

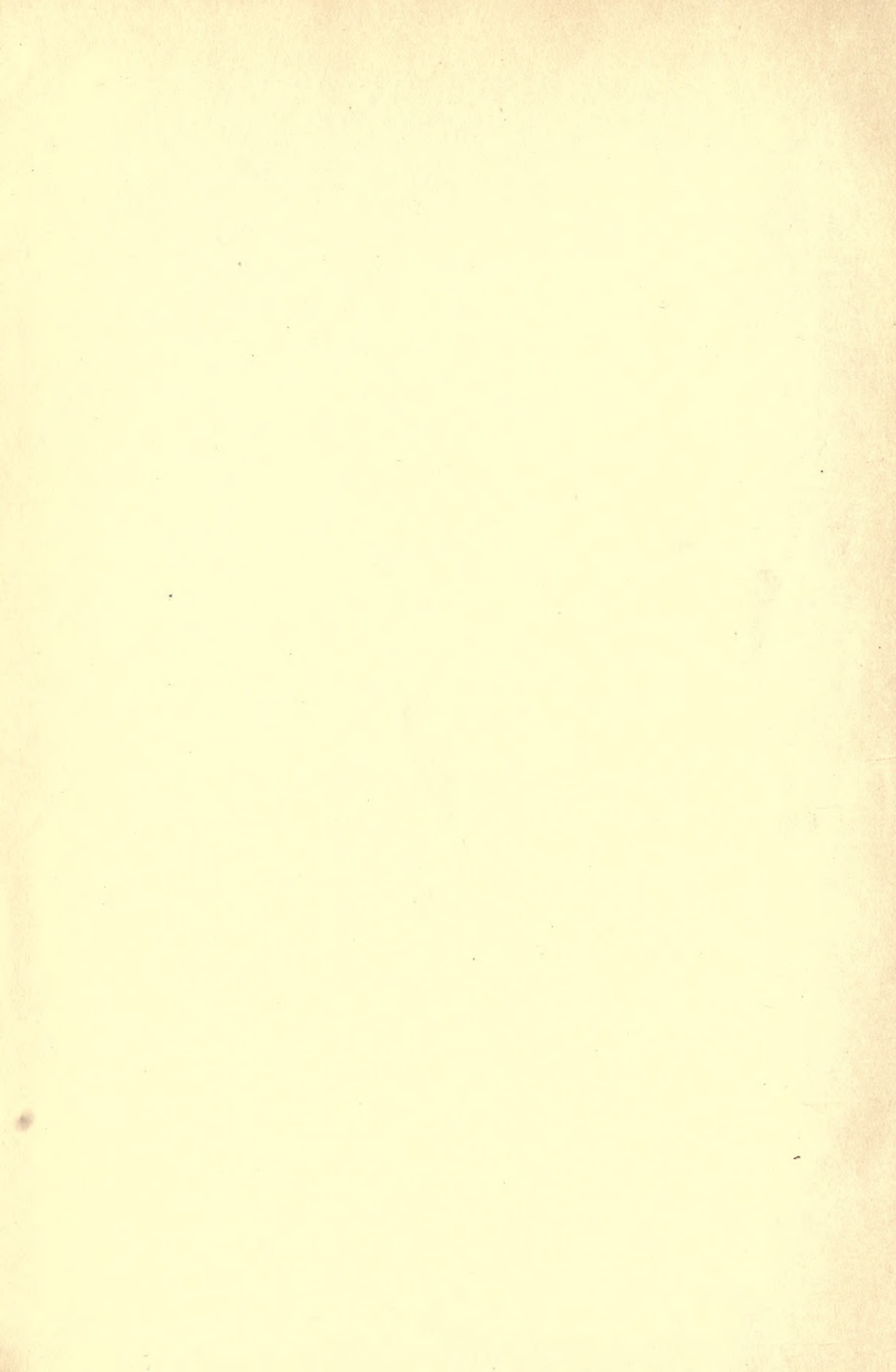
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ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

VOLUME II

PART II

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ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

BY

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OF CAMBRIDGE

VOLUME II

ZEUS GOD OF THE DARK SKY
(THUNDER AND LIGHTNING)

χά Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει

THEOKRITOS 4. 43

PART II

APPENDIXES AND INDEX

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APPENDIX A.

KAIROS.

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

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

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

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

¹ Paus. 5. 14. 9.

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

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

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

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

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

⁷ Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 65.

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

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

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

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



Fig. 796.



Fig. 798.



Fig. 797.

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

¹ *Supra* i. 23 n. 6.

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

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

⁴ So P. Persson in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1895 xxxiii. 288 (κairós < κair-ῖο-). Dr Giles too told me (Oct. 22, 1911) that, starting from the root of κairῖω in the weak grade κair-, we could assume κair-ῖο- > κair-ῖο-s > κairós, cp. κῆρ-ῖο > χερ-ῖω > χερῖω.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Fig. 799.

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

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

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

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

³ *Supra* p. 374.

⁴ *Supra* p. 550 fig. 426.

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

⁶ *Supra* p. 549 n. 6.

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

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

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



Fig. 800.

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

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

¹ Cp. Himer. *ecl.* 14. 1 ποιεῖ (sc. ὁ Δύσιππος) παῖδα τὸ εἶδος ἄβρόν, τὴν ἀκμὴν ἐφθιβόν, κομῶντα μὲν τὸ ἐκ κροτάφων εἰς μέτωπον, γυμνὸν δὲ τὸ ὄσον ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τὰ νῶτα μερίζεται· σιδήρω τὴν δεξιὰν ὀπλισμένον, ζυγῷ τὴν λαίαν ἐπέχοντα, πτερωτὸν τὰ σφυρά, οὐχ ὡς μετάρσιον ὑπὲρ γῆς ἄνω κουφίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἵνα δοκῶν ἐπιψαύειν τῆς γῆς λαυθάνη κλέπτων τὸ μὴ κατὰ γῆς ἐπερείδεσθαι.

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

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

⁴ Phaedr. 5. 8. 1.

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

⁶ Phaedr. 5. 8. 2 f.

⁷ *Id.* 5. 8 *titulus*, 5. 8. 7.

⁸ *Id.* 5. 8. 5.

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

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

¹¹ Aus. *epigr.* 33 Peiper.

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

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

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



Fig. 801.

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

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

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

Georgios Kedrenos (c. 1100 A.D.) states that the masterpieces collected in the House of Lausos¹ at Constantinople included 'the figure by Lysippos representing Chronos, bald behind, long-haired before.'² Kedrenos' statement is very possibly true³, though Lamer infers from the name Chronos that we have here to do, not with the original Lysippean figure, but with a bearded copy of it⁴. Again, Ioannes Tzetzes (born c. 1110 A.D.) in his historical poem twice over informs us that, when Alexander had let slip an opportunity, Lysippos of Sikyon made him an effigy of Chronos

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

Tzetzes further spends a score of lines on insisting that this was Chronos, not, as sundry wiseacres maintained, Bios⁶. He had already said the same thing in greater detail in one of his letters⁷. And, after him, Nikephoros Blemmydes (1107/8—1272 A.D.) describes the group in almost identical terms⁸. We gather

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

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

² Kedren. *hist. comp.* 322 c (i. 564 Bekker) *καὶ τὸ τὸν χρόνον μιμούμενον ἄγαλμα, ἔργον Λύσιππου, ὅπισθεν μὲν φαλακρὸν, ἔμπροσθεν δὲ κομῶν.*

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

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

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

⁶ Tzetz. *chil.* 10. 275 ff.

⁷ Tzetz. *epist.* 70 (p. 61 Pressel) 'Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ποτὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων τῷ βασιλεῖ παραδραμόντι καιρὸν καὶ μεταμέλου πείραν λαβόντι παρῶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ πλάστης ὁ Λύσιππος, Σικυνῶνιος δ' ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ, θεοῦτατε δέσποτα, ὡς οὐτ' ἀκίνδυνον ἑώρα τὸν βασιλεῖα ἐλέγχειν, οὔτε μὴν πάντη ἀζήμιον τὸ μὴ τὴν ἑτέρων διαμαρτίαν ἑτέροις ποιῆσθαι διδάσκαλον, τὴν ἀμφοτέρων κακίαν ἐκπεφευγὸς σοφῶς ἀμφοτέρα ἔδρασεν. ἐν εἰκόνι καὶ γὰρ τὸν χρόνον ἀγαλματώσας τὸν τε βασιλεῖα τῷ μὴ δοκεῖν ἐλέγχειν κοσμίως ἐξήλεγε καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρακτικὴν τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν εἰκόνα παραίνεσιν καταλέλοιπεν. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως τὸ εἰκόνισμα. ἄνθρωπός τις ὁ Χρόνος ἐκεῖνῳ δεδημιούργηται προκόμιον ἔχων βραχύ, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὀπισθοφάλακρος καὶ κωφὸς ἱκανῶς, ὡς ἐστὶν εἰκάσαι, καὶ γυμνὸς ἐστὶν ὡς διολισθαίνων καὶ ἀναφῆς· βέβηκε δὲ ἐπὶ σφαίρας εὐδρόμου τινὸς μεταριπτάζων αὐτοῦ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐκείνην ὀξυκινήτως, ὡς ἡ τῶν ποδῶν ὑπανίπτεται πτέρωσις. ἐκείνου δὲ κατόπιον ἕτερος δεδημιούργηται ἄνθρωπος εὐτόνω κεχηρμένους βαδίσματι, χεῖρά τε ἴδιαν ἐκτείνων, ἐκείνον ὡς συλληψόμενος καὶ τοῦτον μετακαλούμενος, ὡς τὸ ἀνεσπασμένον αὐτοῦ τῶν χειρῶν δηλοῖ· ὁ δὲ παρέρχεται τε καὶ ὄχεται καὶ κωφεύων οὐκ ἐπαίει, μάχιμραν δὲ ὀρέγει πρὸς τὸ κατόπιον ἐπανατείνων τὴν χεῖρα, κατακαρδίουσ πηληγὰς αἰνιττόμενος, αἴπειρ ἐγγίνονται τοῖς χρόνον καθυστερίζουσιν. οὕτω πως σοφῶς ὁ Λύσιππος ἐνουθέτησε μὴ καθυστερίζειν καιροῦ, τοιαύτη τὸν Χρόνον ἀναστήλωσας γραφῆ, κἂν ἀκαιρηγοροῦντες δοκῆται τινὲς ἀκρίτως εἶναι βίου ταύτην παραληρώσιν εἰκόνησιν, μὴ συνιέντες ὡς κ.τ.λ. Cp. *epist.* 95 (p. 86 Pressel) *κωφόν· ὁλον τὸν παροχόμενον χρόνον Λύσιππος μὲν ἐξωγράφησε, κ.τ.λ. with schol. A.B. ἐξωγράφησε· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἠρδριαντούργησεν· ὁ Λύσιππος γὰρ ἠρδριαντοποιός, οὐ ζωγράφος.*

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

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

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

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

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

ἐμὲ τὸν βίον, ἄνθρωπε, δέξαι σου παρανέτην.
 ἔτυχες, εἶδες, ἔλαβες, κατέσχες μου τὰς τρίχας;
 μὴ πρὸς ῥαστώνην ἐκδοθῆς, μὴ πρὸς τρυφὴν χωρήσῃς,
 μηδὲ φρονήσῃς ὑψηλὰ καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου.
 γυμνὸν με βλέπεις· νόησον γυμνὸν μου καὶ τὸ τέλος.
 ὑπὸ τοῦς πόδας μου τροχοί· φρίττε μὴ κυλισθῶσι.
 περὶ τὰς κνήμας μου πτερά· φεύγω, παρίπταμαί σε.
 ζυγὰ κατέχω τῇ χειρὶ· φοβοῦ τὰς μετακλίσεις.
 τί με κρατεῖς; σκιὰν κρατεῖς· πνοὴν κρατεῖς ἀνέμου.
 τί με κρατεῖς; καπνὸν κρατεῖς, ὄνειρον, ἔχνος πλοίου.
 ἐμὲ τὸν βίον, ἄνθρωπε, δέξαι σου παρανέτην.
 οὐκ ἔτυχες, οὐκ ἔλαβες, οὐκ ἔσχες μου τὰς τρίχας;
 μὴ σκυθρωπάσῃς τοῦ λοιποῦ, μηδὲ δυσελπιστήσῃς.
 γυμνὸς εἰμι, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐξολισθήσας τούτων
 ἴσως μεταρρησῶμαι πρὸς σέ καὶ μεταπέσω.
 ὑπὸ τοῦς πόδας μου τροχοί· τάχα σοι κυλισθῶσι.
 περὶ τὰς κνήμας μου πτερά· τρέχω, προσίπταμαί σοι.
 ζυγὰ κατέχω· τάχα σοι τὴν πλάστιγγα χαλάσω.
 μὴ τοῖνυν ἀποπροσκοιοὺ τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας.

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

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

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

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

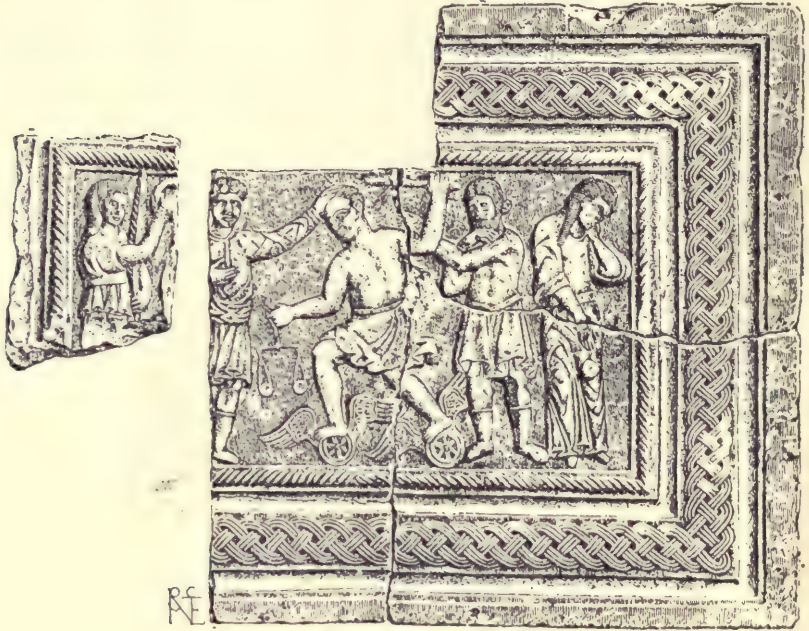


Fig. 802.

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

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

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

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

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



Fig. 803.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX B.

THE MOUNTAIN-CULTS OF ZEUS.

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

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

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

² J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 848, 1888 iv. 1558, K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie*⁶ Bonn 1878 p. 479.

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

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

⁵ Eur. *Polyeidos frag.* 638 Nauck². See further F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. *ran.* 1477, *infra* Append. N *init.*

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

⁷ *Supra* i. 117 ff. *et passim*.

⁸ Zeus *Óreios*. E. Renan *Mission de Phénicie* Paris 1864 p. 396 f. recorded two identical inscriptions on blocks of gritstone formerly used for the lintel of the church-door at *Hatalieh*: *ἔτους ζυς', μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου ιε', Θερεπτιῶν (N)εἰκωνος τοῦ Σωσίππου τοῖς δύο | λέοντας Δι' Ὀρελῶ, κατ' ὄναρ, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, εὐσεβῶν ἀνέθηκεν*. The year 257 in the Seleucid era would be 55 B.C., in that of Antioch 209 A.D., in that of Sidon 147 A.D. Renan held

'of the Peak¹,' Zeus *Aktaios* 'of the Point²,' Zeus *Akraios* 'of the Summit³,'

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

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

¹ Zeus *Κορυφαίος*. Seleukeia Pieria, at the foot of Mt Koryphaion (Polyb. 5. 59. 4), had a priest of Zeus *Όλύμπιος* and Zeus *Κορυφαίος* (*Corp. inser. Gr.* iii no. 4458, 3f., 3ff., = Dittenberger *Oriente. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 245, 3f. *Διός Όλυμπίου | καὶ Διός Κορυφαίου, 27 ff. Διός Όλυμπίου [καὶ] | τῶν θεῶν τῶν | Σωτήρ[ων] καὶ Διός | Κορυφαίου, cp. Liban. legat. ad Iulian. 79 (ii. 152, 10f. Foerster) τὸν Δία τὸν τε ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς καὶ τὸν ἐν ἄστει, παρ' ὃν εἰσῆλθες ὕπατος, ὅθεν ἐξῆλθες θαρρῶν, ᾧ γέγονας ὀφειλέτης*). Philadelphia in Lydia, at the base of Mt Tmolos, also had a cult of Zeus *Κορυφαίος* (*supra* p. 285 n. o no. (3) and Addenda *ad loc.*), whose head is seen on an imperial bronze coin of the town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 190 pl. 21, 9 = my fig. 804 (from a cast), Head *Hist. num.*² p. 655). The title has a variety of meanings in Paus. 2. 4. 5 (Corinth) *ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ θέατρον ἔστιν ἱερὸν Διὸς Καπετωλίου φωνῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων· κατὰ Ἑλλάδα δὲ γλῶσσαν Κορυφαίος ὀνομάζοιτο ἄν, Aristeid. or. 1. 8 (i. 11 Dindorf) οὗτος βασιλεὺς, πολιεὺς, καταβιάτης, βέτιος, οὐράνιος, κορυφαίος, πάνθ' ὅσα αὐτὸς εὖρε μεγάλα καὶ ἑαυτῷ πρόποντα ὀνόματα, Max. Tyr. diss. 41. 2 Dübner τὸν Δία... τὸν κορυφαίου τῆς τῶν ἀστρων περιφορᾶς καὶ δινώσεως καὶ χορείας καὶ δρόμου, cp. Ioul. or. 7. 230 D ἄγαγῶν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τι μέγα καὶ ὑψηλὸν ὄρος, Ἐπὶ τούτου, ἔφη, τῆς κορυφῆς ὁ πατήρ πάντων κἀθηται τῶν θεῶν, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 59 (Minerva) quarta Iovē nata et Coryphe, Oceani filia, Clem. Al. *prottr.* 2. 28. 2 p. 21, 1 f. Stählin (*supra* i. 155 n. 10, to which add Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14 and 16), Orph. *h. Poscid.* 17 b. 3 (Poseidon) *ὁς ναίεις κορυφαίος ἐπ' Οὐλύμποιο κερήνων, Paus. 2. 28. 2 ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ ὄρους (sc. of Mt Koryphaion near Epidauros) Κορυφαίας ἔστιν ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, Steph. Byz. s.v. Κορυφαίου ὄρος ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐπιδαυρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τιμᾶται Ἄρτεμις Κορυφαία.**



Fig. 804.

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

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

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

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

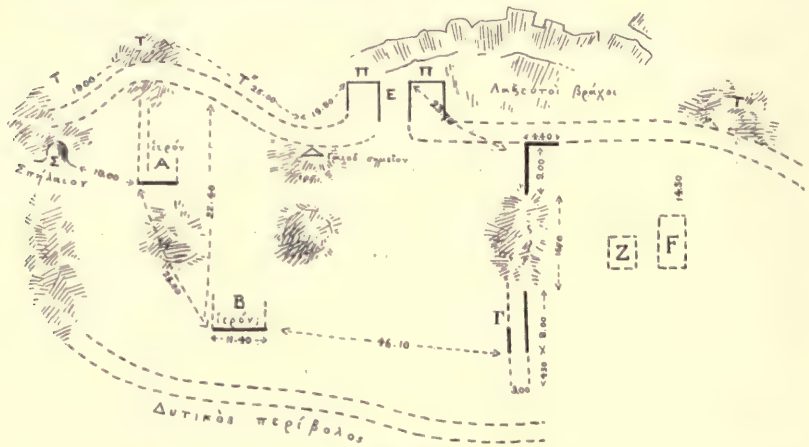


Fig. 805.

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

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

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

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

³ Zeus Ἀκραῖος. (1) The cult of Zeus Ἀκραῖος on Mt Pelion is attested by an inscription found near *Burha* on the Gulf of Pagasai and now in the Museum at *Volos* (J. v. Protz and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 82, 1 ff.=O. Kern in the *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1110, 1 ff. [---- παριστάται τὰ θύματα λευκὰ ὀλόκληρα [κα] [θαρά ἄ δεῖ θύ]εσθαι τῶι θεῶι και τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐθιζόμενα καθῶς [κα] | [πρὶν ἐ]γίνετο, τὰς δὲ τούτων δωρὰς πωλεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ [νῦν χρῶ] [νου κα]'] ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὸ κήρυκα τῆι ἔκτει ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ἀρτεμισιῶνος μῆ]νός πρὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας γινομένης ἐννόμου ἀπὸ τοῦ ---- |ρίου ὑπὸ τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀρχόντων, συμπαραόντων και τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου και τῶν ἑξεταστῶν, και τὸ ἐκ τούτων | γενόμενον διάφ[ορον ἱερὸν εἶναι] τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου. . . . |νου τὰς ἀγορὰς ----- ἀμα τῶι θεῶι συναχθῆσθαι | --- κ.τ.λ. (eight lines badly mutilated)): on this see *supra* i. 421 f. In s. ii B.C. the priest of Zeus Ἀκραῖος was a personage of importance, who proposed decrees along with the chief magistrates of the Magnetes (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 307, 7 f. = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1103, 7 f. Ἀδαῖος Ἀδύμο[υ] ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ [Ἀ]κραίου, *ib.* iii. 2 no. 1105, 11, 6 f. Θηβαγένης Ἀπολλωνίου ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου, Michel *op. cit.* no. 309, 6 = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1108, 6 [Λυ]σίας Ἐπιτέλου ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου). About 100 B.C. the priest of Zeus Ἀκραῖος was eponymous magistrate of the Magnetes, and those who were charged with the up-keep of the oracle of Apollon Κοροπαῖος took oath by Zeus Ἀκραῖος, Apollon Κοροπαῖος, and Artemis Ἴωλκία (Michel *op. cit.* no. 842 A, 1 ff., B, 5 ff., 21 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 1157, 1 a, 1 ff., 1 b c, 54 ff., 11, 70 f. = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1109, 1, 1 ff. ἱερέως Κρίνωνος τοῦ Παρμενίωνος, μῆνός Ἀρείου δεκάτη, Κρίνων Παρμενίωνος Ὀμολιεύς ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου κ.τ.λ., 54 ff. (cited *supra* p. 730 n. o *sub fin.*), 11, 70 f. ἱερέως Κρίνωνος τοῦ Παρμενίωνος, μῆνός Ἀρτεμισιῶνος δεκάτη, | Κρίνων Παρμενίωνος Ὀμολιεύς ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου κ.τ.λ.). Cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1128, 1 ff. Ἀδρ. Τειμασίθεος | Κενταύριος ὁ ἱερ[ε]ῖς τῶ Ἀκραίω Δε[ι].

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

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

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

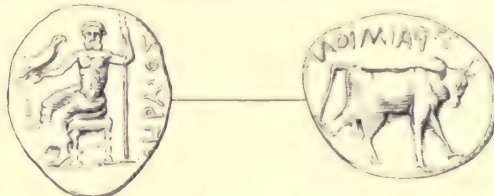


Fig. 806.

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

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

(5) At Halikarnassos Aphrodite, who shared a temple with Hermes on high ground beside the spring Salmakis (Vitr. 2. 8. 11), probably bore the title Ἄκρατα, since the Halicarnassians are known to have built a temple of Aphrodite Ἄκρατα beneath the *akrópolis* of their mother-city Troizen (Paus. 2. 32. 6). Zeus too was worshipped at Halikarnassos under the same title (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 501 Διονύσιος | Διὶ Ἄκρατῶι εὐχῆ[ν]). T. Bergk *Exercitationum criticarum specimen VI* Marburgi 1850 p. vi (= *id.* *Kleine philologische Schriften* ed. R. Peppmüller Halle a. S. 1886 ii. 297), K. Keil in *Philologus* 1854 ix. 454, and G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1193, would read Ἄκρατῶ for Ἄσκρατῶ in Apollon. *hist. mir.* 13 ἐν τῷ κατὰ τόπους μυθικῷ· ἐν Ἄλικαρνασσῷ θυσίας τινὲς τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ἄσκρατῶι συντελουμένης ἀγέλην αἰγῶν ἀγεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἴστασθαι· τῶν δὲ κατευχῶν συντελεσθειῶν προβαίνειν μίαν αἶγα ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀγομένην καὶ προσέρχεσθαι τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν δὲ ἱερέα λαβόμενον αὐτῆς καλλιερεῖν. But I have argued in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 415 f. that Zeus Ἄσκραῖος, to whom the Lydians brought their first-fruits (Plout. *animine an corporis affectiones sint peiores* 4 οὗτοι συνεληλύθασιν... οὐκ



Fig. 807.



Fig. 808.



Fig. 809.



Fig. 810.



Fig. 811.

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

(6) W. R. Paton in the *Class. Rev.* 1907 xxi. 47 f. publishes an inscription, in lettering of about *s.* i B.C. or *s.* i A.D., found at Myndos: [Πο]σίδεος Κλεωνόμου καθ' ἑορταία[ν] | [δὲ] Ποσιδέου καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Ἡδέια Ἀπολλωνίδου | [καὶ] οἱ υἱοὶ Κλεώνυμος καὶ Ἀπολλωνίδης | [Ἄλ]ικαρνασσεῖς Διὶ Ἄκρατῶι. Paton proposes Ἄκρατῶ for Ἄσκρατῶ, not only in Apollon.

Zeus *Epákrios* 'on the Summit¹, Zeus *Karuiós* 'of the Head², Zeus *Lophéites* *loc. cit.*, but also in Plout. *loc. cit.* Both passages were emended in the same manner 224 years before by G. Cuper *Apotheosis vel consecratio Homeri* Amstelodami 1683 p. 16.

(7) Imperial coppers of Magnesia ad Maeandrum show Zeus Ἀκραῖος as a nude standing figure, with right hand supported on sceptre, left holding thunderbolt (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 120 no. 312 ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ Geta, *id. Kleinas. Münzen* i. 79 no. 27 ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩ Ν ΖΕΥC ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ Antoninus Pius).

(8) At Smyrna Ulpius Traianus, father of the emperor Trajan, brought an aqueduct to the precinct of Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3146, 1 ff. ἐκ τοῦ εἰσαχθέντος | ὕδατος ἐπὶ τὸν Δία τὸν | Ἀκραῖον ἐπὶ Οὐλλπίου | Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου, | κ.τ.λ.). Quasi-autonomous and imperial coppers show the god's head, usually inscribed ΖΕΥC ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ or ΖΕΥC ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ or ΖΕΥC ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 253 ff. pl. 27, 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 368 ff. pl. 52, 8, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 594.



Fig. 812.



Fig. 813.



Fig. 814.

Fig. 812 is from a specimen of mine), or seated figure holding Nike and sceptre, sometimes inscribed ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ or ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia pp. 250 pl. 26, 8, 266, 272 pl. 28, 15, 287 pl. 29, 12 (=my fig. 813), 297, 302 pl. 39, 5, 307 pl. 39, 11 (=supra p. 319 fig. 201), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 378 no. 202, 379 no. 203, 389 pl. 52, 18, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 594).

(9) At Temnos in Aiolis, on a hill above the Hermos, quasi-autonomous coppers of s. iii A.D. bear the bust of Zeus Ἀκραῖος, inscribed ΖΕΥC ΑΚΡΑΙΟ C (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 145 no. 22, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 311 no. 7, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 557. Fig. 814 is from a specimen of mine).

(10) L. Holstein on Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μυτιλήνη* (ed. Lipsiae 1825 ii. 457) says: 'In Cimeliarchio Mediceo nummus habetur, in cuius uno latere circum Iovem, Neptunum et Plutonium: ΘΕΟΙ ΑΚΡΑΙΟΙ ΜΥΤΙΑΗΝΑΙΩΝ. in averso circum caput Iovis: ΖΕΥC ΒΟΥΛΑΙΟΣ. quinam sint Θεοὶ ἀκραῖοι... docet Pollux lib. ix. cap. 5. his verbis: Τὰ δὲ δημόσια, ἀκρόπολις· ἦν καὶ ἄκρον ἂν εἴποις καὶ πόλιν· καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ θεοῖς, ἀκραῖους καὶ πολιεῖς.' This coin, cited by numismatists from Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² ii. 504 to *Head Hist. num.*¹ p. 488 inclusive, has disappeared from *Head Hist. num.*² p. 562 f.

(11) At Akrai (*Palazzolo*) in Sicily the Museum of Baron Judica had a base inscribed ΔΙΟΣ [[] ΠΑΙΟΥ. J. Schubring in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* Suppl. 1867 iv. 672 fig. 2 supplies [Ἀγο]ραίου. But U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in the *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 203 with greater probability cj. [Ἀκ]ραίου.

See further Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπιθετα Διός (20) ἀκραίου, Kallim. *h. Zeus* 81 f. ἴζο δ' αὐτὸς | ἀκρης ἐν πολίεσσιν, *ἑ. isteid. or.* i. 6 (i. 7 Dindorf) τὰς ἀκρόπολεις ἐξεῖλον Δί, κ.τ.λ.

¹ Zeus Ἐπάκριος. Polyzelos Μουσῶν γοναῖ frag. 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 869 f. Meineke) *ap. et. mag.* p. 352, 49 ff. Ἐπάκριος Ζεὺς· ἐπ' ἄκρας γὰρ τῶν ὄρων ἰδρύνοντο βωμοῖς τῷ Δί, οἶον τοῦ Ἱμεττίου, τοῦ Παρνηθίου. Πολύζηλος Μουσῶν γοναῖς· "ιερόν γὰρ ὄν (A. Meineke cj. ἱερεὺς γὰρ ὦν, cp. Metagenes Ἀδραι frag. 4 Meineke *ap. schol. Aristoph. av.* 873) τετύχηκας Ἐπακρίου Διός." So Hesych. s.v. Ἐπάκριος· Ζεὺς. ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν ὄρων

[² For note 2 see p. 874.]

'of the Crest¹.' These titles, and perhaps certain others², proclaim him to be a

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

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

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

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

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

[² For note 2 see p. 875.]

god of mountain-tops. And, when he is called *Hýpatos* 'the High¹' or

1908 xxxiii. 162 suspects an allusion to the *νέοι αὐράριοι* (?) of (1) and proposes [συ]ναγωγῆ (τῶν) Α[ὐ - -][ρί]ων νέων). The title *Λοφέτης* was due to the situation of the town: ἡ γὰρ Πιέρνθος κείται μὲν παρὰ θάλατταν ἐπὶ τινος αὐχένος ὑψηλοῦ χερρονήσου, σταδιαίων ἐχούσης τὸν αὐχένα· τὰς δ' οἰκίας ἔχει πεπικνωμένας καὶ τοῖς ὕψει διαφερούσας. αὗται δὲ ταῖς οικοδομαῖς ἀεὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν λόφον ἀνάβασιν ἀλλήλων ὑπερέχουσι, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ὄλης πόλεως θεατροειδὲς ἀποτελοῦσι (Diod. 16. 76). For Zeus *Ἐπιλόφιος* at Naissos see *infra* Moesia.

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

¹ Zeus *Ἵπατος* was worshipped (1) on Mt Hypatos above Glisas in Boiotia (Paus. 9. 19. 3 ὑπὲρ δὲ Γλισιαντὸς ἐστὶν ὄρος Ἵπατος καλούμενον, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Διὸς Ἵπάτου ναὸς καὶ ἀγαλμα). The mountain, now called *Sagmatás*, rises to a height of 740^m: 'it is bold and rocky, and has a flat summit which is crowned with a monastery of the Transfiguration, founded by Alexis Comnenus. The church of the monastery contains fine mosaics, and stands on the foundations of the temple of Zeus. Both the church and the monastery, as well as two neighbouring chapels, contain many considerable fragments of antiquity built into the walls. The dome of the church is supported by two ancient monolithic columns, with their bases and capitals' (Frazer *Pausanias* v. 61). The view from the monastery embraces the three lakes Kopais, Hylike, Paralimne, the Euboean sea, and on the horizon a whole series of mountains—Messapion, Dirphys, Parnes, Kithairon, Helikon, Sphingion, Parnassos, Ptoion (H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Berlin 1863 ii. 28 f.). Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 6 notes the frequent Boeotian name *Ἵπατόδωρος*. E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 13 f. quotes examples of *Ἵπατόδωρος* from Thebes, Tanagra, Delphoi, Smyrna, of *Ἵπατίας* from Thebes, of *Ἵπατοκλῆς* from Rhodes.

(2) He had an altar, founded by Kekrops 'in front of the entry' to the Erechtheion at Athens, where he was served with cakes but no wine- or animal-offerings (Paus. 1. 26. 5 ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ οἴκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον· πρὸ δὲ τῆς εἰσόδου Διὸς ἐστὶ βωμὸς Ἵπάτου, ἐνθα ἐμψυχον θύουσιν οὐδὲν, πέμματα δὲ θέντες οὐδὲν ἐτι οἴνω χρῆσασθαι νομίζουσιν, 8. 2. 3 ὁ μὲν γὰρ (sc. Κέκροψ) Δία τε ὠνόμασεν Ἵπατον πρῶτος (πρῶτον cod. La.), καὶ ὅποσα ἔχει ψυχῆν, τούτων μὲν ἤξιωσεν οὐδὲν θῆσαι, πέμματα δὲ ἐπιχώρια ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καθήγειεν, ἃ πελάνους καλοῦσιν ἐτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι). He was on occasion associated with Athena *Ἵπάτη* and other deities (Dem. c. *Macart.* 66 (a Delphic response) *συμφέρι* Ἀθηναῖοις *περὶ τοῦ σημείου τοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ γενομένου θύοντος καλλιερῆιν Διὶ Ἵπάτῳ, Ἀθηναῖ Ἵπάτῃ, Ἡρακλεῖ, Ἀπόλλωνι Σωτήρι, καὶ ἀποπέμπειν Ἀμφιόνεσσι*). Cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 201. 1 ff. = *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 170, 2 ff. Ἵψιμέδων Ἵπατε, πάτερ εἰρήνης βαθικά[ρπου,] | σὸν Ἐλάιον (for Ἐλεῖον) βωμὸν ἱκετεύομεν ἡμεῖς, (scansion!) | Ἠρήϊκες οἱ ναλοντες ἀγάκλιτον ἄστου τὸ [Σά]ρδε[ων(?),] | κ.τ.λ.

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

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

(5) In Paros on the top of Mt *Kounddos* the little church of the Prophet Elias has built into it boundary-stones belonging to Zeus *Ἵπατος*, to Aphrodite, to Histie *Δημίη* (O. Rubensohn in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 215). The first of these, a rough block of white marble, is inscribed in lettering of s. v b. c. [θ]ρος Ἵπάτω· ἀ[τε][λ]ῆ[σται] οὐ θέμ[ε]ι[s] οὐδὲ γυναι[κ]ῆ (sc. εἰσελθεῖν) (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 183 with fig.).

Hypsistos 'the Most High',¹ there is reason to suspect that the epithet had originally a literal rather than a metaphorical sense.

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

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

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



Fig. 815.

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

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

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

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

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



Fig. 816.

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

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

west of the *Propylæia*, has Γλαύκος, | Τρύφαινα, | Λέων | [Τ]ψίστω | [εὐχὴν] ὑπὲρ | [τῶν γονέων(?)] (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 146). A small Ionic capital from the southern slope of the *Akropolis* is surmounted by a broken eagle, beneath which is inscribed ἀγαθὴ τύχη. | Ἰουλι(α) Ἀσκληπιανῆ | θεῶ Ἰψίστω ὑπέ[ρ] | Μαξιμου τοῦ υἱ[οῦ] | εὐχαριστήριον ἀνέθ[ηκεν].

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

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

(4) At Argos Smyrna, the wife of Maenius Apollonius and apparently priestess of Zeus Ἰψίστος (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 620, 4=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 286. 8 Ἰψίστου δ' ἥριον ἀ[ρχ]ῆ Διός).

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

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

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

(8) In Imbros was a slab of white marble, broken at the right side, with the inscription Δι Ἰψίστω | Ἀθηναίῳ | Ἀριστῶ[ος] | εὐχ<ης> ἦν (A. Conze *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres* Hannover 1860 p. 90 pl. 15, 2, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* viii no. 78. In line 4 Conze suggests εὐχῆς (ἐν)[εκα]. Wilamowitz says: 'Fortasse Δι Ἰψίστω | ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τῶν vel καὶ τῶι δήμῳ τῶι Ἀθηναίῳ τῶν ἐν Ἰμβρω ἀνέθηκεν' Ἀριστῶν [patris ἐξ] εὐχῆς ἦν [εὐξάτο ὁ δεῖνα] ').

(9) Macedonia has furnished dedications from Aigai (L. Duchesne—C. Bayet *Mémoire sur une mission au mont Athos* Paris 1877 no. 136 Δι Ἰψίστω εὐχὴν Μάκρος Λιβύριος Οὐάλης, no. 137 Δι Ἰψίστω Π. Ἀἴλιος Τερεντιανὸς Ἀττικὸς κατ' ὄναρ), Kerdyllion (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 110 M. Δευκελιό[ς] | Μακλᾶς θεῶ[ι] | Ἰψίστωι χαριστήριον), and elsewhere (Delacoulonche *Le berceau de la puissance macédonienne* no. 20 to Zeus Ἰψίστος, cited by P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 347 n. 2).

(10) In Thrace we have inscriptions from Anchialos (C. Jireček in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1886 x. 173 no. 3 ΔΗΥΨΙΣΗΔΕΣ | ΓΗΠΟΥΠΡΟΣ | ΟΝΤΕΙΝΩΝ-ΚΑΙΣ | ΑΥΤΟΥΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΗ | ΡΙΟΝ, which is read by O. Benndorf *ib.* n. 32^a as Δι Ἰψίστω | ἐ[πί]πρωτη(?) Πολύ[β]ιο[ς] τῶν τε[κ]νῶν καὶ [ἐ]αυτοῦ εὐχαριστήριον) and Selymbria (R. Cagnat *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1911 i. 255 no. 777 Θεῶι ἀγίωι Ἰψίστωι | ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥοιμη[τ]άλκου καὶ Πυθο[δω]ρίδος ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Κοιλα[λ]ητικὸν | πόλεμον κινδύνου | σωτηρίας εὐξάμενος | καὶ ἐπιτυχῶν Γάιος | Ἰούλιος Πρὸκ(λ)ος χαρι-στ[ήριον]).

(11) Moesia. An altar of reddish limestone, found among Roman remains between the villages of *Selenigrad* and *Miloslavci*, and now in the Museum at *Sofia*, is inscribed Ὡ θεῶι Ἰψίστωι | ὑπὲρ Ἀδφιδίων σκῶν | [.....] Ἀψιδίω[ς]..... (E. Kalinka *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien* Wien 1906 p. 133 f. no. 145). A limestone altar at *Pivot* reads ἀγαθῆ [τύ]χη | Θεῶ ἐπηκόω Ἰψίστω | εὐχὴν ἀνέστησαν | τὸ κοινὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων διὰ

ιερέως | Ἐρμογένους καὶ προ|στάτου Ἀγνουστιανοῦ | Ἀχιλλεύς, Ἀυρήλις, Δῶ(ς), Ἀλέξανδρος, Μόκας, Μο[κι]ανός, | Δομήτις, Σοφείνος, Πανλευῖνος, Πύρος, Ἀπολιναίρις, Μοκιανός, [Σ(?)]ήλυς | καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀσκληπιάδου· θία[σος(?)] Σεβαζίανός θη[...]-τους | -- (A. von Domaszewski in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1886 x. 238 f. no. 2).

(12) Korkyra (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 1869 Φαιακοσίγη Διεῖ Ἐψίστω | εὐχήην).

(13) Rome. A round base in the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican is inscribed Θεῶν Ἐψίστωι εὐχήην ἀνέθηκεν | Κλαυδία Πίσση (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 995).

(14) Crete. T. A. B. Spratt *Travels and Researches in Crete* London 1865 ii. 414 no. 1 pl. 1, 1 Κο[λ]ρανος θεῶν Ἐψίστωι | εὐχήην δημόσιος (C. Babington's reading *id.* is wrong) from Knossos.

(15) Kypros. Dedications to the Θεὸς Ἐψίστος have come to light at *Hagios Tychon* near Amathous (M. Beaudouin—E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 167 a round *cippus* inscribed Θεῶν Ἐψίστω | Νευκόδημος | κατ[ᾶ] χρηματισμῶν), Golgoi (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 361 ff. published a series of tablets in yellowish tufa, with holes for suspension, said to have come from a spot near *Athienau* and then in the hands of Z. Malis at *Larnaka*: no. 1 Θεῶν Ἐψίστω ἀνέθηκεν Πρόκτυος εὐξαμέ[ν]η with relief of two female breasts. no. 2 Θεῶν Ἐψίστω εὐξαμέ[ν]η -- --) with two eyes painted in black, cp. no. 3 three square tablets with *phallós* in relief but without inscription, no. 4 several fragmentary tablets of larger size with remains of painting or drawing, e.g. horse), and Kition (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 2740 read by Perdrizet *loc. cit.* [Θεῶν Ἐψίστω Θεῶν οἰκοδόμος εὐχήην]).

(16) Pisidia. At Oinoanda is a dedication built into the wall near the town-gate (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 4280 n² Χρ(ω)μαίτις θεῶν Ἐψίστω | τὸν λύχρον | εὐχ[ή]ν = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 1231). At Termessos a *cippus*, which once supported a votive foot (commemorating a visitation or epiphany of the god), is inscribed Θεῶ ἐπηκόω Ἐψιστόνυχος ὁ καὶ Ἀτταλιανὸς Ἐρ(μαίου) β' | Σύρον πατ[ρ]α κέλευσιν | αὐτοῦ ἔσση | ὅ σεν ὄ | σὺν τῷ ἐπόντι | ἔχει θεοῦ (K. Lanckoroński—G. Niemann—E. Petersen *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* Wien 1892 ii. 76 fig. 27, 220 no. 178. *Eid. id.* p. 32 rather doubtfully take the name of the dedicator to be 'Hephaistotychos.' F. Cumont *Hypsistos* (Supplément à la *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique*, 1897) Bruxelles 1897 p. 14 reads Θεῶ ἐπηκόω Ἐψίστω(ν) Τυχ(ί)ος and Σύρον πα(ί)που(?)).

(17) Karia. Zeus Ἐψίστος had cults in Iasos (B. Haussoullier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 456 a boundary-stone of white marble inscribed Διὸς Ἐψίστου. Zeus had a temple at Iasos (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2671, 26 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 462, 26)), Lagina (C. Diehl—G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 159 no. 67 Διὸς Ἐψίστω | καὶ θειω[...]-σιλικω Σ[τε]φανίων ὑπὲρ | αὐτοῦ καὶ | τῶν ἰδίων | πάντων εὐχαριστήρι[ον]. I should conjecture Θεῖω (as at Stratonikeia: see below) τῷ βασιλικῷ, 'the royal Zeus Ἐψίστος καὶ Θεῖος'), Miletos (O. Kern in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 267 no. 1 a column of white marble, found at *Palatia* near the big mosque, inscribed Διὸς Ἐψίστου, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 755 built into a Byzantine church τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου [Θεοῦ Ἐψίστου] Σωτήρος | Οὐλπιον Κάρπον | βουλευτὴν ὁ στατίων (*sc.* assembly) | τῶν κατὰ πόλιν κηπουρῶν τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέτη[ν] | ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐαντῶν σωτηρί[ας], no. 756 built into the same Byzantine church Οὐλπιον Κάρπον, | τὸν προφήτην τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου Θεοῦ | Ἐψίστου, | ὁ στόλος τῶν σωληνοκετῶν (*sc.* spikers of razor-fish) τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέτην διὰ πάντων. T. Wiegand in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1904 p. 87 infers from these two inscriptions that in early Byzantine days a Christian church was founded on the site of a temple dedicated to the Θεὸς Ἐψίστος), Mylasa (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2693 e, 1 f. = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 416. 1 f. = A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 107 ff. no. 11, B, 1 f. ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου | Ἀριστέον τοῦ Μέλανος τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἱερέως Διὸς Ἐψίστου καὶ Τύχης Ἀγαθῆς), Panamara (G. Deschamps—G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 271 f. no. 57 [Διὸς Ἐψίστω | καὶ Ἐκάρτη Σω[τή]ρα | [κ]αὶ Διὸς Καπε[τω]λιῶ | [κ]αὶ Τύχη τοῦ μ[ε]γίστου | [Ἀθ]οκράτορος Κα[ί]σαρος | [Τ]ιτου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίου Σεβαστοῦ | [...κα]ὶ ταῖς τοῦ Διὸς.... | [...το]λξ -- --), Stratonikeia (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 515 on a *stèle* in the form of an altar, with a horse (*supra* i. 20) advancing below, Διὸς Ἐψίστω καὶ |

'Αγαθῶ 'Αγγέλῳ, | Κλαύδιος 'Αχιλ(λ)εὺς καὶ Γαλατ[?]α ὑπὲρ σωτηρ[as] | μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων | πάντων, χαριστ[ή]ριον, A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 182 f. no. 3 Δι' Ἐψίστω | καὶ Θεῶν 'Αγγέλῳ Νέων | καὶ Εὐφροσύνη ὑπὲρ τῶν | ἰδίων, no. 4 [Δι'(?)] Ἐψίστω καὶ | Θεῶν Φρόνιμος καὶ | Πειθῶ κα[?]ς(sic) | ὑπὲρ τῶν [?]δίων χαριστήριον, G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 418 f. no. 1 at *Djidi* [Δι' Ἐψίστω] | καὶ Θεῶν Εὐτύχης καὶ Σ[υν]φιλοῦσα, 'Ανδρέας, 'Αντίοχος ὑπὲρ ἐαυτῶν | καὶ τῶν ἰδίων χαριστήριον, and Tralleis (I. Misthos in the Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρῃ 1873—1875 p. 95 no. 89 Θεῶν Ἐψίστω | κατ' ἄναρ on a small quadrilateral *stèle*).

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

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

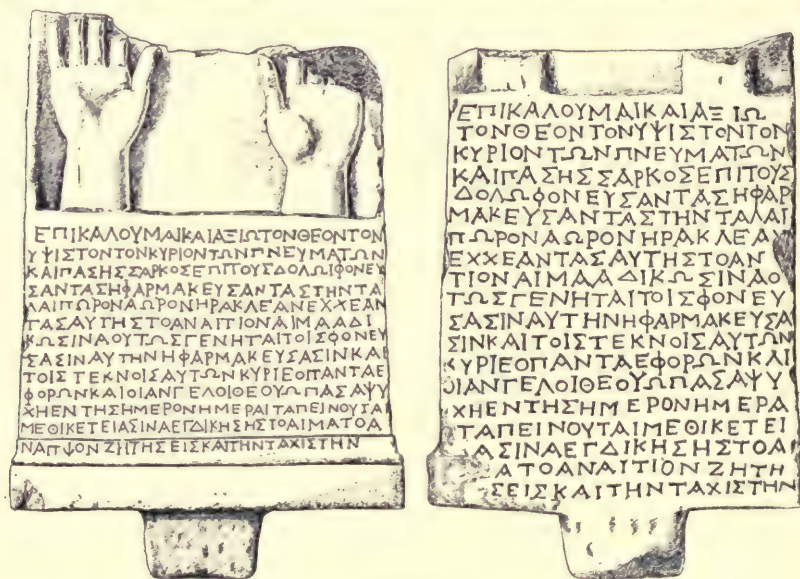


Fig. 817.

two Jewish maidens named Marthine and Heraklea respectively (the names recur in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii Add. no. 2322^{b78} and no. 2322^{b80}—Lebas—Foucart *Illes* no. 2041 and no. 2039), who had been done to death by violence or witchcraft. The Marthine-inscription, much mutilated, is now in the National Museum at Athens (best published by A. Wilhelm in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1901 iv Beiblatt p. 9 ff. fig. 2). The Heraklea-inscription, better preserved, is in the Museum at Bucharest (*id. ib.* p. 9 ff. fig. 3 = my fig. 817): its text and relief are repeated on the back as well as on the front of the *stèle* (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 1181, 1 ff. ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ ἀξιώ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν Ἐψίστον, τὸν κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων | καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ἐπὶ τοὺς δόλω φονεύσαντας ἢ φαρμακεύσαντας τὴν ταλαίπωρον ἄωρον Ἡράκλεαν, ἐχχέαν|τας αὐτῆς τὸ ἀνατιον αἶμα ἀδίκως, ἵνα οὕτως γένηται τοῖς φονεύσασιν αὐτὴν ἢ φαρμακεύσασιν καὶ | τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν, κύριε ὀ πάντα ἐ|φορῶν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ, ᾧ πᾶσα ψ|χὴ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ ταπεινοῦται | μεθ' ἰκετίας, ἵνα ἐγδικήσῃς τὸ αἶμα τὸ ἀνατιον ζητήσεις καὶ τὴν ταχίστην (Dittenberger *op. cit.*² on no. 816 says: 'Exspectes ἵνα ζητήσῃς τὸ αἶμα τὸ ἀνατιον καὶ ἐγδικήσῃς τὴν ταχίστην.' The Marthine-text, however, runs: ἵνα ἐγδικήσῃ[s] | τὸ αἶμα τὸ ἀνατιον καὶ τὴν ταχίστην[.]

Plate XXXIX



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

See page 881.

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

(20) Lydia. Hierokaisareia (A. M. Fontrier in the *Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρῃ* 1886 p. 33 no. φί = P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 95 no. 16 at *Sasoba* Δουίκιος Θεῶν Ἰψίστω εὐχῆν). Koloe in Maionia (M. Tsakyroglou in the *Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρῃ* 1878—1880 p. 161 no. τκδ' Ἀπολλωνιασικός | ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἐρμιογένους Θεῶν Ἰψίστω εὐχῆν). Philadelphia (*Ala-Shehir*) (J. Keil—A. von Premerstein 'Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1910 ii Abh. p. 27 no. 39 on a *stèle* with gabled top ἔτους σξθ' (269 of Actian era = 238/9 A.D., of Sullan era = 184/5 A.D.), μη(νός) | Ἀὐδ(ν)αίου ἱ. Φλαβία Θεῶν Ἰψίστω | εὐχῆν). *Sari-Tsam* (A. M. Fontrier *ib.* 1886 p. 68 no. φνζ' = P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 84 f. no. 4, a *Τεμώθεος Διαγόρου* | *Λαβραντίδης* (Foucart justly cp. the epithet *Λαβρανδεύς*) καὶ *Μόσχιου* | *Τεμωθέου ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ* | Θεῶν Ἰψίστω εὐχῆν τὸν | *βωμόν, δ* (by another hand) *Διαγόρας, Τεμώθεος, Πύθεος* | *οἱ Τιμωθέου τοῦ Διαγόρου υἱοῖ* | *Λαβραντίδαι τὰς λυχναφλάς* | Ἰψίστω (Ἰψίστωι *Fontrier*) ἀνέθηκαν). Silandos (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 708 Θεῶν Ἰψίστω | εὐχῆν ἀνέθηκε Ἐλένη ὑπὲρ Θρασυβούλου τοῦ υἱοῦ | Θρασυβούλου). *Tchatal Tere* (K. Buresch *Asus Lydien* Leipzig 1898 p. 119 no. 57 on a small marble altar Θεῶν Ἰψίστω Ἀγαθόπου καὶ | Τελέσειρα εὐχῆν ἔτους σν' | μη(νός) Δαισίου κ'). *Phata*, three hours east of *Theira* (A. M. Fontrier in the *Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρῃ* 1876—1878 p. 32 on an altar-step Θεῶν Ἰψίστω. | *Νεικηφόρος Ἐρμοκράτου ἱερεῖς* [ὅς] σὺν καὶ Ἐρμο[κρ]άτει τῷ ἀδ[ελ] [φῶ] τὸν *βωμόν* | ἀνέστησαν | [ἔρ]ους σκ'). *Thyateira* (A. Wagener in the *Mémoires de l'académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique* Série in 4^e Classe de Lettres 1861 xxx. 39 = A. M. Fontrier in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1902 iv. 239 no. 4 a relief of an eagle: on the base is inscribed *Μόσχιανός Βασιλεὺς* | Ἰψίστω Θεῶν εὐχῆν. J. Keil—A. von Premerstein 'Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1911 ii Abh. p. 17 f. no. 28 on a small altar of bluish marble in lettering of the end of s. ii or s. iii A.D. *Εὐελ(πι)στ[η]* | [Θ]εῶν Ἰψ[ίστ]ω εὐχῆν | [ἀν]έθη[κεν] | [εὐτ]υχῶ[ς], no. 29 on a small altar of similar material and date [Τ]ηροφῶσα | [Θ]εῶν Ἰψίστω | εὐχῆν). Cp. *Ak Tash* (Temenothyra?) (*eid. ib.* p. 129 no. 237 on a *stèle* of whitish marble with gabled top, in lettering of s. ii A.D., beneath an incised wreath *Τύρανν* Ἀφ[φ]ιδός Ἰψ[ίστ]ω | εὐχῆν) and *Cjölde* near Koloe (*eid. ib.* p. 97 no. 189 on a *stèle* of whitish marble, in lettering of s. i or ii A.D., beneath a sunk panel representing in front view a male (?), with *chiton* and *himation*, raising the right hand in adoration and holding a staff in the lowered left Θεῶν Ἰψίστω Γλύκων | εὐχῆν). The references to J. Keil—A. von Premerstein were kindly furnished to me by Mr A. D. Nock.

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

slab of marble Θεῶ Ἰψίστῳ εὐχὴν Ἀὐρήλιος | Ἀσκλάπῳ, ἦν ὁμολό(γ)ησεν εἶν | Ῥώμῃ, at *Arslan Apa* in the upper valley of the river Tembrogios or Tembrios (J. G. C. Anderson in W. M. Ramsay *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* Aberdeen 1906 p. 211 no. 9 on an altar with a garland in relief [. . . η] Νικο[μᾶ(?)]χου [. . .] | [ἔτους] τλῆ' (= 253/4 A.D.). Ἀὐρ. Ἰάσων Θεῶ Ἰψίστῳ εὐχὴν). The Θεὸς Ἰψίστος was here, as Anderson saw, Zeus Βέννιος or Βεννεύς the native god of the district (W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 259 f. no. 11 on a marble *cippus* from *Karagatch Euren* near *Altyntash*, below a relief representing a bunch of grapes, an eagle, and a radiate head of the sun-god Διὶ Βεννίῳ | Διογένῃς ὑπὲρ | Διογένους πάππου | καὶ Κλ. Χρυσίου | μᾶμης καὶ τῶν | κατοικούντων | ἐν Ἰσκόμῃ καθιέρωσεν. | Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰσχυραῖος ἔποιε. Ramsay refers the *cippus* 'most probably to the second century after Christ,' adding 'I understand this inscription to be placed by Diogenes on the grave of his grandparents; in preparing the grave Diogenes considers that he is dedicating the spot to Zeus Bennis. The grave is a shrine of Zeus, and the funeral offerings to the dead were considered at the same time as offerings to Zeus.' *Id. ib.* p. 258 f. no. 10 on a *stèle* at *Serea (Κυγιζακ)*, three hours north-west of *Nakoleia Μάρκος | Μάρκον | Διὶ Βροντῶν|τρι καὶ Βεννεῖ | Σεραναῶ στέφανον*. Ramsay remarks: 'Here it is evident that Bennis, or Zeus Benneus, the god of the western side [of the mountains], and Papas, or Zeus Bronton, the god of the eastern side, are expressly identified.' *Lebas—Waddington Asie Mineure* no. 774 = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3857 l = G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* etc. Paris 1872 i. 122 f. no. 86 on a cylindrical *cippus* at *Allyntash* ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος | Νερούα Τραϊανῶ Καίσαρος | Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ | Δακικοῦ νεκρῆς Διὶ Βεννίῳ | Μηνοφάνης Τειμολάου | τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέστησεν | Βεννεσισηνῶν. W. M. Ramsay *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor (Royal Geographical Society: Supplementary Papers* iv) London 1890 p. 144 f. (cp. S. Reinach *Chroniques d'orient* Paris 1891 p. 498) was the first to read the concluding line aright as *Βεννεῖ Σονῶν*, *Soa* being the chief town of the *Praipennisais* in the neighbourhood of *Altyntash*, whose priests, the *Βεννεῖται*, are mentioned in another inscription from the same locality (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3857 between *Aizanoi* and *Kotiaeiion Τρόφων Μενίσκου Διὶ | καὶ τοῖς Βεννεῖταις*). W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1887 viii. 512 f. takes Zeus Βέννιος or Βεννεύς to mean 'he who stands on a Car,' cp. the Gallic (Paul. ex Fest. p. 32, 14 Müller, p. 29, 24 f. Lindsay *benna lingua Gallica genus vehiculi appellatur, unde vocantur conbennones in eadem benna sedentes*, Messapiam (W. Deecke in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1882 xxxvii. 385 f. no. 22), and Thraco-Illyrian word *benna* (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Βέννα, πόλις Θράκης, κ.τ.λ., Thes. Ling. Lat.* ii. 1907, 48 f. Bennis, 60 f. Bensus).

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

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

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

(27) Bosphoros Kimmerios. Gorgippia (*Anapa*) (B. Latyschev *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* Petropoli 1890 ii. 208 ff. no. 400, 1 ff. (manumission of a slave) Θεῶ Ἰψίστῳ παντοκράτορι εὐλογητῶ, βασιλεύοντος βασιλέως [Πολέμωνος] φιλογεμα[ν]ικοῦ καὶ φιλοπάτριδος, ἔτους η'λτ' (338 of the Bosphoran era = 41 A.D.), μηνὸς Δελίου, Πόθος Στ[ρ]άτωνος ἀνέθηκεν <ἐν> | τῆ [προσ]ευχῆ κατ' εὐχ[ῆ]ν θρεπτήν αὐτοῦ, ἧ βνο μα Χρῦσα, ἐφ' ᾧ ἡ ἀνεπαίφος καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστος | ἀπὸ παντὸς κληρο-

ν[όμ]ου ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον. (cp. *supra* p. 729 n. ο), no. 401, 1 ff. = R. Cagnat *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1911 i. 299 no. 911 (manumission of a slave) [Θεῷ Ἐπισημόνῳ παν] [τοκράτ]ορι εὐλο[γῆ] [τ]ῷ βασιλεύοντι [ο]ς | βασιλεύς Τιβερίου Ἰ<ω>|ουλλίου<λίου> Σαυρομάτου (sc. Tib. Iulius Sauromates ii, king of Bosphoros in the time of Caracalla) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλορωμαίου εὐσεβοῦς | Τεμιόθεος Νυμφαγόρου Μακαρίου σὺν | ἀδελφῆς Ἥλιδος γυναικὸς Νανοβαλαμύρου κατὰ εὐχὴν | πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νυμφαγόρου Μακαρίου | ἀφείμεν τὴν θρησκ[ε]ῖαν Διωρέαν | [ἐλευθέραν ---], B. Latyschev *op. cit.* Petropoli 1901 iv. 249 ff. no. 436 b, 4 Θεῷ Ἐπισημόνῳ ---, 15 [---] Θεῷ Ἐπισημόνῳ Ποθῆν[ος ---] i.e. the name of the god inserted twice in a list of his worshippers).

Tanais (B. Latyschev *op. cit.* Petropoli 1890 ii. 246 ff. nos. 437—467, R. Cagnat *op. cit.* i. 300 ff. nos. 915—921, of which some samples must serve: no. 437, 1 ff. = no. 915, 1 ff. (topped by relief of gable with shield inside and eagle on apex: see L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1870—1871 p. 230 f. fig.) [Θεῷ Ἐπισημόνῳ εὐχ[ε]ῖ εὐχ[ε]ῖ. | [β]ασιλεύοντος βασιλεύς Τιβερίου | [Ἰ]ουλλίου Ῥοιμητάκου (sc. Tib. Iulius Rhoemetalces, king of Bosphoros in the time of Hadrian) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ | φιλορωμαίου εὐσεβοῦς, ἐν τῷ...ἔτει. | μὴνός Περειτίου ἧ', [ἡ σύνοδος ἡ περὶ] | ἱερέα Πόπλιον Χαρ[ίτωνος (?)] καὶ πατέρα συν[ο]δοῦ Ἀντιμαχόν τοῦ δεῦνος ---], no. 447, 1 ff. ἀγαθῆ τύχη | Θεῷ Ἐπισημόνῳ ἐπηκόω ἡ σύνοδος περὶ Θεὸν Ἐπισημόνῳ καὶ ἱερέα Χόφρασμον | Φοργαβάκου καὶ συναγωγὸν Εὐπρέπην | Συμφόρου καὶ φιλάγαθον Ἀντιμαχόν Πασιώνος καὶ παραφιλάγαθον Σύμφορον Δημητρίου καὶ γυμνασιάρχην Βαλλῶδιν Δημητρίου | καὶ νηαισκάρχην Σανάνων Χοφράσμον καὶ οἱ | λοιποὶ θιασῶται κ.τ.λ., no. 449, 1 ff. = no. 918, 1 ff. (with incised decoration of two eagles and a wreath between them: see L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 254 ff. fig.) Θεῷ [Ἐπισημόνῳ] βασιλεύοντος βασιλεύς Τιβερίου | Ἰουλλίου Ῥησκουπόβριδος (sc. Tib. Iulius Rhescuporis, king of Bosphoros 212—229 A.D.) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλορωμαίου εὐσεβοῦς | Ἰσποινίτη (= εἰσποινίτη, 'adoptivi') ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι | [Θεὸν] Ἐπισημόνῳ ἀνέστησαν τὸν | τελαμῶνα ἐν[ε]ργάσαντες ἐαυτῶν | τὰ ὄνματα κ.τ.λ., no. 452, 1 ff. = no. 920, 1 ff. ἀγαθῆ τύχη | Θεῷ Ἐπισημόνῳ εὐχ[ε]ῖ. | βασιλεύοντι [ο]ς βασιλεύς Τιβερίου | [Ἰ]ουλλίου [Κό]τυος (sc. Tib. Iulius Cotys, king of Bosphoros c. 228—234 A.D.) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλορωμαίου εὐσεβοῦς Ἰσποινίτη | ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι Θεὸν Ἐπισημόνῳ | ἐν[ε]ργάσαντες ἐαυτῶν τὰ ὄνματα | περὶ πρεσβύτερον (sc. the senior of the adoptive brethren) Μ..... Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Ἀρίστωνα [Μ]ενεστράτου καὶ Καλλιστῆν Μύρωνος, Ἀλεξίωνα Πατρόκλου, κ.τ.λ. (list of names), 17 τὸν δὲ τελαμῶνα ἐδώρησατο τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Σαμβίω Ἐλπίδιωνος. Φούρτας Ἀγαθοῦ, Ἀγαθήμερος Ποπλιον. | ἐν τῷ ἐκτῷ ἔτει (525 of the Bosphoran era = 228 A.D.), Γορπάλου α', no. 454, 1 ff. ἀγαθῆ τύχη | Θεῷ Ἐπισημόνῳ ἐπηκόω εὐχ[ε]ῖ ἡ σύνοδος περὶ ἱερέα Πάπαν Χρήστου καὶ [σ]υναγωγὸν Νυμφέρωτα Ὀχωζιάκου κ[α]ὶ φιλάγαθον Θέωνα | Φαζινάμου κ[α]ὶ παραφιλάγαθον Φαζιναμίον Καλλιστῆν καὶ γυμνασιάρχην Μακρίον Μαστοῦ καὶ νηαισκάρχην Ζήθου Ζήθου | κ[α]ὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θιασῶται κ.τ.λ.

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

dem eine Neutralisierung beider'). At Tanais, for example, there were several small religious societies (*θιασοί, σύνοδοι*), each comprising some 15 to 40 members (*θιασῶται, θιασίται, θιεσίται, συνοδείται*). These members were either of recent introduction (*εἰσποιητοὶ ἀδελφοί*) or of senior standing (*πρεσβύτερος*). Their officers in descending order were *ιερεὺς, πατήρ συνόδου, συναγωγός, φιλάγαθος, παραφιλάγαθος, γυμνασιάρχης, νεαρισκάρχης, γραμματεὺς* (omissions and transpositions occur). Their aims included the cult of the Θεὸς Ὑψίστος, the education of the young, and (to judge from similar inscriptions at Pantikapaion) the due burial of the brethren.

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

(29) Syria. Palmyra (*Tadmor*) (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4503 = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 2571 *b* on a bilingual altar now at Oxford Δι' Ὑψίστω καὶ [Ἐ]πικῶφ Ἰού(λιος) Αἰρ(ήλιος) Ἀρ(ή)πατρος ὁ καὶ | Ἀλαφῶνας Ἀαλιαμεῖ τοῦ Ζηροββίου τοῦ Ἀκοσάου | εὐξάμενος ἀνέθηκεν, ἔτους δμϛ, | Αὐδυναίου κδ' (=Jan. 24, 233 A.D.) = C. J. M. de Vogüé *Inscriptions sémitiques* Paris 1868 p. 74 no. 123a iii with translation of the Palmyrene text 'Action de grâces à celui dont le nom est béni dans l'éternité' etc. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4502 = Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2571 *c* = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr.* no. 634 on an altar near the great sulphurous spring at the entrance to the town Δι' Ὑψίστω Μεγίστω Ἐπικῶφ Βωλανὸς Ζηροββίου | τοῦ Αἰράνου τοῦ Μοκίμου τοῦ Μαθθά, ἐπιμελητῆς | αἰρεθεῖς Ἐφκας πηγῆς (I. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2859) ὑπὸ Ἰαρββίλου τοῦ θεοῦ (*surge* p. 814 n. 3) τὸν βω(μ)δ(ν) | ἐξ ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν, ἔτους δου', μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου κ' (=Oct. 20, 162 A.D.). Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2572 on an altar in the Mohammedan cemetery Δι' Ὑψίστω καὶ Ἐπικῶφ τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθηκεν Ἰούλιος Σ. μεις ἀπελεύθερο(ς) Γαῦο < s > | Ἰουλίλου Βάσσου ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Ἰλείβας υἱοῦ(ῦ) | αὐτοῦ, ἔτους μϛ', μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ (=April 179 A.D.). Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2573 on a fragmentary altar from the same site Δι' Ὑψίστω Α[ἰ]ογένης Σωσίβιον ἅμα | Δόμνη εὐξάμενος καὶ ἐπακουσθέν[ε]τες [— — —] | [— — —]. Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2574 on a small altar from the same site Δι' Ὑψίστω | καὶ Ἐπικῶφ | εὐξάμενος | ἀνέθηκεν | Α...ειρος καὶ | Σῶπατρος καὶ | Θεῷ Μεγάλῳ | Σαλλούργῳ (?) | Ἐνεουάρι (?) | [— — —]. Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2575 on a small bilingual altar from the same site Δι' Ὑψίστω καὶ Ἐπικῶφ τὸν βωμὸν ἀν[έ]θηκεν | εὐχαριστ[ῶ] | ν ὁ δεῖνα | [— — —] = C. J. M. de Vogüé *op. cit.* p. 68 no. 101, who reads *εὐχαριστ[ω][ς — — —]* and renders the Palmyrene text 'Que soit béni son nom à toujours; le bon et le miséricordieux!' etc. M. Sobernheim *Palmyrenische Inschriften (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 1905 x, 2) Berlin 1905 p. 38 f. no. 31 on a *stèle* built into the western wall of the steps leading up to the roof of the 'Fahnenheiligtum'; the pilasters of the *stèle* have Corinthian capitals adorned with filleted wreath and winged thunderbolt [Δι' Ὑψίστω καὶ | Ἐπικῶφ — — —] | [— — —] τὸν κα[ρ]πῶν, οὐς [έ]κ [ταύτης] [τῆς χώρας] | [— — —] κατ' ἔτος τ[ε ἀ]γαθῆ ἡμέρα διὰ π[ι]αντὸς ε[— — —] |

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

(30) Phoinike. Sanchouniathon of Berytos (*supra* i. 191) in Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 12 f. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 567 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 14 f. κατὰ τούτους γίνεταί τις Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος Ἐψίστος και θήλεια λεγομένη Βηρούθ, ὁ και κατ' ἴκον περι Βύβλου. ἐξ ὧν γεννᾶται Ἐπίγειος ἡ Αὐτόχθων (W. Dindorf reads Ἐπίγειος αὐτόχθων), ὃν ὕστερον ἐκάλεσαν Οὐρανόν· ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ και τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς στοιχείου δι' ὑπερβολῆν τοῦ κάλλους ὀνομάζειν οὐρανόν. γεννᾶται δὲ τούτῳ ἀδελφῆ ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων, ἡ και ἐκλήθη Γῆ, και διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἀπ' αὐτῆς, φησὶν, ἐκάλεσαν τὴν ὀμώνυμον γῆν. ὁ δὲ τούτων πατήρ ὁ Ἐψίστος ἐν συμβολῇ θηρίων τελευτήσας ἀφιέρωθη, ᾧ χοῶς και θυσίας οἱ παῖδες ἐτέλεσαν. Here Ἐλιοῦν is but the Phoenician for Ἐψίστος, who naturally weds Βηρούθ because he is the solar Ba'al of Berytos (R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 140 f.). W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 p. 76 supposes a blend of Adonis (killed by the boar) with the 'Kronos' of Byblos. Two votive hands of bronze formerly in the collection of M. Péretié at *Beirut* are dedicated to the Θεὸς Ἐψίστος (M. Beaudouin—E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 265 no. 20 [ἡ δεῖνα] | εὐξ[α]μένῃ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆ[ς] | και Θ[ε]οδώρου ἀνδρῶ[ς] | και τέκνω | Θεῶ' Ἐψίστω, *ib.* no. 21 Θεῶ' Ἐψίστω Γηρίων εὐξά[μ]ενος ἀνέθη[κ]εν in dotted letters), as is a third described in the *Catalogue de la Collection Hoffmann*, Bronzes, no. 570 (F. Cumont in R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* p. 122). The god in question is presumably Adad or Rammān, the Zeus or Iupiter of Heliopolis (R. Dussaud *ib.* p. 123 f., F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 445). Possibly some confusion of Rammān (*supra* i. 576) with *Rama, Ramath, Ramatha*, 'Height' (Beer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 132), underlies the glosses in Hesych. *ράμα*· ὕψηλή, *ράμας*· ὁ ἕψιστος θεός, and the aetiological tale in Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λαοδικεῖα· πόλις τῆς Συρίας, ἡ πρότερον Λευκὴ ἀκτὴ λεγομένη και πρὸ τούτου Ῥάμηθα. *κεραυνωθεὶς γὰρ τις ἐν αὐτῇ ποιμὴν ἔλεγε ῤαμάνθας, τουτέστιν ἀφ' ἕψους ὁ θεός· ῤαμάν γὰρ τὸ ἕψος, ἄθας δὲ ὁ θεός. οὕτω Φιλων.* At *Sahin*, five hours from Antarakos (*Tortosa, Tartús*), is the dedication [Θε]ῶ' Ἐψίστω Οὐρανίῳ Ἐπάτω και Ἠλίῳ Ἀνικήτῳ (?) | [Μί]θρα ὁ βωμὸς ἐκτίσθη[ν]· . . . | [ὁ]ρθῶς ἐν τῷ κφ' (=208 A.D.), ἐπικρατεῖται (?) . . . | [ὑπέ]ρ σωτηρίας Θεο[φ]ρά[στου] . . . | ἐπι ἀρχῆς Σολομάνου . . . (E. Renan *Mission de Phénicie* Paris 1864 p. 103 f., F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 92 no. 5).

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

p. 234 ff. = R. Cagnat—G. Lafaye *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1906 iii. 406 no. 1060. At Byblos (*Djebeil*), some six hours north of Berytos, is a square statue-base lettered Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ | Πεκουλιάριος | Μάρθας Δ(ημ)η[τρο]υ(?). The upper part of the base shows in relief a bust of the god, facing. He is bearded, and clad in *chiton* and *himation*, with thunderbolt and sceptre to his right and left (R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1896 i. 299 f. with fig. (inadequate), S. Ronzevalle in the *Revue biblique internationale* 1903 xii. 405 ff. with photographic cut). Ronzevalle *loc. cit.* contends 'que l'*Hypsisistos* de Byblos n'est autre que l'antique *Moloch-Kronos* de la même ville': cp. W. W. Baudissin *op. cit.* p. 76 n. 4.

(31) Samaria. On Mt Argarizon (Gerizim) near Neapolis (*Nablûs*) was a sanctuary of Zeus Ὑψιστος, to whom Abraham had devoted himself (Marinos in Damask. *v. Isid. ap. Phot. bibl. p.* 345b 18 ff. Bekker *ὅτι ὁ διάδοχος Πρόκλου, φησίν, ὁ Μαρῖνος, γένος ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Νέας πόλεως, πρὸς θρεῖ κατ'ἰσχυρισμένης τῆς Ἀργαρίτζης καλουμένης. εἶτα βλασφημῶν ὁ δυσσεβῆς φησὶν ὁ συγγραφεὺς, ἐν ᾧ Διὸς Ὑψίστου ἀγιώτατον ἱερὸν, ᾧ καθιέρωτο Ἀβραάμ ὁ τῶν πάλαι Ἑβραίων πρόγονος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὁ Μαρῖνος); cp. Deut. 11. 29, 27. 12 with Gen. 12. 6f.: Jehovah, from the heathen point of view, was 'a god of the hills' (1 Kings 20. 23). Sanballat built a temple on Mt Gerizim (Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 11. 8. 4), which during the persecutions of Antiochos iv Epiphanes was dedicated to Zeus Ἐλλάγιος (*id. ib.* 12. 5. 5, Zonar. 4. 19 (i. 317 Dindorf)) or Ξένιος (2 Macc. 6. 2, Euseb. *chron. ann. Abr.* 1850 versio Armenia (ii. 126 Schoene) = Hieron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 1849 (ii. 127*



Fig. 818.



Fig. 819.



Fig. 820.

Schoene) in Samaria super verticem montis Garizi Iovis Peregrini delubrum aedificat, ipsis Samaritanis ut id faceret praecantibus). Sanballat's temple was destroyed by Ioannes Hyrkanos i in 129 B.C. (Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 13. 9. 1). But the mountain remained the centre of Samaritan worship (John 4. 20 f.), and coins of Flavia Neapolis from the reign of Antoninus Pius to that of Volusianus show it topped by a temple (Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² iii. 433 ff., T. L. Donaldson *Architectura Numismatica* London 1859 p. 116 ff. no. 33, G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine* pp. xxviii ff., 48 f. pl. 5, 14—16 Antoninus Pius, 59 pl. 6, 12 Macrinus, 60 f. nos. 94—100 Elagabalos, 63 nos. 112—115 Severus Alexander, no. 116 f. Philippus Senior, 66 f. pl. 7, 5 Philippus Senior and Philippus Iunior, 68 no. 135 Otacilia Severa, 69 pl. 7, 9 Philippus Iunior, 70 f. pl. 7, 13 Trebonianus Gallus, 73 pl. 7, 19 Volusianus; cp. pl. 39, 7 f., 12, pl. 40, 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 278 pl. 77, 25 Antoninus Pius, 281 pl. 77, 27 Volusianus, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 803. My figs. 818 and 820 are from F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 247 f. pl. 13, 1 Antoninus Pius and pl. 14, 2 Volusianus. Fig. 819 is from a specimen struck by Macrinus, in my collection. Mt Gerizim is often supported by an eagle (e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine* pp. 63 no. 116 f. Philippus Senior, 66 f. pl. 7, 5 Philippus Senior and Philippus Iunior, 69 pl. 7, 9 Philippus Iunior, 73 pl. 7, 19 Volusianus) and sometimes flanked by a star (sun?) on the left and a crescent (moon) on the right (*ib.* p. 71 no. 153 f. Trebonianus Gallus): eagle and heavenly bodies would alike suit the worship of Zeus). Mr G. F. Hill *loc. cit.* p. xxviii f. describes the coin-type as follows: 'It shows two distinct peaks, the steepness of which is certainly exaggerated. On the left-hand peak is the

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

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

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

Θεῶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 16. 6. 2 ἀρχιερέως Θεοῦ Ὑψίστου, Celsus *ap. Orig. c. Cels.* 1. 24 μετὰ ταῦτά φησιν ὅτι οἱ ἀπόλοι καὶ ποιμένες ἕνα ἐνόμισαν θεόν, εἶτε Ὑψίστου εἶτ' Ἀδωνατ εἶτ' Οὐράνιον εἶτε Σαβαώθ, εἶτε καὶ ὄπη καὶ δπως χαίρουσιν ἐνομάζοντες τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, 5. 41 οὐδὲν οὖν οἶμαι διαφέρειν Δία Ὑψίστου καλεῖν ἢ Ζῆνα ἢ Ἀδωναῖον ἢ Σαβαώθ ἢ Ἄμουν, ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι, ἢ Παπαῖον, ὡς Σκύθαι, 45 Κέλσου σέεται μηδὲν διαφέρειν Δία Ὑψίστου καλεῖν ἢ Ζῆνα ἢ Ἀδωναῖον ἢ Σαβαώθ ἢ, ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι, Ἄμουν ἢ, ὡς Σκύθαι, Παπαῖον, *Lyd. de mens.* 4. 53 p. 110, 4 ff. Wunsch καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεῖς, ὅτε πρὸς Πέρσας ἐστρατεύετο, γράφων Ἰουδαίοις οὕτω φησίν· ἀνεγείρω γὰρ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ, A. Dieterich 'Papyrus magica musei Lugdunensis Batavi' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1888 xvi. 797 verse 23 ff. κατ' ἐπιταγήν τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ Ἰάω Ἀδωνατ ἀβ[λα]ναθαναβα (cp. A. Audollent *Defixionum tabellae Luteciae Parisiorum* 1904 p. 500 f.), | σὺ εἶ ὁ περιέχων τὰς χάριτας | [ἐ]ν τῇ κορυφῇ λαμπρῇ, C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 47 pap. Par. 1068 καλὸν καὶ ἱερὸν φῶς τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ, *ib.* p. 104 *Brit. Mus. pap.* 46. 45 ff. = F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 66 no. 46, 44 ff. καὶ διατήρησόν με καὶ τὸν παῖδα | τοῦτον ἀπημάντους ἐν ὄναματι | τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ, *oracl. Sib.* 2. 245 Geffcken ἤξει καὶ Μωσῆς ὁ μέγας φίλος Ὑψίστου. *Aisch. frag.* 464. 12 Nauck² *ap. Iust. Mart. de monarch.* 2 δόξα δ' Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ (δ' om. Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 415, 15 Stählin = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 60) is a Jewish forgery.

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

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

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

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

Lakonike

Mount Taleton, a peak of Mount Taygeton².

The *Akrópolis* at Sparta³.

Cape Malea⁴.

Cape Tainaros(?)⁵.

Messene

Mount Ithome⁶.

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

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

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

⁴ Zeus *Μαλειᾶος* (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Μαλέα* ... *καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μάλεια Μαλειᾶος Ζεῦς*).

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

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

Elis

Mount Olympos¹.
Olympia².

Arkadia

Mount Lykaion³.

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

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

¹ *Supra* i. 100, ii. 758.

² Zeus Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (5)).

³ Zeus Λύκαιος (*supra* i. 63—99, 154 f., 177 f.).

- A hill near Tegea¹.
 Trapezous².
Korinthos
 Corinth³.
Phliasia
 Mount Apesas⁴.
Argolis
 The Larisa at Argos⁵.

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

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

³ Zeus Ὑψίστος (*supra* p. 878 n. ο no. (3)).

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

⁵ Zeus Λαρισαῖος had a roofless ναός with a wooden statue on the top of the Larisa at Argos (Paus. 2. 24. 3 ἐπ' ἄκρα δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ Λαρίσῃ Διὸς ἐπικλήσιν Λαρισαίου ναός, οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον· τὸ δὲ ἀγαλμα ξύλον πεποιημένον οὐκέτι ἐστηκεν ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ βᾶθρῳ). Near it was a ναός of Athena containing a three-eyed χόανον of Zeus, said to have been the paternal god of Priamos (Paus. 2. 24. 3 f. continues καὶ Ἀθηναῖς δὲ ναός ἐστὶ θεῶς ἀξίος· ἐνταῦθα ἀναθήματα κείται καὶ ἄλλα καὶ Ζεὺς ζόανον, δύο μὲν ἢ πεφύκαμεν ἔχον ὀφθαλμούς, τρίτον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου. τοῦτον τὸν Δία Πριάμῳ φασὶν εἶναι τῷ Λαομέδοντος πατρῶον, ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς αὐλῆς ἰδρυμένον, καὶ ὅτε ἤλικοτο ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Ἴλιον, ἐπὶ τούτου κατέφυγεν ὁ Πριάμος τὸν βωμῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ λάφυρα ἐνέμοντο λαμβάνει Σθένηςλος ὁ Καπανέως αὐτόν, καὶ ἀνάκειται

Phalakron (?)¹.
Mount Kokkygion².

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

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

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

Mount Arachnaion¹.

Epidauros².

Aigina

The mountain of Zeus *Panhellenios*³.

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

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

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

the numeral λα' and the symbol



, on which see *infra* Append. L *init.*).

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

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

Megaris

A height near Megara¹.

archaic Greek inscription (Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 352, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 146 f. no. 120, F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 195 no. 3408, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 6 Κωλιάδαις Ἀβλιῶν ἐποίησε Ἀπείλλου), perhaps the base of some offering to Zeus, whose cult was in time superseded by that of the Archangel (cp. G. F. Hill 'Apollo and St. Michael: some analogies' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 134 ff., especially p. 145). It was however reserved for Furtwängler by the latest excavations of 1905 to produce definite epigraphic evidence that the terrace of Hagios Asomatos was indeed the sanctuary of Zeus Πανελλήνιος (A. Furtwängler *op. cit.* i. 5 f. with the excellent map by H. Thiersch appended to the volume). For Zeus Ἑλλήνιος in the wider sense of the 'Hellenic,' i.e. national as opposed to foreign, god see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 176.

¹ Paus. i. 44. 9 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τῆς ἄκρας (above the Scironian Rocks) Διὸς εἰσὶν Ἀφείσιον καλούμενον ναὸς· φασὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ (H. Hitzig *op. cit.* ἐπὶ τοῦ) συμβάντος ποτὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν αὐχμοῦ θύσαντος Αἰακοῦ κατὰ τι δὴ λόγιον τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ κομισάντα δὲ ἀφείναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀφείσιον καλεῖσθαι τὸν Δία. Many attempts have been made to mend this broken passage. T. Panofka *Der Tod des Skiron und des Patroclus* Berlin 1836 pp. 4, 17 would read κομισάντα δὲ <ἄετον (sic) τὴν χελώνην> ἀφείναι on the strength of an engraved chalcedony at Berlin (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 121 f. no. 2614 pl. 23, T. Panofka *op. cit.* p. 23 pl. 4, 7, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1836 viii. 317 f., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 267 Gemmentaf. 3, 10=my fig. 821), which represents Zeus with a sceptre in his left hand, a tortoise in his right, and an eagle at his feet. This is ingenious; for ἠφίει... ἀφεθέντα... used in Paus. i. 44. 8 of Skiron and his tortoise prepare us for a second tortoise-story in explanation of the title Ἀφείσιος: but, as Frazer *Pausanias* i. 567 f. points out, the sentence remains ungrammatical. C. L. Kayser in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1848 vi. 503 *cj.* ἐν Αἰγίνῃ <καὶ εὐξαμένον ὕδωρ ἀφείναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γῆν ὑπα> κομισάντα τε ἀφείναι. H. G. Lolling in the *Ἐφ.* Ἀρχ. 1887 p. 214 proposed ἐν Αἰγίνῃ <ἄετον ἀρπάσαι τὸ ἱερεῖον εἰς δὲ τὴν ἄκραν> κομισάντα ἀφείναι, cp. schol. Aristoph. *nuβ.* 52. L. C. Valckenaer (see H. Hitzig in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1889 xxxv. 819) had suggested κομισάντα <ἐνθά> δε, which 'would still leave the verb ἀφείναι without either subject or object' (Frazer *loc. cit.*). And J. F. Facius in his edition (Lipsiae 1794 i. 173) had *cj.* Αἰγίνῃ καὶ θσαντὰ τε ἀφείναι. After all this stirabout H. Hitzig and F. Spiro are content to print the passage as it stands.



Fig. 821.

In 1887 H. G. Lolling recognised the site of this sanctuary, about an hour and a half to the south-west of Megara, at a place called *Sta Marmara*, some 850 ft above sea-level, though far below the mountain-crest (H. G. Lolling in the *Ἐφ.* Ἀρχ. 1887 p. 213 ff. with sketch-plan). D. Philios, who excavated it in 1889, discovered a small prostyle temple (6.40^m × 4.75^m) facing south-east. Of this nothing remained except three foundation-courses and the pavement; but the temple appears to have been of stone and certainly had stone triglyphs. To the north was a Christian tomb (T), long since rifled, showing that sanctity still attached to the spot in Byzantine times: terra-cotta lamps were found, marked with a cross. To the south was a cistern (X), and further east a circular structure (K), three bases (Θ), and a large oblong altar (?) (H). Adjoining this was a line of plinths (M) and a wall (II—P). West of the precinct, if so it may be termed, lay a complex of chambers built round a court-yard. One chamber (A), which had stone couches set against its walls, contained two pits (α, β) full of ashes. Two other chambers (7 and 8), entered from a *stoa* with bases for pillars (τ, υ, φ (?)), were likewise lined with stone couches. A short staircase led from the *stoa* into another room (9), the centre of which was occupied by a shallow circular depression with a flooring of baked brickwork. From this a channel of baked brick ran into a pit about 0.10^m deep. On the rim of the large sinking, towards the north, was set a square base 0.50^m high. The next room (10) again disclosed a pit

0·13^m deep and beside it a base about 0·50^m high. The largest chamber of all (11) was probably entered from the court by a door on the south. Round three sides of it were remains of stone seats. The north-east and north-west corners showed traces of a rough mosaic paving. The middle of the floor had five slabs, which had probably served as bases for pillars. Six lesser apartments (1—6) at the south-east angle were built of small stones bonded with clay and were clearly of later construction. The court also contained a hearth of baked bricks (*o*), another pit full of ashes (*v*), etc. The western portion of the building was protected against water pouring down from a higher level by an extra wall (Γ — B — Δ), part of which (B — Δ) was specially strong. And on the southern side the foundations were strengthened by a retaining wall (E — Z). Miscellaneous finds (at Ω and elsewhere) included the relief of a griffin in limestone, animals in clay (leonine foot, pig's snout), the head of a dove (?) in Pentelic marble, etc. No Mycenaean vases were discovered, but fragments of large *pithoi* with impressed geometric designs, also Corinthian ware in some abundance, and sherds of black-figured and red-figured technique. A few broken vases etc. were inscribed (*Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i nos. 3492—3497), of which the most important were a *kýlix*-foot incised $\Phi E \xi$ or $\Phi E \varsigma$ = [$\Delta\iota\delta\varsigma$ 'A] $\phi\epsilon\sigma$ [$\iota\omicron\upsilon$], or [$\Delta\iota$ 'A] $\phi\epsilon\sigma$ [$\iota\omega$] (no. 3494) and a stone slab reading $H\beta\rho\circ$ = "H $\rho\omega$ [\omicron s] or "H $\rho\omega$ [ι] (no. 3492). See further D. Philios in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1890 pp. 35 ff. (with careful plans and illustrations: pl. 4, 3 = my fig. 822), 63 f., H. G. Lolling *ib.* 1890 p. 55 ff., D. Philios in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ.

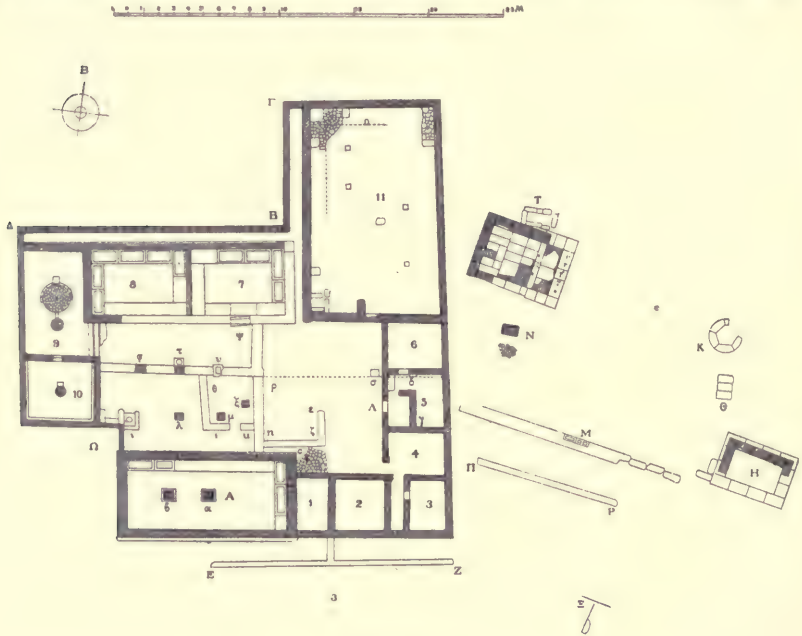


Fig. 822.

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

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

Mount Gerania (?)¹.

Attike

The *Akrópolis* at Athens².

The Pnyx at Athens³.

Mount Anchesmos⁴.

Mount Hymettos⁵.

Mount Parnes⁶.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Marathon¹.

Boiotia

Mount Hypatos².

Thebes³.

Orchomenos⁴.

Mount Helikon⁵.

Mount Kithairon⁶.

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

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

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

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

⁴ Zeus Καραιός (*supra* p. 874 n. 2).

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

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

Mount Laphystion¹.

A mountain near Lebadeia².

the battle of Plataiai (479 B.C.) was bidden by the Delphic oracle to pray to Zeus, Hera Κιθαιρωνία, Pan, and the Sphragitid nymphs (Plout. *v. Aristid.* 11): Pausanias, turning towards the Heraion outside Plataiai, prayed to Hera Κιθαιρωνία and the other deities of the Plataean land (*id. ib.* 18). The image of Hera Κιθαιρωνία at Thespias was a lopped tree-trunk (Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 46. 3 καὶ τῆς Κιθαιρωνίας Ἥρας ἐν Θεσπείᾳ πρέμνον ἐκκεκομμένον, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 11 ramum pro Cinxia Thespios). She had a sanctuary also at Thebes (schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 24 ἡ δὲ Κιθαιρωνίας Ἥρας ἐστὶν ἐν Θήβαις ἱερόν). Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 269 Ἐπιθετα Ἥρας (10) κιθαιρωνίας.

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

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

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

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

² Paus. 9. 39. 4 ἀναβάσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον (sc. τοῦ Τροφωνίου) καὶ αὐτόθεν ἰοῦσιν ἐς τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ δρους, Κόρης ἐστὶ καλουμένη θήρα (καλουμένης θήρας codd. fam. L¹. K. Goldhagen cj. καλουμένης Σωτειρας. H. N. Ulrichs cj. καλουμένης Ἥρας. F. Spiro: 'an θύρα?') καὶ Διὸς Βασιλέως ναός. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἢ καὶ τῶν πολέμων τὸ ἀλλεπάλληλον ἀφείκασιν ἡμέτερον· ἐν δὲ ἐτέρῳ παρὸ Κρόνου καὶ Ἥρας καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν. The unfinished temple of Zeus Βασιλέως is believed to have stood on Mt St Elias, a height which rises west of the castle-hill of *Livadia* at a distance of half an hour from the town. Here the ground is still strewn with big building-blocks, though most of the material was carried off in Turkish times (Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*). The temple seems to have been 46·02^m in length (E. Fabricius *ap. H. Nissen*

Mount Homoloïon (?)¹.

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

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

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

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

Mount Petrachos¹.

Phokis

Delphoi².

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

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

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

The town had a cult of Apollon (*et. mag.* p. 571, 47 ff.), who is mentioned as Phoibos Λυκῳρεῖος (Ap. Rhod. 4. 1490), Apollon Λυκῳρεῖς (Steph. Byz. *s.v. Ἀνεμῳρεία*), Phoibos Λυκῳρεῖς (Euphorion *frag.* 53 in A. Meineke *Analecta Alexandrina* Berolini 1843 p. 95 f., Kallim. *h. Ap.* 19, Orph. *h. Ap.* 34. 1, *oracul. ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 14. 5 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 82. 9 f.), or Λυκῳρεῖς alone (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 54. 1 (Paulus Silentiarius)). There was also a Zeus Λυκῳρεῖος (Steph. Byz. *s.v. Λυκῳρεία*... ἔστι καὶ Λυκῳρεῖος θεὸς καὶ Λυκῳρεῖον διὰ διφθόγγου), who was presumably worshipped on the peak known as Λυκῳρεῖον (*id. ib.*) or Λυκῳρεῖς (Loukian. *Tim.* 3, where for τῷ Λυκῳρεῖ I should restore τῷ Λυκῳρεῖω), later Λυκορί (schol. rec. Pind. *Ol.* 9. 70). The highest point of Parnassos (2459^m) is still called τὸ Λυκῳρεῖ. J. Murray *Handbook for travellers in Greece*⁷ London 1900 p. 540 f. says: 'The...summit, locally called Lykeri (8070 ft.), is marked with a wooden cross. At the top of the mountain is a small plain, enclosed in a crater-like basin, and containing a pool generally frozen over... The view on a clear day exceeds in grandeur and interest almost every other prospect of the kind. To the N., beyond the plains of Thessaly, appears Olympus with its snowy tops brilliant in sunlight. Further W.

Euböia

Mount Oche¹.Mount Kenaion².

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

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

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

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

² On the top of Mt Kenaion (677^m), a height untouched by clouds (Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 786 f. *hic rupe celsa nulla quam pubes ferit | annosa fulgent templa Cenaei Iovis*), was an altar and sanctuary of Zeus *Κήναιος* (Aisch. *Γλαῦκος πόντιος frag.* 30 Nauck² *ap.* Strab. 447, Soph. *Trach.* 237 f., 752 ff., 993 ff., Skyl. *per.* 58 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 47 Müller), Apollod. 2. 7. 7, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Κάναί*... *Καναῖος Ζεὺς οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τοῦ Καναίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Κάνης*, Soud. *s.v.* *Κηναῖος*· *ὁ Ζεὺς*, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 *Ἐπιθετα*

Διὸς (57) *κηναίου*, 266 *Ἐπιθετα Διὸς* (49) *κηναίου*, 274 *Ἐπιθετα Διὸς*... *κηναῖος* ⁷*καναῖος* codd. C¹.O¹.), Ov. *met.* 9. 136 f., Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 102, 786 f.). According to Sophokles, Herakles after sacking Oichalia dedicated here altars and a leafy precinct to Zeus *Πατρῶος*. He offered 100 victims on a pyre of oak, including twelve bulls free from blemish, and put on for the purpose the deadly robe brought to him by Lichas (Soph. *Trach.* 750 ff.). According to Bakchylides, he offered from the spoils of Oichalia nine bulls to Zeus *Κήναιος*, 'lord of the far-spread clouds,' two to Poseidon, and a cow to Athena (Bakchyl. 15. 17 ff.). Cp. Diod. 4. 37 f., Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 50 f., Eudok. *viol.* 436. Fragments of a volute-krater from *Kerch* show Herakles (... *ΚΛΗΣ*) holding a sacrificial fillet for one of these victims in the presence of *ΛΙΧΑΣ* and *Hyllos* (?). All these are wreathed with bay or olive. At their feet is a pile of stones; in the background, a tripod on a column and a pillar decorated with acanthus-leaves (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1869 p. 179 pl. 4, 1, *ib.* 1876 p. 161 pl. 5, 1 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 31, 12, *ib.* i. 50, 3. This vase-painting was attributed by F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 53 f. fig. 24 to the painter Aristophanes c. 400 B.C., by J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 184 to a contemporary artist, 'the painter of the New York Centaureomachy' (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 217 no. 4)). A fragmentary bell-krater in the British Museum has Herakles wreathed with olive and wearing

Cape Geraistos (?)¹.

Thessalia

Mount Oite².

a *himdtion*. Behind him hangs the poisoned robe (?). In front an altar of unworked stones supports four tiers of blazing logs with the horns of some animal on the top. To left and right of this altar are two youths, Philoktetes (ΦΙΛΟΣΚΕΤ) and Lichas (ΛΙ...), holding meat on spits over the fire. By the altar is an olive-tree, from which hang votive tablets representing a Satyr, a Maenad, and two horsemen; also, the image of a goddess draped and mounted on a Doric column. To the right is a draped female figure, perhaps Nike, and beyond her Athena (... N.) with *aigis*, spear, and helmet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 300 ff. no. E 494 pl. 16). Both vases may depict the sacrifice on Mt Kenaion (A. H. Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 274 ff.). An inscription from the *Akrópolis* at Athens records an Eretrian coin belonging to Zeus Κήναιος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 208, 8 f. [Ἐρετρικὸν | [Δι]ὸς Κήναλου). *Lithada*, the modern name of Mt Kenaion, is derived from Λιχάδες, the small islands off the point, and appears in Latin documents of s. xiii A.D. as *Ponta* (*Punta*) *Litadi* or *Litaldi* (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1872 ii. 401 n. 2).

¹ Geraistos, the eponym of Cape Geraistos (*Κάπε Μανδίλο*), was the son of Zeus and brother of Tainaros (Steph. Byz. s.v. Γεραιστός, Ταινάρως).

² Mt Oite (*Καταvoθρα*) rises to a height of 2158^m (Lieut.-Col. Baker in *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 1837 vii. 94 says 7071 ft). It was sacred to Zeus (Soph. *Trach.* 1191 τὸν Οἰτης Ἰηπὸς ὑψιστον πάγον), whose lightnings played about it (*id. ib.* 436 f., *Phil.* 729 Jebb); and the meadows high on the mountain, since they belonged to him, might not be mown (*id. Trach.* 200 ὦ Ζεῦ, τὸν Οἰτης ἀπομονὸν δὲ λειμῶν ἔχεις).

The traditional pyre of Herakles, son of Zeus, was on the south-eastern shoulder of Oite, known to the ancients as Phrygia (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 159 ὁ γε Φρυγίη περὶ ὑπὸ δρυὶ γυῖα θεωθεῖς with schol. *ad loc.* Φρυγία ὄρος Τραχίνος, ἐνθα ἐκάθη ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, Steph. Byz. s.v. Φρυγία... ἐστι καὶ Φρυγία τόπος τῆς Οἰτης ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ πεφρυχθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα) or Pyra (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 9. 10. 2 white hellebore gathered there for the Amphictionic *πυλαία*, Liv. 36. 30 M'. Acilius Glabrio offered sacrifice there to Herakles in 191 B.C.) and to the moderns as *Xerovouni* near *Pauliane*. Here, at a spot called *Marmari*, N. Pappadakis in 1920—1921 discovered the remains of a great precinct-wall in *póros*, within which was a smaller oblong (c. 20^m × 30^m) marking the limits of the pyre. A bed of ashes (0.40^m to 0.80^m thick) contained bones of animals, bronze weapons, implements, etc., and pottery ranging from archaic Greek to Roman times. Some of the black-figured sherds bore dedications ἙΡΑΚΛΕΙ or [. . .]ΚΛΕΙ, and two archaic bronze statuettes (0.09^m and 0.10^m high) represented the hero, with club and bow (?), in violent action. Miscellaneous finds comprised a bronze club, painted architectural tiles, Roman and Thessalian lamps, Megarian bowls, etc. The principal edifice was of Aetolian date, built with large blocks on an older structure of *póros*: of it there remains the *cutlynteria*, part of the west side, and one step of the south side, also part of the paving and of the stereobate for the cult-stature, which seems to have been of the late Roman period. Close by was a Doric *templum in antis* (14^m long) with an altar before it: Pappadakis' suggestion that this building was a treasury is hardly borne out by the presence of the altar. Coins from the site included six or seven coppers belonging to the time of the Aetolian League and silver pieces of the Roman imperial series down to Maximian (286—305 A.D.) [Diocletian, who styled himself *Iovius* (*Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 371, *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 315), conferred on Maximian the title *Herculius*]. Of two fragmentary inscriptions one mentions the emperor Commodus (?) [another would-be Herakles (P. v. Rohden in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2470, 2478 f. See also J. de Witte 'De quelques empereurs romains qui ont pris les attributs d'Hercule' in the *Rev. Num.* 1845 pp. 266—272 pl. 13 f.)]. Lastly, to the north at a higher level was a *stoá*, reconstructed in Aetolian times on the site of an older building. Seven chambers for

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

Makedonia

- Mount Olympos⁶.

the accommodation of priests and pilgrims opened into a colonnade (40^m long) with octagonal columns. Sundry tiles of this *stoa* are inscribed ΙΗΡΑΗ or ΙΗΡΟΧ = *ιερά, ιερός* 'Hρακλέους (N. Pappadakis in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1920 xlv. 393 f., 1921 xlv. 523).

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

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

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

³ Zeus Ὀσσαῖος (Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπίθετα Διός (76) Ὀσσαίου, 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός (68) Ὀσσαίου) is not necessarily to be taken as the god of Mt Ossa (1950^m). He may be the sender of Rumour ('Ὀσσα) the 'messenger of Zeus' (*Il.* 2. 93 f. *μετὰ δέ σφισιν Ὀσσα δέδηει | δτρύνουσι* ἔναι, Διός ἄγγελος, cp. *Od.* 1. 282 f., 2. 216 f., 24. 413).

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

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

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



The summit of Mount Olympos.

See page 905 n. of.

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

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

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

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

Mount Athos¹.

Aigai, Kerdylion, etc. (?)².

Korkyra

Kassiope³.

the north, and in the centre the Venizelos peak, the highest of the three. The point of junction between this barrier and the northern range is the St. Elias. The joint which unites the central peaks with the southern range is more complicated. It includes the Skolion, which forms the counterpart to the St. Elias on the opposite side of the Megaligurna, and the Isto-Cristaci more to the west. The St. Anthony and the domes of Stavoidia link these two summits to those at the western end of the southern range, of which the Sarai is the most important.⁷ [The peaks seen in pl. xl, from left to right, are—according to Baud-Bovy's nomenclature—(a) the Throne of Zeus (capped by cloud), (b) Peak Venizelos (the true summit), (c) the Cock's Comb, (d) the Virgin, (e) the Tarpeian Rock.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Fig. 823.

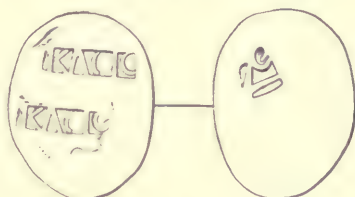


Fig. 824.

no. 53, 23 nos. 65, 67, 72, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 328). Coins of Korkyra, Lakedaimon, Knidos, etc. are found countermarked with various abbreviations of the words Διὸς Κασίου and were probably dedicated in his temple (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 158 pl. 25, 14 (=my fig. 824) and 15, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 647, 676 f.).

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

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

² Mt Ainos, the chief mountain of Kephallenia, rises to a height of 1620^m and is known as *Elatovouno* or *Monte Nero* of the dark fir-trees with which it was formerly clad (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1872 ii. 372). On it was the sanctuary of Zeus Αἰνήσιος (Strab. 456 μέγιστον δ' ὄρος ἐν αὐτῇ = Αἶνος (*ins.* Nylander) >, ἐν ᾧ τὸ Διὸς Αἰνήσιου ἱερόν), to whom the Boreadaï prayed when pursuing the Harpyiæi (schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 297 ὅτι δὲ ἠῶξαντο οἱ περὶ Ζήτην τῷ Διὶ στραφέντες λέγει καὶ Ἡσιόδος (*frag.* 57 Rzach) 'ἐνθ' οἱ γ' εὐχέσθην Αἰνήϊω ὑψιμέδοντι.' ἐστὶ γὰρ καὶ Αἶνος ὄρος τῆς Κεφαλληνίας, ὅπου Αἰνήσιου Διὸς ἱερόν ἐστίν· οὐ μνημονεῖται καὶ Λέων ἐν Περίπλῳ (Leon of Byzantion *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 330 f. Müller)) καὶ Δημόσθενος ἐν τοῖς Λιμέσι (Demosthenes of Bithynia (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 384 Müller)). But Müller *op. cit.* ii. 331, iv. 365 emends the text to οὐ μνημονεῖται Κλέων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Λιμένων καὶ Τιμοσθένος ἐν τοῖς Λιμέσι. The emendation Κλέων is confirmed by *et. gen. s. v. ἀρετάν*... καὶ Κλέων ἐν τῷ Περίπλῳ (E. Miller *Mélanges de littérature grecque* Paris 1868 p. 41), and Kleon of Syracuse was associated with Timosthenes (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 365 Müller)).

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

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

Sicily

Mount Aitne¹.

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

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

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

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

Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily p. 42 nos. 8—11, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 171 nos. 1—5, G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 43 pl. 3, 21, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 131) or ΑΙΤΝΑΙ likewise abbreviated (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 43 no. 12 fig., nos. 13—16, G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 44, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 132). And a unique silver tetradrachm in the Hirsch collection at Brussels (*supra* i. 90 f. fig. 62) shows *obv.* ΑΙΤΝΑ ΙΟΝ the head of a bald Silenos wearing an ivy-wreath (Eur. *Cycl.* 18 ff. Silenos as slave of Polyphemos dwells in a cave on Mt Aitne), with a beetle beneath (Aristoph. *rax* 73 Αἰτναῖον μέγιστον κάρθαρον and schol. *ad loc.*), *rev.* Zeus Αἰτναῖός sitting on a throne spread with a lion-skin. He is clad in a *himátion*. His right hand rests on a vine-staff (Strab. 269 ἔχειν τι οἰκείωμα πρὸς τὴν ἀμπελον εἰκόσ τὴν Αἰτναίαν σποδόν); his left holds a thunderbolt with two curled wings. In the field is an eagle perched on a pine-tree (Diod. 14. 42 εἰς τὸ κατὰ τὴν Αἰτνην ὄρος ἀπέστειλε γέμον κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους πολυτελοῦς ἐλάτης τε καὶ πεύκης). On this remarkable coin, which has been taken to represent the cult-statue of Zeus Αἰτναῖός (Ziegler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2475 f.), see further Baron L. de Hirsch in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1883 iii. 165 f. pl. 9, 1, B. V. Head *ib.* p. 171 ff., G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 74 f. pl. 4, 13, *id.* *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 43 ff. pl. 3, 22, G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 pp. 94 f., 97 pl. 3, 6, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 131 f. fig. 70. The types of the tetradrachm recall the famous scene in Aristoph. *rax* 62 ff., where Trygaeos tries to reach Zeus, first by clambering up light ladders towards the sky (*supra* p. 130), and then by mounting an Aetnaean beetle as a sort of Pegasus. Not improbably there were Dionysiac traits in the cult of Zeus on Mt Aitne, as there were in his cult on Mt Olympos (*supra* i. 104 ff.).

There is, however, no evidence of a Zeus-cult on Aitne earlier than 5. v B.C. Hence the paucity of myths connecting this god with the mountain. Zeus is indeed sometimes said to have piled Aitne on Typhon (Aisch. *P. v.* 351 ff., Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 13 ff., cp. Strab. 626 f.) or on Enkelados (Lucilius (?) *Aetna* 71 ff., Stat. *Theb.* 11. 8, cp. Verg. *Aen.* 3. 578 ff., Opp. *de venut.* 1. 273 ff.); but Typhon is more properly located in the land of Arima (*supra* p. 826) or in the Corycian Cave (*supra* p. 448 n. 2), and Enkelados is commonly described as the victim of Athena, not of Zeus. Again, the Palikoi, autochthonous deities (Polemon *frag.* 83 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 140 f. Müller) *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 19. 26) of the two volcanic springs in the *Lago dei Palici* (*supra* i. 156. See further L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1281—1295), were fathered upon Zeus. Aisch. *Aitnaia* *frag.* 7 Nauck² *ap.* Steph. *Byz. s.v.* Παλική made them the children of Zeus by Thaleia daughter of Hephaistos. *Id. ib. frag.* 6 Nauck² *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 19. 24 added that Zeus had named them Παλικοί because they would 'come again' from darkness into light. The context in Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 19. 17 ff. preserves the Aeschylean version of their myth. The nymph Thaleia, embraced by Zeus near the Sicilian river Symaithos, became pregnant and, through fear of Hera, prayed that the earth might swallow her. It did so. But in due time it opened up and Thaleia's twin sons the Παλικοί 'came again' to light. The self-transformation of Zeus into a vulture (or eagle?) in order to win the nymph (Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 22 and Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne)—both cited *supra* i. 106 n. 2 f.) is a feature of the story, which would have appealed to Aischylos' love of spectacular effect (cp. the vase-painting *supra* i. 105 f. fig. 76). The so-called interpolator of Servius (Donatus?) knows the tale of Zeus and Thaleia, though he is muddle-headed about the eagle. But Servius himself makes the Palikoi the children of Zeus by the nymph Aitne (Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 9. 584 Symaethos fluvius est Siciliae [a rege Symaetho dictus], haud longe ab urbe Carinensi (*leg.* Catinensi), circa quem sunt Palici dei, quorum talis est fabula: Aetnam nympham [vel, ut quidam volunt, Thalam] Iuppiter cum vitiasset et fecisset gravidam, timens Iunonem, secundum alios ipsam puellam, Terrae commendavit, et illic enixa est. secundum alios partum eius, postea cum de Terra erupissent duo pueri, Palici dicti sunt, quasi iterum venientes. nam πάλιν ἴκεν est iterum venire. in primo humanis hostiis placabantur, postea quibusdam sacris mitigati sunt et eorum immutata sacrificia. inde ergo 'placabilis ara,' quia mitigata sunt eorum numina. [Palicos nauticos deos Varro appellat. alii dicunt Iovem hunc Palicum propter Iunonis iracundiam in aquilam commutasse. alii Vulcani et Aetnae filium tradunt, sed etc.]). Another line of

Akragas¹.

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

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

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

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

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

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

There is a detailed account of the Olympion in Diod. 13. 82 ἢ τε γὰρ τῶν ἱερῶν κατασκευὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ τοῦ Διὸς νεὸς ἐμφαίνει τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων: τῶν μὲν οὖν (so F. Vogel for γὰρ codd.) ἄλλων ἱερῶν τὰ μὲν κατεκαύθη, τὰ δὲ τελείως κατεσκάφη διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ἠλωκέναι τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δ' (so F. Vogel for δ' οὖν codd.) Ὀλύμπιον μέλλον λαμβάνει τὴν ὀροφὴν ὁ πόλεμος ἐκώλυεν: ἐξ οὗ τῆς πόλεως κατασκαφείσης οὐδέποτε ἴσπερον ἴσχυσαν Ἀκραγαγῖτιοι τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν. ἔστι δὲ ὁ νεὸς ἔχων τὸ μὲν μήκος πῶδας τριακοσίους τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος <ἐκατὸν (ins. T. Kidd, J. Schubring)> ἐξήκοντα, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατὸν εἰκοσι χωρὶς τοῦ κρηπιδώματος. μέγιστος δ' ἂν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς οὐκ ἀλόγως ἂν συγκρίνοιτο κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποστάσεως: καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ τέλος λαβεῖν συνέβη τὴν ἐπιβολὴν, ἢ γε προαίρεσις (so J. J. Reiske for προδιαίρεσις codd.) ὑπάρχει φανερά, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἢ μέχρι τοίχων (sic codd. J. J. Reiske cj. μετὰ τοίχων. L. Dindorf cj. μέχρι θριγκῶν. F. Vogel cj. μέχρι τεγῶν vel συνεχεῖ τοίχῳ) τοὺς νεὸς οἰκοδομοῦντων ἢ κύκλῳ κίσει (so P. Wesseling, followed by F. Vogel, for ἢ κύκλωσις or κυκλώσει codd. Stephanus cj. ἢ κίσει) τοὺς σηκοῦς (so J. J. Reiske, followed by F. Vogel, for οἰκος codd. Stephanus cj. τοίχους) περιλαμβανόντων, οἷτος ἑκατέρας τούτων μετῆχει τῶν ὑποστάσεων· συνεκοδομοῦντο γὰρ τοῖς τοίχοις οἱ κίονες (so L. Dindorf for οἱ τοῖχοι τοῖς κίσειν codd.), ἔξωθεν μὲν στρογγύλοι, τὸ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ νεῶ ἔχοντες τετράγωνον: καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐκτὸς μέρους ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἢ περιφέρεια ποδῶν εἰκοσι, καθ' ἣν εἰς τὰ διαξύματα δύναται ἀνθρώπινον ἐναρμόζεσθαι σῶμα, τὸ (L. Dindorf cj. τοῦ) δ' ἐντὸς ποδῶν δώδεκα. τῶν δὲ στοῶν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἐξαισιον ἔχουσῶν, ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸς ἕω μέρει τὴν Γίγαντομαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο γλυφαῖς (so L. Dindorf for ταῖς γλυφαῖς codd. F.K. ταῖς τε γλυφαῖς cett. codd.) καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει διαφερούσαις (so L. Dindorf for διαφερούσας codd. P.A.K. διαφείρουσαν cett. codd.), ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς δυσμᾶς τὴν ἄλυσιν τῆς Τροίας, ἐν ἣ τῶν ἠρώων ἕκαστον ἰδεῖν ἔστιν οἰκείως τῆς περιστάσεως δεδημιουργημένον.

