obiit omnia). Two dedications to Iupiter *Casius* have been found in Korkyra (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 576 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1224 P. Heterieus | Rufio | Iovi Casio sac(rum), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 577 (cp. p. 989) = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4043 M. Valerius Corvi[ni] | [l. L]orico | Iovi Casio v. s.). A ship built of marble and dedicated by a merchant to Zeus *Kásios* was sometimes regarded as the raft of Odysseus, and is compared with the stone ship made by Tynnichos and dedicated by Agamemnon to Artemis Βολοσία at Geraistos (Prokop. *de bell. Goth.* 4. 22 καίτοι οὐ μονοειδὲς τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ἐκ λίθων ὅτι μάλιστα πολλῶν ξύγκειται. καὶ γράμματα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγκεκλόαπται καὶ διαρρήδην βοῆ τῶν τινα ἐμπόρων ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἰδρῦσασθαι τὸ ἀνάθημα τοῦτο Διὶ τῷ Κασίῳ. Διὰ γὰρ Κάσιον ἐτίμων ποτὲ οἱ τῆδε ἄνθρωποι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ πόλις, ἐν ἧ τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἔστηκεν, ἐς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον Κασώπη (*sic*) ἐπικαλεῖται. κ.τ.λ.).

Autonomous bronze coins of Korkyra from 48 B.C. to 138 A.D. often have for reverse or obverse type the figure of ZEVC KACIOC (occasionally ZEVC KACCIOC) seated on a high-backed throne with a sceptre in one hand and sometimes a *phiale* in the other

Korkyra (?)¹.**Kephallenia**Mount Ainos².

(*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc.* p. 153 ff. pl. 25, 5 (=my fig. 823), 6—11, *Hunter Cat. Coins ii.* 21 pl. 32, 4, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 328). Imperial coppers from Antoninus Pius to Geta (138—222 A.D.) repeat the type with legend ZEVC KACIOC Antoninus Pius, KOPKVPAIΩN KACCIOC M. Aurelius, or KOPKVPAIΩN M. Aurelius to Geta (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc.* p. 158 ff. pl. 26, 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins ii.* 21



Fig. 823.

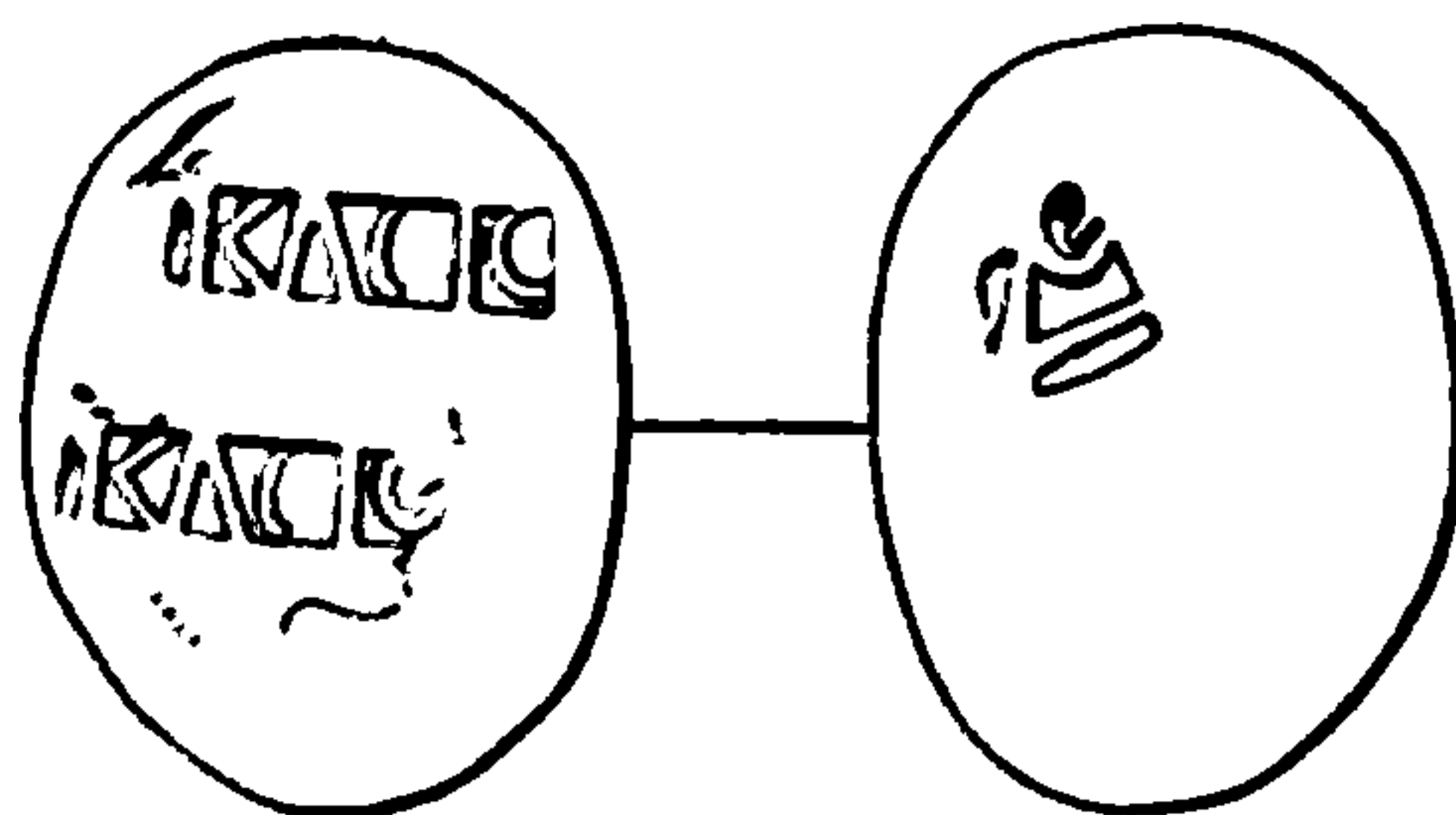


Fig. 824.

no. 53, 23 nos. 65, 67, 72, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 328). Coins of Korkyra, Lakedaimon, Knidos, etc. are found countermarked with various abbreviations of the words Διὸς Κασίου and were probably dedicated in his temple (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc.* p. 158 pl. 25, 14 (=my fig. 824) and 15, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom. i.* t. 647, 676 f.).

Zeus Κάσιος, an oriental deity (Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2265—2267 and A. Salač 'ZEVS KASIOS' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlv. 160—189) whose cult had been introduced, perhaps *vid* Delos (A. Salač *ib.* pp. 165, 189), either from Mt Kasion on the Orontes (*infra* Append. B Syria) or from Mt Kasion near Pelousion (*infra* Append. B Aegyptos), was in Korkyra readily identified with the Zeus of Kassiope, a Hellenic god probably connected with Mt Pantokrator (911^m) behind the town. The accidental resemblance of Κάσιος to Κασσιόπη would suffice to ensure his popularity.

¹ Zeus Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. o no. (12)).

² Mt Ainos, the chief mountain of Kephallenia, rises to a height of 1620^m and is known as *Elatounno* or *Monte Nero* from the dark fir-trees with which it was formerly clad (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1872 ii. 372). On it was the sanctuary of Zeus Αἰνησίος (Strab. 456 μέγιστον δ' ὄρος ἐν αὐτῇ <Αἶνος (*ins.* Xylander)>, ἐν ᾧ τὸ Διὸς Αἰνησίου ἱερόν), to whom the Boreadae prayed when pursuing the Harpyiae (schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 297 οἱ δὲ ἠῶσαντο οἱ περὶ Ζήτην τῷ Διὶ στραφέντες λέγει καὶ Ἡσίοδος (*frag.* 57 Rzsch) 'ἐνθ' οἱ γ' εὐχέσθη Αἰνητῶ ὑψιμέδοντι.' ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Αἶνος ὄρος τῆς Κεφαλληνίας, οὗ Αἰνησίου Διὸς ἱερόν ἐστι· οὐ μνημονεῖει καὶ Αἶων ἐν Περίπλῳ (Leon of Byzantium *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 330 f. Müller)) καὶ Δημοσθένους ἐν τοῖς Λιμέσιω (? Demosthenes of Bithynia (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 384 Müller)). But Müller *op. cit.* ii. 331, iv. 365 emends the text to οὐ μνημονεῖει Κλέων ἐν τῷ Περί λιμένων καὶ Τιμοσθένους ἐν τοῖς Λιμέσιω. The emendation Κλέων is confirmed by *et. gen. s. v. ἀρετάν...καὶ Κλέων ἐν τῷ Περίπλῳ* (E. Miller *Mélanges de littérature grecque* Paris 1868 p. 41), and Kleon of Syracuse was associated with Timosthenes (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 365 Müller)).

Bronze coins of Pronnoi on the south-eastern coast of Kephallenia, from c. 370 B.C. onwards, have *obv.* head of Zeus Αἰνησίος, laureate, *rev.* a fir-cone, sometimes with twigs (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 1205, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 89 pl. 18, 7 and 8, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii.* 3. 807 f. pl. 238, 26 and 27, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 428).

D. T. Ansted *The Ionian Islands in the year 1863* London 1863 p. 345 f. describes his ascent of Mt Ainos: 'Through a couple of miles of forest of these noble trees, through two or three miles also of hard, granulated snow and some snow recently fallen and very soft, I made my way from the cottage to the top of the mountain. The path is long, but

Sicily

Mount Aitne¹.

nowhere steep. It conducts by a succession of slopes and terraces to the culminating ridge, which is itself of considerable length, and comprises at least half a dozen points of rock, all within twenty feet of the highest point. There is a cairn of stones at the last of these, and the remains of an altar dedicated to Jupiter Enos. Numerous fragments of calcined bones have been taken from the ground at the foot of the altar, where there seems to be a large deposit. This point is not really the highest, being a little to the east of it and ten or fifteen feet lower; the culminating point is about 5,400 feet above the sea. The view from this summit when everything is favourable must be exceedingly grand, as, except the Pindus range which is distant, there is nothing to intercept the view. All around is a rich panorama of islands: Zante at one's feet in all its elegant beauty of form; Ithaca to the east; beyond it a silver strip of ocean, and then the gulf of Patras, which is seen in all its length to the bay of Lepanto, in the vicinity of Corinth. Athens is not much further in the same direction. A noble chain of snowy mountains shuts in this view towards the south east. Looking down in the direction of Argostoli a minute speck is seen in the water. On the island called Διος (Thios), that looks so small, was once a temple to the father of the gods, and when sacrifice was offered and the smoke was seen by the priests stationed at the altar on this summit, another sacrifice was here made, and the curling incense rising from this lofty point in the thin air was a sign, far and wide, of the completion of the offering. Here above remain the stones of the altar and the burnt bones of the bulls and the goats; there below, at a distance of several miles, the more solid and beautiful temple is gone—not one stone remains upon another, and there is nothing but the story, probable enough for that matter, to connect the two localities.'

¹ Aitne, the greatest volcano of the ancient world, rises to a height of 10,758 ft (according to the geodetic survey of 1900) and covers not less than 460 square miles, its base being about 90 miles in circumference (K. Baedeker *Southern Italy and Sicily*¹⁶ Leipzig 1912 p. 423. For full details see W. Sartorius Freiherr von Waltershausen *Der Aetna* herausg. von A. von Lasaulx Leipzig 1880 i. ii.).

On the sea-coast at the southern foot of Mt Aitne lay the old town of Katane. And when in 476/5 B.C. Hieron I drove out its inhabitants, settled in their stead 5000 Syracusans with 5000 Peloponnesians, and renamed the place Aitne (Diod. 11. 49), he seems to have erected there a statue of Zeus Αιτναῖος and instituted a festival called Αιτναῖα (schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6. 162a ἐν τῇ Αἰτνῇ Διὸς Αἰτναίου ἀγάλμα ἴδρυνται, καὶ ἐορτὴ Αἰτναῖα καλεῖται, *ib.* 162 c περιέπει δὲ καὶ θεραπεύει ὁ Ἱέρων καὶ τὸ κράτος τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Αἰτνὴν τιμωμένου, schol. Pind. *Nem.* 6 Διὸς ἔνεκεν τοῦ ἐν τῇ Αἰτνῇ. Διὶ γὰρ ἀνάκειται καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἀγών· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Αἰτνῇ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἔστι, *ib.* 7 ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τοῦ Αἰτναίου Διὸς ἦγον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἱέρωνα τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς στεφανίταις ἀγῶσι πεποιημένους ἐπιπνίκους καὶ ἦδον. κ.τ.λ.). Accordingly Pindar, in odes composed soon after Hieron's new foundation, dwells on the recently established cult (*Nem.* 1. 6 Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου χάριν, *Ol.* 6. 96 Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου κράτος, *Pylh.* 1. 29 f. Ζεῦ, ... | ὅς τοῦτ' ἐφέπεις ὄρος, κ.τ.λ., cp. *Ol.* 4. 6 ὦ Κρόνου παῖ, ὅς Αἰτναν ἔχεις κ.τ.λ.). In 461 B.C. the settlers at Katane, driven out in their turn by Douketios and his Sikeloi, captured the Sikel town Inessa (*S. Maria di Licodia*) on the southwestern slope of the mountain and transferred to it the name of Hieron's settlement Aitne (Diod. 11. 76); but whether they transferred thither the cult of Zeus Αιτναῖος also we do not know. Perhaps they did, for in Roman times it seems to have been widely spread. E. Ciaceri *Culti e miti nella storia dell'antica Sicilia* Catania 1911 pp. 34f., 145f. cp. Diod. 34. 10 ὅτι ἡ σύγκλητος δεισιδαιμονοῦσα ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς Σικελίαν περὶ τοὺς Σιβύλλης χρησμοὺς κατὰ Σιβυλλιακὸν λόγιον· οἱ δὲ ἐπελθόντες καθ' ὅλην τὴν Σικελίαν τοὺς τῷ Αἰτναίῳ Διὶ καθιδρυμένους βωμοὺς θυσιάσαντες, καὶ περιφράγματα ποιήσαντες, ἀβάτους ἀπεδεικνυον τοὺς τόπους πλὴν τοῖς ἔχουσι καθ' ἕκαστον πολίτευμα πατρῶους θύειν θυσίας.

The cult at Katane-Aitne is attested by coins of the town, issued from shortly before 476 to shortly before 461 B.C. Silver *litrai* have *obv.* the head of a bald Silenos, *rev.* a thunderbolt with two curled wings and the legend ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕ often abbreviated (*Brit.*

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Akragas¹.

tradition or conjecture speaks of Hephaistos, not Zeus, as father of the Palikoi (Silenos *frag.* 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 101 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Παλική). Yet another prefers Adranos (Hesych. *s.v.* Παλικοί, cp. Plout. *v.* *Timol.* 12), the Syrian Hadran (*supra* i. 232 n. 1, ii. 630). It may be surmised that their original connexion was with the Earth rather than with the Sky.

Be that as it may, the cult of Zeus as a mountain-god in the region of Aitne is hardly of great antiquity. The ancient god of the district was the 'Minoan' Kronos (Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 154 p. 170, 6 ff. Wunsch cited *supra* p. 554 n. 3).

¹ Akragas, a joint colony from Rhodes and Gela (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1188), had an *akropolis* named Mt Atabyrion (J. Schubring *Historische Topographie von Akragas in Sicilien während der klassischen Zeit* Leipzig 1870 pp. 21—28 'Die Akropolis'). On the top of it was a sanctuary of Zeus Ἀταβύριος resembling that at Rhodes (Polyh. 9. 27. 7 f. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐκτισται καὶ Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Ῥοδίοις· τοῦ γὰρ Ἀκράγαντος ὑπὸ Ῥοδίων ἀπωκισμένου, εἰκότως ὁ θεὸς οὗτος τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσηγορίαν ἣν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις). With Zeus Ἀταβύριος must be identified Zeus Πολιεύς (J. Schubring *op. cit.* p. 24), whose temple on the highest point of the rocky site was built by Phalaris (Polyain. 5. 1. 1 cited *supra* i. 122) in the first half of *s. vi* B.C. Phalaris' famous bull of bronze (Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 95 f., *alib.*) seems to have been the sacred beast of Zeus Ἀταβύριος, the Hellenic successor of a Hittite bull-god (*supra* i. 643 f., cp. 784 f. figs. 567—569. F. Hrozny *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* Leipzig 1919 i. 1 ff. no. 1 a list of Tešub-cults recording a great bull of silver (i, 34 f.) and several great bulls of iron (ii, 12, 24, 34, 41, iii, 2, 8), one of them with gilded eyes (iv, 3)). The Carthaginians, on capturing Akragas (405 B.C.), carried off the bull, which had a trap-door between its shoulders and pipes in its nostrils (Polyh. 12. 25. 3, Diod. 9. 19 *ap.* Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 646 ff.), to Carthage (Polyh. 12. 25. 3, Diod. 13. 90). Timaios, according to one account, denied that the bull at Carthage had come from Akragas, declaring that the Agrigentines had never possessed the like (Tim. *frags.* 116, 117 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 221 f., 222 Müller) *ap.* Polyh. 12. 25. 1 ff., Diod. 13. 90). But, according to another account, he stated that they had flung the original bull into the sea, and that the bull exhibited at Akragas was only an effigy of the river Gelas (Tim. *frag.* 118 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 222 Müller) *ap.* schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 185). Scipio brought the bull back from Carthage to Akragas (Cic. *Verr.* 4. 73, Diod. 13. 90), where it was still to be seen *c.* 60 B.C. (Diod. 13. 90). See further J. Schubring *op. cit.* p. 24 ff., G. Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* Gotha 1893 i². 422 n. 4.

The temple of Zeus Ἀταβύριος or Πολιεύς is in all probability to be sought beneath the Cathedral of S. Gerlando (bishop of Agrigentum; died Feb. 25, 1101 A.D. Cp. *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Februarius iii. 592 c (Pirrus e gestis S. Gerlandi) Cathedrale templum quadrato lapide ac nobili structurâ à fundamentis excitavit, illudque D. Mariæ (uti à D. Petro fuerat olim dicatum) & D. Iacobo Apostolo consecravit iv die Aprilis) on the highest part of modern *Girgenti* (C. Hülsen *loc. cit.*). J. Schubring *op. cit.* p. 24 says 'dass S. Gerlando auf den Substruktionen eines alten Tempels erbaut ist und unbedenklich erkläre ich die grossen Stufen und Quaderbauten, die aus dem Boden hervorragen, für antike Reste.' But R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *Die griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien* Berlin 1899 i. 139, while agreeing that S. Gerlando marks the site of the temple, add: 'Leider ist von diesem Bau des Phalaris, dem einzigen sicilischen Tempel des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., über den wir eine historische Nachricht haben, nichts erhalten.' Excavation may yet find traces of it. The substantial remains of a Doric hexastyle peripteral temple of *s. v* B.C. beneath the neighbouring church of S. Maria de' Greci were published by Domenico lo Faso Pietrasanta Duca di Serradifalco *Le Antichità della Sicilia* Palermo 1836 iii. 86 f. pls. 43, 44 as belonging to the temple of Zeus Πολιεύς, but should rather be identified with the temple of Athena (J. Schubring *op. cit.* p. 26, R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 140 ff., ii pl. 20).

On a hill (75^m high) to the west of the so-called *Porta Aurea*, which led through the

southern wall of the lower city towards the sea (Liv. 26. 40), was the vast but unfinished temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (Polyb. 9. 27. 9 καὶ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου νεὸς παντέλειαν (so J. A. Ernesti, followed by F. Hultsch, for πολυτέλειαν codd. F.S. Cluverius cj. συντέλειαν) μὲν οὐκ εἴληφε, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος οὐδ' ὁποίου τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δοκεῖ λείπεσθαι). When Theron, making common cause with Gelon, had vanquished the huge host of the Carthaginians at Himera (480 B.C.), the Agrigentines used their numerous prisoners of war to hew stone for the construction of their largest temples (Diod. 11. 25). The Olympion must have taken many years to build; indeed, it was not yet roofed when in 405 B.C. Akragas was captured by the Carthaginians, and roofless it remained (Diod. 13. 82). In 255 B.C., during the First Punic War, Karthalon besieged and took Akragas; whereupon the remnant of the population fled for refuge to the Olympion (Diod. 23. 14). This great fabric fell gradually into decay. But part of it, supported by three Giants and certain columns, did not collapse till Dec. 9, 1401 A.D. Hence the arms of *Girgenti* (a turreted wall resting on three naked Giants), the mediaeval line *signat Agrigentum mirabilis aula Gigantum*, and the popular name of the ruins *Palazzo de Giganti* (T. Fazellus *de rebus Siculis Panormi* 1558 p. 127 (dec. 1 lib. 6 cap. 1)). In modern times the temple has served as a public quarry, the mole of *Porto Empedocle* being built of its blocks (1749—1763 A.D.) (R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 154).

There is a detailed account of the Olympion in Diod. 13. 82 ἢ τε γὰρ τῶν ἱερῶν κατασκευὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ τοῦ Διὸς νεὸς ἐμφαίνει τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων· τῶν μὲν οὖν (so F. Vogel for γὰρ codd.) ἄλλων ἱερῶν τὰ μὲν κατεκαύθη, τὰ δὲ τελείως κατεσκάφη διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ἠλωκέναι τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δ' (so F. Vogel for δ' οὖν codd.) Ὀλύμπιον μέλλον λαμβάνειν τὴν ὄροφὴν ὁ πόλεμος ἐκώλυσε· ἐξ οὗ τῆς πόλεως κατασκαφείσης οὐδέποτε ὑστερον ἰσχυσαν Ἀκραγαντῖνοι τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν. ἔστι δὲ ὁ νεὸς ἔχων τὸ μὲν μήκος πύδας τριακοσίου τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος < ἑκατὸν (ins. T. Kidd, J. Schubring) > ἐξήκοντα, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατὸν εἰκοσι χωρὶς τοῦ κρηπιδώματος. μέγιστος δ' ὦν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς οὐκ ἀλόγως ἂν συγκρίνοιτο κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποστάσεως· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ τέλος λαβεῖν συνέβη τὴν ἐπιβολὴν, ἢ γε προαίρεσις (so J. J. Reiske for προδιαίρεσις codd.) ὑπάρχει φανερά. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἢ μέχρι τοίχων (sic codd. J. J. Reiske cj. μετὰ τοίχων. L. Dindorf cj. μέχρι θρυγκῶν. F. Vogel cj. μέχρι τεγῶν vel συνεχεῖ τοίχῳ) τοῖς νεῶς οἰκοδομούντων ἢ κύκλῳ κίονι (so P. Wesseling, followed by F. Vogel, for ἢ κύκλωσις ἢ κυκλώσει codd. Stephanus cj. ἢ κίονι) τοῖς σηκοῖς (so J. J. Reiske, followed by F. Vogel, for οἶκους codd. Stephanus cj. τοίχους) περιλαμβανόντων, οὗτος ἑκατέρωθεν τούτων μετέχει τῶν ὑποστάσεων· συνψοδομοῦντο γὰρ τοῖς τοίχοις οἱ κίονες (so L. Dindorf for οἱ τοῖχοι τοῖς κίονι codd.), ἔξωθεν μὲν στρογγύλοι, τὸ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ νεῶ ἔχοντες τετράγωνον· καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐκτὸς μέρους ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἢ περιφέρεια ποδῶν εἰκοσι, καθ' ἣν εἰς τὰ διαξύσματα δύναται ἀνθρώπινον ἐναρμόζεσθαι σῶμα, τὸ (L. Dindorf cj. τοῦ) δ' ἐντὸς ποδῶν δώδεκα. τῶν δὲ στοῶν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἐξαισιῶν ἔχουσῶν, ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸς ἑω μέρει τὴν Γίγαντομαχίαν ἐποίησαντο γλυφαῖς (so L. Dindorf for ταῖς γλυφαῖς codd. F.K. ταῖς τε γλυφαῖς cett. codd.) καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει διαφερούσαις (so L. Dindorf for διαφερούσας codd. P.A.K. διαφέρουσαν cett. codd.), ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς δυσμᾶς τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Τροίας, ἐν ἣ τῶν ἡρώων ἕκαστον ἰδεῖν ἔστιν οἰκείως τῆς περιστάσεως διδημιουργημένον.

The temple, of which substantial remains still strew the ground, was a Doric pseudo-peripteral building with seven half-columns on the short side and fourteen half-columns on the long side. These columns (lower diameter 4'30^m, upper diameter 3'10^m), engaged externally in the wall of the *naos*, appear internally as rectangular pilasters. If completed, they would have the normal number of twenty flutes, flutes of so vast a size (0'55^m broad) that a man can easily stand in each as in a niche. Beneath the half-column is a moulded base, which is continued along the intercolumniation-wall as a moulded plinth. The stylobate, of four steps surmounted by a projecting cornice, rests on a stereobate measuring 113'45^m x 56'30^m. The architrave (3'20^m high) was formed of three superposed courses of stone. The metopes were single slabs left plain. The pediments were filled with groups representing the Gigantomachy at the eastern end and the capture of Troy at the western end (a few fragments only preserved). The building was throughout of yellowish shell-limestone covered with a fine skin of stucco and decorated with the usual patterns in paint.

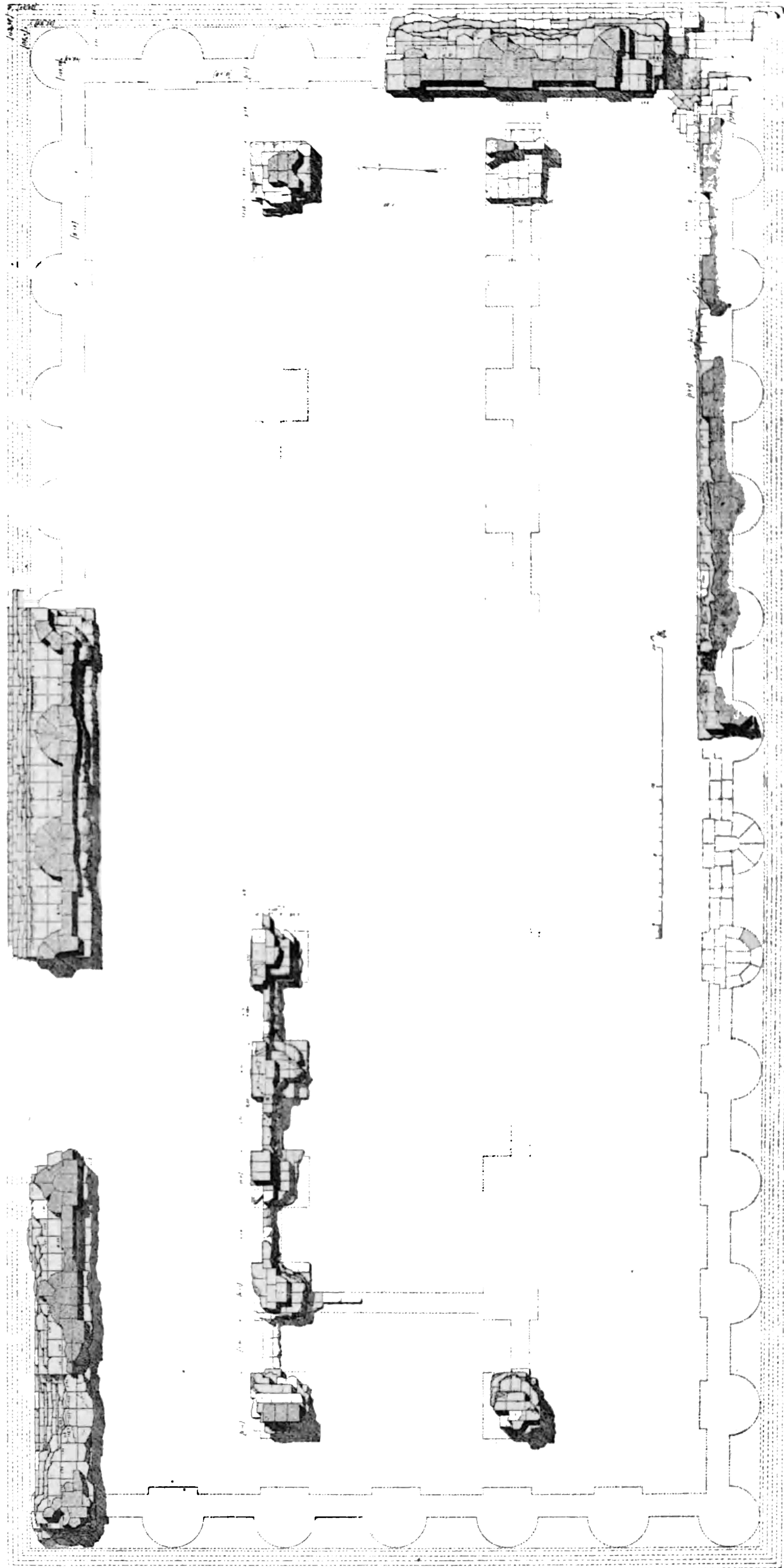


Fig. 825.

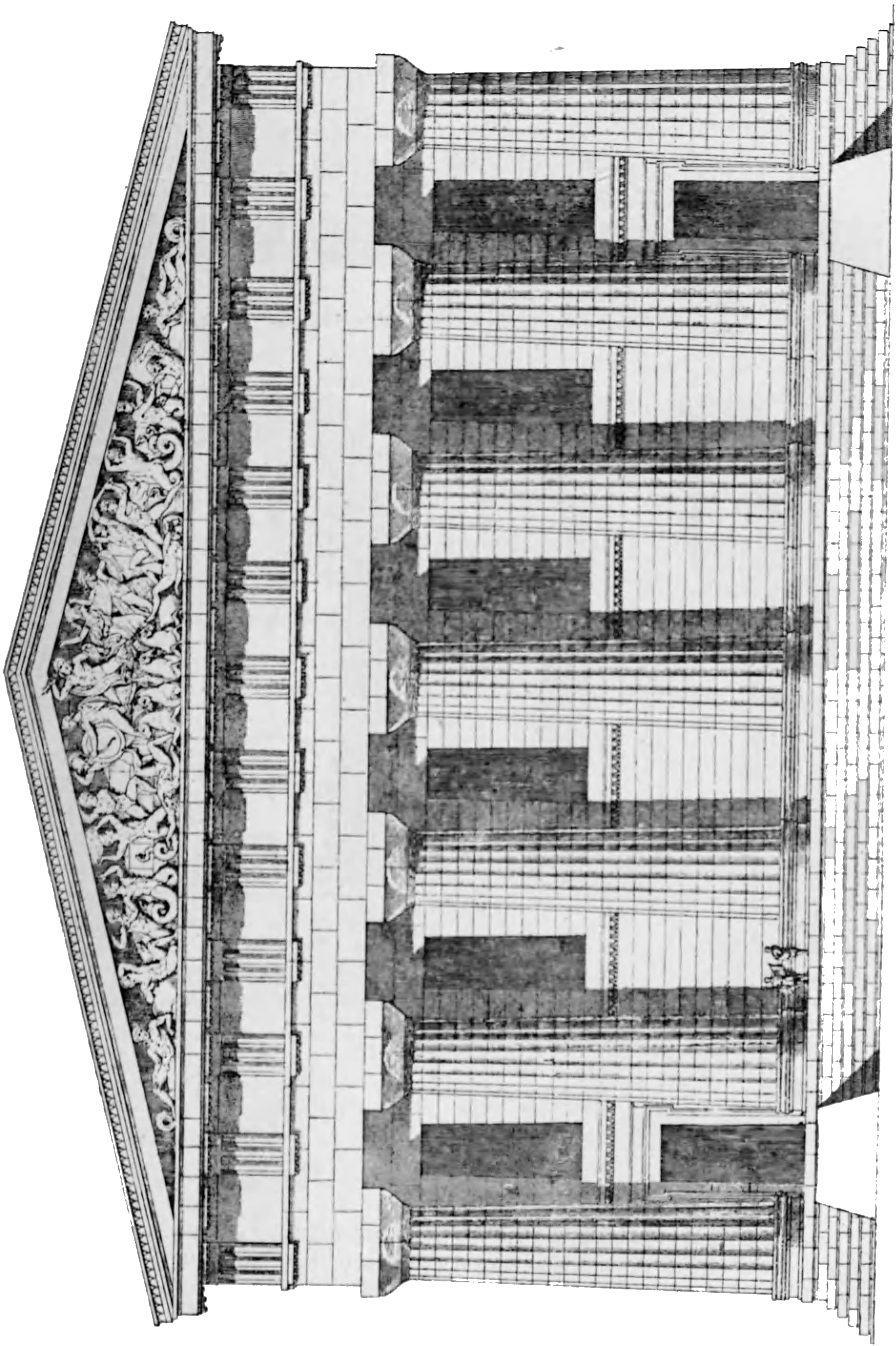


Fig. 826.

Inside, the *nabs* ($101.16^m \times 44.01^m$) is divided into a nave and two side-aisles by means of two parallel walls, each of which has twelve square pillars engaged in it and forming a series of lateral niches. A cross-wall towards the western end is extant for part of its length. The great altar, as broad as the temple itself, was situated in front of the eastern *façade* at a distance of 50.8^m .

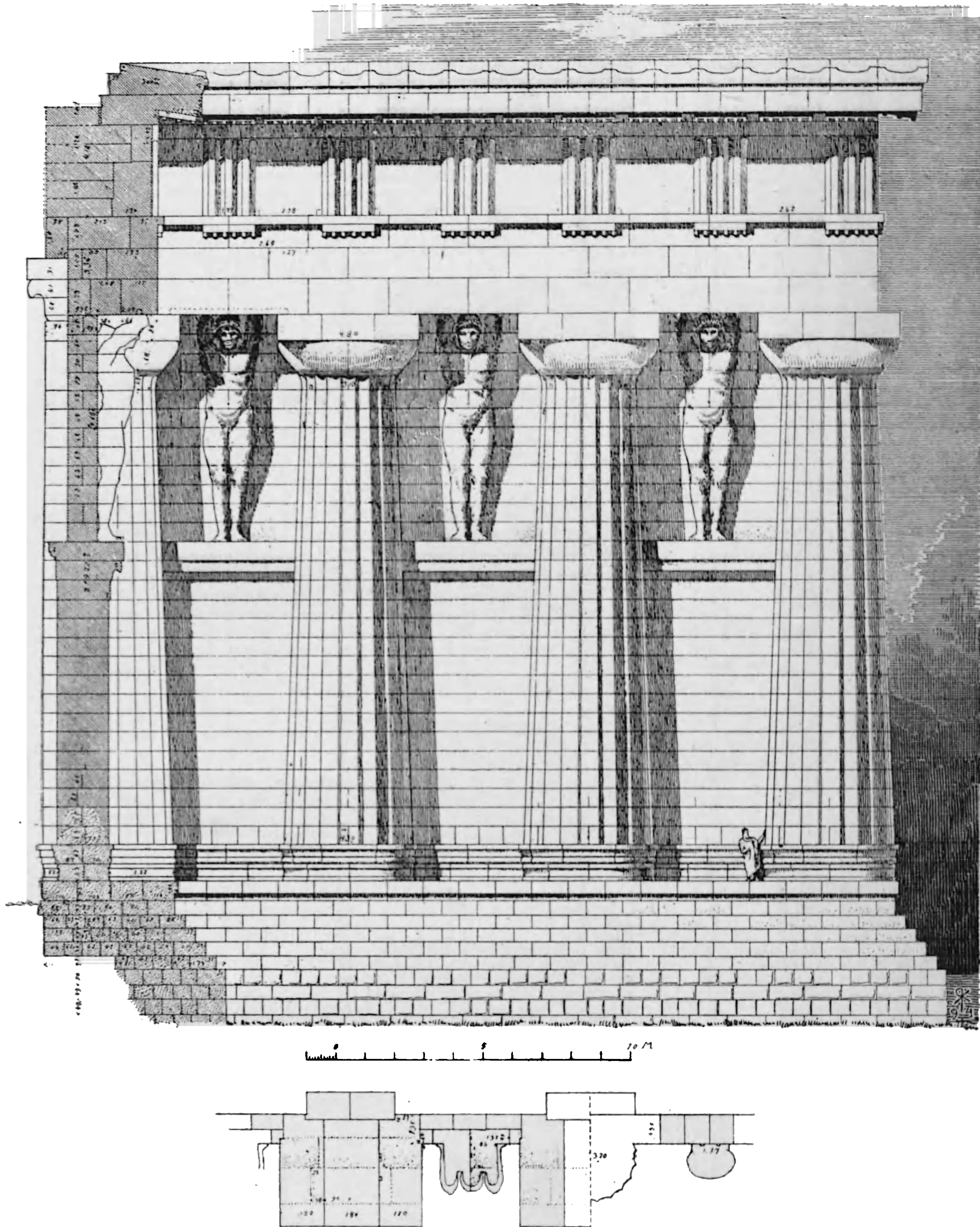


Fig. 827.

Several points are still unsettled. (1) The temple was in all probability entered at the eastern end through the two outermost intercolumniations (*C. R. Cockerell*, *R. Koldewey*—*O. Puchstein*), not at the western end through a large central doorway (*Serradifalco*, *A. Holm*). But it is not clear whether we should assume the existence of two ramps leading up to the side-entries (*C. R. Cockerell*). (2) The two walls dividing the *nabs* into

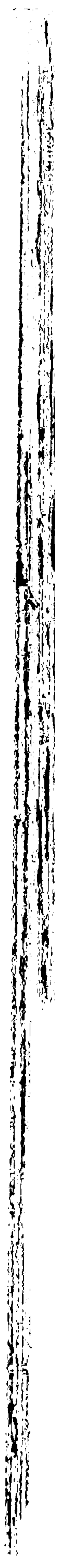


Plate XLI



The Olympieion at Syracuse.

See page 915 n. 2.

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Achilles; others, that it was the temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος and had been accidentally burnt (Paus. 2. 5. 5)—an ominous occurrence which deterred the Corinthians from joining the expedition of Agesilaos against Artaxerxes Mnemon in 396 B.C. (Paus. 3. 9. 2). Of the burnt temple, if I am not mistaken, sundry fragments still subsist. An archaic column-drum and architrave-block of limestone, built into the wall of a late edifice some 500^m to the north of the 'Old Temple,' are attributed by W. Dörpfeld to an ancient Doric fane of even larger size. They resemble in dimensions (cp. W. M. Leake *Travels in the Morea* London 1830 iii. 247 f.) the corresponding members of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Dörpfeld suggested that they came from the temple of Apollon mentioned by Paus. 2. 3. 6 (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1886 xi. 307 f.). But, thanks to the excavations of the American School, we now know that this temple of Apollon is none other than the extant 'Old Temple' (R. B. Richardson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1897 i. 464, 1900 iv. 225 f., B. Powell 'The Temple of Apollo at Corinth' *ib.* 1905 ix. 51, 53). Accordingly I should conjecture that the archaic drum and architrave really came from the temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος on the left of the Sicyonian road, and that this was in fact the parent of the Syracusan Olympieion. Further excavation will some day test the accuracy of my surmise.

Whatever its precise pedigree, the Syracusan sanctuary was held in high esteem. Here were preserved the tribal lists of Syracuse (Plout. *v. Nic.* 14), and in the *formula* of the civic oath Zeus Ὀλύμπιος took precedence of all other deities except the venerable goddess of hearth and home (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 7 ii, 6 ff. in lettering later than the time of Hieron ii ἄρκιον βουλᾶς κα[ὶ ἀρχόντων (?)] | καὶ τῶν ἄλλων [πολιτᾶν] | ὀμνύω τὰν Ἰστίαν τῶ[ν Συρακοσίων καὶ τὸν Ζῆνα] | τὸν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ τὰν [. καὶ τὸν] | Ηοσει-δ[ῶνα - - -]). Moreover, for some three hundred years the ἀμφίπολος or priest of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος was eponymous magistrate of the city (Diod. 16. 70 κατέστησε δὲ (sc. Timoleon in 343 B.C.) καὶ τὴν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐντιμοτάτην ἀρχήν, ἣν ἀμφιπολίαν Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου οἱ Συρακοῦσιοι καλοῦσι. καὶ ἤρέθη πρῶτος ἀμφίπολος Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου Καλλιμένης, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διετέλεσαν οἱ Συρακοῦσιοι τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐπιγράφοντες τοῦτοις τοῖς ἀρχουσι μέχρι τῶνδε τῶν ιστοριῶν γραφομένων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν πολιτείας ἀλλαγῆς. τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων μεταδόντων τοῖς Σικελιώταις τῆς πολιτείας (sc. in 44 B.C.) ἢ τῶν ἀμφιπόλων ἀρχὴ ἐταπεινώθη, διαμεινῶσα ἔτη πλείω τῶν τριακοσίων). Every year three candidates, chosen by vote from three clans (*ex tribus generibus*, on which see E. Ciaceri *op. cit.* p. 136 n. 1), cast lots for the office of priest—a rule of succession which was jealously guarded (Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 2. 126 f., cp. 2. 4. 137).

Round the temple grew up a settlement known as Πολίχνα or 'Small Town' (Thouk. 7. 4, Diod. 13. 7, 14. 72), which, never permanently fortified by the Syracusans, was frequently occupied by forces attacking their city.

Hippokrates tyrant of Gela, after vanquishing the Syracusans in the battle on the Heloros (493/2 B.C.), encamped in the sanctuary of Zeus. Having caught the priest and certain Syracusans trying to carry off various votive offerings of gold and in particular the golden *himátion* of Zeus, he taxed them with sacrilege, bade them depart to the city, and would not himself lay hands on the sacred objects (Diod. 10. 28). Others, however, state that the golden *himátion*, which weighed no less than 85 talents (Ail. *var. hist.* 1. 20), was dedicated by Gelon or Hieron after the battle of Himera in 480 B.C. and carried off by Dionysios i (405—367 B.C.), who left a woollen one in its stead with the caustic remark that in summer it would be lighter and in winter warmer wear (Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 83 (where *ad Peloponnesum* etc. is due to an obvious confusion), Val. Max. 1. 1. ext. 3, Lact. *div. inst.* 2. 4). The jest is attributed sometimes to Dionysios ii (367—343 B.C.) (Clem. *Al. protr.* 4. 52. 2 p. 40, 18 ff. Stählin, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 21). If these tales are to be trusted, it would seem that Zeus Ὀλύμπιος at Syracuse had a golden *himátion* long before 438 B.C., the year in which Pheidias began his chryselephantine Zeus at Olympia (*supra* p. 757).

The Athenians, when attacking Syracuse in 415 B.C., landed near the Olympieion and encamped there (Thouk. 6. 64 f.). After the fight the Syracusans, though defeated, sent men to guard the Olympieion, lest its treasures should be plundered by the Athenians (Thouk. 6. 70). But the Athenians returned to Katane, and did not go to the sanctuary

Tyndaris¹.

(Thouk. 6. 71), or, if they did, disturbed none of the votive offerings and left the Syracusan priest in charge of them (Paus. to. 28. 6). That same winter the Syracusans put a garrison in the Olympieion and erected a stockade on the sea-shore to prevent a possible landing (Thouk. 6. 75). In the following year (414 B.C.) a third part of the Syracusan cavalry was posted at Polichna to control the movements of the Athenians at Plemmyrion (Thouk. 7. 4).

Again, in 396 B.C. Himilkon, on his expedition against Dionysios i, took up his quarters in the temple and encamped his forces near by, at a distance of twelve stades from the city (Diod. 14. 62 f.). But Dionysios captured Polichna by storm and in turn pitched his camp at the sanctuary (Diod. 14. 72 and 74).

In 345 B.C. Hiketias tyrant of Leontinoi, in the course of his operations against Dionysios ii, fortified the Olympion with a palisade (Diod. 16. 68).

In 309 B.C. Hamilkar son of Geskon, again with a view to attacking Syracuse, seized τούς περὶ τὸ Ὀλύμπιον τόπους (Diod. 20. 29).

In 214 B.C. the Romans, who under M. Claudius Marcellus were then besieging Syracuse, likewise encamped *ad Olympium—Iovis id templum est—mille et quingentos passus ab urbe* (Liv. 24. 33).

The Olympieion was, in fact, a constant centre of military activity. Hence, when we read that Verres at Syracuse carried off *ex aede Iovis religiosissimum simulacrum Iovis Imperatoris, quem Graeci Ὀβριον nominant, pulcherrime factum* (Cic. in Verr. 2. 4. 128, *supra* p. 708), I am inclined to think that the masterpiece in question was a votive figure in the temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος, whose position enabled him to control winds and wars alike, rather than a cult-statue erected in some hypothetical temple believed to have stood near the shore adjoining the *emporion* of Achradine (R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 57).

See further T. Fazellus *de rebus Siculis* Panormi 1558 p. 107 (dec. t lib. 4 cap. 1 'Templum hoc prostratum est hodie. Cuius iacentes plures, & erectæ quædam cernuntur columnæ, sed præterea nihil'), V. Mirabella *Dichiarazioni della pianta dell' antiche Siracuse*, etc. Napoli 1613 p. 72 f. ('Di questo Tempio appariscono oggi nō picciole reliquie, sendovi anco in piede molte colonne scannellate di lavor dorico'), P. Cluverius *Sicilia antiqua*; etc. Lugduni Batavorum 1619 p. 179 ('Exstant hodièq; eius fani...vii reliquæ columnæ prægrandes, cum aliis quadratorum saxorum fragmentis'), J. Houel *Voyage pittoresque des isles de Sicile, de Malte et de Lipari* Paris 1785 iii. 95 f. pl. 192 (view of remains visible in 1770: 'Il y avoit alors plusieurs colonnes renversées par terre, avec les chapiteaux: deux seules colonnes étoient encore debout; mais elles n'avoient plus de chapiteaux'), Serradifalco *op. cit.* iv. 153 f. pls. 28 (view) and 29 (plan, elevation), F. S. Cavallari—A. Holm *Topografia archeologica di Siracusa* Palermo 1883 pp. 24, 53 f., 104, 166 ff., 263 f., 283, 327, 379 f., R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 58—60, 66—68, ii pl. 8 (careful ground-plan), P. Orsi 'L'Olympieion di Siracusa' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1903 xiii. 369—392 with figs. 1—6 and pl. 17 (= my pl. xli), E. Ciaceri *op. cit.* p. 136 ff.

Another handsome temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος was founded by Hieron ii in the *Agorá* of Achradine (Diod. 16. 83, Cic. in Verr. 2. 4. 119). The Gallic and Illyrian spoils presented to Hieron by the people of Rome (Plout. v. Marc. 8) were hung in this temple, but were commandeered by the insurgents under Theodotos and Sosis in 214 B.C. (Liv. 24. 21). The central *kerkis* of the Syracusan theatre bears the name of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 3, 5 ΔΙΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΥ 'litteris cubitalibus,' cp. M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 pp. 49 f., 86, 181) in allusion to the god of Hieron's new temple (F. S. Cavallari—A. Holm *op. cit.* p. 287, R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 57).

¹ Coppers of Tyndaris struck c. 254—210 B.C. or later have sometimes *obv.* a female head (Tyndaris) with *stephane* or corn-ear (?) and veil, *rev.* ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΤΑΝ Zeus, half-draped, standing to left, with a thunderbolt in his outstretched right hand and a transverse sceptre in his left (F. von Duhn in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1876 iii. 30 no. 7, cp.

NaxosMount Drios¹.**Paros**Mount *Kounádos*².**Delos**Mount Kynthos³.

Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 527); or *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right, *rev.* ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΤΑΝ the Dioskouroi standing with, or without, their horses (F. von Duhn *loc. cit.* p. 30 no. to, p. 30 f. no. 11, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 236 nos. 9 and to); or *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right, with star of eight rays behind it, *rev.* ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΤΑΝ eagle to right, standing with open wings on a thunderbolt (F. von Duhn *loc. cit.* p. 31 no. 12, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 236 no. 11). See further Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 33 f., G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 201 f., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 190. These coins imply the cult, not only of Tyndaris (Helene) and the Tyndaridai (Kastor and Polydeukes), but also of Zeus to whom the children of Tyndareos were early affiliated (*supra* i. 279 f., 780).

Among the ruins of Tyndaris (for which see Serradifalco *op. cit.* v. 48 ff. pls. 29—35) was found a colossal statue of Zeus, finely carved in Greek marble. It is now in the *Cortile Grande* of the Museo Nazionale at Palermo. The head, right arm, left leg, and lower part of right leg were restored by the local sculptor Villareale. But enough of the original remains to show that Zeus stood erect, his right arm raised to hold a long spear or sceptre, his left wholly enveloped in the *himátion* that covered him from the waist downwards. W. Abeken 'Giove Imperatore ossia Urio' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 xi. 62—72 pl. A, 1—3 justly compared the figures of Zeus Στρατηγός on a coin of Amastris (*supra* p. 707 fig. 639) and of Zeus Οθριος on a coin of Syracuse (*supra* p. 708 fig. 643)—a comparison accepted by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 130—132 no. 25 fig. 12, who ranges the statue from Tyndaris with another colossal statue in the Louvre (Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* iii. 42 pl. 311 fig. 683) as forming the first group of his 'Vierte Classe.' Probably the inhabitants of Tyndaris had dedicated to Zeus a copy of the Syracusan masterpiece carried off by Verres (*supra* pp. 708, 917 n. 0).

The temple of the god is said to have stood on a steep height to the west of the town, which in 1558 A.D. was still known as the Mount of Jove (T. Fazellus *de rebus Siculis Panormi* 1558 p. 205 (dec. 1 lib. 9 cap. 7) 'Extra vrbem occidentem versus, in colle vicino, & vndiq; præciso, qui ab accolis adhuc hodie mons Iouis appellatur, templi Iouis mirabiles cernuntur ruinae').

¹ Zeus Μηλώσιος (*supra* i. 164 f., 520 n. 2). F. Solmsen in *Glotta* 1909 i. 80 connects Zeus Μηλώσιος with *μηλώτης, cp. Hesych. *ς.νν.* μηλατάν· τὸν ποιμένα. Βοιωτοί and μηλόται· ποιμένες (on which glosses see M. Schmidt *ad locc.*). Different is Zeus Μήλιος on an imperial copper of Nikaia in Bithynia (P. Piovene *I Cesari in metallo mezzano e piccolo raccolti nel Museo Farnese* Parma 1724 ix. 238 pl. 8, 21, Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. v. 84 no. 427 (in the Farnese collection) *obv.* ΜΙΤΙΑΝΟC head of Domitian; laureate, with countermark of an animal running; *rev.* ΖΕΥC ΜΗΛΙΟC Zeus seated, holding thunderbolt and sceptre, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 406 n. 2). O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1203 cp. Zeus Ἄρνειος (Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. (1) ἀρνείου, 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. (15) ἀρνείου).

² *Supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (5).

³ Mt Kynthos in the centre of Delos is a granitic cone, which rises to a height of 112·60^m (*Delos* i pl. 1. View from the west *ib.* iv. 1 fig. 1). Strab. 485 describes it as ὄρος ὑψηλὸν...καὶ τραχύ, where G. Kramer alters ὑψηλὸν, 'high,' into ψιλὸν, 'bare.' It is true that the granite and gneiss, of which the mountain is composed (geological detail in *Delos* iv. 1), do not afford the earth required by tree-roots. But, for all that, ὑψηλὸν is correct: Kynthos, partly because of its dominating position, partly because of its proximity

to the sea, looks more of a mountain than it really is (*Délos* iv. 1. 196 f.). On the summit is a small plateau, which commands a magnificent view of the Kyklades. When I visited the spot in 1901, it was carpeted with crimson anemones and surrounded by stretches of azure sea.

Here in antiquity was the precinct of Zeus *Kúnthios* and Athena *Kynthia* (L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2473) first excavated by Lebègue in 1873 (J. A. Lebègue *Recherches sur Délos* Paris 1876 pp. 127—172 with plan on p. 127 (=my fig. 828) and list of inscriptions from the sanctuary). Three separate roads (A, B, C), probably processional paths bordered with *stélai* and statues, led up to the western side of the precinct, where was a gateway (E). Within was a rocky elevation (F) with cuttings for votive slabs etc. (G). The plateau was enclosed by a precinct-wall (I), much of which remains standing on the north, west, and east. At its south-eastern corner was a small temple (S) of late date.

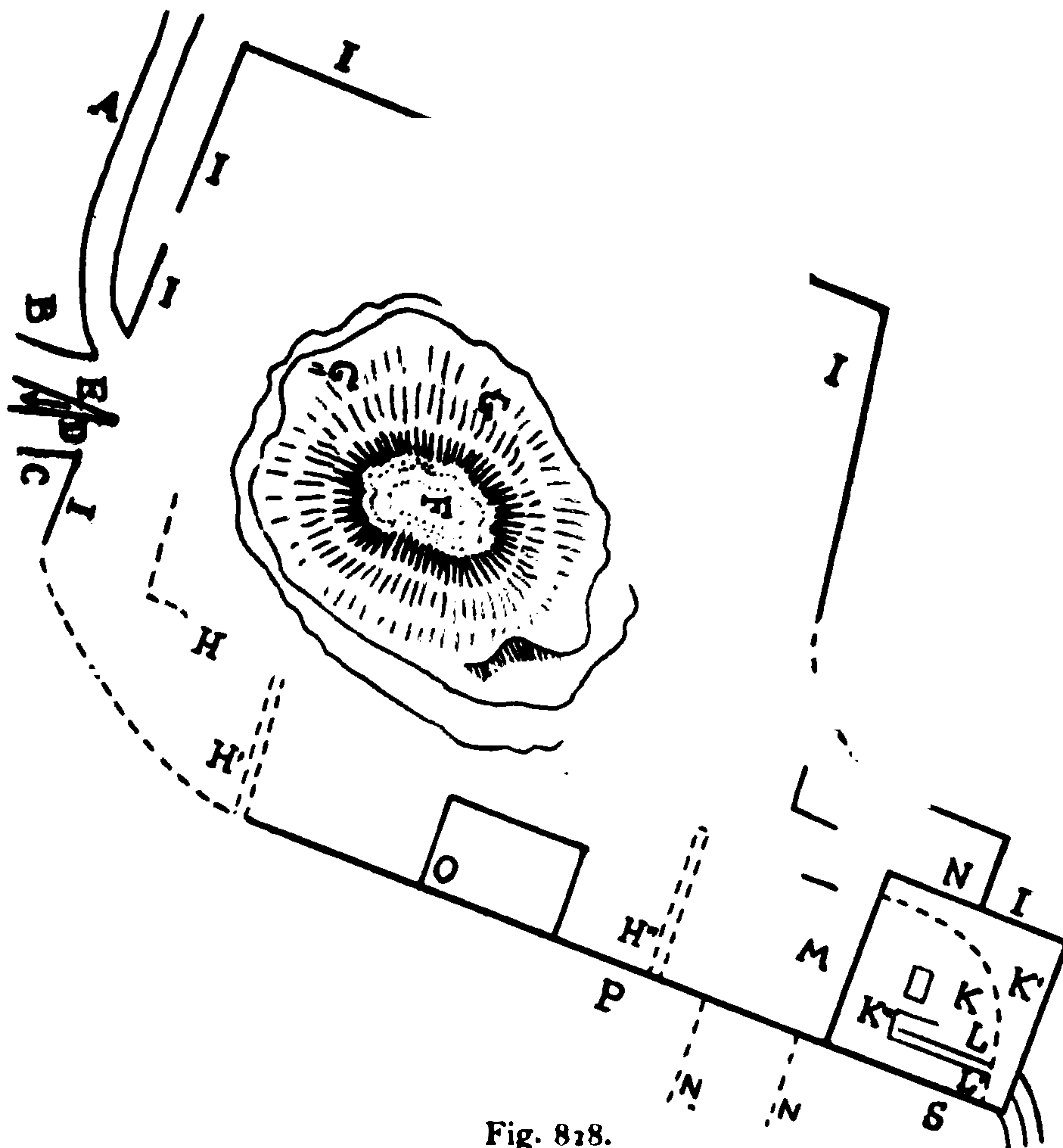


Fig. 828.

The fragments found point to a distyle *templum in antis* of Ionic or composite order with unfluted columns (0.42^m in diameter). At a height of 2^m above the ruins of this temple there was a sacred cistern, into which the water from the roof drained by means of a double conduit (L, L'). The cistern had a mosaic flooring, of which the greater part (K) survives, though a strip to the east (K') has been destroyed by the collapse of the terrace-wall. The mosaic consists of small white stones and fragments of brick set in cement. An inscription in bluish *tesserae* on a white ground with an oblong framework of bluish stones (K'') records the dedication of the cistern in Roman times (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 139 ff. no. 1 Δι Κυνθίω καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ Κυνθίᾳ | Ἀπολλωνίδης Θεογείτονος | Λαοδικεύς, ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ | τῶν ἐταίρων, τὸ κατάκλυστον ('cistern'), ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἀριστομάχου, | ζακορεύοντος Νικηφόρου (after 88/7 B.C.), | ἐπὶ δὲ ἐπιμελητοῦ Κόλντου Ἀζη(νιέως). My fig. 829 is from photograph no. 1302 in the collection of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies). Adjoining the cistern was a platform (N), where ashes and fragments of bone, the *débris* of sacrifices,

were buried. South of the rocky summit was an enclosure (O) walled in on the north by blocks of schist, on the other sides by architectural fragments, *stélai*, and broken statues. It contained some thirty urns filled with ashes and animal bones. The urns measured 0·60^m to 0·70^m in height, having rounded handles and a foot, not a pointed base. Miscellaneous finds included a small terra-cotta palmette from the pediment of an *aedicula*, a



Fig. 829.

colossal hand in Pentelic marble apparently holding a thunderbolt (Zeus *Kύνθιος*?), a small head in Parian marble (Apollon?), the lower half of a sun-dial, several altars large and small (two decorated with *bucrania* and inscriptions were found at some distance from the temple: J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* pp. 137, 166 f. nos. 21, 22), etc.

The history of the sanctuary has been well worked out from inscriptions by P. Roussel *Délos Colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 pp. 223—228, 290 f., 335, 434 f., whose results are here summarised (with a few additions in square brackets).

Zeus and Athena, though their association on *akropóleis* etc. is old (*Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1217 f.), were not the original occupants of the summit. [In 'Minoan' times it was probably tenanted by the sky-father (Kronos) and the earth-mother (Rhea), the cave-temple beneath it (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 49 ff. pls. 1, 2) being a Delian parallel to the sacred caves of Mt Dikte and Mt Ide. The cult of Kronos, however, has left no trace, unless we can claim as such a broken sherd bearing the letters KPO, which was found buried in charcoal under a limestone slab outside the south-west angle of the cave-temple (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 65 f.). Rhea presumably had lions; and in this connexion it should be noted, not only that the late marble statue of a youthful god (Apollon?) erected on the ancient granite libation-table (?) of the cave-temple had a tree-support covered with a lion-skin (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* pp. 60, 63 ff.), but also that a whole row of lions in Naxian marble, comparable with the lions of Branchidai (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 22 f. nos. 17 and 18: no. 17 has on its back a *βουστροφῆδον* dedication to Apollon in lettering of early s. vi B.C. (Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 483, Roberts *Gr. Epigr.* i. 161 f. no. 133, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1206, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 3a)) and Thera (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv Arch. Anz. p. 183 f., *id. Die Insel Thera* Berlin 1904 iii. 28 figs. 16 and 17, 57 regards as a gift to Apollon the marble lion, bearing a mutilated inscription of s. vii B.C. (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1380), which stood on a terrace overlooking the *Agorá* and was later copied

by Artemidoros (*infra*)), adorned a terrace west of the *Límne Trochoeidés* (P. Leroux in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1907 pp. 348—353, *ib.* 1908 plan opposite to p. 162). Apparently Rhea had, here as elsewhere (Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 47. 4 p. 36, 6 ff. Stählin *μηδ'* (*sc.* ἀμφιβάλλετε) εἰ τὰ ἐν Πάταροις τῆς Λυκίας ἀγάλματα Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Φειδίας πάλιν ἐκεῖνος [τὰ ἀγάλματα] καθάπερ τοὺς λέοντας τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀνακειμένους ἐργασται· εἰ δέ, ὡς φασι τινες, Βρυάξιος ἡ τέχνη, οὐ διαφέρομαι· κ.τ.λ., *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1346 the rock-cut relief of a lion inscribed in *s.* iii B.C. (*supra* i. 117 n. 1) α' Ἀπόλλωνι | Στεφανηφόρῳ, ὁ [τ]εῦξ[ε] λέοντα θεοῖς κεχαρισμένον Ἀρτεμίδωρος | ἐν σεμνῶι τεμένει μνημόσυνον πόλεως. Cp. a statue of Apollon, seated on a tripod over a lion, now in the Villa Albani (S. Raffei *Ricerche sopra un Apolline della Villa Albani* Roma 1821, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* iii. 216 f. pl. 486 B fig. 937 A (wrongly numbered 737 A) = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 249 no. 6, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 231 ff. no. 3 Atlas pl. 23, 30, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 3. 309 pl. 25, 14, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*³ Leipzig 1913 ii. 409 f. no. 1848)), passed on her lions to Apollon.]

Τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Κύνθιου (*e.g.* *Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 161, *A* 77 f.) or more briefly τὸ Κύνθιον (*e.g.* *ib.* ii no. 199, *A* 90) does not appear in the extant documents till the very end of *s.* iv B.C. (*ib.* ii no. 145, 1 f., no. 154, *A* 45 f.). Early in *s.* iii (*c.* 281—269 B.C.) the precinct was to a large extent reconstructed and thenceforward contained two small οἶκοι or 'sacred buildings' (F. Dürrbach in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1911 xxxv. 250), on a platform bounded by a strong retaining-wall (*Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 165, 33), together with a ἐστιατόριον or 'banqueting-hall' (*ib.* ii no. 163, *A* 34, cp. T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 507). The accounts of the *τεροποιοί* for *s.* iii and *s.* ii record various sums spent on repairs to these buildings (*Inscr. Gr. Deli* iii no. 440, *A* 84 f.), but no expenditure on the cult, which seems to have languished (but see *ib.* iii no. 372, *B* 10). According to an inventory of 157/6 B.C., one of the οἶκοι contained a cult-statuettes of bronze, eighteen inches high, on a marble base, a bronze incense-burner for processional use, a *krater* of Corinthian bronze, a marble mortar, twelve wooden couches with small tables beneath them, and sundry portraits and votive paintings (P. Roussel *op. cit.* p. 225 n. 3); the other οἶκος contained a second dozen of wooden couches with small draw-tables beneath them, an old bronze brazier with no bottom to it, two tridents, one of which lacked a tooth, and old iron tongs (*id. ib.* p. 225 n. 4). Despite this poverty, the priest of Zeus Κύνθιος and Athena Κυνθία held the third place in the Delian hierarchy (P. Roussel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 438 f. no. 64, 11 f. and *op. cit.* p. 202).

Better times began in 166 B.C., when Delos became an Athenian colony (P. Roussel *op. cit.* p. 1 ff.). An inventory of 147/6 B.C. records a pair of bronze figures, about a foot in height, representing Zeus and Athena, a table of bronze, another of marble, a tripod, lamps, linen hangings, but no couches; also a gold ring on a ribband, and a silver incense-burner (*id. ib.* pp. 225 nn. 7—9, 401). Other inscriptions, ranging from 158/7 to the middle of *s.* i B.C. or later, show that the *personnel* of the cult consisted in a *λερεύς*, a *ζακός*, and a *κλειδοῦχος* (lists in P. Roussel *op. cit.* p. 226 [Note the preponderance of well-omened names]). Of these the *λερεύς* held office for a year. So, probably, did the *κλειδοῦχος*. But the *ζακός* [Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 306 suggests that *ζακός* is for *δακός < *δη-κόρος, cp. *νεωκόρος*, *σηκοκόρος* (κορέω, 'I sweep') and *δάπεδον*: *ζάπεδον*] could have his tenure prolonged.

So far the cult seems to have had no regular temple. But *c.* 120 B.C. Charmikos, a native of the Attic deme Kikynna, who was priest of Zeus Κύνθιος and Athena Κυνθία, dedicated a *πρόναος* (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 160 no. 14); and in all probability it was the same native of Kikynna who dedicated the *ναός* to Zeus Κύνθιος (*id. ib.* p. 161 no. 15), *i.e.* the small Ionic or composite temple noted above. This attracted the attention, not only of Athenians (P. Roussel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 422 f. no. 21, 429 no. 38), but of foreigners—witness a statue of Ptolemy x Soter ii here set up by Areios a notable of Alexandria (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 156 f. no. 11, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1162, Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 171) and an altar presented by Philostratos a wealthy banker of Askalon (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 166 f. no. 21,

ImbrosImbros¹.**Skiathos**Skiathos².**Lesbos**Mytilene³.**Chios**Mount Pelinnaion⁴.**Rhodes**Mount Atabyrion⁵.

P. Roussel *op. cit.* p. 227 n. 6). Orientals would naturally regard the mountain-top as one of their own high places. Hence Zeus Κύνθιος came to be associated with the Egyptian divinities (A. Hauvette-Besnault in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 328 f. no. 23 a small column (1^m high) inscribed Διὶ Κυνθίωι, | Σαράπιδι, Ἰσιδῶι | κατὰ πρόσταγμα, | Νεοπτόλεμος | Φιλωνίδου. | ἐπὶ ἱερέως Δικαίου | τοῦ Δικαίου Ἰωνίδου, | κλειδουχοῦντος | Εὐκράτου Διονυσίου τοῦ Σεύθου, | ζακορέουτος | Ἀπολλωνίου | τοῦ Δικαίου), and his priest figures among the worshippers of the Syrian Aphrodite Ἀγνή (P. Roussel *op. cit.* pp. 227 n. 8, 266 f., 416 ff. no. 21, A col. i, 28). The sanctuary on Mt Kynthos, seemingly untouched by the catastrophe of 88 B.C. (Strab. 486, Plout. v. *Sull.* 11, Appian. *Mithr.* 28, Paus. 3. 23. 3 f.), continued to receive gifts, now a cistern-mosaic (*σῦρα*), now a table etc. (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 141 ff. no. 2, P. Roussel *op. cit.* p. 226 n. 14). Finally, about the middle of s. i B.C. a priest published on a marble *stèle* the rules of ceremonial purity to be observed by all visitors entering the precinct (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 158 f. no. 12, J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae Lipsiae* 1906 ii. 259 no. 91, P. Roussel in the *Mélanges Holleaux* Paris 1913 p. 276 f. no. 4 and *op. cit.* p. 228 n. 4. Lines 11 ff. run: *λέγει εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Διὸς τοῦ Κυνθίου | [καὶ τῆς] Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Κυνθί[ας, χερ]σὶν καὶ ψυχῇ καθα[ρῶ, ε]χοντας ἐσθῆτα λευ[κῆν, ἀν]υποδέτους, ἀγνεύοντα[s] | [ἀπὸ γυν]αικὸς καὶ κρέως. | [μηδὲ] εἰσ[φ]έρειν | κ.τ.λ.).*

[The Delian cult had spread to Paros as early as s. vi B.C. O. Rubensohn in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1901 xxvi. 216 reported that on a hill-top (200^m high) called *Vigla* or *Kastro* in the north-west of that island, the nearest point from which the inhabitants of the town Paros could get a glimpse of Delos, he had discovered a sanctuary with votive inscriptions including an archaic *stèle* lettered ΑΘΗΝΑΙΗΚΥΝΘΙΗ (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 210, cp. *ib.* nos. 211, 214). This makes it certain that Athena's connexion with Mt Kynthion was centuries older than the Athenian protectorate. Not impossibly in Delos as at Athens Athena was the legitimate successor of the old 'Minoan' goddess.]

¹ Zeus Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (8)).

² Zeus Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (6)).

³ Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 873 n. 0 no. (10)).

⁴ Mt Pelinnaion (*Hagios Elias*), the highest point (1260^m) of Chios (Strab. 645, Dionys. *per.* 535), derived its name from the leaden grey (*πελιτνός, πελιδνός*) colour of its rock (L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2288, cp. 2290). On it was a cult of Zeus Περινναῖος (Hesych. s.v. Περινναῖος· ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Χίῳ), whose Christian supersessor was Saint Elias (*supra* i. 177 ff.).

⁵ Mt Atabyrion (*Atayros*), the highest mountain in Rhodes, was crowned with a sanctuary of Zeus Ἀταβύριος (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 87 f. ἀλλ', ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ, γώτοισιν Ἀταβυρίου | μεδέων, κ.τ.λ. with schol. vet. *ad loc.* ἐπάνω γὰρ τοῦ ὄρους ἰδρυται ὁ Ζεὺς (Ἀταβύριον ὄρος ὑψηλότατον Ῥόδου οὗ ἀνωθεν ἰδρυται Ζεὺς cod. C.), Strab. 655 εἰθ' ὁ Ἀτάβυρις (τάβυρις cod. F.), ὄρος τῶν ἐνταῦθα ὑψηλότατον, ἱερὸν Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 22 cited *supra* p. 588 n. 1, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀτάβυρον· ὄρος Ῥόδου. Ῥιανὸς ἔκτῳ Μεσσηνιακῶν (= Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσώδιας* 13 (i. 387, 8 f. Lentz)). τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀταβύριος, ἐξ οὗ καὶ Ἀταβύριος Ζεὺς, *id.* s.v. Κρητηνία· τόπος Ῥόδου, ἐν ᾧ ᾤκουν οἱ περὶ Ἀλθαιμένην, δε

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*Fair usage policy applies

brutally dispatched by her kinsman, presupposes—I think—a bygone custom or rite (? in the Rhodian month Agrianios) resembling that of the Minyan Oleiai and Psoloeis at the Agrionia of Orchomenos in Boiotia (Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 38 with Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Dying God p. 163 f.). Her name implies that ‘freedom from trouble’ was thought to depend on her sacrifice. And the statement that she slipped on freshly-flayed hides suggests that the human victim was wrapped in the skin of the sacred animal (*supra* i. 67 n. 3, cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 155 ff.).

Small bronze bulls, which probably served as offerings to Zeus, are sometimes found on Mt Atabyrion (*supra* i. 643 fig. 502). And we have already conjectured that Zeus had here inherited the bronze bulls of the Hittite Tešub (*supra* i. 642 f., ii. 910 n. 1). The common tradition was that certain bronze kine on Mt Atabyrion bellowed when any evil was about to befall Rhodes (schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 159 f. εἰσι δὲ χαλκαῖ βόες ἐν αὐτῷ, αἴτινες ὅταν μέλλη ἄτοπόν τι γενέσθαι, μυκῶνται, 160 c εἰσι δὲ καὶ βόες χαλκοῖ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῆς Ῥόδου, οἱ ὅταν μέλλη τι τῇ πόλει γίνεσθαι κακὸν μυκῶνται, Tzetz. *chil.* 4. 390—393 (= 4. 704—706) Ῥόδιόν ἐστιν ὄρος, | τὴν κλήσιν Ῥαταβύριον, χαλκᾶς πρὶν ἔχον βόας, | αἱ μυκηθμὸν ἐξέπεμπον χωρούσης Ῥόδῳ βλάβης· | Πίνδαρος (? *Ol.* 7. 87 f.) καὶ Καλλιμαχος (*frag.* 413 Schneider) γράφει τὴν ἱστορίαν). But one authority spoke of a single bull, that of Zeus, as uttering a human voice (Isigonos of Nikaia *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 435) ap. Kyrill. *Al. c. Iulian.* 3 p. 88 c Aubert (lxxvi. 636 A Migne) καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἰσιγονος ὁ Κιττιεὺς (C. Müller cj. ὁ Νικαιεὺς) ἐν Ῥόδῳ τῇ νήσῳ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς ταῦρον φησὶν οὐκ ἀμοιρῆσαι λόγον τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς). Both versions bear a sinister resemblance to the accounts of the bronze bull made by Perillos for Phalaris at Akragas (*supra* i. 643 f., ii. 910 n. 1) and may likewise be taken to cover a reminiscence of human sacrifice. If the early Cretans tolerated, for ritual purposes, the enclosing of their queen in a wooden cow (*supra* i. 523), the early Rhodians would hardly shrink from burning a *pharmakós* in a bronze bull. Sir J. G. Frazer *Apollodorus* London 1921 i. 307 concludes: ‘Atabyrian Zeus would seem to have been worshipped in the form of a bull.’ That may have been so, no doubt, in the remote past. But in classical times he was almost certainly anthropomorphic. Rhodian coppers of c. 304—189 B.C. or later have *obv.* head of Zeus, wearing bay-wreath, to right; *rev.* PO rose, often surmounted by radiate solar disk (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 250 pl. 39, 15 and 16, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 441 no. 38, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 640. I have two specimens of the sort in my collection): the head is presumably that of Zeus Ῥαταβύριος. Cp. also *supra* i. 132.

It was not, of course, to be expected that in busy Hellenistic times the good folk of Rhodes would toil up a steep mountain 4000 ft high in order to pay their respects to Zeus. Accordingly we find a chapel of ease built on a more manageable hill adjoining the city-wall (Appian. *Mithr.* 26 αὐτομόλων δ’ αὐτῷ (sc. Mithridates vi Eupator, in 88 B.C.) λόφον ὑποδεξάντων ἐπιβατόν, ἣ Ῥαταβυρίου Διὸς ἱερὸν ἦν, καὶ κολοβὸν τειχίον ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὰς ναῦς νυκτὸς ἐπέβησε, καὶ ἑτέροις ἀναδοῦς κλίμακας ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν ἑκατέρους μετὰ σιωπῆς μέχρι τινὲς αὐτοῖς πυρσεύσειαν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥαταβυρίου· κ.τ.λ.). A relic of this urban cult is a block of bluish marble formerly ‘built into the wall of a field to the south-west of St. Stephen’s Hill, near Rhodes’ and now in the British Museum (Sir C. T. Newton in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1883 ii. 121 no. 346 = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 31 [δόγματι τοῦ κοινοῦ] | [τῶν Διοσαταβυρι]αστᾶν τῶν τὰς πόλ[ι]ος δούλων, Εὐλί|[μ]ενος γραμματεὺς | [δα]μόσιος ἱερατεύ[σας] Διὸς Ῥαταβυρίου | [ὑπὲρ τῶν κυρίων Ῥο|[δί]ων ἀνέθηκε Διὶ Ῥα|[ταβυρί]ω τοῦ(s) βουῖς | [χαριστήρι]ον Ϝ. W. Dittenberger *De sacris Rhodiorum* commentatio ii Halis Saxonum 1887 p. viii f. restored the opening lines as above, and proposed for the closing lines [ἀνέθηκε Διὶ Ῥα|[ταβυρί]ω τοῦ βουσι|[τάθμου τὸ τειχ]ίον, which is ingenious but less probable). Hence we learn that Eulimenos, a state slave who had been priest of Zeus Ῥαταβύριος, dedicated to the god on behalf of the citizens the customary kine, i.e. small votive bulls of bronze. He describes himself as commissioned to do so by the public servants, who composed an association of Διοσαταβυριασταί.

Of such associations or religious circles there were at least two in the island. One, in

Crete

Mount Aigaion¹.

the town of Rhodes, founded by a certain Philon, was devoted to Zeus Ἀταβύριος and to the Agathos Daimon (*infra* Append. M) in common (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 161, 5 f. = H. van Gelder in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 478 f. no. 3842, 5 f. ('In oppido hodierno, prope hospitium equitum D. Ioannis in basi oblonga marmoris caerulei') καὶ ὑπὸ [Διοσ]αταβυριαστῶν Ἀγαθοδαιμονιαστῶν Φιλ(ω)νείων κοινῶ | θαλλῶι στεφάνωι). The other, at Lindos, established by a man named Euphranor and later headed by one Athenaios of Knidos, worshipped Dionysos, Athena, and Zeus Ἀταβύριος (Sir C. T. Newton *loc. cit.* ii. 135 f. no. 358, 2 ff., 12 ff. = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 937, 2 ff., 12 ff. = H. van Gelder *loc. cit.* iii. 1. 568 f. no. 4239, 2 ff. ('Found at Mallona near Lindos in 1862... On a circular altar or pedestal of white marble, which has been hollowed out, probably to form a mortar with a hole at the bottom') [---τ]ε[ιμα]θέντα ὑπὸ | τοῦ κοινῶ τοῦ Διονυσιαστῶν Ἀθαναϊστῶν Διοσ[αταβυριαστῶν] Εὐφρανορ[ίω]ν τῶν σὺν Ἀθηναίω Κνιδίω | χρυσίω στεφάνω καὶ ἀναγορεύσειω ἰσι τὸν αἰ χρόνον. | κ.τ.λ., 12 ff. καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτοῦ Ἀρέτης μὲν τεμαθείσας ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινῶ τοῦ Διον[υσιαστῶν] Ἀθνα[αῖ]στῶν Διοσ[αταβυριαστῶν] | Εὐφρανορίων τῶν σὺν Ἀθηναίω Κνιδίω καὶ ἀ[α]θείσας τῶ κοινῶ (τῶ) | Ἀθνα[αῖ]στῶν --- τῶ] ἀναλωμάτων [---]). A mutilated inscription on a slab of blackish marble at Netteia (*Apollakia*) near Lindos, where it serves as a threshold in the church of Saint Georgios, contains ritual rules in lettering of *s.* ii B.C. and includes a reference to Zeus Ἀταβύριος (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 891, 7 [.....]θ[ε]τ[α]μ[ε] χ[ρ]ε[ύ]ετα[ι] καὶ Δι[ε] Ἀτα[β]υρ[ι]ω[ι]---)). See further F. Poland *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* Leipzig 1909 pp. 58 f., 181, 237.

The cult of the Rhodian Zeus even found its way to Skythia. At *Kermenchik* (Neapolis?) near *Symphheropol* three inscriptions have come to light recording dedications made *c. s.* i B.C. (?) by one Posideos to Zeus Ἀταβύριος (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2103b = B. Latyshev *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* Petropoli 1885 i. 216 no. 242 on a base of grey marble now in the Museum at Odessa Δι[ε] Ἀταβυρ[ι]ω[ι] Ποσιδε[ο]σ Ποσιδέου | χαριστήριον), to Athena Λυθία (*ib.* i. 216 f. no. 243), and to Achilles 'Lord of the Island' (*sc.* Leuke) (*ib.* i. 217 no. 244). E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pp. 463, 476, 479 treats Posideos, not as a Rhodian, but as an Olbiopolite living at Neapolis and trading with Rhodes. See also M. Rostovtzeff *Iranians & Greeks in South Russia* Oxford 1922 p. 163.

¹ Rhea, when about to bear her youngest son Zeus (Ζῆνα μέγαν, *cp. supra* p. 344 f.), was sent by her parents Ouranos and Gaia to Lyktos, and Gaia received the child to bring him up in Crete. So Rhea came by night first to Lyktos and hid the babe in a steep underground cave on the well-wooded Mt Aigaion (*Hes. Theog.* 477 ff. πέμψαν δ' ἐς Λύκτον (γρ. δι (= δίκτον) in marg. cod. E.), Κρήτης ἐς πλοῖα δῆμον, | ὄππῳτ' ἀρ' ὄπλότατον παιδῶν τέξεσθαι ἐμελλε (so G. Kinkel for ἤμελλε τεκέσθαι), | Ζῆνα μέγαν· τὸν μὲν οἱ ἐδέξατο Γαῖα πελώρη | Κρήτη ἐν εὐρείῃ τραφόμεν ἀτιταλλόμεναί τε. | ἔνθα μιν (so J. G. J. Hermann for μὲν codd., *cp. schol. ad loc.*) Ἴκτο φέρουσα θοῆν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν | πρώτην ἐς Λύκτον (G. F. Schömann's *cj.* Δικτῆν is mischievous)· κρύψεν δὲ ἐ χειρὶ λαβοῦσα | ἀντρῶ ἐν ἡλιβάτω, ζαθέης ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης, | Αἰγαίω (Salmasius *cj.* αἰγείω, Wilamowitz *cj.* Αἰγείω. But see G. M. Columba *Aigaion* (extr. from the *Memorie della R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti* 1914 iii) Napoli 1914 p. 21 n. 3) ἐν ὄρει πεπυκασμένῳ ὑλῆεντι).

Hesiod's connexion of the cave on Mt Aigaion with Lyktos makes it practically certain (*pace* W. Aly in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 461) that this was the *Psychro* Cave on Mt *Lasithi*, some 4½ hours from the ruins of Lyktos, with which it is linked by an ancient road still traceable (so K. J. Beloch in *Klio* 1911 xi. 435 and especially J. Toutain in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1911 lxiv. 290 f., followed by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 377). It was partially explored by F. Halbherr and J. Hazzidakis in 1886 (F. Halbherr—P. Orsi 'Scoperte nell'antro di Psychro' in the *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* 1888 ii. 905—910 pl. 13, A. Taramelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1899 ix. 411 f.), by Sir A. J. Evans and J. L. Myres in 1894, 1895, 1896 (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 350—361 ('Inscribed Libation Table from the Diktaean Cave')), by

J. Demargne in 1897 (Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 629), and fully by D. G. Hogarth in 1899—1900 (D. G. Hogarth 'The Dictaeon Cave' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 94—116 with pls. 8—11 and figs. 27—50, *id.* 'The Birth Cave of Zeus' in *The Monthly Review* 1901 pp. 49—62 with 10 pls.). But these explorers (whom I wrongly followed *supra* i. 150 n. 2, ii. 530) assumed without definite proof that the *Psychro* Cave was the Dictaeon Cave—an assumption denounced by W. Aly *Der kretische Apollonkult* Leipzig 1908 p. 47 and simultaneously refuted by K. J. Beloch in *Klio* 1911 xi. 433—435 ('Dikte') and by J. Toutain 'L'ancre de Psychro et le ΔΙΚΤΑΙΟΝ ΑΝΤΡΟΝ' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1911 lxiv. 277—291 (see *infra* n. on Mt Dikte).

The *Psychro* Cave shows as a dark spot on the mountain-side (*The Monthly Review loc. cit.* pl. 6, 1) some 500 ft above *Psychro*, a village of the inner *Lasithi*-plain (*ib.* pl. 1, 2, pl. 2, 1 f.). It was perhaps originally a swallow-hole, at the time when the *Lasithi*-plain was an upland lake, and an icy pool still remains in its depths. But its religious history was a long one; for the finds begin with sherds of 'Kamares'-ware in the 'Middle Minoan ii' period (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 101 f. fig. 27) and end with sundry Roman lamps and a silver Byzantine cross. Of the votive bronzes, some are probably 'Middle Minoan' in date, many more 'Late Minoan.' Greek relics of a time subsequent to c. 800 B.C. are scarce.

The Cave itself consists of an upper grotto and a steep slope of c. 200 ft leading down to a subterranean pool and a series of stalactite halls (plan of grotto *supra* p. 531 fig. 401). The upper grotto contained an altar (3 ft high) of roughly squared stones, close to which lay a libation-table in steatite inscribed with three linear characters (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 114 fig. 50). An adjoining gateway gave access to a paved *témenos* enclosed by a massive 'Cyclopean' wall. At the back of the enclosure were the mouths of natural funnels communicating probably with the lower halls and water-channels in the heart of the hill. In the upper grotto, especially round the altar, the topmost *strata* yielded swords, knives, axes, bracelets, etc. of iron with remains of the earliest Hellenic pottery; the lower *strata* had scattered objects mainly in bronze—the model of a two-wheeled car drawn by an ox and a ram and intended to carry one or more little figurines (*ib.* p. 108 fig. 39), images of bulls, a knife with a handle ending in a human head (*ib.* p. 111 fig. 44), long hair-pins with ornate ends, lance-points, darts, knives, wire needles, rings, miniature circular shields (?) (*ib.* p. 109 fig. 41), etc.; also hundreds of little plain earthenware cups for food or incense; a small clay mask with lips, eyelids, and lashes painted in ochre (*ib.* p. 106 fig. 37, 3); a great stoup patterned with checker-work etc. and a polyp in lustreless red (*ib.* p. 103 f. figs 31, 32); ivory ornaments from sword-hilts, bone articles of the toilet; small altar-like tables in steatite and limestone, three of which bore linear inscriptions (*ib.* p. 114 pl. xi). The *témenos* was less rich in metal, but extraordinarily prolific in sherds of 'Minoan' pottery, e.g. fragments of large unpainted *plthoi* with a band of decoration in relief under the rim—embossed double-axe, head of wild goat, rows of *bucrania*, an altar laden with fruit, etc. (p. 104 f. fig. 34). Here too were found the skulls and bones of oxen, wild goats, sheep, large deer, swine, and dogs—clearly the *débris* of animal sacrifices (W. Boyd-Dawkins in *Man* 1902 ii. 162—165 no. 114 identifies *bos domesticus creticus*, *capra agagrus*, *ovis aries*, *cervus dama*, *sus scrofa*, *canis familiaris*).

From the *talus* in the lower halls came other bronzes, including a small statuette crowned with the plumes of *Āmen-Râ* (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 107 pl. x, 1 f.). This was good early work of the New Empire (c. 900 B.C.) and recalls the classical identification of Zeus with *Āmen-Râ* (*supra* i. 348 ff.).

From the floor of the subterranean pool were dredged many rude bronze statuettes, male and female, nude and draped, with the arms folded on the breast or with one hand raised to the head in a gesture of adoration (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 107 pl. x, 4—14); a similar figure in lead (*ib.* p. 107 pl. x, 3); sards and other signet stones engraved with wild goats, bulls, and a geometric labyrinth-design (*ib.* p. 112); rings, pins, blades, needles. At the head of the pool and in a little lateral chamber opening to

Mount Dikte¹.

the left the crevices and crannies of the stalactite columns, up to the height of a man, were found to be crammed with votive bronzes—blades, pins, tweezers, *fibulae* (*The Monthly Review loc. cit.* pl. 9), with here and there a double axe (*ib.* pl. 8). See *supra* p. 530 ff.

D. G. Hogarth concludes: 'About the pre-eminently sacred character of this Cave there can remain no shadow of doubt, and the *simulacra* of axes, fashioned in bronze and moulded or painted on vases, clearly indicate Zeus of the *labrys* or Labyrinth as the deity there honoured' (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 114).

Among the more important objects obtained from the Cave by Sir A. J. Evans are half the top of a libation-table in black steatite bearing an inscription in two lines (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 350—361 figs. 25 a—27 and tab. i), one of which is further extended by a small fragment found by J. Demargne in 1897 (Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 625—631 figs. 465—467), and a remarkable votive tablet of bronze perhaps of the period 'Late Minoan i' (*id. ib.* p. 632 f. fig. 470 re-



Fig. 830.

versed = my fig. 830). The latter, like a lentoid seal of rock crystal found in the Idaean Cave (L. Mariani in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1895 vi. 178 fig. 12, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 47 fig. 22, Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 141 f. fig. 25), represents the worship of a sacred tree or trees. The ring-dove or wood-pigeon (*columba palumbus*), here perched on one of the three sprays rising from ritual horns, may depict the presence of the deity (? Aphrodite, or her Cretan equivalent Ariadne (cp. *supra* i. 481)). Sun and moon betoken the sky. But the exact significance of the remaining symbols (? cp. *supra* i. 583 n. 4) and linear characters is obscure. The cult of a goddess associated with sacred trees is just what we should expect ἐν ὄρει πεπυκασμένῳ ὑλῆεντι. Doves reappear in connexion with the Dictaeon Cave (*infra* n. 1).

¹ Zeus Δικταῖος (Kallim. *h. Zeus* 4 πῶς καὶ νῦν (so O. Schneider for καὶ νῦν codd. and earlier edd. A. W. Mair cj. καὶ μῦν), Δικταῖον ἀεισομένη Λυκαίων; Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 266 Ἐπιθετα Διδῶς no. (22) δικταίου, Mart. *ep.* 4. 1. 1 f. Caesaris (sc. Domitiani) alma dies et luce sacratior illa, | conscia Dictaeum qua tulit Ida Iovem, Min. Fel. *Oct.* 21. 1 ob merita virtutis aut muneris deos habitos Euhemerus exsequitur, et eorum natales, patrias, sepulcra dinumerat et per provincias monstrat, Dictaei Iovis et Apollinis Delphici

et Phariae Isidis et Cereris Eleusinae, cp. Verg. *georg.* 2. 536 ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis, Stat. *Theb.* 3. 481 f. ditior ille animi, cui tu, Dictaeae, secundas | impuleris manifestus aves) derived his title from a cave in Mt Dikte, where he was born (Agathokles *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 289 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 375 F cited *supra* i. 653 n. 3, Apollod. 1. 1. 6 ὀργισθεῖσα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ῥέα παραγίνεται μὲν εἰς Κρήτην, ὀπηνίκα τὸν Δία ἐγκυμονοῦσα ἐτύγχανε, γεννᾶ δὲ ἐν ἄντρῳ τῆς Δίκτης Δία, schol. Arat. *phoen.* 33 ἐγεννήθη μὲν ἐν τῇ Δίκτῃ, μετεκομίσθη δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄντρον τῆς Ἰδῆς, Diod. 5. 70 τὴν δὲ Ῥεῖαν ἀγανακτήσασαν, καὶ μὴ δυναμένην μεταθεῖναι τὴν προαίρεσιν τᾶνδρός, τὸν Δία τεκοῦσαν ἐν τῇ προσαγορευομένῃ Ἰδῇ (Δίκτῃ codd. C. F. G.) κλέψαι καὶ δοῦναι λάθρα τοῖς Κούρησιν ἐκθρέψαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσι πλησίον ὄρους τῆς Ἰδῆς... ἀνδρωθέντα δ' αὐτὸν φασι πρῶτον πόλιν κτίσαι περὶ τὴν Δίκταν, ὅπου καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν· ἧς ἐκλειφθείσης ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις διαμένειν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔρματα τῶν θεμελίων, *et. mag.* p. 276, 12 ff. Δίκτῃ· ὄρος τῆς Κρήτης, καὶ ἄκρα κειμένη κατὰ τὸ Λιβυκὸν πέλαγος... εἶρηται παρὰ τὸ τέκῳ τίκτω, τίκτα τίς οὔσα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ τεχθῆναι τὸν Δία) and reared (Ap. Rhod. 1. 508 f. ὄφρα Ζεὺς ἔτι κούρος, ἔτι φρεσὶ νήπια εἰδώς, | Δικταῖον ναίεσκεν ὑπὸ σπέος with schol. *ad loc.*, Arat. *phoen.* 30 ff. εἰ ἔτεδν δῆ, | Κρήτηθεν κείναι γε (*sc.* the two Bears) Διὸς μεγάλου ἰότητι | οὐρανὸν εἰσανέβησαν, ὃ μιν τότε κουρίζοντα | Δίκτῳ (Zenodotos of Mallos read δίκτῳ = δικτάμῳ) ἐν εὐώδει, ὄρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίου, | ἄντρῳ ἐγκατέθεντο καὶ ἔτρεφον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν, | Δικταῖοι Κούρητες ὅτε Κρόνον ἐψεύδοντο with schol. *ad loc.*, Lucr. 2. 633 f. Dictaeos referunt Curetas qui Iovis illum | vagitum in Creta quondam occultasse feruntur (cp. Sil. It. 17. 21 qui Dictaeo bacchantur in antro), Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 61 cited *infra*, Arrian. *frag.* 70 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 599 Müller) *ap.* Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 498 Ἀρριανὸς δὲ φησι· 'Κρής, οὗ Κρήτη ἐπώνυμος, ὃ τὸν Δία κρύψας ἐν ὄρει Δικταίῳ, ὅτε Κρόνος ἐμάστειεν ἐθέλων ἀφανίσαι αὐτόν,' Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 2. 536 ante quam regnaret Iuppiter, qui est in Dictaeo, Cretae monte, nutritus), being fed by bees (Verg. *georg.* 4. 149 ff. nunc age, naturas apibus quas Iuppiter ipse | addidit expediam, pro qua mercede, canoros | Curetum sonitus crepitantiaque aera secutae, | Dictaeo caeli regem pavere sub antro, Colum. *de re rust.* 9. 2 nec sane rustico dignum est sciscitari, fueritne mulier pulcherrima specie Melissa, quam Iuppiter in apem convertit, an (ut Euhemerus poeta dicit) crabronibus et sole genitas apes, quas nymphae Phryxonides educaverunt, mox Dictaeo speen Iovis exstitisse nutrices, easque pabula munere dei sortitas, quibus ipsae parvum educaverant alumnum. ista enim, quamvis non dedeceant poetam, summam tamen et uno tantummodo versiculo leviter attigit Virgilius, cum sic ait: 'Dictaeo caeli regem pavere sub antro,' Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 104 sane nati Iovis fabula haec est: Saturnus postquam a Themide oraculo comperit a filio se posse regno depelli natos ex Rhea uxore devorabat, quae natum Iovem pulchritudine delectata nymphis commendavit in monte Cretae Dictaeo; ubi eum aluerunt apes = Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Ach.* 387 = Myth. Vat. 1. 104, cp. 2. 16. See further L. Weniger and W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2637 ff. *s.v.* Melissa, Melissaios, Melisseus, Melissos) or a goat (*supra* i. 112 n. 3, 529 n. 4, 653 n. 3, 665 n. 3. See further E. Neustadt *De Jove Cretico* Berolini 1906 pp. 18—43 ('De Amalthea')) or a pig (*supra* i. 653 n. 3) or doves (Moiro of Byzantion c. 300 B.C. *frag. ap.* Athen. 491 A—B Ζεὺς δ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ Κρήτῃ τρέφετο μέγας, οὐδ' ἄρα τίς νιν | ἠεῖδει μακάρων· ὃ δ' ἀέξετο πᾶσι μέλεσσι. | τὸν μὲν ἄρα τρήρωνες ὑπὸ ζαθέῳ τράφον ἄντρῳ, | ἀμβροσίην φορέουσαι ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων· | νέκταρ δ' ἐκ πέτρης μέγας αἰετὸς αἰὲν ἀφύσσων | γαμφηλῆς, φορέεσκε ποτὸν Διὶ μητιέντι. *Supra* i. 182 n. 8), while the Kouretes, or by later confusion the Korybantes, drowned his infant cries with the clashing of their weapons (*supra* i. 150, 530 n. 0, 534, 659, 709. See further O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1587 ff., J. Poerner *De Curetibus et Corybantibus* (*Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* xxii. 2) Halis Saxonum 1913 pp. 245—428, Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa xi. 1441 ff., 2202 ff.).

Ant. Lib. 19 quotes from the *Ornithogonia* of 'Boios' (*supra* p. 463 n. 1) a queer tale, which relates apparently to the Dictaeon Cave: 'In Crete, they say, there is a cave sacred to bees. Tradition has it that in this cave Rhea gave birth to Zeus, and neither god nor man may enter it. Every year at a definite time there is seen a great glare of fire from the cavern. This happens, so the story goes, when the blood from the birth of Zeus boils out (ἐκζέη with allusion to Ζεὺς (*supra* i. 31 n. 3)). The cave is occupied by sacred bees,

Plate XLII



Amphora from Vulci, now in the British Museum: Laios, Keleos, Kerberos,
and Aigolios stung by bees in the Dictaeon Cave.

See page 929 n. o.

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Dionysios by the *kōsmos* or chief magistrate of Praisos in accordance with a treaty of s. iii B.C. between that town and Stelai (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 440 A, 15 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 427, a 15 ff., *ib.*³ no. 524, a 15 ff. cited *supra* p. 731 n. o. The restoration $\delta\mu\acute{\nu}\omega\ \Delta\eta\lbracket\text{να}\ \Delta\iota\kappa\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\text{ν}$ exactly fills the gap and is justified by Strab. 475 τούτων (*sc. Od.* 19. 175—177) φησὶ Στάφυλος (*frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 507 Müller)) τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἔω Δωριεῖς κατέχειν, τὸ δὲ δυσμικὸν Κύδωνας, τὸ <δὲ> νότιον Ἐτεοκρητας, ὧν εἶναι πολίχνιον Πρᾶσον, ὅπου τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερὸν, *id.* 478 εἴρηται δέ, ὅτι τῶν Ἐτεοκρήτων ὑπῆρχεν ἡ Πρᾶσος, καὶ διότι ἐνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερὸν· κ.τ.λ.): (4) a long inscription, dated in 139 B.C., of which one copy was found near Itanos, another at Magnesia ad Maeandrum (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 929, *ib.*³ no. 685 = R. Cagnat *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1911 i. 345 ff. no. 1021). It deals with a dispute between Itanos and Praisos—later between Itanos and Hierapytna—respecting the territory of Heleia and the island of Leuke. Itanos ultimately appealed to the Roman senate, which entrusted arbitration in the matter to Magnesia. The document in delimiting the territory of Itanos more than once mentions the sanctuary of Zeus Δικταῖος, which must have lain on the border-line of Itanos and Praisos (ii, 37 ff. Ἴτανιοὶ πόλιν οἰκοῦντες ἐπιθαλάσσιον καὶ χώραν ἔχοντες προγονικὴν γειτονοῦσαν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου ἱερῷ, ἔχοντες δὲ καὶ νήσους καὶ νεμόμενοι, ἐν αἷς καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Λεύκην, 47 ff. οὕτως Ἱεραπύτνιοι τῆς τε νήσου καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀμφισβητεῖν Ἴτανιοὶ ἐπεβάλαντο, φάμενοι τὴν μὲν χώραν εἶναι ἱερὰν τοῦ Ζηνὸς τοῦ Δικταίου, τὴν δὲ νῆσον προγονικὴν ἑαυτῶν ὑπάρχειν, iii, 69 ff. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς ἐκτὸς τῆς διαμφισβητουμένης | χώρας ὄντος καὶ περιοικοδομήμασιν καὶ ἑτέροις πλείοσι[ν ἄ]ποδεικτικοῖς καὶ σημείοις περιλα[μ]βανομένου, 81 f. νόμοις γὰρ ἱεροῖς καὶ ἀραῖς καὶ ἐπιτίμοις ἀνωθεν διεκεκώλυτο ἵνα μηθεὶς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου μήτε ἐννέμη μήτε ἐναυλοστατῆι μήτε σπείρηι μήτε ξυλεύηι).

Finally, excavations of the British School at Athens undertaken in 1902 at Heleia (*Palaiastro*) on the eastern coast, south of Itanos (*Eremoroli*) and east of Praisos, located the actual site of the Hellenic temple (R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 286 ff.). This was partially explored in 1903 and 1904 (*id. ib.* 1902—1903 ix. 280, *ib.* 1903—1904 x. 246) and fully cleared in 1905 (*id. ib.* 1904—1905 xi. 298 ff.).

The site was an artificially levelled platform half-way down the south-eastern side of a hill. The *témenos* was enclosed by a wall of undressed stones, of which a few courses survive, and can be traced along the north and north-eastern face of the slope for a distance of 36^m. The temple itself has wholly vanished, huge blocks of freestone having been carried off by the villagers of *Palaiastro* about a generation ago. But the position of the altar is fixed by a bed of grey wood-ash, at least 3^m long by 0·25^m thick. Round it were found bronze bowls, miniature shields, and an archaic scarabaeoid seal.

More widely scattered were tiles and architectural terracottas of two distinct periods: (a) *Archaic*. Many pieces of a *sima* in low relief decorated with the *motif* of a two-horse chariot, driver, two hoplites, and hound (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 300 ff. pl. 15). Antefixes in the form of a *Gorgóneion* (*ib.* p. 303 fig. 20). *Akrotéria* (?) of large birds (eagles?). The leg of a crouching or running human figure in high relief, probably from the pediment (*ib.* p. 300 fig. 18). Transitional in character is an antefix representing the Gorgon with two snakes rising from her shoulders and two others held in her hands—a pose which recalls that of the 'Minoan' snake-goddess (*ib.* p. 304 fig. 22). (b) *Developed style*. Fragments of a deeper *sima* with lion-heads etc. of the conventional sort. Fragments of palmette-shaped antefixes (*ib.* p. 304 fig. 21).

The votive offerings belong mostly to the archaic period (s. vii—v B.C.) and comprise: (i) *Bronzes*. At least four large shields decorated with zones of animals. One (0·49^m across) had as central boss the head and forepart of a lion, which pins down a couple of sphinxes and is flanked by two lions rampant on either side of a 'tree-of-life.' A dozen small shields, a miniature cuirass, a miniature helmet. Parts of about fourteen tripods. Eight bowls. Numerous small figures of oxen. (ii) *Terracottas*. About forty lamps and twelve torch-holders (*ib.* p. 307 fig. 23). About thirty large cups or bowls.

A mile to the north-west of the site there was found in 1907 a slab, which records the restoration by Hierapytna (c. 145—139 B.C.) of certain statues in the temple of Zeus

Δικταῖος (R. C. Bosanquet *ib.* 1908—1909 xv. 340, S. A. Xanthoudides in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1908 p. 197 ff. no. 1 fig. 1 ἐπὶ τῆς Καμυρίδος (sc. a tribe at Hierapytna, cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ιεράπυτνα) κοσμήτων | τῶν σὺν Βουάω τῷ Ἀμφέροντος, | ἐπεμέληθεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ | [Ζ (or Τ)]ηρὸς Δικταίω, τὰ ἀρχαῖα | [ἀ]γάλματα θαραπεύσαντες, | [θεῶ]ς ἐπισκευῶσαι καὶ χρυσῶ[[σαι] 'Αθαναίαν, Ἄρτεμιν, Ἄτλαν[[τα, τ]ὰς Σφίγγας ἀστραγαλίσ[[αι] ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποποδίων, καὶ | [? Ποσ]οιδᾶ, Δία, Ἥρας πρόσωπον, | [? Λατῶ]ν καὶ Νίκαν ἀναγράψαι. | [οἰδ' ἐκ]δσ(μ)ιον, Βούαςος Ἀμφέ[[ροντος, Ἀκ]άσσων Βραμισάλ].....s Εὐρυκάρτεος, |Εὐρυκάρτεος, |υθεος, |s Μοιρῶ[[ω]]---). A mutilated inscription recording an agreement between Knossos and Hierapytna, which was found in the church of St Nikolaos near *Palaiakastro* (F. Halbherr in the *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* 1890 iii. 612 ff. no. 36), must likewise have come from the precinct of Zeus Δικταῖος, where it had probably been set up during the same period of Hierapytna's supremacy.

But by far the most important epigraphic discovery connected with the site was that of the now famous hymn to Zeus Δικταῖος, first published by R. C. Bosanquet (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 339—356 pl. 20), restored and translated by G. Murray (*ib.* pp. 357—365), and expounded at large by Miss J. E. Harrison ('The Kouretes and Zeus Kouros' *ib.* pp. 308—338, *ead. Themis* Cambridge 1912 pp. 1—29 ('The Hymn of the Kouretes')). With one exception, already noted (*supra* i. 15 n. 6), I give the text as printed by G. Murray:

<p>Ἴώ, Μέγιστε Κούρε, χαῖρέ μοι, Κρόνιε, παγκρατὲς γένος, βέβακες 5 δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος. Δικταν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρ- πε καὶ γέγαθι μολπῆ, Τῶν τοι κρέκομεν πακτίσι μείξαντες ἄμ' ἀλοῖσιν, 10 καὶ στάντες δαΐδομεν τεδο ἀμφὶ βωμῶν εὐερκῆ. Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ. 'Ενθα γὰρ σέ, παῖδ' ἀμβροτον, ἀσπιθ[ηφόροι τροφήης] 15 παρ' Ἑρας λαβόντες πύδα κ[ρούοντες ἀπέκρυσαν]. Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ. 20 τᾶ]ς καλᾶς Ἄο(θ)ς.</p>	<p>Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ. [Ἵ]ραι δὲ βρ]ῆον κατήτος καὶ βροτο(ύ)ς Δίκα κατήχε 25 [πάντα τ' ἀγρι' ἀμφεπ]ε ζῶ' ἀ φιλολβος Εἰρήρα. Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ. 'Α[μ]ν θόρε, κέσ στα]μνία, καὶ θόρ' εὐποκ' ἐ[ς ποίμνια, 30 κέσ λή]α καρπῶν θόρε, κέσ τελεσ[φόρους σίμβλους]. Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ. [Θόρε κέσ] πόληας ἀμῶν, κέσ πορτοφόρο(υ)ς νᾶας, 35 θόρε κέσ κ[έου]ς πολ]είτας, θόρε κέσ Θέμιν κ[αλάν].</p>
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This hymn, engraved c. 200 A.D. but composed c. 300 B.C., expresses in cultured poetical Greek, with a dash of Doric dialect, beliefs that had descended from much earlier times. It invokes Zeus as the 'greatest Lad of Kronos' line' to come to Dikte for the new year at the head of the *daimones* (perhaps the gods in general (Plat. *Phaedr.* 246 B στρατιῶ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων, cp. *supra* pp. 43, 63 n. 0) rather than the Kouretes in particular (Strab. 466 δαιμονας ἢ προπόλους θεῶν)) and to take delight in the dance about his altar—a dance accompanied by harps and pipes. It goes on to tell how the Kouretes once received him as a babe from Rhea and hid him in safety with the sound of their beating feet, [how under the reign of Zeus foul Darkness was followed by] fair Dawn, the Seasons began to be fruitful year by year, Justice spread over the world, and Peace brought wealth in its train. And now once more comes the invitation to leap in the ritual dance, which shall ensure full jars, fleecy flocks, crops in the fields, and honey in the hives, prosperity alike on land and sea, youthful citizens and established Right.

Mount Ide¹.

The god here invoked is clearly thought of as coming from afar to witness, or even to join in, his worshippers' dance—a dance which very possibly originated as a piece of pure magic. But I do not on that account see in him 'a Kouros who is obviously but a reflection or impersonation of the body of Kouretes' (Miss J. E. Harrison *Themis* p. 27) any more than I regard the Bull Dionysos, who is invited to visit his temple at Elis (*carm. pop.* 5 Hiller—Crusius *ap. Plout. quaestt. Gr.* 36), as a projection of the Elean women. The *Creator Spiritus* is not lightly to be identified with the *spiritus creatorum*.

¹ Mt Ide bore a name (*Ἰδη*) which, like many mountain-names (Schrader *Reallex.*² p. 88 f.), means 'forest, wood' (F. Solmsen in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1908 xxvi. 109 ff., A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 10, *id. Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 11 f. ('Ida'), Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 365 f.). It had flourishing oak-trees (Dionys. *per.* 503). And it was famous for its cypresses (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 2. 6, 4. 1. 3, Nik. *ther.* 585, Verg. *georg.* 2. 84, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 142. Claud. *de rapt. Pros.* 3. 370 ff. confuses Mt Ide in the Troad), which probably stood in some relation to the cult of Rhea (*supra* i. 649 n. 1) or of Zeus (F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1920, 1924, 1926, *supra* i. 558 n. 5); for not only were Cretan cypresses called *δρυῖται* (Theophr. *caus. pl.* 1. 2. 2), but beams of cypress were used to roof the temple in which were celebrated the rites of Rhea and Zagreus (Eur. *Cretes frag.* 472 Nauck² *ap. Porph. de abst.* 4. 19 cited *supra* i. 648 n. 1). A fruit-bearing poplar grew in the mouth of the Idaean Cave (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 3. 4 *ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ καὶ αἰγυροὶ κάρπιμοι πλείους εἰσὶ· μία μὲν ἐν τῷ στομίῳ τοῦ ἀντροῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ* (so J. G. Schneider for *τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰδῇ* cod. U. *τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰδῆς* codd. M. V. *ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ* edd. Ald. Heins.)), *ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἀνάκειται, ἄλλη δὲ μικρὰ πλησίον· κ.τ.λ.*, cp. *ib.* 2. 2. 10, Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 69), though Pliny describes it as a willow (Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 110 *salix...una tamen proditur ad maturitatem perferre solita in Creta insula ipso descensu Iovis speluncae durum ligneumque (sc. semen), magnitudine ciceris*). Iron-coloured stones shaped like the human thumb were found in Crete and known as *Idaei dactyli* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 170, Isid. *orig.* 16. 15. 12, Solin. 11. 14): if these were fossil belemnites (E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1465), they were doubtless viewed as thunderbolts (C. Blinkenberg *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* Cambridge 1911 p. 76 f. ('Thunderstones' (Belemnites)')).

Mt Ide, which, as the ancients said, sees the sun before the sunrise (Solin. 11. 6, Prisc. *per.* 527 f. (*Geogr. Gr. min.* ii. 194 Müller)), was not unnaturally associated with the Hellenic sky-god. From s. v B.C. onwards we hear of Zeus *Ἰδαῖος* (Eur. *Cretes frag.* 472 Nauck² *ap. Porph. de abst.* 4. 19 cited *supra* i. 648 n. 1, Polyh. 28. 14. 3 *περὶ τούτων κειμένης ἐνὸρκου συνθήκης παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἰδαῖον*, cp. Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 f. *Ἐπιθετα Διὸς no. (50) ἰδαίου, 266 Ἐπιθετα Διὸς no. (42) ἰδαίου, 281 Ἐπιθετα τοῦ Διὸς... ἰδαῖος*. In Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 236 *καὶ χθόνα Νωδαλοῖο Διὸς κ.τ.λ.* G. Falkenburg, G. H. Moser, and Count de Marcellus would read *χθονὸς Ἰδαλοῖο*. J. J. Scaliger cj. *χθονὸς ὠδαλοῖο*. F. Graefe cj. *χθόνα Δικταλοῖο*).

Zeus is never said to have been born on Mt Ide (in Diod. 5. 70 cited *supra* p. 928 n. 0 the right reading appears to be *Δίκη*, not *Ἰδη*: at most we have Mart. *ep.* 4. 1. 2 *Dictaeum...tulit Ida Iovem*); the claims of Mt Aigaion (*supra* p. 925 n. 1) and Mt Dikte (*supra* p. 927 n. 1) were too strong. He is, however, said to have been brought by the Kouretes living near Mt Ide to a cave and to have been nurtured there by the nymphs on honey and the milk of the goat Amaltheia (Diod. 5. 70 *τὴν δὲ Ῥέαν...τὸν Δία τεκοῦσαν... κλέψαι καὶ δοῦναι λάθρα τοῖς Κούρησι ἐκθρέψαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσι πλησίον ὄρους τῆς Ἰδῆς· τούτους δ' ἀπενέγκαντας εἰς τι ἀντρον παραδοῦναι ταῖς Νύμφαις, παρακελευσαμένους τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ ποιέεισθαι. αὗται δὲ μέλι καὶ γάλα μίσγονσαι τὸ παιδίον ἐθρεψαν καὶ τῆς αἰγὸς τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Ἀμαλθείας τὸν μαστὸν εἰς διατροφήν παρέχοντο*, Ov. *fast.* 5. 115 f. *Naïs Amalthea, Cretaea nobilis Ida, | dicitur in silvis occuluisse Iovem, Iuv. 13. 41 et privatus adhuc Idaeis Iuppiter anttis*) together with Aigokeros or Capricornus (pseudo-Eratosth. *cat. ast.* 27 p. 237 f. Maass < *Αἰγοκέρωτος*. > *οὗτός ἐστι τῷ εἶδει ὁμοῖος τῷ Αἰγίπῳ. ἐξ ἐκείνου*

δὲ γέγονεν. ἔχει δὲ θηρίου τὰ κάτω μέρη καὶ κέρατα ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ: ἐτιμήθη δὲ διὰ τὸ σύντροφος εἶναι τῷ Δί, καθάπερ Ἐπιμενίδης ὁ τὰ Κρητικὰ ἱστορῶν φησιν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ συνῆν αὐτῷ, ὅτε ἐπὶ τοὺς Τιτῶνας ἐστράτευσεν (οὗτος δὲ δοκεῖ εὐρεῖν τὸν κόχλον, [ἐν] ᾧ τοὺς συμμάχους καθώπλισεν), <ἦ> διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἤχου Πανικὸν καλούμενον, ὃ οἱ Τιτῶνες ἔφευγον. παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις αὐτὸν ἔθηκε καὶ τὴν αἶγα τὴν μητέρα. διὰ δὲ τὸν κόχλον τὸν θαλάσσιον παράσημον ἔχει ἰχθύος, cp. schol. *Agat. rhaen.* 284, *Agat. Lat.* p. 237 f. Maass, schol. *Caes. Germ. Aratea* p. 407, 9 ff. Eyssenhardt, *Hyg. poet. astr.* 2. 28). Adrasteia his nurse made him a golden ball (Ap. *Rhod.* 3. 132 ff. καὶ κέν τοι δάσαιμι Διὸς περικαλλῆς ἄθυρμα | κείνο, τό οἱ πόησε φίλη τροφὸς Ἀδρήστεια | ἀντρῷ ἐν Ἰδαίῳ ἔτι νήπια κουρίζοντι, | σφαῖραν εὐτρόχαλον... | ... | χρύσεια μὲν οἱ κύκλα τετεύχεται: ἀμφὶ δ' ἐκάστῳ | διπλοῖαι ἀψίδες περιηγέες εἰλισσονται. | κρυπταὶ δὲ ῥαφαὶ εἰσω· ἐλεξ' δ' ἐπιδέδρομε πάσαις | κυανέη. ἀτὰρ εἰ μιν εἰς ἐνὶ χερσὶ βάλοιο, | ἀστὴρ ὡς, φλεγέθοντα δι' ἥρος ὀλοκὸν Ἰησω. H. Posnansky *Nemesis und Adrasteia* Breslau 1890 p. 175 f. finds Adrasteia, the infant Zeus, and his ball on a coin of Laodikeia illustrated *supra* i. 153 fig. 129. More *ad rem* are the coin-types discussed *supra* i. 51 f. figs. 27 and 28, 547; for there the cosmic significance of the ball (K. Sitti *Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribute des Zeus* Leipzig 1884 p. 45 ff.) is apparent) and put him to sleep in a golden *liknon* (Kallim. *h. Zeus* 46 ff. Ζεῦ, σὲ δὲ Κυρβάντων ἑτάραι προσεπηχύναντο | Δικταῖαι Μελίαι, σε δ' ἐκοίμισεν Ἀδρήστεια | λίκνω ἐνὶ χρυσέῳ, σὺ δ' ἐθήσαο πλοῖα μαζὸν | αἰγὸς Ἀμαλθείης, ἐπὶ δὲ γλυκὸ κηρίον ἔβρωσ. | γέντο γὰρ ἑξαπυαῖα Πανακρίδος ἔργα μελίσσης | Ἰδαίοις ἐν ὄρεσσι, τὰ τε κλείουσι Πάνακρα). Hence in the Rhapsodic theogony Adrasteia, daughter of Melissos and Amaltheia, is associated with her sister Eide (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1086 n. o: 'die Göttin Ida?') as protectress of all laws including those of Zeus and Kronos (Orph. *frag.* 109 Abel *ap. Herm. in Plat. Phaedr.* p. 148 (p. 161, 15 ff. Couvreur)). Lastly, Zeus was first served in the Idaean Cave by Aetos the beautiful child of Earth (interp. Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 1. 394 est et alia fabula. apud Graecos legitur, puerum quendam terra editum admodum pulchrum membris omnibus fuisse, qui Ἄετος sit vocatus. hic cum Iuppiter propter patrem Saturnum, qui suos filios devorabat, in Creta insula in Idaeo antro nutritur, primus in obsequium Iovis se dedit, post vero cum adolevisset Iuppiter et patrem regno pepulisset, Iuno permota forma pueri velut paclicatus dolore eum in avem vertit, quae ab ipso αετὸς dicitur Gracce, a nobis aquila propter aquilum colorem, qui ater est. quam semper Iuppiter sibi inhaerere praecepit et fulmina gestare: per hanc etiam Ganymedes cum amaretur a Iove dicitur raptus, quos Iuppiter inter sidera collocavit. Cp. *supra* pp. 751 n. 2, 777). Copper coins of Crete issued by Titus (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 306, Suppl. ii. 262) and Domitian (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 344 pl. 33, 22 (= my fig. 831), Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 479) have for reverse type an eagle inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΙΔΑΙΟΥ.



Fig. 831.

Other myths were readily attached to the same locality. It was 'in Idaean caves' that Hermaphroditos was reared by Naiad nymphs (Ov. *met.* 4. 288 f.) and that the Telchines were wont to work (Stat. *silv.* 4. 6. 47).

The worship of Zeus on Mt Ide, famous throughout the classical world (Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 4. 105 Olenos Arcadiae civitas, in qua Iovem Amalthea capra dicitur nutrisse, quae in cultum Iovis Idam provocat, montem Cretae, in quo Iuppiter colitur), centred about the Idaean Cave. This was distant from Knossos some twenty miles as the crow flies; but the two were connected by a tolerable road and pilgrims could rest in the shade of trees by the wayside (Plat. *legg.* 625 A—B). The Cave itself was sacred to Zeus and the meadows near it were regarded as his (Diod. 5. 70 κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰδην, ἐν ἣ συνέβη τροφῆναι τὸν θεόν, τό τε ἀντρον ἐν ᾧ τὴν θλαίταν εἶχε καθιέρωται καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸ λειμῶνες ὁμοίως ἀνεῖνται περὶ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν ὄντες). He had repaid his debt to the bees by turning them gold-bronze in colour and making them impervious to wintry weather (*id. ib.*). Concerning the cavern-ritual we know but little. Votive offerings were to be seen in the entry (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 3. 4 quoted *supra*). Pythagoras is said to have gone down into the Cave with Epimenides (Diog. Laert. 8. 3 εἶτ' ἐν Κρήτῃ σὺν Ἐπιμενίδῃ κατήλθεν

εἰς τὸ Ἰδαῖον ἄντρον), who was both a Cretan and a Koures (*supra* p. 191). Fortunately further details are given us by Porph. *v. Pyth.* 17 (cited *supra* i. 646 n. 3). It appears that Pythagoras first repaired to the mystics of Morges, one of the Idaean Daktyloi, by whom he was purified with the thunder-stone (τῆ κεραυνία λίθῳ—probably a belemnite (*supra*)), at daybreak lying prone beside the sea and at night beside a river, his head wrapped in the fleece of a black ram. He then descended into the Idaean Cave wearing black wool, spent there the customary thrice nine days, made a funeral offering (καθήγισε) to Zeus, saw the throne which was strown for the god once a year, and inscribed on his tomb an epigram entitled ‘Pythagoras to Zeus,’ which begins ὦδε θανῶν κείται Ζῶν, δν Δία κικλήσκουσιν (*supra* i. 158 n. 2, 646 n. 3, ii. 341 n. 6, 345 n. 1). It is abundantly clear that the cavern-rites were concerned with death as well as birth. Zan or Zeus lay dead. Yet yearly a throne was spread for him, *i.e.* for Zeus come to life again as Zagreus (*supra* i. 646 f.). Pythagoras sought to share his death and resurrection.

Apart from the cave-sanctuary there were in *s. v* B.C.—if we may trust the *Cretans* of Euripides—temples of Zeus Ἰδαῖος roofed with cypress-planks, which were fastened together with glue made of bull’s hide. Here the mystics of the god made thunder like Zagreus, feasted on raw flesh, brandished torches for the mountain-mother, and transformed from Kouretes into Bakchoi led thenceforward a life of ceremonial purity (Eur. *Cretes frag.* 472 Nauck² *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 4. 19 cited *supra* i. 648 n. 1). The significance of these rites has already been discussed (*supra* i. 648 ff.).

An archaic *boustrophedon* inscription recording a convention between Gortyna and Rhizenia stipulates that the Rhizeniates shall send the victims to Mt Ide, every other year, to the value of 350 *statères* (F. Halbherr in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1897 i. 204 ff. no. 23, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 257 f. no. 4985, S. A. Xanthoudides in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1908 p. 236 *θιοί. ἐπὶ τοῖδ(δ)ε Ῥι[ττέν]ι[οι] Ἰ[ορ]τυνίοις αὐτ[ό]ν[ο]μ[ο]ι καὶ τ[ό]δοικοι (space) [τ]ὰ θ[ύ]ματα παρέκοντες ἐς Βίδαν [τ]ρ[ί]τοι [φέ]τει τριακατῖος στατέρας καὶ πεντέκοντα). We infer that the celebration on Mt Ide was trieteric (*supra* i. 662, 690 ff., 695 n. 8).*

In Hellenistic times the appellative of Zeus was spelled Βιδάτας (= *Fιδάτας*, the god of Mt Ide. So first J. Schmidt in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1863 xii. 217 Βιδάτας (Ἰδήτης?), *cp.* S. A. Xanthoudides *loc. cit.* H. B. Voretzsch in *Hermes* 1870 iv. 273 wrongly assumed connexion with the Phrygian and Macedonian βέδν (Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 8 p. 357, 11 ff. Stählin) and concluded that Βιδάτας meant *ύέτιος, δμβριος*). A treaty of *c.* 150 B.C. between Lyttos and Olous makes the Lyttians swear by Zeus Βιδάτας (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 549b, 5 ff. = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 380 f. no. 5147b, 5 ff. [δμνύω τὰν Ἐστίαν καὶ Τῆνα Βιδάταν καὶ Τῆνα [—] | [—] καὶ Ἀπέλλω]να Ἡύτιον καὶ Λατώων καὶ [Ἄ]ρ[τεμ]ιν —] | [—] καὶ τὰν Βριτόμαρτιν καὶ τοῦ δ[λλο]ς θίος —]). Another treaty, of *c.* 100 B.C., between Gortyna and Hierapytna on the one side and Priansos on the other, mentions a temple of Zeus Βιδάτας on the frontier of Priansos (F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 301 ff. no. 5024, 22 f. [—] ἐς τὸ λαρόν τῶ? Ττη][νός] τῶ Βιδατάω κῆς τὰνς Ἄντρι[—]. *cp. ib.* 60 and 77 (cited *supra* p. 723 n. 0)).

The oldest cult-cavern of Mt Ide seems to have been the grotto, known locally as *Maurospelaion*, high up on the two-peaked mountain of *Kamares*, the southernmost bastion of the Idaean *massif*. This was first visited in 1894 by A. Taramelli (‘A visit to the Grotto of Camares on Mount Ida’ in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1901 v. 437—451 with map, elevation, plan, and section (map and plan copied by L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 859 f.)). It was thoroughly explored in 1913 by a party from the British School at Athens (R. M. Dawkins and M. L. W. Laistner ‘The Excavation of the Kamares Cave in Crete’ in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1912—1913 xix. 1—34 with figs. 1—8 and pls. 1 (view), 2 (plan), 3 (section), 4—12 (pottery)). The finds included a couple of neolithic sherds, a few pieces of ‘Early Minoan’ spouted vessels, many handsome vases of ‘Middle Minoan i and ii’ date, a little ‘Middle Minoan iii’ ware, and a very little ‘Late Minoan,’ the series ending with two *Bügelkannen*. The grotto, which is free from snow for only a few months in the year, can hardly have been a dwelling and must rather be regarded as a sanctuary, presumably of the ‘Minoan’ mountain-goddess Rhea.

A. Taramelli in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1901 v. 434 held that it was the cult-centre of Zeus 'Idaios for the whole commune of Phaistos. But there is no real evidence to connect it with Zeus at all.

The Idaean Cave of classical times has been identified beyond all doubt with the great cavern 500 ft above the plateau of *Nida* (τὰ Ἰδαία), a fresh grassy level lying to the east of the mountain-top. The actual summit of Ide (*Psiloriti* for Ὑψηλῶρετης), which attains the height of 8060 ft, is occupied by a small Greek monastery of the Holy Cross (*Timios Stauros*). Mr T. Fyfe, who spent a night on the summit, tells me (Jan. 9, 1923) that of the monastery little now remains except the church. This has a western domed compartment (13 ft 6 ins in diameter) with a narrow door leading to an oblong nave (11 ft 6 ins long by 8 ft 3 ins broad) covered by an elliptical dome. Eastwards of this is the sanctuary, entered by a semicircular arch and containing an aumbry opposite to a shallow recess for a seat. At the extreme east end is a built-in altar-table. The whole is very roughly constructed of rubble stone-work and is probably not very ancient, though the circular



Fig. 832.

western portion is said to be older than the remainder. About 3060 ft below the summit, but still at an altitude of some 5000 ft, lies *Nida*. And the Cave in the western side of its mountain-wall is used as a shelter both by shepherds and by travellers making the ascent from *Anogeia* (T. A. B. Spratt *Travels and Researches in Crete* London 1865 i. 9, 19. For *Anogeia* see *supra* i. 163 n. 1). In the summer of 1884 a shepherd named G. Pasparki, grubbing in the cavern with a stick, chanced to find fragments of terra-cotta lamps, a few pieces of gold foil, and sundry small bronzes. These finds, being talked about, led to a visit the same year from E. Fabricius ('Alterthümer auf Kreta. II Die Idäische Zeusgrotte' in the *Ath. Mith.* 1885 x. 59—72 with plan and 9 figs., *id.* 'Zur Idäischen Zeusgrotte' *ib.* p. 280 f.) and to a systematic exploration in 1885 by F. Halbherr and G. Aeraki under the auspices of J. Hazzidakis and the Syllagos of Kandia (F. Halbherr 'Scavi e trovamenti nell'antro di Zeus sul monte Ida in Creta' in the *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* 1888 ii. 689—768 with numerous figs., pls. 11 (two photographs, of which the second = my fig. 832), 12 (*a* plan, *b—d* sections = my figs. 833—836), and an Atlas of 12 pls., P. Orsi

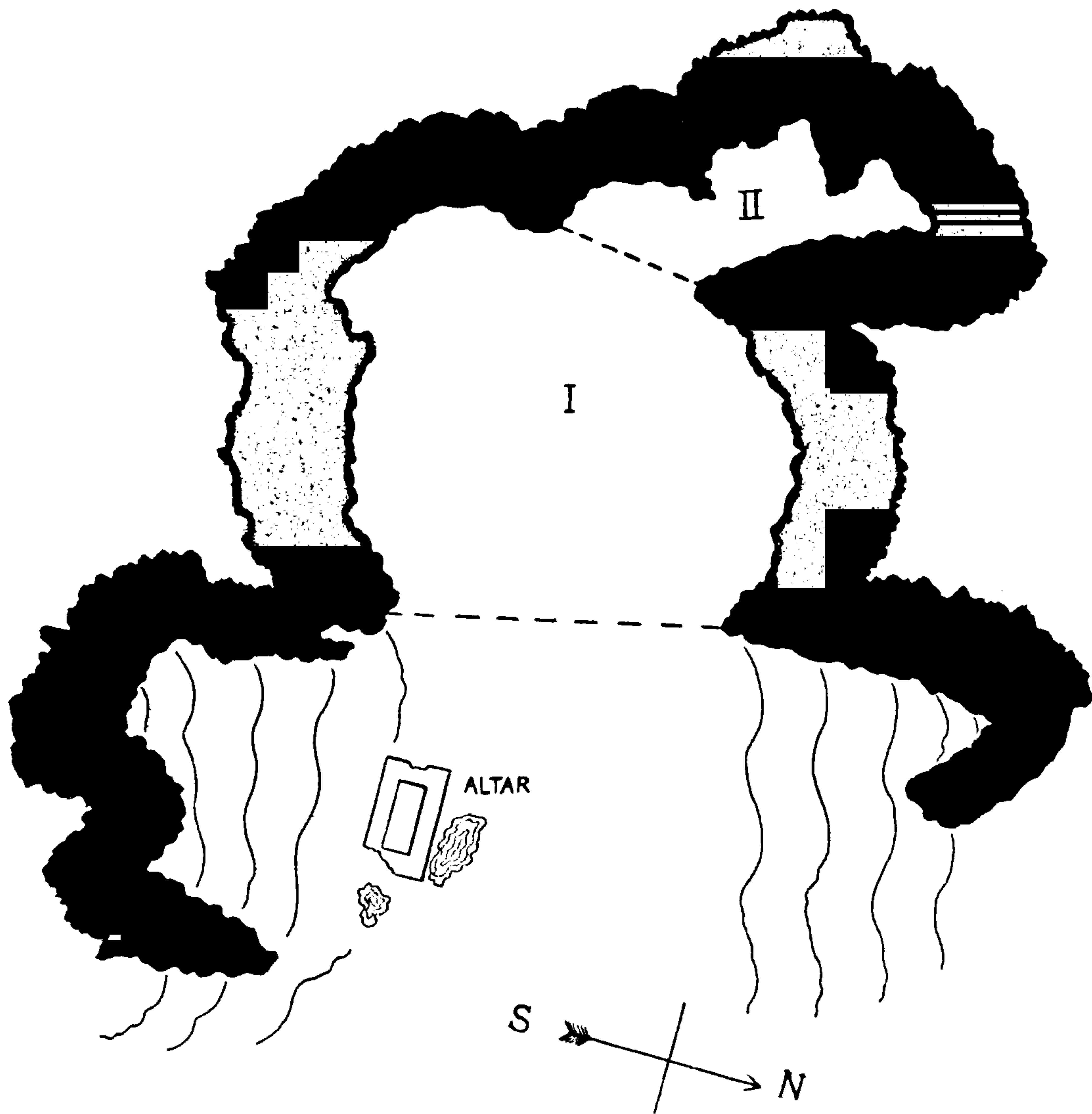




Fig. 833.

 Ashes, charcoal, and carbonised matter.
 Earth and stones fallen from the mountain.

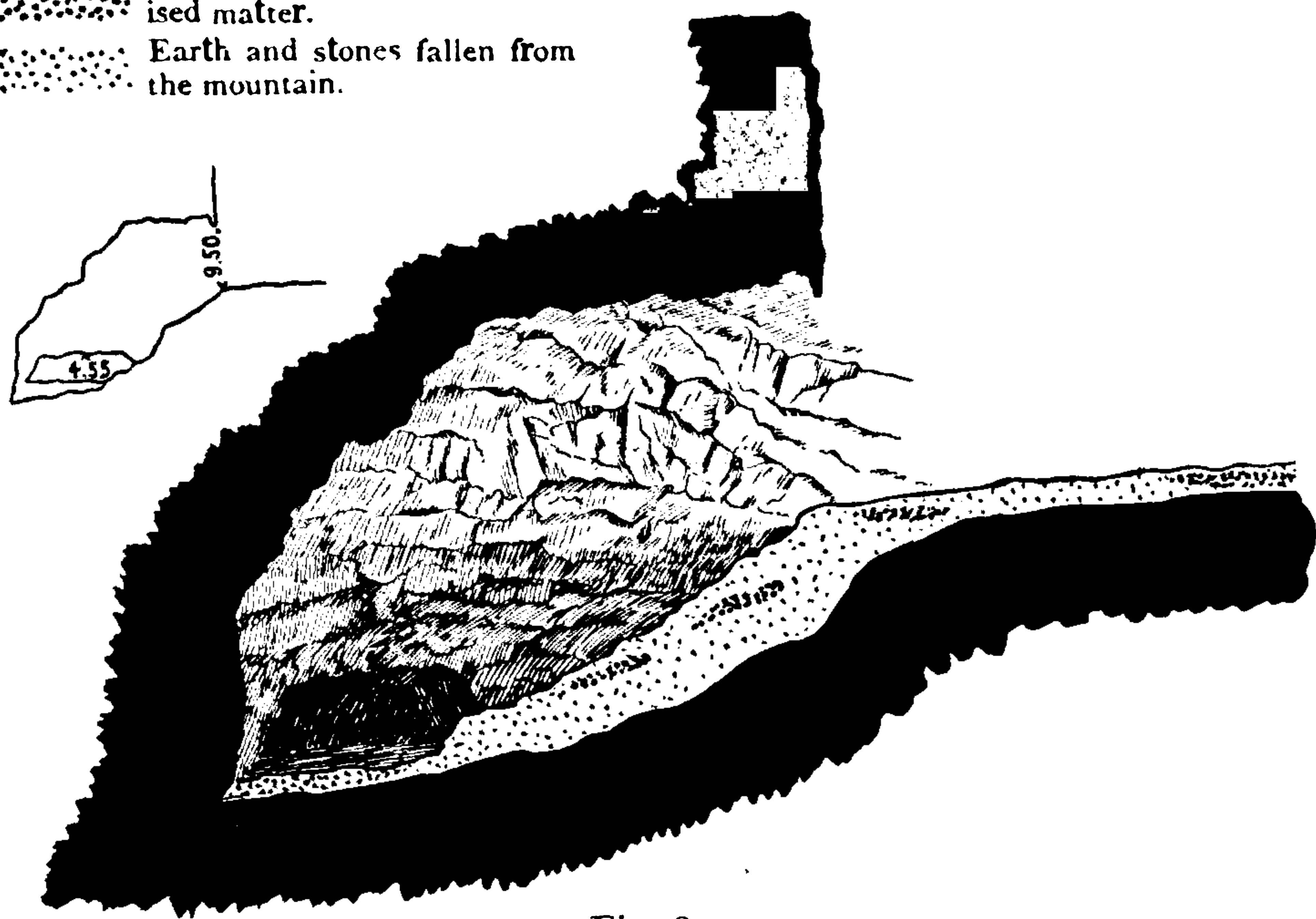


Fig. 834.

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*Fair usage policy applies

The only 'Minoan' object known to have been found in the Cave is a lenticular gem of rock crystal representing a woman, who blows a conch-shell before a group of three sacred trees (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 47 fig. 22, Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i. 221 fig. 167, *supra* i. 649 n. 3). This is interesting in view of the tradition that Aigokeros, the *connutricius...Iovis* (Arat. Lat. p. 237 Maass) in the Idaean Cave, was the discoverer of the conch (*supra*). I should conjecture that it was used to make mock-thunder in the rites of Zagreus, the re-born Zeus. It may also be pointed out that Aigokeros or Capricornus was derived from Mesopotamia, where he figures as the constellation *Suhur-máš*, the 'Fish-goat' (A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 117 figs. 94—96 and Index p. 362, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1463 f. figs. 24, 26—29). It is therefore tempting to suppose that Aigokeros came to Crete from the same quarter and along the same route as Zagreus (*supra* i. 651). Further, in Mesopotamian star-lore the constellation *Suhur-máš* is so intimately related to the constellation *Nušru*, Aquila, that the 'Eagle' on occasion takes the place of the 'Fish-goat' (A. Jeremias *loc. cit.*); and the 'Eagle' is personified as the god Zamama (A. Jeremias *Handbuch* p. 129, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1492). It might be contended, without undue rashness, that we have here the ultimate reason for the Cretan association of Aigokeros with Zeus. But Jeremias goes far beyond this, when he suggests that Zamama and his 'Eagle' are actually the *Urbild* of Zeus and his eagle (*id. ib.*). *Panbabylonismus!*

Votive objects found in the Cave include the following: (1) Convex circular shields of thin bronze, with central boss representing lion's head, eagle or hawk, etc. in high relief and concentric zones of decoration (F. Halbherr *loc. cit.* p. 695 ff. nos. 1—9 Atlas pls. 2—5, 9, 1, 10, 3 f.). (2) A *tympanon* of thin bronze with a quasi-Assyrian representation of Zeus and the Kouretes (*id. ib.* p. 709 f. no. 10 Atlas pl. 1 = *supra* i. 645 pl. xxxv). (3) Cymbals of thin bronze (*id. ib.* p. 712 ff. nos. 1—10 with figs.). (4) Bronze *phidlai*, eight of which are embellished with low reliefs in three distinct styles—Cypriote, Egypto-Phoenician, and Mesopotamian (*id. ib.* p. 718 ff. nos. 1—7 Atlas pls. 6, 7, 8, 9, 2 f., 10, 1 f., 12, 8, 10). (5) Bronze *oinochóai* (*id. ib.* p. 725 Atlas pl. 12, 9, 12 f.). (6) Bronze *lébetes* (*id. ib.* p. 725 ff. nos. 1—5 Atlas pl. 12, 4). (7) Very archaic groups of decorative figures in cast bronze, e.g. war-ship with rowers, chariots, warriors, man milking cow, hounds, etc. (*id. ib.* p. 727 ff. nos. 1—14 Atlas pl. 11). (8) Archaic bronze statuettes of nude male and female figures (*id. ib.* p. 732 ff. nos. 1—5 with figs. Atlas pl. 12, 1 f.). (9) Votive animals in bronze (*id. ib.* p. 736 f. nos. 1 sheep (?) with fig., 2 bull, 3 bulls' horns, 4 goats Atlas pl. 12, 3). (10) Ornamental figures in bronze, e.g. sphinxes, lion, horse, doves, snakes (*id. ib.* p. 745 ff. with figs. Atlas pl. 12, 18). (11) Handles of vases, rings and feet of tripods, etc. in bronze (*id. ib.* p. 737 ff. with figs. Atlas pl. 12, 11, 14—17, 19 f.). (12) Disks of thin gold decorated with dots or rays (*id. ib.* p. 749 ff. with figs.). A small plaque of thin gold stamped in relief with a procession of four warriors bearing circular shields, within an oblong framework of spirals (*id. ib.* p. 751 with fig.): this may be of sub-'Minoan' date. Another plaque of gold inscribed IOYΩH | ΓΑΙΗ | | <O O O A, apparently a 'Gnostic' charm ending with [φύλ]ίσσον. A few pieces of jewellery, e.g. an oblong plate of gold to which three draped female figures, with *bucrania* between them, are soldered; from the plate hangs a snake biting its own tail (*id. ib.* p. 752). (13) A small bearded (?) head in amber (*id. ib.* p. 753 f. Atlas pl. 12, 6). (14) Sundry objects in ivory, e.g. a bull carved in the round (*id. ib.* p. 754 no. 1 Atlas pl. 12, 7) and a perfume-bottle (?) in the shape of a headless female body (*id. ib.* p. 753 f. no. 2 with figs.): (15) Two pieces of rock-crystal shaped like piano-convex lenses (*id. ib.* p. 756. On the vexed question of classical lenses see H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig 1884 iii. 298 ff.). (16) Two small oblong seal-stones of steatite (F. Halbherr *loc. cit.* p. 757 f. with fig.). (17) Phoenician or pseudo-Egyptian majolicas (*id. ib.* p. 758 ff. with figs.). (18) Objects in terra cotta, e.g. the archaic figurine of a bull; the two heads of a god, with a *modius*, and a goddess, with a diadem, embracing; lamps with acanthus-leaf handles (*id. ib.* p. 759 ff. with fig.). (19) Arrow-heads and lance-heads of iron (*id. ib.* p. 764 with figs.).

Plate XLIII



Mount Juktas, as seen from the west, showing the profile of the 'Pursuer' ($\Delta\iota\omega\kappa\tau\alpha\varsigma$).
See page 939 n. 1.

Mount Juktas¹.

(20) A tablet of terra cotta bearing in rubricated characters of Roman date the crucial inscription Δι' Ἰδαί[ω] | εὐχὴν | Ἀστὴρ [Ἄ]λεξάνδρου (E. Fabricius in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 x. 280 f., F. Halbherr *loc. cit.* p. 766).

Thus for more than a millennium—from 'Minoan' to Roman times—men paid their vows to Zeus Ἰδαῖος in the shadow of a great rock and turned again, well content, to the duties that awaited them in the sunlight five thousand feet below.

The cave on Mt Ide called *Arkésion* (*supra* p. 548 f.) has been identified tentatively with the *Kamares* grotto (L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 861). But its traditional connexion with the Kouretes (*supra* p. 549 n. 1) points rather to identification with the better known Idaean Cave, where in fact the Curetic *týmpanon* was found (*supra*). The name Ἀρκέσιον has been interpreted (L. Büchner *loc. cit.*) as the 'Bear's Hole' (from ἄρκος, a doublet of ἀρκτος: see Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 53, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 78 f.)—a view which might be supported by the existence of a cavern usually described as that of the Bear (*Arkhoudhes*) in the promontory of *Akrotiri*, east of Kydonia (Canea) (Miss D. M. A. Bate in A. Trevor-Battye *Camping in Crete* London 1913 p. 248). After all, bears had some claim to be regarded as the nurses of the infant Zeus (*supra* i. 112 n. 5).

Mr Trevor-Battye *op. cit.* p. 108 ff. describes and illustrates his ascent of the mountain. He says (p. 119 ff.): 'The actual summit of Ida is a blunted cone with rounded sides. Most of the summit was clear of snow, but on the southern and western sides lay some large melting drifts. The loose stones that pave this cone are laid down flat by the wind. The summit, 8,193 feet high, is now called Stavros... On the tip-top of Ida is a "monastery": every church in Crete is called a monastery. This particular one is a tiny little building made very strong against the wind; it is built on the same principle as the mountain-shepherds' huts—of slabs of stone laid one upon the other. At one point only has any mortar been used, just at the springing of the chancel dome. There were tapers inside for the devotees to burn before the ikons... I gathered...that a priest comes once a year to hold a service in this church. The church is surrounded by a walled enclosure that also includes a well of excellent ice-cold water... Beyond the enclosure a circle had been cleared of stones, and here, said Ianni, once a year the people danced. Spratt tells how, as he went up to Ida, he saw forty ibex, and that a group were actually browsing on the summit; but that was over fifty years ago. I scanned the rocks in every direction in vain.'

¹ Mt Juktas, an isolated ridge running from south to north towards Knossos and the sea, attains a height of 2720 ft. Its modern Greek name Γιούκτας or Γιούκτας derives from an earlier Αιώκτας and means the 'Pursuer' (διώκτης). Such a name of course presupposes a myth, and very fortunately the myth is preserved for us by Kallimachos, who describes the 'pursuit' (διωκτὸν) of Britomartis by Minos (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 189 ff., *supra* i. 527 n. 1: cp. Diod. 5. 76 διωκομένην ὑπὸ Μίνω). The poet tells how Britomartis, to escape the embraces of Minos, plunged from the top of Mt Dikte into the sea, but omits to state what became of her disappointed lover. In all probability he was transformed into the mountain still called the 'Pursuer.' For the outline of Juktas, as seen from the west, is suggestive of a human face. A. Trevor-Battye *Camping in Crete* London 1913 p. 184 with pl. (my pl. xliii is reproduced from a photograph very kindly given me by Mr C. R. Haines) remarks: 'Rocks and mountains often bear a likeness to human lineaments; every traveller can recall many such resemblances, but none that I have seen have the convincing dignity of the face on Iuktas. The bearded face and the drapery or pillow on which the head reposes occupy the whole of the mountain-top. Seen in the flatness of the mid-day light it is an interesting outline and no more, but at turn of the sun the sculpturing begins. The sun works in masses, as Michelangelo worked; it carves out the planes of the face as Donatello carved them, letting detail go. So the chiselling continues, a high light here, a deepening shadow there, till with closed eyes the head has sunk down upon its pillow just as the sun is low.' Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i.

156 with fig. 112 informs us 'that the long ridge of the mountain rising in successive peaks has given rise to a widespread belief in the island that it reproduces the profile of the native Zeus.' It would seem, then, that in the popular interpretation of this natural phenomenon Minos has been dispossessed by Zeus.

The same process of religious expropriation can perhaps be detected in another famous feature of Mt Juktas—the so-called tomb of Zeus. It may be that this celebrated monument really was, as the schol. Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 (*supra* i. 158 n. 2, cited *infra*) declares it to have been, *ab origine* the tomb of Minos (cp. Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 121 n. 3, *id. The Palace of Minos at Knossos* i. 154). The transition from king to god, always possible, becomes peculiarly probable in the case of one who was Διὸς μεγάλου βασιστής (*Od.* 19. 179). A lawgiver who claimed to speak with the authority of Zeus might readily be regarded as Zeus incarnate (*supra* i. 662 with n. 1). The tomb has already engaged our attention at some length (*supra* i. 157—163). I shall therefore be content to collect here the ancient allusions to it—a task well, but not quite adequately, performed by J. Meursius *Creta, Cyprus, Rhodus Amstelodami* 1675 pp. 77—81—and to add a brief account of the excavations carried out on the site in 1909 by Sir A. J. Evans and Dr D. Mackenzie (Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i. 154 ff. figs. 112—114).

Epimenides (?) *ap.* the *Gannat Busamé* (cited *supra* i. 157 n. 3) and *ap.* Isho'dad (cited *supra* i. 663 n. 2). Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f. Κρήτες αἰεὶ ψεύσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ᾧ ἄνα, σεῖο | Κρήτες ἐτεκτήναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἐσσι γὰρ αἰεὶ with schol. τάφον· ἐν Κρήτῃ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Μίνωος ἐπεγέγραπτο "Μίνωος τοῦ Διὸς τάφος"· τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Μίνωος (A. Meineke cj. τὸ "Μίνωος τοῦ") ἀπηλείφθη (Meineke cj. ἀπηλίφη) ὥστε περιλειφθῆναι <"τοῦ (ins. O. Schneider) > Διὸς τάφος." ἐκ τούτου οὖν ἔχειν λέγουσι Κρήτες τὸν τάφον τοῦ Διὸς. ἢ ὅτι Κορύβαντες λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ (so Meineke for τοῦ cod. E, τὸ vulg.) κρύψαι διὰ τὸν Κρόνον προσεποίησαντο τάφον αὐτῷ. *Enn. sacr. hist. frag.* 526 Baehrens *ap.* *Lact. div. inst.* 1. 11 Ennius in *Sacra Historia* descriptis omnibus quae in vita sua gessit ad ultimum sic ait: 'deinde Iuppiter postquam quinquies terras circumvit omnibusque amicis atque cognatis suis imperia divisit reliquitque hominibus leges mores frumentaue paravit multaque alia bona fecit, immortali gloria memoriaque adfectus sempiterna monumenta sui reliquit. aetate pessum acta in Creta vitam commutavit et ad deos abiit eumque Curetes filii sui curaverunt decoraveruntque eum (W. von Hartel cj. <ut d> eum); et sepulchrum eius est in Creta in oppido Gnosso et dicitur Vesta hanc urbem creavisse; inque sepulchro eius est inscriptum antiquis litteris Graecis ΖΑΝ ΚΡΟΝΟΥ id est Latine Iuppiter Saturni.' hoc certe non poetae tradunt, sed antiquarum rerum scriptores. quae adeo vera sunt, ut ea Sibyllinis versibus confirmentur, qui sunt tales: δαίμονας ἀψύχους, νεκύων εἰδῶλα καμόντων, | ὧν Κρήτη καύχημα τάφους ἢ δύσμορος ἔξει (= *oracl. Sibyll.* 8. 47 f. The passage continues, after a comma, θρησκευούσα θρόνωσιν ἀναισθήτοις νεκέσσιν). etc. *Varr. ap. Solin.* 11. 7 Varro in opere quod de litoralibus est etiam suis temporibus adfirmat sepulchrum Iovis ibi visitatum (C. Cichorius *Römische Studien* Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 212 argues, from a comparison of *Varr. frag.* 364 Bücheler *ap.* *Non. Marc.* p. 775, 14 ff. Lindsay, that Varro had himself seen the tomb). *Cic. de nat. deor.* 3. 53 tertium (*sc.* Iovem) Cretensem, Saturni filium, cuius in illa insula sepulchrum ostenditur (quoted by *Lact. div. inst.* 1. 11). *Diod.* 3. 61 γεγονέναι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Δία, τὸν ἀδελφὸν μὲν Οὐρανοῦ, τῆς δὲ Κρήτης βασιλεύσαντα, τῇ δόξῃ πολὺ λειπόμενον τοῦ μεταγενεστέρου. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν βασιλεύσαι τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, τὸν δὲ προγενέστερον, δυναστεύοντα τῆς προειρημένης νήσου, δέκα παῖδας γεννῆσαι τοὺς ὀνομασθέντας Κούρητας· προσαγορεύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν νήσον ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἰδαίαν, ἐν ἣ καὶ τελευτήσαντα ταφῆναι, δεικνυμένου τοῦ τὴν ταφὴν δεξαμένου τόπου μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων, *ib.* 6. 5 Vogel (*infra*). *Anth. Pal.* 7. 275. 5 f. (Gaetulicus) τὸν ψεύσταν δὲ με τύμβον ἐπὶ χθονὶ θέντο. τί θαῦμα; | Κρήτες ὅπου ψεύσται, καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶ τάφος (for the cenotaph of Astydamos, a Cydonian drowned between Cape Malea and Crete). *Lucan.* 8. 871 f. atque erit Aegyptus populis fortasse nepotum | tam mendax Magni tumulo quam Creta Tonantis. *Mela* 2. 112 Crete...multis famigerata fabulis...maxime tamen eo quod ibi sepulti Iovis paene clarum vestigium, sepulchrum cui nomen eius insculptum est adcolae ostendunt. *Stat. Theb.* 1. 278 f. (Iuno to Iupiter) placet Ida nocens

mentitaque manes | Creta tuos. Tatian. *or. adv. Graec.* 44 τάφος τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς καθ' ὑμᾶς δείκνυται, κἄν ψεύδεσθαι τις τοὺς Κρήτας λέγῃ. Loukian. *Iur. trag.* 45 εἰ δ' ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ βροντῶν ἐστὶ, σὺ ἄμεινον ἂν εἰδείης ἐκεῖθεν ποθεν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀφιγμένος, ἐπεὶ οἱ γὰρ ἐκ Κρήτης ἤκοντες ἄλλα ἡμῖν διηγοῦνται, τάφον τινὰ ἐκεῖθι δείκνυσθαι καὶ στήλην ἐφεστάναι δηλοῦσαν ὡς οὐκέτι βροντήσειεν ἂν ὁ Ζεὺς πάλαι τεθνεώς, *de sacrific.* 10 οἱ δ' αὖ Κρήτες οὐ γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ τραφήναι μόνον τὸν Δία λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάφον αὐτοῦ δείκνύουσι· καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄρα τοσοῦτον ἠπατήμεθα χρόνον οἴμενοι τὸν Δία βροντᾶν τε καὶ ὕειν καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν, ὁ δὲ ἐλελήθει πάλαι τεθνεώς παρὰ Κρησὶ τεθαμμένος, *philopat.* 10 ἀλλ' ἐτι ἀνεμνήσθην τὰ τῶν Κρητῶν, οἱ τάφον ἐπεδείκνυτό μοι τοῦ Διὸς σου καὶ τὰ τὴν μητέρα θρέψαντα λόχμια (so M. Solanus and F. Guyet for δόχμια), ὡς ἀειθαλεῖς αἱ λόχμια αὐταὶ διαμένουσι, *philopseud.* 3 τὸ δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἤδη καὶ ἔθνη πολλὰ κοινῇ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ψεύδεσθαι πῶς οὐ γελοῖον; εἰ Κρήτες μὲν τοῦ Διὸς τάφον δείκνύοντες οὐκ αἰσχύνονται, κ.τ.λ., Τιμοσθεὶς ὁ ἤδη ποτὲ οὖν, ὦ Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας υἱέ, τὸν βαθὺν τοῦτον ὕπνον ἀποσεισάμενος καὶ νήδυμον—ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἐπιμενίδην γὰρ κεκοιμησάμενος—καὶ ἀναρριπίσας τὸν κεραυνὸν ἢ ἐκ τῆς Οἴτης ἐναυσάμενος μεγάλην ποιήσας τὴν φλόγα ἐπιδείξαιό τινα χολὴν ἀνδρώδους καὶ νεανικοῦ Διὸς, εἰ μὴ ἀληθῆ ἐστὶ τὰ ὑπὸ Κρητῶν περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖ ταφῆς μυθολογούμενα. Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 30 p. 40 f. Schwartz (after quoting Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f.) πιστεύων, Καλλιμαχε, ταῖς γοναῖς τοῦ Διὸς ἀπιστεῖς αὐτοῦ τῷ τάφῳ καὶ νομίζων ἐπισκιάσειν τάληθές καὶ τοῖς ἀγροῦσι κηρύσσεις τὸν τεθνηκότα κἄν μὲν τὸ ἀντρον βλέπῃς, τὸν Ῥέας ὑπομνησκή τόνον, ἂν δὲ τὴν σορὸν ἴδῃς, ἐπισκοτεῖς τῷ τεθνηκότι, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι μόνος ἀίδιος ὁ ἀγέννητος θεός. Theophil. *ad Autol.* 1. 10 πεύσομαι δὲ σου κἀγώ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, πόσοι Ζῆνες εὐρίσκονται· Ζεὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν πρώτοις προσ-αγορεύεται Ὀλύμπιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Λατεάριος (*leg.* Λατιάριος), καὶ Ζεὺς Κάσιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Προπάτωρ, καὶ Ζεὺς Παννύχιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Πολιούχος, καὶ Ζεὺς Καπετώλιος· καὶ ὁ μὲν Ζεὺς παῖς Κρόνου, βασιλεὺς Κρητῶν γενόμενος, ἔχει τάφον ἐν Κρήτῃ· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἴσως οὐδὲ ταφῆς κατηξιώθησαν, *ib.* 2. 3 πρὸς τί δὲ καὶ καταλέλοιπεν ὁ Ζεὺς τὴν Ἰδην; πότερον τελευτήσας, ἢ οὐκ ἐτι ἤρρεσεν αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὄρος; ποῦ δὲ καὶ ἐπορεύθη; εἰς οὐρανοῦς; οὐχί· ἀλλὰ εἰς Κρήτην; ναί, ὅπου καὶ τάφος αὐτῷ ἔως τοῦ δεῦρο δείκνυται. Clem. *Al. prot.* 2. 37. 4 p. 28, 6 ff. Stählin ρῆται σου τὸν Δία· μὴ τὸν οὐρανόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γῆν πολυ-πραγμόνει· ὁ Κρῆς σοι διηγῆσεται, παρ' ᾧ καὶ τέθαιπται· Καλλιμαχος ἐν ὕμνοις (*h. Zeus* 8 f.) “καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο | Κρήτες ἐτεκτήναντο.” τέθνηκε γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς (μὴ δυσφύρει) ὡς Λήδα (J. Markland *cj.* ὦ Λήδα), ὡς κύκνος, ὡς ἀετός, ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐρωτικός, ὡς δράκων. Philostr. *v. soph.* 2. 4 p. 74 Kayser (Antiochos, a sophist of Aigai in Kilikia, *s.* ii A. D.) ἀριστα δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν Κρητῶν ἀπολελόγηται, τῶν κρινομένων ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς σήματι, φυσιολογία τε καὶ θεολογία πάσῃ ἐναγωνισάμενος λαμπρῶς. Orig. *c. Cels.* 3. 43 μετὰ ταῦτα λέγει (*sc.* ὁ Κέλσος) περὶ ἡμῶν ὅτι καταγελωμέν τῶν προσκυνούντων τὸν Δία, ἐπεὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ ἐν Κρήτῃ δείκνυται, καὶ οὐδὲν ἤττον σέβωμεν τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου, οὐκ εἰδότες, πῶς καὶ καθὼς Κρήτες τὸ τοιοῦτον ποιούσιν. ἄρα οὖν ὅτι ἐν τούτοις ἀπολογεῖται μὲν περὶ Κρητῶν καὶ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ, αἰσιττόμενος τροπικὰς ὑπονοίας, καθ' ἃς πεπλάσθαι λέγεται ὁ περὶ τοῦ Διὸς μῦθος· ἡμῶν δὲ κατηγορεῖ, ὁμολογούντων μὲν τετάφθαι τὸν ἡμέτερον Ἰησοῦν φασκόντων δὲ καὶ ἐγγεγέρθαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου, ὅπερ Κρήτες οὐκέτι περὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἱστοροῦσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ δοκεῖ συναγορεύειν τῷ ἐν Κρήτῃ τάφῳ τοῦ Διὸς λέγων· ὅπως μὲν καὶ καθὼς Κρήτες τοῦτο ποιούσιν, οὐκ εἰδότες, φήσομεν ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κυρηναῖος Καλλιμαχος, πλείστα ὄσα ἀναγνοῦς ποιήματα καὶ ἱστορίας σχεδὸν πᾶσαν ἀναλεξάμενος Ἑλληνικὴν, οὐδεμίαν οἶδε τροπολογίαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ. κ.τ.λ. (a quotation and discussion of Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f., 10, 6 ff.). Min. Fel. *Ocl.* 21. 8 eius (*sc.* Saturni) filius Iuppiter Cretae excluso parente regnavit, illic obiit, illic filios habuit: adhuc (C. A. Heumann *cj.* illic adhuc) antrum Iovis visitur et sepulcrum eius ostenditur, et ipsis sacris suis humanitatis arguitur. Cypr. *de idol. van.* 2 (iv. 567 A Migne) antrum Iovis in Creta visitur (uisitur cod. L. uisitor cod. C¹. uisitor cod. C². uidetur cod. P. dicitur cod. M. mittitur cod. B.), et sepulcrum eius ostenditur, et ab eo Saturnum fugatum manifestum est. Porph. *v. Phys.* 17 (cited *supra* i. 646 n. 3). Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14 aiunt igitur theologi vestri et vetustatis absconditae conditores, tris (*v.l.* tres) in terum natura Ioves esse, ex quibus unus Aethere sit patre pro- genitus, alter Caelo, tertius vero Saturno apud insulam Cretam et sepulturae traditus et procreatus, *ib.* 4. 25 apud insulam Gretam sepulturae esse mandatum Iovem nobis editum traditur? Firm. Mat. 7. 6 et a vanis Cretensibus adhuc mortui Iovis tumulus adoratur.

Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 7. 180 antiqui reges nomina sibi plerumque vindicabant deorum... hinc est quod apud Cretam esse dicitur Iovis sepulcrum. Epiphani. *adv. haer.* 1. 3. 42 (ii. 376 Dindorf) καὶ πάλιν φήσαντος (Titus 1. 12) “εἰπέ τις ἴδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης, Κρήτες δὲ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί,” ἵνα τὸν Ἐπιμενίδην δεῖξῃ, ἀρχαῖον ὄντα φιλόσοφον, καὶ Μίθρα (*leg.* μάρτυρα) τοῦ παρὰ Κρησὶν εἰδώλου (*v.l.* εἰδωλίου)· ἀφ’ οὗπερ καὶ Καλλιμαχος ὁ Δίβυς τὴν μαρτυρίαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν συνανέτεινε, ψευδῶς περὶ Διὸς λέγων, Κρήτες δὲ ψεύσται· κ.τ.λ. (Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f.). Hieron. *in ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 1 (xxvi. 573 A—C Migne) sunt qui putent hunc versum de Callimacho Cyrenensi poeta sumptum, et aliqua ex parte non errant. siquidem et ipse in laudibus Iovis adversus Cretenses scriptitans, qui sepulcrum eius se ostendere gloriantur, ait: ‘Cretenses semper mendaces; qui et sepulcrum eius sacrilega mente fabricati sunt.’ verum, ut supra diximus, integer versus de Epimenide poeta ab apostolo sumptus est; et eius Callimachus in suo poemate est usus exordio. sive vulgare proverbium, quo Cretenses fallaces appellabantur, sine furto alieni operis in metrum retulit. putant quidam apostolum reprehendendum quod imprudenter lapsus sit et (*alii* ut), dum falsos doctores arguit, illum versiculum comprobarit, quod propterea Cretenses dicuntur (*alii* dicunt) esse fallaces quod Iovis sepulcrum inane construxerint. si enim, inquit, Epimenides sive Callimachus propterea Cretenses fallaces et malas bestias arguunt et ventres pigros quod divina non sentiant et Iovem qui regnet in caelo in sua insula fingant sepultum, et hoc quod illi dixerunt esse verum apostoli sententia comprobatur, sequitur Iovem non mortuum esse sed vivum. Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 23 ipsius denique parricidae, qui et patruos peremit et uxores eorum vitiavit, sororibus stuprum intulit, multiformis magi sepulcrum evidens est apud Cretenses, qui tamen scientes et confitentes infanda eius atque incesta opera et omnibus enarrantes ipsi eum confiteri deum non erubescunt. Caesarius (youngest brother of Gregorius Nazianzenos) *dial.* 2. respons. ad interrogat. 112 (xxxviii. 992 Migne) οἱ δὲ τούτοις πειθόμενοι οὐ θεῶ ἀλλὰ σποδῶ προσκυνοῦσι Διὸς (so Cotelerius for διὰ) τοῦ πατραλοῦ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων τέκνων τοὺς γάμους φθειραντος καὶ ἐν τάφῳ παρὰ Κρησὶ (so Cotelerius for κρήσει) φθαρέντος, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔστι θεοῦ. Chrysost. *in ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 3. 1 (lxii. 676 f. Migne) καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις διελέγετο, μεταξὺ τῆς δημηγορίας φησὶν, “Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῶ”· καὶ πάλιν, “τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν, ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ’ ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν.” Ἐπιμενίδης οὖν ἔστιν ὁ εἰρηκῆς, Κρήτης καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν· ἀλλὰ πόθεν κινούμενος, ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· οἱ Κρήτες τάφον ἔχουσι τοῦ Διὸς ἐπιγραφέντα τοῦτο· “ἐνταῦθα Ζᾶν κείται, ὃν (*leg.* τὸν) Δία κικλήσκουσι.” διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ὁ ποιητὴς ψεύστας τοὺς Κρήτας κωμωδῶν, προΐων πάλιν ἐπάγει, ἀξίων μᾶλλον τὴν κωμωδίαν· “καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σείο | Κρήτες ἐτεκτήναντο· σὺ δ’ οὐ θάνες, ἐσσί γὰρ αἰεὶ.” κ.τ.λ. Paulin. Nol. 19. 84 ff. (lxi. 515 Migne) Marcus, Alexandria, tibi datus, ut bove pulso | cum Iove nec pecudes Aegyptus in Apide demens, | in Iove nec civem coleret male Creta sepultum. Kyrill. Al. c. *Iulian.* 10. 342 (lxxvi. 1028 B Migne) γέγραφε δὲ πάλιν περὶ αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ Πυθαγόρου) Πορφύριος (*v. Pyth.* 17)· “εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἰδαῖον καλούμενον ἄντρον καταβάς, ἔρια ἔχων μέλανα, τὰς νενομισμένας τριττὰς ἐννέα ἡμέρας ἐκεῖ διέτριψε καὶ καθήγισε τῷ Δίῳ, τὸν τε στορνύμενον αὐτῷ κατ’ ἔτος θρόνον ἐθεάσατο, ἐπίγραμμά τε (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 746 cited *supra* p. 345 n. 1) ἐνεχάραξεν ἐν τάφῳ, ἐπιγράψας ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΤΩ ΔΙῳ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή,—ὡδε μέγας κείται ΖΑΝ, ὃν ΔΙΑ κικλήσκουσιν.” κ.τ.λ. Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 114 ff. ἀλλ’ ὅτε Δικταῆς Κορυβαντίδος ὑψόθι πέτρης | γείτονος Ἀμνισοῖο λεχώιον ἔδρακεν (*sc.* Ἡρη) ὕδωρ, | ἐνθα οἱ ἀλλοπρόσαλλος ὄρεστιὰς ἦν τετο δαίμων (*sc.* Ἀπάτη)· | καὶ γὰρ αἰεὶ παρέμιμνε Διὸς ψευδήμονι τύμβῳ | τερπομένη Κρήτεσσιν, ἐπεὶ πέλον ἠπεροπῆες. Theodoret. *interp. ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 1. 12 f. (lxxxii. 861 B Migne) οὐ γὰρ Ἰουδαίων προφήτης Καλλιμαχος ἦν (αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ἔπους ἀρχή), ἀλλ’ Ἑλλήνων ἦν ποιητῆς. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ποιητῆς διὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τάφον τοὺς Κρήτας ὠνόμασε ψεύστας. ὁ δὲ θεῖος ἀπόστολος ἀληθῆ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐκάλεσεν, οὐ τὴν ποιητικὴν βεβαιῶν μυθολογίαν, ἀλλὰ τῶν Κρητῶν διελέγχων τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἀβέβαιον· ἀντὶ τοῦ, καλῶς ὑμᾶς προσηγόρευσε ψεύστας· τοιοῦτοι γὰρ καθεστήκατε. εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι τὸν καλούμενον Δία τεθνάναι καὶ τούτους μάτην οἰκοδομήσαι τὸν τάφον. Sedulius Scotus *in ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 1 (ciii. 244 C Migne) *Cretenses semper mendaces.* hoc Epimenides sive Callimachus Cyrenensis de laudibus Iovis contra Cretenses dixit, qui dicebant apud eos sepultum quem raptum putabant in caelum. Schol. Bern. Lucan. 8. 872 (cited *supra* p. 342). Soud. *s.v.* Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς παραδοὺς τὴν τῆς δύσεως ἀρχὴν τῷ Ἰδίῳ υἱῷ Ἐρμῇ τελευτᾷ, ζήσας

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'prayer-pellets' like those of Petsofa (J. L. Myres in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 382); in the burnt earth, larger goats and oxen, the raised arms of a worshipper, clay locks of human hair, flat shell-like coils, and a limestone ladle with traces of an inscription in linear characters (class A). A similar ladle likewise inscribed was found in a deposit of the same date on *Troullos*, a foot-hill of Mt Juktas (S. A. Xanthoudides in the *'Eφ. 'Apx.* 1909 p. 179 ff. figs. 1—4).

The later phase of the cult ('Late Minoan') witnessed the foundation of a rectangular building with walls of ashlar blocks and outer terrace-walls of rougher construction. The building was approached by an ascent (A—A) and comprised an entrance-chamber (B 1), a magazine (?) (B 2), and an inner room (C). In the floor of B 1 a large hollow has been dug by treasure-hunters. On the walls of B 2 fragments of a plaster-facing are still to be seen. And in C are remains of a paving in white-faced cement. The whole building 'seems to have reproduced the arrangement of a small house of the early Cretan and Aegean "but and ben" type, about 16 × 10 metres in its exterior dimensions' (Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i. 158 with fig. 114 = my fig. 837).

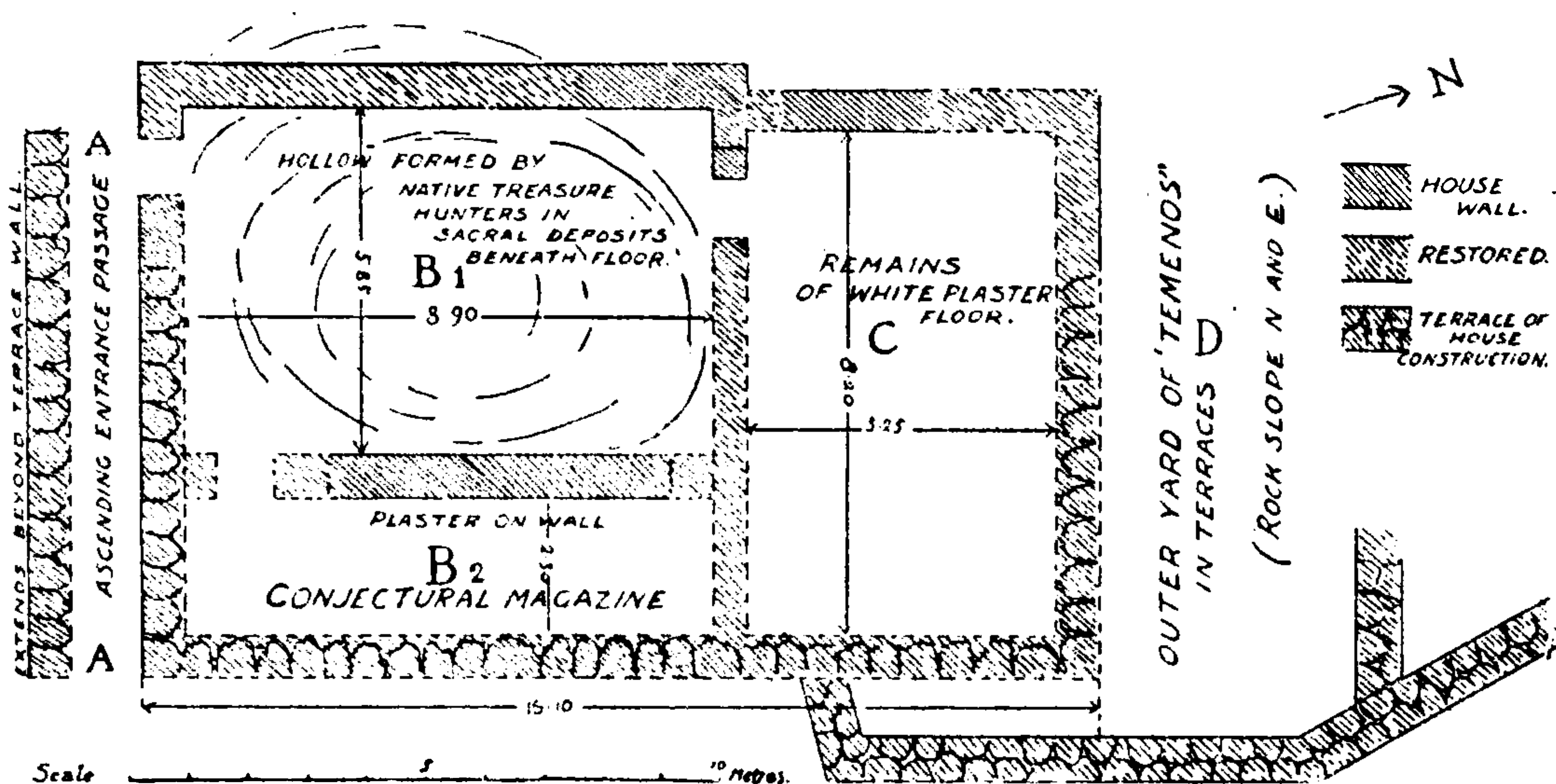


Fig. 837.

Outside the building, to the north, lay a *témenos* of roughly triangular shape supported by terrace-walls.

Here knowledge ends and conjecture begins. Sir Arthur Evans (*op. cit.* p. 158 ff.) surmises that the building described above 'was a little house of shelter and refecation for the Goddess on her mountain top, a "Casa Santa,"' etc., and that the *témenos* was 'the hypaethral part of the Sanctuary, well adapted for the exposure of a pillar form of the divinity.' Further, he thinks that a gold signet from Knossos (*supra* p. 48 fig. 19), referable to the period 'Late Minoan ii,' represents 'the Minoan Mother Goddess...bringing down the warrior youth, whether her paramour or actual son, in front of his sacred pillar'—a scene which 'may be even taken to foreshadow the "Tomb of Zeus,"' for 'A later age seems to have regarded these baetylic pillars as actual tombs of divinities.'

Personally I should rather suppose that, just as Kinyras and his descendants were buried in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos (Ptolemaios of Megalopolis *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 66 Mullet) *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 45. 4 p. 35, 1 ff. Stählin and *ap.* Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 6), just as Erichthonios was buried in the precinct of Athena at Athens (Apollod. 3. 14. 7, *alib.*), just as Hippolytos was buried beside the temple of Aphrodite *Kataskopfa* at Troizen (Paus. 2. 32. 3 f., cp. L. R. Farnell *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* Oxford 1921 p. 66)—and the list could be lengthened (see Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 44. 4 ff. p. 34, 7 ff. Stählin, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 6)—, so Minos the priestly king of Knossos lay buried within the circuit-wall of the mountain-goddess. I should conjecture that during his lifetime he had played the part of Zeus (*supra* i. 662 n. 1, cp. 527 n. 1),

Mount Alysis (?)¹.Mount Arbios².

or rather of Zan the older form of Zeus (*supra* p. 340 ff.), and that after his death he continued to be venerated as Zan or Zeus incarnate. Hence the persistent tradition that the tomb was inscribed ZAN KPONOY (Enn. *loc. cit.*), TAN KPONOY (schol. Bern. Lucan. *loc. cit.*), or ὠδε μέγας κείται ZAN ὄν ΔΙΑ κικλήσκουσι (*supra* p. 345). Hence too the ingenious guess of a late grammarian that the inscription originally ran Μίνως τοῦ Διὸς τάφος (schol. Kallim. *loc. cit.*).

Paganism in due course was superseded by, or at least overlaid with, Christianity. The southern and higher summit of Mt Juktas is topped by a church of Αὐθέντης Χριστός, 'Christ the Lord,' to which there is an annual pilgrimage on August 6, the feast of the Μεταμόρφωσις or 'Transfiguration.' The church contains a chapel of the Panagia (Sir A. J. Evans *op. cit.* i. 154 with n. 7, *supra* i. 162 n. 1).

¹ Schol. Arat. *phaen.* 33 Δίκτω· Δίκτων (Δίκτων om. cod. M.) ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Κρήτης πλησίον τῆς Ἰδῆς τοῦ Κρητικοῦ ὄρους, ἐνθα ἐστὶν Ἄλυσίου Διὸς τέμενος παρὰ τὸ παρακείμενον ἐκεῖ ὄρος Ἄλυσις (so ed. Ald. περὶ τὸ περικείμενον ἄλσος, with ἡ ἄλυσος above ἄλσος cod. A. περὶ τὸ περικείμενον ἄλσος cod. M.). E. Maass *cj.* ἐνθα ἐστὶν Ἄλσειου Διὸς τέμενος. <ἐκλήθη δὲ οὗτος> παρὰ τὸ περικείμενον ἄλσος. Ἄλυσιος as a hyperdorism for Ἠλύσιος is improbable.

² Zeus Ἄρβιος (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄρβιος... ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ Ἄρβιος ὄρος, ἐνθα τιμᾶται Ἄρβιος Ζεύς). C. Müller in his commentary on Ptol. 3. 15. 3 Ἰνατος πόλις... Ἱερὸν ὄρος... Ἱεράπυτνα, and on Anon. *stadiasm.* *Mar. Magn.* 320 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 506 Müller) identifies Ἱερὸν ὄρος with the mountain of Zeus Ἄρβιος—a view accepted by L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real.-Enc.* viii. 1530 ('Zeus Orbios'), *ib.* xi. 1814.

R. Pashley *Travels in Crete* Cambridge—London 1837 i. 285 and T. A. B. Spratt *Travels and Researches in Crete* London 1865 i. 295 give illustrations of the cleft at Arvi. Pashley *op. cit.* p. 275 f. would locate the cult of Zeus Ἄρβιος at a point near the shore, where—as he was assured by the villagers of Haghio Vasili—ancient walls, since chiefly used in building the church, were formerly to be seen. Spratt *op. cit.* i. 294 concurred in this opinion. A. Trevor-Battye *Camping in Crete* London 1913 p. 147 f. was even more successful; for he found the memory of Zeus yet living in the locality. He spent an uncomfortable night in a general store at the village of Kalami, where he wanted to skin birds, press plants, and write. The natives, however, dropped in to talk. 'And I am not likely'—he says—'to forget the story of the Hammer of Zeus, for a hammer used to illustrate the story frequently fell very near my head as I skinned a bird on an inverted packing-case. They said that between us and the sea was a gorge in which, in its ultimate and very narrow ravine, one heard the hammer of Zeus. They told me that when the mountain wind was well astir, blow after blow fell upon this chasm with the sound and shock of a titanic hammer. The noise of these repeated blows they said was awe-inspiring. Now the only gorge of this character near there appears to be that which lies below Peuko and runs thence to the sea.... Spratt says of this ravine, that the rock is "singularly rent from summit to base by a yawning fissure, nearly 1000 feet high*." [**Travels and Researches*, i. 293.] He connects this rent with volcanic action evidenced in the rocks of the neighbouring valley (Myrtos), and proceeds: "In this remarkable feature, we probably see the reason for the erection of a temple to the God of Thunder at this locality, under the name of Jupiter Arbios. To whom but the God of Thunder could a temple be so appropriately dedicated when associated with such an apparent fracture from some great volcanic movement," etc. I venture to believe that could this distinguished seaman and geologist have listened to the men in the store that night, he would have accepted their story as a much more promising explanation of the temple of Zeus the Thunderer.'

Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i. 630 f., *à propos* of 'Minoan' libation-tables, says: 'a good specimen of a mottled steatite table of similar shape, though apparently uninscribed, was obtained by me in 1894 from the Knoll of Tartari in the striking cleft of Arvi on the South Coast² [²Near Viano. The libation table is now in the Ashmolean Museum.], where in later times was a sanctuary of the indigenous

God under the name of Zeus Arbios.' *Id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 285 f. fig. 16 publishes a green steatite pendant, inscribed with two linear characters, which he got from an early cist-grave at Arvi. There was clearly a 'Minoan' settlement on the site.

The name *Ἄρβιος* is of doubtful significance. One is tempted to compare it with the Latin *arbor*, since the district abounds in trees. Peuko 'was once a fine pine forest,' and the hollow leading to Kalami 'is filled with ilex, myrtle, pine, oaks and poplars. Lower down near the village grow figs, pomegranates, mulberry, and other more or less cultivated trees' (A. Trevor-Battye *op. cit.* p. 145 f.). Besides, Zeus is known to have been a tree-god in Crete; for he bore the title *Ἐπιρύντιος* (Hesych. s.v. *Ἐπιρύντιος*· *Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ*), which means either metaphorically 'set over the Growing Plants' (H. Voretzsch in *Hermes* 1870 iv. 273, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 130 n. 3, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1109 n. 2, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 198) or literally 'on the Tree' (as I rendered it in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 413 n. 1, cp. Hesych. s.v. *Ἐνδένδρος*· *παρὰ Ῥοδίοις Ζεὺς καὶ Διδύσος ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ*), being derived from *ἐπί* + **ῥυς* for *ῥυς* = *ἔρως* (P. Kretschmer in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1890 xxx. 584 'von *ἔρυντες*.' Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 161 wrongly prefers the spelling *ἐπερύντιος*).

In this connexion we should note that silver *statères* of Phaistos struck c. 360—300 B.C. have *obv.* ΖΟΜΑΧΛΞ A youthful, beardless god seated to the left amid the branches of a leafless tree; his right hand caresses a cock perched on his knee; his left hand rests on an animal's skin, which passes beneath him and falls over the upper part of his right leg: *rev.* ΙΤΞΙΑΦ or ΦΑΙΞΤΙΟΝ (ΦΑΙΞ) A bull standing to the left, or plunging to the right, sometimes with a gad-fly on its back, sometimes surrounded with a bay-wreath (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 63 pl. 15, 10 and 12, *Head Coins of the Ancients* p. 28 pl. 14, 37, *id. Hist. num.*² p. 473 fig. 253, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 193 no. 4, J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 259 f. pl. 23, 24—26



Fig. 838.

Fig. 839.

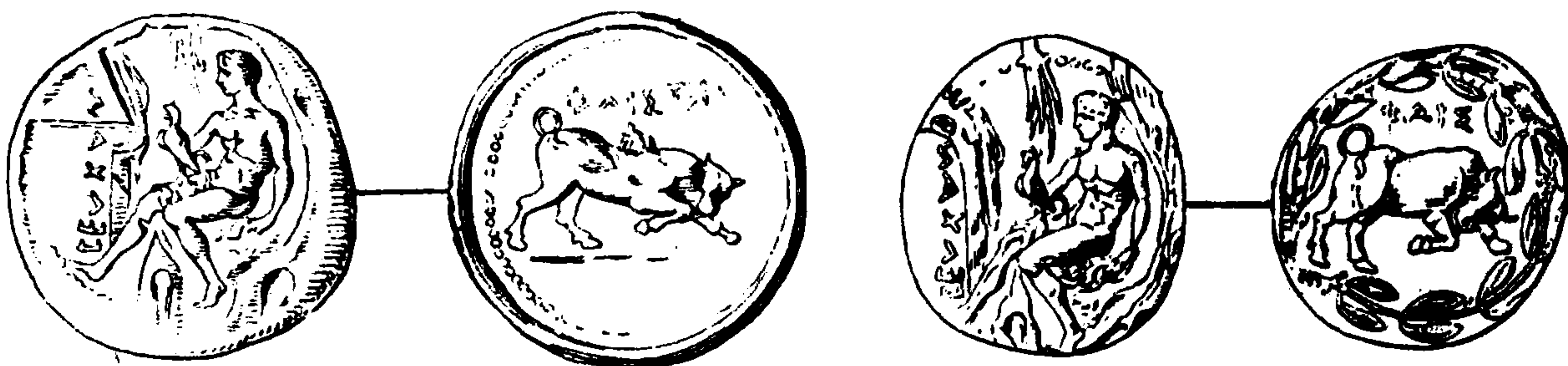


Fig. 840.

