

ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

VOLUME III

PART II

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ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

BY

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VOLUME III

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

χὼ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει

THEOKRITOS 4. 43

PART II

APPENDIXES AND INDEX

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APPENDIX P.

FLOATING ISLANDS.

Floating islands have not yet been made the subject of any monograph¹. But examples of them are given by Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 25. 7 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, and the anonymous author *de aquis mirabilibus* 37 ff. (formerly identified with Sotion (Phot. *bibl.* p. 145 b 28 ff. Bekker) and printed under that name by A. Westermann ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ Brunsvigae 1839 p. 183 ff., but better edited as *Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus* by H. Oehler Tubingae 1913 and cited as such in W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ München 1920 ii. 420f.). Fact and fable are so blended in their accounts that individual cases call for separate consideration:

(1) Aiolos Hippotades lived on a floating island (*Od.* 10. 3 πλωτῇ ἐνὶ νήσῳ as explained by Aristarchos *ap. schol.* H.M.Q.T.V. *Od.* 10. 3, Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 132, 18 f., Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644, 51 ff., cp. Hesych. *s.v.* πλωτή, Phot. *lex. s.v.* πλωτόν, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1523, 18 f., Soud. *s.v.* πλωτῇ νήσος, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* πλωτή, and W. W. Merry *ad loc.*), which was perhaps originally regarded as an island of souls (*supra* p. 109). On it see further K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1032 ff.

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

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

¹ Unless we concede the name to such articles as those by Mary Johnston 'Floating islands, ancient and modern' in the *Classical Weekly* 1925—1926 xix. 58, L. R. Shero 'The Vadimonian Lake and floating islands of Equatorial Africa' *ib.* 1933—1934 xxvii. 51 f., J. W. Spaeth 'More floating islands' *ib.* p. 78, R. M. Geer 'Floating islands once more' *ib.* p. 152 or to such chapters as those of A. Breusing 'Nautisches zu Homeros. 6. ΠΛΩΤΗ ΕΝΙ ΝΗCΩΙ' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1886 xxxii. 85—92 and E. Hawks *The Book of Natural Wonders* London 1932 pp. 192—198 ('Disappearing Islands').

the mouth of the Pontos (Theokr. 22. 27 f., Nikeph. Greg. *hist. Byz.* 5. 4 (i. 134 Schopen)). Apollonios of Rhodes tells how the Argonauts on their outward voyage were warned by Phineus of the two Kyaneai, which were not firmly fixed with roots beneath but constantly clashed together amid boiling surf, and advised by him to send a dove in advance (Ap. Rhod. 2. 317 ff.); how they acted on his advice and saw the rocks shear off the tail-feathers of the bird; how they themselves making a desperate dash just got through, thanks to the helpful hands of Athena, with the loss of the tip of their stern-ornament; and how the rocks thenceforward were rooted fast and remained motionless (*ib.* 2. 549 ff.—a fine piece of writing). It should be observed that Apollonios is careful to distinguish the Kyaneai or Plegades, as he terms them (Ap. Rhod. 2. 596, 2. 645, and *Καύνου κρίους frag.* 5. 4 Powell *ap.* Cramer *anecd. Par.* iv. 16, 1 ff. and Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1285), from the Homeric Planktai. For it is only on the return voyage that he works in an allusion to the Planktai, which are described as having surge at their bases and flame at their tops (Ap. Rhod. 4. 786 ff., 924 ff.) in obvious reference to the Lipari Islands (cp. Ap. Rhod. 3. 41 f. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν (sc. Hephaistos) ἐς χαλκεῶνα καὶ ἄκμονας ἦρι βεβήκει, | νήσοιο πλαγκτῆς εὐρὺν μυχόν with schol. *ad loc.*).

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

The right conclusion is drawn by O. Jessen *loc. cit.*, viz. that both the Planktai and the Kyaneai or Symplegades presuppose the ancient popular belief in a doorway to the Otherworld formed by clashing mountain-walls (T. Waitz *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* Leipzig 1864 iv. 166 the Mexican dead 'hatte aneinander schlagende Berge...zu passiren,' Jülg 'über die griechische Heldensage im Wiederscheine bei den Mongolen' in the *Verh. d. 26. Philologen-versamml. in Würzburg* 1869 p. 64 in the Mongolian saga of Gesser Chan bk 4 'Von da weiterhin kommst du zu einer andern Verwandlung, nämlich zu zwei an einander schlagenden Felswänden; um zwischen denselben durchzukommen, musst du selbst ein Mittel ausfindig machen,' E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*³ London 1891 i. 347 f. the Karens of Burma 'say that in the west there are two massive strata of rocks which are continually opening and shutting, and between these strata the sun descends at sunset,' *ib.* i. 348 f. in an Ottawa tale Iosco and his friends after travelling eastward for years reached the chasm that led to the land of the Sun and Moon; as the sky rose, Iosco and one friend leapt through, but the other two were caught by the sky as it struck the earth, A. Leskien—K. Brugman *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen* Strassburg 1882 p. 550 in a Slovenian tale the hero's mother 'stellt sich krank und will Wasser von zwei zusammenschlagenden Felsen, die aber keine Felsen, sondern Teufel sind, und nur um Mitternacht zwei Minuten schlafen,' *ib.* p. 551 in a similar Slovak tale the mother 'stellt sich krank und verlangt...das Wasser des Lebens und des Todes, das unter zwei Bergen ist, von denen der eine um Mittag, der andere um Mitternacht sich erhebt und gleich wieder zufällt,' *ib.* in a similar tale from Little Russia the mother 'stellt sich krank und schickt den Sohn...nach heilendem und belebendem Wasser zu den zusammenschlagenden Bergen,' W. R. S. Ralston *Russian Folk-tales* London 1873 p. 235 f. cites stories of the

same type. In one 'the hero is sent in search of "a healing and a vivifying water," preserved between two lofty mountains which cleave closely together, except during "two or three minutes" of each day.... "Prince Ivan spurred his heroic steed, flew like a dart between the mountains, dipped two flasks in the waters, and instantly turned back." He himself escapes safe and sound, but the hind legs of his horse are caught between the closing cliffs, and smashed to pieces. The magic waters, of course, soon remedy this temporary inconvenience.... In a similar story from the Ukraine, mention is made of two springs of healing and life-giving water, which are guarded by iron-beaked ravens, and the way to which lies between grinding hills. The Fox and the Hare are sent in quest of the magic fluid. The Fox goes and returns in safety, but the Hare, on her way back, is not in time quite to clear the meeting cliffs, and her tail is jammed in between them. Since that time, hares have had no tails,' M. Gaster *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories* London 1915 p. 263 ff. in a Rumanian tale Floria, sent to fetch the Water of Life and the Water of Death, was helped by a lame stork, which went straight to the mountains that knock against one another, waited—at the advice of a swallow—till noon when they rest for half an hour, then plunged into their depth and filled two bottles, but lost his tail as the mountains closed furiously upon him. And that is why storks have no tails, J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 46 in a Greek tale from Syra (*supra* ii. 1004 ff.) the girl Moon, helped by the bird Dikjeretto, fetched the Water of Life from a spring in a mountain which opened at midday, but had to cut off a piece of her dress that was caught by the closing cleft, *ib.* ii. 280 f. in another tale from Syra, akin to the group noted by Leskien and Brugman (=von Hahn's nineteenth *formula* 'Schwester- oder Mutter-Verrath oder Skyllaformel'), the hero's mother feigns illness and craves for the Water of Life (*ἀθάνατο νερό*): the young man is directed by an old dame, in reality his Fate (*ἦταν ἡ τύχη τοῦ παιδιοῦ*), to a mountain which opens every day at noon and contains many springs; he is guided to the right one by a bee, *ib.* ii. 283 f. in a variant from Vitza in Epeiros the prince's elder sister pretends to be ill and sends him for the Water of Life, which a lame crow obtains from a mountain that opens and shuts, *ib.* i. 238 in a tale from the Zagori district of Epeiros a prince, to win Goldyllocks, must needs fetch the Water of Life from a mountain which opens only for a moment and then shuts to with a snap; he gets it from a helpful raven, who brings it to him in a gourd, *ib.* ii. 194 f. in another tale from Zagori the hero, to win the king's daughter, has to obtain the Water of Life from a mountain which opens and closes again with the speed of lightning; he borrows the wings of a helpful eagle and escapes with filled gourd, R. Köhler in the *Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1871 ii. 1403 f. no. (3) = *id.* *Kleinere Schriften* Weimar 1898 i. 367 f. in a modern Greek tale a king's son sets out to find for his sick father the Water of Immortality (*τ' ἀθάνατο νερό*) 'welches sich am Ende der Welt hinter zwei hohen Bergen befindet, die nach Art der Symplegaden immer auseinandergehen und wieder zusammenstossen' [*...ebensq bei Sakellarios No. 8. Vgl. auch Wenzig Westslaw. Märchenschatz S. 148*]. On the Water of Life see further A. Wünsche *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser* Leipzig 1905 pp. 90—104 ('Das Wasser des Lebens als Zauberbrunnen in den Märchen der Völker'), J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1915 iii. 394—401 ('Das Wasser des Lebens'). A seafaring people might naturally conceive of such a portal as a pair of floating rocks or islets. Thus in a Greenland tale the hero Giviok 'continued paddling until he came in sight of two icebergs, with a narrow passage between them;

and he observed that the passage alternately opened and closed again. He tried to pass the icebergs by paddling round outside them, but they always kept ahead of him; and at length he ventured to go right between them. With great speed and alacrity he pushed on, and had just passed when the bergs closed together, and the stern-point of his kayak got bruised between them' (H. Rink *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo* Edinburgh—London 1875 p. 158 f.). It would, however, be unsafe to infer from this tale that the Planktai were 'an early attempt to reproduce some sailor's story of the floating icebergs' (W. W. Merry on *Od.* 12. 61) and that the Kyaneai or Symplegades presuppose a dim recollection of icebergs in the Black Sea (cp. for the facts E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 6). Both alike are but mariners' versions of the gateway to the Otherworld.

See further F. Wieseler *commentatio de Cyaneis sive Symplegadibus* Gottingae 1879 pp. 1—20, O. Jessen 'Planktai' in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2540—2548, Sir J. G. Frazer in his ed. of Apollodoros London—New York 1921 ii. 355—358 (Append. v 'The Clashing Rocks'), Miss J. R. Bacon *The Voyage of the Argonauts* London 1925 p. 79 f.

(3) As knowledge of the Mediterranean increased there was a tendency to put the clashing rocks further and further afield. Close to the Ceraunian mountains were two rocks which clashed together as often as any trouble threatened the natives (Dionys. *per.* 394 ff. *ἐνθα σφιν τέρας ἄλλο θεοὶ θέσαν· ἀμφὶ γὰρ αἶαν | κείνην ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρηρέδαται δύο πέτραι, | αἷτ' ἄμφω ξυνίασι δονεῦμεναι, εὐτέ τις ἀρχὴ | γίγνεται ἐνναέτησι κυλινδομένοιο κακοῖο* with Eustath. *ad loc.* Tzetz. *chil.* 4. 707 ff. confuses these rocks with the graves of Kadmos and Harmonia noted by Dionysios in the same context): this reads like a bit of genuine folklore and may even be older than the location of the Homeric Planktai in the Lipari Islands. Others, impressed apparently by the fact that Tartessos sounds like Tartaros (Strab. 149), transferred both the Planktai and the Symplegades to the neighbourhood of Gadeira and identified them with the pillars of Herakles (Strab. 170, quoted by Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 64). Others, again, declared that Homer etc. were speaking of rocks that lay between Kilikia (? Lykia A.B.C.) and Pamphylia (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 815—apparently by confusion with the Chelidonides Nesoi: see Ap. Rhod. *Καύνον κτίσις frag.* 5. 3 f. Powell *ap.* Cramer *anecd. Par.* iv. 16, 4 f.).

(4) An oriental analogue to the Planktai may be found in the Ambrosiai Petrai of Tyre. Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 422 ff. relates that, when Dionysos was in Tyre, he enquired of Herakles Ἀστροχίτων how the city came to be. The god replied that he had roused the original earth-born natives from slumber, bidding them build the first ship and cross the sea till they should reach the Ambrosiai Petrai. These were two floating rocks, on which grew an olive in the very centre of the rock. On its topmost boughs they would see an eagle perched and a well-wrought bowl. Fiery sparks sprang from the flaming tree, which, for all that, was not consumed. A snake was coiled about it, but neither hurt nor was hurt by the eagle (467 ff. *εἰσόκε χώρον ἵκουσθε μεμορμένον, ὅππότε δισσαὶ | ἀσταθέες πλώουσιν ἀλήμονες εἰν ἀλὶ πέτραι, | ἄς Φύσις Ἀμβροσίας ἐπεφήμυσεν, αἷς ἐνὶ θάλλει | ἥλικος αὐτόρριζον ὀμόζυγον ἔρνος ἐλαῖης, | πέτρης ὑγροπόροιο μεσόμφαλον· ἀκροτάτους δὲ | αἰετὸν ἀθρήσῃτε παρεδρήσσοντα κορύμβοις | καὶ φιάλην εὖνυκτον· ἀπὸ φλογεροῖο δὲ δένδρου | θαμβαλέους σπινθήρας ἐρέυγεται αὐτόματον πῦρ, | καὶ σέλας ἀφλεγέος περιβόσκειται ἔρνος ἐλαίης· | καὶ φυτὸν ὑψιπέτηλον ἔλιξ ὄφης ἀμφιχορεύει, | κ.τ.λ.). They were to capture the bird and sacrifice it to *Kyanocheites*, pouring its blood as a libation to the sea-roaming hills and to*

Zeus and to the blessed ones. The rock would then stay rooted to the spot, and on both its peaks they would be able to plant their town. This remarkable description is borne out on the one hand by a passage in the novel of Achilleus Tatios, on the other by a modern Palestinian folk-tale.

Ach. Tat. 2. 14 quotes an oracle current among the Byzantines—*νήσος τις πόλις ἐστὶ φυτῶννυμον αἶμα λαχοῦσα, | ἰσθμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πορθμὸν ἐπ' ἡπείρου φέρουσα, | ἐνθ' Ἡφαίστος ἔχων χαίρει γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην*. | κείθι θυηπολίην σε φέρειν κέλομαι Ἡρακλεῖ (cp. *Anth. Pal.* 14. 34)—and explains that the island-city with inhabitants named after trees is Tyre occupied by the Phoinikes. Its isthmus-strait is the narrow neck of land uniting it with the shore, since water flows beneath it. Here, too, Hephaistos in a sense enjoys Athena—witness the sacred precinct in which a flaming fire and an olive-tree are to be seen side by side, the soot of the former positively tending the branches of the latter.

A. J. Wensinck *Tree and Bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia* Amsterdam 1921 p. 45 draws attention to a tale published by H. Schmidt—P. Kahle *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina* Göttingen 1918 p. 146 ff. no. 42, in which it is said of the hero: 'Er kam zu Schäms ed-Duhha und fragte sie nach dem Wasser des Lebens. Da sagte sie: "Hinter dem Garten der Jungfrauen eine Tagereise zwischen zwei Bergen! Wer hinuntersteigt, über dem schlagen die beiden Bergen zusammen. Sein Lebtage ist niemand, der hinunterstieg, wieder herausgekommen. Du aber schöpfe es (das Wasser) von oben aus." Er gelangte dorthin. Da war ein Baum, über dem schwebte ein Vogel, über seinem Wipfel. Er zog sein Schwert und ging auf den Baum zu. Da war dort eine Schlange, die wollte die Brut des Vogels fressen. Sie kam auf ihn zu. Er schlug auf sie ein und tötete sie. Dann band er dem Vogel eine Flasche an den Hals. Der flog hin, füllte die Flasche und flog auf. Und während er aufflog, schlugen die Berge hinter ihm zusammen und rupften ihm den Schwanz und die Flügel. Da nahm jener die Flasche und ging zurück zur Schäms ed-Duhha.' It will be observed that the two clashing mountains, behind which is the Water of Life, the tree, the snake, the helpful bird with the bottle attached to its neck, make up a picture curiously similar to that of the Ambrosiai Petrai as described by Nonnos.

Bronze coins of Tyre, struck by a succession of Roman imperial persons from Caracalla (211—217 A.D.) to Salonina (253—268 A.D.), have for reverse type the **ΑΜΒΡΟCΙΕ ΠΕΤΡΕ** or **ΠΑΙΤΡΕ** (*sic*). These are shown sometimes as two *omphaloi* on separate bases, with an olive-tree growing between them (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 281 no. 430 Gordianus iii pl. 33, 15 = my fig. 783 from a cast, p. 284 no. 442 Trebonianus Gallus, p. 291 no. 473 Valerianus i, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. 328 no. 2241 Elagabalos, p. 330 no. 2255 Aquilia Severa pl. 37, 9, p. 331 no. 2258 Iulia Maesa pl. 37, 11, p. 333 no. 2270 Gordianus iii, p. 340 no. 2302 Volusianus, p. 348 nos. 2349—2351 Gallienus pl. 38, 24 f., W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1854 Asiatic Greece p. 140 f. Elagabalos = my fig. 784 from a cast), sometimes as two *stélai* on a single base, between crescent and star, with a flaming *thymiatérion* on one side and an olive-tree on the other (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 281 no. 429 Gordianus iii pl. 33, 14 = my fig. 785 from a cast, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 270 no. 58 Gordianus iii pl. 77, 9 = my fig. 786, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 334 no. 2271 Gordianus iii pl. 37, 16). Or, again, they appear in the field as a local background. Thus Herakles, with club and lion-skin, pours a libation from a *phiale* over a burning altar, above which are seen the two *stélai*, with streams issuing from their bases (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 281 no. 427

Gordianus iii pl. 33, 13 = my fig. 787 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 321 f. no. 2198 Caracalla pl. 36, 16, p. 330 no. 2253 Aquilia Severa, p. 341 no. 2309 Valerianus i pl. 38, 8, p. 346 no. 2342 Gallienus: p. 341 no. 2308 Valerianus i pl. 38, 7 has trophy in place of altar). Okeanos, reclining, with head-dress of crab's claws, holds in his left hand an oar and extends his right towards the *stélai*, from which streams flow (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 289 no. 464 Valerianus i, p. 296 no. 497 Salonina pl. 35, 5 = my fig. 788 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 347 no. 2343 Gallienus pl. 38, 20).



Fig. 783.



Fig. 784.



Fig. 785.



Fig. 786.



Fig. 787.



Fig. 788.



Fig. 789.

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

These coins enable us to trace the Ambrosiai Petrai back to a date nearly a century earlier than Achilleus Tatios, our earliest literary authority, and some two centuries earlier than Nonnos. As is so often the case, the earliest conception

is the simplest. Here are seen two *omphaloi* or *stélai* with rounded tops, from the base of which streams are flowing. Streams of what? Presumably of *ambrosia*. The rocks, to deserve their name, must themselves be the very source of that elixir (for the Water of Life as honey see e.g. *Kalevala* 15. 377 ff. trans. W. F. Kirby, cp. W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 p. 46 ff., W. Robert—Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione et symbolica et mythologica* Berolini 1893 pp. 85—89, 122—126). I cannot, therefore, agree with Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² iii. 390 'profluente subtus aqua, nimirum quod



Fig. 790.

aqua maris perpetuo humectantur.' Again, the coins give no hint of the eagle and the *phiale*. These are not mentioned before the fifth-century epic of Nonnos and may be an accretion due partly to the popular concept of Zeus as an eagle fed on *ambrosia* from the *phiale* of Ganymedes (e.g. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 115, 190 no. 1, ii. 232 no. 3, iii. 231 no. 2, 370 no. 2, 489 no. 2. I add in fig. 790 a Roman lamp of Augustan date in my possession (scale $\frac{1}{4}$), cp. a similar but smaller lamp with bungled inscription published by R. Kekulé in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 121 f. pl. G, 1, and in pl. lxxix, (1) the relief on a bronze mirror-case of early imperial date from Miletropolis (*Melde*) acquired in 1907 by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (diameter $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches); (2) an exact

replica of it in the collection of the late Dr A. H. Lloyd, Cambridge. On comparison with the *sarcophagus* at Rome (Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 87 pl. 9, 19=Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* ii. 277 f. no. 97 a pl. 24=Reinach *op. cit.* iii. 370 no. 2) it becomes clear that the design is better suited to a circular than to an oblong space. The recumbent female figure, according to Amelung, is 'wohl eine Personification des Berges Ida.' I too should take her to be the Phrygian or Cretan nymph Ide (E. Neustadt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 880), or—less probably—the nymph Ambrosia (K. Wernicke *ib.* i. 1809), from whom Ganymedes has received the bowl. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 546 f., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1599, and P. Friedländer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 748, however, contend that the scene is laid in heaven, not on earth: cp. Val. Flacc. 2. 415 ff.), partly to the fact that in Levantine art of the Graeco-Roman age an eagle on a sacred stone had a solar significance (*supra* i. 603 f. fig. 475, ii. 186 figs. 129 f. See also F. Cumont in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1910 lxii. 119—164, 1911 lxiii. 208—214, republished with modifications and additions in his *Études Syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 35—118 ('L'aigle funéraire d'Hiérapolis et l'apothéose des empereurs'), S. Ronzevalle in the *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale de Beyrouth* 'L'aigle funéraire en Syrie' 1912 v. 2. 117—178, 221—231, L. Deubner 'Die Apotheose des Antoninus Pius' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1912 xxvii. 1—20, Mrs A. Strong *Apotheosis and After Life* London 1915 pp. 181—187). The snake is a further accretion, elsewhere connected with the solar eagle of the Phoenician Ba'al-šamin (*supra* i. 191 f. fig. 138) and comparable with the snake twined round an ovoid stone or *omphalos* on other bronze coins of Tyre (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* pp. cxli, 278 no. 413 Elagabalos pl. 33, 8 = my fig. 791 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 328 no. 2240 Elagabalos pl. 37, 5, p. 339 no. 2296 Trebonianus Gallus pl. 37, 29). This serpent-twined egg appears to have had a cosmic significance: cp. Epikouros *ap.* Epiphan. *panar. haeres.* 1. 8. 1 (i. 294 Dindorf)=H. Diels *Doxogr.* p. 589, 11 ff. εἶναι δὲ ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς φύου δίκην τὸ σύμπαν, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα δρακοντοειδῶς περὶ τὸ φόν ὡς στέφανον ἢ ὡς ζώνην περισφίγγειν τότε τὴν φύσιν. θελήσαν δὲ βιασμῷ τινι ἄκαιρῳ (Diels cj. καὶ σφ cp. Aristot. *de caelo* 4. 6 313 b 5) περισσοτέρῳ σφίγγει τὴν πᾶσαν ὕλην εἶτ' ὅν φύσιν τῶν πάντων, οὕτω διχάσαι μὲν τὰ ὄντα εἰς τὰ δύο ἡμισφαίρια καὶ λοιπὸν ἐκ τούτου τὰ ἅτομα διακεκρίσθαι.



Fig. 791.

It does not appear with certainty on coins that represent the Ambrosiai Petrai (pace J. F. Vaillant *Numismata aerea Imperatorum, Augustorum, et Caesarum, in coloniis, municipiis, et urbibus iure Latii donatis, ex omni modulo percussa* Parisiis 1695 ii. 101 fig., 151 fig., Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² iii. 389, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 828. Sir G. F. Hill wrote to me (April 8, 1926) with regard to the specimens in the British Museum: 'There is something twining (?) round the trunk of the tree between the stones, and I have no reason to suspect either Vaillant or Eckhel...'). Lastly, the fire, which Achilles Tatios makes into a marvel and Nonnos into a miracle, figures on the coins only as a flaming *thymiatérion* or altar. The essential elements, present from the first, are the two rocks, the Water of Life or *ambrosia* that flows from them, and the olive-tree growing between or beside them.

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

very pertinently asks: 'Have these two baetyls any connexion with the two stelae dedicated by "Ousoos" to fire and wind?' Ousoös, the eponym of Ušū or Palaityros (F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 pp. 8, 166 f.), was the brother and rival of Samemroumos or Hypsouranios (*supra* ii. 981 n. 1). If Hypsouranios invented huts made of reeds, grasses, and papyrus, Ousoös invented clothing made of skins from beasts that he had captured. During a violent storm of rain and wind the trees at Tyre, rubbing against one another, kindled a fire and burnt the wood. Ousoös caught hold of a tree, stripped off the branches, and was the first who dared to put to sea. He dedicated two *stélai* to Pyr and Pneuma, worshipped them, and poured as a libation to them the blood of the beasts that he had taken in the chase. When these persons died, the survivors dedicated rods to them and, celebrating a yearly festival for them, worshipped the *stélai* (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 566 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praef. ev.* 1. 10. 10 f. δένδρον δὲ λαβόμενον τὸν Οὔσωον καὶ ἀποκλαδεύσαντα πρῶτον τολμήσαι εἰς θάλατταν ἐμβῆναι· ἀνιερῶσαι δὲ δύο στήλας Πυρὶ καὶ Πνεύματι, καὶ προσκυνῆσαι, αἷμά τε σπένδειν αὐταῖς ἐξ ὧν ἤγγρενε θηρίων. τούτων δὲ τελετησάντων, τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας φησὶ ῥάβδους αὐτοῖς ἀφιερῶσαι, καὶ τὰς στήλας προσκυνεῖν, καὶ τούτοις ἑορτὰς ἄγειν κατ' ἔτος). If, as seems probable, we have here a genuine echo of Phoenician cosmogony (*supra* ii. 1036 ff.), we may reasonably suppose at Tyre an actual cult of two cosmic *stélai* (cp. *supra* ii. 425 f.) later equated with the Ambrosiai Petrai. Hence the abnormal representation of the Petrai on imperial coins as a couple of *stélai*. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 576 n. 5 asserts with confidence: 'Es sind die zwei Masseben, die Usōos...dem Wind und dem Feuer geweiht haben soll; d. h. die beiden Gipfel des Weltenberges, durch die zwei Stelen dargestellt, versinnlichen den Feuer- und den Windpunkt des Jahreskreises (oben S. 451 f.), die winterliche Wassertiefe ist durch das Meer vertreten, auf dem die *δισσαὶ πέτραι* schwimmen. Hinter dem Namen "ambrosische" Felsen steckt hier in Palaityrus natürlich eine semitische Bezeichnung, etwa 'amm bēroth "Mutter der Quellen" oder dgl.'

On this showing there is a close parallelism between the Ambrosiai Petrai of Tyre, perhaps identified with the pillars of Pyr and Pneuma, and the Planktai or Symplegades of Gadeira, certainly identified with the pillars of Herakles (*supra* p. 978 n. o (3)). Even the olive-tree of Tyre reappears at Gadeira (Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 5. 5 p. 167 Kayser ἡ Πυγμαλίωνος δὲ ἐλαία ἡ χρυσή, ἀνάκειται δὲ κακέκηνη ἐς τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ἀξία μὲν, ὥς φασι, καὶ τοῦ θαλλοῦ θανμάζειν, ὃ εἰκασται, θανμάζεσθαι δ' ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ μᾶλλον, βρύνει γὰρ αὐτὸν σμαράγδου λίθου—noted by A. J. Wensinck *op. cit.* p. 19).

(5) Bouto (Boutos, Boutoi), an Egyptian town in the north-western part of the Delta (K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1087 f., H. R. Hall *The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 97 f., F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 903 ff.), gave its name to a neighbouring lake the Boutike Limne (Strab. 802). The town was famous for its cult of Leto, the lake for a floating island called Chembis (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 442 'the Island of Khebit'), which was sacred to Apollon (Hekataios *frag.* 284 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 20 Müller) = *frag.* 305 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 40 Jacoby) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Χέμμυς). According to Herodotos, the lake near the sanctuary at Bouto was deep and wide; the island carried a great temple of Apollon with three altars, besides many palms, fruit-trees, etc.; and the local myth was as follows. When Typhon was searching high and low for the son of Osiris, Leto, one of the eight earliest deities, having

an oracle at Bouto, received Apollon in charge from Isis and hid him for safety in this island (cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 38), which up to that time had been fixed but was thenceforward said to be afloat. Apollon and Artemis were children of Dionysos by Isis, Leto being their nurse and preserver: in Egyptian Apollon was Horos, Demeter was Isis, Artemis was Boubastis (Hdt. 2. 156, cp. Mela 1. 55 Chemmis, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644, 60 f. "Εχεμς). The goddess thus identified by the Greeks with Leto was the Egyptian Bouto, earlier Udô, on whom see K. Sethe *loc. cit.* iii. 1086 f., H. R. Hall *op. cit.* p. 97. Hommel claims that she was originally the chief goddess of Punt and notes an Egyptian folk-tale, dating from the early part of the second millennium B.C., in which the serpent-king of Punt inhabits an Island of Ghosts that can suddenly sink in the waves (F. Hommel *op. cit.* p. 636, cp. *id.* *Die Insel der Seligen in Mythos und Sage der Vorzeit* München 1901 p. 18 ff.). Gruppe regards the Egyptian floating island Chemmis as, 'direkt oder mittelbar,' the source of the Greek floating island Delos (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813 n. 2, cp. *ib.* p. 239). But definite evidence of Egyptian cult in Delos is late (P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du iii^e au i^{er} siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 239 ff., *id.* *Délos colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 249 ff. ('Divinités égyptiennes')).

(6) When Leto was in travail with Apollon, she went round the coasts and islands of the Aegean seeking a home for her future son. No place would accept him save Delos, and even Delos at first feared to do so, since he was like to be a froward and masterful child, who might on seeing the rocky nature of the island overturn it with his feet and sink it in the sea. Such fears were set at rest by Leto, who swore that her son should have his cult established in Delos and honour it for ever (*h. Ap.* 14—88). This passage suggests that Delos was unstable, if not actually afloat—a notion far more clearly expressed by Pindar, who definitely states that the island was driven about by winds and waves till Leto, as her time drew near, set foot upon it: then and there four pillars sprang from the abyss and bore up the rocky isle, where the goddess gave birth to the god (Pind. *frag.* 87+88 Bergk⁴, Schröder *ap.* Theophr. *ap.* Philon. *de incorrupt. mundi* 23 p. 511 Mangey+Strab. 485, schol. *Od.* 10. 3, Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iii. 464, 6 ff., Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644, 54 f., cp. Arrian. *frag.* 73 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 599 f. Müller) *ap.* Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 525, Plout. *de facie in orbe lunae* 6, Sen. *nat. quaest.* 6. 26. 3). L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2462 holds that Pindar in the same context represents Delos as 'vom Himmel gefallen.' That is hardly so. Pindar *loc. cit.* says ἄν τε βροτοί | Δᾶλον κικλήσκουσιν, μάκαρες δ' ἐν 'Ολύμπῳ τηλέφαντον κυανέας χθονὸς ἄστρον—hinting at the old name Ἄσπερία (*supra* i. 543 n. 6) and working it into a metaphor of exceptional beauty (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Sappho und Simonides* Berlin 1913 p. 131 'Hier den Namen Asteria herauszuhören, ist etwas Rätselraten; aber wie grossartig ist die Vorstellung, dass die Erde für den Blick der Götter eine blaue Fläche ist, wie ihr Himmel für uns, auf dem ihnen dann Delos, so klein sie ist, als ein heller Stern lieblich aufleuchtet. Wer an sprachlicher Kunst als solcher Gefallen findet, wird hier ein Juwel, einen seltenen Edelstein in reichster Fassung anerkennen;' etc., quoted by Sir J. E. Sandys *ad loc.*). But the metaphor of the fifth century becomes the myth of the third: ἀλλ' ἄφετος πελάγεσσιν ἐπέπλεες, οὐνομα δ' ἦν σοι | Ἄσπερίη τὸ παλαιόν, ἐπεὶ βαθὺν ἦλαο τάφρον | οὐρανόθεν φεύγουσα Διὸς γάμον ἀστέρι ὕψῃ (Kallim. *h. Del.* 36 ff.).

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

Ov. *her.* 21. 82 ff., *met.* 6. 186 ff., 333 ff., Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 6. 26. 3 f., *Ag.* 384 ff., *H.f.* 15, 457, Petron. *de Delo* 1 ff. (*Poet. Lat. min.* iv. 101 Baehrens), Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 66, Stat. *Ach.* 1. 388, *Theb.* 7. 182 ff., 8. 197 f., Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 1. 701, 3. 439, 7. 182, Paneg. 3. 18 Jäger = 4 (9). 18. 2 Bährens, Claud. 1 in *Prob. et Olyb. cons.* 185, 35 *de rapit. Pros.* 2. 34 f., *carm. min. append.* 2 *laudes Herculis* (p. 1418 Weber). 62 = A. Riese *Anthologia Latina*² Lipsiae 1906 i. 2. 54 *carm.* 494^b. 62, Dracont. 10. 594 f. (*Poet. Lat. min.* v. 214 Baehrens), Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1644, 52 ff., in Dionys. *per.* 561). The fullest form of the tale is that given by Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 73 (= Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 4. 795, 5. 533, and *Ach.* 1. 206, Myth. Vat. 1. 37, 2. 17, 3. 8. 3, cp. Hyg. *fab.* 53, 140, Isid. *orig.* 14. 6. 21 = *Antonini Augusti itinerarium maritimum* p. 527 Wesseling) post vitiatam Latonam Iuppiter cum etiam eius sororem Asterien vitare vellet, illa optavit a diis ut in avem converteretur, versaue in coturnicem est. et cum vellet maria transfretare, quod coturnicem est, adflata a Iove et in lapidem conversa diu sub fluctibus latuit. postea supplicante Iovi Latona levata superferri aquis coepit. haec primo Neptuno et Doridi fuit consecrata. postea, cum Iuno gravidam Pythone inmisso Latonam persequeretur, terris omnibus expulsa, tandem aliquando adplicante se litoribus sorore suscepta est, et illic Dianam primo, post Apollinem peperit. qui statim occiso Pythone ultus est matris iniuriam. sane nata Diana parturienti Apollinem matri dicitur praebeuisse obstetricis officium. unde, cum Diana sit virgo, tamen a parturientibus invocatur. haec namque est Diana, Iuno, Proserpina. nata igitur duo numina terram sibi natalem errare non passa sunt, sed eam duabus insulis religaverunt. etc.

Aristot. *frag.* 446 Rose *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 66 (Solin. 11. 18) thought that Delos was so called because it had appeared suddenly on the surface of the sea—a notion repeated in schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 308 and expanded in *et. mag.* p. 264, 23 ff. Δῆλος· ἡ ἱερὰ (so F. Sylburg for ἡ ἱέρεια codd. F. G. Sturz cj. νῆσος ἱερὰ after Favorin. *lex.* p. 475, 21) τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, εἴρηται ὅτι κρυπτομένην αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ὁ Ζεὺς δῆλῃν ἐποίησε καὶ ἀνέδωκεν ἵνα τέκη ἡ Δητώ (so, or with τέκοι, F. Sylburg for ἵνα ᾗ Δητώ codd. A. Berkel cj. ἵνα ἀνέβῃ Δητώ). Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐρασθεὶς Δημοῦς, τῆς Κοῖου θυγατρὸς ἐνὸς τῶν Τιτάνων καὶ Φοίβης, ἐγκνουν αὐτὴν ἐποίησεν· ἦτις, δεκαμηνίου χρόνου διαγενομένου, παρεγένετο διὰ θαλάσσης εἰς Ἀστέριον (Ἀστερίαν A. B. C.) τὴν νῆσον, μίαν οὖσαν τῶν Κυκλάδων· ἐκεῖ τε ἐλθοῦσα καὶ ἀναμένη δύο φνῶν ἐλαίας καὶ φοίνικος, διδύμους ἀπεκύησε παῖδας Ἀρτεμιν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα· καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐκάλεσε Δῆλον ὅτι ἐξ ἀδήλου βάσεως ἐρριζώθη. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 202 mentions Delos first in a list of islands that had so emerged, and Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 13 supposes that such islands were thrown up by earthquakes of a particular type (*brasmatae*, cp. *brastae* (Apul. *de mund.* 18)).

(7) Delos set the fashion, and Patmos followed it (F. G. Welcker in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1843 ii. 338, *ib.* 1845 iii. 270, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1398, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813 n. 2). An inscription found there and first edited by L. Ross (*Inscriptiones Graecae ineditae* Athenis 1842 ii. 72—74 no. 190) tells how Artemis appointed as her *hydrophoros* a girl named Vera, daughter of the physician Glaukias, who had crossed over from Argos(?), and adds that Patmos the island of Leto's daughter had remained hidden in the depths of the sea till Orestes came from Skythia (?) and established there the cult of the Scythian Artemis (Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 872. 1 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 258. 1 ff. (after R. Bergmann Berolini 1860) ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. αὐτῇ παρθενικῇ ἐλαφ-βόλος ἀρήτειραν | θήκατο κυδ[αλίμ]ην Γ[λα]υκίῳ θύγατρα, | ὕδροφόρον Βήραν Πατνίην παραβώμ' ἐφέξει (Kaibel prints παραβώμια ῥέξει) | σπαιρόντων αἰγῶν ἔμβρυα καλλιθύτων. | [εἶν Ἀργεῖ δ' ἐτράφη γε]ρ[α]ρῇ π[α]ίς, ἥδ' ἐτιθήνης (Kaibel prints ἡ δὲ

τιθήνη) | ἐ[κ γενεῆς Β]ῆ[ρον] ἔκτροφός ἐστι Πάτνος, | νῆσ(σ)ος ἀ[γα]υ[ο]τάτη Λητωίδος
 ἥς προβέβηκε | [β]ένθεσιν [εἰν ἀλῆς] ἔδρανα ῥυομένη· | [εἰς ὅτε μιν Σκυθ]ῆ[η]θεν ἀρήιος
 εἶσεν Ὀρέστis | [ῥυσαμένην στυγερ]ῆς μητροφόνου μανίης· | [κάν] δεκά[τη] κούρη
 θυγ[άτηρ] σοφοῦ ἡγήρος | Γλαυκί[εω] ἢ α]ύλαις Ἀρτέμιδος Σκυθίης, | Αἰγαίου πλεύσασα
 ῥόου δυσχείμερον οἶδμα, | ὄργια κ[αὶ] θαλῆν, ὧς θέμις, ἡγλάϊσεν. εὐτυχῶς. I give the
 passage with all, or almost all, faults; but a fresh inspection of the stone is much
 to be desired). Artemis in Patmos was worshipped as Παρθένος (I. Sakkelion in the
 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1863 p. 260 f. no. 229, 6 ff. τὸ ψήφισμα | τὸδε ἀναγράφαι εἰς στῆλην λιθίνην,
 καὶ | ἀναθεῖναι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Παρθένου· κ.τ.λ.) and as Πατμία (I. Sakkelion *loc.*
cit. p. 261 f. no. 230 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 785, *ib.*³ no. 1152
 [Α]ρτέμιδι Πατμ[ίᾳ] | [ἀ]νέθηκε Ζω[ῆς] | καθ' ὑπνο[υ]ς), cp. the month Ἀρτεμισίων
 (Dittenberger *op. cit.*² no. 681, I, *ib.*³ no. 1068, 1). St Christodoulos (Hagiographi
 Bollandiani *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* Bruxellis 1895 p. 23 f., U. Chevalier
Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge Bio-bibliographie Paris 1905 i.
 916), a native of Nikaia in Bithynia (born 1020 A.D.), is said to have founded the
 monastery of St John the Evangelist in Patmos (1088 A.D.) on the site of a temple
 of Artemis, whose statue he demolished (L. Ross *Reisen auf den griechischen*
Inseln des ägäischen Meeres Stuttgart—Tübingen 1843 ii. 137 n. 12 'Die Legende
 des h. Christodoulos (in vulgärem Griechisch) sagt hierüber: Πρῶτον ἐσόντριψεν ἓνα
 εἶδωλον ὅπου εἶχασι ἐκεῖ μὲ τέχνην πολλὴν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος').

(8) Rhodes was another island that had risen from the sea-bottom. A tale
 already ancient in 464 B.C. said that, when Zeus and the immortals were dividing
 the earth among them, Rhodes lay hidden in the briny depths. Helios, who was
 absent from the division, complained that he was left without a portion. So Zeus
 was about to order a new casting of the lot. The sun-god, however, would not
 suffer it; for, as he declared, he could see a plot of land rising from the bottom
 of the sea and destined to prove fruitful for man and beast. He bade Lachesis
 and Zeus swear that it should be his. Thereupon from the sea sprang the island,
 where Helios wedded Rhodos and begat seven sons, one of whom became the
 father of Ialysos, Kameiros, and Lindos (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 54 ff. with scholl. *ad loc.*).
 Rhodes was thus included in the canonical list of islands that had emerged from
 the sea (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 202, Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 13), and C. Torr *Rhodes in*
Ancient Times Cambridge 1885 p. 152 justifies its inclusion: 'Rhodes certainly
 rose from the sea. The great limestone mass of Mount Atabyros and the lesser
 limestone hills, Akramytis, Elias, Archangelo and Lindos, must once have formed
 a group of islands: and as these were gradually elevated, the lower hills were
 being formed round them by volcanic action. These facts were no doubt beyond
 the Rhodians of the mythopœic age: but the elevated beds of sea shells at the
 base of the hills would readily have suggested the legend.' Perhaps in the
 Hellenistic age Isis, whose temple stood near the city-wall beside the sea
 (Appian. *Mithr.* 27), was believed to have raised the island from the watery
 abyss. That at least would square with the claim made on behalf of the goddess
 in an Isiac hymn of s. i B.C. found in Andros (Lebas—Foucart *Péloponnèse* ii
 no. 1796. 4, 23 ff. = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 1028, 70 ff. = E. Abel *Orphica* Lipsiae—
 Prague 1885 p. 301 h. in *Isim* 158 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 4. 32. 70 ff. =
Inscr. Gr. ins. v. 1 no. 739, 160 ff. νάσως δὲ βαθυνομένας ἀπὸ ριζῶν | ἐς φάος ἐκ
 βυθίας ποτανάγαγον ἰλύος αὐτὰ | ὦρεα καὶ πε[δίω]ν σπορίμαν βάσιν ὀργάδα τ' ἄκραυς |
 στηρικταῖς ἐξαι[ρον] ὑπερτείνουσα, βοαύλοις | μαλοκόμοις θ' ἄδει[αν]. A. H. Krappe
 in *Anglia* Beiblatt 1932 xliii. 256 ff. draws an interesting comparison between
 Pindar's description of Rhodes and James Thomson's *Rule, Britannia* (1740). In
 the former the emergent island becomes the personified Rhodos. In the latter

the same thing happens: the opening lines run 'When Britain first at Heaven's command | Arose from out the azure main,' etc., yet the burden 'Rule, Britannia' and the succeeding stanzas bring the allegorical figure to the fore.

(9) The Strophades, two islets off the coast of Messene to the south of Zakynthos, were originally called the Plotai (Antimachos *frag.* 13 Bergk⁴, 60 Wyss *ap. schol.* Paris. *Ap. Rhod.* 2. 296 ταύτας οὖν φησὶν τὰς νήσους Ἀπολλώνιος Στροφάδας μετὰ ταῦτα κληθῆναι διὰ τὸ ἐκείθεν ὑποστρέψαι τοὺς Βορεάδας καὶ μηκέτι διώκειν αὐτάς. παρὰ Ἀντιμάχου δὲ τοῦτο εἰληφεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ Αὐδῇ περὶ αὐτῶν μέμνηται. ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Στροφάδας φασὶν αὐτὰς κληθῆναι ὅτι ἐν αὐταῖς ὑποστραφέντες οἱ Βορεάδαι ἠῤῥαντο τῷ Διὶ λαβεῖν αὐτάς. κ.τ.λ. (cp. *supra* ii. 907 n. 2), *Ap. Rhod.* 2. 285 νήσοισιν ἐπὶ Πλωτῇσι κυχόντες with *schol. ad loc.* = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1523, 25 ff., *Ap. Rhod.* 2. 296 f. Στροφάδας δὲ μετακλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι | νήσους τοῖο γ' ἔκητι, πάρος Πλωτὰς καλέοντες, *Hyg. fab.* 14 p. 47, 17 ff. quae inhabitant insulas Strophadas in Aegaeo (*sic*) mari, quae Plotae appellantur, *Mela* 2. 110 olim Plotae nunc Strophades, *Plin. nat. hist.* 4. 55 ante Zacynthum xxxv in Eurum ventum Strophades duae, ab aliis Plotae dictae). The names are significant. The two Turning Isles or Floating Isles, haunted by the Harpies (Apollod. 1. 9. 21, Verg. *Aen.* 3. 210 ff., *Hyg. fab.* 19, *alib.*: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 398, 813 n. 8, 846 n. 5), are in all probability an early variant of the Planktai or Symplegades (Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 556 n. 3)—a perilous gateway of the Otherworld.

(10) The same name Plotai was given by Dionysios the geographer to the seven islands of Aiolos in the Sicilian Sea (Dionys. *per.* 465 f. ἐπτα δὲ οἱ ταὶ γ' εἰσὶν, ἐπώνυμοι ἀνδράσι Πλωταί, | οὐνεκα μέσσον ἔχουσι περίπλοον ἀμφιέλικτον with Eustath. and paraphr. *ad loc.*, cp. *schol. Ap. Rhod.* 2. 297 αἱ δὲ Πλωταὶ νῆσοι κεύνται ἐν τῷ Σικελικῷ πελάγει). Homer had made Aiolos live πλωτῇ ἐνὶ νήσῳ (*supra* (1)), and Apollonios had perhaps spoken of Hiera or Lipara as νήσοιο πλωτῆς (so *schol. Flor.* on *Ap. Rhod.* 3. 42 νήσοιο πλαγκτῆς (*supra* (2))).

(11) Theophrastos speaks of Ploades or 'Floating' Islands on the lake of Orchomenos, i.e. Lake Kopais in Boiotia, and compares them with others in the marshes of Egypt, Thesprotis, etc. (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 10. 2 φύεται δὲ ὁ πλείστος (*sc.* ἐλαίαιγρος, 'goat-willow', *salix caprea*) μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πλοάδων νήσων· εἰσὶ γάρ τινες καὶ ἐνταῦθα πλοάδες, ὥσπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ περὶ τὰ ἔλη καὶ ἐν Θεσπρωτίδι καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις λίμναις, 4. 12. 4 τῶν δὲ νήσων τῶν πλοάδων τῶν ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ τὰ μὲν μεγέθη παντοδαπὰ τυγχάνει, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ὅσον τριῶν σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον. ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ μάλιστα μεγάλα σφόδρα συνίσταται, ὥστε καὶ ὅς ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγγίνεσθαι πολλούς, οὓς καὶ κυνηγετοῦσι διαβαίνοντες, Hesych. Πλοάδες τῶν ἐν Ἐρχομενῷ <νήσοι> τινες (so M. Schmidt² for πλοάδες· τῶν ἐπερχομένων τινὲς cod.) οὕτω καλοῦνται, Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 11. 1 καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἰσχυρόν καὶ παχὺν (*sc.* κάλαμον) χαρακίαν τὸν δ' ἕτερον πλόκιμον· καὶ φύεσθαι τὸν μὲν πλόκιμον ἐπὶ τῶν πλοάδων τὸν δὲ χαρακίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κώμυσι = *Plin. nat. hist.* 16. 168 de Orchomenii lacus harundinetis accuratius dici cogit admiratio antiqua. characian vocabant crassiorē firmioremque, plocian (K. L. von Ulrichs cj. *plocimon*) vero subtiliorem, hanc in insulis fluvitantiis natam, illam in ripis exspatiantis lacus). O. Gruppe held that these Boiotian islands were connected with chthonian powers thought to issue from the Underworld in the form of winds (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813). If so, note the belief that reeds used for pipes grew in the lake only at intervals of eight years (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 11. 2 δι' ἐννεατηρίδος = *Plin. nat. hist.* 16. 169 nono...anno). But Gruppe's assumption is gratuitous. We are here dealing with purely natural phenomena. H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Bremen 1840 i. 192 observes

that the river Melas (*Mauropotamos*), which crosses the site of Lake Kopais, is surrounded by black vegetable fens and quotes the peasants of Skripou as saying 'dass das Land am Mauropotamos schwimme.' He identifies these patches of unstable ground with the *πλοάδες* of Theophrastos and the *insulae fluitantes* of Pliny. A. Philippson 'Der Kopais-See in Griechenland und seine Umgebung' in the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 1894 xxix. 39 and Geiger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1348 follow suit. Frazer *Pausanias* v. 120 says: 'The fable was probably told of the islands in the bay of *Tzamalí*, to the north of Orchomenus, whose banks overhung and quaked under the tread, as do the banks of the river Melas in some places.'

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

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

The floating islands of Lydia are composed of light pumice-like stones (Theophrast. *ap.* Sen. *nat. quaestl.* 3. 25. 7 sunt enim multi pumicosi et leves, ex quibus quae constant insulae in Lydia, natant. Theophrastus est auctor). In Lydia the floating islands named Calaminae, which are shifted not only by the winds but by barge-poles in any direction you please, proved a refuge to many during the Mithridatic war (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209 quaedam insulae semper fluctuantur, sicut...in Lydia quae vocantur Calaminae, non ventis solum, sed etiam contis quo libeat impulsae, multorum civium Mithridatico bello salus). Lake Koloë near Sardeis breeds many fish and waterfowl: its floating islands have a deceptive appearance of stability, for they change their position with the winds (anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 39 ἡ κατὰ Σάρδεϊς λίμνη καλουμένη δὲ Κολόη πλήθος μὲν ὄψον πάμπολυ τρέφει· ἔχει δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ νήσους οἰκουμένας πρὸς ἀπάνη· ἐπινηχόνται γάρ· καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνέμων πνοῇ συμμετοικοῦσι· πτηνῶν δὲ τῶν ἐνύδρων τοσοῦτο τρέφει πλῆθος ὥστε καὶ ταριχεύεσθαι).

Varro claimed to have seen in Lydia the Islands of the Nymphs, which at the sound of flutes move out from the bank into the middle of the lake, go circling round, and return to the shore (Varr. *ap.* Mart. Cap. 928 in Lydia Nympharum insulas dici, quas etiam recentior asserentium Varro se vidisse testatur, quae in medium stagnum a continenti procedentes cantu tibiarum primo in circulum motae dehinc ad litora revertuntur). He further states that, when he sacrificed on the shore of the lake, fish came crowding towards the flute-player and the

altar, though nobody ventured to catch them (Varr. *rer. rust.* 3. 17. 4 *loculatas habent piscinas, ubi dispares disclusos habent pisces, quos, proinde ut sacri sint ac sanctiores quam illi in Lydia, quos sacrificanti tibi, Varro, ad tibicinem [graecum] gregatim venisse dicebas ad extremum litus atque aram, quod eos capere auderet nemo, cum eodem tempore insulas Lydorum ibi χορευούσας vidisses, sic hos piscis nemo cocus in ius vocare audet*). Pliny, after his account of the Lydian Calaminae, goes on to say that in the Nymphaeum too are small islands called Saliaræ because, when choruses are sung, they move in time with the beating feet (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209 *sunt et in Nymphaeo parvae, Saliaræ dictæ, quoniam in symphonias cantu ad ictus modulantium pedum moventur*). Elsewhere he asserts, on the authority of Ktesias (?), that the fish in the Lake of the Nymphs are poisonous (Ktesias *frag.* 83 Müller *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 25 *hoc idem et in Lydia in stagno Nympharum tradunt*)—a belief still prevalent with regard to the carp of the Koloë Limne (*supra*).

Strabon mentions the sanctuary of Artemis Κολοηνή, on the Gygaia or Koloë Limne, where 'the baskets' are said to dance on festal days (Strab. 626 *ἐν δὲ σταδίοις τετταράκοντα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως (sc. Sardeis) ἐστὶν ἡ Γυγαία μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγομένη <λίμνη (ἔης. A. Koraës)>, Κολή δ' ὕστερον μετονομασθεῖσα, ὅπου τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Κολοηνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, μεγάλην ἀγαστείαν ἔχον. φασὶ δ' ἐνταῦθα χορεύειν τοὺς καλάθους* (F. E. Ruhkopf, followed by G. Bernhardt and C. Müller, *cj. καλάμους*. E. Müller *cj. κοβάλους. πιθήκους*, a curious variant in *codd. m, s* and *edd. Ald. Cas.*, was altered by C. A. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* Regimontii Prussorum 1829 p. 226 into *πιθάκνας*, but may imply some confusion with *καλλίας*, 'apes,' which A. Westermann would restore to the text) *κατὰ τὰς ἐορτάς, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ποτὲ παραδοξολογούντες μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθεύοντες* = Eustath. *in Il.* p. 365, 46 ff.).

Lastly, according to Isigonos the paradoxographer of Nikaia, whose *floruit* probably falls in s. i A.D. (W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 2082, *cp. W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ ii. 1. 420 n. 5), in Lydia there is a lake called Tala (?) sacred to the Nymphs. It bears a multitude of reeds and in their midst one that the natives term king. A yearly festival is held, at which sacrifices are offered and a chorus sounds on the shore of the lake. Thereupon all the reeds dance, and the king dancing with them comes to the shore. The natives wreath him with fillets and send him off, praying that both he and they may come again another year; that is their sign of a fertile season (Isigonos *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 436 Müller) *ap. anon. de aquis mirabilibus* 43 *ἐν Λυδία ἔστι λίμνη Τάλα μὲν* (C. Müller, followed by L. Büchner, *cj. Καλαμίνη*. But *cp. Il.* 2. 865 *ὔϊε Ταλαιμένεος, τῷ Γυγαίῃ τέκε λίμνη*, where *Ταλαιμένης* may be a Greek adaptation of the Lydian name) *καλουμένη, ἱερὰ δὲ οἶσα νυμφῶν, ἣ φέρει καλάμων* (A. Westermann *cj. καλλιῶν* (?)) *πλήθος ἄφθονον καὶ μέσον αὐτῶν ἕνα, ὃν βασιλεία προσαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. θυσίας δὲ καὶ ἐορτάς ἐπιτελοῦντες ἐνιαυσίους ἐξιλάσκονται. τούτων δὲ ἐπιτελουμένων, ἐπειδὰν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡῖνος κτύπος συμφωνίας γένηται, πάντες οἱ κάλαμοι χορεύουσι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς χορεύων παραγίνεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡῖονα. οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι ταινίας αὐτὸν καταστέψαντες ἀποπέμπουσιν, εὐχόμενοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ αὐτὸν τε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς παραγενέσθαι, ὥς εὐετηρίας ὄντι σημεῖον* (F. Syllburg *cj. ὅν τι σημείον*). *ὥς ἱστορεῖ Ἰσίγονος ἐν δευτέρῳ ἀπίστων*).

Isigonos' work was entitled *Ἀπίστα*, but his statements here are by no means incredible and may easily be reconciled with those of our other sources. Artemis Κολοηνή (on whom see Scherling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1108 f.) had a temple on a hill close to the southern shore of the lake: its ruins

are still to be seen, including walls of great basalt blocks, three Doric columns of weather-worn marble only 6 ft (?) high, and huge stone slabs with reliefs of an archer in a pointed cap, a lion's head, etc. (E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 152, von Olfers 'Über die Lydischen Königsgräber bei Sardes und den Grabhügel des Alyattes' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1858 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 542 pl. 1 = Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* v. 267 fig. 157). Her cult involved a yearly festival, at which a dance known as *οἱ κάλαθοι*, 'the baskets,' took place. The beating feet of the dancers communicated their vibration to the floating reed-mats of the lake and set them in motion. The reeds eddying round appeared to share in the dance. The tallest reed, called *βασιλεύς* by the countryfolk, would in time be drifted inshore, decorated by the worshippers, and pushed off into the lake again. The successful performance of this little ceremony was deemed a happy omen. The crowd at the lake-side and the prospect of altar-scrap would be quite enough to attract the carp. Naturally the fish were sacred to Artemis of the lake (see e.g. the large Boeotian amphora, found near Thebes, which represents Artemis with a fish on her robe (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 108 f. no. 462, figured by P. Wolters in the *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1892 p. 219 ff. pl. 10, 1 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 517, 2, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 40 f. fig. 30, R. Eisler *Orpheus—the Fisher* London 1921 p. 260 f. pl. 64, 1 (wrongly described), F. J. Dölger *ΙΧΘΥΣ* Münster in Westf. 1922 ii. 179 f., iii pl. 12, 2), and the facts cited by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1295 n. 1, 1536 n. 2, 1585 n. 2) and the reed-islands would be connected with her attendant Nymphs. The whole story is consistent and credible. After all, Varro was no visionary and Strabon is a serious authority.

A point of interest remains. The dance *κάλαθος* is mentioned elsewhere in the diminutive form *καλαθίσκος*. Apollonophanes, an early comedian, coupled it with the pirouette (Apollonoph. *frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 879 Meineke) *αφ. Athen.* 467 F (δεῖνος) ἔστι καὶ γένος ὀρχήσεως, ὡς Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν Δαλίδι παρίστησιν οὕτως· 'δεῖνόν τι δέινος (so J. Schweighäuser for δέινος τι δεινός cod. A. J. G. J. Hermann cj. δίνος γε δεινός) καὶ καλαθίσκος οὕτως·' (K. W. Dindorf would write ἔστι καὶ γένος ὀρχήσεως τι δέινος, ὡς Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν Δαλίδι παρίστησιν οὕτως· 'δέινος καὶ καλαθίσκος,' regarding οὕτως as a repetition of οὕτως, and various later writers mention it in a tragic (satyric?) connexion (Poll. 4. 105 καὶ μὴν τραγικῆς ὀρχήσεως σχήματα σιμὴ χεῖρ, καλαθίσκος, χεῖρ καταπρανῆς, ξύλου παράληψις, διπλῇ, θερμανστρίς, κυβίστησις, παραβῆναι τέτταρα, Athen. 629 F σχήματα δ' ἐστὶν ὀρχήσεως ξιφισμός, καλαθισμός (K. W. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 859 D cj. καλαθίσκος), καλλαβίδες, σκόψ, σκόπευμα, 630 A θερμανστρίς, ἑκατερίδες, σκοπός, χεῖρ καταπρηνῆς, χεῖρ σιμή, διποδισμός, ξύλου παράληψις, ἐπαγκωνισμός, καλαθίσκος (so codd. A. B. καλαθισμός cod. P. edd. Ald. Casaub.), στρόβιλος).

It should be carefully distinguished from the *κάλαθος* or ritual basket used in the cult of Demeter at Eleusis (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 21. 2 p. 16, 18 ff. Stählin *κάστι τὸ σύνθημα Ἑλευσινίων μυστηρίων· ἐνήστευσα, ἔπιον τὸν κυκεῶνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ κίστης, ἐργασάμενος ἀπεθέμην εἰς κύλαθον καὶ ἐκ καλάθου εἰς κίστην*,' on which formula see A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*² Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 125 f. and S. Angus *The Mystery-Religions and Christianity* London 1925 p. 115), Athens, Alexandria (Kallim. *h. Dem.* 1 ff. τῷ καλάθῳ κατιόντος ἐπιφθέγγασθε, γυναικες, | 'Δάματερ, μέγα χαῖρε, πολυντρόφε πουλυμέδμνε.' | τὸν καλάθον κατιόντα χαμαὶ θασείσθε, βέβαλοι, | κ.τ.λ. with schol. *ad loc.* ὁ Φιλάδελφος Προλεμαῖος κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἔθι τινὰ ἱδρυσεν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὴν τοῦ καλάθου πρόοδον. ἔθος γὰρ ἦν ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐν ὠρισμένῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ ὀχήματος φέρεσθαι καλάθιον

(κάλαθον cod. E) εἰς τιμὴν τῆς Δήμητρος. Variants in the text of Kallimachos are attested by Elias in *Aristotelis categorias* 27 a 24 ff. (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* xviii. 1. 125, 7 ff. Busse) καὶ τὸ Καλλιμάχειον ἐκείνο 'τὸν κάλαθον κατιόντα χαμαὶ δέρκεσθε, γυναικες, | μηδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγεος μηδ' ὑψόθεν αὐγάσασθε (αὐγάσσησθε Kallim.)' and by schol. Plat. *symph.* 218 B (960 b 47 f. ed. Turic.) ἐντεῖθεν παρῶδῃσε Καλλιμάχος ἐν ὕμνῳ Δήμητρος καλάθου τὸ 'θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι.' *Ib.* 121 ff. χῶς αἱ τὸν κάλαθον λευκότριχες ἵπποι ἄγοντι | τέσσαρες, ὥς ἅμιν μεγάλα θεὸς εὐρύ-
 ἀνασσα | λευκὸν ἔαρ λευκὸν δὲ θέρος καὶ χεῖμα φέρουσα | ἥξει καὶ φθινόπωρον, ἔτος δ' εἰς ἄλλο φυλαξεῖ. Bronze coins of Alexandria show a *kálathos* containing corn-
 ears and poppy-heads (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 66 no. 551 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 95 no. 931 pl. 16=my fig. 792 Trajan), sometimes bound with
 a wreath of flowers and flanked by two torches with snakes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 4 no. 29 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 939 pl. 17=my



Fig. 792.



Fig. 793.



Fig. 794.



Fig. 795.



Fig. 796.



Fig. 797.

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

Trajan, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 456 no. 390 pl. 87, 24=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 937 pl. 16=my fig. 802 Hadrian)), and *Darmara* near Theira in the valley of the Kaystros (K. Buresch in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1895 xx. 241 f. and A. Fontrier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 538 f. ΟΙΚΑ---..... | Πό(πλιον) Αἶλιον Μενεκράτην | τῇ ἱερατεία τῆς Δήμητρος | ἀνεένκαντα καὶ καθιερώ[σ]αντα κάλαθον περιάργυρον, | τὸν λείποντα τοῖς τῆς Δήμητρος μυστηρίοις καὶ τῷ προκαθημένῳ τῆς κόμης Μηνὶ ση|μῖαν ('effigy') περιάργυρον τὴν προπομπεύσασαν τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτοῦ. διὰ τε τοῦτο καθιέρωσεν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης | εἰς τὰς ἐπιθυσίας τῆς Δήμητρος τὰ πρὸ τῆς [οἰ]κίας ἐργαστήρια εἰς τὸ [κα(τ')] ἐνιαυτὸν | ἕκαστον τῇ



Fig. 798.



Fig. 799.



Fig. 800.



Fig. 801.

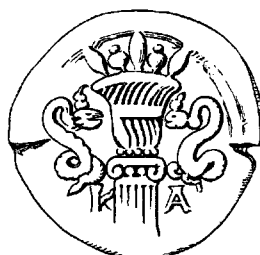


Fig. 802.

τοῦ καλάθου | ἀναφορᾷ τοὺς κληρωθέντας εἰς τὴν πομπὴν ἄνδρας | μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων προθύοντας εὐωχεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ | οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ | βίου. | ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος τῆς κατοικίας | Δ(ουκίου) Βερίου Βάσσου φιλοσεβάστου καὶ | τῶν συναρχόντων αὐτοῦ, cp. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 352 n. 2). K. Latte *De saltationibus Graecorum* Giessen 1913 p. 82 cites also Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1627, 49 f. καλάθους, ὅποιοι καὶ οἱ τῆς Δήμητρος, αὐς ὀρχεῖσθαι μῦθος ἔν τινι τελετῇ Δημητρεϊακῇ, but fails to perceive that Eustathios is merely confusing the Lydian dance with the rites of Demeter as described by Kallimachos (Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1208, 38 f., *in Od.* p. 1488, 60 f.). More to our purpose is Usener's discovery that in Bithynia a certain yearly festival was known as ὁ καλάθος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος (H. Usener 'Übersehenes' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1895 l. 145 f. (= *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 195) quoting *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Iunius iii. 343 B—C Kallinikos *vita s. Hypatii* presb., monasterii Rufinianarum prope Chalcedonem in Bithynia hegumeni (died 30 June 446 A.D., commemorated June 17) 70= *de vita s. Hypatii* 129 f. p. 96 f. edd. seminarii philologorum Bonnensis sodales ποτὲ δὲ γέγονεν αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν ἀδελφῶν εἰς τὴν ἔνδον χώραν τῶν Βιθυνῶν

ὅπου καὶ ὁ Ῥήβας ἐστὶ ποταμός. καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκεῖνον, ὅπερ λέγουσιν, ὁ κάλαθος τῆς μουσερᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος· ὅπερ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἡ χώρα φυλάττουσα, οὐκ ἐξήρχοντο εἰς μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἡμέρας πενήκοντα. αὐτοῦ δὲ βουλομένου ὁδεύειν ἔλεγον αὐτῷ οἱ ἐντόπιοι· 'ποῦ ἀπέρχῃ, ἄνθρωπε; ὁ δαίμων σοι ἔχει ἀπαντῆσαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. μὴ ὁδεύσης· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐπηρεάσθησαν.' ὁ δὲ Ὑπάτιος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐμειδίασε λέγων· 'ὑμεῖς ταῦτα φοβεῖσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχω τὸν συνοδεύοντά μοι Χριστόν.' ἐν τῷ οὖν ὁδεύειν αὐτὸν θαρσαλέως (θαρσαλέως codd.) ἦν· δίκαιος γὰρ ὡς λέων πέποιθεν (Prov. 28. 1). ἀπήντησε δὲ αὐτῷ γυνὴ μακρέα (H. Usener cj. μακραιά? The Bollandists print μακρά) ὡς δέκα ἀνδρῶν τὸ μήκος. νήθουσά τε περιεπάτει καὶ χοίρους ἔβοσκεν. ὡς οὖν εἶδεν αὐτήν, εὐθὺς ἐάντὸν ἐσφράγισεν καὶ ἔστη εὐχόμενος τῷ θεῷ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκείνη ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ χοῖροι μεγάλῳ ῥοίῳ ἐφυγον, καὶ διήλθεν ἀβλαβής)—a fact which Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 255 justly connects with another Bithynian festival, the κάλαθος-procession of Kios (A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv, 413 ff. no. 13 on a marble *stèle* near the sea at *Gemlik*, the ancient Kios or Prousius, in lettering hardly later than 100 A.D. and perhaps as early as s. i. B.C. [---i] | λασσομέν[αις ἱερεῦς] | δαιτρ(ε)υέτω ἀνὴρ· πᾶσαι ἀνιδίποδες (W. Kroll, followed by A. Körte, cj. ἀνειλίποδες 'with no trailing feet, with active feet,' and M. P. Nilsson cj. ἀνιπτόποδες 'with unwashed feet,' cp. *supra* ii. 959 f.; but K. Latte rightly restores ἀνηλίποδες 'with unshod feet,' cp. Theokr. 4. 56 where all codd. give ἀνήλιπος or ἀνάλιπος except cod. k νήλιπος) τε [κα] | (ε)ῖμασι | φαιδρυνθ(ε)ῖσαι τῷ καλῷθφ συνέπεσθε, τὰ δὲ | χρύσ(ε)ια θέρ' οἴκοις· δηρ[ό]θι γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἐχθραίνει το[ῖ]σιν δὲ προσα[ν]δᾶ ('of old she (?) hates trinkets and welcomes simple garb,' cp. e.g. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 736, 15 f., 22 Andania, no. 999, 2 ff. Lykosoura). The contents of these ritual baskets were almost certainly sexual emblems (*phallós? ktets?*), cp. the Cabiric basket in Phrygia and Etruria (*supra* i. 107 f., ii. 299).

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

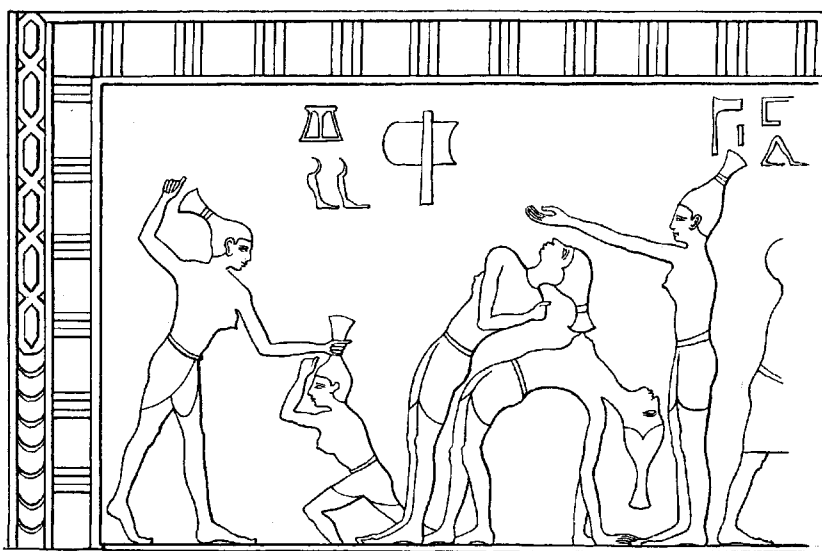


Fig. 803.

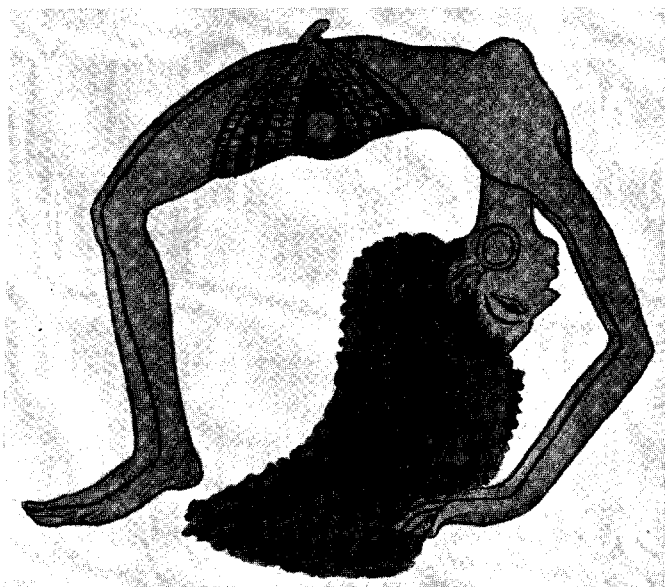


Fig. 804.

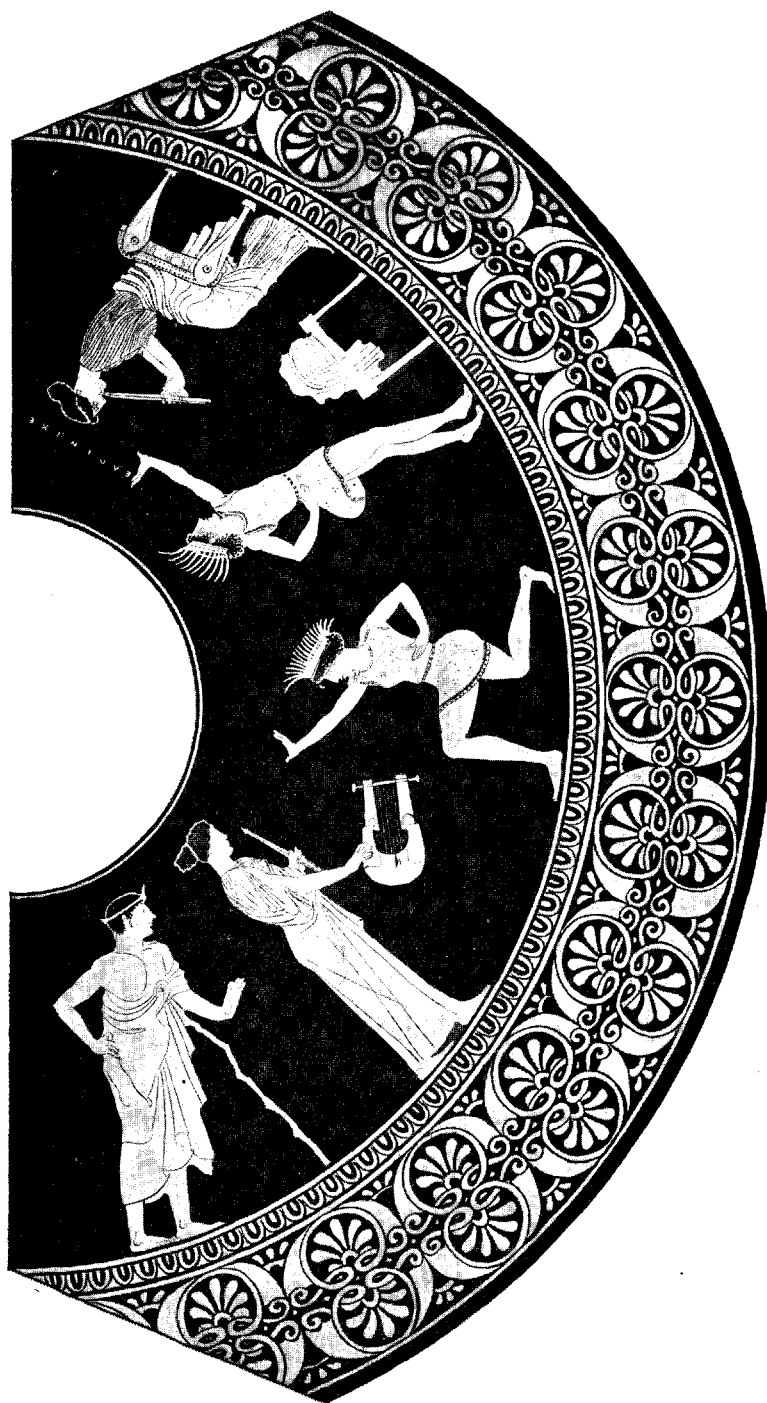


Fig. 805.

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

The earliest ceramic example of *kalathiskos*-dancers occurs on a red-figured *hydria* from Nola, now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamm. Neapel* p. 531 ff. no. 3232), which may be dated *c.* 450—440 B.C. (C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 319 ff. figs. 151—154 pl. 171, 1 (= my fig. 805)). It is decorated with four groups of female dancers and acrobats. The section of the shoulder-frieze here reproduced shows, on the right, a seated flute-player (ΕΛΠΙΝΙΚΕ), before whom on tip-toe pirouettes a dancing-girl (... ΓΟΝΕ) with hand outstretched in the gesture known as *σιμὴ χεῖρ* (Poll. 4. 105 *τραγικῆς ὀρχήσεως σχήματα σιμὴ χεῖρ, καλαθίσκος, χεῖρ καταπρανῆς, κ.τ.λ.*, Hesych. *σιμὴ χεῖρ*· σχῆμα τραγικόν). To the left of her, a second dancing-girl sinks on her knee, to show that her performance is finished. The musician who has accompanied her lays aside the double flutes and takes up a *kithára*. Behind her stands an interested youth leaning on his staff. Each dancer wears a short *chiton* and a high crown of leaves painted white. A volute-*kratér* from Ceglie, now at Taranto, of early south-Italian style (P. Willeumier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 197—202 and at greater length *ib.* 1933 ii. 3—30 with figs. 1—7, of which fig. 4 = my fig. 806. I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for the photographs of detail reproduced in my pl. lxxi, (1)—(3)), represents the following subjects: *A.* Dionysos (*nárthex, kántharos*) seated on a rock between a dancing Maenad (*thýrsos*) and a flute-girl (long *chiton*) on the left, a female torch-bearer (short *chiton* with sleeves, *nebris, endromides*) and a bearded Satyr (*thýrsos*) on the right. *B.* (1) Perseus

dangling the Gorgon's head before five bearded Satyrs in dance-attitudes—apparently a scene from Satyric drama. (2) A square pillar inscribed ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΣ (*i.e.* Apollon *Kárneios* in south-Italian aniconic form: cp. *supra* i. 36 ff. pl. iii, ii. 815 fig. 781), to the right of which is a group of *kalathiskos*-dancers. One is about to put on his basket as ritual head-dress (cp. the figure in the lower left-hand corner of the *pelike* from Ruvo, wrongly interpreted by me *supra* i. 128 pl. xii). A second, crowned with palm-leaves (Sosibios of Sparta *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller) = *frag.* 2 Tresp *ap.* Athen. 678 B Θυρεατικοί· οὕτω καλοῦνται τινες στέφανοι παρά Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ θυσιῶν, ψιλίνους (cp. Hesych. *σ.υ.ν.* ψιλίον, ψιλὸς στέφανος) αὐτοὺς φάσκων νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι, ὄντας ἐκ φοινίκων. φέρειν δ' αὐτοὺς ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐν

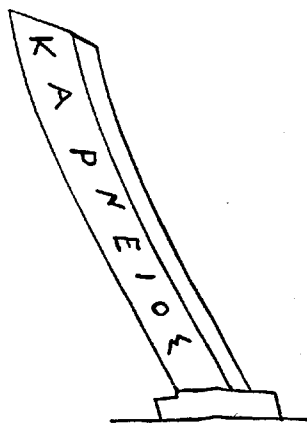


Fig. 806.

Θυρέα γενομένης νίκης τοὺς προστάτας τῶν ἀγομένων χορῶν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ, ὅτε καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαίδας ἐπιτελοῦσιν. κ.τ.λ.), holds an *arýballos* with straps, as he stands between a basin and a draped flute-player (flutes, *phorbeíd*). A third and fourth are dancing, the former decked with palm-leaf crown, the latter dressed as a girl with basket on head and ballooning *chitón*. A fifth, also wearing the basket, stands engaged in talk with a spectator. Mr Trendall compares an unpublished *kályx-kratér* from *Scoglitti* near Kamarina, now at Syracuse (no. 14626), which shows: *A*. A woman and a youth with basket



Fig. 807.

head-dress. *B*. Two draped youths. 'The main scene is framed between two Ionic columns. The woman is elaborately draped, and holds up her hands as if to catch something thrown to her by the boy. He is nude with the large basket (in applied yellow, which has worn off) on his head, as on the Taranto Karneia-krater.' Again, a bell-*kratér* of early south-Italian style, purchased in Rome and now at Leyden (A. E. J. Holwerda *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*. Afdeeling Griekenland en Italie. 1 Deel: Vaatwerk. Leiden 1905 i. 104 no. 28), has for obverse design a girl in a short *chitón* dancing between two naked youths. All three wear spreading *kálathoi* formed of reeds (?) arranged like rays. Two wreaths are hung in the background, and the scene is enclosed by a pair of simple pillars (V. K. Müller *Der Polos*,

die griechische Götterkrone Berlin 1915 p. 83 n. 3 pls. 6 and 7. My fig. 807 is from a photograph supplied by Mr Trendall. This must be the vase from Gnathia (*Fasano*) formerly owned by R. Barone and partially published by G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* Nuova Serie 1854 ii. 184 pl. 14 facing head



Fig. 808.

of dancer only). Another bell-*kratér* of the same style, from Ruvo(?), now in the South Kensington Museum, and attributed by Miss Moon (Mrs Oakeshott) to 'the Sisyphus painter,' represents a similar scene—two naked youths wearing spread *kálathoi* of reeds (?) and gesticulating as they dance on either side of a bearded flute-player in a long *chitón* (Noël Moon in *Papers of the British*

School at Rome 1929 xi. 30 ff. pl. 12 (=my fig. 808), C. Dugas in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1931 xliv. 101 with fig. 6). Mrs Oakeshott *loc. cit.* notes another bell-*kratér* by the same hand and exhibiting the same subject in the collection of Dr A. Ruesch at Zürich (*Ruesch Sale Catalogue* 1936 no. 14 pl. 22. The vase is now in the Wolfensperger Collection, 23 Maienburgweg, Zürich. My fig. 809 is from a photograph kindly lent by Mrs Oakeshott): the man in the centre here pirouettes. Similarly on a red-figured bell-*kratér* at Berlin (inv. no. 3326), which A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1895 x Arch.

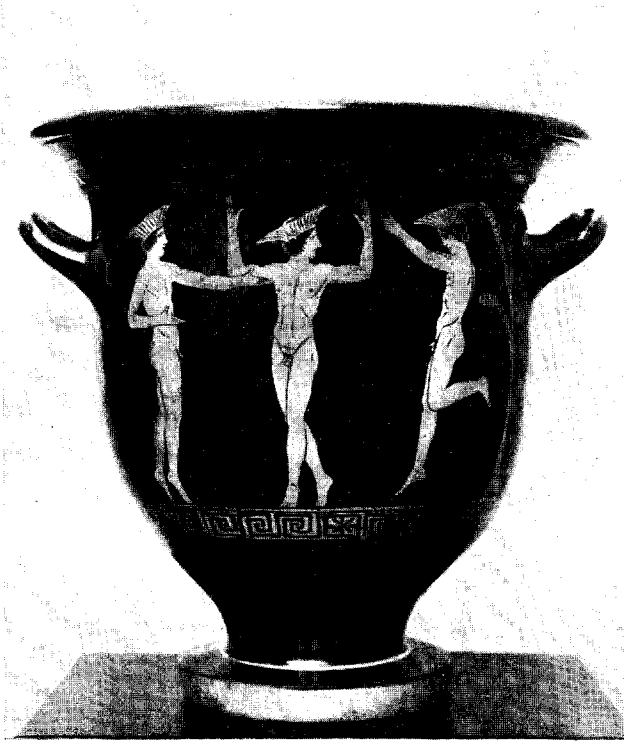


Fig. 809.

Anz. p. 39 f. fig. 16 (inadequate) describes as being 'in schöner Zeichnung der Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges' and R. Zahn in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 193 n. 84 calls 'attischen,' but C. Watzinger *ib.* iii. 323 takes to be 'wohl eher böotischen als attischen....aus der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts,' a girl wearing a short *chiton* of foldless embroidered stuff suggestive of barbaric (? Lydian) attire and the reed-crown of a *kalathiskos*-dancer capers before young Dionysos, who is sitting on a broad three-stepped base or platform. Eros, leaning against his shoulder, points to the lively dancer. Behind her, an Ionic column painted white implies a sanctuary; and beyond it stands a Maenad equipped with *nebris*, *thyrsos*, and large *tympanon* (K. Latte *De saltationibus Graecorum* Giessen 1913 p. 57, like Furtwängler, thought it a

shield). The best available illustration of this ritual scene is a photographic cut in H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1925 i. 122. With it should be compared a bell-*kratér* of Paestum style in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 97 no. F 188, P. F. H. d'Hancarville *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines, tirées du cabinet de M. Hamilton* Naples 1767 iv col. pl. 118, *Corp. vas. ant.* Brit. Mus. iv E. a pl. 2, 3 a and 3 b with text p. 4 by A. H. Smith and F. N. Pryce), on which the youthful Dionysos holds out fruit to a male *kalathiskos*-dancer performing before him (my fig. 810 is from the official photograph), and an Apulian bell-*kratér* from Rugge at Berlin (B. Schröder in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1909 xxiv. 119 fig. 6), on which is a male dancer of like aspect.



Fig. 810.

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

Other early examples of the *motif* are to be found among the limestone reliefs of c. 420—410 B.C. that decorate the inner surface of the *herôion* at Trysa. The doorway on the southern side is here flanked by two female (?) dancers wearing a large *kálathos* perhaps originally painted with a design of reeds or rushes (cp. the dancing-girl with yellow *krótala* and a white *kálathos* marked with red rays in a tomb-painting of s. iv (?) B.C. found in 1854 at S. Maria in Fondo Vetta, south of the amphitheatre at Capua, and published by G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* Nuova Serie 1854 ii. 183 f. pl. 14, P. W. Forchhammer in the *Mon.*

Ann. e Bull. d. Inst. 1854 p. 63, F. Weege 'Oskische Grabmalerei' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 111, 130, 135 no. 25. A Lydian dance might well reappear at Capua, where the Etruscans held sway till 445 or 424 B.C. (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1556)). The lintel above has a frieze of eight grotesque and Bes-like musicians wearing the same head-dress: they have

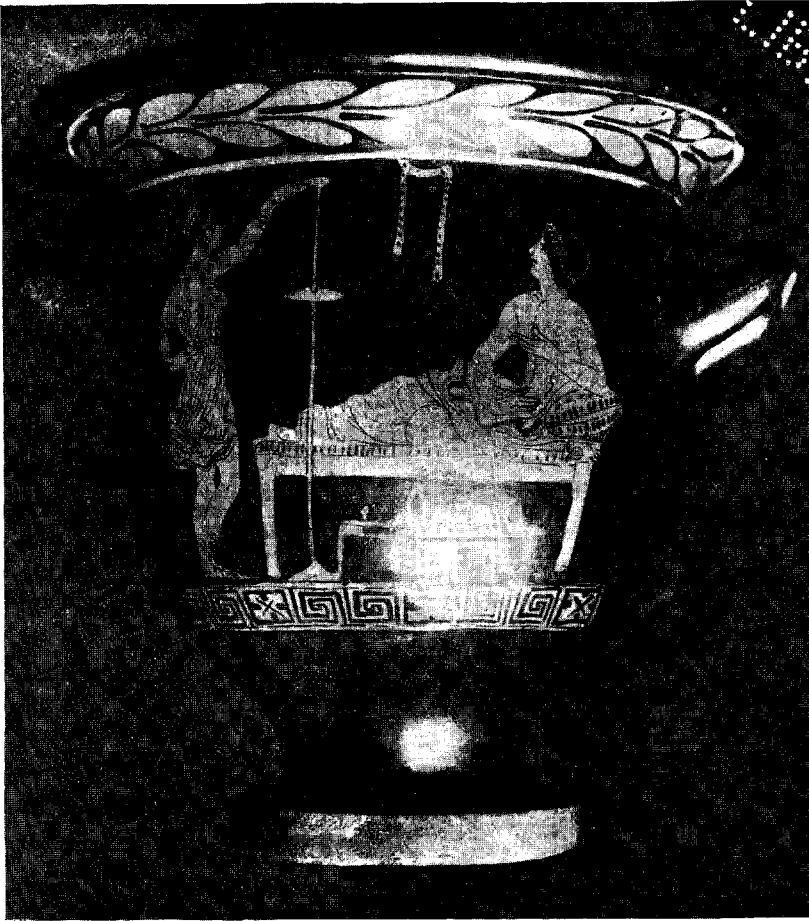


Fig. 811.

been taken to be the eight Phoenician Kabeiroi (on whom see F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 772 f. fig. 918 and R. Pettazzoni 'Le origini dei Kabiri nelle isole del mar tracio' in the *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Serie Quinta.* Roma 1909 xii. 672 ff.), and are commonly associated with the dancing figures below them (O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa* Wien 1889 pp. 58, 95 f. pl. 6 = my fig. 812, S. Reinach in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1892 viii. 306 ff.

with fig. on p. 295 = *id. Monuments nouveaux de l'art antique* Paris 1924 ii. 299 ff. with fig. 435, *id. Rép. Reliefs* i. 444 no. 1, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 204 with fig. 97, H. Thiérstsch in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1907 xxii. 238).

Between *c.* 475 and *c.* 400 B.C. may be placed certain silver *statères* of Abdera, which have as reverse type the magistrate's date ΕΠΙ ΜΟΛΠΑΓΟΡΕΩ and the canting badge of a similar dancing girl turned left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*

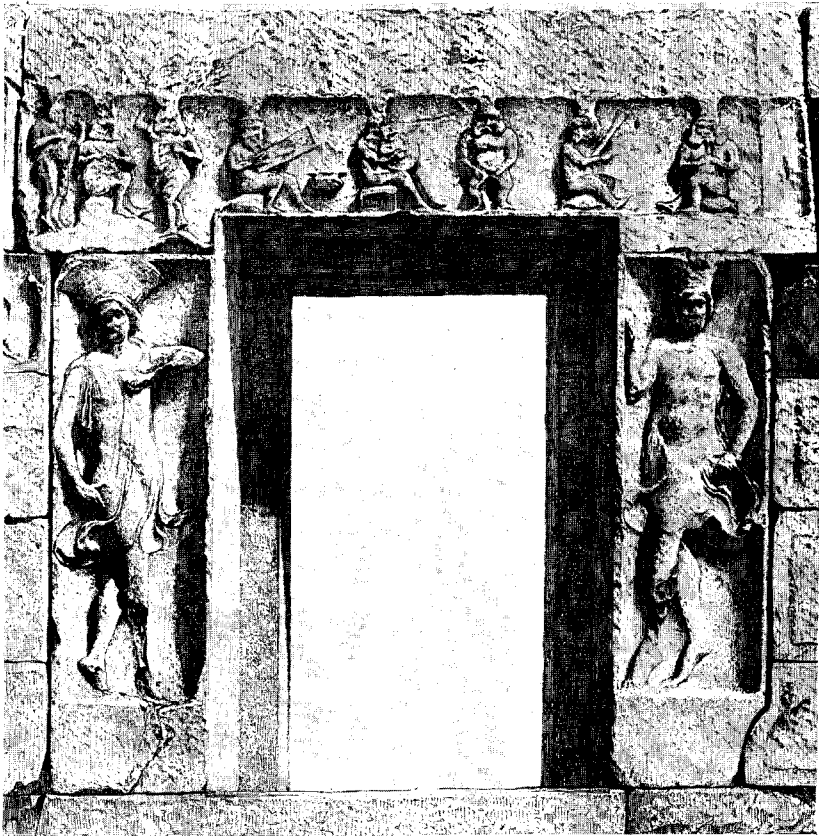


Fig. 812.

The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 70 no. 35 fig., p. 230 no. 35 *a* (my fig. 813 from a cast), *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 106 no. 68 pl. 4, 38, *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* ii. 1. 1. 71 no. 99 pl. 3, 2, J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889 p. 99 ff. pl. 2, 22, H. von Fritze in *Nomisma* 1909 iii pl. 2, 21, K. Regling *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* Berlin 1924 pp. 71, 84 no. 492 pl. 22) or right (J. Millingen *Sylloge of ancient unedited coins of Greek cities and kings, from various collections* London 1837 pp. 30, 33 pl. 2, 13, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 106 no. 67, *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* ii. 1. 1. 71 no. 100 pl. 3, 1 Berlin, J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889 p. 99 ff.

pl. 2, 21 (=my fig. 814) Paris, H. von Fritze in *Nomisma* 1909 iii pl. 2, 20 Paris, K. Regling *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* Berlin 1924 pp. 71, 84 no. 493 pl. 22, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 4. 897 f. pl. 335, 15 Paris, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 144 pl. 28, 13 Berlin).



Fig. 813.



Fig. 814.

Closely related to these numismatic examples are the dancers carved on two slabs of Pentelic marble, which were brought from Italy to Berlin in 1892 (figs. 815, 816 are from C. Blümel *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen* Berlin 1931 iv. 45 f. nos. K 184 and 185 pl. 77, cp. F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike* Halle/Saale 1926 p. 45 figs. 48 and 49). The more complete relief measures 0.95^m high by 0.54^m broad; the less complete, 0.80^m high by 0.56^m broad. It seems probable that, like three similar but fragmentary reliefs at Athens (H. Schrader *Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 346 figs. 315, 316), they were intended for mural decoration. The reliefs at Berlin exhibit such delicious freshness and abandon that R. Kekulé, who first published them in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii Arch. Anz. p. 76 with two figs., did not hesitate to regard them as Attic work dating from the earlier half of s. v B.C. (cp. M. Sauerlandt *Griechische Bildwerke* Düsseldorf—Leipzig p. x 'aus dem Anfange des v. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', *Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum*² Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 90 no. 1456 f. pl. 26 'Griechische Werke des 5. Jh. v. Chr.', F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 45 'aus demselben Künstleratelier der 5. Jahrh. v. Chr.'). But Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpture* p. 438 n. 3 with greater circumspection claims that they are only 'good specimens of the so-called later Attic school, by no means genuine archaic works' (cp. *id. Ueber Statuenkopieen im Alterthum* München 1896 i. 4 n. 3 (= *Abh. d. bayer. Akad.* 1896 Philos.-philol. Classe xx. 528 n. 3).

If so, they must be ranked with the *kalathiskos*-dancers of Arretine ware (c. 150 B.C.—50 A.D.) discussed by H. Dragendorff in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1895 xcvi—xcvii. 58 ff. A *skyphos* from Capua has four dancers grouped in pairs. Between the two pairs is a small Eros standing on a pillar, and between the dancers of the right-hand pair is a *thymiaterion* (H. Dragendorff *loc. cit.* figs. 14, 14 a after Riccio *Notizie degli scaviamenti nel suolo dell' antica Capua* Napoli 1855 pl. 5). A fragmentary mould found at Arezzo in 1896 and now in the British Museum shows four girls likewise dancing in pairs and wearing a head-dress of open wicker-work. Above them runs a wreath to which festoons are looped up with large bows. Between the pairs of dancers a flower springs from the ground (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* p. 34 no. L 108, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 493 f. pl. 66, 5). Another specimen, in the Loeb collection, has a very similar dancer standing between two bases (?) with a festoon fastened to *bucrania* behind her and a flower or flowering rush (?) at her feet (F. Weege *op. cit.* pp. 45, 48 with fig. 51 after G. H. Chase *Guide to Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery* Harvard University no. 53 pl. 3). Another mould

in New York shows the dancer, once more between two bases (?) with a festoon of vine and ivy behind her (G. M. A. Richter in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 15 fig. 4). Again, fragments of a mould found near the church of S. Maria in Gradi at Arezzo and now in the museum of that town represent two such dancers facing left. In front of one is a Dionysiac herm, in front of the other a fighting Athena, each effigy set on the top of an Ionic column (G. F. Gamurrini reported by G. Fiorelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1884 p. 372 gruppo v nos. 1—3 pl. 7, 2). The moulds found with this bear the signature of that admirable craftsman M. Perennius, on whom see M. Ihm in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1898 cii. 114 ff., H. B. Walters *op. cit.* pp. 483, 492, 494 and in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* pp. xvii, xx, xxii.

Similarly the upper part of a Roman mural relief in terra cotta, made during the first half of Augustus' reign and now preserved in the Antiquarium at Berlin, figures a facing Palladion flanked by two *kalathiskos*-dancers, whose pink garments contrasted with a blue background (Von Rohden—Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 248 pl. 18, Furtwängler *op. cit.* p. 438 fig. 179, J. Sieveking in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1332 fig. 8. A fragment in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 412 no. D 646 fig. 76 gives the head and shoulder of the right-hand dancer). More complete but less delicate is the *replica* in G. P. Campana *Antiche opere in plastica* Roma 1842 p. 37 f. pl. 4, cp. *Le Musée d'Aix* Paris 1882—1921 p. 477 no. 1588. Another example in the Casino of Pius iv in the Vatican Garden is published by Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 151 pl. 20, 214 a.

Neo-Attic reliefs, which perhaps imply Attic originals of s. i B.C. (F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xvi. 53 f., Ada von Netoliczka *ib.* 1914 xvii. 132), make use of similar *motifs*. A three-sided base of Flavian date (69—96 A.D.) in the Museo Archeologico at Venice is adorned with two *kalathiskos*-dancers and an ecstatic Maenad. Each figure is framed by an over-elaborate and meaningless combination of ram's head, lion's leg, and bust of winged female Sphinx wearing a rayed *kálathos*, on which kneels Nike with spread wings (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pé.* 1865 p. 60 no. 6, H. Heydemann *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien* Halle 1879 p. 65 n. 154, F. Hauser *Die neu-attischen Reliefs* Stuttgart 1889 p. 100 f. no. 31, *Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 2469—2471 with Text ix. 13 by P. Arndt and G. Lippold, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 432 nos. 4—6, F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 46 with fig. 47). A second and exactly similar base in the same collection is due to a copyist of the Renaissance (*Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 2472—2474 with Text ix. 13 by P. Arndt and G. Lippold). Another three-sided base in the Louvre again couples the *kalathiskos*-dancers with a Maenad, whose head and right arm are a misleading restoration. The framework here with its rams' heads at the upper corners is of a simpler and more satisfactory sort (Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* ii. 343 f. pl. 167 fig. 77 and pl. 168 fig. 78 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 61 no. 3 and i. 62 no. 1, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 133 pl. 17, 188, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 100 no. 29. Height 1'011^m). Yet another three-sided base, in the Villa Albani, shows three such dancers, of whom one uplifts a dish of fruit before a rude stone altar with fruit laid out upon it and a fire burning, a second stands before a similar altar, and a third before a reed-plant springing from the ground (G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 i. 111—118 pl. 20 = Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 152 nos. 1—3, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 146—152 pl. 7, 12, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 60 no. 2, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 96 no. 19, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 67 f. no. 816. Height of

figures 0·30^m). A large *kratér* of Italian marble with grey stripes, formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond, has on one side a snake-entwined tripod, from which flames are rising, flanked by a pair of Nikai filling *phidlai* from their raised *oinochóai*, on the other side an exact repetition of the central and left-hand dancers on the Villa Albani base described above—a repetition which includes both the altar with fruit and the reed-plant springing from the ground.



Fig. 817.

Under each handle are two *thýrsoi* laid crosswise. The handles themselves end in large ivy-leaves (A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 638 no. 66, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 96 no. 18, Mrs S. A. Strong in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 24 f. no. 33 pl. 17 = Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 531 no. 3 f. Height 0·80^m; diameter c. 0·80^m. The surface has been worked over, but the authenticity of the vase is above suspicion). A marble relief in the Villa Albani figures a couple of *kalathískos*-dancers facing each other in front of an edifice with two ranges of pilasters (G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 i. 111—118 pl. 21 = Reinach

Rép. Reliefs iii. 151 no. 1, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 60 no. 3, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 97 no. 21, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 38 f. no. 769, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*³ Leipzig 1913 ii. 422 f. no. 1867, F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 46 with fig. 52 from a photograph (my fig. 817, H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1925 i. 73 fig.), which shows that—as Hauser observed—the *kalathoi* are largely restored. The restoration affects the left hand of the dancer on the right, both hands, the right foot, and the lower part of the left leg of the other dancer, together with the rocky foreground and portions of the architectural background. Height 0.85^m). A finely worked relief of Pentelic marble in the Lateran collection preserves the single headless figure of a similar dancer turned towards the right in front of a wall with pilasters (Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 19 no. 3499). A fragment now in the Sala Lapidaria of the Arcivescovado at Ravenna also gives a single *kalathiskos*-dancer from the knees upwards with the remains of a flat pilaster and wall (H. Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 65 no. 5, C. Ricci in *Ausonia* iv. 258 with fig. 10). Another in the Palazzo Farnese shows a single dancer of the same sort (Matz—Duhn *op. cit.* iii. 19 no. 3499^a). Finally, a marble *puteal* in the Palazzo Doria represents two pairs of *kalathiskos*-dancers fronting each other amid a fine growth of tendrils. They are here assimilated to Nikai by having large wings on their shoulders (Matz—Duhn *op. cit.* iii. 112 no. 3678, cp. Comm. Datti in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1860 p. 98).

Looking back over the evidence thus detailed we gather that the *kalathiskos*-dancers of the Arretine sherds, the Roman mural terra cottas, and the neo-Attic reliefs are archaistic derivatives of similar types already existing in the second half of s. v B.C.—witness the Naples *hydria*, the door-jambs at Trysa, and the coins of Abdera. Furtwängler acutely conjectured that the original from which they are all descended was a famous masterpiece (in archaising bronze relief?) by Kallimachos, the *saltantes Lacaenae* described by Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 92 as ‘a work of faultless technique, but one which has lost all charm through over-elaboration’ (Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 438). This conjecture has been widely accepted and is indeed highly probable. But the further attempt to name the dancers Karyatides and to connect them with architectural ‘Caryatids’ in general (P. Wolters in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* Neue Folge 1895 vi. 36—44 after Visconti *Mus. Pie- Clém.* iii pl. 6, ii, F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 44 ff.) is in my judgment a mistake (cp. *supra* ii. 535 n. 2). I incline to the following solution of the problem. Alkman, who came to Sparta *Σαρδίων ἀπ’ ἀκρᾶν* (Alkm. *frag.* 24. 5 Bergk⁴, 2. 5 Edmonds, 13. 5 Diehl *ap.* Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐρπείχη, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 7. 709. 1 ff. (Alexandros (of Aitolia?)), 7. 18. 3 ff. (Antipatros of Thessalonike), Krates (of Mallos?) *ap.* Soud. s.v. Ἀλκμάν), is known to have composed *parthénéia* for Artemis and other deities. Moreover, he wrote for the Spartan Gymnopaidiai songs to be sung by boys and men wearing ‘Thyreatic’ crowns made of palm-leaves (Sosibios of Sparta *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 678 B cited *supra* p. 996 f.). Such a poet can hardly have failed to import into Sparta the famous *kalathiskos*-dance of his own Sardeis. It was perhaps formerly figured on an inscribed but mutilated *stèle* of s. iii B.C., found in the Amyklaion (B. Schröder in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 29, 31 with fig. 2). Identical with it, or at least akin to it, was a dance performed at the Spartan festival of Promacheia (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 470), when the Perioikoi as distinct from the Spartiatiai wore a crown of reeds (Sosibios of Sparta *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller)=*frag.* 1 Tresp *ap.* Athen. 674 A καὶ γὰρ καὶ Δακεδαμόνιοι καλᾶμψ στεφανοῦνται ἐν τῇ τῶν Προμαχείων ἑορτῇ, ὥς φησι

Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι θυσιῶν γράφων οὕτως· 'ἐν ταύτῃ συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας καλάμοις στεφανοῦσθαι ἢ στλεγγίδι (cp. Plout. *insl. Lac.* 32 στλεγγίσιν οὐ σιδηραῖς ἀλλὰ καλαμίνας ἐχρῶντο), τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγωγῆς παῖδας ἀστεφανώτους ἀκολουθεῖν'. Another ritual link between Lakonike and Lydia is noted by L. Stephani, who observes in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1865 pp. 31, 58 that the cult of Artemis Ὀρθία at Sparta involved a *Λυδῶν πομπή* (Plout. v. *Aristid.* 17. Cp. the case of Artemis Κορδάκα at Olympia (Paus. 6. 22. 1 with H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*)).

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

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

A bronze statuette, formerly in the Gréau collection, again shows a dancing-girl with short *chiton* and basket-like head-dress (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 242 no. 9) after W. Froehner *Collection Julien Gréau. Bronzes* Paris 1891 pl. 95), as does a Hellenistic terracotta in the Louvre (J. Charbonneaux *Les Terres cuites Grecques* London 1936 pp. 23, 50 fig. 54, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art* Paris 1937 ii. 199 with text by Mme Massoul). But examples of the type 'in the round' are rare, for terra-cotta dolls from Myrina with elaborate head-dress (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 243 no. C 522 pl. 35, *Mendel Cat. Fig. gr. de Terre Cuite Constantinople* p. 378 f. no. 2640 pl. 8, 6) are hardly to be classed as *kalathiskos*-dancers.



Fig. 818.

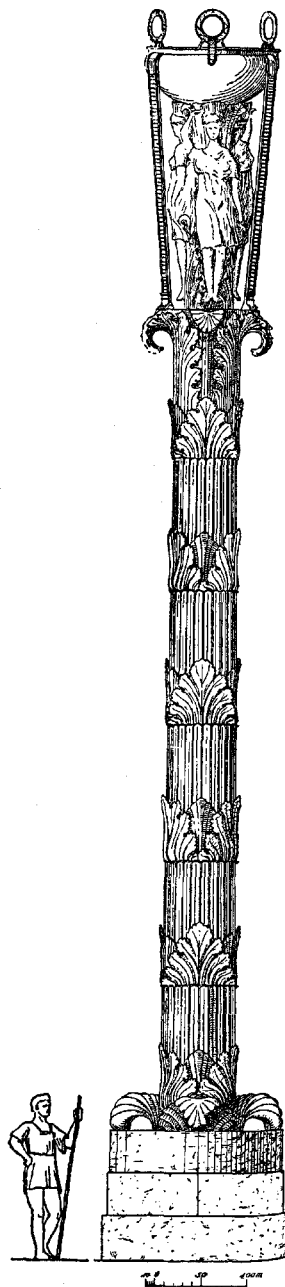


Fig. 819.

Similar figures are found on gems of imperial date, either alone as on a specimen in my collection (fig. 820: scale $\frac{1}{2}$), or else with a palm-branch (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 284 no. 7668 pl. 57 cornelian, no. 7669 cornelian) or a *hydria* containing a palm-branch (*id. ib.* p. 284 no. 7670 pl. 57 sardonyx) before them. The palm-branch is here apparently a later substitute for the original reed-plant.



Fig. 820.

Important confirmation of this hypothesis is afforded by terracotta plaques of Hellenistic date found at Praisos in eastern Crete. They show a girl with short *chiton* and spread *kálathos*, who is dancing in front of 'a tall, bending plant, apparently a reed' (E. S. Forster in



Fig. 821.

the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 255 with fig. 17 = my fig. 821 (height $\cdot 23^m$), cp. F. Halbherr in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1901 v. 390 pl. 12, 5).

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

in the reed. K. F. Johansson *Über die altindische Göttin Dhiṣāṇā und Verwandtes* Uppsala 1917 p. 33 quotes Dion Cass. 72. 12 ὅτι Ἀσπιγγοί, ὧν ῥᾶος τε καὶ ῥάπτος ἡγοῦντο, ἦλθον μὲν ἐς τὴν Δακίαν κ.τ.λ. and explains that ῥᾶος and ῥάπτος, 'Rush' and 'Rafter,' imply the phallic god of fertility conceived as a Reed (cp. Finnish *Sämpsä*, 'scirpus') and a horizontal Roof-beam. But his etymologies and his symbolism seem equally precarious. He would do better to cite the myth of Pan and Syrinx (H. Ostern in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1642 ff.) as illustrated on imperial bronze coins of Thelpousa in Arkadia (K. Wernicke *ib.* iii. 1356, 1467 fig. 25 after *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 204 no. 3 Septimius Severus pl. 37, 23, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 102 Geta, Vienna pl. T, 24, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 456: see further F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1874 i. 134).

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

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

(14) In the country of the Sabines a lake known as Aquae Cutiliae, between Reate (*Rieti*) and Interocrium (*Antrodoco*), was reckoned 'the navel of Italy' (Varr. *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 109, Solin. 2. 23). It could boast a floating island (Varr. *ap.* Plin. *loc. cit.* and in *de ling. Lat.* 5. 71) covered with trees and grasses and so easily moved by the wind that it was never to be seen in the same place for a day and night together (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 25. 8 f., cp. anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 37). If the Greeks dubbed it *Korúλη* (oracle of Zeus at Dodona *ap.* Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 19, Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 7. 28, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀβορυγίνας (=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 177), Paul. ex Fest. p. 51, 8 Müller, p. 44, 22 f. Lindsay), that was a well-meant etymology of the Aquae Cutiliae (Ἰδαία Κωτίλια). Of greater interest is the account given by Dion Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 15 (after Varro): 'At a distance of seventy furlongs from Reate is Kotylia, a famous town, situated at the base of a mountain. Not far from it is a lake, four hundred feet across, full of spring water which is always flowing and—so they say—has no bottom to it. This lake, having a touch of divinity about it, the natives deem sacred to Victory (*sc.* Vacuna). They enclose it round about with fillets, that nobody should approach the water, and preserve it as a spot unprofaned by human tread except on certain yearly occasions (for *καιροῖς τιμῇ διετησίους* cod. Vat. has *καιροῖς τιμῇ ἐτησίους*), when they offer customary sacrifices and particular persons charged with the office land on the small island in it. The island is some fifty feet in diameter and rises not more than one foot above the level of the water. It has no fixed position and floats round here there and everywhere, the wind turning it now hither now thither. A plant resembling sedge grows upon it and sundry bushes of no great size—a thing inexplicable to those who have not seen the handywork of nature and a marvel second to none.' On which E. H. Bunbury in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 721 comments: 'It is evident that this marvel arose from the incrustations of carbonate of lime formed by the

waters of the lake, fragments of which might from time to time be detached from the overhanging crust thus formed on the banks: the same phenomenon occurs, though on a smaller scale, at the *Aquae Albulae* near Tibur. ([Sir W.] Gell [*The Top[ography] of Rome [and its Vicinity]* London 1834 i. 74, *ib.*² London 1846 i. 41.)...The Cutilian Lake still exists under the name of *Pozzo di Ratignano* or *Latignano*, though apparently reduced in size by the continual incrustation of its banks; but the floating island has disappeared.