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

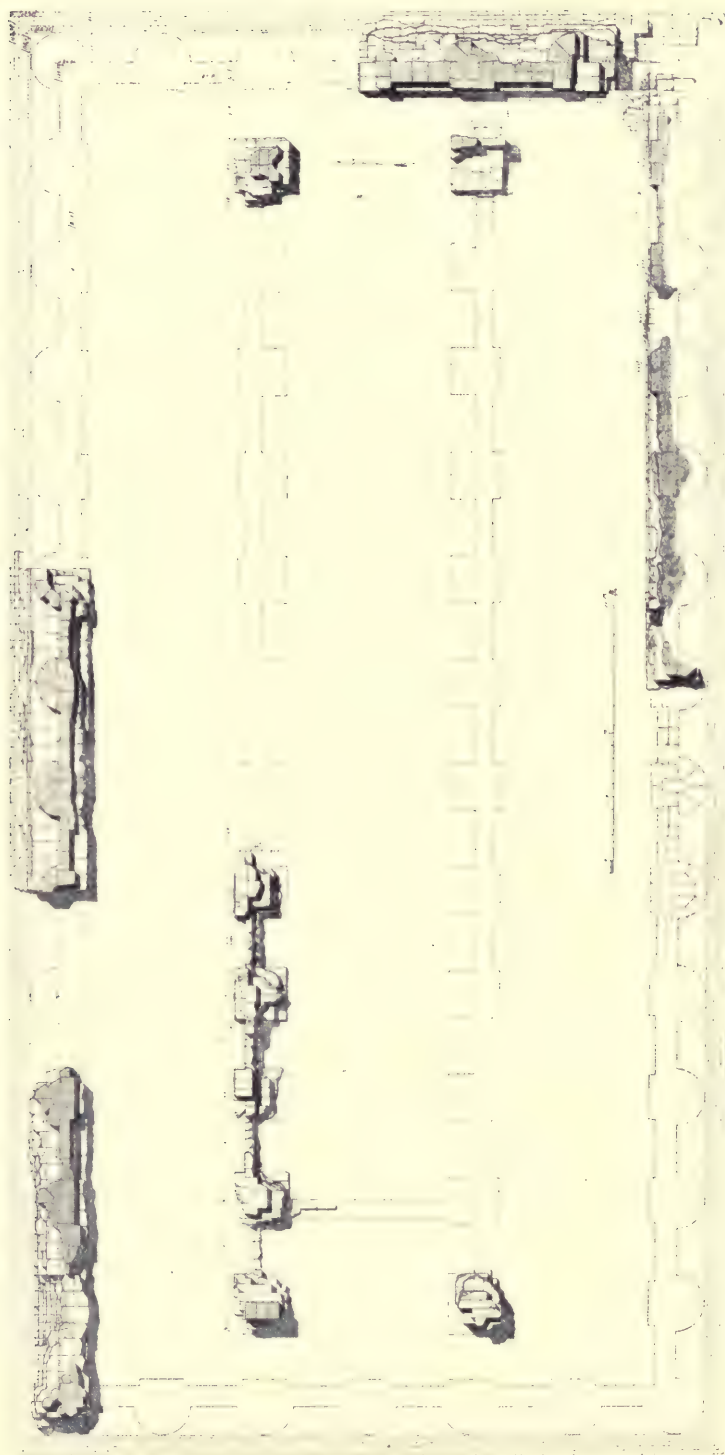


Fig. 825.

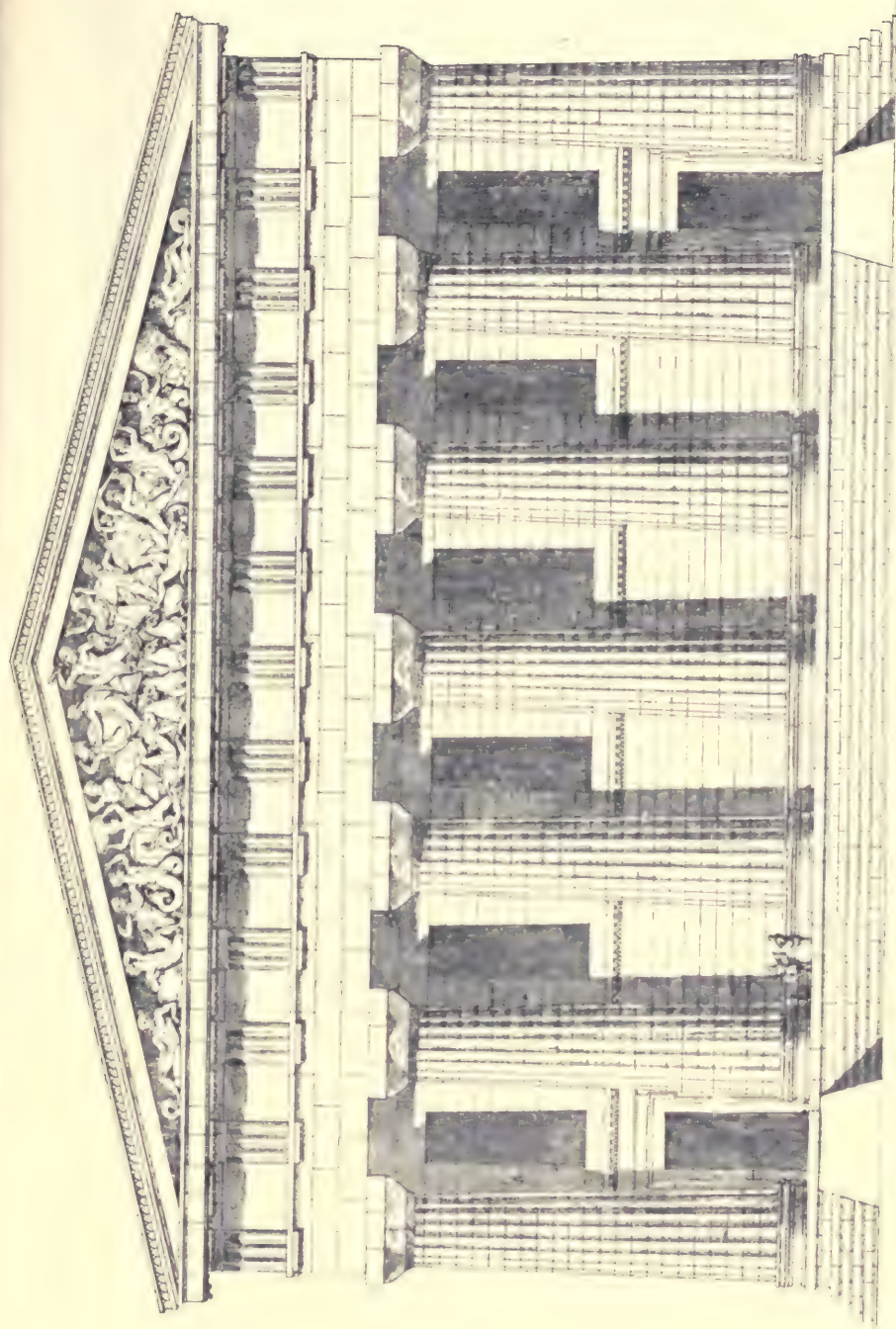


Fig. 826.

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

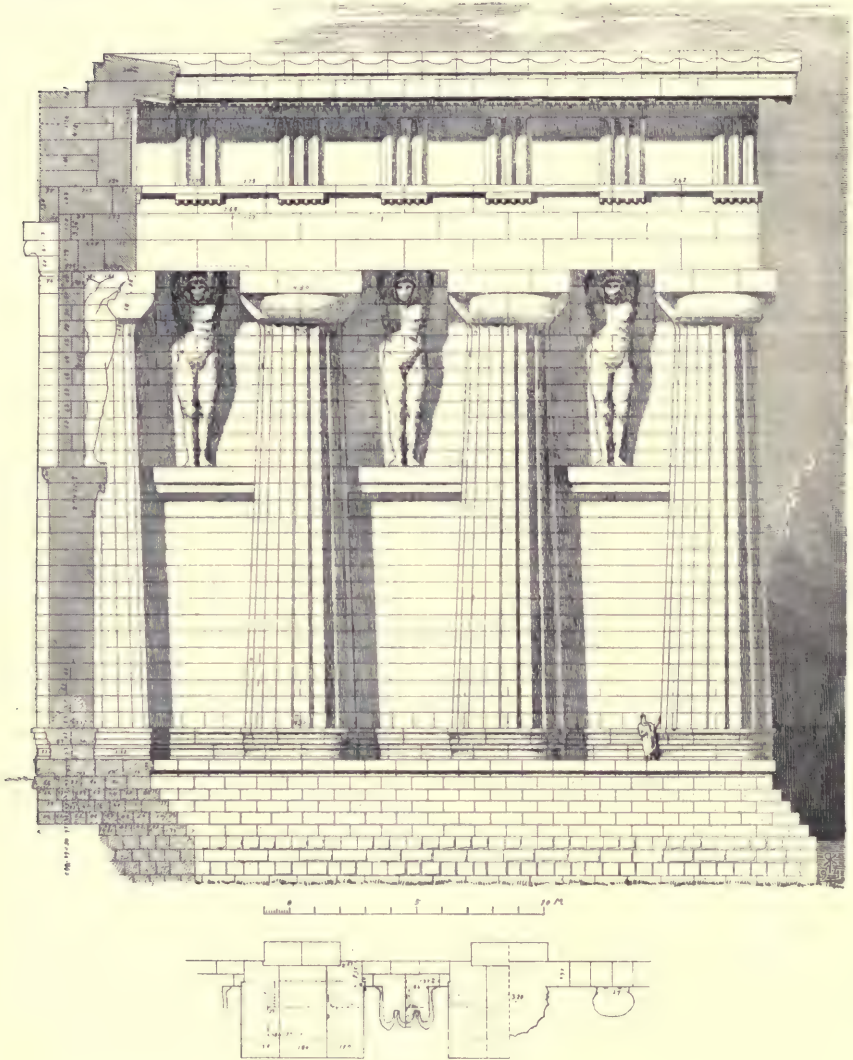


Fig. 827.

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





The Olympieion at Syracuse.

See page 915 n. 2.

Akrai¹.Syracuse².

nave and aisles were either prolonged to meet the western wall of the temple, in which case the cross-wall marked the beginning of an inner sanctuary or *dadyton* (R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein), or stopped before reaching the western wall, in which case the cross-wall marked the beginning of an *opisthódomos* (C. R. Cockerell, Serradifalco, J. Durm, G. Perrot—C. Chipiez). (3) Many sections of huge Atlantes (7·68^m high) have been found in the temple, and one reconstructed Atlas now lies on his back within the building. But they are not mentioned by Diodoros, and their original position has been much debated. C. R. Cockerell (1830) supposed that they stood above the pillars of the nave, supporting on their upturned arms an entablature intended to carry the transverse beams of the roof. Serradifalco (1836) was inclined to place them against the pillars of the nave, but at a lower level. J. Durm (1892), G. Perrot—C. Chipiez (1898), and A. Choisy (1898) reverted to the position advocated by Cockerell. But R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein (1899), observing that the southern wall of the temple had fallen outwards and that its ruins included several blocks belonging to Atlantes, proposed a fresh reconstruction according to which these gigantic figures were placed high up in the external intercolumniations, each standing on a cornice and supporting the architrave above his head. J. Durm (1910) finally accepted Puchstein's restoration in preference to his own. (4) Koldewey and Puchstein speak of Atlantes and Caryatids. The existence of the latter is inferred, partly from the survival of a single apparently female head (Serradifalco *op. cit.* iii pl. 25, 2), partly from the fact that the arms of *Girgenti* figure one female standing between two male Giants—Fama between Enceladus and Caesus (Serradifalco *op. cit.* iii. 3 fig.).

See further C. R. Cockerell in J. Stuart—N. Revett *Antiquities of Athens and other places in Greece Sicily etc.* London 1830 iv. 1—10 with frontispiece, vignette, and pls. 1—8 (my fig. 826 is from part of pl. 2), Serradifalco *op. cit.* iii. 52—69 with pls. 20—27, Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.*³ p. 210 f. figs. 138—140 and Index p. 368, *ib.*³ pp. 104 fig. 72, 141 fig. 112, 401—406 figs. 369—372, 428 with fig. 389, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 400 f. pl. 18 and Index p. 673, R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 153—166 with figs. 134—144 (my fig. 827 is from their fig. 143), ii pls. 22 and 23, B. Pace 'Il tempio di Giove Olimpico in Agrigento' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1922 xxviii ('in corso di stampa').

¹ Zeus 'Ακραιός (*supra* p. 873 n. o no. (11)).

² On a hill (60 ft. high) half-surrounded by the *Fiume Ciani* and overlooking the *Porto Grande* of Syracuse stand two weather-worn columns on a broken stylobate—all that today remains of the once famous temple of Zeus 'Ολύμπιος. This was a Doric peripteral structure of coarse shell-limestone. It had six columns at either end and seventeen down either side, being about three times as long as it was broad. The columns were short and thick: one, without a capital, measures c. 6·50^m in height and c. 1·85^m in diameter. They were monolithic and had no *antasis*. The flutes were sixteen in number; and round the foot ran a small unfluted band, a feature possibly derived from the circular stone base of a timber prototype. Cornice and gutter were embellished with a revetment of painted terra cotta. The roofing was of large flat tiles and round cover-tiles. In short, the building shows every sign of archaism and must be dated c. 600 B.C. It is thus one of the earliest of all Greek temples and quite the oldest surviving temple of Zeus.

It has been supposed that the cult at Syracuse was descended from the cult at Olympia (R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *Die griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien* Berlin 1899 i. 59). But this is far from clear. No doubt the rulers of Syracuse made repeated dedications in the Olympian *Áltis* (Paus. 6. 12. 1 ff., 6. 19. 7, *Olympia* v. 363 ff. no. 249, 675 f. no. 661). But is it likely that the filial cult dignified the god with a stone-built temple more than a century before the parent followed suit? I would rather assume (with E. Ciaceri *Culti e miti nella storia dell' antica Sicilia* Catania 1911 p. 138) that the Syracusans brought the cult from their *metrópolis* Corinth. For just outside Corinth, on the left of the road leading to Sikyon, Pausanias noted a temple which had been burnt down. Some said that it belonged to Apollon and had been fired by Pyrrhos son of

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

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

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

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

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

Tyndaris¹.

(Thouk. 6. 71), or, if they did, disturbed none of the votive offerings and left the Syracusan priest in charge of them (Paus. 10. 28. 6). That same winter the Syracusans put a garrison in the Olympieion and erected a stockade on the sea-shore to prevent a possible landing (Thouk. 6. 75). In the following year (414 B.C.) a third part of the Syracusan cavalry was posted at Polichna to control the movements of the Athenians at Plemmyrion (Thouk. 7. 4).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 527); or *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right, *rev.* ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΤΑΝ the Dioskouroi standing with, or without, their horses (F. von Duhn *loc. cit.* p. 30 no. 10, p. 30 f. no. 11, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 236 nos. 9 and 10); or *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right, with star of eight rays behind it, *rev.* ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΤΑΝ eagle to right, standing with open wings on a thunderbolt (F. von Duhn *loc. cit.* p. 31 no. 12, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 236 no. 11). See further Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 33 f., G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 201 f., Head *Hist. num.*³ p. 190. These coins imply the cult, not only of Tyndaris (Helene) and the Tyndaridai (Kastor and Polydeukes), but also of Zeus to whom the children of Tyndareos were early affiliated (*supra* i. 279 f., 780).

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

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

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

² *Supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (5).

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

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

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

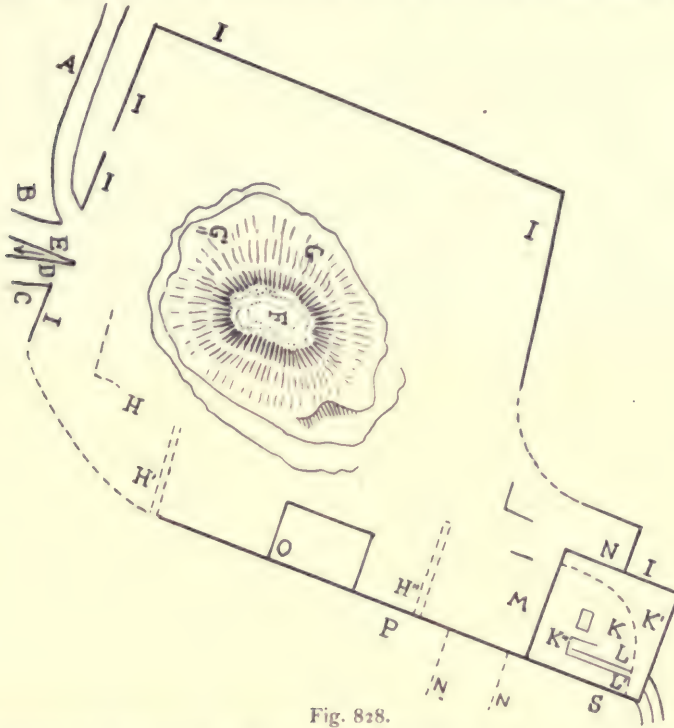


Fig. 828.

The fragments found point to a distyle *templum in antis* of Ionic or composite order with unfluted columns (0·42^m in diameter). At a height of 2^m above the ruins of this temple there was a sacred cistern, into which the water from the roof drained by means of a double conduit (L, L'). The cistern had a mosaic flooring, of which the greater part (K) survives, though a strip to the east (K') has been destroyed by the collapse of the terrace-wall. The mosaic consists of small white stones and fragments of brick set in cement. An inscription in bluish *tesserae* on a white ground with an oblong framework of bluish stones (K'') records the dedication of the cistern in Roman times (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 139 ff. no. 1 Διὶ Κύνθῳ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ Κυνθίᾳ | Ἀπολλωνίδης Θεογείτου | Λαοδικεῖς, ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ | τῶν ἑταίρων, τὸ κατάκλιστρον ('cistern'), ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἀριστομάχου, | ζακορέϊοντος Νικηφόρου (after 88/7 B.C.), | ἐπὶ δὲ ἐπιμελητοῦ Κοῖντου Ἀζη(νιέως). My fig. 829 is from photograph no. 1302 in the collection of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies). Adjoining the cistern was a platform (N), where ashes and fragments of bone, the *débris* of sacrifices,

were buried. South of the rocky summit was an enclosure (O) walled in on the north by blocks of schist, on the other sides by architectural fragments, *stelai*, and broken statues. It contained some thirty urns filled with ashes and animal bones. The urns measured 0.60^m to 0.70^m in height, having rounded handles and a foot, not a pointed base. Miscellaneous finds included a small terra-cotta palmette from the pediment of an *aedicula*, a

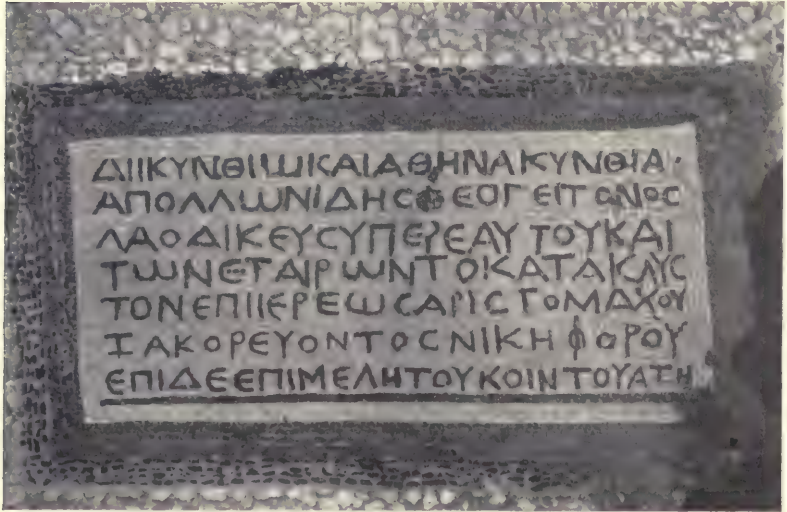


Fig. 829.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

χρησθεὶς ὅτι τὸν πατέρα ἀποκτενεὶ ἔφυγε, καὶ νυκτὶ πλοῖω συναντᾷ ἐν Ῥόδῳ, καὶ ὡς ληστὰς νομίσας ἀναρεῖ τὸν πατέρα. εἰσὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὰ Ἀταβύρια ὄρη, ἀφ' ὧν Ζεὺς Ἀταβύριος).

The mountain, as modern travellers report, is a mass of schistose limestone, well wooded below and dotted with a few large evergreen oaks and pines above. The sanctuary of Zeus is situated on a rounded crest about a hundred paces south-east of the actual summit. Here at a point 4070 ft above the sea is a walled precinct 120 ft in length, and within it a pile of ruins lying 3 to 4 ft deep. Bluish blocks quarried on the mountain, the largest of them 5 ft long, prove the former existence of a Hellenic building on the site. But no columns have survived, and only a single architrave-block with a simple moulding. The Greek temple was long since reconstructed as a monastery. But this in turn fell into decay, and nowadays even the little chapel of Hagios Ioannes, which stands in the middle of the ruins, has lost its roof. North-east of the precinct, somewhat lower down, in a hollow are the remains of other ancient structures, including a large vaulted cistern. L. Ross, followed by C. Torr, thought that here may have been a temple of Athena; but the argument which he drew from Polyb. 9. 27. 7 (cited *supra* p. 910 n. 1) is insecure. See further W. J. Hamilton *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia* London 1842 ii. 61 ff. (ascent from *Embona* Jan. 31, 1837), L. Ross *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des ägäischen Meeres* Stuttgart—Tübingen 1845 iii. 105 ff. (ascent from *Embona* Sept. 27, 1843), C. Torr *Rhodes in Ancient Times* Cambridge 1885 pp. 1, 75, H. F. Tozer *The Islands of the Aegean* Oxford 1890 p. 220 f.

The local myth is told most fully by Apollod. 3. 2. 1 f. Katreus, son of Minos, was fated to be killed by one of his own sons. Althaimenes, son of Katreus, to avoid killing his father, fled from Crete to Rhodes with his sister Apemosyne. He put in at a certain place which he named Krentenia (κρητηνίαν cod. R., followed by R. Hercher and R. Wagner. κρητιλίαν codd. plerique. C. G. Heyne cj. Κρητηνίαν, cp. Steph. Byz. *loc. cit.*). On climbing Mt Atabyrion he got a view of Crete, and, in memory of his ancestral deities, built there an altar of Zeus Ἀταβύριος. Soon afterwards Hermes fell in love with Apemosyne and, when he could not catch her (for she was fleet of foot), strewed freshly-flayed hides in the road. On these she slipped, and thus was violated by her pursuer. Althaimenes, hearing of her fall, believed the tale about Hermes to be a mere excuse and killed his sister by leaping upon her. Later, Katreus, anxious to leave his kingdom to Althaimenes, came to Rhodes and was mistaken for a pirate by the ox-herds, who chased and pelted him. Katreus told them the truth, but could not gain a hearing because the dogs were barking. So Althaimenes all unwittingly speared him. On learning what he had done he uttered a prayer, and in answer thereto was engulfed in a chasm. Diod. 5. 59, however, probably borrowing his account not from Zenon of Rhodes (*Frag. 2* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 177 f. Müller)) but from a later source dependent on Polykalos etc. (*Gruppe Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 380), says that Althaimenes wandered in the desert till he died of grief and was afterwards, in obedience to an oracle, honoured as a hero by the Rhodians.

This myth deserves analysis. There is in it, to begin with, a *substratum* of historic, or at least prehistoric, fact—the intimate relations between ‘Minoan’ Crete and Rhodes (H. van Gelder *Geschichte der alten Rhodier* Haag 1900 p. 30 ff., D. Mackenzie in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905–1906 xii. 222, C. Blinkenberg in *Hermes* 1913 xlviii. 246 f., *Gruppe Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 380): Minos himself was believed to have dedicated a silver cup to Athena Πολιάς and Zeus Πολιεὺς at Lindos (C. Blinkenberg *Die lindische Tempelchronik* Bonn 1915 p. 8 ff. B, 18 ff. Minos ἀργύρεον ποτήριον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπεγέγραπτο ‘Μίνως Ἀθάναι Πολιάδι καὶ Διὶ Πολιεῖ,’ ὡς φασι | Ξεναγόρας ἐν ταῖς Ἀ τὰς χρονικὰς συντάξις, | Γόργων ἐν ταῖς Α τὰν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργασθένης | ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, Ἰερόβουλος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς). There is also an element of folk-tale, the story of Katreus fated to be slain by his own son recalling the *motif* of Odysseus and Telegonos (A. C. Pearson *The Fragments of Sophocles* Cambridge 1917 ii. 105 ff.) or of Laios and Oidipous (C. Robert *Oidipus* Berlin 1915 i. 66 ff.). Lastly there are definite points of aetiology. Apemosyne, a woman of the royal house, who flees at full speed, falls on the fresh hides, and is then

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

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

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

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

Crete

Mount Aigaion¹.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mount Dikte¹.

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

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

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



Fig. 830.

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

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

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

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

Plate XLII



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

See page 929 n. o.

the nurses of Zeus. Laios, Keleos, Kerberos, and Aigolios dared to enter it that they might draw as much honey as they could. They encased their bodies in bronze, drew the honey of the bees, and saw the swathing-bands of Zeus. Whereupon their bronze armour burst asunder. Zeus thundered aloud and raised his bolt. But the Moirai and Themis intervened; for none might die in that spot. So Zeus made them all into birds, and from them sprang the tribe of birds—blue thrushes (λάιοι), green woodpeckers (κελεοί), birds of an unknown species (κέρβεροι), and owls (αίγωλιοί). These are good birds to appear and reliable beyond all other birds, because they saw the blood of Zeus.' See further *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 388 f. A black-figured amphora in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 122 f. no. B 177 from *Vulci*), hitherto unpublished, has (a) the four marauders stung by the bees in the cave (pl. xlii from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming): (b) dancing Maenads and Satyrs.

Other myths attached to the same sacred cavern. Here Anchiale bore the Idaean Daktyloi (Ap. Rhod. i. 1129 ff. Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαίοι Κρηταίαιες, οὓς ποτε νύμφη | Ἀγχιιάλη Δικταίων ἀνά σπέος ἀμφοτέρησιν | δραξαμένη γαίης Οἰαξίδος ἐβλάστησεν with schol. *ad loc.*, translated by Varr. *frag.* 3 Baehrens *ap. Serv. in Verg. ecl.* i. 66 quos magno Anchiale partus adducta dolore | et geminis capiens tellurem Oaxida palmis | edidit in Dicta, cp. Vib. Seq. p. 15 Oberlin *s.v.* 'Oaxes'). Here too Zeus, according to one late account, lay with Europe (Loukian. *dial. mar.* 15. 4 ταῦτα ἐκ Φοινίκης ἄχρι τῆς Κρήτης ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπέβη τῇ νήσῳ, ὁ μὲν ταῦρος οὐκέτι ἐφαίνετο, ἐπιλαβόμενος δὲ τῆς χειρὸς ὁ Ζεὺς ἀπήγε τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐς τὸ Δικταίων ἄντρον ἐρυθρίωσαν καὶ κάτω ὄρωσαν· ἥπιστατο γὰρ ἦδη ἐφ' ὄψιν ἄγροτο). Minos, their son, used to descend into the Dictaeon Cave and thence return with the laws of Zeus (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 61 ἂν ὁ μὲν (sc. Minos) ὁμηγητῆς ἐφη γενέσθαι τοῦ Διός, καὶ φοιτῶν εἰς τὸ Δικταίων ὄρος, ἐν ᾧ τραφήναι τὸν Δία μυθολογοῦσιν οἱ Κρήτες ὑπὸ τῶν Κουρήτων ἔτι νεογόνον ὄντα, κατέβαιναν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἄντρον, καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἐκεῖ συνθεῖς ἐκόμψεν, οὐδ' ἀπέφαινε παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς λαμβάνειν). Lastly Epimenides claimed to have slept for years in the Cave and to have had visions there (Max. Tyr. 16. 1 ἀφικετό ποτε Ἀθήνας Κρήης ἀνὴρ, ὄνομα Ἐπιμενίδης, κομίζων λόγον, οὕτως βρῆθέντα, πιστεῦσθαι χαλεπὸν· ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου τῷ ἄντρον κείμενος ὑπὸν βαθεῖ ἔτη συχνά, θναρ' ἐφη ἐντυχεῖν αὐτὸς θεοῖς καὶ θεῶν λόγους καὶ ἀληθεῖα καὶ δικρ. κ.τ.λ.).

Sir A. J. Evans at first identified Mt Dikte with Mt *Lasithi*, the Dictaeon Cave with the *Psycho* Cave, and the city built by Zeus (Diod. 5. 70 cited *supra*) with the ruins at *Goulas* on an outlying spur of the *Lasithi-massif* (Sir A. J. Evans 'Goulas: The City of Zeus' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1895—1896 ii. 169 ff.). This made an attractive combination and found many adherents (*supra* p. 925 n. 1). Unfortunately it ignored two essential factors in the situation—the definite statements of ancient topographers (*in primis* Strab. 478 f., Ptol. 3. 15. 3 and 6, cp. Agathokles *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 289 Müller) *ap. Athen.* 375 F, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 33 f.; *in secundis* Ap. Rhod. 4. 1635 ff., Loukian. *dial. mar.* 15. 4) and the *provenance* of inscriptions relating to the cult of Zeus Δικταῖος. Discussion of the evidence along these lines led K. J. Beloch in *Klio* 1911 xi. 433 ff. and J. Toutain in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1911 lxiv. 277 ff. to reject the identification of Dikte with *Lasithi* and to insist that Dikte must have been a mountain near Praisos at the eastern end of Crete. Apparently Sir A. J. Evans has himself now given in to this view, for the map prefixed to vol. i of *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* adopts the new equation Aigaion = *Lasithi* and, rightly as I conceive, assigns the name 'Mt Dikte' to the range situated south-west of Praisos. If so, the true Dictaeon Cave is still to seek.

The cult of Zeus Δικταῖος in eastern Crete is attested by (1) the civic oath of Itanos in s. iii B.C. (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 462, 2 ff., *ib.*³ no. 526, 2 ff. = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 324 f. no. 5058, 2 ff. found at *Eremopoli* [τάδε ὤμοσαν τοὶ Ἰτάνιοι πᾶσι] [τες] Δία Δικταίων καὶ Ἥραν καὶ θ[εο]ὺς τοὺς ἐν Δικταίαι καὶ Ἀθαν[α] [Ἰαν] Πολιάδα καὶ θεοῖς, ὅσοσ[ι] [ς] ἐν Ἀθαναίαι θύεται, π[ά]ντας | [κ]αὶ Δία Ἀγοραίων καὶ Ἀπόλλω[ν] Πύθιον καθ' ἱερῶν νεοκαί[τ]ων κ.τ.λ.): (2) the oath of allegiance taken by settlers from Hierapytna, sent probably to occupy conquered territory (Praisos?) (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2555, 11 ff. = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 311 f. no. 5039, 11 ff. cited *supra* p. 723 n. 0): (3) the oath to be taken each year in the month

Dionysios by the *kósmos* or chief magistrate of Praisos in accordance with a treaty of s. iii B.C. between that town and Stelai (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 440 A, 15 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 427, a 15 ff., *ib.*³ no. 524, a 15 ff. cited *supra* p. 731 n. o. The restoration *ὁμῶν Δῆ[να Δικταίων]* exactly fills the gap and is justified by Strab. 475 *τούτων* (*sc. Od.* 19. 175—177) *φησὶ Στάφυλος* (*frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 507 Müller)) *τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἔω Δωριεῖς κατέχειν, τὸ δὲ δυσμικὸν Κύδωνας, τὸ <δὲ> νότιον Ἐτεοκρήτας, ὧν εἶναι πολλῶν Πιρᾶσον, ὅπου τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερὸν, *id.* 478 *εἰρηται δέ, ὅτι τῶν Ἐτεοκρήτων ὑπῆρχεν ἡ Πιρᾶσον, καὶ διότι ἐνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερὸν κ.τ.λ.)*: (4) a long inscription, dated in 139 B.C., of which one copy was found near Itanos, another at Magnesia ad Maeandrum (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 929, *ib.*³ no. 685 = R. Cagnat *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1911 i. 345 ff. no. 1021). It deals with a dispute between Itanos and Praisos—later between Itanos and Hierapytna—respecting the territory of Heleia and the island of Leuke. Itanos ultimately appealed to the Roman senate, which entrusted arbitration in the matter to Magnesia. The document in delimiting the territory of Itanos more than once mentions the sanctuary of Zeus Δικταῖος, which must have lain on the border-line of Itanos and Praisos (ii, 37 ff. Ἰτανιοὶ πῶλιν οἰκοῦντες ἐπιθαλάσσιον καὶ χώραν ἔχοντες προγονικὴν γειτονοῦσαν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου ἱερῶι, ἔχοντες δὲ καὶ νήσους καὶ νεμόμενοι, ἐν αἷς καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Λεύκην, 47 ff. οὕτως Ἰεραπύτνιοι τῆς τε νήσου καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀμφισβητεῖν Ἰτανιοὺς ἐπεβάδαντο, φάμενοι τὴν μὲν χώραν εἶναι ἱερὰν τοῦ Ζητὸς τοῦ Δικταίου, τὴν δὲ νῆσον προγονικὴν αὐτῶν ὑπάρχειν, iii, 69 ff. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς ἐκτὸς τῆς διαμφισβητούμενης | χώρας ὄντος καὶ περιοκοδομημασιν καὶ ἐτέροις πλειοσ[ιν ἀ]ποδεικτικοῖς καὶ σημείοις περιλα[μ]βανομένοις, 81 f. νῆμοις γὰρ ἱεροῖς καὶ ἀραιῖς καὶ ἐπιτίμοις ἀνωθεν διεκεκώλυτο ἵνα μηθεὶς ἐν τῷ ἱερῶι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου μήτε ἐνέμημι μήτε ἐναυλοστατήμι μήτε σπείρημι μήτε ξυλεύημι).*

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

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

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

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

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

Δικταίος (R. C. Bosanquet *ib.* 1908—1909 xv. 340, S. A. Xanthoudides in the 'Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1908 p. 197 ff. no. 1 fig. 1 ἐπὶ τῆς Καμιρίδος (*sc.* a tribe at Hierapytna, *cp.* Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἱεράπυτνα) κοσμώντων | τῶν σὺν Βουάω τῷ Ἀμφέροντος, | ἐπεμεληθεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ | [Z (or T)]ηγνός Δικταίω, τὰ ἀρχαῖα | [ἀ]γάλματα θαραπεύσαντες, | [θεός] ἐπισκευῶσαι καὶ χρυσῶ[σαι] Ἀθαναίαν, Ἄρτεμιν, Ἄτλαν[τα, τ]ῆς Σφίγγας ἀστραγαλί[αι] ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποποδίων, καὶ | [?]Πισσοῖδᾶ, Δία, Ἥρας πρόσωπον, | [?] Λατῶν καὶ Νίκαν ἀναγράψαι. | [οἶδ' ἐκ]δ(μ)ιον, Βούας Ἀμφέ[ροντος, Ἀκ]άσσων Βραμισάλ[.....] Εὐρυκάρτεος, | Εὐρυκάρτεος, | υθεος, | s Μοιρίλ[ω]---). A mutilated inscription recording an agreement between Knossos and Hierapytna, which was found in the church of St Nikolaos near Palaikastro (F. Halbherr in the *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* 1890 iii. 612 ff. no. 36), must likewise have come from the precinct of Zeus Δικταίος, where it had probably been set up during the same period of Hierapytna's supremacy.

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

<p>Ἴώ, Μέγιστε Κούρε, χαῖρέ μοι, Κρόνιε, παγκρατὲς γάνος, βέβακες 5 δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος· Δίκταν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρ- πε καὶ γέγαθι μολπῆ, Τάν τοι κρέκομεν πακτίσι μείξαντες ἄμ' αὐλοῖσιν, 10 καὶ στάντες δειδόμεν τεδὸν ἀμφὶ βωμὸν εὐερκῆ. Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ. Ἔνθα γὰρ σέ, παῖδ' ἀμβροτον, ἀσιπιδ[ηφόροι τροφῆς] 15 παρ' Ἰέας λαβόντες πόδα κ[ρούοντες ἀπέκρυσαν]. Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ. · · · · · · · · · · 20 · · · · · · · · · · τᾶ]s καλᾶs Ἴλο(θ)s.</p>	<p>Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ. [Ἦραι δὲ βρ]ύον κατῆτος καὶ βροτο(ύ)ς Δίκα κατῆχε 25 [πάντα τ' ἀγρ]οῖ ἀμφεπ]εῖ ζῶ' ἀ φιλολοβοῖ Εἰρήνηα. Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ. Ἄ[μιν θόρε, κέσ στα]μνία, καὶ θόρ' εὐποκ' ἐ]ς ποίμνια, 30 κέσ λή]ια καρπῶν θόρε, κέσ τελεσ[φόρους σίμβλους]. Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ. [Θόρε κέσ] πόλῃas ἀμῶν, κέσ ποντοφόρο(υ)s νᾶas, 35 θόρε κέσ ν]έουs πολ]εῖτας, θόρε κέσ Θέμυ κ[αλάν].</p>
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This hymn, engraved *c.* 200 A.D. but composed *c.* 300 B.C., expresses in cultured poetical Greek, with a dash of Doric dialect, beliefs that had descended from much earlier times. It invokes Zeus as the 'greatest Lad of Kronos' line' to come to Dikte for the new year at the head of the *daímones* (perhaps the gods in general (Plat. *Phaedr.* 246 E *στρατιὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων*, *cp. supra* pp. 43, 63 n. o) rather than the Kouretes in particular (Strab. 466 *δαίμονας ἢ προπόλους θεῶν*)) and to take delight in the dance about his altar—a dance accompanied by harp and pipes. It goes on to tell how the Kouretes once received him as a babe from Rhea and hid him in safety with the sound of their beating feet, [how under the reign of Zeus foul Darkness was followed by] fair Dawn, the Seasons began to be fruitful year by year, Justice spread over the world, and Peace brought wealth in its train. And now once more comes the invitation to leap in the ritual dance, which shall ensure full jars, fleecy flocks, crops in the fields, and honey in the hives, prosperity alike on land and sea, youthful citizens and established Right.

Mount Ide¹.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Fig. 831.

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

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

An archaic *boustrophedon* inscription recording a convention between Gortyna and Rhizenia stipulates that the Rhizeniates shall send the victims to Mt Ide, every other year, to the value of 350 *statères* (F. Halbherr in the *Ann. Journ. Arch.* 1897 i. 204 ff. no. 23, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 257 f. no. 4985, S. A. Xanthoudides in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1908 p. 236 *θιολ. ἐπὶ τοῦ(δ)ε* Ἐπιτρέν[οι Γ]ορτυνίουσ ἀντ[όν]ο[μ]ο[ο]ι καθ[τ]όδοκοι (space) [τ]ὰ θ[ύ]ματα παρέκοντες ἐς Βιδάω [τ]ρ[ι]οι [Ἐ]ρεῖ τριακαρῶσ στατέρωνσ καὶ πεν[τέκοντα]. We infer that the celebration on Mt Ide was trieteric (*supra* i. 662, 690 ff., 695 n. 8).

In Hellenistic times the appellative of Zeus was spelled Βιδάτας (= *Fidátas*, the god of Mt Ide. So first J. Schmidt in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1863 xii. 217 Βιδάτας ('Ιδότης?), cp. S. A. Xanthoudides *loc. cit.* H. B. Voretzsch in *Hermes* 1870 iv. 273 wrongly assumed connexion with the Phrygian and Macedonian βέδω (Clem. *Al. Strom.* 5. 8 p. 357, 11 ff. Stählin) and concluded that Βιδάτας meant *ύέτιος, ὄμβριος*). A treaty of c. 150 B.C. between Lyttos and Olous makes the Lyttians swear by Zeus Βιδάτας (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 549b, 5 ff. = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 380 f. no. 5147b, 5 ff. [ὄμνῶσ τὰν Ἐστίαν καὶ Τῆνα Βιδάταν καὶ Τῆνα [-] | [-καὶ Ἀπέλλω]να Πύτιον καὶ Λατῶν καὶ [Ἀ]ρ[τεμ]ιν - -] | [-καὶ τὰν Βριτόμαρτιν καὶ τὸσ ἄλλοσ θιῶσ - -]. Another treaty, of c. 100 B.C., between Gortyna and Hierapytna on the one side and Priansos on the other, mentions a temple of Zeus Βιδάτας on the frontier of Priansos (F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 301 ff. no. 5024, 22 f. [- - ἐσ τὸ λαρόν τῶ? Τῆ] [νὸσ] τῶ Βιδάτῶ κῆσ τὰνσ Ἄντρι[- -]. Cp. *ib.* 60 and 77 (cited *supra* p. 723 n. o)).

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

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

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



Fig. 832.

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

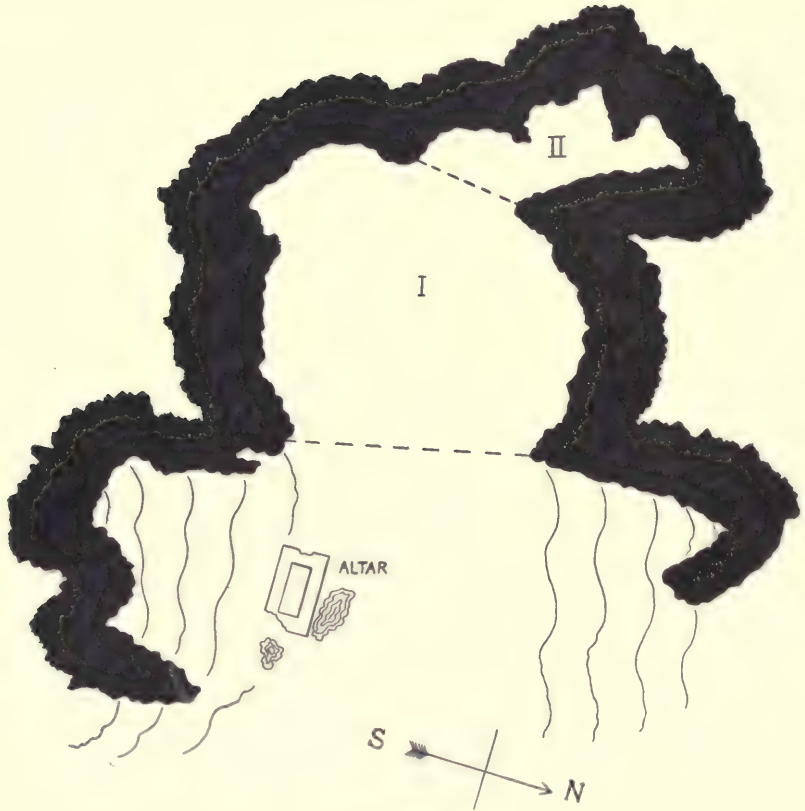


Fig. 833.

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

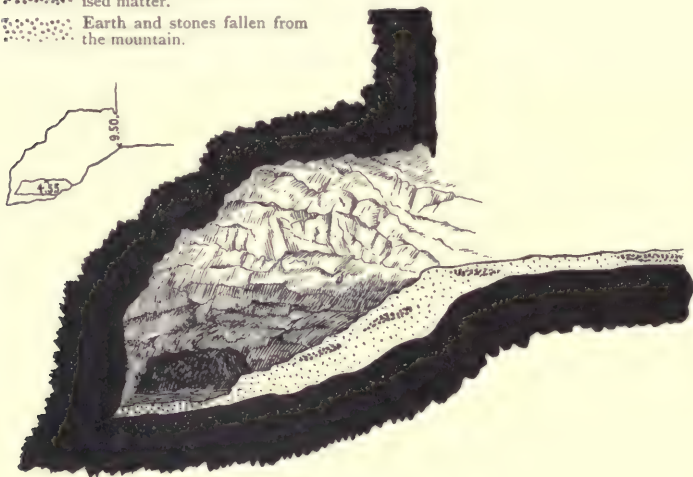


Fig. 834.

'Studi illustrativi sui bronzi arcaici trovati nell' antro di Zeus Ideo' *ib.* pp. 769—904 with a few figs., A. L. Frothingham 'Early Bronzes recently discovered on Mount Ida in Krete' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1888 iv. 431—449 with figs. 13—16 and pls. 16—20, H. Thiersch 'Altkretisches Kuretingerät' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxviii Arch. Anz. pp. 47—53 with fig. 1).

The Cave comprises three well-marked divisions: (a) the entry; (b) chamber I, the *sanctum*; (c) chamber II, the *sanctum sanctorum*.

(a) On the south side of the entry is a great fallen rock shaped into an altar, the top of which forms an oblong mass (4·80^m long, 1·95^m broad, 0·88^m high) with a wide step all round it (c. 1·45^m broad, c. 3^m high). Beside it are fragments split off from the parent block and forming deep crannies and cavities, in which many small votive offerings came to light. On the north side are limestone bases of bronze statues etc. formerly erected on



Fig. 835.

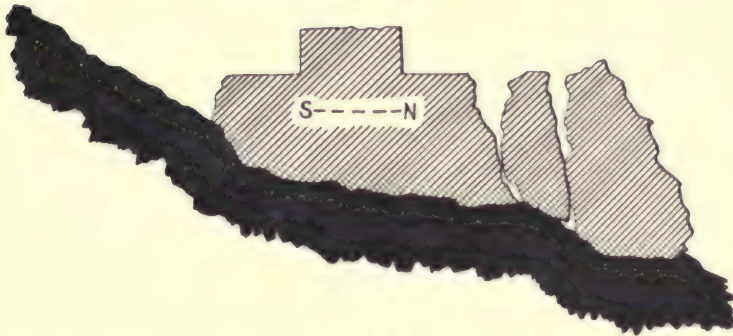


Fig. 836.

the stair-like rocky slope (cp. Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 3. 4 cited *supra*). Immediately in front of the Cave numerous objects in bronze, silver, and gold were unearthed.

(b) The *sanctum*, entered through a broad yawning aperture (9·50^m high), forms a wide hall (25^m to 31^m across) with rocky walls showing no trace of artificial niches. Snow-drifts have carried down into it a thick bed of earth and stones. This contains patches of black carbonised matter, and has yielded the bulk of the articles in plate-bronze.

(c) The *sanctum sanctorum* is a smaller chamber (22^m long, 8^m broad, over 4·50^m high), opening out of the *sanctum* but almost entirely dark. The floor is covered to a depth of several feet with a layer of ashes and charcoal, in which were found fragments of animal-bones half-burnt, several ox-skulls with horns attached, and many terra-cotta lamps.

Below the Cave, on the western edge of the *Nida*-plain, are the foundations of a Roman house once occupied by the custodians of the sanctuary.

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

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

Plate XLIII



Mount Juktas, as seen from the west, showing the profile of the 'Pursuer' (Διώκτας).

See page 939 n. 1.

Mount Juktas¹.

(20) A tablet of terra cotta bearing in rubricated characters of Roman date the crucial inscription Διὶ Ἰδαίῳ | ἐύχην | Ἄσθηρ [Ἄ]λεξάνδρου (E. Fabricius in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 x. 280 f., F. Halbherr *loc. cit.* p. 766).

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

The cave on Mt Ide called *Arkésion* (*supra* p. 548 f.) has been identified tentatively with the *Kamares* grotto (L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 861). But its traditional connexion with the Kouretes (*supra* p. 549 n. 1) points rather to identification with the better known Idaean Cave, where in fact the Curetic *týmpanon* was found (*supra*). The name Ἀρκέσιον has been interpreted (L. Büchner *loc. cit.*) as the 'Bear's Hole' (from ἄρκος, a doublet of ἄρκτος: see Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*³ p. 53, Boisacq *Dict. Etym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 78 f.)—a view which might be supported by the existence of a cavern usually described as that of the Bear (*Arkhoudhes*) in the promontory of *Akrotiri*, east of Kydonia (Canea) (Miss D. M. A. Bate in A. Trevor-Battye *Camping in Crete* London 1913 p. 248). After all, bears had some claim to be regarded as the nurses of the infant Zeus (*supra* i. 112 n. 5).

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

¹ Mt Juktas, an isolated ridge running from south to north towards Knossos and the sea, attains a height of 7200 ft. Its modern Greek name Γιούκτας or Γιούκτας derives from an earlier Διώκτας and means the 'Pursuer' (διώκτης). Such a name of course presupposes a myth, and very fortunately the myth is preserved for us by Kallimachos, who describes the 'pursuit' (διωκτόν) of Britomartis by Minos (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 189 ff., *supra* i. 527 n. 1: cp. Diod. 5. 76 διωκομένην ὑπὸ Μίνω). The poet tells how Britomartis, to escape the embraces of Minos, plunged from the top of Mt Dikte into the sea, but omits to state what became of her disappointed lover. In all probability he was transformed into the mountain still called the 'Pursuer.' For the outline of Juktas, as seen from the west, is suggestive of a human face. A. Trevor-Battye *Camping in Crete* London 1913 p. 184 with pl. (my pl. xliii is reproduced from a photograph very kindly given me by Mr C. R. Haines) remarks: 'Rocks and mountains often bear a likeness to human lineaments; every traveller can recall many such resemblances, but none that I have seen have the convincing dignity of the face on Iuktas. The bearded face and the drapery or pillow on which the head reposes occupy the whole of the mountain-top. Seen in the flatness of the mid-day light it is an interesting outline and no more, but at turn of the sun the sculpturing begins. The sun works in masses, as Michelangelo worked; it carves out the planes of the face as Donatello carved them, letting detail go. So the chiselling continues, a high light here, a deepening shadow there, till with closed eyes the head has sunk down upon its pillow just as the sun is low.' Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i.

mentitaque manes | Creta tuos. Tatian. *or. adv. Graec.* 44 τάφος τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς καθ' ἡμᾶς δεικνύται, καθ' ψεύδεσθαι τὸς Κρήτας λέγει. Loukian. *Iur. trag.* 45 εἰ δ' ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ βροντῶν ἐστί, τὸν ἄμεινον ἂν εἰδείης ἐκείθεν ποθεν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀφργμένος, ἐπεὶ οἱ γε ἐκ Κρήτης ἦκοντες ἄλλα ἡμῖν διηγούνται, τάφον τινὰ ἐκεῖθι δεικνύσθαι καὶ στήλην ἐφεστάναι δηλοῦσαι ὡς οὐκέτι βροντήσσειν ἂν ὁ Ζεὺς πάλαι τεθνεώς, *de sacrif.* 10 οἱ δ' αὖ Κρήτες οὐ γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ τραφήναι μόνον τὸν Δία λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάφον αὐτοῦ δεικνύουσι· καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄρα τοσοῦτον ἠπατήμεθα χρόνον οἰόμενοι τὸν Δία βροντῶν τε καὶ θύων καὶ τάλλα πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν, ὃ δὲ ἐλλέθθαι πάλαι τεθνεώς παρὰ Κρησὶ τεθαμμένος, *philopat.* 10 ἀλλ' ἐτι ἀνεμνήσθην τὰ τῶν Κρητῶν, οἱ τάφον ἐπεδείκνυντό μοι τοῦ Διὸς σου καὶ τὰ τὴν μητέρα θρέψαντα λόχμα (so M. Solanus and F. Guyet for δόχμα), ὡς ἀειθαλεῖς αἱ λόχμαι αὐταὶ διαμένουσι, *philorseud.* 3 τὸ δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἤδη καὶ ἔθνη πολλὰ κοινῇ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ψεύδεσθαι πῶς οὐ γελοῖον; εἰ Κρήτες μὲν τοῦ Διὸς τάφον δεικνύοντες οὐκ αἰσχύνονται, κ.τ.λ., *Timon* ὁ ἦδη ποτὲ οὖν, ὡ Κρόνον καὶ Ῥέας υἱέ, τὸν βαθὺν τοῦτον ὕπνον ἀποσεισάμενος καὶ νήδυμον—ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἐπιμειδῆν γὰρ κεκοιμησάμενος—καὶ ἀναρριπίσας τὸν κεραυνὸν ἢ ἐκ τῆς Οἴτης ἐναυσάμενος μεγάλην ποιήσας τὴν φλόγα ἐπιδείξαιδ' ἴνα χολῆν ἀνδρώδους καὶ νεανικοῦ Διὸς, εἰ μὴ ἀληθῆ ἐστί τὰ ὑπὸ Κρητῶν περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκεί ταφῆς μυθολογούμενα. Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 30 p. 40 f. Schwartz (after quoting Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f.) πιστεύων, Καλλιμαχε, ταῖς γοναῖς τοῦ Διὸς ἀπιστεῖς αὐτοῦ τῷ τάφῳ καὶ νομίζων ἐπισκιάσειν τάληθές καὶ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι κηρύσσει τὸν τεθνηκότα κἂν μὲν τὸ ἄντρον βλέπης, τὸν Ῥέας ὑπομιμνήσκη τόκου, ἂν δὲ τὴν σορὸν ἴδης, ἐπισκοπεῖς τῷ τεθνηκότι, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι μόνος ἄτιδος ὁ ἀγέννητος θεός. Theophil. *ad Autol.* 1. 10 πείσομαι δὲ σου κἀγὼ, ὡ ἄνθρωπε, πόσοι Ζῆνες εὐρίσκονται· Ζεὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν πρώτοις προσ-αγορεύεται Ὀλύμπιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Λατιάριος (*leg.* Λατιάριος), καὶ Ζεὺς Κάσιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Προπάτωρ, καὶ Ζεὺς Παννύχιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Πολιοῦχος, καὶ Ζεὺς Καπετώλιος· καὶ ὁ μὲν Ζεὺς παῖς Κρόνου, βασιλεὺς Κρητῶν γενόμενος, ἔχει τάφον ἐν Κρήτῃ· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἴσως οὐδὲ ταφῆς κατηξιώθησαν, *ib.* 2. 3 πρὸς τί δὲ καὶ καταλέλοιπεν ὁ Ζεὺς τὴν Ἰδῆν; πότερον τελευτήσας, ἢ οὐκ ἐτι ἤρσεν αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὄρος; ποῦ δὲ καὶ ἐπορεύθη; εἰς οὐρανοῦς; οὐχί· ἀλλὰ ἐρεῖς εἰς Κρήτην; ναί, ὅπου καὶ τάφος αὐτῷ ἔως τοῦ δεῦρο δεικνύται. Clem. Al. *prot.* 2. 37. 4 p. 28, 6 ff. Stählin ζῆτει σου τὸν Δία· μὴ τὸν οὐρανόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γῆν πολυπραγμονεῖ. ὁ Κρῆς σοι διηγῆσεται, παρ' ᾧ καὶ τέθαπται· Καλλιμαχος ἐν ἔμμοις (*h. Zeus* 8 f.) “καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὡ ἄνα, σείο | Κρήτες ἐτεκτῆναντο.” τέθνηκε γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς (μὴ δυσφόρει) ὡς Λήδα (J. Markland cj. ὡ Λήδα), ὡς κύκνος, ὡς ἀετός, ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐρωτικός, ὡς δράκων. Philostr. *v. soph.* 2. 4 p. 74 Kayser (Antiochos, a sophist of Aigai in Kilikia, s. ii A.D.) ἄριστα δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν Κρητῶν ἀπολελόγηται, τῶν κρινομένων ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς σήματι, φυσιογνωσίᾳ τε καὶ θεολογίᾳ πάσῃ ἐναγωνισάμενος λαμπρῶς. Orig. *c. Cels.* 3. 43 μετὰ ταῦτα λέγει (*sc.* ὁ Κέλσος) περὶ ἡμῶν ὅτι καταγελωμέν τῶν προσκυνούντων τὸν Δία, ἐπεὶ τὰς φασκόντων δὲ καὶ ἐγγυγέρθαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου, ὅπερ Κρήτες οὐκέτι περὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἱστοροῦσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ δοκεῖ συναγορεύειν τῷ ἐν Κρήτῃ τάφῳ τοῦ Διὸς λέγων· ὅπως μὲν καὶ καθότι Κρήτες τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, οὐκ εἰδότες, φήσομεν ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κυρηναῖος Καλλιμαχος, πλείστα ὅσα ἀναγνοῖς ποιήματα καὶ ἱστορίας σχεδὸν πᾶσαν ἀναλεξάμενος Ἑλληνικῆν, οὐδεμίαν οἷδε τροπολογίαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ. κ.τ.λ. (a quotation and discussion of Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f., 10, 6 ff.). Min. Fel. *Oet.* 21. 8 eius (*sc.* Saturni) filius Iuppiter Cretae excluso parente regnavit, illic obiit, illic filios habuit: adhuc (C. A. Heumann cj. illic adhuc) antrum Iovis visitur et sepulcrum eius ostenditur, et ipsis sacris suis humanitatis arguitur. *Cypr. de idol. van.* 2 (iv. 567 A Migne) antrum Iovis in Creta visitur (uisitor cod. L. uisitor cod. C¹. uisitor cod. C². uidetur cod. P. dicitur cod. M. mittitur cod. B.), et sepulcrum eius ostenditur, et ab eo Saturnum fugatum manifestum est. Porph. *v. Pyth.* 17 (cited *supra* i. 646 n. 3). Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14 aiunt igitur theologi vestri et vetustatis absconditae conditores, tris (*v. l.* tres) in rerum natura Ioves esse, ex quibus unus Aethere sit patre progenitus, alter Caelo, tertius vero Saturno apud insulam Cretam et sepulturae traditus et procreatus, *ib.* 4. 25 apud insulam Cretam sepulturae esse mandatum Iovem nobis editum traditur? Firm. Mat. 7. 6 et a vanis Cretensibus adhuc mortui Iovis tumulus adoratur.

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

ὅ καὶ ἐκατὸν ἔτη· καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτεθῆναι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τῇ νήσῳ <ἐν μνήματι>, ἐν ᾧ ἐπιγέγραπται· ἐνθάδε κείται θανὼν Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς. μέμνηται τοῦ τάφου τούτου πλείστοι ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις συγγράμμασι. Kedren. *hist. comp.* 15 D—16 A (i. 28 f. Bekker) ὁ δὲ Κρόνος ἐξωσθεὶς τῆς βασιλείας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ Διός, κατελθὼν ἐν τῇ δύσει κρατεῖ τῆς Ἰταλίας. εἶτα ὁ Ζεὺς ὑποχωρήσας τῶν Ἀσσυρίων παραγίνεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· ὁ δὲ παραχωρεῖ αὐτῷ βασιλευέν τῆς Ἰταλίας. καὶ πολλοῖς ἔτεσι βασιλεύσας εἶτα τελευτήσας κατατίθεται ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ... μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς τελευτὴν Φαῖνος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐβασίλευσεν, ὃς μετωνομάσθη Ἐρμῆς. An attempt to trace the antecedents of the version common to Soudidas and Kedrenos will be found *supra* p. 693 n. 4. The sources that mention the burial in Crete are Cramer *anecd. Paris.* ii. 236, 15 ff. (= Diod. 6. 5 Vogel) μέλλων δὲ τελευτᾶν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκέλευσε τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ τεθῆναι ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ νήσῳ· καὶ κτίσαντες αὐτῷ ναὸν οἱ αὐτοῦ παῖδες ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ· ὅπερ μνήμά ἐστι μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ᾧ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται, 'ἐνθάδε κατακείται Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσι,' περὶ οὗ συνεγράψατο Διδώδωρος ὁ σοφώτατος χρονογράφος, *ib.* ii. 257, 33 ff. (cited *supra* p. 695), Io. Antioch. *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 542 Müller) (cited *supra* p. 695) and *frag.* 6. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 542 Müller) μέλλων δὲ τελευτᾶν ἐκέλευσε τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ νήσῳ τεθῆναι· καὶ κτίσαντες αὐτῷ ναὸν οἱ αὐτοῦ παῖδες ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ ἐν μνήματι· ὅπερ μνήμα ἐστὶν ἕως τοῦ παρόντος ἐν Κρήτῃ. ἐν τῷ μνήματι ἐπιγέγραπται, 'ἐνθα κείται θανὼν Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσι,' the *Chronicon Paschale* 44 B—C (i. 80 Dindorf) ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς ἐτελεύτα, ἐκέλευσεν τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ ταφῆν τεθῆναι ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ νήσῳ· καὶ κτίσαντες αὐτῷ ναὸν οἱ αὐτοῦ παῖδες ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ νήσῳ ἐν μνήματι· ὅπερ μνήμα ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Κρήτῃ κείμενον ἕως τοῦ παρόντος, ἐν ᾧ ἐπιγέγραπται, 'ἐνθάδε κείται θανὼν Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσιν'· περὶ οὗ συνεγράψατο Διδώδωρος ὁ σοφώτατος χρονογράφος, ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκθέσει τοῦ συγγράμματός αὐτοῦ τοῦ περὶ θεῶν εἶπεν ὅτι Ζεὺς ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου υἱὸς ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ κείται (Diod. 3. 61 *supra*). Psell. ἀναγωγὴ εἰς τὸν Τάνταλον (*supra* i. 158 n. 4) p. 348 Boissonade τοιαύτη μὲν καὶ ἡ δευτέρα δόξα περὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ἡ δὲ τρίτη ἱστορικωτέρα, καὶ ἴσως ἀληθεστέρα. αὐτὸν τε γὰρ καὶ τὸν τούτου πατέρα τὸν Κρόνον οἱ μῦθοι ὁμῶθεν ἀπὸ Κρήτης γεννώσι, καὶ τὸν μὲν οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅπου γῆς κατορικταί, τοῦ δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ δεικνύουσι κολωνῶν· εἶτα, τὴν θνητὴν ὑπεραναβάντες φύσιν, ἀγχισπύρους ποιοῦσι τῆς οὐσίας τῆς κρείττονος, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς θειότητος εἶδος μεταβιβάζουσι. τοῦτ' ἢ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Ἐρμῆς προστίθεται ὁ Τρισμέγιστος. τᾶλλα γὰρ παραθερωρῶν τοῖς μύθοις, τούτων δὲ μόνον γυνὸν ἐξεδέξατο, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου μίμησιν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα διερεθίζει τὸν Τάτ (so J. F. Boissonade for τα cod. A. Τάνταλον cod. B).

For references to the tomb of Zeus in writers of the Renaissance and of modern times see *supra* i. 158 ff. A fifteenth-century map of Crete in the British Museum (MS. Add. 15, 760, f. 11), published by F. W. Hasluck in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 214 f. pl. 1, not only marks the *Sepulcrum Iouis* but adds a view of it, though—to judge from the representation of the neighbouring *Laberintus* as a circular maze-like structure—this is in the nature of a fancy-sketch.

A. Taramelli in 1899 published a rough plan of Mt. Juktas (*supra* i. 159 fig. 130), and drew special attention to the precinct-wall of 'Cyclopean' masonry, which crowns its northern summit at a height of c. 2300 ft above the sea (*supra* i. 160 fig. 132, 161 fig. 133). Within the wall he duly noted the scattered traces of a building, together with much broken pottery including pieces of 'Minoan' *plithoi* (*supra* i. 161 n. 1).

Sir A. J. Evans in 1909 determined the approximate date of the precinct-wall by finding in its inner interstices sherds of 'Middle Minoan i a' ware. 'Middle Minoan i' sherds were also abundant over the rocky surface enclosed by the wall. The cult here carried on passed through two well-marked phases, of 'Middle Minoan' and 'Late Minoan' date respectively.

During the earlier phase offerings were made in the open air at a great altar of ashes. This is represented by two *strata*—a layer of grey ashes yielding ceramic remains of the periods 'Middle Minoan i and ii,' and above it a layer of reddish burnt earth yielding sherds of 'Middle Minoan iii' date. Throughout both *strata* were votive relics in terra cotta—among the ashes, male and female figures, oxen, goats, human limbs (an arm perforated for suspension, two legs joined together), parts of animals (numerous clay ox-horns),

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

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

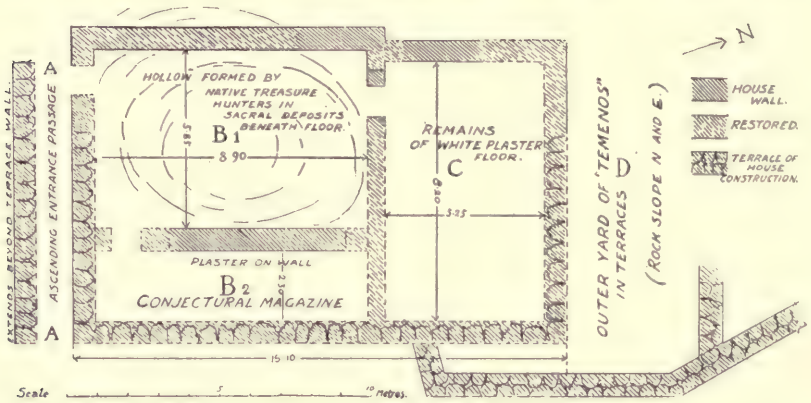


Fig. 837.

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

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

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

Mount Alysis (?)¹.Mount Arbios².

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

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

¹ Schol. Arat. *phaen.* 33 Δίκτω· Δίκτων (Δίκτων om. cod. M.) ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Κρήτης πλῆσιον τῆς Ἰδῆς τοῦ Κρητικοῦ ὄρους, ἐνθα ἐστὶν Ἀλυσίου Διὸς τέμενος παρὰ τὸ παρακείμενον ἐκεῖ ὄρος Ἄλυσσις (so ed. Ald. *περὶ τὸ περικείμενον ἄλσος*, with ἡ ἄλυσσις above ἄλσος cod. A. *περὶ τὸ περικείμενον ἄλσος* cod. M.). E. Maass cj. ἐνθα ἐστὶν Ἀλυσίου Διὸς τέμενος. < ἐκλήθη δὲ οὗτος > παρὰ τὸ περικείμενον ἄλσος. Ἄλυσσις as a hyperdoricism for Ἡλύσιος is improbable.

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

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

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

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

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

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



Fig. 838.



Fig. 839.

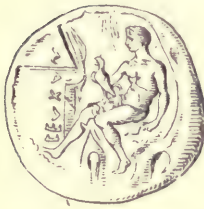


Fig. 840.



Fig. 841.



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

Monn. gr. rom. ii. 3. 989 ff. pl. 256, 4—8) makes it fairly certain that beneath the god is spread a lion (?)—skin, the head of which is touched by his left hand. That we have here to do with a youthful Zeus appears from Hesych. s.v. Γελχάνος (for Φελχάνος)· ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Κρησίην (so J. V. Perger for κρισίω cod. Musurus cj. Ἀκρισίω). We must, I think, conclude that, as at Gortyna Zeus took Europe to wife on a willow-tree (*supra* i. 526 ff.), so in the neighbouring town of Phaistos he had the same or a similar willow-bride.

And here I cannot avoid adding a word on the meaning of the appellative Φελχάνος, which has been often discussed and always misunderstood. Leaving out of account impossible conjectures (for which see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 969 f.), we have before us two more or less improbable alternatives. (1) Some scholars assume the existence of a Cretan word *félkos*, a 'cock,' evidenced by the Phaestian coin-type of Φελχάνος holding a cock and by the occurrence of Γέλκος (? Φέλκος misread) as the name of a cock on a late Corinthian vase (Roulez *Vases de Leide* p. 39 n. 4 pl. 10, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 271, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 413). But the vase-inscription is now read as 'γεκκος?' (A. E. J. Holwerda *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. Afdeling Griekenland en Italie.* 1 Deel: Vaatwerk. Leiden 1905 i. 62). And to bring in the Hesychian glosses *ήικανός· ὁ ἀλεκτρύων* (A. J. Reinach in *L'Anthropologie* 1910 xxi. 76) and *σέρκος· ἀλεκτρύων. και ἀλεκτορίδες σέλκος* with Σελχροί· Πέρσαι (T. Panofka in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1840 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 348) is only to darken counsel. (2) Others assume that Φελχάνος is related to *Volcanus*—an assumption made first by G. Secchi 'Giove **CELANOS** e l'oracolo suo nell' antro Ideo' in the *Dissertazioni della Pontifica Accademia Romana di Archeologia* Roma 1842 x. 331 ff., later by A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1879 iii. 166 f. ('Vielmehr ist Φελχάνος von *félk* glänzen abzuleiten, das in der Form *flék* auch in dem Gottesnamen Ἡγλέκτωρ Ἐπερίων der Sonnengott bei Homer wie in den mythischen Namen Ἡλέκτρα und Ἡλεκτρώων erscheint. Gleichen Stammes ist auch ἄβλαξ (=ἀ-βλαξ)· λαμπρός. Κύπριοι bei Hesych, welches für Digamma beweist.' He defends χ for κ as a Cretan peculiarity, cp. H. Helbig *De dialecto Cretica* Plaviae 1873 p. 13), *id. Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*⁴ Göttingen 1890 i. 133 ('Φελχάνος = Vulcanus'), and last by Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*² p. 853 f. ('Doch sind die angeführten Stützen für ein **welig*-karg und etwas unsicher, dagegen der Anklang von Φελχάνος (mit seinem auffälligen χ) und *Volcanus* so weitgehend, dass beide wohl als identisch und als Lehnworte aus dem Orient zu betrachten sind'). The equation, however, does not satisfactorily explain the χ of Φελχάνος.

Mr B. F. C. Atkinson and I, after a joint consideration of all the *data*, have rejected both these alternatives and reached the conclusion (Feb. 9, 1923) that Φελχάνος means simply 'god of the Willow-tree,' being in fact akin to the English word *willow* (Middle English *wilow*, *wihue*, Anglo-Saxon *welig*, Dutch *wilg*, Low German *wilg*). My contention that Zeus at Phaistos, as at Gortyna, was the consort of a willow-goddess is thus strikingly confirmed. Instead of his usual eagle he has a cock, because that bird as the crest of the Phaestian Idomeneus had a long-standing mythical connexion with the town. Pausanias in describing certain statues by Onatas, which the Achaeans dedicated to Zeus at Olympia, says: 'The one with the scutcheon of the cock on the shield is Idomeneus, the descendant of Minos. They say that Idomeneus was descended from the Sun, who was the sire of Pasiphae, and that the cock is sacred to the Sun and heralds his rising' (Paus. 5. 25. 9 trans. Sir J. G. Frazer). See further G. H. Chase 'The Shield Devices of the Greeks' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 74, 101 f. (nos. lxxvii and lxxviii = eleven vases with cock as shield-sign, one with cock and rosette) and E. Baethgen *De vi ac significatione galli in religionibus et artibus Graecorum et Romanorum* Gottingae 1887 p. 11 f. ('Sol—Apollo').

The cult of Zeus Φελχάνος has left traces of itself in other places beside Phaistos: (1) *Hagia Triada* (F. Halbherr in the *Rendiconti d. Lincci* 1905 xiv. 381 notes the discovery at *Hagia Triada* of numerous tiles incised with the name of the god Φελχάνος, a dialect form of Φελχάνος). (2) Gortyna (J. de Protot *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 42 f. no. 20, 1 = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 248 no. 4963,

The Tallaia range¹.

Bosporos Kimmerios

Gorgippia².

Tanais³.

Moesia

Naissos⁴.

Pirot⁵.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Between *Selenigrad* and *Miloslavci*¹.

Thrace

Anchialos².

Perinthos³.

Selymbria⁴.

Troas

Mount Ide⁵.

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

² Zeus "Υψιστος 'Επόπτης (?) (*supra* p. 878 n. o no. (10)).

³ Zeus Δοφείτης (*supra* p. 874 n. 1).

⁴ Θεός "Αγιος "Υψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. o no. (10)).

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

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

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

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

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

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

some such word as *ἀνέστησαν*. See further G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 170.

Zeus Ἰδαῖος was worshipped at Skepsis also. Bronze coins of the town, struck by Commodus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas*, etc. p. 84 no. 30) and Caracalla (*ib.* p. 84 pl. 16, 1 = my fig. 843), show ΖΕΥΣ ΕΙΔΑΙΟ(C) ΣΚΗΨΙΩΝ clad in a *himation*, standing with an eagle in his right hand and a long sceptre in his left. An inscription from Skepsis (*Kurshunlu Tepe*) records a priest of Zeus Ἰδαῖος (J. A. R. Munro in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 236 on a square marble base [ἦ γ]ερουσία | [τὸν] ἱερέα τοῦ Δι[ὸς τ]οῦ Ἰδαίου καὶ | [τῶν] Σεβαστῶν Γ[ν][αῖ]ον Φλάβιον Ὀλυ[μ]πι[π]ιδώρου υἱὸν | [Ῥολ]υμ-



Fig. 842.



Fig. 843.

πιδωρον, | [τὸ]ν ἐκ προγονῶν | [τῆ]ς πατρίδος εὐ[εργέ]τ(η)ν καὶ εὐ[μ]ποσί(α)ρχην). Demetrios of Skepsis, who c. 150 B.C. compiled an encyclopaedic commentary on *Il.* 2. 814—877, mentions the Trojan claim to possession of the cave where Zeus was born (schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 134 ἀντρῶ ἐν Ἰδαίῳ· ἢ τῷ τῆς Κρήτης, ἢ τῷ τῆς Τροίας. ἀντιποιοῦνται γὰρ καὶ Τρῶες τῆς τοῦ Διὸς γενέσεως, καθά φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Σκῆψιος): cp. *supra* i. 154 n. 2. Other coin-types of Skepsis referable to the same cult are a standing eagle (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 45 no. 4), an eagle with open wings in an oak-wreath (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas*, etc. p. 83 pl. 15. 13, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 628 no. 230 pl. 8, 6, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 549), an eagle standing beside a leafy tree (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 46 no. 5 pl. 2, 6).

A noteworthy bust of Zeus in white marble, formerly in the Stroganoff collection, represents the god upborne on the spread wings of an eagle. He is draped in a *himation* and wears a wreath of pine. Restored: nose, tip of pine-wreath, right foot of eagle. L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Plt.* 1875 p. 200 ff. Atlas pl. 7, 2 (= my fig. 844) regards this as an effigy of Zeus Ἰδαῖος dating from s. i or ii A.D. The association of a Zeus-head with Attis (*supra* p. 297 fig. 189) prepares us to see in the pine-wreath a reminiscence of the tree that figures so largely in the religion of Attis and Kybele (Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 142—147, 263 fig. 11, J. Murr *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* Innsbruck 1890 p. 117 f., H. Graillot *op. cit.* p. 121 ff. and Index p. 597 s.vv. 'Pin,' 'Pin (pomme de)'). And this connexion certainly seems more probable than any reference to the pine-wreath of the Isthmian victor.

Attempts have been made in modern times to locate the cult-centre of Zeus Ἰδαῖος. J. Thacher Clarke 'Gargara, Lamponia and Pionia: towns of the Troad' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1888 iv. 291—319 notes (a) *et. mag.* p. 221, 26 ff. Γάργαρος· πόλις τῆς Ἰδῆς ἐν ὑψηλῷ τόπῳ κειμένη, ἣν κατῶκον Λέλεγες· ἐξ ἧς διὰ τὸ κρυφῶδες ὑποκατέβησαν οἱ Γαργαρεῖς, καὶ ᾤκισαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ πεδίον (an leg. αὐτὴν ὑποπόδιον? A.B.C.) Γάργαρον. ἐκείνη δὲ ἐρημωθεῖσα καλεῖται Παλαιὰ Γάργαρος· κ.τ.λ.: (b) Strab. 606 μετὰ γὰρ τὸ Λεκτὸν τὸ Πολυμηθῖδον ἐστὶ χωρίον τι ἐν τετταράκοντα σταδίοις, εἴτ' ἐν ὀγδοήκοντα Ἄσσοις (so C. Mannert for Ἄσσοις codd.), μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης, εἴτ' ἐν ἑκατὸν καὶ τετταράκοντα Γάργαρα· κείται δὲ τὰ Γάργαρα ἐπ' ἄκρας ποιούσης τὸν Ἰδῆος Ἀδραμυττηνὸν καλούμενον κόλπον. Assuming Strabon's distances to be cumulative, not consecutive, he infers that Palaia Gargaros is the ruined town with walls of polygonal masonry still to be seen on the top of *Kozlu Dag* 10 kilometers east-north-east from Assos, that Gargaros on the plain below is the large field of later ruins at the foot of the slope on which lies the Turkish town of *Sazly*, and that the cape mentioned by Strabon is *Katerga Burnu* near Assos.

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



Fig. 844.

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

Mysia

Kyzikos¹.Mount Olympos².Pergamon³.

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

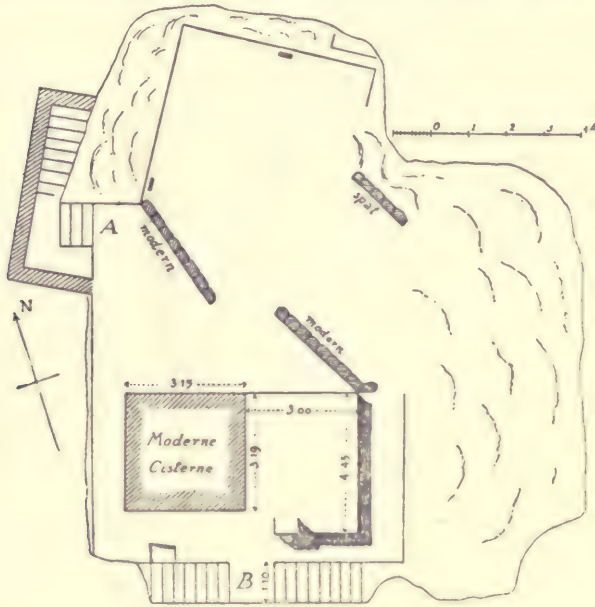


Fig. 845.

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

¹ Zeus "Τψιστος and Θεός "Τψιστος (*supra* p. 881 n. o no. (21)).

² Zeus 'Ολύμπιος (Mnaseas *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 154 Müller) *ap. schol. T. II.* 20. 234 Μνασέας μὲν φησιν ὑπὸ Ταντάλου ἠρπάσθαι (sc. Γανυμήδην) καὶ ἐν κρηγεσίῳ πεσόντα ταφῆναι ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ 'Ολύμῳ κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ 'Ολυμπίου Διός). *Supra* i. 116 n. 8, 124.

³ The district of Pergamon was of old sacred to the Kabeiroi (Paus. i. 4. 6 ἦν δὲ νέμονται οἱ Περγαμηνοὶ, Καβείρων ἱερὰν φασιν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον), who as the most ancient deities of the land were worshipped with mystic rites and invoked in stormy weather (Aristeid. *or.* 55 (ii. 709 Dindorf) τοῦτό μοι (Grauert *cj. μὲν* πρεσβύτατοι δαιμόνων ἐνταῦθα λέγονται γενέσθαι Κάβειροι, καὶ τελεταὶ τοῖσι καὶ μυστήρια, ἃ τσαυτὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχου πεπίστανται ὥστε χειμῶνων τε ἐξαισίω (with which word the fragmentary oration ends)). Their cult, attested by the name of a *prytanis* Κάβειρος (M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* Berlin 1895 ii. 177 ff. no. 251, 1 and 34. *cp.* E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonium 1911 p. 143 f.), was perhaps at one time carried on in connexion with the apsidal building hidden by the foundations of the great Pergamene altar (*supra* i. 120). They are represented on the large frieze of that altar as two youthful warriors attacking a huge bovine giant with double axe and sword respectively (*supra* i. 110 n. 4). Coppers of Severus Alexander (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 158 pl. 32, 3) and Gallienus (*ib.* p. 162 pl. 32, 8) show two youthful male figures standing on either side of an altar: one

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

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

Τηλεφίδαις, οἱ Ζηνὶ πλέον Κρονίδῃ βασιλῆϊ
ἐξ ἄλλων τισσόμενοι Τευθραντίδα γαίαν
ναλοῖσιν καὶ Ζητὸς ἐρισμαράγοιο γενέθλι
ἡμὲν Ἀθηναίῃ πολεμηδόκκω ἀτρυτώνῃ
ἡδὲ Δι(ω)νύσω λαθικηθῆει φυσίζῶϊ
ἡδὲ καὶ εἰητήρι νόσ(ω)ν Παιήνοι λυγρῶν·
οἶσι πᾶρ Οὐρανοῦ νῆεσ ἐθήησαντο Κάβειροι
πρῶτοι Περγαμῆς ὑπὲρ ἄκ(ρι)οσ ἀ(σ)τε(ρ)ο(πιη)τή(ν)
τικτόμενον Δία, μητρώων δτε (γα)στ(έρα) λῦσ(εν)· κ.τ.λ.

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

- [ἀγ]αθῆ τύχη.
[Οὐλύμπιο] μέτωπον, ἄκρην Τειτηνίδα, ναῖον,
[ὦ Ζεῦ δέσποτα,] χαῖρε. λιταζομένωμ πολιτέων
[κλύθι, πάτερ μ]ακάρων τε καὶ ἀτρυγέτων ἀνθρώπων,
5 [λαμπρῶσ οὐραν]ίην ἐφέπων ἴτιν αἰγλήεσαν,
[δημιοεργέ βίου] πεφατισμένε σοῖς ὑπὸ φύλοισ·
[τῶν ἀγαθῶν γάρ] φαῦλα διακρείνας πάρος ἔλης
[πᾶσιν ἔδωκας χ]ρῆσιν ἐπάρκιον ἡμεριοῖσιν,
[νείμασ καὶ γαῖαν] τε πολύκλυστον τε θάλασσαν,
10 [αἰθέρα καὶ πᾶ]ντ' ἄλλα, τὰ σὴ ποιήσατο μήτις.
[ἐλθέ σε κληῖτο]νσι, μάκαρ, μάκαρ, εἴλαοσ ἡμῖν
καὶ πτό[λιν ἰθόνο]υσιν ἀμύμοσιν Περγαμίδαισιν,
ἐλθέ σὺν ἰητήρι θεῶμ Παιήνοι κλειτῶι
θεσπεσίην Ἔγλειαν ἐσ ἀγλαὰ δώματ' ἀγοντι
15 Ἐνόμοιη τε καὶ Εὔστασιη λιπαρῆι τ' Εἰρήμηι
Ἥρηι τε ζυγίηι, ἀλόχω σέο κυδέσσει,
καὶ Θέμιδι ἀρχ[εγ]όνωι, προυφητίδι καρτεροβούλωι,
καὶ γάμον [ἀξο]μένηι γλαυκῶπιδι Τριτογενεῖηι
κ[α]ι [παίδων μεδ]έοντι διακτόρωι Ἐρμάωνι
20 [καὶ Μοίραισ κλυμ]έμησιω ἀμύμοσιν Ἀδ[ρηστ]είαισ.

- [κοίρανος ούρα]νίαισι κεκασμένος ἤνε[κ]ες ὤραις,
 [ἦρι περιστέλλο]ντι κ[ό]μην εὐθρεπτον ἀ[ρ]ούραις
 [ἡδὲ θέρει καρπὸν πολί]δοσταχυν ἀμώντ[ι]
 [πορφύρεον τε τρυγῶν]τι βότρυν λιπαρῶι μ[ε]θοπαῶρω[ι]
 25 [καὶ χειμῶνι βροτοῖς] ὄρην εὐκρητον ἀγο[ν]τ[ι],
 [ἐλθεὲ πόλιν σώξ]εμι, μάκαρ, δλβιε, καὶ λ[ύ]ε πῆμα,
 [ὅττι κακῶς ὠμῶς τ]ε κατὰ φρένας ἔλλ[αβεν ἡμᾶς].
 [ταρβέομεν γὰρ πᾶν]τες αἰεὶ κήτεια [πέλωρα]
 [λοίμης· ἦ μάλα λ]αδὸν ἀρειον ἀμ[ύ]μονα τρύχει,
 30 [ὀστρωι λυσσῆ]ντι κατ[α]σκήπτουσα πολίταις.]
 [ἀλλὰ σύ, κάρπιμε] Παι[άν], ----]:

The older and simpler altar of Zeus, consisting of ashes from the thighs of victims sacrificed to the god (Paus. 5. 13. 8 πεποιήται δὲ (sc. the altar of Zeus at Olympia) ἱερεῖων τῶν θουομένων τῷ Διὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῶν μηρῶν, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἐν Περγάμῃ· κ.τ.λ.), probably occupied the actual summit of the hill (*supra* i. 120 f. fig. 89). The magnificent altar built by Eumenes ii was situated near the top, on a broad terrace seventy or eighty feet below the temple of Athena (*supra* i. 118 ff. pl. x and figs. 87, 88). This altar has often been identified with ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ (Rev. 2. 13); but the phrase refers rather to Pergamon as the centre of the imperial cult (R. H. Charles *A critical and exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* Edinburgh 1920 i. 60 f.).

Zeus was associated with Athena (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* 1890 i. 29 ff. no. 29 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1215 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 280 a dedication of c. 223 B.C. βασιλέα Ἀτταλον (sc. Attalos i) | Ἐπιγένης καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ στρατ[ι]ῶται | οἱ συναγωνισάμενοι τὰς πρὸς τοὺς Γ[α]λάτας | καὶ Ἀντίοχον μάχας χαρισ[τ]ήρια | Διὶ, Ἀθηνᾶι. | Ἐ(π)ιγόνου ἐργα) or more often with Athena Νικηφόρος (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 32 ff. nos. 33—37, 43 ff. nos. 51—56, 46 no. 58, 50 f. no. 63, 52 f. no. 65 f., 54 f. no. 69, 124 ff. nos. 214—216, 130 ff. no. 225—the formula in each case being Διὶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶι Νικηφόρωι). E. Thraemer *Pergamos* Leipzig 1888 pp. 223—227 infers from their association that the temple of Athena, which is divided by a cross-wall into two approximately equal halves (J. L. Ussing *Pergamos* Berlin—Stuttgart 1899 pl. 3 after *Pergamon* ii pl. 3), was in reality a double temple of Zeus and Athena. He notes the Pergamene coin-type of Athena's owl on the thunderbolt of Zeus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 132 pl. 27, 13 ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 536: cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 84 pl. 19, 5, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 136 pl. 18, 8 similar type on a coin of Amastris) and suspects an allusion to their joint temple in a couplet on the base of a marble herm from the Byzantine wall on the south side of the *agorá* (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 242 no. 325 Ἐρμῆν θυραῖον Ῥοῦφος ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς | εἰδρυνσε φύλακα τοῦ νεῶ καὶ ῥύτορα). But his views have not been adopted by the authors of the official Berlin publication.

Zeus figures of course in Pergamene oaths. Eumenes i and the mercenary leaders who rose against him in 263 B.C. swore by Zeus, Ge, Helios, Poseidon, Demeter, Ares, Athena Ἄρεα καὶ ἡ Ταυροπόλος (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 10 ff. no. 13 = Michel *op. cit.* no. 15 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 266 quoted *supra* p. 729 n. o no. (3)). Towards the end of s. ii B.C. public oaths were administered at the altar of Zeus Σωτήρ in the *agorá* (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 177 ff. no. 251, 27 ff. = Michel *op. cit.* no. 519, 27 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 592, 27 ff. ὅπως δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον διαμείνη | βέβαια Ἀσκληπιάδῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις τοῖς | Ἀσκληπιάδου, ἐπιτελεῖν ὄρκωμοσιον τὴν πόλιν | ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος τῶι βωμῶ[ι] | καὶ ὁμοσαι τὰς τιμουχίας, ἧ μὴν ἐμμενεῖν κ.τ.λ.). Among the honours decreed to Attalos iii by Elaia was a golden equestrian statue to be set up on a marble column beside the altar of Zeus Σωτήρ in the *agorá* (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 153 ff. no. 246, 9 ff. = Michel *op. cit.* no. 515, 9 ff. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 332, 9 ff. στήσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα χρυσῆν ἐφιππον ἐπὶ στυλίδος μαρμαρινῆς παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς [τ]οῦ Σωτήρος βωμῶν, ὅπως ὑπάρχηι ἡ | εἰκὼν ἐν τῶι ἐπιφανε-σστάτῳ τόπωι τῆς ἀγορᾶς, κ.τ.λ.); but this must refer to the *agorá* at Elaia, not at Pergamon (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 156).

- Philadelphieia¹.
Mount Tmolos².
Tralleis³.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tralleis was formerly called *Δία* (*et. mag.* p. 389, 55 f. cited *supra* p. 587 n. 2, cp. L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 299) and was officially described as sacred to Zeus (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2926 (of s. iii A.D.) *Τι. Κλ. Γλύπτον, | Ἀνδρονίκου (υἱόν), | τὸν ἀγορανόμου, | τὸν ὑπέρατον | λογιστ(ή)ν καὶ | σωτήρα καὶ | κτίστην τῆς | πατρίδος, | τῆς λαμπροτάτης | πόλε(ω)ς τῆς νεκροῦ τῶν Σεβαστῶν, | ἱερᾶς τοῦ Διὸς, κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τῆς | συνκλήτου Τραλλιανῶν | οἱ μύσται | τῶν ἱερῶν* (Lebas—Waddington iii. 203 no. 604 read *οἱ μύσται τὸν εὐε[ργέτην]*)) or to Zeus *Λαράσιος* (K. Buresch in the *Ath. Mittl.* 1894 xix. 111 ff. no. 12 (time of Caracalla) *Φλάουιον Φ[λ](αουῖου) | Διαδοῦμενον (ἐπίτροπον?) | τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ὑπ[α]ρικῶν συνηγῆ | ἡ κρατίστη <ι> > Κλανδία | βουλῆ καὶ ὀδῆ[μο]ς [τῆς] | λαμπροτάτης [μητρο]πόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ | νεκροῦ τῶν Σεβαστῶν | καὶ ἱερᾶς τοῦ [Διὸς τοῦ Λα]ρασιῦ κ[ατὰ τὰ δόγματα] | τῆς ἱερωτά[της συνκλή]του Καισα[ρέων Τραλλια]νῶν πόλ[εως] | διὰ τὴν (ὑ)περ[τ]ά[την?] | ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ λειτουργ[γ]ίας εὐνοια[ν] καὶ | φιλοτιμία[ν]). Decrees were set up in the sanctuary of Zeus (A. E. Kontoleon in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 516 no. 4, 2 ff. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα | [τὸ]δε ἀναγράφαι εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι | ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς, M. Pappakonstantinou *Αἱ Τράλλεις ἦτοι συλλογῆ Τραλλιανῶν ἐπιγραφῶν* Athens 1895 no. 42 (of s. iii B.C.) ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σελευκεῖων (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 108) . . . ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸδε ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ [?] προ (suppl. J. O. Schäfer) *νόμ* τοῦ Διὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ) or Zeus *Λαράσιος* (A. Fointier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 466 ff., v. 11 ff. (of s. iii B.C.) [ἀναγ]ράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸδε εἰς τ[ὴν] ἀσπερὶ τούτων ἐπι[σκευασθεῖσας στήλας καὶ στήσαι μίαν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λα[ρα]σιῦ [οῦ], τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν | ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθη[ν]ῶν, M. Pappakonstantinou in the *Ath. Mittl.* 1888 xiii. 411 no. 2, 5 ff. ἀνα[γ]ράψαι δ(ε) αὐτὸν καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλε[ως] καὶ | τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην | [καὶ στή]σαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λα[ρα]σιῦ, κ.τ.λ., A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 318 ff. no. 143, 66 ff. (a decree of Seleukeia (Tralleis) cited in a pact of 212/11 B.C. between Miletos and Seleukeia) ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις συν[τελέσαι θυσία]ν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Λα[ρα]σιῷ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τοῖς ἱερομνήμονας κα[ὶ] | [τοῖς (8—10 letters missing) καὶ τοῖς θ]ε[ε]ρ[έ]τοις ἐπιεχομένοις συνεγεκῆς ἀμοτέραις | [ταῖς πόλεσι τὰ ἐψηφισμένα καὶ εἶναι] ἐπὶ σωτηραῖ καὶ εὐτυχίαι· ἀνα[γ]ράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ | [Διὸς τοῦ Λα[ρα]σιῦ κ.τ.λ.], T. Macridy in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1912 xv. 59 f. (a *stèle* of Hellenistic date from Notion) A, 3 ff. ἀναγράφουσι τὰ ψηφίσ[σ]α[τα] εἰς στήλας λιθίνας δύο καὶ ἰσῶσι τῆμ μὲν μίαν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τ[οῦ] | [Διὸς τοῦ Λα[ρα]σιῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν παρ' ἡμῖν κ.τ.λ.). And votive offerings to the god included a couple of eagles (C. Fellows *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia* London 1841 p. 19 = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii Add. no. 2923 δ = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii. 200 no. 597 (beneath a well-carved eagle *minus* its head) *Διογένης Ὀρθι[ων]ος Εὐφῆ Διὶ εὐχα[ρ]ιστῶν τούτους | δὲ ἀετοῖς ἀνέθηκε*. The *formula* *θεῷ Διὶ* is exceptional and sounds like a Latinism, cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 80, 1 f. *deo | Iovi* and the like) and an effigy of Dionysos (M. Pappakonstantinou *Αἱ Τράλλεις κ.τ.λ.* no. 150 *ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ*· τῷ Διὶ τὸν Διόνυσον Ἀγαθήμερος ἱερός (on this title see G. Cardinali 'Note di terminologia epigrafica II' *Thron* in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1908 xvii. 165 ff., O. Kern 'Hieroi und Hierai' in *Hermes* 1911 xlvi. 300 ff., Link in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1471 ff.)).*

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

held office for life (E. Loewy in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1886 xi. 203 f. no. 1 = A. E. Kontoleon in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 456 f. no. 8 = J. R. S. Sterrett in the *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1888 ii. 325 no. 379 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 499 'On the base or capital of a column' [Γ.] 'Ιουλιου Φιλίππου ἀρχιερέως | 'Ασίας υἱόν, Οὐέλινρα, Φίλιππον, ἱππέα 'Ρωμαίων (Loewy and Dittenberger give 'Ρωμαιοῖον), τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἐν 'Ρώμ[η]ι δικαστῶν, | ἐπίτροπον τῶν Σεβαστῶν, πατέρα 'Ιουλί[ου] | Φιλίππου συγκλητικῆς, στρατηγῶν 'Ρωμαίων, ἱερέα διὰ βίου τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρασίου, J. R. S. Sterrett in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1883 viii. 330 ff. no. 11, 14 ff. = *id.* in the *Papers of the American School* 1885 i. 110 ff. no. 11, 14 ff. (c. 200 A.D.) ἐπὶ ἱερέως διὰ βίου τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρασίου Φλαουίου | Κλειτοσθένους τοῦ κρατίστου δις 'Ασιάρχου, πρώτο[υ] | 'Ασίας, πατρός ὑπατικοῦ κα[ὶ] | πάππου συγκλητικῶν, τῆς | θ' αὐτοῦ πενταετηρίδος, M. Pappakonstantinou Αἰ Τράλλεις κ.τ.λ. no. 12 (a similar inscription) ἐπὶ ἱερέως διὰ βίου τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρασίου Φλαουίου Κλειτοσθένους κ.τ.λ., *id.* in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 239 no. 4 (on a four-sided marble base) [Τ. Φλάουιον] | Στασικλέα Μητροφάγη τὸν κράτιστον | ἱερέα διὰ βίου τοῦ Διὸς | τοῦ Λαρασίου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτη[ν] | τῶν μεγάλων ἡ ἱερῶν | εἰσελαστικῶν εἰς ἅπασαν | τὴν οἰκουμένην ~ | ἀγῶνων πρώτων Πυθίων | ὑόν Τ. Φλ. Κλειτοσθένους | ὑπατικοῦ ~ ἔργον ~ | Τ. Φλ. Κλειτοσθένους, πατρός | [ὑπατικοῦ - - - - -]). When, in s. ii A.D., Tralleis was visited by an earthquake, a Pythian oracle delivered to the priest Kleitosthenes represented the disaster as due to the wrath of Zeus for the city's neglect of Poseidon the earthquake-god and directed that ample atonement should be made to both deities (A. Hauvette-Besnault and Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 340 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* Add. 6. 104 b = O. Kern in *Genethliakon* Carl Robert zum 8. März 1910 überreicht von der Graeca Halensis Berlin 1910 p. 98 ff. with pl. χρησμός τοῦ Πυθίου | δοθεὶς Κλειτοσθένει τῷ | ἱερεὶ τοῦ Διὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς | σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως: |

χειλιγέτες μήνεμα πάτρης Διὸς ἐξαναλόσας
 μειλιχίη Σεισίχθονι ἐν ἄλσει βωμῶν ἐνείρας
 θύεο, μὴ διερεύνω μ' ὦ πόλις, εἰραλίφ νῦν
 ἐννομίην Κρονίδη, φοιβῆ χερὶ δὲ ἀρητήρος,
 πυρῶν καὶ καρπῶν τ' ἐπιδράγματα πάντα· καλεισθῶ
 ἀσφάλιος, τεμενοῦχος, ἀπτόρπος, ἱππιος, ἀργῆς·
 ὦδε, πόλις, δὲ ὕμνεϊτε δεδραγμένον εἰφι βεβῶτα
 οὐ τε βάθρων κύκνειον ὄσοι γέρας ἀμφιπένεσθε
 ἐν χορῷ εἰς αἰεὶν Σεισίχθονα καὶ Δ[ι]α μείλαξ

(The last word is a puzzle. O. Kern *loc. cit.* p. 101 n. 1 holds that it is either an unknown adverb or a form comparable with Hesych. μίλαξ· ἡλικία. ἔνοι δὲ μέλλαξ· καὶ παρ' Ἑρμίππῳ ἐν Θεοῖς (*frag.* 10 (*Frag. com.* Gr. ii. 392 Meineke)), ἀγνοήσας Ἀρτεμίδωρος· ἐκεῖ γὰρ μίλαξ ἔστω. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸν δημοτικόν. J. O. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 464 f. prefers the first alternative and assumes μείλαξ = μειλιχίη. No allusion to the botanical μίλαξ is probable.) Another priest of s. ii A.D., Claudius Meliton, made a dedication to Zeus Λαράσιος Σεβαστὸς Εὐμενῆς (J. R. S. Sterrett in the *Papers of the American School* 1888 ii. 326 f. no. 381 Διὶ Λαρασίῳ Σεβαστῷ | Εὐμενεὶ Κλαυδί(ο)ς Μελίτων ὁ ἱερεὺς | ἀποκατέστησεν), i.e. to the emperor Hadrian, who in 129 A.D. came to Tralleis (W. M. Ramsay *ib.* 1885 i. 102) and was there identified with Zeus Λαράσιος (J. B. Lightfoot *The Apostolic Fathers* London 1885 ii. 1. 617 n. 1, J. R. S. Sterrett *loc. cit.* 1888 ii. 327), just as in 128 A.D. he came to Athens and was there identified with Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (P. v. Rohden in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 509), or just as in 132 A.D. he came to Dodona and was there identified with Zeus Δωδωναῖος (*id. ib.* i. 512, on the strength of *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 1822 cited *infra* *Append. M. med.*).

Special interest attaches to the inscription on a small marble base from *Aidin* in the Pursar collection at Smyrna (W. M. Ramsay in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 276 f. no. 19, *id.* *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 94 ff., 115 no. 18 [ἀγ]αθὴ τύχη· | Α. Αὐρηλία Αἰ[μ]ιλία ἐκ προγόνων παλλακίδων καὶ ἀνιπποκίδων θ[υ]γάτηρ Α. Αὐρ. Σ[ε]κόνδου Ση[λ]ίου παλλακείσα|κα κατὰ χρῆσμον (space) | (space) Διὶ ᾄ). Sir William Ramsay comments: 'Aurelia Aemilia belonged to a family in which the ancient custom was retained that the women should in their youth be *hetairai* in the service of the temple.

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

Coppers of Seleukeia (Tralleis) first struck late in s. iii B.C. (Head *Hist. num.*² p. 659) have *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right; *rev.* humped bull, with ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ above and magistrate's name below, all within meander-border (F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmiünzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 p. 169 pl. 7, 7). Some specimens add ΔΙΟΣ above and ΛΑΡΑΣΙΟΥ below the bull (*id. ib.* p. 169 no. 3). One, in place of the meander, gives ΔΙΟΣ ΛΑΡΑΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥ (*sic*) (*id. ib.* p. 169 f. no. 4), cp. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 985, 6 ff. (Philadelphieia in Lydia: s. i B.C.) Διὸς [γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ] | τοῦ Εὐμενοῦς καὶ Ἐστίας τ[ῆς παρέδρου αὐ] τοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Σωτ[ήρων κ.τ.λ.] and the dedication to Hadrianas Zeus Λαράσιος Σεβαστὸς Εὐμενῆς cited *supra*. The inference is that Eumenes i was divinised after his death as Zeus Εὐμενῆς: cp. the divinisation of Eumenes ii in Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 515, 22 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 332, 22 Θεοῦ βασιλέως Εὐμένου Σωτήρος (*ib.* 24 f., 27 f., 45). Coppers of Tralleis struck in early imperial times have sometimes *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right; *rev.* Δ[ΙΟ]Σ ΛΑΡΑΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ[ΣΑ]ΡΕΩΝ humped bull standing to left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 339 no. 87: my fig. 847 is from a cast of this specimen). Later we find *obv.* ΣΕΥΚΛΑ ΡΑΚΙΟC bust of Zeus, laureate, to right, within border of dots; *rev.*



Fig. 847.

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

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

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



Fig. 848.

Ionia

Smyrna¹.Ephesos².

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

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

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

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

² The Zeus-cult of the Ephesians can be traced back to the first half of s. vii B.C. (Kallin. *frag.* 4 Bergk¹, 2 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Strab. 633 ἦν ἵκα καὶ Σμύρνα ἐκαλείτο ἡ Ἐφεσος· καὶ Καλλίνος που οὕτως ἀνόμεκεν αὐτήν, Σμυρναίους τοὺς Ἐφεσίουσιν καλῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Δία λόγῳ· 'Σμυρναίους δ' ἐλέησον'· καὶ πάλιν· 'μῆσαι δ' εἰ κοτὲ τοι μηρία καλά βοῶν | <Σμυρναῖοι κατέκταναν (ins. I. Casaubon)>' κ.τ.λ.). But here Zeus was always of less importance than Artemis; and the tradition which located her birth at Ortygia (the glen of *Arvalia*: see O. Benndorf *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1906 i. 76 ff.) boldly appropriated his Kouretes (C. Picard *Éphèse et Claros* Paris 1922 pp. 277 ff., 423 ff.), installing them on Mt Solmissos (Strab. 640 ὑπέρεκεται δὲ τοῦ ἄλλουσιν ὄρος ὁ Σολμισσός, ὅπου σάντας φασὶ τοὺς Κορυήτας τῷ ψόφῳ τῶν ἑπλων ἐκπλήξαι τὴν Ἴηραν ζηλοτύπως ἐφεδρεύουσαν, καὶ λαθεῖν συμπράξαντας τὴν λοχίαν τῇ Ἀητοί. κ.τ.λ.).

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

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

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



Fig. 849.

Magnesia ad Maeandrum¹.Miletos².**Karia**Halikarnassos³.Myndos⁴.Iasos⁵.Lagina⁶.Mylasa⁷.Panamara⁸.Stratonikeia⁹.

vet.² ii. 514). Others struck by Valerianus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia* p. 101 no. 357) and Salonina (*supra* p. 743 n. 7 fig. 681) show Zeus naked, striding to right, with thunderbolt in uplifted right hand and eagle on outstretched left.

Finally, the cult-statue of Artemis was called Διοπετής as having fallen from Zeus (Acts 19. 35 τίς γάρ ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων θεὸς οὐ γινώσκει τὴν Ἐφεσίων πόλιν νεωκόρον οὖσαν τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τοῦ διοπετοῦς; Oikoumenios *comm. in acta apost.* 19. 18—34 (cxviii. 253 Migne) δεικνύσι πολλὴν εἶναι τὴν δεῖσιδαιμονίαν τῶν Ἐφεσίων ὃ γραμματεῖς ἐκ τε τοῦ κοσμεῖν τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ εἰδῶλον αὐτῆς τιμᾶν, ὅπερ καὶ Διοπετὲς ἔλεγον ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς πεπτωκός. ἦτοι γὰρ τὸ ὄστρακον ἔλεγον ἐκεῖνο πάντες (*leg. πάντως*) Διοπετὲς τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς πεμφθέν, ἦτοι καταπτᾶν καὶ γενόμενον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἄγαλμα, ἦτοι τὸ Παλλάδιον, καθὼς ἐμύθεον οἱ Ἕλληνες πρὸς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἀκρασιτέρων, ὅπερ ἀνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς διαπλάσθηται ῥόντο καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων. ἡ Διοπετοῦς τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς, ἦτοι τοῦ στρογγυλοειδοῦς. ἡ καὶ ἱερὸν ἕτερον οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο παρ' αὐτοῖς = Theophylaktos archbishop of Bulgaria *explos. in acta text. alt.* 29 (cxxv. 1013 Migne) 'καὶ τοῦ Διοπετοῦς.' τὸ εἰδῶλον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐκαλεῖτο Διοπετὲς ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς πεπτωκός' ἦτοι τὸ ὄστρακον [*ἔλεγον*] ἐκεῖνο πάντως Διοπετὲς τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς πεμφθέν ἦτοι καταπτῶν (*leg. καταπτᾶν*) καὶ οὐ γενόμενον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καθὼς ἐμύθεον Ἕλληνες, Isidoros of Pelousion 4 *epist.* 207 (lxxviii. 1299 Migne) οἱ παρ' Ἑλλήσι τὰ ξάνα κατασκευάσαντες, φόβον ἐμποῖῃσαι τοῖς ὀρώσι βουλόμενοι, ἔφασκον ὅτι ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπέμφθη ἡ κατέπη, κρεῖττον ἀπάσης ἀνθρωπίνης χειρός. διὸ καὶ διοπετὲς αὐτὸ καὶ οὐράνιον βρέτας προσηγόρευον = Souid. *s.v.* διοπετὲς' ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατερχόμενον. ὅτι οἱ παρ' Ἑλλήσι τὰ ξάνα κατασκευάζοντες, φόβον ἐμποῖῃσαι βουλόμενοι τοῖς ὀρώσιν, ἔφασκον ὅτι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπέμφθη καὶ κατέπη, κρεῖττον ὑπάρχον πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης χειρός καὶ ἀνάλωτον. ὅθεν καὶ διοπετὲς αὐτὸ καὶ οὐράνιον βρέτας ἐκάλου, Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 2. 5 (lxxvii. 945 C Migne) γυμνωθέντες δὲ τῆς τοῦ πλήθους ῥοπῆς οἱ νεωκόροι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς προὐδωκαν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμώτατα καὶ τὰ διοπετῆ καλούμενα). Cp. the passages cited by Stephanus *Theos. Gr. Ling.* ii. 1527 c, to which add Apollod. 3. 12. 3 τὸ διοπετὲς Παλλάδιον, Konon *narr.* 34 τὸ διοπετὲς Ἀθηναῖς Παλλάδιον, Io. Philop. *περὶ ἀγαλμάτων αρ.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 173 b 10 f. διοπετῆ ἐπωνόμασαν. See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 774 n. 2 and P. Saintyves 'Talismans et reliques tombés du ciel' in the *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques* 1909 ii. 175 ff., *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie* 1910 i. 50 ff., 103 ff.

¹ Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 873 n. 0 no. (7)).

² Zeus Ἐψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)).

³ Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 872 n. 0 no. (5)).

⁴ Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 872 n. 0 no. (6)).

⁵ Zeus Ἐψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)).

⁶ Zeus Ἐψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)).

⁷ Zeus Ἐψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)). For Zeus Ὀσογῶα or Ζηνοποσειδῶν see *supra* p. 576 ff.; and for Zeus Λαβράνδος or Zeus Σπράτιος, *supra* pp. 576 ff., 585 ff., 705.

⁸ Zeus Ἐψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)). For Zeus Πανάμαρος, Πανήμερος, Πανήμεριος see *supra* i. 18 ff.

⁹ Zeus Ἐψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)).

KosKos¹.**Bithynia**Prousa ad Olympum².**Phrygia**Aizanoi³.¹ Θεὸς Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 880 n. o no. (18)).

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

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



Fig. 850.



Fig. 851.



Fig. 852.

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

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

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

The *tēmenos* of Zeus, which occupies a square terrace (146.46^m × 162.96^m) contrived on a natural hill-top, had a *façade* of twenty-two marble-clad arches with a broad stairway (30^m across) in their midst. This gave access to a square *stoa* consisting of a double range of Corinthian columns with a handsome *propylaion* opposite to the stairway. Outside the *stoa* were gardens, *exedrai*, and statues. Inside the *stoa*, on a stylobate of seven steps, rose the temple, a beautifully finished Ionic structure in blue-grey half-marble, dating apparently from Hadrianic times. (A. Körte 'Das Alter des Zeustempels von Aizanoi' in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 pp. 209—214 with pl. 11 (=my



Fig. 853.

fig. 853)) and in various points inspired by the Athenian Erechtheion. The building was octostyle and pseudo-dipteral with fifteen columns down the long side, two in the *prōnaos*, and two in the *opisthōdomos*. These last are of interest as having a band of acanthus-leaves beneath their Ionic volutes—a feature which W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers *The Architecture of Greece and Rome* London 1902 pp. 98, 154 refer to s. i B.C. and claim as the origin of the 'composite' order. The columns are fluted monoliths (height of shaft 8.520^m: total height 9.504^m) with a small vase in relief at the top of each flute: sixteen of them are still standing, ten on the northern side and six more at the western end. Oak-leaves and acorns appear among the mouldings of the temple. Round the outside of the *naōs*-wall runs a frieze-like band (0.62^m high), with a moulding above and a meander below, ready to receive inscriptions and already in part inscribed (inside the right *anta* of the *prōnaos* and outside the north wall of the *naōs*). Under the *naōs* is a chamber (16.157^m × 9.120^m) with a semicircular vault, reached by steps from the *opisthōdomos* and probably used for the safeguarding of the temple-treasure. It is possible that some dim

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

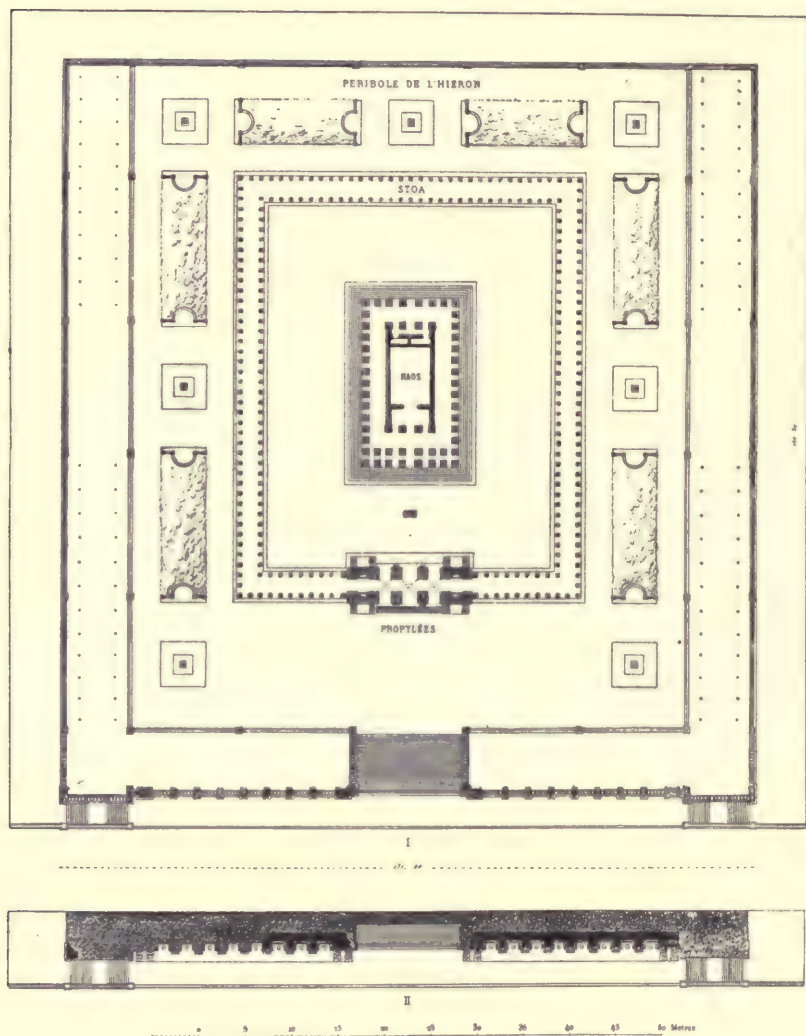


Fig. 854.

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

Inscriptions record a priest of Zeus (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3831 a¹, 2 ff. Μηρόφιλον Νεικοστράτου | ιερατεύσαντα τοῦ Διὸς δεκάκις, no. 3831 a³, 2 ff. Μενεκλέα | Μενεκλέους, υἱὸν τῆς | πόλεως, ιερατεύσαντα | δις τοῦ Διός, no. 3831 a², 7 f. ιερατεύσαντα τοῦ |

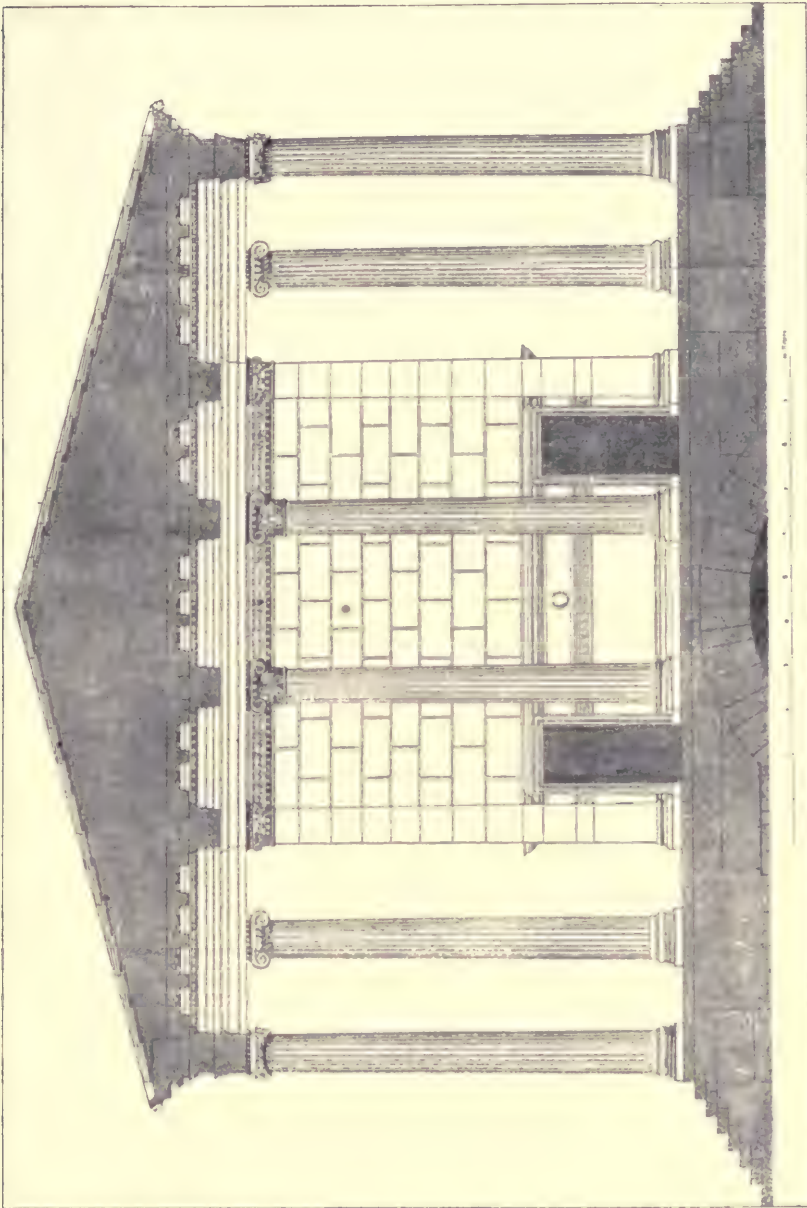


Fig. 855.

[Διός]) and a νεωκόρος of Zeus (*ib.* no. 3831 a⁴, 4 ff. Ἰουλιανὸν Τρύφωνος, νεωκόρον τοῦ Διός | διὰ βίου, no. 3831 a⁷, 2 f. Ὀρθ(εώ)μιον Ἀντιόχου, νε[ωκ]ό[ρο]ν [τ]ο[ῦ] Διός, *cp.* no. 3841 a, 8 ff. ὁ νεωκόρος | τοῦ Διός, ἱερός | καὶ (ἀστυλ)ος (Α)ἰ(ζα)[νετ](ῶν) δήμος | ἐκ

Akmoneia¹.Arameia².Laodikeia ad Lycum³.