Fig. 841.

(= my figs. 839, 841, 838), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 987 ff. pl. 256, 1—3, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus* p. 197 Münztaf. 3, 3, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 165 f. pl. 9, 17, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 412 f. fig. 8. My fig. 840 is from a specimen in the McClean collection). Since the tree on these coins of Phaistos is clearly copied from the tree on the Europe-coins of Gortyna (*supra* i. 527 ff. fig. 391 ff.), J. N. Svoronos in the *Rev. Belge de Num.* 1894 pp. 127, 137 infers that it is an oak; but I adhere to my contention (*supra* i. 527 n. 1) that it is the crown of a pollard willow. Comparison with other Phaestian coins (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* i. 260 f. pl. 24, 1 f., 6 f., Babelon

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The Tallaia range¹.

Bosporos Kimmerios

Gorgippia².

Tanais³.

Moesia

Naissos⁴.

Pirot⁵.

1 a very archaic inscription in retrograde lettering from the Pythion (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Πύθιον)—[la]pà | τετελημέ[να] υι | τῶι [F]ελχαν[ωι] -- αι | ἐν τῶι πένπτα[ι] -- | κ.τ.λ.). (3) Knossos (F. Dürrbach—A. Jardé in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1905 xxix. 204 ff. no. 67, 1 ff. a decree of Lato and Olous ἐπὶ τῶν Αἰθαλέων κοσμοόντων Κνωσοὶ μὲν τῶν | σὺν Κύδαντι [τ]ῶ(ι) Κύδαντος μηνὸς Ἐλχανίω, Λατοῖ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν | σὺν Διοκλεῖ τῶ(ι) Ἡρώδα μηνὸς Βακινθίω, ἐν δὲ Ὀλόντι τῶν σὺν Τη|λεμάχω(ι) τῶ(ι) Γνώμιος μηνὸς [ς] Ἀ . . . νίω, κ.τ.λ., where the month Ἐλχάνιος probably corresponded with our May—June). (4) Lyttos (G. Doublet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 61 ff. no. 6, 1 ff. ---|[τ]ῆς δόσεως τοῖς σταρτοῖς (=στρατοῖς, the classes of the Lyttian population) κατὰ | τὰ πάτρια καὶ Θεοδαισίοις καὶ | Βελχανίοις· κ.τ.λ. From the sequel it seems likely that the festival Βελχάνια took place on the kalends of May). (5) Golgoi in Kypros (O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 82 f. no. 160, 4 *va la ka ni o*=*Φαλκάνιο* nom., cp. *ib.* pp. 133, 193. B. Keil in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe* 1895 p. 361 n. 1 transcribes *Φαλχανίω*).

At Magnesia on the Maiandros, a colony from Crete (*supra* i. 483 n. 8), this youthful god was identified with Apollon (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 438, 1 ff., 25 ff.= O. Kern *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* Berlin 1900 p. 16 f. no. 20, 1 ff. an inscription dating from the end of *s.* iii B.C., which purports to be a decree of the ancient Cretan confederation in honour of Leukippos the founder of Magnesia πα[ρ]ὰ τοῦ κοινῶ τῶν Κρητῶν· | [ἐ]δοξεν Κ[ρ]ηταιέων τῶι κοινῶι συνελ[θ]ουσῶν [τ]ῶν πόλιων πασῶν ἐς Βίλκωνα (an unknown place in Crete) ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῶ Ἀπέλλωνος τῶ Βιλκωνίω, ἀγουμένων Γορτυνίων ἐπὶ | κόσμω(ι) Κύδαντος τῶ Κυρνίω· κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 25 ff. τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τόδε εἰστάλαν λιθίαν | ἀναγράψαντας ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῶ Ἀ[πελ]λωνος τῶ Βιλκωνίω, κ.τ.λ. See further O. Kern *Die Gründungsgeschichte von Magnesia am Maiandros* Berlin 1894 p. 14 ff. and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 472, W. Aly *Der kretische Apollonkult* Leipzig 1908 p. 54 n. 2).

¹ The Tallaia range, midway between Oaxos and the sea, reaches a maximum height of 1092^m. Here Hermes was worshipped (*supra* i. 730 n. 1) in the wonderful stalactite cavern of *Melidhoni* described and drawn by R. Pashley *Travels in Crete* Cambridge—London 1837 i. 126 ff. with pl. Zeus too bore the title Ταλαῖος (Hesych. *s.v.* Ταλαῖος cited *supra* i. 729 n. 1) or Ταλλαῖος at Dreros (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 463 (*ib.*³ no. 527), 14 ff. cited *supra* i. 729 n. 2) and at Olous (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 514 (*ib.*³ no. 712), 14 cited *supra* i. 729 n. 3, J. Demargne in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 227 no. 1 C 57 ff. cited *supra* i. 729 n. 4. Add F. Dürrbach—A. Jardé in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1905 xxix. 204 ff. no. 67, 18 f. a decree of Lato and Olous ἐ[ν δὲ] | [Ὀλόντ]ι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶ(ι) τῶ Ζηνὸς τῶ [Ταλλ]αίω). He was thus, like the Laconian Zeus Ταλετίτας (*supra* i. 730, n. 890 n. 2), related to the Cretan sun-god Talos (*supra* i. 728 ff.).

² Θεὸς Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 883 n. 0 no. (27)).

³ Θεὸς Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 884 n. 0 no. (27)).

⁴ At Naissos (*Nish*) in Moesia Superior was found a limestone altar inscribed I. O. M. Pa[ter]no Ae[pil]ofio | Sanc(tinius?) Oriens, | Cor(nelia) Mide, P. | Ael(ius) Cocaius | vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) Sev(eriana) | ex voto posu(erunt) | Maximo et Aeli|ano co(n)s(ulibus)=223 A.D. A. v. Premerstein and N. Vulić, who publish the inscription in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1900 iii Beiblatt p. 130 f. no. 30, take Iupiter *Paternus Aepilofius* to be the Latin rendering of a local Dardanian or Thracian Zeus Πατρῶος Ἐπιλόφιος ('on the Crest': cp. *supra* p. 873 f.).

⁵ Θεὸς Ἐπήκοος Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (11)).

Between *Selenigrad* and *Miloslavci*¹.

Thrace

Anchialos².

Perinthos³.

Selymbria⁴.

Troas

Mount Ide⁶.

¹ Θεός Ἐψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. o no. (11)).

² Zeus Ἐψιστος Ἐπὶ πτης (?) (*supra* p. 878 n. o no. (10)).

³ Zeus Δοφέλης (*supra* p. 874 n. 1).

⁴ Θεός Ἄγιος Ἐψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. o no. (10)).

⁶ Mt Ide, a long range with numerous foot-hills (Strab. 583 σκολοπενδρώδης) and springs (πολυπίδαξ eight times in the *Il.*, cp. Plat. *legg.* 682 B), derived its name (*supra* p. 932 n. 1) from abundant woods of pine (schol. *Il.* 12. 20), pitch-pine (Plin. *nat. hist.* 14. 128), terebinth (*id. ib.* 13. 54), larch (*id. ib.* 16. 48), ash (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 11. 4, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 62), bay (*id. ib.* 15. 131, Dioskor. 4. 145 (147) p. 624 f. Sprengel), fig (Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 68), and raspberry (*id. ib.* 16. 180). Its inhabitants were familiar with silver fir, oak, plum, filbert, maple, ash, Phoenician cedar, prickly cedar, alder, beech, and sorb (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 6. 5). Here grew the magic herb *aithiops* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 27. 12, Dioskor. 4. 103 (105) p. 597 Sprengel) and flowers galore (*Il.* 14. 347 ff.). So well-wooded was the mountain that Homer even speaks of a silver fir on its summit reaching through *air* to *aither* (*Il.* 14. 286 ff.). A conflagration of the forests on Ide in 1460 B.C. was remembered as an epoch-making event, which led to the discovery of iron by the Idaean Daktyloi (Thrasyllos of Mendes *frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 503 Müller) *ap. Clem. Al. Strom.* 1. 21 p. 85, 2 ff. Stählin. Cp. the *Phoronis frag.* 2 Kinkel *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 1. 1129). Here too the herdsman Magnes discovered the loadstone, to which his hobnails and ferule stuck fast (Nikandros *frag.* 101 Schneider *ap. Plin. nat. hist.* 36. 127).

Diod. 17. 7 (after Kleitarchos (?): see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 683 f.) gives an interesting account of Mt Ide: 'There is a tradition that this mountain got its name from Ide daughter of Melisseus. It is the greatest of the ranges near the Hellespont and has in the midst of it a sacred cavern in which, they affirm, the goddesses were judged by Alexandros [Cp. bronze coins of Skepsis, struck by Caracalla, which show the judgment of Eros in place of Paris on Mt ΙΔΗ (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1883 x. 155 f. fig., *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 291 f. pl. 9, 20, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 549)]. It is said that the Idaean Daktyloi too were born here, the first workers of iron, who learnt their craft from the Mother of the Gods. A peculiar phenomenon attaches to this mountain. When the dog-star rises, on the topmost summit so still is the surrounding air that the peak soars higher than the breath of the winds, and the sun is seen coming up before night is over. Its rays are not rounded into a regular disk, but its flame is dispersed in diverse directions so that several fires appear to touch the earth's horizon. A little later and these gather into a single whole, which grows until it becomes 300 ft in diameter. Then, as day increases, the normal size of the sun is completed and produces daylight as usual.' Cp. Luer. 5. 663 ff., Mela 1. 94 f. The Cretan Ide too (? by confusion with this mountain) was said to see the sun before the sunrise (*supra* p. 932 n. 1).

Coppers of Skamandria struck in s. iv B.C. have *obv.* head of Ide wreathed with fir, *rev.* ΣΚΑ (variously arranged) fir-tree or fir-cone (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas*, etc. p. 79 pl. 14, 12—14, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 548). One specimen names the head [Ι]ΔΗ (Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1874 i. 139 no. 1 pl. 4, 15 and in his *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 42 no. 2 pl. 2, 2).

One of Mt Ide's summits was known as Γάργαρον or Γάργαρα—probably a Lelegian name, for the Leleges are said to have occupied the district Γαργαρίς (Strab. 610) and the

mountain-town Γάργαρος (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γάργαρος, *et. mag.* p. 221, 26 f. L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 757 f. cp. *Gargissa* some 33 kilometers to the north-east of it). Mt Ide in general was an important centre for the cult of Kybele (A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1653, W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 2859, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 864 f., Schwenn *ib.* xi. 2287), who as Μήτηρ Ἰδαία (first in Eur. *Or.* 1453), *Mater Idaea*, was worshipped far and wide throughout the Roman empire (H. Graillot *Le culte de Cybèle Mère des dieux à Rome et dans l'empire romain* Paris 1912 Index p. 582 *s.v.* 'Ida (mont)'). But Gargaron in particular was connected rather with the myth and ritual of Zeus. It was on the height of Gargaron that Here found Zeus the cloud-gatherer (*Il.* 14. 292 f., cp. 352) and enticed him into the famous dalliance (*supra* i. 154). It was there that Apollon and Iris saw him sitting in the midst of a fragrant cloud (*Il.* 15. 152 f.). There in Homeric days Zeus had a precinct and altar (*Il.* 8. 47 ff. Ἴδην δ' ἴκανεν πολυπίδακα, μητέρα θηρῶν, | Γάργαρον· ἐνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις. | ἐνθ' ἱππους ἔστησε πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε | λύσας ἐξ ὀχέων, κατὰ δ' ἠέρα πούλυν ἔχευεν. | αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κορυφῆσι καθέζετο κύδει γαίων, | εἰσορόων Τρώων τε πόλιν καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν), on which as on the top of Troy Hektor used to burn for him the thigh-pieces of oxen (*Il.* 22. 169 ff. ἐμὸν δ' ὀλοφύρεται ἦτορ | Ἔκτορος, ὅς μοι πολλὰ βοῶν ἐπὶ μηρὶ ἔκην | Ἴδης ἐν κορυφῆσι πολυπτύχου, ἄλλοτε δ' αὐτε | ἐν πόλει ἀκροτάτῃ). For the altar was served by those who claimed to be akin to Zeus and to have his blood running in their veins (Aisch. *Niobe frag.* 162 Nauck² *ap.* Plat. *remp.* 391 ε, cp. Strab. 580, Loukian. *Dem. enc.* 13, οἱ θεῶν ἀγχισποροὶ | οἱ Ζηνὸς ἐγγύς, ὧν κατ' Ἰδαίων πάγον | Διὸς πατρῷου βωμός ἐστ' ἐν αἰθέρι, | κοῦπω σφιν ἐξίτηλον αἷμα δαιμόνων). Gargaros, eponym of the town, was the son of Zeus (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γάργαρος... ὠνομάσθη δ' ἀπὸ Γαργάρου τοῦ Διός, τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Λαρίσσης ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ = *et. mag.* p. 221, 31 f. ὠνόμασται δὲ ἀπὸ Γαργάρου τοῦ Διός, ὡς δηλοῖ Νυμφίος (*leg.* Νύμφις) ὁ φιλόσοφος (*Nymphis frag.* 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 14 Müller)). οὕτως Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἐν ὑπομνήματι θ' Ἰλιάδος, παρατιθέμενος Κλείταρχον Ἀλγινήτην λεξικογράφον). And Onetor, priest of Zeus Ἰδαῖος, was 'honoured as a god' by the Trojans (*Il.* 16. 604 f. Ὀνήτορος, ὅς Διὸς ἱεῦς | Ἰδαίου ἐτέτυκτο, θεὸς δ' ὡς τίετο δῆμῳ). Epicharmos in his *Troes* made one of his characters pray to the Zeus of Gargara (Epicharm. *frag.* 130 Kaibel *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 20. 5 Ζεὺς ἀναξ, ἀν' ἀκρα (ανααδαν cod. G. Kaibei cj. ἀν' ἀκρα. F. G. Schneidewin cj. ἀν' Ἰδαν) ναίων Γαργάρων (so A. Meineke for γαργαρά cod.) ἀγάννιφα). Quintus Smyrnaeus did the same in the case of Priam (Quint. Smyrn. 1. 184 f. εἶχετ' ἐς ἱερὸν αἰπὺ τετραμμένον Ἰδαίῳ | Ζηνός, ὅς Ἴλιον αἰὲν εὐεχέει ἐπιδέκταται δόσοις); for which he had good Homeric authority, since Hekabe bade Priam, when he set out for the hut of Achilles, pour a libation and offer a prayer to Zeus Ἰδαῖος (*Il.* 24. 287 τῆ, σπεῖσον Διὶ πατρί, καὶ εἶχεο οἰκαδ' ἰκέσθαι κ.τ.λ., 290 f. ἀλλ' εἶχεο σύ γ' ἔπειτα κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι | Ἰδαίῳ, ὅς τε Τροίην κατὰ πᾶσαν ὀράται, κ.τ.λ.), and Priam took her advice (*Il.* 24. 306 ff. εἶχετ' ἔπειτα στὰς μέσῳ ἔρκει, λείβε δὲ οἶνον | οὐρανὸν εἰσανιδῶν, καὶ φωνήσας ἔπος ἠῆδα· | 'Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἰδῆθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε μέγιστε, | ὅς μ' ἐς Ἀχιλλῆος φίλον ἐλθεῖν ἠδ' ἐλεεινόν, | πέμψον δ' οἰωνόν, ταχὺν ἄγγελον,' κ.τ.λ.). Virgil and the pseudo-Plutarch associate the cult of Zeus Ἰδαῖος with that of the Phrygian mother-goddess (Verg. *Aen.* 7. 139 f. *Idaeumque Iovem Phrygiamque ex ordine Matrem | invocat (sc. Aeneas),* Plout. *de flux.* 13. 3 παράκειται δ' αὐτῷ (*sc. τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ*) ὄρος Ἴδη, τὸ πρότερον δὲ ἑκαλείτο Γάργαρον· ὅπου Διὸς καὶ Μητρὸς Θεῶν βωμοὶ τυγχάνουσιν). Lastly, writers of the Graeco-Roman age treat Gargaron as an appropriate background for the myth of Ganymedes (Loukian. *dial. deor.* 4. 2, *Charid.* 7) or that of Paris (Ov. *her.* 16. 107 f., Loukian. *dial. deor.* 20. 1).

Imperial bronze coins of Ilion, struck by Faustina Iunior (H. von Fritze in W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athens 1902 ii. 490 f., 517 pl. 63, 65) and Iulia Domna (fig. 842 from a specimen in my collection), have as reverse type Zeus sitting, with a long sceptre in his right hand and the cult-image of Athena Ἰλιάς in his left, accompanied by the honorific formula ΔΙΑ ΙΔΑΙΟΝ ΙΛΙΕΙΟΝ. W. Kubitschek 'Heroenstatuen in Ilion' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 187 suggests that the coin is one of a series struck by Commodus and his successors to commemorate certain statues of gods and heroes, from which at least three inscribed bases are extant. Accordingly G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 186 n. 3 would complete the formula by supplying

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W. Judeich 'Gargara und der Altar des idäischen Zeus' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1901 iv. 111—125 figs. 160—163 replies that Strabon's distances are regularly consecutive, not cumulative. Hence Gargaros must be placed further east in the vicinity of *Tschibne*, and Palaia Gargaros should be identified with a ruined stronghold on *Oajak Kaya*, the most westerly summit of the *Dikeli Dagh*, which rises immediately behind *Tschibne* to a height of 780^m. Palaia Gargaros (wrongly equated by Clarke with Lamponeia) was visited by E. Fabricius, who reports that it has terrace-walls of 'Cyclopean'



Fig. 844.

masonry well adapted for the erection of houses and an elliptical *akrópolis* enclosed by a ring-wall (now *c.* 1^m high, *c.* 3^m thick) some 500^m round. On the west side of this wall is a gateway (2·35^m wide) with a square tower. Within, the *akrópolis* is divided by another wall into two unequal parts. In the southern and smaller part, on the highest point of the mountain, are the foundations of a big building, probably a temple. The fragments visible are all of pre-Hellenistic date. When Palaia Gargaros was abandoned, the inhabitants of the new town found it difficult to keep up the cult on the mountain-top and chose a new site for their worship on the southern point of the neighbouring hill *Adatepe* (*c.* 260^m).

Mysia

Kyzikos¹.

Mount Olympos².

Pergamon³.

Here Judeich discovered a rock-cut altar (*loc. cit.* p. 111 ff. figs. 160 view and 161 plan (=my fig. 845)) measuring *c.* 13^m × 15^m and approached by three flights of steps on the

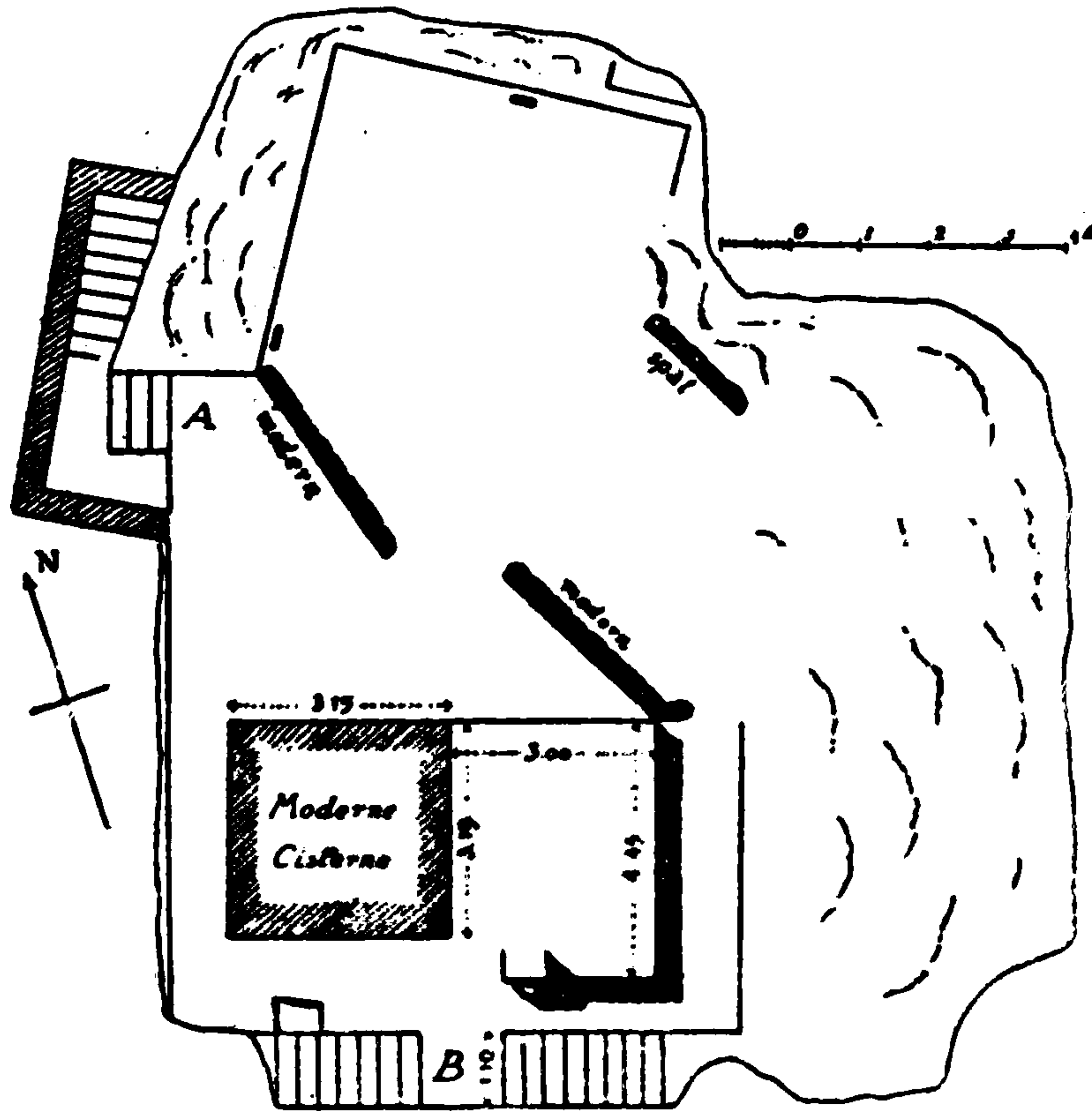


Fig. 845.

west and south sides. A modern cistern constructed on the spot is believed to work cures with its water and probably preserves the sanctity of the ancient altar.

¹ Zeus Ἐψιστος and Θεός Ἐψιστος (*supra* p. 881 n. 0 no. (21)).

² Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (Mnaseas *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 154 Müller) *ap. schol. T. II.* 20. 234 Μνασέαι μὲν φησὶν ὑπὸ Ταντάλου ἠρπάσθαι (sc. Πανυμήθην) καὶ ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ πεσόντα ταφῆναι ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Ὀλύμπῳ κατὰ τὸ λεγόν τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διός). *Supra* i. 116 n. 8, 124.

³ The district of Pergamon was of old sacred to the Kabeiroi (Paus. i. 4. 6 ἦν δὲ νέμονται οἱ Περγαμηνοὶ, Καβείρων λεγόν φασιν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον), who as the most ancient deities of the land were worshipped with mystic rites and invoked in stormy weather (Aristeid. *or.* 55 (ii. 709 Dindorf) τοῦτό μοι (Orauert *cj. μὲν*) πρεσβύτατοι δαιμόνων ἐνταῦθα λέγονται γενέσθαι Κάβειροι, καὶ τελεταὶ τοῦτοις καὶ μυστήρια, ἃ τσοαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχειν πεπλο- τευται ὥστε χειμῶνων τε ἐξαισιῶν (with which word the fragmentary oration ends)). Their cult, attested by the name of a *prytanis* Κάβειρος (M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* Berlin 1895 ii. 177 ff. no. 251, t and 34, *cp.* E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris Halis Saxonum* 1911 p. 143 f.), was perhaps at one time carried on in connexion with the apsidal building hidden by the foundations of the great Pergamene altar (*supra* i. 120). They are represented on the large frieze of that altar as two youthful warriors attacking a huge bovine giant with double axe and sword respectively (*supra* i. 110 n. 4). Coppers of Severus Alexander (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 158 pl. 32, 3) and Gallienus (*ib.* p. 162 pl. 32, 8) show two youthful male figures standing on either side of an altar: one

is handing to the other a ram's head. H. von Fritze in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1901 xxiv. 120 ff. and in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1910 Phil.-hist. Classe Anhang i. 63 f. pl. 6, 1 identifies them with the Kabeiroi, aptly citing a Pergamene decree first published by B. Schroeder in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 152 ff. no. 1 (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 764, ὁ μυστηρίων κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοῖς μεγάλοις θεοῖς Καβείροις κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 27 καὶ τὰ κριοβόλια τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων μεταπαιδιᾶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνεκεν). See further E. Thraemer *Pergamos* Leipzig 1888 pp. 263—270 ('Die pergamenischen Kabiren').

The Kabeiroi witnessed the birth of Zeus the lightning-god on the summit of Pergamon, according to an oracle of Apollon (not Apollon Γρύνειος as F. G. Welcker *Sylloge epigrammatum Graecorum*² Bonnae 1828 p. 231 and A. Boeckh on *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3538 supposed, nor Apollon Χρηστήριος of Aigai as M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 239 thought probable, but Apollon Κλάριος as C. Picard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 190 ff. and in his *Épêse et Claros* Paris 1922 pp. 461 n. 4, 673 has definitely proved), which bade the Pergamenes, if they would be rid of a plague (that of 166 A.D. (Amm. Marc. 23. 6. 24)), divide their ἐρήβοι into four groups, chant hymns to Zeus, Dionysos, Athena, and Asklepios, and then for seven days offer thighs on the altars of the same deities, sacrificing a two-year-old heifer to Athena, a three-year-old ox to Zeus, to Zeus Βάκχος (= Zeus Σαβάξιος: *supra* p. 287 n. 2), and to Asklepios, and feasting themselves on bull's flesh (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3538 = M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 239 f. = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 1035 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 172). The oracle begins:

Τηλεφίδαις, οἱ Ζηνὶ πλέον Κρονίδῃ βασιλῆϊ
ἐξ ἄλλων τισκόμενοι Τευθραντίδα γαῖαν
ναλουσιν καὶ Ζηνὸς ἐρισμαράγοιο γενέθλη
ἡμὲν Ἀθηναίῃ πολεμηδόκῳ ἀτρυτώνῃ
ἡδὲ Δι(ω)νύσῳ λαθικηδέϊ φυσιζώῳ
ἡδὲ καὶ εἰητήρῳ νόσ(ω)ν Παιήονι λυγρῶν·
οἷσι παρ' Οὐρανοῦ υἱες ἐθῆσαντο Κάβειροι
πρῶτοι Περγαμῆς ὑπὲρ ἄκ(ρι)ος ἀ(σ)τε(ρ)ο(πητ)ή(ν)
τικτόμενον Δία, μητρῶιην δε (γα)στ(έρα) λύσ(εν)· κ.τ.λ.

The later passage concerning the sacrifices to the four gods has been quoted *supra* p. 287 n. 2. Of the hymns prescribed one only, that to Zeus, has survived on a fragmentary *stèle* of white marble found on the western terrace of the Akropolis. The text, which is surmounted by a pediment containing reliefs of a *phidyle* with two shield-like ornaments, is thus restored by M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 237 ff. no. 324:

[ἀγ]αθῇ τύχῃ.
[Οὐλύμποιο] μέτωπον, ἄκρην Τειτηνίδα, ναίων,
[ὦ Ζεῦ δέσποτα,] χαίρε. λιταζομένωμ πολιητέων
[κλυθι, πάτερ μ]ακάρων τε καὶ ἀτρυγέτων ἀνθρώπων,
5 [λαμπρῶς οὐραν]ίην ἐφέπων ἴτυν αἰγλήεσαν,
[δημιοεργέ βίου] πεφατισμένε σοῖς ὑπὸ φύλοισ·
[τῶν ἀγαθῶν γάρ] φαύλα διακρίνας πάρος ὕλης
[πᾶσι εἰδώκας χ]ρῆσιν ἐπάρκιον ἡμερλοισιν,
[νείμας καὶ γαῖαν] τε πολύκλυστον τε θάλασσαν,
10 [αἰθέρα καὶ πά]ντ' ἄλλα, τὰ σὴ ποιήσατο μήτις.
[ἐλθέ σε κληῖζο]νσι, μάκαρ, μάκαρ, εἴλαος ἡμῖν
καὶ πτό[λι]ν ἰθύνο]νσι ἀμύμοσιν Περγαμίδαισιν,
ἐλθέ σὺν ἰητήρῳ θεῶμ Παιήονι κλειτῶι
θεσπεσίην Ὑγίειαν ἐς ἀγλαὰ δώματ' ἄγοντι
15 Εὐνομίῃ τε καὶ Εὐστασίῃ λιπαρῇ τ' Εἰρήνῃ
Ἥρῃ τε ζυγίῃ, ἀλόχῳ σέο κυδηέσση,
καὶ Θέμιδι ἀρχ[εγ]όνῳ, προυφητίδι καρτεροβούλῳ,
καὶ γάμον [ἀξο]μένῃ γλαυκώπιδι Τριτογενεῖῃ
κ[α]ὶ [παίδων μεδ]έοντι διακτόρῳ Ἐρμάωνι
20 [καὶ Μοίραις κλυμέ]νησιν ἀμύμοσιν Ἀδ[ρηστ]είαις.

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Aiolis

Temnos¹.

Lydia

Mount Sipylos².

Zeus was worshipped at Pergamon under several other appellatives. The water-supply of the town was a grave matter necessitating repeated changes and improvements to meet the needs of the growing population (F. Gräber *Die Wasserleitungen (Pergamon i. 3)* Berlin 1913 Beiblatt 88 bird's-eye view of three conduits and aqueduct). P. Aelius Aristides (*supra* p. 127) in an epideictic harangue entitled *πανηγυρικὸς ἐπὶ τῷ ὕδατι ἐν Περγαμῷ* describes how all Asia rejoiced with the Pergamenes when a copious flow of pure water was secured at last, and how he welcomed the good news as a special favour vouchsafed by Zeus *Εὐαγγέλιος* and Asklepios *Σωτήρ* (Aristeid. *or.* 55 (ii. 708 Dindorf) *εἶναι γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ πλήθει τε πλείστον καὶ κάλλει κάλλιστον ὄσων ἔλαχον πόλεις. ἦγον οὖν οὐχ ὅσον ἡριῶν ἡμέραν, ἀλλ' ὅταν εἰκὸς ἀγειν Διὸς τε Εὐαγγελίου καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Σωτήρος πανταχῆ τιμῶντος. κ.τ.λ.*). Zeus *Κεραύνιος* is represented by two dedications (*supra* p. 808 n. 0 no. (8)), Zeus *Μέγιστος* by a small altar of trachyte (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 243 no. 328, 1 ff. *Διὶ Μεγίστῳ Πύρ[ε][σ][ι][ς?]*, cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4885, 1), Zeus *Μέγιστος Σωτήρ* by another of white marble (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 242 no. 327, 1 ff. *Διὶ Μεγίστῳ Σωτήρι* || (relief of an eagle in a niche surrounded by tendrils) || *Καπίτων | κατ' ὄνειρον*). L. Cuspius Rufinus, the consul of 197 A.D., was priest of Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 297 f. no. 434, 1 ff. a base of white marble inscribed *Λ(ούκιον) Κούσπιον Πακτουμή[ον] | Ρουφίνον, ὄπατον, ἱερέα Διὸς | Ὀλυμπίου καὶ κτίστην τῆς πατρίδος, | οἱ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατοικοῦντες*),

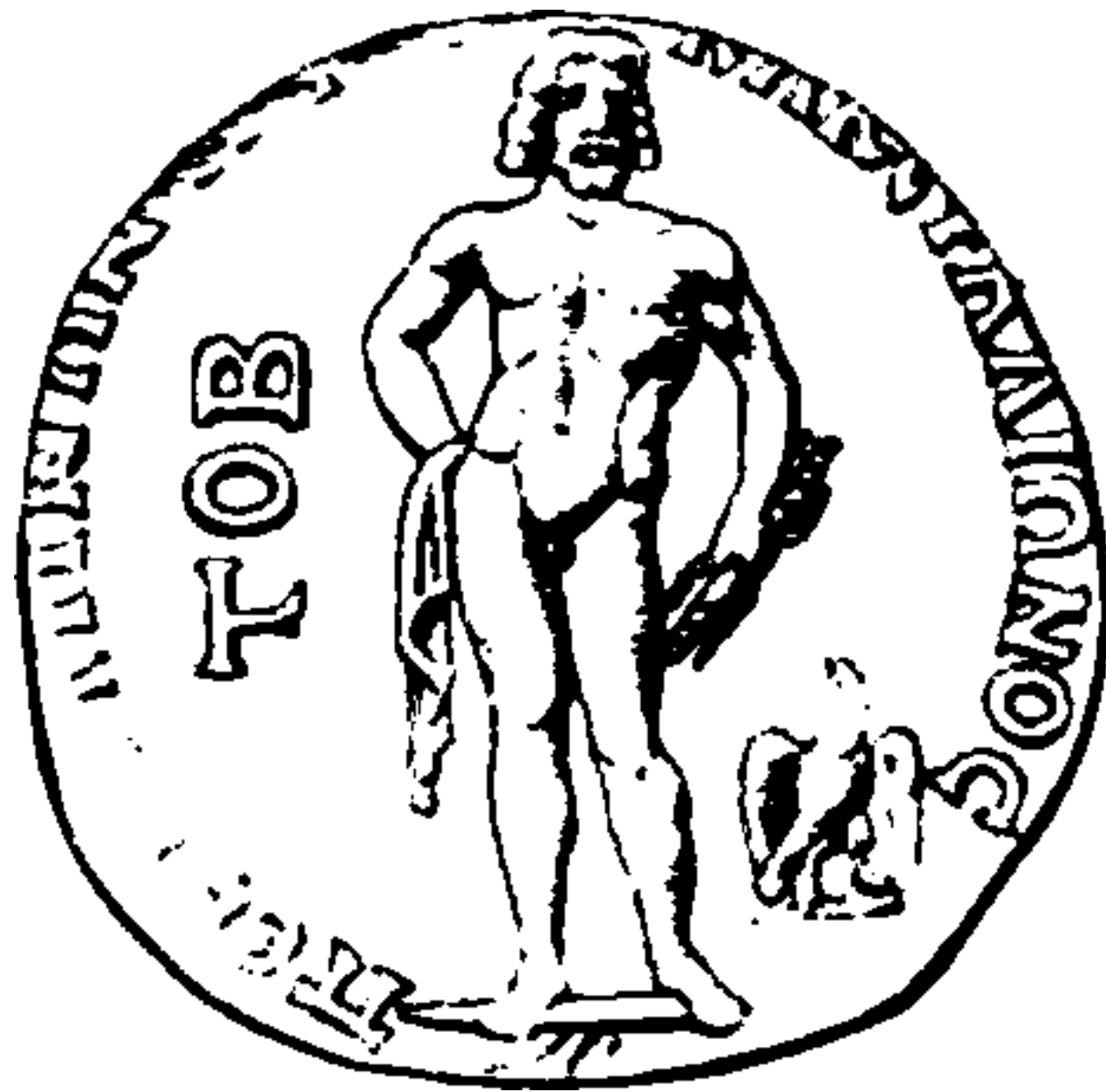


Fig. 846.

whose cult was probably introduced in the days of Hadrian the 'Olympian' (*id. ib.* p. 298). H. von Fritze in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1910 Phil.-hist. Classe Anhang i. 55 f. pl. 4, 8 (= in my fig. 846) detects the statuary type of the god on a Pergamene coin struck by Hadrian (cp. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 163 Münztaf. 2, 23 with eagle beside the right foot of Zeus). For Zeus *Τροπαῖος* see *supra* p. 110 n. 9 (add M. Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 137 f. no. 239, 2), for Zeus (?) *Ἰψιστος* *supra* p. 882 n. 0 no. (21), for Zeus *Φίλιος* *infra* Append. N *med.* Coins of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, issued at Pergamon, show Zeus enthroned with Nike on his right hand

and a long sceptre in his left (H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 55 pl. 4, 12, cp. Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* ii. 602 no. 585).

¹ Zeus *Ἀκραῖος* (*supra* p. 873 n. 0 no. (9)).

² It has been maintained, though without sufficient reason, that there was a cult of Zeus *Ἰππυτος* on Mt Sipylos (*supra* p. 876 n. 0 no. (8)), where Zeus was said to have been born (Aristeid. *or.* 22. 270 (i. 440 Dindorf) *τὰ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ μέμνησαι κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀκούσας ἀρχὴν, ἣν τῷ πατρὶ συνῆρχες, Διὸς τινα γένεσιν καὶ χορείας Κουρήτων καὶ Ταυτάλου καὶ Πέλοπος οἰκισμὸν τῆς πρώτης πόλεως ἐν τῷ Σιπύλῳ γενομένης*, cp. *or.* 15. 229 (i. 371 f. Dindorf) *ἡ μὲν οὖν πρεσβυτάτη πόλις ἐν τῷ Σιπύλῳ κτίζεται, οὐ δὴ τὰς τε θεῶν εὐνάς εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ τοὺς Κουρήτων χοροὺς περὶ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς μητέρα*, *or.* 20. 260 (i. 425 Dindorf) *τὰ μὲν ἀρχαῖα Κουρήτων χοροὶ καὶ τροφαὶ καὶ γενέσεις θεῶν καὶ Πέλοπος διαβαίνοντες ἐνθένδε*) and to have lain with Semele (schol. B. *Il.* 24. 615 *Σιπυλος πόλις ἐστὶ Λυδίας καὶ Ἀχελῷος ποταμὸς ἐκεῖ παρακείμενος. "θεῶν" δὲ "εὐνάς," ὅτι ἐκείσε Σεμέλη ὁ Ζεὺς συνεκοιμήθη*).

A remarkable crag on Mt Sipylos is topped by a rock-cut seat known to the ancients as the 'throne of Pelops' (Paus. 5. 13. 7 *Πέλοπος δὲ ἐν Σιπύλῳ μὲν θρόνος ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης μητρὸς τὸ ἱερόν*. See further *supra* i. 137 ff. fig. 103), and the sceptre of Pelops was the sceptre of Zeus (*Il.* 2. 100 ff. *ἀνὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων | ἔστη σκῆπτρον ἔχων, τὸ μὲν Ἡφαιστος κάμε τεύχων. | Ἡφαιστος μὲν δῶκε Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἀνακτι, | αὐτὰρ ἄρα Ζεὺς δῶκε διακτόρῳ ἀργεῖφόντη | Ἐρμείας δὲ ἀναξ δῶκεν Πέλοπι πληξίππῳ, | αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Πέλοψ δῶκε Ἀτρείϊ, ποιμένι λαῶν | Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θνήσκων ἔλιπεν πολύαρνι Θυέστη, | αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε φορῆναι, | πολλῆσιν νῆσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν*, Paus.

- Philadelphieia¹.
- Mount Tmolos².
- Tralleis³.

9. 40. 11 (*supra* i. 406), Quint. *inst. or.* 9. 3. 57 invenitur apud poetas quoque (*sc.* gradatio) ut apud Homerum de sceptro, quod a Iove ad Agamemnonem usque deducit: et apud nostrum etiam tragicum (*Trag. Rom. frag.* p. 288 f. Ribbeck) 'Iove propagatus (O. Ribbeck *cj. patre prognatus*) est, ut perhibent, Tantalus, | ex Tantalo ortus Pelops, ex Pelope autem satus | Atreus, qui nostrum porro propagat genus' = Diom. *ars gramm.* 2 p. 448, 25 ff. Keil, Quint. *inst. or.* 9. 4. 140 (*Trag. Rom. frag.* p. 289 Ribbeck) 'en impero Argis, sceptrum (Sen. *epist.* 80. 7 quotes the line with *regna* for *sceptrum*) mihi liquit Pelops'.

Coppers of Magnesia ad Sipylum, struck in s. ii—i B.C., have *obv.* head of Zeus (or perhaps of Mt Sipylos?) to right, laureate (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 137 pl. 15, 1 and 2, p. 139 pl. 15, 7, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 455 no. 3), or *rev.* Zeus standing, in *chiton* and *himation*, with an eagle on his extended right hand, a transverse sceptre in his left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 137 pl. 15, 3), or Zeus and Hermes (?) joining hands with a spear between them (*ib.* p. 138 pl. 15, 4). Quasi-autonomous coppers of imperial date (M. Aurelius to Gallienus) repeat the *obv.* head of Zeus (or Mt Sipylos: see *supra* i. 102 n. 5 fig. 75) to right, laureate (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 139 ff. pl. 16, 2 f., Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 521 no. 1). A copper of Philippus Senior has *rev.* a naked Zeus holding a thunderbolt in his left hand and resting with his right on a spear (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 151 no. 80).

¹ Zeus Κορυφαῖος (*supra* p. 285 n. 0 no. (3), p. 869 n. 1 fig. 804).

² According to Eumelos, Zeus was born in Lydia; and on the top of Mt Tmolos, west of Sardeis, was a place called Γοναὶ Διὸς Ἰετῖου and subsequently Δείσιον (*Lyd. de mens.* 4. 71 p. 123, 14 ff. Wunsch Εὐμηλοῖ δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος (*frag.* 18 Kinkel) τὸν Δία ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς Λυδίᾳ τεχθῆναι βούλεται, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀληθεύει ὅσον ἐν ἱστορίᾳ· ἐτι γὰρ καὶ οὖν πρὸς τῷ δυτικῷ τῆς Σαρδιανῶν πόλεως μέρει ἐπ' ἀκρωτείας τοῦ Τμώλου τόπος ἐστίν, ὃς πάλαι μὲν Γοναὶ Διὸς Ἰετῖου οὖν δὲ παρατραπίσει τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς λέξεως Δείσιον (G. Kinkel prints Δευσίον and is followed by K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 281) προσάγορεύεται). A bronze coin of Sardeis, struck under Iulia Domna, has for its reverse type an infant Zeus seated on the ground with an eagle hovering above him (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 261 pl. 27, 6 = *supra* i. 151 fig. 118). Zeus Σαβάσιος brought the babe Dionysos to Mt Tmolos (Orph. *h. Sabas.* 48. 1 ff. κλύθι, πάτερ, Κρόνου υἱέ, Σαβάσιε, κούδιμε δαῖμον, | ὃς Βάκχον Διόνυσον, ἐρίβρομον, εἰραφιώτην | μηρῷ ἐγκατέραψας, ὅπως τετελεσμένος ἔλθῃ | Τμῶλον ἐς ἠγάθειον παρὰ θ' Ἰπταν (παρ' Ἰπταν codd.) καλλιπάρηον. So O. Kern in *Genethliakon* Carl Robert zum 8. März 1910 überreicht von der Graeca Halensis Berlin 1910 p. 90 f. and in his *Orphicorum Fragmenta* Berolini 1922 p. 222 f., W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 257 f.). See further K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 16 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 284 n. 11.

³ Tralleis (*Aidin*) occupied a high plateau on a southern spur of Mt Messogis. Its *akropolis* (320^m) overlooks the little river Eudonos, a tributary of the Maiandros (map by C. Humann and W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1893 xviii. 395 ff. pl. 12). The town was said to have been founded by Argives and Thracians (Strab. 649 κτίσμα δὲ φασὶν εἶναι τὰς Τράλλεις Ἀργείων καὶ τῶν Θρακῶν Τραλλίων, ἀφ' ὧν τοῦνομα, *cp.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τραλλία and Diod. 17. 65). A bronze coin struck by M. Aurelius has for reverse type ΤΡΑΛΛΕΥ C ΚΤΙCCTHC (*sic*) Tralleus as a soldier, standing to left, with right hand outstretched and left supported on spear (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 203 no. 642 b, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 661).

Larisa, a village higher up on the slopes of Messogis, thirty stades from Tralleis, gave its name to Zeus Λαρίσιος (Strab. 440 (in a list of towns called Λαρίσα) καὶ τῶν Τράλλεων διέχουσα κώμη τριάκοντα σταδίους ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ Καύστρου πεδίου διὰ τῆς Μεσσηγίδος ἰόντων κατὰ τὸ τῆς Ἰσοδρόμης Μητρὸς ἱερῶν, ὁμοίαν τὴν θέσιν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχουσα τῇ Κρεμαστῇ Λαρίσῃ (so cod. A, with another σ added by the second hand. *λαρίσση* cett. codd.)· καὶ γὰρ εὐδρος καὶ ἀμπελόφυτος· ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὁ Λαρίσιος (so cod. A, with another

σ added by the second hand. λαρίσσιος cett. codd.) Ζεὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπωνόμασται), as did Larisa on the Caystrian Plain to Apollon Λαρισηνός (Strab. 620: *id. ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Λάρισσα* has Λαρισηνός). Pythodoros of Tralleis, the friend of Pompey, is mentioned along with Μηνόδωρος, ἀνὴρ λόγιος καὶ ἄλλως σεμνὸς καὶ βαρὺς, ἔχων τὴν ἱερωσύνην τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρισαίου (Strab. 649). The name Λάρισα seems, however, to have been assimilated to the Carian place-names Ἄρπασα, Βάργασα, Μύλασα, Πήδασα, etc. (cp. Ptol. 6. 2. 13. Λάρασα in Media); for Zeus Λαρίσιος or Λαρισαῖος regularly appears on coins and in inscriptions as Zeus Λαράσιος. His cult, the most important of all cults at Tralleis, has been well studied by J. O. Schaefer *De Iove apud Caras culto* Halis Saxonum 1912 pp. 455—466, to whose collection of evidence I am much indebted.

Tralleis was formerly called Δία (*et. mag.* p. 389, 55 f. cited *supra* p. 587 n. 2, cp. L. Burchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 299) and was officially described as sacred to Zeus (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2926 (of s. iii A.D.) Τι. Κλ. Γλύπτον, | Ἄνδρονίκου (υἱ)όν, | τὸν ἀγορανόμον, | τὸν ὑπέρτατον | λογιστ(ῆ)ν καὶ | σωτήρα καὶ | κτίστην τῆς | πατρίδος, | τῆς λαμπροτάτης | πόλε(ω)ς τῆς νε|ωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν, | ἱερᾶς τοῦ Διὸς, κα|τὰ τὰ δόγματα τῆς | συνκλήτου Τραλλιανῶν | οἱ μύσται | τῶν ἱερῶν (Lebas—Waddington iii. 203 no. 604 read οἱ μύσται τὸν εὐεργέτην)) or to Zeus Λαράσιος (K. Buresch in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1894 xix. 111 ff. no. 12 (time of Caracalla) Φλάουιον Φ[λ](αουλίου) | Διαδούμενον | (ἐπίτροπον?) | τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ὑπ[α]τικῶν συγγενῆ | ἡ κρατίστη <ι> Κλαυδία | βοῦλή καὶ ὁ δῆ[μο]ς [τῆς] | λαμπροτάτη[ς μητρο]πόλεως τῆς [Ἀσίας καὶ] | νεωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν | καὶ ἱερᾶς τοῦ [Διὸς τοῦ Λα]ρασίου κ[ατὰ τὰ δόγματα] | τῆς ἱερωτά[της συνκλή]του Καισα[ρέων Τραλλια]νῶν πόλ[εως] | διὰ τὴν (ὑ)περ(τ)ά[την?] | ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖ[ς καὶ λειτουρ]γλαῖς εὐνοια[ν καὶ] | φιλοτιμία[ν]). Decrees were set up in the sanctuary of Zeus (A. E. Kontoleon in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 516 no. 4, 2 ff. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα | [τὸ]δε ἀναγράψαι εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι | ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς, M. Pappakonstantinou Αἱ Τράλλεις ἦτοι συλλογὴ Τραλλιανῶν ἐπιγραφῶν Athens 1895 no. 42 (of s. iii B.C.) ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σελευκείων (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 108) . . . ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸδε ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ [? προ (suppl. J. O. Schäfer)] νάφ τοῦ Διὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ) or Zeus Λαράσιος (A. Fontrier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 466 ff., v. 11 ff. (of s. iii B.C.) [ἀναγ]ράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸδε εἰς τ[ὰς] περὶ τούτων ἐπι[σκευασθεῖσας] στήλας καὶ στήσαι μίαν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρ[ασ]ίου, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν | [ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθη]νᾶς, M. Pappakonstantinou in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1888 xiii. 411 no. 2, 5 ff. ἀνα[γ]ράψαι δ(ἐ) αὐτὸν καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλε[ως] ὡς καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην | [καὶ στή]σαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λα[ρα]σίου, κ.τ.λ., A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 318 ff. no. 143, 66 ff. (a decree of Seleukeia (Tralleis) cited in a pact of 212/11 B.C. between Miletos and Seleukeia) ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις συ[τελέσαι] θυσία[ν] τῷ Διὶ τῷ Λα[ρα]σίῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας κα[ὶ] | [τοὺς (8—10 letters missing) καὶ τοὺς θ]εο[φ]όλου[ς] ἐπενχομένους συνενεγκεῖν ἀμφοτέροις | [ταῖς πόλεσι τὰ ἐψηφισμένα καὶ εἶναι] ἐπὶ σωτηραῖς καὶ εὐτυχλαῖς· ἀνα[γ]ράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ | [Διὸς τοῦ Λα[ρα]σίου· κ.τ.λ.], T. Macridy in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1912 xv. 59 f. (a *stèle* of Hellenistic date from Notion) Α, 3 ff. ἀναγράφουσι τὰ ψηφί[σ][μ]ατα εἰς στήλας λιθίνας δύο καὶ ἰσῆσαι τὴν μὲν μίαν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τ[οῦ] | [Δ]ιὸς τοῦ Λα[ρα]σίου ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν παρ' ἡμῶν κ.τ.λ.). And votive offerings to the god included a couple of eagles (C. Fellows *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia* London 1841 p. 19 = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii Add. no. 2923 b = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii. 200 no. 597 (beneath a well-carved eagle *minus* its head) Διογένης Ὀρθί[ων]ος Θεῶ Διὶ εὐχα[ρ]ιστῶν τούτους | δὴ ἀετοὺς ἀνέθηκε. The *formula* Θεῶ Διὶ is exceptional and sounds like a Latinism, cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 80, 1 f. *deo* | *Iovi* and the like) and an effigy of Dionysos (M. Pappakonstantinou Αἱ Τράλλεις κ.τ.λ. no. 150 ἀγαθῆ τύχη· τῷ Διὶ τὸν Διόνυσον Ἀγαθήμερος ἱερὸς (on this title see G. Cardinali 'Note di terminologia epigrafica II Ἱεροί' in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1908 xvii. 165 ff., O. Kern 'Hieroi und Hierai' in *Hermes* 1911 xlvi. 300 ff., Link in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1471 ff.)).

The priest of the city, presumably the priest of Zeus Λαράσιος, regularly dwelt in the brick palace built there by the kings of Pergamon (Vitt. 2. 8. 9 Trallibus domum regibus Attalicis factam quae ad habitandum semper datur ei qui civitatis gerit sacerdotium). He

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This custom was common in the native religions of Asia Minor (1) [(1) Strab. p. 559 and 532-3.], but it is somewhat remarkable to find it actually practised by a family bearing Roman names perhaps as late as the third century P.C.' Cp. Ail. *var. hist.* 4. 1 Λυδοῖς ἦν ἔθος πρὸ τοῦ συνοικεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνδράσιν ἑταιρεῖν, ἅπαξ δὲ καταξενυχθείσας σωφρονεῖν· τὴν δὲ ἀμαρτάνουσαν ἐς ἕτερον συγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἀδύνατον ἦν (but hardly the references collected by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 915 n. 6). The significance of such customs in general is disputed (see e.g. M. P. Nilsson *Studia de Dionysiis Atticis* Lundae 1900 pp. 119-121, *id.* *Gr. Feste* pp. 365-367, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 914-917, F. Cumont *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*² Paris 1909 pp. 143-286, H. Ploss—M. Bartels *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde*¹⁰ Leipzig 1913 i. 614-616, 648-654, Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Adonis Attis Osiris³ i. 36 ff., 57 ff.) and investigators have been apt to confuse similar effects produced by dissimilar causes (see E. S. Hartland 'Concerning the Rite at the Temple of Mylitta' in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 pp. 189-202). The Trallian inscription perhaps implies that women, believed to represent a mother-goddess, used to mate with men, believed to represent a father-god, their union being thought to promote the fruitfulness of the land and its occupants. If so, the παλλακίδες may have been comparable with the Egyptian παλλακίδες of Zeus Θηβαιεύς (Hdt. 1. 182 (*supra* i. 348 n. 1), cp. Hekataios of Abdera *frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 390 Müller) *ap.* Diod. 1. 47 ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν πρώτων τάφων, ἐν οἷς παραδέδοται τὰς παλλακίδας τοῦ Διὸς τεθάφθαι, κ.τ.λ., Strab. 816 τῷ δὲ Διί, δὲν μάλιστα τιμῶσιν, εὐειδεστάτη καὶ γένους λαμπροτάτου παρθένος ἱερᾶται, ἃς καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες παλλάδας (Xylander *cj.* παλλακάς. W. Dindorf *cj.* παλλακίδας. But see G. Kramer *ad loc.*): αὕτη δὲ καὶ παλλακεύει καὶ σύνεστιν οἷς βούλεται, μέχρις ἂν ἡ φυσικὴ γένηται κάθαρσις τοῦ σώματος· μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν δίδεται πρὸς ἄνδρα· πρὶν δὲ δοθῆναι, πένθος αὐτῆς ἀγεται μετὰ τὸν τῆς παλλακείας καιρὸν). And the ἀνιπτόποδες recall the priests of Zeus at Dodona (*Il.* 16. 234 ff. Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναίε, Ἠελασγικέ, τηλόθι ναίων, | Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου· ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ | σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαιῖναι), who went with unwashed feet and lay on the ground in order that they might be in constant contact with Mother Earth (J. O. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 462 f. I had hit upon the same explanation years before and published it in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 180). The combination of a rite reminiscent of Egyptian Thebes with a rite reminiscent of Dodona is not surprising in view of the analogy already traced between the usages of these two cult-centres (*supra* i. 363 ff.).

Coppers of Seleukeia (Tralleis) first struck late in s. iii B.C. (Head *Hist. num.*² p. 659) have *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right; *rev.* humped hull, with ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ above and magistrate's name below, all within maeander-border (F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtminzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 p. 169 pl. 7, 7). Some specimens add ΔΙΟΣ above and ΛΑΡΑΣΙΟΥ below the bull (*id. ib.* p. 169 no. 3). One, in place of the maeander, gives ΔΙΟΣ ΛΑΡΑΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥ (*sic*) (*id. ib.* p. 169 f. no. 4), cp. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 985, 6 ff. (Philadelphieia in Lydia: s. i B.C.) Διὸς [γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ] | τοῦ Εὐμενοῦς καὶ Ἐστίας τ[ῆς] παρέδρου αὐ[τοῦ] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Σωτ[ήρων] κ.τ.λ.] and the dedication to Hadrianas Zeus Δαράσιος Σεβαστὸς Εὐμενῆς cited *supra*. The inference is that Eumenes i was divinised after his death as Zeus Εὐμενῆς: cp. the divinisation of Eumenes ii in Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 515, 22 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 332, 22 θεοῦ βασιλέως Εὐμένου Σωτήρος (*ib.* 24 f., 27 f., 45). Coppers of Tralleis struck in early

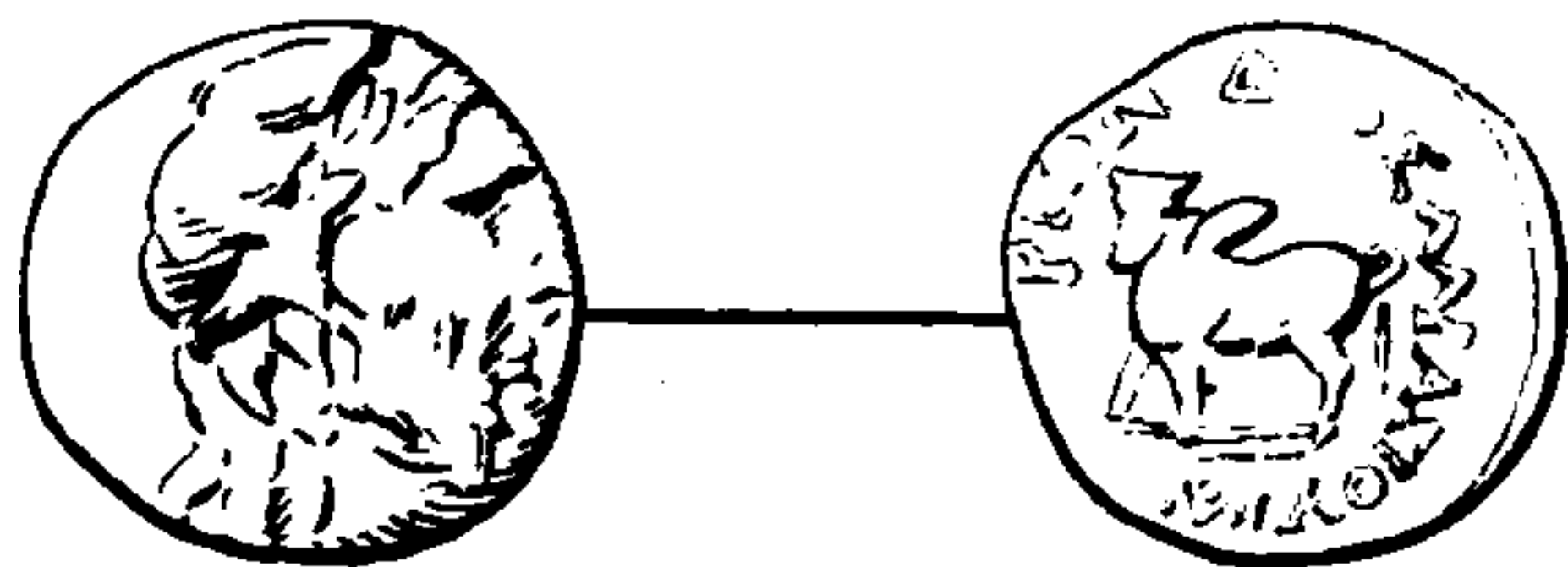


Fig. 847.

imperial times have sometimes *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right; *rev.* Δ[ΙΟ]Σ ΛΑΡΑΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ[ΣΑ]ΡΕΩΝ humped bull standing to left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 339 no. 87: my fig. 847 is from a cast of this specimen). Later we find *obv.* ΣΕΥΚΛΑ ΡΑΚΙΟC bust of Zeus, laureate, to right, within border of dots; *rev.*

ΤΡΑΛ ΛΙΑΝΩΝ Dionysos standing to front, naked, with grape-bunch in raised right hand, *κάντηνος* in lowered left, within border of dots (*ib.* p. 341 no. 100), or *obv.* ΖΕ VC

bust of Zeus, laureate, to right, within border of dots; *rev.* ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ humped bull walking to right, within border of dots (*ib.* p. 342 no. 101 f.), or ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ bunch of grapes, within border of dots (*ib.* p. 342 no. 103). Other imperial coppers represent Zeus Δαρδάνιος as a seated figure, who wears a *himation* round his legs, holds Nike on his outstretched right hand, and rests upon a sceptre with his left (*ib.* p. 340 no. 93 ΛΑΡΑΚΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡΕ ΩΝ time of Nero—Domitian, p. 345 no. 129 ΚΑΙCΑΡΕΩ ΝΑΡΑΚΙ ΟC Domitian, cp. p. 354 pl. 37, 7 Gordianus Pius, p. 357 pl. 37, 11 Philippus Senior, p. 362 pl. 41, 11 Gordianus Pius), sometimes with an eagle at his feet (*ib.* p. 350 pl. 37, 2 L. Verus).

Other coins of the town illustrate the myth of Zeus: (1) a copper of Antoninus Pius has *rev.* ΔΙΟCΓΟΝΑΙ the infant Zeus asleep on a mountain with an eagle hovering above him (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 337 f., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 661. *Supra* i. 151 fig. 119, 535 n. o). Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* London 1890 p. 13 rightly rejects B. V. Head's former view that the legend is Διὸς Γοναί(ου). Cp. Aristodemos of Thebes *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 310 Müller) *ap. schol. Il.* 13. 1 μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰλίου πόρθησιν Ἔκτωρ ὁ Πριάμου καὶ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὴν ἀπὸ θεῶν εὐτύχησε τιμῆν. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ Θηβαῖοι πιεζόμενοι κακοῖς ἐμαρτεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. χρησμὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐδόθη παύσεσθαι τὰ δεινὰ, εἴαν ἐξ Ὀφρυνίου τῆς Τρωάδος τὰ Ἔκτορος ὄσπᾳ διακομοσθῶσιν εἰς τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς καλούμενον τόπον Διὸς Γονάς. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγέντες διὰ τιμῆς ἔσχον Ἔκτορα, κατὰ τε τοῦ ἐπειγόντος καιροῦς ἐπικαλοῦνται τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Ἀριστοδήμῳ = Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iii. 18, 7 ff. with Böhle in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1585. (2) A copper of M. Aurelius has *rev.* the infant Zeus suckled by a goat (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vii. 472 no. 723). (3) A copper of Antoninus Pius has *rev.* the infant Zeus nursed by Rhea, with an eagle on the ground at her feet and three Kouretes clashing their shields about her (F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadt Münzen* p. 177 f. pl. 7, 15, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 347 pl. 36, 5 (*supra* i. 151 fig. 121 from a cast), Head *Hist. num.*² p. 661). (4) A copper of Antoninus Pius has *rev.* ΕΙΟΝCΓΑΜΟ[Ι] Io in long robe and bridal veil led towards the left by Hermes, who wears a *chlamys* and holds a *caduceus* in his right hand (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 348 pl. 36, 8, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 661). (5) A copper of Antoninus Pius has *rev.* a veiled figure (Io?) sitting in a two-wheeled hooded chariot, which is drawn by a pair of humped bulls and conducted by a naked figure (Hermes?) (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 348 no. 141). (6) A copper of Tranquillina, now in the British Museum, has *rev.* a male figure (Zeus?) clad in a *himation* extending his right hand to a fully draped and veiled female figure (Io?), who stands in the entrance of a wattle shed or hut (perhaps the *βούστασις* of Aisch. *P. v.* 651 ff. σὺ δ', ὦ παῖ, μὴ πολακτίστη λέχος | τὸ Ζηνοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξελθε πρὸς Δέρης βαθὺν | λειμῶνα, ποιμένας βουστάσις τε πρὸς πατρός, | ὡς ἂν τὸ Δίον ὄμμα λωφῆσθαι πύθου) (so B. V. Head and W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1903 iii. 337 f. no. 30 pl. 12, 1 (=my fig. 848 from a cast) with the alternative suggestion (*ib.* p. 338 n. 45): 'Or the scene...may possibly refer to a later incident, when Io, at the Egyptian Canopus, is restored to sanity by the gentle touch of Zeus's hand and becomes the mother of Epaphus the ancestor of the Argive Danaoi' [Aisch. *P. v.* 846 ff.], Head *Hist. num.*² p. 661). *A propos* of the whole series B. V. Head in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. cxlvi observes: 'Evidently on these coins we have representations of successive scenes in certain religious mysteries connected with the Io legend, and celebrated by the Trallians in commemoration of their Argive descent, Argos having been the original home of the Io myth.' I doubt the Io-'mysteries.' The coin-types, inscriptions and all, could be equally well explained as copying the subjects of the frescoes or reliefs with which some public edifice at Tralleis was adorned, e.g. the octostyle temple (? of Zeus. It has an eagle in its pediment, but a *caduceus* beside



Fig. 848.

Ionia

Smyrna¹.Ephesos².

it or within it) figured on imperial coppers (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 338 pl. 35, 1, p. 353 no. 161).

The cult of Zeus *Λαράσιος* spread to Miletos, where a small domestic altar dedicated to him has come to light (T. Wiegand in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1908 Phil.-hist. Classe Anhang* i. 27 'am zahlreichsten sind die Zeuskulte, natürlich wiegen die karischen vor, so dass Zeus Labraundios (einmal *Λαβρένδιος*) durch sechs mit der Doppelaxt geschmückte Altäre vertreten ist, Larasios und Zeus Lepsynos einmal, ebenso der 'Ολύμπιος Πεισαῖος, Κεραύνιος Σωτήρ, Τερμινθεύς, 'Ομοβούλιος und Καταιβάτης; endlich ist ein kleiner Altar Διὸς ἐλπίδων gefunden').

Θεὸς Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 880 n. o no. (17)).

¹ Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 873 n. o no. (8)).

² The Zeus-cult of the Ephesians can be traced back to the first half of s. vii B.C. (Kallin. *frag.* 4 Bergk⁴, 2 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Strab. 633 ἠνίκα καὶ Σμύρνα ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ Ἐφεσος· καὶ Καλλίνος που οὕτως ὠνόμακεν αὐτήν, Σμυρναίους τοὺς Ἐφεσίους καλῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Δία λόγῳ· 'Σμυρναίους δ' ἐλέησον'· καὶ πάλιν· 'μνησάει δ' εἰ κοτέ τοι μηρία καλὰ βοῶν | <Σμυρναῖοι κατέκταν (ins. I. Casaubon)>' κ.τ.λ.). But here Zeus was always of less importance than Artemis; and the tradition which located her birth at Ortygia (the glen of *Arvalia*: see O. Benndorf *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1906 i. 76 ff.) boldly appropriated his Kouretes (C. Picard *Éphèse et Claros* Paris 1922 pp. 277 ff., 423 ff.), installing them on Mt Solmissos (Strab. 640 ὑπέρεται δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου δρος ὁ Σολμισσός, δπου στάντας φασι τοὺς Κουρήτας τῷ ψόφῳ τῶν δπλων ἐκπλήξαι τὴν Ἥραν ζηλοτύπως ἐφεδρεύουσαν, καὶ λαθεῖν συμπράξαντας τὴν λοχείαν τῇ Λητοί. κ.τ.λ.).

A bronze coin of Ephesos, struck by Antoninus Pius, has *rev.* Zeus enthroned on a mountain-top (Mt Koressos). He holds in his left hand a thunderbolt and pours from his raised right hand a shower of rain upon a recumbent mountain-god inscribed ΠΕΙΩΝ, who bears a *cornu copiae*. In front of the principal mountain, on the level of the plain, is a distyle temple, above which, in the background, are cypress-trees and two three-storeyed buildings, perched upon rocks. To the left of the same mountain is another three-storeyed building (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia* p. 79 pl. 13, 9 (= *supra* i. 134 fig. 100 from a cast), G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 167 f. pl. 6, 9; A. Löbbecke in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1890 xvii. 10 no. 2 pl. 1, 17; O. Benndorf *Forschungen in Ephesos* i. 56 fig. 18 a Löbbecke, b Cabinet des médailles Paris, c British Museum, d Gréau collection; Head *Hist. num.*² p. 577). High up on the south-eastern side of Mt Koressos is a rock-cut throne, once perhaps regarded as the throne of Zeus (*supra* i. 140 f. fig. 104 f.).

Bronze coins issued at Ephesos by Domitian (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia* p. 75 no. 215) and Severus Alexander (*ib.* p. 93 pl. 14, 7 (= my fig. 849 from a cast)) show Zeus Ὀλύμπιος seated to the left, holding the cult-stature of Artemis Ἐφεσία in one hand and a long sceptre in the other. Coppers of Caracalla (*ib.* p. 85 no. 272) and Valerianus Senior (*Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 337 no. 75) repeat the type, but omit the name of the god. He was worshipped in the Olympieion (Paus. 7. 2. 9 κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πύλας τὰς Μαγνήτιδας). And Hadrian as his vicegerent shared the honours of his festival (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2810, 17 f. Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, iii no. 5913, 30 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1102, 30 f. Ἐφεσον τρίς Ἀδριανία Ὀλύμπια, Βαρβίλλα κ.τ.λ.).



Fig. 849.

A bronze coin at Ephesos struck by Septimius Severus has *rev.* ΖΕΥΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ Zeus standing with the cult-stature of Artemis Ἐφεσία (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 675, vii. 355, xi. 1256, Eckhel *Doctr. num.*

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Kos

Kos¹.

Bithynia

Prousa ad Olypnum².

Phrygia

Aizanoi³.

¹ Θεὸς Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 880 n. 0 no. (18)).

² Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (*supra* i. 116 n. 8, 124). The cult-statue of the god appears on a bronze coin of Prousa, struck by Trajan, with *rev.* ΠΡΟΥΣΑΕΙΣ ΔΙΑ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝ Zeus enthroned to right, resting his right hand on a long sceptre and holding in his left a globe, on which stands a small wreath-bearing Nike (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 577 pl. 99, 7 (=my fig. 850), *Head Hist. num.*² p. 517). A later coin-type gives two agonistic urns, with palms and five balls (? apples, cp. *supra* p. 490 n. 0 no. (5)) respectively, inscribed ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ ΠΥΘΙΑ (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 600 f. pl. 103, 11 Valerianus Senior, 13 Gallienus, 14 Salonina).

A copper of Caracalla shows a youthful figure, in military costume, carrying a sceptre in his left hand and with his right holding a *phidle* above an altar, garlanded and kindled, towards which leaps a boar beneath a fruitful fig (?)-tree with an eagle in its branches (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus, etc.* p. 197 pl. 35, 7, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 589 pl. 101, 13 (=my fig. 851)). A similar copper of Geta has



Fig. 850.



Fig. 851.



Fig. 852.

rev. ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΥΣΑΕΙΣ (in exergue) the same figure holding his *phidle* above an altar, garlanded and kindled, at the foot of which are seen the head and forelegs of the sacrificial bull (? hoar A.B.C.). Behind is a fruitful fig (?)-tree with an eagle in its branches; to the left, a round temple with an arched entry (*ib.* i. 591 pl. 101, 22 (=my fig. 852)). These coins presumably represent the eponymous hero Prousius (cp. a coin of Commodus *ib.* i. 582 pl. 100, 3 ΠΡΟΥΣΑΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΥΣΙΑΝ beardless head of hero to right) worshipping Zeus.

³ Aizanoi (*Tchavdir-Hissar*) (*Aizavls* only Ptol. 5. 2. 17 *ed. pr.*), the chief town of Aizanitis in Phrygia Epiktetos (Strab. 576), is situated on a high plateau (1085^m above the sea) near the sources of the river Rhyndakos. Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσώδου* 1 (i. 15, 6 f. Lentz) (cp. *περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* (ii. 468, 29 Lentz)) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀζανοί stated that Aizanoi received its name from Aizen son of Tantalos. Others seem to have held that the town was founded by Azan son of Arkas (Paus. 8. 4. 3). But Hermogenes of Smyrna (?) *frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 524 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀζανοί was not content with such commonplace conjectures. He reports the tradition that once in time of dearth the shepherds of the district sacrificed to the gods for fertility, but in vain, till one Euphorbos offered a fox (*οὐανοῦν*) and a hedgehog (*ἐξιν*). The gods were satisfied and sent fertility again. Thereupon the people chose Euphorbos as their priest and ruler (*ιερεῖα καὶ ἀρχοντα*), the town being called Ἐξουάνουν after his sacrifice. Cp. the coins of Aizanoi (second half

of s. i B.C.) inscribed **EZEANITΩN** (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. xxiv). Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 192 comments: 'The legend points to the existence of a race of priestly kings or popes, with spiritual and temporal power, such as reigned at Pessinus, Comana, and other cities' of Asia Minor (W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 146 sq.).'

The *temenos* of Zeus, which occupies a square terrace (146·46^m × 162·96^m) contrived on a natural hill-top, had a *façade* of twenty-two marble-clad arches with a broad stairway (30^m across) in their midst. This gave access to a square *stoá* consisting of a double range of Corinthian columns with a handsome *propýlaion* opposite to the stairway. Outside the *stoá* were gardens, *exédrai*, and statues. Inside the *stoá*, on a stylobate of seven steps, rose the temple, a beautifully finished Ionic structure in blue-grey half-marble, dating apparently from Hadrianic times (A. Körte 'Das Alter des Zeustempels von Aizanoi' in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 pp. 209—214 with pl. 11 (=my



Fig. 853.

fig. 853)) and in various points inspired by the Athenian Erechtheion. The building was octostyle and pseudo-dipteral with fifteen columns down the long side, two in the *prónaos*, and two in the *opisthódomos*. These last are of interest as having a band of acanthus-leaves beneath their Ionic volutes—a feature which W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers *The Architecture of Greece and Rome* London 1903 pp. 98, 154 refer to s. i B.C. and claim as the origin of the 'composite' order. The columns are fluted monoliths (height of shaft 8·520^m: total height 9·504^m) with a small vase in relief at the top of each flute: sixteen of them are still standing, ten on the northern side and six more at the western end. Oak-leaves and acorns appear among the mouldings of the temple. Round the outside of the *naós*-wall runs a frieze-like band (0·62^m high), with a moulding above and a maeander below, ready to receive inscriptions and already in part inscribed (inside the right *anta* of the *prónaos* and outside the north wall of the *naós*). Under the *naós* is a chamber (16·157^m × 9·120^m) with a semicircular vault, reached by steps from the *opisthódomos* and probably used for the safeguarding of the temple-treasure. It is possible that some dim

recollection of this treasure lingered in folk-memory ; for the peasants in comparatively modern times, believing that the columns were cast in stone and full of gold, attacked them with pickaxe and hammer, nor did they desist from their futile search till they had filled the temple with faggots and fired the lot ! See further C. Texier *Description de l'Asie Mineure* Paris 1839 i. 95—127 pls. 23—34, W. J. Hamilton *Researches in Asia*

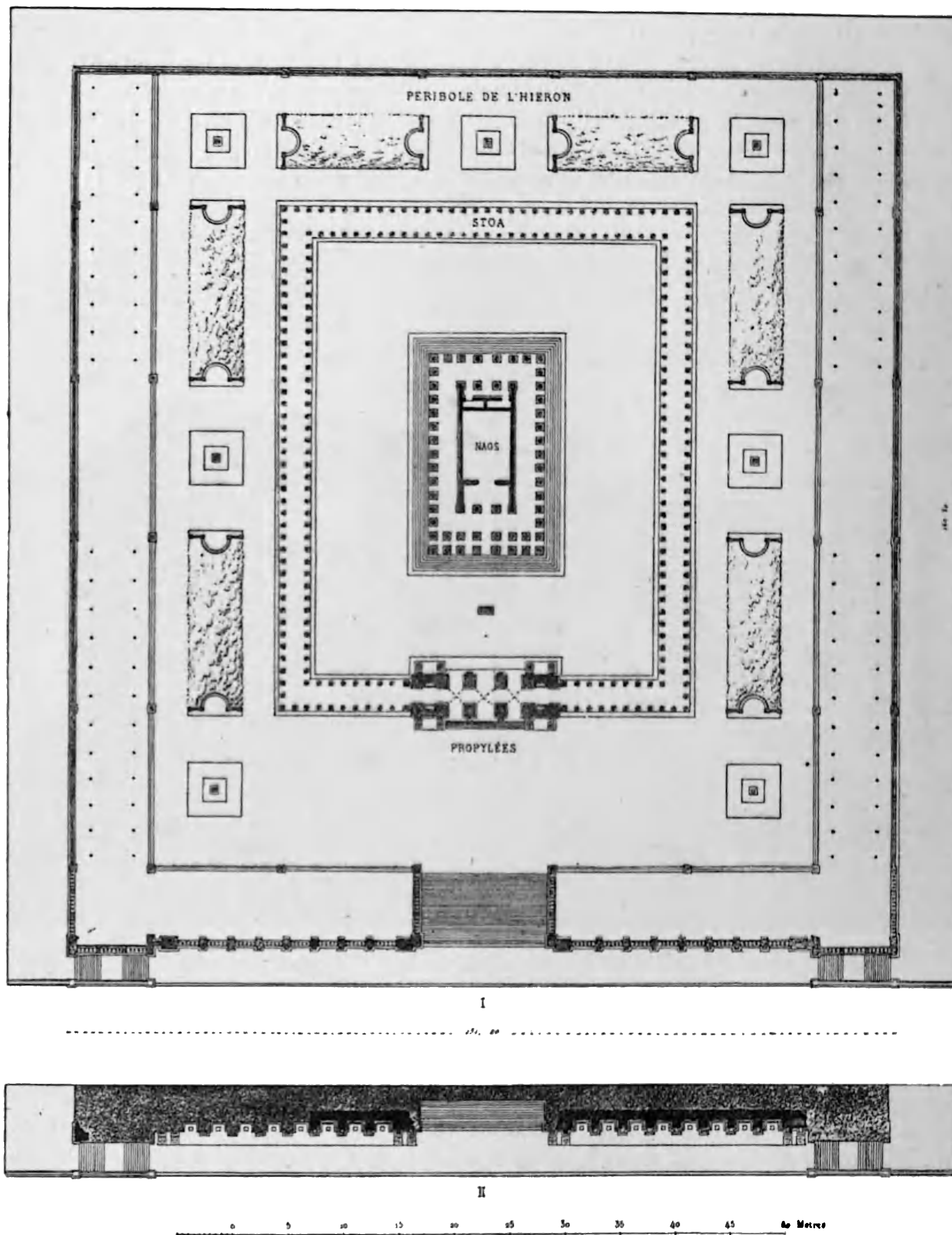


Fig. 854.

Minor, Pontus, and Armenia London 1842 i. 101—104, P. Le Bas *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* Paris 1858 *Architecture Asie Mineure* i pls. 18—32, Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 142 ff. *Archit.* i pls. 18 (= my fig. 854), 19—24, 25 (= my fig. 855), 26—32, F. von Duhn in *Durm Baukunst d. Gr.*² Register p. 367 f.

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Akmoneia¹.Apameia².Laodikeia ad Lycum³.

τῶν ἰδίων θεοῦ, no. 3841 g, 1 ff. [τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ] ἀσύλου καὶ | [νεωκόρου] τοῦ Διὸς | [Αἰζανει]τῶν πύλων | [ἡ φιλοσέβα]στος βουλή | [καὶ ὁ νεωκόρος δῆμος | --- | ---]. Inside the right *anta* of the *pronaos* is inscribed a letter, in which Avidius Quietus, proconsul of Asia (125—126 A.D.), informs the people of Aizanoi that a long-standing dispute with regard to the temple-estates has been happily settled. He adds three Latin documents dealing with the matter—(A) the emperor's rescript, (B) his own letter to the imperial procurator, (C) the beginning of the procurator's reply (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3835 (cp. *ib.* p. 1064 f.) = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 355 = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii nos. 860—863 = Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 6955 = Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 502, 1 ff. 'Αουίδιος Κοιῆτος Αἰζανειτῶν ἀρχουσι βουλῆι | δῆμωι χαίρειν· ἀμφισβήτησις περὶ χώρας ἱερᾶς, ἀναγτεθείσης πάλαι τῶι Διῷ, τρεῖς βουλευόμενῶν ἐτῶν, τῆι προνοίᾳ τοῦ | μεγίστου αὐτοκράτορος τέλους ἔτυχεν. κ.τ.λ., A, 3 f. ager Aezanen|si Iovi dicatus, B, 6 f. in ea re[ligione], quae Iovi Aezanitico dicata dicitur).

The neocorate is further evidenced by coins (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 28 no. 34 ἐπὶ Ἰου. Οὐλπι. Σευηρείνου ἀρχινεωκόρω (*sic*), no. 35 pl. 5, 6 ἐπὶ Ἰου. Σευηρείνου ἀρχινεωκόρ. with B. V. Head's remarks *ib.* p. xxvi. *Id. ib.*: 'On a coin of Commodus (*Invent. Wadd.*, Pl. xv. 7) the city claims the title of Neokorate of this divinity (ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΥ).' Head *Hist. num.*³ p. 664).

A copper of Phrygia Epiktetos, struck at Aizanoi (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 p. 202) probably after 133 B.C., has *obv.* bust of Zeus, laureate, to right, *rev.* ΕΠΙΚΤΗ ΤΕΩΝ eagle on thunderbolt (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 200 pl. 26, 2). Quasi-autonomous and imperial coppers of Aizanoi show Zeus standing to left, half-draped in a *himation*, with an eagle in his right hand, and a long sceptre in his left (*ib.* p. 28 no. 33 f. time of Gallienus; pp. 30 ff., 38 f., 41 f. pl. 5, 8 Augustus, 9 Claudius. Fig. 856 is from a specimen, struck by Caligula, in my collection),



Fig. 856.



Fig. 857.

- also the same figure in a tetrastyle temple with arch over central intercolumniation (*ib.* p. 39 no. 113 M. Aurelius). There can be no doubt that we have here the cult-stature of the god. A copper issued by Commodus has *rev.* ΑΙΖΑ ΝΕΙΤ Ω Ν a goat standing to right, with head turned back, suckling the infant Zeus (*ib.* p. 40 pl. 6, 3 (= my fig. 857)). Another copper of Commodus, in the Löbbecke collection, has *rev.* ΑΙΖΑΝΕΙ ΤΩΝ an eagle standing to right on a column, but turning its head backwards, flanked by a flaming altar on the left and a tree on the right (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 191 no. 11).

Θεὸς Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 882 n. o no. (23)).

¹ Infancy of Zeus on a Phrygian mountain (*supra* i. 151 f. figs. 122, 123). Θεὸς Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 882 n. o no. (23)).

² Infancy of Zeus on a Phrygian mountain (*supra* i. 151 f. fig. 124).

³ Infancy of Zeus on a Phrygian mountain (*supra* i. 151 f. fig. 129). Θεὸς Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 882 n. o no. (23)).

Nakoleia¹.

Synnada².

Upper valley of the Tembrogios or Tembrios³.

Galatia

Mount Agdos⁴.

¹ Θεός Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 882 n. o no. (23)).

² Infancy of Zeus on a Phrygian mountain (*supra* i. 151 f. fig. 120).

³ Θεός Ὑψιστος = Zeus Βένιος or Βεννεός (*supra* p. 883 n. o no. (23)).

⁴ The myth of Attis has two principal forms—a Lydian version, in which Attis is killed by a boar, and a Phrygian version, in which he mutilates himself under a pine-tree. Since the cult of the Great Mother came to Rome from Pessinous in Phrygia, the Phrygian became the official version and gradually eclipsed its Lydian rival (H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 121 f.). The Pessinuntine tradition has been preserved for us by Paus. 7. 17. 10—12 and Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 5—7. H. Hepding *op. cit.* p. 37 ff. prints the texts in parallel columns and *ib.* p. 103 ff. discusses their relations and respective sources. Pausanias professes to give the 'local story' (Paus. 7. 17. 10 ἐπιχώριος...λόγος); Arnobius, to derive his information from Timotheos the theologian and other equally learned persons, among whom he mentions the priest Valerius (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 5 apud Timotheum, non ignobilem theologorum unum, nec non apud alios aeque doctos super Magna deorum Matre superque sacris eius origo haec sita est, ex reconditis antiquitatum libris et ex intimis eruta, quemadmodum ipse scribit insinuatque, mysteriis, 5. 7 quam Valerius pontifex iam nomine fuisse conscribit). A. Kalkmann *Pausanias der Perieget* Berlin 1886 p. 247 ff. showed that Pausanias and Arnobius are really dependent on Alexandros Polyhistor, who in turn got his facts from Timotheos, Promathidas, etc. (see Alex. Polyhist. *frag.* 47 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 233 Müller, cp. *ib.* p. 202) ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Γάλλος), and that Arnobius, in addition to Polyhistor, used a Roman source, probably the priest Valerius, thereby contaminating the Pessinuntine tradition of Agdistis with current tales of the Mater Magna and Attis. Hepding summarises the resultant myth, enclosing within square brackets points of divergence between Pausanias and Arnobius:

Zeus let fall seed on the ground [in his sleep (Paus.), when attempting to lie with the Magna Mater who was asleep on the summit of Mt Agdos (Arnob.)]. In due time the earth bore a wild bisexual being named Agdistis. [The gods, fearing him, cut off his male organ of generation (Paus.). He, having irresistible strength and ferocity, did much mischief, till Liber mingled strong wine with the spring at which he used to slake his thirst and thus threw him into a deep sleep. Liber then took an ingenious noose made of bristles and slipped one end round his foot (*plantae*. Hepding translates: 'an einem Baum'), the other round his genitals. The monster, starting up from sleep, drew the noose tight and so castrated himself (Arnob.)] The blood flowed fast, and from the severed member sprang a fruit-tree, [an almond (Paus.), a pomegranate (*malum...cum pomis...punicum*) (Arnob.)] A daughter of the river Sangarios [Nana by name (Arnob.)] picked the fruit and put it in her bosom. [The fruit immediately vanished (Paus.)] and she conceived. [Thereupon her father kept her shut up and tried to starve her; but the Mother fed her on pomegranates (*pomis*) and other food of the gods (Arnob.)] So she brought forth an infant son, who was exposed [by Sangarios' orders (Arnob.), but tended by a he-goat (Paus.), or found by some one and nurtured on goat's milk (Arnob.: text corrupt)]. He was called Attis because the Lydian word *attis* means 'scitulus' or because the Phrygian *attagus* means 'hircus' (Arnob.)]. [As the boy grew up, his beauty was more than human, and Agdistis loved him (Paus.). The Mother of the gods loved him for his good looks. So did Agdistis, who ever at his side led him through the woods and presented him with spoils of the chase. Young Attis at first boasted that he had won these himself, but later, under the influence of wine, admitted that they were love-gifts from Agdistis. Hence those that are polluted with wine may not enter his sanctuary (Arnob.)] When Attis was fully grown, he went to Pessinous to wed the king's daughter, [being sent thither by his kinsfolk (Paus.), or summoned by Midas king of Pessinous, who disapproved

of the alliance with Agdistis and closed the town to prevent any untoward interruption of the wedding. But the Mother of the gods, aware that the young man's safety depended on his freedom from wedlock, entered the town, uplifting its walls on her head, which has worn a mural crown ever since (Arnob.). While the bridal hymn was being sung, Agdistis appeared and drove the whole company mad. [Attis cut off his genitals and so did the father of his bride (Paus.). Gallos mutilated himself and the daughter of his concubine cut off her breasts (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 13: the text of 5. 7 is confused. A. Kalkmann *op. cit.* p. 248 f. makes it probable that Gallos was king of Pessinous and father of the bride: Midas has been imported from an extraneous source). Attis snatched the pipe borne by Agdistis, and full of frenzy flung himself forth. Falling at length beneath a pine-tree he shore off his genitals and cried: 'Take these, Agdistis,—'twas for their sake thou didst stir up this storm of frenzied mischance.' Attis died from loss of blood. But the Great Mother of the gods collected the severed parts, wrapped them in his garment, and buried them in the ground. Violets sprang from his blood and wreathed the tree. Hence the sacred pines are still covered with garlands. The maiden betrothed to him—Valerius the priest calls her Ia—covered his bosom with soft wool, wept for his hard fate (Arnob.), as did Agdistis, [and then slew herself. Her blood became purple violets. The Mother of the gods dug beneath Ia (text doubtful), and up came an almond, signifying the bitterness of death. Then she carried the pine, under which Attis had mutilated himself, to her cave, and in company with Agdistis beat her breast about its trunk (text doubtful) (Arnob.)]. Zeus, when asked by Agdistis to bring Attis to life, refused, but consented that his body should remain incorruptible, [his hair always grow, and his little finger be endowed with perpetual movement. Satisfied with this, Agdistis consecrated Attis' body at Pessinous, and honoured it with yearly rites and a priesthood (Arnob.)].

Throughout this narrative (with which cp. Paus. 1. 4. 5) it is clear that Agdistis is only a Pessinuntine appellation of the Great Mother. So Strab. 469 *οἱ δὲ Βερέκυντες, Φρυγῶν τι φύλον, καὶ ἀπλῶς οἱ Φρύγες καὶ τῶν Τρώων οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἰδην κατοικοῦντες Ῥεῖαν μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ὀργιάζουσι ταύτη, Μητέρα καλοῦντες θεῶν καὶ Ἀγδιστιν* (so I. Casaubon for *ἀγεστιν* epit. Palat. *αλεστιν* codd. plerique) *καὶ Φρυγίαν θεὸν μεγάλην, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τόπων Ἰδαίαν καὶ Δινδυμήνην καὶ Σιπυλήνην καὶ Πεσσινουπίδα καὶ Κυβέλην, 567 Πεσσινούδ' ἐστὶν ἐμπόριον τῶν ταύτη μέγιστον, ἱερὸν ἔχον τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν σεβασμοῦ μεγάλου τυγχάνον· καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ἀγδιστιν* (so I. Casaubon for *ἀγδίστην* codd. *τ.ο. ἀγγιδίστην* (with *ι* added over the *η*) cod. D. *ἀγγιδιστιν* codd. rell. *Angidistam* Guarino da Verona), Hesych. *s.v.* Ἀγδιστις· ἡ αὐτὴ τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν. In Plout. *de flux.* 13. 3 *Ἀλγέσθιος ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Διοσφόρου, κόρης Ἰδης ἐρασθεὶς, συνῆλθεν τῇ προειρημένῃ καὶ ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τοὺς εἰρημένους Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους. γενομένης δ' αὐτῆς ἀφρονος ἐν τῷ τῆς Ῥεῖας ἀδύτῳ, Ἀλγέσθιος εἰς τιμὴν τῆς προειρημένης τὸ ὄρος Ἰδην μετωνόμασεν* R. Unger acutely cj. Ἀγδίστιος (Ἀγδεστις? A. B. C.) ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς σφόρου. The same divine name occurs in several inscriptions: (1) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3886, 1 ff. = P. Paris in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 237 f. no. 7, 1 ff. (Eumeneia) ὁ δῆμος ἐτε[μ]ησεν | Μόνιμον Ἀρίστων[ος,] | τὸν λαμπαδάρχην, |[ερέα Διὸς] | Σωτήρος καὶ Ἀπόλλ[ωνος καὶ] | Μηνὸς Ἀσκαηνοῦ [καὶ Μητρὸς] | θεῶν Ἀνγδίστεω[ς καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ] | Δαίμονος καὶ ε(ύ)σε[βεστάτης Σε]βαστῆς Εἰρήνης, κ.τ.λ. (2) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3993, 1 ff. (Ikonion) [θ]ε(ο)ὺς σωτήρας τὴν τε Ἀγγ[ιδιστιν] καὶ τὴν Μ[ητέ]ρα Βοη[θη]ν καὶ θεῶν τὴν Μητέρα κ.τ.λ. (3) *Ib.* iv no. 6837 (beneath a relief of Kybele, with a pair of lions, seated in an *aedicula* (R. Pococke *A Description of the East, and Some other Countries* London 1745 ii. 2. 212 pl. 98)) Μητρὶ θεῶν Ἀγγιστεὶ Ἀμέριμος οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως | εὐχήν. (4) B. Latyschev *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* Petropoli 1890 ii. 32 no. 31 (of Roman date; beneath a relief representing two draped female figures facing, with a girl standing on their right) Πλουσία ὑπὲρ τῶν θυγατέρων κατὰ πρόσταγμα | Ἀγγισ(τε)ι (the stone has ΑΓΓΙCCCI) ἀνέθηκε. On Agdistis see further K. Keil in *Philologus* 1852 vii. 198—201, W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1878 ii. 204 f., 207 f., 216, G. Knaack in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 767 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1528 n. 1, 1547.

Another myth connected with Mt Agdos was that of Deukalion (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 5

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Mount Olympos (?)¹.

Pisidia

Prostanna (?)².

justly cp. Plout. *de def. or.* 21 (quoted by Theodoret. *Gr. aff. cur.* p. 129 Gaisford) ἐπεὶ καὶ Σολύμους πυνθάνομαι τοὺς Λυκίων προσοίκους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τιμᾶν τὸν Κρόνον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποκτείνας τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν, Ἄρσαλον καὶ Δρύον (Ἄρνον Theodoret.) καὶ Τόσοβιν, ἐφυγε καὶ μετεχώρησεν ὁποῖδήποτε (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν), ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀμεληθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄρσαλον σκληροὺς (σκιρροὺς Theodoret.) θεοὺς προσαγορεύεσθαι, καὶ τὰς κατάρas ἐπὶ τούτων ποιῆσθαι δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ Λυκίους.

It would seem, then, that Kragos and his relatives were, not only heroified, but actually deified. More than that. Kragos was eventually identified with Zeus himself. For Lyk. *Al.* 541 f. ἐν τε δαιτὶ καὶ θαλυσιόις | λοιβαῖσι μειλίσσωσιν ἀστεργῆ Κράγον is thus expounded by Tzetz. *ad loc.*: ἀστεργῆ δὲ Κράγον τὸν Δία λέγει ἐπεὶ μὴ ἔστερξε τὴν θυσίαν αὐτῶν. λέγονται δὲ θύοντες τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐπιλαθέσθαι τοῦ Διός, ὅθεν φιλονεικίαν αὐτοῖς ἐνέβαλε. Κράγος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Λυκίᾳ τιμᾶται.

¹ *Supra* i. 100 n. 11. Methodios, bishop of the Lycian town Olympos at the beginning of s. iv. A.D., claims to have seen on the summit of this mountain *agnus castus* growing, quite unharmed, round a fire that sprang from the earth (Method. *ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 298 b 23 ff. Bekker ἐθεασάμην ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ ἐγὼ (δρος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Ὀλυμπος τῆς Λυκίας) πῦρ αὐτομάτως κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόρειαν τοῦ δρους κάτωθεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδιδόμενον, περὶ δὲ πῦρ ἄγνος φυτὸν ἐστὶν, οὕτω μὲν εὐθαλὲς καὶ χλοερὸν, οὕτω δὲ σύσκιον, ὡς ὑπὸ πηγῆς μᾶλλον αὐτὸ δοκεῖν βεβλαστηκέναι. κ.τ.λ.) The good bishop describes the phaenomenon in terms reminiscent of Moses and the burning bush; and it is noteworthy that Mt Olympos, otherwise called Phoinikous (Strab. 666), is nowadays named *Musa Dagh*, the 'mountain of Moses.' This mountain rises to a height of c. 1000^m due south of the town Olympos on the eastern coast of Lykia. But the perpetual fire is commonly associated with Mt Chimaira (*Yanâr-tash*), a height of some 250^m due north of the same town. Here in fact it is still to be seen—a strong jet of flaming gas that leaps up like a fountain from crevices in the rock. The immediate neighbourhood of the vent is bare of vegetation, but all around, a few paces off, is greenery in abundance. For classical references see W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2281; and for modern description and discussion, E. Petersen—F. von Luschan *Reisen in Lykien Milyas und Kibyratis* Wien 1889 pp. 138—142 ('Die Chimaira') with fig. 65 and pl. 17. In antiquity several such fiery jets were known and the site was called Hephaistion (Sen. *epist.* 79. 3, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 100), Hephaistia (Solin. 39. 1), or the mountains of Hephaistos (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 236). Skyl. *per.* 100 speaks of a sanctuary of Hephaistos above the harbour Siderous: ὑπὲρ τούτου ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἐφαιστοῦ ἐν τῷ δρει καὶ πῦρ πολὺ αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς καλεῖται καὶ οὐδέποτε σβέννυται. Hence Hephaistos appears, forging the shield of Achilles, on a copper of Olympos struck by Gordianus iii Pius (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 326 f. no. 10 pl. F, 14).

It was, however, only natural that in this town, which lay between Mt Olympos and Hephaistion, there should have been a joint recognition of Zeus and Hephaistos. R. Heberdey—E. Kalinka *Bericht über zwei Reisen in S.W. Kleinasien* Wien 1896 p. 34 no. 42 publish an inscription, in which mention is made of a fine payable θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις Διὶ καὶ Ἐφαιστῷ. G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. lxvi compares with it a bronze coin of Olympos at Paris with *obv.* head of Athena to right, *rev.* the ethnic and a thunderbolt.

² Prostanna (*Egherdir*) was situated on the shore of Limnai, at the foot of Mt Viarus (Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* London 1890 p. 407). Imperial coppers of the town have *obv.* Mt Viarus, *rev.* ΠΡ ΟC a tree (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. pp. cvi, 238 pl. 37, 9, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 175 no. 502 pl. 10, 27), and *rev.* ΠΡΟCΤΑΝ ΝΕΩΝ Mt Viarus with three trees growing on it and ΟΥΙΑΡΟC below (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. 239 pl. 37, 13 Claudius ii) or Mt Viarus with a pine-tree on its summit and ΒΙΑΡΟC below (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas.*

Mount Solymos¹.

Münzen ii. 391 no. 10 pl. 14, 5, A. Markl in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1900 xxxii. 157 no. 4 pl. 7, 4, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 709). Since another coin-type of Prostanna shows Zeus seated with Demeter (?) behind him (G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia*, etc. p. cvi n. †, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 709), it is possible that the cult of the god was connected with the mountain which dominates the town (for views see A. de Laborde, Becker, Hall et L. de Laborde *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure* Paris 1838 p. 111).

¹ Termessos (Termessus Maior) was built, a good 1000^m above sea-level, on Mt Solymos (Strab. 630) or Solyma (*id.* 666), the modern *Güldere Dag*h or *Güllük Dag*h. It was an ideally placed stronghold of the Solymoi, whose eponym Solymos figures on imperial coppers of the town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia*, etc. pp. xc, 271 no. 27 pl. 41, 12 *rev.* COLY MOC Solymos standing to left, with cuirass, spear, and short sword, 272 no. 36 pl. 41, 14 COLV MOC Solymos enthroned to left, with crested helmet and right hand raised to face, cp. Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 410 no. 6 pl. 15, 15 and 411 no. 10 pl. 15, 17, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 712). As a warlike hero he was affiliated sometimes to Zeus (Antimachos *frag.* 16 Bergk⁴ *ap.* schol. *P.T. Od.* 5. 283 *ὄθεν καὶ οἱ Σόλυμοι ὠνομάσθησαν* (δὲ add. T., omissis *ὄθεν καὶ οἱ Σόλυμοι*) ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Καλχηδονίας, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος δηλοῖ, Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21 (Iupiter vitiat) Chalceam nympham, ex qua nascitur Olympus (where O. Höfer cj. *Chalcedonian* and *Solymus*: see his remarks in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1154), Steph. Byz. s.v. Πισιδία· οἱ Πισίδαι πρότερον Σόλυμοι, ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Χαλδήνης), sometimes to Ares (*et. mag.* p. 721, 43 ff. Σόλυμοι (so T. Gaisford for Σόλυμος)· ἔθνος περὶ Κιλικίαν· ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Καλδήνης τῆς Πισίδου καὶ Ἄρεως· οἱ νῦν Ἰσαυροί).

The principal deity of the town in classical times was Zeus Σολυμεύς. Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vii. 138 no. 228 gives (after Sestini) a coin reading ZEYC COLYMEYC, and J. Friedlaender in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1885 xii. 6 figures another, at Berlin, with *obv.* ΔΙ[ΟΣ] ΣΟΛΥΜΕΩ[Σ] bust of Zeus Σολυμεύς (but see G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia*, etc. p. xc n. †). The head of Zeus appears as the normal Termessian coin-type c. 71—39 B.C., in the time of the Antonines, and from Gordian to Gallienus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia*, etc. p. 268 ff. pl. 41, 8—11, pl. 42, 1 f., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 712). E. Petersen in K. Lanckoroński *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* Wien 1892 ii. 47 ff. describes the remains of what was probably the temple of Zeus Σολυμεύς. The site is a raised terrace (1054^m) adjoining the southernmost part of the gymnasium and close to a group of other temples (N 3 on the large plan opposite p. 21). Here were found Doric column-drums, Attic bases with portions of shafts and plinths, architrave-blocks, coffering, the right-hand end-block of a pediment, statue-pedestals, and two reliefs from a frieze representing a Gigantomachy (Zeus and Apollon v. Giants with serpentine legs). These last were published by G. Hirschfeld in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix. 157—160 figs. A, B. Further, a cylindrical base (1.18^m high), which once supported a bronze statue (of Zeus?), is adorned with a relief of a priest presiding at the sacrifice of a humped bull (E. Petersen *op. cit.* ii. 32, 48 f. figs. 7 and 8) and bears the inscription Ὅτανις ΙΟΓΑΚ | ιερ(ε)[ύ]ς | Διὶ Σολυμεῖ· | Διονύσιος Ἡρακλε(ίδου) | Ἀλεξα[ν]-δρε[ύ]ς [έποιε(ι)?] (K. Lanckoroński *op. cit.* ii. 206 no. 78). Another base from the same site was set up when a certain Strabon was priest of Zeus Σολυμεύς (*id. ib.* ii. 206 no. 80, 15 ff. ἀνεστάθη | ἐπὶ ιερῶς | Σολυμέως Δι[ός] | Στράβωνος [β']). Another carried the statue of a distinguished priest (*id. ib.* ii. 206 no. 79, 1 ff. ἀρχιερέα καὶ ιερέα Διὸς Σολ[υμέως] | γενόμενον Λαέρτην Να[υναμόου] | Λαέρτου κ.τ.λ., cp. 207 no. 85, 2 ff. [ἀρ]χιερέα αὐτοκράτ-ορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ | [ιερ]έα Διὸς Σολυμέως διὰ βίου Λα[ερ]την | [Ναυναμόου] φιλόπατρι καὶ πατέρα πόλεως). Other life-priests of Zeus Σολυμεύς are recorded (*id. ib.* ii. 200 no. 39, 4 f. Τι. Κλ. Τειμόδωρον, 200 no. 41, 4 Τι. Κλ. Τειμόδωρον, 201 no. 48, 6 ff. Μάρ. Αὐρ. Μειδιανόν Πλατωνιανόν | Οὐάρον, 208 no. 93, 4 ff. Μάρ. | Αὐρ. Μειδιανόν | Οὐάρον).

The same deity was believed to have under his special protection the tombs of the dead, for any violation of their sanctity was punished with a fine usually payable to him. Numerous inscriptions of the sort are given by G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899

Pontos

*Βευυκ Ευλία*¹.

xxiii. 165—192, 280—286 (e.g. p. 169 no. 7, 9 f. ὁ τούτων τι πειράσας ὑπεύθυνος ἔσται Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✕ α, p. 171 no. 13, 7 f. ὁ πειράσας ἐκτελεῖ Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✕ α, p. 173 no. 18, 2 δώσει ὁ πειράσας προστείμου Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✕ β, p. 182 f. no. 41, 5 ff. ὁ τολμήσας | ἡ παραενχειρήσας ἀποτελεῖ | Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ἱερὰς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους δραχμὰς δισχειλίας πεντακοσίας, p. 184 f. no. 44, 5 f. ὁ πειράσας ἐνοσχεθήσεται ἐνκλήματι | τυμβωρυχίας καὶ ἐκτελεῖ Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✕ αφ', p. 188 no. 52, 3 f. ὁ πειράσας ἐκτελεῖ Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✕ η καὶ τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ ✕ η, p. 189 f. no. 54, 7 ff. ὁ τούτων τι πειράσας ἐνοχος ἔσται ἐνκλήματι τυμβωρυχίας καὶ ἀραις ταῖς εἰς τοὺς κατοιχομένους καὶ προσαποτελεῖ Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✕ α. See also pp. 167 f. no. 4, 7 ff., 170 no. 10, 7 f., 171 f. no. 14, 4 ff., 172 no. 15, 8 f., 173 f. no. 20, 10 f., 175 no. 24, 2 ff., 175 f. no. 25, 10 f., 176 no. 26, 7 f., 179 f. no. 34, 7 f., 183 f. no. 43, 9 f., 185 no. 45, 3 ff., 186 f. no. 48, 9 ff., 187 no. 49, 5 ff., 187 no. 50, 3 ff., 187 f. no. 51, 9 f., 188 f. no. 53, 11 f., 191 no. 57, 5 ff., 280 f. no. 62, 6 ff., 283 no. 64, 7 ff., 284 no. 66, 10 f., 285 no. 67, 8 ff., 285 f. no. 68, 9 f.), and a few by K. Lanckoroński *op. cit.* ii. 217 no. 154*, 2 f., 218 no. 167, 6 ff., 218 no. 171^a (= *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4366 k), 9 f., 219 no. 173, 16 ff., 219 no. 174, 7 f.

G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 127 f. publishes, among inscriptions copied by E. T. Daniell and Sir C. Fellows, no. 24, 3 ff. ἐκτελεῖ | τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ | ✕ μὲν κὲ τῷ Διὶ | Σολύμῳ ✕ μ', adding: 'The form Σόλυμος for Σολυμεύς is unusual; it occurs again on an inscription on p. 493 [of a MS. volume transcribed by S. Birch].' The form suggests that the eponymous hero Solymos, by a process already exemplified in the case of Kragos (*supra* p. 971 n. 2), had been raised to the rank of Zeus.

Other inscriptions from Termessos attest a cult of Zeus and Dione (*id. ib.* ii. 206 no. 77 on a lintel from the southernmost part of the gymnasium [τοῦ πρώτου ἱερασ]αμένου Διὸς καὶ Διώνης Ἀλφείδου Μολέου | [τὸν ναὸν καὶ τ]ὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς | ὑποστάσεως (i.e. ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ πρώτου ἱερασαμένου κ.τ.λ.), 219 no. 175^a (= *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4366 m) completed by G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxiii. 192 no. 60 on a sarcophagus at the first Gate ἱερέως Διὸς καὶ Διώνης | Γαῖος Διοτέλου Ἐρ. | Τρ. Γαίου Γενίου Χυ. τῆν | σωματοθήκην ἐαυτῷ καὶ | Ἀρτέμει Ἐρ. Τρ. Γαίου Γενίου Π. αὐτοῦ· κ.τ.λ.) and a cult of Zeus Ἐλευθέριος (K. Lanckoroński *op. cit.* ii. 203 no. 58, 26 ἱερέως Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου Διδότος Ἐρμαίου Ἀρτείου ✕ φ', cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia*, etc. pp. lxxxix n. ¶, xcii with n.*, 275 no. 55 pl. 42, 2 *obv.* ΤΕΡ ΜΙCCEΩΝ head of Zeus, laureate, to right, with Θ below; *rev.* ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑΤΕ ΡΜΗCCE ΗΤΟΚΑΤ ΟΥCΕΧΟ VCA in wreath = ἐλευθέρα Τερμησσέ | ἡ το(ὺς) κάπους ἔχουσα, which I take to be a tag from some popular chorus (hence the *quasi*-Doric κάπους) performed at a festival of Zeus Ἐλευθέριος).

¹ In 82 B.C. Mithridates vi Eupator, having cleared Cappadokia of the Roman forces, offered a solemn sacrifice to Zeus Στράτιος. Appian. *Mithr.* 66, perhaps following Nikolaos of Damaskos (T. Reinach *Mithridate Eupator roi de Pont* Paris 1890 p. 445 f.), describes the scene in detail (trans. H. White): 'The news of this brilliant and decisive victory spread quickly and caused many to change sides to Mithridates. The latter drove all of Murena's garrisons out of Cappadocia and offered sacrifice to Zeus Stratius on a lofty pile of wood on a high hill, according to the fashion of his country, which is as follows. First, the kings themselves carry wood to the heap. Then they make a smaller pile encircling the other one, on which they pour milk, honey, wine, oil, and various kinds of incense. A banquet is spread on the ground for those present (as at the sacrifices of the Persian kings at Pasargadæ) and then they set fire to the wood. The height of the flame is such that it can be seen at a distance of 1000 stades from the sea, and they say that nobody can come near it for several days on account of the heat. Mithridates performed a sacrifice of this kind according to the custom of his country.' In 74 B.C., when about to enter Paphlagonia, Mithridates repeated the offering. Appian. *Mithr.* 70 (trans. White) says: 'At the beginning of spring Mithridates made trial of his navy and sacrificed to Zeus

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[See further Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art ii. 40—45.] The summit of the hill forms a flattish space *c.* 250^m across and was enclosed by a *peribolos*-wall, which can still be traced, especially to the south-west. In the middle of the open space a square mound (*c.* 40^m each side) evidently covers some construction, for bits of moulding and the *débris* of cut marble are scattered over the ground. Here in all probability stood a monumental altar. A marble base found on the spot records the name of Cn. Claudius Philon as priest for life (J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* iii) Bruxelles 1910 i no. 142 τὸ ἀνάθημα] (or ἀ[γαλμα]) | ἐκ τῶν τ[οῦ] | θεοῦ Γναῖ|ος Κλαύδιος Φίλων | ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου) and two inscriptions from the neighbouring village of *Ebimi* preserve dedications to Zeus Στράτιος (*eid. ib.* i no. 140 on a small limestone altar Διὶ | Στρα|τίῳ | Βασι|λεὺς (a frequent name in Pontos) | εὐχῆ, no. 141 on two portions of a limestone balustrade Διὶ Στρατίῳ [ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ] κυρία ἐπὶ τῆς συνῶ|ρχίας Πομπ[ωνίου. τοῦ?] Κανδίδου, νεωκο|ροῦντος γ' [..... ο]ν Ἀγριππιανοῦ, ἐκ | τῶν συν(λ)ε[λεγμένων χρημάτων]ν ρ' ἔτους ρ' ρά ρ' (=98/99 A.D.). In line 4 συνα[θροισθέντων κ.τ.λ.] is possible). From these inscriptions we gather that in the year 99 A.D. the cult was administered by *συνάρχοντες* and *νεωκόροι*. To the west of the precinct is rising ground formerly covered with buildings. The festivities there celebrated seem to have included dramatic shows—witness the epitaph of the strolling player Gemellos, found at *Ebimi* (F. Cumont in the *Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfelds sechzigstem Geburtstag* Berlin 1903 p. 277 ff. = J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *op. cit.* i no. 143 κείμε Γεμέλλος ἐγὼ | ὁ πολλοῖς θεάτροις | πολλὰ λαλήσας | καὶ πολλὰς ὁδοὺς | αὐτὸς ὁδεύσας, | καὶ οὐκέτι μου στόμα | φωνά[ς] ἀπολύει, | οὐδὲ χειρῶν κρότος | ἔρχετε, ἀλλ' ἀποδοὺς | τὸ δάνιον ('my debt to nature') πεπόμενε. | ταῦτα πάντα κόνις. The man is as full of quotations as Dikaiopolis).

Other traces of the same cult came to light at *Ghel-Ghiraz*, some sixteen miles west of Amaseia, on the edge of the plain Chiliokomon (*Soulou-Oua*). Here was found a marble altar of *s. i* (?) A.D. dedicated to Zeus Στράτιος (*eid. ib.* i no. 152 Διὶ Στρατίῳ εὐ[χ]ῆς | καὶ εὐσεβίας [χ]άριον Κῦρος καὶ | Φιλέταιρος οἱ | Κλάρου. The letters χ, χ, being crosses, have been effaced by some zealous Mohammedan) and sundry remnants of his temple (Ionic and Corinthian capitals, a column-shaft in red marble, fragments of cornice, blocks of marble) scattered through the village. The temple itself probably stood on a small polygonal plateau cut out on a spur of the mountainous heights above *Ghel-Ghiraz* (map xii).

Lastly, an inscription of Roman date from Athens mentions an offering to Zeus Στράτιος made by four citizens of Amaseia (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. i no. 201 ἀγαθῆ τύχη | Διὶ Στρατί[φ] | Διότιμος, Ὑψικράτη[ς], | Δρόσερος, Σεύηρος | οἱ Ἀμασεῖς).

F. Cumont justly regards the sacred pines still growing on *Beuyuk Evlia* as comparable with the trees beside the altar on the coins of Amaseia (*supra* figs. 858—861), with the two oaks planted by Herakles at Herakleia Pontike by the altars of Zeus Στράτιος (Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 239 in Ponto citra Heracleam arae sunt Iovis Στρατίου cognomine, ibi quercus duae ab Hercule satae), and with the sacred plane-trees of Zeus Στράτιος at Labranda (*supra* p. 590). But with equal justice Cumont refuses to see in *Beuyuk Evlia* the scene of Mithridates' pyre, which was visible far out at sea and must therefore have been raised on some such peak as *Ak-Dagh*, the highest summit of the country. As to the nature of Zeus Στράτιος, after renewed consideration of the available *data* (cp. F. Cumont 'Le Zeus Stratios de Mithridate' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1901 xliii. 47—57), he arrives at the following conclusion: 'Peut-être était-il à l'origine la divinité locale de quelque tribu indigène de la vallée de l'Iris, qui s'assemblait pour l'adorer sur le sommet d'une montagne voisine. A leur arrivée dans le pays, les colons grecs auraient alors, suivant une coutume constante, transformé cette divinité barbare en un Zeus guerrier. Puis, quand une maison d'origine iranienne fonda un royaume dans cette région, elle aurait prétendu reconnaître dans ce Zeus son Ahoura-Mazda, et lui aurait offert des sacrifices nouveaux, imités de ceux qu'accomplissaient les monarques perses. La nature du dieu serait donc composite; elle serait formée d'une réunion des trois éléments,

KappadokiaMount Argaios (?)¹.

pontique, grec et iranien, dont la combinaison caractérise la religion comme la civilisation de ces contrées.'

To this I would add but two remarks. Doubtless, as Cumont says, the pyre of Mithridates on the Pontic mountain bears some resemblance to the perpetual fire on the mountain of Zoroastres (Dion Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 92 f. Reiske cited *supra* i. 783 f., ii. 33), and the offering of milk, honey, wine, and oil by Mithridates recalls the offering of oil, milk, and honey by the Magoi (Strab. 733). But these practices can be paralleled from Greek as well as from Persian usage. The big blaze reminds us of the bonfire on the top of Mt Kithairon kindled once in sixty years at the Great Daidala, when the oak-brides of Zeus were burnt (Paus. 9. 3. 1 ff. cited *supra* p. 898 n. 6). And the offering of milk, honey, wine, and oil is suggestive of the usual Hellenic gifts to the dead (see e.g. P. Stengel *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*² München 1920 p. 149 'Man spendet Wein, Wasser, Milch, Honig und Öl, doch selten alles zugleich.' Is the ritual of Aisch. *Pers.* 610 ff. Persian or Greek?). There may after all have been some historical foundation for the folk-belief that a saint lies buried on *Benyük Evlia*.

¹ Mt Argaios (*Erjäus*), the culminating point of Antitauros and the highest (3840^m) peak in Asia Minor, has its summit covered with perpetual snow (Strab. 538, Solin. 45. 4). On the side facing Kaisareia (*Kaiserich*) this forms a vast slope of glittering white—a fact which perhaps gave its name to the mountain (for *ἀργός*, *ἀργός*, *ἀργήεις*, etc. see Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 49 f., Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 74 f.).

In antiquity few persons reached the summit, and those who did declared that in clear weather they could see both the Euxine and the bay of Issoa (Strab. 538) ! The ascent readily won its way into the region of the mythical. W. J. Hamilton *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia* London 1842 ii. 275 reports the following tale: 'A traveller once came from Frangistan, in search of a rare plant which grew only on the summit of Argæus, having ten leaves round its stalk and a flower in the centre. Here it was said to be guarded by a watchful serpent, which only slept one hour out of the four-and-twenty. The traveller in vain tried to persuade some of the natives to accompany him, and point out the way; none of them would venture, and at length he made the ascent alone. Failing, however, in his attempt to surprise the dragon, he was himself destroyed. The story adds that he was afterwards discovered, transformed into a book, which was taken to Caesareia, and thence found its way back into Frangistan.'

In modern times ascents have been made by Hamilton (1837), Tchihatcheff (1848), and H. F. Tozer with T. M. Crowder (1879). See W. J. Hamilton *op. cit.* ii. 274 ff. (with lithographic pl. view of Mt Argaios as seen from *Kara Hissar*), P. de Tchihatcheff *Asie Mineure* Paris 1853 i. 439 ff. (with fig. 9 view of Mt Argaios, fig. 10 do. as seen from *Erkellet*, fig. 11 do. as seen from *Tomarsd*, fig. 14 plan of Mt Argaios), H. F. Tozer *Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor* London 1881 pp. 106—131. Tozer says of the summit (*ib.* p. 125 f.): 'The view was quite clear and very extensive, including the long line of the Anti-Taurus to the east, the Allah Dagh and other mountains that run down towards Lycaonia to the south-west, and to the north the vast undulating plains of the interior which we had crossed in coming from Yeuzgatt. One or two small lakes were visible.... We could also trace the depression in which the Halys runs, though the river itself was not in sight. Kaiserich lay below us...like a dark carpet spread on the bare plain. But far the most remarkable feature was the mountain itself, for the lofty pinnacles of red porphyritic rock, rising from among the snows around and beneath us, veritable *aiguilles*, were as wonderful a sight as can well be conceived [Tozer here gives a striking view of these three needles, which are c. 50 feet in height]. The crater or craters, which once occupied the summit, are too much broken away to be easily traceable, the best-marked being that which faces east; but below, all round the base of the mountain, is a belt of volcanic cones. The idea that prevailed among the ancients, that on clear days both the Euxine and the Mediterranean were visible from here, is wholly impossible on account of

the distance, and the height of the intervening mountains.' Tozer adds (*ib.* p. 126 f.): 'As we were climbing about the rocks close by, we found to our great surprise that in places they were perforated with ancient human habitations. One of these wound inwards to a considerable depth with rude niches hollowed in the sides like those which we had seen on the banks of the Halys.... Anyhow there was no question of their being artificial abodes, for besides the niches, the marks of some hard instrument were evident on the roof and sides.'

The capital of Kappadokia, built at the base of Mt Argaios, was named successively Mazaka, Eusebeia, and Kaisareia (Strab. 537 f., Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Καισάρεια). Bronze coins of Eusebeia, struck by Archelaos king of Kappadokia 36 B.C.—17 A.D., have *rev.* Mt Argaios (*Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 581 no. 1 pl. 62, 15), sometimes with an eagle on its summit (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 45 no. 2 pl. 8, 1 (= my fig. 862)). Imperial coins of Kaisareia, in silver and bronze, from Tiberius to Gordianus iii, repeat the type with many interesting variations (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 46 ff. pl. 8, 8, 12, pl. 9, 6, 7, 21, pl. 10, 6, 7 (= my fig. 864), 8, 14, 17, 18, 20, pl. 11, 1 (= my fig. 865), 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13 (= my fig. 869), 15—19, pl. 12, 1, 2, 3 (= my fig. 873), 4, 7, 9, 12, pl. 13, 1, 2 (= my fig. 875), 3, 4 (= my fig. 877), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 582 ff. pl. 62, 16, 19, 22—24, 25 (= my fig. 868), 26—28, 29 (= my fig. 874), Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 417 ff. no. 183 ff. pl. H, 1—4, 5 (= my fig. 872), G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 167 ff. pl. 6, 10, 11, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 752 f. fig. 331. Figs. 863, 866, 867, 870, 871, 876 are from specimens in my collection. See also *supra* i. 603 n. 2). Cp. a red jasper intaglio in the British Museum, which shows Mt Argaios with a wreath above it and a goat's head below (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 135 no. 1107), another from the Blacas collection, which represents the mountain inscribed ΑΡΓΑΙΟC and topped by a radiate figure holding a *patera* in his left hand, a sceptre in his right (*ib.* p. 135 no. 1105), and a third at Berlin, which crowns the summit with an eagle holding a wreath in its beak (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 313 no. 8558 pl. 61).

This famous type has been discussed at length by W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. pp. xxxviii—xli and by O. Rossbach in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1901 vii. 406—409. The general shape of the mountain with its crater above and volcanic cones below is adequately rendered. The woods which formerly fringed its sides (Strab. 538 ἀξύλου γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης σχεδὸν τι τῆς συμπάσης Καππαδοκίας, ὃ Ἀργαῖος ἔχει περικείμενον δρυμόν, κ.τ.λ.) are represented by trees (figs. 866, 869 ff.). The game inhabiting them is suggested by the lively little picture of the hound chasing the goat or stag (fig. 863). But Argaios was more than a picturesque object or happy hunting-ground. It was to the Cappadocians καὶ θεὸς καὶ ὄρκος καὶ ἀγάλμα (Max. Tyr. *diss.* 8. 8 Dübner cited *supra* i. 102 n. 5). As an ἀγάλμα it is seen on an altar (fig. 869 ff.) or within a temple (fig. 876). It is even worn as a head-dress by Tranquillina (fig. 877), who thus appears as the Tyche of Kaisareia (H. Dressel in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1901 xxiv. 86 f.). Its claim to divinity is stated somewhat differently by Solin. 45. 4 Mazacam sub Argaeo sitam Cappadoces matrem urbium numerant; qui Argaeus nivalibus ingis arduus ne aestivo quidem torrente pruinis caret quemque indidem populi habitari deo (*habitare deum* cod. G) credunt. It remains therefore to ask what deity was believed to inhabit the mountain. W. Wroth rightly rules out Sarapis, though a coin at Paris shows that god holding the mountain in his hand (J. A. Blanchet in the *Rev. Num.* iii Série 1895 xiii. 74 f. pl. 3, 15). This, like the Egyptian symbol (? lotos: cp. *supra* p. 773 fig. 737) which tops the mountain on a coin of Trajan (fig. 863), merely proves that from time to time Sarapis bulked big at Kaisareia. Wroth himself concludes (as does Rossbach *loc. cit.* p. 407 f.) that the naked male figure, who appears on the mountain-top holding globe and sceptre (fig. 867) and sometimes wearing a crown of rays (cp. fig. 868), is the deified emperor. Accordingly he takes the eagle on the mountain (fig. 862) or on the mountain-altar (fig. 869) to be the Roman eagle, interprets the 'two or more figures' sometimes seen on the summit (figs. 870, 872) as 'Imperial personages?', and draws attention to a coin of Caracalla at Berlin (J. Friedlaender in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1884 xi. 52 pl. 1, 5, better read by B. Pick in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 455 ff.) which shows Mt Argaios and a distyle

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KilikiaAnazarbos¹.Mount Olympos (?)².**Kypros**Amathous, Golgoi, Kition³.Mount Olympos (?)⁴.**Assyria**Mount Zagros⁵.**Kommagene***Nemroud Dagh*⁶.**Syria**Chalkis sub Libano (?)⁷.

temple below with a star in its pediment and between its columns the inscription ΕΙC ΕΩ|ΝΑ ΤΟΥ|C ΚΥΠΙΟΥ (= *eis alōna tous kyplous*, an acclamation of the imperial house). Wroth, however, admits 'that before the Imperial age some local divinity—perhaps a mountain-god—was worshipped in connection with Argæus.'

This is unsatisfactory. The eagle on the mountain-top occurs before the town was renamed Kaisareia (fig. 862 inscribed ΕΥΣ[Ε] ΒΕΙ[Α]), and the eagle on the mountain-altar is much too prominent to be merely a Roman eagle (fig. 869). Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 166, 174 f. did not scruple to speak of a 'Zeus Argæos.' And, though the exact appellation has not yet been found (for Zeus ἀργής see *supra* i. 31 f., 317 f.), he was in all probability on the right track. At least the naked figure with globe and sceptre, the radiate crown, the sun and moon (figs. 869, 873), the star (figs. 871, 876) or stars (fig. 864)—to say nothing



Fig. 878.

of the eagle—are all appropriate to a Hellenistic Zeus. At Kaisareia such an one would readily take on oriental features, e.g. the tall headdress with which he appears on a silver coin of Trajan (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 52 no. 46 ('Zeus?') pl. 9, 8 (= my fig. 878)). Besides, the two supporters with lances (fig. 870) can then be reasonably explained as the Dioskouroi. It would seem, in fact, that the three rocky pinnacles of the mountain-top were connected with Zeus and the Dioskouroi respectively. I should go further and claim that here, as elsewhere (*supra* pp. 160, 431 f.), the Dioskouroi are

anthropomorphic sky-pillars. And I should conjecture that their older aniconic forms were perpetuated by local piety in the curious pillars to right and left of the sacred mountain (figs. 874, 875). The rays that crown these pillars are no accidental adornment. It must often have happened that Dioscuric stars (St Elmo's fires) were to be seen in stormy weather flickering about the *aiguilles* of the summit.

Even so we have hardly exhausted the significance of the coin-types. One of them (fig. 867) apparently attaches a goat's head to the outline of the mountain, low down on its left hand side,—a detail which recalls the goat's head on the gem in the British Museum (*supra*), but is not easy to explain. And what are we to make of the star-like flower or rosette that is found so frequently in the centre of the design? Is this only a stylised rendering of rocks or bushes? Or dare we surmise that popular belief connected the mountain with some magical or mythical flower such as that mentioned by W. J. Hamilton in the tale already told?

¹ Zeus Ὀλύβριος or Ὀλύβρις (*supra* i. 597 n. 4).

² *Supra* i. 100 n. 12.

³ Θεὸς Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (15)).

⁴ *Supra* i. 100 n. 14.

⁵ Zagreus (*supra* i. 651), whose art-type was borrowed by the Cretan Zeus Ἰδαῖος (*supra* i. 644 ff. pl. xxxv).

⁶ Zeus Ὠρομάσθης (*supra* i. 741 ff.).

⁷ A bronze coin of s. i B.C., probably struck at Chalkis sub Libano (*Anjar*) near

Mount Kasion¹.

Heliopolis (*Ba'albek*), has *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right, *rev.* a temple with two columns, from each of which hangs a fillet, and two steps, on which is the inscription ΧΑΛΚΙ ΔΕΩΝ. Within the temple is a conical stone bound with a fillet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* pp. liv, 279 no. 1 pl. 33, 10 (=my fig. 879), *Head Hist. num.*¹ p. 655 (but not *ib.*² p. 783)). W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1854 Asiatic Greece p. 41 had assigned a similar specimen in his collection to Chalkis (*Kinnesrin*) near Beroia (*Aleppo*). De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* p. 41 f., 167 treats this conical stone as a primitive *agalma* of Zeus. And he may well be right (*supra* i. 521 n. o), though it should be remembered that Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 222 f. referred bronze coins with a like *rev.* and *obv.* dolphin round trident (p. 222 no. 60) or head of Hera (p. 223 nos. 63 and 64) to Chalkis in Euboeia (so also *Head Hist. num.*² p. 360, Anson, *Num. Gr.* v. 19 nos. 133—135).

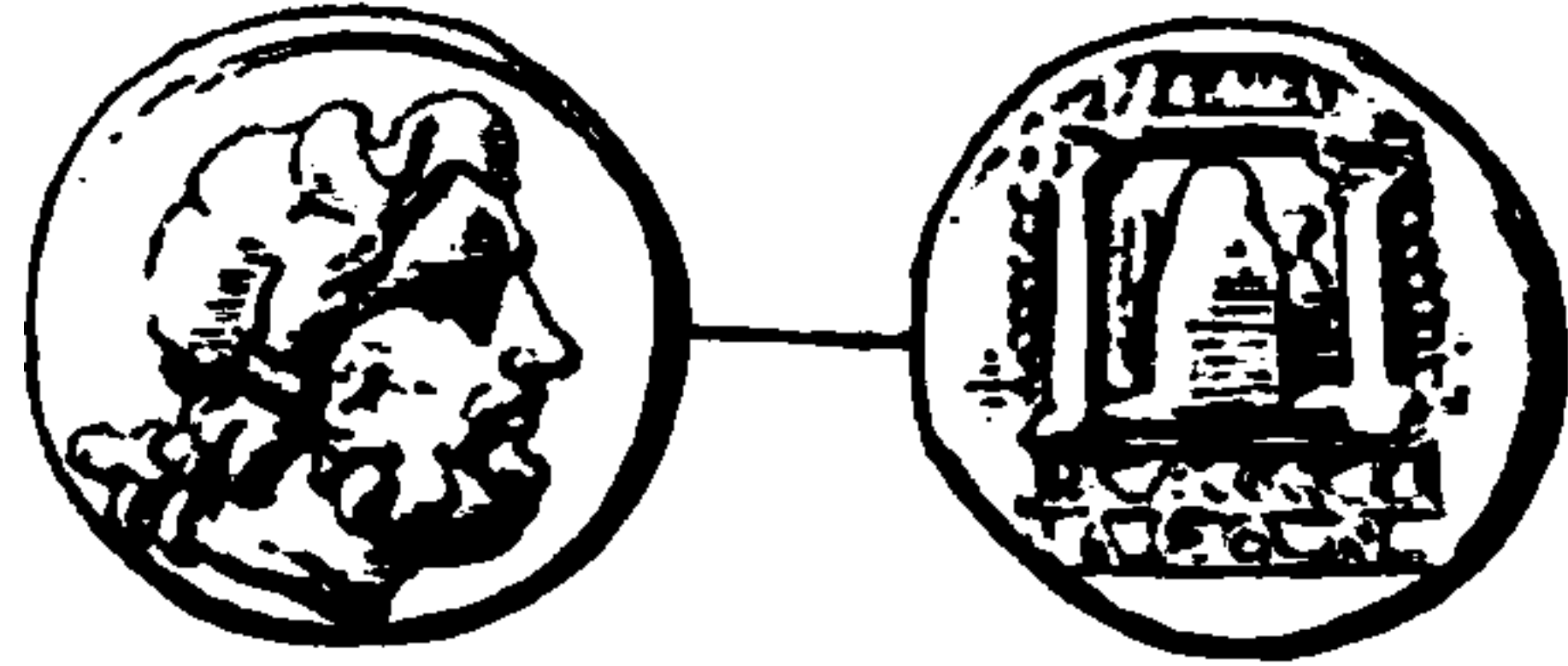


Fig. 879.

¹ Mt Kasion (*Djebel-el-Akrá*) rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 5318 ft. The ancients declared that from its summit the sun could be seen in the fourth watch of the night (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 80, Solin. 36. 3, Mela 1. 61 (confuses with Mt Kasion in Egypt), Mart. Cap. 680) or at second cock-crow (Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 4). According to Euhemeros the mountain derived its name from a certain king Kasios, who had entertained Zeus (*Euhem. ap. Eusch. praep. ev. 2. 2. 61, Lact. div. inst. 1. 22 cited supra p. 588 n. 1*). Sanchouniathon, as reported by Philon of Byblos, held that Aion and Protogonos had descendants as mortal as themselves named Phos, Pyr, and Phlox, who discovered and taught how to make fire from the friction of wood on wood. They in turn had gigantic sons, who gave their names to the mountains that they occupied—Kassion, Libanos, Antilibanos, and Brathy (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 102 herba Sabina, brathy appellata a Graecis, duorum generum est; altera tamarici folio similis, altera cupresso; quare quidam Creticam cupressum dixerunt). Hence sprang Samemroumos (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* renders 'der hohe Herr des Himmels'), also called Hypsouranios, <and Ousoös (on whom see Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 392)>, who were named after their mothers, the women of that age being free to mingle with any whom they met (Philon Bybl. *frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 566 Müller) *ap. Euseb. praep. ev. 1. 10. 9*). Synkellos states that Kasos and Belos, sons of Inachos, founded Antiocheia on the Orontes (Synkell. *chron.* 126 A (i. 237 Dindorf), cp. Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 28 Dindorf). Stephanos of Byzantion declares that Mt Kasion in Syria was colonised from Kasos, one of the Kyklades, which was called after Kasos the father of Kleomachos (Steph. Byz. *s.v. Κάσος*, but cp. *id. s.v. Κάσιον* where much the same is said of Mt Kasion in Egypt). The true derivation of the name is still to seek: for modern conjectures see W. W. Baudissin *Studien sur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1878 ii. 238 f., Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2266 f.

Several myths attached to the mountain. Zeus pursued Typhon to Mt Kasion (Apollod. 1. 6. 3 cited *supra* p. 448 n. 2). The inhabitants of the district, when locusts devastated their crops, besought Zeus to send the *Seleucides aves* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 75 *Seleucides aves vocantur quarum adventum ab Iove precibus inpetrant Gasii* (so Hermolaus Barbarus for *casini* edd. vett. *casmi* cod. F². C. Mayhoff prints *Cadmi*) *montis incolae fruges eorum locustis vastantibus. nec unde veniant quove abeant compertum, numquam conspectis nisi cum praesidio earum indigetur*). The Antiochenes honoured Triptolemos as a hero with a festival on Mt Kasion (Strab. 750). Some said that Kyparissos, a Cretan boy of great beauty and purity, fled from Apollon or Zephyros to the river Orontes and Mt Kasion, where he was changed into a cypress-tree (interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 680).

In historical times we get repeated allusions to the cult of Zeus on this mountain. When Seleukos i Nikator founded Seleukeia Pieria, he first on the twenty-third day of

the month Xanthikos (April) offered sacrifice to Zeus Κάσιος upon Mt Kasion : an eagle carried off a morsel of the sacrificed flesh towards the sea-shore and so showed him the right site (Io. Malal. *chron.* 8 p. 199 Dindorf, cp. *ib.* pp. 199 f., 202 f. *Infra* Append. N *med.*). Trajan, accompanied by Hadrian, visited Seleukeia in the month Apellaios (December) 113 A.D. on his way to fight the Persians (Io. Malal. *chron.* 11 p. 270 Dindorf). Here Trajan dedicated to Zeus Κάσιος silver bowls and a great gilded ox-horn for his victory over the Getai (Soud. s.v. Κάσιον ὄρος), while Hadrian commemorated the occasion in a tactful epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 332 (Adrianos) Ζηνὶ τοῦδ' Ἀλνεάδης Κασίῳ Τραϊανὸς ἀγαλμα, | κοίρανος ἀνθρώπων κοιράνῳ ἀθανάτων, | ἄνθετο, δοιὰ δέπα πολυδαίδαλα καὶ βοὸς οὐρον | δοσκητὸν χρυσῷ παμφανῶντι κέρας, | ἕξατρα προτέρης ἀπὸ ληίδος, ἦμος ἀπειρῆς | πέρσεν ὑπερθύμους ᾧ ὑπὸ δουρὶ Γέτας. | ἀλλὰ σύ οἱ καὶ τήνδε, κελαινεφές, ἐγγυάλιζον | κρῆναι ἐυκλειῶς δῆριν Ἀχαιμενίην, | ὄφρα τοι εἰσορῶντι διάνδιχα θυμὸν λαίην | δοιὰ, τὰ μὲν Γετέων σκῦλα, τὰ δ' Ἀρσακιδέων). In 129 A.D. Hadrian climbed the mountain by night to witness the sunrise; but rain came on and, as he was sacrificing, a thunderbolt fell and destroyed both victim and priest (Spart. v. *Hadr.* 14. 3). Perhaps Lucius Verus too paid homage to Zeus Κάσιος, for a medallion, struck in 167 A.D. on account of the victories won in the east by Avidius Cassius, shows the emperor offering Nike to Zeus who is seated on a mountain (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² iii. 197 no. 291, *supra* i. 133 f. fig. 99) : this inference, defended by W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 971 f., is questioned by Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2265. In the spring of 363 A.D. Julian ascended Mt Kasion on a festal day and there sacrificed a hecatomb to Zeus Κάσιος (Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 4, Io. Malal. *chron.* 13. p. 327 Dindorf, cp. Ioul. *misop.* 361 D, Liban. *or.* 14. 69 (ii. 112, 14 Foerster)) : he made the ascent at midday, saw the god (? in a dream), rose up, and received some useful advice (Liban. *or.* 18. 172 (ii. 310, 18 ff. Foerster) *eis τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος παρὰ τὸν Κάσιον ἀναβάς Δία μεσημβρίας σταθερᾶς εἶδε τε τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἰδὼν ἀνέστη καὶ συμβουλήν ἐδέξατο, δι' ἧς πάλιν διαφεύγει λόχον).*

But the most interesting evidence with regard to the cult is supplied by the coin-types of Seleukeia. Coppers struck by Trajan and Antoninus Pius have *rev.* a shrine with pyramidal roof resting on four pillars and enclosing a sacred stone, which is filleted. On



Fig. 880.



Fig. 881.



Fig. 882.



Fig. 883.



Fig. 884.

the roof is an eagle with spread wings, and beneath the shrine ΣΕΥΚ ΚΑCΙΟC (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 274 pl. 33, 3 (= my fig. 880) Trajan, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 216 f. pl. 74, 32 Trajan) or ΣΕΥΚ ΚΑCΙΟC with star in field (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 275 pl. 33, 4 (= my fig. 882), Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 53 no. 354 pl. 8

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Ioudaia

Jerusalem¹.

Aigyptos

Alexandreia².Athribis³.Mount Kasion⁴.

¹ Hadrian attempted to crush Christianity by erecting a statue of Aphrodite on the site of the Crucifixion and an image of Zeus on the site of the Resurrection (Hieron. *epist.* 58. 3 *ad Paulinum* (xxii. 581 Migne) ab Hadriani temporibus usque ad imperium Constantini, per annos circiter centum octoginta, in loco resurrectionis simulacrum Iovis, in crucis rupe statua ex marmore Veneris a gentibus posita colebatur, existimantibus persecutionis auctoribus quod tollerent nobis fidem resurrectionis et crucis, si loca sancta per idola polluissent. Bethleem nunc nostram et augustissimum orbis locum, de quo Psalmista canit 'Veritas de terra orta est' (Ps. 85. 11), lucus inumbrabat Thamuz, id est Adonidis, et in speeu, ubi quondam Christus parvulus vagiit, Veneris amasius plangebatur = Paulin. Nolan. *epist.* 31. 3 (lxi. 326 C—327 A Migne) nam Hadrianus imperator, existimans se fidem Christianam loci iniuria perempturum, in loco passionis <statuam Veneris, in loco resurrectionis (*ins.* A.B.C.)> simulacrum Iovis consecravit, et Bethlehem Adonidis fano profanata est, ut quasi radix et fundamentum ecclesiae tolleretur, si in iis locis idola colerentur, in quibus Christus natus est ut pateretur, passus est ut resurgeret, surrexit ut regnaret iudicatus).

So even the pagans realised that the Cross meant Love Divine and the empty Tomb Omnipotence.

² Θεὸς Ὑψιστος καὶ πάντων Ἐπόπτης (*supra* p. 889 n. o no. (33)).

³ Θεὸς Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 889 n. o no. (33)).

⁴ Mt Kasion, a barren sand-dune adjoining Lake Sirbonis, was famous for its sanctuary of Zeus Κάσιος (Strab. 760, Lucan. 8. 858, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 68, Solin. 34. 1, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κάσιον). According to Sanchouniathon as reported by Philon of Byblos, the descendants of the Dioskouroi, when shipwrecked, were cast up on Mt Kasion and dedicated a temple there (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 568 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 20 κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων σχεδίας καὶ πλοῖα συνθέντες ἐπλευσαν, καὶ ἐκριφέντες περὶ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος ναὸν αὐτόθι ἀφιέρωσαν). The story is late, but the sanctuary must indeed have received many a dedication from travellers who had escaped the dangers of the shallow sea and the shifting sand (T. Wiegand in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1920 xxxv Arch. Anz. p. 87 f.). Near this spot Cn. Pompeius Magnus the triumvir was murdered as he stepped ashore, on Sept. 29, 48 B.C., and here he was buried (Strab. 760, Vell. Pat. 2. 53, Lucan. 8. 560 ff., Plout. *v. Pomp.* 78—80, Appian. *bell. civ.* 2. 84—86, Dion Cass. 42. 3—5, *alib.*). His partisans erected bronze statues to his memory near Mt Kasion (Appian. *bell. civ.* 2. 86). In the winter of 69—70 A.D. Titus and his army passed from Pelousion to the sanctuary of Zeus Κάσιος, and thence to Ostrakine, Rhinokoroura, etc. *en route* for Jerusalem (Ioseph. *bell. Iud.* 4. 11. 5). In 130 A.D. Hadrian, on his way from Palestine to Egypt, offered a sacrifice (*ἐνήγισε*) to Pompeius and rebuilt his ruined tomb (Dion Cass. 69. 11, Spart. *v. Hadr.* 14. 4), clearing it of sand and replacing the bronze statues, which had been removed to the *ἀάyton* of the sanctuary (Appian. *bell. civ.* 2. 86). Hadrian's epigram on the tomb is still extant (*Anth. Pal.* 9. 402 (Adrianos) τῷ ναοῖς βρῆθοντι πῶση σπάνις ἐπλετο τύμβου).

The little town of Kasion made a *spécialité* of intricate woodwork; whence the proverb Κασιωτικὸν ἄμμα (Diogeneian. 5. 44, Apostol. 9. 46, *prov. Bodl.* 527 p. 62 Gaisford, Soud. *s.v.* ἄμματα, Κάσιον ὄρος, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ἄμματα). A papyrus of 283 A.D. mentions Casiotic joiners (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1898 i. 112 ff. no. 55, 6 Κασιωδῶν). We might have supposed that the local manufacture of Κασιωτικὰ ἱμάτια (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κάσιον) or Κασιανὰ ὑφάσματα (Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 260) rested on a blunder (ἱμάτια or ὑφάσματα for ἄμματα). But Makrisi too speaks of certain fabrics called *qassiah* as made on the spot (Maqrizi *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte* trad. U. Bouriant Paris 1900 p. 520). Early in *s. i* B.C., if not in

Pelousion¹.

s. ii. B.C., a native of the town made a double dedication in Delos to Zeus Κάσιος along with the Θεός Μέγας (*quis?* See *infra* Index i s.v. Odéssos) and Tachnepsis (a deity new to Egyptologists) (P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Delos du III^e au I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 95 ff. no. 16 Θεῶι Μεγάλω | καὶ Διὶ Κασίω καὶ Ταχνηψεί | Ὀρος Ὀρου Κασιώτης | ὑπὲρ Λευκίου Γρανίου | τοῦ Ποπλίου Ῥωμαίου · | γυναῖκα μὴ προσάγειν | μηδὲ ἐν ἐρείοις ἀνδρα · | κατὰ πρόσταγμα, no. 16 bis [Θεῶ]ι | [Μεγά]λω | [καὶ Διὶ Κ]ασίω καὶ | [Τα]χνηψεί | [Ὀρο]ς Ὀρου Κασ(ι)ώτης | [ὑ]πὲρ Λευκίου Γρανίου | τοῦ Ποπλίου Ῥωμαίου, | κατὰ πρόσταγμα · | γυναῖκα δὲ μὴ προσάγειν | μηδὲ ἐν ἐρείοις ἀνδρα). Similarly a native of Berytos gave a thankoffering in Delos to Zeus Κάσιος (*id. ib.* p. 97 no. 17 Ζενοφῶν | Διονυσίου | Βηρύτιος | Διὶ Κασίω | χαριστήριον). And, as Roussel remarks, Zeus Κάσιος is again grouped with Egyptian divinities in an inscription from Athens (A. Wilhelm *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* Wien 1909 p. 136 'sie nennt in den ersten erhaltenen Zeilen Priester verschiedener Gottheiten, so des Ὀρος, Θεός Ἀγαθός, Ζεὺς Κάσιος, Ἀπόλλων, Διόνυσος, des [Διόνυσος und der] Ἀριάγ[νη], der Μήτηρ θεῶν, der [Οὐρ]ανία Ἀφροδείτη Νεικη ἐν Κανώπῳ.' A. Salač, who publishes the inscription in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 182—187, revises this list as follows: *no.* 3 f. [Ἄρ]πο|κράτους, 5 Ὀρου, 6 Ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ, 7 Διὸς Κασί[ου], 9 Ἀπόλλωνος, 11 Διονύσο[υ] -- Μητρὸς θεῶν, 13 ἐν Κ[α]νώπῳ (*i.e.* Sarapis at Kanopos (Strab. 801)) -- [Οὐρ]ανίας Ἀφροδείτης, 14 [Ἰσιδος Ταποσ]ειριάδος).

J. Clédat in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1905 pp. 602—611, *ib.* 1909 pp. 764—774, *ib.* 1911 p. 433 proves that Mt Kasion was not situated, as is commonly held, at *Ras-Bouroun* on the narrow strip of land between the sea and the lake, but at *Mahemdiah* (*Mohamedieh*) some 40 kilometers further to the west, that is, about 15 kilometers east of Pelousion. Here at the western end of the lake and close to the sea rises a rounded sandhill (maximum height 13.30^m: Lucan. 10. 434 f. exaggerates), on which he detected and partially excavated (1) a large (c. 20.0^m x 20.0^m) public bath, built of gypsum and baked brick in late Roman times; (2) a small (9.60^m x 6.0^m) tetrastyle temple facing east, built of gypsum at the eastern extremity of the hill; (3) numerous tombs, some on the hill, others on the plain, belonging to two Roman and two Byzantine cemeteries. Moreover, in 1909 he noted that a *cippus* of Roman date bore the name of an inhabitant called ΚΑCΙΟC (*loc. cit.* 1909 p. 774). And finally in 1911 he was able to report 'un petit sanctuaire avec niche d'autel en albâtre portant une inscription nabatéenne au nom de Zeus Cassius' (*loc. cit.* 1911 p. 433).

¹ We are further indebted to J. Clédat for the discovery of a temple dedicated to Zeus Κάσιος at Pelousion (J. Clédat 'Le temple de Zeus Cassios à Péluse' in the *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* Le Caire 1914 xiii. 79—85 with figs. 1—3 and pl. 11). Towards the western end of an elongated mound called by the Arabs *Tell el-Faramah* (Coptic *περεμοση*) he found the walled camp (*el Kasr*) of the *equites Stablesiani* and to the west of this, at a point but little raised above the level of the surrounding morass, the last remains of a temple built in rosy granite. On the ground lay two columns (7.80^m in length, 1.0^m in diameter) and two architrave-blocks (1.80^m long, 0.96^m high, 0.80^m deep) bearing the central part of a deeply incised inscription, which may be restored *exempli gratia* as follows: [ὑπὲρ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σε]βαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ σ[ύ]μ[βα]τος αὐτοῦ α[ἰ]κοῦ Διὶ Κασίω Μ[ε]γίστῳ θεῶ Πηλουσίου καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς | [ἐπὶ Τίτου Φλαυίου Τίτιανου ἐπιτροπεύοντος τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀνέθηκεν Καί]κλιος Κάσιος Δ[ί]ων Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ --- | [τὸν σηκὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τὸ πρόναον καὶ τὰ ἐν] αὐτοῖς πάντα κοσ[μή]σα[σ]κενοροση[σ] . . .]μωματι[---] | [--- αὐ]τοῦ. I cannot make head or tail of the concluding words, unless we may suppose κοσ[μή]σα[σ]κε, τὴν ὄροφην [τῶ κομ]μώματι [δια]ποικίλας κ.τ.λ.] or the like. A fragment found to the left of the first block is inscribed ANO with Ç! beneath it: this might be a portion of [Τραϊ]ανοῦ and [ἐπιτροπεύοντος] τοῦ]. Another architectural block (2.50^m long, 0.49^m high, 0.90^m deep) bears the central part of a second inscription: [--- τ]οῦ προγεγραμμένου [---] | [---] ἐπὶ Τίτου Φλαυίου Τίτιανου ---].

A. Salač in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlv. 166—176 ('*Zeus Kasios en Égypte*'), not only improves on Clédat's reading of the temple-dedication, but also contrives to throw a good deal of light on its occasion and significance. Hadrian came to Pelousion after his journey in Arabia (Spart. *v. Hadr.* 14. 4), that is, in 130 A.D. (W. Weber *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* Leipzig 1907 p. 246). By the fall of the thunderbolt on the Syrian Mt Kasion (*supra* p. 982 n. o) he had already been designated as the favourite of Zeus Κάσιος (*supra* p. 22 ff.)—an honour comparable with the adoption of Alexander the Great by Zeus Ἀμμων. Hence the foundation of a temple of Zeus Κάσιος at Pelousion would glorify the emperor as well as the god (W. Weber *op. cit.* p. 235 f.).

Salač *loc. cit.* further contends that the cult-stature of Zeus Κάσιος at Pelousion, a youthful figure holding a pomegranate (Ach. Tat. 3. 6 ἔστι δ' ἐν τῷ Πηλουσίῳ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἄγαλμα Κασίου· τὸ δ' ἄγαλμα νεανίσκος, Ἀπόλλωνι μᾶλλον εἰκίως· οὕτω γὰρ ἡλικίας εἶχε· προβέβληται δὲ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἔχει ροιὰν ἐπ' αὐτῇ· τῆς δὲ ροιᾶς ὁ λόγος μυστικός· προσευξάμενοι δὴ τῷ θεῷ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Κλεινίου καὶ τοῦ Σατύρου σύμβολον ἐξαιτήσαντες (καὶ γὰρ ἔλεγον μαντικὸν εἶναι τὸν θεόν) περιήειμεν τὸν νέων· κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον ὀρώμεν εἰκόνα διπλῆν· καὶ ὁ γραφεὺς ἐνεγέγραπτο· Εὐάνθης μὲν ὁ γραφεὺς, ἡ δ' εἰκὼν Ἀνδρομέδα καὶ Προμηθεύς, κ.τ.λ., 8 ἐξῆς δὲ τὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως ἐγεγόνει. κ.τ.λ.), was modelled upon a previously existing cult-stature of Harpokrates, the youthful Horos. This contention is strongly supported by numismatic evidence. In fact, a coin of Pelousion, struck by Trajan, actually shows Harpokrates standing with a sceptre in his left hand and a pomegranate in his right, towards which a little Pan stretches out his hands (G. Dattari *Numi Augg. Alexandrini* Cairo 1901 i. 418 no. 6345 pl. 34). Other coins of the same town, struck by Hadrian in 126/7 A.D., have *obv.* head of the emperor to right, laureate; *rev.* head of Harpokrates to right, wearing the *hem-hem* crown and fillet (V. Langlois *Numismatique des nomes d'Égypte sous l'administration romaine* Paris 1852 p. 39 no. 69 (wrongly described) pl. 3, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* etc. p. 351 nos. 44 and 45), or *rev.* a pomegranate (Langlois *op. cit.* p. 39 no. 70, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* etc. p. 351 no. 46), while coins of Alexandria, struck by Hadrian in 137/8 A.D., have *obv.* head of the emperor to right, laureate, with *paludamentum* over shoulder; *rev.* bust of Harpokrates of Pelousion to right, wearing *hem-hem* crown, with *himation* over left shoulder and pomegranate in front (*ib.* p. 90 nos. 764 pl. 17 and 765, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 457 no. 391). An Egyptian connexion is again presupposed by the statement that Malkandros king of Byblos had a son Palaistinos or Pelousios, who was nurtured by Isis and gave his name to the town that she founded (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 17. Skyl. *per.* 106 makes Pelousios come ἐπὶ τὸ Κάσιον; Eriphan. *ancor.* 106 (i. 209, 30 Dindorf) makes Kasios worshipped παρὰ Πηλουσιώταις).

But, granting this Egyptian background, we have yet to explain why Zeus in particular was chosen as the successor of the youthful Horos. And here I should conjecture that we must take into account the influence of Crete, where a youthful Zeus had long been recognised. It is noteworthy that, whereas the nursling of Isis is called Horos by Diod. 1. 25 and Pelousios by Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 17, he is described as Diktys by Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 8. The name, whatever its origin (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1283 n. 4), recalls the Cretan Diktyнна and Mt Dikte and the infant Zeus (*supra* p. 927). It may be objected that Diktys is not expressly associated with Pelousion. But he is expressly associated with the Egyptian taboo on onions (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 8 τὸ γὰρ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἀπολέσθαι τὸν τῆς Ἰσίδος τρέφιμον Δίκτυν τῶν κρομμύων ἐπιδραττόμενον ἐσχάτως ἀπίθανον· οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς ἀφοσιοῦνται καὶ δυσχεραίνουσι τὸ κρόμμυον παραφυλάττοντες, ὅτι τῆς σελήνης φθινοῦσης μόνον εὐτροφεῖν τοῦτο καὶ τεθλέναι πέφυκεν· ἔστι δὲ πρόσφορον οὔτε ἀγνεύουσιν οὔτε ἐορτάζουσι, τοῖς μὲν ὅτι διψῆν, τοῖς δὲ ὅτι δακρύειν ποιεῖ τοὺς προσφερομένους), and that taboo (as to which see the references collected by J. E. B. Mayor on Iuv. 15. 9) was specially characteristic of Pelousion (Plout. *comm. in Hes. frag.* 11. 52 Dübner *ap.* Gell. 20. 8. 7 'id etiam,' inquit, 'multo mirandum est magis, quod apud Plutarchum in quarto in Hesiodum commentario legi: "cepelum revirescit et congerminat decedente luna, contra autem inarescit adolescente. eam causam esse dicunt sacerdotes Aegyptii, cur Pelusiotae cepe non edint, quia solum olerum omnium contra lunae augmenta atque

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APPENDIX E.

THE KYKLOPS IN FOLK-TALES.

Tales resembling that of Polyphemos have, during the last seventy years, been collected and discussed by a whole series of eminent folklorists. W. Grimm (1857)¹, C. Nyrop (1881)², G. Krek (1887)³, L. Laistner (1889)⁴, G. Polivka (1898, 1918)⁵, N. G. Polites (1904)⁶, P. Sébillot (1904)⁷, W. R. Halliday (1916)⁸, F. Settegast (1917)⁹, and Sir J. G. Frazer (1921)¹⁰ have all said their say, most of them making valuable contributions to the subject. But the palm must be awarded to O. Hackman (1904)¹¹, who in an exemplary monograph has not merely summarised two hundred and twenty-one variants, but has also added a lucid and logical study of their contents.

Hackman arranges the tales in three groups—A, B, and C. Group A (124 variants) commonly involves two episodes and frequently adds a third :

- i The blinding of the giant, which is contrived either (a) during his sleep by means of a red-hot stake, iron spit, knife, sword, etc. plunged into his one eye, or (β) as a pretended cure for his defective sight by means of molten tin, lead, oil, pitch, boiling water, etc. poured into his eye.

The former alternative, (a), prevails in southern and western Europe; the latter, (β), in northern and eastern Europe. It is probable that (β) was not a modification of (a), but had a separate and independent origin¹².

¹ W. Grimm 'Die Sage von Polyphem' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1857* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 1—30 (= *Kleinere Schriften* Gütersloh 1887 iv. 428—462). W. W. Merry in Appendix ii 'On some various forms of the legend of the blinded Cyclops' to his edition of the *Odyssey* Oxford 1886 i.² 550—554 summarises nine tales after J. F. Lauer *Homerische Studien* Berlin 1851 p. 319 ff. and W. Grimm *loc. cit.*

² C. Nyrop 'Sagnet om Odysseus og Polyphem' in the *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* 1881 v. 216—255.

³ G. Krek *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*² Graz 1887 pp. 665—759.

⁴ L. Laistner 'Polyphem' in his *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* Berlin 1889 ii. 1—168.

⁵ G. Polivka 'Nachträge zur Polyphemsage' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1898 i. 305—336, 378, J. Bolte—G. Polivka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1918 iii. 374—378.

⁶ N. G. Polites *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 ii. 1338—1342 (n. on no. 624).

⁷ P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 434 f.

⁸ W. R. Halliday in R. M. Dawkins *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* Cambridge 1916 p. 217.

⁹ F. Settegast *Das Polyphemmärchen in altfranzösischen Gedichten*, eine folkloristisch-literargeschichtliche Untersuchung Leipzig 1917 pp. 1—167. Review by J. Bolte in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1917 xxvii. 275 f.

¹⁰ Sir J. G. Frazer in Appendix xiii 'Ulysses and Polyphemus' to his edition of Apollodoros London 1921 ii. 404—455 gives an admirable selection of thirty-six variants—quite enough, as he remarks, 'to illustrate the wide diffusion of the tale and the general similarity of the versions.'

¹¹ O. Hackman *Die Polyphemsage in der Volksüberlieferung* Helsingfors 1904 pp. 1—241. Review by J. Bolte in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1905 xv. 460 f. Review by A. van Gennep 'La Légende de Polyphème' reprinted in his *Religions, Mœurs et Légendes* Paris 1908 i. 155—164.

¹² O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 166 f.

- ii The escape of the hero, who gets off either (α) by clinging under a sheep, goat, ox, etc., or more often (β) by putting on a sheep-skin, goat-skin, ox-hide, etc. Of these alternatives (α), which implies gigantic sheep, was earlier than (β), which makes less demand on the hearer's credulity.
- iii The attempt of the giant to recapture the hero by flinging after him a magical ring (Dolopathos, Italy, Argyllshire, Basses-Pyrénées, Siebenbürgen, Bohemia), a golden staff (Poland, Servia), an axe with a golden or silver haft (Russia, Lithuania, Wotyaks), a sabre (Great Russia), a copper coin (Little Russia), a white stone (Altai Mts.). This episode, which probably formed part of the original tale¹, bulks big in Russia, Galicia, Italy, and Basses-Pyrénées, but does not occur at all in Greece.

Group B (50 variants) is marked by another episode :

- iv The hero escapes detection by giving his name as 'Self' or 'Myself,' rarely as 'Nobody' (*Odyssey*, Anjou)². This *motif* belonged originally to a distinct tale, current in northern and central Europe, which told how a man injured an elfish creature of some sort—mermaid (Sweden), water-nixie (Germany), wood-nymph (Sweden), fairy (France), kobold (Rügen), dwarf (Germany), or devil (eastern Europe)—commonly by means of fire or something hot, and then eluded the vengeance of his victim's companions by giving his name as 'Myself' or the like³.

Group C (47 variants) is a late combination of i (β), the blinding of the giant by way of cure, with iv, the name-trick. It is found only in Finland, Lettland, and Esthonia⁴.

It will be seen from this analysis that the story of Polyphemos, as related by Homer, includes episode i, the blinding of the giant, in its south-European form, and episode ii, the escape of the hero, in its earlier and more miraculous aspect, but omits episode iii, that of the magical ring, altogether⁵, substituting for it episode iv, the originally alien *motif* of the name. Homer, in short, picks and chooses. He may tolerate a monstrous ram, but he omits mere magic, and prefers to insert a conspicuous example of human cunning.

As regards the vexed question of ultimate significance Hackman, after admitting that almost all investigators of the tale (Grimm, Krek, Jubainville, Cerquand, etc.) have taken the single eye of Polyphemos to be the sun⁶, reaches the cautious conclusion : 'Das Stirnauge des Riesen, das jedenfalls schon der Grundform angehört hat, war wohl ursprünglich ein die Sonne symbolisirendes Attribut des Himmels- oder Sonnengottes. Doch hat diese frühzeitig in Vergessenheit geratene mythologische Bedeutung des StirnAuges nichts mit der Sage im Übrigen zu tun⁷.'

¹ *Id. ib.* p. 177 ff.

² *Id. ib.* p. 204.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 189 ff.

⁴ *Id. ib.* p. 206 ff.

⁵ Unless indeed we may suppose that a trace of the ring-throwing subsists in the stone-throwing of Polyphemos (A. B. C.). C. Nyrop *loc. cit.* p. 218 suggests *e contra* that the ring-episode is itself an expansion of the Homeric stone-throwing—a view rejected by Hackman *op. cit.* p. 177 n. 1.

⁶ *Id. ib.* pp. 3 ff., 217 f.

⁷ *Id. ib.* p. 221 (cp. also p. 218).

With this decision I find myself in substantial agreement. I have already urged, not only that the Kyklops' eye stood for the sun in heaven¹, but also that the Kyklops himself was in the far past a sky-god like Zeus². Moreover I have ventured to compare Odysseus, who plunged a heated bar into the Kyklops' eye, with Prometheus, who thrust a torch into the solar wheel³. The comparison might be further strengthened. It now appears that an integral part of the Kyklops-tale was the giant's gift to the hero of a magical ring⁴. This recalls the curious legend that Zeus presented Prometheus with a ring fashioned out of his chains⁵. In Germanic belief, too, the one-eyed Wodan possessed a gold ring from which every ninth night dripped eight other rings of equal weight⁶. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the golden rings thrown or dropped by the sky-god were at first but a naïve expression for the daily movement of the solar disk. Nevertheless I concur with Hackman's opinion that the mythological significance of these one-eyed beings had passed into oblivion long before Homer told his immortal tale. *A fortiori* it would be fatuous to seek any such hidden meaning in the modern *Märchen*. I append a few samples from Greece and Italy.

Versions from the Greek area are all more or less defective. At most they preserve episode i (a) together with its sequel ii (a) or ii (β). That is the case with a folk-tale from Athens and with another from Kappadokia :

(1) The Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Athens⁷.

Once upon a time there was a king, whose daughter was so lovely that, if—

‘ She bade the sun, he would stand still,
The morning star, he 'ld twinkle.’

All the princes were eager to marry her. But she refused each one who proffered his love : only the handsomest of them, who had been blessed by his mother, touched her heart at all. In the end she agreed to wed him who should bring her the golden wand of the Famous Drakos⁸. The Famous⁹ Drakos was the strongest and fiercest of all the Drakoi ; he had one eye in his forehead, which remained open even when he was asleep, so that none could approach him without being eaten by him. His golden wand, if leant against a door, made it at once fly open. The princes on hearing the terms of betrothal shook with terror. But the handsome prince resolved to obtain the golden wand, or

¹ *Supra* i. 313, 323, 462.

² *Supra* i. 320.

³ *Supra* i. 325 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 989 n. 1.

⁵ *Supra* i. 329 n. 0.

⁶ *Supra* p. 62 n. 1.

⁷ Text in the *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἐταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* Athens 1883 i. 147 ff. Translation (here condensed) in L. M. J. Garnett—J. S. Stuart-Glennie *Greek Folk Poesy* London 1896 ii. 80—87, 444 f. Cp. a very similar tale from Attike in G. Drosinis *Land und Leute in Nord-Euböa* trans. A. Boltz Leipzig 1884 p. 170 ff. (‘ Die Polyphem-Sage in modern hellenischer Gestalt aus den “Athenischen Märchen” von Fr. Maria Kampúroglu’) = Hackman *op. cit.* p. 9 f. no. 1 = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 439 f. no. 24.

⁸ On the *Δράκος* or *Δράκοντας* of the modern Greek see B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 190—195, N. G. Polites *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 154—172 (‘ Δράκοντες’), *id.* *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 i. 219—228 (‘ Δράκοι’), ii. 990—1002, J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 pp. 280—283, W. R. Halliday in R. M. Dawkins *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* Cambridge 1916 pp. 219, 225 ff.

⁹ With his fixed epithet ‘ Famous ’ cp. the Homeric *Πολύφημος*.

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duly gave the horse's pile of bones to the dog and the dog's heap of straw to the horse. Whereupon they both ate, and then began to talk. The prince related his adventures to them. And they informed him that the old woman was the Good Fate, blinded by the other Fates for her goodness and destined never to recover her sight till she found somebody to love and pity her. They further showed him a chamber containing two beautiful captive princesses, whom he was to set free. The youth did so ; and the princesses gave him the golden wand as his reward. He next loosed the horse and the dog by leaning the wand against them. Then he led the princesses downstairs, placed them on the horse, and took the dog also. But, as he was leaving the palace, the horse and the dog said : ' Look out of the window and see all those different animals. They were once handsome princes, who went out hunting, found this palace door open, and stepped inside. The Drakos saw them and, sprinkling them with a liquid, transformed them into various animals. Now touch them lightly on their backs with the wand, and they will become as they were before.' The prince did as he was bidden ; and the victims of the Drakos, thus restored to human shape, embraced their deliverer and set out for their respective palaces. The prince with the horse and the dog, after locking the Drakos' palace, returned the two princesses to their parents. He also changed the horse and the dog into two princes, who explained that they, in attempting to rescue the princesses of their choice from the Drakos, had been turned into animals by him, but now begged to become the king's sons-in-law. The king bestowed his daughters upon them, and escorted the prince that had saved them all to the door of the princess of whom he was enamoured. She lay dying of grief for his absence, and all the doors of her palace were shut in token of mourning. The prince at once leant the golden wand against each door in turn, reached the princess, and presented her with the wand. The princess embraced him, and they were married with music, drums, and great rejoicings.

(2) **The Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Pharasa in Kappadokia¹.**

' In a time of old there was a priest. He went to find a goat. He went to a village. There was another priest. He said : " Where are you going ? " The priest said : " I am going to find a goat. " He said : " Let me come too, that I also may get a goat. " They rose up. They went to another village. There was there another priest. And the three of them went to another village. They found another priest. They took that priest also (with them). They went on. They became seven priests. Whilst they were on their way to a village, there was a woman. She was collecting wood. There was also a Tepekozis². The Tepekozis hastened (and) seized the seven priests (and) carried them to his house. In the evening he cooked one priest. He ate him. He was fat. He ate him. He got drunk. The six priests rose up. They heated the spit. They drove it into the Tepekozis' eye. They blinded the Tepekozis. They went into the

¹ I am indebted for this tale to the kindness of my friend Prof. R. M. Dawkins, who took it down at Pharasa in the Antitauros district of Kappadokia (July 23-25, 1911) from the mouth of an urchin named Thomás Stephánou and dictated the above rendering to me (Nov. 21, 1911). The original is in the local dialect of Greek with some admixture of Turkish words. Text and translation in R. M. Dawkins *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* Cambridge 1916 p. 550 f. no. 25 (cp. W. R. Halliday *ib.* p. 217) = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 438 f. no. 23.

² *Tepe* means 'hill' and here, presumably, 'head.' *Koz* is for *güz*, 'eye.' The name, therefore, appears to be 'Head-eye' or 'Eye-in-head'—a Turkish Kyklops.

stable. The Tepekozis had seven hundred sheep. They entered the stable. They flayed six sheep. They left the heads and the tails (with the skins). They crawled into the skins. In the morning the Tepekozis rose up. He drove out the sheep. He took them by the head and by the tail. He drove out the seven hundred sheep. He shut the doors¹. He went inside. He looked for the six priests. He could not find them. He found the six sheep killed. The six priests took the seven hundred sheep. They went to their houses. They gave also a hundred sheep to the wife of the priest whom the Tepekozis had eaten. The woman said: "Where is my priest?" They said: "He has stopped behind to make further gains." And the six priests took a hundred sheep apiece. They went to their houses. They ate. They drank. They attained their destinies.'

More often we meet with single episodes of the Kyklops-tale isolated from their proper context and worked into other narratives. For example, episode i (a), the blinding of the giant with a red-hot spit or the like, was a thrilling incident suitable to a variety of situations and sure to please. It occurs alone on the Greek mainland:

(3) The Blinding of the Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Gortynia².

'One of us men in olden days wanted to travel through the whole world. In a certain region he found men who were very tall but had only one eye apiece. The wife of a One-eye, in whose house he lodged, hid him in the evening; for in the daytime her husband was not there—he was a bad character and ate men. When her husband came home and entered the house, he told her that he smelt something; but his wife said it was nothing at all. The One-eye didn't believe her. He got up, groped about, found the man, and wanted to eat him. He put him in his apron along with his supper. But when he tasted his bread, without noticing, for his thoughts were elsewhere, he grasped the man too in the hollow of his hand and thrust him into his mouth. But he stuck in a hole of his tooth, without the tooth getting a real grip on him. After he had pulled him out he let him live, to please his wife, since he was hardly worth eating. But next day he changed his mind and again wanted to eat him. His wife then made her husband drunk, got the stranger out secretly and sent him packing. But, before the wife sent him off, he thrust a big burning coal into the eye of the drunken One-eye and blinded him. And so he punished the bad character, who could no longer see to eat men. When he left, the wife asked his name, and he said: "They call me World-traveller³"; for he had seen and learnt much of the world.'

¹ *θύρε*, plural of *θύρι*: cp. *Od.* 9. 240, 313, 340 *θυρεὸν μέγαν*.

² Text in N. G. Polites *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 i. 70 f. no. 134 'Ο μονομμάτης, ii. 752 ff. (recorded at Lasta in the deme Mylaon in Gortynia, a district of the Morea). Translation by K. Dieterich in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1905 xv. 381 = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 441 no. 26. I follow Dieterich.

At Arachova on Mt Parnassos the name *Μονόματοι* (or *Μονόματοι*) is given to a race of wild and impious men believed to inhabit a foreign land of unknown situation and to have but a single eye in their forehead. The same expression is applied to people, who in character and behaviour resemble these mythical savages (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 203). For instance, in Akarnania the natives of Xeromeros detest the uncivilised and unsociable mountaineers of Baltos and speak of them as *μονομάται*, 'one-eyed' monsters (L. Heuzey *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie* Paris 1860 p. 259).

³ "Μέ λένε Κοσμοτριγυριστή." Cp. *Od.* 1. 1 ff.

The same *motif* is woven into tales of different texture from Zakynthos and Kypros :

(4) The Blinding of the Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Zakynthos¹.

Once upon a time there was a certain king's daughter. Three days after her birth came the Fates, who declared that during the fifteenth year of her life she must hide herself from the sun, on pain of becoming a lizard, falling into the sea, and remaining there for five months. As the destined time drew near, the maid saddened and her father tried to divert his thoughts by travelling. Before he set out on his journey he asked his daughter what he could do for her. She begged him to contract a marriage on her behalf with the Giant of the Mountain². The king then went abroad and reached at last the Giant's town, where he heard say that the Giant meant to marry the fairest maiden in the world. He also made friends with the barber that clipped the Giant's beard and enjoyed the Giant's confidence. The Giant himself proved to be a one-eyed monster, who wore seven veils over his face : he lived with many others of his kind in a hollow mountain, where they dug for treasure and hewed out vast building-stones for their houses. Prompted by the barber, the king claimed to be the Giant's son, and, in proof of his assertion, let the giant strike him with a huge pole : he evaded the blow by receiving it on a big leather bag³. He then removed the Giant's veils, and was thanked for his pains. When he broached the subject of his errand, the Giant took him into a chamber apart, showed him many paintings of maidens, and asked whether his daughter resembled any of them. The king replied that these were not worthy even to wash his daughter's feet. The Giant next drew from his breast a miniature, and repeated his question. The king again answered that his daughter's chamber-maid looked like that. So the Giant agreed to wed the king's daughter, if she was as beautiful as her father declared⁴. The king went home and reported his success. His daughter made herself ready, and, in order to avoid the sun-light, came in a litter with her nurse and her nurse's daughter. But, when they were on board ship nearing the coast, the nurse dropped a costly kerchief and begged the princess to have the door of the litter opened that she might recover it. Here-

¹ Text unpublished. Translation (here summarised) in B. Schmidt *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* Leipzig 1877 pp. 98—104 no. 13 ('Der Riese vom Berge'), 230 f. = Hackman *op. cit.* p. 11 f. no. 3. The tale is a variant of a type first described by R. Köhler in L. Gonzenbach *Sicilianische Märchen* Leipzig 1870 ii. 225 ff. as 'das M. von dem Bruder und seiner schönen Schwester' and later studied in detail by P. Arfert *Das Motiv von der unterschobenen Braut in der internationalen Erzählungsliteratur* Rostock 1897 : see J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1913 i. 79 ff., 1918 iii. 85 ff.

² τὸν γλυαντὰ τοῦ βουνοῦ. In Zakynthos giants, with a long beard on their chin and a single eye that sparkles like fire in their forehead, are said to live underground, where they quarry huge stones for building towers and cause the earthquakes that are so frequent in this island. They are the children of a devil and a *Lámnissa* (Lamia) or a witch ; and their wives spin yarn with spindles of such monstrous size and weight that once, when the giants made war on a certain king, their wives flung these spindles at the enemy and so slew thousands (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 200 f.).

³ For a similar incident see 'The Scab-pate,' a folk-tale from Astypalaia (J. Pio NEOEΛΛHNIKA ΠAPAMTΘIA *Contes populaires grecs* Copenhagen 1879 p. 162 f., E. M. Geldart *Folk-Lore of Modern Greece* London 1884 p. 157).

⁴ A similar situation occurs in a folk-tale from Epeiros (J. Pio *op. cit.* p. 17, E. M. Geldart *op. cit.* p. 37 f. 'The Golden Wand').

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these he dug up the dead body and devoured it. At this she fell sick of a fever. Her husband returned, and found reason to suspect her of entering the forbidden room. He transformed himself successively into her mother, her relatives, and her nurse. In this final disguise he induced her to say what she had seen. He then suddenly turned into a Trimmatos or 'Three-eyed' ogre again, and prepared to eat her for not having kept his secret. Kindling a brasier, the flames of which licked the sky, he thrust into it a spit till it became red-hot, and went to fetch his wife. She begged for two hours' respite, slipped out of the window, and besought first a carter and next a camel-driver to hide her from the Trimmatos. The camel-driver took pity on her and concealed her in a bale of cotton. Meantime the ogre had discovered her escape. Starting in pursuit, he soon came up with the carter, who sent him on to the camel-driver. He thrust his glowing spit into each bale belonging to the latter before he was satisfied and took his departure. The spit had wounded his wife's foot. But the camel-driver took her, still in the bale, to the king's palace and told the king her story. The royal physician cured her foot; and she showed such skill in embroidery that the king and queen chose her as their daughter-in-law. She, fearing the vengeance of the ogre, bargained that the wedding should take place at night, that a bridal chamber should be built reached by seven flights of steps, that these steps should be strewn with chick-peas, that two pits should be dug at the bottom of the lowest flight and covered with matting, and that no one should be told a word about it all. Nevertheless the matter came to the ears of the Trimmatos, who, disguised as a merchant, repaired to the palace with negroes in his sacks. His former wife saw through his disguise, and signed to the queen to ask him what wares he had brought. He replied that he had pistachio-nuts, dried apricots, and chestnuts. The bride then said that she was indisposed and would like some of these fruits. The merchant tried to put her off till the morrow; but the king's jester, who was at table, went out to sample the wares and brought back word about the negroes. These were at once put to death. The merchant, however, made his escape. The same night he took the form of a Trimmatos once more, mounted to the bridal chamber, cast the dust of a corpse on the bride-groom to make him sleep soundly, seized the bride and dragged her off to be spitted for his meal. But on the way she gave him a sudden push; he slipped on the chick-peas, and fell into the pit, where he was devoured himself by a lion and a tiger. The bride fainted on the staircase. Next morning the physician brought the happy couple to their senses again; and the subsequent festivities lasted forty days and forty nights.

Again, episode ii (β), the escape of the hero in a sheep-skin, forms part of a wonder-voyage entitled *George and the Storks*, which was related to L. Ross by a native of Psara or Ipsara, an island off the west coast of Chios:

(6) **The Blind Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Psara¹.**

Long, long ago there lived at Therapiá near Constantinople a poor sailor, who bade three of his children—Dimitri, Michael, and George—go out into the world and seek their fortunes. So they took service with a captain and made many trips to Marseilles, Leghorn, Trieste, to Smyrna, to Alexandria, and to other Mediterranean ports. After two years they joined the crew of a fine frigate bound on a voyage of discovery. Passing through the Straits of

¹ L. Ross *Erinnerung und Mittheilungen aus Griethenland* Berlin 1863 pp. 279—298 'Georg und die Störche' = O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 10 f. no. 2 = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 440 f. no. 25. I abbreviate from Ross.

Gibraltar into the ocean beyond, they were caught by a terrible storm and driven for months before it. Their provisions were spent and they were starving. When one of their company died, the rest cut up, cooked, and ate his body. Then day by day they drew lots to determine who should be killed and eaten. Some ten days had elapsed when the lot fell on George, who had just had a happy dream of reaching shore. He persuaded his shipmates to spare him till the evening, and at midday land was sighted on the horizon. The crew, overjoyed, thanked God and St Nikolaos, and hastily rowed ashore. Here the three brothers got separated from the others, lost their way, and had to spend the night up a tree. The same thing happened on the morrow, and it was not till the morning of the third day that they got out of the wood.

On the plain beyond they saw a magnificent castle. A narrow door led into a wide courtyard, in which they found a great flock of sheep, but no trace of human beings. The castle too seemed quite unoccupied. They passed from room to room till they entered a banqueting-hall, where a feast was set out. Unable to make anybody hear, they at last sat down to eat, when suddenly through the door came a monstrous, misshapen, blind Drakos. In a voice which froze the blood in their veins he cried: 'I smell the flesh of men, I smell the flesh of men!' Pale with terror, they sprang from their seats. But the Drakos, guided by the sound, stretched out his hideous long claws and seized by the neck first Dimitri and then Michael. He dashed them to pieces on the floor. George alone escaped, being nimble, and slipped out into the courtyard. He found the little door fast-closed and the walls too high to climb. What was he to do? Terror suggested a plan. Whether it was that he had heard of the famous hero Odysseus¹, or thought of it now for himself, he drew his sharp seaman's knife, killed the biggest ram in the flock, stripped off its skin, threw the carcase into a well, wrapped himself in the skin, and attempted to creep out on all fours, as if he were a ram. Meantime the Drakos had finished his horrible meal, and came waddling down the marble steps, shouting: 'You shall not escape me, you shall make me a tasty supper!' He crossed the court to the little door, threw it open, and blocked the way with his ungainly body, leaving just room enough for one sheep to pass. Then he called his ewes one by one, milked them, and let them go through. Last came the rams, with George in their midst. He approached with fear and trembling. But the Drakos only stroked his back, praised his size and strength, and set him too at liberty.

Once safely outside, George fled to the nearest wood, wandered about in it, and on the third day reached a wide plain, where there was a large town built round a king's castle. But again all seemed empty and deserted. This time he did not venture into the castle, but lodged in an ordinary house. He had stayed there for rather more than five months, when one day he caught sight of a great army crossing the plain. He fled in alarm to a bakery and hid in the kneading-trough. Here he was discovered on the third day by the baker and taken before the king, by whom he was kindly treated. For six months he lived with the baker and helped in his work. Then one morning the inhabitants all collected on the plain, and the king despatched his people in troops to England, France, Italy, Smyrna, and the Dardanelles. Before George could ask the reason, they all went off towards a broad river at some distance from the town,

¹ It may be thought that this allusion proves the influence of the Homeric narrative. But observe that Odysseus' expedient was *not* that adopted by George. The former clung on beneath a living ram (ii (α)), the latter donned the fleece of a dead ram (ii (β)).

plunged into it, and emerged on the other side as so many bands of storks! George now woke up to the fact that this was the land of the storks. Six months later he witnessed their return. A whole cloud of them settled on the further bank of the river, dived into it, and came out on the near side as men¹. He eagerly questioned them about Therapia, and begged the king to send him thither. The king assured him that this was impossible, unless he would consent to become a stork himself. Anxious to revisit his home, George agreed. So, when spring came round, he too dived into the river of transformation, and came out as a fine stork with long red beak, white feathers, and black wings. He flew to Therapia, married a beautiful she-bird, and built his nest on the roof of his father's house. He was so tame that he was soon welcomed in, and picked up crumbs under the low table with his long beak. When his old mother stroked his head and fed him with tit-bits, he chattered his best and made a hundred grotesque gestures to show his love and gratitude. But he could not make his kinsfolk understand that he was their long-lost George. At length he resolved to play a trick upon his sister Kathinko. She had a pair of silver armlets, which she had inherited from her grandmother. Waiting his opportunity, he carried off one of these and hid it in his nest. Kathinko and her mother looked for it in vain; they never thought of the stork. Meantime summer slipped away, and the storks departed—George among them. On reaching the land of the storks he begged the king to contrive his home-coming. So some weeks later the king had a boat built, laden with food, and launched on a river which flowed behind the town. He gave George a sack full of his costliest gems, and let him drift down the strong stream. After some hours the river plunged into a *katabóthra* and flowed for many hundreds of miles through a rocky channel. This must have taken weeks, though George lost count of days and nights in the darkness. At last he saw in the distance a star, which proved to be the daylight at the end of the channel. His boat was swept out into the open, and he saw before him the town of Smyrna; in fact, he found himself on the river² which gushes out of the rocks near that town. He went into the town and secured a lodging, but returned to his boat the same evening and fetched his bag of precious stones. Next day he sold a dozen of them to some Jews for two tons of gold. With this he bought fine clothes, a number of necessaries, and a big frigate, in which he sailed for Constantinople. He cast anchor off Therapia; saluted his birthplace by firing a number of guns, and invited on board the elders of the place. They came in their best clothes, and it so chanced that George's old father brought their boat alongside. George welcomed them to his table, but insisted that the old sailor must join their company and gave him a seat next himself. He sent each man away with a handful of gold pieces, and bade them come and feast with him on the morrow, only bargaining that the old sailor should bring his family with him³. When the hour arrived, he set wine before them and told them all of his wonderful experiences. 'Among other things,' said he, 'I was once a stork, and that here in Therapia.' At this all laughed and thought it a mere joke. But George proved the truth of his words by bidding a

¹ The metamorphosis of storks into men in return for their filial piety is already noticed by Alexander of Myndos (c. 1—50 A.D.) (*Ail. de nat. an.* 3. 23 'Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Μύνδιος φησιν, ὅταν ἐς γῆρας ἀφίκωνται (sc. οἱ πελαργοί), παρελθόντας αὐτοῦς ἐς τὰς Ὠκεανίτιδας νήσους ἀμείβειν τὰ εἶδη ἐς ἀνθρώπου μορφήν, καὶ εὐσεβείας γε τῆς ἐς τοὺς γευναμένους ἀθλον τοῦτο ἴσχειν, κ.τ.λ. See further D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 129 and O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 196 f.