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

(16) The *Lacus Statoniensis*, identified by P. Cluverius *Italia antiqua* Lugduni Batavorum 1624 p. 517 with the *Lago di Mezzano*, a tiny sheet of water about five miles west of the *Lago di Bolsena*, had once a floating island (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 25. 8, and perhaps Strab. 614), but now has none, 'so that we must either reject Cluver's conclusion, or suppose that the island has since disappeared. As there is no other lake in central Etruria which can answer to the Statonian, we must take the alternative, and consider the island to have floated, as it is described, and to have become eventually attached to the shores of the lake' (G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*³ London 1883 i. 494 f.).

(17) The Vadimonis Lacus, another lakelet of Etruria, lying on the right bank of the Tiber about four miles above Horta (*Orte*) and in modern times variously termed the *Laghetto* or *Lagherello* or even *Lago di Bussano* or *Basanello* from a village in the neighbourhood, could boast in antiquity not only one floating island (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 25. 8, and perhaps Strab. 614) but several (anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 38 ἔστι δὲ καὶ λάκκος Οὐαδίμωνος καλουμένη λίμνη οὐ μεγάλη ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ὁμοίως ἔχουσα νησία πλείονα πάσῃ πνοῇ μετακινούμενα). An interesting account of them is given by Plin. *epist.* 8. 20 (trans. W. Melmoth rev. W. M. L. Hutchinson): 'I went close up to this lake. It is formed exactly circular (in similitudinem iacentis rotæ circumscriptus et undique aequalis); there is not the least obliquity or winding, but all is regular and even as if it had been hollowed and cut out by the hand of art. The colour of its water is a whitish-blue, verging upon green, and somewhat cloudy; it has the odour of sulphur and a strong medicinal taste, and possesses the property of cementing fractures. Though it is but of moderate extent, yet the winds have a great effect upon it, throwing it into violent commotions. No vessels are suffered to sail here, as its waters are held sacred; but several grassy islands swim about it, covered with reeds and rushes, and whatever other plants the more prolific neighbouring marsh and the borders of the lake produce. No two are alike in size or shape; but the edges of all of them are worn away by their frequent collision against the shore and one another. They have all the same depth, and the same buoyancy; for their shallow bases are formed like the hull of a boat. This formation is distinctly visible from every point of view; the hull lies half above and half below the water. Sometimes the islands cluster together and seem to form one entire little continent; sometimes they are dispersed by veering winds; at times, when it is calm, they desert their station and float up and down separately [at times the wind falls dead and they are left floating in isolation A.B.C.]. You may frequently see one of the larger islands sailing along with a lesser joined to it, like a ship with its long boat; or perhaps, seeming to strive which shall outswim the other; then again all are driven to one spot of the shore, which they thus advance, and now here, now there, diminish or restore the area of the lake; only ceasing to contract it anywhere, when they occupy the centre. Cattle have often been known, while grazing, to advance upon those islands as upon the border of the lake, without perceiving that they are on moving ground, till, being carried away from shore they are alarmed by finding themselves surrounded with water, as if they had been put on board ship; and when they presently land wherever the wind drives them ashore, they are no more sensible of disembarking than they had been of embarking. This lake empties itself into a river, which after running a little way above ground, sinks into a cavern and pursues a subterraneous course and if anything is thrown in brings it up again where the stream emerges.' 'But,' says G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*³ London 1883 i. 144, 'he who would expect Pliny's description to be verified, might search for ever in vain. It is, indeed, no easy matter to find the lake; for it has so shrunk in dimensions, that what must have been a spacious tract of water in the olden time, is now but a small stagnant pond, almost lost in the tall reeds and bulrushes that wave over it. These we may conclude represent the islets, which either never had an existence, or have now clubbed together to stop up the lake.'

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

(19) Yet another, on the Lacus Benacus (*Lago di Garda*), the largest of all

the lakes in Italy, is said to have been inhabited and to have been planted with trees (anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 37 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ λίμνης καλουμένης μὲν Βηνάκου, οὔσης δὲ τὸ περίμετρον σταδίων φ' (on its real size see E. H. Bunbury in *Smith Dict. Geogr.* i. 389 or C. Hülsen in *Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc.* iii. 268), νῆσός ἐστιν οἰκουμένη κατάφυτος δένδρεσιν ἡμέροις ἐπινηχομένη καὶ μεταβαίνουσα πρὸς τὰς τῶν πνευμάτων φορὰς).

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

It will be obvious from a survey of the foregoing passages that floating islands as such made a deep impression on Greeks and Romans alike and were almost always regarded with naive feelings of awe and veneration. Such phenomena attached themselves readily to the cult of the local deity, often a lake-goddess, and at least in one case gave rise to a popular ritual and an art-type of remarkable beauty. We must not, however, lend an ear to the persuasions of a latter-day mythologist, who would have us believe that the floating islands of Greek story were originally nothing but drifting clouds (F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 69 n. 1 'es sind immer ursprünglich die Wolkeninseln der Sage'). Earthly fact *plus* heavenly fancy will amply suffice to explain the whole flotilla (see *e.g.* the Celtic parallels in Sir J. Rhys *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx* Oxford 1901 i. 171 f., W. C. Borlase *The Dolmens of Ireland* London 1897 ii. 591, H. Güntert *Kalyfso* Halle a. S. 1919 p. 145 f.). Doubters should visit Derwentwater and enquire for the Floating Island near Lodore which 'appears periodically about the middle of October at intervals of four years' (M. J. B. Baddeley *The English Lake District*¹⁰ London 1906 p. 130 with Append. by E. D. Jordan p. 11). It has been studied with scrupulous exactitude by G. J. Symons *The Floating Island in Derwentwater, its History & Mystery, with notes of other dissimilar islands* London 1888 pp. 1—64 (Frontisp. map of the south-east portion of Derwentwater showing the position of three floating islands on Aug. 27, 1884, p. 19 ff. list of recorded appearances from 1753 to 1888 A.D., p. 23 ff. notice of other floating islands, etc.). Another interesting case is examined by Marietta Pallis 'The Structure and History of Plav: the Floating Fen of the Delta of the Danube' in the Linnean Society's *Journal Botany* 1916 xliii. 233—290 pls. 11—25.

APPENDIX Q.

THE PROMPTING EROS.

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

(1) A small plaque of reddish gold, found in the third shaft-grave at Mykenai, shows a nude Aphrodite (Astarte?) pressing her breasts, with a dove flying over her head. A second plaque of yellow gold, from the same grave, repeats the *motif* but adds two other doves flying from her shoulders (H. Schliemann *Mycenæ* London 1878 p. 180 f. fig. 267 f., C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 197 f. fig. 180 f., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 652 fig. 293 f., Ch. Tsountas—J. I. Manatt *The Mycenaean Age* London 1897 p. 101 f. fig. 38 f., Staïs *Coll. Mycénienne: Athènes* p. 13 ff. no. 27 fig., Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 223 with fig. 169, H. T. Bossert *Alt-kreta*² Berlin 1923 pp. 32, 220 fig. 311 e, G. Karo *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai* München 1930/33 p. 48 pl. 27, 28 and 27 (=my figs. 822, 823).



Fig. 822.



Fig. 823.

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

(3) Towards the close of *s. vi* B.C. other variations were attempted. A bronze mirror-stand from Corinth, now at Athens, figures Aphrodite, draped in Ionic *chiton* and *himation*, holding a dove in her right hand, while two winged Sphinxes rest a forepaw on either shoulder of the goddess (Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*² p. 337 no. 11691 fig., C. D. Mylonas in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxiii. 161 no. 1 pl. 14, 1, E. Pottier in A. Dumont—J. Chaplain *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* Paris 1890 ii. 249 no. 2 pl. 33). Another bronze mirror-stand, Greek (Corinthian? Argive?) work of *c.* 500 B.C., formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond, has Aphrodite in Ionic *chiton* and Doric *péplos*, but replaces the soul-

birds by two winged female figures (Nikai?), who fly towards the shoulders of the goddess with one hand outstretched and a small object (perfume-vase??) in the other (A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 631 Richmond no. 39, Mrs A. Strong in *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* London 1904 p. 38 no A 8 pl. 45, a front, b back (wrongly described as 'two hovering Erotes'), Sir C. H. Smith in *Catalogue of the Antiquities (Greek, Etruscan and Roman) in the Collection of the late Wyndham Francis Cook, Esqre* London 1908 ii. 114 Bronze no. 46 pl. 35 (= my fig. 825: 'two hovering Victories'), K. A. Neugebauer *Antike Bronze-statuetten* Berlin 1921 p. 45 fig. 25 ('zwei ... Siegesgöttinnen')).

(4) Numerous bronze mirror-stands of s. vi—v (listed by E. Pottier in A. Dumont—J. Chaplain *op. cit.* ii. 249—253: see also Mrs A. Strong *loc. cit.* p. 38) figure an archaic or at least severe Aphrodite flanked by a pair of Erotes hovering above her shoulders (e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 24 no. 241 pl. 4 Athens, p. 24 no. 242 Sounion, p. 24 f. no. 243 pl. 4 Corinth, De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 43 no. 1687 pl. 77 Hermione, ii. 43 f. no. 1689 pl. 77 Corinth, ii. 44 no. 1691 pl. 77 (= my fig. 826) Greece, ii. 44 no. 1692 pl. 77 Corinth, *Stais Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*² p. 335 no. 7576 (6576 is apparently a misprint) with fig. on p. 336, J. Sieveking *Antike Metallgeräte* München s.a. pp. 9, 12 pl. 20 Boston).

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

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

(7) This conception of Eros or Himeros as a small figure haunting the shoulder to proffer his amatory advice becomes a commonplace on vases produced during the earlier part of s. iv B.C. in the style of the Meidias-painter (G. Nicole *op. cit.* pl. 10, 6—8, pl. 11, 18), e.g. on a *hydria* from Ruvo at Karlsruhe (Winnefeld *Vasensamml. Karlsruhe* p. 63 ff. no. 259, F. G. Welcker in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1845 xvii. 172 ff. no. 59, *id. Alt. Denkm.* v. 403 ff. no. 59, E. Gerhard *Apulische Vasenbilder des königlichen Museums zu Berlin* Berlin 1845 p. 32 f. pl. D, 2, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 233 ff. no. 67 Atlas pl. 11, 1, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 141 ff. pl. 30, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 65 ff. pl. 2, 2, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 185 f. no. 20, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 595 f. iii. 241 fig. 595, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 459 no. 3, *supra* i. 125 f. pl. xi: Aphrodite and Alexandros), on a *hydria* from Populonia at Florence (L. A. Milani *Monumenti scelti del R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze* Firenze 1905 i pls. 4 and 5, 3, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 69 ff. pl. 3, 2, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 185 no. 17, P. Ducati

op. cit. ii. 399 ff. fig. 290, Pfuhl *op. cit.* ii. 593 ff. iii. 240 fig. 594, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 4: Eros with Chrysothemis, Himeros with Adonis), on an *aryballos* from Athens in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 345 f. no. E 697, Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 99 f. pl. 78, 2, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 97 no. 1 pl. 7, 1, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 196 no. 60, P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 401, 403 fig. 291, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 14: Eros seated on the left shoulder of Aphrodite), on an *aryballos* from Ruvo in the Jatta collection (A. Michaelis *Thamyris und Sappho auf einem Vasenbilde* Leipzig 1865 pp. 1—18 with pl., D. Comparetti in the *Museo italiano di antichità classica* Firenze 1888 ii. 59—64 no. 4 pl. 5=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 526, 1, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1727 f. fig. 1809, G. Jatta 'La gara di Tamiri con le Muse' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1888 iii. 239—253 pl. 9, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 96 f. pl. 7, 4, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 192 no. 47 bis, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 12: Eros seated on the right shoulder of Sappho (ΣΑΟ), two Erotes to right and left of Aphrodite, of whom one lets fly a bird, the other points). Cp. a *hydria* from Nola in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 55 f. no. F 90 pl. 2: Eros stoops to touch the right shoulder of a seated female).

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

(9) B. Schröder in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl Arch. Anz. pp. 364—367 figs. 1—6 and, at greater length, in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Volkskunde* 1925 xxxv. 85 ff. contends that the type of Lysippos' statue in bronze representing Herakles deprived of his weapons by Eros (*Anth. Plan.* 103. 1—6 (Geminus), 104. 1—6 (Philippos): see Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 279 no. 1474, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 425) can be recovered from a vase in the Louvre, a mirror at Athens, a bronze statuette in the British Museum, and sundry gems, which show the hero with a youthful Eros on his shoulder. Schröder

further supports a suggestion first made by A. von Le Coq *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens* Berlin 1925 pp. 26, 83 fig. 159 (Pāñcika and child) viz. that Herakles with Eros on his shoulder ultimately gave rise to the legend of St Christopher bearing the Christ-child (for bibliography etc. see K. Künstle *Ikongraphie der Heiligen* Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 pp. 154—160 figs. 66—68). It is, however, far from certain that such was the *motif* of Lysippos' bronze; and another possible prototype for St Christopher and the Child is the Pompeian Polyphemos driven by the infant Eros (*infra* p. 1023).

(10) Eros at-the-shoulder was a *motif* obviously better suited to painting or to bas-relief than to sculpture in the round. Nevertheless Hellenistic art produced, not only such types as that of a marble statuette from Pella in Makedonia, now at Christ Church, Oxford, which shows Eros standing on a tree-trunk and leaning against the right shoulder of Aphrodite (Mrs A. Strong in *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* London 1904 p. 21 no. 28 pl. 27=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 231 no. 5), or that of a terra cotta from Myrina, now in the Albertinum at Dresden, which makes him stand on a pillar and rest his hand on her left shoulder (Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 2. 84 fig. 9), but also the type of the little fellow leaning forward all agog over his mother's left shoulder (e.g. the bronzes in Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 632 D figs. 1295 A Turin (A. Fabretti in the *Atti della Società di archeologia e belle arti per la provincia di Torino* 1880 iii. 99 f. pl. 15, 2) and 1295 B Paris=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 342 nos. 4 and 5. Cp. the terracottas given by Winter *op. cit.* iii. 2. 46 fig. 3 (=Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouloff Terres cuites* pl. 133, 2), 195 fig. 7, 200 fig. 9, 202 fig. 4) or perched precariously on either shoulder (e.g. the terracottas in Winter *op. cit.* iii. 2. 85 fig. 8 Asia Minor (=C. Lecuyer *Terres cuites antiques trouvées en Grèce et en Asie mineure* Paris 1882 pl. H³ (modern?)), 101 fig. 1 Rudiae, cp. 82 fig. 7 Greece but not Tanagra (=Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouloff Terres cuites* pl. 133, 1), 88 fig. 4 Myrina (?), if not duplicated on both (e.g. a stone statuette from Beaune, now at Moulins (*Catalogue du Musée de Moulins* 1885 iii. 125, E. Tudot *Collection de figurines en argile* Paris 1860 pl. 75 =Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 376 no. 7), and a gold pendant from south Russia, now at Petrograd (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1867 p. 47 Atlas pl. 1, 6=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 377 no. 6)), and even ambitious statuary groups in marble like that from Delos, now in the National Museum at Athens, which represents a naked Aphrodite defending herself with uplifted sandal against the advances of Pan and a helpful Eros hovering over her left shoulder (M. Bulard 'Aphrodite, Pan et Éros' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1906 xxx. 610—631 pls. 13—16 (of which pl. 14=my fig. 827) (fig. 2 is a second Eros belonging to some similar group)=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 230 nos. 2 and 3, C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 263 fig. 103).

(11) Venus with a tiny Cupid on her shoulder appears on *denarii* struck by M'. Cordius Rufus (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 383 no. 1 f. rev. fig. (c. 49 B.C.), M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde* Wien 1897 p. 88 no. 1 pl. 4, 92, H. A. Grueber in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 523 f. nos. 4037—4039 pl. 51, 11 and 12 (c. 46 B.C.), *supra* ii. 99 n. 1) and by C. Egnatius Maxsumus (Babelon *op. cit.* i. 473 f. nos. 1 *obv.* fig., 2 *rev.* fig. (c. 69 B.C.), H. A. Grueber *op. cit.* i. 399 nos. 3274, 3275 pl. 42, 15, i. 401 nos. 3285—3292 pl. 42, 17 (c. 75 B.C.): see further F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1997 no. (27)), and on others issued by Iulius Caesar (Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 11 f. nos. 11 *obv.* fig., 12 *obv.* fig. (c. 50 B.C.), H. A. Grueber *op. cit.* ii. 368 f. nos. 86—88 pl. 101, 9, nos. 89—92 pl. 101, 10 (c. 45 B.C.)).

(H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 443 ff., O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*² München 1901 pp. 110—112, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae* Berolini 1912 pp. 25, 91), on a relief decorating the arm of a marble seat found at Solous in Sicily (Domenico lo Faso Pietrasanta. Duca di Serradifalco *Le Antichità della Sicilia* Palermo 1842 v. 63 f. pl. 39, A. Conze *Die Familie des Augustus* Halis Saxonum 1867 p. 10, F. Hauser 'Marmorthron aus Solunt' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1889 iv, 255—260 with figs.), on another decorating an altar found at Tarentum (L. Viola in the *Not. Scav.* 1881 p. 388 f.), and on yet another decorating an altar formerly at Cività Castellana (A. Reifferscheid in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 367 f.). Cp. a relief found at Carthage (S. Gsell in the *Rev. Arch.* 1899 i. 37—43 pl. 2, A. Schulten in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv Arch. Anz. pp. 73—75 fig. 3, E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 184), the 'basis Surrentina' (W. Amelung 'Bemerkungen zur sorrentiner Basis' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1900 xv. 198—210, especially p. 205 f., E. Petersen *op. cit.* pp. 69 ff., 184 f.), and a gem at Petrograd (A. Conze *op. cit.* p. 10).

The contention that the type represented by these coins and reliefs was that of the famous Venus *Genetrix* made by Arkesilaos for her temple in the Forum Iulium (Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 156: see further H. Jordan *op. cit.* i. 2. 439 f., O. Richter *op. cit.*² p. 110, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *op. cit.* p. 35), though put forward by many scholars (e.g. A. Reifferscheid 'De ara Veneris Genetricis' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 361 ff., G. Wissowa *De Veneris simulacris Romanis* Breslau 1882 p. 22 ff. (= *id. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* München 1904 p. 25 ff.), L. von Urlichs *Arkesilaos* Würzburg 1887 p. 10 ff., Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 686 f., E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 187 f., C. Picard *op. cit.* ii. 308), is beset with uncertainties and far from proven (R. Kekulé von Stradonitz in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1879 iii. 8—24, S. Reinach in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1887 xii. 250 ff., *id.* in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1896 ii. 329 ff. = *id. Monuments nouveaux de l'art antique* Paris 1924 i. 256 ff., H. Bulle *Der schoene Mensch im Altertum*² Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 pp. 263 ff., 682 f. pl. 124, Sir C. Walston (Waldstein) *Alcamenes* Cambridge 1926 p. 202 ff.).

(12) Pompeian painters went further afield and exploited to the full the possibilities of the type. We find Eros at the shoulder, not only of Aphrodite (e.g. R. Liberatore in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1835 xi pl. 6 with text pp. 1—4, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 76 no. 276, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 no. 7), but also of a human beauty (R. Liberatore *loc. cit.*, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 337 no. 1428, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 no. 8). He occupies the same position in regard to the better-known lovers of mythology (e.g. Paris (W. Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herkulanum und Stabiae* Berlin 1844 ii pl. 31, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 123, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 278 no. 1287, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 165 no. 1), Narkissos (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 302 no. 1363, *id. XXIII Tafeln zu dem Werke Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* Leipzig 1868 pl. 17, 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 196 no. 4; G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 4 with text pp. 1—5, Helbig *Wandg. Camp.* p. 302 no. 1364, P. Decharme in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 451 fig. 2596, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 196 no. 8), and even Hippolytos (?) (A. Sogliano in the *Not. Scavi* 1897 p. 32 with fig. 4, A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1898 xiii. 26 f., E. Petersen 'Artemis und Hippolytos' *ib.* 1899 xiv. 96 with fig. on p. 93, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 55 no. 4)). See also the medallions grouped together by Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 nos. 10 (*Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii (Pitture v) 19—22

pl. 4, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 337 no. 1427^b), 11 and 12 (W. Zahn *op. cit.* ii pl. 43); to which add *Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii (Pittura v) 25 f. pl. 5, 1.

More often, however, Eros is promoted from being a mere prompter to playing some subordinate part in the action represented. If Aphrodite arrives from the sea, a tiny but helpful Eros hands her ashore (Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 33 no. 132, P. Gusman *Pompei* Paris 1899 p. 72 col. pl. 1, 1, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 60 no. 3). If Ares makes love to her, a hovering Eros spins the magic *tynx* (H. Hinck in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 82, 93 ff. pl. EF, 2, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 84 no. 325, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 2 Text p. 7, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 3) or removes the god's helmet (G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 18 with text pp. 1—3, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 81 f. no. 316, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 2). And, briefly, wherever Aphrodite's power is manifested, Eros at-the-shoulder has his work to do. If Zeus woos Danae, Eros pours the golden rain from *amphora* or *cornu copiae* (?) (*supra* p. 465 f. with figs. 300 and 301. To the references there given add Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 27 f. pl. 3, 48 *b*, Welcker *Ant. Denkm.* v. 281, W. Helbig in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 349, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 11 no. 1; H. Heydemann in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1868 p. 47 ('urna'), but cp. Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 21 no. 75 ('corno': the 'urna' of previous publications must be due to the unintelligent repetition of a mere misprint), Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 10 no. 7). If he seeks Ganymedes, Eros leads the divine bird by the neck towards the dreamy youth (C. Bonucci in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1829 p. 147, G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1831 vii Relazione degli scavi di Pompei p. 5, G. Finati *ib.* 1834 x pl. 56 with text pp. 1—4, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 45 no. 154, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 538 no. 28 Atlas pl. 8, 14, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 14 no. 8). If he carries off Europe, Eros flits behind them bearing a thunderbolt (P. Gauckler 'Le domaine des Laberii à Uthina' in the *Mon. Piot* 1896 iii. 190 f. fig. 2, *id.* —A. Merlin *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique: Tunisie* Paris 1910—1915 no. 350, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 5) or a *tainia* (J. V. Millingen *Peintures antiques et inédites de vases grecs* Rome 1813 p. 44 f. pl. 25 = Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 105 f. pl. 25, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. céer.* i. 60 ff. pl. 27, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 438 f. no. 19 Atlas pl. 6, 11, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 863 fig. 2847, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 95 no. F 184) or an *alabastron* (?) (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 37 no. 124, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 452 no. 34 Atlas pl. 7, 6, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 3), or before them leading the bull by a flowery chain and waving the bridal torch (in a magnificent mosaic from Aquileia *supra* p. 627 n. o (3) with pl. xlviii: cp. the painting, in Astarte's temple at Sidon, described by Ach. Tat. i. 1 "Ερως εἶλκε τὸν βοῦν· "Ερως, μικρὸν παιδίον, ἡπλώκει τὸ πτερόν, ἤρτητο <τὴν (ins. R. Hercher)> φαέτραν, ἐκράτει τὸ πῦρ), or beside them driving the bull with reins and a whip (C. Lugebil in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1861 p. 234, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 37 f. no. 128, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 451 no. 32 Atlas pl. 7, 5, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 14 no. 4: cp. Eros standing as a diminutive figure on the left shoulder of the love-sick Polyphemos and driving him with reins in pursuit of Galatea (G. Perrot in the *Rev. Arch.* 1870—1871 N.S. xxii. 47—53 pl. 18 (reduced $\frac{2}{3}$ in my fig. 828) = *id.* *Mémoires d'archéologie d'épigraphie et d'histoire* Paris 1875 pp. 100—111 pl. 6, A. Mau in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880 lii. 136 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* xi col. pl. 23, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1588. with fig., Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 172 no. 7, *supra* p. 1020 (9))).

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

(*Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii (Pitture v) 29—31 pl. 6, G. Finati in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1834 x pl. 40 with text p. 1 f., Helbig *op. cit.* p. 85 no. 328, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 10. Cp. G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1827 iii pl. 36 with text p. 1 f., W. Zahn *op. cit.* 1828



Fig. 828.

i pl. 44, F. G. Welcker in W. Ternite *Wandgemälde aus Pompeji und Herculaneum* Berlin (1844) 3. Abth. iv. 13 f. pl. 29 (Helene and Achilles), Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 334—337 Atlas pl. 15, 8 (Helene and Achilles), Helbig *op. cit.* p. 85 no. 327 (Aphrodite and Ares), J. Six in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1917 xxxii. 190 f. fig. 5 (Briseis and Achilles), Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 4), with Europe and the bull (R. Engelmann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix. 130—132

pl. 6, 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 2 mosaic from Sparta; *supra* i. 506 with fig. 369 vase at Petrograd)) or three (e.g. with Herakles, Omphale, and Priapos (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 231 f. no. 1140, J. Sieveking in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 889 with fig. 1, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* col. pl. 3, pls. 59, 60 Text pp. 75—77, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 191 no. 5, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 826 f. iii. 284 col. fig. 664)) or four (e.g. with Aphrodite and Adonis (Sir W. Gell *Pompeiana* London 1832 ii. 66 pl. 12, Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* iii. 89 f. pl. 139, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 88 no. 339, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 3), with Aphrodite and Ares (A. Sogliano *Monumenta Pompeiana* Naples 1905 ii pl. 85, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 7)) or six (e.g. with Aphrodite (J. P. Bellorius et M. A. Causseus *Picturae antiquae cryptarum Romanarum, et sepulcri Nasonum Romae* 1750 p. 89 f. Appendix pl. 7, O. Benndorf in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1876 i. 63 ff. pl. 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 59 no. 6), with Aphrodite and Adonis (E. G[erhard] in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1843 i. 88 f. pl. 5, 2, W. Zahn *op. cit.* 1844 ii pl. 30, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 88 f. no. 340, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 52 Text pp. 65—67, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 64 no. 2)) or eight (with Omphale and Herakles (R. Rochette *Choix de peintures de Pompéi* Paris 1853 p. 239 ff. pl. 19, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 230 f. no. 1138, A. Ruesch in the *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 322 no. 1354, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 191 no. 6)) or even nine (in Aëtion's picture of Roxane and Alexander the Great as described by Loukian. *Herod. s. Aët.* 4—6=Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 363 no. 1938, A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* i. 376 ff. no. 507, cp. W. Helbig *Untersuchungen über die kampanische Wandmalerei* Leipzig 1873 p. 242, B. Nogara *Le Nozze Aldobrandine* Milano 1907 p. 23, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 771 f., 806). The way is thus prepared for the numerous Erotes of early Christian art, the *putti* of the Renaissance, and the Cupids of modern sentimentalism (O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 515 f., *supra* ii. 1050).

APPENDIX R.

THE *HIERÒS GÁMOS*.

Greek literature from Homeric poetry to Byzantine prose links the name of Zeus with that of Hera. But this tradition, though practically universal, involves certain peculiar and even abnormal features, which, if carefully considered, make it difficult to believe that Hera was from the outset the wife of Zeus. The relations subsisting between them are deserving of detailed study¹.

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

¹ Years ago I dealt with the topic, somewhat light-heartedly, in two papers contributed to the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 365—378 and 416—419 (*supra* p. 744 n. 1).

² Kallim. *aitia* 2 frag. 20 Schneider *ap. schol.* A.D. *Il.* i. 609 and Tzetz. *in eund. loc.* (P. Matrangola *anecdota Graeca* Romae 1850 ii. 450, 11 ff.) ὡς τε Ζεὺς ἐράτιζε τριηκοσίους ἐνιαυτοὺς.

³ Nonn. *Dion.* 41. 322 ff. ὅττι πολυχρονίῳ πόθῳ δεδονημένον ὁστρῶ (cp. *supra* p. 941 n. 1) | "Ἡρῆς κέντρον ἔχοντα κασιγνήτων ὑμεναίων | εἰς χρόνον ἰμείροντα τριηκοσίῳ ἐνιαυτῶν | Ζήνα γάμοις ἔξευξα.

⁴ *Il.* 14. 295 f. οἷον ὅτε πρῶτόν περ ἐμισγέσθην φιλότῃ, | εἰς εὐνὴν φοιτῶντε, φίλους λήθοντε τοκέας.

knowledge of their dear parents'; and later authors¹ lay stress on their secrecy, which indeed passed into a proverb. But it must be remembered that such clandestine intercourse was in Samos² and at Sparta³, if not elsewhere in the Greek world⁴, the recognised beginning of married life. Zeus and Hera were conforming to a custom, which savours of extreme antiquity⁵, though it is not extinct even in modern Europe⁶.

The union of Zeus with Hera, commonly known as the *hierôs gámos* or 'sacred marriage,' involved at once a myth and a ritual, though evidence of the one or the other is often lacking⁷.

¹ Theokr. 15. 64 πάντα γυναῖκες ἴσαντι, καὶ ὡς Ζεὺς ἡγάγεθ' "Ἡρην with schol. *ad loc.*, cp. Plaut. *trin.* 208 sciunt quod Iuno fabulatast cum Iove.

² In Samos the practice was referred to the example of Zeus (schol. B.L.T.V. *Il.* 14. 296, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 987, 9 ff.).

³ Plout. *v. Lycurg.* 15, Xen. *de rep. Lac.* 1. 5, Hermippos *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 37 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 555 c.

⁴ The Lydian practice of prenuptial free love (Ail. *var. hist.* 4. 1 Ἀνδοῖς ἦν ἔθος πρὸ τοῦ συνοικεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνδράσιν ἐταιρεῖν, ἀπαξ δὲ καταξενυχθείσας σὺφρονεῖν· τὴν δὲ ἀμαρτάνουσιν ἐς ἕτερον συγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἀδύνατον ἦν) is hardly analogous. And the Naxian custom of placing a baby boy in the bride's bed on the eve of her wedding (Kallim. *aiiia* 3. 1. 1 ff. Mair=B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1910 vii. 15 ff. no. 1011 ἡδὴ καὶ κούρῳ παρθένος εὐνάσατο | τέθμιον ὡς ἐκέλευε προνύμφιον ὕπνον λαῖσαι | ἄρσενι τὴν τάλιν παιδί σὺν ἀμφιθαλεῖ. | "Ἡρην γάρ κοτὲ φασί—), though adduced as a parallel by Kallim. *loc. cit.* and schol. B.L.T.V. *Il.* 14. 296, is better explained as a piece of mimetic magic by A. E. Housman in the *Class. Quart.* 1910 iv. 114 f., D. R. Stuart in *Class. Philol.* 1911 vi. 302 ff., E. Samter 'Ein naxischer Hochzeitsbrauch' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1915 xxxv. 90—98. Cp. E. Westernmark *The History of Human Marriage*⁵ London 1921 ii. 468 'in some parts of Sweden she should have a boy-baby to sleep with her on the night preceding the wedding day in order that her first-born shall be a son.'

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

⁶ F. G. Welcker in K. Schwenck *Etymologisch-mythologische Andeutungen* Elberfeld 1823 p. 271 cp. 'die Sitte des Kiltgangs, die auch bey den Slawen häufig gefunden werde.' On the *Kiltgang* of the Bernese Oberland see J. Grimm—W. Grimm *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1873 v. 704 s.v. KILT (3) 'schweiz. der nächtliche besuch des burschen bei seinem mädchen, das kilten' and in much greater detail F. Staub—L. Tobler—R. Schoch—A. Bachmann—H. Bruppacher in the *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* Frauenfeld 1895 iii. 242 ff. s.v. Chilt.

⁷ For the subject in general see P. H. Larcher 'Mémoire sur la noce sacrée' (read in 1790) in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1808 xlviii. 323 ff., R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 pp. 1—38, W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 pp. 69—85, *id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2098—2103, H. Graillet in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 177—181 ('Hiéros Gamos').

The valuable monograph of A. Klinz *ΤΕΡΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΣ* Halis Saxonum 1933 pp. 1—134 is of wider scope (p. 118 'Gravissimas res breviter complectens affirmaverim me demonstravisse notionem sacrarum nuptiarum in religione Minoiorum vi et notione iuris materni originem atque principium habere, inde in sacra Graecorum sollemnia translata esse, antiquissimis quidem religionis Graecae temporibus numina cthonia fertilitatis et inferorum coniugiis inter se coniungi, sed postea pro iure paterno Indogermanorum tempore religionis Olympiae Iovem ut caeli lucidi deum, qui sacris matrimonii cum veteribus terrae deabus conectitur, auctoritate plurimum posse'), but in pp. 89—111 deals systematically with 'Διὸς γάμοι.'

(1) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Samos.

In the case of Samos both are to hand. Parthenia, an old name of the island¹, was connected with the maidenhood of Hera, who here grew up and was married to Zeus². This myth corresponded with a definite ritual. A statue of Hera in the Samian Heraion—presumably the wooden image made by Smilis of Aigina³—was dressed as a bride⁴; and at an annual festival the goddess was married to Zeus⁵. Terra-cotta groups found in Samos show Zeus and Hera

¹ The island was formerly (Strab. 637 *πρότερον οἰκούστων Καρῶν*) named Παρθενία (Aristot. *frag.* 570 Rose² *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 135, Herakleid. *resp. Sam. frag.* 10. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 215 Müller), Kallim. *h. Del.* 48 f., Ap. Rhod. 1. 187 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, Strab. 457, 637, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σάμος, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 533) after Parthenia the wife of Samos (Loukillos of Tarrha *frag.* 10 Linnenkugel *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187), or after the river Parthenios (Strab. 457, Eustath. *loc. cit.*), which was so called because Hera had been brought up there as a virgin (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187). Probably it was believed that Hera renewed her virginity by bathing in the river, just as the Argives declared that she annually became a virgin by washing in the spring Kanathos at Nauplia (*supra* p. 224 n. 3). W. M. Leake *Travels in the Morea* London 1830 ii. 360 detected a trace of this notion in the saying still current at Nauplia, that the women of the place are handsome, while those of Argos are ugly, thanks to the different water of the two towns. Similarly, after her marriage with Zeus Hera was said to have bathed in the spring of the Mesopotamian river Aborras: hence the surrounding air was filled with fragrance, and shoals of tame fish disported themselves in the water (Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 30). Alleged names of Samos include Παρθένιον (Eutekn. *metaphr. in* Nik. *alex.* 148 f.) and even †*Parthenoarrhusa*† (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 135—a bungled blend of Παρθενία and Δρυούσα, as J. Hardouin saw, cp. Herakleid. *loc. cit.* ἡ δὲ νῆσος Παρθενία, ὅτερον δὲ Δρυούσα). A certain soil found in Samos was known as παρθενία (Nik. *alex.* 149 with schol. *ad loc.*). Hera herself was entitled Παρθενία both in Samos (Kallim. *ap.* schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187, cp. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6. 149) and elsewhere (see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1649).

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

³ *Supra* i. 444 f. figs. 313, 314, iii. 645 n. o fig. 446. See further Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera pp. 12—16 Münzt. 1, 1—12.

⁴ Perhaps in the robe called *πάρος* (Kallim. *frag.* 495 Schneider *ap.* Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iii. 93, 19 ff., Hesych. *s.v.* *πάρος*).

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

On the cult of Hera in Samos see now the results of the important excavations (1910—1914 and 1925—1929) described by E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 1—99 and summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 175 f.

Chrysippos *frag.* 1074 von Arnim *ap.* Orig. *c. Cels.* 4. 48 (xi. 1105 C—1108 A Migne) commented at length on a Samian picture *ἐν ἡ ἀπρηγοροῦσα ἡ "Ἡρα τὸν Δία ἐγγράπτο* (cp. *frag.* 1071 von Arnim *ap.* Diog. Laert. 7. 187 f.), and *frag.* 1072 von Arnim *ap.* Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 18 (ii. 188 B Migne) on another of the same sort at Argos *πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Διὸς αἰδῶι φέρων* (Wilamowitz cj. *φύρων*) τῆς "Ἡρας τὸ πρόσωπον. Such works aroused the indignation of Christian (Theophil. *ad Autol.* 3. 3 and 8) and pagan (Diog. Laert. *proem.* 5, 7. 187 f.) alike. But, when it is recollected that Orpheus, possibly in his lines *περὶ Διὸς καὶ "Ἡρας* (*frag.* 220 Abel=*frag.* 115 Kern), ascribed such conduct to the gods (Diog. Laert. *proem.* 5), it becomes probable that these pictures were not mere *libidines* but had some religious significance. Cp. e.g. the figure of Geb the

seated side by side (figs. 829 and 830)¹. Both deities wear the bridal veil² and thereby justify R. Foerster's³ identification of the subject as the *hierôs gámos*.

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



Fig. 829.



Fig. 830.

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

¹ (1) From a child's grave in the Samian necropolis, now at Vienna (J. Böhlau *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* Leipzig 1898 p. 45, *id.* in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1900 iii. 210 with fig. 84 (=my fig. 829: scale $\frac{2}{3}$)).

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

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

(5) A similar but somewhat more advanced group, formerly in the possession of Sir William Gell (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* pl. 1 (=my fig. 830: scale $\frac{2}{3}$), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 20, 251, 558, *ib.* Hera p. 24 f. fig. 4 a, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 115 pl. 5, b).

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

² *Infra* p. 1033.

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

of all existing trees: it belonged to the species known as *lygos* or *agnos* by the Greeks (the *viteæ agnus castus* of Linné), and was still thriving in the time of Pausanias¹. It is shown or at least symbolized on coins struck by Gordianus² Pius³. Some maintained that the Heraion, where the tree stood, had been founded by the Argonauts, who brought the image of Hera with them from Argos; but the Samians themselves supposed that the goddess had been born in their island beside the river Imbrasos and beneath this very willow⁴. According to Menodotos⁵, a Samian historian, Admete the daughter of Eurystheus⁶ once fled from Argos to Samos, where she had a vision of Hera and, wishing to give the goddess a thankoffering for her safe journey, undertook the care of the temple built by the Leleges and the Nymphs. The Argives, indignant at this, bribed Tyrrhenian pirates to carry off the image, in order that the Samians might punish Admete. The Tyrrhenians came to the port of Hera, found the temple without a door to it, carried off the image, and put it on board their ship. But, though they loosed their cables, weighed anchor, and rowed their hardest, they could not get away from the land. So they set the image ashore and, after offering it sundry cakes, took their departure in fear and trembling. Next morning Admete raised the alarm, and the searchers discovered the image on the shore. Being but barbarous Carians⁷, they believed that it had run away of its own accord, placed it against a willow fence⁸, drew towards it the longest branches on either side of it and wrapped it round about with them. Admete released the image from these bonds, purified it, and erected it on the pedestal which it had occupied before. Hence every year the image is carried off to the shore, disappears from view, and has cakes set beside it⁹. The festival in question is named *Tónea*¹⁰ because the image was so tightly (*syntónōs*) bound by those that first sought it. Further it is said that, when the Carians consulted Apollon of Hybla about these occurrences, the god bade them escape serious disaster by paying the goddess a voluntary penalty. Prometheus after his release from bonds had been willing to pay a light penalty, and Zeus had bidden him wear a willow wreath¹¹. The Carians must do the same and, when feasting, bind their heads with willow branches just as they had bound the goddess. They were to abandon the use of every other kind of wreath, with the exception of

¹ Paus. 8. 23. 5.

² *Supra* p. 645 n. o fig. 446.

³ Paus. 7. 4. 4. Cp. *supra* p. 1027 n. 1 f. On the probable site of the *lygos* towards the south-east corner of the precinct see E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 51 with fig. 7 and pl. 13.

⁴ Menodotos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 103 ff. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 671 E ff.

⁵ So Syncell. *chron.* 172 A (i. 324 Dindorf) 'Ἀδμήτα θυγάτηρ Εὐρύσθεως ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἱεράτευσεν ἐτη λη'. αἱ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης τὴν ἱερωσύνην διαδεχόμεναι Φαλίδες ἐκαλοῦντο.

⁶ Strab. 637 cited *supra* p. 1027 n. 1.

⁷ πρὸς τι λόγου θωράκιον.

⁸ E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 33 would associate these rites with a large quadrangular flooring in the south-east corner.

⁹ The form *Tónea* is supported by all the MSS. of Athen. 672 D—E and was accepted by Dindorf. For the termination cp. the *Ποσειδεα* of Mytilene and the *Ποσειδεα* of Megara (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 83 f.). A. Meineke, however, cj. *Tónea*, and G. Kaibel cj. *Tónaia*. The name is connectible with *τείνω* 'stretch,' *τόνος* 'tension, force, vigour,' cp. Dioskor. 1. 134 (135) p. 130 Sprengel *λύγος δὲ διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῆς εἶποναι*.

¹⁰ It is not definitely stated, but it is probably implied that Prometheus' wreath was of *lygos*: cp. Aisch. *Προμηθεὺς λυόμενος frag.* 201 Nauck² and Σφίγξ *frag.* 235 Nauck², Hyg. *poel. astr.* 2. 15. Apollod. 2. 5. 11 has *δεσμὸν ἐλόμενος τὸν τῆς ἐλαίας*. Prometheus' ring (*supra* i. 329 n. o) may be a later variant of his wreath.

bay-leaves which might be worn by those that actually served the goddess. This Samian custom of wearing willow is mentioned elsewhere¹. Anakreon² says of a young friend from Samos:

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

More important is an epigram by Nikainetos³ of Samos, which throws some further light upon the usage:

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

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

Such rites can be paralleled, at least in part, from other cult-centres. Thus at Sparta the image of Artemis was called *Lygodésma* the 'Willow-bound' as well as *Orthia* the 'Upright' ostensibly because it had been found in a thicket of willows, which twining round it kept it upright⁴. And at Athens it was customary for women celebrating the Thesmophoria to lie on a bed of willows⁵. Indeed, priests in general used to strew willow leaves under their couches⁶, and as late as the eighteenth century Christian monks wore girdles made of willow osiers⁷.

¹ Tenaros *ap.* Athen. 672 A states that willow was ἀγροίκων...στεφάνωμα. But we do not know who Tenaros was, nor whether his ἀγροίκοι were Samians. Still less information is given by the jejune note of Aristarchos *ap.* Athen. 671 F f. ὅτι καὶ λόγους ἐστεφανοῦντο οἱ ἀρχαῖοι.

² Anakreon *frag.* 41 Bergk⁴, 21 Diehl *ap.* Athen. 671 E f., 673 D, cp. Poll. 6. 107. Hephaestion (the metrician?) published a pamphlet περὶ τοῦ παρ' Ἀνακρέοντι λυγίνου στεφάνου (Athen. 673 E).

³ Nikainetos *ap.* Athen. 673 B ff.

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

⁴ Paus. 3. 16. 11 (quoted *supra* ii. 421 n. 5). Asklepios at Sparta was called Ἀγνίτας because his wooden image was made of ἄγνος (Paus. 3. 14. 7).

⁵ Ail. *de nat. an.* 9. 26, Dioskor. 1. 134 (135) p. 130 Sprengel, Galen. *de simpl. medicament. temp. ac fac.* 6. 2 (xi. 808 Kühn), schol. Nik. *ther.* 71, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1639, 2 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 59.

⁶ Schol. A II. 11. 105, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 834, 37 ff.

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

The reason commonly given for these practices is that the willow possesses antiaphrodisiac qualities¹. If so, the binding of the Samian Hera and her votaries with willow may have been part of a purificatory ceremony, whereby the goddess after her annual marriage with Zeus was believed to recover her virginity². Artemis *Lygodésma* too was presumably a virgin³. And ceremonial purity was incumbent upon women at the Thesmophoria and priests at all times. This explanation might be supported by the fact that the Tonea included a visit of Hera to the sea-shore: salt-water cleansed all⁴.

Nevertheless there are not wanting some indications that the willow was credited with powers of a precisely opposite character and regarded as a strong aphrodisiac⁵. Confusion may have arisen owing to the popular but erroneous assumption that the name *ágynos* was derived from *hagnós*, 'pure,' or from *ágonos*, 'unfruitful⁶'. On this showing the ritual above described must have aimed at increasing the fertility of the goddess⁷. But in either case it was

castus), qui se plie comme de l'oster, et ils prétendent par là s'arracher du cœur tous les désirs que l'amour y pourroit faire naître.' Etc.—cited by A. de Gubernatis *La Mythologie des Plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 5. See also P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 388.

¹ In addition to the authorities given in p. 1030 n. 5 f. see Paul. Aeg. 7. 3 *άγνος ή λύγος... και προς άγνείαν περιστενται δρᾶν, ού μόνον έσθιόμενος και πινόμενος αλλά και ύποστρυννόμενος* with the note *ad loc.* of F. Adams *Paulus Aegineta* London 1847 iii. 20. Cp. also what is said of the *tréa* or *salix* by Ail. *de nat. an.* 4. 23, schol. *Od.* 10. 510, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1667, 20 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 110, Serv. *in Verg. georg.* 2. 48.

² *Supra* p. 1027 n. 1.

³ Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 130 n. 2, cp. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1662.

⁴ On the purificatory virtue of salt-water see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 889 n. 1.

Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 858 n. 3 finds traces of a similar ritual in the Homeric hymn to Dionysos, who appeared by the sea-shore, was captured by Tyrrhenian pirates and bound with withies of willow, but burst his bonds and took vengeance on his captors (*h. Dion.* 1 ff.).

⁵ J. Jonston *Thaumatographia naturalis* Amstelodami 1665 p. 191 cites from Scalig. *Exerc.* 175 *sect.* 1 [J. C. Scaliger *Exot. exerc.* Lutetiae 1557 p. 226] the following account: 'Agnacath est arbor pyri facie & magnitudine perpetuo folio viridissima, nitidissimaque superficie. Adeo validos ad coitum efficit, ut miraculo sit omnibus ejus efficacia.' See further A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* p. 6 f.

Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 60 *urinae cient et menses...lactis ubertatem faciunt, 62 volvam etiam suffitu vel adposito purgat.* Cp. Dioskor. 1. 134 (135) p. 129 f. Sprengel.

A. Thomsen 'Orthia' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 407 ff. showed that Artemis *Λυγόδεσμα* or Orthia was a tree-goddess (*supra* ii. 421 n. 8) and that the flogging of Spartan youths, presumably with rods of *λύγος* (cp. Plout. *symp.* 6. 8. 1 *τύπτοντες άγνύλαις βάβδους* at the *Βουλίου έξέλασις*), transferred her virtue to the sufferers. *Supra* ii. 635 n. 9.

⁶ Most of the writers referred to *supra* p. 1030 n. 5 f. and p. 1031 n. 1 connect *άγνος* with *άγνός* or *άγονος*—both very dubious etymologies (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 121, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 8).

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

appropriate to a divine marriage, and we must bear in mind the fact that those who took part in the Tonea sang of Hera as 'Zeus' glorious bride¹.'

(2) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Knossos.

Another locality in which the *hieròs gámos* was represented by both myth and ritual is Knossos at the base of Mount Ide in Crete. The wedding of Zeus and Hera was said to have taken place near the river Theren (the modern *Platyperama*²). Here in later times a sanctuary was built and yearly sacrifices offered with traditional wedding-rites³. I have suggested that the earlier ceremony involved the ritual pairing of solar bull with lunar cow⁴.

(3) The *Hieròs Gámos* on Mount Ide.

More frequently the *hieròs gámos* is attested by a localised myth without direct evidence of a ritual performance.

Thus the famous passage of the *Iliad* that describes how Zeus consorted with Hera on Mount Ide in the Troad⁵ expressly alludes to the tale of their early amours⁶; and we are probably justified in inferring that the tale was told of the mountain in question.

However that may be, it is the myth itself, not the Homeric adaptation of it⁷—and the myth as localised on the Trojan rather than the Cretan

W. H. D. Rouse in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 232 f., K. Lübeck *Adoniskult und Christentum auf Malta* Fulda 1904 p. 7 ff., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 317 f., A. Mayr *Die Insel Malta im Altertum* München 1909 p. 129. In any case it seems probable that contact with the beans was believed to supply the idol with a fresh stock of virility or power to bless: beans = *testes*.

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

² R. Herbst in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 2367.

³ Diod. 5. 72 λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς γάμους τοὺς τε Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἥρας ἐν τῇ Κνωσίων χώρᾳ γενέσθαι κατὰ τινα τόπον πλησίον τοῦ Θήρηος ποταμοῦ, καθ' ὃν νῦν ἱερὸν ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ θυσίας κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀγίους ὑπὸ πῶν ἐγχωρίων συντελεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἀπομυρεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι παρεδόθησαν. *Id.* 5. 80 mentions as his authorities for things Cretan Epimenides, Dosiades, Sosikrates, and Laosthenidas. The river Theren in Crete may have had the same peculiar properties as the spring Kanathos at Nauplia and perhaps the river Parthenios in Samos (*supra* p. 1027 n. 1). It was apparently an arm of the Amnisos (K. Hoeck *Kreta* Göttingen 1829 iii. 315), at the mouth of which was the cave of Eileithyia (*Od.* 19. 188, cp. Strab. 476), a daughter of Hera born here (Paus. i. 18. 5): hence Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 115 Ἀμισοῖο λεχώων...Ἰδωρ. It is noteworthy that Artemis the virgin bathes in the Parthenios (a river of Paphlagonia, according to the schol. *ad loc.*) or in the Amnisos, and is escorted by the nymphs of the latter stream (Ap. Rhod. 3. 875 ff., Kallim *h. Artem.* 15).

⁴ *Supra* i. 523. The myth of the Cretan bull was attached to the same locality (Paus. i. 27. 9 ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Τεθρίνι).

⁵ *Supra* i. 154, iii. 35, 180.

⁶ *Il.* 14. 295. Cp. Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 164.

⁷ Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 38 f.

Ide¹—that is represented by the wall-painting found at Pompeii in the 'House of the Tragic Poet' (pl. lxxii)². Here we see Zeus, a kingly figure seated on a rocky throne³. A *himátion* wrapped about his legs is drawn up so as to cover his hair like a veil⁴, and falls again over his shoulder and left arm. The wreath on his head is possibly, but not certainly⁵, composed of oak leaves. He rests his left hand, the fourth finger of which wears a wedding-ring, on a long sceptre. With an affectionate⁶ and at the same time symbolic⁷ gesture of his right hand he draws towards him his bride. She is robed in a white *péplos* and an ample veil. Her hair is confined by a richly decorated *stepháne*; and her jewels include earrings, a necklace, bracelets, and a wedding-ring worn like that of Zeus. Her large and brilliant eyes, which recall the epithet *boôpis*⁸, are averted from the face of her bridegroom and with a subtle blend of outward dignity and inward alarm look straight into the distance. The same mixture of feelings is betrayed by her stately yet hesitating advance, and again by the studied nervous way in which she is holding the end of her veil between herself and Zeus. Hera is followed and supported by Iris, a youthful winged figure whose anxious questioning expression is the natural accompaniment of her mistress' mood. But the difference between bride and bridesmaid is finely brought out by the artist. Hera with head erect and full of virginal pride emerges into the light—a queen indeed. Iris watching her with upturned face obscured by a semi-darkness is plainly subordinate and serves as her foil. On the rocks beside Zeus sit three male figures of diminutive size, scantily clad and wreathed with flowers⁹: they have been interpreted with much probability as the Idaean

¹ In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 413 f. I accepted the conclusions of Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 239—243 and maintained that the scenery of the fresco is that of the Cretan mountain. Certainly the woods (*supra* ii. 932 n. 1), the cult of Rhea (Diod. 5. 65 f.), and the Idaean Daktyloi ([Hes.] *frag.* 14 Flach *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 197, Ap. Rhod. 1. 1129 with schol. *ad loc.*, Diod. 5. 64, Paus. 5. 7. 6 with schol. *ad loc.*, Porph. *v. Pyth.* 17, Hesych. *s.v.* Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι, *et. mag.* p. 465, 25 ff., cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 170) all suit the neighbourhood of Knossos. But they suit the Trojan Ide equally well: here too were woods (*supra* ii. 949 n. 5), a cult of Rhea (Strab. 469: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1523 n. 1), and the Idaean Daktyloi (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1126 and 1131, Strab. 473, Diod. 5. 64, 17. 7, Plout. *de music.* 5, Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 15 p. 46, 24 ff. Stählin, Hesych. *s.v.* Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι). Moreover, the other frescoes found in the same *atrium* depict scenes from Homeric *epos* (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* i. 16), and the flowers worn by the Daktyloi may be due to a reminiscence of *Il.* 14. 347 ff.

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

³ *Supra* i. 124 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 1028.

⁵ Herrmann *op. cit.* i. 17 n. 1.

⁶ Cp. the Homeric *ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρα κ.τ.λ.* (*Il.* 24. 671, *Od.* 18. 258, 24. 398).

⁷ C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 131 f., R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 15 (who cites *inter alia* Eur. *Ion* 891 ff. λευκοῖς δ' ἐμφὺς καρποῖς χειρῶν | εἰς ἀντροῦ κοίτας | κραυγὰν, ὦ μάτερ, μ' ἀδδῶσαν | θεὸς δμεινέρας ἄγες κ.τ.λ.).

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

⁹ Herrmann *op. cit.* i. 17 n. 3 (cp. *ib.* i. 15 fig. 3) states that their wreaths consist of sprays entwined with flowers, but thinks it impossible to decide whether these flowers are, as Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 33 f. no. 114 supposed, primroses.

Daktyloi¹, who haunted the woods of Mount Ide and were associated with Rhea, the Idaean Mother². The locality is further indicated by wooded hills in the background and a pillar adorned with Rhea's attributes—three bronze lions standing on its capital, a timbrel lying against its base, flutes and cymbals bound by a fillet to its shaft. The whole fresco must be regarded as a good Pompeian copy of a splendid Hellenistic original³.

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

So came about the wedlock of the gods,
Whom puissant Rhea bare to rule Olympos.
One couch she strewed for the sleep of Zeus and Hera—
Iris, a maid with hands all perfume-pure⁴.

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

He spake, and rolling cloud on golden cloud
Tower-wise inglobed a circumambient veil,
So shaped and fashioned forth a bridal-bower,
Which then the dazzling diverse-tinted form
Of Iris the ethereal crowned—a covert
Of Nature's make for Zeus and his bright-armed bride,
What time they lay on the mountain, and withal
A perfect copy of their destined union⁵.

Iris and the Daktyloi, like the landscape-background, were additions to the accepted type. A Hellenistic relief in island marble, unfortunately much corroded, was found in Rhodes and is now in the Rhodian Museum (fig. 831)⁶. It shows Zeus seated on a throne, the side of which is decorated with a large Sphinx. He raises his right hand in admiration of Hera, who stands before him, one hand resting on the god's knee, the other on her own hip. Between them is seen a pillar, on which is perched an eagle with spread wings. A Maiuri well compares another Hellenistic relief, in Parian marble, likewise found in

¹ Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iv. 96 f. and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1865 xxiii. 58 was the first to propound this view. R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 36 n. o suggested that they might be the Σελλοὶ χαμαῖεῖναι of Dodona—a suggestion refuted by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 241 f. L. Stephani in the *Bulletin histor.-phil. de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg* 1855 xii. 301 n. 80 and Helbig *loc. cit.*, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1864 xxxvi. 277 ff., *Rhein. Mus.* 1869 xxiv. 508 ff., *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei* Leipzig 1873 p. 117 argued that they are Λειμώνες, personified 'Meadows': cp. Philostr. *mai. imagg.* 2. 4. 3 λειμώνες δ' ἐν ὄρεσιν μετὰ κλών, οὓς ἀκράτους ὠνάμαζες, μαραινουσιν ἐπὶ σοὶ (sc. Hippolytos) τὰ ἀνθη and *supra* ii. 164 n. 6 (Leimon). N. Terzaghi in *Atene e Roma* 1902 v. 434 ff. regards them as Κούρητες.

² L. v. Sybel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 940 f., O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2018 ff. *Supra* p. 922.

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

⁴ Theokr. 17. 131 ff.

⁵ Nonn. *Dion.* 32. 76 ff. The text of line 78 f. is disputed. I have translated the passage as it stands in the editions of D. F. Graefe (1826) and A. Ludwich (1911), viz. καὶ θαλάμου ποιητὸς ἔην τύπος, δὴ τότε κύκλω | Ἴριδος αἰθερῆς ἐτερόχροος ἔστεφε μορφή κ.τ.λ. The Count de Marcellus (ed. Paris 1856) prints the conjectural readings ὅν ποτε for δὴ τότε and ἔτρεφε for ἔστεφε.

⁶ A. Maiuri in *Clara Rhodos* 1932 ii. 44—46 fig. 22 (=my fig. 831).

smaller scale, with a palm-branch in its right hand—possibly Nike, but possibly a victor in some local contest who had dedicated a statue to Zeus and Hera¹.

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

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



Fig. 832.

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

For similar thrones see e.g. that of Epiktesis (*supra* i. 536 fig. 407) and that of Dionysos (*supra* i. 710 with pl. xl, 4). A relief in Pentelic marble, now at Munich (A. Furtwängler *Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München* München 1903 pl. 28, *id. Glyptothek zu München*² p. 183 ff. no. 206, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 75 no. 1. My fig. 833 is from a photograph), again shows Zeus on his throne with Hera (?) standing before him, a group of worshippers at their altar, and a pillar surmounted by two archaistic figures, male and female, beneath the boughs of a huge plane-tree. Furtwängler comments (p. 185): 'Leider fehlt eine Dedikations-Inscription, so dass wir das göttliche Paar nicht benennen können. Es kann ebensogut irgend ein lokaler Heros und seine Gattin wie etwa Zeus Philios mit Agathe Tyche sein.'

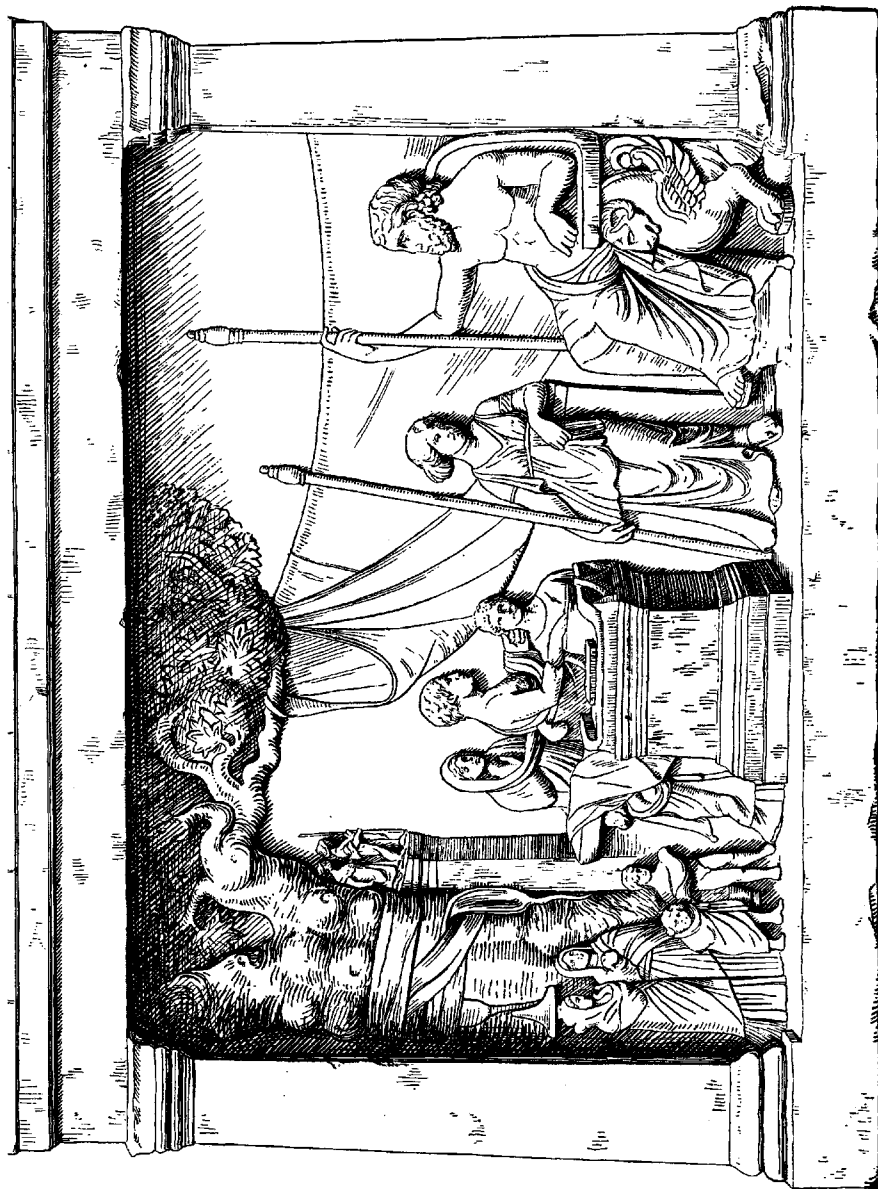
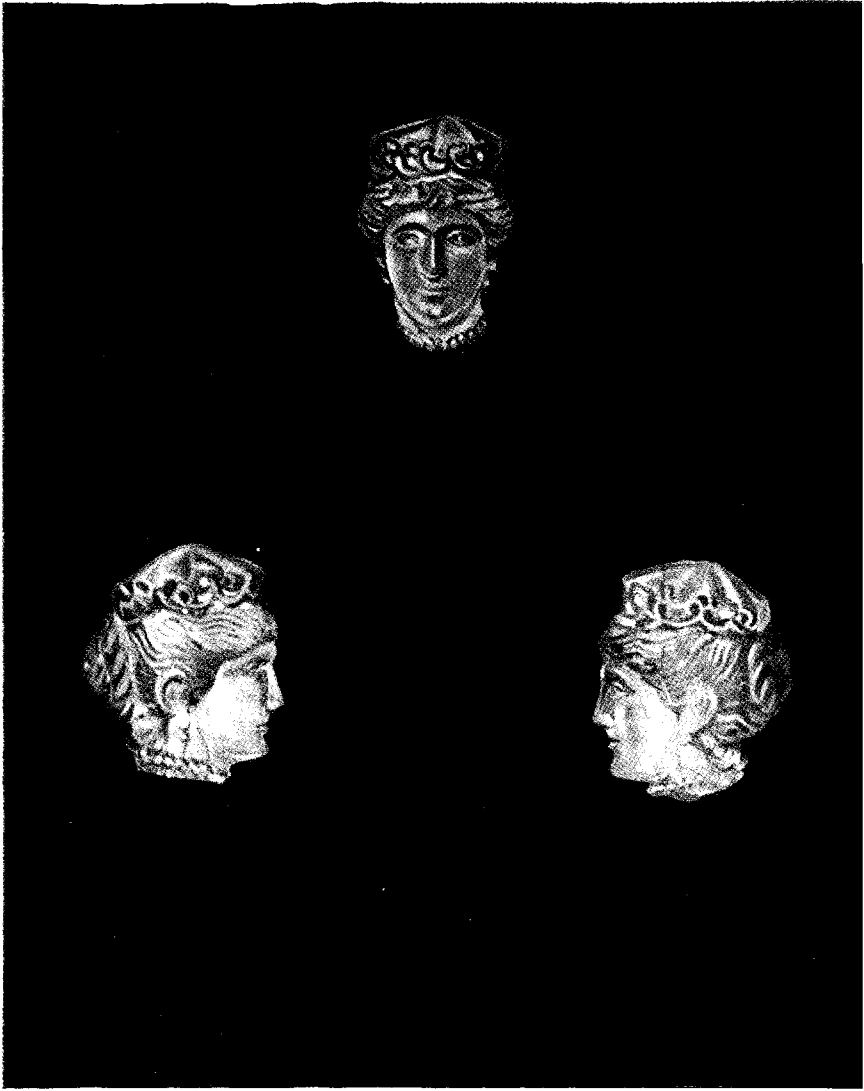


Fig. 833.



A head cast in blue glass (Greek work of *c.* 400 B.C.), from Girgenti, now at Queens' College, Cambridge : Hera *Lakonia* (?).

is wrapped about his legs; but otherwise his broad and powerful figure is undraped. Leaning back on his left hand, he raises his right and clasps Hera by the wrist. She is bare-footed and clad, like the archaic maidens on the akropolis at Athens, in a long sleeved *chiton* with a *himation* slung over her right shoulder and under her left breast. But the *stephane* above her brow and the large veil that falls over her head and forms a framework for her whole figure betoken that she is Hera as a bride¹. With her left hand she is unveiling herself to her bridegroom. In her right she probably held a sceptre.

Variations of the same type may be detected in late Greek vase-paintings, which introduce Zeus and Hera among other deities as accessory figures. Thus a fragmentary Apulian vase in Sir William Hamilton's collection represented a battle of Greeks and Persians below with a council of the gods in the upper

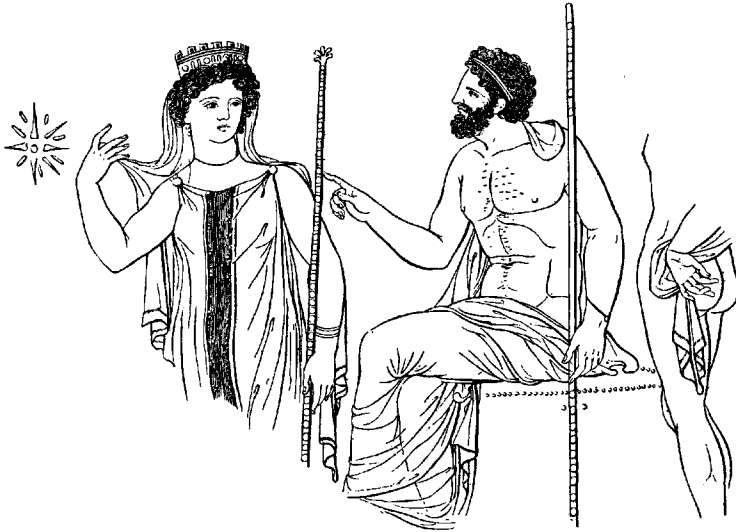


Fig. 835.

register (fig. 835)². Here we see Zeus seated on a rock with Ganymedes (?) standing behind him and Hera in front. Zeus is half-draped in a *himation* and has a fillet in his hair. His left hand, decorated with a bracelet, holds a long sceptre; his right he raises in conversation with Hera. She wears an Ionic *chiton*, ornamented with a broad stripe down the middle, and a bridal veil, which she is lifting with her right hand. In her left she supports a long sceptre topped by a palmette; and on her head is a handsome *stephane*.

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

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

² W. Tischbein *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases...now in the possession of Sir Wm. Hamilton* 1795 ii. 14 ff. pl. 1, F. Köpp in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii Arch. Anz. p. 125 f. fig., Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 293, 2—3.

again with an upper tier of divine spectators (fig. 836)¹. The design is much damaged, and the greater part of Zeus is a modern restoration. But enough remains to prove that the god sat on a richly embellished throne, which has a couple of swans by way of arm-rests. A *himátion* is wrapped about his legs; and his feet, which are shod, are placed on a footstool. The sceptre in the right hand of Zeus is surmounted by an eagle with spread wings. Before her lord with downcast eyes stands Hera. She is clad in a Doric *péplos* with a long overfold, and has sandals on her feet. She has also a *stephane* on her head and a veil. This she raises with her left hand, while in her right she holds a long sceptre. Behind the throne of Zeus stands Ganymedes. And, between them, a winged thunderbolt points downwards to the scene of tumult in progress below.

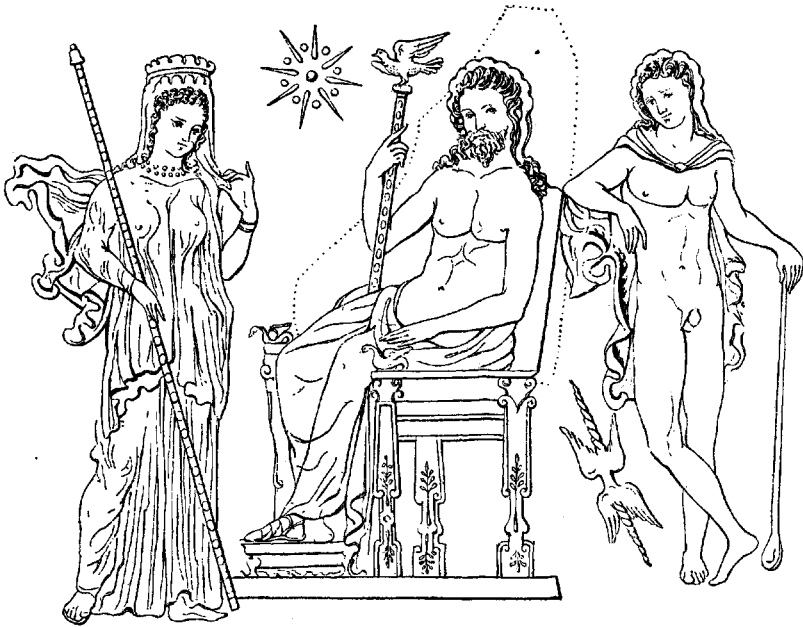


Fig. 836.

On a bell-shaped *kratér* from Saticula (*Santa Agata dei Goti*), now in the same collection, there is a further variation of the type (fig. 837)². The centre of the design is occupied by a group of Athena and Perseus. But adjoining them is a seated Zeus and a standing Hera, the pose of both being reminiscent of the *hieròs gámos*. Zeus is clad in a *himátion* and wears a wreath in his hair. He rests his right hand on a sceptre and turns to face the centre of interest, regardless of a small hovering Nike, who somewhat needlessly presents him with a second wreath. Before him at a lower level stands Hera, draped in Doric *péplos* and star-spangled veil. In her right hand is a long sceptre, and

¹ Heydemann *Die Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 591 ff. no. 3256, figured in the *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 31, E. Gerhard *Über die Lichtgottheiten auf Kunstdenkmälern* Berlin 1840 pl. 42, 3, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 99.

² Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 224 ff. no. 2202, C. A. de Jorio in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1829 v pl. 51 with text pp. 1—7.

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

(4) The *Hieròs Gámos* on Mount Oche.

Euboia, a great centre of Hera-worship, was another place associated with the *hieròs gámos*. It was believed that Zeus had met Hera on Mount Oche, the highest point in the south of the island. In this belief, no doubt, folk-etymology played a part¹. But it is to be observed that bronze coins of Karystos at the foot of Mount Oche, struck in s. ii B.C., show sometimes a laureate head of Zeus², sometimes a veiled head of Hera³—a suggestive choice of deities⁴.

(5) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Elymnion.

Elymnion or Elymnia, an island-town off the coast of Euboia⁵, has been identified with the largest of the Petalian Isles near Karystos⁶, but is better placed on the north coast near Oreos⁷. Sophokles⁸ in his *Naúplios* spoke of 'bridal Elymnion,' because this too was reputed to have been the spot where



Fig. 837.

¹ *Supra* ii. 902 n. 1.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 103 pl. 19, 4, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 357. Cp. *supra* p. 127 fig. 48.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 104 pl. 19, 5 and 8, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 332 pl. 203, 23, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 357.

⁴ There is, however, no reason to connect with either of them the early corbelled building on Mt Oche (for which see T. Wiegand 'Der angebliche Urtempel auf der Ocha' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 11—17 pls. 2 and 3).

⁵ Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ελύμνιον.

⁶ C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1868—1872 ii. 434 n. 1, H. Kiepert *Formae orbis antiqui* Berlin 1894 Map 15 (with a query), Text p. 3 ('very doubtfully').

⁷ A. Wilhelm in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1892 xv. 115, A. Philippson in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2468.

⁸ Soph. *Naúplios frag.* 404 Nauck², 437 Jebb *ap. schol.* Aristoph. *pax* 1126 Καλλι-στρατος φησι τόπον Εύβοίας τὸ 'Ελύμνιον. 'Απολλώνιος δὲ ναὸν (an leg. νῆσον? A.B.C.) φησὶν εἶναι πλησίον Εύβοίας. νυμφικὸν δὲ τινες αὐτὸ φασίν, ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς τῇ 'Ηρᾷ ἐκεῖ συνε-γένετο. μέμνηται καὶ Σοφοκλῆς 'πρὸς πέτραις 'Ελυμνίαις,' καὶ ἐν Ναυπλίῳ 'νυμφικὸν 'Ελύμνιον.'

Zeus consorted with Hera. But that Zeus in Euboea, like Poseidon in Lesbos¹, bore the cult-title *Elýmnius* is an unsupported conjecture².

(6) The *Hierós Gámos* on Mount Kithairon.

Plutarch, who as a native of Chaironeia knew the mythology of Boiotia well, gives us a more detailed account³. Hera was brought up as a virgin in Euboea, but was stolen away by Zeus and carried across the strait to Boiotia. Kithairon, the mountain-god, provided the run-aways with a shady nook and a bridal chamber of nature's making⁴. And, when Makris the nurse of Hera came in search of her and was minded to pry too far, Kithairon prevented her by saying that Zeus was there resting with Leto. So Hera escaped detection and later showed her gratitude by admitting Leto *Mychia*, 'of the Nook,' or *Nychia*, 'of the Night,' to share her altar and her temple. Others declared that Hera herself, since she accompanied there in secret with Zeus, was called *Letò Nychia*, 'the Secret One of the Night'⁵, but when their union was made public—and this happened first in the neighbourhood of Kithairon and Plataiai⁶—came to be known as Hera *Teleia*, 'of the Wedding Rites,' and *Gamélíos*, 'the goddess of Marriage'⁷.

Plutarch's narrative proves that the cult of Zeus and Hera on Mount Kithairon, its ancient ritual⁸ notwithstanding, had been influenced by the Euboean worship of Hera, and must in fact be treated as the remodelled form of an earlier cult, in which Zeus had been paired, not with Hera at all, but with Leto *Mychia* or *Nychia*⁹.

¹ Hesych. 'Ελύμνιος· Ποσειδῶν ἐν Λέσβῳ. καὶ νῆσος τῆς Εὐβόλας. But also Hesych. 'Ελύτιος· Ποσειδῶν ἐν Λέσβῳ.

² O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2468, E. Fehrl in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 623.

³ Plout. περὶ τῶν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς Δαιδάλων 3 ἀρ. Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 1. 3.

⁴ Plout. *loc. cit.* ἐπισκίον τινα μυχὸν καὶ θάλαμον αὐτοφυῆ. Cp. *supra* ii. 898 n. 6. Kithairon is described as 'Εριννύων μυχίς by Hermesianax of Kypros *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 428 Müller) ἀρ. [Plout.] *de fluv.* 2. 3: see further K. Diltthey in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1874 xxxi. 93 f. and S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 994 f.

⁵ Δητώ from λήθω, λανθάνω, and Νυχία from νύξ, νύχιος. On these derivations see A. Enmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1969 f., to whose references for Δητώ add L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 537, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 267 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 327 s.v. 'lateo,' Walde—Pokorný *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 377 s.v. 'lä- "verborgen, versteckt sein."' But F. Wehrli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* Suppl. v. 571 ff. supports the connexion of Δητώ, Δατώ, *Leton*, *Latona* with Lycian *lada* (*supra* ii. 455) and adds: 'Darum hat auch die ursprüngliche Identität von Leto-Lato und Leda [*supra* i. 763 n. 4] einige Wahrscheinlichkeit.'

⁶ At Plataiai Hera bore the titles *Teleia* and *Νυμφενομένη* (Paus. 9. 2. 7).

⁷ For these epithets see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1134 nn. 5 and 3 f.

⁸ *Supra* ii. 898 n. 6.

⁹ Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 269 'Επίθετα "Ηρας... 15 νυχίας with the note: 'μυχίας potius quam νυχίας videtur in *L. exstare*; nisi potius νυχίας ex μυχίας correctum est.' See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3298.

An interesting relic of this goddess is a paste in the Vienna collection (fig. 838 is enlarged ($\frac{2}{3}$) from T. Panofka *Gemmen mit Inschriften* Berlin 1852 pp. 122, 135 pl. 4, 40), which shows a cock surrounded by the inscription ΑΕΤΟΜΥΧΙ (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 7361 d) = Δητο(ι) Μυχί(α). The cock was dear to Leto, as to all women in childbirth, because he stood by her to lighten her labour (Ail. *de nat. an.* 4. 29). Possibly Leto Φυρίη of Phaistos (Ant. Lib. 17 (after



Fig. 838.

(7) The *Hieròs Gámos* in the Cave of Achilleus.

A parallel to the 'nook' of Kithairon in the Boeotian myth is furnished by the cave of Achilleus. Ptolemaios *Chénnos* ('the Quail'), who flourished in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, in his *New or Surprising History* told the tale as follows¹. When Hera was fleeing from the embraces of Zeus, Achilleus the earth-born received her in his cave and persuaded her to yield to the importunity of the god. This was their first union, and Zeus rewarded Achilleus by a promise that all who bore his name thereafter should become famous. Hence the fame of Achilleus son of Thetis. The teacher of Cheiron, too, was called Achilleus; indeed Peleus' son was named after him by Cheiron. Now we are not definitely told by Ptolemaios where his cave of Achilleus was situated. But it may fairly be surmised that Achilleus the earth-born was one with Achilleus the teacher of Cheiron; and, if so, the cave of Achilleus the earth-born must have been the famous cave of Cheiron on Mount Pelion². The whole story is meant to sound like a genuine Magnesian myth.

(8) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Argos.(a) *Zeus and Hera at Hermione.*

Another locality specially connected with the *hieròs gámos* is the Argolid. At Hermione there was a sanctuary of Hera *Parthénos*; and pious but ignorant folk derived the name of the town from the notion that Zeus and Hera had come to an 'anchorage' here after their voyage from Crete³. Aristotle, or perhaps rather Aristokles⁴, in a lost treatise on the cults of Hermione had included the local myth, which told how Zeus had transformed himself into a cuckoo in order to consort with Hera⁵. But we have no proof that the union of these two deities was celebrated at Hermione by actual marriage rites.

(β) *Zeus and Hera at Argos.*

The same conception of the manner in which Zeus gained his desires was current at Argos also, thirty miles away, in the fifth century B.C. The cult-statue of Hera at the Argive Heraion⁶ had in one hand a pomegranate

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

¹ Ptol. *nov. hist.* 6 (p. 196, 11 ff. ed. Westermann) = Phot. *bibl.* p. 152 a 29 ff. Bekker. The *bona fides* of Ptolemaios Chénnos, impugned by R. Hercher in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1856 i. 269—293, was vainly defended by C. Müller *Geographi Graeci minores* Parisiis 1882 ii p. lvii. See W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ München 1920 ii. 1. 421 f.

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

³ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Ερμιῶν καὶ 'Ερμιόνη... 'Ερμιον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν Ἥραν ἐνταῦθα ἀπὸ Κρήτης ἀφικομένους ὁρμισθῆναι, καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ ο εἰς ε, δθεν καὶ ἱερὸν Ἥρας παρθένου ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ (cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 286, 39 ff.).

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

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

⁶ *Supra* p. 65 f.

(fig. 839)¹ about which strange things were said, and in the other a cuckoo-sceptre which Pausanias² explains by the story of Zeus' metamorphosis.

But was the *hieròs gámos* at Argos represented by definite rites? W. H. Roscher³ has collected various facts which point towards that conclusion. On the right hand side of the *prónaos* or vestibule of the Heraion stood a couch known as Hera's couch⁴. A sacrifice offered to the goddess was called by the Argives *Lechérna*⁵, a name presumably related to the word *léchos* 'a bed.' In the story of Kleobis and Biton the priestess of Hera had to visit her temple on a car drawn by white oxen⁶—a circumstance suggestive of a bridal procession⁷.



Fig. 839.



Fig. 840.

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 149 nos. 155 and 156 pl. 28, 16 (my fig. 839 is from a cast) Antoninus Pius, p. 150 no. 159 L. Verus, p. 151 no. 164 Septimius Severus, cp. p. 152 no. 172 pl. 28, 24 Caracalla, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 154 no. 23 Antoninus Pius, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 44 ff. Münztaf. 3, 2 Iulia Domna, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 34 pl. 1, 12 Antoninus Pius, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 130 pl. 12, 5 Iulia Domna.

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

³ W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 79 f., *id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2101 f.

⁴ Paus. 2. 17. 3 κλίνη τῆς Ἡρας, cp. Poll. 3. 43 κλίνη τισὶ νόμιμα ζετο γαμική.

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

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

⁵ Hesych. Λεχέρνα· ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἡ θυσία ἐπιτελουμένη τῇ Ἡρᾷ.

⁶ *Supra* i. 447 f.

⁷ Phot. *lex. s.v.* ζεύγους ἡμιονικόν ἢ βοεικόν· ζεύξαντες τὴν λεγομένην κλινίδα, ἣ ἐστὶν ὁμοία διέδρω, τὴν τῆς νύμφης μέθοδον ποιοῦνται· κ.τ.λ. M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1651.

And on billon coins of Alexandria struck by Nero (fig. 840)¹ Hera *Argeta* is conspicuously veiled.

These considerations, despite the doubts of M. P. Nilsson², do raise a certain presumption that the marriage of Hera was duly celebrated at Argos, though they do not of course prove that the original consort of the goddess was Zeus³. But that as early as the fifth century B.C. Zeus had come to be regarded as the rightful partner of the Argive Hera, and that their union was commemorated by the ritual of a *hieròs gámos*, seems to me a reasonable inference from the final scene of Aristophanes' *Birds*⁴.

At this point the argument can be strengthened by taking into account Roman as well as Greek evidence. Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses* makes Psyche pray to Hera as follows: 'O sister and wife of mighty Zeus, whether thou abidest in the ancient temple of Samos, which alone can boast thy birth, thine infant cries, and thy nursing, or hauntest thy blissful seat in lofty Carthage, which worships thee as a virgin carried up to heaven on a lion⁵, or presidest over the famous walls of the Argives near the banks of the Inachos, which tells of thee as already the bride of the Thunderer and the queen of the gods⁶,' etc. etc. Argos is here chosen as a typical centre for the cult of Hera conceived as the bride of Zeus. The same conception underlies the *Agamemnon* of Seneca, in which a chorus of Mycenaean women invokes Hera thus:

Come, consort of the mighty sceptre, come,
Hera the Queen,—
All we that in Mykenai have our home
On thee must lean⁷.

Later in the play Agamemnon on reaching his palace exclaims:

O father, hurler of the cruel bolt,
Driver of clouds, sovereign of stars and lands,
To whom the conqueror brings his triumph-spoils,
And thou too, sister of an almighty lord,
Argolic Hera, gladly will I serve you
With gifts of Araby and suppliant entrails⁸.

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 17 nos. 132, 133 pl. 1 (=my fig. 840), 134 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 416 nos. 114 pl. 85, 23, 115 f., J. G. Milne *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins* Oxford 1933 p. 8 nos. 266 f., 281—284, 291, 297.

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

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

⁴ See *supra* p. 58 ff.

⁵ W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 612 ff., F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1247—1250, H. Frère 'Sur le culte de Caelestis' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1907 ii. 21—35, A. von Domaszewski *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig—Berlin 1909 pp. 148—150 ('Virgo Caelestis'). Cp. *supra* ii. 68 n. 2, 869 n. 0, iii. 834.

⁶ *Apul. met.* 6. 4 sive prope ripas Inachi, qui te iam nuptam Tonantis et reginam deorum memorat, inclitis Argivorum praesides moenibus.

⁷ *Sen. Ag.* 348 ff.

⁸ *Sen. Ag.* 839 ff.

But more explicit and detailed is a passage in the *Thebaid* of Statius¹. The poet is describing how the wives and children of the Argive warriors implored Hera to protect their absent ones in the perilous expedition against Thebes:

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

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

One other indication of such a rite is forthcoming, and that from a late and unexpected source. Cyprian, bishop of Antioch, *à propos* of the numerous pagan ceremonies through which he passed in his youth², says: 'I went and at Argos, in Hera's rite, was there initiated into the purposes of union—the union, I mean, of lower with upper and of upper with lower air, and likewise of earth with water and of water with lower air³.' It can hardly be doubted that this, as L. Preller⁴ long since conjectured, refers to the old *hieròs gámos* of Zeus and Hera, still kept up in the third century A.D., though then encumbered with a symbolic and *quasi*-philosophical significance⁵.

¹ Stat. *Theb.* 10. 54 ff.

² Cp. *supra* i. 110 f., iii. 775.

³ *Confessio S. Cypriani* (in *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Septembris vii. 222 ff.) 1 ἤλθον καὶ ἐν "Αργεῖ, ἐν τῇ τῆς "Ηρας τελετῇ, ἐμνήθην ἐκεῖ βουλὰς ἐνότητος, ἀέρος πρὸς αἰθέρα καὶ αἰθέρος πρὸς ἀέρα, ἅμα δὲ καὶ γῆς πρὸς ὕδωρ καὶ ὕδατος πρὸς ἀέρα. Hence Eudok. *de s. Cyprian.* 2. 52 ff. ἐνθεν ἐς ἱππόβοτον θαλερὸν γενόμεν κατὰ "Αργος· | ἦν δὲ Τιθωνιάδος ἔρωτις λειχεύμονος Ἡοῦς. | μύστης δ' αὖ γενόμεν, καὶ αὐτόθι ἥeros ἅμμα (so A. Ludwich for ἀμφω cod. L) | ἥδ' ἐ πολυπτύχιο πόλου καὶ εἶδον ἄμμα, | συγγενίην δ' ὕδατων καὶ εὐφύρβοιο ἀρούρης | ἥδ' αὖτις δροσερῶν ναμάτων εἰς ἥερα διαν.

⁴ L. Preller in *Philologus* 1846 i. 351. Cp. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 44 n. 4.

⁵ For Zeus as *aithēr* and Hera as *aiēr* see *supra* i. 31. Such teaching as that to which Cyprian listened would easily be grafted upon the Heraclitean doctrine of flux or a Stoic adaptation of the same (*supra* i. 28 ff.).

(9) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Athens.

At Athens, and at Athens alone, we have evidence of the rite without the myth. The Athenians had a definite festival called the *Hieròs Gámos*, at which they commemorated the marriage of Zeus and Hera¹. A. Mommsen² rightly identified this festival with the Theogamia, which took place towards the end³ of Gamelion, the month of Hera⁴ (our January to February). H. Usener⁵ drew attention to a passage of Menandros⁶, which enables us to fix the date more exactly as the twenty-fourth or the twenty-seventh of that month⁷. H. von Prott⁸ and L. Deubner⁹ further connect with the same festival the sacrifice of a pig for Zeus *Heraíos* recorded in a ritual calendar of the early fifth century found on the Akropolis at Athens¹⁰. The unique epithet by which the husband is named after the wife¹¹ recalls the fact that at Samos¹² and perhaps elsewhere¹³ Zeus in deference to Hera wore the bridal veil¹⁴.

¹ Hesych. *ιερὸς γάμος*. *ἐορτὴ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας*, Phot. *lex. s.v. ιερὸν γάμον*. 'Αθηναῖοι ἐορτήν Διὸς ἄγουσι καὶ Ἥρας, ιερὸν γάμον καλοῦντες, *et. mag.* p. 468, 56 f. *ιερὸν γάμον*. 'Αθηναῖοι ἐορτήν Διὸς ἄγουσι καὶ Ἥρας, οὕτω καλοῦντες (text reconstituted by T. Gaisford).

² Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 382 f. But his subsequent contention that Hephaistos and Athena, conceived at the Theogamia, were born nine months later at the Chalkeia and Athenaia respectively is neither proved nor probable.

³ Prokl. *in Hes. o.d.* 780 διὸ καὶ 'Αθηναῖοι τὰς πρὸς σύνοδον ἡμέρας ἐξελέγοντο πρὸς γάμους καὶ τὰ Θεογάμια ἐτέλουν, τότε φυσικῶς εἶναι πρῶτον οἰόμενοι γάμον, τῆς σελήνης οὐσης (H. Usener *cj. ιούσης*) πρὸς ἡλίου σύνοδον. T. Bergk *Beiträge zur griechischen Monatskunde* Giessen 1845 p. 36 f. and W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 75 and in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2100 held that Proklos was referring to the first day of the month. But A. Mommsen *Heortologie* Leipzig 1864 p. 343 and A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 524 showed that the reference must be to the last third of the month, when the conjunction of sun and moon was approaching.

⁴ Hesych. *Γαμηλιών*. ὁ (ζ') τῶν μηνῶν, τῆς Ἥρας ιερὸς.

⁵ H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1879 xxxiv. 428.

⁶ Menand. *Méthe frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 162 Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 243 A—B ἐμὲ γὰρ διέτρυπεν ὁ | κομψότατος ἀνδρῶν Χαιρεφῶν ιερὸν γάμον | φάσκων ποήσειν δευτέρῃ μετ' εἰκάδας (so Usener for *δευτέραν μετ' εἰκάδα*) | καθ' αὐτόν, ἵνα τῇ τετράδι δειπνῇ παρ' ἐτέροις. | τὸ τῆς θεοῦ γὰρ πανταχῶς ἔχειν καλῶς. J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 4 expounds: 'gloriatur Chaerepho calliditate sua dicens matrimonium Iovis ac Iunonis, quod Gamelionis diei ultimo adtribuisset usum sacrum sumendum est, domi sese die nefasto [*cp. et. mag.* p. 131, 13 ff.] antecedente celebraturum esse, ne hospites accedant; at Anthesterionis sollemni Veneris apud alios esse cenaturum.'

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

⁸ J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 4.

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

¹⁰ J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 1 ff. no. 1, 20 f., *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 840, A 20 f. [— Δ]ιῖ *hepaloi*: χοῖρος — —]. *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 416 n. 6.

¹¹ J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 4 'Plane singularem esse *Δία Ἡραῖον* ipse fateor. Non est quod miremur 'Αθηναῖν 'Ηφαιστίαν [*supra* p. 216 n. 2], 'Αμφιπύρην Ποσειδωνίαν (schol. Hom. γ 91) aut 'Απόλλωνα Δαφῶν, Διόνυσον Θουρέα. At deum ab uxore denominari aliud est.' He adds *ib.* n. 4 'Non habeo exemplum simile nisi Hesychii glossam Ἡραῖον. Ἡρακλέα [*supra* p. 216 n. 1].'

¹² *Supra* p. 1028 figs. 829 and 830.

¹³ *Supra* p. 1033 pl. lxxix.

¹⁴ *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 378.

Greek art normally recognises Hera as the lawful bride of Zeus. Accordingly they are grouped together in a succession of hieratic types, which perhaps postulate a ritual origin¹.

(a) *Zeus with Hera behind him.*

Vases of the mid sixth century, whether Attic² or otherwise³, represent Olympos by the king and queen of the gods sitting in state. Zeus is enthroned to the right. Hera is enthroned to the right behind him.



Fig. 841.

(β) *Zeus with Hera beside him.*

By the end of the sixth century painters had learnt to economize their design. They now represented Olympos by Zeus enthroned to the right with Hera sitting at his side⁴. Zeus as the more important deity is nearer to the eye

¹ Cp. *supra* pp. 668, 669 f., 688.

² So on the *krater* of Klitias and Ergotimos (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 58 pl. 11—12, Hoppin *Black-fig. Vases* p. 150 ff. no. 2, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 255 ff.).

³ So on a 'Chalcidian' *kylix* in the British Museum (*supra* ii. 771 n. 1 with fig. 734).

⁴ The red-figured *kylix* by the potter Sosias, at Berlin (*supra* ii. 1167 n. 6, iii. 818 n. o), shows Zeus seated with Hera by his side. The upper part of both figures is missing, but enough remains to prove that Zeus in *chiton* and *himation* was holding out a *phidole*, while his eagle-tipped sceptre leant against his stool (lion-footed and covered with a spotted lion-skin), and that Hera in like costume held sceptre and *phidole*. Before her stands Hebe ("H[βη], not [Nκ]η, nor "H[ρᾱ]), with spread wings, filling Hera's *phidole* from an *oinochoe*.

A red-figured *amphora* at Munich, attributed to 'the Nikoxenos painter' (Gerhard

of the spectator¹ (fig. 841). Hebe or Iris or other attendants may stand before them.

(γ) *Zeus with Hera facing him.*

Meantime other painters had hit upon a more effective arrangement. They represent Olympos as an assemblage of deities seated *vis-à-vis*². The partner of Zeus, who still looks towards the right, is almost always Hera, though once



Fig. 842.

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

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

² (1) A black-figured *kýlix* at Berlin (*supra* ii. 776 n. 3 with fig. 740).

(2) A red-figured *kýlix* at Corneto, by the potter Euxitheos and the painter Olto (H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875 xlvii. 254—267, *Mon. d. Inst.* x pl. 23—24 (=my fig. 843), *Wien. Vorlegebl.* D pl. 1—2, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 2141 pl. 93, P. Hartwig *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rotfigurigen Stiles* Stuttgart—Berlin 1893 p. 71 ff., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 203, 4—8, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 250 f. no. 2 fig., Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 431 f., iii. 103 figs. 359 f.,

J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 15 no. 49), has Zeus served by Ganymedes and Hestia seated in place of Hera. The figures from left to right are *A*: Hebe (pomegranate, flower), Hermes (flower), Athena (spear, helmet), Zeus (*phiale*, thunderbolt), Ganymedes (*oinochoe*), Hestia (branch, flower), Aphrodite (flower, dove), Ares (spear, helmet), and *B*: Thero (*thyrsos*, doe, snake), Terpes



Fig. 843.



Fig. 844.

(*piêktron*, *phérminx*), Dionysos (vine, *kántharos*), Kalis (lion, *thyrsos*), Terpon (double flute). On the foot is an Etruscan *graffito*: *Itun Turuce Venela Telinas Tinas Cliniiaras*.

(3) A red-figured *stámnos* in the Louvre, by the 'Providence painter' (*supra* ii. 735 n. 4, E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 3^{me} Série Paris 1922 p. 237 f. no. G 370 pl. 138, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 134 no. 31). My fig. 844 is from the *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 58, 2. The figures from left to right are: Zeus, Nike, Apollon, Hera, Hermes, Poseidon, Athena, Plouton, Persephone (?).

(4) A red-figured *kýlix* in the British Museum, attributed to the school of Brygos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 90 f. no. 167, E. Gerhard *Trinkschalen und Gefässe des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin und anderer Sammlungen* Berlin 1848 i. 25 f. pl. D

(=my fig. 845), P. Hartwig *op. cit.* p. 361 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 131 no. 61, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 184 no. 1), shows Zeus seated over against Hera. Ganymedes serves the one; Iris, the other. Ares as a sample god stands between them.

(5) A red-figured *hydria* at Leyden, by the 'Oinante painter' (Roulez *Vases de Leyde*

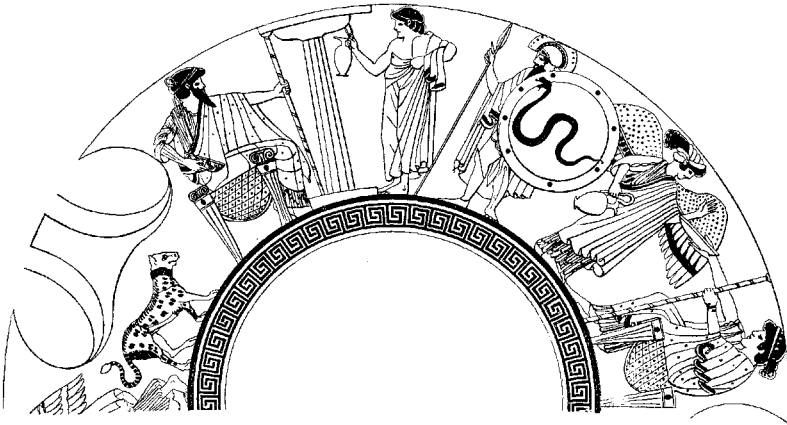


Fig. 845.

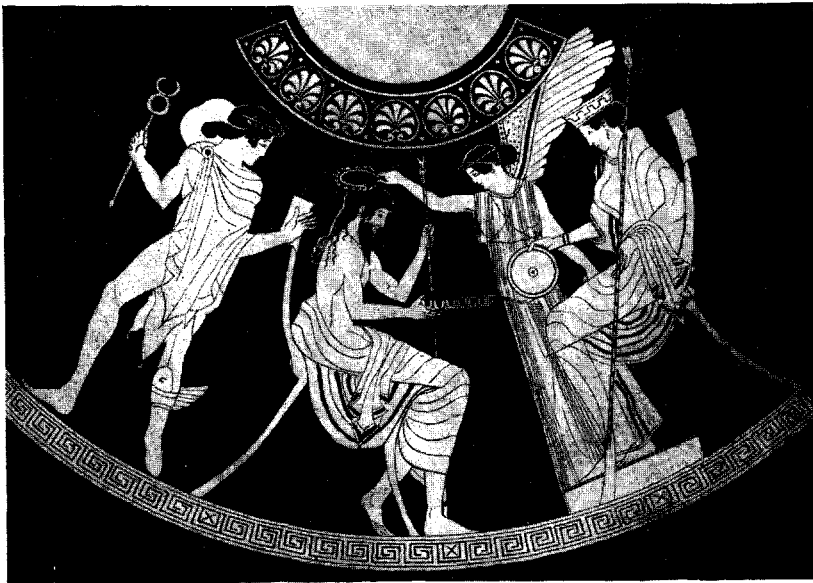


Fig. 846.

p. 1 ff. pl. 1 (=my fig. 846), Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 16 f. pl. 1, 7, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 266, 1, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 252 no. 3). Zeus is seated opposite to Hera. Nike (rather than Iris) crowns his head. Hermes starts away, prepared to do his bidding. J. Roulez, followed with some hesitation by S. Reinach, took this vase to

by way of exception, Hestia takes her place¹. Iris or Ganymedes or both may be there, and sometimes a Doric column marks the scene as the celestial palace.

Others again varied the scheme by making Zeus and Hera change sides, so



Fig. 847.

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

(6) The fragment of a red-figured *skyphos* from Tarentum, now at New York (G. M. A. Richter] in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 1912 vi. 97 fig. 5 (=my fig. 847), K. Schefold in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii. 60 with



Fig. 848.

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

¹ *Supra* p. 1050 n. o (2) fig. On the association of Zeus with Hestia see *supra* i. 17 n. 1, 149 n. 2, 330 n. 4, ii. 259 n. o, 317 n. 2, 960 n. o, 1228 f. More in Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1405 n. 2 and Stüss in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1300 f.

that he looks to the left and she to the right¹. But such transposition is due to mere love of variety².

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

The 'Kodros painter,' as Professor Beazley³ put it, was 'Parthenonian' in his effects. But the Parthenon itself on its eastern frieze⁴ combined in one triumphant synthesis all three traditional types—the tandem, the side-by-side, and the face-to-face arrangement. The deities are mostly seen *en échelon*. Hera is thus behind Zeus, and yet beside him, while with a gesture characteristic of the bride⁵ she turns herself to face her bridegroom. Zeus, alone of the gods, sits on a throne with back and arms: its top-bar terminates in a circular disk and its side-rail is supported on a winged Sphinx. His attitude is one of dignified ease⁶. The right arm, sceptre in hand, rests on his lap; the left leans on the back of his throne. He wears a wreath or fillet in his hair, a *himátion* about his legs, and sandals on his feet. Hera sits on a stool, wearing sandals, a Doric *péplos*, and a large outspread veil. She too has a wreath, which is composed of pointed and serrated leaves—probably those of her sacred tree, the willow⁷. At her side in a Doric *péplos* stands Iris⁸, who raises her left hand to adjust a mass of hair and in her right probably held a fillet or garland. In this complex Pheidias—for the design was surely his—has given faultless expression to the current Athenian belief about the wedlock of Zeus and Hera. Moreover, as in the vase-paintings, so on the frieze the group of Zeus and Hera is extended to include a series of other seated deities.

¹ (1) A red-figured *stámnos*, formerly with Depoletti at Rome, latterly with Kaleb-djian in Paris, and now attributed to the painter Hermonax (F. T. Welcker in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 293—298, *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 58, 1 (=my fig. 848), *id. Alt. Denkm.* v. 360, 362 ff. pl. 24 b, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 157, 1, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasen-maler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 476 no. 12 bis) arranges from left to right: a goddess (*quis?*), Dionysos (*káantharos*, vine-staff), Aphrodite (swan, apple), Poseidon? (restored as Dionysos), Plouton (*cornu copiae*), Hera (sceptre), Iris rather than Nike (*oinochóe*, *caduceus*), Zeus (*phidíle*, sceptre).

(2) A red-figured *kylix* in the British Museum, assigned to the 'Kodros painter' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 108 ff. no. E 82, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1853 xxv. 103—113, *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 49 (=my fig. 849), A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 2141 f. pl. 92 fig. 2401, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 143, 1 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 154 no. 3, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 425 no. 5), depicts a symposium of the gods. Outside, *A* Amphitrite (dipper, *aldbastron*), Poseidon (trident, *phidíle*), Hera (sceptre), Zeus (sceptre, *phidíle*), Ganymedes (strainer seen edgewise): *B* Aphrodite (*smematothéke?*), Ares (spear, *phidíle* on table), Ariadne (love-gesture of fingers, cp. C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 256, 287 n. 2), Dionysos (*phidíle*, *thyrsos*), Komos. Inside, Pherrephatta (love-gesture of fingers?), Plouton (*phidíle*, *cornu copiae*).

² Cp. *supra* p. 694 fig. 502.

³ J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 425 'Sehr feine Schalen mit Anklängen an Parthenon-isches.'

⁴ *Supra* ii. 1135 n. 5 with pl. xlv.

⁵ Cp. *supra* p. 1038 fig. 834.

⁶ *Supra* i. 91 f. fig. 64.

⁷ *Supra* p. 1028 ff. So already A. H. Smith *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 76.

⁸ The choice lies between Nike (Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*¹ i. 444, F. Studniczka *Die Siegesgöttin* Leipzig 1898 p. 20 pl. 9, 39—40) and Iris (J. Stuart and N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1787 ii. 13 pl. 24, followed by most modern critics). Somewhat in favour of the former is her long clothing; but decisive for the latter is her position next Hera, not Zeus.

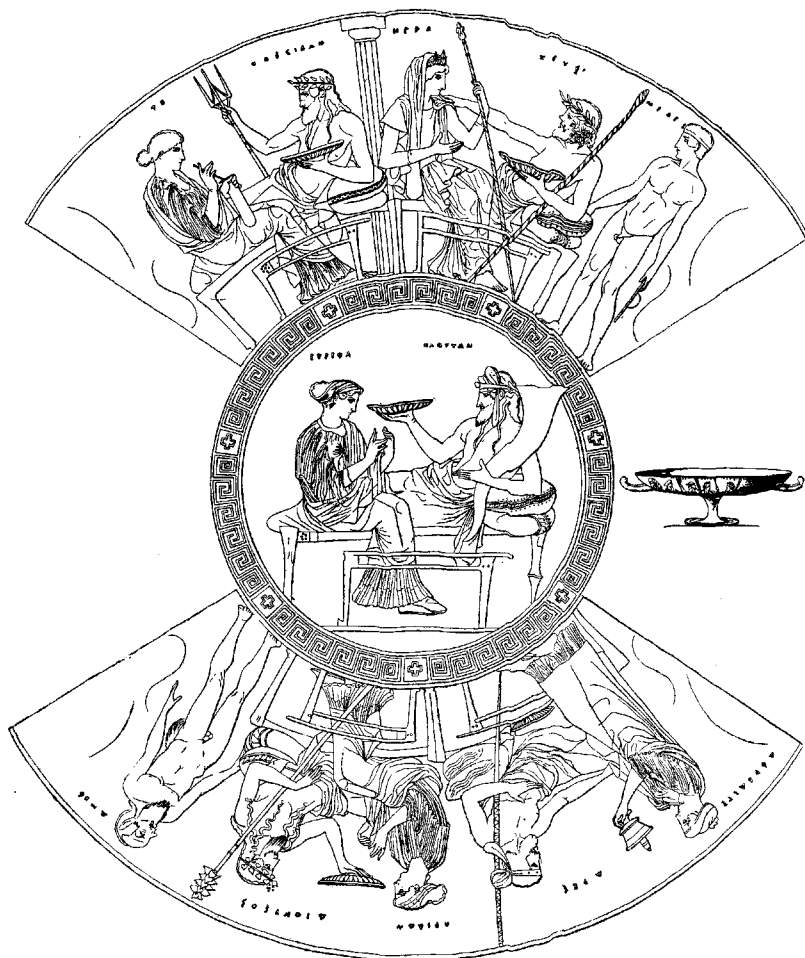


Fig. 849.

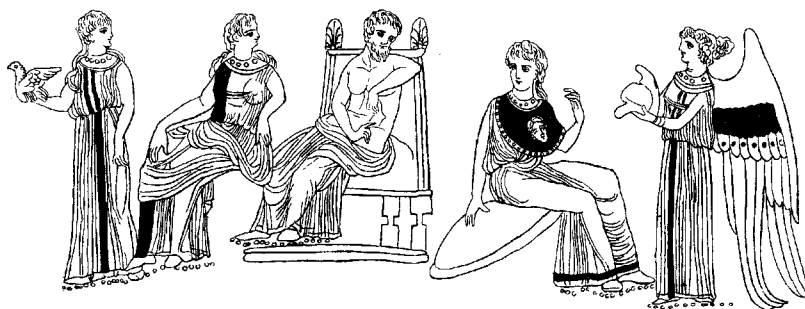


Fig. 850.

Not altogether uninfluenced by the Parthenon frieze is the upper¹ row of figures on an 'Apulian' *amphora* in the Santangelo collection at Naples (fig. 850)². The painter of this vase has represented in crude and clumsy juxtaposition a sequence of Aphrodite, Hera, Zeus, Athena, and Nike. The arrangement of Hera, Zeus, and perhaps Athena³ owes something to the Phedias scheme, modified of course to suit the subject in hand.

(ε) *Zeus with Hera in archaistic reliefs.*

Zeus and Hera, conceived as a wedded pair, had long since taken their place among the traditional gods of Greece. They figure therefore as two of the canonical twelve, who from the fifth century onwards tend to be represented in an affected archaistic style suggestive of long-standing cults. O. Weinreich⁴ in a recent article has traced with masterly skill the whole rise and development of these 'Zwölfgötter.' He shows convincingly that they were *ab origine* the Olympian counterpart of an earthly 'Zwölfstaat'—a divine 'Synoikismos' which shaped itself on Ionian soil at least as far back as the seventh century B.C.⁵, that in the fourth century owing to Iranian influence on the Platonic school they came to be viewed as 'Monats- oder Zodiakusgötter'; and that in Graeco-Roman times they played a noteworthy part in the formation of political and social ideals⁷, in theological speculation⁸, and in magic⁹. Here I am concerned merely to illustrate the various positions assigned to Zeus and Hera in the archaistic renderings of the canon.