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

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

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



Fig. 856.



Fig. 857.

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

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

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

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

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

Nakoleia¹.Synnada².Upper valley of the Tembrogios or Tembrios³.**Galatia**Mount Agdos⁴.¹ Θεός Ἰψίστος (*supra* p. 882 n. o no. (23)).² Infancy of Zeus on a Phrygian mountain (*supra* i. 151 f. fig. 120).³ Θεός Ἰψίστος = Zeus Βένιος or Βεννέϊς (*supra* p. 883 n. o no. (23)).

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

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

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

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

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

Ankyra¹.

Lykia

Mount Kragos².

in Phrygiae finibus inauditae per omnia vastitatis petra, inquit (sc. Timotheus), est quaedam, cui nomen est Agdus, regionis eius ab indigenis sic vocatae. ex ea lapides sumptos, sicut Themis mandaverat praecinens, in orbem mortalibus vacuum Deucalion iactavit et Pyrrha, ex quibus cum ceteris et haec Magna quae dicitur informata est Mater atque animata divinitus). Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 444 n. 4 well cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 522—545.

¹ Coin-type of Zeus seated on a rock (*supra* i. 124).

² Mt Kragos is a continuation of Mt Tauros, forming a promontory (*Yedi-Burün*, the 'Seven Capes') on the south-western coast of Lykia. North of it is the range of Antikragos. T. A. B. Spratt—E. Forbes *Travels in Lycia, Milyas, and the Cibyratis* London 1847 i. 300 ff. describe their ascent of Kragos (1842): 'In the afternoon we made our way to the opening of a pass leading between the summits of Cragus and Anticragus, now called Mendos and Baba-dagh; ... at daybreak, next morning, (May 27th,) we ascended to a plain which lies between the two chief peaks at a height of four thousand feet... Leaving our attendants and horses... we commenced the ascent of the highest peak of Cragus, which rose precipitously more than two thousand five hundred feet above this alpine plain. The first half of the way was through a thick zone of forest; the remainder was among precipices of bare rock, in the crevices of which lay the accumulated snow of winter... From the sharp and narrow summit of this lofty peak we enjoyed our last look over Lycia; below us lay the whole expanse of the Xanthian plain, and beyond we could see far into the gorges and yailahs ['summer encampments'] of Massicytus... Such is the steepness of Cragus, that its precipices plunge from the snowy summit to the sea, and from the lofty pinnacle on which we stood we could see the waves breaking white against its base.' Ancient allusions are collected by W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1567. Strab. 665 is worth quoting: εἰθ' ἐξῆς ὁ Ἀντίκραγος... καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ Κράγος, ἔχων ἄκρας ὀκτώ (κράγος ὀκτώ codd. ἄκρας ὀκτώ Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* 847. ἄκρας δύο Eustath. in *Il.* p. 635, 19. We should probably translate 'eight summits,' not 'eight headlands') καὶ πόλιν ὀμῶνυμον. περὶ ταῦτα μυθεύεται τὰ ὄρη τὰ περὶ τῆς Χιμαίρας 'ἔστι δ' οὐκ ἄπωθεν καὶ ἡ Χιμαίρα φάραγξ τις, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνατείνουσα (the glen of *Atlan*; see O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *Reisen in Lykien und Karien* Wien 1884 p. 82 f.).

Kragos had certain caverns known as the θεῶν ἀγρίων ἄντρα. These 'wild gods' appear to have been the eponym Kragos and his family (Steph. Byz. s.v. Κράγος, ὄρος Λυκίας. Ἀλέξανδρος δευτέρῳ Λυκικῶν (Alex. Polyhist. *frag.* 75 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 235 Müller)). ἀπὸ Κράγου τοῦ Τρεμίλου υἱοῦ, μητρὸς δὲ Πραξιδικῆς νέμφης. ἐνταῦθα δ' εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἐπονομαζόμενα θεῶν ἀγρίων ἄντρα. ἀπαθανατισθῆναι γὰρ φασὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κράγον, Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* 847 τὸν δὲ ἐνταῦθα Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος καὶ Κράγον φησὶ φημιζέσθαι, ἀπὸ Κράγου τινὸς ἐπιφανοῦς ἀνδρός, ὃς αὐτόθι θανὼν τιμᾶται. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ φασὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῷ Κράγῳ θεῶν ἀγρίων ἄντρα εἶναι). Kragos and his kin are mentioned also in Panyasis *frag.* 18 Kinkel *ap.* Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρεμίλη, in Timagenes *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 322 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. s.v. Μιλύαι, and in an important inscription from Sidyma (O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *op. cit.* p. 75 ff. no. 53 A, 15 ff. τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ Τλωεῖς καὶ | Πιναρεῖς γενεα[σ]γίαν Τρεμ[ι]λλ[ου] καὶ Πραξιδικῆς, ἐξ ὧν Τλω[ος] καὶ | [Κ]ράγος καὶ Πίναλος ἀνήκον, δι[α]δ[η]τ[η]ς γενεα[σ]γίας καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πολλῶν δεδηλωμένης κατὰ τὰς Πο[λ]υχάρμου καὶ ἐτέρων ἱστορίας, *ib.* c. 9 ff. ἐν δὲ Σιδύμοις, κτίσματι Σιδύμου | υἱοῦ Τλώων καὶ Χελειδόνος τῆς | Κράγου, Ἀπόλλωνα τόπω πρὸς | θαλάσση Λοπτοῖς σπηλαίω | ἀποκριφῶ ἀποκροφῶ δισεισόδῳ ἐκ κορυφῆς δὲ φωτοῦλλον ἄνοιγμα | μικρὸν ἔχοντι. μέσον εἰς δ καθοπεῦσαι θελήσασά τις ἄφως | ἀσοφητὶ τὸν θεὸν κατηνέχθη, καὶ λίθος κείται πτώμα | φόβου δείγμα κατασκόπων' | διὸ καὶ κροτ[οῦ]ν[τε]ς ἐπ' ἄσματι | 'χαῖρε, Ἀπολλων, ὁ ἐγ Λοπτῶν' | εἰσερχόμενοι φανοῦμεν | τῆνδε. The cave-cult of Apollon at Lopta described in this curious record may give us some notion of the θεῶν ἀγρίων ἄντρα: indeed, Apollon himself is on occasion ἄγριος (Orph. *h. Ap.* 34. 5). The Titans too bore the same title (Hesych. ἀγριοὶ θεοί· οἱ Τιτᾶνες), perhaps as being chieftains or kings (*supra* i. 655 f.). Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1186 n.¹

Mount Olympos (?)¹.

Pisidia

Prostanna (?)².

justly cp. Plout. *de def. or.* 21 (quoted by Theodoret. *Gr. aff. cur.* p. 129 Gaisford) ἐπεὶ καὶ Σολύμους πυνθάνομαι τοὺς Λυκίων προσοίκους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τιμῶν τὸν Κρόνον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποκτείνας τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν, Ἄρσαλον καὶ Δρόνον (Ἄρουν Theodoret.) καὶ Τόσθβην, ἔφυγε καὶ μετεχώρησεν ὅποιδήποτε (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν), ἐκείνον μὲν ἀμεληθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄρσαλον σκληροῦς (σκιρροῦς Theodoret.) θεοὺς προσαγορεύεσθαι, καὶ τὰς κατάρτας ἐπὶ τούτων ποιέσθαι δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ Λυκίους.

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

¹ *Supra* i. 100 n. 111. Methodios, bishop of the Lycian town Olympos at the beginning of s. iv. A.D., claims to have seen on the summit of this mountain *agnus castus* growing, quite unharmed, round a fire that sprang from the earth (*Method. ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 298 b 23 ff. Bekker *ἐθεασάμην ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ ἐγὼ (ὄρος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Ὀλυμπος τῆς Λυκίας) πῦρ αὐτομάτως κατὰ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν τοῦ δρους κάτωθεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδιδόμενον, περὶ ὃ πῦρ ἄγνωσ φυτόν ἐστίν, οὕτω μὲν εὐθαλὲς καὶ χλοερὸν, οὕτω δὲ σύσκιον, ὡς ὑπὸ πηγῆς μᾶλλον αὐτὸ δοκεῖν βεβλασθηκέναι. κ.τ.λ.) The good bishop describes the phaenomenon in terms reminiscent of Moses and the burning bush; and it is noteworthy that Mt Olympos, otherwise called Phoinikous (Strab. 666), is nowadays named *Musa Dagh*, the 'mountain of Moses.' This mountain rises to a height of c. 1000^m due south of the town Olympos on the eastern coast of Lykia. But the perpetual fire is commonly associated with Mt Chimaira (*Yanür-tash*), a height of some 250^m due north of the same town. Here in fact it is still to be seen—a strong jet of flaming gas that leaps up like a fountain from crevices in the rock. The immediate neighbourhood of the vent is bare of vegetation, but all around, a few paces off, is greenery in abundance. For classical references see W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2281; and for modern description and discussion, E. Petersen—F. von Luschan *Reisen in Lykien Milyas und Kibyratis* Wien 1889 pp. 138—142 ('Die Chimaira') with fig. 65 and pl. 17. In antiquity several such fiery jets were known and the site was called Hephaistion (Sen. *epist.* 79. 3, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 100), Hephaestia (Solin. 39. 1), or the mountains of Hephaistos (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 236). Skyl. *per.* 100 speaks of a sanctuary of Hephaistos above the harbour Siderous: ὑπὲρ τούτου ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἡφαιστοῦ ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ πῦρ πολὺ αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς καίεται καὶ οὐδέποτε σβέννεται. Hence Hephaistos appears, forging the shield of Achilles, on a copper of Olympos struck by Gordianus iii Pius (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 326 f. no. 10 pl. F, 14).*

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

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

Mount Solymos¹.

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

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

The principal deity of the town in classical times was Zeus Σολυμεύς. Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vii. 138 no. 228 gives (after Sestini) a coin reading ZEYC COΛYMEYC, and J. Friedlaender in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1885 xii. 6 figures another, at Berlin, with *obv.* ΔΙ[ΟΣ] ΣΟΛΥΜΕΩ[Σ] bust of Zeus Σολυμεύς (but see G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. xc n. †). The head of Zeus appears as the normal Termessian coin-type c. 71—39 B.C., in the time of the Antonines, and from Gordian to Gallienus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. 268 ff. pl. 41, 8—11, pl. 42, 1 f., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 712). E. Petersen in K. Lanckoroński *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* Wien 1892 ii. 47 ff. describes the remains of what was probably the temple of Zeus Σολυμεύς. The site is a raised terrace (1054^m) adjoining the southernmost part of the gymnasium and close to a group of other temples (N 3 on the large plan opposite p. 21). Here were found Doric column-drums, Attic bases with portions of shafts and plinths, architrave-blocks, coffering, the right-hand end-block of a pediment, statue-pedestals, and two reliefs from a frieze representing a Gigantomachy (Zeus and Apollon v. Giants with serpentine legs). These last were published by G. Hirschfeld in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix. 157—160 figs. A, B. Further, a cylindrical base (1·18^m high), which once supported a bronze statue (of Zeus?), is adorned with a relief of a priest presiding at the sacrifice of a humped bull (E. Petersen *op. cit.* ii. 32, 48 f. figs. 7 and 8) and bears the inscription Ὅρατις ΙΟΓΑΚ | ιερ(ε)ῦς | Διὶ Σολυμεῖ· | Διονύσιος Ἑρακλεῖ(ίδου) | Ἀλεξ[α]ν-δρεῦς | ἐποίηι (?) (K. Lanckoroński *op. cit.* ii. 206 no. 78). Another base from the same site was set up when a certain Strabon was priest of Zeus Σολυμεύς (*id. ib.* ii. 206 no. 80, 15 ff. ἀνεστάθη | ἐπὶ ἱερῶς | Σολυμεῶς Δι[ός] | Στράβωνος [β']). Another carried the statue of a distinguished priest (*id. ib.* ii. 206 no. 79, 1 ff. ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἱερέα Διὸς Σολ[υ]μεῶς | γενόμενον Λαέρτην Να[ν]ναμόου) | Λαέρτου κ.τ.λ., cp. 207 no. 85, 2 ff. [ἀρ]χιερέα αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ | [ιερ]εᾶ Διὸς Σολυμεῶς διὰ βίου Λαε[ρ]την | [Ναν]ναμόου φιλόπατρι καὶ πατέρα πόλεως). Other life-priests of Zeus Σολυμεύς are recorded (*id. ib.* ii. 200 no. 39, 4 f. Τι. Κλ. Τειμόδωρον, 200 no. 41, 4 Τι. Κλ. Τειμόδωρον, 201 no. 48, 6 ff. Μᾶρ. Αὐρ. Μειδιανόν Πλατωνιανόν | Οὐᾶρον, 208 no. 93, 4 ff. Μᾶρ. | Αὐρ. Μειδιανόν | Οὐᾶρον).

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

Pontos

*Βευγυκ Ενυλία*¹.

xxiii. 165—192, 280—286 (e.g. p. 169 no. 7, 9 f. ὁ τοῦτων τι πειράσας ὑπεύθυνος ἔσται Διὶ Σολυμεί * α, p. 171 no. 13, 7 f. ὁ πειράσας ἐκτελεσει Διὶ Σολυμεί * β, p. 173 no. 18, 2 δώσει ὁ πειράσας προστείμων Διὶ Σολυμεί * γ, p. 182 f. no. 41, 5 ff. ὁ τολμῆσας | ἢ παρανεχειρήσας ἀποτελεσει | Διὶ Σολυμεί ἱεράς καὶ ἀπαραίτητους δραχμὰς δισχειλίας πεντακοσίας, p. 184 f. no. 44, 5 f. ὁ πειράσας ἐνσχεθήσεται ἐνκλήματι | τυμβωρυχίας καὶ ἐκτελεσει Διὶ Σολυμεί * δ, p. 188 no. 52, 3 f. ὁ πειράσας ἐκτελεσει Διὶ Σολυμεί * ε, ἢ καὶ τῷ ἱερωτῆρι ταμειῷ * ς, p. 189 f. no. 54, 7 ff. ὁ τοῦτων τι πειράσας ἐνοχος ἔσται ἐνκλήματι τυμβωρυχίας καὶ ἀραις ταῖς εἰς τοὺς κατοικομένους καὶ προσποτελεσει Διὶ Σολυμεί * ς. See also pp. 167 f. no. 4, 7 ff., 170 no. 10, 7 f., 171 f. no. 14, 4 ff., 172 no. 15, 8 f., 173 f. no. 20, 10 f., 175 no. 24, 2 ff., 175 f. no. 25, 10 f., 176 no. 26, 7 f., 179 f. no. 34, 7 f., 183 f. no. 43, 9 f., 185 no. 45, 3 ff., 186 f. no. 48, 9 ff., 187 no. 49, 5 ff., 187 no. 50, 3 ff., 187 f. no. 51, 9 f., 188 f. no. 53, 11 f., 191 no. 57, 5 ff., 280 f. no. 62, 6 ff., 283 no. 64, 7 ff., 284 no. 66, 10 f., 285 no. 67, 8 ff., 285 f. no. 68, 9 f.), and a few by K. Lanckoroński *op. cit.* ii. 217 no. 154*, 2 f., 218 no. 167, 6 ff., 218 no. 171^a (= *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4366 k), 9 f., 219 no. 173, 16 ff., 219 no. 174, 7 f.

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

Other inscriptions from Termessos attest a cult of Zeus and Dione (*id. ib.* ii. 206 no. 77 on a lintel from the southernmost part of the gymnasium [τοῦ πρώτων ἱερασαμένου Διὸς καὶ Διώνης Ἀλφειδίου Μολέου | [τὸν ναὸν καὶ τ]ὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἱερά καὶ ἀγάλματα ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς | ὑποστάσεως (i.e. ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ πρώτου ἱερασαμένου κ.τ.λ.), 219 no. 175^a (= *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4366 m) completed by G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxiii. 192 no. 60 on a sarcophagus at the first Gate ἱερέως Διὸς καὶ Διώνης | Γαῖος Διοτέλιμος Ἐρ. | Τρ. Γαίον Γεωλίον Χν. τὴν | σωματοθήκην ἐναντῶ καὶ | Ἀρτέμει Ἐρ. Τρ. Γαίον Γεωλίον Π. αὐτοῦ· κ.τ.λ.) and a cult of Zeus Ἐλευθέριος (K. Lanckoroński *op. cit.* ii. 203 no. 58, 26 ἱερέως Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου Δόδοτος Ἐρμαίου Ἀρτέμιον * φ, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. pp. lxxxix n. ¶, xcii with n. *, 275 no. 55 pl. 42, 2 obv. ΤΕΡ ΜΗCCEΩΝ head of Zeus, laureate, to right, with Θ below; rev. ΕΛΕΝ ΘΕΡΑΤΕ ΡΜΗCCE ΗΤΟΚΑΠ ΟΥCΕΧΟ VCA in wreath = ἔλευθέρα Τερμησσέ | ἢ το(ὺς) κάποις ἔχουσα, which I take to be a tag from some popular chorus (hence the *quasi*-Doric κάποις) performed at a festival of Zeus Ἐλευθέριος).

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

Stratius in the customary manner, and also to Poseidon by plunging a chariot with white horses into the sea.⁷

Imperial coppers of Amaseia, the residence of the Pontic kings (Strab. 561), have been rightly interpreted as referring to this cult (C. Cavedoni in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1840 p. 70 f.). They exhibit a large altar, sometimes of two stages and flaming. Beside it are two trees with twisted trunks. Above it on some specimens there hovers an eagle, or the sun-god in his *quadriga*, or both. Occasionally a bull is shown lying dead on the upper stage (*supra* i. 602 n. 2. I illustrate four examples. Fig. 858 = Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 38 no. 78 pl. 5, 26 (Paris) Caracalla 206 A.D. ('une victime qui paraît être un chien!'). Fig. 859 = *eid. ib.* i. 38 no. 79 pl. 6, 1 (Paris) Caracalla 206 A.D. Fig. 860 = *eid. ib.* i. 40 no. 96 pl. 6, 7 (A. Löbbecke) Geta 206 A.D. ('un taureau mort'). Fig. 861 is from a specimen, in my collection, struck by Severus Alexander in 232 A.D.).

F. Cumont—E. Cumont *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la Petite Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* ii) Bruxelles 1906 pp. 136—184 devote a chapter to Amaseia, including a valuable discussion (pp. 145 f., 172 ff.) of Zeus *Σράτιος* and his cult. Their



Fig. 859.



Fig. 858.



Fig. 860.



Fig. 861.

discoveries may be resumed as follows. Some four miles due east of Amaseia rises a rounded hill (1350^m) known as *Beuyuk Evlia*, 'The Great Saint' (map xiii), and reputed to be the burial-place of a santon or Turkish saint. Every year in May the peasants repair to this otherwise deserted height, slaughter fowls and sheep, and feast merrily in honour of the *Profit Iliyâ*. A clump of large pines crowns the hill-top, venerable trees which are held in such respect that no one will touch them with an axe. (By way of an ancient parallel F. Cumont cites M. Tsakuroglou in the *Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ* 1878—1880 p. 164 no. τλβ' = S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 157 an inscription from *Divlit* near Koloë (*Koula*) in Lydia *ἔτους τκ', μη[νὸς] Περειτίου β', Αὐρ. | Στρατόνεικος β', ἐπειδὴ κατὰ ἄγνοιαν ἐκ τοῦ ἄλλοι[s] ἔκοφα | δένδρα θεῶν Διὸς Σαβαζίου καὶ | Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀναετίς κολασθεῖς, εὐχόμενος εὐχαριστήριον ἀνέστησα* with Tsakuroglou's note: 'Au-dessus est représenté un homme; à côté de lui, sur la droite, deux arbres, et un seul à gauche. Il est remarquable que la défense de couper du bois dans le bois sacré de Sabazios et d'Artémis Anatis subsiste encore aujourd'hui, car les habitants turcs de Santal près de Divlit croient que celui qui coupe du bois est puni par quelque maladie.'

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

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

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

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

Kappadokia

Mount Argaios (?)¹.

pontique, grec et iranien, dont la combinaison caractérise la religion comme la civilisation de ces contrées.²

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Fig. 862.



Fig. 863.



Fig. 864.



Fig. 865.



Fig. 866.

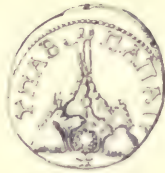


Fig. 867.



Fig. 868.



Fig. 869.



Fig. 870.



Fig. 871.



Fig. 872.



Fig. 873.



Fig. 874.



Fig. 875.



Fig. 876.



Fig. 877.

Kilikia

Anazarbos¹.
Mount Olympos (?)².

Kypros

Amathous, Golgoi, Kition³.
Mount Olympos (?)⁴.

Assyria

Mount Zagros⁵.

Kommagene

*Nemroud Dagh*⁶.

Syria

Chalkis sub Libano (?)⁷.

temple below with a star in its pediment and between its columns the inscription ΕΙC ΕΩΝΑ ΤΟΥC ΚΥΠΙΟΥC (= *eis alōna touc kypiouc*, an acclamation of the imperial house). Wroth, however, admits 'that before the Imperial age some local divinity—perhaps a mountain-god—was worshipped in connection with Argæus.'

This is unsatisfactory. The eagle on the mountain-top occurs before the town was renamed Kaisareia (fig. 862 inscribed ΕΥΣ[Ε] ΒΕΙ[Α]), and the eagle on the mountain-altar is much too prominent to be merely a Roman eagle (fig. 869). Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 166, 174 f. did not scruple to speak of a 'Zeus Argæos.' And, though the exact appellation has not yet been found (for Zeus ἀργής see *supra* i. 31 f., 317 f.), he was in all probability on the right track. At least the naked figure with globe and sceptre, the radiate crown, the sun and moon (figs. 869, 873), the star (figs. 871, 876) or stars (fig. 864)—to say nothing of the eagle—are all appropriate to a Hellenistic Zeus. At Kaisareia such an one would readily take on oriental features, e.g. the tall headdress with which he appears on a silver coin of Trajan (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 52 no. 46 ('Zeus?') pl. 9, 8 (= my fig. 878)). Besides, the two supporters with lances (fig. 870) can then be reasonably explained as the Dioskouroi. It would seem, in fact, that the three rocky pinnacles of the mountain-top were connected with Zeus and the Dioskouroi respectively. I should go further and claim that here, as elsewhere (*supra* pp. 160, 431 f.), the Dioskouroi are



Fig. 878.

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

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

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

² *Supra* i. 100 n. 12.

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

⁴ *Supra* i. 100 n. 14.

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

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

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

Mount Kasion¹.

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



Fig. 879.

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

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

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

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

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



Fig. 880.



Fig. 881.



Fig. 882.



Fig. 883.



Fig. 884.

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

Kyrrhos¹.
 Palmyra².
 Seleukeia Pieria³.

Phoinike

Abédāt⁴.
 Berytos⁵.
 Byblos⁶.
 Libanos⁷.
 Sahin⁸.

Samaria

Mount Gerizim⁹.

Antoninus Pius). Later specimens omit the god's name (*Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 217 no. 43 Commodus), but show the stone in a tetrastyle temple (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 275 no. 50 Septimius Severus, p. 276 no. 52 Caracalla) and add crescent and star in the pediment (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 277 no. 57 pl. 33, 7 Elagabalos, no. 58 pl. 33, 8 (= my fig. 884) Severus Alexander (OBO = ὀβολός). *Anson Num. Gr.* v. 53 no. 356 pl. 8 Elagabalos, no. 357 pl. 8 Severus Alexander). Figs. 881, 883 are from examples in my collection.

Zeus Κάσιος must not be confounded with Zeus Κεραύνιος (*supra* p. 809); the stone in the shrine is no thunderbolt. Nor is there any real reason to think with F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 935 fig. 1206 that the stone was an aerolite worshipped as the Aramaean god Kašiu (but see Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2266) and Hellenised as Zeus Κάσιος. W. W. Baudissin *op. cit.* ii. 242 observes curtly: 'Der Stein ist Bild des heiligen Berges.' W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. lxxii says: 'the conical object has a cavity in the side, which seems further to show that the representation is that of a mountain or the agalma of a mountain.' Accordingly, he takes it to be 'the mountain Kasios—or rather an *agalma* of the mountain' and compares Mt Argaion on the coins of Kaisareia (*supra* p. 979). A. Salač 'ΖΕΤΣ ΚΑΣΙΟΣ' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 176 f. rejects the view of Baudissin and Wroth, remarking very justly that on the later coins (figs. 883, 884) the cavity in the sacred stone disappears, the resultant shape being that of an *omphalos* (cp. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 553 n. 4). On the whole it seems safest to conclude that the sacred stone did duty as the god's altar (*supra* i. 521), the hollow in it (Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 206 βωμοῖο θέναρ) being used for libations (*supra* p. 193). A parallel might be found in the sacred stone with a cup-like top represented on some of the earliest *statères* of Mallos in Kilikia (?) (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 95 pl. 15, 10—12, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 557 f. pl. 25, 11, Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 17 nos. 117 and 118 pl. 3: on the doubtful attribution see Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 435 f. and Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 1. 561 ff.). The pyramidal or triangular roof topped by an eagle recalls the pyramid of Sandas and would suit a mountain-god (*supra* i. 600 ff.).

A votive inscription from Heddernheim—*Corp. inser. Lat.* xiii no. 7330 Deo | Casio | Ovinius | v.s.l.m.—has been connected with this Syrian cult (Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2267, A. Salač *loc. cit.* p. 187 f.).

¹ Zeus Καταιβάτης seated on a rock (*supra* i. 124, ii. 15 f. figs. 3 and 4).

² Zeus "Υψιστος και 'Επήκοος, less often Zeus "Υψιστος, Zeus Μέγιστος "Υψιστος, Zeus "Υψιστος Μέγιστος 'Επήκοος (*supra* p. 885 n. o n. (29)).

³ Zeus Κορυφαῖος (*supra* p. 869 n. 1).

⁴ Zeus Οὐράνιος "Υψιστος Σααρναῖος 'Επήκοος (*supra* p. 886 n. o no. (30)).

⁵ Θεὸς "Υψιστος (*supra* p. 886 n. o no. (30)).

⁶ Zeus "Υψιστος (*supra* p. 887 n. o no. (30)).

⁷ *Supra* i. 551 with i. 581 f.

⁸ Θεὸς "Υψιστος Οὐράνιος "Υπατος (*supra* p. 886 n. o no. (30)).

⁹ Zeus 'Ελληνίος or Ξένιος, Zeus "Υψιστος, Iupiter Sarapis (?) (*supra* p. 887 n. o no. (31)).

Ioudaia

Jerusalem¹.

Aigyptos

Alexandria².Athribis³.Mount Kasion⁴.

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

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

² Θεός Ὑψιστος καὶ πάντων Ἐπίπτης (*supra* p. 889 n. o no. (33)).

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

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

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

Pelousion¹.

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

J. Clédat in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1905 pp. 602—611, *ib.* 1909 pp. 764—774, *ib.* 1911 p. 433 proves that Mt Kasion was not situated, as is commonly held, at *Ras-Bouroun* on the narrow strip of land between the sea and the lake, but at *Mahemdiyah* (*Mohamedich*) some 40 kilometers further to the west, that is, about 15 kilometers east of Pelousion. Here at the western end of the lake and close to the sea rises a rounded sandhill (maximum height 13·30^m: Lucan. 10. 434 *f.* exaggerates), on which he detected and partially excavated (1) a large (*c.* 20·0^m × 20·0^m) public bath, built of gypsum and baked brick in late Roman times; (2) a small (9·60^m × 6·0^m) tetrastyle temple facing east, built of gypsum at the eastern extremity of the hill; (3) numerous tombs, some on the hill, others on the plain, belonging to two Roman and two Byzantine cemeteries. Moreover, in 1909 he noted that a *cippus* of Roman date bore the name of an inhabitant called ΚΑCΙΟC (*loc. cit.* 1909 p. 774). And finally in 1911 he was able to report 'un petit sanctuaire avec niche d'autel en albâtre portant une inscription nabatéenne au nom de Zeus Cassius' (*loc. cit.* 1911 p. 433).

¹ We are further indebted to J. Clédat for the discovery of a temple dedicated to Zeus Κάσιος at Pelousion (J. Clédat 'Le temple de Zeus Cassios à Péluse' in the *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* Le Caire 1914 xiii. 79—85 with figs. 1—3 and pl. 11). Towards the western end of an elongated mound called by the Arabs *Tell el-Faramah* (Coptic *περεμοση*) he found the walled camp (*el Kasr*) of the *equites Stablesiani* and to the west of this, at a point but little raised above the level of the surrounding morass, the last remains of a temple built in rosy granite. On the ground lay two columns (7·80^m in length, 1·0^m in diameter) and two architrave-blocks (1·80^m long, 0·96^m high, 0·80^m deep) bearing the central part of a deeply incised inscription, which may be restored *exempli gratia* as follows: [ὑπὲρ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σε]βαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ σ[ε]μ[πα]ν[το]ς αὐτοῦ ο[ἰ]κο[ν] Διὶ Κασίω Μ[ε]γίστῳ θεῶ Πηλουσίου καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς | [ἐπὶ Τίτου Φλαυίου Τιτιανοῦ ἐπιτροπεύοντος τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀνέθηκεν Καί]κλιος Κάσιος Δ[ί]ων Ἀπο]λλωνίου τ[ρο]--- | [τὸν σηκὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τὸ πρόναον καὶ τὰ ἐν] αὐτοῖς πάντα κοσ[μ]ήσα]σ[υ]νοροση[ς] [. . .] μωματ[ι]--- | [--- αἰ]τοῦ. I cannot make head or tail of the concluding words, unless we may suppose κοσ[μ]ήσα]s, τὴν ὄροφην [τῶ κομ]μώματι [διαποικίλας κ.τ.λ.] or the like. A fragment found to the left of the first block is inscribed ANO with Ç! beneath it: this might be a portion of [Τρα]ϊαν[οῦ] and [ἐπιτροπεύοντος] τ[ρο]. Another architectural block (2·50^m long, 0·49^m high, 0·90^m deep) bears the central part of a second inscription: [--- τ]οῦ προγεγραμμένου [---] [---] ἐπὶ Τίτου Φλαυίου Τιτ[ι]ανοῦ ---].

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

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

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

Uncertain locality
Mount Hynnarion¹.

damna vices minuendi et augendi habeat contrarias," Loukian. *Iup. trag.* 42 ἰδία δὲ Μεμφίταις μὲν ὁ βοῦς θεός, Πηλουσιώταις δὲ κρόμμυον, καὶ ἄλλοις ἱβίς ἢ κροκόδειλος, καὶ ἄλλοις κυνοκέφαλος ἢ αἰλουρος ἢ πίθηκος, Hieron. *compi. in Isa. proph.* 13 (xxiv. 450 C—D Migne) non quo simulacra gentilium in praedam bestiarum et iumentorum exposita sint; sed quo religio nationum simulacra sint bestiarum et brutorum animantium, quae maxime in Aegypto divino cultui consecrata sunt... nam et pleraque oppida eorum ex bestiis et iumentis habent nomina, Κίνων a cane, Λέων a leone, Θμοῦσι lingua Aegyptia ab hirco, Λύκων a lupo, ut taceam de formidoloso et horribili caepe, et crepitu ventris inflati, quae Pelusiaca religio est, Hieron. *adv. Iovinian.* 2. 7 (xxiii. 296 B Migne) coge Aegyptium ut ovium lacte vescatur; impelle, si vales, Pelusioten ut manducet caepe). Indeed we are told by Sextus Empiricus that no devotee of Zeus Κάσιος in that town would eat an onion (Sext. *Pyrrhon. hyp.* 3. 24. 224 κρόμμυον δὲ οὐκ ἂν τις προσενέγκαιτο τῶν καθιερωμένων τῷ κατὰ Πηλοῦσιον Κασίῳ Διί, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἱερεὺς τῆς κατὰ Λιβύην Ἀφροδίτης σκορόδου γεύσαιτο ἂν. ἀπέχονται δὲ ἐν μὲν ἱεροῖς μίνθης, ἐν οἷς δὲ ἡδυσμοῦ, ἐν οἷς δὲ σελίνου). Sextus' phrase τῶν καθιερωμένων τῷ...Κασίῳ Διί coupled with that of Achilles Tatios (*supra*) τῆς δὲ βόιας ὁ λόγος μυστικός may fairly be taken to imply that Zeus Κάσιος had mystic rites of initiation—another point of contact with the Cretan Zeus (*supra* i. 648 ff., 663 ff.).

U. Wilcken in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 1901 i. 555 draws attention to a letter, written from Pelousion by an unskilled hand at some uncertain date (? s. ii A.D.), found in the *Fayoum*, and now preserved at Berlin, in which mention is made of Zeus Κάσιος (Zereklī in *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin* herausg. von der Generalverwaltung: Griechische Urkunden no. 827 (P. 7150), 1 ff. Ζοῦς Ἀπ[ολ]λιναρίῳ τῷ ἀδελ[φ]ῷ χα[ρ]ίβιν. τὸ προσκύνημά | σου παρὰ τῷ Διί τῷ Κασίῳ. γένωσκιν σε θέλω ὅτι εὐρηκα τὴν γυναῖκα <κα> τοῦ Ἀχαρισ (?) | κα[ί] δέδωκα αὐτῇ τὰ γεγραμμένα πάντα κ.τ.λ. addressed on the back ἀπό(δος) Ἀπολιναρίῳ ἀπὸ Πετρωλίου δραμιδάρου ἀπὸ Πηλουσίου). A circular bronze stamp with long handle in the Leyden Museum shows an Egyptian head-dress, consisting of three bunches of plants with a disk on each, and is inscribed Διὸς Κασίου, Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀππιανού εἰ[...] (C. Leemans *Description raisonnée des monumens Égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas, à Leide* Leide 1840 p. 111 no. 342, *id. Animadversiones in Musei Antiquarii Lugduno-Batavi inscriptiones Graecae et Latinae* Lugduni Batavorum 1842 p. 28, *Corp. inser. Gr.* iv no. 7044 b, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 973 'Bronzespiegel' (!), Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1104 n. 1 'Gemme' (!)).

W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1878 ii. 243 infers from Epiphani. *loc. cit.* (Κάσιος δὲ ὁ ναύκληρος παρὰ Πηλουσιώταις (sc. τιμᾶται)) that Zeus Κάσιος was worshipped by sea-faring men. On which Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2266 remarks: 'Daher darf wohl mit dem pelusischen Kulte ein Fund bei Palos in Spanien in Verbindung gesetzt werden; im Meere wurden antike Bleianker aufgesischt mit hebräischen, lateinischen und zwei griechischen Inschriften; die eine galt Aphrodite σώζουσα, die andere Ζεὺς Κάσιος σωζ<ων> (die Ergänzung der zwei letzten Buchstaben unsicher), Boletin d. l. Real Ac. d. Historia 1906, XLVIII 157 f.'

Baudissin *op. cit.* ii. 240 was inclined to derive the Pelusiac from the Syrian cult of Zeus Κάσιος, though he added: 'Es ist aber nicht unmöglich, dass der Dienst des Kasios ein altsemitischer war, welchen verschiedene semitische Völker aus der gemeinsamen Heimat herübernahmen.' Frau Adler *loc. cit.* adopts the latter view, 'dass beide Kulte auf gemeinsame, ursemitische Wurzel zurückzuführen sind.' But Salač in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 180, 188 definitely returns to the former view: 'En somme, le culte de Ζεὺς Κάσιος paraît d'origine syrienne; le culte du Mons Casius égyptien semble dérivé de la Syrie.'

¹ Hesych. *s.v.* Ἵνναρεῦς· Ζεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἵνναρίου βρους, ὕννας· αἰξ ἀργία, ἕννη· αἰξ. καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀρότρου σιδήριον τὸ τέμνον τὴν γῆν <ἕννη>. καὶ ἕννος ὁμοίως, ἕννος· πῶλος ὁ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ νοσήσας, πρὶν κνηθῆναι <ἕννος>. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 824 n. 7 concludes that Zeus Ἵνναρεῦς (*sic*) derived his appellative from the goat.

APPENDIX E.

THE KYKLOPS IN FOLK-TALES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹² O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 166 f.

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

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

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

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

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

As regards the vexed question of ultimate significance Hackman, after admitting that almost all investigators of the tale (Grimm, Krek, Jubainville, Cerquand, etc.) have taken the single eye of Polyphemos to be the sun⁶, reaches the cautious conclusion : 'Das Stirnauge des Riesen, das jedenfalls schon der Grundform angehört hat, war wohl ursprünglich ein die Sonne symbolisirendes Attribut des Himmels- oder Sonnengottes. Doch hat diese frühzeitig in Vergessenheit geratene mythologische Bedeutung des Stirnauges nichts mit der Sage im Übrigen zu tun.'⁷

¹ *Id. ib.* p. 177 ff.

² *Id. ib.* p. 204.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 189 ff.

⁴ *Id. ib.* p. 206 ff.

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

⁶ *Id. ib.* pp. 3 ff., 217 f.

⁷ *Id. ib.* p. 221 (cp. also p. 218).

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

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

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

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

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

All the princes were eager to marry her. But she refused each one who proffered his love : only the handsomest of them, who had been blessed by his mother, touched her heart at all. In the end she agreed to wed him who should bring her the golden wand of the Famous *Drakos*⁸. The Famous⁹ *Drakos* was the strongest and fiercest of all the *Drakoi* ; he had one eye in his forehead, which remained open even when he was asleep, so that none could approach him without being eaten by him. His golden wand, if leant against a door, made it at once fly open. The princes on hearing the terms of betrothal shook with terror. But the handsome prince resolved to obtain the golden wand, or

¹ *Supra* i. 313, 323, 462.

² *Supra* i. 320.

³ *Supra* i. 325 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 989 n. 1.

⁵ *Supra* i. 329 n. o.

⁶ *Supra* p. 62 n. 1.

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

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

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

die in the attempt. So he took the long road, and walked on till he was tired. He sat down under a tree and fell asleep. When he woke, he saw an old woman sifting flour into a great baking-pan. But the flour dropped on to the ground, not into the pan; for the old woman was blind. The prince sifted the flour for her, put it into her sack, and offered to help her carry it. Pleased with his kindness, she asked what she could do for him in return. He begged her blessing and told her of his quest. 'Listen, my son,' said the old woman: 'thou hast undertaken a hard task, but thy parents' blessing and mine will give thee courage. Go straight along this road to a place where there is much grass, for no man has ever trodden it. Beyond the rising ground to which it leads thou wilt see mountains and ravines; and thence thou wilt descry afar off a great cavern. Draw near; and, if thou hear sounds of snoring, thou wilt know that the Drakos is asleep within. Then remain at a distance till the door of the cavern opens; for he has his flocks inside, and puts in front a great rock, which no man can move. Wait till the Drakos drives out his flock, and then find means to hide thyself in the cavern. When he comes back to sleep and folds his flocks and closes the cavern again, then listen and from the snoring thou wilt know that he is no longer awake. Come down from thy hiding-place and step up to him. Tied to his beard is a golden key. Take these scissors that I give thee, and with them cut the beard and the key together. Then, when he opens the cavern, do thou too go out. Having escaped, take once more the grass-grown road. There thou wilt see a great palace. Lean the key against the door of the palace, and it will open to thee. Upstairs in a great chamber there will be a horse and a dog: before the horse are bones to eat; before the dog is straw. Change them without a word, giving the bones to the dog; and the rest thou wilt learn later from the horse.' The prince thanked the old woman, gave her some sequins, and set off. He found the cavern, but heard no snoring. He peeped in, and no one was there. But, seeing within a great caldron full of milk and a bannock as big as a mill-stone, he cut a piece of the bannock, dipped it in the milk, and ate till his hunger was satisfied. Afterwards he espied a hollow high up in the rock, climbed up, and got in. A little later he heard sheep-bells, and concluded that the Drakos was returning with his flocks. So he drew back in his hiding-place, and prayed God to help him. The Drakos entered, pulled to the rock that closed the cavern, and sat down to eat; but found that neither the milk nor the bannock satisfied him as usual. Now the old woman had given the prince a powder to throw into the *raki*¹ jar, so that the Drakos might sleep heavily. When, therefore, the Drakos had finished his meal and stirred the fire, he was soon snoring. The prince came softly down, cut the hairs, took the key, and climbed up again into his hiding-place. But, realising that the Drakos, when he found his key gone, would look for it, he got down and took a long pole, sharpened it, put it in the fire and, as soon as it was red-hot, stuck it into the eye of the Drakos. He, being blinded, began to roar. The other Drakoi came running to see what was the matter with their chief. But they could not remove the rock; and, when they heard his cries, they concluded that he was drunk and went home. Then the Drakos pushed away the stone, sat at the mouth of the cave, and began to fondle and let out his sheep one by one. There was one big, woolly, ram; and the prince placed himself on his stomach under the wool, and, while the Drakos was fondling it, managed to get out of the cave. Following the old woman's advice, he found the palace, unlocked its door with his key, and saw upstairs a splendid horse fastened with chains and a fine big dog. He

¹ A spirit made from grapes (ράξ, βαγίξω) and flavoured with aniseed.

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

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

'In a time of old there was a priest. He went to find a goat. He went to a village. There was another priest. He said: "Where are you going?" The priest said: "I am going to find a goat." He said: "Let me come too, that I also may get a goat." They rose up. They went to another village. There was there another priest. And the three of them went to another village. They found another priest. They took that priest also (with them). They went on. They became seven priests. Whilst they were on their way to a village, there was a woman. She was collecting wood. There was also a Tepekosis². The Tepekosis hastened (and) seized the seven priests (and) carried them to his house. In the evening he cooked one priest. He ate him. He was fat. He ate him. He got drunk. The six priests rose up. They heated the spit. They drove it into the Tepekosis' eye. They blinded the Tepekosis. They went into the

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

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

stable. The Tepekozis had seven hundred sheep. They entered the stable. They flayed six sheep. They left the heads and the tails (with the skins). They crawled into the skins. In the morning the Tepekozis rose up. He drove out the sheep. He took them by the head and by the tail. He drove out the seven hundred sheep. He shut the doors¹. He went inside. He looked for the six priests. He could not find them. He found the six sheep killed. The six priests took the seven hundred sheep. They went to their houses. They gave also a hundred sheep to the wife of the priest whom the Tepekozis had eaten. The woman said: "Where is my priest?" They said: "He has stopped behind to make further gains." And the six priests took a hundred sheep apiece. They went to their houses. They ate. They drank. They attained their destinies.²

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

(3) The Blinding of the Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Gortynia³.

'One of us men in olden days wanted to travel through the whole world. In a certain region he found men who were very tall but had only one eye apiece. The wife of a One-eye, in whose house he lodged, hid him in the evening; for in the daytime her husband was not there—he was a bad character and ate men. When her husband came home and entered the house, he told her that he smelt something; but his wife said it was nothing at all. The One-eye didn't believe her. He got up, groped about, found the man, and wanted to eat him. He put him in his apron along with his supper. But when he tasted his bread, without noticing, for his thoughts were elsewhere, he grasped the man too in the hollow of his hand and thrust him into his mouth. But he stuck in a hole of his tooth, without the tooth getting a real grip on him. After he had pulled him out he let him live, to please his wife, since he was hardly worth eating. But next day he changed his mind and again wanted to eat him. His wife then made her husband drunk, got the stranger out secretly and sent him packing. But, before the wife sent him off, he thrust a big burning coal into the eye of the drunken One-eye and blinded him. And so he punished the bad character, who could no longer see to eat men. When he left, the wife asked his name, and he said: "They call me World-traveller"³; for he had seen and learnt much of the world.'

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

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

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

³ "Μέ λένε Κοσμοτρυγυριστή." Cp. *Od.* i. 1 ff.

The same *motif* is woven into tales of different texture from Zakyntos and Kyros :

(4) **The Blinding of the Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Zakyntos¹.**

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

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

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

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

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

upon the sun shone in, and the princess, transformed at once into a lizard, fell into the sea. The nurse, having thus gained her end, substituted her own daughter for the princess. The Giant of the Mountain came out to meet them, riding on a high horse, with a sceptre in his right hand and a sword in his left. On opening the litter, he and the father of the bride were equally astonished to find an ugly wench instead of a beautiful princess. But, as the nurse explained that in five months' time the bride would regain her good looks, the Giant received her into his mountain along with her mother, though he punished the king by making him an ostler for a term of five years. The Giant's practice was to leave the mountain at dawn and return to it in the evening. He told his young wife that she might enter all the rooms of his castle except one. Curiosity forced her to enter the forbidden apartment, where she found the mother of the giants. This portentous creature was sitting on a stool, holding in one hand a large stone set in plates of gold and in the other an iron staff. Being able to predict the future, she told the would-be queen that she would live to rue her deceit, since the real princess was yet alive and already on her track. The maid fled and told her mother, who, to secure the death of the princess, informed the Giant that his wife was ill and wished all the fish in the harbour to be burnt before her eyes. This was done; but the princess had already escaped the water and been restored to her former shape. She found her father, who brought her to the Giant. The mother of the giants bade her son treat the nurse's daughter as the nurse's daughter had been minded to treat the princess; and the false bride was accordingly burnt. The Giant then married the princess and sent her father home a free man. Some months later the giant began to ill-treat his wife, because she was more friendly with his mother than he cared to be. The Giant's wife therefore fled on a ship to her former home. The Giant himself followed her, and bribed a goldsmith to shut him in a large golden coffer and sell him as a saint's relic to the king's daughter. The king's daughter bought the coffer, and proceeded to say her prayers before it. But, while thus engaged, she heard a slight noise, *zicki zicki*, and detected the Giant within. She shrieked aloud. Soldiers came up, ran a red-hot spit through the key-hole of the coffer, and so bored out the eye of the Giant inside it¹. They then took him and struck him on the ankle-bones till he died.

(5) The Three-eyed Ogre in a Folk-tale from Kypros².

A woodcutter's eldest daughter once married a passing merchant, who gave her a hundred and one keys. She might open a hundred chambers in his house, but not the one over. For all that, she opened it. Looking from its window she saw a ghastly sight. First, a corpse was borne out to burial without friends or mourners. Then, her husband appeared among the tombs, made himself a head as big as a sieve, three eyes, enormously long arms and hideous nails. With

¹ In a folk-tale from Syra (E. M. Geldart *op. cit.* p. 16 f. 'The two brothers and the forty-nine dragons') the hero kills the Drakoi by thrusting red-hot spits through the chests in which they are concealed.

² Text in A. Sakellarios *Tà Kypríaká* Athens 1868 iii. 136 ff. Translation (here condensed) in É. Legrand *Recueil de contes populaires grecs* Paris 1881 pp. xiv, 115—131 'Le Trimmato ou l'ogre aux trois yeux.' The tale falls under the thirtieth or 'Bluebeard'-formula of J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 56, on which see T. F. Crane *Italian Popular Tales* London 1885 p. 77 ff. and J. Bolte—G. Polivka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Bruder Grimm* Leipzig 1913 i. 13 ff., 370 ff., and especially 398 ff.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

² The river Meles.

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

servant mount the old sailor's roof and fetch thence the armet hidden in a stork's nest. He did so, and Kathinko recognised her trinket. Hereupon the old mother would have died of surprise, had she not been kept alive by joy at the recovery of her son. George settled in Therapia, built a fine house there, and maintained his parents in plenty. He endowed his sisters well and married them to honest men. He put up monuments to his luckless brothers and gave a donation to a church for masses to be said on their behalf. His descendants are well-to-do folk still living at Therapia and in the neighbourhood.

Lastly, episode iv, the name-trick, is the main feature of *The Three Thieves*, a very much transmogrified tale from Lesbos :

(7) **The Name-trick in a Folk-tale from Lesbos¹.**

'Once there was a good man whose fortune was in the sun². He went out on the hill, and saw three thieves who had killed a goat. They told him to cook it. Well, as they say, "a thief among thieves, and a liar among liars³"; so he nodded without speaking, and did as he was bid. They asked him his name, and he said 'Απατός—"Mr Self." When he had cooked the goat, he beat the three thieves soundly with the spit⁴, and they ran off howling. People asked them who did it? "Self!" said they, and got laughed at for their pains.'

An Albanian version, recorded at Piana de' Greci near Palermo, recognises two Kyklopes and gives each of them two pairs of eyes :

(8) **The Kyklopes in an Albanian Folk-tale⁵.**

'Once on a time there were two men travelling. Night fell upon them by the way, and it rained and thundered. Poor fellows, just think what a plight they were in! They saw a light far off and said, "Let's go and see if we can pass the night where that light is." And they went and came to the cave, for a cave it was where the light shone. They went in and saw that there were sheep and rams and two Cyclopes⁶, who had two eyes in front and two behind. The Cyclopes saw them come in and said one to the other, "Go to, here we have got something to eat." And they proposed to eat the two men. The poor fellows stayed there two days; then the Cyclopes felt the back of their necks and said, "Good! We'll eat one of them to-morrow." Meantime they made them eat to fatten them. For in the evening they would take a sheep and a ram, roast them on spits over the fire, and compel the poor wretches to devour them, entrails and all, just to fatten them. And every now and then they would feel the back of their necks, and one would say to the other, "They're getting on very well!" But the two men said to each other by words or signs, "Let us see whether we can escape." Now, as I said, two days passed, and on the second day the Cyclopes fell asleep and slumbered with all their eyes open. Nevertheless, when the two men saw the Cyclopes sleeping, they took the spits on which the sheep had been roasted, and they heated them in the fire. Then they took rams' skins

¹ Reported by W. H. D. Rouse in *Folk-Lore* 1896 vii. 154 f. = O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 107 no. 125.

² ἡ τύχη του ἦτο 'ς τὸν ἥλιον, *i.e.* he had no means of subsistence.

³ κλέφτης με τοὺς κλέφταις, καὶ ψεύτης με τοὺς ψεύταις, *i.e.* do at Rome as the Romans do.

⁴ An attenuated form of episode i (a).

⁵ D. Comparetti *Novelline popolari Italiane* Torino 1875 pp. 308—310 no. 70 = O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 12 f. no. 4 = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 441 f. no. 27. I transcribe Frazer's rendering.

⁶ O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 13 takes *ciclopi* to be a popular, not a learned, appellation: he cites *ciropidhu* as a dialect form from Messina (*ib.* p. 16 no. 9 and p. 169).

and clothed themselves in them, and going down on all fours they walked about in the rams' skins. Meanwhile the spits were heated, and each of the men took two, and going softly up to the sleeping Cyclopes, they jabbed the hot spits into their eyes. After that, they went down on all fours like sheep. The Cyclopes awoke blind, and gave themselves up for lost. But they took their stand at the door, each at a doorpost, just as they were, with all the spits sticking in their eyes. They let out all the sheep that were in the cave, saying, "The sheep will go out, and the men will stay in," and they felt the fleeces of the sheep to see whether the men were going out too. But the men had the sheep-skins on their backs, and they went on all fours, and when the Cyclopes felt them, they thought they were sheep. So the men escaped with their life, and when they were some way off, they put off the skins. Either the Cyclopes died or they know themselves what they did. That is the end of the story.¹

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

(g) **The Kyklops in a Sicilian Folk-tale¹.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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barred the door. Jack was again in difficulties, but he soon found a way out of them. The giant had a favourite dog which had also been sleeping when his master was blinded. Jack killed the dog, skinned it, and throwing the hide over his back ran on all fours barking between the legs of the giant, and so escaped.¹

APPENDIX F.

THE DIOSKOUROI AND HELENE IN MODERN FOLK-TALES.

Attention may here be called to a group of modern Greek and Italian folk-tales, which are related to the myth of the Dioskouroi, as I shall presently point out. The group was first recognised as such by that excellent investigator J. G. von Hahn, who included it under his fourth or 'expulsion' formula, though he failed fully to perceive its affinity with classical myths¹.

(a) Sun, Moon, and Star in a Folk-tale from Greece.

(1) A good example of the group in question is the modern Greek story of the *Tzitzinaina*, which runs as follows². An old woman once had three daughters, poor and hard-working girls. The eldest said: 'If I had for husband the king's pastry-man, I should eat cake.' The second said: 'If I had his cook, I should taste all the royal dishes.' The third said: 'I would like the king himself. Then I should have all his treasures, and should bear him three children, Sun, Moon, and Star.' It so chanced that the king overheard them talking and granted their several desires. But when the third sister became queen, she was hated by the king's mother. She was about to bring forth Sun, when the king was called off to a war and entrusted her to his mother. This cruel woman bade the midwife put the new-born babe in a box, fling it into the sea, and place a puppy dog instead beside the queen. The same sorry scene was enacted a second and a third time. A cat was substituted for Moon, and a snake for Star, the children being each in turn sent adrift on the sea. The king, disappointed and angry, walled up the queen in the jakes. The children one after the other were washed up at the foot of a mountain, on which dwelt a hermit. He cared for them till they were grown and then sent the two brothers Sun and Moon with their sister Star to the neighbouring town. Meantime the midwife had learnt of the children's escape and, wishing to destroy them, sought out Star and told her that she was beautiful but might be more so, if only she possessed the golden apple kept by forty dragons in a garden. Sun, who had been out to the bazar and bought of a Jew a mysterious box, now opened it, found inside a green winged horse and set out upon him to get the golden apple. The horse caused a flash of lightning and a clap of thunder, under cover of which Sun secured the apple and brought it back to Star. Again the midwife passed by and told Star that she needed, to make her more beautiful still, the golden bough on which all the birds of the world met to sing. Sun remounted his horse, which, as before, promised to lighten and thunder and advised

¹ J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 46, T. F. Crane *Italian Popular Tales* London 1885 pp. 17, 325. On the 'expulsion' formula see *infra* p. 1012.

² Text by G. Ch. B. in the *Νεοελληνικά ανάλεκτα* Athens 1871 i. 17 ff., French translation by É. Legrand *Recueil de contes populaires grecs* Paris 1881 pp. 77—93. I have condensed Legrand's version.

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

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

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

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

² In the sequel he is called king.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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sister. The king was so pleased at his success that he gave him a small kingdom. But the grandmother again plotted with the nurse for his destruction. The nurse went a second time to the girl and said: 'You are beautiful, sweetheart, but you would be more beautiful still, if you had the Beauty of the Land.' The brother set out to get her without delay. The Beauty of the Land was a woman beautiful beyond compare, who lived on the far side of a river. Whoever wanted to carry her off had to traverse the dry bed of the river: his horse must there whinny aloud, and, if she heard it whinnying, he would be able to ride through, but, if she heard it not, he and his horse would there and then be turned into stone. When the lad came to the dried up river, he bade the winged horse whinny his loudest. The horse did so, but the Beauty of the Land heard nothing. 'We are lost!' cried the horse. 'Courage!' said the lad, 'whinny once more.' This time the Beauty of the Land heard and answered. The lad rode over and carried her off; and, as they crossed the dry river-bed, a number of people who were petrified there came to life again and escorted them home, remaining with them till the marriage between the young man and the Beauty of the Land was celebrated. The king was greatly delighted at all this. But the king's mother plotted once again with the nurse to poison the young people. Soon afterwards the king invited them to a feast. Before they went, the Beauty of the Land revealed everything to her husband, counseling him not to strike in the face the poor walled up woman who was his own mother and at table to eat only of those dishes of which she herself ate. When the bride, the bridegroom, and the bridegroom's sister ate only of the dishes set before the king, the king pressed them to eat of others also. They told him that the rest were poisoned. He hurled the whole meal out of the window with his own hand and ordered another. Afterwards the Beauty of the Land begged him to send for the walled up woman. On her arrival the three young folk stood up and kissed her. The Beauty of the Land told the whole tale to the king, who embraced his children and his wife. But he had his mother and the midwife each bound to four horses and torn into quarters.

(δ) Three Golden Children in a Folk-tale from Eubœia.

(4) A variant hails from Hagia Anna, a small town in the north-east of Eubœia¹. The third sister said: 'I would bear the prince three golden children.' She bore a golden child, while her husband was on a campaign; but the cruel mother-in-law flung it into the hen-house and substituted for it a small dog. When her son returned and asked after the child that his wife had borne, she replied: 'What is to be done? She is a dog and a dog she has borne.' And the prince made answer: 'Dog though it be, it will watch my house.' The second child she flung into the hen-house and replaced by a cat; and the prince on his return was told of it and replied: 'Cat though it be, it will clear my house of mice.' For the third child she substituted a snake. Then the prince came back and gave orders that his wife should be flung into the hen-house. There the mother-in-law, who did not want her to die of hunger, brought her food in secret. When the boys had grown up, one day the king bade his heralds summon all his people to assemble before his castle. The boys heard of it, broke their way out of the hen-house and went to the assembly. The king noticed them, and was so pleased with them that he wanted to take them into his castle. But they said that they could not come without their mother; and, when the king asked 'Who is your mother?', they replied 'She is the woman whom you shut up in the hen-house'

¹ Text unpublished, German summary by J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 291 f. I translate from von Hahn.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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he went, gave her a dagger : she was to pull it out of its sheath several times daily for a year and a day ; if ever it would not come out, she might know that he was dead. A day arrived when she failed to draw the dagger : her eldest brother must be dead. The second brother now set out to seek him, and, before he went, gave her a rosary : she was to tell the beads constantly ; if one stuck, she might know that he was dead. A day came when one did stick : he too must be dead. So she bought a horse, dressed as a cavalier, and set out herself in quest of them. She went on and on till she reached a large plain. Here in the hollow of an old tree she saw a little man with a long white beard, who saluted her as the daughter of the king of France. She denied the title, but offered to clip his beard, which must be in his way, she thought. By so doing she delivered him : for five hundred years people had passed that way and no one had helped him. He therefore gave her his blessing, and told her how to find her brothers. Sixty leagues off was a road-side inn, where she was to eat, drink, and leave her horse. Soon afterwards she would find herself close to a very high mountain, terribly hard to climb. A wild wind would burst upon her. There would be hail, snow, ice, and cruel cold to contend with. On either side of the path would be seen many stone pillars—men, who had essayed to climb the mountain, lost heart, and been petrified on the spot. Once at the top, she would see a plain covered with turf and May flowers. Beneath an apple-tree would appear a golden seat. On this she was to sit and feign sleep. A blackbird would then hop down from branch to branch of the apple-tree, and enter a cage beneath it. She was to shut the cage quickly, and would so have secured the Bird of Truth. Next she would cut a branch from the apple-tree with an apple on it ; it would be the Singing Apple. Lastly, she was to fill a phial with water from a fountain beneath the tree ; this was the Dancing Water. On her way down the mountain she was to spill a drop of water on each stone pillar : from every one would come a cavalier, her own two brothers among them. All these directions she faithfully carried out. Passing through the intense cold on the mountain-side she reached the top, where the sky was clear and the air warm, as though it were summer. She sat on the golden seat below the apple-tree, feigned sleep, and duly secured the Bird of Truth, which again addressed her as daughter of the king of France. She next cut a branch of the apple-tree with one apple on it, filled her phial with water from the fountain, sprinkled and set free all the princes, dukes, barons, and cavaliers, who had been turned into stones, and last of all restored to life her own two brothers. They did not recognise their sister : so she hurried on, and got home first. On their arrival they told her how they had failed in the quest, and spoke of a young cavalier of surpassing beauty who had freed them from their fate. Meantime the old king, who loved the children, as he supposed, of his sister-in-law, was glad to see them all back again, and invited them to a banquet. Towards the end of it the young girl placed on the table the Dancing Water, the Singing Apple, and the Bird of Truth, and bade them do their business. So the Water danced, the Apple sang, and the Bird told the whole story to the assembled company. To prove the truth of it he bade the head-bands be removed from the two brothers and their sister : whereupon it was seen that each of the lads had a gold star on his forehead, and the young girl a silver star. The king fainted away. Recovering himself, he went and fetched the queen from her solitary tower. Despite twenty years' imprisonment, she was still beautiful and gracious. She ate and drank a little, and then—died where she sat ! The king, mad with grief and rage, had a furnace heated in the field, into which his sister-in-law and the midwife were cast.

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

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

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

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

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

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

³ *Id. ib.* 'He!!enische und germanische Sage: fehlt.'

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

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

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

¹ On ἀναγνώσις as a strong point with Euripides see e.g. M. Croiset *Histoire de la littérature grecque* Paris 1891 iii. 315 f. Karkinos in his *Thyestes* (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 797 Nauck²) ap. Aristot. *poet.* 16. 1454 b 21 ff. used certain congenital signs in the shape of stars (ἀστέρας) as the means of effecting such a recognition: this is a parallel to the Breton tale *supra* p. 1011.

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

³ Apollod. 3. 5. 5.

⁴ *Supra* i. 64 n. 3, 738.

⁵ *Supra* n. 2.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ *Supra* i. 739, ii. 317, 445.

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

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

³ *Supra* i. 739.

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

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

3. They are put into a basket and flung into a river.
4. They are flung into a hen-house.
5. They are thrown out for the dogs to eat.
6. They are put into baskets and floated down the Seine.

Their mother too is (1) walled up in the jakes, or (3) partially walled up at the entrance to the castle, or (6) shut up in a tower, or (5) put into a tread-mill, or (2 and 4) thrown into the hen-house. Here again classical parallels are not far to seek. According to Kephalion, Lykos had the twins Zethos and Amphion exposed near Mount Kithairon, where a childless labourer named Ordion found and reared them; Dirke took their mother Antiope to the same place, fastened a torch to the horns of a wild bull, and gave orders that Antiope should be roped to its neck and so dragged to death, when in the nick of time the twins learned the victim's name from Ordion, set free their mother, and at her request bound Dirke to the bull¹. As to Kastor, Polydeukes, and Helene, an anonymous narrative, probably drawn from the *Kypria*², said that Zeus under the form of a swan had mated with Nemesis under the form of a goose, that Nemesis had laid an egg and left it in the marsh, that a certain shepherd had found it there and brought it to Leda, who kept it carefully in a chest, and that in time Helene was born from this egg and brought up as the child of Leda³. A tradition, late in date⁴ but early in character⁵, added that Kastor and Polydeukes were born of the same egg⁶, and used the halves of it as conical caps⁷. Ibykos, a sixth-century lyrical poet, introduced some speaker, presumably Herakles, saying of the twin Moliones:

The white-horsed youths,
Sons of Molione, I slew,
Like-aged and equal-headed and one-bodied,
Both born in a silver egg⁸.

¹ Kephalion *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 628 ff. Müller) *ap.* Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 45 ff. Dindorf.

² See O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 118 ff.

³ Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 88, Apollod. 3. 10. 7. The egg was left ἐν τῷ ἔλει (Tzetz.), ἐν τοῖς ἀλσεσιν (Apollod.: ἀλσεσιν cod. S. ἔλεισιν Preller, δάσσειν Bekker).

⁴ A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1159.

⁵ E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1113.

⁶ Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 88, 506, schol. Kallim. *h. Artem.* 232, schol. *Od.* 11. 298, *Hor. sat.* 2. 1. 26, *ars poet.* 147 with Acron *ad locc.*, Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 328, Fulgent. *myth.* 2. 16, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 78, 3. 3. 6.

⁷ *Lyk. Al.* 506 f., Loukian. *dial. deor.* 26. 1.

Another account said that Iupiter as a swan consorted with Leda, who laid two eggs, one of them containing Castor and Pollux, the other Clytemnestra and Helena (*Myth. Vat.* 1. 204).

In a sanctuary of Hilaeira and Phoibe at Sparta an egg, hung from the roof by ribbons, was shown as that to which Leda had given birth (Paus. 3. 16. 1). Its position, slung in mid air, suggests that it may have symbolised the moon. Neokles of Kroton stated that the egg from which Helene was born had fallen from the moon, the women there being oviparous and their offspring fifteen times as large as we are, according to Herodorus of Herakleia (*frag.* 28 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 35, where see C. Müller's note).

⁸ Ibyk. *frag.* 16 Bergk⁴ *ap.* Athen. 57 F f., cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1321, 33 ff., *in Od.* p. 1686, 45 ff. According to Pherekydes *frag.* 36 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 81 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 11. 709, Kteatos and Eurytos were the sons of Molione, daughter of Molos, nominally by Aktor, but really by Poseidon: each of them had two heads, four hands, four feet, and one body. They thus closely resembled the composite beings, whom Plato related to the

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

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

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

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

It will be seen that the last tale gives the most coherent account of the various objects to be sought. Moreover, it alone makes mention of one detail, the golden seat, which affords a clue to the meaning of all the rest. Whoever can sit on that golden throne thereby establishes his claim to be king, the Dancing Water, the Singing Apple, and the Bird of Truth being in some sort his *regalia*. But this is a matter for further investigation. For the moment I content myself with observing that traces, substantial traces, of similar quests are to be found sun and moon (*supra* i. 311). Cp. Plout. *de frat. am.* 1 τοὺς Μολιωνίδας ἐκείνους, συμφύεις τοῖς σώμασι γεγονέναι δοκοῦντας.

¹ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 273.

² Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 78 f., Plout. *v. Rom.* 3, Liv. 1. 4. 3.

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

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

¹ *Supra* p. 1003.

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

³ *Supra* p. 1003.

⁴ Hes. *theog.* 285 f., cp. Eur. *Bellerophontes frag.* 312 Nauck² ὄφ' ἄρματ' ἐλθὼν Ζηνὸς ἀστραπήφορέι. I do not know any ancient representation of Pegasos as lightning-bearer. But a very remarkable red-figured *hydria* at Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 343 no. 449, J. B. Biot in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1847 xix. 184 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* iv pl. 39, 2 (= my fig. 885), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 129. 4. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München



Fig. 885.

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

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

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

The hero of another folk-tale captures the Winged Horse of the Plain: he waits till it stoops its head in drinking from a spring, then leaps on to its back, and makes it swear by its brother to serve him¹. He too can be paralleled by Bellerophon, who captures Pegasus while drinking at the spring Peirene²; and Pegasus, we remember, has Chrysaor for brother³. Lastly, the folk-tale hero, who as a new-born babe is put into a box and flung into the sea, while his mother is walled up in the jakes⁴, recalls the classical myth of Danae, first shut up in an underground chamber and then sent adrift in a chest on the sea



Fig. 886.

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

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

¹ *Supra* p. 1006.

² Strab. 379.

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

⁴ *Supra* p. 1003 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1004.

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

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

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(N) Penalties exacted by the children in 'Expulsion' Tales.

It remains but to notice the extreme savagery with which, in the folk-tales, the guilty parties are punished :

1. The king's mother and the midwife are torn asunder by horses.
2. The king's mother is banished from the palace : the midwife is beheaded.
3. The king's mother and the midwife are torn asunder by horses.
4. The king's mother is torn asunder by mules.
5. The jealous sisters are thrown into a caldron of boiling oil : the nurse is flung from the window.
6. The jealous sister and the midwife are cast into a furnace.

Even here classical mythology, for all its refinement and polish, can offer a gruesome analogy. Zethos and Amphion, as we have already heard¹, bind the ill-starred Dirke to a wild bull, by which she is dragged to death. Nay worse, the scene of her agony was a favourite subject with the sensational art of the Hellenistic age (fig. 886)².

APPENDIX G.

ORPHIC THEOGONIES AND THE COSMOGONIC EROS.

The Orphic fragments were collected and discussed with marvellous insight by C. A. Lobeck *Aglaophamus Regimontii Prussorum* 1829 i. 411—ii. 964. A somewhat fuller and handier collection is that of E. Abel *Orphica Lipsiae-Pragae* 1885 pp. 137—273, who, however, does not add a commentary and occasionally refers a fragment to the wrong context. An important supplement is G. Murray 'Critical Appendix on the Orphic Tablets' in Harrison *Proleg. Gr. Rel.*² pp. 659—673 (*supra* p. 118 n. 2). Recently O. Kern in his *Orphicorum fragmenta* Berolini 1922 has produced an admirably careful and complete edition, which includes 'Testimonia' (pp. 1—79), 'Fragmenta' (pp. 80—344), bibliography (pp. 345—350), reference-tables (pp. 351—353), and 'Indices' (pp. 360—407). But the subject is even now far from being exhausted, and a *Corpus* of the monu-

folk-tales, Prof. W. R. Halliday, in R. M. Dawkins *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* Cambridge 1916 p. 216 f. : 'It cannot be too strongly insisted that there is no special connexion at all between ancient mythology and modern Greek folk-tales. Wherever it has been traced, there is obvious to the impartial observer either a straining of the evidence or a palpable mistake.'

¹ *Supra* pp. 1013, 1015.

² See e.g. Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 532 ff., Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 43 Text p. 55, E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1170.

I figure e.g. the principal design on an Apulian *kratér* from Palazzuolo near Syracuse, now in Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamm. Berlin* ii. 926 f. no. 3296 K. Dilthey in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1878 xxxvi. 42 ff. pls. 7 (=my fig. 886) and 8, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 421, 2, O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2184 ff. fig. 1, J. H. Huddilston *Greek Tragedy in the light of Vase Paintings* London 1898 p. 9 n. 1). On the left Dirke, a pathetic figure with bared breast, is dragged to death by the raging bull. On the right Lykos, caught skulking in a cave by Zethos and Amphion, is about to be dispatched, when Hermes—as in the Euripidean version (*supra* p. 1013)—suddenly intervenes to stay the slaughter. Antiope escapes to the right. The panther-skin hung on the wall of the cave hints at the Dionysiac character of Antiope (*supra* i. 735).

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

(1) The earliest Orphic Theogony.

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

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

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

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

(2) The Orphic Theogony of Hieronymos and Hellanikos.

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

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O. Kern *De Orphēi Epimenidis Pherecydis theogoniis quaestiones criticae* Berolini 1888 p. 25 f.) with golden wings on his shoulders, the heads of bulls attached to his sides (cp. Orph. *h. Protog.* 6. 3 ταυροβόαν), and on his head a monstrous snake resembling all manner of wild beasts. This god is named Protogonos or Zeus the arranger of all or Pan (Πρωτόγονον ἀνυμνεῖ καὶ Δία καλεῖ πάντων διατάκτορα καὶ ὄλου τοῦ κόσμου, διὸ καὶ Πάνα καλεῖσθαι (cp. Orph. *h. Pan.* 11. 12 ἀληθῆς Ζεὺς ὁ κεράσσης)). The account given by Damaskios is borne out by Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 18 p. 20, 22 ff. Schwartz and schol. Greg. *Naz. or.* 31. 16 (E. Norden in *Hermes* 1892 xxvii. 614 f.), who, however, omit the bovine head of the snake, ascribing to it the head of a god between the heads of a snake and a lion, and say nothing of Aither, Chaos, and Erebos. The snake Herakles—they declare—produced a huge egg, which, filled with his force, cracked and broke into halves—the upper heaven, the lower earth. Forth from the egg came a bodiless god (*supra*), Phanes by name. Athenag. *loc. cit.* p. 21, 1 ff. Schwartz adds the sequel. Ouranos and Ge had as their daughters Klotho, Lachesis, Atropos, as their sons the Hekatoncheires Kottos, Gyges, Briareos, and the Kyklopes Brontes, Steropes, Arges. These Ouranos bound and flung into Tartaros, having heard that his sons would dethrone him. Thereupon Ge was angered and bare the Titans, so called 'because they took vengeance (τισάσθην) on great Ouranos the starry' (Orph. *frag.* 57 Kern).

[As to the date and *provenance* of the theogony, we are reduced to guesswork. C. Müller *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 450 n.** cj. that Hieronymos was Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν τὴν Φοινικικὴν συγγραψάμενος (Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 1. 3. 6, cp. 1. 3. 9, = Euseb. *praef. ev.* 9. 11. 3, cp. 9. 13. 5, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 11 b c (i. 23 Bekker)), and he is followed e.g. by F. Sussehl *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit* Leipzig 1891 i. 376 n. 6; but A. Gudeman in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1564 enters a caveat. Hellanikos is commonly regarded as pseudo-Hellanikos; but Gudeman *loc. cit.* viii. 121 thinks that the theogony current under his name 'war sicher kein besonderes Buch, sondern der Bericht über die Entstehung der Welt nach einem orphischen Gedicht. H. kann ihn recht gut irgendwo gegeben haben.' If so, the Orphic poem itself cannot have been composed later than c. 450 B.C. and may have been a good deal earlier. It exhibits various traces of oriental cosmogony and of Greek philosophy. The complex monsters are more Semitic than Hellenic. The world-creating Herakles is perhaps Phoenician (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 499; but see *eund.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1141). So, as was pointed out by E. Zeller (*A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 i. 102 n. 4 *fin.*), is primeval slime (Sanchouniathon in Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 565 Müller) ap. Euseb. *praef. ev.* 1. 10. 1 f. καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμπλοκῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγένετο Μῶτ· τοῦτό τινες φασιν ἰλύν, οἱ δὲ ὕδατώδους μίξεως σῆψιν, with which Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 386 f. well cp. Dioid. 1. 10 φασὶ τοίνυν Αἰγύπτιοι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν ὄλων γένεσιν πρώτους ἀνθρώπους γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον διὰ τε τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῆς χώρας καὶ διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ Νείλου. τοῦτον γὰρ πολύγονον ὄντα καὶ τὰς τροφὰς αὐτοφνεῖς παρεχόμενον ῥαδίως ἐκτρέφειν τὰ ζωογονηθέντα... ὅταν γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιούμενου τὴν πρώτην τῆς ἰλύος ὁ ἥλιος διαξηράνη, φασὶ συνίστασθαι ζῶα, τινὰ μὲν εἰς τέλος ἀπηρτισμένα, τινὰ δὲ ἡμιτελῆ καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ συμφυῆ τῇ γῆ, *ib.* 12 τὸ μὲν οὖν πνεῦμα Δία προσαγορεύσαι μεθερμηνευομένης τῆς λέξεως, ὃν αἴτιον ὄντα τοῦ ψυχικοῦ τοῖς ζῴοις ἐνόμισαν ὑπάρχειν πάντων οἰοεῖ τινὰ πατέρα... τὴν δὲ γῆν ὡσπερ ἀγγείον τι τῶν φυσόμενων ὑπολαμβάνοντας μητέρα προσαγορεύσαι, the Egyptian word for 'mother' being μούθ (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 56) = Sanchouniathon's Μῶτ: *id. Gr. Myth. Rel.*

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

(3) The Theogony of the Orphic Rhapsodies.

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

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

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

quaest. de primis principiis 113 (i. 291, 18 ff. Ruelle), Herm. in Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 141 (p. 148, 25 ff. Couvreur), cp. Wolf *anecd.* iii. 209). But Zeus with a view to the ordering of all things consulted both Nyx and Kronos, whom he had already bound (Orph. *frag.* 164 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 206, 26 ff. Diehl, *id.* in Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 30 f.) and mutilated after making him drunk on honey (Orph. *frag.* 154 Kern *ap.* Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 16 παρά δὲ τῷ Ὀρφεῖ ὁ Κρόνος μέλιτι ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐνεδρεύεται· πλησθεῖς γὰρ μέλιτος μεθύει καὶ σκοτοῦται ὡς ἀπὸ (Lobeck cj. ὑπὸ οἴνου καὶ ὑπνοῖ ὡς παρὰ Πλάτωνι (*symph.* 203 B ὁ οὖν Πόρος μεθυσθεὶς τοῦ νέκταρος, οἶνος γὰρ οὐπῶ ἦν, εἰς τὸν τοῦ Διὸς κῆπον εἰσελθὼν βεβαρημένος ἠῦθεν) ὁ Πόρος τοῦ νέκταρος πλησθεῖς· οὐπῶ γὰρ οἶνος ἦν. φησὶ γὰρ παρ' Ὀρφεῖ ἡ Νύξ τῷ Διὶ ὑποπιθεμένη τὸν διὰ μέλιτος δόλον· εὐτ' ἂν δῆ μιν ἴδῃαι ὑπὸ δρυσὶν ὑψικόμοισιν | ἔργουσι μεθυστῶν μελισσῶων ἐμβόμβων, | δῆσον αὐτὸν (Barnes cj. αὐτίκα μιν δῆσον). ὁ καὶ πάσχει ὁ Κρόνος καὶ δεθεὶς ἐκτέμνεται ὡς ὁ Οὐρανός, cp. Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.* pp. 54, 19 and 62, 3 ff. Pasquali). At the advice of Nyx Zeus leapt upon Phanes and swallowed him (Orph. *frag.* 82 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* iii. 102, 2 f. Diehl ὁ δὲ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ἐπιπηδᾷ αὐτῷ καὶ καταπίνειν δευξάσης μέντοι τῆς Νυκτός, Orph. *frag.* 167 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 324, 14 ff. Diehl ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Ὀρφεὺς ἐνδουκνύμενος καταπίνεσθαι τὸν νοητὸν θεὸν ἔφατο παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῶν ὄλων· ... ὁ δὲ θεολόγος καὶ οἶον ἐπιπηδᾷ αὐτὸν τῷ νοητῷ καὶ καταπίνειν, ὡς ὁ μῦθος ἔφησεν). Having thus with wide open jaws devoured Phanes, Zeus had within his own belly the body of all things, and, since he had digested the power of that creative god, was himself able to create the universe anew (Orph. *frag.* 167 a Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 324, 29 ff. Diehl ὡς τότε Πρωτογόνοιο χανὼν μένος Ἑρικεπαίου | τῶν πάντων δέμας εἶχεν ἤν' ἐνὶ γαστέρι κοιλῆ, | μίξει δ' εἰός μελέεσσι θεοῦ δυνάμιν τε καὶ ἀλκήν, | τοῦνεκα σὺν τῷ πάντα (παρὰ codd. E. Abel prints παντὶ E. Diehl cj. πάντα) Διὸς πάλιν ἐντὸς ἐτύχθη. |... πάντα τὰδε κρύψας αἰθῆσι φάος ἐς πολυγηθῆς | μέλλεν ἀπὸ κραδῆς προφέρειν πάλι θέσκελα μέζων, cp. Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 62, 3 ff. Pasquali). Inside Zeus were made afresh the world and all its contents, including gods and goddesses (Orph. *frag.* 167 b Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 313, 9 ff. Diehl τοῦνεκα σὺν τῷ πάντα (E. Abel gives παντὶ) Διὸς πάλιν ἐντὸς ἐτύχθη | αἰθέρου εὐρείης ἢδ' οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαῶν ὕψος, | πόντου τ' ἀρυγέτου γαίης τ' ἐρικυδέος ἔδρη (E. Abel has εὔρη), | Ὀκεανὸς τε μέγας καὶ νεάτα τάρταρα γαίης | καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ πόντος ἀπείριτος ἄλλα τε πάντα | πάντες τ' ἀθάνατοι μάκαρες θεοὶ ἠδὲ θείαιαι, | ὅσα τ' ἔην γεγαῶτα καὶ ὑστερον ὀπίσσω ἔμελλον, | ἐνγένετο, Ζητὸς δ' ἐνὶ γαστέρι σύρρα πεφύκει, cp. Prokl. in Plat. *Parm.* iii (p. 621 Stallbaum), Orph. *frag.* 169 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Parm.* iv (p. 750 Stallbaum) οὕτως δὲ Ζητὸς καὶ ἐν ὄμμασι πατρὸς ἀνακτος | ναῖουσ' ἀθάνατοί τε θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἄνθρωποι | ὅσα τ' ἔην γεγαῶτα καὶ ὑστερον ὀπίσσω ἔμελλε, cp. *theosoph.* *Tubing.* 50 in K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 109 f.). Accordingly Zeus himself was described by the Orphists in pantheistic terms (Orph. *frag.* 21 a Kern *ap.* Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 27 ff. (cp. Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 409, 4 ff. Stählin) διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς οὐ κακῶς λέγεται:—

Zeus πρώτος γένητο, Zeus ὕστατος ἀργικέρανος·
 Zeus κεφαλῆ, Zeus μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται·
 Zeus πυθμῆν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
 Zeus ἄρσιν γένητο, Zeus ἄμβροτος ἔπλετο νύμφη·
 Zeus πνοιή πάντων, Zeus ἀκαμάτου πυρὸς ὀρμή·
 Zeus πόντου ρίζα, Zeus ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη·
 Zeus βασιλεὺς, Zeus ἀρχὸς πάντων ἀργικέρανος·
 πάντας γὰρ κρύψας αἰθῆσι φάος ἐς πολυγηθῆς
 ἐξ ἱερῆς κραδῆς ἀνεπέγατο μέγερμα μέζων.

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

Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένητο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀργικέρανος·
 Ζεὺς κεφαλή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται·
 Ζεὺς ἄρσῃν γένητο, Ζεὺς ἄφθιτος¹ ἔπλετο νύμφῃ·
 Ζεὺς πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
 Ζεὺς βασιλεύς, Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀπάντων ἀρχιγένεθλος.
 ἐν κράτος, εἰς δαίμων γένητο, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων,
 ἐν δέ² δέμας βασιλεῖον, ἐν ᾧ τάδε πάντα κυκλείται,
 πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἰθήρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἡμαρ,
 καὶ Μῆτις πρῶτος γενέτωρ³ καὶ Ἔρως πολυτερπῆς·
 πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ Ζηνὸς⁴ τάδε σώματι⁵ κείται.
 τοῦ δὴ τοι κεφαλῆ⁶ μὲν ἰδεῖν καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα
 οὐρανοῦ αἰγλήεις, ὃν χρύσεια ἀμφὶς ἔθειραι
 ἀστρων μαρμαρέων περικαλλέες ἠερέθονται·
 ταύρεα δ' ἀμφοτέρωθε δύο χρύσεια κέρατα,
 ἀντολίῃ τε δύσις τε, θεῶν ὁδοὶ οὐρανόων·
 ὄμματα δ' ἠελίος τε καὶ ἀντιώσσα⁷ σελήνη·
 νοῦς⁸ δέ <οἱ⁹> ἀψευδής, βασιλῆϊος¹⁰, ἀφθιτος αἰθήρ,
 ᾧ δὴ πάντα κλύει¹¹ καὶ φράζεται, οὐδέ τις ἐστὶν
 αὐτῇ οὔτ'¹² ἐνοπῇ οὔτε¹³ κτύπος οὐδέ¹⁴ μὲν ὄσσα
 ἢ λήθει Διὸς οἶας ὑπερμενέος Κρονίωνος.
 ὦδε μὲν ἀθανάτην κεφαλὴν ἔχει ἠδὲ νόημα·
 σῶμα¹⁵ δέ οἱ περιφεγγές¹⁶, ἀπειρίτον, ἀστυφέλικτον,
 ὄβριμον¹⁷, ὄβριμόγυιον, ὑπερμενές ὦδε τέτυκται·
 ὄμοι μὲν καὶ στέρνα καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θεοῖο
 αἴηρ εὐρυβίης· πτέρυγες δέ οἱ ἐξεφύοντο,
 τῆς ἐπὶ πάντα ποτᾶθ'· ἰερῇ δέ οἱ ἔπλετο νηδὺς
 γαῖά τε παμμήτειρ' ὀρέων τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα·
 μέσση δὲ ζῶνῃ βαρυηχέος¹⁸ οἶδμα θαλάσσης
 καὶ πόντου· πυμάτη δὲ βάσις χθονὸς ἔνδοθι ρίζαι
 τάρταρά τ' εὐρώεντα καὶ ἔσχατα πείρατα γαίης·
 πάντα δ' ἀποκρύψας¹⁹ αὐθις φάος ἐς πολυγηθές
 μέλλεν²⁰ ἀπὸ κραδίης προφέρειν πάλι, θέσκελα ῥέζων.

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

¹ ἄμβροτος Stob.

² δὲ om. Stob.

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

⁴ *Ζηνὸς μεγάλῳ* Stob. *Ζηνὸς μεγάλου* Prokl.

⁵ *δῶματι* Prokl.

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

⁷ Heringa cj. *ἀνταυγοῖσα*.

⁸ Heringa cj. *οὖς*.

⁹ So Prokl. *Om.* Euseb., *cod.* *F* Stob.

¹⁰ Heringa cj. *ἀψευδὲς βασιλῆιον*.

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

¹² οὐδ' Stob.

¹³ οὐδέ Stob. οὐδ' αὖ Prokl.

¹⁴ So Prokl. *οὔτε* Euseb.

¹⁵ *σῆμα* cod. *F* Stob.

¹⁶ *πυριφεγγές* Prokl.

¹⁷ *ἄτρομον* Stob.

¹⁸ *βάθυηχέος* Prokl.

¹⁹ *τάδε κρύψας* Prokl.

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

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

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

Mat. 8. 2), and finally devoured them (Firm. Mat. 6. 3 cited *supra* i. 661 f., Olympiod. in Plat. *Phaed.* 61 C pp. 2, 26 and 3, 4 f. Norvin). Thereupon Hekate went to Olympos (Orph. *frag.* 188 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 107, 1 ff. Pasquali), Zeus appeared, struck the Titans with a thunderbolt, and gave the limbs of Dionysos to Apollon for burial (Orph. *frag.* 35 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 18. 2 p. 14, 20 ff. Stählin cited *supra* p. 218). Apollon, at the behest of Zeus, arranged all the limbs in order (Orph. *frag.* 216 b Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 108, 17 f. Pasquali Οἶνον (= Διονύσου) πάντα μέλη κόσμῳ λαβὲ καὶ μοι ἔνεικε, Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* ii. 198, 11 ff. Diehl, cp. *ib.* ii. 197, 18 ff.) and took them to Parnassos (Orph. *frag.* 35 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 18. 2 p. 14, 24 f. Stählin cited *supra* p. 218)—the Titanic caldron being identified with the Delphic tripod (*supra* p. 218 ff.). The Titans had left intact the heart of Dionysos, and this was rescued by Athena (Orph. *frag.* 210 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* ii. 145. 18 ff. Diehl, cp. Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 109, 19 ff. Pasquali), who was named Παλλάς because she brandished it (πάλλειν) or because it still beat (πάλλεσθαι) as she brought it to Zeus (Orph. *frag.* 35 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 18. 1 p. 14, 16 f. Stählin, schol. *Il.* 1. 200, *et. mag.* p. 649, 56 f., *et. Gud.* p. 450, 9 f., Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Παλλάς, Tzetz. in Lyk. *Al.* 355, Eudok. *viol.* 746, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1417, 26 ff.: Eustath. in *Il.* p. 84, 43 f. transfers the incident to the Theban Dionysos, and *et. Gud.* p. 450, 11 ff. makes Athena drive off the Titans by 'brandishing' her spear. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 560 n.° quotes Soud. *s.v.* κωνοφόροι for the connexion of the heart with Dionysos, and Cornut. *theol.* 6 p. 6, 7 f. Lang for its relation to Rhea). As to what Zeus did with the heart, opinions differed: some said that he placed it in a gypsum image of the boy (Firm. Mat. 6. 4 cited *supra* i. 662), but the common view was that he pounded it into a potion and gave it to Semele to drink, that she conceived thereby, and that Zagreus thus came to life again as Dionysos (Hyg. *fab.* 167 Liber Iovis et Proserpinae filius a Titanis est distractus, cuius cor contritum Iovis Semelae dedit in potionem. ex eo praegnans cum esset facta, Iuno in Beroen nutricem; Semeles se commutavit et ait: 'alumna, pete a Iove ut sic ad te veniat, quem ad modum ad Iunonem, ut scias quae voluptas est (J. Scheffer cj. *sit* cp. *fab.* 179) cum deo concumbere.' illa autem instigata petit ab Iove, et fulmine est icta. ex cuius utero Liberum exiit et Nyso dedit nutriendum unde Dionysus est appellatus et Bimater est dictus, Orph. *frag.* 210 p. 231 f. Kern *ap.* Prokl. *h. Ath. Polym.* 7. 11 ff. (E. Abel *Orphica* Lipsiae—Pragae 1885 p. 282) ἡ κραδίην ἐσάωσας ἀμυστύλλετον ἄνακτος | αἰθέρος ἐν γυάλοισι μεριζομένου ποτὲ Βάκχου | Τιτῆων ὑπὸ χερσὶ· πόρες δὲ ἐ πατρὶ φέρουσα, | ὄφρα νέος βουλῆσιν ὑπ' ἀρρήτοις τοκῆος | ἐκ Σεμέλης περὶ (Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 561 prints κατὰ κόσμον ἀνηβήση Διόνυσος, Nonn. *Dion.* 24. 47 ff. (Hydaspes to Dionysos) καὶ σὺ φέρεις Ζαγρῆος ὄλον δέμας· ἀλλὰ σὺ κείνῳ | δὸς χάριν ὀψιτέλεστον, ὅθεν πέλες· ἀρχηγόνου γὰρ | ἐκ κραδῆς ἀντέλλες, αἰδομένου Διονύσου (H. Koehly cj. ἀεζόμενος Διονύσου, but see Nonn. *Dion.* 1. 12), Commod. *instructiones* (an acrostich LIBER PATER etc.) 1. 12. 1 ff. Liberum Patrem certe bis genitum dicitis ipsi. | I n India natus ex Iove Proserpina primum | B elligerans contra Titanas profuso cruore | E xpiravit enim sicut ex mortalibus unus. | R ursus flato (B. Dombart *ad loc.* notes 'spiritui, animae, vitae?' flato C (l altera (?) manu expunctum). B.A^m. r¹. falo A¹. r. v.) suo redditus (F. Oehler cj. reddiitur) in altero ventre. | P ercepit (so B. Dombart for percipit codd.) hoc Semele iterum Iovis altera moecha (Maia r. Oehler), | A bsciso (so C. *Abscisso* B.A. r. v.) cuius utero prope partu (partum r². Oehler) defunctae | T ollitur et datur Niso nutriendus alumnus. | E x eo bis natus Dionysus ille vocatur, | Religio cuius in vacuo falsa curatur, | etc.). Thus the

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

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

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

(4) **Conspectus of the Orphic Theogonies.**

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

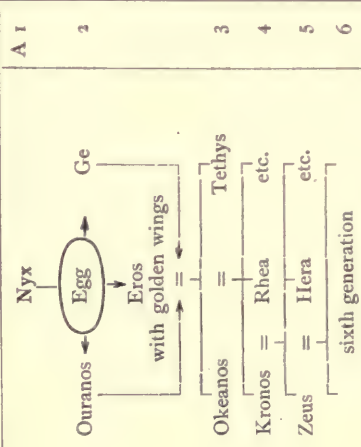
(5) **The Cosmic Egg.**

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

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

EARLY ORPHIC THEOGONY

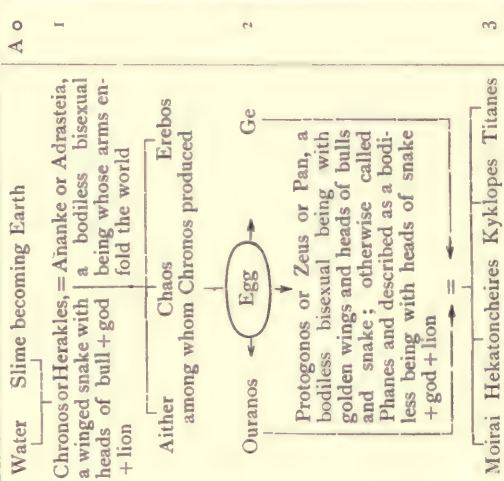
composed in Asia Minor (?) c. 5. x B.C. (?) as the result of Ionic speculation on Thracio-Phrygian beliefs.



A 1 2 3 4 5 6

ORPHIC THEOGONY OF HELLANIKOS

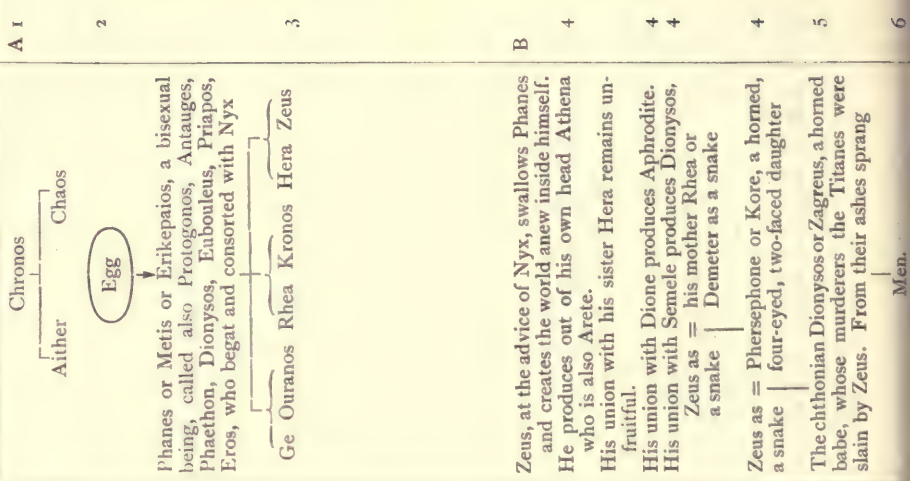
i.e. Hellenikos' summary of a poem composed in Ionia (?) c. 500 B.C. (?) under the influence of oriental cosmogony and of Greek philosophy.



A 0 1 2 3

RHAPSODIC THEOGONY

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



A 1 2 3 B 4 4 4 5 6

Orphic Theogonies and Cosmogonic Eros 1035

was originally an egg ('*Weltei*'); (2) the sun in particular is egg-shaped and was originally an egg ('*Lichtei*', '*Sonnenei*): (3) the life of all things has been developed like that of a chicken from an egg ('*das Ei als Embryonalzustand*').

Confining our attention to old-world examples, we note the following:

(a) EGYPT. Râ as a phoenix (*supra* i. 341) came out of the great egg produced by Seb and Nut (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 95 f., 107 n. 1, 110, cp. A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 pp. 26, 81, 157). Ptaḥ the 'Padre dei principii creatore dell' uovo del sole e della Luna' (Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 239) was represented as a potter shaping on his wheel the cosmic egg (*id. ib.* p. 250 f. pl. 94, 1). Cp. Sir G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*⁴ London 1901 p. 128 with *id. The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 168 n. 1.

(b) INDIA. In Vedic cosmogony Aditi had eight sons, but the eighth, Mārtāṇḍa, the 'Egg-born,' she cast away, having brought him forth to be born and to die (*i.e.* to rise and to set: see the *Rig-Veda* 10. 72. 8 and the remarks of E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 208 n. 2, A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 13, H. Oldenberg *La religion du Vēda* Paris 1903 p. 156 n. 2). Again, according to the *Rig-Veda* 10. 121. 1 (*Vedic Hymns* trans. F. Max Müller (*The Sacred Books of the East* xxxii) Oxford 1891 p. 1), 'In the beginning there arose the Golden Child (Hiranyagarbha); as soon as born, he alone was the lord of all that is'..., on which Max Müller *ib.* p. 6 observes that the epithet *Hiranyagarbha* 'means literally the golden embryo, the golden germ or child, or born of a golden womb, and was no doubt an attempt at naming the sun'—a view endorsed by A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 pp. 13, 119: 'In the last verse of this hymn, he is called Prajāpati, "lord of created beings," the name which became that of the chief god of the Brāhmaṇas.' 'This is the only occurrence of the name [*Hiranyagarbha*] in the RV., but it is mentioned several times in the AV. and the literature of the Brāhmaṇa period (cp. p. 13). Hiranyagarbha is also alluded to in a passage of the AV. (4, 2⁸) where it is stated that the waters produced an embryo, which as it was being born, was enveloped in a golden covering. In the TS. (5, 5, 1²) Hiranyagarbha is expressly identified with Prajāpati. In the later literature he is chiefly a designation of the personal Brahṃā.' A. A. Macdonell *op. cit.* p. 14: 'The account given in the Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa (5, 19) is that not-being became being; the latter changed into an egg, which after a year by splitting in two became heaven and earth; whatever was produced is the sun, which is Brahṃā'... Similarly in the *Khāndogya-upanishad* 3. 19. 1 ff. (*The Upanishads* trans. F. Max Müller (*The Sacred Books of the East* i) Oxford 1879 p. 54 f.): '1. Āditya (the sun) is Brahṃan... In the beginning this was non-existent. It became existent, it grew. It turned into an egg. The egg lay for the time of a year. The egg broke open. The two halves were one of silver, the other of gold. 2. The silver one became this earth, the golden one the sky, the thick membrane (of the white) the mountains, the thin membrane (of the yoke [*sic!*]) the mist with the clouds, the small veins the rivers, the fluid the sea. 3. And what was born from it that was Āditya, the sun'... Cp. the birth of Prajāpati as described in the *Ṣaṭpatha Brāhmaṇa* 11. 1. 6. 1 f. (*The Ṣaṭpatha-Brāhmaṇa* trans. J. Eggeling Part v (*The Sacred Books of the East* xlv) Oxford 1900 p. 12): '1 Verily, in the beginning this (universe) was water, nothing but a sea of water. The waters desired, "How can we be reproduced?" They toiled and performed fervid devotions¹ (1 Or, they toiled and became heated (with fervid devotion).), when they were becoming heated, a golden egg was produced. The

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

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

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

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

and Darmstadt 1840 ii. 347, 1842 iv. 250, W. Robertson Smith in T. K. Cheyne—J. S. Black *Encyclopædia Biblica* London 1899 i. 942 n. 9, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 440 n. 6). (iii) Sanchouniathon in Philon Bybl. frag. 2. 1 f. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 565 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* i. 10. 1 f. τῆν τῶν ὄλων ἀρχὴν ὑποτίθεται ἀέρα ζοφώδη καὶ πνευματώδη, ἢ πνοὴν ἀέρος ζοφώδους, καὶ χάος θολερόν, ἐρεβώδες· ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι ἀπειρα, καὶ διὰ πολλὸν αἰῶνα μὴ ἔχειν πέρας. 'ὄτε δέ,' φησὶν, 'ἠράσθη τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχῶν, καὶ ἐγένετο σύγκρασις, ἢ πλοκὴ ἐκείνη ἐκλήθη πόθος. αὕτη δὲ ἀρχὴ κτίσεως ἀπάντων. αὐτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκε τὴν αὐτοῦ κτίσιν· καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμπλοκῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγένετο Μῶτ· τοῦτό τις φασὶν ἰλύν, οἱ δὲ ἰδατώδους μίξεως σῆψιν. καὶ ἐκ ταύτης ἐγένετο πᾶσα σπορὰ κτίσεως καὶ γένεσις τῶν ὄλων. ἦν δὲ τινα ζῶα οὐκ ἔχοντα αἴσθησιν, ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο ζῶα νοερά, καὶ ἐκλήθη Ζωφασημίν (Ζωφισημῖαν cod. H.), τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐρανοῦ κατοῦπται. καὶ ἀνεπλάσθη ὁμοίως ὡὸ σχήματι. καὶ ἐξέλαμψε Μῶτ ἥλιος τε καὶ σελήνη ἀστέρες τε καὶ ἄστρα μεγάλα.' Μῶτ is another conundrum, of which very various interpretations have been given (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 322 f.). F. C. Movers *Die Phönizier* Berlin 1841 i. 136 equated it with the Egyptian Μοῖθ, 'Mother' (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 56: see further Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1219 C—D). H. Ewald *loc. cit.* v. 30 connected it with the Arabic *madda*, 'stuff, matter.' W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1876 i. 11 f., 195 supposes מו = מ' 'water'; and Sir G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 168 n. 1 likewise says: 'Môt ... is probably a Phœnician form of a word which means *water* in the Semitic languages (ROTH, *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 251; SCHRÖDER, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, p. 133).' C. C. J. von Bunsen *Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte* Gotha 1857 v. 3. 257 n. 25 would correct Μῶτ to Μῶχ = מו' 'mud.' J. Halévy 'Les principes cosmogoniques phéniciens πόθος et μῶτ' in the *Mélanges Graux* Paris 1884 p. 59 f. assumes haplography ἐγένετο [TO]ΜΩΤ and takes Τομῶτ to be a Phœnician *Tehômôt* formed with the feminine ending from the Hebrew *Tehôm*, 'deep,' thus obtaining a Phœnician equivalent of the Babylonian *Tiāmat*. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 440 n. 6 is content with the old (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1219 D) transcription Μῶτ = מוט *mavet*, 'death.' Mr N. McLean, who has kindly considered the matter for me, inclines (Sept. 13, 1916) to think that מ' (mak), 'rotteness,' might have an infinitival form מ' (mōk), which would be represented by Μῶκ (not Μῶχ, as Bunsen proposed). He further notes that Ζωφασημίν is a fairly correct transliteration of מ'מ'ש' ש'מ'י' (sōphē šamayim), 'observers of heaven.' The three versions of the Phœnician cosmogony may be set out as follows:

EUDEMOS	MOCHOS	SANCHOUNIATHON
Χρόνος Πόθος = Ὁμίχλη	Ἄνεμος Δίψ Νότος or Αἰθήρ = Ἄήρ	Ἄήρ ζοφώδης καὶ = Χάος θολερόν, πνευματώδης ἐρεβώδες
Ἄήρ = Αὔρα	Οὐλωμός	(Πόθος)
? Μῶτος	Χουσωρός	Μῶτ
	Οὐρανός ← Ὁόν → Γῆ	Ζωφασημίν
		Ὁόν

(6) The Cosmogonic Eros.

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

primary position to cosmic Desire or Love. According to the *Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*supra* p. 1035) the golden egg was caused by the desire of the waters for reproduction; according to *The Laws of Manu* (*supra* p. 1036) it was occasioned by similar desire on the part of the divine Self-existent. Eudemos (*supra* p. 1036) spoke of *Póthos* as uniting with Mist to beget Air and Breeze; Sanchouniathon (*supra* p. 1038) applied the same term *Póthos* to the love of the primeval Wind. These conceptions are akin to that of Eros, who in the early Orphic scheme sprang from the wind-egg laid by Nyx. True, the theogony of Hellanikos dropped the name Eros and substituted for it Protogonos or Zeus or Pan. But the Rhapsodies retained both Eros and Protogonos as alternative appellations of their Phanes or Metis or Erikepaïos. It looks as though Eros were in some sense the very soul or self of a deity variously named. Hence his intimate connexion with Wind—a common form of soul (W. H. Roscher *Hermes der Windgott* Leipzig 1878 p. 54 ff., Rohde *Psyche*³ i. 248 n. 1, ii. 264 n. 2, C. H. Toy *Introduction to the History of Religions* Boston etc. 1913 p. 22 f., S. Feist *Kultur Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen* Berlin 1913 p. 99, W. Wundt *Völkerpsychologie* Leipzig 1906 ii. 2. 40 ff., *id. Elements of Folk Psychology* trans. E. L. Schaub London 1916 p. 212 f., *infra* § 7 (a)). Miss J. E. Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 625 n. 3 rightly suspected that a definite doctrine underlay Aristophanes' travesty of the 'wind-egg.' We must, I think, conclude that the Orphic cosmogonies rest in part upon a primitive psychology, which explained desire (*ἔπος, ἔπος*) as the issuing of the soul from the mouth in the form of a small winged being. That the early Greeks should have entertained such a belief is well within the bounds of possibility: cp. A. E. Crawley *The Idea of the Soul* London 1909 pp. 278 and 280 'In order to see the spiritual world, the savage either anoints his eyes to acquire an extension of sight, or "sends out his soul" to see it. The latter occurs as a theory of imagination! (De Groot, *The Religious System of China*, iv. 105)...' 'The savage holds that when a man desires a thing his soul leaves his body and goes to it. The process is identical with imagination and with magic'... Homeric diction still shows traces of analogous notions. The stock phrase *ἔπεα πτερόεντα* together with certain less frequent expressions (*Od.* 17. 57, 19. 29, 21. 386, 22. 398 *τῆ δ' ἄπτερος ἐπλετο μῦθος*, and perhaps *Od.* 7. 36 *ὠκείαι ὡς εἰ πτερόν ἢ νόημα*) presupposes the view that words had actual wings and flew across from speaker to listener, while the formula *πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἐντο* (*Il.* 1. 469, 2. 432, 7. 323, 9. 92, 23. 57, 24. 628, *Od.* 1. 150, 3. 67, 473, 4. 68, 8. 72, 485, 12. 308, 14. 454, 15. 143, 303, 501, 16. 55, 480, 17. 99, *h. Ap.* 513, cp. *Od.* 24. 489, *h. Ap.* 499) or the like (*Il.* 13. 636 ff., 24. 227, Theog. 1064) implies, if pressed, a physical expulsion or dismissal of desire. Not improbably, therefore, the Hesiodic idea that Eros had issued from Chaos (*supra* p. 315), could we trace it to its ultimate origin in the mind of unsophisticated folk, would be found to involve the conviction that the vast void between heaven and earth was a gaping or yawning mouth (*χάος* for **χάφος* connected with *χαῖνος, χάσκω*, etc.: cp. *οὐρανός, οὐρανίσκος* in the sense of 'the mouth's palate' with the remarks of Stephanus *Theo. Gr. Ling.* v. 2405 B—C) from which the divine soul, desirous to create, had flown forth in the guise of Eros. Since winged things in general emerge from eggs, such a belief would naturally, though illogically, be fused with an egg-cosmogony.

Some support for the opinions here advanced is furnished, not indeed by the painted tablet from Tarragona (on which see Addenda to ii. 2 n. 4), but by the occasional numismatic representation of Desire or Love as a winged mannikin proceeding out of the mouth. At Emporion (*Ampurias*) in Hispania Tarr-

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



Fig. 887.

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

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

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



Fig. 888.



Fig. 889.



Fig. 890.

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

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



Fig. 891.

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

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sought to connect *βουλή* with *βολή*—a notion well worth weighing (Boisacq *op. cit.* pp. 114, 129). However that may be, the *καυλός* in the hand of the god or of the god's soul is presumably the magician's rod; its precise botanical character can hardly be determined.

The nearest analogue to the Cauloniate sprite occurs on a fragmentary votive *pinax* of terra cotta found at Rosarno in Calabria and now preserved in the Antiquarium at Munich (A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 93—104 pl. D, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1352 f., Christ—Lauth *Führer durch d. k. Antiquarium in München* 1891 p. 16 cited by O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 498 f. Fig. 892 is a fresh drawing made from the cast at Cambridge). This relief, which Furtwängler *loc. cit.* assigned to the period c. 450—440 B.C., shows Hermes confronting Aphrodite. The type of the goddess is obviously derived from a cult-statue—witness the rose in her hand and the

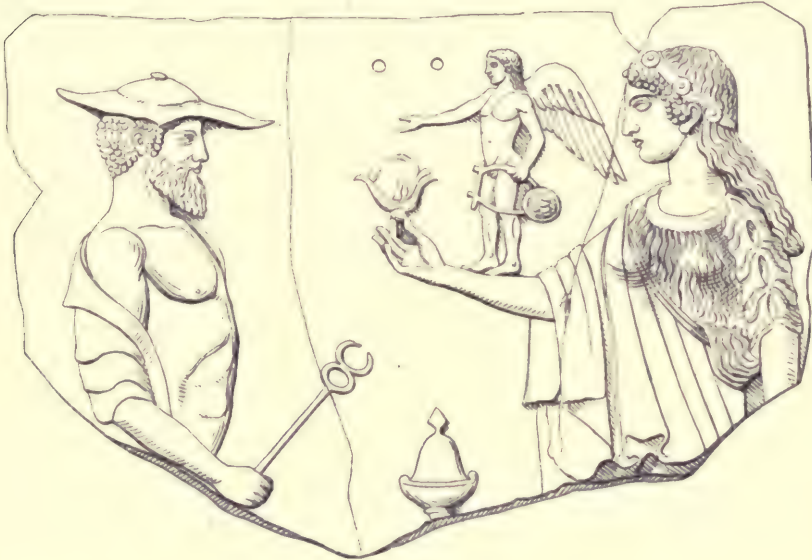


Fig. 892.

thymiatrion before her. But the chief interest of the design lies in the little figure of Eros, who stands on the arm of the goddess and with outstretched hand expresses her feelings towards the god (Plout. *hæac. coniug.* 1 καὶ γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τὸν Ἑρμῆν συγκαθίδρυσαν, ὡς τῆς περὶ τὸν γάμον ἡδονῆς μάλιστα λόγον δεομένης, Harpokr. *s.v.* Ψιθυριστῆς Ἑρμῆς· Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεαίρας (39). ἦν τις Ἀθήνησιν Ἑρμῆς οὕτω καλούμενος· ἐτιμᾶτο δὲ Ἀθήνησι καὶ Ψίθυρος Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ Ἔρως Ψίθυρος = Souid. *s.v.* Ψιθυριστῆς Ἑρμῆς, *id.* *s.v.* Ψιθυριστοῦ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἔρωτος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης· ἄπερ πρῶτος ἐποίησεν, ὡς φησι Ζώπυρος (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 533 Müller), Θησεύς, ἐπεὶ Φαῖδρα ὡς φασιν ἐψιθύριζε Θησεῖ κατὰ Ἴππολύτου, διαβύλλουσα αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ ἀνθρωπινώτερον φασιν Ἑρμῆν Ψιθυριστήν, παρὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπου ἐκεῖ συνερχομένου τὰ ἀπόρρητα συντίθεσθαι, καὶ ψιθυρίζειν ἀλλήλοις περὶ ὧν βούλονται = Bekker *anecd.* i. 317, 11 ff., Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1881, 1 ff. διὸ καὶ Ψιθύρον Ἀφροδίτης κατὰ Πανσανίαν (*sc.* the lexicographer Pausanias rather than a slip for Harpokration) ἱερόν ἦν Ἀθήνησι καὶ Ἔρωτος δέ· οὐ καὶ Δημοσθένης, φησί, μέμνηται ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεαίρας (39). ἐκαλεῖτο δέ, φασί, Ψίθυρος διὰ τὸ τὰς εὐχομένας αὐτῇ πρὸς

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

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

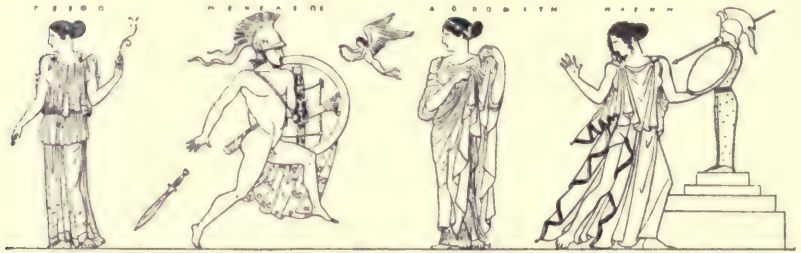


Fig. 893.

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

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

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or a mere child (e.g. O. Rayet *Monuments de l'art antique* Paris 1884 ii pl. (40), 7 with text, L. Heuzey *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* Paris 1883 p. 21 pl. 35^{bis}, 5, M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1607 fig. 2188, E. Pottier *Les statuettes de terre cuite dans l'antiquité* Paris 1890 p. 129 fig. 44, Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 2. 320 no. 12 b a walking Eros, from Tanagra, formerly in the Barre collection (no. 449), now in the Louvre, with his *chlamys* drawn over his head: height 0'07^m) or even a babe (e.g. L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1864 p. 202 f. Atlas pl. 6, 2, Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 2. 313 fig. 4 Eros clinging on to the neck of a swan, found at Kerch and now in the Hermitage at Petrograd: height 0'075^m); and it is usually assumed that his progressive diminution in size was the natural outcome of fourth-century art with its well-defined *penchant* for youth and beauty (see e.g. the clear and sensible statements of O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 496 f., 502, 509). It must not, however, be forgotten that this tendency, which was undoubtedly a *vera causa*, gave fresh effect to the very ancient belief in the soul as a tiny winged form sent forth from the lover to compass his desires. That is the ultimate reason—I take it—why Eros with crossed legs and torch reversed became the commonest of all symbols for Death (A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1369, M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1610 fig. 2192 f., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 508 f., F. Lübker *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums*⁸ Berlin 1914 p. 1028, C. Robert *Thanatos (Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin xxxix)* Berlin 1879 p. 44, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 845, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1050 n. 5, *supra* p. 309): a resting Eros meant a restful soul. Again, that is why Eros was so constantly associated with Psyche (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1877 pp. 53—219, M. Collignon *Essai sur les monuments grecs et romains relatifs au mythe de Psyché* Paris 1877 (inadequate), A. Zinzow *Psyche und Eros* Halle 1881, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1370—1372, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 531—542 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3237—3256): *quasi*-bird and *quasi*-butterfly were kindred conceptions of the soul. Finally, we may discover here one ground at least for the astonishing variety of *genre* occupations attributed to Eros and the Erotes in the Graeco-Roman age. Readers of these lines will probably remember an eloquent passage in which J. W. Mackail *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology* London 1890 p. 34 f. describes the wealth of imagination lavished by a single writer, Meleagros, upon the figure of Eros. The poet's words could be illustrated by scores of extant works of art, especially terra-cotta statuettes, engraved gems, and mural paintings. By way of relaxation at the end of a somewhat stiff and stodgy Appendix I subjoin a few specimens.

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

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



Fig. 894.



Fig. 895.

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



Fig. 896.



Fig. 897.

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

them with those of Zeus in a pantheistic scheme (fig. 898 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 61, ii. 210). In short, Eros plants his foot upon the world (C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835 ii. 3. 13 pl. 51, 633, Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 276 no. 7440 pl. 55 flat cornelian of imperial date. The motif occurs also in sculpture: see A. de Ridder *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre* Paris 1913 i. 87 no. 613 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 446 no. 7, Von Sacken *Ant. Bronzen Wien* pl. 14, 1 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 447 no. 1, L. Ulrichs in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1846 ix. 155 pl. 5, 4 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 431 no. 4), or takes his seat thereon (fig. 899 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 30, 37, ii. 149), or with a mighty effort carries the globe as if it were a mere ball



Fig. 898.



Fig. 899.



Fig. 900.

(fig. 900 = Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 160 no. 3722 pl. 29 black paste with bluish band). We are meant to draw the moral: *omnia vincit Amor; et nos cedamus Amori* (Verg. *eccl.* 10. 69). Psyche is no match for the matchless one. Of countless illustrations I give but two: a convex banded agate in my daughter's possession shows Eros with one foot raised on a step in hot pursuit of a butterfly, the animal form of Psyche (fig. 901); and a flat cornelian in my own collection portrays him riding her round a race-course, the goals of which are marked by her butterfly and his weapons respectively (fig. 902). Such allegories, not to say 'sermons in stones,' were keenly relished in the early imperial age. If Eros thus masters the human soul, he enters into all the pleasures and pains of man. Sometimes he is represented as a veritable fay, doing the deeds of mortals with more



Fig. 901.



Fig. 902.

than mortal skill. Thus, like 'the merry Grecian coaster' he sails the blue waters of the Mediterranean, but his boat is nothing more than a wine-jar—no wonder he bears the palm (fig. 903 = T. Cades *op. cit.* 1^{me} Classe, A 6, 57, C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835 ii. 3. 23 f. pl. 55, 702 a cornelian in the Poniatowski collection), or even a *murex*—a cockleshell, as we might say (fig. 904 = T. Cades *op. cit.* 1^{me} Classe, A 6, 59 of unknown *provenance*). Sometimes, again, Erotes and Psychai play the part of ordinary men and women with no trace of divinity beyond the tell-tale wings of bird or butterfly or beetle and a certain exquisite grace that idealizes all—witness a wonderful band of decoration below the main panels on the wall of a dining-room in the house of the Vettii, which pictures Erotes and Psychai as twining garlands, making oil, coining

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

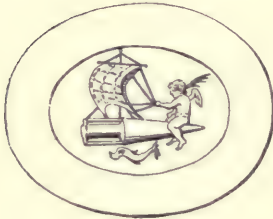


Fig. 903.