² The river Meles.

³ Perhaps a reminiscence of Gen. 42. 14 ff.

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and clothed themselves in them, and going down on all fours they walked about in the rams' skins. Meanwhile the spits were heated, and each of the men took two, and going softly up to the sleeping Cyclopes, they jabbed the hot spits into their eyes. After that, they went down on all fours like sheep. The Cyclopes awoke blind, and gave themselves up for lost. But they took their stand at the door, each at a doorpost, just as they were, with all the spits sticking in their eyes. They let out all the sheep that were in the cave, saying, "The sheep will go out, and the men will stay in," and they felt the fleeces of the sheep to see whether the men were going out too. But the men had the sheep-skins on their backs, and they went on all fours, and when the Cyclopes felt them, they thought they were sheep. So the men escaped with their life, and when they were some way off, they put off the skins. Either the Cyclopes died or they know themselves what they did. That is the end of the story.'

A Sicilian tale from Erice, which G. Pitre had from the lips of a girl only eight years old, contains the same two episodes—i (α), the blinding of the giant by means of a hot poker, and ii (β), the escape of the hero by putting on a sheep-skin :

(9) The Kyklops in a Sicilian Folk-tale¹.

'A couple of monks, one big, the other little, were once off on their yearly round, begging for the church, when they lost their way. However, they pushed on and came to a large cave, where a strange creature, a devil if they had but known it, was engaged in making a fire. Hoping to obtain shelter for the night, they entered the cave, and found the monster killing a sheep and roasting it. He had already killed and roasted a score of them, for he kept sheep in his cave. The monster bade the monks eat. At first they refused, saying that they were not hungry. But he forced them to fall to and finish the meal. They then went to bed. The monster took an enormous rock and placed it in front of the cave. Next he seized a huge iron poker with a sharp point, heated it, and thrust it through the neck of the bigger monk. He roasted the body, and asked his companion whether he would help eat it. The little monk said that he would not, because he was already full. The monster thereupon threatened to murder him, unless he would get up and eat. So in sheer terror he sprang up, sat at the table, and took a tiny morsel, but at once cast it on the floor. "Maria!" he cried, "I'm full, I am indeed!" In the course of the night the good man himself got hold of the poker, heated it, and stuck it into the monster's eyes, which gushed out of his head. The monster cried out in pain; and the monk in alarm slipped on a sheep-skin. Afterwards the monster, feeling his way to the mouth of the cave, raised the stone by which it was shut, and let his sheep out one by one. The monk made his escape among them, and got away to the coast at Trapani, where he told his story to some fishermen. Finally, the monster went fishing, but, being blind, fell over a rock and broke his skull. The sea grew red with his blood. Thus the young man went off, while the monster stayed there.'

Italian versions of the tale, as compared with Greek, are at once more numerous and less defective—a fact which suggests that the original centre of diffusion was Italy rather than Greece. Examples from the Abruzzo and from

¹ G. Pitre *Fiabe novelle e racconti popolari siciliani* Palermo 1875 i (= *Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane* iv) p. lxxxviii ff., ii. 1 ff. no. 51 'Lu munacheddu' (for the dialect see A. Traina *Nuovo vocabolario siciliano-italiano* Palermo 1868) = T. F. Crane *Italian Popular Tales* London 1885 pp. 89 f., 345 n. 31 = O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 15 no. 8 = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 437 f. no. 22. I translate from Pitre.

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the neighbourhood of Rome contain, not only episodes i (a), the blinding, and ii (β), the escape, but also iii, the *motif* of the magical ring :

(10) **The Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Roccascalegna in the Abruzzo¹.**

'Four and twenty school-boys once went out for a walk. When they had gone a good distance, night came on. "We had better return," said the youngest of them, "or our master will scold us." "No," cried all the rest, "let us go to yonder inn." They did so, and knocked at the door. A voice from within asked: "Who is it?" "Friends," they replied. "I'm so glad you've come!" said Eye-on-forehead. He then made them enter and set about cooking a sheep in a caldron without skinning it first. The boys, disgusted, would not eat. Next day Eye-on-forehead seized a boy, and set about cooking him in the caldron; but the others would not eat him either. One by one Eye-on-forehead ate them all. Only one was left, the shrewdest of them all, and he said to Eye-on-forehead: "Why do you eat human flesh?" And Eye-on-forehead answered him: "Out of spite, because I've only one eye." "Then," continued the school-boy, "if I grow you another eye², will you let me go free?" "Yes," replied Eye-on-forehead. Thereupon the boy made the spit red-hot on the hearth, and said to Eye-on-forehead: "Shut your eye." He took that spit and drove it into the eye till it came out the other side. Eye-on-forehead was furious and wanted to eat him; but how could he see where the rascal was standing? Every day he used to send his sheep out to pasture, and seated himself in the door-way so as to prevent the boy from getting past; and he felt each sheep as it went by him. One day the boy dropped into the pen, skinned a sheep, put on its fleece and tried walking on all fours. When the time for pasture had come, Eye-on-forehead, thinking he was a sheep, sent him out. Once outside, the boy began to shout: "I'm out! I'm out!" Eye-on-forehead, thus informed, took and flung a ring. This ring went straight on to the finger of the boy and he could not stir from where he stood. What could he do? Eye-on-forehead, groping round, was like to catch him again. But an idea struck him: he would cut off the finger, on which that cursed ring was; and so he did. Having cut it off, he began to hurry away. Eye-on-forehead found the finger, ate it, and said to the boy as he ran: "So you didn't want me to eat your flesh? But for all that I've had a taste of it!" The boy got back home and told his mother all about it.'

(11) **The Kyklops in a Folk-tale from the vicinity of Rome³.**

A master was travelling with his servant through a wide wood. They came to a great cavern, where dwelt the Occhiaro ('Bright-eye'), a monster with only

¹ G. Finamore *Tradizioni popolari Abruzzesi* Lanciano 1882 i (Novelle) 190 f. no. 38 'Lu fatte dell' nocchie-'n-frónde' = O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 17 no. 10. I translate from Finamore. For a very similar version (i (a) + ii (β) + iii), likewise from the Abruzzo, see A. de Nino *Usi e costumi Abruzzesi* Firenze 1883 iii (Fiabe) 305—307 = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 416 ff. no. 7.

² Episode i (a) is here crossed by episode i (β), the southern by the northern form (*supra* p. 988). The same contamination is found in a variant from Vasto in the Abruzzo (G. Finamore *Tradizioni popolari Abruzzesi* Lanciano 1886 ii (Novelle) 57 f. no. 68 'La favulette dell' ucchie-'m-brande' = O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 17 f. no. 11). Episode i (β) takes the place of i (a) in a version recorded at Pisa (D. Comparetti *Novelline popolari Italiane* Torino 1875 pp. 192—195 no. 44 'Il Fiorentino' = O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 18 f. no. 12 = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 418 f. no. 8).

³ C. Nyrop 'Sagnet om Odysseus og Polyphem' in the *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* 1881 v. 239—240 = O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 13 f. no. 5. I translate from Hackman.

one big brilliant eye. The Occhiaro closed the cavern with a great stone, and then slaughtered the servant and ate him up. After that he lay down and went to sleep. The master drew his sword, plunged it into the Occhiaro's eye, and so blinded him. The Occhiaro howled till the cavern rang again. In the night the man slaughtered a sheep and wrapped himself in its skin. Next morning the Occhiaro let the sheep out of the cavern one by one and felt them as he did it. The man in the sheep-skin luckily got out and then mocked at the Occhiaro. He flung him a ring, with which to make himself invisible. The man stuck the ring on his finger. Thereupon the Occhiaro cried: 'Hold fast, ring, till I come.' The man could no longer stir from the spot; so he chopped the finger off with his sword and made his escape.

To pursue the subject beyond the limits of Greece and Italy would be beside my purpose. But it must of course be borne in mind that the variants noted in classical lands are essentially similar to those collected from the rest of Europe. A single specimen will suffice to make this clear, and may at the same time show how such a tale, drifting along the current of popular mouth-to-mouth transmission, may attach itself to some landmark or salient feature of the countryside and become fixed as a local legend with names of persons and places all complete.

(12) The Kyklops in an English Folk-tale.

In 1879 S. Baring-Gould contributed the following paragraph to W. Henderson's *Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties*¹: 'At Dalton, near Thirsk, in Yorkshire, is a mill. It has quite recently been rebuilt, but when I was at Dalton, six years ago, the old building stood. In front of the house was a long mound, which went by the name of "the giant's grave²," and in the mill was shown a long blade of iron something like a scythe-blade, but not curved, which was said to have been the giant's knife³. A curious story was told of this knife. There lived a giant at this mill, and he ground men's bones to make his bread. One day he captured a lad on Pilmoor, and instead of grinding him in the mill he kept him as his servant and never let him get away. Jack served the giant many years and never was allowed a holiday. At last he could bear it no longer. Topcliffe fair was coming on, and the lad entreated that he might be allowed to go there to see the lasses and buy some spice. The giant surlily refused leave; Jack resolved to take it. The day was hot, and after dinner the giant lay down in the mill with his head on a sack and dozed. He had been eating in the mill and had laid down a great loaf of bone bread by his side, and the knife was in his hand, but his fingers relaxed their hold of it in sleep. Jack seized the moment, drew the knife away, and holding it with both hands drove the blade into the single eye of the giant, who woke with a howl of agony, and starting up

¹ W. Henderson *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders* London 1879 p. 194 f., S. Baring-Gould 'The Giant of New Mills, Sessay' [Dalton is in the parish of Sessay] in *Folk-Lore* 1890 i. 130=O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 33 no. 28=Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 430 f. no. 18.

² S. Baring-Gould in W. Henderson *op. cit.* p. 196 n. adds: 'I am told by one of our servants from Dalton that at the rebuilding of the farm the mound was opened, and a stone coffin found in it; but whether this be a kistvaen or a mediæval sarcophagus I cannot tell.'

³ *Id.* in *Folk-Lore loc. cit.* says further: 'in the mill was shown...the giant's...stone porridge-basin or lather-dish.'

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his master to take a hatchet to cut a branch from the tree. Sun did so, and returned in safety with the golden bough. Once more the midwife passed by, and this time suggested that Star, to perfect her beauty, needed the Tzitzinaina, who knew the language of the birds and could explain their song. But to obtain the Tzitzinaina proved a harder task. For, when Sun and his horse reached her house and thrice summoned her to come forth, she turned them both into marble, first up to the knees, next up to the thighs, and then up to the waist. At this crisis the young man remembered that he had about him some hairs from the beard of the hermit, which he was to burn if ever he required assistance. He burnt one now. The hermit appeared, and bade the Tzitzinaina restore to life all those whom she had petrified. She sprinkled them with water of immortality and so recovered them. Among the rescued was Moon, whom his brother and sister had lost. The hermit now made the Tzitzinaina act as their mother. She explained to them the language of the birds and everything else that they wanted to know. One day the king met them out and asked them to dine with him on the morrow. The Tzitzinaina told them to take a puppy with them and give it a slice. They did so, and the puppy died. The young folk protested that they had no wish to be poisoned, and invited the king to dine with them on the next day. The Tzitzinaina, when the king sat down to their empty table, clapped her hands thrice and a grand meal appeared. After dinner the king asked Sun, Moon, and Star what they wished for most. They, instructed by the Tzitzinaina, craved the release of the woman hidden in the jakes. She was brought out, washed, clothed, and presented to the king by the Tzitzinaina, who told him all the facts. Thereupon the king in high delight took back his queen to the palace. But the king's mother and the midwife were fastened to four horses, which dragged them along the road and, on being lashed, tore them asunder.

(β) Sun, Moon, and Morning-Star in a Folk-tale from Syra.

(2) A Greek tale from Syra is very similar¹. A poor old couple once had three hard-working daughters. The eldest of them wished that she had for husband the king's cook: then she would eat of the good things on his table. The next wished for the king's treasurer: then she would have plenty of money. The youngest, for the king himself: then she would bear him three children, Sun, Moon, and Morning-star. The prince² overheard them wishing, granted their desires, and married the youngest of them, much against his mother's will. When the young queen was about to bear the children, her mother-in-law bade the midwife substitute a dog, a cat, and a mouse for them, and fling the three children into the river. But the midwife had pity on the little brats and laid them down on a bed of rushes. Here a childless herdsman found them fed by one of his goats. He brought them to his wife, who tended them carefully; and, when they were grown up, he built them a tower to live in. As for the queen, at the time of her confinement the king was absent on a campaign. So his mother put her in the hen-house, and told him on his return that his wife, instead of Sun, Moon, and Morning-star, had given birth to a dog, a cat, and a mouse. The king was so upset that he did not ask what had become of the queen. For long he was inconsolable. At last one day he roused himself, went for a ride, and saw Sun and Morning-star exercising their horses near the tower and Moon watching them from a window. He thought the young folk just like those whom his wife had

¹ Text unpublished, German translation by J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 40 ff. I have condensed the version of von Hahn.

² In the sequel he is called king.

Dioskouroi and Helene in Folk-Tales 1005

promised to bear, and that night he told his mother about them. She taxed the midwife with neglecting her orders. So the midwife went off, obtained by guile an entrance into the tower, and told Moon that she was indeed beautiful, but that she needed one thing to complete her happiness—the branch that makes music. Her brothers Sun and Morning-star consented to get it. They set off, and met a monk, who told them all about it. It was kept by two dragons, who would swallow them if they approached by day, but who snored with open mouth at midnight and might then be shot. The young men followed the monk's directions, shot the dragons, broke off the branch, and brought it back to their sister. The king, who on his rides past the tower had missed them, now told his mother of their return. She again sent the midwife, who paid a second visit to the tower. The girl Moon showed her a tree outside the house, which had grown apace from the planted branch making music continually and producing every morning a dishful of precious stones. The midwife, duly astonished, said that she still needed a mirror showing all towns, villages, lands, and princes. The brothers went off to seek it, and again met the monk. He told them that it was guarded by forty dragons, who by day kept watch, twenty on one side, twenty on the other, and by night slept in a row. About midnight they snored so loud that the mountains re-echoed. The brothers must then tread across their bodies with the greatest care. This they did, and brought the mirror to their sister. The king again noticed their absence and their return. He told his mother. She sent the midwife once more, who said to Moon that the only thing now lacking was the bird Dikjeretto: he understood all languages and by looking in the mirror would be able to tell her what people were saying all the world over. The brothers suspected that this quest would be the death of them. So they gave their sister two shirts, which she was to look at daily: if the shirts turned black, she would know that they had failed. This time, when they met the monk, he refused to help them. However, they pressed on, and the bird by his glance turned first one and then the other into stone. Moon knew of the disaster because the two shirts turned as black as coal. In her grief she set out on horseback to die with her brothers. The monk met her, had compassion on her, and explained that many a prince had failed in this enterprise because they had made the attempt in their clothes. She must strip herself of everything, attack the bird from behind before he was aware of her presence through the rustling of her clothes, and so grasp him by the feet. She did as she was bidden, caught the bird, and asked him where her brothers were. He showed her where they stood, and pointed out a mountain which opened at midday and contained a spring: if she were quick enough, she might slip in and get the water of life from the spring; if not, the mountain would close upon her, and they would be ruined. The maiden with the bird on her hand performed the feat with the utmost speed; but even so the mountain as it closed caught a piece of her clothing, and she had to draw her sword and cut it off. She sprinkled her brothers with the water, and they awoke as from a deep sleep. All who had been petrified on the spot were now in turn sprinkled and accompanied the happy party back to the tower, where the herdsman overjoyed at the return of his fosterlings slew forty lambs and poured out wine in abundance: the feasting lasted three days and three nights. The king, hearing of it, went out to see whether the children were there. They showed him the greatest respect, and he invited them to be his guests on the following Sunday. The bird told the young people to take him too along with them, adding that the king was their father. At the royal table both the king's mother and the midwife were present, when the bird from his cage revealed the whole tale. The king sprang up and kissed

his children. His wife was fetched from the hen-house, clad in queenly garments, and brought to her children Sun, Moon, and Morning-star. The midwife had her head cut off; and the king's mother was banished from the palace.

(γ) Morning-Star and Evening-Star in a Folk-tale from Epeiros.

(3) A tale from the village of Çagori in Epeiros has some variations of interest¹. Three sisters once sat on a balcony near the king's castle. The eldest said: 'I wish I sat at the king's table; how I should relish it!' The second said: 'I wish I were in the king's treasury; how I should help myself to money!' The youngest said: 'I wish I were married to the prince; I would bear him a boy and a girl as beautiful as the morning-star and the evening-star².' The prince overheard them wishing and granted all their wishes. But, when his young wife was about to be delivered of the children, he had to go off to a war. He entrusted her, therefore, to his mother. She, however, as soon as the little ones were born, put them in a basket and bade the midwife fling it into the river. She also slipped a dog and a cat into the cradle. When the poor wife wanted to see her offspring, she was dismayed indeed at their appearance. The prince now returned victorious from the war, but was so shocked at the news with which he was greeted that for three days he was speechless. Then he gave orders that his wife, who could deny nothing, should be walled up at the entrance of his castle so that only her head showed, and that every one who passed by should spit at her and strike her in the face. Meantime the basket in which the children lay floated to the house of certain dragons, who pulled it out of the water. They kept the children till the age of ten, then put them on a lame horse, and left them in the streets of the town to their fate. People wanted to know where they came from; and the children replied that they themselves did not know. At last the lame nag brought them to the house of a poor old woman, who out of pity took them in. Next morning she was astonished to find a handful of gold coins on the spot where the children had slept. The same thing occurred every morning, and she and they lived happily on the money. One day the king came by and noticed the morning-star on the face of the boy and the evening-star on that of the girl. He sighed and thought of the children that his wife had promised him. Indeed, he became so fond of these two that he brought them into his palace, hunted with them, and would never be without them. But his mother at once perceived who they were, and consulted with the midwife how best to get rid of them. The midwife came to the girl and said: 'You are a beautiful maiden, but you would be more beautiful still, if your brother had the winged horse of the plain.' The brother readily promised to go in quest of it. He rode forth and met an old woman, who told him of a plain near by so large that it took a man six days to cross it, though the winged horse was across it in one. The said horse ate men and beasts. If he would capture it, he must hide behind the thicket by the spring from which it drank, and at the moment when it stooped its head in drinking must leap on to its back and never dismount till it swore by its brother to serve him. The lad carried out her advice to the letter. The horse swore to serve him by its head—by its tail—by its saddle—by its foot—and lastly by its brother. The boy then dismounted, put a bridle on it, and brought it back to his

¹ Text unpublished, German translation by J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 287 ff. As before, I have condensed from von Hahn.

² πούλια (*sic*) is the original word, according to von Hahn. But N. Contopoulos *Greek-English Lexicon*⁵ Athens 1903 makes πούλια, -as, mean 'the pleiades, the seven stars in the constellation Taurus.'

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and told him all that had happened. Thereupon he brought his wife out of the hen-house, but had his mother bound to two vicious mules and torn asunder by them.

(ε) **Two Sons with Apples and a Daughter with a Star in a Folk-tale from Sicily.**

(5) A Sicilian parallel to the foregoing tales is entitled *The Herb-gatherer's Daughters*¹. A herb-gatherer died and left three daughters alone in the world. The eldest said: 'If I were the wife of the royal butler, I would give the whole court to drink out of one glass of water, and there would be some left.' The second said: 'If I were the wife of the keeper of the royal wardrobe, with one piece of cloth I would clothe all the attendants, and have some left.' The youngest said: 'Were I the king's wife, I would bear him three children—two sons with apples in their hands, and a daughter with a star on her brow.' The king happened to overhear them talking and sent for them next morning. The eldest and the second sister made good their promises and received in marriage the royal butler and the keeper of the royal wardrobe. The youngest became queen on condition that, if she failed to bear two sons with apples in their hands and a daughter with a star on her brow, she should be put to death. A few months before the queen's children were born the king went on a campaign. When they were born as she had foretold, the two elder sisters, jealous of her lot, bribed the nurse to substitute little dogs for them and sent word to the king that his wife had given birth to three puppies. He wrote back that she should be taken care of for two weeks and then put into a tread-mill. Meanwhile the nurse carried the babies out of doors and left them for the dogs to eat. Three fairies passed by, admired them, and gave them three gifts—a deer to nurse them, a purse always full of money, and a ring that would change colour when any misfortune befell one of them. The deer nursed the children till they were grown up. Then the fairy that had given the deer came and said: 'Now that you have grown up, how can you stay here any longer?' 'Very well,' said one of the brothers, 'I will go to the city and hire a house.' 'Take care,' said the deer, 'that you hire one opposite the royal palace.' So they all went to the city and hired a palace as directed. The aunts, seeing the apples in the hands of the boys and the star on the brow of the girl, recognised them at once and told the nurse. The nurse visited the girl and said that, to be really happy, she needed the Dancing Water. One of the brothers rode off to get it. On the way he met a hermit, who said: 'You are going to your death, my son; but keep on until you find a hermit older than I.' He met another hermit, who gave him the same direction. He met a third hermit older than the other two, who said: 'You must climb yonder mountain. On the top of it you will find a great plain and a house with a beautiful gate. Before the gate you will see four giants with swords in their hands. When the giants have their eyes closed, do not enter; when they have their eyes open, enter. Then you will come to a door. If you find it open, do not enter; if you find it shut, push it open and enter. Then you will find four lions. When they have their eyes shut, do not enter; when their eyes are open, enter, and you will see the Dancing Water.' The lad followed these instructions, filled his bottles with the Dancing Water, and returned in safety to his sister. They had two

¹ G. Pitre *Fiabe novelle e racconti popolari siciliani* Palermo 1875 i (= *Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane* iv) 316 ff. no. 36 'Li figghi di lu Cavuliciddaru' (Palermo). There is a slightly condensed translation of this tale in T. F. Crane *Italian popular tales* London 1885 p. 17 ff. I have abbreviated T. F. Crane's version.

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golden basins made, and the Dancing Water leaped from one to the other. Again the aunts told the nurse, and again the nurse visited the girl and said that now she wanted the Singing Apple. The same brother rode off to get it. After a time he met the first hermit, who sent him to an older one, < who sent him to an older one still >. He said: 'Climb the mountain; beware of the giants, the door, and the lions; then you will find a little door and a pair of shears in it; if the shears are open, enter; if closed, do not risk it.' The lad did so, and found everything favourable. When he saw the shears open, he went into a room and saw a wonderful tree, on the top of which was an apple. He climbed up and tried to pick the apple, but the top of the tree swayed now this way, now that. He waited until it was still a moment, seized the branch, and picked the apple. He got away in safety and, as he rode home, the apple kept making a sound. Once more the aunts told the nurse, and once more the nurse visited the girl and said that, should she set eyes on the Speaking Bird, there would be nothing left for her to see. The same brother undertook the quest. As before, he met the first hermit, who sent him to the second, who sent him to the third, who said: 'Climb the mountain and enter the palace. You will find many statues. Then you will come to a garden, in the midst of which is a fountain, and on the bason is the Speaking Bird. If it should say anything to you, do not answer. Pick a feather from the bird's wing, dip it into a jar that you will find there, and anoint all the statues. Keep your eyes open, and all will go well.' The lad soon found the garden and the bird. But, when the bird exclaimed 'Your mother has been sent to the tread-mill,' 'My mother in the tread-mill?' he cried, and straightway became a statue like all the rest. In the meantime his sister at home looked at her ring and saw that it had changed its colour to blue. So she sent the second brother after the first. Everything happened to him in the same way. He too met the hermits, found the palace, saw the garden with the statues, and heard the Speaking Bird. And, when the bird said 'What has become of your brother? Your mother has been sent to the tread-mill,' he too cried out 'Alas, my mother in the tread-mill!' and became a statue. The sister now looked at her ring again, and it was black. Thereupon she dressed herself like a page and set out. She met the hermits and received their instructions. The third ended by saying: 'Beware, for, if you answer when the bird speaks, you will lose your life.' When she reached the garden, the bird exclaimed: 'Ah! you here, too? Now you will meet the same fate as your brothers. Do you see them? One, two, and you make three. Your father is at the war. Your mother is in the tread-mill. Your aunts are rejoicing.' She made no answer, but caught it, pulled a feather from its wing, dipped it into the jar, and anointed her brothers' nostrils. The brothers at once came to life again. Then she did the same to all the other statues, the lions, and the giants: all were restored to life. After that she departed with her brothers; and all the noblemen, princes, barons, and kings' sons rejoiced greatly. When they had recovered their life, the palace disappeared; and so did the hermits, for they were the three fairies. On reaching the city they had a gold chain made for the bird; and, the next time that the aunts looked out, they saw in the window of the palace opposite the Dancing Water, the Singing Apple, and the Speaking Bird. 'Well,' said they, 'the real trouble is coming now!' At length the king returned from the war and noticed the palace opposite equipped more magnificently than his own. When he saw the brothers with apples in their hands and the sister with a star on her brow, he cried: 'Gracious! If I did not know that my wife had given birth to three puppies, I should say that those were my children.' Another day, as he stood by the window and enjoyed the Dancing Water and the Singing

Apple, the Speaking Bird spoke to him and bade the sister and brothers invite him to a grand dinner on Sunday. At the dinner the bird got a counter-invitation for them all to dine with the king on the Sunday following. When they were assembled at the king's table, the bird related the whole story, ending with the words: 'These are your children, and your wife was sent to the mill and is dying.' The king at once embraced his children, and went to find his wife, who was at the point of death. He knelt before her and begged her pardon. Then he asked the bird to pronounce sentence on the aunts and the nurse. The bird sentenced the nurse to be thrown out of the window and the aunts to be cast into a caldron of boiling oil. This was done forthwith. Then the bird departed; and the king lived in peace with his children and his wife.

(5) **Two Sons with a Gold Star and a Daughter with a Silver Star in a Folk-tale from Brittany.**

(6) It must not be supposed that tales of this type are found only in the Greek and Italian area. Here, for example, is a version entitled *The Baker's Three Daughters* from Plouaret in Brittany¹. An old baker had three daughters, who one evening after supper were talking confidences. The eldest said that she loved the king's gardener. The next, that she loved the king's valet. The youngest, that she loved the king's son, and, what was more, that she would have by him three children—two boys with a gold star on their foreheads and a girl with a silver star. The prince chanced to be taking a walk that evening, accompanied by his gardener and his valet. He overheard the conversation, summoned the girls to his presence next morning, and granted the desires of them all. The young queen was delivered of a fine boy with a gold star in the middle of his forehead. But the jealous sisters, acting on the advice of an old fairy, had secured a midwife, who exposed the babe in a basket on the Seine and substituted a puppy for him. The prince was much distressed, but bowed to the will of God. The babe floated down the river, was picked up by the king's gardener, and reared by the gardener's wife. Again the queen bore a boy with a gold star on his forehead. The midwife exposed him too in a basket on the Seine, and substituted a puppy for him. The prince, who by this time owing to the death of his father was king, was again deeply distressed, but submissive to the will of God. The second boy, like the first, floated down stream, was found by the gardener, and given to the gardener's wife. Once more the queen bore a child—a girl with a silver star in the middle of her forehead. The midwife exposed her in the same manner and substituted a puppy for her. This time the king was very angry: he felt that it was not God's doing, but that there was some mystery behind it all. So he had the queen shut up in a tower, with nothing but bread and water to live upon and a little book to read. The girl, like the boys, was found on the water by the gardener and reared by his wife. In due time their foster-parents died, and the children were taken into the palace by the king, who liked to have them about him. Every Sunday they were to be seen in the royal pew at church, each wearing a head-band to cover up the star: these head-bands puzzled people. One day, when the king was out hunting, an old woman (it was the midwife disguised as a beggar) came to the palace and began to compliment the girl: she was fair indeed, but if only she had the Dancing Water, the Singing Apple, and the Bird of Truth, there would not be her like upon earth! Her eldest brother set out to seek these marvels for her, and, before

¹ Text unpublished, French translation by F. M. Luzel in *Méhusine* 1878 i. 206 ff. I have abridged F. M. Luzel's rendering.

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(7) The Myth of Zethos and Amphion as an 'Expulsion' Tale.

It would be easy, but needless, to cite other variants. Tales of this type are, in fact, spread throughout the south of Europe, and with sundry modifications and adaptations could be traced yet further afield¹. J. G. von Hahn, regarding them as essentially tales of 'expulsion' (*Verstossung*), formulated their common characteristics as follows²:

- (a) Jealous relatives deprive the mother of her new-born children, who are found and brought up at a distance from the father's home by a childless foster-parent.
- (b) Beasts are substituted for the new-born children; or the mother is accused of having devoured them.
- (c) Expulsion or punishment of the mother.
- (d) The children, found again by the father, deliver the mother.

Von Hahn has done good service by thus emphasising the permanent features of the tale. But, when he states that they cannot be illustrated from Greek mythology³, he has somewhat seriously misconceived the situation and has thereby missed a certain number of interesting parallels. Ancient Greek folk-tales have for the most part come down to us through the discriminating sieve of ancient Greek literature. Sometimes, as in the case of Sophokles, that sieve had a very fine mesh, the result being that the primitive traits still to be seen in Sophoclean dramas are but few. Sometimes, as in the case of Euripides, the mesh was broad, and traits of this kind are comparatively numerous. Nevertheless, Euripides too made his appeal to one of the most aesthetically cultivated audiences of all time; and it is certain that he would not have thought the folk-tale as outlined above immediately suitable for dramatic presentation in the theatre at Athens. How, then, would Euripides, say, have manipulated such a theme to suit his purpose? We may here with some assurance hazard a twofold guess. On the one hand, he would have excised the whole of the second or bestial episode: nowhere in Greek tragedy do we find any precedent for a scene which, to Euripides' gener-

¹ See L. Gonzenbach *Sicilianische Märchen* Leipzig 1870 i. 19 ff. no. 5 'Die verstossene Königin und ihre beiden ausgesetzten Kinder,' *ib.* ii. 206 f., G. Pitre *Fiabe novelle e racconti popolari siciliani* Palermo 1875 i (= *Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane* iv) 328 f. 'La cammisa di lu gran jucaturi e l' auceddu parlanti' (Montevago), *ib.* 330 'Suli e Luna' (Capaci), *ib.* 330 f. 'Stilla d' oru e Stilla Diana' (Casteltermini), *ib.* 331 'Lu Re Turen' (Noto), *ib.* 331 ff., G. Pitre *Nuovo saggio de fiabe e novelle popolari siciliane* Imola 1873 (= *Rivista di Filologia Romanza* vol. i fasc. 2 f.) no. 1 'Re Sonnu' (Palermo), G. Finamore *Tradizioni popolari Abruzzesi* Lanciano 1882 i (Novelle) 192 ff. no. 39 'Lu fatte de le tré ssurèlle,' *Il Pentamerone* trans. by Sir R. Burton London 1893 i. 390 ff. 'Fifth Diversion of the Fourth Day,' F. M. Luzel 'Les trois filles du boulanger' (Plouaret) variants in *Mélusine* 1878 i. 209 n. 1, 210 n. 1, R. Koehler *ib.* 213 f., T. F. Crane *Italian Popular Tales* London 1885 p. 325 f., J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* Edinburgh 1860 i. p. lxxxiii f., J. Curtin *Fairy Tales of Eastern Europe* London s.a. pp. 91—119 'The Golden Fish, the Wonder-working Tree, and the Golden Bird' (a Hungarian tale of a prince with a golden sun on his breast and a princess with a golden moon on her bosom, who sought a Golden Fish, a branch cut from a Music-tree, and a Golden Bird, all kept in the Glass Mountain beyond the Crimson Sea: the old queen is burned on the public square), L. A. Magnus *Russian Folk-tales* London 1915 pp. 269—273 'The Singing-Tree and the Speaking-Bird' (two princes and a princess seek the Talking-Bird, the Singing-Tree, and the Water of Life on the top of a steep mountain). Most of these authors refer to further sources.

² J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 46.

³ *Id. ib.* 'Hellenische und germanische Sage: fehlt.'

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ation at least, would have been so outrageous and so unconvincing as that of the supposititious animals or the cannibalistic mother. On the other hand, the poet would have expanded such parts of the story as were susceptible of pathetic treatment, and in particular would have elaborated the final scene of recognition¹. But I need not follow out this *à priori* enquiry; for it so happens that there is extant, not indeed a play of Euripides, but at least the summary of a Euripidean play, on a strictly analogous theme.

Apollodoros, who is paraphrasing Euripides' *Antiope*², tells the tale of that heroine in these words³: 'Antiope was the daughter of Nykteus. Zeus consorted with her, and she, when pregnant, to avoid her father's threats, fled to Epopeus at Sikyon and married him. Nykteus in despair took his own life, after laying his behest upon Lykos to exact vengeance from Epopeus and Antiope. So Lykos made an expedition against Sikyon and captured it: Epopeus he slew, but Antiope he took captive. As she was being led along, at Eleutherai in Boiotia, she gave birth to two sons. They were exposed; but a herdsman found them and reared them, calling the one Zethos, the other Amphion. Zethos gave his attention to herds of cattle; but Amphion used to practise harp-playing, for Hermes gave him a lyre. Lykos shut up Antiope and evil intreated her, as did Dirke his wife. At last her bonds dropped off of their own accord, and she escaped by stealth to her sons' homestead, eager to be welcomed by them. They recognised their mother, slew Lykos, bound Dirke to a bull, and, when she had been killed, flung her into a spring that is called Dirke after her.'

The general similarity of Euripides' play to the 'expulsion' *formula* of J. G. von Hahn is sufficiently obvious. The main discrepancy lies in the fact that, according to von Hahn's *formula*, the father of Zethos and Amphion ought to have been Lykos rather than Zeus. But this difficulty vanishes, if with H. Usener we suppose (indeed, we have already supposed it⁴) that *Lýkos* was an ancient god of daylight comparable with Zeus *Lýkaios*: the Theban Lykos will then be a doublet of the Sicyonian Epopeus, two kings bearing the name of the local god. Again, it might be objected that, on von Hahn's showing, Zethos and Amphion should have slain Dirke, but not Lykos. Here the explanation of the difficulty is simpler still. Hyginus, our ultimate authority for the Euripidean character of the narrative⁵, has a different ending to it: 'They bound Dirce,' he says, 'by her hair to a bull and slew her. When they were about to slay Lycus, Mercurius forbade them and at the same time ordered Lycus to yield his kingdom to Amphion⁶.' Euripides, in short, preserved the main outlines of the old-world tale.

¹ On *ἀναγνώρισις* as a strong point with Euripides see e.g. M. Croiset *Histoire de la littérature grecque* Paris 1891 iii. 315 f. Karkinos in his *Thyestes* (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 797 Nanck²) *ap.* Aristot. *poet.* 16. 1454 b 21 ff. used certain congenital signs in the shape of stars (*δορέπας*) as the means of effecting such a recognition: this is a parallel to the Breton tale *supra* p. 1011.

² This appears from a comparison of Apollod. 3. 5. 5 with Hyg. *fab.* 8, which is headed *eadem Euripidis, quam scribit Ennius*. See also schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1090, and the remarks of A. Nauck *Trag. Gr. frag.*³ p. 410 ff. An analogous version by Kephalion, a rhetorical historian of Hadrian's age, is preserved by Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 pp. 45—49 Dindorf.

³ Apollod. 3. 5. 5.

⁴ *Supra* i. 64 n. 3, 738.

⁵ *Supra* n. 2.

⁶ Hyg. *fab.* 8. So the schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1090.

(θ) Stellar names of the children in 'Expulsion' Tales.

Now Zethos and Amphion were the Theban Dioskouroi¹. It seems worth while, therefore, to consider whether the features common to the 'expulsion' tales can be paralleled from the numerous classical myths with regard to heroic twins. To begin with, one characteristic of the six 'expulsion' tales cited above is a certain peculiarity of nomenclature. The king's wife bears him children as follows:

1. A boy called *Sun*, a boy called *Moon*, a girl called *Star* (successively).
2. A boy called *Sun*, a girl called *Moon*, a boy called *Morning-star* (simultaneously).
3. A boy with the *Morning-star* on his face, a girl with the *Evening-star* on her face (simultaneously).
4. Three golden children, of whom two at least were boys (successively).
5. Two boys with golden apples in their hands, a girl with a *star* on her brow (simultaneously).
6. Two boys with *golden stars* on their brows, a girl with a *silver star* on her brow (successively).

The children, then, are definitely stellar; and a comparison of the last two tales shows beyond all doubt that the golden apples are tantamount to golden stars. Further, in four, perhaps five, out of the six tales the children consist of two boys and a girl. On both grounds we are forced to compare them with Kastor, Polydeukes, and Helene². Zethos and Amphion too were, as we have before seen³, intimately related to sun, moon, and stars. Even Romulus and Remus on Roman imperial coins are treated as Dioskouroi and surmounted by a couple of stars⁴.

(ι) Exposure of the children and Punishment of the mother in 'Expulsion' Tales.

J. Rendel Harris in *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* argues well in defence of the thesis 'That, in the earliest stages of human evolution, twins are taboo, without distinction between them, and that their mother shares the taboo with them⁵.' In conformity with this rule the children of the 'expulsion' tales are regularly exposed as castaways:

1. They are put into boxes and flung into the sea.
2. Orders are given that they should be flung into a river; but they are actually left on a bed of rushes.

¹ *Supra* i. 739, n. 317, 445.

² If this comparison be well founded, the relation of the children to horses may be more than fortuitous:

- (1) Sun rides a green winged horse, which can thunder and lighten.
- (2) Sun and Morning-star spend their time in exercising their horses: Moon also rides on horseback.
- (3) Morning-star and Evening-star are abandoned on a lame horse: Morning-star secures the winged horse of the plain, which eats men and beasts.
- (5) The brothers with golden apples and the sister with a star all ride on horseback.
- (6) The brothers with golden stars and the sister with a silver star all ride on horseback as cavaliers.

³ *Supra* i. 739.

⁴ Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* pp. 761, 914 f., *supra* p. 443 f. figs. 349—351.

⁵ J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 10 ff.

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But whether this egg, like that of Helene, was left in the wilds, we do not know. Far more familiar is the fate of Romulus and Remus. Amulius, king of Alba Longa, gave orders that they together with their mother, the Vestal Ilia, should be thrown into the Tiber. The twins were washed up on the bank, where the shepherd Faustulus found them, suckled by a she-wolf and attended by a woodpecker and a jay. He took them to his wife Acca Laurentia, who reared them. Their mother Ilia became the wife of the river-god Anien or Tiberis¹. According to another account, Amulius doomed the guilty mother to be flogged to death. Others again said that, owing to the entreaties of his daughter Antho, Amulius commuted her punishment into close imprisonment, but that after his death she was let out².

(κ) Quests undertaken by the children in 'Expulsion' Tales.

The quests undertaken by the children in the 'expulsion' tales are not regarded by J. G. von Hahn as essential to this type of story; and in point of fact they are absent altogether from the Eubœan version (4). Still, where they are present, they are likely to repay investigation. Indeed, I suspect that ultimately they will prove to be quite the most interesting portion of the whole. For purposes of comparison, let us enumerate them in order:

1. (a) A golden apple kept by forty dragons.
(b) A golden bough, on which all the birds of the world meet to sing.
(c) The Tzitzinaina, who knows the language of all birds and can turn men into stone.
2. (a) A branch, which makes music and is kept by two dragons.
(b) A mirror, which shows the whole world and is kept by forty dragons.
(c) The bird Dikjeretto, which can turn men into stone.
3. (a) The Winged Horse of the Plain, which swears by its brother.
(b) The Beauty of the Land, who can turn men into stone.
5. (a) The Dancing Water, which is guarded by four giants and four lions.
(b) The Singing Apple, which grows on the top of a wonderful tree with shears before it.
(c) The Speaking Bird, which is perched on the bason of a fountain in a garden and can turn men into statues.
6. (a)+(b)+(c) The Dancing Water, the Singing Apple, and the Bird of Truth. The Dancing Water comes from a fountain beneath an apple-tree. On a branch of the tree grows the Singing Apple. A blackbird on the tree is the Bird of Truth. Beside the tree is a golden seat. All these are found in a summery plain on the top of a wintry mountain, the path up which is bordered by cavaliers turned into stone.

It will be seen that the last tale gives the most coherent account of the various objects to be sought. Moreover, it alone makes mention of one detail, the golden seat, which affords a clue to the meaning of all the rest. Whoever can sit on that golden throne thereby establishes his claim to be king, the Dancing Water, the Singing Apple, and the Bird of Truth being in some sort his *regalia*. But this is a matter for further investigation. For the moment I content myself with observing that traces, substantial traces, of similar quests are to be found

sun and moon (*supra* i. 311). Cp. Plout. *de frat. am.* ἰ τοὺς Μολιονίδας ἐκείνους, συμφυεῖς τοῖς σώμασι γεγονέναι δοκοῦντας.

¹ Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* i. 273.

² Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* i. 78 f., Plout. *v. Rom.* 3, Liv. i. 4. 3.

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throughout ancient Greek mythology. The folk-tale hero rides off to get the golden apple kept by forty dragons in a garden¹. We think of Herakles, the great twin brother of Iphikles, who seeks the golden apples of the Hesperides, apples that grow in the garden of Zeus and are kept by the dragon Ladon². The same folk-tale hero rides a green winged horse, which can thunder and lighten³. We are familiar with the winged horse Pegasus, of whom Hesiod wrote:

In Zeus' home he dwells
Bearing the thunder-peal and lightning-flash
For Zeus the wise⁴.

¹ *Supra* p. 1003.

² K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2594 ff.

³ *Supra* p. 1003.

⁴ Hes. *theog.* 285 f., cp. Eur. *Bellerophontes frag.* 312 Νανέκ² ὑφ' ἄρματ' ἐλθὼν Ζηνὸς ἀστραπηφορεῖ. I do not know any ancient representation of Pegasus as lightning-bearer. But a very remarkable red-figured *hydria* at Paris (*De Ridder Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 343 no. 449, J. B. Biot in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1847 xix. 184 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* iv pl. 39, 2 (= my fig. 885), Reinach *Rep. Vases* i. 129. 4. R. Eisler *Wellenmantel und Himmelszelt* München



Fig. 885.

1910 i. 84 n. 2 fig. 26 ('Apotropäische Darstellung einer Sonnenfinsternis') appears to represent him as a constellation in the sky. My friend Prof. E. T. Whittaker, late Astronomer Royal of Ireland, has kindly supplied me with the following note on this unique vase-painting:

'Four stars of approximately equal magnitude will be noticed forming a rectangular figure flanked by two other stars. There are in the northern sky two well-known instances of stars disposed in a rectangle, *viz.* the body of the Plough (Ursa Major) and the great square of Pegasus. Here the addition of Pegasus himself puts the meaning beyond doubt.

The fact that the moon appears as a comparatively thin crescent shows that a time

The hero of another folk-tale captures the Winged Horse of the Plain: he waits till it stoops its head in drinking from a spring, then leaps on to its back, and makes it swear by its brother to serve him¹. He too can be paralleled by Bellerophontes, who captures Pegasus while drinking at the spring Pèirene²; and Pegasus, we remember, has Chrysaor for brother³. Lastly, the folk-tale hero, who as a new-born babe is put into a box and flung into the sea, while his mother is walled up in the jakes⁴, recalls the classical myth of Danae, first shut up in an underground chamber and then sent adrift in a chest on the sea



Fig. 886.

with the infant Perseus. And, when the said folk-tale hero vanquishes the Tzitzinaina that turns men into stone⁵, we can but compare Perseus decapitating Medousa and returning in triumph with her petrifying head. The fact is, these modern European folk-tales are—as E. S. Hartland expresses it—‘stuff of the kind out of which the classical and other mythologies grew⁶.’ Such correspondences between the modern illiterate folk-tale and the ancient literary myth are, therefore, to be expected. Parian marble must needs bear a certain resemblance to the Hermes of Praxiteles⁷.

either quite early or quite late in the lunation is intended. If the former, the vase must represent the western horizon soon after sunset in spring. If the latter, it represents the eastern sky shortly before sunrise in autumn. No obvious meaning attaches to the short curved lines within or without the moon’s disc. The scale on which the moon is represented is much larger than that on which the great square of Pegasus appears.’

¹ *Supra* p. 1006.

² Strab. 379.

³ O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2484, H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 900, F. Hannig *ib.* iii. 1749. *Supra* p. 716 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 1003 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1004.

⁶ E. S. Hartland *Mythology and Folktales* London 1900 p. 35.

⁷ We must, however, bear in mind the warning uttered by that careful student of Greek

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mental evidence is still sorely needed. Of scholars that in modern times have devoted special attention to the Orphic theogonies (P. R. Schuster *De veteris Orphicae theogoniae indole atque origine* Lipsiae 1869, O. Kern *De Orphei Epi-
menidis Pherecydis theogoniis quaestiones criticae* Berolini 1888, *id.* 'Theogoniae Orphicae fragmenta nova' in *Hermes* 1888 xxiii. 481—488, F. Susemihl 'Die Orphische theogonie' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1874 xx. 666—676, *id.* *De theogoniae Orphicae forma antiquissima* Gryphiswaldiae 1890, *id.* 'Zu den orphischen Theogonien' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1890 xxxvi. 820—826, *id.* *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit* Leipzig 1891 i. 896, F. Lukas *Die Grundbegriffe in den Kosmogonien der alten Völker* Leipzig 1893, pp. 178—195, A. E. J. Holwerda 'De Theogonia Orphica' in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1894 xxii. 286—329, 361—385, W. Kroll 'De Orphicis addendum' in *Philologus* 1894 liii. 561, P. Tannery 'Sur la première theogonie Orphique' in the *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 1897 xi. 13—17, Rohde *Psyche*³ ii. 414—417, and others) none has done better service than O. Gruppe (*Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 612—675, 'Berichtigung' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1888 xxxiv Anhang 1 f., 'Die rhapsodische Theogonie und ihre Bedeutung innerhalb der orphischen Litteratur' *ib.* 1890 Suppl. xvii. 687—747, *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 419—423, 430—432, 'Älteste orphische Theogonie' in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1120—1124, 'Die Lehre von der periodischen Welterneuerung' *ib.* iii. 1139—1149, *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 215 f.), whose views—with sundry modifications—are here summarised.

(1) The earliest Orphic Theogony.

Quotations in authors of the classical age (cp. H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*³ Berlin 1912 ii. 167 ff. 'Altbezeugte Fragmente') postulate the existence of an early Orphic theogony, to which even Homer, at least in the *Διὸς ἀπάτη*, was indebted (*Il.* 14. 201 cp. Plat. *Cratyl.* 402 B—C; *Il.* 14. 246 cp. Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 18 p. 20 Schwartz, Krates *ap.* Plout. *de fac. in orbe lun.* 25, Orph. *h. Okean.* 83. 1 f., Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 148 Duncker—Schneidewin, 8. 12 p. 424; but hardly *Il.* 14. 259 ff. cp. Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 124 (i. 319, 8 ff. Ruelle)). The contents of the poem can be partially reconstructed as follows:—In the beginning was Nyx (Aristot. *met.* 12. 6. 1071 b 26 f., 14. 4. 1091 b 4 ff., Eudemos of Rhodes *ap.* Damaskios *loc. cit.*, Lyd. *de mens.* 2. 8 p. 26, 1 ff. Wünsch). Black-winged Nyx laid a wind-egg, from which in due time sprang gold-winged Eros (Aristoph. *av.* 695 ff.). Apparently heaven and earth were regarded as the upper and lower halves of the vast egg (so in the later theogony of Orph. *frag.* 57 Kern *ap.* Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 18 p. 20 f. Schwartz, cp. Varro *frag.* 109 Funaioli *ap.* Prob. *in Verg. ecl.* 6. 31 p. 354 Lion). Ouranos (Aristot. *met.* 14. 4. 1091 b 5) and Ge (Lyd. *de mens.* 2. 8 p. 26, 2 f. Wünsch) together produced as their offspring Okeanos and Tethys (Plat. *Tim.* 40 E). Fair-flowing Okeanos took to wife Tethys, his sister by the same mother, and so was the first to begin regular wedlock (Orph. *frag.* 15 Kern *ap.* Plat. *Cratyl.* 402 B—C, cp. Aristot. *met.* 1. 3. 983 b 30 f.). Their children were Phorkys, Kronos, Rhea, and others (Plat. *Tim.* 40 E, Cic. *Tim.* 11). The sequel can perhaps be surmised from the *Διὸς ἀπάτη*. Rhea took Hera to Okeanos and Tethys, who brought up the child in their abode; and Zeus thrust Kronos down below the earth and the sea (*Il.* 14. 200 ff.). Zeus used to visit Hera clandestinely (*Il.* 14. 294 ff.), repairing to Okeanos for the purpose (Orph. *περὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας frag.* 115 Kern *ap.* Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 1). Not improbably the poem told how, to grace this 'sacred marriage' (Dion Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 99 Reiske, Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* i. 49, 13 f. Diehl cp. *ib.* iii. 248, 5 ff.), Ge sent up golden apples

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(Asklepiades of Mende *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 306 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 83 C) or apple-trees bearing golden fruit in Okeanos (Pherekydes of Leros *frag.* 33 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 78 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1396), or came with branches of golden apples to the wedding and allowed Hera to plant them in her garden by Mt Atlas, where they were protected by the Hesperides and the snake (Pherekydes of Leros *frag.* 33a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 79 f. Müller) *ap.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 3, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 383, 1 ff. Eysenhardt: *id. ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 3 calls it the garden of the gods; others, the gardens of Zeus (Soph. *Ion frag.* 297 Nauck², 320 Jebb, *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 103. 10 (ed. Gaisford iii. 292) ἐν Διὸς κήποις ἀρουῖσθαι (T. Bergk cj. ἀρύεσθαι) μόνον εὐδαίμονος (leg. εὐδαίμονας) ὄλβους) or the plain of Zeus (Aristoph. *av.* 1758 πέδον Διὸς καὶ λέχος γαμήλιον, cp. Eur. *Hipp.* 749 Ζανὸς μελάθρων παρὰ κοίταις (J. G. J. Hermann cj. παρ' εὐναῖς)), or the gardens of Father Okeanos (Aristoph. *nuβ.* 271), or the meadow of Hera (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 164)). The poem concluded with the sixth generation (Orph. *frag.* 14 Kern *ap.* Plat. *Phileb.* 66 C). O. Gruppe thinks that it was probably composed towards the end of s. vii B.C. at Kroton, where Hera *Lakinla* had a garden (Lyk. *Al.* 856 ff. ὄρχατον with Tzetz. *ad loc.* δῆλον τὸν κῆπον λέγειν) and a temple of the Muses (Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 50 after Timaios?) may betoken Orphic influence.

[Here I dissent. It seems to me that clear indications point to an earlier age and a very different locality. If the Διὸς ἀπάτη really presupposes an Orphic theogony, that theogony can hardly be later than s. x (see the sober estimates of W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ München 1908 i. 59—62)—a period which accords well with the epic metre and dialect of the extant fragments, not to lay stress on the remote traditional dates of Orpheus himself (O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1064—1073). Moreover, our attention is drawn eastwards rather than westwards: the scene of the Διὸς ἀπάτη is laid on Mt Ide in Phrygia (*supra* i. 154, ii. 950); the position assigned by the theogony to Nyx recalls the archaic (s. vi) figure of Nyx by Rhoikos at Ephesos (Paus. 10. 38. 6 f.); Okeanos and Tethys as forbears are compared by Aristotle with water as the primal substance assumed by Thales of Miletos (Aristot. *met.* 1. 3. 983 b 20 ff.); and the cosmic egg, not to mention other points of resemblance, occurs also in the Phoenician theogony (Sanchouniathon as translated by Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 565 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 2 ἀνεπλάσθη ὁμοίως ὤου σχήματι κ.τ.λ., cp. *supra* i. 583 n. 4, 785, and Mochos *ap.* Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 125 *ter* (i. 323, 6 ff. Ruelle) ὦν...τὸ δὲ ὦν ὁ οὐρανός). I infer that the Orphic poem took shape somewhere in Asia Minor as the result of early Ionian speculation brought to bear on primitive Thraco-Phrygian beliefs. A trace of such beliefs may be found in the Lesbian tale of Enorches. A certain Thyestes consorting with his sister Daita or Daito (*v.l.* Daiso, cp. the Lesbian Theodaisia (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* pp. 280 n. 2, 472 n. 2)) produced from an egg a son called Enorches, who founded a temple for Dionysos and called the god after himself Dionysos Ἐνόρχης (Eudok. *viol.* 345, schol. Lyk. *Al.* 212)—a title borne by Dionysos in Samos also (Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐνόρχης) and obviously derived from ὄρχεις, 'testicles' (ἐνόρχης, ἔνορχος, ἔνορχις is elsewhere used *e.g.* of a ram (*Il.* 23. 147, Synes. *epist.* 148) or he-goat (Theokr. 3. 4, Loukian. *dial. deor.* 4. 1) or bull (Aristot. *hist. an.* 9.50. 632 a 20)). Now the names Thyestes and Daito recall at once the banquet of Thyestes, son of Pelops the Phrygian (Bakchyl. 7. 5, Hdt. 7. 8 and 11, Telestes *frag.* 5 Bergk⁴ *ap.* Athen. 625 E—626 A, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9. 15 a), and imply that in Lesbos as at Mykenai there lingered the memory of ritual cannibalism. H. D. Müller *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* Göttingen

1861 ii. 154—158 argues that the Mycenaean myth points back to a human sacrifice offered to a Zeus-like deity *Θυέστης*, the 'Dashing' storm-god (*θύω*, *θύελλα*). This etymology is possible (Dionysios i of Syracuse *ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 532 b 32 ff. Bekker *θυέστην τὸν δοίδυκα ἐχάλει*, a pestle being a 'dasher' or 'bruise': see Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 355), though the Lesbian Thyestes appears in a Dionysiac context (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 660 n. 1) which relates his name to *θυιάδες*, *θυστάδες*, *Θυώνη*, etc. Be that as it may, the association of human sacrifice with the cult of Dionysos takes us from Lesbos (*supra* i. 656 n. 4: see also the story told by Ail. *var. hist.* 13. 2 of the Mytilenaeon Makàreus, priest of Dionysos, and his sons, who *μιμούμενοι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἱερουργίαν τῷ βωμῷ τῷ πατρῷ προσῆλθον ἔτι καομένων τῶν ἐμπύρων· καὶ ὁ μὲν νεώτερος παρέσχε τὸν τράχηλον, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος ἡμελημένην εὐρῶν σφαγίδα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς ἱερεῖον*) to Thrace, where the devouring of a dismembered child was not unknown (*supra*, i. 656). Others explained the title *Ἐνόρχης* by the tale of Polyhymnos (Eudok. *viol.* 345, Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 212: O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2657—2661, 3154 f. discusses variants). Dionysos, when his mother was struck by the thunderbolt, groped about for her. A young man named Polyhymnos undertook to show him the way to her, if allowed to consort with him. Dionysos agreed, provided that he found his mother first. Following the advice of Polyhymnos, he went down to Hades and brought her up from the spring at Lerna. Polyhymnos having died, Dionysos by way of keeping his promise attached genitals of fig-wood to himself and leathern *phallos* of deer-skin. Hence his title *Ἐνόρχης*. The clue to the understanding of this narrative is the fact that *πολύμνος* was an appellative of Dionysos himself (*h. Dion.* 26. 7, Eur. *Ion* 1074 f.), kindred names being found in his *entourage* (Polyhymno his Dodonaean nurse (*supra* i. 111 n. 6), Polymnia mother of Orpheus (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 23) and of Triptolemos (schol. *Il.* 10. 435, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 817, 32, Tzetz. *in Hes. o. d.* 1 p. 28, 6 f. Gaisford)). The descent of Dionysos and Polyhymnos is therefore tantamount to a descent of Dionysos *Πολύμνος*; and the obscene pact between the two, which is missing in the version given by Paus. 2. 37. 5, is a piece of aetiology meant to elucidate the Lernaean *Φαλλαγώγια*. The quest of Dionysos for Semele thus becomes comparable with that of Orpheus for Eurydike (see Harrison *Themis* pp. 420, 523) and again points Thrace-wards.]

(2) The Orphic Theogony of Hieronymos and Hellanikos.

Another Orphic theogony, distinguished as *ἡ...κατὰ τὸν Ἱερόνυμον φερομένη καὶ Ἑλλάνικον*, εἶπερ μὴ καὶ ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν, is set forth by Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 123 bis (i. 317, 15 ff. Ruelle):—In the beginning was water and slime (Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 484, followed by F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*³ Leipzig and Darmstadt 1842 iv. 83, rightly cj. *ἰλύς* for *ἕλη*; but cp. Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 249 B—C) which thickened into earth. Water, the combining element, and earth, the scattered, together produced a snake with three heads, in the middle that of a god, to one side that of a bull, to the other that of a lion. The snake had wings on its shoulders and was named Chronos the ageless and Herakles (cp. Orph. *h. Herakl.* 12). With it consorted Ananke or Adrasteia, a bodiless being whose arms stretch throughout the world and clasp its extremities: she is described as at once male and female. The snake Chronos begat intelligent (but Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 486 n. † cj. *νοτερόν* for *νοερόν*, and C. E. Ruelle *ad loc.* approves the change) Aither, boundless Chaos, and misty Erebus. Among these Chronos produced an egg containing male and female elements, a multiplicity of seeds, and a bodiless god (*supra* i. 311 n. 5: see also

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p. 431 n. 3 further cites the thickening of water into slime and earth in Mandaite speculation (A. J. H. W. Brandt *Die mandäische Religion* Leipzig 1889 p. 50 ff.). But a similar view was held by Anaximandros (E. Zeller *op. cit.* i. 255 f.), Diogenes of Apollonia (*id. ib.* i. 294, 296), and Anaxagoras (*id. ib.* ii. 356). Empedokles too had spoken of water as a combining element (*frag.* 34 Diels ἀλφειτον ὕδατι κολλήσας). And the equation of Zeus with Pan is again suggestive of philosophical influence (E. Zeller *op. cit.* i. 101), conceivably that of Hera-kleitos (*supra* i. 28 ff.). On the whole we may conclude that the Orphic theogony bearing the name of Hieronymos or Hellanikos was the summary of an epic poem drafted somewhere in Ionia c. 500 B.C.]

(3) The Theogony of the Orphic Rhapsodies.

But the bulk of the Orphic fragments, quoted by neo-Platonists and others, belongs to a third theogony probably called the *ἱερὸς λόγος* (Orph. *frag.* 63 Kern *ap. et. mag.* p. 231, 22 ff.) or *ἱεροὶ λόγοι* (Soud. *s.v.* Ὀρφεύς) and contained in 24 Rhapsodies ascribed by some to Theognetos the Thessalian, by others to Kerkops the Pythagorean (*id. ib.*). Of Theognetos nothing more is known. Epigenes in his work *On poetry attributed to Orpheus* (*ap. Clem. Al. Strom.* i. 21 p. 81, 11 ff. Stählin) regarded Kerkops the Pythagorean as the author of the Orphic *εἰς Ἄιδου κατάβασις* and *ἱερὸς λόγος* (cp. Cic. *de nat. deor.* i. 107). And Pythagorean authorship is not impossible, or even improbable; for Hera-kleides Lembos *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 169 f. Müller) *ap. Diog. Laert.* 8. 7 cites the opening hexameter of a *ἱερὸς λόγος* ascribed to Pythagoras; Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 146 quotes from another *ἱερὸς λόγος* or *περὶ θεῶν λόγος*, believed to be by Pythagoras himself or by his son Telauges, a passage of Doric prose, in which Pythagoras declares that he was initiated at Libethra in Thrace by Aglaophamos and there learnt that Orpheus son of Kalliope, taught by his mother on Mt Pangaion, had enunciated the fundamental significance of number etc.; *id. ib.* 258 f. tells how the rhetorician Ninon professed to divulge Pythagorean secrets contained in a work entitled *λόγος ἱερός*; Soud. *s.v.* Ἀριγνώτη = Eudok. *viol.* 173 speaks of a *ἱερὸς λόγος* written by the Pythagorean Arignote; and Plout. *de gen. Socr.* 24 makes Theanor the Pythagorean describe Simmias' story of Timarchos' visit to the Underworld as *λόγον...ἱερόν*: see further A. Delatte *Études sur la littérature pythagoricienne* Paris 1915 pp. 1—79 ('Un ἹΕΡΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ pythagoricien'). The Rhapsodic theogony, according to Damaskios *quæst. de primis principiis* 123 (i. 316, 18 ff. Ruelle), cp. *ib.* 50 (i. 100, 19 f.), 123 *bis* (i. 318, 6 ff.), gave the following sequence of events:—In the beginning was Chronos the ageless, father of Aither and Chaos. Then came the cosmic egg, called also 'the brilliant *chiton*' or 'the cloud' (*ib.* 123 (i. 317, 2 f.) ἦτοι τὸ κνούμενον καὶ τὸ κύον ὦν τὸν θεόν, ἢ τὸν ἀργῆτα χιτῶνα, ἢ τὴν νεφέλην), from which sprang Phanes, otherwise known as Metis or Erikepaios. [As to the meaning of these names valuable information is preserved to us by Io. Malal. *chron.* 4 p. 74 Dindorf ἔφρασε δὲ ὅτι τὸ φῶς ῥῆξαν τὸν αἰθέρα ἐφώτισε τὴν γῆν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν, εἰπὼν ἐκείνο εἶναι τὸ φῶς τὸ ῥῆξαν τὸν αἰθέρα τὸ προειρημένον, τὸ ὑπέριστατον πάντων, οὗ ὄνομα ὁ αὐτὸς Ὀρφεύς ἀκούσας ἐκ τῆς μαντείας ἐξείπε, Μῆτιν, Φάνητα, Ἐρικεπαῖον (*sic*). ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύεται τῇ κοινῇ γλώσσει βουλή, φῶς, ζωδοτήρ (= Kedren. *hist. comp.* 57 D (i. 102 Bekker) βουλή, φῶς, ζωδοτήρ, cp. Soud. *s.v.* Ὀρφεύς 7 βουλήν, φῶς, ζῶν = Kedren. *hist. comp.* 84 B (i. 148) βουλή, φῶς, ζῶν) and by Nonnos Abbas *collectio et explicatio historiarum quibus Gregorius Nazianzenus in priore invectiva in Julianum usus est* 78 (xxxvi. 1028 C Migne) Περὶ Φάνητος καὶ Ἐρικεπαίου. ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ποιήμασιν εἰσηνέχθη τὰ δύο ταῦτα ὀνόματα μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν. ὦν τὸν Φάνητα εἰσφέρει αἰδοῖον ἔχοντα

Orphic Theogonies and Cosmogonic Eros 1025

ὀπίσω περὶ τὴν πυγὴν. λέγουσι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφορον εἶναι τῆς ζωογόνου δυνάμεως· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἑρικεπαῖον λέγουσιν ἑτέρας ἔφορον εἶναι δυνάμεως (repeated in a corrupt form by Suid. s.v. Φάνης: see G. Bernhardt *ad loc.*). From this it appears that the names Μῆτις and Φάνης had an obvious sense for Greek ears, but that Ἑρικεπαῖος or Ἑρικαπαῖος had not. Presumably Μῆτις (masc.) was a *Kosename* either for πολύμητις, which occurs as an Orphic designation of this deity (Orph. *h. Protog.* 6. 10), or—and this I regard as the more probable view—for μητίετα, the epic appellative of Zeus (*supra* i. 14 n. 1). Φάνης was certainly taken by the Greeks to denote a god of light or daylight or sunlight (*supra* i. 7 n. 6): but of course it remains possible that his name was originally non-Greek; it may e.g. have been Thraco-Phrygian, cp. Auson. *epigr.* 48. 3 Mysi Phanacen nominant, 49. 1 Μυσῶν δὲ Φανάκης (F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*³ Leipzig and Darmstadt 1840 ii. 226, 1842 iv. 80, Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 478 n. 1, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2248). Ἑρικεπαῖος or Ἑρικαπαῖος is a well-known *crux* (for older views see K. W. Goettling *De Ericapaco Orphicorum numine* Jenae 1862 (= *id. Opuscula academica* Lipsiae 1869 pp. 206—214); for newer, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 452 f. and K. Beth 'Über die Herkunft der orphischen Erikepaios' (god of *Ericibba*=Eridu) in the *Wiener Studien* 1912 xxxiv. 288—300). If we may rely on Malalas' interpretation ζωοδοτήρ, it is clear that the name was not Greek. I incline to think that it was Thracian or Thraco-Phrygian. Hence its occurrence as a cult-title of Dionysos at Hierokaisareia in Lydia (J. Keil—A. v. Premerstein 'Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1910 ii. Abh. p. 54 f. no. 112 fig. 51=W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 181 a round altar of white marble inscribed in lettering of s. ii A.D. ἐπὶ ἱεροφάντου | Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Μηνόφιλος, Περηλίας καὶ Σεκοῦνδος Ἀπολλωνίου οἱ συγγενεῖς Διονύσω Ἑρικεπαίω τὸν βωμόν with wreath below and two garlands supported on ram's-heads). The second element in the compound might be paralleled, as O. Gruppe saw (in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2268), from Παντικάπης the river in European Sarmatia and Παντικάπαιον the town in the Tauric Chersonesos. The first element, it seems to me, recurs in the name of the river Ἑριδανός (with which A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 129 and *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 37 compared the river-names Ἀπιδανός in Thessaly, Ἰάρδανος in Lydia, Crete, and Elis). Indeed, if Ἑρι-κεπαῖος meant 'Giver of Life,' I would venture to translate Ἑρι-δανός by 'River of Life'—an appellation suited to that mythical stream (Strab. 215 περὶ τὸν Ἑριδανόν, τὸν μηδαμοῦ γῆς ὄντα, πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Πιάδου λεγόμενον, cp. Hdt. 3. 115, Polyh. 2. 16. 6, Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 31), which was not only a river on earth but also a constellation in heaven (Hes. *frag.* 199 Rzach *ap. Hyg. fab.* 152 b, 154, schol. Stroziana in Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 174, 6 ff. (cp. p. 185, 4 ff.) Breysig, Lact. *Plac. narr. fab.* 2. 2 f., Arat. *phaen.* 359 ff. with schol. *ad loc.* 355, 359, pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 37, Caes. Germ. *Aratea* 367 ff., Cic. *Aratea* 143 ff. Baehrens (387 ff.), Mart. Cap. 838, 841, 842, Claudian. *de sext. cons. Hon. Aug.* 175 ff., *Anth. Lat.* i. 2 no. 679. 12 Riese (Priscianus), Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 326 f., 23. 298 ff., 38. 429 ff., Myth. Vat. 3. 6. 21, Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* 288) by some called Okeanos (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 32) or the Nile (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 32, pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 37, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 359, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 417, 19 Eyssenhardt): see further R. Brown *Eridanus: river and constellation* London 1883, G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 pp. 5, 29 f., 39 f., 49, 124 ff. fig. 50, 147, 164 ff. fig. 72, pls. 2, 4, A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 pp. 60, 189, *id.* in

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1468 fig. 35.] Phanes was also spoken of as Πρωτόγονος (Orph. *frag.* 86 Kern *ap.* Herm. *in* Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 141 (p. 148, 25 ff. Couvreur), Orph. *frag.* 85 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 33, 3 ff. Pasquali, *eund.* *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 450, 9 ff. Diehl, i. 451, 11 ff., iii. 209, 1 f., Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 53 (i. 107, 13 f. Ruelle), 89 (i. 217, 26 f.), 98 (i. 251, 18 ff.), 111 (i. 286, 15 f.), Orph. *h. Protog.* 6. 1, *h. Rhe.* 14. 1, Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 20 p. 23 Schwartz, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 5, Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 141 (cp. 157 αὐτογόνου), 12. 34: see further O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2257 f., O. Höfer *ib.* iii. 3183 f.), Ἀνταύγης (Orph. *frag.* 237, 4 Kern *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 12, Orph. *h. Protog.* 6. 9), Φαίθων (Orph. *frag.* 73 Kern *ap.* Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 5), Διόνυσος (Orph. *frag.* 237, 3 Kern *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 12 f., Orph. *frag.* 237 p. 250 Kern *ap.* Diod. 1. 11, Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 336, 15 f. Diehl, cp. Orph. *frag.* 239 b, 1 Kern *ap.* Iust. *cohort.* 15 and *frag.* 239 b Kern *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 18 cited *supra* i. 187 n. 4, i. 234 n. 4: see also O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2260), Εὐβουλεύς (Orph. *frag.* 237, 4 Kern *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 12 and 17, cp. Orph. *h. Adon.* 56. 3), Πρίηπος ἄναξ (Orph. *h. Protog.* 6. 9), and Ἔρως (e.g. Orph. *frag.* 74 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 433, 31 ff. Diehl, Orph. *frag.* 37 Kern *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 26, Orph. *frag.* 82 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 101, 20 ff. Diehl, Orph. *frag.* 83 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Alcib.* i. 66 Creuzer, Orph. *frag.* 170 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 336, 11 ff. Diehl and *ap. eund.* *in* Plat. *Alcib.* i. 233 Creuzer, cp. Orph. *Arg.* 14 ff.). As μονογενής he was in the time of the emperor Zenon (474—491 A.D.) compared with Christ Himself (*theosoph. Tubing.* 61 in K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 116 f. ὅτι ἐν πολλοῖς Φάνητα φερωνύμως ὁ Ὀρφεὺς προσαγορεύει τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. κ.τ.λ.). Phanes, when he emerged from the 'white egg' (Orph. *frag.* 70 Kern *ap.* Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 55 (i. 111, 17 ff. Ruelle) ἔπειτα δ' ἔτευξε μέγας Χρόνος (so C. A. Lobeck for Κρόνος codd.) αἰθέρι δίφῳ | ὤδον ἀργύφειον), contained within him the seed of the gods (Orph. *frag.* 85 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 33, 5 f. Pasquali Μῆτιν σπέρμα φέροντα θεῶν κλυτόν, ὃν τε Φάνητα | πρωτόγονον μάκαρες κάλειον κατὰ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον). Being female as well as male, he begat Nyx, and subsequently consorted with her (Orph. *frag.* 98 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 450, 22 ff. Diehl, Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 244 (ii. 116, 4 Ruelle), cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 170, 4 f. Diehl, Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 209 (ii. 92, 22 f. Ruelle)) and by her had three successive pairs of children—Ge or Gaia and Ouranos (Orph. *frag.* 109 Kern *ap.* Herm. *in* Plat. *Phaedr.* pp. 141, 144 (pp. 148, 17 ff., 154, 23 ff. Couvreur)), Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus (Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 244 (ii. 116, 5 ff. Ruelle)). Nyx as queen (Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 209 (ii. 92, 25 ff. Ruelle)) received the sceptre of Phanes or Erikepaios, and in her turn transmitted it to Ouranos, Kronos, Zeus, Dionysos (Orph. *frag.* 107 Kern *ap.* Syrian. *in* Aristot. *met.* N. 4. 1091 b 4 p. 182, 9 ff. Kroll, Alex. Aphr. *in* Aristot. *met.* N. 4. 1091 b 4 p. 821, 5 ff. Hayduck, Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 306, 12 f. and iii. 168, 15 ff. Diehl, Herm. *in* Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 143 (p. 152, 15 ff. Couvreur), Olympiod. *in* Plat. *Phaed.* 61 C p. 2, 21 ff. Norvin, Michael Ephes. *in* Aristot. *met.* N. 4. 1091 b 4 (ed. Berolin. iv. 828 a 8 ff.), Orph. *frag.* 101 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 54, 28 ff. Pasquali, Orph. *frag.* 102 Kern *ap.* Alex. Aphr. *in* Aristot. *met.* N. 4. 1091 b 4 p. 821, 19 ff. Hayduck, Syrian. *in* Aristot. *met.* N. 4. 1091 b 4 p. 182, 14 f. Kroll); she also had the gift of prophecy (Orph. *frag.* 103 Kern *ap.* Herm. *in* Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 140 (p. 147, 20 ff. Couvreur)). The gods saw with wonderment the light of their creator Phanes shining in the *aithér* (Orph. *frag.* 86 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 435, 3 ff. Diehl (cp. *ib.* iii. 83, 4 ff.), Prokl. *in* Plat. *theol.* 3. 21 p. 161 Portus, Damask

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A fuller version of these lines is found in Orph. *frag.* 168 Kern *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 9. 1—3=Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 23 p. 29, 9 ff. Wachsmuth (cp. Prokl. *in Plat. Alcib.* i. 233 Creuzer, *id. in Plat. Parm.* iii (p. 621 Stallbaum), *id. in Plat. Tim.* i. 313, 18 ff. Diehl, *ib.* i. 161, 23 ff., i. 307, 28 ff.) τὸν γὰρ Δία τὸν νοῦν τοῦ κόσμου ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ὃς τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐδημιούργησεν ἔχων τὸν κόσμον, ἐν μὲν ταῖς θεολογίαις ταύτῃ περὶ αὐτοῦ παραδεδώκασιν οἱ τὰ Ὀρφείως εἰπόντες·

Zeus prōtos gēneto, Zeus ūstatos ārgikēraunos·
 Zeus kefalē, Zeus mēssa, Diōs δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται·
 Zeus ārsēn gēneto, Zeus āphthitos¹ ēpleto nūmfē·
 Zeus puthmēn gaīēs te kai ouranou āsterōentos·
 Zeus basilēus, Zeus autōs āpāntōn ārchigēneθlos.
 ἐν κράτος, εἰς δαίμων gēneto, mégas ārchōs āpāntōn,
 ἐν δὲ² démas basilēion, ἐν φ' τάδε πάντα κυκλεῖται,
 πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἰθήρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἡμαρ,
 καὶ Μῆτις prōtos genētōr³ καὶ Ἔρως πολυτερπῆς·
 πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ Ζηνὸς⁴ τάδε σώματι⁵ κείται.
 τοῦ δὴ τοι κεφαλῆ⁶ μὲν ἰδεῖν καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα
 οὐρανὸς αἰγλήεις, δν χρύσειαι ἀμφὶς ἔθειραι
 ἄστρον μαρμαρέων περικαλλέες ἠερέθονται·
 ταύρεα δ' ἀμφοτέρωθε δύο χρύσεια κέρατα,
 ἀντολίη τε δύσις τε, θεῶν ὁδοὶ οὐρανίωνων·
 ὄμματα δ' ἠελίος τε καὶ ἀντιώωσα⁷ σελήνη·
 νοῦς⁸ δὲ <οἱ⁹> ἀψευδής, βασιλήϊος¹⁰, ἀφθίτος αἰθήρ,
 φ' δὴ πάντα κλύει¹¹ καὶ φράζεται, οὐδέ τις ἐστὶν
 αὐδὴ οὔτ'¹² ἐνοπὴ οὔτε¹³ κτύπος οὐδέ¹⁴ μὲν ὄσσα
 ἢ λήθει Διὸς οὐας ὑπερμενέος Κρονίωνος.
 ὦδε μὲν ἀθανάτην κεφαλὴν ἔχει ἠδὲ νόημα·
 σῶμα¹⁵ δὲ οἱ περιφεγγές¹⁶, ἀπείριτον, ἀστυφέλικτον,
 ὄβριμον¹⁷, ὄβριμόγυιον, ὑπερμενές ὦδε τέτυκται·
 ὦμοι μὲν καὶ στέρνα καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θεοῖο
 ἀῆρ εὐρυβίης· πτέρυγες δὲ οἱ ἐξεφύοντο,
 τῆς ἐπὶ πάντα ποτᾶθ'· ἱερὴ δὲ οἱ ἔπλετο νηδὺς
 γαῖά τε παμμήτειρ' ὀρέων τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα·
 μέσση δὲ ζώνη βαρνηχέος¹⁸ οἶδμα θαλάσσης
 καὶ πόντου· πυμάτη δὲ βάσις χθονὸς ἐνδοθι ρίζαι
 τάρταρά τ' εὐρώεντα καὶ ἔσχατα πείρατα γαῖης.
 πάντα δ' ἀποκρύψας¹⁹ αὐθις φάος ἐς πολυγηθές
 μέλλεν²⁰ ἀπὸ κραδίης προφέρειν πάλι, θέσκελα ῥέζων.

Zeus οὖν ὁ πᾶς κόσμος, ζῶν ἐκ ζῶων καὶ θεὸς ἐκ θεῶν· Zeus δέ, καθὸ νοῦς, ἀφ' οὗ

¹ ἀμβροτος Stob.

² δὲ om. Stob.

³ So Prokl. πρωτογενέτωρ codd. A Euseb., F Stob.

⁴ Ζηνὸς μεγάλῳ Stob. Ζηνὸς μεγάλου Prokl.

⁵ δώματι Prokl.

⁶ δ' ἦτοι κεφαλῆ Prokl. δὴ τοι κεφαλὴν Euseb.

⁷ Heringa cj. ἀνταυγοῦσα.

⁸ Heringa cj. οὐς.

⁹ So Prokl. Om. Euseb., cod. F Stob.

¹⁰ Heringa cj. ἀψευδὲς βασιλήϊον.

¹¹ κλύει cod. F Stob. and Prokl. κυκλεῖ Euseb.

¹² οὐδ' Stob.

¹³ οὐδὲ Stob. οὐδ' αὖ Prokl.

¹⁴ So Prokl. οὔτε Euseb.

¹⁵ σῆμα cod. F Stob.

¹⁶ περιφεγγές Prokl.

¹⁷ ἄτρομον Stob.

¹⁸ βαρνηχέος Prokl.

¹⁹ τάδε κρύψας Prokl.

²⁰ So cod. F Stob., cp. Prokl. μέλλει Euseb.

προφέρει πάντα καὶ δημιουργεῖ τοῖς νοήμασι. κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 3. 9. 10 f. δι' ὧν ἀνεπι-
καλύπτως ζῶον μέγα τὸν κόσμον ὑποθέμενος, καὶ τοῦτον Δία προσειπὼν, νοῦν μὲν
αὐτοῦ τὸν αἰθέρα, σῶμα δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη ἀπέφηνετο εἶναι. τοιοῦτος μὲν
τις ὁ διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ὑπογραφόμενος τυγχάνει Ζεὺς. ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐπῶν ἐξηγητὴς ἀρξάμενος
μὲν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἀκολουθῶν λέγει, Ζεὺς οὖν ὁ πᾶς κόσμος, ζῶον ἐκ ζῶων, θεὸς ἐκ
θεῶν· σαφῶς τὸν θεολογούμενον Δία οὐδὲ ἄλλον ἢ τὸν ὁρώμενον καὶ αἰσθητὸν κόσμον
δηλοῦσθαι διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ἐρμηνεύσας). Having asked of Nyx how all things might
be both one and divided, he was bidden to wrap *sithér* round the world and tie
up the bundle with the 'golden cord' (Orph. *frag.* 165 f. Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat.
Tim. i. 313, 31 ff. Diehl, ii. 24, 23 ff., ii. 112, 3 ff. : cp. *Il.* 8. 18 ff. with the sensible
remarks of Dr W. Leaf *ad loc.*). In arranging the universe he was helped by
Dike (Orph. *frag.* 158 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *rémp.* ii. 144, 29 ff. Kroll, *in* Plat.
theol. 6. 8 p. 363 Portus) and Nomos (Orph. *frag.* 160 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat.
Tim. i. 315, 11 ff. Diehl, *id.* *in* Plat. *Alcib.* i. 219 f. Creuzer). Rhea, as the
mother of Zeus, was named Demeter (Orph. *frag.* 145 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat.
Cratyl. pp. 80, 10 ff. and 90, 28 ff. Pasquali, *in* Plat. *theol.* 5. 11 p. 267 Portus).
Athena in full armour sprang from the head of Zeus (Orph. *frag.* 174 Kern *ap.*
Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 166, 21 ff. Diehl, cp. Orph. *frag.* 176 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in*
Plat. *Tim.* i. 169, 1 ff. Diehl) and, as 'leader of the Kouretes,' taught them
rhythmic dancing (Orph. *frag.* 185 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 112, 16 ff.
Pasquali): hence the first Kouretes are said to have been wreathed with olive
(Orph. *frag.* 186 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *rémp.* i. 138, 12 ff. Kroll). Athena was
also the best of the goddesses at weaving and spinning (Orph. *frag.* 178 Kern
ap. Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 21, 13 ff. Pasquali). Being herself the wisdom of
the creator and the virtue of the leading gods, she bore the name of Arete
(Orph. *frag.* 175 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 170, 3 ff. Diehl, cp. i. 185, 1 ff.).
Artemis, the lover of virginity (Orph. *frag.* 187 f. Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat.
Cratyl. p. 105, 18 ff. Pasquali), was also called Hekate (Orph. *frag.* 188 Kern *ap.*
Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 106, 25 ff. Pasquali). Zeus and Dione between them
produced Aphrodite, who arose—like her namesake the daughter of Ouranos—
from the seed of the god falling into the sea (cp. Orph. *frag.* 127 Kern *ap.* Prokl.
in Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 110, 15 ff. Pasquali *μήδεα δ' ἐς πέλαγος πέσεν ὑψόθεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ
τοῖσι | λευκὸς ἐπιπλώουσιν εἰσσετο πάντοθεν ἀφρός· | ἐν δὲ περιπλομέναις ὄραις
ἐνιαυτὸς ἔτικτεν | παρθένον αἰδοίην, ἣν δὴ παλάμαις ὑπέδεκτο | γεινομένην τὸ πρῶτον
ὄμου Ζηλός τ' Ἀπάτη τε* of the first Aphrodite with Orph. *frag.* 183 Kern *ap.*
Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 110, 23 ff. Pasquali τὸν δὲ πόθος πλέον εἶλ', ἀπὸ
δ' ἔκθορε πατρὶ μεγίστῳ | αἰδοίων ἀφροῖο γονή, ὑπέδεκτο δὲ πόντος | σπέρμα
Διὸς μεγάλου· περιτελλομένου δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ | ὄραις καλλιφύτοις τέκ' ἐγεργιγέλωτ'
'Αφροδίτην | ἀφρογενῆ of the second). Zeus also mated with his sister Hera, who
was said to be *ἰσοτελής*, 'of equal rank,' with him (Orph. *frag.* 163 Kern *ap.*
Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 450, 20 ff. Diehl, cp. *ib.* iii. 249, 2 ff. So also Orph. *εὐχὴ
πρὸς Μουσαῖον* 16, *id.* *h.* *Her.* 16. 2, *id.* *frag.* 115 Kern *ap.* Eustath. *in* Dionys.
per. 1, Dion Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 99 Reiske). O. Gruppe (*Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.*
i. 637 ff., in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1890 Suppl. xvii. 716 ff., *Gr. Myth. Rel.*
p. 432, in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1140 f.) contends that the Rhapsodic theogony
further included much that E. Abel (*Orphica* Lipsiae—Pragae 1885 p. 224 ff.)
assigns to the *Τελευταί*, in particular the whole story of Dionysos. Zeus consorted
with his own mother Rhea or Demeter, both he and she being in the form of
snakes, and had by her a horned, four-eyed, two-faced daughter Phersephone
or Kore, with whom he, again in snake-form, consorted and had for offspring a
horned babe, the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus (*supra* i. 398: other notices of

the myth in Ov. *met.* 6. 114, Philostr. *epist.* 30 (58) Hercher, Nonn. *Dion.* 5. 563 ff., Orph. *frag.* 195 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Cratyl.* p. 85, 19 ff. Pasquali, Orph. *frag.* 198 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. theol.* 6. 11 p. 371 Portus, cp. Orph. *frags.* 180, 192 f. Kern with the remarks of Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 550 ff. and Orph. *frag.* 43 Kern). Zeus installed Dionysos or Zagreus on his own throne as king of the gods, allowing him to hold the sceptre and wield the lightning, the thunder, and the rain (*supra* i. 398 f., 647 n. 3). The decrees of the Father were confirmed by the Son (Orph. *frag.* 218 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* iii. 316, 3 ff. Diehl *κραῖνε μὲν οὖν Ζεὺς πάντα πατήρ, Βάκχος δ' ἐπέκρανε*, with which Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 432 n. 1 aptly cp. Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 245 (ii. 117, 2 ff. Ruelle) *καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος ἐπικραίνει τὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἔργα, φησὶν Ὀρφεύς, ὀλοποιῶν τοῦ Διὸς ὄντος*). Apollon (Orph. *frag.* 211 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Alcib.* i. 83 Creuzer) and the Kouretes (Orph. *frag.* 151 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Cratyl.* p. 58, 1 ff. Pasquali, *in Plat. Tim.* i. 317, 11 ff. Diehl, *in Plat. theol.* 5. 3 p. 253 Portus and 5. 35 p. 322 Portus) were set to keep watch and ward over the infant king, who was nurtured by the Nymphs (cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 24. 43 ff.) like a fruitful olive (Orph. *frag.* 206 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 6. 2 p. 442, 8 ff. Stählin) till his sixth(?) year (Orph. *frag.* 257 Kern *ap.* Tzetz. *exeg. II.* p. 26 (ed. G. Hermann Leipzig 1812), cited in this connexion by Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 554). But Hera in anger got the Titans to trick the boy by means of certain toys (Orph. *frag.* 34 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 17. 2 f. p. 14, 7 ff. Stählin (= Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 3. 23 f.) *τὰ γὰρ Διονύσου μυστήρια τέλεον ἀπάνθρωπα· ὃν εἰσέτι παῖδα ὄντα ἐνόπλῳ κινήσει περιχορευόντων Κουρήτων, δόλῳ δὲ ὑποδύντων Τιτάνων, ἀπατήσαντες παιδαριώδεσιν ἀθύρμασιν, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ Τιτᾶνες διέσπασαν, ἔτι νηπίαχον ὄντα, ὡς ὁ τῆς Τελετῆς ποιητῆς Ὀρφεύς φησὶν ὁ Θράκιος· “κῶνος καὶ ῥόμβος καὶ παίγνια καμπεσίγυια, | μῆλά τε χρύσεια καλὰ παρ' Ἐσπερίδων λιγυφώνων.” καὶ τῆσδε ὑμῖν τῆς τελετῆς τὰ ἀχρεῖα σύμβολα οὐκ ἀχρεῖον εἰς κατάγνωσιν παραθέσθαι· ἀστράγαλος, σφαῖρα, στρόβιλος, μῆλα, ῥόμβος, ἔσοπτρον, πίκκος, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 19 cuius rei testimonium argumentumque fortunae suis prodidit in carminibus Thracius talos, speculum, turbines, volubiles rotulas et teretis pilas et virginibus aurea sumpta ab Hesperidibus mala, *supra* i. 661: on these 'toys' see further Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 699 ff. and Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 490 f.) including a mirror made by Hephaistos (Orph. *frag.* 209 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* ii. 80, 19 ff. Diehl). He was looking at himself in this mirror (Plotin. *enn.* 4. 3. 12, Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 173), when the Titans, having first smeared their faces with gypsum, attacked him with a knife (Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 169 ff., cp. *supra* i. 398, 655 n. 2). To escape them he became a youthful Zeus, an aged Kronos, a babe, a youth, a lion, a horse, a horned snake, a tiger, and a bull (Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 174 ff., cp. *supra* i. 398). A bellowing in mid air from the throat of Hera was the signal for his fate: the Titans with their knife cut up his bovine form (Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 200 ff.) into seven portions (Orph. *frag.* 210 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* ii. 146, 9 ff. Diehl), one for each of themselves (Orph. *frag.* 114, 1 f. Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* i. 450, 16 ff. Diehl, Orph. *frag.* 114, 3 ff. Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* iii. 184, 3 ff. Diehl, cp. Orph. *frag.* 107 p. 171 f. Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* iii. 169, 3 ff. Diehl: similarly Typhon divided the body of Osiris into fourteen (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 18, 42: see Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Adonis Attis Osiris³ ii. 129 n. 4, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 174 ff.) or twenty-six pieces, one for each of his assailants (Diod. 1. 21 = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 1. 16: Diod. 4. 6 calls the assailants Titans)); they then set a caldron on a tripod, boiled the portions, pierced them with spits, held them over the fire (Orph. *frag.* 35 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 18. 1 p. 14, 17 ff. Stählin cited *supra* p. 218, cp. Firm.*

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upshot of the Titans' murderous onslaught was that their victim was put together again (Cornut. *theol.* 31 p. 62, 10 f. Lang *μυθολογείται δ' ὅτι διασπασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων συνετέθη πάλιν ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥέας, κ.τ.λ.* = Eudok. *viol.* 272 p. 210, 10 ff. Flach, Ioul. *ap.* Kyrill. *Al. c. Iul.* 2. 44 (lxvii. 568 B—C Migne) <τῆ> μητρὶ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐμίχθη καὶ παιδοποιησάμενος ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔγημεν αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα <οὐδὲ κατέσχεν vel simile quiddam ins. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 562 n. 1>, ἀλλὰ μιχθεὶς ἀπλῶς ἄλλῳ παραδέδωκεν αὐτήν. εἶτα οἱ Διονύσου σπαραγμοὶ καὶ μελῶν κολλήσεις) and attained a joyful resurrection (Orph. *frags.* 205, 213, 240 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* iii. 241, 5 ff. Diehl, Iust. Mart. *apol.* 1. 21 (vi. 360 A Migne), 1. 54 (vi. 410 A—B Migne), *cum Tryph. Iud. dial.* 69 (vi. 636 C—638 A Migne), Myth. Vat. 3. 12. 5, Macrobi. *comm. in somn. Scip.* 1. 12. 12), whilst the aggressors were visited with condign punishment (Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 206 ff. makes Zeus fling them into Tartaros, as does Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* i. 188, 26 ff., cp. Prokl. *in Plat. remp.* i. 93, 22 ff. Kroll; but various offenders, e.g. Atlas, were reserved for special fates (Orph. *frag.* 215 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* i. 173, 1 ff. Diehl, Simpl. *in Aristot. de cael.* 2. 1. 284 a 1 p. 375, 12 ff. Heiberg, cp. Firm. Mat. 6. 4 cited *supra* i. 662). The bodies of those that had been struck by the thunderbolts were reduced to powder, hence called τίτανος (Eustath. *in Il.* p. 332, 23 ff.: see *supra* i. 655 n. 2), and from their smoking ashes men were made (Olympiod. *in Plat. Phaed.* 61 C p. 2, 27 ff. Norvin καὶ τούτους ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεραύνωσε, καὶ ἐκ τῆς αἰθάλης τῶν ἀτμῶν τῶν ἀναδοθέντων ἐξ αὐτῶν ὕλης γενομένης γενέσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, cp. Dion Chrys. *or.* 30 p. 550 Reiske ὅτι τοῦ τῶν Τιτάνων αἵματος ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι). It follows that we are part and parcel of Dionysus (Olympiod. *ib.* p. 3, 2 ff. Norvin οὐ δεῖ ἐξάγειν ἡμᾶς ἑαυτοὺς ὡς τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν Διονυσιακοῦ ὄντος· μέρος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐσμὲν, εἴ γε ἐκ τῆς αἰθάλης τῶν Τιτάνων συγκείμεθα γευσαμένων τῶν σαρκῶν τούτου), or he of us (Prokl. *in Plat. Cratyl.* p. 77, 24 ff. Pasquali ὅτι ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν νοῦς Διονυσιακός ἐστιν καὶ ἄγαλμα ὄντως τοῦ Διονύσου. κ.τ.λ.). Others taught that men arose from the blood of the Giants (Ov. *met.* 1. 154 ff., interp. Serv. *in Verg. ecl.* 6. 41) or from a rain of blood-drops let fall by Zeus (Ioul. *frag. epist.* i. 375, 21 ff. Hertlein ἀποβλέψαντα...εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν φήμην, ἣ παραδέδοται διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῖν θεουργῶν, ὡς, ὅτε Ζεὺς ἐκόσμη τὰ πάντα, σταγόνων αἵματος ἱεροῦ πεσουσῶν, ἐξ ὧν ποὺ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βλαστήσειε γένος).

The Rhapsodies, which—as the foregoing summary shows—began with theogony and ended with anthropogony, are supposed by O. Gruppe (*Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 430, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1141 ff., cp. *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 215) to have been put together at Athens between 550 and 300 B.C., though they did not obtain much recognition till the time of the neo-Pythagoreans. A *provenance* in Pisistratic Athens is suggested, he thinks, by the dedication of this Orphic poem to Mousaios (*theosoph. Tubing.* 61 in K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 117, 3), by the identification of Phanes with Metis which allowed Athena (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (μ)) to be viewed as one aspect of the reborn Erikepaios, by the affiliation of Artemis or Hekate (*supra* p. 1029) to Demeter (Orph. *frag.* 188 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Cratyl.* p. 106, 25 ff. Pasquali, Orph. *frag.* 41 Kern *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 467, cp. Kallim. *frag.* 556 Schneider *ap.* schol. Theokr. 2. 12)—a genealogy known to Aischylos (*supra* p. 252), and by the equation of Rhea with Demeter (*supra* i. 398, ii. 1029) which appears also in Euripides (Eur. *Hel.* 1301 ff.) and other fifth-century poets (Pind. *Isthm.* 7 (6). 3 f., Melanippid. *frag.* 10 Bergk⁴ *ap.* Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 51, 11 ff. p. 23 Gomperz: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1169 n. 7, O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2755, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 32, 312). Bendis (Orph. *frag.* 200 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. remp.* i. 18, 12 ff. Kroll), the one barbaric deity mentioned in

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the poem, was worshipped at Athens in 403 B.C. (*supra* p. 115), if not earlier (A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 780, G. Knaack in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 269 f. : Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1142 suggests that her cult was introduced 'wahrscheinlich durch Peisistratos' thrakische Unternehmungen'). M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 239 f. (cp. *ib.* p. 3 n. 2) notes that Kratinos the younger, a contemporary of Platon the philosopher, in his *Gigantes frag. 1* (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 374 Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 661 E—F *ἐνθυμείσθε* (so A. Meineke for *ἐνθύμει δὲ* codd. K. W. Dindorf cj. *ἐνθυμοῦ (?) δὲ*) *τῆς γῆς ὡς γλυκύ | ὄζει, καπνός τ' ἐξέρχεται εὐωδέστερος* (T. Bergk cj. *εὐωδέστατος*); | *οἰκεῖ τις ὡς ἔοικεν ἐν τῷ χάσματι | λιβανωτοπώλης ἢ μάγειρος Σικελικός* makes fun of the scene in which Zeus was attracted to the Titans' feast by the smell of roast flesh (Orph. *frag.* 34 Kern *ap.* Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 19, Orph. *frag.* 35 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 18. 2 p. 14, 20 ff. Stählin cited *supra* p. 218) and works in a not very appropriate allusion to the *χάσμα* (Orph. *frag.* 66 a Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *remph.* ii. 138, 8 ff. Kroll, Syrian. in Aristot. *met.* 2. 4. 1000 b 14 p. 43, 30 f. Kroll, Simplic. in Aristot. *phys.* 4. 1. 208 b 29 p. 528, 14 f. Diels, Orph. *frag.* 66 b Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 385, 29 ff. Diehl). Further evidence as to date is at best doubtful. Platon himself has no direct allusion to the Rhapsodies¹; but it must not be inferred that therefore they are post-Platonic, for they in turn are apparently uninfluenced either by Platon or by later philosophers. Their principal trait, the conception of a world born and re-born, first created by Phanes and then re-created by Zeus, points rather—as Gruppe saw (*Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 643 ff., *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 428 ff., and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1143 ff.)—to ideas that were current in Greece (Anaximandros, Herakleitos, Empedokles) between, say, 550 and 450 B.C. On the whole, then, it may be concluded that the Rhapsodic Theogony was composed at Athens(?) c. 500 B.C.(?), and consisted in a rehandling of older Orphic materials by a Pythagorising(?) poet. Hence its vogue among neo-Pythagorean writers of the Gracco-Roman age.

(4) Conspectus of the Orphic Theogonies.

For clearness' sake I add a conspectus showing the three chief forms of Orphic theogony. The letters at the side indicate the creation (A) and re-creation (B) of the world: the numerals give the sequence of mythical generations (1—6).

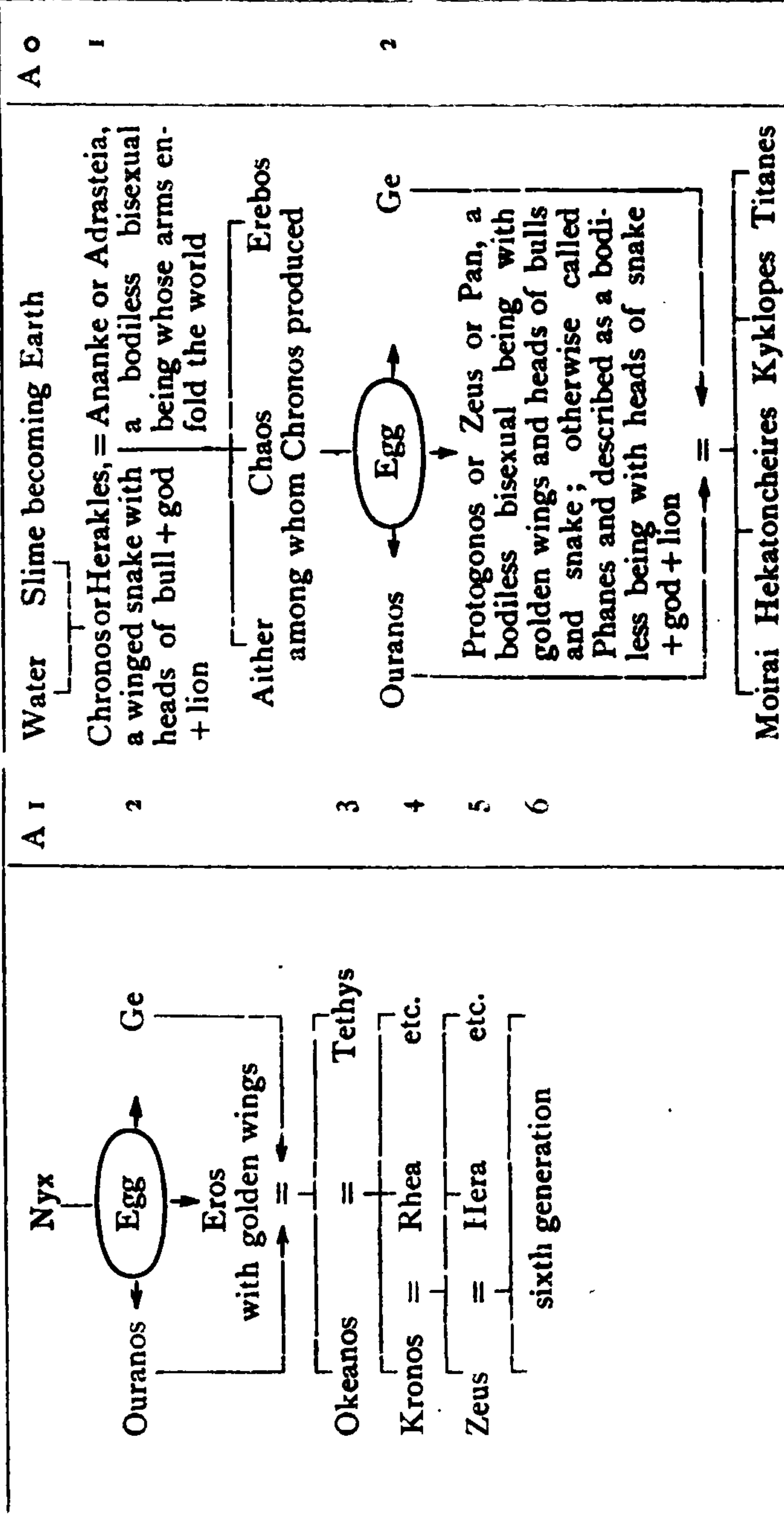
(5) The Cosmic Egg.

The most striking feature of these theogonies is the cosmic egg—a conception discussed by R. G. Latham *Descriptive Ethnology* London 1859 i. 439—441, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 559 n. 4, Costantin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1899 i. 355 ff. fig. 6 f., L. Frobenius *Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes* Berlin 1904 i. 269—271 ('Die Ureimythe'), M. P. Nilsson 'Das Ei im Totenkult der Alten' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1908 xi. 543 and 544 f., and especially F. Lukas 'Das Ei als kosmogonische Vorstellung' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1894 iv. 227—243 (this author attempts, not altogether successfully, to distinguish three aspects of the egg in ancient and modern cosmogonies: (1) the world in general is egg-shaped and

¹ Mr F. M. Cornford, however, points out to me that Plat. *legg.* 715 E—716 A is apparently paraphrasing not only, as the schol. *ad loc.* saw, Orph. *frag.* 21 Kern *Zeὺς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται*, but also Orph. *frag.* 158 Kern *τῷ δὲ Δίκη πολύποιος ἐφέλιπετο πᾶσιν ἀρωγός*—both lines being probably extant in the Rhapsodic Theogony (cp. E. Abel *Orphica* Lipsiae—Pragae 1885 p. 157 n. 1).

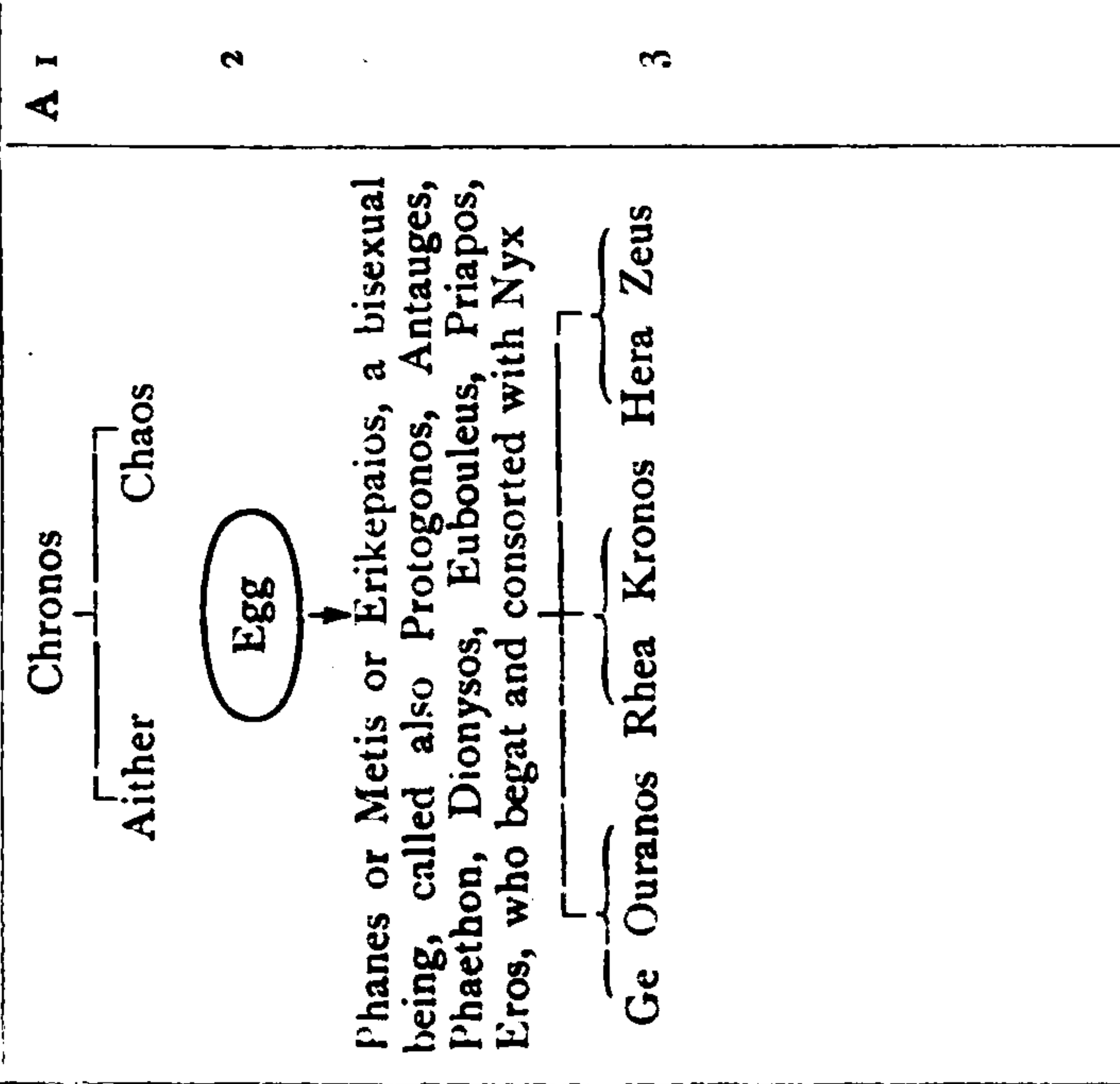
EARLY ORPHIC THEOGONY

composed in Asia Minor (?) c. 5. x B.C. (?) as the result of Ionic speculation on Thracio-Phrygian beliefs.



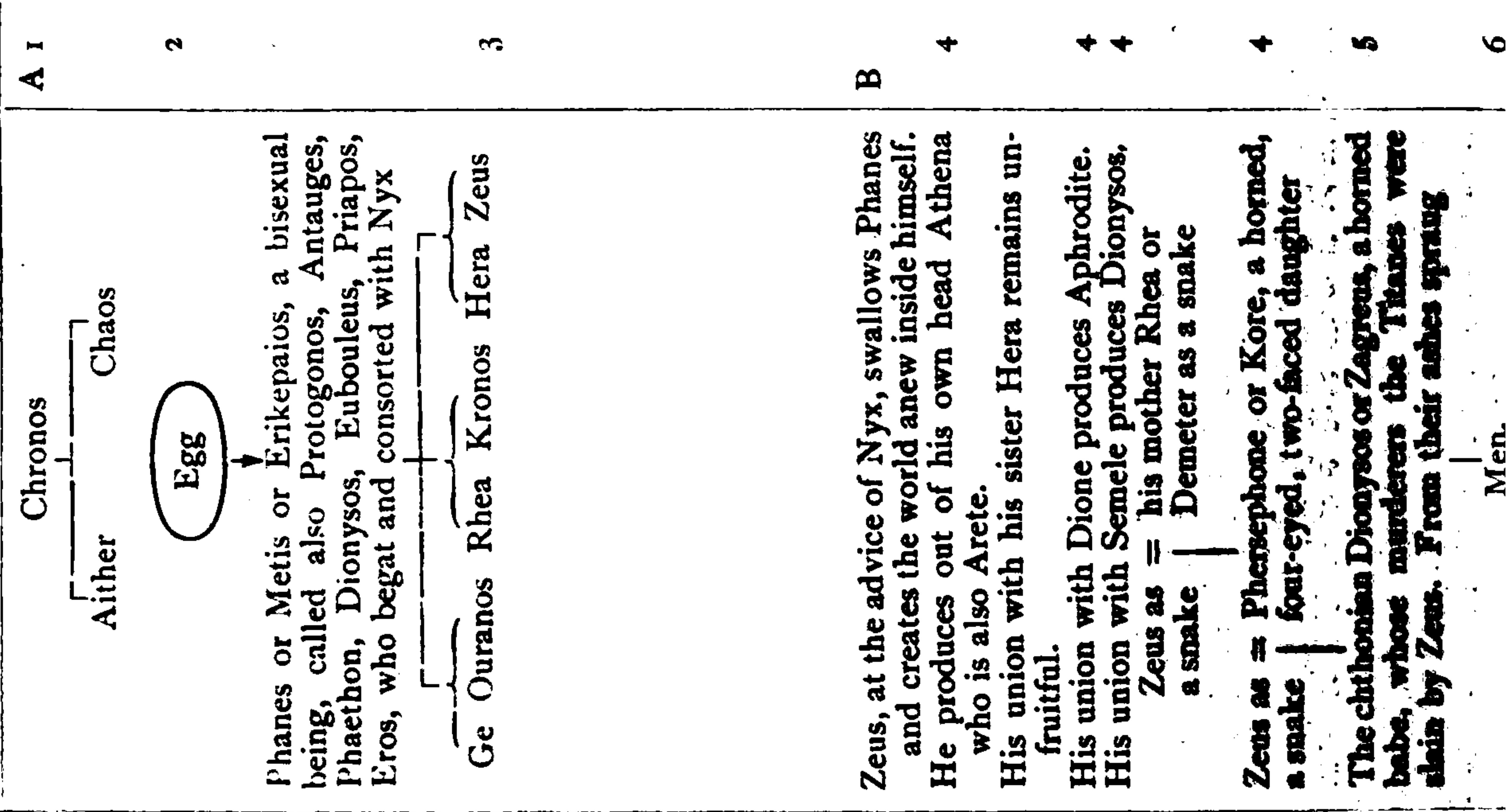
ORPHIC THEOGONY OF HELLANIKOS

i.e. Hellenikos' summary of a poem composed in Ionia (?) c. 500 B.C. (?) under the influence of oriental cosmogony and of Greek philosophy.



RHAPSODIC THEOGONY

composed at Athens (?) c. 500 B.C. (?) by a Pythagorising (?) poet in touch with the doctrines of other Greek philosophers.



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year, indeed, was not then in existence: this golden egg floated about for as long as the space of a year. 2 In a year's time a man, this Pragâpati, was produced therefrom... He broke open this golden egg'...: or the birth of Brahma as related in the *Laws of Manu* 1. 5 ff. (*The Laws of Manu* trans. G. Bühler (*The Sacred Books of the East* xxv) Oxford 1886 p. 2 ff.): '5 This (universe) existed in the shape of Darkness... 6 Then the divine Self-existent (Svayambhû, himself)... appeared, dispelling the darkness... 8 He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and placed his seed in them. 9 That (seed) became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun; in that (egg) he himself was born as Brahman, the progenitor of the whole world... 12 The divine one resided in that egg during a whole year, then he himself by his thought (alone) divided it into two halves; 13 And out of those two halves he formed heaven and earth, between them the middle sphere, the eight points of the horizon, and the eternal abode of the waters.' Later Hinduism sometimes represented Brahma as born in a golden egg (*Mahâ-Bhârata* 12. 312. 1—7 cited by E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 411), and spoke of a bubble, which contained Viṣṇu as Brahma (*Viṣṇu Purâna* 1. 2. 45 f.). See further H. Jacobi in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 156—160 and the monograph of K. F. Geldner *Zur Kosmogonie des Rigveda* Marburg 1908.

(c) PERSIA. In Parsi speculation of Sassanian date Ahura the creator made heaven like an egg with the earth for its yolk. *Minokhired* 44. 8—11 (*Dînd-î Maîndg-î Khirad* trans. E. W. West (*The Sacred Books of the East* xxiv) Oxford 1885 p. 84 f.): 'The sky and earth and water, and whatever else is within them are egg-like (khâiyak-dis), just as it were like the egg of a bird. 9. The sky is arranged above the earth (L 19 adds 'and below the earth'), like an egg, by the handiwork of the creator Aûharmazd; (10) and the semblance of the earth, in the midst of the sky (L 19 has 'and the earth within the sky'), is just like as it were the yolk amid the egg; [(11) and the water within the earth and sky is such as the water within the egg.]'. Cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 47 εἶθ' ὁ μὲν Ὀρομάζης τρὶς ἑαυτὸν αὐξήσας ἀπέστησε τοῦ ἡλίου τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ ἡλιος τῆς γῆς ἀφέστηκε, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄστροις ἐκόσμησεν· ἓνα δὲ ἀστέρα πρὸ πάντων οἶον φύλακα καὶ προόπτῃ ἐγκατέστησε τὸν σείριον, ἄλλους δὲ ποιήσας τέτταρας καὶ εἴκοσι θεοὺς εἰς ὧν ἔθηκεν. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρειμανίου γενόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοσοῦτοι διέτρησαν τὸ ὦν· ὅθεν (so D. Wyttenbach, after Xylander, for διατρήσαντος τὸ ὦν γανωθὲν) ἀναμέμικται τὰ κατὰ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς with the comments of R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 pp. 410 n. 2 f., 414 n. 2, 537 and J. H. Moulton *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 p. 402 n. 4.

(d) PHOINIKE. Of the Phoenician cosmogony we have a threefold account. (i) Eudemos of Rhodes *ap. Damask. quaest. de primis principiis* 125 ter (i. 323, 1 ff. Ruelle) Σιδώνιοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν συγγραφέα πρὸ πάντων Χρόνον ὑποτίθενται καὶ Πόθον καὶ Ὀμίχλην, Πόθου δὲ καὶ Ὀμίχλης μιγέντων ὡς δυεῖν ἀρχῶν Ἀέρα γενέσθαι καὶ Αὔραν, Ἀέρα μὲν ἄκρατον τοῦ νοητοῦ παραδηλοῦντες, Αὔραν δὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κινούμενον τοῦ νοητοῦ ζωτικὸν προτύπωμα. πάλιν δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἀμφοῖν Ὄτον γεννηθῆναι κατὰ τὸν νοῦν, οἶμαι τὸν νοητόν. Ὄτος is hardly to be identified with either of the mythical personages so named (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1231 f.); nor shall we venture with Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 349 to take the word as ὦτος, 'the horned owl' (though this bird with crook and flail appears on the coinage of Tyre: see Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 32 pl. 5, 22, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 38 f. pl. 1, 8—other

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examples in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* pp. cxxvii, 227—233 pls. 28, 9—29, 17, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 263 pl. 76, 31, *Head Coins of the Ancients* p. 41 pl. 20, 46, p. 61 pl. 29, 36, *id. Hist. num.*² p. 799 fig. 352); nor yet to treat Ὠτον as a corruption of ὠόν, the cosmic 'egg' (J. Kopp in his ed. of Damaskios (Frankfurt-am-Main 1826) cj. ὠόν, and so did F. Grenzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*³ Leipzig and Darmstadt 1840 ii. 345 n. 2), though we should thereby reduce all the names in this genealogy to common Greek substantives—χρόνος, πάθος, ὀμίχλη, ἄηρ, αὔρα, ὠόν. If any change is required, I would rather correct Ὠτον to Μῶτον = the Μῶτ of Sanchuniathon's cosmogony (*infra* (iii)). (ii) Mochos of Sidon (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*³ Braunschweig 1875 p. 969 f) *ap. Damask. quaest. de primis principiis* 125 *ter* (i. 323, 6 ff. Ruelle) ὡς δὲ ἔξωθεν Εὐδήμου τὴν Φοινίκων εὐρίσκομεν κατὰ Μῶχον μυθολογίαν, Αἰθὴρ ἦν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ Ἄηρ αἱ δύο αὐταὶ ἀρχαί, ἐξ ὧν γεννᾶται Οὐλωμός, ὁ νοητὸς θεός, αὐτό, οἶμαι, τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ νοητοῦ· ἐξ οὗ ἑαυτῷ συνελθόντος γεννηθῆναί φασι Χουσωρόν, ἀνοιγέα πρῶτον, εἶτα ὠόν, τοῦτον μὲν, οἶμαι, τὸν νοητὸν νοῦν λέγοντες, τὸν δὲ ἀνοιγέα Χουσωρόν, τὴν νοητὴν δύναμιν ἅτε πρώτην διακρίνασαν τὴν ἀδιάκριτον φύσιν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα μετὰ τὰς δύο ἀρχὰς τὸ μὲν ἄκρον ἐστὶν Ἄνεμος ὁ εἷς, τὸ δὲ μέσον οἱ δύο ἄνεμοι Λίψ τε καὶ Νότος· ποιῶσι γὰρ πῶς καὶ τούτους πρὸ τοῦ Οὐλωμοῦ· ὁ δὲ Οὐλωμός αὐτὸς ὁ νοητὸς εἶη νοῦς, ὁ δὲ ἀνοιγεὺς Χουσωρός ἢ μετὰ τὸ νοητὸν πρώτη τάξις, τὸ δὲ Ὠόν ὁ οὐρανός· λέγεται γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ῥαγέντος εἰς δύο γενέσθαι Οὐρανὸς καὶ Γῆ, τῶν διχοτομημάτων ἑκάτερον. The names Οὐλωμός and Χουσωρός are presumably Phoenician, not Greek. Οὐλωμός is commonly regarded as the transliteration of the Hebrew עולם ('*olām*), 'eternity,' though Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 514 (cp. i. 349, 642) says: 'Dies Wesen war höchst wahrscheinlich zweigeschlechtlich gedacht, da es mit sich selbst den Χουσωρός erzeugt... Demnach scheint es mir (trotz der von Schuster *de vet. Orph. theog. ind. atq. or.* S. 98. Anm. 1 citirten *Kabbalastelle*) zweifellos, dass Οὐλωμός nicht... von עולם "Ewigkeit," sondern von עולם "Geschlechtstrieb empfinden" abgeleitet ist.' Mr N. McLean, to whom I have referred the point, tells me (Sept. 13, 1916) that Οὐλωμός might perhaps be connected with עולם ('*olām*), 'the front, that which is first,' but is more probably the Grecised form of עולם ('*olām*), 'eternity.' Similarly Count Baudissin sees in 'Οὐλωμός (wohl עולם)' 'Den Gott der Vorzeit' (W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 pp. 503 and 488). Cp. Gen. 21. 33 'And Abraham planted a tamarisk tree in Beer-sheba, and called there on the name of the LORD, the Everlasting God' with J. Skinner's note *ad loc.*: 'El [*Ólām*] presumably the pre-Israelite name of the local *numen*, here identified with Yahwe' etc. Χουσωρός, 'the Opener,' remains obscure. H. Ewald 'Über die phönikischen Ansichten von der Weltschöpfung und den geschichtlichen Werth Sanchuniathon's' in the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. 1851—1852* Phil.-hist. Classe v. 17 would read Χουσῶρ for Χρυσῶρ in the anthropogony of Sanchuniathon as given by Philon *Bybl. frag.* 2. 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 566 Müller) *ap. Euseb. praep. ev.* 1. 10. 11 f. χρόνοις δὲ ὕστερον πολλοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ὑψουρανίου γενεᾶς γενέσθαι Ἀγρέα καὶ Ἀλιέα, τοὺς ἄγρας καὶ ἀλείας εὐρετάς, ἐξ ὧν κληθῆναι ἀγρευτὰς καὶ ἀλιεῖς· ἐξ ὧν γενέσθαι δύο ἀδελφοὺς σιδῆρου εὐρετὰς καὶ τῆς τούτου ἐργασίας, ὧν θάτερον τὸν Χρυσῶρ λόγους ἀσκῆσαι καὶ ἐπφθὰς καὶ μαντείας· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Ἡφαιστον, εὐρεῖν δὲ καὶ ἀγκιστρον καὶ δέλεαρ καὶ ὄρμιαν καὶ σχεδίαν, πρῶτόν τε πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλεῦσαι· διὸ καὶ ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν μετὰ θάνατον ἐσεβάσθησαν· καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Δία Μελίχιον. κ.τ.λ. But Χρυσῶρ may well be an attempt to make the Phoenician Χουσωρός intelligible to Greek readers. Be that as it may, Χουσωρός was doubtless 'the Opener' of the cosmic egg (so F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*³ Leipzig

and Darmstadt 1840 ii. 347, 1842 iv. 250, W. Robertson Smith in T. K. Cheyne —J. S. Black *Encyclopædia Biblica* London 1899 i. 942 n. 9, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 440 n. 6). (iii) Sanchouniathon in Philon Bybl. frag. 2. 1 f. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 565 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 1 f. τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀρχὴν ὑποτίθεται ἀέρα ζοφώδη καὶ πνευματώδη, ἢ πνοὴν ἀέρος ζοφώδους, καὶ χάος θολερὸν, ἐρεβῶδες· ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι ἄπειρα, καὶ διὰ πολὺν αἰῶνα μὴ ἔχειν πέρασ. 'ὅτε δέ,' φησὶν, 'ἠράσθη τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχῶν, καὶ ἐγένετο σύγκρασις, ἢ πλοκὴ ἐκείνη ἐκλήθη πόθος. αὕτη δὲ ἀρχὴ κτίσεως ἀπάντων. αὐτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκε τὴν αὐτοῦ κτίσιν· καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμπλοκῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγένετο Μῶτ· τοῦτό τινές φασιν ἰλύν, οἱ δὲ ὕδατώδους μίξεως σῆψιν. καὶ ἐκ ταύτης ἐγένετο πᾶσα σπορὰ κτίσεως καὶ γένεσις τῶν ὄλων. ἦν δὲ τινα ζῶα οὐκ ἔχοντα αἰσθησιν, ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο ζῶα νοερά, καὶ ἐκλήθη Ζωφασημίν (Ζωφισσημάν cod. H.), τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐρανοῦ κατόπτται. καὶ ἀνεπλάσθη ὁμοίως ὡοῦ σχήματι καὶ ἐξέλαμψε Μῶτ ἠλιός τε καὶ σελήνη ἀστέρες τε καὶ ἄστρα μεγάλα.' Μῶτ is another conundrum, of which very various interpretations have been given (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3222 f.). F. C. Movers *Die Phönizier* Berlin 1841 i. 136 equated it with the Egyptian Μούθ, 'Mother' (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 56 : see further Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1219 C—D). H. Ewald *loc. cit.* v. 30 connected it with the Arabic *mádda*, 'stuff, matter.' W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1876 i. 11 f., 195 supposes ἰδ = 'D 'water'; and Sir G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 168 n. 1 likewise says : 'Môt ... is probably a Phœnician form of a word which means *water* in the Semitic languages (ROTH, *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 251 ; SCHRÖDER, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, p. 133).' C. C. J. von Bunsen *Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte* Gotha 1857 v. 3. 257 n. 25 would correct Μῶτ to Μῶχ = 'D 'mud.' J. Halévy 'Les principes cosmogoniques phéniciens πόθος et μῶτ' in the *Mélanges Graux* Paris 1884 p. 59 f. assumes haplography ἐγένετο [TO]MQT and takes Τομῶτ to be a Phœnician *Tehômôt* formed with the feminine ending from the Hebrew *Tehôm*, 'deep,' thus obtaining a Phœnician equivalent of the Babylonian *Tiāmat*. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 440 n. 6 is content with the old (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1219 D) transcription Μῶτ = ΠΙΘ *mavet*, 'death.' Mr N. McLean, who has kindly considered the matter for me, inclines (Sept. 13, 1916) to think that 'D (*mak*), 'rotteness,' might have an infinitival form 'D (*mōk*), which would be represented by Μῶκ (not Μῶχ, as Bunsen proposed). He further notes that Ζωφασημίν is a fairly correct transliteration of 'D 'D 'D 'D (*sōphē šamayim*), 'observers of heaven.' The three versions of the Phœnician cosmogony may be set out as follows :

EUDEMOS	MOCHOS	SANCHOUNIATHON
Χρόνος Πόθος = 'Ομίχλη 'Αἴρ = Αὔρα ? Μῶτος	Ἄνεμος Λίψ Νότος or Αἰθήρ = 'Αἴρ Οὐλωμός Χουσωρός Οὐρανός ← 'Ὠόν → Γῆ	'Αἴρ ζοφώδης καὶ = λάος θολερὸν, πνευματώδης ἐρεβῶδες (Πόθος) Μῶτ Ζωφασημίν 'Ὠόν

(6) The Cosmogonic Eros.

It will be observed that in several respects the Indian and the Phœnician cosmogonies recall Orphic speculation. In particular, they assign the same

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conensis the earliest coins (s. iii B.C.), copying the Siculo-Punic *drachma*, show a head of Persephone on the obverse and a standing horse crowned by a flying Nike on the reverse side (fig. 887, *a*=A. Heiss *Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne* Paris 1870 pp. 86, 90 pl. 1 Emporiae 1, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 2). Later silver and copper coins of the same town exhibit a most remarkable modification of this originally Carthaginian horse. First, he is transformed into a winged and prancing Pegasos (fig. 887, *b*=Heiss *op. cit.* p. 87 pl. 1 Emporiae 2). Then there emerges from his head a small human head wearing a *pétasos* (Heiss *op. cit.* p. 87 pl. 1 Emporiae 3, cp. 4 f.=fig. 887, *c, d*). Finally,



Fig. 887.

this little personage becomes an obvious Eros, his wing formed by the horse's ear, his back by the horse's cheek, his arm and leg by the horse's muzzle (fig. 887, *e, f*=Heiss *op. cit.* p. 87 pl. 1 Emporiae 7 f., cp. *ib.* p. 89 f. pl. 2 Emporiae 23—29, 31—35, p. 93 pl. 4 Emporiae 37—43, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 2). Gallic imitations of the type sometimes show the winged figure riding the horse (R. Forrer *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande* Strassburg 1908 p. 39 fig. 68 Pictones, p. 77 f. fig. 144 Pictones).

Once launched from the lips, the small figure representing the desire of the deity might run along his arm and so fare forth into the world to work his will. Silver coins of Kaulonia from c. 550 B.C. onwards have as their obverse design a naked male with hair in long ringlets and left foot advanced. In his uplifted right hand is a stalk with pinnate leaves: on or over his outstretched left arm runs a diminutive figure carrying a similar stalk in one (fig. 888) or both hands (figs. 889, 890) and sometimes equipped with a *chlamys* over his shoulders and wings on his heels (fig. 888). In the field stands a stag, beneath which on many specimens is another stalk of the plant springing from the ground (figs. 889, 890). The design is repeated, incuse, on the reverse side of the coin, though here the small runner is mostly omitted. One specimen (fig. 890) is known bearing the additional legend IKETEΣI(A), with which festival-name cp. *Od.* 13. 213 Ζεύς σφεας

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τίστρο ἰκετήσιος and the evidence collected by O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1592f. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 334 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 126 pl. 9, 8, cp. i. 127 f. pl. 9, 9 f., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1460 ff. pls. 70, 14 f., 71, 1—6, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 155 f. pl. 111, 11—14, p. 186 pl. 125, 17 =my fig. 890, cp. p. 156 f. pl. 111, 15 ff., p. 186 pl. 125, 16, *Head Coins of the Ancients* p. 15 pl. 8, 17 =my fig. 888, cp. p. 15 pl. 8, 18, p. 30 pl. 15, 9, *id. Hist. num.*² p. 92 ff. figs. 50 f., G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 pp. 36, 97, 132 pl. 3, 7, cp. p. 132 f. pl. 5, 10. Fig. 889 is drawn from a specimen in my collection). Many and wonderful are the explanations of this remarkable

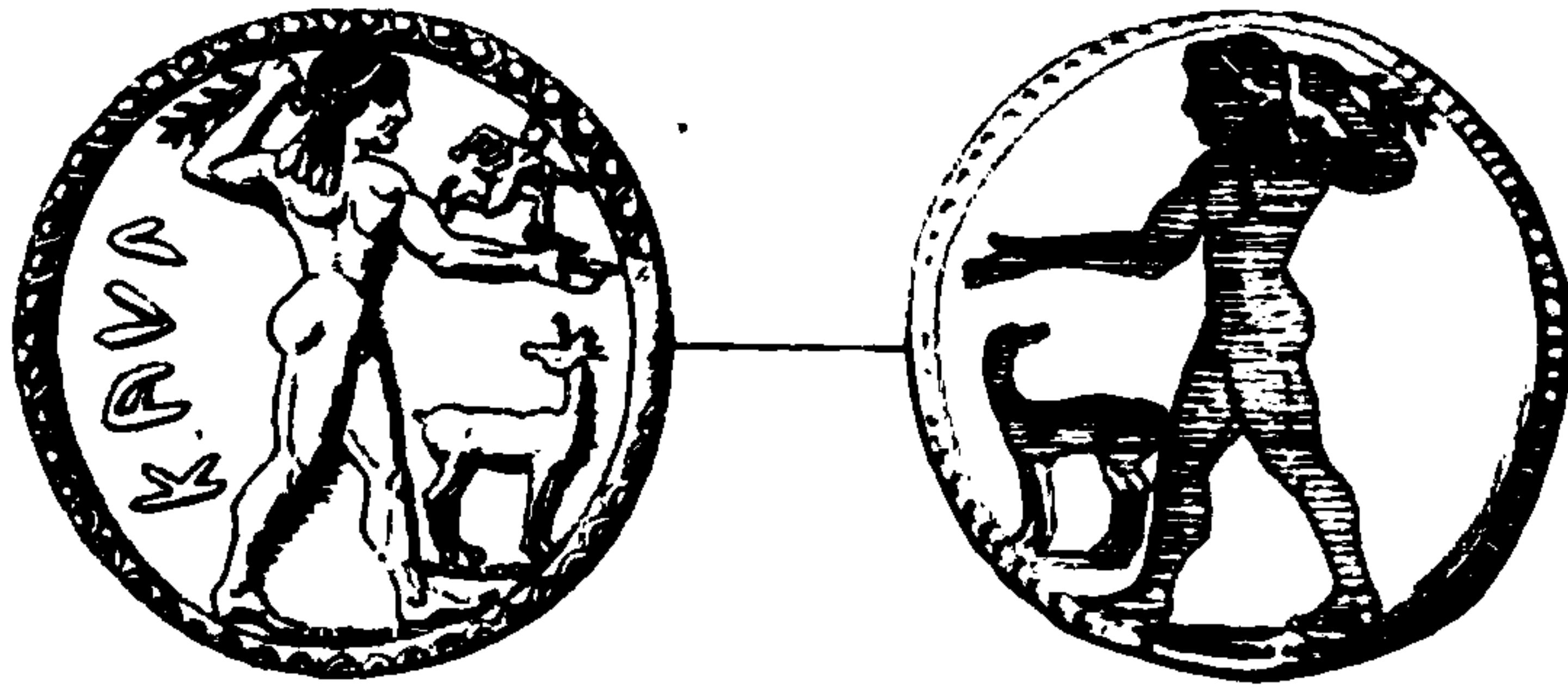


Fig. 888.

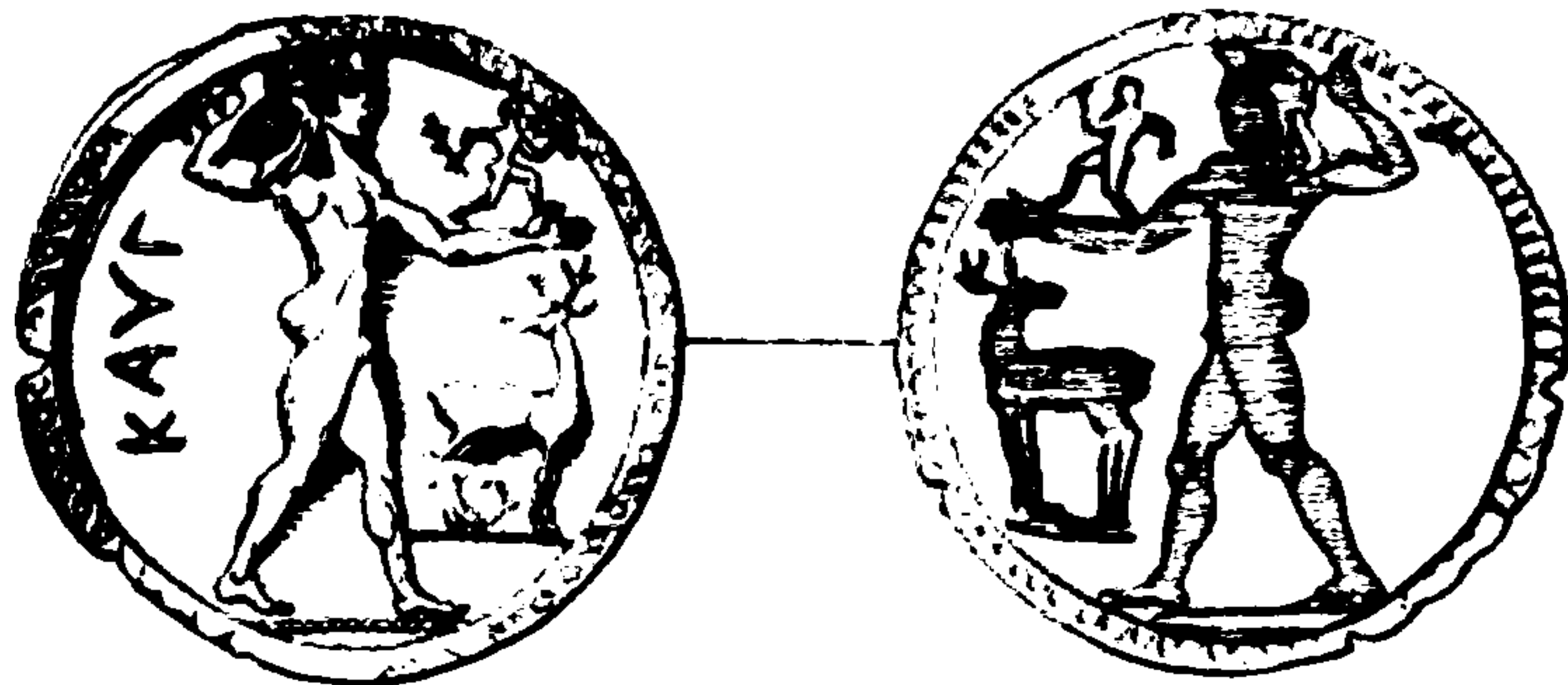


Fig. 889.

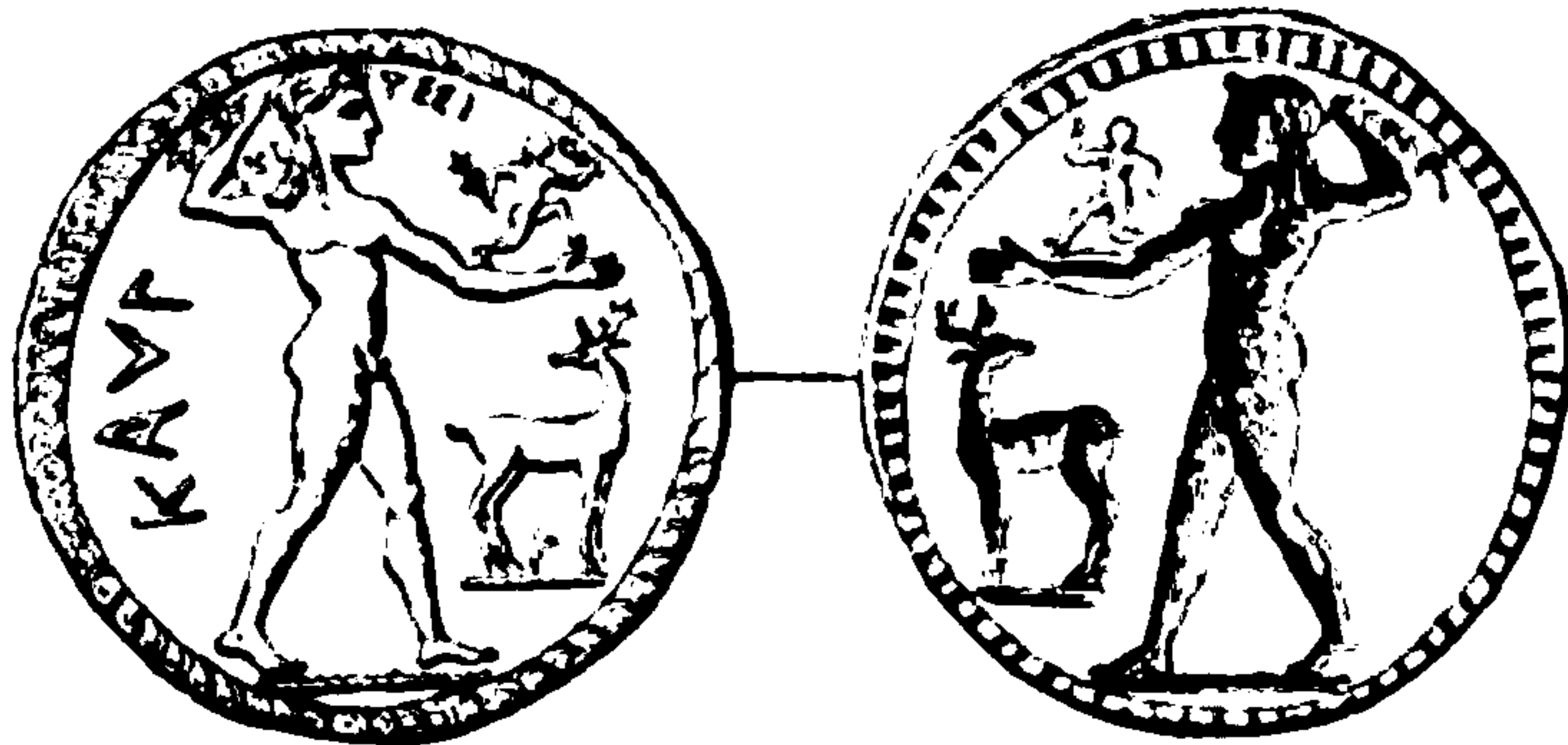


Fig. 890.

type that have been put forward (for a full list see now Oldfather in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 80—85): e.g. Iupiter *Tonans* brandishing a thunderbolt (J. Hardouin *Nummi antiqui populorum et urbium illustrati* Parisiis 1684 p. 244, A. S. Mazzocchi *In Regii Herculaneensis Musei Aeneas Tabulas Heraclenses Commentarii* Neapoli 1754 p. 527 f.: see Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² i. 168 f.), Dionysos with *Οἴστρος* (F. M. Avellino in the *Giornale numismatico* 1811—1812 ii. 24 and in his *Opuscoli diversi* Napoli 1833 ii. 108 ff. citing *inter alia* Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 263 f. where Ino lashes the Maenads with sprays of ivy. Note that in *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 127 pl. 9, 10 =my fig. 891 the small runner is replaced by an ivy-leaf with a long stalk, an attribute which appears again on the reverse of the same coin), Herakles returning from the Hyperboreoi

with one of the Kerkopes (F. Streber 'Ueber die Münzen von Caulonia' in

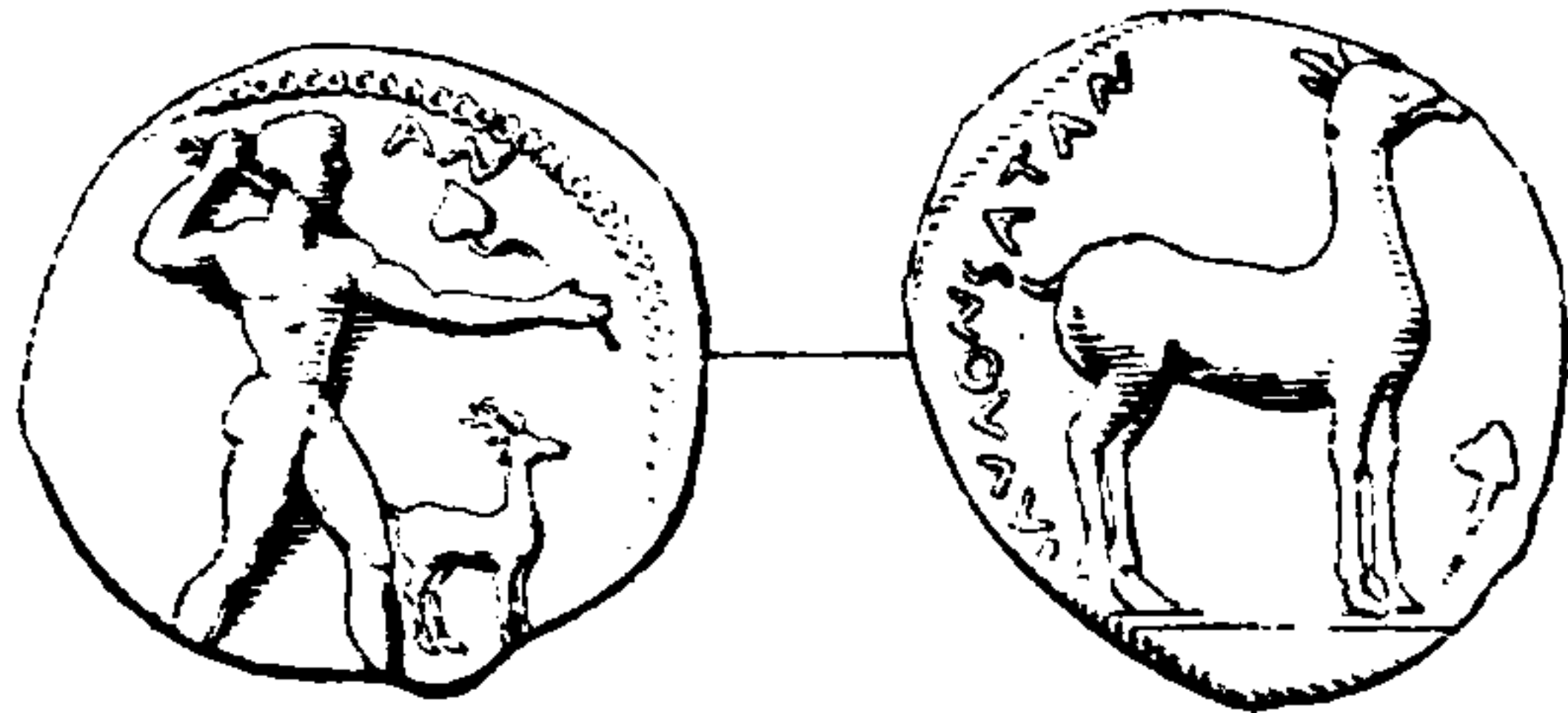


Fig. 891.

the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1837* Philos.-philol. Classe ii. 709 ff.), Apollon with laurel-branch and the purified Orestes (K. O. Müller *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*² Breslau 1835 p. 516, *id. Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835 i. 8 pl. 16, 72), Apollon as καθαρτής or καθάρσιος with Aristaios (Honoré d'Albert duc de Luynes in the *Nouv.*

Ann. i. 426), Apollon with Daphnis or Hyakinthos (J. de Witte in the *Rev. Num.* 1845 p. 400 ff. makes these suggestions, but prefers to follow T. Panofka: see *infra*), Apollon as καθαρτής—or else the Demos of Kaulonia—performing the act of lustration with the genius of ἀγνισμός or καθαρμός on his arm (R. Rochette *Mémoires de Numismatique et d'antiquité* Paris 1840 p. 1 ff. followed by C. Cavedoni in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1842 p. 90 f.), Apollon as sun-god with a lustral branch and a wind-god dispersing miasmas (W. Watkiss Lloyd 'On the types of the coins of Caulonia' in the *Num. Chron.* 1847 x. 1 ff. followed by P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 85 pl. 1, 1, cp. G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 171 pl. 3, 3), Apollon chasing the thief Hermes (S. Birch 'Notes on types of Caulonia' in the *Num. Chron.* 1845 viii. 163 ff.), the headland Kointhos with the wind-god Zephyros (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 186), 'Some local myth, which has not been handed down to us' (Head *Hist. num.*¹ p. 79 after Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² i. 169). Specially ingenious was the view of T. Panofka 'Über die Münztypen von Kaulonia' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1843 i. 165 ff.: accepting the identification of the larger figure with Apollon, he regarded the smaller as Kaulon (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Καυλωνία) or Kaulos, son of the Amazon Kleite and eponymous founder of the town (interp. Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 153), and suggested that both figures bear an olive-branch not without a punning allusion to καυλός, *caulis*. Head *Hist. num.*² p. 93 does not mention Panofka, but adopts and modifies his interpretation: the main figure is the founder Καῦλος, who carries as his emblem a καυλός or 'parsnip' (*pastinaca sativa*); the running genius is Ἄγων (G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 80, cp. W. Wroth *ib.* 1907 xxvii. 92), or Hermes Ἀγώνιος (Pind. *Isthm.* 1. 85, cp. *Ol.* 6. 133 ff. with scholl. *ad locc.*) or Δρόμιος (G. Doublet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 69 f. publishes an inscription from Polyrrenion Ἐρμῆι Δρομίωι, with which S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 755 cp. Hesych. οὔνιος...δρομεύς), carrying apparently the same emblem, which is also shown growing beneath the stag. P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 86 came nearer to the truth, when he wrote: 'The most plausible alternative view would be to regard him [the small figure] as an embodiment of the χόλος or wrath of the Apollo, who is about to attack the enemies of the deity...' I hold that he is in fact the soul of the god sent forth to work the divine will. The god himself is Apollon, whose epithets ἐκάεργος, ἐκατηβελέτης, ἐκατηβόλος, ἕκατος, ἐκηβόλος are all connected with ἐκών (A. Fick—F. Bechtel *Die Griechischen Personennamen*² Göttingen 1894 pp. 107, 127, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 133, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 236 f., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2664 f., 2799 f., 2800 ff., F. Bechtel *Lexilogus zu Homer* Halle a. d. S. 1914 pp. 114—117) and betoken his magical will-power (cp. *supra* i. 12 n. 1, 14 n. 1). Apollon ἐκηβόλος would thus mean Apollon 'who strikes what he wills' (less probably 'who projects his will'). And I am reminded by Mr F. M. Cornford that Plat. *Cratyl.* 420 C

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τὸ οὖς λέγειν, κ.τ.λ. See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3198 f. The genesis of the hero Psithyros at Athens (Hesych. s.v. ψιθύρα) and of the god Psithyros at Lindos (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1904 xix Arch. Anz. p. 185 f., H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1904 lix. 623 f. (= *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 467 ff.) in an inscription of early imperial date found by R. F. Kinch near the north angle of the temple of Athena: τῷ Ψιθύρῳ νηὸν πολυκείονα τεύξε Σέλευκος κ.τ.λ.) appears to have resembled that of Eros himself; the whispered prayer of the worshipper (S. Sudhaus 'Lautes und leises Beten' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 185—200), like the heartfelt desire of the deity, was projected in visible form).

Similarly a metope from the north side of the Parthenon (slab no. xxv) shows a diminutive Eros stepping down from behind the shoulder of Aphrodite towards Menelaos, who on the adjoining metope (slab no. xxiv) drops his sword at the sight of Helene clinging to the Palladion (A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1870 p. 139 Atlas pl. 4, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 265 no. 590, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*⁴ i. 424 n.*, A. S. Murray *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1903 p. 79 (misleading) pl. 12, 25 as drawn by Carrey, A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 42 fig. 81 photographic view of metope *in situ*, *ib.* fig. 82 photograph of Eros from the cast at Berlin, C. Prasch-



Fig. 893.

niker 'Die Metopen der Nordostecke des Parthenon' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1911 xiv. 149 fig. 136 photograph, M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris 1912 p. 29 pl. 39, 25 photograph. In this familiar scene (literary and monumental evidence in Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 626 ff. Atlas pl. 26, 2 ff, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 745 ff. fig. 798 f., R. Engelmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1970 ff. figs., H. W. Stoll *ib.* ii. 2786 f. figs. 4—6, E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2832, 2835), especially as represented on the fine red-figured *oinochóe* from Vulci now in the Vatican (fig. 893 = *Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii pl. 5, 2^a, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 631 f. pl. 26, 12, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 745 f. fig. 798, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1800 f. fig. 3, J. H. Huddilston *Lessons from Greek Pottery* New York 1902 p. 86 f. fig. 16, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 347 no. 7 (by 'The Painter of the Epinetron from Eretria in Athens')), Eros is already so far detached from Aphrodite that he signifies, not the love felt by the goddess, but the love caused by her in the heart of Menelaos. We are well on the way towards later conceptions of the love-god.

In Hellenistic times the favourite types of Eros were those of a boy (e.g. *Ausgewählte griechische Terrakotten im Antiquarium der königlichen Museen zu Berlin* Berlin 1903 p. 17 pl. 20, Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 2. 325 fig. 6 a flying Eros, said to be from Pagai in Megaris, now at Berlin, holding grapes in his raised right hand and other fruits in a fold of his *chlamýs*: height 0.275^m)

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or a mere child (e.g. O. Rayet *Monuments de l'art antique* Paris 1884 ii pl. (40), 7 with text, L. Heuzey *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* Paris 1883 p. 21 pl. 35^{bis}, 5, M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1607 fig. 2188, E. Pottier *Les statuettes de terre cuite dans l'antiquité* Paris 1890 p. 129 fig. 44, Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 2. 320 no. 12 b a walking Eros, from Tanagra, formerly in the Barre collection (no. 449), now in the Louvre, with his *chlamys* drawn over his head: height 0.07^m) or even a babe (e.g. L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Plt.* 1864 p. 202 f. Atlas pl. 6, 2, Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 2. 313 fig. 4 Eros clinging on to the neck of a swan, found at Kerch and now in the Hermitage at Petrograd: height 0.075^m); and it is usually assumed that his progressive diminution in size was the natural outcome of fourth-century art with its well-defined *penchant* for youth and beauty (see e.g. the clear and sensible statements of O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 496 f., 502, 509). It must not, however, be forgotten that this tendency, which was undoubtedly a *vera causa*, gave fresh effect to the very ancient belief in the soul as a tiny winged form sent forth from the lover to compass his desires. That is the ultimate reason—I take it—why Eros with crossed legs and torch reversed became the commonest of all symbols for Death (A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1369, M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1610 fig. 2192 f., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 508 f., F. Lübker *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums*⁸ Berlin 1914 p. 1028, C. Robert *Thanatos (Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin xxxix)* Berlin 1879 p. 44, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 845, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1050 n. 5, *supra* p. 309): a resting Eros meant a restful soul. Again, that is why Eros was so constantly associated with Psyche (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Plt.* 1877 pp. 53—219, M. Collignon *Essai sur les monuments grecs et romains relatifs au mythe de Psyché* Paris 1877 (inadequate), A. Zinzow *Psyche und Eros* Halle 1881, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1370—1372, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 531—542 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3237—3256): *quasi*-bird and *quasi*-butterfly were kindred conceptions of the soul. Finally, we may discover here one ground at least for the astonishing variety of *genre* occupations attributed to Eros and the Erotes in the Gracco-Roman age. Readers of these lines will probably remember an eloquent passage in which J. W. Mackail *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology* London 1890 p. 34 f. describes the wealth of imagination lavished by a single writer, Meleagros, upon the figure of Eros. The poet's words could be illustrated by scores of extant works of art, especially terra-cotta statuettes, engraved gems, and mural paintings. By way of relaxation at the end of a somewhat stiff and stodgy Appendix I subjoin a few specimens.

Eros pervaded the universe and swayed all hearts from the highest to the lowest. Time was when Alkibiades had given offence by carrying a shield of gold and ivory with the device of Eros fulminant (Plout. *v. Alcib.* 16, Athen. 534 E), and an onyx at Berlin dating from the first half of *s.* iv (?) B.C. very possibly shows this deity with his *protégé* (fig. 894 = C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835 ii. 2. 35 pl. 39, 451, Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 35 no. 355 pl. 7). But in *s.* i B.C. Eros was represented not merely holding a thunderbolt (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 160 no. 3708 pl. 29 brown paste: Eros leaning on a pillar with thunderbolt (?) in right hand, sceptre in left and an altar (?) below, *id. ib.* p. 159 no. 3700 pl. 29 dark brown paste: Eros with thunderbolt in right hand, trident in left) but actually breaking it across his knee (fig. 895 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 30, 31, ii. 149 a cornelian in the royal collection at The Hague, *id. Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 90 no. 1628 pl. 17

paste, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 52 no. 16, 1 pl. 51 banded agate, cp. Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 8 no. 7 fig. reverse type of a *quinarius* struck by L. Iulius Bursio in 88 B.C.). A sardonyx formerly in the Poniatowski cabinet shows Eros posing as Zeus himself with thunderbolt and sceptre (fig. 896=T. Cades *Collezione di N° 1400 Impronti delle migliori pietre incise, sì antiche, che moderne, ricavati dalle più distinte Collezioni conosciute dell' Europa 1^{ma} Classe, A 6, 34 'Genio di Giove': genuine? Lippold *Gemmen* p. 171 pl. 28, 4 says*



Fig. 894.



Fig. 895.

'Römisch'). If Eros thus usurped the position of the strongest god, *a fortiori* he superseded the strongest hero. Lysippos is said to have represented Herakles as stripped of his weapons by Eros (*Anth. Pal.* 16. 103. 1 ff. (Tullius Geminus), cp. 16. 104. 1 ff. (Philippos)); and the incident became a commonplace of later art (see *e.g.* M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1606 fig. 2184, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1366, 2248 f., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 510, 513 f.). Hence Eros is arrayed in the hero's spoils



Fig. 896.



Fig. 897.

(fig. 897=Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 64, 19, ii. 290 a sardonyx cameo of three layers—translucent ground, figure in opaque white, upper surface brown—at Munich; of Roman date. Cp. Furtwängler *ib.* i pl. 62, 2, ii. 280, *id. Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 73 no. 1111 pl. 14 (shown more clearly in C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835 ii. 3. 13 pl. 51, 636) small convex garnet, p. 135 no. 3020 pl. 25 cornelian, p. 135 nos. 3021—3028 pl. 25 pastes, p. 160 nos. 3713—3716 pastes, p. 237 no. 6482 (G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti* Roma 1821 i. 39 f. κληδούχος! pl. 32) sardonyx), or combines

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money (?), fulling clothes, and selling wine (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pls. 22, 24, 25 Text pp. 34—39, A. Mau *Pompeii its life and art*² trans. F. W. Kelsey New York 1902 pp. 331—337 figs. 163, 165—169, A. Mau *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst* Anhang zur zweiten Auflage Leipzig 1913 p. 48, P. Gusman *Pompeii* Paris 1899 p. 339 with col. pl. 11 opposite p. 388, H. B. Walters *The Art of the Romans* London 1911 p. 102 f. pl. 43). Eros can be the schoolmaster and wield the whip

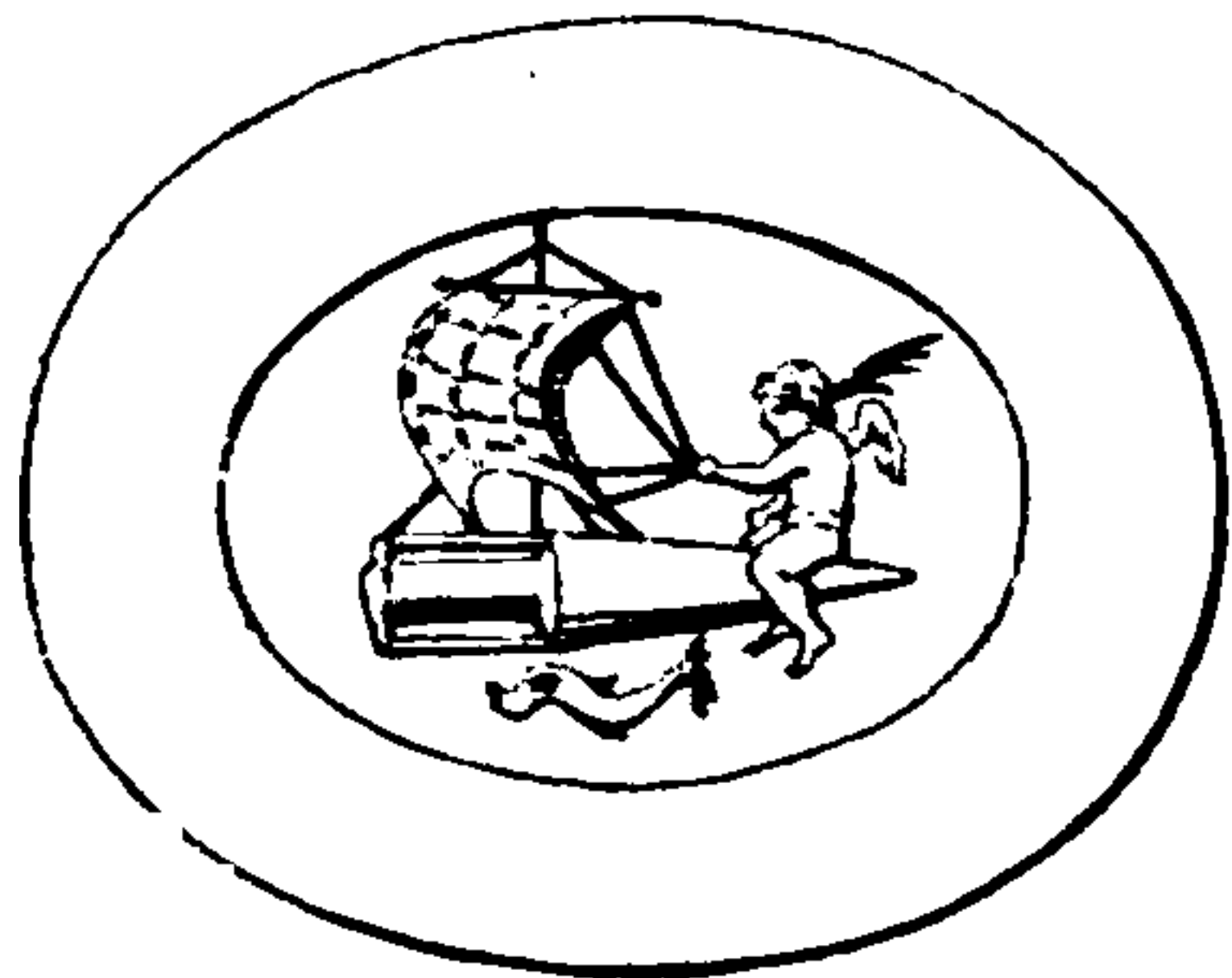


Fig. 903.

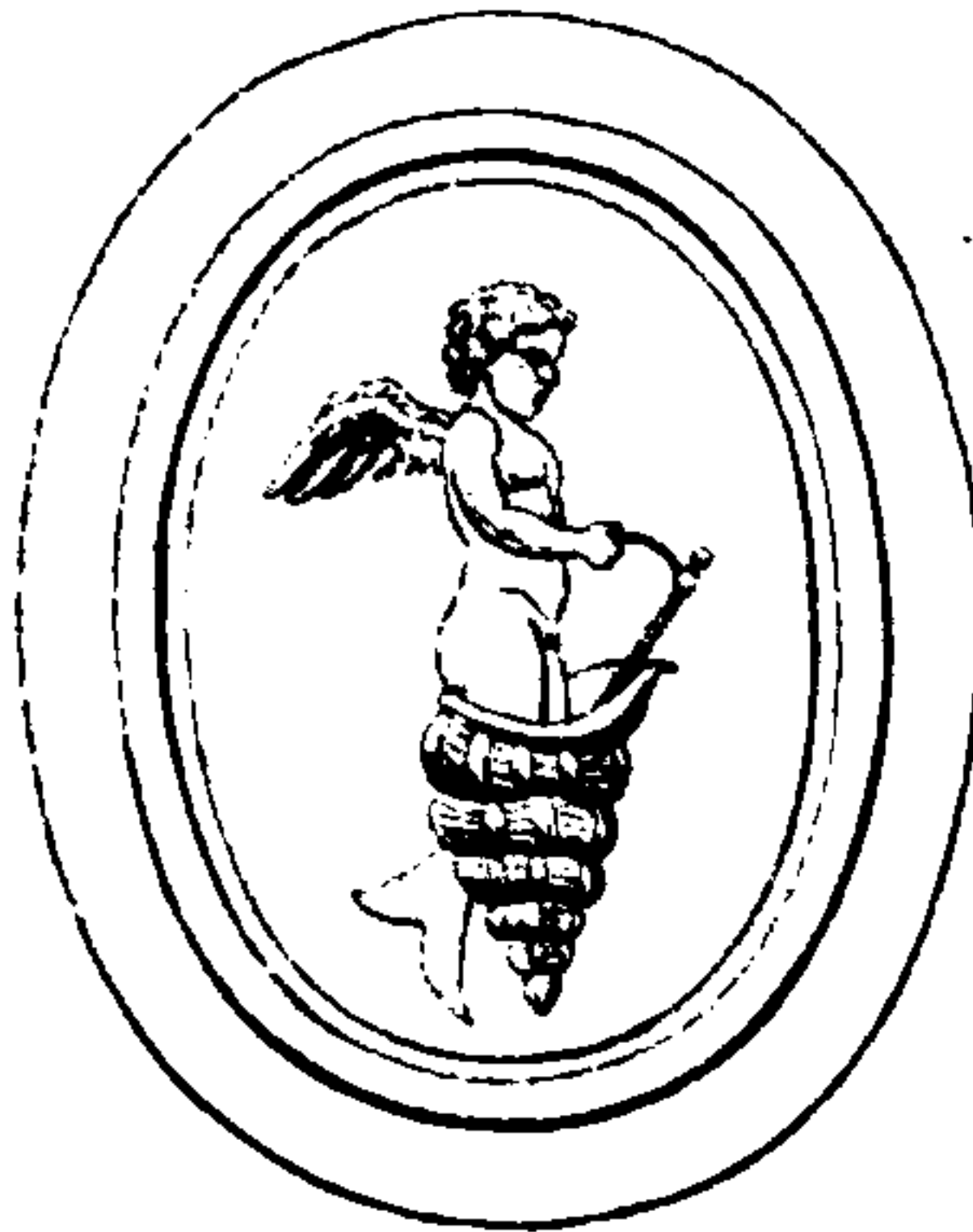


Fig. 904.

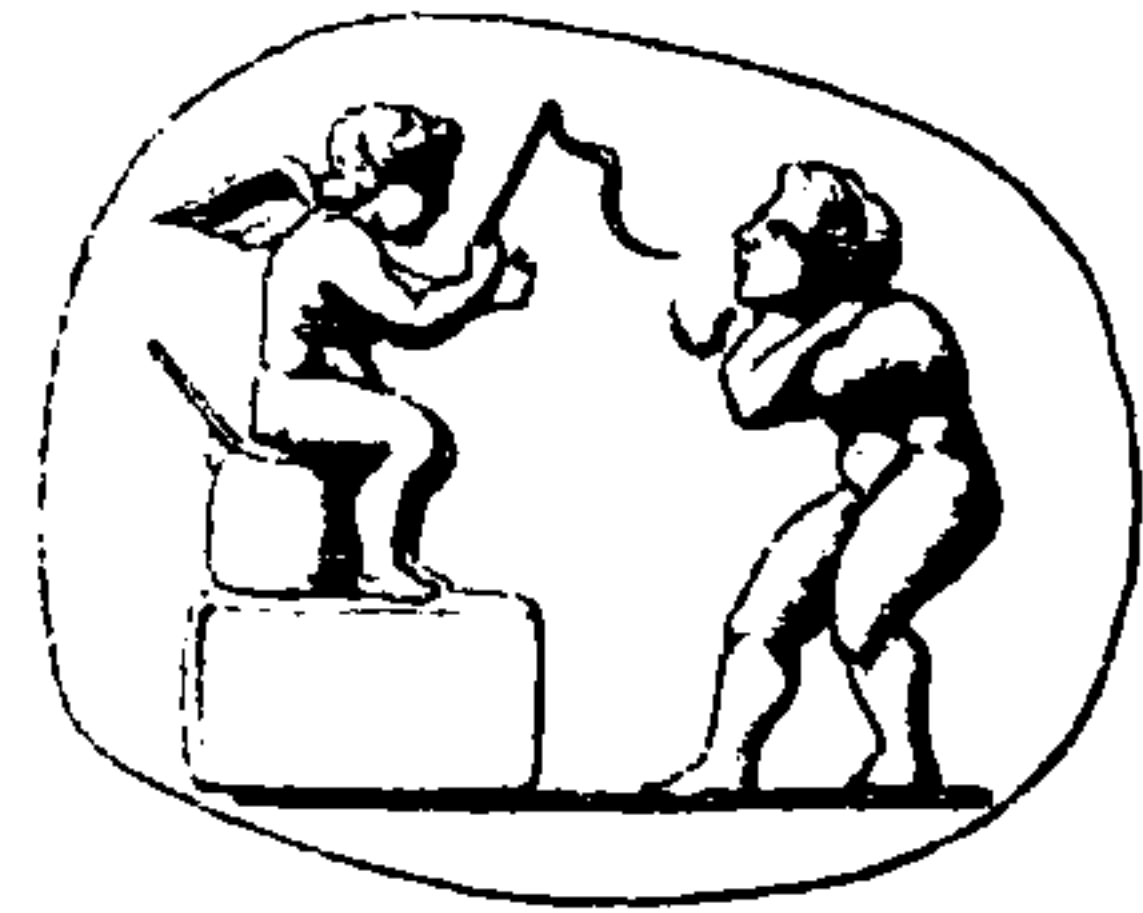


Fig. 905.

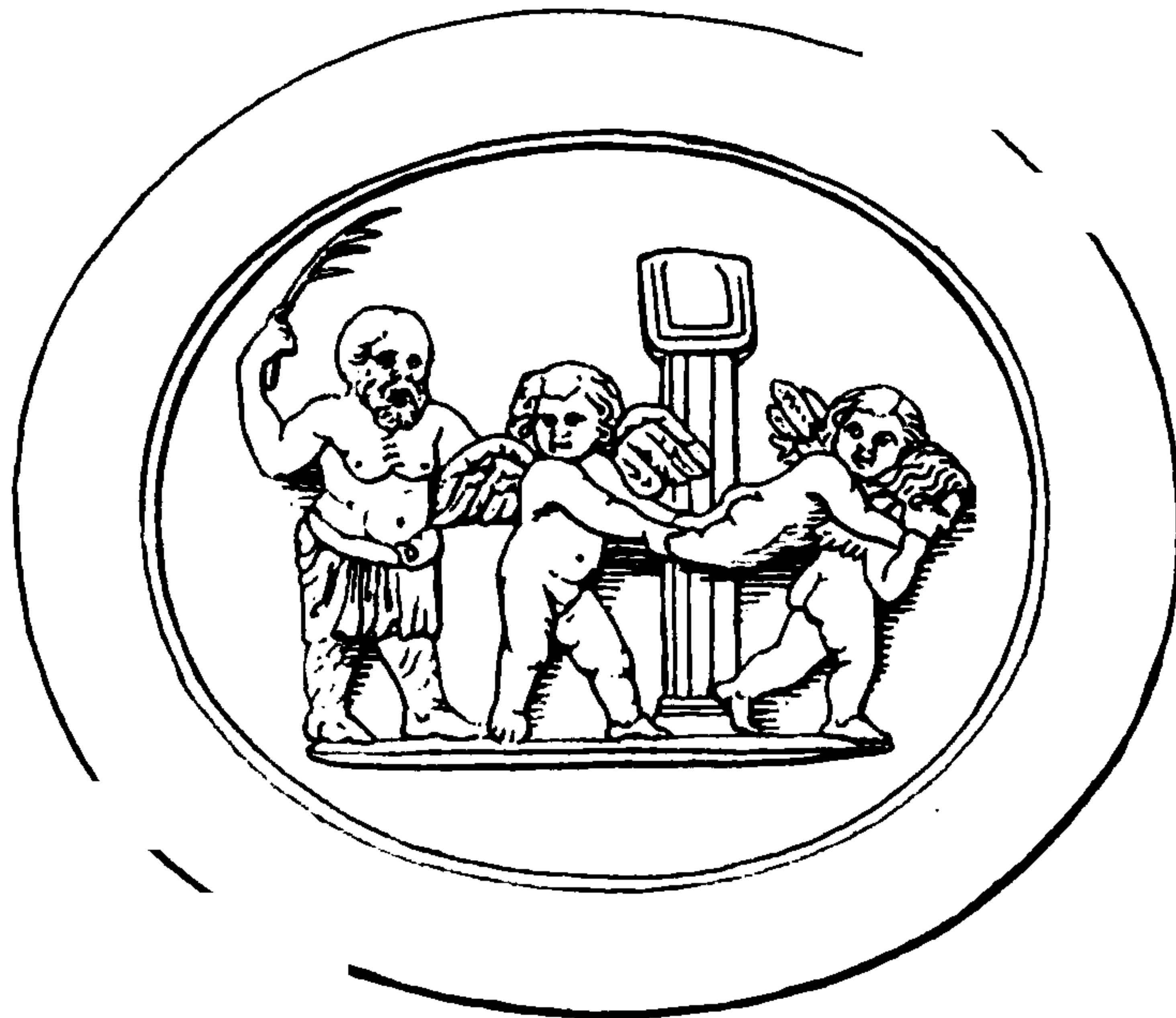


Fig. 906.

(fig. 905 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 50, 36, ii. 244, E. Gerhard in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1834 p. 124 no. 31 a cornelian from the Nott collection); Eros can be the schoolboy and suffer the whipping (fig. 906 = T. Cades *op. cit.* 1^{ma} Classe, A 3, 59 'nel Museo Blacas,' *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 127 no. 1005 an onyx cameo from the Castellani collection).



Fig. 907.

It seems a far call from Eros as a great cosmogonic deity to Eros as a diminutive fairy. But *ξυνὸν ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρας*, and the expression of the one belief may be curiously like the expression of the other. Thus a cornelian formerly in the collection of Sir Henry Russell represents the Orphic Eros seated in the world-egg, already split open to form heaven and earth (fig. 907 = C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835 ii. 3. 12 pl. 50, 628, E. Gerhard in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1839 p. 107 no. 100,

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M. Collignon in Daremberg—*Saglio Dict. Ant.* i. 1595 f. fig. 2142, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1357, *id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 50, 37, ii. 244), while one of the most charming of all Pompeian frescoes shows a pair of lovers examining a nestful of tiny Erotes (G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico Napoli* 1824 i pl. 24, L. Hirt 'Il nido. Idillio' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 p. 251 ff. pl. E, 1, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* Text p. 26 fig. 5, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 163 no. 821, *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 313 no. 1324, from the *Casa del poeta tragico*.

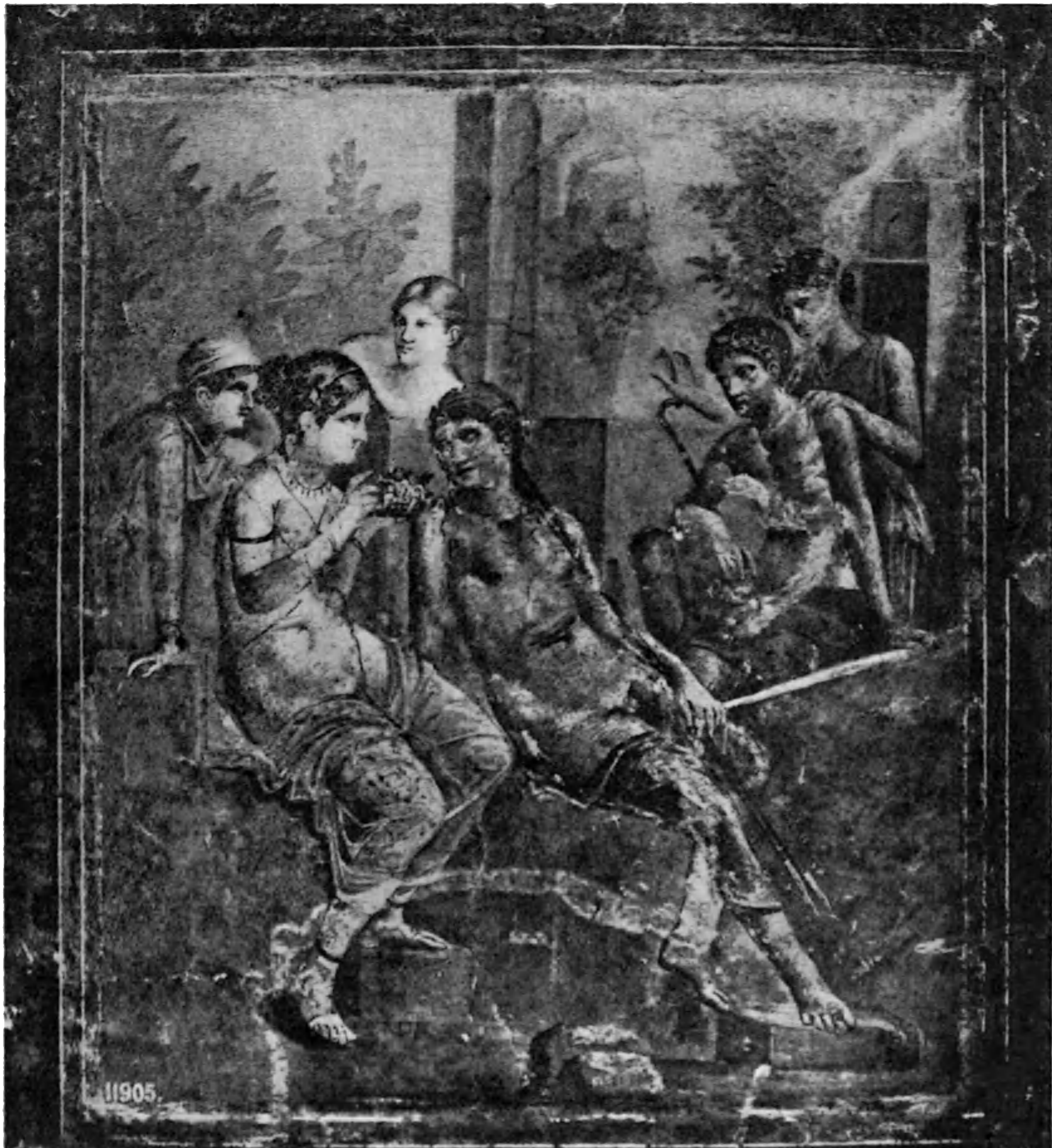


Fig. 908.

Fig. 908, a *replica* from Pompeii *reg. vii. 12. 26*, well published by Herrmann *op. cit.* pl. 17 Text p. 26 = Helbig *op. cit.* p. 164 no. 823, G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 p. 152 ff. fig. 25, is more completely preserved, but less fine: it has only two Erotes in the nest. A second *replica*, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 164 no. 822, omits the girl in the background to the right. See also J. Overbeck—A. Mau *Pompeji*⁴ Leipzig 1884 pp. 288, 293, 581).

It was pointed out by F. Piper *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst* Weimar

1847 i. 214—217 that scenes representing Eros and Psyche passed from pagan to Christian *sarcophagi* ((1) R. Garrucci *Storia della Arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1879 v. 12 f. pl. 302, 2—5, J. Ficker *Die altchristlichen Bildwerke im christlichen Museum des Laterans* Leipzig 1890 no. 181, W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 p. 254 fig. 93, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1909 ii. 44, 70, 72, 98 n. 1, 103 n. 1, 194, 226 fig. 45, C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 498 fig. 193 = a marble *sarcophagus*, found near the catacomb of Praetextatus and now preserved in the Lateran Museum: it dates from the end of s. iii or the beginning of s. iv A.D. and shows on its main face the Good Shepherd, thrice repeated (bearded in centre, beardless to right and left), amid a vintage of Erotes, which includes a Psyche with butterfly-wings bringing grapes to an Eros with bird-wings. (2) A. Bosio *Roma Sotterranea* Roma 1632 p. 75 fig., G. Bottari *Sculture e pitture sagre estratte dai cimiterj di Roma* Roma 1737 i. 105 pl. 28 f., E. Z. Platner *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom* Stuttgart 1830—1842 ii. 1. 192 f. = a marble *sarcophagus* from the Vatican catacomb, now under an altar in the chapel of the Madonna della Colonna in St. Peter's: Christ, amid the apostles, adored by a man and his wife; beneath, a large lamb flanked by twelve smaller lambs; behind, vines and two palm-trees (phoenix on left palm); Christ stands in front of a gateway, the arch of which has a Psyche with butterfly-wings on the left, a wingless Eros with torch on the right. [But R. Garrucci *op. cit.* v. 50 f. pl. 327, 2—4 shows that these figures really represent Sol and Luna respectively.] (3) J. B. L. G. Séroux d'Agincourt *Histoire de l'Art par les monumens* Paris 1823 iii Sculpture p. 4 pl. 4, 3, 5 = a *sarcophagus* from the catacomb of S. Pietro e Marcellino (Torrepignatarra): the column which divides the front bears a relief of Eros embracing Psyche; the inscription reads *Zacinie cesque* (for *quiesce*) *in pace*. (4) E. Z. Platner *op. tit.* iii. 2. 450 = a *sarcophagus* in the Convent of S. Agnese at Rome: both ends show Eros and Psyche with reed and urn to betoken water, and a *cornu copiae* for earth, beneath them; the centre has inlaid a Christian medallion of S. Agnese. [(5) R. Garrucci *op. cit.* v. 138 pl. 395, 3, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1909 ii. 96 fig. 11 = a fragmentary *sarcophagus*-lid from the catacomb of S. Callisto at Rome with a medallion supported by two Erotes, adjoining which is the group of Eros and Psyche.] Indeed, early Christian art made constant use of Erotes, winged or wingless, in a variety of *motifs* derived from classical sources (see the examples collected by L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1906 i col. pl. 1, 2, 169 fig., 175 f. with 176 n. 1, 179, 1909 ii. 96 n. 3). Eros still figured largely in Byzantine carvings and paintings (e.g. O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 216 fig. 130, p. 281 fig. 171). He survived in the *putto* of the early renaissance (F. Wickhoff 'Die Gestalt Amors in der Phantasie des italienischen Mittelalters' in the *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 1890 xi. 41—53, S. Weber *Die Entwicklung des Putto in der Plastik der Frührenaissance* Heidelberg 1898, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 516), and is still recognizable on our valentines and Christmas-cards.

It would seem, then, that from first to last Eros was simply and essentially a soul-type. If we raise the further question—Whose soul was represented by the Orphic Eros?—, we get an uncertain reply. According to the early Orphic scheme (*supra* pp. 1020, 1034), golden-winged Eros sprang from the egg laid by black-winged Nyx Ἐρέβους... ἐν ἀπειροσι κόλποις (Aristoph. *av.* 695). But who was the consort of Nyx? We are not definitely told. Presumably it was Erebus (so in Hes. *theog.* 123 ff., Akousilaos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 100

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Fig. 909.