A votive relief, said to have been found at Tarentum and offered for sale in Paris, was well published by E. Schmidt (fig. 851)¹⁰, who now dates it as early as c. 460 B.C.¹¹ It represents, on Pentelic(?) marble and in curiously flat technique, the twelve gods standing, not walking, with left foot advanced, as if they were lined up for the start of a procession. Their order from right to left is Apollon

¹ Cp. *supra* i. 200 n. 6.

² Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 636 ff. Santangelo no. 24, Raoul-Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1833 p. 201 ff. pl. 41 (part of which = my fig. 850).

³ Her relative position may be reminiscent of the Parthenon frieze, but her type is obviously taken from the balustrade of Nike *Ápteros* (R. Kekulé *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike* Stuttgart 1881 p. 7 pl. 2, E, R. Heberdey 'Die Komposition der Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1922 xxi-xxii. 14 f. fig. 10), as is that of the helmet-bearing Nike who stands beside her (Kekulé *op. cit.* p. 8 pl. 4, M, Heberdey *loc. cit.* p. 22 f. fig. 18).

⁴ O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 764-848. See also the same scholar's earlier works: 'Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1913 Abh. v. 1-42 fig. 1 and pls. 1-3, *Triskaidekadische Studien* Giessen 1916 pp. 1-124, 'Zwölfgötter, Zwölfzahl und Zwölfstaat' in *Aus Unterricht und Forschung* 1935 vii. 319-331.

⁵ O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 768 f., 771 f., 829 f.

⁶ *Id. ib.* vi. 770, 823 ff. Cp. a weighty passage in F. Boll *Sphaera* Leipzig 1903 pp. 476-478.

⁷ O. Weinreich *loc. cit.* vi. 830 ff.

⁸ *Id. ib.* vi. 835 ff.

⁹ *Id. ib.* vi. 837.

¹⁰ Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 660 (= my fig. 851) with text by E. Schmidt pp. 1-11, O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 790 ff. fig. 2. Width: 1.195 m.

¹¹ E. Schmidt *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* München 1922 p. 57.

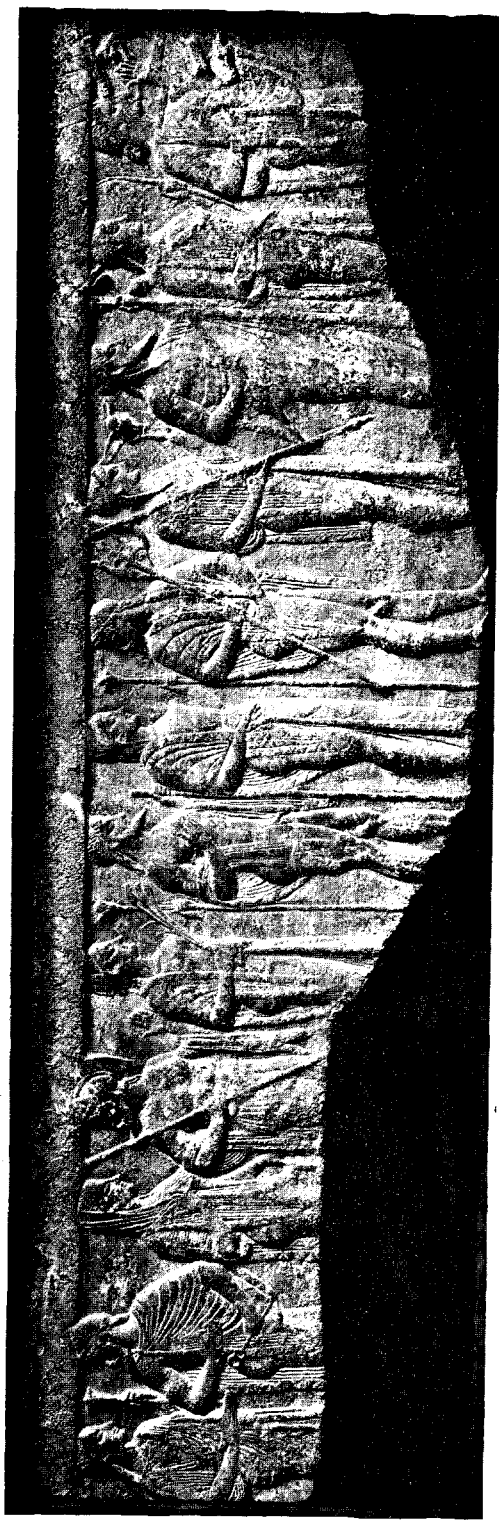


Fig. 851.

(*pléktron*, *kithára*, bay-wreath), Artemis (bow, quiver), Zeus (thunderbolt, eagle-sceptre), Athena (spear, owl, helmet, *aigís*); Poseidon (trident), Hera (sceptre), Hephaistos (shorter staff), Demeter (corn-ears, sceptre); Ares (spear, helmet, breastplate), Aphrodite (small oval fruit between fingers of right hand), Hermes (*caduceus*, *phílos*), Hestia (*phíale*, sceptre). The twelve form three fours, the divisions between them being marked by the fact that the leader of the second and third group turns to address his immediate follower—an action repeated by the final pair. Throughout the line god alternates with goddess. But it is to be observed that Hera's place next Zeus is usurped by Athena—a variation which, as in the case of a black-figured vase already mentioned¹, points to the patriotic design of an Athenian craftsman.

The same arrangement in three fours appears five centuries later on the so-called *ara Borghese* in the Louvre (fig. 852, *a-c*)². This triangular base of Pentelic marble, meant to support a *candelabrum* or a tripod, is embellished with two ranges of divine figures. Above we see the twelve gods grouped as follows from left to right: Zeus (thunderbolt) with Hera (sceptre, bridal veil) and Poseidon (trident) with Demeter (corn-ears?); Apollon (*pléktron*, *kithára*?—wrongly restored as a goddess³!) with Artemis (arrow?, quiver?, bow) and Hephaistos (pincers—again wrongly restored as a goddess!) with Athena (spear, *aigís*, helmet?, shield?); Ares (spear, shield, helmet?, breastplate?) with Aphrodite (dove) and Hermes (*caduceus*, *talaria*) with Hestia (veil, sceptre). Below on a larger scale are the three Charites (joining hands for the dance); the three Horai (flower, grapes, corn); the three Moirai (sceptres). The general effect is that of an archaizing *santa conversazione*. But it is clear that Zeus and Hera head the assembly, and that the Charites⁴, the Horai⁵, the Moirai⁶ are all introduced in relation to Zeus.

The arrangement in fours underlies also the grouping of the twelve on the *puteal Albani*, a well-mouth of Roman date formerly in the Albani collection but now in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 853)⁷. This relief, of Greek marble but Roman design⁸, divides the gods into two unequal companies, eight moving towards the right, four towards the left. On the one hand we have Zeus (thunderbolt, sceptre), Hera (*stepháne*, bridal veil), Athena (*aigís*, helmet, spear),

¹ *Supra* p. 1049 n. 1.

² Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* ii. 1. 170—181 pls. 172—174 figs. 11—17 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 65 f., Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 8 pl. 12, 43 and 44, pl. 13, 45 (=my fig. 852, *a, c, b*), Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 3 ff. no. 1. Height: 2.089^m.

³ O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1868 p. 193 pl. 5, 1—3 published sketches of the base, made by Pighius *c.* 1500 A.D., which show the figures without the misleading alterations. A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 2137 with figs. 2394—2396 inserts the sketches of Pighius into the drawings of Müller—Wieseler.

⁴ *Supra* i. 155, ii. 232 n. 0 fig. 160, iii. 955.

⁵ *Supra* ii. 37 n. 1, 94 n. 2, 232 n. 0, 372 f., 1138 n. 5, iii. 955.

⁶ *Supra* ii. 231 n. 8, 1138 n. 5.

⁷ Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 106 ff. Galleria no. 31 b pl. 29 (six photographs, each showing two deities), Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 137 ff. pl. 18, 197 (=my fig. 853), W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*³ Leipzig 1912 i. 431 ff. no. 783 (who notes that, according to old drawings, the present restored head of Aphrodite should have been looking backwards to link up with the other company), O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 798 f. with fig. 4. Height: 0.493^m.

⁸ E. Schmidt *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* München 1922 p. 25 f. ('flavische Zeit ist mir das wahrscheinlichste, hadrianische das späteste mögliche Datum').

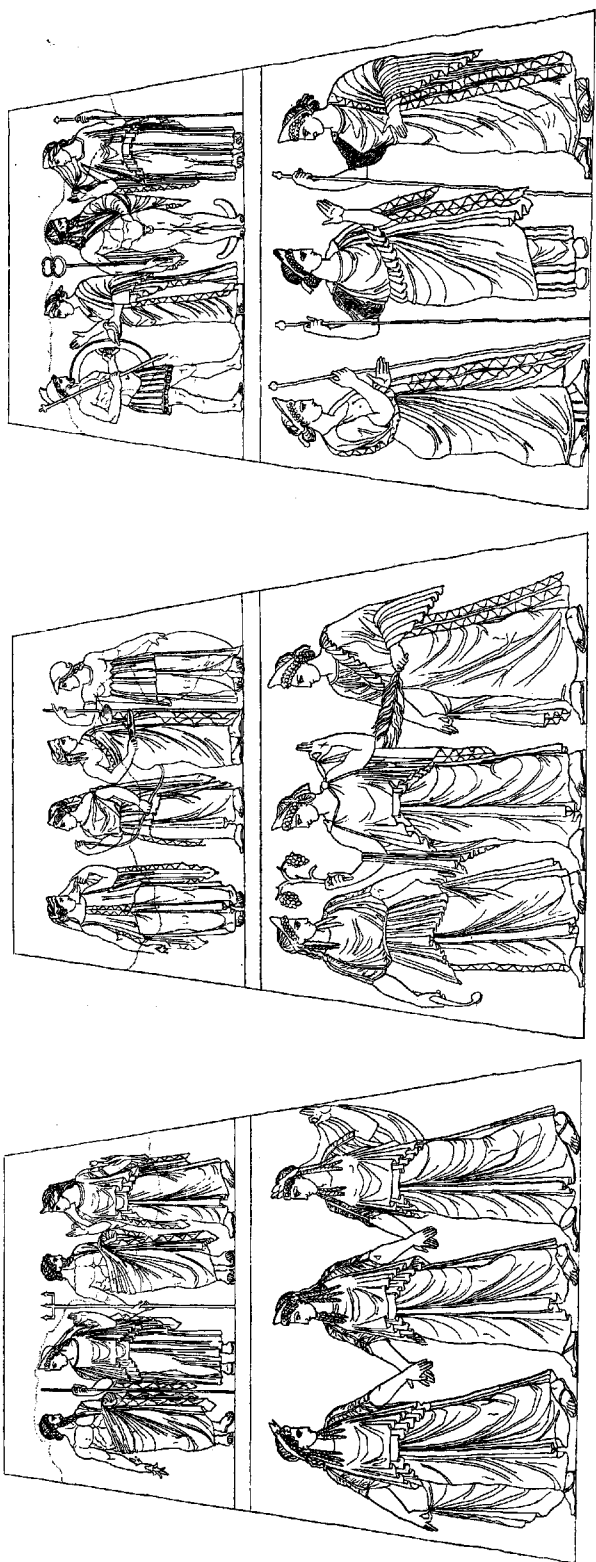


Fig. 852.

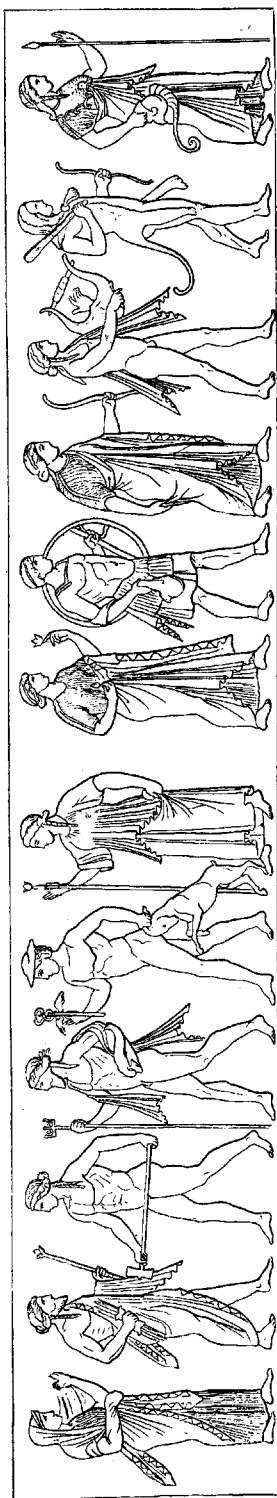


Fig. 853.

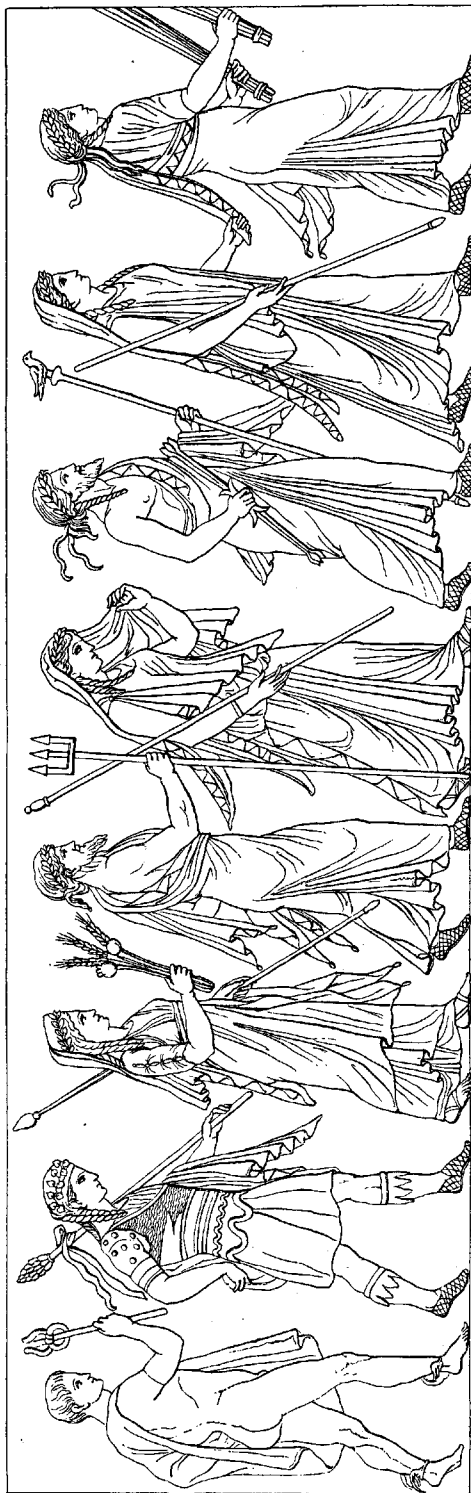


Fig. 854.

Herakles (lion-skin, club, bow), Apollon (*pléktron*, lyre), Artemis (bow), Ares (breastplate, helmet, shield, greaves), Aphrodite (bud, flower); on the other hand, Hephaistos (double axe), Poseidon (trident, dolphin), Hermes (*pétasos*, winged *caduceus*, goat), Hestia? (sceptre).

Not three fours, but four threes, was the distribution of the twelve on the so-called *ara Albani*, a quadrangular base of marble still in the Villa Albani (fig. 855)¹. Three slabs only of this relief are extant. They represent a procession of deities passing from left to right—Artemis (torches), Leto?² (sceptre), Zeus (thunderbolt, eagle-sceptre), Hera (*stephane*, sceptre, bridal veil), Poseidon (trident), Demeter (poppies and corn-ears, sceptre), Dionysos (*nebris* restored as breastplate, *thyrsos*), Hermes (*caduceus*, *talaria*). But these figures were not all. A fragment of drapery to be seen in front of Artemis' right knee (fig. 855, c) makes it probable that Apollon, chanting, originally led the way. And a forearm visible behind Hermes (fig. 855, a) proves that he was followed by another deity, possibly Hestia. It seems likely that the canonical number was completed by the presence of two more gods on the missing slab.

J. G. Zoega³ was the first to suggest that this monument showed the wedding of Zeus and Hera. His opinion was adopted by F. G. Welcker⁴, who noted the wreaths worn by all the extant figures, and met P. A. Visconti's objection that Zeus and Hera appear on separate slabs by the conjecture that the procession was designed for a circular, not a quadrangular, base. K. Wernicke⁵ too endorses Zoega's view, though with some hesitation. But W. Amelung⁶ finds this explanation far from convincing. No doubt a well-mouth so decorated would be suitable enough in a private house: the wedding of Zeus and Hera was the prototype of all weddings⁷. Nevertheless it would be safer to conclude

¹ Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 14—26 pl. 1, 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 174 ff. Atlas pl. 10, 29 a—c, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 18 ff. pl. 1, 9, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 129 no. 1, W. Helbig *op. cit.*³ ii. 458 f. no. 1930, O. Weinreich *loc. cit.* vi. 800. My fig. 855, a—c is from photographs of the cast at Cambridge. Height: 0.65^m.

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

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

³ G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma, 1808 ii. 251—257 pl. 101.

⁴ F. G. Welcker 'Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1842 i. 420 ff. = *id.* *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 14 ff. pl. 1, 1.

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

⁶ W. Amelung in W. Helbig *op. cit.*³ ii. 459: 'Doch ist die Deutung auf den Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera keineswegs zwingend.'

⁷ Diod. 5. 73 *προθέουσι δὲ πρότερον ἅπαντες τῷ Διὶ τῷ Τελείῳ καὶ Ἡρᾷ Τελείᾳ διὰ τὸ τούτους ἀρχηγούς γεγενῆσθαι καὶ πάντων εὐπεράς*, Dion. Hal. *ars rhet.* 2. 2 καὶ ὅτι οὗτοι (sc. οἱ θεοὶ) οἱ εὐρόντες καὶ δείξαντες τοὺς γάμους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. *Zeὺς γὰρ καὶ Ἥρα, πρῶτοι ζευγνύοντες τε καὶ συνδυάζοντες*. οὕτω τοι ὁ μὲν καὶ Πατὴρ καλεῖται πάντων, ἡ δὲ Ζυγία ἀπὸ τοῦ ζευγνύειν τὸ θῆλυ τῷ ἀρρενι. Cp. Aisch. *Ἐπίγονοι frag.* 55 Nauck² *ap. schol.* Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 10 and see also schol. Aristoph. *thesm.* 973.

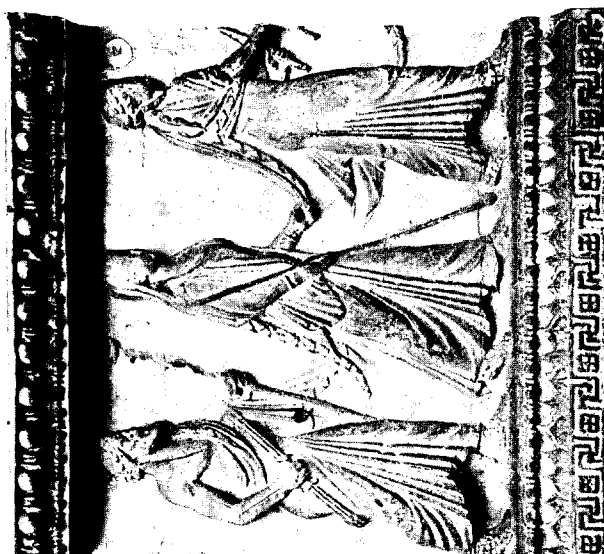


Fig. 855.

that the twelve gods are here portrayed simply as a divine team arriving¹ to bless the home of their worshippers. They are the plastic counterpart of the painted twelve found more than once at Pompeii² (figs. 856, 857). It may be doubted whether their religious significance was much greater than that of our own Apostle-spoons.

(10) The *Hieròs Gámos* in the Far West.

There is no reason to think that the myth of the *hieròs gámos* was ever located at Athens³. Athenian poets do indeed occasionally refer to such a myth. Sophokles speaks of the Gardens of Zeus and their proverbial felicity⁴, Aristophanes of the Plain of Zeus and the bridal bed towards which at the triumphant close of his great comedy the birds wing their way⁵. But the home

W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 75 n. o (=id. in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2100) 'Nach den Worten des Lex. rhet. p. 670, 28 Pors. [on which source consult W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ München 1924 ii. 2. 876 f.] οἱ γαμοῦντες ποιοῦσι τῇ Διὶ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ ἱεροῦς γάμους scheint man jede Hochzeit als eine Art Hieros-gamos aufgefasst zu haben.' But?

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

² (1) On the outer wall of a corner-house, where the *Vicolo dei dodici iddii* runs into the *Strada dell' Abbondanza* (Reg. viii. 3) (E. Gerhard in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1850 xxii. 206—214 pl. K, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 5 f. no. 7, J. Overbeck *Pompeji* Leipzig 1884 p. 244, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 62 ff. pl. 6, 2 (=my fig. 856), A. Mau *Pompeii its Life and Art*² trans. F. W. Kelsey New York 1902 p. 236, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 5 no. 2, A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*⁶ Leipzig 1928 p. 120). The gods, standing between two bay-trees, are—from left to right—Vesta (cup (not apple), sceptre, ass), Diana (spear, bow and arrows, fawn), Apollo (*cithara*), Ceres (corn-wreath, torch), Minerva (helmet, spear, shield), Iupiter apparently of youthful beardless type (sceptre), Iuno (sceptre), Vulcanus of beardless type (*pileus*, hammer, tongs), Venus *Pompeiana* (*modius*, small branch?, sceptre, rudder?), Mars (helmet, breastplate, greaves, shield), Neptunus (trident), Mercurius (winged *pétasos*, *talaria*, purse, winged *caduceus*). Beneath the twelve and under their protection was the painting of an altar set out with various fruits and approached by two snakes (beards, crests, forked tongues) with a background of bay-bushes.

(2) On the outer wall of a house in the *Strada dell' Abbondanza* (Reg. ix. 11) (M. Della Corte in the *Not. Scavi* 1911 p. 417 ff. figs. 1, 2, 2a, R. Delbrueck in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxxviii Arch. Anz. p. 162 with fig. 17, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 6 no. 2, A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*⁶ Leipzig 1928 p. 133 fig. 62, F. Saxl *Mithras* Berlin 1931 p. 75 n. 4 with pl. 30 fig. 165 (=my fig. 857), O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 808 with fig. 5). The gods, standing *en face* between two (?) Corinthian pillars, are—from left to right—Iupiter (sceptre, thunderbolt), Iuno (*stephane*, veil, *patera*, sceptre), Mars (Oscan helmet, breastplate, spear, round shield, *balteus*, sword?), Minerva (crested Corinthian helmet, *Gorgoneion*, *patera*, spear, round shield), Hercules (lion-skin, *balteus*, *skýphos*, club), Venus (veil, winged Cupid), Mercurius (purse, *caduceus*), Proserpina (*modius*, sceptre), Vulcanus of juvenile type (*pileus*, hammer), Ceres (corn-wreath, torch), Apollo (bow, quiver, *plectrum*, lyre), Diana (crown, bow, quiver, *patera*, sceptre). Adjoining this group is an altar on which were found charcoal and cinders, remains of the last offering, and above it the painting of a sacrifice by the *vicomagistri*.

³ *Supra* p. 1047.

⁴ Soph. *Ion frag.* 297 Nauck², 320 Jebb (cited *supra* ii. 1021).

⁵ Aristoph. *av.* 1758 (cited *supra* ii. 1021, iii. 59).



Fig. 856.



Fig. 857.

of Zeus is placed in the far west—a sunset fancy, for which mortals sigh in vain. Thus Euripides in his *Hippolytos* makes a chorus of Troezenian women, fain to escape from the troubles of this life, exclaim :

O to win to the strand where the apples are growing
Of the Hesperid chanters kept in ward,
Where the path over Ocean purple-glowing
By the Sea's Lord is to the seafarer barred !
O to light where Atlas hath aye in his keeping
The bourn twixt earth and the heavens bestarred,
Where the fountains ambrosial sunward are leaping
By the couches where Zeus in his halls lieth sleeping,
Where the bounty of Earth the life-bestowing
The bliss of the Gods ever higher is heaping !¹

The myth here touched upon is set out more fully by Pherekydes, the logographer of Leros, who is called an Athenian² also, probably because he spent most of his life at Athens. When Zeus married Hera,—he says³—the gods brought wedding-gifts to the bride. Among them came Ge, bearing boughs of golden apples. Hera, astonished at the sight, bade plant the boughs in her garden⁴ hard by Mount Atlas. But Atlas' virgin daughters, the Hesperides, kept taking of the apples ; so Hera set a monstrous snake to guard the tree. This snake was slain by Herakles and translated to the stars by Hera⁵.

Pherekydes' tale gives prominence to Ge ; and it is to be observed that a Pindaric fragment⁶, our oldest source for a marriage of Zeus in the remote west, mentions as his consort, not Hera at all, but Themis—a goddess expressly identified with Ge both in the poetry of Aischylos and in the official nomenclature of Athens⁷.

(11) Inferences concerning the *Hieròs Gámos*.

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

¹ Eur. *Hipp.* 742—751 trans. A. S. Way.

² Soud. s.v. Φερεκύδης, on which see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*⁶ München 1912 i. 454 f. and W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1929 i. 1. 710 ff. *Supra* p. 455.

³ Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 79 f. Müller)=*frag.* 16 c (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 65 Jacoby) *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 3, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 3, Myth. Vat. 1. 106, 2. 161, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 382, 21 ff. Eyssenhardt. Cp. the longer account in Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 78 f. Müller)=*frag.* 16 a and *frag.* 17 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 65 f. Jacoby). See also Athen. 83 c (*supra* ii. 1021).

⁴ This garden is called Ἡρῆς λευμῶν (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 164) or θεῶν κήπος (Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 a (*supra* n. 3)). It is identical with the Ὠκεανοῦ κήπος, where the Clouds array their dance (Aristoph. *nub.* 271). Cp. τοὺς Σελήνης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης λευμῶνας (Plout. *amat.* 20).

Here grew the trefoil ὠκύθοον (Hesych. s.v.), used as fodder by the fawns of Artemis and the horses of Zeus (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 163 ff.).

⁶ *Supra* p. 489 figs. 318 and 319.

⁶ *Supra* ii. 37 n. 1.

⁷ *Supra* ii. 176 n. 1.

On Themis as 'an emanation from Ge' see Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 12 ff. Cp. also Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 475 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 101 n. 5 ff., 148 n. 5 f., 1066, 1080 n. 6, 1094, 1166 n. 13.

In the first place, the great bulk of the evidence is comparatively late. If we except one passage in the *Iliad*, neither ritual nor myth is attested before the fifth century B.C. Moreover, the single exception is itself certainly an addition, probably a late addition, to the *Iliad*. W. Leaf and M. A. Bayfield assigned it to the third and latest stratum of the poem, a stratum which they date between 1000 and 800 B.C.¹ Professor G. Murray, who lays stress on the 'Milesian' tone of the episode, speaks of it as 'that late Homeric story of the *Outwitting of Zeus*' and refers it to a period when 'the Epos as a form of living and growing poetry was doomed'². However that may be, not a single allusion to the sacred marriage of Zeus with Hera is forthcoming from the Homeric hymns or Hesiod, from Pindar or the other lyrical poets, one indirect reference only from Aischylos³, none from Sophokles, none from Herodotos, Thoukydides, Demosthenes, Xenophon, Platon, none even from Pausanias. Nor is the scene represented by monuments of any kind belonging to the genuinely archaic period of Greek civilisation. This almost complete absence of early evidence raises a suspicion that the *hieròs gámos* was of comparatively recent introduction.

In the second place, this suspicion is deepened by the fact that here and there, even where the *hieròs gámos* is attested, Zeus seems to have had an older partner, who was not Hera, or Hera an older partner, who was not Zeus. For example, we have seen reason to think that on Mount Kithairon Leto *Mychia* or *Nychia* was paired with Zeus before the arrival of Hera⁴, and that in the myth of Zeus' western marriage Themis, not Hera, was the original bride⁵. A *kýlix* by the painter Oltos strangely ignored Hera in favour of Hestia in a scene perhaps reminiscent of the *hieròs gámos*⁶. At Argos the evidence pointed to a marriage of Hera, but did not prove that her original consort was Zeus⁷; while at Knossos it was practically certain that the ritual marriage of Zeus and Hera had been preceded by a ritual marriage of a sun-god and a moon-goddess in bovine form⁸.

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

¹ *The Iliad of Homer* ed. W. Leaf and M. A. Bayfield London 1898 ii pp. xx, xxiii, 329 ff.

² G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic* Oxford 1907 p. 242 ff. *Id. ib.*³ Oxford 1924 p. 275 still speaks of 'that late Homeric story of the *Tricking of Zeus*.'

³ *Supra* p. 1060 n. 7.

⁴ *Supra* p. 1042.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1064.

⁶ *Supra* p. 1049 n. 2 (2), fig. 843.

⁷ *Supra* p. 1045.

⁸ *Supra* i. 523, iii. 1032.

ADDENDA

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

i. 7 n. 2. Add *Anth. Plan.* 121. 3 ἦν ἐφορώσιν ἀπ' αἰθέρος αἱ Διὸς αὐγαί.

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

i. 18 n. 3. See now the dissertation of H. Oppermann *De Jove Panamaro* Bonn 1919—1920, revised and partly rewritten in his *Zeus Panamarnos* Giessen 1924 pp. 1—94, J. Hatzfeld 'Inscriptions de Panamara' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 li. 57—122 (text of 139 inscriptions), P. Roussel 'Les mystères de Panamara' *ib.* pp. 123—137 (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 517 f.). P. Roussel 'Le miracle de Zeus Panamarnos' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 lv. 70—116 with pls. 5 and 6 restores a long inscription, from the wall of the temple, recording how Zeus with sudden flame and fog repulsed troops (perhaps those of Q. Labienus in 41—40 B.C. (Dion Cass. 48. 26)) attacking his sanctuary (summarised by P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 223 and by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1932 xxxvi. 539). When the enemy attempted a night-surprise, 7 [---ὁ θεὸς μετὰ φω]τὸς φλόγα πολλήν [α]ὐτοῖς ἐνερτίζεν ὥσ[τε---]. When they resumed operations the next day, 10 [---συνέβη αὐτοῖς περιχυθῆναι ὁμίχλην β]αθεῖαν ὥστε τοὺς μὲν μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ [α]χομένους λαθεῖν αὐτοὺς] [---κ]ύκλω δὲ περὶ τὸ μ[έ]ρος τοῦ χωρίου καθ' ὃ προ[σ]βάλλειν ἐπεχείρησαν] | [ἐπιγίνεσθαι χειμῶνα μέγαν καὶ καταρραγῆναι βροντὰς συνεχεῖς καὶ διαύσσειν [ἀστρα]πὰς: διὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὴ δεινῶς κατεπλάγησαν] | [οἱ πολέμιοι· καὶ κραυγὴ πολλὴ ἦν τῶν βοηθ]ούντων τῶν μὲν ΙΧΩΡΗΝ (so G. Cousin) φωνούντων[ν], ἐπὶ δὲ ἀναβούων[των] μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ μέγαν εἶναι Δία Πανάμαρον, | κ.τ.λ. A third and final assault was defeated by the shouting of unseen helpers and the baying of supernatural hounds: 24 [---κ]ύκλω δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ χωρίον πολιορκούντων, ἀλαλαγμὸς τε ἀντήχησεν ὡς βοήθειας | [ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιγιννομένης, καίπερ οὐδε]πὸς φαινόμενον, καὶ κυνῶν ὕλαγμὸς ἐγένετο πολλὸς ὡς προσπλ[ε]κομένων τοῖς προσβάλλουσιν | κ.τ.λ. A. Laumonier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1934 lviii. 336 f. no. 20 with fig. (Stratonikeia) Δομέστερος | Διὲ Πανάμαρον | καὶ Ἐκάτη on a marble slab above a lion-head (fountain-jet?) in relief.

i. 23 n. 6. On hair-offering see further L. Sommer *Das Haar in Religion und Aberglauben der Griechen* Münster i. W. 1912 pp. 1—86, G. Wilke 'Ein altgermanisches Haaropfer' in *Mannus* 1924 xvi. 64 ff., G. Kossinna 'Zum Haaropfer' 112, R. Möschkau 'Nachtrag zum germanischen Haaropfer' *ib.* 1925 xvii. 121, H. Lewy 'Haarscheren als "rite de passage"', in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 203 f., H. Bächtold-Stäubli in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1239—1288 ('Haar'), Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 475 ff.

S. Aurigemma *Il R. Museo di Spina* Ferrara 1935 p. 116 pl. 62 publishes a fine Etruscan statuette, of bronze washed in silver, which represents a boy, clad in a *chlamys*, severing a long tress of his hair with his sword.

i. 26 n. 10. Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per. epist.* p. 209, 14 ff. Müller καὶ Ζεὺς μὲν ὁ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ, τοῖς περὶ Ὀλύμπου θώκος ἐμπρέπων αἰθέριος, αὐτῇ γαλῇ αὐτῇ τε θαλάσῃ τὰ κάτω μεταστοιχειώσαι βρενθύεται, αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ ἂν ἐλκυσθῆναι κάτω ἀλαζονεύεται· κ.τ.λ., *id.* in *Il.* p. 1057, 49 Ζεὺ ἄνα Δωδωναίε, τουτέστιν αἰθέριε καὶ περγαίε.

i. 27. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 408 no. 22 records a dedication from Thespiæ [Κα]λλίμαχος [Διὸς?] | Αἰθρίων | [Ἰ]αρεὺς Ἀθάν[αι].

i. 34 n. 3. On the pediment of the temple of Iupiter *Capitolinus* see now A. M. Colini in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1925 liii. 160—200 figs. 1—8 and pl.

i. 38. The heads hanging on the palace-wall appear also on a sarcophagus-lid found in Rome and published by R. Paribeni in the *Not. Scav.* 1926 p. 295 f. pl. 8, a.

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

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

i. 47. A gilded bronze statuette with eyes of silver inlay, formerly in the Somzée Collection, represented Zeus enthroned with his left foot resting on a high footstool, restored as a large globe (A. Furtwängler *Sammlung Somzée* München 1897 p. 58 f. no. 87 pl. 34, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 780 no. 1).

i. 52 n. 7. R. M. Dawkins in *Folk-Lore* 1924 xxxv. 223 n. 29 f. deals with this apple as the 'orb of dominion.'

i. 53 with fig. 31. E. Lattes *Le iscrizioni paleolatine dei fittili e dei bronzi di provenienza etrusca* Milano 1892 pp. 104 f., 111, *id.* *Saggi e appunti intorno alla iscrizione etrusca della mummia* Milano 1894 p. 24 f. regards the Orvieto cone as an altar for libation to the dead, and reads *Tinia. tinsevil* | *s. asi. sacni* = Iovis diovila (haec est) super ara sancta.

i. 53 f. On the stone of Terminus see also E. Samter 'Die Entwicklung des Terminus-kultes' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 137—144 (with which I do not wholly agree: *supra* p. 441), Louise A. Holland in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 553 n. 1, and Agnes Kirsopp Lake 'Lapis Capitolinus' in *Class. Philol.* 1936 xxxi. 72 f. (summarised in the *Class. Quart.* 1936 xxx. 219).

i. 53 n. 1 *Grabphalli*. Add F. Schachermeyr in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1916 xli. 377 (Lydia, Karia, Phrygia?), E. S. Hartland in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1917 ix. 825^b (Scandinavia), G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 396 (Lydia, raising a series of interesting philological possibilities), H. Shetelig—H. Falk *Scandinavian Archaeology* trans. E. V. Gordon Oxford 1937 p. 247 f. (Scandinavia), A. T. Curle in *Antiquity* 1937 xi. 352 ff. pls. 5—8 (British Somaliland, cp. Galla provinces of southern Ethiopia).

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

i. 65. S. Luria 'Asteropos' in the *Berl. Philol. Woch.* Juni 19, 1926 p. 701 f. makes Asteropos the ephor (Plout. v. *Kleom.* 10) no proper name but an old religious epithet of the ephor as such (cp. Plout. v. *Agid.* 11 *ἑφοροι...πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέποντες*). V. Ehrenberg 'Asteropos' *ib.* Jan. 1, 1927 p. 27 ff. rightly demurs.

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

i. 67 n. 3. W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1928 p. 172 doubts my explanation of Plutarch's human *ἑλαφοί*. But such usages are very ancient and wide-spread. Engraved and painted on the rock-wall of a cave at Les Trois-Frères near S. Giron (Ariège) is a male figure of the middle Magdalenian period. He has human hands and feet, and a full beard, but hairy animal ears, stag's antlers, and an equine tail (H. Obermaier *Fossil Man in Spain* Yale Univ. Press 1924 p. 233 fig. 103, M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte des bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1925 p. 668 ff. fig. 1, R. de Saint-Périer *L'Art préhistorique (Époque paléolithique)* Paris 1932 p. 57 pl. 49, 6).

Stag-mummers in south Gaul c. 500 A.D. are attested by Caesarius of Arles and Eligius of Noyon. Caesarius *serm.* 130. 1 says: 'Quid enim est tam demens, quam virilem sexum in formam mulieris turpi habitu commutare? quid tam demens, quam deformare faciem et vultus induere, quos ipsi etiam daemones expavescunt? quid tam demens, quam incompositis motibus et impudicis carminibus vitiorum laudes inverecunda delectatione cantare, indui ferino habitu et capreae aut cervo similem fieri, ut homo ad imaginem Dei et similitudinem factus sacrificium daemonum fiat?' (xxxix. 2003 Migne), *id. ib.* 130. 2: 'Quicumque ergo in Calendis Januarii quibuscumque miseris hominibus sacrilego ritu insanientibus potius quam ludentibus aliquam humanitatem dederint, non hominibus sed daemonibus se dedisse cognoscant. Et ideo si in peccatis eorum participes esse non vultis, cervulum sive caniculam (so E. Maass for *anniculam*, *anulas*, *agniculam* codd.) aut aliqua quaelibet portenta ante domos vestras venire non permittatis...' (xxxix. 2004 Migne). Eligius *de rectitudine catholicae conversationis* 5 follows suit: 'Nullus in Calendis Januarii nefanda et ridiculosa, vetulas aut cervulos aut <canes vena> ticos (so I would read for *joticos*, *jotticos*, *jotricos* codd.), faciat...' (xl. 1172 Migne). E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 108 ff. infers that at Arelate on the first of January three mummers represented an old woman, a stag, and a hound—in short, the masque of Aktaion, whose story as portrayed by Polygnotos at Delphoi involved precisely these three figures (Paus. 10. 30. 5). J. A. MacCulloch *The Religion of the ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 p. 260 f.

i. 107 n. 2. On the Korybantes see further J. Poerner 'De Curetibus et Corybantibus' in the *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* 1913 xxii. 245—428.

i. 109. On Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos consult also Margaret C. Waites 'The Deities of the Sacred Axe' in the *Journ. Am. Arch.* 1923 xxvii. 25—56, E. Maass in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 225 f., F. W. Schelling *Samothrake und Kabirische Mysterien* Stuttgart 1929 pp. 1—45 ('Über die Gottheiten von Samothrake').

i. 129 n. 2. On the relief signed by Archelaos see further J. Sieveking 'Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1917 xxxii. 74—89, G. Lippold 'Musengruppen' *ib.* 1918 xxxiii. 77—80, M. Schede 'Zu Philiskos, Archelaos und den Musen' *ib.* 1920 xxxv. 65—82 pl. 1, G. W. Elderkin 'The Deification of Homer by Archelaos' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 496—500 fig. 1.

i. 131. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 403 f. no. 19 a base from Thespiai formerly supporting three statuettes and inscribed Ζεύς Μηνημοσύνη Ἀπόλλων.

i. 132. W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 48 f. argues that Archelaos was representing the *omphalos* of Branchidai and the Thessalian or the Mysian Olympos.

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

W. K. C. Guthrie in 1932 discovered, just outside a village called *Selki*, on *Findos Tepe* at the western edge of the Konieh plain, a double rock-cut throne with footstools (figs. 858, 859). Close by were two narrow rock-cut troughs, 'like couches in shape' (fig. 860). I am indebted to Mr Guthrie for the photographs here given of the thrones as seen from below and above, and of the 'couches.'

H. Lattermann and F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1915 xl. 75 ff. fig. 3 and pl. 13, 2 record a rock-throne near the village of *Kionia* (Stymphalos). They suggest that this throne, which is cut in conglomerate over an empty grave (?) chamber, is to be connected with the local cult of Hera *Χήρα* (Paus. 8. 22. 2), implying a dead Zeus as in Crete.

i. 150. The sword-dance of the Kouretes and Korybantes round the infant Zeus is discussed by L. von Schröder *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda* Leipzig 1908 p. 118, F. Kidson—M. Neal *English Folk-song and Dance* Cambridge 1915 p. 146 f. See, however, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 38: 'Es ist doch...ungleich wahrscheinlicher, dass die göttlichen Kureten und Korybanten mythische Gegenbilder zu irdischen Tänzern sind, als dass diese den Göttertanz nachahmten, wie Schröder (131 ff.) glaubt.'

i. 152. On the cult of Zeus at Synnada see also W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—W. K. C. Guthrie in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1933 iv. 14 no. 49 pl. 19 = my fig. 861 (white marble *stèle* of local style, c. 200 B.C., showing Zeus enthroned with thunderbolt in right hand and round object in left, votary with round object in right hand, bag or basket on left arm, and two eagles in pediment).

i. 152 fig. 125. A coin of Akmonieia with similar type is published by E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* iii Série 1891 ix. 38 f. pl. 4, 4.

i. 153 fig. 129. An interesting variant of this coin is given by C. Bosch in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 452 with fig. 11.

i. 155 n. 8. Add B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1922 xv. 105 no. 1793 col. ix, 1 f. οὐκέτι γυμνάς | παῖδας ἐν Ἡραίῳ στήσσομεν Εὐρυνόμης (sc. the Charites, cp. Paus. 2. 17. 4).

i. 157 n. 3. My friend and former pupil Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury writes to me: 'The following is the story I heard in June 1935 from an old friend Kosta Kounales of Anogeia, who really does know his mountains *πατονχιά πατονχιά* as they say. It was à propos of a small heap of stones by the Church of Holy Cross on the Nidha Plain, called locally *στοῦ Σταυροῦ τὸν Τροχάλον*. "They say that in Venetian times there was a prince Erotokritos who was out hunting wild boar, and one day his foot slipped as he was about to spear the boar, and his friends shot quickly with their bows to help him, but they shot him instead and they buried him here." In view of what A. Papadakes reports concerning the tomb of Zeus at Anogeia (*supra* i. 163), it seems fairly certain that we have here a local modification of the belief that Zeus was a Cretan prince killed by a wild boar and buried.

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

i. 169. See further Olga Rojdestvensky *Le culte de saint Michel et le moyen âge latin* Paris 1922 pp. 1—72 (summarised by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1922 ii. 357).

i. 181 n. o. On horse-sacrifice in antiquity see H. M. Hubbell in *Yale Classical Studies* 1928 i. 181—192.



A bust of Zeus Sarapis (*supra* i. 188 ff.) in *lapis lazuli*, presented by Sir H. Howorth in 1912 to the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*² p. 368 no. 3939 fig. 94). Height 0·131^m. A socket worked in the top of the head implies the insertion of a *kálathos*.

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

i. 187. Cp. W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—W. K. C. Guthrie *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1933 iv. 36 no. 113 (a) an altar at Kara Adili, adorned with reliefs of eagle (front), ox-head (left side), etc. and inscribed in lettering of s. ii or iii A.D. [Καρπ]ο[φ][ί][δ]ος μ[ω][θ]ωτῆς Ἡ[λ]ίω καὶ Δι εὐ[χ]ήν.

i. 187 n. 4. See now E. Peterson ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ Göttingen 1926 pp. 139, 241, 306.

i. 192. In Bekker *anecd.* i. 338, 26 Ἄγος· ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Κυζικηνούς the *ordo verborum* demands Ἄγνός. F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 p. 223 held that the epithet 'referred to an Avenger of Blood.'



Fig. 861.

i. 193 n. 3. W. M. Calder in the *Class. Rev.* 1910 xxiv. 77 ff. no. 2 (*id. ib.* 1924 xxxviii. 29 n. 1) published the inscription, of c. 260—270 A.D. (*not* of s. i), on an oblong pillar built into a house-wall at *Balıık-Laou* and derived from a temple of Zeus at or near Sedasa (*Ak-Kilisse*), where Zeus was identified with the sun-god and presented with a sun-dial: Τούης Μ[α]κρίνος ὁ καὶ Ἀβάσκαντος καὶ Βάτα[ι]ς Βρετασί[δ]ος Ἑρμῆν Μείστον κατὰ εὐχὴν ἐπισκευάσαντες σὺν ὠρολογίῳ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων (ἀν)αλωμάτων ἀνέστησαν Διὶ Ἡλίῳ. Since Sedasa lay some twenty-five miles south-west of Lystra, this association of Zeus and Hermes is rightly held to illustrate Acts 14. 12. Moreover, in 1926, at *Kavak* near Lystra, W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder found an altar dedicated 'to the Epēkoos and to...and to Hermes' (*Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 114) and saw a bronze statuette of Hermes with a *caduceus* resting on his left shoulder and an eagle beside his right foot (*The Manchester Guardian* for Jan. 19, 1926, S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 ii. 281)—further proof of the same association.

i. 195. Another cult-epithet of Zeus that may be of solar significance is Hesych. Φύσιος· ἥλιος. ἢ Ζεὺς.

i. 196 n. 9. Mr A. S. F. Gow in a letter dated 1 July, 1917, drew my attention to Cornut. *theol.* 11 p. 11, 20 Lang πάντ' ἐφορᾷ Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει.

i. 198 on the sun conceived as a wheel. Aetios *plac.* 2. 20. 1 (p. 348, 3 ff. Diels) 'Ἀναξίμανδρος κύκλον εἶναι (sc. τὸν ἥλιον) ὀκτωκαίκοσα πλάσιονα τῆς γῆς, ἀρματεῖω τροχῷ παραπλήσιον, τὴν ἀψίδα ἔχοντα κοίλην, πλήρη πυρός, κ.τ.λ., Achilles Tatios *isag.* 19 (p. 46, 20 ff. Maass) τινὲς δέ, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀναξίμανδρος, φασὶ πέμπειν αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν ἥλιον) τὸ φῶς σχῆμα ἔχοντα τροχοῦ· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τροχῷ κοίλη ἐστὶν ἡ πλῆμνη, ἔχει δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀνατεταμέναις τὰς κνημίδας πρὸς τὴν ἔξωθεν τῆς ἀψίδος περιφορὰν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ κολοῦ τὸ φῶς ἐκπέμποντα τὴν ἀνάτασιν τῶν ἀκτίνων ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἔξωθεν αὐτὰς κύκλῳ φωτίζειν, κ.τ.λ., Ennius *frag.* 335 Bährens *ap.* Isid. *orig.* 18. 36. 3 inde patefecit radiis rota candida caelum, Apul. *met.* 9. 28 cum primum rota solis lucida diem peperit.

i. 198. E. H. Sturtevant 'Centauri and Macedonian Kings' in *Class. Philol.* 1926 xxi. 235—249 takes Κένταυρος (κεντ- αуро-) to be a Thracian term for Φέλιππος.

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

Dimitar P. Dimitrov in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii Arch. Anz. pp. 69—75 compares the British Museum mirror (*supra* i. 204 pl. xvii) with a Roman relief of Ixion and Tantalos in the Museum of Stara-Zagora, Bulgaria, and with an Attic red-figured sherd from the Forum Romanum (*ib.* figs. 1—3).

R. von Schneider in the *Serta Harteriana* Wien 1896 p. 281 f. with fig. (after the *Bullettino di arti e curiosità veneziane* 1895 iv. 39 f. fig.) notes a relief of c. 1100 A.D., found between the Duomo and the Baptistry at Torcello near Venice, in which Ixion appears stretched, face outwards, round the external circumference of a wheel. To right and left of him stand two women, in long girded attire, one with her torch raised, the other with her torch lowered.

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

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

Sphairos occurs as a magistrate's name on a bronze coin of Rhodes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria*, etc. p. 261 pl. 41, 4). F. Bechtel *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* Halle a. d. S. 1917 p. 605 notes Σφαῖρος Λάκων as an Olympic victor of 640 B.C. (Euseb. *chron.* i (i. 198, 30 Schoene)).

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

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

E. L. Sukenik in *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 1934 xiv. 178 ff. pl. 2 and fig. 1 cites a fourth-century silver coin, of the same Philisto-Arabian or Egypto-Arabian series, now at Jerusalem in the collection of M. Salzberger, which reads, not *Yhw*, but *Yhd*—that is *Yehūd* 'Judah.' He and others following his lead (e.g. W. F. Albright in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 1934 liii. 20—22, R. Dussaud in *Syria* 1935 xvi. 211 f., D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 451) conclude that *Yhd* must be the true reading of the coin in the British Museum. But Professor S. A. Cook in a further letter to me (Oct. 23, 1935) asks very pertinently 'Is it natural to put a mere place-name on a coin, like "Judah"?' Any Greek numismatist would answer 'No.'

In this connexion note also the seal of 'Elishama son of Gedaliah' published by G. Dalman in the *Palaestina-Jahrbuch der deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem* 1906 ii. 44 ff. (S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine* p. 34 f. pl. 9, 1, A. T. Olmstead *History of Palestine and Syria* New York—London 1931 p. 528 with fig. 177). The seal shows Jehovah as a bearded god in long robe and high crown, apparently brandishing a thunderbolt in his uplifted right hand. He is seated on a throne, with a footstool, between two stands supporting seven-branched palmettes—the whole on a boat, which at stem and stern ends in a bird's head.

i. 238 ff. On Kirke's gloriolate see S. Eitrem in the *Class. Rev.* 1921 xxxv. 22 f. The alleged Persian *lab* is perhaps derived from the ἐνυμολογία τοῦ ἀλφαβήτου in the *et. Gud.* p. 598 λάμβδα...παρὰ τὸ λάβ· λάβ δὲ τὸ διὰ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς χάσμα λέγεται,

cp. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1341 Ἀδὲ τὸ οὐράνιον πῦρ, and see further F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 30 f.

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

E. Schwyzer in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1920 xxxviii. 158 f. takes *Alatn* (ἄλῆτος) to be for *alain*=*avaln*, 'die Insel der Morgenröte.' But R. B. Onians in the *Cambridge University Reporter* for Nov. 30, 1926 p. 454 derives *Alatn* and *Alátrns* from *Ala*=*Al'*, the Hebrew or Phoenician word for 'sparrow-hawk, falcon.' See further V. Bérard *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee* Paris 1902 i. 214, 1903 ii. 261 ff. An altar at Ptolemais (*Menshijeh*) dedicated to Ἀρβάκτει καὶ Ἰέρᾳ θεῶν | κ.τ.λ. (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 52) implies that Horos was conceived as a sparrow-hawk (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 636 f.). The hawk is also an attribute of Apollon (*supra* i. 626 n. o: add J. D. Beazley *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems* Oxford 1920 p. 41 f. no. 47 pl. 3).

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

i. 247 n. 2. See now A. de Ridder *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre* Paris 1915 ii. 45 f. no. 1699 pl. 81, W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 179 fig. 1.

i. 255 f. Cp. A. S. F. Gow 'ἸΤΤΞ, POMBOΣ, *rhombus, turbo*' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 1—13 with 11 figs.

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

i. 262 *lynges* of gold. G. Karo 'Schatz von Tiryns' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 127 f., 138 f., pls. 30 A and 31, publishes a pair of wheels made in gold wire with four spokes of bronze covered with amber beads, and portions of a second similar pair of wheels, dating apparently from late Mycenaean times. Karo *ib.* p. 128 compares the 'ear-phones' of the Lady of Elche, and *ib.* p. 139 conjectures a northern origin for the head-gear. Is it possible, however, that the wheels were solar *lynges*?

i. 269 ff. on the wheel of Nemesis. H. Volkmann 'Studien zum Nemesiskult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 296—321 with figs. 1—4 has an important collection of texts and monuments: *id. ib.* p. 310 n. 2 discusses the association of Nemesis with Helios and the solar symbolism of her wheel. B. Schweitzer 'Dea Nemesis Regina' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvii. 175—246 pl. 1 f. and figs. 1—21 publishes an interesting relief at Brindisi, in which Nemesis confronts us standing on a naked human figure (summary by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1932 xxxvi. 533). H. Herter in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2338—2380 devotes a long and painstaking article to the goddess, accepting many of my results, but demurring to some.

i. 270 n. 5. But H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*² p. 183 no. 1696 points out that the supposed car is merely a wheel at her feet *plus* a fracture of the stone!

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

i. 273. For A. C. Orlandos' investigation of the site at Rhamnoss see his 'Note sur le sanctuaire de Némésis à Rhamnonte' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 305—320 with figs. 1—11 and pls. 8—12 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 109 f.). Further study of the site by W. Zschietzschmann in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlv Arch. Anz. pp. 441—451 figs. 1—4.

i. 273 on the relation of *Némésis* to *Nemetona* etc. J. Coman *L'idée de la Némésis chez Eschyle* Paris 1931 p. 21 f. states and criticises the theory here advanced. He accepts the first part of it, but objects to my suggestion (i. 285) of a confusion between *Némeis* goddess 'of the Greenwood' and *vémeis* 'righteous wrath.' On p. 22 n. 2

Coman, following Boisacq, tries to find a possible link. F. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2385 f. inclines to my view of *Nemetona* as akin to *Nemesis*.

i. 276 n. 5. On ὑπερέχειν χεῖρα or χεῖρας, Hyperdexios, Hypercheiros, etc. see J. G. Leroux in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 i. 260 f.

i. 283 n. o. See further H. Mager *Water Diviners and their Methods* trans. A. H. Bell London 1931.

i. 285. G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 i. 81 ff. no. 286 fig. 125 publishes a plaquette (antefix?) of black terra cotta dug up at *Plovdiv* (Philippopolis). On it is a relief representing a horned head (Tyche? Nemesis? Men??) surmounted by a wheel with eight projecting spokes.

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

i. 292 n. 2. The second disk from Corinth is now included in De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 44 no. 1694 pl. 76 ('Oracle d'amour(?)'). A third from Corinth is in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 161 no. 878 ('Child's Toy'). Another, of somewhat simpler type, from a tomb at Vulci, is figured by E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1561 fig. 2064 ('Crepitaculum, Crepitacillum').

i. 292 n. 8. Strictly comparable with the great terra-cotta disk from Olympia are the fragments of two *akrotéria*, in terra cotta, from the older temple at Phigaleia (K. A. Rhomaïos in the *Apχ.* 'Εφ. 1933 p. 1 ff. col. pl. 2 and pl. 3). See further C. Praschniker *Zur Geschichte des Akroters* Brünn, Prag, Leipzig, Wien 1929 pp. 1—56 with 4 pls. and 12 figs. (reviewed by E. Douglas Van Buren in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 520 f., by C. Picard in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1930 pp. 177—179, by S. C[asson] in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 133).

i. 297 n. 2. See now L. B. Holland 'Mycenaean Plumes' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 173—205 with 11 figs. Examples could be multiplied—an ivory seal from *Perachora* (H. G. G. Payne in *The Illustrated London News* for July 8, 1933 p. 66 fig. 10), a Thasian *plithos* of s. vii B.C. (*id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 253 with fig. 14), etc.

i. 299 *Seirios* used of the sun. Cp. S. Ronzevalle 'Hélioseiros' in *Aréthuse* 1930 pp. 1—12 with 4 pls. and 5 figs. (an important article).

i. 299 ff. the Lycian Symbol. Cp. Anna Roes *Greek Geometric Art, its Symbolism and its Origin* Oxford 1933 p. 29 ff. figs. 21—23.

i. 303 the Kyklopes as builders. So B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1919 xiii. 33 no. 1604 Pind. *dith.* 1. 6 f. [Κυ]κλώπων πρὸς ἀπὸ αὐτῶν | [] ἐν Ἀργεὶ μεγάλα. . See further S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 2329 f., 2342.

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

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

See also J. Newton 'The armorial bearings of the Isle of Man; their origin, history and meaning' in the *Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool* xxxix. 205—226.

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

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

i. 312 fig. 249. A photograph of this wall-painting is given by F. Weege *Etruskische Malerei* Halle (Saale) 1921 p. 28 pl. 65.

C. C. van Essen 'De Cyclope et Cuclu' in *Mnemosyne* 1930 lviii. 302—308 advances some venturesome views. Basing on Eva Fiesel *Namen des griechischen Mythos im Etruskischen* (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* Ergänzungsheft v) Göttingen 1928 pp. 35 and 48—56, he argues that pre-Indo-European peoples of the period

Helladic i knew a god of death, **Cuclup* (Etruscan *Cuclu*), dwelling in a cave. Into this cave a sea-faring hero **Uthisse* descends with followers, some of whom he is forced to leave behind. Early in the second millennium B.C. Indo-Europeans arrive with a story involving the 'No-man' stratagem (*supra* ii. 989). Hence in the Mycenaean age **Uthisse* develops into both *Oδῆτις* and *Ὀδυσσεύς* (*ὀδύσσεσθαι*), while **Cuclup* becomes *Κύκλωψ*, and in the *Odyssey* the original *κατάβασις* is attached to other adventures of Odysseus. Summary in the *Class. Quart.* 1931 xxv. 213.

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

i. 327. L. Siret 'Prométhée' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 i. 132—135 with 2 figs. attempts to show that the myth of Prometheus' offence and punishment is but an animistic interpretation of the fire-drill, the wood anthropomorphized into the hero, the bow zoomorphized into his eagle.

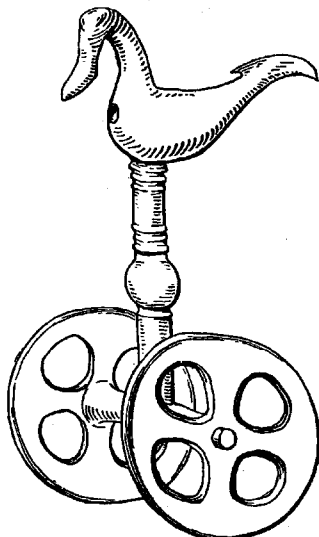


Fig. 862.

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

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

i. 330 n. 1. Eumath. 6. 14 *τοῦτο φῆς τὸν αἰτὸν* (*supra* ii. 1141) *ὑπανέτρεσθαι τῆς τοῦ Διὸς προμηθέας* plays on the connexion of Zeus with Prometheus, cp. 6. 15 *τῷ γάρ τοι Ἐπιμηθεὶ τὸ μεταμέλειν ἀνωφελῶς ἀφωσίωται*. κ.τ.λ., but lends no support to the assumption of a Zeus *Προμηθεύς*.

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

A bronze amulet of the Geometric Period (W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 36 ff. pl. 13), said to have come from 'Pharsalos,' but more probably from Pherai (*Velestino*), and now in my possession, shows a duck on a shaft which rises from the axle connecting two wheels (fig. 862: scale $\frac{1}{4}$). Since the duck is pierced for suspension, it is perhaps to be regarded as perched on a celestial chariot.

i. 333 ff. the solar chariot. L. Curtius in *Die Antike* 1927 iii. 162 ff. deals with the cult of the horse among the Greeks and discusses the solar chariot.

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

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

i. 334 fig. 265. With this *pointillé* design of horse + disk + bird-like man (?) cp. the *pointillé* design of horse + wheel + bird + man on the bronze double axe mentioned *supra* p. 605 n. 3 and figured *infra* Addenda on ii. 635 ff.

i. 334 n. 2 the Trundholm chariot. See now J. Brøndsted 'Pferd und Sonnenscheibe auf dänischen jungbronzezeitlichen Rasiermessern' in *Acta Archaeologica* 1931 ii. 199 ff., J. Bing *Der Sonnenwagen von Trundholm* Leipzig 1934 pp. 1—46 with 47 figs. and 7 pls.

i. 336 n. o. See further W. Deonna 'À propos d'une pendeloque archaïque de Tégée' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 lv. 229—239 figs. 1—5.

i. 338 n. 1 Zeus conceived as driving a chariot. Mr C. T. Seltman notes *Il.* 8. 41—50.

i. 339. Cp. R. U. Sayce 'A May Day Garland from St Neots' in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 1932 xxxii. 57 f. with pl. 1.

i. 341. D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 594 reports that at Tanis (Auaris) in 1934 P. Montet and P. Bucher unearthed a granite group of a falcon with a child Pharaoh crouched at its feet. The base was inscribed: 'The good god, son of the sun, beloved of Hurun of Ramses' (i.e. of Pi-Ramses, the Deltaic capital of Ramses ii). It is argued that *Hurun* was the falcon-god of the Horites of Mt Seit, who had gained a place for himself in Egypt by the end of the eighteenth dynasty.

i. 345 the Leucadian 'leap.' See further S. Eitrem 'Der Leukas-Sprung und andere rituelle Sprünge' in *ΔΑΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ* 1923 vii. 127—136, E. Strong—N. Jolliffe in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xlv. 103—111 ('Apotheosis by Water'), K. Kerényi 'Der Sprung vom Leukasfelsen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiv. 61—72. *Supra* p. 136 n. 3.

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

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

O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 337—341 with figs. 4—6 describes a seated cult-statue of Zeus *Ammon* found at *el Qes* near *Behnessa* (Oxyrynchos). The statue, of which head and torso are extant (1.20^m high), was made in several pieces of marble and showed the god, in *chiton* and *himation*, enthroned with right arm raised and left lowered—Roman work much influenced by the type of Sarapis.

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

i. 350 f. Our earliest reference to the *Ammonéion* occurs in a fragment of Hes. γυναικῶν κατάλογος (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1915 xi. 44 ff. no. 1358 frag. 2 col. i, H. G. Evelyn-White in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 69, *id.* in an Appendix to his Hesiod in the Loeb Classical Library p. 632 ff. frag. 40 A, 10 ff. [φῶλα τ' ἄπε]ρεσιῶν Μελαρο[χρῶτων Διβῶν τε][τοὺς Ἐπάφω] τέκε Γαῖα πελώρη χρησιμο-λόγους τε)[μαντοσύν]ας τε πανομφαλοῖς Διὸς εἰδότας ἀσθ[η], [ψεύστας δ', ὃ]φρα θεοῖσιν ὑφέ[ιμ]-ένοι ἀσθ[η]σῶν | [ἀνθρώποι.] τῶν μὲν τε νόος [γλ]ωσσοῆς καὶ[ύπ]ερθεν.

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

i. 352 Lysandros and *Ammon*. Cp. Iambl. *de myst.* 3. 3 p. 108, 13 ff. Parthey.

i. 353 Alexander the Great and Zeus *Ammon*. Recent discussions of this topic include E. Vassel 'Le béliér de Baal-Hammon' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 i. 79—107, G. Radet in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1925 pp. 201—208, D. Cohen 'De Alexandro Magno Ammonis oraculum consultante' in *Mnemosyne* 1926 liv. 83—86, V. Ehrenberg *Alexander in Ägypten* (Der Alte Orient Beiheft vii) Leipzig 1926 pp. 1—58, H. Berve *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* München 1926 i. 1—357, ii. 1—446 ('Kultus und Religion'), U. Wilcken 'Alexanders Zug in die Oase Siwa' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin Phil.-hist. Classe* 1928 pp. 576—603, H. Berve in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 370 ff.,



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

See page 1076.

G. Pasquali 'Alessandro all' oasi di Ammone e Callistene' in the *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 1929 lvii. 513—521, U. Wilcken 'Alexanders Zug zum Ammon. Ein Epilog' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin Phil.-hist. Classe* 1930 pp. 159—176, R. Vallois 'L'oracle libyen et Alexandre' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1931 xlv. 121—152, J. A. O. Larsen 'Alexander at the Oracle of Ammon' in *Class. Philol.* 1932 xxvii. 70—75, cp. *id. ib.* p. 274 f., G. Radet 'La consultation de l'oracle d'Ammon par Alexandre' in the *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 1934 ii (Mélanges Bidez) pp. 779—792 (summary by H. I. B[ell]) in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1935 lv. 110).

i. 355. G. Daressy 'Une nouvelle forme d'Amon' in the *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* Le Caire 1908 ix. 64—69, followed by Oria Bates *The Eastern Libyans* London 1914 pp. 189—195 (J. E. Harrison in *The Spectator* Feb. 27, 1915



Fig. 863.

p. 304), identifies the image of the Libyan god with an enthroned bundle representing a dead man in the sitting posture. They appeal to two bronze plaques from Memphis, three faience models from Karnak, and a relief of Roman date at Medinet Habu—of which evidence a different and, I think, less probable interpretation has been given by G. A. Wainwright (*supra* p. 882 n. 2).

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

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

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

i. 362 f. P. Giles in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1916 p. 48 summarises A. Fick's identifications of the Mediterranean tribes invading Egypt. H. R. Hall in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1924 ii. 275—283 devotes a section to them ('The Kestians and the Peoples of the Sea'). F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients* München 1926 pp. 28 f., 986 is more concise. L. B. Holland 'The Danaoi' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1928 xxxix. 59—92 includes a general survey of Aegaeon

pre-history. Further literature in A. Götze *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* München 1933 pp. 186—188 ('Die ägäische Wanderung').

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

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

i. 370 n. 4. The inscription may perhaps be read as ΛΙΥΙΑ for *Livia*, who by a play on Λιβία is linked with *Ammon*.

i. 373 Apollon *Karneios*. So F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Apollon Karneios auf kyrenäischen und anderen griechischen Münzen' in the *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 1917 xxi. 1—17 pl. 1, followed by Sir G. Macdonald in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1918—1919 p. 18 f. ('convincing').

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

i. 379 n. 7. To the bibliography of Siwah add the well-illustrated monograph by C. D. Belgrave *Siwa: the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon* London 1923 pp. 1—310 and the remarks of S. R[einach] in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 ii. 334 f. on the Libyan rock-cut inscriptions and the Greek inscription found there by M. de Prorok.

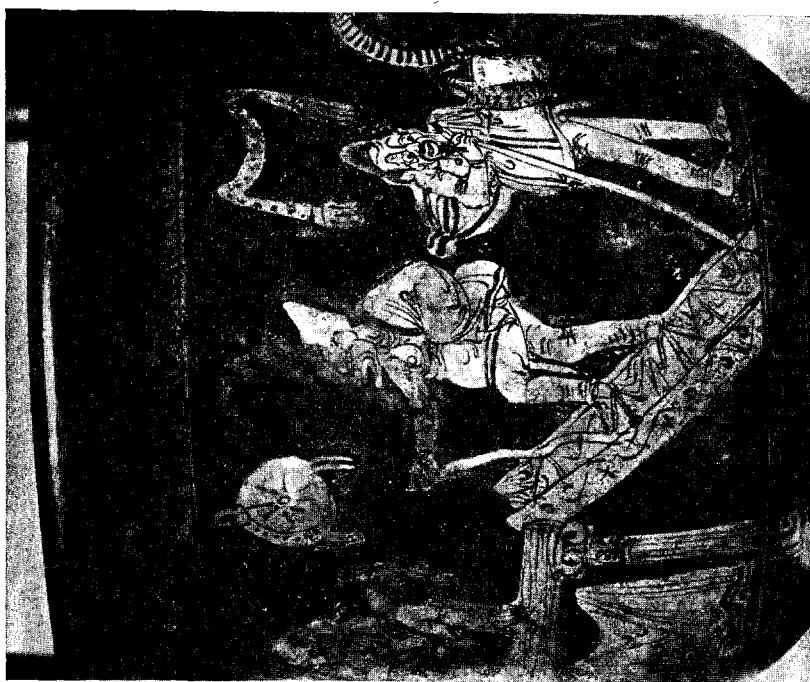
i. 390. E. D. J. Dutilh in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 437—440 describes a small bronze coin, found in the oasis, with *obv.* a ram walking to the right, *rev.* ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ an eagle on a thunderbolt to the left and a six-rayed star before it ('Nous concluons ainsi qu'il s'agit,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

i. 395 *verveceus Iuppiter*. Cp. Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel. no.* 4477 (at *Aziz ben Tellis* in Numidia) d. b. s. (*dis bonis sacrum?*) | C. Aponius | Secundus sacerdos agnu domjino, tauru domjino, ovicula Nutri|ci, berbece Iovi, ovicu|la Teluri, agnu Herc|uli, agna Veneri, edu | Mercurio, | verbe. Testijmonio . . . m. . LXV (date?) (*instrumenta ad sacrificandum*), no. 4477^a (in the same place) d. b. s. | C. C. Primus, | sac. Saturni, agnu tauro domjino, ovicla Tel|uri, berbece | Iovo, ovicla | [Nu]trici, capone | [H]erculi, edu Merc|ur.], aedua Veneri, ber|bec|e Testimonio | (*duo animalia*) [p]ecora | . . .

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

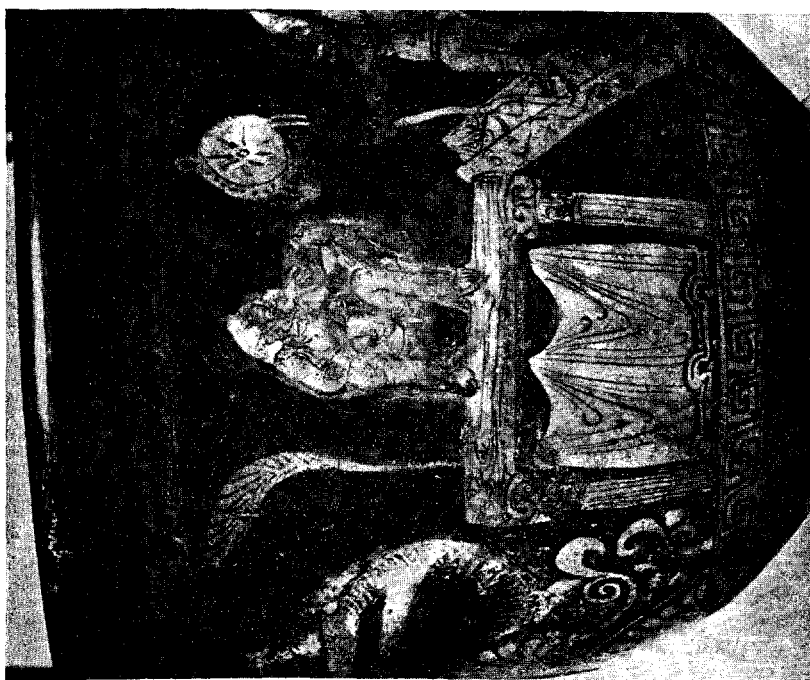
i. 395 n. 3. Ἰνταν. Better Ἰνταν, as J. Keil 'Meter Hipta' showed in the *Wiener Eranos zur fünfzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Graz* 1909 Wien 1909 p. 102 f. (O. Kern on Orph. frag. 199).

i. 396 n. 1 on the snake as phallic. Cp. P. de Lancre *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais Anges et Demons* Paris 1612 p. 224 'Que le membre du Diable s'il estoit estendu est long enuiron d'une aulne, mais il le tient entortillé & sinieux en forme de serpent.' See further E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 149 ff. and M. Oldfield Howey *The Encircled Serpent* London (1926) p. 126 ff. ('The Serpent as a Phallic Emblem').



b

Fig. 864.



a

i. 401 n. 7. Cp. Prob. in Verg. *eccl.* 1 prooem. (iii. 2. 329, 1 Hagen) hircus Libyca lingua *tityrus* appellatur.

i. 404 purple-fleeced sheep. A. D. Nock in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1925—1926 p. 16 n. 3 cites G. Rohde's remarks in F. Jacoby *Klassisch-Philologische Studien* Berlin 1925 v. 60 f.

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

i. 405 ff. the golden lamb of Atreus. C. A. J. Hoffmann 'Ueber den goldenen Widder des Atreus' in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1838 v. 1122—1137, O. Immisch 'Das goldne lamm des Atreus' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1890 xvii. 202—208, A. H. Krappe 'Atreus' Lamm' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1928 lxxvii. 182—184 (citing remarkable Iranian parallels for a great ram as 'ein Symbol der Königswürde, ein Regalium' [sic] from the 'Geschichte des Artachšir i Pāpakān,' founder of the Sassanid dynasty (T. Nöldeke in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1879 iv. 44 f., also in Firdusi *Le Livre des Rois* trad. J. Mohl Paris 1877 v. 230 ff.)).

Ach. Tat. *isagog.* 20 in schol. Arat. ed. Maass p. 48, 14 f. Ἀτρεὺς γὰρ εὖρε τῶν πλανήτων τὴν ἐναντίαν φορὰν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡλίου ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν κυλιόμενον καὶ φερόμενον εἰς δυσμὰς.

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

i. 414 ff. the golden ram of Phrixos. G. Goerres *Studien zur griechischen Mythologie* (Berliner Studien für klassische Philologie und Archaeologie x 2) Berlin 1889 i. 72—120 ('Zeus Laphystios und die Athamassage'), A. H. Krappe 'The Story of Phrixos and Modern Folklore' in *Folk-Lore* 1923 xxxiv. 141—147, *id.* 'La légende d'Athamas et de Phrixos' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1924 xxxvii. 381—389 (contents that the myth arises from the fusion of two elements—the ancient custom of sacrificing the king or the king's eldest son in time of famine, and a familiar type of *Märchen*. Krappe attempts to reconstitute the original form of the story), J. A. Scott 'The origin of the myth of the golden fleece' in *The Classical Journal* 1926—1927 xxii. 541.

i. 416 a sanctuary of Leukothea. A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1910 pp. 378—382 no. 25 fig. 9 publishes a broken *stèle* of white marble, found at Larissa in Thessaly, which shows Danae daughter of Aphthonetos on her knees before Leukathea. The goddess, seated on two blocks of stone, raises her left hand to adjust her *himation*. In the background is seen the doorway of her circular temple. The inscription, in lettering of the early third century B.C., runs: Λευκαθέα[ι] | Δανάα | Ἀφθον[ε]ῖ[ς] ἱερά (sc. δνέθεικεν or the like). See further L. R. Farnell 'Ino-Leukothea' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 36—44 (a Minyan myth under Creto-Carian influence) and J. Wackernagel 'Λευκαθέα' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 44—46 (cj. Λευκαθεστῶν in Hes. sc. *Her.* 146 ὀδόντων...λευκά θεόντων, cp. Λευκαθίζειν 'weiss glänzen').

i. 419 n. 5. But, according to O. Rossbach, the text of the cod. Vaticanus gives in *qua iouis in celum ascendit* (L. Deubner in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 51^b). It is tempting to conjecture in *qua ovis in caelum ascendit*, 'wearing which the sheep (golden ram) went up to heaven.'

i. 420 n. o. R. Dussaud 'Une épreuve subie dans un chaudron' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1909 lviii. 309, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 185.

P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 228 cites R. Mouterde in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1931 pp. 141—147 an inscription from 'Ahiṛ in *El Leja* recording a thunderstorm and a death by lightning Ἀ(γ)αθὴ Τύχη. | ὅτε ἡ κερα(υ)ν | ο-βολία ἐγένετο κα[ι] (ἀ)π[ο]θεώθῃ (F. Cumont would read καταθεώθῃ) | Αὐτος Ἀμλεῶδου ἐ[ρ]ους κρ.. (120 in the era of Boşra = 225/226 A.D.).

i. 422 human 'bears.' Cp. G. C. Moore Smith 'Straw-bear Tuesday' in *Folk-Lore* 1909 xx. 202 f. with two pls., V. Alford 'The Springtime Bear in the Pyrenees' *ib.* 1930 xli. 266—279 with pls. 9 and 10, *ead.* *Pyrenean Festivals* London 1937 pp. 16—25, 62 f., 108—111, 144, 225 f., 236 with fig. opposite p. 18 ('The Bear Hunt in French Catalonia'), Will-Erich Peuckert in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 893—896 ('Der B[är] als Vegetationsdämon').

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



Fig. 865.

i. 423 ff. figs. 305 and 306. H. Lewy in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 198 ff. deals with the Jewish rite of *Movoroðapia*. A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1928 xiii—xiv p. xi with fig. 173 dates the Lambert *hydria* c. 470 B.C., notes that it is now in the Czartoryski collection at Goluchow near Posen, and interprets the central figure as 'der nackte bekränzte Bräutigam, neben ihm Schwamm und Waschbecken.' But W. Kroll in *Glotta* 1936 xxv. 154 observes that the vase is better figured by K. Bulas in the *Corp. vas. ant.* Pologne, Gołuchów p. 23 f. pl. 32, 3a, 3b, and that the queer object under the man's left foot is in reality non-existent! As Bulas remarks: 'La prétendue peau de mouton sous le genou droit de Thésée n'est que son pied gauche mal dessiné.'

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

W. R. Dawson in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1924 x. 83—86 (the mouse as folk-medicine), *id.* 'The mouse in fable and folklore' in *Folk-Lore* 1925 xxxvi. 227—248, J. U. Powell 'Rodent-Gods in Ancient and Modern Times' *ib.* 1929 xl. 173—179, J. U. Powell and A. R. Wright *ib.* 1929 xl. 392 f., H. Mørland in the *Symbolae Osloenses* 1929 viii. 96 f. (*sorex* 'mouse'), Riegler 'Maus' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1934 vi. 31—60, Ohrt 'Mäusesegen' *ib.* pp. 60—62.

i. 429 n. 4. A marble purse-bearing Hermes found in a Delian shop has his *phallós* tipped with a ram's head (M. Bulard *La Religion Domestique dans la Colonie Italienne de Delos* Paris 1926 p. 261, *cp. ib.* p. 483).

i. 431 Mnevis. H. Bonnet in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1924 ii—iv p. ii with fig. 48 illustrates a *stèle* of New Kingdom date at Copenhagen (Valdemar Schmidt *Choix de monuments égyptiens* pl. 16) showing the worship of Mnevis, who appears a bull-headed man with solar disk and plumes.

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

i. 436 f. Bouchis. After a series of newspaper notices (*e.g.* in *The Daily Telegraph* for Dec. 11, 1928, *ib.* Jan. 3, 1929, *ib.* Jan. 4, 1929 (six figs.), *ib.* Feb. 27, 1929 (six figs.), *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 12, 1931) and at least one official report (R. Mond and W. B. Emery 'A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Armant' in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1929 xvi. 3—12 with figs. 1—9 and pls. 1—20) a full account of the excavations at Hermonthis (*Armant*) has been put together by Sir R. Mond, O. H. Myers, and H. W. Fairman *The Bucheum* (Forty-first Memoir of The Egypt Exploration Society) London 1934 i The History and Archaeology of the Site (pp. 1—203), ii The Inscriptions (pp. 1—92), iii The Plates (pls. 1—173)—a work reviewed by G. Brunton in *Antiquity* 1935 ix. 250 f. and by A. H. M. Jones in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1936 xxvi. 117. See also W. W. Tarn 'The Bucheum Stelae: a Note' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1936 xxvi. 187—189.

i. 436 n. 4. In *Alkaios frag.* 35. 3 Bergk⁴, 158. 3 Edmonds, 91. 3 Diehl *ap.* Athen. 430 B—C ὁ Βύκχι and in *Alkaios frag.* 46 B. 10 Diehl *ap. pap. Oxyrh.* 1234 *frag.* 3 καὶ πεδὰ Βύκχιδος the ancients took Βύκχις to be an Aeolic form of Βάκχις (*et. mag.* p. 216, 47 ff. = Herodian. *περὶ παθῶν frag.* 553 (ii. 351, 9 ff. Lentz) Βύκχις ὄνομα Αἰολικόν. παρὰ τὸ Βάκχος Βύκχις καὶ Βύκχις ὡς ἑκπῆς καὶ οἶκος Οἶκος καὶ τροπή τοῦ ἄ εις ὃ ὡς βάθος βόθος), *cp.* H. L. Ahrens *De Graecae linguae dialectis* Göttingae 1839 i. 78, R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1882 i. 58 (sceptical).

i. 437 ff. Recent literature on Io includes J. C. Hoppin 'Argos, Io, and the Prometheus of Aeschylus' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1901 xii. 335—345 with pl. (*supra* p. 633 f. n. o), G. Mellén *De Ius fabula capita selecta* Upsaliae 1901 pp. 1 ff., R. Engelmann 'Die Iosage' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1903 xviii. 37—58 pl. 2 (*supra* p. 634 n. 1), L. Deubner 'Zur Iosage' in *Philologus* 1905 lxiv. 481—492 with pl., F. Jacoby 'ΙΩ ΚΑΛΛΙΘΥΕΣΣΑ' in *Hermes* 1922 lvii. 366—374, J. Vürtheim *Aischylos' Schutzfliehende* Amsterdam 1928 pp. 49—53 ('Io').

C. Sourdille 'Une théorie récente sur la formation du mythe d'Epaphos' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1912 pp. 267—276, J. Vürtheim *op. cit.* pp. 30—41 ('Epaphos').

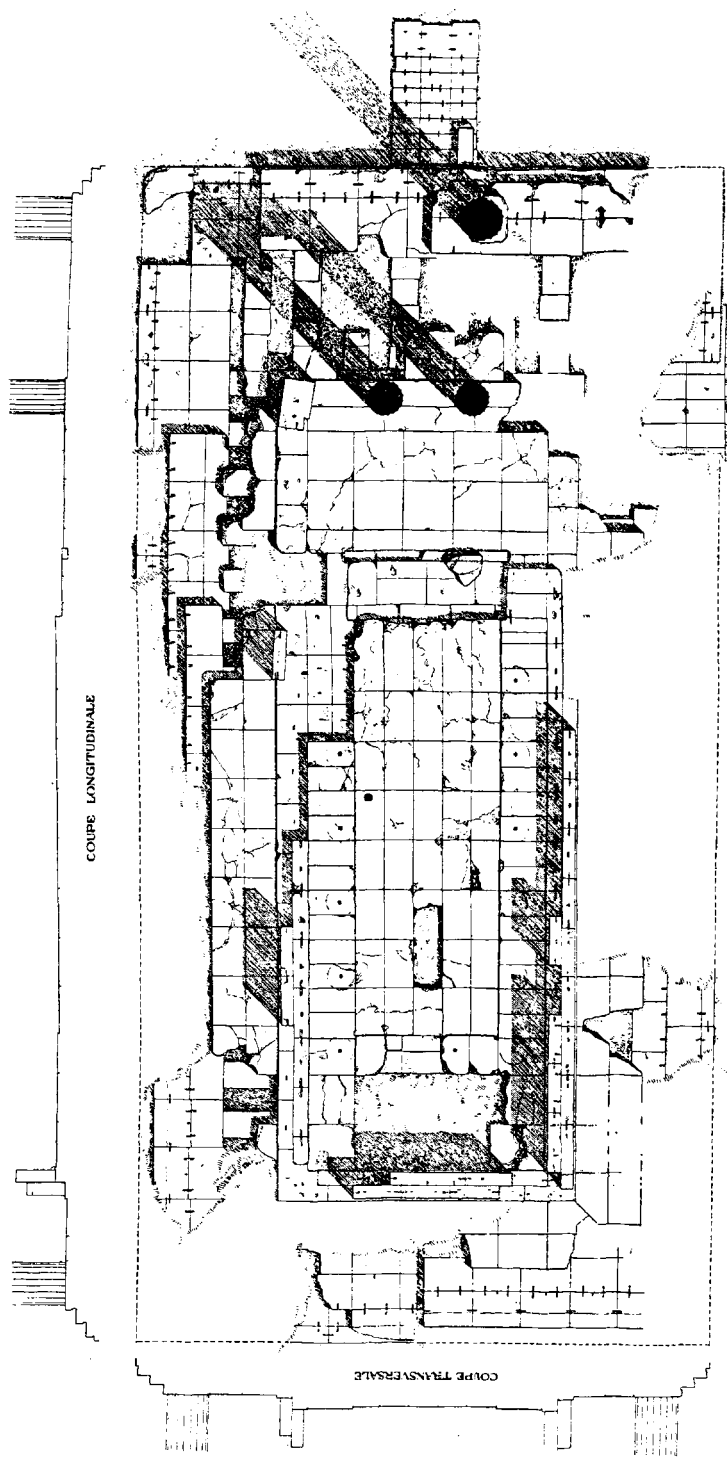
i. 438 *Bákchos* in Asia Minor. A. Götz in the *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* München 1933 iii. 1. 195 notes the existence of a Lydian deity *Baki* (W. H. Buckler in *Sardis* vi. 2. 40 ff. no. 22 (pl. 9), 9 [= J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 p. 117 no. 22, 9] *kavek bakillis*, 'priest of Bakis' (?), on a marble *stèle* of s. iv B.C. found in 1911 near the temple of Artemis at Sardeis), whom the Lydians themselves identified with Dionysos (see the bilingual inscription given by W. H. Buckler in *Sardis* vi. 2. 38 no. 20 (pl. 8) [= J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 116 no. 20] *nannas bakivalis artimul* | Νάννας Διονυσικλέος Ἀρτέμιδι on a marble statue-base found in 1913 near the temple of Artemis at Sardeis and referred to the second half of s. iv B.C.). *Cp.* also *Sardis* vi. 2. 39 no. 21 (pl. 9) an Ionic column from the same site inscribed [*ῥ*] *m* [*α*] *ῥ* [*ε*] *ῥ* *bakivalis man[elís]* *ῥ* [*α*. *α*. *α*.] = J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 116 no. 21.

i. 441 ff. priests and priestesses with animal names. O. Gruppe in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1918 xli. 298 thinks that Peleïades (women dressed as doves) and Hyades (women dressed as cows) were 'alte Bezeichnungen für Zeus' Ammen.' Their *καταστροφολοί* came later. S. W. Ramsay 'Pisidian Wolf-priests, Phrygian Goat-priests, and the Old-Ionian Tribes' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1920 xl. 197—202 would interpret the Pisidian name *Gagdabos Edagdabos* with the help of Hesych. δάος... καὶ ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λύκος as 'Wolf-wolf the chief Wolf' implying 'an order of priests called Wolves,' the Phrygian

Attabokaoi with the help of ἀττηγός (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 589, 50 f., Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1625, 37 f.), *attagus* (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 6), and Hipponax *frag.* 2 Bergk⁴, 46 Knox *ap. Tzetz. in Lyk. Al.* 425 and 741 καὺς (W. H. Buckler—D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1913 xvii. 362 ff.), Hesych. κοῖης· ἱερεὺς Καβείρων...οἱ δὲ κοῖς as 'goat-priests,' and the Old-Ionian *Διγγορεῖς* as priests wearing Athena's aigis. B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1922 xv. 155 ff. no. 1802 (a glossary of late second or early third century) *frag.* 3 col. ii, 29 ff. [μ]έ[λ]οι: : αἱ τῆς Δημητ[ρ]ος ἱερεῖαι, ἡ αὐτῇ Ἀπολλ[ωνία] ἐν τῇ ᾧ "ἐπ[άγου]σαν δὲ τὸν κάλαθον ταῖς Νύ[κ]ταις σὺν τῷ ἱσ[τ]ῷ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς Περσεφόνης, ἃ μὲν παραγενέσθαι εἰς Πάρον καὶ ξενισ[τ]εῖσαν παρὰ | τῷ βασιλεῖ Μελίσσῳ χαρίσασθαι ταῖς τούτου θυγατράσι οὐδας ἐξήκοντα τὸν τῆς Φερσεφόνης ἱσ[τ]ῶν, καὶ πρῶταις αὐταῖς ἀναδοῦναι | τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν πάθῃ τε καὶ μυστήρια· ὅθεν καὶ μελίσσας ἔκτοτε | κληθῆναι τὰς θεομοφοριαζούσας (κληθῆναι) γυναῖκας." P. Clement 'New evidence for the origin of the Iphigeneia legend' in *L'Antiquité Classique* 1934 iii. 393—409 cites two Thessalian dedications to Artemis by devotees called νεβροί (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1123 Δυνατὶς Μελανθίου Ἀρτέμιδι Παγασιτίδι νεβροῖ[α...], where F. Hiller von Gaerttingen notes: 'An νεβ(ρ)εύ[ασα] ut ἀρκεύουσα, i.e. postquam deae νεβρου [sic] nomine inservivit?' and N. I. Giannopoulos in the *Arch. Eph.* 1931 p. 178 f. no. 18 fig. 1 the white marble cap-stone of a statue-base from Larisa inscribed Ἀρτέμιδι Θεοσία Ἰππόλοχος Ἰππολόχειος ὑπ[έρ] | Εὐβιοτέας Ἀλεξιππέας νεβρουσ[ας] But Clement interprets Θεοσία as 'goddess of fertility' (θορ- θρω- θρο- [supra i. 681 n. 4]), derives νεβρώ from *νεβ-ος a parallel of νεβ-ρῆς, and claims that the legend of Iphigeneia's sacrifice arose from the ritual of the νέβρεια in the cult of Artemis at Aulis—a most attractive hypothesis. F. R. Walton in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1935 xlv. 167—189, discussing the *Ichneutae* of Sophokles, contends that the chorus of Satyrs were conceived as a pack of hunting dogs, cp. Poll. 5. 10 ἰχνευτῆς ἀνὴρ καὶ κύων and *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1651 an inscription from the Asklepieion in the Peiraieus which ordains 3 ff. Μαλεάτη πόπανα τρία· Ἀπόλλωνι πόπανα τρία· Ἐρμῇ πόπανα τρία· Ἰασοὶ πόπανα τρία· Ἀλκείοι πόπανα τρία· Πανακταὶ πόπανα τρία· Κυνεὶν πόπανα τρία· Κυνηγέται πόπανα τρία. But it is far from certain that the Κύνες and Κυνηγέται of this inscription were human beings. G. Kaibel in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe* 1901 p. 506 points out that in Plat. *Phaon frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 674 ff. Meineke) *ap. Athen.* 441 B—442 A Orthanes, Konisalos, London, Kybdasos, Keles are grouped with Κυνεὶ τε καὶ Κυνηγέταις and infers that the latter, like the former, were Priapic deities. L. Ziehen in *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. 70 ff. no. 18 after further examination concludes: 'Itaque inferos daemones Κύνες et Κυνηγέτας dici persuasum habeo' etc. C. M. Bowra *Greek Lyric Poetry* Oxford 1936 p. 43 ff. holds that Alkman's famous *parthénion* was sung at a joint festival of Dionysos and Helene. 'The Δευκιπιδες, led by their two leaders or πῶλοι, sing the song in competition with the Πελειάδες before the presentation of some gift to the appropriate gods and a race at the dawn' (*ib.* p. 54). F. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 906—910 has compiled the latest and most serviceable list of these usages. But it would be possible, and profitable, to go yet further in the same direction. Many examples of mythical metamorphosis might be explained along these lines. To give but one instance—the Κορωνίδες of the Boeotian tale told by Ant. Lib. 25 (ἱστορεῖ Νικάνδρος ἑτεροιοιμένων δ' καὶ Κόρινθα γερόλων α') and retold with variations by Ov. *met.* 13. 685 ff.

i. 447 ff. Kleobis and Biton. See also S. Eitrem 'Kleobis und Biton' in the *Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandling* 1905 No. 1 pp. 1—14 (criticised by L. Deubner in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Nov. 4, 1905 pp. 1402—1405), L. Weber 'Tellos, Kleobis und Biton' in *Philologus* 1926 lxxxii. 154—166.

i. 448 Zeus at Nemea. On the American excavations of 1924—1927 see C. W. Blegen 'The American excavations at Nemea, season of 1924' in *Art and Archaeology* 1925 xix. 175—184, *ib.* 1927 xxiii. 189, *id.* 'Excavations at Nemea 1926' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 421—440 figs. 1—14 (of which fig. 3 = my fig. 867), cp. M. Clemmensen 'Le temple de Zeus à Némée' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 1—12 figs. 1—9 and pls. 1—2 (=my fig. 866) plan and 3—4 details of order, R. Vallois 'Remarques sur le temple de Némée' *ib.* pp. 13—20 figs. 10—14, Ernst Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2318—2322. The scanty remains of an archaic temple on the same site include blocks of *póros*, some with U-shaped lifting-holes, recut for use in the later building and a fragmentary antefix of terra cotta adorned with a polychrome palmette. A deposit of votive offerings found under the plaster of the later *tēmenos* yielded proto-Corinthian and Corinthian sherds, terracottas, and small bronzes. The new temple, built c. 330 B.C., was a Doric peripteral structure with 6 × 12 columns, 2 columns in the *prōnaos*, but no *opisthódomos*. Inside were two rows of 6 Corinthian columns. At the western end of the *naós* 2 other columns marked off an *adyton*, which took the form of a sunken but unroofed



crypt with a flooring of white stucco (possibly of Roman date) laid some 1.98^m below the level of the *naós* and reached by a roughish flight of five steps (fig. 867); but the precise purpose of this semi-subterranean *sanctum* is unknown. The temple had a marble *sima* carved in relief with *akanthos*-work and lion-heads. Three of its lanky Doric columns are still standing. And parallel to the temple-*façade* are the foundations of a great sacrificial altar, prolonged at some period towards the north so that it now measures 40.58^m long by 2.42^m wide.

One or two individual finds deserve mention. A *pôros* base embedded in a wall at the west end of the Gymnasium was inscribed with a *boustrophedôn* dedication in lettering of s. vi B.C.: 'Ἀρίστis με ἀνέθηκε Δι' Ὀρονίου Φάρακτι πανκράτιον νικῶν τετράκις | ἐν Νεμείῃ Φεῖδος ἥως τῷ Κλεοῖναίῳ (C. W. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 432 f. fig. 10, W. Peek in the *Ἀρχ.* 'Εφ. 1931 p. 103 f. no. 1). The inscription, which appears to be our oldest example of an agonistic epigram, was conceived as an elegiac couplet eked out by an iambic pentapody. H. N. Couch 'An Inscribed Votive Bronze Bull' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 44—47 figs. 1 and 2 publishes a solid-cast



Fig. 867.

bull (0.083^m in length, 0.070^m in height) found in 1927 near the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea and now in the Museum of Classical Archaeology and Art at the University of Illinois. The bull bears on its left side the *pointillée* inscription ΑΛΕΑΤΙΣ | ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ. On artistic and epigraphical grounds it is assigned to the first half of the fourth century B.C.

i. 450 n. 1 'Other Authors.' See *Anth. Pal.* 3. 18 lemma.

i. 453 Io *Kallithýessa*. F. Jacoby 'ΙΩ ΚΑΛΛΙΘΥΕΣΣΑ' in *Hermes* 1922 lvii. 366—374 supports the main contention of A. Frickenhaus in *Tiryns* i. 19 ff. that there was an ancient cult of Hera at Tiryns (*supra* i. 454 n. o) against the criticisms of C. Robert in *Hermes* 1920 lv. 373 ff., but argues that the Tirynthian Io *Kallithýessa* (a Hesiodic, not Callimachean, tag) was split by Hellanikos 'Ἱέρεια τῆς Ἥρας αἱ ἐν Ἀργεῖ into two Argive figures—Kallithyia the first priestess and Io (cp. *Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 455 Jacoby).

i. 453 n. 8. On the pillar of Hera *Argela* see now P. Kastriotes 'Ἥρας Ἀργείας ἔδανον' in the *Ἀρχ.* 'Εφ. 1920 pp. 53—56 with figs. 1—3.

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

i. 457 Hera *Argela* and the Moon. A late Graeco-Roman relief in reddish marble (height 2 ft 1½ ins), found at Argos and now in London, shows a facing bust of Selene in an arched niche bearing the signs of the zodiac. The goddess has a horned moon on her head and seven stars grouped round her. Below has been added the 'Gnostic'

inscription $\text{I}\alpha\alpha \cdot \phi\rho\alpha\nu\phi\mu\iota \cdot \kappa\alpha\nu\theta\beta\rho\alpha \cdot \lambda\upsilon\kappa\upsilon\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\alpha \cdot \delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\kappa\iota\sigma\tau\eta \cdot \Sigma\alpha\beta\omega\theta \cdot \alpha\beta\omega\theta\epsilon\rho\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ (*Bril. Mus. Cat. Sculpt.* iii. 231 f. no. 2162 fig. 26 = my fig. 868, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 489, 1).

i. 461 n. 1 Zeus *Panóptes*. Anonym. *enarrat. brev. chronogr.* (dated c. 750 A.D. by K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*² München 1897 p. 424) 48 (in *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* i. 53 Preger) à propos of Julian and the bronze group at Kaisareia Paneas (*supra* p. 971 n. 1) says: $\kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron \nu \phi\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \delta\epsilon \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\nu\sigma\epsilon, \kappa\alpha\iota \Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \text{'}\text{Αφροδίτης ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἀνατεθεικῶς καὶ ἐαυτὸν· ἐν οἷς καὶ ναδὸν οἰκοδομήσας ἐπέγραψε τάδε· "θεῶ Διὶ Παντεπόπτῃ· "Ιουλιανὸς Πανεάδι εἰς δῶρον ἀγεί."$

i. 464 Theos Tauros. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 I. 393 f. nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 (my fig. 321 is his no. 11 or 12) and *ib.* p. 393 n. 4 is able to cite four fresh examples of the inscription Θεοῦ | Ταύρου, making a total of six, all found at Thespiæ. A gold coin of the city Pushkalāvati, with *rev.* Indian bull inscribed ΤΑΥΡΟΣ above and *Uṣabhe* below (E. J. Rapson in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 557, 587 pl. 6, 10) represents Nandi the bull of Civa (*supra* i. 637, ii. 791 n. 2). Mosch. 2. 135 $\pi\eta \mu\epsilon \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma, \theta\epsilon\omicron\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\epsilon$ (*z.l.* ὁ ταῦρε); uses the compound of Zeus.



Fig. 868.

i. 469 n. 7. A. Fick 'Asklepios und die heilschlange' in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1900 xxvi. 313 ff. cj. $\mu\upsilon\iota\alpha\nu < \chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\eta\nu > \delta\iota\omega\kappa\omega\nu$, 'playing at blindman's buff.'

Fig. 325 is better published and discussed by Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 22, 16, ii. 108. Cp. J. H. Middleton *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings* London 1892 p. 50 no. 23. See also Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 59 f. no. 43, 2 pl. 58 'Polyeidos, Glaucos et Minos' with n. 5.

i. 472 ff. The Labyrinth continues to provoke discussion—witness the following monographs: R. de Launay 'Les fallacieux détours du Labyrinthe' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1915 ii. 114—125, 348—363, *ib.* 1916 i. 295—300, 387—398, ii. 119—128, 295—300, 413—421 (takes as his starting-point the Round Building of Early Helladic date (third millennium B.C.), some 28^m in diameter, at Tiryns (K. Müller in *Tiryns* iii. 80 ff. pls. 5, 29, 30), which appears to have been the earliest palace (Müller *loc. cit.* p. 87, G. Karo in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1455)). E. Hommel 'Zur Geschichte des Labyrinths' in the *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung* 1919 xxii. 63—68 (holds that the maze-form in Crete and on Babylonian tablets represents the internal organs of man's body. On which showing the Labyrinth is 'a microcosm of the earth and a macrocosm of the human anatomy' (W. F. J. Knight in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlii. 105)). H. Diels 'Das Labyrinth' in the *Festschrift A. v. Harnack* Tübingen 1921 pp. 61—72. W. H. Matthews *Mazes and Labyrinths* London 1922 pp. 1—254 (well illustrated). A. Piganiol *Recherches sur les jeux romains* Strasbourg 1923 p. 103 (le *ludus Troiae*). Humborg in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 312—321, G. Karo *ib.* 321—323, H. Kees *ib.* 323—326. R. Winter 'Das Labyrinth in Tanz und Spiel' in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft*

und Jugendbildung 1929 v. 707—720 figs. 1—6 ('Es ist hier versucht worden, Verbindungs-linien zwischen dem Süden und dem Norden Europas im Altertum nachzuweisen'). W. F. J. Knight 'Vergil and the Maze' in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 212 f., *id.* 'Maze Symbolism and the Trojan Game' in *Antiquity* 1932 vi. 445—458, *id.* 'Myth and Legend at Troy' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlvii. 98—121. R. Eilmann *Labyrinthos* Athen 1931 pp. 1—106 with figs. 1—25 (p. 12 criticises my contention (*supra* i. 476 f.) that the Cnossian coin-types originated in a *swastika*). C. N. Deedes *The Labyrinth* ed. by S. H. Hooke London 1935 pp. 1—42 (thinks that in Egypt the Labyrinth originated in the baffling defences of the royal tomb or, later, of the royal palace). J. Layard 'Maze-Dances and the Ritual of the Labyrinth in Malekula' [an island of the New Hebrides] in *Folk-Lore* 1936 xlviii. 123—170 (the Labyrinth provides a clue to the journey of the soul after death), *id. ib.* p. 170 'the horned dancers of Abbots Bromley are thus seen to be not far removed from the bull-headed Minotaur,' *id. ib.* 1937 xlviii. 115—182 'Labyrinth Ritual in South India: Threshold and Tattoo Designs.'

i. 481 the Labyrinth at Taormina. By a curious coincidence a square mosaic representing the Labyrinth, with battlements all round, angle-towers, and a gateway, has actually come to light at Taormina (P. Orsi in the *Not. Scavi* 1920 p. 340 ff. figs. 26—29).

i. 481 the Labyrinth-dance at Delos. The Delian dance had ropes (*δῦπον*) to guide the dancers (I. R. Arnold in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 455 [F. Dürnbach *Inscriptions de Delos* Paris 1926 ii. 77 ff. no. 316, 75 ff.]).

i. 482 n. 1 the altar of horns at Delos. See further É. Cahen 'L'autel de cornes et l'hymne à Dèlos de Callimaque' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1923 xxxvi. 14—25 ('il est peut-être difficile de voir dans le *Kératôn* l'autel principale du culte apollinien à Dèlos. Ce sera plutôt, à côté du *βωμός* centre de la liturgie officielle, comme un autel très antique, où s'attachaient les souvenirs les plus vénérables de la religion délienne, avec les rites primitifs de la γέρας, de la διαμαρτυρία, d'autres encore' [Kallim. *h. Del.* 300—324, Hesych. s.v. *Δηλιακὸς βωμός*]), R. Vallois 'Topographie délienne. i. L'Artémision, le Monument des Hyperboréennes, l'Olivier sacré et le Kératôn' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 411—445.

The archaic temple of Dreros, built for Apollon *Delphinios* (*supra* i. 729 n. 2) early in s. viii B.C., was perhaps half a century later furnished with an altar of unusual form. A hollow structure of vertical slabs set against the back wall was covered by a wooden (?) lid with a circular hole in it (0·15^m across), which itself was closed by a carefully rounded potsherd. On this box-altar stood three statuettes of hammered bronze (one male, two smaller female) together with two small iron knives: within it were numerous horns (mostly left horns) of young goats—clearly a *keratôn* comparable with that of Delos (*supra* i. 482) (S. Marinatos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1936 lx. 224 f., 241—244 figs. 17, 18, pls. 26, 27, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1936 li Arch. Anz. pp. 215—222 and 227 with figs. 1—4).

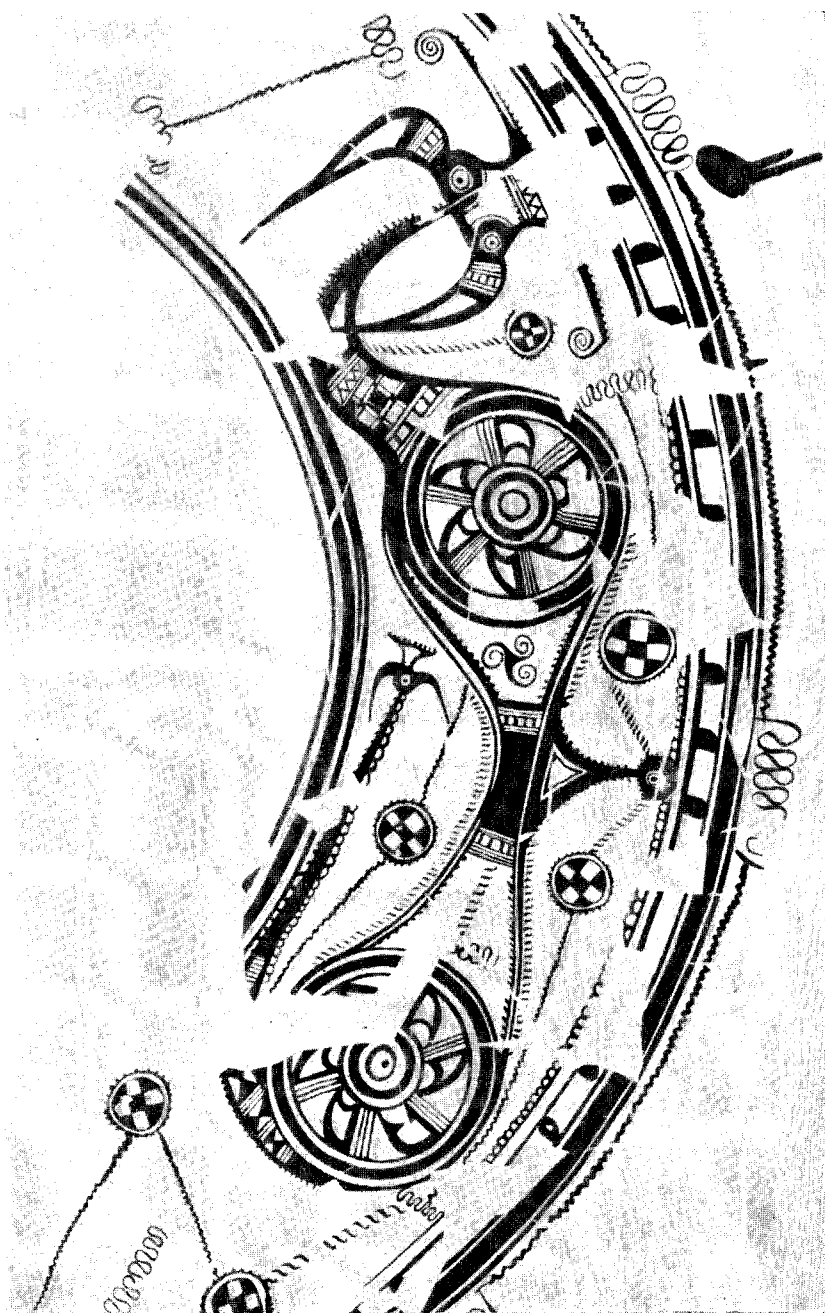
i. 483 *swastika* and maeander. A. S. Georgiades in the 'Αρχ. Ἐφη. 1914 p. 195 pl. 5 figs. 1, 2, *ib.* 1915 p. 94 fig. 1 publishes a fine *swastika*-pattern, which he calls the 'Ἐπερικὸς πάλανδρος,' from the monastery of S. George at Eretira.

i. 485 Theseus and the Minotaur as central panel of the Labyrinth. C. Bursian *Aventicum Helvetiorum Fünftes Heft* Zürich 1870 (= *Mitteilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* xvi. Abth. 1. Heft 5) p. 58 pl. 29 publishes a handsome mosaic, found in 1830 at Cornerod in the canton of Freiburg and now in the Freiburg Museum: the design shows a Labyrinth with towers at the angles and Theseus with the Minotaur in the centre.

i. 490 ff. the Minotaur. Materials bearing on this vexed problem may be here assembled. Sir J. Marshall *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* Part I, 1913—14 Calcutta 1915 p. 25 f. pl. 23 fig. c publishes an enamelled terra-cotta relief, found by M. Duroiselle in the ruins of the Shwegugyi pagoda in Burma (s. v A.D.), showing among the subjects that relate to Buddha's fight with Mara two bull-headed beings with human bodies and limbs, nude except for a loin-cloth. The type is suggestive of the Greek Minotaur.