Fig. 904.



Fig. 905.

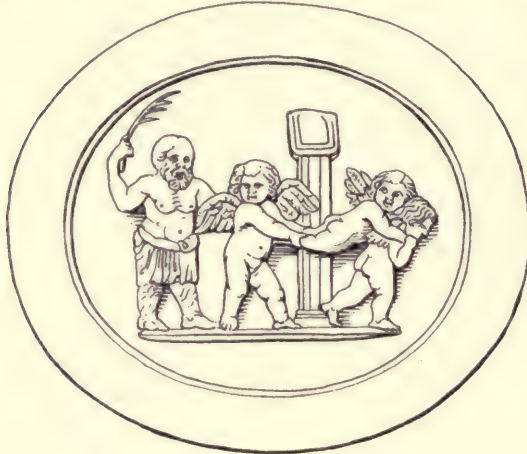


Fig. 906.

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



Fig. 907.

It seems a far call from Eros as a great cosmogonic deity to Eros as a diminutive fairy. But *ξυδὸν ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρας*, and the expression of the one belief may be curiously like the expression of the other. Thus a cornelian formerly in the collection of Sir Henry Russell represents the Orphic Eros seated in the world-egg, already split open to form heaven and earth (fig. 907 = C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen

1835 ii. 3. 12 pl. 50, 628, E. Gerhard in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1839 p. 107 no. 100,

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



Fig. 908.

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

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

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

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

Müller) *ap.* Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 124 (i. 320, 10 ff. Ruelle)—though schol. Theokr. 13. 1f. says Ἀκουσίλλας (Kallierges corr. Ἀκουσίλαος) Νυκτὸς καὶ Αἰθέρος (*sc.* υἱὸν εἶπεν τὸν Ἐρωτα), Antagoras *ap.* Diog. Laert. 4. 26, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 44, Hyg. *fab. praef.* p. 9, 3 ff. Schmidt). But the later Orphic theogonies (*supra* pp. 1022, 1024, 1034) appear to have regarded Chronos as the maker of the cosmic egg. In any case—and this is the main point—it was not Zeus. In the early Orphic theogony Zeus does not figure at all till the fourth generation (*supra* pp. 1020, 1034). In the theogony of Hellanikos he is a name for Protogonos in the second generation (*supra* pp. 1023, 1034). In the Rhapsodies he is one of the children of Phanes in the third generation (*supra* pp. 1026 ff., 1034). We may reasonably infer that the original form of the Orphic cosmogony was independent of, and perhaps anterior to, the recognition of Zeus.

The later Orphists, however, made much of Zeus and viewed him as a pantheistic power (*supra* p. 1027 ff.). The primitive notion of Chaos as a gaping or yawning mouth (*supra* p. 1039) was transferred to Zeus who, according to the Rhapsodies, opened his jaws wide and swallowed Phanes whole (*supra* p. 1027). Phanes himself was conceived as in some sort a Zeus (*supra* i. 7 n. 6); for Phanes was Protogonos (*supra* p. 1026), and Protogonos was 'Zeus the arranger of all' (*supra* p. 1023). This equation is presupposed by a relief (fig. 909), which seems to have come more than a century since from Rome and is now exhibited in the Royal Museum (no. 2676) at Modena (C. Cavedoni 'Dichiarazione di un bassorilievo Mitriaco della R. Galleria Palatina di Modena' in the *Atti e Memorie delle RR. deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie Modenesi e Parmensi* Modena 1863 i. 1—4 with lithographic pl., A. Venturi *La R. Galleria Estense in Modena* Modena 1883 p. 360 fig. 94, F. Cumont in the *Rev. Arch.* 1902 i. 1—10 with photographic pl. 1, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelzelt* München 1910 ii. 399 ff. fig. 47, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 61 no. 1). On a thick slab of white marble (0.71^m high, 0.49^m wide) is an oval band enclosing an egg-shaped recess. The band is decorated with the twelve signs of the zodiac, and grouped about it are winged heads representing the four winds of heaven. Within the recess stands a nude youth encumbered with a plethora of attributes. Above his head and beneath his feet are the two halves of an egg, from each of which flames are bursting. A snake coiled round him rears its head on to the upper egg-shell. He has two large wings and a crescent on his back, the head of a lion growing from his front, and the heads of a goat and a ram projecting from his right and left sides. Instead of feet he has cloven hoofs. In his right hand he grasps a thunderbolt, in his left a sceptre. Cavedoni, followed by Cumont, regarded this singular figure as primarily Mithraic, though both admitted the presence of features susceptible of an Orphic interpretation. R. Eisler has done good service by insisting on its Orphic character. The egg-like recess in which the god is placed, the upper and lower shells from which he has emerged, the strange animal-heads on his flanks (*supra* p. 1022 f.), the snake's head appearing above his face (*supra* p. 1023), all mark him as Phanes. He bears thunderbolt and sceptre, because Phanes was one with Zeus. His face is that of the sun-god in Rhodian art, for Phanes was not only called Antauges and Phaethon (*supra* p. 1026) but also identified with Helios (*supra* i. 7 n. 6, 311). Cavedoni took the cloven hoofs to be those of a goat: if so, they hint that Phanes was Pan (*supra* p. 1023). Cumont and Eisler think them bovine: if so, they denote him as Dionysos (*supra* p. 1026). The relief bears two inscriptions. The first, [E]YPHROSY[NE ET] FELIX on the background of the recess, has been intentionally effaced. The second, P P | FELIX PATER on

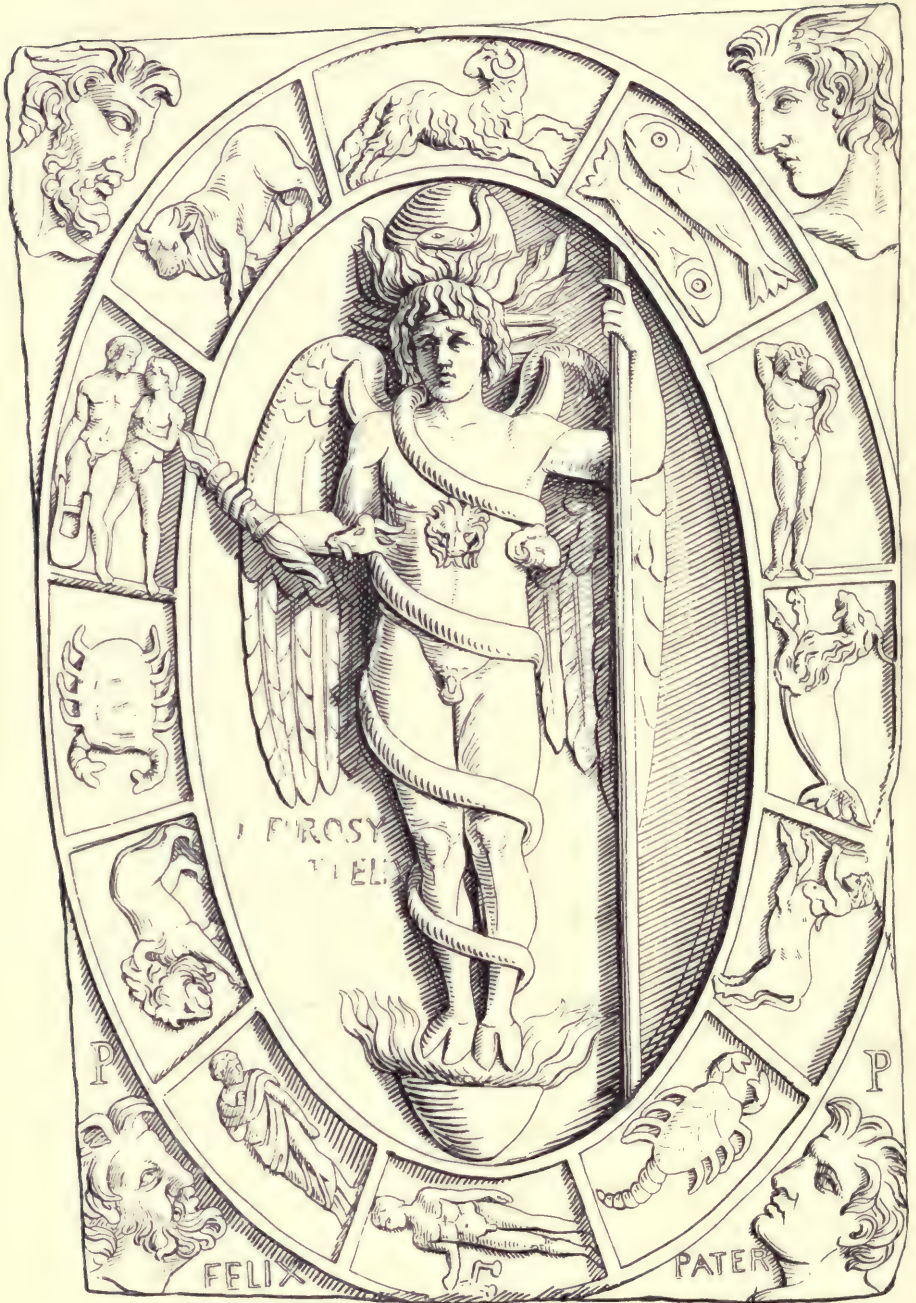


Fig. 909.

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

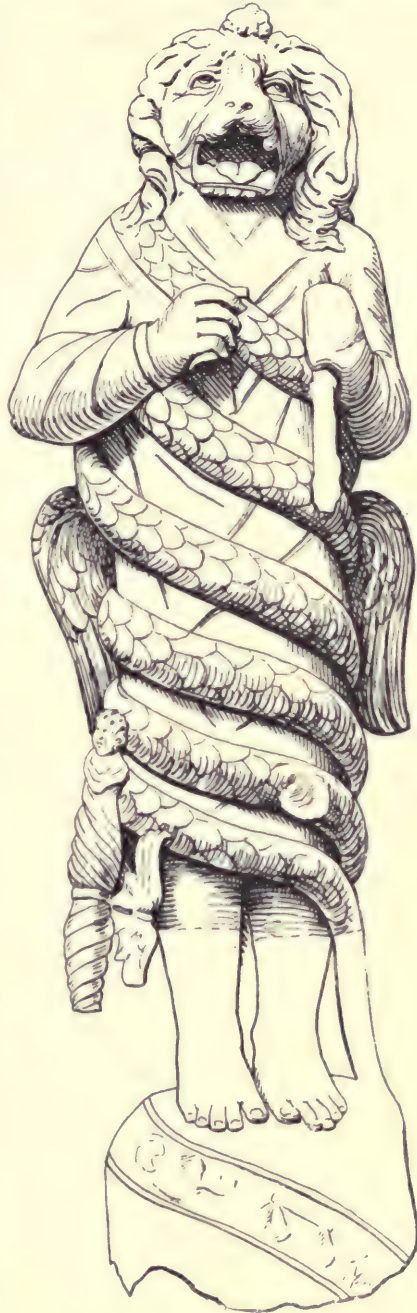


Fig. 910.

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

APPENDIX H.

ZEUS KTÉSIOS.

(1) The Jars of Zeus *Ktésios*.

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



Fig. 911.

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

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

The use of the terms ὄνα, ὄμος, μέτωπον reminded Miss Harrison (*Themis* p. 299) 'of the anthropoid vases of the Troad.' But, though such language may have originated in connexion with *Gesichtsurnen* (vide Forrer *Realex.* pp. 275, 419 and especially J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 pp. 173—176 figs. a—i), we cannot safely infer that the *kadiskos* of Zeus *Ktésios* was of human or partially human shape. The description of it given above recalls rather certain vase-forms developed out of the primitive *pithos* (H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 159) such as the large lidded *amphora* of the 'Dipylon' style, or its lineal descendants (A. Milchhöfer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1880 v. 177 f., A. Brückner—E. Pernice *ib.* 1893 xviii. 143 ff., P. Wolters in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv. 128 ff., F. Poulsen *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen* Leipzig 1905 pp. 18 ff., 45 ff.) the *próthesis*-vase of the sixth century and the *loutrophóros* of the fifth. Now all these vases were connected with death and the grave. The 'Dipylon' *amphora*, of which I figure a typical specimen (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 40 f. no. 196 Planches p. 5 pl. 11, A. Furtwängler in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1885 xliiii. 131, 139 figs., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 174 fig. 58, 226 fig. 98, S. Wide in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv. 196 f. fig. 61. My fig. 911 is from a photograph. Height with lid 0·90^m), stood half-sunk beneath the surface of the ground (cp. A. Brückner—E. Pernice in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 92 fig. 4=Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 56 fig. 4) and—since its bottom is holed—served to convey liquid offerings to the dead beneath it (F. Poulsen *op. cit.* p. 19 'die Vase diente als Hohllaltar, durch welchen man die flüssigen Opfer Milch und Honig, Öl und Wein, vielleicht auch das Blut der Opfertiere hinabströmen lassen konnte'). The lid with its handle in the shape of a vase turned upside down is suggestive of drink-offerings. The procession of chariots above and warriors below would delight the heart of the dead. And snakes moulded in relief round the rim, round the base of the neck, and up either handle sufficiently indicate the funereal character of the whole. The *próthesis*-vase was likewise set up over the grave, as we see from a very remarkable example found at Cape Kolias and now at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 212 ff. no. 688 Planches p. 14 f. pl. 30; A. Conze in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1864 xxxvi. 183 ff. with fig., *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 4, 1^a—1^e, pl. 5, 1^f—1^h=Reinach *Rép. Vases*

i. 164, 1—5, 165, 1—3, H. von Rohden in Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1974 f. fig. 2114, É. Michon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1333 fig. 3280, É. Cuq *ib.* ii. 1377 fig. 3345, 1378 fig. 3346, M. Collignon *ib.* iii. 1319 fig. 4561, O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1149 fig. 5, P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 379 no. 11 fig., Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 219 fig. 4, *ead. Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 235 fig. 53, *Themis* p. 290 f. fig. 77. I reproduce the drawings given in the *Mon. d. Inst. loc. cit.* Height 0·64^m). The body of the vase shows two successive scenes: (A) the dead man, laid out on a bed, is surrounded by mourners; beside one of them is the word ΟΙΑΡΟΙ (S. Reinach

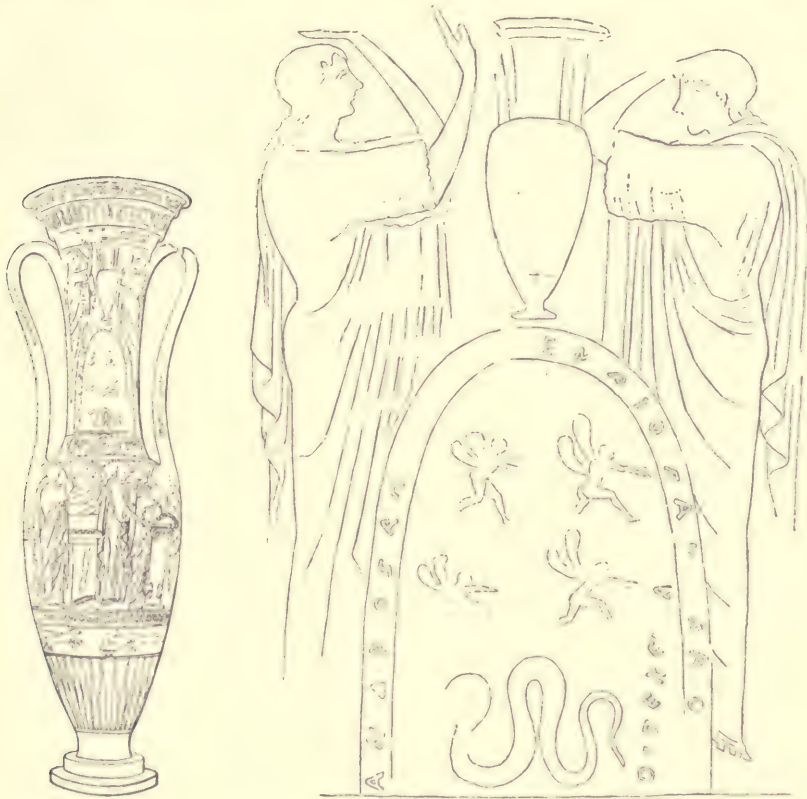


Fig. 912.

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

ΑΝΔΡΟΣΑ.....ΟΙΟΓΑΥ·ΚΑ·ΟΙΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΜΑΙ

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

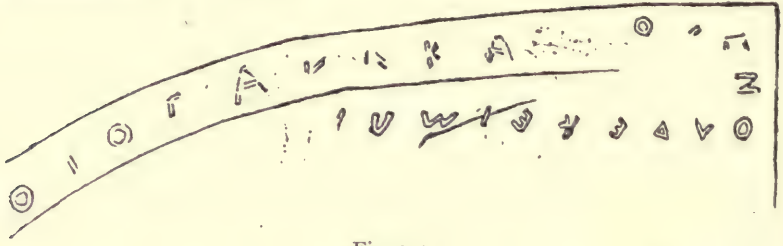


Fig. 913.

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

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

πόθεν ἔβλαστον, τίς ῥίζα κακῶν, | τίνα (F. H. M. Blaydes cj. τίνι) δεῖ (so Grotius for δῆ L.) μακάρων ἐκθυσσάμενους (so Valckenaer for ἐκθυσσάμενους L.) | εὐρεῖν μοχθῶν ἀνάπανταν.

(3) Zeus *Ktésios* as Forefather buried in the House.

Accordingly I would venture to put forward the following hypothesis with regard to Zeus *Ktésios* and his jars. In Italy the forefather of the family, once buried in the house (Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 5. 64 etiam domi suae sepeliebantur: unde orta est consuetudo ut dii Penates colantur in domibus, *ib.* 6. 152 apud maiores...omnes in suis domibus sepeliebantur. unde [ortum est ut Lares colerentur in domibus, unde] etiam umbras larvas vocamus, nam dii Penates alii sunt. inde est quod etiam Dido cenotaphium domi fecit marito, Isid. *orig.* 15. 11. I prius autem quisque in domo sua sepeliebatur. These statements are supported by the custom of burying infants less than forty days old in a *subgrundarium* (Fulgent. *expos. serm. ant.* 7; cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 27571 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4545 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 7938) and by the myths concerning the birth of Romulus (Plout. *v. Rom.* 2), Servius Tullius (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 204), and Caeculus (Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 678). They are rightly emphasised by F. Granger *The Worship of the Romans viewed in relation to the Roman Temperament* London 1895 p. 60, *id.* in the *Class. Rev.* 1897 xi. 32 f. W. Warde Fowler *ib.* 1896 x. 394 f., 1897 xi. 33 ff. attempted to minimise their force. But J. E. King *ib.* 1903 xvii. 83 f. suggested that infants were so buried in order to ensure their re-birth, and Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art i. 105 n. 4 extends his suggestion to cover 'The widespread custom of burying the dead in the house.' A good example of this practice in the Semitic area is the case of Samuel, who was 'buried...in his house at Ramah' (1 Sam. 25. 1). At Bibracte the capital of the Aedui (*Mont Beauvray* in *Saône-et-Loire*) Gallic graves of the third La Tène period (s. i B.C.) were found beneath the houses, often under the hearth: see M. Hoernes *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Wien und Leipzig 1909 ii. 128, 440, cp. J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie pré-historique* Paris 1914 ii. 3. 948 ff. for an *aperçu* of the town), was known as the Lar or Genius of the home (Plaut. *merc.* 834 familiai Lar pater, Laberius *frag.* 54 *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 172, 26 f. Lindsay Laberius in *Imagine: Genius generis nostri parens*. For the identification of the Lar with the Genius see further Censorin. *de die nat.* 3. 2 eundem esse Genium et Larem multi veteres memoriae prodiderunt, in quis etiam Granius Flaccus in libro quem ad Caesarem de indigitamentis scriptum reliquit, interp. Serv. (*i.e.* Donatus, according to E. K. Rand in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 158 ff.) in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 63 Appuleius de Daemonio Socratis (? a paraphrase of Apul. *de deo Socr.* p. 152 f. Oudendorp): 'Manes,' inquit, 'animae dicuntur melioris meriti, quae in corpore nostro Genii dicuntur, corpori renuntiantes Lemures; cum domos incursionibus infestarent, Larvae appellabantur; contra, si aequi et faventes essent, Lares familiares,' Auson. *technop. de dis* 9 nec Genius domuum, Larunda progenitus Lar, cp. Ov. *fast.* 3. 57 f. Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² p. 175 denies their identity on grounds that seem to me inadequate) and was conceived as a Iupiter (so at least I have argued in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 296 ff. noting that the Genius of a man corresponded with the Iuno of a woman (T. Birt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1614 f., M. Ihm *ib.* ii. 615 ff.), that according to Caesius (Bassus?), who professed to follow Etruscan authorities, the Penates were Fortuna, Ceres, the Genius Iovialis, and the masculine Pales (Caesius *ap.* Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 40, cp. *ib.* 3. 43 Ceres, Pales, Fortuna, Iovialis aut Genius)—this Genius Iovialis being

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

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

with pl., A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *op. cit.* p. 222). At Tiryns beneath the walls of the older Mycenaean palace five small stone-built graves with crouched bodies have come to light (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1907 xxxii p. iii, R. M. Dawkins in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1907 p. 14).

In Thessaly graves have been repeatedly found within houses of the bronze age (Ch. Tsountas *Αἱ προϊστορικαὶ ἀκροπόλεις Διμηνίου καὶ Σέσκλου* Athens 1908 p. 131 'οἱ νεκροὶ ἐθάπτοντο ἐντὸς τῶν οἰκιῶν ἢ παρ' αὐτάς,' *ib.* p. 383 'τὸ ἔθιμον νὰ θάπτωσι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐντὸς τῶν οἰκιῶν'), was viewed as Zeus; for in prehistoric times he had been the representative of the sky-god to his clan. Herein, I take it, lies the ultimate explanation of such cults as that of Zeus *Ἀγαμέμνων*, who was worshipped at Sparta, if not at Athens (Append. I), Zeus *Ἀμφιάραος*, who had a popular sanctuary at Oropos (Append. J), Zeus *Τρεφώνιος* or *Τροφώνιος*, the great oracular deity of Lebadeia (Append. K), and Zeus *Ἀσκληπιός*, the healer of Epidauros, Hermione, and Pergamon (Append. L). The same conception will afford us a clue to the cults of Zeus *Μειλίχιος* and Zeus *Φίλιος* as well as to the myth of Periphas (Append. M). Most of these buried kings appeared in the guise of snakes. And it is important to observe that Zeus *Ktésios* did so too. A marble *stèle* from Thespiæ, now in the Museum at Thebes (inv. no. 330), bears the inscription ΔΙΟΣ | ΚΤΗΣΙΟΥ in lettering of s. iii (?) B.C. and below it a relief, partially chipped away to make the block available for building purposes, but still plainly portraying a coiled snake with crest and beard (M. P. Nilsson 'Schlangenstele des Zeus Ktesios' in the *Ath. Mitth.*



Fig. 914.

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

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

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



Fig. 915.

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

plained trans. D. Humphreys London 1725 Suppl. i. 103 f. pl. 27 no. 1 (inexact), S. Maffei *Museum Veronense* Veronae 1749 p. 47 fig. 7 (bad) with p. 56, A. Michaelis in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1871 xxix. 145 n. 37, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* iv pl. 9, 8 a, H. Dütschke *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien* Leipzig 1880 iv. 237 no. 538, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1170 f. fig., M. N. Tod—A. J. B. Wace *op. cit.* p. 113 f. fig. 14, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 436 no. 4, Harrison *Themis* p. 304 f. fig. 84). On a base to the left are statues of the Dioskouroi wearing *phloi*, *chitônes* (?), and *chlamýdes* (?). Before them is a rectangular altar decorated with a boar in relief. Behind the altar a large pedestal carries two lidded *amphorae*. On a step or low base to the right stands a man, clad in *chitôn* and *himátion* (?), who holds a *phiale* (see H. Heydemann *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien* Halle 1879 p. 5) in his right hand extended over the altar (?). Away to the right is seen a rocky coast forming a bay, in which floats a vessel close to the shore. Near the vessel's stern are the heads of two horned animals (oxen?). On the further side of the bay two sets



Fig. 916.

of *dókana* (*supra* i. 766 ff.) are set up over a cavern. In the cavern two male figures are reclining; a third raises his hand with a gesture of surprise or greeting; a fourth (?) and possibly a fifth (??) follow him into the cave. On the rocky point to the left of the cave is a cock. And from the *dókana* a snake makes its way towards the *amphorae*. The scene is accompanied by the inscriptions [ΑΝΑ]ΚΕΙΟΝ below the *dókana* and [Α]ΡΓΕΝΙΔΑΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΓΕΝΙΔΑ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΟΙΣ | ΕΥΧΑΝ along the lower edge of the slab in lettering of s. ii B.C. (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 1949). This relief, found in 1710 A.D. at Ateste (*Este*) in the country of the Veneti, had perhaps been brought thither from Venice (A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr. loc. cit.*). It records the gratitude of one Argenidas, a Spartan (?), who having crossed the sea to Venetia (?) in safety dedicates a thank-offering to the Dioskouroi. It is thus the monumental counterpart of Catullus' famous poem on his yacht (Cat. 4). The foreground of the relief shows Argenidas pouring a libation at the altar, which—like many examples of Italian *aes grave* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy Index* p. 406)—bears the figure of a boar, and the heads of two sacrificed animals lying on the rocky

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν φίλον ὄντα ἑαυτῷ, ἅμα δὲ θύσαντα τὰ ἱερὰ ἐστιᾶσαι ἐκείνον, *ib.* 18 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐδεδειπνήκησαν, οἷον εἰκός, ὁ μὲν θύων Διὶ Κτησίῳ κάκεινον ὑποδεχόμενος, ὁ δ' ἐκπλεῖν τε μέλλων καὶ παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἐταίρῳ αὐτοῦ δειπνῶν, κ.τ.λ., cp. for the domestic celebration *Isai. or.* 8. 16 καὶ τὸς ἐορτὰς ἤγομεν παρ' ἐκείνου πάσας· τῷ Δίῳ τε θύων τῷ Κτησίῳ, περὶ ἣν μάλιστα ἐκείνος θυσίαν ἐσπούδαζε καὶ οὔτε δούλους προσῆγεν οὔτε ἐλευθέρους ὀθνεῖους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ πάντ' ἐποίει, ταύτης ἡμεῖς ἐκωνωνοῦμεν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συνεχιουργοῦμεν καὶ συνεπιτίθεμεν καὶ τᾶλλα συνεποιοῦμεν, καὶ ἤχρητο ἡμῖν ὑγίειαν διδοῦναι καὶ κτῆσιν ἀγαθὴν, ὥσπερ εἰκός ὄντα πάππου) and Phlyeis (Paus. I. 31. 4 Φλυεῦσι δέ...ναὸς δὲ ἕτερος ἔχει βωμοὺς Δήμητρος Ἀησιδώρας < καὶ ins. Siebelis > Διὸς Κτησίου καὶ Τιθρωνῆς (Siebelis cj. Τριτώνης) Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Κόρης Πρωτογόνης καὶ Σεμνῶν ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν), at Thespiæ (*supra* p. 1061), at Epidaurus (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 56 no. 121 = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1288 a limestone slab inscribed Διὶ | Κτησίῳ | Κράτων. | μη'), at Kárien between Mt Pangaion and the sea (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 441 ff. no. 1 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 774 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 576 a white marble boundary-stone inscribed in lettering of c. 400 B.C. Διὸς Ἐρκεῖ|ιο Πατρῴ|ιο : καὶ Διὸς Κτησίου), in the Kyklades Syros (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. I no. 670 an altar from *Psarríaná* inscribed in late lettering Διὸς | Κτησίου), Thera (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1361 fig. = my



Fig. 917.

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

gr. no. 806), in Phrygia (G. Cousin 'Inscription d'Ormelé de Phrygie' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 503 part of an astragalomantic inscription found at *Tefeny* col. iii, 19 δδδ5α Ϝ ιθ' Ϝ Διὸς Κτη|σίου Ϝ (i.e. the throw 4 + 4 + 4 + 6 + 1 = 19 is that of Zeus *Ktésios*) followed by the hexameters *θαροῶν ἐν χερεί καὶ* [π' ἐ'] | *λίθους ἐστὶν ὁ χρησμός, ὡς....* | *μανύει καὶ τὸν νοσέοντα* [α δὲ σώσει]μ· *εἰ δὲ τι* | *μαντεύη χρῆσμός...*]. δ]εις ἀπολήψῃ. I should venture to restore and read the lines as follows: *θαροῶν ἐν χερεί, καὶ ἐπ' ἐλπίδος ἐστὶν ὁ χρησμός, ὡς κατὰ μανύει* | *καὶ τὸν νοσέοντα δὲ σώσει·* | *εἰ δὲ τι μαντεύη, χρῆσμούς ἡδεῖς ἀπολήψῃ.* See further the clear and helpful observations of W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 213 ff. A. Wagener 'Inscriptions grecques recueillies en Asie Mineure' in the *Mémoires couronnés et mémoires des savants étrangers, publiés par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 1858 —1861 xxx Classe des Lettres 2. 19 f. no. 2 pl. A inscribed on a white marble *stèle* found at Koloe (*Koula*) with the prefatory remarks of J. de Witte *ib.* p. viii *Διὰ Κτήσιον Τατία* | *Παπῖαν τὸν ἐαυτῆ[ς]* | *ἄνδρα, Τειμοκράτη[ς]* | *τὸν πατέρα,* | *Καρποφόρο[ς] τὸν θρέψαντα* | *κατειέρωσαν.* | *ἔτους σοῶ μ[η]νός* | *Αἰδυναίου ἧ;* from which it appears that in 175 A.D. (=261 of the Sullan era) Tatia definitely consecrated her deceased husband Papias as Zeus *Ktésios*—a striking vindication of my view that Zeus *Ktésios* was but the buried ancestor of the clan), at Pergamon in Mysia (H. Hepding in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 452 no. 35 a marble altar inscribed [*Διὸ Κτησίω* | [M.] *Αἰρήλιος* | *Μηνογένης* | *ὁ ἱεροφάντης*), and doubtless elsewhere also. At Amastris in Paphlagonia he was recognised as Zeus *Panktésios* (G. Hirschfeld 'Inscripfen aus dem Norden Kleinasiens besonders aus Bithynien und Paphlagonien' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1888 p. 878 no. 31 on a small marble altar at Amastris inscribed Ϝ ΔΙΙ Ϝ | ΠΑΝΚΗ|CΙΩ Ϝ). But this was an exceptional flourish. As a rule, Zeus *Ktésios* was a homely power content with worship in a small way—he never has a temple or a statue, but puts up with a jar or a hearth or at most a trumpery altar. I doubt if he ever received a handsomer offering than that of the white ox mentioned by Demosthenes.

(6) The Jars of Zeus in the *Iliad*.

One interesting possibility must not be neglected. We have traced Zeus *Ktésios* back to the days of Aischylos. But the very nature of his cult postulates a hoary antiquity. There is therefore much to be said for an acute suggestion made by Miss Harrison (*Proleg. Gk. Rel.* 2 p. 642), *viz.* that we have a reminiscence of the self-same cult in the Homeric description of the jars of Zeus (*Il.* 24. 527 ff. *δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει* | *δώρων, οἷα δίδωσι, κακῶν,* | *ἕτερος δὲ εἰάων·* | *ῶ μὲν κ' ἀμμίξας δῶη Ζεὺς τερπικέραυτος,* | *ἄλλοτε μὲν τε κακῶ ὃ γε* | *κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῶ·* | *ῶ δὲ κε τῶν λυγρῶν δῶη, λωβητὸν ἔθηκε·* | *καὶ ἐ κακῆ* | *βοῦβρωστis ἐπὶ χθόνα διὰν ἐλαύνει,* | *φοιτᾷ δ' οὔτε θεοῖσι τετιμένους οὔτε βροτοῖσιν.* For full *apparatus criticus* see A. Ludwig *ad loc.* The most important variants are the omission of line 528 in cod. T. and the substitution of *κηρῶν ἔμπλειοι, ὁ μὲν ἐσθλῶν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δειλῶν* in the passage as quoted by Plat. *rep.* 379 D, Plout. *quo modo adolescens poetas audire debeat* 6 (but cp. *consolat. ad Apollon.* 7), Euseb. *praef. ev.* 13. 3. 12 (from Plat. *loc. cit.*), Prokl. *in Plat. remp.* i. 96, 14 f. Kroll. Dr W. Leaf in 1888 printed *δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει* | *δώρων οἷα δίδωσι κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ εἰάων·* | κ.τ.λ. and supposed that 'Zeus has two jars of evil for one of good' (cp. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 143 ff. *ἐν παρ' ἐσθλῶν πῆματα σύνδυο δαίονται βροτοῖς* | *ἀθάνατοι*). But in 1898, collaborating with Mr M. A. Bayfield, he was more disposed to admit the possibility that 'there are only two jars spoken of, one of ills and one of blessings.' For *κακῶν, ἕτερος*

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX I.

ZEUS AGAMÉMNON.

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX J.

ZEUS AMPHIARAOS.

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

under the protection of Zeus appears from Pind. *Nem.* 9. 58 ff. ὁ δ' Ἀμφιάρῃ σχίσσεν κεραυνῷ παμβία | Ζεὺς τὰν βαθύστερνον χθόνα, κρύψεν δ' ἄμ' ἵπποις, | δουρὶ Περικλυμένον πρὶν νῶτα τυπέντα μαχατὰν | θυμὸν αἰσχυρθήμεν, 10. 13 ff. γαῖα δ' ἐν Θήβαις ὑπέδεκτο κεραυνωθέισα Διὸς βέλεσιν | μάντιν Οἰκλείδαν, πολέμοιο νέφος, Apollod. 3. 6. 8 Ἀμφιαράφ δὲ φεύγοντι παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἴσμηρόν, πρὶν ὑπὸ Περικλυμένου τὰ νῶτα τραθῆ, Ζεὺς κεραυνὸν βαλὼν τὴν γῆν διέστησεν. ὁ δὲ σὺν τῷ ἄρματι καὶ τῷ ἡνίοχφ Βάτωνι, ὡς δὲ ἔνοι Ἑλάτωνι (so R. Wagner after Sommer, who suggested Ἑλάτωνι or Ἑλατίφ. L. Dindorf cj. Ἑλάτφ. ἐλάττω R. ἐλάττωνι *R^a. ἐλάττωνον P. R^b. R^c. ἐλάττω V. L. N. T.), ἐκρύφθη, καὶ Ζεὺς ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν.

As a parallel to this famous scene H. Usener in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 cxxxvii. 3. 2, 4, 37 (= *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 200 ff., 234) cites the belief that Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths, did not die in 526 A.D., but entered the earth as a living man seated on his black charger. I am, however, inclined to lay more stress on analogies drawn from the classical area, e.g. that of Erechtheus (*supra* p. 793 f.) or those of Látinus and Aeneas (*Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 363, *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 286). Such cases may be taken to imply that the early king, who during his life had been credited with magical powers of making a thunderstorm, was after his death frankly identified with the weather-god. Moreover dead kings, being chthonian powers, can give oracles, send dreams, and bestow health on those that consult them in the right way. Hence at the popular Amphiareion near

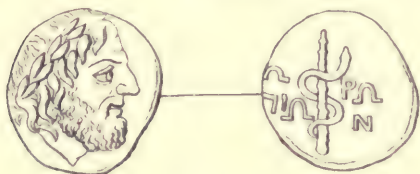


Fig. 918.



Fig. 919.

Oropos (on which see F. Dürrbach *De Oropo et Amphiariao sacro* Paris 1890, E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1893 ff. fig., Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 466 ff. pl. 9, figs., and for recent finds etc. F. Versace in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1908 xxxiii. 247—272, H. Lattermann *ib.* 1910 xxxv. 81—102, B. Leonardos in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1913 p. 237, *ib.* 1916 pp. 118—121, besides reports in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1903 p. 33 f., 1904 p. 27 f., 1906 p. 83 f., 1913 p. 114) the marble cult-stature of Amphiaraos (Paus. i. 34. 2) appears to have borne a close resemblance to Asklepios. An autonomous copper of the town, dating from s. ii B.C. or later, has for obverse type the head of Amphiaraos bearded and laureate, and for reverse a snake coiled round a staff with the legend Ω Ρ Ω Π Ι Ω Ν (É. de Cadalvène *Recueil de médailles grecques inédites* Paris 1828 p. 168 no. 1 = Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 151 Atlas pl. 6, 10 = my fig. 918. Other specimens show *obv.* a beardless head described as Apollon (A. v. Sallet in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1898 xxi. 208 f. pl. 4, 10) or Amphiaraos (Head *Hist. num.*² p. 392—a bad guess, unless the head is really bearded, as stated by Cadalvène *op. cit.* p. 168 no. 2, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica* etc. p. 115 pl. 20, 5) or even a female (U. Köhler in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1879 iv. 250 f. fig., 259 ff.), *rev.* a dolphin coiled round a trident with the legend Ω Ρ Ω Π Ι Ω Ν). Another copper of Oropos, struck by Gallienus, has *rev.* Ω Ρ Ω [Π Ι Ω] Ν Amphiaraos enthroned to left, his left hand grasping a sceptre and his right extended over a snake (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica* etc. p. 115 pl. 20, 6, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 153 pl. EE, 18

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

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

APPENDIX K.

ZEUS *TREPHÓNIOS* OR *TROPHÓNIOS*.

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

Further, at Lebadeia—as I urged in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 301—Zeus bore the significant title Βασιλεύς (*Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3073, 89 f. and 93 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 589, 89 f. and 93 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 972, 89 f. and 93 εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βασιλέως in an important inscription of s. ii B.C. dealing with the half-built temple on Mt St. Elias to the W. of *Livadia* (Paus. 9. 39. 4, *supra* p. 900 n. o), *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3080, 1 ff. = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 165 no. 430, 1 ff. [τὸ Φί]διο[ν] δουλι[κὸν | π]αιδάριον Ἀθάνωνα τῷ Διὶ τεῖ Βασιλεῖ κῆ τεῖ Τροφώνιῳ ἱερὸν εἶμεν τὸν πᾶν[τα | χ]ρόνον ἀπὸ τᾶσδε τὰς ἡμέρας, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3081, 2 f. = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 164 f. no. 429, 2 f. τὰν Φιδίαν δούλαν Ἐρμαίαν τεῖ Διὶ τεῖ Βασιλεῖ κῆ τῷ Τρε[φ]ώνιον ἱερὸν εἶμ[εν] | τὸν πάντα χρόνον, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3083, 6 ff. = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 163 no. 425, 6 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1392, 6 ff. τὸν | Φιδίαν θεράποντα Ἀνδρικόν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ | κῆ τῷ Τροφώνιον ἱερὸν εἶμεν παραμείναντα πᾶρ | τὰν μετέρα Ἀθανοδώραν Φέτια δέκα, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3085, 2 ff. τὸ ἴδιον δουλικὸν παιδάριον | Σωκράτην, παραμείναντα Κι..... | καὶ Ἀριστοκίδι, τὸ[ν] πάντα | χρόνον ἱερὸν κατὰ τήν | ἀνάθ[ε]σιν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ, *ib.* no. 3091, 1 ff. = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 162 no. 422, 1 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1115, 1 ff. Νέων Φασκώ[υδαο] | ἀγνωσθετε[σας] | τὰ Βασιλεία | τὸ ἐλροχρίσ[τιον] | ἀνέθεικε τοῖ [Δι] | τοῖ Βασιλε[ῖ] κ[ῆ] τῆ | πόλι in an inscription

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

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

two snakes and appeased them with honey-cakes (schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508). It was even said that the oracle was delivered by a snake (schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508 = Souid. *s.v.* Τροφωνίου κατὰ γῆς παίγνια) or snakes (Souid. *s.v.* μελιπούττα), to which the inhabitants threw honey-cakes. Snakes, it would seem, were as sacred to Trophonios as they were to Asklepios (Paus. 9. 39. 3): indeed, in the cave from which flowed the stream Herkyna there stood images of Trophonios and Herkyna with snakes coiled about their staves so that they resembled Asklepios and Hygieia (Paus. *ib.*). According to the story current in the district, Herkyna (a sort of Demeter, cp. Lyk. *Al.* 152 f. Ἐρναία... | Ἐρκυνν' Ἐρινὸς κ.τ.λ. with Tzetz. *ad loc.* Ἐρκυνν' Ἐριννὸς ἐπώνυμα Δήμητρος. κ.τ.λ., Hesych. Ἐρκύνια (so S. Potter for Ἐρκύνια). ἑορτὴ Δήμητρος. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 353 says: 'wohl eine Fruchtbarkeit spendende Quellgöttin, der arkadischen Demeter ähnlich'), playing with Kore, had lost a goose, which flew into a cave and hid beneath a stone till Kore came in and found it: the stream springing from the spot, whence Kore had lifted the stone, was called Herkyna. And in the temple of Herkyna near the bank of the stream a maiden was still to be seen with a goose in her hands (Paus. 9. 39. 2 f.). The story reminds us that Zeus, to win Nemesis or Leda, transformed himself into a goose (*supra* i. 279 n. 4, 760 n. 2). It may, I think, be divined that the goose in the hands of the maiden was Zeus himself in animal form. For that Zeus was associated with Herkyna appears from Paullus' sacrifice 'Iovi Hercynnaeque' (*supra* p. 1073). L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1863 p. 94 finds an illustration of the Lebadean tale on a *rhytón*, shaped like a bull's head, found at Ruvo and now in the Jatta collection, which shows (a) Zeus seated with thunderbolt and sceptre, and (b) a maiden pursuing a goose (published by T. Avellino in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1856 Nuova Serie iv. 114 f. pl. 11, 2, 1, 3 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 483, 4, 3, 6): but this is perhaps a mere juxtaposition of the sublime with the ridiculous (Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 19 detects 'eine Genrescene'). Be that as it may, Trophonios was not only a dead man, but also a living god (Loukian. *dial. mort.* 3. 1 f.), and as such received the rites due to a god (Charax *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 637 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508 καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ ὡς θεῷ), being, as we have seen, frequently identified with Zeus (in Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 55, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14, with a chthonian Hermes: cp. Paus. 9. 39. 7). This, however, does not preclude a certain likeness to Amphiaros; for Trophonios too was swallowed by the earth at a place in Lebadeia, where there was a hole (βόθρος) of Agamedes and a *stèle* beside it (Paus. 9. 37. 7, cp. 9. 39. 6?). The name Καταβάσιον sometimes given to the oracular building (schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508 = Souid. *s.v.* Τροφωνίου κατὰ γῆς παίγνια) bears a superficial resemblance to that of Zeus Καταβάτης, but means presumably the sacred spot 'to which men descend' (cp. Dikaiarchos *περὶ τῆς εἰς Τροφωνίου καταβάσεως* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 266 ff. Müller), and a work by Plutarch with the same title—no. 181 in the catalogue of Lamprias (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ München 1911 ii. 1. 371 n. 4)). J. Vürtheim 'De Eugammonis Cyrenaei Telegonia' in *Mnemosyne* 1901 xxix. 27—30 regards both Agamedes and Trophonios as hypostases of Zeus: 'Sed indigetando ex uno hoc love (vel Mercurio) dii tres sunt facti, e quibus unus Clymenus (i.e. Ζεὺς Κλύμενος vel Περικλύμενος) avum repraesentabat, secundus Trophonius antiquo nomine servato vates fiebat, tertius Agamedes (i.e. sagacissimus) indolem prudentem τοῦ χθονίου θεοῦ indicabat; deinde e dis mutati in reges mythicos (ut Amphiarus ille)' etc.... 'Vidimus igitur Iovem τροφώνιον χθόνιον e spelunca sua in lucem quasi protractum in duos heroas abiisse, quemadmodum Amphiarus est natus

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



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

APPENDIX L.

ZEUS ASKLEPIÓS.


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

(1) Zeus Asklepiós in Inscriptions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(a) Zeus Asklepiós in Literature.

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

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

(3) Zeus *Asklepiós* in Art.

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

Num. Comm. Paus. i. 43 pl. L, 3, W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1892 xii. 14 f. pl. I, 17, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 11 fig. 6 enlarged=*id. Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 150 fig. 104, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 441) and copper coins of Epidauros (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 159 pl. 29, 22 f., cp. *ib.* p. 158 pl. 29, 19, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 43 pl. L, 4 f., J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 10 f. figs. 3—5 enlarged=*id. Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 150 f. figs. 105—107, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 442), and an imperial copper of Kleonai (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 133, *id.* and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 32, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 441). The god is seated to the left with his left foot advanced, holding a long sceptre high up in his left hand and extending his right hand over the head of a coiled snake. Beneath his seat (silver coins) or behind it (coppers) lies a dog (see H. Gaidoz 'À propos des chiens d'Épidaure' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 218—222, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 141, F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2576 f.). The seat itself is sometimes a high-backed throne (silver and copper coins), sometimes a mere stool (silver coins). Other Zeus-like types of Asklepios seated occur on coppers of Argos—perhaps after the group by Xenophilos and Straton (*Paus.* 2. 23. 4), which followed the main lines of Thrasymedes' work (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 40 f. pl. κ, 47, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 151 no. 166),



Fig. 920.



Fig. 921.



Fig. 922.



Fig. 923.

Rhegion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 381 f., Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 165 pl. 115, 12 f., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 111. The shape of the seat varies from throne to high-backed chair), the Magnetes in Thessaly—an adaptation of Thrasymedes' statue (Imhoof-Blumer *Choix de monn. gr.*¹ pl. 1, 26, *id. Monn. gr.* p. 133 no. 2^a, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 300), Trikke (T. Panofka 'Asklepios und die Asklepiaden' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1845* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 353 pl. 1, 13, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly* etc. p. 52 pl. 11, 13, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 311 'Asklepios seated, feeding serpent with bird, or resting on crooked staff'! Fig. 922, from a well-preserved specimen of mine, shows the god to have a sceptre and the bird to be a goose (cp. Loukian. *Alex.* 13 f. cited *infra*), Ainos (*Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* ii. 1. 1. 199 pl. 5, 28), Anchialos (*ib.* ii. 1. 1. 272 pl. 8, 2), Bizye (Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 154, 1548, Suppl. i. 295), Serdike (*ib.* viii. 673, Suppl. i. 295), Mytilene (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas*, etc. p. 201 pl. 40, 3=*supra* p. 260 fig. 172, p. 206 pl. 41, 4), Pergamon—perhaps after the statue of Phryomachos (Polyb. 32. 27. 4, Diod. 31 *frag.* 46 Bekker (ii. 2. 128 Dindorf), Soud. *s.v.* Πρωμαχίας bis: diverse possibilities are mooted by P. Smith *Dict. Biogr. Myth.* iii. 608, W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1882 ii. 14 ff., W. Amelung 'Der Asklepios des Phryomachos zu Pergamon' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1903 xviii. 1 ff., H. von Fritze in *Nomisma* 1908 ii. 19 f. Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 154, Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* ii. 604 no. 595, Suppl. v. 443 no. 1018, T. Panofka 'Asklepios und die Asklepiaden' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1845* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 352 f.

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



Fig. 924.

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

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



Fig. 925.

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

gr. ii. 186 f. fig. 88). Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pp. 148—154 no. 173 f. pl. 31 (cp. my figs. 924, 925) has made out a strong case for supposing that they were metopes from the temple of Asklepios, carved in s. iv B.C. On his showing the one (fig. 924) represents Zeus seated on a throne, the arms of which are supported by winged sphinxes and end in rams' heads. His right hand held a sceptre; his left was extended. An ample *himation*, draped over the back of the throne and round the legs of the god, left bare his broad chest. His head wore a metal wreath (holes for attachment remain), and his feet were shod with sandals of strap-work. Altogether he was an august and imposing figure. The other relief (fig. 925) shows Asklepios, very similar in attitude and costume, but curiously diverse in effect. A comfortable man with soft, podgy body, he sits on a cushioned chair with easy back, crosses his feet, and talks with a gesture of his right hand. He might be a Harley Street consultant prescribing for a patient. The same humanity and affability are characteristic of Asklepios, even when an attempt is made to emphasise his Zeus-hood by means of external attributes. For instance, an alliance-copper of Pergamon and Ephesos, struck by Commodus, has Asklepios standing, in his right hand the serpent-staff, in his left a Nike, who offers a wreath to Artemis (Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 888, Suppl. i. 295: but cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 164 pl. 33, 4), while coppers of Caracalla show Asklepios with little Telesphoros to the left and the cosmic globe to the right (Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 158, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 775 f., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² iv. 178 no. 329 f. P · M · TR · P · XVIII · IMP · III · COS · IIII · P · P · S · C · first brass, cp. *ib.* iv. 179 no. 331 do. do. without Telesphoros. Fig. 926 is from a second brass in my collection. For other examples of Asklepios with the globe see Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. i. 298 f.: E. Loewe *De Aesculapi figura* Strassburg 1887 p. 75 n. 7).



Fig. 926.

globe see Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. i. 298 f.: E. Loewe *De Aesculapi figura* Strassburg 1887 p. 75 n. 7).

(4) *Asklepiós* and the Snake.

Next we must note the constant association of this human Zeus with a snake. Asklepios himself on occasion took that form. He travelled from Epidauros to Sikyon as a snake drawn by mules; and from the roof of his temple in the latter town hung a small figure of Aristodama, the mother of his son Aratos, riding on a snake (Paus. 2. 10. 3): the creature so ridden was presumably none other than the god, who was believed to have consorted with Aristodama in snake-form (Paus. 4. 14. 7 f., cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 866 n. 1). Again, it was as a snake that Asklepios came from Epidauros to Epidauros Limera on the east coast of Lakonike: he slipped out of the ship and dived into the earth not far from the sea at a place where altars, planted about with olive trees, were erected to him (Paus. 3. 23. 7: see F. W. Hasluck in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907—1908 xiv. 179). At Lebena in Crete there was a famous temple of Asklepios (Paus. 2. 26. 9, Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 34 p. 152 f. Kayser), where incubation was practised (Kaibel *Epiqr. Gr.* no. 839, 1 f. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 303. 1 f.): the divine snake sent by Asklepios to guide his priest the son of Aristonymos to the temple-spring and forty-seven years later sent on a similar errand to show Soarchos, priest in his father's room, how to replenish the failing spring (see the interesting inscription from Lebena (*Leda*) published by T. Baunack in *Philologus* 1890 xlix. 578 ff. and R. Meister *ib.* 1891 l. 570 ff.) should probably be viewed 'als Inkarnation des Gottes selbst' (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.*

p. 1448 n. 7). Whether the snake followed by Antinoe, daughter of Kepheus and granddaughter of Aleos, when she refounded Mantinea on its historical site (Paus. 8. 8. 4 f.), was Asklepios (as Miss Harrison apparently assumes in *Themis* p. 381 n. 5) is very doubtful. In 293—291 B.C. Asklepios was fetched from Epidaurus to Rome and duly domiciled on the island in the Tiber; he arrived in the guise of a golden snake (Liv. 10. 47. 7, *per.* 11 Aesculapii signum... anguem... in quo ipsum numen esse constabat, Ov. *met.* 15. 622 ff. especially 669 f. *cristis aureis altis | in serpente deus etc.*, 737 *erigitur serpens*, etc., cp. *fast.* 1. 291 f., Val. Max. 1. 8. 2 *anguis*, Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 94 τοῦ δράκοντος, Plin. *nat. hist.* 29. 72 *anguis*, Aur. Vict. *de vir. ill.* 22. 1—3 *anguis*, Sidon. *epist.* 1. 7. 12 *serpentis Epidaurii*: see further O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*² München 1901 p. 282 f., H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 633—635)—a belief commemorated on coppers of the gens *Rubria* (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 406 ff. nos. 5 f. and 9 figs., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 312 pl. 38, 5, i. 313 n. 1 fig. under date c. 86 B.C.) and on bronze medallions of Antoninus Pius (Grecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 9 pl. 43, 1=my fig. 927 and ii. 9 pl. 43, 2, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 7 no. 4 pl. 8, 3, cp. p. 7 no. 5, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 51 ff. figs., Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 140 fig. 150, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 20 fig. Father Tiber, reclining amid his waters, rests his left elbow on an urn, holds a reed in his left hand, and extends his right to greet the snake on its arrival. The galley, whose steersman and rowers(?) are visible, passes under the Pons Fabricius and a tree mark the new home of the god). Lastly, Lucian in his *Alexandros or the Sham Seer* tells how an impostor from Abonou Teichos, a coast-town in Paphlagonia, purchased a large tame snake at Pella in Makedonia (Loukian. *Alex.* 7), and with the aid of a confederate spread the news that Asklepios and his father Apollon were about to visit the Abonotichians (*ib.* 10). The rascals had made a snake's head of linen, painted it with a human expression, given it a mouth that could open and shut by means of horse-hairs, and added a black forked tongue that worked in the same way (*ib.* 12). Thus equipped Alexandros went to Abonou Teichos, where the worthy inhabitants were already digging the foundations of a new temple to greet the advent of the gods, buried a goose's egg containing a young reptile in the mud after dark (*ib.* 13) and duly discovered 'the new-born Asklepios' next morning to the astonishment of the bystanders (*ib.* 14). Alexandros now became the exhibitor of the god. He took into his bosom 'the Asklepios from Pella,' twined its body round his neck and let its tail hang down, but kept its head hidden under his armpit and showed the linen mask instead (*ib.* 15). The people were astounded at the miraculously rapid growth of the snake (*ib.* 16). Bithynians, Galatians, Thracians came flocking in; pictures, portraits, and images, some of bronze, some of silver, were made; and the god was named Glykon in obedience to an oracle of his own (*ib.* 18 εἰμι Γλύκων, τρίτον αἶμα Διός, φάος ἀνθρώποισι). From this time onwards Alexandros drove a roaring trade in oracles (*ib.* 19 ff.). A tube consisting of the windpipes of cranes introduced into the artificial head enabled an assistant outside to make 'the linen Asklepios' answer questions and deliver 'autophone



Fig. 927.

oracles' (*ib.* 26). The fame of Glykon spread to Italy and made a sensation at Rome (*ib.* 30 ff.). Mysteries were instituted with hierophants, *daidoûchoi*, and a full ceremonial lasting three days (*ib.* 38 ff.). Alexandros even petitioned the emperor that new coins might be struck with an obverse design of Glykon and a reverse of himself bearing the *stémata* of Asklepios and the *hárpe* of Perseus (*ib.* 58). The whole narrative is sufficiently amazing. But perhaps more amazing still is the fact that much collateral evidence can be quoted in its support. Copper coins of Abonou Teichos from the reigns of Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, Geta, Severus Alexander, Gordianus Pius, and Trebonianus Gallus represent the new-fangled god as a snake with a more or less human face (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 83 pl. 19, 1=my fig. 928, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 129 ff. pl. 17, 12, 13, 16 (=my fig. 929), 19 with legend ΓΛΥΚΩΝ, cp. pl. 17, 20, 21, 22, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 505). Coppers of Nikomedeia in Bithynia struck by Caracalla and Maximus give the snake a definitely human head (M. Dumersan *Description des médailles antiques du cabinet de feu M. Allier de Hauteroche* Paris 1829 p. 70 pl. 11, 10, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 187 no. 48, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 513, 545 pl. 94, 12=my fig. 930, pl. 94, 13 f.,



Fig. 928.



Fig. 929.



Fig. 930.

562 pl. 97, 14). Amulets appear to confuse him with the Khnemu-snake (*supra* i. 357 n. 4, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1258 ff., cp. for Egyptian snake-worship in general T. Hopfner *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter nach den griechisch-römischen Berichten und den wichtigeren Denkmälern* (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1913 ii Abh.) Wien 1913 p. 136 ff.). Thus an agate in the Behr collection showed Khnemu as a lion-headed snake, with a radiate crown, accompanied by several inscriptions—XNOVBIC in the field, ΓΛΥΚΩΝΑ in front, ΙΑΩ beneath, and a magical formula on the other side of the stone (F. Lenormant *Description des médailles et antiquités composantes le cabinet de M. le baron Behr* Paris 1857 p. 228 no. 76, *id.* in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1878 iv. 183, E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1900 iv. 28 fig. 6). Again, a red jasper in the Sorlin-Dorigny collection at Constantinople has Asklepios standing with a raven(?) behind his shoulder and a human-headed or lion-headed snake before him (F. Lenormant 'Un monument du culte de Glykon' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1878 iv. 179 ff. with fig., E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1900 iv. 27 f. fig. 5). Two inscriptions from Apulum (*Carlsburg*) prove that the cult of Glykon reached Dacia (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1021=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4079 Glyconi | M. Ant. | Onesas | iusso dei | l. p., *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1022 Gl(y)co | M. Aur. | Theodo|tus ius|so dei p.). A third inscription found at *Blatsche* between Skoupoi (*Uskub*) and Stoboi associates the beast with the false prophet (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 8238=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no 4080 Iovi et Iuno|n. [et] Dracco|n. et Dracce|nae et Ale|xandro Epi|tynchanus [C. | F]uri Octavi[ani] | c. v.

posuit). See further F. Cumont 'Alexandre d'Abonotichos' in the *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Belgique* 1887 xl. 13 ff., 37 ff. and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1634 f., vii. 1468 f., E. Babelon 'Le faux prophète Alexandre d'Abonotichos' in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1900 iv. 1—30 with 6 figs., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1692 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1487, O. Weinreich 'Alexandros der Lügenprophet und seine Stellung in der Religiosität des II. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1921 xlvii. 129—151. The main point to bear in mind—a point commonly missed—is that the populace regarded Asklepios as essentially serpentiform.

(5) The Name *Asklepiós*.

This leads us to consider the question whether 'Asklepiós originally meant 'Snake' and nothing more. The name occurs in a puzzling variety of forms:

'Αγλαόπης (Hesych. 'Αγλαόπης· ὁ 'Ασκληπιός. Λάκωνες. So Musurus for γλαόπης cod., cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 329, 23, Souid. *s.v.* ἄγμῶσι, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ἄγμῶσι).

'Αγλαπιός (G. Dickins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 131 f. no. 1 fig. 1 publishes a *stèle* at Thalamai (*Koutiphari*) inscribed ΛΑΝΙΚΙΑ | ΑΝΕΘΒΚΕ | ΤΩΙΑΓΛΑΠΙΩΙ in lettering which M. N. Tod *ib.* assigns to c. 350 B.C. and W. Kolbe in *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1313 to s. v B.C.).

'Ασκληπιός in epic, Ionic, Attic. 'Ασκληπιός thrice in Attic inscriptions (K. Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³ Berlin 1900 p. 89 n. 770), cp. 'Ασκληπιούδης (*id. ib.* p. 89 n. 771), 'Ασκληπιούδωρος (*id. ib.* p. 89 n. 772).

'Ασκληπιός in non-Ionic dialects. 'Ασκαλιός in a Gortynian inscription (F. Halbherr in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1889 i. 38 ff. C, 7 ΑΣΚΑΛΠΙΟΝ).

'Ασκληπιού in a Spartan inscription (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1444, 10 ΑΣΚΛΕΙΠΙΟΥ) turns out to be a mistaken reading (H. J. W. Tillyard and A. M. Woodard in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 212 ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΥ, *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 602, 10).

'Ασχλαπιός in a Boeotian inscription (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3191 f., 3 ΑΣΧΛΑΠΙΩ, 37 f. [ΑΣΧ]ΛΑΠΙΩ Orchomenos), cp. 'Ασχλάπων (Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 397 no. 571^a, 10 Akraiphia), but 'Ασκαλαπιχίος (*ib.* i. 174 no. 476, 40 Orchomenos).

Αίσχλαβιός in the alphabet of Megara or Corinth on the leg of an archaic bronze statuette from Bologna (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 67 37, 2, Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 549, 2, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 356. 2, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 146 no. 118 (c), 2 ΔΙΣΧΛΑΠΙΟΙ).

Αίσκαλιός in the oldest Epidaurian inscription (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 37 no. 8 on a bronze *phiale*, to be dated at the beginning of s. v B.C., if not earlier still, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1202 ΤΟΙΔΙΜΚΛΑΠΙΟΙ) and in an inscription from Troizen (E. Legrand in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 90 ff. no. 4, 3, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 771, 3 ΤΩΙΑΙΣΚΛΑΠΙΩΙ).

Αίσκαλιεύς in another early Epidaurian inscription (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 37 no. 10 from the rim of a bronze vessel ΙΙΙΙΜΙΞΙΓΑΛΧΣΙΔΑΤ=τ' Αίσκαλιεὺ μ' [ἀνέθηκε—]).

Aisclapius in an inscription painted on an Etruscan cup (H. Jordan in the

Ann. d. Inst. 1884 lvi. 357 f. pl. R, Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 2827 b,
Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2958 (ΛΙΣΚΛΑΠΙ).

Aescclapius in an inscription at Narona (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1766
AESCLAPIO, cp. *ib.* iii no. 1767, 1 [AE]SCLAPIO).

Aiscclapius in an inscription found in the Tiber (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 30846,
Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3833).

Aescclapius in a trilingual (Latin, Greek, Phoenician) inscription on the base
of a bronze-column at *Santuacci* in Sardinia (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 7856,
1, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1874, 1, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 608, 1 AES-
COLAPIO) and in two inscriptions from Rome (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no.
30849, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3834; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 30847,
Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3835).

Aiscclapius in an inscription from the Tiber-island (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 12,
Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3837).

Aescclapius, the normal form in Latin.

Escclapius on a bronze plate from the *ager Praenestinus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.*
xiv no. 2846, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3838).

In view of Asklepios' early connexion with Thessaly, special importance
must be attached to the names Ἀσκαλαπιῶδας at Iolkos (H. G. Lolling in the
Ath. Mitth. 1883 viii. 115 no. 9, 1, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 378 no.
1284, 1 [Ἀσ]καλαπιῶδ[ας]) and Ἀσκαλαπιῶδωρος at Phalanna (H. G. Lolling in
the *Ath. Mitth.* 1883 viii. 109 f. line 3, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 384
no. 1330, 5 ΑΣΚΑΛΑΠΙΟΔΟΥΡΟΙ), since these point to an original Thessalian
*Ἀσκαλαπιος (E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1642): cp. Collitz—
Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 186 no. 3398 b, 21 Hermione ΛΣΚΑΛΛΑ gen. of
Ἀσκαλᾶς, J. H. Mordtmann in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 x. 13 no. 1 near Kotiaieion
Ἀσκλᾶς καὶ Ἀσκληπᾶ[s] | οἱ Ἀσκληπᾶ (A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1901 xxvi. 319). The ultimate meaning of Ἀσκληπιῶς has
been much debated, and is still questionable. The ancients—children in philo-
logy—jumped to the conclusion that the second element in the name was ἥπιος,
'mild,' and used this word (Lyk. *Al.* 1054 with Tzetz. *ad loc.*, *et. mag.* pp. 154,
45 ff., 434, 15 ff., Tzetz. *chil.* 6. 991, 10. 712, Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 463, 34 f., 860,
9 ff., *in Od.* p. 1447, 48 f., Cornut. *theol.* 33 p. 70, 5 ff. Lang (?), cp. *Corp. inscr.*
Att. iii. 1 Add. no. 171 b, 8 and 13 = *carm. pop.* 47, 6 and 11 Bergk⁴ = Cougny
Anth. Pal. Append. 4. 53. 4 and 9) or its compounds ἥπιωδότης, ἥπιωδωρος,
ἥπιώφρων (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 51, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1441) of the
god himself—Demosthenes is even said to have sworn by Ἀσκληπιος, not Ἀσ-
κληπιῶς (Plout. *de vit. decem orat.* 8, Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδιας* 5 (i. 123,
1 ff. Lentz), Eustath. *in Il.* p. 463, 37 ff., *in Od.* p. 1447, 64 ff., Favorin. *lex.* p. 296,
40 f.),—and ἥπιόνη, ἥπιώ of his partner (Cornut. *theol.* 33 p. 71, 2 ff. Lang: see
further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1441 n. 9, E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa
Real-Enc. vi. 186 ff.). But the first element puzzled them. They tried ἀσκέω
(schol. *Il.* 4. 195, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 463, 35 f., Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 43 f.), ἀσκελῆς
(*et. mag.* p. 154, 43 ff., 47 f., *et. Gud.* p. 83, 39 ff., Orion p. 9, 14 ff., Tzetz. *in Lyk.*
Al. 1054, Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 38 ff.), Ἀσκλης a supposed king of Epidaurus
(Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 1054, Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 41 ff., cp. *et. mag.* p. 154, 45 ff.,
Eustath. *in Il.* p. 463, 34 f.), Ἀγῶλη the mother of Asklepios (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles*
d'Épidaure Athènes 1893 i. 35 f. no. 7, 50 ff. = Isyll. 19 f. Weir Smyth). Modern
scholars have gone from bad to worse, starting with ἄλκω, 'I help,' whence an
assumed *Ἀλξηπιος (A. F. Pott in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprach-*
forschung 1857 vi. 401), and, after numerous blind alleys (see E. Thraemer in

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 616 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1643), ending in the *quartier juif* with *ish-kalbi*, 'l'homme-chien' (C. Clermont-Ganneau in the *Revue critique* 1884 p. 502). Much more attractive is the view first put forward in 1860 by Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 736, *viz.* that Ἄσκληπιός is akin to ἀσκάλαβος, 'lizard,'—a word which may well have had at one time a wider meaning and denoted 'snake.' This idea has commended itself, not only to mythologists (J. Maehly *Die Schlange im Mythos und Cultus der classischen Völker* Basel 1867 pp. 6, 8 f., M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 93 n. 105, L. Deubner *De incubatione* Lipsiae 1900 p. 37, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1443 ff.), but also to philologists. C. Angermann in *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik* herausgegeben von G. Curtius und K. Brugmann 1876 ix. 247 f. would trace both Ἄσκληπιός and ἀσκάλαβος, ἀσκαλαβώτης (perhaps also the bird-names ἀσκαλώπας, σκολόπαξ, and the insect-name σκολόπενδρα) to a root *skalp* or *skarp*, a lengthened form of *skar*, 'springen, sich hin und her bewegen.' A. Vaniček *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1877 i. 1079 says: '(σκαλ-π, σκλα-π, σκλη-π) Ἄσκληπιός m. (urspr. Schlange).' A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1901 xxvi. 313—323 'Asklepios und die heilschlange,' followed by Prellwitz *Elym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 58, holds that Asklepios was originally a snake and explains the Thessalian *Ἄσκαλαπιος and the Cretan Ἄσκαλπιός by the help of the Hesychian glosses σκαλαπάξει· ῥέμβεται and σκαλπάξειν· ῥεμβωδῶς βαδίζειν. Thus Ἄσκληπιός would mean 'Creepy-crawly'—a likely enough name for a snake. Ἀσκάλαβος, 'lizard,' and ἀσκάλαφος, a species of 'owl' (Apollod. 2. 5. 12, Ov. *met.* 5. 538 ff., interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 4. 462 f.) that haunts holes in the rock (cp. Apollod. 1. 5. 3, 2. 5. 12: see further D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 36), are very possibly related forms, if not also σκολόπαξ, ἀσκολόπας, ἀσκαλώπας, 'woodcock' (*id. ib.* pp. 36, 155).

(6) Thessalian Kings as impersonations of Zeus.

The explanation of Ἄσκληπιός as formerly denoting a snake is perfectly compatible with the belief that the original bearer of the name was a Thessalian king. Drakon of Thebes, Ophis of Salamis, Python of Delphoi, etc. were all recognised as kings by Euhemeristic writers (see W. H. Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1201, O. Höfer *ib.* iii. 925 f., R. Wagner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1646 f.). But here, as elsewhere (*supra* i. 662), Euhemerism had a foundation in fact. Greeks and Romans alike regarded the soul of the dead as able to manifest itself in the form of a snake (the evidence is conveniently summarised by E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 62 ff., cp. W. Wundt *Völkerpsychologie* Leipzig 1906 ii. 2. 72 ff., *id. Elements of Folk Psychology* trans. E. L. Schaub London—New York 1916 pp. 190 ff., 214, 368, O. Waser 'Über die äussere Erscheinung der Seele' etc. in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 354 ff.). A deceased king might well appear as a great beneficent snake, or at least be accompanied by such. And, when his soul-animal had come to be viewed as a mere attendant or attribute, explanatory myths would arise. Thus Asklepios was said to have reared his snake in an oak growing in a glen of Mt Pelion called Pelethronion (Nik. *ther.* 438 ff. with schol. and Eutekn. *ad loc.*: *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 83. Cp. the story told of Melampous by Apollod. 1. 9. 11), or again to have been placed by Zeus in the sky as the constellation Ophiuchus (*supra* i. 755 n. 9) because he had raised from the dead Hippolytos son of Theseus (pseudo-Eratosth. *catust.* 6, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 14) or Glaukos son of Minos (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 14). Such tales are late and of little value. It

is more important to note that the earliest home of Asklepios was in central Thessaly (E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 623 and more fully in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1643 ff., 1662 f.), and that at Trikke he had an underground *ádyton* (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 34 ff. no. 7, 27 ff. πρώτος Μάλος ἔτευξεν Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλεάτα | βωμὸν καὶ θυσίας ἠγλαίωσεν τέμενος. | οὐδὲ κε Θεσσαλίας ἐν Τρίκκῃ πειραθείης | εἰς ἄδυτον καταβάς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ἀγροῦ | πρώτων Ἀπόλλωνος βωμοῦ θύσας Μαλεάτα. Cp. J. Ziehen 'Über die Lager des Asklepiosheiligtums von Triikka' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1892 xvii. 195—197 and especially P. Kastriotes Τὸ ἐν Τρίκκῃ τῆς Θεσσαλίας Ἀσκληπιείου Athens 1903, *id.* 'Τρίκκης Ἀσκληπιείου' in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1918 pp. 65—73) comparable with the Καταβάσιον of Trophonios at Lebadeia, which we have already (*supra* p. 1076) taken to be the *thólos* of an ancient king (A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Pre-historic Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 272 Index record *thólos*-tombs at Dhimini, Ghura, Kapakli, Marmariani, Rakhmani (?), Sesklo, Zerelia (?)). Moreover, there is reason to think that in early days Thessalian kings were wont to pose as Zeus. Salmoneus, the very type of a would-be Zeus (*supra* i. 12, 318), was a king hailing from Thessaly (Apollod. i. 9. 7, schol. Aristoph. *ran.* argum. 4, Soud. *s.v.* Σαλμωνεύς. See further J. Ilberg in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 290). Keyx, who declared that his wife was Hera, and Alkyone, who dubbed her husband Zeus (Apollod. i. 7. 4, schol. *Il.* 9. 562, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 776, 19 ff., schol. Aristoph. *av.* 250. K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1580 f. suggests that the story in this form goes back to the Hesiodic Κήκος γάμος), were commonly described as king and queen of Trachis in south Thessaly (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 250, Loukian. *Alcyon* 1, Ov. *met.* 11. 268 ff., 382 ff., Lact. *Plac. narr. fab.* 11. 10. See further K. Wernicke *loc. cit.* and H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 249 ff., ii. 1181 f.). Ixion, king of the Thessalian Lapithai, aspired to the hand of Hera, while conversely Zeus was enamoured of Ixion's wife Dia (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 420, 1906 xx. 378)—a case paralleled by that of Hera in love with the Thessalian Iason and Zeus in love with Medeia (*supra* i. 248). Now it is a very noteworthy fact that all these names, indeed the great bulk of the personages considered in the present discussion,—Amphiaraios, Trophonios, Asklepios, Askalaphos, Salmoneus, Alkyone, Ixion, Iason—belonged to the family of Aiolos (see the pedigree conveniently set forth by Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* ii. 223 ff.). The inference is that this custom of regarding the king as Zeus was characteristic of the Aeolians settled in Thessaly and central Greece. Asklepios, like the rest, was *ab origine* a king (he is ἄναξ in *h. Asklep.* 5, Aristoph. *Plout.* 748, Herond. 4. 1 and 18, P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 36 no. 7, 79, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 2292, 1 (Delos)=Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 803. 1=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 225. 1 (see R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 95 ff.); βασιλεύς in *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5974 B, 1 (Rome)=*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 967 b, 1=Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* Add. no. 805 a, b *tit.*=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 247 β n., Ail. *de nat. an.* 9. 33, Orph. *εὐχή πρὸς Μουσαίων* 37, Cougny *op. cit.* 6. 180. 2 f. Ἀσκληπιὸς Κάισαρ in W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 130 no. 92, 5 f., *ib.* p. 153 no. 130, 4 f.=Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 375 f. no. 3672, 5 f. is the deified Claudius, who played the part of Zeus during his life and was worshipped as Zeus after his death (E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 620 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1654 f. draws attention to the fact that several Greek localities could point to an alleged grave of Asklepios: Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 57 Aesculapiorum...secundus, secundi Mercurii frater. is, fulmine percussus, dicitur humatus esse Cynosuris, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 30. 3 p. 22, 14 Stählin οὗτος μὲν οὖν κείται κεραυνωθείς ἐν τοῖς Κυνουσουρίδος ὀρίοις

with schol. *ad loc.* p. 305, 31 Stählin κόμη Λακεδαίμονος, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 142 p. 164, 8 ff. Wunsch δεύτερος Ἴσχύος τοῦ Ἐλάτου καὶ Κορωνίδος, <δὸς ἐν τοῖς Κυνοσουρίδος suppl. C. B. Hase> ὀρίους ἐράφη, cp. *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Octobris ix. 546 ('Passio S. Philippi episc., Severi presb. et Hermæ diaç.' 1. 8) ignis ille divinus...et Scolapium medicum in monte Cynozuridos fulminatum consecrationem mereri in gentibus fecit, where cod. Bodecense rightly reads *Æsculapium* and the Bollandist editors wrongly (?) comment: 'apud Cynozurim Thessaliæ urbem sepultus' (*ib.* ix. 549). Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 57 tertius, Arsiippi et Arsinoæ,...cuius in Arcadia non longe a Lusio flumine sepulcrum et lucus ostenditur, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 142 p. 164, 10 ff. Wunsch τρίτος Ἀρσίππου καὶ Ἀρσινόης τῆς Λευκίππου...καὶ τάφος αὐτῶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ. Clem. Rom. *hom.* 6. 21 (ii. 213 Migne) Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ (*sc.* κείται), Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 24 in Epidauro Aesculapii (*sc.* sepulcrum demonstratur). Cp. Tert. *ad nat.* 2. 14 Athenienses...Aesculapio et matri inter mortuos parentant with Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 217 n. 4, 218, 222 and F. Kutsch *Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen* Giessen 1913 p. 16 ff.).

(7) Telesphoros.

Such an one might even be called Zeus Τέλειος (cp. the dedication Ἀσκληπιῶι Διὶ Τέλειῳ *supra* p. 1076). Further, the title τελεσφόρος, 'bringing the end, bringing to maturity' (see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 1971 C ff.), appropriate to the divine monarch (*h. Zeus* 1. f. Ζῆνα θεῶν τὸν ἄριστον αἰείομαι ἡδὲ μέγιστον, εὐρύοπα, κρείοντα, τελεσφόρον, κ.τ.λ.) and actually found on a Phrygian altar as his appellative (*supra* p. 838 n. 1), was a likely epithet of his human counterpart. And here it will be remembered that antiquity often associates with Asklepios a subordinate deity Telesphoros, who has been the subject of much speculation (L. Schenck *De Telesphoro deo* Göttingen 1888, W. Wroth 'Telesphorus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 283—300, *ib.* 1883 iv. 161 f., *ib.* 1884 v. 82 n. 2, Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 70 f., S. Reinach 'Télesphore' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1901 xiv. 343—349=*id. Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1906 ii. 255—261, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1455 n. 1, *alib.*, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 622, Harrison *Themis* p. 382 f.). We shall not be far wrong, if we regard him as the procreative power of Asklepios, split off from the god, to whom he at first belonged by way of appellative, and endowed with a separate and secondary personality. The existence of *Grabphalli* (*supra* i. 53 n. 1) and the birth-myths of Romulus and Servius Tullius (*supra* p. 1059) lead us to suppose that the buried ancestor in his procreative capacity might take the form of a simple *phallós* (with this interchange of human and phallic shapes cp. the statue of Nabu at Calah figured in two aspects by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 685 f.). Accordingly we sometimes meet with representations of Telesphoros as a *phallós* draped to look like a man or a boy. C. M. Grivaud de la Vincelle *Recueil de monumens antiques, la plupart inédits, et découverts dans l'ancienne Gaule* Paris 1817 i. 86 f., ii. pl. 10, 1—5 (of which 1, 3=my fig. 931) and pl. 11, 5 (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 75 no. 1, J. A. Dulaure *Histoire abrégée de différents cultes*² Paris 1825 ii. 242 f.) published a bronze statuette, found some forty years earlier in a tomb near Amiens, which shows a bearded male figure clad in a short tunic, a cape with a peaked hood (*bardocucullus*), and boots (*caligae*): the upper part—head, hood, and cape—can be lifted off, revealing a body that consists in an erect *phallós*. Similarly T. Panofka 'Asklepios und die Asklepiaden' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1845 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 324, 357 pl. 6, 5 and 5 a (=my fig. 932, C. O. Müller—F. Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* Göttingen 1856 ii. 4. 4 pl. 61, 789, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii.

469 no. 8 f.) published a bronze statuette at Copenhagen (L. Müller *Description des antiquités du Musée-Thorvaldsen* Section i et ii Copenhagen 1847 p. 162 f. no. 50 height without the peak 3 Danish inches, with it 4, S. B. Smith *Kort Veiledning i Antikkabinettet i Kjøbenhavn* Kjöbenhavn 1864 p. 38 no. 123 a), which repeats the type, except that the figure is a beardless youth and wears no sandals. One whose function is to bring to maturity might well be portrayed as either man or boy. Asklepios himself was beardless on occasion (Paus. 2. 10. 3 Sikyon (*supra* p. 1080), 2. 13. 5 Phlious, 8. 28. 1 Gortys. Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpture* pp. 277 n. 5, 300, E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1690 f., 1693 ff.) or even infantile (Paus. 8. 25. 11 Thelpousa; 8. 32. 5 Megalopolis. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5974 A, B (Rome)=*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 967

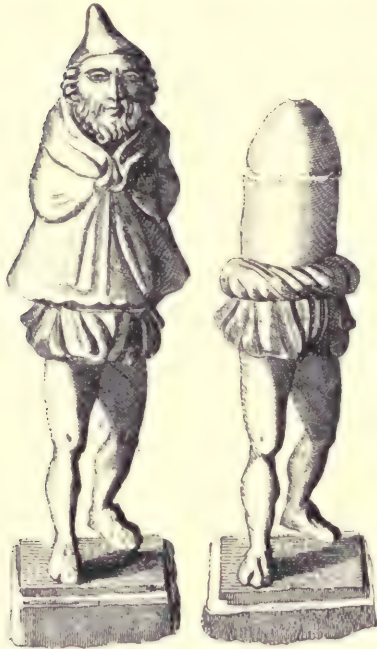


Fig. 931.

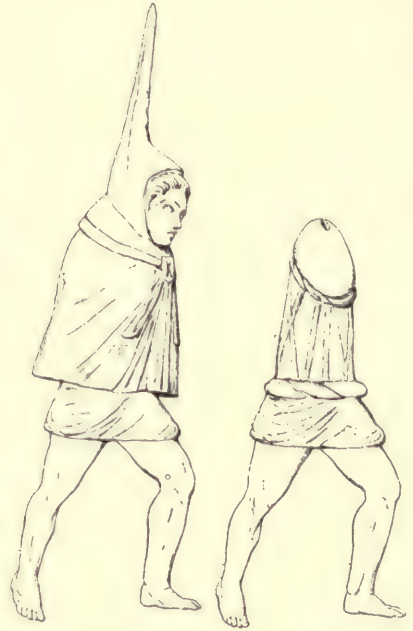


Fig. 932.

a, b = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* Add. no. 805 *a, b* = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 247 *a, b*; Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*⁴ ii, 181). The Copenhagen bronze is inscribed OMORION (Panofka *loc. cit.*), which could be connected with Zeus Ὀμόριος (Steph. *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1984 A quotes the title from Polyb. 2. 39. 6; but see *supra* i. 17 n. 4) or Ὀπος (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 74) = Iupiter *Terminus* or *Terminalis* (*supra* i. 53, 520 n. 2. Cp. Aug. *de civ. Dei* 4. 11 ipse in aethere sit Iuppiter, ... in Iano initiator, in Termino terminator. E. Samter 'Die Entwicklung des Terminus-kultes' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 137—144 argues that the boundary-stone could not have been originally sacred to Iupiter, because at its erection offerings were placed in the hole prepared for it (Siculus Flaccus in the *Grom. vet.* i. 141 Lachmann)—a procedure suggestive of a chthonian rather than of a celestial power. But the lord of the property, who had been a celestial Iupiter during his life would be a chthonian Iupiter after his death). B. Borghesi in the *Bull. d. Inst.*

1831 p. 182 ff. and E. Gerhard in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1846 xviii. pl. S, *ib.* 1847 xix. 327 ff. drew attention to a white marble Hermaphrodite-term, found near Ravenna, which is inscribed (Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5648 = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 351) IOV · TER · M | VAL · ANT · | AN · TI · CO · | V · L · S · | & *ramus, i.e.*, according to Borghesi, Iov(i) Ter(minali) M(arcus) Val(erius) Ant(oni)us Antico v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit), or, as Mommsen suggested, M. Val(erius) Ant(iochus) An(nii) Ti(beriani) co(mes). It should be noted also that a *denarius* of Augustus, struck



Fig. 933.



Fig. 934.

c. 29—27 B.C., has *obv.* head of Octavian, *rev.* IMP | CAESAR an ithyphallic term of Octavian with a bay-wreath on his head and a winged thunderbolt at his feet (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 64 no. 153 fig., cp. *ib.* ii. 65 no. 155 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 16 no. 4360 f. pl. 60, 5 f., cp. *ib.* ii. 16 no. 4362 pl. 60, 7 = my fig. 933, *Emp. i.* pp. cxxiii f., 102 nos. 628—630 pl. 15, 10 f., cp. *ib.* i. 104 no. 637 pl. 15, 16, A. Boutkowski *Dictionnaire numismatique* Leipzig 1881 i. 333 f. no. 732, cp. *ib.* i. 334 no. 733. Fig. 934 is from a specimen in my collection),—an excellent illustration of a mortal monarch aping the sky-god and credited with superhuman propagatory powers. See also Addenda *ad loc.*

APPENDIX M.

ZEUS MEILÍCHIOS.

(1) Zeus *Meilichios* on the Kephisos.

Zeus was worshipped under the title *Meilichios* far and wide through the Hellenic world. *In primis* Athens had long been a centre of his cult. Pausanias, noting the objects of interest along the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis, remarks :

‘When you have crossed the Kephisos there is an ancient altar of Zeus *Meilichios*. At this altar Theseus was purified by the descendants of Phytalos after he had slain various brigands including Sinis, who was related to him through Pittheus¹.’

Plutarch’s account is rather fuller :

‘So Theseus went on and came to the Kephisos. Here he was met by men of the clan Phytalidai, who were the first to salute him. He begged them to purify him. Thereupon they cleansed him with the customary rites, offered *Milichian* sacrifices, and feasted him in their home, whereas up to that time no man had shown him hospitality by the way. His return is said to have fallen on the eighth day of the month Kronios, Hekatombaion as it is called nowadays².’

Dates of this sort are not invented at random, and we may fairly suppose that the local festival of Zeus *Meilichios* was celebrated by the Phytalidai in their

¹ Paus. i. 37. 4.

² Plout. v. *Thes.* 12.

ancestral house¹ on Hekatombaion 8². Plutarch adds that, in return for their entertainment, Theseus gave them charge over a sacrifice at the Oskophoria³.

In the old Attic myth two points deserve to be stressed. On the one hand, Zeus *Meilichios* was a god able to purify a man from the stain of kindred bloodshed: we have already noted that the skins of animals sacrificed to him were used in purificatory rites⁴. On the other hand, the festival of this god was observed 'at home'⁵ by a clan traditionally associated with the fig-tree and its fruit⁶: in fact, the descendants of Phytalos appear to have had special duties in regard to Zeus *Meilichios*, much as the descendants of Anthos had in regard to Zeus *Lýkaios*⁷.

(2) The Title *Meilichios*.

We are, therefore, at once confronted with the difficult question: What is the meaning of *Meilichios*? Does it denote 'the Kindly One' (*meilichos*, *meilichios*)⁸, a deity whose wrath could be readily appeased by the quaking man-slayer? Or does it rather signify 'the god of Figs' (*meilicha*)⁹ with special

¹ Cp. Paus. i. 37. 2 quoted *infra* n. 6.

² In the calendar of Mykonos (J. de Protte *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 13 ff. no. 4, 29 ff., Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 714, 29 ff., Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 615, 29 ff.) Hekatombaion 7 is marked by the sacrifice of a bull and ten lambs to Apollon Ἐκατόμβαιος and by the sacrifice of a full-grown victim and ten lambs to Acheloios—a god who at Athens was closely connected with Zeus Μειλίχιος (*infra* p. 1117 f.). It seems possible that this Myconian festival on Hekatombaion 7 was the equivalent of an Athenian festival on Hekatombaion 8. But further evidence is lacking.

³ Plout. *v. Thes.* 23: see J. Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 251 f., Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 286 n. 2.

⁴ *Supra* i. 422 ff.

⁵ Plout. *v. Thes.* 12 καὶ δεομένοι καθαρῆναι τοῖς νενομισμένοι ἀγνίσαντες καὶ Μειλίχια θύσαντες εἰστίσαν οἴκοι.

⁶ Paus. i. 37. 2 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ Φύταλον φασιν οἴκῳ Δήμητρα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἀπὲρ τοῦτων δοῦναι οἱ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς συκῆς· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 3. 24) τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Φυτάλου τάφῳ· ἐνθάδ' ἀναξ ἦρως Φύταλος ποτε δέξατο σεμνῶν | Δήμητραν, ὅτε (A. Meineke *cj.* Δήμητρ' ᾧ τότε L. Dindorf and C. G. Cobet *cj.* Δήμητρ' ὀπιπτόν) πρῶτον ὀπώρας καρπὸν ἔφηνεν, | ἦν ἱερὰν συκὴν θνητῶν γένος ἔξονομάζει· | ἐξ οὗ δὴ τιμὰς Φυτάλου γένος ἔσχεν ἀγήρως. *Infra* p. 1103 n. 3.

⁷ *Supra* i. 71 ff.

⁸ C. Nutt. *theol.* 11 p. 12, 2 ff. Lang προσαγορεύουσι δὲ καὶ μελιχον (F. Osann *cj.* μελιχίον; but Aristeid. *or.* 1. 3 (i. 4 Dindorf) has εἰ δὲ πη σφαλόμεθα, ὁ μελιχος (*sc.* Zeus) ἡμῶν κεκλήσθω) τὸν Δία, εὐμελικτον ὄντα τοῖς ἐξ ἀδικίας μετατιθεμένοι, οὐ δέοντος ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτούς: cp. Liban. *or.* 57. 12 (iv. 154 Foerster) Ζευῆρος δὲ χρηστός τε ἦν ἐν τοῖς βήμασι καὶ τιμήσειν ἔλεγε τῇ πράττει τὸν Μειλίχιον Δία, κ.τ.λ., *Anth. Pal.* 9. 581. 4 f. (Leon Philosophos?) μηδὲ νοήσω, | Ζηρός Μειλιχίου λαχὼν θρόνον, ἀνέρος οἶτον. A highly moral explanation: but high morals are out of place in an early cult-title. Phrynichos the 'Atticist' (on whom see Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*² Cambridge 1906 i. 323 ff.) in Bekker *anecd.* i. 34, 12 ff. Δικαιοῦνος Ζεύς: ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς δίκαιά τε καὶ ἀδίκῃ δρώσι τεταγμένος. ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς μελιχα μελιχίον καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς φίλα φίλιος adduces would-be parallels. But Zeus Δικαιοῦνος is a late divinity (D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 302 no. 24 near *Gherzeh* (Karousa) Δὺ Δικαιοσύνη | Μεγάλῳ | Πύθης Διονυσίου | στρατηγῶν | χαριστήριον, cp. schol. *Il.* 13. 29, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 918, 47), and Zeus Φίλιος is probably euphemistic (*Append. N*). On Zeus Ἄγιος see *supra* i. 192, 400 n. 6, 565 n. 2.

⁹ Figs were called μελιχα, 'sweets,' in Naxos—witness Athen. 78c Νάξιοι δὲ, ὡς Ἄνδρσκοσ (*frag.* 3 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 304 Müller) ἐτι δ' Ἀγλαοσθένης (*frag.* 5 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 294 Müller) ἱστοροῦσι, Μειλίχιον καλεῖσθαι τὸν Διόνυσον διὰ τὴν τοῦ συκίνου

reference to the Phyalidai and their fig-culture? Arguments in support of either interpretation lie near to hand.

In may be urged that Zeus was notoriously sympathetic with the outcast and the vagabond. He was worshipped as *Hikésios*, 'the Suppliant's god',¹

καροῦ παράδοσιν. διὸ καὶ πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ναξίοις τὸ μὲν τοῦ Βακχέως Διονύσου καλουμένου εἶναι ἀμπέλινον, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Μειλιχίου σύκινον. τὰ γὰρ σῦκα μείλιχα καλεῖσθαι, where T. Reinesius' proposed alteration of Μειλιχίου...Μειλιχίου...μείλιχα into Μόρυχον...Μορύχου...μόρυχα (cp. Soud. *s.v.* Μόρυχος, μωρότερος Μορύχου) is a good example of misplaced ingenuity.

¹ At Athens in *s. vi* B.C. (Poll. 8. 142 τρεῖς θεοὺς ὁμύναι κελεύει Σόλων, 'Ἰκέσιον, Καθάρισον, Ἐξακεστήρα, *i.e.* Zeus under three diverse aspects (cp. Poll. 1. 24), as observed by W. Dindorf *ad loc.*, G. F. Schoemann *Griechische Alterthümer*⁴ Berlin 1902 ii. 145, 276 = *id.* *Antiquités recques* trans. C. Galuski Paris 1887 ii. 185, 331, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1592. The recognition of Zeus Ἐξακεστήρ (Hesych. Ἐξακεστήριος· ὁ Ζεὺς· καὶ ἡ Ἥρα) is perhaps not unconnected with the fact that Solon's own father was Ἐξηκεστίδης. The oath by this triad of Zeuses was inscribed on the ἄξονες (Hesych. τρεῖς θεοί· παρὰ Σόλωνι ἐν τοῖς ἄξουσιν

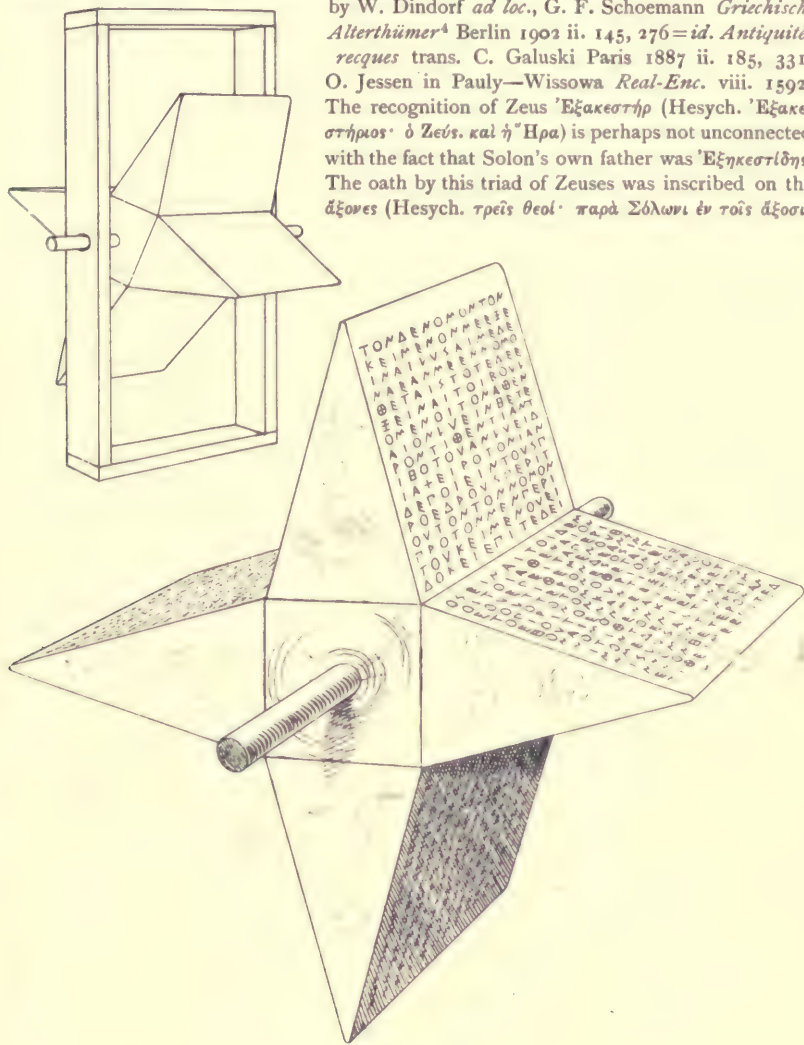


Fig. 935.

ὄρκῳ τέτακται <τρεις θεοὺς ἐπιμαρτύρεσθαι?>. ἔνιοι κατὰ τὸ Ὀμηρικόν (sc. *Il.* 2. 371,

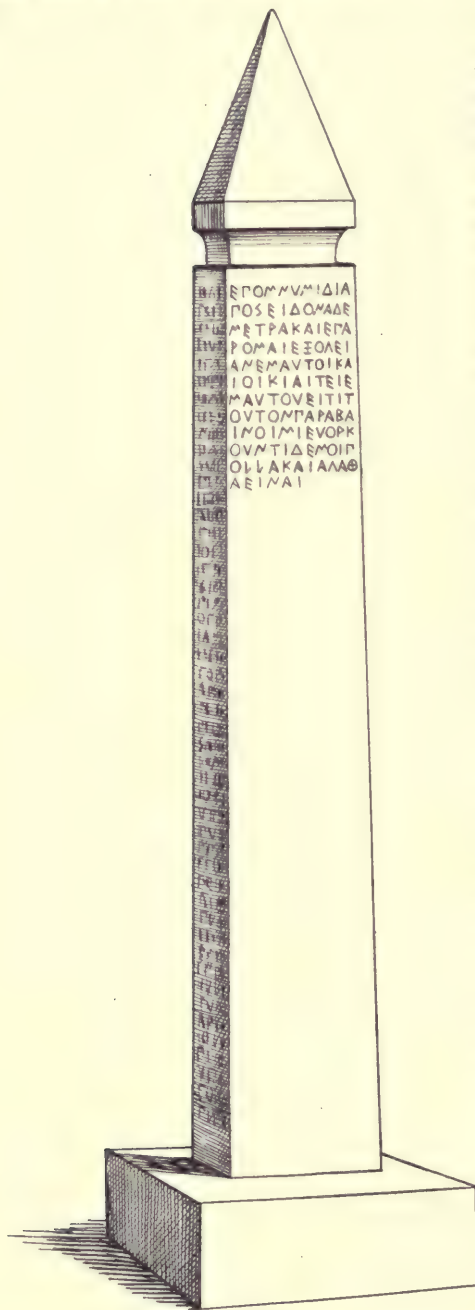


Fig. 936.

4. 288, 7. 132, 16. 97, *Od.* 4. 341, 7. 311, 17. 132, 18. 235, 24. 376 αἱ γὰρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίῃ καὶ Ἀπολλῶνι), which are said to have been wooden axles revolving in oblong frames kept in the Prytaneion (Plout. *v. Sol.* 25 καὶ κατεγράφησαν εἰς ξυλλίους ἀξονας ἐν πλαισίοις περιέχουσι στρεφομένους, ὧν ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Πρυτανείῳ λείψανα μικρὰ διεσώζετο). Another account says rather enigmatically that they were square in shape, but that when laid in the direction of their acute angle they produced a triangular appearance (Polemon *frag.* 48 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 130 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* ἀξονι· οἱ Σόλωνος νόμοι ἐν ξυλλίοις ἦσαν ἀξοσι γεγραμμένοι... ἦσαν δέ, ὡς φησι Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἐρατοσθένην, τετράγωνοι τὸ σχῆμα. διασώζονται δὲ ἐν τῷ Πρυτανείῳ, γεγραμμένοι κατὰ πάντα τὰ μέρη. ποιαῖσι δ' ἐνότιε φαντασίαν τρίγωνον, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸ στενὸν κλιθῶσι τῆς γωνίας). The Solonian laws were also inscribed on κύρβεις set up in the Stoa Basileios (Aristot. *resp. Ath.* 7. 1 = Aristot. *frag.* 352 Rose *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* κύρβεις, Soud. *s.v.* κύρβεις, Plout. *v. Sol.* 25, schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1354, cp. Aristot. *de mundo* 6. 400 b 30 f.), and these κύρβεις are described as stones standing upright like pillars, surmounted by an apex or cap (Apolod. *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 432 f. Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* κύρβεις... κύρβεις φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν ἔχειν ἐγγεγραμμένους τοὺς νόμους. εἶναι δ' αὐτοὺς λίθους ὀρθοὺς ἐστῶτας, ὡς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς στάσεως στήλας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς εἰς ὕψος ἀναστάσεως (*leg.* ἀνατάσεως) διὰ τὸ κεκορυφῶσθαι κύρβεις ἐκάλουν, ὡσπερ καὶ κυρβασίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τιθεμένην, cp. Soud. *s.v.* κύρβεις, Phot. *lex. s.v.* κύρβεις, schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1354). One ancient grammarian attempts to identify the κύρβεις with the ἀξονες, stating that in both cases a large brick-shaped body as long as a man had fitted

to it quadrangular pieces of wood, whose sides were flat and covered with lettering, and that pivots at either end enabled readers to move and turn about the text (Aristophanes (of Byzantium) *ap.* Soud. *s.v.* κύρβεις: ... Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ὁμοίως εἶναι φησι τοῖς ἄξουσιν... ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τὰ κατασκευάσματα τοιοῦτον· πλινθίων τι μέγα, ἀνδρόμηκες, ἥρμουςμένα ἔχον τετράγωνα ξύλα, τὰς πλευρὰς πλατείας ἔχοντα καὶ γραμμάτων πλήρεις· ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ κνώδακος, ὥστε κινεῖσθαι καὶ μεταστρέφεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγιγνωσκόντων). On the whole it seems clear that the wooden ἄξονες of the Prytaneion are to be distinguished from the stone κύρβεις of the Stoa Basileios. The ἄξονες were apparently shaped as in fig. 935, the κύρβεις as in fig. 936 (on the former is inscribed *frag.* 149 (I. B. Télyfύ Συναγωγή τῶν Ἀττικῶν νόμων *Corpus iuris Attici* Pestini et Lipsiae 1868 p. 39 f.) *ap.* Dem. *c.* *Timocr.* 33; on the latter, *frag.* 562 (Télyfύ *op. cit.* p. 137) *ap.* Dem. *c.* *Timocr.* 151). Neither shape was chosen at random. The wheel of Nemesis (*supra* i. 269 ff.) had a long history behind it and was related (*supra* i. 267) to that wheel, which in India symbolised *ῥτα*, the course of nature, the right path, in short, law and order (W. Simpson *The Buddhist Praying-wheel* London 1896 p. 89 ff., H. Oldenberg *La religion du Véda* Paris 1903 p. 163 ff., Harrison *Themis* p. 526 f., F. M. Cornford *From Religion to Philosophy* London 1912 p. 172 ff.). It seems highly probable that Solon inscribed his laws on wooden ἄξονες because he wished to represent them as the *σεμνὰ θέμεθλα Δίκης* (Solon *frag.* 2. 14 Hiller—Crusius). At the same time the shape chosen would be convenient for purposes of reference or consultation: my friend Dr P. Giles tells me that in the parish church of Great Yarmouth documents are, or were, arranged à la Solon. Individual enactments appear to have been copied on stones of the characteristic wedge-like form, as may be seen from an extant fragment (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1. 2 no. 559 with figs.) first published by S. A. Koumanoudes, to whose brilliant article in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 pp. 215—218 figs. 1—3 I am indebted for the main idea of my restoration in fig. 935 (Koumanoudes fits his wedges on to an axle that is circular, not square, in section). Again, it seems likely that the κύρβεις—as indeed I conjectured in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 86—copied the primitive idols of Zeus. Their shape, to judge from Apollodoros' words (*supra* p. 1094 n. o), was identical with that of Zeus Στορπῆας, Zeus Πάσιος, Zeus Πατρῷος, etc. (*supra* i. 520 n. 2, ii. 815 fig. 781). If so, the implication is that the laws were the very voice of Zeus (cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 426 n. 1, 1001 n. 5). There was a tradition that Solon had tried to express his laws in hexameter verse and had begun with a couplet invoking Zeus: *πρῶτα μὲν εὐχόμεσθα Διὶ Κρονίδῃ βασιλῆϊ ἦ θεσμοῖς τοῖσδε τύχην ἀγαθὴν καὶ κῆδος ὀπάσσαι* (Plout. *v. Sol.* 3). The original form of his famous oath may have been *πρὸς Διὸς ἱκεσίου καθαρσίου ἐξακέσαντος* (cp. for the last word Pyth. *carm. aur.* 66) or the like. Analogous to the κύρβεις as inscribed obelisks were the Egyptian κύρβεις of the Colchians (Ap. Rhod. 4. 279 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*), not to mention the pillar of Zeus Τριφύλιος (*supra* i. 662). Cp. also the marble obelisk from Kition, the base of which bears a votive inscription for Esmun (*Corp. inscr. Sem.* i no. 44 pl. 8 fig. 44, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 385 fig. 203, Ohnefalsch—Richter *Kypros* pp. 173 ff., 416 pl. 80, 5. Seleukos, a grammarian of Alexandria, wrote a whole treatise τῶν Σδλωνος ἄξωνων (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 500 Müller), and modern writers have devoted much attention to them, e.g. E. Caillemer in Daremberg—Saglio *Diet. Ant.* i. 589, G. Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* Gotha 1895 ii.² 290 ff., E. Szanto in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2636, Lübker *Reallex.*⁸ pp. 153, 963 f., and the literature there cited. E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 399 f. fig. would recognize Solon with one of his ἄξονες on a copper coin of Athens: but see K. Lange in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1881 vi. 68 f. fig., Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 152 pl. EE, 16 f.).

Similarly at Thera in *s. vi* B.C. the same appellative occurs without the name of Zeus (*supra* i. 143 in three rock-cut inscriptions). Elsewhere name and title appear together: so at Kos in *s. iv* B.C. (A. Hauvette-Besnault and M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 224 no. 12 on a slab fixed in the pavement of an ancient chapel of S. John Διὸς ἱκεσίου | Σιμωνιδῶν=W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 161 no. 149=Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 376 no. 3674=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 796=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 929) and at Delos in *s. iii* B.C.

and even as *Hikétas*, himself 'the Suppliant',—a remarkable title dependent, I think², upon the very primitive notion³ that a stranger suddenly appearing in the midst of the community may well be a god on his travels⁴.

(T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 471 f. no. 4 on a square base of white marble Διονύσιος Νίκωνος | Παλληνεὺς ἐπιμελητῆς | γενόμενος Δήλου | ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ | Ἀθηναίων Δὲ Ἴκεσίωι). More doubtful is an inscription of s. ii B.C. from Netteia in Rhodes (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 891, 2 on a slab of blackish marble [ὁ ἐπιμή]μοιο ἀεὶ τοὶ αἰ[ρ]εθε[ν]τες Ἴκε[σ]ίωι φθβί[ς] ἐγ λ- , where F. Hiller von Gaertringen *ad loc.* supplies Δαῖ and notes that φθβίς = φθβίαις, 'cakes').

¹ Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* Add. nov. no. 49a with fig. = my fig. 937 a rough calcareous



Fig. 937.

boundary-stone (0.35^m long, 0.30^m high, 0.10^m—0.11^m thick), found at Sparta and preserved in the Museum at Teuthis (*Dimitziana*), bearing the retrograde inscription Διοίκετα, | Διώλευθερ[ω] = Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 249 no. 244 = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 6 no. 4407. E. S. Roberts *ad loc.* remarks: 'The change of the final σ of Διός in l. 1 to the *spiritus asper* is remarkable; still more so the contraction in Διώλ. of l. 2 after disappearance of the *h* = σ. Stolz (*Wiener Stud.* viii. 1886, p. 160), who summarily rejects this explanation, suggests a genitive Δίω

on the analogy of σ-stems, and compares Lat. *Iovos*, *Eph. ep.* i. 14 no. 21, *Iovo*, *Herm.* xix. 453. Elsewhere certainly final σ does not disappear in Laconian, even where the next word begins with a vowel.' But R. Meister *ad loc.* is content to assume the change of σ into *h*; and so is A. Thumb in K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*⁴ München 1913 p. 171, citing Cypriote parallels.

² H. Roehl *loc. cit.* refers to Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1807, 9 f. καὶ ὁ ἱκετεύσας καὶ ὁ τὴν ἱκετείαν δεξάμενος ἦτοι κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς εἰπείν ἱκετοδόχος ἰκέται εἰσὶν ἀλλήλοις. For the supposed reciprocal sense Eustathios cp. ξένος, προστρόπαιος, χρήστης.

G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic*² Oxford 1911 p. 291 ('this Zeus of Aeschylus is himself the suppliant; the prayer which you reject is his very prayer, and in turning from your door the helpless or the outcast you have turned away the most high God. The belief was immemorially old') comes much nearer the mark, though I cannot accept the explanation which he adds in a footnote *ib.* p. 291 n. 1 ('Zeús Ἀφικτωρ... is a "projection" of the rite of Supplication').

³ Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 216 ff., 252 f. (the story of Lityerses compared with the harvest customs of Europe, after W. Mannhardt *Mythologische Forschungen* Strassburg 1884 p. 18 ff.).

⁴ This is definitely stated in *Od.* 17. 483 ff. Ἀντίνο', οὐ μὲν κάλ' ἔβαλες δόστηνον ἀλήτην· | οὐλόμεν, εἰ δὴ ποῦ τις ἐπουράνιος θεός ἐστι, — | καὶ τε θεοὶ ζείνοισιν εἰοκότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι, | παντοῖοι τελέθοντες, ἐπιστροφῶσι πόλῃας, | ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες (cp. Hes. *o.d.* 121 ff.), and is implied in the history of Barnabas and Paul (*supra* i. 193 n. 3. See too Acts 28. 1—6), the myths of Philemon and Baucis (*Ov. met.* 8. 616 ff., Lact. *Plac. narr. fab.* 8. 7—9), Pelargus or Pelasgus (*Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 81 f.), Iykaon (*supra* i. 79 n. 6. There is a reminiscence of the Homeric passage in Nikolaos Damask. *frag.* 43 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 378 Müller) ὅτι Λυκάων ὁ Πελασγοῦ υἱός, βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδων, ἐφύλαττε τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰσηγήματα ἐν δικαιοσύνη. ἀποστήσαι <δὲ> βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς ἀδικίας τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἔφη τὸν Δία ἐκάστοτε φοιτᾶν παρ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρὶ ξέμφ μοιούμενον εἰς ἔποψιν τῶν δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων = Soud. *s.v.* Λυκάων), and many others.

Similarly the poets spoke of Zeus, not only as *hiketēsios*¹, *hikēsios*², and It is reasonable to surmise that the possible divinity of the stranger even helped to establish the law of hospitality (other contributory causes in Schrader *Reallex.* p. 269 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Taboo p. 130, W. Wundt *Elements of Folk Psychology* trans. E. L. Schaub London 1916 p. 340 ff.). 'Ικέτης or ξένος—who could tell?—might turn out to be Zeus himself. 'Some have entertained angels unawares' (Heb. 13. 2).

At a later stage of religious development Zeus is conceived, not as the actual *ικέτης* or ξένος, but as his unseen attendant. Thus e.g. the Phaeacian Echeneos says to Alkinoos: ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ ξείνων μὲν ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροῦλου | εἰσον ἀναστήσας, σὺ δὲ κηρύκεσσι κέλευσον | οἶνον ἐπικρῆσαι, ἵνα καὶ Διὶ τερπικεραίνω | σπέισομεν, ὅς θ' ἰκέτην ἄμ' αἰδοίσιον ὀηθεῖ: | κ.τ.λ. (*Od.* 7. 162 ff. with the sequel in line 178 ff.), and Odysseus to Polyphemos: ἀλλ' αἰδέοι, φέριστε, θεοῦς· ἰκέται δὲ τοὶ εἰμεν. | Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμῆτωρ ἰκετῶν τε ξείνων τε, | ξείνιος, ὅς ξείνοιον ἄμ' αἰδοίσιον ὀηθεῖ (*Od.* 9. 269 ff.). Cp. *Od.* 14. 158 f., a variant of *Od.* 19. 303 f.

Ultimately Zeus becomes 'Ικέσιος and Ξένιος (cp. Ap. Rhod. 2. 378 Ζητὸς Ἐυξείσιον Γενηταίην ὑπὲρ ἄκρην with schol. *ad loc.* cited *supra* p. 617 n. 1), the god who protects suppliants and strangers in general.

¹ *Od.* 13. 213 f. Ζεὺς σφεας τίσαιτο (C. G. Cobet cj. Ζεὺς δὲ σφεας τίσαιθ') ἰκετῆσιος, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους | ἀνθρώπους ἐφορᾷ καὶ τίννται ὅς τις ἀμάρτη with schol. *ad loc.* ἰκέσιος· ἰκετῶν ἐπόπτης and Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1739, 18 f. ἰκετῆσιος δὲ Ζεὺς δοκεῖ πρωτότυπον εἶναι τοῦ ἰκέσιος (*id. id.* p. 1576, 14), Tzet. *alleg. Od.* 13. 46 ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἰκετῆσιος, Hesych. s.v. ἰκετῆσιος· ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰκετῶν Ζεὺς· ἢ ὁ τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐλεῶν.

² Aisch. *suprl.* 343 βαρὺς γε μέντοι Ζητὸς ἰκεσίου κότος, 616 f. ἰκεσίου Ζητὸς κότον | μέγαν προφωνῶν κ.τ.λ., Soph. *Phil.* 484 πρὸς αὐτοῦ Ζητὸς ἰκεσίου, Eur. *Hec.* 345 πέφειγας τὸν ἐμὸν ἰκέσιον Δία, Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 23 f. καθάρσιος τε καὶ παλαμναῖος καὶ ἰκέσιος καὶ μελιχίος, ὡσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι = Stob. *eccl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45, 21 f. Wachsmuth, Ap. Rhod. 2. 215 ff. ἰκεσίου πρὸς Ζητὸς, ὅτις βίγιστος ἀλιτροῖς | ἀνδράσι, ... | λίσσομαι with schol. *ad loc.*, 2. 1131 ff. ἀλλ' ἰκέτας ξείνους Διὸς εἴκεκεν αἰδέσσασθε | ξείνιου ἰκεσίου τε· Διὸς δ' ἄμφω ἰκέται τε | καὶ ξείνοι· ὁ δὲ που καὶ ἐπόψιος ἄμμι τέτυκται, 4. 358 f. ποῦ τοι Διὸς ἰκεσίου | ὄρκια; 4. 700 ff. τῷ καὶ ὀπιζομένη Ζητὸς θέμις ἰκεσίου, | ὅς μέγα μὲν κοτῆι, μέγα δ' ἀνδροφόνου ἀρήγει, | βρέξε θηπολίην with the whole context (Iason and Medeia, on reaching the hall of Kirke, sit in silence at her hearth as is the wont of suppliants. Medeia hides her face in both hands; and Iason fixes in the ground the sword with which he has slain Apsyrtos. Kirke understands, and performs the appropriate rites of atonement. She holds above their heads a young pig, slits its throat, and sprinkles their hands with its blood. Then she makes propitiation with drink-offerings, καθάρσιον ἀγκαλέουσα | Ζῆνα, παλαμναίων τιμήρορον ἰκεσιῶν (708 f.). Her attendants carry forth all defilement (cp. *Il.* 1. 314), while she, standing by the hearth, burns *pélanoi* and expiatory offerings without wine as she prays to the Erinyes and Zeus. Finally, she raises Iason and Medeia, and bids them sit on seats to question them), Cornut. *theol.* 11 f. p. 12, 4 ff. Lang (sequel to passage cited *supra* p. 1092 n. 8) διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἰκεσίου Διὸς εἰσι βωμοὶ καὶ τὰς Λιγὰς ὁ ποιητὴς ἐφη τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι θυγατέρας, κ.τ.λ., Dion Chrys. *or.* 1 p. 56 f. Reiske (of Zeus) πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἰκέσιος τε καὶ Φύξιος καὶ Ξένιος... Ἰκέσιος δὲ ὡς ἂν (Reiske suggests ὦν for ἂν) ἐπήκοός τε καὶ ἔλωσ τοῖς δεομένοις, Φύξιος δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀπόφειξιν (L. Dindorf restores ἀπόφειξιν), Ξένιος δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ἀρχὴ φίλιας μηδὲ τῶν ξένων ἀμελεῖν μηδὲ ἀλλότριον ἠγείσθαι μηδένα ἀνθρωπῶν = *or.* 12 p. 413 Reiske (of Zeus) πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἰκέσιος τε καὶ <Φύξιος καὶ> Ξένιος... Ἰκέσιος δὲ ὡς ἂν ἐπήκοός τε καὶ ἔλωσ τοῖς δεομένοις, Φύξιος δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀπόφειξιν, Ξένιος δὲ ὅτι δεῖ μηδὲ τῶν ξένων ἀμελεῖν μηδὲ ἀλλότριον ἠγείσθαι ἀνθρώπων μηδένα, Clem. Al. *prot.* 2. 37. 1 p. 27, 23 f. Stählin καλὸς γε ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ μαντικὸς, ὁ ξένιος, ὁ ἰκέσιος, ὁ μελιχίος, ὁ πανομφαῖος, ὁ προστροπαῖος, Heliod. 2. 22 ὁ δὲ Κνήμων θαιμάσας, Ἄλλ' ἢ Ξένιον Διὸς, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰς αὐτὰς ἤκομεν, ὦ πάτερ, οὕτως ἀπροφάσιτος ἢ θεραπεία καὶ πολὺ τὸ εὐνοῦν τῆς γνώμης ἐμφαίνουσα. Οὐκ εἰς Διὸς, ἐφη, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀνδρὸς Δία τὸν Ξένιον καὶ Ἰκέσιον ἀκριβοῦντος, *Anth. Pal.* 11. 351. 7 f. (Palladas) ἀλλὰ σε πρὸς πύκτου Πιολυδεύκεος ἦδὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ | Κάστορος ἰκνοῦμαι καὶ Διὸς ἰκεσίου, Orph. *Arg.* 107 f. οὐ γὰρ

hiktaios (?)¹, 'the god of suppliants,' but also as *hiktér*², and *aphiktór*³, 'the suppliant.' Again, Zeus was known as *alástoros*⁴ or *aldístor*⁵, 'he that brings a curse'; *Palamnaíos*, 'he of the Violent Hand,' *prostrópaios*, 'he of the

ἄτιμοι | ἱκεσίῳ Ζητὸς κούραι Λιταί, Nonn. *Dion.* 18. 18 πρὸς Διὸς ἱκεσίῳ, τεοῦ, Διόνυσε, τοκήος, Tryphiod. *exc. II.* 278 πεφύλαξο Διὸς σέβας ἱκεσίῳ, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 (Διός) 49 ἱκεσίῳ, *ib.* i. 266 (Διός) 44 ἱκεσίῳ.