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either side of the zodiac, must be completed as *p(ecunia) p(osuit) Felix pater (sacrorum)*. Eisler ingeniously suggests that the relief in question originally adorned the Orphic sanctuary of a certain Felix and Euphrosyne and was subsequently re-dedicated in a Mithraic temple by Felix alone, since women were excluded from the rites of Mithras. That an Orphic monument should thus be re-consecrated in a Mithraic shrine seems likely enough in view of the fact that at Borcovicium (*Housesteads* on Hadrian's Wall) Mithras himself was represented in an oval zodiac with an egg-shell on his head (J. C. Bruce *The Roman Wall*³ London 1867 p. 399 with fig. on p. 398, *id. Lapidarium Septentrionale* Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1871 ii. 96—98 no. 188 fig., F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 395 fig. 315, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 410 ff. fig. 48 a relief, 1.40^m high, 0.77^m wide, found *in situ* between two Mithraic altars = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii nos. 645, 646: Mithras' body emerges from the *Petra generatrix* (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4244, 4248, 4250, cp. 4249); his arms are broken, but his right hand still holds a knife, his left hand a lighted torch), while the lion-headed god, usually described as the Mithraic Kronos or Aion, but more probably explained as Areimanios or Areimanes, the Mithraists' equivalent for Abriman (F. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Cambridge 1915 ii. 254 f.), appears with a snake coiled about him, wings attached to his shoulders and haunches, a sceptre held in his left hand, and a thunderbolt on his breast or at his side (e.g. Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 559 fig. 1193, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 296 no. 3, F. Lajard *Introduction à l'étude du culte public et des mystères de Mithra en orient et en occident* Paris 1847 pl. 70, C. O. Müller *Denkmäler*

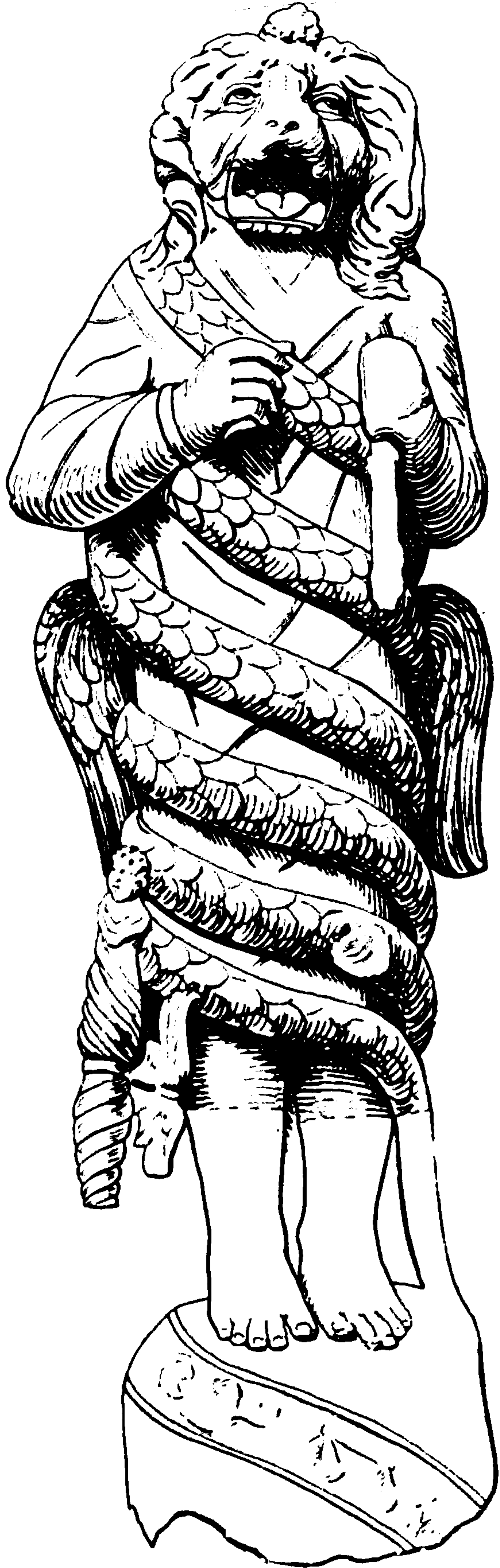


Fig. 910.

der alten Kunst Göttingen 1835 ii. 4. 71 f. pl. 75, 967, F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 238 f. fig. 68, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3039 fig. 1, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 412 f. fig. 50 a statue in white marble (1.65^m high, 0.47^m wide at base), found at Ostia in 1797 by the English painter R. Fagan and now erected at the entrance of the Vatican Library: the four wings are adorned with symbols of the seasons, *viz.* the left upper wing with dove and swan, the right upper wing with corn-ears, the right lower wing with grapes, the left lower wing with two palm-trees and reeds; the hands hold keys and a sceptre; the breast is marked with a thunderbolt; the supporting slab shows hammer and tongs to left, *caduceus*, cock, and pine-cone to right, with an inscription (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 65 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4212 C. Valerijus Heracles pat(er) | et C. Valerii | Vitalis et Nico|mes (*sic*) sacerdo,tes s(ua) p(e)c(unia) p(o)s(ue)r(unt) | D. d. idi. Aug. imp. | Com. | VI et | Septi|miano | cos. = Aug. 13, 190 A.D.). H. Dütschke *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien* Leipzig 1878 iii. 180 f. no. 367, F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 258 f. fig. 96, *id.* *Die Mysterien des Mithra*² trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 215 n. 1 pl. 2, 4 (=my fig. 910), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 477 no. 7 a statue in white Italian marble (1.15^m high, 0.35^m wide) in the Uffizi at Florence: the god wears a sleeved garment; two slot-holes in his back show where the shoulder-wings were attached; his right hand held a key, his left a sceptre; the upper part of the thunderbolt at his side takes the form of a human head; his feet with the sphere on which he stands are restored).

APPENDIX H.

ZEUS KTÉSIOS.

(1) The Jars of Zeus *Ktésios*.

Any discussion of Zeus *Ktésios* must start from the *locus classicus* in Athen. 473 B—C ΚΑΔΙΣΚΟΣ. Φιλήμων ἐν τῷ προειρημένῳ συγγράμματι (*sc.* Philemon the Atticist, on whom see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*³ München 1898 p. 771 n. 3) ποτηρίου εἶδος. ἀγγεῖον δ' ἐστὶν ἐν (M. P. Nilsson would delete ἐν) ᾧ τοὺς Κτησίους Δίας ἐγκαθιδρύουσιν, ὡς Ἀντικλείδης φησὶν ἐν τῷ Ἐξηγητικῷ (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2426, ii. 2597 f. makes it highly probable that the reference is to the Ἐξηγητικόν of Autokleides, not Antikleides,—a valuable source for traditional rites) γράφων οὕτως “Διὸς Κτησίου σημεῖα (G. Kaibel *cj.* σιπίνας) ἰδρύνεσθαι χρὴ ᾧδε. καδίσκον καινὸν (κενὸν with *αι* above *ε* cod. P.) δίωτον ἐπιθηματοῦντα στέψαι τὰ (so Villebrun and C. F. W. Jacobs for στέψαντα. K. W. Dindorf would follow Jacobs, or else read στέψαντα τὰ) ᾧτα ἐρίῳ λευκῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὤμου τοῦ δεξιῶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου τοῦ κροκίου† καὶ (K. W. Dindorf would omit καὶ) ἐσθῆναι (so *codd.* A.B. ἐσθῆναι *cod.* P. *edd.* V. L.) ὅτι ἂν εὕρησ καὶ εἰσχεαί (so J. Schweighäuser for εἰσχεαί *cod.* C. ἴσχεται *cod.* P. *edd.* V. L.) ἀμβροσίαν. ἢ δ' ἀμβροσία ὕδωρ ἀκραιφνές, ἔλαιον, παγκαρπία. ἄπερ ἔμβαλε.” *Cod.* C. epitomizes as follows: φησί που Διογένης. εἶτα εἰσχεαί ἀμβροσίαν. ἢ δ' ἀμβροσία, ὕδωρ ἀκραιφνές, ἔλαιον, παγκαρπία. ἄπερ ἔμβαλε. For the word τοῦ κροκίου†, which I have marked as corrupt, no very satisfactory emenda-

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tion has been proposed. I. Casaubon cj. ἄωτον κρόκινον κρεμαννύναι, 'lanam suspendito coloris crocei.' Villebrun cj. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὤμου τοῦ δεξιοῦ τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου τι κρόκινον ἀρθῆναι (meaning ἀρτηθῆναι), ὅ τι ἂν εὕρησ. C. F. W. Jacobs cj. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὤμου τοῦ δεξιοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου κρόκινον κάλυμμα ἐσθῆναι. G. Kalbel cj. <καθέσθαι τὰ ἄκρα > τοῦ κροκίου, 'to let down the ends of the thread.' Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 47 keeps ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου τοῦ κροκίου, taking κροκίου in the sense of κροκίνου, 'from its forehead smeared with saffron.' But τοῦ κροκίου is a *vox nihili*; and there is, to my thinking, much difficulty in ἐσθῆναι ὅ τι ἂν εὕρησ. I suspect that we ought to read καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὤμου τοῦ δεξιοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου κρόκινόν τι ἐκτείνειν, ὅ τι ἂν εὕρησ, and to translate the whole extract as follows: 'The right way to set up the signs of Zeus *Ktésios* is this. Take a new jar with two ears and a lid to it (ἐπιθηματοῦντα is adj.) and wreath its ears with white wool, and stretch a piece of yellow—anything you can find—from its right shoulder and its forehead, and pour ambrosia into it. Ambrosia is a mixture of pure water, olive oil, and all manner of fruits: empty these ingredients in.'

(2) The Jars of Zeus *Ktésios* funereal in character.

The use of the terms ὄνα, ὄμος, μέτωπον reminded Miss Harrison (*Themis* p. 299) 'of the anthropoid vases of the Troad.' But, though such language may have originated in connexion with *Gesichtsurnen* (vide Forrer *Reallex.* pp. 275, 419 and especially J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 pp. 173—176 figs. a—i), we cannot safely infer that the *kadískos* of Zeus *Ktésios* was of human or partially human shape. The description of it given above recalls rather certain vase-forms developed out of the primitive *píthos* (H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 159) such as the large lidded *amphora* of the 'Dipylon' style, or its lineal descendants (A. Milchhöfer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1880 v. 177 f., A. Brückner—E. Pernice *ib.* 1893 xviii. 143 ff., P. Wolters in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv. 128 ff., F. Poulsen *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen* Leipzig 1905 pp. 18 ff., 45 ff.) the *próthesis*-vase of the sixth century and the *loutrophóros* of the fifth. Now all these vases were connected with death and the grave. The 'Dipylon' *amphora*, of which I figure a typical specimen (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 40 f. no. 196 Planches p. 5 pl. 11, A. Furtwängler in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1885 xliii. 131, 139 figs., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 174 fig. 58, 226 fig. 98, S. Wide in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv. 196 f. fig. 61. My fig. 911 is from a photograph. Height with lid 0.90^m), stood half-sunk beneath the surface of the ground (cp. A. Brückner—E. Pernice in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 92 fig. 4 = Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 56 fig. 4) and—since its bottom is holed—served to convey liquid offerings to the dead beneath it (F. Poulsen *op. cit.* p. 19 'die Vase diente als Hohlaltar, durch welchen man die flüssigen Opfer Milch und Honig, Öl und Wein, vielleicht auch das Blut der Opfertiere hinabströmen lassen konnte'). The lid with its handle in the shape of a vase turned upside down is suggestive of drink-offerings. The procession of chariots above and warriors below would delight the heart of the dead. And snakes moulded in relief round the rim, round the base of the neck, and up either handle sufficiently indicate the funereal character of the whole. The *próthesis*-vase was likewise set up over the grave, as we see from a very remarkable example found at Cape Kolia and now at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 212 ff. no. 688 Planches p. 14 f. pl. 30; A. Conze in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1864 xxxvi. 183 ff. with fig., *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 4, 1^a—1^e, pl. 5, 1^f—1^h = Reinach *Rép. Vases*

i. 164, 1—5, 165, 1—3, H. von Rohden in Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1974 f. fig. 2114, É. Michon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1333 fig. 328a, É. Cuq *ib.* ii. 1377 fig. 3345, 1378 fig. 3346, M. Collignon *ib.* iii. 1319 fig. 4561, O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1149 fig. 5, P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 379 no. 11 fig., Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 219 fig. 4, *ead.* *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 235 fig. 53, *Themis* p. 290 f. fig. 77. I reproduce the drawings given in the *Mon. d. Inst. loc. cit.* Height 0.64^m). The body of the vase shows two successive scenes: (A) the dead man, laid out on a bed, is surrounded by mourners; beside one of them is the word ΟΙΑΠΟΙ (S. Reinach

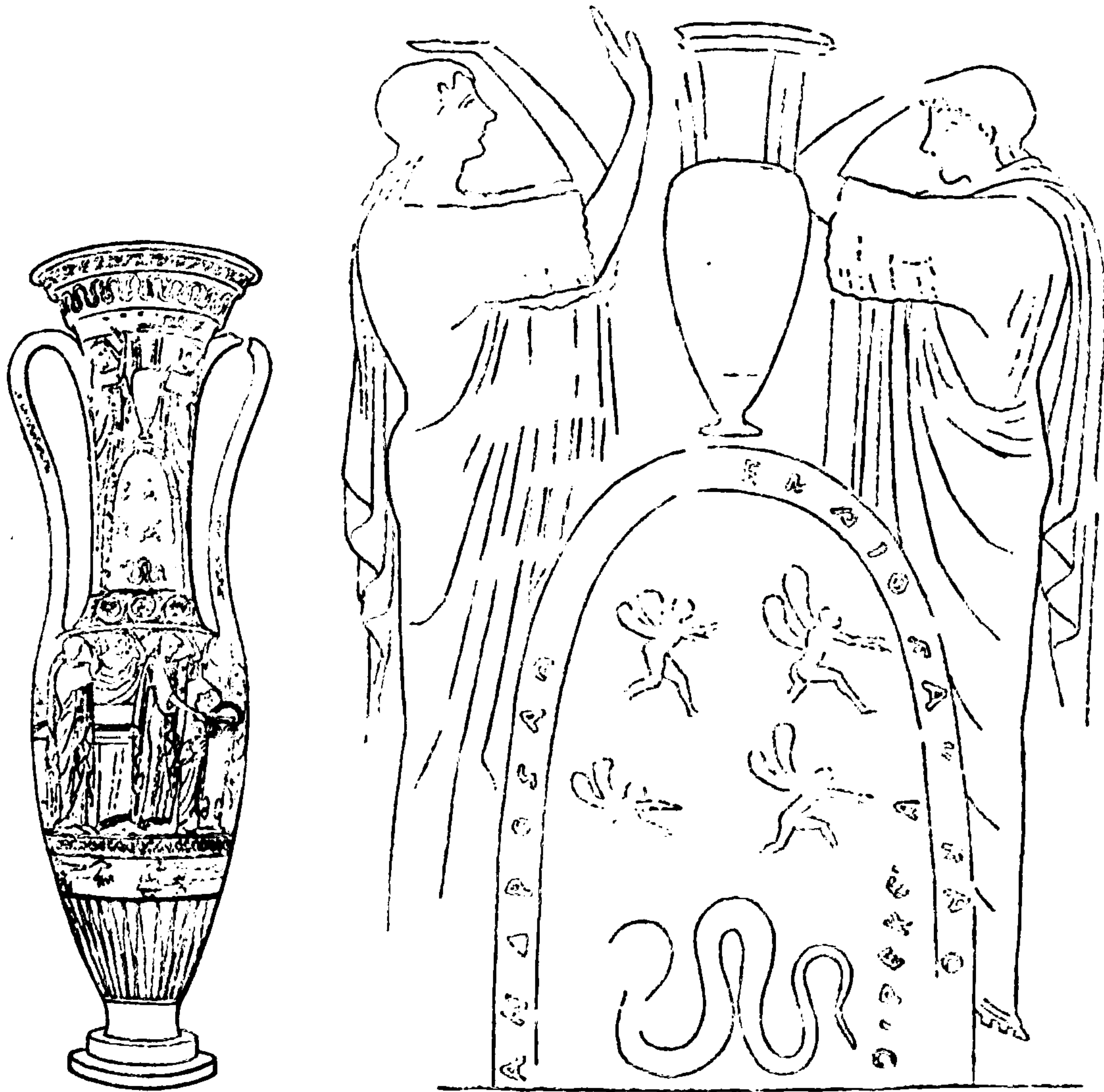


Fig. 912.

loc. cit. suggests οἴμοι (?); but cp. Soud. *s.v.* οἴμοι· γυναῖκες). (B) The coffin is lowered into the grave by four men, one of whom removes the pall. Mourners stand to right and left; and there is a tree in the background. Beneath both scenes is a race of four chariots, the goal appearing between two of them. The neck of the vase continues the same sequence of scenes: (A) In the centre rises an omphaloid tomb painted white. Within it flit four souls represented as small winged *eidola*; below them is a snake. Round the edge of the tomb runs an inscription, which P. Pervanoglu took to be

ΑΝΔΡΟΣΛ.....ΟΙΟΓΑΥ•ΚΑ•ΟΙΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΜΑΙ

S. A. Kumanudis (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1864 xxxvi. 197 n. 2) transcribed the latter part of it as follows :

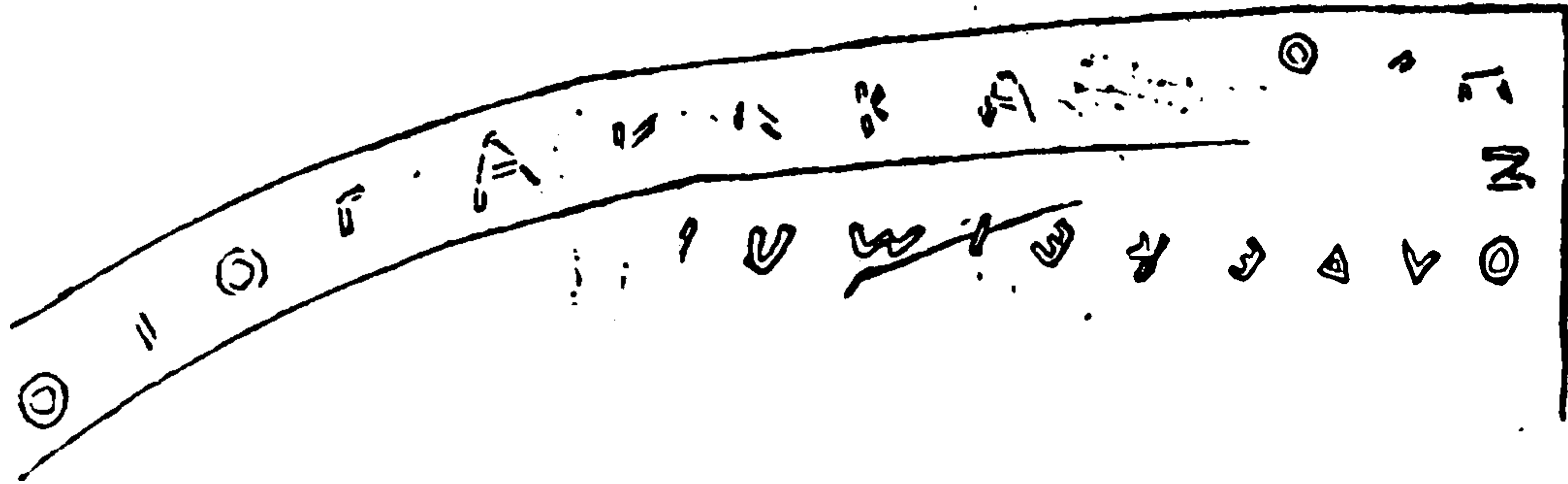


Fig. 913.

A. Gonze's illustration is based on a copy by A. Postolakkas. The line was convincingly read by C. Keil: ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο ῥάκος κακὸν ἐνθάδε χεῖμαι—a curiously cynical hexameter. The use of ῥάκος to denote a corpse is defended by *Anth. Pal.* 7. 380. 6 f. (Krinagoras) κεῖται δὲ τῆδε τῶλιγηπελὲς ῥάκος | Εὐνικίδαο, σήπεται δ' ὑπὸ σποδῶ, cp. *ib.* 5. 20. 3 (Rufinus) σῶμα ῥακῶδες and Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 2334 D f. On the tomb is placed a vase resembling in shape that which is here described ; and mourners to right and left make lamentation. (B') A procession of four mourners, two of whom bear offerings (?), approaches the grave. Among the patterns surrounding the neck of the vase will be seen a wavy line clearly derived from the old sepulchral snake. The paintings of this important vase have, unfortunately, suffered much since its discovery: nothing now remains of the inscriptions, the winged souls, or the snake, and little is left of the tomb. Finally, the *loutrophoros* was carved or painted over the tomb of the unmarried (*infra* § 9 (d) ii (β)). 'So war die Grabvase, deren Entwicklung von Hohlaltar zu Monument wir verfolgt haben, aus einem Monument zum Symbol geworden' (F. Poulsen *op. cit.* p. 47).

The 'Dipylon' *amphora*, the *próthesis*-vase, the *loutrophoros*, each in turn served as the *σήμα* or *σημεῖον* of the dead beneath it. In view of these facts how are we to interpret the jars called by Autokleides the *σημεῖα* of Zeus *Ktésios*? They too may well have been funereal in character. Hence their prophylactic wreathing with white wool and yellow stuff(?). Hence too the necessity for filling them with a mixture of water, oil, and seeds, known as *ambrosia* (cp. Pausanias the Atticist *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 976, 4 f. κατὰ Πausανίαν, ὃς λέγει καὶ ὅτι ἀμβροσία γένος τι συνθέσεως ἐξ ὕδατος ἀκραιφνοῦς καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἐλαίου < καὶ (*inserui*) > παγκαρπίας): such offerings had come to be conceived as food given by the living to the dead (see e.g. P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 pp. 129 ff., 183 ff.), but were originally a magical means of enabling the dead to make food for the living (see Miss J. E. Harrison *Themis* p. 291 ff.). Similar in character was the offering made to the chthonian Zeus in Eur. *frag.* 912 Nauck² (from the *Cretes*, according to L. C. Valckenaer) *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 11 p. 373, 3 ff. Stählin σοὶ τῶν πάντων μεδέοντι χοῆν | πέλανόν τε φέρω (so H. Grotius for φέρων cod. L.), Ζεὺς εἴτ' Ἀΐδης | ὀνομαζόμενος στέργεις· σὺ δέ μοι | θυσίαν ἄπυρον (so Abresch for ἄπορον L.) παγκαρπείας (so Grotius for παγκαρπίας L.) | δέξαι πλήρη προχυθείσαν (so Valckenaer for προχυσίαν L.) | σὺ γὰρ ἐν τε θεοῖς τοῖς οὐρανίδαῖς | σκῆπτρον τὸ Διὸς μεταχειρίζεις (so H. van Herwerden for μεταχειρίζων L.) | χθονίων τ' (so F. Sylburg for δ' L.) Ἀΐδη (ἄιδη L.) μετέχεις ἀρχῆς. | πέμψον δ' ἐς (so A. Nauck for μὲν L.) φῶς ψυχὰς ἐνέρων (so Nanek for ἀνέρων L.) | τοῖς βουλομένοῖς (Grotius cj. πέμψον μὲν φῶς ψυχᾶς ἀνέρων ταῖς βουλομένοῖς) ἄθλους· προμαθεῖν (so Grotius for προσμαθεῖν L.) |

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evidently a family god of some kind, not to be confused with the Genius Iovis (Min. Fel. *Oct.* 29. 5; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* i no. 603, 16 with tab. lith. 82=ix no. 3513, 16=Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2488 *fin.*, cp. no. 1730, =Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 105, 25=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4906, 16) who was but the Genius of an anthropomorphic Iupiter—, that the Genius was not only affiliated to Iupiter (Fest. p. 359 *a* 14 f. Müller, p. 492, 6 f. Lindsay Tages nomine, Geni filius, nepos Iovis) but actually identified with Iupiter (Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 13 quid est Genius? ...hic est igitur quem appellant Iovem. This, however, is a quasi-philosophical conclusion based on the general similarity between the functions of the Genius and those of Iupiter as conceived by Valerius Soranus in his famous couplet (*ib.* 7. 9, cp. Myth. Vat. 3 proem. p. 152, 28 ff. Bode): Iuppiter omnipotens, regum rerumque deumque (*rerum regumque repertor* Myth. Vat. G. H. Bode cj. *creator*) | progenitor genetrixque (*genetrixque* Myth. Vat.) deum, deus unus et omnes (*idem* Myth. Vat.), etc.), who appeared in the form of a snake (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 48 Text p. 59, A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1896 xi. 29, *id. Pompeii: its Life and Art*² trans. F. W. Kelsey New York 1902 p. 271 f. fig. 127, A. Sogliano in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1898 viii. 268, Talfourd Ely in *Archæologia* 1897 lv. 305 ff. a painting on the back wall of a shrine in the *Casa dei Vettii* at Pompeii, which shows the Genius with *patera* in right hand, *acerra* opened in left, and a face resembling that of Nero (*supra* p. 96); he stands between two dancing Lares, each of whom bears a goat-*rhytôn* (cp. *supra* i. 108) and a pail; beneath him a great bearded and crested snake approaches an altar, on which is an egg and fruit. For the snake as a manifestation of the Genius see further T. Birt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1623 ff. fig., J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1490 with fig. 3543, W. F. Otto in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1161 f., E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 pp. 146 n. 3, 153 f.; and for the egg as an offering to the dead, M. P. Nilsson *Das Ei im Totenkultus der Griechen* Lund 1901 pp. 3—12 figs. 1, 2 (Sonderabdruck aus *Från Filologiska Föreningen i Lund, Språkliga uppsatser* ii Lund 1902)).

Similarly we may suppose without any undue temerity that in Greece the forefather of the family, once buried in the house (Plat. *Minos* 315 D οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκείνων ἔτι πρότεροι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔθαπτον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας. No other literary testimony to this custom can be cited; but the assertion here made is fully borne out by actual remains. H. Bulle *Orchomenos* München 1907 i. 67 f. shows that at Orchomenos in Boiotia during early Mycenaean times (c. 1700—1500 B.C.) the dead were buried as a rule inside the houses, and quotes parallels from Thorikos, Athens, and Eleusis. In the small settlement of early Mycenaean date on the summit of Mt *Velatouri* at Thorikos round, or in two cases oblong, holes were found hewn in the rock within the houses: the round holes had certainly served as graves, for in them stood large *pitthoi* the upper parts of which were safeguarded by circular walls, and in these *pitthoi* were remains of human bones (B. Staes in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1893 p. 15 f. pl. B, 3, *id.* in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1895 p. 228 ff. pl. 11, 3, Frazer *Pausanias* v. 524 f., A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 222). At Athens a grave of unbaked brick, dating from the same period and containing four bodies, one of them in a crouching attitude, was discovered between 'Pelasgian' house-walls on the S. slope of the Akropolis (A. N. Skias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1902 p. 123 ff. figs. 1—4, A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *op. cit.* p. 221). In the nekropolis at Eleusis two graves of unbaked brick were found under hearths and mistaken for small altars (A. N. Skias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1898 p. 49 ff.

with pl., A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *op. cit.* p. 222). At Tiryns beneath the walls of the older Mycenaean palace five small stone-built graves with crouched bodies have come to light (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1907 xxxii p. iii, R. M. Dawkins in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1907 p. 14). In Thessaly graves have been repeatedly found within houses of the bronze age (Ch. Tsountas *Αἱ προϊστορικαὶ ἀκροπόλεις Διμηνίου καὶ Σέσκλου* Athens 1908 p. 131 'οἱ νεκροὶ ἐθάπτοντο ἐντὸς τῶν οἰκιῶν ἢ παρ' αὐτάς,' *ib.* p. 383 'τὸ ἔθιμον νὰ θάπτωσι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐντὸς τῶν οἰκιῶν')), was viewed as Zeus; for in prehistoric times he had been the representative of the sky-god to his clan. Herein, I take it, lies the ultimate explanation of such cults as that of Zeus 'Αγαμέμνων, who was worshipped at Sparta, if not at Athens (Append. I), Zeus 'Αμφιάραος, who had a popular sanctuary at Oropos (Append. J), Zeus Τρεφώνιος or Τροφώνιος, the great oracular deity of Lebadeia (Append. K), and Zeus 'Ασκληπιός, the healer of Epidaurus, Hermione, and Pergamon (Append. L). The same conception will afford us a clue to the cults of Zeus Μειλίχιος and Zeus Φίλιος as well as to the myth of Periphas (Append. M). Most of these buried kings appeared in the guise of snakes. And it is important to observe that Zeus *Ktésios* did so too. A marble *stèle* from Thespiai, now in the Museum at Thebes (inv. no. 330), bears the inscription ΔΙΟΣ | ΚΤΗΣΙΟΥ in lettering of s. iii (?) B.C. and below it a relief, partially chipped away to make the block available for building purposes, but still plainly portraying a coiled snake with crest and beard (M. P. Nilsson 'Schlangenstele des Zeus Ktesios' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1908 xxxiii. 279—288 fig. = my fig. 914, Harrison *Themis* p. 297 ff. fig. 79). The discovery of this *stèle* confirmed, as M. P. Nilsson notes, the acute surmise of E. Gerhard *Über Agathodämon und Bona Dea* Berlin 1849 pp. 3, 23 (*Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen* Berlin 1868 ii. 45 with n. 28) that Zeus *Ktésios* was probably represented as a snake.



Fig. 914.

1908 xxxiii. 279—288 fig. = my fig. 914, Harrison *Themis* p. 297 ff. fig. 79). The discovery of this *stèle* confirmed, as M. P. Nilsson notes, the acute surmise of E. Gerhard *Über Agathodämon und Bona Dea* Berlin 1849 pp. 3, 23 (*Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen* Berlin 1868 ii. 45 with n. 28) that Zeus *Ktésios* was probably represented as a snake.

(4) The Jars of Zeus *Ktésios* compared with the Jars of the Dioskouroi.

Gerhard further maintained that the jars of Zeus *Ktésios* were comparable with those of the Dioskouroi at Sparta (e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 122 pl. 24, 6 a silver coin of 250—146 B.C. with rev. Λ Λ a lidded *amphora* with a snake twining round it, between the caps of the Dioskouroi surmounted by stars; in the field a monogram and A. *Ib.* p. 125 pl. 24, 14 a copper of 146—32 B.C. with rev. ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙ Μ·ΝΙΩΝ two *amphorae* with snakes twining round them; in the field two monograms. Fig. 915 = *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1311, E. Cahen in the *Bull. Corr.*



Fig. 915.

Hell. 1899 xxiii. 599 f. fig. 1 (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 442 f. fig. 216) an archaic relief—'sculpture par silhouettage ou découpage'—at Sparta (M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 191 no. 575 fig. 65), which has in the gable an egg (that of Leda??) flanked by two snakes, and in the space below the Dioskouroi facing each other with two lidded *amphorae* between them. Fig. 916—drawn from a photograph kindly given me by Miss J. E. Harrison—shows the relief of Argenidas in the Museo Lapidario at Verona (no. 555, height 0.40^m, breadth 0.72^m. Montfaucon *Antiquity Ex-*

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shore. The distance gives a very interesting view of the Anakeion (*supra* i. 107 n. 7) or sanctuary at Therapne (?), where the Dioskouroi lived on underground (Alkm. *frag.* 5 Bergk⁴ *ap. schol.* Eur. *Tro.* 210, Pind. *Nem.* 10. 103 f with *schol. ad loc.*). The reclining figures are the buried heroes themselves. The snake containing their *numen* creeps across from the old sanctuary to the new, intent on tasting the libation of Argenidas), at the Spartan colony Tarentum (see e.g. Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 130 pl. 100, 48, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 160 nos. 1—3, *Head Coins of the Ancients* p. 66 pl. 33, 12, *id. Hist. num.*² p. 58, and especially M. P. Vlasto in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 331 f. pl. 17, 1—6 gold *statêres* of Tarentum struck c. 281 B.C.: obv. head of Zeus to left with ΝΙΚ as monogram in the field to right; rev. ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ and ΝΙΚΑΡ and on one specimen ΦΙ, eagle to right on thunderbolt with two *amphorae*, sometimes surmounted by stars, in the field to right, *id. ib.* 1899 ii. 333 f. pl. 17, 16—18 quarter *statêres* of gold with same reverse type, but obverse showing laureate head of Apollon. The presence of the *amphorae* as symbols on these coins is explained by the fact that at Tarentum there was a cult of the Dioskouroi (*supra* i. 35 n. 6 fig. 8). In 1880 A.D. numerous terra-cottas were found at Tarentum, including a series of votive tablets studied by E. Petersen 'Dioskuren in Tarent' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1900 xv. 3—61 with 2 pls. and many figs. and by G. Gastinel 'Cinq reliefs Tarentins' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1901 i. 46—58 with 4 figs. The tablets are in the form of *naïskoi* and were originally painted. As classified by Petersen, they comprise the following types:

- A. The Dioskouroi standing without horses (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 7 fig. 1 and p. 8 fig. 3).
- B. The Dioskouroi standing by their horses (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 15 fig. 1).
- C. The Dioskouroi riding (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 18 fig. 2).
- D. The Dioskouroi driving (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 23 fig. 1).
- E. The Dioskouroi on horse-back coming to the *Theoxénia* (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 24 fig. 6).
- F. The Dioskouroi reclining at the feast (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 27 fig. 2).

It should be observed that the *amphorae* are a constant feature of the Tarentine reliefs (G. Gastinel *loc. cit.* p. 55 cp. the *amphorae* on the cake-moulds from Tarentum: *supra* p. 131), being placed usually on the ground, but sometimes on the *dókana* (cp. *supra* p. 158 ff. fig. 99), or on pillars), in Etruria (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 42 pl. 48, 6 and 8, cp. *supra* i. 770 fig. 564), and at Tauion in Galatia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 24 pl. 5, 1, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 749 coppers of s. i. B.C.).

These Dioscuric *amphorae* have been variously explained. E. Petersen in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1900 xv. 41 calls them 'agonistisch' and supposes that jars of wine were given as prizes and contained the drink required for the *Theoxénia* (*schol.* Pind. *Ol.* 3 *argum.*, 1, cp. 72: see further Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 418 ff.). A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1171 hesitates whether to regard them as 'Weinamphoren' implying a ritual use or as merely 'sepulkrale Symbole.' E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1108 takes them to be bottomless vessels, like the great 'Dipylon' vases (cp. *supra* i. 766 n. 9), set up over the grave for the reception of funereal offerings. Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 524 f. long ago described them as 'Aschengefässe.' My friend Dr J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 p. 377 f. acutely conjectures that in them we have a Greek parallel to the pots used throughout Africa etc. for the burial of a twin or of a twin's *placenta*. Personally I should be content to say that the *amphorae* both of Zeus *Ktésios* and of the Dioskouroi presuppose the custom of *pitthos*-burial, and

were retained as signs of the divinised dead long after the custom in question had ceased to be. If Zeus *Ktésios* was, as I maintain, an early Greek king buried in his own house, it is certainly permissible to assume that he was buried in a *plithos*. Platon, who states that the primitive Athenians used to bury the dead in their houses (*supra* p. 1060), informs us in the same context that their successors among other old-fashioned burial rites 'sent for women to fill the jars' (Plat. *Minos* 315 C ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς οἰσθά πον καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκούων, οἷοις νόμοις ἐχρώμεθα πρὸ τοῦ περὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας, ἱερεῖά τε προσφάττοντες πρὸ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς τοῦ νεκροῦ καὶ ἐγχυτρίστρίας μεταπεμπόμενοι with schol. *ad loc.* τὰς χοῶς τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἐπιφερούσας, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦδε. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τὸ βλάψαι (βάψαι Zonaras. C. A. Lobeck cj. θάψαι) καταχυτρίσαι (J. G. Baiter cj. ἐγχυτρίσαι), ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης (Aristoph. *vesp.* 289 δν ὅπως ἐγχυτρίεις). λέγονται δὲ καὶ ὄσαι τοὺς ἐναγεῖς καθαίρουσιν, αἶμα ἐπιχέουσαι τοῦ ἱερείου. ἔτι δὲ καὶ αἱ θρηνητρίαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἱ μαῖαι αἱ ἐκτιθεῖσαι ἐν χύτραις τὰ βρέφη = Souid. *s.v.* ἐγχυτρίστρία = *el. mag.* p. 313, 41 ff. (cp. 39 f.) = Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ἐγχυτρίστρία (cp. *s.v.* ἐγχυτρίζειν), cp. Hesych. *s.vv.* ἐγχυτρίεις, ἐγχυτρίζειν, schol. Aristoph. *vesp.* 289, Moiris *lex. s.v.* ἐγχυτρίσμος, Thom. *Mag.* p. 264). It seems reasonable to infer that, when *plithos*-burial within the house was abandoned, offerings to the dead were still placed in memorial jars by a special class of mourning-women. My contention is that the *σημεῖα* of Zeus *Ktésios* were just such memorial jars retained in the house, though their original significance had long been forgotten. The divinity whose presence they betokened would naturally be deemed the guardian of the household stores; for the master, himself buried in a *plithos*, would know how to protect his own goods bestowed in other *plithoi*.

(5) Zeus *Ktésios* in Literature and Cult.

Hence his title *Ktésios*, 'god of Property,' which occurs in literature from *s. v* B.C. onwards (Aisch. *suppl.* 443 ff. καὶ χρημάτων μὲν ἐκ δόμων πορθουμένων | ... γένοιτ' ἂν ἄλλα Κτησίου Διὸς χάριν, Hippokr. *de insomniis* 4 (xxii. 10 Kühn) καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχεσθαι, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖσιν ἀγαθοῖσιν Ἡλίῳ, Διὶ Οὐρανίῳ, Διὶ Κτησίῳ, Ἀθηνᾶ Κτησίῃ, Ἑρμῇ, Ἀπόλλωνι, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσιν ἐναντίοισι τοῖσιν ἀποτροπίοισι καὶ Γῆ καὶ ἦρωσιν κ.τ.λ., Hypereid. πρὸς Ἀπελλαῖον *frag.* 13 Blass² *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* Κτησίου Διὸς who adds Κτήσιον Δία ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις ἰδρύντο, Menand. *Pseudherakles frag.* 2, 2 f. (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 223 f. Meineke) *ap.* Harpokr. *loc. cit.* τὸν δὲ Δία τὸν Κτήσιον | ἔχοντα τὸ ταμεῖον οὐ κεκλεισμένον, Autokleides (?) *ap.* Athen. 473 B—C (*supra* p. 1054 ff.), Plout. *de refugn. Stoic.* 30 ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς γελοῖος, εἰ Κτήσιος χαίρει καὶ Ἐπικάρπιος καὶ Χαριδότης προσαγορευόμενος, ὅτι δηλαδὴ χρυσᾶς ἀμίδας καὶ χρυσᾶ κράσπεδα χαρίζεται τοῖς φαύλοισι, τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς ἄξια δραχμῆς ὅταν πλούσιοι γένωνται κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς πρόνοιαν, Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 9, 16 f. Lang καὶ Κτήσιον... αὐτὸν (*sc.* Δία) προσαγορεύουσιν, Dion Chrys. *or.* 1 p. 57 Reiske Κτήσιος δὲ καὶ Ἐπικάρπιος ἄτε τῶν καρπῶν αἴτιος καὶ δοτὴρ πλούτου καὶ κτήσεως, οὐ πενίας οὐδὲ ἀπορίας, *or.* 12 p. 413 Reiske Κτήσιος δὲ καὶ Ἐπικάρπιος ἄτε τῶν καρπῶν αἴτιος καὶ δοτὴρ πλούτου καὶ δυνάμεως, Souid. *s.vv.* Διὸς κώδιον (*supra* i. 423 n. 1 = Apostol. 6. 10), Ζεὺς Κτήσιος δν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις ἰδρύνοντο ὡς πλουτοδύτην, Κτήσιος ὁ Ζεὺς, Κτησίου Διὸς τὸν Κτήσιον Δία ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις ἰδρύνοντο, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 266 no. 51 (Διὸς) Κτησίου).

Under this title Zeus was worshipped at Athens (Dem. *in Mid.* 53 Διὶ Κτησίῳ βοῦν λευκόν (*supra* i. 717 n. 2), *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 2 no. 3854, 1 f. from the Asklepieion [. . .] καὶ Διὸς | [Κ]τησίου) including the Peiraieus (Antiph. *or.* 1. 16 μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτυχε τῷ Φιλόνεφ ἐν Πειραιεῖ ὄντα ἱερὰ (C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1890 ii. 1. 146 n. 1 would read ὄντι θύειν ἱερὰ) Διὶ Κτησίῳ, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ὁ ἐμὸς εἰς Νάζον πλεῖν ἔμελλεν. κάλλιστον οὖν ἐδόκει εἶναι τῷ Φιλόνεφ τῆς

αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν φίλον ὄντα ἑαυτῶ, ἅμα δὲ θύσαντα τὰ ἱερὰ ἐστιᾶσαι ἐκείνον, *ib.* 18 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐδεδειπνήκεσαν, οἶον εἰκός, ὁ μὲν θύων Διὶ Κτησίῳ κακείνον ὑποδεχόμενος, ὁ δ' ἐκπλεῖν τε μέλλων καὶ παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἑταίρῳ αὐτοῦ δειπνῶν, κ.τ.λ., cp. for the domestic celebration *Isai. or.* 8. 16 καὶ τὺς ἐορτὰς ἤγομεν παρ' ἐκείνον πάσας· τῷ Δί τε θύων τῷ Κτησίῳ, περὶ ἣν μάλιστ' ἐκείνος θυσίαν ἐσπούδαζε καὶ οὔτε δούλους προσῆγεν οὔτε ἐλευθέρους ὀθνείους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ πάντ' ἐποίει, ταύτης ἡμεῖς ἐκοινωνοῦμεν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συνεχειροουργοῦμεν καὶ συνεπετίθεμεν καὶ τᾶλλα συνεποιοῦμεν, καὶ ἤρχετο ἡμῖν ὑγίειαν διδόναι καὶ κτήσιν ἀγαθὴν, ὥσπερ εἰκός ὄντα πάππον) and Phlyeis (Paus. 1. 31. 4 Φλυεῦσι δέ...ναὸς δὲ ἕτερος ἔχει βωμοὺς Δήμητρος Ἀνησιδώρας < καὶ ins. Siebelis > Διὸς Κτησίου καὶ Τιθρωνῆς (Siebelis cj. Τριτώνης) Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Κόρης Πρωτογόνης καὶ Σεμνῶν ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν), at Thespiai (*supra* p. 1061), at Epidauros (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 56 no. 121 = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1288 a limestone slab inscribed Διὶ | Κτησίῳ | Κράτων. | μῆ'), at Kárien between Mt Pangaion and the sea (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 441 ff. no. 1 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 774 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 576 a white marble boundary-stone inscribed in lettering of c. 400 B.C. Διὸς Ἐρκείῳ Πατρώϊο : καὶ Διὸς Κτησίῳ), in the Kyklades Syros (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 670 an altar from *Psarriana* inscribed in late lettering Διὸς | Κτησίου), Thera (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1361 fig. = my

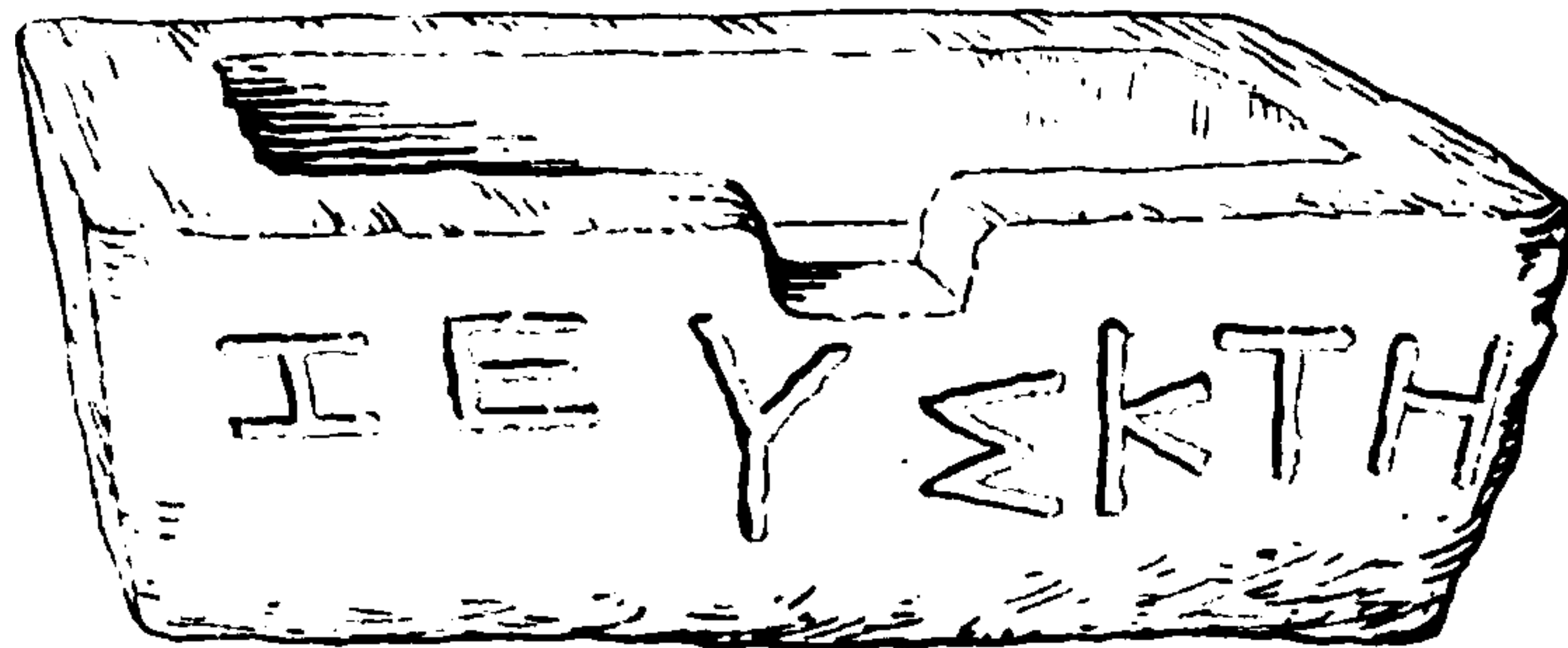


Fig. 917.

fig. 917 a small altar or ἐσχάρα of volcanic stone inscribed Ζεὺς Κτή(σιος)), Anaphe (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2477, 17 [Διὸς?] τοῦ Κτησίου, which is corrected *ib.* p. 1091 to [ὁ]πεῖ ὁ [βω]μὸς τοῦ Κτησίου καὶ τὸ ξο[άνι]ον and in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 201 ff. no. 3430, 12 to [ὁ]πεῖ ὁ βωμὸς τοῦ Κτησίου καὶ τὸ ξοάνιον = F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 248, 13 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 853, 12 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 555, 13 = J. v. Protz and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 122, 13. This inscription, which can be dated c. 100 B.C., tells how one Timotheos, anxious to erect a temple of Aphrodite, was bidden by an oracle to do so in the precinct of Apollon *Asgelátas*: the building-operations necessitated the temporary removal of an altar of *Ktésios* and an adjacent statuette. It is not certain that the statuette belonged to *Ktésios*, still less that it represented him. L. Ziehen even denies that *Ktésios* was originally Zeus *Ktésios*. In this, however, he is over-sceptical, though no doubt *Ktésios* was a title applicable to other deities besides Zeus (see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1578 f.), at Panamara in Karia (G. Deschamps—G. Cousin 'Inscriptions du temple de Zeus Panamaros' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 269 f. no. 54, 7 ff. a *stèle* dedicated by Kleoboulos and Strateia to a series of deities καὶ τοῖς ἐνοικιδίους θεοῖς Διὶ | Κτησίῳ καὶ Τύχῃ καὶ | Ἀσκληπιῶ), at Teos in Ionia (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3074 on an altar or base of s. ii B.C. Διὸς Κτησίου, | Διὸς Καπετωλίου, | Ῥώμης, | Ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr.*

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δὲ εἰάων = ἕτερος μὲν κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ εἰάων he cited *Il.* 7. 417 f. But the idiom is by no means rare: to the examples adduced by R. Kühner—B. Gerth *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* Hannover and Leipzig 1904 ii. 266 add Aristot. *poet.* 1. 1447 b 14 ἐλεγείοιους τοὺς δὲ ἐποποιούς ὀνομάζουσιν, *pol.* 2. 4. 1262 a 26 f φόνους ἀκουσίους, τοὺς δὲ ἐκουσίους. Moreover, the existence of the variant κηρῶν ἔμπλειοι, ὁ μὲν ἐσθλῶν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δειλῶν, which is not of course 'more careless than the average of Plato's citations' but good evidence of the pre-Aristarchean text, makes it practically certain that the jars were conceived as two in number):

Two jars lie buried in the floor of Zeus
 Filled with the gifts he gives—evil in this,
 Good in the other. Whosoever Zeus
 The lightning-hurler gives a mingled lot,
 He that receives it falls on evil now
 And now on good. But he to whom Zeus gives
 Of the sorry store is made a very scorn:
 Him evil hunger drives o'er the bright earth,
 Nor gods nor mortals honour him as he goes.

(7) Zeus *Ktésios* compared with the *Di Penates*.

Finally, it should be observed that sundry Greek antiquarians described the Roman *di Penates* as *theoi Ktésioi* (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 67 τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς τούτους Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν Πενάτας καλοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐξηρμηνεύοντες εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν τοῦνομα οἱ μὲν Πατρώους ἀποφαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ Γενεθλίους, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Κτησίους, ἄλλοι δὲ Μυχίους, οἱ δὲ Ἐρκίους, cp. *ib.* 8. 41 καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὧ θεοὶ Κτήσιοι καὶ ἐστία πατρώα καὶ δαίμονες οἱ κατέχοντες τοῦτον τὸν τόπον, χαίρετε). The description was apposite; for the *di Penates*, as divinised ancestors (?? see *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 293 ff.) keeping watch over the *penus*, were in function at least strictly analogous to Zeus *Ktésios*. Perhaps indeed the likeness extended to the signs and symbols of their presence; for the *Penates* of Lavinium were represented by 'caducei of iron and bronze together with Trojan pottery' (Timaios *frag.* 20 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 197 Müller) *ap.* Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 67 σχήματος δὲ καὶ μορφῆς αὐτῶν πέρι Τίμαιος μὲν ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὧδε ἀποφαίνεται· κηρύκια σιδηρᾶ καὶ χαλκᾶ καὶ κέραμον Τρωϊκὸν εἶναι τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τοῖς ἐν Λαουνίῳ κείμενα ἱερά· πυθέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸς ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων), which presumably implies metal snakes coiled about a staff and an earthenware jar (*N.B.* The *tabula Iliaca* in three separate places represents Aeneias and Anchises as carrying the *sacra* of Troy in a cylindrical jar (?) with a domed lid: see O. Jahn *Griechische Bilderchroniken* Bonn 1873 p. 35 pl. 1, and cp. Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 310 no. 1380, *id.* in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1879 p. 76 f., Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*³ ii. 322 n. 2). The mention of *caducei* in this connexion sets us thinking. Is it possible that Hermes himself with his chthonian and his phallic traits was of kindred origin? The idea should not be scouted without a careful consideration of the facts brought together by Mr A. L. Frothingham (in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 175—211 and a sequel as yet unpublished). See further *supra* p. 383 n. 7.

APPENDIX I.

ZEUS AGAMÉMNŌN.

The evidence for the cult of Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων at Sparta is as follows: Lyk. *Al.* 335 states that Priamos was killed (*supra* i. 39 n. 2 and n. 6) ἀμφὶ τύμβῳ τὰγαμέμνονος, on which Tzetzes remarks Ἀγαμέμνων ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ. This is confirmed by Lyk. *Al.* 1124 Ζεὺς Σπαρτιάταις αἰμύλοις κληθήσεται (*sc.* ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων) with Tzetz. *ad loc.* ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἰδρύσαντο Ἀγαμέμνονος Διὸς ἱερὸν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ ἥρωος, Staphylos *frag.* 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 506 Müller) *ap.* Clem. *Al. protr.* 2. 38. 2 p. 28, 17 f. Stählin Ἀγαμέμνονα γοῦν τῶν Δία ἐν Σπάρτῃ τιμᾶσθαι Στάφυλος ἱστορεῖ, Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 1 p. 1 Schwartz ὁ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιος Ἀγαμέμνονα Δία...σέβει.

For his cult at Athens the evidence is slighter: Lyk. *Al.* 1369 ff. πρῶτος μὲν ἦξει Ζηνὶ τῷ Λαπερσίῳ | ὁμώνυμος Ζεὺς, ὃς καταβάτης μολῶν | σκηπτῷ πυρώσει πάντα δυσμενῶν σταθμὰ with Tzetz. *ad loc.* Λαπέρσαι δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *cj.* Λακωνικῆς), ἔνθα Ἀγαμέμνονος Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐστίν. ὁ ὁμώνυμος οὖν τῷ Λαπερσίῳ Διὶ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, κ.τ.λ. The *cj.* Λακωνικῆς is supported by Soph. *frag.* 871 Nauck², 957 Jebb, *ap.* Strab. 364 νῆ τὴν Λαπέρσα (*sc.* the Dioskouroi), νῆ τὸν Εὐρώταν τρίτον, | νῆ τοὺς ἐν Ἄργει καὶ κατὰ Σπάρτην θεοὺς, Rhian. *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λαπέρσα θηλυκῶς, ὄρος Λακωνικῆς, οὗ μέμνηται Ῥιανὸς ἐν Ἡλιακῶν πρώτῳ· ἀπὸ τῶν Λαπερσῶν Διοσκούρων. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Λαπερσαῖος. See further W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*³ Braunschweig 1875 ii. 773.

With regard to the interpretation of this evidence ancient and modern views have differed widely: Metrodoros of Lampsakos, who allegorized Homer (Tatian. *or. adv. Graec.* 37), took Agamemnon to be the *aithér* (Hesych. Ἀγαμέμνονα· τὸν αἰθέρα Μητροδόωρος ἀλληγορικῶς). Eustath. *in Il.* p. 168, 11 ff. is hardly more satisfactory: δοκεῖ εὐλόγως παρὰ Λάκωσι Ζεὺς Ἀγαμέμνων ἐπιθετικῶς εἶναι, ὡς ὁ Λυκόφρων λαλεῖ· Ἀγαμέμνων τε γὰρ εὐρυκρείων καὶ Ζεὺς εὐρυμέδων. εἰ δὴ ταῦτον εὐρυκρείων καὶ εὐρυμέδων, λέγοιτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο διθυραμβικώτερον καὶ Ἀγαμέμνων Ζεὺς, καθότι καὶ εὐρυκρείων. Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 183 regards Ἀγαμέμνων as a title of Zeus, 'Erzwalter.' Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 157 renders 'Zeus...der "grosse Sinner"' and *ib.* n. 22 cites the vase inscriptions ΑΛΑΜΕΣΜΟΝ and ΑΛ·ΜΕΣΜΟ· (P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 168 ff.) as implying an original *Ἀγαμέδμων (W. Prellwitz in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1891 xvii. 171 f., 1894 xx. 306 f., *id.* *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 3) with which he compares such names as Ἀγαμήδης, Ἀγαμήστωρ. Wide *Lakon. Kulte* pp. 12 f., 333 f., following F. Deneken in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2449 f., holds that a god Ἀγαμέμνων (ἀγα- + μεμ-), 'der viel sinnende, viel Sorge tragende, mächtig schirmende und schützende,' whose partner was originally Ἀλεξάνδρα, came to be identified with Zeus. On the etymology see, however, K. Brugmann—A. Thumb *Griechische Grammatik*⁴ München 1913 p. 89: 'Dass uridg. -mm- auch zu -μν- geworden sei, glauben wir nicht. Man nimmt an, Ἀγα-μέμνων sei aus * -μενμων (zu ai. *mánman-*) entstanden (DE SAUSSURE, *Mém.* 4, 432). Wäre das richtig, so könnte die besondere Behandlung der Gruppe -mm- aus der Mitwirkung der anderen Nasale des Wortes oder aus Volksetymologie (vgl. θρασυ-μέμνων 'mutig standhaltend') erklärt werden. Aber die attische Nebenform Ἀγαμέσμων (KRETSCHMER, *Vas.* 168 f.) weist auf *Ἀγα-μέδμων als Grundform (vgl. PRELLWITZ, *BB.* 17, 171 f.

20, 306 f.). Hieraus ging einerseits durch Anlehnung an Πολυ-φράσμων u. a. (§ 88 Anm. 2) die Form Ἀγαμέσμων hervor; Ἀγαμέμνων andererseits zeigt die gleiche Behandlung des δμ wie att. μεσό-μνη neben ion. μεσό-δμη (§ 58), ὕμνος aus *ὕδμος (falls zu ὕδω, ὑδέω, s. W. SCHMID, Rhein. Mus. 61, 480; anders, aber unwahrscheinlich EHRLICH, Rhein. Mus. 62, 321 ff., vgl. ferner P. MAAS, Philol. 66, 590 ff.), kret. μνώ̄ neben ion. δμός: in einzelnen griechischen Dialekten wurde also δμ zu νμ (vgl. τ̄m̄ aus gm̄ § 87, 6) und dieses weiter zu μν (vgl. neur. meamna=altir. menme 'mens') zu einer Zeit, wo der Wandel von uridg. -nm- zu -μμ- schon längst vollzogen war¹. (¹Dass dm- schon uridg. zu nm- geworden sei und hierauf unser μν beruhe (so zuletzt JOHANSSON, IF. 3, 227), ist unwahrscheinlich.) Aus diesem Dialektgebiet stammt die Form Ἀγα-μέμνων. Anders KRETSCHMER a. a. O., FICK, Gött. gel. Anz. 1894 S. 234. 241 (der in μεσό-μνη ursprüngliches -δμν- vermutet) und SCHULZE, Gött. gel. Anz. 1896 S. 236 (der in μεσόμνη, Ἀγαμέμνων "durch eine Art von Metathesis δμ zu βν und weiter zu μν" geworden sein lässt unter Mitwirkung des in den beiden Wörtern vorausgehenden μ); vgl. aber auch STOLZ, Innsbrucker Festschr. zur 50. Philol.-Vers. (1909) 13 ff.' Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 50 without venturing upon philological ground assumes that 'the two names [Ζεὺς and Ἀγαμέμνων] were originally quite distinct and became conjoined owing to some later fusion of cults.' But A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 96 'ein chthonischer Zeus' and K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* i. 721 'vielleicht ein chthonischer Gott' had already pointed the way to a better solution of the problem. In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 277, cp. *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 299, 301, I contended that the hero was a Zeus all along, the local champion or king being as such the embodiment of the god. Even in Homer there are traces of this belief. Agamemnon's stock epithet ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν is suggestive of a divine appellation (cp. Verg. *Aen.* 1. 65 divom pater atque hominum rex, Hes. *theog.* 923 θεῶν βασιλῆι καὶ ἀνδρῶν), and in *Il.* 2 478 he is described as ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν (S. A. Naber cj. φθογγὴν) ἴκελος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ. See further *supra* p. 1060 f.

APPENDIX J.

ZEUS AMPHIARAOS.

The worship of Zeus Ἀμφιάραος at Oropos is attested by Dikaiarch. 1. 6 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 100 Müller) ἐντεῦθεν εἰς Ὀρωπὸν δι' Ἀφιδνῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου Διὸς ἱεροῦ ὁδὸν ἐλευθέρῳ βαδίζοντι σχεδὸν ἡμέρας προσάντη πάντα. The text is not free from corruption. For the manuscript's διαδαφνιδὸν L. Holstein and others read διὰ Δελφίνιον (cp. Strab. 403), C. Müller in *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 256 διὰ Ψαφιδῶν (cp. Strab. 399); *id.* in *Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 100 accepts C. Wordsworth's cj. δι' Ἀφιδνῶν or else δι' Ἀφίδνων. For the manuscript's ὁδὸν...πρόσαντα C. Müller, after I. Casaubon, proposes ὁδὸς...προσάντης πᾶσα, but prints ὁδὸν...προσάντη [πάντα]. Casaubon wanted to expunge Διός. But he was certainly wrong. The hero Amphiaraios had come to be reckoned as a god: cp. Soph. *El.* 836 ff. οἶδα γὰρ ἄνακτ' Ἀμφιάρων χρυσοδέτοις | ἔρκεσι κρυφθέντα γυναικῶν· καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ γαίας | ... | πάμψυχος ἀνάσσει with Cic. *de div.* 1. 88 Amphiaraum autem sic honoravit fama Graeciae, deus ut haberetur, atque ut ab eius solo, in quo est humatus, oracula peterentur, Paus. 1. 34. 2 θεὸν δὲ Ἀμφιάραον πρώτοις Ὀρωπίοις κατέστη νομίζειν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες ἤγηνται. That he was

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=my fig. 919). Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner justly remark that 'On these coins Amphiaraus is represented exactly in the guise of Asclepius, as a god rather than as a hero.' B. I. Leonardos in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1887 p. 62 f. reports the discovery in the Amphiareion at Oropos of a small statue, *minus* head and extremities, 'παριστὰν δὲ βεβαίως τὸν Ἀμφιάραον ὡς τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν, στηριζόμενον ἐπὶ ῥάβδου περὶ ἣν ἐλίσσεται ὄφεις,' and of a small relief representing a similar Amphiaraos and Hygieia seated on a rock beside him (cp. 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 p. 102 no. 4, 3 = *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 311, 3, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 p. 106 no. 6, 3 = *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 372, 3, *ib.* i no. 412, 11), while above them appears the head of Pan another partner in their cult (Paus. i. 34. 3).

The hero's name offers a variety of problems. Ἀμφιάραος had a clipped form Ἄμφις (Herodian. *περὶ παθῶν frag.* 104 (ii. 205, 16 ff. Lentz) *ap. et. mag.* p. 93, 50 ff. = Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ἄμφις, cp. *et. mag.* p. 159, 31, cites Aisch. *frag.* 412 Nauck²). A possible doublet is Ἄμφιος, brother of Adrastos and son of Merops the seer of Perkote who foresaw the doom of his sons at Troy (*Il.* 2. 830 ff., 11. 328 ff.); and he in turn has been regarded (E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1949) as originally identical with Ἄμφιος, son of Selagos, who lived at Paisos and was slain at Troy (*Il.* 5. 612 ff., Tzetz. *Hom.* 89 f. *N.B.*: *Il.* 2. 828 Ἀπαισοῦ = *Il.* 5. 612 Παισῶ). See further H. Usener in E. Bethe *Thebanische Heldenlieder* Leipzig 1891 p. 65, *id.* *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 355, *id.* in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 cxxxvii. 3. 40 ff. (= *id.* *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 237 ff.), who holds that Ἄμφιος gave rise, on the one hand to Ἀμφίων (cp. *et. mag.* p. 92, 41 ff.), on the other to Ἀμφιάραος, Ἀμφιάρεως, Ἀμφιάρης. It may, however, be doubted whether Usener has said the last word on the subject; for the etymology of the name Ἀμφιάραος is still far from clear. F. G. Welcker *Der epische Cyclus*² Bonn 1882 p. 322 takes Ἀμφιάραος to mean 'der Beter' (ἀράομαι). P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 pp. 32, 123 argues that Ἀμφιάρης, for *ἈμφιάρηϜος, was derived from *ιαρέυς* (stem *ιαρηF-*) and meant ἀρχιέρεως, but that Ἀμφιάραος was formed by popular etymologizing from ἀράομαι. A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*² Göttingen 1894 p. 438 f. connects with Ἄρης: 'Dasselbe Element ist in ἀμφι-άρης Zeus.' Similarly J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 p. 225 suggests that at Argos Areios (Ap. Rhod. 1. 118, Orph. *Arg.* 148, cp. Pherekyd. *frag.* 75 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 90 Müller) *ap. schol. Od.* 11. 289) and Amphiaraos were twin-brothers. But all these views are *risquées*. At most we can assert that there is a tendency (satirised in the person of Ἀμφίθεος by Aristoph. *Ach.* 46 ff.) for divine and heroic names to begin with Ἄμφι-. Such names need not point to the existence of twins (*pace* J. Rendel Harris *op. cit.* p. 224 f.), but might on occasion refer to some twofold aspect of Zeus (*supra* p. 445), who is e.g. ἀμφιθαλής, 'god of both parents,' in Aisch. *cho.* 394 f. καὶ πὸτ' ἄν ἀμφιθαλής | Ζεὺς ἐπὶ χεῖρα βύλοι; (see a good note by T. G. Tucker *ad loc.*). Thus H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1898 liii. 336 f. (= *id.* *Kleine Schriften* iv. 266 f.) regards Ἀμφιτρύων (τρύω, τρυπᾶν, κ.τ.λ.) as 'der nach Osten und Westen den Donnerkeil entsendende und damit durchbohrende Gewittergott,' an ancient *Sondergott* (*supra* p. 13 n. 1) absorbed into the all-prevailing personality of Zeus. I should myself put the matter somewhat differently. To my thinking Amphitryon, like Amphiaraos, was a king who played the part of a human Zeus and was named accordingly.

APPENDIX K.

ZEUS *TREPHÓNIOS* OR *TROPHÓNIOS*.

For the cult of Zeus *Trephónios* or *Trophónios* at Lebadeia Rohde *Psyche*³ i. 125 n. 1 cites the following evidence: Strab. 414 Λεβάδεια δ' ἐστίν, ὅπου Διὸς Τροφωνίου μαντεῖον ἰδρυται, χάσματος ὑπονόμου κατάβασιν ἔχον, καταβαίνει δ' αὐτὸς ὁ χρηστηριαζόμενος, Liv. 45. 27 Lebadiae quoque templum Iovis Trophonii adit (sc. L. Aemilius Paullus in 167 B.C.): ibi cum vidisset os specus, per quod oraculo utentes sciscitatum deos descendunt, sacrificio Iovi Hercynnaeque facto, quorum ibi templum est, etc., Iul. Obseq. *prod.* 110 (96 B.C.) Lebadiae Eutychides in templum Iovis Trophonii digressus tabulam aeneam extulit, in qua scripta erant quae ad res Romanas pertinerent, [add Ampel. 8. 3 ibi (sc. *Arçis in Epiro!*— unless we may assume that a mention of Lebadeia has dropped out of the text, or that *pictum est* is to be supplied from the preceding clause) Iovis templum Trophonii (so D. *hyphónis* C.), unde est ad inferos descensus ad tollendas sortes: in quo loco dicuntur ii qui descenderunt Iovem ipsum videre], Hesych. s.v. Λεβάδεια· πόλις Βοιωτ[ε]ίας, ἐνθα καὶ μαντεῖον Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν κατεσκευάαστο [*? leg. μαντεῖον Διός, <Τροφωνίου> τὸ ἱερὸν κατασκευάσαντος*], Phot. *lex.* (p. 154 Hermann) s.v. Λεβαδία· πόλις Βοιωτίας, ἐν ἣ Διὸς μαντεῖον, Τροφωνίου κατασκευάσαντος, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3090 = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 162 f. no. 423 Ἰππων Ἐπινίκαν Νικίαν | Διὶ Τρεφωνίῳ on a square base formerly supporting a statue of Epinike (on the back of the same base was recorded the manumission of Athanon (*Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3080 *infra*); on its right side, that of Hermala (*ib.* no. 3081 *infra*): later the base was used for a statue of Drusus Caesar (*ib.* no. 3103)), *ib.* no. 3098 = L. Stephani *Reise durch einige Gegenden des nördlichen Griechenlandes* Leipzig 1843 p. 70 f. no. 47 pl. 5 Διονύσῳ Εὐσταφύλῳ | κατὰ χρησμόν Διὸς | Τροφωνίου, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3077, 3 ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Τροφωνίου Τροφωνιανός (the priest being named after his god, as Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 11 f. remarks).

Further, at Lebadeia—as I urged in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 301—Zeus bore the significant title Βασιλεύς (*Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3073, 89 f. and 93 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 589, 89 f. and 93 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 972, 89 f. and 93 εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βασιλέως in an important inscription of s. ii B.C. dealing with the half-built temple on Mt St. Elias to the W. of *Livadia* (Paus. 9. 39. 4, *supra* p. 900 n. o), *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3080, 1 ff. = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 165 no. 430, 1 ff. [τὸ *Φί*]διον δουλι[κὸν | παιδάριον Ἀθάνωνα τῷ Διὶ τεὶ Βασιλεῖ κῆ τεὶ Τρεφωνίῳ ἱερὸν εἶμεν τὸν πάντα | χρόνον ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3081, 2 f. = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 164 f. no. 429, 2 f. τὰν *Φιδίαν* δούλαν Ἐρμαίαν τεὶ Διὶ τεὶ Βασιλεῖ κῆ τῷ Τρε[φ]ωνίῳ ἱερὸν εἶμεν | τὸν πάντα χρόνον, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3083, 6 ff. = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 163 no. 425, 6 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1392, 6 ff. τὸν | *Φίδιον* θεράποντα Ἀνδρικὸν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ | κῆ τῷ Τρεφωνίῳ ἱερὸν εἶμεν παρμείναντα παρ | τὰν ματέρα Ἀθανοδώ[ραν] *Φέτια* δέκα, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3085, 2 ff. τὸ ἴδιον δουλικὸν παιδάριον | Σωκράτην, παραμείναντα Κι.....] καὶ Ἀριστοκίδι, τὸν πάντα | χρόνον ἱερὸν κατὰ τὴν] ἀνάθ[ε]σιν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βα[σιλεῖ], *ib.* no. 3091, 1 ff. = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 162 no. 422, 1 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1115, 1 ff. Νέων *Φασκώ[ν]δαο* | ἀγωνοθετεῖ[σας] | τὰ Βασιλεία | τὸ ἐληοχρ[ι]στ[ιον] | ἀνέθεικε τοῖ [Δι] | τοῖ Βασιλε[ῖ] κ[ῆ τῆ] | πόλι in an inscription

which can be dated shortly after 250 B.C., cp. Polyh. 20. 5. 5, 8, 14, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3096, 1 f. Δὺ Βασιλεῖ | καὶ τῇ πόλει Λεβαδέων | κ.τ.λ., *ib.* no. 4136, 1 ff. = M. Holleaux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 19 ff. no. 10, 27 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 635 B, 27 ff. Καλλικλίδας Λοκρὸς ἔς Ὀπόμεντος καταβὰς ἐν Τρεφώνιον ἀνάγγειλε Λεπάδειαν τοῖ Δι τοῖ Βασιλεῦ ἀνθέμεν | κῆ τοῖ Τρεφωνίου, κ.τ.λ., 32 f. ὅστις δέ κα τῶ | Διὸς τῶ Βασιλείου ἐπιμελειθεῖει τῶ ναῶ, τὸν στέφανον | ὕσεται in the record of an oracle delivered soon after 178 B.C.).

In view of the foregoing passages and inscriptions I would venture to reconstruct the story of the Lebadean cult as follows. Once upon a time there lived in the locality a king of the old magical sort (*supra* i. 12 ff.), who controlled the weather for his people (*supra* i. 79) and passed as a human Zeus (*supra* i. 247 (?), 545 n. 5, 547 (?), 662, 737 (?), ii. 24, 192, 794, 833, 897 n. 0, 940 n. 0, 944 f. n. 0, Append. H (3) and (4), Append. I, Append. J, *infra* Append. L *sub fin.*, Append. M *med.*)—one of those who in epic days came to be called Διοτρεφῆες βασιλῆες (*Il.* 1. 176, 2. 98, 196, 445, 14. 27, *Od.* 3. 480, 4. 44, 63, 7. 49, *h. Dion.* 11, Hes. *theog.* 82, 992: see H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum Lipsiae* 1885 i. 311 f.) because it was remembered that they were at least intimately related to the sky-god (either by descent (schol. *Il.* 1. 176 citing Hes. *theog.* 96 ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες, Hesych. s.v. Διοτρεφῆων), or by special favour (*Il.* 2. 196 f. with Eustath. *in Il.* p. 199, 20 ff. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἐφερμηνεύει, διὰ τί Διογενεῖς καὶ Διοτρεφεῖς τοὺς βασιλεῖς λέγει, οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ Διὸς τὸ γένος ἔλκουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξ ἐκείνου αὐτοῖς ἡ τιμὴ. φησὶ γάρ· “τιμὴ δ' ἐκ Διὸς ἐστίν,” ἡ τῆς βασιλείας δηλαδή. ἀφιδρύματα γὰρ ὡσανεὶ Διὸς ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ βασιλεῖς, cp. *ib.* p. 316, 33 f.): the relation is moralised by Themist. *or.* 6 p. 79 A—B ἡ δὲ εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀρετὴ καὶ πραότης καὶ εὐμένεια...μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἐγγυτέρα τῶ κοινωνοῦντι τῆς φύσεως; αὕτη ποιεῖ θεοείκελον, αὕτη θεοειδῆ, οὕτω Διοτρεφῆς γίνεται βασιλεύς, οὕτω Διογενής, οὕτως αὐτῶ τὴν θειότητα ἐπιφημίζοντες οὐ ψευσόμεθα). Now Διοτρέφης, Διειτρέφης, and similar names have a shortened form Τρέφων (A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*² Göttingen 1894 p. 269), and Τρέφων by the addition of a common suffix would become Τρεφώνιος. Hence our local king, when dead and buried, was still consulted as Zeus Τρεφώνιος or—since he was responsible for the crops (*supra* i. 79)—as Zeus Τροφώνιος (Max. Tyr. 41. 2 τὸν Δία...τὸν καρπῶν τροφῆα, cp. Zeus Ὀπωρεὺς in *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2733 = Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 151 = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 213, 396 no. 567 an early inscription from Akraiphia Κρίτων καὶ Θείοσδοτος τοῖ | Δι τῶπωρεῦ. Other appellatives of Zeus with the same general significance are collected and discussed by H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 243 n. 67, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1109 n. 1). In support of this explanation it should be noted that, when Q. Titius and Salvenius obtained from Trophonios at Lebadeia prophecies concerning Sulla, ἀμφότεροι...ταῦτὰ περὶ τῆς ὀμφῆς ἔφραζον· τῶ γὰρ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος παραπλήσιον ἰδεῖν ἔφασαν (L. Cornelius Sulla *rer. gestar. frag.* 16 Peter *ap.* Plout. v. Sull. 17). Further, Paus. 9. 39. 10 compares the oracular building to a κρίβανος or ‘baking jar,’ i.e. one of the domical earthen ovens still used in the east for baking bread (J. H. Middleton in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1888 ix. 313 f.). It was in fact the *thólos*-tomb of an old Boeotian king (cp. schol. Loukian. p. 255, 21 ff. Rabe). Those who descended into it to consult the divinised dead took honey-cakes in their hands (Aristoph. *nub.* 506 ff., Paus. 9. 39. 11, Poll. 6. 76, Loukian. *dial. mort.* 3. 2, Max. Tyr. 14. 2, Hesych. s.v. μαγίδες) for the reptiles that they might encounter (Philostr. v. *Apoll.* 8. 19 p. 335 Kayser, schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508 = Souid. s.v. Τροφωνίου κατὰ γῆς παίγνια, Eudok. *viol.* 930) because the man who first penetrated its recesses found there

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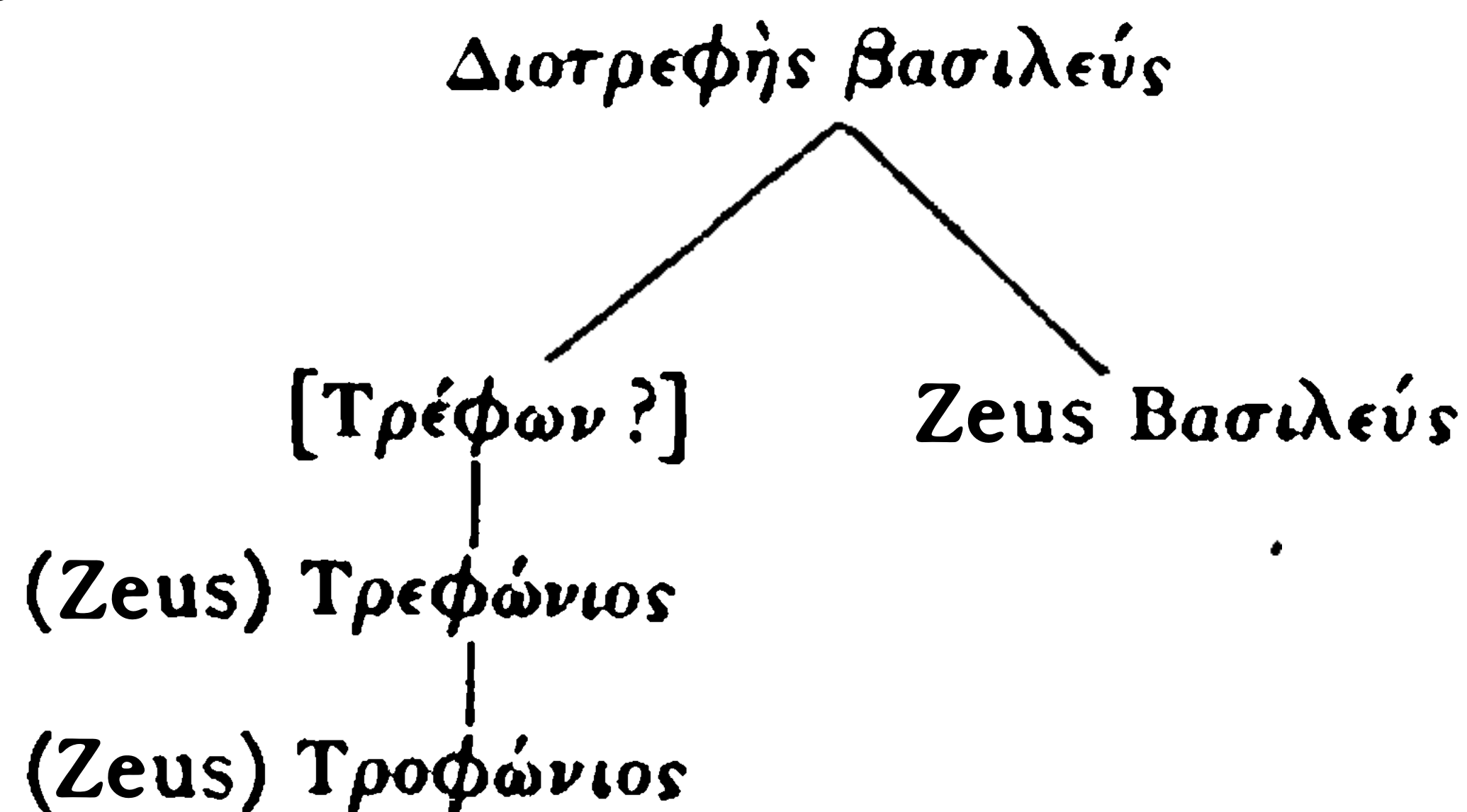
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e Iove Amphiarao et subterraneus Iuppiter plurimis locis *cognominibus variis* invocabatur, qualia sunt *Zeús Eũβουλος* vel *Eũβουλεύς*, *Βουλαίος*, *Κλύμενος* etc. But this explanation leaves unexplained the peculiar character of the *Καταβάσιον*. I much prefer to suppose that it was the *thólos* of an ancient Lebadean king, who in his day played the part of Zeus. The worship of Zeus *Βασιλεύς*, which—as we have seen—flourished at Lebadeia, implies a similar, though not identical, tradition. We may, in fact, conceive of the local cult as having developed along the following divergent lines:



Trophonios is said to have been succeeded at Lebadeia by St Christopher the martyr (schol. Loukian. p. 255, 15 ff. Rabe); but see Frazer *Pausanias* v. 198 f. and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 9. 39. 4.

APPENDIX L.

ZEUS ASKLEPIÓS.

The cult of Zeus *Ἄσκληπιός* at Epidaurus, Hermione, and Pergamon is attested by a considerable body of evidence, inscriptional, literary, and monumental.

(1) Zeus *Asklepiós* in Inscriptions.

M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1000 Epidaurus [Γᾶ(?)]ος Ἴο[ύ]λιος Ἀ[σια]τικός, ἱεραπολήσας ἔτους πα', | κελεύσα[ν]τι | Διὶ Ἄσκληπιῶ | Σωτήρι. |

with the numeral ιθ' and the symbol , which—as C. Blinkenberg in

the *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* Tredie Række 1894—1895 iii. 175 ff. and in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 384, 391 showed—represents the wreath of Asklepios. P. Kabbadias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1884 p. 24 no. 65 = *id. Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 58 no. 136 inserted a comma between Διὶ and Ἄσκληπιῶ, but E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1661 and M. Fränkel *loc. cit.* rightly reject it. M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1022 Epidaurus ----- ν ----- | ----- os Διογνήτου ἱερέως | Ἄσκληπιῶ Διὶ κατὰ ὄναρ. | with the numeral ρς'. *Id. ib.* i no. 1086 Epidaurus Παταίος --- | πυρο[φορή]σας | Ἄσ-

κληπιῶι | Διὶ Τελείωι | with the numeral ρς' and the symbol , which

C. Blinkenberg in the *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* Tredie Række 1894—1895 iii. 175 f. took to be 'le rameau...comme un signe de la soumission et du respect

le plus profond' and in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 385, 392 described as 'Zweig (oder Baum?),' 'wahrscheinlich...ein Palmenzweig,' while M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i. 188 calls it 'Ramus olivae s. quercus.' C. Blinkenberg in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 385 n. 2 read the name of the dedicator as ΠΑΙΛΙΟΣ *i.e.* Πόπλιος Αἴλιος and put a comma between Ἀσκληπιῶι and Δί. M. Fränkel in his note on the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1086 thinks Blinkenberg's reading possible, but demurs to his punctuation. The inventory-symbols, which appear to have been added to the inscriptions *c.* 306 A.D. (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i. 186), suffice to prove that at Epidaurus Asklepios was then known as Zeus Ἀσκληπιῶς Σωτήρ and Zeus as Asklepios Ζεὺς Τέλειος. A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1198 = M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 692 = W. Prellwitz in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 185 no. 3396 Hermione Ξενοτίμος Πολυκλέος | Δάματρι Χθονίαι, Δί Ἀ(σκ)λαπιῶι, where K. O. Müller *Die Dorier*² Breslau 1844 i. 403 n. 3 corrected M. Fourmont's reading ΔΙΑΡΓΙΑΠΙΩΙ to ΔΙΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΩΙ. P. Kabbadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* i. 58 and W. Prellwitz *loc. cit.* assume a series of three deities; but A. Boeckh *loc. cit.* and M. Fränkel *loc. cit.* treat Δί Ἀσκληπιῶι as one god.

ς (2) Zeus Asklepiós in Literature.

Their view is supported by E. Thraemer *loc. cit.*, who adds: 'Besonders häufig findet sich Zeus A. bei Aristeides, nicht etwa ein blos rhetorischer Ausdruck für die Hoheit des Gottes, sondern Anlehnung an einen ganz bestimmten Kult der Stadt Pergamos. Dieser hat mit dem schon in hellenistischer Zeit blühenden vorstädtischen Asklepieion freilich nichts zu thun, ist vielmehr eine Neuschöpfung des 2. Jhdts. v. Chr., seine Stätte die grösste Ruine der Unterstadt, die früher Basilika genannte, jetzt in Berlin für Thermen gehaltene Anlage über dem Selinos. Dass wir es hier mit dem Tempel und ἄλσος des Zeus A. zu thun haben, werde ich demnächst an anderem Orte nachweisen.' See further K. Pilling *Pergamenische Kulte* Naumburg a. S. 1903 p. 23 ff. (cited by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 271) and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 295, 1094 n. 19, 1456 n. 4. Cp. Aristeid. *or.* 6. 37 (i. 64 f. Dindorf) καὶ Διὸς Ἀσκληπιῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἄλλως οἱ τῆδε ἰδρύσαντο. ἀλλ' εἶπερ ἐμοὶ σαφῆς ὁ διδάσκαλος, εἰκὸς δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον, ἐν ὅτῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδίδαξε τρόπῳ καὶ ὅπως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις εἴρηται, οὗτός ἐσθ' ὁ τὸ πᾶν ἄγων καὶ νέμων σωτήρ τῶν ὄλων καὶ φύλαξ τῶν ἀθανάτων, εἰ δὲ θέλεις τραγικώτερον εἰπεῖν, ἔφορος οἰάκων, σώζων τὰ τε ὄντα αἰεὶ καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα. εἰ δ' Ἀπόλλωνος παῖδα καὶ τρίτον ἀπὸ Διὸς νομίζομεν αὐτόν, αὐθις αὐτὸν καὶ συνάπτομεν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἐπεὶ τοὶ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Δία γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ποτε, πάλιν δὲ αὐτόν ἀποφαίνουσιν ὄντα τῶν ὄντων πατέρα καὶ ποιητήν, *or.* 23. 283 (i. 456 Dindorf) ὁ δὲ στέφανος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς Ἀσκληπιῶν (for the wreath of Asklepios C. Blinkenberg in the *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* Tredie Række 1894—1895 iii. 176 f. and in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 391 cites, not only the Epidaurian symbol, but also a red-figured *kratér* from Boiotia, now at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 626 f. no. 1926), published by O. Kern in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1890 p. 131 ff. pl. 7 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 515, 1 f., which shows (a) Asklepios on a couch feeding a huge snake from a Boeotian cup in his right hand and holding an egg in his left hand, the wall hung with four garlands, (b) Hygieia seated, grasping a sceptre with her left hand and extending her right towards a girl, who carries a basket of fruits and cakes and an *oinochōe*, the wall hung with three garlands and votive limbs, and a Messenian copper of Roman date (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 112 pl. 22, 16, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 66 pl. P, 1 f.), on which

Asklepios appears with a large wreath by his side), *or.* 23. 290 (i. 464 Dindorf) καὶ ἄμα λαμβάνω τινὰ ἐπιστολὴν πρὸ ποδῶν κειμένην τοῦ Διὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, *or.* 26. 332 (i. 516 Dindorf) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα βουλομένοις ἡμῖν κοινῇ περὶ τοῦ ἀναθήματος συνεδόκει καὶ τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ τοῖς νεωκόροις ἀναθεῖναι ἐν Διὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, ταύτης γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι χώραν καλλίω· καὶ οὕτω δὴ τοῦ ὀνειράτος ἡ φήμη ἐξέβη. καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τρίπους ὑπὸ τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰκόνας χρυσᾶς ἔχων τρεῖς, μίαν καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν πόδα, Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τὴν δὲ Ὑγιείας, τὴν δὲ Τελεσφόρου. κ.τ.λ.

(3) Zeus *Asklepiós* in Art.

In art the type of Asklepios was not uninfluenced by that of Zeus. Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 186 ff. regards a whole series of standing Asklepios-statues as copies of a Myronian original representing Zeus (Strab. 637 notes a Zeus by Myron formerly grouped with an Athena and a Herakles by the same sculptor at Samos, but later erected by Augustus in an *aedicula* on the Capitol at Rome): 'The restful conception that marks the older type of Zeus exactly suited the mild character of Asklepios.' Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*⁴ i. 379 holds that 'das Ideal des Asklepios wesentlich als eine geistreiche Umbildung des von Phidias ausgeprägten Zeusideales erscheint, eine Umbildung, die unter Beibehaltung der meisten charakteristischen Formen doch vermöge ihrer Herabsetzung auf ein reiner Menschliches die Hoheit des Weltregierers durch die herzliche Milde und Klugheit des hilfreichen Heilgottes zu ersetzen weiss': accordingly he traces the canonical bearded type of Asklepios to the cult-stature of the god by Pheidias' pupil Alkamenes at Mantinea (Paus. 8. 9. 1). E. Reisch in the *Eranos Vindobonensis* Wien 1893 p. 21 f. assumes that this statue showed the god standing as on imperial coppers of Mantinea (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 187 pl. 35, 9, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 93 pl. S, 15, Rasche *Lex. Num.* v. 183 f.), and that the same figure appearing with inverted sides on Athenian silver ((i) ΜΕΝΕΔΕΤΙΓΕΝΟ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. pp. xlv, 63 pl. 11, 6, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 150 pl. EE, 2, E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 331 ff., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 383 accepting J. Sundwall's date, 177 B.C.; (ii) ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ ΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ E. Beulé *op. cit.* p. 401, Head *op. cit.*² p. 386 dating c. 86 B.C. to time of Augustus) and copper coins (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 109 pl. 19, 4, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 150 pl. EE, 3 f., E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 331) attests the existence in the Asklepieion at Athens of a similar statue by Alkamenes or one of his pupils. But, after all, the coins adduced by Reisch exhibit common poses of Asklepios (the coppers of Mantinea show *schema* iii of E. Thraemer's classification in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 636; the silver and copper coins of Athens, *schema* i *ib.* i. 634 f.), and it is far from certain that they were intended to portray cult-statues, let alone works by Alkamenes. We are on firmer ground in observing that Kolotes, who helped Pheidias with his Zeus at Olympia (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 87, 35. 54), made a wonderful ivory statue of Asklepios for Kyllene (Strab. 337). If this, like Zeus at Olympia, was a seated figure, Kolotes paved the way for Thrasymedes of Paros, whose chryselephantine Asklepios at Epidauros (bibliography in Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 148 n. 1) was half the size of the Zeus Ὀλύμπιος at Athens (Paus. 2. 27. 2) and was, by a natural blunder, attributed to Pheidias himself (Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 17 p. 19, 15 f. Schwartz). Thrasymedes' cult-stature was decidedly Zeus-like in appearance—witness the silver (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 156 pl. 29, 14, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner

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pl. 1, 8, p. 353 pl. 1, 17, W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 Asiatic Greece p. 98, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 121 pl. 25, 9, cp. *ib.* p. 156 pl. 32, 1, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 534), Herakleia Salbake (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. pp. 116, 120 pl. 20, 9), Neapolis in Samaria (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine p. 65 f. pl. 7, 3): cp. coins of Antoninus Pius (Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 154, Suppl. i. 295 f., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² ii. 381 no. 1138). The same Zeus-like figure appears on gems (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine* Berlin p. 111 no. 2356, *supra*



Fig. 924.

i. 357 n. 4, a small convex 'plasma,' which I reproduce in fig. 923 from T. Panofka 'Asklepios und die Asklepiaden' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1845* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 289 pl. 1, 10. Asklepios (? Zeus 'Ασκληπιός) is enthroned to the left with serpent-sceptre: on the back of the throne, behind his head, stands a Nike; beneath his left foot lies a ram's-head; in his right hand is a pine-cone, possibly resting on a *phidle* (?); before his feet is a second pine-cone (cp. Asklepios at Sikyon as described by Paus. 2. 10. 3 ἐσελθοῦσι δὲ ὁ θεός ἐστιν οὐκ ἔχων γένηια,

χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Καλάμδος δὲ ἔργον· ἔχει δὲ καὶ σκῆπτρον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτέρας χειρὸς πίτυος καρπὸν τῆς ἡμέρου with Sir J. G. Frazer's note *ad loc.*). Furtwängler *op. cit.* p. 124 no. 2677 pl. 24 a cornelian = Asklepios (?) seated on a stool gazing at a beardless head held in his right hand, a serpent-staff before him, *ib.* p. 248 no. 6753 pl. 48 a cornelian = Asklepios (?) with portrait features, seated on a stool, plucking fruit and placing it in a basket on an altar (?), a serpent-staff before him). Indeed, Asklepios was commonly conceived as a kindly, human Zeus,



Fig. 925.

conversant with the ways of men and able to cure their ailments. The difference between Zeus and Asklepios may be readily grasped, if we set side by side two reliefs of Pentelic marble found in the precinct at Epidauros (Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*² p. 42 f. no. 173 f., P. Kabbadias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1885 p. 48 ff. pl. 2, 6 and 1894 p. 11 ff. pl. 1, *id. Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 22 pl. 9, 21, A. Defrasse—H. Lechat *Épidaure* Paris 1895 p. 83 ff. with figs., Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 3, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt.*

gr. ii. 186 f. fig. 88). Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pp. 148—154 no. 173 f. pl. 31 (cp. my figs. 924, 925) has made out a strong case for supposing that they were metopes from the temple of Asklepios, carved in s. iv B.C. On his showing the one (fig. 924) represents Zeus seated on a throne, the arms of which are supported by winged sphinxes and end in rams'-heads. His right hand held a sceptre; his left was extended. An ample *himation*, draped over the back of the throne and round the legs of the god, left bare his broad chest. His head wore a metal wreath (holes for attachment remain), and his feet were shod with sandals of strap-work. Altogether he was an august and imposing figure. The other relief (fig. 925) shows Asklepios, very similar in attitude and costume, but curiously diverse in effect. A comfortable man with soft, podgy body, he sits on a cushioned chair with easy back, crosses his feet, and talks with a gesture of his right hand. He might be a Harley Street consultant prescribing for a patient. The same humanity and affability are characteristic of Asklepios, even when an attempt is made to emphasise his Zeus-hood by means of external attributes. For instance, an alliance-copper of Pergamon and Ephesos, struck by Commodus, has Asklepios standing, in his right hand the serpent-staff, in his left a Nike, who offers a wreath to Artemis (Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 888,



Fig. 926.

Suppl. i. 295: but cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 164 pl. 33, 4), while coppers of Caracalla show Asklepios with little Telesphoros to the left and the cosmic globe to the right (Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 158, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 775 f., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² iv. 178 no. 329 f. P · M · TR · P · XVIII · IMP · III · COS · III · P · P · S · C · first brass, cp. *ib.* iv. 179 no. 331 do. do. without Telesphoros. Fig. 926 is from a second brass in my collection. For other examples of Asklepios with the globe see Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. i. 298 f.: E. Loewe *De Aesculapi figura* Strassburg 1887 p. 75 n. 7).

(4) *Asklepiós* and the Snake.

Next we must note the constant association of this human Zeus with a snake. Asklepios himself on occasion took that form. He travelled from Epidauros to Sikyon as a snake drawn by mules; and from the roof of his temple in the latter town hung a small figure of Aristodama, the mother of his son Aratos, riding on a snake (Paus. 2. 10. 3): the creature so ridden was presumably none other than the god, who was believed to have consorted with Aristodama in snake-form (Paus. 4. 14. 7 f., cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 866 n. 1). Again, it was as a snake that Asklepios came from Epidauros to Epidauros Limeria on the east coast of Lakonike: he slipped out of the ship and dived into the earth not far from the sea at a place where altars, planted about with olive trees, were erected to him (Paus. 3. 23. 7: see F. W. Hasluck in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907—1908 xiv. 179). At Lebena in Crete there was a famous temple of Asklepios (Paus. 2. 26. 9, Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 34 p. 152 f. Kayser), where incubation was practised (Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 839, 1 f. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 303. 1 f.): the divine snake sent by Asklepios to guide his priest the son of Aristonymos to the temple-spring and forty-seven years later sent on a similar errand to show Soarchos, priest in his father's room, how to replenish the failing spring (see the interesting inscription from Lebena (*Leda*) published by T. Baunack in *Philologus* 1890 xlix. 578 ff. and R. Meister *ib.* 1891 l. 570 ff.) should probably be viewed 'als Inkarnation des Gottes selbst' (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.*

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Fig. 928.



Fig. 929.



Fig. 930.

562 pl. 97, 14). Amulets appear to confuse him with the Khnemu-snake (*supra* i. 357 n. 4, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1258 ff., cp. for Egyptian snake-worship in general T. Hopfner *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter nach den griechisch-römischen Berichten und den wichtigeren Denkmälern* (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1913 ii Abh.) Wien 1913 p. 136 ff.). Thus an agate in the Behr collection showed Khnemu as a lion-headed snake, with a radiate crown, accompanied by several inscriptions—XNOVBIC in the field, ΓΛΥΚΩΝΑ in front, ΙΑΩ beneath, and a magical formula on the other side of the stone (F. Lenormant *Description des médailles et antiquités composantes le cabinet de M. le baron Behr* Paris 1857 p. 228 no. 76, *id.* in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1878 iv. 183, E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1900 iv. 28 fig. 6). Again, a red jasper in the Sorlin-Dorigny collection at Constantinople has Asklepios standing with a raven(?) behind his shoulder and a human-headed or lion-headed snake before him (F. Lenormant 'Un monument du culte de Glykon' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1878 iv. 179 ff. with fig., E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1900 iv. 27 f. fig. 5). Two inscriptions from Apulum (*Carlsburg*) prove that the cult of Glykon reached Dacia (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1021 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4079 Glyconi | M. Ant. | Onesas | iusso dei | l. p., *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1022 Gl(y)co | M. Aur. | Theodo|tus ius|so dei p.). A third inscription found at *Blatsche* between Skoupoi (*Uskub*) and Stoboi associates the beast with the false prophet (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 8238 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no 4080 Iovi et Iuno|n. [et] Dracco|n. et Dracce|nae et Ale|xandro Epi|tynchanus [C. | F]uri Octavi[ani] | c. v.

posuit). See further F. Cumont 'Alexandre d'Abonotichos' in the *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Belgique* 1887 xl. 13 ff., 37 ff. and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1634 f., vii. 1468 f., E. Babelon 'Le faux prophète Alexandre d'Abonotichos' in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1900 iv. 1—30 with 6 figs., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1692 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1487, O. Weinreich 'Alexandros der Lügenprophet und seine Stellung in der Religiosität des II. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1921 xlvii. 129—151. The main point to bear in mind—a point commonly missed—is that the populace regarded Asklepios as essentially serpentiform.

(5) The Name Asklepiós.

This leads us to consider the question whether 'Ασκληπιός originally meant 'Snake' and nothing more. The name occurs in a puzzling variety of forms:

'Αγλαόπης (Hesych. 'Αγλαόπης· ὁ 'Ασκληπιός. Λάκωνες. So Musurus for .γλαόπης cod., cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 329, 23, Soud. s.v. ἄγμασι, Zonar. *lex.* s.v. ἄγμασι).

'Αγλαπιός (G. Dickins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 131 f. no. 1 fig. 1 publishes a *stèle* at Thalamai (*Koutiphari*) inscribed ΛΑΝΙΚΙΑ | ΑΝΕΘΒΚΕ | ΤΩΙΑΓΛΑΠΙΩΙ in lettering which M. N. Tod *ib.* assigns to c. 350 B.C. and W. Kolbe in *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1313 to s. v B.C.).

'Ασκληπιός in epic, Ionic, Attic. 'Ασκληπιός thrice in Attic inscriptions (K. Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³ Berlin 1900 p. 89 n. 770), cp. 'Ασκληπιάδης (*id. ib.* p. 89 n. 771), 'Ασκληπιόδωρος (*id. ib.* p. 89 n. 772).

'Ασκαπιός in non-Ionic dialects. 'Ασκαπιός in a Gortynian inscription (F. Halbherr in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1889 i. 38 ff. C, 7 ΑΣΚΑΛΠΙΟΝ). 'Ασκειπιός in a Spartan inscription (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1444, 10 ΑΣΚΛΕΙΠΙΟΥ) turns out to be a mistaken reading (H. J. W. Tillyard and A. M. Woodward in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 212 ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΥ, *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 602, 10).

'Ασχλαπιός in a Boeotian inscription (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3191 f., 3 ΑΣΧΛΑΠΙΩ, 37 f. [ΑΣΧ]ΛΑΠΙΩ Orchomenos), cp. 'Ασχλάπων (Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 397 no. 571^a, 10 Akraiphia), but 'Ασκλαπιχίος (*ib.* i. 174 no. 476, 40 Orchomenos).

Αισχλαβίος in the alphabet of Megara or Corinth on the leg of an archaic bronze statuette from Bologna (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 6; 37, 2, Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 549, 2, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 356. 2) Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 146 no. 118 (c), 2 ΑΙΣΧΛΑΓΙΟΙ).

Αισκλαπιός in the oldest Epidaurian inscription (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 37 no. 8 on a bronze *phiale*, to be dated at the beginning of s. v B.C., if not earlier still, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1202 ΤΟΙΑΙΜΚΛΑΠΙΟΙ) and in an inscription from Troizen (E. Legrand in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 90 ff. no. 4, 3, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 771, 3 ΤΩΙΑΙΣΚΛΑΠ(ΙΩΙ)).

Αισκλαπιεύς in another early Epidaurian inscription (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 37 no. 10 from the rim of a bronze vessel ΙΙΙΙΜΙΞΙΓΑΛΧΣΙΑ—τ' Αισκλαπιει μ' [ἀνέθηκε—]).

Aisclapius in an inscription painted on an Etruscan cup (H. Jordan in the

Ann. d. Inst. 1884 lvi. 357 f. pl. R; Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 2827 b, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2958 ΛISCΛAPI).

Aesclapius in an inscription at Narona (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1766 AESCLAPIO, cp. *ib.* iii no. 1767, 1 [AE]SCLAPIO).

Aiscolapius in an inscription found in the Tiber (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 30846, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3833).

Aescolapius in a trilingual (Latin, Greek, Phoenician) inscription on the base of a bronze column at *Santuacci* in Sardinia (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 7856, 1, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1874, 1, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 608, 1 AESCOLAPIO) and in two inscriptions from Rome (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 30849, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3834; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 30847, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3835).

Aisculapius in an inscription from the Tiber-island (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 12, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3837).

Aesculapius, the normal form in Latin.

Esculapius on a bronze plate from the *ager Praenestinus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 2846, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3838).

In view of Asklepios' early connexion with Thessaly, special importance must be attached to the names Ἄσκαλαπιάδας at Iolkos (H. G. Lolling in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1883 viii. 115 no. 9, 1, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 378 no. 1284, 1 [Ἄσ]καλαπιάδ[ας]) and Ἄσκαλαπιόδωρος at Phalanna (H. G. Lolling in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1883 viii. 109 f. line 3, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 384 no. 1330, 5 ΑΣΚΑΛΑΠΙΟΔΟΥΡΟΙ), since these point to an original Thessalian *Ἄσκαλαπιός (E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1642): cp. Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 186 no. 3398 b, 21 Hermione ΛΣΚΑΛΑ gen. of Ἄσκαλās, J. H. Mordtmann in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 x. 13 no. 1 near Kotiaieion. Ἄσκληās καὶ Ἄσκληπᾶ[s] | οἱ Ἄσκληπᾶ (A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1901 xxvi. 319). The ultimate meaning of Ἄσκληπιός has been much debated, and is still questionable. The ancients—children in philology—jumped to the conclusion that the second element in the name was ἥπιος, 'mild,' and used this word (Lyk. *Al.* 1054 with Tzetz. *ad loc.*, *et. mag.* pp. 154, 45 ff., 434, 15 ff., Tzetz. *chil.* 6. 991, 10. 712, Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 463, 34 f., 860, 9 ff., *in Od.* p. 1447, 48 f., Cornut. *theol.* 33 p. 70, 5 ff. Lang (?), cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 Add. no. 171 b, 8 and 13 = *carm. pop.* 47, 6 and 11 Bergk⁴ = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 4. 53. 4 and 9) or its compounds ἥπιόδωτος, ἥπιόδωρος, ἥπιόφρων (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 51, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1441) of the god himself—Demosthenes is even said to have sworn by Ἄσκληπιός, not Ἄσκληπιός (Plout. *de vit. decem orat.* 8, Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδιās* 5 (i. 123, 1 ff. Lentz), Eustath. *in Il.* p. 463, 37 ff., *in Od.* p. 1447, 64 ff., Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 40 f.),—and Ἡπιόνη, Ἡπιώ of his partner (Cornut. *theol.* 33 p. 71, 2 ff. Lang: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1441 n. 9, E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 186 ff.). But the first element puzzled them. They tried ἀσκεῖν (schol. *Il.* 4. 195, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 463, 35 f., Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 43 f.), ἀσκελές (*et. mag.* p. 154, 43 ff., 47 f., *et. Gud.* p. 83, 39 ff., Orion p. 9, 14 ff., Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 1054, Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 38 ff.), Ἄσκλης a supposed king of Epidaurus (Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 1054, Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 41 ff., cp. *et. mag.* p. 154, 45 ff., Eustath. *in Il.* p. 463, 34 f.), Αἴγλη the mother of Asklepios (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure Athènes* 1893 i. 35 f. no. 7, 50 ff. = Isyll. 19 f. Weir Smyth). Modern scholars have gone from bad to worse, starting with ἄλκω, 'I help,' whence an assumed *Ἄλξηπιός (A. F. Pott in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1857 vi. 401), and, after numerous blind alleys (see E. Thraemer in

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is more important to note that the earliest home of Asklepios was in central Thessaly (E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 623 and more fully in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1643 ff., 1662 f.), and that at Trikke he had an underground *adyton* (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 34 ff. no. 7, 27 ff. *πρῶτος Μᾶλος ἔτευξεν Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλεάτα | βωμὸν καὶ θυσίαις ἠγλαΐσεν τέμενος. | οὐδέ κε Θεσσαλίας ἐν Τρίκκῃ πειραθείης | εἰς ἄδυτον καταβὰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ἄγνοῦ | πρῶτον Ἀπόλλωνος βωμοῦ θύσαις Μαλεάτα.* Cp. J. Ziehen 'Über die Lager des Asklepiosheiligtums von Triikka' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1892 xvii. 195—197 and especially P. Kastriotis *Τὸ ἐν Τρίκκῃ τῆς Θεσσαλίας Ἀσκληπιεῖον* Athens 1903, *id.* 'Τρίκκης Ἀσκληπιεῖον' in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1918 pp. 65—73) comparable with the *Καταβάσιον* of Trophonios at Lebadeia, which we have already (*supra* p. 1076) taken to be the *thólos* of an ancient king (A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 272 Index record *thólos*-tombs at Dhimini, Ghura, Kapakli, Marmariani, Rakhmani (?), Sesklo, Zerelia (?)). Moreover, there is reason to think that in early days Thessalian kings were wont to pose as Zeus. Salmoneus, the very type of a would-be Zeus (*supra* i. 12, 318), was a king hailing from Thessaly (Apollod. i. 9. 7, schol. Aristoph. *ran.* argum. 4, Soud. *s.v.* Σαλμωνεύς. See further J. Ilberg in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 290). Keyx, who declared that his wife was Hera, and Alkyone, who dubbed her husband Zeus (Apollod. i. 7. 4, schol. *Il.* 9. 562, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 776, 19 ff., schol. Aristoph. *av.* 250. K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1580 f. suggests that the story in this form goes back to the Hesiodic *Κήυκος γάμος*), were commonly described as king and queen of Trachis in south Thessaly (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 250, Loukian. *Alcyon* 1, Ov. *met.* 11. 268 ff., 382 ff., Lact. *Plac. narr. fab.* 11. 10. See further K. Wernicke *loc. cit.* and H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 249 ff., ii. 1181 f.). Ixion, king of the Thessalian Lapithai, aspired to the hand of Hera, while conversely Zeus was enamoured of Ixion's wife Dia (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 420, 1906 xx. 378)—a case paralleled by that of Hera in love with the Thessalian Iason and Zeus in love with Medeia (*supra* i. 248). Now it is a very noteworthy fact that all these names, indeed the great bulk of the personages considered in the present discussion,—Amphiaraios, Trophonios, Asklepios, Askalaphos, Salmoneus, Alkyone, Ixion, Iason—belonged to the family of Aiolos (see the pedigree conveniently set forth by Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* ii. 223 ff.). The inference is that this custom of regarding the king as Zeus was characteristic of the Aeolians settled in Thessaly and central Greece. Asklepios, like the rest, was *ab origine* a king (he is *ἄναξ* in *h. Asklep.* 5, Aristoph. *Plout.* 748, Herond. 4. 1 and 18, P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 36 no. 7, 79, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 2292, 1 (Delos)=Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 803. 1=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 225. 1 (see R. Wunsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 95 ff.); *βασιλεύς* in *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5974 B, 1 (Rome)=*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 967 b, 1=Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* Add. no. 805 a, b *tit.*=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 247 β n., Ail. *de nat. an.* 9. 33, Orph. *εὐχή πρὸς Μουσαῖον* 37, Cougny *op. cit.* 6. 180. 2 f. Ἀσκληπιὸς Καῖσαρ in W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 130 no. 92, 5 f., *ib.* p. 153 no. 130, 4 f.=Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 375 f. no. 3672, 5 f. is the deified Claudius), who played the part of Zeus during his life and was worshipped as Zeus after his death (E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 620 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1654 f. draws attention to the fact that several Greek localities could point to an alleged grave of Asklepios: Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 57 Aesculapiorum...secundus, secundi Mercurii frater. is, fulmine percussus, dicitur humatus esse Cynosuris, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 30. 3 p. 22, 14 Stählin οὗτος μὲν οὖν κεῖται κεραυνωθεὶς ἐν τοῖς Κυνοσουρίδος ὀρίοις

with schol. *ad loc.* p. 305, 31 Stählin κώμη Λακεδαιμόνος, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 142 p. 164, 8 ff. Wunsch δεύτερος Ἴσχύος τοῦ Ἐλάτου καὶ Κορωνίδος, <ὅς ἐν τοῖς Κυνοσουρίδος suppl. C. B. Hase> ὁρίοις ἐτάφη, cp. *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Octobris ix. 546 ('Passio S. Philippi episc., Severi presb. et Hermæ diaç.' 1. 8) ignis ille divinus...et Scolapium medicum in monte Cynozuridos fulminatum consecrationem mereri in gentibus fecit, where cod. Bodecense rightly reads *Æsculapium* and the Bollandist editors wrongly (?) comment: 'apud Cynozurim Thessaliæ urbem sepultus' (*ib.* ix. 549). Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 57 tertius, Arsippi et Arsinoæ,...cuius in Arcadia non longe a Lusio flumine sepulcrum et lucus ostenditur, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 142 p. 164, 10 ff. Wunsch τρίτος Ἀρσίππου καὶ Ἀρσινόης τῆς Λευκίππου...καὶ τάφος αὐτῶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ. Clem. Rom. *hom.* 6. 21 (ii. 213 Migne) Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ (*sc.* κείται), Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 24 in Epidauro Aesculapii (*sc.* sepulcrum demonstratur). Cp. Tert. *ad nat.* 2. 14 Athenienses...Aesculapio et matri inter mortuos parentant with Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 217 n. 4, 218, 222 and F. Kutsch *Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen* Giessen 1913 p. 16 ff.).

(7) Telesphoros.

Such an one might even be called Zeus Τέλειος (cp. the dedication Ἀσκληπιῶι Διὶ Τελείῳ *supra* p. 1076). Further, the title τελεσφόρος, 'bringing the end, bringing to maturity' (see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 1971 C ff.), appropriate to the divine monarch (*h. Zeus* 1. f. Ζῆνα θεῶν τὸν ἄριστον ἀείσομαι ἠδὲ μέγιστον, |εὐρύοπα, κρείοντα, τελεσφόρον, κ.τ.λ.) and actually found on a Phrygian altar as his appellative (*supra* p. 838 n. 1), was a likely epithet of his human counterpart. And here it will be remembered that antiquity often associates with Asklepios a subordinate deity Telesphoros, who has been the subject of much speculation (L. Schenck *De Telesphoro deo* Göttingen 1888, W. Wroth 'Telesphorus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 283—300, *ib.* 1883 iv. 161 f., *ib.* 1884 v. 82 n. 2, Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 70 f., S. Reinach 'Télesphore' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1901 xiv. 343—349 = *id. Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1906 ii. 255—261, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1455 n. 1, *alib.*, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 622, Harrison *Themis* p. 382 f.). We shall not be far wrong, if we regard him as the procreative power of Asklepios, split off from the god, to whom he at first belonged by way of appellative, and endowed with a separate and secondary personality. The existence of *Grabphalli* (*supra* i. 53 n. 1) and the birth-myths of Romulus and Servius Tullius (*supra* p. 1059) lead us to suppose that the buried ancestor in his procreative capacity might take the form of a simple *phallós* (with this interchange of human and phallic shapes cp. the statue of Nabu at Calah figured in two aspects by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 685 f.). Accordingly we sometimes meet with representations of Telesphoros as a *phallós* draped to look like a man or a boy. C. M. Grivaud de la Vincelle *Recueil de monumens antiques, la plupart inédits, et découverts dans l'ancienne Gaule* Paris 1817 i. 86 f., ii. pl. 10, 1—5 (of which 1, 3 = my fig. 931) and pl. 11, 5 (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 75 no. 1, J. A. Dulaure *Histoire abrégée de différens cultes* Paris 1825 ii. 242 f.) published a bronze statuette, found some forty years earlier in a tomb near Amiens, which shows a bearded male figure clad in a short tunic, a cape with a peaked hood (*bardocucullus*), and boots (*caligae*): the upper part—head, hood, and cape—can be lifted off, revealing a body that consists in an erect *phallós*. Similarly T. Panofka 'Asklepios und die Asklepiaden' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1845 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 324, 357 pl. 6, 5 and 5 a (=my fig. 932, C. O. Müller—F. Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* Göttingen 1856 ii. 4. 4 pl. 61, 789, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii.

469 no. 8 f.) published a bronze statuette at Copenhagen (L. Müller *Description des antiquités du Musée-Thorvaldsen* Section i et ii Copenhague 1847 p. 162 f. no. 50 height without the peak 3 Danish inches, with it 4, S. B. Smith *Kort Veiledning i Antikkabinettet i Kjøbenhavn* Kjöbenhavn 1864 p. 38 no. 123a), which repeats the type, except that the figure is a beardless youth and wears no sandals. One whose function is to bring to maturity might well be portrayed as either man or boy. Asklepios himself was beardless on occasion (Paus. 2. 10. 3 Sikyon (*supra* p. 1080), 2. 13. 5 Phlious, 8. 28. 1 Gortys. Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpture* pp. 277 n. 5, 300, E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* n. 1690 f., 1693 ff.) or even infantile (Paus. 8. 25. 11 Thelpousa, 8. 32. 5 Megalopolis. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5974 A, B (Rome)=*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 967

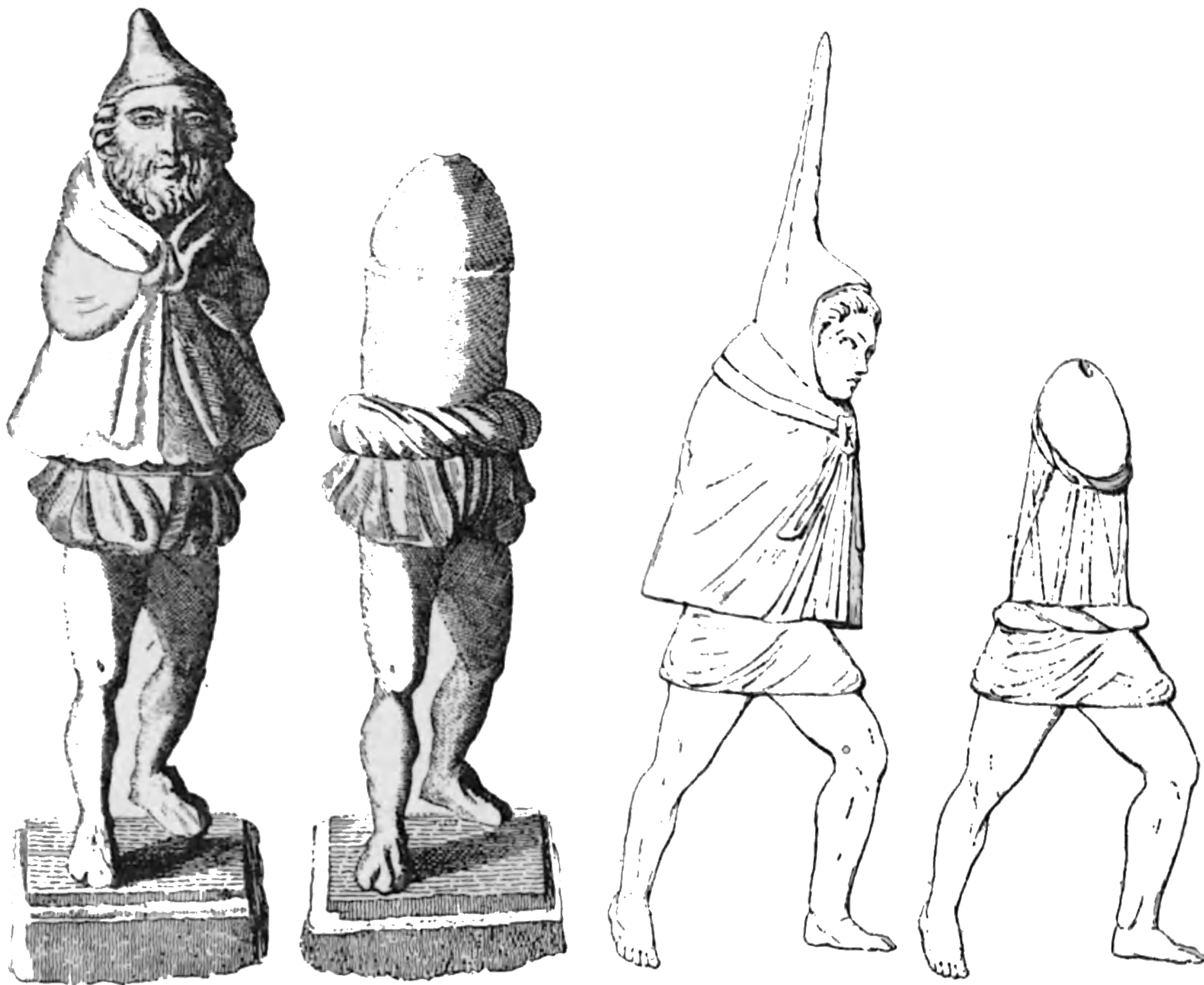


Fig. 931.

Fig. 932.

a, b = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* Add. no. 805 *a, b* = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 247 *a, β*: Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*⁴ ii, 181). The Copenhagen bronze is inscribed OMORION (Panofka *loc. cit.*), which could be connected with Zeus Ὀμόριος (Steph. *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1984 A quotes the title from Polyb. 2. 39. 6; but see *supra* i. 17 n. 4) or Ὀπιος (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 74) = Iupiter *Terminus* or *Terminalis* (*supra* i. 53, 520 n. 2. Cp. Aug. *de civ. Dei* 4. 11 ipse in aethere sit Iuppiter, ... in Iano initiator, in Termino terminator. E. Samter 'Die Entwicklung des Terminus-kultes' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 137—144 argues that the boundary-stone could not have been originally sacred to Iupiter, because at its erection offerings were placed in the hole prepared for it (Siculus Flaccus in the *Grom. vet.* i. 141 Lachmann)—a procedure suggestive of a chthonian rather than of a celestial power. But the lord of the property, who had been a celestial Iupiter during his life would be a chthonian Iupiter after his death). B. Borghesi in the *Bull. d. Inst.*

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ancestral house¹ on Hekatombaion 8². Plutarch adds that, in return for their entertainment, Theseus gave them charge over a sacrifice at the Oschophoria³.

In the old Attic myth two points deserve to be stressed. On the one hand, Zeus *Meilichios* was a god able to purify a man from the stain of kindred bloodshed: we have already noted that the skins of animals sacrificed to him were used in purificatory rites⁴. On the other hand, the festival of this god was observed 'at home'⁵ by a clan traditionally associated with the fig-tree and its fruit⁶: in fact, the descendants of Phytalos appear to have had special duties in regard to Zeus *Meilichios*, much as the descendants of Anthos had in regard to Zeus *Lýkaios*⁷.

(2) The Title *Meilichios*.

We are, therefore, at once confronted with the difficult question: What is the meaning of *Meilichios*? Does it denote 'the Kindly One' (*melichos*, *meilichios*)⁸, a deity whose wrath could be readily appeased by the quaking man-slayer? Or does it rather signify 'the god of Figs' (*melicha*)⁹ with special

¹ Cp. Paus. 1. 37. 2 quoted *infra* n. 6.

² In the calendar of Mykonos (J. de Frott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 13 ff. no. 4, 29 ff., Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 714, 29 ff., Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 615, 29 ff.) Hekatombaion 7 is marked by the sacrifice of a bull and ten lambs to Apollon 'Εκατόμβαιος and by the sacrifice of a full-grown victim and ten lambs to Acheloiος—a god who at Athens was closely connected with Zeus Μειλιχιος (*infra* p. 1117 f.). It seems possible that this Myconian festival on Hekatombaion 7 was the equivalent of an Athenian festival on Hekatombaion 8. But further evidence is lacking.

³ Plout. *v. Thes.* 23: see J. Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 251 f., Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 286 n. 2.

⁴ *Supra* i. 422 ff.

⁵ Plout. *v. Thes.* 12 καὶ δεομένου καθαρθῆναι τοῖς νενομισμένοις ἀγνίσαντες καὶ Μειλίχια θύσαντες εἰστίσαν οἴκοι.

⁶ Paus. 1. 37. 2 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ Φύταλον φασιν οἴκῳ Δήμητρα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἀντὶ τούτων δοῦναι οἱ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς συκῆς· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἐπιγράμμα (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 3. 24) τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Φυτάλου τάφῳ· ἐνθάδ' ἀναξ ἦρος Φύταλος ποτε δέξατο σεμνὴν | Δήμητραν, ὅτε (A. Meineke cj. Δήμητρ' ᾧ τότε L. Dindorf and C. G. Cobet cjj. Δήμητρ' ὀπποτε) πρῶτον ὀπώρας καρπὸν ἔφηεν, | ἦν ἱερὰν συκὴν θνητῶν γένος ἐξονομάζει· | ἐξ οὗ δὴ τιμὰς Φυτάλου γένος ἔσχεν ἀγῆρως. *Infra* p. 1103 n. 3.

⁷ *Supra* i. 71 ff.

⁸ C. Nutt. *theol.* 1.1 p. 12, 2 ff. Lang προσαγορεύουσι δὲ καὶ μελιχον (F. Osann cj. μελιχίον; but Aristeid. *or.* 1. 3 (i. 4 Dindorf) has εἰ δὲ πη σφαλλόμεθα, ὁ μελιχος (*sc.* Zeus) ἡμῶν κεκλήσθω) τὸν Δία, εὐμελικτον ὄντα τοῖς ἐξ ἀδικίας μετατιθεμένοις, οὐ δέοντος ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτούς: cp. Liban. *or.* 57. 12 (iv. 154 Foerster) Σευῆρος δὲ χρηστός τε ἦν ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασι καὶ τιμήσειεν ἔλεγε τῇ πραότητι τὸν Μειλίχιον Δία, κ.τ.λ., *Anth. Pal.* 9. 581. 4 f. (Leon Philosophos?) μηδὲ νοήσω, | Ζηνὸς Μειλιχίῳ λαχὼν θρόνον, ἀνέρος οἶτον. A highly moral explanation: but high morals are out of place in an early cult-title. Phrynichos the 'Atticist' (on whom see Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*³ Cambridge 1906 i. 323 ff.) in Bekker *anecd.* i. 34. 12 ff. Δικαιοσύνης Ζεὺς· ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς δίκαιά τε καὶ ἀδικα δρῶσι τεταγμένος. ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς μελίχα μελιχιος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς φίλα φίλιος adduces would-be parallels. But Zeus Δικαιοσύνης is a late divinity (D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 302 no. 24 near *Gherzeḥ* (Karousa) Διὶ Δικαιοσύνῳ | Μεγάλῳ | Πύθῃ Διονυσίου | στρατηγῶν | χαριστήριον, cp. schol. *Il.* 13. 29, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 918, 47), and Zeus Φίλιος is probably euphemistic (Append. N). On Zeus Ἄγιος see *supra* i. 192, 400 n. 6, 565 n. 2.

⁹ Figs were called μελίχα, 'sweets,' in Naxos—witness Athen. 78c Νάξιοι δέ, ὡς Ἄνδρῆκος (*frag.* 3 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 304 Müller) ἔτι δ' Ἀγλαοσθένης (*frag.* 5 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 294 Müller) ἱστοροῦσι, Μειλίχιον καλεῖσθαι τὸν Διόνυσον διὰ τὴν τοῦ συκίνου

reference to the Phytalidai and their fig-culture? Arguments in support of either interpretation lie near to hand.

It may be urged that Zeus was notoriously sympathetic with the outcast and the vagabond. He was worshipped as *Hikésios*, 'the Suppliant's god'¹,

καρπού παράδοσιν. διὸ καὶ πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ναξίοις τὸ μὲν τοῦ Βακχέως Διονύσου καλουμένου εἶναι ἀμπέλινον, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Μειλιχίου σύκιον. τὰ γὰρ σύκα μελιχα καλεῖσθαι, where T. Reinesius' proposed alteration of Μειλίχιον...Μειλιχίου...μελιχα into Μόρυχον...Μορύχου...μόρυχα (cp. Soud. s.vv. Μόρυχος, μωρότερος Μορύχου) is a good example of misplaced ingenuity.

¹ At Athens in s. vi B.C. (Poll. 8. 142 τρεῖς θεοὺς ὁμύναται κελεύει Σόλων, Ἰκέσιον, Καθάριον, Ἐξακεστήρα, i.e. Zeus under three diverse aspects (cp. Poll. 1. 24), as observed

by W. Dindorf *ad loc.*, G. F. Schoemann *Griechische Alterthümer*⁴ Berlin 1902 ii. 145, 276 = *id.* *Antiquités recques* trans. C. Galuski Paris 1887 ii. 185, 331, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1592. The recognition of Zeus Ἐξακεστήρ (Hesych. Ἐξακεστήριος· ὁ Ζεὺς. καὶ ἡ Ἥρα) is perhaps not unconnected with the fact that Solon's own father was Ἐξηκεστίδης. The oath by this triad of Zeuses was inscribed on the *δέξους* (Hesych. τρεῖς θεοὶ· παρὰ Σόλωνι ἐν τοῖς δέξουσιν

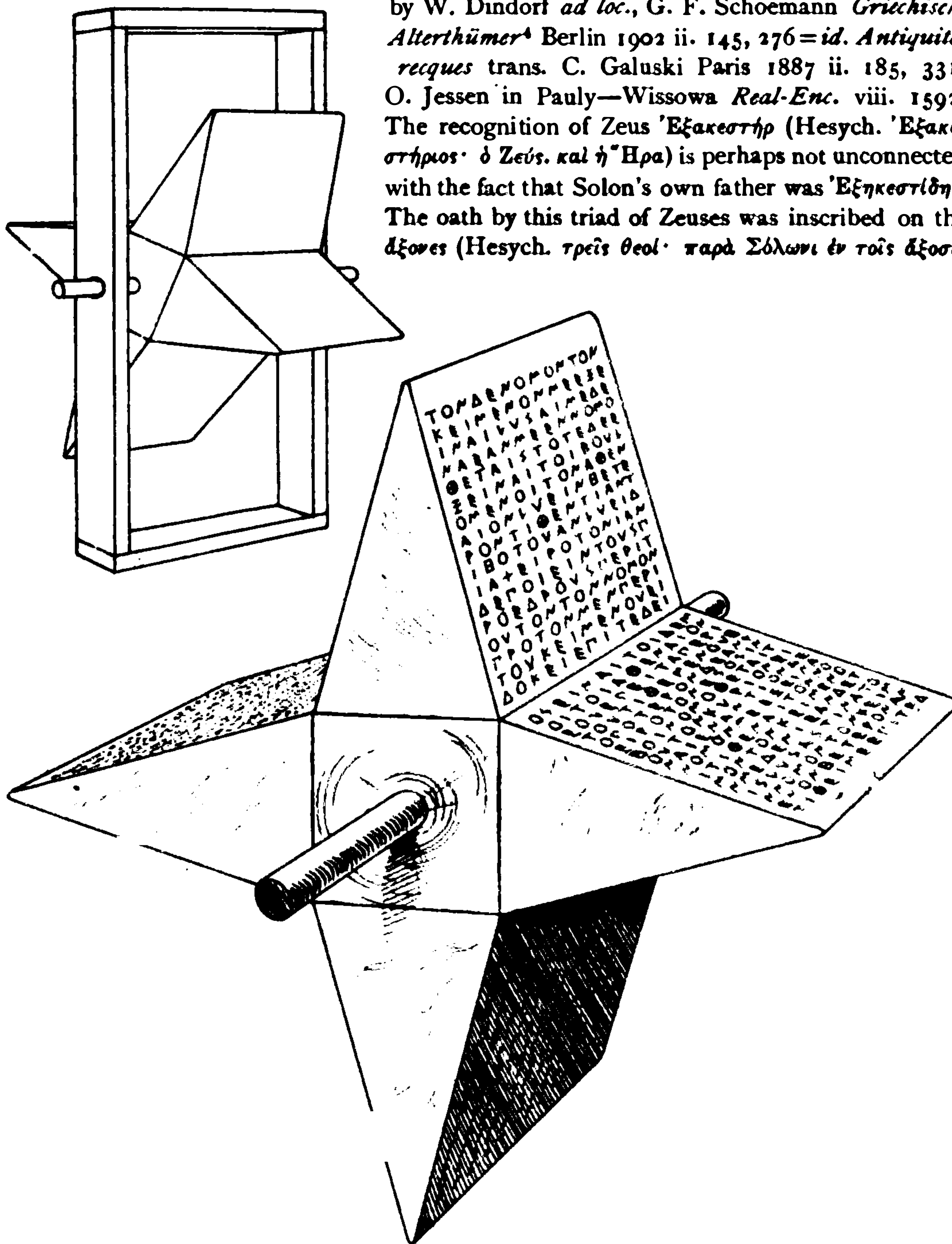


Fig. 935.

δρκῶ τέτακται <τρεις θεοὺς ἐπιμαρτύρεσθαι?>. ἐνιοὶ κατὰ τὸ Ὀμηρικόν (sc. *Il.* 2. 371,

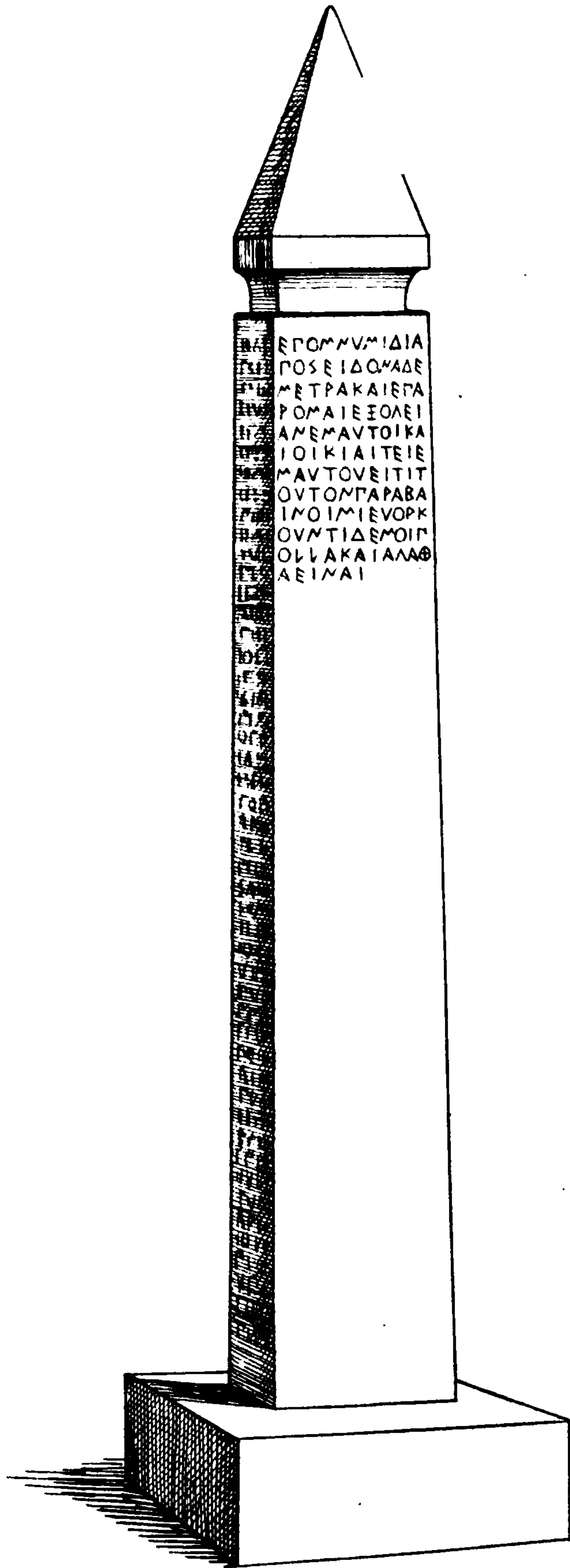


Fig. 936.

4. 288, 7. 132, 16. 97, *Od.* 4. 341, 7. 311, 17. 132, 18. 235, 24. 376 αἱ γὰρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπολλόν), which are said to have been wooden axles revolving in oblong frames kept in the Prytaneion (Plout. *v. Sol.* 25 καὶ κατεγράφησαν εἰς ξυλινούς ἀξονας ἐν πλαισίοις περιέχουσι στρεφομένους, ὧν ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Πρυτανείῳ λείψανα μικρὰ διεσώζετο). Another account says rather enigmatically that they were square in shape, but that when laid in the direction of their acute angle they produced a triangular appearance (Polemon *frag.* 48 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 130 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* ἀξονί· οἱ Σόλωνος νόμοι ἐν ξυλινούσι ἦσαν ἀξοσι γεγραμμένοι... ἦσαν δέ, ὡς φησὶ Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἐρατοσθένην, τετράγωνοι τὸ σχῆμα. διασώζονται δὲ ἐν τῷ Πρυτανείῳ, γεγραμμένοι κατὰ πάντα τὰ μέρη. ποιῶσι δ' ἐνίοτε φαντασίαν τριγώνου, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸ στενὸν κλιθῶσι τῆς γωνίας). The Solonian laws were also inscribed on κύρβεις set up in the Stoa Basileios (Aristot. *resp. Ath.* 7. 1 = Aristot. *frag.* 352 Rose *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* κύρβεις, Soud. *s.v.* κύρβεις, Plout. *v. Sol.* 25, schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1354, cp. Aristot. *de mundo* 6. 400 b 30 f.), and these κύρβεις are described as stones standing upright like pillars, surmounted by an apex or cap (Apolod. *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 432 f. Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* κύρβεις... κύρβεις φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν ἔχειν ἐγγεγραμμένους τοὺς νόμους. εἶναι δ' αὐτοὺς λίθους ὀρθοὺς ἐστῶτας, ὡς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς στάσεως στήλας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς εἰς ὕψος ἀναστάσεως (*leg.* ἀνατάσεως) διὰ τὸ κεκορυφῶσθαι κύρβεις ἐκάλουν, ὡσπερ καὶ κυρβασίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τιθεμένην, cp. Soud. *s.v.* κύρβεις, Phot. *lex. s.v.* κύρβεις, schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1354). One ancient grammarian attempts to identify the κύρβεις with the ἀξονες, stating that in both cases a large brick-shaped body as long as a man had fitted

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and even as *Hikétas*, himself 'the Suppliant'¹,—a remarkable title dependent, I think², upon the very primitive notion³ that a stranger suddenly appearing in the midst of the community may well be a god on his travels⁴.

(T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 471 f. no. 4 on a square base of white marble Διονύσιος Νικωνος | Παλληνεὺς ἐπιμελητῆς | γενόμενος Δήλου | ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ | Ἀθηναίων Διὶ Ἴκεσίωι). More doubtful is an inscription of s. ii B.C. from Netteia in Rhodes (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 891, 2 on a slab of blackish marble [οἱ ἐπιμή]νιοι ἀεὶ τοὶ αἰ[ρ]εθ[ε]ντες Ἴκεσίωι φθόβ[ι]ς ἐγ λ- , where F. Hiller von Gaertringen *ad loc.* supplies Διτ and notes that φθόβ[ι]ς = φθόβ[ι]ας, 'cakes').

¹ Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* Add. nov. no. 49a with fig. = my fig. 937 a rough calcareous



Fig. 937.

boundary-stone (0.35^m long, 0.30^m high, 0.10^m—0.11^m thick), found at Sparta and preserved in the Museum at Teuthis (*Dimitzana*), bearing the retrograde inscription Διοίκετα, | Διώλευθερ[ω] = Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 249 no. 244 = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 6 no. 4407. E. S. Roberts *ad loc.* remarks: 'The change of the final σ of Διός in l. 1 to the *spiritus asper* is remarkable; still more so the contraction in Διώλ. of l. 2 after disappearance of the *h* = σ. Stolz (*Wiener Stud.* VIII. 1886, p. 160), who summarily rejects this explanation, suggests a genitive Διω

on the analogy of σ-stems, and compares Lat. *Iovos*, *Eph. ep.* 1. 14 no. 21, *Iovo*, *Herm.* XIX. 453. Elsewhere certainly final σ does not disappear in Laconian, even where the next word begins with a vowel.' But R. Meister *ad loc.* is content to assume the change of σ into *h*; and so is A. Thumb in K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*⁴ München 1913 p. 171, citing Cypriote parallels.

² H. Roehl *loc. cit.* refers to Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1807, 9 f. καὶ ὁ ἱκετεύσας καὶ ὁ τὴν ἱκετείαν δεξάμενος ἦτοι κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς εἰπεῖν ἱκετοδόχος ἰκέται εἰσὶν ἀλλήλοις. For the supposed reciprocal sense Eustathios cp. ξένος, προστρόπαιος, χρήστης.

G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic*² Oxford 1911 p. 291 ('this Zeus of Aeschylus is himself the suppliant; the prayer which you reject is his very prayer, and in turning from your door the helpless or the outcast you have turned away the most high God. The belief was immemorially old') comes much nearer the mark, though I cannot accept the explanation which he adds in a footnote *ib.* p. 291 n. 1 ('Zeὺς Ἀφικτωρ... is a "projection" of the rite of Supplication').

³ Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 216 ff., 252 f. (the story of Lityerses compared with the harvest customs of Europe, after W. Mannhardt *Mythologische Forschungen* Strassburg 1884 p. 18 ff.).

⁴ This is definitely stated in *Od.* 17. 483 ff. Ἀντινό, οὐ μὲν κάλ' ἔβαλες δύστηνον ἀλήτην· | οὐλόμεν', εἰ δὴ πού τις ἐπουράνιος θεὸς ἐστι, — | καὶ τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν εἰκόβτες ἀλλοδαποῖσι, | παντοῖοι τελέθοντες, ἐπιστρωφῶσι πόληας, | ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομήην ἐφορῶντες (cp. Hes. *o.d.* 121 ff.), and is implied in the history of Barnabas and Paul (*supra* i. 193 n. 3. See too Acts 28. 1—6), the myths of Philemon and Baucis (*Ov. met.* 8. 616 ff., Lact. *Plac. narr. fab.* 8. 7—9), Pelargus or Pelasgus (*Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 81 f.), Lykaon (*supra* i. 79 n. 6. There is a reminiscence of the Homeric passage in Nikolaos Damask. *frag.* 43 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 378 Müller) ὅτι Λυκάων ὁ Πελασγοῦ υἱός, βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδων, ἐφύλαττε τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰσηγήματα ἐν δικαιοσύνη. ἀποστῆσαι <δὲ> βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς ἀδικίας τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἔφη τὸν Δία ἐκάστοτε φοιτᾶν παρ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρὶ ξένῳ μοιούμενον εἰς ἐποψίαν τῶν δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων = Soud. *s.v.* Αὐκᾶων), and many others.

Similarly the poets spoke of Zeus, not only as *hiketésios*¹, *hikésios*², and It is reasonable to surmise that the possible divinity of the stranger *ēven* helped to establish the law of hospitality (other contributory causes in Schrader *Reallex.* p. 269 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Taboo p. 130, W. Wundt *Elements of Folk Psychology* trans. E. L. Schaub London 1916 p. 340 ff.). 'Ἰκέτης or ξένος—who could tell?—might turn out to be Zeus himself. 'Some have entertained angels unawares' (Heb. 13. 2).

At a later stage of religious development Zeus is conceived, not as the actual *ικέτης* or *ξένος*, but as his unseen attendant. Thus *e.g.* the Phaeacian Echeneos says to Alkinoos: *ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ ξέων μὲν ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροῆλου | εἶσον ἀναστήσας, σὺ δὲ κηρύκεσσι κέλευσον | οἶνον ἐπικρῆσαι, ἵνα καὶ Διὶ τερπικεραύνῃ | σπείσωμεν, ὅς θ' ἰκέτησιν ἄμ' αἰδοίωσιν ὀπηδεῖ· | κ.τ.λ. (Od. 7. 162 ff. with the sequel in line 178 ff.), and Odysseus to Polyphemos: *ἀλλ' αἰδεῖο, φέριστε, θεοῦ· ἰκέται δὲ τοὶ εἰμεν. | Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἰκετῶν τε ξείνων τε, | ξείνιος, ὅς ξείνοισιν ἄμ' αἰδοίωσιν ὀπηδεῖ (Od. 9. 269 ff.). Cp. Od. 14. 158 f., a variant of Od. 19. 303 f.**

Ultimately Zeus becomes 'Ἰκέσιος and Ξένιος (cp. Ap. Rhod. 2. 378 Ζηνὸς Ἐυξείνοιο Γενηταίην ὑπὲρ ἄκρην with schol. *ad loc.* cited *supra* p. 617 n. 1), the god who protects suppliants and strangers in general.

¹ *Od.* 13. 213 f. Ζεὺς σφεας τίσαιτο (C. G. Cobet *cj.* Ζεὺς δὲ σφεας τίσαιθ') ἰκετήσιος, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους | ἀνθρώπους ἐφορᾷ καὶ τίνυται ὅς τις ἀμάρτη with schol. *ad loc.* *ικέσιος· ἰκετῶν ἐπόπτης* and Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1739, 18 f. *ικετήσιος δὲ Ζεὺς δοκεῖ πρωτότυπον εἶναι τοῦ ἰκέσιος (id. ib. p. 1576, 14), Tzetz. alleg. Od. 13. 46 ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἰκετήσιος, Hesych. s.v. ἰκετήσιος· ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰκετῶν Ζεὺς· ἢ ὁ τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐλεῶν.*

² Aisch. *suppl.* 343 βαρὺς γε μέντοι Ζηνὸς ἰκεσίου κῆτος, 616 f. ἰκεσίου Ζηνὸς κῆτον | μέγαν προφωνῶν κ.τ.λ., Soph. *Phil.* 484 πρὸς αὐτοῦ Ζηνὸς ἰκεσίου, Eur. *Hec.* 345 πέφειγας τὸν ἐμὸν ἰκέσιον Δία, Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 23 f. καθάρσιός τε καὶ παλαμναῖος καὶ ἰκέσιος καὶ μειλίχιος, ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι = Stob. *eccl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45, 21 f. Wachsmuth, Ap. Rhod. 2. 215 ff. ἰκεσίου πρὸς Ζηνὸς, ὅτις ῥιγιστος ἀλιτροῖς | ἀνδράσι, ... | λίσσομαι with schol. *ad loc.*, 2. 1131 ff. ἀλλ' ἰκέτας ξείνους Διὸς εἵνεκεν αἰδέσασθε | ξείνου ἰκεσίου τε· Διὸς δ' ἄμφω ἰκέται τε | καὶ ξείνοι· ὁ δὲ πού καὶ ἐπόπιος ἄμμι τέτυκται, 4. 358 f. πού τοι Διὸς ἰκεσίου | ὄρκια; 4. 700 ff. τῷ καὶ ὀπιζομένη Ζηνὸς θέμιν ἰκεσίου, | ὅς μέγα μὲν κοτέει, μέγα δ' ἀνδροφόνουσιν ἀρήγει, | ῥέζε θυηπολίην with the whole context (Jason and Medeia, on reaching the hall of Kirke, sit in silence at her hearth as is the wont of suppliants. Medeia hides her face in both hands; and Jason fixes in the ground the sword with which he has slain Apsyrtos. Kirke understands, and performs the appropriate rites of atonement. She holds above their heads a young pig, slits its throat, and sprinkles their hands with its blood. Then she makes propitiation with drink-offerings, καθάρσιον ἀγκαλέουσα | Ζῆνα, παλαμναίων τιμήτορον ἰκεσιῶν (708 f.). Her attendants carry forth all defilement (cp. *Il.* 1. 314), while she, standing by the hearth, burns *πέλανοι* and expiatory offerings without wine as she prays to the Erinyes and Zeus. Finally, she raises Jason and Medeia, and bids them sit on seats to question them), Cornut. *thol.* 11 f. p. 12, 4 ff. Lang (sequel to passage cited *supra* p. 1092 n. 8) διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἰκεσίου Διὸς εἰσι βωμοὶ καὶ τὰς Λιτὰς ὁ ποιητὴς ἔφη τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι θυγατέρας, κ.τ.λ., Dion Chrys. *or.* 1 p. 56 f. Reiske (of Zeus) πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις Ἰκέσιός τε καὶ Φύξιός τε καὶ Ξένιος... Ἰκέσιος δὲ ὡς ἄν (Reiske suggests ὦν for ἄν) ἐπήκοός τε καὶ Ἰλως τοῖς δεομένοις, Φύξιός δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀπόφυξιν (L. Dindorf restores ἀπόφυξιν), Ξένιος δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ἀρχὴ φιλίας μηδὲ τῶν ξένων ἀμελεῖν μηδὲ ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖσθαι μηδένα ἀνθρώπων = *or.* 12 p. 413 Reiske (of Zeus) πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἰκέσιός τε καὶ <Φύξιός τε> Ξένιος... Ἰκέσιος δὲ ὡς ἄν ἐπήκοός τε καὶ Ἰλως τοῖς δεομένοις, Φύξιός δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀπόφυξιν, Ξένιος δὲ ὅτι δεῖ μηδὲ τῶν ξένων ἀμελεῖν μηδὲ ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖσθαι ἀνθρώπων μηδένα, Clem. Al. *prot.* 2. 37. 1 p. 27, 23 f. Stählin καλὸς γε ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ μαντικός, ὁ ξένιος, ὁ ἰκέσιος, ὁ μειλίχιος, ὁ πανομφαῖος, ὁ προστροπαῖος, Heliod. 2. 22 ὁ δὲ Κνήμων θαυμάσας, Ἄλλ' ἢ Ξένιου Διὸς, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰς αὐτὰς ἤκομεν, ὦ πάτερ, οὕτως ἀπροφάσιτος ἢ θεραπεία καὶ πολὺ τὸ εὐνοῦν τῆς γνώμης ἐμφαίνουσα. Οὐκ εἰς Διὸς, ἔφη, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀνδρὸς Δία τὸν Ξένιον καὶ Ἰκέσιον ἀκριβοῦντος, *Antih. Pal.* 11. 351. 7 f. (Palladas) ἀλλά σε πρὸς πύκτου Πολυδεύκεος ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ | Κάστορος ἰκνοῦμαι καὶ Διὸς ἰκεσίου, Orph. *Arg.* 107 f. οὐ γὰρ

hiktaios (?)¹, 'the god of suppliants,' but also as *hiktér*², and *aphiktór*³, 'the suppliant.' Again, Zeus was known as *alástoros*⁴ or *alástor*⁵, 'he that brings a curse⁶,' *Palamnaíos*, 'he of the Violent Hand⁷,' *prostrópaios*, 'he of the

ἄτιμοι | ἰκεσίου Ζηνὸς κούραι Λιταί, Nonn. *Dion.* 18. 18 πρὸς Διὸς ἰκεσίω, τεοῦ, Διδύνασε, τοκῆος, Tryphiod. *exc. II.* 278 πεφύλαξο Διὸς σέβας ἰκεσίω, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 (Διὸς) 49 ἰκεσίου, *ib.* i. 266 (Διὸς) 44 ἰκεσίω.

¹ Aisch. *suppl.* 385 μένει τοι Ζηνὸς ἰκταίου κότος. So U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1914) with cod. M. E. Fraenkel in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1913 xlv. 168 n. 2 accepts Dindorf's cj. ἰκτίου 'das wohl eine Kompromissbildung zwischen ἰκέσιος und ἰκτήριος ist genau wie Lykophrons ἰκτης, ἰκτιδες eine solche zwischen ἰκέτης, -τις und ἰκτήρ; vgl. auch die umgekehrte Beeinflussung, die ἰκετηρία (im Gegensatz zu ἰκτήριος) durch ἰκεσία, ἰκετεία erfahren hat ([E. Fraenkel *Griechische Nomina agentis* Strassburg 1910] I, S. 52 ff. mit Anm. 2).'

² Aisch. *suppl.* 478 f. ὄμως δ' ἀνάγκη Ζηνὸς αἰδεῖσθαι κότον | ἰκτῆρος· ὕψιστος γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖς φόβος. W. Headlam renders 'Zeus Petitionary.'

³ Aisch. *suppl.* 1 f. Ζεὺς μὲν ἀφίκτωρ ἐπίδοι προφρόνως | στόλον ἡμέτερον. 'Zeus Petitionary' (W. Headlam).

⁴ Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* i. 62, 10 ff. παρὰ δὲ τὸ ἀλαστῶ ῥῆμα, ἀλάστωρ ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐπὶ τῶν χαλεπῶν τι πρᾶσσόντων· παρηκτική δὲ ἢ εὐθεία παρὰ τὴν ἀλάστορος γενικήν· Αἰσχύλος Ἰξίω (frag. 92 Nauck²) "πρευμενῆς ἀλάστορος," καὶ Φερεκύδης (frag. 114^a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 99 Müller)) "ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ Ἰκέσιος καὶ ἀλάστορος καλεῖται." With πρευμενῆς ἀλάστορος A. Nauck *ad loc.* cp. Aisch. *Eum.* 236 (Orestes to Athena) δέχου δὲ πρευμενῶς ἀλάστορα | κ.τ.λ. and Bekker *anecd.* i. 382, 29 f. ἀλάστορον· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλάστορα, ἀπὸ εὐθείας τῆς ὁ ἀλάστορος, Αἰσχύλος (frag. 294 Nauck²) "μέγαν ἀλάστορον" εἶπεν. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 67 reasonably supposes that Pherekydes spoke of Zeus ἰκέσιος καὶ ἀλάστωρ (*sic*) in relation to Ixion (*supra* i. 198 n. 3).

⁵ Orph. *h. daem.* 73. 2 ff. cited *infra* Append. M *fin.*, cp. *supra* i. 504 n. 2. The title provoked much learned discussion: Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 10, 20 ff. Lang λέγεται δ' (*sc.* ὁ Ζεὺς) ὑπὸ τινῶν καὶ ἀλάστωρ καὶ παλαμναῖος τῷ τοὺς ἀλάστορας καὶ παλαμναίους κολάζειν, τῶν μὲν ὠνομασμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτάνειν ἐφ' οἷς ἔστιν ἀλαστήσαι καὶ στενάξαι, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῖς παλάμαις μιάσματα ἀνέκθυτα (ἀνέκπλυτα codd. N. B. G.) ἀποτελεῖν = Eudok. *viol.* 414^ε, Hesych. *s.v.* ἀλάστωρ· πικρὸς δαίμων. Ζεὺς, *et. Gud.* p. 32, 35 ff. ἀλάστωρ· ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἐποπτεύων τοὺς ἀλαστὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ ποιῶντας. ἢ ὁ ἀσεβῆς, ἢ ὁ κακοποιός. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανός (περὶ καθολικῆς προσώδιας 2 = i. 49, 13 f. Lentz reading ὑποπτεύων for ἐποπτεύων; cp. ii. 937, 27 n. Lentz), *et. mag.* p. 57, 25 ff. ἀλάστωρ· ὁ ἀμαρτωλός, ἢ ὁ φονεύς, ἢ ὁ ἐφορῶν τοὺς φόνους Ζεὺς...ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς, οἷον ἀλάστωρ Ζεὺς, ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῖς τὰ ἀλαστὰ πάσχουσιν ἐπαμύνειν· ἢ ὁ τὰ ἀλαστὰ (τουτέστι τὰ χαλεπὰ) τηρῶν, Eustath. *in II.* p. 474, 22 f. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον καὶ Ζεὺς ἀλάστωρ, ὃν ἐλάνθανεν οὐδέν, ἢ ὁ τοῖς ἀλαστα πάσχουσιν ἐπαμύνων κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς, *ib.* p. 763, 36 f. ὅθεν καὶ Ζεὺς ἀλάστωρ καὶ φθόνος καὶ δαίμων ἀλάστωρ ἐπενεόθη λέγεσθαι = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1692, 43 f. ὅθεν καὶ Ζεὺς ἀλάστωρ καὶ ὁ φθονερὸς δαίμων ἐπενεόθη λέγεσθαι.

⁶ The derivation of the word is doubtful (cjj. in A. Vaníček *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1877 i. 788 f., L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 293 f., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 23, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 41), but its meaning is sufficiently clear (see K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1292 f.).

⁷ Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 23 (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2) = Stob. *eccl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45, 21 Wachsmuth, Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 10, 20 ff. Lang (cited *supra* p. 1098 n. 5), Orion in F. W. Sturz's ed. of *et. Gud.* p. 628, 17 ff. παλαμναῖος ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειρὶ φονεύσαντας τιμωρούμενος καὶ Ζεὺς Παλαμναῖος ἐν Χαλκίδι, *et. Gud.* p. 448, 28 ff. παλαμναῖος· σημαίνει δὲ δύο, ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειριφονεύσαντας τιμωρούμενος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τινὶ βιάσματι κατεχόμενος, *ib.* p. 449, 21 f. καὶ Ζεὺς δὲ Παλαμναῖος λέγεται ἐν Χαλκίδι, *et. mag.* p. 647, 43 f. παλαμναῖος· ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειρὶ φονεύσαντας τιμωρούμενος, Ζεὺς Παλαμναῖος. λέγεται καὶ ἐν Χαλκίδι Παλαμναῖος (cod. D. omits the last word), Soud. *s.v.* παλαμναῖος = Phot. *lex. s.v.* παλαμ-

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of Purification¹. The exact relationship of all these appellatives and the growth of the religious beliefs implied by them are still far from clear. Perhaps we shall come within measurable distance of the truth by assuming that development proceeded on some such lines as follow :

Arg. 107 f. cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2, and for a parody *Anth. Pal.* 11. 361. 1 ff. (Auto-medon)). How Zeus could have begotten such creatures, 'halt wrinkled squinting,' was a puzzle (Bion Borysthenites *frag.* 44 Mullach *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 56. 1 p. 43, 29 ff. Stählin, Herakleitos *quaestt. Hom.* 37, Porph. *quaestt. Il.* 97, 21, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 768, 28 ff.). But symbolism proved a ready solvent (*vide* the comments of Herakleitos *quaestt. Hom.* 37, schol. *Il.* 9. 502 f., Porph. *quaestt. Il.* 97, 21, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 767, 60 ff., Cornut. *theol.* 12 p. 12, 5 ff. Lang, Eudok. *viol.* 606, Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iii. 239, 32 ff., cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Αἰται (H. Stephanus restored Αἰται)). Dr W. Leaf *A Companion to the Iliad* London 1892 p. 185 can still write: 'The epithets applied to them indicate the attitude of the penitent: halting, because he comes with hesitating steps; wrinkled, because his face betrays the inward struggle; and of eyes askance, because he dares not look in the face the man he has wronged' (cp. the same scholar's note on *Il.* 9. 503, repeated in his joint ed. with the Rev. M. A. Bayfield). I am sorry to dissent from Dr Leaf, to whom all lovers of Homer are so deeply indebted. But to me it seems far more probable that the Litai were physically deformed and loathsome like the Erinyes, to whom they were akin. I suppose them to have been essentially the prayers of the injured man taking shape as vengeful sprites. In the last analysis they were simply the soul of the victim issuing from his mouth in visible form, maimed because he was maimed, and clamouring for vengeance. The personification is not unlike that implied in Gen. 4. 10 'the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground' (with Dr J. Skinner's note *ad loc.*). For the soul as Erinys see Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 213 ff. No doubt all this belongs to the dim background of Greek religion and has already been half-forgotten by the Homeric writer, who conceives the Litai, not as the wrathful prayers of the injured man, but as the penitential prayers of his injurer. The apologue thus acquires a new moral value. It is, however, largely couched in language appropriate to the earlier conception (Ate, swift of foot, drives many a man to do mad deeds. Then come the Litai and effect the cure. If a man respects them, they help him and hear his prayer. If a man flouts them, they go and pray to Zeus that Ate may fall upon such an one, drive him mad, and make him pay the price), and in particular its description of the Litai as misshapen and hideous is an abiding relic of its former significance. The passage is, in fact, an *αἴτιος* (like *Il.* 19. 91 ff. or the oracle in Hdt. 6. 86) misinterpreted and misapplied by a later moralist. But, however understood, it contributes little or nothing to an explanation of Zeus Αἰταῖος. The altar at Nikaia was surely voted to him as 'Hearer of Prayers' for the restored health of the emperor or for some other benefit vouchsafed to a grateful public.

¹ Zeus was worshipped as Καθάριστος at Athens (Poll. 8. 142 (cp. 1. 24) cited *supra* p. 1093 n. 1) and at Olympia (Paus. 5. 14. 8 πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμός, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Καθαροῦ Διὸς καὶ Νίκης, καὶ αἰθὶς Διὸς ἐπωνυμίαν Ἕθουλου. E. Curtius *Die Altäre von Olympia* (Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1881 Phil.-hist. Classe) Berlin 1882 p. 39 no. 21 rightly assumes that Zeus Καθάριστος and Nike had here a common altar. So, with some hesitation, does W. Dörpfeld in *Olympia* i. 83 no. 18. C. Maurer *De aris Graecorum pluribus deis in commune positis* Darmstadii 1885 p. 17 adopts the same view. But K. Wernicke 'Olympische Beiträge i' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix. 96 no. 18 f. thinks otherwise). For literary allusions see Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 23 (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2) = Stob. *eccl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45, 21 Wachsmuth, Ap. Rhod. 4. 708 f. (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2), Plout. *de carn. esu* 2. 1 ὦ Ζεῦ καθάρσιε, Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 8 f. σεισίχθων, αὔξητᾶ, καθάρσιε, παντοτινάκτα, | ἀστράπιε (so G. Hermann for ἀστραπαῖε), βρονταῖε, κεραῖνιε, φυτάλιε Ζεῦ.

MAN-SLAYER.

- (1) The bloodguilty man, appearing suddenly as a suppliant stranger, is deemed a god (Zeus Ἰκέτας, ἰκτήρ, ἀφίκτωρ, ἀλάστωρ, κ.τ.λ.)¹.
- (2) The suppliant or stranger is not himself mistaken for a god, but is thought to have a divine escort (Zeus ὃς θ' ἰκέτησιν ἄμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ, Zeus ὃς ξείνοισιν ἄμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ)².
- (3) Suppliants and strangers in general are supposed to be *protégés* of the god (Zeus Ἰκέσιος, Ἰκετήσιος, ἰκταῖος (?), Zeus Ξένιος)³.

VICTIM.

- (1) The soul (κῆρ) of the murdered man becomes a wrathful spirit (ἐρινύς). His curses (ἀραί), prayers (λιταί), and penalties (ποιναί) all pursue the guilty.
- (2) Hence arises the whole tribe of avenging deities (Κῆρες, Ἐρινύες, Ἄραί, Ἀράντιδες⁴, Λιταί⁵, Ποιναί, κ.τ.λ.).
- (3) With the progress of religion deities of this low type are subordinated to a high god⁶, especially to Zeus⁷ (cp. Zeus Τιμωρός⁸).

The protective and the punitive powers of Zeus are fused
(Zeus Ἰκέσιος, Παλαμναῖος, προστρόπαιος).

¹ *Supra* pp. 1096, 1098.

² *Supra* p. 1097 n. o.

³ *Supra* pp. 1093, 1097, 1097 n. o, 1097 n. 2.

A marble statue of Zeus Ξένιος by Papylos, a pupil of Praxiteles, was owned by C. Asinius Pollio (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 34 Iuppiter hospitalis Papyli (*pamphili* Gelenius),



Fig. 939.

Praxitelis (K. L. von Ulrichs cj. *Praxitelis*) discipuli). At Sparta—the former home of *ξενηλασία*—Zeus Ξένιος was grouped with Athena Ξενία (Paus. 3. 11. 11 with H. Hitzig [⁴⁻⁸ For notes 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, see page 1102.]

Zeus *Meilichios* as an angry god readily appeased by the man-slayer might conveniently be ranged under this joint-category, his title being interpreted as 'the Kindly One.'

and H. Blümner *ad loc.* Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 9 aptly cites Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 31 p. 149 Kayser *περιστάντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξένον τε παρὰ τῷ Διὶ ἐποιοῦντο κ.τ.λ.*). A broken relief in the Terme Museum (fig. 939) shows Zeus *Ξένιος* as a traveller sitting with a rumpled *himátion* over his knees and a knotted stick in his left hand, while he extends his right in welcome to a draped figure before him and offers a seat on his own eagle-decked couch (Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 146 f. no. 3772, P. Arndt *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg* Munich 1896 p. 64 fig. 34, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 330 no. 2, R. Paribeni *Le Terme di Diocleziano e Il Museo Nazionale Romano*⁴ Roma 1922 p. 217 no. 546). The lower border of the relief bears an archaising inscription, which G. Kaibel in *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 990 transcribes [ὁ δείνα ...] *νοὺς καθ' ὕπνον ἀνέθηκα Διὲι Ξένιω ...* (facsimile in W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*⁵ Leipzig 1913 ii. 173 ff. no. 1405 fig. 38).

⁴ Hesych. 'Ἀράντισιν (Musurus cj. ἀραντίσιν): Ἐρινύσι. Μακεδόνες. See O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 470, ii. 1165, K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 379, O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 95 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1099 n. 2.

⁶ A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1328.

⁷ This can be best made out in the case of the Erinyes. The following sequence of extracts attests their increasing subordination to Zeus: *Il.* 19. 86 ff. *ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ αἰτίος εἰμι, | ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς καὶ Μοῖρα καὶ ἡεροφοῖτις Ἐρινύς, | οἳ τέ μοι εἰν ἀγορῇ φρεσὶν ἐμβαλον ἄγριον ἄτην | κ.τ.λ.* (see further E. Hedén *Homerische Götterstudien* Uppsala 1912 p. 134 f.), Aisch. *Ag.* 55 ff. *ὑπατος δ' ἄλων ἢ τις Ἀπόλλων | ἢ Πᾶν ἢ Ζεὺς... | ὑστερόποιον | πέμπει παραβᾶσω Ἐρινύν, 744 ff. παρακλίνας' ἐπέκρανεν | δὲ γάμου πικρὰς τελευτὰς, | δύσεδρος καὶ δυσόμιλος | συμένα Πριαμδαῖσιν, | πομπῆ Διὸς ξένου | νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς* (see W. Kausche 'Mythologumena Aeschylea' in the *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses Halis Saxonum* 1888 ix. 182 f.), Verg. *Aen.* 12. 849 ff. *hae (sc. the three Furies) Iovis ad solium saevique in limine regis | apparent, acuntque metum mortalibus aegris, | si quando letum horrificum morbosque deum rex | molitur, meritas aut bello territat' urbes. | harum unam celerem demisit ab aethere summo | Iupiter, etc., Val. Flacc. 4. 74 f. gravis orantem procul arcet Erinys, | respiciens celsi legem Iovis.*

⁸ *Supra* p. 1099 n. 6. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1116 n. 9 cites as a doubtful analogue Hesych. *Ζητήρ*: Ζεὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ = Favorin. *lex.* p. 828, 36 f. F. Guyet in J. Alberti's note on Hesych. *loc. cit.* says: 'An *Ζητήρ* a ζᾶω, unde Ζᾶν, Ζῆν, & Ζεὺς, a ζέω.' This derivation would have satisfied the Greeks themselves (*supra* i. 11 n. 5, 31 n. 3), and in Kypros a Zeus *Ζητήρ* might have been regarded as a Grecised equivalent of the Semitic *θεὸς ζῶν* (W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 pp. 450—510 'Jahwe der lebendige Gott'). But it is far more probable that *Ζητήρ* means 'Avenger' and is related to *ζη-μιλα*, *ζη-τρος*, κ.τ.λ. (on which see A. Vaniček *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1877 i. 756, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 168, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 309). *Supra* p. 444 n. 7.

His Roman equivalent was Iupiter *Ultor*. Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 9239 (a dedication found at Clunia in Spain) *Iovi Aug. | Ultori sacrum | L. Valerius Paternus | mil. leg. x Gem. | optio 7 Censoris exs | voto perhaps has reference to the death of Nero. Pertinax at the last besought Iupiter Ultor to avenge his assassination (Iul. Capit. v. Pert. 11. 10). Domitian, Septimius Severus, Alexander Sev̄erus, Papienus, and Gallienus issued coins with the legend IOVI VLTORI (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 902 ff., Suppl. iii. 158 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 486 fig.). I figure a 'first brass' of Alexander Severus in my collection (fig. 940) and a medallion struck in two bronzes by the same emperor, 224 A.D. (F. Gnechi in the *Rivista italiana di numismatica* 1888 i. 286 no. 12 pl. 8, 7 (=my fig. 941) *rev.*: IOVI VLTORI P·M·TR·P·III· and COSPP. Hexastyle temple with triumphal chariot and statues as *akrotéria*; statuary*

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to Zeus *Meilichios* may now be covered by the church of Saint Sabas¹. If so², is it a mere coincidence that this Greek martyr, whose festival falls on the first of May, was said to have been hung by his hands upon a fig-tree³?

There is, it would seem, much to be said in favour of both these views—that which regards Zeus *Meilichios* as a god 'Kindly' towards the fugitive man-slayer and that which takes him to have been originally a 'god of Figs.' Nevertheless I find myself unable to adopt either opinion; for both alike are based on the circumstances of one particular cult-centre without regard to the other localities in which Zeus *Meilichios* is known to have been worshipped. Our survey must be wider before we can safely venture on an interpretation of the disputed appellative.

(3) Zeus *Meilichios* on the Attic coast.

Between the harbours of Zea and Mounichia the Attic coastline shows various groups of rock-cut niches⁴. At one point⁵, four hundred metres in a north-westerly direction from the island of *Stalida*, the foothill displays a grotto and beside it a recess, originally lined with red stucco and still framed by pilasters and an architrave with palmettes above it. The decoration appears to date from the fourth century B.C. Some ninety metres further towards the west other niches of different shapes and sizes are to be seen carved in an old quarry-face⁶. To judge from votive reliefs found in the vicinity, the whole site was once sacred to Zeus *Meilichios* and to a kindred deity Zeus *Phllios*⁷. Agathe Tyche, regarded Koscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1617 connects this myth with the belief that the fig-tree was lightning-proof (Plout. *symp.* 4. 2. 1, 5. 9, Lyd. *de mens.* 3. 52 p. 49, 22 Bekker = *ib.* 4. 96 p. 111, 3 f. Bekker = p. 181, 18 f. Wünsch, 4. 4 p. 69, 1 Wünsch, *de ostent.* 45 p. 98, 15 ff. Wachsmuth, Theophranes Nonnos *epitome de curatione morborum* 259, *Geopon.* 11. 2. 7, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 77: see Rohde *Psyche*³ ii. 406 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 785 n. 6, F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2145, and especially T. H. Martin *La foudre l'électricité et le magnétisme chez les anciens* Paris 1866 p. 194 f.).

¹ Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 493.

² F. Lenormant *Monographie de la Voie Sacrée Éleusinienne* Paris 1864 p. 312 accepts the view of F. C. H. Kruse *Hellas* Leipzig 1826 ii. 1. 173 that the site of the altar is marked by the little church of St Blasios (Sir W. Gell *The Itinerary of Greece* London 1819 p. 31).

³ *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Maii i. 46 (De Sancto Saba, martyre apud Græcos.) *Antiqua MSS. Menæa, quæ Divione apud Petrum Franciscum Societatis Iesu asservari reperimus anno MDCLXII, referunt hisce Kalendis Maji S. Sabam, in fico digitis suis appensum, & sic gloriosa vita functum, & addunt hoc distichon.*

Ἦνεγκε καρπὸν πρωϊμένης συκῆς [lege Ἦνεγκε καρπὸν πρωϊμης συκῆς κλάδος
Κλάδος τὸν χειροδεσμοῖς ἐκκρεμαμένον Τὸν χειροδέσμοις ἐκκρεμαμένον (sic) Σάβαν.]
Σάβαν.

Attulit fructum præmaturæ ficus

Ramus, suspensum è digitis vinctis Saban.

M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 p. 113 confuse this St Sabas with St Sabas the Gothic martyr (April 12), who suffered under Athanaricus in 372 A.D. (G. T. Stokes in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 566).

⁴ A. Milchhöfer in E. Curtius—J. A. Kaupert *Karten von Attika* Berlin 1881 Erlautender Text Heft i p. 60 f., C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1890 ii. 1. 146 ff., A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1897 p. 406 ff., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 383.

⁵ E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Atlas von Athen* Berlin 1878 p. 35 pl. 12, 1.

⁶ E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *op. cit.* p. 35 pl. 12, 2.

⁷ *Infra* Append. N *med.*

as consort of the latter¹, had a separate precinct near by², as had also on a larger scale Asklepios³.

Zeus *Meiltchios* was sometimes represented as a kingly figure enthroned. A fourth-century relief of white stone, found near the Tsocha theatre in the Peiraius and now in the National Museum at Athens, shows him approached by three devotees (fig. 942)⁴. Within an architectural framework the god is seated towards the right on a throne, the arm of which is adorned with the usual sphinx and ram's-head (?)⁵. Clad in a *himátion* only, he holds a sceptre in one hand, a *phidle* in the other. Before him is a rectangular altar. From the right draws near a simple family-group of man⁶, woman, and child, with gestures of greeting. Above, on the architrave, is the dedication:

'Aristarche, to Zeus *Meiltchios*⁷.'

A second relief from the same find-spot adds more to our knowledge of the god (fig. 943)⁸. As before, he is seen within a framework of architecture, which bears the inscription:

'—toboule, to Zeus *Miltchios*⁹.'

As before, he is enthroned on the left with a *phidle* in his right hand¹⁰, while a group of worshippers advances towards him from the right. But this time he grasps a *cornu copiae* in his left hand, and they bring a pig to sacrifice at his altar. Behind the altar stands a boy with something in a shallow basket: between the man and woman is seen a grown girl supporting a deep basket on her head. The *cornu copiae*, one of the rarer attributes of Zeus¹¹, marks him as a sort of Plouton, able to dispense abundance. The pig, again, though its bones strewed the altar of Zeus *Lýkaios*¹², was an animal commonly sacrificed to Zeus in his chthonian capacity—Zeus *Bouleús* at Mykonos¹³, Zeus *Eubouleús* at Delos¹⁴.

¹ *Infra* Append. N *init.*

² Ch. D. Tsountas in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1884 p. 169 line 44, W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 383 n. 9.

³ W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 388 n. 16.

⁴ *Stais Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*² p. 245 f. no. 1431, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 436 f. pl. 70, 4, P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 507 ff. pl. 18 (=my fig. 942), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 117 pl. 2, a, *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1246, 2 with Text v. 21 by E. Löwy, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 19 f. fig. 3, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 363 no. 1. Height 0.30^m, breadth 0.40^m.

⁵ *Supra* i. 407 n. 1.

⁶ Not the priest (Foucart *loc. cit.*), but the husband (Svoronos *loc. cit.*) or son (Löwy *loc. cit.*) of the dedicant Aristarche.

⁷ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1579 'Αριστάρχη Διὶ Μειλιχίω. Rather: 'Αρι(σ)τάρχη κ.τ.λ.

⁸ I. Ch. Dragatses in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1886 p. 49 f. no. 1, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 117, A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1897 p. 408, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 21 f. fig. 6. My illustration is from a photograph kindly placed at my disposal by Miss Harrison. Height 0.36^m, breadth 0.24^m. Traces of colouring subsist on Zeus and his horn (red, yellow), etc.

⁹ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1579b —τοβούλη Διὶ Μειλιχίω[ι]. Miss Harrison *loc. cit.* after Dragatses prints [Κριτο]βόλη Διὶ Μειλιχίω. But this is inexact. The name of the dedicant should be longer, perhaps ['Αρισ]τοβούλη (F. Bechtel *Die Attischen Frauennamen* Göttingen 1902 pp. 6, 9); and the name of the god has no ε.

¹⁰ I. Ch. Dragatses *loc. cit.* says τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τῶν μηρῶν ἀναπαύοντα—another inexactitude.

¹¹ *Supra* i. 361, 501 f., 598 n. 1.

¹² *Supra* i. 82.

¹³ *Supra* i. 668, 717 n. 3.

¹⁴ *Supra* i. 669 n. 2, 717 n. 3.

The abundance vouchsafed by Zeus *Meilichios* and the pig provided by his worshippers are alike illustrated by a passage in Xenophon's *Anabasis*¹:

'Next they sailed across to Lampsakos, where Xenophon was met by a seer



Fig. 942.



Fig. 943.

from Phlious, Eukleides son of Kleagoras. Kleagoras was the man who painted the frescoes in the Lykeion. This Eukleides congratulated Xenophon on his

¹ Xen. *an.* 7. 8. 1—6.

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aliens, freedmen, or slaves. And Foucart suggests¹ that they formed a *thiasos* of Phoenician settlers, who had brought with them to the crowded port of Athens *Ba'al Milik* or *Melek* or *Molok*, their own 'Lord King'²: *Ba'al* they translated as *Zeús* and *Milik* they transliterated as *Miltchios*³. This view has commended

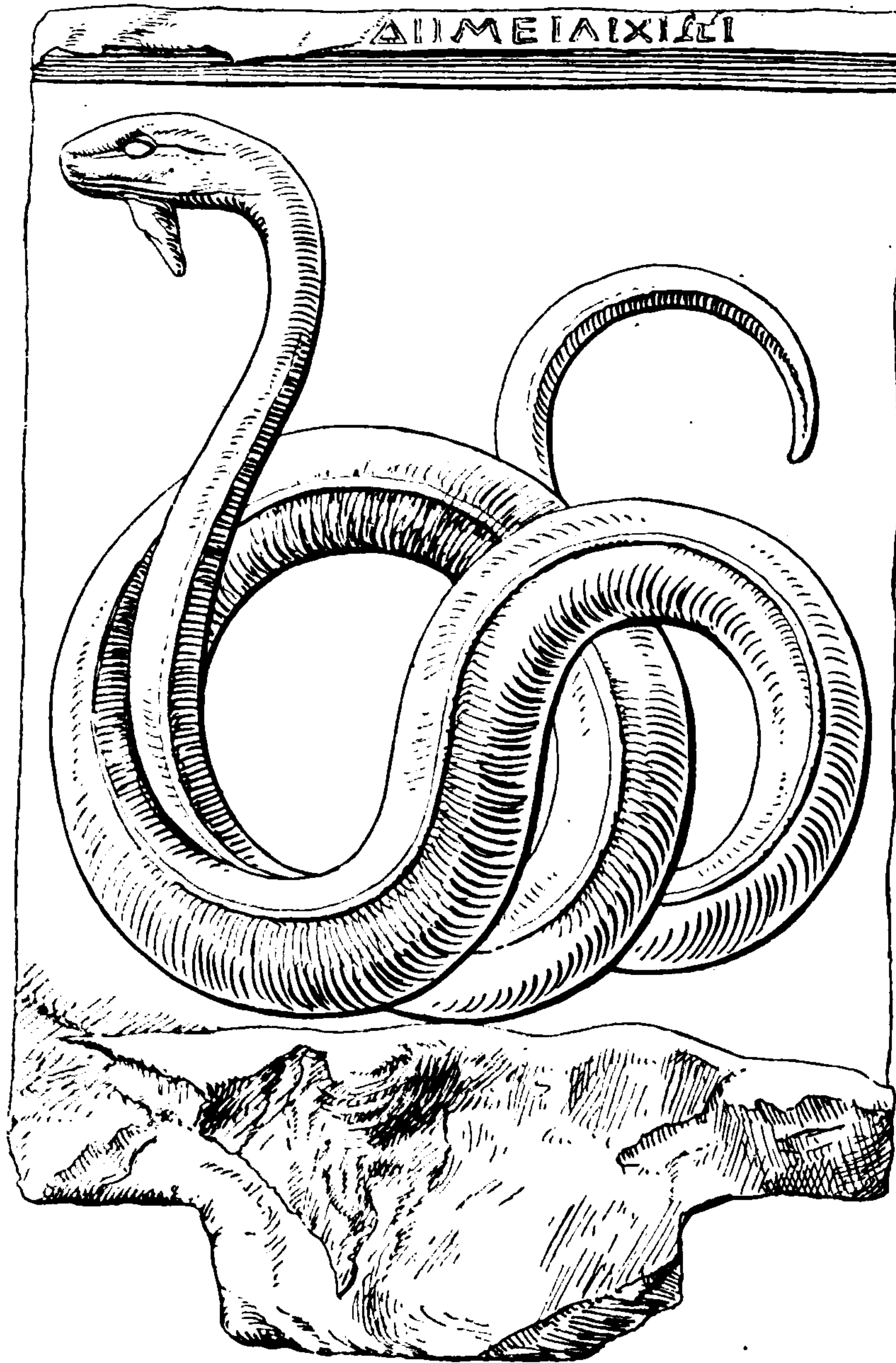


Fig. 944.

¹ P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 511 ff., *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1700 f.

² On the problematic Malakba'al- or Melekba'al-*stélai* see E. Meyer in Koscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2871, ii. 3107, and on Moloch in general E. Meyer and A. Jeremias *ib.* ii. 3106 ff., F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo universo* Oeniponte 1908 pp. 216—227. My friend and colleague the Rev. Prof. R. H. Kennett has suggested 'that Moloch, to whom first-born children were burnt by their parents in the valley of Hinnom, ... may have been originally the human king regarded as an incarnate deity': for this important hypothesis see Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Adonis Attis Osiris³ ii. 219 ff. ('Moloch the King').

³ Cp. P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 513 n. 4: 'M. Renan avait fait remarquer que la forme la plus vraisemblable est Milik, que la leçon Δία Μιλίχιον se rencontre

dans plusieurs des manuscrits d'Eusèbe où est traduit un passage de Sanchoniaton sur le dieu phénicien [Euseb. *praep. ev.* i. 10. 12 *Δία Μελίχιον*. G. H. A. Ewald in W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1876 i. 15 took *Μελίχιος* here to be a Grecised form of the Semitic word for 'sailor,' and Baudissin himself *ib.* p. 36 n. 2 says: 'Insofern der oben S. 15 erwähnte *Μελίχιος* "der Schiffer" die Bezeichnung *Ζεύς*

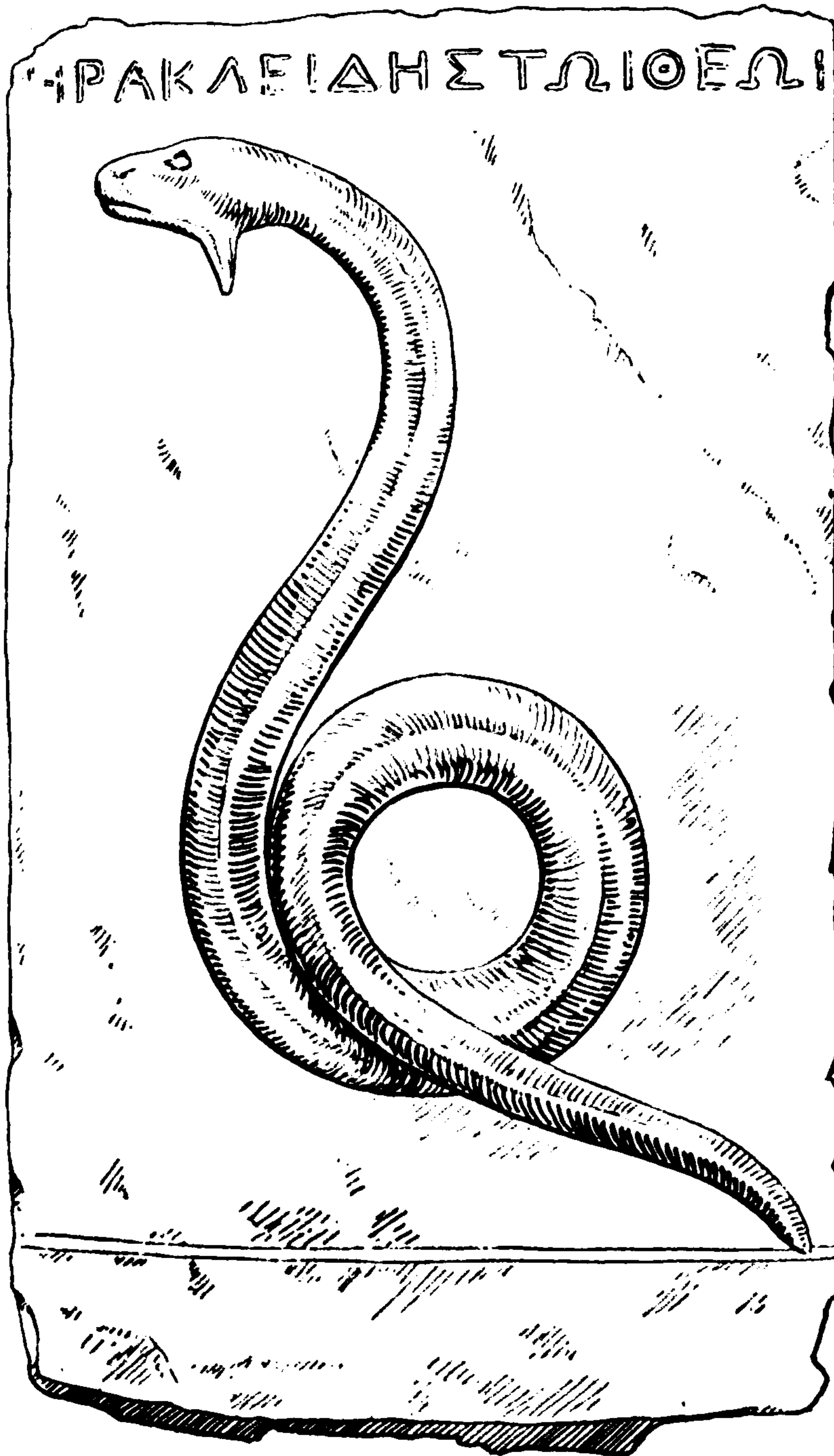


Fig. 945.

erhält, haben wir eine Gottheit in diesem Namen zu suchen, die kaum eine andere als Melkart sein kann (s.m. *Jahve et Moloch* S. 28 f.). *Μελκέρτης*, dessen Name sicher das phöniciſche *Melkart* ist, gilt bei den Griechen als Meergottheit...’ Cp. Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 398, *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 908 n. 3. *A propos* of the Semitic word for ‘sailor’ my friend Mr N. McLean writes to me (April 10, 1917): ‘The word occurs in the form *maltāh* in Hebrew, Aramaic, & Arabic. Arabic borrowed it from Aramaic; & it is said to

itself to sundry scholars including M. Clerc¹, H. Lewy², M. Mayer³, O. Höfer⁴, W. Prellwitz⁵, and in a modified form to S. Reinach⁶. But Miss Harrison in-



Fig. 946.

have come to Hebrew & Aramaic as a loanword from Assyrian, where the form is *Malahu*.⁷ The last statement is further guaranteed by the Rev. C. H. W. Johns (April 11, 1917)], qu'enfin Silius Italiens (III, 104 [103 ff. lascivo genitus Satyro nympaque Myrice | Milichus indigenis late regnarat in oris | cornigeram attollens genitoris imagine frontem]) cite Milichus comme un dieu punique (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, t. 23, p. 267). L'orthographe constante [?] des bas-reliefs du Pirée vient confirmer cette opinion.' F. C. Movers *Die Phönizier* Berlin 1841 i. 326 f. had already connected the words *Μελχιος*, *Milichus*, and *Melech*.