F. Quilling *Minotauros. Der Veredarterstein im Saalburgmuseum* Leipzig 1919 pp. 1—40 (severely criticised by E. Anthes in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* April 3, 1920 pp. 322—326).

Prof. Max Semper of Aachen, in a letter to me dated Dec. 14, 1926, maintains that there is no convincing representation of the Minotaur in 'Minoan' or Mycenaean art, and that the seal-impression always cited as such would never have been so understood had not the wish been father to the thought. He holds that the mixed creatures of human + animal type, which occur first in the 'Late Minoan' age, are due to the impact of



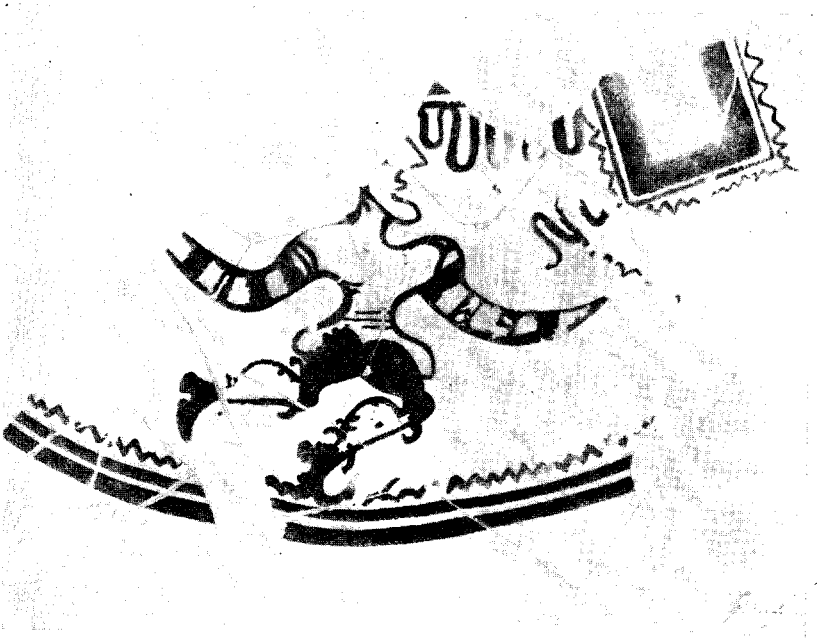


Fig. 870.



Fig. 871.

Caucasian immigration and a change in the ruling race. Such *Mischwesen* had long been known to the peoples of the eastern Pontos and may well have been introduced as a novel *motif* into 'Minoan' art by the victors. Semper surmises that the Minotaur was first discovered by the Hellenes, probably to represent some traditional 'Minoan' word, whose true sound and sense remain obscure. He notes that the legend of the Minotaur is known from Greek sources only and involves an element of sex (*λεπὸς γάμος*), which points to the presence of a non-'Minoan' factor in the population of Crete. This factor he regards as 'urägäischen' and believes to have been racially connected with Asia Minor, whereas the genuine founders of the 'Minoan' civilisation were a Mediterranean folk racially akin to the Libyans.

Eva Fiesel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 270 f. comments on a bronze Etruscan mirror (F. Borie 'La mort du Minotaure' in the *École française de Rome. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 1898 xviii. 51—63 pl. 1—2), which shows not only Minos, Athena, Ariadne, and Herakles (*mine, menrva, ariada, hercle*), but also the bull-headed Minotaur (*bevruminés*). P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1931 xix. 216 had pointed out that this Etruscan compound was the equivalent of [Ta]ῖπος Μινώιος on a 'Chalcidian' *hydria* from Caere (*Cervetri*) [Louvre F 18, best published by A. Rumpf *Chalkidische Vasen* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 13 no. 12, 175 fig. 3 pl. 26].

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

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

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

With this conclusion I have long been in substantial agreement (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 120—132 ('The Cult of the Bull')). It would, I conceive, be true to say that all round the shores of the Mediterranean in early times the thunder-god was envisaged as a bellowing bull, whose human representative, the king or priest, identified himself with the deity by donning a bull-mask or at least by wearing bull-horns. Even Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah, when he claimed to speak in the name of the Lord, 'made him horns of iron' (1 Kings 22. 11).

i. 497 ff. 'Minoan' Bull-fights. Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologia* 1914 lxxv. 90 f. fig. 96 illustrates a couple of *rhytá* from 'Early Minoan' ossuaries in the Messarà, Crete, showing bulls with acrobatic performers ('the earliest record of these sports'). W. Crooke 'Bull-

baiting, Bull-racing, Bull-fights' in *Folk-Lore* 1917 xxviii. 141—163 discusses the subject with many parallels from India, Nigeria, etc. Ella Bourne 'Ancient Bull-fights' in *Art and Archaeology* 1917 v. 142—153 cites *inter alia* fig. 9 a marble relief from Smyrna, now at Oxford, inscribed ΤΑΥΡΟΚΑΘΑΨΙΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΑ Ϝ B (R. Chandler *Marmora Oxoniensia* Oxonii 1763 ii. 105 no. 58 pl. 8, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 526 no. 1, Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 257 f. fig. 9, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3212) and a similar marble relief from Sardeis inscribed [ΤΑΥΡΟΚΑΘΑΨΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΝΗΓΙΩΝ?] ΗΜΕΡΑΣ Γ (H. C. Butler in *Sardis* i. 1. 95 fig. 96, W. H. Buckler—D. M. Robinson *ib.* vii. 1. 88 f. no. 82 fig. 69), with which cp. a relief found west of the theatre at Ephesos (R. Heberdey in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii Beiblatt p. 46 fig. 12) and an inscription from the Ephesian stage Μ[η]νόφιλος Μηνόφιδου τὸ κλισίον | καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸ τοῖς ταυρεασταῖς τοῖς κρεοντέοις (*id.* in *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1912 ii. 182 no. 75). Sir A. J. Evans 'On a Minoan Bronze Group of a Galloping Bull and Acrobatic Figure from Crete' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 247—259 figs. 1—12. *Id.* *The Palace of Minos* London 1936 Index p. 21 s.v. 'Bull-sports.' Ziehen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 24—27 (concluding with some friendly criticism of my own views).

i. 500. On the horn-bearing woman of Laussel see now M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*⁸ Wien 1925 p. 166 fig. 2, p. 167 fig. 1, p. 601 ff., R. de Saint-Périer *L'art préhistorique (Époque paléolithique)* Paris 1932 p. 29 pl. 8, 4.

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

i. 503 f. bull-carrying. Cp. L. Ziehen in *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. 49 ff. no. 12, 30 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 84, 30 ff. (an Athenian decree of 421/0 B.C.) τὸς δ' ἐβ[ού]λετο ἐξέναι αὐτοῖς σ[τ]ὴν γοσφίαν ἀπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν βομόν. *κοττω[ε]ς δὲ ἀρνῶνται [τὸς βοὺς ἐφέβος ἡοῖ] | ἡεροποιοῖ[?] ἡαυρέσθων[?] διακοσῶς ἐχ[ε]σ[τ] Ἀθε[ν]αίων and *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 467, 10 f. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 1028, 10 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 610, 10 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 717, 10 f. (an Athenian decree of 100/99 B.C.) ἤσαντο δὲ καὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις τοὺς βοὺς | ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουθύησαν ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ with the notes of Ziehen and Dittenberger *ad locc.* See also E. Maass s.v. βοδραῖ in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 222 f., L. Ziehen 'Zum Opferritus' in *Hermes* 1931 lxvi. 227—234, and F. Cumont in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1937 xxvii. 67 n. 20.*

R. C. Bosanquet drew my attention (7 June 1915) to Hesych. Γάνδαρος· ὁ ταυροκράτης, παρ' Ἰνδοῖς. The reference is apparently to the Graeco-Buddhist art of ancient Gandhara in north-western India.

i. 506 ff. Ritual Horns. In addition to the important articles of I. Scheftelowitz 'Das Hörnermotiv in den Religionen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 451—487 (*ib.* p. 473 f. 'Hörner am Altar als Symbol der Heiligkeit') and J. A. MacCulloch 'Horns' in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 791^b—796^b (p. 794^b 'conventional representations of an earlier βοῦκράνιον') consult W. Gaerte 'Die Bedeutung der kretisch-minoischen Horns of Consecration' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1922 xxi. 72—98 (starting from P. E. Newberry's Egyptian hieroglyph of a desert mountain (*supra* ii. 555 n. o, cp. 545 n. o), Gaerte p. 82 takes the Cretan horns to be 'die Kultsymbole der in Kreta zu jener Zeit verehrten grossen Erdgöttin, einer der kleinasiatischen *Magna Mater* und der griechischen Rhea verwandten Gestalt') and H. Sjövall 'Zur Bedeutung der altkretischen Horns of Consecration' *ib.* 1925 xxiii. 185—192 pls. 1 and 2 (Sjövall connects the Cretan horns with the 'Mondbilder' of north-European art (*supra* i. 507), which he regards as andirons). See also G. Karo in Ebert *Reallex.* v. 392 ('eine reine Schmuckform'), A. E. Napp *Bukranion und Guirlande. Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der hellenistischen und römischen Dekorationskunst* Wertheim a. M. 1933 pp. 1—49, W. Deonna 'Mobilier délien ii ΒΟΜΟΙ ΚΕΡΑΟΤΧΟΙ' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1934 pp. 381—447 figs. 1—53.

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

i. 518 ff. the altar as object of cult. See further E. Maass 'Bomos und Verwandtes'

in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 227 n. 4, and cp. the mediaeval use of *Deus* 'pro ipso altari ubi Dominicum Corpus asservatur' (Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat.* ii. 829 s.v. 'DEVVS').

R. Kittel in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* 1925 xlv. 123—153 deals at large with the transformation of sacred places or objects into deities (*Qadesh* 'sanctuary,' *Ashera* 'sacred post,' *Hamman* 'pillar')—summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 487.

i. 521 ff. The Marriage of the Sun and the Moon in Crete. S. Eitrem 'Zur Apotheose iv. Die heilige Ehe' in *Symbolae Osloenses* 1932 xi. 11—21 deals with 'Die Theogamie des Herrscherkultus,' points out that Caligula as *ὁ νέος Ἡλῖος* (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 798, 3 Kyzikos) married the Moon (Suet. *Calig.* 22, Dion Cass. 59. 27), and does not scout the hypothesis of 'eine althellenische Theogamie, zwischen Sonne und Mond vollzogen' (p. 18 n. 1).

i. 522 f. the wooden cow. Suet. *Ner.* 12 inter pyrricharum argumenta taurus Pasiphaam ligneo iuvencae simulacro abditam iniiit, ut multi spectantium crediderunt.

Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Taboo p. 113 (Hindus born again by being enclosed in the golden image of a cow and dragged through the usual channel or, failing that, through an image of the sacred *Yoni*).

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

i. 525 the cult of *Hellotis*. C. W. Vollgraff in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1919 xlvii. 162 no. 7 publishes a squared block of limestone, found at Argos, which is inscribed in lettering of s. v B.C. *opos*: *ἡ|λλοτιο*, that is *ῶπος Ἑλλωτίου*, and infers that the Cretan goddess *Ἑλλωτίς* must have had a shrine *Ἑλλώτιον* near the road to Mantinea.

A. Lesky 'Hellos—Hellotis' in the *Wiener Studien* 1926/27 xlv. 152—173, *ib.* 1928 xlv. 48—67 and 107—129 would recognise a *λεπὸς γάμος* between the earth-goddess Europa, who in Crete was originally named Hellotis, and the sky-god Zeus, who in pre-Greek times had the form of a bull. Lesky finds traces of the same beliefs at Dodona in the Helloi and their eponym Hellos (cp. Hellas, Hellenes, etc.), also at Corinth and Marathon in Athena *Hellotis*, and less certainly in Helle of the Hellespont.

i. 530 n. 2. O. Kónnecke in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1914 lxi. 547—551 discusses the golden basket of Europe (Mosch. 2. 37 ff.) viewing it as Moschos' attempt to outshine the wooden bowl of Thyrsis (Theokr. 1. 27 ff.).

i. 531 n. 3. On the name *Εὐρώπη* see also W. Aly in *Glotta* 1913 v. 63—74, who connects it with *εὐρός*, *εὐρώεις*, *εὐρώδης*, *εὐρωπός* (e.g. Eur. *I. T.* 626, Opp. *de pisc.* 3. 20) in the sense of 'dark' (Hesych. s.v. *εὐρώεντα*, *εὐρωπών*, Soud. s.v. *εὐρώεις*, schol. *Od.* 23. 322, schol. Soph. *Ai.* 1190), and concludes: 'so stammt der Name, wie seine Bildung zeigt, aus jener Schicht, die zutage tritt, wenn wir Thessalien mit Arkadien vergleichen, ein Resultat, das für die Einordnung der Göttin zeitlich und räumlich bedeutsam sein dürfte. Neben Europe in Böotien und Europe in Sekyon finden wir nun erstere auch in Kreta und zwar genau in dem Teil der Insel, wo in Gortyn neben peloponnesischem Einfluss auch unmittelbar thessalischer bereits anderweitig nachgewiesen ist.'

i. 534 n. 2. A. von Sallet 'Die Umschrift der Europa auf Silbermünzen von Gortyna' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1879 vi. 263 ff. (Mt Tityron), J. N. Svoronos 'The inscription *Ἐλῑνποι* on coins of Gortyna' in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1887 vii. 126 ff. (an ethnic = *Γορτύνιοι*, cp. *Καρτεμνίδες* (*supra* i. 471) and *Κορύσσιοι* (Hesych. *Κορύσσιοι*: *οἱ Γορτύνιοι*)), A. Skias 'Ἐλῑνπος, Κρητικὴ πόλις' in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1891 p. 191 f. (citing schol. Theokr. 3. 2 (*supra* i. 534 n. 2)).

i. 536 fig. 407. With the type of Epiktēsis in the relief from Loukou cp. that of Salus on a *sestertius* struck by Commodus in 184 A.D. (H. Mattingly—E. A. Sydenham *The Roman Imperial Coinage* London 1930 iii. 416 no. 439 pl. 16, 328: Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 713, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 300 fig. 3).

i. 542 n. 5. See now Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 921 ff. no. 1478 pl. 246, 22 London and no. 1479 pl. 246, 23. The reverse of the latter is inscribed *ΧΕΡΣΟΝΑΣΙ[ΟΝ]*. Babelon comments: 'La belle tête de Zeus *Κρηταγενής*...est inspirée de celle du Zeus Olympie sur les statères d'Elis....'



Fig. 874.



Fig. 875.

the most important monument of the cult yet found is the idol of gilded bronze (height 0.384^m) from Ba'albek itself, slashed and broken by some fanatic but skilfully repaired by M. André for the Charles Sursock collection and admirably published by R. Dussaud in *Syria* 1920 i. 3—15 pls. 1—4 (of which 1 and 2 = my figs. 874 and 875), S. N. Deane in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1921 xxv. 94 fig. 2, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* v. 10 no. 5, *The Illustrated London News* for May 2, 1931 p. 743. The bronze, which may be dated c. 150 A.D., represents the god as he stood with his usual attributes, wearing a *kálathos* (of interlaced reeds?) decked with four corn-ears and a disk between globules perhaps meant for schematized *uraei*), a long *chiton* with short sleeves, and a cuirass-like sheath with numerous reliefs (on the chest, a winged disk; below, seven busts—Helios and Selene, Athena and Hermes, Zeus and Hera, Kronos; and above the feet a lion-head for Gennaïos (*supra* p. 888): behind, another winged disk, an eagle, two rams'-heads to suggest Zeus *Ammon*, six four-leaved rosettes or stars of diminishing size: at the sides, two elongated thunderbolts). The whole figure is erect on a cubical plinth adorned with a relief of Tyche (turreted crown, rudder, *cornu copiae*). And the plinth, flanked by a pair of young bulls, rests on a larger base, which is pierced with a circular opening (c. 0.073^m across)—possibly a letter-box for the *codicilli* of persons consulting the god (Macrob. *Sat.* i. 23. 14 ff. (*supra* i. 552 f.)). See further R. Cagnat in *Syria* 1924 v. 108 ff. and S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 pp. 15, 141 n. 4, 187, 218—222 pl. 39, 1.

The biggest harvest of fresh facts bearing on the Ba'albek cults is, however, that garnered in the posthumous work of Sébastien Ronzevalle *Jupiter Héliopolitain, Nova et Vetera* (Notes et Études d'Archéologie Orientale. Troisième Série, ii) in the *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* xxi, i Beyrouth 1937 pp. 1—181 with 17 figs. and 51 pls. (reviewed by F. R. Walton in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1938 xlii. 435 f.). This monograph publishes a mass of new or little known material, including altars, *stélai*, engraved gems, lead seals, bronze rings, etc. In particular it furnishes a full account of the rock-cut relief in the quarry at Ferzöl (pp. 29—71) and of the carved octagonal altar at Fikl or Fâkyé on the west slope of Antilibanos (pp. 87—129). Incidentally it discusses many, if not most, of the associated deities of Koile Syria. And it ends (p. 138 f.) by laying stress on the symbolic corn-ears of Ba'albek (*supra* i. 558, 569, 572, iii. 1093): 'C'est dans cet épi que se concentre finalement toute l'essence de la religion héliopolitaine sous l'empire romain. Issue de la triade familiale [*supra* i. 553 f. Hadad, Atargatis, Seimios] groupée autour du grand dieu syrien du tonnerre et de la pluie, Hadad, cette religion devient progressivement celle du *dieu du Ciel*, B'el-Samîn, embrassant dans ses flancs les traits qui, dès l'époque hellénistique, méritèrent à Ba'albek la dénomination d'Héliopolis, et firent d'elle avec le temps le centre coéléstyrien de tous les cultes solaires de l'époque romaine. Tout se résolvait pratiquement dans l'adoration de l'astre brillant du jour, dans ses fonctions de dispensateur de vie et de prospérité agraire, telles qu'elles nous sont résumées dans l'image récemment découverte à Doura du B'el-Samîn—*Zeûs Theos*, image par laquelle je mets fin à toute cette étude (pl. XLII)' [M. Rostovtzeff *Dura-Europos and its Art* Oxford 1938 p. 63 f. pl. 11, 1 'Bas-relief of Zeus Kyrios,' p. 68 ff. pl. 13 'Painted decoration of the *cella* of the temple of Zeus Theos. (Restoration by F. Brown);' *The Excavations at Dura-Europos* Prelim. Report vii—viii. Yale Univ. Press 1939, pp. 180 ff. (The Temple of Zeus Theos), 284 ff. (The Temple of Zeus Kyrios)].

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

i. 581 the golden thunderbolt of Adad. Cp. Liv. 22. 1 (when prodigies occurred in 217 B.C.) *decemviorum monitu decretum est, Iovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret*, etc. Aristoph. *av.* 1750 (*supra* p. 59).

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

i. 586 Atargatis with her lions. R. Dussaud 'Patère de Tāfas' in *Syria* 1924 v. 212—215 with pl. 54, 1 and 2 (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 342) describes a bronze *patēra* of Roman date, found at *Tāfas* in the *Hauran* but later stolen from the Mohammedan Museum at Damaskos. The central relief shows a



Fig. 876.

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

i. 586 figs. 448 and 449. See further A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 204—211 fig. 40.

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

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

i. 592 n. o the sacred 'cock.' H. Gressmann 'Der heilige Hahn zu Hieropolis in Syrien' in the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* Giessen 1925 Beiheft xli. 88—95 (cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4000, 5 (Ikonion) as read by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1918 xxxviii. 157 $\phi\alpha\iota\delta\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\omicron\nu\alpha\lambda\epsilon\gamma\tau\omicron\rho\alpha$], and modern Palestinian customs (J. A. Jaussen 'Le coq et la pluie dans la tradition palestinienne' in the *Revue biblique internationale* 1924 xxxiii. 574—582)).

i. 598 n. 1 Zeus at the Italian Lokroi. S. Mirone 'Copies de statues sur les monnaies de la Grande Grèce' in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1926 xxix. 134—138 deals with Zeus Ἐλευθέριος at Tarentum, Metapontum, and Lokroi Epizephyrioi.

i. 602 eagle on pyramidal structures at Tarsos and Seleukeia Pieria. F. Cumont 'L'aigle funéraire des Syriens et l'apotheose des empereurs' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1910 lxii. 119—164 with figs. 1—22 and pl. 1, *id.* (citing A. H. Gardiner) 'A propos de l'aigle funéraire des Syriens' *ib.* 1911 lxiii. 208—214, S. Ronzevalle 'L'aigle funéraire en Syrie' in the *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale: Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth* 1912 v. 2. 1*—62* with 9 figs., 105*—115* with 4 figs., L. Deubner 'Die Apotheose des Antoninus Pius' in the *Röm. Mith.* 1912 xxvii. 1—20 figs. 1—4, F. Cumont *Études Syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 35—118 ('L'aigle funéraire d'Hierapolis et l'apotheose des empereurs') with figs. 9—43.

i. 602. For ∇ as the womb of a mother-goddess see the evidence collected by F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 21 f., M. Mayer 'Delta praehistoricum' in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Jan. 19, 1929 pp. 91—94, E. Wüst in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1932 lviii. 1. 142.

i. 603 n. 5 Di-Sandas. R. Rochette in the *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres)* Paris 1848 xvii. 161 insists 'qu'il faut certainement lire de cette manière: $\Delta\epsilon\text{-}\Sigma\alpha\upsilon\delta\alpha\nu$.'

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

i. 604 ff. Zeus *Dolichatos* and Iupiter *Dolichenus*. To the bibliography given on p. 604 n. 8 should be added F. Cumont *Études Syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 173—202 ('Dolichè et le Zeus Dolichénos') with figs. 55—70, *id.* 'Groupe de marbre du Zeus Dolichénos' in *Syria* 1920 i. 183—189 pl. 17 (found 'entre Marash et Biredjik': Zeus stands on bull supported by altar with base inscribed $\text{Κϵϰϵϰϵϰος και Σαλβα[ν]ος}$), K. A. Neugebauer *Antike Bronzestatuetten* Berlin 1921 p. 118 f. fig. 65 (Genius of Iupiter *Dolichenus* from Mar'ash, now in the Antiquarium at Berlin), p. 120 fig. 63 (Iupiter *Dolichenus* from Berlin—Lichtenberg, now in the Antiquarium at Berlin), *id.* in *Gnomon* 1930 vi. 269, J. Leipoldt in H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—

xi. 15 f. figs. 116—122, W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 227 f., S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 292 (temple at the western corner of the Aventine, shrine on the Esquiline, shrine in *Reg. xiv*), *The Illustrated London News* for Aug. 17, 1935 p. 290 (recent finds on the Aventine, including a photograph of the sanctuary, a marble statue of the god holding a double axe in his right hand and a thunderbolt in his left, an inscription mentioning Commodus, etc.), G. I. Kazarow 'Denkmäler des Dolichenus-Kultes' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1932 xxvii. 168—173 figs. 105—108 (finds made in 1930 at *Jassen* near *Widin* (Bononia) in Bulgaria, including a triangular bronze plate with well-preserved reliefs of the god on his bull and his partner on her hind, a bronze tablet inscribed *I. O. M. Dol. | Aur. Bas[sus] sac. | servus eius*, and the left half of another bronze tablet with the *pointillée* inscription *I. O. [M. Dol.] | Fl. Sabin[us...] | Valeria V[...]* | *Tinsadno...* | *suo ex iusso [det]*).

i. 611 f. eagle between horns of bull and on short column beneath bull. Perhaps cp. the terra-cotta group published in pl. lxxvii, *a* and *b*.

i. 619 n. 4. A rosette on the forehead of a bull is a commonplace in ancient art: see J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 480, 1914 ii. 3. 1310. A couple of examples will suffice. A gold earring of Greek work (s. iv—iii B.C.), found in Palestine and now in my possession, shows a bull's head with a spiral rosette on the forehead. A gold strap-buckle of the La Tène period, found in the tomb of Chilperich I at Tournai in 1653 and stolen from the Cabinet des Médailles in 1831, had also a spiral rosette on the forehead (F. Dahn *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker* Berlin 1883 iii. 480 fig. 18 f., J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 3. 1308 fig. 570, 2). Both are possibly symbolic.

S. Ronzevalle *Jupiter Héliopolitain* Beyrouth 1937 p. 51 ff. publishes a pair of monuments from the Haurân. A basalt *stèle* (0.875^m high) from Tell Aš'ari near Tafas, now in the Museum at Damaskos, shows a bull-headed god *en face*. His horns make a large crescent enclosing a rosette. Under his left arm is a smaller rosette. And across his body is a sword (pl. 14 bis, 51 and 52). An almost exact replica of this relief (0.80^m high) is to be seen in a niche at 'Awas south of Salḥad (fig. 12). Ronzevalle cp. a square altar of basalt (0.88^m high) from Salḥad, on which a bull's head appears in relief between the two parts of a Greek dedication to *Zeὺς μέγας ὁ κύριος* (M. Dunand *Le Musée de Souseida: Inscriptions et monuments figurés* Paris 1934 p. 99 no. 200 *Διὶ μεγάλῳ τῷ κυρίῳ | ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας | Μονίμου Βασιλίσκου Κ[ύρ]ου* || *Ἄνως οἰκοδόμος εὐσεβῶν ἐπόησε*).

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

i. 625 n. 1 the stars as flowers. Cp. Basil. *hom. in hexaem.* 6. I (xxix. 117 c Migne) *τίς ὁ τοῖς ἀστέρι τοῖς διαποικίλλας τὸν οὐρανὸν* and the remarks of A. von Humboldt *Cosmos* trans. E. C. Otté London 1849 ii. 395.

i. 626 the Byzantine list of planets, metals, plants, and animals. S. Langdon in the *Museum Journal: University of Pennsylvania* 1918 ix. 151—156 with fig. describes a Babylonian tablet of c. 1600 B.C. dealing with symbolism in the Cassite period. W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1919 xxiii. 179 summarises: 'The text explains the divine powers which are controlled or symbolized by various substances and utensils employed in the rituals. Thus the jar of holy water signifies Ninhabursildu, queen of incantations; the tamerisk signifies the god of the heavens; the head of the date palm, Tammuz; the cypress, the aid of Adad; the censer invokes the god of the spring sun, Urasha, etc. It also gives the only information yet recovered about the mystic meanings of metals. Silver is the god of the heavens, gold the earth god, copper the god of the sea, lead the great mother goddess.' Prof. Langdon adds in a letter of Oct. 31, 1919: 'the sky god is symbolized by silver...because for astronomical reasons the Moon (or the silver god) was identified with the sky god at the summer solstice.' See further C. O. Zuretti *Alchemistica signa* (*Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs* viii) Bruxelles 1932 p. 1 ff.

i. 626 ff. Akin to the silvered or gilded plates of Iupiter *Dolichenus* is one of *repoussé* bronze, found by E. Cunningham in 1882 at the Romano-Celtic temple in Maiden Castle and now in the Museum at Dorchester (fig. 877, *a* front, *b* back, from the official photographs). It represents Minerva standing *en face* with helmet, spear, Gorgon's head, and shield, the whole on a raised oblong surrounded by the usual spear-head and lily-work (R. E. M. Wheeler in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1935 xv. 272). At the bottom edge are the remains of one or two letters, part of a lost inscription (Lt.-Col. C. D. Drew in a communication dated March 20, 1938). Minerva is known elsewhere on the plates of *Dolichenus* (*supra* i. 616 fig. 487, 619 with fig. 490), and it is conceivable that the cult of this maiden goddess, domiciled in the fourth-century temple (for which see R. E. M.



a



b

Terra-cotta group in the British Museum, possibly connected with the cult of Iupiter *Dolichenus* (?).

I am indebted to Mr C. M. Robertson for the following official description: '1907. 5—20. 69 Terracotta eagle with wreath in beak standing on bull's head, all on a flat square base. This now stands on a terracotta column, but it is not certain that they originally belonged together, though both are no doubt antique. They were acquired among a large collection formed at Odessa from excavations of tombs at Olbia.'

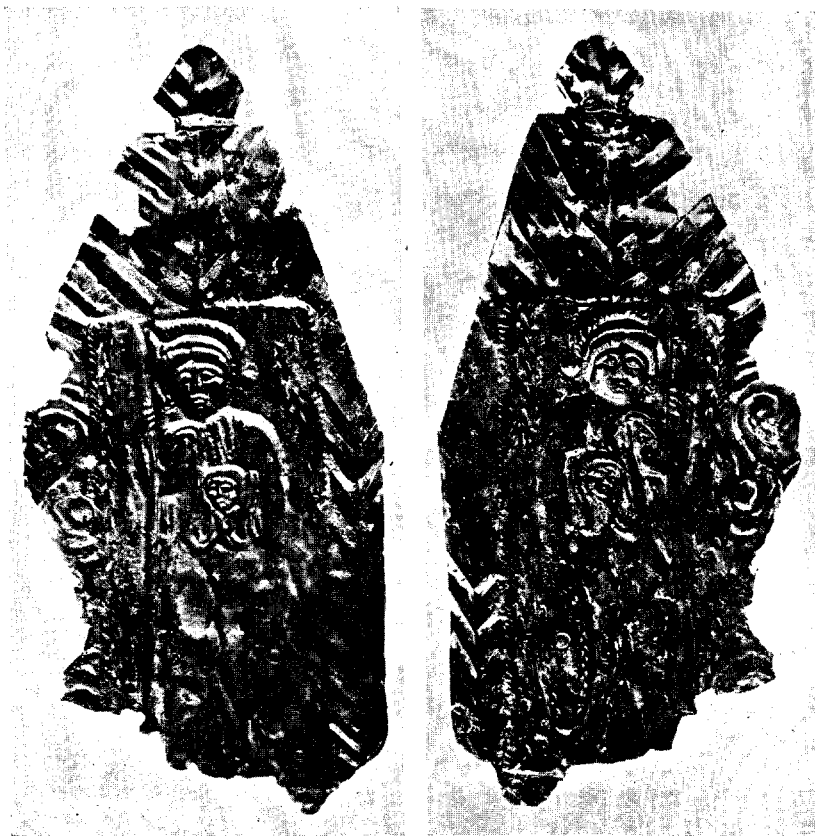
See page 1098.



A bronze mace from Willingham Fen,
now in the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, Cambridge.

See page 1099 f.

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



a

b

Fig. 877.

Another power associated with *Dolichenus* in the Celtic area as a pendant to Minerva with her spear was Hercules with his club (*supra* i. 616 fig. 487). And here we must take into account the interesting bronze mace found in 1857 by a ploughman on Willingham Fen, ten miles north-west of Cambridge (M. Rostovtseff—M. V. Taylor 'Commodus-Hercules in Britain' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1923 xiii. 91 ff. pl. 3 (inadequate), L. C. G. Clarke in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1926 vi. 178 f. pl. 31, F. M. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 925 f., *id.* in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 1935—1936 xxxvii. 56 ff. pl. 4, b). The mace had been deliberately broken, perhaps by way of *damnatio memoriae* after Commodus' assassination in 192 A.D., and enclosed in a wooden chest along with a number of votive bronzes—soldiers on horseback, a bull's head, an eagle, an owl, etc. The three fragments of the mace, which together measure c. 0.345^m in height and had once a

wooden core, are decorated as follows (pl. lxxviii): (1) A bust of Commodus, wearing the *paludamentum*, forms the handle. (2) On the shaft is a nude beardless god with right hand uplifted (as if to brandish a bolt) and left hand raised (as if to hold a sceptre or spear). He sets his left foot on the bearded (?) head of a giant emerging from the ground. To the left an eagle, now headless, is perched on a globe, which rests on a six-spoked wheel marked with rays. To the right projects the head of a bull with three horns, one of which is now broken off. At the back plunges a dolphin. (3) The mace terminates as a knotted club. It is clear that the artist was primarily concerned to identify Commodus with Hercules (*supra* ii. 255 n. o, 903 n. 2). But, since Commodus also posed as a youthful Jupiter holding thunderbolt and sceptre (*supra* i. 276 n. 5



Fig. 878.

fig. 202, ii. 1185 figs. 987, 988), a corresponding figure appears on the shaft. Further syncretism equates this Jupiter with the Germanic Ziu, the victorious rider of the Jupiter-columns, who tramples his giant under foot (*supra* ii. 74 ff.). It equips him also with the eagle-on-globe and the radiate wheel as a sky-god, with the three-horned bull perhaps as an earth-god (? *Dis pater*). But F. M. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2281 f., 2453 ff. stresses 'Beziehungen zur Wassertiefe' and suspects connexion with Tarvos *Trigaranus* (*supra* i. 482 n. o)), and even with the dolphin as a sea-god—thereby completing his claim to universal dominion.

i. 630 ff. 'where iron is born.' M. P. Charlesworth in a note to me (Oct. 29, 1934) cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 33. 118 *Iuba minium nasci et in Carmania tradit, Timagenes et in Aethiopia, etc.* But a closer parallel is furnished by the *Kalevala* runo 9. 25 ff. Kirby, where Väinämöinen says 'Well I know the birth of Iron, | And how steel was first created.' He goes on to tell how—

- Ukko, God of realms supernal,
 40 Rubbed his mighty hands together.
 Both his hands he rubbed together,
 On his left knee then he pressed them,
 And three maidens were created,
 Three fair Daughters of Creation,
 Mothers of the rust of Iron,
 And of blue-mouthed steel the fosterers.
 Strolled the maids with faltering footsteps
 On the borders of the cloudlets,
 And their full breasts were o'erflowing,
 50 And their nipples pained them sorely.
 Down on earth their milk ran over,
 From their breasts' o'erflowing fulness,
 Milk on land, and milk on marshes,
 Milk upon the peaceful waters.
 Black milk from the first was flowing,
 From the eldest of the maidens,
 White milk issued from another,
 From the second of the maidens,
 Red milk by the third was yielded,
 60 By the youngest of the maidens.
 Where the black milk had been dropping,
 There was found the softest Iron,
 Where the white milk had been flowing,
 There the hardest steel was fashioned,
 Where the red milk had been trickling,
 There was undeveloped Iron.

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

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

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

i. 636 bull with body-marks. The best example is one from Ur published by C. L. Woolley in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1923 iii. 331 pl. 34 fig. 1, a: "U 239 is a part of a shallow bowl of steatite originally surrounded by four bulls, of which one is preserved intact. The carving is remarkably good; the ground is inlaid in ivory with designs of sun, moon and stars; on the bull's body are trefoil marks resembling those on the Hathor cows of Egypt, on its shoulder and leg round spots arranged in the order of the stars of the Great Wain; it is the "great Bull of Heaven." A fragmentary inscription assigns it to the Third Dynasty.' Mr Sidney Smith kindly informs me (March 24, 1938) that the original is in the Baghdad Museum and should be dated c. 2200 B.C. or a little earlier: he adds that there is a poor cast of it in the British Museum. P. S. Bartoli *Museo Odescalchum* Romæ 1752 ii. 99 ff. pl. 42 shows a marble base with relief of a bull walking to the right. On his side is a crescent moon ☾, and above him the inscription BVE API. *Id. ib.* ii. 122 pl. 53 shows a similar (?other surface of same) base with relief of a bull walking to the right. On his side is a six-rayed star.

i. 638 bull in bowl surrounded by millet. Cp. perhaps the seated goddesses (of fertility?) and other discoid figures in clay found along with grains of barley, beans, and peas in urns of the Bronze Age at Tarxien, Malta (Sir T. Zammit *Prehistoric Malta*

Oxford 1930 p. 48 ff. pls. 15, 1, 16 and figs. 3—10, G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 366).

i. 638 f. H. Frankfort in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 14, 1935 p. 430 fig. 6 publishes the ornament from a Sumerian harp of c. 3000 B.C., which was found at Khafaje, Iraq. It is a bull's head in copper with inlaid eyes and forehead. The white of the eyes is shell, the iris lapis lazuli, and the triangle on the forehead mother-of-pearl.

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

i. 639 n. 4. Cp. A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1911 xliv. 4.

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

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

i. 643. Soph. *frag.* 348 Dindorf (assigned to the *Λημνίαι*), 708 Nauck², 776 Jebb *ap. schol. vet. Theokr.* 7. 76/77 d. and *ap. et. mag.* p. 26, 16 ff. 'Ἄθως σκιάζει νῶτα Ἀημνίας βοός' (so, without Sophokles' name, Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iv. 96, 17 ff., Zonar. *lex. s.v.* 'Ἄθως, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 980, 45 f. Schol. B. L. V. *Il.* 14. 229 ὦτα for νῶτα!) already implies the proverb which later writers commonly quote as 'Ἄθως καλύπτει πλευρά Ἀημνίας βοός' (Greg. Kypri. 1. 73, *alii*. A Latin form of it perhaps in Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 7. 25 'cornu <t> a taurum umbram iaci', which O. Ribbeck *Trag. Rom. frag.* p. 311 would restore as '<Atós> in cornuátam taurum umbrám iacit'). Paroemiographers etc. explain that the allusion is to the shadow of Mt Athos which touched a white marble cow on Lemnos (Makar. 1. 46, Apostol. 1. 57, Arsen. *viol.* p. 25 Walz, Soud. s.v. 'Ἄθως'). Plout. *de fac. in orb. lun.* 22 and *et. mag.* p. 26, 17 f. state, with greater probability, that the cow was of bronze. Others add that the shadow at the solstice reached the marketplace of Myrina (Ap. Rhod. 1. 601 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 73, Solin. 11. 33, cp. Stat. *Theb.* 5. 49 ff.). The fullest discussion of the facts is that of A. C. Pearson in his edition of *The Fragments of Sophocles* Cambridge 1917 iii. 26 f. It is tempting to conjecture that the bronze cow of Lemnos, thus associated with sun and shadow, was akin to the bronze cattle of Mt Atabyron. If so, it had a Hittite ancestry.

i. 643 the bull of Perillos. On the bull-headed furnace at Byzantion, known as ὁ Βοῦς and used for the burning of criminals, see E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1072. The principal text is Kodinos *de signis Constantinopolitanis* 25 D—26 A (p. 46 Bekker)=Anonymos *πάτρια* 2. 53 (p. 180, 8 ff. Preger) *περί τοῦ Βοῦς. εἰς δὲ τὸν καλούμενον Βοῦν κάμνος ἦν ἐκείσε παμμεγέθης ἐκτισμένη βοὺς ἔχουσα κεφαλὴν. ἔνθα καὶ οἱ κακοῦργοι ἐτιμωροῦντο. ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς προφάσει τῶν καταδικῶν πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ κατέκαιεν Χριστιανοὺς. ἦν δὲ ἡ κάμνος βοὺς τύπος παμμεγεστώτου θεάματος. οὐ κατὰ μῆμιν καὶ ἐν τῷ Νεωρίῳ βοὺς ἀπετυπώθη. ἦν δὲ ἡ κάμνος ἕως Φωκῆ (602—610 A.D.), ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείου (610—641 A.D.) ἐχωνεύθη λόγῳ φόλλων. This bronze Bull is said to have been brought from Pergamon, where it had been used for the martyrdom of Antipas (Kedren. *hist. comp.* 323 B (i. 566 Bekker) *ὅτι ὁ χαλκοῦς βοὺς ἐκ Περγᾶμου ἦλθε, κάμνος δὲ ἦν ἐν ᾗ πέφλεκται ὁ ἅγιος μάρτυς Ἀντίπας*, Zonar. 14. 14 (iii. 304, 11 ff. Dindorf) *τὸ δὲ δούστηνον σῶμα (sc. of Phokas) καυθῆναι κατὰ τὸν Βοῦν, ἔνθα κάμνος ἦν, ὡς λέγεται, ἐκ χαλκοῦ κατεσκευασμένη, σχῆμα βοὺς ἔχουσα, ἥπερ ἐκ Περγᾶμου κεκόμιστο, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁ τόπος ὠνόμαστο*). A. G. Sofiano *Pergame Moderne et Antique* Athènes 1930 p. 111 figures St Antipas being burnt in the copper bull, and *ib.* p. 112 observes: 'Ce bœuf avait été élevé par Attale I^{er} en mémoire de sa victoire sur les Galates; plus tard, il fut transporté à Constantinople où on le fit servir à diverses exécutions: y furent brûlés, entre autres, Théodore et Stéphane, ministres de Justinien.' See further S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 iv. 136 S. Antipas (April 11), 304 S. George of Cappadocia (April 23), v. 66 S. Pelagia (May 4), x. 319 SS. Eustathius, Theopista, Agapius, Theopistus (Sept. 20). The last-mentioned holocaust is figured in the *Ecclesiae militantis triumphus* Paris s.a. pl. 9.*

A final trace of the Hittite bull-cult, drawn from some classical source and modified by mediaeval imagination, may be detected in *Perceval le Gallois ou le conte du Graal* trans. S. Evans London 1903 p. 214 ff. Branch 18 Title 9 '...he came to the Castle of Copper. Within the castle were a number of folk that worshipped the bull of copper and believed not in any other God. The bull of copper was in the midst of the castle

upon four columns of copper, and bellowed so loud at all hours of the day that it was heard for a league round about, and there was an evil spirit within that gave answers...' with the sequel.

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

i. 648 Orphism in Crete. Cp. O. Kern 'Orphiker auf Kreta' in *Hermes* 1916 li. 554—567 and the satisfactory handling of the whole matter by W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 pp. 108 ff., 146 f.

i. 650 n. 1 the *ῥόμβος* or 'bull-roarer.' See further R. Battaglia 'Sopravvivenze del rombo nelle Provincie Venete' in the *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1925 i. 3. 190—217 with 7 figs., A. S. F. Gow 'ΙΥΓΞ, ΠΟΜΒΟΣ, RHOMBUS, TURBO' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 1—13 with figs. 1—11.

i. 651 n. 1 *Zagreus* as the god 'of Mt *Zágros*.' The same derivation is propounded independently by F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 721 n. 3.

i. 653 the Praisians sacrifice to a pig. Cp. Loukian. *Iup. trag.* 42 'Ἀσσύριοι περιστερᾶ (sc. *θύοντες*).

i. 655 on the etymology of *Títán*. A. Nehring 'Griechisch *τίταξ, τιτήνη* und ein vorgriechisches *k*-Suffix' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 153—192 discussing *inter alia* the word *Títán, Títḗn* (p. 167 ff.) postulates an original *Títán* as a 'Lallwort' meaning 'Vater' 'Väterchen,' cp. *τίταξ, τίταξ* (Hesych. s.v. *τίταξ* cited *supra* i. 655 n. 2) and relates the whole group to Etruscan and the languages of Asia Minor.

i. 657 n. 2 *Minos* *δλοόφρων*. K. Marót 'Ἀτλας δλοόφρων' in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 22, 1926 pp. 585—590 concludes 'dass sich das Epitheton des Atlas *δλοόφρων* nicht auf eine moralische Schuld, sondern bloss auf die Boshaftigkeit eines "Täters," d. h. auf ein mythisch-vorethisches "Verderbensinnen" beziehen kann.'

i. 662. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 109 would amend my rendering of Firm. Mat. 6. 4 and 5 *pro tumulo extruit templum* and *deus factus est qui habere non potuit sepulturam* by translating 'he built a temple in place of a tomb' and 'has made a god out of one who was not able to find burial.'

i. 664 n. 1 on Epimenides *πεπλ Μίνω καὶ Παδαμάνθως*. Further discussion by H. Gressmann in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Juli 26, 1913 pp. 935—938, J. Rendel Harris in the *Expositor* 1915 pp. 29—35, T. Nicklin in the *Class. Rev.* 1916 xxx. 33—37, Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 pp. 32—39.

i. 665 ff. on the origin of tragedy. My hypothesis is dismissed with little argument but much contumely by K. Ziegler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1952 f. Greater weight attaches to the courteous and clear-headed *critique* of A. W. Pickard-Cambridge *Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy* Oxford 1927 pp. 208—220—in a context neatly summarised by Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 229: 'Bei der Behandlung der Tragödie schätzt er (m. E. mit Recht) gegen v. Wilamowitz und Kranz das Zeugnis des Aristoteles sehr gering ein und verwirft die Hypothesen von der Entstehung der Tragödie, die Ridgeway (aus dem Heroenkult), Murray (aus *δρώμενα* zu Ehren des Dionysos) und Cook (aus dem kretischen Ritual der Dionysos-Zagreus) aufgestellt haben, und ist selbst der Ansicht, dass die Tragödie nicht aus dem Satyrspiel stammt, dass *τραγῳδός* "singer at the goat-sacrifice" oder "singer for the goat-prize" bedeutet. Bei Behandlung der Komödie wird der *κῶμος*, aus dem sie entstand, ausführlich besprochen und Cornfords Hypothese (Entstehung aus einem Ritual, das dem Jahresdämon galt) widerlegt.'

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

An oracle (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 243) *ap. Clem. Al. Strom.* i. 24 p. 102, 11 f. Stählin has *στῦλος Θηβαίοισι Διώνυσος πολυγῆης*, cp. Eur. *Antiope frag.* 203 Nauck² *ap. Clem. Al. loc. cit.* p. 102, 13 ff. Stählin *ἐνδον δὲ θαλάμοις βουκόλων | κομῶντα κισσῷ στῦλον Εὐίου θεοῦ*.

i. 674. Apollodoros of Athens no doubt lived in 'The second century B.C.' and wrote his great work *πεπλ θεῶν* in 24 books (R. Münzel *De Apollodori πεπλ θεῶν libris* Bonnæ 1883 pp. 1—35, W. von Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1920 ii. 1. 395 f.). But the extant *βιβλιοθήκη*, long attributed to him, is now believed to be a work of Hadrianic date based on a handbook of mythology compiled between 100 and 55 B.C. (C. Robert *De Apollodori Bibliotheca* Berolini 1873 pp. 1—91, E. Schwartz in

Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2875 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*² Cambridge 1906 i. 137, Sir J. G. Frazer *Apollodorus* New York i p. ix ff.).

i. 675 the caldron of divinisation in the cult of Leukothea. See further L. R. Farnell 'Ino-Leukothea' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 36—44, especially p. 42 f.

i. 675 Dionysos done to death as a kid by worshippers who took the name of 'kids'? An interesting Scandinavian parallel is the *Bukkevisse* described by B. S. Phillpotts *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama* Cambridge 1920 p. 125 f.: 'The performers are three boys, two of whom personate "father and son," while the third is dressed up as a goat. The doggerel recited by the "father and son" is corrupt, but it recounts the slaughter of the goat and its resurrection, and this is accompanied by appropriate action on the part of the third performer. The Norwegian verses appear to retain a memory of the partition of the goat-skin: "how much wilt thou give for the goat its skin?—wool?" We have here another case of the actual performances of a slaying and resurrection, with the additional primitive feature of a beast-skin disguise shed by the victim and at one time apparently allotted to one of the persons present.' Cp. E. K. Chambers *The English Folk-play* Oxford 1933 p. 211: 'Perhaps, therefore, we may go a step further, and guess at the existence... of some original European *Iudus*, with just this Mock Death and Revival as its central point and with men dressed as animals for its performers.'

i. 677 n. o. K. Buresch *Aus Lydien* Leipzig 1898 p. 160 found at *Kaleh* near Temenothyrai 'ein marmornes, dem Zeus' Παλάκτιος geweihtes Altärchen' and inferred that the site bore the name Galaktion—an inference accepted by L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 514. See also J. Keil in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay* Manchester 1923 p. 260 no. 8, E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 615.

i. 677 n. 4 the Lupercalia. See further G. F. Unger 'Die Lupercalien' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1881 xxxvi. 50—86, W. Mannhardt *Mythologische Forschungen* Strassburg 1884 pp. 72—155 ('Die Lupercalien'), J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1398—1402 s.vv. 'Lupercalia, Lupercal, Luperci,' E. Lefébure 'Le bouc des Lupercalia' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1909 lix. 73—81, W. F. Otto 'Die Luperci und die Feier der Lupercalien' in *Philologus* 1913 N.F. xxvi. 161—195, Alberta Mildred Franklin *The Lupercalia* New York: Columbia University 1921 pp. 1—106, A. Marbach in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 1815 f. s.v. 'Lupercal,' 1816—1830 s.v. 'Lupercalia,' 1830—1834 s.v. 'Luperci,' 1834—1839 s.v. 'Lupercus,' F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 206—217.

No ancient representation of the Lupercalia is known. Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 77 no. 77 pl. 77 'Sacrifice des Lupercalia,' a stone published at Paris in 1732 by Lévêque de Gravelle, is an obvious forgery.

i. 679. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 132 adds 'the *Bassarids* of Aeschylus which told of the dismemberment of Orpheus.'

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

i. 681 n. 4 Διθύραμβος. The suffix is discussed by H. Petersson 'Die altindischen Wörter auf -amba' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1924 xxxiv. 222—249.

Zacher 'Die Ursprünge und der Name des Iambus' in the *Jahres-Bericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur* 1904 lxxxii Abteilung iv. 3 f. hit upon a derivation of Διθύραμβος near akin to mine: 'Endlich müsste διθύραμβος sein = ὁ διθύραβων, d. h. wohl den Δίθυρος besingend. Δίθυρος könnte eine Nebenform von Διόνυσος sein, und wie dieses bedeuten "Sohn des Zeus" (θυρὸς von θορέω? θύραος die Zeugungsruhe?).' This acute conjecture is too summarily dismissed by Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 188.

W. M. Calder 'The Dithyramb—an Anatolian Dirge' in the *Class. Rev.* 1922 xxxvi. 11—14, dissatisfied with all previous views, mine included, proposed to connect διθύραμβος with two Phrygian words or loan-words διθρεπα and διθρεψα. The first of these occurs in an inscription from Tyriaion (J. G. C. Anderson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 121 f. no. 67 = J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 p. 132 f. no. 31), the second in another from Ikonion (W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 188 ff. no. 49 = J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 135 no. 49). It is claimed that 'διθρεπα must be a noun, and διθρεψα must be either a noun or an adjective... meaning "monument" or some sepulchral attribute or characteristic,' possibly the "double door" (δι + θρεπα = *dhvara*, *thupa*, *fores*) of the Phrygian family-tomb 'symbolically leading in two directions—outwards to the world of life, inwards to the world of death.' On this showing διθύραμβος means "grave-song" or "dirge," and we must regard the *θρήνον ἐξάρχον* of *Il.* 24. 721 as the counterpart of τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον in Aristot. *poet.* 4 1449 a 11.

Calder's explanation, though ingenious and attractive, is however—as he frankly admits—beset by difficulties and uncertainties. Moreover it seems hard to reconcile with the Platonic equation διθύραμβος = Διονύσου γένεσις (*supra* i. 682 n. 1). Are we to assume that the 'dirge' dealt with Dionysos' birth, and compare the funereal character of the Attic Γενέσια (P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1131, *id. Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*³ München 1920 p. 227 f.)? Or to argue with J. A. K. Thomson (in a letter to Jane Harrison dated March 31, 1921) 'that the Dithyramb celebrated the γένεσις of Dionysos, his grave-ritual.... The Early Christians celebrated the γενέσια or γενέθλια, "birth-day," of a martyr on the day of his martyrdom, because he was then truly born—"born again"?'

Calder returns to the charge in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 214 with a shrewd emendation of Glaukos Rhag. frag. 4 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 24 Müller) *ap.* [Plout.] *de musica* 10 ἡρωικῶν γὰρ ὑποθέσεων σπαράγματα (for πράγματα codd.) ἐχουσῶν κ.τ.λ. 'For such was the theme of the dithyramb (διασπασμὸν τινα καὶ διαμελισμὸν) according to Plutarch *de Ei apud Delphos* 389 A.'

W. Brandenstein in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1936 liv. 34—38 would interpret λαμβος, θραμβος, διθύραμβος as 'Zweischritt, Dreischritt, Vierschritt.'

i. 682 n. 1. Of the three Pindaric dithyrambs published by B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1919 xiii. 27 ff. no. 1604 one (O. Schroeder *Supplementum Pindaricum* Berolini 1923 p. 5 f. frag. 70^a) describes a festival of Dionysos held by the gods in heaven, another (Schroeder *op. cit.* p. 7 frag. 70^b) speaks of a Dionysiac banquet, and the third (Schroeder *op. cit.* p. 7 f. frag. 70^c) must also be concerned with the same deity since it mentions wreaths of ivy. See further J. U. Powell *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Third Series Oxford 1933 pp. 48—51.

Cp. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 524. 5 Διογενή, διγονον, διθυραμβογενή, Διόνυσον, *ib.* 19 Σεμελή-γενήην, Σεμελήη.

i. 684 n. 11. L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 65 f. pl. 3, 1 and 3, thinks that this vase represents the Haloia and cites modern usage in Herzegovina ('hier stellt man, wenn die Wintersaat aufgeht, auf dem Felde durch eine tiefe Furche den Umriss eines erigierten Phallos mit Hoden her. Diese Form des Fruchtbarkeitszaubers wurde früher auf dem Balkan allgemein angewandt' ('Vgl. R. N. Salaman, *Man* 30, 1930, 48)).

i. 684 date of the ritual marriage unknown. L. Deubner in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1927 xlii. 177 ff. argues that the marriage of Dionysos and the *Baslinna* is both represented (figs. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 16) and parodied (fig. 6, cp. fig. 19) on the 'Choenkännchen' and must therefore have taken place 'am Choentage' (Anthesterion 12). But the argument is insecure, for—as Deubner himself admits (*Attische Feste* p. 97)—'Nicht alle Bilder, mit denen die grossen oder kleinen Kannen der typischen Choenform geschmückt sind (es sind jetzt 300—400 bekannt), brauchen sich auf das Choenfest zu beziehen.' And it remains possible to urge that these little vases are simply children's toys, often decorated with Dionysiac scenes, but not necessarily illustrative of the *Chôes*.

i. 687 n. 3 trees planted on graves as a vehicle for the soul. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 790 n. 1 gives further references for this folk-belief. See also H. Marzell in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 955 'Der B[aum], der aus der Erde hervorsprosst, und besonders der aus den Gräbern Verstorbener hervorstehende B[aum] soll die Seele beherbergen.'

i. 689 n. 5 the Boeotian Xanthos or Xanthios slain by the Neleid Melanthes with the aid of Dionysos *Melinaigis*. A doublet in Plout. *quaest. Gr.* 13 ἐκ δὲ τούτου μονομαχοῦσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς, καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰναχίων Ὑπέροχον ὁ τῶν Αἰνιδίων Φήμιος ὀρῶν μετὰ κυνὸς αὐτῷ προσφερόμενον οὐκ ἔφη δίκαια ποιεῖν, δεύτερον ἐπάγοντα μαχόμενον· ἀπελευθύντος δὲ τοῦ Ὑπέροχου τὸν κύνα καὶ μεταστρεφόμενον, λίθῳ βαλὼν ὁ Φήμιος αὐτὸν ἀναιρεῖ. κτησάμενοι δὲ τὴν χώραν, τοὺς Ἰναχίους μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκβαλόντες, τὸν μὲν λίθον ἐκείνου ὡς ἱερὸν σέβονται καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῷ δημῷ περικαλύπτουσιν. W. R. Halliday 'Xanthos—Melanthes and the Origin of Tragedy' in the *Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 179—181 and in his note on Plout. *loc. cit.* thinks that both the Attic and the Boeotian tale were 'a purely secular traditional legend to which no esoteric meaning need be attached.'

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

i. 695 Athenian substitute for dramatic omophagy. W. M. Lindsay in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 108 cites a newly discovered note of Fest. in *Isid. orig.* 8. 7. 6 Hos

Hyginus (*eginus* cod.) primum frustra[m] hircinae carnis praemium acceperisse dicit et inde nomen traxisse, scilicet a trago quem Latini hircum vocant.

i. 697 n. 4. P. Kretschmet comments on Σιληνός again in *Glotta* 1915 vi. 308. But F. Solmsen 'Σιληνός Σάτυρος' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1912 xxx. 1—47 connects the word with *silōs, *silus*, a by-form of σιμύς, 'snub-nosed.'

i. 698 n. 1. No. (10) is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: see Miss M. H. Swindler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1915 xix. 412 ff. figs. 8 and 9, L. D. Caskey *ib.* 1918 xxii. 110 f. fig. 3, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 130 f. fig. 81 (the 'Penthesilea Painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 339 no. 10, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 276 no. 52. Add no. (16) Red-figured *kýlix* in the Museo Villa Giulia at Rome (E. Boehringer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii Arch. Anz. p. 166 with fig. 29)=nude human figure with goatish head, horns, and tail dancing before Persephone, whose head emerges from the ground.

In the fourth century these goatish dancers were assimilated to the south-Italian Pan, e.g. on an 'Apulian' vase published by T. Panofka *Musée Blacas* Paris 1829 pl. 23 (F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike* Halle/Saale 1926 p. 3 fig. 2) or on an Italiote bell-krater at Lecce published by Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 106 pl. 80, 3 (F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 106 fig. 144, L. Séchan in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1044 fig. 6069). Yet A. Hartmann certainly goes too far when he says at the end of his article on 'Silenos und Satyros' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 53: 'So bleibt es dabei, dass die bocksartige Bildung von Satyrn erst ein Erzeugnis der in der hellenistischen Zeit aufkommenden Einmischung des Pantypus in den Satyr- und Silentypus ist.'

i. 700 n. 4. E. M. W. Tillyard has since discovered the faint inscription ΚΑΛΟΣ ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ (*sic*), which makes it probable that the central figure is Hephaistos carrying his axe. If so, the scene shows Dionysos persuading Hephaistos to accompany him to Olympus—a scene perhaps drawn from Achaïos' satyr-play "Ηφαιστος (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 750 f. Nauck²) (E. M. W. Tillyard *The Hope Vases* Cambridge 1923 p. 79 ff. no. 136 pl. 23).

i. 704 early seal-stones portraying human goats etc. Any serious attempt to discuss these much-disputed figures must nowadays take into account analogous types found over a wide area of the ancient world. A sample or two will suffice to show the sort of data required. A whorl of green steatite from Hagios Onuphrios near Phaistos shows a horned figure with human legs (A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 118 fig. 52, a, *id.* *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* Oxford 1921 i. 69 fig. 38 A). A prism-seal in black steatite from Karnak shows a human figure with bovine head running (*id.* *Scripta Minoa* i. 123 fig. 58, c, *Palace of Minos* i. 69 fig. 38 B, c). Both these are assigned to the 'Early Minoan i' period (3400—2800 B.C.). Sir J. Marshall *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* London 1931 ii. 389 fig. 356 on pl. 111 notes two human figures (from seals no. 227 and no. 230) with the hoofs, horns, and tail of a bison. *Id. ib.* ii. 389 fig. 357 on pl. 111 gives a seal on which a similar figure is seen struggling with a fabulous horned tiger. Sir John compares the type with that of Enkidu the companion of Gilgamesh. H. R. Hall, lecturing at Cambridge on Oct. 31, 1928, quoted an 'ibex-headed man on a proto-Elamite tablet' and an 'animal-headed man on a seal from South Caucasus' as evidence of Mesopotamian priority to the fantastic sealings from Zakro (*supra* p. 845 n. 3). See also Addenda to i. 67 n. 3.

i. 705. R. C. Flickinger 'Tragedy and the Satyr Drama' in *Class. Philol.* 1913 viii. 261—283 (especially pp. 269—272) discusses the derivation of τραγωδία, defending the goat-prize tradition and rejecting the goat-men conjectures. *Id.* *The Greek Theater and its Drama* Chicago 1918 pp. 13—15, *ib.*⁴ 1936 pp. 13—15, maintains the same standpoint. E. Rostrop *Attic Tragedy in the light of Theatrical History* trans. I. Andersen Kjøbenhavn—Kristiania—London—Berlin 1923 p. 64 ff. denies the dancers 'costumed as he-goats' and holds, on anthropological grounds, that the τράγοι were young men who had undergone puberty-rites and were known by an animal name—the χοροὶ παιδῶν, χοροὶ τραγωδῶν, and χοροὶ ἀνδρῶν representing successive age-groups. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge *Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy* Oxford 1927 pp. 149—166, after a careful discussion of all the possibilities, reverts to the view that τραγωδός may well mean 'singer at the goat-sacrifice' or 'singer for the goat-prize.' 'The two may even be reconciled, if the goat was first won and then sacrificed' (p. 165).

i. 706 Zeus *Asels*. W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1913 xxxiii. 103 compares this appellative with an Old Phrygian text from *Euyuk* in Kappadokia (J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 p. 127 no. 15 a, 3 τέροσσασιεκμορ), of which

he says: 'it can hardly be doubted that *terkos* is the "Hittite" *tarku* meaning "god" or a particular god, and it is very tempting to read the name of the god in the following letters. Whether we read *Asie kmor...* or *Asi ekmor...*, we appear to be dealing with the dative of the divine name *Asis*, which is attested elsewhere, and may be not unconnected with the name which the Greeks gave to the lands east of the Aegean.... Ramsay is probably right in taking **ACEIC** [*supra* i. 706 fig. 521] as a non-Phrygian name; if our interpretation of the Euyuk inscription is correct, *Asis* is the name of a god who belonged to the religion which the Phrygians found in the country when they entered it, and who was worshipped at the old Hittite centre of Euyuk at the date to which this inscription belongs.... The name 'Ἀσιοκώμη expresses the proprietorship of the god *Asis* in a village on his estate, just as the village-name 'Αρνοχωριον in Phrygia indicates that the village belongs to *Atys*. In the Lydian genealogies *Asies* figures as the nephew or as the brother of *Atys* [E. Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1579 f., 2262]. The name *Atios* occurs on an Old-Phrygian inscription (if Phrygian it be) found by Garstang at Tyana [J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 127 no. 19 a, 3 αἰωνί, 5 αἰῖος].... The name is written with the symbol $\dagger$, which suggests that the names *Attis* and *Asis* were originally identical.' Not impossibly, then (cp. *supra* ii. 293), Zeus **ACEIC** meant *ab origine* 'Father' Zeus, while 'Ἀσία was the 'Fatherland.'

i. 707 n. 2 with fig. 524. This red-figured *hydria* from Girgenti is attributed to 'the Syleus Painter' (c. 480 B.C.) and perhaps shows Zeus bringing the infant Dionysos to the Nymphs. To the bibliography add J. de Witte in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1836—1837 i. 357—372 pl. 9, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 237, 1 and ii. 260, 1, H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (Winckelmannsfest- Progr. Halle 1885) p. 18 f., *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 47, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 66 no. 1, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 438 no. 9, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 162 no. 23.

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

i. 709 n. 1 no distinctive art-type for *Hestia*. Yet see Porph. *ap. Euseb. praep. ev.* 3. 11. 7 = *Lyd. de mens.* 4. 94 p. 139, 2 ff. *Ῥῆς καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς θείας δυνάμεως Ἑστία κέκληται, ἥς ἀγάλμα παρθενικὸν ἐφ' ἑστίας ἱδρύται· καθ' ὃ δὲ γόνιμος ἢ δύναιμι, σημαίνουσιν αὐτὴν γυναῖκός εἶδει προμάστου.*

i. 710 Aigeira. This town possessed a notable sanctuary of Zeus with a seated image of the god wrought in Pentelic marble by Eukleides of Athens (Paus. 7. 26. 4). Local coins issued by Septimius Severus and Plautilla show Zeus seated on a high-backed throne in the attitude of Zeus *Olympios* with Nike on his right hand and a long sceptre in his left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 17 no. 5 pl. 4, 10 Plautilla (my fig. 879 is from a cast), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 90 pl. S, 6 Plautilla, Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 412). Portions of this cult-statue are still extant. O. Walter 'Ein Kolossal Kopf des Zeus aus Aigeira' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1919 xix—xx. 1—14 figs. 1—9 pls. 1 (= my fig. 880) and 2 published the large head (height 0.87^m) which he had found on Aug. 31, 1916, inside the temple. The marble is hollowed at the back and, as the dowel-holes prove, was eked out before and behind with adjusted pieces. The eyes were inlaid. *Id.* 'Der Arm der Zeusstatue von Eukleides' *ib.* 1932 xxvii. 146—152 figs. 94—97 was able to add the left arm, found by the villagers of Vlovoka in 1920 close to the same building, and one finger of the right hand, found in 1925 inside it. The fragments (now in the National Museum at Athens, nos. 3377 and 3481) are all of Pentelic marble, imply a figure about thrice life-size, and suit the pose of the god as shown on the coins. See further D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 480. O. Walter 'Eine archäologische Voruntersuchung in Aigeira' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1919 xix—xx Beiblatt pp. 5—42 figs. 1—26 and 'Versuchsgrabung in Aigeira' *ib.* 1932 xxvii Beiblatt pp. 223—234 figs. 109—115 gives a good account of the town and temple, from which it appears that a large podium at the west end of the *cella* bore a base designed for a much smaller statue. It seems likely that, at some date later than Pausanias' visit, the big Zeus was damaged and

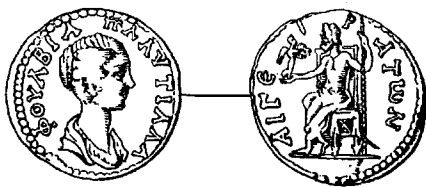


Fig. 879.

replaced by a life-sized figure, perhaps that of a Roman emperor. Otherwise we should have to conclude that the temple to which the big Zeus belonged is still to seek. Eukleides, to judge from the style and technique of this statue, may be regarded as a contemporary of Damophon and dated c. 200 B.C. (A. Hekler 'Eukleides' *ib.* 1922 xxi—xxii. 120—122), though O. Walter and G. Lippold would place him in the middle of the fourth century B.C. or a little later (Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. v. 220).

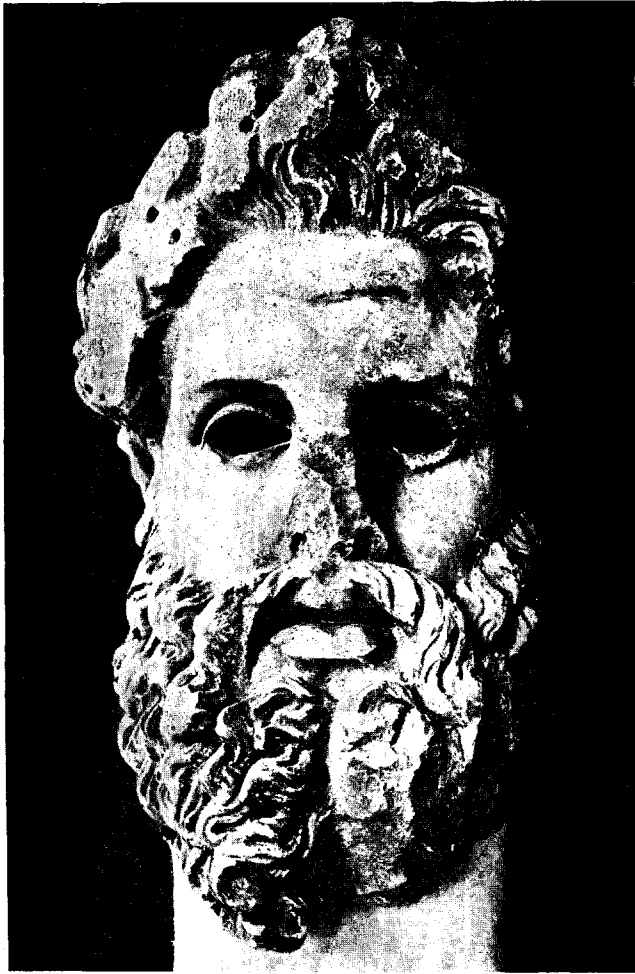


Fig. 880.

i. 710 Eros with crossed legs. On this attitude see W. Deonna 'Croiser les jambes' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 344—352, W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 502 f.

i. 710 Theseus. M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 18 f. pl. 7, 2 takes this figure to be Nero (cp. E. Strong in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 327 n. 2). In any case see Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* no. 3078 pl. 200.

i. 711 Vediovis. See further L. Preller 'Studien zur römischen Mythologie. 2. Vejovis und Dijovis' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1855 pp. 202—215, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 669 f. s.v. 'Veiovis,' A. L. Frothingham 'Vediovis, the Volcanic God: a Reconstruction' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1917 xxxviii. 370—391, G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 174—176 s.v. 'Vejovis,' F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 262 f., 352.



Fig. 881.

i. 713. A figure-oinochōe (Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 408 f.) in my collection shows the infant Dionysos, with a kantharos in his right hand, mounted on a vigorous goat (fig. 881). The vase, which was polychrome, has traces of pink (flesh), red (cloak), yellow (hair, kantharos), and blue (wreath) on a white ground. Height, exclusive of the handle which is in part restored, 5½ ins.

i. 713 n. o. On the cult-statue of Apollon see a mutilated relief from the Amyklaion published by B. Schröder in the *Ath. Mith.* 1904 xxix. 24—31 fig. 2, also E. R. Fiechter 'der Amykläische Thron, Bericht über die Untersuchungen im Amyklaion 1907' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. pp. 66—70, id. 'Amyklæe.

Der Thron des Apollon' *ib.* 1918 xxxiii. 107—245 figs. 1—90 pls. 4—20, P. Bersakes 'Ο θρόνος τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου Ἀπόλλωνος' in the *Αρχ. Εφ.* 1912 pp. 183—192 figs. 1—26, W. Klein 'Zum Thron des Apollo von Amyklæ' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1922 xxxvii Arch. Anz. pp. 6—13, E. Buschor—W. von Massow 'Vom Amyklaion' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1927 lii. 1—85 (especially p. 19) figs. 1—40 pls. 1—23 supplementary pls. 1—12.

i. 717 n. 2 bulls sacrificed to Zeus. Add Xen. *Cyrop.* 8. 3. 11 πρῶτον μὲν ἤγοντο τῷ Διὶ ταῦροι πάγκαλοι εἰς τέτταρας καὶ οἷς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγοῦντο. Also the Ταυροφόνια at Mylasa (*supra* ii. 582 n. 5, iii. 570). See, however, Serv. in *Verg. Aen.* 12. 120 sic in Thracia civitatem condens Aeneas, quam mox fuerat relicturus, contra morem Iovi de tauro sacrificavit (*Aen.* 3. 20 f.), Isid. *orig.* 12. 1. 28 iuvenus dictus eo quod iuvare incipiat hominum usus in terra colenda (*supra* p. 591 n. 1), vel quia apud gentiles Iovi semper ubique iuvenus immolabatur et nunquam taurus. nam in victimis etiam actas considerabatur.

i. 717 n. 3 goats sacrificed to Zeus. W. M. Lindsay in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 109 cites Fest. in Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 84 Ioui Cretenses capram immolabant.

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

i. 723 the *cire perdue* method of hollow-casting in bronze. Miss van der Kolf in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2084 is disposed to adopt my explanation of the Talos-myth ('eine ansprechende Vermutung'), but regards both myth and method as 'ziemlich jung.' S. Casson *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture* Oxford 1933 is more precise: 'One thing is certain—that the Minoans had no knowledge at all of hollow casting by the *cire-perdue* process' (cp. L. R. Farnell *supra* ii. 644 n. 1). But is that so certain? K. Kluge, our greatest authority on Greek bronzes, in his *Die antiken Grossbronzen* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 91—102 ('Der antike Wachserzguß') cites the pottery mould for an axe to be cast by the *cire perdue* process, which was found in the seventh stratum at Troy and is now in the Berlin Museum (W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athen 1902 i. 405 fig. 404, 408 f. supplementary pl. 46, VIII a, VIII b). Again, Kluge 'Die Gestaltung des Erzes in der archaisch-griechischen Kunst' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlv. 1—30 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 456 f.) says (p. 6): 'Bereits in primitiven Kulturlagen—es sei an die Güsse von Benin erinnert—wird diese Methode des Wachserzgusses beherrscht, und in der ägyptischen Kunst können wir den steilen Anstieg dieses Könnens verfolgen....' Indeed, Mr H. Frankfort in *The Illustrated London News* Oct. 8, 1932 p. 528 figs. 7—9 shows a statuette from Khafaje in Iraq representing a bearded priest cast in bronze by the *cire perdue* process c. 3000 B.C. Mr Sidney Smith (Jan. 1, 1926) refers me further to F. Thureau-Dangin in the *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 1924 xxi. 26 n. 3 and 155, who cites A. Ungnad in the *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin* Leipzig 1909 Heft viii. 51 no. 103 ('un quinquarquo reçoit 2/3 de mine de cire pour la fabrication d'une clé en métal; c'est le procédé de la cire perdue'). For modern *cire perdue* casting see A. Toft *Modelling and Sculpture* London 1911 pp. 187—191.

i. 723 n. 3. For proof that the Sardinians of the Bronze Age worshipped a bull-god in their subterranean temples see R. Pettazzoni 'Le antichità protosarde di Santa Vittoria' in the *Bullettino di paleontologia italiana* 1910 xxxv. 159—177, A. Taramelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1915 xxiii. 313—436 (especially p. 352 ff.), T. Ashby in *The Times Literary Supplement* for Jan. 22, 1920 p. 50, H. Philipp in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2488, J. Whatmough *The Foundations of Roman Italy* London 1937 p. 373 ('Of especial interest are the temples discovered in recent years by Taramelli. These are circular in construction and were regularly built over a sacred spring or well. With them is associated the cult of the sacred pillar and also of a deity who took the form of a bull, as the large stone bulls' heads from the front of the temples show. It is difficult not to admit in these the evidence of oriental influence, as also in the indications of ordeal by water, and of "incubation"...').

i. 725 Talos, nephew of Daedalos, and the saw. G. M. A. Hanfmann in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 189—194 figs. 1—5 pl. 25, A, B publishes a magnificent gold *bullæ* of Etruscan workmanship, found near Ferrara (?) and now in the Walters Art

Gallery, Baltimore. Two archaic winged figures in relief, with incised retrograde inscriptions, show Daidalos (ΔΑΙΔΑΛΟΣ) and Ikaros (ΙΚΑΡΟΣ), the former holding a saw in his left hand and an adze in his right, the latter a double axe and a square. E. Fiesel *loc. cit.* pp. 195—197 thinks that the inscription originated in Central Etruria, probably in the fifth century B.C. *Taitle* and *Vikare* are correct Etruscan forms of Δαίδαλος and Ίκαρος, the one being Greek, the other—to judge from the suffix -ap—pre-Greek or Aegean. A cornelian scarab, from the Hamilton collection, now in London, again represents Daidalos, *Taitle* (?), as a beardless winged figure, flying above waves, with an adze in his right hand, a saw in his left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 67 no. 329 pl. E, *ib.*² p. 82 no. 663 pl. 11). A second cornelian scarab, from the Blacas collection, also in London, has a somewhat similar, but uninscribed, Daidalos flying with saw in right hand and adze (?) in left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 68 no. 330 pl. E, *ib.*² p. 89 f. no. 727 pl. 12, cp. Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 19, 28, ii. 93 ('Geflügelter Dämon'), Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 25, 7 p. 171 ('Eros')). Lastly, a *stèle* from Bologna, assigned to the date 390—360 B.C., includes among its reliefs the same beardless Daidalos flying through the air with square and double axe in his right hand and saw in his left (E. Brizio in the *Not. Scavi* 1890 pp. 139—142 pl. 1, 3).

The art-type of the winged male figure posting through the sky with a double axe may be traced back to a very early date (sub-'Minoan'?) in the Archipelago: see the Melian (?) gem *supra* ii. 544 fig. 419. From Melos to Ikaros (Ikaria) is a bare hundred miles. Talos, Daidalos, and Ikaros were perhaps all originally independent but analogous figures (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 250 n. 2; Heeg in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 986, G. M. A. Hanfmann *loc. cit.* p. 194), various forms taken by the winged sun-god.

i. 726 ff. Talos, nephew of Daidalos, and the partridge. L. Mercklin *Die Talos-Sage und das sardonische Lachen in den Mémoires présentés à l'Académie impériale des sciences de St. Pétersbourg par divers savants* Saint-Petersbourg 1854 vii. 110 (74) n. 203 cp. the romantic tale of Meles and Timagoras (Paus. i. 30. 1) or Timagoras and Meletos (Soud. s.v. Μέλγρος *ter*), on which see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2626 and Scherling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 491 f. But this has been adequately explained on other lines by C. T. Seltman in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1925 xxvi. 101—104.

J. D. Beazley 'Icarus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 222—233 illustrates *inter alia* (p. 231 fig. 6) a small red-figured *lekythos* of c. 470 B.C., in New York, on which a winged youth sinking into the sea (?) has above his head a bird 'flying almost straight down'.... 'The bird acts as the directional arrow in cartography.' H. J. Rose 'Ikaros and Perdix on a Fifth-century Vase?' *ib.* 1928 xlviii. 9 f. acutely conjectures that the painter 'had in his mind the mythical Perdix.'

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

i. 732 Zeus paired with Selene. Cp. S. Eitrem 'Die heilige Ehe' in *Symbolae Osloenses* 1932 xi. 18 n. 1.

i. 733 n. 6. On Zeus Νόσιος of Miletos see now gr. Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 1053, who, after mentioning the late sixth-century offering Δι Νόσιω (in inscription no. 31, 9 a sacrificial calendar on the wall of the old hall in the Delphinion), adds: 'Νόσιε findet sich dann noch in einer Inschrift nr. 186, einer "Schreibübung eines Steinmetzen," aus der Zeit vor der Perserkatastrophe.... Auch v. Wilamowitz GGA 1914, 100 hält Δι Νόσιω für gesichert, fügt aber mit Recht hinzu: "es kann wohl nur ein νόσιος sein, so sehr es befremdet."'

i. 735 f. Zeus as a Satyr. Titian's 'Jupiter and Antiope' in the Louvre shows the lustful god, with the ears and legs of a goat, just twitching the last garment off a recumbent and sleeping Antiope (Sir J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle *The Life and Times of Titian*² London 1881 ii. 317 with pl., J. Addison *Classic Myths in Art* London 1904 p. 57 f. with pl.).

H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3309 takes Sil. It. 3. 103 ff. (lascivo genitus Satyro nymphaque Myrice | Milichus indigenis late regnat in oris | cornigeram attollens genitoris imagine frontem) to mean that Melichos the horned king of Spain was the son of the nymph Myrike by Zeus in the form of a Satyr.

Zeus Παιώλης is attested by Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 f. 'Ἐπιθέρη Διός... 86 παιώλους, 266 Ἐπιθέρη Διός... 74 παιώλους. The epithet, a derivative of πείος (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 743 D—744 A), would suit a god of Satyr-like propensities, 'soll also wohl den Zeus als Gott der Fruchtbarkeit bezeichnen, wenn es nicht christlich-apologetischen Ursprunges ist' (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1752).

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

21. 17 ff. was transformed by Gaia into a vine (K. D. Mylonas in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 233 ff. (wrongly numbered 153 ff.) and J. N. Svoronos *ib.* p. 466 ff.).

i. 737 Epopeus as an embodiment of Zeus. To the same effect A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in J. U. Powell *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Third Series Oxford 1933 p. 106 n. 1.

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

i. 741 n. 4 Zeus Μαξεύς. Cp. F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1897 xxxiv. 49 n. 2: 'Auch in Μαξεύς: ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Φυγῇ Hes. wird wohl nur der pers. *Aura-mazdā* zu erkennen sein, wie schon de Lagarde annahm.'

i. 744 n. 3. On the inscription here cited see further A. Brinkmann in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1914 lxix. 585 f., M. N. Tod in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1915 xxxv. 269.

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

i. 751 Zeus conceived as dwelling in the starry sky. Cp. Soph. *Trach.* 1106 ὁ τοῦ κατ' ἄστρα Ζηνὸς αὐθηθεὶς γόνος.

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

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

i. 754 traces of astrology in early Greece. See A. Engelbrecht 'Vermeintliche Spuren altgriechischer Astrologie' in the *Eranos Vindobonensis* Wien 1893 pp. 125—130, who argues that there are 'von einer eigentlichen Astrologie mindestens bis zum vierten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert keine positiven, wohl aber negative Spuren in den Schriftwerken,' and W. Capelle 'Älteste Spuren der Astrologie bei den Griechen' in *Hermes* 1925 lx. 373—395, who claims to find such traces in the Hippocratic *περί διατρῆς* 4. 89 Littré (iv. 426 ff. Jones) at the end of s. v B.C. and probably also in Demokrit. *ap. Aët.* 2. 15. 3 (H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*³ Berlin 1912 ii. 32).

i. 754 ff. Zeus as lord of the constellations. G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 90 fig. 17 (= my fig. 882) reproduces the fine illustration of Arat. *phaen.* 1 given in cod. Bonon. 188 fol. 20^v. An eagle with spread wings carries a thunderbolt in his claws and Zeus recumbent, with globe, sceptre, and rayed *nimbus*, on his back. Background blue, framework vermillion, eagle brownish yellow, flesh dark brown, *nimbus* and globe silver, diadem yellow, *himation* rose.

i. 756 n. 6 Zeus Βῆλος. J. Cantineau 'Textes palmyréniens provenant de la fouille du temple de Bêl' in *Syria* 1931 xii. 119 f. no. 3 publishes a bilingual inscription of the year 504 = 193 A.D., which (Greek 4 ff.) mentions an ἀρχιερεὺς κ[αὶ] [σ]υμποιάρχ[ης] ἐπεὶ μ[ε]γάστου θεοῦ [Διὸς Βῆλ[ου]]. See further P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 227.

i. 766 the Dioskouroi on Etruscan mirrors. C. Brakman 'De Iuturna et Dioscuris' in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1931 lix. 427—430, following up the trail blazed by F. Altheim *Griechische Götter im alten Rom* Giessen 1930 pp. 4—39 ('Iuturna und die Dioskuren') [cp. F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 243—245], claims that the Etruscans when in Asia had taken over from Greeks or pre-Greeks the cult of the Dioskouroi. These they would have called **Diutures*, 'sons of Zeus,' cp. *Diuturna* [Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3856] > *Iuturna*, 'daughter of Zeus,' hybrid formations. 'A stirpe **Diu* (Iove) per suffixum patronymicum -*bur* vel -*tur* derivatum

est **Diutur*, unde per Etruscum formans *-na* formatur *Diuturna*.... **Diūtūres* responderet igitur **Tivdapos*, quod per prae-Graecum suffixum *-dap-* eandem vim habens atque Etruscum *-thur* vel *-tur* derivatum est a *Tiv*, quod idem est in lingua Etrusca valens *Δία*. Itaque *Tivdapos* vel amplior forma Laconica *Tivdapidai* synonymum est Dioscurorum.⁷

But, if Brakman is indebted to Altheim, Altheim in turn owes much to others. G. Maresch 'Der Name der Tyndariden' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 298 f. had already suggested that *Tivdapidai* or *Tivdapiδαι* was simply the Etruscan name for Zeus—*tin*, *tins*, *tinia*—with an Asia-Minor patronymic suffix *-dap-* and a Greek patronymic suffix *-id-* ('so hätten wir denn das spätere *Διόσκουροι* für eine griechische Übersetzung des vorhellenischen Namens *Tivdapiδαι* anzusehen'). And P. Kretschmer in an article of cardinal importance

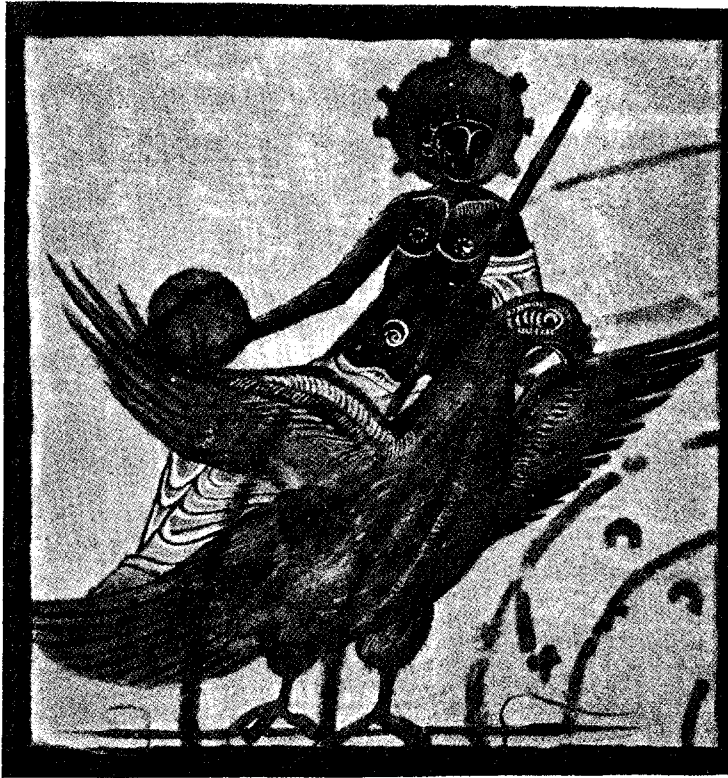


Fig. 882.

had proposed *ib.* p. 303 ff. *Tivdapiδαι* = Etruscan *Tin-* (Zeus) + Etruscan patronymic *-thur* or *-tur* (cp. *tinthur* as a personal name in a tomb-inscription at Naples). He supposes that the *θ* or *t* of the Etruscan suffix became *δ* under the influence of a personal name **Tivdapos* related to the place-name *Tivdη* as *Ilvdapos* to *Ilvdos* or *Mivdapos* to *Mivdη*. These northern names carry with them the northern suffix *-ap-* [cp. Addenda to i. 725]. Kretschmer concludes *ib.* p. 308: 'Die vorgriechische Bevölkerung, in der die unidg. Urbevölkerung und die protidg. Zuwanderer verschmolzen waren, nannte also die mit Zeus gepaarte Göttin einfach mit dem Appellativum für Frau. Der Gott hiess *Tin-*, wonenben vermutlich unter dem Einfluss einer jüngeren Schicht **Taus*, **Teus* trat; ihm stand eine Göttin als seine Frau, *lada* [*supra* i. 763 n. 4], zur Seite. Ihre Zwillingsöhne hießen **Tintor-* oder ähnl. Wenn wir zu dem Ergebnis kommen, dass diese Tyrrhenio-Pelasger bereits den idg. Zeus-Kult nach Hellas gebracht hatten, so wird damit zugleich das Rätsel der berühmten Iliasstelle *II* 233 gelöst: *Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναίε, Πελασγικέ, ...*'

- i. 768 n. o. See now O. Huth 'Die Kultore der Indogermanen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1937 xxxiv. 371—377 (in continuation of *id.* 'Der Durchzug des Wilden Heeres' *ib.* 1935 xxxii. 193—210).
- i. 776 Zeus *Amários*. A. Aymard 'Le Zeus fédéral achaiën Hamarios—Homarios' in the *Mélanges offerts à M. Octave Navarre par ses élèves et ses amis* Toulouse 1935 pp. 453—470 (defends the form 'Αμάριος, cp. the summary in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1936 xlix. 349). *Id.* 'Le rôle politique du sanctuaire fédéral achaiën' in the *Mélanges Franz Cumont (Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves iv)* Bruxelles 1936 i. 1—26.
- i. 781. A. D. Knox in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1915 xlv. 695 (Cambridge Philological Society, Feb. 25, 1915) suggested that in Phoinix of Kolophon *frag.* 2. 4 δς οὐκ ἴδ' ἀστέρ' οὐ Δίφωv ἐδίδητο the word 'Δίφωv or the like is Persian for heaven, taken with *vv.* 5, 6 from (Ktesias) *ap.* Strab. p. 733, following or correcting Hdt. i. 132.' But the text as given in cod. A of Athen. 530 E δς οὐκ ἴδ' ἀστέρ' οὐδιζωνεδίδητο is very corrupt. Emendations are numerous (see the note of J. U. Powell *Collectanea Alexandrina* Oxonii 1925 p. 232), Knox himself in the Loeb edition (London 1929) *frag.* 1. 4 now prints δς οὐκ ἴδ' ἀστέρ' οὐ [δίσ]ων ἐδίδητο, and E. Diehl *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*² Lipsiae 1936 i. 3. 108 *frag.* 3. 4 is still content with Naeke's δς οὐκ ἴδ' ἀστέρ' οὐδ' ἰ <δ> ὦν ἐδίδητο.
- i. 782 on Saint George as dragon-slayer. Add S. A. Matson *St. George and the Dragon*² London 1893 pp. 1—222 (popular), M. Oldfield Howey *The Encircled Serpent* London (1926) pp. 174 ff. ('St. Michael and the Dragon'), 177 ff. ('St. George and the Dragon').
- i. 784 bull-carrying on a coin of Nysa. Brüder Egger *Auktions-Katalog xlv* Griechische Münzen (Sammlung des Herrn Theodor Prowe, Moskau, u. a.) Wien 1914 p. 70 no. 1511 pl. 24 ('Stier auf den Schultern von sechs nackten Epheben getragen, davor schreitender Flötenspieler') Maximus. See also K. Kourouniotes in the 'Αρχ. Δελτ. 1921—1922 vii. 4 fig. 2 (enlarged).
- i. 784 Syro-Hittite bulls enclosing human victims. We may perhaps compare the hollow bronze horse containing the body of a man, found by Gyges in Lydia (Plat. *rep.* 359 D, Apostol. 15. 85).
- i. 785 statuette of gilded bronze from the Syrian sanctuary on the Ianiculum. Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 293 no. 2 'Atergatis?', H. Gressmann in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 186 pl. 5, 10 'Atargatis.' But the statuette, which is now in the Museo delle Terme, has been cleaned and proves to be a male figure, possibly that of Adad (T. Ashby in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1914 p. 14) or Chronos (R. Paribeni *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*⁴ Roma 1922 p. 120 f. no. 188). J. Leipoldt in D. Hans Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—xi p. xiv f. fig. 109 is content to say 'Syrischer Gott vom Janiculus.'
- ii. 3 n. o pot-Zeuses. Cp. Aristoph. *ran.* 22 Διώνυσος, νῖος Στραμνίου with schol. δέον εἰπεῖν νῖος Διός, κ.τ.λ. H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1932 xxvi. 58 aptly explains Hesych. Ἐγχεῶ· ἡ Σεμέλη οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο as a comic formation from ἐγχεῖν.
- ii. 6 n. 3. So Plout. *v. C. Gracch.* 14 καὶ τότε μὲν ὄμβρου γενομένου διελύθησαν· κ.τ.λ.
- ii. 7 n. 1. See also O. Casel 'Vom heiligen Schweigen' in the *Benedictiner Monatschrift* 1921 p. 417 ff., and G. Mensching *Das heilige Schweigen* Giessen 1926 pp. 1—162 (reviewed by O. Casel in *Gnomon* 1928 iv. 142—149).
- ii. 8 n. 7. G. H. Macurdy in the *Class. Quart.* 1926 xx. 179 f. treats Ἐκτωρ as a short form of Ἐχέλαος (Attic Ἐχελος).
- ii. 9 apotheosis by lightning. See now H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1924 xviii. 15 f.
- ii. 12 Keraunos. H. Güntert *Über Reimwortbildungen im arischen und altgriechischen* Heidelberg 1914 p. 215 f. regards the god Κεραυνός as a rime-word to the Slavonic *Peraunos.
- R. Ganszyniec 'Zeus Keraunos' in *Eos* 1930/1931 xxxiii. 66 cp. 'Schiblé, der Gott des Donners, des Krieges und der Gerechtigkeit' worshipped by the Adighe or Circassians, who treat as sacrosanct any tree or man struck by lightning (F. Bodenstedt *Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freiheitskämpfe gegen die Russen* Frankfurt 1848 p. 201).
- ii. 13 ff. Zeus *Kataibátes*. See now H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 108—114 ('Zeus Kataibates'). A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1924 p. 146 f. no. 389 fig. 3 publishes a *stèle* of blackish marble found in the wall of the church of Hagia Kyriake at *Selos* near Pythion in Thessaly. The *stèle* has an *aétoma* with *akroléria* above, below which is a smooth space originally occupied by a painting, and below that an inscription in letters of c. the beginning of s. iii B.C. Δι Καταιβάτη· ἥρω

'Επ[ι]κράτει. This Epikrates was either a chthonian hero or, more probably, a man killed by lightning and worshipped as a hero. On the Thessalian festival *Καταιβάσια* see Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2461 f. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 71 n. 4 adds the base of a bronze statue found in Thasos, which bears a dedication of Roman date to Zeus *Kataibides* (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvii. 537). And G. Daux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 245 f. no. 25 records an inscription from Thasos (on a block of local marble, once a statue-base, to be dated *c.* the beginning of our era) *Διὸς Καταιβάτου*.

ii. 19 n. ο ἀλευρομάντεις, ἀλφειτομάντεις, κριθομάντεις. See now Boehm 'Aleuromantie' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 258—260, 'Alphitomantie' *ib.* i. 310 f., 'Kriothomantie' *ib.* 1933 v. 594—596, and Eckstein 'Mehl' *ib.* 1934 vi. 89—110.

ii. 21 n. 5. G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 32 conjectures that this *ábaton* of Zeus *Kataibates* marks the spot on which Demetrios Poliorketes [*supra* i. 58, cp. K. Scott 'The Deification of Demetrius Poliorketes' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1928 xlix. 217—239 summarised by P. Cloché in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 228] 'descended in a blaze of glory' from his chariot—a descent parodied by Plaut. *Curc.* 413 ff. where Curculio announces himself as Summanus, the god who sends nocturnal lightnings, and explains that at night he sometimes 'descends in a shower' (*summano*)!

ii. 23 n. 2 Numa's law about the man struck by lightning. E. Bickel in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1931 lxxx. 279—298 c. *hominem fulmine* (or *fulmini*) *Iovos occisit*, and examines in detail relevant religious and linguistic usage.

ii. 24 Orpheus slain by a thunderbolt. Paus. 9. 30. 5 *εἰσι δὲ οἱ φασὶ κεραννωθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευτὴν Ὀρφεῖ*. *κεραννωθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν λόγων ἕνεκα ὧν ἐδίδασκεν ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις οὐ πρότερον ἀκηκόοντας ἀνθρώπους*, Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 5 *τὸ δ' ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐπιγρᾶμμα, κεραννωθῆναι αὐτόν, λέγον οὕτως*. 'Θρηῖκα χρυσολύρην τῇδ' Ὀρφέα Μοῦσαι ἔθαψαν, | ὃν κτάνεν ὑψιμέδων Ζεὺς ψολόεντι βέλει' = *Anth. Pal.* 7. 617. 1 f., cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 99. 1 f.

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

ii. 31 *téras*. See further P. Stein ΤΕΡΑΣ Marpurgi Cattorum 1909 pp. 1—66. He classifies the uses of the word and connects *Teipeσίας* with it, but does not elucidate its etymology. Schrader *Reallex.*² ii. 143^b, 481^{a-b} and H. Lewy in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1930 lviii. 30 f. connect *téras*, *τέρρα*, *Teipeσίας* and suppose that the word, which originally meant 'star,' was widened to include omens in general.

ii. 32 the *Tarentum* at Rome. P. Boyancé in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome* 1925 xlii. 135—146 discusses the site of the *ara Diis in Tarento* and concludes that it was in low ground near the Tiber, probably in the *Ghetto* (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 221). But see the criticisms of S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 508 f.

ii. 33 ff. Zoroastres. A masterly exposition of Zoroaster's life, teaching, and works will be found in J. Bidez—F. Cumont *Les Mages hellénisés: Zoroastre Ostanès et Hystaspès d'après la tradition grecque* Paris 1938 i. 1—297 ('Introduction'), ii. 1—241 ('Les Textes').

ii. 36 ff. the Elysian Way. See now P. Capelle 'Elysium und Inseln der Seligen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 244—264, *ib.* 1928 xxvi. 17—40 (the etymology is dealt with on p. 32 f.), J. Charpentier 'Νεκρὸς ἀμολγῶ' in *Symbolae philologicae O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatae* Upsaliae 1932 p. 27 ff., Stegemann 'Milchstrasse' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1934 vi. 367—374.

ii. 44 the 'straight light like a pillar' (Plat. *rep.* 616 B) without a counterpart in astronomical fact or fancy. But what of the zodiacal light (J. F. Julius Schmidt *Das Zodiacallicht* Braunschweig 1856 pp. 1—110)? J. Helmbold *Der Atlasmythus und Verwandtes* Mulhausen i. E. 1906 (Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Mulhausen i. E.) p. 5 fig. shows the zodiacal light looking much like an obelisk with rounded top. He thinks that the pillars of Atlas (*Od.* 1. 52 ff.), the pillar of Prometheus, the Elysian Way, the tower of Kronos, etc. were all zodiacal myths. Prof. R. A. S. Macalister subsequently, but independently, hit upon the same explanation. In a letter to me, dated Jan. 19, 1929, he says: 'Apropos of the Sky-pillar... I have been wondering if you considered the possibility that it might have been suggested by the *Zodiacal Light*. This soft beam of light, which rises vertically from the evening horizon in Spring and the morning horizon in Summer, is not often to be seen in our latitudes: I have often looked for it, in vain. But I have seen it in Palestine, where it looked just like a faintly

luminous pillar with tapering point.... I never saw it as a complete belt across the sky, as some have seen it in high tropic latitudes.'

ii. 45 the 'spindle of Ananke.' P. M. Schuhl in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 ii. 58—64 pls. 6 and 7 and fig. 1 holds that the spindle of Ananke may be derived from the ancient oriental theme of a spindle-holding goddess, 'la Dame au fuseau' [for which see U. Holmberg 'Der Baum des Lebens' in the *Annales Academia Scientiarum Fennica* ser. B 1922—1923 xvi. 3. 106 ff.].

ii. 52 n. 2 *Iringes wec.* Add Stegemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1934 vi. 373 n. 36.

ii. 52 ff. (cp. iii. 418 n. o) the *Irmingsl* as a sky-prop. G. Dottin in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 138: 'This belief in the fall of the sky is seen frequently in the oaths of Irish epic poetry.' Frazer *Worship of Nature* i. 148 notes that, according to the Upotos of the Upper Congo, 'The day will come when the sky will collapse and flatten us all out, blacks and whites alike' (a reference that I owe to my friend Dr J. Rendel Harris). H. J. Rose in *The Hibbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 381 n. 1 cp. our own proverb 'If the sky should fall, we should all catch larks' [W. G. Smith *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* Oxford 1935 p. 210 f.], but refuses to believe that this ever expressed a real fear. Weiser-Aall in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1930 ii. 1527: 'Das Weltgebäude ist nach der Vorstellung vieler Völker wie das Wohnhaus aufgebaut. So muss der Himmel wie das Dach durch eine Säule bzw. durch den Weltbaum gestützt werden' etc. (Scandinavians, Lapps, Celts, Germans). A. H. Krappe *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 130 f. defends my view against criticism and supplies a parallel from the *Veda* (H. Oldenberg *La religion du Veda* Paris 1903 p. 60 n. 2 "Pourquoi le ciel ne tombe-t-il pas sur la terre?—Parce qu'un grand bouc à une seule patte lui sert de pilier" [cp. A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 73 f.]). J. Erdödi in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1932 l. 214—219 discusses the Sanskrit *Skambha*, 'himmelstützender Baum' (*Attharva-Veda* 10. 8. 2 'Vom Skambha wird der Himmel und die Erde | Ewig gehalten auseinander, | Auf Skambha (ruht) dies beseelte All, | Was atmet, was die Augen schliesst'), as source of the Finnish *Sampo*, which in the *Kalevala* denotes 'eine wunderbare Mühle, Glücksmühle,' but is akin to the Wotyak *sammas*, 'Säule, Wetterbahn,' and Esthonian *sammas*, 'Säule, Pfosten.'

Further evidence for the sky-prop in belief and practice is collected by U. Holmberg in the *Annales Academia Scientiarum Fennica* ser. B. 1922—1923 xvi. 3. 9—33 figs. 2—15 ('Die Weltaule'). *Id.* in J. A. MacCulloch *The Mythology of all Races* Boston 1927 iv (Finno-Ugric, Siberian). 221 f. says: 'the Samoyeds (Turuansk District) call the North Star the "nail of the sky," "round which the heavens revolve." The ancient Finns had also a corresponding but now forgotten term, as proved by the name of the North Star, borrowed by the Lapps from the Finns, Bohi-naville ("the nail of the north"); its counterpart among the Estonians being the Põhjaneel.... This nail is, at the same time, regarded as supporting the sky.... Missionaries relate that the Lapps sacrificed to their highest god Veralden rade ("Ruler of the world") so that "he should not let fall the sky," erecting at the altars a tree either split in two or forked naturally, or also, at times, a high pillar, called the "pillar of the world" (Veralden tshuold) for the god to "support the world with, and keep it in its present form and condition, that it might not grow old and fall from its former nature." The tree was besmeared with blood from the sacrifice. A "pillar of the world" of this description was seen by Leem in the vicinity of the Porsanger Fjord [*supra* ii. 423 n. 3 with fig. 329].... That these pillars of the Lapps had a heavenly counterpart is shown by the fact that, in some places, the name of the North Star is "pillar of the world" (Veralden tshuold). It is probable that the Lapps obtained both their ideas and their sacrificial customs from the Scandinavians...; the "nail" may be compared with the Scandinavian Veraldar nagli, the "world-nail." *Id. ib.* p. 333 ff.: 'From this belief spring the curious names given by the Altaic stocks to the North Star. The Mongols, Buriats, Kalmucks, and the Altai Tatars and Ugurs call the star in question "The golden pillar"; the Kirghis, Bashkirs and certain other Siberian Tatar tribes call it "The iron pillar"; the Teleuts "The lone post," and the Tungus-Orotshons "The golden post." From the similarity of the names given it by these widely separated peoples we may conclude that the conception of a sky-supporting pillar reaches back among the Altaic race to a comparatively early period.... Although none of the available sources mention directly that the peoples of the Altaic race made images of this great world-pillar, we can still be reasonably certain that they did so from the fact that several of the more northern peoples have kept up this custom even to our days.... The Ostiaks call these wooden images of the pillar, "town-pillars" or "the strong pillars of the town's centre." Those more simple in construction are erected by being slightly sunk

into the earth, and are hardly ever observed to be shaped at all in any way. The pillar of the village of Tsingala is about two fathoms in height, a squared, slender log, not very old.... This pillar of Tsingala, which the Ostiaks of that place regard as a deity, is called by them "The iron pillar man," a similar name being given to the post of another village of Irtysh, resembling greatly the afore-mentioned "Iron pillar" of the Tatars.... Some peoples in North-West Siberia, who have a similar custom, place on the world-pillar a wooden figure of a bird, which sometimes has two heads.... The pillars, on which these birds are placed and which have sometimes cross-pieces like branches, are, according to the Dolgans, a symbol of the "never falling props" before the dwelling of the Supreme God. On the cross-pieces, so it is said, dwell the sons of God.'

E. Jung 'Irmisul und Rolandsäule' in *Mannus* 1925 xvii. 1—34 figs. 1—14, taking a hint from J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 119 and 394, claims that the *Rolandsäule* of Niedersachsen, Westfalen, Obersachsen, and Thüringen was a Christianised survival of the pre-Christian *Irmisul* (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 502). See further P. J. Hamilton-Grierson in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 420^a ('Irmisäulen, Rolandsäulen, *perrons*, and many of the market-crosses of Scotland').

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

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

ii. 62 f. the Wild Hunt or Furious Host. See further F. Liebrecht *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia* Hannover 1856 pp. 173—211 ('La Mesnie furieuse, ou la Chasse sauvage'), K. Meisen *Die Sagen vom Wütenden Heer und Wilden Jäger* Münster 1935 pp. 1—144.

ii. 63 Wodan. Cp. G. Neckel 'Regnator omnium deus' [*Tac. Germ.* 39] in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung* 1926 ii. 139—150.

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

ii. 86 n. 3. L. Barbedette 'Le symbolisme des tombeaux gallo-romains' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 i. 273—277 deals with Lussoius and Bricia, deities of the hot springs at Luxovium. Numerous local reliefs show persons holding a bottle or box in the left hand, a glass or cup in the right. Several such *cippi* bear the sepulchral dedication D·M.

ii. 88 the world-pillar in Rhenic Germany. Miss J. R. Bacon in 1929 kindly drew my attention to Skymn. Chi. *per.* 188 ff. τούτων δὲ (sc. τῶν Κελτῶν) κεῖται λεγομένη τις ἐσχάτη | στήλη βόρειος· ἐστὶ δ' ὕψηλὴ πᾶν | εἰς κυματῶδες πέλαγος ἀνατείνουσα ἄκραν. | οἰκοῦσι τῆς στήλης δὲ τοὺς ἐγγυὺς τόπους | Κελτῶν ὅσοι λήγουσιν ὄντες ἐσχατοί | Ἐνετοί τε καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν | Ἰστρον καθήκοντων· λέγουσι δ' αὐτόθεν | τὸν Ἰστρον ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν τοῦ ρεύματος.

ii. 88 n. 3 Jack and the Beanstalk. On which see L. Mackensen 'Bohnenranke zum Himmel' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1933 i. 299—301.

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

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

ii. 111 n. o. Zeus *Tropaiophros*. A. M. Woodward in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1926—1927 xxviii. 117 no. 1 publishes an inscription from Klazomenai [Δία τροπ]αιοφφρον | [-----]ς ἀνέθηκεν | [ἐπιμελη]θέντος Τιβερίου | [Κλαυδίου] Θεοδώρου.

ii. 111 n. 1 La Turbie. See now A. Blanchet *Forma orbis Romani: carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine* Fasc. 1 *Alpes-Maritimes* by P. Couissin sections 4—6 pls. 1—3 Paris 1931 (noticed by W. W. Hyde in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 520),

P. Casimir *Le trophée d'Auguste à la Turbie* Marseille 1932 pp. 1—168, S. F. Gimenez 'Ce que j'ai vu à la Turbie' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1933 pp. 165—168 (built round a pre-existing monument, perhaps several centuries older).

ii. 114 ff. the Pillar of Light. Kallisthenes of Olynthos *frag.* 8 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 13 f. Müller)=*frag.* 20 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 646 f. Jacoby) *ap. Sen. nat. quaest.* 6. 26. 4 (cp. *ib.* 7. 5. 3—5) inter multa...prodigia, quibus denuntiata est duarum urbium Helices et Buris eversio, fuere maxime notabilia columna ignis immensi et Delos agitata. But this fiery pillar was presumably a species of comet (O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 p. 656 n. 1). The Jewish tragedian Ezekiel (s. ii. B.C.; see A. Jacoby in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 278 n. 1) *ap. Euseb. praep. ev.* 9. 29. 16 locates Moses' rock at Elim and says *ῥόθεν δὲ φέγγος ἐξέλαμψε νύξ, | κατ' εὐφρόνην σημείον ὡς στῆλος πυρός*—apparently combining the 'pillar of fire' (Ex. 13. 21 f., *alib.*) with the 'rock in Horeb' (Ex. 17. 6, cp. Num. 20. 8), if not with the 'rock that followed them' (1 Cor. 10. 4).