¹ Aisch. *suppl.* 385 μένει τοι Ζητὸς ἱκαίῳ κότος. So U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1914) with cod. M. E. Fraenkel in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1913 xlv. 168 n. 2 accepts Dindorf's cj. ἱκτίου 'das wohl eine Kompromissbildung zwischen ἱκέσιος und ἱκτῆριος ist genau wie Lykophrons ἱκτῆς, ἱκτίδες eine solche zwischen ἱκέτης, -τις und ἱκτῆρ; vgl. auch die umgekehrte Beeinflussung, die ἱκετήρια (im Gegensatz zu ἱκτῆριος) durch ἱκεσία, ἱκετεία erfahren hat ([E. Fraenkel *Griechische Nomina agentis* Strassburg 1910] I, S. 52 ff. mit Anm. 2).'

² Aisch. *suppl.* 478 f. ὄμως δ' ἀνάγκη Ζητὸς αἰδεῖσθαι κότον | ἱκτῆρος ἕψιστος γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖς φόβος. W. Headlam renders 'Zeus Petitionary.'

³ Aisch. *suppl.* 1 f. Ζεὺς μὲν ἀφίκτωρ ἐπίδοι προφρόνως | στόλον ἡμέτερον. 'Zeus Petitionary' (W. Headlam).

⁴ Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* i. 62, 10 ff. παρὰ δὲ τὸ ἀλαστῶ ῥῆμα, ἀλάστωρ ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐπὶ τῶν χαλεπῶν τι πρᾶσσόντων· παρηκτικῆ δὲ ἡ εὐθεία παρὰ τὴν ἀλάστορος γενικὴν· Ἀλῆχίλος Ἰξίου (*frag.* 92 Nauck²) "πρευμενῆς ἀλάστορος," καὶ Φερεκύδης (*frag.* 114³ (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 99 Müller)) "ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ Ἰκέσιος καὶ ἀλάστορος καλεῖται." With πρευμενῆς ἀλάστορος A. Nauck *ad loc.* cp. Aisch. *Eum.* 236 (Orestes to Athena) δέχου δὲ πρευμενῶς ἀλάστορα | κ.τ.λ. and Bekker *anecd.* i. 382, 29 f. ἀλάστορον· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλάστορα, ἀπὸ εὐθείας τῆς ὁ ἀλάστορος, Ἀλῆχίλος (*frag.* 294 Nauck²) "μέγαν ἀλάστορον" ἔπεν. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 67 reasonably supposes that Pherekydes spoke of Zeus ἱκέσιος καὶ ἀλάστωρ (*sic*) in relation to Ixion (*supra* i. 198 n. 3).

⁵ Orph. *h. daem.* 73. 2 ff. cited *infra* Append. M *fin.*, cp. *supra* i. 504 n. 2. The title provoked much learned discussion: Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 10, 20 ff. Lang λέγεται δ' (sc. ὁ Ζεὺς) ὑπὸ τινῶν καὶ ἀλάστωρ καὶ παλαμναῖος τῷ τοῖς ἀλάστορας καὶ παλαμναῖους κολάζειν, τῶν μὲν ὠνομασμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτάνειν ἐφ' οἷς ἔστιν ἀλαστῆσι καὶ στενάξει, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῖς παλάμαις μίσματα ἀνέκθοντα (ἀνέκπλυτα codd. N. B. G.) ἀποτελεῖν = Eudok. *viol.* 414^g, Hesych. s.v. ἀλάστωρ· πικρὸς δαίμων. Ζεὺς, *et. Gud.* p. 32, 35 ff. ἀλάστωρ· ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἐποπτεύων τοὺς ἀλαστὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ ποιοῦντας. ἡ ὁ ἀσεβῆς, ἡ ὁ κακοποιός. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανός (περὶ καθολικῆς προσώδιας 2 = i. 49, 13 f. Lentz reading ὑποπτεύων for ἐποπτεύων; cp. ii. 937, 27 n. Lentz), *et. mag.* p. 57, 25 ff. ἀλάστωρ· ὁ ἀμαρτωλός, ἡ ὁ φονεύς, ἡ ὁ ἐφορῶν τοὺς φόνους Ζεὺς...ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Διός, οἷον ἀλάστωρ Ζεὺς, ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῖς τὰ ἀλαστὰ πάσχουσιν ἐπαμύνειν· ἡ ὁ τὰ ἀλαστὰ (τουτέστι τὰ χαλεπὰ) τηρῶν, Eustath. *in II.* p. 474, 22 f. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον καὶ Ζεὺς ἀλάστωρ, δν ἐλάνθανεν οὐδέν, ἡ ὁ τοῖς ἀλαστα πάσχουσιν ἐπαμύνων κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς, *ib.* p. 763, 36 f. ἔθεν καὶ Ζεὺς ἀλάστωρ καὶ φθόνος καὶ δαίμων ἀλάστωρ ἐπενοήθη λέγεσθαι = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1692, 43 f. ἔθεν καὶ Ζεὺς ἀλάστωρ καὶ ὁ φθονερὸς δαίμων ἐπενοήθη λέγεσθαι.

⁶ The derivation of the word is doubtful (cjj. in A. Vaníček *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1877 i. 788 f., L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 293 f., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 23, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 41), but its meaning is sufficiently clear (see K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1292 f.).

⁷ Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 23 (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2) = Stob. *ecl.* i. 1. 36 p. 45, 21 Wachsmuth, Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 10, 20 ff. Lang (cited *supra* p. 1098 n. 5), Orion in F. W. Sturz's ed. of *et. Gud.* p. 628, 17 ff. παλαμναῖος ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειρὶ φονεύσαντας τιμωρούμενος καὶ Ζεὺς Παλαμναῖος ἐν Χαλκίδι, *et. Gud.* p. 448, 28 ff. παλαμναῖος· σημαίνει δὲ δύο, ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειρὶ φονεύσαντας τιμωρούμενος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τινὶ βιάσματι κατεχόμενος, *ib.* p. 449, 21 f. καὶ Ζεὺς δὲ Παλαμναῖος λέγεται ἐν Χαλκίδι, *et. mag.* p. 647, 43 f. παλαμναῖος· ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειρὶ φονεύσαντας τιμωρούμενος, Ζεὺς Παλαμναῖος. λέγεται καὶ ἐν Χαλκίδι Παλαμναῖος (cod. D. omits the last word), Soud. s.v. παλαμναῖος = Phot. *lex.* s.v. παλαμ-

appeal¹—titles which applied primarily to the sinner, secondarily to the god concerned with his sin. Less ambiguous and further removed from primitive conceptions are the cult-names *Litaios*, 'god of Prayers²,' and *Kathársios*, 'god

*ναῖος φονεὺς ἢ μαρός· παλαμναῖοι γὰρ λέγονται οἱ διὰ χειρὸς ἀνδροφονοῦντες· παρὰ τὴν παλάμην· καὶ Ζεὺς Παλαμναῖος, ὁ τοὺς τοιοῦτους τιμωρούμενος· καὶ προστροπαῖος ὁ προστρέπων τὸ ἄγος αὐτοῖς, Favorin. *lex.* p. 221, 54 καὶ Ζεὺς δὲ φασὶ Παλαμναῖος, ὁ τοὺς φονεῖς καταρρίπτων, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 (Διός) 87 παλαμναίου, *ib.* i. 266 (Διός) 69 παλαμναίου. Cp. Ap. Rhod. 4. 708 f. (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2) and Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 39. 2 p. 29, 6 f. Stählin οὐχὶ μέντοι Ζεὺς Φαλακρὸς ἐν Ἄργει, Τιμωρὸς (J. Bernays *cj. συνάμωρος*) δὲ ἄλλος ἐν Κύπρῳ τετίμησθον;*

In a church near Gomphoi (*Musdki*) Leake found a plain quadrangular altar inscribed in large deeply-cut letters ΖΗΝΙ | ΠΑΛΑΜΝΙΩ (W. M. Leake *Travels in Northern Greece* London 1835 iv. 523 f. pl. 44 no. 220, Lebas—Foucart *Peloponnèse* ii no. 1194, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 291).

¹ Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 37. 1 p. 27, 23 f. Stählin (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2), Soud. *s.v.* παλαμναῖος = Phot. *lex. s.v.* παλαμναῖος (cited *supra* p. 1098 n. 7), Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1807, 11 f. προστρόπαιος τε γὰρ Ζεὺς ἐν ῥητορικῷ λεξικῷ (E. Schwabe *Aelia Dionysii et Pausaniae Atticistarum fragmenta* Lipsiae 1890 p. 254, 7 ff.: see further Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*² Cambridge 1906 i. 323 and L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1478 ff.), ᾧ ἂν τις, φασί, προστρέπειτο δέμενος. καὶ προστρόπαιος ὁ ἰκέτης, ὁ πρὸς τινα δηλαδὴ δεητικῶς τρεπόμενος (*supra* p. 1096 n. 2). It follows that Zeus, who in one respect was προστρόπαιος, in another was ἀποτρόπαιος: cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 427, 5 f. ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι· ἀποπέμπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν προστρόπαιον Δία καὶ οἰνεὶ καθαίρεσθαι ἢ ἰλάσσεσθαι, schol. Plat. *Crat.* 396 E ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι φασὶ τὸ ἀποτρέπεσθαι τὸν προστρόπαιον Δία καὶ οἰνεὶ καθαίρεσθαι τὰ δεινὰ, schol. Plat. *legg.* 854 B ἀποδιοπομπήσεις· τὰς ἀποτροφὰς τὰς γιγνομένας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποτροπαίου Διός, διὰ τὸ καθαίρεσθαι τὰ δεινὰ· ἢ τὰς ἀποπομπὰς τὰς πρὸς τὸν προστρόπαιον Δία καὶ οἰνεὶ καθάρσεις καὶ ἰλασμούς, schol. Aischin. *de fals. leg.* 323 προστρόπαιος ἐστὶν ὁ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπισπώμενος τὰ κακὰ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐναντίον τοῦ (so H. Sauppe for τῷ cod. f.) ἀποτρόπαιος, τοῦ ἀποτρέποντος τὰ κακὰ. διὸ καὶ Διὶ ἀποτροπαίῳ θύομεν, οὐκέτι μέντοι καὶ προστροπαίῳ (on which see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3154).

The essence of a προστροπή was that the supplicator and the supplicated should both be turned towards each other and thus brought into such immediate connexion that the thing asked must needs be granted. If possible, direct contact was established by the clasping of knees, chin, etc. (C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 163 ff., 282 f.). Failing that, quasi-contact was made by means of outstretched arms, etc. (*id. ib.* pp. 186 ff., 283, 296). But in any case the two parties were face to face.

² Coppers of Nikaia in Bithynia, struck by Nero (M. P. Lambros in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1878 ii. 508 f. pl. 24, 1 = my fig. 938 ΔΙΟΣ | ΛΙΤΑΙΟΥ) and Antoninus Pius (*supra* i. 37 n. 1 ΔΙ|ΟC | ΛΙΤΑΙΟΥ), show the altar of Zeus Λιταῖος (Head *Hist. num.*² p. 517). O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.*

ii. 2064 explains the title as 'Father of the Litai' with reference to the remarkable passage in *Il.* 9. 502 ff. καὶ γὰρ τε Λιταὶ εἰσι, Διὸς κούραι μεγάλοι, | χῳλαὶ τε ῥυσαὶ τε παραβλῶπές τ' ὄφθαλμῷ, | αἶβά τε καὶ μετόπισθ' Ἄτης ἀλέγουσι κιοῦσαι. | ἢ δ' Ἄτη σθεναρὴ τε καὶ ἀρτίπος, οὐνεκα πάσας | πολλὸν ὑπεκπροθέει, φθάσει δὲ τε πάσαν ἐπ' αἶαν | βλάπτουσ' ἀνθρώπων· αἱ δ' ἐξάκονται ὀπίσω. | δε μὲν τ' αἰδέσεται κούρας Διὸς ἄσσον ἰούσας, | τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὤνησαν καὶ τ' ἔκλυον εὐχόμενοι. | δε δὲ κ' ἀνήγηται καὶ τε στερεῶς ἀποίπη, | λίσσονται δ' ἄρα ταί γε Δία Κρονίωνα κιοῦσαι | τῷ Ἄτην ἄμ' ἔπεσθαι, ἵνα βλαφθεὶς ἀποτίση (see for variants A. Ludwich *ad loc.*, for imitations Quint. Smyrn. 10. 300 ff. Λιταῖς δ' ἀποθύμια ῥέξεις, | αἶ ῥα καὶ αὐταὶ Ζητὸς ἐριγδοῦποιο θύγατραι | εἰσί, κ.τ.λ., Orph.



Fig. 938.

of Purification¹. The exact relationship of all these appellatives and the growth of the religious beliefs implied by them are still far from clear. Perhaps we shall come within measurable distance of the truth by assuming that development proceeded on some such lines as follow:

Arg. 107 f. cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2, and for a parody *Anth. Pal.* 11. 361. 1 ff. (Automedon)). How Zeus could have begotten such creatures, 'halt wrinkled squinting,' was a puzzle (Bion Borysthenites *frag.* 44 Mullach *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 56. 1 p. 43, 29 ff. Stählin, Herakleitos *quaestt. Hom.* 37, Porph. *quaestt. Il.* 97, 21, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 768, 28 ff.). But symbolism proved a ready solvent (*vide* the comments of Herakleitos *quaestt. Hom.* 37, schol. *Il.* 9. 502 f., Porph. *quaestt. Il.* 97, 21, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 767, 60 ff., Cornut. *theol.* 12 p. 12, 5 ff. Lang, Eudok. *viol.* 606, Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iii. 239, 32 ff., cp. Hesych. *s.v.* *Ατραί* (H. Stephanus restored *Ατραί*)). Dr W. Leaf *A Companion to the Iliad* London 1892 p. 185 can still write: 'The epithets applied to them indicate the attitude of the penitent: halting, because he comes with hesitating steps; wrinkled, because his face betrays the inward struggle; and of eyes askance, because he dares not look in the face the man he has wronged' (cp. the same scholar's note on *Il.* 9. 503, repeated in his joint ed. with the Rev. M. A. Bayfield). I am sorry to dissent from Dr Leaf, to whom all lovers of Homer are so deeply indebted. But to me it seems far more probable that the Litai were physically deformed and loathsome like the Erinyes, to whom they were akin. I suppose them to have been essentially the prayers of the injured man taking shape as vengeful sprites. In the last analysis they were simply the soul of the victim issuing from his mouth in visible form, maimed because he was maimed, and clamouring for vengeance. The personification is not unlike that implied in Gen. 4. 10 'the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground' (with Dr J. Skinner's note *ad loc.*). For the soul as Erinys see Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 213 ff. No doubt all this belongs to the dim background of Greek religion and has already been half-forgotten by the Homeric writer, who conceives the Litai, not as the wrathful prayers of the injured man, but as the penitential prayers of his injurer. The apologue thus acquires a new moral value. It is, however, largely couched in language appropriate to the earlier conception (Ate, swift of foot, drives many a man to do mad deeds. Then come the Litai and effect the cure. If a man respects them, they help him and hear his prayer. If a man flouts them, they go and pray to Zeus that Ate may fall upon such an one, drive him mad, and make him pay the price), and in particular its description of the Litai as misshapen and hideous is an abiding relic of its former significance. The passage is, in fact, an *αιῶς* (like *Il.* 19. 91 ff. or the oracle in *Hdt.* 6. 86) misinterpreted and misapplied by a later moralist. But, however understood, it contributes little or nothing to an explanation of Zeus *Λιταῖος*. The altar at Nikaia was surely voted to him as 'Hearer of Prayers' for the restored health of the emperor or for some other benefit vouchsafed to a grateful public.

¹ Zeus was worshipped as *Καθάριστος* at Athens (Poll. 8. 142 (cp. 1. 24) cited *supra* p. 1093 n. 1) and at Olympia (Paus. 5. 14. 8 *πρὸς αὐτῷ δέ ἐστιν Ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμὸς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Καθάρσιον Διὸς καὶ Νίκης, καὶ αἰθῆς Διὸς ἐπωνυμίαν Χθονίου*. E. Curtius *Die Altäre von Olympia* (*Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1881 Phil.-hist. Classe) Berlin 1882 p. 39 no. 21 rightly assumes that Zeus *Καθάριστος* and Nike had here a common altar. So, with some hesitation, does W. Dörpfeld in *Olympia* i. 83 no. 18. C. Maurer *De arvis Graecorum pluribus deis in commune positis* Darmstadt 1885 p. 17 adopts the same view. But K. Wernicke 'Olympische Beiträge i' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix. 96 no. 18 f. thinks otherwise). For literary allusions see Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 23 (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2) = Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45, 21 Wachsmuth, *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 708 f. (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2), Plout. *de carn. esu* 2. 1 ὦ Ζεῦ καθάρσιε, Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 8 f. *σεισίχθων, αὔξητρά, καθάρσιε, παντοινάκτα, | ἀστράπιε* (so G. Hermann for *ἀστραπαίε*), *βρονταίε, κεραύνιε, φητάλιε Ζεῦ*.

MAN-SLAYER.

- (1) The bloodguilty man, appearing suddenly as a suppliant stranger, is deemed a god (Zeus Ἰκέτας, *ἰκτήρ, ἀφίκτωρ, ἀλάστωρ, κ.τ.λ.*)¹.
- (2) The suppliant or stranger is not himself mistaken for a god, but is thought to have a divine escort (Zeus ὅς θ' ἰκέτησιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ, Zeus ὅς ξείνοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηθεῖ)².
- (3) Suppliants and strangers in general are supposed to be *protégés* of the god (Zeus Ἰκέσιος, *ἰκετήσιος, ἰκταῖος* (?), Zeus Ξένιος)³.

VICTIM.

- (1) The soul (*κῆρ*) of the murdered man becomes a wrathful spirit (*ἔρινός*). His curses (*ἄραι*), prayers (*λιταί*), and penalties (*ποιναί*) all pursue the guilty.
- (2) Hence arises the whole tribe of avenging deities (*Κῆρες, Ἐρινύες, Ἄραι, Ἀράντιδες*⁴, *Λιταί*⁵, *Ποινάι, κ.τ.λ.*).
- (3) With the progress of religion deities of this low type are subordinated to a high god⁶, especially to Zeus⁷ (cp. Zeus Τιμωρός⁸).

The protective and the punitive powers of Zeus are fused
(Zeus Ἰκέσιος, Παλαμναῖος, προστρόπαιος).

¹ *Supra* pp. 1096, 1098.

² *Supra* p. 1097 n. o.

³ *Supra* pp. 1093, 1097, 1097 n. o, 1097 n. 2.

A marble statue of Zeus Ξένιος by Papylos, a pupil of Praxiteles, was owned by C. Asinius Pollio (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 34 Iuppiter hospitalis Papyli (*pamphili* Gelenius),



Fig. 939.

Praxitelis (K. L. von Ulrichs cj. *Pasitelis*) discipuli). At Sparta—the former home of ξενηλασία—Zeus Ξένιος was grouped with Athena Ξενία (Paus. 3. 11. 11 with H. Hitzig [⁴⁻⁸ For notes 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, see page 1102.]

Zeus *Meilichios* as an angry god readily appeased by the man-slayer might conveniently be ranged under this joint-category, his title being interpreted as 'the Kindly One.'

and H. Blümner *ad loc.* Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 9 aptly cites Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 31 p. 149 Kayser *περιστάντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξένον τε παρὰ τῷ Διὶ ἐποιούοντο κ.τ.λ.*) A broken relief in the Terme Museum (fig. 939) shows Zeus *Ξένιος* as a traveller sitting with a rumpled *himátion* over his knees and a knotted stick in his left hand, while he extends his right in welcome to a draped figure before him and offers a seat on his own eagle-decked couch (Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 146 f. no. 3772, P. Arndt *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg* Munich 1896 p. 64 fig. 34, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 330 no. 2, R. Paribeni *Le Terme di Diocleziano e Il Museo Nazionale Romano*⁴ Roma 1922 p. 217 no. 546). The lower border of the relief bears an archaizing inscription, which G. Kaibel in *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 990 transcribes [ὁ δείνα ...]vous καθ' ὕπνον ἀνέθηκα Διὲι Ξένιω ... (facsimile in W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*⁵ Leipzig 1913 ii. 173 ff. no 1405 fig. 38).

⁴ Hesych. 'Ἀράντισιν (Musurus cj. ἀραντίσιν): Ἐρινύσι. Μακεδόνες. See O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 470, ii. 1165, K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 379, O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 95 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1099 n. 2.

⁶ A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1328.

⁷ This can be best made out in the case of the Erinyes. The following sequence of extracts attests their increasing subordination to Zeus: *Il.* 19. 86 ff. ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ αἰτίος εἰμι, | ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς καὶ Μοῖρα καὶ ἡεροφοῖτες Ἐρινύς, | οἳ τέ μοι εἰν ἀγορῇ φρεσὶν ἐμβαλον ἀγχιον ἄτην | κ.τ.λ. (see further E. Hedén *Homeric Götterstudien* Uppsala 1912 p. 134 f.), Aisch. *Ag.* 55 ff. ὕπατος δ' ἄλων ἢ τις Ἀπόλλων | ἢ Πᾶν ἢ Ζεὺς... | ὑστερόποιον | πέμπει παραβᾶσιν Ἐρινύν, 744 ff. παρακλίνας' ἐπέκραναν | δὲ γάμον πικρὰς τελευτάς, | δύσεδρος καὶ δυσόμιλος | συμμένα Πριαμίδασι, | πομπῆ Διὸς ξένου | νυμφόκλαντος Ἐρινύς (see W. Kausche 'Mythologumena Aeschylea' in the *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* Halis Saxonum 1888 ix. 182 f.), Verg. *Aen.* 12. 849 ff. hae (sc. the three Furies) Iovis ad solium saevique in limine regis | apparent, ac uantque metum mortalibus aegris, | si quando letum horrificum morbosque deum rex | molitur, meritas aut bello territat urbes. | harum unam celerem demisit ab aethere summo | Iupiter, etc., Val. Flacc. 4. 74 f. gravis orantem procul arce Erinys, | respiciens celsi legem Iovis.

⁸ *Supra* p. 1099 n. 0. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1116 n. 9 cites as a doubtful analogue Hesych. *Ζητήρ*. Ζεὺς(ς) ἐν Κύπρῳ = Favorin. *lex.* p. 828, 36 f. F. Guyet in J. Alberti's note on Hesych. *loc. cit.* says: 'An Ζητήρ a ζᾶω, unde Ζᾶν, Ζῆν, & Ζεὺς, a ζῆω.' This derivation would have satisfied the Greeks themselves (*supra* i. 11 n. 5, 31 n. 3), and in Kypros a Zeus *Ζητήρ* might have been regarded as a Grecised equivalent of the Semitic θεὸς ζῶν (W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 pp. 450—510 'Jahwe der lebendige Gott'). But it is far more probable that *Ζητήρ* means 'Avenger' and is related to ζῆ-μια, ζῆ-τρος, κ.τ.λ. (on which see A. Vaniček *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1877 i. 756, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 168, Boisacq *Dict. etym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 309). *Supra* p. 444 n. 7.

His Roman equivalent was Iupiter *Ultor*. Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 9239 (a dedication found at Clunia in Spain) Iovi Aug. | Ultori sacrum | L. Valerius Paternus | mil. leg. x Gem. | optio 7 Censoris exs | voto perhaps has reference to the death of Nero. Pertinax at the last besought Iupiter *Ultor* to avenge his assassination (Iul. Capit. *v. Pert.* 11. 10). Domitian, Septimius Severus, Alexander Sevērus, Papienus, and Gallienus issued coins with the legend IOVI VLTORI (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 902 ff., Suppl. iii. 158 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 486 fig.). I figure a 'first brass' of Alexander Severus in my collection (fig. 940) and a medallion struck in two bronzes by the same emperor, 224 A.D. (F. Gnechchi in the *Rivista italiana di numismatica* 1888 i. 286 no. 12 pl. 8, 7 (=my fig. 941) *rev.*: JOVI VLTORI P.M.TR.P.III. and COS.PP. Hexastyle temple with triumphal chariot and statues as *akrotéria*; statuary

Very different is the explanation propounded by Monsieur S. Reinach in an able and persuasive paper already noticed¹. The altar of Zeus *Meiltchios*, at which the Phyalidai purified Theseus², was not far from the spot called *Hiera Syké*, the 'Sacred Fig-tree,' where Demeter first revealed to Phyalos the fruit of the fig³. It is, therefore, tempting to surmise that Theseus was purified 'avec du suc des figuiers sacrés (?)'⁴ and that *Meiltchios* meant originally the 'god of Figs' (*meilticha*)⁵. Whether we accept Monsieur Reinach's further contention that the word *sykophántes* meant the hierophant of this fig-cult⁶, or not, we must admit that the contiguity of a place named the 'Sacred Fig-tree' affords strong support to his derivation of *Meiltchios*. Moreover, Zeus *Meiltchios* was, according to the myth, a purificatory power, and another purifying Zeus bore the title *Sykásios*, which presumably denotes the 'god of Fig-gathering' (*sykázein*)⁷. The case for a local fig-cult might indeed be made even stronger. When Plouton carried off Kore, he was said to have descended into the earth beside the Eleusinian Kephisos at a point known as *Erineós*, the 'Wild Fig-tree'⁸. Again, Sir James Frazer thinks that the site of the ancient altar dedicated

also in pediment. Within the temple sits Iupiter *Ullor* with thunderbolt and sceptre.



Fig. 940.



Fig. 941.

Round the temple is a large *porticus* with eight arches a side, and three arched entrances surmounted by statues).

¹ *Supra* p. 291 n. 2.

² *Supra* p. 1091 f.

³ *Supra* p. 1092 n. 6. Cp. Plout. *symp.* 7. 4. 4, Athen. 74 D, Philostr. *v. soph.* 2. 20, Hesych. *s.v.* *λερά*, Phot. *lex. s.v.* *λερά συκή*, *et. mag.* p. 469, 17, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1964, 12 f.

⁴ On figs as a means of purification see Boetticher *Baumkultus* p. 437 f., J. Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 pp. 249 f., 252, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 910, F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc. vi.* 2148 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1092.

⁶ *Supra* p. 291 n. 2.

⁷ Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1572, 58 f. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Συκάσιος Ζεὺς παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὁ Καθάρισος. τῇ γὰρ συκῇ ἐχρῶντο φασι ἐν καθαρμοῖς, Hesych. Διὶ Συκασίῳ (so Musurus for δίσκασίῳ cod.): παραπεποίηται παρὰ τὸ συκοφαντεῖν. From these two passages it may be inferred that there was a cult of Zeus *Συκάσιος* with cathartic rites, and that some comedian had used the phrase Διὶ Συκασίῳ with a sly reference to *συκάσειν* in the sense of *συκοφαντεῖν* or worse (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 1014 A).

⁸ Paus. i. 38. 5, cp. Plat. *Theaet.* 143 B.

When Zeus was pursuing a Titan named Sykeas or Sykeus, Ge rescued her son by sending up a fig-tree to shelter him: the scene was laid at Sykea in Kilikia (Athen. 78 A—B *περὶ δὲ τῆς προσηγορίας τῶν σύκων λέγων Τρύφων ἐν δευτέρῳ φυτῶν ἱστορίας Δωριανά φησιν ἐν Γεωργικῇ ἱστορίῳν Συκέαν, ἓνα τιτὰ τῶν Τιτάνων, διωκόμενον ὑπὸ Διὸς τὴν μητέρα Γῆν ὑποδέξασθαι καὶ ἀνεῖναι τὸ φυτὸν εἰς διατριβὴν τῷ παιδί, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Συκέαν πόλιν εἶναι ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Συκαί, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1764, 13 ff.). Kreuzer in*

to Zeus *Meilichios* may now be covered by the church of Saint Sabas¹. If so², it is a mere coincidence that this Greek martyr, whose festival falls on the first of May, was said to have been hung by his hands upon a fig-tree³?

There is, it would seem, much to be said in favour of both these views—that which regards Zeus *Meilichios* as a god 'Kindly' towards the fugitive man-slayer and that which takes him to have been originally a 'god of Figs.' Nevertheless I find myself unable to adopt either opinion; for both alike are based on the circumstances of one particular cult-centre without regard to the other localities in which Zeus *Meilichios* is known to have been worshipped. Our survey must be wider before we can safely venture on an interpretation of the disputed appellative.

(3) Zeus *Meilichios* on the Attic coast.

Between the harbours of Zea and Mounichia the Attic coastline shows various groups of rock-cut niches⁴. At one point⁵, four hundred metres in a north-westerly direction from the island of *Stalida*, the foothill displays a grotto and beside it a recess, originally lined with red stucco and still framed by pilasters and an architrave with palmettes above it. The decoration appears to date from the fourth century B.C. Some ninety metres further towards the west other niches of different shapes and sizes are to be seen carved in an old quarry-face⁶. To judge from votive reliefs found in the vicinity, the whole site was once sacred to Zeus *Meilichios* and to a kindred deity Zeus *Philios*⁷. Agathe Tyche, regarded

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1617 connects this myth with the belief that the fig-tree was lightning-proof (Plout. *symp.* 4. 2. 1, 5, 9, Lyd. *de mens.* 3. 52 p. 49, 22 Bekker = *ib.* 4. 96 p. 111, 3 f. Bekker = p. 181, 18 f. Wunsch, 4. 4 p. 69, 1 Wunsch, *de ostent.* 45 p. 98, 15 ff. Wachsmuth, Theophranes Nonnos *epitome de curatione morborum* 259, *Geopon.* 11. 2. 7, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 77: see Rohde *Psyche*³ ii. 406 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 785 n. 6, F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2145, and especially T. H. Martin *La foudre l'électricité et le magnétisme chez les anciens* Paris 1866 p. 194 f.).

¹ Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 493.

² F. Lenormant *Monographie de la Voie Sacrée Éleusinienne* Paris 1864 p. 312 accepts the view of F. C. H. Kruse *Hellas* Leipzig 1826 ii. 1. 173 that the site of the altar is marked by the little church of St Blasios (Sir W. Gell *The Itinerary of Greece* London 1819 p. 31).

³ *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Maii i. 46 (De Sancto Saba, martyre apud Græcos.) *Antiqua MSS. Menæa, quæ Divisione apud Petrum Franciscum Societatis Iesu asseruari reperimus anno MDCLXII, referunt hisce Kalendis Maji S. Sabam, in fico digitis suis appensum, & sic gloriosa vita functum, & addunt hoc distichon.*

"Ἦνεγκε καρπὸν πρωΐμένης συκῆς

[lege "Ἦνεγκε καρπὸν πρωΐμης συκῆς κλάδος

Κλάδος τὸν χειροδέσμοις ἐκκρεμαμένον

Τὸν χειροδέσμοις ἐκκρεμαμένον (sic) Σάβαν.]

Σάβαν.

Attulit fructum præmaturæ ficus

Ramus, suspensum è digitis vinctis Saban.

M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 p. 113 confuse this St Sabas with St Sabas the Gothic martyr (April 12), who suffered under Athanaricus in 372 A.D. (G. T. Stokes in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 566).

⁴ A. Milchhöfer in E. Curtius—J. A. Kaupert *Karten von Attika* Berlin 1881 Erläuternder Text Heft 1 p. 60 f., C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1890 ii. 1. 146 ff., A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 p. 406 ff., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 383.

⁵ E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Atlas von Athen* Berlin 1878 p. 35 pl. 12, 1.

⁶ E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *op. cit.* p. 35 pl. 12, 2.

⁷ *Infra* Append. N *med.*

as consort of the latter¹, had a separate precinct near by², as had also on a larger scale Asklepios³.

Zeus *Meiltchios* was sometimes represented as a kingly figure enthroned. A fourth-century relief of white stone, found near the Tsocha theatre in the Peiraieus and now in the National Museum at Athens, shows him approached by three devotees (fig. 942)⁴. Within an architectural framework the god is seated towards the right on a throne, the arm of which is adorned with the usual sphinx and ram's-head (?)⁵. Clad in a *himátion* only, he holds a sceptre in one hand, a *phiale* in the other. Before him is a rectangular altar. From the right draws near a simple family-group of man⁶, woman, and child, with gestures of greeting. Above, on the architrave, is the dedication:

'Aristarche, to Zeus *Meiltchios*⁷.'

A second relief from the same find-spot adds more to our knowledge of the god (fig. 943)⁸. As before, he is seen within a framework of architecture, which bears the inscription:

'—toboule, to Zeus *Miltchios*⁹.'

As before, he is enthroned on the left with a *phiale* in his right hand¹⁰, while a group of worshippers advances towards him from the right. But this time he grasps a *cornu copiae* in his left hand, and they bring a pig to sacrifice at his altar. Behind the altar stands a boy with something in a shallow basket: between the man and woman is seen a grown girl supporting a deep basket on her head. The *cornu copiae*, one of the rarer attributes of Zeus¹¹, marks him as a sort of Plouton, able to dispense abundance. The pig, again, though its bones strewed the altar of Zeus *Lykaios*¹², was an animal commonly sacrificed to Zeus in his chthonian capacity—Zeus *Bouleús* at Mykonos¹³, Zeus *Eubouleús* at Delos¹⁴.

¹ *Infra* Append. N *init.*

² Ch. D. Tsountas in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1884 p. 169 line 44, W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 383 n. 9.

³ W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 388 n. 16.

⁴ Stais *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*² p. 245 f. no. 1431, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 436 f. pl. 70, 4, P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 507 ff. pl. 18 (= my fig. 942), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 117 pl. 2, a, *Einzelstudien* no. 1246, 2 with Text v. 21 by E. Löwy, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 19 f. fig. 3, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 363 no. 1. Height 0.30^m, breadth 0.40^m.

⁵ *Supra* i. 407 n. 1.

⁶ Not the priest (Foucart *loc. cit.*), but the husband (Svoronos *loc. cit.*) or son (Löwy *loc. cit.*) of the dedicant Aristarche.

⁷ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1579 'Αριστάρχη Διὶ Μειλιχίωι. Rather: 'Αρι(σ)τάρχη κ.τ.λ.

⁸ I. Ch. Dragatsis in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1886 p. 49 f. no. 1, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 117, A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1897 p. 408, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 21 f. fig. 6. My illustration is from a photograph kindly placed at my disposal by Miss Harrison. Height 0.36^m, breadth 0.24^m. Traces of colouring subsist on Zeus and his horn (red, yellow), etc.

⁹ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1579b —τοβούλη Διὶ Μειλιχίωι. Miss Harrison *loc. cit.* after Dragatsis prints [Κριτο]βόλη Διὶ Μειλιχίωι. But this is inexact. The name of the dedicant should be longer, perhaps [Ἄρισ]τοβούλη (F. Bechtel *Die Attischen Frauennamen* Göttingen 1902 pp. 6, 9); and the name of the god has no e.

¹⁰ I. Ch. Dragatsis *loc. cit.* says τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τῶν μηρῶν ἀναπαύοντα—another inexactitude.

¹¹ *Supra* i. 361, 501 f., 598 n. 1.

¹² *Supra* i. 82.

¹³ *Supra* i. 668, 717 n. 3.

¹⁴ *Supra* i. 669 n. 2, 717 n. 3.

The abundance vouchsafed by Zeus *Meilichios* and the pig provided by his worshippers are alike illustrated by a passage in Xenophon's *Anabasis*¹:

'Next they sailed across to Lampsakos, where Xenophon was met by a seer



Fig. 942.



Fig. 943.

from Phlious, Eukleides son of Kleagoras. Kleagoras was the man who painted the frescoes in the Lykeion. This Eukleides congratulated Xenophon on his

¹ Xen. *an.* 7. 8. 1-6.

escape and asked him how much money he had. Xenophon told him on oath that he would not even have enough to take him home, unless he sold his horse and personal belongings. Eukleides did not believe him. But when the men of Lampsakos sent gifts by way of welcome to Xenophon and he offered sacrifice to Apollon, he bade Eukleides stand beside him. And he on seeing the victims said that he believed in Xenophon's lack of funds. "But I know," he added, "that even if funds are ever forthcoming there is some hindrance in your way—yourself, if nothing else." To this Xenophon agreed. "The fact is," said Eukleides, "Zeus Meilichios is hindering you." And he went on to ask if Xenophon had already sacrificed to that deity "as I," said he, "used at home to have sacrifice made and to present whole burnt-offerings on your behalf." Xenophon replied that since leaving home he had not sacrificed to this god. So Eukleides counselled him to have sacrifice made to the god in his usual manner and declared that things would improve. Next day Xenophon advanced to Ophrynon: there he had sacrifice made and presented whole burnt-offerings of pigs in accordance with his ancestral custom, and the omens were favourable¹. That very day Bion and Nausikleides arrived with money for the troops. They were entertained by Xenophon and, as to the horse which he had sold at Lampsakos for fifty darics, hearing that it was a favourite mount and suspecting that he had parted with it through poverty, they bought the animal back again and handed it over to its master, refusing to take the purchase-money from him.²

That the god who thus sent wealth in return for whole burnt-offerings of pigs was in fact an Underworld power appears further from other votive reliefs, nine or more in number, found in 1878 near the north-east angle of the Munichian Gate³. These show the same deity in the guise of a monstrous snake⁴, usually bearded (figs. 944⁴, 945⁶) and towering above his human worshippers (fig. 946)⁵. P. Foucart, to whom we are indebted for the first collection and discussion of these reliefs, pointed out that in no case is the name of the dedicator accompanied by that of his deme. It follows that the worshippers were strangers, resident

¹ ἐθέτο καὶ ὠλοκαίτεῖ χοίρους τῷ πατρίῳ (πατρίῳ cod. Eton. etc. followed by Bornemann) νόμῳ, καὶ ἐκαλλίρει (Xen. an. 7. 8. 5).

² P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 507 ff. draws up the list.

³ On the chthonian character of the snake see *supra* pp. 1060, 1061.

⁴ *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 270 no. 722 with fig., R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*² Berlin 1907 p. 202, P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 509 no. 6, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 17 f. fig. 1 a stèle of Hymettian marble inscribed in lettering of s. iv. B.C. — — — Διὶ Μελιχίῳ (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1581). Height 0.58^m, breadth 0.31^m. I am again indebted to Miss Harrison for the photograph from which my fig. 944 is drawn.

P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 509 no. 7 describes a relief in the Louvre representing a snake reared upright, with the inscription Ἀσκληπιάδης | Ἀσκληπιῶδου | Διὶ Μελιχίῳ (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1580).

⁵ Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 438 pl. 70, 3 (= my fig. 945), P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 510 no. 8 with fig., *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1700 f. fig. 4892, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 20 fig. 4 a relief inscribed in lettering of s. iv. B.C. Ἡρακλείδης τῷ θεῷ (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1583). Height 0.33^m, breadth 0.19^m. J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.* notes that τῷ θεῷ might mean either Διὶ Μελιχίῳ or Ἀσκληπιῷ (*id.* in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 503—507).

⁶ *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 271 no. 723 with fig., R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*² Berlin 1907 p. 202, P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 509 no. 5, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² pp. 17, 19 fig. 2, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 31 no. 4 a stèle of Hymettian marble without inscription. My fig. 946 is from a transparency in the collection of Newnham College, Cambridge. Height 0.42^m, breadth 0.23^m to 0.25^m. The gigantic snake approached by a woman and two men might, again, be either Zeus Meilichios or Asklepios.

aliens, freedmen, or slaves. And Foucart suggests¹ that they formed a *thiasos* of Phoenician settlers, who had brought with them to the crowded port of Athens *Ba'al Milik* or *Melek* or *Molok*, their own 'Lord King'²: *Ba'al* they translated as *Zeus* and *Milik* they transliterated as *Milichios*³. This view has commended

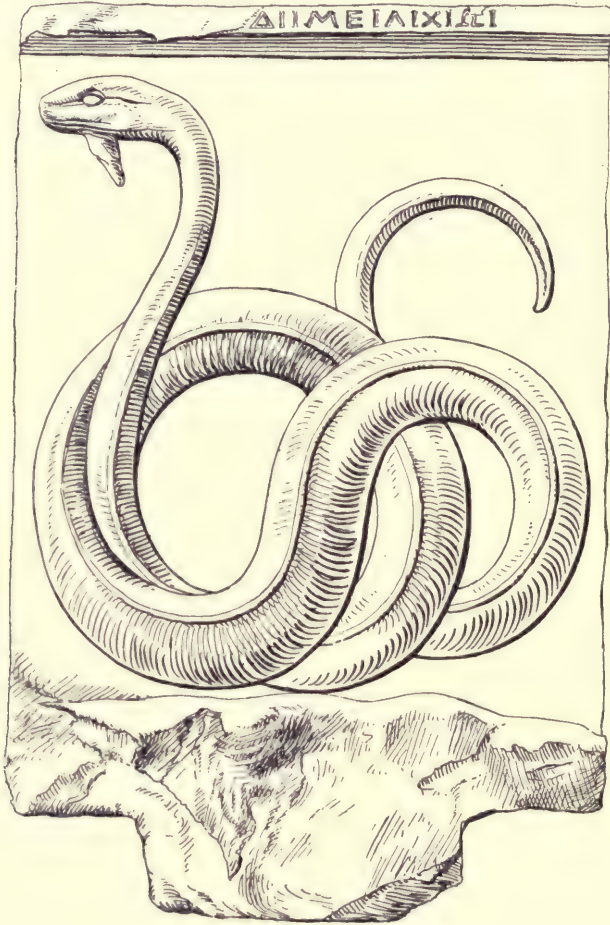


Fig. 944.

¹ P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 511 ff., *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1700 f.

² On the problematic *Malakba'al-* or *Melekba'al-stélai* see E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2871, ii. 3107, and on *Moloch* in general E. Meyer and A. Jeremias *ib.* ii. 3106 ff., F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo universo* Oeniponte 1908 pp. 216—227. My friend and colleague the Rev. Prof. R. H. Kennett has suggested 'that Moloch, to whom first-born children were burnt by their parents in the valley of Hinnom, ... may have been originally the human king regarded as an incarnate deity': for this important hypothesis see Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Adonis Attis Osiris³ ii. 219 ff. ('Moloch the King').

³ Cp. P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 513 n. 4: 'M. Renan avait fait remarquer que la forme la plus vraisemblable est *Milik*, que la leçon *Δία Μιλίχιον* se rencontre

dans plusieurs des manuscrits d'Eusèbe où est traduit un passage de Sanchoniaton sur le dieu phénicien [Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 12 Δία Μειλχιον. G. H. A. Ewald in W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1876 i. 15 took Μειλχιος here to be a Grecised form of the Semitic word for 'sailor,' and Baudissin himself *ib.* p. 36 n. 2 says: 'Insofern der oben S. 15 erwähnte Μειλχιος "der Schiffer" die Bezeichnung Zeus

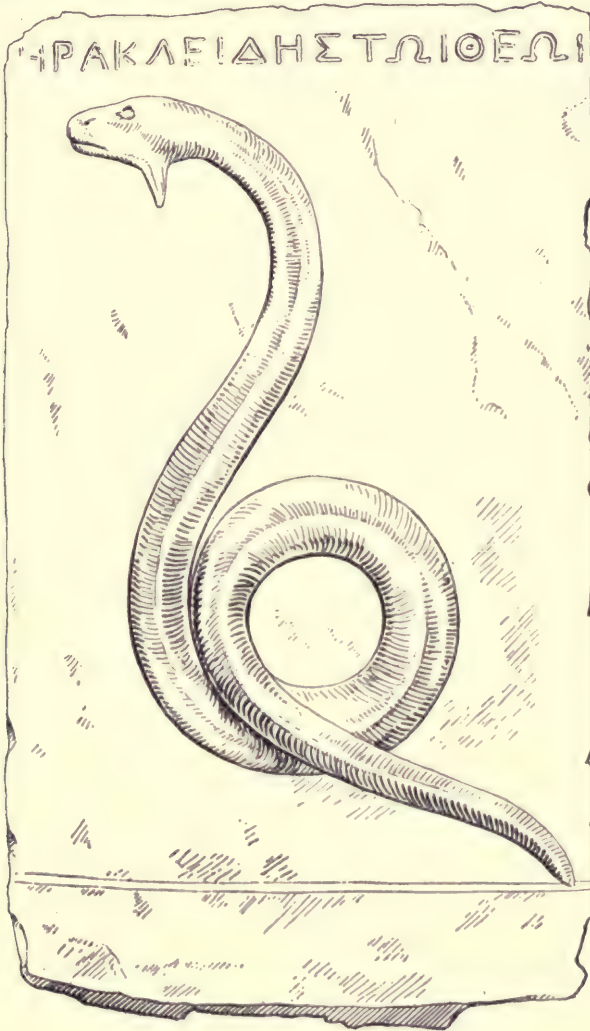


Fig. 945.

erhält, haben wir eine Gottheit in diesem Namen zu suchen, die kaum eine andere als Melkart sein kann (s.m. *Jahve et Moloch* S. 28 f.). Μελεκέρτης, dessen Name sicher das phöniciſche Melkart ist, gilt bei den Griechen als Meergottheit...’ Cp. Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 398, *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 908 n. 3. *À propos* of the Semitic word for ‘sailor’ my friend Mr N. McLean writes to me (April 10, 1917): ‘The word occurs in the form *mallāh* in Hebrew, Aramaic, & Arabic. Arabic borrowed it from Aramaic; & it is said to

itself to sundry scholars including M. Clerc¹, H. Lewy², M. Mayer³, O. Höfer⁴, W. Prellwitz⁵, and in a modified form to S. Reinach⁶. But Miss Harrison in-



Fig. 946.

have come to Hebrew & Aramaic as a loanword from Assyrian, where the form is *Malaḥu*.⁷ The last statement is further guaranteed by the Rev. C. H. W. Johns (April 11, 1917)], qu'enfin Silius Italicus (III, 104 [103 ff. lascivo genitus Satyro nymphaque Myrice | Milichus indigenis late regnarat in oris | cornigeram attollens genitoris imagine frontem]) cite Milichus comme un dieu punique (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, t. 23, p. 267). L'orthographe constante [?] des bas-reliefs du Pirée vient confirmer cette opinion.' F. C. Movers *Die Phönizier* Berlin 1841 i. 326 f. had already connected the words *Μελίχιος*, *Milichus*, and *Melech*.

¹ M. Clerc *Les métèques athéniens* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* lxiv) Paris 1893 p. 127 ff.

² H. Lewy *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* Berlin 1895 p. 242 f.

³ M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1521.

⁴ O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2561 : but cp. *ib.* p. 2562.

⁵ Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 286.

⁶ S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 683 holds that in Zeus *Μελίχιος* we may see the fusion of an original Greek with an incoming oriental god : 'une forme grecque et une forme orientale, distinctes à l'origine, ont été confondues par le même syncrétisme qui a assimilé Héraklès à l'Hercule latin.' Similarly in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1906 xix. 348

dicates an obvious difficulty: 'Unfortunately for this interesting theory we have no evidence that "Moloch" was ever worshipped in snake form¹.' And R. Dussaud further contends that in point of fact the Phoenicians recognised no such deity as *Milk*². We must turn a deaf ear to all Semitic Sirens and seek an explanation nearer home.

Miss Harrison herself maintains that the cult of Zeus *Meilichios* was a case of 'superposition.' The worship of the sky-god Zeus had ousted that of an older earth-demon *Meilichios*: hence the snake inappropriate to the former, but natural to the latter; hence too the euphemistic title common to many a buried hero. 'Zeus,' we are told, 'is one of the few Greek gods who never appear attended by a snake. Asklepios, Hermes, Apollo, even Demeter and Athene have their snakes, Zeus never³.' 'And the truth is nothing more or less than this. The human-shaped Zeus has slipped himself quietly into the place of the old snake-god.... It is not that Zeus the Olympian has "an underworld aspect"; it is the cruder fact that he of the upper air, of the thunder and lightning, extrudes an ancient serpent-demon of the lower world, Meilichios. Meilichios is no foreign Moloch, he is home-grown, autochthonous before the formulation of Zeus⁴.' 'When we come to the discussion of hero-worship, it will be seen that all over Greece the dead hero was worshipped in snake form and addressed by euphemistic titles akin to that of Meilichios⁵.' That Miss Harrison's shaft has hit the target and indeed gone near to piercing the bull's-eye, I shall not deny. The snake-form and euphemistic title of Zeus *Meilichios* are rightly explained as the appanage of a chthonian power resembling the divinised dead. But why need we make the rather unlikely assumption that a sky-cult has been superposed on an earth-cult? Because—says Miss Harrison—Zeus never has a snake as his attribute. That, surely, is a misleading statement. I have already adduced much evidence connecting both the Thraco-Phrygian Zeus⁶ and the Graeco-Libyan Zeus⁷ with the snake. To recall but a single case: the coinage of Dion in Makedonia shows Zeus standing with a snake at his side⁸. Should we not rather conclude that the

(*id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 104): 'C'est plus tard seulement...qu'on l'identifia, par exemple au Pirée, à quelque *baal-melek* phénicien.' Cp. Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 18 n. 1: 'The possibility of a *contaminatio* between the Phœnician Baal and Zeus Meilichios cannot be lightly dismissed. For a discussion of the subject see especially Clermont-Ganneau, *Le dieu Satrape*, p. 65, on the river Meilichos at Patrae, and Langrange, *Etudes sur les Religions Sémitiques*, p. 105.'

¹ Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 18. Not but what there is ample evidence of serpent-worship among the Semites: see e.g. S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 125—250, F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo universo* Oeniponte 1908 pp. 191 ff., 323 f., J. Skinner on Gen. 3. 1 ff., R. H. Kennett 'Ark' in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 791—793. The sanctity of the serpent in Phoinike (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 572 f. Müller) *ap. Euseb. praep. ev.* i. 10. 46 ff.) may in part account for its frequency as a *motif* in Phœnician art (e.g. Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 658, with fig. on p. 628, 759 fig. 543, 833 fig. 597, F. Poulsen *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* Leipzig—Berlin 1912 p. 193 Index *scv.* 'Schlangen, Schlangenkopf,' E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 48).

² R. Dussaud 'Milk, Moloch, Melqart' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1904 xlix. 163—168, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 643.

³ Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 18 f.

⁴ *Ead. op. cit.* p. 19.

⁵ *Ead. op. cit.* p. 20 f.

⁶ *Supra* i. 392 ff., 428.

⁷ *Supra* i. 358 ff., 428.

⁸ *Supra* i. 102 n. 4, 113 fig. 84.

local king, revered during his life-time as Zeus incarnate, was after his death worshipped as an anguiform soul under the euphemistic appellation of Zeus 'the Kindly One'? On this showing Zeus *Meilichios* falls into line with a whole string of deities already discussed—Zeus *Ktésios*¹, Zeus *Agaménnon*², Zeus *Amphidraos*³, Zeus *Trophónios*⁴, Zeus *Asklepiós*⁵. Moreover, from the new standpoint of the circumstances of the cult on the Kephisos are readily intelligible. The head of a clan, dead and buried, would be just the personage required on the one hand to purify a man from the stain of kindred bloodshed, on the other to promote the fertility of the fig-trees. His title *Meilichios*, 'the Kindly One'⁶,—originally a euphemistic name⁷—would lend itself equally well to two false inter-

¹ Append. H.

² Append. I.

³ Append. J.

⁴ Append. K.

⁵ Append. L.

⁶ E. Maass *De Aeschylī Supplicibus commentatio* Gryphiswaldiae 1890 p. xxxvii n. 4 says: 'Juppiter Μελισσαῖος (Hesych. s.v. [Μελισσαῖος ὁ Ζεὺς]) a μέλισσα abstracto (= ἡπίετης) videtur derivatus, ut sit idem ac μειλίχιος.' But Zeus *Μελισσαῖος* presumably means Zeus 'of the Bees' (cp. Nik. *ther.* 611). Whether the allusion is to the infant Zeus of Crete nurtured by bees (*supra* i. 150, ii. 928 f. n. o, 932 f. n. 1) or to Aristaios the bee-keeper worshipped as Zeus in Arkadia (*supra* i. 372 n. 7) or to some unidentified cult, we cannot say.

Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 908 f.: 'Das gewöhnlichste Mittel, die Geister zu versöhnen, ist die Bewirtung mit Honig; wahrscheinlich nach ihm heisst das Entsühnen μειλίσσειν. Nach der besänftigenden Honigspende sind wahrscheinlich Zeus und Dionysos Meilichios genannt worden.' But, as Gruppe himself is aware (*op. cit.* p. 908 n. 2 f.), the connexion of μειλίσσειν with μέλι is very doubtful: see now Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* pp. 620, 624.

⁷ Euphemism is and always has been a *vera causa* in popular life. I once stayed at Lavancher, a village near the Mer de Glace: the little inn, which had languished under the name *L'hôtel du Mauvais Pas*, was doing well as *L'hôtel Beau-Séjour*! Similarly with Greek and Latin place-names: the Ἀξενος became the Εἰξενος (Strab. 298 f., Ov. *trist.* 4. 4-55 ff., Mela 1. 102, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 76, 6. 1, Solin. 23. 16, Isid. *orig.* 13. 16. 7), *Maleventum* was improved into *Beneventum* (Liv. 9. 27, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 105, Fest. p. 340 b 7 f. Müller, p. 458, 35 f. Lindsay, Paul. ex Fest. p. 34 Müller, p. 31, 17 ff. Lindsay, Steph. Byz. s.v. Βερεβεντός, Prokop. *de bell. Goth.* 1. 15); it was even supposed that *Epidamnus* had been changed into *Dyrrhachium* (Mela 2. 56, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 145, Fest. p. 340 b 9 Müller, p. 458, 37 Lindsay) and *Egesta* into *Segesta* (Fest. p. 340 b 3 ff. Müller, p. 458, 31 ff. Lindsay) for the sake of avoiding an evil omen. Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Taboo p. 392 ff. collects many examples of euphemistic substitutes for common words, which for one reason or another were taboo. He might have added to his store from Greek usage. When the ancient Greek spoke of his 'left hand' as ἀριστερά or εὐώνυμος, of 'night' as εὐφρόνη, of 'death' as εἶ τι πάθεις, of 'the dead' as οἱ πλείοτες (see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2560 f.), when the modern Greek calls the small-pox Συγχωρεμένη, the 'Gracious One,' or Εὐλογία, the 'Blessing' (G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 236), and the Devil himself ὁ καλὸς ἄνθρωπος, 'the Good man,' or ὁ κατὰκαλος, 'the Beloved' (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 176), these complimentary phrases are best explained as due to downright euphemism. Cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1398, 50 ff., *et. mag.* p. 144, 20 ff. Further instances are adduced by writers on rhetoric to illustrate the trope *antiphrasis*: see Anonymos *περὶ τρόπων* 14 (C. Walz *Rhetores Graeci* Stuttgartiae et Tubingae 1835 viii. 722, 10 f.), Tryphon *περὶ τρόπων* 15 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 755, 11 ff.), Gregorios of Corinth *περὶ τρόπων* 18 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 773, 20 ff.), Kokondrios *περὶ τρόπων* 6 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 785, 27 ff.), Choiroboskos *περὶ τρόπων* 13 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 812, 11 ff.). An example will serve: Helladios *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 535 a 4 ff. Bekker ὅτι τὸ μὴ λέγειν δύσφημα πᾶσι τοῖς παλαιοῖς μὲν φροντὶς ἦν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. διὸ καὶ τὸ θεσμοτῆριον οἴκημα ἐκάλουν, καὶ τὸν δῆμον κοινόν [a euphemism for a euphemism!], τὰς δὲ Ἐρινύας Εὐμενίδας ἢ σεμνὰς θεάς, τὸ δὲ μῦθος ἅγιος, τὸ δὲ ὄξος μέλι καὶ τὴν χολὴν

γλυκεῖαν, τὸν δὲ βόρβορον ὄχετον. οἱ δὲ γραμματικοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν ὀνομάζουσι. οἷδα δὲ τινας, φησί, τῶν φιλολόγων καὶ τὸν πύθικον ὀνομάζοντες καλλίαν.

Confining our attention to the titles of Greek divinities, we note the following cases:—

(1) The Erinyes were known as Ἀβλαβίαι (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 600, b 67, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 839, B 18 Erythrai in the first half of s. iii B.C.), Εὐμενίδες, Σεμναί.

(2) Hades was Ἀγήσανδρος (Hesych. *s.v.*, Favorin. *lex.* p. 18, 22), Ἀγησίλαος (Aisch. *frag.* 406 Nauck² *ap.* Athen. 99 B, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Ἀγεσίλαος (so Musurus for ἄγες, λαός cod.)=Favorin. *lex.* p. 17, 7 f., Kallim. *lavacr. Pall.* 130 Ἀγεσίλα cited by *et. mag.* p. 8, 32 f. as Ἀγεσιλάω, Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 195. 2=Couigny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 551. 2 ἐπ' Ἀγεσίλαος for the meaningless inscr. ΕΠΑΓΕΣΙΜΗ, *Lact. div. inst.* i. 11 Plutoni, cui cognomen Agesilao (*v.l.* Agelasto) fuit. So Nik. *frag.* 74, 72 *ap.* Athen. 684 D Ἡγεσιλάου, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 545. 4 (Hegesippos) ἠγησίλω... Αἰδός), Εὐβουλεύς (*supra* p. 118 n. 4), Εὐειδής (Hesych. *s.v.* Εὐκλής cited *supra* p. 118 n. 3), Εὐκλής (*supra* p. 118 n. 3), Εὐχάτης (J. Franz in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1842 xiv. 136 ff. no. 1, 24 an oracle of Klaros, s. ii A.D., found at Kallipolis on the Thracian Chersonese: see Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 1034. 23, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 1397, K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 81 ff., H. von Prott in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 257 f., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 880, and C. Picard *Épêse et Claros* Paris 1922 pp. 212, 389, 673, 694, 696 (following Buresch)), Ἴσοδαίτης (Hesych. *s.v.*: see further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 551 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 804 n. 7, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1430 n. 1, 1432 n. 2, 1557 n. 3, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² pp. 440, 481 n. 1, *Themis* p. 157), Κλύμενος (C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1783, R. Engelmann, W. H. Roscher, and W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 1228 f.), Παισάνας (on Megarian (?) imprecatory tablets of lead published by E. Ziebarth 'Neue attische Fluchtabeln' in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1899 p. 120 no. 21, 1, 3, 7 and p. 121 no. 22, 1. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1664 cp. the Pythian oracle quoted by Phlegon of Tralleis *Olympiades seu chronica frag.* i (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 603 Müller)=Couigny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 20. 5 f. ἀτιμάζοντες Ὀλύμπια πασιάνακτος | Ζηρός), Περικλύμενος (Hesych. *s.v.*: so Salmassius and Soping for περικλυμος cod.), Πλοῦτων (*supra* i. 503 f.), Πολύαρχος (Cornut. *theol.* 35 p. 74, 15 Lang), Πολυδαίμων (Orph. *h. Plout.* 18. 11: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 400 n. 2, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2637), Πολυδέμων (*h. Dem.* 17, 31, 430, Cornut. *theol.* 35 p. 74, 15 Lang: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 400 n. 2, 809 n. 1, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2639 f.), Πολυδέκτης (*h. Dem.* 9 with the note of E. E. Sikes *ad loc.*, Cornut. *theol.* 35 p. 74, 14 Lang: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 400 n. 2, 867 n. 5, H. W. Stoll and O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2640), Πολύξενος? (Kallim. *frag.* 478 Schneider *ap. et. Flor.* p. 189 Κλυμένου...πολυξένοιο. In Soph. *O.C.* 1569 f. ἐν πύλαισι | ...πολυξέστοις S. Musgrave restored πολυξένοιο. Cp. Aisch. *suppl.* 157 f. τὸν πολυξενώτατον | Ζῆνα τῶν κεκηκότων, where T. Birt would read Δία for Ζῆνα with the citation in *et. Gud.* p. 227, 43 διὰ (*sic*) and in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 443, 13 Διὰ (*sic*). Again, in Aisch. *frag.* 228 Nauck² Ζαγρεῖ τε νῦν με καὶ πολυξένω < > | χαίρειν cited by *et. Gud.* p. 227, 40 f. and by Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 443, 10 f. Hermann supplied πατρί, Schneidewin Δί. See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2561 and 2742), Πολύαχος (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 35), πυλάτης (*Il.* 8. 367 with schol. *ad loc.*, 13. 415, *Od.* 11. 277, Mosch. 4. 86, Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 137, 25 ff., Hesych. *s.v.* πυλάτῃα κρατεροῖο, *et. mag.* p. 696, 48 ff., Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 718, 20 f., 914, 18 f., 940, 5 f., *in Od.* p. 1684, 43 f., Favorin. *lex.* p. 1601, 28 ff.: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 400 n. 1, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3326). *Infra* Append. N *med.*

(3) Persephone was Μελίβοια? (Lasos *frag.* 1 Bergk⁴ *ap.* Athen. 624 E Δάματρα μέλπω κόραν τε Κλυμένο' ἄλοχον Μελίβοιαν, | ὕμνων ἀναγνῶν Αἰολῆδα | βαρύβρομον ἀρμονίαν: but E. Hiller—O. Crusius read ἄλοχον | μελιβόαν ὕμνων ἀναγνῶν | Αἰολιδ' ἀνὰ κ.τ.λ.), Μελιτώδης (Theokr. 15. 94 with schol. *ad loc.*, Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 18. In Kokondrios *περὶ τρόπων* 6 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 786, 8) καὶ Μελιτώνην τὴν Περσεφόνην Boissonade *anecd.* iii. 292 cj. μελιτώδη), Μελωδία? (Io. Malal. *chron.* 3 p. 62 Dindorf: Rohde *Psyche*³ i. 206 n. 2 cj. Μελινοῖα).

pretations. Some, narrowing its range overmuch, would see in it the description of a god specially gracious to the repentant man-slayer. Others, wrongly associating it with *mellichia*, 'figs,' would point in triumph to the Sacred Fig-tree of the Phytalidai.

(4) Zeus *Meilichios* on the Hills near Athens.

There must have been another sanctuary of Zeus *Meilichios* on the northern slope of the Nymphs' Hill, now crowned by the Observatory. For here two dedications to the god have come to light, one inscribed on a round pillar¹, the other on a quadrangular base². The latter associates him with Helios, possibly as being a god of fertility³.

The eastward prolongation of the Nymphs' Hill, on which stands the church of Saint Marina, had in antiquity its own cult of Zeus: a couple of rock-cut inscriptions on the southern slope mark the limits of his precinct⁴. Whether the god here also had fertilising powers, we cannot tell; but at the present day women who come to supplicate Saint Marina for children 'go through the performance of sliding down the great sloping rock in front of the church⁵.'

(4) Hekate was 'Απιστη (C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 57 pap. Par. 1450 καὶ 'Απιστη Χθονία), Εὐκόλινη (Kallim. *frag.* 82^d Schneider χαῖρ', Εὐκόλινη, *ap. et. Sorbon.* (cited by T. Gaisford in his note on *et. mag.* p. 392, 27), *et. Ultraiect.* (cited by D. Ruhnkens *epist. crit.* ii. 181), *et. Flor.* p. 133, *cp. et. mag.* p. 392, 27 f., Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iv. 182, 23 ff., Soud. *s.v.* Εὐκόλινη), Καλλίστη (Hesych. *s.v.*), Κράτεις (Ap. Rhod. 4. 829 with schol. *ad loc.*: see further H. W. Stoll and O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1408 f.).

(5) A daughter of Zeus by Persephone was Μελιωνή? (so C. A. Lobeck for Μηλιωνή in Orph. *h. Melin.* 71. 1).

(6) An Arcadian bear-goddess (?) was Καλλιστώ (Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 402 ff. fig. 26, R. Franz 'De Callistus fabula' in the *Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie* 1890 xii. 233—365, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 931—935, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 438, Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 191, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 194 f., 942 n. 8, *alib.*, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 176 f.).

(7) The bogus snake-god of Abonou Teichos was Γλυκων (*supra* Append. L p. 1083 ff.).

Such titles have a twofold aspect. Their value is at once negative and positive. On the one hand, they are substitutes for names that were taboo. 'It is especially,' says Dr Farnell (*Cults of Gk. States* iii. 137), 'in the cults of the powers of the lower world, in the worship of Hades and Persephone, and more especially still in the mysteries, that we discern in many Greek communities a religious dislike to pronounce the proper personal name, either because of its extreme holiness or because of its ominous associations, and to conceal it under allusive, euphemistic, or complimentary titles.' On the other hand, these titles often aim at securing by magical means the blessing that they describe: you call your god what you wish him to be, in order to make him so. See some shrewd remarks by W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 33 f.: 'Here, in part (there are other elements also) lies the efficacy of Euphemism. You call the Fairies "Kindly Ones"; behind the conscious motive of putting them into a good temper, and the fear of effecting a connection with them by uttering their name, is further the comfort that you derive by persuading yourself to believe that they are kindly: the fact that you call them kindly makes them kindly.' *Μελίχιος* is a case in point.

¹ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1584 Δι Μελιχιω | Ζωυριων.

² *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1585 'Ηλιωι καὶ Δι Μελι[ιχιωι] | Μαιμυλα.

³ Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 421 n. 4, 424.

⁴ *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 504 ΣΟΙΔ:ΣΟΦΟΗ and a little lower down no. 505 ΗΟΡΟΣ.

⁵ Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 58 f. Cp. *supra* i. 563 n. 4.

At Alopeke (*Angelokepoi*, *Ampelokepoi*) near Mount Lykabettos¹ Zeus again appears to have borne a chthonian character. A roughly squared block of Pentelic marble, found in an ancient well of this locality, has the upper part of its front face engraved as follows² in lettering of the late fifth century B.C.:

ΗΙ ΕΡΟΝ :	Sanctuary
ΔΙΟΣ ΜΙ	of Zeus <i>Mi-</i>
ΛΙΧΙΟ:Α	<i>lichios</i> , (G)-
ΗΣ:ΑΘΗΝ	e, Athen-
ΑΙΑΣ	aia.

The grouping of the god with Ge, if not also the discovery of his boundary-stone in a well, is significant of his underground nature.

(5) Zeus *Meiltchios* on the Ilissos.

Yet another Athenian cult seems to have connected Zeus *Meiltchios* as a god of fertility with underground waters. In 1893 A. N. Skias, when exploring



Fig. 947

¹ S. Reinach 'Le sanctuaire d'Athéna et de Zeus Meilichios à Athènes' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 411—417.

² S. A. Koumanoudes in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1889 pp. 51—54 no. 1 = *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1. 3 no. 528¹ *λερὸν* | *Διὸς Μελιχίου*, (Γ)ῆς, 'Αθηναίας. The reading (Γ)ῆς, here adopted by A. Kirchhoff, was suggested independently by Semitelos and Diels (O. Kern in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 10 n. 2), and is accepted by O. Höfer in *Roscher Lex. Myth.* ii. 2558 f., Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 421 n. 3, 424, W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 69.

the bed of the Ilissos, discovered in the two reservoirs beneath the rocky barrier of the later Kallirrhoe four slabs carved in relief. Of these slabs two were found close together in the basin¹ adjoining the chapel of Saint Photeine, and with



Fig. 948.

them a colossal head of Herakles wearing the lion-skin. One of the two reliefs in question (fig. 947)² shows Zeus, with a sceptre in his left hand and a *phiale* (?) in

¹ Marked B in W. Wilberg's plan of the excavations (Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ. 1893 pl. A).

² A. N. Skias in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1894 p. 133 ff. fig., Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.*

his right, seated on a rock (?)¹. Before him is an altar of rude stones. Beyond it stand two female worshippers, presumably mother and daughter, conceived on a smaller scale than the god himself. The moulding above bears traces of fifth-century letters, which were read by Skias as a dedication to Zeus *Náios*²: they may equally well, indeed better, be completed as a dedication to Zeus *Meiltchios*³. The second relief (fig. 948)⁴ represents Zeus holding a jug in both hands as he sits on a horned and bearded head, which is inscribed in lettering of the Alexandrine age *Achelôios*⁵. Behind Zeus stands a female (?)—perhaps Kallirrhoe, daughter of Acheloius,—fronting us with a *cornu copiae* in her left hand and a *phidale* in her right. Before Zeus stand Hermes and Herakles. Hermes has a trefoil *oinochôe* in his right hand, the *caduceus* in his left. Herakles, equipped with lion-skin and club, extends his right hand with something in it (another *oinochôe*?) towards Zeus. To either side of the heads of Zeus and Herakles are two holes of doubtful significance.

It is not quite certain that either of these reliefs figures Zeus *Meiltchios*. But it is probable that both do so. The former bears a general resemblance to the *Meiltchios*-reliefs of the Peiraieus (figs. 942, 943)⁶, though it shows a more primitive type of altar and dispenses with architectural framework. The latter represents a chthonian Zeus of some sort; for it associates him closely with Acheloius⁷ and Kallirrhoe (?). Now somewhere in the immediate neighbourhood

pl. 130, 2 (=my fig. 947). The dimensions of the slab, which is now preserved in the National Museum (no. 1779), are as follows: breadth 0.31^m, height 0.22^m.

¹ Cp. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 130, 3 (no. 1781), *infra* p. 1119 n. o.

² Ε Ο Ι \ Ε Ν Ν Δ Ι = [ὁ δεῖνα ἀν]έθηκεν Νά[ω Δα]. The lettering is hardly later than c. 450 B.C.

³ Skias himself supposes that the god portrayed is Zeus *Μειλχιος*, who *qua* watery chthonian Zeus might—he thinks—bear the title *Náios*. But it is surely simpler to restore [Διὸ Μειλχιῶι κατ' εὐχὴν ἀν]έθηκεν Νά[άσι] or Νά[νιου] or the like.

⁴ P. Kabbadias in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1893 p. 137 n. 1, A. N. Skias *ib.* 1894 p. 137 ff. pl. 7 (=my fig. 948), Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 131 (larger, but not so clear), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 351 no. 3 (summary sketch). The slab, now in the National Museum (no. 1778), measures: greatest height 0.85^m, breadth below 0.53^m, breadth above 0.60^m, thickness of base 0.16^m, thickness of background c. 0.10^m.

⁵ ΑΧΕΛΩΙΟΣ.

⁶ *Supra* p. 1105 f.

⁷ A votive relief of Pentelic marble (height 0.42^m, breadth 0.49^m, thickness 0.08^m: it had originally a tenon for insertion in a mortise), found at Megara (F. Wieseler 'Ueber ein Votivrelief aus Megara' in the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1875 xx. 6. 1—39) and now in the Berlin Museum (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 251 f. no. 679 with fig.), is referable to the early part of s. iv. B.C. (Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff Sculptures* pl. 27 = my fig. 949). On the back wall of a cavern is carved the head of Acheloius, and immediately beneath it is set a table for offerings. Ranged round the cavern we see a semicircle of divinities. Zeus in the centre is flanked by Pan (horns) and Kore (torches). Next to Pan is Demeter (?); next to Kore, Plouton (?—possibly Agathos Daimon) (*phidale, cornu copiae*). The reclining youth on the extreme left and the seated female figure on the extreme right are insufficiently characterised as deities (Apollon ?? Aphrodite ?? cp. Paus. 1. 44. 9) and more probably represent the eponymous hero Megaros and his mother, one of the nymphs called Sithnides, who was beloved by Zeus (Paus. 1. 40. 1, cp. *et. mag.* p. 228, 21 ff. where the hero is called Megareus): the fact that they alone occupy the ground-level would not justify the inference that they are merely the dedicators of the *ex voto*.

The nearest parallel to this relief as a whole is furnished by the rock-carvings at the entrance to the marble-quarries of Paros: see J. Stuart—N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1816 iv pp. ix, 34 f., ch. 6 pl. 5, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst*

of the reservoirs above-mentioned must be located¹ that sanctuary of the Nymphs and Acheloius, which with its votive statuettes and images still makes a pretty picture in the pages of Platon. It will be remembered how Sokrates and Phaidros one thirsty day stretched themselves on the turf beneath a great plane-tree, cool water bubbling up at their feet, the air ringing with a chorus of cicalas, and blossoms of *agnus castus* perfuming the whole place². It is reasonable to suppose that the Zeus of our reliefs had a precinct adjoining this sacred spot. And the supposition squares well with sundry further considerations. To the north, and close at hand, lay the vast temple of Zeus *Olympios*, begun by Peisistratos, continued by Antiochos iv Epiphanes, and ended by Hadrian. Zeus indeed had been established here from time immemorial. 'They say,' writes Pausanias, 'that Deukalion built the old sanctuary of Zeus *Olympios*, and in proof that Deukalion dwelt at Athens they point to a grave not far from the present temple³.' If early graves were to be seen in the vicinity, we might look to find the cult of a chthonian Zeus⁴, who would be readily brought into connexion with the powers of sub-

ii. 4. 11 pl. 63, 814, A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 314 f., 328, Lebas—



Fig. 949.

Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 110 f. pl. 122, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 360 no. 1, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 245.

¹ A. N. Skias *Συμβολαί εις την 'Αθηναϊκήν τοπογραφίαν* pp. 13—16 (= *Εστία* 1894 p. 292), *id.* in the *Πρακτ. άρχ. έτ.* 1893 p. 123.

² Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 B-C.

³ Paus. i. 18. 8.

⁴ A. N. Skias in the *Πρακτ. άρχ. έτ.* 1897 p. 81 ff. suggests that the small Ionic temple

terranean springs. Pliny, or his authority, was probably¹ thinking of the site, when he remarked: 'At Athens during a rainy summer Enneakrounos is colder than the well in the garden of Zeus, but in dry seasons the latter is freezing-cold².' More than that. Midway between the Kallirrhoe-bar and the Olympieion are the foundations of a small temple built in Roman times and subsequently transformed into a Christian church³. This little edifice perhaps marks the very ground where Zeus *Meiltchios* was worshipped⁴.

on the Ilissos (J. Stuart—N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1762 i. 7 ff., ch. 2 pls. 1—8, A. N. Skias *loc. cit.* p. 73 ff. with pl. A' by A. N. Lykakes, W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 227 f., J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 243 ff., C. Wachsmuth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. i. 190 f.), which was standing as the church of the Παναγία εἰς τὴν Πέτραν till towards the close of the eighteenth century, had originally some connexion with Zeus Φλῖος, a doublet of Zeus Χθόνιος. He relies on a fragmentary votive relief (Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ. 1897 p. 83 f. pl. A' fig. A', Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 130, 3 (no. 1781)) of s. iv or iii B.C. found in one of the numerous tombs adjoining the temple: it represents a sceptred god sitting on a rock with an altar before him. But W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 371 f. makes out a strong case for regarding the sanctuary as that of the Μήτηρ ἐν Ἀγρας.

¹ But see W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 182 n. 6.

² Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 50 Athenis Enneacrounos nimbose aestate frigidior est quam puteus in Iovis horto, at ille siccitatibus riget.

³ A. N. Skias in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ. 1893 p. 130 ff. pl. A with inset (= my fig. 950). The temple was a peripteral building with 6 columns on each short side and 9 on each long side: the *naós* was amphiprostyle with 4 columns at either end (Skias *loc. cit.* p. 131 fig.). The order appears to have been Doric (?). When the temple became a church, the πρόναος was transformed into a ἄγιον βῆμα. Beneath the sacred table was a pit (Γ in fig. 950) for relics, which were bestowed in an old Greek sepulchral urn of black stone with four handles. Several tombs of Christian date were found on the site.

⁴ That is my conjecture. A. N. Skias, who has a better right to speak, contends (Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ. 1893 p. 132 f.) that here was the spot known in s. xv A.D. as the 'precinct of Hera' (Anon. Vindob. 7 in C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1874 i. 735 f. πρὸς δὲ νότον τούτων ἔστιν οἶκος βασιλικὸς πλὴν ὠραῖος, εἰς δὲ κατερχόμενος ὁ δοῦξ κατὰ καιρὸν εἰς εὐωχίαν ἐκνεῖτο· ἐκεῖ ἔσται καὶ ἡ Ἐννεάκρουνος (νεάκρουνος *concl.*) πηγῆ ἡ Καλλιρρόη, εἰς ἣν λουόμενος ἀνήρχετο εἰς τέμενος τὸ τῆς Ἥρας λεγόμενον καὶ προσηύχετο· νῦν δὲ μετεποιήθη εἰς ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ὑπὸ τῶν εὐσεβῶν). But W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 371 n. 12 decides with greater probability that this and other early allusions to a 'temple de Junon' (Wachsmuth *op. cit.* i. 736 n. 1) referred to the Christian church on the Ilissos-'island' (see R. Rangabé in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1850 p. 134 ff.), which had been wrongly identified with Hadrian's temple of Hera and Zeus Πανελλήνιος (Paus. i. 18. 9 Ἀδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίους, ναὸν Ἥρας καὶ Διὸς Πανελληνίου κ.τ.λ., Dion Cass. 69. 16 τὸν τε σηκὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ Πανελληνίου ὠνομασμένον, οἰκοδομήσασθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο (*sc.* Ἀδριανός), Philostr. *v. soph.* 2. 1. 7 καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐλειτούργησεν (*sc.* Ἡρώδης) Ἀθηναίους τῆν τ' ἐπώνυμον καὶ τὴν τῶν Πανελληνίων, 2. 17. 1. μὴδ' εἰ τὴν τῶν Πανελληνίων Ἀθήνησιν εὐκλεῶς ἤρξεν (*sc.* Ροῦφος, *cp. Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 17), Hieron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 2148 (Euseb. *chron.* ii. 167 Schoene) Hadrianus cum insignes et plurimas aedes Athenis fecisset agonem edidit bibliothecamque miri operis instruxit). The real site of the temple of Zeus Πανελλήνιος at Athens is unknown: future excavators will doubtless discover it.

Meantime extant inscriptions confirm the literary sources and add somewhat to our knowledge of the god and of his festival. The name appears to have had a distinctly political origin. In late republican or early imperial times the Achaean League was revived as τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λοκρῶν καὶ Φωκείων καὶ Εὐβοέων κοινόν, or more briefly τὸ κοινόν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἡ σύνοδος τῶν Πανελλήνων: their council met at Argos under the presidency of a στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. But in 131 A.D. Hadrian instituted a new Πανελληνίω on

grander lines: it met at Athens and included all the Greek states, not merely those of the Peloponnese. Thenceforward the revived Achaean League naturally dropped its pretension to be Panhellenic (see W. Dittenberger's notes on the *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 18, on *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 842, 2 f., and on *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 1 f., 11). Hadrian not only founded a temple of Zeus Πανελλήμιος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 13, 10 [ναὸν Πανελλήμιου Διὸς ἐφ'ιδρύσατο (sc. Ἀδριανός)]), but also himself assumed the title Πανελλήμιος (*ib.* iii. 1 no. 12, 26 ff. [τὰς δωρεὰς ὡς ἕκασται ἐδόθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ] | μεγα[στο]ν αὐτοκράτο[ρ]ος Καίσαρος Τραϊαν[οῦ] Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ] | Ὀλυμπι[ο]υ Πανελληνίου], *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 70, 1 f. τὸν δις αὐτοκράτορα Κ[αίσαρα Τρ]αϊανὸν Ἀδρια[νὸν] | Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμπιον Π[ύθ]ιον Πανελλήμιον, *ib.* i no. 71, 1 f. [τὸν δις αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν

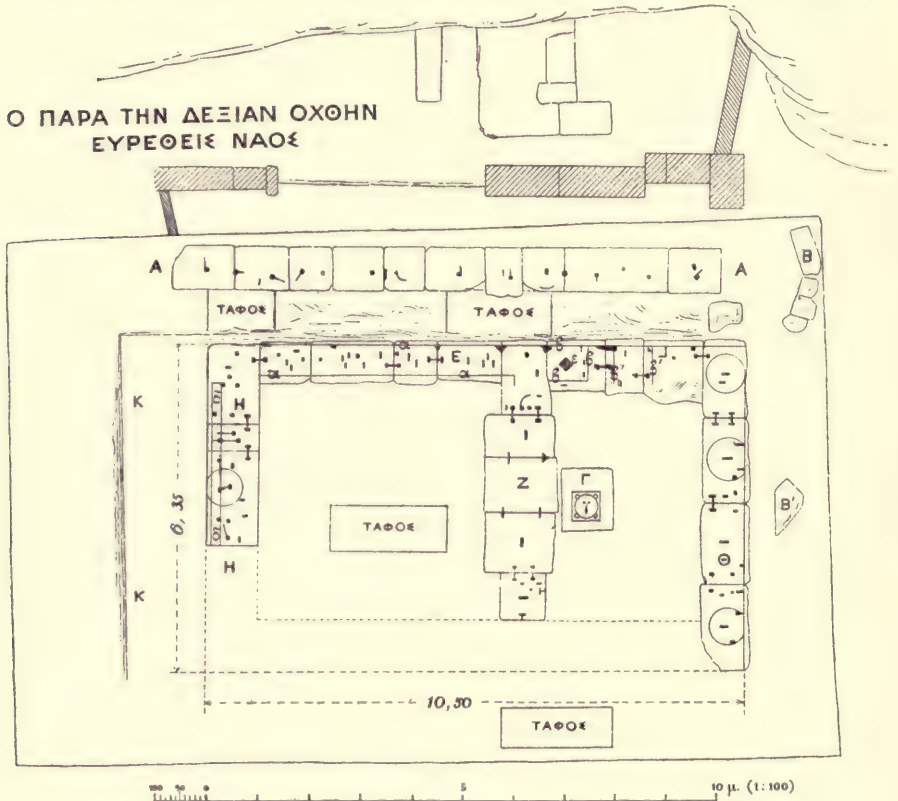


Fig. 950.

Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμπιον Πύθιον Πανελλήμιον], *ib.* i no. 72, 1 ff. τὸν δις αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν | Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμπιον Πύθιον | Πανελλήμιον, *ib.* i no. 3491, 1 ff. τὸν δις αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα [θεοῦ Τραϊανῶ Παρθικοῦ υἱόν], | θεοῦ Νέρβα υἱόν, Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμ[πι]ον Πανελλήμιον νέον Πύθιον, G. Radet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 480 no. 60, 1 f. *Kirk-Agatsch* from Thyateira [αὐτ]οκράτορα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Καίσαρα Σ[ε]βαστόν, | ...κα[ι] Πανελλήμιον] presumably as being the earthly representative and vicergerent of Zeus (*Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 314). After his death the divinised Hadrian had as priest the president of the great Panhellenic council (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 681, 2 ff. τὸν ἀρχο[ν]τα τῶν | σεμνο[τάτων Παν]ελλήνω[ν καὶ ἱερέα] | θεοῦ Ἀδ[ριαν]οῦ Παν[ε]λ[λην]ί[ου] καὶ ἀγω[ν]ο[θ]ῆ[ς] τῶν Παν[ε]λλήνω[ν]....],? cp. *ib.* iii. 2 no. 3872, 1 ff. θεὸν | [Ἀδριανόν?] --- Πανε[λλ]ην..., Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 1 f. Aizanoi οἱ ἀρχων τῶν

With his cult on the Ilissos I would connect both a local myth and a local custom.

(6) The Myth of Periphas.

Antoninus Liberalis in his *Metamorphoses*, a valuable work preserved to us by a single manuscript at Heidelberg, gives the following account of Periphas :

'Periphas was sprung from the soil in Attike before Kekrops the son of Ge appeared. He became king of the ancient population, and was just and rich and holy, a man who offered many sacrifices to Apollon and judged many disputes and was blamed by no one. All men willingly submitted to his rule and, in view of his surpassing deeds, transferred to him the honours due to Zeus and decided that they belonged to Periphas. They offered sacrifices and built temples to him, and called him Zeus *Sotér* and *Erópsios* and *Meilichios*.

Πανελλήνων καὶ ἱερῆς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Π[ανελληνίου] ἡ καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων, *ib.* no. 507, 1 f. ὁ ἀρχὼν τῶν Πανελλήνων καὶ ἱερῆς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Πανελληνίου | καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων). It would even seem that at Athens the god Hadrian took over the temple of Zeus' Ὀλύμπιος (so W. Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504 n. 6 understands Dion Cass. 69. 16 cited *supra*). Cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 1822 (Epeiros) an altar inscribed αὐτοκράτορι Τραϊανῶν Ἀδριανῶν Σεβαστῶν, | Ὀλυμπίω, Διὶ Δωδωναίῳ]. The foundation of the Πανελληνίων in 131 A.D. (P. Canvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 43 no. 35, 1 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 842, 1 ff. ἐτους ᾗ τῆς καθιερώσεως τοῦ Διὸς | τοῦ Ὀλυμποῦ καὶ τῆς κτίσεως | τοῦ Πανελληνίου) was commemorated (Dion Cass. and Hieron. *chron. locc. citt.*) by means of an ἀγών (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 10, 13 f. (ἀ)ἵπρχοντος τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ἀ(γ)ῶνος τοῦ] (Ι)αν(ε)λληνίου, *cp. ib.* iii. 1 no. 681, 6 ff. [ἀγῶν]υ[ο]θ[έ]τ[ην] τῶν Παν[ε]λλ[η]ν[ι]ῶν), *ib.* iii. 1 no. 682, 1 ff. [ἀγῶνοθετήσ]αντα - - - [? Πανελληνίων, *ib.* iii. 1 no. 1199, 5 f. ἐπὶ ἀγῶνοθέ[του] τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 2 ἀγῶνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων, *ib.* no. 507, 2 ἀγῶνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων) known as the Πανελλήνια (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 32, 5 τὸ εἰς τὰ Πανελλήνια), *ib.* iii. 1 no. 127, 3 f. Πανελλήνια | ἐν Ἀθήναις, *ib.* iii. 1 no. 128, 5 νεικήσας κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς Πανελλήνια | κ.τ.λ., 10 f. Πανελλήνια | δις | Ἀθήνας), *Olympria* v. 347 ff. no. 237, 8 f. α' Ἀδρειανεία ἐν Ζευρόνῃ καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ τὰ πρῶτως Πανελλήνια ἀχθέντα ἐν Ἀθήναις πρῶτος κηρύκων, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1068 i, 1 f. = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 49, 7 Megara Πανελλήνια | ἐν Ἀθήναις, E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iii. 2. 237 f. Oxford 1890 no. 611, 7 Ephesos Πανελλήνια ἐν Ἀθήναις, στάδιον, *ib.* iii. 2. 238 f. no. 613, 8 f. Ephesos [Ἀ]θήναις πα[ίδων Παν]ελλήνια γ, *ib.* iii. 2. 239 f. no. 615, 5 Ephesos Ἀθήνας παιδῶν Πανελλήνια, J. R. S. Sterrett in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* Boston 1888 iii. 291 f. no. 413, 15 f. Kara Baulo Πανελλήνε(ι)α | ἐν Ἀθήναις). The name μέγαρα Πανελλήνια (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 17, 3 [τῶν μεγάλων Πανελλήνων] or [τῶν ἄλλων Πανελλήνων], *ib.* no. 1199, 5 f. ἐπὶ ἀγῶνοθέ[του] τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 2 ἀγῶνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων, *ib.* no. 507, 2 ἀγῶνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων) implies that the contest was organised also as a *pentaeteris* on the analogy of the Panathenaia (Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 168 ff. tries to make out that the Panhellenia at Athens was modelled on the Eleutheria at Plataiai). Few further details of the festival are on record (with *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 1141, 20 f. καὶ ἐκ Παν[ε]λλ[η]νίου οὐθέν *cp. ib.* iii. 1 no. 1184, 20 ff. [με]τ[ρ]ὰ τὰς Σεβαστοφορκκῆς νομᾶς πάσας τὰς διὰ Πανελληνίων ἐπ' Ἰσῆς ὅ τε ἐφηβοὶ καὶ οἱ πε[ρὶ τὸ Διογένοιον θύσαντες καὶ σπείσαντες ἐν τῷ Διογενεῖω τὰ ἐξιτήρια εὐωχῆθησαν, | οἱ δὲ]νι δὲ ἄλλω συνετέλεσαν οἱ ἐφηβοὶ ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον τῷ καψαρίῳ μόνω. Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 168 f. argues that the *éphēboi*, who began their course in Boedromion, must have ended it in Metageitnion: accordingly, if their concluding feast took place after the Panhellenia, we may refer the Panhellenia also to Metageitnion, *i.e.* to August or September. The relevance of *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 85, 1 ff. οἱ Πανελλήνες | ΑΡΙΣΤΑ[Ν] | | καρποῦ ἀπαρχῆς is doubtful: see W. Dittenberger *ad loc.*)).

Indignant at this, Zeus wished to consume his whole house with a thunderbolt. But when Apollon, whom Periphas used to honour exceedingly, begged Zeus not to destroy him utterly, Zeus granted the request. He came into the home of Periphas and found him embracing his wife. Grasping them both in his hands, he turned Periphas into an eagle; his wife, who begged him to make her too a bird to bear Periphas company, into a vulture. So upon Periphas he bestowed honours in return for his holy life among men, making him king over all the birds, and granting him to guard the sacred sceptre and to draw near to his own throne; while Periphas' wife he turned into a vulture, and suffered to appear as a good omen to men in all their doings¹.

From what source Antoninus Liberalis, a compiler of the second century A.D. or later², drew this singular narrative is unknown³; nor are its incidents—apart from a casual reference in Ovid⁴—cited elsewhere. Nevertheless the story as it stands is instructive. Certain traits are late and must be suppressed. Thus the writer, or his authority, is inclined to etymologise⁵ and, worse still, to moralise. His tale belongs to a well-defined group, in which an early king (Salmones is typical) poses as Zeus and is consequently punished by the real Zeus. This implies, as I have elsewhere pointed out⁶, that, when the essential divinity of the old-world king had little by little faded into oblivion, posterity treated his claim to be Zeus as sheer impiety calling for the vengeance of the genuine god. Yet the author of our tale, with illuminating inconsistency, makes Zeus himself bestow upon the blasphemer altogether exceptional 'honours in return for his holy life.' I take it, then, that Periphas was an Attic king, who in the dim past had played the rôle of Zeus and made his petty thunder for some unsophisticated folk. It may even be that his name *Periphas*, 'the Brilliant'⁷, was a recognised epithet of Zeus⁸; for an Orphic hymn salutes Zeus *Astrápios*, the lightning-god, as *periphantos*⁹. Now we have repeatedly found a human Zeus of this sort figuring among the kings of Thessaly descended from Aiolos¹⁰. It is therefore of interest to observe that Lapithes, the eponymous king of the Thessalian Lapithai, was either father¹¹ or son of a Periphas, who wedded Astyagia

¹ Ant. Lib. 6.

² G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2573 ('schwerlich vor dem 2. Jhdt. n. Chr.'), W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*³ München 1898 p. 778 ('aus der Zeit der Antonine'). See further E. Oder *De Antonino Liberali* Bonn 1886 pp. 1—61.

³ H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1868 xxiii. 357 (=id. *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 66) says: 'wahrscheinlich von Boios,' and O. Schneider *Nicandrea* Lipsiae 1856 p. 43 had reached the same conclusion before him. M. Wellmann in *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 507 n. 2 thinks otherwise: 'Vermuthlich ist Nikander Quelle.'

⁴ *Ov. met.* 7. 399 f. Palladas arces: quae te, iustissima Phene, | teque, senex Peripha, pariter videre volantes. Lact. *Plac. narr. fab.* 7. 20 merely echoes Ovid (M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*² München 1899 ii. 1. 237 f.): venisse etiam Athenas, ubi Phineum (*sic*) et Peripham in aves conversos.

⁵ He harps on derivatives of *φαίνω*, real or supposed: *Περίφας...φανήναι...φήνην...ἐπιφάνεσθαι*.

⁶ *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 277, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 300.

⁷ *Περίφας* = *περιφανής* (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. 86), *περίφαντος*, *περιφανής*. Cp. *Πολύφας*, *Υπέρφας*. For other explanations see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1971 f.

⁸ H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1868 xxiii. 357 (=id. *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 66 f.).

⁹ Orph. *h. Zeus Astrápios* 20. 1 ff. *κικλήσκω μέγαν, ἀγρόν, ἐρισμάραγον, περίφαντον, | ...ἀστράπιον Δία, παγγενέτην, βασιλῆα μέγιστον, | κ.τ.λ.* adduced by O. Höfer *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 1088.

¹¹ Epaphroditos *Homeric frag.* 16 Luenzner *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Λαπίθη*.

daughter of Hypseus and became by her the father of Antion and the grandfather of Ixion¹. J. Töpffer in an important article² insisted on the point that Periphas was at once an Attic autochthon and a Thessalian king: he compared other cases of the same bilocation³ and, following up the clue thus afforded, reached the conclusion that in prehistoric times some Thessalian tribe (Lapithai? Dryopes?) migrated southwards through Euboeia to north-eastern Attike, and so on by sea to the southern parts of the Argolid. Töpffer's hypothesis has been accepted by P. Weizsäcker⁴ and is, I think, helpful in any attempt to unravel the tangled skein of Attic religion. For, in view of their traditional descent from Aiolos, we shall probably be right in supposing that these immigrants were Aeolians (not Achaeans⁵), who, swarming off from Thessaly in days before the great Athenian *synoikismós*, settled in Attike and planted the worship of their⁶ Zeus *Olympios* on the northern bank of the Ilissos. The leader of the settlement, regarded by his subjects as the human representative of the sky-god, would later on be revered in the same neighbourhood as Zeus *Sotér* and *Epópsios* and *Meiltchios*. All these titles, whose connotation was subsequently enlarged in a variety of directions, were from the first applicable to the buried king. To begin with, he was *Sotér*, because on him depended the preservation and perpetuation of the family line. Custom prescribed that at a banquet libation should be made from the first mixing-bowl to Zeus *Olympios* and the Olympians, from the second to the Heroës, from the third to Zeus *Sotér*, otherwise styled *Téleios*⁷. The sequence suggests that this final offering was in its essence simply

¹ Diod. 4. 69, who—according to E. Schwartz (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 674)—is here excerpting from an earlier mythographical handbook.

² J. Töpffer 'Theseus und Peirithoos' in *Aus der Anomia* Berlin 1890 pp. 30—46.

³ Theseus, Peirithoos, Boutes, Ixion, Phorbas, Phaleros, Mopsos, etc. Töpffer remarks *inter alia* that Perithoidai, a deme of the tribe Oineis (A. Milchhöfer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2195, with map to face p. 2204, places it to the N.W. of Athens on the near side of Mt Aigaleos), was said to have been founded by Peirithoos son of Ixion, and that the Athenian custom of extending a special welcome to Thessalians was motivated by the friendship of Theseus and Peirithoos (Ephoros *frag.* 37 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 243 Müller) *ap. Phot. lex. s.v. Περιθοΐδαι*, Suid. *s.v. Περιθοΐδαι*, Apostol. 14. 19).

⁴ P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1762.

⁵ The commonly received opinion that the Achaeans were an Aeolian people is subjected to shrewd criticism by J. A. K. Thomson *Studies in the Odyssey* Oxford 1914 p. 117 ff. See further A. Fick 'Äoler und Achäer' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1911 xlv. 1 ff., *eund.* 'Älteste griechische Stammverbände' *ib.* 1914 xlvi. 67 ff., G. Dottin *Les anciens peuples de l'Europe* Paris 1916 p. 143 ff.

⁶ A. Fick *loc. cit.* 1914 xlvi. 97.

⁷ Poll. 6. 15 *κρατήρες δὲ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ Ὀλυμπίων θεῶν, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἠρώων, ὁ δὲ τρίτος Διὸς Σωτήρος Τελείου, ὅτι καὶ τὰ τρία πρῶτος τέλειος ἀριθμὸς, 6. 100 ὥσπερ καὶ Διὸς Σωτήρος ὁ τρίτος κρατὴρ ἱερὸς ἦν, Schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 6 (5). 10 τὸν δὲ τρίτον κρατὴρα Διὸς Σωτήρος ἔλεγον, καθὰ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ναυπλίῳ (*frag.* 392 Nauck², 425 Jebb): 'Ζεῦ πανσιλυκε καὶ Διὸς σωτηρίου | σπονδῆ τρίτον κρατήρος.' τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐκίρασαν, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἠρώων, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Διὸς Σωτήρος, καθὰ καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἐπιγύνοις (*frag.* 55 Nauck²): 'λοιβὰς Διὸς μὲν πρῶτον ὠραίου γάμου | Ἦρας τε.' εἶτα· 'τὴν δευτέραν γε (C. G. Schütz cj. δὲ) κρᾶσιν Ἠρωσιν νέμου.' εἶτα· 'τρίτον (A. Nauck cj. τρίτην) Διὸς Σωτήρος εὐκταίαν λίβα.' Διὸς δὲ Σωτήρος ἔλεγον τὸν τρίτον διὰ τὸ πρῶτον τοῦτον πίνοντας σταθεροῦς γίνεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τούτων εἰς ἄτην καὶ ἀνομίαν καὶ ἀσέλγειαν τρέπεσθαι. ἔλεγον δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Τέλειον διὰ τὸ τέλειον εἶναι τὸν τρίτον ἀριθμὸν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα καὶ μέσον καὶ τέλος, schol. Plat. *Phileb.* 66 D τὸ τρίτον τῷ Σωτήρι: ἐκ μεταφορᾶς εἶρηται τοῦ ἐν ταῖς*

συνουσίας ἔθους· Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ναυπλίῳ καταπλέοντι. ἐκινῶντο γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς κρατῆρες τρεῖς. καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἔλεγον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἠρώων, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σωτήρος, ὡς ἐνταῦθα τε καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν Πολιτείᾳ (Plat. *rep.* 583 B). ἔλεγον δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Τέλειον, ὡς Εὐριπίδης Ἀνδρομέδῃ (*frag.* 148 Nauck²) καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Ταγηνισταῖς (*frag.* 33 Meineke), schol. Plat. *Charm.* 167 A—B τὸ τρίτον τῷ Σωτήρι: ἐπὶ τῶν τελείως τι πραττόντων. τὰς γὰρ τρίτας σπονδὰς καὶ τὸν τρίτον κρατῆρα ἐκίμων τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτήρι. τέλειος γὰρ ὁ τρία ἀριθμὸς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσον καὶ τέλος ἔχει, καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἀρτιοπέριττος. Τέλειος δὲ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς, ὥστε κατὰ λόγον τρίτον τῷ Διὶ σπένδεται τε καὶ ὁ κρατῆρ τρίτος τίθεται. Σοφοκλῆς Ναυπλίῳ· ‘καὶ Διὸς σωτηρίου | σπονδῇ τρίτου κρατῆρος,’ καὶ Πλάτων Πολιτείας καὶ ἐνταῦθα, Hesych. s.v. τρίτος κρατῆρ· Σοφοκλῆς Ναυπλίῳ καταπλέοντι. ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις ἐκινῶντο κρατῆρες τρεῖς. καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἔλεγον· τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἠρώων· τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σωτήρος, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 14 τὴν μὲν πρώτην σπονδὴν εἶναι θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων, δεύτεραν δὲ ἠρώων, καὶ τρίτην Διὸς Σωτήρος, Soud. s.v. τρίτου κρατῆρος· τοῦ Σωτήρος, ὃν καὶ Τέλειον ἔλεγον. τὸν μὲν γε (G. Bernhardtj cj. μὲν γὰρ) πρῶτον Ὀλυμπίων φασί· τὸν δὲ β’ ἠρώων, <τὸν δὲ γ’ Σωτήρος ins. T. Gaisford>. Πλάτων Πολιτεία· τὸν (G. Bernhardtj cj. τὸ) δὲ γ’ Ὀλυμπικῶς τῷ Σωτήρι τε καὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ (cp. Plat. *rep.* 583 B) = Phot. *lex.* s.v. τρίτου κρατῆρος· τοῦ Σωτήρος, ὃν καὶ Τέλειον ἔλεγον. τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Ὀλυμπίων φασί, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἠρώων, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Ὀλυμπικῶς τῷ Σωτήρι τε καὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ, *ib.* s.v. τρίτος κρατῆρ· Διὸς Τελείου Σωτήρος· πρῶτος γὰρ τέλειος ἀριθμὸς ὁ τρία, ὅτι ἔχει ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος καὶ μέσα, ἰω. Φελοχόρος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἡμερῶν (*frag.* 179 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 414 Müller)), Apostol. 10. 5 α κρατῆρ τρίτος Διὸς Σωτήρος· εἰώθασ· γὰρ ἐν συμποσίοις οἱ παλαιοὶ κερνᾶν κρατῆρα πρῶτον Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ, δεύτερον τοῖς ἠρωσι, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Διὸς Σωτήρος. Σοφοκλῆς τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ ἐν Ναυπλίῳ (A. Boeckh corr. Ναυπλίῳ)· ‘Ζεὺ παυσίλυτε (P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1903 xxxviii. 197 notes a *skýphos* at Athens (no. 12351) with incised inscription ΠΑΥΣΙΛΥΤΟΣ) καὶ Διὸς σωτηρίου | σπονδαὶ τρίτου κρατῆρος,’ 10. 77 α ‘λοιβὰς <Διὸς> μὲν πρῶτον ὠραίου γάμου | “Ἦρας τε.’ εἶτα· ‘τὴν δευτέραν <γε> κρῶσιν” ἠρωσιν νέμω,’ 17. 28 τρίτου κρατῆρος ἐγένεω (a proverb in ancient dactylic metre: *supra* i. 444)· ἐπὶ τῶν μεμνημένων τὰ τελώτατα καὶ σωτηριωδέστερα. τρεῖς δὲ ἦσαν κρατῆρες· καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἔλεγον Ὀλυμπίων, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἠρώων, <τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σωτήρος ins. T. Gaisford>. Πλάτων ἐν Πολιτείᾳ· τὸν (*leg.* τὸ) δὲ τρίτον Ὀλυμπικῶς τῷ Σωτήρι τε <καὶ> Ὀλυμπίῳ. S. A. Naber on Phot. *lex.* s.v. τρίτου κρατῆρος says: ‘Boethi observatio est.’ A. C. Pearson on Soph. *frag.* 425 Jebb remarks: ‘It is clear that our passage was a stock instance with the grammarians, and that all the quotations given above are derived from a common source: this was in all probability Didymus, from whom they may have passed to Diogenian, and thence to the Platonic scholia.’ Another tradition is evidenced by Soud. s.v. κρατῆρ· τρεῖς κρατῆρας ἴστασαν ἐν τῷ δειπνῷ· α’ Ἐρμῆ, β’ Χαρισίῳ (T. Hemsterhuys cj. Χάρισιν), γ’ Διὶ Σωτήρι.

A *kratér* or *stámnos* of Apulian ware from Fasano, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 226 no. F 548, P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1903 xxxviii. 198 n. 2), has its body decorated with (a) a vine-wreath, from which hang two branches with a comic mask between them and a rosette on either side; (b) an ivy-wreath. On its neck is painted in white ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8470 c).

Literary allusions to the third bowl of Zeus Σωτήρ will be found e.g. in Pind. *Isthm.* 6 (5). 10 ff., Aisch. *suppl.* 27 f., *Ag.* 244 ff., 1385 ff., *cho.* 577 f. with 1073 f., *Eum.* 759 f., *frag.* 55 Nauck², Soph. *frag.* 392 Nauck², 425 Jebb, Eur. *frag.* 148 Nauck² (?), Aristoph. *tagenistai frag.* 33 Meineke (?), Plat. *Charm.* 167 A—B, *rep.* 583 B, *Phileb.* 66 D, *legg.* 692 A, *epist.* 7. 334 D, 340 A, Antiphanes *ágroikoi frag.* 5 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 692 F, Euboulos *kybeutai frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 471 D—E, Alexis *tokisté* or *katapseudómenos frag.* 3 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 692 F f., *frag. fab. inc.* 12 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 466 D—E (a goblet inscribed in golden letters ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ), Diphilos *Sappho frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 487 A, Philochoros *frag.* 18 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 387 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 38 C—D, Diod. 4. 3, Philonides *de unguentis et coronis ap.* Athen. 675 B—C, Eumath. 1. 14 (*τέταρτον (sic) ἐπινομεν Σωτήρι Διὶ*).

The chthonian character of the god is well brought out by Aischylos. In *suppl.* 24 ff. the chorus of Danaïdes prays: ὦν πόλις, ὦν γῆ καὶ λευκὸν ὕδωρ | ἕπατοι τε θεοὶ καὶ βαρῶ-

drink for the soul of a dead man. As such it was duplicated by the cup of unmixed wine drunk after dinner in the name of the Agathos Daimon¹. Both

τιμοι | χθόνιοι θήκας κατέχοντες, | και Ζεὺς Σωτὴρ τρίτος, οἰκοφύλαξ | ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν, κ.τ.λ. In *Ag.* 1385 ff. Klytaimestra describes the third and fatal blow dealt by her hand: και πεπτωκότι | τρίτην ἐπεπιδίδωμι, τοῦ κατὰ χθονός | Διός (so R. Enger for ἄιδου codd.) νεκρῶν Σωτῆρος εὐκταλαν χάριν, where W. Kausche 'Mythologumena Aeschylea' in the *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* Halis Saxonum 1888 ix. 179 and A. W. Verrall (ed. 1889) adhere to the manuscript reading, but W. Headlam (trans. 1904) and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (ed. 1914) rightly accept Διός.

¹ With regard to the Agathos Daimon various opinions have been held: see E. Gerhard *Über Wesen, Verwandtschaft und Ursprung der Dämonen und Genien* Berlin 1852 pp. 12 f., 30 (= *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1852 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 248 f., 266), K. Lehers *Populäre Aufsätze aus dem Alterthum*² Leipzig 1875 i. 173 ff. ('Dämon und Tyche'), E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 131, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 746 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 541 ff., Rohde *Psyche*³ i. 254 n. 2, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1087 n. 2, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 401 f., Harrison *Themis* p. 277 ff.

On the whole it seems probable that the *Agathos Daimon* or 'Good Spirit' was originally the male ancestor of the family addressed by a euphemistic title (*supra* p. 1112 n. 7). As such, he was a giver of fertility and wealth, a sort of Plouton or chthonian Zeus, equipped with a *cornu copiae* (Cornut. *theol.* 27 p. 51, 11 ff. 'Αγαθός δὲ Δαίμων... προστάτης... και σωτὴρ τῶν οἰκείων ἐστὶ τῷ σώζειν καλῶς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον... τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας κέρας οἰκείον αὐτῷ φέρμα ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ ἅμα πάντα ἀλδήσκει τὰ κατὰ τοῖς οἰκείους καιροῖς φύμενα, κ.τ.λ.). An Athenian relief shows him as a bearded man carrying his horn and associated with his usual partner, Agathe Tyche (L. Stephani in the *Comptendu St. Pét.* 1859 p. 111, R. Schöne *Griechische Reliefs aus athenischen Sammlungen* Leipzig 1872 p. 55 pl. 26, 109. The inscriptions run: ... | ἀνέθηκ... | Ἀγαθὸς Δα[ίμων]ν [Ἀγ]α[θή] Τύχη): cp. *Brit. Mus. Marbles* xi. 90 ff. pl. 47, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 232 no. 2163, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 481 no. 5. A relief from Thespiæ represents a similar figure seated before an altar (?) with a *phiale* in his right hand, a horn in his left (G. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1878 iii. 408 no. 189, O. Kern *ib.* 1891 xvi. 24 f. fig.). And another relief from Thespiæ completes the likeness to Zeus by the addition of throne, sceptre, and eagle (O. Kern in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 24 f. fig. = my fig. 951, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 356 f. fig. 107, *infra* Append. N *init.* Inscribed: 'Αγέστρος[1], | Τιμοκράτεια, | Πρωτέλλεια, | Ἐμπεδονίκα | Ἀγαθοὶ Δήμων[ε] (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 1815)). Hence, although the contention of J. Neuhäuser *De Graecorum daemonibus particula prior* Berolini 1857 p. 10 ff. that the word *δαίμων* was in the beginning 'ipsius summi numinis appellatio' is justly dismissed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1087 n. 2, we can understand the reasoning of Paus. 8. 36. 5 Μεγαλοπολῆται δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλος ὀνομαζομένων πυλῶν, διὰ τούτων ὀδεύουσιν ἐς Μαίναλον παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἐλισσόντα ἐστὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Ἀγαθοῦ Θεοῦ ναός· εἰ δὲ ἀγαθῶν οἱ θεοὶ δοτῆρες εἰσὶν ἀνθρώποις, Ζεὺς δὲ ὄπατος θεῶν ἐστίν, ἐπόμμενος ἂν τις τῷ λόγῳ τῆν



Fig. 951.

ἐπικλησὼν ταύτην Διὸς τεκμαίροιο εἶναι. Others besides Pausanias took the Agathos Theos to be a sort of Zeus. Tiberius Claudius Xenokles, after serving as fire-bearer, set up an altar at Epidauros in 224 A.D. to the local Agathos Theos, whom he represented as a chthonian Zeus with a sceptre in his right hand, a *cornu copiae* in his left, and a snake wriggling below (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 45 no. 44, Harrison *Themis* p. 285 f. fig. 75, M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1059 with numeral πθ' and circle no. 2 *ib.* p. 186 possibly meant for a snake emerging from its hole (?); cp. another block erected at Epidauros in 187 A.D. by Tiberius Claudius Pollio, after service as *hierarphos*, to the Agathos Theos and to Agathe (P. Cavvadias *op. cit.* i. 44 f. nos. 41—41^a, M. Fränkel *loc. cit.* i no. 997: Agathos Theos has numeral ξγ' and circle no. 1 *ib.* p. 186 possibly meant for a snake emerging from its hole (?); Agathe has numeral ξζ'). The same explanation might well be given of the Zeus-like Theos Megas at Odessos in Thrace,

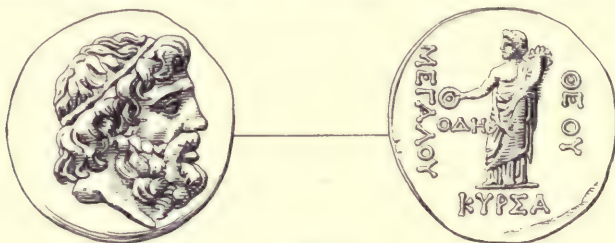


Fig. 952.

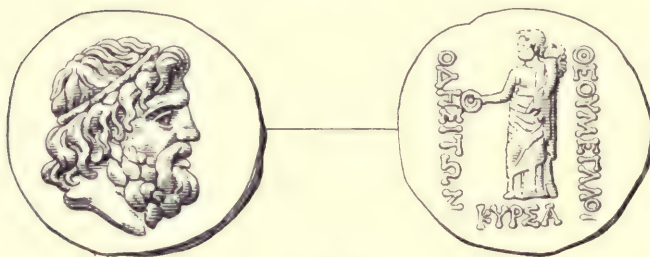


Fig. 953.

where silver tetradrachms were struck in s. ii B.C. with *obv.* a bearded male head wearing a fillet, *rev.* the bearded god standing with *phidde* and *cornu copiae* (B. Pick in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 155 f. pl. 10, 20 = my fig. 952, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 276 fig. 167, inscribed ΘΕΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΔΗ and ΚΥΡΣΑ below. *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 418 pl. 28, 4 = my fig. 953 inscribed ΘΕΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΔΗΣΙΤΩΝ and ΚΥΡΣΑ below. For later variants see *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thrace etc. p. 137 ff. fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 418 f. pl. 28, 5, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 276 f., and especially B. Pick in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 157 ff. pl. 10, 15 ff. and *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* i. 2. 524 ff. pl. 4 f.).

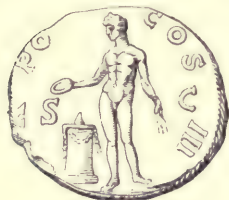


Fig. 954.

Fourth-century sculptors *more suo* represented the Agathos Daimon in younger form. Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 77 mentions among the bronzes of Euphranor to be seen at Rome 'a statue of Bonus Eventus holding a *patera* in its right hand, a corn-ear and poppies in its left.' Fröhner *Med. emp. rom.* p. 35 f. fig. detected the type on a bronze medallion struck by Hadrian (Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 3 no. 3) and Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 349 f. fig. 149 with pl. 6, 37, id. *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 44, 9 ff., ii. 211 f. illustrated it from gems and coins of Galba etc. (in fig. 954 I add the reverse of an unpublished copper of Antoninus Pius in my collection):

cp. also a cameo plaque of blue glass now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Marbles* iii Frontisp., F. Robiou in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 737 fig. 870, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 462 no. 5, C. Davenport *Cameos* London 1900 p. 24 f. pl. 3, Harrison *Themis* p. 302 f. fig. 82), which Taylor Combe *Brit. Mus. Marbles loc. cit.* already recognised as a copy of Euphranor's statue. Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 23 in his list of marble works by Praxiteles at Rome includes 'the statues of Bonus Eventus and Bona Fortuna on the Capitol.' W. Klein *Praxiteles* Leipzig 1898 p. 156, greatly daring, would identify the Praxitelean Bonus Eventus with the bronze original of the Madrid Hypnos and its numerous congeners, e.g. the bronze statuette of a horn-bearing Hypnos at Vienna (*id. ib.* p. 140 fig. 21). Be that as it may, the common assumption that Pliny's *Bonus Eventus* and *Bona Fortuna* are the Latinised forms of *Agathòs Daimon* and *Agathè Týche* is probably correct.