¹ M. Clerc *Les métèques athéniens* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* lxiv) Paris 1893 p. 127 ff.

² H. Lewy *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* Berlin 1895 p. 242 f.

³ M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1521.

⁴ O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2561 : but cp. *ib.* p. 2562.

⁵ Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 286.

⁶ S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 683 holds that in Zeus *Μελχιος* we may see the fusion of an original Greek with an incoming oriental god : 'une forme grecque et une forme orientale, distinctes à l'origine, ont été confondues par le même syncrétisme qui a assimilé Héraklès à l'Hercule latin.' Similarly in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1906 xix. 348

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local king, revered during his life-time as Zeus incarnate, was after his death worshipped as an anguiform soul under the euphemistic appellation of Zeus 'the Kindly One'? On this showing Zeus *Meilichios* falls into line with a whole string of deities already discussed—Zeus *Ktésios*¹, Zeus *Agamémnon*², Zeus *Amphidraos*³, Zeus *Trophónios*⁴, Zeus *Asklepiós*⁵. Moreover, from the new standpoint the circumstances of the cult on the Kephisos are readily intelligible. The head of a clan, dead and buried, would be just the personage required on the one hand to purify a man from the stain of kindred bloodshed, on the other to promote the fertility of the fig-trees. His title *Meilichios*, 'the Kindly One'⁶,—originally a euphemistic name⁷—would lend itself equally well to two false inter-

¹ Append. H.

² Append. I.

³ Append. J.

⁴ Append. K.

⁵ Append. L.

⁶ E. Maass *De Aeschyli Supplicibus commentatio* Gryphiswaldiae 1890 p. xxxvii n. 4 says: 'Juppiter Μελισσαίος (Hesych. s.v. [Μελισσαίος· ὁ Ζεὺς]) a μέλισσα abstracto (= ἠπιότης) videtur derivatus, ut sit idem ac μελίχιος.' But Zeus Μελισσαίος presumably means Zeus 'of the Bees' (cp. Nik. *ther.* 611). Whether the allusion is to the infant Zeus of Crete nurtured by bees (*supra* i. 150, ii. 928 f. n. 0, 932 f. n. 1) or to Aristaios the bee-keeper worshipped as Zeus in Arkadia (*supra* i. 372 n. 7) or to some unidentified cult, we cannot say.

Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 908 f.: 'Das gewöhnlichste Mittel, die Geister zu versöhnen, ist die Bewirtung mit Honig; wahrscheinlich nach ihm heisst das Entsühnen μειλισσειν. Nach der besänftigenden Honigspende sind wahrscheinlich Zeus und Dionysos Meilichios genannt worden.' But, as Gruppe himself is aware (*op. cit.* p. 908 n. 2 f.), the connexion of μειλισσειν with μέλι is very doubtful: see now Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* pp. 620, 624.

⁷ Euphemism is and always has been a *vera causa* in popular life. I once stayed at Lavancher, a village near the Mer de Glace: the little inn, which had languished under the name *L'hôtel du Mauvais Pas*, was doing well as *L'hôtel Beau-Séjour*! Similarly with Greek and Latin place-names: the Ἄξενος became the Εὔξεινος (Strab. 298 f., Ov. *trist.* 4. 4. 55 ff., Mela 1. 102, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 76, 6. 1, Solin. 23. 16, Isid. *orig.* 13. 16. 7), *Maleventum* was improved into *Beneventum* (Liv. 9. 27, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 105, Fest. p. 340 b 7 f. Müller, p. 458, 35 f. Lindsay, Paul. ex Fest. p. 34 Müller, p. 31, 17 ff. Lindsay, Steph. Byz. s.v. Βενεβεντός, Prokop. *de bell. Goth.* 1. 15); it was even supposed that *Epidamnus* had been changed into *Dyrrhachium* (Mela 2. 56, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 145, Fest. p. 340 b 9 Müller, p. 458, 37 Lindsay) and *Egesta* into *Segesta* (Fest. p. 340 b 3 ff. Müller, p. 458, 31 ff. Lindsay) for the sake of avoiding an evil omen. Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Taboo p. 392 ff. collects many examples of euphemistic substitutes for common words, which for one reason or another were taboo. He might have added to his store from Greek usage. When the ancient Greek spoke of his 'left hand' as ἀριστερά or εὐώνυμος, of 'night' as εὐφρόνη, of 'death' as εἰ τι πάθεις, of 'the dead' as οἱ πλεονες (see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2560 f.), when the modern Greek calls the small-pox Συγχωρεμένη, the 'Gracious One,' or Εὐλογία, the 'Blessing' (G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 236), and the Devil himself ὁ καλὸς ἄνθρωπος, 'the Good man,' or ὁ κατάκαλος, 'the Beloved' (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 176), these complimentary phrases are best explained as due to downright euphemism. Cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1398, 50 ff., *et. mag.* p. 144, 20 ff. Further instances are adduced by writers on rhetoric to illustrate the trope *antíphrasis*: see Anonymos *περὶ τρόπων* 14 (C. Walz *Rhetores Graeci* Stuttgartiae et Tubingae 1835 viii. 722, 10 f.), Tryphon *περὶ τρόπων* 15 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 755, 11 ff.), Gregorios of Corinth *περὶ τρόπων* 18 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 773, 20 ff.), Kokondrios *περὶ τρόπων* 6 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 785, 27 ff.), Choireboskos *περὶ τρόπων* 13 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 812, 11 ff.). An example will serve: Helladios *ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 535 a 4 ff. Bekker *ὅτι τὸ μὴ λέγειν δύσφημα πᾶσι τοῖς παλαιοῖς μὲν φροντὶς ἦν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. διὸ καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον οἰκημα ἐκάλουν, καὶ τὸν δῆμον κοινόν [a euphemism for a euphemism!], τὰς δὲ Ἐρινύας Εὐμενίδας ἢ σεμνάς θεάς, τὸ δὲ μύσος ἄγος, τὸ δὲ ὄξος μέλι καὶ τὴν χολήν*

γλυκεῖαν, τὸν δὲ βόρβορον ὄχετόν. οἱ δὲ γραμματικοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν ὀνομάζουσιν. οἷδα δὲ τινὰς, φησί, τῶν φιλολόγων καὶ τὸν πύθηκον ὀνομάζοντες καλλιαν.

Confining our attention to the titles of Greek divinities, we note the following cases:—

(1) The Erinyes were known as Ἀβλαβίαι (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 600, b 67, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 839, B 18 Erythrai in the first half of s. iii B.C.), Εὐμενίδες, Σεμναί.

(2) Hades was Ἀγήσανδρος (Hesych. s.v., Favorin. *lex.* p. 18, 22), Ἀγησίλαος (Aisch. *frag.* 406 Nauck² *ap.* Athen. 99 B, cp. Hesych. s.v. Ἀγεσίλαος (so Musurus for ἀγες, λαός cod.)=Favorin. *lex.* p. 17, 7 f., Kallim. *lavacr. Pall.* 130 Ἀγεσίλα cited by *et. mag.* p. 8, 32 f. as Ἀγεσίλαφ, Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 195. 2=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 551. 2 ἐπ' Ἀγεσίλας for the meaningless inscr. ΕΠΑΓΕΣΙΜΗ, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 11 Plutoni, cui cognomen Agesilao (v.l. Agelasto) fuit. So Nik. *frag.* 74, 72 *ap.* Athen. 684 D Ἡγεσίλαου, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 545. 4 (Hegesippos) ἠγησίλεω... Αἶδος), Εὐβουλεύς (*supra* p. 118 n. 4), Εὐειδής (Hesych. s.v. Εὐκλής cited *supra* p. 118 n. 3), Εὐκλήης (*supra* p. 118 n. 3), Εὐχάλτης (J. Franz in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1842 xiv. 136 ff. no. 1, 24 an oracle of Klaros, s. ii A.D., found at Kallipolis on the Thracian Chersonese: see Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 1034. 23, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 1397, K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 81 ff., H. von Prott in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 257 f., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 880, and C. Picard *Éphèse et Klaros* Paris 1922 pp. 212, 389, 673, 694, 696 (following Buresch)), Ἰσοδαίτης (Hesych. s.v.: see further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 551 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 804 n. 7, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1430 n. 1, 1432 n. 2, 1557 n. 3, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² pp. 440, 481 n. 1, *Themis* p. 157), Κλύμενος (C. Scherer in Koscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1783, R. Engelmann, W. H. Roscher, and W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 1228 f.), Πασιάναξ (on Megarian (?) imprecatory tablets of lead published by E. Ziebarth 'Neue attische Fluchtafeln' in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe* 1899 p. 120 no. 21, 1, 3, 7 and p. 121 no. 22, 1. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1664 cp. the Pythian oracle quoted by Phlegon of Tralleis *Olympiades seu chronica frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 603 Müller)=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 20. 5 f. ἀτιμάζοντες Ὀλύμπια πασιάνακτος | Ζηρός), Περικλύμενος (Hesych. s.v.: so Salmasius and Soping for περικλυμος cod.), Πλούτων (*supra* i. 503 f.), Πολύαρχος (Cornut. *theol.* 35 p. 74, 15 Lang), Πολυδαίμων (Orph. *h. Plout.* 18. 11: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 400 n. 2, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2637), Πολυδέγμων (*h. Dem.* 17, 31, 430, Cornut. *theol.* 35 p. 74, 15 Lang: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 400 n. 2, 809 n. 1, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2639 f.), Πολυδέκτης (*h. Dem.* 9 with the note of E. E. Sikes *ad loc.*, Cornut. *theol.* 35 p. 74, 14 Lang: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 400 n. 2, 867 n. 5, H. W. Stoll and O. Höfer in Koscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2640), Πολύξενος? (Kallim. *frag.* 478 Schneider *ap. et. Flor.* p. 189 Κλυμένου... πολυξείνοιο. In Soph. *O.C.* 1569 f. ἐν πύλαισι | ... πολυξέστοις S. Musgrave restored πολυξένους. Cp. Aisch. *suppl.* 157 f. τὸν πολυξενώτατον | Ζῆνα τῶν κεκμηκότων, where T. Birt would read Δία for Ζῆνα with the citation in *et. Gud.* p. 227, 43 διὰ (*sic*) and in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 443, 13 Δία (*sic*). Again, in Aisch. *frag.* 228 Nauck² Ζαγρεῖ τε νῦν με καὶ πολυξένω < > | χαιρεῖν cited by *et. Gud.* p. 227, 40 f. and by Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 443. 10 f. Hermann supplied πατρὶ, Schneidewin Δί. See further O. Höfer in Koscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2561 and 2742), Πυλάσχος (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 35), πυλάρτης (*Il.* 8. 367 with schol. *ad loc.*, 13. 415, *Od.* 11. 277, Mosch. 4. 86, Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 137, 25 ff., Hesych. s.v. πυλάρταο κρατεροῖο, *et. mag.* p. 696, 48 ff., Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 718, 20 f., 914, 18 f., 940, 5 f., *in Od.* p. 1684, 43 f., Favorin. *lex.* p. 1601, 28 ff.: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 400 n. 1, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3326). *Infra* Append. N *mei.*

(3) Persephone was Μελιβία? (Lasos *frag.* 1 Bergk⁴ *ap.* Athen. 624 B Δάματρα μέλπω κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἀλοχον Μελιβίαν, | θμνων ἀναγνῶν Αἰολῆδα | βαρύβρομον ἀρμονίαν: but E. Hiller—O. Crusius read ἀλοχον | μελιβίαν θμνων ἀναγνέων | Αἰολίδ' ἀνά κ.τ.λ.), Μελιτώδης (Theokr. 15. 94 with schol. *ad loc.*, Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 18. In Kokondrios *perl. τρῶπων* 6 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 786, 8) καὶ Μελιτώνην τὴν Περσεφόνην Boissonade *anecd.* iii. 292 c). μελιτώδη), Μελινδία? (Io. Malal. *chron.* 3 p. 62 Dindorf: Rohde *Psyche*² i. 206 n. 2 c). Μελινία).

pretations. Some, narrowing its range overmuch, would see in it the description of a god specially gracious to the repentant man-slayer. Others, wrongly associating it with *mellichia*, 'figs,' would point in triumph to the Sacred Fig-tree of the Phthalidai.

(4) Zeus *Meilichios* on the Hills near Athens.

There must have been another sanctuary of Zeus *Meilichios* on the northern slope of the Nymphs' Hill, now crowned by the Observatory. For here two dedications to the god have come to light, one inscribed on a round pillar¹, the other on a quadrangular base². The latter associates him with Helios, possibly as being a god of fertility³.

The eastward prolongation of the Nymphs' Hill, on which stands the church of Saint Marina, had in antiquity its own cult of Zeus: a couple of rock-cut inscriptions on the southern slope mark the limits of his precinct⁴. Whether the god here also had fertilising powers, we cannot tell; but at the present day women who come to supplicate Saint Marina for children 'go through the performance of sliding down the great sloping rock in front of the church⁵.'

(4) Hekate was 'Απιστη (C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 57 pap. Par. 1450 καὶ 'Απιστη Σθονία), Εὐκόλινη (Kallim. *frag.* 82^d Schneider χαῖρ', Εὐκόλινη, *ap. et. Sorbon.* (cited by T. Gaisford in his note on *et. mag.* p. 392, 27), *et. Ultraiect.* (cited by D. Ruhnken *epist. crit.* ii. 181), *et. Flor.* p. 133, *cp. et. niäg.* p. 392, 27 f., Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iv. 182, 23 ff., Soud. *s.v.* Εὐκόλινη), Καλλιστη (Hesych. *s.v.*), Κράταις (Ap. Rhod. 4. 829 with schol. *ad loc.*: see further H. W. Stoll and O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1408 f.).

(5) A daughter of Zeus by Persephone was Μειλινοῦ? (so C. A. Lobeck for Μηλινοῦ in Orph. *h. Melin.* 71. 1).

(6) An Arcadian bear-goddess (?) was Καλλιστώ (Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 402 ff. fig. 26, R. Franz 'De Callistus fabula' in the *Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie* 1890 xii. 233—365, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 931—935, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 438, Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 191, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 194 f., 942 n. 8, *alib.*, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 176 f.).

(7) The bogus snake-god of Abonou Teichos was Γλύκων (*supra* Append. L p. 1083 ff.).

Such titles have a twofold aspect. Their value is at once negative and positive. 'On the one hand, they are substitutes for names that were taboo. 'It is especially,' says Dr Farnell (*Cults of Gk. States* iii. 137), 'in the cults of the powers of the lower world, in the worship of Hades and Persephone, and more especially still in the mysteries, that we discern in many Greek communities a religious dislike to pronounce the proper personal name, either because of its extreme holiness or because of its ominous associations, and to conceal it under allusive, euphemistic, or complimentary titles.' On the other hand, these titles often aim at securing by magical means the blessing that they describe: you call your god what you wish him to be, in order to make him so. See some shrewd remarks by W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 33 f.: 'Here, in part (there are other elements also) lies the efficacy of Euphemism. You call the Fairies "Kindly Ones"; behind the conscious motive of putting them into a good temper, and the fear of effecting a connection with them by uttering their name, is further the comfort that you derive by persuading yourself to believe that they are kindly: the fact that you call them kindly makes them kindly.' *Meilichios* is a case in point.

¹ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1584 Δὲ Μειλιχίω | Ξωπυρίων.

² *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1585 Ἡλίω καὶ Δὲ Μειλ[ιχίω] | Μαρμύρα.

³ Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 421 n. 4, 424.

⁴ *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 504 ΣΟΙΔ:ΣΟΦΟΗ and a little lower down no. 505 ΗΟΡΟΣ.

⁵ Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 58 f. Cp. *supra* i. 563 n. 4.

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the bed of the Ilissos, discovered in the two reservoirs beneath the rocky barrier of the later Kallirrhoe four slabs carved in relief. Of these slabs two were found close together in the basin¹ adjoining the chapel of Saint Photeine, and with



Fig. 948.

them a colossal head of Herakles wearing the lion-skin. One of the two reliefs in question (fig. 947)² shows Zeus, with a sceptre in his left hand and a *phiale* (?) in

¹ Marked B in W. Wilberg's plan of the excavations (Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ. 1893 pl. A).

² A. N. Skias in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1894 p. 133 ff. fig., Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.*

his right, seated on a rock (?)¹. Before him is an altar of rude stones. Beyond it stand two female worshippers, presumably mother and daughter, conceived on a smaller scale than the god himself. The moulding above bears traces of fifth-century letters, which were read by Skias as a dedication to Zeus *Naios*²: they may equally well, indeed better, be completed as a dedication to Zeus *Meilichios*³. The second relief (fig. 948)⁴ represents Zeus holding a jug in both hands as he sits on a horned and bearded head, which is inscribed in lettering of the Alexandrine age *Achelōios*⁵. Behind Zeus stands a female (?)—perhaps Kallirrhoe, daughter of Achelōios,—fronting us with a *cornu copiae* in her left hand and a *phiale* in her right. Before Zeus stand Hermes and Herakles. Hermes has a trefoil *oinochōe* in his right hand, the *caduceus* in his left. Herakles, equipped with lion-skin and club, extends his right hand with something in it (another *oinochōe*?) towards Zeus. To either side of the heads of Zeus and Herakles are two holes of doubtful significance.

It is not quite certain that either of these reliefs figures Zeus *Meilichios*. But it is probable that both do so. The former bears a general resemblance to the *Meilichios*-reliefs of the Peiraius (figs. 942, 943)⁶, though it shows a more primitive type of altar and dispenses with architectural framework. The latter represents a chthonian Zeus of some sort; for it associates him closely with Achelōios⁷ and Kallirrhoe (?). Now somewhere in the immediate neighbourhood

pl. 130, 2 (=my fig. 947). The dimensions of the slab, which is now preserved in the National Museum (no. 1779), are as follows: breadth 0.31^m, height 0.22^m.

¹ Cp. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 130, 3 (no. 1781), *infra* p. 1119 n. o.

² ΕΥΙ \ ΕΝΝΑΙ = [ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκεν Ναί[ω Δαί]]. The lettering is hardly later than c. 450 B.C.

³ Skias himself supposes that the god portrayed is Zeus *Μειλχιος*, who *qua* watery chthonian Zeus might—he thinks—bear the title *Naios*. But it is surely simpler to restore [Δαί Μειλχιωι κατ' εὐχὴν ἀνέθηκεν Ναί[ας] or *Naios*[ιον] or the like.

⁴ P. Kabbadias in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1893 p. 137 n. 1, A. N. Skias *ib.* 1894 p. 137 ff. pl. 7 (=my fig. 948), Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 131 (larger, but not so clear), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 351 no. 3 (summary sketch). The slab, now in the National Museum (no. 1778), measures: greatest height 0.85^m, breadth below 0.53^m, breadth above 0.60^m, thickness of base 0.16^m, thickness of background c. 0.10^m.

⁵ ΑΧΕΛΩΙΟΣ.

⁶ *Supra* p. 1105 f.

⁷ A votive relief of Pentelic marble (height 0.42^m, breadth 0.49^m, thickness 0.08^m: it had originally a tenon for insertion in a mortise), found at Megara (F. Wieseler 'Ueber ein Votivrelief aus Megara' in the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1875 xx. 6. 1—39) and now in the Berlin Museum (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 251 f. no. 679 with fig.), is referable to the early part of s. iv. B.C. (Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff Sculptures* pl. 27 = my fig. 949). On the back wall of a cavern is carved the head of Achelōios, and immediately beneath it is set a table for offerings. Ranged round the cavern we see a semicircle of divinities. Zeus in the centre is flanked by Pan (horns) and Kore (torches). Next to Pan is Demeter (?); next to Kore, Plouton (?—possibly Agathos Daimon) (*phiale*, *cornu copiae*). The reclining youth on the extreme left and the seated female figure on the extreme right are insufficiently characterised as deities (Apollon?? Aphrodite?? cp. Paus. 1. 44. 9) and more probably represent the eponymous hero Megaros and his mother, one of the nymphs called *Sithnides*, who was beloved by Zeus (Paus. 1. 40. 1, cp. *et. mag.* p. 228, 21 ff. where the hero is called Megareus): the fact that they alone occupy the ground-level would not justify the inference that they are merely the dedicators of the *ex voto*.

The nearest parallel to this relief as a whole is furnished by the rock-carvings at the entrance to the marble-quarries of Paros: see J. Stuart—N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1816 iv pp. ix, 34 f., ch. 6 pl. 5, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst*

of the reservoirs above-mentioned must be located¹ that sanctuary of the Nymphs and Acheloiōs, which with its votive statuettes and images still makes a pretty picture in the pages of Platon. It will be remembered how Sokrates and Phaidros one thirsty day stretched themselves on the turf beneath a great plane-tree, cool water bubbling up at their feet, the air ringing with a chorus of cicadas, and blossoms of *agnus castus* perfuming the whole place². It is reasonable to suppose that the Zeus of our reliefs had a precinct adjoining this sacred spot. And the supposition squares well with sundry further considerations. To the north, and close at hand, lay the vast temple of Zeus *Olympios*, begun by Peisistratos, continued by Antiochos iv Epiphanes, and ended by Hadrian. Zeus indeed had been established here from time immemorial. 'They say,' writes Pausanias, 'that Deukalion built the old sanctuary of Zeus *Olympios*, and in proof that Deukalion dwelt at Athens they point to a grave not far from the present temple³.' If early graves were to be seen in the vicinity, we might look to find the cult of a chthonian Zeus⁴, who would be readily brought into connexion with the powers of sub-

ii. 4. 11 pl. 63, 81+, A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 314 f., 328, Lebas—



Fig. 949.

Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 110 f. pl. 122, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 360 no. 1, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 245.

¹ A. N. Skias *Συμβολαί εις τήν 'Αθηναϊκὴν τοπογραφίαν* pp. 13—16 (= *Ἔστια* 1894 p. 292), *id.* in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1893 p. 123.

² Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 B-C.

³ Paus. i. 18. 8.

⁴ A. N. Skias in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1897 p. 81 ff. suggests that the small Ionic temple

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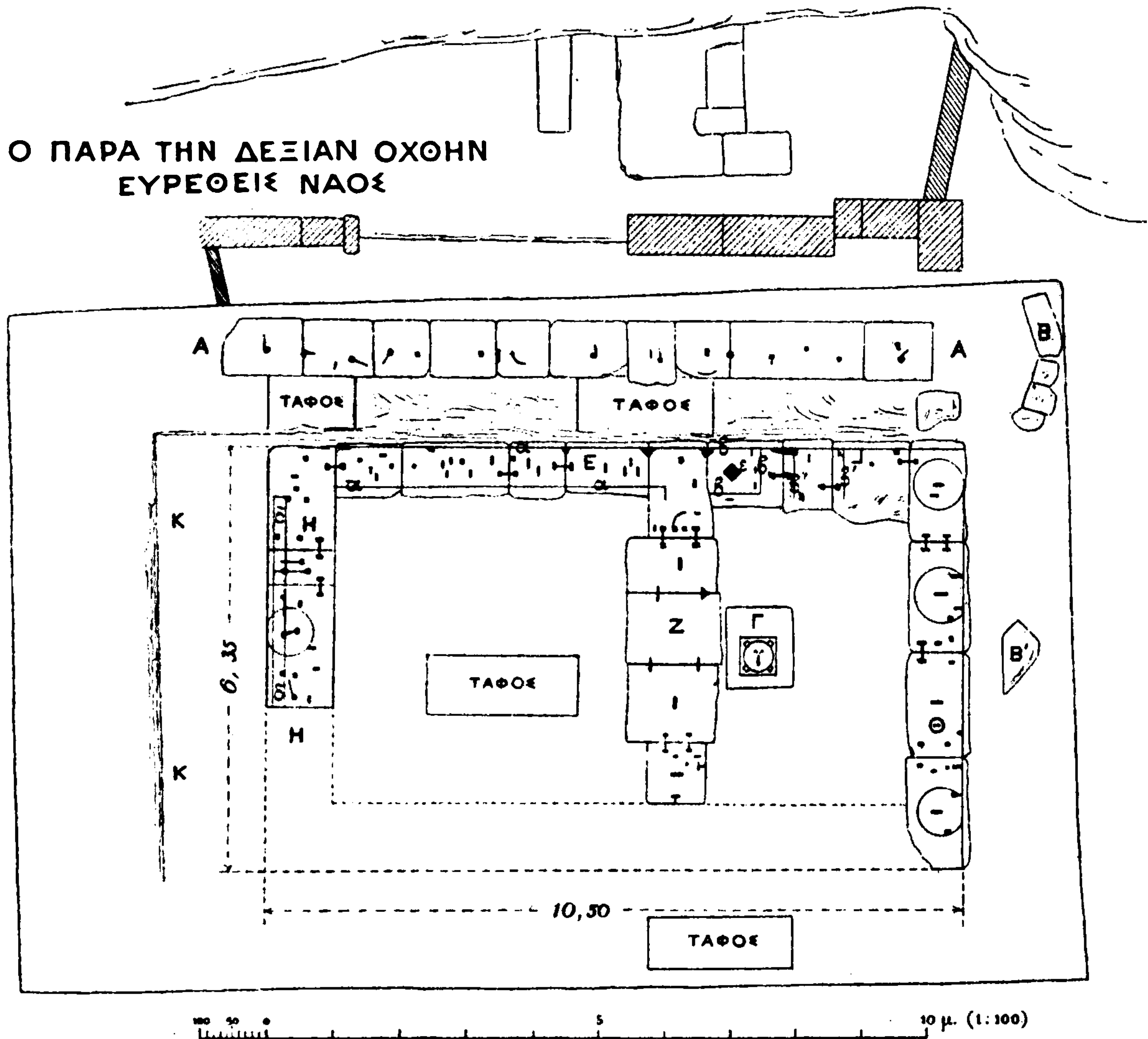
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grander lines: it met at Athens and included all the Greek states, not merely those of the Peloponnese. Thenceforward the revived Achaean League naturally dropped its pretension to be Panhellenic (see W. Dittenberger's notes on the *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 18, on *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 842, 2 f., and on *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 1 f., 11). Hadrian not only founded a temple of Zeus Πανελλήνιος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 13, 10 [ναὸν Πανελλήνιου Διὸς ἐφ[ιδρύσατο (sc. Ἀδριανός)]), but also himself assumed the title Πανελλήνιος (*ib.* iii. 1 no. 12, 26 ff. [τ]ὰς δωρεὰς ὡ[s ἕκασται ἐδόθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ] | μεγα[του] Αὐτοκράτο[ρος] Καίσαρος Τραϊαν[οῦ] Ἀδριαν[οῦ] Σεβαστοῦ] | Ὀλυμπι[ου] Πανελληνίου], *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 70, 1 f. τὸν δις αὐτοκράτορα Κ[αίσαρα Τρ]αϊανὸν Ἀδρια[νὸν] | Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμπιον Πύθιον Πανελλήνιον, *ib.* i no. 71, 1 f. [τὸν δις αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν



Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμπιον Πύθιον Πανελλήνιον], *ib.* i no. 72, 1 ff. τὸν δις αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν | Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμπιον Πύθιον | Πανελλήνιον, *ib.* i no. 3491, 1 ff. τὸν δις αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα [θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱόν], | θεοῦ Νέρβα νιωνόν, Τραϊανὸν Ἀδρι[ανὸν] Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμ]πιον Πανελλήνιον νέον Πύθιον, G. Radet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 480 no. 60, 1 f. Kirk-Agatsch from Thyateira [αὐ]τοκράτορα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Καίσαρα Σ[εβαστὸν, | ...κ]αί Πανελλήνιον) presumably as being the earthly representative and vicegerent of Zeus (*Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 314). After his death the divinised Hadrian had as priest the president of the great Panhellenic council (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 681, 2 ff. τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν | σεμνο[τάτων Παν]ελληνῶν καὶ ἱερέα] | θεοῦ Ἀδ[ριανοῦ Παν]ελληνι[ου] καὶ ἀγῶν[ου] θ[έ]τη[την τῶν Παν]ελλην[ων]....],? cp. *ib.* iii. 2 no. 3872, 1 ff. θεὸν | [Ἀδριανόν?] - - Πανελλην...], Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 1 f. Aizanoi ὁ ἄρχων τῶν

With his cult on the Ilissos I would connect both a local myth and a local custom.

(6) The Myth of Periphas.

Antoninus Liberalis in his *Metamorphoses*, a valuable work preserved to us by a single manuscript at Heidelberg, gives the following account of Periphas :

‘Periphas was sprung from the soil in Attike before Kekrops the son of Ge appeared. He became king of the ancient population, and was just and rich and holy, a man who offered many sacrifices to Apollon and judged many disputes and was blamed by no one. All men willingly submitted to his rule and, in view of his surpassing deeds, transferred to him the honours due to Zeus and decided that they belonged to Periphas. They offered sacrifices and built temples to him, and called him Zeus *Sotér* and *Erópsios* and *Meilichios*.

Πανελλήνων καὶ ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Π[ανελληνίου] † καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων, *ib.* no. 507, 1 f. ὁ ἀρχὼν τῶν Πανελλήνων καὶ ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Πανελληνίου | καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων). It would even seem that at Athens the god Hadrian took over the temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (so W. Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504 n. 6 understands Dion Cass. 69. 16 cited *supra*). Cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 1822 (Epeiros) an altar inscribed αὐτοκ[ράτορι Τραϊα]νῶι Ἀδρια[νῶι Σε]βασ[τῶι.] | Ὀλυμπίωι, Διὶ Δωδωνα[σ]ίωι. The foundation of the Πανελληνίων in 131 A.D. (P. Canvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure Athènes* 1893 i. 43 no. 35, 1 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 842, 1 ff. ἔτους γ' τῆς καθιερώσεως τοῦ Διὸς | τοῦ Ὀλυμποῦ καὶ τῆς κτίσεως | τοῦ Πανελληνίου) was commemorated (Dion Cass. and Hieron. *chron. locc. citl.*) by means of an ἀγών (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 10, 13 f. (ἀ)[ντ]άρχοντος τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ἀ(γ)[ῶνος τοῦ] (Π)αν(ε)λλη(ν)ίου, cp. *ib.* iii. 1 no. 681, 6 ff. [ἀγῶ]ν[ο]θ[έ]τ[η]ν τῶν Παν[ε]λλη[ν]ίων), *ib.* iii. 1 no. 682, 1 ff. [ἀγωνοθετή]σαντα - - - [? Πανελλη]νίων, *ib.* iii. 1 no. 1199, 5 f. ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέ[του τῶν μεγά]λλων Πανελληνίων, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 2 ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων, *ib.* no. 507, 2 ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων) known as the Πανελλήνια (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 32, 5 τὸ εἰς τὰ Πανελλήνια), *ib.* iii. 1 no. 127, 3 f. Πανελλήνια | ἐν Ἀθήναις, *ib.* iii. 1 no. 128, 5 νεικήσας κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς Πανελλήνια | κ.τ.λ., 10 f. Πανελλήνια | δις | Ἀθή(νας), *Olympria* v. 347 ff. no. 237, 8 f. α' Ἀδριάνεια ἐν Ζυμόρη καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσω καὶ τὰ πρῶτως Παν[ε]λλήνια ἀχθέντα ἐν Ἀθήναις πρῶτος κηρύκων, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1068 i, 1 f. = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 49, 7 Megara Πανελλήνια | ἐν Ἀθήναις, E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iii. 2. 237 f. Oxford 1890 no. 611, 7 Ephesos Πανελλήνια ἐν Ἀθήναις, στάδιον, *ib.* iii. 2. 238 f. no. 613, 8 f. Ephesos [Ἀ]θήναις πα[ῖ]δων Παν[ε]λλήνια γ, *ib.* iii. 2. 239 f. no. 615, 5 Ephesos Ἀθήνας πα[ῖ]δων Πανελλήνια, J. R. S. Sterrett in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* Boston 1888 iii. 291 f. no. 413, 15 f. Kara Baulo Πανελλήνεια | ἐν Ἀθήναις). The name μέγαρα Πανελλήνια (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 17, 3 [τῶν μεγά]λλων Πανελλήνίων) or [τῶν ἀ]λλων Πανελλήνίων), *ib.* no. 1199, 5 f. ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέ[του τῶν μεγά]λλων Πανελληνίων, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 2 ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων, *ib.* no. 507, 2 ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων) implies that the contest was organised also as a *pentacterys* on the analogy of the Panathenaia (Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 168 ff. tries to make out that the Panhellenia at Athens was modelled on the Eleutheria at Plataiai). Few further details of the festival are on record (with *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 1141, 20 f. καὶ ἐκ Παν[ε]λλη(ν)ίου οὐθέν cp. *ib.* iii. 1 no. 1184, 20 ff. [με]τ[ὰ τὰ]ς Σεβαστοφορικὰς νομὰς πᾶσας τὰς διὰ Πανελληνίων ἐπ' Ἰσθμῶν αἱ τε ἔφηβοι καὶ οἱ πε[ρὶ τὸ Διο]γενεῖον θύσαντες καὶ σπείσαντες ἐν τῷ Διογενεῖω τὰ ἐξιτήρια εὐωχῆθησαν, | οὐδένι δὲ ἄλλω συνετέλεσαν οἱ ἔφηβοι ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον τῷ καψαρίῳ μόνω. Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 168 f. argues that the *éphēboi*, who began their course in Boedromion, must have ended it in Metageitnion: accordingly, if their concluding feast took place after the Panhellenia, we may refer the Panhellenia also to Metageitnion, *i.e.* to August or September. The relevance of *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 85, 1 ff. οἱ Πανελλήνες | ΑΡΙΣΤΑ[N] | | καρποῦ ἀπαρχῆς is doubtful: see W. Dittenberger *ad loc.*)).

Indignant at this, Zeus wished to consume his whole house with a thunderbolt. But when Apollon, whom Periphas used to honour exceedingly, begged Zeus not to destroy him utterly, Zeus granted the request. He came into the home of Periphas and found him embracing his wife. Grasping them both in his hands, he turned Periphas into an eagle; his wife, who begged him to make her too a bird to bear Periphas company, into a vulture. So upon Periphas he bestowed honours in return for his holy life among men, making him king over all the birds, and granting him to guard the sacred sceptre and to draw near to his own throne; while Periphas' wife he turned into a vulture, and suffered to appear as a good omen to men in all their doings¹.

From what source Antoninus Liberalis, a compiler of the second century A.D. or later², drew this singular narrative is unknown³; nor are its incidents—apart from a casual reference in Ovid⁴—cited elsewhere. Nevertheless the story as it stands is instructive. Certain traits are late and must be suppressed. Thus the writer, or his authority, is inclined to etymologise⁵ and, worse still, to moralise. His tale belongs to a well-defined group, in which an early king (Salmoneus is typical) poses as Zeus and is consequently punished by the real Zeus. This implies, as I have elsewhere pointed out⁶, that, when the essential divinity of the old-world king had little by little faded into oblivion, posterity treated his claim to be Zeus as sheer impiety calling for the vengeance of the genuine god. Yet the author of our tale, with illuminating inconsistency, makes Zeus himself bestow upon the blasphemer altogether exceptional 'honours in return for his holy life.' I take it, then, that Periphas was an Attic king, who in the dim past had played the rôle of Zeus and made his petty thunder for some unsophisticated folk. It may even be that his name *Periphas*, 'the Brilliant⁷,' was a recognised epithet of Zeus; for an Orphic hymn salutes Zeus *Astrápios*, the lightning-god, as *periphantos*⁸. Now we have repeatedly found a human Zeus of this sort figuring among the kings of Thessaly descended from Aiolos¹⁰. It is therefore of interest to observe that Lapithes, the eponymous king of the Thessalian Lapithai, was either father¹¹ or son of a Periphas, who wedded Astyagia

¹ Ant. Lib. 6.

² G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2573 ('schwerlich vor dem 2. Jhdt. n. Chr.'). W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*³ München 1898 p. 778 ('aus der Zeit der Antonine'). See further E. Oder *De Antonino Liberali* Bonn 1886 pp. 1—61.

³ H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1868 xxiii. 357 (= *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 66) says: 'wahrscheinlich von Boios,' and O. Schneider *Nicandrea Lipsiae* 1856 p. 43 had reached the same conclusion before him. M. Wellmann in *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 507 n. 2 thinks otherwise: 'Vermuthlich ist Nikander Quelle.'

⁴ *Ov. met.* 7. 399 f. Palladas arces: quae te, iustissima Phene, | teque, senex Peripha, pariter videre volantes. Lact. *Plac. narr. fab.* 7. 20 merely echoes Ovid (M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*² München 1899 ii. 1. 237 f.): venisse etiam Athenas, ubi Phineum (*sic*) et Peripham in aves conversos.

⁵ He harps on derivatives of *φαίνω*, real or supposed: *Περίφας...φανῆναι...φήνην...ἐπιφαίνεσθαι*.

⁶ *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 277, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 300.

⁷ *Περίφας* = *περιφανής* (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. 86), *περίφαντος*, *περιφαής*. Cp. *Πολύφας*, *Ἰπέρφας*. For other explanations see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1971 f.

⁸ H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1868 xxiii. 357 (= *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 66 f.).

⁹ Orph. *h. Zeus Astrápios* 20. 1 ff. *κικλήσκω μέγαν, ἀγρόν, ἐρισμάραγον, περίφαντον, | ...ἀστράπιον Δία, παγγενέτην, βασιλῆα μέγιστον, | κ.τ.λ.* adduced by O. Höfer *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 1088.

¹¹ *Epaphroditos Homeric frag.* 16 Luenzner *ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Λαπιθη*.

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συνουσίαις ἔθους· Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ναυπλίῳ καταπλέοντι. ἐκινῶντο γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς κρατῆρες τρεῖς. καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἔλεγον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἠρώων, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σωτήρος, ὡς ἐνταῦθά τε καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν Πολιτείᾳ (Plat. *rep.* 583 B). ἔλεγον δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Τέλειον, ὡς Εὐριπίδης Ἀνδρομέδα (*frag.* 148 Nauck²) καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Ταγηνισταῖς (*frag.* 33 Meineke), schol. Plat. *Charm.* 167 A—B τὸ τρίτον τῷ Σωτήρι: ἐπὶ τῶν τελείως τι πραττόντων. τὰς γὰρ τρίτας σπονδὰς καὶ τὸν τρίτον κρατῆρα ἐκίρων τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτήρι. τέλειος γὰρ ὁ τρία ἀριθμὸς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσον καὶ τέλος ἔχει, καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἀρτιοπέριττος. Τέλειος δὲ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς, ὥστε κατὰ λόγον τρίτον τῷ Διὶ σπένδεται τε καὶ ὁ κρατῆρ τρίτος τίθεται. Σοφοκλῆς Ναυπλίῳ· ‘καὶ Διὸς σωτηρίου | σπονδὴ τρίτου κρατῆρος,’ καὶ Πλάτων Πολιτείας καὶ ἐνταῦθα, Hesych. s.v. τρίτος κρατῆρ· Σοφοκλῆς Ναυπλίῳ καταπλέοντι. ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις ἐκινῶντο κρατῆρες τρεῖς. καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἔλεγον· τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἠρώων· τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σωτήρος, schol. Arat. *phaeen.* 14 τὴν μὲν πρώτην σπονδὴν εἶναι θεῶν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων, δευτέραν δὲ ἠρώων, καὶ τρίτην Διὸς Σωτήρος, Soud. s.v. τρίτου κρατῆρος· τοῦ Σωτήρος, δὲ καὶ Τέλειον ἔλεγον. τὸν μὲν γε (G. Bernhardt cj. μὲν γὰρ) πρῶτον Ὀλυμπίων φασί· τὸν δὲ β’ ἠρώων, <τὸν δὲ γ’ Σωτήρος ins. T. Gaisford>. Πλάτων Πολιτεία· τὸν (G. Bernhardt cj. τὸ) δὲ γ’ Ὀλυμπικῶς τῷ Σωτήρι τε καὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ (cp. Plat. *rep.* 583 B) = Phot. *lex.* s.v. τρίτου κρατῆρος· τοῦ Σωτήρος, δὲ καὶ Τέλειον ἔλεγον. τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Ὀλυμπίων φασί, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἠρώων, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Ὀλυμπικῶς τῷ Σωτήρι τε καὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ, *ib.* s.v. τρίτος κρατῆρ· Διὸς Τελείου Σωτήρος· πρῶτος γὰρ τέλειος ἀριθμὸς ὁ τρία, ὅτι ἔχει ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος καὶ μέσα, ὡς Φιλόχορος ἐν τῷ περὶ ἡμερῶν (*frag.* 179 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 414 Müller)), Apostol. 10. 5 a κρατῆρ τρίτος Διὸς Σωτήρος· εἰώθασιν γὰρ ἐν συμποσίοις οἱ παλαιοὶ κινῶν κρατῆρα πρῶτον Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ, δεύτερον τοῖς ἠρωσιν, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Διὸς Σωτήρος. Σοφοκλῆς τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ ἐν Ναυπλίῳ (A. Boeckh corr. Ναυπλίῳ)· ‘Ζεῦ παυσίλυπε (P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mittl.* 1903 xxxviii. 197 notes a *skýrmos* at Athens (no. 12351) with incised inscription ΠΑΥΣΙΛΥΠΟΣ) καὶ Διὸς σωτηρίου | σπονδαὶ τρίτου κρατῆρος,’ 10. 77 a ‘λοιβὰς <Διὸς> μὲν πρῶτον ὠραίου γάμου | Ἦρας 1ε.’ εἶτα· ‘τὴν δευτέραν <γε> κρᾶσιν ἠρωσιν νέμω,’ 17. 28 τρίτου κρατῆρος ἐγεύσω (a proverb in ancient dactylic metre: *supra* i. 444)· ἐπὶ τῶν μεμνημένων τὰ τελεώτατα καὶ σωτηριωδέστερα. τρεῖς δὲ ἦσαν κρατῆρες· καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἔλεγον Ὀλυμπίων, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἠρώων, <τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σωτήρος ins. T. Gaisford>. Πλάτων ἐν Πολιτείᾳ· τὸν (*leg.* τὸ) δὲ τρίτον Ὀλυμπικῶς τῷ Σωτήρι τε <καὶ> Ὀλυμπίῳ. S. A. Naber on Phot. *lex.* s.v. τρίτου κρατῆρος says: ‘Boethi observatio est.’ A. C. Pearson on Soph. *frag.* 425 Jebb remarks: ‘It is clear that our passage was a stock instance with the grammarians, and that all the quotations given above are derived from a common source: this was in all probability Didymus, from whom they may have passed to Diogenian, and thence to the Platonic scholia.’ Another tradition is evidenced by Soud. s.v. κρατῆρ· τρεῖς κρατῆρας ἴστασαν ἐν τῷ δελπνῷ· α’ Ἐρμῆ, β’ Χαρίσιῳ (T. Hemsterhuys cj. Χάρισιν), γ’ Διὶ Σωτήρι.

A *kratér* or *stámnos* of Apulian ware from Fasano, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 226 no. F 548, P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mittl.* 1903 xxxviii. 198 n. 2), has its body decorated with (a) a vine-wreath, from which hang two branches with a comic mask between them and a rosette on either side; (b) an ivy-wreath. On its neck is painted in white ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8470 c).

Literary allusions to the third bowl of Zeus Σωτήρ will be found e.g. in Pind. *Isthm.* 6 (5). 10 ff., Aisch. *suppl.* 27 f., *Ag.* 244 ff., 1385 ff., *cho.* 577 f. with 1073 f., *Eum.* 759 f., *frag.* 55 Nauck², Soph. *frag.* 392 Nanek², 425 Jebb, Eur. *frag.* 148 Nauck² (?), Aristoph. *tagenistai frag.* 33 Meineke (?), Plat. *Charm.* 167 A—B, *rep.* 583 B, *Phileb.* 66 D, *legg.* 692 A, *epist.* 7. 334 D, 340 A, Antiphanes *ágroikoi frag.* 5 Meineke ap. Athen. 692 F, Euboulos *kybeutai frag.* 1 Meineke ap. Athen. 471 D—E, Alexis *tokistés* or *katapseudómenos frag.* 3 Meineke ap. Athen. 692 F f., *frag. fab. inc.* 12 Meineke ap. Athen. 466 D—E (a goblet inscribed in golden letters ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ), Diphilos *Sappho frag.* 1 Meineke ap. Athen. 487 A, Philochoros *frag.* 18 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 387 Müller) ap. Athen. 38 C—D, Diod. 4. 3, Philonides *de unguentis et coronis* ap. Athen. 675 B—C, Eumath. 1. 14 (τέταρτον (*sic*) ἐπινομεν Σωτήρι Διὶ).

The chthonian character of the god is well brought out by Aischylos. In *suppl.* 24 ff. the chorus of Danaides prays: ὦν πόλις, ὦν γῆ καὶ λευκὸν ὕδωρ | ὑπατοὶ τε θεοὶ καὶ βαρύ-

drink for the soul of a dead man. As such it was duplicated by the cup of unmixed wine drunk after dinner in the name of the Agathōs Daimon¹. Both

τιμοι | χθόνιοι θήκας κατέχοντες, | και Ζεὺς Σωτὴρ τρίτος, οἰκοφύλαξ | ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν, κ.τ.λ. In *Ag.* 1385 ff. Klytaimestra describes the third and fatal blow dealt by her hand: και πεπτωκότι | τρίτην ἐπενδίδωμι, τοῦ κατὰ χθονός | Διὸς (so R. Enger for αἰδου codd.) νεκρῶν Σωτῆρος εὐκταλαν χάριν, where W. Kausche 'Mythologumena Aeschylea' in the *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses Halis Saxonum* 1888 ix. 179 and A. W. Verrall (ed. 1889) adhere to the manuscript reading, but W. Headlam (trans. 1904) and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (ed. 1914) rightly accept Διός.

¹ With regard to the Agathos Daimon various opinions have been held: see E. Gerhard *Über Wesen, Verwandtschaft und Ursprung der Dämonen und Genien* Berlin 1852 pp. 12 f., 30 (= *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1852 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 248 f., 266), K. Lehrs *Populäre Aufsätze aus dem Alterthum*² Leipzig 1875 i. 173 ff. ('Dämon und Tyche'), E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 131, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 746 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 541 ff., Rohde *Psyche*³ i. 254 n. 2, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1087 n. 2, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 401 f., Harrison *Themis* p. 277 ff.

On the whole it seems probable that the *Agathos Daimon* or 'Good Spirit' was originally the male ancestor of the family addressed by a euphemistic title (*supra* p. 1112 n. 7). As such, he was a giver of fertility and wealth, a sort of Plouton or chthonian Zeus, equipped with a *cornu copiae* (Cornut. *theol.* 27 p. 51, 11 ff. 'Αγαθός δὲ Δαίμων... προστάτης... και σωτὴρ τῶν οἰκείων ἐστὶ τῷ σώζειν καλῶς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον... τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀμαθελίας κέρας οἰκείον αὐτῷ φόρημά ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ ἅμα πάντα ἀλθῆσκει τὰ κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους καιροὺς φύμενα, κ.τ.λ.). An Athenian relief shows him as a bearded man carrying his horn and associated with his usual partner, Agathe Tyche (L. Stephani in the *Comptenendu St. Pé.* 1859 p. 111, R. Schöne *Griechische Reliefs aus athenischen Sammlungen* Leipzig 1872 p. 55 pl. 26, 109. The inscriptions run: ... | ἀνέθηκ... | Ἀγαθὸς Δα[ίμων] [Ἀγ]α[θή] Τύχη): cp. *Brit. Mus. Marbles* xi. 90 ff. pl. 47, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 232 no. 2163, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 481 no. 5. A relief from Thespiai represents a similar figure seated before an altar (?) with a *phidie* in his right hand, a horn in his left (G. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1878 iii. 408 no. 189, O. Kern *ib.* 1891 xvi. 24 f. fig.). And another relief from Thespiai completes the likeness to Zeus by the addition of throne, sceptre, and eagle (O. Kern in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 24 f. fig. = my fig. 951, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 356 f. fig. 107, *infra* Append. N *init.* Inscribed: Ἀγέστρος[ι], | Τιμοκρά- τεια, | Πρωτῆλεια, | Ἐμπεδονίκα | Ἀγαθοῦ Δήμου[ι] (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 1815)). Hence, although the contention of J. Neuhäuser *De Graecorum daemonibus particula prior* Berolini 1857 p. 10 ff. that the word *δαίμων* was in the beginning 'ipsius summi numinis appellatio' is justly dismissed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1087 n. 2, we can understand the reasoning of Paus. 8. 36. 5 Μεγαλοπόλιται δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλος ὀνομαζομένων πυλῶν, διὰ τούτων ὀδεύουσιν ἐς Μαίναλον



Fig. 951.

παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἐλισσόβητα ἐστὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Ἀγαθοῦ Θεοῦ ναός· εἰ δὲ ἀγαθῶν οἱ θεοὶ δοτῆρες εἰσὼ ἀνθρώποις, Ζεὺς δὲ ὄψατος θεῶν ἐστὶν, ἐπόμενος ἂν τις τῷ λόγῳ τῆν

ἐπέκλησιν ταύτην Διὸς τεκμαίροιο εἶναι. Others besides Pausanias took the Agathos Theos to be a sort of Zeus. Tiberius Claudius Xenokles, after serving as fire-bearer, set up an altar at Epidauros in 224 A.D. to the local Agathos Theos, whom he represented as a chthonian Zeus with a sceptre in his right hand, a *cornu copiae* in his left, and a snake wriggling below (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure Athènes* 1893 i. 45 no. 44, Harrison *Themis* p. 285 f. fig. 75, M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1059 with numeral πθ' and circle no. 2 *ib.* p. 186 possibly meant for a snake emerging from its hole (?); cp. another block erected at Epidauros in 187 A.D. by Tiberius Claudius Pollio, after service as *hierapólos*, to the Agathos Theos and to Agathe (P. Cavvadias *op. cit.* i. 44 f. nos. 41—41^a, M. Fränkel *loc. cit.* i no. 997: Agathos Theos has numeral ξγ' and circle no. 1 *ib.* p. 186 possibly meant for a snake emerging from its hole (?); Agathe has numeral ξδ'). The same explanation might well be given of the Zeus-like Theos Megas at Odessos in Thrace,

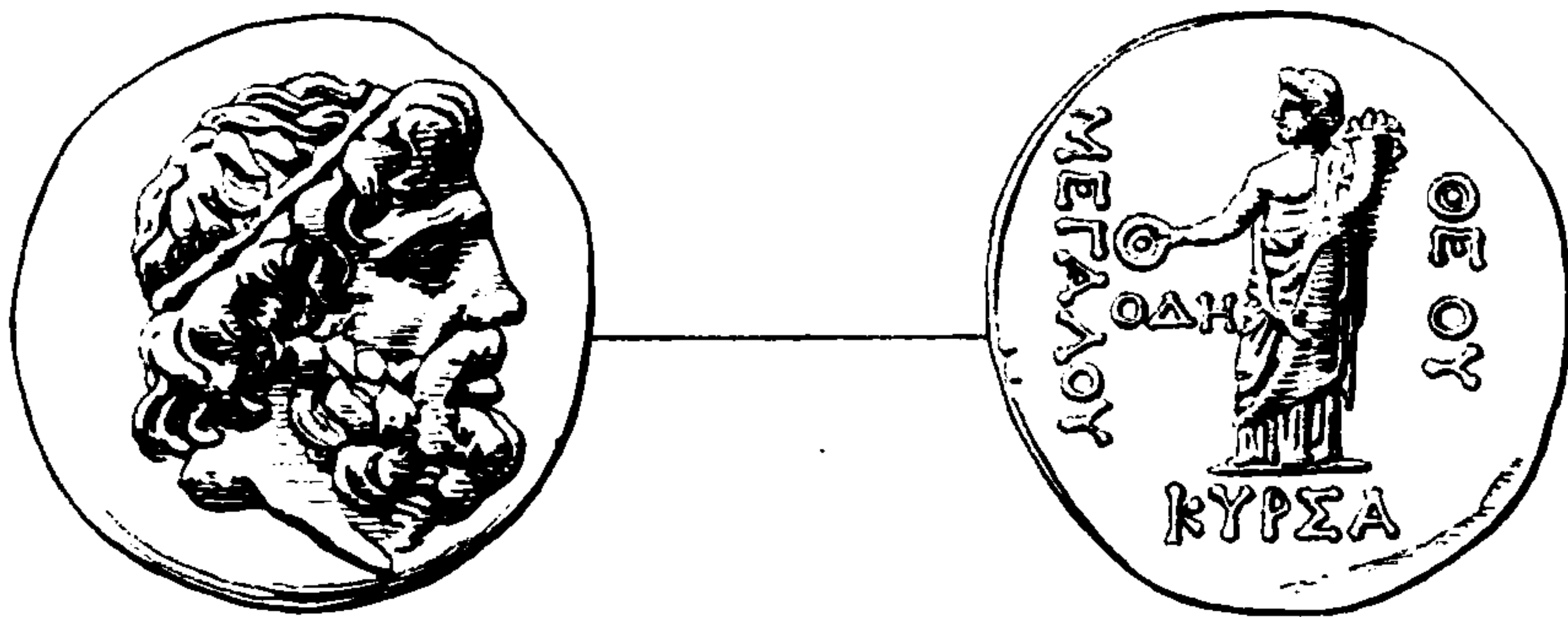


Fig. 952.

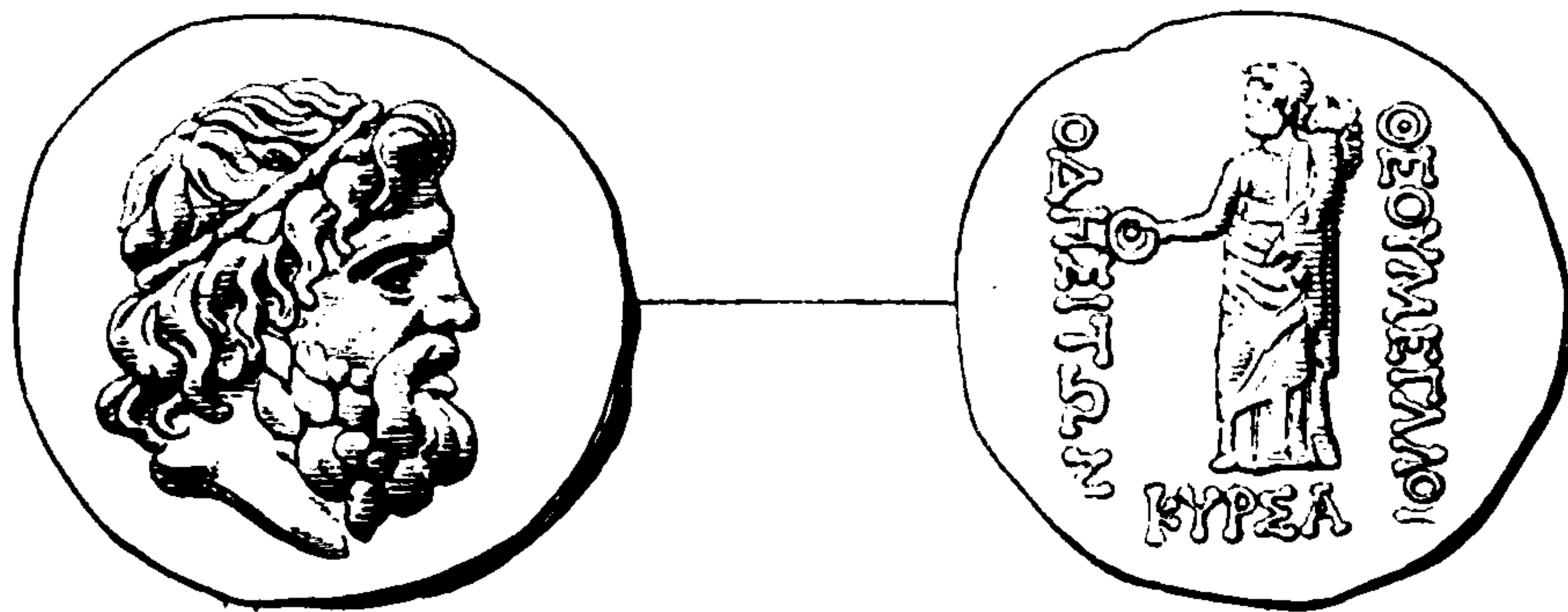


Fig. 953.

where silver tetradrachms were struck in s. ii B.C. with *obv.* a bearded male head wearing a fillet, *rev.* the bearded god standing with *phidle* and *cornu copiae* (B. Pick in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 155 f. pl. 10, 20 = my fig. 952, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 276 fig. 167, inscribed ΘΕΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΔΗ and ΚΥΡΣΑ below. *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 418 pl. 28, 4 = my fig. 953 inscribed ΘΕΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΔΗΣΙΤΩΝ and ΚΥΡΣΑ below. For later variants see *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thrace* etc. p. 137 ff. fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 418 f. pl. 28, 5, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 276 f., and especially B. Pick in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 157 ff. pl. 10, 15 ff. and *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* i. 2. 524 ff. pl. 4 f.).

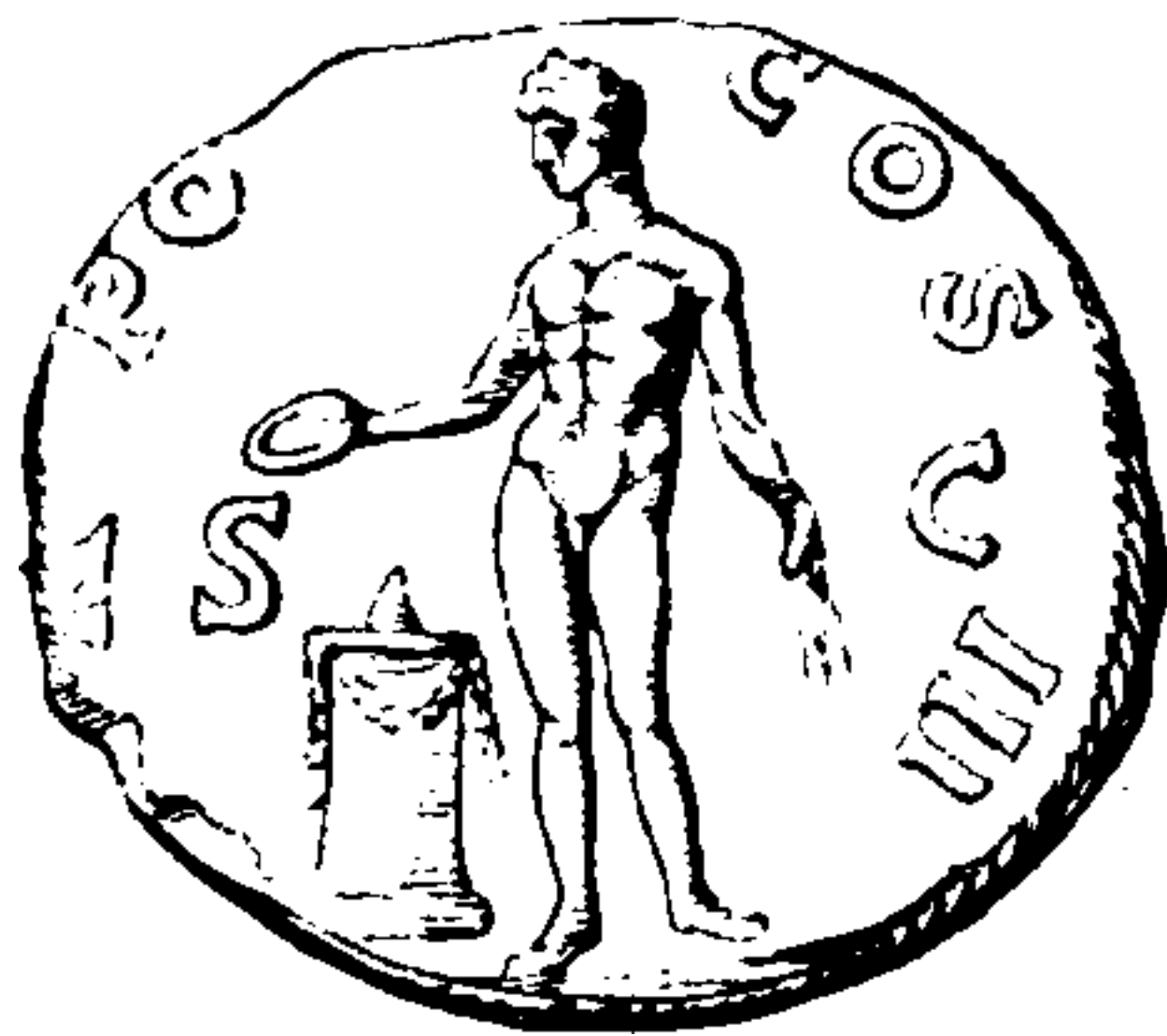


Fig. 954.

Ant. Gemmen i pl. 44, 9 ff., ii. 211 f. illustrated it from gems and coins of Galba etc. (in fig. 954 I add the reverse of an unpublished copper of Antoninus Pius in my collection):

Fourth-century sculptors *more suo* represented the Agathos Daimon in younger form. *Plin. nat. hist.* 34. 77 mentions among the bronzes of Euphranor to be seen at Rome 'a statue of Bonus Eventus holding a *patera* in its right hand, a corn-ear and poppies in its left.' Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 35 f. fig. detected the type on a bronze medallion struck by Hadrian (Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 3 no. 3) and Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 349 f. fig. 149 with pl. 6, 37, id.

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θῆτα, τὸν μὲν κύκλον κόσμον μηνύοντες τὸν δὲ μέσον ὄφιν συνεκτικὸν τούτου Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα σημαίνοντες. Nero, who in Egypt called himself ὁ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων τῆς | οἰκουμένης (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4699, 3 f. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 666, 3 f.), struck



Fig. 955.

billon coins there with the reverse type of a serpent enfolding corn-ears and poppy-heads, inscribed ΝΕΟ·ΑΓΑΘ·ΔΑΙΜΩΝ = νεὸς Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 20 f. pl. 26, 171 = my fig. 955, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 413, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 863, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 131 fig. 174, Harrison *Themis* p. 277 fig. 66). And a remarkable contorniate medal shows him as the νεὸς Ἀπόλλων, νεὸς Διόνυσος (*supra* pp. 96 n. 3, 254), and νεὸς Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων rolled into one (fig. 956 from a specimen in my collection. *Obv.*: Head of Nero to right, with bow and arrow in front of him, and ivy-leaf behind

him. The usual compendium ρ here appears on Nero's face, the P encircling his eye and the E marking his nostril and mouth. Also the muscles of his neck are peculiarly rendered in the form of an ivy-leaf. *Rev.*: Bearded and crested snake approaching a portable altar with dependent fillets). The antechamber of a Graeco-Egyptian catacomb at Kom el Chougafa has its doorway flanked by two such snakes equipped with *thyrsoi* and winged *caduceus* (F. W. von Bissing *Les bas-reliefs de Kom el Chougafa* Munich 1901 pl. 1). Another rock-cut tomb, known locally as 'the grave of

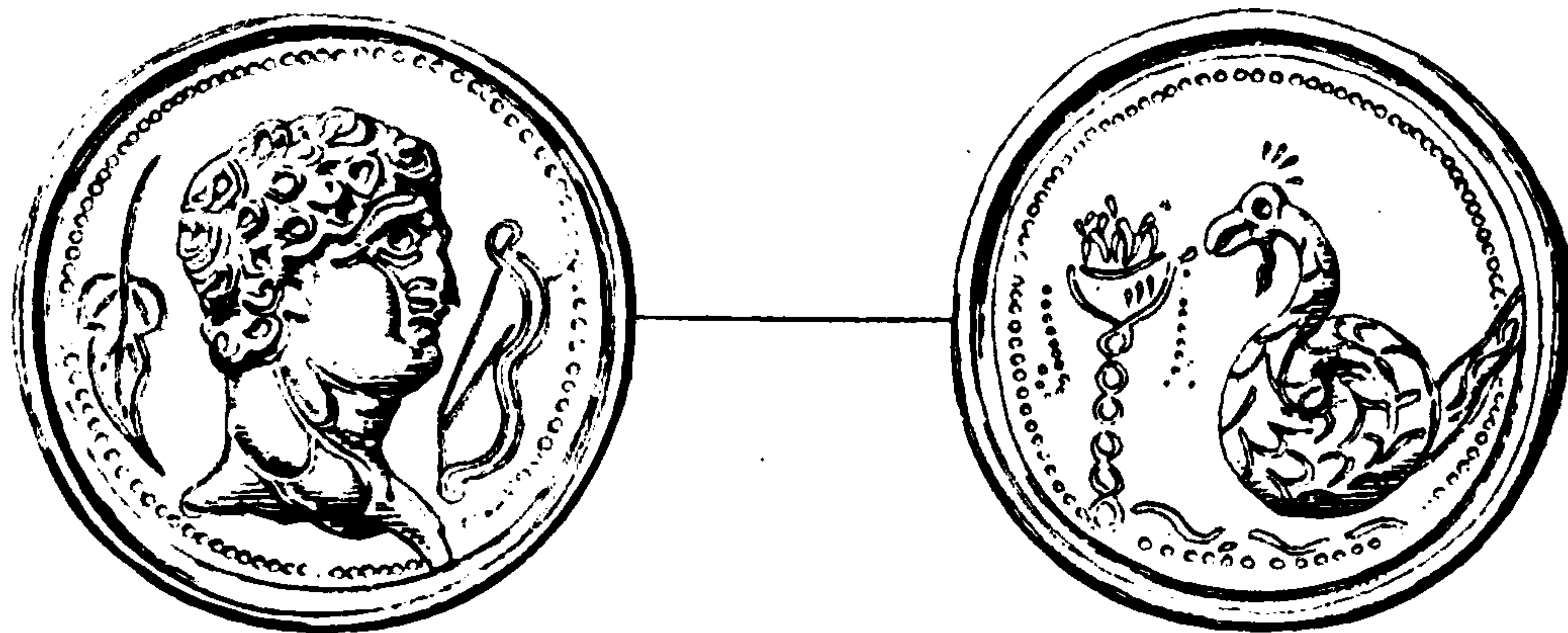


Fig. 956.

Adam and Eve,' in the garden of the late Sir John Antoniadis at Alexandria has its innermost niche occupied by the relief of a large snake coiled on a couch with gay-coloured cushions (H. Thiersch *Zwei antike Grabanlagen bei Alexandria* Berlin 1904 p. 6 ff. figs. 6 f., p. 16 f. pl. 5 f.). This challenges comparison with a relief from Delos, which shows a large bearded snake similarly installed on a couch between a bearded male figure bearing *phiale* and *cornu copiae* to the right and a female figure bearing *oinochoe* and *cornu copiae* to the left: these personages, who both have a *modius* on their heads and are draped alike in *chiton* and *himation*, should be interpreted as Agathos Daimon (hardly Sarapis or Plouton) and Agathe Tyche (M. Bulard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1907 xxxi. 525 ff. fig. 24, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 326 no. 2). Agathos Daimon is, in fact, here represented both in his animal and in his human form. Similarly a marble statue at Berlin, which portrays Antinoos as Agathos Daimon, makes him a youthful Dionysiac figure resting his hand on a *cornu copiae* with a snake twined about it (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 146 f. no. 361 fig., Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 947 fig. 2427, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 131 fig. 173). A small relief of s. iii A.D. in the Palazzo Massimo alle Terme again groups Agathos Daimon with Agathe Tyche (F. von Duhn in Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 144 no. 3764 says Sarapis (?) with Alexandria (?). F. Grossi Gondi 'Di una singolare rappresentazione mitologica sincretistica del culto romano' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1910 xxxviii. 150—160 fig. 1 decides for Serapis with Isis (Isityche)). It represents the former as a coiled snake with

had their counterpart in another Greek custom. 'Food that fell from the tables,' says Athenaios, 'they used to assign to their dead friends.'—And by way of proof he quotes from Euripides the couplet descriptive of the love-sick Sthenobolia, who believes that Bellerophontes is dead:

Never a crumb falls from her finger-tips
But she must cry: 'For the Corinthian guest¹!'

Athenaios might have added the Pythagorean precept not to pick up food from the floor, a precept utilised by Aristophanes in his *Heroes* and duly recorded by Aristotle *On the Pythagoreans*².

a bearded human head wearing a *modius*, the latter as a draped goddess likewise wearing a *modius* and holding a leafy spray (hardly corn-ears) in her right hand, a *cornu copiae* in her left, while a large jar projects from the ground beside her.

Agathos Daimon was, on this showing, a chthonian power essentially akin to Zeus *Sottr.* As a fertilising agent he was naturally brought into connexion with Dionysos (see bibliography at the beginning of this note), with whom he is even identified (Philonides *de unguentis et coronis ap.* Athen. 675 B). The postprandial draught of unmixed wine is referred to Agathos Daimon by Aristoph. *eq.* 105 ff., *vesp.* 525, *rax* 300 with scholl. *ad locc.*, Antiphanes *lampás frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 486 F and 487 B, Theophr. *ap.* Athen. 693 C—D, Aelius Dionysios *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1471, 32 ff., Ail. *var. hist.* i. 20, Hesych. *s.v.* 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος πῶμα = Bekker *anecd.* i. 209, 14 ff., i. 334, 4 ff. = Apostol. i. 10. Cp. also the 'Αγαθοδαιμονιστάι (Hesych. *s.v.*) or 'Αγαθοδαιμονιασταί (Aristot. *eth. Eud.* 3. 6. 1233 b 3 f., *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 161, 5 = Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 478 f. no. 3842, 5 καὶ ὑπὸ [Διοσ]ταβυριαστῶν 'Αγαθοδαιμονιαστῶν Φιλ(ω)νείων κοινού κ.τ.λ., with Plout. *sympr.* 3. 7. 1). The toast 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος is distinguished from the toast Διὸς Σωτήρος by Eriphos *frag.* 3 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 693 C, Xenarchos *didymoi frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 693 B—C, Diod. 4. 3. Poll. 6. 100, Athen. 693 F, Soud. *s.v.* 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος, schol. Aristoph. *rax* 300, cp. Philochoros *frag.* 18 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 387 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 38 C—D and *frag.* 19 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 387 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 693 D—E, and never really confused with it (Diphilos *Sappho frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 487 A 'Αρχίλοχε, δέξαι τήνδε τὴν μετακίπτριδα | μεστὴν Διὸς Σωτήρος, 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος is a case of asyndeton, not of apposition. Cp. *e.g.* Herond. 2. 67 f.).

A *kántharos* with knotted handles from Athens (Nicole *Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* p. 272 f. no. 1173, C. Watzinger in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 74 no. 17 fig., P. Wolters *ib.* 1913 xxxviii. 198 n. 2) has round its neck a yellow ivy-wreath, above which is painted in white ΑΓΑΘΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ. A small vase at Kentoripa (*Centorbi*) is inscribed ΑΓΑΘΟΥΔΑΜΟΕ, which is perhaps to be read as 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος rather than as 'Αγαθοδάμου (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2406, 109, P. Wolters *loc. cit.*). Cp. a fragment of black ware with relief-decoration and the inscription ΗΣΤΥ+ΗΣ=['Αγαθ]ῆς Τύχης round its neck, found on the W. slope of the Akropolis at Athens (A. Koerte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 294, P. Wolters *loc. cit.*).

¹ Athen. 427 E τοῖς δὲ τετελευτηκόσι τῶν φίλων ἀπένεμον τὰ πίπτοντα τῆς τροφῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τραπέζων· διὸ καὶ Εὐριπίδης περὶ τῆς Σθενεβολίας φησὶν, ἐπειδὴ νομίζει τὸν Βελλεροφόντην τεθνάναι, 'πεσὸν δὲ νῦν λέληθεν οὐδὲν ἐκ χειρὸς, | ἀλλ' εὐθὺς αὐδᾶ "τῷ Κορινθίῳ ξένῳ"' (Eur. *frag.* 664 Nauck²). The Euripidean passage is parodied by Kratin. *fab. inc. frag.* 16. 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 179 ff. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 782 D—E, Aristoph. *thesm.* 404 f. with schol. *ad locc.*, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Κορινθίος ξένος.

² Aristot. *frag.* 190 Rose *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 34 φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης... παραγγέλλειν αὐτὸν (sc. Πυθαγόραν)...τὰ...πεσόντ' ἀπὸ τραπέζης μὴ ἀναιρεῖσθαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐθίξεσθαι μὴ ἀκολάστως ἐσθίειν ἢ ὅτι ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τινος ('sive quod essent mortuo destinata' Ambrosius revised by C. G. Cobet)· καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ τῶν ἠρώων φησὶν εἶναι τὰ πίπτοντα, λέγων ἐν τοῖς Ἑρωσι (*frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 1070 f. Meineke)) 'μηδὲ γεύεσθ' ἄττ' ἂν ἐντὸς (I. Casaubon and W. Canter, followed by C. Jacobitz, *cjj.* ἐκτὸς) τῆς τραπέζης καταπέση' = Soud. *s.v.* Πυθαγόρα τὰ σύμβολα.

Secondly, the buried chieftain was *Ephrosios* because he kept an eye on his descendants and watched over their interests¹. The title was, however, susceptible of a wider meaning. So Zeus *Ephrosios*² came to be revered as the guardian of suppliants³, the observer of right and wrong⁴, the avenger of impious deeds⁵. Like Zeus *Panoptes*⁶, he readily took on a solar complexion⁷. And it may be that the story of Zeus transforming himself into a hoopoe (*epops*)

¹ Cp. the important passage Hes. *o. d.* 121 ff. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖ' ἐκάλυψε, | τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς | ἐσθλοὶ, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, | [οἱ ῥα φυλάσσουσιν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα | ἥερα ἐσσάμενοι πάντα φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν,] | πλουτοδοταὶ· καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλῆιον ἔσχον. For *apparatus criticus* see A. Rzach *ad loc.* *Infra* Append. M *fin.*

The adjective *epopsios* is used in this sense by Soph. *Phil.* 1040f. ἀλλ', ὦ πατρώα γῆ θεοὶ τ' ἐπόψιοι, | τείσασθε κ.τ.λ., the substantive *epopsis* by Strab. 676 εἶτ' Ἀμφίλοχον... συμβαλεῖν εἰς μονομαχίαν πρὸς τὸν Μόψον, πεσόντας δ' ἀμφοτέρους ταφῆναι μὴ ἐν ἐπόψει ἀλλήλοις, the verb *epopteúō* by Aisch. *Cho.* 489 of the buried Agamemnon ὦ γαῖ', ἄνες μοι πατέρ' ἐποπτεύσαι μάχην, *Cho.* 1 of Hermes *Chthónios* Ἐρμῆ Χθόνιε πατρῷ' ἐποπτεύων κράτη cited by Aristoph. *ran.* 1126, 1138 ff., *Eum.* 220 of the Eumenides τὸ μὴ τίνεσθαι μηδ' ἐποπτεύειν κόνι, *Cho.* 984 ff. of Helios ὡς ἴδῃ πατῆρ, | οὐχ οὐμός, ἀλλ' ὁ πάντ' ἐποπτεύων τάδε | Ἥλιος, ἀναγνα μητρὸς ἔργα τῆς ἐμῆς, *Ag.* 1270 of Apollon ἐποπτεύσας δέ με, *Eum.* 224 of Athena δίκας δὲ Παλλὰς τῶνδ' ἐποπτεύσει θεά, *Cho.* 1064 f. of God καὶ σ' ἐποπτεύων πρόφρων | θεὸς φυλάσσοι κ.τ.λ., *Ag.* 1578 f. of the gods in general φαίην ἂν ἤδη νῦν βροτῶν τιμαόρους | θεοὺς ἀνωθεν γῆς ἐποπτεύειν ἄχῃ (see further F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. *ran.* 1126). Similarly *eporān* is used of Zeus in *Od.* 13. 213 f. (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 1), Archil. *frag.* 84 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 3. 34 p. 58, 11 ff. Wachsmuth (Clem. *Al. Strom.* 5. 14 p. 412, 3 ff. Stählin, Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 54) ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος, | σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὄρας | λεωργὰ καὶ θεμιστά (so Liebel for *κάθεμιστά* or the like), σοὶ δὲ θηρίων | ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει, Soph. *El.* 174 f. ἔτι μέγας οὐρανῷ | Ζεὺς, δὲ ἐφορᾷ πάντα καὶ κρατύνει. For Zeus *Ephoros* see *supra* i. 737 n. 8:

² *Supra* i. 737 n. 9.

³ Ap. Rhod. 2. 1123 ἀντόμεθα πρὸς Ζηνὸς Ἐποψίου with schol. Paris. *ad loc.* Ἐπόψιος δὲ ὁ ἐποπτος (J. Alberti corr. *ἐπόπτης*), 1131 ff. (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2).

⁴ Kallim. *h. Zeus* 81 ff. ἴξο δ' αὐτὸς | ἄκρης ἐν πολίεσσιν, ἐπόψιος οἱ τε δίκησι | λαδν ὑπὸ σκολιῆς, οἱ τ' ἐμπαλιν ἰθύνουσιν.

⁵ Orph. *Arg.* 1035 ἀλλὰ οἱ οὔτι λάθον Δί' ἐπόψιον οὐδὲ θέμιστας.

⁶ *Supra* i. 459 ff.

⁷ A stone pillar (height 1·0^m, breadth 0·23^m), found on the site of Itanos (*Erimopolis*) in E. Crete and now serving as a lintel in a cottage near the lighthouse on *Capo Sidero*, bears the following inscription in letters of s. iv B.C. or earlier: Πάτρων Διὶ | Ἐπ[ο]ψί[ω]ι | ἀνέ[θ]ηκε. | τροπα[ι] χεῖμεριναί. | εἰ τιμὴ τοῦ[των]: ἐπιμε|λές: κατὰ | τὴν: χοι|ράδα: τὴν | μικρὰν | καὶ τὴν στή|λην: ὁ ἥλιος | τρέπεται (F. Halbherr in the *Museo Italiano di antichità classica* 1890 iii. 585 f. no. 4 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1181 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 1264). The original position of the pillar was such that a line drawn from it to a certain small rock visible at sea, and prolonged thence to the horizon, would mark the precise spot where the sun rose at the winter solstice. Halbherr *ad loc.* cp. schol. Aristoph. *av.* 997 φησὶ δὲ Καλλίστρατος ἐν Κολωνῷ ἀνάθημά τι εἶναι αὐτοῦ (*sc.* Μέτωνος) ἀστρολογικόν and Ail. *var. hist.* 10. 7 ὅτι Μέτων ὁ Λευκονοιεύς ἀστρολόγος ἀνέστησε στήλας καὶ τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου τροπὰς κατεγράψατο. The rosette or star, which figures so frequently on coins of Itanos (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 201 ff. pl. 18, 21 ff., pl. 19, 5, 16, 19, 22 f., 25 ff., *id.* in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 115, 117 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 51 f. pl. 12, 6 ff., pl. 13, 4, 7 f., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 895 ff. pl. 244, 1 ff., 20, pl. 245, 3, 7 ff., Anson *Num. Gr.* vi. 11 no. 114 pl. 1, Head *Hist. numi.*² p. 469 f.), was in all probability a solar symbol. And Zeus on Cretan soil tended to become a sun-god (*supra* i. 545 ff.).

For Ἐπόψιος as a title of Apollon see *supra* i. 737 n. 9.

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Merops an early king of Kos¹. Behind such traditions lie definite beliefs. It was supposed, as I have elsewhere contended², that, when the divine king died, his soul escaped as a bird and in that shape continued to watch over the fortunes of his realm. Further, his divinity was transmitted to his successor in outward and visible form as an eagle-tipped sceptre to be handed down from king to king. Thus the soul of Agamemnon, for instance, became an eagle³; and the sceptre which had descended to him from Zeus⁴, with an eagle perched upon it⁵, was worshipped at Chaironeia as the chief of the gods⁶. The sceptre originally belonged

¹ Schol. *Il.* 24. 293 οἱ δὲ, ὅτι Μέρωψ ὁ Κῶος ἀπαύστως ἐπένθει τὴν γυναῖκα, ξενίσας δὲ τὴν Ῥέαν (C. Robert cj. Ἦραν) μετεβλήθη καὶ συμπάρεστιν αἰεὶ τῷ Διί, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1351, 29 f. φέρεται δὲ μῦθος καὶ ὅτι Μέρωψ Κῶος, ἀπαύστως τὴν γυναῖκα πενθῶν θανοῦσαν, ξενίσας Ῥέαν, μετεβλήθη εἰς αἰετὸν, καὶ σύνεστιν αἰεὶ τῷ Διί. It may be suspected that originally Merops was metamorphosed, not into an eagle, but into a bee-eater (μέροψ), cp. Ant. Lib. 18 and D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 116 f.

² *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 386 ff., cp. *ib.* 1905 xvi. 312, 1906 xvii. 165 ff., 313 ff.

³ Plat. *rep.* 620 B τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ἀγαμέμνονος (sc. ψυχὴν)· ἐχθρὰ δὲ καὶ ταύτην τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους διὰ τὰ πάθη αἰετοῦ διαλλάξαι βίον. It would not be safe to conclude that Agamemnon's choice was due to Platonic fancy: Platon constantly founds on folk-belief (*supra* i. 310 f., 357 n. 4, ii. 43 ff., 63 n. o).

⁴ *Il.* 2. 100 ff. (Hephaistos made the sceptre for Zeus, from whom it passed successively to Hermes, Pelops, Atreus, Thyestes, and Agamemnon) with schol. *ad loc.* and Eustath. *in Il.* p. 181, 13 ff.

⁵ Aristoph. *av.* 509 ff. ΠΕ. ἦρχον δ' οὕτω σφόδρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥστ' εἰ τις καὶ βασιλεύει | ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Ἀγαμέμνων ἢ Μενέλαος, | ἐπὶ τῶν σκῆπτρων ἐκάθητ' ὄρνις, μετέχων ὃ τι δωροδοκῶν with schol. *ad loc.* ἐν γὰρ τοῖς σκῆπτροις τῶν βασιλέων ἦν αἰετός. But see *supra* i. 406 f.

⁶ Paus. 9. 40. 11 f. θεῶν δὲ μάλιστα Χαιρωνεῖς τιμῶσι τὸ σκῆπτρον ὃ ποιῆσαι Διὶ φησιν Ὀμηρος Ἡφαιστον, παρὰ δὲ Διὸς λαβόντα Ἑρμῆν δοῦναι Πέλοπι, Πέλοπα δὲ Ἀτρεὶ καταλιπεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀτρεῖα Θυέστη, παρὰ Θυέστου δὲ ἔχειν Ἀγαμέμνονα· τοῦτο οὖν τὸ σκῆπτρον σέβουσι, ὄρνιν ὀνομάζοντες. καὶ εἶναι μὲν τι θειότερον οὐχ ἥκιστα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιφανὲς ἐξ αὐτοῦ· φασὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρνιθι καὶ Πανοπέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι εὐρεθῆναι, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρυσὸν εὐρασθαι τοὺς Φωκεῖς, σφίσι δὲ ἀσμένους ἀντὶ χρυσοῦ γενέσθαι τὸ σκῆπτρον. κομισθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ὑπὸ Ἠλέκτρας τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος πείθομαι. ναὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ δημοσίᾳ πεποιημένος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ὁ (H. C. Schubart, followed by H. Hitzig—H. Blümner, cj. ὁ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον) ἱερώμενος ἐν οἰκῆματι ἔχει τὸ σκῆπτρον· καὶ οἱ θυσίαι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν θύονται, καὶ τράπεζα παράκειται παντοδαπῶν κρεῶν καὶ πεμμάτων πλήρης. The worship of sceptre or spear was characteristic of a primitive age: Iust. 43. 3. 3 per ea tempora adhuc reges bastas pro diademate habebant, quas Graeci sceptrum dixere. nam et ab origine rerum pro signis immortalibus veteres hastas coluere, ob cuius religionis memoriam adhuc deorum simulacris hastae adduntur, Philon Bybl. *frag.* 1. 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 564 Müller) ap. Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 9. 29 οἱ παλαιῶν τῶν βαρβάρων· εἰς αἰετὸν δὲ Φοινικῆς τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου, παρ' ὧν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παρέλαβον ἀνθρωποὶ, θεοὺς ἐνόησαν, καὶ μεγίστους τοὺς τὰ πρὸς τὴν βιωτικὴν χρεῖαν εὐρόντας, ἢ καὶ κατὰ τι εὐποιήσαντας τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ γέτας τε τούτους καὶ πολλῶν αἰτίους ἀγαθῶν ἠγούμενοι ὡς θεοὺς προσεκύουν, καὶ εἰς τὸ χ. ὄν μεταστάντας ναοὺς κατασκευασάμενοι στήλας τε καὶ ῥάβδους ἀφιέρουν ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτῶν, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλως σεβόμενοι, καὶ ἑορτὰς ἐνεμον αὐτοῖς τὰς μεγίστας Φοινικῆς. Examples of the cult are collected by De Visser *De Gr. aïis non ref. spec. hum.* p. 90 f. § 94 ff. and Frazer *Pausanias* v. 210 ff., *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art i. 365. It is possible that the object revered by the Chaeroneans was a sceptre found in the grave of some 'Minoan' chief (cf. C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 259 f., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 978 f., W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athen 1902 i. 385, 398, R. M. Dawkins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 284, H. R. Hall *Aegean Archaeology* London 1915 pp. 57, 242). H. C. Schubart in

to the king as weather-maker, and the eagle on it was no mere decoration¹

Philologus 1860 xv. 400 thought that it was housed in a portable wooden shrine (*οικημα*!). But F. Thiersch in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad.* 1858 Philos.-philol. Classe viii. 445 with far greater probability explained that the priest for the time being used a room (*οικημα*) in his own house as chapel for the *chose sacrée*. The annual tenure of his office seems to have been a method of ensuring his bodily competence (*Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 394 ff.).

¹ K. Sittl *Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribute des Zeus* (Besonderer Abdruck aus dem vierzehnten Supplementbande der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie) Leipzig 1884 pp. 3—42 contains a rich collection of material. Here we are concerned only with the eagle in relation to the sceptre (cp. *supra* i. 127 fig. 96, 128 f. pl. xii, 200 f. fig. 146, 251 pl. xxii, 501 f. pl. xxxi, 590 fig. 450, 596 fig. 454, ii. 104 fig. 65, 512 fig. 390)—a combination which should be compared with the cuckoo-on-sceptre (*supra* i. 134 f., 532 fig. 399), the cock-on-column (G. von Brauchitsch *Die panathenäischen Preisamphoren* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 106 ff. fig. 33 ff., R. Garrucci *Storia della Arte Cristiana* Prato 1881 iv. 59 pl. 251, 1), the woodpecker-on-post (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* i. 14: see *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 375, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 24, 10, ii. 119, Harrison *Themis* p. 101 f. fig. 17, W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 265. I figure (scale $\frac{1}{2}$) an engraved cornelian at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (J. H. Middleton *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings* London 1892 p. 50 no. 26), which shows a warrior consulting the woodpecker of Mars at Tiora Matiene (Dion. Hal. *loc. cit.*), the hawk-on-pillar (D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 pp. 157 pl. 22, 1 a, 161 f. pl. 25, 1 ff., 198, W. M. Flinders Petrie *Tanis* London 1888 ii. 2. 9, J. T. Bent *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*³ London 1895 p. 180 ff.), the dove-on-sceptre (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*⁹ London 1886 xx. 340 s.v. 'Regalia,' *ib.* xxi. 385 s.v. 'Sceptre,' *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 315, *The Daily Graphic* for Dec. 14, 1907 p. 8 fig.), and the like.



Fig. 957.

The earliest literary allusions (Pind. *Pyth.* 9 ff. εἶδει δ' ἀπὸ σκάπτω Διὸς αλετῆς, κ.τ.λ. with schol. *ad loc.* and Soph. *frag.* 799 Nauck², 884 Jebb, *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *av.* 515 ὁ σκηπτροβάμων αλετῆς, κύων Διός) are at least suggestive of vitality. Cp. Append. N *med.* And classical numismatic art conceived of the bird as alive and active. On an archaic silver obol (?) of Galaria or Galarina in Sicily he is unusually large and prominent (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 64 fig., P. Gardner *Types of Gk Coins* p. 89 pl. 2, 1 f., G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 90 f. fig. 12, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 139 *obv.* CAΛA, Dionysos standing with *kántharos* and vine-branch; *rev.* ΣΟΤΕΡ retrograde, Zeus enthroned with eagle-sceptre). On coppers of Ptolemy vi Philometor (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt* p. 80 pl. 19, 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 388 ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and ΕΥΛ (the regent Eulaios)) and of Antiochos viii Grypos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 90 pl. 24, 4, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 102 f. pl. 70, 1 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ with IE to left, Β9Ρ (= 120 B.C.) and ear of corn below, *ib.* iii. 103 pl. 70, * the Macedonian eagle appears shouldering a sceptre. On a gold coin struck by K^o m, king of Thrace (??) under the Romans, c. 42 B.C. the eagle carries a sceptre and a wreath (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thrace* p. 208 fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 436, *Ant. Münz. Berlin Paeonia etc.* iii. 2. 23 fig., *Head Hist. num.*² pp. 272, 289). *Denarii* struck c. 49 B.C. by one Terentius Varro *pro quaestore* have *obv.* VARRO·PRO Q; a filleted bust of Iupiter (*Terminalis*?) to right; *rev.* MAGN·PRO COS (*Magnus pro consule*) in exergue, a sceptre upright between an eagle and a dolphin (emblems of earth, air, and sea?) (*Babelon Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 343, 485 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep.* ii. 362 nos. 64, 65 pl. 100, 16, 66, 363 nos. 67, 68 pl. 100, 18, 69). An *aureus* of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, 48—46 B.C., has *obv.* METEL·PIVS SCIP·IMP, a bust of Iupiter (*Terminalis*?)

but an actual embodiment of Zeus¹, which conferred upon its holder the powers of the sky-god. This belief has left traces of itself throughout the historical period of Greece and Rome²; indeed, it appears to have lingered on³ well into the middle ages⁴. In a sense it is still with us⁵. But if the mythopoeic mind fitly transformed any ancient king into an eagle⁶, it did so in the case of Periphas with a clear conscience. For Periphas, as son or father of Lapithes⁷, was near akin to the Phlegyai⁸, whose very name marks them as an 'Eagle'-tribe⁹.

In conclusion, the devotion of Periphas to Apollon is adequately explained, either by the fact that in the Lapith genealogy Lapithes and Kentauros were

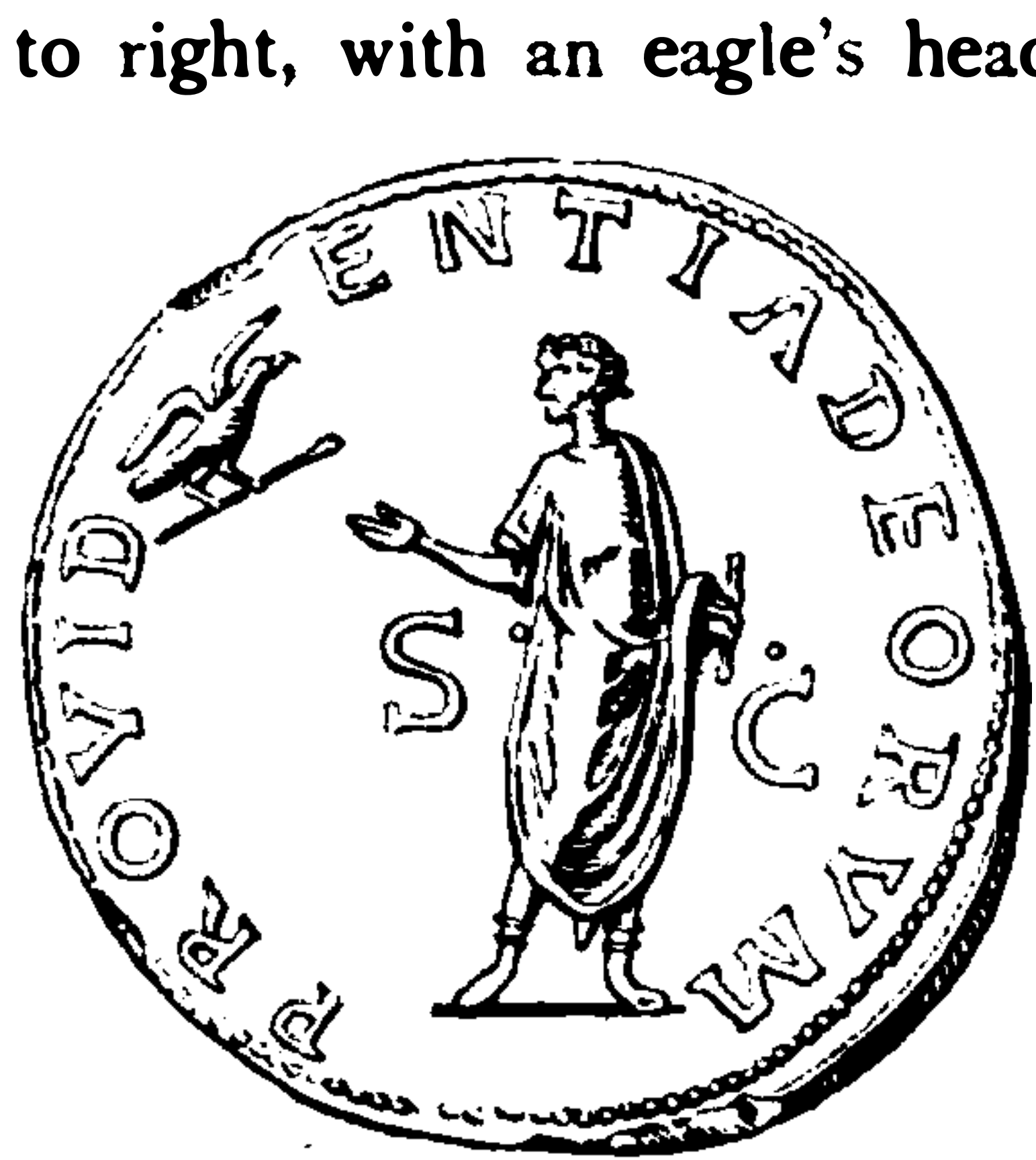


Fig. 958.

to right, with an eagle's head and sceptre below (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 278 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 571 fig.; there are *denarii* with the same type—Babelon *op. cit.* i. 279, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 571 no. 4 pl. 121, 2, no. 5). A first brass of Hadrian has *rev.* PROVIDENTIAE DEORVM and S.C., an eagle flying with a sceptre towards the emperor, who stands with a roll in his left hand (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² ii. 208 no. 1207. Fig. 958 is from a specimen in my collection. Cohen *ib.* no. 1208 fig. shows a second brass with the same design).

¹ *Supra* i. 105 f. fig. 76, 164 n. 4, 532 figs. 395—400, 543 n. 6, and especially ii. 187 n. 8, 751 f.

² *Supra* p. 1133 n. 1.

³ Cp. R. Garrucci *Storia della Arte Cristiana* Prato 1881 iv. 76 pl. 226, 5.

⁴ Mrs H. Jenner *Christian Symbolism* London 1910 p. 41 f.: 'The Eagle is chiefly used to suggest the inspiration of the Holy Spirit to saints of the Old Law, such as David and Elisha, but it is not common.' This is illustrated by a plate from an English ms. of s. xi now in the British Museum (Cotton. Tib. C. vi), which shows David inspired by the eagle on his sceptre (Mrs Jenner by an odd slip says 'dove'): above is the hand of God, holding a horn full of rays. My friend Mr G. F. Hill kindly directs me to a discussion of the inspiration-type by C. R. Morey 'East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection' in the *University of Michigan Studies*, Humanistic Series 1914 xii. 35 ff.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1133 n. 1 the dove-on-sceptre.

⁶ In addition to Periphas (*supra* p. 1121 f.), and Merops (*supra* p. 1131 f.), the shape-shifter Periklymenos underwent the same transformation (Hes. *frag.* 14, 3 f. Rzach *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 1. 156, *Ov. met.* 12. 556 ff., *Hyg. fab.* 10). ? Cp. Furtwangler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 26, 71 and 72, ii. 132, if not also i pl. 25, 42, ii. 128.

⁷ *Supra* p. 1122.

⁸ See the pedigrees in Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 227 f. ('Lapithen und Phlegyer').

⁹ Hes. *sc. Her.* 133 f. (arrows) δπισθε | μὲρφοιο φλεγύας καλυπτόμενοι πτερύγεσσιν, Hesych. s.v. φλεγύας· ἀετός ξανθός, ὄξύς, Soud. s.v. φλεγύας· ὁ ἀετός, *el. mag.* p. 795, 57 ff. φλεγύας, ἔστιν ἀετός, ἀπὸ τοῦ φλέγειν καὶ λαμπρὸς εἶναι. οἱ δέ, ὄρνεον παραπλήσιον γυπί. 'Ἡσίοδος' Ἀσπίδι, 'μορφνοῖο φλεγύας,' τουτέστι μέλανος ἀετοῦ, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 933, 27 f. ῥήτωρ δέ τις, κατὰ στοιχείον συντάξας ἄπερ ἐπὶ βήνησε, λέγει καὶ ὅτι φλεγύας ξανθὸς ἀετός, κατὰ γλῶσσάν τινα, ὡς ἔοικεν. A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1914 xlvi. 77 f. renders φλεγύας 'der Schwarzadler' and adds: 'Das Wort wird soviel als "braun, dunkel" bedeutet haben: wie αἰθων braun, αἰθαλος Russ von αἰθειν brennen, so φλεγύας von φλέγω brennen, engl. black zu germ. blek (φλέγειν).' See further my paper on 'Descriptive animal names in Greece' in the *Class. Rev.* 1894 viii. 381 ff. and, for the bird-tribes of Greece and Italy, an appendix by W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 277 ff.

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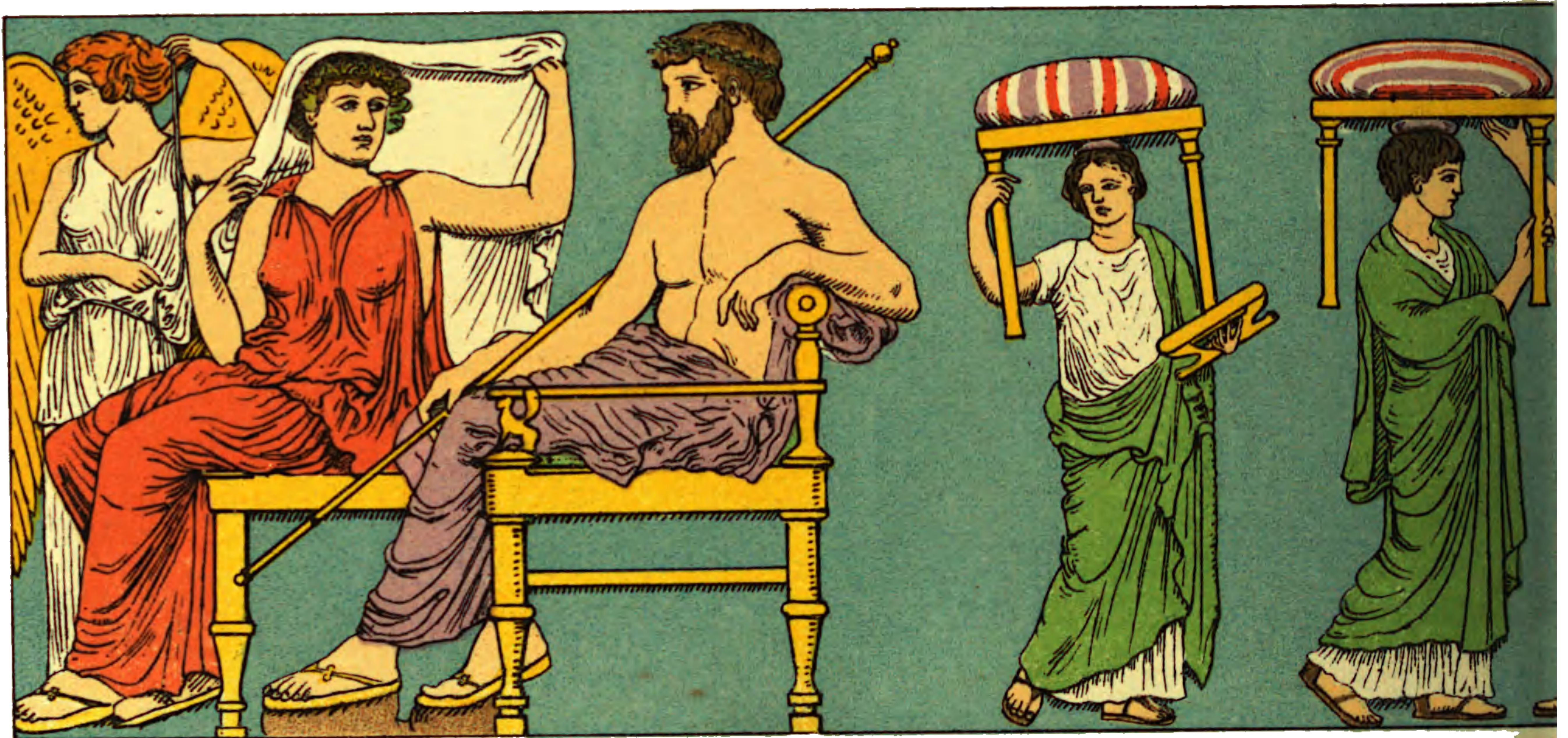
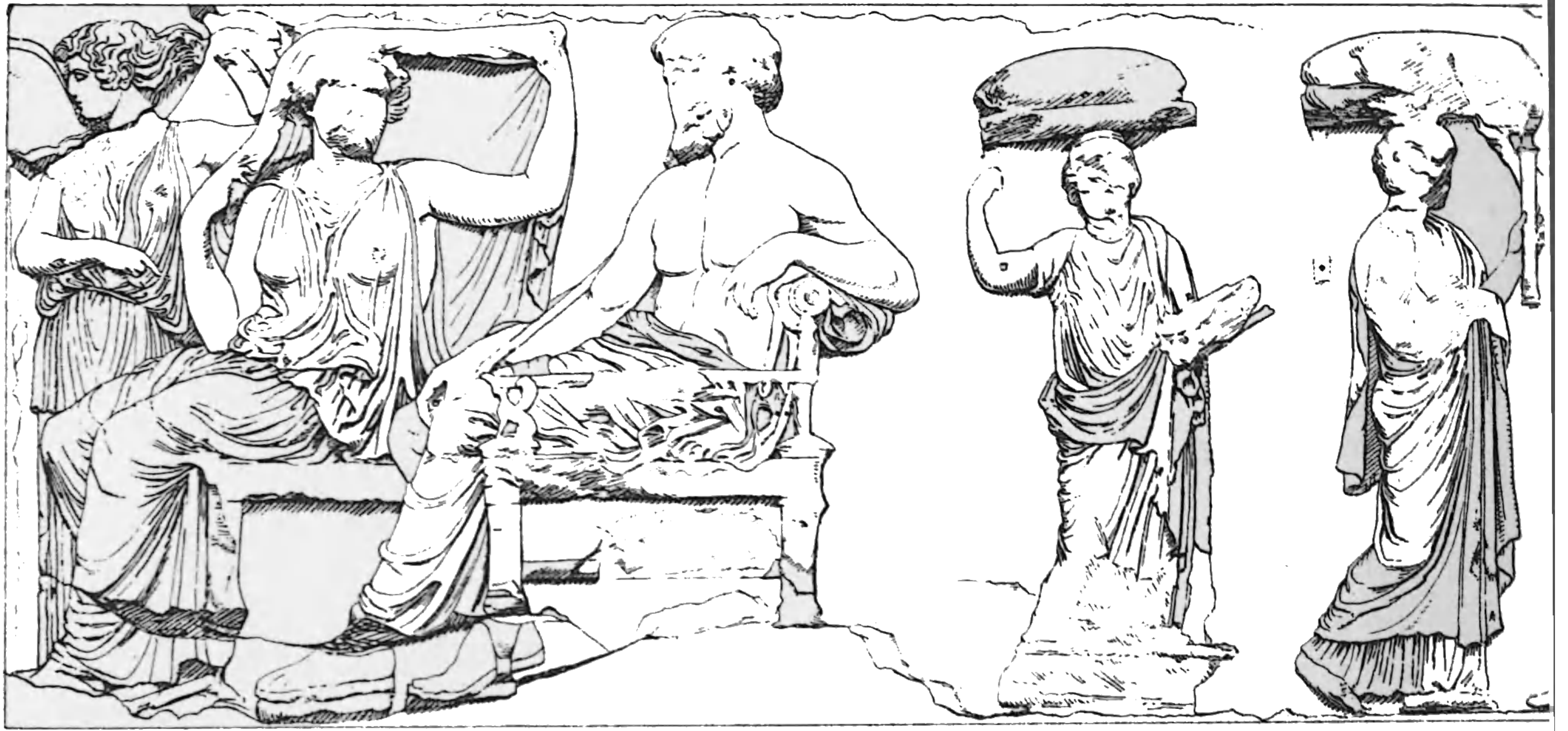
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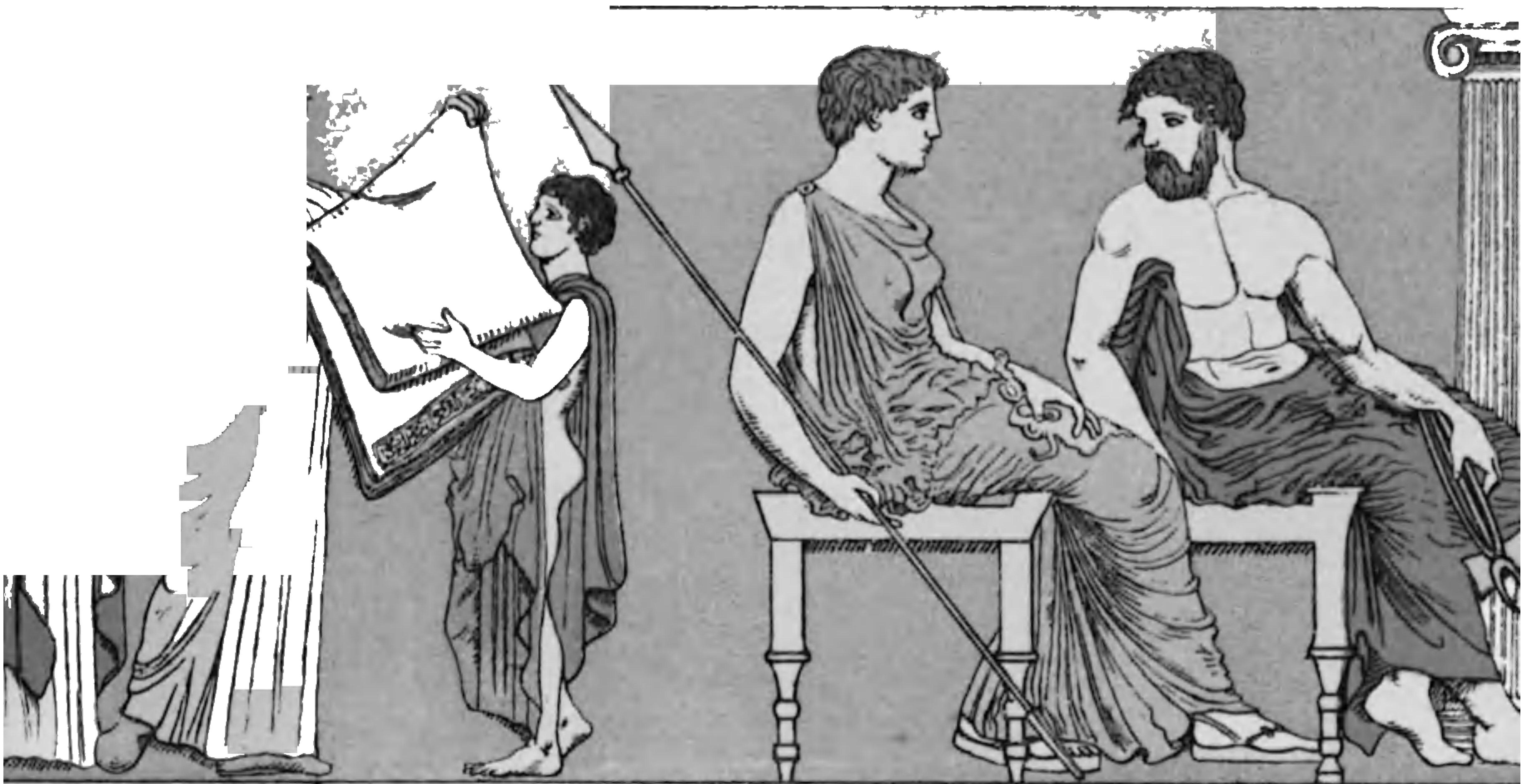
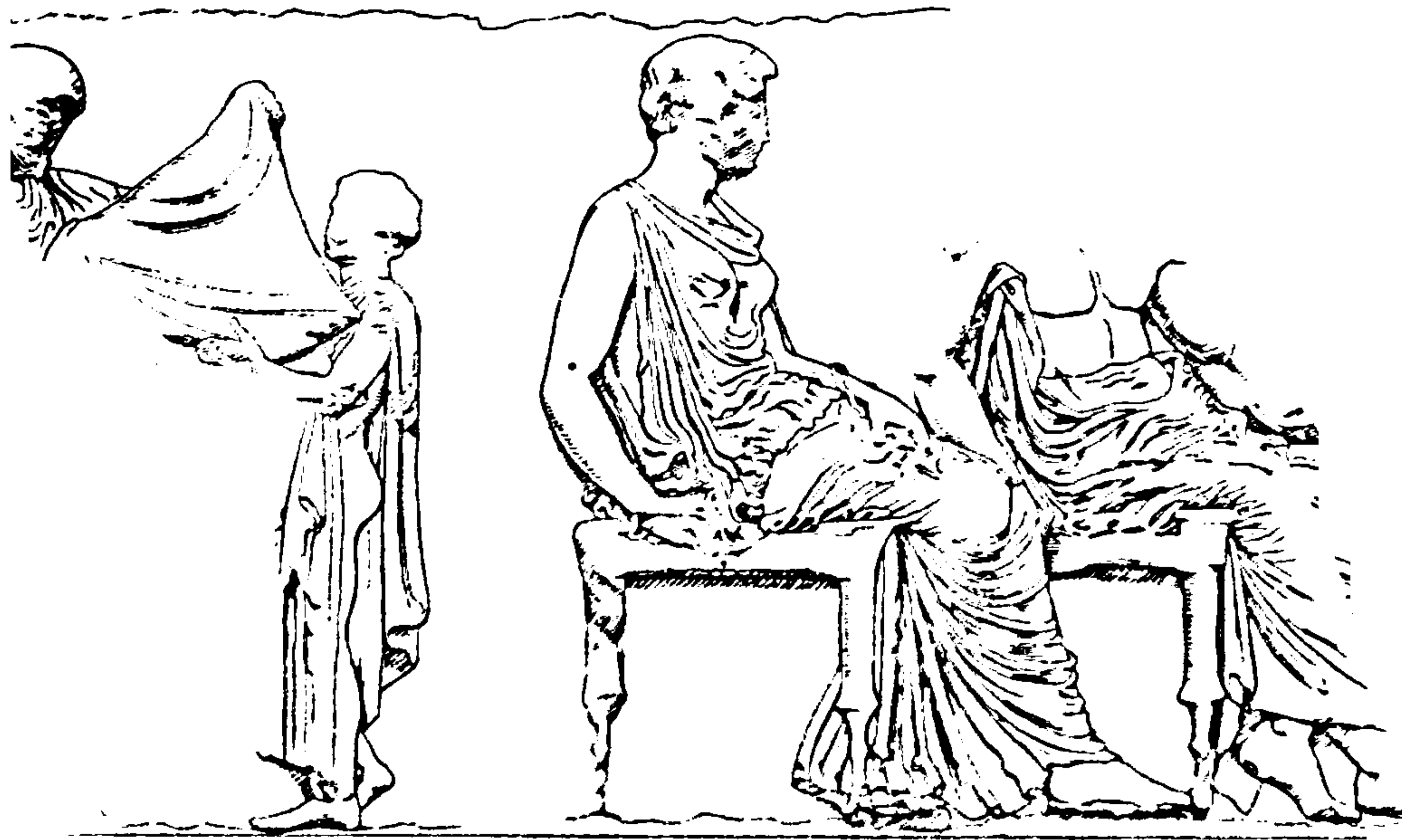
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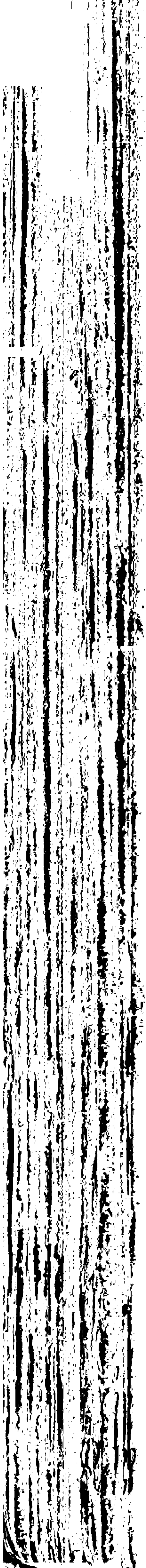
The central slab from the Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon, rep
1. The relief as extant in the British Museum. 2.



E. T. T.

ing the ritual Apotheosis of the King and Queen at Athens :
relief with flat coloration and metal accessories restored.

See page 1135 ff.



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their attendants the sacred *péplos* and two cushioned *díphroi*. Of these *díphroi* one is being handed to the 'queen,' the other with a footstool¹ is reserved for the 'king.' He is a very noteworthy personage. Alone of all the figures on the frieze, he is clad simply in a long *chitón* with short sleeves and in shoes—doubtless the Cretan garment² and royal footgear³, which we know to have been his distinctive attire. Court etiquette is conservative and these articles of apparel were reminiscent of 'Minoan' predecessors. But, to complete his costume, he needs a *himátion*; and it seems not unreasonable to conjecture that he is about to put on immortality in the shape of Athena's *péplos*⁴. This done, the 'king'

I confess, seem inadequate) regard the scene as (1) the priest receiving the new *péplos* (most archaeologists); (2) the priest folding up and putting away the old *péplos* (G. F. Hill 'The east frieze of the Parthenon' in the *Class. Rev.* 1894 viii. 225 f., E. A. Gardner *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* London 1897 ii. 291 f., *id.* *Ancient Athens* London 1902 p. 332 ff.); (3) the priest, about to sacrifice, handing his own *himátion* to the boy, cp. the vase shown in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1879 xxxvii pl. 4 (A. Flasch *Zum Parthenon-Fries* Würzburg 1877 p. 99 ff., Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 277 f., Sir C. Waldstein 'The Panathenaic festival and the central slab of the Parthenon frieze' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1885 i. 10 ff., *id.* *Essays on the Art of Pheidias* Cambridge 1885 p. 229 ff. ('The central slab of the Parthenon frieze and the Copenhagen plaque') pls. 11 f.); (4) the βασιλεύς, before sacrifice, about to put on his *protónion* (W. Watkiss Lloyd 'On the Central Groups of the Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon' in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* Second Series (1892) xvi. 73 ff.); (5) the priest receiving a carpet (*στρωμνή*, cp. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 589, 9 and 44 f.) to be spread before the seats of the gods for a theoxeny (E. Curtius in the *Jahrb. d. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix *Arch. Anz.* p. 181, Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 91, 427 f. ('The central group of the east frieze of the Parthenon: peplos or στρωμνή?')). See also E. Petersen 'Peplosübergabe' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1877 xxxv. 136 f., A. Michaelis 'Peplos und Priestermantel' in the *Festschrift für Johannes Overbeck* Leipzig 1893 p. 178 ff., A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 156 ff., *id.* *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 75 ff., *id.* *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 53, Furtwangler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 427, *id.* in the *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 274 ff.

¹ E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 247 n. 1. •

² Poll. 7. 77 ἐκαλείτο δὲ τι καὶ Κρητικόν, ὃ Ἀθήνησιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐχρήτο.

³ Poll. 7. 85 ὑποδημάτων δὲ εἶδη βασιλίδες· ἐφόρει δὲ αὐτὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀθήνησιν.

⁴ If it be objected that the βασιλεύς had no right to masquerade in the costume of Athena, various considerations may be urged in his defence. At the Greater Mystery of Pheneos in Arkadia the priest put on the mask of Demeter *Kidarla* before smiting the Underground Folk with rods (Paus. 8. 15. 3). The obverse of a gold *statér* with the name and types of Alexander the Great is believed by C. T. Seltman to exhibit the head of Demetrios Poliorketes wearing the helmet of Athena (*Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1909 ix. 267 ff. pl. 20, 3). A Melian copper of imperial date shows a bearded male figure inscribed T|V|[X]|H, with left arm carrying a child and right arm resting on a pillar (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 23 no. 66 pl. 2, 8), presumably a benefactor of Melos represented as her Tyche holding the infant Plontos (so Furtwangler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 382 n. 3). The colossal statues of the Nemroud Dagh include Antiochos i of Kommagene, who in the accompanying inscription speaks of himself as Τύχης νέας (*supra* i. 744 n. 3). Conversely, the gold octadrachms and silver decadrachms etc. of the deified Arsinoe ii give her a horn like that of Zeus *Ánimon* (J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* cited *supra* p. 773 fig. 739, C. T. Seltman *Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1909 ix. 269, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 850). Again, it might be pointed out that a woman's *péplos* is really the same garment as a man's *himátion*, both being essentially an oblong piece of woollen cloth folded for wear. But the true defence of the βασιλεύς is more

and 'queen' will take their places on the *déphroi* set for them between the deities enthroned on either hand¹. With Zeus and Hērā on the one side, Athena and Hephaistos on the other², they will appear with all the credentials of divinity.

But it is time to pass from the local myth of Periphas to the local custom of the Diasia³.

probably to be sought in the fact that on certain ritual occasions men were expected to don women's raiment—a custom on which I have said my say elsewhere (*Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 376 f.). Miss Harrison has suggested to me (July 30, 1917) an explanation, which—if sound—would not only meet the objection here noted but also add much to the significance of the whole procedure. The 'king,' on my showing, is about to assume the *πέπλος* of Athena. Yes, but the *πέπλος* may be simply the 'Weltenmantel,' which Athena had taken over from the early Attic kings. Such a garment could be appropriately worn by the 'king,' who thus came by his own again. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 58 ff., 77 ff., ii. 326 seems (though he is not very clear about it) to regard Athena's *πέπλος* as a cosmic robe. I fail to see that he has proved the point. When he states that the 'Praxiergidenpriesterinnen' ἀμφιέννουσιν ἐν ἑορταῖς τὸν πέπλον Διὶ Μοιραγέτει Ἀπόλλωνι (*op. cit.* i. 59), he is indulging in an ungrammatical (Πραξιεργίδαι should be masculine, and ἀμφιέννουσιν is not Greek at all) and highly improbable ('Δι...appellativisch (wie divus)') restoration of the mutilated text *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 93, 11 f. = J. V. Frott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 14, 11 f. cited *supra* p. 231 n. 8.

¹ Similarly Philip of Macedon, immediately before his assassination at Aigai in 336 B.C., εἰδῶλα τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐπὶ ἔμπνευ...σὺν δὲ τούτοις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Φιλίππου τρισκαίδεκατον ἐπὶ ἔμπνευ θεοπρεπὲς εἰδῶλον, σύνθρονον ἑαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύντος τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς (Diod. 16. 92).

² It seems likely that Pheidias had already employed the same principles of composition for the trophy erected at Delphoi as a tithe from the spoils of 'Marathon.' The account given by Paus. 10. 10. 1—2 has led to much discussion, which is conveniently summarised by H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.* Personally, I hold that the grouping of this remarkable monument was as follows:

[Three national worthies]		Five ἐπώνυμοι		ATHENA as goddess of Athens	MILTIADES	APOLLON as god of Delphoi		Five ἐπώνυμοι		[Three later ἐπώνυμοι]
---------------------------	--	---------------	--	-----------------------------	-----------	---------------------------	--	---------------	--	------------------------

Three out of the ten ἐπώνυμοι, *viz.* Oineus, Hippothoon, and Aias, are not mentioned in the text of Pausanias (probably a clerical error, cp. E. Curtius in the *Nachr. d. Kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1861 p. 369 ff. = *id. Gesammelte Abhandlungen* Berlin 1894 ii. 365 f.). Later, when the ten tribes were increased to thirteen, the Athenians added at one end of the row three figures of the new ἐπώνυμοι, Antigonos, Demetrios Poliorketes, Ptolemy ii Philadelphos, and balanced them at the other end by three more figures of national worthies, Kodros, Theseus, Phyleus. It will be observed that, on this showing, the arrangement of the Delphic trophy definitely anticipated that of the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (I accept the view of A. S. Arvanitopoulos 'Phylen-Heroen am Parthenonfries' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 38 ff. pl. 4 f. that the ten standing men of the eastern frieze are the eponymous heroes of the Attic tribes):

Head of Panathenaic procession		Five ἐπώνυμοι		Six seated DEITIES	KING and QUEEN of Athens with their attendants	Six seated DEITIES		Five ἐπώνυμοι		Head of Panathenaic procession
--------------------------------	--	---------------	--	--------------------	--	--------------------	--	---------------	--	--------------------------------

In both cases alike Pheidias' design portrays a virtual apotheosis—humanity raised to the rank of surrounding deities.

³ The best collection of sources will be found in O. Band *Die Attischen Diasien* Berlin 1883 pp. 3—10. The remainder of this excellent monograph suffers from undue compression and is admittedly incomplete.

(7) The Diasia.

Towards the close of the seventh century (636? 632? 628? B.C.) Kylon, an Athenian noble who had married the daughter of Theagenes tyrant of Megara, resolved with Theagenes' help to make himself tyrant of Athens. In answer to an enquiry the Delphic god bade him seize the Akropolis 'at the greatest festival of Zeus.' Kylon, who had been an Olympic victor, naturally took this to be the festival at Olympia. So he waited till it came round and then made his *coup*, which proved a disastrous failure¹. Thoukydides' comment concerns us:

'Whether the greatest festival spoken of was in Attike or elsewhere, was a point which he did not perceive and the oracle did not reveal. For the Athenians too have what is called the Diasia, a festival of Zeus *Meilichios*, greatest of any, held outside the city, at which all the people offer sacrifice—many not victims but sacrifices peculiar to the country².'

The difficulties of the Thucydidean style³ and the doubts attaching to the text⁴ have, I think, hindered scholars from asking the obvious question: Why did the oracle regard the Diasia as a suitable day for setting up a tyranny at Athens? The explanation is twofold: partly, no doubt, because the gathering of the populace outside the city would leave the coast clear for Kylon's attempt; but partly also because the Diasia was the festival of Zeus *Meilichios*, who represented the line of ancient kings. Kylon might in fact have acted under their auspices and been accepted as their successor. His presumptuous error spoiled what was, in reality or pretence, quite a pretty piece of politico-religious plotting⁵.

¹ Thouk. i. 126, Hdt. 5. 71, Aristot. *de Athen. rep. frag.* 8 p. 110, 14 ff. Blass—Thalheim, Herakleides Pontikos *frag.* 1. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 208 Müller), Cic. *de leg.* 2. 28, Plout. *v. Sol.* 12 f., Paus. 1. 28. 1, 1. 40. 1, 7. 25. 3, Hesych. *s.v.* Κωλών(ε)ιον ἄγος, Soud. *s.v.* Κυλώνειον ἄγος, schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 445.

² Thouk. i. 126 *εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἢ ἄλλοθί που ἡ μέγιστη ἑορτὴ εἶρητο, οὔτε ἐκείνος ἐτι κατενόησε τὸ τε μαντεῖον οὐκ ἐδήλου. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Διάσια ἃ καλεῖται, Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μειλιχίου μέγιστη, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἣ πανδημεὶ θύουσι, πολλοὶ οὐχ ἱερεῖα ἀλλὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια with schol. *ad loc.* ἱερεῖα· πρόβατα and θύματα· τινὰ πέμματα εἰς ζώων μορφὰς τετυπωμένα ἔθουον.*

³ B. Jowett *ad loc.* would punctuate differently, reading either (1) *ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις, Διάσια ἃ καλεῖται, Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μειλιχίου μέγιστη, κ.τ.λ.* 'For the Athenians also have a greatest festival of Zeus, namely, of Zeus Meilichius, the Diasia as it is called'; or (2) *ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Διάσια, ἃ καλεῖται Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μειλιχίου μέγιστη, κ.τ.λ.* 'For the Athenians also have a festival of Zeus, namely, the Diasia, which is called the greatest festival of Zeus Meilichius.' E. C. Marchant *ad loc.* translates as in (2).

⁴ E. F. Poppo—J. M. Stahl *ad loc.* *cj.* Διάσια ἢ καλεῖται. C. F. Hermann in *Philologus* 1867 ii. 1 ff. *cj.* ἐν ἣ πανδημεὶ θύουσι πολλὰ οὐχ ἱερεῖα, κ.τ.λ. T. Hemsterhuys on Loukian. *Timi.* 7 *cj.* ἀλλ' ἀγὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια. O. Band *op. cit.* p. 4 regards the words *ἔστι—μέγιστη* as a probable and *ἔξω—ἐπιχώρια* as a certain interpolation.

⁵ In view of Kylon's connexion with Theagenes, note that the cult of Zeus at Megara bore some resemblance to the cult of Zeus on the Ilissos. A relief from Megara, like that from the Kallirrhoe-basin, associates Zeus with Acheloius (*supra* p. 1117 n. 7). Megara, like the Ilissos-bank, had its myth of the deluge (Paus. 1. 40. 1). And at Megara too there was an Olympieion with a famous statue of Zeus (Paus. 1. 40. 4 *μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς (τοῦ Διὸς τὸ cod. Monac.) τέμενος ἐσελθοῦσι καλούμενον Ὀλυμπιεῖον ναὸς ἐστι θεῶν ἄξιος· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἐξεργάσθη τοῦ Διὸς ἐπιλαβόντος τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ... τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Διὸς πρόσωπον ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πηλοῦ τέ ἐστι καὶ γύψου· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ Θεόκοσμον λέγουσιν ἐπιχώριον, συνεργάσασθαι δὲ οἱ Φειδῖαν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διὸς εἰσὶν ὦραι καὶ Μοῖραι· δῆλα δὲ πᾶσι τὴν Πεπρωμένην μόνω οἱ πείθεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ὥρας τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον νέμειν ἐς (so H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz for εἰς) τὸ δέον. ὀπισθε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κεῖται ξύλα ἡμίεργα· ταῦτα ἐμελλεν ὁ Θεόκοσμος ἐλέφαντι*

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The ritual of the Diasia is imperfectly known. Thoukydides' statement that many, in lieu of 'victims,' offered 'sacrifices peculiar to the country' is annotated by the scholiast, who remarks (1) that 'victims' means sheep (*próbata*), and (2) that the 'sacrifices peculiar to the country' were cakes moulded into the forms of animals¹. Both observations are credible. On the one hand, we have seen that the 'fleece of Zeus' was stripped from a victim sacrificed to Zeus *Meilichios* or to Zeus *Ktésios*². On the other hand, we hear³ of a cult of Artemis at Syracuse, in which rustic singers were decked with a loaf that had wild beasts moulded upon it⁴, a wallet full of mingled grain, and wine in a goat-skin for distribution to all and sundry. They wore garlands, had stag-horns on their foreheads, and carried a crook in their hands. Thus equipped they vied with each other in song: the victor received the loaf of the vanquished and stopped in Syracuse; the vanquished went about the neighbouring villages collecting food for themselves. Their songs were full of mirth and merriment, and ended with the stanza:

Here's wealth for you!
Here's health for you!
We bring you what the goddess sends,
A boon and blessing to her friends!

It would seem that at Athens the god, and at Syracuse the votary, accepted the cake or loaf moulded with animal forms as a surrogate for the animals themselves in accordance with a well-known principle of ancient ritual⁵.

¹ *Supra* p. 1138 n. 2.

² *Supra* i. 422 ff. O. Band *Die Attischen Diasien* Berlin 1883 p. 4 (following E. F. Poppo on Thouk. 1. 126) à propos of the scholion *λερεῖα· πρόβατα* says curtly 'Immo χοίρους.'

³ Schol. Theokr. *proleg.* Β εὑρεσις τῶν βουκολικῶν b p. 3, 2 ff. Wendel (cp. *anecd. Estense* 3. 1 p. 7, 11 ff. Wendel, Prob. *in Verg. ecl.* p. 347 f. Lion, Diomed. *ars gramm.* 3 p. 486, 27 ff. Keil: Probus and Diomedes connect the custom with the cult of Diana *Lyaea* ᾄδειν δέ φασιν αὐτοὺς ἄρτον ἐξηρημένους θηρίων ἐν αὐτῷ πλέονας τύπους ἔχοντα καὶ πήραν πανσπερμίας ἀνάπλεων καὶ οἶνον ἐν αἰγείῳ ἀσκῷ, σπονδὴν νέμοντας τοῖς ὑπαντῶσι, στέφανόν τε περικεῖσθαι καὶ κέρατα ἐλάφων προκεῖσθαι καὶ μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχειν λαγωβόλον. τὸν δὲ νικήσαντα λαμβάνειν τὸν τοῦ νενικημένου ἄρτον· κάκεινον μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Συρακουσίων μένειν πύλῳ, τοὺς δὲ νενικημένους εἰς τὰς περιοικίδας χωρεῖν ἀγείροντας ἑαυτοῖς τὰς τροφάς· ᾄδειν (so H. Schaefer for διδόναι codd.) δὲ ἄλλα τινὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος ἐχόμενα καὶ εὐφημοῦντας ἐπιλέγειν· 'δέξαι τὰν ἀγαθὰν τύχαν, | δέξαι τὰν ὑγίειαν, | ἂν φέρομεν παρὰ γὰς (so F. G. Schneidewin for τῆς E^b. A. T. τοῦ K.) θεοῦ, | ἂν ἐκαλέσσατο (ἐκλελάσκετο K. A. H. Ahrens cj. ᾄ' κελήσατο C. Wendel cj. ἐκλάσκετο or ἐλακήσατο) τήνα (*carmi. p. 42* Bergk⁴, 45 Hiller—Crusius).

⁴ ? cp. Athen. 646 E ἔλαφος πλακοῦς ὁ τοῖς Ἐλαφηβολοῖς ἀναπλασσομένους διὰ σταιτὸς καὶ μέλιτος καὶ σησάμου.

⁵ Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 2. 116 et sciendum in sacris simulata pro veris accipi. unde, cum de animalibus quae difficile inveniuntur est sacrificandum, de pane vel cera fiunt et pro veris accipiuntur. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1079 ff. and Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 95 n. 2 have made full collections of the literary evidence. Countless archaeological finds illustrate the same principle: see W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 295 ff. To take a single case, the pig for sacrifice might be replaced by a dog dressed in a pig-skin (so on a red-figured *kylix* at Vienna (Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* p. 40 f. no. 321 fig. 24, F. Studniczka 'Ein Opferbetrug des Hermes' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 258 ff. fig., J. E. Harrison—D. S. MacColl *Greek Vase Paintings* London 1894 p. 25 pl. 33, 1)), or by a terra-cotta pig (so with those from the precinct of Demeter and Kore at Tegea (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* pp. xxxviii f., 78 no. B 46, A. Milchhöfer in the *Ath.*

Kylon's mistake suggests that already in the seventh century the Diasia was past its zenith. But popular rites die hard. Two hundred years later old-fashioned folk still thought of the family feast and the public fair. Aristophanes makes Strepsiades tell with gusto how once at the Diasia he roasted a haggis for his kinsmen¹, and how on a like occasion he spent an obol on a toy-cart for his little son². This is the last that we hear of the festival for more than half a millennium. Then came Lucian with his marvellous talent for galvanizing the past into a semblance of life. In the *Ikaromenippos* Zeus asks 'why the Athenians had dropped the Diasia all those years³.' In the *Timon* Hermes jogs the memory of Zeus himself:

'What, Father! Don't you know Timon—son of Echekratides, of Kollytos? Many's the time he's entertained us on perfect sacrifices, the wealthy *parvenu* of the whole hecatombs, with whom we used to feast like lords at the Diasia⁴.'

In the *Charidemos* there is a reference to literary competitions at the same festival⁵.

A stage more remote from the original facts was Eumathios Makrembolites, the Byzantine novelist (second half of s. xii A.D.) who penned the *Romance of Hysmine and Hysminias*. He laid its scene in the imaginary towns of Eurykomis and Aulikomis and dealt largely with the circumstances of the Diasia. The hero, Hysminias, wearing a bay-wreath, a long *chiton*, and sacred shoes⁶, went as herald of Zeus from the former to the latter town, where he was received as a god⁷ and entertained in the name of Zeus⁸, but proved himself to be very human by falling in love with Hysmine the daughter of his host. She, however, was betrothed to another; and her parents, who had escorted the herald back to Eurykomis, offered there at the altar of Zeus a sacrifice for the future happiness of their daughter. Thereupon an eagle swooped down and carried off the sacrifice. The parents were much upset at this evil omen⁹. But some of the bystanders took it to be a most auspicious sign¹⁰. And a friend of Hysminias pointed out to him that he might be the eagle, and carry off the bride¹¹—which he proceeded to do. We need not trace at greater length his rather banal escapades and adventures. But we should note that the god, whom he served so unworthily, is throughout spoken of as Zeus or Zeus *Patrios*¹² or Zeus *Phllios*¹³ or Zeus *Sotér*¹⁴

Mith. 1879 iv. 171, 174, C. A. Hutton *Greek Terracotta Statuettes* London 1899 p. 3 f.) or from that of Persephone at Tarentum (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1886 vii. 24, W. H. D. Rouse *op. cit.* p. 301), or even by a ham-shaped coin (so with the curious coppers from the fountain at Nîmes (L. de la Saussaye *Numismatique de la Gaule Narbonnaise* Blois 1842 p. 159 pl. 20, 36, G. Long in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 414 f. fig., A. Boutkowski *Dictionnaire Numismatique* Leipzig 1884 ii. 1. 1738 f. no. 2833 fig., E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet *Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1889 p. 61 no. 2839, H. de la Tour *Atlas de monnaies gauloises* Paris 1892 no. 2839 pl. 7, G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 3 f. fig. 2, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 675 f.)).

¹ Aristoph. *nub.* 408 ff.

² *Id. ib.* 861 ff.

³ Loukian. *Icaromen.* 24.

⁴ Loukian. *Tim.* 7.

⁵ Loukian. *Charid.* 1, cp. 3.

⁶ Eumath. 1. 1 f., 1. 7, 4. 3, 4. 24, 5. 3, 8. 10, 8. 13, cp. 8. 19, 8. 21.

⁷ *Id.* 1. 3 δέχομαι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὡς κήρυξ, ἀλλ' ὡς θεός.

⁸ *Id.* 1. 10 Διασίωσι καιρός, κατατρύψωμεν τὰ Διάσια· ὅλοι γευώμεθα τῆς ἐορτῆς, ὅλοι τῆς πανηγύρεως. Ζεὺς παρὰ τῆ τραπεζῆ, καὶ Διὸς τράπεζα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ κήρυξ οὗτος Διὸς: cp. 6. 2.

⁹ *Id.* 6. 10.

¹⁰ *Id.* 6. 11.

¹¹ *Id.* 6. 13.

¹² *Id.* 6. 10.

¹³ *Id.* 3. 9, 5. 18.

¹⁴ *Id.* 4. 2, 5. 15, 6. 2, 6. 15, cp. 1. 14.

or Zeus *Xénios*¹, but never as Zeus *Meilichios*—a sufficient proof that the author, though he works up his material with some care, has not preserved to us a trustworthy record of Athenian cult.

The scholiast on Lucian, who here and there makes valuable remarks, tells us more than once that the Diasia was kept at Athens 'with gloomy looks,' such as befitted the worship of the dead². This agrees well with other indications concerning the ritual of Zeus *Meilichios*. An old Attic calendar, the lettering of which has been referred to the early part of *s. v* B.C., mentions 'sober' offerings to *Meilichios* side by side with offerings to Meter at some date before the end of Gamelion³. Now 'sober' offerings consisted in the main of honey⁴, and were specially, though not exclusively, given to chthonian powers (Gaia⁵, the *Bona Dea*⁶, Dis⁷, Hekate⁸, the Eumenides⁹, Kerberos¹⁰) and the souls of the dead¹¹. The same might be said of the pigs sacrificed to Zeus *Meilichios* at the Peiraieus¹² and by Xenophon 'in accordance with his ancestral custom¹³.' In short, we have every reason to conclude that at Athens the cult of Zeus *Meilichios* was essentially chthonian—the worship of a buried king, who during his life-time had been hailed as the sky-god incarnate and still was present to bless his people with increase of field and flock and family.

¹ Eumath. 5. 8 f., 5. 14 f., 6. 1 f., 6. 9, 11. 3.

At the altar of this deity, who is called indifferently Zeus Σωτήρ or Zeus Ξένιος, the parents sacrifice about the third watch of the night (*id.* 5. 15, 6. 5, 6. 14, 6. 16, cp. 10. 9).

² Schol. Loukian. *Icaromen.* 24 p. 107, 15 f. Rabe Διάσια· έορτή 'Αθήνησιν, ήν έπετέλουν μετά τινος στυγνότητος θύοντες έν αύτή Δι Μειλιχίω, *Tim.* 7 p. 110, 27 f. Rabe Διάσια· έορτή 'Αθήνησιν ούτω καλουμένη, ήν ελώθεσαν μετά στυγνότητός τινος έπιτελείν θύοντες Δι τώ Μειλιχίω, *Tim.* 43 p. 117, 14 ff. Rabe άποφράς· ...έτελείτο δέ ταύτα κατά τον Φεβρουάριον μήνα, ότε και τοίς καταχθονίοις ένήγιζον. και πās ούτος ό μήν άνείτο τοίς κατοικομένοις μετά στυγνότητος πάντων προΐόντων † έτερον † τρόπον, όν και τὰ Διάσια στυγνάζοντες ήγον 'Αθηναίοι. M. du Soul marked έτερον as corrupt. T. Hemsterhusius cj. ένέρων. Graeven cj. ούχ έτερον. O. Band *Die Attischen Diasien* Berlin 1883 p. 6 regards έτερον as euphemistic. If alteration is needed, perhaps we should read σκυθρωπότερον. Cp. Hesych. Διάσια· έορτή 'Αθήνησι. και σκυθρωπούς άπό τής έορτής ήν έπετέλουν μετά τινος στυγνότητος θύοντες, on which M. Schmidt acutely observes: 'Fortasse comicus dixerat βλέποντας Διάσια.'

³ *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 4 A, 3 ff., J. de Protte *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 1 ff. no. 1 A, 3 ff. θάρ[γελοι? --- Δι Μ][ι]λιχίοι : ε[----νεφ][d](λι)α : Μετρί : [έν "Αγρας ---][.]σπυριχεια ----- . Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 421 infers that Zeus *Meilichios* and Meter (= Demeter) were worshipped in or near Agra on the Ilissos : cp. *supra* p. 1118 n. 4.

⁴ W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 p. 64 n. 167, *id.* *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 49 n. 199, W. Robert-Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione et symbolica et mythologica* Berolini 1893 p. 144, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 20 f. ⁵ Ap. Rhod. 2. 1271 ff. ⁶ Macrobian. *Sat.* 1. 12. 25.

⁷ Sil. It. 13. 415 f. For bees and honey in relation to Demeter and Persephone see *supra* i. 443 n. 6 f., ii. 1113 n. 0 no. (3).

⁸ Ap. Rhod. 3. 1035 f.

⁹ Aisch. *Eum.* 106 f., Soph. *O.C.* 98 ff., 480 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Paus. 2. 11. 4.

¹⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 417 ff., Soud. *s.v.* μελιτοῦττα = schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 601.

¹¹ *Il.* 23. 170 f., *Od.* 10. 518 ff., 11. 26 ff., 24. 67 f., Aisch. *Pers.* 607 ff., Eur. *Or.* 114 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, *I.T.* 159 ff., 633 ff., Ap. Rhod. 2. 1271 ff., Soud. *s.v.* μελιτοῦττα = schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 601. See further H. Usener 'Milch und Honig' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1902 lvii. 177—195 (= *id.* *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 398—417) and S. Eitrem *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* (*Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter.* 11. Hist.-Filos. Klasse. 1914. No. i) Kristiania 1915 pp. 102—105.

¹² *Supra* p. 1105.

¹³ *Supra* p. 1107.

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of Zeus (fig. 961) being 'decidedly fine and early' is perhaps 'a reminiscence of the head of Polycleitus' statue¹. But, in view of the large number of Argive Zeuses², these conjectures are admittedly uncertain.

(9) Zeus *Meilichios* at Sikyon.

From Argos to Sikyon³, as the crow flies, is less than five-and-twenty miles. But in their representation of Zeus *Meilichios* Argives and Sicyonians differed *toto caelo*. The former could boast a masterpiece shown to visitors as the work of Polykleitos himself; the latter were content with an artless pyramid, not even anthropomorphic⁴. Why Zeus was given this peculiar shape, we are not told.

¹ Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36.

² In addition to references already given (*supra* i. 117 Zeus 'Αφέσιος, 122 f. Zeus Λαρισαῖος, 134 f. Zeus as a cuckoo, 320 and 462 Zeus with three eyes, 448 and 456 Zeus Νέμειος, 461 Zeus Πανόπτης, ii. 704 ff. Zeus as a cuckoo, 712 ff. Zeus as partner of Hera, 875 n. 2 Zeus Φαλακρός, 892 n. 5 Zeus Λαρισαῖος, Λαρισεύς) see Paus. 2. 19. 7 Δαναὸς δὲ ταῦτά τε ἀνέθηκε καὶ πλησίον κίονας ἐκ < > Διὸς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ξόανον (so most MSS. and H. C. Schubart, who indicated the *lacuna*: he is followed by Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner. Some of the older editors read ἐς Διὸς with cod. Paris c. H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz, L. Dindorf, and F. Spiro print καὶ Διὸς after cod. Vindob. a. Clavier cj. ὡς Διὸς. A. Kuhn cj. ξόανα) where we should perhaps correct ἐκ Διὸς < κελεύσματος > (cp. *supra* i. 371 n. 1) and suppose a pillar-cult of some sort, 2. 19. 8 βωμὸς Ἰετίου Διὸς (*infra* § 9 (h)), 2. 20. 6 καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν Σωτήρος, 2. 21. 2 πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ πεπολήται Διὸς Φυξίου βωμὸς, 2. 22. 2 πέραν δὲ τοῦ τάφου (*sc.* of Pelasgos) χαλκεῖον ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα, ἀνέχει δὲ αὐτὸ ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀθηναῖς. Λυκέας μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησε Μηχανέως τὸ ἀγαλμα εἶναι Διὸς, καὶ Ἀργείων ἔφη τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατεύσαντας ἐνταῦθα ὁμόσαι παραμενεῖν (so H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz for παραμένειν codd.) πολεμοῦντας, ἐστ' ἂν ἢ τὸ Ἴλιον ἔλωσιν ἢ μαχομένους τελευτῆ σφᾶς ἐπιλάβῃ· ἑτέροις δὲ ἐστὶν εἰρημένον ὅστ' ἐν τῷ χαλκεῖω κεῖσθαι Ταντάλον. The word χαλκεῖον, which has been much misunderstood (see H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*), presumably means a bronze *cista*. On the lid of it stood three archaic figures—an arrangement familiar to us from extant specimens (*e.g.* the 'Ficoroni'-*cista*, on which see Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* ii. 14 ff. pl. 2, P. O. Brøndsted *den Ficoroniske Cista* Kjöbenhavn 1847, E. Braun *Die Ficoronische Cista des collegio Romano* Leipzig 1849, O. Jahn *Die Ficoronische Cista* Leipzig 1852, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 453 f. fig. 500, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 148 f. fig. 146; the handle of another *cista* from Palestrina in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 106 no. 643). Lykeas, as an Argive poet (Paus. 1. 13. 8 f., 2. 19. 5, 2. 23. 8), followed local tradition. And it is possible that the bones in the *cista* really were those of some early chieftain worshipped after his death as Zeus Μηχανεύς (for whom see *infra* § 9 (h) i). Argive inscriptions further allude to the cult of Zeus Νέμειος (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 602, 14 ff. καὶ θύσαν|τα τῷ Διὶ τῷ Νεμείω ἑκατόμ|βην, *ib.* no. 606, 11 f. = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1123, 12 f. = W. Prellwitz in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* ii. 1. 131 f. no. 3293, 12 f. θύσαντά τε καὶ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Νεμείω ἑκα|τόνβαν πρῶτον καὶ μόνον) and Zeus Ἰψιστος (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 620, 4 = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 465. 8 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 286. 8 cited *supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (4)).

³ I pass by Epidaurus, because the evidence for a cult of Zeus *Meilichios* in that town is small—in fact depends on the suggested interpretation of a single letter. See J. Bannack 'Zu den Inschriften aus Epidaurus' in *Philologus* 1895 liv. 37: 'Nr. 125 h. bei K. [= P. Kabbadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 p. 57] nur Ἀφροδίτας μιλιχίας. Bl. (Askl. S. 123) [= C. Blinkenberg *Asklepios og hans fraender i Hieron ved Epidaurus* Kobenhavn 1893 p. 123 no. 7] merkt darauf einen Zwischenraum von etwa 2 Zeichen an und hierauf ein Δ, was er ansprechend als den Anfang einer zweiten Inschrift Δ[ιὸς μιλιχίου] erklärt,' *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1272 in letters of s. iii B.C. ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΑΣΜΙΛΙΧΙΑΣ| |ΔΤ = Ἀφροδίτας Μιλιχίας. Δι[ὸς Μιλιχίου].

⁴ Paus. 2. 9. 6 cited *supra* i. 520 n. 2.

I do not, of course, mean to imply that the Sicyonians were averse from the Zeus-types

It is tempting to conjecture that his pyramid betokened a buried king. For tombs of pyramidal form occur sporadically from Egypt to Italy¹; and, if Eūmelos

of later art. A 'third brass' of Geta shows Zeus seated with a *phiale* in his right hand, a sceptre in his left (Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 912, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 29). A copper of Caracalla (?) has CI KVV N Zeus standing to the left, naked, with thunderbolt in right hand, sceptre in left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 55, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 29 pl. H, 10 = my fig. 965): cp. the obverse type of a quasi-autonomous coin in *Numismata antiqua in tres partes divisa*, collegit Thomas Pembrochiæ et Montis Gomerici comes Londinii 1746 ii pl. 28, 11, Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 910 Zeus standing, naked, with Nike in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *loc. cit.* rightly see in the British Museum coin an illustration of Paus. 2. 9. 6 τῆς δὲ ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς, τέχνη Λυσίππου (cp. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 151 f.).



Fig. 965.

¹ A good collection of evidence is got together by R. Rochette 'Sur la pyra, comme type de monument funéraire' in the *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1848 xvii. 388—401, who derives pyramidal tombs from pyramidal pyres. Without necessarily subscribing to this view, we may admit that pyres and similar structures of funerary import must be taken into account along with actual tombs. A rough classification of the relevant monuments according to form would include (a) stepped pyramids, (b) smooth-sided pyramids, (c) stepped pyramids on plinths, (d) smooth-sided pyramids on plinths. Examples are:—

(a) The stepped pyramid at Saqqâra built by Zosiri of the third dynasty (G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*⁴ London 1901 p. 359, E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* London 1902 i. 193, 218 f. fig., J. H. Breasted *A History of Egypt* New York 1911 p. 113 f. fig. 63, E. Bell *The Architecture of Ancient Egypt* London 1915 p. 23 ff. fig.), or that at Riqqeh, whose occupant is unknown (G. Maspero *op. cit.*⁴ p. 359 n. 3), or again that at Médûm built by Snofrûi the last king of the third dynasty, though this at least was probably meant to be cased with polished stone (G. Maspero *op. cit.*⁴ p. 359 f. fig., E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* ii. 24 f. fig., J. H. Breasted *op. cit.* p. 115 fig. 64, E. Bell *op. cit.* p. 25 f. fig.). The form has traceable antecedents, viz. the four-sided *tumulus* → the brick-built *mastaba* → the stone-built *mastaba* → a series of stone-built *mastaba* superposed = a stepped pyramid.

(b) The fully developed pyramids of Egypt, those of Kenchreai (A. Blouet etc. *Expédition scientifique de Morée* Paris 1833 ii. 92 pl. 55, 1—3, Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 212—214, v. 565 f.) and *Ligourio* near Epidaurus (A. Blouet etc. *op. cit.* ii. 164 pl. 76, 2 f., Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 233, v. 570), that at *Astros* in Kynouria (W. Vischer *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland* Basel 1857 p. 327), that of Cestins on the *via Ostiensis* (A. Schneider *Das alte Rom* Leipzig 1896 pl. 4, 15, O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*² München 1901 p. 355, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 179 f.), if not also the one formerly existing near the Mausoleum of Hadrian and known to the middle ages, or earlier (Acron in *Hor. epod.* 9. 25), as the *sepulcrum Scipionis* or *Romuli* (O. Richter *op. cit.*² p. 280, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *op. cit.* i. 3. 659 f., H. Jordan *ib.* Berlin 1871 ii. 405 f.). A pyramid of the sort is grouped with a warrior or gladiator (*bustuarius*?) in two different gem-types (E. Saglio in *Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant.* i. 755 fig. 898, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 65 no. 73, 5 pl. 65; Reinach *op. cit.* p. 83 no. 90 pl. 80).

(c) The stepped tomb of 'Kyros' on the site of Pasargadai (C. F. M. Texier *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie* Paris 1852 ii. 152 ff. pls. 81—83, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* v. 597 ff. figs. 375—377, J. Fergusson *A History of Architecture in all Countries*³ London 1893 i. 196 ff. figs. 84—86) can hardly be said to have a plinth, but forms the starting-point for such edifices as the lion-tomb at Knidos (Sir C. T. Newton *A*

is to be trusted, the eponymous king Sikyon, son of Marathon son of Epopeus, came of a family in which we have already seen reason to suspect successive incarnations of Zeus¹. To be sure, there were rival traditions with regard to Sikyon. Hesiod made him the son of Erechtheus². Asios the Samian genealogist³ took him to be the son of Metion son of Erechtheus, and this view was preferred by the Sicyonians themselves⁴. Finally, Ibykos deemed him the son of Pelops⁵. But the variants each and all suggest close connexion with Zeus. *Erechtheús*, the 'Cleaver,' was a cult-title of Zeus the lightning-god⁶. *Metion* is

History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae London 1862—1863 i pls. 61—66, ii. 480—511, *id. Travels & Discoveries in the Levant* London 1865 ii. 214 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 214 ff. no. 1350, J. Fergusson *op. cit.*³ i. 284 f. fig. 164, P. Gardner *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas* London 1896 p. 224 ff. fig. 77), the Mausoleion of Halikarnassos, the stepped tomb at Mylasa (M. G. F. A. Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* Paris 1782 i. 144 ff. pls. 85—89, *Antiquities of Ionia* published by the Society of Dilettanti London 1797 ii. 26 pls. 24—26, C. Fellows *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia* London 1841 p. 75 f. with pl.), and that near Delphoi (E. Dodwell *Views and Descriptions of Cyclopiian, or, Pelasgic Remains, in Greece and Italy* London 1834 p. 20 pl. 36 f.).

(d) A good specimen of the smooth-sided pyramid on plinth is the tomb of 'Zechariah' in the Valley of Jehoshaphat near Jerusalem (T. H. Horne *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible* London 1836 i pl. 93 with text). See also *supra* i. 515 n. 5 fig. 388, ii. 814 f. fig. 781, cp. i. 600 ff. figs. 465—468.

Further cp. the pyramids built above the rock-cut tombs of the Maccabees at Modin (Macc. 1. 13. 25—30, Ioseph. *ant. Jud.* 13. 6. 5, Euseb. *onomasticon de locis Hebraicis s.v. Modem* p. 290, 4 ff. F. Larsow—G. Parthey = Hieron. *de situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum s.v. 'Modeim'* p. 291, 6 ff. F. Larsow—G. Parthey: see V. Guérin *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine* Paris 1868—1880 Seconde partie—Samarie ii. 55 ff. with two pls., Troisième partie—Galilée i. 47 ff., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 361), the three pyramids built near Jerusalem by Helene, sister and wife of Monobazos Bazaïos king of Adiabene (Ioseph. *ant. Jud.* 20. 4. 3, *bell. Jud.* 5. 2. 2, 5. 3. 3, 5. 4. 2, Paus. 8. 16. 5, Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 2. 12. 3, Hieron. *epist.* 108. 9 (xxii. 883 Migne): see W. Otto in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2836 f.), the pyramid, decorated with Argive shields, beneath which the followers of Proitos and Akrisios were buried (Paus. 2. 25. 7), the pyramidal tombs built by Hieron ii at Agyrion in Sicily (Diod. 16. 83), those made for horses at Agrigentum (Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 155), the rock-cut 'Sepolcro Consolare' at Palazzola (Palazzuolo) above the Alban Lake (A. Nibby *Viaggio antiquario ne' contorni di Roma* Roma 1819 ii. 125 f.), the 'Sepolcro di Pompeo' or, as the folk of the district call it, 'di Ascanio' on the *via Appia* near Albano (A. Nibby *op. cit.* ii. 110—112), and another tomb near Capua (J. C. Richard de Saint-Non *Voyage pittoresque ou description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile* Paris 1781—1786 ii. 249).

All these and other related types (cones etc.) ought to be made the subject of a thorough-going investigation. It would, no doubt, be found that the structures in question were produced by a combination of factors, some of practical exigency, some of symbolic significance. I shall content myself with suggesting that one root-idea was that of a mountain reaching up to heaven—an idea comparable with those of the sky-pillar (*supra* p. 44 ff.), the soul-ladder (*supra* p. 121 ff.), the stepped or spiral tower (*supra* p. 128 f.).

¹ *Supra* i. 245 ff.

² Hes. *frag.* 229 Flach, 102 Rzach *ap.* Paus. 2. 6. 5.

³ E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1606, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁵ München 1908 i. 125.

⁴ Asios *frag.* 11 Kinkel *ap.* Paus. 2. 6. 5.

⁵ Ibyk. *frag.* 48 Bergk⁴ *ap.* Paus. 2. 6. 5.

⁶ *Supra* p. 793.

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gift of a *péplos*¹. Notice too that, just as the safety of Athens depended on the snake kept in the Erechtheion², so the safety of Tegea depended on a lock of Medousa's hair which Athena had given to Kepheus son of Aleos³. The coins represent Kepheus' daughter Sterope receiving it in a jar (fig. 966)⁴. And it is permissible to conjecture that both at Athens and at Tegea the original talisman⁵ was the soul of the ancestral king living on as a snake⁶ in his burial jar⁷. The comparison will even take us a step further. The perpetual lamp of the Erechtheion⁸ was but a civilised form of the perpetual fire burning on the common hearth of a primitive folk⁹. Now Pausanias says: 'The Tegeates have also what they call the common hearth of the Arcadians.... The high place on which stand most of the altars of the Tegeates is called after Zeus *Klários*¹⁰: plainly the god got his surname from the lot (*kléros*) cast on behalf of the sons of Arkas. The Tegeates celebrate a festival here every year¹¹. Zeus *Klários* gave his name to the first of the four Tegeate tribes *Klareótis*, *Hippochoítis*, *Apolloniátis*, *Athaneátis*¹². But the legend of the lot is probably due to a mis-

¹ Paus. 8. 5. 3.

² Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 168—170 collects the evidence. The precise position of the snake's hole is doubtful (W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 250 f., M. L. D'Ooge *The Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 p. 209). H. N. Fowler in the *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 1882—1883* Boston 1885 would seek it somewhere under the N. porch of the Erechtheion, a view approved by M. P. Nilsson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 329. Not improbably it is covered by the small round cistern of Turkish (?) origin still to be seen in the N.W. corner of the crypt beneath the N. porch (Πρακτικά τῆς ἐπι τοῦ Ἐρεχθείου ἐπιτροπῆς Athens 1853 pl. 3 = F. Thiersch in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad.* 1857 Philos.-philol. Classe viii pl. 3 will provide a coloured plan and section. See also P. Cavvadias—G. Kawerau *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis* Athens 1907 pl. Γ', and the remarks of E. M. Beulé *L'Acropole d'Athènes* Paris 1854 ii. 251 f., D'Ooge *op. cit.* p. 207).

³ Paus. 8. 47. 5, cp. Apollod. 2. 7. 3, Phot. *lex. s.v.* πλόκιον Γοργάδος, Soud. *s.v.* πλόκιον Γοργάδος, Apostol. 14. 38.

⁴ Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 203 pl. 37, 20, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 163, W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 98, F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 108 pl. V, 22, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 455: *obv.* Head of Eileithyia (?) with torch at her shoulder; *rev.* [T]EΓEATAN and type as above described. In the field are two monograms.

⁵ For other classical examples see Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 433 f. and *Golden Bough*³: *Taboo* p. 317, *ib.*³: Balder the Beautiful i. 83 n. 1.

⁶ K. Tümpel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1108 says 'βόστρονχος; ob vielmehr Schlange?'—an acute suggestion.

⁷ *Supra* Append. H.

⁸ Strab. 396, Plout. *v. Num.* 9, *v. Sull.* 13, Paus. 1. 26. 6 f., schol. *Od.* 19. 34.

⁹ Sir J. G. Frazer 'The Pytaneum, the Temple of Vesta, the Vestals, Perpetual Fires' in the *Journal of Philology* 1885 xiv. 145 ff., *id.* *Pausanias* iv. 441 f., *id.* *Golden Bough*³: *The Magic Art* ii. 253 ff., *ib.*³: Adonis Attis Osiris³ ii. 174, *id.* *Totemism and Exogamy* London 1910 ii. 491, iii. 239.

¹⁰ The high place in question (684^m above sea-level) lies to the N. of the town and is now occupied by the modern village of Mertzauzi. Another height (706^m) to the N.W. of the town, the ancient citadel, is crowned by the village of Hagios Sostis (V. Bérard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 541 with pl. 13).

¹¹ Paus. 8. 53. 9 f. cited *supra* p. 874 n. 2.

¹² Paus. 8. 53. 6, *supra* p. 164 n. 6. G. Gilbert *Handbuch der griechischen Staatsalterthümer* Leipzig 1885 ii. 127 notes that, according to inscriptional evidence (*Corp.*

taken attempt to explain the title *Klários*, which has been better interpreted by F. Solmsen as 'god of the High Place' (*Klários* for **Krários*)¹. Be that as it may², Zeus *Klários* was not improbably the old divine king buried under the common hearth of his people. If such were really the beliefs of the Tegeates, the cult of Zeus *Meilichios*, whether imported or not, would flourish in their midst.

(11) Zeus *Meilichos* or *Milichos* in Boiotia.

At Orchomenos in Boiotia, the great stronghold of the Aeolian Minyai³, Zeus was worshipped under the title *Meilichos*. Towards the close of the third century B.C. a certain Anticharidas, priest of the god, brought forward a decree for the construction of a fountain in or near his sanctuary, the *Meilichion*, in order that persons sacrificing there might have a convenient supply of drinkable water⁴. The connexion with water recalls the *Meilichios*-cults of Athens⁵ and prepares us to find that here too Zeus was a chthonian god with fertilising powers. Now Orchomenos the eponym of the town is said to have been the son

inscr. Gr. i nos. 1513, 1514 = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 351 ff. no. 1231 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 888 = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii. no. 36 and F. Bechtel *loc. cit.* i. 357 ff. no. 1246 = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 38. Add *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 6, 83 and 89, ii nos. 39, 40, 41, 173, 174), the names of the tribes were ἐπ' Ἀθαναίαν, Κραμιῶται, Ἰπποθοῖται, Ἀπολλωνιάται. On their topographical distribution see V. Bérard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 549 with pl. 13.

¹ *Supra* p. 874 n. 2.

² *Alii aliter.* (1) M. Schmidt on Hesych. κλάρες· αἱ ἐπὶ ἐδάφοις (so M. Musurus for ἐδάφου) ἐσχάρας suggests that Zeus Κλάριος of Tegea drew his title hence.

If Zeus Κλάριος was a god 'of Hearths,' his annual festival was presumably for the purpose of furnishing the people with new fire (Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Index p. 271 f.). This adds significance to a curious incident in the history of the town. According to Paus. 8. 53. 10, the Lacedaemonians once marched against the Tegeates at the time of the festival: 'It was snowing, and the Lacedaemonians were cold and weary with the weight of their weapons. But the Tegeates unbeknown to them kindled a fire and, not being incommoded by the chill, got under arms, marched out against the Lacedaemonians, and beat them in the action.' According to Polyain. 1. 8, when the Lacedaemonians were attacking Tegea, Elnes (?) king of the Arcadians bade the men of military age to charge downhill against the enemy at midnight, but the old men and children to kindle a huge fire outside the town at the same hour. The Lacedaemonians turned in astonishment towards the glare, and so fell a prey to the onslaught from the height. Both accounts presuppose the fire-festival of Zeus Κλάριος.

(2) Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 29 takes Zeus Κλάριος to be 'god of Branches,' i.e. of suppliant-boughs, cp. Hesych. †κλάριοι (Immerwahr rightly adopts M. Schmidt's cj. κλάροι)· κλάδοι and Aisch. *suppl.* 354 ff. ΠΕΛ. ὄρω κλάδοισι νεοδρόποις κατὰ σκιον | νεόνθ' ὄμιλον τόνδ' (so J. G. J. Hermann for τώνδ') ἀγωνίων θεῶν followed by 359 f. cited *supra* p. 874 n. 2.

³ On the Minyai as Aeolians see A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1911 xlv. 2 f., 5, *ib.* 1914 xlvi. 70, 76 f., 85 ff., 93, 102 ff.

⁴ *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1568, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 191 no. 495 with i. 394, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3169, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 701, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 994 Δαμοθίδαο ἀρχοντος, | Ιαπειάδδοντος | Ἀντιχαρίδαο Ἀ[θ]ανο|δώρω, (ἀ π)όλις Ad Μειλί(χ)[υ.] | Ἀντιχαρίδας Ἀθανοδώρω ἐλ[ε]ξε· δεδόχθη τῷ δάμν, δπω[ς] ἐχων|θι τῶν πολιτῶν τὸ (θ)ύ(ο)ν(τ)ες εἶν | (τ)ῷ Μειλιχί(ν) ο(θδ)ατι χρεῖεῖσθη [πο]τρίμν, κατασκευάττη κ(ρ)[άναρ] | ἐν τῷ Ιαρῷ εἰ πὰρ τὸ (Ι)αρ[όν], εἰ κα] | δοκί εἶν] καλλιστο[εἰ εἶμεν].

⁵ *Supra* p. 1115 ff.

of Zeus¹ by the Danaid Hesione² or by Hermippe daughter of Boiotos³. Alleged descent from Zeus presupposes a line of kings believed to incarnate Zeus. Was one of them that Minyas, of Aeolian ancestry⁴, whose name was attached by the Orchomenians to their famous prehistoric *thólos*⁵? It would seem so; for among the relics of funerary cult discovered by Schliemann within the *thólos*, relics ranging from 'Minoan' to Roman times⁶, was a slab of white marble inscribed with a late dedication to Zeus *Téleios* and Hera *Teleía*⁷. The old pre-Greek king, whose underground cupola with its rosettes of glittering bronze mimicked the midnight sky⁸, was indeed aptly succeeded by an Aeolian dynast revered as a nether Zeus⁹. With all the prestige of immemorial tradition behind him such an one would watch over the fortunes of his people. For instance, in or about the year 329 B.C., as we know from an inscription formerly (1868) to be seen in the court of the neighbouring monastery¹⁰, Orchomenian troopers, who

¹ Eustath. *in Il.* p. 272, 31 ὁ Βοιωτίος δὲ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς Ὀρχομενῶ ἐπωνόμασται.

² Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 230 Ἡσιόνης (Ἰσιόνης cod. Paris.) δὲ τῆς Δαναοῦ καὶ Διὸς γίνεται Ὀρχομενός, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ πόλις Ὀρχομενός καλεῖται (ἐκλήθη cod. Paris). Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21 Hippodamiam et Isionen Danai filias (sc. vitiat Iupiter), quarum unam Hippodamiam <mattem (inserui)> Olenus, Isionen vero Orchomenus sive Chryses habuit. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 939 f. conjectures that the mother's name was Ἰσονόη: but see G. Weicker in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1240.

³ Schol. D. *Il.* 2. 511 τὸν ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ λέγει Ὀρχομενόν, τὸν ὑπὸ Μιννοῦ βασιλευθέντα, τὸν ὀνομασθέντα ἀπὸ Ὀρχομενοῦ τοῦ Διὸς υἱοῦ καὶ Ἑρμιππῆς τῆς Βοιωτοῦ.

⁴ Ap. Rhod. 3. 1094 Αἰολίδην Μινύην with schol. *ad loc.* (cod. Paris.) Αἰολίδην δὲ τὸν Μινύαν λέγει, οὐχ ὡς θυγατέρα τοῦ Αἰόλου, ἀλλ' ὡς μητρὸς ἀπ' ἐκείνου καταγόμενον. Σισύφου γὰρ τοῦ Αἰόλου παῖδες Ἄλμος καὶ Πορφυρίων, Χρυσόγονος δὲ τῆς Ἄλμου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Μινύας. ὥστε ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν Αἰολίδης ὁ Μινύας, πατρὸς δὲ Ποσειδῶνος.

⁵ The genealogy of Minyas is very variously given: see *in primis* schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 1. 80 τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Μινύαν οἱ μὲν Ὀρχομενοῦ γενεαλογοῦσιν, ὡς Φερεκύδης (*frag.* 84 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 92 Müller)), ἐνιοὶ δὲ ἔμπαλιν τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν Μινύου, ἐνιοὶ δὲ ἀμφοτέρους Ἐτεοκλέος γενεαλογοῦσι, Διονύσιος (*quis?* Perhaps the Rhodian, cp. schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 109, *Nem.* 3. 104) δὲ τὸν Μινύαν Ἄρεος ἀναγράφει, Ἀριστόδημος (sc. ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, cp. schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 1. 11) δὲ Ἄλεοῦ τὸν Μινύαν, καὶ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας δὲ Μινύας ἐντεῦθεν γράφει προσηγορεῦσθαι with K. Tümpel's article in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3016 ff.

⁶ H. Schliemann *Orchomenos* Leipzig 1881 p. 56 ff. = *id.* 'Exploration of the Boeotian Orchomenus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1881 ii. 137 ff., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 439 f., Frazer *Pausanias* v. 189, 191.

⁷ H. Schliemann *Orchomenos* p. 58 = *id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1881 ii. 139 ('a slab of marble broken on the left side, with the inscription:— ... ΕΙΩΗΡΑΤΕΛΕΙΑ which Professor Sayce [May he be forgiven! A.B.C.] holds to be the end of an hexameter'), *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3217 [... Δι Τελ]εῖω, Ἡρα Τελεῖα.

⁸ *Supra* i. 751 f.

⁹ Notice *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3218 Orchomenos [... τὸ]ν ἐαυτῶν γυμνασιάρχον | τοῦ Ἑρμῆ καὶ Μινύα, which proves a definite cult of Minyas. In 1889 a herm of white marble was found near the church of Haghios Charalambos on a small hill to the W. of Thespiæ: beneath the *phallós* was inscribed τοὶ ἱεράρχαι ἀνέθεαν | τοὶ ἐφ' Ἰππωνος ἀρχοντος | τοῖς Δαιμόνεσσι | κ.τ.λ. (P. Jamot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 375 ff. no. 28, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 752, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1102). This inscription (c. 300 B.C.) associates Hermes with certain *Δαίμονες*. May we venture to conclude that they were the souls of bygone Thespian kings?

¹⁰ The monastery named after the Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου, the 'Falling Asleep of the Mother of God,' is believed to occupy the site of the ancient temple of the Charites (Frazer *Pausanias* v. 186, H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 9. 38. 1, K. Baedeker *Greece* Leipzig 1889 p. 188, J. Murray *Handbook for Travellers in Greece*⁷ London 1900 p. 562).

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place of Oidipous in the sanctuary of Demeter. Lysimachos of Alexandria¹ in his work on *Theban Marvels* wrote as follows²:

‘When Oidipous died, his friends thought to bury him in Thebes. But the Thebans, holding that he was an impious person on account of the misfortunes which had befallen him in earlier times, prevented them from so doing. They carried him therefore to a certain place in Boiotia called Keos and buried him there. But the inhabitants of the village, being visited with sundry misfortunes, attributed them to the burying of Oidipous and bade his friends remove him

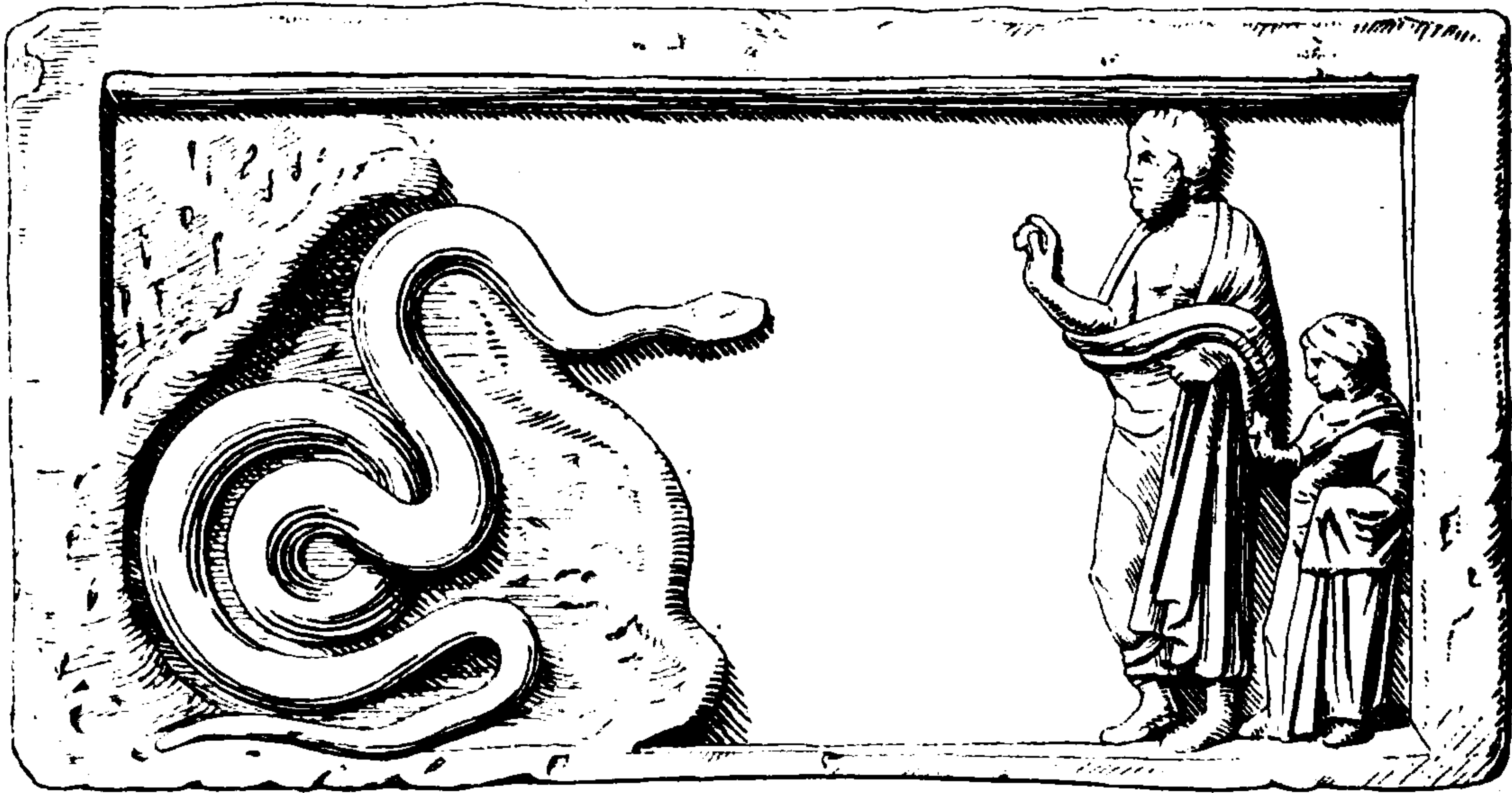


Fig. 967.

from their land. The friends, perplexed by these occurrences, took him up and brought him to Eteonos. Wishing to bury him secretly, they interred him by night in the sanctuary of Demeter—for they did not know the locality. When the facts transpired, the inhabitants of Eteonos asked the god what they should do. The god bade them not to move the suppliant of the goddess. So Oidipous is buried there, and’—adds Lysimachos—‘the sanctuary is called the *Oidipodeion*.’

Demeter at Etconos bore the surname *Euryodeia*³ and was certainly an earth-goddess⁴. Oidipous, buried in her precinct with the honours due to a suppliant⁵, would naturally be viewed as a beneficent chthonian power. In this capacity he would almost certainly be anguiform. Indeed, P. Kretschmer has argued that the name *Oidipous*, ‘Swell-foot,’ actually denoted a snake, being a euphemistic

¹ W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ München 1911 ii. 1. 184.

² Lysimachos *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 336 f. Müller) *ap. schol. Soph. O.C.* 91, citing Arizelos, of whom nothing further is known (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 340 Müller).

³ Hesych. *Εὐρυόδεια* · *μεγαλάμφοδος* (so Musurus for *μεγαλάμφεδα* cod.). *καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ οὕτως ἐν Σκαρφείᾳ* (so M. Schmidt for *Σκαρφίᾳ* cod.). *καὶ ἡ γῆ*.

⁴ *Et. mag.* p. 396, 24 ff. *εὐρυοδεία* · ... ‘*ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης*’ (*Il.* 16. 635, *Od.* 3. 453, 10. 149, cp. 11. 52), *μέγα τὸ ἔδος ἐχούσης, ὃ ἐστὶν ἔδρασμα. ἔστι δὲ ἐπίθετον τῆς γῆς*.

Cp. *schol. Od.* 16. 118 ‘*Ἀρκείσιος Εὐρυοδείας* (W. Dindorf cj. *Εὐρυοδείας*) *καὶ Διὸς* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1796, 34 *ιστέον δὲ ὅτι γενεαλογούσι Διὸς μὲν καὶ Εὐρυοδείας Ἀρκείσιον*, which presupposes a union of Zeus with the earth-goddess.

⁵ Similarly in the Attic version Oidipous at Kolonos *ικέτευεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν θεῶν Δημήτρος καὶ Πολιούχου Ἀθηνᾶς* (*Androtion frag.* 31 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 374 Müller) *ap. schol. Od.* 16. 271. The passage continues *καὶ Διὸς ἀγόμενος < δὲ > ὑπὸ Κρέοντος κ.τ.λ.* But W. Dindorf, following J. T. Struve, *corr. καὶ βία ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ Κρέοντος κ.τ.λ.*)

appellation for the swollen coils of the creature appropriate to a chthonian hero¹.