R. Vallois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 lv. 327 f. regards the blaze in Krastonia as a ritual epiphany of Dionysos, citing Suet. *Aug.* 94 Octavio postea, cum per secreta Thraciae exercitum duceret, in Liberi patris luco barbara caerimonia de filio consulenti, idem affirmatum est a sacerdotibus, quod infuso super altaria mero tantum flammae emicuisset, ut supergressa fastigium templi ad caelum usque ferretur, unique omnino Magno Alexandro apud eandem aras sacrificanti simile provenisset ostentum. Vallois compares the Theban myth of Dionysos *πυριγενής* [Eustath. in *Il.* p. 346, 32] and the nativity of the Cretan Zeus (Ant. Lib. 19: *supra* ii. 928 n. o).

ii. 117 n. 7 Quint. Smyrn. 14. 223 ff. H. J. Rose in the *Hibbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 380 remarks that Quint. Smyrn. is here imitating Ap. Rhod. 3. 160 f.

ii. 119 'star-flung Thunderbolt.' K. Kerényi 'Ἀστεροβλήτρα κεραυνός' in the *Egyptisches Philologisches Kolloquium* Budapest 1927 li. 81—87=*id.* 'ΑΣΤΕΡΟΒΛΗΤΑ ΚΕΡΑΤΝΟΣ' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 322—330, cp. *id.* *ib.* 1933 xxx. 288 n. 1.

ii. 121 'I have fallen as a kid into milk.' C. W. Vollgraff ΕΠΙΦΘΟΣ ΕΞ ΓΑΛ' ΕΠΙΕΤΟΝ (*Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde* Deel 57, Serie A, N°. 2) Amsterdam 1924 pp. 1—35 (in Dutch, with summary in French) holds that the formula means 'I, become a kid, flung myself upon the milk,' i.e. upon the breast of the deity. Cp. the Villa Item fresco, where a Satyress suckles a kid [A. Maiuri *La Villa dei Misteri* Roma 1931 p. 140 ff. fig. 53 and col. pl. 5 f.].

ii. 121 n. 3 vases showing Thracian women tattooed. To the six examples listed add: (7) A *kylix* from Caere, now at Schwerin, signed by the potter Pistoxenos (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 372 f. no. 3 fig., J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmalerei der rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 259 no. 1) shows young Herakles followed by an old crone Geropso, who is tattooed in the Thracian manner with parallel strokes on neck, forearms, and feet (the best publication is that of J. Maybaum in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 24—37 fig. 1 pls. 5—8). (8) A fragmentary *kylix-krater* from Tarentum, now at the Hague (C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 355—361 pl. 178), represents the assailants of Orpheus with numerous tattoo-marks on arms, legs, and necks. 'Dieser Körperschmuck besteht nicht nur aus geometrischen Mustern, senkrechten und wagrechten Strichen, Zickzack- und Mäanderbändern und puntierten Sternen [on which solar symbol see *supra* i. 296 fig. 219, C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 55 ff., *id.* *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 51 pl. 4, 1, and S. Casson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 514 ff.], sondern an Armen und Beinen sehen wir auch sich emporringelnde Schlangen und hochbeinige Vierfüßler, Rehe und Hirsche und einmal am Arm wohl eher ein springendes Reh als einen Hasen.' (p. 359).

ii. 123 n. o ritual tattooing. See further F. J. Dölger *Antike und Christentum Münster in Westfalen* 1930 ii. 100 ff. ('Die Gottesweihe durch Brandmarkung oder Tätowierung in ägyptischen Dionysoskult der Ptolemäerzeit'), 107 ff. ('Zur Frage der religiösen Tätowierung im thrakischen Dionysoskult...'), 297 ff. ('Religiöse Tätowierung im Atargatiskult von Hierapolis in Syrien'), 1932 iii. 257 ff. ('Der Sinn der sakralen Tätowierung und Brandmarkung in der antiken Kultur').

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

ii. 124 n. 2 pl. vi. J. D. Beazley in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 230 n. 29 justly objects that I have ignored the explanation of the scene offered by F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1909 xii. 96 fig. 56 ('*Ἀδωνιάδουσαι*: the woman on the ladder personates Aphrodite).

ii. 128 Jacob's ladder. C. F. Coxwell *Siberian and other Folk-Tales* London 1933

p. 988 (in Little Russia the staircase seen by Jacob is formed of seven heavens—blue, green, violet, yellow, white, pink, and fiery red).

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

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

ii. 130 votive ladders. W. Deonna 'Ex-voto déliens' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1932 lvi. 410—420 ('L'échelle aux serpents') observes that, from the year 364 B.C. onwards, the official inventories of the Artemision at Delos mention a small ladder in gilded wood round which a couple of silver snakes were twined (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 461 ff. line 102 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 815, 102 ff. (364 B.C.) κλιμάκιον ἐξέλων περιεχρυσωμένον ὄφειν ἀργυροῖς διεζωμένον | ἄστατον, T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 389 ff. (B) 35 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 833, 35 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 161 B 35 f. (279 B.C.) κλιμάκιον ἐξέλων περιχρυσωμένον ὄφειν ἀργυροῖς διεζωμένον, ἄστατον, *ib.* ii no. 162 B 28 f. (278 B.C.) κλιμάκιον ἐξέλων περ[ι]χρυσωμένον ὄφειν ἀργυροῖς διεζωμένον, ἄστατον, *ib.* ii no. 203 B 86 (269 B.C.) κλιμάκιον [ἐ]ξέλων ἐπιχρυσωμένον ὄφειν δύο ἔχον ἀργυροῖς, E. Schulhof in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 64 ff. no. 12, 23 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 208, 23 f. κλιμάκιον [ἐ]ξέλων ἐπιχρυσωμένον ὄφειν δύο ἔχον ἀργυροῖς). For the snakes of the ladder Deonna cp. the vision of St Perpetua (*supra* ii. 133), a fresco of c. 300—350 A.D. from the crypt of St Marcus and St Marcellianus in the Cemetery of St Balbina (H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1910 ii. 149 f. with fig. 1229, cp. *id.* *ib.* 1921 iv. 1718 fig. 3900), and the twelfth-century *Hortus Deliciarum* by Herrade de Landsberg (*supra* ii. 136 n. 3). Does the same symbolism survive in the modern game of 'Snakes and Ladders'?

ii. 131 the terra-cotta disks from Tarentum. See now P. Wuilleumier 'Les disques de Tarente' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 i. 26—64 with 4 pls. and 2 figs. K. Kerényi in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 271—307 with fig. on p. 270 adds an interesting example in the Museum at Brindisi ('Ανοδος-Darstellung...mit einem Zodiakus von 11 Zeichen').

ii. 131 f. with fig. 79 Baubo. This terra cotta is now in the Antiquarium at Berlin: a photograph of it is given by H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1926 ii. 16, also by O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlv Arch. Anz. p. 199 with fig. 2 ('Die Frau ist ganz nackt...und berührt mit der rechten Hand die Scham. In Ägypten kennen wir die Gestalt dieser Frau in derselben Haltung und mit derselben Geste in zahlreichen Wiederholungen, nur mit dem Unterschied, dass sie nicht auf dem Schwein sitzt. Es sind kleine Figürchen, die gewöhnlich unter dem Namen Baubo gehen, ohne dass sie irgendwelches Recht auf diesen Namen haben. Sie tragen meist reichen Schmuck an Armen und Beinen, Kränze auf dem Kopf, und als Attribut kommt neben Sistris und Flaschen einmal auch eine Leiter vor, nie die Scala').

See further S. Reinach 'Un mime byzantin' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1919 xxxii. 433—442 (= *id.* 'Un mime byzantin ou Baubo à Byzance' in *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1923 v. 103—113), C. Picard 'L'épisode de Baubô dans les mystères d'Eleusis' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1927 xcv. 220—254, G. Pansa Miti, *leggende e superstizioni dell' Abruzzo* Sulmona 1927 ii. 91 ff. ('Il mito Eleusimio (sic) di Baubo ed il simbolo talismanico della ranocchia') with 11 figs., S. Reinach 'Baubô japonaise' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 337, U. Pestalozza in the *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1931 vii. 64 ff. (Baubo etc.), P. Demargne 'Deux représentations de la déesse minoenne dans la nécropole de Mallia (Crète)' in the *Mélanges Gustave Glotz* Paris 1932 i. 305—314 with pls. 1—3 and fig. 1 (a painted anthropomorphic *rhytôn* of 'Early Minoan iii' date and an incised *oinochôe* of 'Middle Minoan i'—both showing a goddess comparable with Baubo), H. Vorwahl 'Ein apotropäischer Kriegsbrauch' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 395—397 ('so wird eindeutig, dass es sich hier um dynamistische Vorstellungen handelt, die Ausstrahlung von Kraft im apotropäischen Sinne'). An external corbel on the apse of the Norman church at Kilpeck, Monmouthshire, is sufficient proof that Baubo is with us yet.

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

ii. 143 Sardus Pater. C. Albizzati 'Sardus Pater' in *Historia* 1927 i. 56—65 with 14 figs., L. B. Holland 'Mycenaeae plumes' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 198.

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

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

ii. 150 n. 2. On the Jains see J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1926 xiii (Index). 288, also A. Guérinot *La religion Djaina* Paris 1926 pp. 1—350 with 25 pls. (pt 2. 11 'Cosmologie,' pt 3. 1 'Les sanctuaires et les temples').

ii. 157 n. o. E. Babelon *Guide illustré au Cabinet des Médailles* Paris 1900 p. 211 f. fig. 83 'Vase de Bérénice,' H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* p. 11 no. K 76 pl. 5 (βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου | Φιλοπάτορος.....), p. 12 no. K 77 pl. 5 (ἀγαθῆς τύχης Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου).

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

C. A. Rhomaïos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 211 ff. fig. 1 publishes as an 'Αγυιεύς d'Apollon' a limestone pillar (1'44^m high) of cylindrical shape and tapering towards the top, which was found in Korkyra and bears the inscription [.] ΡCQΞΠΥΧΑΙΩΣ, that is [δ]ρσος Πυθαίος = τοῦ Πυθίου or τοῦ Πυθαέος, cp. *ib.* fig. 6 a tapering limestone cylinder (0'90^m high) hollowed at the upper end to serve as an altar, likewise found in Korkyra and inscribed ΟΡΕΟΣΗΙΑΡΟΣ | ΤΑΣΑΚΡΙΑΣ, that is δρσος ἱερὸς | τὰς Ἀκρίας = of Hera Ἀκρία. Rhomaïos is followed by C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 82 fig. 1. W. Dittenberger in *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 nos. 699 (misread) and 698 had included both pillars in his list of local boundary-stones. *Id. ib.* iii. 1 no. 704 accepted as 'Apollinis Agyiei simulacrum' the stone of Mys (*supra* ii. 161 n. 3). So does A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1928 xiii/xiv p. iii fig. 11.

At Hephaistia in Lemnos the Italians have found a village of the Geometric Age with a sanctuary comprising three large chambers. That to the south has in the centre a small octagonal pointed column, and yielded sherds of Ionic and black-figured Attic wares together with a rich deposit of terra-cotta figurines and local pots (E. P. Blegen] in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 196 f., D. Levi in *The Illustrated London News* for Feb. 28, 1931 p. 328 with a view of the sanctuary).

C. Bonner has suggested to me in conversation (July 10, 1931) that even in Homer there may be traces of sacred stones comparable with the *Agyieús*. Thus in *Il.* 12. 445 ff. Hektor caught up λαῶν... ὅς ῥα πυλάων | ἐστήκει πρόσθε, πυρμνὸς παχύς, αὐτὰρ ὑπερθεν | ὀξὺς ἔην. Also in *Od.* 3. 406 ff. Nestor sat ἐπὶ ('at' rather than 'on') ξεστοῖσι λίθοισιν, οἳ οἱ ἔσαν προπάροιθε θυρῶν ὑψηλῶν | λευκοί, ἀποστίλθοντες ἀλείφατος (libations of fat, not polish). οἳς ἔπι μὲν πρὶν | Νηλεὺς ἔζεσκεν, κ.τ.λ. Again, elders in the market-place sat ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις ἱερῷ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ (*Il.* 18. 504, cp. *Od.* 8. 6). I suggested to Bonner that perhaps to sit on the sacred stone was to be filled with the wisdom of the immanent deity. Hence the *Agyieús*-block might serve as a seat (cp. Priamos on his ΘΑΚΟΣ at the gate of Troy as shown on the François-vase (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 58 pl. 11—12)), and the elders in council might actually sit on a sepulchral stone-circle to acquire the wisdom of the buried chieftain. Much relevant evidence will be found in a book of intense interest by A. H. Allcroft *The Circle and the Cross* London 1927 i. 80 ff. ('The Achean Moot' and successive chapters).

ii. 167 fig. 111. Cp. a copper *drachmá* of Byzantion cited by F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1094 fig. 1355: ὀβν. BYZ head of Apollon, laureate, to right; rev. ΔΡΑ||ΧΜΑ pillar with finial, set on a broad base (?).

ii. 169 ff. the Delphic *omphalós*. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 2. 839 ff. with fig. 555 publishes a plaster-fragment from Knossos, found near the 'Cow-boy Fresco' on the east slope of the palace, which shows a pale blue *omphalós* (?) with a deep red band twined about it in an irregular net-like fashion.

L. B. Holland 'The Mantic Mechanism at Delphi' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 201—214 argues that the *omphalós* shown in my pl. ix, a—c with fig. 119 stood on a low square plinth beside a circular base supporting the tripod. *Omphalós* and plinth were alike pierced by a square hole. There was probably a tube of bronze in the hole. The knife was inserted to extract this metal lining, but got stuck in the hole. The nails were used in a vain attempt to pry it out. The purpose of the pipe was to convey the inspiring fumes from the crypt below to the feet of the Pythoness, who sat on the tripod. This ingenious view, though largely hypothetical, is deserving of careful consideration.

H. Lacoste in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii La Terrasse du Temple 1 pl. 4 gives a

restored ground-plan of the fourth-century temple of Apollon, on which is marked the exact position of the side-chapel. *Id. ib.* 'Addenda et Corrigenenda' p. (2) amends the facsimile of the inscription on the *omphalos* (my fig. 120) by prolonging the first stroke of the *alpha* so that it crosses the second. But there is no doubt that the letter intended was Λ .

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

P. de la Coste-Messelière—R. Flacelière 'Une statue de la Terre à Delphes' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1930 liv. 283—295 figs. 1, 2 and pl. 14 publish a limestone base inscribed retrograde $\Lambda\Lambda = \Gamma\alpha$ on its upper surface and $\Gamma\Lambda$ in later lettering on its front. The base shows four holes for the two feet of a bronze statue. It was found near Kastalia just opposite the big plane-tree, which local tradition identifies with that of Agamemnon. With this base were found five other blocks which may have come from the same monument (?), one inscribed retrograde $\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda = \Theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\varsigma$ on its upper surface and $\Theta\epsilon\mu\lambda\lambda$ in fourth-century letters on its front, another with nothing above but $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda$ in fourth-century style in front, a third with the artist's signature $\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda$ followed by $\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\lambda\lambda$ (F. Courby in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii La Terrasse du Temple 2. 163—165). On the whole it seems clear that the bases of Ge and Themis must be connected and prove a joint cult at Kastalia. A deep cavity between the two statues was meant for a large bronze tree-trunk, perhaps a bay (cp. Paus. 10. 5. 9).

ii. 176 n. 2 the Delphic E. This famous symbol continues to provoke lively discussion. H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*³ Berlin 1912 ii. 214 n. regards it as 'vermutlich eine κλεις κρυπτή, die zunächst als eine Erfindung geweiht, dann symbolisch gefasst und endlich als E gedeutet wurde. Denn das Balanosschlüssel sieht einem archaischen E sehr ähnlich.' F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ vii) Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 23 cites with approval Diels' explanation, but notes as an alternative possibility R. Eisler's suggestion that we have here to do with 'kleine Tempelmodellchen: im Sohar wird der Buchstabe η heikal=babyl. E-GAL=êkallu Tempel genannt,' etc. W. H. Roscher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Dez. 23, 1922 pp. 1209—1211 still insists that E is $\epsilon\lambda = \theta\epsilon\lambda$ 'komm, tritt ein!' (*id.* 'Neue Beiträge zur Deutung des delphischen E' in *Hermes* 1901 xxxvi. 470—489). W. N. Bates 'The E of the Temple at Delphi' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 239—246 takes it to be a Cretan character, which on a gem in New York is associated with two bulls and two double axes and hence is probably to be read as a symbol of the Cretan Zeus or of the Cretan goddess, at Delphi called Gaia. Sir T. Zammit *Prehistoric Malta* Oxford 1930 p. 92 f. with pl. 23, 7 publishes an oval stone pebble, bored as a pendant and incised with $\lambda\lambda$, from a neolithic site in Malta: significance unknown. C. Fries 'De E Delphico' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 343 f. claims that the symbol derives from Sumer: 'Jeremias...interroganti mihi scribit, E in Sumerorum lingua idem esse quod aedem vel cameram vel domum id quod sescenties in Sumerorum inscriptionibus inveniatur.' Finally, R. Demangel 'Triglyphes bas' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1937 lxi. 421—438 with 17 figs. (especially pp. 426—428 fig. 9 f.) reverts to my explanation, and extends it in some directions beyond my purview.

ii. 183 n. 3 Rhapsod. See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in *Hermes* 1926 lxi. 281 (cp. $\rho\alpha\psi\omega\iota\delta\omicron\lambda$).

ii. 187 the *omphalos* as a mound (?). S. H. Hooke in *Folk-Lore* 1936 xlvii. 24 f. derives the *omphalos* and its *agrenón* from 'early Sumerian seals of the "mountain" in which the dead god is imprisoned.'

ii. 187 n. 8 Zeus and Aigina. Zeus in pursuit of a young woman, a not infrequent scene on red-figured Attic vases, is often by a process of elimination labelled 'Zeus pursuing Aegina' (e.g. L. D. Caskey—J. D. Beazley *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* Oxford 1931 i. 13 ff. no. 17 pl. 6, 43 no. 48 pls. 22 and 26, 45 no. 50 pl. 23). That is very possibly right, but the interpretation is secure only when accompanied by names, or at least by one name—that of the heroine. Thus a *stámmos* from Vulci, now in the Vatican (H 504), attributed to the painter Hermonax (c. 470—455 B.C.), shows $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ with sceptre held horizontally just overtaking $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha$, whose sisters hasten to tell their father $\alpha\lambda\omicron\pi\omicron\omicron\varsigma$ (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 5 pl. 20, 1 and 1 a, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 400 f. no. 4. Atlas pl. 6, 1, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 65 f. pl. 6, 4, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 36 no. 37, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 300 no. 8), while a column-

krater in New York, attributed to the 'Boreas Painter' (c. 460 B.C.), shows Zeus with uplifted bolt catching ΑΙΑΰα. She turns to touch his chin in supplication. Her sisters flee in alarm. The reverse perhaps depicts Asopos, at home, receiving the news from his other daughters (Hoppin *op. cit.* i. 81 no. 8 bis, Beazley *op. cit.* p. 305 no. 3 'Semele verfolgt' (!), G. M. A. Richter *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 116 f. no. 86 pls. 94 (=my fig. 883) and 170). On the ethnic implications of the myth see J. P. Harland *Prehistoric Aigina* Paris 1925 pp. 59—63.

ii. 189 antithetic grouping. H. R. Hall, lecturing at Cambridge (Oct. 31, 1928) on recent finds at Ur, showed that 'the antithetic arrangement of animal figures' long before its appearance on Cretan seals etc. occurs in Mesopotamian art, and in Babylonian can be traced back to a period c. 3000 B.C. See further F. A. v. Scheltéma, G. Roeder, and E. Unger 'Wappen (und Wappenstil)' in Ebert *Reallex.* xiv. 250—254, W. Deonna 'Animaux à deux corps et une tête' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 i. 47—73 figs. 6—12, A. Roes *Greek Geometric Art its Symbolism and its Origin* Haarlem—Oxford 1933 pp. 16 ff., 93 ff., 99 ff., 115 ff., J. Baltrušaitis *Art sumérien art roman* Paris 1934 pp. 17 ff., 31 ff., 56 f., 64 ff., 83 ff.

ii. 189 n. o. Dr A. H. Lloyd pointed out to me (Dec. 24, 1926) that on certain tetradrachms of Gela (c. 466—415 B.C.) a flying eagle is attached by two reins to Nike's quadriga. He suggested that this implied Zeus in eagle form. But E. S. G. Robinson in *Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 34, 986 says: 'The lines which run down on the obverse from eagle to chariot rail and goad and at first sight seem to be intended to connect the bird to the car appear to be in fact die-flaws.' It must, however, be admitted that on a duplicate given to me by Dr Lloyd the alleged 'die-flaws' are in exactly the same condition (cp. *supra* ii. 657 n. 3).

ii. 191 original character of the Delphic *omphalos*. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 85 n. 2 is more disposed to accept the view that the *omphalos* was the tomb of Dionysos as advocated by T. Homolle 'Ressemblance de l'omphalos delphique avec quelques représentations égyptiennes' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1919 xxxii. 338—358. Picard thinks the analogies with modern Greek custom 'fort superficielles.' K. Schwendemann 'Omphalos, Pythongrab und Drachenkampf' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1920—1921 xx. 481—484 rejects the 'τύμβος-Theorie' and reverts to the older 'Erdbaltheorie.'

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

ii. 193 ff. the Delphic tripod. C. Clemen *Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1926 i. 247 fig. 100 (after Springer *Kunst des Altertums*¹⁰ fig. 433) restores the Plataean tripod much as I do, but with legs contracted at the base.

K. Kluge in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlv. 23 ff. discusses the technique of the serpent-column (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 456 f.).

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

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

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

ii. 206 n. 1 divining-glass. A. Delatte *La catoptromancie grecque et ses dérivés* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège xlviii) Liège 1932 pp. 1—221 pls. 1—12, T. Hopfner 'Mittel- und neugriechische Lekano-, Lychno-, Katoptro- und Onychomantien' in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* London 1932 pp. 218—232.

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

ii. 212 n. o the Peliades. Cp. also Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 103 f. nos. 553, 554.

ii. 212 n. 3. An almost exact replica of the black-figured *lekkythos* at Leyden is



Fig. 883.

published by R. B. Bandinelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1925 xxx. 534 f. no. 201 fig. 5. Another black-figured *lékythos* of similar style and period, found at Gela, was discussed by P. Orsi *ib.* 1906 xvii. 120 ff. fig. 88. It shows the youthful figure emerging from the cauldron, which is surrounded by roaring flames and flanked by two scared women (Peliades?).

ii. 222 n. 4. Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 4 ff. possibly 'geht...durch Apollonios auf Timaios zurück, vgl. G. Bertermann, *De Iamblichi vit. Pyth. fontibus*, Diss. Königsberg 1913, S. 37' (O. Weinreich in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1924/25 Abh. vii. 11 Nachtrag).

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

I suspect that Eur. *Bacch.* 1300 (Agaue asks of her son's scattered limbs) ἦ πᾶν ἐν ἄσπεροις συγκεκλυμένον καλῶς; points to an original form of the myth in which Pentheus was recalled to life. This may have been detailed in the lacuna immediately following line 1300.

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

ii. 224 n. 1 the golden breast. J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1920 xi. 410^b: 'The story of Caradoc, which forms part of the French Perceval cycle [ed. Potvin ii. 191 ff.], relates how a serpent fastened on his arm and sucked away his life. He was saved by a young maiden presenting her breast to the serpent, which took the nipple in its mouth. Cadour then cut off its head, but with that also the nipple, which was magically replaced by one of gold. A close parallel exists in a Gaelic folk-tale ['Sheen Billy' in Campbell i. xcv f.], and less close in a Scots ballad ['The Queen of Scotland' in Child no. 301], but it is probable that the source is Celtic, as the name of the wife of the Welsh Karadawe is Tegau Eurfron, Tegau "with the golden breast". For a full discussion of the tale and its variants see C. A. Harper 'Carados and the Serpent' in *Modern Language Notes* 1898 xiii. 417—431, G. Paris 'Caradoc et le serpent' in *Romania* 1899 xxviii. 214—231.

ii. 228 n. 4. On the sanctuary of Artemis *Kalliste* see now A. Philadelphus in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 li. 155—163 with pl. 8 and 4 figs., P. Roussel *ib.* 1927 li. 164—169 (summaries by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 360).

ii. 230 ability to stare at the sun. On this *Sonnenmotiv* see E. Norden *Die Geburt des Kindes* Leipzig—Berlin p. 160 n. 2.

ii. 232 n. o. A convex sardonx (owner unknown) shows the Delian Apollon, a nude standing figure with the three Charites on his outstretched right hand and a bow in his left (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 40, 7, ii. 191, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 7, 8 (enlarged)). C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 573 fig. 199 illustrates a relief at Munich on which the upper part of the Delian Charites is shown—profile to left, full-face, profile to right—perhaps after the cult-statue.

ii. 243 n. 3. On the *paidn* of Philodamos see now W. Vollgraff 'Le péan delphique à Dionysos' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 97—208, 1925 xlix. 104—142, 1926 l. 263—304, 1927 li. 423—468 (text reconstituted on p. 465 ff.).

ii. 258 n. 3 Zeus *Bouleús*. O. Broneer in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 564 with fig. 8 publishes a white marble slab—part of a gaming board—found in the well of a shop at Corinth, which is inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΟΣ and ΔΑΜ[---]Η(Ψ)Ν again associating Zeus *Bouleús* with Demeter.

ii. 258 n. 3 Zeus *Bouleús* or *Eubouleús* grouped with Demeter and Kore. With this chthonian triad M. P. Nilsson in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1935 xxxii. 87 justly cp. the Damateres and Zeus *Damätrios* of two Rhodian dedications ((1) found by the Danish excavators on the *akrópolis* of Lindos [Ἰ]λιάδαν. Δαματέρων καὶ Διὸς Δαματρίων. (2) found at *Siana* in Rhodes Ζωωνθίου τετραδὶ ἱσταμένου Δαμάτερος ἵν κνεύσαν. Both

inscriptions are of late Hellenistic date). Nilsson comments: 'Die Bezeichnung der beiden Göttinnen als *Δαυάρες*, die m. W. sonst nicht in Griechenland vorkommt und an das Lateinische Cereres [*Theol. Ling. Lat. Suppl.* i. 341, 57 ff.] erinnert, lässt sich nur durch ihre Wesensidentität erklären; sie sind sozusagen die ältere und die jüngere Auflage derselben Gottheit' [*supra* i. 396 f.].

ii. 259 n. o Zeus *Boulaïos*. His cult at Thasos (noted in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des insér. et belles-lettres* 1914 p. 288, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvii. 537 n. 3) is attested by a couple of dedications (G. Daux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1928 lii. 57 f. no. 9 fig. 4 a rectangular base of Thasian marble, from the *prytaneion*, with oval sinking, inscribed c. 250 B.C. ἀπόλογοι Ἑστίνι | Βουλαίη καὶ Διὶ | Βουλαίωι, no. 10 fig. 4 a rectangular base of Thasian marble, from the *thebriion*, with rectangular sinking, inscribed c. 250 B.C. ἀπόλογοι Ἰστίνι Βουλαίη [καὶ Διὶ Βουλαίωι] | Στράτων Νεομάν[δρου] | Πολύτιμος Ὀρθομέ[νους] | Ἀριστείδης Ἀλκ[...]).

ii. 260 n. o. On the identification of Augustus with Zeus *Patrōios* as evidenced by Pergamene inscriptions see W. H. Buckler 'Auguste, Zeus Patroos' in the *Rev. Philol.* Troisième Série 1935 ix. 177—188.

ii. 260 n. o Zeus in connexion with mills. W. Schultz *Rätsel aus dem hellenischen Kulturkreise* Leipzig 1912 ii. 109 with n. 2, Keyssner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 1044 f., gr. Kruse *ib.* xvi. 1073, E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 643.

ii. 264 Dionysos displaced by Apollon. C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 340 ff. pl. 174, 1 discusses the fragment of a *kályx-krater* from Tarentum, now at the Hague, which shows a Doric temple (at Delphoi?) containing a cult-statue of Apollon with bow and *phidie*. Before the temple are seated Apollon (lyre) and Artemis (spears), while beyond the tripod the reverse scene comprises Dionysos (ivy-wreath, *ndrthex*), a Maenad (timbrel), and a Silenos (*kántharos*).

ii. 268 n. o the earth-goddess riding on a bull. See W. Technau 'Die Göttin auf dem Stier' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii. 76—103 figs. 1—14 (especially p. 95 f.).

ii. 268 n. 4. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 91 n. 1 notes that C. W. Vollgraff EΠΙΦΘΣ ΕΞ ΓΑΛ' ΕΙΠΕΤΟΝ [*Supra* Addenda to ii. 121] p. 19 ff. 'suggère un rapport entre Dionysos et le sumérien Domouzi, plus tard appelé Tamouz.'

ii. 270 n. 3. L. Weber in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 174 cites two reliefs published by G. I. Kazarow ('Zum Kultus des thrakischen Reiters in Bulgarien' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 6 ff. fig. 3 and 'Ein neues Relief des dreiköpfigen Reiters' *ib.* 1929 xlii Arch. Anz. p. 232 ff. fig. 1) in which the rider-god is three-headed and followed by a male figure grasping his horse's tail. The first, from the district of Plovdiv, is inscribed κυρίω θεῶ || ἀλλουζένις Λονγίνου, | ἀλλουζένις Διουζήου (O. Weinreich *ib.* 1927 xlii Arch. Anz. p. 20 n. 4). The second, from *Komatevo* a village near Philippopolis, is inscribed [θε]ῶ Παρθο[ποι]ῶ || [Ἀ]λέξανδρος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ [κα]ὶ τῆς γ[υνακ]ῆς εὐχαριστήριον (Kazarow *loc. cit.* p. 234), or possibly [θε]ῶ Παρθ[πρ]ῶ (Weber *loc. cit.*), with Thracian θ for τ.

ii. 270 n. 5. G. Kazarow in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 490 records the proper name Βαζβ-βαλς (*Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Bord-aux* iv. 93).

ii. 278 n. 2 the Phrygian formula of execration. W. M. Calder 'Corpus inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum iii' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlvi. 22—28 adds fresh examples, and contends 'that they all belong to the latter half of the third century [A.D.], and represent an artificial revival of the epigraphical use of the Phrygian language by the Tekmoreian Association' [on which see now the useful article of W. Ruge 'Xenoi Tekmoreioi' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 158—169, also Canon E. C. Hudson 'Pisidian Antioch and the Xenoi Tekmoreioi' in *Theology* 1938 xxxvi. 230—236]. A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlvi. 29 ff. appends a few notes. He objects to Calder's acceptance of Kretschmer's rendering *deus κε ζευελως* 'heavenly and chthonian gods': 'This...does not take account of the very definite statement in Hesychius: ζευελεν· βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον· φρύγες. The Boghaz Keui texts clear up the difficulty. The Phrygian phrase corresponds with the Hittite "the gods and the dead" (*akandus*). The dead were deified, and ζευελεν must have literally signified "ghost" or "devil" ^{2a} Cp. "printer's devil" in English). J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 pp. 128—140 has a handy collection of all the texts. On the Phrygian language in general and its grave-formula in particular see N. Jokl in Ebert *Reallex.* x. 141—153.

ii. 281 Zeus *Dios* with grape-bunches and a plough. R. Vallois in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 453 cites W. M. Calder *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1928 i p. xiii for 'le Zeus aux épis et Diounsīs (= Dionysos) gardien de la tombe.'

The reference is to Calder *op. cit.* i. 4 no. 5 an altar of bluish limestone at *Shahr Ören* in Eastern Phrygia inscribed *Μείρος Νανία ἀνέστησεν κατὰ || κέλευσιν τοῦ Διός*. On the shaft are three reliefs: (a) in front, a pedestal supporting a bust of Zeus, who holds a bunch of grapes and an ear of wheat; (b) to the left, two wheat-ears planted in round bowls (?); (c) to the right, a pedestal supporting a bust of Helios, radiate. *Ib.* i. 5 no. 7 an altar of bluish limestone at *Kadyn Khan* in Eastern Phrygia inscribed *Εὐ[.....] | οἰκονόμος Διὶ | Φαρλίω κατὰ | κέλευσιν*. On the shaft in relief is a pedestal supporting a bust of Zeus, who holds a bunch of grapes and corn-ears. W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1918 xxxviii. 135 no. 2 restored *Εὐ[δαίμων?]* and added: 'Eu[daimon?] was the steward in charge of this department on the imperial estates at Zizyma....About this time another *oikonomos*, Ca[ndidus?] the younger, made a dedication to Jove Dionysos²⁰ (The dedication is to *ΙΥΩ ΔΙΟΝΥCΩ*... which halts between Jove and Jehovah...) at Zizyma.' Calder *op. cit.* i. 216 f. no. 413, 5 a sculptured *stèle* from *Baghliza* in Eastern Phrygia, which names *Διουνσιν* as guardian of the grave.

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

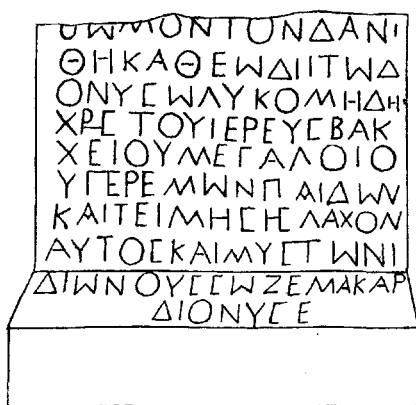


Fig. 884.



Fig. 885.

used to support the table-top in the church of the village *Sarmadzik* (Bezirk *Malko-Tirnovu*, Regierungskreis *Burgas*) in Bulgaria. On the altar is inscribed in would-be hexameters: *Βωμόν τόνδ' ἀνέθηκα θεῷ Διὶ τῷ Δ[ι]ονύσω Λυκομήδης | Χρήστου ἱερεὺς Βακ[χείου] μεγάλιοι | ὑπὲρ ἐμῶν παίδων | καὶ τεμῆς, ἧς λάχον | αὐτός, καὶ μυστῶν ἰδίων, οὗς σῶζε μάκαρ | Διόνυσε*. Detschew *ib.* p. 166 collects evidence for the identification of Zeus with Dionysos (for Orph. *frag.* 235 Abel, 236 Kern ἀγλαὲ Ζεὺ Διόνυσε κ.τ.λ. see *supra* i. 187 n. 10). W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1939 vi. 123 no. 360 pl. 62 (=my fig. 885) publish an altar of bluish limestone from *Haci Beili* in the Upper Tembris Valley (front relief, *kratér* with ivy-sprays; back, snake biting grape-vine) inscribed [*ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου (?) Καλ[ί]σαρος νεκρῆς καὶ διαμνησῆς Ταυατηνῶν | νεανία(ι) Διὶ Διονύσω ἀνέστησαν*].

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

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

ii. 290 n. o the tombstone of Abirkios and Theuprepia. Sir W. M. Ramsay *op. cit.* p. 240 ff. fig. 5.

ii. 290 n. o the head as the seat of the soul. See further G. A. Grierson 'The Headless Horseman' (an Indian ballad) in *Folk-Lore* 1914 xxv. 382, H. A. Rose

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

ii. 297 fig. 189. See now J. Leipoldt 'Eiße römische Attisfigur' in *Ἀγγελοσ* 1926 ii. 51 f. with a good photographic pl., and cp. Attis as a recumbent figure on coins of Kyzikos (C. Bosch in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 443 f. fig. 10).

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

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

ii. 300 n. 3. Photographs in Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 254 ff. Scala v no. 2 pl. 100, F. J. Dölger *Antike und Christentum* Münster in Westfalen 1933 iv. 1 pl. 4 (Moscioni no. 20 947).

ii. 305 n. o the Gosforth Cross. See now R. Reitzenstein *Weltuntergangs-vorstellungen* (Sonderabdruck aus *Kyrko-historisk Årsskrift* 1924) Uppsala 1924 p. 41 ff. figs. 2—7, *id.* 'Die nordischen, persischen und christlichen Vorstellungen vom Weltuntergang' in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 160 ff. pls. 2—4 figs. 3—10.

ii. 307 n. 1 the epitaph of Aberkios. See further A. Abel 'Étude sur l'inscription d'Abercius' in *Byzantion* 1926 iii. 321—411.

ii. 312 n. 5 *παρὰ δὲ Ἀυδοῖς ὁ Ζεὺς Ζεῦσις*. A. Nehring in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 588 supports *Ζεῦ-σις* as a Lydianised form of *Ζεὺς* by quoting *ibsm-s-is* and the like from Lydian inscriptions.

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

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

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

ii. 314 f. Axiokersa, Axiokersos, Axieros. O. Montelius *La Grèce préclassique* Stockholm 1924 i. 121 with figs. 349 and 351 regarded as sacred axes the tapering stone heads (in two cases painted) stuck into terra-cotta bodies, which Wace found at *Rakhmani* in Thessaly [A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 41 with fig. 25, a, b, c].

E. Maass in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiii. 225 is content to explain 'Ἀξιοκέρσος and 'Ἀξιοκέρσα as deities (Hades and Kore) 'who slay valuable beasts (*ἄξια*) with the sickle-knife' and 'Ἀξίερος as the goddess (Demeter) 'who receives valuable victims.'

A. H. Sayce in the *Class. Rev.* 1928 xlii. 162 connects 'Ἀξιο-κέρσος, 'Ἀξιο-κέρσα with Hesych. *κέρρα* 'ἄξιν and in the other Hesychian glosses (quoted *supra* ii. 315 n. 1) c). *ἀμῆσαι* or *ἑμῆσαι* for *γαμῆσαι* cod. and *γάλλος* for *γάμος* cod.

G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 i. 60 n. o discusses coins of Odessos with legend θεοῦ μεγάλου ΚΥΡΣΑ (*supra* ii. 1126 figs. 952, 953) and the possibility that Κύρσα = Κέρσα was the name of an indigenous deity akin to Ἀξιοκέρσης (*sic*). *Id.* in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 249 is even more venturesome (κύριος Σάραπης) or Σα(βάσιος)!. But A. Salač 'Le grand dieu d'Odessos-Varna et les mystères de Samothrace' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1928 lii. 395—398 had already argued that the Theos Megas at Odessos was *Δαρξάλας or Δερξέλας, one form of the chief male divinity of the ancient Thracians.

For Ἀξί-ερος as the 'Axe-Eros' cp. Anakr. *frag.* 47 Bergk⁴, 48 Edmonds, 45 Diehl *ap.* Hephaist. 12. 4 p. 39, 5 f. Consbruch *μεγάλω ὀηῖτέ μ' Ἔρως ἔκοψεν ὥστε χαλκεύς | πελέκει* with the comments of E. Schwyzer 'Axt und Hammer' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 314—318 (πέλεκυς = σφυροπέλεκυς, a smith's axe serving also as a hammer).



Fig. 887.



Fig. 888.

ii. 316 Zeus transformed into Eros. Such a concept provides a partial justification for the late syncretistic figures of Zeus *Pántheos* (L. Robert in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 ii. 141 no. 176 cites a dedication from Carthage, now in the Louvre, Δι' Ἡλίω Μεγάλω Πανθέω Σαράπιδι = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no 12493) or Iupiter *Pantheus* (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5423 (Nescania Baeticae) Iovem Pantheum Aug. | cum aede et tetrastilo solo [p]ub. | etc.). A bronze from the Gréau collection, obtained from Greece in 1885 and now in Paris (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 17 no. 4 'Zeus panthée?', De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* i. 71 no. 482 pl. 36 (= my fig. 887): height 0'192^m), shows a nude Zeus with the wings of Eros, the greaves of Ares, and a *stephane* surmounted by three 'fleurons.' Another, from Cahon (Somme), now at Abbeville (C. Louandre in the *Revue des Sociétés Savantes des Départements* Cinquième Série 1873 v. 322—327, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 8 no. 2 'Zeus Panthée') shows a nude Iupiter holding thunderbolt and eagle, with the wings

of Victory, the rayed crown of Apollo (Sun), the disk and horns of Isis (Moon), the cock of Mercury, the fawn-skin of Bacchus, the *cornu copiae* of Ceres or Fortuna or Abundantia, and a Gaulish *armilla* on his right arm (my fig. 888 is from a photograph kindly supplied by M. Richard, Conservateur des Musées, Abbeville).

ii. 321 n. 1. A votive inscription to Zeus Ἐπιδώρας in Messenia is noted by M. N. Tod in the *Class. Rev.* 1930 xliv. 89 and by P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 196 after N. S. Valmin in the *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 1928—1929 iv. 1 ff. no. 22 (at Grizokampos) Διὶ Ἐπιδώραι.

ii. 322 ff. Janiform deities. C. N. Deedes 'The Double-headed God' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlv. 194—243 with 30 figs. attempts a conspectus of the evidence (Sumerian, Syro-Hittite, Greek, Etruscan, Italian, Celtic, mediaeval).

ii. 326, 374 f., 377 f. Janiform masks. V. Alford 'The Springtime Bear in the Pyrenees' in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 275 reports that two-faced masks are worn by men on Feb. 2 at Arles-sur-Tech in the French Catalan Pyrenees. *Ead.* 'The Candlemas Bear' in *The National Review* 1931 xcvi. 235—244 gives further details. The same observer and R. Gallop in their joint article in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlv. 352 f. state that at Arles-sur-Tech the Candlemas Bear is escorted by from four to twelve two-faced attendants, who wear women's cotton dresses, leathern belts with eight or ten cow-bells attached, and small barrels painted with a face fore and aft by way of head-dress.

ii. 328 ff. the Salian Hymn. On Italian and Dutch reconstructions of the *carmen Saliare* by E. Cocchia (1917), F. Ribezzo (1917—1918), and P. J. Enk (1921) see M. Bacherler in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1925 ccv. 84.

ii. 335 Ianus. O. Huth *Janus* Bonn 1932 pp. 1—96 is adversely criticised by H. J. Rose in *Gnomon* 1933 ix. 329—331. Huth finds the essence of Ianus to consist in a certain 'polarity,' the contrast of birth-death, summer-winter, fire-water, entry-exit symbolised in Italy by a god with double face, in Germany by the runic sign ☉. But the early Italians were no philosophers, and the sign ☉ was not runic (? cp. H. Arntz *Die Runenschrift Ihre Geschichte und ihre Denkmäler* Halle/Saale 1938 p. 98).

ii. 337 n. 4 *divom deo*. Cp. Tertull. *ad Scap.* 4 (i. 782 A Migne) tunc et populus adclamans deo deorum, qui solus potens, in Iovis nomine deo nostro testimonium reddidit. *Supra* p. 327.

ii. 339 n. o *tivis* = 'lunae.' See further C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1056 f.

ii. 340 n. o *Dæmonium*, quod rustici Dianam appellant. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1092 f. 'Acta Symphoriani Ruinart. Act. Mart. p. 70 [*ib.*² Amstelædami 1713 p. 82]. *Dianam quoque daemonium esse meridianum sanctorum industria investigavit, quae per compita currens et silvarum secreta perlustrans incredulis hominum mentibus zizaniae tribulos sceleris sui arte disseminat, Triviae sibi cognomen dum triviis insidiatur obtinuit.* Cp. S. Eitrem in the *Symbolae Osloenses* 1929 viii. 32 n. 1 'das daemonium meridianum, das die Christen Diana nannten.' It is tempting to suppose a mere confusion between meridianum and Diana. But see V. Alford—R. Gallop 'Traces of a Dianic Cult from Catalonia to Portugal' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlv. 350—361 (p. 358 f. 'Immediately to the west of the Basque lands we find the word *Jana* in all its purity... In Sardinia *Jana* means witch. In the old Neapolitan dialect *Janara* means nymph... The old Spanish form was *Jana*. In the Montaña de Santander we find *Janassana*... In Asturias... *Dianu* means Devil, and the *Diano Burlón* is a kind of faun. In Galicia... the Devil is again *o Diano*... In Portugal... *Diânho*. In the Algarve... women called *Jas* or *Jans* for whom it used to be customary to leave a skein of flax and a cake of bread on the hearth.' Etc.).

ii. 343 Ζαυί' Ἐλευθεροί = Antoninus Pius. W. Peck in the 'Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1931 p. 114 quotes O. Puchstein *Epigrammata Graeca in Aegypto reperta* Strassburg 1881 no. 56 = F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Historische griechische Epigramme* Bonn 1926 no. 118 Καίσαρι πορτομέδοντι καὶ ἀπείρων κρατέοντι | Ζαυί τῷ ἐκ Ζαυὸς πατρὸς Ἐλευθερίῳ.

ii. 343 Ζῆνες. Cp. Epiphan. *ancor.* 106 (i. 208 Dindorf) Ζῆνες δὲ οὐχ εἰς ἡ δύο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρεῖς καὶ τέσσαρες γηγόνασι τὸν ἀριθμὸν. κ.τ.λ.

ii. 344 n. o *Δεός*. This form of the name occurs also on a two-handled Rhodian jar of c. 400 B.C., now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (T. L. Spear in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1908 xxix. 461—466 with pl., C. D. Buck *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* Boston 1910 pp. 67, 293), which bears the painted inscriptions ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑ ΓΑΣ ΗΑ ΒΡΑΣΙΑ | ΗΩΣ ΕΜΙΝ ΔΟΚΕΙ (would-be iambic) and ΔΕΥΣ ΗΕΡΜΑΣ | ΑΡΤΑΜΙΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΙΑ.

ii. 347 ff. Πάν ὁ μέγας τέθηκεν. The literature of this famous episode (*supra* ii. 349 n. 20) should include I. Nyman *De magno Pane Plutarchi* Upsaliae 1734, W. H. Roscher 'Die Legende vom Tode des grossen Pan' in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1892 cxlv. 465—477, E. Nestle 'Zum Tod des grossen Pan' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 156—158, O. Weinreich 'Zum Tod des grossen Pan' *ib.* 1910 xiii. 467—473, A. Taylor 'Northern Parallels to the Death of Pan' in *Washington University Studies Series iv* 1922 (Humanistic Series x. 1) pp. 3—102 (discusses 246 variants and concludes that 'the voice of loud lament is an hallucination, an auditory illusion, and not a myth relating to the spirits of vegetation'), A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1923 xxxvii. 164 (cp. Hdt. 6. 105), O. Weinreich in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1923—1924 xxii. 328—330, G. Méautis 'Le grand Pan est mort' in the *Musée Belge* 1927 xxxi. 51—53 (cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 12 ἐνιοὶ δὲ Παμώλην τινὰ λέγουσιν ἐν Θήβαις ὑδρευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς φωνὴν ἀκοῦσαι διακελευομένην ἀναιπεῦν μετὰ βοῆς ὅτι ΜΕΓΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ἘΤΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ ΟΞΙΡΙΣ ΓΕΓΟΝΕ).

Fresh light has been thrown upon the whole business by a simple but convincing discovery of A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 147 'Πάν ist nicht "der Hirte," sondern der "Papa," gehört zu den "Lallnamen" Kretschmers 334 f. [P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 334 ff.] Das weibliche Gegenstück zu Πα ist Μα, in Arkadien als Μαῖα, Mutter des Hermes Μαιαδεὺς erhalten.' If so, Pan was in effect another Zan, and I had no need to postulate that the former had stepped into the shoes of the latter. Pan the Great was all along a parallel figure to Zan the Great. Pan the goatherds' god took the form of a goat just as Zan the oxherds' god took that of an ox (*supra* ii. 345). And the ritual of the dead Pan, implied by Plutarch's narrative, may well have resembled the ritual of the dead Zan.

On this showing Pan was a more dignified deity than advancing civilisation was prepared to admit. He had some reason to complain of his neglect by the Athenians on the eve of Marathon (Hdt. 6. 105). But before the close of that century, or very soon afterwards, Attic sculptors had made the *amende honorable* by devising a type which gave the god an almost Zeus-like majesty and yet by retaining curved horns and prick ears, a shag of hair and a twist of lip, contrived to remind men that after all he was but a glorified goat. H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 1931—1932 vi. 33 f. pl. 16 was able to publish a head in Pentelic marble (height 8½ inches) recently acquired in Greece. Relying presumably on the proportions of the eye, the absence of overlapping lids, etc. he ventures to say: 'the style recalls some of the heads on the Parthenon metopes. It certainly cannot be dated later than the latter part of the fifth century.' My pl. lxxx is from the official photographs.

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

ii. 350 Dodona. For the recent excavations at Dodona see G. Sotiriadis 'Fouilles de Dodone' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1921 xxxiv. 384—387 and D. Euangelides in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1930 pp. 52—68, *ib.* 1931 pp. 83—91, *ib.* 1932 pp. 47—52 and as reported by E. P. B[legen] in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 220 f., by D. M. Robinson *ib.* 1933 xxxvii. 128, by H. G. G. Payne in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1930 l. 242, *ib.* 1931 li. 194 f., *ib.* 1932 lii. 245, *ib.* 1933 liii. 182, by H. Megaw *ib.* 1936 lvi. 147.

ii. 359 ff. the Triumphal Arch. On distyle bases at Delphoi see É. Bourguet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1911 xxxv. 472—481, *id.* *Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 pp. 148 f., 164—168, 202—205, F. Courby in *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. i. 44, M. P. Nilsson 'Les bases votives à double colonne et l'arc de triomphe' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 143—157. The origin of the Triumphal Arch is still a bone of contention, not to say a body of Euphorbos: e.g. G. Patroni 'L'origine degli archi trionfali' in *Historia* 1927 i. 3. 3—30 with 3 figs. (criticises G. Spano, E. Löwy, etc. and stresses Etruscan influence), E. Löwy *Die Anfänge des Triumphbogens* Wien 1928 pp. 1—40 with 3 pls. and 89 figs. (summarised in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 ii. 170 and in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1927 xvii. 249), M. P. Nilsson 'The Origin of the Triumphal Arch' in *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom* 1932 ii. 132—139, I. A. Richmond 'Commemorative Arches and City Gates in the Augustan Age' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1933 xxiii. 149—174 with pls. 15—19 and 11 figs. (follows Nilsson and urges that the main purpose of the Arch was to serve as a base for statues), H. Petrikovits 'Die Porta triumphalis' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii. 187—196 (insists on the religious significance of the victors returning under this Arch, compares the passage of the vanquished *sub iugum*, and the sale of prisoners *sub hasta*, ending with a bibliography of 45 items). Much that is relevant had already been said by A. von Domaszewski 'Die Triumphstrasse auf dem Marsfelde' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 67—82 (= *id.* *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig und Berlin 1909 pp. 217—233 with additional n. by B. Kahle).

ii. 361 with fig. 254. H. Mattingly in the *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 1934 ix. 51 pl. 16, 7, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Emp. iii. pp. ci, 177 f. pl. 31, 6—9.

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

ii. 373 Ianus *Quadrifrons*. A late Etruscan scarab of cornelian, mounted on a gold swivel, shows a bearded head of Ianus *Quadrifrons* wearing a *pétasos* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings* p. 59 no. 327 pl. 9, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 88 no. 714 pl. 12: from the Castellani collection).

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

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



a

b

c

Fig. 889.

ii. 385 n. o 'Αργειφόντης. Earlier interpretations in O. Neckel 'Αργειφόντης Progr. des Gynn. Friedland 1886 pp. 10—12, Sven Linde 'Über 'Αργειφόντης, dessen Form und Bedeutung' in *Skandinavisches Archiv* 1892 i. 394—414.

ii. 386 Odhin's broad hat. H. Naumann 'Breithut' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 1550—1552 (cp. *id. ib.* i. 1386 f. 'Blauhütel').

ii. 388 double busts of Hermes and Herakles. P. E. Visconti 'Ermeracle' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Commun. di Roma* 1872—1873 pp. 97—102 pl. 1. Another of Hermes (*pétasos*) and Herakles (lion-skin) at Ny Carlsberg (*Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Billedtavler* no. 267 pl. 19).

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

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

ii. 392 ff. double herms at Nemi. On Feb. 10, 1930, during the excavation of Caligula's second gallery, a double herm of bronze was found, representing the conjoined heads of a bearded and a beardless Satyr. The former is wreathed with vine-leaves and

grapes, the latter with pine and cones: both wear a *nebris* (W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1930 xlv Arch. Anz. p. 351 with fig. 13). In the summer of 1931 further work on the second galley brought to light another double herm of bronze, the exact counterpart of the first, and a third combining two youthful female heads wreathed with ivy and draped. There can be no doubt that all these herms served as decorative posts of the ship's rail (*id. ib.* 1931 xlvi Arch. Anz. p. 648 with figs. 4 and 5). In the spring of 1932 yet another bronze double herm from the rail was found (*id. ib.* 1932 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 479). See also *The Daily Telegraph* for June 18, 1931 p. 9 and *The Illustrated London News* for July 4, 1931 p. 19.

I take this opportunity of publishing (fig. 889, *a-c*) a small double bust of white marble in my collection (height $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches), which represents *adossés* a bearded and a beardless Satyr, wreathed with ivy. It probably topped a slender pillar in somebody's peristyle in s. i A.D.



a

Fig. 890.

b

ii. 394 foliate faces. T. Tindall Wildridge *The Grotesque in Church Art*² London s.a. p. 112 ff. ('Masks and Faces') gives examples of foliate masks at Beverley Minster (Yorkshire), Dorchester (Oxfordshire), St Mary's Minster (Isle of Thanet), Westminster Abbey, Ewelme (Oxfordshire), Lincoln Cathedral, etc. C. J. P. Cave 'The Roof Bosses in Ely Cathedral' in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* Cambridge 1932 xxxii. 35 f. with pl. 2 shows bosses representing heads with oak-leaves coming out of mouth and nostril. Cave acutely conjectures 'some survival from pre-Christian times.' Finally Lady Raglan 'The "Green Man" in Church Architecture' in *Folk-Lore* 1939 l. 45-57 figs. 1-17 concludes that classical and quasi-classical types (figs. 10-13) were from s. xiii. onwards influenced by 'the figure variously known as the Green Man, Jack-in-the-Green, Robin Hood, the King of May, and the Garland.' In 1934 I acquired from Mr J. Sinclair of Swanage a limestone corbel (height $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches) said to have come from a fourteenth-century continental church. It represents (fig. 890, *a, b*) a male head with oak-leaves springing from eyes, nose, and ears, and bears traces of yellow priming and red paint.

ii. 405 ff. Artemis *Ephesia*. On all the types of this goddess see now the excellent monograph by H. Thiersch *Artemis Ephesia* (*Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1935 Folge iii Nr. 12) Teil i Katalog der erhaltenen Denkmäler. Mit 76 Tafeln u. 4 Textabbildungen.

ii. 407 n. o. On stags in relation to Artemis (Ma, Anaitis, etc.) see S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 i. 151 f., who cites F. Cumont 'L'archevêché de Pédachtoé et le sacrifice du Faon' in *Byzantion* 1931 vi. 521—533 ('Voilà bien un banquet rituel, tradition païenne christianisée').

ii. 410 n. o. Ἐφεσία γράμματα. See further A. Deissmann 'Ephesia Grammata' in the *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft* (Baudissin-Festschrift) ed. W. Frankenberg—F. Kitchler (*Beihfte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 1918 xxxiii. 121—124).

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

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

ii. 411 n. 6. C. Picard—C. Avezou 'Le testament de la prêtresse thessalonicienne' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1914 xxxviii. 38 ff. correct P. Perdrizet's reading *λέπεια θύσα* | *εὐεία Πρινοφόρου* to *λέπεια οὖσα* | *Εὐεία Πρινοφόρου*, 'Eueia daughter of Prinophoros,' and show that the remainder of this much-misunderstood inscription refers to the ἀπόκαυσις or ritual burning of roses on the tomb—a very different story.

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

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

ii. 422 the divine Sky as a double-faced god. K. F. Johansson *Über die altindische Göttin Dhiśānā und Verwandtes* Uppsala 1919 p. 136 ff. argues for a proethnic Indo-germanic 'zwei-aspektig gedachten herrn gott' with dark and light sides, viz. Varuna (also Vṛtra) and Dyāus (also Mitra). So in Scandinavia we have Ullr and Týr (also Frøyr), cp. the Van pair of gods Ullin and Fillin (*ib.* pp. 33, 139).

ii. 424 the temple of Aphrodite *Paphia*. See further R. Dussaud—P. Alphantéry 'Le sanctuaire primitif d'Aphrodite paphienne' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1911 lxiii. 114, 'Fouilles de Rantidi (Chypre)' *ib.* 1911 lxiii. 376 f., 'Les divinités de Rantidi (Chypre)' *ib.* 1911 lxiv. 133, C. Blinkenberg *Le temple de Paphos* (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* ix, 2) København 1924 pp. 1—40 figs. 1—9; S. Casson *Ancient Cyprus Its Art and Archaeology* London 1937 pp. 163 n. 1, 178.

ii. 427 fig. 331. A somewhat clearer illustration of this gilded glass is given by I. Benzing *Hebräische Archäologie*³ Leipzig 1927 p. 218 with fig. 224.

ii. 434 ff. the Twins. In addition to the monographs of S. Eitrem (*supra* ii. 451 n. 1) and J. Rendel Harris (*supra* i. 760 n. 7) see the contributions of E. S. Hartland 'Twins' in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* 1921 xii. 491^a—500^b, Schrader *Reallex.*² i. 588^b, A. H. Krappe *Les dieux jumeaux dans la religion germanique* (extr. from the *Acta philologica Scandinavica*) København 1930 pp. 1—25, Frazer *Golden Bough*³; Aftermath pp. 82, 154.

ii. 436 ff. Kastor and Polydeukes. A. Döhring 'Kastors und Balders Tod' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1902 v. 38—63, 97—104, A. H. Krappe 'Herakles and Greek Dioskouroi Legends' in *The Classical Journal* 1923 xviii. 502—504, G. Maresch 'Der Name der Tyndariden' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 298 f. (*supra* on i. 766), A. Puech 'La mort de Castor dans la x^e Néméenne' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 398—403.

H. J. M. Milne in the *Class. Rev.* 1933 xlvii. 62 edits a fresh fragment of Bakchylides(?) which tells how one of the Dioskouroi (or possibly Kabeiroi) lives on earth, the other in Hades (A. Vogliano in *Papiri greci e latini* (Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana) Firenze 1932 x. 169 ff. no. 1181 *Oxyrhynchos* s. ii—iii A.D.): 21 ff. *μὰλ' ἐγγ[υ]ατο[ι]ο[ι]ά[υ]τα φάτις | ἐπεὶ δόκ[ι]μο[ι]ς κία[θε]ν | ἐπ[ε]ὶ πολυ[δεν]δρέων ἀκτῶν | κύμα π[ε]ρὶ[ρ]ῶν ἀπ' ἰλίου | θεῶν τι[ς], ἀμ[ι]φανδῶν [δ'] ἀπέδειξεν | αὖθι μένει[εν] τὸν μὲν π[α]ρ' Ἀίδι | τὸν δ' οὐλόμεινον κατὰ κλῆμον | προφυγὲν θά[νατον].*

ii. 440 ff. Romulus and Remus. A. H. Krappe 'Notes sur la légende de la fondation de Rome' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1933 pp. 146—152.

K. Scott 'Drusus, nicknamed "Castor"' in *Class. Philol.* 1930 xxv. 155—161 thinks

that Germanicus and the younger Drusus, like Tiberius and the elder Drusus, may have been associated or even identified with Castor and Pollux—a view confirmed by a recently found inscription from Ephesos (*Class. Quart.* 1931 xxv. 58).

E. Kornemann *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum* Leipzig—Berlin 1930 pp. 1—210 is reviewed by M. P. Charlesworth in the *Class. Rev.* 1933 xlvii. 143—146.

J. Carcopino 'La louve du Capitole' in the *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* Juillet 1924 pp. 3—19 and Octobre 1924 pp. 16—49.

R. P. Eckels *Greek Wolf-tore* Philadelphia 1937 pp. 1—88 concludes with a discussion of wolf-nurses.

ii. 445 Zethos and Amphion. J. Rendel Harris in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 1926 x. 345 observes that the Egyptian twins Set and Horos were the architects of Thebes in Egypt just as Zethos and Amphion were the architects of Thebes in Greece. He suggests that the name Ζῆθος may be simply *Set*, whom Plutarch actually transcribes as Ζῆθ [Where? Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 41, 49, 62 says Ζῆθ without variants. A.B.C.]. A. H. Krappe in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 240 f. repeats and reinforces the conclusions of Rendel Harris.

ii. 445 ff. double-headed deities in Asia Minor etc. G. Contenau 'Idoles en pierre provenant de l'Asie Mineure' in *Syria* 1927 viii. 193 ff. pls. 44—48 publishes six idols in the Louvre, probably found at *Kül-Tépe* ('La colline de cendres') near Kaisareia in Kappadokia, close to Mt Argaios, where a Semitic colony had long been established—witness numerous tablets in cuneiform from the same site. All the six idols are in alabaster, with a reddish patina. They represent deities with one (pl. 44, a), two (pls. 44, b, 45), and three heads (pls. 46, 47, 4), but only a single rounded body. *Id. ib.* p. 200 compares Syrian bronzes in the Louvre, which represent a god embracing a goddess attached to his right leg at the knee, or again four deities arranged fan-wise. *Id. Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 824 f. figs. 593 and 594 dates the Cappadocian idols c. 2000 B.C. and the Syrian bronzes c. 1000 B.C. A better illustration of a two-headed Cappadocian goddess is given in the *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art* L'Art de Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre Paris 1936 i. 284 f. fig. A, and of a Syrian group *ib.* Canaan, Phénicie Paris 1937 ii. 109 fig. G. On the significance of polycephalic gods in general see L. Weber in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 172—175.

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

ii. 448 n. 2 the sickle of Zeus. See F. Dornseiff 'Die Sichel des Zeus und Typhon' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. pp. 754—757 fig. 1. *Id. Die archaische Mythenerzählung* Berlin—Leipzig 1933 p. 24 ff. cites *inter alia* a Hittite parallel noted by W. Porzig—'Illuyankas und Typhon.' Cp. G. Furlani *La religione degli Hittiti* Bologna 1936 pp. 87—91 ('Il Mito del dio della tempesta e del serpente Illuyankaš').

ii. 453 ff. the original home of Apollon. Wilamowitz' view that Apollon came from Lykia is energetically attacked also by E. Bethe 'Apollon der Hellene' in *ANTIΔΡΟΝ Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel...gewidmet* Göttingen 1923 pp. 14—21.

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

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

L. Weber 'Apollon' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1933 lxxxii. 165—191, 193—229 contends that Apollon, originating in Crete as an archer-god (cp. Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 296 f. fig. 85, where note eye and ear), passed thence *via* Delos and Lykia to the Troad, was carried across the Bosphoros by the Mysians and Teucrians some time before the Trojan War, and made his way southward through Thrace, Makedonia, and Thessaly to Delphoi. Homeric *epos* represents him as a foe of the Greeks because it was a product of the Aeolians in Thessaly, who were naturally hostile to the god of their northern neighbours. Delos as his cult-centre was prior to Delphoi.

ii. 460 n. 2 (b) Apollon riding on a swan. A rock-crystal scarab of early archaic style shows him thus crossing the sea (waves below, dolphin behind). He guides the swan by the beak with his right hand and holds a leafy branch in his left (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 96 f. fig. 66, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*² p. 55 no. 460 pl. 8).

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

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

ii. 469 n. 1 huius folia noctis et lucis imaginem declarant. Miss G. R. Levy 'The Oriental Origin of Herakles' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 44 well compares Orph. *h. Herakl.* 12. 11 δς περὶ κρατὶ φορεῖς ἡὼ καὶ νύκτα μέλαινα.

ii. 475 Zeus seated, yet hurling a thunderbolt. A silver *stater* of Corinth, struck c. 338—300 B.C., has for symbol Zeus enthroned with thunderbolt in raised right hand and eagle on outstretched left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Corinth, etc. p. 33 no. 308 pl. 12, 19. There is a second specimen of the type in *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 96 no. 72. I have a third).

ii. 477 n. o. G. A. Snyder 'De symbolica Phaethontis fabulae interpretatione apud Romanos' in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1927 lv. 401—409 claims that in the Roman times the myth was interpreted as a Mithraic expression for the ascent of the soul to heaven (*Class. Quart.* 1928 xxii. 210, cp. S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 218). A. Lesky 'Zum Phaethon des Euripides' in *Wiener Studien* 1932 l. 1—25 puts the play late in Euripides' career and attempts to reconstruct the plot. M. F. Scavazzari *Il Mito nel FAEΘΩΝ di Euripide* Napoli 1937 pp. 1—80 includes a pl. of the Ostia *sarcophagus*.

ii. 483 the *kiskanû*-tree. F. P. Dhorme 'L'arbre de vérité et l'arbre de vie' in the *Revue biblique internationale* Nouvelle série 1907 iv. 272 ff. shows that in the time of Gudea (c. 2600 B.C.) the Babylonians believed in two trees planted at the entry of heaven, *giš-ti* the 'tree of life' and *giš-ká-an-na* the 'tree of the gate of heaven.' He says: 'Le *giš-ti* ou "arbre de vie" ne sera autre que le *kiskanû*, connu sous le nom de *giš-gan-abzu*.' Dhorme is followed by A. J. Wensinck *Tree and Bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia* Amsterdam 1921 p. 4. See now S. Langdon 'The Legend of the *kiskanu*' in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1928 pp. 843—848. Miss N. Perrot *Les représentations de l'arbre sacré sur les monuments de Mésopotamie et d'Élam* Paris 1937 pp. 1—143 with 32 pls., G. Lechler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 352 f.

ii. 484 n. 6. The etymology of ἀπείλων is discussed by F. Muller Jzn *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 348.

ii. 487 n. 3 Apollon as an 'apple'-god. Rendel Harris' view is adversely criticised by J. Toutain in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1921 lxxxi. 196—200. But there is far more to be said for it than the critics will allow. *Rira bien qui rira le dernier*.

On Demeter Μαλοφόρος at Megara see K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund (1934) p. 174 ff. Terracottas from her sanctuary at Selinous were published by E. Gåbrici in the *Not. Scavi* 1920 pp. 67—91 figs. 1—33, and we have now the same author's sumptuous monograph 'Il Santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1928 xxxii. 1—419 with 97 pls. and 192 figs. (reviewed by F. von Duhn in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 529—539).

The Times for Oct. 8, 1926 p. 11 in a report by J. Borozdin on 'Excavations in South Russia' notes the discovery by Prof. Farmakovskiy in 1924 of Apollon's temple at Olbia. Its ruins stand in the centre of the old town at the outlet of the river Bug. See further E. Diehl in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2417, 2421.

ii. 493 n. 2 amber routes. The most thorough and authoritative investigation of the subject is that of J. M. de Navarro 'Prehistoric Routes between Northern Europe and the Italy defined by the Amber Trade' in *The Geographical Journal* 1925 lxvi. 481—507 with distribution-maps of Bronze Age Amber Finds in Central Europe and Early Iron Age Amber Finds in Central Europe, also a map of Trans-continental Amber Routes distinguishing Central Routes (opened Early Bronze Age), Western Routes (opened Middle Bronze Age), and Eastern Routes (opened Early Iron Age), and two plans of Bronze Age Amber Finds in Italy and Early Iron Age Amber Finds in Italy. Mr de Navarro does not deal with the amber trade to Greece and the East Mediterranean area, remarking only 'The Baltic-Black Sea route is, in my opinion, a late development.'

ii. 493 ff. the Hyperboréans. Rendel Harris 'Apollo at the back of the North Wind' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 229—242 includes chapters on 'The prehistoric

amber routes,' 'Apollo and the Hyperboreans,' 'The Apollo stations,' and 'a possible third amber route from the land of the Hyperboreans into Greece.' G. H. Macurdy *Troy and Paenonia* New York 1925 pp. 196—210 returns to the subject with a further section on 'The Hyperboreans.' C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1928 lviii. 685 argues thus: 'It seems improbable that barbarians devoid of all Hellenic connections would have troubled to keep in touch with Delian Apollo. The chief Istrian cult was Apolline. Istrus, like other Milesian Pontic Colonies, was populated by Mix-hellenes and monopolized Danubian trade, having factories far up the river....Perhaps these barbarized descendants of Istrian, i.e. Milesian, stock sent the offerings. If so, the Herodotean Adriatic route employed about 450 B.C. would have been closed by the Celtic invasions of the early fourth century B.C. and the later Istrus, Sinope, Prasiae-route, of (?) Phanodemus, would have been used subsequently. The fourth century B.C. coins of Istrus and Sinope with identical reverse types point to close connections between these States...Accordingly, if the people who sent offerings to Delos were geographically "Hyperborean," but not racial or mythical Hyperboreans; if they are less likely to have been the barbarian Proto-Hellenic parent-stock left behind in Central Europe than the semi-barbarized descendants of Ionian traders located in the south of Central Europe, then there is no longer any need to seek for a partially northern origin for Apollo merely on the grounds of his supposed Hyperborean connections.' This acute hypothesis is welcomed by A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 126 and by M. Cary *ib.* 1929 xliii. 214. The latter, quoting Kallim. *h. Del.* 283 f. οἱ μὲν τοι καλὰ μιν τε καὶ ἱερὰ δῶρα γὰρ πρῶτοι | ἀσταχῶν φορέουσιν, adds: 'Surely, then, they were the ears of wheat whose haulms served as packing.' Yet the actual custom of packing an egg (*Osterei*) in the first or last sheaf, cited by Mannhardt (*supra* ii. 498 n. 2), tempts us to conjecture that the offerings in question were swans' eggs similarly packed: this would at least suit both their Hyperborean starting-point and their Delian destination, and might further be supported by the ritual preservation of Leda's egg (*supra* ii. 1015 n. 7). A more remote parallel may be found in a former (c. 1860 A.D.) usage of the Easter Islanders: the man that brought in the first tern's egg of the year, which his servant had procured from a neighbouring islet, swimming across with it in a small basket tied on his head, was saluted as *Tangata-Manu*, 'Man-Bird,' and chosen as chief for the year (S. Chauvet *L'île de Pâques et ses mystères* Paris 1935 pp. 35—37).

ii. 496 n. ο *fin.* C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 i. 285 n. 1: 'Pour le nom des Perphérees d'Hérodote (iv, 32), compagnons des Vierges hyperboréennes, on comparera maintenant l'Hermès Perphéræos d'Ainos, sculpté par le Dédalide Epeios, constructeur du Cheval de Troie: un papyrus récent l'a révélé.' Mr H. J. M. Milne kindly refers me to M. Norsa—G. Vitelli ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ *di poemi di Callimaco in un papiro di Tebtynis* Firenze 1934 p. 45 f. col. vii, 32 ff. Ἑρμᾶς ὁ Περφεραῖος Αἰνέων θεὸς Περφεραῖος Ἑρμῆς ἐν Αἰνῶι τῇ πόλει τῆς Θράκης τιμᾶται. ἐντεῦθεν Ἐπειὸς πρὸ τοῦ δουρεῖου ἔππου ἐδημοῦργησεν Ἑρμῆν, ὃν ὁ Σκάμανδρος πολὺς ἐνεχθεὶς κατέσυρεν· ὁ δ' ἐντεῦθεν προσηνέχθη εἰς τὴν πρὸς Αἰνῶν θάλασσαν, ἀφ' ἧς ἀλιενόμενοι τινες ἀνέλκυσαν αὐτὸν τῇ σαγήνῃ. ὅτε <δὲ> ἐθέασαντο αὐτὸν, καταμεμψάμενοι τὸν βόλον πρῶτον μὲν σχίζειν τε αὐτὸν <—> καὶ παρακαίειν αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρουν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἤττον ἐφθασαν ἢ τὸν ὤμον παίσαντες τραύματος τύπον ἐργάσασθαι, διαμπερὲς δὲ ἡσθένησαν· καὶ δλον αὐτὸν καίειν ἐπεχείρουν, τὸ δὲ πῦρ αὐτῷ περιέρρει. ἀπειπόντες <οὖν> κατέρριψαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖθις ἐδικτυόλκυσαν, θεὸν νομίσαντες εἶναι ἢ θεῶι προσήκοντα καθιδρύσαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀπῆρξαντό τε τῆς ἀγρας ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλου αὐτῷ π*[*]*****)* [πρ[οσελθώ]ν[τ]ε]. τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος χρῆσαντος εἰ[σεδέξαν]το τῇ πόλει καὶ παραπλησίως τ[οῖς θεοῖς] ἐτίμων. Cp. R. Pfeiffer 'Die neuen ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ zu Kallimachosgedichten' in the *Sitzungsber. d. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1934 x. 29 f.

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

ii. 505 ff. lightning as a weapon. H. Balfour 'Concerning Thunderbolts' in *Folk-Lore* 1929 xl. 37—49, 168—172 with 23 figs. on 2 pls. surveys and illustrates popular beliefs about 'thunderbolts,' prophylactic or otherwise.

ii. 510 ff. inscribed neolithic celts. The best parallel to figs. 390 and 391 is the implement published by my friend and former pupil J. H. Iliffe 'A neolithic celt with Gnostic inscriptions at Toronto' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 304—309 with 2 figs. It is a polished celt of hard brown stone, acquired in Smyrna but said to have been found at Ephesos, and bears on one side a well-cut design with lettering of s. iv—v A.D. Enclosed by a snake biting its own tail, stands a nude winged and tailed figure holding a whip with double lash in his right hand, a short rod in his left. A bunch of leaves springs from his head, which bears some resemblance to a winged *Gorgoneion* (?). He is flanked by

two tall sceptres with animal-headed(?) tops, and surrounded by words of power:
 ΑΙΑΟΥΑΗΛ ΠΑΙ ΖΗΘ | ΦΕΛΘΩΖΑ | ΙΑΩΟΥΗΕ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ |
 ΑΔΩΝΑΙΕ || ΑΚΡΑΜΜΑ | ΧΑΜΑΡΕΙ || ΕΕΕΝΓΕΝ | ΦΑΡΑΝΓΗC ||
 ΑΒΛΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΛΒΑ | ΔΑΜΝΑΜΕΝΕΥ.

ii. 512 sliced neolithic celts with added inscriptions. A large oblong axe(?) of brownish green jade, formerly in the collection of J. Martinek, Shanghai, and now in my possession, has been sawn lengthwise and bears on the exposed surface an inscription in archaic Chinese characters, which—Mr A. Waley kindly informs me—are an extract from the *Analects* of Confucius reading: 'Gentlemen use *te* (inner power, "virtue" in the sense "potency"). Small men use force.' The *Martinek Sale Catalogue* (Messrs. Puttick and Simpson Dec. 13, 1929) p. 8 no. 67 refers this piece to the Han period.

ii. 513 ff. The double axe in 'Minoan' cult. M. E. L. Mallowan in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 16, 1933 p. 436 f. fig. 7 publishes beads or amulets in the shape of the double axe, which were found in Iraq at *Arpachiyah*, a prehistoric mound four miles east of Nineveh, and are attributed to a period earlier than 4000 B.C. These he claims as prototypes of the 'Minoan' symbol.

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

ii. 516 n. 6 the *sarcophagus* of *Hagia Triada*. To the bibliography add R. Vallois 'Autels et culte de l'arbre sacré en Crète' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1926 pp. 121—132. *Id.* in the *Mélanges Gustave Glotz* Paris 1932 ii. 839—847 cp. a similar arrangement of altar and base in the earliest Artemision at Ephesos.

ii. 518 n. 3 the magpie. R. Riegler 'Die Elster im Mythos' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiii. 349—353, Taylor 'Elster' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 796—802.

ii. 519 n. 0 the crow. Euphorion frag. 65 Meineke, *ap. schol. Nik. ther.* 406, Peuckert 'Krähe' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1932 v. 352—370.

ii. 522 n. 2 the colour red. See now the careful compilation of Eva Wunderlich *Die Bedeutung des roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer* Giessen 1925 pp. 1—116 (reviewed by S. Eitrem in *Gnomon* 1926 ii. 95—102 and by E. Fehrle in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 15, 1926 pp. 520—525).

ii. 528 ff. double axes imbedded in columns. H. Sandars in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 i. 259 f. fig. 2 (=my fig. 891) publishes an Iberian column from the Mina de la Plata between Baeza and Jaen. Its square stone capital is decorated with double axes on all four faces.

ii. 536 hands raised, one palm outwards, the other in profile. The same peculiar and at present unexplained gesture may be seen in a seated terra-cotta goddess of the 'Geometric' period (height: 4½ inches), from northern Greece, now in my collection (fig. 892 a, b).

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

ii. 544 fig. 419 gem from Melos. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 70 objects that 'Minoan' deities are wingless and cj. 'plutôt un génie ptérophore.' Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 187 n. 1 adds: 'upward curved wings do not occur in this age' (cp. V. Müller 'Minoisches Nachleben oder orientalischer Einfluss in der frühkretischen Kunst?' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 54 f. with fig. 1). Lastly, the attitude of *Knielauf* (*supra* i. 296 n. 6) also points to a post-'Minoan' though still archaic period. Probably the term 'sub-'Minoan' or 'sub-Mycenaean' would best fit the case. (*supra* on i. 725).

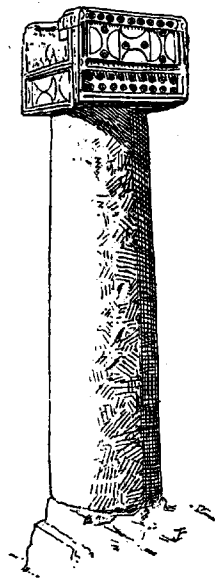


Fig. 891.

One thinks of Daidalos

ii. 544 n. 3 the Egyptian *netet*. Miss M. A. Murray 'The sign 7' in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* London 1932 pp. 312—315 pl. 49 argues that this sign represents a pole with votive streamers and is descended from an early cult of the poplar or willow.

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

ii. 548 n. o sword-worship. Among the Quadi (Amm. Marc. 17. 12. 21 quorum regalis Vitrodorus, Viduari filius regis, et Agilimundus subregulus, aliique optimates et



Fig. 892.

iudices, variis populis praesidentes,...eductis...mucronibus, quos pro numinibus colunt, iuravere se permansuros in fide). In the south-east of Sweden (A. Nördén *Östergötlands Bronsålder* Linköping 1925 pp. 1—407 is summarised by A. J. Uppvall in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 394—397, who notes among the rock-carvings in the region of Bråviken 'gigantic swords...now carried by one man, now by two, and found in processions where one being—a giant—towers above the rest.' Cp. O. Almgren in Ebert *Reallex.* iii. 216 with pl. 51, i, H. Shetelig—H. Falk *Scandinavian Archaeology* trans. E. V. Gordon Oxford 1937 p. 167 ff.).

ii. 549 Kronos swallowing his own children. See now M. Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real.Enc.* xi. 1991 ff.

ii. 549 *Krónos* as 'Chopper.' R. Eisler *Weltennmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 385 n. o attempts to combine two incompatibles: 'Kronos als *Kóρ-vos = Κεῖρω

= "Schnitter" und κρονός "Brunnen". G. A. Wainwright in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1933 xix. 51 quotes parallels e.g. Κόσιος, which 'probably originated in the Semitic root *kāṣaṣ*, *kāṣah*, ... "The Cutter, Breaker"', and *Mjöltnir* the 'Crusher.'

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

ii. 550 ff. fig. 428 the dagger-god of Iasili Kaya. See further P. Couissin 'Le dieu-épée de Iasili-Kaia et le culte de l'épée dans l'antiquité' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1927 i. 107—135 with 21 figs.—an important article on hoplolatry summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 509, G. Contenau *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 970 f. fig. 672, G. Furlani *La religione degli Etruschi* Bologna 1936 p. 59 f. Good photographs taken in two different lights are supplied by K. Bittel *Die Felsbilder von Yazılıkaya* Bamberg 1934 p. 11 no. 82 pl. 30.

ii. 561 Tyrinnos. A. H. Sayce 'The Phrygian hero Tyris' in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlvii. 11.

ii. 569 Zeus *Asbamafos*. E. Kalinka in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii Beiblatt p. 61 no. 8 figures a marble altar at Amasra in Bithynia inscribed Θεῷ | ἀνεκ-
ήτω | Ἀσβαμέ | κα[ι] | Ἰῆ (?) κυρία κ.τ.λ. E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 605 treats Ἀσβαμέ as the equivalent of ὀρκιος.

ii. 570 n. o. *À propos* of Celtic divinities Prof. F. E. Adcock draws my attention to Zeus Βουσσουρίγιος, who is mentioned in two inscriptions of s. iii A.D. from Galatia (J. G. C. Anderson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1910 xxx. 163 ff. no. 1 at *Akte Tash* on a block rectangular in section Δύρηλιος Ἥλιος | Δόμνον | κύριος Κλωσσάμηνων | νεοκίριος | τοῦ Διὸς Βουσσουρίγιου | ζῶν ἐαυτῷ | κατεσκεύασεν τὸ | μνημεῖον = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4102. No. 2 at *Karayuk* on a *stèle* surmounted by a fragmentary wreath Ὡδύρ. Φιλώτας | Ὡστατεῖλον | κύριος Ἰκοταρίον ἱκέτης | καὶ ὕπηρετῶν | Διὶ Βουσσουρίγιῳ ζῶν | φρονῶν ἐαυτῷ τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν. Anderson *loc. cit.* p. 165 adds: 'The epithet Bussurigos is undoubtedly Celtic, as is clear from a comparison with Bussumarus or Bussumarus, a Celtic god identified with Jupiter Optimus Maximus in two inscriptions of the Dacian Apulum and probably in an inscription of Moesia Inferior [Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4621 with n.]. The termination -*mārus*, 'great,' is common in Celtic personal names.... As Bussumarus is Bussu magnus, so Bussurigos is Bussu regius. The Celtic equivalent of *rex* (O. Irish *ri*, gen. *rig*) is one of the commonest terminations of Gallic personal names...').

ii. 578 n. 4. A. W. Persson in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvii. 399 ff. adds two more inscriptions from Mylasa: no. 4, 15 f. [ἀναγράφει δὲ τὸδε τὸ] | [ψήφισμα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς Ὁσογῶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον] and no. 5, C 3 f. [ἀναγράφει δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν τῷ] | [ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς Ὁσογῶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον]. See further an important paper by A. Laumonier 'Notes sur un voyage en Carie' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 ii. 31—55 figs. 1—20.

ii. 582 Poseidon originally a specialised form of Zeus. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 72 n. 2 pronounces this view to be 'fort vraisemblable.'

ii. 583 ff. the name *Poseidōn*. A. Mommsen *Delphika* Leipzig 1878 p. 3 ff. regards Poseidon as 'ostgriechischer Obergott' and *ib.* p. 7 f. already advances the true derivation of his name: 'Das Wort Poseidon bedeutet vielleicht Zeus despotēs. Man kann von der äolischen Form Ποσειδῶν oder Ποσειδῶν (vgl. Ποσειδανία, lokr. Stadtname) ausgehen. Dan ist Zeus. Die beiden ersten Silben gehen auf skt. *patis* Herr zurück, welchem Stamme auch griech. πότνια despotēs despoīna angehören. Danach ist Poseidon ursprünglich ein modifizierter Zeus, der Wortsinn: Gott der Herr, Herrgott.'

A. Carnoy 'Étymologie du nom du dieu de la mer Poseidon' in the *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 1924 iii. 390 f.: 'Ποῖς signifiant "maître" (mis au vocatif donne ποτὲς) et un mot *δαφον* signifiant "eau" et qu'on retrouve dans diverses langues indo-européennes avec le sens de corps liquide.'

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

ii. 587 Zeus *Pólaxos* or *Spólaxos*. W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—C. W. M. Cox in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1924 xiv. 71 f. no. 105 pl. 16, 105 a, b publish the back of a limestone seat found at *Ak Kılıse* in Isauria bearing a dedicatory inscription Ποδαδβίου Πολωξου ἔδραν | καὶ ἡ κώμη αὐτοῦ κα[τ'] ὅναρ (?) | ἐκάθισεν αὐτὸς καὶ Τ[.....] | Ἄττον, which probably means 'Podadbiou (an indeclinable personal name) dedicated this seat of *Pólaxos* and so did the god's village in accordance with a dream: Podadbiou himself and T..... son of Attes set it up.' See further T. Klauser *Die Cathedra im Totenkult der heidnischen und christlichen Antike* Münster in Westf. 1927 p. 49 n. 21.

ii. 587 n. 7. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 73 n. 2 doubts the equation $\pi\lambda\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$ = *balag*, citing C. Autran 'La Grèce et l'Orient ancien' in *Babyloniaca* 1924 viii. 185 n. 1 ('*balag* dont le sens probable est bien plutôt de *lyre*, ou *harpe*'), *id.* *Sumérien et Indo-européen* Paris 1925 p. iv n. 1. Further literature on this disputed question is noted by A. Nehring 'Studien zur indogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat' in the *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* 1936 iv. 31 n. 11.

ii. 594 pectoral ornament (?). In favour of such a $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\theta\iota\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ see also W. Müller in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1919 xxxiv. 93 ff., C. Picard *Éphèse et Claros* Paris 1922 p. 529 ff., *id.* in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 73 n. 1, and especially G. Furlani 'Ornamenti astrali e corazze di dei dell' Asia anteriore antica' in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 1931 vii. 43 ff.

ii. 594 the temple of Athena *Aléa*. C. Dugas—J. Berchmans—M. Clemmensen *Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée au iv^e siècle* Paris 1924 i. 1—144 with 41 figs. and ii Atlas of 116 pls.

ii. 600 f. The double axe and the Labyrinth. R. Ganszyniec 'Labrys' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 286—307 gives a well-arranged and interesting survey of the facts. Humborg *ib.* xii. 314 f. and G. Karo *ib.* xii. 321 deal with $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ and $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$. G. Dumézil 'ΛΑΒΡΥΣ' in the *Journal asiatique* 1929 ccxv. 237—252 derives $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ and its congeners ('l'asiatique et égéen $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon$, $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\rho$, $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho$ —') from a pre-Greek word which he connects with the classical and modern Georgian *lahvari*, 'lance.' Early Georgian lances, preserved in churches and museums, have a bifurcated blade. In Mingrelia they are regularly taken to be the arms of St George, who mounted on horseback attacks evil spirits issuing from the sea with his double lance ('il leur porte des coups avec sa lance; chacun de ces coups s'accompagne du tonnerre que nous entendons, et fait jaillir des étincelles, qui sont l'éclair'). Dumézil views the double lance *lahvari* as the lineal successor of the double axe $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$, the essential point being its twofold blade ('force redoublée? perfection? union des sexes?')—a convincing conclusion. H. Güntert 'Labyrinth. Eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1932/3 Abh. i. 1—49 would relate $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ to $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ 'stone,' and takes $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ as 'Steinbeil.' But his contentions are traversed by P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1934 xxii. 252 f. ('Diese Etymologie scheitert daran, dass $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$, $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\omega\delta\omicron\varsigma$ immer nur mit β , $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ dagegen nur mit ν bezeugt ist, die Bed. "Stein" an die Form mit ν geknüpft ist'). See further C. Picard 'Les origines du Labyrinthe' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 264 f.

ii. 601. H. J. Rose in *The Hibbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 380 thinks that I am here confusing the Quinquennialia of Maxentius, *i.e.* the celebration of the fifth year of his reign, with the quinquennial *agon Capitolinus* of Domitian, which had ceased to exist centuries before Maxentius was born. But the Quinquennialia of Maxentius would have fallen in 311, not 312. Also, Lactantius states that the Quinquennialia in question were ending and that Maxentius' day had not yet come. He is probably alluding to the *ludi Capitolini*, which were still being held (G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1528, L. C. Purser in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 86). I adhere therefore to my view as expressed in the text.

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

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

ii. 613 the hidden meaning of knife or double axe. R. Eisler drew my attention (Oct. 14, 1908) to the small axe received by the Essenes when admitted to the order (Ioseph. *de bell. Iud.* 2. 8. 9 $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ δ' $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\varsigma$ $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma$ $\beta\acute{\omicron}\theta\rho\omicron\nu$ $\delta\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\omicron\delta\iota\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ $\tau\eta$ $\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\delta\iota$, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\theta\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$ $\tau\omicron$ $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu$ $\upsilon\pi'$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\acute{\nu}$ $\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\nu\iota\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\nu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu\psi$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\theta\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omicron\nu$, $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\mu\eta$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\alpha\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\upsilon\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\iota\epsilon\nu$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, $\theta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$. κ. τ. λ.).

ii. 613 Simias' poem on the axe of Epeios. W. Deonna 'Les "poèmes figurés"' in the *Revue de philologie de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 1926 I. 187—193 ('Il s'agit d'un procédé instinctif et universel, ancien et moderne, européen ou oriental, qui n'a qu'une intention: résumer en quelque sorte par une image le sens du texte écrit, donner de

celui-ci une transposition figurée. On constate de plus que certains de ces arrangements ont un sens religieux ou magique').

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

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



Fig. 893.

they had no effect on the tinkard, because he wore a leather coat, the like of which was never seen in the west country before. This coat, made of a black bull's hide, left almost whole, was without a seam, and dressed with the curly hair on it. On the breast, back, and shoulders it was as hard as iron, and roared like thunder whenever Tom struck it, which made him think he had to deal with the devil.' Etc. See further Keune 'Succellus' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 515—540.

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

ii. 630. Mrs A. Strong 'Sepulchral Relief of a Priest of Bellona' in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 1920 ix. 205—213 pl. 26 discusses an inscribed tombstone from the Via Triumphalis, now in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana at Rome (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2233 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4182, Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 173 f. no. 3876). The relief shows L. Laitius Anthus, a *cistophorus* and priest of Bellona *Pulvinensis* wearing a bay-wreath with three medallions (Mars, Bellona, Minerva?) and carrying in his right hand a bay-branch, in his left two small double axes.

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

ii. 633 fig. 542 f. axes backed by a bull. Cp. G. A. Wainwright in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1933 xix. 43 (*supra* p. 884 n. o).

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

Prachtbeilen' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 123—125 (summarised by R. Vallois in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1925 xxxviii. 214 f.), A. M. Tallgren in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 121 pl. 62, a, b, S. Casson 'Battle-axes from Troy' in *Antiquity* 1933 vii. 337—339 pls. 1 ('nephrite, almost indigo in colour') and 2 ('rich blue lapis lazuli flecked with brown spots and striated').

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

ii. 637 Cretan double axes. S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1934 xlix Arch. Anz. pp. 251—254 records important finds made at the cave of *Arkalochori* in a hill 1½ hours from Lyktos. First children and then adults of the neighbourhood discovered in one corner of the cave a mass of bronzes and a pair of small double axes in gold. The authorities hearing of it intervened and appropriated some twenty gold double axes, leaving perhaps another ten in the hands of the rustics. Bronze double axes, knives, and swords were found in considerable numbers, all heaped together in a space of two or three square metres. The small double axes of gold (*ib.* fig. 3 shows four) are decorated with a leaf-pattern which points to the beginning of the 'Late Minoan ii' period (1450—1400 B.C.) or else with engraved lines of a more usual type. A few axes are of silver. The whole treasure had been sealed up by a fall of rock, probably occasioned by an earthquake. But votive offerings continued to be made at the mouth of the cave down to the end of the 'Minoan' age and even later (a few proto-geometric finds?). Marinatos concludes: 'Es erhebt sich die Frage nach der Gottheit dieser an Funden bisher reichsten Kulthöhle Kretas. Sollte sie nicht die berühmte Höhle des Zeus und der Rhea sein [*supra* ii. 925 n. 1], die manche in Psychrò zu finden glaubten?' Reports in *The Times* of June 29, 1935 p. 13 and in *Antiquity* 1935 ix. 354 mention that the recent excavations in the *Arkalochori* district have found hundreds of copper 'Minoan' axes (one with three lines of hieroglyphic inscription (c. 1600 B.C.)), a number of silver axes, and twenty-seven gold double axes with golden shafts. These finds have been taken to the Candia Museum for cleaning. See further Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 1. 346 f. fig. 290 (three gold axes, enlarged) and 378 fig. 315 *bis* (four miniature bronze axes). S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 l Arch. Anz. pp. 248—254 figs. 3 (gold model of mountain?), 4 (bronze double axe), 6 (the ten hieroglyphic characters of the inscribed double axe) now concludes: 'Da sich aber nach Abschluss der Grabung ergab, dass die Höhle nichts Jüngerer als SM.I enthielt, gehören m.E. auch die goldenen Beile in diese Zeit,' etc. J. D. S. Pendlebury *The Archaeology of Crete* London 1939 pp. 212, 232, 236 pl. 36, 3 (three gold axes).

ii. 641 n. 2. Recent writers on Charon are B. Schmidt 'Charon' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 79—82, F. de Ruyt *Charon démon étrusque de la mort* Bruxelles 1934 pp. 1—305 with 58 pls. (reviewed by A. Grenier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 ii. 128—131, by F. Pfister in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 28, 1935 p. 1092 f., by H. J. Rose in the *Class. Rev.* 1935 xlix. 24 f. and in *Gnomon* 1935 xi. 278 f.). Schmidt holds that the Etruscans, originally dwellers in Asia Minor, owe their conception of Charon to the influence of Assyrian demons. Rose makes the further helpful suggestion that Charon's mallet or hammer on Asiatic soil was the double axe of a thunder-god, which might well be used by an underground power to produce the subterranean thunders that portended death (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 138)—a view anticipated by me *supra* ii. 641.

ii. 642 n. 2 fig. 559. With the upper end cp. the votive terra-cotta *ktels* in the Berlin Antiquarium (H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1926 ii. 76 fig. also the votive marbles in Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 164 nos. 1594 ff., 1821, 2730.

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

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

One is an almost oblong axe of bronze (fig. 894 a, b, c. Length 7½ inches) with dark green patina. On either side of it is incised a lion recumbent on rough or rocky ground with whisking tail. I obtained this axe from a Cretan vendor with no indication of its *provenance*. But Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury tells me that he had already seen it at Mokhos, 1½ hours south of Mallia. He adds: 'It comes from a place called Moupi (the "meeting place"), where are MM and LM sherds, close by a small lake ¼ hour east of the village. There is an EM site on a hill 25 minutes to the north-east called 'Εδύχτης or 'Ανεμοκτίδ, and from somewhere not far off come Neolithic sherds. Classical-Roman, near Moupi.'

The rocky ground is characteristic. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 2. 450—454 dilates on the 'Minoan passion for rock scenery': cp. e.g. Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 848 pl. 16, 12 and 840 fig. 424 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 3, 2 and 46, ii. 14 and 16 = H. T. Bossert *The Art of Ancient Crete*³ London 1937 p. 36 pl. 231

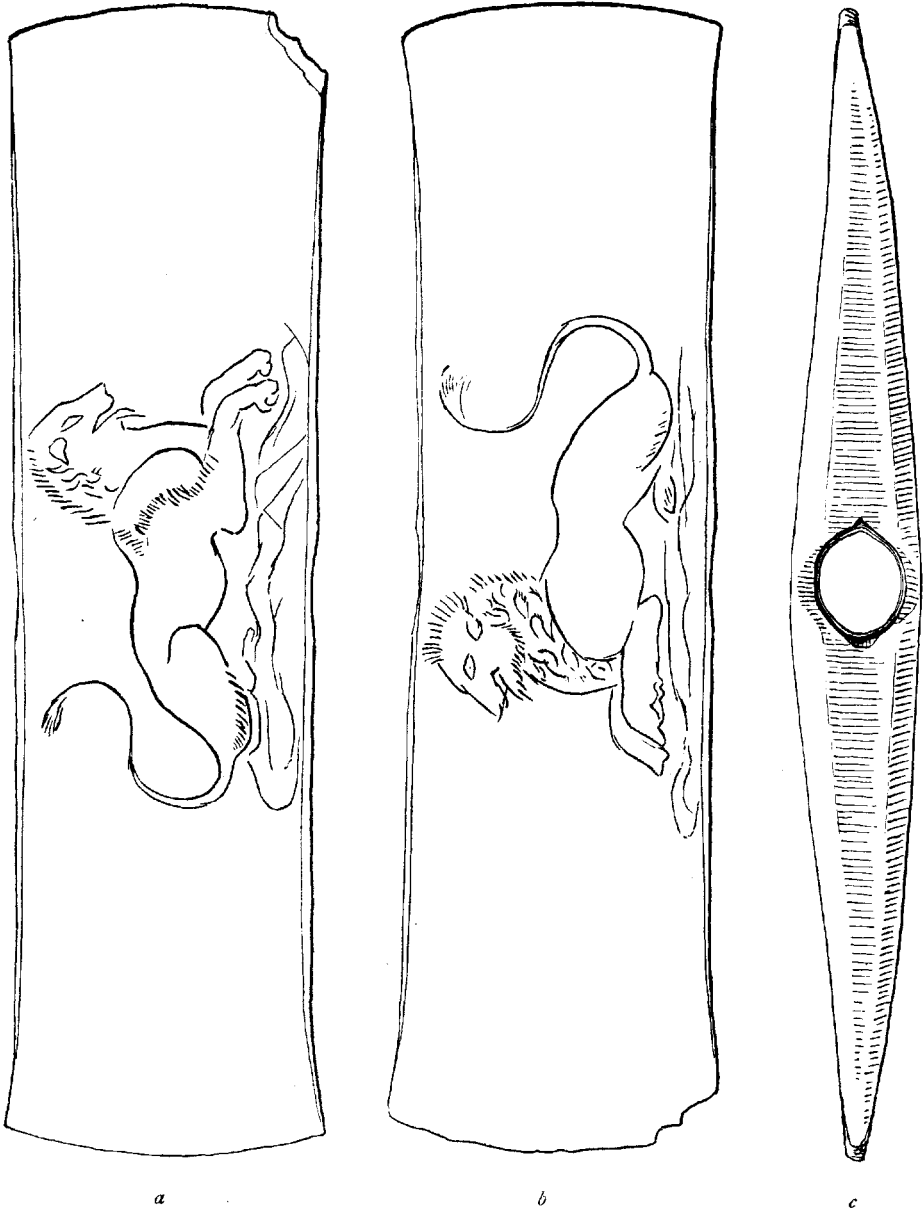


Fig. 894.

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

The second axe (fig. 895 *a, b*. Length $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches) was found near Athens. It is of yellow bronze with blackish patination, in part scrubbed off by sand-paper. Its outline is of a later type with more pronounced curves, and it is decorated on both sides with *pointillé* patterning. Within a border of chevrons are a man, a waterfowl, a horse, and a wheel. I have suggested (*supra* p. 605 n. 3) that these are the constituents of a solar

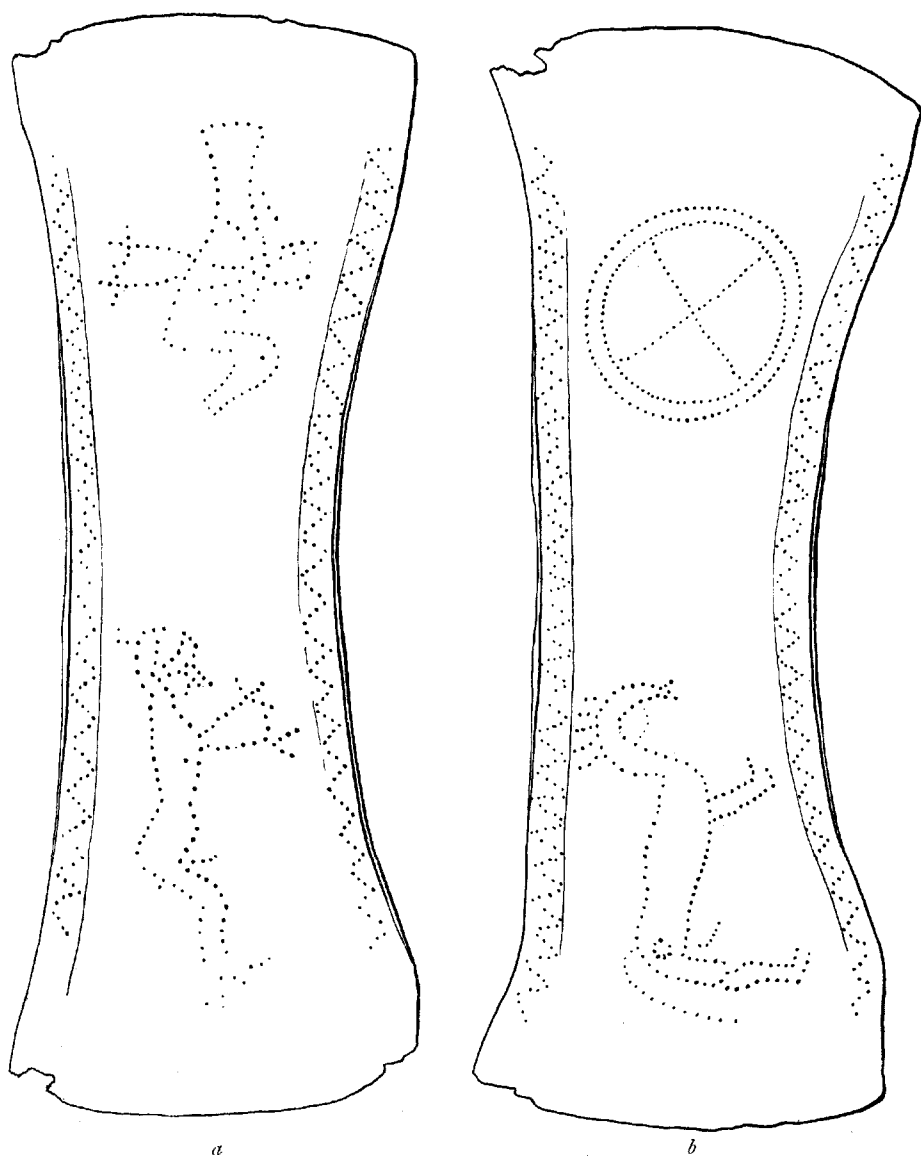


Fig. 895.

equipage as rendered in the Hallstatt period. If so, the axe was presumably in some sense a sacred object.

ii. 645 n. 4 the soul as a butterfly. The Copenhagen gem (fig. 563) is now included in P. Fossing *The Thorvaldsen Museum: Catalogue of the antique engraved gems and cameos* Copenhagen 1929 p. 91 no. 504 pl. 7. The Berlin *amphora* (no. 1684) is figured by H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Zürich 1928 Ergänzungsband p. 73.

ii. 648 n. 1 axe-pendants from Benin. P. Amaury Talbot *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults* Oxford 1927 p. 8 'A considerable number of examples of the old Minoan double-headed axe cult were found in other parts of West and Central Africa' (criticised by A. R. Wright in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 215 f.).

ii. 656 n. o ingots. C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 1 ff. figs. 1—4 points out that these ingots were cast in the shape of an ox-hide dried and stretched, one side rough and hairy, the other raw with inward curling edges, just because they were an ox-unit, the price of an ox in base metal. Cp. *id. Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 7 f. with figs. 1 and 2. K. Regling in Ebert *Reallex.* iv. 1. 223 with pl. 100, a—d still (1926) speaks of them as 'die doppelbeilförmigen Kupferbarren des Mittelmeergebietes.' H. T. Bossert *The Art of Ancient Crete*³ London 1937 p. 43 pl. 277 fig. 525, a—c is non-committal. But Seltman is clearly right.

ii. 663. W. R. Halliday 'Tenēs' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 36—44 insists on 'the absolute unanimity of tradition which associates Tenēs with Apollo,' not with Zeus or Dionysos. *Id. ib.* p. 39 quotes Aristeides of Miletos (Frag. 32 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 327 Müller) *ap.* Steph. *Byz. s.v. Τένεδος*... τὸν ἐν Τενέδῳ Ἀπόλλωνα πέλεκυν κρατεῖν, but questions its reliability.

ii. 664 fig. 603. This bronze plaque is now at Berlin (photograph in F. J. Dölger *IXΘΥC* Münster in Westf. 1922 iii pl. 33). A marble altar of s. iii (?) A.D. from *Ineunu*, Phrygia (Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 52 ff. no. 846 with 4 figs.), has reliefs on its front, back, left, and right sides. (a) On the front, a rider-god on horse-back, brandishing a double axe, gallops uphill: above him is inscribed ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ θεοῖς Ὅστος καὶ Δ[ε]||καλοῖς Ἡρόφι[ος] | Παῖα εὐχῇ. (b) On the back, a draped goddess holding grape-bunch and *cornu copiae* stands on a small plinth beside a fruitful vine-branch and a large *kratēr*. (c) On the left side, Asklepios with oval object (fruit? egg?) and serpent-staff stands on a small plinth: above him is inscribed Ἀσκληῶς καὶ Ἀσκληπᾶς, | οἱ Ἀσκληπᾶ, λατῦντοι | Κουρναῖοι. (d) On the right side, Nemesis draped and veiled holding scales (?) and cubit-rule stands on a small plinth between two thick garlands terminated at either end by three ivy-leaves.

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

ii. 666 n. 1 *Cancer*, 'the Crab.' D'Arcy W. Thompson 'The Emblem of the Crab in relation to the sign Cancer' in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* 1890 xxxix. 603—611 maintains that the crab as divine attribute or emblem regularly presupposes the constellation Cancer, which was *domus Lunae*, *exaltatio Jovis*, *sedes Mercurii*, etc.

ii. 667 n. 3 fig. 606. Cp. Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1547 f. no. 2328 pl. 78, 12, *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 238 no. 2032 pl. 65, 3, *Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 26, 794 f. Lloyd. Since on a later tetradrachm of Kamarina $\Xi + \Xi$ is the beginning of an artist's name (*Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 29, 868 Lloyd), presumably that of Exakestidas (*ib.* pl. 29, 871 Lloyd), *Ionice* Exekestides, it is probable that $\Lambda + \Xi$ on the Agrigentine coin stands for the name of a magistrate or artist Exakestidas, grandfather of the later engraver. For + instead of Ξ see W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1907 i pl. 3 ('Westliche Alphabete').

ii. 673. A bronze coin of Chersonesos Taurike, struck c. 300—200 B.C., copies the Tenedian combination of god and goddess (*Ant. Müns. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 3 pl. 1, 7 Artemis and Herakles, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 279 young Dionysos (?) and Zeus (?), E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pl. 4, 7 Artemis and bearded Dionysos (?). I have another specimen of this scarce coin, and I incline to agree with Head that the type represents Dionysos and Zeus).

ii. 675 androgynous deities. See now the important study of J. Halley des Fontaines *La notion d'androgynie dans quelques mythes et quelques rites* Paris 1938 with 16 figs. pp. 1—231 (pp. 216—219 'Résumé et conclusions').

ii. 681 figs. 621—624. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 75

observes that in the tree-cutting scene on the coins of Aphrodisias the second man averts his face owing to a sort of visual taboo, for which parallels are cited.