Not till Hellenistic times do we get evidence of the Agathos Daimon conceived as a snake. This belief was especially prevalent in Egypt; but it seems to have spread from thence to Delos, and even to Rome. According to the foundation-legend of Alexandria, when the city-walls began to rise, a snake of huge size and majestic bearing attacked the workmen and hindered their work. Alexander the Great bade his men assemble on the following day to slay the monster. This was done on the site of the later Stoa. An elaborate tomb was built for the snake, and Alexander had garland-shops erected near by 'in order that the beast, commonly thought to do service in temples—it is called Agathos Daimon—, might itself be worshipped as a deity' (Iul. Valer. i. 28 p. 37, 15 ff. Kuebler. The concluding words are: 26 ff. ut quod haec bestia famulitium quoddam templis praestare videbatur—daemon <enim> melior appellatur—, ipse quoque divina quadam religione coleretur). When the snake's tomb was finished, certain blocks of the architrave over the columns of the entrance gave way, and from them were seen to issue numerous snakes (cp. *supra* i. 205 f.). These crept about and entered the *penetralia* of the newly built houses. Soothsayers declared that they too were presiding Daimones to be worshipped in every house as *di Penates*. Hence the custom at Alexandria that on definite days wheaten meal is thrown for the snakes to eat and the upper classes, with garlands, go up to the temple of the Heros, who is served by snakes of this sort (Iul. Valer. i. 29 p. 38, 18 ff. Kuebler. Cp. pseudo-Kallisth. i. 32 ἰδρυμένοι δὲ τοῦ πυλῶνος τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐξαίφνης πλᾶξ μεγίστη ἐξέπεσον ἀρχαιοτάτη πλήρης γραμμάτων, ἐξ ἧς ἐξῆλθον ὄφεις πολλοί, καὶ ἐρπίζοντες εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὰς οὐδοὺς τῶν ἤδη θεμελιωμένων οἰκιῶν. [τὴν πόλιν γὰρ ἔτι παρῶν Ἀλέξανδρος καθίδρυσεν τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει ἱανουαρίου πρώτη καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἱερόν.] ὅθεν τοῖσι τοῖς ὄφεισι σέβονται οἱ θυρωροὶ ὡς Ἄγαθὸς Δαίμονας εἰσιόντας εἰς τὰς οἰκίας· οὐ γὰρ εἰσὶν ἰοβόλα ζῶα with the addition in cod. A ἐκέλευσε δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς φύλαξι τῶν οἰκῶν σίτον δοθῆναι. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες, ἀλῆσαντες καὶ ἀθηροποιησάμενοι τὴν ἡμέραν (C. Müller cj. ταύτη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ) τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι θάλλουσι διδάσιν· ὅθεν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δευτέρου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον φυλάττουσι παρ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι, Τύβι (so C. Müller for Τύβη) κέ τὰ μὲν κτήνη στεφανοῦσθαι, θυσιάζεσθαι <δὲ> τοῖς Ἄγαθὸς Δαίμοσι τοῖς προνοουμένοις τῶν οἰκιῶν, καὶ διασώσεις (διαδόσεις? C. Müller) τῶν ἀθρῶν ποιέσθαι). See further Plout. *amiat.* 12 ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποτὲ γείτονας ἑώρων δύο διαμφισβητοῦντας ὄφεις προσεπέψαντος εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ἀμφοτέρων μὲν Ἄγαθὸν Δαίμονα καλοῦντων, ἑκατέρου δ' ἔχειν ἀξιούντος ὡς ἴδιον, Lamprid. *v. Helioγab.* 28. 3 Aegyptios dracunculos Romae habuit, quos illi Agathodaemonas vocant, C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 81 pap. Par. 2427 ff. (part of a charm to secure wealth, in which a waxen man begs with his right hand, holds in his left a wallet and a staff with a snake coiled about it, and has a coiled snake on his belt and upon the crown of his head) εἰς δὲ τὸν δράκοντα τὸ | ὄνομα τοῦ Ἄγαθου Δαίμονος, δ ἔστιν, | ὡς λέγει Ἐπαφρόδιτος, [δ ἔστιν] τὸ ὑποκειμένον· | φρη αν ωῖ φωρχω φωνν ρορφισ | οροχωωῖ, ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ χάρτη δ (sic) εἶρο(ν), | μετεβλήθη τὸ πραγματικὸν οὕτως· | αρπονκνοιφι δ, Philon Bybl. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 572 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* i. 10. 48 ff. Φοίνικες δὲ αὐτὸ (sc. the snake) Ἄγαθὸν Δαίμονα καλοῦσιν. ὁμοίως καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι Κνήφ ἐπονομάζουσι· προστιθέασι δὲ αὐτῷ ἰέρακος κεφαλὴν διὰ τὸ πρακτικὸν τοῦ ἰέρακος... ἔτι μὴν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐννοίας τὸν κόσμον γράφοντες περιφερῆ κύκλον ἀεροειδῆ καὶ πυρωτὸν χαράσσουσι, καὶ μέτα τεταμένον ὄφιν ἰερακόμορφον, καὶ ἔστι τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα ὡς τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν

θήτα, τὸν μὲν κύκλον κόσμον μνημόνους τὸν δὲ μέσον ὄφιν συνεκτικὸν τοῦτου Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα σημαίνοντες. Nero, who in Egypt called himself ὁ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων τῆς | οἰκουμένης (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4699, 3 f. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 666, 3 f.), struck



Fig. 955.

billon coins there with the reverse type of a serpent enfolding corn-ears and poppy-heads, inscribed ΝΕΟ·ΑΓΑΘ·ΔΑΙΜΩΝ = νέος Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 20 f. pl. 26, 171 = my fig. 955, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 413, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 863, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 131 fig. 174, Harrison *Themis* p. 277 fig. 66). And a remarkable contorniate medal shows him as the νέος Ἀπόλλων, νέος Διόνυσος (*supra* pp. 96 n. 3, 254), and νέος Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων rolled into one (fig. 956 from a specimen in my collection. *Obv.*: Head of Nero to right, with bow and arrow in front of him, and ivy-leaf behind

him. The usual compendium ρ here appears on Nero's face, the P encircling his eye and the E marking his nostril and mouth. Also the muscles of his neck are peculiarly rendered in the form of an ivy-leaf. *Rev.*: Bearded and crested snake approaching a portable altar with dependent fillets). The antechamber of a Graeco-Egyptian catacomb at Kom el Chougafa has its doorway flanked by two such snakes equipped with *thýrsos* and winged *caduceus* (F. W. von Bissing *Les bas-reliefs de Kom el Chougafa* Munich 1901 pl. 1). Another rock-cut tomb, known locally as 'the grave of

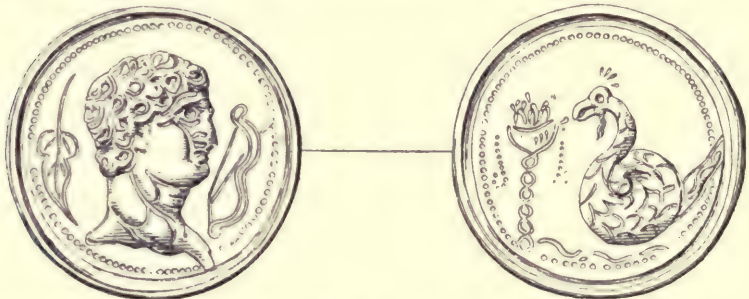


Fig. 956.

Adam and Eve,' in the garden of the late Sir John Antoniadis at Alexandria has its innermost niche occupied by the relief of a large snake coiled on a couch with gay-coloured cushions (H. Thiersch *Zwei antike Grabanlagen bei Alexandria* Berlin 1904 p. 6 ff. figs. 6 f., p. 16 f. pl. 5 f.). This challenges comparison with a relief from Delos, which shows a large bearded snake similarly installed on a couch between a bearded male figure bearing *phidre* and *cornu copiae* to the right and a female figure bearing *oinochoe* and *cornu copiae* to the left: these personages, who both have a *modius* on their heads and are draped alike in *chiton* and *himation*, should be interpreted as Agathos Daimon (hardly Sarapis or Plouton) and Agathe Tyche (M. Bulard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1907 xxxi. 525 ff. fig. 24, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 326 no. 2). Agathos Daimon is, in fact, here represented both in his animal and in his human form. Similarly a marble statue at Berlin, which portrays Antinoos as Agathos Daimon, makes him a youthful Dionysiac figure resting his hand on a *cornu copiae* with a snake twined about it (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 146 f. no. 361 fig., Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 947 fig. 2427, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 131 fig. 173). A small relief of s. iii A.D. in the Palazzo Massimo alle Terme again groups Agathos Daimon with Agathe Tyche (F. von Duhn in Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 144 no. 3764 says Sarapis (?) with Alexandria (?). F. Grossi Gondi 'Di una singolare rappresentazione mitologica sincretistica del culto romano' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1910 xxxviii. 150—160 fig. 1 decides for Serapis with Isis (Isityche)). It represents the former as a coiled snake with

had their counterpart in another Greek custom. 'Food that fell from the tables,' says Athenaios, 'they used to assign to their dead friends.' And by way of proof he quotes from Euripides the couplet descriptive of the love-sick Sthenobolia, who believes that Bellerophon is dead:

Never a crumb falls from her finger-tips
But she must cry: 'For the Corinthian guest!'

Athenaios might have added the Pythagorean precept not to pick up food from the floor, a precept utilised by Aristophanes in his *Heroes* and duly recorded by Aristotle *On the Pythagoreans*².

a bearded human head wearing a *modius*, the latter as a draped goddess likewise wearing a *modius* and holding a leafy spray (hardly corn-ears) in her right hand, a *cornu copiae* in her left, while a large jar projects from the ground beside her.

Agathos Daimon was, on this showing, a chthonian power essentially akin to Zeus *Sotér*. As a fertilising agent he was naturally brought into connexion with Dionysos (see bibliography at the beginning of this note), with whom he is even identified (Philonides *de unguentis et coronis ap.* Athen. 675 B). The postprandial draught of unmixed wine is referred to Agathos Daimon by Aristoph. *eq.* 105 ff., *vesp.* 525, *rax* 300 with scholl. *ad locc.*, Antiphanes *lampás frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 486 F and 487 B, Theophr. *ap.* Athen. 693 C—D, Aelius Dionysios *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1471, 32 ff., Ail. *var. hist.* 1. 20, Hesych. *s.v.* 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος πῶμα = Bekker *anecd.* i. 209, 14 ff., i. 334, 4 ff. = Apostol. 1. 10. Cp. also the 'Αγαθοδαίμονιστάλ (Hesych. *s.v.*) or 'Αγαθοδαίμονιαστάλ (Aristot. *eth. Eud.* 3. 6. 1233 b 3 f., *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 161, 5 = Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial. Inscr.* iii. 1. 478 f. no. 3842, 5 και ὑπὸ [Διοσ]ταβυριαστῶν 'Αγαθοδαίμονιαστῶν Φιλ(ω)νελίων κοινού κ.τ.λ., with Plout. *sympr.* 3. 7. 1). The toast 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος is distinguished from the toast Διὸς Σωτήρος by Eriphos *frag.* 3 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 693 C, Xenarchos *didymoi frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 693 B—C, Diod. 4. 3, Poll. 6. 100, Athen. 692 F, Soud. *s.v.* 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος, schol. Aristoph. *rax* 300, cp. Philochoros *frag.* 18 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 387 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 38 C—D and *frag.* 19 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 387 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 693 D—E, and never really confused with it (Diphilos *Sappho frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 487 A 'Αρχιλοχε, δέξαι τήνδε τὴν μεταπιπρίδα | μεστὴν Διὸς Σωτήρος, 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος is a case of *asyndeton*, not of apposition. Cp. e.g. Herond. 2. 67 f.).

A *kántharos* with knotted handles from Athens (Nicole *Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* p. 272 f. no. 1173, C. Watzinger in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 74 no. 17 fig., P. Wolters *ib.* 1913 xxxviii. 198 n. 2) has round its neck a yellow ivy-wreath, above which is painted in white ΑΓΑΘΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ. A small vase at Kentoripa (*Centorbi*) is inscribed ΑΓΑΘΟΥ ΔΑΜΟΣ, which is perhaps to be read as 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος rather than as 'Αγαθοδάμου (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2406, 109, P. Wolters *loc. cit.*). Cp. a fragment of black ware with relief-decoration and the inscription ΗΣΤΥ+ΗΣ = ['Αγαθ]ῆς Τύχης round its neck, found on the W. slope of the Akropolis at Athens (A. Koerte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 294, P. Wolters *loc. cit.*).

¹ Athen. 427 E τοῖς δὲ τετελευτηκόσι τῶν φίλων ἀπένεμον τὰ πίπτοντα τῆς τροφῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τραπέζων· διὸ καὶ Εὐριπίδης περὶ τῆς Σθενεβοίας φησὶν, ἐπειδὴ νομίζει τὸν Βελλεροφόντην τεθνάναι, ἴπεσον δὲ νῦν λέλθην οὐδὲν ἐκ χερσός, | ἀλλ' εὐθύς αὐτῶν "τῷ Κορινθίῳ ξένῳ" (*Eur. frag.* 664 Nauck²). The Euripidean passage is parodied by Kratin. *fab. inc. frag.* 16. 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 179 ff. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 782 D—E, Aristoph. *thesm.* 404 f. with schol. *ad locc.*, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Κορινθίος ξένος.

² Aristot. *frag.* 190 Rose *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 34 φησὶ δ' 'Αριστοτέλης... παραγγέλλειν αὐτὸν (*sc.* Πυθαγόραν)...τὰ...πεσοντ' ἀπὸ τραπέζης μὴ ἀναίρεισθαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐθίξεσθαι μὴ ἀκολάστως ἐσθλεῖν ἢ ὅτι ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τινος ('sive quod essent mortuo destinata' Ambrosius revised by C. G. Cobet): καὶ 'Αριστοφάνης δὲ τῶν ἠρώων φησὶν εἶναι τὰ πίπτοντα, λέγων ἐν τοῖς Ἡρωσὶ (*frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 1070 f. Meineke)) 'μηδὲ γείεσθ' ἄτ' ἂν ἐντὸς (I. Casaubon and W. Canter, followed by C. Jacobitz, *cj.* ἐκτὸς) τῆς τραπέζης καταπέση' = Soud. *s.v.* Πυθαγόρα τὰ σύμβολα.

Secondly, the buried chieftain was *Ephrosios* because he kept an eye on his descendants and watched over their interests¹. The title was, however, susceptible of a wider meaning. So Zeus *Ephrosios*² came to be revered as the guardian of suppliants³, the observer of right and wrong⁴, the avenger of impious deeds⁵. Like Zeus *Panoptes*⁶, he readily took on a solar complexion⁷. And it may be that the story of Zeus transforming himself into a hoopoe (*eprops*)

¹ Cp. the important passage Hes. *o. d.* 121 ff. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖ' ἐκάλυψε, | τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς | ἐσθλοί, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, | [οἱ ῥα φυλάσσοσιν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα | ἡέρα ἐσσάμενοι πάντη φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν,] | πλουτοδόται· καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλῆιον ἔσχον. For *apparatus criticus* see A. Rzsch *ad loc.* *Infra* Append. M *fin.*

The adjective *eprosios* is used in this sense by Soph. *Phil.* 1040 f. ἀλλ', ὦ πατράα γῆ θεοὶ τ' ἐπρόσιοι, | τείσασθε κ.τ.λ., the substantive *eprosios* by Strab. 676 εἴτ' Ἀμφίλοχον... συμβαλεῖν εἰς μονομαχίαν πρὸς τὸν Μόβον, πεσόντας δ' ἀμφοτέρους ταφῆναι μὴ ἐν ἐπόψει ἀλλήλοισι, the verb *epopteuein* by Aisch. *cho.* 489 of the buried Agamemnon ὦ γαῖ', ἄνε μοι πατέρ' ἐποπτεύουσι μάχην, *cho.* 1 of Hermes *Chthónios* Ἐρμῆ Χθόνιε πατῶν' ἐποπτεύων κράτη cited by Aristoph. *ran.* 1126, 1138 ff., *Eum.* 220 of the Eumenides τὸ μὴ τίνεσθαι μηδ' ἐποπτεύειν κτῶν, *cho.* 984 ff. of Helios ὡς ἴδη πατῆρ, | οὐχ οὐμός, ἀλλ' ὁ πᾶντ' ἐποπτεύων τᾶδε | Ἥλιος, ἀναγνα μητῶν ἔργα τῆς ἐμῆς, *Ag.* 1270 of Apollon *epopteusas* dé me, *Eum.* 224 of Athena δίκας δὲ Παλλὰς τῶνδ' ἐποπτεύσει θεά, *cho.* 1064 f. of God καὶ σ' ἐποπτεύων πρόφρων | θεὸς φυλάσσοι κ.τ.λ., *Ag.* 1578 f. of the gods in general φαίην ἂν ἦδη νῦν βροτῶν τιμαῶν | θεοῖς ἀνωθεν γῆς ἐποπτεύειν ἀχῆ (see further F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. *ran.* 1126). Similarly *eporān* is used of Zeus in *Od.* 13. 213 f. (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 1), Archil. *frag.* 84 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Stob. *eccl.* 1. 3. 34 p. 58, 11 ff. Wachsmuth (Clem. *Al. Strom.* 5. 14 p. 412, 3 ff. Stählin, Euseb. *praer.* *ev.* 13. 13. 54) ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος, | σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὄρας | λεωργὰ καὶ θεμιστά (so Liebel for *κάθεμιστα* or the like), σοὶ δὲ θηρίων | ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει, Soph. *El.* 174 f. ἔτι μέγας οὐρανοῦ | Ζεὺς, θεὸς ἐφορᾷ πάντα καὶ κρατύνει. For Zeus *Ephrosos* see *supra* i. 737 n. 8.

² *Supra* i. 737 n. 9.

³ *Ap. Rhod.* 2. 1123 ἀντόμεθα πρὸς Ζηνὸς Ἐποψίου with schol. Paris. *ad loc.* Ἐπόσιος δὲ ὁ ἔποπτος (J. Alberti corr. ἐπόπτης), 1131 ff. (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2).

⁴ Kallim. *h. Zeus* 81 ff. Ἴξεο δ' αὐτὸς | ἄρκης ἐν πολίεσσιν, ἐπόσιος οἱ τε δίκησι | λαὸν ὑπὸ σκολιῆς, οἱ τ' ἐμπαλιν ἰθύνουσιν.

⁵ Orph. *Arg.* 1035 ἀλλὰ οἱ οὐτι λάθον Δι' ἐπόσιον οὐδὲ θέμιστας.

⁶ *Supra* i. 459 ff.

⁷ A stone pillar (height 1·0^m, breadth 0·23^m), found on the site of Itanos (*Erimopolis*) in E. Crete and now serving as a lintel in a cottage near the lighthouse on *Capo Sidero*, bears the following inscription in letters of s. iv B.C. or earlier: Πάτρων Δι | Ἐπ[ο]ψ[ι]ω | ἀνε[θ]ηκε. | τροπα[ι] χει|μεριναί. | εἰ τινι τούτων : ἐπιμε|λές : κατὰ | τὴν : χοιράδα : τὴν | μικρὰν | καὶ τὴν στή|λην : ὁ ἥλιος | τρέπεται (F. Halbherr in the *Museo Italiano di antichità classica* 1890 iii. 585 f. no. 4 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1181 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 1264). The original position of the pillar was such that a line drawn from it to a certain small rock visible at sea, and prolonged thence to the horizon, would mark the precise spot where the sun rose at the winter solstice. Halbherr *ad loc.* cp. schol. Aristoph. *av.* 997 φησὶ δὲ Καλλίστρατος ἐν Κολωνῶ ἀνάθημά τι εἶναι αὐτοῦ (sc. Μέτωνος) ἀστρολογικὸν and Ail. *var. hist.* 10. 7 ὅτι Μέτων ὁ Λευκονοεῖς ἀστρολόγος ἀνέστησε στήλας καὶ τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου τροπὰς κατεγράψατο. The rosette or star, which figures so frequently on coins of Itanos (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 201 ff. pl. 18, 21 ff., pl. 19, 5, 16, 19, 22 f., 25 ff., *id.* in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 115, 117 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 51 f. pl. 12, 6 ff., pl. 13, 4, 7 f., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 895 ff. pl. 244, 1 ff., 20, pl. 245, 3, 7 ff., Anson *Num. Gr.* vi. 11 no. 114 pl. 1, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 469 f.), was in all probability a solar symbol. And Zeus on Cretan soil tended to become a sun-god (*supra* i. 545 ff.).

For *Ephrosios* as a title of Apollon see *supra* i. 737 n. 9.

to win Lamia¹ owes something to popular confusion with the title *Ephépsios*². Thirdly, the king was *Meilichios*—a coaxing or cajoling appellation³, which he shared with various chthonian powers⁴.

Two other points in the narrative of Antoninus Liberalis call for remark. Periphas, transformed into an eagle, was set to guard the sacred sceptre and had leave to approach the very throne of Zeus⁵. Much the same is said of

¹ W. Crönert in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 1901 i. 109 n. 1 drew attention to an unnoticed fragment of Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* (in the series of photographs issued by the Oxford Philological Society vi. 206) on the amours of Zeus: [ὦν ἦν καὶ Νέμ]εσις, [ἦν | φη]σιν (T) ὁ τὰ Κύ[πρια | γ]ράφας ὁμοιωθῆ[ν]α <ι> <ι> χηνί, Δία <δὲ> αὐτ[ῆν | δ]ιώκειν καὶ μιγῆν[αι, | τὴν δ]εῖ ὠὼν τεκεῖν, | [ἐξ] οὗ γενέσθαι τῆ[ν | Ἐλ]λένην. ὥσ[π]ε[ρ] αὐ | Λή]δας ἐρασθεῖς [ἐ]γ[γ]ένο κύκνο[s. | Εὐ]ρώπης δὲ ταυ[ί]ρος, Λαμία δὲ ξ[ί]πρω[ψ] (so F. Blass), Δανάης δὲ χ[ρ]υσό[s]. καὶ παρ' Ἀποδ[λωνιδίῃ] καὶ παρ' Εὐ[ροπιδίῃ] λέγεται... With this allusion to the hoopoe O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2566 well cp. Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Λαμίε ἐπεμορφώθη ἔποψ, Rufin. *recoguit.* 10. 22 Lamiam (sc. stuprat) mutatus in upupam.

² Aisch. *frag.* 304, 1 Nauck² *ap.* Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 49 v. 633 a 19 τοῦτον δ' ἐπόπτῃν ἔποπα τῶν αὐτοῦ κακῶν | κ.τ.λ. (F. G. Welcker *Die Griechischen Tragödien* Bonn 1839 i. 384, followed by many scholars, attributed the fragment to Sophokles' *Tereus*: see A. C. Pearson on Soph. *frag.* 581 (Jebb)). Cp. Hesych. ἔποψ· ἐπόπτῃς. δυνάστης. καὶ εἶδος ὄρνεου.

There were, no doubt, other reasons, which made the hoopoe a suitable vehicle for Zeus, especially his fine feathered crest or crown and his widely-recognized magical powers (to the evidence cited by S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 111 f. add the *Kyranides* i. 7. 11 ff. in F. de Mély—C. É. Ruelle *Les Lapidaires de l'antiquité et du moyen âge* Paris 1898 ii (Les Lapidaires grecs). 20 ff. with 235 f. [ἔποψ] ζῶν ἐστὶν ἐν ἀέρι πτώμενον ὃ καλεῖται ἔποψ, ἐπτάχρωμον βασιλείον ἔχον μήκει δακτύλων β', ἀπλούμενον καὶ συσσελλόμενον· αὐτὸ δὲ τετράχρωμον, ὡς εἰπεῖν, πρὸς τὰς δ' τροπὰς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ· οὗτος καλεῖται κουκούφας καὶ πούπος, ὡς ἐγράφη τὰ περὶ τούτου ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῇ βίβλω 'ἀρχαῖκῃ' καλουμένῃ· ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ ζῶν ἱερὸν. λαβῶν οὖν τὴν τούτου καρδίαν ἐτι πταίρουσαν κατάπιε ἀντίκρου τοῦ ἡλίου ὥρας πρώτης ἀρχομένης ἢ ὀγδόης ἀρχομένης· ἐστὼ δὲ ἡμέρα Κρόνου, σελήνης ἀνατολικῆς οὐσῆς· καὶ ἐπίπιε γαλὰ βοῦς μελαίνης μετ' ὀλίγου μέλιτος ἐκ τοῦ συνθέματος αὐθωρόν, ἵνα ἡ καρδία ὑγιῆς καταποθῆ, καὶ ἐση προγινώσκων τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ γῆ, καὶ ἐφ' ἐτις κατὰ ψυχὴν ἔχει τι καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὰ κλήματα καὶ κατὰ πόδας γίνεται καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις... ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν καρδίαν καὶ ἦπαρ ἔποπος βάλης ἐν τῷ συνθέματι, κρείττον ἔσται καὶ ἐτι μνημονικώτερον ποιεί... The sequel deals with a yet more potent charm, in which, among other ingredients, is καὶ τὸ βασιλείον τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἔποπος). On his relations to the cuckoo, hawk, woodpecker, and bee-eater see E. Oder 'Der Wiedehopf in der griechischen Sage' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1888 xliii. 541—556, D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 pp. 54—57, S. Bochart *op. cit.* iii. 107—115, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 681 f., C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 pp. 106—109, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 60—63. Horapoll. *hierogl.* 1. 55 εὐχαριστίαν γράφοντες, κουκούφαν ('hoopoe') ζωγραφοῦσι· διότι τοῦτο μόνον τῶν ἀλόγων ζῶων, ἐπειδὴν ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων ἐκτραφῆ, γηράσασιν αὐτοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποδίδωσι χάριν... ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θείων σκήπτρων κουκούφα προτιμηθεῖς ἐστὶ (cp. Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 16, 16. 5) looks like a parallel to the tale of Periphas, but is perhaps based on a misconception; for the erectile crest of the hoopoe, when laterally compressed (H. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1895 iv. 57 ff., col. pl., A. H. Evans *The Birds of Britain* Cambridge 1916 p. 108 f. fig.), bears a superficial resemblance to the regular sceptre of the gods (see e.g. C. Leemans on Horapoll. *loc. cit.* with fig. 54).

³ *Supra* p. 1112 n. 7.

⁴ See O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2558, 2563.

⁵ Ant. Lib. 6 (*supra* p. 1121 f.) διδοῖ φυλάσσειν τὸ ἱερὸν σκήπτρον καὶ προσίναει πρὸς τὸν ἐάντου θρόνον.

Merops an early king of Kos¹. Behind such traditions lie definite beliefs. It was supposed, as I have elsewhere contended², that, when the divine king died, his soul escaped as a bird and in that shape continued to watch over the fortunes of his realm. Further, his divinity was transmitted to his successor in outward and visible form as an eagle-tipped sceptre to be handed down from king to king. Thus the soul of Agamemnon, for instance, became an eagle³; and the sceptre which had descended to him from Zeus⁴, with an eagle perched upon it⁵, was worshipped at Chaironeia as the chief of the gods⁶. The sceptre originally belonged

¹ Schol. *Il.* 24. 293 οἱ δὲ, ὅτι Μέρωψ ὁ Κῶος ἀπαύστως ἐπέπθει τὴν γυναῖκα, ξενίας δὲ τὴν Ῥέαν (C. Robert cj. Ἦραν) μετεβλήθη καὶ συμπάρεστιν αἰὲ τῷ Δίῳ, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1351, 29 f. φέρεται δὲ μῦθος καὶ ὅτι Μέρωψ Κῶος, ἀπαύστως τὴν γυναῖκα πενθὼν θανοῦσαν, ξενίας Ῥέαν, μετεβλήθη εἰς αἰετὸν, καὶ σύνεστιν αἰὲ τῷ Δίῳ. It may be suspected that originally Merops was metamorphosed, not into an eagle, but into a bee-eater (μέροψ), cp. *Ant. Lib.* 18 and D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 116 f.

² *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 386 ff., cp. *ib.* 1905 xvi. 312, 1906 xvii. 165 ff., 313 ff.

³ *Plat. rep.* 620 B τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ἀγαμέμνονος (sc. ψυχῆν) ἔχθρα δὲ καὶ ταύτην τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους διὰ τὰ πάθη αἰετοῦ διαλλάξαι βλον. It would not be safe to conclude that Agamemnon's choice was due to Platonic fancy: Platon constantly founds on folk-belief (*supra* i. 310 f., 357 n. 4, ii. 43 ff., 63 n. o).

⁴ *Il.* 2. 100 ff. (Hephaistos made the sceptre for Zeus, from whom it passed successively to Hermes, Pelops, Atreus, Thyestes, and Agamemnon) with schol. *ad loc.* and Eustath. *in Il.* p. 181, 13 ff.

⁵ *Aristoph. av.* 509 ff. ΠΕ. ἤρχον δ' οὕτω σφόδρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥστ' εἰ τις καὶ βασιλείου | ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Ἀγαμέμνων ἢ Μενέλαος, | ἐπὶ τῶν σκῆπτρων ἐκάθητ' ὄρνις, μετέχων δ' τι δωροδοκίῃ with schol. *ad loc.* ἐν γὰρ τοῖς σκῆπτροις τῶν βασιλείων ἦν αἰετός. But see *supra* i. 406 f.

⁶ *Paus.* 9. 40. 11 f. θεῶν δὲ μάλιστα Χαιρωνεῖς τιμῶσι τὸ σκῆπτρον ὃ ποιῆσαι Δίῳ φησιν Ὀμηρος Ἡφαιστον, παρὰ δὲ Διὸς λαβόντα Ἐρμῆν δοῦναι Πέλοπι, Πέλοπα δὲ Ἀτρεῖ καταλιπεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀτρεία Θυέστη, παρὰ Θυέστου δὲ ἔχειν Ἀγαμέμνονα· τοῦτο οὖν τὸ σκῆπτρον ἐσέβουσι, δῶρον ὀνομάζοντες. καὶ εἶναι μὲν τι θεϊότερον οὐχ ἤκιστα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιφανὲς ἐξ αὐτοῦ· φασὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρνιθι ἀυτῶν καὶ Πανοπέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Φωκίᾳ εὐρεθῆναι, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρυσὸν εὐρασθαι τοὺς Φωκεῖς, σφίσι δὲ ἀσμένιος ἀντὶ χρυσοῦ γενέσθαι τὸ σκῆπτρον. κομισθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ὑπὸ Ἠλέκτρας τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος πείθομαι. ναὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ δημοσίᾳ πεποιημένος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ὁ (H. C. Schubart, followed by H. Hitzig—H. Blümner, cj. ὁ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον) ἱερώμενος ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἔχει τὸ σκῆπτρον· καὶ οἱ θυοῖαι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν θύονται, καὶ τράπεζα παράκειται παντοδαπῶν κρεῶν καὶ πεμμάτων πλήρης. The worship of sceptre or spear was characteristic of a primitive age: *Iust.* 43. 3. 3 per ea tempora adhuc reges hastas pro diademate habebant, quas Graeci sceptra dixere. nam et ab origine rerum pro signis immortalibus veteres hastas coluere, ob cuius religionis memoriam adhuc deorum simulacris hastae adduntur, *Philon Bybl. frag.* 1. 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 564 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 9. 29 οἱ παλιῆτατοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἱερατέρως δὲ Φοινίκης τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου, παρ' ὧν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παρέλαβον ἄνθρωποι, θεοὺς ἐνὸς, μεγίστους τοὺς τὰ πρὸς τὴν βιωτικὴν χρεῖαν εὐρόντας, ἧ καὶ κατὰ τι εὐποιήσαντας τὰ ἔθνη· γέτας τε τοῦτους καὶ πολλῶν αἰτίων ἀγαθῶν ἡγούμενοι ὡς θεοὺς προσεκύνουν, καὶ εἰς τὸ χ. ἔν μεταστάνας ναοὺς κατασκευασάμενοι στήλας τε καὶ ῥάβδους ἀφίερουν ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτῶν, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλως σεβόμενοι, καὶ ἐορτὰς ἐνεμον αὐτοῖς τὰς μεγίστας Φοινίκης. Examples of the cult are collected by De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* p. 90 f. § 94 ff. and Frazer *Pausanias* v. 210 ff., *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art i. 365. It is possible that the object revered by the Chaeroneans was a sceptre found in the grave of some 'Minoan' chief (cf. C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 250 f., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 978 f., W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Iliion* Athen 1902 i. 385, 398, R. M. Dawkins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 284, H. R. Hall *Aegean Archaeology* London 1915 pp. 57, 242). H. C. Schubart in

to the king as weather-maker, and the eagle on it was no mere decoration¹

Philologus 1860 xv. 400 thought that it was housed in a portable wooden shrine (ὄκημα!). But F. Thiersch in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad.* 1858 Philos.-philol. Classe viii. 445 with far greater probability explained that the priest for the time being used a room (ὄκημα) in his own house as chapel for the *chose sacrée*. The annual tenure of his office seems to have been a method of ensuring his bodily competence (*Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 394 ff.).

¹ K. Sittl *Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribute des Zeus* (Besonderer Abdruck aus dem vierzehnten Supplementbande der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie) Leipzig 1884 pp. 3—42 contains a rich collection of material. Here we are concerned only with the eagle in relation to the sceptre (cp. *supra* i. 127 fig. 96, 128 f. pl. xii, 200 f. fig. 146, 251 pl. xxii, 501 f. pl. xxxi, 590 fig. 450, 596 fig. 454, ii. 104 fig. 65, 512 fig. 390)—a combination which should be compared with the cuckoo-on-sceptre (*supra* i. 134 f., 532 fig. 399), the cock-on-column (G. von Brauchitsch *Die panathenäischen Preisamphoren* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 106 ff. fig. 33 ff., R. Garrucci *Storia della Arte Cristiana* Prato 1881 iv. 59 pl. 251, 1), the woodpecker-on-post (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* i. 14: see *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 375, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 24, 10, ii. 119, Harrison *Themis* p. 101 f. fig. 17, W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 265. I figure (scale $\frac{2}{3}$) an engraved cornelian at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (J. H. Middleton *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings* London 1892 p. 50 no. 26), which shows a warrior consulting the woodpecker of Mars at Tiora Matiene (Dion. Hal. *loc. cit.*), the hawk-on-pillar (D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 pp. 157 pl. 22, 1a, 161 f. pl. 25, 1 ff., 198, W. M. Flinders Petrie *Tanis* London 1888 ii. 2. 9, J. T. Bent *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*³ London 1895 p. 180 ff.), the dove-on-sceptre (*Encyclopædia Britannica*⁹ London 1886 xx. 340 s.v. 'Regalia,' *ib.* xxi. 385 s.v. 'Sceptre,' *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 315, *The Daily Graphic* for Dec. 14, 1907 p. 8 fig.), and the like.



Fig. 957.

The earliest literary allusions (Pind. *Pyth.* 9 ff. εὔδει δ' ἀνὰ σκάπτω Διὸς αἰετός, κ. τ. λ. with schol. *ad loc.* and Soph. *frag.* 799 Nauck², 884 Jebb, *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *az.* 515 ὁ σκηπτοροβιάμων αἰετός, κύων Διός) are at least suggestive of vitality. Cp. Append. N *med.* And classical numismatic art conceived of the bird as alive and active. On an archaic silver obol (?) of Galaria or Galarina in Sicily he is unusually large and prominent (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 64 fig., P. Gardner *Types of Gk Coins* p. 89 pl. 2, 1 f., G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 90 f. fig. 12, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 139 *obv.* CAAA, Dionysos standing with *kántharos* and vine-branch; *rev.* ΣΟΤΕΡ retrograde, Zeus enthroned with eagle-sceptre). On coppers of Ptolemy vi Philometor (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt* p. 80 pl. 19, 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 388 ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and ΕΥΛ (the regent Eulaios) and of Antiochos viii Grypos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 90 pl. 24, 4, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 102 f. pl. 70, 1 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΟΥΣ with IE to left, ΒΡΡ (= 120 B.C.) and ear of corn below, *ib.* iii. 103 pl. 70, ² the Macedonian eagle appears shouldering a sceptre. On a gold coin struck by K...on, king of Thrace (?) under the Romans, c. 42 B.C. the eagle carries a sceptre and a wreath (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thrace* p. 208 fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 436, *Ant. Müns. Berlin Paeonia* etc. iii. 2. 23 fig., *Head Hist. num.*² pp. 272, 289). *Denarii* struck c. 49 B.C. by one Terentius Varro *pro quaestore* have *obv.* VARRO·PRO Q; a filleted bust of Iupiter (*Terminalis*?) to right; *rev.* MAGN·PRO COS (*Magnus pro consule*) in exergue, a sceptre upright between an eagle and a dolphin (emblems of earth, air, and sea?) (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 343, 485 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 362 nos. 64, 65 pl. 100, 16, 66, 363 nos. 67, 68 pl. 100, 18, 69). An *aureus* of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, 48—46 B.C., has *obv.* METEL·PIVS SCIP·IMP, a bust of Iupiter (*Terminalis*?)

but an actual embodiment of Zeus¹, which conferred upon its holder the powers of the sky-god. This belief has left traces of itself throughout the historical period of Greece and Rome²; indeed, it appears to have lingered on³ well into the middle ages⁴. In a sense it is still with us⁵. But if the mythopoeic mind fitly transformed any ancient king into an eagle⁶, it did so in the case of Periphas with a clear conscience. For Periphas, as son or father of Lapithes⁷, was near akin to the Phlegyai⁸, whose very name marks them as an 'Eagle'-tribe⁹.

In conclusion, the devotion of Periphas to Apollon is adequately explained, either by the fact that in the Lapith genealogy Lapithes and Kentauros were

to right, with an eagle's head



Fig. 958.

and sceptre below (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 278 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 571 fig.: there are *denarii* with the same type—Babelon *op. cit.* i. 279, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 571 no. 4 pl. 121, 2, no. 5). A first brass of Hadrian has *rev. PROVIDENTIAEORVM* and S.C., an eagle flying with a sceptre towards the emperor, who stands with a roll in his left hand (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² ii, 208 no. 1207. Fig. 958 is from a specimen in my collection. Cohen *ib.* no. 1208 fig. shows a second brass with the same design).

¹ *Supra* i. 105 f. fig. 76, 164 n. 4, 532 figs. 395—400, 543 n. 6, and especially ii. 187 n. 8, 751 f.

² *Supra* p. 1133 n. 1.

³ Cp. R. Garrucci *Storia della Arte Cristiana* Prato 1881 iv. 76 pl. 226, 5.

⁴ Mrs H. Jenner *Christian Symbolism* London 1910 p. 41 f.: 'The Eagle is chiefly used to suggest the inspiration of the Holy Spirit to saints of the Old Law, such as David and Elisha, but it is not common.' This is illustrated by a plate from an English ms. of s. xi now in the British Museum (Cotton. Tib. C. vi), which shows David inspired by the eagle on his sceptre (Mrs Jenner by an odd slip says 'dove'): above is the hand of God, holding a horn full of rays. My friend Mr G. F. Hill kindly directs me to a discussion of the inspiration-type by C. R. Morey 'East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection' in the *University of Michigan Studies*, Humanistic Series 1914 xii. 35 ff.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1133 n. 1 the dove-on-sceptre.

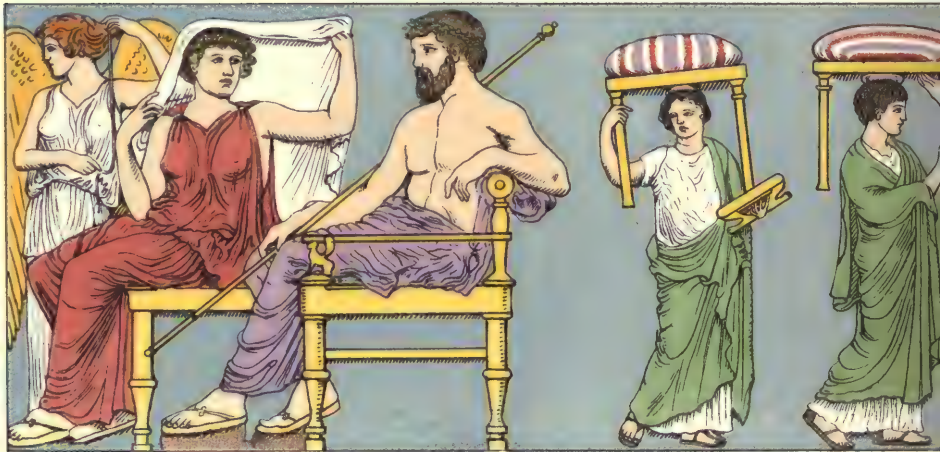
⁶ In addition to Periphas (*supra* p. 1121 f.), and Merops (*supra* p. 1131 f.), the shape-shifter Periklymenos underwent the same transformation (Hes. *frag.* 14, 3 f. Rzach *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 1. 156, *Ov. met.* 12. 556 ff., *Hyg. fab.* 10). ? Cp. Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 26, 71 and 72, ii. 132, if not also i pl. 25, 42, ii. 128.

⁷ *Supra* p. 1122.

⁸ See the pedigrees in Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 227 f. ('Lapithen und Phlegyer').

⁹ Hes. *sc. Her.* 133 f. (arrows) ὄπισθε | μύρφοιο φλεγύαο καλυπτόμενοι περὶ γέσσω, Hesych. *s.v.* φλεγύας· ἀετός ξανθός, ὄξύς, Soud. *s.v.* φλεγύας· ὁ ἀετός, *et. mag.* p. 795, 57 ff. φλεγύας, ἔστιν ἀετός, ἀπὸ τοῦ φλέγειν καὶ λαμπρὸς εἶναι. οἱ δέ, ὄρνεον παραπλήσιον γυπὶ. Ἡσίοδος Ἀσπίδι, 'μορφοῖο φλεγύαο,' τοῦτέστι μέλανος ἀετοῦ, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 933, 27 f. ῥήτωρ δέ τις, κατὰ στοιχείον συντάξας ἄπερ ἐπόνθησε, λέγει καὶ ὅτι φλεγύας ξανθός ἀετός, κατὰ γλῶσσάν τινα, ὡς εἴκεν. A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1914 xlvii. 77 f. renders φλεγύας 'der Schwarzadler' and adds: 'Das Wort wird soviel als "braun, dunkel" bedeutet haben: wie αἰθων braun, αἰθαλος Russ von αἰθειω brennen, so φλεγύας von φλέγω brennen, engl. black zu germ. blek (φλέγειν).' See further my paper on 'Descriptive animal names in Greece' in the *Class. Rev.* 1894 viii. 381 ff. and, for the bird-tribes of Greece and Italy, an appendix by W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 277 ff.





The central slab from the Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon, r
1. The relief as extant in the British Museum.

Plate XLIV



E. T. T.

...ting the ritual Apotheosis of the King and Queen at Athens :
...e relief with flat coloration and metal accessories restored.

See page 1135 ff.



the sons of Stilbe by Apollon¹, or by the contiguity of the Olympieion to the Python². In any case it is noteworthy that at Ardettos, just across the Ilissos, Athenian jurors used to swear by Apollon *Patrōios*, Demeter, and Zeus *Basileús*³.

The myth of Periphas comes to us from an age that had largely forgotten its own antecedents. Few, if any, citizens even of Periclean Athens would have dared to assert that on the banks of the Ilissos there once lived a line of kings claiming to be Zeus incarnate. Nevertheless that is the real gist of the tale, and I do not see how we are to avoid accepting it as a genuine echo of bygone beliefs. After all, Periclean Athens, democratic to the core, still had its 'king' and still remembered that divinity clung about him⁴. If any doubted, he had but to lift his eyes to the scene carved by Pheidias' direction above the main doorway of the Parthenon. The central slab of the eastern frieze (pl. xlv)⁵ represents a ritual apotheosis⁶. The 'king' and 'queen' of Athens receive from

¹ Diod. 4. 69.

² Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 189 ff., v. 519 ff., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 344 f.

³ Poll. 8. 122 ὤμυσαν δὲ ἐν Ἀρδήττω δικαστηρίῳ Ἀπόλλω Πατρῶων καὶ Δήμητρα καὶ Δία Βασιλέα.

⁴ We must be careful here to rule out invalid evidence. Some statements, which *prima facie* connect the Athenian king with Zeus, or Zeus with the Athenian king, will not bear closer scrutiny.

The βασιλεὺς of republican Athens, during his year of office, sat in the Στοὰ Βασιλείος (Paus. 1. 3. 1 with the notes of Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümmner *ad loc.*, E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1902 pp. 386 f., 518 f., W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 295 ff.), which is sometimes said to have been named after Zeus Βασιλεὺς (Hesych. *s.v.* Βασιλείος Στοὰ· δύο εἰσὶν Ἀθήνησιν Βασιλείοι Στοαί, ἣ τε τοῦ λεγομένου Βασιλέως Διὸς καὶ ἣ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου = Favorin. *lex.* p. 355, 13 f., Bekker *anecd.* i. 222, 29 f. Βασιλείος Στοὰ· Ἀθήνησι δύο εἰσὶ Βασιλείοι Στοαί, ἣ τοῦ λεγομένου Βασιλέως Διὸς καὶ ἣ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου); but this seems to be a misconception due to a transcriber's error (cp. Harpokr. *s.v.* Βασιλείος Στοὰ·... δύο εἰσὶ στοαί παρ' ἀλλήλας, ἣ τε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καὶ ἣ Βασιλείος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τρίτη τις, ἣ πάλαι μὲν Ἀνάκτιος καλουμένη, Παικίλη δὲ μετονομασθεῖσα, Soud. *s.v.* Βασιλείος Στοὰ· δύο εἰσὶ στοαί παρ' ἀλλήλας, ἣ τε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καὶ ἣ Βασιλείος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τρίτη, ἣ πάλαι μὲν Πανάκτιος (P. J. de Maussac *cj.* Πεισιανάκτειος cp. Diog. Laert. 7. 5 and Soud. *s.v.* Ζήνων and Πεισιανάκτιος Στοὰ, G. Bernhardt *cj.* Πεισιανάκτιος) ἐκαλεῖτο, νῦν δὲ μετονομάσθη Παικίλη, whence Meursius in Hesych. *loc. cit.* restored δύο εἰσὶν Ἀθήνησι στοαί ἣ τε Βασιλείος λεγομένη τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἣ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου).

Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 53 Διόσκουροι etiam apud Graecos multis modis nominantur. primi tres, qui appellantur Anactes Athenis, ex rege Iove antiquissimo et Proserpina nati, Tritopatrus, Eubuleus, Dionysus. This passage forms part of the Catalogue of the gods, the origin of which has been much disputed. J. B. Mayor *ad loc.* would trace it back to Kleitomachos, who became head of the New Academy in 129 B.C. W. Michaelis *De origine indicis deorum cognominum* Berlin 1898 finds its ultimate source in the pseudo-Aristotelian *péplas*, which he attributes to an unknown Rhodian author of *s. ii.* B.C. W. Bobeth *De indicibus deorum* Leipzig 1904 thinks that the Catalogue was first drafted in 100—50 B.C. Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 199 refers it to Aristokles of Rhodes, whose *floruit* falls in *s. i.* B.C. In any case the allusion to 'Zeus a very ancient king' betrays the influence of Euhemerus (*supra* i. 662, 758).

⁵ Pl. xlv, 1 is drawn from the best available photographs of the actual slab, *viz.* A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 pls. 34—36, supplemented by the casts of it in the Cambridge collection. Pl. xlv, 2 gives a restoration of the same.

⁶ So at least I ventured to suggest in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 371, cp. Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Dying God p. 89 n. 5. Other interpretations (which to me,

their attendants the sacred *péplos* and two cushioned *diphroi*. Of these *diphroi* one is being handed to the 'queen,' the other with a footstool¹ is reserved for the 'king.' He is a very noteworthy personage. Alone of all the figures on the frieze, he is clad simply in a long *chiton* with short sleeves and in shoes—doubtless the Cretan garment² and royal footgear³, which we know to have been his distinctive attire. Court etiquette is conservative and these articles of apparel were reminiscent of 'Minoan' predecessors. But, to complete his costume, he needs a *himation*; and it seems not unreasonable to conjecture that he is about to put on immortality in the shape of Athena's *péplos*⁴. This done, the 'king'

I confess, seem inadequate) regard the scene as (1) the priest receiving the new *péplos* (most archaeologists); (2) the priest folding up and putting away the old *péplos* (G. F. Hill 'The east frieze of the Parthenon' in the *Class. Rev.* 1894 viii. 225 f., E. A. Gardner *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* London 1897 ii. 291 f., *id.* *Ancient Athens* London 1902 p. 332 ff.); (3) the priest, about to sacrifice, handing his own *himation* to the boy, cp. the vase shown in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1879 xxxvii pl. 4 (A. Flasch *Zum Parthenon-Fries* Würzburg 1877 p. 99 ff., Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 277 f., Sir C. Waldstein 'The Panathenaic festival and the central slab of the Parthenon frieze' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1885 i. 10 ff., *id.* *Essays on the Art of Pheidias* Cambridge 1885 p. 229 ff. ('The central slab of the Parthenon frieze and the Copenhagen plaque') pls. 11 f.); (4) the *βασιλεύς*, before sacrifice, about to put on his *protinion* (W. Watkiss Lloyd 'On the Central Groups of the Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon' in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* Second Series (1892) xvi. 73 ff.); (5) the priest receiving a carpet (*στρωμή*, cp. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 589, 9 and 44 f.) to be spread before the seats of the gods for a theoxeny (E. Curtius in the *Jahrb. d. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix *Arch. Anz.* p. 181, Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 91, 427 f. ('The central group of the east frieze of the Parthenon: peplos or στρωμή?')). See also E. Petersen 'Peplosübergabe' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1877 xxxv. 136 f., A. Michaelis 'Peplos und Priester mantel' in the *Festschrift für Johannes Overbeck* Leipzig 1893 p. 178 ff., A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 156 ff., *id.* *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 75 ff., *id.* *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 53, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 427, *id.* in the *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 274 ff.

¹ E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 247 n. 1.

² Poll. 7. 77 *εκαλείτο δέ τι καὶ Κρητικόν, ᾧ Ἀθήνησιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐχρήτο.*

³ Poll. 7. 85 *ὑποδημάτων δὲ εἶδη βασιλίδες· ἐφόρει δὲ αὐτὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀθήνησιν.*

⁴ If it be objected that the *βασιλεύς* had no right to masquerade in the costume of Athena, various considerations may be urged in his defence. At the Greater Mystery of Pheneos in Arkadia the priest put on the mask of Demeter *Kidaria* before smiting the Underground Folk with rods (Paus. 8. 15. 3). The obverse of a gold *stater* with the name and types of Alexander the Great is believed by C. T. Seltman to exhibit the head of Demetrios Poliorketes wearing the helmet of Athena (*Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1909 ix. 267 ff. pl. 20, 3). A Melian copper of imperial date shows a bearded male figure inscribed T|V|[X]|H, with left arm carrying a child and right arm resting on a pillar (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 23 no. 66 pl. 2, 8), presumably a benefactor of Melos represented as her Tyche holding the infant Ploutos (so Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 382 n. 3). The colossal statues of the Nemroud Dagh include Antiochos i of Kommagene, who in the accompanying inscription speaks of himself as *Τύχης νέας* (*supra* i. 744 n. 3). Conversely, the gold octadrachms and silver decadrachms etc. of the deified Arsinoe ii give her a horn like that of Zeus *Ammon* (J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* cited *supra* p. 773 fig. 739, C. T. Seltman *Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1909 ix. 269, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 850). Again, it might be pointed out that a woman's *péplos* is really the same garment as a man's *himation*, both being essentially an oblong piece of woollen cloth folded for wear. But the true defence of the *βασιλεύς* is more

and 'queen' will take their places on the *díphroi* set for them between the deities enthroned on either hand¹. With Zeus and Hera on the one side, Athena and Hephaistos on the other², they will appear with all the credentials of divinity.

But it is time to pass from the local myth of Periphas to the local custom of the Diasia³.

probably to be sought in the fact that on certain ritual occasions men were expected to don women's raiment—a custom on which I have said my say elsewhere (*Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 376 f.). Miss Harrison has suggested to me (July 30, 1917) an explanation, which—if sound—would not only meet the objection here noted but also add much to the significance of the whole procedure. The 'king,' on my showing, is about to assume the *péplos* of Athena. Yes, but the *péplos* may be simply the 'Weltenmantel,' which Athena had taken over from the early Attic kings. Such a garment could be appropriately worn by the 'king,' who thus came by his own again. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 58 ff., 77 ff., ii. 326 seems (though he is not very clear about it) to regard Athena's *péplos* as a cosmic robe. I fail to see that he has proved the point. When he states that the 'Praxiergidenpriesterinnen' ἀμφιέννουσιν ἐν ἑορταῖς τὸν πέπλον Διὶ Μοιραγέτει Ἀπόλλωνι (*op. cit.* i. 59), he is indulging in an ungrammatical (Ἰπραξιεργίδα should be masculine, and ἀμφιέννουσιν is not Greek at all) and highly improbable ('Διὶ...appellativisch (wie divus)') restoration of the mutilated text *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 93, 11 f.=J. V. Protz and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 14, 11 f. cited *supra* p. 231 n. 8.

¹ Similarly Philip of Macedon, immediately before his assassination at Aigai in 336 B.C., εἰδῶλα τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐπέμπευε...σὺν δὲ τοῦτοις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Φιλίππου τρισκαίδεκατον ἐπέμπευε θεοπροπέες εἰδῶλον, σύνθρονον ἑαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύοντος τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς (*Diod.* 16. 92).

² It seems likely that Pheidias had already employed the same principles of composition for the trophy erected at Delphoi as a tithe from the spoils of 'Marathon.' The account given by Paus. 10. 10. 1—2 has led to much discussion, which is conveniently summarised by H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.* Personally, I hold that the grouping of this remarkable monument was as follows:

[Three national worthies]		Five ἐπώνυμοι		ATHENA as goddess of Athens	MILTIADES		APOLLON as god of Delphoi		Five ἐπώνυμοι		[Three later ἐπώνυμοι]
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Three out of the ten ἐπώνυμοι, *viz.* Oineus, Hippothoon, and Aias, are not mentioned in the text of Pausanias (probably a clerical error, cp. E. Curtius in the *Nachr. d. Kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1861 p. 369 ff.=*id.* *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* Berlin 1894 ii. 365 f.). Later, when the ten tribes were increased to thirteen, the Athenians added at one end of the row three figures of the new ἐπώνυμοι, Antigonos, Demetrios Poliorketes, Ptolemy ii Philadelphos, and balanced them at the other end by three more figures of national worthies, Kodros, Theseus, Phyleus. It will be observed that, on this showing, the arrangement of the Delphic trophy definitely anticipated that of the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (I accept the view of A. S. Arvanitopoulos 'Phylen-Heroen am Parthenonfries' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 38 ff. pl. 4 f. that the ten standing men of the eastern frieze are the eponymous heroes of the Attic tribes):

Head of Panathenaic procession		Five ἐπώ- νυμοι		Six seated DEITIES	KING and QUEEN of Athens with their attendants	Six seated DEITIES		Five ἐπώ- νυμοι		Head of Panathenaic procession
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In both cases alike Pheidias' design portrays a virtual apotheosis—humanity raised to the rank of surrounding deities.

³ The best collection of sources will be found in O. Band *Die Attischen Diasien* Berlin 1883 pp. 3—10. The remainder of this excellent monograph suffers from undue compression and is admittedly incomplete.

(7) The Diasia.

Towards the close of the seventh century (636? 632? 628? B.C.) Kylon, an Athenian noble who had married the daughter of Theagenes tyrant of Megara, resolved with Theagenes' help to make himself tyrant of Athens. In answer to an enquiry the Delphic god bade him seize the Akropolis 'at the greatest festival of Zeus.' Kylon, who had been an Olympic victor, naturally took this to be the festival at Olympia. So he waited till it came round and then made his *coup*, which proved a disastrous failure¹. Thoukydides' comment concerns us :

'Whether the greatest festival spoken of was in Attike or elsewhere, was a point which he did not perceive and the oracle did not reveal. For the Athenians too have what is called the Diasia, a festival of Zeus *Meilichios*, greatest of any, held outside the city, at which all the people offer sacrifice—many not victims but sacrifices peculiar to the country².'

The difficulties of the Thucydidean style³ and the doubts attaching to the text⁴ have, I think, hindered scholars from asking the obvious question : Why did the oracle regard the Diasia as a suitable day for setting up a tyranny at Athens? The explanation is twofold : partly, no doubt, because the gathering of the populace outside the city would leave the coast clear for Kylon's attempt ; but partly also because the Diasia was the festival of Zeus *Meilichios*, who represented the line of ancient kings. Kylon might in fact have acted under their auspices and been accepted as their successor. His presumptuous error spoiled what was, in reality or pretence, quite a pretty piece of politico-religious plotting⁵.

¹ Thouk. i. 126, Hdt. 5. 71, Aristot. *de Athen. rep. frag.* 8 p. 110, 14 ff. Blass—Thalheim, Herakleides Pontikos *frag.* 1. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 208 Müller), Cic. *de leg.* 2. 28, Plout. *v. Sol.* 12 f., Paus. 1. 28. 1, 1. 40. 1, 7. 25. 3, Hesych. *s.v.* Κωλών(ε)ιον άγος, Soud. *s.v.* Κυλώνειον άγος, schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 445.

² Thouk. i. 126 εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἢ ἄλλοθί που ἡ μεγίστη ἐορτὴ εἴρητο, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἐτι κατενόησε τὸ τε μαντεῖον οὐκ ἐδήλου. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Διάσια ἃ καλεῖται, Διὸς ἐορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, ἕξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἣ πανδημεὶ θύουσι, πολλοὶ οὐχ ἱερεῖα ἀλλὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια with schol. *ad loc.* ἱερεῖα ἄ πρόβατα and θύματα ἄ τινὰ πέμματα εἰς ζῶων μορφὰς τετυπωμένα ἔθνον.

³ B. Jowett *ad loc.* would punctuate differently, reading either (1) ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, Διάσια ἃ καλεῖται, Διὸς ἐορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, κ.τ.λ. 'For the Athenians also have a greatest festival of Zeus, namely, of Zeus Meilichius, the Diasia as it is called'; or (2) ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Διάσια, ἃ καλεῖται Διὸς ἐορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, κ.τ.λ. 'For the Athenians also have a festival of Zeus, namely, the Diasia, which is called the greatest festival of Zeus Meilichius.' E. C. Marchant *ad loc.* translates as in (2).

⁴ E. F. Poppo—J. M. Stahl *ad loc.* cj. Διάσια ἢ καλεῖται. C. F. Hermann in *Philologus* 1867 ii. 1 ff. cj. ἐν ἣ πανδημεὶ θύουσι πολλὰ οὐχ ἱερεῖα, κ.τ.λ. T. Hemsterhuys on Loukian. *Tim.* 7 cj. ἀλλ' ἀγὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια. O. Band *op. cit.* p. 4 regards the words ἔστι—μεγίστη as a probable and ἕξω—ἐπιχώρια as a certain interpolation.

⁵ In view of Kylon's connexion with Theagenes, note that the cult of Zeus at Megara bore some resemblance to the cult of Zeus on the Ilissos. A relief from Megara, like that from the Kallirrhoe-basin, associates Zeus with Acheloiós (*supra* p. 1117 n. 7). Megara, like the Ilissos-bank, had its myth of the deluge (Paus. 1. 40. 1). And at Megara too there was an Olympieion with a famous statue of Zeus (Paus. 1. 40. 4 μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς (τοῦ Διὸς φῶ cod. Monac.) τέμενος ἐσελθοῦσι καλούμενον Ὀλυμπιεῖον ναὸς ἐστὶ θεῶς ἄξιος ἃ τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἐξεργάσθη τοῦ Διὸς ἐπιλαβόντος τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ... τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Διὸς πρόσωπον ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πηλοῦ τέ ἐστι καὶ γύψου· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ θεόκοσμον λέγουσιν ἐπιχώριον, συνεργάσασθαι δὲ οἱ Φειδιάν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διὸς εἰσιν ὦραι καὶ Μοῖραι· δῆλα δὲ πᾶσι τὴν Περπωμένην μόνω οἱ πείθεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ὥρας τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον νέμειν ἐς (so H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz for εἰς) τὸ δέον. ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κείται ξύλα ἡμέτερα· ταῦτα ἐμειλλεν ὁ θεόκοσμος ἐλέφαντι

It remains to determine the place, time, and character of the Diasia. O. Band¹ and A. Mommsen² conclude in favour of the Ilissos-site. Not without reason; for here Zeus had been worshipped since the days of Deukalion³, and here, on the north bank of the river, just outside the Themistoclean wall⁴, there was convenient space for the people to assemble⁵. They did so on Anthesterion 22 or 23⁶, which in the time of Plutarch would have corresponded with March 22 or 23⁷. The inference to be drawn from this dating is that the Diasia, like the Lesser Mysteries of Agra (*c.* Anthesterion 20⁸) or the *Pithoigia*, *Chôes*, and *Chytroi* (Anthesterion 11—13⁹), had a character at once chthonian and agrarian¹⁰. Zeus *Meilichios*, the buried king, was the giver of animal and vegetable life.

καὶ χρυσῷ κοσμήσας τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπέλεσεω τοῦ Διός, *supra* i. 2 n. 2). Imperial coppers of Megara show a seated Zeus holding a Nike (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc.* p. 122 pl. 22, 1 = my fig. 959, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 4 f. pl. A, 3, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 394) or an eagle (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 5), which may be meant for 'Thekosmos' masterpiece, and a Zeus striding to the right with



Fig. 959.



Fig. 960.

thunderbolt and eagle (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 5 pl. A, 4 = my fig. 960, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 394), in which—since the god sometimes has a base—we must recognise another statue (*cp.* Paus. i. 40. 6 Διὸς Κορίου in a context cited *supra* p. 257 n. 4, Paus. i. 43. 6 καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον Μούσας καὶ χαλκοῦν Δία ἐποίησε Λύσιππος).

¹ O. Band *Die Attischen Diasien* Berlin 1883 p. 11.

² Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 421 f.

³ Paus. i. 18. 8, *supra* p. 420.

⁴ Schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 408 ἐορτὴ Διὸς Ἀθήνησι τὰ Διάσια, ἐν ἣ πανδημεὶ ἔξω τείχους συνόντες ἐορτάζουσιν (a paraphrase of Thouk. i. 126 cited *supra* p. 1138 n. 2) = Favorin. *lex.* p. 492, 36 f.

⁵ See A. N. Skias in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1893 pl. A.

The Ilissos-site is highly probable, but not absolutely certain; for the Kephisos-site (W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 362 n. 5) likewise had claims to high antiquity and convenient proximity. It is not, however, so aptly described by the phrases ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἔξω τείχους, and its festal day appears to have been Hekatombaion 8 (*supra* p. 1091 f.).

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 408 Διασιόισιν· ἐορτὴ Ἀθήνησι Μειλιχίου Διός. ἀγεται δὲ μηνὸς Ἀρθεστηριῶνος ἢ φθίνοντος. This would be Anthesterion 22 or 23, according as that month was 'full' (30 days) or 'hollow' (29 days): see the discussion and tables in A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 200 ff.

⁷ Plout. *v. Sull.* 14 ἔλεῖν δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας αὐτὸς φησὶν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι (*frag.* 13 (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 131 Peter)) Μαρτίαις καλάνδαις, ἧτις ἡμέρα μάλιστα συμπίπτει τῇ νομηνίᾳ τοῦ Ἀρθεστηριῶνος μηνός, ἐν ᾧ κατὰ τύχην ὑπομνήματα πολλὰ τοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν δλέθρου καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς ἐκείνης δρῶσιν, ὡς τότε καὶ περὶ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον μάλιστα τοῦ κατακλισμοῦ συμπεσόντος, *infra* § 9 (h) ii (ε).

⁸ Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 406, *supra* i. 692 f.

⁹ Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 384 ff., *supra* i. 684.

¹⁰ *Supra* i. 687.

The ritual of the Diasia is imperfectly known. Thoukydides' statement that many, in lieu of 'victims,' offered 'sacrifices peculiar to the country' is annotated by the scholiast, who remarks (1) that 'victims' means sheep (*próbata*), and (2) that the 'sacrifices peculiar to the country' were cakes moulded into the forms of animals¹. Both observations are credible. On the one hand, we have seen that the 'fleece of Zeus' was stripped from a victim sacrificed to Zeus *Meilichios* or to Zeus *Ktésios*². On the other hand, we hear³ of a cult of Artemis at Syracuse, in which rustic singers were decked with a loaf that had wild beasts moulded upon it⁴, a wallet full of mingled grain, and wine in a goat-skin for distribution to all and sundry. They wore garlands, had stag-horns on their foreheads, and carried a crook in their hands. Thus equipped they vied with each other in song: the victor received the loaf of the vanquished and stopped in Syracuse; the vanquished went about the neighbouring villages collecting food for themselves. Their songs were full of mirth and merriment, and ended with the stanza:

Here's wealth for you!
Here's health for you!
We bring you what the goddess sends,
A boon and blessing to her friends!

It would seem that at Athens the god, and at Syracuse the votary, accepted the cake or loaf moulded with animal forms as a surrogate for the animals themselves in accordance with a well-known principle of ancient ritual⁵.

¹ *Supra* p. 1138 n. 2.

² *Supra* i. 422 ff. O. Band *Die Attischen Diasien* Berlin 1883 p. 4 (following E. F. Poppo on Thouk. 1. 126) à propos of the scholion *τερεῖα· πρόβατα* says curtly 'Immo χοίρους.'

³ Schol. Theokr. *proleg.* B *εὑρεσις τῶν βουκολικῶν* b p. 3, 2 ff. Wendel (cp. *anecd. Estense* 3. 1 p. 7, 11 ff. Wendel, Prob. in *Verg. ecl.* p. 347 f. Lion, Diomed. *ars gramm.* 3 p. 486, 27 ff. Keil: Probus and Diomedes connect the custom with the cult of Diana *Lyaea* ἄδειν δὲ φασιν αὐτοὺς ἄρτον ἐξηρημένους θηρίων ἐν ἑαυτῷ πλέονας τύπους ἔχοντα καὶ πήραν πανσπερμίας ἀνάπλων καὶ οἶνον ἐν αἰγείῳ ἀσκή, σπονδὴν νέμοντας τοῖς ὑπαντῶσι, στέφανόν τε περικεῖσθαι καὶ κέρατα ἐλάφων προκείσθαι καὶ μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχειν λαγωβόλον. τὸν δὲ νικῆσαντα λαμβάνειν τὸν τοῦ νενικημένου ἄρτον· κάκεινον μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Συρακουσίων μένειν πόλεως, τοῖς δὲ νενικημένους εἰς τὰς περιοικίδας χωρεῖν ἀγείροντας ἑαυτοῖς τὰς τροφάς· ἄδειν (so H. Schaefer for διδοῖναι codd.) δὲ ἄλλα τινὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος ἐχόμενα καὶ εὐφημοῦντας ἐπιλέγειν· ἴδεξαι τὰν ἀγαθὰν τύχαν, | ἴδεξαι τὰν ὑγίειαν, | ἂν φέρομες παρὰ τὰς (so F. G. Schneidewin for τῆς E^b. A. T. τοῦ K.) θεοῦ, | ἂν ἐκαλέσσατο (ἐκλελάσκετο K. A. H. Ahrens cj. ἔ'κελήσατο C. Wendel cj. ἐκλάσκετο or ἐλακήσατο) τήνα (*carm. p. 42* Bergk⁴, 45 Hiller—Crusius).

⁴ ? cp. Athen. 646 E *ελαφος πλακοῦς ὁ τοῖς Ἐλαφηβολοῖς ἀναπλασόμενος διὰ σταιτῶς καὶ μέλιτος καὶ σιγάμου.*

⁵ *Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 2. 116 et sciendum in sacris simulata pro veris accipi. unde, cum de animalibus quae difficile inveniuntur est sacrificandum, de pane vel cera fiunt et pro veris accipiuntur. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1079 ff. and Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 95 n. 2 have made full collections of the literary evidence. Countless archaeological finds illustrate the same principle: see W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 295 ff. To take a single case, the pig for sacrifice will be replaced by a dog dressed in a pig-skin (so on a red-figured *kylix* at Vienna (Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* p. 40 f. no. 321 fig. 24, F. Studniczka 'Ein Opferbetrug des Hermes' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 258 ff. fig., J. E. Harrison—D. S. MacColl *Greek Vase Paintings* London 1894 p. 25 pl. 33, 1), or by a terra-cotta pig (so with those from the precinct of Demeter and Kore at Tegea (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* pp. xxxviii f., 78 no. B 46, A. Milchhöfer in the *Ath.*

Kylon's mistake suggests that already in the seventh century the Diasia was past its zenith. But popular rites die hard. Two hundred years later old-fashioned folk still thought of the family feast and the public fair. Aristophanes makes Strepsiades tell with gusto how once at the Diasia he roasted a haggis for his kinsmen¹, and how on a like occasion he spent an obol on a toy-cart for his little son². This is the last that we hear of the festival for more than half a millennium. Then came Lucian with his marvellous talent for galvanizing the past into a semblance of life. In the *Ikaromenippos* Zeus asks 'why the Athenians had dropped the Diasia all those years³.' In the *Timon* Hermes jogs the memory of Zeus himself :

'What, Father! Don't you know Timon—son of Echekratides, of Kollytos? Many's the time he's entertained us on perfect sacrifices, the wealthy *parvenu* of the whole hecatombs, with whom we used to feast like lords at the Diasia⁴.'

In the *Charidemus* there is a reference to literary competitions at the same festival⁵.

A stage more remote from the original facts was Eumathios Makrembolites, the Byzantine novelist (second half of s. xii A.D.) who penned the *Romance of Hysmine and Hysminias*. He laid its scene in the imaginary towns of Eurykomis and Aulikomis and dealt largely with the circumstances of the Diasia. The hero, Hysminias, wearing a bay-wreath, a long *chiton*, and sacred shoes⁶, went as herald of Zeus from the former to the latter town, where he was received as a god⁷ and entertained in the name of Zeus⁸, but proved himself to be very human by falling in love with Hysmine the daughter of his host. She, however, was betrothed to another; and her parents, who had escorted the herald back to Eurykomis, offered there at the altar of Zeus a sacrifice for the future happiness of their daughter. Thereupon an eagle swooped down and carried off the sacrifice. The parents were much upset at this evil omen⁹. But some of the bystanders took it to be a most auspicious sign¹⁰. And a friend of Hysminias pointed out to him that he might be the eagle, and carry off the bride¹¹—which he proceeded to do. We need not trace at greater length his rather banal escapades and adventures. But we should note that the god, whom he served so unworthily, is throughout spoken of as Zeus or Zeus *Patrios*¹² or Zeus *Phlios*¹³ or Zeus *Sotér*¹⁴

Mith. 1879 iv. 171, 174, C. A. Hutton *Greek Terracotta Statuettes* London 1899 p. 3 f.) or from that of Persephone at Tarentum (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1886 vii. 24, W. H. D. Rouse *op. cit.* p. 301), or even by a ham-shaped coin (so with the curious coppers from the fountain at Nîmes (L. de la Saussaye *Numismatique de la Gaule Narbonnaise* Blois 1842 p. 159 pl. 20, 36, G. Long in *Smith Dict. Geogr.* ii. 414 f. fig., A. Boutkowski *Dictionnaire Numismatique* Leipzig 1884 ii. 1. 1738 f. no. 2833 fig., E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet *Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1889 p. 61 no. 2839, H. de la Tour *Atlas de monnaies gauloises* Paris 1892 no. 2839 pl. 7, G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 3 f. fig. 2, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 675 f.)).

¹ Aristoph. *nub.* 408 ff.

² *Id. ib.* 861 ff.

³ Loukian. *Icaromen.* 24.

⁴ Loukian. *Tim.* 7.

⁵ Loukian. *Charid.* 1, cp. 3.

⁶ Eumath. 1. 1 f., 1. 7, 4. 3, 4. 24, 5. 3, 8. 10, 8. 13, cp. 8. 19, 8. 21.

⁷ *Id.* 1. 3 δέχομαι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὡς κήρυξ, ἀλλ' ὡς θεός.

⁸ *Id.* 1. 10 Διασίως καιρός, κατατροφήσωμεν τὰ Διάσια· ὅλοι γενώμεθα τῆς ἑορτῆς, ὅλοι τῆς πανηγύρεως. Ζεὺς παρὰ τῇ τραπέζῃ, καὶ Διὸς τράπεζα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ κήρυξ οὗτος Διὸς· cp. 6. 2.

⁹ *Id.* 6. 10.

¹⁰ *Id.* 6. 11.

¹¹ *Id.* 6. 13.

¹² *Id.* 6. 10.

¹³ *Id.* 3. 9, 5. 18.

¹⁴ *Id.* 4. 2, 5. 15, 6. 2, 6. 15, cp. 1. 14.

or Zeus *Xénios*¹, but never as Zeus *Meilichios*—a sufficient proof that the author, though he works up his material with some care, has not preserved to us a trustworthy record of Athenian cult.

The scholiast on Lucian, who here and there makes valuable remarks, tells us more than once that the Diasia was kept at Athens 'with gloomy looks,' such as befitted the worship of the dead². This agrees well with other indications concerning the ritual of Zeus *Meilichios*. An old Attic calendar, the lettering of which has been referred to the early part of s. v B.C., mentions 'sober' offerings to *Milichios* side by side with offerings to Meter at some date before the end of Gamelion³. Now 'sober' offerings consisted in the main of honey⁴, and were specially, though not exclusively, given to chthonian powers (Gaia⁵, the *Bona Dea*⁶, Dis⁷, Hekate⁸, the Eumenides⁹, Kerberos¹⁰) and the souls of the dead¹¹. The same might be said of the pigs sacrificed to Zeus *Meilichios* at the Peiraeus¹² and by Xenophon 'in accordance with his ancestral custom'¹³. In short, we have every reason to conclude that at Athens the cult of Zeus *Meilichios* was essentially chthonian—the worship of a buried king, who during his life-time had been hailed as the sky-god incarnate and still was present to bless his people with increase of field and flock and family.

¹ Eumath. 5. 8f., 5. 14f., 6. 1f., 6. 9, 11. 3.

At the altar of this deity, who is called indifferently Zeus Σωτήρ or Zeus Ξένιος, the parents sacrifice about the third watch of the night (*id.* 5. 15, 6. 5, 6. 14, 6. 16, cp. 10. 9).

² Schol. Loukian. *Icaromen.* 24 p. 107, 15 f. Rabe Διάσια· έορτή 'Αθήνησιν, ήν έπετέλουν μετά τινος στυγνότητος θύοντες έν αύτῇ Δί Μειλιχίω, *Tim.* 7 p. 110, 27 f. Rabe Διάσια· έορτή 'Αθήνησιν ούτω καλουμένη, ήν είώθεσαν μετά στυγνότητος τινος έπιτελείν θύοντες Δί τῷ Μειλιχίω, *Tim.* 43 p. 117, 14 ff. Rabe άποφράς· ...έτελείτο δέ ταύτα κατά τόν Φεβρουάριον μήνα, ότε και τοίς καταχθονίοις ένήγιζον. και πās ούτος ό ήν άνείτο τοίς κατοικομένοις μετά στυγνότητος πάντων προίόντων † έτερον † τρόπον, έν και τὰ Διάσια στυγνάζοντες ήγον 'Αθηναίοι. M. du Soul marked έτερον as corrupt. T. Hemsterhusius cj. ένέρων. Graeven cj. ούχ έτερον. O. Band *Die Attischen Diasien* Berlin 1883 p. 6 regards έτερον as euphemistic. If alteration is needed, perhaps we should read σκυθρωπότερον. Cp. Hesych. Διάσια· έορτή 'Αθήνησι. και σκυθρωπούς άπό τῆς έορτῆς ήν έπετέλουν μετά τινος στυγνότητος θύοντες, on which M. Schmidt acutely observes: 'Fortasse comicus dixerat βλέποντας Διάσια.'

³ *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 4 A, 3 ff., J. de Protz *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 1 ff. no. 1 A, 3 ff. θάρ[γελοι? --- Δί Μ][ι]λιχίοι: ε[-----νεφ][δ](λι)α: Μετρί: [έν'Αγρας-----][.]σπιριχία-----. Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 421 infers that Zeus *Milichios* and Meter (= Demeter) were worshipped in or near Agra on the Ilissos: cp. *supra* p. 1118 n. 4.

⁴ W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 p. 64 n. 167, *id.* *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 49 n. 199, W. Robert-Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione et symbolica et mythologica* Berolini 1893 p. 144, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 20f. ⁵ Ap. Rhod. 2. 1271 ff. ⁶ Macrobian. *Sat.* 1. 12. 25.

⁷ Sil. It. 13. 415 f. For bees and honey in relation to Demeter and Persephone see *supra* i. 443 n. 6f., ii. 1113 n. 0 no. (3).

⁸ Ap. Rhod. 3. 1035 f.

⁹ Aisch. *Eum.* 106 f., Soph. *O.C.* 98 ff., 480 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Paus. 2. 11. 4.

¹⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 417 ff., Soud. s.v. μελιτοῦρρα = schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 601.

¹¹ Il. 23. 170f., Od. 10. 518 ff., 11. 26 ff., 24. 67 f., Aisch. *Pers.* 607 ff., Eur. *Or.* 114 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, I.T. 159 ff., 633 ff., Ap. Rhod. 2. 1271 ff., Soud. s.v. μελιτοῦρρα = schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 601. See further H. Usener 'Milch und Honig' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1902 lvii. 177—195 (= *id.* *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 398—417) and S. Eitrem *Opferfritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* (*Videnskapsselskaps Skrifter.* II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse. 1914. No. i) Kristiania 1915 pp. 102—105.

¹² *Supra* p. 1105.

¹³ *Supra* p. 1107.

(8) Zeus *Meilichios* at Argos.

Outside Athens the cult of Zeus *Meilichios* seems to have borne a similar character. Thus at Argos there was a seated statue of Zeus *Meilichios*, made of white marble by Polykleitos (so it was said) to purify the people from the stain of kindred bloodshed¹. Argive coppers of imperial date show several types of Zeus. Coins of Hadrian (fig. 961) and Lucius Verus give his head alone². Others, struck by Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus (fig. 962), represent



Fig. 961.



Fig. 962.



Fig. 963.



Fig. 964.

him enthroned with a *phiale* in his right hand and a sceptre in his left³. Others of Septimius Severus and Plautilla (fig. 963) make him hold an eagle or a Nike in place of the *phiale*⁴. On others, again, struck by Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius (fig. 964), Septimius Severus, Iulia Domna, Plautilla, and Valerianus Senior, he stands, naked, with a sceptre in his right hand and an eagle at his feet⁵; while yet another, by Plautilla, figures him striding, naked, with eagle and thunderbolt in his hands⁶. F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner suggest that the Zeus enthroned with *phiale* and sceptre (fig. 962) may be Zeus *Meilichios*, and add that the head

¹ Paus. 2. 20. 1 f. with Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.* The statue has been attributed to the elder Polykleitos by Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 168 no. 941 and *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 50 f. (but see *infra*), G. Löschcke in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1878 xxxvi. 11 n. 12, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 486, to the younger Polykleitos by H. Brunn *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* Stuttgart 1857 i. 280 f. and in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1880 p. 469, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*⁴ i. 508 f. (but see *supra*). Both attributions are called in question by C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 102, Furtwangler *Masterpieces of Gr. Sculpt.* p. 224, E. A. Gardner *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* London 1897 ii. 332 n. 1. To me it seems clear (1) that Pausanias meant the elder and more famous Polykleitos, but (2) that marble was an improbable material for such a statue by him, and (3) that an obvious ground for the false ascription of the seated Zeus to him lay in the fact that he was the sculptor of the seated Hera (*supra* i. 134 f.).

² Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 36 pl. K, 27=my fig. 961, *Rasche Lex. Num.* i. 1082.

³ Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36 pl. K, 25=my fig. 962.

⁴ Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36 pl. K, 26=my fig. 963.

⁵ Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36 pl. K, 28=my fig. 964, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 148 pl. 28, 10 Hadrian, p. 150 Septimius Severus (with wrong reference to pl. 28, 21), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 154 pl. 39, 13 Valerianus Senior, *Rasche Lex. Num.* i. 1083 Iulia Domna, Suppl. i. 1033 Septimius Severus, cp. 1034 Plautilla. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *loc. cit.*, *id.* in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 148 n.* cp. Paus. 2. 20. 3 τούτων δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ Νεμείου Διὸς ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἀγαλμα ὄρθον χαλκοῦν, τέχνη Λυσίππου (where H. C. Schubart cj. <τὸ > ἀγαλμα, but H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz and Kayser omit ἱερόν with cod. Leid. a).

⁶ Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36, *Rasche Lex. Num.* Suppl. i. 1034.

of Zeus (fig. 961) being 'decidedly fine and early' is perhaps 'a reminiscence of the head of Polycleitus' statue¹. But, in view of the large number of Argive Zeuses², these conjectures are admittedly uncertain.

(9) Zeus *Meilichios* at Sikyon.

From Argos to Sikyon³, as the crow flies, is less than five-and-twenty miles. But in their representation of Zeus *Meilichios* Argives and Sicyonians differed *to the caelo*. The former could boast a masterpiece shown to visitors as the work of Antykleitos himself; the latter were content with an artless pyramid, not even anthropomorphic⁴. Why Zeus was given this peculiar shape, we are not told.

¹ Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36.

² In addition to references already given (*supra* i. 117 Zeus 'Αφέσιος, 122 f. Zeus Λαρισαίος, 134 f. Zeus as a cuckoo, 320 and 462 Zeus with three eyes, 448 and 456 Zeus Νέμειος, 461 Zeus Πανόπτης, ii. 704 ff. Zeus as a cuckoo, 712 ff. Zeus as partner of Hera, 875 n. 2 Zeus Φαλακρός, 892 n. 5 Zeus Λαρισαίος, Λαρισσεύς) see Paus. 2. 19. 7 Δαναός δὲ ταῦτά τε ἀνέθηκε καὶ πλησίον κίονας ἐκ < > Διὸς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ξόανον (so most MSS. and H. C. Schubart, who indicated the lacuna: he is followed by Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner. Some of the older editors read ἐς Διὸς with cod. Paris c. H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz, L. Dindorf, and F. Spiro print καὶ Διὸς after cod. Vindob. a. Clavier c. ὡς Διὸς. A. Kuhn c. ξόανα) where we should perhaps correct ἐκ Διὸς < κελείσματος > (cp. *supra* i. 371 n. 1) and suppose a pillar-cult of some sort, 2. 19. 8 βωμὸς Ἰερίου Διὸς (*infra* § 9 (h)), 2. 20. 6 καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἐν ταῦθα ἱερὸν Σωτήρος, 2. 21. 2 πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ πεποιήται Διὸς Φυξίου βωμὸς, 2. 22. 2 πέραν δὲ τοῦ τάφου (*sc.* of Pelasgos) χαλκείον ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα, ἀνέχει δὲ αὐτὸ ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς. Λυκίας μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησε Μηχανεύς τὸ ἀγαλμα εἶναι Διὸς, καὶ Ἀργείων ἔφη τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατεύσαντας ἐν ταῦθα ὁμοίαι παραμενεῖν (so H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz for παραμενεῖν codd.) πολεμοῦντας, ἐστ' ἂν ἢ τὸ Ἴλιον ἔλωσιν ἢ μαχομένους τελευτῆ σφᾶς ἐπιλάβη· ἑτέροις δὲ ἐστὶν εἰρημένον ὅσα ἐν τῷ χαλκείῳ κείσθαι Ταυτάλου. The word χαλκείον, which has been much misunderstood (see H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*), presumably means a bronze *cista*. On the lid of it stood three archaic figures—an arrangement familiar to us from extant specimens (*e.g.* the 'Ficoroni'-*cista*, on which see Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* ii. 14 ff. pl. 2, P. O. Brøndsted *den Ficoroniske Cista* Kjöbenhavn 1847, E. Braun *Die Ficoronische Cista des collegio Romano* Leipzig 1849, O. Jahn *Die Ficoronische Cista* Leipzig 1852, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 453 f. fig. 500, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 148 f. fig. 146; the handle of another *cista* from Palestrina in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 106 no. 643). Lykeas, as an Argive poet (Paus. 1. 13. 8 f., 2. 19. 5, 2. 23. 8), followed local tradition. And it is possible that the bones in the *cista* really were those of some early chieftain worshipped after his death as Zeus *Μηχανεύς* (for whom see *infra* § 9 (h) i). Argive inscriptions further allude to the cult of Zeus *Νέμειος* (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 602, 14 ff. καὶ θύσαντα τῷ Διὶ τῷ Νεμείῳ ἐκατόμβην, *ib.* no. 606, 11 f. = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1123, 12 f. = W. Prellwitz in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* ii. 1. 131 f. no. 3293, 12 f. θύσαντά τε καὶ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Νεμείῳ ἐκατόμβαν πρῶτον καὶ μόνον) and Zeus Ἰψίστος (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 620, 4 = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 465. 8 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 286. 8 cited *supra* p. 878 n. o no. (4)).

³ I pass by Epidauros, because the evidence for a cult of Zeus *Meilichios* in that town is small—in fact depends on the suggested interpretation of a single letter. See J. Baunack 'Zu den Inschriften aus Epidauros' in *Philologus* 1895 liv. 37: 'Nr. 125 h. bei K. [= P. Kabbadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 p. 57] nur Ἀφροδίτας μιλιχίας. Bl. (AskI. S. 123) [= C. Blinkenberg *Asklepios og hans fraender i Hieron ved Epidauros* Kobenhavn 1893 p. 123 no. 7] merkt darauf einen Zwischenraum von etwa 2 Zeichen an und hierauf ein Δ, was er ansprechend als den Anfang einer zweiten Inschrift Δ[ιὸς μιλιχίου] erklärt,' *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1272 in letters of s. iii b.c. ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΑΣΜΙΛΙΧΙΑΣ | Δ[ι] = Ἀφροδίτας Μιλιχίας. Δ[ι]ς Μιλιχίου].

⁴ Paus. 2. 9. 6 cited *supra* i. 520 n. 2.

I do not, of course, mean to imply that the Sicyonians were averse from the Zeus-types

It is tempting to conjecture that his pyramid betokened a buried king. For tombs of pyramidal form occur sporadically from Egypt to Italy¹; and, if Eumelos

of later art. A 'third brass' of Geta shows Zeus seated with a *phidile* in his right hand, a sceptre in his left (Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 912, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 29). A copper of Caracalla (?) has CI KVV N Zeus standing to the left, naked, with thunderbolt in right hand, sceptre in left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 55, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 29 pl. H, 10=my fig. 965): cp. the obverse type of a quasi-autonomous coin in *Numismata antiqua in tres partes divisa*, collegit Thomas Pembrochiæ et Montis Gomerici comes Londinii 1746 ii pl. 28, 11, Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 910 Zeus standing, naked, with Nike in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *loc. cit.* rightly see in the British Museum coin an illustration of Paus. 2. 9. 6 τῆς δὲ ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ Ἰεὺς χαλκοῦς, τέχνη Λυσίππου (cp. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 151 f.).



Fig. 965.

¹ A good collection of evidence is got together by R. Rochette 'Sur la pyra, comme type de monument funéraire' in the *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France* Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 1848 xvii. 388—401, who derives pyramidal tombs from pyramidal pyres. Without necessarily subscribing to this view, we may admit that pyres and similar structures of funerary import must be taken into account along with actual tombs. A rough classification of the relevant monuments according to form would include (a) stepped pyramids, (b) smooth-sided pyramids, (c) stepped pyramids on plinths, (d) smooth-sided pyramids on plinths. Examples are:—

(a) The stepped pyramid at Saqqâra built by Zosiri of the third dynasty (G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*⁴ London 1901 p. 359, E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* London 1902 i. 193, 218 f. fig., J. H. Breasted *A History of Egypt* New York 1911 p. 113 f. fig. 63, E. Bell *The Architecture of Ancient Egypt* London 1915 p. 23 ff. fig.), or that at Riqqeh, whose occupant is unknown (G. Maspero *op. cit.*⁴ p. 359 n. 3), or again that at Médûm built by Snofrûti the last king of the third dynasty, though this at least was probably meant to be cased with polished stone (G. Maspero *op. cit.*⁴ p. 359 f. fig., E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* ii. 24 f. fig., J. H. Breasted *op. cit.* p. 115 fig. 64, E. Bell *op. cit.* p. 25 f. fig.). The form has traceable antecedents, *vis.* the four-sided *tumulus* → the brick-built *mastaba* → the stone-built *mastaba* → a series of stone-built *mastaba* superposed = a stepped pyramid.

(b) The fully developed pyramids of Egypt, those of Kenchreai (A. Blouet etc. *Expédition scientifique de Morée* Paris 1833 ii. 92 pl. 55, 1—3, Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 212—214, v. 565 f.) and *Ligourio* near Epidaurous (A. Blouet etc. *op. cit.* ii. 164 pl. 76, 2 f., Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 233, v. 570), that at *Astros* in Kynouria (W. Vischer *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland* Basel 1857 p. 327), that of Cestius on the *via Ostiensis* (A. Schneider *Das alte Rom* Leipzig 1896 pl. 4, 15, O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*² München 1901 p. 355, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 179 f.), if not also the one formerly existing near the Mausoleum of Hadrian and known to the middle ages, or earlier (Acron in *Hor. epod.* 9. 25), as the *sepulcrum Scipionis* or *Romuli* (O. Richter *op. cit.*² p. 280, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *op. cit.* i. 3. 659 f., H. Jordan *ib.* Berlin 1871 ii. 405 f.). A pyramid of the sort is grouped with a warrior or gladiator (*bustuarius?*) in two different gem-types (E. Saglio in *Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant.* i. 755 fig. 898, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 65 no. 73, 5 pl. 65; Reinach *op. cit.* p. 83 no. 90 pl. 80).

(c) The stepped tomb of 'Kyros' on the site of Pasargadai (C. F. M. Texier *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie* Paris 1852 ii. 152 ff. pls. 81—83, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* v. 597 ff. figs. 375—377, J. Fergusson *A History of Architecture in all Countries*³ London 1893 i. 196 ff. figs. 84—86) can hardly be said to have a plinth, but forms the starting-point for such edifices as the lion-tomb at Knidos (Sir C. T. Newton *A*

is to be trusted, the eponymous king Sikyon, son of Marathon son of Epopeus, came of a family in which we have already seen reason to suspect successive incarnations of Zeus¹. To be sure, there were rival traditions with regard to Sikyon. Hesiod made him the son of Erechtheus². Asios the Samian genealogist³ took him to be the son of Metion son of Erechtheus, and this view was preferred by the Sicyonians themselves⁴. Finally, Ibykos deemed him the son of Pelops⁵. But the variants each and all suggest close connexion with Zeus. *Erechtheus*, the 'Cleaver,' was a cult-title of Zeus the lightning-god⁶. *Metion* is

History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchide London 1862—1863 i pls. 61—66, ii. 480—511, *id. Travels & Discoveries in the Levant* London 1865 ii. 214 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 214 ff. no. 1350, J. Ferguson *op. cit.*³ i. 284 f. fig. 164, P. Gardner *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas* London 1896 p. 224 ff. fig. 77), the Mausoleion of Halicarnassos, the stepped tomb at Mylasa (M. G. F. A. Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* Paris 1782 i. 144 ff. pls. 85—89, *Antiquities of Ionia* published by the Society of Dilettanti London 1797 ii. 26 pls. 24—26, C. Fellows *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia* London 1841 p. 75 f. with pl.), and that near Delphoi (E. Dodwell *Views and Descriptions of Cyclopian, or, Pelasgic Remains, in Greece and Italy* London 1834 p. 20 pl. 36 f.).

(d) A good specimen of the smooth-sided pyramid on plinth is the tomb of 'Zechariah' in the Valley of Jehoshaphat near Jerusalem (T. H. Horne *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible* London 1836 i pl. 93 with text). See also *supra* i. 515 n. 5 fig. 388, ii. 814 f. fig. 781, cp. i. 600 ff. figs. 465—468.

Further cp. the pyramids built above the rock-cut tombs of the Maccabees at Modin (Macc. i. 13. 25—30, Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 13. 6. 5, Euseb. *onomasticon de locis Hebraicis s.v. Modēlu* p. 290, 4 ff. F. Larsow—G. Parthey = Hieron. *de situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum s.v. 'Modeim'* p. 291, 6 ff. F. Larsow—G. Parthey: see V. Guérin *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine* Paris 1868—1880 Seconde partie—Samarie ii. 55 ff. with two pls., Troisième partie—Galilée i. 47 ff., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 361), the three pyramids built near Jerusalem by Helene, sister and wife of Monobazos Bazaïos king of Adiabene (Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 20. 4. 3, *bell. Iud.* 5. 2. 2, 5. 3. 3, 5. 4. 2, Paus. 8. 16. 5, Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 2. 12. 3, Hieron. *epist.* 108. 9 (xxii. 883 Migne): see W. Otto in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2836 f.), the pyramid, decorated with Argive shields, beneath which the followers of Proitos and Akrisios were buried (Paus. 2. 25. 7), the pyramidal tombs built by Hieron ii at Agyrion in Sicily (Diod. 16. 83), those made for horses at Agrigentum (Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 155), the rock-cut 'Sepolcro Consolare' at Palazzola (Palazzuolo) above the Alban Lake (A. Nibby *Viaggio antiquario ne' contorni di Roma* Roma 1819 ii. 125 f.), the 'Sepolcro di Pompeo' or, as the folk of the district call it, 'di Ascanio' on the *via Appia* near Albano (A. Nibby *op. cit.* ii. 110—112), and another tomb near Capua (J. C. Richard de Saint-Non *Voyage pittoresque ou description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile* Paris 1781—1786 ii. 249).

All these and other related types (cones etc.) ought to be made the subject of a thorough-going investigation. It would, no doubt, be found that the structures in question were produced by a combination of factors, some of practical exigency, some of symbolic significance. I shall content myself with suggesting that one root-idea was that of a mountain reaching up to heaven—an idea comparable with those of the sky-pillar (*supra* p. 44 ff.), the soul-ladder (*supra* p. 121 ff.), the stepped or spiral tower (*supra* p. 128 f.).

¹ *Supra* i. 245 ff.

² Hes. *frag.* 229 Flach, 102 Rzach *ap.* Paus. 2. 6. 5.

³ E. Bethé in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1606, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁵ München 1908 i. 125.

⁴ Asios *frag.* 11 Kinkel *ap.* Paus. 2. 6. 5.

⁵ Ibyk. *frag.* 48 Bergk⁴ *ap.* Paus. 2. 6. 5.

⁶ *Supra* p. 793.

but another form of *metieta*, *metibeis*, Zeus the 'Magician'¹. And Pelops too we have regarded as in some sense a human Zeus². Nevertheless I should not insist on the Sicyonian pyramid as sepulchral in character; for it must not be forgotten that at Tegea the pyramid-on-pillar was a favourite type for the representation of deities in general³.

(10) Zeus *Melitchios* at Tegea.

From Tegea comes a dedication, of s. ii B.C. or earlier, to Zeus *Melichios*⁴. W. Immerwahr holds that the cult was of recent introduction⁵. But Tegea was an ancient Arcadian town⁶, and there is some ground for thinking that the Tegeates, like the Athenians, recognised the divinity of their early kings. At Athens—it will be remembered—the dead king seems to have been known as Zeus *Sotér* or *Téleios*⁷; and at Tegea Zeus *Téleios* had an altar and a square image (presumably a pyramid-on-pillar) of the usual Arcadian type⁸. Moreover, there are scattered indications that something rather like the Erechtheion and its royal worship existed at one time in Tegea. Aleos, the founder of the town⁹, was, like Erechtheus¹⁰, a quasi-divine king, whose head as shown on autonomous coppers closely resembles that of Zeus (fig. 966)¹¹. His house, like the house of Erechtheus, was still to be seen in Pausanias' time¹². Again, Aleos instituted the cult of Athena *Aléa*¹³ and established his kingdom in connexion with her sanctuary¹⁴. This suggests that he stood to her in the same sort of relation as Erechtheus to Athena *Políás*. Further hints help to fill in the picture: Athena *Aléa* had a sacred couch in her temple¹⁵, was served by a boy-priest¹⁶, and on occasion received the

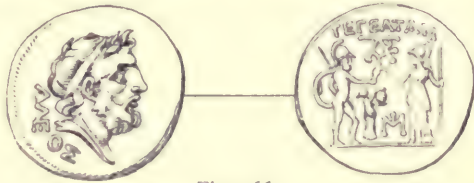


Fig. 966.

stood to her in the same sort of relation as Erechtheus to Athena *Políás*. Further hints help to fill in the picture: Athena *Aléa* had a sacred couch in her temple¹⁵, was served by a boy-priest¹⁶, and on occasion received the

¹ *Supra* i. 14 n. 1.

² *Supra* i. 139.

³ *Supra* i. 520 n. 1, ii. 814 f.

⁴ O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 33 no. 49, Michel *Revue d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1092, *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 90 Δι Μελιχίω Μικύλοῦ ἀπέθηκε where F. Hiller von Gaertringen notes: 'Forma Δ et dativus in -ωi alterius, sed Μελοpro Μειλ quarti potius saeculi a. Chr. esse videtur.'

⁵ Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 30.

⁶ There was another *Tegea* in Crete, founded by Talthybios (Steph. Byz. s.v. Τέγεια) or Agamemnon (Vell. Pat. i. 1. 2). Conversely, Tegea in Arkadia had its *δρος...Κρησιον* (Paus. 8. 44. 7).

⁷ *Supra* p. 1123.

⁸ Paus. 8. 48. 6 *πεποιθται δὲ καὶ Διὸς Τελείου βωμὸς καὶ ἀγάλμα τετράγωνον· περισσῶς γὰρ δὴ τι τῷ σχήματι τούτῳ φαίνονται μοὶ χαίρειν οἱ Ἀρκάδες.*

⁹ Paus. 8. 45. 1.

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 793 f.

¹¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 202 pl. 37, 19 (=my fig. 966), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 163, W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 98, F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Com. Paus.* ii. 108 f. pl. V, 23, *Head Hist. num.* 2 p. 455: autonomous copper struck after c. 146 B.C. *obv.* ΑΛΕΟΣ Bearded head of Aleos to right, wearing fillet; *rev.* ΤΕΓΕΑΤΑΝ Athena handing to Kepheus the hair of the Gorgon, while Sterope holds up a vase to receive it. In the field are two monograms.

¹² Paus. 8. 53. 10.

¹³ Paus. 8. 4. 8, 8. 45. 4.

¹⁴ Paus. 8. 4. 8.

¹⁵ Paus. 8. 47. 2.

¹⁶ Paus. 8. 47. 3 *ἱεράται δὲ τῇ Ἀθηνῇ παῖς χρόνον οὐκ οἶδα ὅσον τινά, πρὶν δὲ ἡβάσκειν καὶ οὐ πρόσω, τὴν ἱερωσύνην* with Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*

gift of a *péplos*¹. Notice too that, just as the safety of Athens depended on the snake kept in the Erechtheion², so the safety of Tegea depended on a lock of Medousa's hair which Athena had given to Kepheus son of Aleos³. The coins represent Kepheus' daughter Sterope receiving it in a jar (fig. 966)⁴. And it is permissible to conjecture that both at Athens and at Tegea the original talisman⁵ was the soul of the ancestral king living on as a snake⁶ in his burial jar⁷. The comparison will even take us a step further. The perpetual lamp of the Erechtheion⁸ was but a civilised form of the perpetual fire burning on the common hearth of a primitive folk⁹. Now Pausanias says: 'The Tegeates have also what they call the common hearth of the Arcadians.... The high place on which stand most of the altars of the Tegeates is called after Zeus *Klários*¹⁰: plainly the god got his surname from the lot (*kléros*) cast on behalf of the sons of Arkas. The Tegeates celebrate a festival here every year¹¹: Zeus *Klários* gave his name to the first of the four Tegeate tribes *Klareôitis*, *Hippochoitis*, *Apolloniatis*, *Athaneatis*¹². But the legend of the lot is probably due to a mis-

¹ Paus. 8. 5. 3.

² Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 168—170 collects the evidence. The precise position of the snake's hole is doubtful (W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 250 f., M. L. D'Ooge *The Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 p. 209). H. N. Fowler in the *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 1882—1883* Boston 1885 would seek it somewhere under the N. porch of the Erechtheion, a view approved by M. P. Nilsson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 329. Not improbably it is covered by the small round cistern of Turkish (?) origin still to be seen in the N.W. corner of the crypt beneath the N. porch (Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐπι τοῦ Ἐρεχθελίου ἐπιτροπῆς Athens 1853 pl. 3 = F. Thiersch in the *Abh. d. Bayer. Akad.* 1857 Philos.-philol. Classe viii pl. 3 will provide a coloured plan and section. See also P. Cavvadias—G. Kawerau *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis Athens* 1907 pl. F', and the remarks of E. M. Beulé *L'Acropole d'Athènes* Paris 1854 ii. 251 f., D'Ooge *op. cit.* p. 207).

³ Paus. 8. 47. 5, cp. Apollod. 2. 7. 3, Phot. *lex. s.v.* πλόκιον Γοργάδος, Suid. *s.v.* πλόκιον Γοργάδος, Apostol. 14. 38.

⁴ Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 203 pl. 37, 20, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 163, W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 98, F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 108 pl. V, 22, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 455: *obv.* Head of Eileithyia (?) with torch at her shoulder; *rev.* [T]ΕΓΕΑΤΑΝ and type as above described. In the field are two monograms.

⁵ For other classical examples see Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 433 f. and *Golden Bough*³: Taboo p. 317, *ib.*³: Balder the Beautiful i. 83 n. 1.

⁶ K. Tümpel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1108 says 'βαστραχος; ob vielmehr Schlange?'—an acute suggestion.

⁷ *Supra* Append. H.

⁸ Strab. 396, Plout. *v. Num.* 9, *v. Sull.* 13, Paus. 1. 26. 6 f., schol. *Od.* 19. 34.

⁹ Sir J. G. Frazer 'The Prytaneum, the Temple of Vesta, the Vestals, Perpetual Fires' in the *Journal of Philology* 1885 xiv. 145 ff., *id.* *Pausanias* iv. 441 f., *id.* *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art ii. 253 ff., *ib.*³: Adonis Attis Osiris³ ii. 174, *id.* *Totemism and Exogamy* London 1910 ii. 491, iii. 239.

¹⁰ The high place in question (684^m above sea-level) lies to the N. of the town and is now occupied by the modern village of Mertzauzi. Another height (706^m) to the N.W. of the town, the ancient citadel, is crowned by the village of Hagios Sostis (V. Bérard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 541 with pl. 13).

¹¹ Paus. 8. 53. 9 f. cited *supra* p. 874 n. 2.

¹² Paus. 8. 53. 6, *supra* p. 164 n. 6. G. Gilbert *Handbuch der griechischen Staats-allerthümer* Leipzig 1885 ii. 127 notes that, according to inscriptional evidence (*Corp.*

taken attempt to explain the title *Klários*, which has been better interpreted by F. Solmsen as 'god of the High Place' (*Klários* for **Krários*)¹. Be that as it may², Zeus *Klários* was not improbably the old divine king buried under the common hearth of his people. If such were really the beliefs of the Tegeates, the cult of Zeus *Meilichios*, whether imported or not, would flourish in their midst.

(11) Zeus *Meilichos* or *Milichos* in Boiotia.

At Orchomenos in Boiotia, the great stronghold of the Aeolian Minyai³, Zeus was worshipped under the title *Meilichos*. Towards the close of the third century B.C. a certain Anticharidas, priest of the god, brought forward a decree for the construction of a fountain in or near his sanctuary, the *Meilichion*, in order that persons sacrificing there might have a convenient supply of drinkable water⁴. The connexion with water recalls the *Meilichios*-cults of Athens⁵ and prepares us to find that here too Zeus was a chthonian god with fertilising powers. Now Orchomenos the eponym of the town is said to have been the son

inscr. Gr. i nos. 1513, 1514 = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 351 ff. no. 1231 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 888 = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii. no. 36 and F. Bechtel *loc. cit.* i. 357 ff. no. 1246 = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 38. Add *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 6, 83 and 89, ii nos. 39, 40, 41, 173, 174), the names of the tribes were ἐπ' Ἀθαναίαν, Κραριῶται, Ἰπποβοῖται, Ἀπολλωνιάται. On their topographical distribution see V. Bérard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 549 with pl. 13.

¹ *Supra* p. 874 n. 2.

² *Alii aliter.* (1) M. Schmidt on Hesych. κλάρες· αἱ ἐπὶ ἐδάφους (so M. Musurus for ἐδάφου) ἐσχάρα suggests that Zeus *Klários* of Tegea drew his title hence.

If Zeus *Klários* was a god 'of Hearths,' his annual festival was presumably for the purpose of furnishing the people with new fire (Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Index p. 271 f.). This adds significance to a curious incident in the history of the town. According to Paus. 8. 53. 10, the Lacedaemonians once marched against the Tegeates at the time of the festival: 'It was snowing, and the Lacedaemonians were cold and weary with the weight of their weapons. But the Tegeates unbeknown to them kindled a fire and, not being incommoded by the chill, got under arms, marched out against the Lacedaemonians, and beat them in the action.' According to Polyain. 1. 8, when the Lacedaemonians were attacking Tegea, Elnes (?) king of the Arcadians bade the men of military age to charge downhill against the enemy at midnight, but the old men and children to kindle a huge fire outside the town at the same hour. The Lacedaemonians turned in astonishment towards the glare, and so fell a prey to the onslaught from the height. Both accounts presuppose the fire-festival of Zeus *Klários*.

(2) Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 29 takes Zeus *Klários* to be 'god of Branches,' i.e. of suppliant-boughs, cp. Hesych. †κλάριοι (Immerwahr rightly adopts M. Schmidt's cj. κλάροι)· κλάδοι and Aisch. *suppl.* 354 ff. ΠΕΛ. ὄρω κλάδοισι νεοδρόποις κατὰ σκιον | νέονθ' ὄμιλον τόνδ' (so J. G. J. Hermann for τῶνδ') ἀγωνίων θεῶν followed by 359 f. cited *supra* p. 874 n. 2.

³ On the Minyai as Aeolians see A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1911 xlvii. 2 f., 5, *ib.* 1914 xlvii. 70, 76 f., 85 ff., 93, 102 ff.

⁴ *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1568, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 191 no. 495 with i. 394, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3169, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 701, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 994 Δαμοσθίδας ἀρχοντος, | ιαρεαδδόντος | Ἀντιχαρίδαο Ἀ[θ]ανοδῶρω, (ἀ π)όλις Διὶ Μειλί[χ]ι[υ]. | Ἀντιχαρίδας Ἀθανοδῶρω ἐλ[ε]ξε· δεδόχθη τῷ δάμν, ἔπα[ε]ξ[χ]ω(ν) θι τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ (θ)ύ(ο)ν(τ)ες ἐ[ν] | (τ)ῷ Μειλιχίῳ ο(ῦ)ατι χρεείσθη [πο]τ[ι]μν, κατασκευάτη κ(ρ)[ά]ναν | ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ εἰ πὰρ τὸ (ι)αρ[όν], εἰ κα | δοκί ἐ[ν] καλλιστο[ι] εἰμεν.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1115 ff.

of Zeus¹ by the Danaid Hesione² or by Hermpippe daughter of Boiotos³. Alleged descent from Zeus presupposes a line of kings believed to incarnate Zeus. Was one of them that Minyas, of Aeolian ancestry⁴, whose name was attached by the Orchomenians to their famous prehistoric *thólos*⁵? It would seem so; for among the relics of funerary cult discovered by Schliemann within the *thólos*, relics ranging from 'Minoan' to Roman times⁶, was a slab of white marble inscribed with a late dedication to Zeus *Téleios* and Hera *Teleía*⁷. The old pre-Greek king, whose underground cupola with its rosettes of glittering bronze mimicked the midnight sky⁸, was indeed aptly succeeded by an Aeolian dynast revered as a nether Zeus⁹. With all the prestige of immemorial tradition behind him such an one would watch over the fortunes of his people. For instance, in or about the year 329 B.C., as we know from an inscription formerly (1868) to be seen in the court of the neighbouring monastery¹⁰, Orchomenian troopers, who

¹ Eustath. *in Il.* p. 272, 31 ὁ Βοιώτιος δὲ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς Ὀρχομενῶ ἐπωνόμασται.

² Schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 230 Ἡσιόνης (Ἰσιώνης cod. Paris.) δὲ τῆς Δαναοῦ καὶ Διὸς γίγεται Ὀρχομενός, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ πόλις Ὀρχομενός καλεῖται (ἐκλήθη cod. Paris). Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21 Hippodamiam et Isonen Danai filias (sc. vitiat Iupiter), quarum unam Hippodamiam <matrem (*inserui*)> Olenus, Isonen vero Orchomenus sive Chryses habuit. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 939 f. conjectures that the mother's name was Ἰσονόη; but see G. Weicker in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1240.

³ Schol. D. *Il.* 2. 511 τὸν ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ λέγει Ὀρχομενόν, τὸν ὑπὸ Μιννοῦ βασιλευθέντα, τὸν ὀνομασθέντα ἀπὸ Ὀρχομενοῦ τοῦ Διὸς υἱοῦ καὶ Ἑρμιππῆς τῆς Βοιωτοῦ.

⁴ Ap. Rhod. 3. 1094 Αἰολίδην Μινύην with schol. *ad loc.* (cod. Paris.) Αἰολίδην δὲ τὸν Μινύαν λέγει, οὐχ ὡς ὅτι υἱὸν τοῦ Αἰόλου, ἀλλ' ὡς μητρὸθεν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καταγόμενον. Σισύφου γὰρ τοῦ Αἰόλου παῖδες Ἄλμος καὶ Πορφυρίων, Χρυσόγῳνης δὲ τῆς Ἄλμου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Μινύας. ὥστε ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν Αἰολίδης ὁ Μινύας, πατρὸς δὲ Ποσειδῶνος.

⁵ The genealogy of Minyas is very variously given: see *in primis* schol. Pind. *Isthm.* i. 80 τούτων δὲ τὸν Μινύαν οἱ μὲν Ὀρχομενοῦ γενεαλογοῦσιν, ὡς Φερεκίδης (*frag.* 84 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 92 Müller)), ἔτι οἱ δὲ ἐμπαλιὸν τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν Μινύου, ἔτι οἱ δὲ ἀμφοτέρους Ἐπεοκλέος γενεαλογοῦσι, Διούσιος (*quis?* Perhaps the Rhodian, cp. schol. Pind. *Pyth.* i. 109, *Nem.* 3. 104) δὲ τὸν Μινύαν Ἄρεος ἀναγράφει, Ἀριστόδημος (sc. ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, cp. schol. Pind. *Isthm.* i. 11) δὲ Ἄλεοῦ τὸν Μινύαν, καὶ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας δὲ Μινύας ἐντεῦθεν γράφει προσηγορεύσθαι with K. Tümpel's article in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3016 ff.

⁶ H. Schliemann *Orchomenos* Leipzig 1881 p. 56 ff. = *id.* 'Exploration of the Boeotian Orchomenus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1881 ii. 137 ff., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 439 f., Frazer *Pausanias* v. 189, 191.

⁷ H. Schliemann *Orchomenos* p. 58 = *id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1881 ii. 139 ('a slab of marble broken on the left side, with the inscription:— ... ΕΙΩΗΡΑΤΕΛΕΙΑ which Professor Sayce [May he be forgiven! A. B. C.] holds to be the end of an hexameter'), *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3217 [..... Διὶ Τελ]εῖα, Ἡρα Τελεῖα.

⁸ *Supra* i. 751 f.

⁹ Notice *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3218 Orchomenos [..... τὸν] ἐαυτῶν γυμνασι-αρχον | ἰου Ἑρμῆ καὶ Μινύα, which proves a definite cult of Minyas. In 1889 a herm of white marble was found near the church of Haghios Charalambos on a small hill to the W. of Thespiæ: beneath the *phallós* was inscribed τοὶ ἱεράρχαι ἀνέθεν | τοὶ ἐφ' Ἴππωνος ἀρχοντος | τοῖς Δαιμόνεσσι | κ.τ.λ. (P. Jamot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 375 ff. no. 28, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 752, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1102). This inscription (c. 300 B.C.) associates Hermes with certain *Δαίμονες*. May we venture to conclude that they were the souls of bygone Thespian kings?

¹⁰ The monastery named after the *Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου*, the 'Falling Asleep of the Mother of God,' is believed to occupy the site of the ancient temple of the Charites (Frazer *Pausanias* v. 186, H. Hitzig—H. Blümmer on Paus. 9. 38. 1, K. Baedeker *Greece* Leipzig 1889 p. 188, J. Murray *Handbook for Travellers in Greece*⁷ London 1900 p. 562).

had served with Alexander the Great in Asia, returned home and testified their gratitude by a votive offering to Zeus *Sotér*¹.

At Thespiai, another ancient city of Boiotia; Zeus *Milichos* had a consort *Miliche*². Since Thespios, the eponymous hero of the place, was said to have been an Athenian and the son of Erechtheus³, or of Teuthras son of Pandion⁴, we may legitimately compare the cult with that of Zeus *Meilichios* at Athens. Accordingly, we are not surprised to learn that Thespiai made much of Zeus *Sabtes*, the local equivalent of Zeus *Sotér*. Pausanias heard all about him:

⁴ The Thespians have in their town a bronze image of Zeus *Sabtes*. The story they tell of it is this. Once upon a time, when a snake (*drakon*) was ravaging the town, the god commanded that every year a youth, chosen by lot, should be given to the monster. They do not, they say, remember the names of the victims who thus perished. But they add that, when the lot fell on Kleostratos, his lover Menestratos resorted to the following expedient. He had a bronze breastplate made with a fish-hook on each of its plates, pointing upwards. This breastplate he put on, and offered himself willingly to the snake; for he meant by his offering to kill the monster, though he died for it. Hence Zeus got the name of *Sabtes* (the "Saviour")⁵.

So the Greeks had their own version of Slingsby and the Snapping Turtle! Indeed, the episode is but one variety of a world-wide myth, that of the dragon-slayer⁶. We must not, therefore, too hastily assume that the snake in question was the animal form of a divinised ancestor. Not improbably, however, the Boeotian Zeus *Sabtes*, like the Elean *Sosipolis*⁷, appeared on occasion as a snake, so that the old snake-myth, which originated elsewhere in a different connexion, would in Boiotia readily attach itself to the ancestral theriomorphic Zeus.

A relic of his cult has survived in a votive relief of white marble found at *Sialesi* and now in the Berlin collection (fig. 967)⁸. This monument, which might be good Attic work of the fourth century B.C., shows a bearded man and a boy approaching a cave in a rocky hill-side. The man holds an egg-shaped object, perhaps a honey-cake⁹, in his raised right hand. And a large snake writhes out of the cave to get it. If *Sialesi* is rightly identified with the site of the ancient Eteonos¹⁰ (later Skarphe), the cave may well represent the burying-

¹ P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 452 ff., R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 170 f. no. 470, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3206, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1112 [τοῖς ἰππότησι τοῖς ἐν τῶν Ἀσίου] στ[ρατευοῦσάμενοι βασιλεῖος] Ἀλεξάνδρου στραταγίουτος,]. ὁδῶρῳ φιλαρχίουτος, Διὶ Σωτείρι ἀν[έθιαν · κ.τ.λ.].

² P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1885 ix. 404 no. 15, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 1814 Θυνοκλῆδας Διονουσίῳ Διὶ Μελίχῳ κῆ Μελίχῃ (an inscription of s. ii or iii B.C.).

³ Diod. 4. 29, Paus. 9. 26. 6 (with Thespia daughter of Asopos as alternative eponym).

⁴ Steph. Byz. s.v. Θέσπεια, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 266, 6 f.

⁵ Paus. 9. 26. 7 f.

⁶ See Sir J. G. Frazer on Paus. 9. 26. 7 and the authorities cited *supra* i. 178 n., 782.