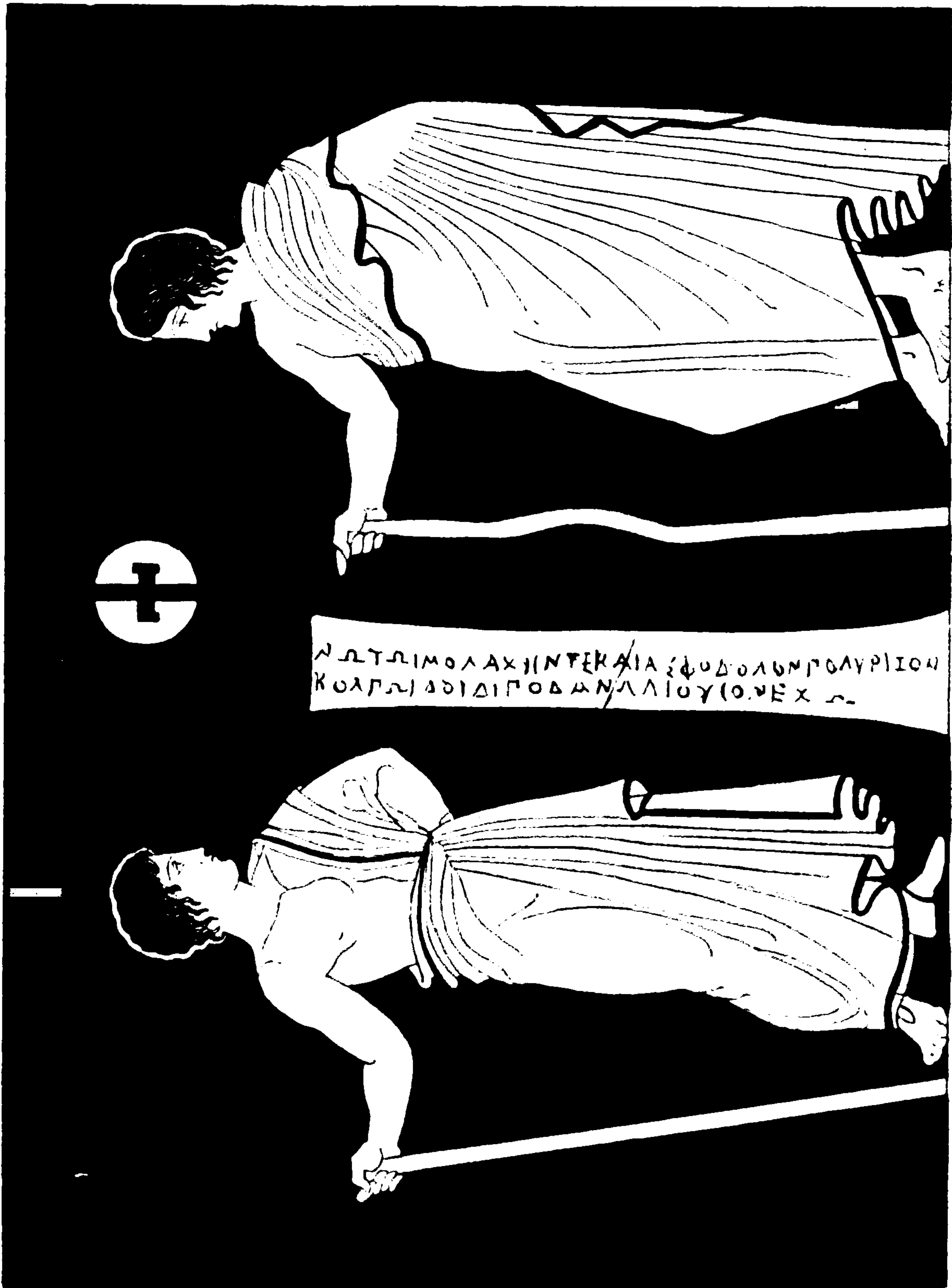


Fig. 968.

¹ P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 191 n. 3 'Oidipous erinnert an einen anderen rätselhaften mythischen Namen, den des frommen Sehers Melampus: beides sind chthonische Heroen... Chthonische Wesen haben einen Schlangenleib statt der Füße: ... Sollten nicht "Schwellfuss" und "Schwarzfuss" euphem'

Again, the buried hero would be responsible for the growth of all living things. The *Sialesi* relief shows the snake propitiated by a grown man and a growing boy—a sufficiently suggestive picture. Moreover, a red-figured *amphora* from Basilicata, now in the Naples collection (fig. 968)¹, represents two youths, with *himátia* and sticks, standing to right and left of a *stéle*, which marks the grave of Oidipous. In the background hangs a pair of *haltêres*², the sign of their devotion. But the most interesting feature of the design is the inscription on the *stéle*, a metrical couplet in which the grave apparently (though the speaker is not named) announces:

Mallows and rooty asphodel upon my back I bear,
And in my bosom Oidipodas, Laios' son and heir³.

Now mallows and asphodel were the common vegetable food of the Boeotian peasant, as we learn from a famous passage of Hesiod⁴. We may therefore reasonably regard this vase-painting as an illustration of the Boeotian *Oidipódeion*. And the more so, if—as seems probable—the dialect of the inscription contains sundry would-be Boeotisms⁵.

It appears, then, that Oidipous in his grave played a part not easily distinguishable from that of Zeus *Meilichios*⁶. There is, I think, that much of truth in a venturesome view advanced by O. Höfer, who after an exhaustive study of the hero's myth and monuments comes to the tentative conclusion that Oidipous after all may be but a hypostasis of the chthonian Zeus⁷. Sophokles knew what he was about in making the old king summoned hence by the

tische Bezeichnungen des schwarzen geschwollenen Schlangenleibes sein, welcher diesen Heroen natürlich genommen wurde, als sie zu Helden der Dichtung wurden?'

¹ Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 415 f. no. 2868 pl. 7, B. Quaranta in the *Real Museo Borbonico Napoli* 1833 ix pl. 28, J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments Series* ii London 1826 p. 86 ff. pl. 36, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv. 18 ff. pl. 315. Fig. 968 is copied from Millingen's coloured plate and Heydemann's facsimile of the inscription.

² Heydemann *loc. cit.* says 'ein Ball.'

³ *νώτωι <μέν> μολάχην τε καὶ ἀσφόδολον πολύριζον | κόλπῳ δ' Οἰδιπόδαν Λαῖου <υ>ἰδὼν ἔχω* (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 120). A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8429 quotes Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1698, 25 ff. *ἐφυτεύετο ἐν τοῖς τάφοις τὸ τοιοῦτον φυτὸν (sc. ὁ ἀσφόδελος), ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ τι τῶν παρὰ τῷ Πορφυρίῳ ἐπιγραμμάτων λέγον ὡς ἀπὸ τίνος τάφου ὅτι νώτῳ μὲν μαλάχην καὶ ἀσφόδελον πολύριζον, κόλπῳ δὲ τὸν δεῖνα ἔχω* and surmises that Porphyrios found the epigram in the Aristotelian *réplos* (see Eustath. *in Il.* p. 285, 24 f.)—a view already put forward by Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. cxxiv n. 914. Boeckh *loc. cit.* further cp. Auson. *epitaph.* 21. 1 f. (p. 79 Peiper) Hippothoum Pyleumque tenet gremio infima tellus: | caulibus et malvis terga superna virent, whence E. Curtius would read *Ἰππόθοον τ' ἠδὲ Πύλαιον* for *τὸν δεῖνα* in Eustath. *loc. cit.*

⁴ Hes. *o.d.* 41 with K. W. Goettling—J. Flach *ad loc.*, and H. G. Evelyn White in the *Class. Quart.* 1920 xiv. 128 f.

⁵ *μολάχην* for *μαλάχην*, *ἀσφόδολον* for *ἀσφόδελον*, *Οἰδιπόδαν* for *Οἰδιπόδην*, if not also (as Dr P. Giles suggests to me), *Λαῖο* = *Λαῖω* for *Λαῖου*. J. Millingen *loc. cit.* p. 87 n. 5 says 'according to the Æolic dialect'; P. Kretschmer *op. cit.* p. 224 f., 'in attischem Dialekt,' regarding *μολάχην* as a blend of *μαλάχην* and *μολόχην* (Athen. 58 D), *ἀσφόδολον* as a case of vulgar assimilation. *Decernant peritiores.*

⁶ Cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 1329 an inscription in lettering of s. ii B.C. found at *Akketsi* near Thebes *Λυσίμαχο[s] | Μειλιχίους*.

⁷ O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 743 'Ist Oidipus vielleicht eine Hypostase des Zeus χθόνιος?' This suggestion should not be tossed on one side till the evidence adduced *ib.* p. 741 ff. has been carefully weighed.

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Phrygian Kronos¹. It seems probable, therefore, that Akrisios was the royal embodiment of a sky-god². And the story of his death from the *diskos* of Perseus, like that of Hyakinthos' death from the *diskos* of Apollon³, is best explained as a genuine solar myth⁴. Whether Akrisios or Akrisias, as O. Gruppe supposes⁵, was originally a mountain-god, is doubtful⁶. Still more so is Gruppe's attempt⁷ to equate him with *Arkésios* or *Arkeísios*, a clipped form of *Arkesllaos*⁸, god of the underworld⁹. Ruling out such questionable possibilities, we must yet concede that Akrisios was likely enough to live on in the popular memory as a buried beneficent Zeus.

(13) Zeus *Meilichios* in the Archipelago, Asia Minor, etc.

The cult of Zeus *Meilichios* was wide-spread in the islands of the Archipelago. Rock-cut inscriptions at Thera show that Zeus *Melichios* was adored by the intimates of a certain Polyxenos¹⁰ and that *Melichios* received the offering of a 'singed' victim¹¹. Boundary-stones inscribed 'Of Zeus *Meilichios*' have been found at *Palaiopolis* in Andros¹², at Arkesine in Amorgos¹³, and in the district of

Piot 1903 x. 55—59 pl. 8, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 51 f. fig. 32 ('The Painter of the Diogenes Amphora'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 206 no. 1).

¹ Hesych. 'Ακρισίας· Κρόνος, παρὰ Φρυξίν.

² On Kronos as a sky-god see *supra* p. 548 ff.

³ Greve in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2760, G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 305, S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 9 f.

⁴ *Pace* S. Eitrem *loc. cit.* p. 16.

⁵ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 182 n. 2, 1105 n. 1 starting from *ἀκρις*=*ocris* derives 'Ακρισιος from the former, *Ocrisia* from the latter and cp. Hesych. 'Ακρια· ἡ 'Αθηνᾶ ἐν Ἄργει, ἐπὶ τινος ἀκρας ἰδρυμένη, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ 'Ακρισιος (so Musurus for ὀκρισιος. M. Schmidt suggests ὀ'Ακρισιος) ὠνομάσθη. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἥρα καὶ Ἄρτεμις καὶ Ἀφροδίτη προσαγορευομένη ἐν Ἄργει, κατὰ τὸ ὅμοιον ἐπ' ἀκρω ἰδρυμέναι, cp. Methodios *ap. et. mag.* p. 52, 40 f. 'Ακρισιος· ὁ ἦρως, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἄργει ἀκρας. οὕτως Μεθόδιος.

⁶ A. Fick *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas* Göttingen 1873 p. 411 proposed to connect the Phrygian 'Ακρισίας with Hesych. ἀκριστιν· κλέπτριαν (C. A. Lobeck cj. πέπτριαν). ἀλετριδα. Φρύγες. This, though groping in the dark, is better than *et. mag.* p. 52, 41 f. ὁ δὲ Ὀρος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκρίζω 'Ακρισιος, ὡς παρὰ τὸ θαυμάζω θαυμάσιος. ἢ παρὰ τὸ κρῖσις κρῖσιος, καὶ ἀκρίσιος, ὁ ἀκριτος καὶ ὠμός. [ἀκρίζω δὲ σημαίνει τὸ ἀκροῖς ποσὶ πορεύεσθαι· κ.τ.λ.].

⁷ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 253, 778, 1105 n. 1.

⁸ A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1906 xxx. 279: 'Αρκεσιος [Od. 14. 182, 16. 118, *alib.*] würde richtig 'Αρκεσσιος = 'Αρκεσίλαος heißen; den anlass zu der entstehung gab der schreibung mit einem σ.'

⁹ Cp. *et. mag.* p. 144, 33 ff. cited *supra* p. 549 n. 1.

¹⁰ With *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1316 Ζεὺς Μηλίχιος τῶν | περὶ Πολύξενον (fig.) cp. the other rock-cut inscriptions from the same locality *ib.* no. 1317 Ζε(ὺ)ς | τ[ῶ]ν περ[ὶ] Λάκιον and *ib.* no. 1318 Ζεὺς | τῶν περὶ Ὀλ[υμ]πιόδωρον. *Supra* i. 144 n. 2 with i. 143 n. 13.

¹¹ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 406 (*supra* i. 144 n. 1).

¹² E. Pernice in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 9 f. no. 4 = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 727 on a large unworked stone ΔΙΟΣ | ΜΕΛΙΧΙΟΝ (fig.) = Διός | Με(ι)λιχιο(υ). E. Pernice and F. Hiller von Gaertringen *loc. cit.* regard the line after O as a mere crack.

¹³ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* vii no. 89 on a rough stone in letters of s. iii or iv B.C. [Δι]ός Μειλιχίου, *ib.* no. 90 on a fragmentary slab of marble with lower moulding [Διός Μει]λιχίου. Note also *ib.* no. 92 on a small white marble base of Roman date Διός Σωτήρος, *ib.* no. 93 on a broken block of bluish marble in letters of s. iii B.C. Αιός | Σωτήρο[ς], *ib.* no. 94 on a fragment of rough bluish marble Δι Τελ[είω], *ib.* no. 91 on a large marble slab

Saint Anna beyond *Bounáki* at Chios¹. A dedication to the same god has been recorded at Chalkis in Euboeia². Nisyros had its sect of Diosmilichiaistai³, and Crete a joint-cult of Zeus *Melichios* and Hera *Melichía*⁴.

Our search might be extended eastwards into Asia Minor and Egypt, westwards into Sicily and Italy. An altar 'Of Zeus *Meil[ichios]*,' discovered at Knidos by Sir Charles Newton, is now in the British Museum⁵. Xenophon sacrificed pigs to Zeus *Meilichios* at Ophrynyon⁶: but we have no reason to think that there was a local cult of this deity. Achilleus Tatios (? s. vi. A.D.⁷) brings Kleitophon and Leukippe, the hero and heroine of his novel, to Alexandria, his own native town.

ΔΙΟΣΑΝΑΛΩΙΟΥ = Διὸς Ἀνα(δ)ώ(τ)ου, 'of Zeus who sendeth up his Gifts from Below'—an obviously chthonian god (cp. *supra* p. 321 n. 1).

Other Zeus-cults of the same town: *ib.* no. 88 on a rough altar of bluish marble in letters of s. iv B.C. [Δ]ιὸς Ἀποτροπαίου (cp. P. Kabbadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 56 no. 119 = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1285 Épidauros, not later than s. iii B.C. Διὸς Ἀποτροπαίου, O. Rayet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1887 i. 107 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 839 B, 19 f., c, 2 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 1014 b, 69 f., c, 114 ff. Erythrai, a sale of priesthoods dating from the first half of s. iii B.C. Διὸς | Ἀποτροπαίου καὶ Ἀθηναῖς Ἀποτροπαίας [Δ] [Τ] [Τ], ἐπώνιον. [Τ] [Τ] and Διὸς [Τ] | [Ἀποτ]ροπαίου καὶ Ἀθηναῖς Ἀποτ[ρο]-[πα]ίας Η[Δ], ἐπώνιον [Π]), *ib.* no. 95 a metrical inscription on a marble slab Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 4. 33. 1], | κ.τ.λ., *supra* i. 194 f.

¹ A. G. Paspates *Τὸ Σιακὸν γλωσσάριον* Athens 1888 p. 421 f. no. 58 on Chian marble ΔΙΟΣ | ΜΙΛΙΧΙ [. .] = Διὸς | Μιλιχι[ου].

At *Mestá*, six kilometers S.E. of the capital, is a place still called *Olympti*, where was a cult of Zeus *Olymptios* and Herakles (Paspates *op. cit.* p. 410 no. 24 Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου] | καὶ Ἡρακλεῦς).

² *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2150 ΕΡΜΙΩΝΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΥΔΙΛΙΟΝΙ which A. Boeckh *ad loc.* would read as Ἐρμῶν Μειλιχί(ωι) Δι(ι δ)ν(έ)θηκεν].

³ A. E. Kontoleon in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 134, S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 702, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 104 a cylindrical base of white marble now serving as pedestal for an *eikón* in the church at *Mandráki* 1 ff. Γνωμαγόραν Δωροθέου | Νεισύριον | κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 13 ff. καὶ στεφανωθέντα ὑπὸ Ἐρμαιζόντων χρυσεῖσι στεφάνοις πλεονάκεις, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀφροδισιαστῶν Σύρων καὶ ὑπὸ Διὸς Μιλιχιαστῶν, | [καὶ] τειμαθέντα ὑπὸ αὐτῶν καὶ στεφανωθέν[τα ὑπὸ Διον]υσιαστῶν Εὐ[ρυθεμιδ]ίων τῶν σὸν | [τῷ δεῖνι - - -]. I should prefer to read (with Kontoleon and Reinach) Διοσμυλιαστῶν, cp. Διοσαταβυριαστῶν (*supra* p. 924 f. n. 0).

⁴ F. Halbherr in the *Museo Italiano di antichità classica* 1890 iii. 621 f. no. 39 Hierapytna = J. Bannack in *Philologus* 1889 xlviii. 399 f. no. 3 Herakleion, a small altar inscribed ΖΗΝΙΜΗΛΙ | ΧΙΩΚΑΗΡΑ | ΜΗΛΙΧΙΑ | ΩΤΑΚΥΠΕ | ΡΤΑΡΔΑΛΑ | ΕΥΧΗΝ = Ζηνὶ Μηλιχίω κα(ι) Ἡρᾷ | Μηλιχίᾳ. | Σώτας ὑπέρ Παρδάλα | εὐχήν.

⁵ Sir C. T. Newton *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae* London 1862—1863 i pl. 92 no. 40, ii. 755 (cp. 470) no. 40, R. Schoell in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1887 xlii. 478 ff., E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iv. i. 24 f. Oxford 1893 no. 817. Newton, followed by Schoell, read ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΙ as Διὸς Μεγ[ίστου]. But Hicks gives ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΙ / with Φ below ΔΙΟΣ and interprets as Διὸς Μειλ[ιχίου] with inventory number. In addition to this mark of ownership the altar bears a second inscription, which Schoell took to be a modified hexameter [ἀθ]α[ν]άροις | [θ]υ[δ]έντα | [δ]α[μ]ουργός Ἀρ[πο]κρά(ς) ἰδρύσατο | βωμόν. Hicks reads [ἀθ]α[ν]άροις | [θ]υ[δ]έντα | [δ]α[μ]ουργός Ἀρ[πο]κράς ἰδρύσατο | βωμόν, and suggests with hesitation that ζ may be a numeral. He thinks that the name, Harpokras or the like, was substituted for that of an earlier dedicator. *Non liquet.*

⁶ *Supra* p. 1107.

⁷ W. Schmid in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 245.

'By a stroke of luck,' says Kleitophon¹, 'we happened upon a sacred month of the great god, whom the Greeks call Zeus and the Egyptians Serapis². The festivities included a torch-lighting; and I saw that remarkable sight. It was evening and the sun sank. Yet night was nowhere to be seen. Another sun made its appearance, or rather the small change of that gold piece. There before my eyes was the city rivalling the sky in beauty. On the one hand I saw Zeus *Meilichios*, on the other the temple of Zeus *Ourlánios*³. So, after breathing a prayer to the great god and beseeching him that our troubles might at last come to a standstill, we reached the lodging hired for us by Menelaos.'

It may be inferred from this passage, not only that the Alexandrines had a statue of Zeus *Meilichios* and a temple of Zeus *Ourlánios*⁴, but also that the former was a god of the underworld, the latter a god of the upperworld. Both are appropriately mentioned at a moment when the twinkling lamps below seemed to reflect the twinkling stars above. At Alaisa or Halaesa (*Castel Tusa*), founded or re-founded in 403 B.C. by the Sikel king Archonides ii⁵ on the north coast of Sicily, an inscription records among other topographical features 'the road past the *Meilichieíon*⁶.' And, finally, an Oscan road-makers' tablet of c. 200 B.C. from Pompeii states that the aediles M. Suttius and N. Pontius laid out the Via Pompeiana, now known as the *Strada Stabiana*, with a breadth of three perches as far as the temple or precinct of Jupiter *Milichius*⁷.

Further indications of the cult might be sought in theophoric names⁸ such as Meilichios, a magistrate of Hierapolis in Phrygia⁹, or Meilichion, a woman of Elateia in Phokis¹⁰.

¹ Ach. Tat. 5. 2.

² *Supra* i. 188 ff.

³ *ἔθεασάμην δὲ καὶ τὸν Μειλίχιον Δία, καὶ τὸν Διὸς Οὐράνιον* (so C. B. Hase, W. A. Hirschig, and S. Gaselee for *οὐράνιον* codd.) *νεών*.

⁴ *Supra* i. 8, 565 n. 2, 647 n. 7.

⁵ B. Niese in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 565.

⁶ *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5594 col. dextra, 15 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 352 i, 15 f. *κατὰ τὰς ὁδοῦ τὰς παρὰ τὸ | Μειλιχίειον ἐς τὸν ῥοισκὸν κ.τ.λ.*

Coppers of Alaisa, struck during Timoleon's war with the Carthaginians (340 B.C.), have *obv.* $\text{I E Y S E L E Y \Theta E P I O S}$ head of Zeus; *rev.* $\text{A \Lambda A I \Sigma I N \Omega N \Sigma Y M - M A X I K O N}$ torch between two ears of corn (G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 175, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 126). Coppers of the same town, struck after c. 241 B.C., have *obv.* a head of Zeus, usually to left, wearing a bay-wreath; *rev.* an eagle to left, standing with open wings (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 27, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 166 pl. 12, 6, *Rasche Lex. Num.* i. 269 f., *Suppl.* i. 425, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 126).

⁷ H. Grassmann in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1867 xvi. 103, J. Zvetaieff *Sylloge inscriptionum Oscanum Petropoli* 1878 i. 41 ff. no. 62, 5 ff., ii pls. 10, no. 5, and 10^a, R. S. Conway *The Italic Dialects* Cambridge 1897 i. 58 f. no. 39, 5 ff., C. D. Buck *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* Boston 1904 p. 239 f. no. 3, 5 ff. *Iussu via Púmpaiiana ter|emnatens perek. III ant ka|lla Iúveís Meeilíkiieís* (= *iidem viam Pompeianam terminaverunt perticis III usque ad aedem* (cp. *caeli templa* in *De Vit Lat. Lex. s.v.* 'templum' § 2) *Iovis Milichii*).

⁸ E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 15.

⁹ Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 238 f. no. 21, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. lxxvii ... $\text{I A \Lambda O [\Sigma] | M E I \Lambda I X I O S}$ on the reverse of a copper struck by Augustus.

¹⁰ *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 no. 174 a cone of grey limestone found near the E. foundation-wall of the temple of Athena *Kranata* at Elateia and now preserved in the local museum at *Drachmani*: the cone has a hole in its truncated top and is inscribed on the side $\text{M E I \Lambda I X I O N | \Delta A M O \Sigma T P A T A | M I K A | X O I P I N A}$ = *Μειλίχιο[ν]*, | *Δαμοσπάτα*, | *Μίκα*, | *Χοίρινα*. P. Paris in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 345 f. no. 15 at first read *Μειλίχιο[s]*, but concluded in favour of *Μειλίχιο[ν]*.

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backward to the Golden Age when men lived 'as gods' and the soil was fruitful to the uttermost, says:

But since the earth hath covered o'er this race
They are *daímones* by the will of mighty Zeus,
Good spirits that tread the ground and guard mankind,
Givers of wealth—a guerdon meet for kings¹.

The late writer of an Orphic hymn strikes the self-same note:

I bid the *daímon* to draw near, dread chief,
The Kindly Zeus, begetter and life-giver,
Great Zen, much-roaming², curse-bringer³, king of all,
Wealth-giving where he enters house full-force,
Or now again chilling the poor man's blood.
The keys of grief and gladness both are thine⁴.

The *daímon*, in short, was the *theós* incarnate⁵. And the Agathos Daimon *par excellence* was Zeus *Meilichios*.

APPENDIX N.

ZEUS PHÍLIOS.

It was pointed out by H. Usener⁶ that every important conception of a god tends to express itself verbally in more ways than one. The result is a succession of divine appellatives, practical synonyms which vary from time to time and from place to place. In accordance with this principle we find the Greeks worshipping, not only Zeus *Meilichios* or *Meilichios*, 'the Kindly One,' but also Zeus *Phílios*, 'the Friendly One.' The former title gradually became old-fashioned and wore out. The latter, with its appeal to the language of daily life, seemed more up-to-date, promised a business-like return, and consequently acquired a vogue of its own. Of course old centres remained more or less faithful to the old name, the connotation of which was enlarged in various directions. But new centres accepted, fixed, and popularised the novel epithet, which in its turn was filled with fresh meaning and expanded into an ever widening circle of applicability. Nevertheless Zeus *Phílios* was from the outset essentially akin to Zeus *Meilichios*, as may be seen from a brief survey of the relevant monuments and literary allusions⁷.

¹ Hes. *o.d.* 121 ff. cited *supra* p. 1130 n. 1.

² *Supra* p. 1096 n. 4.

³ *Supra* p. 1098 n. 5.

⁴ Orph. *h. daem.* 73. 1 ff. (ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ, θυμίαμα λίβανον) δαίμονα κικλήσκω πελάσαι ἡγήτορα φρικτόν, | μειλίχιον Δία, παγγενέτην, βιοδώτορα θνητῶν, | Ζῆνα μέγαν, πολύπλαγκτον, ἀλάστορα, παμβασιλῆα, | πλουτοδότην, ὅπότε' ἂν γε βρυάζων οἶκον ἐσέλθῃ, | ἔμπαλι δὲ ψύχοντα βίον θνητῶν πολυμόχθων· | ἐν σοὶ γὰρ κληῖδες λύπης τε χαρᾶς τ' ὀχέονται. *Supra* i. 504 n. 2, ii. 1098 n. 5.

⁵ The relation of *δαίμων* to *θεός* is a thorny topic, which cannot be dismissed in a sentence, but must not here be pursued. See further J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 9 ff., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2010 f., Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² pp. 587, 624, 657, *ead.* *Themis* pp. 307, 386.

⁶ H. Usener *Gotternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 56 ff. ('Erneuerung des Begriffs').

⁷ The evidence is well presented in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2305—2308 by that excellent enquirer O. Höfer, to whose article I am much indebted.

(1) Zeus *Phllios* at Athens.

We begin with Athens. The priest of Zeus *Phllios* was a personage of importance, who in the time of Augustus had a reserved seat at the theatre¹. On the northern slope of the Nymphs' Hill, where—as we have already seen²—Zeus *Meilichios* was worshipped, Zeus *Phllios* too had obtained a footing as far back as s. iv B.C. For here in the archonship of Hegesias (324—323 B.C.) certain *eranistai* or club-feasters dedicated to him a *stèle* of Pentelic marble bearing a relief (fig. 969)³, which closely resembles the offering of [? Aris]toboule to Zeus *Meilichios* (fig. 943)⁴. The club-feasters too represent Zeus enthroned on the left with a *phidle* in his right hand, while a pig is brought to the altar before him. The pig is proof enough that Zeus *Phllios*, despite the eagle at his side, was a chthonian god⁵—a god much like the Agathos Daimon, as Miss Harrison adroitly shows by figuring together this relief and another from Thespiai (fig. 951)⁶. But what—it will be asked—had feasters to do with a chthonian god

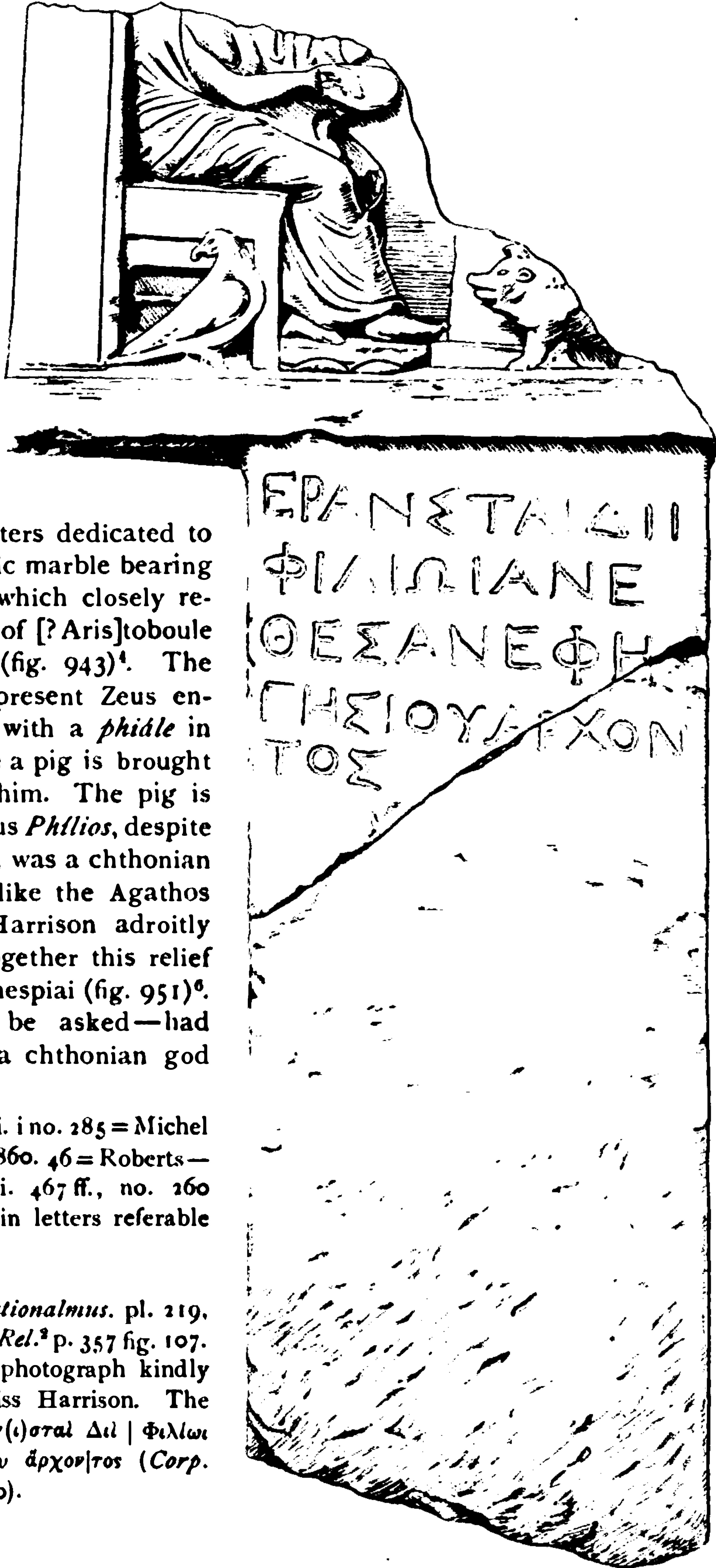


Fig. 969.

¹ *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. i no. 285 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 860. 46 = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 467 ff., no. 260 ΙΕΡΕΩΣΔΙΟΣΦΙΛΙΟΥΤ in letters referable to the Augustan age.

² *Supra* p. 1114.

³ Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 219, 1, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*³ p. 357 fig. 107. My fig. 969 is from a photograph kindly supplied to me by Miss Harrison. The *stèle* is inscribed: $\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu(\iota)\sigma\tau\alpha\iota \Delta\iota\iota | \Phi\iota\lambda\omega\iota \alpha\nu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu \epsilon\phi'$ 'Ηγησίου ἀρχοντος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1330).

⁴ *Supra* p. 1105 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1105.

⁶ *Supra* p. 1125 n. 1.

akin to a divinised ancestor? In view of our discovery¹ that at an ordinary banquet food was assigned 'to dead friends' and drink offered to the father of the clan under the titles of Zeus *Sotér* and Zeus *Téleios*, we may well suppose that a dinner-club would reverence its deceased founder as Zeus *Phílios* and think of him as still a sharer in the common festivity. His presence would transform the meal into a communion² and safeguard the participants against the intrusion of evil³ without in any way diminishing their social merriment.

In the other world too Zeus *Phílios* was a feaster, as appears from an Attic relief of fourth-century style, now in the Jacobsen collection at Ny Carlsberg (fig. 970)⁴. Within an architectural framework we see the man-turned-god

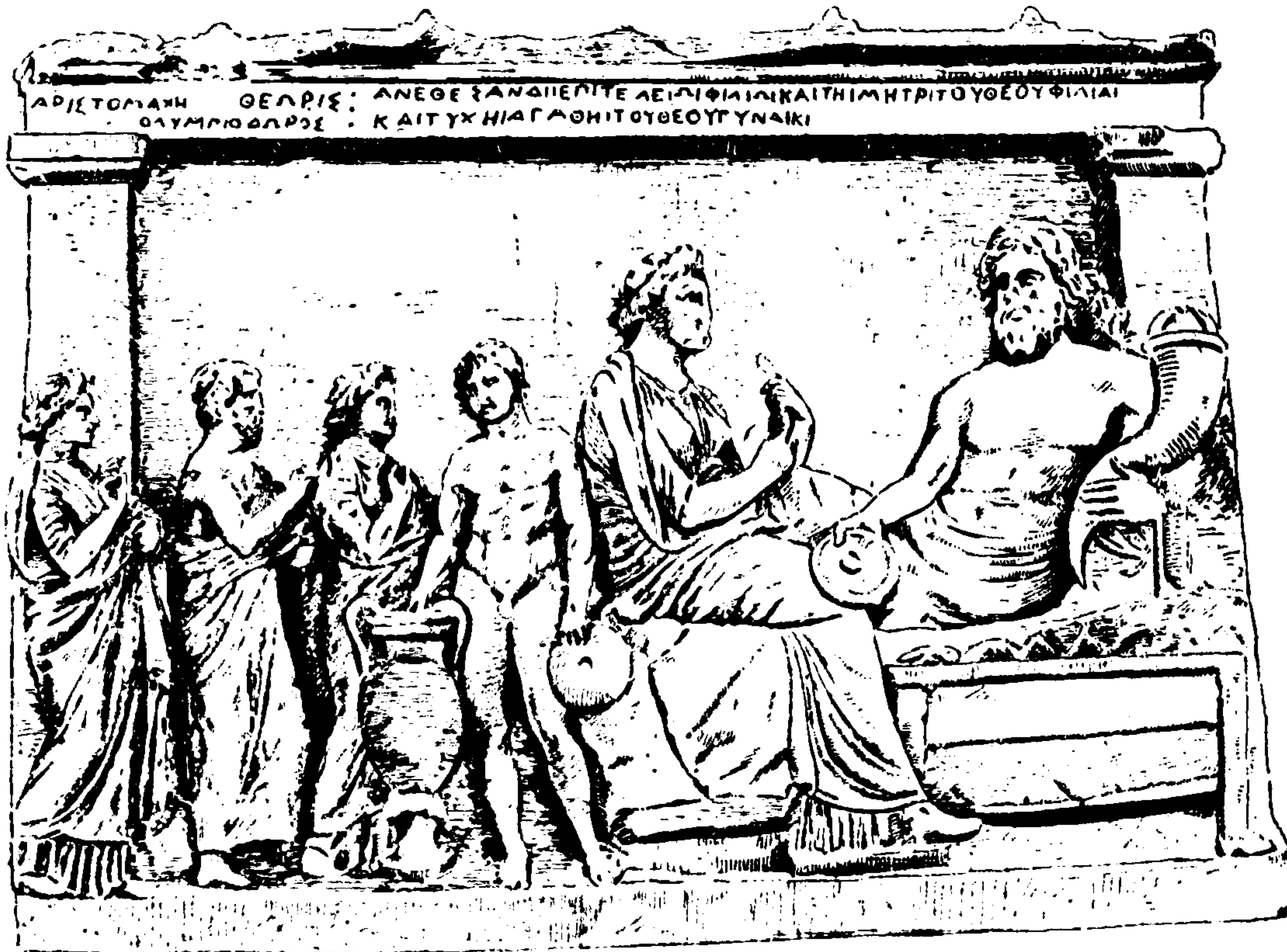


Fig. 970.

recumbent on a couch, with a *cornu copiae* in his left hand, a *phiale* in his right, and a table bearing flat and pointed cakes (*pyramides* made of wheat and honey⁶) at his side. On the foot of the couch sits a goddess holding in both hands a fillet or perhaps rather a garland for the neck (*hypothymts*⁶), the carving

¹ *Supra* p. 1129.

² On communion with the dead by means of food see e.g. Frazer *Golden Bough*³: *Spirits of Corn and Wild* ii. 154. *Infra* p. 1170 ff.

³ An important consideration during a repast, when the mouth must be opened and bad spirits as well as good food might gain a ready entrance. In the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 22 ff. I have argued that the common *kóttabos*-stand was originally a feasters' gong intended to keep evil at a distance.

⁴ *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstvaerker* Kjøbenhavn 1908 no. 95, A. Furtwängler 'Sogenanntes "Todtenmahl"-Relief mit Inschrift' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1897 i. 401—414 with fig. (=my fig. 970), Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 354 ff. fig. '106' *ead. Themis* p. 312 f. fig. 90.

⁶ Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 2250 D.

⁶ *Id. ib.* viii. 338 D ff.

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partly from modern folk-song¹, that the Greeks of old aspired to an actual marriage-union with the deities of the underworld, a union to be fore-shadowed here in mystic rites and consummated hereafter in very truth. Every man would one day enter the bridal chamber of Persephone, every woman that of Hades². If this daring belief is rightly credited to them—and the evidence for it is strong—, then we may, I think, venture to interpret the popular scheme of the hero-feast as a naïve representation of the dead man's marriage-banquet. Wedded at last to the queen of the nether world, he is actually feasting in her company. His garland and cakes recall

‘the white sesame-grains

And myrtle-berries and poppy-head and water-mint³’

appropriate to any bridegroom. Were they not the magic means by which he

δείκνυνται ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων. ὄθεν καὶ τοῖς νοσοῦσι τὸ γαμεῖν θάνατον προαγορεύει· καὶ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀμφοτέροις συμβαίνει τῷ τε γαμοῦντι καὶ τῷ ἀποθανόντι, ὅλον παραπομπή φιλῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ στέφανοι καὶ ἀρώματα καὶ μύρα καὶ συγγραφὴ κτημάτων, 2. 65 ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ γάμος ἔοικε θανάτῳ καὶ (ἐπειδὴ καὶ cod. B.) ὑπὸ θανάτου σημαίνεται, ἐνταῦθα καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγησάμην ἐπιμνησθῆναι (ὑπομνησθῆναι cod. B.) αὐτοῦ. γαμεῖν παρθένον τῷ νοσοῦντι θάνατον σημαίνει· ὅσα γὰρ τῷ γαμοῦντι συμβαίνει, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τῷ ἀποθανόντι.

Mr Lawson might have found further support for his theory in the rich storehouse of ancient Greek epitaphs. Turning over the leaves of the *Anthology* I lit upon the following: *Anth. Pal.* 7. 13. 2 f. (Leonidas or Meleagros) Ἡρινναν... | Ἄιδας εἰς ὑμέναιον ἀνάρπασεν, 7. 183. 2 (Parmenion) Ἄιδης τὴν Κροκάλης ἐφθασε παρθενίην, 7. 401. 9 (Krinagoras) χθῶν ὦ δυσνύμφευτε, 7. 492. 6 (? Anyte of Mitylene) νυμφίον ἀλλ’ Ἄιδην κηδεμόν’ εὐρόμεθα, 7. 507^b (? Simonides = frag. 124 B Bergk⁴, 105 Hiller—Crusius) οὐκ ἐπιδῶν νύμφεια λέχη κατέβην τὸν ἀφυκτον | Γόργιππος ξανθῆς Φερσεφόνης θάλαμον, 7. 547. 3 f. (Leonidas of Alexandria) κατέστενε δ’ οὐχ Ἰμεναίῳ, | ἀλλ’ Ἄιδα νύμφαν δωδεκέτιν κατάγων, cp. 7. 221. 5 f. Ἄιδη δυσκίνητε, τί τὴν ἐπέραστον ἐταίρην | ἤρπασας; ἢ καὶ σὴν Κύπρις ἐμνηνε φρένα; Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 43 = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 50 ἐνθάδε τὴν πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τέρμα μολοῦσαν | Φαναγόραν κατέχει Φερσεφόνης θάλαμος, Cougny 2. 122 a. 3 f. = Kaibel no. 35 a. 3 f. ἔθανες, Διονύσιε, καὶ τὸν ἀνάγκης | κοινὸν Φερσεφόνης πᾶσιν ἔχεις θάλαμον, Cougny 2. 127. 3 f. Γλαυκιάδης... | ἦλθ’ ἐπὶ πάνδεκτον Φερσεφόνης θάλαμον, 2. 214. 3 f. = Kaibel no. 201. 3 f. συγκέχυται γενέτας δὲ Ἡοσείδιππος κλυτὸν ἔρνος | ζαλωτὸν πέμψας Περσεφόνας θαλάμοις, Cougny 2. 268. 1 f. = Kaibel no. 570. 1 f. οὐχ ὀσίως ἤρπαξας ὑπὸ [χθόνα], κοίρανε Ἰλουτεῦ, | πενταέτη νύμφην κ.τ.λ.

See also R. Foerster *Der Raub und die Rückkehr der Persephone* Stuttgart 1874 p. 73 n. 3, E. Maass *Orpheus* München 1895 p. 219, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 865 n. 1.

¹ E.g. A. Passow *Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* Lipsiae 1860 no. 364. 6 ff. Κ’ ἐγὼ πάγω νὰ παντρεφτῶ νὰ πάρω μιὰ γυναῖκα, | Πῆρα τὴν πλάκα πεθερὰ, τὴ μαύρη γῆ γυναῖκα | Κι’ αὐτὰ τὰ λιανολίθαρα ὅλα γυναικαδέρφια (‘For I must go to marry me, to take a wife unto me; | The black earth for my wife I take, the tombstone as her mother | And yonder little pebbles all her brethren and her sisters’—from the dirge of an old man: Bostitsa), *ib.* no. 374. 8 f. Ἐψές ἐγὼ παντρεύθηκα, ἐψές ἀργὰ τὸ βράδυ. | Ὁ ἄδης εἶν’ ὁ ἀντρας μου, ἡ πλάκ’ ἡ πεθερὰ μου (‘Yesterday was my marriage-day, late yestere’en my wedding, | Hades I for my husband have, the tomb for my new mother’—from the dirge of a young girl). Cp. *ib.* nos. 38, 65, 152, 180, 370, 380, 381, G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 256 n. 1.

² This had been remarked by E. Maass *Orpheus* München 1895 p. 219: ‘Jedes Weib, das stirbt, vermählt sich nach alter Anschauung dem Hades; die Männer und Jünglinge betreten ihrerseits den Thamos der Persephone.’ B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 232 f. had already drawn attention to this group of ideas, citing ancient and modern illustrations. See further O. Schrader *Totenhochzeit* Jena 1904 pp. 1—38 and S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 141—143.

³ Aristoph. *av.* 159 f. τὰ λευκὰ σῆσάμα | καὶ μύρτα καὶ μήκωνα καὶ σισύμβρια.

was empowered to impregnate his bride¹? Raised from mortal to immortal

¹ Schol. Aristoph. *rax* 869 πλακοῦς γαμικὸς ἀπὸ σησάμων πεποιημένος, διὰ τὸ πολύγονον, ὡς φησι Μένανδρος (*frag.* 435 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ἴν. 318 Meineke)). A. de Gubernatis *La mythologie des plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 347 refers to L. G. Gyraldus *Operum quæ extant omnium Tomus Secundus* Basileæ 1580 p. 485, 24 ff. Quale est illud, quod de nubentibus dici vulgo solebat, Sesamum aut hordeum sere, aut projice: cum foecunditatem, & multiplicem generationem ac foetum significare volebant. Sunt enim huiusmodi semina multæ foecunditatis, & vt Græci dicunt, πολύγονα. Sed quod de sesamo dicimus, aliqui ex eo placentam fieri solitam in nuptijs, eadem ratione tradunt.'

Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 445—455 begins his article on the myrtle by distinguishing a lucky aspect of the plant as sacred to Aphrodite from a sepulchral aspect of it as sacred to chthonian deities. He finds a connecting link in the cult of Venus *Libitina*, Aphrodite *Epitymbia*, etc. I should rather suppose that both aspects are referable to the quickening qualities of the evergreen. When a long journey was to be taken afoot, the mere carrying of myrtle-twigs prevented fatigue. Twisted into rings without the use of iron, they cured swelling of the groin (Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 124). To dream of a myrtle-wreath meant marriage with a free-born woman and a prospect of long-lived children (Artemid. *oneirocr.* 1. 77). Etc., etc. A shrub of such vivifying or revivifying potency was well fitted to be a life-token. Accordingly we hear of two sacred myrtles, which grew before the temple of Quirinus and by their fertility or barrenness portended the fortunes of the patricians and plebeians respectively (Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 120 f.). See further A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 233—236, II. Friend *Flowers and Flower Lore* London 1883 ii. 688 Index s.v. 'Myrtle,' R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 pp. 454—457. These authors by no means exhaust the topic, which deserves fuller investigation. It might, for example, be discovered that the myrtle-wreath worn by the initiate at Eleusis (Aristoph. *ran.* 156, 328 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Istros *frag.* 25 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 421 Müller) *ap. schol.* Soph. *O. C.* 681: illustrated *supra* i. 220 f. fig. 163, E. Lübbert in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865 xxxvii. 82 ff. pl. F=L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1868 p. 160=F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 570 fig. 2637=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 313, 1 f.) or by the Orphic devotee (*supra* p. 555) marked him as the prospective consort of a chthonian deity. The botanical fact underlying these beliefs is the polyspermous nature of the myrtle: 'The fruit is a purplish berry, consisting of the receptacle and the ovary blended into one succulent investment enclosing very numerous minute seeds' (*The Encyclopedia Britannica*¹¹ Cambridge 1911 xix. 115).

The poppy has an even greater wealth of tiny seeds. Hence it made for fertility, and became the attribute of various mother-goddesses. A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 284 quotes from L. G. Gyraldus *op. cit.* ii. 468, 39 f. the *dictum* 'papaver fertilitatis & vrbis symbolum fuit' [where, however, we should restore *orbis*, cp. Cornut. *theol.* 28 p. 56, 8 ff. Lang ἀνατιθέασι δ' αὐτῇ (sc. τῇ Δήμητρι) καὶ τὰς μήκωνας κατὰ λόγον· τὸ τε γὰρ στρογγύλον καὶ περιφερὲς αὐτῶν παρίστησι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς γῆς σφαιροειδοῦς οὐσης, ἢ τε ἀνωμαλία τὰς κοιλότητας καὶ τὰς ἐξοχὰς τῶν ὀρῶν, τὰ δ' ἐντὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώδοις καὶ ὑποκόμοις ἔοικε, σπέρματά τε ἀναριθμητὰ γεννώσιν ὡσπερ ἡ γῆ]. The poppy of Demeter (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1179 n. 2) was passed on to Rhea (*id. ib.* p. 1542 n. 1) and to Isis (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 450 ff. fig.). Kanachos made for the Sicyonians a chryselephantine Aphrodite with a poppy in one hand, an apple in the other (Paus. 2. 10. 5): and here again the influence of Demeter may be suspected; for certain persons derived the old name of Sikyon, Μηκώνη, from the 'poppy,' μήκων, which Demeter there first discovered (*cl. mag.* p. 583, 56 f.: but cp. Ov. *fast.* 4. 531 ff., Serv. and interp. Serv. in Verg. *georg.* i. 212). Poppy-heads, as well as myrtle-wreaths, played their part in the Eleusinian initiation (*supra* i. 425 f. fig. 307 f.).

Lastly, σισύμβριον or 'bergamot-mint' (*mentha aquatica*) was used for the bridegroom's garland (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 160), not merely because its branches, leaves, etc. were sweet-scented (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 6. 6. 2 and *frag.* 4, 27 *ap.* Athen. 689 D, Nik. *georg. frag.* 2. 57 *ap.* Athen. 684 B), but on account of its aphrodisiac properties. If the

rank, henceforward he can read a deeper meaning in the old-world wedding-chant :

‘I have fled the bad, I have found the better¹.’

It looks as though the primitive mind conceived of death itself as simply due to the fact that the chthonian deity (whether goddess or god) had claimed another consort². The summons has been sent. The call must be obeyed. But—

‘Who knows if life be death and death be life³?’

In the embrace of Persephone the dead man becomes the chthonian king. Borne off by Hades the dead woman becomes the chthonian queen. We can understand now the familiar saying

‘Whom the gods love dies young⁴,’

and find a further significance in the representation of Death as Love⁵.

wearing of a wreath made from it betokened disease (Artemid. *oneirocr.* i. 77), that was due to the fact that the plant in question was recognised as a cure for diseases (Nik. *ther.* 896). Greeks called it the garland of Aphrodite, Romans the herb of Venus (Dioskor. 2. 154 (155) p. 271 Sprengel); and the medical writers enable us to guess the reason, cp. Dioskor. 2. 154 (155) p. 272 Sprengel δύναμιν δὲ ἔχει θερμαντικὴν· ἀρμόζει δὲ πρὸς στραγγουρίας καὶ λιθιάσεις τὸ σπέρμα σὺν οἴνῳ πινόμενον, *id.* 2. 155 (156) p. 272 Sprengel of another variety ἐστὶ δὲ θερμαντικόν, οὐρητικόν, Galen. *de simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 8. 18. 20 (xii. 124 Kühn) θερμαινούσης καὶ ξηραίνουσας κατὰ τὴν τρίτην τάξιν ἐστὶ δυνάμειός τε καὶ κράσεως. καὶ τὸ σπέρμα δ’ αὐτοῦ λεπτομερές τε καὶ θερμὸν ἐστίν, ὅθεν σὺν οἴνῳ τινὲς αὐτὴν διδάσκει κ.τ.λ., *id. ib.* 8. 18. 21 (xii. 124 Kühn) of the other variety ὅταν μὲν ξηρὸν ᾖ, τῆς τρίτης ἐστὶ τάξεως τῶν ξηραίνοντων τε ἅμα καὶ θερμαίνοντων, κ.τ.λ. On mint in general see A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 226—228, H. Friend *op. cit.* ii. 687 Index s.v. ‘Mint,’ R. Folkard *op. cit.* p. 439 f. *Supra* i. 257 n. 5.

¹ Ἐφυγον κακόν, εὖρον ἀμεινον (*carmin. pop.* 20 a Hiller—Crusius)—an early dactylic line (cp. *supra* i. 444) first found in Dem. *de cor.* 259 (cited *supra* i. 392 n. 4) as a *formula* used by initiates in the rites of *Sabázios*, and from him apparently quoted by Hesych. s.v. It is given as a marriage-rubric by Pausanias the Atticist *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1726, 19 ff. καὶ παροιμία δηλοῖ παρὰ Πausανίᾳ λέγουσα ‘Ἐφυγον κακόν, εὖρον ἀμεινον,’ ἣν ἔλεγε, φησιν, ἀμφιθαλῆς παῖς Ἀθήνησιν, ἐστεμμένος ἀκάνθαις μετὰ δρυῖνων καρπῶν, λίκνον βαστάζων πλήρες ἄρτων, αἰνισσόμενος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ βίου ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβολὴν = Zenob. 3. 98, Diogeneian. 4. 74, Plout. 1. 16, Apostol. 8. 16, Phot. *lex.* and Soud. s.v., cp. Porph. *de abst.* 1. 1. Probably the so-called proverb was a very ancient charm employed in the mysteries to facilitate the transition from the lower to the higher life, a transition culminating in the divine marriage (see Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 646 ff.). Subsequently it was transferred, with some loss of meaning, to ordinary human marriages.

² Cp. the Celtic tales of the Otherworld-visit, which I have summarised in *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 143 ff. (*supra* i. 239).

³ Eur. *Polyeidos frag.* 638 Nauck² (*supra* p. 868), cp. Eur. *Phrixus frag.* 833 Nauck². In Aristoph. *ran.* 1477 f. τίς οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἐστὶ κατθανεῖν, | τὸ πνεῖν δὲ δειπνεῖν, τὸ δὲ καθεύδειν κώδιον; the attempts of the editors to extract sense from the latter line are far from convincing. I fancy Aristophanes is poking fun at the prospect held out to every pious believer, the hero-feast (δειπνεῖν) and the poppy-head (for κώδιον read κώδον, cp. Theophr. *hist. pl.* 6. 8. 1 and *ap.* Athen. 680 E, or κωδία, cp. Aristoph. *frag.* 166 Dindorf *ap.* Harpokr. s.v. κωδία). Life hereafter was to be one perpetual banquet in the bridal chamber of Persephone: if the new immortal tired of it, he had at least the poppy-capsule to lull him to sleep and to renew his generative powers. Those who retain κώδιον in the text should still interpret the word of the initiate’s equipment, the ‘fleece of Zeus’ (*supra* i. 422 ff.).

⁴ Menand. *disexapaton frag.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 105 Meineke). Cp. Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 340. 8 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 585. 8.

⁵ *Supra* pp. 309, 1045.

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of Absolute Beauty, timeless, changeless, formless,—the beatific vision which shall

make amends

For all our toil while on the road.

Embracing this, he will at last beget no phantom forms of virtue, for it is no phantom that he clasps, but virtues true to type, for he has the very truth. And here he will live for ever as one that is indeed 'loved of God' and a sharer in immortality. That is the hope of which Sokrates, persuaded himself, is fain to persuade others also¹. To summarise or paraphrase such a passage is, of course, to ruin its effect, and is little short of blasphemy to boot. I can but call attention to the one word *theophilés*, 'loved of God'². Platon had it from the mystics. And Theon of Smyrna (s. ii. A.D.) informs us that the initiate passed upwards through five stages, *viz.* purification, the tradition of the rite, the eyewitnessing of it, the binding and putting on of the garlands in order to communicate it to others, and finally the resultant felicity of dwelling in the 'love of God' (*theophilés*) and sharing in the life divine³.

These beliefs formed a point of contact between paganism and Christianity. The hero-feast is an antecedent of the celestial banquet, a favourite theme in the art of the catacombs⁴. And if the Greeks looked forward to 'the good fare of the blest'⁵ in the bridal chamber of Hades or Persephone, John can say 'Blessed are they which are bidden to the marriage supper of the Lamb'⁶. The conception, cherished by the Church⁷, has inspired not a few modern mystics :

¹ Plat. *symp.* 209 E—212 B. Faith, Hope, and Charity unite in this triumphant climax.

² The relevant words are: τεκόντι δὲ ἀρετὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ θρεψαμένῳ ὑπάρχει θεοφιλεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ εἴπερ τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀθανάτῳ καὶ ἐκείνῳ. On the later Platonic conception of ἀθανασία I have said my say in *The Metaphysical Basis of Plato's Ethics* Cambridge 1895 p. 96 ff. See also R. K. Gaye *The Platonic Conception of Immortality and its Connexion with the Theory of Ideas* (Hare Prize Essay 1903) London 1904.

³ Theon Smyrn. *mathem.* p. 14, 18 ff. Hiller καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν φιλοσοφίαν μύησιν φαίη τις ἂν ἀληθοῦς τελετῆς καὶ τῶν ὄντων ὡς ἀληθῶς μυστηρίων παράδοσιν. μύησεως δὲ μέρη πέντε. τὸ μὲν προηγούμενον καθαρμός· ὅτε γὰρ ἅπασιν τοῖς βουλομένοις μετουσία μυστηρίων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν οὓς αὐτῶν εἰργεσθαι προαγορευεται, ὅλον τοὺς χεῖρας μὴ καθαρὰς καὶ φωνὴν ἀξύνετον ἔχοντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὴ εἰργομένους ἀνάγκη καθαρμοῦ τινος πρότερον τυχεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν δευτέρα ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς τελετῆς παράδοσις· τρίτη δὲ < ἡ ins. C. A. Lobeck > ἐπονομαζομένη ἐποπτεία· τετάρτη δέ, ὃ δὴ καὶ τέλος τῆς ἐποπτείας, ἀνάδεις καὶ στεμμάτων ἐπίθεσις, ὥστε καὶ ἑτέροις, ἃς τις παρέλαβε τελετάς, παραδοῦναι δύνασθαι, δαδουχίας τυχόντα ἢ ἱεροφαντίας ἢ τινος ἄλλης ἱερωσύνης· πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγενομένη κατὰ τὸ θεοφιλές καὶ θεοῖς συνδίατον εὐδαιμονία (so I. Bouillaud for εὐδαιμονίαν cod. A.). See Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 38 ff.

⁴ W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 pp. 221—223, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1906 i. 181—209 (the best account), C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 pp. 269—274, 358.

⁵ Aristoph. *ran.* 85 ἐς μακάρων εὐωχίαν, cp. Plat. *Phaid.* 115 D. Notice the schol. Aristoph. *loc. cit.* ἢ ὡς περὶ τετελευτηκότος λέγει, ὡσανεὶ εἶπε τὰς μακάρων νήσους· ἢ ὅτι Ἄρχελάῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς μετὰ ἄλλων πολλῶν συνῆν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, καὶ μακάρων εὐωχίαν ἔφη τὴν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις διατριβήν. If Hades was known as Ἄγησίλαος, Πολύαρχος, and the like (*supra* p. 1113 n. o no. (2)), it is at least possible that he bore the title Ἄρχελαος. Aristophanes' *sous-entendu* would thus gain in point.

⁶ Rev. 19. 9 with the context.

⁷ A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*² Leipzig and Berlin 1910 pp. 129—134.

He lifts me to the golden doors ;
 The flashes come and go ;
 All heaven bursts her starry floors,
 And strows her lights below,
 And deepens on and up ! the gates
 Roll back, and far within
 For me the Heavenly Bridegroom waits,
 To make me pure of sin.
 The sabbaths of Eternity,
 One sabbath deep and wide—
 A light upon the shining sea—
 The Bridegroom with his bride !¹

How much, or how little, of all this is to be found in our relief, it is not easy to say. The title *Epitèleios* suggests the mystic marriage, and the stress laid on *Phllios* and *Philla* tends to confirm the suggestion. We must leave it at that.

The matter-of-fact spectator, who cared little for mysteries or mystical symbolism, saw in Zeus *Phllios* a god of good company, given to feasting in both this world and the next. Accordingly, Diodoros of Sinope, a poet of the new comedy, who flourished early in s. iii B.C.², makes him the discoverer of the parasite and his ways:

'Twas Zeus the Friendly, greatest of the gods
 Beyond all doubt, that first invented parasites.
 For he it is who comes into our houses,
 Nor cares a rap whether we're rich or poor.
 Wherever he espies a well-strown couch
 With a well-appointed table set beside it,
 Joining us straightway like a gentleman
 He asks himself to breakfast, eats and drinks,
 And then goes home again, nor pays his share.
 Just what I do myself ! When I see couches
 Strown and the tables ready, door ajar,
 In I come quietly, all in order due—
 I don't disturb, not I, my fellow-drinker.
 Everything set before me I enjoy,
 Drink, and go home again, like Zeus the Friendly³.

The inference to be drawn from the fourth-century reliefs and the third-century comedy is that at Athens Zeus *Phllios*, like Zeus *Sotér*⁴, Zeus *Xénios*⁵, and other

¹ Tennyson *St. Agnes' Eve* 25 ff.

² J. Kirchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 660, Lübker *Reallex.*⁸ p. 293.

³ Diod. Sinop. *ἐπικληρος frag.* 1. 5 ff. (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 543 ff. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 239 A ff.

⁴ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 305, 10 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 676, 10 ff. *ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ πάσας ἐθίων τε τὰς θύλακας τῶν Διὸς τῶν Σωτήρι καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων τε ἢ Σωτήριαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεμελήθησαν μετὰ τὸν ἱερῆος καλῶς καὶ φιλοτιμῶς, ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ [καὶ τῆς στρώσεως τῆς κλίβης καὶ τῆς κ[οσ]μη[σεως] τῆς τραπέζης· κ.τ.λ.]* in a decree of 277/6 B.C.

⁵ Pyrgion *Κρητικὰ νόμιμα frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 486 f. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 143 E—F ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ξενικοὶ θᾶκοι καὶ τράπεζα τρίτη δεξιᾶς (I. Casaubon *cj.* ἐκ δεξιᾶς οἱ ἐν δεξιᾷ) εἰσιόντων εἰς τὰ ἀνδρεία· ἦν Ζηνίου τε Διὸς ξένιον τε προσηγόρευον.

chthonian powers¹, had a couch set for him and a table spread. The rite was private rather than public, belonging essentially to family worship² and being in effect a communion between the dead and the living³. A. Furtwängler⁴ justly compares the *lectisternia*, which are commonly held to have been a Roman adaptation of the Greek *Theoxénia*⁵. Be that as it may, the comparison is of interest. For it is possible, perhaps even probable, that at the Greek feast, as at its Roman equivalent, the god was represented in visible shape. But in what shape? Our only clue is the Roman custom. Livy mentions 'heads of gods' placed on the couches⁶. Pompeius Festus (s. ii A.D.)—an excellent authority, since he abridged the important dictionary of Verrins Flaccus (c. 10 B.C.)⁷—states that these 'heads of gods' were properly termed *struppi* and consisted in bundles of *verbenae* or 'sacred plants⁸.' Elsewhere Festus, à propos of *stroppus* in the sense of a priestly head-dress or wreath, informs us that at Tusculum an

¹ Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff Sculptures* p. 28 f., A. Milchhöfer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1887 ii. 31 (with list of deities).

² The *épanoral* (*supra* p. 1161 f.) formed a *quasi-family*, worshipping—we have conjectured—its deceased founder as its ancestor.

³ *Supra* p. 1162 n. 2. See also Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 419.

⁴ A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1897 i. 405.

⁵ F. Robion 'Recherches sur l'origine des lectisternes' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1867 i. 403—415, F. Deneken *De Theoxeniis* Berolini 1881, (G.) Wackermann *Ueber das Lectisternium* Hanau 1888 pp. 1—28, G. E. Marindin in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 15—17, C. Pascal 'De lectisterniis apud Romanos' in the *Rivista di filologia* 1894 xxii. 272—280, *id. Studi di antichità e mitologia* Milano 1896 p. 19 ff., W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 pp. 200, 218, 273, *id. The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 pp. 263 ff., 268, 318 f., A. Bouché-Leclercq in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1006—1012, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 161 f., Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² pp. 61, 269 f., 311, 315, 421 ff.

⁶ Liv. 40. 59 terra movit: in foris (K. A. Duker cj. *fanis*) publicis, ubi lectisternium erat, deorum capita, quae (K. A. Duker and J. N. Madvig cjj. *qui*) in lectis erant, avertent se, lanaque (J. Scheffer cj. *laenaeque*, G. Cuypers and J. Marquardt cjj. *lanxque*) cum integumentis (F. van Oudendorp cj. *intrimentis*), quae Iovi opposita (C. Sigone and J. Scheffer cjj. *apposita*) fuit, decidit = Iul. Obseq. 61 in lectisternio Iovis terrae motu deorum capita se converterunt. lana cum integumentis, quae Iovi erant apposita, decidit.

⁷ M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*² München 1899 ii. 1. 319 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*² Cambridge 1906 i. 200.

⁸ Fest. p. 347, 34 f. Müller, p. 472, 15 f. Lindsay *struppi* vocantur in pulvinaribus <fasciculi de verbenis facti, qui pro de>orum capitibus ponuntur = Paul. ex Fest. p. 346, 3 Müller, p. 473, 4 f. Lindsay *struppi* vocabantur in pulvinaribus fasciculi de verbenis facti, qui pro deorum capitibus ponebantur. Cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 64, 5 Müller, p. 56, 12 Lindsay capita deorum appellabantur fasciculi facti ex verbenis.

Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 12. 120 verberna proprie est herba sacra sumpta de loco sacro Capitolii, qua coronabantur fetiales et paterpatratus foedera facturi vel bella indicturi. abusive tamen verbenas iam vocamus omnes frondes sacratas, ut est laurus, oliva vel myrtus. etc. Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 22. 5, 25. 105 ff., interp. Serv. in Verg. *eccl.* 8. 65, Donat. in Ter. *Andr.* 4. 3. 11.

S. Eitrem in the *Class. Rev.* 1921 xxxv. 20 finds an illustration of these *struppi* in a painting of s. v B.C. in the *Tomba del Letto funebre* at Corneto (F. Poulsen *Fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptoteks Samlinger* Copenhagen 1920 i fig. 34, F. Weege *Etruskische Malerei Halle* (Saale) 1921 pls. 23, 24): 'on a mighty lectus you see on the torus not two recumbent defuncts, but two green crowns, surmounted by the Etruscan (and Roman) pointed head-dress, the *tutulus*.'

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lectisternia appear to have developed into half-length busts. Indeed, on one occasion, when Seleukos was sending back to Athens the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton carried off by Xerxes, the Rhodians invited the venerable bronzes to a public banquet and installed them bodily on the sacred couches¹. So much for progressive anthropomorphism. The vegetable bundles, which formed the primitive effigies², may be taken to imply that the souls of the dead were conceived as animating the yearly vegetation³. And the same belief may underlie the rites of Iupiter *Dapalis*⁴ and Iupiter *Farreus*⁵, in which Mr Warde surmounted by a half-figure and flanked by two trophies. The front is inscribed L·CALDVS | VII·R·EPV (= *Lucius Calvus septemvir epulo*). To left and right is the legend, read downwards, C·CALDVS | IMP·A (or A)·X (= *Gaius Calvus imperator augur decemvir sacris faciundis*). Below is CQVVS·III·VIR (= *Calvus triumvir monetalis*). See Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 100 ff., ii pl. Coelia I, 1A, 1B, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 373 ff. with six figs., G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 76 ff. pl. 10, 44, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 475 pl. 47, 23 f., pl. 48, 1. Figs. 973—975 are from specimens in my collection. The identification of the personage seen above the couch has long been disputed. He is either the moneyer's father, L. Coelius Calvus, as *septemvir epulo* preparing the feast for Iupiter (Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 659 f., T. Mommsen *Histoire de la monnaie romaine* Paris 1870 ii. 506, Babelon *loc. cit.*, G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 78), or—more probably—the effigy of Iupiter himself eating the sacrificial meal (see the remarks of S. Havercamp in Morell. *op. cit.* i. 102, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 507, H. A. Grueber in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 474 n. 2).

The two *epula Iovis*, which took place on Sept. 13, the foundation-day of the Capitoline temple, and on Nov. 13, were in relation to the *ludi Romani* and *ludi plebei* respectively (Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² pp. 127, 423, 453 ff.). Iupiter had a *lectulus*, Iuno and Minerva each a *sella* (Val. Max. 2. 1. 2), while the magistrates and senate took the meal before them *in Capitolio* (Liv. 38. 57, 45. 39, Gell. 12. 8. 2 f., Dion Cass. 39. 30, 48. 52). See further E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 732, 734 f., W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 215 ff., *id. The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 pp. 172 f., 336, 338, 353. Hence the title of Iupiter *Epulo* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 3696 found in the Forum at Rome = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4964, with the criticisms of G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 265, who prefers T. Mommsen's reading (*Bull. d. Inst.* 1873 p. 51 f.) [*magistri*] *quinq(uennales)* | [*collegi*] *teib(icinum) Rom(anorum), qui* | [*s(acris) p(ublicis) p(raesto) s(unt)*], *Iov(i) Epul(oni) sac(rum)* | etc. to that of E. Bormann and H. Dessau *qui* | . . . *Iov(is) epul(o), sac(ris)* | [*p(ublicis) p(raesto) s(unt)*]: | etc.).

¹ Val. Max. 2. 10. 1 *ext.*

² Masurius Sabinus *ap. Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 2. 225 Masurius Sabinus delubrum, effigies, a delibratione corticis; nam antiqui felicium arborum ramos cortice detracto in effigies deorum formabant, unde Graeci ξβανον dicunt. Cp. *Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 4. 56, Paul. ex Fest. p. 73, 1 Müller, p. 64, 6 f. Lindsay, pseudo-Ascon. *in Cic. div. in Caec.* p. 101, 16 f. Baiter (in J. C. Orelli's ed. of Cicero Turici 1833 v. 2. 101). But a closer parallel may be found in the Corn-maiden (*supra* i. 397 n. 4 pl. xxviii).

³ *Supra* i. 687.

⁴ Cato *de agr.* 132 dapem hoc modo fieri oportet: Iovi Dapali culignam vini quantam vis polluceto. eo die feriae bubus et bubulcis et qui dapem facient. cum pollucere oportebit, sic facies: 'Iuppiter Dapalis, quod tibi fieri oportet in domo familia mea culignam vini dapi, ei <us> rei ergo macte hac illace dape pollucenda esto.' manus interluito, postea vinum sumito: 'Iuppiter Dapalis, macte istace dape pollucenda esto, macte vino inferio esto.' Vestae, si voles, dato. daps Iovi assaria pecuina (pecuina v.) urna vini. Iovi caste profanato sua contagione. postea dape facta serito milium, panicum, alium, lentim.

The adjective *dapalis*, 'sumptuous,' is most frequently found as an epithet of *cena* (*Thes. Ling. Lat.* v. 35, 29 ff.).

⁵ Gaius *inst.* 1. 112 farreo in manus (Göschel, followed by P. Krüger—W. Stüdemund,

Fowler conjectures that Jupiter himself was originally identified with the flesh, the wine, and the bread consumed by his worshippers¹.

• It is possible, then, that the communion-feast of Zeus *Phílios* approximated to, and paved the way for, the *agápe* or 'love-supper' of the early Christian Church². Nevertheless the evidence is indirect and by no means conclusive. We shall be on surer, if lower, ground in returning to the cult-monuments of Attike.

(2) Zeus *Phílios* on the Attic coast, etc.

To the west of the *Asklepieion* near the strand of Zea there appears to have been a common sanctuary of Zeus *Meilichios* and Zeus *Phílios*³. Votive reliefs from the site show the latter god in the same types (anthropomorphic and theriomorphic) as the former.

On the one hand, a slab of Pentelic marble, found on the eastern slope of Mounichia at a point two hundred paces from the sea, represents him (fig. 976)⁴ as a kingly personage enthroned towards the right with a sceptre (painted) in his hand. He is approached by a woman and a girl—Mynnion and her daughter, as we infer from the inscription added above in lettering of s. iv B.C. :

‘[M]ynnion dedicated (this) to Zeus *Phílios*⁵.’

A fragmentary relief of white marble, found later in the same locality, was clearly of similar type⁶. On the left are seen the head of Zeus, his left shoulder, and his left hand holding a sceptre. On the right a bearded man and a youthful figure draw near with right hand raised in the attitude of adoration : behind them there

cj. *manum*) conveniunt per quoddam genus sacrificii, quod Iovi Parreo fit, in quo farrens panis adhibetur ; unde etiam confarreatio dicitur ; etc.

¹ W. Warde Fowler *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 p. 141 ‘The cult-title [*Farreus*] should indicate that the god was believed to be immanent in the cake of *far*, rather than that it was offered to him (so I should also take I. Dapalis, though in later times the idea had passed into that of sacrifice, Cato, *R. R.* 132), and if so, the use of the cake was sacramental.’ A shrewd and scholarly verdict. Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² p. 119 ‘die heilige Handlung gilt dem Juppiter, welcher von dem zur Anwendung kommenden *farreum libum* den Beinamen Farrens erhält’ is inadequate. B. J. Polenaar on Gaius *inst.* 1. 112 cp. *Adorea* as goddess of martial glory (Hor. *od.* 4. 4. 41) *a farris honore* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 18. 14) : but the derivation of the word from *ador*, though assumed by the ancients, is doubtful or worse (see F. Stolz in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1899 x. 74 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*³ p. 13 s.v. ‘adōria’).

² On the Christian *ἀγάπαι* consult A. Kestner *Die Agape oder der geheime Weltbund der Christen* Jena 1819, E. H. Plumptre in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* i. 39 ff., R. St. J. Tyrwhitt *ib.* i. 625 ff., H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1907 i. 775—848, A. J. Maclean in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 166—175.

³ *Supra* p. 1104.

⁴ R. Schöne *Griechische Reliefs* Leipzig 1872 p. 53 f. no. 105 pl. 25, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 370 no. 1128, *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1247, 2 with Text v. 22 by E. Löwy, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 354 f. no. 1405 pl. 59 (= my fig. 976), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 362, 7 (wrongly described *ib.* p. 363 as ‘Hommage à Zeus Meilichios’). Height 0.22^m, breadth 0.21^m.

⁵ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1572 [M]YNNIONΔΙΦΙΛΙΩΙΑΝΕΘ[ΗΚΕΝ]= [M]ύννιον Δι Φιλίωι ἀνέθ[ηκεν].

⁶ I. C. Dragatsis in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1885 p. 89 f. no. B', Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 355. Height 0.16^m, breadth 0.30^m.

are traces of a third head. The whole is enclosed by an architectural framework, which bears the inscription:

‘Hermaios (dedicated this) to Zeus *Phlios*¹.’

On the other hand, the same site yielded two reliefs representing a snake accompanied by the words:

‘—— dedicated (this) to Zeus *Phlios*².’



Fig. 976.

As before³, we must suppose that the snake figures the soul of the divinised dead, here conciliated by the euphemistic title Zeus ‘the Friendly One.’ *Phlios* is virtually a synonym of *Meilichios*⁴.

Other reliefs, which probably derive from the same cult-centre in the Peiraieus,

¹ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 Add. no. 1572b ΕΡΜΑΙΟΣ ΔΙ ΦΙΛΙΩΙ = ‘Ερμαῖος Δι Φιλίωι.

² (1) I. C. Dragatsis in the *Δελτ. Ἀρχ.* 1888 p. 135, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 1572 c a fragmentary marble slab inscribed ΦΙΛΙ and ΕΝ = [--- Δι Φιλίωι] | [ἀνέθηκ]εν above the relief of a snake. (2) I. C. Dragatsis in the *Δελτ. Ἀρχ.* 1888 p. 135 no. 3, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 355 the relief of a snake with the inscription Δι Φιλίωι [ἀνέθηκ]εν.

³ *Supra* p. 1111.

⁴ This explains the otherwise inexplicable gloss of Hesych. φιλιός (Soping *corr.* φίλιος, M. Schmidt cj. ἀφάδιος?)· ὁ ἀποτρύπαιος, κατ’ εὐφημισμ[έν]ον.

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One¹, 'yes, by the Friendly One²,' 'no, by your Friendly One and mine³.'

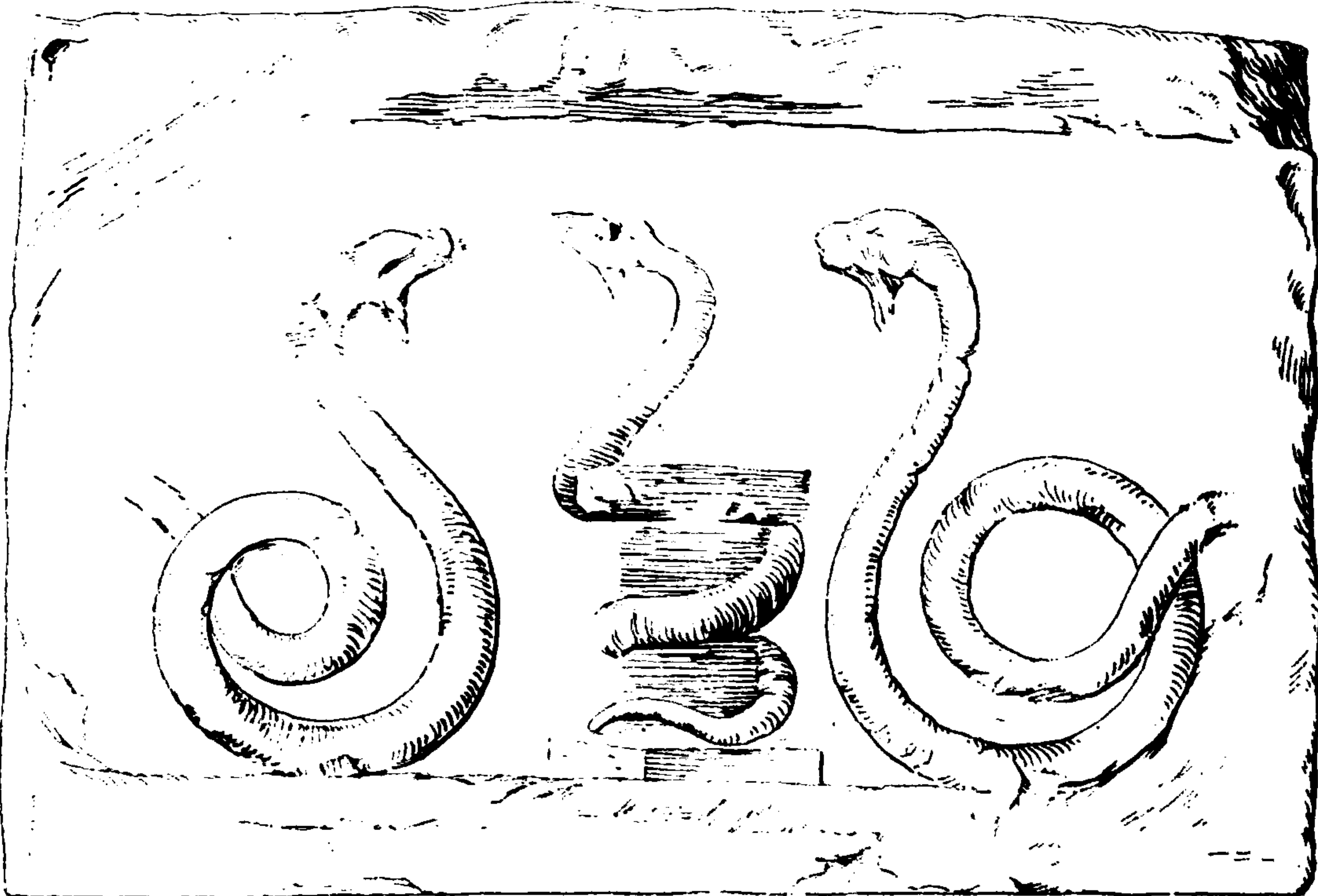


Fig. 978.

Friends in general swore by Zeus *Phllios*⁴, who came to be looked upon as the overseer and guardian of friendship⁵, or ultimately as a god of love who would

¹ πρὸς Φιλίου Plat. *Euthyphr.* 6 B. *Gorg.* 500 B, 519 E, Loukian. *Herod.* 7, *rhet. praeept.* 4, *de dipsad.* 9, Themist. *or.* 1. 17 A p. 19, 6 Dindorf, Prokop. *epist.* 75, 103, 116, 132.

² καὶ τὸν Φίλιον Aristoph. *Ach.* 730 with schol. *ad loc.* νῆ τὸν Φίλιον Pherekrat. *κραπάταλοι frag.* 16. 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 293 Meineke) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Φίλιος Ζεὺς = Souid. *s.v.* Φίλιος.

³ μὰ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν Plat. *Alcib.* 1 109 D, imitated by Aristain. *epist.* 2. 14 μὰ τὸν Φίλιον Ἐρωτα (D. Wyttenbach *om.* Ἐρωτα as a gloss) τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν and Synes. *epist.* 49 p. 660 Hercher and 59 p. 672 καὶ μὰ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν, 103 p. 700 οὐ μὰ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν, 129 p. 716 νῆ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν, 95 p. 694 οὐ μὰ τὸν Ὀμόγιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν. We have a similar usage of the possessive pronoun (one of those little touches, which show that on occasion Greek religion could be personal as well as civic) in Eur. *Andr.* 602 f. ἦτις ἐκ δόμων | τὸν σόν λιπούσα Φίλιον (*sc.* Δία) ἐξεκώμασε | κ.τ.λ., *Hec.* 345 (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2).

⁴ Menand. *ἀνδρόγυνος frag.* 6 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 85 Meineke) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Φίλιος Ζεὺς = Souid. *s.v.* Φίλιος... μαρτύρομαι τὸν Φίλιον, ὦ Κράτων, Δία, Loukian. *Τοχαρ.* 11 f. ΜΝΗΣ. ὁμούμεθα, εἴ τι καὶ ὄρκου δεῖν νομίζεις. τίς δέ σοι τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν—ἄρ' ἱκανὸς ὁ Φίλιος; ΤΟΞ. καὶ μάλα... ΜΝΗΣ. ἴστω τοίνυν ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Φίλιος, ἧ μὴν κ.τ.λ., schol. rec. Soph. *Ai.* 492 p. 211, 6 ff. ἐφεστίου Διὸς· τοῦ τιμωμένου ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ ἐφορῶντος τὴν συνοικησιν ἡμῶν. Ἐφέστιον Δία προτείνουσιν οἱ συνοικοῦντες· οἱ δὲ φίλοι Φίλιον· οἱ δὲ ἐν μιᾷ τάξει καταλεγόμενοι καὶ μιᾷ συμμορίᾳ, Ἐταιρεῖον· οἱ δὲ ξένοι, Ξένιον· οἱ δὲ ἐν ὄρκοις συμφωνίας ποιῶντες, Ὀρκιον· οἱ δὲ δεόμενοι, Ἰκέσιον· οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοί, Ὀμόγιον = schol. Eur. *Hec.* 345.

⁵ Phrynichos the 'Atticist' (c. 180 A.D.) in Bekker *anecd.* i. 34, 14 (cited *supra* p. 1092 n. 8), *ib.* i. 71, 7 Φίλιος· ὁ φίλιας ἐφορος θεός, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Φίλιος Ζεὺς = Souid. *s.v.* Φίλιος· ὁ τὰ περὶ τὰς φίλιας ἐπισκοπῶν, *et. mag.* p. 793, 43 Φίλιος Ζεὺς· ὁ τὰ περὶ τῆς φίλιας (F. Sylburg *cj.* τὴν φίλιαν) ἐπισκοπῶν, Olympiod. *in Plat. Gorg.* 500 B (published by

have all men dwell together in amity¹. A title with such claims to popularity was naturally included among the stock epithets of Zeus².

An oblong slab of limestone found in the precinct of Asklepios at Epidauros bears a dedication to Zeus *Phílios* 'in accordance with a dream' and adds, as symbol of the god, a branch of olive or oak enclosed in a circle³. It must not be

A. Jahn in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* Suppl. 1848 xiv. 364 f.) ἐπὶ τὸν ἔφορον τῆς φιλίας φέρει αὐτὸν, ἵνα εἰδῶς ὅτι θεὸς ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς φιλίας προστάτης μὴ πάλιν παίξῃ· ὁ γὰρ παίξων εἰς φίλον τὸν προστάτην ταύτης θεὸν παίζει, schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 500 B Διὸς ἦν ἐπώνυμον παρ' Ἀθηναίους ὁ Φίλιος, ἐκ τοῦ εἶναι τῶν φιλικῶν καθηκόντων αὐτὸν ἔφορον, Thom. Mag. *eccl. voc. Att.* p. 382 Ritschl Φίλιος ὁ τῆς φιλίας ἔφορος θεός, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1188, 57 Φίλιος, ὁ φιλίας ἔφορος, p. 1832, 62 f. Φίλιος Ζεὺς, ὁ τὰ περὶ τῆς φιλίας ἐπισκοπῶν. With these scholastic definitions cp. such passages as Liban. *epist.* 19 καὶ ταύτην τίνομεν τῷ Φιλίῳ τὴν δίκην ὅτι δὴ φίλων ἡμῖν ἐφάνη τι τιμώτερον, 1204 ὑπέμνησα Φιλίου Διὸς and context.

¹ Dion Chrys. *or.* 1 p. 56 f. Reiske Ζεὺς γὰρ...ἐπονομάζεται...καὶ Φιλίος τε καὶ Ἐταιρεῖος ... Φίλιος δὲ καὶ Ἐταιρεῖος ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ξυνάγει καὶ βούλεται εἶναι ἀλλήλοις φίλους, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἢ πολέμιον μηδένα = *or.* 12 p. 412 f. Reiske Ζεὺς γὰρ...ὀνομάζεται...καὶ Φίλιος καὶ Ἐταιρεῖος... Φίλιος δὲ καὶ Ἐταιρεῖος ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ξυνάγει καὶ βούλεται φίλους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἢ πολέμιον οὐδένα οὐδενός, Eustath. *in magnam quadragessimam oratio praeparatoria* 44 (= Eustath. *opusc.* p. 86 Tafel) πονηροὶ οἱ μὴ ἀγαπῶντες· πονηροὺς δὲ ὁ Φίλιος οὐ προσίεται.

² Aristot. *de mund.* 7. 401 a 22 ἔταιρεῖός τε καὶ φίλιος καὶ ξένιος = Stob. *eccl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45. 19 f. Wachsmuth (translated by Apul. *de mund.* 37 alii Hospitalem Amicalemque), Loukian. *Tim.* 1 TIM. ὦ Ζεῦ φίλιε καὶ ξένιε καὶ ἔταιρεῖε καὶ ἐφέστιε καὶ ἀστεροπητὰ καὶ ὄρκιε καὶ νεφεληγερέτα καὶ ἐρίγδουπε καὶ εἰ τί σε ἄλλο οἱ ἐμβρότητα ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἀπορῶσι πρὸς τὰ μέτρα, Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 288 Φίλιος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ Φίλιος καὶ Ἐταιρεῖος καὶ Ἐφέστιος καὶ Ὀμόγνιος καὶ ἄλλα μυρία καλεῖται πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ γινόμενα καὶ μετονομαζόμενος· κ.τ.λ., Achilleus (Tatios) *comment. frag. in Arat. rhaen.* 2 f. p. 84, 16 ff. Maass λέγεται γὰρ καὶ βουλαῖος Ζεὺς καὶ ξένιος καὶ ἔταιρειος (*leg.* ἔταιρειός) φίλιος φυτάλμιος ἐπικάρπιος, schol. *Arat.* p. 332, 10 f. Maass ὡς εἰσι (φασί) γενέτωρ φράτριος ὀμόγνιος ἔταιρεῖος φίλιος ἰκέσιος ξένιος ἀγοραῖος βουλαῖος βρονταῖος καὶ τὰ ὁμοία (*sc.* ἐπίθετα Διὸς), Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 267 no. 100 φίλου (*sc.* Διὸς), 274 φίλιος (*sc.* Ζεὺς), 282 φίλιος (*sc.* Ζεὺς).

In particular the epithets ξένιος and φίλιος are often combined: Plout. *v. Arat.* 54 δίκας γε μὴν ὁ Φίλιππος οὐ μεμπτὰς Διὶ Ξενίῳ καὶ Φιλίῳ τῆς ἀνοσιουργίας ταύτης τῶν διετέλεσε, Himer. *or.* 6. 3 φέρε οὖν κἀνταῦθα Φιλίῳ Διὶ κρατῆρα στήσωμεν καὶ τὸν Ξενίου βωμὸν λόγων ξενίαις ἀμείψωμεν, Ioul. *or.* 8 p. 327, 8 ff. Hertlein ἀγοὶ μὲν θεὸς εὐμένης, ὅποι ποτ' ἀν δέη πορεύεσθαι, Ξένιος δὲ ὑποδέχοιτο καὶ Φίλιος εἴνοι, Heliod. *Acth.* 6. 2 πρὸς Ξενίων καὶ Φιλίων θεῶν, schol. Eur. *Hec.* 791 χθονίους μὲν (*sc.* οὐ δεισας) διὰ τὸ ἀταφον εἶσαι φονεύσαντα, οὐρανίους δὲ διὰ τὸν Ξένιον καὶ Φίλιον Δία (here actually contrasted with the chthonian powers!), schol. Eur. *Andr.* 603 Φίλιον· ... ἢ λείπει τὸ Δία, ἢ ἢ Φίλιον Δία, ὡς Ξένιον Δία, schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 500 Ζεὺς Ἀγοραῖος· ὡς Ζεὺς Ξένιος ἢ Μελίχιος ἢ Φίλιος, οὐτω καὶ Ἀγοραῖος.

See also Aineias of Gaza *epist.* 8, Prokop. *epist.* 15, Eumath. 3. 9, 5. 18 (*supra* p. 1141 n. 13). And cp. Loukian. *Prom. s. Caucas.* 6 πάνυ φιλανθρώπου τοῦ Διὸς πεπειραμένος.

³ P. Kabbadias in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1883 p. 31 no. 12, *id.* *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 60 no. 161, M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1296 [Δ]ί Φιλίῳ | Πύροιοι | κατ' ὄναρ with the numeral νθ' and the symbol ☉ in circle, on which see *supra* p. 1076 f.

The garland of Zeus *Phílios* is mentioned in an inscription from Kyrene (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5173, 3 ff. = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 873, 1 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 280. 1 ff. ἀ(γ)ρεῖ δ' Ἀρτεμις ἀ(γ)[ροτέ]ρη, καλοῖς ἐπὶ [πέπλ]οις, | Μαρκιανὴν ἱερῶ δερκομένη (θ)[αλάμφο] | ο[δ] Δ]ιὸς ἀρητήρ [ἡρά]το, πατήρ ἱερῶν, | [ἀρ]τ[ε]πυκ[υδ] Φιλο(υ) [σ]τέμμ' ἀν[α]δησάμενος· | κ.τ.λ. The restoration is doubtful: see G. Kaibel and E. Cougny *ad loc.*).

hastily assumed that Zeus *Phílios* was only another name for Asklepios¹, though the two deities were certainly of similar origin and somewhat similar character.

But we have yet to notice three remarkable cults of Zeus *Phílios* at Megalopolis in Arkadia, at Pergamon in Mysia, and at Antiocheia on the Orontes, respectively.

(3) Zeus *Phílios* at Megalopolis.

Pausanias in describing the enclosure sacred to the Greek Goddesses at Megalopolis says:

‘Within the precinct is a temple of Zeus *Phílios*. The image is by Polykleitos the Argive and resembles Dionysos; for its feet are shod with buskins and it has a cup in one hand, a *thýrsos* in the other. On the *thýrsos* is perched an eagle, though this does not agree with what is told of Dionysos. Behind the said temple is a small grove of trees surrounded by a wall. People are not allowed to enter it, but before it are images of Demeter and Kore some three feet in height. Within the precinct of the Great Goddesses there is also a sanctuary of Aphrodite².’

So the temple of Zeus *Phílios* had a grove of awful sanctity behind it, over which Demeter and Kore mounted guard. I take this to mean that Zeus *Phílios*, himself a chthonian god, was reckoned as the consort of these chthonian goddesses, and was held to be jointly responsible with them for the yearly yield of corn and wine. Hence his approximation to the type of Dionysos. The singular Dionysiac Zeus is attributed by J. Overbeck³ to Polykleitos the younger on the ground that his more famous namesake was dead and buried years before the foundation of Megalopolis (371—368 B.C.). But H. Brunn⁴ suggested that the statue was a work of Polykleitos the elder, brought from some other Arcadian town to grace the new federal centre. Two arguments incline me towards Brunn’s view. In the first place, Pausanias is elsewhere careful to distinguish the younger sculptor from his more illustrious predecessor⁵, so that, rightly or wrongly, our author must have meant the elder Polykleitos. In the second place, Polykleitos the elder, bowing to the authority of local tradition, represented Hera with a highly peculiar sceptre⁶: he may well have done the same for this cult-statue of Zeus. It is not, however, necessary to suppose with Brunn that the statue was brought from another town: cult-statues are not easily transplanted. I should rather conceive of the situation as follows. Megalopolis had a quarter or, as Stephanos the geographer says, a ‘half’ called *Orestia* after Orestes⁷, who had spent a year of exile in the *Orésteion*⁸. Now in the only other *Orésteion* known

¹ Cp. *supra* p. 1076 ff.

² Paus. 8. 31. 4 f. (*supra* i. 112 n. 2) τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς Φιλίου Διὸς ναός, Πολυκλείτου μὲν τοῦ Ἀργείου τὸ ἀγάλμα, Διονύσῳ δὲ ἐμφερές· κόθορνοι τε γὰρ τὰ ὑποδήματα ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔχει τῇ χειρὶ ἔκπωμα, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρα θύρσον, κάθηται δὲ ἀετὸς ἐπὶ τῷ θύρσῳ· καίτοι γε τοῖς (R. Porson cj. τοῖς γε) ἐς Διόνυσον λεγομένοις τοῦτο οὐχ ὁμολογοῦν ἐστὶ. τούτου δὲ ὀπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ δένδρων ἐστὶν ἄλλος οὐ μέγα, θριγκῶ περιεχόμενον. ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐντὸς ἔσοδος οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις· πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ὅσον τε ποδῶν τριῶν εἰσιν (Siebelis cj. ἐστὶν) ἀγάλματα. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τῶν Μεγάλων Θεῶν καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν.

³ Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 51 f., 228 ff., 563, *Gr. Plastik*⁴ i. 533, 537.

⁴ H. Brunn in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1880 p. 468 f.

⁵ Paus. 6. 6. 2.

⁶ *Supra* i. 134 f., ii. 893 n. 2.

⁷ Steph. Byz. s.v. Μεγάλη πόλις.

⁸ Eur. *Or.* 1643 ff. with schol. See N. Wedd *ad loc.* and Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 413.

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are called in another inscription the Traianeia Deiphileia¹. From the double nomenclature and from the absence of earlier foundations beneath the temple M. Fränkel justly infers that the cult of Trajan was superposed on a previously existing cult of Zeus *Phlios* (Latinised as *Iupiter Amicalis*), who formerly had

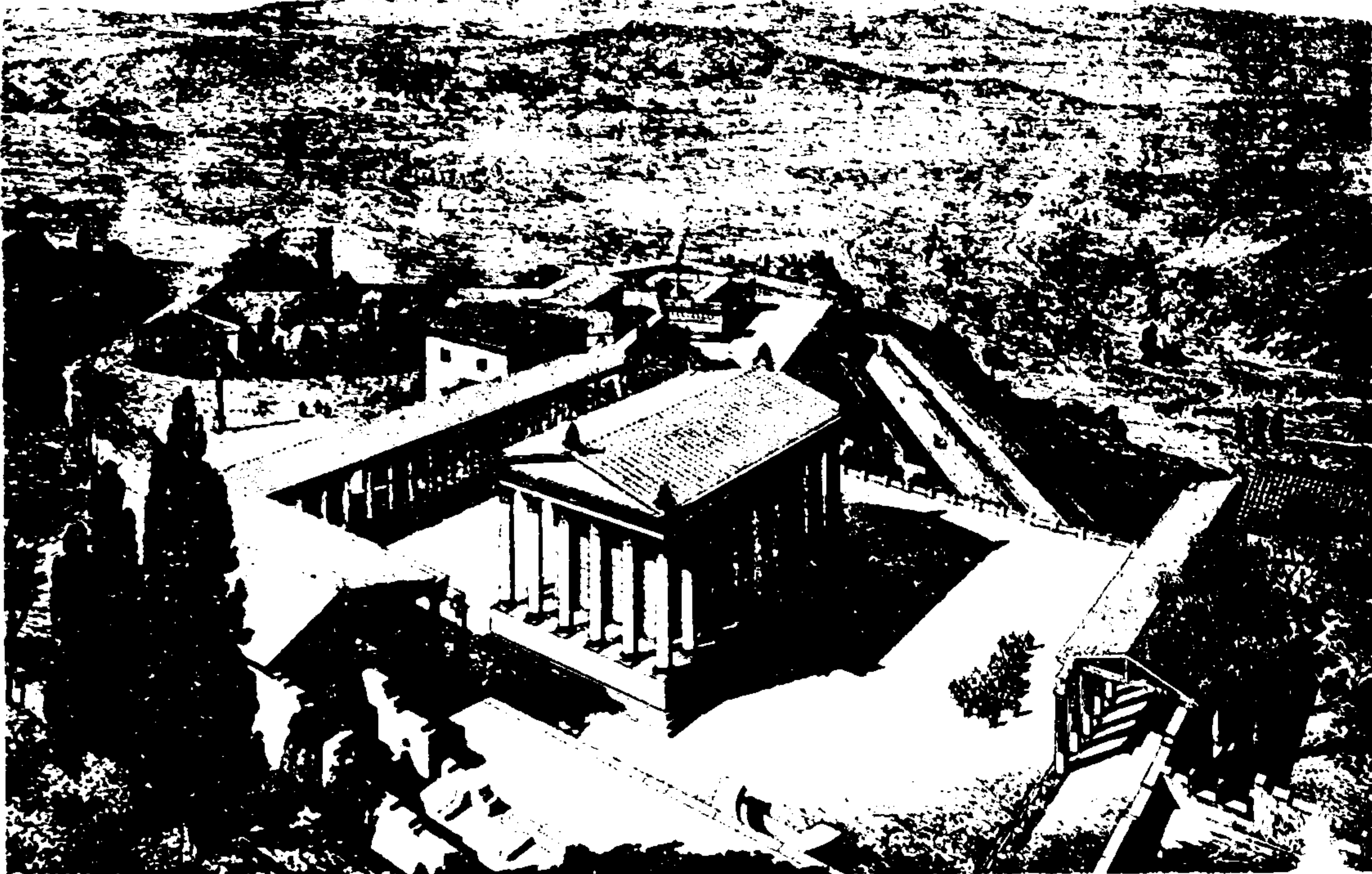


Fig. 979.

no temple but only an open-air altar²—presumably that detected by J. Schrammen on the highest point of the hill³. When it was decided to institute the cult of Trajan, who himself had some pretensions to the name of Zeus⁴, the best

is borne out by Dion Cass. 51. 20 και ελαβον και οι Περγαμηνοι τον αγωνα τον ιερὸν ὀνομασμένον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Αὐγούστου) τιμῇ ποιεῖν.

¹ E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iii. 2. 233 f. Oxford 1890 no. 605, 9 Τραιᾶνεια Δειφίλεια ἐν Περγάμῳ ἀνδρῶν πυγμα(ήν·), where Hicks wrongly supposes that the games ‘may have been endowed by one Δειφίλος (sic).’ Δειφίλεια, as M. Fränkel *loc. cit.* saw, are the games of Zeus Φίλιος.

² M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* (= *Pergamon* viii. 2) Berlin 1895 ii. 206.

³ *Supra* i. 120 f. fig. 89.

⁴ A fragmentary inscription from Hermione speaks of Trajan as Zeus *Embatérios* (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1213 = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 701 ———— | [K]αίσαρα θεὸν θεο[ῦ] Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν | Δακικὸν, Δία Ἐμβατήριον, | ἡ πόλις). L. Dindorf in *Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 810 A cp. Apollon Ἐμβάσιος (O. Jessen in *Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc.* v. 2485) and Ἐπιβατήριος (*id. ib.* vi. 28). We can contrast Apollon Ἐκβάσιος (*id. ib.* v. 2155), Artemis Ἐκβατηρία (*id. ib.* v. 2158). Such epithets denote a deity invoked by the voyager before he embarks or after he disembarks, as the case may be. The deity in question might chance to be of mortal stock: on the quay at Alexandria was τὸ λεγόμενον Σεβάστιον, Ἐπιβατηρίου Καίσαρος νεώς (Philon *leg. ad Gai.* 22: see further O. Puchstein in *Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc.* i. 1385, O. Jessen *ib.* vi. 28). Hesych. Ἐπιβήμιος· Ζεὺς ἐν Σίφνῳ has been wrongly added to this group of travel-titles (O. Jessen *ib.* vi. 28), or altered to Ἐπιδήμιος (R. Förster in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 372 f., citing a marble block at *Karadjadagh-Köi* on the *Ulutshar* in Bithynia, which is inscribed Διὶ Ἐπιδημίῳ | Κλαύδιος Σεῆρος Ὀφελίων οἰκονόμος καὶ Ἡλίας | ὑπὲρ τέκνων | καὶ τῶν βοῶν | εὐχῆς χάριν | ἀνεστήσαμεν): Zeus ‘on the Step’ is better explained as a god standing beside the

course seemed to be to maintain the old altar of ashes on the hill-top and to erect a new temple, which should be shared on equal terms by Zeus *Phlios* and the divinised emperor. Copper coins of Pergamon, struck by Trajan, illustrate the inscription from the *Traianeum* in two ways. On the one hand, they put



Fig. 980.

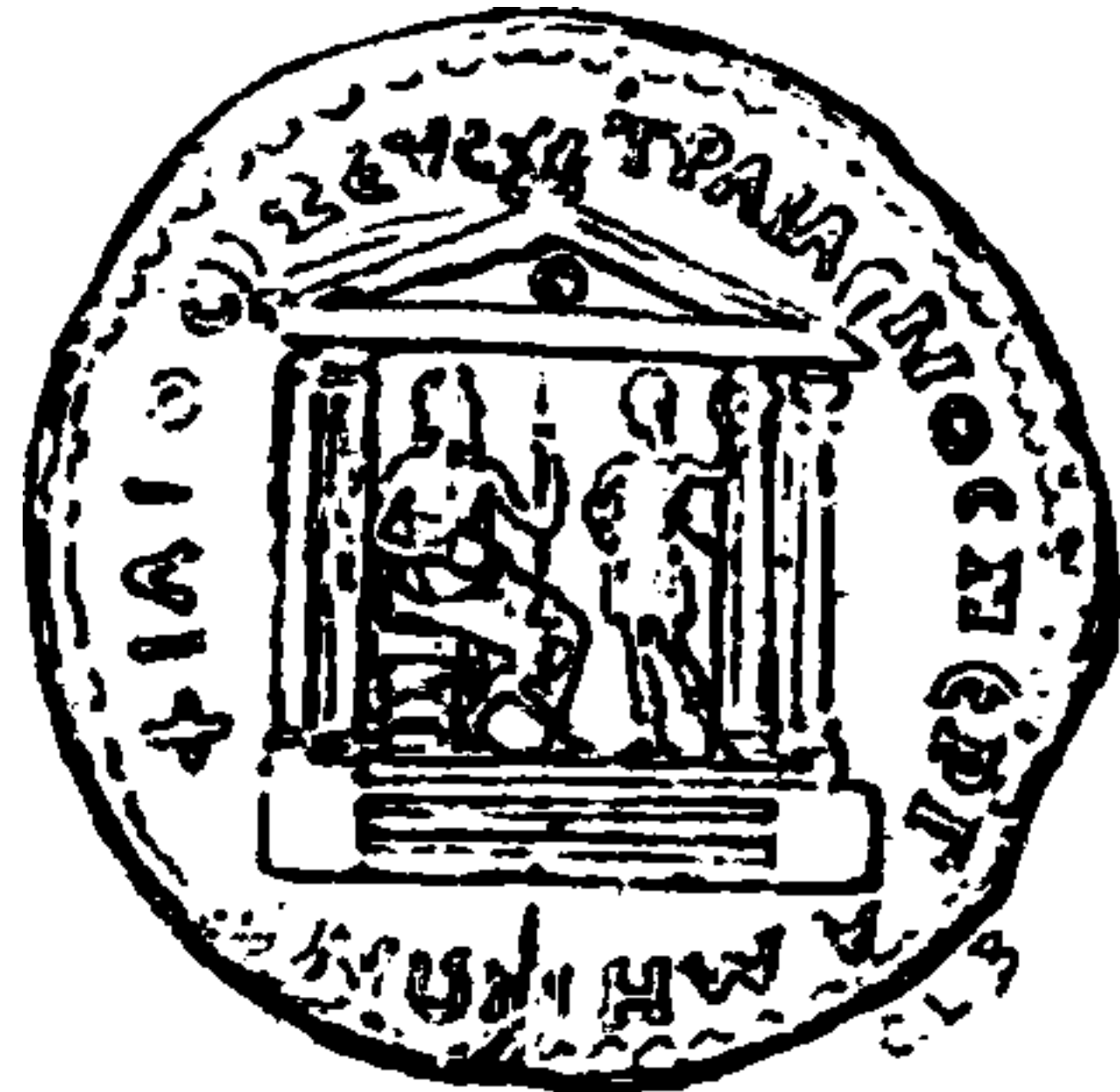


Fig. 981.



Fig. 982.

Trajan himself more or less on a par with Zeus *Phlios*. Thus the emperor's head occupies the obverse, the god's head the reverse, of a coin (fig. 980)¹. Or, the emperor's head on the obverse is balanced by a seated figure of the god on the reverse (fig. 982)². Or, the emperor in military costume stands beside the

orator on his platform and inspiring his utterance (cp. Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 207, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 162). *Supra* p. 897 n. 3.

The southern or townward face of Trajan's Arch at Beneventum, which like the Pergamene temple dates from the year 113—114, represents in the two panels of its attic (a) the Capitoline triad awaiting the arrival of Trajan: Iuno is escorted by Mercurius and Ceres, Minerva by Liber and Hercules; (b) Trajan approaching the *area Capitolina*: accompanied by Hadrian as emperor designate and followed by two lictors, he has reached the temple of Iupiter *Custos*, on the left of which, before the entrance-arch, are seen Roma, the Penates Publici Populi Romani, and the consuls. These two panels, separated only by the dedicatory inscription (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix no. 1558 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 296 imp. Caesari divi Nervae filio | Nervae Traiano Optimo Aug. | Germanico Dacico, pontif. max., trib. | potest. xviii, imp. vii, cos. vi, p. p., | fortissimo principi, senatus p. q. R.), form a single composition—Iupiter handing his own thunderbolt to Trajan, who is thereby recognised as his vice-gerent (figs. 983, 984 are from photographs by R. Moscioni (nos. 15308, 15309)). See further E. Petersen 'L'arco di Traiano a Benevento' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1892 vii. 239—264 with cut, especially p. 251 f., A. L. Frothingham in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1897 p. 379 f., A. von Domaszewski 'Die politische Bedeutung des Traiansbogens in Benevent' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii. 173—192 with figs., especially p. 175 ff., F. Wickhoff *Roman Art* trans. Mrs. S. A. Strong London 1900 pp. 105—110 with figs., *ead.* *Roman Sculpture* London 1907 pp. 214—227 with pls. 63—66, especially p. 215 f., *ead.* *Apotheosis and the After Life* London 1915 pp. 85—87 pl. 10, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 58—66, especially p. 64 no. 1 f. For the title *Optimus* see *supra* p. 100 n. 6.

The significance of the imperial figure on the summit of Trajan's Column at Rome has been already considered (*supra* p. 100 ff.).

¹ Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 228 Münztaf. 3, 23, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 141 pl. 28, 12, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 2, H. von Fritze in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1910 Phil.-hist. Classe Anhang i. 55 pl. 4, 5. I figure a specimen from my collection: obv. ΑΥΤΤΡΑΙΑ ΝΟΚΚΒΛ, rev. ΣΕΥΚ ΦΙΛΙΟΣ (= obv. Αὐτοκράτωρ Τραϊανὸς Σεβαστός, rev. Ζεὺς Φίλιος).

² Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 872, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 141 no. 259, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 1 = my fig. 982, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 55 pl. 4, 4: obv. ΑΥΤΤΡΑΙ ΑΝΟΚΚΕΒΑΚΤ, rev. ΦΙΛΙΟΣΣΕΥΚ ΠΕΡΓΑ (= obv. Αὐτοκράτωρ

seated god within the same temple (fig. 981)¹. On the other hand, the coins equate the cult of Zeus *Phlios* and Trajan with the cult of Roma and Augustus. The obverse shows Zeus *Phlios* and Trajan in their temple, the reverse Roma



Fig. 983.

and Augustus in theirs². Or, the obverse has Trajan, the reverse Augustus, as sole occupants of their respective fanes³.

Τραιανός Σεβαστός, rev. Φίλιος Ζεύς Περγαμηνῶν). A copper of Lucius Verus gives the reverse type on a larger scale (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 148 no. 293, H. Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 55 pl. 4, 6) with the legend: ΕΠΙΣΤΡΑΤΩΛ...ΚΡΑ ΤΙΠΠΟΥΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝΒ ΝΕΟΚΟΡ (=ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦ Ἀτυλλίου Κρατίππου, Περγαμηνῶν β' νεωκόρων).

¹ Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 872, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 142 no. 262, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 3 = my fig. 981: rev. ΦΙΛΙΟΣ ΖΕΥΣ ΤΡΑΙΑ ΝΟΣΠΕΡΓ ΑΜΗΝΩΝ. Cp. a copper of Traianus Decius (H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 55 pl. 8, 18).

² Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 872 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 142 pl. 28, 10, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 5, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* pp. 55, 83 ff. pl. 8, 12: obv. ΦΙΛΙΟΣ ΣΕΥΣ ΑΥΤ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟ ΣΕΒΠΕ[Ρ] or ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗ, rev. ΘΕΛ ΡΩΜΗ [Κ]Λ[ΙΘ]Ε[Ω] ΣΕΒΑΣ ΤΩ.

³ Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 873, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 142 pl. 28, 11, *Hunter*

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the Pergamenes invented an eponymous hero Pergamos¹, they portrayed him (fig. 985)² with the features of Zeus *Phílios*.

Whether Zeus *Phílios* at Pergamon was in any sense Dionysiac, we can hardly determine. A *phiále* in his hand (figs. 981, 982) is no proof. Nor can we lay stress on the curious association of Telephos with the vine³. The most we



Fig. 985.

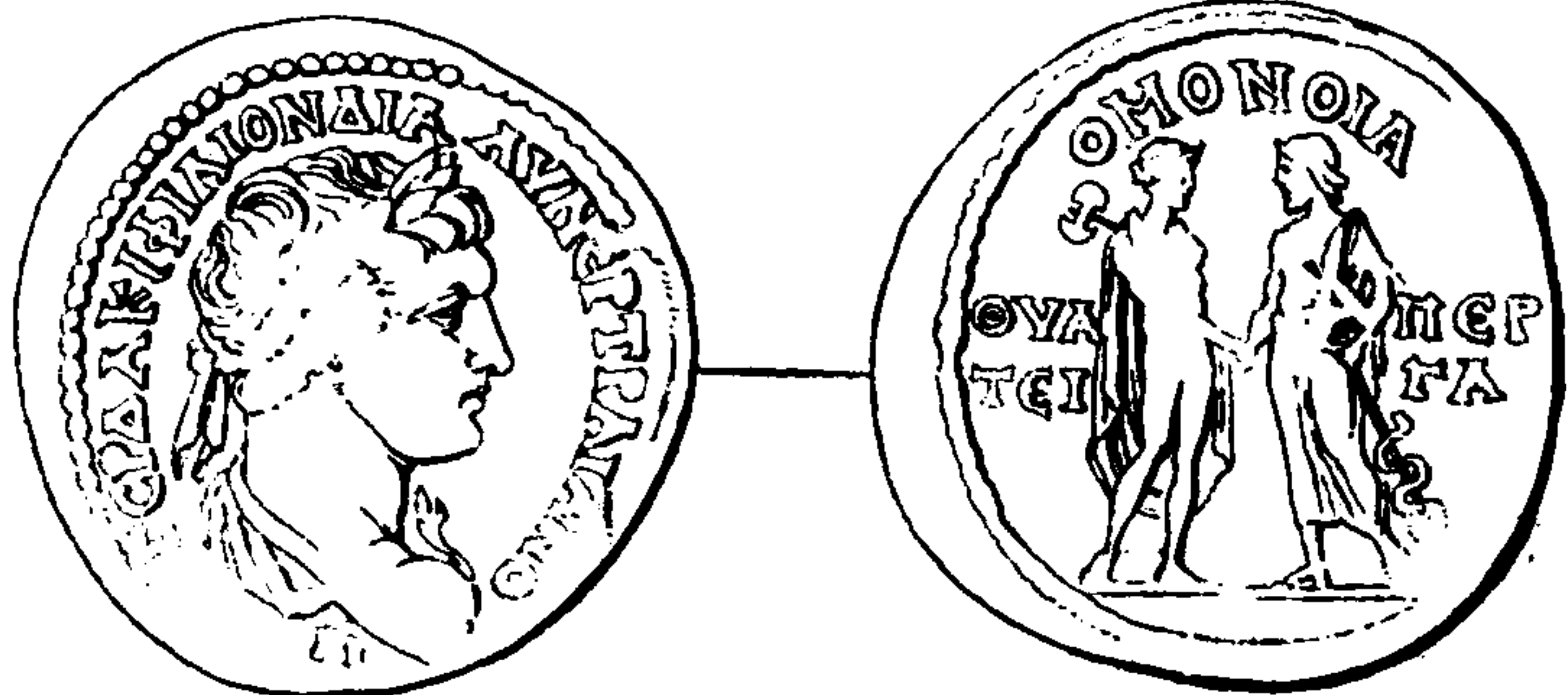


Fig. 986.

can say is that a buskined Zeus of the Arcadian type⁴ would not be out of place in a town which recognised Zeus *Sabázios*⁵ and Zeus *Bákchos*⁶.

Popular enthusiasm, or policy, having thus raised the emperor to the level of Zeus *Phílios*, went a step further and identified the two. An alliance-coin of Thyateira and Pergamon (fig. 986)⁷ surrounds the laureate bust of Trajan with

¹ H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 69 n. 1 points out that Pergamos is first mentioned as founder of the state in two mutually complementary inscriptions of c. 50 B.C. published together by H. Hepding in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1909 xxxiv. 329 ff.: ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν | Μιθραδάτην Μηνοδότου τὸν διὰ γένους ἀρχιερέ[α] | καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ Καθηγεμόνος Διονύσου διὰ γένο[us,] | ἀπο[κα]ταστήσαντα τοῖς πατρώοις θεοῖς τ[ὴν τε πόλιν] | καὶ [τὴν] χώραν καὶ γενόμενον τῆς πατρίδος μ[ετὰ Πέργαμον] | καὶ Φιλέταιρον νέον κτίστην and ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν | [Μιθραδάτην] Μηνοδότου τὸν διὰ γέν[ους ἀρχιερέα | καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ Κα]θηγεμόνος Διονύσου, ἀποκα[ταστήσαντα] τοῖς πατ[ρώοις] θεοῖς τ[ὴν τε πόλιν] καὶ τὴν χώρα[ν καὶ γενόμενον | τῆς πατ]ρίδος μ[ε]τ[ὰ Π]έργαμον καὶ Φιλέταιρον νέον κτ[ίστην]. On the hero Pergamos and his cult see further O. Höfer in Koscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1958 f.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 136 pl. 28, 1, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 67 pl. 3, 14 and 19=my fig. 985, *Head Hist. num.*³ p. 536: quasi-autonomous coppers inscribed ΠΕΡΓΑΜΟΣ and ΠΕΡΓΑΜΟΣ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ.

³ When the Greeks sailed against Troy, they lost their way and attacked Mysia by mistake. Telephos, king of the Mysians, went out against the invaders and slew many of them, but fled before Achilles and, tripping over a vine, was wounded in the thigh by that hero's spear (Apollod. *epit.* 3. 17). This occurred because Dionysos was angry with Telephos for depriving him of his due honours (schol. *Il.* 1. 59 f., cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 46, 35 ff. (Telephos' horse stumbles over a vine by the design of Dionysos), Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 211 (Dionysos repays Achilles' sacrifices by causing to spring up a vine-shoot, which entangles Telephos), Dictys Cretensis 2. 3 (Telephus, pursued by Ulysses among the vineyards, trips over a vine-stem and is speared by Achilles in the left thigh)). The story is given without detail by Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 109 f. δ καὶ Μύσιον ἀμπελῶν | αἷμαξε Τηλέφου μέλανι ράινων φόνω πεδίον. On the golden vine presented to Telephos' wife Astyoche by Priamos see *supra* p. 281 n. 4.

⁴ *Supra* p. 1178.

⁵ *Supra* p. 287 n. 2.

⁶ *Supra* pp. 287 n. 2, 954 n. 0.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 320 pl. 41, 5 (my fig. 986 is from a cast of the coin), H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 100: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΝΕΡΟΥΑΝ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ ΔΑΚΙΚΟΝ ΦΙΛΙΟΝ ΔΙΑ (=αὐτοκράτορα Νέρουαν Τραϊανὸν Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Δακικὸν Φίλιον Δια).

the cunningly-worded legend: 'The emperor Nerva Traianus [Augustus] Germanicus Dacicus Zeus *Phllios*.' The mind of the reader passes upward from names of human import through titles recording hard blows struck and magnificent triumphs won to the final claim of supreme beneficent godhead. Moreover, the whole is thrown into the accusative case with a subtle suggestion of some verb denoting honour, if not worship¹. Adulation of the man has reached its limit. And, after all, a god who starts as a buried king ends not unfittingly as a divinised emperor.

Pergamon, in common with other cities of Asia Minor, frankly regarded the reigning sovereign as lord of heaven and earth, and did not hesitate to portray him in this capacity as a cosmic Zeus. A wonderful copper piece from the Pergamene mint (fig. 987)² exhibits Commodus in the form of a youthful Zeus with short hair and slight beard, naked and erect, a thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. He has an eagle with spread wings at his feet, and is flanked by two recumbent figures—Gaia on the right with a turreted crown and a *cornu copiae*, Thalassa on the left with a head-dress of crab's-claws and a steering paddle. In the field are busts of Helios and Selene. A unique coin, struck at Pergamon and now in the cabinet of T. Prowe at Moscow (fig. 988)³, repeats the theme with variations.



Fig. 987.

Thalassa and Gaia stand side by side, the former with bare breast, crab's-claws on her head, and a steering paddle in her uplifted hand, the latter with covered



Fig. 988.



Fig. 989.

¹ G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 186, G. MacDonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 pp. 161, 170, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 78 ff.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 151 pl. 30, 4 = my fig. 987: rev. [ΕΠΙ]ΣΤΡΜΑΙΓ Λ ΥΚΩΝΙΑΝ[ΟΥ] ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩ ΝΝΕΟΚΟΡΩ Ν·Β (= ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦ Μ. Αἰλίου Γλυκωνιανοῦ, Περγαμηνῶν νεωκέρων β'). H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 56 f. pl. 4, 7 publishes another specimen from the Gotha collection.

³ H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 56 f. pl. 4, 11: rev. ΕΠΙΣΤΡ ΜΗΝΟ Γ ΕΝΟΥC·Β· ΝΕΩ[ΚΟ] ΡΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝ ΩΝ (= ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦ Μηνογένους, β' νεωκέρων Περγαμηνῶν).

breast, wheat-ears on her head, and a *cornu copiae* on her arm. Both join hands to support a nude, youthful Zeus with the features of Geta, who holds a sceptre in his left hand and brandishes a thunderbolt in his right. Below him is his eagle with spread wings, grasping a wreath in his talons. Further variations are found on another unique copper, struck by Caracalla at Laodikeia in Phrygia and now in our national collection (fig. 989)¹. Gaia and Thalassa have changed places: behind the one corn-ears spring from the ground; behind the other a dolphin plunges into the sea. On their joined hands, instead of Zeus, stands Caracalla with a radiate crown on his head holding *phiale* and sceptre, while beneath him hovers his eagle bearing a wreath.

(5) Zeus *Philius* at Antiocheia.

Lastly, we turn to Antiocheia on the Orontes, where the worship of Zeus *Philius* was established by Theoteknos, governor of the city under Maximinus ii and an apostate from the Christian faith². Eusebios in his *Ecclesiastical History*³ pens an ugly portrait of this persecutor⁴:

‘The root of all the mischief grew in Antiocheia itself⁵—Theoteknos, a horror, a humbug, and a villain, whose character belied his name; he was supposed to keep the town in order. He set all his forces against us. He threw himself with zest into the task of hunting our people out of their holes and corners in every possible way, as though they had been a gang of thieves and malefactors. He went all lengths in slandering and accusing us. And, after causing tens of thousands to be put to death, he finally set up an idol of Zeus *Philius* with a deal of quackery and imposture. He invented foul rites for it, initiations of an irreligious sort, and abominable modes of purification. He even exhibited before the emperor the portentous signs by means of which it was supposed to produce oracles⁶.’

Theoteknos may well have augured a great success for his new cult, partly on general and partly on special grounds.

On the one hand, the Antiochenes had always been devoted to the worship of Zeus. Long before their city was built, Triptolemos—so they said—had founded Ione on the slope of Mount Silpion and had constructed there a sanctuary of Zeus *Némeios*, later renamed Zeus *Epikárpios*⁷. Subsequently Perseus

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 316 pl. 37, 12 (= my fig. 989), H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 57: rev. ·ΕΠΙ·Π·ΑΙΛ ΠΙΓΡΗ ΤΟC ΑCΙΑΡΓ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝΝ ΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ· (= ἐπὶ Π. Αἰλίου Πίγρητος Ἀσιάρχου γ', Λαοδικέων νεωκόρων).

² G. T. Stokes in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 1011.

³ Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 2 f.

⁴ In 304 A.D. he did to death S. Theodotos and the Seven Virgins of Ankyra (*Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Maii iv. 147—165, T. Ruinart *Acta primorum martyrum sincera & selecta*² Amstelaedami 1713 pp. 336—352, A. Gallandius *Bibliotheca veterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Venetiis* 1768 iv. 114—130).

⁵ We have here a buried hexameter: ὦν πάντων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἀντιοχείας.

⁶ Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 3 τελευτῶν εἰδωλὸν τι Διὸς Φιλίου μαγγανέλαις τισὶ καὶ γοητείαις ἰδρύνεται, τελετὰς τε ἀνάγνους αὐτῷ καὶ μύησεις ἀκαλλιερήτους ἐξαγίστους τε καθαρμοὺς ἐπινοήσας, μέχρι καὶ βασιλέως τὴν τερατείαν δι' ὧν ἐδόκει χρησμῶν (*leg.* χρησμοὺς) ἐκτελεῖν ἐπεδείκνυτο. Cp. the loose translation of Rufin. *hist. eccl.* 9. 3 apud Antiochiam simulacrum quoddam Iovis Amicalis nuper consecratum artibus quibusdam magicis et impuris consecrationibus ita compositum erat, ut falleret oculos intuentium et portenta quaedam ostentare videretur ac responsa proferre. C. F. Crusé renders τελετὰς τε ἀνάγνους κ.τ.λ. ‘after reciting forms of initiation’ etc., clearly taking ἀνάγνους to be ἀναγνοὺς—an ingenious error.

⁷ Liban. *or.* 11. 51 (i. 2. 453, 1 ff. Foerster), *supra* i. 236 n. 10. Cp. *Chron. Paschale*

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Further on he adds¹:

‘The whole thing was ordained of God. Forty furlongs from this city of ours there was a city bearing the name of Antigonos and built by Antigonos. Here Seleukos was sacrificing after his victory². The hull had been slaughtered, the altars had received their customary portion, the fire was already licking up the sacrifice and burning fiercely, when, lo, Zeus moved from his sceptre³ his own companion and favourite bird and despatched him to the altar. He flew down into the midst of the flame, caught up the thigh-pieces all ablaze, and bore them off⁴. As the event attracted the looks and thoughts of all and was manifestly due to divine interposition, Seleukos bade his son⁵ mount a horse, pursue the flight from the ground, and guide his horse by the bridle according to the route taken by the bird; for he wished to know what it would do with its booty. Seleukos’ son riding his horse, with upturned eyes, was led by the flight to Emathia. There the eagle stooped and deposited his burden on the altar of Zeus *Bottiaios*, erected by Alexander when he was cheered by the sight of the spring⁶. So all men, even without special powers of interpretation, could see that Zeus meant them to build a city on the spot. And thus it came about that the settlement intended and commenced by Alexander was carried to completion, while the chief of the gods⁷ by means of his own omen became our founder.’

Similar tales were current with regard to Alexander’s foundation of Alexandria⁸ and Seleukos’ foundation of Seleukeia Pieria⁹. Ioannes Malalas, of whose sixth-century chronicle a Greek abridgment (not to mention the fuller Slavonic version¹⁰) is extant, gives the Antiochene story¹¹, adding a touch or two of his own to heighten the interest. Thus, instead of connecting Zeus *Bottiaios* with the hill Emathia, he harrows our feelings by the assertion that at Bottia, a village over against Iopolis, Seleukos, when founding Antiocheia, sacrificed a maiden named Aimathe (*sic*) by the hand of the chief priest and initiator Amphion, between the city and the river, on Artemisios, *i.e.* May, 22, at daybreak, as the sun rose—a most circumstantial narrative. He goes on to say that Seleukos founded also the sanctuary of Zeus *Bottios*¹². Again, Antiochos iv Epiphanes built for the Antiochenes, presumably on Mount Silpion, a magnificent temple of Iupiter *Capitolinus*, of which we are told, not only that its roof had gilded coffers, but that its walls were overlaid with beaten gold¹³. Tiberius either completed or restored the structure¹⁴. Antiochos Epiphanes also erected in the temple, which he had built, or more probably beautified, for Apollon at Daphne, a copy of the Olympian Zeus, said to have been as large as the original¹⁵. This statue was perhaps in-

¹ Liban. *or.* 11. 85—88 (i. 2. 464, 10 ff. Foerster).

² Seleukos i Nikator, after vanquishing Antigonos in Phrygia (301 B.C.).

³ *Supra* p. 1132 ff.

⁴ *Infra* fig. 1001.

⁵ Antiochos i Soter.

⁶ See Io. Malal. *chron.* 10 p. 234 Dindorf.

⁷ (ὁ Ζεὺς) ὁ τῶν θεῶν κορυφαῖος.

⁸ Iul. Valer. 1. 30 p. 39, 9 ff. Kuebler, pseudo-Kallisth. 1. 32 (context *supra* p. 1127 n. o).

⁹ *Supra* p. 981 n. 1.

¹⁰ Prof. J. B. Bury informs me that such a version exists, but is not yet published in accessible shape. On Malalas see further K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches*² München 1897 p. 325 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*² Cambridge 1906 i. 390 f.

¹¹ Io. Malal. *chron.* 8 p. 199 ff. Dindorf.

¹² *Id. ib.* 8 p. 200 Dindorf.

¹³ Liv. 41. 20. Cp. Gran. Licin. 28 p. 6, 5 f. Flemisch duos colossos duodenum cubitorum ex aere unum Olympio, alterum Capitolino Iovi dedicaverat.

¹⁴ Io. Malal. *chron.* 10 p. 234 Dindorf ὁ δὲ Τιβερίος Καῖσαρ ἐκτίσεν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ πύλαι ἰερὸν μέγα Διὸς Καπετωλοῦ. The word ἐκτίσεν must not be pressed.

¹⁵ Amm. Marc. 22. 13. 1 eodem tempore die xi Kalend. Novembrium amplissimum

tended to represent Antiochos himself¹; for it seems to have been part of that ruler's policy always to foster the cult, and on occasion to assume the rôle, of Zeus². Thus he struck handsome silver pieces showing on the obverse side an

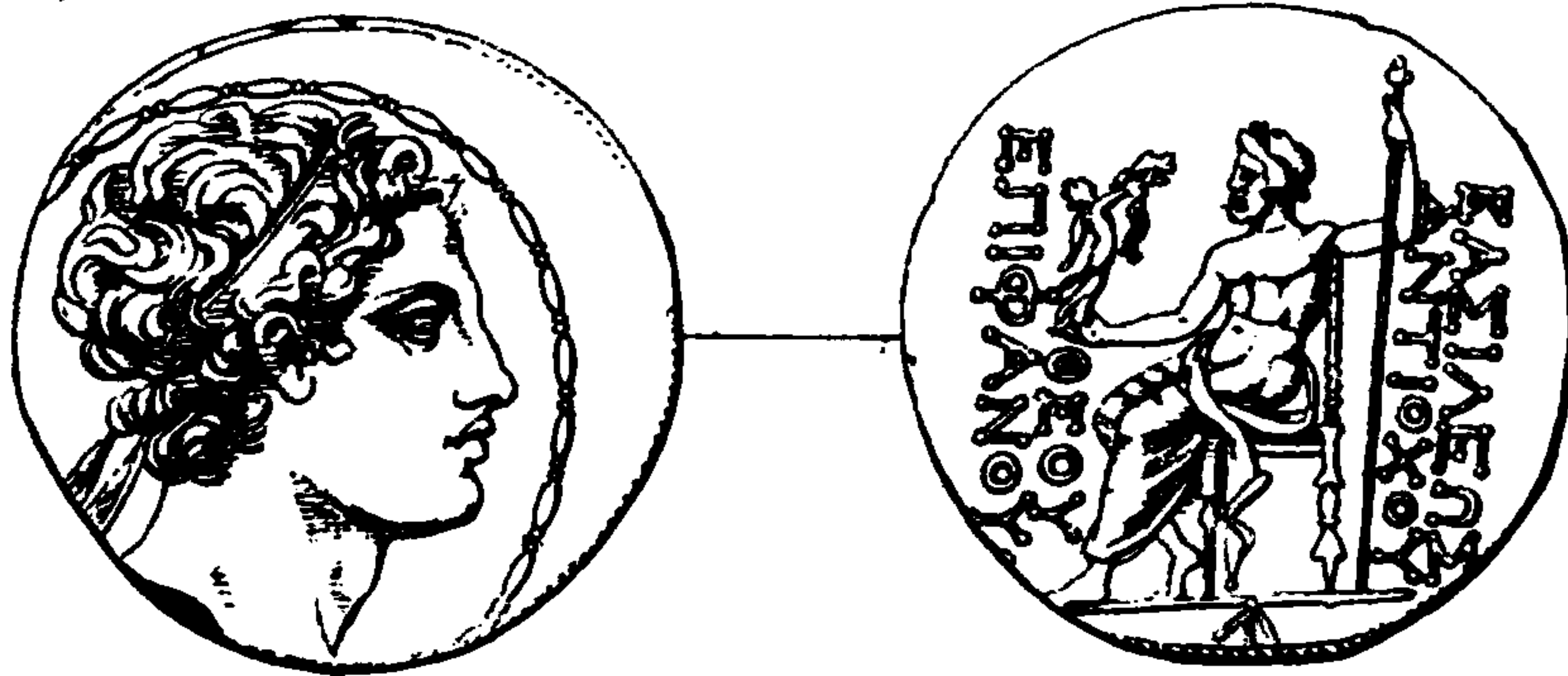


Fig. 991.

idealised portrait-head of himself, sometimes with twin stars at the ends of his diadem³, and on the reverse Zeus enthroned with a Nike in his hand. The Nike extends a wreath towards the god. And the accompanying legend reads 'Of King Antiochos, the God Made Manifest' (fig. 991)⁴, or 'Of King Antiochos, the God Made Manifest, Bearer of Victory' (fig. 992)⁵. Another imposing type has on the obverse the head of the monarch, wreathed with wild-olive and bearded as if he were indeed Zeus *Olympios*, on the reverse Zeus enthroned with Nike in the act of crowning him (fig. 993)⁶ or his pompous inscription (fig. 994)⁷. It is very possible that this coin commemorates the erection of the Olympian Zeus at Daphne. Be that as it may, the statue was probably made of gold and ivory, like its original at Olympia.



Fig. 992.

Daphnaei Apollinis fanum, quod Epiphanes Antiochus rex ille condidit iracundus et saevus, et simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Iovis imitamenti aequiparans magnitudinem, subita vi flammaram exustum est. But Liban. *or.* 11. 94 ff. (i. 2. 467, 1 ff. Foerster) and Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 5. 19 agree that the sanctuary of Apollon *Δαφναῖος* was the work of Seleukos i Nikator. Presumably Antiochos Epiphanes added to its attractions. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 58 by an odd blunder takes Ammianus to mean that Antiochos dedicated at Daphne a statue of Apollon in the guise of Olympian Zeus!

¹ We may fairly suspect that the same intention prompted Antiochos' sacrilegious treatment of the temples at Jerusalem and on Mt Gerizim (*supra* i. 233, ii. 887 n. o no. (31)).

² See E. R. Bevan 'A note on Antiochos Epiphanes' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1900 xx. 26—30, *id.* *The House of Seleucus* London 1902 ii. 154 ff., G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 144.

³ Tetradrachms with rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ or ΑΝ ΤΙΟΧΟΥ Apollon seated on the *omphalos* have obv. head of Antiochos with diadem surmounted by a star (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 34 pl. 11, 1) or with diadem ending in two eight-rayed stars (*Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 41 pl. 66, 9). They bear witness to the early deification of the king.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 35 pl. 11, 8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 44 pl. 66, 13, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 762. I figure a specimen from my collection.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 35 pl. 11, 7 = my fig. 992, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 47 f. pl. 66, 17 (cp. 18), *Head Hist. num.*² p. 762, *Bunbury Sale Catalogue* 1896 ii. 65 no. 494.

⁶ E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 pp. xciv f., 71 pl. 12, 11 (= my fig. 993).

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 36 pl. 11, 9 = my fig. 994, *Hunter*

Alexander ii Zabinas, when beaten by Antiochos viii Grypos in 123—122 B.C., retired to Antiocheia and, in order to pay his troops, bade men enter the temple of Zeus and remove from the god's hand the Nike of solid gold, remarking that

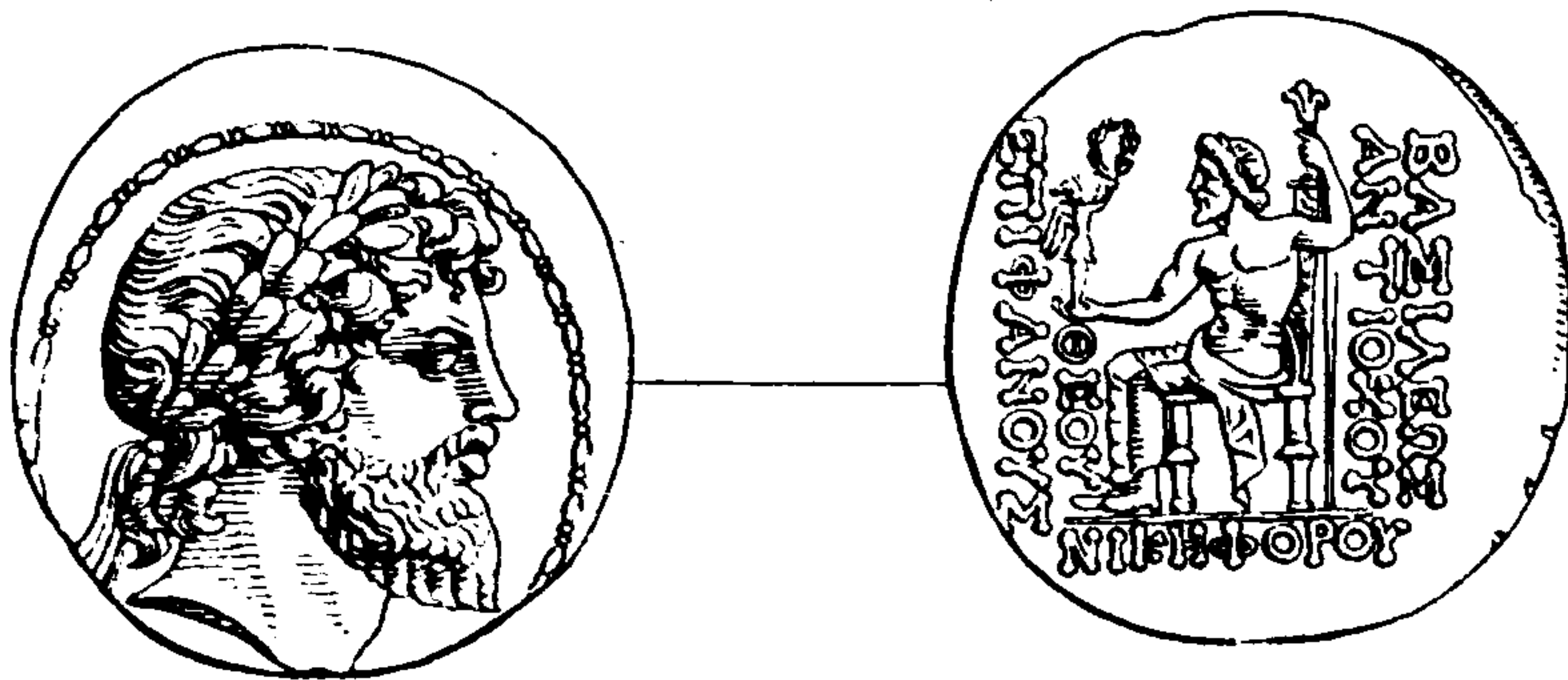


Fig. 993.

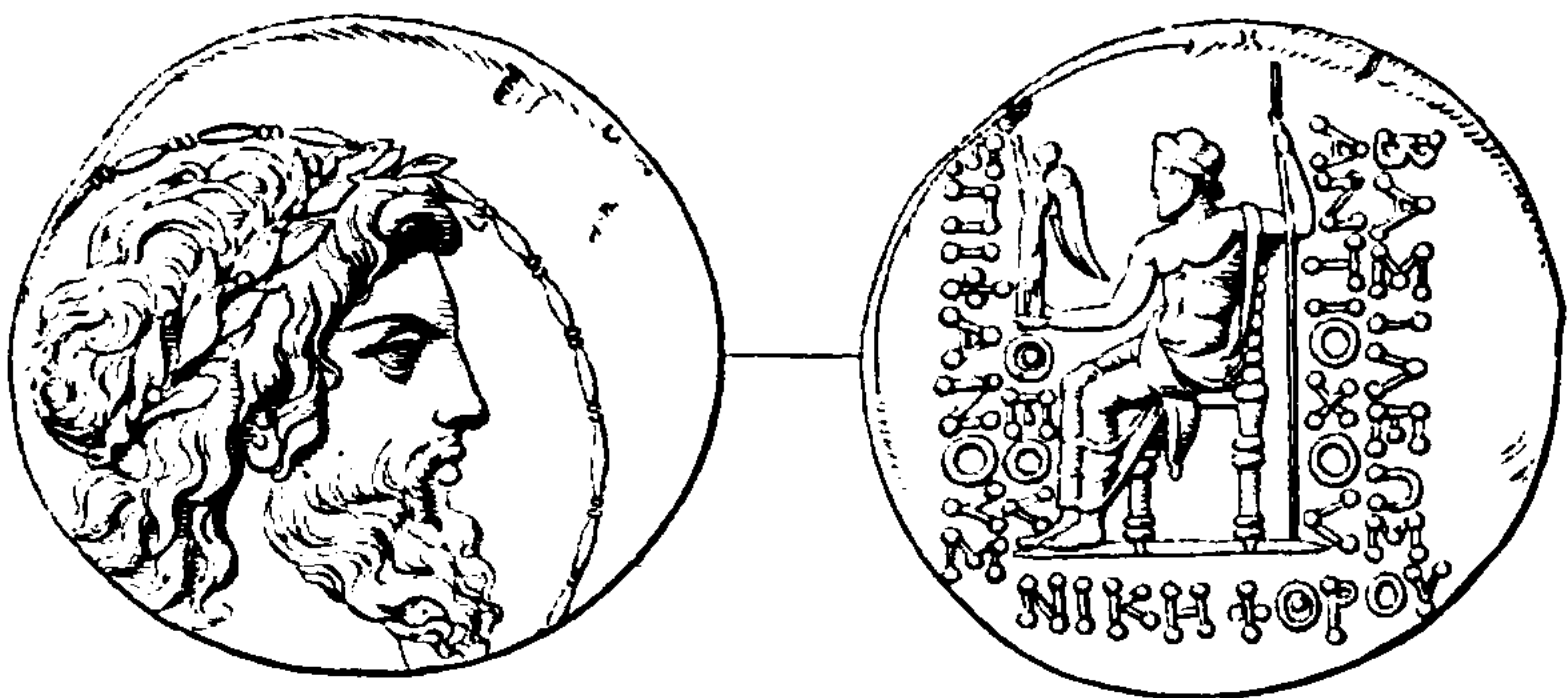


Fig. 994.

Zeus had lent him victory!¹ A unique *stater* of gold, formerly in the Montagu collection (fig. 995)², was doubtless struck by Zabinas from this stolen Nike³. A few days later he attempted to carry off the whole statue of Zeus with its vast weight of gold, but was caught in the act and forced by popular outcry to flee from the city⁴.

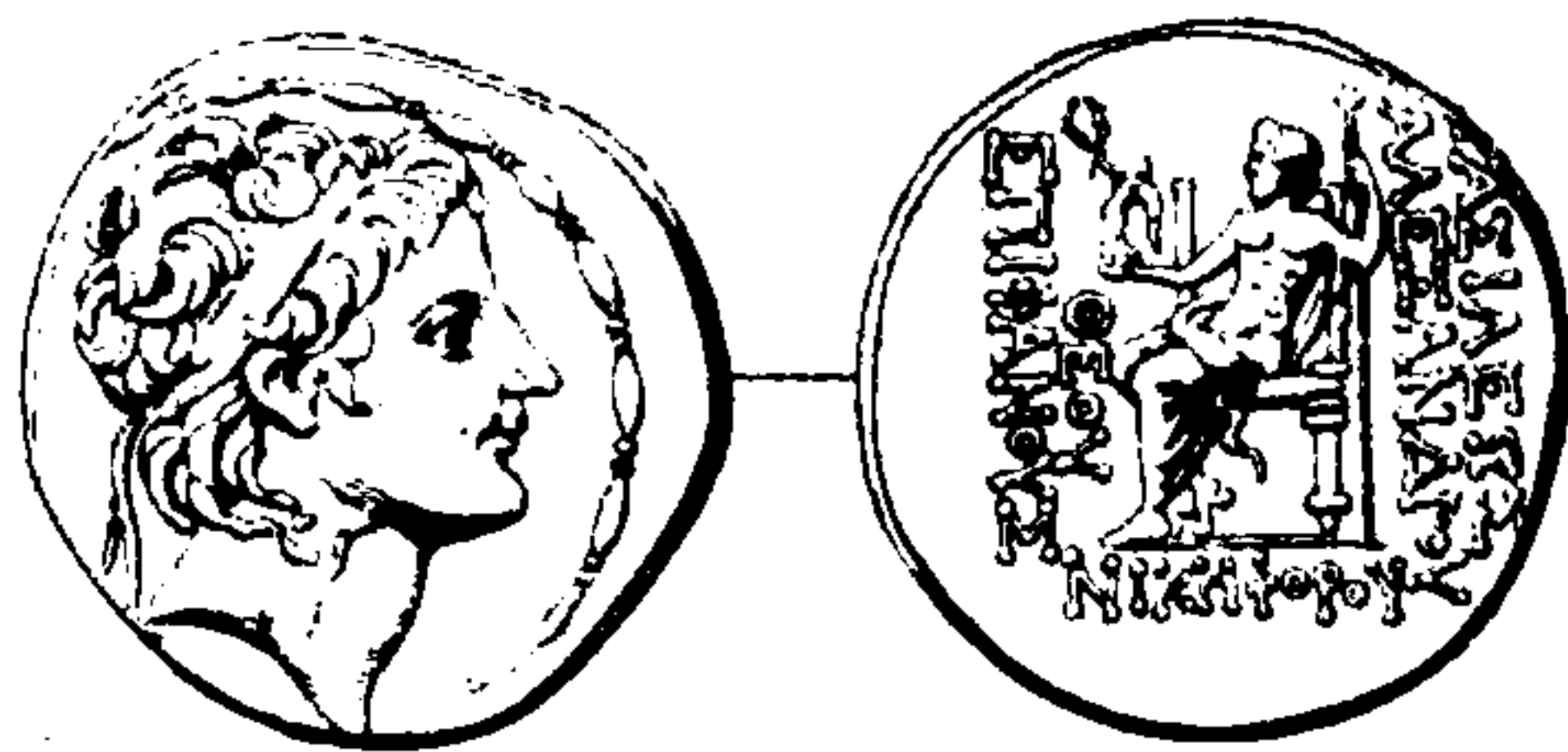


Fig. 995.

The statue, however, did not escape for long the cupidity of the Syrian kings' Antiochos ix Kyzikenos, son of Antiochos vii Sidetes, being in need of money, gave orders that the golden Zeus, fifteen cubits high, should be melted down and replaced by a copy in inferior material with gilded sheathing⁵. It was presumably in connexion with the cult of Zeus *Olympios* that Antiochos Epiphanes held games

Cat. Coins iii. 48 no. 50, E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. xciv f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 762 f. The head is usually described as laureate.

¹ *Iust.* 39. 2. 5.

² *Montagu Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 92 no. 716 pl. 9 = my fig. 995.

³ E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. cxlix f.

⁴ *Inst.* 39. 2. 6, *Diod. excerpta de virt. et vit.* 35 p. 145, 42 ff. Dindorf.

⁵ *Clem. Al. protr.* 4. 52. 3 p. 40, 22 ff. Stählin *Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἀπορούμενος χρημάτων τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἀγαλμα τὸ χρυσοῦν, πεντεκαίδεκα πηχῶν τὸ μέγεθος ὄν, προσέταξε χωνεῦσαι καὶ (J. Markland cj. κάκ) τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἀτιμότερας ὕλης ἀγαλμα παραπλήσιον ἐκείνῳ πετάλοις κεχρυσωμένον ἀναθεῖναι πάλιν. Cp. *Arnob. adv. nat.* 6. 21 *Antiochum Cyzicenum ferunt decem (F. Orsini cj. quindecim) cubitorum Iovem ex delubro aureum sustulisse et ex aere bracteolis substituisse fucatum.**

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Kásios on Mount Kasion, where Julian offered a belated hecatomb¹. The devotion of the Antiochenes to Zeus—a devotion grafted perhaps upon the *Ba'al*-worship of their predecessors—might further be inferred from their coin-types. Antiochos iv Epiphanes (175—164 B.C.) inaugurated a system of municipal coinage and struck coppers at 'Antiocheia near Daphne,' which had as reverse design Zeus wrapped in a *himátion* with a wreath in his outstretched hand (fig. 996)²—sign and symbol of the Olympic sports that he held at Daphne³. Alexandros i Bala (150—145 B.C.), who claimed to be the son of Antiochos iv, repeated his father's type of a wreath-bearing Zeus⁴. Other Seleucid kings in all probability issued coins with Zeus-types at Antiocheia, e.g. Demetrios ii

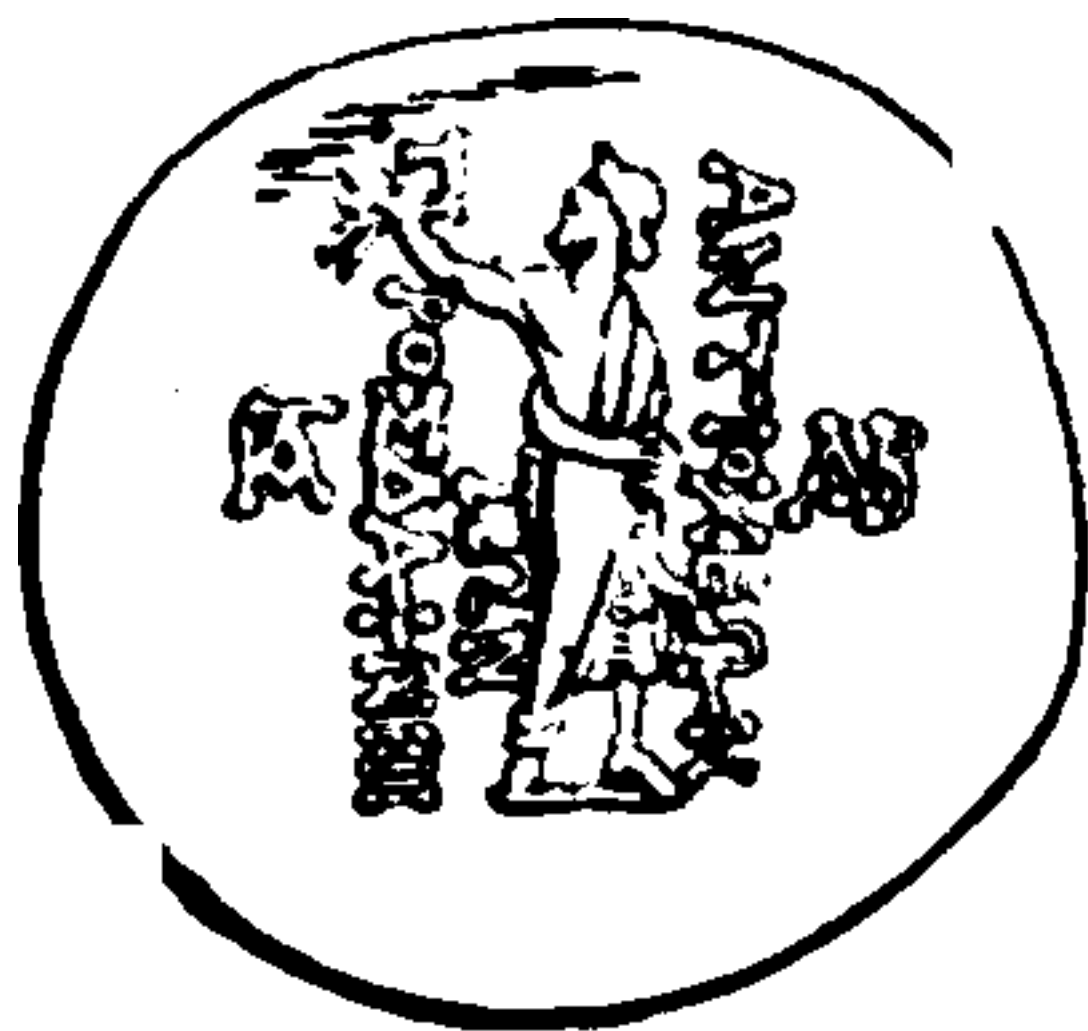


Fig. 996.

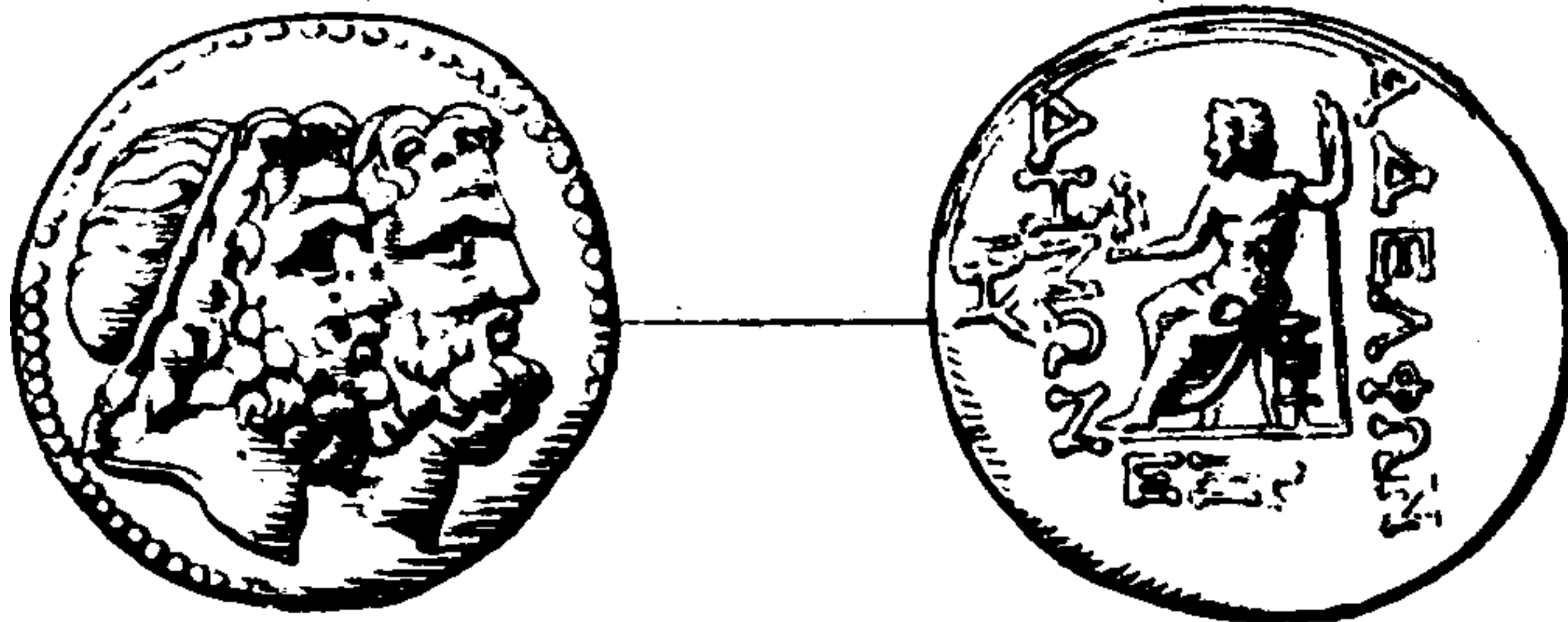


Fig. 997.

Nikator in his first reign (146—140 B.C.)⁵ and Antiochos viii Grypos (121—96 B.C.)⁶. Passing from the regal to the autonomous coinage of the town, we have coins struck for the *tetrápolis*⁷ of Antiocheia by Daphne, Seleukeia in Pieria, Apameia, and Laodikeia (149—147 B.C.) with a head of Zeus as obverse and a thunderbolt as reverse type⁸, or with two Zeus-like heads—probably meant for the Demoi of Antiocheia and Seleukeia—as obverse and Zeus enthroned, Nike in one hand, a sceptre in the other, as reverse type (fig. 997)⁹. The autonomous issues of 'the metropolis of the Antiochenes' (s. i B.C.) show the head of Zeus wearing bays and Zeus enthroned as before but enclosed in a

¹ *Supra* p. 981 n. 1.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 40 pl. 13, 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 50 f. pl. 66, 20, E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. 79 pl. 14, 6 (= my fig. 996), *Head Hist. num.*² p. 763.

³ *Supra* p. 1188 ff.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 56 pl. 17, 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 66 no. 65 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 765 f.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 61 no. 29 obv. head of Zeus to right, laureate; rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ, with Μ Μ in exergue, Apollon seated on the *omphalós*, holding arrow and bow.

⁶ *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 100 pl. 69, 20 obv. Head of Antiochos viii to right, diademed; rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, with Φ and Ε, Zeus enthroned to left, holding Nike with a wreath on his right hand and a long sceptre in his left.

⁷ Strab. 749.

⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 151 no. 1, p. 152 pl. 18, 7, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 142 nos. 2—4, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 778.

⁹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 152 pl. 18, 6 (= my fig. 997), cp. pl. 18, 8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 141 no. 1, cp. p. 142 no. 8, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 778. G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 141, followed by B. V. *Head loc. cit.*, supposes that the mint was Seleukeia, not Antiocheia. The usual interpretation of the two bearded heads is borne out by the reverse legend ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ.

large bay-wreath (fig. 998)¹. In imperial times the head of Zeus sometimes occupies the obverse (fig. 999)², while his eagle in one guise or another very commonly fills the reverse³. We see the great bird grasping a thunderbolt⁴, or holding a wreath in his beak and a bay-branch in his talons⁵, or gripping a *caduceus* with his jaws and a palm-branch with his right claw as he rests



Fig. 998.



Fig. 999.



Fig. 1000.



Fig. 1001.



Fig. 1002.



Fig. 1003.

on a garlanded altar (fig. 1000)⁶, or again perched with wreath in beak on the thigh of an animal-victim (fig. 1001)⁷—altar and thigh alike recall the city's foundation-myth—⁸, or bestriding a bay-wreath with the three Charites in it (fig. 1002)⁹, or soaring beneath the imperial head (fig. 1003)¹⁰. Here and there

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 153 ff. pl. 18, 9, 11, 12, pl. 19, 1 (cp. my fig. 998 from a specimen of mine, which likewise shows Nike wreathing the city's title), *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 143 ff. pl. 71, 28, 30, 34, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 778.

² From a specimen in my collection. Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 162 f. pl. 19, 11 and pl. 20, 3. The reverse shows Boule (?), in *chiton* and *himation*, dropping a pebble into the voting-urn.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 158 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 148 ff., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 779 f.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 175 pl. 21, 9 Nero: ΕΤΟΥΣ ΒΙΡ·Ι (year 112 of the Caesarean era, reckoned from 49 B.C.: see B. Pick in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1887 xiv. 312 n. 3).

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 177 pl. 22, 2 Otho: ΕΤΟΥΣΑ (year 1 of the emperor's reign!).

⁶ *Ib.* p. 179 pl. 22, 5 Vespasian: ΕΤΟΥΣΝΕΟΝ ΙΕΡΟΝ Ε (new sacred year 5 = 73—74 A.D., reckoned from Sept. 2 to Sept. 1, the Syrian year of Augustus: see B. Pick *loc. cit.* p. 331 ff.).

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 192 pl. 23, 5 Marcus Aurelius: ΓΕΡΣΑΡΔΗ ΜΕΞΑΙ ΥΠΑ ΤΓ (= Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικὸς, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας αἰ', ὅπατος γ').

⁸ *Supra* p. 1188.

⁹ *Ib.* p. 196 pl. 23, 11 Caracalla: ΔΗΜΑΡ Χ·ΕΞ·ΥΠΑ·Τ·Δ (= δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, ὅπατος τὸ δ').

¹⁰ *Ib.* p. 196 pl. 23, 12 Caracalla: ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕ ΞΥΠΑΤΟΚΤΟ Δ (= δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, ὅπατος τὸ δ'). See F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Zur griechischen Münzkunde' in the *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 1898 p. 45 f.

a little touch implies that the emperor, whose bust appears on the obverse, is posing as the very Zeus. Thus Nero¹, Domitian², and Nerva³ are all invested with the *aigis*. It is clear, then, that for centuries the inhabitants of Antiocheia had been familiar with the Hellenic Zeus and had known emperors who claimed to be his visible vicegerents.

On the other hand Maximinus ii, like Diocletian⁴ and Galerius⁵ before him,

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 175 pl. 21, 9: ΝΕΡΩΝΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.

² *Ib.* p. 182 pl. 22, 8: ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣΑΡΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒΓΕΡΜ.

³ *Ib.* p. 183 pl. 22, 9: ΑΥΤΝΕΡΟΒΑΣ ΚΑΙΣΣΕΒ. On these coins of Domitian and Nerva the *aigis* is reduced to a mere fringe of snakes passing over the further shoulder. It is, however, there and ought to have been noticed in the British Museum catalogue.

⁴ Eumenius *panegy. Constantio Caesari* 4, *pro restaur. schol.* 10, 16, Lact. *de mortibus persecut.* 52, Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 39. 18, 39. 33, 40. 1, 40. 8, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 621 Rome (= *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 254 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1047) Genio Iovii Aug., | Iovia porticu eius a fundamentis absoluta | exculaque, | etc., no. 623 Sirmium (= *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3231 = Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5560a = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 1059) I. O. M. et | G. h. l. (= Genio huius loci) pro | salute dd. | nn. Iovio | et Herculio Augg. nn. (= dominorum nostrorum, Iovio et Herculio Augustis nostris), no. 634 Thessalonike Herculi Augusto | Iovins (the words *et Herculus* have been erased) Augg. (e)t | Herculus et Iovins nobb. Caess., no. 8930 Alexandria (S. de Ricci in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1908 p. 793) Iovi Auguste, vincas, cp. no. 659 Carnuntum (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* iii no. 4413 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1051) D. S. I. M. (= Deo Soli Invicto Mithrae), | fautori imperii sui, | Iovii et Herculii | religiosissimi Augusti et Caesares | sacrarium restituerunt.

A gold medallion of Diocletian and Maximianus, formerly in the Cabinet de France, had rev. IOVIO ET HERCVLIO The two emperors pouring a libation over a tripod: in the field above, nude statues of Iupiter, with thunderbolt, and Hercules, with club, set on a garlanded altar. In exergue S M V R or S M T (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 917 f., 932, Suppl. iii. 162, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vi. 480 no. 7, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 487, Gneecchi *Medagl. Rom.* i. 12 no. 3). A bronze medallion of Diocletian, at Paris, has obv. IOVIO DIOCLETIANO AVG Half-length bust of Diocletian, with bay-wreath, sceptre, and *himation* only—in imitation of Iupiter (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 917, Suppl. iii. 162, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 256 f. fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vi. 429 f. no. 142 fig., Gneecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 124 no. 3 pl. 124, 1, cp. ii. 124 no. 4). A smaller bronze medallion, in the Vatican, has obv. IOVI DIOCLETIANO AVG A similar bust of Diocletian, with radiate crown (*id. ib.* iii. 78 no. 40 pl. 158, 11): this medallion, if IOVI is not a mere blunder for IOVIO, baldly identifies the god with the emperor. Another at Paris has rev. IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG A hexastyle temple, with wreath in pediment and architrave inscribed IOVIVS AVG, containing emperor as Iupiter enthroned with thunderbolt and sceptre (Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 255, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vi. 443 no. 275 fig., Gneecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 124 no. 7 pl. 124, 3 corroded and retouched, cp. *id. ib.* ii. 124 no. 8 at Florence): similar medallions at Paris, struck by Maximianus, repeat the reverse type, but show the emperor as Iupiter standing with thunderbolt, sceptre, and eagle (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 931 f., Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 255 fig., Gneecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 128 nos. 6 f. pl. 126, 6 and 7). A gold piece, formerly in the Cabinet de France, had rev. PRIMI XX IOVI AVGVSTI Iupiter seated, with thunderbolt and sceptre. In exergue TR (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vi. 458 no. 393 with n. 1 'IOVI est sans doute mis pour IOVII, et encore dans ce cas la légende n'est-elle pas trop compréhensible').

The title *Iovius* was, no doubt, suggested by the name *Diocletianus*, the origin of which is uncertain. W. Ramsay in Smith *Dict. Biogr. Myth.* i. 1011 says of Diocletian:

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struck perhaps by the fact that, so far as names were concerned, *Iovius Maximinus* was a tolerable imitation of Jupiter *Optimus Maximus*. Theoteknos in importing the novel cult very probably designed to win the favour of his imperial master. *Quasi-Dionysiac* rites practised in the name of Zeus would be quite in the line of the profligate *Iovius*.

Alas for his calculations. A few pages further on Eusebios¹ tells us what happened:

‘Theoteknos too was summoned by Justice, who had no intention of forgetting the harm he did to Christians. On the strength of the *χόανον*² that he had set up at Antiocheia he expected to take life easily, and was in fact already promoted by Maximinus to the post of governor. But Licinius had no sooner set foot in the city of the Antiochenes than he ordered all impostors to be brought in, and put the prophets and priests of the new-fangled *χόανον* to the torture, asking them how they came to play such a lying part. Hard pressed by the tortures, they could conceal the facts no longer, but explained that the whole mystery was a fraud contrived by the wily Theoteknos. Thereupon Licinius punished them all according to their deserts. He first condemned Theoteknos, and then the partners of his imposture, to death, after inflicting upon them the greatest possible torments.’

For all that, the cult of Zeus *Phllios* once started was not easily suppressed. Fifty years later Julian wintered at Antiocheia (362—363 A.D.) and, as we gather from his own *Misopógon*, was diligent in visiting the temple of Zeus *Phllios*³.



Fig. 1004.

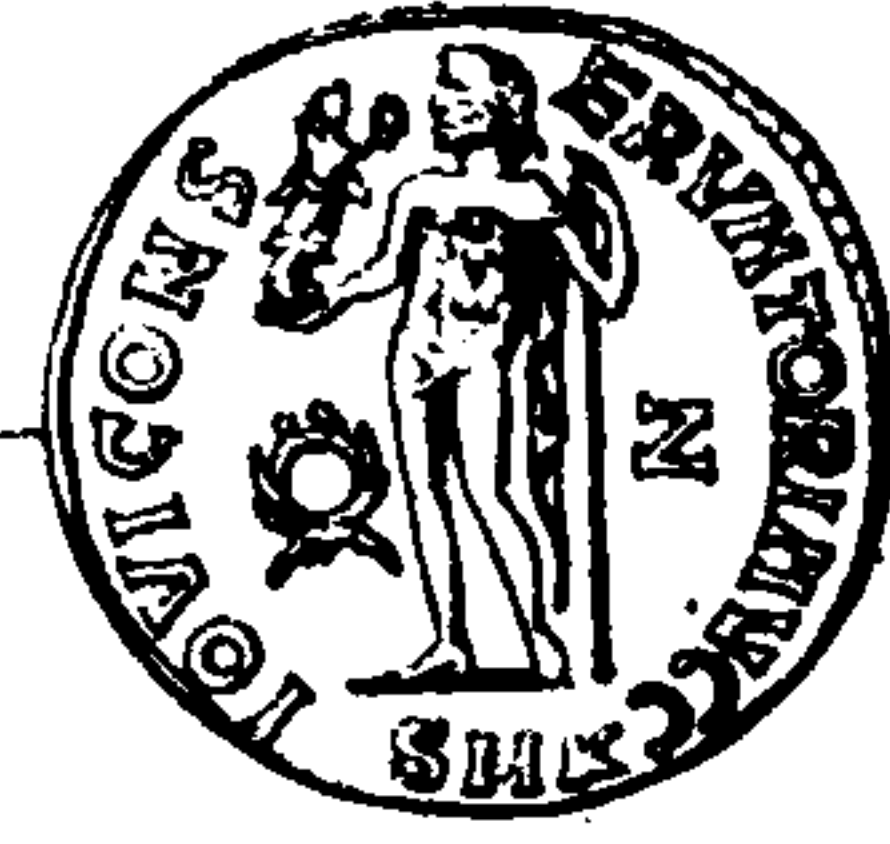


Fig. 1005.



Fig. 1006.

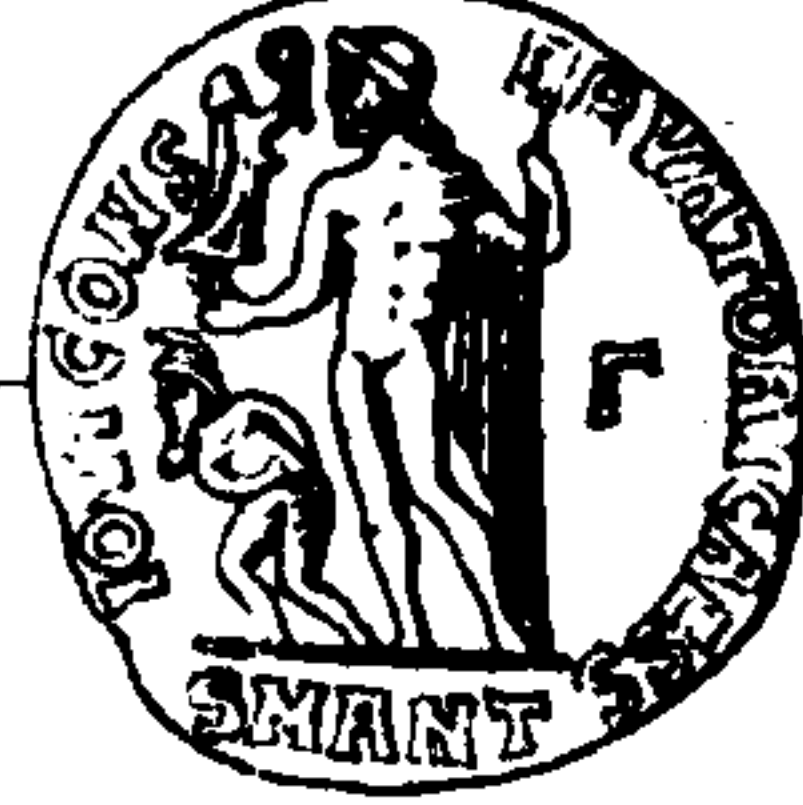


Fig. 1007.

*Monn. emp. rom.*² vii. 155 no. 134 fig., Gneccchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 132 no. 1 pl. 129, 5 roughly retouched). Another, with the same legend, had for obverse type the bare head of Maximinus (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 932, Suppl. iii. 163, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vii. 155 no. 135, Gneccchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 132 no. 2). One of his coppers, struck at Antiocheia, ventures on a new title: rev. IOVIO PROPAGAT. ORBIS TERRARVM Maximinus, with bay-wreath and *toga*, stands holding Victoria on a globe: to the right is a burning altar; on either side of him, the letter A and a star; in the exergue, ANT (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vii. 153 no. 130 fig.).

¹ Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 11. 5 f.

² For the implications of this term see now an excellent paper by Miss F. M. Bennett ‘A study of the word ΞΟΑΝΟΝ’ in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 8—21.

³ Ioul. *misopog.* p. 446, 10 ff. Hertlein ἡ Σύρων ἤκει νομηνία, καὶ ὁ καῖσαρ αὐθις εἰς Φιλίου Διὸς· εἶτα ἡ πάγκοιμος ἑορτή, καὶ ὁ καῖσαρ εἰς τὸ τῆς Τύχης ἔρχεται τέμενος. ἐπισχῶν δὲ τὴν ἀποφράδα πάλιν εἰς Φιλίου Διὸς τὰς εὐχὰς ἀναλαμβάνει κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. καὶ τίς ἀνέξεται τσαυτάκις εἰς ἱερὰ φοιτῶντος καίσαρος, ἐξὸν ἄπαξ ἢ δις ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, κ.τ.λ. Cp. Liban. *or.* 1. 122 (i. 1. 141, 19 ff. Foerster) ἤκε δὲ ποτε εἰς Διὸς Φιλίου θύσων κ.τ.λ.

Again, Libanios the Antiochene, when petitioning Theodosios to protect the pagan temples against the depredations of the Christian monks (384¹ A.D.), expressly notes that certain temples—those of Tyche, Zeus, Athena, and Dionysos—are still untouched².

Antiocheia was a city where Christians and pagans jostled each other in the street³; and it is possible that, as the former found their centre in the great Constantinian church, so the latter had a nucleus and rallying-point in the temple of Zeus *Phllios*. Indeed, between the two rival cults there was a certain superficial resemblance. On the one hand, Zeus *Phllios* was a god of love, who brought even enemies together⁴, encouraged love-feasts among the faithful here, and held out hopes of a celestial banquet hereafter⁵. If his initiations and purifications⁶ savoured somewhat of *Sabázios*, it must be remembered that the Hebrew Godhead was by successive pagan blunderers confused with Jupiter *Sabázios*, Bacchus, Liber *Pater*, and Dionysos⁷. On the other hand, the Christians themselves—as I shall hope to prove in a third volume—had not scrupled to employ the art-types of Zeus and Dionysos for the representation of Christ, and that on objects of the most solemn and sacred character.

The strongest support for this assertion, so far as Antiocheia was concerned, is to be derived from the famous chalice recently published by Dr G. A. Eisen. It appears that early in the year 1910 certain Arabs, who were digging a cellar or a well at *Antakieh* (Antiocheia), lit upon underground chambers partially choked with *débris*. In the *débris* were embedded various objects of value. In addition to the chalice of carved silver that is here in question, there was a second chalice of plain silver with inscriptions of the sixth or seventh century A.D.; there were also three silver book-covers decorated with saints and referable to the fourth or fifth century; and there was a large ceremonial cross inscribed on front and back, not to mention a sackful of crumbled silver fragments. A smaller cross, likewise of silver, supposed to be from the same find, passed into the possession of Monsieur W. Froehner. Since the spot where these objects were discovered was, according to local tradition, the site of an ancient cathedral⁸, it is clear that we have to do with a church-treasure

¹ Libanios ed. R. Foerster iii. 80 n. 3.

² Liban. *or.* 30. 51 (iii. 116, 1 ff. Foerster) εἰπέ μοι, διὰ τί τὸ τῆς Τύχης τοῦτο σῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου; ἀρ' ὅτι βούλοισθ' ἀν αὐτὰ μένειν; οὐ, ἀλλ' ὅτι μηδεὶς τῆν ἐπ' αὐτὰ δέδωκεν ὑμῖν ἔξουσίαν.

³ The most careful and thorough-going monograph on Antiocheia in general is still C. O. Müller *Antiquitates Antiochenae* Gottingae 1839 pp. viii, 134 with map and pl. of coins etc. Other works of importance in particular directions are J. M. Neale *A History of the Holy Eastern Church. The Patriarchate of Antioch* London 1873 pp. lx, 229, R. Förster 'Antiochia am Orontes' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1897 xii. 103—149 with twelve figs. and pl. 6, *id.* 'Skulpturen von Antiocheia' *ib.* 1898 xiii. 177—191 with figs. and pl. 11, S. Krauss 'Antioche' in the *Revue des Études Juives* 1902 xlv. 27—49 (classical records largely supplemented from Rabbinic sources), K. Bauer *Antiochia in der ältesten Kirchengeschichte* Tübingen 1919 pp. 1—47, H. Dieckmann *Antiochien, ein Mittelpunkt urchristlicher Missionstätigkeit* Aachen 1920 pp. 1—56.

⁴ *Supra* p. 1176 l.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1161 ff.

⁶ *Supra* p. 1186.

⁷ *Supra* i. 234 n. 4.

⁸ Mr C. L. Woolley in *The Times Literary Supplement* for July 10, 1924 p. 436 tells a very different tale. He says of the chalice: 'I believe myself to be fully justified

buried either accidentally by earthquake or intentionally to escape some threatened danger. The treasure trove, at first divided among the finders and widely dispersed (two pieces were carried off to Mesopotamia), was recovered piecemeal by Messieurs S. and C. Kouchakji and forwarded to Monsieur G. Kouchakji in Paris. Here the principal chalice, coated with oxide to a thickness of several millimetres, was skilfully deoxidised by Monsieur A. André. He found the silver matrix already crystalline in texture and so brittle that he dared not rectify a compression of the cup caused by a blow received in ancient times¹. In 1914 the chalice, for safety's sake, was sent over to Messieurs H. and F. Kouchakji in New York, where since 1915 it has been exhaustively studied by Dr Eisen², formerly Curator of the California University Academy of Sciences.

The chalice stands 0·19^m in height and measured originally about 0·15^m in diameter. It consists of three parts—an inner bowl rudely hammered out of a in stating that it was found in a small mound close to Ma'arit il Na'aman, a village situated south of Aleppo, on the Aleppo-Homs railway, about a hundred miles from Antioch. It was discovered, together with a silver cup or bowl and a silver crucifix, by a peasant, who sold it for £3 to a man in Ma'arit il Na'aman, who sold it for £70 to a group of three antiquity dealers at Aleppo.... I derive my information from the dealers concerned, who had no motive for telling me an untruth and were able to give me a very fair description of the object before any photographs of it had been published.'

This account is detailed and circumstantial. But, in reply to enquiries, Messrs Kouchakji have informed me by cable (Nov. 9, 1924) that they confirm Dr Eisen's statement. They say: 'Arabs found chalice in Antioch.... Woolley's information absolutely incorrect.'

¹ In 341 A.D., when the 'Golden' Basilica of Antioch, begun by Constantine the Great and finished by his son Constantius ii, was consecrated, the chalice must have been one of its most cherished possessions. Some twenty years later, in 362, Julian, uncle of Julian the Apostate, came to Antioch, closed the churches, and plundered their valuables (Io. Monach. Rhod. *vit. S. Artemii* 23 (xcvi. 1272 C—D Migne)). It is said that after a futile attempt to intimidate Theodoros, the 'guardian of the treasures' in the great church, he condemned him to torture and death, and that flinging the sacred vessels on the ground he treated them to the grossest indignities (Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 5. 8, Theodoret. *eccl. hist.* 3. 12, cp. Ruinart *acta prim. mart.*² p. 588 ff.)—a story of very doubtful historicity (Seeck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 94). Dr Eisen, however, accepts the tale, and even suggests that the compression of the chalice may be the result of its sacrilegious mishandling by Julian. In that case the chalice must have been concealed again either during the invasion of Chosroes i, who in 538 burned Antioch but spared the Cathedral, or more probably during the conquests of Chosroes ii, who captured Syria in 611. The later date would account for the association of the chalice with the objects of early Byzantine art enumerated above.

² G. A. Eisen 'Preliminary Report on the Great Chalice of Antioch containing the Earliest Portraits of Christ and the Apostles' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 426—437 with pl. 19 and four figs., *id.* 'The Plate with seven Loaves and two Fishes on the Great Chalice of Antioch' *ib.* 1917 xxi. 77—79 with fig., *id.* 'The Date of the Great Chalice of Antioch' *ib.* 1917 xxi. 169—186 with five figs., *id.* 'Chalice of Antioch and Its Portraits of Christ, Apostles and Evangelists' in the *New Era Magazine* for January 1920 pp. 12—15 with four figs., *id.* 'Identification of Seated Figures on Great Chalice of Antioch' *ib.* for June and July 1920 pp. 414—417, 526—528 with six figs., *id.* *The Great Chalice of Antioch* New York 1923 pp. 1—194 with two diagrams and an atlas of sixty photogravures and etchings. The last-mentioned publication is a monograph *de luxe*, the plates of which include three whole-page photographs—life-size, enlarged, and larger still—of every figure on the chalice together with an attempted drawing of each head. The accompanying text is less satisfactory, being verbose, over-credulous, and disfigured by unnecessary slips. The book as a whole is obviously meant for wealthy art-lovers

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a

The Chalice



b

Antioch.

See page 1197 ff. with fig. 1008.

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rolls in their hands. Two (nos. 12 and 9 on fig. 1008) show the right arm wound with phylactery-bands (?)¹. Finally, the upper part of the shell is encircled by a narrow strip of thin silver, to which are attached fifty-eight rosettes².

It should be noticed that the chalice, long after it was made, came to be gilded, and that at two different dates—at first with pale whitish gold, and later with deep reddish gold. The first gilding affected the whole outer surface of the shell; the second did not extend to its lower part, and was carried out in much thicker gold leaf. Both layers of gold are largely worn away by the fingering of reverent hands, especially in the case of persons and objects that would be deemed most sacred. There are no inscriptions on the chalice. But, between the first and second gildings, upon many of the chairs (perhaps upon all) were added poorly scratched *graffiti* representing a variety of emblems³, which—if they can be deciphered—may help to show how the seated figures were interpreted⁴ at some doubtful date before the final gilding.

¹ See Dr Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 182 ff. fig. 5 and *e contra* Prof. F. C. Burkitt in *The Cambridge Review* 1923—1924 xlv. 254 (long tight sleeves, not phylacteries).

² G. A. Eisen *The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 7, 19 f., 125 claims that the rosette above the hand of Christ on the obverse side of the chalice is in reality a six-pointed star, the Star of the Nativity.

³ Dr Eisen in the *New Era Magazine* for June 1920 p. 415 figures four of the *graffiti* from the chairs of nos. 2 (two crossed bars or keys), 6 (tree? or *ankh*? [amulet A. B. C.]), 7 (water jug), 9 (arch with circle [coin C. Renz] above it). The rest are less distinct and as yet undeciphered. See further *The Great Chalice of Antioch* p. 29 f.