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

ii. 688 ff. n. o. M. C. Burkitt 'Rock Carvings in the Italian Alps' in *Antiquity* 1929 iii. 155—164 with map and pls. 1—7 discusses the designs pock-marked on the red rock-surfaces of Monte Bego and attributes them to seasonal pilgrimages of a neighbouring agricultural population made during the Bronze Age at different dates but in all cases prior to c. 300 A.D. (absence of Christian symbols). P. Reinecke in *Germania* 1934 xviii. 46—48 reports on two sandstone blocks in the Val Camonica and would date their drawings to the pre-Roman Iron Age or more probably to the Bronze Age. P. Jacobsthal 'Celtic Rock-Carvings in Northern Italy and Yorkshire' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1938 xxviii. 65—69 accepts the contention of F. Altheim and E. Trautmann 'Nordische und italische Felsbildkunst' in *Die Welt als Geschichte* 1937 iii. 83—113 that the largest of all rock-carvings in the Val Camonica (fig. 3 = Jacobsthal pl. 9, 1) represents the Celtic stag-god Cernunnos with a small-scale worshipper. See further *ibid.* 'Neue Felsbilder aus der Val Camonica: Die Sonne in Kult und Mythos' in *Wörter und Sachen* N.F. 1938 i. 12—45 pls. 1—32.

ii. 690 Penelope's marriage-test. E. Westermarck *The History of Human Marriage*⁸ London 1921 ii. 490 notes that among the Mundas of Chota Nagpur the bridegroom shoots an arrow through the loophole formed by the bride's uplifted arm, and suggests that this was a magical means of securing the bride's safe delivery. I suspect that we have here the ultimate explanation of the marriage-test proposed by Penelope.

ii. 692 ff. Tereus. M. Bieber 'Tereus' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 11—18 pl. 2 publishes a sherd from Paestum, now at Dresden, which shows Tereus pursuing Prokne and Philomela with a double axe in his hand (A. D. Trendall *Paestan Pottery* London 1936 p. 127 no. 290 'Tereus (?)'). O. Schroeder 'ΠΡΟΚΝΗ' in *Hermes* 1926 lxi. 423—436 discusses the development of the myth.

ii. 699 "wine-skin" and "hatchet." 'Y.' in *The Cambridge Review* 1926 xlvii. 268 draws attention to a better solution of this long-standing problem propounded by S. Koujeas 'ΑΣΚΟΣ-ΠΙΣΑΕΚΤΣ' in *Hermes* 1906 xli. 478—480, who remarks that at Abia in Lakonike words meaning 'wine-skin' and 'hatchet' are used in popular speech to denote the contrast of light and heavy: thus πλέχει 'σὰν ἀσκή' 'he swims like a wine-skin,' πλέχει 'σὰν τσηκούρι' 'he swims like an axe.' The visitor bouncing the baby says the tactful thing.

ii. 699 small bronze axes. F. Haverfield in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Norfolk* London s.a. i. 292 fig. 9 illustrates a tiny bronze axe found at *Caister-by-Norwich* (Venta Icenorum).

ii. 699 n. 7. On Osthanes see now J. Bidez—F. Cumont *Les Mages hellénisés: Zoroastre Ostanès et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque* Paris 1938 i. 165—212, ii. 265—356.

ii. 703 n. 2 a hammer thrown to ratify the acquisition of property. K. Künstle *Ikongraphie der Heiligen* Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 p. 597 f. says of St Wolfgang (Oct. 31): 'Auf den Wolfgangsbildern, die vom Kloster Mondsee ausgehen, trägt der Heilige fast regelmässig ein Beil oder eine Axt als Attribut. Dies ist aus dem langen Kampfe herausgewachsen, den das Kloster um den Besitz der Gegend am Abersee, die man das "Wolfgangsländ" nannte, gegen Salzburg und das Hochstift Regensburg führte. Die spätere Legende erzählt nämlich, Wolfgang habe, als er im Aberseeforst ein Einsiedlerleben führte, mittelst des Werfens eines Beiles, das in dem später nach ihm benannten Orte niederfiel, den Platz gesucht, wo er eine Zelle und eine Kirche mit eigenen Händen erbauen wollte. Durch diese Handlung hat er für sein Eigenkloster Mondsee von dieser Gegend Besitz genommen. Der Beilwurf ist nämlich ein altgermanischer Rechtsbrauch; er diente zur Ermittlung des Verlaufs einer Grenze und bestimmte die jeweilige Erstreckung des Rechtes auf Grund und Boden. Das Beil wurde so Sinnbild der Besitzergreifung.' Etc.

ii. 704 the spear of Zeus. L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl. 155 cp. Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 5 τὸν ἀλχηματῶν κεραυνόν.

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

ii. 722 Zeus *Horkios* at Olympia. On the exact site of this statue see E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History & Remains* Oxford 1925 p. 274.

ii. 723 n. o Zeus *Skýlios*. An inscription of 120 A.D., found at *Rhotàsi* (Rhytion) and now in the Museum at Candia, speaks of a letter restored by a priest of Zeus *Skýlios* and of an imperial rescript, relating to Gortynian trespassers on his sacred domains, which had been engraved on a *stèle* kept in his sanctuary (*Inscr. Cret.* i. 303 ff. Rhytion no. 1, 6 ff. "Αμβρος ὁ [κατασ]ταθεὶς | ἱερεὺς Διὸς [Σκυλλίου] τῆς | Ῥυτιασίων κώμης καὶ Πύργου | κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 16 ff. [ἱσ]χυροποιῶν | προήνεγκαν -----] καθ' ἣν | φαίνεται [-----] Διὸς Σκυλλίου κ.τ.λ. with the remarks of M. N. Tod in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1931 li. 243 and A. M. W[oodward] *ib.* 1936 lvi. 97). B. Kock in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 647 s.v. 'Skyllos' and 660 s.v. 'Skyllos.' Further literature cited by E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 659 f., including the view of W. Aly in *Klio* 1911 xi. 15 and *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 473 that Zeus Σκύλλιος was a sea-god akin to Skylla the sea-monster and Skyllies the diver (*supra* p. 414).

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

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

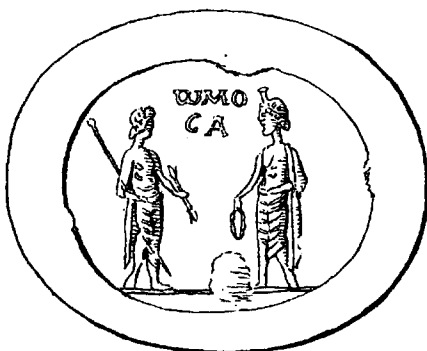


Fig. 896.

ii. 727 Zeus and the boar. The *stèle* of Zeus *Karaiós* at Thespiæ (*infra* on ii. 874 n. 2) has three reliefs—a filleted *bacranium*, a boar's skull, and a boar's jaw (?) (P. Jamot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlv. 262 with fig. 37).

ii. 727 n. 3 Zeus in relation to oaths. An engraved gem of pink jasper (?), found in Makedonia and now in my collection (fig. 896: scale $\frac{1}{2}$), shows Sarapis (*kálathos*, wreath) standing before Zeus (sceptre, thunderbolt) and between them the word $\Omega\text{ΜΟ}|CA$. Fairly good Hellenistic work. Possibly the seal of some public functionary.

ii. 731 fig. 663 Zeus wielding thunderbolt. A. Rumpf *Chalkidische Vasen* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 12 f. no. 10 pls. 23—25.

ii. 731 Zeus wielding thunderbolt and sceptre. Among the scenes represented on the great *kályx-krater* in New York by 'the Nekyia Painter' c. 450—440 B.C. (P. Jacobsthal 'The Nekyia Krater in New York' in the *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 1934—1936 v. 117—145 with 21 figs., P. Friedländer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 I Arch. Anz. pp. 20—33 figs. 1—4, G. M. A. Richter *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 168—171 no. 135 pls. 135—137 and 170 (of which pl. 137 = my fig. 897)) is one—lower frieze B—in which Zeus, supported by Hermes, blasts a Giant, presumably Porphyrión (*supra* p. 55 ff. n. 5).

ii. 733 ff. fig. 665 *psychostasia*. The Paris fragment is re-published by J. D. Beazley *Der Kleophrades-Maler* Berlin 1933 p. 26 no. 37 pl. 2 and pl. 30, 6. The subject in general is handled by E. Wüst 'Psychostasie' in the *Blätter für das Bayerische Gymnasial-Schulwesen* 1929 lxx. 201—211. See also W. Deonna 'Ex-voto déliens' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1932 lvi. 478 ff. with figs. 15 and 16, M. P. Perry 'On the psychostasis in Christian art' in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 1912/13 xxii. 94—105 and 208—218 with 4 pls., W. L. Nash 'The origin of the mediaeval representations



Fig. 897.

of the weighing of the soul after death' in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1918 xl. 19—29 pl. 1.

ii. 734 n. 3 the scales of Zeus. Add Kerkidas *melamb.* 4. 24 ff. Powell = 2. 24 ff. Knox = 1. 16 ff. Diehl *καὶ μὲν τὸ τάλαντον ὁ σεμνὸς | ἀστεροπαγερῆτας | μέσσον τὸν Ὀλύμπου . . . | ὀρθὸν [τιταίνει] | [κ]αὶ νένευκεν οὐδαμῇ. | καὶ τοῦθ' Ὀμηρος | εἶπεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι· | 'ῥέπει δ', ὅταν αἰσιμον ἄμαρ, | ἀνδράσι κυδαλμοῖς [ἦν].'* πῶς οὖν ἐμὶν οὐ ποτ' ἔρεψεν | ὀρθὸς ὦν ζυγιστάτας; | τὰ δ' ἔσχατα Βρύγῃα Μυσῶν, | ἄξομαι δέ θην λέγειν, | δσον [πατα]γεί τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς | τῷ Διὸς πλα[στ]γγιον with the notes of the three successive editors (I. U. Powell *Collectanea Alexandrina* Oxonii 1925 p. 204 ff., A. D. Knox in the Loeb ed. London 1929 p. 196 ff., E. Diehl *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*² Lipsiae 1936 i. 3. 123. Cp. E. A. Barber in *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Oxford 1921 p. 6).

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



Fig. 898.

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

A bronze statuette (height 0.165^m: bright green patina), found near Epidaurus(?), later in the Tyskiewicz and Dutuit collections, and now in the Petit Palais at Paris, represents a nude bearded male figure advancing to the right with his right arm raised and his left thrown forward—the whole on a bronze base inscribed *HVBRI[Σ]ΤΑΪΣ | ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ*. Peloponnesian work of 600—550 B.C. K. Wernicke in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1889 iv. 167 f., cp. p. 339 took the subject to be a young warrior with spear and shield. But most critics have assumed Zeus fulminant (W. Fröhner *La collection Tyskiewicz* Munich 1892 p. 18 pl. 21 (=my fig. 899) ('Un aigle perchait sur le revers de la main gauche du dieu; cette main est d'ailleurs perforée'), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 1 no. 2, A. Furtwängler *Kleine Schriften* München 1913 ii. 467 fig. 9, G. Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 33, A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte*

Leipzig 1928 xiii./xiv. p. ix fig. 116 ('um 460 v. Chr.'), W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 pp. 95 (c. 550 B.C.), 148 f., 153 pl. 32, a. Fröhner's facsimile of the inscription is repeated in *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1476).

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



Fig. 899.

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

should it be assigned? It belongs clearly to the later part of the transitional period when fighting-man developed into fighting-god (*supra* ii. 739 ff., 1222 f.) and may be dated c. 460 B.C. Beyen attributes it, on rather insufficient grounds, to the Sicyonian school; Karouzos, more explicitly, to the Sicyonian-Boeotian school of Kalamis. (2) Votive figure or cult-image? Hardly the latter. A cult-image should be strictly frontal: the worshipper expects to find a propitious and friendly presence, not to be met by a



Fig. 900.

tremendous antagonist in the act of hurling a missile! (3) Zeus or Poseidon? The attitude would suit either, according as we assume thunderbolt or trident in the right hand. Karouzos and Beyen think that the fingers imply a cylindrical trident loosely held rather than a tightly grasped thunderbolt: yet we must remember that the Greek thunderbolt often had a rounded handle in the middle, to prevent the god burning himself. They note further that there is no trace of an eagle on the extended left hand, and that there is a marked resemblance to the head of Poseidon (certified as such by the trident over his shoulder) in a terra-cotta relief at Munich (*Furtwängler Glyptothek zu München*² p. 74 f. no. 62). On the other hand it must be admitted that the striding-warrior type points primarily to Zeus fulminant and only secondarily to Poseidon.

Indeed, Poseidon leaning on a trident, or striking with a trident, may be fairly frequent. But Poseidon hurling a trident is quite exceptional; and where he is so represented, as on the early silver coins of Poseidonia, he regularly wears a *chlamys* over his arms. Also the head, with its neat plait twisted round trim locks, its long silky moustache, and its full beard with undulating strands, seems too refined and dignified for any deity beneath the rank of Zeus. I conclude that the originator of this remarkable type was deliberately portraying Poseidon in the guise of Zeus (cp. *supra* ii. 795 n. 3 figs. 762—764). After all, Poseidon was but a by-form of the greater god (*supra* p. 736). J. Jüthner,



Fig. 901.

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

ii. 741 Zeus *Ithomátas*. C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1932 lxii. 799 claims that the Brussels tetradrachm of Zankle-Messana (*supra* ii. 794 f. fig. 757), 'which should be dated ca. 461 B.C., the year of liberation from the tyranny, has on the obverse a figure, not of Poseidon, but of Zeus fulminating (*Num. Chron.* 1883, p. 168) which closely resembles the Zeus Ithomatas on coins of Messenia from 369 B.C. onwards (*B.M.C. Peloponnesus*, Pl. xxii, 1, 6, 7, 10). Thus the Messenians of Zankle showed their sympathy with the Messenians, who in 461 were being besieged on Ithome. Apparently, therefore, Hagelaidas made the statue before 461, therefore at

conclusions (p. 31): 'der Zeuskopf Borghese ist der nächste Verwandte des Kasseler Apoll. Kopiert ist er nach einer Bronzestatue des stehenden Gottes, der mit der Linken das Zepter aufstützte und in der gesenkten Rechten den Blitz hielt. In demselben Verwandtschaftsverhältnis wie zum Kasseler Apoll steht der borghesische Kopf zu dem des olympischen Zeus. Auch der Kasseler Apoll und der Zeus Borghese sind also Schöpfungen des Phidias. Jener ist in den fünfziger Jahren, dieser in dem Jahrzehnt zwischen 455 und 445 entstanden. Die engen Beziehungen, die zwischen dem olympischen Zeus und dem Zeus Borghese bestehen, sind entscheidend für die Frühdatierung des olympischen Zeus und für seinen Ansatz vor der Parthenos.'

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

ii. 748 f. beardless type of Zeus. T. Birt 'Anxius und Anxur' in *Glotta* 1927 xv. 118 discusses the epithet of the Volscian Jupiter *Anxurus* (on whom see E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 640 fig., *id.* in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2653) and supports the derivation from ξέω, ἄξωος already given by Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 799 circa hunc tractum Campaniae colebatur puer Iuppiter, qui Anxurus dicebatur, quasi ἄρεν ἔφοϋ, id est sine novacula, quia barbam numquam rasisset, et Iuno virgo, quae Feronia dicebatur, cp. Akron in Hor. *sat.* 1. 5. 26 Anxur [autem] dictum, quod ibi *inberbis Iuppiter* colitur.

ii. 752 the eagle of Zeus. R. J. H. Jenkins (June 3, 1930) notes: 'With regard to eagles and Zeus, it is interesting to recall that some 3000—4000 B.C. A-anni-padda built a temple to the Earth Mother Nin-khursag at al 'Ubaid, and over the door flew the eagle of the sky-god, Im-dugud.' See C. L. Woolley *The Sumerians* Oxford (1929) p. 40 f. fig. 10.

ii. 754 n. 1 Tavium. P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 304 derives the name of the town *Tavium* 'von einer vorphrygischen Stammform *Tav-* = Zeus, wie die bithynische Stadt *Τίειον* (Strabo [542 f., 565]), kontrahiert *Tium* (*Τίος* Aelian [*de nat. an.* 15. 5], *Τίον* Ptol. [5. 1. 7]) von der phrygischen Namensform *Tiv-*, armen. *tiv* "Tag" = gr. *Δῖς*.'

ii. 757 n. 8 the chronology of Pheidias' career. Recent discussion by G. Lippold 'Das Ende des Phidias' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix. 152—155 (Pheidias was already at work on his Zeus c. 448, but may well have been simultaneously engaged upon his Athena), H. Schrader *Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 27 (his Zeus must be dated between c. 460 and 448, *i.e.* before his Athena), W. Judeich 'Zum "Pheidias-Papyrus"' in *Hermes* 1925 lx. 50—58 (rejects H. Schrader's view: holds that Pheidias finished his Athena in 438/7, retired to Elis in 433/2, and was at Olympia making his Zeus from 432 onwards), E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History and Remains* Oxford 1925 p. 240 f. (his Zeus should be dated 438—432, *i.e.* after his Athena), C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 80 n. 3 (accepts the finding of H. Schrader), G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 pp. 166—170 (the later dating of Zeus 'would seem to be the more likely,' but 'We must leave it an open question whether Pheidias left Athens in 438 or in 432'). The contest continues.

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

ii. 760 n. 2 throne-legs of white marble. Cp. the statue of Zeus (?) enthroned found in Delos (J. Chamonard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lvii. 155 ff. fig. 16) and the statuette of Kybele enthroned from a neighbouring site (*id.* in *Delos* viii. 1. 220 with fig. 97).

ii. 760 f. Alexander's reversion to a pre-Pheidias type of seated Zeus. One of the town-gates of Thasos, which can be dated 412—411 B.C., is adorned with an archaising relief (G. Mendel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 560—569 pls. 14 and 15 wrongly dated c. 470 and interpreted as Demeter with Iris, Nike, or Hebe. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 223 says more correctly 'the fine relief of Zeus and Nike.' C. Picard 'La porte de Zeus à Thasos' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1912 ii. 43—76, *id.* 'Encore la porte de Zeus à Thasos' *ib.* 1912 ii. 385—398, *id.* in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 81 n. 1 recognises Zeus and Iris). Within a *naïskos*, the pediment of which is surmounted by an eagle with spread wings, sits Zeus on a throne with back, arm-rest, support in form of dancer (cp. *supra* p. 682 figs. 492, 493, p. 700 fig. 517), and footstool. He wears an Ionic *chiton* and *himation* with formal pleats, holds a long sceptre

in his left hand, and fingers a tress of hair with his right. Before him stands Nike, winged and wearing *chiton* and *himetion*.

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

At *Rās es-Shamrā*, 'Fennel Head,' the capital of ancient Ugarit, some ten miles north of Laodikeia on the Syrian coast, Prof. Claude F. A. Schaeffer, Director of the French Archaeological Mission, in 1932 recovered from a small sanctuary 'in the western periphery of the great temple' a splendidly preserved *stèle* (1'45^m high), which shows in *champlevé* relief Ba'al and, under his protection, a small man—probably a local king. Ba'al brandishes a club in his right hand and holds in his left a stylised thunderbolt of unique design. Above, it seems to be an elaboration of the bipartite fork with zig-zags. Below, it ends in a straight shaft and fine spear-head. The date appears to be *s.* xiv B.C. (C. F. A. Schaeffer in *The Illustrated London News* for Feb. 11, 1933 p. 212 with figs. 5 and 15 on pp. 178 and 181, Mlle M. Rutten in the *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art* Le Musée du Louvre: Canaan, Phénicie Paris 1937 ii. 102 with fig. (= my fig. 902)).

As to the thunderbolt on coins of Olympia, another specimen of the very rare 'fly'-type (*supra* ii. 781 pl. xxxvi, 5) is now in my collection. Mr C. T. Seltman informed me (April 26, 1934) that one or two examples of a late *drachmé* had come to light, on which the handle of the bolt took the shape of a small human head, perhaps Keraunos. I am indebted to Mr E. S. G. Robinson for the casts from which my fig. 903 was made. But I should prefer to describe the little facing head as a *Gorgoneion*, with obvious allusion to the *aigis* of Zeus *aigtochos*, and Mr Robinson (Sept. 7, 1938) agrees 'that the head is probably that of a gorgon.'

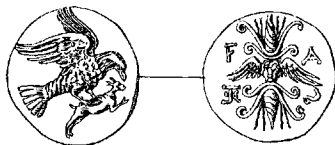


Fig. 903.

ii. 782 sacrifice to living animals on Greek soil. The goddess Boubrostis, to whom a black bull was sacrificed at Smyrna (Metrodoros of Chios (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 205 Müller)=*frag.* 3 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 266 Jacoby) *ap.* Plout. *symp.* 6. 8. *ἡ ἐδόκει δ' ἡ βούβρωστις ἕτερον εἶναι (sc. τοῦ βουλήμιου)· τὸ δὲ τεκμήριον ἐλαμβάνομεν ἐκ τῶν Μητροδώρου Ἰωνικῶν. ἰστορεῖ γὰρ ὅτι Σμυρναῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν Διολεῖς ὄντες θύουσι Βουβρώστει ταῦρον μέλαρα καὶ κατακόψαντες αὐτόθρονον ὀλοκαυτοῦσιν)* may well have been a personified Gadfly (see W. Leaf on *Il.* 24. 532, but also O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 933). An Athenian inscription of the early fourth century B.C. prescribes *Κυρίν πρόπανα τρία* (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 672, 9), on which see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Ixyllus von Epidauros* Berlin 1886 and *supra* p. 1083.

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

ii. 788 n. o. Two five-pronged forks, aptly illustrating the *πεμπύβολα* of *Il.* 1. 463 = *Od.* 3. 460, were found in a 'Depotfund' of *c.* 1000 B.C. at Tecchiarello di Pariana in the province of Massa-Carrara and are now at Florence (F. von Duhn in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 378 no. 118, *id.* 'Pempobolon' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. pp. 331—334 fig. 1).

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

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

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

ii. 802. On Jan. 10, 1927 I saw two other specimens of the M. Herennius terra cotta belonging to Messrs W. S. Lincoln & Son. One of these corresponded closely with that

described by Mr E. J. Seltman (*supra* ii. 1225) and was obviously modern. The other, of heavier make and devoid of the signature T. AJ, represented three herms in juxtaposition—Poseidon, Zeus, Hades—all wearing *kálathoi* and each marked in front by his attribute. Was this M. Herennius the *decurio* of Pompeii who was struck by lightning on a cloudless day (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 137: F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 664)?

ii. 805 the Etruscan *bidental*. See further G. Furlani 'Il *bidental* etrusco e un' iscrizione di Tiglatpileser I d' Assiria' in *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1930 vi. 9—49 (reviewed by G. B. Pighi in *Aevum* 1930 iv. 415—417 and by L. Banti in *Studi etruschi* 1931 v. 624).

ii. 807 n. 5 (5) *astragalomantela*. E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1793 and T. Hopfner *ib.* Suppl. iv. 51—56. An article on 'Wurforakel' is promised for the 'Nachtrag' of vol. ix of the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin 1938—.

ii. 808 n. o (9) Zeus *Keraúnios* in Moesia Inferior. C. M. Danoff 'Eine neue Weihung an Zeus Keraunios aus Niedermoesien' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1936 xxxiii. 166—169 with

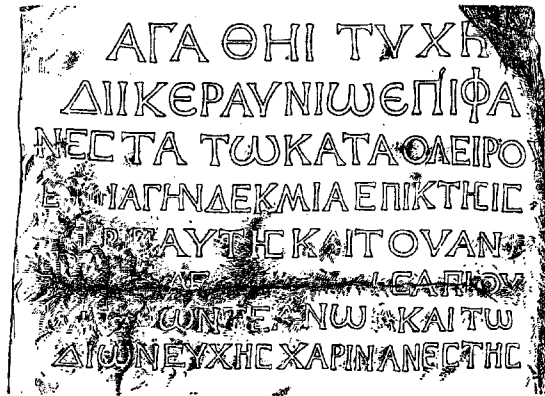


Fig. 904.

fig. (= my fig. 904) publishes a rectangular limestone altar of Roman date found in 1925 at *Tirmono* near Nikopolis. Its dedication runs 'Αγαθη Τύχη | Διι Κεραυνιω 'Επιφα- νεστάτω κατὰ ολεϊρου | ἐπιταγὴν Δεκμία 'Επικτησίς | [ὑπ]ὲρ εὐτυχίας καὶ τοῦ ἀν[τ]ι[δ]ρός Δε....υ Σαπλίου | κα[τ]ὰ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶ[ν] | [τ]ῶν εὐχῆς χάριν ἀνέστησ[ε]. The husband's name was perhaps Δεκίμιος or Δεκούμιος.

ii. 808 n. o (13) Zeus *Keraúnios* in Thessaly. A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1924 pp. 143—146 no. 388 fig. 2 (= my fig. 905) publishes a *stèle* of local grey marble, found in the ruins of a temple of Zeus at Python (*Topóliane*) in Thessaly. This is inscribed in lettering of c. 200 B.C. or a little earlier [Δη or Τε]μοκράτης 'Αν[τ]ι[π]ρ[ο]ς[υ] | [κα]ὶ [ἑ]π[ι]τ[υ]χῆ Πανσάν[τ]ου | [Δ]ι | Κεραυνίω and bears a relief representing Zeus as a bearded god, in a *himétion*, striding from left to right. His raised right hand brandishes a bolt; his outstretched left has an eagle on the forearm and appears to touch the apex of a tombstone, round which is bound a fillet painted purple. To the right of the tombstone stands Epinike, fully draped and perhaps carrying a *phidèle*. Kern thought her a priestess, but Arvanitopoulos with more probability supposes that she was the wife of De(?)mokrates, that her husband had been killed by lightning, and that she put up this votive relief to avoid sharing in his fate.

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

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

ii. 812 fig. 778. C. T. Seltman in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1934 Plates iv. 144 fig. b speaks of 'a small Cupid (wing and lower part only preserved) helping to support the huge thunderbolt.' I see rather a Giant with snaky legs and curled wing. The Pergamene frieze had set the fashion.

Palmyrene god was properly called Bol, not Bel, the latter spelling being due to Babylonian influence. The southern *adyton*, with simple geometric and plant designs, was possibly used for the *lectisternium* of the god. The roof of the northern *adyton* is a square monolith hollowed out to form a dome, which is decorated with hexagonal compartments containing busts of the seven gods of the week—in the middle Jupiter, round him Sol, Mars, Luna, Venus, Saturnus, Mercurius—and ringed by the signs of the zodiac with four eagles in the spandrels. Bel was clearly conceived as a cosmic power. The lintel of the *adyton*-door (cp. *supra* ii. 431) showed a great eagle with spread wings seen against a background of stars and flanked by Iaribol on the right and probably Aglibol on the left. On a level with the eagle's claws is a long snake, symbol of the sun's course, between six balls representing the other planets. Lastly, the space between the columns and the *naos*-wall was spanned by a series of vertical slabs supporting the roof of the *ptéron* and carved with reliefs illustrative of the cult. The reliefs have been studied by H. A. Seyrig 'Bas-reliefs de la cella du temple de Bêl' in *Syria* 1933 xiv. 253—260 fig. 2 lintel, fig. 5 dome, *id.* 'Bas-reliefs monumentaux du temple de Bêl à Palmyre'

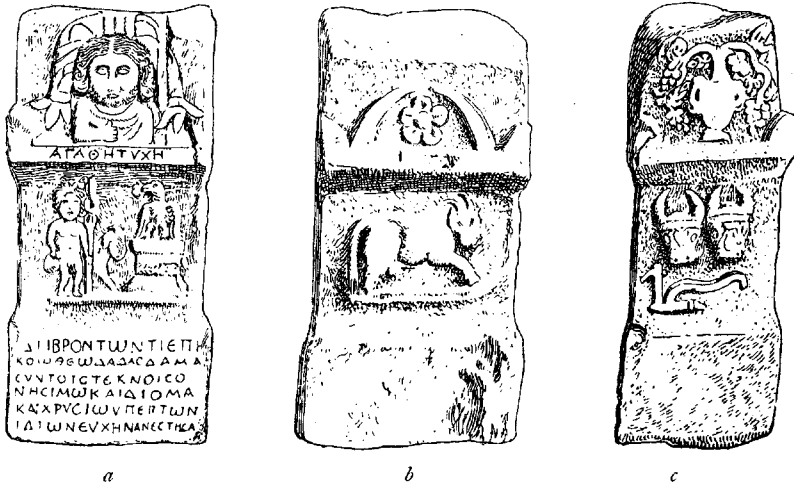


Fig. 906.

ib. 1934 xv. 155—186. One of them (*ib.* 1934 xv. 178—181 fig. 2) renders Iaribol in military dress, with rayed *nimbus* and sceptre, standing between Aglibol, likewise in military dress but with crescent horns and spear, and a fully draped goddess with sceptre (Beltis?)—a fairly close parallel to the relief from Emesa. Another (*ib.* 1934 xv. 173—178 pl. 22) shows Aglibol joining hands with a second and ill-preserved god over an altar set out with pine-cones, a pomegranate, and an apple, above which hovers an eagle bearing a snake (?) in its beak and a palm-branch in its talons. The scene takes place in a sanctuary marked by a cypress-tree etc. Fortunately a Palmyrene relief at Rome with a bilingual inscription enables us to name the second god Malachbelos (W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*³ Leipzig 1912 i. 566 f. no. 988, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 177 no. 5, Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 257 f. Scala v no. 3 pl. 100. *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 971 Ἀγλιβόλω και Μαλαχβήλω πατρώους θεοῖς | και τὸ σῖγνον ἀργυροῦν σὸν παντὶ κόσμῳ ἀνέθηκ(ε) | Τ. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἡλιόδωρος Ἀντιόχου Ἀδριανὸς Παλμυρηνοῦς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπὲρ | σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ και τ(ῆς) συμβίου και τ(ῶν) τέκνων, ἔτους ζυφ' (547 Seleucid era = 235 A.D.) μηνὸς Περικίου)—another solar power (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2293—2301, K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 824—828).

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

G. I. Katsarov in the *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare* 1934 viii. 44—68 lists new dedications to deities, e.g. 'rough statues of...Zeus Zbelthiurdos, Kybele, Mithras, Dionysus, etc.' (D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 140).

ii. 823 n. 1 Dionysos as ἦρως? W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1928 p. 29 prints my emendation εἰθεῖν ἦρ', ὡς Διόνυσος and p. 157 f. is 'inclined to welcome' it.

G. Seure 'ΝΕΟΣ ΗΡΩΣ, ΚΟΤΡΟΣ ΗΡΩΣ' in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 241—254 discusses two sepulchral *stelai* from Odessos (*Varna*), one inscribed Ἀγαθήνῳ Πατριάρχῳ νέος ἦρως (fig. 1), the other Ἀρεμίδωπος Νουμνίου, | κότρος ἦρως [ὕμ]νωδός, χαίρε (fig. 2).

ii. 824 ff. The whip of Zeus. L. Laistner *Nebelsagen* Stuttgart 1879 pp. 45, 160 f. already cites from German folk-lore proof that lightning was regarded as a long whip held by a fiery female form amid thunder-clouds, as a blue whip held by the storm-god, etc. Stegemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 1400 'Auch als Peitsche, Rute und Kugel in der Hand mythischer Gestalten dient der Blitz.'

ii. 833 n. 8 with fig. 793. See now Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 47 f. no. 842 fig. *Id. ib.* p. 48 ff. describes and illustrates a series of small altars dedicated to Zeus Brontôn: (1) p. 48 ff. no. 843 with three figs. (=my fig. 906) (*Ineunu*, early s. iii A.D.) Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ: | Διὶ Βροντῶντι Ἐπηκέω θεῷ Δαδᾶς Δαμᾶ | σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις Ὀλησίμῳ καὶ Διομᾷ | καὶ Χρυσίῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν | ἰδίων εὐχὴν ἀνέστησαν. Front: bust of Zeus facing, with large garland round head; below, Hermes with *caduceus*, purse, and ram before a wreathed altar, on which is perched an eagle with a leafy sprig in its beak. Back: rosette between horns; bull running to right uphill. Left side: two-handled vase with grape-bunches; two *bucrania* with frontlets above plough. Right side: traces of bust with radiate *nimbus*. (2) p. 50 f. no. 844 fig. (*Ineunu*, early s. iii A.D.). Front: rosette and the inscription Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ: | Διὶ Βροντῶντι Μένῃς Θιάλλου σὺν τέκνοις κατὰ ἐπιταγήν ἀνέστησαν. Back: bust of god, bearded (?); eagle on wreath, below which is inscribed Διὸς Μεγίστου. Sides: rosette above *bucranium*. (3) p. 51 f. no. 845 fig. (*Gumbel*, s. iii A.D.) Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ: | Διὶ Βροντῶντι Μέν[ης] | [ἐ]στησεν κατὰ κέλ[ευ]-[σιν] τοῦ θεοῦ. Front: crescent; half-length bust of Zeus with short beard and long hair, eagle on right shoulder. Back: two *bucrania* above plough. Left side: rounded vase above thunderbolt. Right side: rounded vase with two handles, vine-branch. *Supra* ii. 836.

S. Ferri 'Nuovi monumenti plastici dello Zeus di Bitinia' in *Historia* 1932 vi. 238—273 starts from a bust of coarse-grained Asiatic marble (figs. 1—3) and a similar head (fig. 4) in the Museum at Brussa (Prousa). Both are third-century effigies of Zeus, comparable with a head at Berlin (fig. 5) and with the inscribed bust of Zeus Brontôn in the British Museum (fig. 6 = *supra* ii. 837 fig. 794). Ferri goes on to consider analogous heads in later art, e.g. the silver bust of Zeus from Little St Bernard (fig. 7 unrestored, *supra* p. 1153 fig. 901 restored), which he regards as descended from the original type of the Bithynian Zeus.

But by far the most important contribution to our knowledge of Zeus Brontôn is the painstaking study by C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1937 v pp. xxxiv—xliv. These two scholars in the course of a four-weeks vacation (March 26—April 21, 1931) traversed the districts of Dorylaeion and Nakoleia, and catalogued there no fewer than 323 monuments, 282 for the first time. Among the new finds are 56 dedications to Zeus Brontôn: and a useful conspectus of previously published inscriptions is added by way of appendix (pp. 172—176). *A propos* of 'sepulchral-dedicatory inscriptions' the authors comment (p. xxxvii): 'It is curious that nowhere else in Asia Minor should epitaphs explicitly combined with dedications have been found or epitaphs concealed beneath dedications have been reasonably suspected; that the area should be virtually identical with that of the Zeus Brontôn cult; and that Zeus Brontôn, though by no means monopolising the dedications of the region and very far from dominating the coin-types, should virtually monopolise the dedicatory epitaphs....It may well be that the explicit dedication of the grave to the god was here thought to be the most effective means of rendering it inviolable, and that Zeus Brontôn receives the dedications, not only as the most prominent local deity, but as the god who made his presence felt most potently and whose wrath might most drastically strike down the impious or, by drought or storm, devastate their means of livelihood.' But Cox and Cameron 'regard it as still open to question whether Zeus Brontôn was a chthonic deity' (p. xliii) and urge that inscription no. 225 (*Seyit Gazi* (Nakoleia)) Θεοῖς Κα<κα>ταχθόνιους καὶ | Διὶ Βροντῶντι ὅς 'need not imply any intimate connection' between him and the Θεοὶ Καταχθόνιοι, though they hasten to add: 'None the less, if only from his constant association with the tomb, Zeus Brontôn no doubt came to be conceived as having a chthonic aspect' (p. xliii). They demur (*ib.*), perhaps rightly, to my contention that he was served with mystic rites in a cave (*supra* ii. 836 ff. ἐξ ἀλῆς, *speleum*), and note (p. xli) that he and Apollon 'may

have been *σύνναοι θεοί* (nos. 173 *Ayvacic*, 181 *Kıyucak*). Lastly, they dissent from Sir W. M. Ramsay's view that Zeus *Brontōn* was called 'the Father god' and 'the Victorious Father' (*supra* ii. 836). In inscription no. 232 from *Seyit Gazi* (Nakoleia) . . . | Δι̅ Ἐργιτῶν | τι εὐχην | καὶ πατρί θεῶ | 'it seems probable that, as Körte thought (*A.M.* xxx, 1900, p. 442), ll. 3—4 link to the dedication to Bronton an epitaph to the dedicator's father, now dead and deified, and not a further dedication to a deity known to the citizens of Nacolea as Πατήρ Θεός' (p. 111). 'Even in the Nacolean village dedication *Νεκάνωρ καὶ Τα[τ]εὺς Διὶ Βροντῶντι καὶ Νεικήτορι πατρί* (*Ann. dell' Inst.* xxxiii, 1861, p. 188, no. 38, at Ayvali)... we incline (partly owing to the resemblance of the names) to see in *Νεικήτορι πατρί* the deceased father of Neikanor... and not a god *Νεικήτωρ Πατήρ*' (p. 112).

ii. 836. On Zeus as 'Hearer of Prayer' see the valuable article by O. Weinreich 'ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΗΚΟΟΙ' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1912 xxxvii. 1—68 (especially pp. 23—25) and an interesting supplement to it by the same author in his *Gebet und Wunder* Stuttgart 1929 pp. 200—204 ('Die *θυρίδες* am Himmel, beim Ort der Gebetsaudienzen. Eine Interpretation von Lukian, Ikaromenippos 23 ff.').

ii. 838 Dionysos *Brómios*. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 83 n. 2 would explain the appellative by a reference to R. Pettazzoni *I misteri* Bologna (1925) pp. 1—40 ('Il rombo').

ii. 838 ritual enthronement. See now A. D. Nock in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlv. 47 f. ('Thronosis').

ii. 854 n. 9. To the bibliography of Kleantes' *Hymn* add E. Neustadt 'Der Zeus-hymnos des Kleantes' in *Hermes* 1931 lxvi. 387—401 (in line 4 is content with T. Bergk's cj. *δλου*), A. S. Way *Hymns of Callimachus with the Hymn of Kleantes in English verse* London 1934 p. 35 f., M. Meunier *Hymnes philosophiques d'Aristote, Cléanthe et Proclus* Paris 1935 pp. 1—116.

ii. 859 ff. Kairos. A. A. Papadopoulos 'Καιρός' in the *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 1927 iv. 251—256 is summarised by G. Soyter in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 22, 1928 pp. 1168 (Papadopoulos explains *Καιρός* 'als den Boten des Patriarchen, der dem Kaiser meldete, dass es "Zeit" sei, in die Hagia Sophia zu gehen. Später habe *καιρός* in der kirchlichen Sprache die Bedeutung "Erlaubnis (zum Messelesen)" angenommen').

ii. 861 fig. 799. The fragmentary *replica* at Athens is included in O. Walter *Beschreibung der Reliefs im Kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen* Wien 1923 p. 74 no. 125 fig. Another, better preserved, was found at Tragurium (*Trogir*) in Dalmatia in 1928 and is published by M. Abramčić 'Ein neues Kairos-Relief' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1930 xxvi. 1—8 pl. 1 with figs. 2 and 4. A relief at Petrograd is similar, but has the bearded type of Kairos (E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiii. 8 pl. 2, 1 condemns it as a forgery, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 490 no. 3).

ii. 863 n. 1 fig. 801. H. Volkmann 'Studien zum Nemesiskult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 298 no. 4 with fig. 2.

ii. 869 n. 2 Zeus *Aktaios* on Mt Pelion. The alleged discoveries of A. S. Arvanitopoulos stand in much need of verification. On June 27, 1934 Dr N. Bachtin wrote to me from Athens to say that early in May he had visited *Pliassidi* and found the place indicated by Arvanitopoulos 'still covered with deep snow.' Dr Bachtin continues: 'The *peribolos* was nowhere visible (though I cannot absolutely assert that it does not exist, since it might have been under the snow). Moreover, there is not a single sherd anywhere round to suggest the idea of a site that has ever been built on. Three weeks later I returned there with Mr Wade-Gery of Wadham. There was still too much snow to allow a thorough examination, but all that could be seen fully confirmed my suspicions, and Mr Wade-Gery agreed with me entirely. After that, I had the opportunity of meeting in Volo Giannopoulos... and mentioned my fears to him. He too expressed the gravest doubts as to the reliability of the results claimed by Arvanitopoulos.' With praiseworthy persistence Dr Bachtin visited *Pliassidi* yet again in the summer, when the snow had melted, and camped there for some time. He reports (Dec. 11, 1938): 'I found that the site I had examined with Wade-Gery in the spring was not the one which Arvanitopoulos meant: the supposed temple site is just above it—on the very summit marked 1548 on the Greek staff map. The shallow cave, or rather hole, is just below the trig. point and there seem to be some traces of a wall running from summit 1548 towards the lower summit marked 1529. There are also bits of tile... That is all, so that my conclusion remains substantially the same: Arvanitopoulos' sketch of his "excavation" is pure invention.'

ii. 874 n. 2 Zeus *Karaiós*. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 399 ff. no. 17 gives the text of the dedication from Thespiai (*supra* on ii. 727) τοῖς σφόσιτοι Διὶ | Καραίῳ ἀνέθεαν | Πούθων | Σόλων | Ἥνεσιδαμος | Δαμοτέλες | Διονύσιος | Μένης | Ἀντιφάνων | Ἀρίστανδρος. He cp. a *stèle* from Akraiphia, now at Thebes (inv. no. 957), inscribed ἱερὸν | Διὸς | Κεραῖῳ and perhaps another from the same town inscribed Κεραῖῳ (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 253 no. 7 had transcribed it as Κεραῖῳ).

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

ii. 876 n. 1 Zeus *Hypsistos*. Further evidence includes the following items: (5 a) Sparta. A. M. Woodward in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1924; 1924—1925 xxvi. 222—224 publishes three dedications on small marble altars, perhaps used as building material, in the theatre at Sparta: no. 16 Διὶ | Ὑψίστῳ | Νευκέρως | εὐχ[ήν], no. 17 Διοκλή[ς] | Διὶ | Ὑψίστῳ | εὐχ[ήν], no. 18 Ἀφροδείσι[ος] δοῦλος | Κλαυ. Πρατολάου τοῦ Βρα[σί]δου Διὶ Ὑψ[ίστῳ] | ἱστῳ εὐχ[ήν] with an epigram restored by A. Wilhelm ἠρωσκει[α]ισιν ὑπερμε[γ]άλα[ισιν] τὸνδ' ἀνέθηκα, || ὄφρα τις | εἰς ἐμὸν | ἦθος ἐσ[α]θρήσας | [ἀγορεύει· (or ἀγορεύη·)] || "τοῖων | γὰρ μερόπῳν καὶ | [γε]νέῃ [θαλέει (or θαλερή)]."

(6) Makedonia. C. Avezou—C. Picard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1913 xxxvii. 100 no. 8 (a broken slab of white marble at Thessalonike) Θεῶι Ὑψίστῳ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν ΙΟΥΕΥ ('L'existence d'une colonie juive à Thessalonique dans l'antiquité [Acts 17. 1] fait supposer que le Θεὸς Ὑψίστος est ici, comme en d'autres cas, le Jahvé des Hébreux'). This grafting of Jewish henotheism on to a Greek stem is comparable with St Paul's treatment of the dedication Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ (Acts 17. 23). C. F. Edson in the *Harvard Theological Review* 1936 xxix. 62 n. 53 reports that Ch. I. Makatonas has found more Zeus *Hypsistos* inscriptions at *Kozani* in Makedonia.

(10) Thrace. G. Bakalakis in *Θρακικά* 1935 vi. 302 ff. = *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 385 no. 168 (Tsari near Cavalla) Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ εὐχαρισ[τῇ] | μιν κ.τ.λ. on behalf of Rhoimetalkas iii.

(11 a) Dacia. C. Daicovicu 'Contributions au syncrétisme religieux à Sarmizegetusa' in the *Anuarul Universitatiei Cluj*, Publ. Institut. Studii clasice 1928—1932 i. 81—88 publishes seven inscriptions on altars found at Sarmizegetusa illustrating syncretism. 'Thus we have an altar to Invicto Deo Serapidi, another where Sol Invictus (Mithras) is included in a list of Roman deities, Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ ἐπηκόῳ [p. 85 no. 3 Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ Ἐπηκόῳ εὐχαριστοῦσα ἀνέθηκ(εν) Διδία Κασσία], Fortunae Daciarum, etc.' (D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 135).

(17) Karia. Iasos (B. Haussoullier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 456 no. 4 a white marble boundary stone Διὸς | Ὑψίστου). Mylasa (A. W. Persson *ib.* 1922 xlii. 414 no. 18 L Δ | Διὶ | Ὑψίστῳ[ι]). Stratonikeia (A. Laumonier *ib.* 1934 lviii. 337 no. 21 fig. 21 [Δ]ιὲ | Ὑψ[ίστῳ]τῳ καὶ Θ[ε]ῷ Ἀγαθῷ | Σοκράτῃ[ς]—a striking combination of appellatives).

(19) Delos. For the uplifted hands of my fig. 817 C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 92 n. o cites F. Cumont in the *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia Serie iii Memorie* 1923 i. 1 'Il sole vindice dei delitti ed il simbolo delle mani alzate' pp. 65—80.

A. Plassart in *Délos* xi. 289—293 ('Le sanctuaire de Zeus Hypsistos') includes fig. 234 ground-plan, figs. 235 and 236 views, fig. 237 four leaden 'figurines d'envoûtement' found in the precinct, and one inscription on a white marble block Πισ[τῆς] Πισ[τῆς] [δ]υσ[τῆς] | [δ]ς ἐπολεῖ? | τὸν περίβολον | [καὶ τὰ ἐν] αὐτῷ χρησ[τῆ]ρια Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ | θεοῖς οἷς τοὺς βωμοὺς | ἰδρύσατο ἀνέθηκεν.

(23) Phrygia. Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 pp. 182—189 devotes a chapter to 'The Waggon (Benna)' and again concludes (p. 188): 'The god on the car, Benneus or Zeus Bennios, was the peasant-god, the trainer of men in the art of agriculture. He lives in legend as Gordius, whose ox-drawn car was preserved as a holy relic at the Phrygian Gordion' [Swoboda in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1590 f. A. Körte *Gordion* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. Ergänzungsheft* v) Berlin 1904 p. 16 already claims that the famous waggon was first meant for Zeus [cp. *supra* i. 338 n. 2] and later transferred to the 'Bauernkönig' Gordios].

(23 a) Pisidia. *Suppl. epigr. Gr.* vi no. 550 *Saghir* ὁ αὐτὸς Σκό[μ]μος καὶ ἔτι | ἐπικατα-
λε[ί]πω τῇ κώμῃ | (δηρία) ρ' ἐκ τόκου || γένεσθαι βέ<ν> | νος Δετ Καλακαγαθῷ ὑπὲρ
καρπῶν. This bequest was first published by Sir W. M. Ramsay *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* London 1906 p. 345 no. 25 (*id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 162 no. 25), then discussed by J. Zingerle in the *Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Phil.-hist. Klasse Anzeiger* 1923 pp. 61—63 no. 2 (proposing βέ[κ]ος for ΒΕ[Ν]ΟC), and lastly defended by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1933 liii. 317 no. 550.

(25) Paphlagonia. E. Kalinka in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii Beiblatt pp. 64—66 no. 13 with fig. 31 publishes the 'Vogelfels' at *Kushkaja* near Amastris. An

artificially smoothed rock-wall is here decorated with ambitious carvings worked in very high relief. From the top of rock-cut steps rise two rock-cut bases side by side. That on the left supports a column *c.* 4^m high, on which an eagle *c.* 2^m high but now headless sits with spread wings. That on the right supports an arched distyle niche, within which stands a male figure clad in a *toga* but *minus* his head. The base below the eagle-column is inscribed Θεῶι 'Τψίστωι | 'Επηκό(ω)ι 'Ηλ(ω)ι | εὐερεκῇ? ἔδ]ραν | [κ]αι [τὸν ἀε?]τ[δν...] | τ[α]ρ[ο]ν... | [-...]. Above the arched niche is a *tabula ansata* with a longer inscription beginning ὑπὲρ τῆς | Σε[βα]στ[ῆς] εἰ[ρη]νης καὶ | εἰς | τὴν τεμν[ή]ν X [T]ε[β]ε[ρ]ε[ρ]ου K[α]λ[υ]π[τ]οῦ Γε[ρ]μα[ν]ικ[οῦ] | Καλο[σ]τοῦ Σεβ[ασ]τοῦ ὁ τοῦ εἰ[ρη]νοῦρα[ν] τοῦ θε[ο]ῦ | Σεβ[ασ]τοῦ [ἀρχιε]ρε[ῖ]ς κ.τ.λ. A neighbouring inscription in both Latin and Greek (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 6983 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5883) shows that the dedicator was G. Iulius Aquila (*nomen omen*) 'divi Augusti perpetuus sacerdos,' and dates his dedication to the year 45 A.D.

(29) Syria. Doura on the Euphrates. C. Hopkins in P. V. C. Baur—M. I. Rostovtzeff *The Excavations at Dura-Europos* Second Season 1928—1929 Yale Univ. Press 1931 pp. 86—90 fig. 2 publishes an inscribed stone slab found within the tower of the temple of the Palmyrene gods on what appears to have been the site of an older sanctuary *ἔτους βοῦ'* | μηνὸς Δίου | περὶ δ' ὥραν ἡμερῶν σεισμοῦ | κατὰ τὴν χῶραν | γενομένου ἧ | πόλις τὸν βωμὸν ἀνήγειρεν | Μεγίστῳ Διῷ. The exact date of the earthquake would thus be about 10 o'clock in the morning of Oct. 26/7, 160 A.D. Hopkins cp. the votive inscription of Byblos for escape from an earthquake (R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1896 i. 299 on a stone altar [Διῷ Σω]τήρι | 'Απολλόδοτος Νικανο(ς) | ἀπὸ σεισμοῦ | διασωθεὶς ἀνέθηκεν), and adds: 'from the north wall of the pronaos come two graffiti to greatest Zeus scratched near the person to the right in the scene of the Roman tribune sacrificing' (F. Cumont *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (1922—1923) Paris 1926 p. 387 f. no. 25 Διὸς Μεγίστου, | [Ἐ]στία? and below Διὸς Με[γ]ίστ[ου] with col. pl. 50). See further R. Cagnat—M. Besnier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1931 ii. 369 no. 114, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Roum. Stud.* 1933 xxiii. 93. M. Rostovtzeff *Dura-Europos and its Art* Oxford 1938 p. 65 (cp. pp. 36 and 44 with pl. 6 plans and restoration by H. Pearson) sums up: 'Zeus Megistos was probably the *interpretatio graeca* of one of the local Semitic names of the great sky god. He succeeded in all probability in this temple to the great Greco-Macedonian god Zeus Olympius. His *synnaos theos* in this temple and his acolyte was the Arabian light and caravan god Arsu.'

Damaskos. R. Mouterde in *Syria* 1925 vi. 246—252 no. 33 pl. 33, 2^a and 2^b publishes an altar of Zeus *Mánaphos* found somewhere in the *Haurān* and now at Damaskos. The basalt block bears in high relief of *c.* s. iv A.D. a half-length bust of the deity, who is beardless and has curling locks like a sun-god, a Syrian collar, and Greek drapery. Front: Ζεῦ Μάναφε, μ[ε]λ[ι]σσο[ν] α[τ]η[ν] | τύχη. Left side: Ζεῦ Μάναφ[ε], | μίσητα τὴν | τύχη. | Β(?)ούνο[ς] 'Ινάθης | εὐσεβῶς | βιώσας | [ἀ]νέθηκε. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii. 1 no. 3668 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4349 (Aquinum or, more probably, Carnuntum) dis patris Majnalpho et Thean[d]rio pro sal. | dd. nn., | Cl. Victorinus | eq. coh. Θ Canprag. | et Cl. Maximus fil., | dom. Can., v. s. l. l., where J. H. Mordtmann in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 1875 p. 106 n. 1 rightly cj. *Manapho*. T. Nöldeke in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 662^b says: 'The name *Manāf*, "height," "high place," is also a kind of abstract noun. That *Manāf* was worshipped as a god [among the ancient Arabs] is proved by the testimony of a verse, and is confirmed by the occurrence of the name '*Abū Manāf*', which was especially common at Mecca and among the neighbouring tribe of Hudhail.' See further W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2309 f., K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 971.

(30) Phoinike. M. Pillet 'Le Temple de Byblos' in *Syria* 1927 viii. 105—112 gives a ground-plan (pl. 28) and views (pls. 29 and 30) of the famous temple, excavated in June 1926. R. Dussaud *ib.* pp. 113—125 discusses its restoration (fig. 2 after a coin of Macrinus).

(33) Aigyptos. C. Roberts—T. C. Skeat—A. D. Nock 'The gild of Zeus Hypsistos' in the *Harvard Theological Review* 1936 xxix. 39—89 publish with elaborate and valuable commentary a papyrus sheet of the late Ptolemaic period (*c.* 69—58 B.C.) containing regulations for the gild with its election of an annual president, its monthly banquet in the sanctuary of Zeus, its standing orders, etc.: 3 ff. ἀγαθὴ τύχη. | νόμος δὲ ἔθεντο [κα]τὰ κοινὸν οἱ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς 'Τψίστου συνόδου τούτων εἶναι κύριον, | καὶ ποιοῦντες καθὶ διαγ[ο]ρεῖ πρώτων μὲν προχειρισμένοι ἐπ' ἑαυτῶν | ἡγούμενον Πετεσοῦ[χον] Τεεφβένιος, ἄνδρα λόγιον, τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν | ἀξιον, εἰς ἐν[ε]μῶν [ἀπὸ τοῦ] προ[γ]ε[γ]ραμμένου μηνὸς καὶ ἡμέρας συνεστ[ι]φ[ό]ρου[ς] δὲ πᾶσι π[οι]εῖσθ[ε] κατὰ μῆνα πόσι[ν] μίαν ἃ ἐν τῶν τοῦ Διὸς | ιερῶν ἐν αἷς ἐν ἀνδ[ρ]ῶν κοινῶι σπένδοντες εὐχέσθωισαν καὶ τὰλλα τὰ νομ[ι]ζόμε[ν]α ὑπὲρ τε τ[ο]ῦ θεο(υ) καὶ κυριο(υ) βασιλέως. ὑπακούσιν δὲ πάντας τοῦ τε ἡγουμέ[ν]ου καὶ τ[ο]ῦ

building, in Byzantine times, was constructed the monastery of St Nikolaos. That in turn was left derelict in the middle ages, and is now succeeded by the church of the Taxiarchs.

ii. 895 n. 1 Zeus *Aphésios*. On the cults of Zeus at Megara—Zeus *Olympios* (Paus. i. 40. 4), *Aphésios* (i. 44. 9), *Kónios* (i. 40. 6), with the Muses (i. 43. 6)—see now E. L. Highbarger *The History and Civilisation of ancient Megara* Pt i (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology No. 2) Baltimore 1927 pp. 41—43. K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund 1934 pp. 79—82 deals with Zeus *Aphésios* and his relations to Zeus *Apesántios* ('Zeus Aphetios ist der alte Gott des argivischen Apesasberges, dessen Kultus die Argiver nach Megara mitgebracht haben, wo der Kultus, wie die Funde zeigen, in der geometrischen Zeit gegründet wurde.... An den Kultus des Zeus Aphetios knüpft sich wie in Argos die Flutsage. Stifter des Kultes ist ein aus der Flut geretteter Heros [*supra* ii. 897 n. 1], in diesem Falle ein Sohn des Gottes selbst und Eponyme des Landes. Sein Rettung geschieht übrigens in einer sehr eigenartigen Weise, indem er dem Geschrei fliegender Kraniche nachschwimmt. Hierdurch wird noch eine schöne Etymologie gewonnen [Paus.

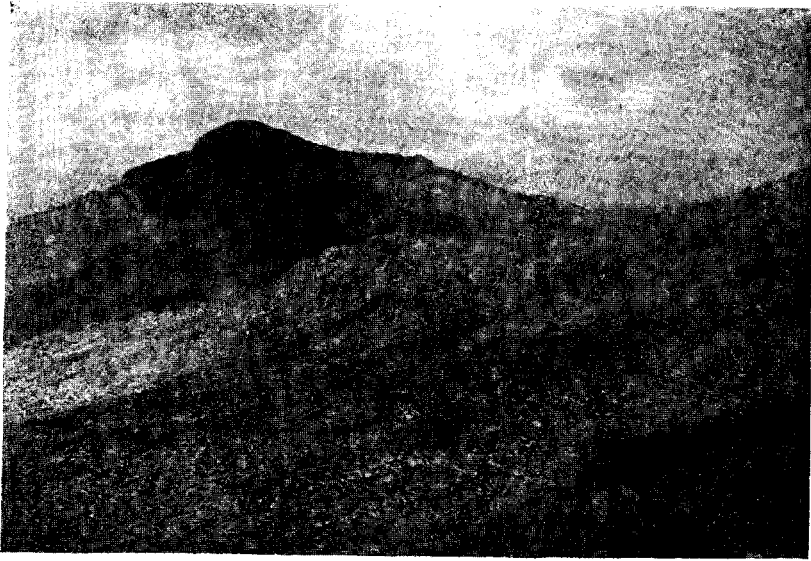


Fig. 907.

i. 40. i ἀλλὰ—νήχεσθαι γὰρ πετομένων γεράνων πρὸς τὴν βοήν τῶν ὀρνίθων αὐτόν—διὰ τοῦτο Γερανίαν τὸ ὄρος ὀνομασθήναι], und eigentlich ist dieser Zug hinreichend, um die ganze Geschichte als späte dichterische Erfindung zu charakterisieren').

ii. 898. To the mountain-cults of Zeus in Boiotia add that of Zeus *Keraiós* at Akraiphia and that of Zeus *Karaiós* at Thespiæ (*supra* on ii. 874 n. 2).

ii. 899 n. 1 Herakles *Chárops*. N. G. Pappadakis 'Περὶ τὸ Χαρόπειον τῆς Κορωνέας' in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1916 ii. 217—272.

ii. 901 n. 2 Mt Parnassos. D. W. Freshfield *Below the Snow Line* London 1923 pp. 128—130 gives the height of Parnassos as 8064 ft. and says of his ascent: 'When I got to the top a faint gleam was already visible in the eastern sky. It quickly deepened and broadened until, without warning, a spot of light shone on the dark sea horizon, grew to an arch, and in a few moments the sun's orb was floating on the sky. To the sailors on the Aegean it had not yet risen, and it was some minutes before a path of light flashed across the waters to Euboea. Then the long backbone of the great island stood out with all its heights and hollows blue against the golden east, throwing a clear-cut shadow on the strait that divides it from the mainland. The plains of Boeotia next took the day; the mist rose from its lakes, and the rivers flashed out as silver threads across its broad fields. On the northern horizon, beyond the Gulf of Volo, Pelion, Olympus, and

even distant Athos took shape as grey phantoms. Still the shores of the Gulf of Corinth were slow to awaken. Night hung reluctantly over the Adriatic long after Attica was in broad day. But at last the veil of twilight was lifted everywhere; hills and valleys, cities and harbours stood out clear and distinct in local detail and colour. I shall not attempt a catalogue of the famous sights in view. I had had that rare enjoyment, a most successful sunrise, worth a night in the open, and worthy of the Poets' Mountain.' Fig. 907, which shows the summit of Parnassos as seen from the south-west, is from a photograph taken by Mr C. M. Sleeman on Sept. 9, 1926.

ii. 902 n. 2 Mt Kenaion. N. Pappadakis in 1924 attempted to locate the sanctuary of Zeus *K'naios*. He found a massive precinct-wall, 2.5^m thick, extending for a stretch of c. 50^m. The side towards the sea was missing, but three angle-towers were preserved. Neither temple nor altar came to light (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 480, A. M. Wood-

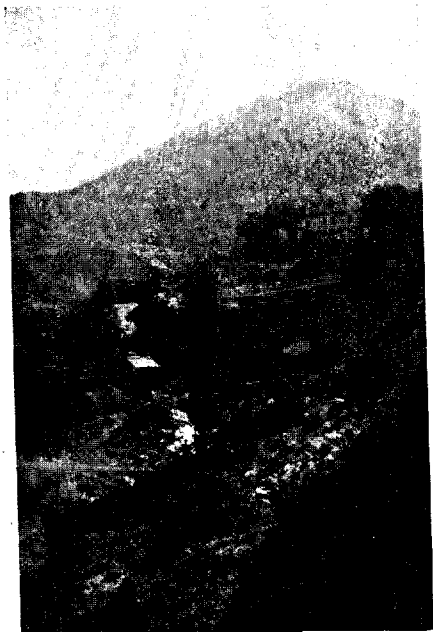


Fig. 908.



Fig. 909.

ward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 224, E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 112). Resuming his search, Pappadakis discovered that the precinct was pentagonal. On the south and south-east the wall had been largely destroyed. The angle-towers also had suffered. They were well built with regular courses of *póros*-blocks. The walls, 3^m thick, had two faces of *proisodomous* masonry with internal filling, the stones being taken from the Lichades. Minor finds were disappointing—a large marble *phidèle* near the north tower, sherds of Graeco-Roman date (none older than c. 300 B.C.), etc. Within the precinct stands the Church of St Constantine (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 554 f.).

ii. 903 Akarnania. At Stratos the temple of Zeus occupied a commanding hill-top. A. K. Orlandos 'Ο ἐν Στράτῳ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας ναὸς τοῦ Διὸς' in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1923 viii. 1—51 with 43 figs. and 2 pls. purports to give the first full account of the building. But it is not free from inaccuracies, and the author seems to have poached unduly upon the preserves of the French School at Athens, which had been at work on the site intermittently ever since 1892. We must therefore rely on the definitive publication by F. Courby—C. Picard *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos d'Acarnanie* Paris 1924 pp. 1—124 with 78 figs. and 19 pls. The temple—possibly not the first on the spot—

was built c. 330 B.C. It is a Doric peripteral structure of fine grey limestone with 6×11 columns as yet unfluted. *Prónaos* and *opisthódōmos* had each two columns *in antis*. Within the *náos* were Ionic columns, ranged round three sides of it, and these may have carried a carved (?) frieze and dentils. The roof was perhaps, but not certainly, hypaethral. A. Joubin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 451 f. no. 4 = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 nos. 447 f. published an inscription which proves that at Stratos in s. ii B.C. slaves were manumitted by a deed of sale to Zeus: lines 3—5 read (Courby—Picard p. 13) [ἀ]πέδοτο Διονόσιος [Δ]αργύριον | Στράτιος τῷ Διὶ ἐπ' [ἐλευθερίαι σῶ]μ[α] | [ἀν]δρεῖον κ.τ.λ.

ii. 904 Mount Ossa. I am indebted to Dr N. Bachtin for photographs of the mountain and of the chapel on its summit taken by Mrs Bachtin in 1934. Fig. 908 shows Ossa as seen from *Spelia* on the north-west. Fig. 909 gives the entrance into the little chapel of

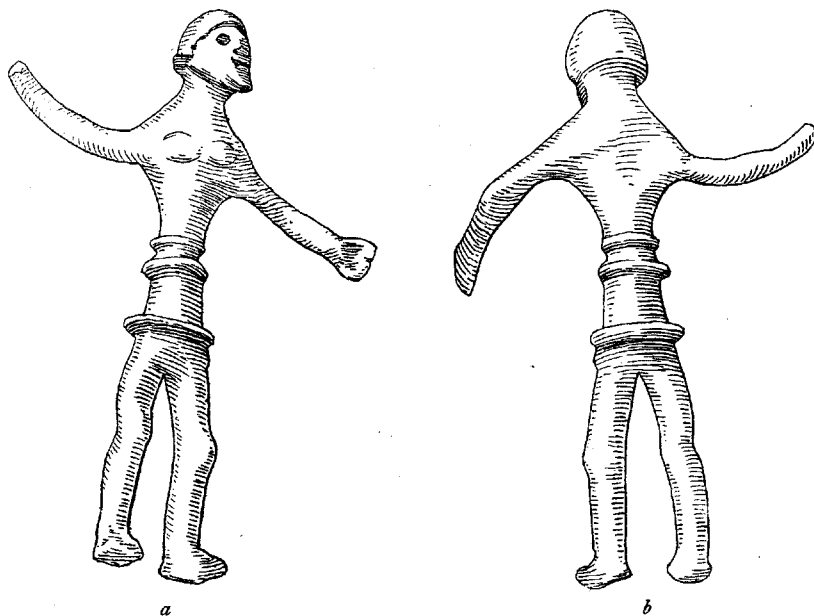


Fig. 910.

Hagios Elias. Steps down lead to a doorway, within which is a round-headed arch. The roof of the chapel forms the actual summit of the mountain. 'People nowadays prefer to worship St Elias lower down in the valley.'

ii. 904 n. 1 Zeus *Laphýstios*. N. I. Giannopoulos in the 'Αρχ.' Εφ. 1925—1926 pp. 183—185 figs. 1 a, 1 β (= my fig. 910 a, b) publishes a bronze statuette ploughed up in a field among the ruins of Halos, where once stood the sanctuary of Zeus *Laphýstios*. It shows a bearded male figure advancing with right hand raised and left held forward. If, as seems likely, this was meant for Zeus, his right hand must have brandished a thunderbolt, his left may have carried eagle or sceptre (?). Hair projecting like a cap, wedge-shaped beard, mere holes for eyes, incised lines for mouth, triangular chest with two small projections for nipples, double belt above, single belt below—the whole suggesting a date c. 700 B.C. Reinach *Rép. Stat.* vi. 164 no. 1.

ii. 905 n. o. My friend and colleague Mr C. M. Sleeman on Sept. 3, 1926 and again on July 14, 1929 made the ascent of Mt Olympos and secured a series of excellent photographs. These include my pl. lxviii *Mitka*, the highest peak, as seen from the Ridge, fig. 911 the 'Throne of Zeus' from *Mitka* Ridge, fig. 912 *Skolion* from the Brèche, fig. 913 the chapel of St Elias (*supra* i. 103) from the south-west.

ii. 906 Mount Tomaros. E. Polaschek in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1697 f. draws attention to a group of mountain-names found mainly, if not entirely, in the Illyrian area: (1) *Tmor* on the Dalmatian coast, north-west of Ragusa; (2) *Tomori* in northern Epeiros, east of Berat; (3) *Tómaros* or *Tmáros*, the modern Olicika, south-west

of Dodona; (4) *Tmátrion* in Arkadia (Hesych. *Τμάτριον· ὄρος Ἀρκαδίας*). Whether these names are of Greek or Illyrian formation is uncertain (H. Krahe *Die alten balkan-illyrischen geographischen Namen* Heidelberg 1925 p. 58). N. Jokl in Ebert *Reallex.* vi. 34 decides for the latter. In either case they would be connectible with the root *tem-* of *τέμνω*, *τομή*, etc. and so signify 'sheer-cut' or the like (cp. *Τέμπη*, *Τέμπυρα*, *Τομεύς*, *Τόμυς*). In Greek times such mountains would be the natural habitat of Zeus. That is certain for Mt *Tómaros* or *Tmáros* near Dodona (Claud. *de bello Getico* 16 ff. iactent...Minervam...caeso Tomari Iovis augure luco | arbore praesaga tabulas animasse oquaces, Hesych. *Τμάριος· Ζεὺς ἐν Δωδώνῃ*), where the priests of the god were called



Fig. 911.

τομοῖροι (Strab. 328 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τομάρου τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγομένους ὑποφύτας τοῦ Διός, οὗς καὶ ἀνιπτόποδας, χαμαιεῖνας καλεῖ, τομούρους φασὶ λελθῆναι· κ.τ.λ.) or *tómouroi* (*supra* ii. 693 n. 3). It is probable also that Zeus was worshipped on Mt *Tomori* near Berat, to judge from the sacred character of that mountain and from certain cult-usages reported by recent travellers. To attest these curious and little-known facts, I cite three eye-witnesses:

J. Swire *King Zog's Albania* London 1937 p. 250 ff. describes in graphic terms his ascent of 'Tomori's holy summit' and *ib.* p. 253 gives the local legend: 'One August 25 long ago...Abas Ali came from Arabia to Berat; and mounting a great white horse (which has left hoof-marks upon the mountain) he fought the barbarians of the neighbourhood. When he had overcome them he rested for five days on Tomori, then went to dwell on Mount Olympus; but every year he returns on August 25 for five days, when

there come Bektashis—and Christians too—sometimes eight or nine thousand people, to pay him homage. They bring their sheep for food, slaughter them on the summit, then take them down to their bivouacs by the *tekké*. So Tomori is a holy mountain and *për Baba Tomorit* a sacred oath. The shrine was built, so *Baba* Tyrabiu told me, on the site of an antique pagan shrine, so Abas Ali probably inherited his supernatural powers from the pagan god he displaced.' *Id. ib.* p. 280 mentions a sacred cave made by Mahomet with 'passages which may not be defiled by man; and they lead underground...to the top of Tomori and to the *tekké* on the crag above Kruja.'

R. Matthews *Sons of the Eagle* London 1937 p. 273 ff. ('A mountain of Zeus') has

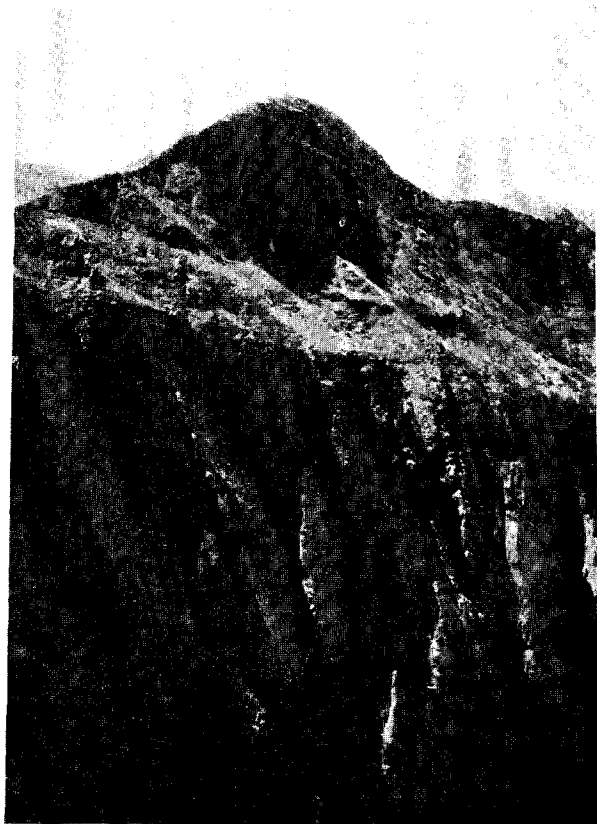


Fig. 912.

much the same tale to tell. He too climbed the mountain under the guidance of a kirijee, who had been up it often before and said: "Last year there had been twelve hundred sheep sacrificed on top, or it might be fifteen hundred. And it didn't do to be disrespectful about these matters either." When asked why the mountain was so holy, he replied: "Many hundreds of years ago...there were two brothers, very holy men, who lived in Arabia. One day they arrived in Albania: no one knows how, some say through the air. The younger of the two set up his house in Berat, where he was highly venerated for his sanctity and became the patron saint of the town. But the elder brother, Ali, was a great warrior. Through all the countryside he rode on his wonderful horse, challenging and conquering the barbarians who lived around. His horse could cover miles at a single bound. You may still see the marks of its hooves on the rocks of Tomori....At last a day came when Ali had overcome all his enemies. So he retired to the summit of Tomori, to

the spot where the shrine stands to-day. For three days he meditated alone there on the fate of his foes and the future of his country, Albania. Then one last time he vaulted into the saddle of his great horse. Through the air it bore him to the top of Mount Olympus, in Greece, and there he lives for ever. But every year, on August 15, the day when he and his brother first arrived in the country, he returns to Tomori's summit. For three days he remains there to receive the homage of his people. And it is because of that and because of his guardianship that Christians and Moslems alike make their pilgrimage every year and for three days offer sacrifices at the shrine." 'Living for ever on Olympus.... Then it was indeed to Zeus, under this so thin disguise, that the people of southern Albania still paid their homage.' *Id. ib.* p. 283 'All I could feel as I halted finally beneath the shadow of the shrine was a sentiment of immense pathos. For hundreds of years, thousands probably, pilgrims had been making their way up the great mountain to sacrifice to Something on the spot where we stood now.... Round these few square



Fig. 913.

yards had centred the reverence of tens of thousands of men peopling a score of centuries. Yet they had left nothing behind to see. Just a sacrificial stone. And four bare walls. Unroofed. Partially breached on one side. The home of Zeus: the Zeus who had never died for the people of this country round. His last home on earth, probably, and he had not wherewith to cover his head. But it was easy to understand, lifting one's face to the strong clean wind that blew out of nowhere, that a god or a saint should have chosen the summit for his residence. Beneath, and to the west, the whole land lay stretched out and visible, to the distant silver of the Adriatic, eight thousand feet below; only in the south did the chain of the Acroceraunian mountains cut off the view. To the east, wave beyond wave of peaks, tumbling black in the sunset, conducted the eye to the imagined Serbian frontier. The evening haze had hidden from sight all trace of human habitation but one: a square white monastery, folded in a lonely pineclad valley at our feet on the further side, whose head was the guardian of the sacrifice. We stumbled down another stony path in the failing light.' At the monastery the *baba*, a young and scholarly man, had more to tell (*ib.* p. 284 f.): "You must know...that the shrine isn't Tomori's only claim to veneration. Somewhere on this northern side, they say, is a crag from whose topmost pinnacle there springs an apple tree. I've never been near there myself, I only speak of what I hear, but every one talks about it. For this apple tree's fruits are of more than natural size. But so steep are the precipices that tumble beneath it that not the hardest climber has yet been able to scale them to pluck one. Now and then, in

the autumn, a windfall will roll down the rocks to the turf below. Peasants who pass at that time of year always look to see if there is one there, for those great apples, they say, have the power of healing all diseases. Even the dying, I have heard men say, can be brought back to life if such a fruit is given them." Mr Matthews ends his narrative by noting the resemblance between Tomori in the north and Tomaros in the south: *ib.* p. 286 'if you go one way up Tomori to-day, you will eventually reach a village, itself called Tomori. Above it is a collection of ruins, so far unexplored, and known locally as Qyteti (the city). And the biggest among them is named by the villagers Dodona.'

Mr Hugh Hunt of the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, made the ascent of Tomori in the spring of 1929 and has kindly furnished me with an account of his experiences: 'In a *tekke* (small monastery) at the foot of Mt Tomori I spent the night. I was on my way from Koritza to Berat...accompanied by an English police officer and an interpreter. We were welcomed by the monks, who were of the Bektashite branch of Mohammedans.... The monks professed great interest in the Christian religion and asked me many questions about the Anglican church, particularly about Saint George, whom they held in great reverence and whose feast day they celebrated. We learnt that on the following day a pilgrimage was to be made to the summit of Mt Tomori, where a sacrifice of a white bull was to take place, and accepted the invitation to join in this festival. On the following day we rose at daybreak and commenced the climb. The full complement of monks were in attendance—some forty in all—and a few servants. The climb was an arduous one and the day was hot. The summit was veiled in clouds—a good omen, the monks told me, for this indicated the presence of ZEUS, to whom this sacrifice was to be dedicated. I became interested, for although my knowledge of Greek mythology is remarkably small I began to see that there must be some connection between this cloud-loving deity and Zeus. But questions proved of little use; the monks appeared as little informed as myself; the ceremony was an annual rite—or perhaps of more frequent occurrence, for I am of the opinion that they informed me that they celebrated St George's day in like fashion, but I cannot be sure of this. We reached the summit—it was late in the day—and there we found a bull, brought up earlier by the villagers, and a fire was already kindled. The killing of this beast was an unpleasant spectacle, and I did not attend very closely, interesting myself in the glimpses of the valley below, which appeared every now and again like pools of water through the cloud rifts. Prayers were offered by the chief monk; and the bull, now happily released from pain, was hoisted on a stout wooden construction and roasted. So far as I remember, it had a garland of bright flowers round its neck; but these were, I believe, put on after its decease. I left earlier than the rest, accompanied by the interpreter and my companion, and regained the village after nightfall. What was the ultimate fate of the bull, I never discovered.'

The foregoing statements appear to involve a threefold blend of Bektashite usage, common folk-belief, and classical reminiscence. On the Bektashi order and its syncretism of Islam with Christianity see G. Jacob *Die Bektaschijje* (*Abh. d. bayer. Akad. Philos.-philol. Classe* xxiv. 3. 2) Munich 1909 pp. 1—53 figs. 1—3, also F. W. Hasluck *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* Oxford 1929 ii. 869 Index s.v. Tomor, Mount (Bektashi *tekke* on, 163³, 548: Abbas Ali haunts, 93², 548, 548²: gold plant on, 645²: oath by, 548²). Folk-belief has provided the magic horse, the underground passages, the apples of immortality, the gold plant. Classical reminiscence will explain the hoof-marks on the mountain, the departure to Olympos, above all the survival of the name *Zeus*. Nevertheless, when due allowance has been made for all these factors, the abiding sanctity of the mountain, the annual pilgrimage to its summit, and the solemn sacrifice of a white bull by the assembled villagers are ample proof that the ancient cult of the sky-god on his holy hill goes on from generation to generation almost untouched by the passing changes of politics and religion.

ii. 906 n. 3 the stone ship of Agamemnon. W. Dörpfeld *Alt-Olympia* Berlin 1935 i. 265 cites as a possible parallel a ship-like foundation of river-worn stones in the *Altis* at Olympia.

ii. 907 n. 2 Zeus *Ainésios*. K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1934 xlix. 163 would see Zeus *Ainésios* on a bronze coin of Kranioi in Kephallenia (*ib.* p. 162 fig. 1, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 80 pl. 17, 1 (Poseidon?), *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 439 no. 6683 pl. 228, 12 (Kephalos)).

ii. 910 n. 1. The great temple of Zeus at Akragas is still a battle-ground for the architects. R. Vallois in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1924 xxxvii. 198 criticises the results reached by B. Pace (*supra* ii. 1227). S. R. Pierce 'Il tempio di Giove Olimpico a Girgenti Sicilia' in *Architettura e arti decorative* 1923/1924 iii. 385—391 returns to the charge. P. Marconi

Agrigento. Topografia ed arte Firenze 1929 pp. 1—238 with 162 figs. (especially pp. 57—66 figs. 29—36)—an important work, of which T. Ashby in *The Times Literary Supplement* for May 15, 1930 p. 413 says: 'the excavations conducted some years ago in the vast temple of the Olympian Zeus..., which proved that the *telamones* faced outwards (and not inwards, as Pace and Pierce had believed), are for the first time adequately described.' P. Marconi 'Novità nell' Olimpieion di Agrigento' in *Dedalo* 1932 pp. 165—173 gives 5 figs. of these *telamones* and a reconstruction. Lastly, W. B. Dinsmoor read a paper, as yet unpublished, on 'The Giants of Agrigento' at the General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New York 1935 (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 126).

ii. 918 n. 1 Zeus *Mélios*. See the succinct article by gr. Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 524. C. Bosch of Halle a. S. in the *Numismatisches Literatur-Blatt* 1932 xlix. 2575 f. reviews Kruse's article and tries to discredit this appellative: 'Vaillant und Piovene sind Mionnets Gewährsmänner!... Das Zeugnis aber ist ganz wertlos, denn die Münzen sind bis heute nicht belegt.' Bosch wants to jettison all the early coin-men, Cohen included. That strikes me as hypersceptical.

ii. 918 Mount Kynthos. Three years after the publication of my note the final and authoritative report of A. Plassart *Les sanctuaires et les cultes du Mont Cynthe* Paris 1928 pp. 1—319 with 260 figs. and 6 pls. was issued in *Délos* xi. The sections that chiefly concern me are pp. 51—69 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le culte de Zeus et d'Athèna aux temps archaïques'), 71—92 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le sanctuaire de Zeus et d'Athèna au temps de l'indépendance Délienne (314—166)'), 93—144 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le sanctuaire de Zeus et d'Athèna sous la seconde domination Athénienne'), 228—255 ('Sanctuaire de l'autel'). Plassart has here and there corrected my statements: e.g. on p. 66 n. 2 he regards as arbitrary my assumption that in 'Minoan' times the top of Mt Kynthos was tenanted by the earth-mother (Rhea) as well as by the sky-father (Kronos), and on p. 252 n. 4 he refutes my attempt to find traces in Delos of Rhea's lions. Again, he has succeeded in proving what—in spite of having visited the spot—I had never suspected, *viz.* that the supposed prehistoric cave-temple was in reality only a pseudo-antiquity, an artificial grotto put together in Ptolemaic times for Herakles as ancestor of the Ptolemies!

O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 360 ff. adds some points of interest. In pp. 361—367 ('Zur Vorgeschichte des Delischen Kultes') he notes the small prehistoric settlement underneath the sanctuary of Zeus and Athena on the mountain-top as being of early Cycladic date and as probably postulating a cult akin to that of the Cretan Zeus; he connects with the same settlement two large Cycladic graves in the *témenos* of Apollon—the *θήκη* of Opis and Arge (*Délos* v. 63—74 ('Le Tombeau mycénien')) and the *σῆμα* of Hyperoché and Laodike (C. Picard—J. Replat in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 247 ff.); and he finds a survival of early Helladic worship in the altar of horns and its archaic ritual (*supra* i. 482 n. 1, iii. 1087). In pp. 367—370 ('Zeus Kynthios und Athena Kynthia') he distinguishes an archaic period when the square precinct had only a rock-cut altar in the midst; a third-century reconstruction with stairways, *própylon*, *peribolos*, and two Ionic *oikoi*; and a later lay-out of three small terraces on the east side, of which the most southerly had an oblong building and a mosaic inscription (*supra* ii. 919 with fig. 829) of doubtful significance, possibly the banquet-hall and lustral centre of some mystic society. In pp. 375—379 ('Das Höhlenheiligtum am Kynthos') he accepts Plassart's dating of the bogus cave, but questions his interpretation of it as a Herakleion. Herakles in Delos was associated with the Kabeiroi (P. Roussel *Délos Colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 232 f.), who had there two distinct sanctuaries, one on the left bank of the Inopos, the other described as *τὸ Καβειρ[ε]ϊον τὸ ἐν τῇ Κόρυθῳ* (*Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 144, A 90) and probably to be identified with the famous cave-temple.

Plassart in *Délos* xi. 265 records two inscriptions to Zeus *Mégistos* (e.g. 'Ἡλιόδωπος Διὶ Μειγίστῳ | κατὰ πρόσταγμα on a block of white marble found with some Roman lamps in the south-west portion of sanctuary c on the northern slope of Mt Kynthos) and justly treats him as a Semitic god.

ii. 922 Mount Atabyrion. R. Herbig in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii Arch. Anz. p. 633 f. mentions as a new undertaking the excavation of the sanctuary of Zeus *Atabyrios*. No remains of a temple were found, but a massive *peribolos*-wall (fig. 26) and a building of uncertain use ('Halle für Votive? Monumentaleingang?'). Many dedications of Graeco-Roman date, all to Zeus *Atabyrios*, made monotonous reading. Votive objects included numerous small bulls and zebras in bronze and two fine fragments of bronze statuettes representing the god (fig. 27).

O. Eissfeldt 'Der Gott des Tabor und seine Verbreitung' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 14—41 claims that the name and cult of the Palestinian Tabor spread *viâ* Crete to

Rhodes in the second millennium B.C., and thence in 580 B.C. to Agrigentum and later to the Crimea (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2103 b ('Prope Sympheropolin (Akmedschet), haud procul a montibus *Taurorum*') a base inscribed Δι' Ἀταβυρίω Ποσίδεος Ποσίδεου χαριστήριον. E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pp. 463, 476). Eissfeldt further discusses the character of the god, who dwelt on a mountain and had the bull for his symbol, concluding that he was a mountain- and storm-god comparable with Hadad, Rimmon-Ramman, and Tešub, but also capable of taking an interest in human affairs.

ii. 939 n. i Mt Juktas as a recumbent face. My friend Mr N. G. L. Hammond supplies me with a good Greek parallel. He writes (Feb. 25, 1931): 'The mountain identified locally with Dione in repose is called Emërtsa (Gk. Ἐμέρτσα). The Austrian Staff map 1/200,000 (Korfu sheet 38° 40') wrongly calls it Nemerčika. The mountain lies on the Albanian frontier north of the headwaters of the Kalamas (in antiquity Thyamis).'

ii. 941 f. n. o. To the references for the tomb of Zeus add Ptol. Hephaist. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 147 b 37 ff. Bekker ὡς ὁ ἐν Κρήτῃ τάφος λεγόμενος τοῦ Διὸς Ὀλύμπου τοῦ Κρητὸς ἐστίν, ὃς παρὰ τοῦ Κρόνου λαβὼν τὸν Δία ἐτρεφέ τε καὶ ἐπαίδευε τὰ θεῖα. ἀλλὰ γὰρ βάλλει (φησὶν) ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν τροφέα καὶ διδάσκαλον κεραυνῶ, ὅτι δὴ τοὺς Γίγαντας αὐτοῦ τῇ βασιλείᾳ

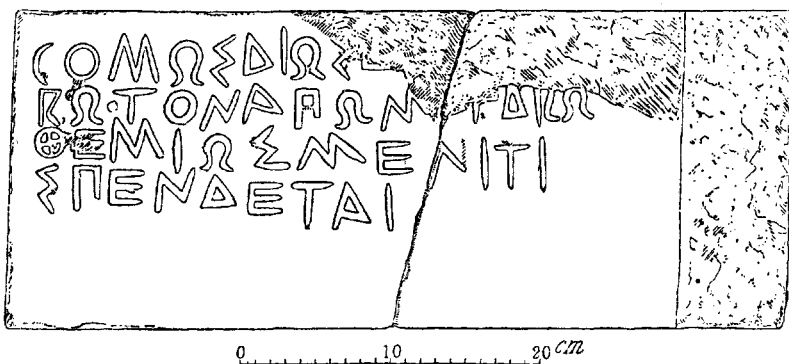


Fig. 914.

ἐπιθέσθαι ὑπερίθετο. ἀλλὰ βαλὼν καὶ νεκρὸν ἔχων μετεμελεῖτο· μὴ ἔχων δ' ἄλλως τὸ πάθος ἐκκλῖναι, δίδωσι τὸ ἴδιον ὄνομα τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ ἀνηρημένου. Eriphan. *ancor.* 106 (i. 208 Dindorf) καὶ τί μοι τὰ πλῆθῃ λέγειν τοῦ γενναίου τούτου φθορέως καὶ φθορέων διδασκάλου; οὐ τὸ μῆμα οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐστὶ δῆλον. ἐν Κρήτῃ γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ λεγόμενῳ Λασιῶ (? cp. *Lasithi*) ἔως δεῦρο δακτυλοδεικτεῖται.

ii. 946 n. o Zeus *Endendros*. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Gnomon* 1930 vi. 428 cites *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 2 no. 1027 fig. (=my fig. 914) a white marble slab inscribed *Βωμὸς Διὸς Ἐ[νδένδ]ρο, τῶν ἀπὸ Μ[αν]δρ[ο]θέμιος μέλιτι σπένδεται*. See further *id.* 'Zeusaltar aus Paros' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin Phil.-hist.* Classe 1906 pp. 786—788.

ii. 946 ff. n. o Zeus *Velchános*. Attempts to connect *Felchános* with *Volcanus* are still rife: see e.g. A. Nehring in Schrader *Reallex.* ii. 239 n. 1, F. Müller Jzn *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 560, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* i. 321, Margherita Guarducci 'Velchanos—Volcanus' in *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara* Città del Vaticano 1937 pp. 184—203 pl. 20, 1—4. But such proposals, however specious, are of very doubtful value.

Prof. J. Vürtheim of Leiden informed me (Feb. 13, 1926) that in a paper communicated to the Royal Academy of Amsterdam and published in December 1924 he had independently reached the same conclusion as Dr Atkinson and myself, viz. that *Felchános* means 'god of the Willow-tree.' See J. Vürtheim *Europa (Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde Deel 57, Serie A, No. 6)* Amsterdam 1924 p. 6 ff.

C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 92 n. o suggests that a large vase (?) or *rhyton* (?) of enamelled gold, shaped like a cock's head, which is figured among the presents of the Keftiu (Cretans?) in the second register of the tomb-paintings of Rekhmaré (G. A. Hoskins *Travels in Ethiopia* 1835 col. pl. between pp. 330 and 331),

bore to the cult of Zeus *Velchinos* the same relation as the lioness-heads of Knossos, Delphoi, and Mykenai (in gold) to that of Rhea. He also cp. a sherd of 1425—1123 B.C. found in the Valley of the Kings by Lord Carnarvon in 1920—21 (*The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1923 ix. 1 ff. pl. 20, 1 wrongly described as the earliest known drawing of the domestic cock in Egypt) and a *genius* (?) with a cock's head on a Cretan intaglio from Mt Ide now in the Museum at Candia.

More about cocks in magic and religion *supra* p. 45 n. 2. Add J. Praetorius *Alectryomantia, Seu Divinatio Magica cum Gallis Gallinaceis peracta...* Francofurti & Lipsiae 1680 pp. 1—185, C. T. Seltman in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1924; 1924—1925 xxvi. 93 ff. ('Eros and Cocks'), Güntert in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1325—1346 s.vv. 'Hahn,' 'Hahnenbalken,' 'Hahnenei,' 'Hahnenkampf,' 'Hahnenkrähen,' 'Hahnenschlagen,' 'Hahnentanz,' D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds*² Oxford 1936 pp. 33—44.

ii. 951 n. o with fig. 844 the Stroganoff bust of Zeus. O. Waldhauer in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen* Berlin—Leipzig 1928 i. 1. 58 f. no. 41 pl. 23 cp. a fine bronze head from the Uvárov collection, now in the Historical Museum at Moscow (*ib.* fig. 14, S. Reinach *Recueil de têtes antiques idéales ou idéalistes* Paris 1903 p. 194 pl. 239).

ii. 960 n. o contact with Mother Earth. W. Kroll 'Unum exuta pedem—ein volkskundlicher Seitensprung' in *Glotta* 1936 xxv. 152—158 questions my view of the Dodonaean rule and discusses alternatives. His list of relevant usages is interesting, but—so far as I can judge—what he calls the 'Antaiosmotiv' remains the most probable explanation.

ii. 961 n. o. The cult of Hektor at Thebes in Boiotia (Paus. 9. 18. 5) is handled by Miss G. H. Macurdy in the *Class. Quart.* 1926 xx. 179 f. But her contentions (*Hēktor* a shortened form of *Echēlaos* (cp. *Il.* 5. 473) = *Echēlos*, a god of death) are *risqués*.

ii. 962 n. 2 Zeus at Ephesos. Excavations carried on from September to November 1926 under the direction of J. Keil, M. Theuer, and A. Deissmann discovered on the northern slopes of the *Panaghir Dagh* (Mt Peion) a number of rock-cut votive niches and near them a *temenos* of Zeus, *Oreia* (Kybele), and other deities. An altar-shaped rock is inscribed in lettering of s. v B.C. *Ζεὺς | Πατρό | Ιερόν*, and a relief-inscription of c. 300 B.C. reads *Ζεὺς Ιερόν Πατρίω | καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος | Ἀριστόνακτος | τοῦ Κυ ννίδεω*. The site yielded no temple, but many inscriptions together with eight complete and three fragmentary Hellenistic reliefs showing the triad Kybele, Attis, and Zeus, or the pair Kybele and Attis, all bearing the lions symbolic of the goddess (J. Keil in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1926 xxiii. Beiblatt pp. 256—261 with figs. 48 rock-altar, 49—51 reliefs, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 580, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 260). Keil infers from the repeated absence of Zeus on these reliefs 'dass die Kulttrias, Vater, Mutter und Sohn, nicht ursprünglich ist, dass vielmehr die grosse Mutter zunächst nur den jugendlichen Gott zum Begleiter hatte. Wie die griechischen Ephesier diesen jugendlichen Gott benannten bzw. welchem ihrer Götter sie den altanatolischen Paredros der Bergmutter gleichsetzten [Hermes? Apollon?], bleibt noch zu ermitteln.'

ii. 963 n. o *Διοπερής*. The word is used in a secondary sense 'struck by lightning' in Aristophon *larpos frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 358 Meineke) *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 6. 27 (ed. Gaisford i. 162) *αὶ τῶν ἐταίρων γὰρ διοπερεῖς οἰκταὶ | γεγόνασιν ἄβατοι τοῖς ἔχουσι μὴδὲ ἐν*.

ii. 969 n. 4. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 92 n. o doubts the religious intervention of the Eumolpid Timotheos at Alexandria and at Pessinus.

ii. 970 n. o Attis and Gallos. A. H. Sayce in the *Class. Rev.* 1928 xlii. 161 f. quotes *Iskallis* as the Hittite name of Attis, and connects it with the Hittite verb *isgall-*, *iskall-* 'to cut.' Hence *isgallas* and *iskallis* 'eunuch,' which appears in Greek as γάλλος.

ii. 970 n. o the finger of Attis. This curious belief may belong to the group of primitive notions studied by R. D. Scott *The Thumb of Knowledge* New York 1930 pp. 1—296 (Finn mac Cumáill, Sigurd, Taliesin, etc.). S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 ii. 203 comments shrewdly: 'Est-ce le caractère sacré attaché, depuis l'époque quaternaire, à la main de l'homme?... A-t-on déjà songé aux statuettes alexandrines d'Harpocrate, l'enfant divin qui se met les doigts dans la bouche?'

ii. 970 n. o Agdistis. T. Zielinski *La Sibylle* Paris 1924 pp. 76—81 distinguishes the Phrygian myth of Agdistis, leading up to the rite of 'autocastration' and subsequent recovery, from its doublet the Greek myth of Attis, leading up to the doctrine of death followed by new life.

ii. 971 n. 2 *Theoi Ágrioi*. O. Weinreich in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1913 Abh. v. 15—19 collects all essential references to Θεοὶ Ἄγριοι, Θεοὶ

'*Ἀγρότεροι, Θεοὶ Ἀγροῦ*' and considers their significance. He argues that they were primarily 'Hunters'—*Sondergötter* in Usener's sense (*supra* ii. 13 n. 1)—who were secondarily identified with a variety of greater gods. A similar conclusion, as Weinreich observes, had been reached by L. Malten *Kyrene (Philologische Untersuchungen* xx) Berlin 1911 p. 10.

ii. 973 n. 1 life-priests of Zeus *Solymeús*. F. Schehl in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1929 xxiv Beiblatt pp. 95—106 adds another [τὸν] *γενόμενον διὰ βίου Διὸς Σολυμέως* [ἱερέα] *Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Ἀπρίαν* from an inscription of 140—145 A.D. found at Termessos.

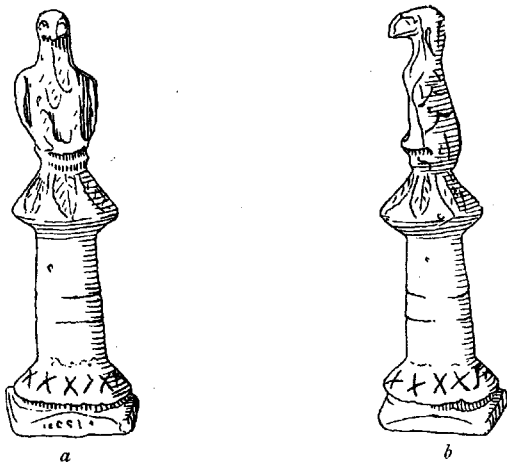


Fig. 918.



Fig. 919.

ii. 974 n. o festival of Zeus *Eleuthérios*. Other views in J. N. Svoronos 'ΤΕΡ-ΜΗΣΣΟΣ Η ΤΟ ΚΑΙΟΤΕ ΕΧΟΤΕΑ' in the *Journ. Intern. d' Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 181—184.

ii. 977 ff. Mount Argaios. The engineer E. J. Ritter 'Erdjias Dag' in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen und Österreichischen Alpenvereins* Innsbruck 1931 lxii. 124—148 gives a full account of Mt Argaios (pp. 124—127 (i) 'Vorgeschichte,' 127—133 (ii) 'Der Berg (Lage, Aufbau und Gestalt),' 133—137 (iii) 'Ersteigungsgeschichte,' 137—148 (iv) 'Erlebnisse') with p. 129 'Kartenskizze vom Erdjias Dag,' opposite p. 134 a fine photographic plate of 'Erdjias Dag gesehen von der Seldschukenburg in Kaiserrie,' etc., and p. 146 'Zeichnung des Gipfelturmes.' Mr C. M. Sleeman, to whom I am indebted for my knowledge of this article, himself climbed the mountain on Aug. 30, 1936 and took a series of excellent photographs, of which I reproduce two—fig. 915 the rocky summit with the upper part of a snow slope on the northern side, and fig. 916 a rock-pinnacle a little beneath and south-east of the summit with the plain of Everek in the distance.

I take this opportunity of publishing two small bronzes illustrative of the cult on Mt Argaios. They were obtained from a Greek refugee formerly resident in *Kaiserieh* and are now in my collection. The one is a tiny model of the mountain with a disproportionately large eagle perched on the top of it (fig. 917: height 2 inches). There is some indication of the *aiguilles* near the summit, also of streams descending from the snows, of a cavern high up in front, of two foothills (? breasts of the mountain-mother), etc. In brief, the coin-type shown *supra* ii. 979 fig. 862 is here rendered in the round. The other little bronze (fig. 918: height 2½ inches) represents an eagle on a pillar, the top of which is shaped like a cone and decorated with six leaves. The waist has a band round it. The base is patterned with crisscross lines and rests on a square plinth. Akin to these diminutive exvotos is a bronze (height 0.15^m) in the Louvre, assigned to the latter half of the second millennium B.C., which figures an eagle perched proudly on the antlers of a stag (*Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* v. 292 fig. c with text by Mlle Rutten).

The coin-type of Tranquillina as Tyche of Kaisareia wearing Mt Argaios as a head-dress (*supra* ii. 979 fig. 877) can be paralleled by an engraved serpentine of Roman work c. 250 A.D., which has on one side a solar charioteer in his *quadriga*, on the other the veiled head of Kaisareia in profile to the right with Mt Argaios as a crown and the inscription ΕΥΤΥΧΙ ΒΟΚΟΝΤΙ ἐβύχ(ε)ι Βοκόντι(ε) (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*² p. 179 no. 1663 pl. 22). Another rare coin-type of Kaisareia shows Zeus standing with a *kálathos* on his head and Mt Argaios in his left hand (F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1996 fig. 5140 after Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* iv. 432 no. 178 Alexander Severus ('Sérapis'), *ib.* Suppl. vii. 742 pl. 13. 4 (= my fig. 919)).

ii. 981 n. 1 Mt Kasion in Syria. O. Eissfeldt *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer* Halle (Saale) 1932 pp. 1—72 with sketch at beginning and map at end, especially p. 30 ff. ('Zeus Kasios')—reviewed by G. Bertram in *Gnomon* 1933 ix. 554 f., by F. Nötscher in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 1933 xl. 140 f., and by A. Wendel in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 1934 xxxvii. 105 f.—holds that the Semitic Baal Zaphon became by *interpretatio Graeca* Zeus Kasios both in Syria and in Egypt, where his rescue of the Israelites was attributed to Jahwe.

ii. 984 n. 4 Mt Kasion in Egypt. A papyrus at Berlin mentions Zeus *Kásios* in s. ii A.D. (*Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Museen zu Berlin* Berlin 1903 iii. 142 no. 827, 2 f. (P. 7150) τὸ προσκύνημα σου παρὰ τῷ Δι τῷ Κασίῳ, F. Preisigke *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* Berlin 1931 iii. 388).

ii. 987 n. 0 anchor inscribed Ζεὺς Κάσι(ο)ς Σῶξ[ων]. A 'Campanian' *hydria* from S. Maria di Capua, now at Karlsruhe, represents a scene of departure, in which a young man bids farewell to a woman and is about to step on board his ship. The stern of the vessel has, not only an ἀφλαστον adorned with light and dark filets, but also a στυλίσκος set on the steersman's seat and labelled Ι[Ε]ΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ (*Winnefeld Vasensamml. Karlsruhe* p. 83 f. no. 350, dated by F. von Duhn in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 229 ff. c. 300 B.C., H. Diels 'Das Aphlaston der antiken Schiffe' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 69 fig. 4, L. Deubner in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1927 xlii. 186 ff. fig. 12).

ii. 987 n. 1 Zeus *Hynnareis*. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff *Der Glaube der Hellenen* Berlin 1931 i. 127 n. 3: 'Wer Hesiod mit Αἰγείον das kretische Ἰννάριον wiedergeben lässt, traut ihm eine verwunderliche Sprachkenntnis zu.'

ii. 1012 n. 1. Similar tales in C. F. Coxwell *Siberian and other Folk-Tales* London 1933 p. 414 ('Three Sisters') and pp. 540—552 ('The Story of a Wise Maiden').

ii. 1015 n. 8. The Moliones as figured by a Boeotian *fibula* from the Idaean Cave and by a geometric sherd from the Argive Heraion have one body, but two heads, four arms, and four legs (C. Blinkenberg *Fibules grecques et orientales* (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* xiii. 1) København 1926 p. 163 ff. figs. 197, 198). See also O. Weinreich in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 63 f.

ii. 1017 n. 4 Pegasus as lightning-bearer (?). L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl. 155 fig. 63 adduces bronze coins of Termessos with *obv.* head of Zeus, *rev.* forepart of bridled horse galloping with winged thunderbolt behind (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. 269 f. pl. 41, 10, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 523 no. 1).

ii. 1021 Nyx in the Orphic theogony. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* Cambridge 1935 p. 103 notes Aristot. *met.* 1071 b 26 f. οἱ θεολόγοι οἱ ἐκ Νυκτὸς γεννῶντες and *ib.* 1091 b 4 ff. οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ταύτῃ ὁμολῶς, ἥ βασιλεύειν καὶ ἄρχειν φασὶν οὐ τοὺς πρῶτους, οὐκ Νύκτα καὶ Οὐρανὸν ἢ Χάος ἢ Ὠκεανόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Δία with Alex. Aphrod. *ad loc.* (p. 821, 10 ff. Hayduck) αἰνίττεται δὲ τὸν Ὀρφέα· καὶ οὗτος γὰρ φησιν ὅτι τὸ

ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον ὕστερόν ἐστι τῶν ἄλλων. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ βασιλεῖον καὶ κρατοῦν τῆς τῶν ἁπάντων φύσεώς ἐστι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον, ὃ δὲ Ζεὺς βασιλεύει καὶ κρατεῖ, ὃ Ζεὺς ἄρ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον. καὶ ἐπεὶ πρῶτον μὲν κατ' Ὀρφέα τὸ Χάος γέγονεν, εἰθ' ὁ Ὠκεανός, τρίτον Νύξ, τέταρτον ὁ Οὐρανός, εἰτ' ἀθανάτων βασιλεὺς θεῶν ὁ Ζεὺς, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ οὗτος

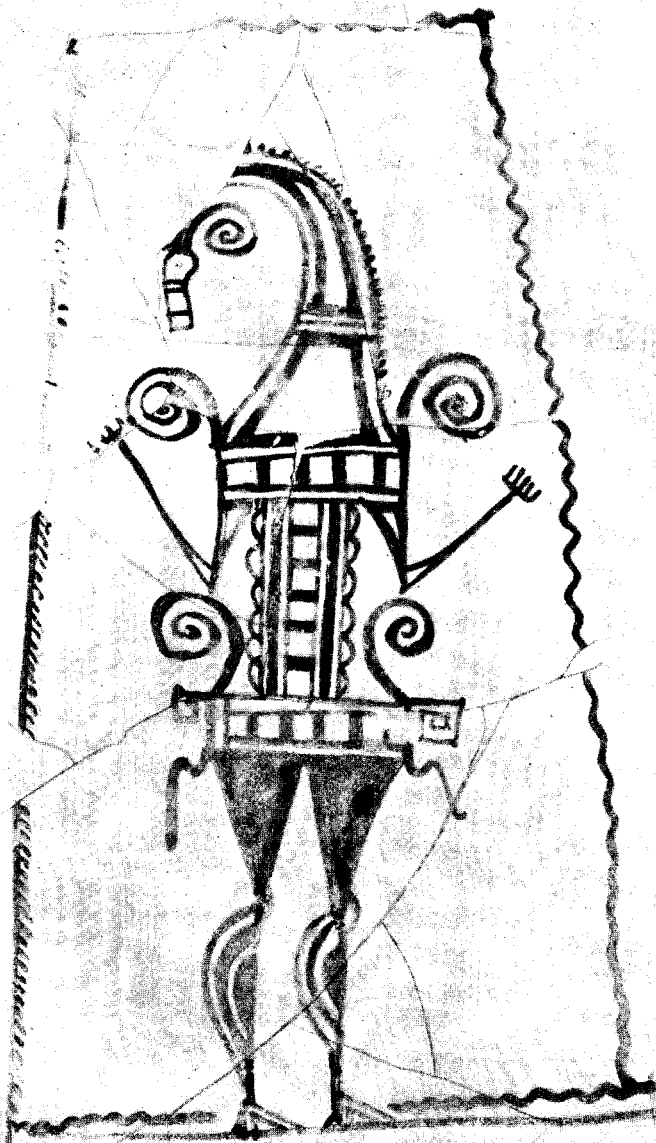


Fig. 920.

τὸν Δία, ταῦτ' ὁ δ' εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον, ὕστερον νομίζει καὶ τοῦ Χάους καὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ τῆς Νυκτὸς καὶ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ, ἦτοι τοῦ κόσμου.

ii. 1024. On the Mandaeans in general see W. Brandt in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 380^a—393^a. C. H. Kraeling 'The Origin and Antiquity of the Mandaeans' in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1929 xlix. 195—218 shows (p. 209) that Mandaean cosmogony 'harks back to the traditions of the Orphic hymns, of Mochoos and Sanchuniathon' (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 200).

ii. 1025 *Erikepalos*. A papyrus of s. iii B.C. found at Gurob addresses 'Ἰρεκεπαίγῃ in an Orphic context (J. G. Smyly *Greek Papyri from Gurob* Dublin 1921 (Royal Irish Academy. Cunningham Memoirs xii) p. 1 ff. no. 1 pl. 1, Orph. frag. vet. 31 col. i, 22 Kern [-]λεῦ (Smyly cj. βασιλεῦ or Εὐβουλεῦ) 'Ἰρεκεπαίγῃ ὠδισόμ με | κ.τ.λ., W. K. C. Guthrie *op. cit.* p. 98).

ii. 1027. On 'Zeus Schöpfer' see J. Amann *Die Zeusrede des Ailios Aristides* Stuttgart 1931 p. 47 ff.

ii. 1033 ff. The Cosmic Egg. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 410 n. 3 (Letts, Finns, Peruvians, etc.), E. Mogk 'Das Ei im Volksbrauch und Volksglauben' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 215—223, A. Olivieri 'L' uovo cosmogonico degli Orfici' in the *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle arti* Napoli 1920 vii. 295—334 (reviewed by F. Kiesow in the *Bollettino di Filologia Classica* 1921 xxvii. 169—173), Eckstein in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 595—644 ('Ei'), especially p. 596 with nn. 11, 12, 13 ('Weltei' etc.), H. C. Baldry 'Embryological Analogies in Pre-Socratic Cosmogony' in the *Class. Quart.* 1932 xxvi. 27 ff.

ii. 1039 χάος connected with χάσχω. F. Börtzler 'Zu den antiken Chaoskosmogonien' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 253—268 discusses the history of the rival ancient etymology from χύσις, σύγχυσις, etc.

ii. 1040 the horse-cult in Hispania Tarraconensis. A. Schulten *Numantia* München 1931 ii. 213 pl. 21 (= my fig. 920) publishes a red Iberian vase (*supra* p. 1090) bearing the black-figured design of a horse-headed god with human hands and feet—possibly the actor in some mumming play—and notes (*op. cit.* i. 248) that the Celtiberians worshipped the Celtic horse-goddess Epona.