⁷ Paus. 6. 20. 5. See further C. Robert 'Sosipolis in Olympia' in the *Att. Mith.* 1893 xviii. 37—45 and the excellent article of L. Weniger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1222 ff.

⁸ *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 271 no. 724 fig., C. O. Müller—A. Schöll *Archaeologische Mittheilungen aus Griechenland* Frankfurt a/M. 1843 p. 97 no. 103 ('Opfer an die (Asklepios-) Schlange für einen (kranken) Knaben'), R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*² Berlin 1907 p. 202 fig. ('Weihrelief an Zeus Meilichios'), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 14 no. 1 ('Hommage au serpent d'Asklépios'), Harrison *Proleg. Gr. Rel.*² p. 20 f. fig. 5 and *Themis* p. 282 f. fig. 73. I am indebted to Miss Harrison for the photograph, from which my fig. 967 was drawn. Height 0.265^m, breadth 0.495^m to 0.505^m.

⁹ So Harrison *Themis* p. 282.

¹⁰ C. O. Müller—A. Schöll *loc. cit.*, *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin loc. cit.*

place of Oidipous in the sanctuary of Demeter. Lysimachos of Alexandria¹ in his work on *Theban Marvels* wrote as follows²:

‘When Oidipous died, his friends thought to bury him in Thebes. But the Thebans, holding that he was an impious person on account of the misfortunes which had befallen him in earlier times, prevented them from so doing. They carried him therefore to a certain place in Boiotia called Keos and buried him there. But the inhabitants of the village, being visited with sundry misfortunes, attributed them to the burying of Oidipous and bade his friends remove him

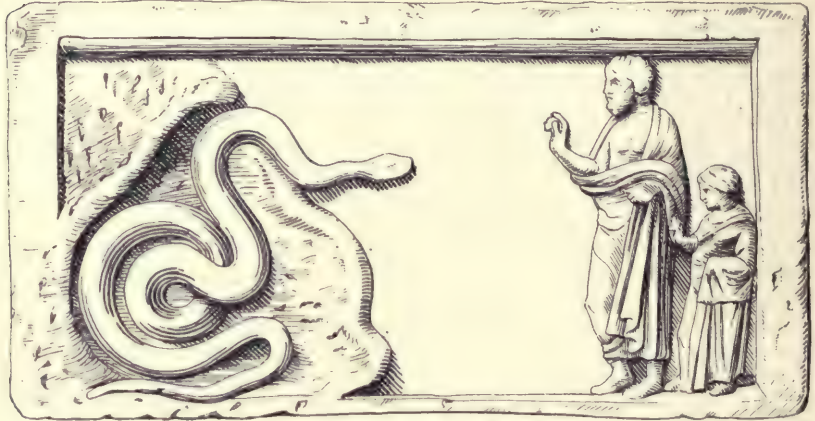


Fig. 967.

from their land. The friends, perplexed by these occurrences, took him up and brought him to Eteonos. Wishing to bury him secretly, they interred him by night in the sanctuary of Demeter—for they did not know the locality. When the facts transpired, the inhabitants of Eteonos asked the god what they should do. The god bade them not to move the suppliant of the goddess. So Oidipous is buried there, and³—adds Lysimachos—‘the sanctuary is called the *Oidipódeion*.’

Demeter at Eteonos bore the surname *Euryódeia*³ and was certainly an earth-goddess⁴. Oidipous, buried in her precinct with the honours due to a suppliant⁵, would naturally be viewed as a beneficent chthonian power. In this capacity he would almost certainly be anguiform. Indeed, P. Kretschmer has argued that the name *Oidíþous*, ‘Swell-foot,’ actually denoted a snake, being a euphemistic

¹ W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ München 1911 ii. 1. 184.

² Lysimachos *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 336 f. Müller) *ap. schol. Soph. O.C.* 91, citing Arizelos, of whom nothing further is known (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 340 Müller).

³ Hesych. *Εὐρύοδεια*· *μεγαλάμοδος* (so Musurus for *μεγαλάμφοδα* cod.). *καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ οὕτως ἐν Σκαρφέῃ* (so M. Schmidt for *Σκαρφέα* cod.). *καὶ ἡ γῆ*.

⁴ *Et. mag.* p. 396, 24 ff. *εὐρυοδεία*...‘ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης’ (*Il.* 16. 635, *Od.* 3. 453, 10. 149, cp. 11. 52), *μέγα τὸ ἔδος ἐχούσης, ὃ ἐστὶν ἔδρασμα. ἔστι δὲ ἐπίθετον τῆς γῆς*.

Cp. schol. Od. 16. 118 ‘*Ἀρκείσιος Εὐρυοδείας* (W. Dindorf *cj. Εὐρυοδείας*) *καὶ Διὸς Eustath. in Od.* p. 1796, 34 *ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι γενεαλογοῦσι Διὸς μὲν καὶ Εὐρυοδείας Ἀρκείσιον*, which presupposes a union of Zeus with the earth-goddess.

⁵ Similarly in the Attic version Oidipous at Kolonos *ἰκέτευεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν θεῶν Δήμητρος καὶ Πολιοῦχου Ἀθηνᾶς* (Androtion *frag.* 31 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 374 Müller) *ap. schol. Od.* 16. 271. The passage continues *καὶ Διὸς. ἀγόμενος < δὲ > ὑπὸ Κρέοντος κ.τ.λ.* But W. Dindorf, following J. T. Struve, *corr. καὶ βία ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ Κρέοντος κ.τ.λ.*)

appellation for the swollen coils of the creature appropriate to a chthonian hero¹.

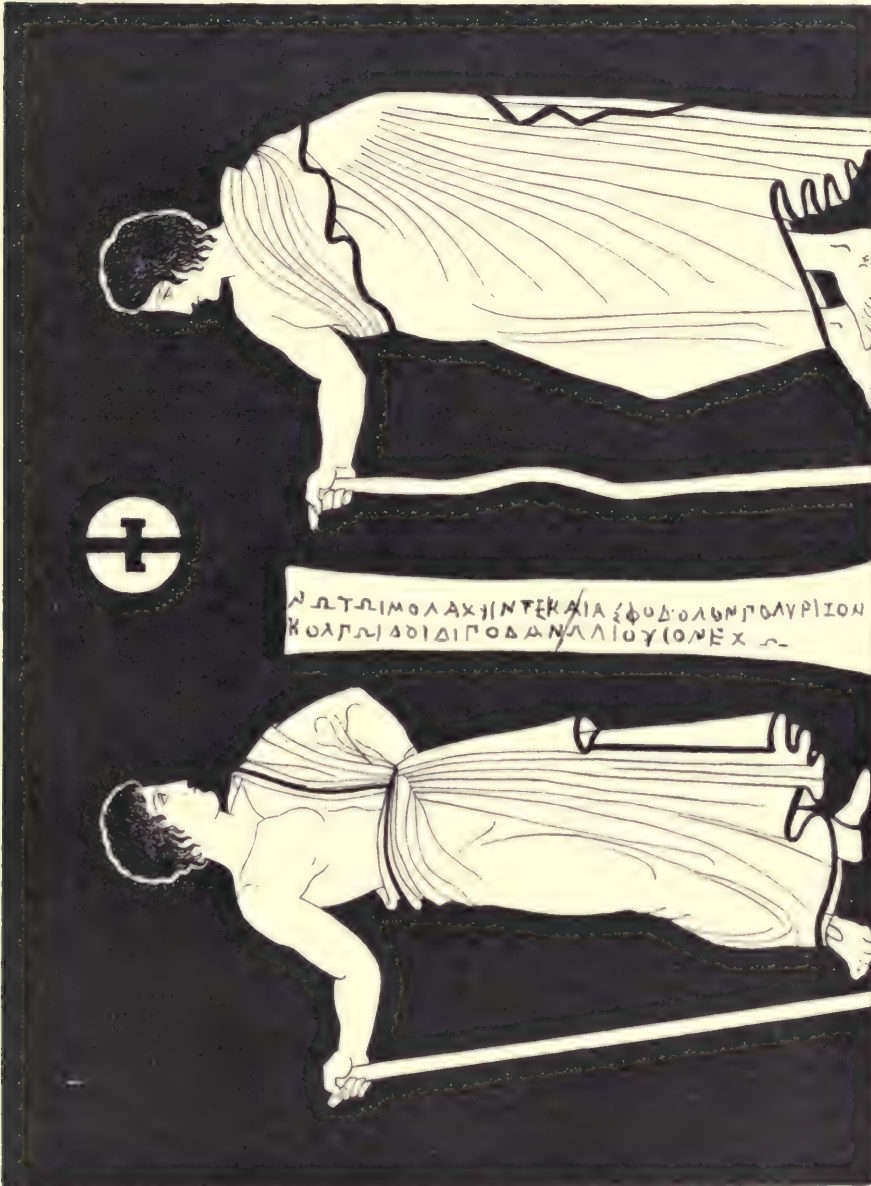


Fig. 968.

¹ P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 191 n. 3
 'Οιδίπους erinnert an einen anderen rätselhaften mythischen Namen, den des frommen
 Schers Μελάμπος: beides sind chthonische Heroen... Chthonische Wesen haben einen
 Schlangenleib statt der Füße: ... Sollten nicht "Schwellfuss" und "Schwarzfuss" euphemis-

Again, the buried hero would be responsible for the growth of all living things. The *Sialesi* relief shows the snake propitiated by a grown man and a growing boy—a sufficiently suggestive picture. Moreover, a red-figured *amphora* from Basilicata, now in the Naples collection (fig. 968)¹, represents two youths, with *himátia* and sticks, standing to right and left of a *stèle*, which marks the grave of Oidipous. In the background hangs a pair of *hallères*², the sign of their devotion. But the most interesting feature of the design is the inscription on the *stèle*, a metrical couplet in which the grave apparently (though the speaker is not named) announces:

Mallows and rooty asphodel upon my back I bear,
And in my bosom Oidipodas, Laios' son and heir³.

Now mallows and asphodel were the common vegetable food of the Boeotian peasant, as we learn from a famous passage of Hesiod⁴. We may therefore reasonably regard this vase-painting as an illustration of the Boeotian *Oidipódeion*. And the more so, if—as seems probable—the dialect of the inscription contains sundry would-be Boeotisms⁵.

It appears, then, that Oidipous in his grave played a part not easily distinguishable from that of Zeus *Meilichios*⁶. There is, I think, that much of truth in a venturesome view advanced by O. Höfer, who after an exhaustive study of the hero's myth and monuments comes to the tentative conclusion that Oidipous after all may be but a hypostasis of the chthonian Zeus⁷. Sophokles knew what he was about in making the old king summoned hence by the

tische Bezeichnungen des schwarzen geschwollenen Schlangenleibes sein, welcher diesen Heroen natürlich genommen wurde, als sie zu Helden der Dichtung wurden?'

¹ Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 415 f. no. 2868 pl. 7, B. Quaranta in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1833 ix pl. 28, J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* Series ii London 1826 p. 86 ff. pl. 36, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv. 18 ff. pl. 315. Fig. 968 is copied from Millingen's coloured plate and Heydemann's facsimile of the inscription.

² Heydemann *loc. cit.* says 'ein Ball.'

³ $\nu\acute{\omega}\tau\omega\iota <\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu> \mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\eta\tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\acute{\omicron}\delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu \mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\nu | \kappa\acute{\omicron}\lambda\pi\omega\iota \delta' \text{Οιδιπ\acute{o}}\delta\alpha\nu \text{Λα\acute{o}}\nu <\upsilon>\iota\delta\nu \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 120). A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8429 quotes Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1698, 25 ff. $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\tau\omicron \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\iota\varsigma \tau\acute{o} \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \phi\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ (sc. $\acute{\omicron} \acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$), $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta\eta\lambda\acute{\omicron}\iota \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\iota \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\eta\tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu \mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\nu, \kappa\acute{\omicron}\lambda\pi\omega\iota \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\omicron\nu \delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ and surmises that Porphyrios found the epigram in the Aristotelian *péplos* (see Eustath. in *Il.* p. 285, 24 f.)—a view already put forward by Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. cxxiv n. 914. Boeckh *loc. cit.* further cp. Auson. *epitaph.* 21. 1 f. (p. 79 Peiper) Hippothoum Pyleumque tenet gremio infima tellus: | caulibus et malvis terga superna virent, whence E. Curtius would read $\text{Ἰπποθούων τ' ἠδὲ Πύλαιων}$ for $\tau\omicron\nu\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha$ in Eustath. *loc. cit.*

⁴ Hes. *o.d.* 41 with K. W. Goettling—J. Flach *ad loc.*, and H. G. Evelyn White in the *Class. Quart.* 1920 xiv. 128 f.

⁵ $\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\eta$ for $\mu\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\eta$, $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\acute{\omicron}\delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu$ for $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$, $\text{Οιδιπ\acute{o}}\delta\alpha\nu$ for $\text{Οιδιπ\acute{o}}\delta\eta\eta$, if not also (as Dr P. Giles suggests to me), $\text{Λα\acute{o}}\nu = \text{Λα\acute{i}\omega}$ for $\text{Λα\acute{o}}\nu$. J. Millingen *loc. cit.* p. 87 n. 5 says 'according to the Æolic dialect'; P. Kretschmer *op. cit.* p. 224 f., 'in attischem Dialekt,' regarding $\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\eta$ as a blend of $\mu\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\eta$ and $\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{o}\chi\eta\eta$ (Athen. 58 D), $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\acute{\omicron}\delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu$ as a case of vulgar assimilation. *Decernant peritiores.*

⁶ Cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 1329 an inscription in lettering of s. ii B.C. found at Akhesti near Thebes $\text{Αυσίμαχο[ς]} | \text{Μειλιχί\acute{o}}\varsigma$.

⁷ O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 743 'Ist Oidipus vielleicht eine Hypostase des Zeus $\chi\theta\omicron\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$?' This suggestion should not be tossed on one side till the evidence adduced *ib.* p. 741 ff. has been carefully weighed.

thunders of Zeus *Chthónios*¹. When the moment of departure comes and Theseus remains 'holding his hand before his face to screen his eyes, as if some dread sight had been seen, and such as none might endure to behold²; the poet with consummate tact leaves the secret untold. But the mythologist may be forgiven, if he hazards the conjecture that Oidipous was then and there transformed into a snake.

(12) Zeus *Meilichios* in Thessaly.

The demolition of a mosque at Larissa in Thessaly brought to light two fragments of an Ionic architrave inscribed as follows³:

Makon, son of Omphalion, (dedicated) the temple
to Zeus *Meilichios* and to *Enhodía*⁴ and to the City⁵.

The cult of the chthonian Zeus here had civic importance, and may fairly be connected with the founder of the state, Akrisios⁶, who—struck on the foot and slain by the *diskos* of Perseus—was buried in a *heróion* outside the town⁷ or else in the temple of Athena on the akropolis⁸. Akrisios was represented by Attic vase-painters of s. v B.C. as a bearded king, twice with a long sceptre⁹, once with a long staff and a wreath of olive¹⁰. He had a divine doublet in Akrisias, the

¹ Soph. *O. C.* 1606 κτύπησε μὲν Ζεὺς Χθόνιος κ.τ.λ. *Supra* p. 805 n. 6.

² Soph. *O. C.* 1650 ff.

³ *Ath. Mith.* 1886 xi. 336, S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1887 ii. 79, *id. Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 346, G. Fougères in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 392 no. 9, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 578 Μάκων Ὀμφαλιῶνος τὸν να[ὸν] | Διὶ Μειλιχίῳ καὶ Ἐνοδίᾳ καὶ Πόλει.

⁴ For this appellation of Hekate at Larissa cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 575, 2 f. εἴξατο: δ' Ἀγέ[τ]ορ | φαστικᾶι: Ἐνοδία.

⁵ Cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 31, 2 (Hypata) Ἐρμῆι καὶ τᾷ πόλει, no. 94, 5 (Larissa Kremaste) Ἐρμῆι καὶ τᾷ πόλει.

⁶ *Hellanic frag.* 29 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 49 Müller) ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 40 = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1156, 25 f., Steph. Byz. s.v. Λάρισσα.

⁷ *Pherekyd. frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 77 Müller) ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1091 = Eudok. *viol.* 40 = Favorin. *lex.* p. 99, 16 ff., Apollod. 2. 4. 4, cp. Paus. 2. 16. 2. Hyg. *fab.* 63 lays the scene in Seriphos and makes Akrisios struck on the head, cp. *fab.* 273. Further confusion in Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 1. 255 = Myth. Vat. 2. 111 (Perseus hurls the Gorgon's head at Akrisios and turns him into stone!).

⁸ Antiochos *frag.* 15 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 184 Müller) ap. Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 45. 1 p. 34. 9 f. Stählin.

⁹ (1) On a red-figured *kratér* from Caere, now at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamm.* St. Petersburg ii. 281 ff. no. 1723, E. Gerhard *Danae, ein griechisches Vasenbild* (Winckelmannsfest-*Progr.* Berlin xiv) Berlin 1854 with col. pl., Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* v. 275 ff. pl. 17, 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 406 f., 411 f. Atlas pl. 6, 2 f., Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 405 f. fig. 447 f., P. Hartwig *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles* Stuttgart—Berlin 1893 p. 396 f., J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 94 ('The Foundry Painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 458 f. no. 17).

(2) On another red-figured *kratér* from Caere, now at Petrograd (Stephani *op. cit.* ii. 139 ff. no. 1357, F. T. Welcker in the *Mon. ed. Ann. d. Inst.* 1856 p. 37 f. pl. 8, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* v. 283 ff. pl. 17, 2, Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 412 f. Atlas pl. 6, 4, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 244, 1, J. D. Beazley in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1911-1912 xviii. 226 no. 16 and *op. cit.* p. 46 f. fig. 28 ('The Eucharides Painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 359 no. 20).

¹⁰ On a red-figured *hydria* at Boston (P. Hartwig 'Danaé dans le coffre' in the *Mon.*

Phrygian Kronos¹. It seems probable, therefore, that Akrisios was the royal embodiment of a sky-god². And the story of his death from the *diskos* of Perseus, like that of Hyakinthos' death from the *diskos* of Apollon³, is best explained as a genuine solar myth⁴. Whether Akrisios or Akrisias, as O. Gruppe supposes⁵, was originally a mountain-god, is doubtful⁶. Still more so is Gruppe's attempt⁷ to equate him with *Arkésios* or *Arkelsios*, a clipped form of *Arkestllaos*⁸, god of the underworld⁹. Ruling out such questionable possibilities, we must yet concede that Akrisios was likely enough to live on in the popular memory as a buried beneficent Zeus.

(13) Zeus *Meilichios* in the Archipelago, Asia Minor, etc.

The cult of Zeus *Meilichios* was wide-spread in the islands of the Archipelago. Rock-cut inscriptions at Thera show that Zeus *Melichios* was adored by the intimates of a certain Polyxenos¹⁰ and that *Melichios* received the offering of a 'singed' victim¹¹. Boundary-stones inscribed 'Of Zeus *Meilichios*' have been found at *Palaiopolis* in Andros¹², at Arkesine in Amorgos¹³, and in the district of

Piot 1903 x. 55—59 pl. 8, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 51 f. fig. 32 ('The Painter of the Diogenes Amphora'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 206 no. 1).

¹ Hesych. Ἀκρισίας· Κρόνος, παρὰ Φρυξίῳ.

² On Kronos as a sky-god see *supra* p. 548 ff.

³ Greve in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2760, G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 305, S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 9 f.

⁴ *Pace* S. Eitrem *loc. cit.* p. 16.

⁵ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 182 n. 2, 1105 n. 1 starting from ἄκρις = *ocris* derives Ἀκρισίος from the former, *Ocrisia* from the latter and cp. Hesych. Ἀκρία· ἡ Ἀθηναῖα ἐν Ἀργεῖ, ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ ἰδρυμένη, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ Ἀκρισίος (so Musurus for ὀκρισίος. M. Schmidt suggests ὁ Ἀκρισίος) ὠνομάσθη. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἡρα καὶ Ἀρτεμῖς καὶ Ἀφροδίτη προσαγορευομένη ἐν Ἀργεῖ, κατὰ τὸ ὅμοιον ἐπ' ἄκρῳ ἰδρυμέναι, cp. Methodios *ap. et. mag.* p. 52, 40 f. Ἀκρισίος· ὁ ἦρας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἀργεῖ ἄκρας. οὕτως Μεθόδιος.

⁶ A. Fick *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas* Göttingen 1873 p. 411 proposed to connect the Phrygian Ἀκρισίας with Hesych. ἄκριστων· κλέπτριαν (C. A. Lobeck *ej. πέπτριαν*). ἀλετριδα. Φρύγες. This, though groping in the dark, is better than *et. mag.* p. 52, 41 f. ὁ δὲ Ἦρος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκρίζω Ἀκρισίος, ὡς παρὰ τὸ θαυμάζω θαυμάσιος. ἡ παρὰ τὸ κρίσις κρίσιος, καὶ ἀκρισίος, ὁ ἀκριτος καὶ ὤμος. [ἀκρίζω δὲ σημαίνει τὸ ἄκριος ποσὶ πορεύεσθαι· κ.τ.λ.].

⁷ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 253, 778, 1105 n. 1.

⁸ A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1906 xxx. 279: 'Arkeisios [*Od.* 14. 182, 16. 118, *alib.*] würde richtig Ἀρκέσιος = Ἀρκεσίλαος heissen; den anlass zu der entstehung gab der schreibung mit einem σ.'

⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 144, 33 ff. cited *supra* p. 549 n. 1.

¹⁰ With *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1316 Ζεὺς Μηλιχίος τῶν | περὶ Πολύξενοῦν (fig.) cp. the other rock-cut inscriptions from the same locality *ib.* no. 1317 Ζε(ὸ)ς | τ[ῶ]ν περ[ὶ] Ἀ]άκιον and *ib.* no. 1318 Ζεὺς | τῶν περὶ Ὀλ[υμ]πίδωρον. *Supra* i. 144 n. 2 with i. 143 n. 13.

¹¹ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 406 (*supra* i. 144 n. 1).

¹² E. Pernice in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 9 f. no. 4 = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. i no. 727 on a large unworked stone ΔΙΟΣ | ΜΕΛΙΧΙΟ (fig.) = Διός | Με(ι)λιχί(ο). E. Pernice and F. Hiller von Gaertringen *loc. cit.* regard the line after O as a mere crack.

¹³ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* vii no. 89 on a rough stone in letters of s. iii or iv B.C. [Δι]ὸς Μειλιχίου, *ib.* no. 90 on a fragmentary slab of marble with lower moulding [Διός Μει]λιχίου. Note also *ib.* no. 92 on a small white marble base of Roman date Διός Σωτήρος, *ib.* no. 93 on a broken block of bluish marble in letters of s. iii B.C. Διός | Σωτήρο[ς], *ib.* no. 94 on a fragment of rough bluish marble Διὲ Τελ[είω], *ib.* no. 91 on a large marble slab

Saint Anna beyond *Bounáki* at Chios¹. A dedication to the same god has been recorded at Chalkis in Euboeia². Nisyros had its sect of Diosmilichiaistai³, and Crete a joint-cult of Zeus *Meilichios* and Hera *Melichta*⁴.

Our search might be extended eastwards into Asia Minor and Egypt, westwards into Sicily and Italy. An altar 'Of Zeus *Meil[ichios]*,' discovered at Knidos by Sir Charles Newton, is now in the British Museum⁵. Xenophon sacrificed pigs to Zeus *Meilichios* at Ophrynon⁶: but we have no reason to think that there was a local cult of this deity. Achilleus Tatios (? s. vi. A.D.⁷) brings Kleitophon and Leukippe, the hero and heroine of his novel, to Alexandria, his own native town.

ΔΙΟΣΑΝΑΛΩΙΟΥ = Διὸς Ἄνα(δ)ώ(τ)ου, 'of Zeus who sendeth up his Gifts from Below'—an obviously chthonian god (cp. *supra* p. 321 n. 1).

Other Zeus-cults of the same town: *ib.* no. 88 on a rough altar of bluish marble in letters of s. iv B.C. [Δ]ιὸς Ἄποτροπαίου (cp. P. Kabbadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 56 no. 119 = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1285 Epidauros, not later than s. iii B.C. Διὸς Ἄποτροπαίου, O. Rayet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1887 i. 107 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 839 B, 19 f., c, 2 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 1014 b, 69 f., c, 114 ff. Erythrai, a sale of priestships dating from the first half of s. iii B.C. Διὸς | Ἄποτροπαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἄποτροπαίας [Α] Γ Γ, ἐπωίων. Γ [Γ] and Διὸς | [Ἄποτ]ροπαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἄποτ[ρο]-[παί]ας Η[Α], ἐπωίων [Π], *ib.* no. 95 a metrical inscription on a marble slab *Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγαθὰ τέκνα* cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 4. 33. 1, | κ.τ.λ., *supra* i. 194 f.

¹ A. G. Paspates *Τὸ Χιακὸν γλωσσάριον* Athens 1888 p. 421 f. no. 58 on Chian marble

ΔΙΟΣ | ΜΙΛΙΧΙ [. .] = Διὸς | Μελιχί[ου].

At *Mestá*, six kilometers S.E. of the capital, is a place still called *Olympti*, where was a cult of Zeus *Olymptios* and Herakles (Paspates *op. cit.* p. 410 no. 24 Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου | καὶ Ἡρακλεῦς).

² *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2150 ΕΡΜΙΩΝ ΜΕΛΙΧΙΟΥ ΔΙΔΙΟΝΙ which A. Boeckh *ad loc.* would read as Ἐρμιῶν Μελιχί(ω) Δι(ί ά)ν(έ)θηκεν).

³ A. E. Kontoleon in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 134, S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 702, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 104 a cylindrical base of white marble now serving as pedestal for an *eikón* in the church at *Mandráki* 1 ff. Γνωμαγόραν Δωροθέου | Νεισίριον | κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 13 ff. καὶ στεφανωθέντα ὑπὸ Ἐρμιαῖζόντων χρυσέοις στεφάνοις Πλεονάκις, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀφροδισιαστῶν Σύρων καὶ ὑπὸ Διὸς Μελιχιαστῶν, | [καὶ] τεμαθέντα ὑπὸ αὐτῶν καὶ στεφανωθέν[τα ὑπὸ Διον]υσιαστῶν Εὐ[ρυσθεμίδ]ίων τῶν σὺν | [τῷ δέινι - - -]. I should prefer to read (with Kontoleon and Reinach) Διοσμυλχιαστῶν, cp. Διοσαταβυριαστῶν (*supra* p. 924 f. n. ο).

⁴ F. Halbherr in the *Museo Italiano di antichità classica* 1890 iii. 621 f. no. 39 Hierapytna = J. Baunack in *Philologus* 1889 xlviii. 399 f. no. 3 Herakleion, a small altar inscribed ΖΗΝΙΜΗΛΙ | ΧΙΩΚΑΗΡΑ | ΜΗΛΙΧΙΑ | ΩΤΑΥΠΤΕ | ΡΤΑΡΔΑΛΛΑ | ΕΥΧΗΝ = Ζηνί Μηλιχίω κα(ι) Ἡρα | Μηλιχία. | Σώτας ὑπέρ Παρδάλα | εὐχῆν.

⁵ Sir C. T. Newton *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae* London 1862—1863 i pl. 92 no. 40, ii. 755 (cp. 470) no. 40, R. Schoell in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1887 xlii. 478 ff., E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iv. i. 24 f. Oxford 1893 no. 817. Newton, followed by Schoell, read ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΙ as Διὸς Μεγ[ίστου]. But Hicks gives ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΙ / with Φ below ΔΙΟΣ and interprets as Διὸς Μελιχίου with inventory number. In addition to this mark of ownership the altar bears a second inscription, which Schoell took to be a modified hexameter [ἀθ]α[νά]τος | [θ]υ[δεν]τα | [δ]α[μ]ουργός Ἀρ[πο]κρά(ς) ἰδρύσατο | βωμόν. Hicks reads [ἀθ]α[νά]τος | [θ]υ[δεν]τα | [δ]α[μ]ουργός Ἀρ[πο]κράς ζ ἰδρύσατο | βωμόν, and suggests with hesitation that ζ may be a numeral. He thinks that the name, Παρποκρας or the like, was substituted for that of an earlier dedicator. *Non liquet.*

⁶ *Supra* p. 1107.

⁷ W. Schmid in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 245.

'By a stroke of luck,' says Kleitophon¹, 'we happened upon a sacred month of the great god, whom the Greeks call Zeus and the Egyptians Serapis². The festivities included a torch-lighting; and I saw that remarkable sight. It was evening and the sun sank. Yet night was nowhere to be seen. Another sun made its appearance, or rather the small change of that gold piece. There before my eyes was the city rivalling the sky in beauty. On the one hand I saw Zeus *Meilichios*, on the other the temple of Zeus *Oouránios*³. So, after breathing a prayer to the great god and beseeching him that our troubles might at last come to a standstill, we reached the lodging hired for us by Menelaos.'⁴

It may be inferred from this passage, not only that the Alexandrines had a statue of Zeus *Meilichios* and a temple of Zeus *Oouránios*⁴, but also that the former was a god of the underworld, the latter a god of the upperworld. Both are appropriately mentioned at a moment when the twinkling lamps below seemed to reflect the twinkling stars above. At Alaisa or Halaesa (*Castel Tusa*), founded or re-founded in 403 B.C. by the Sikel king Archonides ii⁶ on the north coast of Sicily, an inscription records among other topographical features 'the road past the *Meilichieion*⁶.' And, finally, an Oscan road-makers' tablet of c. 200 B.C. from Pompeii states that the aediles M. Suttius and N. Pontius laid out the Via Pompeiana, now known as the *Strada Stabiana*, with a breadth of three perches as far as the temple or precinct of Iupiter *Milichius*⁷.

Further indications of the cult might be sought in theophoric names⁸ such as Meilichios, a magistrate of Hierapolis in Phrygia⁹, or Meilichion, a woman of Elateia in Phokis¹⁰.

¹ Ach. Tat. 5. 2.

² *Supra* i. 188 ff.

³ *ἔθεασάμην δὲ καὶ τὸν Μειλχιον Δία, καὶ τὸν Διὸς Οὐρανίου* (so C. B. Hase, W. A. Hirschig, and S. Gaselee for *οὐράνιον* codd.) *νεών*.

⁴ *Supra* i. 8, 565 n. 2, 647 n. 7.

⁵ B. Niese in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 565.

⁶ *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5594 col. dextra, 15 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 352 i. 15 f. *κατὰ τὰς ὁδοῦ τὰς παρὰ τὸ | Μειλχιεῖον ἐς τὸν βόσκον κ.τ.λ.*

Coppers of Alaisa, struck during Timoleon's war with the Carthaginians (340 B.C.), have *obv.* ΞΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ head of Zeus; *rev.* $\text{ΑΛΑΙΣΙΝΩΝ ΣΥΜ-ΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ}$ torch between two ears of corn (G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 175, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 126). Coppers of the same town, struck after c. 241 B.C., have *obv.* a head of Zeus, usually to left, wearing a bay-wreath; *rev.* an eagle to left, standing with open wings (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 27, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 166 pl. 12, 6, Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 269 f., Suppl. i. 425, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 126).

⁷ H. Grassmann in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1867 xvi. 103, J. Zvetaieff *Sylloge inscriptionum Oscarum* Petropoli 1878 i. 41 ff. no. 62, 5 ff., ii pls. 10, no. 5, and 10^a, R. S. Conway *The Italic Dialects* Cambridge 1897 i. 58 f. no. 39, 5 ff., C. D. Buck *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* Boston 1904 p. 239 f. no. 3, 5 ff. *Iussu via Púmpaiiana ter|emnatens perek. III ant ka|lla Iúveis Meel|kiiéis* (= *iidem* *viam Pompeianam terminaverunt perticis III usque ad aedem* (cp. *caeli templa* in De Vit *Lat. Lex. s.v.* 'templum' § 2) Iovis Milichii).

⁸ E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 15.

⁹ Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinasi. Münzen* i. 238 f. no. 21, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. lxxvii ... $\text{ΙΑΛΟ[Σ] | ΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΣ}$ on the reverse of a copper struck by Augustus.

¹⁰ *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 no. 174 a cone of grey limestone found near the E. foundation-wall of the temple of Athena *Kranata* at Elateia and now preserved in the local museum at *Drachmani*: the cone has a hole in its truncated top and is inscribed on the side $\text{ΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΝ | ΔΑΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΑ | ΜΙΚΑ | ΧΟΙΡΙΝΑ}$ = *Μειλχιο[ν]*, | *Δαμοστράτα*, | *Μίκα*, | *Χοιρίνα*. P. Paris in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 345 f. no. 15 at first read *Μειλχιο[ς]*, but concluded in favour of *Μειλχιο[ν]*.

(14) Conclusions with regard to Zeus *Meilichios*.

It remains to gather up the results of our enquiry. Early Greek kings, especially such as could claim descent from Aiolos, were held to be embodiments of the sky-god Zeus, and as weather-makers for the community bore a sceptre tipped with the lightning-bird. Even when dead and buried the king continued to help his people. He preserved and perpetuated the tribe (Zeus *Sotér*). He brought its young folk to his own state of maturity (Zeus *Téleios*). He watched over its interests (Zeus *Epópsios*). Hence, like other chthonian powers, he was fitly addressed by a coaxing appellation—'the Kindly One' (Zeus *Meilichios*). Regents of this sort, at once human and divine, were, strictly speaking, *daimones* rather than *theoi*; and there is much to be said for O. Schrader's brilliant suggestion that in name, as in nature, they were the equivalent of the Latin *Lares*¹. They are best described in two passages of poetry which, though separated by a thousand years, yet derive mutual support and illustration from each other, and serve to assure us that the belief common to both was latent, if not patent, throughout the whole course of Greek history. Hesiod, looking

¹ Schrader *Reallex.* p. 29: 'Es steht daher nichts im Wege, für *δαίμων* ein Grundform **δασι-μων* anzusetzen, und den ersten Bestandteil dieses Wortes **δασι-* unter Annahme eines Bekannteren Lautwandels (*δάκρυμα*: lacrima) dem lat. **lasi-* (*lāres, lārium*) "Geist eines Verstorbenen" zu vergleichen.' The context rightly maintains that previous derivations (from *δαήμων*, 'knowing,' or from *δαλομαι*, 'I divide,' or from the Sanskrit root *div*, 'to shine') are all unsatisfactory. I regret to see that Prellwitz *Étym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 103 and Boisacq *Dict. Étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 163 still cling to *δαλομαι*.

The word **δασι-μων* is perhaps related to the name *Δάσιμος* or *Δάξιμος*. *Δάσιμος* *Πύρρον* is engraved on a bronze helmet from Anxia (*Anxiá*) now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 48 no. 317, Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 547, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 272 no. 269, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 655); and *Δάξιμος* *Πύρρον*, presumably a descendant of the same family, is mentioned in the bronze *tabulae Heracleenses* (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 645 i, 5, 9, ii, 1, 5, 8, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 88 no. 4629 i, 5, 9, ii, 1, 5, 8, F. Solmsen *Inscriptiones Graecae ad inlustrandas dialectos selectae Lipsiae* 1905 no. 18 i, 5, 9, ii, 1, 5, 8). The *l*-form of this name occurs in *ΛΑΣΙΜΟΣ* *ΕΓΡΑΨΕ*, an inscription on an Apulian *amphora* from Canusium (*Canosa*) now in the Louvre (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8486, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1889 pl. 11. 3, Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 64 ff. Millin ii pl. 37 ff. with bibliography, P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vasenschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 217 f.). The foregoing can hardly be separated from the definitely Messapian name *ΔΑΣΙΜΑ* (J. P. Droop in *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 139 f. fig. 1, 2 *Ceglie Messapica*) and the Grecised or Latinised *Δάσιος* (Appian. *Hannib.* 31 and 45), *Δάξιος* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 68 no. 52 *ΔΑΖΙΟΣ* on a coin of Dyrrhachion, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 130 no. 1 f. *ΔΑΙΟΥ* on coins of Arpi, *ib.* p. 144 no. 4 *ΔΑΙΕΝΙ* and no. 6 *ΔΑΙΥ* on coins of Salapia, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 53 no. 1 pl. 4, 10 *ΔΑΙΟΥ* on a coin of Arpi), *Dasius*, *Dasumius*, etc. (De Vit *Onomasticon* ii. 568 f., R. S. Conway *The Italic Dialects* Cambridge 1897 ii. Index iii p. 566, F. Münzer, Stein and Groag in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2218 f., 2222 ff.).

A. Zimmermann in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1915 xlvii. 192 holds that the *-da* of *Larunda* is identical with the *Δα-* of *Δαμάτηρ* and regards *Larunda* *δαμόνων μήτηρ* (G. Goetz—G. Gundermann in the *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum Lipsiae* 1888 ii. 121, 17) as a literal translation (cp. *eid. ib.* ii. 265, 62 *δαίμονες ἤτοι θεοὶ κατοικίδιοι*: *lares dicitur et lar*).

For a useful vindication of the view that the *Lares* were originally the souls of deified ancestors see Miss M. C. Waites 'The nature of the *Lares* and their representation in Roman art' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1920 xxiv. 241—261.

backward to the Golden Age when men lived 'as gods' and the soil was fruitful to the uttermost, says:

But since the earth hath covered o'er this race
They are *daïmones* by the will of mighty Zeus,
Good spirits that tread the ground and guard mankind,
Givers of wealth—a guerdon meet for kings¹.

The late writer of an Orphic hymn strikes the self-same note:

I bid the *daïmon* to draw near, dread chief,
The Kindly Zeus, begetter and life-giver,
Great Zen, much-roaming², curse-bringer³, king of all,
Wealth-giving where he enters house full-force,
Or now again chilling the poor man's blood.
The keys of grief and gladness both are thine⁴.

The *daïmon*, in short, was the *theós* incarnate⁵. And the Agathos Daimon *par excellence* was Zeus *Meilichios*.

APPENDIX N.

ZEUS PHÍLIOS.

It was pointed out by H. Usener⁶ that every important conception of a god tends to express itself verbally in more ways than one. The result is a succession of divine appellatives, practical synonyms which vary from time to time and from place to place. In accordance with this principle we find the Greeks worshipping, not only Zeus *Meilichios* or *Meilichios*, 'the Kindly One,' but also Zeus *Phílios*, 'the Friendly One.' The former title gradually became old-fashioned and wore out. The latter, with its appeal to the language of daily life, seemed more up-to-date, promised a business-like return, and consequently acquired a vogue of its own. Of course old centres remained more or less faithful to the old name, the connotation of which was enlarged in various directions. But new centres accepted, fixed, and popularised the novel epithet, which in its turn was filled with fresh meaning and expanded into an ever widening circle of applicability. Nevertheless Zeus *Phílios* was from the outset essentially akin to Zeus *Meilichios*, as may be seen from a brief survey of the relevant monuments and literary allusions⁷.

¹ Hes. *o.d.* 121 ff. cited *supra* p. 1130 n. 1.

² *Supra* p. 1096 n. 4.

³ *Supra* p. 1098 n. 5.

⁴ Orph. *h. daem.* 73. 1 ff. (ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ, θυμίαμα λίβανον) δαίμονα κικλήσκω πελάσαι ἡγήτορα φρικτόν, | μειλίχιον Δία, παγγενέτην, βιοδώτορα θνητῶν, | Ζῆνα μέγαν, πολύπλαγκτον, ἀλάστορα, παμβασιλῆα, | πλουτοδότην, ὅπῳτ' ἄν γε βρυσῶν οἶκον ἐσέλθῃ, | ἔμπαλι δὲ ψύχοντα βίον θνητῶν πολυμόχθων· | ἐν σοὶ γὰρ κλήδεις λύπης τε χαρᾶς τ' ὄχέονται. *Supra* i. 504 n. 2, ii. 1098 n. 5.

⁵ The relation of *δαίμων* to *θεός* is a thorny topic, which cannot be dismissed in a sentence, but must not here be pursued. See further J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 9 ff., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2010f., Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² pp. 587, 624, 657, *ead.* *Themis* pp. 307, 386.

⁶ H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 56 ff. ('Erneuerung des Begriffs').

⁷ The evidence is well presented in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2305—2308 by that excellent enquirer O. Höfer, to whose article I am much indebted.

(1) Zeus *Phlios* at Athens.

We begin with Athens. The priest of Zeus *Phlios* was a personage of importance, who in the time of Augustus had a reserved seat at the theatre¹. On the northern slope of the Nymphs' Hill, where—as we have already seen²—Zeus *Meilichios* was worshipped, Zeus *Phlios* too had obtained a footing as far back as s. iv B.C. For here in the archonship of Hegesias (324—323 B.C.) certain *e-ranistal* or club-feasters dedicated to him a *stèle* of Pentelic marble bearing a relief (fig. 969)³, which closely resembles the offering of [*?* Aris]toboule to Zeus *Meilichios* (fig. 943)⁴. The club-feasters too represent Zeus enthroned on the left with a *phiale* in his right hand, while a pig is brought to the altar before him. The pig is proof enough that Zeus *Phlios*, despite the eagle at his side, was a chthonian god⁵—a god much like the Agathos Daimon, as Miss Harrison adroitly shows by figuring together this relief and another from Thespiai (fig. 951)⁶. But what—it will be asked—had feasters to do with a chthonian god

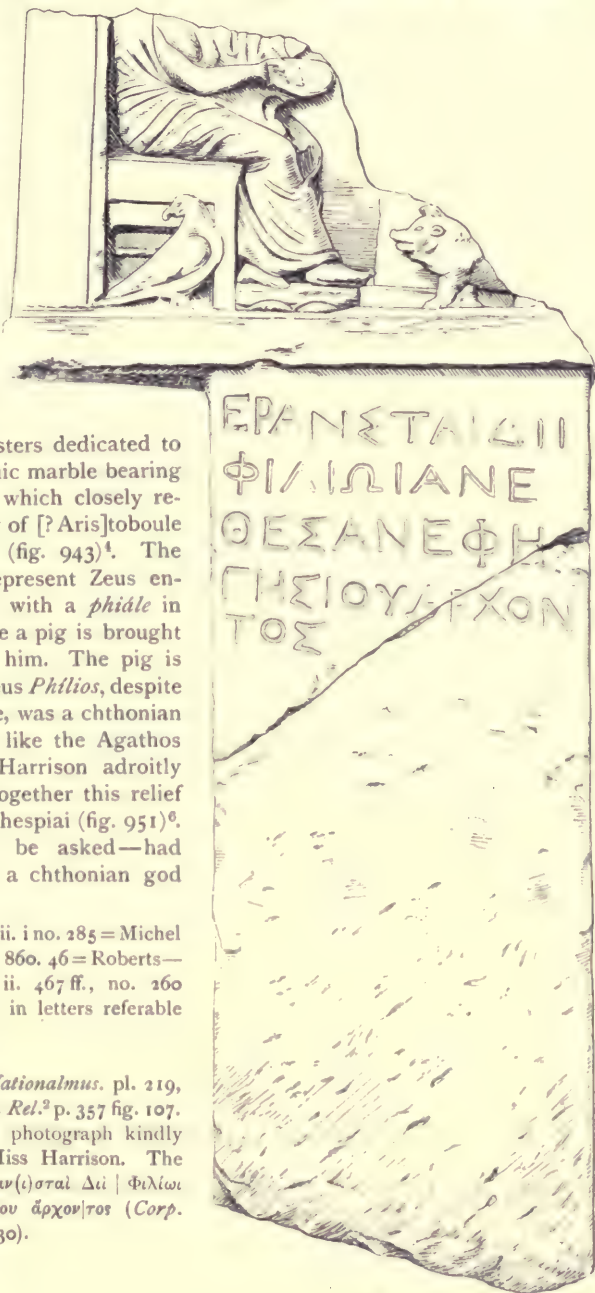


Fig. 969.

¹ *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. i no. 285 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 860. 46 = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 467 ff., no. 260 *ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΟΥ* in letters referable to the Augustan age.

² *Supra* p. 1114.

³ Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 219, 1, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.* 2 p. 357 fig. 107. My fig. 969 is from a photograph kindly supplied to me by Miss Harrison. The *stèle* is inscribed: *ἐραν(ε)σται Διί | Φιλίωι ἀνέθεσαν ἐφ' Ἡγησίου ἀρχοντος* (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1330).

⁴ *Supra* p. 1105 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1105.

⁶ *Supra* p. 1125 n. 1.

akin to a divinised ancestor? In view of our discovery¹ that at an ordinary banquet food was assigned 'to dead friends' and drink offered to the father of the clan under the titles of Zeus *Sotér* and Zeus *Téleios*, we may well suppose that a dinner-club would reverence its deceased founder as Zeus *Phílios* and think of him as still a sharer in the common festivity. His presence would transform the meal into a communion² and safeguard the participants against the intrusion of evil³ without in any way diminishing their social merriment.

In the other world too Zeus *Phílios* was a feaster, as appears from an Attic relief of fourth-century style, now in the Jacobsen collection at Ny Carlsberg (fig. 970)⁴. Within an architectural framework we see the man-turned-god

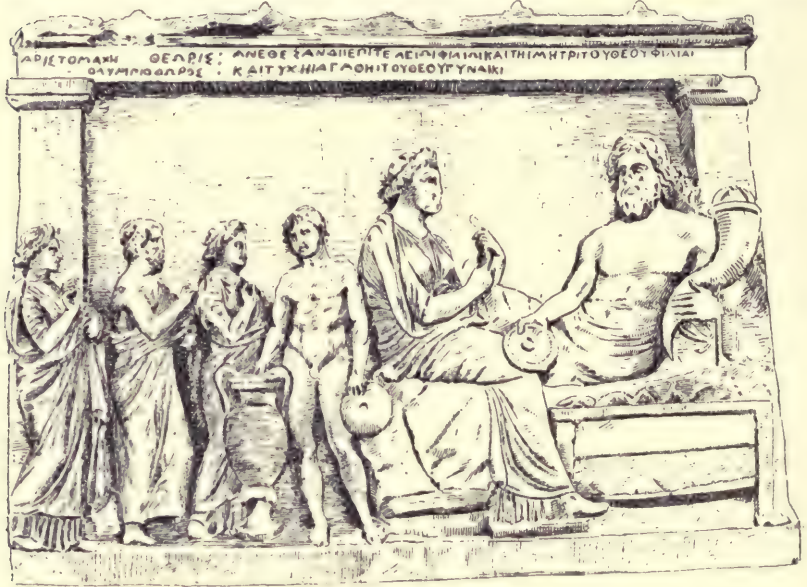


Fig. 970.

recumbent on a couch, with a *cornu copiae* in his left hand, a *phiale* in his right, and a table bearing flat and pointed cakes (*pyramides* made of wheat and honey⁵) at his side. On the foot of the couch sits a goddess holding in both hands a fillet or perhaps rather a garland for the neck (*hypothymis*⁶), the carving

¹ *Supra* p. 1129.

² On communion with the dead by means of food see e.g. Frazer *Golden Bough*³: *Spirits of Corn and Wild* ii. 154. *Infra* p. 1170 ff.

³ An important consideration during a repast, when the mouth must be opened and bad spirits as well as good food might gain a ready entrance. In the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 22 ff. I have argued that the common *kottabos*-stand was originally a feasters' gong intended to keep evil at a distance.

⁴ *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstvaerker* Kjøbenhavn 1908 no. 95, A. Furtwängler 'Sogenanntes "Todtenmahl"-Relief mit Inschrift' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1897 i. 401—414 with fig. (=my fig. 970), Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 354 ff. fig. 106, *ead. Themis* p. 312 f. fig. 90.

⁵ Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 2250 D.

⁶ *Id. ib.* viii. 338 D ff.

of which would be eked out by means of colour. Behind the goddess stands a naked cup-bearer, dipping his right hand into the *kratér* so as to fill the *phidie* in his left. Then, on a smaller scale, we have two women and a man approaching from the left with hands raised in adoration. The architrave above carries an inscription, which throws a good deal of light (together with some darkness) on the scene represented :

'Aristomache, Olympiodoros, Theoris dedicated (this) to Zeus *Epitélaios* *Phllios* and to *Philla* the mother of the god and to Tyche *Agathé* the god's wife!'

We gather that the dedicators are worshipping their kinsman transformed into a chthonian Zeus—*Epitélaios* because he has himself come 'to maturity',² *Phllios* because he will be 'friendly' to his friends. The goddess associated with him is in all probability his wife, Tyche *Agathé* as the inscription calls her. An Agathe Tyche makes an appropriate partner for one who is essentially an Agathos Daimon. This being so, we should have expected *Philla*, the feminine form of *Phllios*, to be a second title attached to Tyche. Instead of that, it is treated as the name of a third deity, who is described as the mother of the god. Possibly the curious distribution of divine names was motived by the fact that the dedicators too were three in number—a man, his wife, and his mother.³ Possibly also an effigy of *Philla* was added in paint on the smooth background between Zeus *Epitélaios* *Phllios* and Tyche *Agathé*.

But this does not exhaust the interest of our relief. The artist has, somewhat unexpectedly but quite justifiably, used for his Zeus *Phllios* the familiar type of a *Totennahl* or hero-feast⁴. Now Mr J. C. Lawson⁵ in a chapter marked by equal insight and eloquence has gone far towards proving, partly from ancient literature⁶,

¹ Ἀριστομάχη, | Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, | Θεωρίς ἀνέθεσαν Διὶ Ἐπιτελείω Φιλίω καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Φιλίαι | καὶ Τύχη Ἀγαθῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γυναίκα. Since the names of the three dedicators are inscribed above their respective figures, and Theoris heads the procession, it seems that the order of precedence should be Θεωρίς, Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, Ἀριστομάχη.

² Cp. Plat. *legg.* 784 D μήτε γὰρ εἰς γάμους ἔτω μήτε εἰς τὰς τῶν παίδων ἐπιτελειώσεις with Hesych. s.v. ἐπιτελειώσεις· ἀξήσις. Zeus Ἐπιτέλειος would thus be only another form of Zeus Τέλειος, whose priest at Athens was drawn from the ancient clan of the Bouzygai and occupied a special seat in the theatre (*Corp. Inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 294 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 860. 55 = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 467 ff. no. 251 *ιερέως | Διὸς Τελεῖου* *βουζύγου* in lettering (fig. 971) not earlier than s. ii A.D.).

³ So Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 356.

⁴ Lübker *Reallex.*⁸ p. 1052 gives a brief bibliography, to which should be added Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1049 n. 1, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² pp. 349—362, 614, *ead. Themis* pp. 307—316.

⁵ J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 pp. 543—606 ('The union of gods and men'). The statement 'that Easter falls in the same period of the year as did the great Eleusinian festival' (*ib.* p. 572) is a slip, which has hindered the critics from appreciating the real merits of this important chapter.

⁶ Soph. *Ant.* 574 f., [653 f.,] 804 f., 810 ff., 891 ff., 1203 ff., 1240 f., [Eur. *Trö.* 445, *Or.* 1109, *I. A.* 460 f.,] Artemid. *oneirocr.* i. 80 θεῶ δὲ ἢ θεῶ μίγναι ἢ ὑπὸ θεοῦ περανθῆναι νοσοῦντι μὲν θάνατον σημαίνει (θάνατον σημείον cod. B.)· τότε γὰρ ἢ ψυχὴ τὰς τῶν θεῶν συνόδους τε καὶ μίξεις μαντεύεται, ὅταν ἐγγὺς ἢ τοῦ καταλεπεῖν τὸ σῶμα ᾧ ἐνοικεῖ· κ.τ.λ., 2. 49 ἀποθανεῖν δοκεῖν καὶ ἐκκομισθῆναι καὶ κατορυγῆναι... ἀνδρὶ... ἀγάμω γάμον προαγορεύει· τέλη μὲν γὰρ ἀμφοτέρα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι νενόμισται καὶ ὁ γάμος καὶ ὁ θάνατος. αἰεὶ δὲ

ΙΕΡΕΩΣ
ΔΙΟΣ ΤΕΛΕΙ
ΟΥ ΒΟΥΖΥΓΟΥ
Fig. 971.

partly from modern folk-song¹, that the Greeks of old aspired to an actual marriage-union with the deities of the underworld, a union to be fore-shadowed here in mystic rites and consummated hereafter in very truth. Every man would one day enter the bridal chamber of Persephone, every woman that of Hades². If this daring belief is rightly credited to them—and the evidence for it is strong—, then we may, I think, venture to interpret the popular scheme of the hero-feast as a naïve representation of the dead man's marriage-banquet. Wedded at last to the queen of the nether world, he is actually feasting in her company. His garland and cakes recall

‘the white sesame-grains

And myrtle-berries and poppy-head and water-mint³’

appropriate to any bridegroom. Were they not the magic means by which he

δέικνυνται ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων. ὄθεν καὶ τοῖς νοσοῦσι τὸ γαμεῖν θάνατον προαγορεύει· καὶ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀμφοτέροις συμβαίνει τῷ τε γαμοῦντι καὶ τῷ ἀποθανόντι, οἷον παραπομπὴ φίλων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ στέφανοι καὶ ἀρώματα καὶ μύρα καὶ συγγραφή κτημάτων, 2. 65 ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ γάμος εἰκοε θανάτῳ καὶ (ἐπειδὴ καὶ cod. B.) ὑπὸ θανάτου σημαίνεται, ἐνταῦθα καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγησάμην ἐπιμνησθῆναι (ὑπομνησθῆναι cod. B.) αὐτοῦ. γαμεῖν παρθένον τῷ νοσοῦντι θάνατον σημαίνει· ὅσα γὰρ τῷ γαμοῦντι συμβαίνει, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τῷ ἀποθανόντι.

Mr Lawson might have found further support for his theory in the rich storehouse of ancient Greek epitaphs. Turning over the leaves of the *Anthology* I lit upon the following: *Anth. Pal.* 7. 13. 2 f. (Leonidas or Meleagros) “Ἡρινναν... | “Αἶδας εἰς ὑμέναιον ἀνάρπασεν, 7. 183. 2 (Parmenion) “Αἰδὸς τὴν Κροκάλῃς ἔφθασε παρθενίην, 7. 401. 9 (Krinagoras) χθῶν ὦ δυσνόμφευτε, 7. 492. 6 (? Anyte of Mitylene) νυμφιον ἀλλ’ Αἰδὸν κηδεμόν’ εὐρόμεθα, 7. 507^b (? Simonides = frag. 124 B Bergk⁴, 105 Hiller—Crusius) οὐκ ἐπίδων νύμφεια λέχη κατέβην τὸν ἀφικτον | Γόργυπιος ξανθῆς Φερσεφόνῃς θάλαμον, 7. 547. 3 f. (Leonidas of Alexandria) κατέστεινε δ’ οὐχ’ Ὑμεναίω, | ἀλλ’ Αἶδα νύμφαν δωδεκῆτιν κατὰγων, cp. 7. 221. 5 f. “Αἰδὴ δυσκίνητε, τί τὴν ἐπέραστον ἐταίρην | ἦρπασας; ἢ καὶ σὴν Κύπρις ἔμηνε φρένα; Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 43 = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 50 ἐνθάδε τὴν πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τέρμα μολούσαν | Φαναγόραν κατέχει Φερσεφόνῃς θάλαμος, Cougny 2. 122 a. 3 f. = Kaibel no. 35 a. 3 f. ἔθανες, Διονύσιε, καὶ τὸν ἀνάγκης | κοῦνον Φερσεφόνῃς πᾶσιν ἔχεις θάλαμον, Cougny 2. 127. 3 f. Γλαυκιάδης... | ἦλθ’ ἐπὶ πάνδεκτον Φερσεφόνῃς θάλαμον, 2. 214. 3 f. = Kaibel no. 201. 3 f. συγκέχνηται γενέτας δὲ Ἰσοεῖδιππος κλυτὸν ἔρνος | ζαλωτὸν πέμψας Ἰερσεφόνῃς θάλαμοις, Cougny 2. 268. 1 f. = Kaibel no. 570. 1 f. οὐχ’ ὁσίως ἦρπασας ὑπὸ [χθῶνα], κοίρανε Πλουτεῦ, | πενταετὴ νύμφην κ.τ.λ.

See also R. Foerster *Der Raub und die Rückkehr der Persephone* Stuttgart 1874 p. 73 n. 3, E. Maass *Orpheus* München 1895 p. 219, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 865 n. 1.

¹ E.g. A. Passow *Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* Lipsiae 1860 no. 364. 6 ff. Κ’ ἐγὼ πάγω νὰ παντρεφτῶ νὰ πάρω μιὰ γυναῖκα, | Πῆρα τὴν πλάκα πεθερὰ, τὴ μαύρη γῆ γυναῖκα | Κι’ αὐτὰ τὰ λιανολίθαρα ὅλα γυναικαδέρφια (‘For I must go to marry me, to take a wife unto me; | The black earth for my wife I take, the tombstone as her mother | And yonder little pebbles all her brethren and her sisters’—from the dirge of an old man: Bostitsa), *ib.* no. 374. 8 f. Ἐψές ἐγὼ παντρεύθηκα, ἐψές ἀργὰ τὸ βράδυ. | Ὁ ἀδὴς εἰν’ ὁ ἀντρας μου, ἢ πλάκ’ ἢ πεθερὰ μου (‘Yesterday was my marriage-day, late yestere’en my wedding, | Hades I for my husband have, the tomb for my new mother’—from the dirge of a young girl). Cp. *ib.* nos. 38, 65, 152, 180, 370, 380, 381, G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 256 n. 1.

² This had been remarked by E. Maass *Orpheus* München 1895 p. 219: ‘Jedes Weib, das stirbt, vermählt sich nach alter Anschauung dem Hades; die Männer und Jünglinge betreten ihrerseits den Thalamos der Persephone.’ B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 232 f. had already drawn attention to this group of ideas, citing ancient and modern illustrations. See further O. Schrader *Totenhochzeit* Jena 1904 pp. 1—38 and S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 141—143.

³ Aristoph. *av.* 159 f. τὰ λευκὰ σῆσσμα | καὶ μύρα καὶ μήκωνα καὶ σισύμβρια.

was empowered to impregnate his bride¹? Raised from mortal to immortal

¹ Schol. Aristoph. *rax* 869 πλακοῦς γαμικὸς ἀπὸ σησάμων πεποιημένος, διὰ τὸ πολύγονον, ὡς φησι Μένανδρος (*frag.* 435 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 318 Meineke)). A. de Gubernatis *La mythologie des plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 347 refers to L. G. Gyraldus *Opera quae extant omnium Tomus Secundus* Basileae 1580 p. 485, 24 ff. Quale est illud, quod de nubentibus dici vulgo solebat, Sesamum aut hordeum sere, aut projice: cum fecunditatem, & multiplicem generationem ac foetum significare volebant. Sunt enim huiusmodi semina multae fecunditatis, & vt Graeci dicunt, πολύγονα. Sed quod de sesamo dicimus, aliqui ex eo placentam fieri solitam in nuptiis, eadem ratione tradunt.

Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 445—455 begins his article on the myrtle by distinguishing a lucky aspect of the plant as sacred to Aphrodite from a sepulchral aspect of it as sacred to chthonian deities. He finds a connecting link in the cult of Venus *Libitina*, Aphrodite *Epitymbia*, etc. I should rather suppose that both aspects are referable to the quickening qualities of the evergreen. When a long journey was to be taken afoot, the mere carrying of myrtle-twigs prevented fatigue. Twisted into rings without the use of iron, they cured swelling of the groin (Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 124). To dream of a myrtle-wreath meant marriage with a free-born woman and a prospect of long-lived children (Artemid. *oneirocr.* 1. 77). Etc., etc. A shrub of such vivifying or revivifying potency was well fitted to be a life-token. Accordingly we hear of two sacred myrtles, which grew before the temple of Quirinus and by their fertility or barrenness portended the fortunes of the patricians and plebeians respectively (Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 120 f.). See further A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 233—236, H. Friend *Flowers and Flower Lore* London 1883 ii. 688 Index s.v. 'Myrtle,' R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 pp. 454—457. These authors by no means exhaust the topic, which deserves fuller investigation. It might, for example, be discovered that the myrtle-wreath worn by the initiate at Eleusis (Aristoph. *ran.* 156, 328 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Istros *frag.* 25 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 421 Müller) *ap. schol.* Soph. *O. C.* 681: illustrated *supra* i. 220 f. fig. 163, E. Lübbert in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865 xxxvii. 82 ff. pl. F=L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1868 p. 160=F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 570 fig. 2637=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 313, 1 f.) or by the Orphic devotee (*supra* p. 555) marked him as the prospective consort of a chthonian deity. The botanical fact underlying these beliefs is the polyspermous nature of the myrtle: 'The fruit is a purplish berry, consisting of the receptacle and the ovary blended into one succulent investment enclosing very numerous minute seeds' (*The Encyclopaedia Britannica*¹¹ Cambridge 1911 xix. 115).

The poppy has an even greater wealth of tiny seeds. Hence it made for fertility, and became the attribute of various mother-goddesses. A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 284 quotes from L. G. Gyraldus *op. cit.* ii. 468, 39 f. the *dictum* 'papauer fertilitatis & vrbis symbolum fuit' [where, however, we should restore *orbis*, cp. Cornut. *theol.* 28 p. 56, 8 ff. Lang *ἀνατιθέασι δ' αὐτῇ* (*sc. τῇ Δήμητρι*) *καὶ τὰς μήκωνας κατὰ λόγον: τὸ τε γὰρ στρογγύλον καὶ περιφερές αὐτῶν παρίστησι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς γῆς σφαιροειδοῦς ὀσσης, ἣ τε ἀνωμαλία τὰς κοιλότητας καὶ τὰς ἐξοχὰς τῶν ὀρῶν, τὰ δ' ἐντὸς τοῖς ἀντρώδεσι καὶ ὑπονόμοις ἔοικε, σπέρματὰ τε ἀναριθμητὰ γεννώσιν ὡσπερ ἡ γῆ]. The poppy of Demeter (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1179 n. 2) was passed on to Rhea (*id. ib.* p. 1542 n. 1) and to Isis (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 450 ff. fig.). Kanachos made for the Sicyonians a chryselephantine Aphrodite with a poppy in one hand, an apple in the other (Paus. 2. 10. 5): and here again the influence of Demeter may be suspected; for certain persons derived the old name of Sikyon, *Μηκῶνη*, from the 'poppy,' *μήκων*, which Demeter there first discovered (*et. mag.* p. 583, 56 f.: but cp. Ov. *fast.* 4. 531 ff., Serv. and interp. Serv. in Verg. *georg.* i. 212). Poppy-heads, as well as myrtle-wreaths, played their part in the Eleusinian initiation (*supra* i. 425 f. fig. 307 f.).*

Lastly, *σισύμβριον* or 'bergamot-mint' (*mentha aquatica*) was used for the bridegroom's garland (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 160), not merely because its branches, leaves, etc. were sweet-scented (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 6. 6. 2 and *frag.* 4, 27 *ap.* Athen. 689 D, Nik. *georg. frag.* 2. 57 *ap.* Athen. 684 B), but on account of its aphrodisiac properties. If the

rank, henceforward he can read a deeper meaning in the old-world wedding-chant:

'I have fled the bad, I have found the better¹.'

It looks as though the primitive mind conceived of death itself as simply due to the fact that the chthonian deity (whether goddess or god) had claimed another consort². The summons has been sent. The call must be obeyed. But—

'Who knows if life be death and death be life³?'

In the embrace of Persephone the dead man becomes the chthonian king. Borne off by Hades the dead woman becomes the chthonian queen. We can understand now the familiar saying

'Whom the gods love dies young⁴,'

and find a further significance in the representation of Death as Love⁵.

wearing of a wreath made from it betokened disease (Artemid. *oneirocr.* 1. 77), that was due to the fact that the plant in question was recognised as a cure for diseases (Nik. *ther.* 896). Greeks called it the garland of Aphrodite, Romans the herb of Venus (Dioskor. 2. 154 (155) p. 271 Sprengel); and the medical writers enable us to guess the reason, cp. Dioskor. 2. 154 (155) p. 272 Sprengel *δύναμιν δὲ ἔχει θερμαντικὴν· ἀρμύζει δὲ πρὸς στραγγουρίας καὶ λιθιάσεις τὸ σπέρμα σὺν ὄνῳ πινόμενον*, *id.* 2. 155 (156) p. 272 Sprengel of another variety *ἔστι δὲ θερμαντικόν, οὖρητικόν*, Galen. *de simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 8. 18. 20 (xii. 124 Kühn) *θερμανούσης καὶ ξηραίνουσας κατὰ τὴν τρίτην τάξιν ἐστὶ δυνάμεώς τε καὶ κράσεως. καὶ τὸ σπέρμα δ' αὐτοῦ λεπτομερές τε καὶ θερμὸν ἐστίν, ὅθεν σὺν ὄνῳ τινὲς αὐτὴν διδάσκει κ.τ.λ.*, *id. ib.* 8. 18. 21 (xii. 124 Kühn) of the other variety *ὅταν μὲν ξηρὸν ᾖ, τῆς τρίτης ἐστὶ τάξεως τῶν ξηραίνόντων τε ἅμα καὶ θερμαίνόντων*, κ.τ.λ. On mint in general see A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 226—228, H. Friend *op. cit.* ii. 687 Index *s.v.* 'Mint,' R. Folkard *op. cit.* p. 439f. *Supra* i. 257 n. 5.

¹ *ἔφυγον κακόν, εὔρον ἀμεινον* (*carni. p. 20* a Hiller—Crusius)—an early dactylic line (cp. *supra* i. 444) first found in Dem. *de cor.* 259 (cited *supra* i. 392 n. 4) as a *formula* used by initiates in the rites of *Sabázios*, and from him apparently quoted by Hesych. *s.v.* It is given as a marriage-rubric by Pausanias the Atticist *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1726, 19 ff. *καὶ παροιμία δηλοῖ παρά Παισανία λέγουσα 'ἔφυγον κακόν, εὔρον ἀμεινον,' ἦν ἐλεγέ, φησιν, ἀμφιθαλῆς παῖς Ἀθήνησιν, ἐστεμμένους ἀκάνθαις μετὰ δρυῖνων καρπῶν, λικνον βασιτάζων πλήρες ἄρτων, ἀνισσόμενος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ βίου ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβολήν = Zenob. 3. 98, Diogeneian. 4. 74, Plout. 1. 16, Apostol. 8. 16, Phot. *lex.* and Soud. *s.v.*, cp. Porph. *de abst.* 1. 1. Probably the so-called proverb was a very ancient charm employed in the mysteries to facilitate the transition from the lower to the higher life, a transition culminating in the divine marriage (see Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 646 ff.). Subsequently it was transferred, with some loss of meaning, to ordinary human marriages.*

² Cp. the Celtic tales of the Otherworld-visit, which I have summarised in *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 143 ff. (*supra* i. 239).

³ Eur. *Polyidos frag.* 638 Nauck² (*supra* p. 868), cp. Eur. *Phrixus frag.* 833 Nauck². In Aristoph. *ran.* 1477 f. *τίς οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἐστὶ καταθεῖν, | τὸ πνεῖν δὲ δειπνεῖν, τὸ δὲ καθεῖδεν κώδιον*; the attempts of the editors to extract sense from the latter line are far from convincing. I fancy Aristophanes is poking fun at the prospect held out to every pious believer, the hero-feast (*δειπνεῖν*) and the poppy-head (for *κώδιον* read *κώδον*, cp. Theophr. *hist. pl.* 6. 8. 1 and *ap.* Athen. 680 E, or *κωδία*, cp. Aristoph. *frag.* 166 Dindorf *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* *κωδία*). Life hereafter was to be one perpetual banquet in the bridal chamber of Persephone: if the new immortal tired of it, he had at least the poppy-capsule to lull him to sleep and to renew his generative powers. Those who retain *κώδιον* in the text should still interpret the word of the initiate's equipment, the 'fleece of Zeus' (*supra* i. 422 ff.).

⁴ Menand. *disexapaton frag.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 105 Meineke). Cp. Kaibel *Epigr.* *Gr.* no. 340. 8 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 585. 8, ⁵ *Supra* pp. 309, 1045.

Nor was this union one of merely physical fruition. The Greek was capable of rising to greater heights, and the title *Phílios* had from the first a moral connotation. True, Aristotle denied the possibility of love (*philia*) between man and God:

‘For love, we maintain, exists only where there can be a return of love. But love towards God does not admit of love being returned, nor at all of loving. For it would be strange if one were to say that he loved Zeus!’¹

But popular usage was against him². Whether parched with drought³, or drenched with rain⁴, the man in the street cried out upon ‘loved Zeus.’ And the like intimacy is attested by half-a-dozen poets from Theognis to Antipatros of Thessalonike⁵. On a red-figured *kýlix* by the potter Sosias Herakles, when admitted to Olympos, makes the same naïve ejaculation⁶. Moreover, the name *Diphilos*, ‘loved by Zeus,’ was of common occurrence⁷. No doubt this mutual love did not amount to much. But the root of the matter was there, and its growth was fostered by mystic teaching. On the grandest page of extant Greek literature⁸ the Platonic Sokrates tells how Diotima of Mantinea (supposed to be a priestess of Zeus *Lýkaios*⁹ and in any case, as her name shows, ‘honoured of Zeus’) once made plain to him the mysteries of Eros. The initiate, she said, must mount by successive grades from desire of a single beautiful body to desire of all beautiful bodies, and from beauty of body to beauty of soul involving the beauty of customs and laws. Thence he will launch out boldly into the beauty of knowledge until, crossing its wide sea and nearing his journey’s end, on a sudden he catches sight

¹ Aristot. *mag. mor.* 2. 11. 1208 b 28 ff. τὴν γὰρ φιλίαν ἐνταυθα φαμεν εἶναι οὐ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι, ἢ δὲ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν φίλια οὐτε ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι δέχεται οὐθ’ ἄλλως τὸ φιλεῖν ἄπονον γὰρ ἂν εἴη ἐλ τὶς φαλῆ φιλεῖν τὸν Δία.

² Indeed, he was against himself—witness his brief but pregnant utterance with regard to the Final Cause in *met.* 12. 7. 1072 b 3 f. κινεῖ δὴ ὡς ἐρώμενον, κινούμενον δὲ πᾶλλα κινεῖ. He is groping his way towards the stupendous discovery that ‘God is love.’

³ Marc. Ant. *comment.* 5. 7 ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ (*infra* § 9 (b)).

⁴ *Anth. Pal.* 5. 166. 6 (Asklepiades) Ζεῦ φίλε (*infra* § 9 (b)).

⁵ Theogn. 373 Hiller—Crusius Ζεῦ φίλε, θαυμάζω σε: κ.τ.λ., Eurpol. χρυσοῦν γένος *frag.* 13 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 541 f. Meineke) ἀρ. Poll. 10. 63 ἄλλ’, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατάχυτον τὴν ῥιν’ ἔχεις, Aristoph. *eccl.* 378 f. καὶ δῆτα πολλὸν ἢ μίλτος, ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε, | γέλω παρῶσεν, κ.τ.λ., Philem. *Pyrrhos frag.* 1. 7 f. (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 22 Meineke) ἀρ. Stob. *flor.* 55. 5 εἰρήνη’ στίν’ ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε, | τῆς ἐπαφροδίτου καὶ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ, Kallim. *ep.* 7. 4 Schneider, 6. 4 Wilamowitz Κρεωφίλω, Ζεῦ φίλε, τοῦτο μέγα, *Anth. Pal.* 5. 108. 4 (Antipatros) ἢ ῥα μάτην, Ζεῦ φίλε, βοῦς ἐγένου. It is obvious that the phrases Ζεῦ φίλε, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε expressed a variety of moods—indignation, astonishment, delight, etc. But the point is that all alike are colloquial, herein differing somewhat from such usages as *Il.* 1. 578 πατρὶ φίλω ἐπιήρα φέρειν Δία, Pind. *Nem.* 10. 104 ff. ἄμεραν τὰν μὲν παρὰ πατρὶ φίλω | Δι νέμονται, τὰν δ’ ὑπὸ κεύθει γάλας κ.τ.λ.

⁶ Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 549 ff. no. 2278, C. Lenormant in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1830 ii. 232 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 24 = Reinach *Résp. Vases* i. 70, 2, Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 13 ff. pl. 123, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l’Art* x. 503 ff. fig. 285, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 457 ff., iii. 137 fig. 418. Further bibliography in Hopplin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 421 ff. no. 1. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8291, a $\Xi\text{I}\Theta\text{V}\Xi$.

⁷ Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1152—1156 record twenty-two bearers of the name. See also K. Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*⁹ Berlin 1900 p. 74 n. 644 a.

⁸ I am weighing my words: that is my deliberate opinion.

⁹ Schol. Aristeid. p. 468, 15 f. Dindorf.

of Absolute Beauty, timeless, changeless, formless,—the beatific vision which shall

make amends

For all our toil while on the road.

Embracing this, he will at last beget no phantom forms of virtue, for it is no phantom that he clasps, but virtues true to type, for he has the very truth. And here he will live for ever as one that is indeed 'loved of God' and a sharer in immortality. That is the hope of which Sokrates, persuaded himself, is fain to persuade others also¹. To summarise or paraphrase such a passage is, of course, to ruin its effect, and is little short of blasphemy to boot. I can but call attention to the one word *theophilés*, 'loved of God².' Platon had it from the mystics. And Theon of Smyrna (*s. ii. A.D.*) informs us that the initiate passed upwards through five stages, *viz.* purification, the tradition of the rite, the eyewitnessing of it, the binding and putting on of the garlands in order to communicate it to others, and finally the resultant felicity of dwelling in the 'love of God' (*theophilés*) and sharing in the life divine³.

These beliefs formed a point of contact between paganism and Christianity. The hero-feast is an antecedent of the celestial banquet, a favourite theme in the art of the catacombs⁴. And if the Greeks looked forward to 'the good fare of the blest'⁵ in the bridal chamber of Hades or Persephone, John can say 'Blessed are they which are bidden to the marriage supper of the Lamb⁶.' The conception, cherished by the Church⁷, has inspired not a few modern mystics :

¹ Plat. *symp.* 209E—212B. Faith, Hope, and Charity unite in this triumphant climax.

² The relevant words are: τεκνυτι δὲ ἀρετὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ θρηψαμένω ὑπάρχει θεοφιλεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ ἐπερ τῷ ἄλλω ἀνθρώπων, ἀθανάτω καὶ ἐκείνω. On the later Platonic conception of ἀθανασία I have said my say in *The Metaphysical Basis of Plato's Ethics* Cambridge 1895 p. 96 ff. See also R. K. Gaye *The Platonic Conception of Immortality and its Connexion with the Theory of Ideas* (Hare Prize Essay 1903) London 1904.

³ Theon Smyrn. *mathem.* p. 14, 18 ff. Hiller καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν φιλοσοφίαν παράδοσιν. μυσήσεως δὲ μέρη πέντε. τὸ μὲν προηγούμενον καθαρός· οὔτε γὰρ ἅπασιν τοῖς βουλομένοις μετουσία μυστηρίων ἔστιν, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν οὓς αὐτῶν εἰργεσθαι προαγορευεται, οἷον τοὺς χεῖρας μὴ καθαρὰς καὶ φωνὴν ἀξύνετον ἔχοντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὴ εἰργόμενους ἀνάγκη καθαρῶς τινας πρότερον τυχεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν δευτέρα ἔστιν ἡ τῆς τελετῆς παράδοσις· τρίτη δὲ < ἡ ins. C. A. Lobeck > ἐπονομαζομένη ἐποπτεία· τετάρτη δὲ, ἡ δὴ καὶ τέλος τῆς ἐποπτείας, ἀνάδεσις καὶ στεμμάτων ἐπίθεσις, ὥστε καὶ ἑτέροις, ἅς τις παρέλαβε τελετάς, παραδοῦναι δύνασθαι, δαδουχίας τυχόντα ἢ ἱεροφαντίας ἢ τινας ἄλλης ἱερωσύνης· πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγενομένη κατὰ τὸ θεοφιλέας καὶ θεοῖς συνδαιτοῦν εὐδαιμονία (so I. Bouillaud for εὐδαιμονίαν cod. A.). See Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 38 ff.

⁴ W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 pp. 221—223, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1906 i. 181—209 (the best account), C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 pp. 269—274, 358.

⁵ Aristoph. *ran.* 85 ἐς μακάρων εὐωχίαν, cp. Plat. *Phaid.* 115D. Notice the schol. Aristoph. *loc. cit.* ἢ ὡς περὶ τετελευτηκότος λέγει, ὡσαυτὲ εἶπε τὰς μακάρων νήσους· ἢ ὅτι Ἀρχελάω τῷ βασιλεῖ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς μετὰ ἄλλων πολλῶν συνῆν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, καὶ μακάρων εὐωχίαν ἔφη τὴν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις διατριβῆν. If Hades was known as Ἀγησίλαος, Πολύαρχος, and the like (*supra* p. 1113 n. o no. (2)), it is at least possible that he bore the title Ἀρχέλαος. Aristophanes' *sous-entendu* would thus gain in point.

⁶ Rev. 19. 9 with the context.

⁷ A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*² Leipzig and Berlin 1910 pp. 129—134.

He lifts me to the golden doors ;
 The flashes come and go ;
 All heaven bursts her starry floors,
 And strows her lights below,
 And deepens on and up ! the gates
 Roll back, and far within
 For me the Heavenly Bridegroom waits,
 To make me pure of sin.
 The sabbaths of Eternity,
 One sabbath deep and wide—
 A light upon the shining sea—
 The Bridegroom with his bride !¹

How much, or how little, of all this is to be found in our relief, it is not easy to say. The title *Epitélleios* suggests the mystic marriage, and the stress laid on *Phllios* and *Phllia* tends to confirm the suggestion. We must leave it at that.

The matter-of-fact spectator, who cared little for mysteries or mystical symbolism, saw in Zeus *Phllios* a god of good company, given to feasting in both this world and the next. Accordingly, Diodoros of Sinope, a poet of the new comedy, who flourished early in s. iii B.C.², makes him the discoverer of the parasite and his ways:

'Twas Zeus the Friendly, greatest of the gods
 Beyond all doubt, that first invented parasites.
 For he it is who comes into our houses,
 Nor cares a rap whether we're rich or poor.
 Wherever he espies a well-strown couch
 With a well-appointed table set beside it,
 Joining us straightway like a gentleman
 He asks himself to breakfast, eats and drinks,
 And then goes home again, nor pays his share.
 Just what I do myself ! When I see couches
 Strown and the tables ready, door ajar,
 In I come quietly, all in order due—
 I don't disturb, not I, my fellow-drinker.
 Everything set before me I enjoy,
 Drink, and go home again, like Zeus the Friendly³.

The inference to be drawn from the fourth-century reliefs and the third-century comedy is that at Athens Zeus *Phllios*, like Zeus *Sotér*⁴, Zeus *Xénios*⁵, and other

¹ Tennyson *St. Agnes' Eve* 25 ff.

² J. Kirchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 660, Lübker *Reallex.*⁸ p. 203.

³ Diod. Sinop. *ἐπικλητος frag.* 1. 5 ff. (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 543 ff. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 239 A ff.

⁴ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 305, 10 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 676, 10 ff. *ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ πάσας*] *ἐθ[ύον τε τὰς θυ]σίας τῶ[ι Διὶ τῶι Σωτήρι καὶ τ]εῖ Ἀθη[ναί] τεῖ* | *Σω]τείρ[αι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεμε]λήθησα[ν μετὰ | τοῦ] ἱερ[έως καλῶς καὶ φιλοτιμω]ς, ἐπεμελήθη[σα]ν δὲ [καὶ τῆς στρώσεως τῆς κλι]νῆς καὶ τῆς κ[οσ]μ[ή]σεως τῆς τραπέζης· κ.τ.λ.]* in a decree of 277/6 B.C.

⁵ Pyrgion *Κρητικά νόμιμα frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 486 f. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 143 E—F ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ξενικοὶ θάκοι καὶ τράπεζα τρίτη δεξιᾶς (I. Casaubon *cj.* ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἢ ἐν δεξιᾶ) *εἰσιόντων εἰς τὰ ἀνδρεία· ἦν Ξένου τε Διδος ξενίαν τε προσηγόρευον.*

chthonian powers¹, had a couch set for him and a table spread. The rite was private rather than public, belonging essentially to family worship² and being in effect a communion between the dead and the living³. A. Furtwängler⁴ justly compares the *lectisternia*, which are commonly held to have been a Roman adaptation of the Greek *Theoxénia*⁵. Be that as it may, the comparison is of interest. For it is possible, perhaps even probable, that at the Greek feast, as at its Roman equivalent, the god was represented in visible shape. But in what shape? Our only clue is the Roman custom. Livy mentions 'heads of gods' placed on the couches⁶. Pompeius Festus (s. ii A.D.)—an excellent authority, since he abridged the important dictionary of Verrius Flaccus (c. 10 B.C.)⁷—states that these 'heads of gods' were properly termed *struppi* and consisted in bundles of *verbenae* or 'sacred plants⁸'. Elsewhere Festus, à propos of *stroppus* in the sense of a priestly head-dress or wreath, informs us that at Tusculum an

¹ Furtwängler *Samml. Saboureff Sculptures* p. 28 f., A. Milchhöfer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1887 ii. 31 (with list of deities).

² The *ἐπιανσθάλ* (*supra* p. 1161 f.) formed a quasi-family, worshipping—we have conjectured—its deceased founder as its ancestor.

³ *Supra* p. 1162 n. 2. See also Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 419.

⁴ A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1897 i. 495.

⁵ F. Robiou 'Recherches sur l'origine des lectisternes' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1867 i. 403—415, F. Deneken *De Theoxeniis* Berolini 1881, (G.) Wackermann *Ueber das Lectisternium* Hanau 1888 pp. 1—28, G. E. Marindin in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 15—17, C. Pascal 'De lectisterniis apud Romanos' in the *Rivista di filologia* 1894 xxii. 272—280, *id. Studi di antichità e mitologia* Milano 1896 p. 19 ff., W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 pp. 200, 218, 273, *id. The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 pp. 263 ff., 268, 318 f., A. Bouché-Leclercq in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1006—1012, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 161 f., Wissowa *Rel. Kull. Röm.*² pp. 61, 269 f., 311, 315, 421 ff.

⁶ Liv. 40. 59 terra movit: in foris (K. A. Duker cj. *fanis*) publicis, ubi lectisternium erat, deorum capita, quae (K. A. Duker and J. N. Madvig cjj. *qui*) in lectis erant, avertentur se, lanaque (J. Scheffer cj. *laenague*, G. Cuypers and J. Marquardt cjj. *lanxque*) cum integumentis (F. van Oudendorp cj. *intrimentis*), quae Iovi opposita (C. Sigone and J. Scheffer cjj. *apposita*) fuit, decidit=Iul. Obseq. 61 in lectisternio Iovis terrae motu deorum capita se converterunt. lana cum integumentis, quae Iovi erant apposita, decidit.

⁷ M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*² München 1899 ii. 1. 319 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*² Cambridge 1906 i. 200.

⁸ Fest. p. 347, 34 f. Müller, p. 472, 15 f. Lindsay *struppi* vocantur in pulvinaribus <fasciculi de verbenis facti, qui pro de>orum capitibus ponuntur=Paul. ex Fest. p. 346, 3 Müller, p. 473, 4 f. Lindsay *struppi* vocabantur in pulvinaribus fasciculi de verbenis facti, qui pro deorum capitibus ponebantur. Cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 64, 5 Müller, p. 56, 12 Lindsay capita deorum appellabantur fasciculi facti ex verbenis.

Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 12. 120 verberna proprie est herba sacra sumpta de loco sacro Capitolii, qua coronabantur fetiales et paterpatratrus foedera facturi vel bella indicturi. abusivus tamen verbenas iam vocamus omnes frondes sacratas, ut est laurus, oliva vel myrtus. etc. Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 22. 5, 25. 105 ff., interp. Serv. in Verg. *eccl.* 8. 65, Donat. in Ter. *Andr.* 4. 3. 11.

S. Eitrem in the *Class. Rev.* 1921 xxxv. 20 finds an illustration of these *struppi* in a painting of s. v B.C. in the *Tomba del Letto funebre* at Corneto (F. Poulsen *Fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptoteks Samlinger* Copenhagen 1920 i fig. 34, F. Weege *Etruskische Malerei Halle (Saale)* 1921 pls. 23, 24): 'on a mighty lectus you see on the torus not two recumbent defuncts, but two green crowns, surmounted by the Etruscan (and Roman) pointed head-dress, the *tutulus*.'

object known as *struppus* was placed on the couch of Castor¹. We gather, then, that at the *lectisternia* Jupiter and the gods in general were originally represented by twisted bundles of herbs. These bundles seem to have been padded and clothed as puppets; for in 179 B.C., shaken by an earthquake, the wool and wrappings attached to Jupiter slipped off revealing his true inwards to the confusion of all present². Later, if we may trust the evidence of a Roman lamp (fig. 972)³ and certain Roman coins (figs. 973, 974, 975)⁴, the puppets of the



Fig. 972.



Fig. 973.



Fig. 974.



Fig. 975.

¹ Fest. p. 313 a 12 ff. Müller, p. 410, 6 ff. Lindsay *stroppus* est, ut Ateius Philologus (L. Ateius Praetextatus *frag.* 7 Funaioli) existimat, quod Graecae *στροβίον* vocatur, et quod sacerdotes pro insigni habent in capite. quidam coronam esse dicunt, aut quod pro corona insigne in caput inponatur, quale sit strophium. itaque apud Faliscos diem (so Antonius Augustinus for *idem* codd.) festum esse, qui vocetur Struppearia, quia coronati ambulent; et a Tusculanis, quod in pulvinari inponatur Castoris, struppum vocari = Paul. ex Fest. p. 312, 1 Müller, p. 411, 1 ff. Lindsay *stroppus*, quod Graecae *στροβίον* dicitur, pro insigni habebatur in capitibus sacerdotum; alii id coronam esse dixerunt. Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 21. 3.

² Liv. 40. 59 and Iul. Obseq. 61 cited *supra* p. 1170 n. 6.

Cp. the woollen effigies of the Lares hung up at the cross-roads during the Compitalia (Paul. ex Fest. p. 121, 17 ff. Müller, p. 108, 27 ff. Lindsay; Fest. p. 237 b 34 ff. Müller, p. 272, 15 ff. Lindsay = Paul. ex Fest. p. 239, 1 ff. Müller, p. 273, 7 ff. Lindsay. See further Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 94 ff., 107 f.), if not also the saying that the gods had woollen feet (Apollod. *frag.* 41 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 435 Müller) *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 8. 5, Petron. *sat.* 44. 18, Porph. *in* Hor. *od.* 3. 2. 31 f.).

³ Fig. 972 shows the relief on the handle of a terra-cotta lamp first published by P. S. Bartoli—G. P. Bellori *Le antiche lucerne sepolcrali* Roma 1691 ii pl. 34 (A. Bouché-Leclercq in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1011 fig. 4381, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 412). Sarapis and Isis, Selene and Helios, are here represented by half-length busts set on the couch. A similar bust of white marble, obtained in the Levant by Mr W. Simpson and now in my possession (height 3½ inches: *kálathos* broken off: traces of paint (?) on face, chest, etc.: eye-holes and breast-jewel once filled in with glass or other glittering substance), was very possibly used at some *lectisternium* of Sarapis (cp. e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 101 no. 57 a copper of Sinope struck by Caracalla: *rev.* Zeus Sarapis on couch to left, with eagle on right hand, sceptre in left, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 507).

Another lamp-handle with a similar design, found at Pesaro, is suspect as being derived from the *Lucernae fictiles Musei Passerii* Pisauri 1739—1751 iii pl. 51 (A. Bouché-Leclercq *loc. cit.* iii. 1011 fig. 4382): see the exposure by H. Dressel in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1892 vii. 144 ff. (150 'una solenne impostura'), H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* ii. 408.

⁴ *Denarii* of the *gens Coelia*, struck c. 61 B.C., have for reverse type a *lectisternium*

lectisternia appear to have developed into half-length busts. Indeed, on one occasion, when Seleukos was sending back to Athens the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton carried off by Xerxes, the Rhodians invited the venerable bronzes to a public banquet and installed them bodily on the sacred couches¹. So much for progressive anthropomorphism. The vegetable bundles, which formed the primitive effigies², may be taken to imply that the souls of the dead were conceived as animating the yearly vegetation³. And the same belief may underlie the rites of Iupiter *Dapalis*⁴ and Iupiter *Farreus*⁵, in which Mr Warde

surmounted by a half-figure and flanked by two trophies. The front is inscribed L·CALDVVS | VII·R·EPV (= *Lucius Calvus septemvir epulo*). To left and right is the legend, read downwards, C·CALDVVS | IMP·A (or A)·X (= *Gaius Calvus imperator augur decemvir sacris faciundis*). Below is CAVS·III·VIR (= *Calvus triumvir monetalis*). See Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 100 ff., ii pl. Coelia I, 1A, 1B, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 373 ff. with six figs., G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 76 ff. pl. 10, 44, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 475 pl. 47, 23 f., pl. 48, 1. Figs. 973—975 are from specimens in my collection. The identification of the personage seen above the couch has long been disputed. He is either the moneyer's father, L. Coelius Calvus, as *septemvir epulo* preparing the feast for Iupiter (Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 659 f., T. Mommsen *Histoire de la monnaie romaine* Paris 1870 ii. 506, Babelon *loc. cit.*, G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 78), or—more probably—the effigy of Iupiter himself eating the sacrificial meal (see the remarks of S. Havercamp in Morell. *op. cit.* i. 102, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 507, H. A. Grueber in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 474 n. 2).

The two *epula Iovis*, which took place on Sept. 13, the foundation-day of the Capitoline temple, and on Nov. 13, were in relation to the *ludi Romani* and *ludi plebei* respectively (Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² pp. 127, 423, 453 ff.). Iupiter had a *lectulus*, Iuno and Minerva each a *sella* (Val. Max. 2. 1. 2), while the magistrates and senate took the meal before them in *Capitolio* (Liv. 38. 57, 45. 39, Gell. 12. 8. 2 f., Dion Cass. 39. 30, 48. 52). See further E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 732, 734 f., W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 215 ff., *id.* *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 pp. 172 f., 336, 338, 353. Hence the title of Iupiter *Epulo* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 3696 found in the Forum at Rome = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4964, with the criticisms of G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 265, who prefers T. Mommsen's reading (*Bull. d. Inst.* 1873 p. 51 f.) [*magistri*] *quinq[ue]nnales*) | [*collegi*] *teib[us] icinum Rom[anorum], qui* | [*s(acris) p[ro]publicis p[ro]raesto s[unt]*], *Iov(is) Epul(oni) sac[rum]* | etc. to that of E. Bormann and H. Dessau *qui* | . . . *Iov(is) epul(o), sac[ris]* | [*p[ro]publicis p[ro]raesto s[unt]*] | etc.).

¹ Val. Max. 2. 10. 1 *ext.*

² Masurius Sabinus *ap. Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 2. 225 Masurius Sabinus delubrum, effigies, a delibatione corticis; nam antiqui felicium arborum ramos cortice detracto in effigies deorum formabant, unde Graeci *ξβανov* dicunt. Cp. Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 4. 56, Paul. ex Fest. p. 73, 1 Müller, p. 64, 6 f. Lindsay, pseudo-Ascon. in Cic. *div. in Caec.* p. 101, 16 f. Baiter (in J. C. Orelli's ed. of Cicero Turici 1833 v. 2. 101). But a caeser parallel may be found in the Corn-maiden (*supra* i. 397 n. 4 pl. xxviii).

³ *Supra* i. 687.

⁴ Cato *de agr.* 132 dapem hoc modo fieri oportet: Iovi Dapali culignam vini quantum vis polluceto. eo die feriae bubus et bubulcis et qui dapem facient. cum pollucere oportebit, sic facies: 'Iuppiter Dapalis, quod tibi fieri oportet in domo familia mea culignam vini dapi, ei <us> rei ergo macte hac illace dape pollucenda esto.' manus interluito, postea vinum sumito: 'Iuppiter Dapalis, macte istace dape pollucenda esto, macte vino inferio esto.' Vestae, si voles, dato. daps Iovi assaria pecuina (pecuina v.) urna vini. Iovi caste profanato sua contagione. postea dape facta serito millium, panicum, alium, lentim.

The adjective *dapalis*, 'sumptuous,' is most frequently found as an epithet of *cena* (*Thes. Ling. Lat.* v. 35, 29 ff.).

⁵ Gaius *inst.* 1. 112 farreo in manus (Göschel, followed by P. Krüger—W. Stüdemund,

Fowler conjectures that Iupiter himself was originally identified with the flesh, the wine, and the bread consumed by his worshippers¹.

It is possible, then, that the communion-feast of Zeus *Phlios* approximated to, and paved the way for, the *agápe* or 'love-supper' of the early Christian Church². Nevertheless the evidence is indirect and by no means conclusive. We shall be on surer, if lower, ground in returning to the cult-monuments of Attike.

(2) Zeus *Phlios* on the Attic coast, etc.

To the west of the *Asklepieion* near the strand of Zea there appears to have been a common sanctuary of Zeus *Meilichios* and Zeus *Phlios*³. Votive reliefs from the site show the latter god in the same types (anthropomorphic and theriomorphic) as the former.

On the one hand, a slab of Pentelic marble, found on the eastern slope of Mounichia at a point two hundred paces from the sea, represents him (fig. 976)⁴ as a kingly personage enthroned towards the right with a sceptre (painted) in his hand. He is approached by a woman and a girl—Mynnion and her daughter, as we infer from the inscription added above in lettering of s. iv B.C.:

[M]ynnion dedicated (this) to Zeus *Phlios*⁵.

A fragmentary relief of white marble, found later in the same locality, was clearly of similar type⁶. On the left are seen the head of Zeus, his left shoulder, and his left hand holding a sceptre. On the right a bearded man and a youthful figure draw near with right hand raised in the attitude of adoration: behind them there

cj. *manum*) conveniunt per quoddam genus sacrificii, quod Iovi Farreo fit, in quo farreus panis adhibetur; unde etiam confarreatio dicitur; etc.

¹ W. Warde Fowler *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 p. 141 'The cult-title [*Farreus*] should indicate that the god was believed to be immanent in the cake of *far*, rather than that it was offered to him (so I should also take I. Dapalis, though in later times the idea had passed into that of sacrifice, Cato, *R. R.* 132), and if so, the use of the cake was sacramental.' A shrewd and scholarly verdict. Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² p. 119 'die heilige Handlung gilt dem Juppiter, welcher von dem zur Anwendung kommenden *farreum libum* den Beinamen Farreus erhält' is inadequate. B. J. Polenaar on Gaius *inst.* 1. 112 cp. *Adorea* as goddess of martial glory (Hor. *od.* 4. 4. 41) *a farris honore* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 18. 14): but the derivation of the word from *ador*, though assumed by the ancients, is doubtful or worse (see F. Stolz in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1899 x. 74 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*² p. 13 s.v. 'adōria').

² On the Christian ἀγάπη consult A. Kestner *Die Agape oder der geheime Weltbund der Christen* Jena 1819, E. H. Plumptre in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* i. 39 ff., R. St. J. Tyrwhitt *ib.* i. 625 ff., H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1907 i. 775—848, A. J. Maclean in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 166—175.

³ *Supra* p. 1104.

⁴ R. Schöne *Griechische Reliefs* Leipzig 1872 p. 53 f. no. 105 pl. 25, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 370 no. 1128, *Einzelabnahmen* no. 1247, 2 with Text v. 22 by E. Löwy, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 354 f. no. 1405 pl. 59 (= my fig. 976), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 362, 7 (wrongly described *ib.* p. 363 as 'Hommage à Zeus Meilichios'). Height 0.22^m, breadth 0.21^m.

⁵ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1572 [M]YNNIONΔΙΦΙΛΙΩΙΑΝΕΘ[HKEN]= [M]ύννιον Δι Φιλίωι ἀνέθ[ηκεν].

⁶ I. C. Dragatsis in the 'Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 p. 89 f. no. B', Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 355. Height 0.16^m, breadth 0.30^m.

are traces of a third head. The whole is enclosed by an architectural framework, which bears the inscription:

‘Hermaios (dedicated this) to Zeus *Phllios*¹.’

On the other hand, the same site yielded two reliefs representing a snake accompanied by the words:

‘—— dedicated (this) to Zeus *Phllios*².’



Fig. 976.

As before³, we must suppose that the snake figures the soul of the divinised dead, here conciliated by the euphemistic title Zeus ‘the Friendly One.’ *Phllios* is virtually a synonym of *Meilichios*⁴.

Other reliefs, which probably derive from the same cult-centre in the Peiraeus,

¹ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 Add. no. 1572b ΕΡΜΑΙΟΣ ΔΙΙ ΦΙΛΙΩΙ = ‘Ερμαιοσ Διι Φιλιωι.

² (1) I. C. Dragatsis in the Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1888 p. 135, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 1572c a fragmentary marble slab inscribed ΦΙΛΙ and ΞΝ = [--- Διι Φιλιωι] | [ἀνέθηκ]εν above the relief of a snake. (2) I. C. Dragatsis in the Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1888 p. 135 no. 3, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 355 the relief of a snake with the inscription Διι Φιλιωι [ἀνέθηκ]εν.

³ *Supra* p. 1111.

⁴ This explains the otherwise inexplicable gloss of Hesych. φίλιός (Soping *corr.* φίλιος, M. Schmidt cj. ἀφάδιος?) ὁ ἀποτρόπαιος, κατ’ εὐφημισμ[έν]ον.

repeat the types in question but, having no inscribed dedication, cannot be assigned with assurance to either god. Two examples will suffice. A fourth-century relief in Pentelic marble (fig. 977)¹ shows, within an architectural border, Zeus enthroned towards the right, holding a *phiale* in his right hand and a sceptre (painted) in his left. Before him kneels a woman, who with a well-known gesture of supplication stretches out both hands to clasp his knees². Behind her stands a second woman, with right hand uplifted. They are accompanied by a couple of children. The scene is closed by two *hieródouloi*—a boy carrying on his right hand while he grasps a ram with his left, and a girl sup-



Fig. 977.

porting a large round basket on her head. The fact that in reliefs of this sort the father is so often escorted by his son, the mother by her daughter, suggests that the god, whether *Meilichios* or *Phlios*, was in any case worshipped as *Téleios*.

More difficult to interpret is another fourth-century relief (fig. 978)³ representing a cylindrical altar with a snake coiled about it and a pair of snakes, both bearded, in heraldic pose to right and left. Have we here a votive tablet honouring the same god under all three aspects?

The chthonian character of Zeus *Phlios* is borne out by his ability to witness oaths and to send dreams. Greek dialogues, letters, and speeches abound in such phrases as 'by Zeus the Friendly'⁴, 'by the Friendly Zeus'⁵, 'by the Friendly

¹ Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 375 no. 1139, *Einselaufnahmen* no. 1245, 3 with Text v. 20 by E. Löwy, *Stais Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*² p. 242 no. 1408, *Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 357 f. no. 1408 pl. 65 (=my fig. 977), *Reinach Rep. Reliefs* ii. 363 no. 2. Height 0.25^m, breadth 0.40^m.

² C. Sittl *Die Gebärdn der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 163 ff., 282 f., *Svoronos op. cit.* p. 358.

³ *Svoronos op. cit.* p. 441 no. 1441 pl. 71 (=my fig. 978). Height 0.15^m, breadth 0.24^m.

⁴ πρὸς Διὸς Φιλίου Plat. *Phaedr.* 234 E, *Minos* 321 C, *Ioul. epist.* 3. 2. Cp. πρὸς Διὸς Φιλίου τε καὶ Ἐπαιπέλου Sokrat. *epist.* 27. 1 p. 627 Hercher.

⁵ πρὸς Φιλίου Διὸς *Ioul. or.* 2 p. 123, 9 Hertlein, *or.* 3 p. 165, 23 Hertlein, *Aineias of Gaza epist.* 1.

One¹, 'yes, by the Friendly One², 'no, by your Friendly One and mine³.

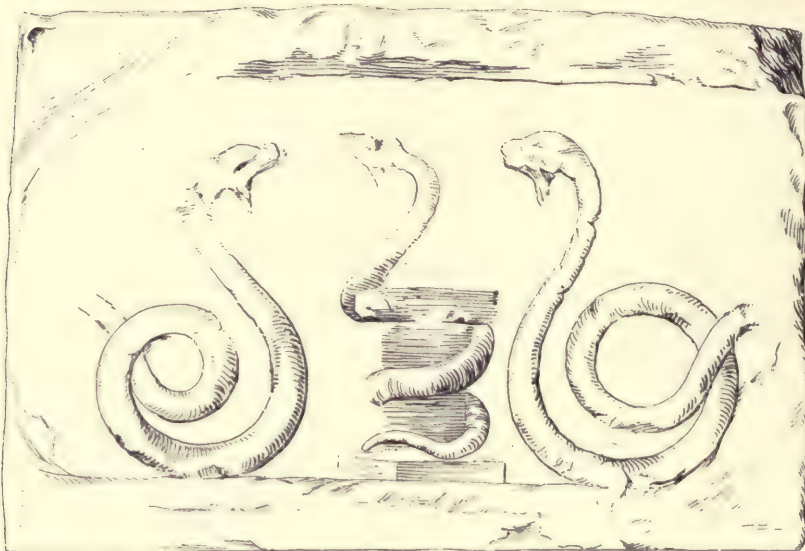


Fig. 978.

Friends in general swore by Zeus *Phílios*⁴, who came to be looked upon as the overseer and guardian of friendship⁵, or ultimately as a god of love who would

¹ πρὸς Φίλιον Plat. *Euthyphr.* 6 B, *Gorg.* 500 B, 519 E, Loukian. *Herod.* 7, *rhet. praeept.* 4, *de dipsad.* 9, Themist. *or.* 1. 17 A p. 19, 6 Dindorf, Prokop. *epist.* 75, 103, 116, 132.

² καὶ τὸν Φίλιον Aristoph. *Ach.* 730 with schol. *ad loc.* νῆ τὸν Φίλιον Pherekrat. *κραπάταλοι frag.* 16. 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 293 Meineke) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Φίλιος Ζεύς = Souid. *s.v.* Φίλιος.

³ μὰ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν Plat. *Alcib.* 1 109 D, imitated by Aristain. *epist.* 2. 14 μὰ τὸν Φίλιον Ἔρωτα (D. Wytttenbach *om.* Ἔρωτα as a gloss) τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν and Synes. *epist.* 49 p. 660 Hercher and 59 p. 672 καὶ μὰ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν, 103 p. 700 οὐ μὰ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν, 129 p. 716 νῆ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν, 95 p. 694 οὐ μὰ τὸν Ὀμόγγιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν. We have a similar usage of the possessive pronoun (one of those little touches, which show that on occasion Greek religion could be personal as well as civic) in Eur. *Andr.* 602 f. ἦτις ἐκ δόμων | τὸν σὸν λιποῦσα Φίλιον (*sc.* Δία) ἐξεκώμασε | κ.τ.λ., *Hec.* 345 (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2).

⁴ Menand. *ἀνδρόγγυος frag.* 6 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 85 Meineke) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Φίλιος Ζεύς = Souid. *s.v.* Φίλιος... μαρτύρομαι τὸν Φίλιον, ὦ Κράτων, Δία, Loukian. *Τολμαρ.* 11 f. ΜΝΗΣ. ὁμοίμεθα, εἰ τι καὶ ὄρκου δεῖν νομίζεις. τίς δέ σοι τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν—ἄρ' ἱκανὸς ὁ Φίλιος; ΤΟΞ. καὶ μάλα... ΜΝΗΣ. ἴστω τοίνυν ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Φίλιος, ἢ μὴν κ.τ.λ., schol. rec. Soph. *Ai.* 492 p. 211, 6 ff. ἐφέστιον Διδίς· τοῦ τιμωμένον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ ἐφορῶντος τὴν συνολκῆσιν ἡμῶν. Ἐφέστιον Δία προτεινόντων οἱ συνοικούντες· οἱ δὲ φίλοι Φίλιον· οἱ δὲ ἐν μᾶ τάξει καταλεγόμενοι καὶ μᾶ συμμορία, Ἐταιρεῖον· οἱ δὲ ξένοι, Ξέτιον· οἱ δὲ ἐν ὄρκοις συμφωνίας ποιοῦντες, Ὀρκιον· οἱ δὲ δεόμενοι, Ἰκέσιον· οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοί, Ὀμόγγιον = schol. Eur. *Hec.* 345.

⁵ Phrynichos the 'Atticist' (c. 180 A.D.) in Bekker *anecd.* i. 34, 14 (cited *supra* p. 1092 n. 8), *ib.* i. 71, 7 Φίλιος· ὁ φίλιος ἔφορος θεός, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Φίλιος Ζεύς = Souid. *s.v.* Φίλιος· ὁ τὰ περὶ τὰς φίλιας ἐπισκοπῶν, *et. mag.* p. 793, 43 Φίλιος Ζεύς· ὁ τὰ περὶ τῆς φίλιας (F. Sylburg *cj.* τὴν φίλιαν) ἐπισκοπῶν, Olympiod. *in Plat. Gorg.* 500 B (published by

have all men dwell together in amity¹. A title with such claims to popularity was naturally included among the stock epithets of Zeus².

An oblong slab of limestone found in the precinct of Asklepios at Epidauros bears a dedication to Zeus *Philius* 'in accordance with a dream' and adds, as symbol of the god, a branch of olive or oak enclosed in a circle³. It must not be

A. Jahn in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* Suppl. 1848 xiv. 364 f.) ἐπὶ τὸν ἔφορον τῆς φίλιας φέρει αὐτὸν, ἵνα εἰδῶς ὅτι θεὸς ἐστὼν ὁ τῆς φίλιας προστάτης μὴ πάλιν παίξῃ· ὁ γὰρ παίξων εἰς φίλον τὸν προστάτην ταύτης θεὸν παίζει, schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 500 B Διὸς ἣν ἐπώνυμον παρ' Ἀθηναίους ὁ Φίλιος, ἐκ τοῦ εἶναι τῶν φιλικῶν καθηκόντων αὐτὸν ἔφορον, Thom. Mag. *eccl. voc. Att.* p. 382 Ritschl Φίλιος ὁ τῆς φίλιας ἔφορος θεός, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1188, 57 Φίλιος, ὁ φίλιας ἔφορος, p. 1832, 62 f. Φίλιος Ζεὺς, ὁ τὰ περὶ τῆς φίλιας ἐπισκοπῶν. With these scholastic definitions cp. such passages as Liban. *epist.* 19 καὶ ταύτην τίνομεν τῷ Φιλίῳ τὴν δίκην ὅτι δὴ φίλων ἡμῖν ἐφάνη τι τιμιώτερον, 1204 ὑπέμνησα Φίλιου Διὸς and context.

¹ Dion Chrys. *or.* i. p. 56 f. Reiske Ζεὺς γὰρ...ἐπονομάζεται...καὶ Φιλίος τε καὶ Ἐταιρείος... Φίλιος δὲ καὶ Ἐταιρείος ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ξυνάγει καὶ βούλεται εἶναι ἀλλήλους φίλους, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἢ πολέμον μηδένα = *or.* 12 p. 412 f. Reiske Ζεὺς γὰρ...ονομάζεται...καὶ Φίλιος καὶ Ἐταιρείος... Φίλιος δὲ καὶ Ἐταιρείος ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ξυνάγει καὶ βούλεται φίλους εἶναι ἀλλήλους, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἢ πολέμον οὐδένα οὐδενός, Eustath. in *magnam quadragagesimam orationem graecarum* 44 (= Eustath. *opuscul.* p. 86 Tafel) πονηροὶ οἱ μὴ ἀγαπῶντες· πονηροὺς δὲ ὁ Φίλιος οὐ προσέεται.

² Aristot. *de mund.* 7. 401a 22 ἔταιρείος τε καὶ φίλιος καὶ ξένιος = Stob. *eccl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45. 19 f. Wachsmuth (translated by Apul. *de mund.* 37 alii Hospitalem Amicalemque), Loukian. *Tim.* i TIM. ὦ Ζεὺ φίλιε καὶ ξένιε καὶ ἔταιρείε καὶ ἀστεροπητᾷ καὶ ὄρκιε καὶ νεφεληγερέτα καὶ ἐρίγδοντε καὶ εἰ τί σε ἄλλο οἱ ἐμβρόντητοι ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι, καὶ μάλιστα θνατ ἀπορῶσι πρὸς τὰ μέτρα, Tzetz. in *Lyk. Al.* 288 Φύξιος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ Φίλιος καὶ Ἐταιρείος καὶ Ἐφέστιος καὶ Ὀμόγνιος καὶ ἄλλα μυρία καλεῖται πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ γινόμενα καὶ μετονομαζόμενος· κ.τ.λ., Achilles (Tatios) *comment. frag. in Arat. phaen.* 2 f. p. 84, 16 ff. Maass λέγεται γὰρ καὶ βουλαῖος Ζεὺς καὶ ξένιος καὶ ἔταιρείος (*leg.* ἔταιρείος) φίλιος φυτάλμιος ἐπικάρπιος, schol. Arat. p. 332, 10 f. Maass ὡς εἰσι (φασί) γενέτωρ φράτριος ὁμόγνιος ἔταιρείος φίλιος ἰκέσιος ξένιος ἀγοραῖος βουλαῖος βρονταῖος καὶ τὰ ὅμοια (*sc.* ἐπίθετα Διός), Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 267 no. 100 φίλιου (*sc.* Διός), 274 φίλιος (*sc.* Ζεὺς), 282 φίλιος (*sc.* Ζεὺς).

In particular the epithets ξένιος καὶ Φίλιος are often combined: Plout. *v. Arat.* 54 δίκας γε μὴν ὁ Φίλιππος οὐ μεμπτὰς Διὶ Ξενίῳ καὶ Φιλίῳ τῆς ἀνοσιουργίας ταύτης τίνων διετέλεσε, Himer. *or.* 6. 3 φέρε οὖν κἀνταῦθα Φιλίῳ Διὶ κρατῆρα στήσωμεν καὶ τὸν Ξενίου βωμὸν λόγων ξενίας ἀμείψωμεν, Ioul. *or.* 8 p. 327, 8 ff. Hertlein ἀγοι μὲν θεὸς εὐμενῆς, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν δέη πορεύεσθαι, Ξένιος δὲ ὑποδέχοιτο καὶ Φίλιος εἴρους, Heliod. *Aeth.* 6. 2 πρὸς Ξενίων καὶ Φιλίων θεῶν, schol. Eur. *Hec.* 791 χθονίους μὲν (*sc.* οὐ δείσας) διὰ τὸ ἀταφον εἶδαι φονεῖσαντα, οὐρανίους δὲ διὰ τὸν Ξένιον καὶ Φίλιον Δία (here actually contrasted with the chthonian powers!), schol. Eur. *Andr.* 603 Φίλιον... ἢ λείπει τὸ Δία, ἢ ἢ Φίλιον Δία, ὡς Ξένιον Δία, schol. Aristoph. *cp.* 500 Ζεὺς Ἀγοραῖος· ὡς Ζεὺς Ξένιος ἢ Μελίχιος ἢ Φίλιος, οὕτω καὶ Ἀγοραῖος.

See also Aineias of Gaza *epist.* 8, Prokop. *epist.* 15, Eumath. 3. 9. 5. 18 (*supra* p. 1141 n. 13). And cp. Loukian. *Prom.* s. *Caucas.* 6 πᾶν φιλανθρώπου τοῦ Διὸς πεπειραμένον.

³ P. Kalbadias in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1883 p. 31 no. 12, *id.* *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 60 no. 161, M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1296 [Δ]ῖ Φιλίῳ | Πύροιο | κατ' ὄναρ with the numeral νθ' and the symbol ☉ in circle, on which see *supra* p. 1076 f. The garland of Zeus *Philius* is mentioned in an inscription from Kyrene (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5173, 3 ff. = Kaibel *Épigr. Gr.* no. 873, 1 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 280. 1 ff. ἀ(γ)ρεῖ δ' Ἀρτεμῖς ἀ(γ)[ροτέ]ρη, καλοῖς ἐνὶ [πέπλ]οις, | Μαρκιανὴν ἱερῷ δεκρομένη (θ)[αλάμω] | οὔ ὁ Διὸς ἀρητῆρ [ἡρά]το, πατῆρ ἱερῶν, | [ἀρ]τ[ι πυ]κ[νὸν] Φιλί(υ) [σ]τέμμ' ἀνα[α]δησόμενος· κ.τ.λ. The restoration is doubtful; see G. Kaibel and E. Cougny *ad loc.*).

hastily assumed that Zeus *Phlios* was only another name for Asklepios¹, though the two deities were certainly of similar origin and somewhat similar character.

But we have yet to notice three remarkable cults of Zeus *Phlios* at Megalopolis in Arkadia, at Pergamon in Mysia, and at Antiocheia on the Orontes, respectively.

(3) Zeus *Phlios* at Megalopolis.

Pausanias in describing the enclosure sacred to the Greek Goddesses at Megalopolis says:

'Within the precinct is a temple of Zeus *Phlios*. The image is by Polykleitos the Argive and resembles Dionysos; for its feet are shod with buskins and it has a cup in one hand, a *thýrsos* in the other. On the *thýrsos* is perched an eagle, though this does not agree with what is told of Dionysos. Behind the said temple is a small grove of trees surrounded by a wall. People are not allowed to enter it, but before it are images of Demeter and Kore some three feet in height. Within the precinct of the Great Goddesses there is also a sanctuary of Aphrodite².'

So the temple of Zeus *Phlios* had a grove of awful sanctity behind it, over which Demeter and Kore mounted guard. I take this to mean that Zeus *Phlios*, himself a chthonian god, was reckoned as the consort of these chthonian goddesses, and was held to be jointly responsible with them for the yearly yield of corn and wine. Hence his approximation to the type of Dionysos. The singular Dionysiac Zeus is attributed by J. Overbeck³ to Polykleitos the younger on the ground that his more famous namesake was dead and buried years before the foundation of Megalopolis (371—368 B.C.). But H. Brunn⁴ suggested that the statue was a work of Polykleitos the elder, brought from some other Arcadian town to grace the new federal centre. Two arguments incline me towards Brunn's view. In the first place, Pausanias is elsewhere careful to distinguish the younger sculptor from his more illustrious predecessor⁵, so that, rightly or wrongly, our author must have meant the elder Polykleitos. In the second place, Polykleitos the elder, bowing to the authority of local tradition, represented Hera with a highly peculiar sceptre⁶: he may well have done the same for this cult-statue of Zeus. It is not, however, necessary to suppose with Brunn that the statue was brought from another town: cult-statues are not easily transplanted. I should rather conceive of the situation as follows. Megalopolis had a quarter or, as Stephanos the geographer says, a 'half' called *Orestía* after Orestes⁷, who had spent a year of exile in the *Orésteion*⁸. Now in the only other *Orésteion* known

¹ Cp. *supra* p. 1076 ff.