⁴ In his initial publication of the chalice Dr Eisen held that its twelve figures portray Christ in older and younger form together with ten of his Apostles. He noted also the suggestion that they are the Baptist with the Lamb at his side, and Christ with ten Apostles. But the number ten was hard to justify; and careful study of the features of each portrait led to the conviction that figures 1 and 8 are related, that figures 2 and 5 possess much in common, and that the heads of figures 10 and 11 are quite different in formation from the rest. Satisfied that the two central figures 1 and 8 are indeed Christ as a man and Christ as a youth, Dr Eisen next observed that 2 closely resembles St Peter as portrayed in the Catacombs (J. Wilpert *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* Freiburg 1903 pl. 94) and in the Viale Manzoni Hypogeum at Rome (*Not. Scavi* 1920 p. 123 ff.)—an identification seemingly confirmed by the discovery on seat 2 of the *graffito* representing two crossed bars or keys. The identity of the other figures remained doubtful till it was remarked that no. 6, unlike the rest, has a band round his head but no side-lock of hair. This suggested a Greek as distinct from a Jew, and in that case he must necessarily be St Luke. But, if so, the figures are not all Apostles. Those grouped with St Luke may then be St Matthew (9), St Mark (7), and St John (10). At this point again *graffiti* were helpful. Tradition said that St Mark had been a water-carrier (Alexandros Monachos (s. vi A.D.) *laudatio S. Barnabae Apost.* 1. 13 in the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1698 Junius ii. 440 D λόγος γὰρ ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ γερόντων ὅτι ὁ τὸ κεράμιον βαστάζων τοῦ ὕδατος, ᾧ κατακολουθῆσαι προσέταξεν ὁ Κύριος τοῖς μαθηταῖς, Μάρκος ἦν ὁ υἱὸς τῆς μακαρίας Μαρίας, Severus Bishop of El-Eschmounein in Upper Egypt *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* trans. B. T. A. Evetts Paris 1907 1. 1 p. 17 in the *Patrologia Orientalis* i. 139 'And he (sc. Mark) was among the servants who poured out the water which our Lord turned into wine, at the marriage of Cana in Galilee. And it was he who carried the jar of water into the house of Simon the Cyrenian, at the time of the sacramental Supper'); and on his chair is scratched a water-jar. St Matthew sat at the receipt of custom; his *graffito* is an archway with a circle above it, presumably the city-gate with a coin in evidence. St Luke, as a physician, has for his emblem an obvious

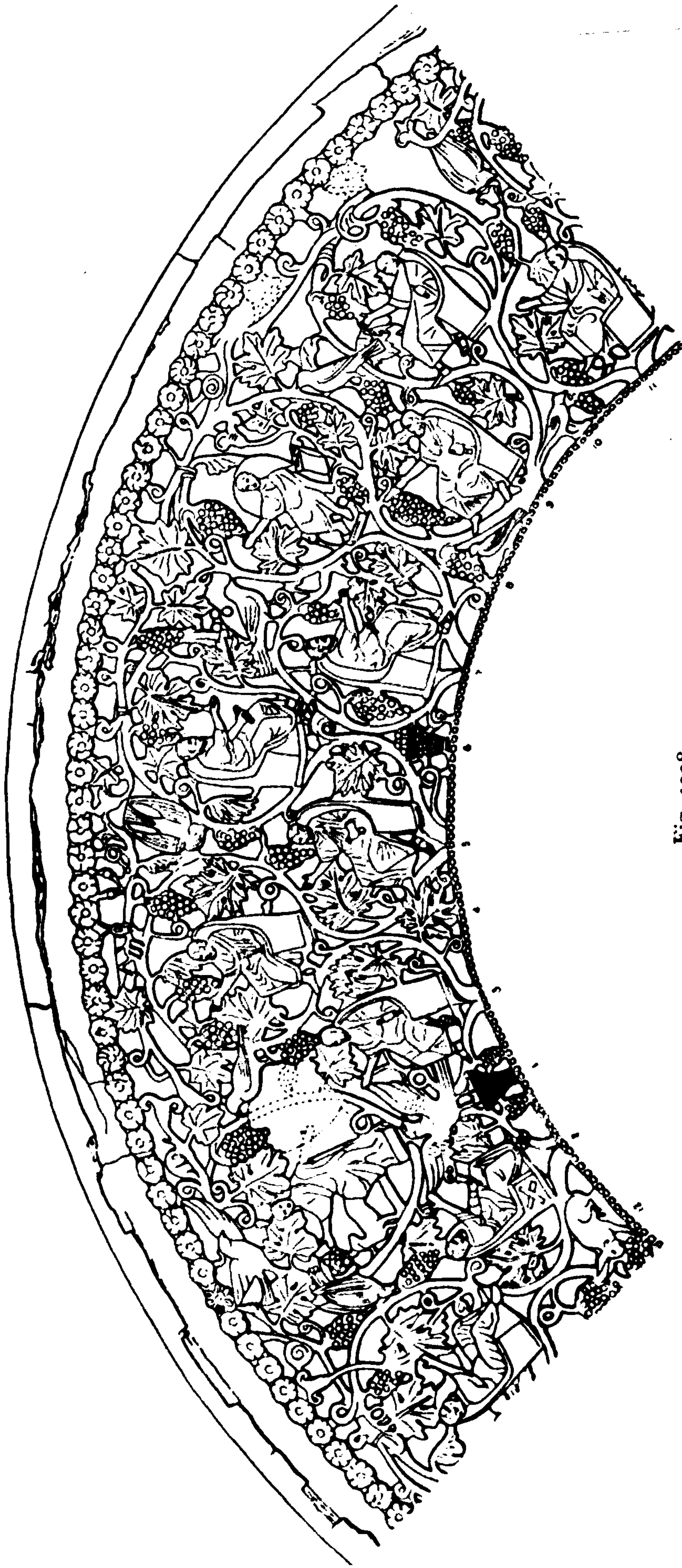


Fig. 1008.

To determine the date of the chalice is a task of primary importance. Sound criticism will rely, not on any *à priori* notions as to what the early Church could or could not have done, but on definite considerations of shape, *technique*, style, and subject.

Now the outer shell or container is essentially an ovoid bowl, without handles, supported on a round knob with a low and narrow foot-stand. A cup so constructed suffers from one obvious defect. It is top-heavy and would be easily upset. Such a shape could hardly have been popular for long together. Nor was it. Bronze coins of uncertain denomination struck by Simon Maccabaeus in 136/5 B.C. have for reverse type a closely similar chalice with knob, short stem, and small foot¹. But silver shekels and half-shekels dating from the First Revolt of the Jews in 66/7—70 A.D. have for obverse type a chalice with smaller knob, longer stem, and broader foot². Coins of the Second Revolt in 132—135 A.D. substitute either a one-handled jug³ or a two-handled *amphora*⁴, and do not enable us to trace further the evolution of the chalice. But this at least is clear, that on Palestinian soil the old top-heavy chalice was passing out of use as early as 66 A.D. Elsewhere too the same holds good. Two silver cups of similar shape belonging to the Pierpont Morgan collection, exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, are justly regarded as excellent samples of Hellenistic work⁵. And silver cups of a like pattern depicted in frescoes from Herculaneum⁶

amulet. Again, if 10 is St John, the other beardless figure (11) must be his brother, St James the son of Zebedee. Moreover, St Peter (2) would naturally be balanced by St Paul (3). And the resemblance of the older man 5 to figure 2 suggested St Peter's brother, St Andrew. Lastly, it was surmised that figures 12 and 4, seated respectively on the right and left hand of Christ are St James the Lord's brother and St Jude, his nearest relatives on earth. It is claimed that figure 12 alone is clad in linen, which would suit the tradition that St James despised woollen clothes even in winter and habitually wore thin linen garments (Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 2. 23. ὁ οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐρεοῦν ἐφόρει ἀλλὰ σινδόνας). These are the main arguments advanced by Dr Eisen, whose proposed identifications may be conveniently shown in tabular form :

Front	{	(12) James the Brother of the Lord	(1) CHRIST as Man	(4) Jude		(6) Luke	(8) CHRIST as Boy	(10) John	}	Back
		(2) Peter	(3) Paul	(5) Andrew		(7) Mark	(9) Matthew	(11) James the Son of Zebedee		

Dr G. H. Rendall in a letter to me (Feb. 16, 1924) very pertinently suggests that 5 may be, not St Andrew, but St Barnabas, whose association with Antioch was most intimate. Accepting the attribution of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* to St Barnabas, Dr Rendall points out that we should thus have represented on the chalice the whole canon of the New Testament [*plus* James, son of Zebedee]. His shrewd conjecture of course postulates a date at which the canon was complete. But I see no difficulty in supposing that, at the time when the *graffiti* were added, those who added them believed the ten seated figures to include portraits of all the New-Testament writers.

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine* p. 185 ff. pl. 20, 11—14.

² *Ib.* p. 269 ff. pl. 30, 1—9.

³ *Ib.* p. 288 ff. pl. 33, 5 f., 9 f., 14 f., pl. 34, 4—10, 20.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 303 f. pl. 35, 14, pl. 36, 1—3, p. 306 pl. 36, 10.

⁵ Miss G. M. A. Richter in *Art in America* 1918 vi. 171 ff. with pl., *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1918 xxii. 349 f. fig. 1.

⁶ *Antichità di Ercolano Napoli* 1760 ii (Pitture ii) p. 287 (= Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* iv Peintures 3^e Série p. 219 pl. 115) preparations for a festival, including a silver jug, a silver cup, three wreaths, a palm-branch, etc., cp. *ib.* ii pp. 118, 157 a similar but deeper vessel, standing on a square plinth, with a couple of wreaths in it.

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was later, not earlier, than the shell. He argued that the inner bowl appropriate to the shell would be of glass; and this, when broken, might well have been replaced by a silver substitute of later and clumsier make¹. If so, the shell cannot be earlier than the introduction of open-work over glass. And when did that take place? We think first, no doubt, of the finest extant example, the silver-gilt *kántharos* found in 1871 in a tomb to the north of Tiflis and now preserved in the Hermitage at Petrograd². Here a vessel of dark violet glass was actually blown into shape within the holder and still bears in places the impress of the silver upon it. Stephani, who published this splendid cup—it is six inches high,—assigns it on account of its hunting-scene to a date *c.* 200 A.D.; and we note in passing that the rosettes round its rim recall those of the Antioch chalice. But other examples of the art are of much earlier date. To the period of Augustus or Tiberius belongs a *skýphos* of open-work lead formerly in the Slade collection and now in the British Museum³. This curious work, perhaps a goldsmith's model, has blown within it a cup of azure glass, which shows through oval openings in a band about its waist. Above are Bacchic scenes in relief with incised inscriptions⁴. Below is another relief of vine-tendrils and grape-bunches. The two handles also are decorated with masks. Earlier still may be placed the *skýphos* found in 1876 at Varpelev in Zealand and now in the Museum at Copenhagen⁵. It is a bowl of deep blue glass, the upper part of which is covered with a decorative design of vine-leaves, ivy-leaves, etc. in open-work silver. It was found with coins of Probus (276—282 A.D.), but is itself Greek work⁶ of the early

found in the temple of Solomon (Io. Malal. *chron.* 10 p. 260 f. Dindorf), it is just thinkable that this silver cup of special sanctity was presented on the same occasion to the Antiochenes. Dr Eisen, however, does not press the point (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 171 f.) and obviously inclines to a different and a more heroic hypothesis. With the fall of Jerusalem Antioch became the main centre of Christianity in the east. May not the inner bowl of the chalice have been brought thither from Jerusalem? May it not even have been the very vessel used in Apostolic times by the infant Church? Nay more, might it not conceivably have been the actual Cup of the Last Supper? No wonder that in the great Syrian capital, where the disciples were first called Christians, those who obtained possession of a relic so precious lavished all the resources of early imperial art upon its external embellishment.

¹ E. H. Minns in *The Cambridge Review* of Feb. 15, 1924 (xlv. 216). Sir Martin Conway in *The Burlington Magazine* for Sept. 1924 (xlv. 109) independently makes the same conjecture: 'I suggest,' he says, 'that this original was of coloured glass.' Mr F. Kouchakji in a letter to me (March 4, 1924) replies by anticipation: 'So far all the open-work over glass cups that have come down to us from antiquity are very small. None of them possessed a glass cup of the size of the inner cup. Then, if a fine glass cup had been broken, it would have been replaced by a finished cup and not by a crudely made one, never finished.'

² L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1872 p. 143 ff. Atlas pl. 2, 1 and 2 (in colours), E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 808 fig. 981, H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig 1887 iv. 405 n. 1, A. Kisa *Das Glas im Altertume* Leipzig 1908 ii. 602 ff. with figs. 208, 208a.

³ Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 327 pl. 87, 1—4, A. Kisa *op. cit.* ii. 602 with figs. 335, 335 a, 335 b.

⁴ (a) DOMITILLAE | STATILIO CONIVGI, (b) SALVS | GEN · HVM. Below the foot is an inscription in relief: (c) · FM · AVG . Clearly (a) and (b) are later than (c).

⁵ C. Engelhardt in the *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1877 p. 354 with col. pl. 1, A. Kisa *op. cit.* ii. 604 f. with fig. 209.

⁶ Witness the wave-pattern round its rim, broken by the single word ΕΥΤΥΧΩC.

first century, or earlier¹. Kisa goes further and claims that already in Ptolemaic times craftsmen had begun to cover glass cups with gold and silver². How else are we to understand Athenaios' statement that 'two glass vessels of open-work gold' were carried in the pageant of Ptolemy ii Philadelphos³? After this it may be conceded that the *technique* of the Antioch chalice is no bar to accepting the first-century date suggested by its shape.

A third criterion may be sought in the style of the chalice-decoration. Mr T. Davies Pryce in a recent letter to me (Nov. 12, 1924) says: 'Apart from the Christian figures, the decorative elements are undoubtedly similar to those used by the first and second century *sigillata* potters.'⁴ The vines, though not so purely naturalistic as those of the Augustan age⁵, are as yet untouched by the incipient stylisation of the third century⁶ and show little, if any, trace of that formality which as time went on became more and more marked⁷ till it culminated in the Coptic art of the sixth century⁸. Mr W. A. Watkins draws my attention (Nov. 15, 1924) to the fact that the vines on the chalice resemble, on the one hand, the vine in the Catacomb of Domitilla, which likewise springs from the ground with a double stem and has birds and Cupids among its

¹ A. Kisa *op. cit.* ii. 604 notes that its handles, inlaid with gold, resemble those of Alexandrine silver cups found e.g. at Bosco Reale.

² *Id. ib.* ii. 600.

³ Kallixenos of Rhodes *περὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 62 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 199 F *ἰάλια διαχρυσά δύο*.

⁴ Mr Pryce's arguments include the following: (a) The vine-scroll is comparable with that on a sherd from Wroxeter dated 90—110 or 120 A.D. (J. P. Bushe-Fox *Excavations on the Site of the Roman Town at Wroxeter Shropshire, in 1912 (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London No. 1)* Oxford 1913 p. 38 f. no. 23 fig. 12). (b) The eagle with outspread wings and head turned to right or left was a common stock-type with the potters of s. i and ii A.D. (F. Oswald—T. Davies Pryce *An Introduction to the study of Terra Sigillata* London 1920 pls. 6, 4; 7, 2; 9, 4). (c) The rabbit eating grapes appears in the period Domitian—Trajan (*id. ib.* pl. 19, 5). (d) The basket with outspread rim and externally concave sides occurs often on pottery of 100—150 A.D. (*id. ib.* pl. 17, 4 in a vintage scene with birds, J. Déchelette *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule Romaine* Paris 1904 ii. 154 f. types 1082 and 1087). (e) The repeated rosette frequently forms an upper bordering in Italian *sigillata* designs and is sometimes copied by the later or first-century Gaulish *sigillata* potters.

⁵ A silver bowl of this period, formerly in the Blacas collection and now in the British Museum, is covered with exquisitely natural vine-leaves and tendrils in gilded *repoussé*-work (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Silver Plate* p. 22 no. 82 pl. 11).

⁶ A circular mirror of about s. iii A.D., found in a woman's grave near Sofia and now in the British Museum, has a frame of silver-gilt bronze with a somewhat schematised vine-scroll and peacocks worked *à jour* on a backing of wood (*ib.* p. 28 no. 106 pl. 15).

⁷ E.g. L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1909 ii figs. 45 (*sarcophagus* in the Lateran Museum at Rome), 46 (*sarcophagus* in San Lorenzo at Rome), 74 (ivory throne at Ravenna) = R. Garrucci *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1881 v pl. 302, 2f., v pl. 306, 1—4, vi pl. 414 f.

⁸ Sir Martin Conway in *The Burlington Magazine* for Sept. 1924 (xlv. 106 ff.) compares the chalice with the sculptured semidome of a Coptic niche now in the Cairo Museum (s. vi), with the back and front of a carved ivory fragment in the same collection (s. v—vi), with a panel of the ivory throne at Ravenna (c. 550 A.D.), etc. Accordingly he would date the chalice c. 550 A.D. (*ib.* p. 110). But on all the monuments cited by him the vines are far advanced in stylisation.

branches¹, on the other hand, the vine-scroll in the Catacomb of Praetextatus, where again birds are seen among the vine-leaves². The cemetery of Domitilla on the Via Ardeatina is believed to go back to Apostolic times³, while that of Praetextatus on the Via Appia is referred to the second century⁴. The two representations of Christ as a young man and as a boy are imperfectly preserved, but appear to be idealistic rather than realistic figures. The head of the latter at any rate is, as Dr Eisen duly notes⁵, reminiscent of a well-known Scopaic type. The other seated persons are at least to some extent individualised⁶ and were almost certainly interpreted as portraits at the time when the *graffiti* were added. We know so little at present about the history of Greek portrait-sculpture in the east during the first few centuries of the Christian era that it is peculiarly difficult to date a given work, especially when executed on a small scale⁶. But if we might assume (a somewhat doubtful assumption) that the development of later Greek portraiture followed the same lines as that of Roman portraiture, we should have little hesitation in referring these life-like but not over-realistic heads to the Flavian period (69—96 A.D.). The preceding Augustan and Julio-Claudian art (31 B.C.—68 A.D.) had been more idealistic and aristocratic. Trajanic portraits (98—117 A.D.), though still life-like, are harder and less sympathetic. In the Hadrianic age (117—138 A.D.) we get a marked loss of individualism owing to the revival of old Hellenic ideals. Antonine and Aurelian carving (138—180 A.D.) is pictorial in effect: loose locks contrast with polished faces and there is a glint of light on plastic eyes. Realism returns with the third century, but is accompanied by various tell-tale innovations, *e.g.* very short hair shown by pick-marks on a roughened surface. Had the work been later than this, we should have looked to find standing figures frontally arranged with formal hair and eyes monotonously drilled. On the whole it may be contended that the style of the seated persons suits best the end of the first or, possibly, the beginning of the second century A.D. But, I repeat, the scarceness of strictly comparable work and above all the smallness of the scale—each head is only three-eighths of an inch in height—make certainty unattainable.

It remains to speak of the subject represented on the chalice. The nearest parallels were pointed out by Prof. F. C. Burkitt⁷ and Sir Martin Conway⁸, who both aptly cite a gilded glass or *fondo d'oro* published by Garrucci (fig. 1009)⁹.

¹ G. B. de Rossi *Roma sotterranea* edd.¹ J. S. Northcote—W. R. Brownlow London 1869 p. 73 with fig. 10 (ed.² 1879 ii. 120 ff. fig. 26), R. Garrucci *op. cit.* Prato 1881 ii. 23 pl. 19, 1. The vine spreads over the vaulted roof in the oldest portion of the catacomb.

² G. B. de Rossi *op. cit.* ed.¹ p. 78 with fig. 12 (ed.² ii. 148 ff. fig. 37), R. Garrucci *op. cit.* ii. 43 f. pl. 37, 1. The vine occupies the third (autumnal) zone of decoration on the Crypt of St Januarius, who was martyred in 162 A.D.

³ W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 p. 65 f., C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 127.

⁴ C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* p. 127 f.

⁵ G. A. Eisen in the *New Era Magazine* for June 1920 p. 416, *id.* *The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 63 ff., 74.

⁶ Whether this individualisation was in any degree due to tooling or retouching of the original figures before the first gilding of the shell is a point that calls for careful investigation.

⁷ In *The Cambridge Review* 1923—1924 xlv. 253 f.

⁸ In *The Burlington Magazine* for Sept. 1924 (xlv. 109).

⁹ R. Garrucci *Vetri ornati di figure in oro trovati nei cimiteri dei cristiani primitivi di Roma* Roma 1858 p. 40 f. pl. 18, 4 (not 3, as both Prof. Burkitt and Sir M. Conway cite

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Christ above the eagle (no. 1) and much of the adjoining space are due (*vide* the key-plan) to a restoration by Monsieur André. He suggests that the disturbing blank was originally filled with a second lamb, the figure being conceived as that of the Good Shepherd. And, if it be objected that the Good Shepherd should be standing not seated, the unusual position is defended by a fifth-century mosaic in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna¹. It might have been defended by a second-century painting in the cemetery of Callistus at Rome, which shows Christ seated, lyre in hand, between two sheep—the type of the Good Shepherd being definitely influenced by that of Orpheus². I incline therefore to think that Prof. Burkitt's acute divination of the original design is right and that Christ was represented on the chalice in the Orphic or seated type of the Good Shepherd with a sheep on either hand³. In this connexion it is interesting to recall that Tertullian, writing between 217 and 222 A.D., mentions chalices of the anti-Montanist party as decorated with representations of the Good Shepherd⁴. It is possible that he had in view cheap imitations of such a masterpiece as the chalice of Antioch.

The combination of the Judge and the Shepherd accounts for much, but not quite for everything. We have yet to explain the eagle beneath his feet. An eagle commonly suggests Zeus, and not least at Antioch where his cult was so familiar⁵. But what exactly is the link between the Shepherd-Judge and Zeus? It is, I think, to be found in the conception of the Divine Ruler, which would easily attach itself either to the figure of the Judge on his judgment-seat or to the seated type of the Shepherd⁶. Dr Eisen⁷ remarks that the central figure

¹ R. Garrucci *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1881 iv. 41 pl. 233, 2, W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 p. 330 f. fig. 141, C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 456.

² G. B. de Rossi *Roma sotterranea* edd.¹ J. S. Northcote—W. R. Brownlow London 1869 p. 373 col. pl. 11, 2 (ed.² 1879 i. 455, ii col. pl. 18, 2), R. Garrucci *op. cit.* ii. 10 pl. 4, 1, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1906 i. 245 f. fig., 1909 ii. 106, C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* p. 275 f. fig. 102.

It is a curious coincidence, if nothing more, that the Phoenician Ba'al-ḥammân is represented by a Cypriote terra cotta as sitting on a throne with a ram standing on either side of him (*supra* i. 354 pl. xxvi, 1).

³ Dr Eisen in a letter to Dr F. J. Foakes Jackson, of which a copy was sent to me by Messrs Kouçhakji (March 15, 1924), says: 'An original photograph taken before the cleaning shows that there was no lamb on the other side, and that the design was probably one: branches, leaves, tendrils and bunches of grapes. There is a total absence of symmetry in any part of the Chalice design.' [!]

⁴ Tertull. *de pud.* 7 a parabolis licebit incipias, ubi est ovis perdita a domino requisita et humeris eius revecta. procedant ipsae picturae calicum vestrorum, si vel in illis perlucebit interpretatio pecudis illius, utrumne Christiano an ethnico peccatori de restitutione conlineet, *ib.* 10 sed cederem tibi, si scriptura Pastoris, quae sola moechos amat, divino instrumento meruisset incidi, si non ab omni concilio ecclesiarum etiam vestrarum inter apocrypha et falsa iudicaretur, adultera et ipsa et inde patrona sociorum, a qua et alias initiaris, cui ille, si forte, patrociniabitur pastor quem in calice depingis, prostitutorem et ipsum Christiani sacramenti, merito et ebrietatis idolum et moechiae asylum post calicem subsecuturae, de quo nihil libentius libas quam ovem paenitentiae secundae (*cp. ib.* 13).

⁵ *Supra* p. 1186 ff.

⁶ The seated Shepherd in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia 'is clothed in imperial purple' (W. Lowrie *op. cit.* p. 331).

⁷ G. A. Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 432, 434, *id. ib.* 1917 xxi. 172, 174 fig. 2, 10 ff., 179, *id. The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 31, 34, 143, 147, 179.

enthroned with a footstool bears a strong resemblance in costume, pose, and general effect to the figure of Augustus on a silver *skyphos* from Bosco Reale¹. He notes also that on this toreutic triumph, as on the chalice of Antioch, the central figure appears twice—once seated to receive the submission of the barbaric Germans, once enthroned amid the gods as master of the universe. I submit that the artist of the chalice has given to Christ the aspect and position of a divinised emperor². Now Roman emperors were often acclaimed by Greek adulation as Zeus incarnate³; and a bust of Zeus, referred to the first or second century A.D., is supported on an eagle with spread wings⁴. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the head of Caracalla on a coin of Antioch struck between 213 and 217 A.D. has a similar eagle beneath it⁵. In view of these facts it becomes a legitimate conjecture that the eagle beneath the seated Christ marks him as at once human and divine, the true claimant to the throne of Zeus⁶.

So, then, the Shepherd-Judge is also the Divine Ruler. And, if it be argued that this multiple *rôle* is not likely to go back to the first century, I should answer that it is already implied by a great passage in the Gospel⁷: 'But when the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all the nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats.'

It amounts to this. For the Christian artist—trained, it may be, in a pagan school—Christ has dispossessed all rivals and has taken his seat on the very throne of Zeus. But the chalice has a reverse as well as an obverse design, and we have still to ask Why this duplication of Christ in younger form? and Wherein lies the special appropriateness of the vine-symbolism? The problem, so put, suggests its own solution. The boyish figure seated on the divine throne

¹ A. Héron de Villefosse in the *Mon. Piot* 1899 v. 133 ff. pls. 31—33 = Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 92 no. 2 f., 93 no. 1 f., 94 no. 1 f.

² For a later variation on the same theme see the well-known ivory *pyxis* at Berlin (R. Garrucci *op. cit.* vi. 60 pl. 440, 1, L. von Sybel *op. cit.* ii. 253 fig. 77, C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* pp. 366, 552 fig. 142), which likewise has Christ seated *en face* on a round-backed throne, with a roll in his hand and a footstool at his feet. He is flanked by two seated Apostles (St Peter and St Paul), who raise their hands in salutation. The other ten stand to right and left of him.

The position assigned to the two foremost Apostles suits their 'Dioscuric' character (*supra* p. 606). Zeus is supported by the Dioskouroi (*supra* i. 35 fig. 8, ii. 1230 tail-piece); Christ, by St Peter and St Paul (*supra* i. 51 fig. 24, ii. 1207 fig. 1009).

³ See e.g. the examples that I collected in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 308 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 951 n. 0 with fig. 844.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1193 fig. 1003. The head of Trajan on silver coins struck at Tyre is often supported by an eagle with closed wings (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 300 f. pl. 36, 1, 3—6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 268 f. pl. 77, 5). Some specimens, which have the same obverse type, but for reverse Tyche seated with the Orontes at her feet, are assigned doubtfully by G. F. Hill to Tyre (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* pp. cxxxvii f., 302 pl. 36, 9), by G. Macdonald to Antioch (*Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 163 f. pl. 72, 19).

⁶ I do not deny that the eagle here may have had a further significance. C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* p. 286 discusses its appearance in Christian art 'als...Symbol der Auferstehung...und zwar der in Christo gebotenen felix reparatio temporum (vgl. Ps. 103, 5) im Jenseits.'

⁷ Matthew 25. 31 f. Aischylos long since had made Agamemnon, his divine ruler, an ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων (*Ag.* 795).

in the midst of his trusty followers is, to those at least who have in mind the coinage of Lydia and Kilikia¹, reminiscent of the child Zeus or Dionysos seated on his throne with the Kouretes grouped about him; and the framework of grape-vines adds point to the analogy.

On the whole, piecing together the evidence of shape, *technique*, style, and subject, I conclude that the chalice of Antioch was made at some date not far removed from the year 100 A.D.²; that it was then adorned with figures of Christ sitting in Judgment with the Saints³, ten in number merely because ten was a typical plurality⁴; and that these assessors were later, by means of *graffiti*, identified with individual Apostles and canonical authors, including perhaps all the recognised writers of the New Testament⁵. Further, I hold that the decoration of the chalice, though essentially Christian, owes certain of its features to pagan antecedents, in particular to Anatolian representations of Zeus and Dionysos⁶. Here, as elsewhere, the art-types of the Greek Father and Son were both taken into the service of the conquering creed and alike used to portray the form of Him who said: 'I and the Father are one⁷.'

¹ *Supra* i. 152 f. figs. 125—128, i. 646 f.

² Prof. Strzygowski, after personal inspection of the chalice and prolonged study of its detail, refers it to the first century A.D. (J. Strzygowski 'Der "Silberkelch von Antiochia"' in the *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst* 1924 pp. 53—61 pl. 28 f., especially p. 61). But when he attributes the Berlin *pyxís* also to the first century (*ib.* p. 59), we part company.

³ *Supra* p. 1207.

⁴ M. H. Farbridge *Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism* London 1923 p. 140 ff. (citing E. W. Bullinger *Number in Scripture* Bromley 1894 p. 243).

⁵ *Supra* p. 1200 n. 4.

⁶ *Supra* p. 1209 f.

⁷ John 10. 30.

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folio 117^{recto}): 'There shall be a pillar (στῦλος = στῦλος) of light, like unto silver, in Amenti (Hades): all mankind that is shall come to the place of judgment. But ye upon your thrones within the wall shall order the judgment. But the rest of the just—they who shall not be able to attain to the measure of the judgment—shall sit (*or* rest, remain) upon a pillar (στῦλος) of light, that they may behold them who do judgment and them who have judgment done upon them.' Mr Evelyn White further noted (Oct. 24, 1921), after Dr M. R. James, a 'great pillar' in the judgment-scene of *oracl. Sib.* 2. 238 ff. Geffcken ἦνίκα δ' ἀνστήσῃ νέκυσ μοῖραν καταλύσας | καὶ καθίσῃ Σαβαώθ 'Αδωναῖος ὑψικέρανος | ἐς θρόνον οὐράνιον [τε] μέγαν δέ τε κίονα πῆξῃ, | ἦξει δ' ἐν νεφέλῃ πρὸς ἀφθιτον ἀφθιτος αὐτός | ἐν δόξῃ Χριστός κ.τ.λ.

ii. 45 n. 1. After repeated inspection of the marble (in the spring of 1922) and examination of a good photograph I incline to think that the arch is intentional, that the pillar is topped by an *abacus*, and that the inscription should be read as $\perp EY\Sigma$.

ii. 50 ff. F. Haug 'Die Irminsul' in *Germania* 1918 ii. 68—72 contends that there was but one *Irminsul*, that of Eresburg, probably a huge oak-tree lopped of its boughs but still rooted in the ground, till it was destroyed by Charles the Great in 772 A.D. Haug makes light of Widukind's evidence for a second *Irminsul* at Scheidungen, and gives short shrift to the view of Müllenhoff and Mogk that there were several or even many such pillars. He regards the first element in the name as either adjectival ('mächtige, starke, erhabene Säule') or substantival ('für *Irmin(e)ssul*, d. h. Säule des Gottes oder Halbgottes Irmin').

ii. 50 n. 2. C. Petersen 'Zioter (Zeter) oder Tiodute (Jodute), der Gott des Kriegs und des Rechts bei den Deutschen' in *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte* 1866 vi. 223—342 must be read with caution.

ii. 51 n. 5. Mr B. Dickins has sent me the following notes in criticism (Oct. 8, 1920) of the view advocated by J. Grimm, K. Simrock, and others:—

'The evidence on which this view is based appears to be as follows:

(a) *Stephens, No. 5*, taken from Hickes' edition of the A.S. Runic Poem, which glosses Υ as both *ear* and *tir*: this poem was however derived from the burnt Cott. Otho B. 10, which seems to have had the characters but no names, the latter being added by Hickes from

(b) *Stephens, No. 9*, taken from Cott. Dom. A. 9, the writer or copyist of which was an ignorant person who confused Υ and \uparrow as he had previously failed to distinguish between the names of \mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{M} .

(c) *Stephens, No. 10*, taken from St Gall, 4to, No. 270, p. 52; which gives the value and name of Υ as *z* and *aer* respectively. This is a pretty faithful copy of the A.S. 28 letter futhorc only partially assimilated to the phonology of O.H.G.; e.g. *þ* is still preserved, though its name has become *dorn*, and \uparrow retains the name *ti* and the value *t*, though the name and value of \mathfrak{M} have become *tag* and *t*.

Later a more drastic attempt is made to harmonize the Latin alphabet, the English futhorc and the sounds of O.H.G. *þ* disappears, though its name *þorn* in the form *dorn* is attached to \mathfrak{M} ; the A.S. name of \mathfrak{M} (*dæg*) is changed to *tac* and attached to \uparrow , while Υ , for which O.H.G. had no use in its proper value *ea*, is baptised *ziu*, which corresponds with A.S. *tiw* (found also in the alphabets as *ti* and *tir*).

However the equation of Bavarian *Er* and A.S. *ear* is etymologically unsound, and the association of Υ with the god *Ziu* is quite fortuitous, for the following reasons:—

(1) The use of Υ to represent the sound of *z* [ts] is by no means universal; cf. e.g. *Stephens Nos. 13* and *18* where varieties of the Latin *z* are used and *No. 20*, where the last letter of the Northumbrian futhorc \mathfrak{X} (*gaar*) is similarly thrust into the gap.

(2) Υ is a specifically English letter invented to represent the $\bar{e}a$ which arose from Gmc. *au*: it is not found in inscriptions outside the English area, and where it occurs in O.H.G. futhorcs and alphabets it is legitimate to assume that it has been borrowed from England.

(3) The sound *z* [z], which existed in the parent Gmc. and was represented by Ψ in the old futhark, disappeared both in English and German, though the letter kept its place in the series and was sometimes used in the later Runic alphabets to fill the vacant place of the Latin *x*. When, therefore, by the Fourth Sound-Shifting a new *z* [ts] developed

in O.H.G. it was necessary to find a fresh symbol. Now ƿ was the last letter of the 28 letter English futhorc found, for instance, on the Thames-scrāmāsax [the characters for guttural *c* and *g* seem to have been confined to Northumbria]; moreover O.H.G. had no use for an *ea* character.

Put shortly, the association of the character ƿ with the name of the god Ziu appears to be due to the following causes:

By a sound-change peculiar to O.H.G. (the Fourth Sound-Shifting) the dentals experienced a general shift round, $b > d > t > z$, the effect of which was the loss of *b* and the appearance of a new sound *z* [ts]. The disappearance of *b* was welcomed rather than otherwise, since it was an alien which could not be found a place in the Latin alphabet, but it was necessary to find a symbol for *z*. ƿ happened not to be needed in its proper A.S. value of *ea*, and moreover to be the last letter of the non-Northumbrian futhorc. It was therefore taken over, but its original name *ear* discarded in order to avoid the confusion which would arise if the initial of the name of a letter were other than the letter itself. Naturally it inherited the name *ziu* which in its shifted form was no longer appropriate to its original possessor ↑.

ii. 57 n. 4. Recent articles on 'Jupiter-columns' are listed by W. Deonna in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1917 xxx. 348, *ib.* 1918 xxxi. 434. Add F. Hertlein 'Zu älteren Funden des Juppitergigantenkreises' in *Germania* 1917 i. 101—105 with 2 figs., *id.* 'Der Zusammenhang der Juppitergigantengruppen' *ib.* 1917 i. 136—143 with 9 figs. R. Forrer 'Zur Frage der Juppitergigantensäulen' in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1912 v. 60 f. questions Hertlein's Germanic interpretation of the columns on two grounds ((1) 'dass an vielen Orten, so z. B. in Zabern, die neben Juppitergigantenresten auf Inschriften gefundenen Personennamen nicht germanische sondern keltische sind'; (2) 'dass schon auf vorrömisch gallischen Münzen eine verwandte Darstellung Platz gegriffen hat').

ii. 86. On the group from *Luxeuil* see now É. Espérandieu in the *Rev. Arch.* 1917 i. 72—86 with two figs. (summarised in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1918 xxii. 220). Espérandieu argues that the rider was Iupiter with an astral wheel, that the horse should be restored in a rearing or galloping posture, and that the human head supporting its foot was part of a giant with snaky legs.

ii. 90. Mr C. D. Bicknell notes a second example—*British Museum: A Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain* London 1922 p. 20 f. fig. 10 'Half of a stone octagon, with reliefs in niches of the deities presiding over the days of the week, was found by Horsley in the mill at Chesterford, Essex, where it had been used by the local blacksmith as a water-trough for cooling his iron.'

ii. 90. The 'Jupiter-column' had a long history in front of it as well as behind it—witness the sacred pillars revered by thousands today in France and Spain. Miss J. E. Harrison 'The Pillar and the Maiden' in the *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 1907 v. 65—77 has drawn attention to the cult of La Vierge du Pilier at Chartres and to the multiplied pillar-shrines of her Cathedral (bibliography by U. Chevalier *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge* Montbéliard 1895 p. 661 ff.). Similarly at Zaragoza the Apostle James (Santiago) built a chapel on the spot where he had seen a vision of the Virgin poised on a pillar of jasper and attended by angels (A. F. Calvert *Valladolid, Oviedo, Segovia, Zamora, Avila, & Zaragoza* London 1908 p. 158 ff. with pls. 348 and 349 Our Lady del Pilar).

ii. 93 ff. The Column of Mayence continues to provoke discussion. To the bibliography (ii. 93 n. 3) add F. Quilling 'Zur grossen Jupitersäule von Mainz' in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1913 vi. 49—53, K. Körber *Die grosse Jupitersäule im Altertumsmuseum der Stadt Mainz* Mainz 1915 pp. 1—28 with 10 pls. and 9 figs. (reviewed by K. Wigand in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1915 viii. 47 f.), F. Drexel 'Zur Mainzer Jupitersäule' in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1915 viii. 67—69, F. Quilling 'Zur grossen Jupitersäule in Mainz' in *Germania* 1917 i. 43—45, *id.* *Die Jupiter-Säule des Samus und Severus* Leipzig 1918 pp. 1—236 with many figs. (reviewed by F. Drexel in *Germania* 1919 iii. 28—32, J. P. Waltzing in *Le Musée Belge* 1921 xxv. 221—226, cp. *Class. Rev.* 1922 xxxvi. 141), F. Quilling *Die Nerosäule des Samus und Severus* Leipzig 1919 pp. 1—32 with 2 figs. ('Nachtrag' to the 1918 volume by the same author), *id.* *Die Jupiter-Votivsäule der Mainzer Canabarii. Eine neue Erklärung ihres Bildschmuckes* Frankfurt 1919 pp. 1—16 with figs. and 2 pls. (reviewed by F. Drexel in *Germania* 1919 iii. 127 f.).

Of points made since my section on the subject (*supra* p. 93 ff.) was written the most important is the discovery by P. T. Kessler, assistant of the Mayence Museum, that two

drums of the column have hitherto been incorrectly placed. Kessler observed that in its first, fourth, and fifth drums the run-holes for lead ('Gussrinnen') were contrived at the back of the shaft. If the same rule was followed for the second and third drums, we must suppose that their front figures were Volcanus and the goddess with the scales. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that a lance-tip carved beneath Ceres' altar on the lower edge of the second drum is now seen to be the point of Neptunus' staff on the first drum—an adjustment further certified by an incised mark ('Versatzmarke') on the two adjacent edges. Another mark above the helmet of Virtus on the second drum is likewise found to fit on to its prolongation below the figure of Pax on the third drum. The whole rearrangement may be set out as follows:

SHAFT OF THE COLUMN	IVNO <i>Regina</i>	Luna		Sol	
	Genius Neronis	Lar	Bacchus	Lar	
	VENVS	Pax	Iuno <i>Sancta</i>	VESTA	
	VOLCANVS	Virtus	CERES	Honos	
	Victoria	MARS	DIANA	NEPTVNVS	
	UPPER PLINTH	Inscription	Castor	APOLLO	Pollux
	LOWER PLINTH	IVPITER	MERCVRIVS and Maia (?)	Hercules	MINERVA and Fortuna
	FRONT	LEFT SIDE	BACK	RIGHT SIDE	

Quilling now maintains that the entire monument refers to its dedicators, the Canabarii. Virtus and Honos are (as Maass suggested) personifications of Mayence and Castel. Victoria between Mars and Neptunus denotes the success of the fourteenth legion, formerly stationed at Mayence, over the British Boudicca in 61 A.D. Volcanus is there to avert the risk of fire from the corn-ears of Ceres, who represents the harbour-quarter. The goddess with the scales is the patron of Mayence market. She that sets foot on the cow's head and she that has the horse (?) stand for cattle-breeding. Pax is for petty trade. The Genius Neronis becomes the Genius Canabensium. Apollo hails from the Vicus Apollinensis. Etc., etc. But Quilling's views succeed one another at such a pace that the foregoing identifications are, for aught I know, already superannuated.

ii. 97 n. o. H. Mattingly in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1920 x. 38 described an *aureus* of Nero, which has *rev.* IVPPITER LIBERATOR Iupiter enthroned to left with a thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his left—a thin disguise for the emperor himself. Mr Mattingly supposed that this coin was struck at Corinth (?) in 67 A.D. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Emp.* i pp. clxxxiii f., 214 no. 110 pl. 40, 15), but he is careful to state that its authenticity has been very seriously questioned (*ib.* p. clxxxiv n. 1). Coppers of Patrai, issued under Nero, show *rev.* IVPPITER LIBERATOR Iupiter, nude, standing to left with an eagle on his right hand and a sceptre in his left (Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² ii. 243, 256, B. Pick in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1890 xvii. 180 ff.).

ii. 98 n. 3. On the statuette from Woodchester see also Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 529 pl. 31, a ('must be a fragment of a statue of Artemis Tauropolos, standing on the bull and carrying a torch'), and S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 29 fig. 3 ('Cérès'), i. 422 ('Déméter-Cérès').

ii. 106 n. 2. Add R. Traquair and A. J. B. Wace 'The Base of the Obelisk of Theodosius' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 60—69 with 7 figs.

ii. 121 ff. on Thracian tattooing. P. Wolters in *Hermes* 1903 xxxviii. 265—273 explains the name Ἐλαφστικτος (*Lys. or.* 13. 19 Θεόκριτον τὸν τοῦ Ἐλαφστικτοῦ καλούμενον)

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nomination and consecration of Germanus to the episcopal throne of *Auxerre* in the room of himself. 'For,' said the saint, 'God has revealed to me that my life draweth to a close.' A few days later Amator died, while Germanus became bishop in his stead and ruled the see well (S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints*² Edinburgh 1914 v. 13 f.). Amator's festival falls on May 1).

There are points about this curious narrative which suggest that we have here in an attenuated, Christianised, form a Gallic parallel to the cult of Diana *Nemorensis*.

ii. 157 n. o. F. Courby *Les vases grecs à reliefs* Paris 1922 pp. 509—513 ('Oenochoés à portraits de reines') enumerates four examples and sundry fragments, which commemorate Arsinoë ii, Berenike ii, and Ptolemy iv Philopator. With unimportant variations, all repeat the same type, derived—according to Courby—from a statue of Arsinoë ii with the attributes of Tyche set up by Ptolemy ii Philadelphos (Athen. 497 B—C) in her temple at Alexandria (Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 108) together with an obelisk eighty cubits high (*id. ib.* 36. 67 f.).

ii. 174. In the *Rev. Arch.* 1920 i. 172 C. Picard attempts to discredit the *omphalos* found by F. Courby within the temple of Apollon. He suggests that it is perhaps a mere weight and that its inscription may not after all be archaic. But Mr C. T. Seltman, who at my request has made a careful examination of the original stone, sends me (Jan. 11, 1923) the following report: 'After our trip to Delphi, from which we returned four days ago, I must write and tell you what I think about *the Omphalos*, which is now placed in the Museum there. It seems to me that the suggestion of its being a forgery can only be born of madness or malice! The thing is smaller than one expected it to be, but it is to my thinking impossible that it should be a fake. The Π upon it is clear as are $\wedge\Delta$; but the *sigma* of $\wedge\Delta Z$ is so mutilated by a large fracture in the stone that it might be almost any letter.'

ii. 176 n. 1. On Themis at Delphoi see also F. Couthy in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 81, who notes the inscription restored by G. Colin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903 xxvii. 107 no. 684 B, 14 f. $\epsilon\phi\iota\omicron\rho\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ [\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\varsigma]\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \text{'}\text{Απόλλων Πύθιος καὶ Λατὼ καὶ Ἄρτεμις καὶ} \text{'Εστία καὶ πῦρ ἀθάνατον καὶ θεοὶ πά[ντες καὶ πᾶσαι κακίστωι ὀλέθρῳ τήν] | σωτηρίαν μοι [ἀφέλωσι]ν, κ.τ.λ.$

In the hymn composed by Aristonoös of Corinth and inscribed on the Athenian Treasury at Delphoi we read how Apollon first occupied the oracular seat *πέλοσας Γαῖαν ἀνθοτρόφον* | *Θέμιν τ' εὐπλόκαμον θεάν* (G. Colin in the *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 2. 213 ff. no. 191, 18 f.).

ii. 176 n. 2. W. H. Roscher 'Die Bedeutung des E zu Delphi und die übrigen γράμματα Δελφικά' in *Philologus* 1900 lix. 21—41 labours to prove that the mystic $\epsilon\iota$ is for *πρόσει, εἰσει*, "komm her" oder "Willkommen." This, to my mind, is quite impossible Greek.

ii. 190 n. o. Further references for the history of *rhytlé* are given by F. W. von Bissing in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 106—109.

ii. 193. On the evolution of the tripod see now K. Schwendemann 'Der Dreifuss' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1921 xxxvi. 98—185 with figs. 1—30. *Id. ib.* p. 183 f. discusses the relation of the tripod to Zeus on vases and coins.

ii. 193 n. 2. Cp. the twelfth-century fonts at Winchester etc. (C. H. Eden *Black Tournai Fonts in England* London 1909 pp. 1—32 with good plates), which in appearance at least perpetuate this ancient form of libation-table.

ii. 195 n. 1. A. Furtwängler 'Zum plataischen Weihgeschenk in Delphi' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1904 pp. 413—417 (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 477) figures the upper surface of the highest extant step of the Plataean tripod, and explains three symmetrically arranged slots in it as due to tenons which passed through the top step of the base and thus tethered the tripod-feet to the second step. If so, we must suppose that the legs of the tripod were drawn somewhat closer together than I have placed them (*supra* p. 194 fig. 134). Furtwängler's inference, however, is not quite secure, since the serpent-coil, which he too takes to have been the central support of the caldron, has left no trace whatever on the second step. It may be that the three slots in question served merely for dowels fastening this step to the one above it, in which serpent-coil and legs were alike embedded.

Re the Plataean tripod see now R. M. Dawkins in *Folk-Lore* 1924 xxxv. 234 f., 380.

ii. 208 f. In this connexion Miss H. Richardson of Newnham College drew my attention (Oct. 24, 1924) to Plout. *de sera num. vind.* 22 566 D $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\ \delta'\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega\nu\ \epsilon\pi\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\hat{\omega}\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\ \phi\hat{\omega}\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\rho\iota\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma,\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon,\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\hat{\omega}\nu\ \kappa\acute{\omicron}\lambda\pi\omega\nu\ \tau\hat{\eta}\varsigma\ \Theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}$

μενον εἰς τὸν Παρθασόν· καὶ προθυμούμενος ἰδεῖν οὐκ εἶδεν ὑπὸ λαμπρότητος, ἀλλ' ἤκουε παριῶν φωνὴν ὀξείαν γυναικὸς ἐν μέτρῳ φράζουσαν ἀλλὰ τέ τινα καὶ χρόνον, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς ἐκείνου τελευτῆς. We have here, apparently, Themis on the Delphic tripod impregnated by the central pillar of light (= Apollon: cp. *supra* p. 178).

ii. 222 n. 2. On Iason swallowed by the snake see further P. Ducati 'Giasone e il serpente' in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1920 xxix. 52—64 (p. 53 fig. 1 *kylix* from Cervetri, p. 61 fig. 3 bronze *kyathos* from Felsina).

ii. 229 n. 7. Zeus as Artemis wooing Kallisto is the subject of a painting by F. Boucher (1703—1770 A.D.) (W. Hausenstein *Der nackte Mensch in der Kunst aller Zeiten* München 1918 p. 122 fig. 84).

ii. 281 n. 4. For the golden vine overhanging the entrance to Herod's temple Mr G. C. Armstrong quotes also Ioseph. *de bell. Iud.* 5. 5. 4.

ii. 282. Mr B. F. C. Atkinson has kindly supplied me (Apr. 28, 1922) with a *Note on the Name Sabazios*:—

'I suggest the following etymology for *Sabazios*. The second part I believe to be *Zios*, *Dios*, the Phrygian Zeus. The change of *d* to a sound represented by *zeta* in Thracian is frequent and seems regular, whether it be, as Kretschmer suggests (*Einleitung* p. 196), due to "Assibilation des *d* vor *i*," or whether, as is perhaps more probable, a change of *d* to the voiced dental spirant *ḍ* took place over the whole Illyrian—Thracian—Phrygian language area. The disappearance of intervocalic digamma may be due to conscious assimilation by Greek transcribers to Gk. *Δια*, *Διός*, etc., although it is well to remember in this connection that there is a form of the stem that contains no *μ* (Skt. *dyam*, Gk. *Ζῆν*, Lat. *diem*).

The first part of the compound adapts itself with surprising regularity to the root given by Brugmann as **kēṃd*, which appears with varying ablaut in Skt. *śivīṣṭhas*, *śvātrās*, *śvāyati*, *śhras*, Gk. *κύος*, *κύρος* and Boeotian τὰ πῶματα. The root has the general meaning of "swell," "be important," "be master," "possess." *Sabazios* would thus mean originally "Lord Zeus."

There seems to be another possible etymology for the first part of the compound. The root occurring in Skt. *kāviṣ*, Gk. *κοῖω*, Lat. *caueo*, Goth. **us-skodus* may be in evidence here. If this is the case, the initial *s* can be explained in two ways. It may represent an *s*-sound and illustrate the Thracian treatment of the I.-E. combination *sq*-. More probably we have in Thracian that form of the stem that shows no initial sibilant (as in the examples cited from Skt., Gk., and Lat.), in which case concealed beneath *sigma* is the sound *ts* (final in Eng. *thatch*). The Messapian and Lycian inscriptions, if correctly interpreted by Deecke, throw light on this view. There we find *sigma* or *zeta* used for a sound that represents the I.-E. velar (Messap. *sis* for **quis*, a proper name *Plaxet* with genitive *Plaxtas*; Lyc. *sättäre*, "four," etc.: vd. Deecke in *Bezz. Beitr.* Vols. xii, xiii, xiv), though it is true that it is the labialised velar that in these cases undergoes palatalisation. In this case *Sabazios* would mean "Zeus the wise one" with a hint at prophetic power (cf. *caueo*), somewhat resembling "augur Apollo." Then we could regard the *Sauadaï* or *Saboi*, whose connection with the god seems obvious, as his "wise ones" or "seers."

The former of these two etymologies is perhaps the more straightforward; but there is no real barrier to the second (though it would scarcely have been possible apart from the evidence of the Messapian and Lycian inscriptions). In either case the *beta* represents a *v*-sound, as the alternative forms (*Sauvasios*, *Sauasios*, *Saonios*, *Savusios*, *Sabadios*) make clear, and this derives almost certainly from an earlier *u*. The *a* of the first syllable, whether it represent older *e* or *o*, is assimilated to the following *a*, a practice which seems regular in Illyrian and Thracian (cf., for example, *Delminium* but *Dalmatae*, *-poris* but *-para*). Thus the former etymology would give us *Savaḍios*, the latter *Tṣavaḍios*.

ii. 282 n. 2. P. Roussel—J. Hatzfeld in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1909 xxxiii. 511 no. 29 publish a marble slab, from a house N.W. of the *agorá* of Theophrastos in Delos, inscribed in late lettering Δειὲ Σαβαζίω(ι) --- | κατ' εὐχὴν Μο --- | του γεγονότος --- | ἐν Δήλωι ΑΙΛ[λου?] ---. See also P. Roussel *Délos Colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 276 n. 7.

ii. 285 n. 0 no. (3). The relief from Philadelphieia (*Ala-Shehir*) in Lydia, hitherto incorrectly described, is figured from a photograph (= my fig. 1011) by J. Keil—A. von Premerstein 'Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1911 ii Abh. p. 84 no. 2. A bearded man standing erect, in *chiton* and *himation*, holds

his garment with his left hand. With his right hand he pours a libation from a *phiale* into a *kratér*, set on the ground, about which two snakes are twined, apparently drinking out



Fig. 1011.

of it. Behind the *kratér* is seen a tree (oak ??), from which a snake lowers itself towards the *phiale*.

ii. 290 n. o. Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie 'Funereal Figures in Egypt' in *Ancient Egypt* 1916 pp. 151—162 draws attention to the existing African custom of treasuring in the family the head of the deceased father and uses it to elucidate certain sepulchral practices of the ancient Egyptians. He shows that in many burials of prehistoric times the head was removed and later replaced in the grave, if not lost or buried elsewhere; that in tomb-shafts of the fourth dynasty a stone image of the head was provided in case the actual head should be lost or injured; that at the break-up of the Old Kingdom a stone image of the mummy came into vogue; and that the addition of hands, arms, etc. led on to the fully developed *ushabti* figures of the seventeenth and following dynasties.

P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 303 notes relevant facts in the Scandinavian area.

ii. 295 n. 1. On Ἄδαμνα = Ἄττις see now W. Vollgraff 'De voce thracia ἄδαπταῖς' in *Mnemotopne* 1921 xlix. 286—294 (summarised by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 406 f.).

ii. 322 n. 6. In the Hesychian gloss on the word *κυνακίας* J. Alberti rightly conjectured *διδόμενοι* for *διδόμενον*. He is followed by Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 68.

ii. 326. See now Miss M. A. Murray *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* Oxford 1921.

ii. 345. The formula of the Cretan mystics (*βοῦς μέγας*) may help to clear up an obscure epigram of Kallimachos—'οὔτος ἐμὸς λόγος ὕμνῳ ἀληθινός· εἰ δὲ τὸν ἠδὺν | βούλει, Πελλάτου βοῦς μέγας εἰν Ἀίδῃ' (Kallim. *ep.* 15. 5 f. with A. W. Mair's note *ad loc.*).

ii. 345 n. 6. On the survival of this formula into the middle ages see some interesting remarks by W. Deonna in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 412.

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transliteration from one language into the other g (γ) and k (κ), d (δ) and t (τ), b (β) and p (π) are interchangeable: for references and examples see my article on "Apollo and the Apple" in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 1922 vii. 138—140. I have in this article tried to show that in respect of the sets of stops which are *fortes* or *lenes* there is a probability of the Illyrian dialects agreeing with Latin rather than Greek. If then, as I have ventured to surmise, the god's name were borrowed by the Greeks from an Illyrian dialect, in which the form had a voiced stop and was connected with the stem meaning "apple," which runs through the northern languages and appears probably in the name of *Abella* in Campania, the unvoicing of the stop in transmission, that is to say, the change from b to p , need cause us no surprise. The suggestion is somewhat strengthened by the occurrence of the proper names *Abellio* (dat. *Abellioni*) in an inscription from Salona on the Dalmatian coast (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 2169, 3) and *Abello* (gen. *Abellonis*) in another from Mursa in Pannonia Inferior (*ib.* iii no. 10271, 3).'

ii. 496 n. o. On Zeus Περφερέτας or Φερφερέτας as worshipped by the Phrouroi (originally conservators of a particular stretch of the Sacred Way?) see now F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 90 n. 7.

ii. 498 n. 2: 'Has it been noticed etc.?' The answer is, Yes. See Campbell Bonner in the *Am. Journ. Philol.* 1900 xxi. 433—437.

ii. 500 f. I have doubted, and still doubt, Artemis' northern *provenance*. But see, on the other side, an interesting paper by Mr J. Whatmough 'Inscribed fragments of stags-horn from North Italy' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1921 xi. 245—253. He would equate Ἄρτεμις, not only with Βριτόμαρτις (= Φριτόμαρτις), but also with *Rehtia* at Este and *Rit-* in Magrè.

ii. 542. W: Gaerte 'Die Bedeutung der kretisch-minoischen Horns of Consecration' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1922 xxi. 91 n. 2 interprets the problematic object between the horns of my fig. 415 f. as the sun between the peaks of an 'Erdsymbol' (mountains).

ii. 575 n. 4. The coin of Euromos that shows the local Zeus with a stag (cp. ii. 575 n. 1) suggests that Zeus has here replaced Artemis Ἐφεσία. Note that the similar Zeus on coins of Mylasa was, like Artemis at Ephesos (ii. 408 n. o), linked to the ground with fillets (ii. 574), and that the Zeus of Euromos is covered with dots, which may represent breasts (ii. 592 ff.).

ii. 578 n. 4. Add A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 330 ff. no. 146, A 17 ff. ἵνα δὲ καὶ διαμνημονεύηται τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον καὶ τηρῆται τὰ δεδογμένα, συνέταξαν τὰ περὶ τούτων ἐψηφισμένα ἀναγράψαι ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἱεροῖς τῶι τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς | τοῦ Λαβραῦνδου· συνετέλεσαν δὲ καὶ εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας | τοῖς τε προειρημένοις θεοῖς καὶ τῆι Ἐστίαι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Διδυμεί, B 71 ff. ὅπως δὲ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου | τίμια μνημονεύηται εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον, ἀναγράψαι γόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐ[ν] | τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῶι τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραῦνδου. ἵνα δ[έ] | ἕκαστα γίνηται μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐμενείας, τὸ μὲν στεφανηφόρον | μετὰ τοῦ ἱέρου τῆι Ἐστίαι θύσαι καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Διδυμέ[ως] καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τὸν τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραῦνδου προσαγαγεῖν θυσίαν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ εὐχὰς ποιήσασθαι συνενεγκεῖν | ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀμφοτέραις τὰ ἐψηφισμένα (in a treaty between Miletos and Mylasa, 209/8 B.C.).

ii. 583. E. W. Fay in the *Class. Quart.* 1917 xi. 215 derives Πορ-ειδᾶρων from *ποτι-, 'lord,' and EID, 'to swell.'

ii. 587. Unexpected confirmation of O. Höfer's conjectural Zeus Σπάλαξος has recently come to hand. The British Museum has acquired an imperial bronze coin of Aphrodisias in Karia, on which he actually appears. Mr G. F. Hill kindly allows me to illustrate it here for the first time (fig. 1013). *Obv.* ΚΡΙΣΠΕΙΝΑ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑ Bust of Crispina to right. *Rev.* ΣΕΥΣΣΠ Α Λ[Α]ΞΟΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙ [Ε]ΩΝ Zeus Σπάλαξος (less probably Σπάλωξος) enthroned to left with Nike in right hand and long sceptre in left.



Fig. 1013.

ii. 596 fig. 499. In J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* iii) Bruxelles 1910 i. 161 f. no. 146 H. Grégoire gives a photographic cut of the whole relief, a facsimile of its inscription (which he transcribes as Ζώβη (or Ζιώβη) | θεᾶ (or θεαῖς) | σι though various other letters are visible in lines 4, 5, 6), and a commentary.

ii. 619 n. 4. On the Mithraeum of Allmendingen, excavated 1824—1825, see further Lohner in *Der Schweizerische Geschichtsforscher* 1834 viii (wrongly numbered ix). 430 ff. pl. 5, F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles

1896 ii. 505 figs. 450—455. Seven little hatchets of bronze were found, inscribed IOVI, MIVIERVAE, etc.

ii. 625 n. 3. Mr A. J. B. Wace, lecturing to the Classical Society at Cambridge on Nov. 27, 1922, described how in the last season's 'dig' at Mykenai the British School had excavated various tombs outside the town. In the entrance to tomb no. 515 were found two seal-stones, dating from s. xv B.C., with an almost identical device. Above a stepped base stands a 'Minoan' goddess, flanked by a pair of lions erect upon their hind legs. On her head she supports a double axe, which rises from the centre of a couple of two-headed snakes connected by cross-bars—apparently a serpentine substitute for the more usual 'horns of consecration' (cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 54 f. no. 762 pls. 6 and 7). Fig. 1014 is enlarged $\frac{2}{3}$ from a cast supplied to me by the British Museum. The main difference between the two stones is that on this one the lions' tails curl upwards, on the other downwards. Mr Wace aptly drew attention to Hesych. s. *πυ. κύβηλις· μάχαιρα. ἀμεινον δὲ πέλεκυν, ὃ τὰς βούς καταβάλλουσι, κυβηλίσαι· πελεκίσαι· κύβηλις γὰρ ὁ πέλεκυς*, and accordingly proposed to call the goddess Kybele (*id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 264 'Kybele or Rhea').



Fig. 1014.

ii. 632 n. 6. Add an axe of dark brown schist, decorated with zigzags and spirals and ending in the forepart of a lioness, found in a 'Middle Minoan iii' vase at Mallia (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1925 p. 23 f. fig.).

ii. 633 ff. The axes borne by Roman lictors may be illustrated from a fragmentary marble relief now affixed to a wall of the Cryptoporticus on the Palatine. Fig. 1015 is from a photograph taken by my friend and colleague Mr A. Munro, Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge. It will be observed that the haft of every axe is surmounted by a head (lion, man, ram).

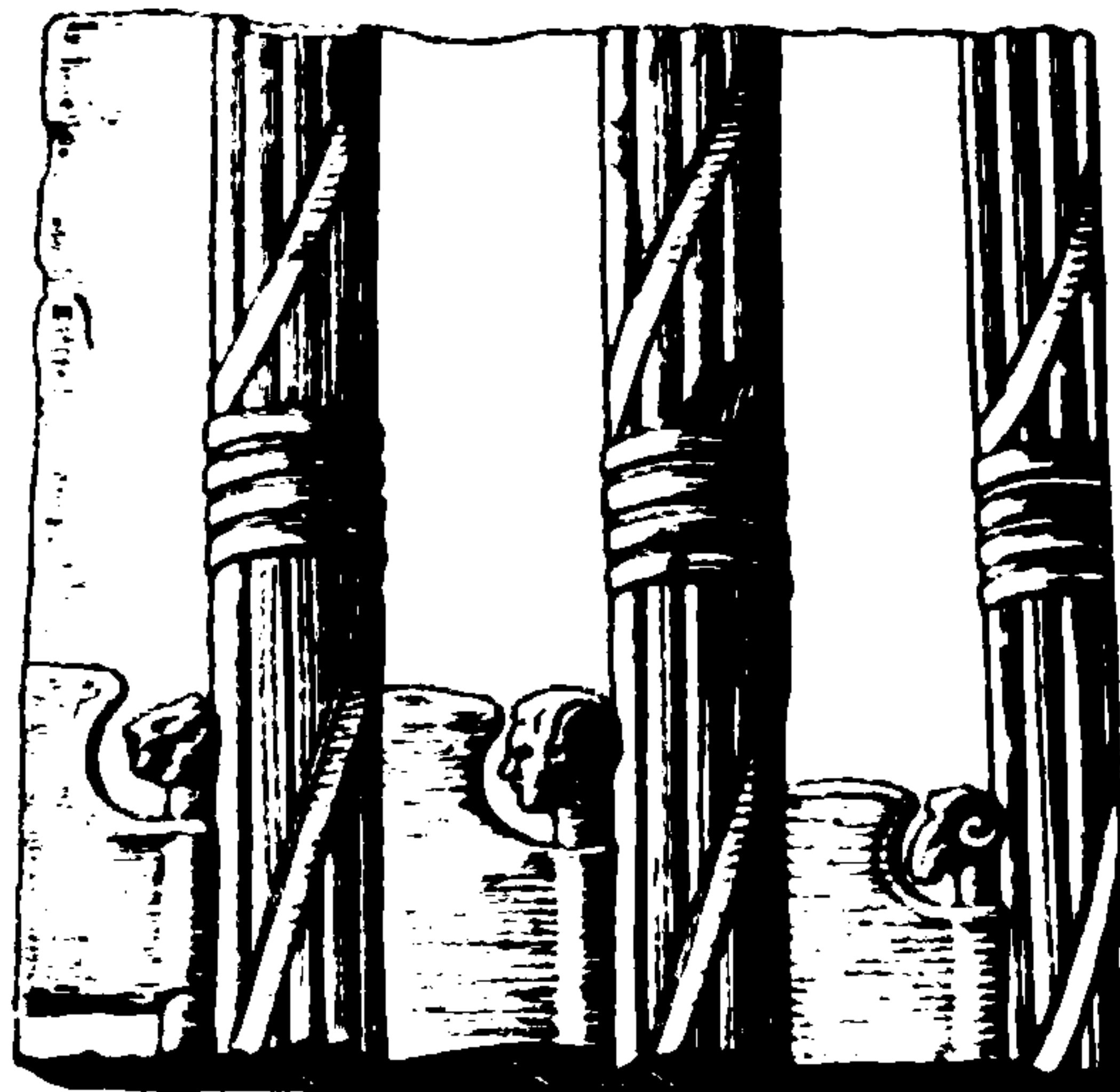


Fig. 1015.

The 'Tomb of the Lictor' at Vetulonia takes its name from an iron double axe (0.27^m long) hafted on to an iron rod surrounded by eight hollow rods of iron (last published by D. Randall-MacIver *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* Oxford 1924 p. 145 fig. 56 after O. Montelius *La civilisation primitive en Italie depuis l'introduction des métaux* Stockholm 1904 Série B pl. 194, 5). Cp. *Sil. It.* 8. 483 ff.

ii. 637. Four fine examples of carving in amber (Eros v. Anteros, Bacchant, female bust, 'Tiergruppe') are figured by H. Maionica in the *Führer durch das K. K. Staatsmuseum in Aquileia* Wien 1910 p. 71 ff. Finer still (c. 0.40^m high) is the archaic *koσpos* of Fiumicino (S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1924 ii. 237).

ii. 645 n. 4. See now Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 53 ff.

ii. 660. A small double axe of ivory (fig. 1016: scale $\frac{1}{2}$), now in my possession, is said to have come from Pharsalos, but was more probably found at Pherai. With it were an ivory *fibula* of 'spectacle'-type and two bronze pendants of the Hallstatt period.

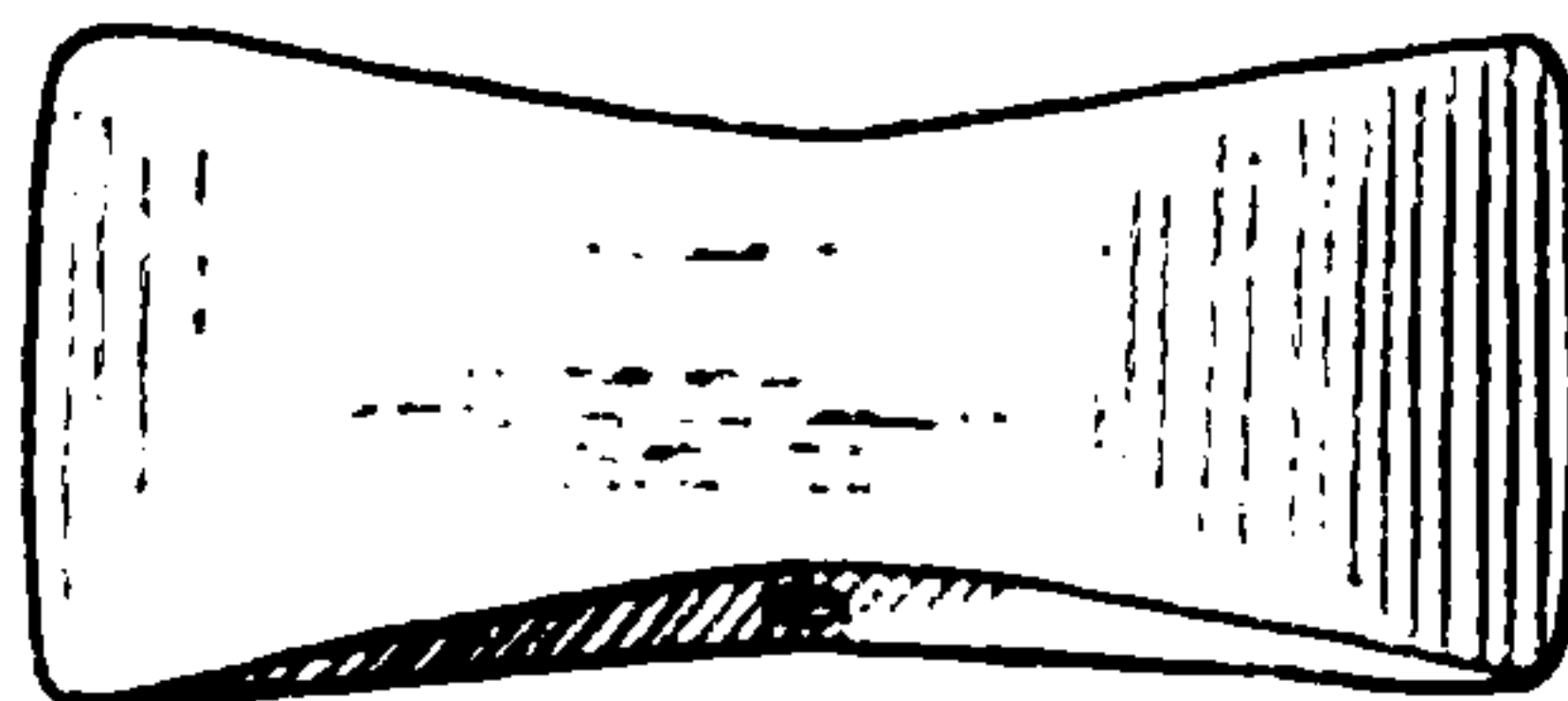


Fig. 1016.

ii. 667. Cp. Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 312 no. 8514 pl. 71 a red jasper of imperial date showing a crab with a comic mask as its carapace.

ii. 693 n. 4. See now an interesting study by W. R. Halliday 'Picus-who-is-also-Zeus' in the *Class. Rev.* 1922 xxxvi. 110—112.

ii. 716. F. J. M. De Waele 'ΧΡΥΣΑΩΡ' in *Le Musée Belge* 1924 xxviii No. 1 (January) holds that *ωορ* in this compound retains its original sense, 'arrow.' See *Class. Rev.* 1924 xxxviii. 92.

ii. 725 figs. 660, 661. A. della Seta *Italia antica* Bergamo 1922 p. 252 fig. 281 shows this statue as it stands in the Galleria dei Candelabri of the Vatican, with a bow restored in its right hand and an eagle in its left!

ii. 739. On statuettes of Zeus the thunderer see now S. Casson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1922 xiii. 211 f. figs. 4—6. He claims that a crude example of the type from Dodona (C. Carapanos *Dodone et ses ruines* Paris 1878 p. 32 no. 16 pl. 13, 4, S. Casson *loc. cit.* p. 211 f. fig. 4 (b) = my fig. 1017) is 'of the Geometric period.' If so, this would be the earliest known representation of Zeus in the round. Unfortunately it is not quite certain that Zeus was intended. The subject *may* be a fighting man, not a thundering god. The holes in his hands would suit spear and shield at least as well as they would suit thunderbolt and eagle. The absence of a helmet, however, tells in favour of Zeus.

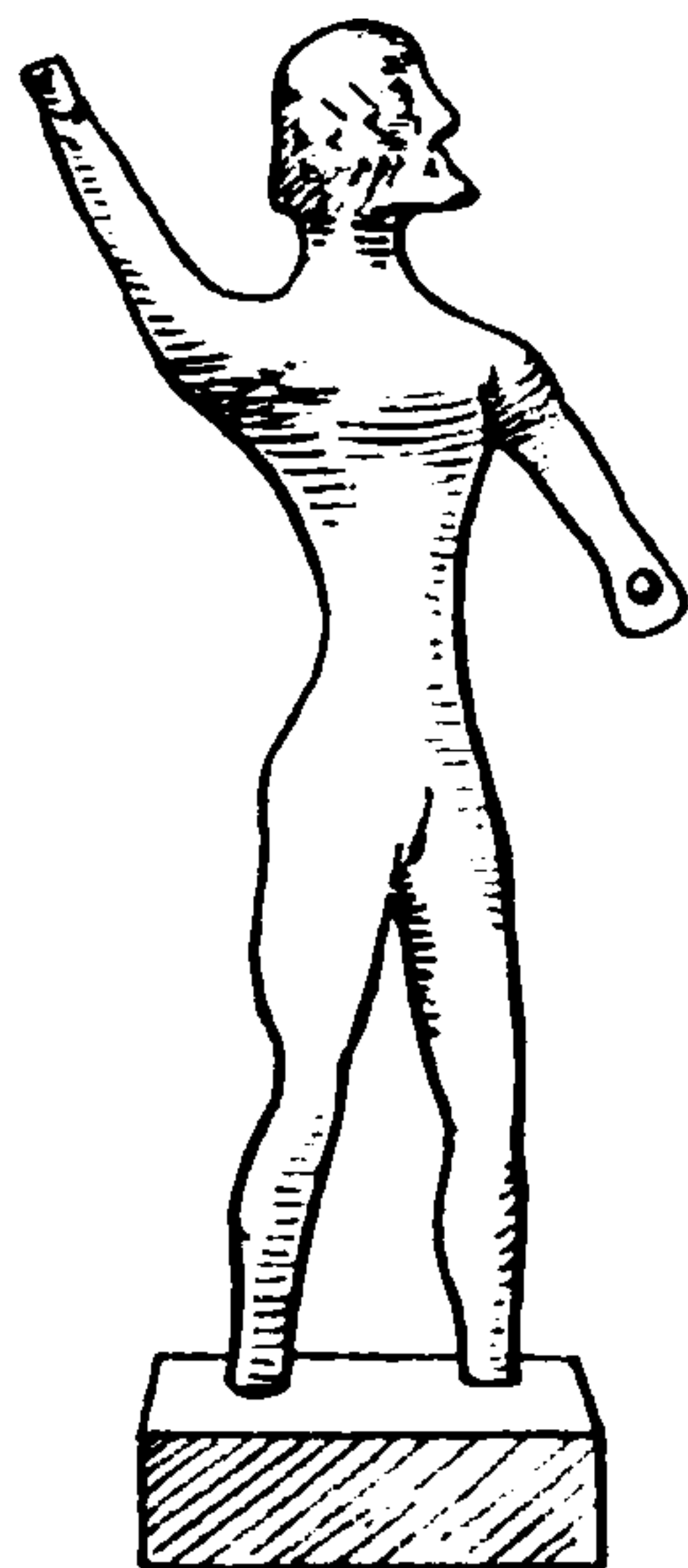


Fig. 1017.

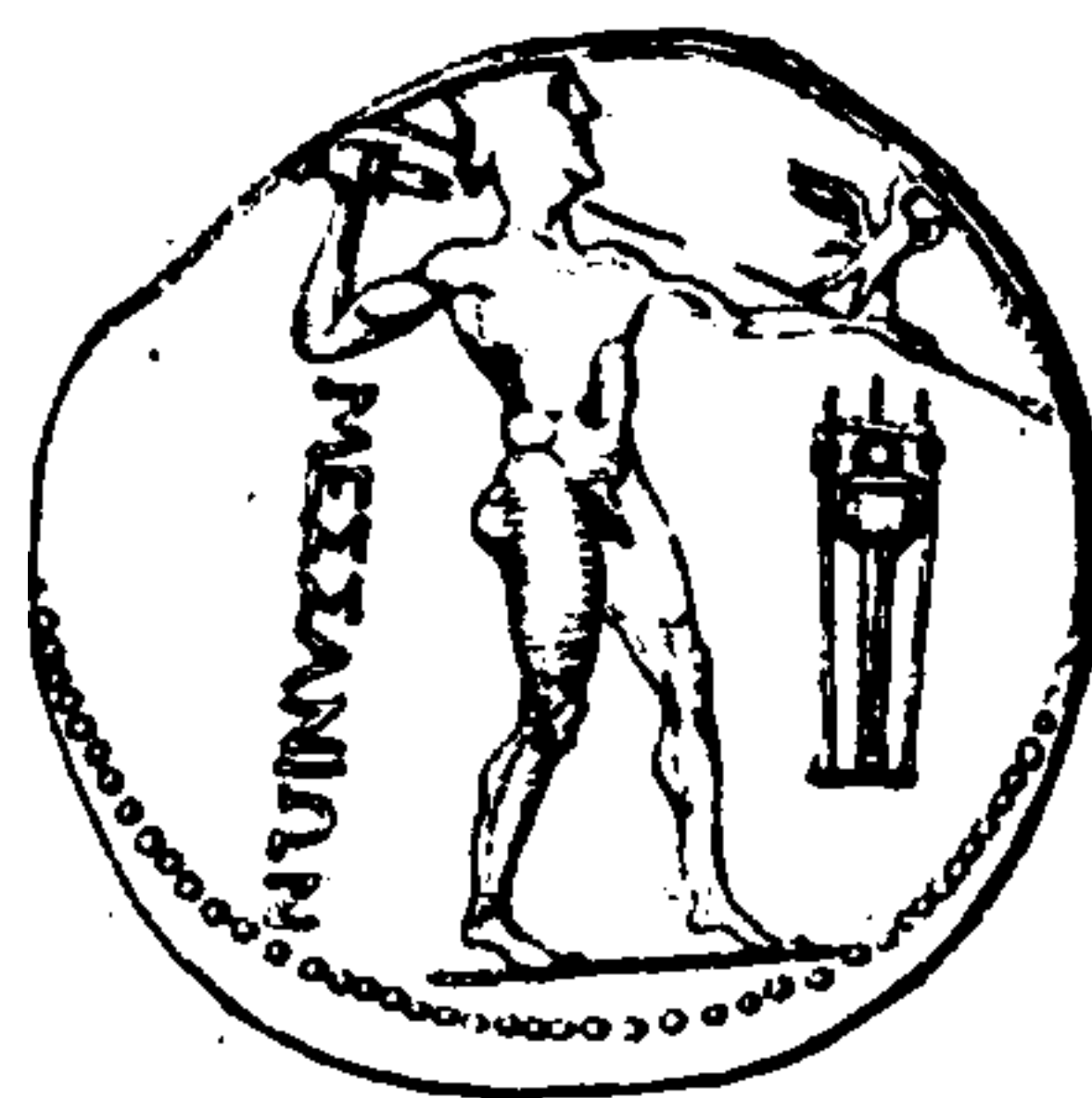
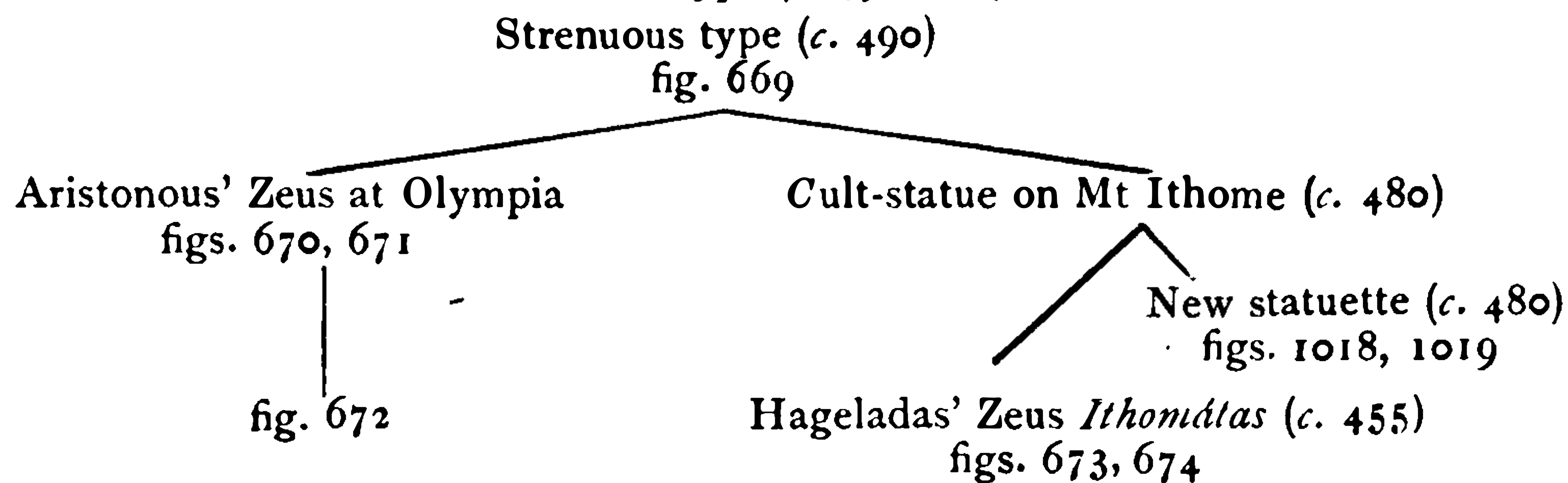


Fig. 1020.

ii. 741 f. K. A. Rhomaios in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1920—21 vi. 169—171 figs. 3—6 (of which figs. 5 and 6 = my figs. 1018 and 1019) publishes an archaic bronze statuette of Zeus, found in a wonderful state of preservation at Ambrakia in Aitolia and now installed in the National Museum at Athens (no. 14984. Height 0.165^m; with base, 0.188^m. Patina, blackish green). The god advances brandishing a bolt in his raised right hand and supporting an eagle on his outstretched left. Yet the action of his legs and arms is by no means strenuous. It agrees rather with the pose of Hageladas' Zeus on the coins of Messene (ii. 742 fig. 673 f.). Accordingly Rhomaios regards the new statuette as made under the influence of Hageladas' work, which he dates c. 480 B.C. (cp. C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 92 ff. and Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 318). But that is definitely to reject the testimony of Paus. 4. 33. 2 (see Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*). It is safer to conclude that the new statuette was an early faithful copy (c. 480 B.C.), Hageladas' masterpiece a later improved copy (c. 455 B.C.), of the same cult-statuette on Mt Ithome, which itself was a modification of the ancient strenuous type (c. 490 B.C.). We thus obtain the *stemma*:



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Fig. 1021.

illustration of it (fig. 1022) is drawn. The obverse is from the same die as that of fig. 701; the reverse, from the same die as that of fig. 700.

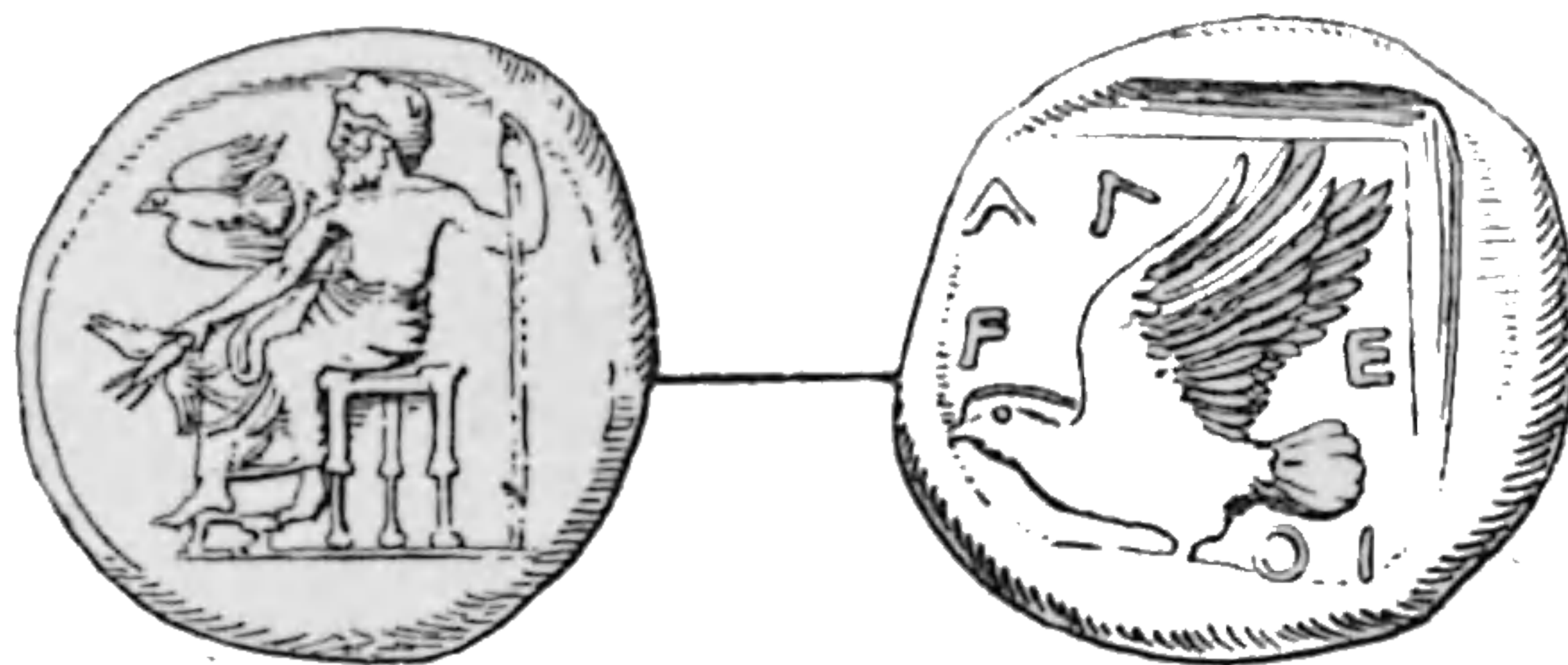


Fig. 1022.

ii. 771 fig. 735. For Zeus enthroned with a lotos in his hand cp. an Arabian imitation of a tetradrachm of Alexander, showing a beardless god enthroned to left with a flower instead of an eagle in his right hand (B. V. Head in the *Num. Chron. New Series* 1880 xx. 303 ff. pl. 15, 3, G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Arabia* etc. p. lxxxii pl. 50, 5).

ii. 774 n. 4. Miss M. E. H. Lloyd tells me (Oct. 7, 1922) that at Pitigliano in Grosseto during May and June the leaves of the *giglio* (*iris fiorentina*) are hung up outside the windows as a charm against lightning. The plant in leaf, before being hung up, is taken to the church to be blessed by the priest.

ii. 798. Mrs A. Strong 'Treasure from Vatican Rubbish' in *The Illustrated London News* 1922 clxi. 380 fig. 1 (=my fig. 1023) publishes, among other fragments of sculpture

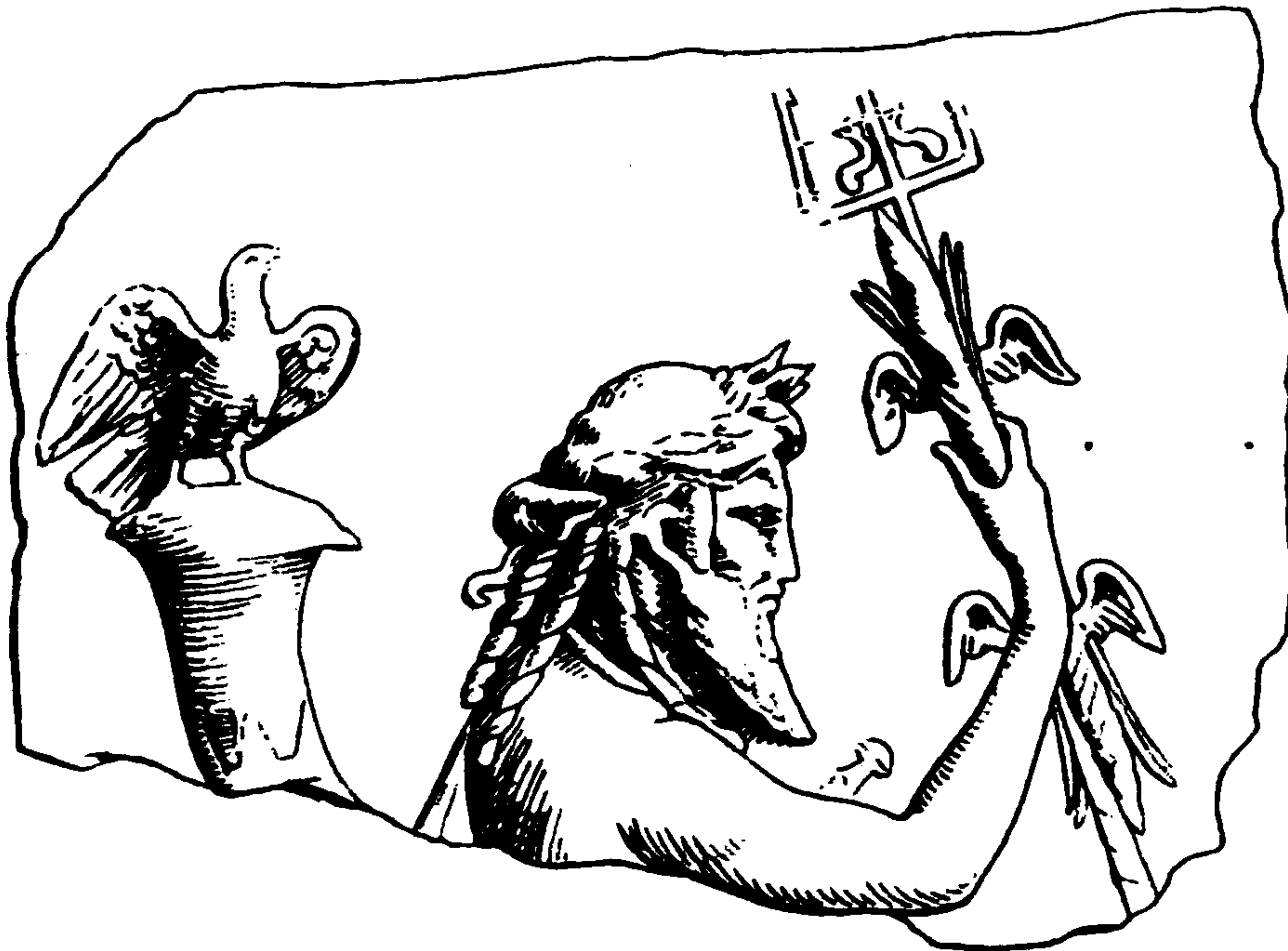


Fig. 1023.

found by W. Amelung in *magazzini* of the Vatican, a neo-Attic relief of s. i A.D., which shows 'a composite divinity, carrying the thunderbolt of Zeus, the trident of Poseidon, and the sword of Ares, while behind him an eagle perches upon a large cornucopia.' See also S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1923 i. 176.

ii. 799 n. 2. A fine bronze trident, which can be converted at will into a bident, was found in the Tomba del Tridente at Vetulonia and is figured by Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1905 iii. 85 fig. 415 a, b.

ii. 800 n. 1. A photograph of this vase with the restorations removed is now published by H. Schaal *Griechische Vasen aus frankfurter Sammlungen* Frankfurt am Main 1923 pl. 30, a.

ii. 802. Mr E. J. Seltman kindly informs me (Aug. 24, 1923) that he has recently seen a terra cotta of the same questionable sort on sale at Naples. He describes it as being 'About 6 inches high, and 4 broad. Hollow. On the back, in the centre, a round boss with T. A. On the front appear at the top, from left to right, the heads of Poseidon, Zeus, and Hades. Below [Zeus] is the thunderbolt, the trident below Poseidon, and below Hades his bidens. Underneath, an inscription of three short lines beginning DIS—.'

ii. 805 n. 6. For recent discussion of the three-bodied monster see A. Brückner in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 113—115.

ii. 807 n. 5 no. (3). V. Chapot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 168 no. 8 publishes the following inscription from a marble block, hollowed out to serve as a trough, in the village of *el-qābūsīje* (Seleukeia Pieria): ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ προβουλή (perhaps a misreading of [ἐ]ρ[ά] βουλή) Ῥ | [Γ]νάϊον Πομπήϊον Ζήνωνα, τὸν διὰ βίου νεωκόρον τοῦ Νεικηφόρου Κεραυ[λο]ῦ καὶ πατέρα τῆς πόλεως, κ.τ.λ. with date ἔτους δς' = 95 or 155 A.D.

ii. 818. G. Kazarow 'Nouvelles inscriptions relatives au Dieu Thrace Zbelsourdos' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 340 ff. adds two from the village *Golémio-Sélo* in the district *Durmitza*: (1) Κυρίω | θεῷ προγονικῷ Ζβελ|σοῦρδω Φλ. Ἄματοκος Φλ. Ἀ[μ]ατόκου υἱὸς | εὐξά[μ]ενος ἀνέθηκεν. (2) Τῷ κυρίω | Διὶ Ζβελ|σοῦρδω | ἀνέθηκεν | Τ. Φλα. Ἄμα[το]κος Τ. | Φ[λ]. Ἄματόκου υἱός].

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt 'Der thrakische Gott Zbelsurdos' in *Klio* 1921 xvii. 283—285 notes also V. Dobrusky *Archäol. Bericht des bulgar. Nationalmuseums* 1907 i. 152 no. 203 an inscription from the village *Chatrovo* in the district *Durmitza* Διὶ Ζβε[λ]|σοῦρδω | τῷ κυρίω Βελβαβρι|ηνοὶ κωμῆται | ἀνέθη|καν.

ii. 822 n. 13. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt *loc. cit.* proposes Cic. *in Pis.* 85 a te Iovis *Zbelsurdi fanum* etc.

ii. 823. J. Whatmough 'The *Iovilae*-dedications from S. Maria di Capua' in the *Class. Quart.* 1922 xvi. 181—189 would connect them with the cult of Iuno *Lucina* as goddess of motherhood and procreation.

ii. 826 n. 3. With the gong at Dodona cp. those discussed by J. Jüthner 'Die Schelle im Thiasos' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1904 vii. 146—150.

ii. 837 n. 1. The Phrygian Zeus ἐξ αὐλῆς is hardly to be connected with Plat. *Axioch.* 371 A—B εἰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον βούλει λόγον, δν ἐμοὶ ἠγγεῖλε Γωβρύης, ἀνὴρ μάγος· ἔφη κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν τὸν πάππον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμώνυμον, πεμφθέντα εἰς Δῆλον, ... ἐκ τινῶν χαλκῶν δέλτων, ἃς ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐκόμισαν Ὀπίς τε καὶ Ἐκαέργη, ἐκμεμαθηκέναι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος λύσιν τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸν ἀδελον χωρεῖν τόπον, κατὰ τὴν ὑπόγειον ὄκησιν, ἐν ᾗ βασιλεία Πλούτωνος οὐχ ἦττω τῆς τοῦ Διὸς αὐλῆς, ἅτε τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐχούσης τὰ μέσα τοῦ κόσμου, τοῦ δὲ πόντου ὄντος σφαιροειδοῦς, οὗ τὸ μὲν ἕτερον ἡμισφαίριον θεοὶ ἔλαχον οἱ οὐράνιοι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον οἱ ὑπένερθεν, οἱ μὲν ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες, οἱ δὲ ἀδελφῶν παῖδες.

ii. 869 n. 2. For Mt Pelion and its cults see now F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 pp. 41—43.

ii. 873 n. 2. Cp. Zeus *Karabós* of Akarnania (K. A. Rhomaios in the *Arch. Aelr.* 1918 iv. 117 ff. = *Suppl. Epigr. Gr.* i. no. 213 (near Astakos) *ιεραπόλοι Διὸς Καραοῦ* | κ.τ.λ. of s. ii B.C.).

ii. 874 n. 2 (on p. 875). *Φάλακρον* in Epeiros is not to be distinguished from *Φάλακρον* in Korkyra.

Schrader *Realex.*² ii. 245 compares Zeus *Φαλακρός* with the ancient Roman Divus Pater Falacer (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 84, cp. 7. 45), on whom see G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1967 f. or in his *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² p. 240 n. 4.

ii. 892 n. 4 line 9. The word *ἔθυσεν* is well corrected by A. Meineke to *ἵθυσεν*, i.e. ran in the Nemean games (K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 622).

ii. 897 n. 5. Mr C. W. Blegen has kindly furnished me (Aug. 16, 1924) with the following note:—'Trial excavations conducted by the American School in 1923 and 1924 brought to light near the summit of Mt. Hymettus a large deposit of ancient pottery. It seems to have been deliberately placed in a great heap and carefully covered with earth and ashes, and is probably, therefore, formed of votive offerings discarded from a small shrine or altar. These vases, of many different shapes and sizes, date almost exclusively from the Geometric Period; and some of them bear incised inscriptions. The material is sadly fragmentary, only one inscription being sufficiently preserved to give an idea of its content. It is of a coarsely vituperative nature, recalling the archaic inscriptions of Thera, and unfortunately gives no clue to the character of the shrine. A slight scattering of sherds of classical pottery and a few fragments of Roman lamps were also found.'

The small mountain sanctuary which once occupied this lofty position accordingly appears to have flourished chiefly during the Geometric Age, though it continued to be visited in a small way till Roman times.

Since no trace of a building has yet been discovered, it is possible that the cult possessed merely an open altar.

Until further evidence is forthcoming there can be no certainty in identifying definitely this cult; but it is tempting to conjecture that we have here the site of the worship of Zeus *Ombrios*, which, according to Pausanias, was somewhere on Mt. Hymettus.'

See now *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1924 xxviii. 337 (citing *Art and Archaeology* 1924 xvii. 285 f. and *Archaeological Institute of America: 42d Annual Report of the Managing Committee of the American School at Athens, 1922—1923* p. 16 f.) and *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xlv. 255 f.

ii. 903 n. 2. For Mt Oite see now F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 192 ff.

ii. 904 n. 1. W. Vollgraff in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907—1908 xiv. 225: 'Two hours south-east of Almyró, near Paralia, are the insignificant ruins of a large building of the classical period, within a rectangular temenos. It seems to me that these can only be the remains of a temple belonging to the neighbouring city of Halos. Mr. [N. I.] Giannopoulos' view that this is the sanctuary of Zeus *Laphystios* may perhaps be correct, though no proof can at present be adduced. In the small trial excavation which I made here, a few fragments of black-glazed pottery were found, but nothing of the prehistoric age.'

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no. 23 (inv. 7), 3 f. *Hūdāns Tavśas* | *Artimuk Ibsimsis katsarlokid*, 'Hūdāns Tavśas and Artemis of Ephesos will punish.'

no. 23 (inv. 7), 10 *Hūdānk Artimuk katsarlokid*, 'Hūdāns as well as Artemis will punish.'

W. H. Buckler *ib.* p. 13 very acutely suggests that *Hūdāns Tavśas* is *Zeūs 'Tδηνός*. He observes: 'Hyde was the ancient, or one of the ancient names, of Sardis (STRAB. XIII, 4. 6), and as in the third century B.C. one could speak of the Carian god Komyros without also calling him Zeus (LYKOPH. *Al.* 459: *καταθων θύσθλα Κωμύρω*, and TZETZES *ad loc.*); so one could probably have mentioned Hūdāns without the additional name *Tavśas*. The Old-Indian god Dyaus (*Dyāuś*) is the same as Zeus, and since *t* in Lydian often takes the place of *d*, *Tavśas* might represent *D(y)avś-as*, and this would be very similar to Dyaus. In the big stele (No. [23]) sacred to *Hūdāns* and *Artemis*, the god mentioned before Artemis must be an important one. We know that Zeus' temple shared the precinct of Artemis at Sardis, that Tmolos disputed with Crete the honor of Zeus' birthplace, that Zeus was very important in Lydia, being mentioned and depicted on coins of Sardis and many other towns, in short that next to Artemis he was by far the most important local deity.... The termination of *Hūdāns* does not seem to be found in any other Lydian adjective denoting origin, but we cannot be sure that it is not a possible form, and it certainly suggests the Greek termination *Σαρδι-ανός*, or *-ηνός*. Or perhaps *Hūdāns* is no adjective, but the original name of the Lydian Zeus.'

Id. ib. vi. 2. 11 and 44 retains *Tavśas*=*Zeūs* (Hesych. *s.v.* *Μηδινεύς* cited *supra* p. 312 n. 5), but now transliterates *Πλδāns* (not *Hūdāns*) and refers to O. A. Danielsson 'Zu den lydischen Inschriften' in the *Skrifter utgifna af Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala* 1917 xx. 2. 24 f., who compares *Tavśas* with the man's name **Tavśas*, gen. *Tavśados* (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 46 a 64 = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 743 ff. no. 5727 a 64 from Halikarnassos), and equates *Πλδāns* with *Ἀπδλλων* (-*λδ*- = -*λλ*-, cp. Carian *Ῥσσωλδος* = *Ῥσσωλλος* in the last-mentioned inscription).

Mr Buckler informs me (May 19, 1924) that his identification of *Tavśas* with *Zeūs* has been accepted by Professors A. H. Sayce and J. Fraser. Dr P. Giles, whom I consulted on the point (Dec. 27, 1924), sees no objection.

The Zeus-cults of Lydia in general are listed by J. Keil 'Die Kulte Lydiens' in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* edd. W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder Manchester 1923 pp. 259—261. The list includes no fewer than twenty-five appellatives, eight of which are epithets in *-ηνός*.

ii. 962 n. o on the Zeus-cults of Miletos. Add A. Rehm in *Milet* i. 7. 290 ff. no. 203 b 12 f. (cult-regulation of c. 130 B.C.) the priest *τοῦ Δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης* must have been *τελεσθεὶς Διὶ | Τελεσιουργῶ*, *ib.* i. 7. 299 ff. no. 204 a 13 f. (cult-regulation of s. i A.D.) the priest of Asklepios must have been *τελεσθὶς Διὶ Τελεσ[ι]ουργῶ* with remarks on p. 297 f., *ib.* i. 7. 347 nos. 275 ('in der zweischiffigen Halle') small altar of white marble decorated with a double axe, to left and right of which is inscribed in late Hellenistic lettering *Δι||δρ Λα||βρα|υ||δέ|ω||ς*, 276 ('in der zweischiffigen Halle') small altar decorated with a double axe, beneath which in late Hellenistic letters is *Διός Λαβραύνδου*, 277 ('in der zweischiffigen Halle') small altar of grey-blue marble decorated with a double axe, to left of which is *Λέων | Ἱεροκλείους | Διὶ | Λαβραύνδω*, 278 ('in der Füllung der Justiniansmauer') small altar of white-grey marble decorated with a double axe, round which is inscribed *Δι||δρ | Κε||ρα|υ|νίου*.

ii. 970 n. o. Other inscriptions relating to Agdistis are as follows: (1) P. Jouguet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 398 f. = Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 28 small slab of white marble, on sale at Gizeh in 1896 but possibly brought from the Fayum, in lettering of reign of Ptolemy ii Philadelphos *ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου | τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης | Ἀρσινόης Μόσχος ὁ ἱερεὺς | τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ τέμενος | Ἀγδίστει ἐπηκόω | ἰδρύσατο*.

(2) J. Keil—A. v. Premerstein 'Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1914 i. Abh. p. 18 ff. no. 18 = O. Weinreich 'Stiftung und Kultsatzungen eines Privatheiligtums in Philadelpheia in Lydien' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1919 Abh. xvi. 1—68 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 985 a *stèle* of whitish marble, found at Philadelpheia in Lydia and containing in late Hellenistic script (s. i or ii (?) B.C.) the regulations of an *oikos*, or private sanctuary, of Agdistis established by one Dionysios in accordance with a dream vouchsafed to him by Zeus. The inscription enumerates the deities who have altars in the 'house' (vv. 1—11), gives a long list of ritual and moral prescriptions (vv. 12—50), mentions Agdistis as the guardian and mistress of the 'house' (vv. 50—60), and ends with a

solemn prayer to Zeus Σωτήρ (vv. 60—64). The first and last portions are as follows: 1 ff. ἀγαθῆι τ[ύχῃ]. | ἀνεγράφησαν ἐφ' ὑγίαιαι κα[ὶ κοινῆι σωτηραῖι] | καὶ δόξῃ τῆι ἀρίστηι τὰ δοθέντα παραγγέλματα Διονυσίω καθ' ὕπνον π[ρόσοδον διδόν] | τ' εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον ἀνδρά[σι καὶ γυναιξίν] | ἐλευθέροις καὶ οἰκέταις· Διὸς [γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ] | τοῦ Εὐμενοῦς (συμφρα p. 960 n. ο) καὶ Ἐστίας τ[ῆς παρέδρου αὐ] | τοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Σωτ[ήρων καὶ Εὐδαι] | μονίας καὶ Πλούτου καὶ Ἀρετῆς [καὶ Ὑγίαιας] | καὶ Τύχης Ἀγαθῆς καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ [Δαίμονος καὶ Μνή] | μης καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Νίκης εἰσω ἰδ[ρυμένοι βωμοί]. | τούτ[ω] δέδωκεν ὁ Ζεὺς παραγγέλ[μα] | ματα τοὺς τε ἀ[γνισμοὺς καὶ τοὺς καθαρμοὺς κα[ὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπι] | τελεῖν κατὰ τε τὰ πάτρια καὶ ὡς νῦν [εἰθίσται]. κ.τ.λ. 50 ff. [τὰ παραγγέλματα] ταυτὰ ἐτέθησαν παρὰ Ἀγγδιστίν [τὴν ἀγιοτάτην] | φύλακα καὶ οἰκοδέσποισιν τοῦδε τοῦ οἴκου, ἧτις ἀγαθὰς | διανοίας ποιείτω ἀνδρά[σι καὶ γυναιξίν] [ἐλευθέροις καὶ] | δούλοις, ἵνα κατακολουθῶσι τοῖς ὧδε γεγραμμένοις, καὶ ἐν | ταῖς θυσίαις ταῖς τε ἐμμήνοις καὶ ταῖς κατὰ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀ[πτεσθωσαν, ὅσοι πιστεύουσιν] | ἐὰν τοῖς ἀνδρες τε καὶ | [γυναιξίν, τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης, ἐν [ἦι τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ παραγγέλ] | [μα]τά εἰσιν γεγραμμένα, ἵνα φαί[εροι γίνωνται οἱ κατα] | [κολου]θοῦ[σιν] τοῖς παραγγέλ[μασιν καὶ οἱ μὴ κατακολου] | [θοῦν]τες. [Ζεῦ] Σωτή[ρ], τὴν ἀφῆ[γησιν ταύτην ἰλέως καὶ] | [εὐμεν]ῶς προσδέχου καὶ προσ[space for c. 18 letters] | [πάρε]χε ἀγαθὰς ἀμοιβὰς, [ὑγίαιαν, σωτηρίαν, εἰρήνην, ἀσφάλειαν] ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ θα[λάσσης ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς] | [εἰσπορευο]μένοις ὁμοίω[ς].

(3) J. Keil 'Denkmäler des Meter-Kultes' in the *Jahresh. d. aest. arch. Inst.* 1915 xviii. 73 f. fig. 45 republishes (cp. A. Conze in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1880 xxxviii. 4 pl. 3, 3) a fragmentary votive relief of grey-blue marble, now in the Estense collection at Vienna, which represents a goddess (Agdistis) standing, with a *kálathos* on her head, a *phiale* in her right hand, and a large *lymphanon* in her left, between two lions. To her right stands a youthful god (Attis) in short *chiton* and *chlamys*. To her left (now missing) stood an elderly god (Zeus), whose hand held a sceptre. On the left margin of the relief is a small torch-bearing maiden. Below, in lettering of s. iii B.C., is inscribed Ἀναξίποδλη [- -] | [Ἀ]γγδιστεῖ ἀνέθηκεν. I am indebted to Mr B. F. C. Atkinson for a notice of this inscription.

ii. 1059 on burial in the house. See further H. J. Rose *The Roman Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1924 p. 202 (note on *quaest. Rom.* 79).

ii. 1065 n. ο. H. Bolkestein 'The Exposure of Children at Athens and the ἐγχυτρίστριαι' in *Classical Philology* 1922 xvii. 222—239 (summarised in the *Class. Quart.* 1923 xvii. 206), arguing 'that the current idea as to the normality of *expositio* is totally unfounded,' interprets ἐγχυτρίσειν 'to throw into a pit (χέτρος = βόθρος), to sacrifice in a pit to the ^{ea} ' and so 'to burn up, to destroy,' ἐγχυτρίστριαι 'women who sacrificed to the dead.'^d

ii. 1089. G. Seure 'ΤΕΛΕΣΦΟΡΟΣ-ΤΙΛΕΣΠΟΡΟΣ' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1918 xxxi. 389—398, following up a suggestion of S. Reinach 'Télesphore' *ib.* 1901 xiv. 343—349 = *id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1906 ii. 255—261, contends that Telesphoros, though Greek in appearance, was Thracian in origin. He points out that a Thracian name *Τιλε-σφόρις, *Τιλε-σφόρος, of legitimate formation but of unknown significance, might well have been Hellenised into Τελεσφόρος.

ii. 1101 n. 3. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1921 p. 442 publishes an inscription from the western slope of the *Akropolis* at Athens, where it was built into the wall of a later *Lésche*: *ἱερὸν | Διὸς Ξένιο | Θυμαίτιδος φρατρίας*. He infers that the phratry Thymaitis had a sanctuary of Zeus Ξένιος near the *Lésche*.

ii. 1102 n. ο. On the relief in the Terme Museum (fig. 939) see further P. Perdrizet 'D'une certaine espèce de reliefs archaïsants' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 211—218 with pl. 13.

ii. 1118. G. Welter 'Das Olympieion in Athen' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1922 (published 1924) xlvii. 61—71 with pls. 7—10 marks an important advance in our knowledge of the Olympieion.

(1) Within the eastern portion of its foundations there has come to light the lowest course of a pre-Peisistratic *peristasis*, of which the N. wall was uncovered by F. C. Penrose, the W. by Welter. The wall was 2.50^m thick, and the *peristasis* measured 30.50^m broad by c. 60^m long. This was τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν built by Deukalion (Paus. 1. 18. 8).

(2) The temple of the Peisistratidai, begun c. 515 B.C., was a more ambitious structure, having the same proportions, size, and p a as its Hellenistic—Hadrianic successor. It was designed as an Ionic dipteral building with eight columns on the short side and twenty on the long side. Its length and breadth (107.70^m × 42.90^m) make it comparable

with the great Ionic temples of eastern Greece—the Artemision at Ephesos ($109.20^m \times 55.10^m$) and the second Heraion at Samos ($108.73^m \times 52.41^m$). The foundations, continuous for the outermost columns, separate for the inner rows, are laid in neat polygonal courses of Akropolis-limestone and Kara-stone with a *euthynteria* of hard *póros*. The stylobate had three steps of *póros*. No column-bases have been found. But unfluted drums of *póros* show a lower diameter of 2.42^m and enable us to conclude that the height of the shafts was *c.* 16^m .

Welter suggests that the Peisistratidai, as a counterbast to the Delphic activities of the Alkmaionidai, not only rebuilt the Telesterion at Eleusis (520—515 B.C.), but also tried to establish a panHellenic Zeus-cult at Athens. He thinks that these two enterprises were not unconnected. Hippias dealt in oracles (Hdt. 5. 93, cp. 90), Hipparchos in dreams (Hdt. 5. 36); and Hipparchos was at one time under the influence of Onomakritos (Hdt. 7. 6). Such men might well honour Zeus as the supreme god of the Orphic cosmogony. But, with the fall of the mystically-minded Peisistratidai, the vast temple was left unfinished, and the democracy reverted to the worship of Athena.



Fig. 1024.

ii. 1133 n. 1. With fig. 957 cp. the Roman mural relief of Mars and Apollo with an oracular bird on a pillar in a cage (G. P. Campana *Antiche opere in plastica* Roma 1842—1851 pl. 19, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 381 no. D 507, Von Rohden—Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 20 f. figs. 29—32).

ii. 1143 fig. 964. A specimen in the British Museum (fig. 1024 from a cast) shows the type somewhat more clearly.

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Bronze medallion of Commodus,
struck 185 A.D. (Grecchi *Medagl.*
Rom. ii. 59 f. no. 74 pl. 83, 2).
Supra p. 1209 n. 2.

INDEX I

PERSONS PLACES FESTIVALS

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Epithet: Διπετής 481
- Aineias**
Myth: sacra of Troy 1068
Etymology: 334₀
 See also Aeneas
- Ainianes**
Cult: Zeus Ὀρομπάτας 869₀
 — coins of 869₀
- Ainos in Thrace**
Cults: Asklepios 1079, Hermes Ηερφειραῖος 496₀
 — coins of 1079
- Ainos, Mt**
Cult: Zeus Αινήσιος 907₂
Myth: Boreadai pursue Harpyiai 907₂
 — ascent of 907₂, 908₀
- Aiolos**
Genealogy: 1088 b. of Boiotos 317 f. of Athamas 904₁, f. of Sisyphos 1150₄
 — kings descended from, pose as human Zeus 1088, 1122, 1159
- Aion**
Epithets: ἀμβροτος 830₇, καμπύλος 831₀
Festival: Jan. 5 337₂
Genealogy: 981₁ s. of Ianus 337
Type: lion-headed (See Ahriman)
Identified with Ianus 337
- Aischlabios (sc. Asklepios)** 1085
- Aisclapius (sc. Aesculapius)** 1085 f.
- Aiscolapius (sc. Aesculapius)** 1086
- Aisculapius (sc. Aesculapius)** 1086
- Aisklapius (sc. Asklepios)** 1085
- Aisklapios (sc. Asklepios)** 1085
- Aison** 211
- Aison, the vase-painter** 206₁ (?)
- Aither**
Epithets: νοερός (Lobeck cj. νοτερός) 1022
Genealogy: f. of Eros by Nyx 315₄, 1051 f. of Oulomos by Aer 1037 f. f. of Zeus 941₀ s. of Chronos 1024 s. of Chronos or Herakles by Ananke or Adrasteia 1022 s. of Erebus and Nyx 315₄
- Aithiopes tattooed** 123₀
- Aithra, d. of Pittheus** 800 (?)
- Altnaia** 908₁
- Aitne (formerly Inessa)**
Cult: Zeus Αιτναῖος (?) 908₁
- Aitne (formerly Katane)**
Cults: Silenos 908₁, 909₀, Zeus Αιτναῖος 908₁, 909₀
Festival: Aitnaia 908₁
 — coins of 908₁, 909₀
- Aitne, Mt**
Cults: Hadran 630, Hephaistos 630, Zeus Αιτναῖος 908₁, 909₀, 910₀
Myths: Polyphemos 909₀, Silenos 909₀, Typhon 449₀
- Aitne, nymph**
Genealogy: m. of Palikoi by Zeus 909₀
- Aix**
Myth: transformed into constellation by Zeus 933₀
Genealogy: m. of Aigokeros 933₀
- Aix, s. of Python** 217₂
- Aixone**
Cults: Demeter 730₀, Poseidon 730₀, Zeus 730₀
- Aizanis (?)** 964₃
- Aizanitis** 964₃
- Aizanoi** 964₃
Cults: Dioskouroi 313, Hadrian 1120₀

- Aizanoi (cont.)**
 1121₀ Iupiter *Aezanensis* 968₀ Iupiter *Aezaniticus* 968₀ Theos Ἰψιστος 882₀₍₂₃₎ 968₀ Zeus 965₀ ff. Zeus (?) Ἰψιστος 882₀₍₂₃₎
Festival: Megala Panhellenia 1121₀
Priest: νεωκόρος 967₀
Rite: sacrifice of fox and hedgehog 964₃
Myths: Aizen, s. of Tantalos 964₃ Azan, s. of Arkas 964₃ Euphorbos 964₃
 — coins of 313 964₃ f. 968₀ named Exouanoun 964₃ priestly kings at 964₃ f.
Aizen, s. of Tantalos 964₃
Akakallis 218₀
Akakesion
Cult: Despoina 231₈
 — reliefs in precinct near 231₈
Akamas (?) 280₁
Akarnania
Cults: Artemis 412 Zeus 743₇ Zeus *Kapaós* 1226
 — coins of 412 743₇ 'one-eyed' monsters of 993₂
Ake See Ptolemaïs in Phoinike
Akmon, founder of Akmoneia 312₆
Akmoneia
Cults: Dioskouroi 313 Μάνης Δάος (or Δάης) Ἡλιοδρόμος Zeus 312₆ Theos Ἰψιστος 882₀₍₂₃₎ 968₁
Myths: founded by Akmon 312₆ Zeus nursed by Rhea under protection of Kouretes 968₁
 — coins of 313
Akragas See Agrigentum
Akrai in Sicily
Cults: Zeus [Ἄγο]ραῖος (?) 873₀₍₁₁₁₎ Zeus [Ἄκ]ραῖος 873₀₍₁₁₁₎ Zeus Ἄκραῖος 915₁
Akraiphia
Cults: Apollon Ἠρωῖος 238₀ Zeus Ἐλευθέριος (= Nero) 97₀ Zeus Ὀπωρεὺς 1074
Akrisias
Cult: Phrygia 1155 f.
Functions: doublet of Akrisios 1155 mountain (?) 1156 Phrygian Kronos 1155 f.
Etymology: 1156₀
Identified with Arkesios (?) or Arkesios (?) 1156
Akrisios
Cult: Larissa in Thessaly 1155
Myths: Proitos 1146₀ slain by Perseus 1155
Functions: doublet of Akrisias 1155 king personating sky-god 1156 mountain (?) 1156
Etymology: 1156₃ 1156₆
Type: bearded king 1155
Identified with Arkesios (?) or Arkesios (?) 1156
Ak Tash in Lydia
Cult: Hypsistos 881₀₍₂₀₎
 See also Temenothyrai
- Aktor, reputed f. of Kteatos and Eurytos** 1015₈
Alabanda
Cults: Apollon Ἐλευθέριος Σεβαστός (= Augustus) 97₀ Apollon Κισσίος (less probably Κισσέος) 247₀ 248₀
 — coins of 247₀ 248₀
 See also Antiocheia in Chrysaoris
Alaisa (Halaesa)
Cult: Zeus Ἐλευθέριος 1158₆
 — coins of 1158₆ Meilichieion at 1158
Alaisiagae
Cult: Boreovicium 51₁
Alalkomeneus 898₆
Alani
Cult: sword of Mars 548₀
Alba Longa, kings of, crowned with oak 417₃
Alban Mt
Cults: Iupiter *Latiaris* 46₃ Zeus Κεραύνιος 808₀₍₁₈₎
Albania, Kyklopes in folk-tale from 999 f.
Albano 1146₀
Albanon 694₀
Alektrona See Elektryone
Aleos
Genealogy: f. of Kepheus 1083 1148 f. of Minyas 1150₃ gf. of Antinoos 1083
In relation to Athena Ἀλέα 1147
Alexander (sc. Alexandros of Abonou Teichos)
Cult: Blatsche 1084
Alexander the Great adopted by Zeus Ἄμμων 986₀ coins of 760 f. lily grows on statue of 773₀ receives Celts of the Adriatic 55 reverts to pre-Pheidias type of Zeus 760 f.
Alexandra, the goddess 1069
Alexandreia
Cults: Agathoi Daimones 1127₀ Agathos Daimon 1127₀ 1128₀ Arsinoe ii 1216 Caesar Ἐπιβατήριος 1180₄ Helios 889₀₍₃₃₎ Heros 1127₀ Nemeseis 889₀₍₂₂₎ Nemesis 864₀ Nero 1128₀ Sarapis 1158 Theos Ἰψιστος καὶ πάντων Ἐπόπτῃς 889₀₍₃₃₎ 984₃ Zeus Μειλίχιος 1158 Zeus Νέμειος 1187₀ Zeus Οὐράνιος 1158
Rites: torch-lighting 1158 wheaten meal offered to snakes 1127₀
Myth: foundation 1127₀ 1188
 — coins of 102₀ 773₀ 986₀ 1128₀ 1133₁ 1136₄ 1187₀ Sebastion at 1180₄ personified 1128₀ (?)
Alexandreia in Troas, coins of 485
Alexandros
Myth: judgment of Paris 949₃
Alexandros of Abonou Teichos 225 1083 ff.
Alexis, St 134
Algidus, Mt
Cult: Diana 404
Alinda, coins of 572
Aliphera
Cults: Athena (?) 782 Myiagros 782

- Alkamenes 1078
 Alkmaionidai 1229
 Alkyone
Myth: claims that her h. Keyx is Zeus 1088
Genealogy: d. of Aiolos 1088 d. of Atlas 414₂ m. of Hyperes and Anthas by Poseidon 414₂
 Alkyoneus 463₁
 Allmendingen
Cults: Iupiter 619 1221 Matres 619
 • Matronae 619 Mercurius 619
 Minerva 619 1221 Neptunus 619
 — Mithraeum at 1220
 Allobroges
Cults: Baginatiae 570₀ Baginus 570₀
 Iupiter *Baginas* 570₀
 Almedha, St 325₈
 Alopeke
Cults: Athena (Athenaia) 1115 Ge
 1115 Zeus Μιλχιος 1115
 Alopekos 421
 Althaimenes
Cult: Rhodes 923₀
Myths: Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes 923₀
 Rhodes 922₅ 923₀
 Althepos 414₂
 Altyntash in Phrygia
Cult: Zeus Βέννιος 883₀₍₀₎
 — tombstones from 836
 Alysis, Mt (?)
Cult: Zeus Ἄλσειος (?) 945₁ Zeus Ἄλύσιος (?) 945₁
 Amadokos 452
 Amaltheia
Myth: nurses Zeus 928₀ 932₁
Genealogy: m. of the nymphs Adras-teia and Eide (Ide) by Melissa 933₀
Functions: goat 932₁ Naiad 932₁
Types: carrying infant Zeus 363₁ (?)
 goat 746₂ (?)
 Amaseia
Cult: Zeus Στράτιος 975₀ f.
 — coins of 975₀ f.
 Amasis, the vase-painter 794₀
 Amastris
Cults: Hera 707 Zeus Πανκτήσιος 1067
 Zeus Στρατηγός 707 848 918₀
 — coins of 707 918₀
 Amathous
Cults: Theos Ἐψιστος 879₀₍₁₆₎ 980₃
 Zeus Λαβράνιος 598 f. Zeus Ὀρομ-πάτας 869₀
 Amazons
Myth: Ephesos 405
Attributes: battle-axe (σάγαρις, *securis*)
 560 double axe (λάβρυς, πέλεκος,
 ἀμφιπέλεκκον (?), *bipennis*) 560
In relation to Hittites 560
 Ambrakia
Cult: Zeus 1222
 — bronze statuette of Zeus from
 1222 coins of 162 f. 499
 Ameirake, former name of Penelope 691
 Amen
Cult: Thebes in Egypt 774₀
 See also Amen-Râ, Ammon, Amon,
 Amoun
 Amen-Râ
Attributes: plumes 926₀ solar disk
 492₀₍₀₎
Type: ithyphallic 772₁
Identified with Zeus 926₀
 See also Amen, Ammon, Amon, Amoun
 Amenti 1212
 Ammon
Cult: Egypt 767₂
 — horn of 773₀ masks of 808₀₍₁₇₎
 See also Amen, Amen-Râ, Amon,
 Amoun
 Amnisos 942₀
 Amon 767₂
 See also Amen, Amen-Râ, Ammon,
 Amoun
 Amor 862₁₀
 Amorgos
Cult: Zeus Εὐβουλεύς 258₃
 — head from 122₀
 Amoun
Cult: Egypt 293₀ 889₀₍₀₎
 See also Amen, Amen-Râ, Ammon,
 Amon
 Amphiaraios
Cults: Hellenes 1070 Oropos 1070 ff.
Epithet: ἀναξ 1070
Myth: 1070 f.
Genealogy: descended from Aiolos 1088
 f. of Amphilochos 489₀₍₄₎ s. of
 Oikles 1071
Function: chthonian 1070
Etymology: 1072
Attributes: snake 1071 snake coiled
 round staff 1071
Types: bearded 1071 beardless (?) 1071
 enthroned 1071 laureate 1071
Assimilated to Asklepios 1072
Associated with Hygieia and Pan
 1072
Compared with Aeneas 1071 Erech-
 theus 1071 Latinus 1071 Theodoris
 the Great 1071 Trophonios (Tre-
 phonios) 1075
 — chariot of 815₇
 Amphiareion near Oropos 1071 f.
 Amphictionic πυλαία 903₂
 Amphikles 421 673₃
 Amphilochos
Myths: fights Mopsos 489₀₍₄₎ 490₀₍₀₎
 1130₁ founds Mallos in Kilikia
 489₀₍₄₎
Genealogy: s. of Alkmaion 489₀₍₄₎ s. of
 Amphiaraios 489₀₍₄₎
 Amphion
Cult: Antiocheia on the Orontes 428
Myths: Dirke 1013 1015 1019 Lykos
 1019₂
Genealogy: b. of Zethos 317 s. of Zeus
 by Antiope 1013 s. of Zeus or
 Epopeus 445

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- Antiocheia on the Orontes (cont.)**
τιαῖος 1187 f. Zeus Βώττιος 1188
 Zeus Καπετώλιος (=Iupiter *Capitolinus*) 1188₁₄ Zeus Κεραύνιος 428
 Zeus Φίλιος 1178 1186 1196 f.
Myths: founded by Alexander the Great 1187 founded by Kasos and Belos 981₁ founded by Seleukos i Nikator 1188
 — chalice from 1197 ff. coins of 1192 ff. 1196₀ 1209 1209₅ (?)
 'Golden' Basilica of 1198₁
- Antiochos i of Kommagene**
 Personates Tyche 1136₄
- Antiochos iv Epiphanes**
Epithets: Θεός 'Επιφανής 1189 Θεός 'Επιφανής Νικηφόρος 1189
 Personates Zeus 1188 f.
- Antion** 1123
- Antiope**
Myth: 1013 1015
Genealogy: d. of Nykteus 1013 m. of Zethos and Amphion by Zeus 1013 cp. 428₄ w. of Eropheus 1013
 — Dionysiac character of 1019₂
- Antoninus Pius**
 Personates Zeus 101₁ 343₀
 — house of, struck by lightning 10
- Anxia, helmet from** 1159₁
- Apameia in Phrygia**
Cults: Artemis 'Εφεσία 408₀ Dioskouroi 313
Myth: Zeus nursed by Rhea under protection of Kouretes 968₂
 — coins of 313 408₀ 610
- Apameia on the Orontes**
Cult: Zeus 1192
 — coins of 1192
- Apate**
Epithets: ἀλλοπρόσαλλος ὄρεστιὰς... δαίμων 942₀
Myth: birth of the first Aphrodite 1029
Type: Fury 854
- Apelles** 828
- Apellon** See Apollon
- Apemosyne**
Myth: Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes 923₀ 924₀
- Apesas, Mt**
Cults: Zeus 'Απεσάντιος 892₄ Zeus 'Απέσας 892₄ Zeus 'Αφέσιος 892₄
Myths: Deukalion 892₄ Nemean Lion 892₄ Perseus 892₄
Etymology: 892₄
- Aphareus** 437
- Apharidai** 438₂
- Aphesas** 892₄
- Aphrodisias in Karia**
Cults: Aphrodite 573₇ Eros 572₁₀ Zeus Λαβράνδος 585₃ Zeus Μέγισστος 585₃ Zeus Σπάλαξος (less probably Σπάλωξος) 1220
Rite: tree threatened 681 f.
Myth: Myrrha (?) 681 f.
 — coins of 572 f. 681 1220
- Aphrodisiastai Syroi** 1157₃
- Aphrodite**
Cults: Mt Aigaion (?) 927₀ Anaphe 1066
 Aphrodisias in Karia 573₇ Argos 1156₅ Athens 985₀ 1043 Delos 922₀
 Dorylaeion 281 Elis 68₁ Epidauros 1144₃ Gortyna 723₀ Halikarnassos 872₀₍₅₎ Hierapytna 723₀ Jerusalem 984₁ Kition in Kypros 807₅₍₄₎ Kypros 424 Libye 987₀ Lyttos 723₀ Megalopolis 1178 Megara 257₄ Nisyros 1157₃ Paphos 783₃ 944₀ Paros 875₁₍₅₎ Pergamon 424 Philadelpheia in Lydia 363 Priansos 723₀ Sardels 424 Sikyon 1165₁ Skythia 292₄ Smyrna 729₀ Troizen 872₀₍₅₎ 944₀
Epithets: 'Αγνή 922₀ 'Ακραία 872₀₍₅₎ 'Ακρία 1156₅ 'Αρτιμήσα 293₀ ἀφρογενής 1029 ἐγεροίγελως 1029 'Επιστροφή 257₄ 'Επιτυμβία 1165₁ Καρασκοπία 944₀ Μιλιχία 1144₃ Οὐρανία 68₁ 292₄ 854 985₀ Παφία 424 Στρατονικίς 729₀ Σώζουσα 987₀ Ψιθυρος 1043
Rites: emergence from sea 132₂ taboo on garlic among priests of Aphrodite in Libye 987₀
Worshippers: 'Αφροδισιασταί Σύροι 1157₃
Myths: reared amid *aphrós* arising from genitals of Ouranos 448₀ cp. 448₁ sprung from seed of Ouranos falling into sea 1029 sprung from seed of Zeus falling into sea 1029
Genealogy: d. of Aphros by Astynome 693₄ 694₀ d. of Ouranos 1029 d. of Zeus 1029 w. of Adonis 694₀
Functions: cosmic 316₀ summer 557₁
Attributes: apple 491₀₍₆₎ 1165₁ doves 710 myrtle 1165₁ poppy 1165₁ rose 1043 water-mint 1166₀ wreath 573₇
Types: with Eros standing on her arm 1043 with Eros stepping down from behind her shoulder 1044 face with flower in hair 710 with foot on tortoise 68₁ holding apple 491₀₍₆₎ holding poppy and apple 1165₁ Kanachos 1165₁ on ladder 124₂ (?) Pheidias 68₁ terminal goddess 854 under arch 363
 Identified with Artimpasa (Artimeasa, Argimpasa, Arippasa) 293₀
 Associated with Hermes 146₂ 872₀₍₅₎ 1043 Peitho 261 1044 (fig. 893) Tammuz (Adonis) 984₁
 In relation to Adonis 293 552₁
 Aphrodite, as ship's name 987₀
 Aphroi (Africans) 693₄
 Aphros, forefather of Aphroi
Genealogy: f. of Aphrodite by Astynome 693₄ 694₀ s. of Kronos by Philyra 695₀
 Apia (Api), the Scythian Ge 293₀
 Apidanos, river in Thessaly 1025
 Apis
Cult: Egypt 942₀
Type: double bust (with Isis) 392

Apollo

Epithet: Delphicus 927₁

Associated with Hercules and Diana
59₀

In relation to Castor and Pollux 95 f.
Diana 99 f.

Apollon

Cults: Achaeans (?) 458 Acharnai 163 Aigai in Aiolis 954₀ Aigina 184 Akraiphia 238₀ Alabanda 97₀ 247₀ 248₀ 714₂ Amyklai 458 894₀ Anaphe 816₄ 1066 Antiocheia in Chrysaoris (= Alabanda) 714₂ Antiocheia on the Orontes (?) 1192₅ Ardettos 1135 Argos 163 173₄ Athens 163 163₄ 184 255 730₀ 875₁₍₂₎ 985₀ 1121 Aulai 249₂ Axos 816₄ Babylonia (?) 456 Badinlar, in Phrygia 567 f. Bassai 405₃ Bilkon 948₀ Branchidai 920₀ Byzantion 167 f. Corinth 210₀ 915₂ (?) 916₀ Crete 457 948₀ Daldeia 250 f. Daphne near Antiocheia on the Orontes 1188 Delos 223₃ 249₂ 452 ff. 854 Delphoi 457 839 1216 Didyma near Miletos 317 f. 317₂ Dorylaeion 281 Eleuthernai (Eleutherna) 456₇ 491₀₍₆₎ 492₀₍₆₎ Epidauron 487₃₍₁₎ Erythrai in Ionia 730₀ Eumeneia in Phrygia 571 970₀ Gortyna 723₀ 731₀ Gryneia 489₀₍₄₎ Halikarnassos 168 Hiera in Lesbos 488₀₍₂₎ Hierapolis in Phrygia 567 Hierapytna 723₀ Mt Hymettos 897₈ Hyperboreoi 501 844 Illyria 458 Itanos 929₀ Kalymna 808₀₍₁₁₎ Karia 573₁₀ 574₁ 574₂ 574₃ Katane 486₅ Kaulonia 1042 f. Keratia in Attike 237₀ Klaros 489₀₍₄₎ Knidos 729₀ Koloe 568 f. Korkyra 730₀ Kroton 237₀ Kypros 246₁ Lakonike 322 322₀ Larisa on the Caystrian Plain 958₀ Lebadeia 899₂ Mt Lepetymnos 832 Lenkas 782 Lopta 971₂ Lykia 458 458 f. Lykoreia 901₂ 902₀ Lyttos 723₀ 934₀ Magnesia ad Maeandrum 249₂ 948₀ Magnesia ad Sipylum 729₀ Magnesia in Thessaly 730₀ Macedonia 458 Cape Malca (Maleai) 488₀₍₆₎ Megalopolis 160₅ 163 Megara 165₃ 185 Messene 458 Miletos 237₀ 250 255 457 486₅ 1220 Mykonos 1092₂ Myrrhinous 730₀ Mytilene 488₀₍₂₎ Neapolis in Campania 486₅ Olbia 493₀₍₇₎ Olymos 586₂ Orchia (?) in Lakonike 439 Oropos (?) 1071 Panormos near Kyzikos 882₀₍₆₎ Patara 210 921₀ Peiraeus 487₃₍₁₎ Pergamon 729₀ Phlyeis 251 Praisos 731₀ Prasiai in Lakonike 487₃₍₁₎ Priansos 723₀ Mt Ptoion 455 Rhegion 680 Rhithymna 492₀₍₆₎ Samos 223₃ Selinous 489₀₍₆₎ Skias in Arkadia (?) 489 Skythia 292₄ Sparta 255 246₁ 487₃₍₁₎ Stelai in Crete 731₀ Sybrita 731₀ Tarentum

Apollon (cont.)

1064 Tarsos 570 Tegea 163 Thera 920₀ 921₀ Mt Thornax in Lakonike 893₂ Thrace 458 Thyateira 562 Tilphossa 439 Tralleis 958₀ Trikke 487₃₍₁₎ 1088 Troy 453 Tyana (?) 570

Epithets: ἀγριος 971₂ Ἀγυιεύς 163 f. 456₇ Ἀγυιεύς Ἀλεξίκακος 163₄ Ἀγυιεύς Προστατήριος Πατρῶος Ἡύθιος Κλάριος Πανιώνιος 163₄ Αἰγλήτης 816₄ Ἀκτιος 255 782 Ἀμάδοκος (?) 452 Ἀμυκλαῖος 255 ἀναξ 252₁ Ἀρχηγέτης 237₀ 567 Ἀσγελάτας 1066 Ἀσκραῖος 255 486₅ ἀστρων ἡγεμών 255₃ Ἀύλαίτης (Ἀύλαίτης, Ἀύλίτης, Ἀύλητής) 249₂ ἀφήτωρ 180 841 βακχεύς (?) 253₂ Βάκχος 253₃ Βιλκῶνιος 948₀ βιοδώτης 252₀ Βοζηνός 568 ff. Βραγχιάτης 255 Γενέτωρ 223₃ Γοιτόσυρος 293₀ Γρόνιος 954₀ Δαφναῖος 265₀ 1189₀ Δαφνηφόρος 265₀ Δαφνίτας 265₀ Δειραδιώτης 173₄ 210₀ Δελφίνιος 189₅ 205₁ 230 237₀ 456₇ Δήλιος 255 Διδυμαῖος 317 f. Διδυμεύς 317₂ 1220 Διδύμων γενάρχης 317₂ Διονυσόδότης (less probably Διονυσόδοτος) 251₂ Δονάκτας (?) 249₃ Δοναστάς (?) 249₃ Δονητής (?) 249₃ Δρομαῖος 456₇ Δρίμαιος 486₅ Δρύμας 486₅ Ἐβδομαγενής 237₀ ἔβδομαγέτης 237₀ Ἐβδομείος 237₀ 238₀ Εἰκάδιος 456 Ἐκάεργος 1042 ἑκατηβελέτης 1042 ἑκατηβόλος 1042 Ἐκατόμβαιος 1092₂ Ἐκατος 1042 Ἐκβάσιος 1180₄ ἐκηβόλος 1042 Ἐλευθέριος 97₀ ἐπιδοδώτης 252₀ Ἐμβάσιος 1180₄ ἐνδολμιος, ἐνολμῖς, ἐνολμος 209₂ ἐν Πάνδοις 729₀ Ἐπιβατήριος 1180₄ Ἐπικούριος 405₃ Ἐπόψιος 1130₇ Ἐρεθίμιος 630 εὐλυρος 253₃ ζάθεος 204₁ ζηλοδοτήρ (?) 204₁ 252₀ ζηνοδοτήρ 204₁ 252₀ ζηνοφρων 204₁ ζωγόνοτος 204₁ Θορνάκιος 893₂ Θύσιος 250 ἰήσιος 246₁ Ἰσδίτιμος 714₂ Καρινός 167 f. Κάριος 456₇ 458 κισσεοχαίτης 246₁ κισσεύς 253₂ Κισσίος (less probably Κισσέος) 247₀ 248₀ Κλάριος 489₀₍₄₎ 954₀ Κοροπαῖος 730₀ 871₃₍₁₎ Κόρινθος 458 Κουρίδιος 322₀ Κτίστης 98₀ κυνηγέτης 237₀ Λαιρμηνός (Λαρμηνός, Λαρβηνός, Λειμηνός, Λυρμηνός) 567 f. Λαδόδοκος (?) 452 Λαρισηνός 958₀ Λάφριος 599 Λητοῖδης (Λητοῖδας) 455 490₀₍₅₎ Λοξίας 204₁ Λύκειος 255 453 458 λυκηγενής 455₀ Λυκηγενής (?) 453 Λύκιος 453 729₀ 902₀ Λυκωρεύς 901₂ Μαλεάτας (Μαλεάτης) 487₃₍₁₎ 1088 Μαλεάτας Σωτήρ 487₃₍₁₎ Μαλδαίς 488₀₍₂₎ μάντις (?) 253₂ Μοιραγέτης 237₀ 231 1137₀ (?) Μουσηγέτης 237₀ Μύλας or Μυλάριος 260₀ Μύστης 250 f. Νόμιος 252 Νουμήμιος 456 Νυμφηγέτης 237₀ ξυνοδοτήρ 252₀ ὁ ἐκ Λοπτῶν 971₂ ὁ προπάτωρ θεοῦ Ἡλίου Πύθιος...Τυρμναῖος 562 Ὀρχιεύς 439

Apollon (cont.)

- Ηαίαν 253₃ Παιών 223 Πατρῶος 255
 730₀ 1135 πλουτοδοτήρ 252₀ Προηγέ-
 τής 237₀ Προβύσιος 897₅ Προστατήριος
 163₄ Πτώσιος 238₀ Πυθαεύς 458 893₂
 Πύθιος 183 184₆ 185 f. 223 223₃ 233
 240 255 457 731₀ 816₄ 929₀ 1216
 Πύτιος(=Πύθιος) 723₀ 934₀ Σκιαστής
 439 Σμυνθεύς 250₂ Σμίνθιος 255
 Στυρακίτης 492₀₍₀₎ Σωτήρ 875₁₍₂₎
 Ταρσεύς 569 f. 571 Τετράχειρ or
 Τετράχειρος 322₈ Τετράωτος 322 Τιλ-
 φούσιος 439 Τύριμνος 562 Τπερβόρειος
 223 Τπέροχος(?) 452 φιλόδαφνος
 253₃ Φοῖβος 234 Φύξιος 902₀ Χρηστη-
 ριος 954₀ χρυσάορος 716 χρυσάωρ 716
 ψυχοδοτήρ 252₀ ὠρεσιδῶτης 252₀
Festivals: birthday (Bysios 7) 236
 Boedromia 237₀ Daphnephoria 455₈
 Ebdomaia 237₀ first day of month
 456 frequent in Asia Minor and
 islands, rare on Greek mainland
 455 Hyakinthia 246₁ 455₈ Karneia
 237₀ 455₈ Pyanopsia or Pyanepsia
 237₀ seventh day of month 456
 commemoration of Skephros 164₈
 455₈ Thargelia 237₀ 455₈ twentieth
 day of month 456
Rites: bay brought from Tempe to
 Delphoi 249₂ ἑβδομαῖον at Athens
 on seventh day of some month 237₀
 first-fruits sent to Apollon Πύθιος
 every eight years 240 Hyperborean
 offerings brought to Delos 249₂
 249₃ 497 ff. paeon 234 f. passes
 night in temple with prophetess
 210 περφερέες 495₈ πυροφορήσας
 487₃₍₁₎ sacrifice of asses 463 f. 843
 sacrifice of a bull and ten lambs to
 Apollon Ἐκατόμβαιος 1092₂ sacri-
 fices at Kroton on seventh day of
 month 237₀ sacrifices by *thiasoi* in
 Kypros 246₁ Spartan kings sacrifice
 on first and seventh days of every
 month 237₀ straps from hide of ox
 sacrificed to Apollon Τετράχειρ
 given as prizes 322₈ sword washed
 in water from the Kydnos 570 f.
 worshippers turn towards ground
 256
Priests: *lepeús* 562₂ *lpeús* 322₈ νεωκόρος
 199₂
Priestess: the *Pythia* 203 ff. 238 322₇
 441 841 the *Pythia* as bride of
 Apollon 207 ff. *thyiás* 199₂ virgin
 210₀
Worshippers: ἀρχίχορος καὶ λεροκάρυξ
 τῶν λερέων 488₀₍₂₎
Personated by boy 241₃ Nero 98₀ 254
 1128₀ Pythagoras 221 ff.
Myths: Anaphe 816₄ Anios 670 Ari-
 staios 1042(?) arranges the limbs
 of Dionysos or Zagreus 1031 ar-
 rival at Delphoi 262 ff. boiled in a
 caldron and pieced together again

Apollon (cont.)

- 225 born at Araxa 455 born in
 Arkadia 252 buries Dionysos at
 Delphoi 218 ff. carries off Kyrene
 460₂ chases Hermes 1042(?)
 consorts with Aigle (Koronis)
 488₀₍₀₎ Akakallis 218₀ Pythaïs 222
 Themis 1217
 contest with Marsyas 248₀ 249₀
 Cygnus 477₇ Daphne 265₀ 460₂ 486
 Daphnis 1042(?) destroys mice in
 Rhodes 250₂ Dryope 485 f. 486₆
 exiled by Zeus to land of Hyper-
 boreoi 484 493 Hyakinthos 491₀₍₆₎
 1042(?) Hyperboreoi 459 ff. invents
 the art of playing flute and *kithára*
 249₂ Kleinis 463₁ Koronis 210₀
 Kyknos 477 Kyparissos 981₁ Makro-
 bioi 500₄ Marpessa 439₁₄ Molpadia
 671 nursed by Leto 252 Orestes
 453 1042(?) Parthenos 671 Periphas
 1121 f. purified by Chrysothemis
 190₀ purified by Karmanor 190₀
 Pylades 453 restores Dionysos 251₂
 Rholo 670 sends raven to get water
 832₇ serves Admetos 240 a seven-
 months' child 237₀ sheds tears of
 amber 484 slain by Python and
 buried in Delphic tripod 221 ff. slays
 Hyakinthos with *diskos* 1156 slays
 Kyklopes or their sons 241₄ slays
 Python 217₂ 239₀ taught by Athena
 to flute 249₂ Telephos 671 Trojan
 War 459 winters in Lykia 455
 Metamorphosed into snake 486 tortoise
 486
Genealogy: f. of Amphissos by Dryope
 486 f. of Anios by Rhoio 670 f. of
 Asklepios 1077 1083 f. of Asklepios
 by Aigle (Koronis) 488₀₍₀₎ f. of
 Dryops 486₅ f. of Idmon 471 f. of
 Kentauros by Stilbe 1134 f. f. of
 Lapithes by Stilbe 684₂ 1134 f. f. of
 Lykoros by Korykia 901₂ f. of
 Phylakides and Philandros by Aka-
 kallis 218₀ f. of Platon 237₀ f. of
 Pythagoras by Pythaïs 222 not *ab*
initio the twin b. of Artemis 501
 s. of Dionysos by Demeter 252 s. of
 Leto (Lato) 237₀ 456 484 s. of Leto
 (Lato) by Zeus 453 s. of Silenos
 221 252
Functions: ancestral god of Attic no-
 bility 730₀ destiny 231 fire 234 flocks
 and herds 457 heaven, earth, under-
 world 256 f. lighting 816₄ lustration
 1042(?) mills 260₀ oracles 457
prophétes of Zeus 203₀ 204₁ 841
 song 244₄ sun 338₄ 457 495 1156
 sun and moon(?) 318 *tela* (bow and
 arrows) 244₄ transition from sky-
 god(?) to sun-god 500
Etymology: 234₂ (*a + πολύς*) 484 500
 (ἀπελλόν) 487 ff. 1219 f. ('apple'-
 god)

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- Aquila** 477₈ 933₀ 938₀
Aquileia in Venetia
Cults: Jupiter *Ambisagrus* 842 Jupiter *Dianus* 328 842 Jupiter *Optimus Maximus Co(nservator) et Ambisagrus* 328
- Aquincum**
Cult: Iuno *Caelestis* 62₂
- Aquitania**
Cult: Fagus 402₁
- Aquites** 471
- Ara** 664₁
- Arabia**
Cults: Azizos and Monimos 428 f. Zeus (?) 1224
 — coins of 1224
- Arachnaion, Mt**
Cults: Hera 894₁ Zeus 894₁
- Arachova** 505₆ 993₂
- Arai** 1101
- Arantides** 1101 1102₄
- Aratos, s. of Asklepios (not Kleinias) by Aristodama** 1082
- Αραχα** 455
- Arbios, Mt** 945₂
- Arbios, Mt**
Cult: Zeus *Ἀρβίος* 945₂ 946₀
Etymology: 946₀
- Arbor intrat** 303₂
- Arcadians, common hearth of, at Tegea** 1148 See also *Arkadia*
- Archelaos (= Hades)** 1168₅ (?)
- Archemoros** 245₅ 490₀₍₅₎
- Archonides, head of, consulted by Kleomenes** 290₀
- Ardettos**
Cults: Apollon *Πατρῶος* 1135 Demeter 1135 Zeus *Βασιλεύς* 1135
Rite: oath of *dikastai* 730₀
- Areimanios or Areimanes** See *Ahriman*
- Areion** 892₄
- Areios the Argonaut** 1072
- Ares**
Cults: Athens 729₀ Gortyna 723₀ Hierapytna 723₀ Karmania 464 Kyaneai 101₁ Lyttos 723₀ Magnesia ad Sipylum 729₀ Olympia (?) 706₅ Pergamon 729₀ 955₀ Priansos 723₀ Skythia 292₄ 547₃ Smyrna 729₀ Sparta 729₀
Epithets: *θούρος* 876₀₍₈₎ *κελαυεργχής* 438 *Μέγας* 101₁
Rites: human sacrifice 548₀ sacrifice of asses 464 yearly sacrifice of sheep and horses 548₀
Myth: Kaldene 973₁
Genealogy: f. of Minyas 1150₅ f. of Solymos by Kaldene d. of Pisias (Pisides?) 973₁
Attributes: chariot 436₁ sword 1225
Type: iron scimitar 548₀
Identified with Azizos 428 430 Zeus and Poseidon 1225 Ziu 50
In relation to Dionysos 565₂
 — horses of 436₁
- Ares, the planet**
Myth: slays the giant *Kaukasos* 694₀
Identified with *Thouros* and *Baal* or *Bel* 694₀
- Arete**
Cult: Philadelphia in Lydia 1229
Identified with *Athena* 1029
- Argaios, Mt** 977₁ ff.
Cults: *Dioskouroi* 980₀ emperor (?) 978₀ 980₀ *Sarapis* (?) 978₀ Zeus 980₀
Etymology: 977₁
 — eagle on 978₀ 980₀ flanked by radiate pillars 980₀ held by *Sarapis* 978₀ hound chasing goat or stag on 978₀ image of, on altar 978₀ image of, as head-dress 978₀ image of, within temple 978₀ oath by 978₀ radiate figure on 978₀ 980₀ rock-cut habitations on 978₀ snake guards plant on 977₁ 980₀ surmounted by Egyptian symbol (*lotos*?) 978₀
 See also *Kaisareia* in *Kappadokia*
- Argarizon, Mt** See *Gerizim, Mt*
- Arge** See *Hekaerge*
- Argenidas, relief of** 1062 ff.
- Arges** 828 1023
- Argimpasa** See *Artimpasa*
- Argo, the constellation** 477₈
- Argonauts**
Epithet: *Μινύαι* 1150₅
Myths: *Eridanos* 484 *Heliades* 484 *Idmon* 471
- Argos**
Cults: *Aphrodite* *Ἀκρία* 1156₅ *Apollon* *Ἀγνιεύς* 163 *Apollon* *Δειραδιώτης* 173₄ *Artemis* 1144₂ *Artemis* *Ἀκρία* 1156₅ *Athena* 892₅ 893₀ 1144₂ *Athena* *Ἀκρία* 1156₅ *Athena* *Ὀξυδερκής* or *Ὀξυδερκώ* 502₂ *Epidotas* 321₁ *Hera* 290₀ 515 1144₂ *Hera* *Ἀκρία* 1156₅ *Leto* (*Lato*) *Ἀσιᾶτις* 455 pillars set up by *Danaos* (?) 1144₂ Zeus 1230 Zeus *Ἀφέσιος* 179 1144₂ Zeus *Κεραύνιος* 808₀₍₁₄₎ Zeus *Λαρισαῖος* 892₅ 893₀ 1144₂ Zeus *Λαρισσεύς* 1144₂ Zeus *Μειλίχιος* 1143 f. Zeus *Μηχανεύς* 1144₂ Zeus *Νέμειος* 1143₅ Zeus *Σωτήρ* 1144₂ Zeus *Υέριος* 164₅ 164₀ 1144₂ Zeus *Ύψιστος* 878₀₍₄₎ 1144₂ Zeus *Φαλακρός* 874₂ 893₁ 1099₀ 1144₂ Zeus *Φύξιος* 1144₂ Zeus with three eyes 892₅ 1144₂
Myths: *Amphilochos* 489₀₍₄₎ *Areios* 1072 *Danaos* 1144₂ *Pelasgos* 1144₂ *Pelopidai* 956₂ 957₀
 — coins of 1079 1143 *omphalós* at 173
- Argos, watcher of Io**
Myths: *Nemea* 892₄ slain by *Hermes* 379 f.
Function: sky 379
Attributes: club 380 lion-skin (?) 380 panther-skin 380 *pétasos* 380 386
Types: bifrontal 341₀ 379 f. Janiform

- Argos, watcher of Io (*cont.*)
(bearded + beardless) 387 with numerous eyes 380
Compared with Zeus 379
- Ariadne**
Cult: Mt Aigaion (?) 927₀
Myth: Daidalos 600 f.
Attributes: ivy-wreath 390 (?) sceptre 788₀ (?)
Type: double bust (with Dionysos) 390 (?) 391 392₁ (?)
Associated with Dionysos 245₀ 245₅ 261 390 (?) 391 661 (?)
- Aricia**
Cults: Diana 420₁ Diana *Nemorensis* 147
Aries 16₁ 103₀ 664₁
Arignote 1024
- Arima**
Myth: Typhon (Typhoeus) 826 909₀
- Arimian Cave 449₀
- Arippasa See Artimpasa
- Aristaios
Cult: Arkadia 1112₀
Myth: Apollon 1042 (?)
In relation to Zeus 1112₀
- Ariste Chthonia (= Hekate) 1114₀₍₄₎
- Aristodama, m. of Aratos by Asklepios (not Kleinias) 1082
- Aristodemos 436
- Aristogeiton 1172
- Aristomenes sacrifices 300 persons to Zeus ἰθωμάτας 891₀
- Aristonous of Aigina 740 1222
- Aristophanes on Zeus 2
- Aristophanes, the painter 902₂ (?)
- Aristotle 805₈
- Arkadia
Cults: Aristaios 1112₀ Artemis 412 Kallisto 1114₀₍₆₎ Zeus Ἐρεχθεύς 793 Zeus Ἀύκαιος 760 f. 849
Myths: Arkas 228₈ birth of Apollon Νόμος 252
— coins of 757 760 849
- Arkas 212 228₈ 964₃ 1148
- Arkeisios
Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Euryodeia (Euryodia) 1152₄
- Arkesilaos (?) 1156
- Arkesine
Cults: Dionysos κισσοκόμας 246₁ Muses 1157₀ Zeus Ἀναδώτης 1157₀ Zeus Ἀποτρόπαιος 1157₀ Zeus Μειλίχιος 1156 Zeus Σωτήρ 1156₁₃ Zeus Τέλειος 1156₁₃
- Arkesion, a cave on Mt Ide in Crete
Myth: Kouretes hide from Kronos 549₁ 939₀
Etymology: 939₀
— to be identified with the Idaean Cave, not with the Kamares grotto 939₀
- Arkesios (?) or Arkeisios (?) 1156
- Armenios 54 114
- Arnaia, former name of Penelope 691 f.
- Arnakia, former name of Penelope 691 f.
- Arne in Boiotia, apsidal temple of 900₀
- Arne, a spring near Mantinea 692
- Arnea (?) See Arnaia
- Arnepolis (? in Mesopotamia)
Cult: Herakles 469₁
- Arpi, coins of 1159₁
- Arsalos 972₀
- Arsinoe, d. of Leukippos 1089
- Arsinoe ii
Cult: Alexandria 1216
— personates Tyche 1216 wears horn of Zeus Ἄμμων 773₀ 1136₄
- Arsippos 1089
- Arslan Apa, in Phrygia
Cult: Theos Ἐψιστος (= Zeus Βέννιος or Βεννεύς) 883₀₍₀₎ 969₃
- Artemiche, d. of Kleinias 463₁
- Artemis
Cults: Achna 157₁ Akarnania 412 Apameia in Phrygia 408₀ Argos 1144₂ 1156₈ Arkadia 412 Athens 115₂ 163₄ 410₁ Delos 452 ff. 501 1227 Delphoi 1216 Divlit near Koloë 975₀ Eleuthernai 492₀₍₀₎ Ephesos 405 ff. 962₂ 1082 Epidaurus 413; Geraistos 906₃ Gortyna 723₀ Halikarnassos 164₄ Heleia 931₀ Hiera in Lesbos 488₀₍₂₎ Hierapytna 723₀ Hittites (?) 410₁ Hyperboreoi (?) 501 Kadoi 408₀ Korkyra 457 Mt Koryphon (Koryphaion) 869₁ Kyrene 1177₃ Lousoi 646 Lykia 681, Lyttos 934₀ Magnesia ad Sipylum 729₀ Magnesia in Thessaly 730₀ Miletos 410₁ Mounychia 115 Myra (?) 681₁ Olynos 586₂ Pagai, port of Megara (?) 488₀₍₃₎ Paionia 500 Panormos near Kyzikos 881₀₍₂₁₎ Pergamon 729₀ 955₀ Pogla (?) 363 Priamos 723₀ Rhegion 680 Sardeis 1227 f. Smyrna 729₀ Sparta 421 f. 457 640₀ 647 Stymphalos 692 Syracuse 1140 Thebes in Boiotia 412 Thrace 411 500 f. Troizen 413 ff. Troy 453
- Epithets*: Ἀγροτέρα 1177₃ Ἀκρία 1156₆ Ἀναίτις (Ἀναίτις?) 975₀ Ἀργη (?) 452 Βασίλεια 495 500 f. Βολοσία 906₃ Βούσβατος (See Bousbatos) Βραυρωνία 228₄ Δίκτυνα 414₀ δρυμονίη 412₄ Ἐκαέργη 452 Ἐκβατηρία 1180₄ Ἐλευθέρα 681₁ ἐν δρεσι δρυογόνουσι κόραν...ἀγροτέραν 412₈ Εδκλεία 118₃ Ἐφεσία 405 ff. 962₂ 1220 ἡ κατέχεις δρέων δρυμούς 412₄ λοχάιρα 405₃ ἰπποσόα 465 501 Ἴωλκία 730₀ 871₃₍₁₁₎ Καλλίστη 228₄ Λαφρία 599 Λοχία 183 Λναία 1140₃ Λυγοδέσμα 421₈ μεγάλη 963₀ Ὀρθία 421 f. 501 (?) 640₀ 647 Ὀρθωσία 422₁ Περγαία 363 (?) Ηηνελόπη (?) 691 f. Σαρωνία 413₇ 414₀ Σαρωνίς 413 417 Στυμφαλία 692 Σώτειρα 488₀₍₃₎ Ταυροπόλος 729₀ 955₀ 1214 (?) Φακελίτις or Φακελίη 680 Φωσφόρος 115

Artemis (cont.)

- Χιτώνη 409 410₁ Χιτωνία 410₁
 χρυσάοπος 716 Ὠπιδίς 452
Festivals: Marathon (Boedromion 6)
 854 Saronia 413₇
Rites: βωμονίκαί 421₃ contest of rustic
 singers wearing stag-horns 1140
 διαμαστίγωσις 421₃ wheaten straw
 used in sacrifice by women of
 Thrace and Paionia 500 f.
Priestess: Kallisto 228₄ pursues a man
 as Artemis pursued Leimon 164₆
 virgin 210₀
Worshippers: ἀρχιχορος καὶ λεροκάρυξ
 τῶν λεπέων 488₀₍₂₎
Myths: Astrabakos and Alopekos 421
 Atalante 412 born at Araxa 455
 born at Ortygia near Ephesos 962₂
 Bouphagos 894₀ Hippolytos 393
 Hyperboreoi(?) 501₅ Kallisto 228₅
 Kleinis 463₁ Orestes 421₃ 680 Saron
 413 f. wooed by Otos 130
Metamorphosed into doe(?) 413₃
Genealogy: d. of Demeter 1032 d. of
 Dionysos by Demeter 252 d. of Leto
 (Lato) 456 465 501 d. of Zeus 164₈
 342₀ d. of Zeus by Leto (Lato) 453
 not *ab initio* the twin sister of
 Apollon 501
Functions: fertility 457 growth 421 f.
 moon 854 motherhood 410₀ nature
 457 vegetation 411 younger form of
 Anatolian mother-goddess 501 844
Etymology: 1220
Attributes: bee 407₀ birds(?) 457 bow
 202₁ 453₃ bull 1214(?) crab 407₀
 crown 147₁ doves(?) 457 fawn 152₀
 griffin 406₀ f. horned doe 854 lion
 406₀ f. lions(?) 457 two lionesses
 1227 mountains(?) 457 necklace of
 acorns 405 407₀ 410₀ ox 407₀ *phiále*
 882₀₍₀₎ quiver 453₃ ram(?) 488₀₍₃₎
 rosette 407₀ Skylla 407₀ snakes(?)
 457 Sphinx 407₀ 409₀(?) stag 406₀ ff.
 453₃ sword 716 torch 412 882₀₍₀₎
 1214(?) torches 488₀₍₃₎(?) Victories
 407₀ 409₀ wreath of flowers 405 407₀
Types: archaistic 152₀ Διοπετές 963₀
 Ἐφεσία not descended from πότνια
 θηρῶν 410₀ with fillets hanging from
 hands 409₀ f. with fillets tethering
 hands 408₀ f. filling *phiále* of Apol-
 lon 181 fire 115₂ holding torches
 187₄(?) many-breasted 406₀ ff.
multimammia 410₀ πολύμαστος 410₀
 riding horned doe 854 shooting
 arrow 473 492₀₍₀₎ slaying Niobids
 475₇ standing with *phiále* in right
 hand and torch in left 882₀₍₀₎ with
 temple on head 406₀ ff.
Identified with Bendis 501 Boubastis
 252 Bousbatos 501₃ Hekate 1029
 1032
Associated with Apollon 164₈ 181 f.
 488₀₍₂₎ 586₂ Apollon and Leto 317₂

Artemis (cont.)

- Asklepios 1082 Hippolytos 149 Zeus
 and Athena 1144₂
In relation to Apollon 452 ff. bear 680
 Hippolytos 414 417 Leto 501 Saron
 413 f.
Superseded by Zeus 1220
 — effigy of, carved on trees near
 Thebes 412 elm-tree of 405₃ image
 of, made from fruitful oak-tree
 409 f. image of, set up beneath
 oak-tree 405 oak-tree of 405 ff. *pro-*
venance of 453 ff. sacred grove of
 975₀
Artemision in Euboeia 854
Artimeasa See Artimpasa
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 pasa), the Scythian Aphrodite Οὐ-
 ρανία 293₀
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Cult: Sardeis 1227 f.
Epithet: *Ibsimsis* (= Ἐφεσία?) 1227
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Arvi, the cleft at 945₂
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Ashur, the god
Attributes: flowers(?) 771₀ lightnings(?)
 770₂
Asia personified 854
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Genealogy: descended from Aiolos
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Asklepios
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 Athens 1065 1078 Bizye 1079 Bon-
 onia 1085 Delos 1088 Epidaurus
 413₇ 1076 ff. 1085 1177 f. Epidaurus
 Limera 1082 Gortyna 1085 Gortys
 1090 Herakleia Salbake 1080 Kos
 1088 Kyllene 1078 Lakonike 1085
 Lebena 1082 Mantinea 1078 Mega-
 lopolis 1090 Miletos 1228 Mytilene
 259₀ 1079 Neapolis in Samaria 1080
 Orchomenos in Boiotia 1085 Pana-
 mara 1066 Peiraeus 487₃₍₁₎ 1105
 1107₅(?) 1107₆(?) 1173 Pergamon
 954₀ 956₀ 1077 1079 f. Phlious 1090
 Rome 1088 1090 Serdike 1079 Sik-
 yon 1080 f. 1082 1090 Sparta 1085
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 ρερος 1089 Ζεὺς Τέλειος 1076 f. 1089
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 κλειτός 954₀ ἰητήρ νόσων... λυγρῶν
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 ῶν 954₀ Σωτήρ 487₃₍₁₎ 956₀ 1076 f.
 Τελεσφόρος(?) 1089 τρίτος 1089
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Athena (cont.)

Elateia in Phokis 1158₁₀ Elis 291₀
 Emesa 814₃ Epidauros 502₂ Erythrai in Ionia 1157₀ Gonnoi 870₀
 Gortyna 723₀ 731₀ Heleia 931₀
 Hierapytna 723₀ Ilion 950₀ Itanos 929₀
 Kolonos 1152₅ Mt Kynthos 919₀ 920₀ 921₀ 922₀ Larisa at Argos 892₅ 893₀ Larissa in Thessaly 1155
 Lindos 346₀ 923₀ 925₀ Lyttos 723₀
 Magnesia ad Sipylum 729₀ Megalopolis 164₇ Olympos in Lykia 972₁
 Ouxenton (?) 386₁ Oxyrhynchite nome 625 Paros 922₀ Pergamon 287₂ 729₀ 882₀₍₀₎ 954₀ 955₀ Phlyeis 1066 Phokis 731₀ Praisos 731₀
 Priansos 723₀ Rhodes (?) 923₀ Selinous 489₀₍₀₎ Skythia 925₀ Smyrna 729₀ Sparta 261₀ 502₂ 729₀ 739₁ 1101₃ Stelai in Crete 731₀ Sybrita 731₀ Tegea 593 f. 1147 Tralleis 958₀ Troizen 416₃

Epithets: ἀγνή 728₀ Ἀκρία 1156₅ Ἀλέα 593 f. 1147 Ἀμβουλία 261₀ Ἀποτροπαία 1157₀ Ἀρεία 729₀ 955₀ ἀτρυτώνη 954₀ Βαλενίκη 833₇ Βελενίκη 833₇ Βελονίκη 833₇ Βουλαία 259₀ caesia 503₀ γλαυκῶπις 502₂ 954₀ γοργῶπις 502₂ Ἐργάνη 164₇ ἡγεμῶν τῶν Κουρήτων 1029 Ἰλιάς 950₀ Κραναία 1158₁₀ Κτησία 1065 Κυνθία 919₀ 920₀ 921₀ 922₀ Λινδία 925₀ Νικηφόρος 287₂ 955₀ Ξενία 1101₃ ὀβριμοδερκής 502₂ Ὀμολωίς 901₀ Ὀξυδέρκα 502₂ Ὀξυδερκής or Ὀξυδερκῶ 502₂ Ὀπλοσμία 290₀ 291₀ Ὀπτιλέτις or Ὀπτιλία 502₂ Ὀφθαλμίτις 502₂ Παλλάς 1031 1130₁ Παρθένος 728₀ 729₀ 757 πατήριος 728₀ πολεμηδόκος 954₀ Πολιάς 723₀ 870₀ 923₀ 929₀ 1147 Πολιοῦχος 731₀ 1152₅ Προναία 231 Πιλλία (See Ὀπτιλία) quarta 869₁ Σαλμωνία 723₀ Σθενιάς 416₃ Σώπειρα 1169₄ τετάρτη (See quarta) Τιθρωνή 1066 Τριτογένεια 954₀ Τριτώνη (?) 1066 Ἵπάτη 875₁₍₂₎ Φρατρία 730₀ Χαλκίοικος 739₁ Ὠλερία 723₀

Festival: Panathenaia 1121₀

Rites: πέπλος at Athens 1136 πέπλος at Tegea 1148 sacrifice of cow 902₂ sacrifice of two-year-old heifer 287₂ 954₀

Priests: boy at Tegea 1147 ζακόρος 921₀ ιερεὺς 921₀ κλειδοῦχος 921₀

Priestess: virgin 210₀

Personated by Demetrios Poliorketes (?) 1136₄ Helene, consort of Simon Magus 726₀

Myths: Aleos 1147 birth from head of Zeus 709 721₂ 753₃ 785 1029 Epeios 625 Kepheus s. of Aleos 1148 Medousa 1148 Orestes 1098₄ puts on chiton of Zeus 744₄ rescues the heart of Dionysos or Zagreus 1031 Sterope, d. of Kepheus 1147₁₁

Athena (cont.)

teaches Apollon to flute 249₂ teaches Kouretes to dance 1029

Genealogy: d. of Brontaios 833₇ d. of Bronteos 833₇ d. of Zeus by Koryphe 869₁ (cp. i. 155)

Functions: dancing 1029 second self of Zeus 502₂ spinning 66₀ 1029 virtue of the leading gods 1029 weaving 66₀ 1029 wisdom of the creator 1029

Attributes: aigis 903₀ chariot 721₂ couch 1147 double axe 625 f. 847 helmet 90₃ lance 794₀ owl 955₀ snakes 1111 spear 903₀ sword 713 716

Types: bearing Nike and double axe 625 birth from head of Zeus 709 753₃ 785 in crested Corinthian helmet 162₁ Διοπερὲς Παλλάδιον 963₀ with double axe 625 f. Gigantomachy 713 introduction of Herakles to Olympos 735 ff. Janiform (?) 386₁ Myron 1078 spears Enkelados 777₂ square 164₇

Identified with Arete 1029 Tefênet 626₀

Associated with Hephaistos 1137 Zeus 259₀ 920₀ 923₀ 955₀ 1101₃ Zeus and Apollon 458 1094₀ Zeus and Artemis 1144₂ Zeus and Hera (=Capitoline triad) 319₇ Zeus and Herakles 1078 Zeus, Herakles, Apollon 875₁₍₂₎ Zeus Ἀταβύριος and Dionysos 925₀ Zeus Μιλχίος and Ge 1115 Zeus Σαβάζιος 287₂ Zeus Σωτήρ 1169₄

In relation to Cretan mother-goddess 625 Erikepaios (Erikapaios) 1032 Gorgon 502₂

Supersedes 'Minoan' goddess (?) 922₀

Superseded by St Maria de' Greci 910₁

Athens

Cults: Acheloios 1092₂ 1117 1118 Agathe Tyche 1125₁ 1129₀ Agathos Daimon 1125₁ Agathos Deos (sic) 985₀ Agathos Theos 1129₀ Agnostos Theos 942₀ Anaktes 1135₄ Aphrodite Ούρανία 985₀ Aphrodite Ψίθυρος 1043 Apollon 730₀ 985₀ 1121 Apollon Ἀγυιεύς 163 Apollon Ἀγυιεύς Ἀλεξίκακος 163₄ Apollon Ἀγυιεύς Προστατήριος Πατρῶος Πύθιος Κλάριος Πανιώνιος 163₄ Apollon Πατρῶος 255 730₀ Apollon Προστατήριος 163₄ Apollon Σωτήρ 875₁₍₂₎ Ares 729₀ Artemis 163₄ Artemis Φωσφόρος 115₂ Artemis Χιτώνη (?) 410₁ Asklepios 1065 1078 Athena 729₀ 730₀ 922₀ 944₀ 1230 Athena Ἀρεία 729₀ Athena Βουλαία 259₀ Athena Παρθένος 757 Athena Πολιάς 1147 Athena Σώπειρα 1169₄ Athena Φρατρία 730₀ Athena Ἵπάτη 875₁₍₂₎ Bendis 1032 f. Demeter 729₀ 730₀ Dionysos 985₀ Dionysos Μελπόμενος 245₅ Dioskouroi 1135₄ Erechtheus

Athens (cont.)

793 f. Eros *Ψίθυρος* 1043 Ge 729₀
 Hadrian 1120₀ 1121₀ Harpocrates
 985₀ Helios 729₀ 1114 Hera 1119₄
 Herakles 163₄ 875₁₍₂₎ 1116 f. Hermes
 1117 Hermes *Καταιβάτης* 14 Hermes
Χθόνιος 14 Hermes *Ψιθυριστής* 1043
 Heroës 1123 Hestia *Βουλαία* 259₀
 Horos 985₀ Isis *Ταποσειριάς* 985₀
 Kallirrhoe, d. of Acheloios 1117 (?)
 Kronos 554₂ Leto 163₄ St Marina
 1114 Meter *ἐν Ἄγρας* 1119₀ 1142₃ (?)
 Moirai 231₈ Mother of the gods
 985₀ Nymphs 1118 *Παναγία εἰς τὴν*
Πέτραν 1119₀ Philia 1163 St Pho-
 teine 1116 Poseidon 729₀ 730₀ Psi-
 thyros the hero 1044 (Sarapis) *ἐν*
Κανώπῳ 985₀ ἡ ὑπεραγία Θεοτόκος
 1119₄ Tyche Ἄγαθή 1163 Zeus 729₀
 730₀ 817 1229 Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων (?)
 1061 Zeus Ἀστραπαῖος 815 Zeus
 Βασιλεύς 730₀ Zeus Βουλαῖος 259₀
 Zens Ἐλευθέριος 1135₄ Zens Ἐλευ-
 θέριος (= Domitian) 97₀ Zeus Ἐλευ-
 θέριος (= Hadrian) 98₀ Zeus Ἐλευ-
 θέριος Ἀντονίνος Σωτήρ Ὀλύμπιος (?)
 (= Antoninus Pius) 101₁ Zeus
 Ἐξακεστήρ 1093₁ Zeus Ἐπιτέλειος
 Φίλιος 1163 Zeus Ἐπόψιος 1121
 1123 Zeus Ἐρεχθεύς 793 Zeus
 Ἐρκεῖος 730₀ Zeus Ἰκέσιος 1093₁
 Zeus Καθάρσιος 1093₁ 1100₁ Zeus
 Κάσιος 985₀ Zens Καταιβάτης 20 f.
 Zeus Κήρσιος (Κηραῖος) 903₀ Zeus
 Κτήσιος 1065 Zeus Μειλίχιος 1091 f.
 1103 1114 ff. 1121 1123 1149 1151
 1161 Zens Μοιραγέτης 231₈ Zens
 Μόριος 20 Zeus Νάιος 1117 (?) Zeus
 Ξένιος 1229 Zens Ὀλύμπιος 20 1078
 1118 1123 Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (=
 Hadrian) (?) 959₀ Zeus Πανελλήνιος
 1119₄ 1120₀ Zeus Πατρῶος 111₀
 Zens Πολιεύς 897₂ Zeus Στράτιος
 976₀ Zeus Σωτήρ 1121 1123 1147
 1169 Zeus Τέλειος 1123 1147 1163₂
 Zeus Τροπαῖος 111₀ Zens Ἐπιτατος
 163₄ 875₁₍₂₎ 897₂ Zeus Ἐπιτατος
 876₁₍₁₎ 897₂ Zeus Φίλιος 1161 ff.
 Zeus Φράτριος 730₀
Festivals: Anthesteria (Anthesterion
 11—13) 1139 City Dionysia 244₂
 Diasia (Anthesterion 22 or 23)
 1137 ff. Lenaia 244₂ Megala Pan-
 hellenia 1121₀ Panathenaia 1121₀
 Panhellenia 1119₄ 1121₀ Pyanopsia
 or Pyanepsia 237₀ Thargelia 237₀
Rites: Bacchants cover their breasts
 with iron bowls 346₀ burial within
 the house 1060 1065 *ἐγχευτρίστριαι*
 1065 *ἐφυγον κακόν, εὔρον ἀμεινον*
 1166₁ first-fruits taken to Delphoi
 816 f. need-fire brought from Del-
 phoi 816 f. *πιθαγία* (Anthesterion
 11) 1139 procession to Delphoi
 headed by axe-bearers 628 817 847

Athens (cont.)

sacred tripod fetched from Delphoi
 816 f. sacrifice of pig to Zeus Φίλιος
 1161 sacrifice of white ox to Zeus
 Κτήσιος 1065 1067 *χόες* (Anthesterion
 12—13) 1139 *χύτροι* (Anthesterion
 13) 1139 wearing of white-poplar
 470 women slide down rock to
 obtain children 1114
Priestess: *πυρφόρος* 817₀
Myths: Akropolis struck with trident
 by Poseidon 793 Deukalion 1118
 1139 1229 Erichthonios 944₀
 Kekrops 875₁₍₂₎ Periphas 1121 ff.
 sea-water on Akropolis 581
 — Asklepieion at 1078 coins of 232₀
 674₁ 675₁ 1078 Erechtheion at 24
 789₇ 792 965₀ 1148 Kyklops in folk-
 tale from 990 ff. old Hekatompedon
 at 757₁ Olympieion at 1118 ff. 1135
 1229 f. Parthenon at (See Parthenon)
 Prytaneion at 1094₀ 1095₀ Python
 at 201₁ 202₁ 1135 Stoa Basileios at
 1094₀ 1095₀ 1135₄ Stoa Poikile at
 1135₄ Stoa of Zeus Ἐλευθέριος at
 1135₄ talisman of 1148
Athos, Mt
Cult: Zeus Ἀθῶος 906₁
 — altars on 906₁ Macrobian on 500
 monasteries on 906₁
Athribis
Cult: Theos Ἐπιτατος 889₀₍₂₃₎ 984₂
Athtar 430₄
Atlas
Cult: Heleia 931₀
Genealogy: f. of Alkyone 414₂
 See also Index II Atlantes
Atlas, Mt
Myths: garden of Hera 1021 Hes-
 perides 1021
Atreus
Myth: sceptre of Zeus 547₂ 956₂ 1132₄
 1132₆
Genealogy: s. of Pelops and f. of
 Agamemnon 957₀
Etymology: 569₂
Atropos 1023
Attabokaoi 310₂
Attaleia in Pamphylia
Cult: Zeus Τροπαιούχος 111₀
Attalos
Etymology: 569₂
Attes 292₂ 296₄ 297₀
 See also Attis
Attes, s. of Kalaios 444
Attike
Cults: Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων (?) 1069 Zeus
 Μειλίχιος 291₂
Myth: Theseus purified by Phytalidai
 at altar of Zeus Μειλίχιος 291₂
Attis
Cults: Hierapolis in Phrygia 306₁
 Ostia 297 ff. 303₂ Pessinous 970₀
 Phrygia 313 Rome 303₂ 306₅
Epithets: *Aeternus* (?) 306₄ *αἰπῶλος*

Attis (cont.)

296₄ 307₁ ἀκαρπος 296₄ βασιλεύς 303₂
 βουκόλος 307₁ bubulcus 307₁ Chris-
 tianus (!) 307 formosus adulescens
 307₃ Invictus 303₂ Μηνοτύραννος
 303₂ Menotyrannus (Menoturanus,
 Minoturanus) 303₂ νέκυσ 296₄ Πάπας
 or Παπᾶς 292 ff. pastor 307₁ Pileatus
 307 ποιμήν 307₁ ποιμήν λευκῶν
 ἄστρων 296₄ 297₀ Sanctus 303₂
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 στάχυς ἀμηθείς 296₄

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 306₁

Rites: those polluted with wine may
 not enter his sanctuary 969₄
 criobolium 306 effigy affixed to
 pine-tree 303 effigy worn by votaries
 299 ff. formula of exhortation 306
 illumination 306 lamentation over
 prostrate body 303 taurobolium 306
 unction 306₁

Myths: betrothed to Ia 970₀ conceived
 by Nana after putting fruit in her
 bosom 969₄ loved by Agdistis 969₄
 loved by Mother of the gods 969₄
 Lydian version (Attis killed by boar)
 969₄ mutilates himself under pine-
 tree 970₀ nurtured on goat's milk
 969₄ Phrygian version (Attis muti-
 lated under pine-tree) 969₄ 970₀
 tended by he-goat 969₄

Genealogy: s. of almond-tree 295 s. of
 Kronos 294 s. of Nana, d. of
 Sangarios 969₄ s. of Rhea 294 296
 s. of Zeus 294

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 of resurrection 309 rain 292 rebirth
 of Πάπας (Παπᾶς) 294 ripe corn 295₂
 shepherd of his devotees 306 f.
 spring flowers 295₂ tree-spirit (?)
 303₂ young corn 295₂

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 297 ff. flowers 297 f. fruit 297
 lagobólon 300 moon 298 Phrygian
 cap 298 pileum 307₃ pine-cones 298
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Types: duplicated 300 f. 308 ff. effemi-
 nate youth reclining on rock 297 f.
 goatherd 295 green ear of corn 295
 half-length figure 301 piper 295
 radiate 298 recumbent 300 shepherd
 296

Identified with Adamna 295 1218
 Adonis 294 f. 298 Dionysos 294
 296 298 Korybas 295 Men 295 298
 Osiris 294 f. Pan 296 Zeus 292

Assimilated to Cautes and Cautopates
 309

Associated with Agdistis and Zeus 1229
 Kybele 301₁ Mater deum 306₅

Compared with Adonis 293

In relation to Christianity 303 ff.

Attis (cont.)

Dioskouroi 307 ff. Kybele 293 842
 Papas 317

— formula of devotion to 278₂

Attis, priest of the Mother of the gods
 310 f.

Attouda

Cult: Zeus 743₇

— coins of 743₇

Atys, s. of Kroisos 311

Atys, s. of Manes 311 f. with Kotys as
 Dioskouroi (?) 312

Augeias

Etymology: 384₀

Augustine, St 140

Augustus

Cults: Assos 728₀ Dorylaeion 281 Pa-
 phlagonia 729₀ Pergamon 1179 1182
 Termessos (Termessus Maior) 973₁

Priest: ἀρχιερεύς 973₁

Personates Iupiter 1091 Zeus 97₀ 260₀

— birthday of 419₁ house of 147
 statue of, struck by lightning 10
 tree at Nemi planted by 418 419₂
 419₃

Aulai

Cult: Apollon 249₂

Aule

Cult: Pan 249₂

Aulikomis 1141

Aura

Genealogy: d. of Pothos and Omichle
 1036 1038 m. of Motos (?) by Aer
 1036 1038

Aurelii 321

Auriga 477 477₈

Autessiodurum, sacred pear-tree at 1215 f.

Autochthon Οὐρανός See Epigeios Οὐρανός

Autonoë 347₀ (?)

Autonoos, a Delphic hero 452

Autonoos, f. of Anthos 414₂

Auxesia

Cults: Bryseai 890₂ Epidauros 487₃₍₁₎
 Sparta 890₂

Axenos See Euxeinos

Axieros

Cult: Thrace 314 f.

Function: rebirth of Axiokersos 314 f.

Etymology: 315 664

Identified with Demeter (?) 314₂

Axiokersa

Cult: Thrace 314 f.

Function: earth 315

Etymology: 314 664

Identified with Persephone (?) 314₂

Axiokersos

Cult: Thrace 314 f.