Recent studies of the horse-cult include P. Maylam *The Hooded Horse, an East Kent Christmas Custom* Canterbury 1909 pp. 1—124 with pls. A—G, G. Ancey 'Le Cheval de Troie' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 378—381, L. Malten 'Das Pferd im Totenglauben' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1914 xxix. 179—256 with 42 figs., M. Oldfield *Howey The Horse in Magic and Myth* London 1923 pp. 1—238 with 6 pls. and other figs. (popular), Schrader *Reallex.*² ii. 172^b—175^a, L. Curtius in *Die Antike* 1927 iii. 166—170, 184—186, H. M. Hubbell 'Horse Sacrifice in Antiquity' in *Yale Classical Studies* 1928 i. 179—192, Steller in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1935 vi. 1598—1652 ('Pferd'), 1652—1655 ('Pferdefleisch'), 1655 f. ('Pferdefuss'), 1656—1660 ('Pferdeheilige'), 1660 f. ('Pferdehuf'), 1661—1664 ('Pferdejunge'), 1664—1670 ('Pferdekopf'), 1670 f. ('Pferdemahr'), 1671—1675 ('Pferdeopfer'), 1675 f. ('Pferdeschwanz'), 1679 f. ('Pferdestall'), 1680 f. ('Pferdetag'), 1681—1683 ('Pferdeumritte'), 1683 f. ('Pferdeweihe'), Ohrt *ib.* 1676—1679 ('Pferdesegen'), W. Koppers 'Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen' in the *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* 1936 iv. 279—411, R. Bleichsteiner 'Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker' *ib.* 413—495, A. Slawik 'Kultische Geheimbinde der Japaner und Germanen. Pferd' *ib.* 692—699, R. Lantier 'Chevaux-enseignes celtiques' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 236—247 figs. 1—3.

ii. 1044 fig. 893 Helene and Menelaos. See now E. Buschor in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 307—311 fig. 147 pl. 170, 1. But E. Löwy 'Archäologisch-Philologische' in *Wiener Studien* 1929 xlvii. 59 f. still (cp. *id.* 'Entstehung einer Sagenversion' *ib.* 1912 xxxiv. 282—287) argues with much force that Aristoph. *Lys.* 155 f. ὁ γὰρ Μενέλαος τὰς Ἑλένας τὰ μᾶλ' αὖ πα | γυμνὰς παραυθὼν ἐξέβαλ', οἷω, τὸ ἔξφορ must have had in mind some famous painting by a contemporary Attic artist.

ii. 1046 fig. 896 Eros with thunderbolt and sceptre. Another Roman gem has Eros leaning on a pillar with thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre in left (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 55, ii. 209, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 28, 6 p. 171).

ii. 1048 fig. 906 Eros whipped. Cp. the *genre* scenes in Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine* Berlin p. 257 no. 6918 pl. 51 = *id.* *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 42, 50, ii. 203 and in the Wilson gems (*supra* p. 39 n. 6) no. 5218, where three schoolboys, not Erotes, form a similar group.

ii. 1050 Eros on early Christian *sarcophagi*. See now G. Rodenwaldt 'Der Klinkensarkophag von S. Lorenzo' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1930 xlv. 116—189 with 59 figs. and pls. 5—7.

ii. 1053 fig. 910 Aion. Other effigies of Aion are given by H. Gressmann in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 186 pl. 4, 8 and 9. O. Brendel in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. pp. 595—599 fig. 8 adds an interesting statue at Castel-Gandolfo, which shows him as a four-winged and four-armed god with leonine head, an eye on his chest, small lion-heads on his belly and on either knee. He is flanked by two snakes, which are not twined round him. At his right foot is a hydra and a horned lion; at his left foot is Kerberos. Altogether, an aggregate of symbols worthy of this syncretistic deity (*supra* p. 914 n. o).



Fig. 921

ii. 1054 ff. Zeus *Ktésios*. H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 53—74 deals at length with this curious cult. After stating my conclusions (pp. 64—66), he proceeds to develop a rival hypothesis, which is roughly as follows. He starts with a primary piece of magic: the jar containing *παγκάρια* is charged with *orenda* and serves as a praedeistic means of ensuring perpetual supplies in the storeroom. In course of time come secondary modifications: water and oil are added, and so the whole becomes *ἀμφορία* and is taken to imply a 'Sondergott' Ktesios ('Der ursprünglich magische Zwangsritus ist zum Opferritus geworden'). Ktesios under the influence of the 'Hausschlange' is conceived as a snake, and is finally identified with an Olympian deity as Zeus *Ktésios*. Reviews by H. J. Rose in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 149 and in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlv. 181, by A. Momigliano in the *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1932 viii. 119, by K. Keyssner in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 6, 1933 pp. 493—497, by C. Picard in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1934 xlvii. 377 f. and in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1934 cx. 247—249.

W. Peek in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1934 lix. 43 f. no. 6 (Aigina: archaic) Διὸς Παῖο | [κ]αὶ Σῶρε[σ]ι, cp. *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 62 (*supra* i. 520 n. 2) and W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 no. 36, d 37 and 40 τῷ Παῖϊ.

ii. 1059 Donatus as interp. Serv. On this much-debated point see P. Wessner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 1837—1842, H. J. Thomson 'Servius auctus and Donatus' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 205 f., G. B. Waldrop 'Donatus, the Interpreter of Vergil and Terence' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1927 xxxviii. 75—142.

ii. 1059 ff. burial in the house. H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1930 xxiv. 130 quotes F. von Duhn *Italische Gräberkunde* Heidelberg 1924 i. 36 (Saepinum, *Sepino*) for the only example of an Italian buried in and with his house. In 1930 G. Mylonas found 'Middle Helladic' houses, both rectangular and apsidal, on the southern slope of the *akropolis* at Eleusis. 'Under the floors of these houses and between the walls were found burials of small children' (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 197. Further details by G. Karo in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlii Arch. Anz. p. 231 ff.). But the evidence of such practices is abundant and quite conclusive, as will be admitted by anyone who reads the important articles of G. Wilke 'Wohnungsbestattung' in Ebert *Reallex.* xiv. 443—445 and 'Hausgrab' *ib.* v. 215 f.

ii. 1066 Zeus *Ktésios* in Thasos. P. Guillon in the *Rev. Arch.* 1937 i. 195—200 figs. 1 and 2 publishes a boundary-stone from Thasos inscribed c. 400 B.C. Διὸς | Κρησίο Πατρῶο and cp. another from the same locality and of similar date published by G. Mendel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 270 no. 10 [Δι]ὸς | [Α]γροπό | Θασίο (summarised by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 617).

ii. 1066 Zeus *Ktésios* at Mylasa. A. W. Persson in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlii. 308 f. no. 3 a fragmentary inscription mentioning 8 f. [τὸν δεῖνα τοῦ δέινος, ie][πεία] Διὸς Κρησίου.

ii. 1068 the jars of Zeus. A Pompeian painting from a house in the *Strada della Fortuna* published by H. Heydemann in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1868 p. 19 ff. and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1868 xxvi. 33—35 pl. 4 (=my fig. 921) and reproduced by Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 9 no. 4 ('Jupiter consulte le sort') shows the god seated with one of the Fates holding lots(?) and Nike bearing a palm-branch behind him. He has a long sceptre in his left hand and extends the right, with the lot that he has drawn or is about to draw, over a jar set on the ground at his feet. This painting deteriorated so fast on exposure to the air that a month after its discovery a thunderbolt, originally painted beside the jar in front of the god's right foot, had completely vanished. Heydemann would connect the whole scene with a picture of Herakles and the snakes painted vertically beneath it on the same wall.

A relief dating from s. iii B.C. and found at Athens in the sanctuary of Artemis *Kalliste* represents a man and his wife invoking the goddess, who with a large torch held in both hands stands behind her altar and in front of two big jars set on the ground (A. Philadelphus in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 li. 158 no. 1 pl. 8. P. Rousset *ib.* pp. 164—169 'Remarques sur le bas-relief de Kallisté' traces the significance of the jars and cites the Homeric parallel. E. H. Heffner summarises both papers in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 360).

ii. 1069 f. Zeus *Agamemnon*. I. Harrie 'Zeus Agamemnon in Sparta' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 359—369 explains this cult as a case of Hellenistic divinisation ('die Apotheose wird nicht als der Kult einer wirklichen Gottheit betrachtet, es haftet ihr ein Beigeschmack von serviler Schmeichelei an; diese Spartiaten, die den Agamemnon zum Götterkönig ausrufen, atmen alexandrinische Hofluft') and seeks to account for its attribution to Sparta by assuming a learned revival of the early lyrical version which connected Agamemnon with Lakedaimon and Amyklai (K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 724).

ii. 1070 ff. Zeus *Amphidraos*. B. Leonardos 'Ἀμφιαρείων' in the *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1917 pp. 239—242, 'Ἀμφιαρείων' *ib.* 1918 pp. 110—113, 1919 pp. 99—102, 1922 pp. 101—111, 1923 pp. 166—169 reports on his excavations at the Amphiareion near Oropos over a series of seven successive years. *Id.* 'Ἀμφιαρείων ἐπιγραφαί' in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1885 pp. 93 ff., 153 ff., 1886 p. 53 ff., 1889 p. 1 ff., 1891 p. 71 ff., 1892 p. 33 ff., in the *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1917 pp. 39 ff., 231 ff., 1918 p. 73 ff., 1919 p. 54 ff., 1923 p. 36 ff., 1925—1926 p. 9 ff. collects 160 inscriptions from the site.

ii. 1072 Zeus *Amphithalés*. A. Oepke 'Ἀμφιθαλής im griechischen und hellenistischen Kult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 42—56 deals *in primis* with the young acolytes in the Bacchic inscription found near Torre Nova (A. Vogliano in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 215 ff., F. Cumont *ib.* p. 232 ff., with abstract by C. Alexander *ib.* p. 264 ff.)

and stresses the importance of *pueri ingenui patrimini et matrimini* in a variety of ancient cults, mystic and otherwise.

ii. 1073 ff. Zeus *Trophónios*. F. Peeters 'À propos de l'oracle de Trophonios. i. Les onctions d'huile et le bain dans l'Hercyna' in *Le Musée Belge* 1929 xxxiii. 27—32 (the anointing with oil before the bath (Paus. 9. 39. 5—7) was not a religious rite, but a practical precaution against cold).

ii. 1075 Demeter *Erinys*. A. H. Krappé 'EPINTΣ' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1932 lxxxi. 305—320 ('die Erinyen sind die rossgestaltigen Zwillingstöchter des Herrn der Erdentiefe und einer alten Fruchtbarkeitsgottheit, einer frühgriechischen "Mutter Erde," beide gleichfalls rossgestaltig... Nach einer gleichfalls alten Parallelüberlieferung ist nur eines der Zwillingskinder weiblichen Geschlechts; das andere ist ein Hengst...').

ii. 1077 f. Zeus *Asklepiós*. Cp. Galen. *περί ἀνατομικῶν ἐγχειρήσεων* 1. 2 (ii. 224 f. Kühn) ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι κατ' ἐκείνον ἐτι διέτριβον τὸν χρόνον, ὑπὸ Σατύρῳ παιδευόμενος, ἔτος ἥδη τέταρτον ἐπιδημοῦντι τῇ Περγᾷ μετὰ Κουστουνίου Ρουφίῳ, κατασκευάζοντος ἡμῖν τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Διὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ (where Kühn prints the erroneous translation 'divi Aesculapii templum').

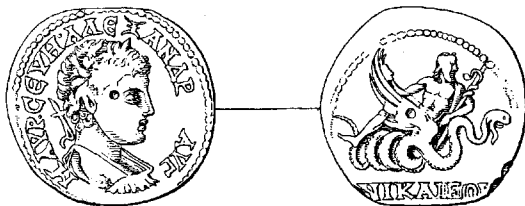


Fig. 922.

ii. 1082 metopes from the temple of Asklepios. But K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli. 83 f. infers from their lack of an upper border, from their exact height, and from other indications that these are votive reliefs, not metopes at all.

ii. 1082 ff. *Asklepiós* and the Snake. An echo of Asklepios' snake at Epidauros may be heard in the legend of St Hilarion (Oct. 21), who at Epidaurum or Epidauros (*Ragusa vecchia*) in southern Dalmatia burnt a huge snake, of the sort called *boa* because they can swallow an ox (S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 xii. 516 f.). The story is told by Hieron. v. S. *Hilar. eremit.* 39 (xxiii. 50 B—C Migne).

On *Alexandros* or the *Sham Seer* see also A. D. Nock 'Alexander of Abonuteichos' in the *Class. Quart.* 1928 xxii. 160—162.

Comparable with the coin-types of Glykon is the snake that appears on bronze pieces issued by Caracalla at Pautalia in Thrace. This monster rises erect on quadruple coils with the tail of a fish and a radiate nimbus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 144 f. nos. 30—32, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 195 no. 4525 pl. 170, 2) or wreath (*ib.* ii. 196 no. 4526) round his head. A specimen issued by Geta gives him a lion's head (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 146 no. 46). Other bronze coins of Pautalia struck by Caracalla show Asklepios with his serpent-staff borne through the air by a winged and bearded snake (*ib.* p. 145 no. 34 fig.). And the same type occurs, under Severus Alexander, at Nikaia in Bithynia (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 474 no. 597 (wrongly described as holding a mask in his right hand) pl. 82, 24. Fig. 922 is from a coin of mine).

ii. 1087. One more effort to find a satisfactory etymology for *Asklepiós* is that of D. Detscev, who in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 1925 iii. 131—164 derives the name from a Thracian stem **ḍov-* 'snake' and **κλαπιός*, *καλαπιός* cognate with the Thracian place-name *κληπι-δάνα* (connected with **glapi* and **apio* 'to bend'). On which showing *Asklepiós* might mean 'he who moves with serpent coils.' Further summary of these very rash speculations is supplied by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 207 f.

ii. 1089 ff. Telesphoros. G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 ii. 161 ff. no. 276 fig. 117, A publishes a Thracian statuette of Asklepios, with Telesphoros beside him, now in the Museum at Plovdiv. Other examples of the hooded type are fairly numerous: they occur e.g. in bronze at Amiens (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 13 no. 2), Avignon (ii. 470 no. 5), Djemila (ii. 470 no. 6), Florence (v. 223 no. 6), Nona in Dalmatia (iii. 22 no. 4 f.), Paris

(ii. 470 no. 4), Trèves (iv. 293 no. 3), Troyes (ii. 470 no. 2), in marble at Mantinea (ii. 469 no. 11), Munich (vi. 110 no. 1), in stone at Nîmes (vi. 110 no. 2), and even in amber at Oedenburg (iv. 293 no. 6). The type is further discussed by J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 315 ff., H. Herter *De Priapo* Giessen 1932 p. 193 ('Priapus agricolarum potius exemplo hoc vestimenti genere uti videtur'), R. Egger 'Genius Cucullatus' in the *Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift* 1932 xix. 311—323 (two altars inscribed *Genio Cucullato* in a small Celtic temple at Wabelsdorf in Carinthia: this deity, worshipped throughout the Romano-Celtic area, was introduced into Greece by the Galatians from Asia Minor, and under the Greek name Telesphoros travelled far and wide during the early centuries of our era), K. Kerényi 'Telesphoros' in *Egyptemes Philologiai Kozszoeny* Budapest 1933 lvii. 7—11 (the cult of Telesphoros was essentially Graeco-Roman), F. J. de Waele in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 446 n. 2 (two figurines from Corinth 'may represent a similar small divinity, a predecessor of Telesphoros, as Euamerion...in Titane (Paus. II, 11, 7)'), F. M. Heichelheim 'Genii Cucullati' in *Archaeologia Aeliana* Fourth Series xii. 187—194 ('among the Celts of the Danube region, Gaul, and Britain, native deities who wore the *cucullus* were assimilated not only to the Roman *genius* and the eastern Telesphoros...but also to the Cabiri....A survival of the *genii cucullati* in the similar representations of dwarfs, hobgoblins, and the like, in the post-Roman period...does not seem unlikely').

ii. 1089 *Grabphalli*. Paus. 8. 34. 2 (near Megalopolis) γῆς χῶμα...ἐπιθήμα ἔχον λίθον πεποιημένον δάκτυλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὄνομα τῷ χῶματι ἐστὶ Δακτύλου μῆμα is interpreted by C. Belger in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 14, 1892 p. 640 as a *phallós*. But see the facts collected by Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 354—357.

ii. 1090 Zeus *Hórios*. On Zeus 'Órios see also H. J. W. Tillyard in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 65, S. Eitrem *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte* Kristiania 1920 iii. 33, and E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 648. It must be borne in mind that Zeus 'Órios was not merely the Greek rendering of Jupiter *Terminus* or *Terminalis*, but also a genuine Hellenic deity, the natural protector of boundaries. Plat. *legg.* 842 E Διὸς ὀρίου μὲν πρῶτος νόμος ὅδε εἰρήσθω· μὴ κινεῖτω γῆς ὅρια μηδεὶς κ.τ.λ. implies the sanction of long-standing usage. The calendar of the Attic *tetrápolis* found at *Koukounari*, which dates from the earlier part of s. iv B.C., prescribes for Skirophorion the sacrifice of a sheep to Zeus 'Órios (R. B. Richardson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1895 x. 209 ff. col. 1, 11 = J. de Prot *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 46 ff. no. 26, A 11 [τάδε ὁ ἀρχων θέ?]ει· Διὶ 'Ορίῳ οἷς ΔΤ). And the northern boundary of the Thracian Chersonesos was marked by an inscribed altar of the same god ([Dem.] *de Halonnes*. 39 f. καίτοι Χερρονήσου οἱ ὅροι εἰσὶν, οὐκ Ἄγορά, ἀλλὰ βωμός τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ 'Ορίου, ὅς ἐστι μεταξὺ Πτελεοῦ καὶ Λευκῆς Ἀκτῆς, ἣ ἡ διορυχὴ ἐμελλε Χερρονήσου ἐσεσθαι, ὥς γε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ 'Ορίου δηλοῖ. ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦτ'· τόνδε καθιδρύσαντο θεῷ περικαλλέα βωμόν | Λευκῆς καὶ Πτελεοῦ μέσσον ὅρον θέμενοι | ἐνναέται, χῶρης σημψίον· ἀμμορίας δὲ | αὐτὸς ἀναξ μακάρων ἐστὶ μέσος Κρονίδης (J. H. Vince translates 'Zeus is Warden of our No Man's Land.' F. Blass had cj. μολῆς σημψίον ἀμμορίας τε on the strength of *Od.* 20. 75 f.)). Hence Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 'Ἐπιθετα Διός... 71 ὀρίου, *ib.* i. 266 'Ἐπιθετα Διός... 66 ὀρίου. Cp. a dedication of the Abderites to Hadrian as *Τραιανῷ Ἀδριανῷ Σεβαστῷ Ζηνί Ἐφορίῳ* (G. Bakalakis in *Θρακικά* 1937 viii. 29 = *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 386 no. 170).

ii. 1091 ff. Zeus *Meilichios*. Short studies of this cult in H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 75—84 ('Zeus Philios und Zeus Meilichios') and M. P. Nilsson 'Die Götter des Symposions' (*E Symbolis Philologicis* O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatis seorsum expressum) Upsaliae 1932 pp. 224—227. G. Blum 'Μειλίχιος' in *Le Musée Belge* 1913 xvii. 313—320 held that the appellative meant 'maître des abeilles,' c'est-à-dire des âmes' (A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 423 n. 4): cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 19.

ii. 1095 κύρβεις. M. Guarducci "'Axones" e "kyrbeis"' in the *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia* 1929—1931 vii. 101—107 distinguishes ἄξονες, three or, more probably, four tables of wood set at an angle to each other and revolving on a common axle, from κύρβεις, prismatic or pyramidal blocks of stone tapering towards the top but not made to move: both forms of monument were inscribed *boustrophedon*. She publishes the limestone fragment of a law-κύρβης from *Prinias* (Rhizena?) and compares with it the inscribed tapering stone from Dreros (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 23, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 239 ff. no. 4952, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 527) and a similar inscription on a block of red trachyte from Chios (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf *Nordionische Steine* (*Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1909 Phil.-hist. Classe ii. 64 ff. pl. 2 no. 25), E. Schwyzer *Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora* Lipsiae 1923 p. 337 f. no. 687, M. N. Tod *A selection of Greek*

historical inscriptions to the end of the fifth century B.C. Oxford 1933 p. 1 ff. no. 1). See now M. Guarducci in *Inscr. Cret.* i. 84 ff. Dreros no. 1, 297 f. Rhizenia? no. 7. Note also the pillar of Poseidon, made of brass and inscribed with the laws, in the island of Atlantis (Plat. *Kritias* 119 C ff.). L. B. Holland 'Axones' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 302 (unpublished).

ii. 1099 n. 2 the altar of Zeus *Litaios* on coins of Nikaia. On these coins see now C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1926 lvii. 556 (report of a paper read to the Cambridge Philological Society, Nov. 25, 1926).

ii. 1101 Zeus *Xénios*. J. Vürtheim *Aischylos' Schutzfliehende* Amsterdam 1928 pp. 6—8 ('Zeus Xenios'), O. Weinreich s.v. 'Xenios' in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 522—525 (a careful and comprehensive collection of data).

ii. 1102 n. 4 *Arántides*. H. Krahe 'Zu makedonisch APANTIEIN · EPINTEI' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 393—395 regards the name as Illyrian.

ii. 1103. F. N. Pryce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1936 lvi. 77 f. pl. 5 publishes a small Attic bell-*kratér*, said to have been found at Coriuth and now in the collection of Mr E. Armytage, which appears to show Theseus waiting at the altar of Zeus *Meilichios* to be purified of blood-guiltiness, cp. Bakchyl. 17. 46 ff.

ii. 1103 n. 7 Zeus *Sykásios*. H. Vorwahl 'Zum Ursprung des "Feigenblatts"' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 319 f. rightly concludes: 'So ergibt die philologische Untersuchung eine Bestätigung der psychoanalytischen Bemerkung, dass das Feigenblatt nicht das Symbol der Keuschheit, sondern der bewusst gewordenen Sexualität sei.'

ii. 1105 Zeus *Meilichios* enthroned. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 424 n. 3 cites a votive relief in the Museum at Corfu (inv. no. 352), which represents Zeus seated to the right on a rock with a sceptre in his left hand, a *phidde* in his right. On either side of him two snakes advance, raising their heads. Before him are traces of a small female votary with uplifted arm. The relief is inscribed in letters of s. iii or earlier 'Ἥγησώ Δὲ Μειλιχίωι.

ii. 1114 Zeus *Meilichios* associated with Helios. S. G. Paraskenaidēs in the 'Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1932 ἀρχ. χρον. p. 12 f. no. 1 fig. 1 publishes a grey marble slab from Mytilene bearing a manumission of c. 200 B.C. Τείμης Εὐκτιμένη | ἀφείλει ἐλευθέραν | Πέλεαν ὑπὸ Δία καὶ | Ἄλιον, ἀνένκλητόν | μοι γενομένην, | ἐπεὶ κε τὸν βίον ἐγλίπη. || Τείμης Εὐκτιμένη | ἀφείλει ἐλευθέραν | ἐλευθέραν | ὑπὸ Δία καὶ Ἄλιον. He quotes other manumissions ὑπὸ Δία Ἰῆν 'Ἠλίον' (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 1212 with n. 2, *supra* ii. 729 n. o) and ὑπὸ Δία Ἠλίον (K. A. Rhomaios in the 'Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1924—1925 ix παράρτ. 5 Thermos).

ii. 1115 Zeus *Meilichios* at Sounion. In the fortress outside the temple at Sounion G. P. Oikonomos in 1924 found 'a votive stele to Zeus Meilichios, with two snakes displayed symmetrically' (A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xlv. 274, cp. G. Welter in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl Arch. Anz. p. 314).

ii. 1124 n. o a goblet inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Such γραμματικά ἐκπώματα have been listed and discussed by C. Picard 'À propos de deux coupes du Vatican et d'un fragment du Musée Kircher' in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (École Française de Rome) 1910 xxx. 99—116 pls. 2 and 3 and *id.* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 174—178 ('ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΑ ΕΚΠΩΜΑΤΑ'). He enumerates sixteen specimens, of which no. 7 is a *stamnos* from Fasano with a painted inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 226 no. F 548), no. 15 a *kýlix* of black Attic ware from Pantikapaion incised [ἀμ]φωτὶς Διὸς Σωτήρος (B. Pharmakowsky in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. p. 209 f.), no. 16 fig. 5 a fragment of a black-glazed *kántharos* from the Peiraiens lettered in orange-red paint [ΔΙΟΣ] ΣΩΤΗ[ΡΟΣ]. See further C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1938 ii. 105—107.

ii. 1132 the soul of the divine king escaped as a bird. A. H. Krappe in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1928 lxxvii. 184 cites an Iranian tale from F. Spiegel *Eränsche Alterthumskunde* Leipzig 1873 ii. 43: 'So hören wir (Yt. 19, 34) dass sich die königliche Majestät in Gestalt eines Vogels von Yima entfernte, als derselbe anfang lügender Worte zu sprechen; immerhin wird man gedacht haben dass die Majestät auf ein anderes Glied der königlichen Familie überging.'

ii. 1132 n. 4 the sceptre of Zeus. Cp. Hes. *cat. frag.* 123 Kinkel, 103 Rzach, *ap. Plat. Min.* 320 D (Minos) δὲ βασιλεύσας ἔσκε καταβηγῶν βασιλῆων | καὶ πλείστων ἥρασσε περικτιόνων ἀνθρώπων | Ζηνὸς ἔχων σκήπτρον· τῷ καὶ πόλεων βασιλευν.

ii. 1132 n. 6. On sceptre-worship see also M. Cary—A. D. Nock 'Magic spears' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 123 n. 5.

ii. 1135 the central slab from the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (pl. xlv). One or two fresh facts and fancies must be recorded. W. R. Lethaby 'The Central Part of the

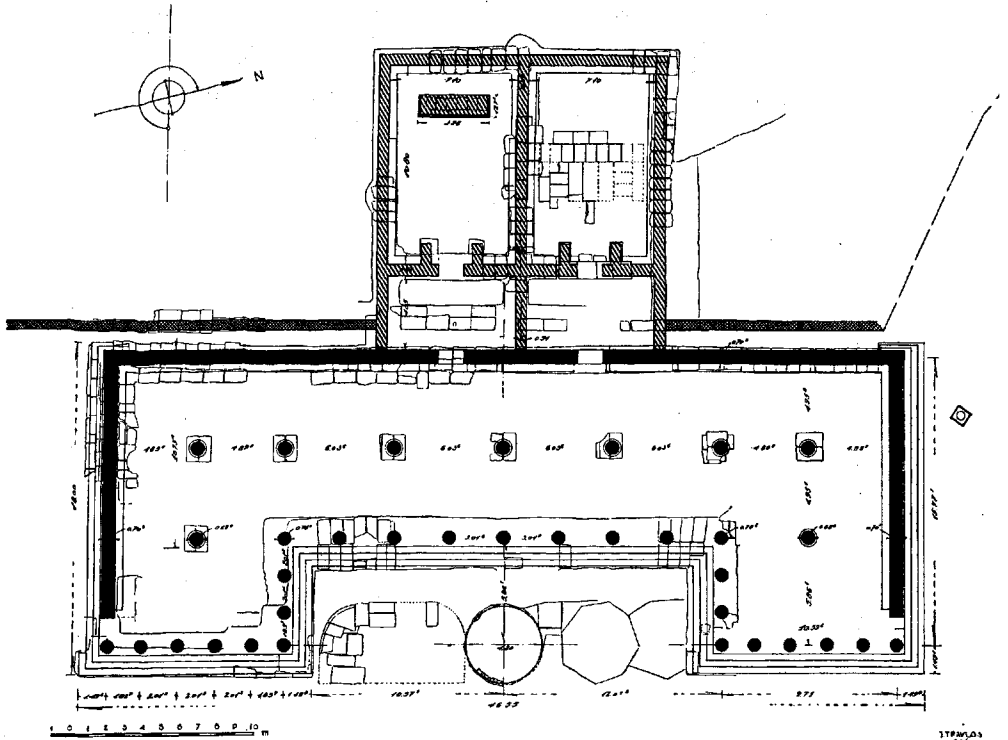


Fig. 923.

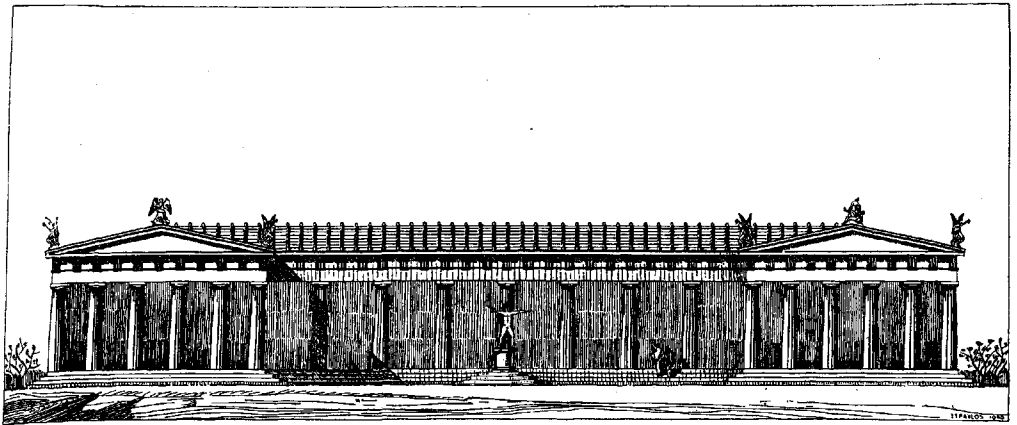


Fig. 924.

Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1929 xlix. 7—13 figs. 1—6 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 555 f.) observes that exquisite sepia-drawings made in all probability by William Pars in 1765—6 and now in the Elgin Collection at the British Museum bring out sundry details no longer distinct (heads of Athena and Hephaistos, etc.). 'The central group is divided off from the rest of the frieze right and left by intervals of space down through which, on either hand, a slightly scored line may be traced. It is probable, I think, that these lines defined a difference of colour in the background which showed that the central action was on a different plane from the rest, that is, in the interior of the Temple.'

Lily Ross Taylor 'Seats and Peplos on the Parthenon Frieze' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 121 and *ead.* 'A Sellisternium on the Parthenon Frieze' in *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* London 1937 pp. 253—264 figs. 1—7 suggests that the *peplos* was intended, not as clothing for the *xoanon* of Athena, but as drapery to be placed over the chair of one of the gods.

ii. 1135 n. 4. N. Valmin 'Die Zeus-Stoa in der Agora von Athen' in the *K. Humanistika Velenskapsamfundets i Lund Årsberättelse* 1933—1934 i (*Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 1933—1934 i) Lund 1934 pp. 1—7 with fig. 1 ('Skizzenplan') rightly located the *Stoà Basileios* and identified it with the *Stoà* of 'Zeus Soter-Eleutherios.' O. Walter 'Zeus- und Königshalle der Athener Agora' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1936 xxx Beiblatt pp. 95—100 maintains that the *Stoà Basileios* (c. 500 B.C.) was distinct from the *Stoà* of Zeus *Eleuthérios* (shortly before 400 B.C.). But that is not the view taken by the American excavators of the *Agorà* (*Hesperia* 1937 vi. 225 f.). Thanks to their highly successful researches it is now possible to assert with some confidence that the *Stoà Basileios* was identical with the *Stoà* of Zeus *Eleuthérios*, and to get some idea of its history and appearance. See the definitive account of the building contributed by H. A. Thompson to *Hesperia* 1937 vi. 5—77 ('Stoà of Zeus Eleutherios') with pl. 1 groundplan, actual state, pl. 2 groundplan, restored, and 39 figs. By the courtesy of Mr Thompson I am able to reproduce both the restored plan (pl. 2 = my fig. 923) and the restored elevation (fig. 34 = my fig. 924) of this important structure. It seems probable that certain earlier remains found beneath the *Stoà* (rectangular base of *póros* with neighbouring altar) belonged to a sanctuary of Zeus *Sotér* or *Eleuthérios* (schol. Aristoph. *Plout.* 1175 ἐν ᾧσσι Δία Σωτήρα τιμῶσιν, ἐνθα καὶ Σωτήρος Διὸς ἔστιν ἱερόν· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ ἐνιοὶ καὶ Ἐλευθερίον φασί), who owed his second title to the deliverance from Persia that he had wrought (Harpokr. s.v. Ἐλευθέριος Ζεύς· Ὑπερείδης (*frag.* 25 p. 279 a 32 ff. Sauppe) "τῷ μὲν τοίνυν Δί, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἡ ἐπωνυμία γέγονε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου προσαγορεύεσθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐξελευθεροῦν τὴν στοᾶν οἰκοδομήσαι τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ." ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος φησὶν ἀμαρτάνειν τὸν ῥήτορα· ἐκλήθη γὰρ Ἐλευθέριος διὰ τὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δὲ ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν Σωτήρ, δορυμύεται δὲ καὶ Ἐλευθέριος, δηλοὶ καὶ Μένανδρος, cp. *el. mag.* p. 329, 44 ff.). The pre-Persic statue of the god presumably perished in the sack of 480/479 B.C. and was later replaced by another statue bearing the appellation *Eleuthérios*. When the *Stoà* was designed, c. 430 B.C., room was left in front of it for the famous figure on a large circular base. The building, which was virtually completed by 409/8 B.C. (*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 115, 7 f. [πρόσθεν τῇ] [εἰς] Στοᾶς τῆς Βασιλείας), was a Doric colonnade with a *façade* of seven columns and two wings of six by four columns—an arrangement perhaps suggested by that of Mnesikles' Propylaea. On the back-wall were paintings of the Twelve Gods (Paus. i. 3. 3); on 'the wall beyond,' probably the south wall, paintings of Theseus and Demokratia and Demos (Paus. *ib.*); also, presumably on the north wall, a painting of the battle fought at Mantinea by the Athenians sent to help the Lacedaemonians (Paus. i. 3. 4). The paintings were by Euphranor (Val. Max. 8. 11. ext. 5, Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 129, Plout. *de glori. Ath.* 2, Loukian. *imagg.* 7, Paus. i. 3. 4, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 145, 10 ff.). The tiled roof had two *akrotéria* in terra cotta, which represented Theseus hurling Skiron into the sea and Hemera carrying Kephalos (Paus. i. 3. 1), perhaps a relic of the official quarters assigned to the *basileús* before the Persian invasion (see, however, the suggestions of C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1938 ii. 95 f.). An annex of two large rooms was built behind the *Stoà* in s. i A.D. to secure greater privacy for the court of the *basileús* and for occasional meetings of the council of the Areopagites (cp. Dem. in *Aristog.* i. 23).

ii. 1137 n. o the *basileús* about to wear Athena's *peplos* (?). Cp. Diod. i. 14 (each of the gods honoured Herakles with special gifts) Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν πέπλω, Ἥφαιστος δὲ ῥοπάλῳ καὶ θύρακι. For interchange of clothing see further W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1928 p. 216 ff.

ii. 1143. K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1922 xxxvii Arch. Anz. p. 76 no. 25 records the acquisition by the Berlin Antiquarium (inv. no. 30021,

photo 3440) of a small bronze snake (0.187^m long) with raised head and inlaid pupils. Its back is inscribed in archaic lettering $\text{I}\Lambda\text{R}\text{O}\Sigma\text{E}\text{M}\text{I}\text{T}\text{O}\text{M}\epsilon\Lambda\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}\text{O}\text{T}\text{O}\text{--}\text{T}\text{T}\epsilon\Lambda\text{A}\text{N}\text{A}\text{I}$ ($\text{i}\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma \epsilon\mu\iota \tau\acute{o} \text{M}\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota\chi\iota\omicron \tau\acute{o} \text{P}\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota$). This was purchased at Paris in 1911 as coming from the Peloponnese, and A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 424 n. 4 states that in 1916 he saw near the find-spot (Pellana in Achaia) a second small bronze snake, but uninscribed, which was said to have been found at the same time.

ii. 1146 n. o pyramidal tombs for horses at Agrigentum. C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell found at Saqqara two mummies of horses, dating from the reign of Ramses ii (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1926 p. 205 f.). But on Greek pyramidal structures see now the important paper of L. E. Lord in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 78—84.

ii. 1150 tomb-ceiling as mimic sky. Sir A. J. Evans in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 26, 1931 p. 485 ff. publishes a temple-tomb close to the palace at Knossos. The rock-cut sepulchral chamber had a central pillar, and 'the rock ceiling—squares of which were visible between the beams—had been tinted with the brilliant Egyptian blue, or *kyanos*, so that the dead beneath the vault might not be without the illusion of the sky above.' See further *id.* *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 975 and context.

ii. 1151 Zeus *Meilichios* at Thespiai, etc. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 422 f. no. 43 cites a fragmentary inscription from Thespiai $\text{D}\epsilon\text{z}\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\varsigma \mid \text{I}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu\varsigma \mid \text{i}\alpha\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma \mid \text{D}\iota\text{i} \text{M}\epsilon\lambda\chi\iota\omicron\iota \mid \kappa\eta \text{M}\epsilon\lambda\chi\iota\eta. \mid \kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ and no. 44 another from the same place $\text{Θ}\rho\alpha\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma \mid \text{Θ}\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\varsigma \text{i}\alpha\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma \mid \text{D}\iota\text{i} \text{M}\epsilon\lambda\chi\iota\upsilon\upsilon. \text{Id. ib. p. 423 n. 2}$ refers to A. D. Keramopoulos in the *Arch. Del.* 1917 iii. 422 n. o no. 2 (Lebadeia) a marble *stelldion* (height 0.23^m) bearing an *omphalos* (height c. 0.05^m) and beneath it the inscription $[\Sigma]\omega\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma \mid \text{D}\alpha\iota\mu\omega\nu\iota \mid \text{M}\epsilon\lambda\chi\iota\omega$ with a snake creeping up towards it: Keramopoulos observes that $\text{D}\alpha\iota\mu\omega\nu \text{M}\epsilon\lambda\chi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ may well be the $\text{A}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\varsigma \text{D}\alpha\iota\mu\omega\nu$. Plassart p. 423 n. 3 adds A. Jardé—M. Laurent in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 324 ff. no. 15 (Anthedon) a marble *stèle* (height 0.40^m) with a snake [$\text{A}\text{I}\rho\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$] [$\text{K}\alpha\phi\iota\sigma\omicron\delta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$] [$\text{D}\epsilon\text{i}\epsilon\iota$ (or [$\text{Z}\eta\eta\epsilon\iota\text{?}$]) $\text{M}\epsilon\lambda\chi\iota\omega$] found above the door of the church of Hagios Athanasios, which appears to stand on the site of the sanctuary of Zeus *Meilichios*.

ii. 1153 n. 1. See further P. Kretschmer 'Oidipus und Melampus' in *Glotta* 1923 xii. 59—61, E. Fränkel in *Gnomon* 1928 iv. 447, H. Petersson in M. P. Nilsson *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* Cambridge 1932 p. 105 n. 11, L. W. Daly in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2104 f.

ii. 1155 Zeus *Meilichios* in Thessaly. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 145 (Thebae Phthiotides) a white stone inscribed $\text{D}\iota \text{M}\epsilon\lambda\chi\iota\omega\iota \mid \text{K}\rho\omega\acute{\nu}\omega \mid \text{A}\rho\sigma\iota\alpha\text{?} \mid \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\eta\eta\text{?} \mid \text{K}\epsilon\text{r}.$

ii. 1156 Akrisios. A. H. Krappe in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 157 treats Akrisios as 'le vieux dieu Cronos lui-même' and compares Akrisios' expulsion of the infant Perseus (influencing the legend of Astyages and Kyros the Persian) with Kronos' expulsion of the infant Zeus, concluding that a folk-tale *motif* may be traced in both myths and even in the quasi-historical legend. L. Bieler in *Wiener Studien* 1931 xlix. 120—123 ('Der Tod des Akrisios') regards $\text{A}\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ as Illyrian, $\text{T}\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\mu\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$ as 'vorgriechisch-pelasgisch.' H. Krahe 'Sprachwissenschaftliches zur Sage von der Flucht des Akrisios' *ib.* 1933 li. 141—143 argues that both $\text{A}\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and $\text{T}\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\mu\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$ are names of Illyrian origin.

ii. 1156 Zeus *Meilichios* in Samos. E. Preuner in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1924 xlix. 42 no. 9 a votive inscription from *Tigani Kléas Megáklou* $\mid \text{D}\iota\text{i} \text{M}\epsilon\lambda\chi\iota\omega\iota.$

ii. 1156 Zeus *Meilichios* in Nisyros. W. Peek in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1932 lvii. 57 f. no. 8 an inscription of Roman date from Rhodes (G. Jacopi in *Clara Rhodos* 1932 ii. 213 f. no. 52) $\text{K}\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\nu \text{i}\epsilon\rho\eta\alpha \text{p}\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma \gamma\epsilon\gamma\alpha\omega\tau\alpha \text{Θ}\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\varsigma \mid \text{Z}\eta\eta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \text{M}\epsilon\lambda\chi\iota\omicron\iota\omicron \text{κ}\iota\upsilon\tau\eta \text{N}\epsilon\iota\sigma\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\delta\epsilon\iota \text{and} \text{Z}\epsilon\upsilon \mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu \text{N}\epsilon\iota\sigma\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu, \acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\mu\omicron\nu\alpha \sigma\acute{\omega}\xi\epsilon \text{Θ}\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\alpha \mid \text{K}\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma, \delta\nu \sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\varsigma, \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota \tau\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\tau\upsilon\chi\theta\eta.$ The two distichs are engraved within two wreaths on a *tabula ansata* of white marble. R. Herbst in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 765 adds *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 95 and 96.

ii. 1157 Zeus *Meilichios* in Kypros. T. B. Mitford in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1937 lvii. 29 no. 2 a boundary-stone at Amathous $\text{D}\iota\text{O}\Sigma \mid \text{M}\epsilon\lambda\chi\iota\omicron\upsilon$ in large lettering with ΩN (*quid?*) in smaller lettering to the left of the second line.

ii. 1157 n. o Zeus *Apotrópaiois*. E. A. Gardner—F. Ll. Griffith *Naukratis* London 1888 ii. 13, 61, 68 no. 14 pl. 22 $\text{i}\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu \text{D}\epsilon\text{i}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \text{A}\pi\text{I}\text{O}\tau\rho\omicron\text{p}\alpha\text{I}\omega\nu$ on a stone found in the *témenos* of Hera.

For the sale of priesthoods at Erythrai see L. Robert in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lvii. 472.

ii. 1158 Zeus *Meilichios* at Kyrene. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in *Hermes* 1930 lxx. 257 f. ('Lese Früchte' no. 280) cites rock-cut inscriptions at and near Kyrene to show that the dead were associated in cult with the Eumenides and with Zeus *Meilichios* (after S. Ferri *Contributi di Cirene alla storia della religione greca* (Collezione *Γραφή*. 2) Roma 1923) pl. 10).

ii. 1158 Zeus *Meilichios* at Selinous. K. Lehmann-Hartleben in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 179 fig. 36 briefly reports the discovery by E. Gàbrici of a sanctuary of Zeus *Meilichios* at Selinous. This small *témenos* occupied the north-east angle of the large site sacred to Demeter *Malophoros*, just as the *témenos* of Hekate *Propylaea* occupied the south-east angle. For a full account of it see E. Gàbrici's official publication in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1928 xxxii. 91—107 figs. 53—64

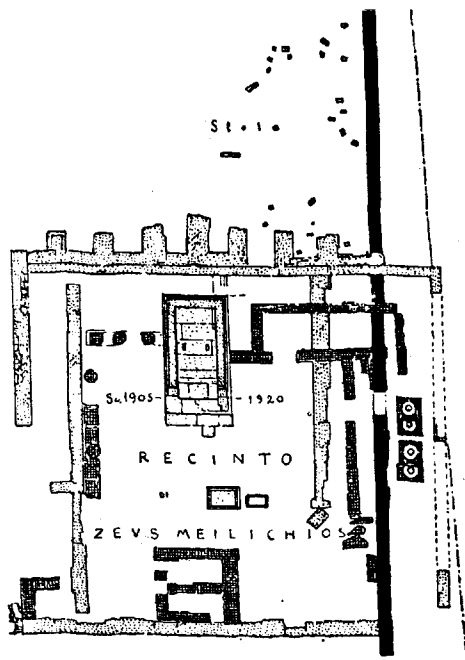


Fig. 925.

(‘Edicola ed altari di Meilichios e della Pasikrateia (?)’), 174—181 (‘Stele figurate del recinto di Meilichios’), 381—383 (inscriptions), 403—405 (cult). The precinct (pl. 2, part of which = my fig. 925) included a little temple, the base of which measured only 5.20^m by 2.97^m—a mere casket for the statue or statues within. Two Doric columns stood opposite the *antae*; but their entablature was of a simplified Ionic order (fig. 58 = my fig. 926). In front of the temple were two oblong altars, one large, one small; and it was originally flanked by a pair of porticoes, each with five columns. Behind the west wall of the precinct were found numerous *stélai*, mostly small piers square in section, or pyramidal, or cylindrical, and nearly all without inscription. The few inscribed blocks were archaic in character: p. 381 f. no. 3 pl. 97, 4 τὸ Διὸς τὸ Μελίχιο ἐμὶ | πρῶτα Εὐμενίδο τὸ Πεδιάρχου (‘I, the first-fruits of Eumenides son of Pediarchos, belong to Zeus *Meilichios*.’ Wilamowitz in *Hermes* 1930 lxx. 258 cj. πρὸ τῆ(ν) Εὐμενίδο(ν)), p. 382 no. 4 pl. 97, 1 = my fig. 927 Λυκίσσο (perhaps Γλυκίσσο) ἐμὶ Μελίχιο, p. 382 f. no. 5 pl. 97, 2 Μελίχιο | τὸν Κλευλιδῶν, p. 384 no. 9 pl. 97, 3 τὸ Μελίχιο —]σαρο[—]s. Other finds on the site were a double altar of simpler type (fig. 62), and several small wells (figs. 63—66) for the storage of lustral water, etc. Offerings made to the god were vases and objects of minor worth, which were burnt along with the animal sacrifice and buried in the ashes: over them was erected a *stèle*, often surmounted by a pair of busts, male and female (pls. 27, 1—4, 28, 1—6, 29, 1—8, of which 27, 3 f. = my figs. 928 f.). Gàbrici concludes

that the whole cult had a chthonian character, Zeus *Meilichios* and Pasikrateia (?) being the Selinuntine equivalents of Hades and Persephone.

ii. 1158 Zeus *Meilichios* at Pompeii. For a description of his temple in *Reg.* viii. 7 (8). 25 see A. Mau—A. Ippel *Führer durch Pompeji* Leipzig 1928 p. 162 f. R. C. Carrington in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1933 xxiii. 132 pl. 10 figures the wall of it and dates it early in s. i B.C.

ii. 1159 n. 1. On the names Δάξμος, Δάξος, and the like see H. Krahe *Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen* Heidelberg 1925 p. 86 and R. Vulpe 'Gli Illiri dell' Italia imperiale romana' in the *Ephemeris Dacoromana* (Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma) 1925 iii. 131, 145 n. 1, 217. And on the Lares, E. Tabeling *Mater Larum Zum Wesen der Larenreligion* Frankfurt am Main 1932 pp. 1—104.

ii. 1160 ff. Zeus *Phlios*. See H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 75—84 ('Zeus Phlios und Zeus Meilichios'), M. P. Nilsson 'Die Götter des Symposions' (E Symbolis Philologicis O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatis seorsum expressum) Upsalae 1932 pp. 218—224.

ii. 1161 ff. Zeus *Phlios* at Athens. Gabriel Welter 'Eine Weihung an Zeus Phlios' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 165 f. publishes an inscription of the early fourth century B.C., found in a Byzantine wall above the *odelon* of Herodes Attikos at Athens and probably

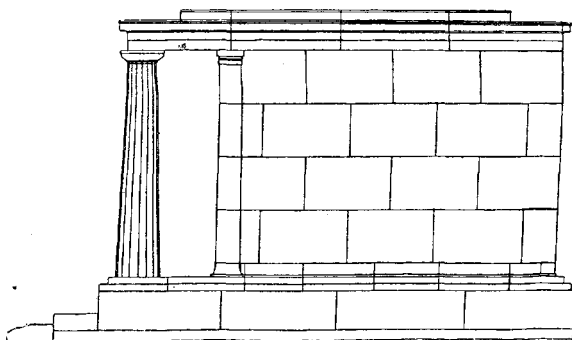


Fig. 926.

derived from the adjoining Asklepieion: *Λυσικράτης* [Λ]υσικλέος | ἐκ Κο[λ]ωνῶ Δ[ι]ὸς Φιλίωι | [ἀ]νέ[θ]ηκεν.

ii. 1163 n. 6. H. J. Rose 'The Bride of Hades' in *Classical Philology* 1925 xx. 238—243 (the idea underlying Soph. *Ant.* 815 and other Greek passages is that the earth receives increased fertility from the potential, unused fertility of the chaste).

ii. 1167 love in relation to Zeus. Dion Chrys. *or.* 4 p. 71 Dindorf *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ φίλαν οὐκ ἄλλην ἢ τὸ ταῦτὰ βούλεσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι, ὁμόνοιαν τινα ὁσαν... ὅς ἂν οὖν τῷ Διὶ φίλος ἦ καὶ ὁμονοῇ πρὸς ἐκείνον, ἐστ' ὅπως ἀδίκου τινὸς ἐπιθυμήσει πράγματος ἢ πονηρὸν τι καὶ ἀσχηρὸν διανοηθήσεται*; On this subject of personal intimacy with Zeus see further the able articles of F. Dirlmeier on 'ΘΕΟΦΙΛΙΑ—ΦΙΛΟΘΕΙΑ' in *Philologus* 1935 xc. 57—77 and 176—193.

ii. 1167 f. Diotima's τέλεα καὶ ἐποπτικά. A. M. Desrousseaux 'Plutarque, Mor. 382^{cd}' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1933 xlvii. 210—213 (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 78 διὸ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐποπτικὸν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας καλοῦσιν, ὡς (Desrousseaux *corr.* ᾧ *vel, quod praestat, ἐν ᾧ*) οἱ τὰ δοξαστὰ καὶ μικτὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ταῦτα παραμειψάμενοι τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς τὸ πρόωτον ἐκείνου καὶ ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἄνυλον ἐξάλλονται καί, θιγόντες ἀπλῶς (so Reiske for ἄλλως) τῆς περὶ αὐτὸ καθαρᾶς ἀληθείας, οἷον ἐν τελέτῃ (so Reiske for ἐντελέτῃ) τέλος, ἔχειν φιλοσοφίαν νομίζουσι—from which it is clear that Aristotle was following the very words of his master in *symp.* 210 A).

ii. 1176 n. 4 Zeus *Ephéstios*. See now H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 p. 115 f.

ii. 1177 n. 2. Cp. Aristot. *els* 'Ερμείαν 16 ff. Edmonds, 14 f. Diehl *ap.* Athen. 696 D, Diog. Laert. 5. 8, Stob. *flor.* 1. 12 (ed. Gaisford i. 5) τοίγαρ ἀοίδιμον ἔργοις | ἀθάνατόν τέ μιν αὐδῆσουσι (so Wilamowitz for αὐξήσουσι) Μοῦσαι, | Μραμοσσῖνας θύγατρες, | Διὸς Ξενίου σέβας αἰξοῦσαι φίλας τε γέρας βεβαίου.

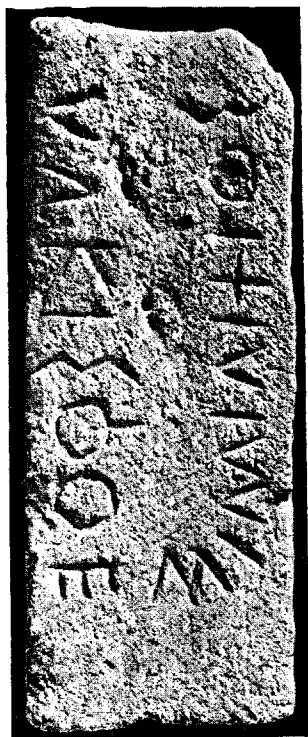


Fig. 927.



Fig. 928.



Fig. 929.

ii. 1179 ff. Trajan and Zeus *Phlios* at Pergamon. W. H. Buckler 'Auguste, Zeus Patroos' in the *Rev. Philol.* Troisième Série 1935 lxi. 177—188 adduces a series of official Pergamene inscriptions (nine decrees and two letters) to show that the complete deification of Augustus was reached through three successive phases: (1) from 27 B.C. to 3 B.C. he was *αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστός*, and his highpriest *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θεῶς Ῥώμης καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*; (2) from 2 B.C. to 14 A.D. Augustus was *αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος καὶ πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους*, and his highpriest *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θεῶς Ῥώμης καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀρχιερεὺς μεγίστου καὶ πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους*; (3) from 15 A.D. onwards (after his death on Aug. 19, 14 A.D. and his consecration by the Senate on Sept. 17, 14 A.D.) Augustus became *θεὸς Σεβαστός Καῖσαρ Ζεὺς Πατρώος αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους*, and his highpriest *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θεῶς Ῥώμης καὶ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος Διὸς Πατρώου αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς μεγίστου, πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους*. Thus Augustus while alive was treated as (1) a hero and (2) a demi-god, when dead was raised to the rank of (3) a god and identified with Zeus *Πατρώος*. The documents relevant to this third stage are (a) Sir C. T. Newton *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae* London 1862—1863 ii. 2. 695—698 no. 6 pl. 87, G. Hirschfeld in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* London 1893 iv. 1. 63—65 no. 894; (b) J. Keil 'Zur Geschichte der Hymnoden in der Provinz Asia' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1908 xi. 101—107 (*Ödemiş* near Hypaipa); (c) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3187 (Smyrna). Cp. also (d) a marble pedestal from Aphrodisias, which must have carried a statue of Zeus with the features of Augustus, inscribed *Δία Πατῶον | [Σεβ]αστῶν Καίσαρα* (W. Kubitschek—W. Reichel in the *Anz. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien Phil.-hist. Classe* 1893 p. 103 no. 13); and (e) a dedication from Dorylaeion [*θεῶι Σεβαστῶι Καίσαρι θ[ε]οῦ υἱῶι Διὶ Πατρώ[ωι], πατρὶ τῆς πα[τρίδος] καὶ τοῦ σύμπαν[τος] ἀνθρώπων γέν[ους]*], κ.τ.λ. (I. Meliopoulos in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 480 f., Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 479). Mr Buckler concludes his very noteworthy article on Augustus at Pergamon by a further suggestion: 'En y acceptant l'épithète divine, Trajan imitait le plus illustre de ses prédécesseurs; n'aurait-il pas choisi celle de Zeus *Phlios*, symbole de sa bienveillance, afin de marquer le contraste avec les antiques splendeurs du Zeus *Patroos*?'

ii. 1187 n. o fig. 990 Zeus *Nemeios* at Alexandria. His wreath is probably of oak-leaves, not *selimon*. Oak-wreath and *aigis* are characteristic of Zeus on Alexandrine cameos (*supra* p. 537 f.).

P. Kabbadias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1918 p. 192 f. fig. 39 publishes a dedication (no. 11) from Epidauros: *Ἦρα Ἀργεῖα | Διὶ Νεμεῖω | πατρί[σ]ι θεοῖς ὁ ἱεροφάντης | Διογένης ἱερ[ο]πολῆσας τοῦ | Σωτήρος τῷ | ΠΟΔ' ἔτος (= 297 A.D., cp. *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i nos. 1001 and 1002).*

ii. 1187 n. 4. D. M. Robinson at Olynthos found Bottiaean pottery of quasi-Aegean character (A. W. Lawrence on *Hdt.* 8. 127. See G. E. Mylonas in D. M. Robinson *Excavations at Olynthos* Baltimore 1933 v. 60—63 (Group iii, second half of s. vi to beginning of s. v B.C.)).

ii. 1191 Olympic contests at Daphne. A bronze statuette (height 6 inches) now in the British Museum shows a naked youth carrying a board (?) inscribed in relief *ANTIOX-ΕΩΝ | ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ | ΔΑΦΝΗΙ* (Sir E. J. Forsdyke in *The British Museum Quarterly* 1929—1930 iv. 70 f. pl. 44, d)—presumably a record of success in these sports.

ii. 1194 emperors wearing the *aigis*. J. Arnet *Monumente des K. K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinetes in Wien* 1849 p. 31 f. pl. 18, 2 an onyx engraved with Julian (?) as a beardless Zeus. He wears an *aigis* and holds a sceptre in his raised right hand, a thunderbolt in his lowered left. At his left side is a trophy with seated prisoner; at his right side, an eagle. The legs of Zeus, the field, and the back of the whole gem are covered with 'Gnostic' inscriptions.

ii. 1197 n. 3. To the bibliography of Antiocheia add E. S. Bouchier *A short History of Antioch 300 B.C.—A.D. 1268* Oxford 1921 pp. 1—324.

ii. 1213 'Jupiter-columns.' M. P. Nilsson 'Zur Deutung der Juppitergigantensäulen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 182—184 argues from the wheel etc. that the god in question was a Celtic deity (Taranis?).

ii. 1213 the Column of Mayence. On Quilling's views see also L. Deubner in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 310 f.

ii. 1216 the *omphalos* found by F. Courby at Delphoi. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 85 n. 1 states that in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 (not 1920) i. 172 he did not regard Courby's *omphalos* as 'faux,' but holds that the inscription on it

(‘archaïque?’) raises many doubts—see P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1915 xxviii. 457, *id.* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1925 ii. 49 n. 1. C. Picard in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 136 still hesitates (‘L’omphalos n° 19 n’a pas encore ses lettres de créance bien établies’).

ii. 1218 the witch-cult in western Europe. Cp. Miss M. A. Murray *The God of the Witches* London (1933) pp. 1—214 (reviewed by H. Coote Lake in *Folk-Lore* 1934 xlv. 277 f.) and *e contra* C. L’Estrange Ewen *Some Witchcraft Criticisms* (London) 1938 (printed for the author) pp. 1—6.

ii. 1219 the Milky Way conceived as a tree. U. Holmberg in J. A. MacCulloch *The Mythology of all Races* Boston 1927 iv (Finno-Ugric, Siberian). 82 cites the ‘song of the Great Oak’—a Finnish account of the Milky Way ‘regarded by some Arctic tribes as being the trunk of a great tree, along which those killed in battle wander.’

ii. 1221 the axe from Mallia. J. Charbonneaux in the *Mon. Piot* 1925—1926 xxviii. 6 ff. pl. 2 and figs. 3, 4, 6 publishes this axe as ending in the forepart of a panther, not a lioness. So also C. Picard in the *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 70 n. 1, 78 n. 3, and P. Couissin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 261 fig. 6.

ii. 1221 fig. 1015 relief of lictors’ axes. For similar reliefs see Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 19 f. Scala i nos. 1 and 2 pl. 9, *ib.* p. 157 Sala degli Orti Mecenaziani no. 6 b pl. 59.

ii. 1221 the ‘Tomb of the Lictor’ at Vetulonia. See now H. Mühlestein *Die Kunst der Etrusker* Berlin 1929 p. 85 n. o and p. 228 f., who in fig. 149 publishes a good photograph (Alinari 45 853) of the ‘Eisernes Rutenbeil <Labrys> aus Vetulonia <Tomba del Littore> Mus. archeologico Florenz’ and refers it to s. vii B.C.

ii. 1221 carvings in amber. Other examples (human and simian figures from Vetulonia) in D. R. MacIver *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* Oxford 1924 p. 107 fig. 25.

ii. 1222 fig. 1017 the earliest representation of Zeus (?). S. Benton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1934—1935 xxxv. 85, 98 pl. 21, 1—3 provides three excellent photographs of this little bronze, but calls it cautiously ‘the Dodona thrower,’ ‘the Dodona figure.’

M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 80 suggests that a terra-cotta head and a stone axe found in the Mycenaean sanctuary at Asine ‘are the earliest representations of Zeus, the Greek god of thunder.’ See further O. Frödin in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 25, 1926 p. 548 fig. (2) and Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. xx—xxii pl. 4. The head (0.105^m high) showed traces of white on the face, but had eyes, lips, and hair painted red. With it were found five smaller female figures in terra cotta and sundry vases, including a two-handled bowl of the ‘Granary Class’ (A. J. B. Wace in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1921—1922, 1922—1923 xxv. 40 f. (‘The Granary Class of L. H. III. Pottery’)) and a composite vessel of three cups conjoined.

ii. 1228 Zeus *Telesionrgós* at Miletos. K. Latte ‘Zeus Τηλεσιουργός’ in *Philologus* 1930 lxxxv. 225—227 notes that in both inscriptions this is the god to whom sacrifice is made by a new priest at his ordination. Hence, he thinks, we obtain light on Hesych. *τηλεσιργων παιᾶνα· τὸν ἐπιτελεστικὸν τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτελουμένων ἱερῶν*, where the manuscript reading *τηλεσιγῶν* was wrongly altered by T. Hemsterhuys into *τηλεσιργων*—a blunder perpetuated by M. Schmidt in both his editions. Sir H. Stuart Jones, however, in the new Liddell and Scott p. 1770 (following E. Diehl *Supplementum Lyricum*³ Bonn 1917 p. 66) says ‘prob. a gloss on *τηλεσιγῶν παιᾶνα* in *Pi. Pae.* 7. 2.’ Unfortunately the text in Pindar is very insecure. O. Schroeder *Supplementum Pindaricum* Berolini 1923 p. 3 records Wilamowitz³ cj. *τηλεσιγῶν* θεοῦ cp. schol. *ἔπειτα*.

ii. 1229 relief of Agdistis and Attis. A Hellenistic relief (height 0.61^m), found in the Peiraeus and now in the Berlin Antiquarium, shows Agdistis as a draped goddess, with a *tympanon* in her left hand, presenting a flower to a youthful Attis, who sits before her clad in the costume of Asia Minor (*Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum*² Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 106 no. 1612).

iii. 35 n. 10. Cp. Nikephoros Basilakes *progymn.* 7. 10 (i. 489, 5 f. Walz) *ἀνωθεν συνῆγε τὰς νεφέλας ὁ Ζεὺς*.

iii. 57 n. 2. J. D. Beazley *Der berliner Maler* Berlin-Wilmersdorf 1930 p. 21 no. 202 pl. 13, 3 fragments of a red-figured *hydria* at Athens (G 251) ‘Triballos?’ a barbarian in panther-skin (?) with *phallós* on staff, forehead, and nose! Perhaps cp. E. de Chanot ‘Géryon’ in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1880 vi. 136—138 pl. 22 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 26 no. 7, if not also Babelon-Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 482 f. no. 1175. To the literary allusions add Iuv. 6. O 26, and see W. B. McDaniel in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1918 xxii. 35 n. 1.

iii. 63 n. 3. See now E. Kapp ‘Πισθέταιρος’ in *Philologus* 1929 N.F. xxxviii. 259—261 (defends Πισθ- against Πειθ-).

- iii. 85 n. o (2) fig. 28. This sarcophagus, now at Zagreb, is better published by G. M. A. Hanfmann in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 229 ff. fig. 2.
- iii. 165 the sanctity of dew. J. Roscoe *The Northern Bantu* Cambridge 1915 p. 28: Among the Banyoro is a clan called 'The *Basita*, whose principal totem is the Milch Cow which has been with a bull, and their second Dew upon the Grass. The members of this clan avoid for several days drinking milk from a cow which has been with a bull, and also refrain from walking in grass while dew rests on it.'
- iii. 245 f. The *epiboion*, as its name implies, was a sacrifice subsequent to, or additional to, that of a cow for Athena, and must not be viewed as a preliminary rite.
- iii. 292 sea-bathing as a rain-charm. Miss M. A. Murray has kindly sent me a note (July 17, 1938) 'about ceremonial bathing (by the whole population), on a set day in the spring, in the sea. It is done at Gaza by Bedu and fellahin alike, men, women, children & animals. I think it may be connected with the cult of Atargatis.' May we not rather suppose that this is only another case of communal rain-charm?
- iii. 298 the formula *kónx, ómpax*. I would venture to compare a spell to stop nose-bleeding by a whispered *mox, páx, rípx* (G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 233 no. 40 and p. 360 μ' . *Περί μύτην ὁποῦ τρέχει, λέγε εἰς τὸ μέρος ἐκεῖνο ὁποῦ τρέχει, κρυφῶς εἰς τὸ αὐτὶ· μόξ, πᾶξ, ρίπξ, καὶ θέλει παύσῃ*—an extract from a medical treatise contained in an eighteenth-century MS. possibly written by a physician named Constantine Rizioti).
- iii. 322 n. o *Ζήμιον ὕδωρ*. Cp. the sacred and curative character of Ascension Day rain-water. A. R. Wright—T. E. Lones *British Calendar Customs* (England 1) London 1936 p. 141 f. cite examples from five counties, of which one will serve: 'A Warwickshire cook of a relative of mine was seen last Ascension Day, May 1, standing out of doors, basin in hand, to catch the rain that was falling. In explanation she said that Holy Thursday rain was holy water, and came straight from heaven. The reason that she preserved it was that it was good for weak or sore eyes' (Cuthbert Bede in *Notes and Queries* Sixth Series 1883 vii. 367).
- iii. 336 n. 5. Sieve-superstitions are collected with a wealth of detail by Eckstein in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1936 vii. 1662—1686 ('Sieb'), 1686—1701 ('Siebdehnen, Sieblaufen, Siebtreiben').
- iii. 341 n. 3. On the pentagram see further Col. Allotte de La Fuye 'Le Pentagramme pythagoricien, sa diffusion, son emploi dans le syllabaire cunéiforme' in *Babyloniaca* 1934 xiv. 1—56 figs. 1—10.
- iii. 345 n. 1. With regard to Egyptian receptacles for *viscera* Mr Sidney Smith informs me (Nov. 17, 1934) (1) that limestone pots with plain lids go back to the late Old Kingdom (Dyns. v—vi), (2) that jars with lids in the shape of the deceased's head are typical of the Middle Kingdom and occur down to Dyn. xviii, and (3) that 'the four children of Horus' belong to the New Kingdom from the late xviiith Dyn. onwards.
- iii. 348 the 'Canopi' of Osiris. See now F. W. Freiherr von Bissing *Ägyptische Kultbilder der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit (Der Alte Orient* xxxiv. 1/2) Leipzig 1936 pp. 28—34 'Das Kultbild von Kanopos' pl. 4, 10 a and 10 b (an Osiris of Kanopos in marble, from Egypt), pl. 4, 11 a (an Osiris of Kanopos in bronze, from Egypt, resting on an 'Opfertafel'), pl. 5, 11 b (an Osiris of Kanopos, owned by the Queen of the Netherlands), pl. 8, 18 (a Kanopos with spiral fluting, in the Vatican).
- iii. 348 Nile-water. The sanctity of Nile-water is discussed by F. J. Dölger *Antike und Christentum* Münster in Westfalen 1936 v. 3. 153—187 ('Nilwasser und Taufwasser').
- iii. 349. Theonoe was not the wife, but the unsuccessful lover, of Kanobos (n. 8).
- iii. 358 n. 6. G. A. Megas in *Hermes* 1933 lxxviii. 415 ff. argues that the story of the Danaïdes was a folktale later localised at Argos. He cites (after B. Chalatanz in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1909 xix. 362) an Armenian parallel, heard at Etschmiatsin in 1899, which however so closely resembles the Greek myth that I should rather assume classical influence, direct or indirect.
- iii. 426 the Danaïdes and the fertility-charm. C. F. A. Schaeffer in his Schweich Lecture of Jan. 27, 1937 ('Fertility cult and cult of the dead at Ugarit. Devices for libations in the Mycenaean tombs. The jar of the Danaïdes') compared the *πῖθοι τερημένοι* of the Danaïdes with the libation-funnels at Ras Shamra. *Id.* 'Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Septième campagne (printemps 1935)' in *Syria* 1936 xvii. 105—148 refers to the period 'Minoen ou Helladic récent III' (s. xiv—xiii B.C.) several sepulchral deposits (p. 112 f. with fig. 4) 'caractérisés par la présence d'un grand entonnoir à libation percé d'ouvertures enfoui verticalement dans la terre avec, à sa base, une accumulation de vases. Parmi eux des rhytons attestent bien le caractère votif de ces dispositifs (fig.

et 4). Comme nous l'avions déjà dit⁽²⁾ (⁽²⁾Cf. Rapport de la troisième campagne, *Syria*, 1932, p. 12), ils ont dû servir au rite magique, ayant probablement pour but de favoriser la fécondité de la terre et dont l'une des tablettes de Ras Shamra semble donner la formule⁽¹⁾ (⁽¹⁾L.c., *Syria*, 1932, p. 12).

iii. 429 the *manalis lapis*. F. Bömer 'Der sogenannte lapis manalis' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1936 xxxiii. 270—281 discusses previous interpretations of this 'Regenstein,' rejecting both the derivation from *manare* and that from *Manes*. He starts afresh from the authoritative statements of Varro (*supra* p. 435 n. 2) and contends that *aquae mānale* meant a 'Handkrug für Wasser,' being derived from *mānus* (cp. *id.* 'Lat. *aquae manale*' in *Glotta* 1937 xxvi. 1—7); that *mānalis lapis*—originally termed *mānale sacrum*—was a sacred water-pot, probably a hollow stone of pot-like formation used for ritual purposes (so O. Gilbert *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* Leipzig 1885 ii. 154 n. 1); and that later this *mānalis lapis* was confused with the *lapis Mānalis* or 'stone of the Manes,' Festus' *ostium Orci* (*supra* p. 432 n. 4). Bömer sums up: 'Das Instrument des römischen Regenzaubers war ein *manale sacrum*, ein heiliges Wassergefäß; der wirkliche *lapis manalis*, der Stein der Manen, steht mit dem Regen in keiner Verbindung. Einen *lapis manalis* als Regenstein, an den man bisher glaubte, hat es nie gegeben. Er ist eine etymologische Konstruktion der Antiquare.'

iii. 434 f. the *manales petrae*. T. F. G. Dexter *The Sacred Stone* Perranporth (1929) p. 27 no. 51 cites from Morris *Celtic Researches* a 'Maen Glaw' or "Rain Stone," "which they rolled about when they wanted rain," and compares the *Lapis Manalis* at Rome.

iii. 475 f. the birth of Montezuma. Cp. E. S. Hartland *Primitive Paternity* London 1909 i. 11 'A pearl fell into the bosom of a girl and she swallowed it, as the Chinese tell, with the result that a boy was born (according to one version, from her breast) who afterwards became the great emperor Yu.'

iii. 538 n. o pl. xlv. F. Lenormant 'Jupiter Ægiochus, camée sur chrysoprase' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1875 i. 95—99 pl. 13 published a very large cameo from the Northwick collection (then owned by Feuardent), a chrysoprase in the Asia Minor style of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. Its subject is a facing Zeus, almost exactly like that of my malachite relief, but coarser in effect and without acorns on the oak-wreath.

iii. 564 ff. 'ox-driving.' F. Cumont 'St. George and Mithra "The Cattle-Thief"' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1937 xxvii. 63—71 notes that at the monastery of Ilori in Mingrelia, as late as c. 1850 A.D., 'every year on the Festival of St. George, to whom the church of the monastery was dedicated, an ox mysteriously entered the building ready for sacrifice.' Cumont argues that St George has here replaced Mithras the *βοῦκλῶρος θεός* (Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 18).

iii. 573 Zeus *Polieús* and altar. (Mrs) J. P. Shear in *Hesperia* 1936 v. 316 with fig. 22, 6—8 says: 'Is it not possible to connect this type [my figs. 399—402] with the greatest of the Athenian festivals of Zeus, the Diasia, which was of a propitiatory character?' *Ead. ib.* p. 301 with fig. 11, 1—2 [my fig. 548] would recognise the altar of Zeus Polias [*sic!*] and associate it with the Dipoleia. She gives the same explanation of the *bucranium*-type (her pl. 5, 1—29).

iii. 580 n. o with fig. 404. See now C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 343 ff. fig. 163 and pl. 175.

iii. 593 Diomos, priest of Zeus *Polieús*, first to slay an ox. But Synkell. *chron.* 153 B (i. 289 Dindorf) says of Kekrops οὗτος πρῶτος βοῦν ἐθυσίασε καὶ Ἱλῆα προσηγόρευσεν, ὡς τινες.

iii. 612 n. o. On the *Βαλλητύς* see also S. Weinstock in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 856.

iii. 623 n. 1 with fig. 423. The design on these glass plaques is drawn (rather unsuccessfully) to a larger scale by W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii. 98 f. fig. 12.

iii. 634 n. 2. E. C. Yorke in the *Class. Quart.* 1936 xxx. 153 f. maintains that the *Prometheus Bound*, 'if Aeschylus was its author,' must have been the latest of his extant plays, to be dated between 458 and 456 B.C. Prof. D. S. Robertson in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1938 lxix. 387 reviews recent opinions and argues from the 'Sophoclean features' of the play for 'the latest possible date.' He even suggests that 'Aeschylus left the *Prometheus* trilogy incomplete' and that some of the odes may have been 'supplied by one of his sons, Euphorion and Euaion, or by his nephew Philocles, all tragic poets.'

iii. 655 n. o with figs. 464—469. My conjecture that the head on these coins represents Zeus *Ólbios* can, I find, claim the support of A. Reinach, who in the *Revue*



Bronze statuette of Zeus *Olympios* from Bulgaria,
now in the Museum of the Augusta Trajana Society at Stara Zagora.

See page 1196.

epigraphique 1913 i. 172 no. 461 anent an inscription from Lampsakos dedicated θεῷ Ὀλβίῳ observed: 'À la lumière de cette inscription il y aurait lieu de se demander si ce n'est pas Zeus Olbios à cornes de taureau qu'il faut voir sur les monnaies à tête cornue qu'on qualifie de Zeus Ammon, Pan ou Priape corniger.' Johanna Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2430.

iii. 767 ff. guardian snakes in pediment. Cp. J. Johnson 'Apotropaic serpents in Minturnae temple decoration' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 306.

iii. 813 n. 3 the cult of Athena on the Nike-bastion. P. Lemerle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1937 lxi. 443 with figs. 4—7 reports that N. Balanos now recognises at least two successive sanctuaries below the level of the classical temple. One, the less ancient, is connected with the altar found by G. Welter (fig. 6). The other, the more ancient, included a hollowed block on which idols were lying (fig. 7) and an altar of Athena Nike mentioned in an archaic inscription [Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 671, A 11 f., Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 63, A 11 f. καὶ βοῶν ἄλβων ('Adiectivum indicat fuisse quidem iam antea aram, sed non lapideam'), *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 24, 14 f.].

iii. 832 n. 2. Dr H. Frankfort's paper on 'The Burney Relief' has now appeared in the *Archiv für Orientforschung* 1938 xii. 128—135 accompanied by three fresh photographic illustrations. This paper, of which he most kindly sent me an offprint, conclusively vindicates the genuineness of the relief, refers it on stylistic grounds to the Larsa period, and inclines to identify the female figure as Lilith or some other 'inhabitant of the Land of Death.' Her domed crown with four horns marks her as divine. Her so-called "ring and staff" are either 'a measuring rod and line,' as on the *stèle* of Ur-Namhu, or 'on our relief they might well be a continuous coiled piece of rope,' such measuring instruments serving as symbols of justice.

iii. 845 the earliest *Gorgoneion*. F. Chapouthier 'A travers trois gemmes prismatiques (époque Minoenne ['M. M. 1']) in the *Mélanges G. Glotz* Paris 1932 i. 183—201 publishes a three-sided seal-stone in greyish steatite from Mallia, of which one side represents a facing *Gorgoneion* with bristling hair, large ears and eyes, wide cheeks but small mouth, and pointed chin (photographic pl. and fig. 2 = J. Charbonneaux in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1933 xlii. 76 fig. 3). The face is flanked by two small branches.

iii. 927 Akmon. On Doias the 'Twin'-brother of Akmon see Norbert Jokl in Ebert *Reallex.* x. 144 and 147 (after A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1907 xli. 347).

iii. 958 the temple of Zeus at Olympia struck by lightning (Paus. 5. 11. 9). C. Picard 'Zeus, Aristophane et Socrate' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1938 li. 60—63 finds an allusion to this incident in Aristoph. *nub.* 401 f. 'Prodige favorable et pieuse intention du ciel, disaient les bons esprits! Τι παθὼν; eût répliqué le Socrate d'Aristophane, introducteur de dieux nouveaux et destructeur de la tradition religieuse.' This is much better than, with V. Coulon in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1937 l. 453 f., to assume a like happening in the sanctuary of Zeus *Sottr* and Athena *Soteira* at the Peiraieus (Lykourg. in *Leocr.* 17, *alib.*—see Severin Solders *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas* Lund 1931 p. 2). Picard takes the opportunity of listing all the Zeus-cults in or near Athens—a useful record.

iii. 964 copies of the Pheidiac Zeus (?). Mr R. M. Cook in a letter from Athens dated Aug. 16, 1935 drew my attention to a small bronze figure of Zeus *Olympios* recently discovered in Bulgaria, and very kindly enclosed the photograph reproduced in my pl. lxxxii. He comments: 'It is a bronze statuette, found last March casually at Smero, a village a little north-east of Stara Zagora. The overall height is about 25 cm.; the height of the figure alone, 18 cm. All of the base is, I believe, original. It is not yet published, though photos of it (from the same negative as this) have appeared in a local paper & in one of the Sofia dailies. It is now in the Museum of the Augusta Trajana Society, at Stara Zagora: the director is Mr C. Raikov.'

iii. 973 Christ in the likeness of Zeus. In the Christian appropriation of pagan statuary two methods were followed, which it might be convenient to distinguish as the outward and the inward. The one imposed some external sign of the new religion. The other sought to appreciate the internal qualities of the old. The first adapted. The second adopted. And naturally the former, as the easier process, was more frequent than the latter. The facts are fairly obvious, and I shall content myself with a single example of each.

H. Bulle in the *Einzelstudien* nos. 1436 and 1437 (= my fig. 930, a and b) Text v. 93 publishes a bearded head of Pentelic marble (height 0.23 m), which came from the neighbourhood of Athens and is now at Karlsruhe, and comments: 'Gehörte ohne Zweifel zu einer Herme.... Wohl originale Arbeit aus der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrh.'

v. Chr.' Bulle ignores the incised cross, which is simply omitted also in the small sketch given by the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 5 no. 11. But A. J. B. Wace in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlv. 65 says with more circumspection: 'Cases are known...where a cross was scratched on a work of art in early Christian times to sanctify what would otherwise have been ungodly.'

J. Garstang in *The Illustrated London News* for July 31, 1926 pp. 193—197 devotes a whole article to the interesting head found by H. Horsfield on the east side of the 'Street of Columns' at *Jerash* (Gerasa). For a detailed study of the site see the reports of J. W. Crowfoot 'The Church of S. Theodore at Jerash' in the *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1929* London pp. 17—36, *id.* 'The Churches of Gerasa, 1928, 1929' *ib.* *Quarterly Statement for 1930* London pp. 32—42, *id.* 'Recent Work round the Fountain Court at Jerash' *ib.* *Quarterly Statement for 1931* London pp. 143—154, *id.* *Churches at Jerash* A Preliminary Report of the Joint Yale-British School Expeditions to Jerash, 1928—1930 (*British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Supplementary Papers.* iii) London 1931 pp. 1—48 with 13 pls. and a plan. Garstang *loc. cit.* says: 'Between the doorway of the Basilica and that of the circular church, nearer to the former, and in the cloister into which both doors open, the head was found lying upon débris about a foot from the floor, and covered with more débris mixed with architectural remains....Such, briefly, is the evidence which attests that the head was in use contemporaneously with the Christian buildings of the area in which it was found.' Garstang well suggests 'that the head was originally chosen from among the earlier pagan sculptures of the place, or imported specially, as responding to a Christian conception.' He agrees 'that it belongs to the latter half of the second century A.D.' but adds somewhat inconsistently: 'One thing seems clear—that it was fashioned by a great artist who, working upon the established and familiar models of pagan Zeus or Asklepios, glorified them in the realisation of an ideal. Did such a genius exist in the fourth or fifth century at Jerash? And was that ideal the Suffering of Christ?' Accordingly the fine full-face view prefixed to his article is labelled: 'The earliest representation of Christ?...a remarkable sculptured Christ-like head (probably of the latter half of the 2nd century A.D.) found in a 5th-century Christian church at Jerash.' I confess that Garstang's enthusiasm leaves me a little breathless. I had the opportunity of examining the original head soon after its arrival in London (pl. lxxiii is from the official photographs) and judged it, on stylistic grounds, to be a third-century head of Zeus. I did not think that its pathos was so pronounced as to justify us in calling it an ideal of Suffering. Indeed, the vertical furrows between the eyes, as distinct from the horizontal furrow across the forehead, were suggestive of concentrated thought rather than intense pain. I held, therefore, and still hold, that the Jerash head came from a third-century statue portraying Zeus, perhaps in his character of Providence (*supra* p. 946), a statue which may conceivably have served the fifth-century Gerasenes as an embodiment of Christ.

CORRIGENDA

- i. 13. For 'bliss' read 'bless.'
- i. 117 n. o. For 'p. 444' read 'p. 517.'
- i. 134 n. 4. For 'Lydia' read 'Ionia.'
- i. 175 n. 2. For 'Maas' read 'Maass.'
- i. 216 n. 3. For 'Athen. 84 c ff.' read 'Athen. 456 c ff.'
- i. 220. For '*bákchos*' read '*bákchos*,' and so elsewhere (i. 221, 425, 442, 648, 649, 673).
- i. 236 n. 10. For 'Liban. or. ii' read 'Liban. or. 11.'
- i. 245. For 'daughter of Helios' read 'granddaughter of Helios.'
- i. 272. For 'man' read 'men.'
- i. 302 n. 5. Delete comma after 'Μυκήνην.'
- i. 330. For 'Saltzmann' read 'Salzmann.'
- i. 335 n. 7. For '104' and '105' read '267' and '268.'
- i. 375. For 'Libye?' read 'Libye?.'
- i. 398 n. 4. For 'p. 92' read 'p. 311.'
- i. 474. After '*swastika*-patterns' insert 'and.'
- i. 513 n. 5. For 'fig. 113' read 'fig. 387.'
- i. 546 n. 4. For '471 n. 4.' read '471 f.'
- i. 571 n. 2. For '§ 10 (a)' read '§ 10 (b).'
- i. 591 n. 3. For 'In this' read 'In the.'
- i. 604 n. 10. For 'mother-god' read 'mother-goddess.'
- i. 646 n. 3. For 'Ζάν' read 'Ζάν.'
- i. 660 n. 2. For 'Strab. 476' read 'Strab. 475.'
- i. 675. For 'Kuster' read 'Küster.'
- i. 717 n. 2. For 'E. Cumont' read 'F. Cumont.'
- i. 732 n. 1. For 'n. 2' read 'n. 1.'
- i. 768 n. o. For '*in Alterthum*' read '*im Alterthum*.'
- i. 776. For 'millenium' read 'millennium.'
- i. 800. For 'Zeus Πελαγονος' read 'Zeus Πελοποναιος.'
- i. 824. For 'Kynados' read 'Kounados.'
- i. 827 s.v. Makedonia. For 'Zeus 126 ff.' read 'Zeus 100 ff.'
- i. 837 s.v. Phrygia. For 'Zeus Παπίας 393₈' read 'Zeus Παπίας 399₈.'
- i. 842 s.v. Seimios. For '533 f.' read '553 f.'
- i. 855 s.v. Zeus *nursed by*. For 'by goat 112₂ 112₃' and '720₄' read 'by goat 112₈' and '720₈.'
- i. 856 s.v. Zeus *Attributes*. For 'blue mantle 331' read 'blue mantle 33.'
- i. 867 s.v. Fick, A. For '690₄' read '690₅.'
- i. 867 s.v. Fire. For 'Zeus 702₆' read 'Zeus 702₁.'
- i. 870 s.v. Heydemann, H. For '698₁' read '698₄.'
- i. 870 s.v. Hill, G. F. For '356₂' read '356₄' and for '602₄' read '602₅.'
- i. 875 s.v. Nilsson, M. P. For '669₃' read '669₆.'
- i. 879 s.v. Rolland, E. For '357₃' read '257₈.'
- i. 882. For 'Svoronos, J. H. (*cont.*)' read 'Svoronos, J. N. (*cont.*).'
- ii. 864. For 'nforms' read 'informs.'
- ii. 1093 n. 1. For '*recques*' read '*grecques*.'
- ii. 1096 n. 4. For 'μοιούμενον' read 'ὁμοιούμενον.'
- ii. 1113 n. o. For 'ὀνομάζοντες' read 'ὀνομάζοντας.'

- ii. 1323 *s.v.* Syria. The last entry 'Sun, Moon, and Morning-Star in folk-tale from 1004 ff.' should have been *s.v.* Syra.
- ii. 1361 *s.v.* Eitrem, S. For '1042₁₁' read '1142₁₁.'
- iii. 57 n. 2. For 'ὀρνιθογονίας β' read 'ὀρνιθογονίας β'.'
- iii. 79. For 'Man said' read 'Men said.'
- iii. 104 n. 1. For 'n. 3' read 'n. 4.'
- iii. 360 n. 4. For 'vi. 2089' read 'iv. 2089.'
- iii. 400 n. 2. For 'Gábrici' read 'Gàbrici,' and so on p. xxi of vol. ii.
- iii. 416 n. o. For 'Tetz.' read 'Tzetz.'
- iii. 518 n. 3. For 'être à' read 'être là.'
- iii. 775. For '(fig.)' read '(fig. 569).'
- iii. 976. For 'Brugman' read 'Brugmann,' and so on p. 977.
- iii. 981. For 'pl. lxix' read 'pl. lxx.'



Fig. 931.

Zeus Tróios
on a bronze coin of Hierapolis in Phrygia
(Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen*
p. 214 f. no. 693 pl. 12, 22).
Supra ii. 571 n. 6.

INDEX I

PERSONS PLACES FESTIVALS

The contents of each item are arranged, as far as possible, under the following heads: *Cults Epithets Festivals Oracles Rites Priests Worshippers Personations Myths Metamorphoses Genealogy Functions Etymology Attributes Types Identifications Assimilations Associations Comparisons Relations Supersedure.*

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The larger numerals refer to pages, the smaller numerals to foot-notes.

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Myths: Kassandra 867 956 struck by lightning 868

Aias, s. of Teukros, as name of priestly dynasts at Olba 643₀ 645₀ founds cult of Zeus Ὀλβιος 643₀ prehistory of 650₀ ff.

Aidoneus 6

Aigaion 139₂ (?)

Aigaion, Mt 929

Aigeion, Mt 1177

See also Aigaion, Mt

Aigeira

Cult: Zeus 1107 f.

— coins of 1107 colossal head of Zeus from 1107 f.

Aigeus

Myths: leaves sword beneath rock at Troizen 484₁₁ suicide 240₁

Type: witnesses birth of Erichthonios 186

Aigikoreis 1083

Aigina

Cults: Zeus 650₀ Zeus Ἐλλάδιος 1164 f.

Festivals: Amphiphorites (Ἀμφιφορῆς ἀγών) 603₁₂ Delphinia 603₁₂ Hydrophoria 603₁₂

Myth: contest of Poseidon with Zeus 751₁

— coins of 1164 (?)

Aigina, d. of Asopos 1121 f.

Aigion

Cult: Eileithyia 663₂

Aigipan 620₀ (?)

Aigis, a monster slain by Athena 839

Aigos Potamos, coins of 886₂ meteor of 885 f.

Aigyptos

Genealogy: s. of Belos and twin-b. of Danaos 355 f. of fifty sons 355

Aimilius Paullus impressed by the statue of Zeus at Olympia 960

Aineias

Myth: rescued from Diomedes by Apollon 103

— phantom of 103

Ainos in Thrace

Cult: Hermes Περφέραϊος 1137

Myth: Epeios' statue of Hermes caught by fishermen in net 1137

Aiolie 106 140

Aiolis 161

Aiolos

Epithet: ἱπποχάρμης 109₇

Genealogy: f. of Aethlios 107 f. of Makedon 110

Function: wind 157

Etymology: 109

Identified with Aiolos Hippotades 109 ff. 944

Aiolos Hippotades

Myth: 106 ff. 975

Genealogy: six sons and six daughters 106 107₃

Functions: a dead chieftain 107 944 'a

- Aiolos Hippotades (*cont.*)
 sort of Zeus' 107 (?) cp. 944 keeper
 or king of the winds 106 f. 944
Etymology: 107₃
Identified with Aiolos eponym of
 Aeolians 109 ff. 944
Compared with Amakleides (Amal-
 keides), Protokles, Protokreon 122₂
 Aiolos, Islands of, called Plotai 987
 Aion
Cult.: Alexandria 913
Epithet: Ἀῖων Ἀῖωνος 913₄
Rite: birth from Kore 913
Function: syncretistic deity combining
 Chaldaean, Persian, Phoenician,
 Egyptian, and Gnostic elements
 914₀
Attributes: horned lion 1180 Hydra
 1180 Kerberos 1180 two snakes 1180
Types: leonine head, four wings, four
 arms, eye on chest, lion-heads on
 belly and both knees, etc. 1180
 naked child marked with five golden
 crosses 913 916 f. phoenix with
 radiate nimbus 913₄ standing in
 zodiacal ring carried by Atlas 1128
 syncretistic 1180
Identified with Adonis 913₄ Osiris 913₄
 — philosophic laudation of 913₄
 Aion, s. of Baaut and Kolpias 914₀
 Aisa
Genealogy: d. of Nyx 718₁
Function: spinner 716
Associated with Poros 747₁
 Aischylos, date of *P.v.* by 634₂ 1194 makes
 Athena both winged and wingless
 in same play 810 f. on the succession
 of Ouranos, Kronos, Zeus 739 on
 the possible overthrow of Zeus 740 f.
 on Zeus and the problem of evil
 974
 Aither
Cults: Amaseia 879 Orphists 879
Epithets: Ἀλεξιγάλας 879 Δὺς Αἰθήρ
 454₁ pater 453₂ pater omnipotens
 452₃
Genealogy: f. of Nephelai 70 879
Function: rain 453₃
 Aithra 485₀ 485₁₂
 Aitne, Mt
Cults: Hadran 177₀ Hephaistos 177₀
Myths: Briareus 3₀ Enkelados 3₀
 Typhoeus 3₀
 Aix, d. of Helios
Myth: hidden by Ge in a Cretan cave,
 where—tended by Amaltheia—she
 nurtures infant Zeus with her milk
 839₀ 840₀
Compared with Minotaur in Labyrinth
 840₀
 Akakallis 414₀
 Akamantes
Cults: Kyrene 115 Marathon 115
Functions: the dead 116 (?) winds
 116 (?)
 Akanthos in Egypt
Cult: Osiris 338
Rite: priests empty Nile-water daily
 into holed pithos 338 f. 354 372₈
 Akephalos Theos 1127
 Akeso 1083
 Akhmim 884₀ See Chemmis
 Ak Kilisse
Cult: (Zeus) Πόλωξος 1140 (?)
 Akmon
Genealogy: twin-b. of Doias 1196 of
 Ouranos 927
Function: servant of mountain-
 mother 922
Etymology: 925
Identified with Kronos 927₅ Ouranos
 927₄
 Akmoneia
Cult: Zeus 794
 — coins of 794 1070
 Akragas See Agrigentum
 Akraiphia
Cult: Zeus Κεραῖος 1162 1165
 Akrisios
Myths: imprisons Danaë in bronze
 chamber 364 455 expulsion of infant
 Perseus 1187 sends Danaë and
 Perseus adrift in a chest 455 killed
 by daskos of Perseus 1187
Genealogy: f. of Danaë 364 f. of Danaë
 by Eurydike d. of Lakedaimon
 455
Identified with Kronos (?) 1187
 Aktaion
Type: Polygnotos 1067
 Aktaion, f. of Aglauros 242₄
 Aktaios, f. of Agrauros 55₅ 242
 Akte 260
 Alban Mt
Cult: Iupiter Latiaris 492
 Alcumena 517 See also Alkmene
 Aleos 823
 Alexander the Great
Personates Zeus 540₀
Types: leonine 957₀ Lysippos 957₀
 thick neck, upward glance, leonine
 hair 540₀ wearing aegis as chlamys
 540₁
In relation to Zeus Ammon 1076 f.
 (bibliography)
 — coins of 226 consults oracular trees
 of Sun and Moon in Prasiak 420₀
 hurls spear at Troad 754₂ reverts to
 pre-Pheidias type of seated Zeus
 1155 f. sacrifices to Liber Pater
 in Thrace 1118
 Alexandria
Cults: Aion 913 Demeter 990 ff.
 Isis 346 Kore 913 Osiris 346 ff.
 Serapis 553₀ Zeus Νέμειος 1191
Rites: birth of Aion 913 ἡ τοῦ καλὰθου
 πρόδος 990
 — coins of 346 ff. 904₅ 913₄ 991 f.
 1045 1111 f. 1191 Koreion at 913
 Serapion at 553₂

- Alexandros**
Myth: Helene 78
- Ali, Abbas** 1168 ff.
- Aliphera**
Cults: Asklepios 126₅, Athena 126₅,
 Zeus *Ἀσκληπείων* 99₀ 127₀
- Alipheros**, eponym 126₅
- Alkamenes** 169₀ 171₀ 215 216₁ 223 722₃
- Alkestis** dies for love 99₃
- Alkman** brings *kalathiskos*-dance from
 Sardeis to Sparta 1008 (?)
- Alkmene**
Myth: consorts with Zeus 506 ff. 518
Genealogy: w. of Amphitryon and m.
 of Herakles by Zeus 506
Type: seated as suppliant on altar
 511 f.
- Allât** 914₁
- Aloeus** 4₀
- Alybe (Halybe)** 1101
- Amalberga**, St 338₁
- Amalkeides** 121
- Amaltheia** the goat
Myth: flayed by Zeus, who wears its
 skin 839
- Amaltheia** the nymph
Myth: entrusts infant Zeus to her goat
 839₈
Genealogy: m. of Dionysos by Ammon
 126₄ (?)
- Amaseia**
Cult: Aither 'Ἀλεξικάλαος 879
- Amasis**, the vase-painter 681 (?)
- Amastris** = Amasra
Cults: Augustus 1163 Ge (?) *Κυρία*
 1140 Theos Aniketos 'Ἀσβαμεύς 1140
 Theos Hypsistos 'Ἐπὶ τοῦ "Ἡλίου
 1163 Zeus Στρατηγός 148
 — coins of 794 'Vogelfels' near
 1162 f.
- Amathous in Kypros**
Cults: Iupiter *Hospes* (Zeus *Ξένιος*)
 653₀ Zeus *Μετῆχιος* 1187
Rite: human sacrifice to Iupiter
Hospes (Zeus *Ξένιος*) 653₀
Myth: Cerastrae 653₀
 — scarab from 807
- Amathus**, s. of Aërias 646₀
- Ambrosia** the nymph, attacked by
 Lykourgos, is transformed into vine
 1111 f. gives bowl to Ganymedes (?)
 982
- Ambrosiai** Petrai 978 ff.
- Amen**
Cults: Napata 882₂ Thebes in Egypt
 882₂
Function: sky-god 882₂
Types: aniconic 882₂ enthroned bundle
 representing dead man in sitting
 posture 1077 meteorite (?) 882₂
omphalós 882₂
Identified with Ba'al-hammân 1076
Compared with Jehovah 884₀
- Amen-Râ**
Function: sun 885₀
- Amen-Râ (cont.)**
Identified with Zeus 882₂ 945
In relation to Min 885₀ the other ram-
 gods Heryshet, Khnum, and the
 Lord of Mendes 885₀
- Ammon**
Cult: Oxyrynechos 1076
Myth: hides Dionysos 126₄ (?)
Genealogy: f. of Dionysos by
 Amaltheia 126₄ (?)
Identified with Zeus 945
- Ammoneion** 882₂ 1076 See Oasis of Siwah
- Amnisos**, Artemis bathes in 1032₃
 — Eileithyia, d. of Hera, born in cave
 at mouth of 1032₃ Nymphs of 1032₃
- Amon** 882₂ 1076 See Amen
- Amphiareion** near Oropos, excavations at
 1181
- Amphion** 54
- Amphion and Zethos** (bibliography) 1135
- Amphiphorites** ('Ἀμφιφύτης ἀγών) 603₁₂
- Amphipolis**, coins of 856₀
- Amphitrite**
Epithet: Ποσειδωνία 1047₁₁
Etymology: 124 f.
Associated with Poseidon 681 958
- Amphitryon**
Myth: Alkmene 506 ff.
Genealogy: f. of Iphikles by Alkmene
 506
Etymology: 506
 — cup of 507 507₆ *thálamos* of, built
 by Trophonios and Agamedes 507₅
 tripods dedicated by 507₅
- Amūn** 882₂ 884₀ 885₀ See Amen
- Amyklai**
Cult: Apollon 1109 f.
 — throne of Apollon at 220 631₄
 1109 f.
- Amyklaion**, relief from 1109 *stèle* from 1008
- Amykos** 145₃ 177₀
- Amymone**
Myths: Satyr 356 Poseidon 361 369
Function: fountain-nymph 357
- Amynandridai** 771₄
- Anagyrus** See Vari
- Anahita**
Cult: Persia 916₁
Etymology: 916₁
- Anaitis** 1134 See also Anahita
- Anaktes**
Cult: Athens 120
Priests: *Anaktotéléstai* 1068
- Ananke**, spindle of 1116
- Anaphe**
Cult: Apollon 'Ἀσπελάρας 570₂
Festivals: Asgelaia 570₂ Taurophone(i)a
 570₂ Theudaisia 570₂
- Anaxagoras** 418₀ 454 481₃ 886
- Anaximandros** 949₆
- Androgeos**
Cults: Athens 157 Phaleron 158
Epithets: Εὐρυγύνης 157 f. κατὰ πρόμωον
 ἦρας 158₄
Genealogy: 158₂

- Andros, Isiac hymn from 986
 Anemoi
Cult: Tarentum 105 f.
 See also Venti
 Anemokoitai 104
 Anesidora 202₀
 Annakos 527 f.
 Anogeia, folk-tale from 1070
 Anoubis
Cults: Delos 154 f. Egypt 48₀
 — oath by (?) 48₀
 Antaios challenges strangers to wrestling-bout 177₀ keeps in touch with mother-earth 1174 grave of, at Tingis 372₃ 440₀ myth of, influenced by that of Kyknos 440₉ (?)
 Anthedon
Cult: Zeus Μιλίχιος 1187
 Anthesteria 430₀
 Anthousa 71₄
 Antimacheia
Cult: Zeus Τέτιος 562
 Antiocheia on the Orontes
Cult: Zeus Σωτήρ 22
Rite: alytarch of Olympian games personates Zeus 562₃
 — bibliography of 1191 chalice from 972
 Antiochos I of Kommagene
Epithets: Θεὸς Δίκαιος Ἐπιφανής 951
Personates Zeus Ὁρομάσσης 951 (?)
 Antiope
Myth: consorts with Zeus 467 469 615₃
Type: pendant to Danaë 469
 Antipas, St 1102
 Antiphilos, the painter 627₀
 Antisthenes 595
 Antoninus Pius
Personates Zeus 1130
 Aonia 531
 Aos 512 See also Heos (Eos)
 Apameia in Phrygia
Cult: Poseidon 22
Festival: Kibotoi 530 (?)
 — coins of 293₂ 528 f. 530 named Kibotos 530
 Apeliotes 130
 Apelles 297
 Apesas, Mt
Cults: Zeus Ἀπεσάντιος 1165 Zeus Ἀφέσιος 1165
 Aphrodisias in Karia
Cult: Zeus Πατρῶος (= Augustus) 1191
 — coins of 1148
 Aphrodisias in Kilikia, coins of 763₂ (?)
 Aphrodite
Cults: Argos 320₄ Askalon 154 Athens 170₀ 171₀ 722 725 f. 726 Athmonia or Athmonon 55₅ Mt Eryx 172 ff. Gaza 553 Ioulis 269₁ Cape Kolias 172 Megalopolis 567₀ Paphos 238₁ 1112 1134 Samos 66₂ Saracens 915₂ Sparta 722₃ Thessaly 271 (?)
Epithets: ἀναδυομένη 297 ἐν Ἑλει 66₂ ἐν Καλάμους 66₂ ἐν Κήποις 165 168
 Aphrodite (cont.)
 169₀ 171 174₀ 722 726 Ἐνόπιος 722₃
 Ἐρυκίνη 175₂ καλή 1073 Κτήσυλλα 269₁ Μαχαντίς 567₀ Οὐρανία 55₅ 152₆
 153 f. 171₀ 722 Παφία 899₅ 1134
 Χαβάρ (Χαμάρ) 915₂ 915₃ 917₇
Rite: sacrifice of heifer 171₀
Priestesses: ἱερόδουλοι 177₀
Personated by woman on ladder (?) 1118
Myths: springs from seed of Ouranos 274 springs from seed of Zeus 274 is borne by dolphin to Kypros 274 plants pomegranate in Kypros 817₀ sleeps with Hephaistos 175₂ transforms Melos the Delian into μηλέα and Pelias into πέλεα 817₀
Genealogy: eldest of the Moirai 171₀ m. of Eryx by Boutas or by Poseidon 176₀
Functions: mountain-mother 177₀ unites Sky with Earth 453 morning dew 172 vegetation 175₂
Etymology: 274₆ 275₀ 276₀
Attributes: bud 1060 dove 175₂ 638₀ 1057 doves 1112 flower 1060 mirror 94₀
Types: acrolithic ἄδανον 567₀ Alkamenes 171₀ (?) 722₃ Capuan 173₀ Cnidian 970 cone 650₀ crouching 561 Damophon 567₀ Doidalses 471 draped and veiled 681 draped and flanked by two hovering Erotes 1018 draped and flanked by two winged female figures (Nikai?) 1016 ff. drawn by sparrows 831 drawn by swans 831₂ Eréjus 171₀ 173₀ (?) herm 171₀ 722 holding pomegranate 818₀ (?) in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. leaning on archaistic effigy of herself 171₀ leaning on pillar with tree in background 171₀ Melian 171₀ nude 834 nude goddess flanked by two Sirens 1016 nude goddess pressing her breast with dove or doves flying about her 1016 Pheidias 698 698₆ riding on goat 831 rising from sea 957 f. semi-draped 698₆ standing with dove on finger 638₀ with Eros at her shoulder 1022 with uplifted sandal 1020 stepping on to boat 137₄
Identified with Astarte 177₀ (?)
Associated with Ares 681 Eros 170₀ 700 (?) 704 725 f. 746 Eryx 176₀ Poseidon 675₂ 699 f.
Compared with ψυχή 747₂
In relation to Astarte 275₀ (2) 276₀ coot 52₁ dove 275₀ (1) (?) Moirai 722
 — meadows of 106₄
 Aphros, forefather of Aphroi
Genealogy: f. of Aphrodite by Astynome 276₁ s. of Kronos by Philyra 276₁
 Apidanos 366
 Apis
Types: bovine bust with solar disk

Apis (cont.)

between horns and lunar crescent
round neck 1082 double bust (with
Isis) 1132

Apollo

Cult: Rome 436₀

Epithet: *pastoralis* 268₁

Type: in Pompeian paintings of Twelve
Gods 1062₂ (1 f.)

See also Apollon

Apollodoros the mythographer 1103 f.

Apollon

Cults: Amyklai 1109 f. Anaphe 570₂
Athens 725 Bulla Regia 825₅ Chembis
983 Delos 119 984 f. Dreros 1087
Ephesos 1174 Gaza 553 Gryneion
100 Hybla 1029 Hyperboreoi 106₁
Karthaiia 269₁ Kaulonia 830 Klaros
100 Korkyra 1120 Leukas 137₄
Miletos 474₀ Peiraeus 1083 Selinous
614₅ Tenedos 1146 Thebes in
Boiotia 507₅ 880 Thespiiai 1070 Vari
261 265₀

Epithets: 'Αγρεός 267 'Αγνείος 1120
'Ασγελάρας 570₂ Γαλάξιος (?) 880₁
Δελφίνιος 1087 'Εριφύλλιος (?) 'Ερι-
φύλλος 321₀ 'Ερσος 261 'Ισμήνιος 507₅
880 Κάριος 996 Καρνείος 1078
Λατῶς 1047₁₁ Λευκάτης 137₄ Λύκιος
355₄ Ναπαῖος 100₆ (?) Νόμιος 265₀ 267
ὀλβιοεργός 630₅ ὀλβιος 630₅ Πυθαῖος (?)
1120 Πύθιος 725 Σκυλακεύς 413₀ (?)
Φίλιος (= Φιλήσιος) 474₀ Χαλάξιος 880

Oracles: Delphoi 100₄ Gryneion 100
Klaros 100

Rite: sacrifice of asses 106₁

Priestess: the *Pythia* 100 (?) 1122

Myths: is born in Delos 984 f. is hidden
by Leto in Chembis 983 f. borrows
aigis of Zeus 314₅ wears *aigis* 866
wraps *aigis* round Hektor 866
rescues Aineias from Diomedes 103
steals Delphic tripod 799₁ visits
Lesbian oracle of Orpheus 99 f.
woos Thetis 742 Branchos 474₀
Kroisos 519 f.

Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Leto, and b.
of Artemis 744₁ (6) s. of Dionysos by
Isis, and b. of Artemis 984 f. of
Kydon by Akakallis d. of Minos
414₀ f. of Miletos by Akakallis d. of
Minos 414₀

Functions: hail 880 sun 120₆ 726₆
welfare 630₆

Etymology: 1135 (?) 1136

Attributes: apple (?) 1136 bay-branch
99 bay-wreath 99 bow and arrow
675 hawk 1073 *kithára* and *pléktron*
683 684 swan 757₀

Types: square pillar inscribed KAPN-
EIOΣ 996 first wooden statue 119
holding double axe 1146 nude,
archaic, advancing to right with
filleted bay-branch and strung bow
1164 with Charites in right hand

Apollon (cont.)

1124 with hawk on head 46 Kassel
1155 Pheidias (?) 1155 *kitharoidós*
707 ff. 725 contest with Marsyas
659₀ 710 slaying Niobids 955 riding
on swan 831 1136 in car drawn by
swans 830 f. in archaistic reliefs of
the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.

Identified with Aristaios 267 f. Horos
984

Associated with Artemis 707 958 Zeus

Βροντῶν 1160 f. Zeus Πατρώος 1174

Compared with meteor 885

Supersedes Dionysos 1125

— *provenance of* 1135 1137

Apollonia ad Rhyndacum, coins of 856₀

Apolloniastai 155

Apollonios of Tyana greets Pheidias'
statue of Zeus at Olympia 961

Apulia

Myth: Daunus 364

Apulu 88₀

Apulum

Cult: Iupiter Optimus Bussumarus 1140

Iupiter Optimus Maximus Bussu-
marius 1140

Aquae Albulae 1013

Aquae Cutiliae, floating island in 1012 f.
sacred to Victory (*sc.* Vacuna) 1012

Aquae Salsulae, floating island in 1015

Aquae Sulis

Cults: Luna 863₁₁ Sol 863₁₁ Sulis 858 ff.

— bronze head from 862 large pedi-
mental relief from 862 ff. smaller
pedimental reliefs from 863₁₁ some-
times called Aquae Solis 863

Aquileia in Venetia, mosaic from 627_(a)

Aquilo 107 162₅

Arabia

Cults: Arsu 1163 Hobal 334₁ Manāf
1163 Morning Star 915₂

Myth: *Kalila and Dimna* 405₀

Arachova 335₁

Arados

Cult: 'Dagon' 126₄

— coins of 159₀

Arantides

Cult: Illyrioi (?) 1184

Ararat, Mt 530₇ 531₀

Aratos, the exordium of 947 953 f. 974
quoted by St Paul 954

Arcadian League, coins of 715₀

Arcadians called προσέληνοι 315₀

— claim to have seen Zeus shake the
aigis 314

Archelaos of Priene 37 1070

Archilochos on rights and wrongs of
animals 949

Ardea 365

Arelate, stag-mummers at 1067

Ares

Cults: Makedonia 282₆ Papremis 344₃

Epithet: Θαυλλος (?) or Θαῦλος 282₆

Genealogy: s. of Zeus 344₃ s. of Zeus
by Hera, and b. of Hebe and

- Ares (cont.)**
 Eileithyia 744₍₇₎ h. of Agrauros 283₅
Functions: originally more than war-god 283₅ (?) fire in air 235₇
Attribute: hound 683
Type: in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.
Associated with Aphrodite 681
- Arethousa** 515₁
- Argaios**, Mt, as object of worship 1063
 ascent of 1176 image of, as head-dress 1177 image of, in hand of Zeus 1177 small bronze eagle on pillar representing (?) 1177 small bronze eagle on stag representing (?) 1177 small bronze model of 1177
- Arge** 1172
- Argo** 778₁ 779₀ 975
- Argonauts**, found Amphiphorites ('Αμφορίτης ἀγών) at Aigina 608₁₂ historical element in myth of 360₂ sent past Planktai by Hera 975 warned of Kyaneai by Phineus 976
- Argos**
Cults: Aphrodite 320₄ Athena 'Οξυδερκής 785₁ Athena Σάπριγξ 729₃ Demeter Πελασγίς 417₀ Heliotis 1092 Hera 65 566₂ 1043 ff. 1085 Hera Βασίλεια 66 Hera Εἰλεῖθνια 725₄ Zeus 'Ερκεῖος 455 Zeus Μηχανεύς 142₃ 566₂ Zeus 'Ολβιος 631 Zeus 'Τέτιος 563
Epithets: ἄνδρον 361₃ f. 368 δειψίαν... χθόνα 361 πολυδίψιον 361 368
Festival: Hysteria 320₄
Rites: ἱερὸς γάμος 1044 ff. initiation 1046 Λεχέρνα 1044 women present veil to Hera 1046
Myths: Akrisios 364 Danaos and the Danaïdes 355 ff. irrigation by Danaos or the Danaïdes 361 f. Io 631 ff. Kleobis and Biton 1044 Polyneikes 563 Poseidon contends with Hera 751₁ Tyrsenos discovers trumpet 729₃
 — early kings of 67₂ after the peace of Nikias 62 f. Amymonian Waters at 361 archaic bronze vessel at 566₂ bones of Tantalos at 417₀ (?) bronze chamber of Danaë at 455 coins of 355₄ 471 Heliotion at 1092 Heraion at 633₀ tomb of Pelasgos at 566₂ relief of Selene from 1085 f.
- Argos**, watcher of Io
Attribute: bull's hide 837
Types: with eye on his chest 631₄ covered with eyes 633₀ wearing ox-hide cape 634₁ wearing panther-skin 638₀
- Ariatha** 1090
- Aristaios**
Cults: Arkadia 268 Keos 267 f.
Myths: builds altar to Zeus Ικμαῖος 266 sacrifices to Seirios 266 saves Keos from drought 266 Sardinia 270
- Aristaios (cont.)**
Genealogy: s. of Apollon by Kyrene and f. of Aktaion 266₂ f. of Charmos and Kallikarpos 270
Functions: culture-hero 266 f. king embodying sky-god 269
Type: Zeus-like head 270 f.
Identified with Apollo Agreús and Nómios 267 f. Zeus 270 Zeus Aristaios 267 f.
- Aristoteles**, false reading for Aristokles (?) 1043₄
- Aristotle** 482 f.
- Arkadia**
Cults: Aristaios 268 Zeus Αῤκαῖος 525
Rite: priest of Zeus Αῤκαῖος makes rain by stirring the spring Hagno with oak-branch 315
- Arkalochori** Cave near Lyktos, perhaps the famous cave of Zeus and Rhea 1143 treasure from 1143
- Arkesilaos**, the sculptor 1022
- Arkesine**, coins of 820₂
- Armenia**
Cult: Astlik 293₂
Festival: Vartavar 293
Rite: pigeons set free 293
- Armenios** 946
- Arnouphis** 325 f. 332
- Arrhaphoria** 165 ff. 179 188 236 240 f. 602
- Arrhetophoria** 165₇ (?) 166₀
- Arsu** 1163
- Artemidos**, St 269
- Artemis**
Cults: Agra 725 Athens 1181 Bithynia 992 f. Boiotia 990 Ephesos 896₂ 968 Gygaia Limne 989 Ioulis 269 Messene 66₂ Olympia 1009 Palaio-polis in Korkyra 844₁₀ Patmos 986 Sardeis 1082 Sparta 1009 1030
Epithets: 'Αγροτέρα 725 'Αλφεῖονία 671₀ 'Αμαρυσία 55₅ 'Αναίτις 899₅₍₃₎ 'Αρίστη 268₀ γαιδοχος 10₄ διοτρεφής 34₂ (?) 'Ελεῖα 66₂ 'Ελευθέρα 899₅₍₂₎ 'Εροδία 279₄ 'Εφεσία 324₅ 899₅ 900 1133 1134 Θροσία 1083 Καλλίστη 268₀ 1124 1181 Κολονηή 989 Κορδάκα 1009 Λυγοδέσμα 1030 f. 1031₅ Μουνυχία 233₁ 'Ορθία 1009 1030 1031₅ 1134 Παγασίτις 1083 Παρθένος 986 Πατμία 986 Περσία 565₁ Σκυλακίτις 413₀ Ταυροπόλος 624₀ 636₀
Rites: ἀρκεύσασα 1083 νέβρετα (?) 1083 παρθένεια 1008 sacrifice of she-goat in girl's clothing to Artemis Μουνυχία 233₁
Priestesses: νεσποί (?) 1083
Myth: is born in Delos 985
Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Leto, and st. of Apollon 744₍₇₎ d. of Dionysos by Isis, and st. of Apollon 984
Functions: childbirth 985 moon 726₆
Attributes: bow 638₀ 725 fawn 640₀ fish 990 two jars 1181 torch 1181 wheel-torch 638₀

- Artemis (cont.)**
Types: cult-statue with veil 899₅(2 f.)
 Endoios 968 hastening to greet the new-born Athena (?) 710 f. 'Colonna' 710 f. riding horned doe 831 slaying Niobids 955 standing with wheel-torch and bow 638₀ in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.
Identified with Bendis 189₁ 233₁ Boubastis 984 Diktyнна 189₁ Oupis 189₁
Associated with Apollon 707 958
In relation to stags 1134
Superseded by St John the Evangelist 986
 — birthday of 178₀ fawns of 1064₄ two images of, on coin of Aspendos 899₅(1)
 Artemision, bronze statue fished up from sea off 1151 ff.
 Ascension Day 1193
 Asia
Etymology: 1107
 Asies, nephew or brother of Atys 1107
 Asine, 'Mycenaean' finds at 1192
 Asis
Cult: Euyuk 1106 f.
 Askalon
Cult: Aphrodite Οὐρανία 154
 Asklepios
Cults: Aliphera 126₅ Athens 775 Epidaurous 1182 Inönü in Phrygia 1146 Nikaia in Bithynia 1182 Paulatia 1182 Sparta 1030₄
Epithet: 'Αγνίρας 1030₄
Metamorphosed into snake 1182
Etymology: 1182 (?)
Type: holding serpent-staff and borne through air by winged and bearded snake 1182
 Aspalis 283₄
 Aspasia
Epithet: Τύραννος (?) or Τυραννοδαίμων (?) 66₄
Personates Hera 32₅ 66₄
 Aspendos, coin of 899₅(1)
 Aspis ἐν Ἀργεῖ 356₅
 Assteas 511₀
 Assyria, demons of, influence Etruscan conception of Charon 1143
 Assyrioi (= Syrioi)
Cult: dove 1103
 Astaroth, *kteis* of (?) 918₃
 Astarte
Cults: Delos 152₆ 153 f. Sidon 1023 Tyre 892 f.
Epithet: Παλαιστίνη 152₆ 153 f.
Myth: finds fallen star 892 917
Functions: moon 892₄ the planet Venus 892₄
Type: nude goddess 834
Identified with Aphrodite 177₀ (?)
In relation to Aphrodite 275₀(2) 276₀
 — *kteis* of (?) 918₃
 Asteria, name of Delos 984 f.
- Asterie, Titaness**
Myth: Zeus 984 f.
Metamorphosed into quail 985 stone 985
 Asterion 619₁ 628₀
 Asteropos 1067
 Astlik 293₂
 Atabyrion, Mt, in Rhodes
Cult: Zeus Ἀταβύριος 1172
 — excavations on 1172 See also Atabyros, Mt
 Atabyros, Mt, in Rhodes, geology of 986
 See also Atabyrion, Mt
 Atargatis
Cults: Heliopolis in Syria 1095 Nabataioi 1097 Palmyra 1093
Attribute: lions (?) 1096
Types: bust with fish-scales (?) on face and chest 1097 bust with two fishes as head-dress 1097
 Athamas
Myth: Nephele 73 f.
 Athanasia 60₅(3)
 Athanasios, St 1187
 Athena
Cults: Aliphera 126₅ Argos 729₃ 785₁ Athens 749 f. 827₃ 859₁ Auesae 128₁ Boiotia 608 820₁ Corinth 1092 Crete 126₄ (?) Elis 224 f. Emesa 888 Hephaistia in Lemnos 216₁ Ilion 283₄ Korone 782 Kos 566₂ Mt Kynthos 1172 Lakonike 776 Libye 128₁ 839 Marathon 1092 Megalopolis 567₀ Megara 782 f. Olympia 967 Oxyrhynchite nome 190₅ Peiraeus 659₀ 1196 Pelasgians 226 Pella 869 Pergamon 794 872 Plataiai 773₆ Rhodes 355 Salamis in Kypros 653₀ Sparta 11₁ 661 Syracuse 850₆ Tanagra 567₀ Tegea 1141 Thespiiai 1066 Thessaly 608 871₁ Troy 193₀
Epithets: ἀγλαότιμος 776₁ Ἀγλαυρος 240₃ 246 Αἰθναία 608₄ 782 f. 795 αἰολομορφε 776₁ Ἀλέα 1141 Ἀλκιδημος (not Ἀλκίς) 869 Ἀρεία 773₆ Ἀρχήγετις 827₃ Βαλενίκη 60₅(4) Βία 608₃ Βοαρμία 608 Βούδεια 608 γλανκώπις 193₀ (?) 201₃ 781 834 844 Γοργοπήκοος 836 (See Panagia *Epithets*) Γοργώπις 189₁ γοργώπις 844 δράκαινα 776₁ δύναμις τοῦ Διὸς 873₂ Ἐγκέλαδος 55₅ Ἑλλωτίς 1092 Ἐργάνη 191₃ 795 967 εὐώδιον 763₄ (?) Ζωσπειρία 567₀ Ἡφαιστία 216 218 1047₁₁ θύγατερ Διὸς αἰγίόχοιο 866₇ Ἰππία 13₀ Ἰωνία 820₁ 871₁ Κόρη 608₄ κόρη Διὸς αἰγίόχοιο 866₇ Κυνθία 1172 Λινδία 355 Μαχαρίς 566₂ Μαχαρίτις 567₀ Μήτηρ 225₁ 749 835 Μόρος 762 Νίκη 811 813 1196 Νικηφόρος 794 ὀβριμοπάτρη 737₈ Οἰνάνθη 184₃ (?) Ὀμολαίς (at Thebes in Boiotia) 608₃ Ὀευδερχής 785₁ Παλλάς 201₂ 573 743₃ Πάνδροσος 246 Παρεία 776 Παρθένος 573 749 823 1155 Πολιάς 213 244 573₄ 614 721 749 758 772₄ 813 Πολιοῦχος 771

Athena (cont.)

Προναία 727₃ Πρόνοια 727₃ Σάλπριγξ 729₃ Σώπειρα 659₀ 1196 Τριτογένεια 123₈ 719 f. 726 Τριτογενής 123₇ Τριτωνίς 126₀ 726 Τγία 614₅ 775 859₁ φιλένθεος 776₁ Χαλκίοικος 11₁ 661

Festivals: Athenaia 212 f. Chalkeia 211 ff. Panathenaia 720 Plynteria 224₃ 749 Tritomenis 719₄

Rites: annual fight of maidens among Auses 128₁ annual washing of Argive image in Inachos 224₃ 749 bull-hanging at Ilion 283₄ ἑρὸς γάμος 224₃ liturgy of Pallas' snake 775 πέπλος woven at Chalkeia 212 priestess with aigis visits newly married couple 225₂ sacrifice of ox 782₄ sacrifice of ram 782₄ sacrifice of sow 225₁

Priestesses: Ἀρηφόροι 165 ff. 212 Auge 823 drawn from Bouzygai 609

Personated by fairest virgin of Auses 128₁ priestess 225₂

Myths: birth from head of Zeus 477 657 ff. 737 744 birth at Athens 720 birth in Crete from cloud cleft by Zeus 727 birth beside river Triton 125 743₀ is wooed by Hephaistos 218 ff. 236 274 734 slays the monster Aigis and uses its skin as breastplate 839 slays the Gorgon and wears its skin 844 flays Pallas the Giant, who had attempted to violate her, and wears his skin and wings 842 adorns woman 201 at Ikonion makes images of clay 528 brings Kekrops to Megara 783 809 f. (?) entrusts Erichthonios to the Kekropides 238 ff. carries Lykabettos 238 plants olive-tree at Athens 750 f. contest with Gorgon about beauty 850₈ contest with Poseidon about Athens 750 ff. contest with Poseidon about Trozen 751₁ gives πέπλος to Herakles 1186 helps Herakles in rape of Delphic tripod 799₁ helps Herakles against Hydra 797 cuts spear for Peleus 209₂ superintends building of Argo 778₁ 779₀ nurses Bakchos or Iakchos 225₁ would bestow immortality on Tydeus 60₅₍₃₎

Genealogy: d. of Brontas 60₅₍₄₎ d. of Pallas the Giant by Titanis d. of Okeanos 842 d. of Poseidon by lake Tritonis 216 d. of Poseidon by lake Tritonis, later adopted by Zeus 128₁

Functions: goddess of the Akropolis at Athens 189 837 originally Pelasgian mountain-mother in Asia Minor 236 736 831 originally mother-goddess, later virgin 737 749 originally wife of Hephaistos 200 223 736 867 mountain-mother 224 246 729₃ 748 831 866 earth-goddess 200₀ 246

Athena (cont.)

pottery 191₈ arts and crafts 201 women's handiwork 795 nurse of children 225₁ wisdom 726 727₃ 728 aithēr 726₀ 727 728 clouds 729 dawn 728 (?) morning twilight 728 (?) earthquake 3₀ keeper of the thunderbolt 867 second self of Zeus 872 f. sneeze of Zeus 662₁ (?) 732 (?)

Etymology: 60₅₍₃₎ 191₈ 726 727 727₃ 728 839₂ (?)

Attributes: aigis 837 ff. 866 f. chariot drawn by four winged horses 807 double axe 190₈ Gorgoneion 837 ff. Gorgon-shield 39 helmet 811 ff. winged helmet 820₂ olive-tree 190 749 ff. owl 190 558 776 ff. pillar 190 763₂ pomegranate 811 ff. snakes 189 f. 764 ff.

Types: primitive pre-warlike 189₁ advancing to left with thunderbolt and Gorgon-shield 868 f. 871 f. advancing to right with thunderbolt and Gorgon-shield 869 advancing to right with spear and shield 869 ff. advancing with uplifted lance 573 Albani 837₀ 857 archaistic 225₁ 837₀ 868 ff. in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. bearing dead warrior across sea 809 f. bearing infant on her arm 218 806 bearing snake in basket 218 Bronze Athena by Pheidias 225₁ 862 Cassel 837₈ 858 clay vessel as fetish and symbol 191₈ cock with human face wearing skin of cock's head as helmet 804 cult-statue in Erechtheion 574₀ cult-statue in Peisistratic Hekatompedon 574₀ Elgin statuette 830 emergent from head of Zeus 662 f. 668 ff. exhibiting olive-plant 755 762 f. fighting on Ionic column 1006 fulminant 793₂ 868 ff. grouped with Hephaistos in the Hephaisteion 213 ff. gull 783 hasting to right in full armour 659 694 ff. hawk 781 holding corn-ears 607 holding crow 782 782₃ holding double axe 867₅ holding helmet in hand 686 687 human-headed bird wearing helmet 801 in chariot drawn by two owls 830 in chariot drawn by two snakes 769 f. 831 kite or shearwater 781 Lanekorónski relief 830 Lansdowne relief 779₀ 'Lemnia' 211 216₁ 858 Lenormant 773₈ letting owl fly 830 nude (?) 868₅ ornithomorphic passing into anthropomorphic 794 ornithomorphic, semi-ornithomorphic, anthropomorphic in combination 799 799₁ ὀρθόκτις 225₁ owl 781 784 ff. 837 owl as spinner 795 owl with human helmeted head 801 ff. 'Palladion' 573₄ 609 1006 Parthénos 211 868₅ 933 Parthénos with olive

Athena (*cont.*)

- instead of pillar 763₂ Pheidias 933
(See also Bronze Athena, Lansdowne relief, 'Lemnia', Lenormant, *Parthénos*, Varvakeion) pigeon 781
pursued by Hephaistos 220 f. rising from head of Zeus 612 669 673 ff.
688 seated and weaponless 574₀
seated beside Hephaistos 205 seated beside olive 763₂ seated beside Zeus 1049₁ seated with *phiale*, helmet, spear, and snake 614 seated with pomegranate in right hand and helmet in left 811 ff. setting foot on chariot 807 snake 776 (?) 837 (?) standing before Zeus 663 686 ff. standing beside olive 763₂ standing on knees of Zeus 663 681 ff. standing to left with owl in right hand and spear in left 827 standing to right with owl in left hand and *phiale* in right 827 standing to right with owl in right hand and spear in left 830 standing with lance at rest 573 swallow 782 Varvakeion 773_e 837_s 858 vulture 781 wearing helmet with features of Sokrates, Silenos, etc. 804₁ winged 88₀ 225₁ 785 804 ff. winged and advancing to right with brandished thunderbolt and outstretched *aigis* 820 871 winged and armed on Graeco-Roman gems 822 winged and flying to left with helmet, spear, and shield 821 winged and standing *en face* between two owls 822 winged and standing to left carries Nike on right hand and holds shield and spear with left 820 f. winged and standing to left crowns the king's name with raised right hand and holds shield with lowered left 820 winged and wingless on same vase 809 811 with cock on helmet 46₄ with glaucous eyes 216 with owl on head 46
Identified with Basileia 60₅₍₄₎ Gorgon 189₁
Assimilated to Aphrodite 225₁
Associated with Hephaistos 200 ff. 736 Herakles 958 Zeus 872 f. Zeus *Μαχάρεος* 566₂ 567₀
Compared with Cretan snake-goddess 189 f. 225 f. meteor 885
In relation to Erechtheus 190 758 Gorgon 836 Nike 811 olive-tree 763 f. owl 781 784₁ 789 791 snake 770
Supersedes Demeter 607 f. Ge 188
Superseded by Panagia Γοργοεπήκοος 189₁
— birthday of 719 f. five Athenas 842₄ honoured by Peisistratos and his successors 188₃ motherhood of, passes into maidenhood 224
Athene, early name of Athens 224 748

Athenis 969

Athens

- Cults*: Agnostos Theos 1162 Anaktes 120 Androgeos 157 Aphrodite 725 f. Aphrodite *ἐν Κήποις* 165 168 726 Aphrodite *Ούρανία* 171₀ 722 Apollon Πύθιος 725 Artemis Καλλίστη 1181 Asklepios 775 Athena Ἀρχήγευς 827₈ Athena Νίκη 811 ff. 1196 Athena Πολιάς 244 573₄ 614 721 749 758 Athena Τυγία 775 859₁ Basile or Basileia 60₅₍₆₎ Blaute 177₁ Eros and Aphrodite 170₀ Demeter 990 f. Demeter Χλόη 177 Dionysos 604₂ Dionysos Ἐλευθερέως 574 Eileithyia 588₁ Eros 725 f. Eumenides 189₁ Ge Θέμις 168 Ge Καρποφόρος 242 601₂ Ge Κουροτρόφος 177₁ 244 Ge Ὀλυμπία 169₀ Hephaistos 211 ff. 226 f. 721 Hera 66₃ 725 Hermes 725 Hermes Χθόνιος 604₂ Hieros ὁ ἐπὶ βλαύτῃ 177₁ Isis 588₁ Kekrops 771 Kronos and Rhea 169₀ Men 308 f. Meter 67₀ Moirai 721 Nike Ἄπτερος 811 Nymphs 308 f. Pan 308 f. Panagia Γοργοεπήκοος 189₁ 588 Pandrosos 243 f. Poseidon 721 Poseidon Γαίωχος 11₃ Poseidon Ἐλάτης 9₁ Sarapis 588₁ Tritopatores 113 ff. Zeus 1196 Zeus Ἐλευθέριος 212₂ 1186 Zeus Ἐρκείος 243 749 Zeus Ἡραῖος 1047 Zeus Κάριος 569₅ Zeus Μοιραγέτης 721₄ Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 604₂ Zeus Πάνδημος 212₂ Zeus Πολιεύς 317 570 ff. 720 f. Zeus Σωτήρ 575₀ 1184 Zeus Τύσιος 939₄ Zeus Φέλιος 1189
Festivals: Anthesteria 430₀ Arrhēphoria 165 ff. Balletys 612₀ 1194 Bouphonia (See *Rites*: *Βουφόνια*) Choes 1105 Chytroi 604₂ Deipnophoria 241₀ 246₈ Diasia 1194 Diisoteria 575₀ Dipolieia 317 574 ff. 656 f. Genesia 1105 Haloia 815₀ 1105 Hephaistia 213 Hieros Gamos 1047 Hydrophoria 603 f. Niketeria 754₄ Oskophoria 241₀ Theogamia 1047 Thesmophoria 815₀ 1030 f.
Rites: ἄροτος Βουζύγιος 606 *βουφόνια* 570 576 ff. 873 bridal bath from Kallirrhoe (Enneakrounos) 370 ff. bull-carrying 1091 communion of worshippers devouring sacred flesh 606 ἐπὶ ὀχήματος φέρεσθαι καλῶθιον (*v.l. κάλαθον*) eis τιμὴν τῆς Δήμητρος 990 f. pitchers placed over tombs of the unmarried 372 sacrifice of pig to Zeus *Ηραῖος* 1047 women celebrating Thesmophoria called μέλισσαι 1083 women celebrating Thesmophoria lie on bed of willows 103
Priestesses: Ἐρρηφόροι 166 261 Λοντρίδες 749
Myths: birth of Athena 720 Bouzyges

- Athens (*cont.*)
 606 ff. contest of Poseidon with Athena 750 ff.
In relation to Megara 783₁
 — Aglaurion at 169₀ 242 f. Asklepieion at 775 1189 Boutypon at 597 bronze double axe with incised man, water-fowl, horse, and wheel found near 1145 f. Christianised Parthenon at 588₁ sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite at 170₀ coins of 187₂ 254 f. 485₁₂ 569₅ 570 ff. 694 695₄ 713 725₇ 754 f. 755 f. 775 779₀ 788 f. 794 801 (?) 812 827 830 853₅ 871 897 f. 1194 court ἐν Πιπλάδι at 609 Διὸς ψῆφος at 600₄ Disoterion at 576₀ Enneakronnos at 370₅ Erechtheion at 213 574₀ 721 725 737 749 f. 758 f. 867 Hekatompedon at 574₀ 768 f. Hephaisteion at 213 ff. 223 701 Kallirrhoe at 370₅ Kekropion at 771 Nike-balustrade at 706₀ 819 Nike-bastion at 813 1196 Nike-temple (eastern frieze) at 581₀ 755₂ olives as life-trees of 187₂ 760 olive-tree on the Akropolis at 187₂ 749 ff. Olympieion at 725 Pandroseion at 243 260 749 f. Parthenon at (See Parthenon) Propylaia at 775 1186 Pythion at 725 sepulchral stēlai etc. from 373 380 382 386 snakes in painted pōros from pediment at 767 ff. Stoà Basileios at 216 1185 1186 (description and history) Stoà Basileios identified with Stoà of Zeus Eleuthérios at 1186 stratification of cults on Akropolis at 736 'Theseion' at 223₀ 'Tower of the Winds' at 129 f. town-arms of 785 ff.
- Athmonia or Athmonon
Cult: (Aphrodite) Οὐρανία 55₅
- Athos, Mt
Epithets: "Άγιον Όπος 748₅ δαιμόνιε (voc.) 748₅
Personified as a giant 748₅
 — *Macrobii* dwell on 748₅ shadow of, touches Lemnian cow 1102
- Atlantis
Cult: Poseidon 283₄ 1184
Rite: bull sacrificed to Poseidon on pillar 283₄
 — brass pillar inscribed with laws in 1184
- Atlas
Epithet: δλοφρων 1103
Myths: Herakles 956 at Polos 417₀
Genealogy: s. of Ouranos by Ge 887
Function: supports sky 1064
Etymology: 417₀
Types: bearing pōlos 417₀ bearing Aion in zodiacal ring 1128
 — pillars of 1115
- Atreus
Myth: golden lamb 1080
- Atropos 717
 Attes 874 See also Attis
 Attike
Cults: Zeus 1196 Zeus Τέτιος 319₁ 563
- Attis
Cults: Ephesos 1174 Peiraios 1192
Epithets: "Υης (Υῆς?) 874₁₁ χλοερός σράχυν ἀμνηθείς 300₀₍₁₎
Function: rain 874
Etymology: 952
Attribute: pomegranates 815₀
Types: recumbent 1128 triumphant 1127 f.
Associated with Agdistis 1192 Kybele 1174 Kybele and Zeus 1174
Inrelationto Christianity 952 Kybele 952
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- Atys
Cult: Smyrna 22
Genealogy: uncle or brother of Asies 1107
 Auge 823 823₃
 Augustus
Cults: Amastris 1163 Aphrodisias in Karia 1191 Dorylaeion 1191 Pergamon 1191
Epithet: ὁ ἐρουράνιος θεὸς Σεβαστός = divus Augustus 1163
Priests: ἀρχιερεῖς 1163 1191 perpetuus sacerdos 1163
Personates Zeus Πατρώος 1125 1191
 — complete deification of, reached through three stages (hero, demi-god, god) 1191
- Aulus, head of, dug up on Capitol 441
 Aura 225₁
 Auramazda 1112
 Aurelian, solar monotheism of 945 cp. 907
 Aurora 73
 Aurva 95₃₍₁₎
 Ausees
Cult: Athena 128₁
 Autariatai 502₂
 Auxesia 612₀
 Avenches See Aventicum
 Aventicum, bronze statuette from 827
 Axieros 1070 1128 f.
 Axiokersa 1070 1128
 Axiokersos 1070 1128 f.
- Ba'al (Baal, Bel)
Cults: Palmyra 1158 Ras Shamra 1156
Function: cosmic power 1159
Type: brandishes club in right hand and holds stylised thunderbolt in left 1156
Associated with Iaribol and Aglibol 1158 f.
 Ba'albek See Heliopolis in Syria
 Ba'al-hammān
Identified with Amon 1076 Zeus 945
 Ba'al-šamin
Identified with Zeus 945 1095
 — solar eagle of 982

- Ba'al Zaphon**
Identified with Zeus Κάστος in Syria and Egypt 1177
- Babylonia**
Cults: 'Breakers of Heaven and Earth' 483 'the fettered god' 483 484, Ishum 889
Myth: tree of life and tree of the gate of heaven 1136
- Bacis**, the bull of Hermonthis, bibliography of 1082 See also Bakha, Bouchis
- Baganda**, kings of, have lion as totem 957₀
- Baitylos**, s. of Ouranos by Ge 887 891
- Bakchos**
Cult: Halikarnassos 558
Epithet: 'Ομβρικός 558 560₈
Function: rain 558
Etymology: 953₃
- Bakha**, the bull of Hermonthis 953₃ See also Bacis, Bouchis
- Baki(s)**
Cult: Lydia 1082
Identified with Dionysos 1082
- Baktriane**, coins of 532 ff. 540 871 f.
- Balletys** 612₀ 1194
- Balor** 933₇
- Barbara**, St 472₃
- Baros** See Embaros
- Basile** 66₂ (?)
- Basile or Basileia**
Cult: Athens 60₅₍₆₎
Function: 'Queen' of Heaven, or of Underworld (?) 60₅₍₆₎
- Basileia as Athanasia** (?) 60₅₍₃₎ as Athena (?) 60₅₍₄₎ as Basile (?) 60₅₍₆₎ as bride of Pisthetairos 57 ff. as Hera Βασίλεια 61 as an imaginary goddess recalling the Basilissa and Hera 60₅₍₈₎ as Kore (?) 60₅₍₇₎ as Meter (?) 67₀ as Orphic Dike (?) 950₄ as d. of Ouranos by Titaia (Ge) and st. of Rhea (Pandora), who brought up the Titans, was called Megale Meter, and became by her b. Hyperion the m. of Helios and Selene (?) 60₅₍₅₎ as personification of Royalty (?) 60₅₍₁₎ as d. of Zeus (?) 60₅₍₂₎
- Basques**
Rites: *corrida* 1090 *Toro de Fuego* 1090
- Bath** See Aquae Sulis
- Bathykles** 220 f.
- Baubo**
Type: seated on pig 1119
Compared with analogous apotrôpasia 1119
- Begoë** (?) 434
- Beisân** See Beth-Shan
- Bektashi order** still worships Zeus on Mt Tomori near Berat 1170 f.
- Beliar** 332₃
- Bellerophontes** 413₀
- Bellona**
Cult: Rome 1142
Epithet: *Pulvinensis* 1142
Priest: *cistophorus* 1142
- Belos**
Genealogy: f. of Danaos 368
Function: sky-god 369₁
- Beltis** (?) 1159
- Benacus**, Lake, floating island in 1014 f.
- Bendis**
Cults: Philippi 1134 Thrace 189₁
Identified with Artemis 189₁ 233₁
- Benedict**, St 338₁
- Beni Hasan**, mimetic dances from tomb at 993
- Bes**
Function: apotropaic 847₁
Types: female 847₁ full-face 847₁ musician 1001 pygmy with wrinkled forehead and nose, broad face, and hanging tongue 847₁
Compared with Gorgon 847₁
- Bethel**
Cult: stone of Jacob (*Maššēbhah?* meteorite??) 891 f.
Etymology: 891
Compared with Egyptian meteor-cults (?) 884₀
In relation to baityloi or baitylia 891
 — two places so called 891
- Beth-Shan**
Cult: Antit 195₀
 — burial *pithoi* from 195₀ tubular stands from 195₀
- Billutschei** 334₁
- Bithynia**
Cults: Artemis 992 f. Zeus 1160
Rite: ὁ κάλαθος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος 992 f.
 — coins of 820
- Blaute**
Cult: Athens 177₁
- Boghaz-Keui**, Hittite forms of Greek names in cuneiform texts from 112₀
 Hittite rock-carvings at 1097
- Boïdas** 149 ff.
- Boiotia**
Cults: Artemis 990 Athena Βοαπμία 608 Athena Ἰτρωία 820₁ 871 Athena Λογγῆτις 608₂ Dan 736₃ Hera Βασίλεια 61₁ Poseidon 736₃ Zeus Βασίλειός 61₁
 — coins of 819 f.
- Boiotos** 109₄
- Bol**, Palmyrene form of Bel 1159
- Bononia in Bulgaria**
Cult: Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Dolichenus* 1098
- Boötes** 491
- Boreas** 130 160 See also Borrás
- Boreios** 129
- Borrás** 335 See also Boreas
- Borysthenes** 655₀ (?)
- Borysthenis** 135 140
- Bosporos**
Cults: Twelve Gods 147 f. Zeus Οἰσπος 142 ff.
 — 'Praying Boy' on shore of 149 ff.
- Bosporos Kimmerios** 155 gold oicalas from 253₀

- Bostra**
Cults: Zeus Ἄμμων 912₄ Zeus Ἐπι-
 κάρπιος 912
 — carved lintel of temple near 909
 coins of 908 912₄
- Boubastis**
Identified with Artemis 984
- Boubrostis**
Cult: Smyrna 1156
- Bouchis** 1082 See Bacis, Bakha
- Boupalos** 969
- Bouphonia** 570 576 ff. 873
- Boura** 21 f. 1118
- Bourina** 363 f.
- Bousiris**, king of Egypt, sacrifices strangers
 to Zeus 653₀
- Boutas** 176₀
- Boutes** 589
- Boutes**, ancestor of Eteoboutadai
Cult: Erechtheion 758
Priest: ἱερεὺς 213₃
- Boutike Limne**, floating island in 983
- Bouto** (Boutos, Boutoi) in Egypt
Cult: Leto 983
- Bouto**, the goddess (earlier Udô)
Identified with Leto 984
- Boutypoi**, family of clan Kerykes 585 589
 597 603
- Bouzygai** 608 ff. furnish priest of Zeus
Téleios, priest of Zeus ἐν Παλλαδίῳ,
 and priestess of Athena (ἐπὶ
 Παλλαδίῳ?) 609 keep sacred oxen at
 Eleusis 610
- Bouzyges**, eponym of Bouzygai 608 first to
 plough with yoke of oxen 606 f.
 identified with Epimenides 610
 plough of 606
- Boxing Day** 530₆
- Brachmanes** 107
- Branchos** 474₀
- Briareos** 120
- Briareus** 3₀
- Bricia** 1117
- Brimo**
Epithets: πόντια 300₀₍₁₎ 913₄ ῥηξιχθων 4₀
- Brimos** 300₀₍₁₎ 301 913₄
- Brisai**
Myth: taught Aristaios 266
- Britomartis**
Cult: Gaza 550
Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Hekate (?)
 544₄
Etymology: 550
Associated with Marnas 550
- Brontas** 60₅₍₄₎
- Brontes** 125₃
- Brundisium**
Etymology: 1115
- Buddha**
Myths: birth from side of Máya 97₀₍₄₎
 fight with Mara 1087
- Buenos Aires** 160₂
- Bulgaria**
Cults: three-headed rider-god with
 epithets Κύριος θεός and θεός
- Bulgaria (cont.)**
 Πανθορούς (or Πάνθορος) 1125
 Zeus Διώνυσος 1126
- Bulla Regia**
Cult: Apollon 825₆
 — two statues of winged Minerva
 from 825₆
- Byblos**
Cult: Zeus Σωτήρ 1163
 — excavation and restoration of
 temple at 1163
- Byzantion**, bull-headed furnace at 1102
 coins of 1120
- Caelestis** 1045₆
- Calaminae** 988 f.
- Caligula** attempts to bring statue of Zeus
Olympios to Rome 968 f. marries the
 Moon 1092 personates Helios 1092
 personates Zeus 969₁
- Campania**
Cults: Iuno Feronia 1155 Iupiter
Anxurus 1155
- Cancer** 589 1146
- Canicula** 266₃
- Capitoline triad** (Iupiter flanked by Iuno
 and Minerva) 40 f. 904
- Capua**
Cult: Iupiter *Olbius Sabaeus* 656₃
 — Arretine *skýphos* from 1003 coins
 of 408₀ *mundus* at 429₁ tomb-painting
 from 1000 f.
- Caracalla**
Personates Zeus 37₀
- Caradoc** and the serpent 1124
- Carchemish**, Hittite god at 957₀
- Carmel**, Mt., as object of worship 1068
- Carnuntum**
Cults: Manaphus 1163 Theandrius
 1163
- Carthage**
Cult: Hera 1045
Rite: sacrifice of children to Kronos by
 fire 611₅
- Caucasus** 236
- Celtiberians**
Cult: Epona 1179
- Celts**
Cults: Boussourigios 1140 Bussumarus
 (Bussumarius) 1140 Danu 367
 Epona 1179 Genius Cucullatus 1183
 Taranis (?) 1191
Myth: Tuatha Dé Danann 367
 — traverse Europe in second
 millennium B.C. 367 enter Asia
 Minor in s. iii B.C. 367
- Cerastae** 653₀
- Cereres** 1124 f.
- Ceres**
Rite: sacrifice of a pregnant sow 23
Myth: consorts with Iupiter 452
Attributes: corn-wreath 1062₂ (11.) torch
 1062₂ (11.)
Type: in Pompeian paintings of
 Twelve Gods 1062₂ (11.)

Ceres (*cont.*)

Identified with earth 452

Cernunnos, rock-carving of, in Val

Camonica 1147

Chaabou (?) 914₁

Chaamou

Cult: Petra 914

Genealogy: m. of Dousares 914 f.

Chabakta, coins of 856₀

Chaironeia

Rite: Βουλλιμου εξέλασις 1031₆

Myth: Kronos swallows stone 929

Chaldaeans

Cult: fire 339₃ 340

Myth: outwitted by priest of Kanopos 339 f.

Chalke

Cults: Zeus and Hekate 544₃

Chalkeia 211 ff. 223

Chalkis ad Belum (?)

Cult: Helioseiros 1074

Chaos

Etymology: 1179

Identified with Poros 747₁

— in Orphic theogony 1177 ff.

Charachmoba, coin of 908 f.

Charadros 361

Charis

Cult: Vari 261₇

Associated with Hephaistos 958

Charites

Genealogy: daughters of Zeus 955

daughters of Zeus by Eurynome

744₁₍₂₎ cp. 1070

Types: joining hands for dance 1057
naked 1070 three small females on
hand of Apollon 1124

In relation to Zeus 1057

Charon

Epithet: 'Ακρονιδης (?) 927₃

Attribute: hammer 927₃

— conceived by Etruscans under
Assyrian influence 1143 mallet or
hammer of, produces chthonian
thunder 1143 receives plate of
pomegranates 815₀ recent biblio-
graphy of 1143

Cheiron

Myth: gives spear to Peleus 209₂

Chembis

Cult: Apollon 983

Chemmis

Cult: Min 884₀

Chersonesos in Crete, coins of 1092

Chersonesos Taurike, coins of 1146

Chersonesos Thraikike

Cult: Zeus "Οριος 1183

Cherubim 324₁

Chios

Cult: Dionysos 'Ωμᾶδιος 599₍₂₎

— inscribed block of red trachyte
from 1183

Chipa 624₀

Chloia 178₀ 179₀

Choes 1105

Christ

Epithets: ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν 552₁ Porus

Consilii Filius 747

Functions: judge 972 law-giver 972
teacher 972 timely storm of rain
326 552

Types: as infant borne by
St Christopher 1020 youthful and
beardless 970 ff. mature and bearded
970 ff. bronze group at Kaisareia
Panaes 971₁ divine ruler 972₀
enthroned with globe as his footstool
948 seated on globe 948 974₀
shepherd-judge 972₀ threatening
storm-god 973 in the likeness of
Zeus 970 973 1196 influenced by
pre-existing pagan types (the child
Zeus or Dionysos? the Pheidias
Zeus?) 972 f. possibly influenced by
other pagan types (Asklepios,
Orpheus, Sarapis, etc.) 972₃ 972₃
973₀

Compared with Zeus Astérios 954

— painted in the guise of Zeus 970
perhaps alludes to the Eleusinian
mysteries 307₀

Christina, St 1013

Christmas 915₃

Christodoulos, St 986

Christopher, St

Type: bearing infant Christ 1020

Chrysaor, twin-b. of Pegasus

Genealogy: f. of Geryones 1070

Type: in the pediment from Corfu
844₁₀ 845₀

Chrysippos 726 1027₅

Chytroi, the festival 604₂

Cicero comments on Pheidias' statue of
Zeus at Olympia 960 f.

Circassians (Adighe)

Cult: Schiblél 1114

— treat as sacrosanct tree or man
struck by lightning 1114

Çiva

Attribute: trident 1156

— traced back to c. 3000 B.C. 1156

Claudia Quinta tows ship up the Tiber
895 f.

Clasium, tomb of Porsenna at 956₁

Commodus

Personates Hercules 1100 Iupiter 1100
Zeus 37₀ Ziu 1100

Constantine, St 1166

Constantinople, church of St Sophia at
906 f. conflagrations at 970₂ House
of Lausus at 969 f. throne in the
Magnaaura at 957₀

Consualia 437

Consus 10₁

Corfu, archaic pediment from 844₁₀ 845₀

Corinth

Cults: Athena 'Ελληνίς 1092 Zeus
'Ομβριος 526

Myth: men sprung from mushrooms 478

— coins of 1136

- Cornutus 727
Corona 483 f.
Corycian Cave
 Cult: Zeus 651₀
Crete
 Cults: Athena 126₄ (?) Diktyнна 189₁
 Hellotis 1092 snake-goddess 189
 Zeus Ἰδαίος 953 Zeus Σκύλιος 413₀
 Zeus Σκύλλιος 413₀
 Rites: communion of worshippers
 devouring sacred flesh 606 *τεπὸς*
 γάμος 1032 1092
 Myths: Aix, d. of Helios, hidden by
 Ge in a cave, where—tended by
 Amaltheia—she nurtures infant
 Zeus with her milk 839₈ 840₀ bull
 1032₄ golden hound 1110 Iasion and
 Demeter 75 ff. infancy of Zeus 953
 Zeus nursed by Meteres 225₁
 In relation to Philistines 551₀
 — special virtues ascribed to
 foreigners from 592 tomb of Zeus in
 1070 1173 tubular stands from
 195₀ ff.
Cucagna 505
Cuccagna 504 f.
Cuclu 1075
Çyāma and Çabala, the hell-hounds of
 Yama 410₀ ff.
Cynics 595
Cyprian, initiations of 775 1046
Da, an ancient name of the earth-mother
 9₀
Daānāu See Danauna
'Dagon'
 Cult: Arados 126₄
Dagon, that is Siton, s. of Ouranos by
 Ge 887
Daidalos
 Attributes: adze 1111 double axe 1111
 saw 1111 square 1111
 Compared with Ikaros and Talos 1111
Daimon Milichios
 Cult: Lebadeia 1187
 Attribute: snake 1187
 Identified with Agathos Daimon (?)
 1187
Daitroi, family of clan Kerykes 585 597
 603
Daktyloi
 Cults: Mt Ide in Crete 1033₁ Mt Ide in
 Phrygia 1033₁
 Function: servants of mountain-
 mother 922
 Etymology: 99₀ (?)
 Type: three small male figures
 wreathed with flowers 1033
Daldis, coin of 899₅(5)
Damateres
 Cult: Rhodes 1124 f.
 Rite: sacrifice of pregnant sheep 1124
Damia 612₀
Damigeron 920 f.
Damnameneus 922
Damophon 567₀ 712 968 1108
Dan
 Cult: Boiotia 736₃
Dan, the Hebrew tribe 354₆
Danaai 361 See also Danaïdes
Danaë
 Myths: founds Ardea 365 is imprisoned
 by Akrisios in bronze chamber 364
 is visited by Zeus as a fall of golden
 rain 455 ff. 518 is sent adrift in a
 chest with Perseus by Akrisios 455
 is drawn ashore on Seriphos by
 Diktys s. of Peristhenes 455
 Genealogy: d. of Akrisios 364 d. of
 Akrisios by Eurydike d. of Lake-
 daimon 455 m. of Perseus by Zeus
 455
 Types: Nikias of Athens 460 462 on
 coin 471 on gems 469 ff. recumbent
 undraped 467 f. seated on couch 456
 458 460 463 standing behind or in
 chest 458₁ 458₂ standing half-draped
 465 f. Titian 466 f. Van Dyck 467
 Compared with St Barbara 472₃
 St Irene 472₃ the Virgin 467₀
 In relation to Danaai, Danaïdes 476
 — as described by Simonides of Keos
 471 f. as pendant to Antiope 469 as
 pendant to Leda 465 flanked by
 Antiope and Leda 467
Danaïdes 354 ff.
 Myths: escape from Egypt 355 touch
 at Rhodes 355 make Argos well-
 watered 361 f. slay Aigyptiadaï 356
 bury heads of Aigyptiadaï at Lerna
 356 369 carry water to holed *pithos*
 in world below 369 f. 1193 f.
 Genealogy: descended, through
 Epaphos, from Zeus 142
 Type: emptying *hydriai* into *pithos*
 425
 Compared with priests of Akanthos in
 Egypt 339 354 users of libation-
 funnels at Ras Shamra 1193
 In relation to Danaë 476 Orpheus 425₀
Danaoi
 Etymology: 362 366
 Identified with Danauna 354 360 362
 In relation to Daunioi 364 f.
 — *thólos*-tombs of 362 (?)
Danaos
 Myths: Egypt 355 Rhodes 355 Argos
 355 f. makes Argos well-watered
 361 f.
 Genealogy: s. of Belos 355 368 twin-b.
 of Aigyptos 355 f. of fifty Danaïdes
 354 f.
Danapris 366
Danastris 366
Danauna attack Rameses iii soon after
 1200 B.C. 354 settle in Egypt 368
 identified with Danaoi 354 360 362
Dānavás 362₃
Dānu 362₃
Danu 367

Danube See Danuvius

Danuvius

Epithet: νεφελοφόρος 368_g

Etymology: 366

Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes

Festival: Olympia 1191

Daphnephoria 880

Dardanos

Identified with Polyarches 77₄

Das, an ancient name of the sky-father 9₀

Daunioi

Etymology: 364 f. 366

In relation to Danaoi 364 f.

— bury Aetolian envoys alive 365
thólos-tombs of 365 (?)

Daunios 364₇

Dauus 364 f.

Dazimos 1189

Dazos 1189

Deioneus 72

Deiphnophoria 241₀ 246_g

Delos

Cults: Anoubis 154 f. Aphrodite

Οὐρανία 152_g 153 f. Apollon 119

984 f. 1135 Astarte Παλαιστίνη

152_g 153 f. Harpokrates 154 f. Isis

154 f. Iupiter *Sequandanus* (Zeus

Οὐριος) 155 Kabeiroi 1172 Sarapis

154 f. Tritopator Πυρρακιδῶν Αἰ-

γυλιῶν 116 ff. Zeus Οὐριος 152 ff.

Zeus "Τυσιος 1162

Festivals: Euergesia 593₂ Pataikeia

593₂ Philetaireia 593₂ Sopatreia

593₂

Rites: γέρανος-dance 1087 Labyrinth-

dance 1087 διαμαστίγωσις (?) 1087

εὐσεβῶν βωμὸς 593₂

Myths: birth of Apollon 984 f. birth of

Artemis 985 Hyperoche and

Laodike 1172 Opis and Arge 1172

Etymology: 985 (?)

— altar of horns at 1087 1172 as a

floating island 984 f. called Asteria

984 f. Egyptian sanctuary in 154 f.

formerly sacred to Poseidon and

Doris 985 marble group of

Aphrodite and Pan from 1020 votive

ladder entwined with snakes from

1119 winged Nike from 843₀

Delphinia 603₁₂

Delphoi

Cults: Apollon 1135 Ge 1121 Themis

1121

Rite: βοὺς τοῦ "Ηρώος 604₇

Myth: Zeus sets up stone vomited by

Kronos 929 937

— acanthus-column at 1009 f. Cni-

dian Lesche at 398 distyle bases at

1131 E at 1121 group of Ge and

Themis from 1121 'Mycenaean' finds

at 937₅ *omphalós* at 1120 f. plane-

tree of Agamemnon at 1122 west

frieze of Siphnian Treasury at 807

Demeter

Cults: Agra 722 Alexandria 990 ff.

Demeter (*cont.*)

Argos 417₀ Athens 177 990 f. Eleusis

967₁ 990 Kolonos 179₀ Lykosoura

712 Megalopolis 66₂ Megara 569₅

1136 Melite, the Attic deme 202₀ (?)

Mytilene 167 Pelasgians 191₀ (?)

Phlyeis 202₀ Selinous 1136 1188

Theira 992

Epithets: ἀγλαῶδωρος 596_g Ἀνησιδώρα

202₀ Δεκάμαζος 916₁ Ἐλευσινή 596_g

ἐν Ἑλεῖ 66₂ Ἐρινύς 1182 ἐνπλόκαμος

77₁ Εὐχλοος 178₀ 179₀ Θεσμοφόρος

168 244₃ Ἰουλῶ 178₀ Κουροτρόφος

242 Μαλοφόρος 1136 1188 μεγάλη

θεὸς εὐνάνασσα 991 Μεγαλόμαζος

916₁ Πελασγίς 417₀ πολυτρόφη 990

πουλυμέδιμνε 990 Προρησία 527 562

Χλόη 177 χλοόκαρπος 179₀

Rites: basket 104 990 ff. sacrifice of

ram 178₀ sacrifice of pregnant sow

179₀

Priest: Φαιδωντής 967₁

Priestesses: θαδοῦχος 724₀ κερνοφόρος

724₀ μέλισσαι 1083

Personated by priestess 301₀₍₃₎

Myths: consorts with Zeus 301₀₍₃₎

615₃ 744₁₍₄₎ Demophon 609 611₅

Iasion 75 ff.

Genealogy: m. of Kore 562₂ m. of

Persephone by Zeus 744₁₍₄₎

Functions: earth 726_g agriculture 527

provides food for man and beast

453 birth-goddess 673 ff.

Etymology: 1127

Attributes: corn-ears 1060 poppies 1060

sceptre 1060 torch 712

Types: Damophon 712 helping Zeus

in labour 673 ff. in archaistic reliefs

of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. seated

with corn-ears and sceptre 12₀

Associated with Aglauros 242 Despoina

712 Dionysos 302₀₍₆₎ Kore 178₀

Kore and Zeus Βουλεύς or Εὐβουλεύς

1124 Persephone 712 Zeus Βουλεύς

1124

Superseded by Athena 607 f.

—table of 177₁

Demetra, St 598₃

Demetreioi 302₀₍₅₎

Demetrios of Phaleron, sumptuary law

passed by 380

Demetrios Poliorketes

Personates Zeus Kataibátēs 1115

Demokratia 1186

Demon 121

Demophon

Festival: Balletys 612₀

Myths: Eleusis 609 611₅ Palladion 609

Demos 1186

Dendra, *thólos*-tomb at 623₁

Deo

Epithet: Βριμύ 301₀₍₃₎

Myth: consorts with Zeus 301₀₍₃₎ 615₃

Genealogy: m. of Pherephatta or Kore

301₀₍₃₎

- Derwentwater, floating island in 1015
- Derzelas
Cult: Thrace 1129
- Despoina
Cult: Lykosoura 712
Rite: pomegranates taboo in her temple 815₀
Type: Damophon 712 f.
Associated with Demeter 712
 — marriage with 396
- Deukalion
Myth: Lykoreia 526₇ 966
 — flood of, drained off by cleft at Athens 169₀ grave of 604₂
 Deus 320 671₃ 672₀ 1130 See also Zeus
- Devil
Type: serpent 767₂
 — phallós of 1078
- Dia See Hebe
- Dia, the festival 320₄
- Diana
Epithet: Laodicia (? a blundered allusion to the cult at Aricia (*supra* i. 282₁, 282₃, ii. 147, 420₁)) 903₆
Function: *daemonium meridianum* 1130
Attributes: bow and arrows 1062₂(1 f.) crown 1062₂(2) fawn 1062₂(1) sceptre 1062₂(2) spear 1062₂(1)
Types: pillar with crown-shaped top 1119 f. in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062₂(1 f.)
Superseded by St Christina (?) 1013
 — couch of 1044₄ name of, still survives as *Jana*, *Janara*, *Janassana*, etc. with a male counterpart *Diano*, *Dianu*, or the like 1130
- Diasia 320₄ 1194
- Diaskourai or Dias Kourai 664₀ (?)
- Didyma near Miletos
Cults: Zeus Σωτήρ 563 Zeus 'Τέτιος 563
Rite: βοήγία 563
- Diipoleia 575₄ 596 See Dipolieia
- Diipolia 320₄ 575₀ 593 See Dipolieia
- Diipoleia 179 575₂ See Dipolieia
- Diisoteria 575₉
- Dike
Epithets: ἀγλαμπορφος 950₄ πανδερκής 950₄
Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Themis 823
Function: *páredros* of Zeus 949 f.
Type: guarding Peirithoos 402
Identified with Basileia 950₄ (?) Parthenos 823 Zeus 951
In relation to Zeus 949 ff.
- Diktyнна
Cult: Crete 189₁
Identified with Artemis 189₁
- Diktys, s. of Peristhenes 455
- Dinos 163
- Diodoros, sources of, for things Cretan 1032₃
- Diogenes of Apollonia 276₂
- Diogenes the Babylonian 726 f.
- Diokaisareia in Kilikia See Olba
- Diomedes
Rite: human sacrifice at Salamis in Kypros 653₀
 — shield of 224₃
- Diomeia, Attic deme
Cult: Herakles 594 724
Festival: Diomeia 594
Myth: Diomos 594
- Diomeia, the festival 594
- Diomos 593 ff.
Myths: first to kill ox 589 593 661₃ 1194 founds Kynosarges 594
Etymology: 594₆ 595₀
- Dion Chrysostomos, describes Pheidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia 961 ff.
 974 enters a plea for idolatry 963₁
- Dion in Makedonia
Cult: Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 1068
- Dione in repose identified with Mt Emertsa 1173
- Dionysios, St 294
- Dionysos
Cults: Athens 574 Chios 599₍₂₎ Ephesos 422₀ Kos 413₀ Krastonia 1118 Lakonike 94₂ Samos 1030₃ Tenedos 599₍₂₎ Thebes in Boiotia 1103 Thracio-Phrygians 874
Epithets: Ἀνθρωπορραϊστής 599₍₂₎ βακχιώτης 94₂ Βασσαρεύς 94₂ Βρόμιος 1161 Δεσφρίτης 753₂ Δημοσελής 212₂ δίγρονος 1105 διθυραμβογενής 1105 Διογενής 1105 Διὸς φῶς 80₂(2) 685₂ Εἰραφιώτης 83₄(1) 94₂ Ἐλευθερεὺς 574 Ἐλιγεύς 1030₃ Ἐπάφιος 99₀ Ἐριφος 94₂ Εἰλιος 1103 Ἑρικεπαῖος 515₆ (cp. 64₀ 1179) Ἑρως (?) 1160 Μελάναιγος 837 1105 Παντοκράτωρ 422₀ Περικιώνιος 351₄ πολυγηθής 1103 πυριγενής 1118 ῥηξιχθων 4₀ Σεμελεύς 1105 Σεμεληγενέτης 1105 Σκυλλίας 413₀ 414₀ 416₀ Thyoneus 1047₁₁ Ὕτης 500 874 Ὠμάδιος 599₍₂₎
Rites: at Chytroi 604₂ διθύραμβος 1104 f. marriage with Βασίλισσα 61₀ 1105
Worshippers: human ἐριφοί 1104
Myths: simulated birth from Zeus 89₁ 737 Zeus rains ambrosia at his birth 477 500 gives Bakchos or Iakchos to Athena as nurse 225₁ brings Hephaistos to Olympos 1106 attacked by Lykourgos, s. of Dryas 228₃ beats Pallene in wrestling-match 522₆ Tyrrhenian pirates 1031₄ pomegranates spring from his blood 815₀
Metamorphosed into kid 1104
Genealogy: s. of Ammon by Amaltheia 126₄ (?) υἱὸς Στραμνίου 1114 f. by Isis of Apollon and Artemis 984
Functions: earthquake 4₀ life-giver 515₆ life-god of Thracians 953₄ rain 874
Etymology: 83₄(1)
Attributes: bullae 88₀ ivy-wreath 675 685₂ kántharos 675 685₂ 996 1053₁(1) 1109 nárthex 88₀ 996 nebris 1060

Dionysos (cont.)

- panther 757₀ panther-skin 713 721
pedum 88₀ (?) torches 685₂ vine-staff
 1053₁₍₁₎ vine-stem 685₂ vine-wreath
 681
Types: pillar 1103 pillar with mask or
 masks 1103 herm on Ionic column
 1006 double bust 1132 emerging
 from thigh of Zeus 80_{2(3f.)} 686₀
 standing on knees of Zeus 685₂
 infant 88₀ 685₂ infant riding on
 goat 1109 riding on bull 831 in
 chariot drawn by two griffins 842₂
 recumbent 713 f. 721
Identified with Baki(s) 1082 cut corn
 302₀₍₆₎ (?) Dousares 911 f. Zeus 1126
Associated with Demeter 302₀₍₆₎ Helene
 1083 (?)
In relation to bull 94₂ fox 94₂ goat 94₂
 Helios 718₁
Superseded by Apollon 1125
 —points of contact between Diony-
 siac and Christian practice 953
 Diopan 620₀ (?)
 Diore 110
 Dios, the Thracian Zeus
Cult: Thraco-Phrygians 952
Epithet: Νῆσος 952
 Dios Chorion
Cult: Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 22
 Dios Hieron in Lydia, coin of 1117
 Dioskourides, the gem-engraver 641₀
 Dioskouroi
Attributes: caps with stars 542
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Myths: cleaves head of Zeus 125₃ 222 477 660 f. falls from heaven 228 hidden for nine years by Eurynome and Thetis 228 fashions woman 201 gives *aigis* to Zeus 866 gives club and breastplate to Herakles 1186 makes magical throne for Hera 222 makes shield of Achilles 596 f. makes sword for Peleus 209₁ makes thunderbolt for Zeus 222 sleeps with Aphrodite 175₂ woos Athena 218 ff. 236 274 734
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Etymology: 190₇ 200₁
Attributes: axe (?) 1106 double axe 125₃ 200 235 477 867 1060 *pilos* 234₀ pincers 1057
Types: flying from scene of Athena's birth 711 forging thunderbolt for Athena 210 f. presenting helmet to Athena 207 pursuing Athena 220 f. seated beside Athena in Parthenon frieze 205 grouped with Athena in the Hephaisteion 213 ff. Alkamenes 215 in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.
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Associated with Athena 200 ff. 736 Charis 958
In relation to Kadmilos 190₇ Philoktetes 190₇
Supersedes Zeus 188
 — list of objects made by 209₁
- Hepit
Cult: Hittites 1131
 — reliefs from 209 f.
- Hera
Cults: Argos 65 66 566₂ 725₄ 1043 ff. 1085 Athens 66₃ 725 Boiotia 61₁ Carthage 1045 Hermione 1043 Mt Kithairon 1042 Korkyra 1120 Kos 66₂ Kypros 66₂ Lebadeia 61₁ Lindos 61₁ Mykenai 1045 Naukratis 1187 Orchomenos in Boiotia 949₀ Phokis 61₁ Pisidia 61₁ Plataiai 932 1042₂ Mt Pron 65 Samos 645₀ 969 1027 ff. 1045 Sikinos (?) 61₁ Stymphalos 1070 Tarentum 636₀ Thorikos 725₄ Tiryns 1085

Hera (cont.)

Epithets: 'Ακρία 1120 'Αργεία 66₂ 1045
1085 Βασίλεια 66₂ Γαμήλιος 1042
ΕΙλεῖθνια 725₄ 'Ελεια 66₂ Εύρωπία
216₁ Ζυγία 949₀ 1060₇ Δητὼ Νυχία
1042 Νυμφενομένη 1042₆ παμβασίλεια
61₁ Παρθενία 1027₁ Παρθένος 1043
1044₄ πολυνύμμος 61₁ πότνια 736₃
sidere regina poli 1046 Τελεία 65 932
948₁₆ 949₀ 1042 1042₆ 1044₄ 1060₇
Χήρα 1070

Festivals: πενταετηρίς 356₅ the Shield
from Argos 356₅ Tonea 1028 ff.

Rites: annual bathing in Kanathos
224₃ 1032₃ 1044₄ bathing in Par-
thenios 1027₁ (?) 1031 (?) 1032₃ (?)
bathing in Theren 1032₃ (?) leg of
victim reserved for Hera 566₂
στιβάδες or στιβάδεια 61₁ veil pre-
sented by Argive women 1046

Priests: κλειδοῦχος 66₂ Milon holding
pomegranate as priest of Hera (?)
816₀ 817₀

Priestesses: ἱέρειαι 1085 Kallithyia
1085 (Kydippe or Theano) drawn by
white oxen 1044

Personated by Aspasia 32₅ 66₄

Myths: courted by Zeus for three
hundred years 1025 wooed by Zeus
clandestinely 1025 f. grows up and
marries Zeus in Samos 1027 bathes
in Aborras after marriage with Zeus
1027₁ consorts with Zeus 35 58 65
111 111₁ 180 744₁₍₇₎ 1025 ff. carried
off by Zeus from Euboea to Boiotia
1042 Διὸς ἀπάτη 35 180 924 1065
hung up by Zeus with *akmones*
fastened to her feet 924 threatened
by Zeus with flogging 924 contest
with Poseidon 751₁ Endymion 74
Hesperides 1064 Ixion 74 f. judg-
ment of Paris 67 receives bough of
golden apples as wedding-gift from
Ge 1064 sends Argonauts past
Planktai 975 simulated birth of
Herakles 89₁ suckles Herakles 89₁
92₀ 94₀

Genealogy: m. of Eileithyia 711 725
1032₃ m. of Hephaistos 235₂ m. of
Hebe, Ares, Eileithyia by Zeus
744₁₍₇₎ m. of Herakles by Zeus
92₀ (?)

Functions: not *ab initio* the wife of
Zeus 744₁ 1025 1065 marriage-
goddess 948₁₆ 1042 1060₇ *aēr* 726₆
1046₅ cloud (?) 75₁ rain (?) 75₁

Attributes: Charites 65 Horai 65 sceptre
65 816₀ 1039 f. 1048₄ cuckoo-sceptre
65 67 1044 lily-sceptre 92₀ *stephane*
67 1039 f. floral *stephane* 92₀ rayed
stephane 1041 veil 636₆ 1033 1039 f.
1057 1060 star-spangled veil 1040
wedding-ring 1033 willow-wreath
1053 (?) lily 92₀ pomegranate 65
816₀ 1043 lion 67₅ panther 67

Hera (cont.)

Types: pillar 1085 on pillar 638₀
Athenis and Boupalos 969 Smilis
1027 Polykleitos 65 816₀ 1043 f.
Praxiteles (?) 932 f. Ludovisi 1117
obscene (?) 1027₅ enthroned 67 f.
seated on rock 701 seated beside
Zeus as bride and bridegroom 1027 f.
seated with Zeus seated before her
1048 seated with Zeus seated beside
her 1048 f. seated with Zeus seated
en échelon 1053 seated with Zeus
seated facing her 1049 ff. seated
with Zeus standing before her 687
in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve
Gods 1055 ff. veiled 1045 virgin
seated on lion (Iuno *Caelestis*) 1045
Associated with Hebe 704 1048₄ Leto
1042 Zeus 745 958 1025 ff.
In relation to Herakles 1045₃ Zeus 633₀
1025 ff.
Supersedes Eileithyia 685₂ Leto 1042
— couch of 1044 1044₄ garden of
1064

Herakleia in Lucania, coins of 714₃ 794 820₂

Herakleides Pontikos, pretends on his
death-bed to become a snake 773₁

Herakleitos 234 1046₆

Herakles

Cults: Diomeia 594 724 Gadeira 983
Kynosarges 724 Mt Kynthos 1172
Sebastopolis (Herakleopolis) 408₀
Tyre 892 f. 978

Epithets: 'Αλεξίκακε 508₃ ἀναξ πυρός,
δρχαμε κόσμον, | 'Ηέλιε, κ.τ.λ. 893₁
'Αστροχίτων 892 f. 978 'Ηραϊος 216₁
1047₁₁ τριέσπερος 508₃ 509₀ τριέσληνος
508₃ 509₀ Χάροψ 1165

Myths: simulated birth from Hera 89₁
suckled by Hera 89₁ 92₀ 94₀ as infant
strangles snakes 767₂ Atlas 956
Auge 823 Delphic tripod 409₀ 799₁
Hesperides 1019 Hydra 795 ff.
Kerberos 408₀ Nemean lion 956
Periklymenos 744₁ Prometheus 956
Virtue (Athena) and Vice (Aphro-
dite) 839 pyre on Mt Oite 512 ff.

Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Alkmene
w. of Amphitryon 506 s. of Zeus by
Hera 92₀ (?) s. of Uni (Iuno) 92₀ f. of
Tyrsenos by the Lydian woman
(Omphale) 729₃ ancestor of
Ptolemies 1172

Attribute: lion-skin 841₁

Types: double bust (with Hermes)
1132 dragging off two-headed
Kerberos 599 dragging off three-
headed Kerberos 402 f. feasting in
Olympos 724₀ fighting Amazons 955
fighting Centaur (?) 1142 'Lans-
downe' 704₃ recumbent 714 robbed
of weapons by Eros 1019 with Eros
on his shoulder 1019 f.

Identified with Engonasin or Ingeni-
culus 489 ff. Melqarth 893

Herakles (cont.)

Associated with Athena 958 Hebe 704
707 724 f.

In relation to Hera 1045₃ Iphikles 506
sea-gull 52₃

— emerald *stèle* of 892 initiation of
724₀ 724₁ pillars of 978 983
provenance of 1136

Hercle 92₀ 839 1090

Herculaneum, silver buckle from 755

Hercules

Cults: Nikaia in Liguria 492₁ Numidia
1078

Epithets: *Lapidarius* 492₁ *Saxanus* 492₁

Personated by Commodus 1100

Myth: birth delayed by Lucina 663₂

Function: quarries 492₁

Types: in Pompeian painting of Twelve

Gods 1062₂₍₂₎ in silver shrine 1155
— table of 1044₄

Hercules, the constellation 491

Herkyna

Cult: Lebadeia 1182

Hermaistai 155

Hermes

Cults: Ainos in Thrace 1137 Athens
725 Heliopolis in Syria 1093 Kyllene
725₅ Lydo-Phrygians 283₄ Peiraeus
1083 Pelasgians 191₀ Sedasa 1071

Epithets: 'Aέριος 325₂ 332 αθήριον
δρόμον είλισσων υπό τάρταρα γαίης
332₃ 'Αργείφόντης 1132 διάκτορος 498₀
ένκάρδιε 332₃ έριούνιος 181₁ 'Εριφύλλιος
(? 'Εριφύλλος) 321₀ έριχθόνιος
181₁ Κανθαύλας 283₄ 416₀ κοσμοκράτ-
ωρ 332₃ κύκλε σελήνης 332₃ Κυλλήνιος
671₃ 675 Κυνάγκης 283₄ 416₀ λόγων
άρχηγέτα γλώσσης 332₃ Μαιαδεύς
1131 Μέγιστος 1071 μηχανιώτης 94₂
567₀ παντοκράτωρ 332₃ πειθοδικαίω-
συνε 332₃ Περφεραίος 1137 πνεύματος
ήνιοχε 332₃ πτηνοπέδιλε 332₃ σπαρ-
γανιώτης 94₂ στρονγύλε και τετράγωνε
332₃ Τρισμέγιστος 332₃ Φαλάνθης
(? Φαλανθεύς) 321₀ Χθόνιος 181₁ 604₂
χλαμυδηφόρε 332₃ ψυχοπομπός 332₃

Rite: at Chytroi 604₂

Personated by high-priest at Olba 654₀

Myths: born on Mt Kerykion 417₀
cleaves head of Zeus 661 attends
birth of Dionysos 80₂₍₃₎ 83₄₍₁₎ 85₀₍₂₎

Genealogy: s. of Maia 1131 f. of
Kephalos by Herse 246 f. of Keryx
by Aglauros or Pandrose (Pandrosos)
602 f. f. of Tat 332₃

Etymology: 411₀ (?)

Attributes: *caduceus* 675 eagle 1071
goat 1060 winged *pétasos* 39 purse
1082

Types: *phallós* 725₅ *xóanon* 725₅
bearded 1060₁ double bust (with
Herakles) 1132 Lysippos 706 f.
Damophon 567₀ in archaistic reliefs
of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. sandal-
binding 706₆ 707₀ standing axe in

Hermes (cont.)

band 661 standing with purse,
caduceus, and ram 1160 with *cadu-*
ceus and eagle 1071 with *phallós*
ending in ram's head 1082 with
supported foot 638₀ 640₀ with winged
head 706

Identified with Thoth 332₃

Assimilated to Gennaïos 1093

Associated with Hestia 958 Zeus 1071

— Epeios' statue of, caught by
fishermen in net 1137

Hermione

Cult: Hera Παρθένος 1043

Myths: Zeus and Hera come to
'anchorage' 1043 Zeus transforms
himself into cuckoo 1043

Hermonthis

Cult: Bakha 953₃

— excavations at 1082

Herodias 163₃

Heros κατὰ πρόμυαν 158₄

Heros δ ἐπὶ βλαύτῃ 177₁

Herse

Myth: Erichthonios 186 248₆ 764 f.

Genealogy: d. of Kekrops 166 d. of
Zeus 261 d. of Zeus by Selene 179 f.
m. of Kephalos by Hermes 246

Function: personification of dew 237
245 944

Hesperides

Myths: Hera 1064 Herakles 1019

Type: Panainos 956

— garden of 404₀ 1064

Hestia

Cults: Dura-Europos(?) 1163 Kos 565 f.

Thasos 1125

Epithet: Βουλαία 1125

Rite: Coan sacrifice of ox that bowed
its neck 565

Attributes: sceptre 1057 veil 1057

Types: in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve
Gods 1055 ff. seated with Zeus seated
facing her 1050₀ virginal, but with
prominent breasts 1107

Associated with Hermes 958 Zeus 1050₀
1052₁ 1125

Heudanemoi 103 f.

Heudanemos 103 f.

Hierapolis in Syria

Priest: 'cock' 1097

Hierapytna

Cult: Zeus Σκόλλιος 413₀

Hierax Theos See Horos Epithets

Hieron, on Thracian Bosphoros 142 f. 145
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Hieros Gamos 1047 See also Index II

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Himalia 477 518

Himera, coins of 853₅ 929

Himeros

Type: prompting 1018

Hindus, ceremonial rebirth of 1092

Hippodameia, d. of Oinomaos 956

Hippokentauroi 75₀

Hippolytos

Type: with Eros at his shoulder 1022 (?)

Hippolytus, St 338₁

Hippotes 107₃

Hipta 1078 1131

Histia See Hestia

Histie See Hestia

Hittite forms of early Greek names in the cuneiform texts from Boghaz-Keui 112₀

Hittites

Cults: bronze cattle (?) 1102 dagger-god 1140 (bibliography) Hepit 1131 Iskallis 1174 lion-god 837 mother-goddess standing on lion 834 Mother of the gods 916₁ Tarku (?) 651₀ 652₀ Illujankas 1135

In relation to Kabeiroi 1128

Hobal 334₁

Holda

Functions: chthonic 447₆ fertility of soil 447₆ sky-power 446 snow 447 souls of the dead 447₀

Etymology: 447₀

Types: black woman 448 white lady 448

Identified with Minerva 210 (?)

Superseded by St Lucy 447₆

Holl 446

Holle 446 447₆

Horai

Genealogy: daughters of Zeus 955

daughters of Zeus by Themis 744₁ (2)

Function: doorkeepers of Zeus 34

Types: four Seasons as children 1127 f.

holding flower, grapes, corn 1057

holding pomegranate in right hand

and bird, flower, or doubtful object

in left 818₀ (?) neo-Attic 659₀ 660₀

Sosias-*kylīx* 818₀

In relation to Zeus 1057

Horites of Mt Seir

Cult: Huron 1076

Horos

Epithets: 'Αρβάκρης 1073 'Ιεραξ Θεός 1073

Types: head on feeding-bottle 193 (b) sparrow-hawk 1073

Identified with Apollon 984

— children of 345₁

Hulda 446

Hulle 446

Hungary, gold cicalas from 253₀ f.

Hurun

Cults: Horites of Mt Seir 1076 Pi-Ramses 1076

Type: falcon 1076

Hyades 512 518 660₀ (?) 1082

Hyakinthos 460

Hybla

Cult: Apollon 1029

Hybris, the Silenos 513

Hybristas 1150

Hydra

Myths: Herakles 795 ff. Iolaos 797

— as attribute of Aion 1180

Hydrophoria 603 f. 603₁₂

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Hymettos, Mt

Cults: Gaia 526₈ (?) Zeus "Ομβριος 526

Hynnarion, Mt

Cult: Zeus 'Τρυαπέης 1177

Hypaipa, coin of 899₅(3)

Hypanis 653 cp. 655₀ (?)

Hypatios, St 992 f.

Hyperboreoi

Myth: Apollon takes Kroisos to their land 520

Rite: sacrifice of asses to Apollon 106₁

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Hypermetra

Myth: saves Lynkeus and is imprisoned by Danaos 356 369, ultimately weds Lynkeus 356

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Hyperoche 1172

Hyperochos, slain by Phemios 1105

Hypnos

Type: with winged head 706₂

Hypsipyle 360₁

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Ialysos, gs. of Helios 986

Ianiculum, statuette of gilded bronze from Syrian sanctuary on 1114

Ianus

Epithets: *divom deus* 1130 *Quadrifrons* 1132

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Iapetos 3₀

Iapyges 925₅

Iapyx 364₇

Iaribol

Cult: Palmyra 1158 f.

Type: in military dress with rayed *nimbus* and sceptre 1159

Associated with Bel and Aglibol 1158 f.

Iasion

Myths: lies with Demeter 75 ff. or with phantom of Demeter 77 or with statue of Demeter 77 is thunder-struck by Zeus 76

Genealogy: s. of Katreus by Phronia 77₄ s. of Zeus by Elektra 77₄ f. of Ploutos 75 f.

Identified with Eëtion 77₄

Iasios 76₁ See Iasion

Iaso 1083

Iason

Myths: first sacrifices to Twelve Gods 147 f. founds temple of Zeus on Bosporos 148

Genealogy: s. of Aison s. of Kretheus s. of Aiolos 148

Iason 76₁ See Iasion

- Iasos in Karia 76₁
Cult: Zeus Ἰάσιος 1162
 Iasos 76₁ See Iasion
 Iassos 76₁ See Iasion
 Iberians
Cults: bull 1090 horse-headed god with human hands and feet 1179
Rites: dance of men wearing bulls' horns and hoofs (?) 1090 mumming play (?) 1178
 — column of, decorated with double axes 1138
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 Idas
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- Momos** 742₄
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- Myra**, coin of 899₅₍₂₎
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Cults: Adad 1097 Atargatis 1097 Dousares 907 ff. sun 912₄ Tyche 1097 Zeus 1097
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- Nagidos**, coin of 763₂ (?)
- Nakoleia**
Cults: Theoi Katachthonioi 1160 Zeus Βροντῶν 1160 f. Zeus Βροντῶν και Πατήρ Θεός 1161 (?) Zeus Βροντῶν Νευήτωρ Πατήρ 1161 (?)
 — monuments of 1160 f.
- Namuki** 273
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- Nandi** 1086
- Nannakos** 527 f.
- Napata**
Cult: Amen 882₂
 — *omphalós* from 882₂ 1077
- Narkissos**
Type: with Eros at his shoulder 1022
- Natalia**, St 523₄
- Naukratis**
Cults: Hera 1187 Zeus 'Αποτρόπαιος 1187
- Nauplios** 868
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Associated with Mater deum 895₂ 896₀
- Naxos**
Rite: baby boy placed in bride's bed on eve of wedding 1026₄
 — folk-tale from 257₁
- Neades** or Neides 3₀
- Neapolis** in Makedonia, coins of 856₀
- Neike** 811₁
- Neiloia** 344₄
- Neilos**
Cult: Silsilis 349
Identified with Eridanos 349 Okeanos 349 Osiris 344₁ Zeus 348 f. 524 1077
 — called Aigyptos by Homer 358₅ extinguishes pyre of Habrokomes 524 rays of 1077
- Neith** 345₁ 839₂

Nemea

- Cult:* Zeus 1083 ff.
— bronze bull from 1085 Epimenides and the lion of 1085 excavations at 1083 ff.

Nemeses

- Type:* in chariot drawn by two griffins 842₂

Nemesis

- Cults:* Inōnū in Phrygia 1146 Rham-nous 955₇
Types: Aphroditisque 955₇ standing on man 1073
In relation to Helios 1073 Nemetona 1073 f.

Nemetona 1073 f.

Nemi, double herms at 1132 f.

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Neoptolemos, tomb of, at Delphi 938

Nephelai

- Cults:* Orphists 70 296 Sokrates (?) 70
Epithets: μεγάλοι θεοί ἀνδράσιν ἀργοῖς 69₈ οὐράνιοι 69₈ παμβασίλειαι 70₁
Rite: burnt-offering of myrrh 70
Genealogy: daughters of Aither 70 879
— costume of 69₃ Orphic hymn to 70

See also Nephele

Nephele

- Myths:* Athamas 73 f. Prokris 72

See also Nephelai

Nephelokokkygia 44 ff. 63

Nepthys 345₁

Neptunus

- Type:* in Pompeian painting of Twelve Gods 1062₂₍₁₎

Nereids 129 132 ff. 163 237₂

Nereus

- Genealogy:* s. of Pontos 743₈

- Function:* earthquakes 4₀

Nero

- Personates* Zeus 1117

Nescania

- Cult:* Iupiter Pantheus 1129

New Grange 367₅

New Year's Day 1067

Nikai

- Type:* dancing 955

- See also Nike, Victoria

Nikaia in Bithynia

- Cults:* Asklepios 1182 Zeus Αἰραῖος 1184

- coins of 948 1182 1184

Nikaia in Liguria

- Cult:* Hercules Lapidarius 492₁

Nike

- Cult:* Athens 811 ff.

- Epithets:* Ἄπτερος 811 καλλισφύρος 811₁

- Genealogy:* d. of Pallas s. of Lykaon and foster-st. of Athena 811₁ d. of Pallas the Titan by Styx 811₁ st. of Zelos, Kratos, Bia 811₁

- Functions:* abstraction from Athena Nike 811 abstraction from Zeus (?)

Nike (cont.)

- 811₁ charioteer 76₁ Eileithyia 85₀₍₂₎ handmaid to Athena Nike (?) 819₁

- Etymology:* 321₀ (?)

- Attribute:* palm-branch 67 f. 1181

- Types:* drawing votes from urn 758

- flanking Aphrodite 1016 ff. (?) half-draped 1180 hovering 659 691₃ (?) 692 753 755 1040 sandal-binding 706₈ seated with pomegranate in right hand and helmet in left 811 standing before seated Zeus 1051₍₅₎ standing with oinochoē in righthand and pomegranate in left 819₁ wingless 811

- In relation to Athena* 811

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 751 gives cup to Teleboes 507₅
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"Ἐλει 66₂ Dionysos Ἑλιγεῖος 1030₂

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Identified with Zeus 945

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Rites: ταυροκαθάρια καὶ κυνήγια (?)
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— coins of 899₅ 899₅(1)

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Cults: Fortuna Daciarum 1162 *Invictus*

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1162

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- Saturnus**
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Festival: Saturnalia 432₁
Rite: human sacrifice commuted 433₀
Types: cult-image filled with oil 967₃
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Type: with leonine head, disk, and *ankh* 1095
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Myth: consorts with Zeus 1111
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Types: riding horse or mule 958 driving *quadriga* down behind hills 718 facing bust with moon on head, seven stars ranged round, and zodiac as framework 1085 f.
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- Selinus**, the river-god 614₅
- Selinous**
Cults: Apollon 614₅ Demeter Μαλοφόρος 1136 1188 Hekate Προπηλάα 1188 Pasikrateia 1188 f. Zeus Μειλίχιος 1188 f.
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- Set** 1135
- Sethlans**
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 1062₂(1)

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Etymology: 953₃ 1103
 Zagron See Zagros, Mt
 Zagros, Mt 953₃ 1103
 Zan
In relation to Pan 1131
 Zanes, plural of Zan 1130
 Zankle

- Cult*: Zeus 'Iθωπάρας (?) 1153 f.
 — coin of 1153 f.

- Zedekiah 1090
 Zefs 1171 See Zeus
 Zenes, plural of Zen 1130
 Zephyros 130
 Zervan 914₀
 Zethos
Etymology: 1135 (?)
 — and Amphion (bibliography) 1135

Zeus

- Cults*: Achaeans 650₀ 1164 Agrigentum 525 1171 f. Aigeira 1107 f. Aigina 650₀ 1164 f. Ak Kilisse 1140(?) Akmoneia 794 Akraiphia 1162 Alexandria 1191 Aliphera 99₀ 127₀ Amastris 148 Amathous in Kypros 653₀ 1187 Anthedon 1187 Antimacheia 562 Antiocheia on the Orontes 22 Mt Apesas 1165 Aphrodisias in Karia 1191 Argos 142₃ 455 563 631 Arkadia 525 Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes 1172 Athens 212₂ 243 317 569₅ 570 ff. 575₉ 604₂ 721₄ 749 939₄ 1047 1185 f. 1189 Attike 318 f. 563 1196 Bithynia 1160 Boiotia 61₁ Bosporos 142 ff. Bostra 912 912₄ Bulgaria 1126 Byblos 1163 Chalke 544₃ Chersonesos Thraikike 1183 Corinth 526 Corycian Cave 651₀ Crete 953 Delos 152 ff. 1162 Didyma near Miletos 563 Dion in Makedonia 1068 Dios Chorion 22 Dorylaeion 1191 Dura-Europos 890 f. 1095 1163 Elaioussa Sebaste 643₀ 645₀ Eleusis 598 (?) 605₀ (?) Ephesos 422₀ 1174 Euboea 912₂ 1042 (?) Galatia 1140 Gaza 556 ff. Gortyna 413₀ Gumbet in Phrygia 1160 Gythion 884₀ 939 ff. Halikarnassos 569 Halos 1167 Hauran 1163 Heliopolis in Syria 888 Hierapytna 413₀ Mt Hymettos 526 Mt Hynnaron 1177 Iasos 1162 Inönü in Phrygia 1160 Kaisareia in Kappadokia 1177 Kanatha 555 Kapisa 545 Kara Adili 1071 Karousa 951 Karystos 126₄ 127 Mt Kasion in Egypt 1177 Mt Kasion in Syria 1177 Kassandreia 882₂ Kavak 628 ff. Mt Kenaion 1166 Keos 266 f. Kephallenia 1171 Mt Kithairon 1042 Klazomenai 1117 Mt Kokkygion 63 65 Mt Korossos 323 Korkyra 271₃ 1184 Kos 564 ff. Kranioi (?) 1171 Mt Kynthos 1172 Kypros 652₀ 762₃ Kyrene 1188 Kyrrhos 794 Kyzikos 1071 Mt Laphystion in Boiotia 525 Larissa in Thessaly 279 Lebadeia 61₁ 562 f. 1182 Lindos 1124 Lokroi Epizephyrioi 1097 Mt Lykaion 267 Lyttos 525 Magnesia ad Maeandrum 239₁ 599₍₃₎ 604₇ Megara 569₅ 1165 Messene 525 1130 Metapontum 1097 Miletos 7₂ 912 1111 1192 Mylasa 1140 1162 1181 Mytilene 6 1184 Nabataioi 1097 Nakoleia 1160 f. Naukratis 1187 Nemea 1083 ff. Nikaia in Bithynia 1184 Nikopolis in Moesia 1157 Nisyros 1187 Oasis of Siwah 882₂ Olba 642₁ Olbia 653₁ 654₀ 655₀ 656₀ Olympia 954 ff. 1147 Mt Olympos in Makedonia 236 737₂ Orchomenos in Boiotia 949₀ Mt Oros 1164 Oxyrhynchos 1076 Palmyra 1112 Panamara 1066 Mt Parnes 526 Paros 1173 Pedasa 569 Peiraieus 659₀

Zeus (cont.)

1196 Mt Pelion 31 f. 317 1161 Pellana in Achaia 1187 Pelousion 817₀ Pergamon 872 1125 1182 1191 Phaistos 1043₀ Pharsalos 281 f. Pherai 271 ff. 277 ff. Philadelphieia in Lydia 652₀ Phokis 61₁ Phrygia 1112 1125 f. 1162 Pisidia 1162 Pompeii 1189 Priansos 413₀ Pythion 1114 f. 1157 Rhodes 525 Rhytion 1148 Salamis 650₀ (?) Salamis in Kypros 646₀ ff. Salhad 1098 Samos 1027 ff. 1187 Sedasa 1071 Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos 161 Seleukeia Pieria 884₀ Selinous 1188 f. Sestos 656₂ (?) Silsilis 349 Mt Skyllion 413₀ Smyrna 22 Sounion 1184 Sparta 160 1162 Stratonikeia 544₃ 568 1066 1162 Stratos in Akarnania 1166 f. Sympheropolis 1173 Synnada 212₂ 1070 Syracuse 148 Syria 890 f. Tanagra 567₀ Tarentum 1097 Temenothyrar 1104 Termessos (Termessus Maior) 1176 Thasos 1115 1125 1181. Thebai Phthioides 1187 Thebes in Boiotia 762₃ Thebes in Egypt 837 1131 Thera 161 (?) Thermos in Aitolia 1184 Thespiar 1066 1070 1148 1162 1165 1187 Thessaly 525 Thracio-Phrygians 874 Thrakia Kome 880 f. Mt Tomolos 562 Mt Tomaros or Tmaros near Dodona 1168 Mt Tomori near Berat (?) 1168 ff. Tralleis 22 Zankle 1153 f.

Epithets: ἀγαθὲ 961₁ Ἀγαμέμνων 269₇ 1181 Ἅγιος 945 ἀγλαὸς 1126 Ἀγρός 1071 Ἀγοραίος Θάσιος 1181 ἀθάνατος 508₃ ἀθανάτων βασιλεὺς 35₆ αἰγλοχος 314 844₃ 866 866₃ 866₇ 867 1156 αἰθέρι ναίων 743₉ αἰθέριος 1066 Αἰθριος 1066 Αἰρήσιος 1171 αἰολοβρόντας 107₃ αἰολόμορφος 107₃ Αἰολος 107₃ (?) 141 (?) Ἀκραίος 1043₂ Ἀκραίος 68 260 317 1043₂ 1161 ἀλάστωρ 952 Ἀλδήμιος or Ἄλδος 556 Ἀλεξίκακος 879₃ Ἀμάριος 1114 Ἀμάριος (?) = Ὀμάριος 1114 Ἀμμων 882₃ 884₀ 912₄ 1076 1078 Ἀμφιάραιος 269₇ 1181 ἀμφιθαλής 1181 f. ἀναξ 560₆ 1066 1085 1113 ἀναξ μακάρων 1183 Ἀπεσάντιος 1165 Ἀπήμιος 526 Ἀποτρόπαιος 1187 ἀργικέρανος 34₂ Ἀρισταίος 267 ff. ἀριστοτέχνης 567₀ 964₂ ἄρρηγ 726₆ Ἀσβαμαίος 1140 Ἀσεῖς 1106 f. Ἀσκληπιός 289₇ 973₀ 1182 Ἀσκραίος 569 Ἀστέριος 953 954 Ἀστράπιος 70 ἀστράπιος 21₆ Ἀταβύριος in Rhodes 525 1172 Ἀταβύριος in Sicily 525 Ἀταβύριος in Sympheropolis 655₀ 1173 αὐξήτης 21₆ Ἀφείσιος 1165 Ἀφριος 271 ff. βαρύκτυπος 811₁ Βασιλεὺς 52₄ 61₁ 654₀ Βεννέος 1162 Βένιος 1162 Βένυλος 890 f. 944 Βῆλος 1112 Βορεαίος (?) 161 Βόρειος 161 944 Βουλαίος 1125 Βουλεύς 1124 Βου-

Zeus (cont.)

σουρίγιος 1140 Βρόμβιος (?) 531 βρονταίος 21₆ βροντῶν 1160 f. βροντῶν καὶ Πατὴρ Θεός (?) 1161 βροντῶν Νεικήτωρ Πατὴρ (?) 1161 γαῖοχος 10₄ Δαμάτριος 1124 Δικαῖσυνος 951 Δικαῖσυνος Μέγας 951 Δίκας δαμιοεργὲ καὶ εὐνομίας (?) 964₂ Διομεύς 595₀ Διόνυσος 1126 Δίος 1125 Δολιχαῖος 1097 f. (bibliography) Δουσάρης 944 Δουσάρης Σωτήρ (?) 912 Δωδωναῖος 560₆ 567₀ 964₂ 10₁₆ 1113 Εἰλαπιναστής 652₀ 762₃ Εἰλήτι (?) 762₃ εἰρηνικός καὶ πανταχοῦ πρῶτος, ὁλος ἀστυσιόστου καὶ ὁμονοοῦσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπίσκοπος 963₂ ἐκ Πείσης 967₁ Ἐλαίος (?) 762₃ Ἐλευθέριος 212₂ 581₀ 654₀ 1097 1130 1176 1184 1186 Ἐλιεύς 762₃ Ἑλλάδιος 1164 f. Ἑλύμιος 1042 (?) Ἑνδένδρος 1173 ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ 967₁ ἐν Παλλαδίῳ 609₃ ἐξ Αὐλῆς 1160 Ἐπαφος 99₀ (?) Ἐπήκοος 652₀ 1160 Ἐπήκοος Θεός 1160 Ἐπιδώτας 1130 Ἐπικάρπιος 912 912₂ 964 ἐπὶ Παλλαδίου 609₃ Ἐπιτέλειος Φίλιος 309₄₍₂₎ εἰργιδουπος 61₁ Ἐρκεῖος 248 455 749 Ἐρρος 261 944 Ἐρσαῖος 265 (?) 944 Ἐρυμὸς 261₃ Ἐταιρεῖος 963 Εὐάνεμος 160 f. 944 εὐάντητος 147₁ 147₂ Εὐβουλεύς 312 1124 Εὐελίδης 762₃ εὐήνεμος 160₂ εὐώδην 990 Ἐφέστιος 1189 Ἐφόριος 1183 Φελχάνος 1043₀ 1173 f. Ζηλοσιούρδος 1159 Ζηλοσιούρδος 1159 Ἥλιος (See Identification) Ἡραῖος 1047 Θάσιος (See Ἀγοραῖος) Θαῦλιος 277 ff. 603 Θερμιστιος 949₁ 964₂ Θεός 1095 θεόταυρε (v. l. ἄ ταῦρε) 1086 Θηβαῖος 837 θῆλυς 726₆ Ἰδαῖος in Crete 953 Ἰθαμάτας 525 1153 f. Ἰκέσιος 951 f. 963 Ἰκέτας 952 Ἰκμαῖος 157₇ (?) 266 f. 320₄ 944 Ἰκμενος 157 944 Ἰκμιος 268 καθάρσιος 21₆ Καλακαγάθιος 1162 Καππώτας 884₀ 939 ff. 944 Καραῖος 32₅ 1148 1162 1165 Κάρσιος 569₆ Κάσιος in Egypt 817₀ 1177 Κάσιος in Korkyra 271₃ Κάσιος in Syria 334₁ 884₀ 1140 1177 Κάσι(ο)s Σώζ[ων] 1177 Καταβάτης 942₇ 1114 f. 1115 κελαυνεφής 33 f. Κεραῖος 1162 1165 Κεράστης (?) 652₀ Κεραῖνιος 70 884₀ 1157 κεραῖνιος 21₆ Κεραυνός 743₉ 942₇ 1114 Κήναιος (Κηναῖος) 1166 κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πατέρων καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ φύλακα 963₂ Κόνιος (not Κρόνιος, nor Κώνιος, nor Σκοτίτης, nor Χθόνιος) 569₃ 1165 Κρηταγενής 551 553₁ 555 556 1092 Κρονίδης 34 633₀ 743₉ 866₆ 1183 Κρονίων 33 f. 107₁ 265₁ 1085 Κτήσιος 964 1180 1181 Κτήσιος Πατρώος 1181 κύδιος 34₂ Κύνθιος 1172 Κύριος 1095 1098 (See also Μάρνας) Λαφύστιος in Boiotia and Thessaly 321₀ Λαφύστιος in Thessaly 525 1080 1167 Λεχεάτης 99₀ 127₀ Λιταῖος 1184 Λύκαιος

Zeus (cont.)

267 525 580₀ 1068 Μαζεύς 1112
 Μαιμάκτης 321₀ Μάναφος 1163
 Μάρνας ὁ Κύριος 555 μέγα θαῦμα,
 μέγ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὄνειαρ 947 Μέγας
 531₁ 1098 (See also Δικαίδωνος) μέγας
 928 949₂ μεγασθενής 567₀ 964₂ Μέγ-
 ιστος 1160 1163 1172 (See also
 Νεφώτης) μέγιστος 34₂ μέγιστος θεός
 1112 Μελίχιος 951 1184 1187 ff.
 Μελίχιος (= Μελίχιος) 1188 Μελ-
 λίχιος (= Μελίχιος) 1187 Μεσέρκειος
 243₆ Μήλιος 1172 Μηλώσιος 32₃
 μητίετα 567₀ 743 745 μητιέτης 727₃
 μητιεύς 743 928 Μηχανεύς 142₈ 321₀
 566₂ 567₀ Μιλίχιος (= Μελίχιος)
 1187 1188 Μοιραγέτης 721₄ Μόριος
 762 Νάιος 320₄ 1078 Νέμειος 1191
 νεφεληγερέτα 30 ff. 296 314 321₀
 Νεφώτης ὁ Μέγιστος 349 Νόσιος 7₂
 1111 Ξένιος 32₅ 653₀ 964 1184 1189
 ὀδηγητήρ 147₁ *Ολβιος 628 ff. 1194
 1196 *Ολύμπιος 188 236 320₄ 604₂ 648₀
 649₀ 737₂ 954 967₁ 1068 1107 1155
 1165 1196 *Ομάριος 1114 *Ομβριος 320₄
 324₅ (?) 525 ff. 562 873₄ 874 944 *Ομβ-
 γνιος 963 *Οριος 1183 *Ορκιος 946 1147
 *Ορσίλοχος 99₀ (?) ὀρυνεφής 35₈
 *Οσογῶα 1140 οὐρανὸν...κρέντι 35₈
 Οὔριος 142 ff. 944 οὔριος 567₀ παγ-
 κρατής 10₄ Πάλαξος (?) 1140 Πανά-
 μαρος 544₃ 1066 Πάνδημος 212₂ Πάνδρο-
 σος 260 (?) Πανελλήνιος (?) Hadrian)
 422₀ Πανομφαίος 320₄ 1076 Πανόπτης
 1086 πάνταρχος θεῶν 53₄ Παντεπόπτης
 1086 παντόπτας 53₄ παντοτινάκτης 21₆
 Πάσιος 1181 πάτερ (voc.) 471 567₀ 737₈
 947 949₆ 964₂ Πατήρ 949₀ 1060₇ (See
 also Βροντῶν) Πατρώος 585₄ 964₂ 1125
 1174 Πατρώος (= Augustus) 1191
 (See also Κτήσιος) Πειώλης 1111
 Πελασγικός 560₈ 1113 περίγειος 1066
 Πολειαίος (?) 575₈ Πολιαίος (?) 575₈
 Πολιάρχης 654₀ Πολιεύς 317 565
 570 ff. 720 755 757 963 1194 πολυ-
 νεφέλας 35₈ Πόλωξος (?) 1140 Πορφυ-
 ρίων (?) 55₅ Προμηθεύς (?) 1075
 Σαβάξιος 874₁₂ Σαλαμίνιος (?) 648₀
 649₀ Σάραπις 973₀ σεισίχθων 21
 Σημαλέος 267₈ Σκύλιος 413₀ 1148
 Σκύλλιος 413₀ 414₀ 416₀ 1148 Σολυμεύς
 1176 Σπάλαξος 1140 Σπλαγχνοτόμος
 652₀ Στρατηγός 148 Συκάσιος 1184
 σχυνοκέφαλος 32₅ Σωσιπόλις 239₁
 599₍₈₎ 604₇ Σωτήρ 563 575₀ 654₀
 659₀ 1163 1177 1181 1184 1196 (See
 also Δουσάρης) Σωτήρ 357 Ταργυνήος
 651₀ 652₀ Τελειος 609 948₁₆ 949₀ 1060₇
 Τελειουργός 1192 Τεράστιος 939
 Τράριος 1168 τὸν βίου καὶ ζωῆς καὶ
 συμπάντων δοτήρα τῶν ἀγαθῶν 963₂
 τοῦ κατ' ἀστρο Ζηνός 1112 Τρεφώνιος
 or Τροφώνιος 269₇ 1182 Τροπαιοφόρος
 1117 Τροφώνιος 1182 (See also
 Τρεφώνιος) τύραννος 1102 Τέτιος 319₁

Zeus (cont.)

320₄ 531 561 ff. 561₅ 873 944 ἑτίος
 473₂ *Τῆς (*Τῆς?) 873 f. 944 *Τυναρεύς
 1177 *Τυατος 531 945 964₂ ὑψίλυγος
 743₂ ὑψιμέδων 1115 ὑψινεφής 35₇
 *Τυσιος 939₄ 945 1162 ff. Φαλακρός
 (Φάλακρος) 321₀ Φάπτιος 1126 Φειδιακός
 966 Φίλιος 951 963 1189 1191 (See also
 *Επιτέλειος) φίλος 317₄ 319₂ Φύγιος
 963 φυνάλιος 21₆ Φύτιος 1071 Χαλάζ-
 ιος 944 Χαλάζιος Σώζων 880 f.
 *Χειρογόνος 99₀ (?) χρυσόμορφος 456₀
 *Ωρομάσσης 951
Festivals: Bouthonia (See Rites: βου-
 φόνια) Dia 320₄ Disoteria 575₀ Διός
 βοῦς (See Rites) Dipolicia 317 574 ff.
Rites: βοηγία 563 βουφόνια 570 576 ff.
 873 Διός βοῦς 564 Διός κώδιον 602₂
 1081 ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεός 775₆ human
 sacrifice to Iupiter *Hospes* (Zeus
Xénios) at Amathous in Kypros 653₀
 human sacrifice to Zeus at Lyttos
 525 human sacrifice to Zeus in
 Kypros 652₀ human sacrifice to Zeus
Atabýrios in Rhodes and Sicily 525
 human sacrifice to Zeus *Ithomátas*
 in Messene 525 human sacrifice to
 Zeus *Kretagenés* (Marnas) at Gaza
 554 f. human sacrifice to Zeus
Laphýstios in Thessaly and Boiotia
 525 human sacrifice to Zeus *Lýkaios*
 in Arkadia 267 525 1068 human
 sacrifice to Zeus *Ómbrios* at Elis
 267 525 f. libation of honey to Zeus
Éndendros in Paros 1173 monthly
 banquet in sanctuary of Zeus
Hýpsistos 1163 procession of goat
 leading priest 569 procession of rain-
 makers clad in sheep-skins 31 f. 68 f.
 rain-magic 314 ff. sacrifice of bull
 to Zeus *Ólbios* 630 sacrifice of bull,
 ram, he-goat, boar etc. to Zeus
Hýétios, according to wealth of
 donor 318 563 sacrifice of ox
 representing Zeus *Polieús* 606
 sacrifice of ox to Zeus *Sotér* 22
 sacrifice of pig to Zeus *Heraíos* 1047
 sacrifice of sixty rams to (Zeus)
Machaneús 566₂ sacrifice of sheep to
 Zeus *Hórios* 1183 sacrifice of she-
 goat to Zeus in Crete 1110 sacrifice
 of self-chosen goat 569 sacrifice of
 self-chosen ox 581 ff. sacrifice of
 white bull by Bektashi monks on
 Mt Tomori near Berat 1171
ὕδροφόροι pour water over axe and
 knife at Dipolicia 317 583 604
Priests: P. Aelius Aristides 872 ἀρ-
 χιερεὺς καὶ συμποσιάρχης τῶν ἱερῶν
 1112 ἀρχιερεὺς μέγας 642₁ 645₀ βοῦτης
 589 f. (?) βουτύπιος 585 ff. at Corycian
 Cave 651₀ βουφόνος 583 586 ζακόρος
 155₁ 155₂ ἱερεὺς 155₁ 155₂ ἱερεὺς διὰ
 βίου 1176 κλειδοῦχος 155₁ of Zeus ἐν
 Παλλαδίῳ drawn from Bouzygai 609

Zeus (cont.)

of Zeus *Téleios* drawn from Bouzygai 609 ταμῦροι (τόμυροι) 1168 ὑποφῆται 1168 Φαίδρυνται 967

Priestesses: ὑδροφόροι 583 603

Worshippers: Ἑρμαιοῖται, Ἀπολλωνιστοῖται, Ποσειδωνιστοῖται 155 ἱερόδουλοι 648₀

Personated by Aeolian kings 141 Alexander the Great 540₀ alytarch of Olympian games at Antiocheia on the Orontes 562₃ Antiochos I of Kommagene 951 (?) Antoninus Pius 1130 Augustus 1125 1191 Caligula 969, Caracalla 37₆ Commodus 37₆ dead man 309₄(2) Demetrios Poliorketes 1115 Domitian 37₆ early Greek kings 733 Epopeus (?) 1112 Geta 37₆ hierophant 301₀(3) Ixion 141 Keyx 141 Nero 1117 Perikles 32₅ 66₄ Pisthetairos 21 59 f. priestly king at Stratonikeia 568 (?) Roman emperors 537₀ 537₁ Salmoneus 141 Trajan (?) 1191

Myths: adoption of Dionysos by simulated birth from himself 89, adoption of Herakles by simulated birth from Hera 89, Aiolos 106 f. Aix 839₆ 840₀ Amphion 54₂ as infant entrusted by Rhea to Themis, by Themis to Amaltheia, by Amaltheia to her goat 839₆ as infant guarded by sword-dance of Kouretes and Korybantes 1070 Asterie 984 f. at first tries in vain to learn Prometheus' secret 740 f. at last succeeds in learning Prometheus' secret 741 bestows his intended bride Thetis upon Peleus 741 f. birth of Dionysos 79 f. blinds Lykourgos, s. of Dryas 228, born on Mt Tmolos 562 carries off Hera from Euboia to Boiotia 1042 cleaves cloud in Crete and so produces Athena 727 comes to 'anchorage' at Hermione 1043

consorts with a succession of seven wives listed by Hesiod as — Metis, Themis, Eurynome, Demeter, Mnemosyne, Leto, Hera 744₁ Aigina d. of Asopos 1121 f. Alkmene 506 f. 518 Antiope 467 469 615₃ Danaë 455 f. 518 944 Demeter 301₀(3) 744₁(4) Deo or Demeter 615₃ Europe 469 615₃ Eurynome 744₁(3) Ge *Thémis* 949 Hera 35 58 65 111 111₁ 180 744₁(7) 1025 f. Himalia 477 518 Io 615₃ Leda 462₁ 467 469 Leto 744₁(6) 1042 Metis 744₁(1) Mnemosyne 744₁(5) Myrike 1111 Othreis 246 Pasiphae 615₃ Selene 179 f. 1111 Themis 744₁(2) 1064 f.

contends with Poseidon for Aigina 751₁ courts Hera for three hundred years 1025 creates the

Zeus (cont.)

world anew inside himself 745 deposits Kronos 966 Dionysos sewn up in thigh of Zeus 79 Διὸς ἀπ'ατῆ 35 180 924 1065 Διὸς θᾶκοι καὶ πεσσοί (ψῆφοι) 600₍₄₎ 757₁ division of the world between the sons of Kronos 34 drinks of Nile and begets Ares 344₂ Endymion 74 expelled in infancy by Kronos 1187 extinguishes pyre by timely rain 506 f. fights with Typhon 191₀ flays the goat Amaltheia and wears its skin 839 flings Hephaistos down to Lemnos 235 Ganymedes 469 955, 981 f. gets *aigis* from Hephaistos 866 f. Gigantes 792₂ 966 gives cup to Alkmene 507₅ hangs up Hera with *ákmones* fastened to her feet 924 head cleft by Hephaistos 660 f. head cleft by Hermes 661 head cleft by Palamaon 661 head cleft by Prometheus 661 hidden from Kronos in Crete 953 Iasion 75 f. Io 631 f. 1082 Ixion 74 f. leaps upon Phanes and swallows him 745 lends *aigis* to Apollon 314₃ lends thunderbolt to Athena 868 Leucadian rock 941₁ Metis 567₀

nursed by Hyades (?) 1082 Meteres in Crete 225₁ Pelicades (?) 1082

nurtured by bears 953 doves 975 prince slain by wild boar and buried in Crete 1070 rains ambrosia at birth of Dionysos 477 500 rains blood before battle between Achaeans and Trojans 478 rains blood before death of Sarpedon the Lycian 323 478 rains blood before single fight between Herakles and Kyknos 478 f. rains golden snow at birth of Athena 477 670 719 rains golden snow at wooing of Alkmene 477 507 rains stones to help Herakles fighting Ligurians 483 492 rains wine etc. in Utopia 500 Salmoneus 141 966 Semele 82₃ swallows Metis 727₃ 728 743 f. 942 swallows Phanes 745 942 taught by Cretan Olympos 321₀ threatens to flog Hera 924 Titans 478₀ 839 966 Typhoeus 615₃ Typhon 1135 visits Hera clandestinely 1025 f. woos Thetis 741 f.

Metamorphosed into Amphitryon 507 f. bull 469 615 f. 628 cash 466 f. coins, chains, rings, trinkets 467 cuckoo 63₆ 1043 dew 180 261 eagle 981 1122 (?) Eros 974 1129 golden rain 455 golden snow 477 518 rain 477 Satyr 467 469 1111 swan 63₆ 467 469

Genealogy: s. of Kronos 34 ancestor of Danaides 142 reputed f. of Aethlios the s. of Aiolos 107 f. of Apollon and Artemis by Leto 744₁(6) f. of Ares after drinking of Nile 344₂

Zeus (cont.)

f. of Athena by Metis 744₁₍₁₎ adopts Athena, d. of Poseidon by lake Tritonis 128; f. of Basileia (?) 60₅₍₂₎
 f. of Britomartis by Hekate (?) 544₄
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Fig. 932.

Zeus Olympios

on a bronze coin of Athens
(Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica
p. 104 no. 754 pl. 18, 4, E.
Beulé Les monnaies d'Athènes
Paris 1858 p. 396 fig., Imhoof-
Blumer and P. Gardner Num.
Comm. Paus. iii. 137f. pl. BB, 4,
J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies
d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926
pl. 92, 1 Athens, 2 London)
 representing the chryselephan-
 tine copy of Pheidias' statue set
 up by Hadrian in the Olympieion
 (Paus. i. 18. 6).

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