Function: sky 315

Etymology: 314 f. 664

Identified with Hades (?) 314₂

Axios, f. of Pelegon 588₀

Axos

Cults: Apollon 816₄ Zeus 816₄

— coins of 816₄

Azan, s. of Arkas 964₃

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- Bellerophon (Bellerophontes)** 720 f. 1129₁
Myth: Pegasos 721₂ 1018
Type: on horseback 717₂
- Belos**
Cult: Emesa (?) 814₃
Genealogy: s. of Inachos and b. of Kasos 981₁ s. of Nebrod (Nimrod) Orion Kronos by Semiramis Rhea 693₄ 694₀ s. of Pikos who is also Zeus by Hera 694₀ 695₀
 — distinguished from Ba'al (Baal, Bel) 694₀
- Bendis**
Cults: Athens 1032 f. Imbros 314₀ Lemnos 314₀ Mounychia 115 Paionia 500 f. Samothrace 314₀ Thasos 314₀ Thrace 303₂ 314₀ 411 501
Rite: oak-wreath 411 f.
Etymology: 303₂
Identified with Artemis Βασίλεια 501 Hekate 314₀ Kabeiro 314₀
Associated with Maenads 314₀
- Beneventum** by euphemism for Maleventum 1112₇ Trajan's Arch at 1181₀
- Benneitai** 883₀₍₀₎
- Bennis** See Zeus *Epithets Βεννεύς*
- Berekyndai** 587₇
- Berekyntes** 587₇ 970₀
- Berekynthos**
Etymology: 587₅
- Bernard Ptolemy, St** 135
- Beroe**, nurse of Semele 1031
- Berouth**, w. of Elioun "Υψιστος 886₀₍₃₀₎
- Berytos**
Cults: Ba'al 886₀₍₃₀₎ Theos "Υψιστος 983₅
- Bes**
Cults: Egypt 457 Gaza 674
Types: facing 674 mask 674
Supersedes Zeus 675
- Bessoi**, oracle of Dionysos among 269
- Bethel** 127 f.
- Bethlehem**
Cult: Tammuz (Adonis) 984₁
- Beuyuk Evlia** near Amaseia
Cults: St Elias 975₀ Zeus Στρατίος 974₁ ff.
Rite: dramatic shows 976₀
- Biatos, Mt** See Viarus, Mt
- Bibracte** 1059
- Bilkon**
Cult: Apollon Βιλκώνιος 948₀
- Bios**
Attributes: knife 866 868 scales 865 f.
Type: naked or half-naked runner with wheels beneath his feet 865 ff.
Identified with Kairos 864
- Bithynia**
Cults: Phyllisthe river-god 904₁ Theos "Υψιστος (?) 883₀₍₂₄₎ Zeus' Αστραπαίος 815 Zeus Βάλης 271₀ Zeus Βροντῶν 835₅ Zeus 'Επιδήμιος 1180₄ Zeus Πάπας or Παπᾶς 292₄
Myth: Bormos 295₂
 — coins of 296₀
- Bituriges**
Cult: sword (?) 548₀
 — coins of 548₀
- Bizye** 282₁
Cult: Asklepios 1079
 — coins of 1079
- Blasios, St** 1104₂
- Blatsche**, between Skoupoi and Stoboi
Cults: Alexander (*sc.* Alexandros of Abonou Teichos) 1084 Draccena (= Δράκαινα) 1084 Dracco (= Δράκων, *i.e.* Glykon) 1084 Iuno 1084 Iupiter 1084
- Blandos in Mysia**
Cult: Zeus Σαδξίος (for Σαδξίος = Σαβάξιος) 284₀
- Blaundos**
Cult: youthful hero on horseback bearing double axe 563
 — coins of 563
- Boaz** 426 f.
- Boedromia** 237₀
- Boegia** 318₀
- Boghaz-Keui**
Cult: youthful god standing on lioness (?) 560
 — Hittite rock-carvings at 550 ff. 599₂
- Boibe** 500₈
- Boibeis, Lake** 500₈
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coins of 176₂ 218₀ 267₁ 490₀₍₅₎ E at 176₂ 178 1216 eagles at 179 ff. frieze of Siphnian Treasury at 831₁₍₄₎ inhabitants of, called Lykoreis 901₂ inner chapel in temple of Apollon at 239 inscribed axe from 628 *omphalós* at 169 ff. 841 1216 pediments of temple at 267₁ Plataean tripod at 170₂ 193 ff. 1216 precinct of, represented in archaistic reliefs 199 ff. stepped pyramid on plinth near 1146₀₍₆₎ succession of cults at 231 239 266 f. trophy from spoils of 'Marathon' at 1137₂ votive double axes from 629 669₃

Delphos 176₁Delphyne 449₀Demaratos, oath of 728₀

Demeter

Cults: Aixone 730₀ Ardetos 1135 Athens 729₀ 730₀ Boiotia 716₅ Dotion 497₆ 683 f. Eleusis 314₀ 314₂ 730₀ Erythrai in Ionia 730₀ Eteonos 1152 Hermione 1077 Kios 815₆ Kolonos 1152₅ Korkyra 730₀ Megalopolis 1178 Mostene (?) 564 Myrrhinous 730₀ Nisaia, port of Megara 488₀₍₃₎ Pagai, port of Megara (?) 488₀₍₃₎ Paros 131 Pergamon 729₀ 955₀ Pheneos 1136₄ Phlyeis 1066 Prostanina (?) 973₀ Samothrace 314₀ 314₂ Selinous 489₀₍₆₎ Sparta 729₀ Tegea 1140₆ Thebes in Boiotia 900₁ 901₀

Epithets: 'Αρησιδώρα 1066 'Ερναία 1075 'Ερμύς ('Ερμύς) 1075 'Ερκυννα 1075 (See also Herkynna) Εύρυόδεια 1152 Θεσμοθέτις 268₂ Θεσμοφόρος 131 259₀ Καρποφόρος 815₆ Κιδαρία 1136₄ Μαλοφόρος 488₀₍₃₎ 489₀₍₆₎ Μηλοφόρος 489₀₍₆₎ ξιφηφόρος 716₅ 'Ομολψα 900₁ cp. 901₀ Χθονία 1077 Χλόη 413₂ χρυσάορος 716

Festivals: Herkynia 1075 τελετή μείζων at Pheneos 1136₄

Myths: boiling of Pelops 212₆ consorts with Zeus 1029 Erysichthon 497₆ 683 f. Iambe 821 851 reveals fig to Phytalos 291₂ 1092₆ 1103

Metamorphosed into snake 1029

Genealogy: m. of Artemis 252 m. of Artemis or Hekate 1032 m. by Zeus of Phersephone or Kore 1029 w. of Poseidon 584₀

Functions: Corn-mother 295₂ earth 584₁ 585₁ 1152

Etymology: 584₀ 584₁ 585₁ 1159₁

Attributes: corn-ears 564 (?) double axe 564 (?) *drépanon* 448₀ *hárpe* 448₀ *kálathos* 564 (?) oak-tree 683 f. pig 1140₅ poplar-tree 683 poppies 1165₁ ram (?) 488₀₍₃₎ snake 1111 sword 716 716₅ torches 488₀₍₃₎ (?)

Type: with *kálathos*, corn-ears, and double axe (?) 564

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Identified with Axieros (?) 314₂ Isis 252 Rhea 1029 1032

Associated with Kore 1113₀₍₃₎ 1178 Kore and Zeus 258₃ 259₀ Zeus, Hera, Kore, Baubo 259₀

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Personates Athena (?) 1136₄

Demosi of Antiocheia on the Orontes (?) and Seleukeia Pieria (?) 1192

Demokritos of Abdera 701₀

Demos

Cults: Antiocheia on the Orontes (?) 1192 Kaulonia (?) 1042 Seleukeia Pieria (?) 1192

— in Aristophanes 212

Demos of Rome

Cult: Miletos 1228

Demotionidai, oath of 728₀Den 344₀ 583₀ 583₃

See also Zeus

Denderah

Cults: Horos 773₀ Osiris 773₀ Zeus 'Ελευθέριος Σεβαστός (= Augustus) 97₀

Deo

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Cult: Akakesion 231₈

Deukalidai 892₄

Deukalion

Myths: takes stones from Mt Agdos to people the world 971₀ Athens 1118 1139 1229 builds altar of Zeus 'Αφέσιος 892₄ Lykoreia 901₂ Mt Parnassos 902₀

Genealogy: h. of Pyrrha 971₀ s. of Minos, s. of Zeus 793₇

Etymology: 892₄

— grave of 1118

Deunysos 272₀

See also Dionysos

Deus 344₀

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Deus Altissimus

Cult: Hadrumetum 889₀₍₃₄₎

Epithets: *Pelagicus Aerijs* 889₀₍₃₄₎

Identified with Iao 889₀₍₃₄₎

Deus Casius

Cult: Hedderheim 983₀

See also Zeus *Epithets* Κάσιος (Κάσιος)

Deus Magnus Pantheus

Associated with Vires 306₄

Deverra 643₈

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- Dion, an early Laconian king
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- Dion (?), consort of Dione
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 — sacred trees at 975₀
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 — bronze statuettes of Zeus from
 739 1222 (?) Corcyraean whip at
 826 851 double axe of iron from 678

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- Eikthyrnir 305₀
 Eileithyia
Cults: Gortyna 723₀ Hierapytna 723₀
 Megara 168₁ Phaleron 183 Priansos
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Cult: Zeus Ἠλακαταῖος or Ἠλακατεὺς
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- Elaphebolia 1140₄
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Cult: Zeus Κεραύνιος 808₀₍₁₃₎
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- Elektryon
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- Eleos
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 314₀ 314₂ Kore 314₀ 314₂ Persephone
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 295₂ myrtle-wreaths 1165₁ mysteries
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- Eleuther 190₀
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 Way 38₅
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 Οὐρανός and Ge by Berouth 886₀₍₃₀₎
- Elis
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 Ὀπλοσμία 291₀ Dionysos 932₀
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 μία 291₀ Myiacoires 783 Sosipolis
 1151 Zeus Ἀπόμυιος 783 Zeus
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Myth: Salmoneus 825
- Elisha 1134₄
- Elmo, St, fires of 980₀
- Elnes (?) 1149₂₍₁₎
- Elpides See Dios Elpides
- Elysian Plain (Fields) 22₄ 117 465 469
- Elysian Way 36 ff. 117 840
- Elysium 22 133 840
- Emathia, hill at Antiocheia on the Orontes
Cult: Zeus Βορτιαῖος 1187 f.
- Emesa
Cults: Aglibolos 814₃ Athena 814₃
 Belos (?) 814₃ Elagabalos (?) 814₃
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 chbelos (?) 814₃ Seimia (?) 814₃
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 — relief from 814₃
- Emmeram, St 135
- Emona
Cult: Laburus 609₃

- Empedokles** 358₆ 432 (?) 505₁ 852 1024 1033
- Emporia** 94₃ (?)
- Emporion**
Cults: Eros 1040 Persephone 1040
 — coins of 1039 f.
- Endoios** 410₀
- Enhodia**
Cult: Larissa in Thessaly 1155
Epithet: *Φαστικά* (? from Thracian tribe *Ἀσθαί*) 1155₄
Associated with Zeus Μειλίχιος and Polis 1155
- Eniautos** (?) 1029 (in Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 110, 20 Pasquali *ἐνιαυτὸς* Kern would read *Ἐνιαυτὸς*)
- Enipeus** 460
- Enkelados**
Myths: Athena 713 777₂ 909₀ Zeus 909₀
 — in town-arms of Girgenti 915₀
- Enneakrounos** 1119 1119₄
- Ennius**, the twelve deities of 100
- Enoch** 38₆ 138₀
- Enorches**
Myths: born from egg laid by Daita or Daito (Daiso) w. of Thyestes 1021
 founds temple of Dionysos *Ἐνδρῆς* 1021
Etymology: 1021
- Enyeus**, f. of Homoloia 900₁
- Eos** See Heos
- Epaphos**
Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Io 961₀
- Epeios**
Myth: wooden horse 625
Attribute: axe 613 625
- Epeiros**
Cult: Hadrian 1121₀
 — coins of 763₁ folk-song from 828 f. folk-tales from 671 f. 1006 f.
- Ephesos**
Cults: Artemis 1082 Artemis *Ἐφεσία* 405 ff. 962₂ Nyx 1021 Zeus 728₀ 743₇ 962₂ Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* 962₂
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Myths: Amazons 405 Hippo 405₃
 — Artemision at 580₇ 637 f. 1230 coins of 408₀ 409₀ 743₇ 962₂ 963₀ columns dedicated by Kroisos etc. at 580₇ oak-tree at 405 Olympieion at 962₂
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- Ephialtes**, b. of Otos 129 f. 130₄ 317 712
- Ephka**, sacred spring at Palmyra 885₀₍₂₀₎
- Ephraem** the Syrian, St 116
- Epidamnos** See Dyrhachion
- Epidauros**
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- Epidauros** (cont.)
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Myths: buried on Mt Olympos in
Mysia 953₂ Mt Gargaron (Gargara)
950₀ golden vine 281₄ Tantalos
212₅ 953₂ Zeus 188₀ 281₄ 933₀

Genealogy: f. of Ballenaios by Medesigiste 270₅

Types: with eagle 188₀ 189₀ with eagle
and golden vine (?) 281₄

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Gargaron (Gargara), Mt 949₅ ff.

Cult: Zeus 950₀ ff.

Myths: Ganymedes 950₀ Paris 950₀
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Gargaros, the town 950₀ 951₀ f.

Gargaros, s. of Zeus at (by?) Larissa in
Thessaly 950₀

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Cults: Bes 674 Janiform god and
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sonesos Taurike 729₀ Delphoi 176₁
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Epithets: Εύρουστέρα 176₁ Εύρύστερνος
176₁ Θεμέλη (= Σεμέλη) 279₃ Θέμις
176₁ 266 f. (?) 268₀ 841 (?) Θυώνη
279₃ Καρποφόρος 21₄ μά 294₀ μέλαινα
176₁ μήτηρ 1023

Rite: ούλαι, ούλόχυσται 18₈

Myths: golden apples 1020 f. Palikoi
909₀ sends up fig-tree to shelter
Sykeas or Sykeus 1103₈

Genealogy: d. of Elioun Ἐψιστος by

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Berouth 886₀₍₃₀₎ d. of Phanes by
Nyx 1026 m. by Ouranos of Klotho,
Lachesis, Atropos, the Hekaton-
cheires Kottos, Gyges, Briareos,
and the Kyklopes Brontes, Steropes,
Arges 1023 m. of Aetos 933₀ m. of
Eros by Ouranos 315₄ m. of Kekrops
1121 m. of Manes by Zeus 312 m.
of Okeanos and Tethys by Ouranos
1020 m. of Titanes by Ouranos 1023
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of Zeus 294₀ w. of Zeus 292₄

Functions: fertility 267 crops 350₁

Attributes: kteis 268₀ lamp 268₀ mar-
joram 268₀ omphalós 231 239 841
sword 268₀

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351₁ Semele 279₃ Themis 176₁

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1115

— omphalós of 231 239 1216

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Cult: Getai 227 805 822

Etymology: 227₄ 805 822 f.

Identified with Salmoxis (Zalmoxis)
227 822

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Myth: Entimos and Antiphemos are
bidden to beware of τὸν Τετράωτον
322₀ 322₇

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Type: bull 910₁

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In relation to Manes, Lemures, Larvae,
Lares familiares 1059

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Cult: Mogontiacum 96₂

Epithet: generis nostri parens 1059

Genealogy: f. of Tages 1060 s. of
Iupiter 1060

Attributes: acerra 1060 patera 1060

Types: anthropomorphic 1060 snake
1060

Identified with Iupiter 1060 Lar
1059

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— of a man corresponds with Iuno
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Cult: Rome 400₁₁

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- Genius huius loci
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- Genius Iovii Augusti
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Cult: Zeus (?) 903
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- Gerizim, Mt
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 Jehovah 887₀₍₃₁₎ mountain-top 888₀₍₀₎ the Virgin 888₀₍₀₎ Zeus Ἐλληνιος 887₀₍₃₁₎ 983₉ Zeus Ξένιος 887₀₍₃₁₎ 983₉ Zeus Ἰψιστος 887₀₍₃₁₎ 888₀₍₀₎ 983₉
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- Haeva**
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Cults: Lagina 714₂ Panamara 879₀₍₁₇₎
 Panormos near Kyzikos (?) 882₀₍₀₎
 Rome 307₀ Stratonikeia 714₂ 714₃
Epithets: *Ἀρίστη* *Χθονία* 1114₀₍₄₎
Δαδοφόρος 714₃ *Εὐκόλινη* 1114₀₍₄₎
θεῶν μήτηρ 328₇ *καλλιγένεθλος* 328₇
Καλλίστη 1114₀₍₄₎ *Κράταυς* 1114₀₍₄₎
μεγασθενής 328₇ *πολυώνυμος* 328₇
προθυραία (*προθύραιε*?) 328₇ *Σώτειρα*
 879₀₍₁₇₎ *Χθονία* 1114₀₍₄₎ *Χθονική* (*sic*)
 695₀
Festival: *πανηγύρεις* 714₂
Rite: libation of honey 1142₈
Priest: *hierofanta* 307₀
Genealogy: d. of Demeter 1032
Attributes: *kálathos* with crescent 714₂
 torch 714₂
Types: *Hecatae* 307₀ holding torches
 187₄ (?)
Identified with Artemis 1029 1032
 Bendis 314₀ Kabeiro 314₀ Semiramis 695₀
Associated with Zeus 714₂ 714₃ (Zeus)
Βροντῶν 835₆ 838
 See also Hecate
- Hekatoncheires**
Genealogy: sons of Ouranos by Ge 1023
- Hektor**
Cult: Thebes in Boiotia 961₀
Myths: Apollon 459 buried at Ophry-nion 961₀ sacrifices to Zeus 950₀
 cp. 8
In relation to Paris 447₆ Zeus 8
- Heleia** 930₀
Cults: Artemis 931₀ Athena 931₀ **Atlas**
 931₀ Hera 931₀ Leto (?) 931₀ Nike
 931₀ Poseidon (?) 931₀ Zeus 931₀
 Zeus *Δικταίος* 930₀ 931₀ 932₀
 See also Palaikastro
- Helene**
Cult: Tyndaris 918₀
Myths: brought up as d. of Leda 1015
 dedicates electrum cup, modelled
 on her own breast, in temple of
 Athena at Lindos 346₀ Menelaos
 1044
Genealogy: d. of Tyndareos 918₀ d.
 of Zeus by Leda and st. of Klytai-
 mestra 1015₇ d. of Zeus by Nemesis
 1131₁
Type: radiate 432₂ (?)

Helene (cont.)

Associated with Dioskouroi 432₂ (?)
1003 ff.
— in folk-tales 1003 ff.

Helenos

Myth: founds Bouthroton (Bouthrotos)
in Epeiros 348₆

Heliadai 479

Heliades

Myths: escort Parmenides up Milky
Way 42 f. 476 shed tears of amber
484 499₄

Metamorphosed into alders 472 black-
poplars 472 484 f. larches (?) 402₀
472₀ oaks 472₁₀ poplars 472 483 495

Types: mourning 479 transformation
into trees 473 ff.

Helikon, Mt

Cults: St Elias 898₅ Zeus 'Ελικώνιος
898₆

Myths: Muses dance round Hippo-
krene and altar of Zeus 898₅ singing-
match with Mt Kithairon 899₀

Heliopolis in Syria

Cults: Iupiter 886₀₍₃₀₎ Iupiter *Heliopo-*
litanus 745₁ Zeus 886₀₍₃₀₎

Helios

Cults: Alexandria 889₀₍₃₃₎ Apollonia
in Illyria 485 Athens 729₀ 1114
Badinlar, in Phrygia 568 Bosphoros
Kimmerios 729₀ Chersonesos Tau-
rike 729₀ Edessa 428 Eresos 729₀
Gythion 259₀ Karia 729₀ Magnesia
ad Sipylum 729₀ Paphlagonia 729₀
Pergamon 729₀ 955₀ 1185 Phaselis
729₀ Rhodes 469 Sahio in Phoi-
nike (?) 886₀₍₃₀₎ Smyrna 729₀ Sparta
729₀ Mt Taleton 890₂ Thermos in
Aitolia 729₀

Epithets: 'Ανκητος (?) 886₀₍₃₀₎ ἠλέκτωρ
499₂ 499₃ 499₄ Νέος 98₀ ὁ προπάτωρ
θεός... Πύθιος 'Απόλλων Τυρμναῖος
562 ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπα-
κούει 728₀ πατήρ 1130₁

See also Elektor, Hyperion

Festival: Tlapolemeia 469

Rite: sacrifice of horses on Mt Taleton
890₂

Priest: λεπεύς 562₂

Personated by Nero 98₀ 254 254₅

Myths: Auriga 477₇ Cygnus 477₇
Eridannus 477₇ Hyades 477₇ Phae-
thon 478 ff.

Genealogy: f. of Elektryone (Alekt-
trona) 499 f. of Pasiphae 947₀ f. of
Phaethon by Klymene 473₃ f. of
Triopas by Rhodos 684₂ forefather
of Idomeneus 947₀

Attributes: cock 947₀ torch 478 wreath
of white-poplar 469

Types: bust 1185, bust on couch 1171₃
colossal 254₅ in four-horse chariot
975₀ on horseback 473 475 475₆ 478
radiate bust with crescent (l) 664₁
radiate head, facing 469₇ seated 479

Helios (cont.)

Identified with Antoninus Pius 321 f.
'Apollon 164₁ 562 568 Apollon and
Dionysos 253 f. Lairmenos 568
Mithras 886₀₍₃₀₎ (?) Phanes 1051
Theos Hysistos 882₀₍₀₎ Tyrimnos
562

Associated with Monimos and Azizos
428 Selene 1171₃ Zeus and Ge 729₀
884₀₍₀₎ Zeus, Ge, and Erinyes 728₀ f.
Zeus, rivers, earth, and chthonian
powers 728₀ Zeus Μελιχίος 1114

Supersedes Apollon 730₀

Superseded by Phoibos 'Απόλλων 500

— connected with Aurelii 321 gates
of 41 horses of 828 851

Hell

Types: gaping monster 138₀ harrowing
of Hell 138₀

Hellanikos 1023

Hellas personified 853

Helle

Myth: golden ram 899₁

Hellenes, the Thessalian tribe 894₃

Helloi 677

Hellos 677 f. 848

Hemithea

Cults: Kastabos 670 f. Tenedos 670 f.
847

Myths: sent to sea in a coffer 669 ff.
swallowed by earth 670

Functions: childbirth 671 cures 671
earth 670 f. 673

Henny-penny 54₃

Heos (Eos)

Myths: *psychostasia* 734 supplicates
Zeus 753₃

Genealogy: m. of Memnon by Tithonos
281₄ cp. 734

Hephaestia in Lemnos

Cult: 'Επήκοος Θεός 'ΤΨιστος 878₀₍₇₎

Hephaestion (Hephaestia) in Lykia 972₁

Hephaistos

Cults: Mt Aitne 630 Olympia 706₆
Olympos in Lykia 972₁ Siderous
972₁

Epithet: 'Ολύμπιος in Lykia 972₁

Myths: presents Polytechnos with
double axe 693 sceptre of Zeus
547₂ 956₂ 1132₄ 1132₆ shield of
Achilles 972₁

Genealogy: f. of crabs 665 667 f. of
Palikoi 910₀ f. of Thaleia and gf.
of Palikoi 909₀

Attributes: blue pilos 386₆ dogs 630
double axe 709 f. perpetual fire 630

Identified with Chrysor 715 Hadran
630 Ptah 34₁ Zeus Μελιχίος 715

Associated with Athena 1137 Zeus 972₁
— road-making sons of (= Atheni-
ans) 817 cp. 628₄

Hephaistos, Mts of, in Lykia 972₁

Hera

Cults: Aigion 210₀ Amastris 707 Mt
Arachnaion 894₁ Argos 290₀ 515

Hera (cont.)

1144₂ 1156₅ Athens 1119₄ Boiotia 731₀ Chalkis in Euboia 981₀ Elis 291₀ Gortyna 723₀ Heleia 931₀ Hierapytna 342₀ 723₀ 1157₄ Itanos 929₀ Kebrenioi 130 Mt Kithairon 898₆ 899₀ Mt Kokkygion 893₂ Kroton 1021 Lebadeia 899₂ Lyttos 723₀ Messene 728₀ Mykenai 515 Mylasa 592 Olympia 706₅ Orchomenos in Boiotia 1150 Panionion 259₀ Paros 131 Phokis 731₀ Plataiai 899₀ Priansos 723₀ Mt Pron 893₂ Sparta 515 Sykaiboai 130 Tenedos (?) 662 Thebes in Boiotia 899₀ Thespiiai 899₀ Triphylia 291₀

Epithets: 'Ακρία 1156₅ Βασιλεία 731₀ Βασιλίσ 900₀ 'Εξακροστηρία 1093₁ Ζιγγία 60₀ 695₀ 723₀ 954₀ ἰσοτελής 1029 Κιθαιρωνία 899₀ Λακινία 291₀ 1021 λευκώλενος 343₀ Μηλιχία (= Μειλιχία) 1157₄ 'Οπλοσμία 290₀ 291₀ πόντια 583 584₀ Τελεία 893₂ 1150

Rite: libation from first kratér to Zeus and Hera 1123₇ 1124₀

Priests: among Kebrenioi 130 among Sykaiboai 130

Priestess: virgin 210₀

Personated by Alkyone 1088

Myths: consorts with Zeus on Mt Gargaron 950₀ consorts with Zeus on Mt Oche 902₁ consorts with Zeus in Rhapsodic theogony 1029 golden apples 1021 Iason 1088 Kallisto 228₆ Merops (?) 1132₁ reconciled to Zeus on Mt Kithairon 898₆ retires to Euboia 898₆ rouses Titans to attack Zagreus 1030 sends crab to attack Herakles 665₃ taken by Rhea to Okeanos and Tethys 1020 transforms Aetos into eagle 933₀ wooed by Ephialtes 130 wooed by Ixion 1088 wooed by Zeus clandestinely 1020 wooed by Zeus on Mt Kokkygion 893₂

Genealogy: d. of Phanes by Nyx 1026 w. of Zeus 584₁ 954₀

Attributes: cuckoo-sceptre 893₂ lilies 515 lion-skin 515 sceptre 707 1178 (See also cuckoo-sceptre) sword 713 716 vervain 395₂ vine-wreath 515

Types: branch of tree 899₀ enthroned 706₅ Gigantomachy 713 introduction of Herakles to Olympos 771 Janiform head (with Zeus) (?) 662 lopped tree-trunk 899₀ Polykleitos 893₂ 1143₁ 1178 with vine-wreath and lion-skin 515

Identified with Semiramis 695₀

Associated with Zeus 259₀ 592 707 776₃ 893₂ 894₁ 900₀ 1137 1144₂ 1150 1157 Zeus and Athena (= Capitoline triad) 319₇ Zeus, Demeter Θεσμοφόρος, Kore, Baubo 259₀

Hera (cont.)

In relation to Zeus 693

Supersedes Rhea 515

Superseded by ἡ ὑπεραγία Θεοτόκος 1119₄

— garden of 1021 meadow of 1021 tear of (vervain) 395₂

Heraia 757

Herakleia ad Latmum

Cult: Zeus Λαβράνδος 585₃

— treaty of, with Milētos 318₀

Herakleia Pontike

Cult: Zeus Στράτιος 976₀

Myth: Herakles plants two oaks 976₀

— coins of 560₃

Herakleia Salbake

Cult: Asklepios 1080

— coins of 1080

Herakleitos 12 13₁ 130₇ 805₆ 852 855₂ 856₀ 858₆ 1024 (?) 1033

Herakles

Cults: Acharnai 163₃ Aigion 742₅ Arnepolis (? in Mesopotamia) 469₁ Athens 163₄ 875₁₍₂₎ 1116 f. Baris in Pisidia 446 f. Chios 1157₁ Gadeira 423 Kaulonia (?) 1041 f. Mt Laphystion in Boiotia 899₁ Mt Gite 903₂ Rhodes 469 Rome 783 Selge 492₀₍₀₎ Selinous 489₀₍₀₎ Senones (?) 445 f. Skythia 292₄ Tarsos 560 Tyre 423 f.

Epithets: Αλγύπιος 7₂ ἀνίκητος 292₄ 'Απόμνιος 783 Διὸς παῖς 273 Χάρωψ 899₁

Personated by Nero 98₀

Myths: Antaios 134₁ apples of Hesperides 134₁ brings white-poplar from banks of Acheron 469 brings wild-olive from land of Hyperboreoi to Olympia 466 brings wild-olive from Istrian land 501 Cerynean hind 465 f. 843 cuts club from wild-olive on Saronic Gulf 466 Geryones 37₂ Hesperides 1017 Hippolyte 559 f. Hydra 665₃ Hyperboreoi 1041 (?) Kerberos 469 899₁ Kerkopes 1041 f. (?) Kyknos 274₀ makes wild-olive spring up at Troizen 466 Omphale 559 560₈ pillars 422 f. plants two oaks beside altar of Zeus Στράτιος at Herakleia Pontike 976₀ pyre 23 903₂ rape of Delphic tripod 199₂ sacks Oichalia 902₂ sacrifices to Zeus on Mt Kenaion 902₂ sacrifices to Zeus at Olympia 467 slays Kalchas, of Siris in Lucania 490₀₍₀₎ Tarsos 570₄ worried by flies at Olympia 783

Genealogy: b. of Iphikles 317 1017 f. of Tlepolemos 469

Functions: ἡ δύναμις τῆς φύσεως 434₃ time 469₁ world-creating 1023

Attributes: apple (?) 445 bow and club 446 knife (?) 445 lion-skin 1116 sword, bow, and club 446 wreath of poplar 388₈ wreath of white-poplar 469

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- Hermes (cont.)
 Identified with Kasmilos 314₂ Monimos 428 Phaunos 694₀ 943₀ Thoth 611 Trophonios (Trepheonios) 1075
 Associated with Aphrodite 146₂ 872₀₍₅₎ 1043 Daimones 1150₉ Polis 1155₅ Zeus 957₀ (?)
 Compared with Plouton 385₀ Zeus 385₀ Zeus Κτήσιος 384₀ Zeus Κτήσιος and Penates 1068 Zeus Πλουτοδότης 385₀
 — blood of (vervain) 395₂ sceptre of 1132₄ 1132₈
 Hermes, the planet
 Function: λόγος 558₀
 Hermione
 Cults: Demeter Σθονία 1077 Trajan 1180₄ Zeus Ἀσκληπιός 1077 Zeus Ἀσκληπιός 1061 Zeus Ἐμβατήριος (= Trajan) 100₈ 1180₄
 Hermippe, d. of Boiotos 1150
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 Cults: ogdoad 701₀ Ostanos 701₀
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 Heroës
 Cult: Athens 1123
 Rites: food fallen on floor reserved for them 1129₂ libation from second kratér 1123
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 Hesperos 261 430₄ 430₅
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 Cults: Aigai in Aiolis 259₀ Athens 259₀ Delphoi 1216 Gortyna 723₀ Hierapytna 342₀ 723₀ Kos 19₀ 238₀ Lyttos 723₀ 934₀ Miletos 317₂ 1220 Paros 875₁₍₅₎ Pergamon 259₀ Phaleron 183 f. Philadelphieia in Lydia 960₀ 1229 Priansos 723₀ Skythia 292₄ Sparta 259₀ Syracuse 916₀
 Epithets: Βολλαία (? Βόλλαία) 259₀ Βουλαία 259₀ 317₂ Δημίη 875₁₍₅₎ Ταυλα 19₀ 238₀
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 Cults: Apollon Μαλβεις 488₀₍₂₎ Artemis 488₀₍₂₎
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 Cults: Apolline hero 571 Apollon Αρχηγέτης 567 Attis 306₁ emperor 571 Lairbenos 566 Mother of the gods 306₁ youthful hero (? Lairbenos) on horseback bearing double axe 566 Zeus Βοζιος (Βωζιος) 570 Zeus Τρώιος 571₆
 Festival: Hilaria 306₁
 — coins of 565 f. 571 1158₉ katabasion at 14
 Hierapytna
 Cults: Aphrodite 723₀ Apollon Πύτιος (= Πύθιος) 723₀ Ares 723₀ Artemis 723₀ Athena Πολιάς 723₀ Athena Σαλμωνία 723₀ Athena Ὠλερία 723₀ Eileithyia Βιναρία 723₀ Hera 342₀ 723₀ Hera Μηλιχία 1157₄ Hermes 723₀ Hestia 342₀ 723₀ Korybantes (Kyrbantes) 723₀ Kouretes (Korettes) 723₀ Leto (Lato) 723₀ Nymphs 723₀ Zeus Βιδάτας 723₀ 934₀ Zeus Δικραϊος 342₀ 723₀ 929₀ cp. 930₀ Zeus Μηλιχίος 1157₄ Zeus Μοννίτιος 723₀ Zeus Ὀράτριος (= Φράτριος) 342₀ 723₀ Zeus Σκύλιος 723₀
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 Rite: exhibition of fig (?) 291₂ cp. 292₀ 1103
 Myth: Demeter reveals fig to Phytalos 291₂ 1092₈ 1103
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- Hypsistianoi** 885₀₍₂₈₎
- Hypsistos**
Cults: Ak Tash (Temenothyrai?) in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎ Ioudaia 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎ Kappadokia 885₀₍₂₈₎ Sari-Tsam in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎
Epithet: Παντοκράτωρ 885₀₍₂₈₎
Rite: lamp-lighting 881₀₍₂₀₎
Worshippers: Ύψιστάριοι or Ύψιστιανοί 885₀₍₂₈₎
 See also Elioun, Theos Hypsistos
- Hypsouranios** 715₄ 981₁ 1037
- Hyria** 30
- Hysmine** 1141
- Hysminias** 1141
- Ia**, betrothed to Attis 970₀
- Iakchos**
Epithet: Νέος 97₀
Personated by Antinoos 97₀
- Ialysos**
Cult: Elektryone (Alektroνα) 499
- Iambe**
Myth: Demeter 821 851
- Ian**
Identified with Zan 341 344 353 842
 — in the Salian hymn 330₀ 331₀ 341
 See also Ianus
- Iana**
Epithet: Arquis 339₆
Functions: arches 339₆ moon 339₆
Etymology: 338₆ 340₂
 See also Diana
- Ianiculum** 368₃
- Ianos** See Ianus
- Ianus**
Cults: Aenona 325 Corinium in Dalmatia 325 Etruria 378 Falerii 373 Iulia Apta 325 Lambaesis 369₀ Noricum 324 Ouxenton (?) 386₁ Philadelpheia in Lydia 374 Rome 364 ff. Salona(?) 325 Tusculum (?) 368₂ Volaterrae (?) 383
Epithets: anni origo 336₁₀ annorum nitidique sator pulcherrime mundi 336₁₀ antiquissimus divom 335₁ Augustus 325 biceps 336₁₀ Cameses or Camises (?) 330₀ 331₀ Conservator (?) 327 327₁₁ Culsanís 378 Curiatius 364 deorum deus 337₄ divom deus 337 duonus (duenos?) 330₀ 331₀ duonus Cerus (duenos Ceros?) 330₀ 331₀ 724₀ έφορος πάσης πράξεως 338₃ έφορος του παντός χρόνον 336₈ Geminus 324 337₄ 338₃ 358 360 365 lucifer annorum 336₁₀ Iunonius 336₈ Matutinus 338 Pater 325 335₁ 336₅ 337₄ 338 369₀ 377₁ Pater Augustus 325 Ποπάνων 338₃

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- Ide, Mt, in Crete (cont.)**
Myths: Hermaphroditos reared by Naiades 933₀ Kouretes 549 Kronos 549 Telchines 933₀ Zeus 230 932₁ 933₀
Etymology: 932₁
 — Arkesion, a cave on 549 939₀ ascent of 939₀ fruitful poplar (or willow) in mouth of Idaean Cave on 932₁ Idaean Cave on 230 933₀ ff. 935₀ ff. Idaean Cave on, visited by Epimenides 933₀ 934₀ Idaean Cave on, visited by Pythagoras 933₀ 934₀ plateau of Nida on 935₀ 937₀ summit of called Psiloriti 935₀
 See also Daktyloi, Idaean Cave
- Ide, Mt, in Phrygia 949₅ ff.**
Cults: Kybele 950₀ Mater *Idaea* 950₀ Meter *Ἰδαία* 950₀ Zeus 855₂ Zeus *Ἰδαῖος* 297₅ (?) 950₀ ff. Zeus *Πατρῶος* 950₀
Epithets: *μητέρα θηρῶν* 950₀ *πολυπίδαξ* 949₅ 950₀ *πολύπτυχος* 950₀ *σκολοπευδρώδης* 949₅
Myths: birth of Daktyloi 949₅ Daktyloi sons of Aigesthios (Agdestis?) by Ide 970₀ *Διὸς ἀπάτη* 1021 Ide, d. of Melisseus 949₅ judgment of Eros 949₅ judgment of Paris 949₅
Etymology: 932₁ 949₅
 — in relation to Hyperboreoi (?) 453 solar phenomenon on 949₅
- Ide, personification of Mt Ide in Phrygia**
Type: wreathed with fir 949₅
- Ide, d. of Melisseus 949₅**
- Ide, m. of Idaean Daktyloi 970₀**
- Idmon 471**
- Idomeneus**
Myth: Phaistos 947₀
Genealogy: descended from Helios 947₀ s. of Deukalion, s. of Minos, s. of Zeus 793₇
- Idrieus 715**
- Iguvium**
Cult: Iupater *Sancius* 724₀ f.
- Iki kilisse in Galatia**
Cult: Zeus *Βροντῶν* 835₅
- Ikonion**
Cults: Agdistis (Angdistis) 970₀ Meter *Βοθηγή* 970₀ Meter *Theon* 970₀ *Theol Σωτήρες* 970₀
 — *stèle* from 799
- Ilia 1016**
- Ilion**
Cults: Athena *Ἰλιάς* 950₀ Zeus *Ἰδαῖος* 950₀ f.
 — coins of 950₀
- Ilissos 1115 ff. 1123 1135 1138₅ 1139**
 — small Ionic temple on 1118₄ 1119₀
- Ilissos-‘island’ 1119₄**
- Illyrioi**
Cults: Apollon 458 sky-god (Ianus, Zan) 349 (?) 353 (?) 842 (?)
In relation to Dorians 341 Leleges 354₀ Ligures 340₃
- Illyrioi (cont.)**
 — *Agyieús*-pillars of 165 f. eight-year cycle of 440₂ tattooed 123₀
- Ilos**
Myths: foundation of Troy 349 Palladion 8
Genealogy: gf. of Priamos 8
- Imbros**
Cults: Bendis 314₀ Dionysos 314₀ Zeus *Ψιστος* 878₀₍₈₎ 922₁
- Inachos**
Myth: drives Io from home 503
Genealogy: f. of Kasos and Belos 981₁
- India**
Cults: Brahmā 774₁ Çiva 790 f. iron tridents and stone axes 790 792 850 Kāma 774₁ Krishna 774₁ Lakshmi 774₁ Rudra 791 Sarasvatī 774₁ Vishnu 774₁
Myths: cosmic egg 1035 f. Egyptian Herakles and Dionysos 7₂
 — pillars of Herakles and Dionysos in 423
- Inessa 908₁**
- Inhissar in Phrygia**
Cult: Zeus *Βροντῶν* 835₄
- Ino**
Myths: lashes Maenads with ivy-sprays 1041 plots death of Phrixos 904₁
Type: Bacchant milking herself 347₀ (?)
- Inönü in Phrygia**
Cults: Zeus *Βροντῶν* 835₄ Zeus *ἐξ Αὐλῆς* 249₂ Zeus *ἐξ Αὐλῆς Ἐπήκοος Θεός* 836 ff. 1226 Zeus *Τελεσφόρος* 838 1089
 — altars from 836 ff.
- Intercidona 643₈**
- Invidia 505₂**
- Io**
Myths: bride of Zeus 961₀ driven from home by Inachos 503 pursued by Zeus as fly (?) 782₁
Genealogy: m. of Epaphos by Zeus 961₀
Types: heifer 379 horned maiden 379
- Ione**
Cults: fire (*πῦρ ἀθάνατον*) 1187 Zeus *Ἐπικάρπιος* 1186 Zeus *Κεραύνιος* 1187 Zeus *Νέμειος* 1186
Myths: Perseus 1186 f. Triptolemos 1186
- Iopolis 1187₂ 1188**
- Iondaia**
Cults: Hypsistos 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎ Jehovah 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎ Theos *Ψιστος* 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎
 — coins of 1202
- Iovilae See Iūvilas**
- Iovis**
Cult: Gallia Lugudunensis 547₀ 619
Associated with Esus and Volcanus 619
- Iphikles**
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- Iphikles (*cont.*)
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- Iphiklos (= Iphikles) 451 f.
 See also Iphikles
- Iphiklos, s. of Phylakos
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- Iphithea (?) 353₃
- Iphitos, king of Elis 466 f.
- Ipsara See Psara
- Irpos (= Virbius?) 421
- Iring
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 — road of 52
- Iris**
Type: with spread wings and outstretched arms 473
- Irmin
Etymology: 52₀ 1212
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In relation to Armenios (?) 54 114
- Irminsûl 50 ff.
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- Isauroi 973₁
- Ischys, s. of Elatos 1089
- Isinoe (?), d. of Danaos 1150₂
- Isis**
Cults: Athens 985₀ Delos 922₀
Epithets: *Pharia* 928₀ *Ταροσειμιάς* 985₀
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Myths: founts Pelousion 986₀ nurses Diktys 986₀ nurses Horos 986₀ nurses Pelousios 986₀
Function: earth 557₁
Attributes: leafy spray (?) 1129₀ *modius* (?) 1129₀ poppy 1165₁
Types: bust on couch 1171₃ double bust (with Apis) 392 enthroned under arch 362
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- Isityche 1128₀ (?)
- Islands of the Blest 36 117 465
- Isodaites (= Plouton) 1113₀₍₂₎
- Isopata, gold ring from 49₁
- Ištar**
Attribute: axe (*i.e.* woodpecker?) 696₀
Associated with Sin and Sibitti 545₀
- Isthmia, the festival 490₀₍₅₎ 951₀
- Istia See Hestia
- Istros, springs of 465 494
- Italy
Cults: Lares 1059 Penates 1059 Picus 696₀
Rite: burial within the house 1059
 — coins of 1063
- Itanos
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 — coins of 1130₇ oath of 929₀
- Ithake, coins of 706₅ the cave in 42
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- Ithome, Mt
Cult: Zeus *Ἰθωμῶν* 741 ff. 890₆ 1222
Festival: Ithomaiā (Ithomaiā, Ithomais) 741, 890₆
Rites: human sacrifice 890₆ water from Klepsydra brought daily to sanctuary of Zeus 890₆
Myth: Zeus brought up by nymphs Ithome and Neda 890₆
- Ithome, the nymph 890₆
- Iulia Apta
Cult: Ianus *Vaeosus* 325
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Cults: Aquincum 68₂ Blatsche 1084 Mogontiacum 96₁ 96₂ Rome 364 Thibursicum Bure 68₂ Urbs Salvia (?) 803
Epithets: *Augusta* 61₀ *Caelestis* 68₂ *Cinxia* 899₀ *Lucetia* 61₀ *Lucina* 59₃ 60₀ 61₀ 1226 *Pronuba* 61₀ *Regina* 59₃ 87₃ 95₁ 96 96₁ 96₂ 98 *Sancta* 96 98 *Sororia* 364
Festivals: *Kalendae Martiae* 61₀ *Kalendae Octobres* 364
Rite: brandishing torches 61₀
Metamorphosed into Beroe 1081
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Attributes: flower 61₀ girdle (?) 61₀ iris (?) 61₀ lily 61₀ peacock 60₀ 67 sceptre 98 f. torch or torches 59 61₀ two snakes (?) 61₀
Types: bearing babe and flower 61₀ bearing babe and lily or iris (?) 61₀ bearing babe and torch 60₀ bearing patera and sceptre 60₀ bearing torch or torches 59 clad in goat-skin (?) 60₀ grouped with children 60₀ 61₀ standing on cow 99₀ veiled 60₀ with foot on head of cow 98 f. with foot on head of ox 98₃
Identified with Fria 59 94₁ Luna, Diana, Ceres, Proserpina 256
Associated with Hercules and Minerva 89 Iupiter *Optimus Maximus* 96₁ 96₂ Mercurius and Ceres 1181₀ Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva 57 ff. Mercurius and Minerva 89

Iuno (cont.)

In relation to Fria 67
 — breasts of 37₂ of a woman corresponds with Genius of a man 1059

Iupater

Cults: Iguvium 724₀ f. Umbria 724₀
Epithet: *Sancius* 724₀
Rite: calf offered by man holding wheel 724₀ f.
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Iupiter

Cults: Aizanoi 968₀ Alban Mt 46₃ Allmendingen 619 1221 Allobroges 570₀ Antiocheia on the Orontes 1188 Apulum 754₁ Aquileia in Venetia 328 842 Blatsche 1084 Brixia in Cisalpine Gaul 726₀ Clunia in Spain 1102₈ Corinth (?) 1214 Mt Dikte 927₁ 928₀ Mt Gerizim 887₀₍₃₁₎ 888₀₍₁₀₎ 983₀ (?) Gothia 620 Heliopolis in Syria 745₁ Jerusalem 984₁ Kassiope 906₃ Mt Ladiens in Gallacia 320₀ Lambaesis 369₀ Luxovium in Germania Superior (?) 1213 Matilica 401₀ Mogontiacum 96₁ 96₂ Naissos 948₄ Napoca 754₁ Pannonia 823₁₍₂₎ Patrai 1214 Pergamon 1179 f. Pompeii 1158 Ravenna 1091 Rome 45 46 46₀ 111₀ 369₀ 400₁₁ 401₀ 403₀ 546₀ 601 708 708₅ 835₆ 838 f. 1102₈ 1103₀ 1172₀ 1181₀ 1195₁ Salonae 69₀ 401₀ Mt Silpion (?) 1188 Sirmium 1194₄ Spoletium 803₂ Tiber-island 726₀ Tomoi 823₁₍₁₎ Urbs Salvia 803 ff. Venafrum 69₀ 401₀ Vichy 285₀
Epithets: *Aepilofius* (= *Ἐπιλόφιος*) 948₄ *Aezanensis* 968₀ *Aezaniticus* 968₀ *Ambisagrus* (= *Ambisacrus* rather than *Ambisager*) 328 421₆ 673₃ 842 *Amicalis* (= *Zeus Φίλιος*) 1177₂ 1179 f. 1186₆ *Ataburius* 588₁ *auctor bonarum Tempestatum* 94₂ *Augustus Ultor* 1102₈ *Buginas* 570₀ *Bronton* 835₆ *Caelestinus* 369₀ 401₀ *Caelestis* 69₀ 400₁₁ 401₀ *caelipotens* 401₀ *Caelius* 400₁₁ *Caelus* (?) 400₁₁ *Capitolinus* 601 1188 *Casius* 588₁ *Casius* (*Cassius*) in Korkyra 906₃ *Cenaeus* 902₂ *Conservator* 88₁ 327 328 369₀ 1195₁ *Custos* 367₁ (?) 1181₀ *Dapalis* 1172 *Deus* 958₀ *deus unus et idem* (?) 1060 *Dianus* 328 842 *Dictaeus* 927₁ 928₀ *Dictaeus rex* 928₀ *divom pater atque hominum rex* 1070 *Dolichenus* 99₀ 609 614 f. *Epulo* 1172₀ *Fagutalis* 403₀ *Farreus* 1172 *Feretrius* 111₀ 546₀ 601 613 *Fulgur* 46₀ *fulgurator* 815₄ *Genetaeus* 616₅ *Heliopolitanus* 745₁ *Heros* 823₁₍₁₎ 823₁₍₂₎ *Hospitalis* (= *Zeus Ἐένιος*) 1101₃ 1177₂ *Idaeus* 950₀ *Imperator* 708 848 917₀ *Iurarius* 726₀ *Iutor* 803 ff. 850 *Labryandius* 588₁ *Ladicus* 320₀ *Lapis* 260₀ 546₀ *Laprius* 588₁ 599 *Latiaris* 46₃ *Liberator* (Nero) 1214 *matutinus*

Iupiter (cont.)

338₁ *Milichius* 1158 *Militaris* 706 848 *Molio* 588₁ *omnipotens rerum regumque repertor* (?) 1060 *Optimus Maximus* 10 87₂ 87₃ 88₁ 88₂ 89₆ 89₈ 90 f. 91₁ 93 95₁ 96 96₁ 96₂ 328 361 620 1194₄ 1196 *Optimus Maximus Caelestinus* 401₀ *Optimus Maximus Celestis Patronus* 401₀ *Optimus Maximus Conservator* 88₁ *Optimus Maximus Heros* 823₁₍₁₎ 823₁₍₂₎ *Optimus Maximus Paternus Aepilofius* 948₄ *Optimus Maximus Tavianus* 754₁ *Patermus Aepilofius* (= *Zeus Ἡαρῶος Ἐπιλόφιος*) 948₄ *Patronus* 401₀ *Peregrinus* 887₀₍₃₁₎ *Pistor* 260₀ *prodigialis* 19₀ *progenitor genetrisque deum* 1060 *Propagator* 369₀ 706₈ (?) *Propugnator* 707₀ *Ruminus* 365₄ *Sabasius* (= *Sabazius*) 285₀ *Sabazius* 1197 *Sanctus Bronton* 835₆ 836 838 *Sarapis* 888₀₍₀₎ (?) 983₀ (?) *Stator* 46₀ 422₁ 708₅ *Summanus* (?) 319 725₀ *Summus* (?) 319 *Svelsurdus* (?) 822₁₃ *Tanarus* 32 *Taranucus* 32 *Tavianus* 754₁ *Tempestatum divinarum potens* 94₂ *Terminalis* 1090 f. 1133₁ (?) *Terminus* 1090 *tertius* 940₀ *Tigillus* 110₅ 363 365 *Tonans* 39₁ 60₀ 111₀ 505₂ 811 835₆ 1041 (?) *Triumphator* 706₈ *Tropaeophorus* 706₈ *Ultor* 1102₈ 1103₀ *Urius* (?) 822₁₃ *Velsurus* (?) 822₁₃ *Victor* 708 848 *Zbelsurdus* (?) 1226
Festivals: *Epula Iovis* (Sept. 13 and Nov. 13) 1172₀ May 94₂ *Quinquennialia* 601
Rites: feast of roast flesh and wine 1172₄ *lectisternia* 1170₆ 1171 oath by Iupiter *Lapis* with flint in hand 546₀ ox as *piaculum* 803₂ *spolia opima* 601 *summanalia* 725₀ table swept with vervain 395₂ 397₀ treaty struck with flint of Iupiter *Feretrius* 546₀
Priest: *flamen Dialis* 341₀ 828
Personated by Antoninus Pius 811 Augustus 1091 Diocletian (*Iovius*) 903₂ 1194₄ Domitian 338₁ 811 emperor 100 ff. forefather of family 1059 Galerius 1194 king 633 847 1059 Licinius 1195 Licinius Iunior 1195 Maximinus ii 1194 f. Nero 1214 Romulus Silvius 24₄ Titus (?) 810 Trajan 810 f. triumphing general 361 Vespasian (?) 810
Myths: consorts with Semele 1031 drives Saturnus from his kingdom 448₁ mutilates Saturnus 448₁ *Pallicus* 909₀
Genealogy: f. of Genius 1060 f. of Liber by Proserpina 1031 f. of Olympus (?) by the nymph Chalcea 973₁ gf. of Tages 1060 s. of Caelus 941₀ s. of Saturnus 940₀ 941₀

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- Jerusalem (*cont.*)
 at 281₄ pyramids built by Helene of Adiabene near 1146₀ tomb of 'Zechariah' near 1146_{0(d)}
- Jews
Cult: Theos "Υψιστος 884₀₍₀₎
 — of the Dispersion propagate the cult of Theos Hypsistos 889 f. use gentile formula ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆν, "Ἡλίον 884₀₍₀₎
- Jodute See Tiodute
- John, St
Type: on chalice of Antioch 1200₄ 1202₀
Supersedes Zeus 'Αταβύριος in Rhodes 923₀
 — on the marriage supper of the Lamb 1168
- John Klimax, St 134 f.
- Jordan, as name of Milky Way 480
- Jude, St
Type: on chalice of Antioch 1202₀
- Juktas, Mt
Cults: Authentēs Christos 945₀ Panagia 945₀ Rhea (?) 944₀
Festival: Transfiguration (Aug. 6) 945₀
Rite: annual pilgrimage to church on summit 945₀
Myths: Britomartis pursued by Minos 939₁ burial of Minos (?) 944₀
Etymology: 939₁
 — profile of Zeus (originally Minos?) on 939₁ 940₀ remains on summit of 943₀ 944₀ tomb of Zeus on 940₀ ff.
- Kabeirion, apsidal temple of Theban 900₀
- Kabeiro
Identified with Bendis 314₀ Hekate 314₀
- Kabeiroi
Cults: Lemnos 663 ff. Pergamon 953₃ f. Phoinike 314₀ Samothrace 313 842 Thrace 313 ff.
Epithet: Μεγάλου Θεοί 313 f. 954₀
Rite: mysteries 314₂ 953₃ f.
Myth: witness birth of Zeus 954₀
Genealogy: sons of Ouranos 954₀
Functions: control storms 953₃ Father and Son 317 Mother (Axiokersa), Father (Axiokersos), and Son (Axieros) conceived as rebirth of the Father 314
Etymology: 313₁₁ 313₁₂
Attributes: double axe 953₃ ram's head 954₀ sword 953₃
Types: two youthful males 953₃ two youthful warriors 953₃
Identified with crabs 664 f. Zeus and Dionysos 664₁
Associated with Zeus Σαβάριος (?) 664₁
- Kabeiros, a Pergamene *prytanis* 953₃
- Kadmilos
Cults: Phoinike 314₀ Samothrace 314₀
Identified with Ešmun 314₀
 See also Kasmilos
- Kadmos
Myths: helps Zeus against Typhoeus 449₀ seeks Europe 449₀ takes charge of Semele's child 28 f.
- Kadoi
Cult: Artemis 'Εφεσία 408₀
 — coins of 408₀
- Ka-Hegal 483
- Kaikias 488₀₍₂₎
- Kaineus
Myth: sets up his spear as a god 547₂
- Kairos 859 ff.
Cult: Olympia 859
Genealogy: youngest s. of Zeus 859 861
Etymology: 860 f.
Attributes: butterfly 860 globe 860 mirror (?) 863₁ razor 859 f. 861 f. rudder 862 wheel 863 863₁ whip 863₁
Types: bearded runner 860 f. female figure (Occasio) on little wheel 863 Lysippos 859 f. 864 Pheidias (?) 862 f. winged runner in military dress (?) 863₁ youthful runner 859 f. 861 f.
Identified with Bios 864 Chronos 861 864
Assimilated to Kronos 861
- Kaisareia in Kappadokia
Cults: Mt Argaios 977₁ ff. Sarapis 978₀ Tyche (Tranquillina) 978₀
 — coins of 978₀ fl. 983₀ earlier names of 978₀
- Kalaïs
Genealogy: s. of Boreas by Oreithyia, d. of Erechtheus 444
Etymology: 444
- Kalaos, f. of Attes 444
- Kalaureia
Cult: Zeus Σωτήρ 728₀
- Kalchas, of Siris in Lucania
Myth: slain by Herakles 490₀₍₀₎
- Kalchas, s. of Thestor
Myth: contest with Mopsos 489₀₍₄₎
- Kalchedon
Cult: Zeus Βουλαῖος 259₀
 — coins of 461₀
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- Kalchos, king of Daunia 490₀₍₀₎
- Kaldene, d. of Pisias (Pisides?) 973₁
- Kalikantzaraioi See Kallikantzaroi
- Kallikantzaroi
Myth: attack the tree or column or columns supporting the earth or sky 56₂
- Kalliope
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- Kallirrhoe, spring adjoining Ilissos 1116 1119 1119₄
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- Kallirrhoe (Kalliroe), d. of Acheloios (cont.)**
Associated with Acheloios and Zeus
Μειλιχίος (?) 1117 Hestia, Kephisos,
Apollon Πύθιος, Leto, Artemis
Λοχία, Eileithyia, Acheloios, the
Geraistian birth-nymphs, Rhapso
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- Kalliste (= Hekate)** 1114₀₍₄₎
- Kallisto**
Cult: Arkadia 1114₀₍₆₎
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Metamorphosed into bear 228 f.
Function: bear-goddess (?) 1114₀₍₆₎
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Myth: Calydonian boar 799
- Kalymna**
Cults: Apollon 808₀₍₁₁₎ Zeus Κεραύνιος
 808₀₍₁₁₎
- Kāma**
Cult: India 774₁
Function: love 774₁
- Kamareos, Mt**
Cults: Rhea (?) 934₀ Zeus Ἰδαίος (?)
 935₀
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- Kamikos** 30
- Kamise, st. and w. of Ianos** 330₀
- Kanachos** 1165₁
- Kanai (Kane)**
Cult: Zeus Καναίος 902₂
- Kanake** 684₂
- Kandaules** 559
- Kane** See Kanai
- Kanobos (Kanopos)**
Cult: Sarapis 985₀
Myth: Io, touched by Zeus, becomes
m. of Epaphos 961₀
- Kapaneus**
Myth: struck by lightning 23 824 f.
Genealogy: f. of Sthenelos 824₆ 892₆
- Kappadokia**
Cults: Mt Argaios 977₁ ff. Hypsistos
 885₀₍₂₈₎ Zeus Δακηνός 616 Zeus
 Στράτιος 594₈ 595₀
 — coins of 296₀ Kyklops in folk-tale
 from 992 f.
- Kar, s. of Phoroneus** 168₁ 257₄
- Karbina** 29
- Karia**
Cults: Apollon 573₁₀ 574₁ 574₂ 574₃
Dionysos Μάσαρις 565₂ Ge 729₀
Helios 729₀ Zeus 573 f. 705 729₀
745₁ Zeus Ἐλευθέριος 763₁ Zeus
Κάριος 577 Zeus Λαβραδεύς 559 f.
 572
 — coins of 573 f.
- Karia, akropolis of Megara** 168₁ 257₄
- Karia, personification of the district** 320₀
- Karien, near Mt Pangaion**
Cults: Zeus Ἐρκείος Πατρῶος 1066 Zeus
 Κτήσιος 1066
- Karkinar** 666₂
- Karko** 666₂
- Karmania**
Cult: Ares 464
- Karmanor** 190₀
- Karme** 190₀
- Karneades** 237₀
- Karneia** 237₀
- Karousa**
Cult: Zeus Δικαιόσυνος Μέγας 1092₈
- Karyanda**
Festival: bull-sports 582₅
- Karystos**
Rite: Hyperborean offerings 497
- Kasion, Mt, in Egypt** 984₄ f.
Cult: Zeus Κάσιος 907₀ 984₄ f.
Myth: temple founded by descendants
of Dioskouroi 984₄
Etymology: 981₁
- Kasion, Mt, in Syria** 981₁
Cults: Triptolemos 981₁ Zeus Κάσιος
 907₀ 981₁ ff. 1191 f.
Rites: hecatomb 982₀ incubation 982₀ (?)
Myths: Kyparissos 981₁ Seleucides aves
 981₁ Zeus fights Typhon 449₀ 981₁
Etymology: 981₁
 — injured by earthquake 1191
- Kasion, town in Egypt** 984₄ f.
- Kasios, eponym of Mt Kasion in Egypt**
Cult: Pelousion 986₀ 987₀
Epithet: ὁ ναύκληρος 987₀
- Kasios, eponym of Mt Kasion in Syria** 981₁
- Κάσιu, an Aramaean god** 983₀
- Kasmilos**
Identified with Hermes 314₂
 See also Kadmilos
- Kasos, f. of Kleomachos** 981₁
- Kasos, one of the Kyklades** 981₁
- Kasos, s. of Inachos** 981₁
- Kassiope**
Cults: Iupiter Casius (Cassius) 906₃
 Zeus (?) 907₀ Zeus Κάσιος (Κάσσιος)
 906₃ 907₀
- Kastabos**
Cult: Hemithea 670
Myth: Staphylos and his daughters
 Molpadia, Rhoio, Parthenos 670 f.
- Kastalia** 460
- Kastalios** 190₀
- Kastor**
Epithet: ἱππόδαμορ 436
Genealogy: b. of Polydeukes 317 1015₇
 cp. 1097₂ s. of Zeus by Leda 1015₇
Type: fights Calydonian boar 799
 See also Dioskouroi
- Katabasion of Trophonios at Lebadeia**
 1075 f. 1088
- Katane** 908₁
Cult: Apollon 486₅
 — coins of 486₅
 See also Aitne
- Kato Zakro, clay seal-impression from**
 623 652
- Katreus**
Myth: 923₀ 924₀
Genealogy: s. of Minos and f. of Al-
 thaimenes and Apemosyne 923₀

- Kaukasos, the giant 694₀
 Kaulon or Kaulos 1042 (?)
 Kaulonia
Cults: Agon (?) 1042 Apollon 1042 f.
 Demos (?) 1042 Dionysos 1041 (?)
 Herakles 1041 f. (?) Hermes Ἄγώ-
 νιος (?) 1042 Hermes Δρόμιος (?) 1042
 wind-god (?) 1042 Zephyros (?) 1042
Festival: Hiketesia 1040
Myth: Kaulon or Kaulos 1042 (?)
 — coins of 1040 ff.
- Kebrenioi 130
 Kekrops
Myth: founds altar of Zeus Ἰππατος
 875₁₍₂₎
Genealogy: s. of Ge 1121
- Kelaino 176₁
 Keleos, a Cretan 929₀
 Keltoi
Cult: Zeus 570₀
Myths: Apollon sheds tears of amber
 484 843 Kyknos 477
In relation to Sabines 340₃
 — poplar in land of 468
- Kenaion, Mt
Cults: Zeus Κήναϊος (Κηναῖος) 902₂
 Zeus Πατρῶος 902₂
Myth: Herakles 902₂
- Kenchreai 1145_{1(b)}
 Kenelm, St 116 f.
- Kentauros
Genealogy: s. of Apollon by Stilbe
 1134 f.
Type: marine, with head-dress of
 crab's-claws 665₃
 See also Centaurs, Centaurus
- Kentoripa (Kentouripai)
Cult: Agathos Daimon (?) 1129₀
 — coins of 784₇
- Keos
Myth: Oidipous 1152
- Kephallenia
Cult: Zeus Αἰνήσιος 907₂
- Kepheus, s. of Aleos 1083 1148
- Kephisos, river in Attike near Athens
 1091 1139₅
- Kephisos, river in Attike near Eleusis 1103
- Kephisos, the river-god
Cult: Phaleron 183 f.
Type: horned (?) 184
- Kephissos, river in Phokis 460
- Ker
In relation to Eros 315₃
- Keramos in Karia
Cults: long-haired god (Zeus?) with
 double axe and sceptre or spear
 575 f. Zeus 575 f. Zeus Λαβράνδος (?)
 599₂
 — coins of 575 f. 599₂
- Keraunia 807₃₍₁₎
 Keraunios
Cult: Kition 807₃₍₁₎ Mytilene 807₃₍₃₎
 Syria 807₃₍₂₎
Epithet: Ἰψιστος 807₃₍₃₎
 See also Zeus *Epithets* Κεραύνιος
- Keraunos
Cult: Emesa 814₃
Epithet: ἀσπεροβλήτα (?) 119₁
Types: god in oriental military cos-
 tume 814₃ small male figure em-
 bodying thunderbolt (?) 784
Identified with Zeus 12 f. 119₁
 See also Index II s.v. 'Thunderbolt'
- Kerberos
Myths: Dionysos 256 Herakles 469
 899₁
Rite: offering of honey-cake 1142₁₀
Type: three-headed 802
Compared with golden hound 1227
- Kerberos, a Cretan 929₀
- Kerdylion
Cults: Theos Ἰψιστος 878₀₍₉₎ Zeus
 Ἰψιστος 906₂
- Keres
Functions: avenging deities 1101 souls
 1101
- Kerkidas 290₀
- Kerkopes
Myth: Herakles 1041 f. (?)
- Kerkops, the Pythagorean 1024
- Ketens 228₅
- Keyne, St 117
- Keyx
Myth: claims that his w. Alkyone is
 Hera 1088
- Khem
Type: ithyphallic 772₁
- Khnemu
Attribute: snake 1084
Type: lion-headed snake with radiate
 crown 1084
- Khonsn 126
- Kibuka 450₁
- Kibyra
Cult: Zeus 771
 — coins of 771
- Kierion
Cult: Zeus 743₇
 — coins of 743₇
- Kilikia
Cult: Zeus Βόρειος 380
 — coins of 1210
- Kinyras
Myths: buried in sanctuary of Aphro-
 dite at Paphos 944₀ Myrrha and
 Adonis 680 848
Genealogy: f. of Adonis 694₀ f. of
 Myrrha 680
- Kios
Cults: Demeter Καρποφόρος 815₅ Zeus
 Ὀλύμπιος καὶ Ἀστραπαῖος 815₅
- Kirke
Myths: Iason 1097₂ Medeia 1097₂
 Odysseus 18₆
- Kithairon, Mt
Cults: Hera Κιθαιρωνία 898₆ 899₀ Pan
 899₀ Sphragitides 899₀ Zeus 581
 Zeus Κιθαιρώνιος 898₆
Festival: Daidala Megala 977₀
Rites: burning of oaken images (δαλ-

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- Kore (cont.)**
Attributes: double axe (?) 564 pig 1140₅
 snake (?) 564 torches 1117₇
Type: horned, four-eyed, two-faced
 1029
Identified with Phersephone 1029
Associated with Demeter 1113₀₍₃₎ 1178
 Dionysos 120₁ Zeus and Demeter
 258₃ 259₀ Zeus, Hera, Demeter
 Θεσμοφόρος, Baubo 259₀
 — *Κόρης θήρα* (?) near Lebadeia 899₂
 See also Persephone, Phersephone,
 Proserpina
- Koressos, Mt**
Cult: Zeus 962₂
 — rock-cut throne on 962₂
- Koretas 190₀**
- Korkyra**
Cults: Apollon 730₀ Artemis 457 De-
 meter 730₀ Zeus 675 f. 730₀ Zeus
 "Υψιστος 879₀₍₁₂₎ 907₁
 — coins of 906₃ 907₀ coins struck in
 675 f. 'Corcyraean whip' at Dodona
 826 851
- Koronis**
Myths: bears Asklepios to Apollon at
 Lakereia 484 bears the second As-
 klepios to Ischys s. of Elatos 1089
 cp. 210₀
Genealogy: d. of Phlegyas 463₁ m. of
 Asklepios 833₀
- Korybantēs (Kyrbantēs)**
Cults: Gortyna 723₀ Hierapytna 723₀
 Priansos 723₀
Myths: drown cries of infant Zeus
 928₀ hide Zeus from Kronos 940₀
- Korybas**
Cult: Haimonioi 295
Rite: Eleusinia 133₀
Identified with Attis 295
- Korykia 901₂**
- Koryphon (Koryphaion), Mt**
Cult: Artemis Κορυφαία 869₁
- Kos**
Cults: Asklepios Καῖσαρ (= Claudius)
 1088 Hestia (Histie) Ταμία 19₀
 238₀ Theos "Υψιστος 880₀₍₁₈₎ 964₁
 Zeus 'Ικέσιος 1095₀ Zeus Πολιεύς
 238₀
Rite: wearing of white-poplar 470
Myth: Merops 1132₁
- Kosingas 130 505₅**
- Kosmos**
Cult: Orphists 141₁ 827
Type: four-pillared 141₁ 827
- Kotiaieion**
Cult: Zeus Βροντῶν 835₄
- Kottos 1023**
- Kotys, s. of Manes 311 f. with Atys as**
 Dioskouroi (?) 312
- Koujounlou in Bithynia**
Cult: Zeus Βροντῶν 835₅
- Koula** See Koloe
- Kounados, Mt, in Paros**
Cults: Aphrodite 875₁₍₅₎ Histie Δημήτη
- Kounados, Mt, in Paros (cont.)**
 875₁₍₅₎ Zeus Καταιβάτης 20₁ (Zeus)
 "Υπατος 875₁₍₅₎ 918₂
- Koures**
Rite: Eleusinia 133₀
 — Epimenides as 191 934₀
- Kouretes (Koretēs)**
Cults: Gortyna 723₀ Hierapytna 723₀
 Lyttos 723₀ Mylasa 586 f. Priansos
 723₀
Epithet: 'Ιδαῖοι 296₄
Rites: personate Zagreus 549 sacrifice
 children to Kronos 548
Myths: clash shields about infant
 Zeus 961₀ clash weapons to aid
 Leto against Hera on Mt Solmissos
 962₂ drown cries of infant Zeus
 928₀ flee from Kronos 549 Labran-
 dos, Panamoros, and Palaxos or
 Spalaxos 587 rear Zeus on Mt
 Dikte 929₀ receive infant Zeus from
 Rhea 931₀ taught to dance by
 Athena 1029 Mt Sipylos 956₂
 wreathed with olive 1029
Genealogy: sons of Zeus 940₀
Function: δαίμονας ἢ προπόλους θεῶν
 931₀
Types: Assyrian 938₀ grouped about
 the child Zeus or Dionysos 1210
Associated with Zeus 938₀ Zeus Κρη-
 ταγενής 587
- Kourion in Kypros, silver-gilt bowl from**
 553
- Kragaleus 163₀**
- Kragasos 669**
- Kragos, Mt 971₂**
Cults: Kragos 971₂ Theoi "Αγριοι 971₂
- Kragos, eponym of Mt Kragos**
Cults: Mt Kragos 971₂ Lykia 972₀
Epithet: ἀσπεργής 972₀
Genealogy: f. of Cheleidon 971₂ s. of
 Tremilos (Tremiles?) by the nymph
 Praxidike, b. of Tloos and Pinalos
 971₂
Identified with one of the Theoi "Αγριοι
 971₂ f. Zeus 972₀ 974₀
- Krannon**
Cult: Zeus 833
Rite: rain-charm 831 ff.
Myth: two ravens 832
 — coins of 832 f.
- Krariotai** See Klareotis
- Krastonia**
Cult: Dionysos 114 f.
- Krataiis (= Hekate) 1114₀₍₄₎**
- Krateuas, herbal of 395₂**
- Kres, eponym of Crete, hides Zeus on Mt**
 Dikte 928₀
- Kresion, Mt 1147₆**
- Kretenia 922₆ 923₀**
- Krishna**
Cult: India 774₁
Function: solar (?) 774₁
Attribute: lotos 774₁
- Kroisos 311₈ 465**

Kronia, island in Ionian Gulf 555₀
 Kronia, later called Hierapolis 554₃
 Kronion, in Sicily 555₀
 Kronion, Mt, at Olympia 554₂
 Kronion, Mt, in Lakonike 554₂
 Kronos

Cults: Athens 554₂ Byblos 887₀₍₀₎
 Crete 548 f. Delos (?) 920₀ Gaza (?)
 675 Mt Kynthos (?) 920₀ Lebadeia
 899₂ Olympia 554₂ Phrygia 1155 f.
 Sicily 910₀ Solymoi 972₀

Epithets: ἀγκυλομήτης 549 845 Ἀκρι-
 σίας 1156₁ ἀστράπτων καὶ βροντῶν (?)
 558₀ 558₁ βροντοκεραυνοπάτωρ 558₁
 ἡρόεις 557₁ Ῥέας πόσι, σεμνὲ Προ-
 μηθεῦ 549₇ ὑψίπολος 557₁ ὑψίπορος (?)
 557₁

Rites: human omophagy (?) 549 sacri-
 fice of children by Kouretes 548
 sacrifice at spring equinox by Ba-
 σίλαι 554₂

Priests: Βασίλαι at Olympia 554₂

Personated by magician (?) 558₀

Myths: bound beneath oak-trees by
 Zeus 1027 buried in Sicily 555₀
 consulted by Zeus 1027 devours
 his children 549 928₀ 933₀ driven
 out by Zeus 941₀ 942₀ driven out of
 Assyria by Zeus, reigns over Italy
 693₄ 694₀ 943₀ founds Byblos in
 Phoinike 552 founds Kronla (= Hie-
 rapolis) 554₃ made drunk on honey
 by Zeus 1027 mutilated by Zeus
 448₁ 685 1027 mutilates Ouranos
 447₈ pursues Kouretes 549 receives
 from Rhea stone instead of Zeus
 793₈ 901₁ reigns over Italy, Sicily,
 most of Libye, and the west 554₃
 reigns over the west 695₀ seeks to
 destroy Zeus 928₀ slays Arsalos,
 Dryos, and Tosobis 972₀ swallows
 stone in place of Zeus 191₁₀ thrust
 down by Zeus below earth and sea
 1020 yields the kingship of Italy to
 Zeus 694₀

Genealogy: f. of Aphros and Cheiron
 by Philyra 695₀ f. of Attis 294 f. of
 Cheiron by Philyra 871₀ f. of Zan
 940₀ f. of Zeus 943₀ f. of Zeus by
 Rhea 941₀ f. of Zeus, Poseidon,
 Hades 785 forefather of Pikos who
 is also Zeus 695₀ h. of Rhea 548
 673 845 s. of Okeanos by Tethys
 1020 s. of Ouranos by Gaia 447₈
 s. of Phanes by Nyx 1026

Functions: dark air 557₁ lightning 558
 mountain 554 pole 557₁ rain 557
 557₁ 558₀ rain, hail, wind, and
 thunderstorms 558₀ sea 557₁ 558₀
 sky 601 1156₂ solar (?) 552 thunder
 and lightning 558₁ water 557₁ winter
 557₁

Etymology: 549 557₁ 660₁ 845 861

Attributes: bulls 553 f. corn-grains (?)
 558₁ disk 552 double axe 553 f.

Kronos (cont.)

601 *drépanon* 448₀ *hárpe* 447₈ 549 f.
 550 553 f. 845 861 head-dress of
 feathers 552 f. sceptre 552 thunder-
 bolt (?) 558₁

Types: aged 861₅ 1030 bald-headed
 861 four-winged 552 f. Janiform 552
 lion-headed (See Ahriman) six-
 winged 552 stabbing lion 553 stand-
 ing with double axe and *hárpe*
 between two bulls 553 f.

Identified with Adonis (?) 886₀₍₃₀₎ Ba'al-
 hammân 554₃ Bel 558₀ Chronos 861
 El 558₀ Ianus 374 Prometheus 549-
 Saturnus 555₀ Tholathes (?) 558₀

Compared with Zeus 554 ff.

Confused with Chronos 374

Superseded by Saturnus 550 Zeus 554
 601 845

— imitated by Marcus Aurelius 105₀
 laws of 933₀ pillars of 422 sceptre
 of 1026 sweat of 558₀ tear of 557₁
 tomb of 555₀ 556₀ tower of 36
 52

Kronos, the planet

Functions: δάκρυ 558₀ rain, hail, wind,
 and thunderstorms 558₀ 558₁

Identified with Nebrod (Nimrod) and
 Orion 693₄ 694₀

Kroton

Cults: Hera Λακωία 1021 Muses 1021
 Pythagoras as Apollon Ἰπερβόρειος
 223

Rite: sacrifices to Apollon on seventh
 day of month 237₀

Myth: Pythagoras' eagle 222₄

In relation to Pythagoreans 45

— coins of 225 f. garden of Hera
 Λακωία at 1021

Kteatos

Genealogy: b. of Eurytos 317 s. of
 Molione, nominally by Aktor, really
 by Poseidon 1015₈

Ktesios (?) 1066

Kurshumlu in Phrygia

Cults: Phoibos 839 Zeus Βροντῶν 839

Kurtkök in Phrygia

Cult: Zeus Βροντῶν 835₄

Kyaneai

Cults: Ares Μέγας 101₁ Eleutheria
 Ἀρχηγέτις Ἐπιφανής 101₁ Zeus
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τίτος Αἴλιος
 Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστὸς Εὐ-
 σεβής (= Antoninus Pius) 101₁

Kybele

Cults: Mt Ide in Phrygia 950₀ My-
 kenai (?) 1221

Rites: effigy worn by votaries 299 f.
 tat'ooing 123₀

Priests: Archigallus 299 ff. Gallus
 298 f.

Priestesses: chief priestess 301 f.

Genealogy: w. of Zeus 298

Function: mountain-mother 298

Attributes: lion 299 lions 970₀ 1221 (?)

- Kybele** (*cont.*)
 mural crown 300 pine-tree 951₀
 timbrel 300
Types: seated in *aedicula* with two lions 970₀ standing between two lions with double axe and ritual horns (serpentine?) on her head 1221 (?)
Identified with Agdistis 970₀ Meter Theon 970₀ Rhea 970₀
Associated with Attis 301₁
In relation to Attis 293 842
- Kyklopes**
Myth: slain by Apollon 241₄
Genealogy: sons of Ouranos by Ge 1023
Function: underground smiths 784 805₆
Attribute: lightning 805₆
Types: one-eyed 828 four-eyed 999 monstrous giants 851
 — two, in Albanian folk-tale 999 f.
- Kyklops**
Myth: Odysseus 990 997
Functions: sky (?) 989 f. sun (?) 989 f.
Compared with Zeus 990
 — in folk-tales 988 ff.
- Kyknos**, king of Liguria 477 ff.
Kyknos, s. of Ares
Myth: Herakles 274₀
- Kyknos**, s. of Poseidon
Myth: Hemithea (Leukothea) and Tennes (Tenes) 669 ff.
Genealogy: h. of Philonome 669 h. of Prokleia 669
- Kylikranes** tattooed 123₀
- Kyllene**
Cult: Asklepios 1078
- Kylon** 1138
- Kymak** in Phrygia
Cult: Zeus Βροντῶν 835₄
- Kynados**, Mt See Kounados, Mt
- Kynon** (*leg.* Κυνῶν, *sc.* πόλις)
Cult: dog 987₀
- Kynortion**, Mt 487₃₍₁₎
- Kynosoura** in Lakonike 1088 f.
- Kynosouris** in Thessaly (?) 1089
- Kynthos**, Mt
Cults: Athena Κυνθία 919₀ 920₀ 921₀ 922₀ Kronos (?) 920₀ Rhea (?) 920₀ 921₀ Zeus Κύνθιος 919₀ 920₀ 921₀ 922₀
 — cistern-mosaic on 919₀ 920₀ 922₀
- Kyparissos**
Myth: 981₁
- Kypris**
Epithet: Διωναία (Διαναία) 351₀
Function: maddens the lover 1164₀
- Kypros**
Cults: Aphrodite Χαφία 424 Apollon 246₁ Ba'al-hammân 1208₂ Dionysos Σαώρης (?) 599₂ Janiform god and goddess 673 tree 157₁ Zeus Ζητήρ 444₇ 1102₈ Zeus Σαώρης (?) 599₂ Zeus Τιμωρός 874₂ 1099₀
- Kypros** (*cont.*)
 — coins of 424 three-eyed ogre in folk-tale from 995 f.
- Kypselos**, chest of 451 739₀ golden Zeus dedicated at Olympia by 737 vow of 737₆
- Kyrene**
Cults: Artemis Ἀγροτέρα 1177₃ Zeus Εὐβουλεύς 259₀ (Zeus) Φίλιος 1177₃
Festival: Karneia 237₀
 — coins of 708₂ leaden anchor from 876₀
- Kyrene**, eponym of the town
Myth: carried off by Apollon 460₂
- Kyrios Sabaoth** 884₀₍₀₎
- Kyrrhos**
Cult: Zeus Καταιβάτης 15 f. 745₁ 983₁
- Kys**
Cult: Zeus Ἐλευθέριος (= Augustus) 97₀
- Kytissoros** 904₁
- Kyzikos**
Cults: Hermes 834 Theos Ἰψιστος 953₁ Zeus 743₇ Zeus Βρονταῖος 833 ff. 852 Zeus Ἰψιστος 881₀₍₂₁₎ 953₁ Zeus Ἰψιστος Βρονταῖος 833 ff. 882₀₍₀₎
Myth: nurses of Zeus 227 f.
 — coins of 180 319₅ 460₂ 743₇
- Kyzikos**, personification of the town 319₅
- Labaro** (?)
Cult: Norba in Lusitania 609₃
- Labranda**
Cults: Zeus Λαβράυνδος (Λαμβράυνδος, Λαβραύνδος, Λαβραδύνδος (?), Λαβραίνδος, Λαβράινδος (?), Λαβράενδος, Λάβρενδος, Λάβρανδος (?), Λαβρανδεύς, Λαβραδεύς, Λαβρανδηνός) 576 f. 585 ff. 597 846 Zeus Στράτιος 576 ff. 585 591 594 713 722 846 976₀
Priests: distinguished citizens priests for life 576 f.
Etymology: 586 600
 — remains of temple at 588 ff. sacred plane-trees at 590 976₀
- Labrandos**, the Koures 587
- Labrantidai** 881₀₍₂₀₎
- Labrayndos**, god of Mylasa 586 ff.
 See also Zeus *Epithets* Λαβράυνδος
- Labryandos**, the king 588
- Laburus**
Cult: Emona 609₃
- Labyadai**
Etymology: 629
 — oaths of 233 233₇ 730₀ sacrifice of 243 f.
- Labyrinth**
Myth: Daidalos 600 f.
Etymology: 600 846
In relation to double axe 600 f.
 — as circular maze-like structure 943₀ as mediaeval maze 601
- Labys** 629

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- Larisa, old name of Tralleis 587₂
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Cult: Apollon Λαρισηνός 958₀
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Cults: Apollon Κοροπαῖος 730₀ Artemis Ἴωκλία 730₀ Asklepios 1079 Zeus Ἀκραῖος 730₀ 871₃₍₁₎
 — coins of 1079

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- Mater**
Cults: Mt Ide in Phrygia 950₀ Pessinons 969₄ Rome 969₄
Epithets: *Idaea* 950₀ *Magna* 969₄ 971₀ *Phrygia* 950₀
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Cult: Allmendingen 619
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- Mother of the gods (cont.)**
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- Mylitta** 960₀
- Myndos**
Cult: Zeus Ἀκραῖος 872₀₍₆₎ 963₄
- Myra**
Cult: Artemis Ἐλευθέρα (?) 681₁
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Myth: Myrrha (?) 681 f.
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- Myrice, m. of Milichus** 1110₀
- Myrike, d. of Kinyras** 681₁
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- Naassene hymns** 294 ff.
- Nabu, statue of, at Calah** 1089
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- Naïssos**
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- Nakoleia**
Cults: Theos Ὑψιστος 882₀₍₂₃₎ 969₁ Zeus Ἀβοζηνός 570 Zeus Βροντῶν 835₄ Zeus Βροντῶν καὶ Πατήρ Θεός

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- Nana**, d. of Sangarios 969₄
- Nandi** 791₂
- Nanna**, w. of Baldr 305₀
- Napoca**
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- Narce** in the Faliscan district, celt from 509
- Narona**
Cult: Aesculapius 1086
- Násatia** 313
- Nastrand** 305₀
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- Nauplios** 691
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- Neapolis** in Campania
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- Neapolis** in Samaria
Cults: Artemis 'Εφεσια 408₀ f. Asklepios 1080
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- Neaule** (= Nea Aule)
Cult: Zeus Σαουάσιος (= Σαβάσιος) Νεαυλείτης 285₀
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Cult: Memphis 774₀
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Type: with lotos-flower on head 774₀
- Nehemāuit** 409₀
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- Nemea**, the festival 490₀₍₅₎ 1226
- Nemeseis**
Cults: Alexandria 889₀₍₃₃₎ Smyrna 524 864₀
Type: drawn by griffins 524 two draped females touching bosom of dress
- Nemeseis (cont.)**
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- Nemesis**
Cults: Alexandria 864₀ Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191₅ Sinope 363
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Priest: rex Nemorensis 394 f. 399 f. ξιφήρης 680₃
 — Diana's tree at 417 ff.
- Nemroud Dagh**
Cults: Tyche Νέα 1136₄ Zeus 'Ωρομάσδης 980₀
- Neo-Platonists** 41 f. 256 f. 557₁
- Neoptolemos**
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- Neo-Pythagoreans** 1032 f.
- Neptunus**
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- Nero**
Cult: Alexandria 1128₀
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- Nikaia in Bithynia**
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- Nike**
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Attributes: palm 866 wreath 866 1082
Types: bearing wreath 964₂ fastening helmet to trophy 110₆ flying with fillet 197₁ hovering 261 multiplied for decorative purposes 309 on globe 860₈ 964₂ on ship's prow 254₄ Paionios 86 Pheidias 758 849 wreathing city's title 1193₁
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- Nomos**
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- Norha in Lusitania**
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- Noricum**
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- Nuada Argat-lám** 224₁ 450₀
- Numa Pompilius** 23₂
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Cult: (Dionysos) Βρόμιος 882_{0(w)}
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- Oaxes, 929₀**

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- Olympia (cont.)
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- Oupis = Opis (fem.) 452₁₁
- Ourania, the Carthaginian goddess
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- Ouranos
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- Oxylos 486
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 — coin of 488₀₍₃₎

- Pagasai**
Cults: Dionysos Πέλεκυς (not Πελεκᾶς or Πελεκῆνος, nor Πελάγιος) 660 Epidotai 321₁
- Pagastos the Hyperborean** 169
- Paiones**
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- Paionia**
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- Paionios** 86
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- Palaikastro**
Cult: St Nikolaos 931₀
 — excavations at 930₀ 931₀ 932₀ hymn to Zeus Δικταῖος from 931₀ 932₀ *lárnaξ* of painted earthenware from 524 529 845 stone moulds from 623 ff. 654
- Palaimon** 490₀₍₅₎
- Palaistinos, s. of Malkandros** 986₀
- Palamedes** 691 902₀
- Palaxos or Spalaxos, the Koures** 587
- Palazzola (Palazzuolo)** 1146₀
- Pales (masc.)**
Function: one of the Penates 1059
- Palestine**
Rite: burial within the house 1059
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Metamorphosed into eagle 909₀
Genealogy: s. of Volcanus by Aetna 909₀
- Palikoi**
Cult: Sicily 909₀
Rite: human sacrifice 909₀
Myth: 909₀
Genealogy: sons of Adranos (the Syrian Hadran) 910₀ sons of Hephaistos 910₀ sons of Zeus by Aitne 909₀ sons of Zeus by Thaleia, d. of Hephaistos 909₀
Functions: *nautici dei* 909₀ volcanic springs 909₀
Etymology: 909₀
 See also Palicens
- Palladion** 963₀ 1044
- Palmyra**
Cults: Iaribolos 885₀₍₂₉₎ Theos Μέγας Σαλλοντος (? J. H. Mordtmann cj. 'Αμμονδάτω: see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 290) 'Ενεονάρης (?) 885₀₍₂₉₎ Zeus Μέγιστος Κεραύνιος 807₆₍₁₎ Zeus Μέγιστος "Υψιστος 983₂ Zeus "Υψιστος 885₀₍₂₉₎ 983₂ Zeus "Υψιστος και 'Επήκοος 885₀₍₂₉₎ 886₀₍₀₎ 983₂ Zeus "Υψιστος Μέγιστος 'Επήκοος 885₀₍₂₉₎ 983₂
- Palodes** 348
- Pan**
Cults: Aule 249₂ Mt Kithairon 899₀ Megara 1117₇ Nikaia in Bithynia 349 Pelousion 986₀
Epithets: Μέγας 347 *δρειβάτης* 869₀ death of Pan 347 ff.
- Pan (cont.)**
Genealogy: s. of Hermes by Penelope 691
Types: androgynous with golden wings and heads of bulls and snake 1022 f. double bust (boy-Pan with girl-Pan) 392 double bust (with Maenad) 392 goat-footed 270₃ with goat's legs and horns 124₂ horned 1117₇ playing lyre 157₀
Identified with Attis 296 Phanes 1051 Protogonos 1023 1039 Zeus 349 1023 1024 1039
Associated with Amphiaraios and Hygieia 1072 Harpokrates 986₀
In relation to Erinys 1102₇
Supersedes Zan (?) 347 ff.
 — cave of, at Aule in Arkadia 249₂
- Panakra** 933₀
- Panamara**
Cults: Asklepios 1066 Hekate Σώτεια 879₀₍₁₇₎ Tyche 1066 Tyche of Antoninus Pius 879₀₍₁₇₎ Zeus Καπετώλιος 879₀₍₁₇₎ Zeus Κτήσιος 1066 Zeus Πανάμαρος 587 963₈ Zeus Πανήμεριος 963₈ Zeus Πανήμερος 963₈ Zeus "Υψιστος 879₀₍₁₇₎ Zeus "Υψιστος 963₈
- Panamoros, the Koures** 587
- Panathenaia** 1121₀ 1135 ff.
- Pandion**
Genealogy: f. of Teuthras 1151
- Pangaion, Mt**
Myth: Orpheus taught by Kalliope 1024
 — oaks on 411₆
- Panhellenia** 1119₄ See also Megala Panhellenia
- Panionion**
Cults: Hera 259₀ Zeus Βουλαῖος 259₀
- Pannonia**
Cult: Iupiter Optimus Maximus Heros 823₁₍₂₎
 — coin of 323₂ (?)
- Panope in Phokis** 1132₆
- Panormos near Kyzikos**
Cults: Apollon 882₀₍₀₎ Artemis 881₀₍₂₁₎ Dionysos (?) 882₀₍₀₎ Hekate (?) 882₀₍₀₎ Persephone (?) 881₀₍₂₁₎ Zeus "Υψιστος 881₀₍₂₁₎ 882₀₍₀₎
- Pantikapaion**
Cult: Angistis (= Agdistis) 970₀
Etymology: 1025
 — leaden *bucrania* and double axes (?) from 540
- Pantikapes, river in Sarmatia** 1025
- Pantokrator, Mt**
Cult: Zeus (?) 907₀
- Papaios**
Cult: Skythia 889₀₍₀₎
 See also Zeus *Epithets* Παπαῖος, Πάπας or Παπᾶς, Παπίας, Παππῶος
- Papanios, a Scythian river** 293₀
- Papas**
Cult: Phrygia 292 ff. 313 836

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- Pelasgos**
Myth: buried at Argos 1144₂
Genealogy: f. of Lykaon 1096₄
- Pelasgus** See Pelargus
- Peleg** 588₀
- Pelegon**, s. of Axios 588₀
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- Peleus**
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 teaches Achilles to use double spear
 799 Thetis tests his sons in caldron
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- Pelion**, Mt 869₂ 869₃ 1226
Cults: Cheiron 869₂ 871₀ Muses (?)
 870₀ Zeus Ἀκραῖος 869₃₍₁₎ (on p.
 871) 904₂ Zeus Ἀκραῖος 869₂ 870₀
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Rite: procession of men clad in fleeces
 to sanctuary of Zeus Ἀκραῖος 870₀
Myths: Asklepios 1087 Otos and Ephialtes
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 — remains on summit of 870₀ 871₀
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 sacrifices at Olympia 471
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 Sikyon 1146 f. of Thyestes 1021 f.
 of Troizen and Pittheus 414₂ s. of
 Tantalos 438 957₀
 — sceptre of 956₂ 1132₄ 1132₆ throne
 of 956₂
- Pelousion**
Cults: Harpokrates 986₀ Kasios 986₀
 987₀ onion 987₀ Pan 986₀ Zeus
 Κάσιος 985₁ ff. Zeus Κάσιος Μέγιστος
 (?) 985₁
Rite: taboo on onions 986₀ f.
Myth: founded by Isis 986₀
 — coins of 986₀
- Pelousios**, eponym of Pelousion
Myth: nurtured by Isis 986₀
Genealogy: s. of Malkandros 986₀
- Penates**
Cults: Italy 1059 Lavinium 1068 Rome
 1181₀
Epithet: *Publici Populi Romani* 1181₀
Rite: meal 19₀
Function: divinised ancestors (?) pro-
 tecting the *penus* 1068
Type: *caducei* of iron and bronze
 together with Trojan pottery 1068
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Identified with Fortuna, Ceres, Genius
 Iovialis, and Pales (masc.) 1059
Compared with Agathos Daimon 1127₀
 Hermes 1068 Zeus Κτήσιος 1068
In relation to Ianus 335
 — rendered by θεοὶ Πατρῶοι or Γε-
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 Ἐρκίοι (*leg.* Ἐρκεῖοι) 1068
- Peneios**, f. of Stilbe 684₂
- Penelope (Penelopeia)**
Cult: Mantinea (?) 691 f.
Myths: axes as marriage-test 690 848
 rescued from sea by wild ducks 691
Genealogy: m. of Pan by Hermes 691
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 a form of Artemis (?) 691 heroine
 698
Etymology: 691
Identified with Artemis (?) 691 f.
- Penelope (Penelopeia)**, a nymph 691₆
- Penteskuphia**, votive *pinakes* from 786
- Penthesileia** 303₂
- Pentheus**
Function: divine king 303₂
Etymology: 303₂
- Penthilos** 303₂
- Pepromene** 1138₅
- Peratai** 558₀
- Perephoneia** See Persephone
- Pergamon**
Cults: Aphrodite Παφία 424 Apollon
 729₀ Ares 729₀ 955₀ (Artemis) Ταυρο-
 πόλος 729₀ 955₀ Asklepios 954₀ 956₀
 1077 1079 f. Asklepios Σωτήρ 956₀
 Athena 882₀₍₀₎ 954₀ 955₀ Athena
 Ἀρεία 729₀ 955₀ Athena Νικηφόρος
 287₂ 955₀ Augustus 1179 1182 Com-
 modus 1185 Demeter 729₀ 955₀
 Dionysos 954₀ Dionysos Καθηγεμών
 287₂ 288₀ (?) 1184₁ Gaia 1185 Ge
 729₀ 955₀ Geta 1186 Helios 729₀
 955₀ 1185 Hestia Βουλαία 259₀ Ju-
 piter *Amicalis* (= Zeus Φίλιος) 1179 f.
 Kabeiroi 953₃ f. Poseidon 729₀ 955₀
 Roma 1179 1182 Selene 1185 Tha-
 lassa 1185 Theos Ὑψιστος (= Zeus?)
 882₀₍₀₎ 956₀ Trajan 1179 ff. Zeus
 729₀ 882₀₍₀₎ (?) 954₀ ff. Zeus (= Com-
 modus) 1185 Zeus (= Geta) 1186
 Zeus Ἀσκληπιός 1061 1077 f. Zeus
 Βάκχος (= Zeus Σαβάξιος) 287 287₂
 288₀ 954₀ 1184 Zeus Βουλαῖος 259₀
 Zeus Εὐαγγέλιος 956₀ Zeus Κεραύνιος
 808₀₍₈₎ 956₀ Zeus Κτήσιος 1067 Zeus
 Μέγιστος 956₀ Zeus Μέγιστος Σωτήρ
 956₀ Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 956₀ Zeus
 Σαβάξιος 287₂ 954₀ 1184 (See also
 Zeus Βάκχος) Zeus Σωτήρ 955₀ Zeus
 Τροπαῖος 110₉ 956₀ Zeus Φίλιος 956₀
 1178 1179 ff.
Festival: Traianeia Deiphileia 1180
Rites: altar of Zeus made of ashes
 from thighs of victims 955₀ sacrifice
 of two-year-old heifer to Athena,

Pergamon (cont.)

three-year-old ox to Zeus, to Zeus Βάκχος, and to Asklepios, and feast of bull's flesh 287₂ 954₀

Priest: *λεροφάντης* 1067

Myths: birth of Zeus 954₀ Pergamos 1184 Telephos 1179

— aqueducts of 956₀ art of 862 Asklepieion at 1077 coins of 260₀ 424 633₂ 953₃ 955₀ 956₀ 1079 f. 1082 1181 f. 1184 ff. great altar at 399₁ 684₄ 831₁₍₄₎ 953₃ 1179₆ open-air altar of Zeus Φίλιος at 1180 paraphernalia of diviner from 512 riddance of plague at 954₀ temple of Zeus 'Ασκληπιός at 1077 Traianeum at 1179 ff.

Pergamos, eponym of Pergamon 1184

Perikles

Personates Zeus 816₁

Periklymenos (= Plouton) 1113₀₍₂₎

Periklymenos, f. of Erginos

Metamorphosed into eagle 1134₆

Function: hypostasis of Zeus (?) 1075

Periklymenos, s. of Poseidon 1071

Perillos 924₀

Perinthos

Cults: Zeus Λοφείτης 874₁ 949₃ Zeus Σάραπις 773₀

— coins of 560₃ 665₃ 773₀

Periphas

Personates Zeus 1121 ff.

Myth: 24₄ 1061 1121 ff.

Metamorphosed into eagle 1122 1131 1134₆

Etymology: 1122 1122₆ 1122₇

— both Attic autochthon and Thesalian king (?) 1123

Periphas, s. or f. of Lapithes 1122 f. 1134

Perkúnas

Cult: Romove 93

Perpetua, St 133 f.

Persephassa See Persephone

Persephatta 132₂

See also Persephone, Phersephone, Proserpina

Persephone

Cults: Eleusis 132₂ Emporion 1040 Panormos near Kyzikos (?) 881₀₍₂₁₎ Sicily 1040 Tarentum 1141₀

Epithets: *ελαρινή* 295₂ *έπαινή* 893₀ *Μελινδία* (?) 1113₀₍₃₎ *Μελίνοια* (?) 1113₀₍₃₎ *Μελιτώδης* 1113₀₍₃₎ *Μελιτώνη* (?) 1113₀₍₃₎ *ξανθή* 1164₀

Rites: tree decked as maiden, brought into town, mourned forty nights, and then burnt 303₂ union with Zeus 132₂

Myth: consorts with Zeus 132₂ 1029

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Rhea or Demeter 1029 m. by Zeus of Meilinoe (?) or Melinoe (?) 1114₀₍₆₎ m. by Zeus of the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus 1029 m. by Zeus of the

Persephone (cont.)

first three Dioskouroi (Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, Dionysos) 1135₄

Functions: chthonian queen 132₂ spring 557₁

Etymology: 295₂

Attributes: corn-wreath 370 pig 1141₀ vervain 395₂

Types: bifrontal 370 head with flowing hair 110₆ rape by Plouton 801

Identified with Axiokersa (?) 314₂

Associated with Zeus *καταχθόνιος* 893₀

In relation to bees and honey 1142₇ Demeter 501

— marriage with 1164 ff. name of, taboo 1114₀ plant of (vervain) 395₂ woods of 472

See also Persephatta, Phersephone, Proserpina

Perses 108

Perseus

Myths: Akrisios 1155 1155₇ Danaë 671 1018 Hyperboreoi 463 f. Ione 1186 f. Medousa 716 ff. 1018 sacrifices to Zeus 'Αρεσάντιος 892₄ Tarsos 570₄ teaches Persians to worship fire 1187

Genealogy: s. of Danaë 464 s. of Pikos by Danaë 1187₂ s. of Pikos who is also Zeus 694₀ s. of Zeus 665₁ s. of Zeus by Danaë 694₀

Function: solar 1156

Attributes: *diskos* 1155 f. *hárpe* 721₇ 1084 *kibisis* 718 lobster 665₁ sickle 721₇ sword 721₇ winged *caduceus* 718 winged cap 718 winged sandals 718

Assimilated to Hermes 718

Perseus, the constellation 464 477₈

Persia

Cults: fire 33 ff. Mithras 255 sky 354 Zeus 33

Rite: sacrifice of horses 890₂

Myth: cosmic egg 1036

— kings of, regarded as divine 853 r for l in 588₀

Perun

Attribute: iris 774₄

Pessinous

Cults: Agdistis 970₀ Attis 970₀ Magna Mater 969₄ Mother of the gods 310 f. 310₂

Myths: Agdistis 969₄ 970₀ Attis 969₄ 970₀

— priestly kings at 965₀

Petelia

Cult: Zeus 708 f.

— coins of 708 f.

Peter, St

Attribute: keys 1200₃ 1200₄

Types: 'Dioscuric' 606 1209₂ in Catacombs 1200₄ on chalice of Antioch 1200₄ 1202₀ on gilded glass 1207

Associated with St Paul 606 1207 1209₂

Petrachos, Mt

Cult: Zeus 901₁

Petrachos, Mt (*cont.*)

Myth: Kronos receives from Rhea stone instead of Zeus 901₁

Petrus and Marcellinus, Catacomb of 1207

Phaethon

Myths: fall from chariot of Helios 40 43₁ 484 Milky Way 40 43₁ 476 ff. parallel from Pomerania 483 f. sisters turned into larches 402₀

Genealogy: s. of Helios by Klymene 473₃

Type: fall from chariot of Helios 473 478 479

Identified with Phanes 1026 1051

In relation to Milky Way 40 43₁ 483

Phaiakia

Myths: called Δρεπάνη, Δρέπανον, Ἄρπη after the δρέπανον of Kronos or Zeus, or after the δρέπανον or ἄρπη of Demeter 448₀ peopled from blood of Ouranos 448₀

Identified with Korkyra 448₀

— river in 481₀

Phaidra

Myth: Theseus and Hippolytos 1043

Phaistos

Cults: Velchanos 946₀ 947₀ Zeus Φελχάνος 946₀ 947₀

Myth: Idomeneus 947₀

— celt from 509 coins of 491₀₍₈₎ 946₀ 947₀ double axe at 600₃

Phalakrai, a promontory in Euboia 874₂ (on p. 875)

Phalakron, a mountain near Argos (?) 874₂ (on p. 875) 893₁

Phalakron, a promontory in Korkyra 874₂ (on p. 875) 1226

Phalakron (Phalakra, Phalakrai), the summit of Mt Ide in Phrygia 874₂ (on p. 875)

Phalaris, bull of bronze made for 910₁ 924₀

Phalces, the Corallian 108 f.

Phalces, s. of Temenos 110₄

Phalces, the Trojan 110₄

Phaleron

Cults: Acheloios 183 f. Apollon Πύθιος 183 Artemis Λοχία 183 Eileithyia 183 f. Geraistian birth-nymphs 183 f. Hestia 183 f. Kallirhoe (Kal-liroe), d. of Acheloios 183 Kephisos 183 f. Leto 183 Rhapsos 183 f.

Phallagogia 1022

Phanakes

Cult: Mysia 1025

Phanes

Cult: Thraco-Phrygians (?) 1025

Epithets: αὐτόγονος 1026 μονογενής 1026 πρωτόγονος 1026 (See also Protononos)

Myths: sprung from cosmic egg 1023 f. swallowed by Zeus 1027

Genealogy: f. by Nyx of Ge or Gaia and Ouranos, Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus 1026 f. of Zeus 1051 parent and h. of Nyx 1026

Phanes (*cont.*)

Functions: creator 1026 1033 ἔφορος τῆς ζωογόνου δυνάμεως 1025 light 1024 1026 light or daylight or sunlight 1025

Etymology: 1025

Attributes: sceptre 1051 thunderbolt 1051

Types: αἰδοῖον ἔχων ὀπίσω περὶ τὴν πυγὴν 1024 f. androgynous 1026 nude youth standing in oval zodiac with egg-shell above and below him, wings on his shoulders, crescent on his back, heads of lion, goat, ram attached to his body, cloven hoofs, and snake coiled about him, bearing thunderbolt and sceptre 1051

Identified with Antauges 1026 1051

Dionysos 1026 1051 Erikepaios 1024

1039 Eros 1026 1039 Eubouleus

1026 Helios 1051 Metis (masc.)

1024 1026 1032 1039 Pan 1051

Phaethon 1026 1051 Priapos 1026

Protogonos 1026 1039 1051

Assimilated to Dionysos (?) 1051 Helios

1051 Pan (?) 1051 Zeus 1051

Compared with Christ 1026

In relation to Zeus 1051

— sceptre of 1026

Phanotos 217₂

Phaselis

Cults: Ge 729₀ Helios 729₀ Zeus 729₀

Phata in Lydia

Cult: Theos Ὑψίστος 881₀₍₂₀₎

Phaunos

Genealogy: s. of Zeus 694₀ 943₀

Identified with Hermes 694₀ 943₀

Pheidias 475₇ 479₆ 598 737 746₀ 753 757 ff.

760 f. 849 862 f. (?) 916₀ 921₀ 1078

1135 1137₂ 1138₅ 1188 f.

— career of 757₈

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Cult: Demeter Κίδαρις 1136₄

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Cult: Anazarbos 14₃

Type: horned, four-eyed, two-faced 1029

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— bridal chamber of 1164₀ 1164₂

See also Persephatta, Persephone, Proserpina

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 Porsenna, tomb of 1219
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Cults: Aigina 184₈ Aixone 730₀ Athens 729₀ 730₀ Bolotia 583₃ 731₀ Delphoi 176₁ 177₀ Dorylaeion 281 Heleia (?) 931₀ Mantinea 581 Messana 795 Pergamon 729₀ 955₀ Phokis 731₀ Pontos 975₀ Praisos 731₀ Selinous 489₀₍₀₎ Skythia 292₄ Sparta 729₀ Stelai in Crete 731₀ Syracuse 916₀ Cape Tainaros 890₅ Tralleis 959₀ Zankle 795
Epithets: *ἀπότροπος* 959₀ *ἀργής* 959₀ *ἀσφάλιος* 959₀ *εινάλιος*...Κρονίδης 959₀ *ἐνοσίχθων* 789₂ *Ἴππιος* 581 *Ἴππιος* 959₀ *Ἴππιος ποῦτομέδων ἀναξ* 786₁ *κορυφαῖος ἐπ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων* 869₁ *ναυμέδων* 793₈ *Σεισίχθων* 959₀ *τεμενοῦχος* 959₀ *Χθόνιος* 695₀
Rites: chariot with white horses plunged into sea 975₀ sacrifice of two bulls 902₂ sacrifice of wheat and crops 959₀
Myths: Aithra (?) 800 Amymone (?) 800 Erechtheus 794 Kleinis 463₁ strikes with trident the Akropolis at Athens 793
Genealogy: f. of Altheos by Leis, d. of Oros 414₂ f. of Astakos by the nymph Olbia 665₃ f. of Boutes 793₁₂ f. of Hyperes and Anthas by Alkyone, d. of Atlas 414₂ f. of Kteatos and Eurytos 1015₈ f. of Kyknos 669 f. of Minyas by Chryso-gone d. of Halmos 1150₄ f. of Triopas by Kanake 684₂ h. of Demeter 584₀
Functions: earthquakes 959₀ lightning 794 ff. 850 originally a specialised form of Zeus 31₈ 582 786 846 850 893₀
Etymology: 582 ff. 1220
Attributes: bident 806₆ eagle 798 Nike 798 rock 713 scaled cuirass 713 sea-monster 798 sword 789 thunderbolt 794 ff. 798 trident 713 785 786 ff. 850 tunny 786
Types: advancing with thunderbolt in raised right hand and left outstretched 794 f. 850 advancing with trident in raised right hand and left outstretched 795₃ Gigantomachy 713 syncretistic 850 with attributes of Zeus 796 ff.
 Identified with Erechtheus 793 Pikos who is also Zeus 695₀ Thamimasadas (Thagimasada) 293₀ Zeus 582 ff. Zeus and Ares 1225

- Poseidon (cont.)
Associated with Ge 176₁ Zeus 959₀
 Zeus and Hades 785 Zeus and
 Plouton 802 (?)
In relation to Zeus 582 ff. 850
 — crabs sacred to 665₂ 'sea' of, on
 Akropolis at Athens 793 trident-
 mark of, on Akropolis at Athens
 789 792 ff.
- Poseidonia, coins of 795₃
- Poseidonios 805₆
- Pothos
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 — in Phoenician cosmogony 1038
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Cult: Romove 93
- Praeneste
Cults: Aesculapius 1086 Mercurius
 (Mircurios, Mircurios) 397₀
- Praetextatus, Catacomb of 1206
- Praisos
Cults: Apollon Πύθιος 731₀ Athena
 731₀ pig 782₅ Poseidon 731₀ Zeus
 'Ακραῖος 871₃₍₄₎ Zeus Δικταῖος 731₀
 871₃₍₄₎ 930₀
Myth: golden hound 1227
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- Prajāpati
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- Praxiteles 196 598 599₂ 749 1018 1101₃
 1127₀
- Priamidai 1102₇
- Priamos
Myths: death 1069 golden vine 281₄
 1184₃ prays to Zeus 'Ιδαῖος 8 950₀
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- Priansos
Cults: Aphrodite 723₀ Apollon Πύθιος
 (Πύπιος) 723₀ Ares 723₀ Artemis 723₀
 Athena 'Ωλερῖα 723₀ Eileithyia
 Βιρατῖα 723₀ Hera 723₀ Hermes
 723₀ Hestia 723₀ Korybantes (Kyr-
 bantes) 723₀ Kouretes (Koretēs)
 723₀ Leto (Lato) 723₀ Nymphs 723₀
 Zeus Βιδάτας 723₀ 934₀ Zeus Δικ-
 ταῖος (?) 723₀ Zeus 'Οράτριος 723₀
 Zeus Σκύλιος 723₀
- Priapos
Cult: Lampsakos 464
Epithet: ἀναξ 1026
Rite: sacrifice of asses 464
Type: double bust (with Maenad) 392
Identified with Phanes 1026
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- Priene
Cult: Zeus Κεραύνιος 808₀₍₇₎
- Prinophoroi 411₆
- Prinophoros
Cult: Thessalonike 411₆
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Worshippers: πρινοφόροι 411₆
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- Procyon 477₈
- Prognaos (?) 353₃
- Proitos
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- Prokleia 669
- Prokne
Metamorphosed into nightingale 693
- Prokoptes 626 f.
- Prokroustes 626 f.
- Prometheus
Epithet: ἀγκυλομήτης 549₇
Myths: receives ring from Zeus 990
 thrusts torch into solar wheel 990
Identified with Kronos 549₇
 — in folk-tale from Zakynthos (?)
 505₅ picture of 986₀
- Pron, Mt
Cult: Hera 893₂
- Pronnoi
Cult: Zeus Αλνῆσιος 907₂
 — coins of 907₂
- Pronoia 863₁ (?)
- Proserpina
Genealogy: m. of Liber by Iupiter 1031
Identified with Luna, Diana, Ceres,
 Inno 256
 See also Persephatta, Persephone,
 Phersephone
- Prostanna
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 972₂ f. Zeus 973₀
 — coins of 972₂ f.
- Proteus, pillars of 422
- Protogone 131
- Protogonos
Epithets: πολύμητις 1025 ταυροβόας
 1023
Myth: swallowed by Zeus 1027
Type: androgynous with golden wings
 and heads of bulls and snake 1022 f.
Identified with Erikepaios (Erikapaios)
 1027 1039 Eros 1039 Metis (masc.)
 1039 Pan 1039 Phanes 1026 1039
 1051 Zeus 1039 1051 Zeus or Pan
 1023
In relation to Metis (masc.) (?) 1025
- Protogonos in Phoenician cosmogony 981₁
- Prousa ad Olympum
Cults: Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 964₂ Zeus Παπ-
 πῶος 292₄
Festivals: Olympia 964₂ Pythia 964₂
- Prousius, eponym of Prousa ad Olympum
 964₂
- Prymnessos
Cult: Zeus Βροντῶν 835₄
- Psara, blind Kyklops in folk-tale from
 996 ff.

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- Ramah 1059
 Ramitha 886₀₍₃₀₎
 Ramman
Etymology: 886₀₍₃₀₎
Types: seated with lightning-fork 765₁ standing on bull with lightning-fork 766₁ standing on bull with lightning-fork and scimitar (?) 765₁ standing on bull with two lightning-forks 765₁
Identified with Theos Hypsistos 886₀₍₃₀₎
- Ravenna
Cult: Iupiter Ter(minalis) 1091
- Rehtia
Cult: Este 1220
Etymology: 1220
- Remus
Myths: infancy 1016 nursed by she-wolf 46 443 1016 reigns with Romulus 440 thrown into Tiber 671 1016
Function: one of the Roman Dioskouroi 1014
Attributes: star 443 f. wolf 46 443
 See also Romulus
- Rerir 682
- Reşef (Reşup)
Cults: Kition in Kypros 807₃₍₁₁₎ (?) Phoinike 630
- Reşef Heş See Reşef (Reşup)
- Rhapso
Cult: Phaleron 183 f.
- Rhea
Cults: Delos 920₀ 921₀ Gaza (?) 675 Mt Juktas (?) 944₀ Mt Kamares (?) 934₀ Knossos 520₅ 548 Mt Kynthos (?) 920₀ 921₀ Mastaura 565₂ Mykenai (?) 515 525 1221 Phrygia 970₀
Epithets: Ma 565₂ μεγάλη 296₄ Φρυγία θεός μεγάλη 970₀
Rites: human consort in Crete (?) 522 524 mysteries of Zeus Ἰδαῖος 932₁ sacrifice of bull 565₂ torches carried over mountain 934₀
Myths: bears Zeus in Dictaeon Cave 928₀ consorts with Zeus 1029 entrusts infant Zeus to Kouretes 931₀ gives Kronos stone instead of Zeus 793₈ 901₁ hides infant Zeus in cave on Mt Aigaion 925₁ Merops (?) 1132₁ protected by Hopladamos (Hoplodamos?) against Kronos 291₀ puts Dionysos or Zagreus together again 1032 rescues Zeus from Kronos 928₀ takes Hera to Okeanos and Tethys 1020
Metamorphosed into snake 1029
Genealogy: d. of Okeanos by Tethys 1020 d. of Ouranos by Gaia 925₁ d. of Phanes by Nyx 1026 m. of Attis 294 296 m. of Phersephone or Kore by Zeus 1029 m. of Zeus 830 925₁ 1029 m. of Zeus by Kronos 941₀ w. of Kronos 548 673
Function: earth 515 548 557₁
- Rhea (cont.)
Etymology: 557₁
Attributes: cypress 932₁ double axe (?) 601 griffins (?) 524 lilies (?) 525 lion 920₀ 921₀ poppies 1165₁ poppy-head 515₅
Types: drawn by griffins (?) 524 f. with plumed head-dress (?) 524 standing between two lions with double axe and ritual horns (serpentine?) on her head 1221 (?)
Identified with Agdistis 970₀ Demeter 1029 1032 Kybele 970₀ Ma 565₂ Mother of the gods 970₀ Semiramis 693₄ 694₀ 695₀ Tyche 675 (?)
In relation to Zeus 552₁
Superseded by Apollon 921₀ Hera 515 — thickets of, in Crete 941₀
- Rhegion
Cults: Apollon 680 Artemis Φακελίτις or Φακελίνη 680
Myth: Orestes 680 848
- Rheneia
Cult: Theos Ὑψιστος 880₀₍₁₉₎
- Rhipai 495
- Rhithymna
Cult: Apollon (Στυρακίτης?) 492₀₍₁₀₎ — coins of 492₀₍₁₀₎
- Rhizenia 934₀
- Rhodanus 476
- Rhode, in Spain
Cult: axe-bearing god (?) 547₀ — coins of 547₀
- Rhodes
Cults: Althaimenes 923₀ Athena (?) 923₀ Dionysos Σμίνθιος (?) 250 Elektryone (Elektrona) 499 Helios 469 Herakles 469 Hermes Καταιβάτης 14 Hermes Χθόνιος 14 Tlepolemos 469 Zeus 615 Zeus Ἀταβύριος 922₅ 923₀ 924₀ 925₀ Zeus Ἐνδεδροπος 946₀
Festival: Tlapolemeia 469
Rites: human sacrifice to Zeus Ἀταβύριος (?) 924₀ statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton invited to banquet 1172
Myths: Althaimenes 922₅ 923₀ Apollon and Dionysos destroy mice 250₂
In relation to 'Minoan' Crete 923₀ — coins of 253 f. 469₇ 924₀ colossus of 254₅
- Rhodes, the town
Cults: Agathos Daimon 925₀ Zeus Ἀταβύριος 924₀ 925₀
Worshippers: Διοσαταβυριασταί 924₀ Διοσαταβυριασταί Ἀγαθοδαιμονιασταί 925₀
- Rhodos, w. of Helios 684₂
- Rhoikos 1021
- Rhoio, d. of Staphylos
Myth: Kastabos 670
- Riqqeh 1145_{1(a)}
- Rit-
Cult: Magrè 1220
Etymology: 1220

Robigus 630

Roma, the personification of Rome

Cults: Miletos 1228 Ouxenton (?) 386₁
Pergamon 1179 1182 Teos 106⁶Types: Janiform (?) 386₁ seated 103₀
standing 361₅ 1181₀Associated with Penates Publici Populi
Romani 1181₀

Rome

Cults: Aesculapius 1080 1083 1086
Asklepios 1088 1090 Attis 306₅
Attis Menotyrannus (Menoturanus,
Minoturanus) 303₂ Attis Meno-
tyrannus Invictus 303₂ Attis Sanctus
Menotyrannus 303₂ Diana 400 f.
421 Dius Fidius 724₀ ff. Divus Pater
Falacer 1226 Falacer (See Divus
Pater Falacer) Fontes 369₀ 401₀
Fortuna 1195₂ Purrina 808₀₍₁₇₎
Genius Caeli Montis 400₁₁ Genius
Iovii Augusti 1194₄ Hecatae 307₀
Hecate 835₆ Herakles Ἡρόκλῆς 783
Hercules 469 783 Hercules Iulianus
400₁₁ Ianus Curiatius 364 Iuno
Sororia 364 Iupiter 45 46 Iupiter
Caelius 400₁₁ Iupiter Capitolinus
601 Iupiter Conservator 1195₁ Iu-
piter Custos 1181₀ (Iupiter) Deus
Bronon 835₆ Iupiter Epulo 1172₀
Iupiter Fagutalis 403₀ Iupiter Fere-
trius 111₀ 546₀ 601 Iupiter Fulgur
46₀ Iupiter Lapis 546₀ Iupiter
Optimus Maximus Caelestinus 369₀
401₀ Iupiter Sanctus Bronon 835₆
838 838 f. Iupiter Stator 46₀ 708₅
Iupiter Tonans 111₀ 835₆ Iupiter
Ultor 1102₈ 1103₀ Iupiter Victor
708 Lares Querquetulani 401 Liber
307₀ Magna Mater 969₄ Mater deum
301 f. 306₅ Minerva 369₀ 401₀ Mith-
ras 307₀ 838 f. Mithras Deus Sol
Invictus 835₆ Penates Publici
Populi Romani 1181₀ Quirinus 1165₁
Semo Sancus Sanctus Deus Fidius
725₀ spear of Mars 547₂ Theos
Ἰψιστος 879₀₍₁₃₎ Tigillum sororium
363 ff. Venus Caelestis 68₂ Vesta
1148₉ 1172₄ Victoria 1195₂ (Zeus)
Θεός Ἐπήκοος Βροντῶν 835₆ 836
(Zeus) Θεός Μέγας Βροντῶν 835₆
836 Zeus Κεραύνιος 808₀₍₁₇₎ Zeus
Πλάτος (=Dius Fidius) 724₀ Zeus
Ἰπτατος 876₀₍₆₎

Festivals: Epula Iovis 1172₀ Ludi
Plebei 1172₀ Ludi Romani 1172₀Rite: sacrifice to *tigillum sororium*
364Myths: Asklepios arrives as golden
snake on shipboard 1083 Horatii
and Curiatii 363 f.— bronze plaque from 664₁ coins of
105 f. 110₈ 331 ff. 836₈ 357 f. 360 f.
362 366 ff. 631 ff. 707₀ 708 708₅
810 f. 850 f. 903₂ 1080 1082 1083
1091 1102₈ 1103₀ 1126₀ 1133₁ 1134₀

Rome (cont.)

1171 1194₄ 1195₁₋₃ 1214 Columna
Rostrata at 9 Dianium on Aventine
at 400 Dianium on Caeliolus (Mons
Querquetulanus) at 400 Dianium
on Clivus Virbius at 400 f. Kyklops
in folk-tale from 1001 f. Mons
Caelius at 400₁₁ Mons Querquetu-
lanus at 400₁₁ pyramids of 1145₁₍₆₎
Tigillum Sororium at 363 ff.

Romove

Cults: Perkunas 93 Pikulas 93 Potrym-
pus 93

— oak of 92 f.

Romuald, St 135

Romulus

Myths: birth 1059 1089 caught up to
heaven 24 dedicates spoils to Iupiter
Feretrius 111₀ infancy 1016 nursed
by she-wolf 46 443 1016 reigns with
Remus 440 reigns with Titus Tatius
441 thrown into Tiber 671 1016Function: one of the Roman Dios-
kouroi 1014

Attributes: star 443 f. wolf 46 443

Identified with Quirinus 24

See also Remus

Romulus Silvius 24₄Roodmas 825₃ 826₄

Rosarno, pinax of terra cotta from 1048

Rosmerta

Cult: Gallia Belgica 547₀ (?)Identified with Maia 94₃Associated with Mercurius 94₃

Rudra

Cult: India 791

Rugiwit 386

Rural Dionysia 236

Russia

Festival: Feast of the Golden-reindeer-
horn 465Sabaoth 889₀₍₁₀₎

Epithet: ὑψικέραινος 1212

Identified with Adonaios 1212

Sabas, St, founder of monastery near
Jerusalem 116Sabas, St, the Gothic martyr 1104₃

Sabas, St, the Greek martyr 1104

Sabazios

Epithets: Ἰσας 275₈ Ἰεὺς 275₉ Ἰης 275₇Rites: ἐφύγον κακόν, εἶρον ἀμεινον 1166₁
mysteries 133₀Function: dreams 283₀

Etymology: 1217

Type: on horseback 283₀Identified with Dionysos 275₆ Zeus
275₅ 1184

— as link between Zeus and Kyrios

Sabaoth 884₀₍₁₀₎Sabians 129₂Sabines 340₃

Saboi

Cult: Dionysos Σάβος or Σαβάζιος 270

Sabus, s. of Sancus 724₀

- Sadoth, St 134
 Saeculum Aureum 373₂
 Sæhrímnir 214₀
 Sagittarius 477₈
 Sahin in Phoinike
Cults: Helios (?) Ἡλίου (?) Mithras 886₀₍₃₀₎ Theos Ἡψιστος Οὐράνιος Ἡρατος 886₀₍₃₀₎ 983₈
- Sahsnot
Cult: Saxons 51
 Identified with Ziu 50 f.
- Salamis
Cult: Zeus Τροπαῖος 110₉
Myth: Ophis 1087
 — full moon at battle of 854
- Salapia, coins of 1159₁
 Salia, m. of Salios 338₃
 Salii 375 ff. 470
Rites: *axamenta* 376₁ *Iunonii* 376₁ *Minervii* 376₁
 — hymn of 294₀ 328 ff. 337
- Salios, eponym of Salii 338₃
 Salmakis 872₀₍₅₎
 Salmoneus
Personates Zeus 24₄ 1122
Myths: comes from Thessaly to Elis 825 1088 imitates thunders of Zeus 8 833
Genealogy: s. of Aiolos 1088
- Salmoxis (Zalmoxis)
Cult: Getai 227 822 851
Rite: messenger sent once in four years 227
Myth: underground retreat in Thrace 226
Etymology: 227
 Identified with Gebeleïzis (Zibeleïzis) 227 822
- Salonae
Cults: Ianus *Pater Augustus* (?) 325 Iupiter *Caelestis* 69₀ 401₀ Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Celestis Patronus* 401₀
- Salus 94₃
 See also Hygieia
- Samaritans
Cult: summit of Mt Gerizim 888₀₍₁₀₎
- Samarra, spiral tower of 128
- Samaš 49₃ 483
- Same or Samos in Kephallenia 354₉
- Samemroumos 981₁
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- Samos
Cults: Apollon Ἠύθιος 223₃ Dionysos Ἐνὸρχης 1021 Zan (?) 354₉
Etymology: 354₉
 — second Heraion at 1230
- Samos or Samothrace 354₉
 See also Samothrace
- Samos in Karia 354₉
- Samos (Samia, Samikon) in Triphylia 354₉
- Samothrace
Cults: Adamna 295 Bendis 314₀ Demeter 314₀ 314₂ Dionysos 314₀
- Samothrace (cont.)
 Hades 314₀ 314₂ Kabeiroi 313 842 Kadmilos 314₀ Kore 314₀ 314₂
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- Sancus See Dius
- Sandas
Cult: Tarsos 560
Attributes: bow-case 571 double axe 571 sword 571
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- Sandon 560 See Sandas
- Sangarios, river-god in Galatia 969₄
- Sappho 8
- Saqqâra 1145_{1(a)}
- Sarapis
Cults: Alexandria 1158 Mt Argaios (?) 978₀ Athens 985₀ Delos 922₀ Dorylaeion 281 Kaisareia in Kappadokia 978₀ Kanobos (Kanopos) 985₀
Epithet: ἐν Κανώπῳ 985₀
Rite: *lectisternium* 1171₃
Function: healing 127
Attribute: *kálathos* 1171₃
Types: bearded god 1128₀ (?) bust on couch 1171₃ double bust (with Zeus) 388 (?) holding Mt Argaios 978₀ snake with bearded human head 1128₀ (?)
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 Associated with Isis 1171₃ Zeus Κύνθιος and Isis 922₀
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Genealogy: w. of Brahmā 774₁ w. of Vishnu 774₁
Types: in lotos-wreath 774₁ seated on lotos 774₁
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- Semele (*cont.*)
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Identified with Ge 279₃
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Cult: Hephaistos 972₁
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- Sipyrene** 970₀
- Sipylos, Mt**
Cults: Meter Πλαστήρη 956₂ *Zeus Ἰπταρος (?)* 876₀₍₈₎ 956₂
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- Skirtos** 430₁
- Skoll** 305₀
- Skopas** 405₃ 469 476₃ 594 1206
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Cults: Achilles 'Lord of the Island' (sc. Leuke) 925₀ *Aphrodite Οὐρανία* 292₄ *Apollon* 292₄ *Ares* 292₄ 547₃ *Athena Λιυδία* 925₀ *Herakles* 292₄ *Hestia* 292₄ *iron scimitar* 547₃ 680 *Korakoi (= Philioi Daimones)* 1179₁ *Papaios* 889₀₍₁₀₎ *Philioi Daimones (Orestes and Pylades)* 1179 *Poseidon* 292₄ *Zeus Ἀταβύριος* 925₀ *Zeus Ηαπαῖος* 292₄
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- Slingsby and the Snapping Turtle** 1151
- Sminthe** 250₂
- Sminthia** 250₂
- Smyrna**
Cults: Aphrodite Στρατονικίς 729₀ *Ares* 729₀ (*Artemis*) *Ταυροπόλος* 729₀ *Athena Ἀρεία* 729₀ *Ge* 729₀ *Helios* 729₀ *Meter Σιτυληνή* 729₀ *Nemeseis* 524 864₀ *Zeus* 729₀ *Zeus Ἀκραῖος* 319 873₀₍₈₎ 962₁ *Zeus Παργῶος* 280₁
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- Sokrates and Phaidros** 1118 and *Strep-siades* 2 *portrait-herm of (with Platon?)* 390 *portrait-herm of (with Seneca)* 390
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Function: Sunday 70
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Identified with Apollo and Liber Pater 256 f. *Mithras* 307₀ 1194₄
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- Solomon** sends golden pillar to Souron 424₀
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- Solon**, oath of, by (Zeus) Ἰκέσιος, Καθάρσιος, and Ἐξακεστήρ 1093₁
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 Sykeas or Sykeus 1103₈
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- Taurophonia** 582
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- Theos Hypsistos**
Cults: Aizanoi 882₀₍₂₃₎ 968₀ Akmoneia 882₀₍₂₃₎ 968₁ Alexandria 889₀₍₃₃₎ 984₂ Amathous 879₀₍₁₅₎ 980₃ Arslan Apa in Phrygia 883₀₍₀₎ 969₃ Athribis 889₀₍₃₃₎ 984₃ Berytos 983₅ Bitlynia (?) 883₀₍₂₄₎ Bosphoros Kimmerios 883₀₍₂₇₎ 884₀₍₀₎ 885₀₍₀₎ Golgoi 879₀₍₁₅₎ 980₃ Gorgippia 883₀₍₂₇₎ 884₀₍₀₎ 948₂ Hephaestia in Lemnos 878₀₍₇₎ Hierokaisareia in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎ Iondaia 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎ Kerdylion 878₀₍₉₎ Kition 879₀₍₁₅₎ 980₃ Knossos 879₀₍₁₄₎ Koloe 881₀₍₂₀₎ Kos 880₀₍₁₈₎ 964₁ Kyzikos 953₁ Laodikeia on the Lykos 882₀₍₂₃₎ 968₃ Miletos 879₀₍₁₇₎ Moesia 878₀₍₁₁₎ 949₁ Mytilene 882₀₍₂₂₎ Nakoleia 882₀₍₂₃₎ 969₁ Oinoanda 879₀₍₁₈₎ Pergamon 882₀₍₀₎ 956₀ Phata in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎ Philadelpheia in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎ Phoinike 886₀₍₃₀₎ Piroi 878₀₍₁₁₎ 948₅ Plakia 882₀₍₀₎ Rheneia 880₀₍₁₉₎ Rome 879₀₍₁₃₎ Sahin in Phoinike 886₀₍₃₀₎ 983₈ Sari-Tsam in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎ Sebastopolis (?) 883₀₍₂₆₎ Selymbria 878₀₍₁₀₎ 949₄ Silaudos 881₀₍₂₀₎ Sinope 883₀₍₂₅₎ Tanais 884₀₍₀₎ 948₃ Tchatal Tepe in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎ Termessos (?) 879₀₍₁₆₎ Thyateira 881₀₍₂₀₎ Tralleis 880₀₍₀₎ 962₀
Epithets: Ἅγιος 878₀₍₁₀₎ 949₄ Ἀγιώτατος 879₀₍₁₇₎ Ἐπήκοος 878₀₍₇₎ 878₀₍₁₁₎ 879₀₍₁₆₎ (?) 884₀₍₀₎ 948₅ Εὐλογητός 883₀₍₂₇₎ 884₀₍₀₎ Ἰάω Ἀδωνάτ 889₀₍₀₎ Κεραύνιος 807₃₍₃₎ 882₀₍₂₂₎ κύριε ὁ
- Theos Hypsistos (cont.)**
 πάντα ἐφορῶν 880₀₍₁₉₎ κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός 880₀₍₁₉₎ Μέγας 883₀₍₂₅₎ Οὐράνιος 886₀₍₃₀₎ Οὐράνιος Ἰπτατος 983₈ Παντοκράτωρ 883₀₍₂₇₎ 884₀₍₀₎ πάντων Ἐπόπτης 889₀₍₃₃₎ 984₂ Σωτήρ 879₀₍₁₇₎ Ἰπτατος 886₀₍₃₀₎
Rite: lamp 879₀₍₁₆₎
Priests: ἱερεὺς 879₀₍₁₇₎ προφήτης 879₀₍₁₇₎
Worshippers: ἀδελφοί 883₀₍₂₅₎ θίασοι or σύνοδοι, comprising πρεσβύτεροι and εἰσποιητοὶ ἀδελφοί, under control of ἱερεὺς, πατὴρ συνόδου, συναγωγός, φιλάγαθος, παραφιλάγαθος, γυμνασιάρχης, νεανισκάρχης, γραμματεὺς 885₀₍₀₎
Attribute: eagle 884₀₍₀₎ 889
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- Theos Kataibates** 14₃
- Theos Megas**
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Epithets: Σαλλουντος (? J. H. Mordtmann cj. Ἀμμουδάτῳ: see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 290) Ἐνεουάρης (?) 885₀₍₂₉₎
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- Theos Zon** 1102₈
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- Theoxenia** 243₃ 244₂ 1064 1136₀ (?) 1170
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Associated with Zeus 879₀₍₁₇₎ Zeus *Ἐπιτέλειος Φίλιος* and Philia 1163
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- Tynnichos** 906₃
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- Typhon**
Myths: Arima 826 909₀ crushed by Zeus under Mt Aitne 909₀ cuts out sinews of Zeus 228 448₂ cuts up body of Osiris 1030 fight with Zeus 448₂ 722₂ 731 826 839₆ Hermes uses his sinews as lyre-strings 450₀ pursued by Zeus to Mt Kasion in Syria 981₁ swallows eye of Horos 450₀ tastes mortal fruit 449₀
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Zeus (cont.)

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 εἰς δαίμων 1028 Ἐκτωρ 8₇ ἔλασι-
 βρόντης 830₂ ἐλατήρ ὑπέρτατε βροντᾶς
 ἀκαμαντόποδος 94₂ 830₄ Ἐλάφριος
 599₇ Ἐλαφρός 599 Ἐλευθέριος 97₀
 118₁ 238₀ 343₀ 344₀ 763₁ 974₀ 1096₁
 1135₄ 1158₈ Ἐλικώνιος 898₅ Ἐλλάνιος
 894₃ Ἐλλήνιος 887₀₍₃₁₎ 895₀ 983₉
 Ἐλχάνος (?) = Φελχάνος 948₀₍₃₎ Ἐμ-
 βατήριος (= Trajan) 100₈ 1180₄ ἐνά-
 λιος 878₀₍₃₎ (?) 893₀ ἐν δέμας βασιλείων
 1028 Ἐνδενδρος 946₀ ἐν κράτος 1028
 ἐξακέσας (?) 1095₀ Ἐξακεστήρ 1093₁
 Ἐξακεστήριος 1093₁ ἐξ Αὐλῆς 249₂
 836 f. 1226 ἐξ Αὐλῆς Ἐπήκοος Θεός
 837₁ Ἐπάκριος 873 Ἐπερνύτιος (See
 Ἐπιρνύτιος) Ἐπήκοος 249₂ 837₁
 885₀₍₂₉₎ 886₀₍₀₎ 886₀₍₃₀₎ 983₂ 983₄
 Ἐπήκοος Βροντῶν 835₈ 836 Ἐπι-
 βήμιος 897₃ 1180₄ Ἐπιδήμιος 1180₄
 Ἐπιδότης (?) 321 Ἐπιδώτας 321₁
 Ἐπιδώτης (Ἐπιδότης) 321₁ Ἐπι-
 κάρπιος 260₀ 1065 1177₂ 1186 Ἐπι-
 λόφιος (?) 875₀ 948₄ Ἐπιρνύτιος 946₀
 Ἐπιστάσιος (= Iupiter Stator) 708₅
 Ἐπίστιος 311₈ (See also Ἐφέστιος)
 Ἐπιτέλειος Φίλιος 1163 1169 ἐπι-
 τιμήτωρ ἰκετῶν τε ξείνων τε 1097₀
 Ἐπόπτης 878₀₍₁₀₎ (?) cp. 889₀₍₃₃₎
 949₂ (?) Ἐπόπιος 697 1121 1123
 1130 f. 1130₃ 1130₇ 1159 ἐπόπιος
 1130₄ 1130₅ Ἐρεχθεύς 793 1146
 ἐρίγδουπος 723₀ 727₃₍₁₎ 1099₂ 1177₂
 ἐρίγδουπος πόντις Ἴρη 584₁ 728₀
 ἐρισμάραγος 954₀ 1122₉ Ἐρκείος 723₀
 728₀ 730₀ 808₀₍₁₅₎ 893₀ Ἐρκείος Πα-
 τρῶς 1066 Ἐταιρείος (Ἐταίρειος)
 1175₄ 1176₄ 1177₁ Ἐταιρείος (Ἐταίρειος)
 260₀ 723₀ 727₃₍₁₎ 1177₂ Ἐταιρήσιος
 311₈ (See also Ἐταιρείος) Εὐαγγέλιος
 956₀ Εὐβουλεύς 119₀ 131 258₃ 259₀
 1076 1105 Εὐβουλος (?) 1076 Εὐ-
 βωλεύς 259₀ Εὐεργέτης τῆς πόλεως
 579₀₍₁₃₎ (?) Εὐκλείος 118₃ Εὐμένης
 (= Eumenes i) 960₀ 1229 Εὐμένης
 (= Hadrian) 959₀ f. Εὐξείνος 617
 1097₀ εὐρὴ ἀνάσσειν 271₀ εὐρυμέδων
 1069 εὐρυνεφής 902₂ εὐρύσπα 1089
 Εὐρωμεύς (?) 589₀ Εὐυπνος 231 f.
 Ἐφέστιος 1176₄ ἐφέστιος 723₀ 727₃₍₁₎
 1177₂ Ἐφόρκιος 723₀ Ἐφορος 1130₁
 Φαλκάνος (?) or Φαλχάνος (?) = Φελ-
 χάνος 948₀₍₅₎ Φελχάνιος (?) 947₀₍₂₎
 Φελχάνος or Φελχανός 599₇ 947₀ Φευ-
 χάνος 947₀₍₁₎ Ζάλμοξις (?) 230 822
 Ζβελθιοῦρδος 819 Ζβελσοῦρδος 817 ff.

Zeus (cont.)

822₂ 833 851 Ζβελσοῦρδος ὁ Κύριος
 1225 (See also Κύριος Ζβελσοῦρδος
 and Κύριος Θεός Προγονικός Ζβελ-
 σοῦρδος) Ζβερθιοῦρδος (?) 818₂₍₁₎
 Ζβερθοῦρδος 820₃ 821 Zberturdus
 822₄ Ζητήρ 444₇ 1102₈ Ζιβελεῖζις (?)
 822 *Ζιβελεσοῦρδος (?) 822 Ζιβελ-
 σοῦρδος 822₂ Ζλεθοῦρδος 822₃ ζῶον ἐκ
 ζῶων 1028 f. Ἡλακαταῖος 397₀ Ἡλα-
 κατεύς 397₀ 1219 Ἡλιοδρόμος 312₅
 ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη 1027 Θεῖος 879₀₍₁₇₎
 Θεός 958₀ θεός ἐκ θεῶν 1028 f. Θεός
 Ἐπήκοος Βροντῶν 835₈ 836 Θεός Μέγας
 Βροντῶν 835₈ 836 θεῶν βασιλῆι καὶ
 ἀνδρῶν 1070 θεῶν τὸν ἀριστον... ἠδὲ
 μέγιστον 1089 Θηβαιεύς 210₂ Θυ-
 ἔστης (?) 1022 Ἴδαῖος 321₁ (?) Ἴδαῖος
 in Crete 549 838 932₁ ff. 980₅ Ἴδαῖος
 in Phrygia 950₀ ff. Ἴδηθεν μεδέων
 728₀ 855₂ 950₀ Ἴθωμάτας 728₀ 741
 743 890₈ 1222 Ἰκέσιος 321₁ (?) 1093
 1093₁ 1095₀ 1096₀ (?) 1097₀ 1098₄
 1101 1176₄ 1177₂ ἰκέσιος 1097 1097₁
 Ἰκέτας 1096 1101 ἰκετήσιος 1040 f.
 1097 1101 ἰκταῖος (?) 1098 1101 ἰκτηρ
 1098 1101 ἰκτιος (?) 1098₁ Καβάτας
 17 f. 31 Καθάσιος 311₈ 1093₁ 1095₀
 1097₂ 1099 f. 1103₇ Καναῖος 902₂
 Καπετώλιος 879₀₍₁₇₎ 941₀ 1066 1188₁₄
 Καπετώλιος (= Κορυφαῖος) 869₁ Κα-
 ραῖός 873 898₄ Καραός 1226 Κάριος
 577 591₁ 598₁ 873₂ καρπῶν τροφεύς
 1074 Κάσιος 941₀ Κάσιος in Egypt
 984₄ ff. Κάσιος at Epidaurus 894₂
 Κάσιος (Κάσιος) in Korkyra 906₃
 907₀ (See also Iupiter Casius (Cas-
 sius)) Κάσιος (Κάσιος) in Syria
 810₀ (?) 982₀ 983₀ 1191 f. Κάσι(ο)ς
 Σώζ[ων] 987₀ Κάσις (See Κάσι(ο)ς)
 Καταιβάτας 16 f. Καταιβάτης 13 ff.
 45 131 161 502₂ 559 745₁ 793 840
 845 869₁ 962₀ 983₁ 1075 καταχθόνιος
 582₄ 893₀ Κατεβάτης (= Καταιβάτης)
 16₁ κελαινεφής 858 950₀ 982₀ κεράστης
 (= Pan) 1023 κεραυνεγχής 704 κε-
 ραῦνιος 9₅ 806₈ 807₄ Κεραῦνιος 428
 807 ff. 850 941₀ 956₀ 983₀ 1100₁
 1187 1225 1228 Κεραῦνιος Σωτήρ
 962₀ Κεραυνοβόλος 807 850 κεραυνο-
 βόλος 807₂ κεραυνοβρόντης 806₈ Κε-
 ραυνός 11 ff. 807 814 840 850 κεφαλή
 1027 f. Κήναιος (Κηναῖος) 902₂ 903₀
 Κιθαιρώνιος 898₈ Κλάριος 807₂ 873₂
 892₁ 1148 f. Κλάριος 873₂ Κλύμενος (?)
 1075 κοίρανος ἀθανάτων 982₀ Κόνιος
 (not Κρόνιος, nor Κώνιος, nor Σκότιος,
 nor Χθόνιος) 257₄ 1139₀ Κορυφαῖος
 285₀ 868 f. 869₁ 957₁ 983₃ 1218 f.
 (See also Καπετώλιος) κορυφαῖος τῆς
 τῶν ἀστρῶν περιφορᾶς καὶ διήσεως
 καὶ χορείας καὶ δρόμου 869₁ κουρίζων
 928₀ κούρος 928₀ (See also Μέγιστε
 Κούρε... Κρόνιε) Κράγος 972₀ Κραται-
 βάτης 32 1211 κρείων 1089 Κρητα-

Zeus (cont.)

γενής 238_c 587 675 731₀ Κρονίδης 204₁ 321₁ 954₀ 1095₀ Κρόνιος (See Μέγιστε Κούρε...Κρόνιε) Κρονίων 734₃ 831₀ 950₀ 956₂ 1028 1099₂ 1219 Κρόνου παῖς 908₁ Κρόνου υἱός 957₂ Κτεβάτης (=Καταιβάτης) 16₁ Κτήσιος 3₀ 321 384₀ 1054 ff. 1112 1140 κύδιμε δαῖμον 957₂ κύδιστ' ἀθανάτων 855 κύδιστος 728₀ 950₀ Κύνθιος 919₀ 920₀ 921₀ 922₀ Κύριος Ζβελσοῦρδος 1225 Κύριος Θεός Προγονικός Ζβελσοῦρδος 1225 Κώμυρος 1228 Λαβραδεύς 559 f. 572 Λαβράνιος 598 f. Λαβραῦνδός 1228 Λαβραῦνδιος 962₀ Λαβραῦνδος (Λαμβραῦνδος, Λαβραῦνδος, Λαβραῦνδος (?), Λαβραῦνδος, Λαβραῦνδος (?), Λαβράνδος, Λάβρενδος, Λάβρανδος (?), Λαβρανδεύς, Λαβραδεύς, Λαβρανδητός) 576 f. 585 ff. 585₃ 597 ff. 598₁ 614 663 846 848 884₀₍₁₀₎ 963₇ 1220 1228 Λαβρένδιος 962₀ Labrios (?) 599₅ Labryandius 588₁ Λακεδαίμων 436 Laodiceus (?) 320₀ Laodiceus (?) 320₀ Λαοδικεύς (?) 320₀ Λαοδικηνός (?) 320₀ Λαπέρσιος 599 Larrius 588₁ 599 Λαράσιος 958₀ ff. 962₀ Λαράσιος Σεβαστός Εὐμενής (=Hadrian) 959₀ f. Λαρισαῖος 892₅ 958₀ 1144₂ Λαρίσιος 957₃ f. Λαρισσεύς 893₀ 1144₂ Λατιάριος 941₀ Λάφριος (?) 599 Λαφύστιος in Boiotia 899₁ Λαφύστιος in Thessaly 904₁ 1226 Λέψυρος 962₀ Λίθος (=Iupiter Lapis) 546₀ λιμενοσκόπος 343₀ Λιταῖος 1099 1100₀ Λοφείτης 873 f. 949₃ Λύκαιος 187 761 849 891₃ 927₁ 1013 1092 1105 1167 Λυκώρειος 901₂ 902₀ Μαζεύς (?) 294₀ 570₀ μάκαρ 954₀ 955₀ μακάρων μακάρτατε 337₄ Μαλειαῖος 488₀₍₁₀₎ 890₄ Μάνης 312 312₅ μαντικός 1097₂ μεγαβρόντης 727₃₍₁₁₎ Μέγας 844 f. 350₁ μέγας 295₂ 298₂ 321₁ 342₀ 569₇ 727₃₍₃₎ 925₁ 940₀ 1099₂ 1122₉ 1130₁ 1160 1160₄ μέγας ἀρχὸς πάντων 1028 μέγας βοῦς 345₄ Μέγας Βροντῶν 835₈ 836 μεγασθενής 693₃ Μέγιστος 585₃ Μέγιστε Κούρε... Κρόνιε 931₀ Μέγιστος 807₂ 885₀₍₂₉₎ 956₀ 983₂ 985₁ (?) 1157₅ (?) (See also Μέγιστε Κούρε...Κρόνιε) μέγιστος 728₀ 950₀ Μέγιστος Κεραῦνιος 807₅₍₁₁₎ Μέγιστος Σωτήρ 956₀ Μέγιστος Ἰψιστος 886₀₍₁₀₎ 983₂ Μειλίχιος 291₂ 321 (?) 715 1037 1061 1091 ff. 1154 1155 1156 ff. 1159 f. 1161 1173 ff. 1177₂ Μείλιχος 1149 1160 μείλιχος 1092₃ Μεληνός 280₁ Μελισσαῖος 928₀ 1112₈ Μελίχιος (=Μειλίχιος) 1147 1149 μέσσα 1027 f. 1033₁ Μηδεύς (Μηδινεύς) 312₅ Μήλιος 918₁ Μηλίχιος (=Μειλίχιος) 1156 1157₄ Μηλώσιος 918₁ μητιέτα 1025 1147 μητιέτης 259₀ μητιέεις 716 721₃ 1017 1147 Μητίων (?) 1146 Μηχανεύς 1144₂

Zeus (cont.)

Μιλίχιος (=Μειλίχιος) 1105 1108 1115 1142 1144₃ (?) 1157₁ Μίλιχος (=Μείλιχος) 1151 Μοιραγέτας 231₈ Μοιραγέτης 187₁ 231 1137₀ Μολίο 588₁ Μοννίτιος 723₀ Μόριος 20₄ 502₂ Μυλεύς 260₀ 824₄ 824₉ Νάιος 350₈ 763₁ 826 869₀ 1117 (?) Νάκρασος (?) 714₃ Νεαυλείτης 285₀ 1217 f. Νεικήτωρ 836₃ Νέμειος 259₀ 1143₅ 1186 1187₀ νεφεληγερέτα 723₀ 727₃₍₁₁₎ 950₀ 1177₂ Νικηφόρος (Νεικηφόρος) Κεραῦνιος 1225 νόμου μέτα πάντα κυβερνῶν 855 Νόσιος 317₂ Νωδαῖος (?) 932₁ ξελνιος 1097₂ ξελνιος, δε ξείνοισιν ἄμ' αἰδοίσοισιν ὀπηδεῖ 1097₀ 1101 Ξένιος 260₀ 617 723₀ 727₃₍₁₁₎ 887₀₍₃₁₎ 983₀ 1097₂ 1101 1102₀ 1102₇ 1142 1169₅ 1176₄ 1177₂ 1229 Ξένιος καὶ Φίλιος 1177₂ οἰκοφύλαξ ὄσιων ἀνδρῶν 1125₀ ὄλβιος 337₄ 955₀ ὄλοποιός 1030 Ὀλύβριος or Ὀλύβρις 980₁ Ὀλύμπιος 343₀ 695₀ 723₀ 727₃₍₂₎ 941₀ 1074 1157₀ Ὀλύμπιος at Akragas 911₀ Ὀλύμπιος at Athens 1078 1118 1121₀ 1123 Ὀλύμπιος in Bithynia 815₅ Ὀλύμπιος in Chios 1157₁ Ὀλύμπιος at Corinth 916₀ Ὀλύμπιος at Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191 Ὀλύμπιος at Elis 728₀ Ὀλύμπιος at Ephesos 962₂ Ὀλύμπιος in Lykia 972₁ Ὀλύμπιος in Mysia 953₂ Ὀλύμπιος at Olympia 18 758₀ 761 1188 Ὀλύμπιος at Pergamon 956₀ Ὀλύμπιος at Prousa ad Olympum 964₂ Ὀλύμπιος at Seleukeia Pieria 869₁ Ὀλύμπιος at Syracuse 915₂ 916₀ 917₀ Ὀλύμπιος (=Hadrian) 959₀ Ὀλύμπιος Πεισαῖος 962₀ Ὀμβριος 897₅ 897₆ 898₀ 1226 Ὀμοβοῦλιος 962₀ Ὀμόγνιος 1176₃ 1176₄ 1177₂ Ὀμόγνιος 723₀ 1177₂ Ὀμολώιος 857₆ 900₁ 901₀ 904₄ 1227 Ὀμολῶος 857₆ Ὀμονῶος 857₆ Ὀμόριος (?) 1090 ὁ πᾶς κόσμος 1028 f. Ὀπλόσμος 290₀ Ὀπωρεῦς 1074 Ὀράτριος (=Φράτριος) 342₀ 723₀ Ὀρειος 868 Ὀρέστης (?) 1179 1183₃ Ὀρθώσιος (=Iupiter Stator) 422₁ 708₅ Ὀριος (=Iupiter Terminus or Terminalia) 1090 Ὀρκιος 569₄ 722 722₅ 726 f. 727₃₍₁₁₎ 1176₄ 1177₂ Ὀρκιος 723₀ Ὀρομπάτας 869₀ Ὀσογῶα 578₄₍₃₎ 579₀₍₈₎ (10-12)(14-18)(1-5) 580₀₍₇₎ 598₁ 616₁ 663 715 790₀ 846 963₇ 1220 Ὀσογῶα Ζηνοποσειδῶν (Ζανοποτειδῶν) 578₄₍₂₎₍₄₎ Ὀσογῶα Σωτήρ καὶ Εὐεργέτης τῆς πόλεως 579₀₍₁₃₎ (?) Ὀσογῶα Zeus Ζηνοποσειδῶν 578₄₍₃₎₍₅₋₇₎ 579₀₍₉₎ Ὀσογῶος (?) or Ὀσογῶου (?) 579₀₍₁₁₎₍₁₁₎ Ὀσσαῖος 904₃ ὁ τὰ περὶ τῆς φιλίας ἐπισκοπῶν 1176₅ 1177₀ ὁ (τῆς) φιλίας ἐφορος 1176₅ 1177₀ ὁ τῆς φιλίας προστάτης 1177₀ ὁ τῶν θεῶν κορυφαῖος 1188₇ ὁ τῶν θεῶν ὑπατός τε καὶ ὑπέρτατος 891₀ Ὀτωρκοδέων

Zeus (cont.)

579₀₍₂₎ 580 580₁₀₍₁₎ 581₀₍₅₎₍₁₋₅₎ Οὐ-
δαῖος (=Plouton) 343₀ Οὐράνιος 436
869₁ 1065 1158 Οὐράνιος Ὑψιστος
Σααρναῖος Ἐπήκοος 886₀₍₃₀₎ 983₄ Οὐ-
ριος 707 f. 917₀ 918₀ πᾶ (?) 294₀
570₀ παγγενέτης 1122₉ παγκρατὲς αἰεὶ
855 παγκρατὲς γάνος 931₀ Παγχαῖος
342₀ (?) Παῖς 742 f. 749 826₈ Παλαμ-
ναῖος 260₀ 1097₂ 1098 1098₅ 1099₁
1101 παλαμναίων τιμήρορον ἰκεσιῶν
1097₂ Παλάμνιος 1099₀ πάμμεγας
349₂₀ Πανάμαρος 587 714₃ 963₈ 1195₃
(See also Πανημέριος, Πανήμερος)
πάνδωρος 858 Πανελλήνιος 894₃ 895₀
895₁ 1119₄ 1120₀ Πανημέριος 963₈
Πανήμερος 963₈ (See also Πανάμαρος)
Πανκτήσιος 1067 Πανύχιος 941₀
Πανομφαῖος 1097₂ 1211 Πανόπτης
1130 παντοτινάκτης 1100₁ πάντων
διατάκτωρ καὶ ὄλου τοῦ κόσμου 1023
1051 πανυπέρτατος 321₁ Παπαῖος 292₄
Πάπας or Παπᾶς 292 Παπίας 292₄
Παππῶος 292₄ Παρνήθιος 897₆ πασι-
άναξ 1113₀₍₂₎ Πάσιος 1095₀ πάτερ
(voc.) 271₀ 584₁ 693₃ 728₀ 855₂ 858
922₅ 950₀ 957₂ 1094₀ 1130₁ πάτερ
εἰρήνης βαθυκά[ρπου] 875₁₍₂₎ Πατήρ
836₂ 836₃ πατήρ 1023 1030 πατρα-
λοίας 942₀ Πάτριος 1141 Πατρώος
233 244 280₁ 723₀ 902₂ 950₀ 1066
1095₀ Πατρώος Ἐπιλόφιος (?) 948₄
πανσίλυπος 1123₇ 1124₀ Πεισαῖος 962₀
Πελασγικὸς 960₀ Πελιναῖος 922₄
Περικλύμενος (?) 1075 περίφαντος 1122
Περίφας (?) 1122 Περφερέτας 496₀
1220 Πίκος 697₀ (See further Pikos
who is also Zeus) Πίστιος (=Fidius)
724₀ Πλουτοδότης 251₂ 385₀ πνοιή
πάντων 1027 Πολιεύς 260₀ 869₁ Πο-
λιεύς at Athens 897₂ 897₃ Πολιεύς at
Delphoi 231 Πολιεύς in Kos 238₀
Πολιεύς at Lindos 923₀ Πολιούχος
941₀ πολύξενος (?) 1113₀₍₂₎ πολυξενώ-
τατος 1113₀₍₂₎ πολύσταχυς 295₂ 569₇
Πολύτεχνος (?) 693 πολυώνυμος 855
πόντου ρίζα 1027 Ποτεύς (or Πότης
or Πότις) 285 287₁ Ποτηος (accent
unknown) 285 πρευμενής 1098₄ Προ-
γονικὸς 1225 Προπάτωρ 941₀ προσ-
τρόπαιος (προστροπαῖος) 1097₂ 1098 f.
1099₀ 1101 πρῶτος 1027 f. πυθμὴν
γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερδέκτος
1027 f. Ῥεμβήνοδος (?) 714₃ Σαάξιος
(for Σαάξιος=Σαβάξιος) 284₀ Σααρ-
ναῖος 886₀₍₃₀₎ 983₄ Σαβάξιος 282 285₀
287₂ 664₁ (?) 745₁ 954₀ 957₂ 975₀
1184 1217 Σαουάξιος (=Σαβάξιος)
285₀ 1217 f. Σάραπισ 1171₃ cp. 773₀
(See also Σέραπισ) Σαώτης 599₂ 1151
Σεβαστός (=Hadrian) 959₀ f. σει-
σίχθων 1100₁ Σέραπισ 714₃ (?) (See
also Σάραπισ) Σερεανός 883₀₍₀₎ Ση-
μαλέος 4 897₈ Σημαντικὸς 280₁ σκαται-
βότης (?) 15₁ 1211 Σκύλιος 723₀

Zeus (cont.)

Σκυλοφόρος (=Iupiter Feretrius)
111₀ Σολυμεύς 973₁ f. Σόλυμος 974₀
Σπάλαξος (less probably Σπάλωξος)
1220 Σπάλωξος 587 Στάτωρ (=Iupiter
Stator) 708₅ στεροπηγερέτα 806₈
Στήσιος (=Iupiter Stator) 708₅
Στορπᾶος 815 850 1095₀ Στρατεῖος
591₂ Στρατηγός 707 f. 848 918₀
Στράτιος 111₀ 585 591 591₂ 594 594₈
595 (?) 595₀ 598₁ 705 713 715 722
846 848 884₀₍₀₎ 963₇ 974₁ ff. Συκάσιος
1103 σχέτλιος 727₃₍₁₎ Σώζων 987₀
Σωσίπολις (?) 1151 (cp. i. 58) Σωτήρ
233 292₄ 317₂ 321₁ 343₀ 434₃ 727₃₍₃₎
728₀ 763₁ 884₀₍₀₎ 955₀ 962₀ 970₀ 1121
1123 1129₀ 1133₁ 1141 1142₁ 1144₂
1147 1151 1156₁₃ 1159 1162 1169
1191 1228 f. [Σωτήρ ἅπαν]τος ἀνθρώ-
πων γένο[us] 280₁ [Σωτήρ] τοῦ σύμ-
παντος ἀν[θρωπειοῦ γένους] 280₁ Σω-
τήρ Τέλειος 1123₇ σωτήριος 1123₇
1124₀ Ταλαιός 948₁ Ταλετίτας 890₂
948₁ Ταλλαῖος 948₁ ταμίης πολέμοιο
734₃ Ταουιανός 754₁ Ταρανταῖος 32₃
Τέλειος 1076 f. 1089 1123₇ 1124₀ 1147
1150 1156₁₃ 1159 1162 1163₂ 1175
Τέλειος Σωτήρ 1124₀ Τελεσιουργός
1228 Τελεσφόρος 838 1089 τελεσ-
φόρος 1089 τελέων τελειότατον κράτος
337₄ Τεράστιος 31 1211 Τερμινθεύς
962₀ τερπικέρανος 502₂ 779 ff. 806₈
822 1067 1070 1097₀ Τετράωτος 322
842 Τηρεύς (?) 693 697 Τιμωρός 874₂
1099₀ 1101 τοῦ κατὰ χθονός | Διὸς
νεκρῶν Σωτήρος 1125₀ Τρεφώνιος or
Τροφώνιος 233₀ 794 1061 1073 ff.
1112 Τριφύλιος 1095₀ Τροπαῖος 110₉
111₀ 956₀ Τροπαιούχος 111₀ Τρο-
παιούχος (=Iupiter Feretrius) 111₀
Τροπαιοφόρος (=Iupiter Feretrius)
111₀ Τροφώνιος (See Τρεφώνιος)
Τρώιος 571₈ τῶν περὶ Λάκιον. 1156₁₀
τῶν περὶ Ὀλυμπιδῶρον 1156₁₀ τῶν
περὶ Πολύξενον 1156₁₀ τῶν φιλικῶν
καθηκόντων ἔφορος 1177₀ Ὑδηνός (?)
1227 f. Ὑέτιος 164₅ 164₈ 318₀ 869₁
1144₂ ὑέτιος 276₁ Ὑμήττιος 897₅
Ὑνναρεύς (Ὑνναριεύς?) 987₁ Ὑπατος
163₄ 737 875 890₃ 897₂ 898₁ 898₂
956₂ (?) Ὑπατος 271₀ Ὑπατος βασιλεὺς
διὰ παντός 856 Ὑπατος θεῶν 1125₁
*Ὑπερβερέτας 496₀ ὑπερμενής 1028
Ὑπερφερέτης (=Iupiter Feretrius)
111₀ 496₀ Ὑστατος 1027 f. ὑψιβρεμέτης
830₁ 838 ὑψιδρομον (Pierson cj. ὑψί-
βρομον) πυριαυγέα κόσμον ἐλαύνων
830₁ ὑψίζυγος 830₁ ὑψιμέδων 875₁₍₂₎
907₂ Ὑψιστος 231₈ 293₀ 876 876₁ ff.
891₂ 892₃ 897₃ 898₃ 906₂ 907₁ 922₁
922₂ 953₁ 956₀ (?) 963₂ 963₅₋₉ 983₂
983₄ 983₈ 983₉ 1144₂ Ὑψιστος 890₁
Ὑψιστος Βρονταῖος 834 f. Ὑψιστος καὶ
Ἐπήκοος 885₀₍₂₉₎ 886₀₍₀₎ 983₂ Ὑψιστος
Ἐπόπτης (?) 949₂ Ὑψιστος Μέγιστος

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Zeus (cont.)

sion 987₀ thigh-pieces of oxen burnt for Zeus at Ephesos 962₂ thigh-pieces of oxen burnt for Zeus on Mt Ide in Phrygia 950₀ thigh-pieces of oxen burnt for Zeus at Troy 950₀ throne strown annually in Idaean Cave 934₀ 942₀ cp. 940₀ thunder-making 838 f. 852 934₀ *θυσία ἄπυρος παγκαρπείας* 1058 torch-lighting 1158 uninitiated persons and women may not enter precinct of Zeus Ἰππᾶτος in Paros 875₁₍₅₎ union with Deo and Persephatta at Eleusis 132₂ water from Klepsydra brought daily to sanctuary of Zeus Ἰθωμάτας 890₈ white victims sacrificed to Zeus Ἀκραῖος 871₃₍₁₎ (See also sacrifice of white ox)

Priests: ἀμφίπολος of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος as eponymous magistrate of Syracuse 916₀ ἀρχιερεύς 579₀₍₁₆₎ 973₁ at Adrianoi in Mysia 127 at Dodona go with unwashen feet and sleep on ground 960₀ at Mylasa dedicate temple-columns 580 at Mylasa distinguished citizens priests for life 576 f. *Βεννεῖται* 883₀₍₁₀₎ *ζακόςρος* 921₀ 922₀ head of priest of Zeus Ὀπλῶσις denounces murderer 290₀ *ιερεύς* 578₄ 921₀ 922₀ *ιερεὺς διὰ βίου* 111₀ 616₁ 973₁ 976₀ cp. 576 f. *ιεροποιοί* 921₀ *κλειδοῦχος* 921₀ 922₀ *νεωκόρος* 967₀ 976₀ *νεωκόρος διὰ βίου* 967₀ cp. 1225 *ξυλεύς* at Olympia 471 of Zeus Ἀκραῖος as eponymous magistrate of Magnetes 871₃₍₁₎ of Zeus Βῆλος 128₄ of Zeus Ἰθωμάτας 743 890₈ of Zeus Παῖς 743 of Zeus Τροπαιοῦχος 111₀ Onetor 950₀ ὁ νικῶν κάλλει 742_ε *πατήρ ιερῶν* 1177₃ *Σελλοί* 960₀ Spartan kings 353 *τόμαροι* (*τόμουροι*) 693₃ ὑποφῆται 960₀

Priestesses: buried near temple of Zeus Ὑψιστος 878₀₍₄₎ Diotima 1167 'Fly' at Dodona 215₁ *κανηφόρος* 900₀ *πελειάδες* 350 693₃ *προφῆτις* 214 ff.

Worshippers: akin to Zeus 950₀ Βάκχοι 934₀ Διοσαταβυριασταί 1157₃ Διοσμυλχιασταί 1157₃ ἐρανισταί 1161 θιασῶται 585₃ *ιερόδουλοι* 616₁ *Κουρήτες* 934₀ *Salii* (?) 328 ff. *συνμύσται* 282₁

Personated by Agamemnon 1069 f. Aleos (?) 1147 Amphiaraios 1070 ff. Amphitryon 1072 Antiochos iv Epiphanes 1188 f. Antoninus Pius 101₁ 343₀ Athenian kings 1135 1142 Augustus 97₀ 260₀ Caracalla 1186 1209 Commodus 1185 Cretan prince (?) 522 Domitian 97₀ 1194 cp. 811₅ (fig. 777 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 48, 4, ii. 229) Epopeus (?) 1146 Eumenes i 960₀

Zeus (cont.)

1228 forefather of family 1061 Germanicus Caesar 260₀ Geta 1186 Hadrian 260₀ 280₁ 343₀ 956₀ 959₀ f. 962₂ 1120₀ 1121₀ Ixion (?) 1088 Keyx 1088 king 24 192 192₅ 794 833 897₀ 940₀ 944₀ 945₀ 1061 1065 1069 f. 1070 ff. 1073 f. 1076 1088 ff. 1121 ff. 1159 f. 1185 f. kings descended from Aiolos 1159 kings of Delphoi (?) 192₅ kings of Orchomenos in Boiotia (?) 1150 kings of Sparta (?) 353 kings of Thessaly 1087 ff. kings struck by lightning 24 local champion 1070 Marathon (?) 1146 Minos (?) 940₀ 944₀ 945₀ Minyas (?) 1150 Nero 97₀ 1194 Nerva 1194 Pelops (?) 1147 Perikles 816₁ Periphas 24₄ 1121 ff. Roman emperors 100 ff. 320₀ (?) 1209 Salmonens 24₄ 1088 1122 Simon Magus 726₀ Theophanes 97₀ Trajan 100₆ 1180 1180₄ 1209₅ Xerxes 853₄

Myths: Aetos 933₀ Amphiaraios 1071 Asklepios 23 Auriga 477₇ bids Apollon to serve Admetos 241₄ binds Kronos beneath oak-trees 448₁ 1027 birth of Athena 721₂ 1029 born in a cave of Mt Aigaion 925₁ 932₁ born in a cave of Mt Dikte 928₀ 932₁ 986₀ born in a cave of Mt Ide in Crete (?) 230₈ 932₁ 951₀ born in a cave of Mt Ide in Phrygia 951₀ born at Dios Gonai in Boiotia 961₀ born at Dios Gonai in Lydia 961₀ born on Mt Sipylos 956₂ born on Mt Tmolos 957₂ brings the babe Dionysos to Mt Tmolos 957₂ brought by Kouretes to Idaean Cave 932₁ cp. 928₀ buried in Crete 219 345 556₀ 694₀ 943₀ causes Trojan war 261₁ his chariot followed by procession of souls 63₀ childhood 899₀ chooses the eagle 752₄ comes from Crete to Naxos 187₈

consorts with Aigina d. of Asopos 187₈ 894₃ Aitne 909₀ Amaltheia 229₁ Chaldene 973₁ Danaë 694₀ 1131₁ Demeter 1029 Deo (= Demeter) 132₂ 345₈₍₂₎ Dia 1088 Dione 1029 Europe 187₈ 348 929₀ 947₀ 1131₁ Euryodeia (Euryodia) 1152₄ Hera 343₀ 893₂ 902₁ 950₀ 1020 1029 Hermippe d. of Boiotos 1150 Hesionne d. of Danaos 1150 Hippodameia d. of Danaos 1150₂ Idaia 940₀ Io 961₀ Kalchedonia 973₁ Kallisto 228₄ 228₅ 1217 Lamia 1130 f. Leda 1015₇ 1131₁ Magna Mater 969₄ Manthea (?) 229₁ Medeia 1088 Nemesis 1015 1131₁ Persephatta (= Kore) 132₂ Persephone 1114₀₍₅₎ Phersephone or Kore 1029 Plouto 449₀ Rhea 1029 Semele 187₈ 956₂ one of the Sithnides 897₁ Thaleia

Zeus (cont.)

909₀ Themis 37₁ willow-goddess (?)
947₀

consults Nyx 1029 consults Nyx
and Kronos 1027 creates the world
anew inside himself 1027 deposited
by Typhon in Corycian Cave 449₀
Deukalion builds altar of Zeus
Ἀφείσιος 892₄ Deukalion sacrifices
to Zeus Φύξιος 902₀ Dionysos sewn
up in thigh of Zeus 957₂ Διὸς ἀπάρτη
1020 f. Dirke 1019 drives out Kronos
933₀ 941₀ 942₀ drives Kronos out of
Assyria 693₄ 694₀ Erechtheus 24
794 exiles Apollon to land of
Hyperboreoi 484 493 Flumen 477₇
founds city on Mt Dikte 928₀ 929₀
Ganymedes 188₀ 189₀ 281₄ 933₀
Gigantomachia 752₄ 830₇ gives
Dionysos to Ma to nurse 565₂ gives
golden vine to Tros 281₄ gives ring
to Prometheus 990 golden hound
1227 golden ram 899₁ golden rope
1029 1211 golden vine 281₄ has
Aigokeros or Capricornus for foster-
brother 932₁ 933₀ has sinews of his
hands and feet cut out by Typhon
and hidden in a bear-skin under
the care of Delphyne 228 449₀
Hektor 950₀ helped by Aigokeros or
Capricornus against Titans 933₀
hidden from Kronos by Korybantes
940₀ hidden from Kronos by Kres
928₀ infancy in Dictaeon Cave 928₀
929₀ infancy on Mt Ide in Crete
932₁ infancy on a Phrygian moun-
tain 968₁₋₃ 969₂ Io 782₁ Ixion 1098₄
jars of good and evil 1067 f. Kapa-
neus 23 824 f. Kasios 981₁ Kekrops
founds altar of Zeus Ἰπάρτος 875₁₍₂₎
Korybantes drown cries of infant
Zeus 928₀ Kouretes drown cries of
infant Zeus 928₀ 961₀ 968₁₋₃ leaps
upon Phanes and swallows him 1027
Leda 941₀ lets fall drops of blood,
from which men arise 1032 lets fly
eagles from west and east 179 makes
cosmic mantle 351₁ makes Kronos
drunk on honey 448₁ 1027 Melissa
928₀ Merops 1132₁ mutilated by
Typhon 448₂ mutilates Kronos 448₁
685 1027 nurses transformed into
bears 227 f.

nursed by Adrasteia 933₀ Amal-
theia 928₀ Ithome and Neda 890₆
Nymphs on Mt Ide in Crete 932₁
Rhea 961₀ 968₁₋₃ 969₂

nurtured by bears 928₀ 939₀ bees
928₀ 929₀ 1112₆ doves 928₀ eagle
928₀ goat 928₀ 961₀ 968₀ goat Amal-
theia 932₁ 933₀ pig 928₀

Oidipous 829 Omphalian Plain
190 Ophiuchus 1087 Periphas
1121 ff. Perseus sacrifices to Zeus
Ἀπεσάντιος 892₄ piles Mt Aitne on

Zeus (cont.)

Enkelados 909₀ piles Mt Aitne on
Typhon 909₀ places heart of Dio-
nysos or Zagreus in gypsum image
1031 Polytechnos 693 pounds heart
of Zagreus into potion and gives it
to Semele to drink 1031 prince
slain by wild boar and buried in
Crete 522 cp. 727 *psychostasia*
733 ff. quitting Assyria follows
Kronos and becomes king of Italy
694₀ 943₀ reared by Kouretes on
Mt Dikte 928₀ 929₀ refitted with his
sinews by Hermes and Aigipan
449₀ Rhea gives Kronos stone in-
stead of him 793₈ 901₁ Rhea, preg-
nant with him, is protected against
Kronos by Hopladamos (Hoplo-
damos?) 291₀ Rhea rescues him
from Kronos 928₀ Salmoneus 833
1122 *Seleucides aves* 981₁ Semele
24 ff. 731 ff. (?) succeeds Kronos as
king of Italy 694₀ swallows Metis
12 348₂ Sykeas or Sykeus 1103₈
Thetis 45₁ thrusts Kronos down
below earth and sea 1020 Titans
218 1031 f. 1103₈ transforms Aigo-
keros or Capricornus and his mother
Aix into stars 933₀ transforms Ai-
golios into owl 929₀ transforms
himself into Eros when about to
create the world 316 transforms
Kallisto into bear 228₇ transforms
Keloos the Cretan into green wood-
pecker 929₀ transforms Kerberos
the Cretan into bird 929₀ transforms
Laios the Cretan into blue thrush
929₀ Typhon (Typhoeus) 228 448₂
722₂ 731 826 839₆ 981₁ Ursa Maior
928₀ Ursa Minor 928₀ visits Hera
clandestinely 1020 wraps *aithér*
round the world and ties up the
bundle with golden cord 1029

Metamorphosed into Apollon 228₇ Arte-
mis 228₇ 1217 bear 229 bull 348
449₀ 929₀ 1131₁ 1167₆ cuckoo 893₂
1144₂ eagle 187₈ 228₇ 752 909₀ (?)
941₀ 1133 f. Eros 316 fly 782₁ gold
1131₁ hoopoe 697 1130 f. human
lover 941₀ snake 941₀ 1029 1061
1151 stranger 1096₄ swan 941₀ 1015
1015₇ 1131₁ vulture 909₀ woodpecker
524 693 (?) 693₄

Genealogy: b. of Ouranos 940₀ f. of
Aiakos by Aigina d. of Asopos 894₂
f. of Aphrodite 1029 f. of Apollon
and Artemis by Leto 453 f. of
Apollonios of Tyana 569₄ f. of
Arkas by Kallisto 228₅ f. of Arkei-
sios by Euryodeia (Euryodia) 1152₄
f. of Artemis 164₈ 342₀ 453 f. of
Athena by Koryphe 869₁ cp. i. 155
f. of Attis 294 f. of Atys and Kotys (?)
312 f. of Chryses by Hesione d. of
Danaos 1150₂ f. of Dardanos 8 f.

Zeus (cont.)

of Dionysos 317 1098₀ f. of the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus by Phersephone or Kore 1029 f. of the first three Dioskouroi (Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, Dionysos) by Persephone 1135₄ f. of Epaphos by Io 961₀ f. of Eros by Aphrodite 316₀ f. of Gargaros at (by?) Larissa in Thessaly 950₀ f. of Geraistos and Tainaros 903₁ f. of Helene 343₀ f. of Helene by Leda 1015₇ f. of Helene by Nemesis 1131₁ f. of Herakles 343₀ f. of Hermes 385₀ f. of Horai by Themis 37₁ 94₂ f. of Kairos 859 861 f. of Kastor 437 f. f. of Kastor and Polydeukes, Klytaimestra and Helene, by Leda 1015₇ f. of Kouretes 940₀ f. of Litai 1097₂ 1098₀ 1099₂ 1100₀ f. of Malos 488₀₍₀₎ f. of Manes by Ge 312 f. of Megaros (Megareus) by one of the Sithnides 897₁ 1117₇ f. of Meilinoe(?) or Melinoe(?) by Persephone 1114₀₍₅₎ f. of Metis 348₂ f. of Minos by Europe 8 342₀ 344 929₀ f. of Minos, f. of Deukalion, f. of Idomeneus 793₇ f. of Muses by Mnemosyne 1157₀ f. of Olenos by Hippodameia, d. of Danaos 1150₂ f. of Orchomenos by Hesione, d. of Danaos, or by Hermippe, d. of Boiotos 1149 f. f. of Palikoi by Thaleia, d. of Hephaistos 909₀ f. of Perseus 665₁ f. of Persens by Danaë 694₀ f. of Phaunos 694₀ 943₀ f. of Phersephone or Kore by Rhea or Demeter 1029 f. of Polydeukes 437 f. f. of Solymos by Chaldene 973₁ f. of Solymos by Kalchedonia 973₁ f. of Tainaros 890₅ f. of Tantalos 957₀ f. of Zethos and Amphion 445 f. of Zethos and Amphion by Antiope 1013 gf. of Eros 316₀ h. of Ge 292₄ h. of Hera 584₁ h. of Hera Ζυγία 954₀ h. of Idaia 940₀ h. of Kybele 298 h. of Tyche Ἀγαθή 1104 f. s. of Aither 941₀ s. of Ge 294₀ s. of Kronos 943₀ s. of Kronos by Rhea 941₀ s. and h. of the Mother of the gods 298₂ s. of Phanes 1051 s. of Phanes by Nyx 1026 s. of Rhea 830 1029 youngest child of Rhea 925₁

Functions: aēr 351₀ aithér 557₁ allotments 873₂ all-seeing 258₃ ancestral god of Attic nobility 730₀ ancient king 1135₄ author of days and years 94₂ avenger of impious deeds 1130 bees 1112₆ bright sky 1 840 bringer of a curse 1098 bringer of young folk to maturity 1159 buried king 1139 1142 1159 celestial lights 840 chthonian 18(?) 31(?) 119₀ 233₀ 258₃ 836 893₀ 1058 1105 1107 1113₀₍₂₎ 1117 1118 1124₀ 1125₀ 1125₁ 1126₀

Zeus (cont.)

1131 1142 1149 1150 1155 f. 1157₀ 1159 1161 1169 f. 1175 1178 chthonian (Zeus Οὐδαῖος = Plouton) 343₀ clear air 557₁ clouds 3 corn and wine(?) 1178 cosmic 117 855₂ 1028 f. 1185 cosmic law 855₂ cosmogonic 1230 counsel 317₂ creator of the world 316 1027 crops 1065 1074 1187₀ daylight 436 1013 day-light sky 840 deceased founder of club 1162 deceased kinsman 1163 deceiver 694₀ 695₀ destiny 231 Dionysiac 281 ff. 836 847 852 dispenser of good and evil 1067 f. divinised ancestor 1068 dreams 283₀ 1175 1228 dust 257₄ earth 823 father 292 ff. father of mankind 855 fertility 591 1142 1149 fighter 590 f. figs 291₂(?) 1092 f. 1103 f. 1112 1114 food and drink 754₂ food-supply 434₃ forefather 258₃ forefather of clan 1162 generous giver 321₁ giver of animal and vegetable life 1139 giver of wealth 1065 good tidings 956₀ government 855 ff. guardian of friendship 1176 guardian of harbour 343₀ hail 1 healing 877₀₍₀₎ 1061 hearth 873₂(?) 1149₂₍₁₎(?) holder of scales 734₃ inspirer of orator 1181₀ justice 852 justice and injustice among men and animals 1130₁ law-giver 1095₀ life 352₁ 352₄ 1023 lightning 1 4 385₀ 502 ff. 722 ff. 815 ff. 840 850 f. 954₀ 1146 lot 1148 f. (?) love 1176 magician 258₃ 694₀ 695₀ 1147 mills(?) 260₀ mind 258₃ 1028 f. moisture 351₀ 352₄ moon 840 mountains 554 868 ff. 1149 1179 1183 nourishment 594 oak 570₀ 872₀₍₅₎ oaths 233 569₄ 706 722 ff. 727₃ 849 955₀ 1175 f. observer of right and wrong 1130 1130₁ old corn(?) 295₂ omniscience 763 the one God, of whom all other Gods are but parts and manifestations 855₂ oracular 1061 1073 ff. pantheistic 1027 ff. 1051 πνεῦμα 1023 prayers 1099 preserver of the tribe 1159 primeval power 315 f. protector of the bloodguilty 1098 f. protector of descendants 1130 protector of his people 1159 protector of laws and treaties 723₀ protector of suppliants 1093 1097 f. 1130 protector of suppliants and strangers 1097₀ 1101 providence 764 849 purification 1099 f. 1103 purifier of the bloodguilty 1092 ff. 1104 1112 1114 1143 rain 1 3 4 179(?) 274(?) 275 f. 318₀ 351₀ 591 833 894₁ 897₆ 897₆ 898₀ 941₀ 957₂ re-creator of the world 1033 ruler 731 848 ruler of gods 266 ruler of sky, sea, and earth 893₀ rumour 904₃ sea 663 893₀ sea-

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Zeus (cont.)

with spread wings 1209 in chariot drawn by two eagles 462₀ in chariot drawn by one horse 830 in chariot drawn by two horses 820 823 cp. 285₀ in chariot drawn by four horses 436₁ 825 830₆ 831₁ (See also driving) in *chitón* and *chlamýs* 283₀ in *chitón* and *himátion* 574 577 597 f. 745₀ 745₁ 881₀₍₂₁₎ 887₀₍₀₎ 957₀ colossal 754₁ conical stone 981₀ Dionysiac 1178 double 316 ff. with double axe and sceptre 573 ff. with double axe and spear 574 ff. double bust (with Dionysos) 388 double bust (with Hermes?) 388 double bust (with Sarapis?) 388 double bust (with Satyr) 388 driving chariot 950₀ (See also in chariot) driving two-horsed vehicle 285₀ driving winged chariot 321₁ duplicated on coin (standing and seated) 319 duplicated on gem (both seated) 318 ff. with female breasts 592 ff. 846 1220 (?) fighting Centaur (?) 614 f. four-eared 322 842 fulminant in two-horse chariot 820 851 fulminant in four-horse chariot 825 831₁ fulminant on pillar 45 Gigantomachia 712 f. 777₂ 820 825 831₁ 973₁ gilded eagle 423 with golden bay-wreath 258 with golden bull's-horns 1028 grasping or hurling thunderbolt in (sometimes beside) chariot 831₁ grasping thunderbolt in each hand 722 726 f. Hageladas 741 ff. 749 890₆ 1222 f. hero-feast 1163 holding cult-image in his hand 950₀ 962₂ holding eagle and thunderbolt 741₃ (See also advancing) on horseback 664₁ (?) infant asleep on mountain 961₀ infant carried by Amaltheia (?) 363₁ infant seated on ground 957₂ instructing Apollon 265 introduction of Herakles to Olympos 735 ff. 771 Janiform 322 ff. 326 ff. Janiform head (with Hera) (?) 662 Janiform head (with Hermes) 1219 with *kálathos* 597 f. 597₃ with *kálathos*, double axe, and sceptre 592 with *kálathos*, double axe, and spear 577 593 (?) linked to ground by means of fillets 574 long-haired 573 575 f. (?) Lysippos 45 762 1139₀ 1143₅ 1145₀ Myron 1078 oak-tree 111₀ 570₀ with olive-wreath 323₁ Papylos 1101₃ Pheidias 475₇ 598 757 ff. 849 921₀ (?) 1078 1138₅ pillar capped by pyramid (See pyramid-on-pillar) Polykleitos 1143 f. 1178 Polykleitos the younger (?) 1178 pot 3₀ pouring rain from right hand and holding thunderbolt in left 962₂ *psychostasia* 734₀ 734₃ pursuit of

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- Hero (*cont.*)
 sheep, goat, ox, etc. 989 escapes by giving false name 989 999 escapes by putting on sheep-skin, goat-skin, ox-hide, etc. 989 fated to be slain by his own son 923₀
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