² Paus. 8. 31. 4 f. (*supra* i. 112 n. 2) τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς Φιλίου Διὸς ναός, Πολυκλείτου μὲν τοῦ Ἀργείου τὸ ἄγαλμα, Διονύσῳ δὲ ἐμπερές· κόθοροί τε γὰρ τὰ ὑποδήματα ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔχει τῇ χειρὶ ἔκπωμα, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρα θύρσον, κάθηται δὲ ἀετὸς ἐπὶ τῷ θύρσῳ· καιροὶ γὰρ τοῖς (R. Porson cj. τοῖς γε) ἐς Διόνυσον λεγομένοις τοῦτο οὐχ ὁμολογοῦν ἐστί. τοῦτου δὲ ὅπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ δένδρων ἐστὶν ἄλσος οὐ μέγα, θρησκῶ περιεχόμενον. ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐντὸς ἔσοδος οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις· πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ὅσον τε ποδῶν τριῶν εἰσιν (Siebelis cj. ἐστὶν) ἀγάλματα. ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τῶν Μεγάλων Θεῶν καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν.

³ Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 51 f., 228 ff., 563; *Gr. Plastik*⁴ i. 533, 537.

⁴ H. Brunn in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1880 p. 468 f.

⁵ Paus. 6. 6. 2.

⁶ *Supra* i. 134 f., ii. 893 n. 2.

⁷ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μεγάλη πόλις.

⁸ Eur. *Or.* 1643 ff. with schol. See N. Wedd *ad loc.* and Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 413.

to us Orestes and Pylades were revered by the Scythians as *Phlioi Daimones*¹. Not impossibly, therefore, the Arcadian Orestes likewise was a *Phlios Daimon* worshipped after his death as Zeus *Phlios*. Orestes was the son of Agamemnon; and it is probable enough that he, like his father², was remembered as a human Zeus. His name *Oréstes*, whatever its origin³, would pass muster as a title of Zeus the mountain-god⁴. In any case there was good reason for the retention of this pre-Megalopolitan cult: the appellative *Phlios* was a most desirable omen for a town which combined the inhabitants of some forty Arcadian villages⁵.

(4) Zeus *Phlios* at Pergamon.

From Arkadia we pass to Pergamon. 'The Pergamenes themselves,' says Pausanias, 'claim to be Arcadians of the band which crossed into Asia with Telephos⁶.' It is not, therefore, surprising to find that Pergamon too had its cult of Zeus *Phlios*. An inscribed block from the wall of the *Traianeum* speaks of that splendid structure (fig. 979)⁷ as the temple of Iupiter *Amicalis* and the emperor Trajan. The inscription is probably of 113—114 A.D. and intimates that, thanks to the liberality of one Iulius Quadratus, the joint cult is to be honoured with a penteteric festival, which shall take rank with the existing Pergamene festival of Roma and Augustus⁸. The competitions thus established

¹ In Loukian. *Toxar.* 7 the Scythian states that his compatriots honour Orestes and Pylades on account of their mutual loyalty and devotion, adding *καὶ τοῦνομα ἐπὶ τοῖτοῖς ἀντῶν ἐθέμεθα Κοράκου καλεῖσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φωνῇ ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ τις λέγοι 'Φίλιοι Δαίμονες.'* He also mentions a bronze tablet in the *Orésteion* inscribed with the tale of their sufferings, which Scythian children had to get by heart, and ancient paintings on the temple-wall illustrating the record. Possibly *Κόρακοι* = (*Διός*)*κοροί*.

² *Supra* Append. I.

³ Recent discussion of Orestes and his myth is conveniently summarised by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 576 ff., 620 ff.

⁴ *Supra* i. 100 ff., 117 ff., ii. Append. B.

⁵ Diod. 15. 72, Paus. 8. 27. 3 ff. Prof. J. B. Bury in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 19 says of the temples enumerated by Pausanias at Megalopolis: 'Those which he saw on the north side [of the river Helisson] suggest no federal association.' Is not this to ignore the obvious connotation of the title *Phlios*?

⁶ Paus. 1. 4. 6. See further W. Ridgeway *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1901 i. 180 f. and A. C. Pearson on Soph. *Musol frag.* 409 ff. Jebb.

Orestes enters into the myth of Telephos (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 958—961) and is figured on the small inner frieze of the grand altar of Zeus (H. Winnefeld in *Pergamon* iii. 2. 191 f., 219, 223, 228, Beilage 6, D, 7, 42, pl. 33, 4, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*⁴ ii. 285 fig. 201 c, C. Robert in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1887 ii. 245 ff. fig. D, *id. ib.* 1888 iii. 104, A. Trendelenburg in Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 1271 f. fig. 1429, O. Höfer *loc. cit.* p. 960).

⁷ *Pergamon* v. 2. 1—54 with numerous illustrations and an Atlas of plates (my fig. 979 is after pl. 34 the restored view) forms a monograph on the *Traianeum* by H. Stiller. See also E. Pontremoli and M. Collignon *Pergame, restauration et description des monuments de l'acropole* Paris 1900 pp. 153—160 with figs. and pls. 11 f.

⁸ T. Mommsen in the *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 7086, 18 ff. = M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* (= *Pergamon* viii. 2) Berlin 1895 ii. 203 ff. no. 269, 9 ff. with facsimile [*placere ut certamen illud,*] *quod in honorem templi Iovis Amicalis et | [Imp. Caes. divi Nervae f. Ner]vae Traiani Augusti Germanici Dacici | [pontif. max. est const]titutum εἰσελαστικῶν in civitate | [Pergamenorum, eiusdem cond]ditionis sit, cuius est, quod in honorem Romae | [et divi Aug. ibi agitur, it]a ut ea impendia, quae propter id certamen | [fieri oportebit, cedant in] onus Iuli Quadrati clarissimi viri | [eorumque a]d quos ea res pertinebit.* The official description *ib.* 13 = 5 [*ἀγῶν δεῦρ*]ερος παρ' ὑμεῖν ἱερὸς

are called in another inscription the Traianeia Deiphleia¹. From the double nomenclature and from the absence of earlier foundations beneath the temple M. Fränkel justly infers that the cult of Trajan was superposed on a previously existing cult of Zeus *Phllios* (Latinised as *Iupiter Amicalis*), who formerly had

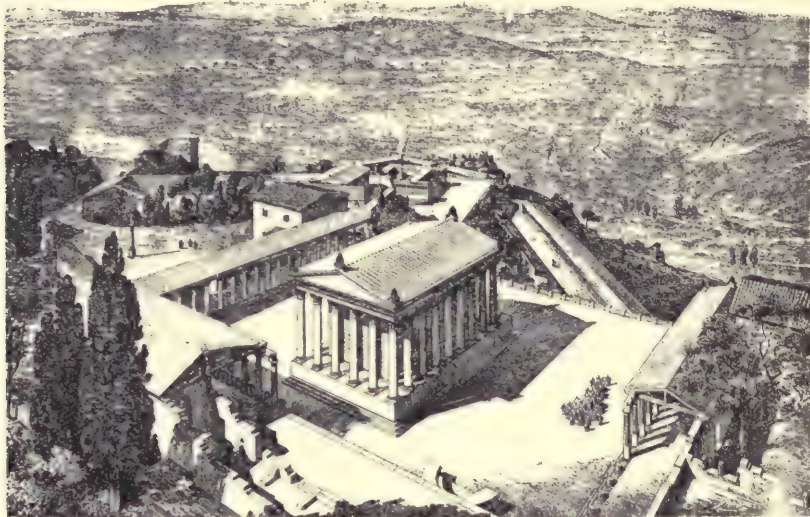


Fig. 979.

no temple but only an open-air altar²—presumably that detected by J. Schrammen on the highest point of the hill³. When it was decided to institute the cult of Trajan, who himself had some pretensions to the name of Zeus⁴, the best

is borne out by Dion Cass. 51. 20 και ελαβον και οι Περγαμνοι τον αγωνα τον ιερων ανομασιμενον επι τη του ναου αυτου (sc. Αλγούστου) τιμη ποιειν.

¹ E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iii. 2. 233 f. Oxford 1890 no. 605, 9 Τραϊάνεια Δειφιλεια εν Περγάμω ανδρων πυγμα(ην'), where Hicks wrongly supposes that the games 'may have been endowed by one Δειφίλος (sic)'. Δειφιλεια, as M. Fränkel *loc. cit.* saw, are the games of Zeus Φίλιος.

² M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* (= *Pergamon* viii. 2) Berlin 1895 ii. 206.

³ *Supra* i. 120 f. fig. 89.

⁴ A fragmentary inscription from Hermione speaks of Trajan as Zeus *Embatérios* (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1213 = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 701 ----- | [K]αίσαρα θεον θεο[δ] | Σεβαστων Γερμανικων | Δακικων, Δια Έμβατήριον, | η πόλις). L. Dindorf in *Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 810 A cp. Apollon Έμβάσιος (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2485) and Έπιβατήριος (*id. ib.* vi. 28). We can contrast Apollon Έκβάσιος (*id. ib.* v. 2155), Artemis Έκβατηρια (*id. ib.* v. 2158). Such epithets denote a deity invoked by the voyager before he embarks or after he disembarks, as the case may be. The deity in question might chance to be of mortal stock : on the quay at Alexandria was το λεγόμενον Σεβάσιον, Έπιβατηριου Καίσαρος νεός (Philon *leg. ad Gai.* 22 : see further O. Puchstein in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1385, O. Jessen *ib.* vi. 28). Hesych. Έπιβήμιος : Ζεις εν Σίφω has been wrongly added to this group of travel-titles (O. Jessen *ib.* vi. 28), or altered to Έπιδήμιος (R. Förster in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 372 f., citing a marble block at *Karadjadagh-Köi* on the *Ulutshar* in Bithynia, which is inscribed Δι Έπιδημω | Κλαύδιου(s) Σεήρου | Οφελίων οικονόμος κ(αι) | Ηλιάς | υπέρ τέκνων | κ(αι) των βοων | εύχης χάριν | άνεστήσα|μεν) : Zeus 'on the Step' is better explained as a god standing beside the

course seemed to be to maintain the old altar of ashes on the hill-top and to erect a new temple, which should be shared on equal terms by Zeus *Phllios* and the divinised emperor. Copper coins of Pergamon, struck by Trajan, illustrate the inscription from the *Traianeum* in two ways. On the one hand, they put



Fig. 980.



Fig. 981.



Fig. 982.

Trajan himself more or less on a par with Zeus *Phllios*. Thus the emperor's head occupies the obverse, the god's head the reverse, of a coin (fig. 980)¹. Or, the emperor's head on the obverse is balanced by a seated figure of the god on the reverse (fig. 982)². Or, the emperor in military costume stands beside the

orator on his platform and inspiring his utterance (cp. Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 207, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 162). *Supra* p. 897 n. 3.

The southern or townward face of Trajan's Arch at Beneventum, which like the Pergamene temple dates from the year 113—114, represents in the two panels of its attic (a) the Capitoline triad awaiting the arrival of Trajan: Iuno is escorted by Mercurius and Ceres, Minerva by Liber and Hercules; (b) Trajan approaching the *area Capitolina*: accompanied by Hadrian as emperor designate and followed by two lictors, he has reached the temple of Iupiter *Custos*, on the left of which, before the entrance-arch, are seen Roma, the Penates Publici Populi Romani, and the consuls. These two panels, separated only by the dedicatory inscription (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix no. 1558 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 296 imp. Caesari divi Nervae filio | Nervae Traiano Optimo Aug. | Germanico Dacico, pontif. max., trib. | potest. xviii, imp. vii, cos. vi, p. p., | fortissimo principi, senatus p. q. R.), form a single composition—Iupiter handing his own thunderbolt to Trajan, who is thereby recognised as his vice-gerent (figs. 983, 984 are from photographs by R. Moscioni (nos. 15308, 15309)). See further E. Petersen 'L'arco di Traiano a Benevento' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1892 vii. 239—264 with cut, especially p. 251 f., A. L. Frothingham in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1897 p. 379 f., A. von Domaszewski 'Die politische Bedeutung des Traiansbogens in Benevent' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii. 173—192 with figs., especially p. 175 ff., F. Wickhoff *Roman Art* trans. Mrs. S. A. Strong London 1900 pp. 105—110 with figs., *ead.* *Roman Sculpture* London 1907 pp. 214—227 with pls. 63—66, especially p. 215 f., *ead.* *Apotheosis and the After Life* London 1915 pp. 85—87 pl. 10, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 58—66, especially p. 64 no. 1 f. For the title *Optimus* see *supra* p. 100 n. 6.

The significance of the imperial figure on the summit of Trajan's Column at Rome has been already considered (*supra* p. 100 ff.).

¹ Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 228 Münztaf. 3, 23, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 141 pl. 28, 12, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 2, H. von Fritze in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1910 Phil.-hist. Classe Anhang i. 55 pl. 4, 5. I figure a specimen from my collection: obv. ΑΥΤΤΡΙΑ ΝΟΚΚΒΑ, rev. ΣΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΟΣ (= obv. Αὐτοκράτωρ Τραϊανὸς Σεβαστός, rev. Ζεὺς Φίλιος).

² Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 872, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 141 no. 259, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 1 = my fig. 982, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 55 pl. 4, 4: obv. ΑΥΤΤΡΙΑ ΝΟΚΚΒΑΤ, rev. ΦΙΛΙΟΣΣΕΥΣ ΠΕΡΓΑ (= obv. Αὐτοκράτωρ

seated god within the same temple (fig. 981)¹. On the other hand, the coins equate the cult of Zeus *Philius* and Trajan with the cult of Roma and Augustus. The obverse shows Zeus *Philius* and Trajan in their temple, the reverse Roma



Fig. 983.

and Augustus in theirs². Or, the obverse has Trajan, the reverse Augustus, as sole occupants of their respective fanes³.

Τραϊανὸς Σεβαστός, rev. Φίλιος Ζεὺς Περγαμηνῶν). A copper of Lucius Verus gives the reverse type on a larger scale (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 148 no. 293, H. Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 55 pl. 4, 6) with the legend: ΕΠΙΣΤΡΑΑΤΥΛ... ΚΡΑ ΤΙΠΠΟΥΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝΒ ΝΕΟΚΟΡ (=ἐπὶ στρατηγῷ Ἀτυλλίου Κρατίππου, Περγαμηνῶν β' νεωκόρων).

¹ Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 872, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 142 no. 262, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 3 = my fig. 981: rev. ΦΙΛΙΟΣ ΖΕΥΣ ΤΡΑΙΑ ΝΟΣΠΕΡΓ ΑΜΗΝΩΝ. Cp. a copper of Traianus Decius (H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 55 pl. 8, 18).

² Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 872 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 142 pl. 28, 10, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 5, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* pp. 55, 83 ff. pl. 8, 12: obv. ΦΙΛΙΟΣ ΣΕΥΣ ΑΥΤ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟ ΣΕΒΠΕ[Ρ] or ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗ, rev. ΘΕΛ ΡΩΜΗ [Κ]Α[Ι]Θ[Ε]Ω[Ν] ΣΕΒΑΣ ΤΩ.

³ Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 873, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 142 pl. 28, 11, *Hunter*

The cult of Zeus *Phílios* on the mountain at Pergamon was, if I am right in my conjecture¹, derived from the cult of Zeus *Phílios* the 'Mountaineer'² of Megalopolis. But the original connexion with *Oréstes* had long since been for-



Fig. 984.

gotten, or at best left a mere trace of itself in the traditional link between *Orestes* and *Telephos*³. It was, however, remembered that Zeus *Phílios* somehow stood for the founder of the state. This may be inferred from the fact that, when

Cat. Coins ii. 282 no. 57, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 4, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 84 pl. 8, 17: obv. ΣΤ ΡΡΩ ΛΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΡΑΙΑ ΝΟ C or ΣΤΡΡΩΛΛΙ ΩΝΟCΤΡΑΙΑ ΝΟCΕΠΙ, rev. ΑΥΓ Ο V CΤΟC ΠΕΡΓΑ (=obv. ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦ Πωλλίωνος· Τραϊανός, rev. Αἰγιστος· Περγαμηνῶν).

¹ *Supra* p. 1179.

² *Supra* p. 1178 f.

³ *Supra* p. 1179 n. 6. Note that *Τήλεφος*, a clipped form of *Τηλεφάνης* (F. Bechtel—A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*² Göttingen 1894 p. 374) was, like *Ὀρέστης* (*supra* p. 1179), a name which would fitly describe a mountain-god (cp. *Od.* 24. 83, *Aristoph. nub.* 281, *Menand. Λευκαδία frag.* 1, 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 158 f. Meineke) *ap.* Strab. 452, and the like).

the Pergamenes invented an eponymous hero Pergamos¹, they portrayed him (fig. 985)² with the features of Zeus *Philius*.

Whether Zeus *Philius* at Pergamon was in any sense Dionysiac, we can hardly determine. A *phiale* in his hand (figs. 981, 982) is no proof. Nor can we lay stress on the curious association of Telephos with the vine³. The most we



Fig. 985.

Fig. 986.

can say is that a buskined Zeus of the Arcadian type⁴ would not be out of place in a town which recognised Zeus *Sabázios*⁵ and Zeus *Bákchos*⁶.

Popular enthusiasm, or policy, having thus raised the emperor to the level of Zeus *Philius*, went a step further and identified the two. An alliance-coin of Thyateira and Pergamon (fig. 986)⁷ surrounds the laureate bust of Trajan with

¹ H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 69 n. 1 points out that Pergamos is first mentioned as founder of the state in two mutually complementary inscriptions of c. 50 B.C. published together by H. Hepding in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1909 xxxiv. 329 ff.: ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν | Μιθραδάτην Μηροδδότην τὸν διὰ γένους ἀρχιερέ[α] | καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ Καθηγεμόνος Διονύσου διὰ γένου[ς], | ἀπο[κα]ταστήσαντα τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς τ[ὴν] τε πόλιν | καὶ [τὴν] χώραν καὶ γενόμενον τῆς πατρίδος μ[ε]τὰ Πέργαμον | καὶ Φιλέταιρον νέον κτίστην and ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν | [Μιθραδάτην] Μηροδδότην διὰ γένου[ς] ἀρχιερέα | καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ Καθηγεμόνος Διονύσου, ἀποκαταστήσαντα | τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ γενόμενον | τῆς πατρίδος μ[ε]τ[ὰ] Π[ε]ργάμου καὶ Φιλέταιρον νέον κτίστην. On the hero Pergamos and his cult see further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1958 f.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 136 pl. 28, 1, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 67 pl. 3, 14 and 19=my fig. 985, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 536: quasi-autonomous coppers inscribed ΠΕΡΓΑΜΟΣ and ΠΕΡΓΑΜΟΣ ΚΤΙΣ ΤΗΣ.

³ When the Greeks sailed against Troy, they lost their way and attacked Mysia by mistake. Telephos, king of the Mysians, went out against the invaders and slew many of them, but fled before Achilles and, tripping over a vine, was wounded in the thigh by that hero's spear (Apollod. *epit.* 3. 17). This occurred because Dionysos was angry with Telephos for depriving him of his due honours (schol. *Il.* 1. 59 f., cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 46, 35 ff. (Telephos' horse stumbles over a vine by the design of Dionysos), Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 211 (Dionysos repays Achilles' sacrifices by causing to spring up a vine-shoot, which entangles Telephos), Dictys Cretensis 2. 3 (Telephos, pursued by Ulysses among the vineyards, trips over a vine-stem and is speared by Achilles in the left thigh)). The story is given without detail by Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 109 f. δ καὶ Μύσσιον ἀμπελόεν | αἴμαξε Τηλέφου μέλαν ραίνων φόνω πεδίον. On the golden vine presented to Telephos' wife Astyoche by Pergamos see *supra* p. 281 n. 4.

⁴ *Supra* p. 1178.

⁵ *Supra* p. 287 n. 2.

⁶ *Supra* pp. 287 n. 2, 954 n. o.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 320 pl. 41, 5 (my fig. 986 is from a cast of the coin), H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 100: ΑΥΝΕΡΤΡΑΙΑΝΟ Ν[Ο]ΥΝΕΡ ΔΑΚΙΦΙΛΙΟΝ ΔΙΑ (=αὐτοκράτορα Νέρουαν Τραϊανὸν Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Δακικὸν Φίλιον Δία).

breast, wheat-ears on her head, and a *cornu copiae* on her arm. Both join hands to support a nude, youthful Zeus with the features of Geta, who holds a sceptre in his left hand and brandishes a thunderbolt in his right. Below him is his eagle with spread wings, grasping a wreath in his talons. Further variations are found on another unique copper, struck by Caracalla at Laodikeia in Phrygia and now in our national collection (fig. 989)¹. Gaia and Thalassa have changed places: behind the one corn-ears spring from the ground; behind the other a dolphin plunges into the sea. On their joined hands, instead of Zeus, stands Caracalla with a radiate crown on his head holding *phiale* and sceptre, while beneath him hovers his eagle bearing a wreath.

(5) Zeus *Phlios* at Antiocheia.

Lastly, we turn to Antiocheia on the Orontes, where the worship of Zeus *Phlios* was established by Theoteknos, governor of the city under Maximinus ii and an apostate from the Christian faith². Eusebios in his *Ecclesiastical History*³ pens an ugly portrait of this persecutor⁴:

‘The root of all the mischief grew in Antiocheia itself⁶—Theoteknos, a horror, a humbug, and a villain, whose character belied his name; he was supposed to keep the town in order. He set all his forces against us. He threw himself with zest into the task of hunting our people out of their holes and corners in every possible way, as though they had been a gang of thieves and malefactors. He went all lengths in slandering and accusing us. And, after causing tens of thousands to be put to death, he finally set up an idol of Zeus *Phlios* with a deal of quackery and imposture. He invented foul rites for it, initiations of an irreligious sort, and abominable modes of purification. He even exhibited before the emperor the portentous signs by means of which it was supposed to produce oracles⁶.’

Theoteknos may well have augured a great success for his new cult, partly on general and partly on special grounds.

On the one hand, the Antiochenes had always been devoted to the worship of Zeus. Long before their city was built, Triptolemos—so they said—had founded Ione on the slope of Mount Silpion and had constructed there a sanctuary of Zeus *Némeios*, later renamed Zeus *Epikárpios*⁷. Subsequently Perseus

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 316 pl. 37, 12 (= my fig. 989), H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 57: rev. ΕΠΙ·Π·ΑΙΑ ΠΙΓΡΗ ΤΟC ΑCΙΑΡΓ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝΝ ΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ· (ἐπι Π. ΑΙλιου Πιγρητος Ἀσιάρχων γ', Λαοδικέων νεωκέρων).

² G. T. Stokes in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 1011.

³ Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 2 f.

⁴ In 304 A.D. he did to death S. Theodotos and the Seven Virgins of Ankyra (*Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Maii iv. 147—165, T. Ruinart *Acta primorum martyrum sincera & selecta*² Amstelædami 1713 pp. 336—352, A. Gallandius *Bibliotheca veterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Venetiis* 1768 iv. 114—130).

⁵ We have here a buried hexameter: ὦν πάντων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἀντιοχείας.

⁶ Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 3 τελευτῶν εἰδωλὸν τι Διὸς Φιλίου μαργαλαῖς τισὶ καὶ γοηταῖς ἰδρύεται, τελετὰς τε ἀνάγνους αὐτῷ καὶ μῆσεις ἀκαλλιερέτους ἐξαγίστους τε καθαρμῶν ἐπινοήσας, μέχρι καὶ βασιλέως τὴν τερατεῖαν δι' ὧν ἐδόκει χρησμῶν (*leg.* χρησμοῦς) ἐκτελεῖν ἐπεδείκνυτο. Cp. the loose translation of Rufin. *hist. eccl.* 9. 3 apud Antiochiam simulacrum quoddam Iovis Amicalis nuper consecratum artibus quibusdam magicis et impuris consecrationibus ita compositum erat, ut falleret oculos intuentium et portenta quaedam ostentare videretur ac responsa proferre. C. F. Crusé renders τελετὰς τε ἀνάγνους κ.τ.λ. ‘after reciting forms of initiation’ etc., clearly taking ἀνάγνους to be ἀναγνοῦς—an ingenious error.

⁷ Liban. *or.* II. 51 (i. 2. 453, 1 ff. Foerster), *supra* i. 236 n. 10. Cp. *Chron. Paschale*

visited Ione and, when a storm burst so that the river Orontes, then called Drakon, overflowed its banks, bade the inhabitants pray for deliverance. Thereupon a ball of lightning fell from the sky and stopped at once the downpour and the flood. Perseus kindled a fire from the blaze, took it to his own palace in Persia, and taught the Persians to reverence it as divine. He also established for the men of Ione a sanctuary of Immortal Fire¹. In the Hellenistic age this sanctuary on Mount Silpion was known as that of Zeus *Keraúnios*². Again, the foundation of Antiocheia itself was directly associated with the cult of Zeus. Libanios in his panegyric of the town says³:

'The settlement began with Zeus *Bottiaios*⁴, erected by Alexander, and the hill called Emathia after Alexander's home.'

i. 76 Dindorf *ἐκτισαν οὖν ἐκεῖ οἱ αὐτοὶ Ἰωνῆται ἱερὸν Κρονίωνος* (but see *supra* i. 237 n. 1) *εἰς τὸ Σιλπίων ὄρος* and perhaps Liban. *legat. ad Iulian.* 79 (ii. 152, 10 ff. Foerster) cited *supra* p. 869 n. 1.

Zeus *Némeios* appears on a billon coin of Alexandria with *selinon*(?)-wreath, *aigis*, and star (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 17 no. 130 pl. 1 (=my fig. 990), Head *Hist. num.*² p. 862, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 218, 248, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 116). These coins were struck by Nero in 67—68 A.D. to commemorate his triumphant tour through Greece in 67 A.D. (*Eckhel Doctr. num. vet.*² iv. 53).

As to the title *Ἐπικάρπιος*, my friend Mr G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1915 xxxv. 150 kindly draws my attention to Methodios *ap. et. mag.* p. 58, 20 ff. *Ἀλδήμιος ἢ Ἄλδος, ὁ Ζεὺς, ὁς* (codd. D. Vb. omit *ὁς*) *ἐν Γάζῃ τῆς Συρίας τιμᾶται· παρὰ τὸ ἀλδαῖνον, τὸ αὐξάνων· ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐξήσεως τῶν καρπῶν. Μεθόδιος* (οὗτος Μεθόδιος cod. Vb.). Cp. S. Bochart *Geographia sacra, seu Phaleg et Canaan*⁴ Lugduni Batavorum 1707 lib. ii cap. 14 p. 748 'Ego Jovem illum Phœnices linguâ suâ vocasse puto *בַּעַל הַחַלְדַּי* *baal-halda* dominum sæculi, vel *בַּעַל הַחַלְדִּים* *baal-aldim* dominum sæculorum'—a most ingenious explanation of the alternatives *Ἄλδος* and *Ἀλδήμιος*.

¹ Pausanias the chronographer (cp. Io. Tzetz. *schol. in exeges. Iliad.* in L. Bachmann *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem* Lipsiae 1835 p. 833, 28 f. *Παυσανίας δὲ ὁ ἱστορικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀντιοχείας κτίσεως γράφει παλιότερον. κ.τ.λ.*) *ap.* Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 37 f. Dindorf=*Chron. Paschale* i. 72 f. Dindorf *ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Περσεὺς ἐκτίσσε τοῖς Ἰωνῆταις ἱερὸν, ὃ ἐπωνύμασε πρὸς ἀθανάτου.*

² Io. Malal. *chron.* 8 p. 199 Dindorf says of Seleukos i Nikator after the foundation of Seleukeia *καὶ εὐχαριστῶν ἀνήλθεν εἰς Ἰώπολιν καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπετέλεσε εὐρτήν ἐκεῖ τῷ Κεραυνίῳ Διὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ κτισθέντι ὑπὸ Περσέως τοῦ υἱοῦ Πίκου καὶ Δανάης, τῷ ὄντι εἰς τὸ Σιλπίων ὄρος, ἐνθα κείται ἡ Ἰώπολις, ποιήσας τὴν θυσίαν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός.*

³ Liban. *or.* 11. 76 (i. 2. 461, 18 ff. Foerster).

⁴ With Zeus *Bottiaios* cp. Zeus *Bóttios* of *Βωττία*, a village on the Orontes (Io. Malal. *chron.* 8 p. 200 Dindorf cited *infra* p. 1188), which doubtless claimed connexion with *Borria*, *Bottialia*, *Bottiaís*, the district round Pella in Makedonia (E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 794 f.). Since the Bottiaians of Makedonia were said to have been brought by one Botton from Crete (Aristot. *frag.* 443 Rose *ap. Plout. v. Thes.* 16 and *quaestt. Gr.* 35, Strab. 179, 282, 329 *frag.* 11, Konon *narr.* 25, *et. mag.* p. 206, 1 ff.), it is possible that Zeus *Bottiaios* was ultimately of Cretan origin. The story of the clay loaves etc. told by Konon *loc. cit.* probably has some basis in Bottiaean ritual. Coppers struck at Pella, under Philippos v and later (Head *Hist. num.*² p. 243), with the monogram Β (for *Borrearῶν*) have obv. head of Zeus wreathed with bay (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia*, etc. p. 13, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 352) or oak (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia*, etc. p. 13 fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 352 (?)), rev. winged thunderbolt.



Fig. 990.

Further on he adds¹:

'The whole thing was ordained of God. Forty furlongs from this city of ours there was a city bearing the name of Antigonos and built by Antigonos. Here Seleukos was sacrificing after his victory². The bull had been slaughtered, the altars had received their customary portion, the fire was already licking up the sacrifice and burning fiercely, when, lo, Zeus moved from his sceptre³ his own companion and favourite bird and despatched him to the altar. He flew down into the midst of the flame, caught up the thigh-pieces all ablaze, and bore them off⁴. As the event attracted the looks and thoughts of all and was manifestly due to divine interposition, Seleukos bade his son⁵ mount a horse, pursue the flight from the ground, and guide his horse by the bridle according to the route taken by the bird; for he wished to know what it would do with its booty. Seleukos' son riding his horse, with upturned eyes, was led by the flight to Emathia. There the eagle stooped and deposited his burden on the altar of Zeus *Bottiaios*, erected by Alexander when he was cheered by the sight of the spring⁶. So all men, even without special powers of interpretation, could see that Zeus meant them to build a city on the spot. And thus it came about that the settlement intended and commenced by Alexander was carried to completion, while the chief of the gods⁷ by means of his own omen became our founder.'⁸

Similar tales were current with regard to Alexander's foundation of Alexandria⁸ and Seleukos' foundation of Seleukeia Pieria⁹. Ioannes Malalas, of whose sixth-century chronicle a Greek abridgment (not to mention the fuller Slavonic version¹⁰) is extant, gives the Antiochene story¹¹, adding a touch or two of his own to heighten the interest. Thus, instead of connecting Zeus *Bottiaios* with the hill Emathia, he harrows our feelings by the assertion that at Bottia, a village over against Iopolis, Seleukos, when founding Antiocheia, sacrificed a maiden named Aimathe (*sic*) by the hand of the chief priest and initiator Amphion, between the city and the river, on Artemisios, *i.e.* May, 22, at daybreak, as the sun rose—a most circumstantial narrative. He goes on to say that Seleukos founded also the sanctuary of Zeus *Bóttios*¹². Again, Antiochos iv Epiphanes built for the Antiochenes, presumably on Mount Silpion, a magnificent temple of Iupiter *Capitolinus*, of which we are told, not only that its roof had gilded coffers, but that its walls were overlaid with beaten gold¹³. Tiberius either completed or restored the structure¹⁴. Antiochos Epiphanes also erected in the temple, which he had built, or more probably beautified, for Apollon at Daphne, a copy of the Olympian Zeus, said to have been as large as the original¹⁵. This statue was perhaps in-

¹ Liban. *or.* 11. 85—88 (i. 2. 464, 10 ff. Foerster).

² Seleukos i Nikator, after vanquishing Antigonos in Phrygia (301 B.C.).

³ *Supra* p. 1132 ff.

⁴ *Infra* fig. 1001.

⁵ Antiochos i Soter.

⁶ See Io. Malal. *chron.* 10 p. 234 Dindorf.

⁷ (ὁ Ζεὺς) ὁ τῶν θεῶν κορυφαῖος.

⁸ Iul. Valer. 1. 30 p. 39, 9 ff. Kuebler, pseudo-Kallisth. 1. 32 (context *supra* p. 1127 n. o).

⁹ *Supra* p. 981 n. 1.

¹⁰ Prof. J. B. Bury informs me that such a version exists, but is not yet published in accessible shape. On Malalas see further K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches*² München 1897 p. 325 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*² Cambridge 1906 i. 390 f.

¹¹ Io. Malal. *chron.* 8 p. 199 ff. Dindorf.

¹² *Id. ib.* 8 p. 200 Dindorf.

¹³ Liv. 41. 20. Cp. Gran. Licin. 28 p. 6, 5 f. Flemisch duos colossos duodenum cubitorum ex aere unum Olympio, alterum Capitolino Iovi dedicaverat.

¹⁴ Io. Malal. *chron.* 10 p. 234 Dindorf ὁ δὲ Τιβερίος Καῖσαρ ἐκτίσεν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ πᾶσι τοῖς μέγα Διὸς Καπετωλίου. The word ἐκτίσεν must not be pressed.

¹⁵ Amm. Marc. 22. 13. 1 eodem tempore die xi Kalend. Novembrium amplissimum

tended to represent Antiochos himself¹; for it seems to have been part of that ruler's policy always to foster the cult, and on occasion to assume the rôle, of Zeus². Thus he struck handsome silver pieces showing on the obverse side an

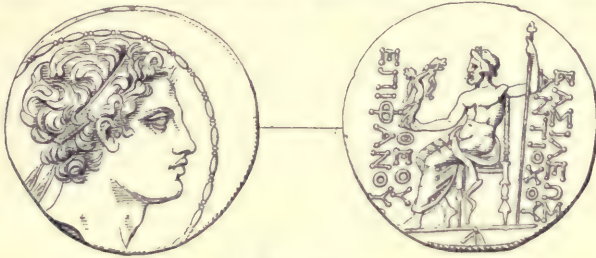


Fig. 991.

idealised portrait-head of himself, sometimes with twin stars at the ends of his diadem³, and on the reverse Zeus enthroned with a Nike in his hand. The Nike extends a wreath towards the god. And the accompanying legend reads 'Of King Antiochos, the God Made Manifest' (fig. 991)⁴, or 'Of King Antiochos, the God Made Manifest, Bearer of Victory' (fig. 992)⁵. Another imposing type has on the obverse the head of the monarch, wreathed with wild-olive and bearded as if he were indeed Zeus *Olympios*, on the reverse Zeus enthroned with Nike in the act of crowning him (fig. 993)⁶ or his pompous inscription (fig. 994)⁷. It is very possible that this coin commemorates the erection of the Olympian Zeus at Daphne. Be that as it may, the statue was probably made of gold and ivory, like its original at Olympia.



Fig. 992.

Daphnaei Apollinis fanum, quod Epiphanes Antiochus rex ille condidit iracundus et saevus, et simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Iovis imitamenti aequiparans magnitudinem, subita vi flammaram exustum est. But Liban. *or.* 11. 94 ff. (i. 2. 467, 1 ff. Foerster) and Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 5. 19 agree that the sanctuary of Apollon *Δαφναῖος* was the work of Seleukos i Nikator. Presumably Antiochos Epiphanes added to its attractions. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 58 by an odd blunder takes Ammianus to mean that Antiochos dedicated at Daphne a statue of Apollon in the guise of Olympian Zeus!

¹ We may fairly suspect that the same intention prompted Antiochos' sacrilegious treatment of the temples at Jerusalem and on Mt Gerizim (*supra* i. 233, ii. 887 n. o no. (31)).

² See E. R. Bevan 'A note on Antiochos Epiphanes' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1900 xx. 26—30, *id.* *The House of Seleucus* London 1902 ii. 154 ff., G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 144.

³ Tetradrachms with rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ or ΑΝ ΤΙΟΧΟΥ Apollon seated on the *omphalos* have obv. head of Antiochos with diadem surmounted by a star (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 34 pl. 11, 1) or with diadem ending in two eight-rayed stars (*Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 41 pl. 66, 9). They bear witness to the early deification of the king.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 35 pl. 11, 8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 44 pl. 66, 13, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 762. I figure a specimen from my collection.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 35 pl. 11, 7 = my fig. 992, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 47 f. pl. 66, 17 (cp. 18), Head *Hist. num.*² p. 762, *Bunbury Sale Catalogue* 1896 ii. 65 no. 494.

⁶ E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 pp. xciv f., 71 pl. 12, 11 (= my fig. 993).

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 36 pl. 11, 9 = my fig. 994, *Hunter*

Alexander ii Zabinas, when beaten by Antiochos viii Grypos in 123—122 B.C., retired to Antiocheia and, in order to pay his troops, bade men enter the temple of Zeus and remove from the god's hand the Nike of solid gold, remarking that

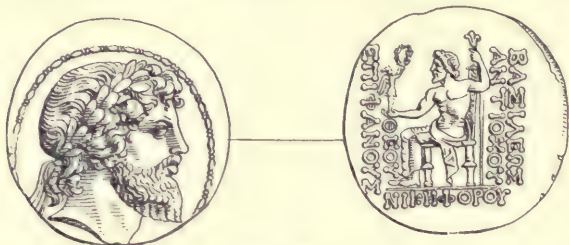


Fig. 993.

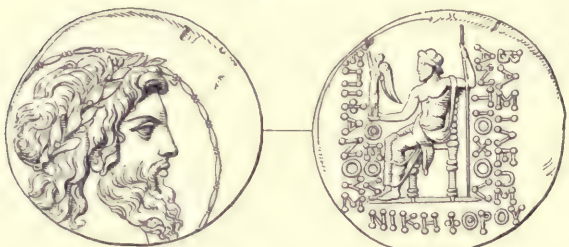


Fig. 994.

Zeus had lent him victory!¹ A unique *statér* of gold, formerly in the Montagu collection (fig. 995)², was doubtless struck by Zabinas from this stolen Nike³. A few days later he attempted to carry off the whole statue of Zeus with its vast weight of gold, but was caught in the act and forced by popular outcry to flee from the city⁴.

The statue, however, did not escape for long the cupidity of the Syrian kings' Antiochos ix Kyzikenos, son of Antiochos vii Sidetes, being in need of money, gave orders that the golden Zeus, fifteen cubits high, should be melted down and replaced by a copy in inferior material with gilded sheathing⁵. It was presumably in connexion with the cult of Zeus *Olympios* that Antiochos Epiphanes held games



Fig. 995.

Cat. Coins iii. 48 no. 50, E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. xciv f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 762 f. The head is usually described as laureate.

¹ *Iust.* 39. 2. 5.

² *Montagu Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 92 no. 716 pl. 9 = my fig. 995.

³ E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. cxlix f.

⁴ *Iust.* 39. 2. 6, *Diod. excerpta de virt. et vit.* 35 p. 145, 42 ff. *Dindorf.*

⁵ *Clem. Al. prototr.* 4. 52. 3 p. 40, 22 ff. *Stählin* 'Antiochos δὲ ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἀπορούμενος χρημάτων τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἀγαλμα τὸ χρυσοῦν, πεντεκαίδεκα πηχῶν τὸ μέγεθος ὄν, προσέταξε χωρεῖσαι καὶ (J. Markland cj. κάκ) τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἀτιμοτέρας ὕλης ἀγαλμα παραπλήσιον ἐκείνῳ πετάλοις κεχρυσωμένον ἀναθεῖναι πάλιν. Cp. *Arnob. adv. nat.* 6. 21 Antiochum Cyzicenum ferunt decem (F. Orsini cj. *quindecim*) cubitorum Iovem ex delubro aureum sustulisse et ex aere bracteolis substituisse fucatum.

of unusual significance at Daphne¹, not to mention the high jinks² which earned him the *sobriquet* of *Epimánés*. Antiochos Grypos followed suit³. And in later times the Olympic contests of Daphne obtained a wide celebrity⁴. Diocletian is said to have built a sanctuary of Zeus *Olympios* in the *Stádion* at Daphne—a statement of uncertain value⁵. Meantime in Antiocheia itself Commodus had built a temple of Zeus *Olympios* with an adjoining portico known as the *Xystón*⁶. Didius Iulianus had added a *Pléthron*⁷, which was later doubled in size by Argyrios and Phasganios⁸, and still further enlarged by Proklos⁹. The whole complex of buildings was evidently modelled on its counterpart at Elis and was meant to accommodate athletes preparing for the Olympia, which were actually held at Daphne. At Daphne too there was a temple of Zeus *Sotér*, built to commemorate a crisis in the history of the city. For at dawn on Apellaios, *i.e.* December, 13 in the year 115 Antiocheia was shaken by a great earthquake with most disastrous results. The survivors founded this temple and inscribed upon it the words:

‘The saved set up (this edifice) for Zeus the Saviour¹⁰.’

The earthquake was preceded by many thunderbolts and unusual winds¹¹; and so severe was it that the tops of Mount Kasion were broken off and threatened destruction to the town below¹². Finally, there was the ancient cult of Zeus

¹ Polyb. 31 *ap.* Athen. 194 C—195 F and 439 B—D.

² *E.g.* Polyb. 31 *ap.* Athen. 195 F (= 439 D) ὑπὸ τῶν μίμων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰσεφέρειτο ὄλος κεκαλυμμένος καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐτίθετο, ὡς εἰς ὧν δῆτα τῶν μίμων· καὶ τῆς συμφωνίας προκαλουμένης ἀναπηδήσας ὠρχεῖτο καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο μετὰ τῶν γελωτοποιῶν. Was this sheer foolery, or the take-off of some resurrection-rite?

³ Poseidonios of Apameia 28 *frag.* 31 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 263 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 210 D—E and 540 A—B.

⁴ Liban. *or.* 60. 6 f. (iv. 315, 5 ff. Foerster)=Io. Chrys. *de Babyla c. Iul.* 19 (ii. 568 A Montfaucon), Liban. *epist.* 763 Wolf, Io. Malal. *chron.* 9 p. 224 f. Dindorf (see P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 290 f.), 12 pp. 289 f., 307 Dindorf, 16 p. 396 Dindorf. Cp. Liban. *or.* 10. 30 (i. 2. 409, 15 ff. Foerster).

⁵ Io. Malal. *chron.* 12 p. 307 Dindorf ἐκτίσσε δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σταδίῳ Δάφνης ἱερὸν Ὀλυμπίου Διός, καὶ ἐν τῇ σφενδόνη τοῦ αὐτοῦ σταδίου ἐκτίσεν ἱερὸν τῇ Νεμέσει. C. O. Müller *Antiquitates Antiochenae* Gottingae 1839 p. 62 f. thinks it far more likely that the temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος at Daphne was founded by Antiochos Epiphanes. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 59 dismisses the claims of Diocletian (‘wohl ohne allen Zweifel verkehrt’) and attributes to Antiochos Epiphanes merely a redecoration of the temple (‘nur eine neue Ausschmückung des Zeusheiligthums von Daphne, nicht dessen Gründung’). But is it certain that Malalas is referring to the big temple of Zeus? A small shrine in the *Stádion* would be appropriate enough.

⁶ Io. Malal. *chron.* 12 p. 283 Dindorf καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ τὴν κάτω τοῦ Ξυστοῦ ἐκτίσεν ἱερὸν τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Δί.

⁷ Io. Malal. *chron.* 12 p. 290 Dindorf Πλεθρίν.

⁸ Liban. *or.* 10. 9 ff. (i. 2. 403, 22 ff. Foerster).

⁹ Liban. *or.* 10. 1 ff. (i. 2. 401, 2 ff. Foerster).

¹⁰ Io. Malal. *chron.* 11 p. 275 Dindorf οἱ σωθέντες ἀνέστησαν Δί Σωτήρι. Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 916 quotes the dedication as οἱ ζήσαντες (ζητήσαντες cod. γ.) ἀνέστησαν θεῷ (ἐν θεῷ cod. γ. H. S. Reiner cj. ἀνεστήσαμεν) Σωτήρι, which amounts to much the same thing.

¹¹ Dion. Cass. 68. 24.

¹² Dion. Cass. 68. 25. See further Iuv. 6. 411, Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 13. 10, cp. *epit.* 13. 12, Oros. *hist. adv. pag.* 7. 12. 5, Euagrius *hist. eccl.* 2. 12, Synkell. *chron.* 348 A (i. 657 Dindorf), Euseb. *vers. Armen. in ann. Abr.* 2130 (= 116 A.D.), Hieron. *in Euseb. ann. Abr.* 2130 (= 116 A.D.), Zonar. 11. 22 (iii. 68 f. Dindorf).

Kásios on Mount Kasion, where Julian offered a belated hecatomb¹. The devotion of the Antiochenes to Zeus—a devotion grafted perhaps upon the *Ba'al*-worship of their predecessors—might further be inferred from their coin-types. Antiochos iv Epiphanes (175—164 B.C.) inaugurated a system of municipal coinage and struck coppers at 'Antiocheia near Daphne,' which had as reverse design Zeus wrapped in a *himátion* with a wreath in his outstretched hand (fig. 996)²—sign and symbol of the Olympic sports that he held at Daphne³. Alexandros i Bala (150—145 B.C.), who claimed to be the son of Antiochos iv, repeated his father's type of a wreath-bearing Zeus⁴. Other Seleucid kings in all probability issued coins with Zeus-types at Antiocheia, e.g. Demetrios ii



Fig. 996.



Fig. 997.



Nikator in his first reign (146—140 B.C.)⁵ and Antiochos viii Grypos (121—96 B.C.)⁶. Passing from the regal to the autonomous coinage of the town, we have coins struck for the *tetrápolis*⁷ of Antiocheia by Daphne, Seleukeia in Pieria, Apameia, and Laodikeia (149—147 B.C.) with a head of Zeus as obverse and a thunderbolt as reverse type⁸, or with two Zeus-like heads—probably meant for the *Demoi* of Antiocheia and Seleukeia—as obverse and Zeus enthroned, Nike in one hand, a sceptre in the other, as reverse type (fig. 997)⁹. The autonomous issues of 'the metropolis of the Antiochenes' (s. i B.C.) show the head of Zeus wearing bays and Zeus enthroned as before but enclosed in a

¹ *Supra* p. 981 n. 1.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 40 pl. 13, 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 50 f. pl. 66, 20, E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. 79 pl. 14, 6 (= my fig. 996), *Head Hist. num.*² p. 763.

³ *Supra* p. 1188 ff.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 56 pl. 17, 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 66 no. 65 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 765 f.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 61 no. 29 obv. head of Zeus to right, laureate; rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ, with M N in exergue, Apollon seated on the *omphalos*, holding arrow and bow.

⁶ *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 100 pl. 69, 20 obv. Head of Antiochos viii to right, diademed; rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, with Φ and A , Zeus enthroned to left, holding Nike with a wreath on his right hand and a long sceptre in his left.

⁷ Strab. 749.

⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 151 no. 1, p. 152 pl. 18, 7, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 142 nos. 2—4, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 778.

⁹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 152 pl. 18, 6 (= my fig. 997), cp. pl. 18, 8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 141 no. 1, cp. p. 142 no. 8, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 778. G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 141, followed by B. V. *Head loc. cit.*, supposes that the mint was Seleukeia, not Antiocheia. The usual interpretation of the two bearded heads is borne out by the reverse legend ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ.

large bay-wreath (fig. 998)¹. In imperial times the head of Zeus sometimes occupies the obverse (fig. 999)², while his eagle in one guise or another very commonly fills the reverse³. We see the great bird grasping a thunderbolt⁴, or holding a wreath in his beak and a bay-branch in his talons⁵, or gripping a *caduceus* with his jaws and a palm-branch with his right claw as he rests



Fig. 998.



Fig. 999.



Fig. 1000.



Fig. 1001.



Fig. 1002.



Fig. 1003.

on a garlanded altar (fig. 1000)⁶, or again perched with wreath in beak on the thigh of an animal-victim (fig. 1001)⁷—altar and thigh alike recall the city's foundation-myth—⁸, or bestriding a bay-wreath with the three Charites in it (fig. 1002)⁹, or soaring beneath the imperial head (fig. 1003)¹⁰. Here and there

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 153 ff. pl. 18, 9, 11, 12, pl. 19, 1 (cp. my fig. 998 from a specimen of mine, which likewise shows Nike wreathing the city's title), *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 143 ff. pl. 71, 28, 30, 34, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 778.

² From a specimen in my collection. Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 162 f. pl. 19, 11 and pl. 20, 3. The reverse shows Boule (?), in *chiton* and *himation*, dropping a pebble into the voting-urn.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 158 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 148 ff., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 779 f.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 175 pl. 21, 9 Nero: ΕΤΟΥΣ ΒΙΡ·Ι (year 112 of the Caesarian era, reckoned from 49 B.C.: see B. Pick in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1887 xiv. 312 n. 3).

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 177 pl. 22, 2 Otho: ΕΤΟΥΣΑ (year 1 of the emperor's reign!).

⁶ *Ib.* p. 179 pl. 22, 5 Vespasian: ΕΤΟΥΣΝΕΟΝ ΙΕΡΟΝ Ε (new sacred year 5 = 73—74 A.D., reckoned from Sept. 2 to Sept. 1, the Syrian year of Augustus: see B. Pick *loc. cit.* p. 331 ff.).

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 192 pl. 23, 5 Marcus Aurelius: ΓΕΡΣΑΡΔΗ ΜΕΞΑΙ ΒΠΑ ΤΓ (=Γερμανικός Σαρματικός, δημαρχικής έξουσίας α', βασιτος γ').

⁸ *Supra* p. 1188.

⁹ *Ib.* p. 196 pl. 23, 11 Caracalla: ΔΗΜΑΡ Χ·ΕΞ·ΒΠΑ·Τ·Δ (=δημαρχικῆς έξουσίας, βασιτος τὸ δ').

¹⁰ *Ib.* p. 196 pl. 23, 12 Caracalla: ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕ ΕΝΠΑΤΟΚΤΟ Δ (=δημαρχικῆς έξουσίας, βασιτος τὸ δ'). See F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Zur griechischen Münzkunde' in the *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 1898 p. 45 f.

a little touch implies that the emperor, whose bust appears on the obverse, is posing as the very Zeus. Thus Nero¹, Domitian², and Nerva³ are all invested with the *aigis*. It is clear, then, that for centuries the inhabitants of Antiocheia had been familiar with the Hellenic Zeus and had known emperors who claimed to be his visible vicegerents.

On the other hand Maximinus ii, like Diocletian⁴ and Galerius⁵ before him,

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 175 pl. 21, 9: ΝΕΡΩΝΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕ-ΒΑΣΤΟΣ.

² *Ib.* p. 182 pl. 22, 8: ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣΑΡΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒΓΕΡΜ.

³ *Ib.* p. 183 pl. 22, 9: ΑΥΤΝΕΡΟΝΑΣ ΚΑΙΣΣΕΒ. On these coins of Domitian and Nerva the *aigis* is reduced to a mere fringe of snakes passing over the further shoulder. It is, however, there and ought to have been noticed in the British Museum catalogue.

⁴ Eumenius *panegy. Constantio Caesari* 4, *pro restaur. schol.* 10, 16, Lact. *de mortibus persecut.* 52, Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 39. 18, 39-33, 40. 1, 40. 8, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 621 Rome (= *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 254 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1047) Genio Iovii Aug., | Iovia porticus eius a fundamentis absoluta | excultaque, | etc., no. 623 Sirmium (= *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3231 = Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5560a = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 1059) I. O. M. et | G. h. l. (= Genio huius loci) pro | salute dd. | nn. Iovio | et Herculo Augg. nn. (= dominorum nostrorum, Iovio et Herculo Augustis nostris), no. 634 Thessalonike Herculi Augusto | Iovius (the words *et Herculus* have been erased) Augg. (e) | Herculus et Iovius nobb. Caess., no. 8930 Alexandria (S. de Ricci in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1908 p. 793) Iovi Auguste, vincas, cp. no. 659 Carnuntum (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* iii no. 4413 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1051) D. S. I. M. (= Deo Soli Invicto Mithrae), | fautori imperii sui, | Iovii et Herculli | religiosissimi Augusti et Caesares | sacrarium restituerunt.

A gold medallion of Diocletian and Maximianus, formerly in the Cabinet de France, had rev. IOVIO ET HERCVLIO The two emperors pouring a libation over a tripod: in the field above, nude statues of Iupiter, with thunderbolt, and Hercules, with club, set on a garlanded altar. In exergue S M V R or S M T (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 917 f., 932, Suppl. iii. 162, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vi. 480 no. 7, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 487, Gnecci *Medagl. Rom.* i. 12 no. 3). A bronze medallion of Diocletian, at Paris, has obv. IOVIO DIOCLETIANO AVG Half-length bust of Diocletian, with bay-wreath, sceptre, and *himition* only—in imitation of Iupiter (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 917, Suppl. iii. 162, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 256 f. fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vi. 429 f. no. 142 fig., Gnecci *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 124 no. 3 pl. 124, 1, cp. ii. 124 no. 4). A smaller bronze medallion, in the Vatican, has obv. IOVI DIOCLETIANO AVG A similar bust of Diocletian, with radiate crown (*id. ib.* iii. 78 no. 40 pl. 158, 11): this medallion, if IOVI is not a mere blunder for IOVIO, baldly identifies the god with the emperor. Another at Paris has rev. IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG A hexastyle temple, with wreath in pediment and architrave inscribed IOVIVS AVG, containing emperor as Iupiter enthroned with thunderbolt and sceptre (Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 255, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vi. 443 no. 275 fig., Gnecci *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 124 no. 7 pl. 124, 3 corroded and retouched, cp. *id. ib.* ii. 124 no. 8 at Florence): similar medallions at Paris, struck by Maximianus, repeat the reverse type, but show the emperor as Iupiter standing with thunderbolt, sceptre, and eagle (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 931 f., Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 255 fig., Gnecci *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 128 nos. 6 f. pl. 126, 6 and 7). A gold piece, formerly in the Cabinet de France, had rev. PRIMI XX IOVI AVGVSTI Iupiter seated, with thunderbolt and sceptre. In exergue TR (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vi. 458 no. 393 with n. 1 'IOVI est sans doute mis pour IOVII, et encore dans ce cas la légende n'est-elle pas trop compréhensible').

The title *Iovius* was, no doubt, suggested by the name *Diocletianus*, the origin of which is uncertain. W. Ramsay in Smith *Dict. Biogr. Myth.* i. 1011 says of Diocletian:

or Licinius¹ and Licinius Iunior² after him, had assumed the title *Iovius*³—

'From his mother, Doclea, or Dioclea, who received her designation from the village where she dwelt, he inherited the appellation of *Docles* or *Diocles*, which, after his assumption of the purple, was Latinized and expanded into the more majestic and sonorous Diocletianus' [Aur. Vict. *epit.* 39. 1]. But T. Mommsen in the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii. 283 argues that the home of Diocletian was Salona, not Doclea. And Patsch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1251 notes that Doclea came to be called Dioclea (Aur. Vict. *epit.* 39. 1), *Διόκλεια* (Constantinus Porphyrogenitus *de administrando imperio* 29 (iii. 126 Bekker)), *Διόκλεια* (*id. ib.* 35 (iii. 162 Bekker)) in consequence of the conjecture that Diocletian was born there.

⁵ *Chronicon Paschale* (i. 512 Dindorf) 275 B *Μαξιμιανὸς Ἰόβιος ἐπιφανέστατος Καίσαρ*, 275 C *Μαξιμιανοῦ Ἰοβίου Καίσαρος*, 275 D *Μαξιμιανοῦ Ἰοβίου bis*, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 634 cited *supra* p. 1194 n. 4, no. 658 Aquincum (= *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3522) pro salute dd. | nn. | [M]aximiano | Iovo invic. | Aug. et Maximino | Caes. (=dominorum nostrorum Maximiani Iovii invicti Augusti et Maximini Caesaris) | Iulius Valeria[n]us et Aurel. Maxim[us] ddvv. col. | Aq. (=duoviri coloniae Aquinci), cp. no. 659 cited *supra* p. 1194 n. 4, no. 661 Solva near Leibnitz in Stiria (= *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 5325) divo | Iovio | Maximiano | ordo Sol., no. 8931 Alexandria (S. de Ricci in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et belles-lettres* 1909 p. 146) Iovi Caes[ar], vincas.

¹ Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 676 Canusium (= *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix no. 6026) d. n. Iovio Licinio invicto semper Aug.

Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 932, Suppl. iii. 163, cites from A. Banduri *Numismata imperatorum a Trajano Decio ad Palaeologos Augustos* Lutetiae Parisiorum 1718 ii. 195 and other sources a coin showing the head of Licinius with the legend IOVIVS LICINIVS AVG. On this Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² viii. 67 remarks: '*Iovius*. Hujus appellationis auctor Diocletianus, quam is transmisit in Gal. Maximianum, hic in Maximinum, mox Licinium, scilicet lege adoptionis, Licinius denique in filium. Haec confirmata numis vidimus, tum iis, quae supra de hereditariis his nominibus in numis Constantii Chlorig exposui. Atque hujus cum Iove cognationis causa tot Licinius numos cum ejus dei effigie feriri jussit, quot ante eum nemo, neque ingratus is adversus nepotem fuit. Nam ut Hercules olim filio Maximiano leoninum capitis integumentum, ita Iuppiter Licinio fulmen impertivit, quod ille, ut in antica nonnullorum ejus numorum videre est [*ib.* p. 64], manu terrificam vibrat, sed cujus aciem Constantinus Enceladus apud Hadrianopolin obtundet.' Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vii. 198 f. nos. 98—100 with fig. gives examples, in small bronze and in bad billon or potin, of the type described by Eckhel.

I add a few specimens from my collection which illustrate the relation of Licinius (figs. 1004—1006) and Licinius Iunior (fig. 1007) to Iupiter *Conservator*. It is amusing to see the thunderbolt in the hand of the emperor (figs. 1004, 1005) replaced by a mere *mapra* (figs. 1006, 1007).

² Copper coins struck by Licinius and his son have obv. DD. NN. IOVII LICINII INVICT. AVG. ET CAES. Laureate busts of the two Licinii supporting between them a figure of Fortuna (or Victoria, or a trophy); rev. I. O. M. ET FORT. CONSER. (or VICT. CONSER., or VIRTUTI) DD. NN. AVG. ET CAES. Iupiter and Fortuna (or Victoria, or a trophy). In exergue SMKA or SMKB or SMNA (or SMKA. SMKΓ or SMKΔ, or SMNTA or SMATE) (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 932, 1740, 1746, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vii. 210 f. nos. 1—3 with fig. of no. 2).

³ Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 9. 1 *bis* Ἰόβιος Μαξιμίνος Σεβαστὸς Σαβίνω, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 420, 22 ff. (=G. Deschamps and G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 101 ff. no. 22, 22 ff.) an inscription from the precinct of Zeus *Pandamaros* (*supra* i. 18 ff.) honouring a certain priest and priestess ἐφ' ὧν ἱερωμένων καὶ | ἡ θειώτης τοῦ δεσπότου | ἡμῶν, τοῦ ἀπῆρτήτου Σεβαστοῦ | Ἰοβίου Μαξιμίνου ἐν τῇ πα[τρ]ίδι | ἐπέλαμψεν καὶ τὰ ληστήρια | ἐξέκοψεν.

A bronze medallion of Maximinus, now at Paris, has obv. IOVIVS MAXIMINVS NOB CAES A bust of the emperor, laureate and armed, holding sceptre and *mapra* (Cohen

struck perhaps by the fact that, so far as names were concerned, *Iovius Maximinus* was a tolerable imitation of Jupiter *Optimus Maximus*. Theoteknos in importing the novel cult very probably designed to win the favour of his imperial master. *Quasi-Dionysiac* rites practised in the name of Zeus would be quite in the line of the profligate *Iovius*.

Alas for his calculations. A few pages further on Eusebios¹ tells us what happened:

'Theoteknos too was summoned by Justice, who had no intention of forgetting the harm he did to Christians. On the strength of the *xóanon*² that he had set up at Antiocheia he expected to take life easily, and was in fact already promoted by Maximinus to the post of governor. But Licinius had no sooner set foot in the city of the Antiochenes than he ordered all impostors to be brought in, and put the prophets and priests of the new-fangled *xóanon* to the torture, asking them how they came to play such a lying part. Hard pressed by the tortures, they could conceal the facts no longer, but explained that the whole mystery was a fraud contrived by the wily Theoteknos. Thereupon Licinius punished them all according to their deserts. He first condemned Theoteknos, and then the partners of his imposture, to death, after inflicting upon them the greatest possible torments.'

For all that, the cult of Zeus *Phlios* once started was not easily suppressed. Fifty years later Julian wintered at Antiocheia (362—363 A.D.) and, as we gather from his own *Misopogon*, was diligent in visiting the temple of Zeus *Phlios*³.



Fig. 1004.



Fig. 1005.



Fig. 1006.



Fig. 1007.

*Monn. emp. rom.*² vii. 155 no. 134 fig., *Gnechci Medagl. Rom.* ii. 132 no. 1 pl. 129, 5 roughly retouched). Another, with the same legend, had for obverse type the bare head of Maximinus (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 932, Suppl. iii. 163, *Cohen Monn. emp. rom.*² vii. 155 no. 135, *Gnechci Medagl. Rom.* ii. 132 no. 2). One of his coppers, struck at Antiocheia, ventures on a new title: rev. IOVIO PROPAGAT. ORBIS TERRARVM Maximinus, with bay-wreath and *toga*, stands holding Victoria on a globe: to the right is a burning altar; on either side of him, the letter A and a star; in the exergue, ANT (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vii. 153 no. 130 fig.).

¹ Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 11. 5 f.

² For the implications of this term see now an excellent paper by Miss F. M. Bennett 'A study of the word ΞOANON ' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 8—21.

³ Ioul. *misopog.* p. 446, 10 ff. Hertlein ἡ Σύρων ἦκει ρουμηνία, καὶ ὁ καῖσαρ αὐθις εἰς Φιλίου Διὸς· εἶτα ἡ πάγκοιτος εὐροτή, καὶ ὁ καῖσαρ εἰς τὸ τῆς Τύχης ἔρχεται τέμενος. ἐπισχῶν δὲ τὴν ἀποφράδα πάλιν εἰς Φιλίου Διὸς τὰς εὐχὰς ἀναλαμβάνει κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. καὶ τίς ἀνέξεται τοσαυτάκις εἰς ἱερὰ φοιτῶντος καίσαρος, ἐξὸν ἅπαξ ἡ δις ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, κ.τ.λ. Cp. Liban. *or.* 1. 122 (i. 1. 141, 19 ff. Foerster) ἦκε δὲ ποτε εἰς Διὸς Φιλίου θύσων κ.τ.λ.

Again, Libanios the Antiochene, when petitioning Theodosios to protect the pagan temples against the depredations of the Christian monks (384¹ A.D.), expressly notes that certain temples—those of Tyche, Zeus, Athena, and Dionysos—are still untouched².

Antiocheia was a city where Christians and pagans jostled each other in the street³; and it is possible that, as the former found their centre in the great Constantinian church, so the latter had a nucleus and rallying-point in the temple of Zeus *Phlios*. Indeed, between the two rival cults there was a certain superficial resemblance. On the one hand, Zeus *Phlios* was a god of love, who brought even enemies together⁴, encouraged love-feasts among the faithful here, and held out hopes of a celestial banquet hereafter⁵. If his initiations and purifications⁶ savoured somewhat of *Sabázios*, it must be remembered that the Hebrew Godhead was by successive pagan blunderers confused with Iupiter *Sabazius*, Bacchus, Liber *Pater*, and Dionysos⁷. On the other hand, the Christians themselves—as I shall hope to prove in a third volume—had not scrupled to employ the art-types of Zeus and Dionysos for the representation of Christ, and that on objects of the most solemn and sacred character.

The strongest support for this assertion, so far as Antiocheia was concerned, is to be derived from the famous chalice recently published by Dr G. A. Eisen. It appears that early in the year 1910 certain Arabs, who were digging a cellar or a well at *Antakieh* (Antiocheia), lit upon underground chambers partially choked with *débris*. In the *débris* were embedded various objects of value. In addition to the chalice of carved silver that is here in question, there was a second chalice of plain silver with inscriptions of the sixth or seventh century A.D.; there were also three silver book-covers decorated with saints and referable to the fourth or fifth century; and there was a large ceremonial cross inscribed on front and back, not to mention a sackful of crumbled silver fragments. A smaller cross, likewise of silver, supposed to be from the same find, passed into the possession of Monsieur W. Froehner. Since the spot where these objects were discovered was, according to local tradition, the site of an ancient cathedral⁸, it is clear that we have to do with a church-treasure

¹ Libanios ed. R. Foerster iii. 80 n. 3.

² Liban. *or.* 30. 51 (iii. 116, 1 ff. Foerster) *εἰπέ μοι, διὰ τί τὸ τῆς Τύχης τοῦτο σὼν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου; ἄρ' ὅτι βούλοισθ' ἂν αὐτὰ μένειν; οὐ, ἀλλ' ὅτι μηδεὶς τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὰ δέδωκεν ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν.*

³ The most careful and thorough-going monograph on Antiocheia in general is still C. O. Müller *Antiquitates Antiochenae* Gottingae 1839 pp. viii, 134 with map and pl. of coins etc. Other works of importance in particular directions are J. M. Neale *A History of the Holy Eastern Church. The Patriarchate of Antioch* London 1873 pp. lx, 229, R. Förster 'Antiochia am Orontes' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1897 xii. 103—149 with twelve figs. and pl. 6, *id.* 'Skulpturen von Antiocheia' *ib.* 1898 xiii. 177—191 with figs. and pl. 11, S. Krauss 'Antioche' in the *Revue des Études Juives* 1902 xlv. 27—49 (classical records largely supplemented from Rabbinic sources), K. Bauer *Antiochia in der ältesten Kirchengeschichte* Tübingen 1919 pp. 1—47, H. Dieckmann *Antiochien, ein Mittelpunkt urchristlicher Missionstätigkeit* Aachen 1920 pp. 1—56.

⁴ *Supra* p. 1176 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1161 ff.

⁶ *Supra* p. 1186.

⁷ *Supra* i. 234 n. 4.

⁸ Mr C. L. Woolley in *The Times Literary Supplement* for July 10, 1924 p. 436 tells a very different tale. He says of the chalice: 'I believe myself to be fully justified

buried either accidentally by earthquake or intentionally to escape some threatened danger. The treasure trove, at first divided among the finders and widely dispersed (two pieces were carried off to Mesopotamia), was recovered piecemeal by Messieurs S. and C. Kouchakji and forwarded to Monsieur G. Kouchakji in Paris. Here the principal chalice, coated with oxide to a thickness of several millimetres, was skilfully deoxidised by Monsieur A. André. He found the silver matrix already crystalline in texture and so brittle that he dared not rectify a compression of the cup caused by a blow received in ancient times¹. In 1914 the chalice, for safety's sake, was sent over to Messieurs H. and F. Kouchakji in New York, where since 1915 it has been exhaustively studied by Dr Eisen², formerly Curator of the California University Academy of Sciences.

The chalice stands 0·19^m in height and measured originally about 0·15^m in diameter. It consists of three parts—an inner bowl rudely hammered out of a

in stating that it was found in a small mound close to Ma'arit il Na'aman, a village situated south of Aleppo, on the Aleppo-Homs railway, about a hundred miles from Antioch. It was discovered, together with a silver cup or bowl and a silver crucifix, by a peasant, who sold it for £3 to a man in Ma'arit il Na'aman, who sold it for £70 to a group of three antiquity dealers at Aleppo.... I derive my information from the dealers concerned, who had no motive for telling me an untruth and were able to give me a very fair description of the object before any photographs of it had been published.'

This account is detailed and circumstantial. But, in reply to enquiries, Messrs Kouchakji have informed me by cable (Nov. 9, 1924) that they confirm Dr Eisen's statement. They say: 'Arabs found chalice in Antioch.... Woolley's information absolutely incorrect.'

¹ In 341 A.D., when the 'Golden' Basilica of Antioch, begun by Constantine the Great and finished by his son Constantius ii, was consecrated, the chalice must have been one of its most cherished possessions. Some twenty years later, in 362, Julian, uncle of Julian the Apostate, came to Antioch, closed the churches, and plundered their valuables (Io. Monach. Rhod. *vit. S. Artemii* 23 (xcvi. 1272 c—D Migne)). It is said that after a futile attempt to intimidate Theodoros, the 'guardian of the treasures' in the great church, he condemned him to torture and death, and that flinging the sacred vessels on the ground he treated them to the grossest indignities (Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 5. 8, Theodoret. *eccl. hist.* 3. 12, cp. Ruinart *acta prim. mart.*³ p. 588 ff.)—a story of very doubtful historicity (Seeck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 94). Dr Eisen, however, accepts the tale, and even suggests that the compression of the chalice may be the result of its sacrilegious mishandling by Julian. In that case the chalice must have been concealed again either during the invasion of Chosroes i, who in 538 burned Antioch but spared the Cathedral, or more probably during the conquests of Chosroes ii, who captured Syria in 611. The later date would account for the association of the chalice with the objects of early Byzantine art enumerated above.

² G. A. Eisen 'Preliminary Report on the Great Chalice of Antioch containing the Earliest Portraits of Christ and the Apostles' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 426—437 with pl. 19 and four figs., *id.* 'The Plate with seven Loaves and two Fishes on the Great Chalice of Antioch' *ib.* 1917 xxi. 77—79 with fig., *id.* 'The Date of the Great Chalice of Antioch' *ib.* 1917 xxi. 169—186 with five figs., *id.* 'Chalice of Antioch and Its Portraits of Christ, Apostles and Evangelists' in the *New Era Magazine* for January 1920 pp. 12—15 with four figs., *id.* 'Identification of Seated Figures on Great Chalice of Antioch' *ib.* for June and July 1920 pp. 414—417, 526—528 with six figs., *id.* *The Great Chalice of Antioch* New York 1923 pp. 1—194 with two diagrams and an atlas of sixty photogravures and etchings. The last-mentioned publication is a monograph *de luxe*, the plates of which include three whole-page photographs—life-size, enlarged, and larger still—of every figure on the chalice together with an attempted drawing of each head. The accompanying text is less satisfactory, being verbose, over-credulous, and disfigured by unnecessary slips. The book as a whole is obviously meant for wealthy art-lovers



a

The Chal



b

Antioch.

See page 1197 ff. with fig. 1008.

thick sheet of silver, the rim of which has been bent outwards over itself and left with uneven edge; an outer shell or container of carved open-work, for which the inner bowl now serves as a background; and a support, comprising knop and foot, turned on the lathe out of a solid block of silver. The inner bowl is wholly unadorned and was, when found, quite distinct and separable from the outer shell: the two have since been cemented together for fear of breakage. The base exhibits simple but good decorative work; the knop, surrounded by a wreath of lozenge-shaped leaves, parts lotus-petals above from lotus-petals below. The shell or container is carved *à jour* with an intricate design. Six vines with double stems rise from the ground-line and cover the whole available surface with a complicated growth of branches. Amid the profusion of tendrils, leaves, and grape-bunches many living creatures can be made out—doves and other birds, a couple of snails, a rabbit, a butterfly, a grasshopper, etc. Moreover, twelve spaces are reserved in the foliage for as many seated persons, arranged in two horizontal alternating rows. These twelve persons fall into two distinct groups, of which one occupies the front, the other the back of the chalice. On the obverse side (pl. xlvii, *a*) Christ appears as a beardless man, enthroned, with a lamb standing at his right hand. Above his head flies one of the birds, perhaps a dove¹. His right arm is extended²; his left, which is missing, may have held a roll³. Beneath his footstool an eagle with spread wings rests upon a basket of fruit⁴. And round him are ranged five of his followers, who turn towards him raising the right arm with a gesture of salutation. On the reverse side (pl. xlvii, *b*) Christ is represented as a boy, sitting on a round-backed throne, with his right hand held out and a roll in his left. He is again surrounded by five of his followers, who raise their arms as before. Most of the ten, if not all⁵, hold rather than scholars, and it is to be hoped that it will be followed at no distant date by a better documented students' edition.

I am indebted to Dr Eisen for sending me his three articles in the *New Era Magazine* (now out of print) and to Messrs Kouchakji Frères for presenting me, not only with a copy of the big monograph, but also with the special silver-prints from which pl. xlvii and fig. 1008 were made.

¹ G. A. Eisen *The Great Chalice of Antioch* p. 7: 'over his head soars the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove.'

² *Id. ib.* p. 7: 'at his right hand is a plate with loaves and fishes.' *Id. ib.* p. 27: 'The objects on the plate are: seven loaves of bread, two fishes, an oval object with minute spheres and a bunch of pointed leaves.' Dr Eisen gives an enlarged drawing (¶) of the plate in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 78 fig. 1. I confess that, on the photographs, it looks to me like an ordinary bunch of grapes, partly hidden by over-lying tendrils (the supposed fish) and partly resting on a round piece of background (the supposed plate) left to connect it with the sheep below. But I suspect that the artist originally intended to represent a bird's nest with eggs and later modified his design.

³ As on the reverse side of the chalice.

⁴ G. A. Eisen *The Great Chalice of Antioch* p. 7: 'a basket with bread.' *Id. ib.* p. 180: 'The Eagle, perched on one of the Baskets, can only symbolize the Roman Empire, now partaking of the Christian religion as administered by St. Peter and St. Paul.' I see nothing but a basket of fruit, such as might be expected in any vintage scene, and an eagle which is in relation to the figure above, not to the basket below.

⁵ Dr Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 180 f. fig. 4 and in *The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 31 ff., 41 describes the object in the left hand of no. 2 as possibly the handle of a sword and that in the left hand of no. 5 as resembling a bag or purse. Neither description is free from doubt, and it is more probable that in every case a roll was intended.

rolls in their hands. Two (nos. 12 and 9 on fig. 1008) show the right arm wound with phylactery-bands (?)¹. Finally, the upper part of the shell is encircled by a narrow strip of thin silver, to which are attached fifty-eight rosettes².

It should be noticed that the chalice, long after it was made, came to be gilded, and that at two different dates—at first with pale whitish gold, and later with deep reddish gold. The first gilding affected the whole outer surface of the shell; the second did not extend to its lower part, and was carried out in much thicker gold leaf. Both layers of gold are largely worn away by the fingering of reverent hands, especially in the case of persons and objects that would be deemed most sacred. There are no inscriptions on the chalice. But, between the first and second gildings, upon many of the chairs (perhaps upon all) were added poorly scratched *graffiti* representing a variety of emblems³, which—if they can be deciphered—may help to show how the seated figures were interpreted⁴ at some doubtful date before the final gilding.

¹ See Dr Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 182 ff. fig. 5 and *e contra* Prof. F. C. Burkitt in *The Cambridge Review* 1923—1924 xlv. 254 (long tight sleeves, not phylacteries).

² G. A. Eisen *The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 7, 19 f., 125 claims that the rosette above the hand of Christ on the obverse side of the chalice is in reality a six-pointed star, the Star of the Nativity.

³ Dr Eisen in the *New Era Magazine* for June 1920 p. 415 figures four of the *graffiti* from the chairs of nos. 2 (two crossed bars or keys), 6 (tree? or *ankh*? [amulet A. B. C.]), 7 (water jug), 9 (arch with circle [coin C. Renz] above it). The rest are less distinct and as yet undeciphered. See further *The Great Chalice of Antioch* p. 29 f.

⁴ In his initial publication of the chalice Dr Eisen held that its twelve figures portray Christ in older and younger form together with ten of his Apostles. He noted also the suggestion that they are the Baptist with the Lamb at his side, and Christ with ten Apostles. But the number ten was hard to justify; and careful study of the features of each portrait led to the conviction that figures 1 and 8 are related, that figures 2 and 5 possess much in common, and that the heads of figures 10 and 11 are quite different in formation from the rest. Satisfied that the two central figures 1 and 8 are indeed Christ as a man and Christ as a youth, Dr Eisen next observed that 2 closely resembles St Peter as portrayed in the Catacombs (J. Wilpert *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* Freiburg 1903 pl. 94) and in the Viale Manzoni Hypogeum at Rome (*Not. Scavi* 1920 p. 123 ff.)—an identification seemingly confirmed by the discovery on seat 2 of the *graffito* representing two crossed bars or keys. The identity of the other figures remained doubtful till it was remarked that no. 6, unlike the rest, has a band round his head but no side-lock of hair. This suggested a Greek as distinct from a Jew, and in that case he must necessarily be St Luke. But, if so, the figures are not all Apostles. Those grouped with St Luke may then be St Matthew (9), St Mark (7), and St John (10). At this point again *graffiti* were helpful. Tradition said that St Mark had been a water-carrier (Alexandros Monachos (s. vi A.D.) *laudatio S. Barnabae Apost.* i. 13 in the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1698 Junius ii. 440D λόγος γὰρ ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ γερόντων οὗτι ὁ τὸ κεράμιον βαστάζων τοῦ ὕδατος, ᾧ κατακοιουθῆσαι προσέταξεν ὁ Κύριος τοῖς μαθηταῖς, Μάρκος ἦν ὁ υἱὸς τῆς μακαρίας Μαρίας, Severus Bishop of El-Eschmounein in Upper Egypt *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* trans. B. T. A. Evetts Paris 1907 i. 1 p. 17 in the *Patrologia Orientalis* i. 139 'And he (sc. Mark) was among the servants who poured out the water which our Lord turned into wine, at the marriage of Cana in Galilee. And it was he who carried the jar of water into the house of Simon the Cyrenian, at the time of the sacramental Supper'); and on his chair is scratched a water-jar. St Matthew sat at the receipt of custom; his *graffito* is an archway with a circle above it, presumably the city-gate with a coin in evidence. St Luke, as a physician, has for his emblem an obvious



Fig. 1008.

To determine the date of the chalice is a task of primary importance. Sound criticism will rely, not on any *à priori* notions as to what the early Church could or could not have done, but on definite considerations of shape, *technique*, style, and subject.

Now the outer shell or container is essentially an ovoid bowl, without handles, supported on a round knob with a low and narrow foot-stand. A cup so constructed suffers from one obvious defect. It is top-heavy and would be easily upset. Such a shape could hardly have been popular for long together. Nor was it. Bronze coins of uncertain denomination struck by Simon Maccabaeus in 136/5 B.C. have for reverse type a closely similar chalice with knob, short stem, and small foot¹. But silver shekels and half-shekels dating from the First Revolt of the Jews in 66/7—70 A.D. have for obverse type a chalice with smaller knob, longer stem, and broader foot². Coins of the Second Revolt in 132—135 A.D. substitute either a one-handed jug³ or a two-handed *amphora*⁴, and do not enable us to trace further the evolution of the chalice. But this at least is clear, that on Palestinian soil the old top-heavy chalice was passing out of use as early as 66 A.D. Elsewhere too the same holds good. Two silver cups of similar shape belonging to the Pierpont Morgan collection, exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, are justly regarded as excellent samples of Hellenistic work⁵. And silver cups of a like pattern depicted in frescoes from Herculaneum⁶

amulet. Again, if 10 is St John, the other beardless figure (11) must be his brother, St James the son of Zebedee. Moreover, St Peter (2) would naturally be balanced by St Paul (3). And the resemblance of the older man 5 to figure 2 suggested St Peter's brother, St Andrew. Lastly, it was surmised that figures 12 and 4, seated respectively on the right and left hand of Christ are St James the Lord's brother and St Jude, his nearest relatives on earth. It is claimed that figure 12 alone is clad in linen, which would suit the tradition that St James despised woollen clothes even in winter and habitually wore thin linen garments (Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 2. 23. 6 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐρεοῦν ἐφόρει ἀλλὰ συνδῶνας). These are the main arguments advanced by Dr Eisen, whose proposed identifications may be conveniently shown in tabular form :

Front	{	(12) James the Brother of the Lord	(1) CHRIST as Man	(4) Jude	(6) Luke	(8) CHRIST as Boy	(10) John	}	Back
		(2) Peter	(3) Paul	(5) Andrew	(7) Mark	(9) Matthew	(11) James the Son of Zebedee		

Dr G. H. Rendall in a letter to me (Feb. 16, 1924) very pertinently suggests that 5 may be, not St Andrew, but St Barnabas, whose association with Antioch was most intimate. Accepting the attribution of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* to St Barnabas, Dr Rendall points out that we should thus have represented on the chalice the whole canon of the New Testament [*plus* James, son of Zebedee]. His shrewd conjecture of course postulates a date at which the canon was complete. But I see no difficulty in supposing that, at the time when the *graffiti* were added, those who added them believed the ten seated figures to include portraits of all the New-Testament writers.

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine* p. 185 ff. pl. 20, 11—14.

² *Ib.* p. 269 ff. pl. 30, 1—9.

³ *Ib.* p. 288 ff. pl. 33, 5 f., 9 f., 14 f., pl. 34, 4—10, 20.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 303 f. pl. 35, 14, pl. 36, 1—3, p. 306 pl. 36, 10.

⁵ Miss G. M. A. Richter in *Art in America* 1918 vi. 171 ff. with pl., *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1918 xxii. 349 f. fig. 1.

⁶ *Antichità di Ercolano Napoli 1760* ii (Pitture ii) p. 287 (= Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* iv Peintures 3^e Série p. 219 pl. 115) preparations for a festival, including a silver jug, a silver cup, three wreaths, a palm-branch, etc., cp. *ib.* ii pp. 118, 157 a similar but deeper vessel, standing on a square plinth, with a couple of wreaths in it.

must be dated before the fatal year 79 A.D. Plate was naturally imitated in less costly materials ; and here again the evidence is in favour of an early date. Very similar to the chalice of Antioch, though without its knob, is a glass vessel in another painting from Herculaneum¹. Precisely parallel to the chalice in contour and proportions is a small glass cup from Syria, now in a private collection in New York : this, on account of its shallow spiral fluting, has been assigned to the first century A.D.² The main point is that after the first century the chalice-shape is entirely superseded. Dr Eisen is, so far as I know, justified in concluding : ' Not one single specimen of this form and with such proportions has been found of a date later than the first century A.D.'³

The *technique* of the chalice is compatible with the same early date. Knob, stem, and foot are chased in solid silver—a procedure somewhat uncommon, but known to occur in Graeco-Roman times⁴. The rest of the container is of carved open-work, the so-called *opus interrasile*, which is more than once mentioned by the elder Pliny and seems to have been fashionable at Rome in the seventies⁵. Dr Eisen supposes that this shell of open silver was from the first meant to cover the bowl of plain silver within it. But here I demur. Open-work was regularly used with an eye to colour-contrast, and no toreutic artist worthy of the name would have cased a silver bowl in a silver holder⁶. Dr Eisen further maintains that the inner bowl, which is of crude and unfinished appearance, was more ancient than the outer shell and, when that shell was made, must have been already regarded as a venerable relic, too sacred to alter or amend⁷. But many months ago Dr Minns suggested to me that very likely the inner bowl

¹ *Ib.* ii p. 111 a glass goblet full of eggs.

² G. A. Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 170 fig. 1, 1, 172, *id.* *The Great Chalice of Antioch* p. 143.

³ G. A. Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 171. Note, however, that Dr Eisen himself in the *New Era Magazine* 1920 p. 12 and in *The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 136, 180 has figured a pottery lamp from a fourth-century grave at Gezer, on which a very similar cup is seen flanked by a pair of doves. Dr Eisen holds that this is a pious representation of the Antiochene chalice with two dove-like souls gazing upon it! I see in it merely a traditional *motif*, which could, if necessary, be traced back to the days of Nestor. It might, I think, reasonably be urged that the old-fashioned cup has become stereotyped as a decorative detail and should not be taken to imply that cups of this pattern were still in common use. After all, heraldic shields do not portray the equipment of the modern soldier.

The force of the argument from shape is—I concede—to some extent lessened by the possibility that, for ritual purposes, an archaic form might be deliberately preferred. But are we really prepared to maintain that the chalice is the product of an archaizing art?

⁴ E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 801. A good example is the vase from Herculaneum, now at Naples, representing the apotheosis of Homer (J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* Series ii London 1826 p. 25 f. pl. 13, J. Overbeck *Pompeji*⁴ Leipzig 1884 p. 624 f. figs. *b, c*, *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 411 no. 25301 fig. 93).

⁵ Plin. *nat. hist.* 12. 94 *interrasili auro*, 33. 140 *interradimus alia*.

⁶ We can hardly escape from this improbability by urging that the silver holder was richly gilt and so provided the requisite contrast in colour. For even the first of its gildings appears to have been added when the chalice had been in use for years (*The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 17 f., 139).

⁷ He points out that in form it resembles the mysterious cup taken from Jerusalem by the Romans and figured, along with the holy vessels of Herod's temple, on the Arch of Titus at Rome (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 170 fig. 1, 4). Since Vespasian is said to have erected before the city-gate of Antioch the bronze Cherubim, which Titus his son had

was later, not earlier, than the shell. He argued that the inner bowl appropriate to the shell would be of glass; and this, when broken, might well have been replaced by a silver substitute of later and clumsier make¹. If so, the shell cannot be earlier than the introduction of open-work over glass. And when did that take place? We think first, no doubt, of the finest extant example, the silver-gilt *kántharos* found in 1871 in a tomb to the north of Tiflis and now preserved in the Hermitage at Petrograd². Here a vessel of dark violet glass was actually blown into shape within the holder and still bears in places the impress of the silver upon it. Stephani, who published this splendid cup—it is six inches high,—assigns it on account of its hunting-scene to a date c. 200 A.D.; and we note in passing that the rosettes round its rim recall those of the Antioch chalice. But other examples of the art are of much earlier date. To the period of Augustus or Tiberius belongs a *skýphos* of open-work lead formerly in the Slade collection and now in the British Museum³. This curious work, perhaps a goldsmith's model, has blown within it a cup of azure glass, which shows through oval openings in a band about its waist. Above are Bacchic scenes in relief with incised inscriptions⁴. Below is another relief of vine-tendrils and grape-bunches. The two handles also are decorated with masks. Earlier still may be placed the *skýphos* found in 1876 at Varpelev in Zealand and now in the Museum at Copenhagen⁵. It is a bowl of deep blue glass, the upper part of which is covered with a decorative design of vine-leaves, ivy-leaves, etc. in open-work silver. It was found with coins of Probus (276—282 A.D.), but is itself Greek work⁶ of the early

found in the temple of Solomon (Io. Malal. *chron.* 10 p. 260 f. Dindorf), it is just thinkable that this silver cup of special sanctity was presented on the same occasion to the Antiochenes. Dr Eisen, however, does not press the point (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 171 f.) and obviously inclines to a different and a more heroic hypothesis. With the fall of Jerusalem Antioch became the main centre of Christianity in the east. May not the inner bowl of the chalice have been brought thither from Jerusalem? May it not even have been the very vessel used in Apostolic times by the infant Church? Nay more, might it not conceivably have been the actual Cup of the Last Supper? No wonder that in the great Syrian capital, where the disciples were first called Christians, those who obtained possession of a relic so precious lavished all the resources of early imperial art upon its external embellishment.

¹ E. H. Minns in *The Cambridge Review* of Feb. 15, 1924 (xlv. 216). Sir Martin Conway in *The Burlington Magazine* for Sept. 1924 (xlv. 109) independently makes the same conjecture: 'I suggest,' he says, 'that this original was of coloured glass.' Mr F. Kouchakji in a letter to me (March 4, 1924) replies by anticipation: 'So far all the open-work over glass cups that have come down to us from antiquity are very small. None of them possessed a glass cup of the size of the inner cup. Then, if a fine glass cup had been broken, it would have been replaced by a finished cup and not by a crudely made one, never finished.'

² L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1872 p. 143 ff. Atlas pl. 2, 1 and 2 (in colours), E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 808 fig. 981, H. Blümmer *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig 1887 iv. 405 n. 1, A. Kisa *Das Glas im Altertume* Leipzig 1908 ii. 602 ff. with figs. 208, 208a.

³ Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 327 pl. 87, 1—4, A. Kisa *op. cit.* ii. 602 with figs. 335, 335 a, 335 b.

⁴ (a) DOMITILLAE | STATILIO CONIVGI, (b) SALVS | GEN · HVM. Below the foot is an inscription in relief: (c) · FM · AVG ~~XXX~~. Clearly (a) and (b) are later than (c).

⁵ C. Engelhardt in the *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1877 p. 354 with col. pl. 1, A. Kisa *op. cit.* ii. 604 f. with fig. 209.

⁶ Witness the wave-pattern round its rim, broken by the single word ΕΥΤΥΧΩC.

first century, or earlier¹. Kisa goes further and claims that already in Ptolemaic times craftsmen had begun to cover glass cups with gold and silver². How else are we to understand Athenaios' statement that 'two glass vessels of open-work gold' were carried in the pageant of Ptolemy ii Philadelphos³? After this it may be conceded that the *technique* of the Antioch chalice is no bar to accepting the first-century date suggested by its shape.

A third criterion may be sought in the style of the chalice-decoration. Mr T. Davies Pryce in a recent letter to me (Nov. 12, 1924) says: 'Apart from the Christian figures, the decorative elements are undoubtedly similar to those used by the first and second century *sigillata* potters.'⁴ The vines, though not so purely naturalistic as those of the Augustan age⁵, are as yet untouched by the incipient stylisation of the third century⁶ and show little, if any, trace of that formality which as time went on became more and more marked⁷ till it culminated in the Coptic art of the sixth century⁸. Mr W. A. Watkins draws my attention (Nov. 15, 1924) to the fact that the vines on the chalice resemble, on the one hand, the vine in the Catacomb of Domitilla, which likewise springs from the ground with a double stem and has birds and Cupids among its

¹ A. Kisa *op. cit.* ii, 604 notes that its handles, inlaid with gold, resemble those of Alexandrine silver cups found *e.g.* at Bosco Reale.

² *Id. ib.* ii, 600.

³ Kallixenos of Rhodes *περὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii, 62 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 199 F ἄλλα διαχρυσά ὄνο.

⁴ Mr Pryce's arguments include the following: (a) The vine-scroll is comparable with that on a sherd from Wroxeter dated 90—110 or 120 A.D. (J. P. Bushe-Fox *Excavations on the Site of the Roman Town at Wroxeter Shropshire, in 1912 (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London No. 1)* Oxford 1913 p. 38 f. no. 23 fig. 12). (b) The eagle with outspread wings and head turned to right or left was a common stock-type with the potters of *s. i* and *ii* A.D. (F. Oswald—T. Davies Pryce *An Introduction to the study of Terra Sigillata* London 1920 pls. 6, 4; 7, 2; 9, 4). (c) The rabbit eating grapes appears in the period Domitian—Trajan (*eid. ib.* pl. 19, 5). (d) The basket with outspread rim and externally concave sides occurs often on pottery of 100—150 A.D. (*eid. ib.* pl. 17, 4 in a vintage scene with birds, J. Déchelette *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule Romaine* Paris 1904 ii, 154 f. types 1082 and 1087). (e) The repeated rosette frequently forms an upper bordering in Italian *sigillata* designs and is sometimes copied by the later or first-century Gaulish *sigillata* potters.

⁵ A silver bowl of this period, formerly in the Blacas collection and now in the British Museum, is covered with exquisitely natural vine-leaves and tendrils in gilded *repoussé*-work (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Silver Plate* p. 22 no. 82 pl. 11).

⁶ A circular mirror of about *s. iii* A.D., found in a woman's grave near Sofia and now in the British Museum, has a frame of silver-gilt bronze with a somewhat schematised vine-scroll and peacocks worked *à jour* on a backing of wood (*ib.* p. 28 no. 106 pl. 15).

⁷ *E.g.* L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1909 ii figs. 45 (*sarcophagus* in the Lateran Museum at Rome), 46 (*sarcophagus* in San Lorenzo at Rome), 74 (ivory throne at Ravenna)=R. Garrucci *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1881 v pl. 302, 2f., v pl. 306, 1—4, vi pl. 414 f.

⁸ Sir Martin Conway in *The Burlington Magazine* for Sept. 1924 (xlv, 106 ff.) compares the chalice with the sculptured semidome of a Coptic niche now in the Cairo Museum (*s. vi*), with the back and front of a carved ivory fragment in the same collection (*s. v—vi*), with a panel of the ivory throne at Ravenna (*c.* 550 A.D.), etc. Accordingly he would date the chalice *c.* 550 A.D. (*ib.* p. 110). But on all the monuments cited by him the vines are far advanced in stylisation.

branches¹, on the other hand, the vine-scroll in the Catacomb of Praetextatus, where again birds are seen among the vine-leaves². The cemetery of Domitilla on the Via Ardeatina is believed to go back to Apostolic times³, while that of Praetextatus on the Via Appia is referred to the second century⁴. The two representations of Christ as a young man and as a boy are imperfectly preserved, but appear to be idealistic rather than realistic figures. The head of the latter at any rate is, as Dr Eisen duly notes⁵, reminiscent of a well-known Scopac type. The other seated persons are at least to some extent individualised⁶ and were almost certainly interpreted as portraits at the time when the *graffiti* were added. We know so little at present about the history of Greek portrait-sculpture in the east during the first few centuries of the Christian era that it is peculiarly difficult to date a given work, especially when executed on a small scale⁶. But if we might assume (a somewhat doubtful assumption) that the development of later Greek portraiture followed the same lines as that of Roman portraiture, we should have little hesitation in referring these life-like but not over-realistic heads to the Flavian period (69—96 A.D.). The preceding Augustan and Julio-Claudian art (31 B.C.—68 A.D.), had been more idealistic and aristocratic. Trajanic portraits (98—117 A.D.), though still life-like, are harder and less sympathetic. In the Hadrianic age (117—138 A.D.) we get a marked loss of individualism owing to the revival of old Hellenic ideals. Antonine and Aurelian carving (138—180 A.D.) is pictorial in effect: loose locks contrast with polished faces and there is a glint of light on plastic eyes. Realism returns with the third century, but is accompanied by various tell-tale innovations, e.g. very short hair shown by pick-marks on a roughened surface. Had the work been later than this, we should have looked to find standing figures frontally arranged with formal hair and eyes monotonously drilled. On the whole it may be contended that the style of the seated persons suits best the end of the first or, possibly, the beginning of the second century A.D. But, I repeat, the scarceness of strictly comparable work and above all the smallness of the scale—each head is only three-eighths of an inch in height—make certainty unattainable.

It remains to speak of the subject represented on the chalice. The nearest parallels were pointed out by Prof. F. C. Burkitt⁷ and Sir Martin Conway⁸, who both aptly cite a gilded glass or *fondo d'oro* published by Garrucci (fig. 1009)⁹.

¹ G. B. de Rossi *Roma sotterranea* edd.¹ J. S. Northcote—W. R. Brownlow London 1869 p. 73 with fig. 10 (ed.² 1879 ii. 120 ff. fig. 26), R. Garrucci *op. cit.* Prato 1881 ii. 23 pl. 19, 1. The vine spreads over the vaulted roof in the oldest portion of the catacomb.

² G. B. de Rossi *op. cit.* ed.¹ p. 78 with fig. 12 (ed.² ii. 148 ff. fig. 37), R. Garrucci *op. cit.* ii. 43 f. pl. 37, 1. The vine occupies the third (autumnal) zone of decoration on the Crypt of St Januarius, who was martyred in 162 A.D.

³ W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 p. 65 f., C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 127.

⁴ C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* p. 127 f.

⁵ G. A. Eisen in the *New Era Magazine* for June 1920 p. 416, *id.* *The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 63 ff., 74.

⁶ Whether this individualisation was in any degree due to tooling or retouching of the original figures before the first gilding of the shell is a point that calls for careful investigation.

⁷ In *The Cambridge Review* 1923—1924 xlv. 253 f.

⁸ In *The Burlington Magazine* for Sept. 1924 (xlv. 109).

⁹ R. Garrucci *Vetri ornati di figure in oro trovati nei cimiteri dei cristiani primitivi di Roma* Roma 1858 p. 40 f. pl. 18, 4 (not 3, as both Prof. Burkitt and Sir M. Conway cite

This shows a youthful Christ (CRISTVS) seated with a group of eight or more¹ Saints to right and left of him. As on the chalice, they occupy high chairs with a rounded back, most of them holding rolls, two extending their right hands. The highest pair is inscribed PETRVS and [PA]V[LVS]. The lowest four are TIMOTEVS, SVSTVS, SIMON, FLORVS—Roman Christians of the third or fourth century². The glass itself is assigned to the age of Pope Damasus (366—384 A.D.)³.



Fig. 1009.

But the makers of these gilded glasses often gave new names to old designs, and Prof. Burkitt⁴ rightly traces the type back to a ceiling in the Catacomb of Petrus and Marcellinus. J. Wilpert holds that the ceiling in question dates from the middle of s. iii and depicts the Judgment with the Saints as assessors⁵.

It is clear that we have here one element in the design of the Antioch chalice. But that is not all. Prof. Burkitt⁶ very justly observes that the left arm of the it), *id. Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1881 iii. 159 f. pl. 187, 4 (more complete)=my fig. 1009, C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 623 fig. 253, 7. On the vestments lettered **I** and **J** see Garrucci *Storia* iii. 160.

¹ Originally, perhaps, ten: the glass is broken away to right and left.

² Timotheus was martyred in 301 (?), Sustus *i.e.* Xystus (Sixtus ii) in 258 A.D.

³ H. Vopel *Die altchristlichen Goldgläser* Freiburg i. B. 1899 p. 58.

⁴ Cp. Vopel *op. cit.* p. 58 n. 1.

⁵ J. Wilpert *Ein Cyclus christologischer Gemälde aus der Katakomben der heiligen Petrus und Marcellinus* Freiburg im Breisgau 1891 p. 17 pl. 1—2, 1, pl. 3—4, 1

⁶ In *The Cambridge Review* 1923—1924 xlv. 254.

Christ above the eagle (no. 1) and much of the adjoining space are due (*vide* the key-plan) to a restoration by Monsieur André. He suggests that the disturbing blank was originally filled with a second lamb, the figure being conceived as that of the Good Shepherd. And, if it be objected that the Good Shepherd should be standing not seated, the unusual position is defended by a fifth-century mosaic in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna¹. It might have been defended by a second-century painting in the cemetery of Callistus at Rome, which shows Christ seated, lyre in hand, between two sheep—the type of the Good Shepherd being definitely influenced by that of Orpheus². I incline therefore to think that Prof. Burkitt's acute divination of the original design is right and that Christ was represented on the chalice in the Orphic or seated type of the Good Shepherd with a sheep on either hand³. In this connexion it is interesting to recall that Tertullian, writing between 217 and 222 A.D., mentions chalices of the anti-Montanist party as decorated with representations of the Good Shepherd⁴. It is possible that he had in view cheap imitations of such a masterpiece as the chalice of Antioch.

The combination of the Judge and the Shepherd accounts for much, but not quite for everything. We have yet to explain the eagle beneath his feet. An eagle commonly suggests Zeus, and not least at Antioch where his cult was so familiar⁵. But what exactly is the link between the Shepherd-Judge and Zeus? It is, I think, to be found in the conception of the Divine Ruler, which would easily attach itself either to the figure of the Judge on his judgment-seat or to the seated type of the Shepherd⁶. Dr Eisen⁷ remarks that the central figure

¹ R. Garrucci *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1881 iv. 41 pl. 233, 2, W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 p. 330 f. fig. 141, C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 456.

² G. B. de Rossi *Roma sotterranea* edd. J. S. Northcote—W. R. Brownlow London 1869 p. 373 col. pl. 11, 2 (ed.² 1879 i. 455, ii col. pl. 18, 2), R. Garrucci *op. cit.* ii. 10 pl. 4, 1, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1906 i. 245 f. fig., 1909 ii. 106, C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* p. 275 f. fig. 102.

It is a curious coincidence, if nothing more, that the Phoenician Ba'al-hammân is represented by a Cypriote terra cotta as sitting on a throne with a ram standing on either side of him (*supra* i. 354 pl. xxvi, 1).

³ Dr Eisen in a letter to Dr F. J. Foakes Jackson, of which a copy was sent to me by Messrs Kouchakji (March 15, 1924), says: 'An original photograph taken before the cleaning shows that there was no lamb on the other side, and that the design was probably one: branches, leaves, tendrils and bunches of grapes. There is a total absence of symmetry in any part of the Chalice design.' [!]

⁴ Tertull. *de pud.* 7 a parabolis licebit incipias, ubi est ovis perdita a domino requisita et humeris eius revecta. procedant ipsae picturae calicum vestrorum, si vel in illis perlucebit interpretatio pecudis illius, utrumne Christiano an ethnico peccatori de restitutione conlineet, *ib.* 10 sed cederem tibi, si scriptura Pastoris, quae sola moechos amat, divino instrumento meruisset incidi, si non ab omni concilio ecclesiarum etiam vestrarum inter apocrypha et falsa iudicaretur, adultera et ipsa et inde patrona sociorum, a qua et alias initiaris, cui ille, si forte, patrocinauit pastor quem in calice depingis, prostitutorem et ipsum Christiani sacramenti, merito et ebrietatis idolum et moechiae asylum post calicem subsecuturæ, de quo nihil libentius libas quam ovem paenitentiae secundae (cp. *ib.* 13).

⁵ *Supra* p. 1186 ff.

⁶ The seated Shepherd in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia 'is clothed in imperial purple' (W. Lowrie *op. cit.* p. 331).

⁷ G. A. Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 432, 434, *id. ib.* 1917 xxi. 172, 174 fig. 2, 10 ff., 179, *id. The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 31, 34, 143, 147, 179.

enthroned with a footstool bears a strong resemblance in costume, pose, and general effect to the figure of Augustus on a silver *skyphos* from Bosco Reale¹. He notes also that on this tureotic triumph, as on the chalice of Antioch, the central figure appears twice—once seated to receive the submission of the barbaric Germans, once enthroned amid the gods as master of the universe. I submit that the artist of the chalice has given to Christ the aspect and position of a divinised emperor². Now Roman emperors were often acclaimed by Greek adulation as Zeus incarnate³; and a bust of Zeus, referred to the first or second century A.D., is supported on an eagle with spread wings⁴. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the head of Caracalla on a coin of Antioch struck between 213 and 217 A.D. has a similar eagle beneath it⁵. In view of these facts it becomes a legitimate conjecture that the eagle beneath the seated Christ marks him as at once human and divine, the true claimant to the throne of Zeus⁶.

So, then, the Shepherd-Judge is also the Divine Ruler. And, if it be argued that this multiple *rôle* is not likely to go back to the first century, I should answer that it is already implied by a great passage in the Gospel⁷: 'But when the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all the nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats.'

It amounts to this. For the Christian artist—trained, it may be, in a pagan school—Christ has dispossessed all rivals and has taken his seat on the very throne of Zeus. But the chalice has a reverse as well as an obverse design, and we have still to ask Why this duplication of Christ in younger form? and Wherein lies the special appropriateness of the vine-symbolism? The problem, so put, suggests its own solution. The boyish figure seated on the divine throne

¹ A. Héron de Villefosse in the *Mon. Piot* 1899 v. 133 ff. pls. 31—33 = Reinach *Répl. Reliefs* i. 92 no. 2 f., 93 no. 1 f., 94 no. 1 f.

² For a later variation on the same theme see the well-known ivory *pyxids* at Berlin (R. Garrucci *op. cit.* vi. 60 pl. 440, 1, L. von Sybel *op. cit.* ii. 253 fig. 77, C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* pp. 366, 552 fig. 142), which likewise has Christ seated *en face* on a round-backed throne, with a roll in his hand and a footstool at his feet. He is flanked by two seated Apostles (St Peter and St Paul), who raise their hands in salutation. The other ten stand to right and left of him.

The position assigned to the two foremost Apostles suits their 'Dioscuric' character (*supra* p. 606). Zeus is supported by the Dioskouroi (*supra* i. 35 fig. 8, ii. 1230 tail-piece); Christ, by St Peter and St Paul (*supra* i. 51 fig. 24, ii. 1207 fig. 1009).

³ See *e.g.* the examples that I collected in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 308 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 951 n. o with fig. 844.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1193 fig. 1003. The head of Trajan on silver coins struck at Tyre is often supported by an eagle with closed wings (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 300 f. pl. 36, 1, 3—6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 268 f. pl. 77, 5). Some specimens, which have the same obverse type, but for reverse Tyche seated with the Orontes at her feet, are assigned doubtfully by G. F. Hill to Tyre (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* pp. cxxxvii f., 302 pl. 36, 9), by G. Macdonald to Antioch (*Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 163 f. pl. 72, 19).

⁶ I do not deny that the eagle here may have had a further significance. C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* p. 286 discusses its appearance in Christian art 'als...Symbol der Auferstehung...und zwar der in Christo gebotenen felix reparatio temporum (vgl. Ps. 103, 5) im Jenseits.'

⁷ Matthew 25. 31 f. Aischylos long since had made Agamemnon, his divine ruler, an *ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων* (*Ag.* 795).

in the midst of his trusty followers is, to those at least who have in mind the coinage of Lydia and Kilikia¹, reminiscent of the child Zeus or Dionysos seated on his throne with the Kouretes grouped about him; and the framework of grape-vines adds point to the analogy.

On the whole, piecing together the evidence of shape, *technique*, style, and subject, I conclude that the chalice of Antioch was made at some date not far removed from the year 100 A.D.²; that it was then adorned with figures of Christ sitting in Judgment with the Saints³, ten in number merely because ten was a typical plurality⁴; and that these assessors were later, by means of *graffiti*, identified with individual Apostles and canonical authors, including perhaps all the recognised writers of the New Testament⁵. Further, I hold that the decoration of the chalice, though essentially Christian, owes certain of its features to pagan antecedents, in particular to Anatolian representations of Zeus and Dionysos⁶. Here, as elsewhere, the art-types of the Greek Father and Son were both taken into the service of the conquering creed and alike used to portray the form of Him who said: 'I and the Father are one.'⁷

¹ *Supra* i. 152 f. figs. 125—128, i. 646 f.

² Prof. Strzygowski, after personal inspection of the chalice and prolonged study of its detail, refers it to the first century A.D. (J. Strzygowski 'Der "Silberkelch von Antiochia"' in the *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst* 1924 pp. 53—61 pl. 28 f., especially p. 61). But when he attributes the Berlin *pyxis* also to the first century (*ib.* p. 59), we part company.

³ *Supra* p. 1207.

⁴ M. H. Farbridge *Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism* London 1923 p. 140 ff. (citing E. W. Bullinger *Number in Scripture* Bromley 1894 p. 243).

⁵ *Supra* p. 1200 n. 4.

⁶ *Supra* p. 1209 f.

⁷ John 10. 30.

ADDENDA

ii. 2 n. 4. The painted marble tablet from Tarragona, though accepted as genuine by more than one archaeologist of repute (F. Ladelci in the *Atti dell' Accademia pontificia de' nuovi Lincei* 1885 xxxviii. 4. 122 ff. pl. 1, Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1899—1901 i. 36 ff. fig. 4, A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 209—211 fig. 41), has recently been denounced as a forgery by the eminent connoisseur of Iberian antiquities P. Paris 'Le faux sarcophage égyptien de Tarragone' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 146—157 with figs. 1—6. I have not myself seen the tablet; but Mr T. W. I. Bullock of Queens' College, Cambridge, who has kindly interviewed on my behalf J. R. Mélida y Alinari, director of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional at Madrid, and F. A. Ossorio, keeper of the Greek and Roman antiquities, reports (Sept. 21, 1923) that both these authorities regard, and always have regarded, the fragment as a mere fabrication.

ii. 7 n. 1. Add Eunap. *v. Aedesii* 37 (p. 20 Boissonade) τὸ τῶν ὀμηγητῶν ἄριστον πρὸς μυστηριώδη τινὰ σιωπῆν καὶ λεροφαντικὴν ἐχεμυθίαν ἐπιρρεπὲς ἦν καὶ συνεκέκλιτο.

ii. 31 n. 7. So also Loukian. *sonn.* 2 ὦ Ζεῦ τεράστιε, cp. Aristoph. *rax* 41 f. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὄπως | τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ τέρας οὐ Διὸς σκαταιβότου (*supra* p. 15 n. 1) and Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1885, 8 f. Διὸς δὲ τέρας ἀλληγορικῶς μὲν τὸ ἐξ ἀέρος· τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἦ, ὡς ἐρρήθη, δίχα νέφος βροντή. ἄλλως δὲ διὰ τὸ πᾶν τέρας ἀνάγεσθαι εἰς ἐκεῖνον, καθὰ καὶ πᾶσαν ὀμηγ'· διὸ καὶ πανομοφαίως ἐλέγετο Ζεὺς. See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 369.

ii. 32. The relief of Zeus Κραταβάρης is now figured by Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 219, 8 (=my fig. 1010).



Fig. 1010.

ii. 38 n. 5. Mr A. D. Nock points out to me (Oct. 4, 1921) that Paulin. Nolan. *carm.* 5. 37 ff. is transplanted from Auson. *ephem.* 3. 37 ff. See M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur München* 1904 iv. 1. 33, 238 f.

ii. 44. Platon's comparison of the Galaxy with 'the undergirders of triremes' perhaps rests on another folk-belief. W. Gundel *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* Bonn—Leipzig 1922 p. 46 says that the Milky Way is sometimes conceived as 'ein gewaltiges Seil.' This would explain, not only the Platonic cable, but also the yet more famous *σειρῆν χρυσεῖην* of *Il.* 8. 19 ff. A golden rope hung from heaven to earth may well have been a popular conception of the Galaxy. And, if Zeus bound it *περὶ βίον Οὐλύμποιο* (*ib.* 25), we recall that 'the stars came down at night on Olympus' (*supra* p. 905 n. 0).

ii. 44 n. 4. The late Mr H. G. Evelyn White kindly supplied me (Sept. 23, 1921) with a Coptic parallel to the Manichaean 'pillar of light.' It occurs in an apocalyptic Gospel from Dêr Abû Makâr in the Wady'n Natrûn (*New Texts from Dêr Abû Makâr* no. 3,

folio 117^{recto}): 'There shall be a pillar (στῦλος=στῦλος) of light, like unto silver, in Amenti (Hades): all mankind that is shall come to the place of judgment. But ye upon your thrones within the wall shall order the judgment. But the rest of the just—they who shall not be able to attain to the measure of the judgment—shall sit (*or* rest, remain) upon a pillar (στῦλος) of light, that they may behold them who do judgment and them who have judgment done upon them.' Mr Evelyn White further noted (Oct. 24, 1921), after Dr M. R. James, a 'great pillar' in the judgment-scene of *oracl. Sib.* 2. 238 ff. Geffcken ἡνίκα δ' ἀνοστήσῃ νέκρας μοῖραν καταλύσας | καὶ καθίσῃ Σαβαώθ 'Αδωναῖος ὑψικέρανος | ἐς θρόνον οὐράνιον [τε] μέγαν δέ τε κίονα πήξῃ, | ἥξει δ' ἐν νεφέλῃ πρὸς ἀφθιτον ἀφθιτος αὐτός | ἐν δόξῃ Χριστοῦς κ.τ.λ.

ii. 45 n. 1. After repeated inspection of the marble (in the spring of 1922) and examination of a good photograph I incline to think that the arch is intentional, that the pillar is topped by an *abacus*, and that the inscription should be read as $\Gamma\text{EY}\Sigma$.

ii. 50 ff. F. Haug 'Die Irminsül' in *Germania* 1918 ii. 68—72 contends that there was but one *Irminsül*, that of Eresburg, probably a huge oak-tree lopped of its boughs but still rooted in the ground, till it was destroyed by Charles the Great in 772 A.D. Haug makes light of Widukind's evidence for a second *Irminsül* at Scheidungen, and gives short shrift to the view of Müllenhoff and Mogk that there were several or even many such pillars. He regards the first element in the name as either adjectival ('mächtige, starke, erhabene Säule') or substantival ('für *Irmin(e)ssul*, d. h. Säule des Gottes oder Halbgottes Irmin').

ii. 50 n. 2. C. Petersen 'Zioter (Zeter) oder Tiodute (Jodute), der Gott des Kriegs und des Rechts bei den Deutschen' in *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte* 1866 vi. 223—342 must be read with caution.

ii. 51 n. 5. Mr B. Dickens has sent me the following notes in criticism (Oct. 8, 1920) of the view advocated by J. Grimm, K. Simrock, and others:—

'The evidence on which this view is based appears to be as follows:

(a) *Stephens, No. 5*, taken from Hicckes' edition of the A.S. Runic Poem, which glosses Ψ as both *ear* and *tir*: this poem was however derived from the burnt Cott. Otho B. 10, which seems to have had the characters but no names, the latter being added by Hicckes from

(b) *Stephens, No. 9*, taken from Cott. Dom. A. 9, the writer or copyist of which was an ignorant person who confused Ψ and \Uparrow as he had previously failed to distinguish between the names of \mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{M} .

(c) *Stephens, No. 10*, taken from St Gall, 4to, No. 270, p. 52; which gives the value and name of Ψ as *z* and *aer* respectively. This is a pretty faithful copy of the A.S. 28 letter futhorc only partially assimilated to the phonology of O.H.G.; e.g. β is still preserved, though its name has become *dorn*, and \Uparrow retains the name *ti* and the value *t*, though the name and value of \mathfrak{M} have become *tag* and *t*.

Later a more drastic attempt is made to harmonize the Latin alphabet, the English futhorc and the sounds of O.H.G. β disappears, though its name *born* in the form *dorn* is attached to \mathfrak{M} ; the A.S. name of \mathfrak{M} (*dæg*) is changed to *tac* and attached to \Uparrow , while Ψ , for which O.H.G. had no use in its proper value *ea*, is baptised *ziu*, which corresponds with A.S. *tiw* (found also in the alphabets as *ti* and *tir*).

However the equation of Bavarian *Er* and A.S. *ear* is etymologically unsound, and the association of Ψ with the god *Ziu* is quite fortuitous, for the following reasons:—

(1) The use of Ψ to represent the sound of *z* [ts] is by no means universal; cf. e.g. *Stephens Nos. 13* and *18* where varieties of the Latin *z* are used and *No. 20*, where the last letter of the Northumbrian futhorc \mathfrak{Z} (*gaar*) is similarly thrust into the gap.

(2) Ψ is a specifically English letter invented to represent the *zā* which arose from Gmc. *au*: it is not found in inscriptions outside the English area, and where it occurs in O.H.G. futhorcs and alphabets it is legitimate to assume that it has been borrowed from England.

(3) The sound *z* [z], which existed in the parent Gmc. and was represented by Ψ in the old futhark, disappeared both in English and German, though the letter kept its place in the series and was sometimes used in the later Runic alphabets to fill the vacant place of the Latin *x*. When, therefore, by the Fourth Sound-Shifting a new *z* [ts] developed

in O.H.G. it was necessary to find a fresh symbol. Now Υ was the last letter of the 28 letter English futhorc found, for instance, on the Thames scramasax [the characters for guttural c and g seem to have been confined to Northumbria]; moreover O.H.G. had no use for an ea character.

Put shortly, the association of the character Υ with the name of the god Ziu appears to be due to the following causes:

By a sound-change peculiar to O.H.G. (the Fourth Sound-Shifting) the dentals experienced a general shift round, $\beta > d > t > z$, the effect of which was the loss of β and the appearance of a new sound z [ts]. The disappearance of β was welcomed rather than otherwise, since it was an alien which could not be found a place in the Latin alphabet, but it was necessary to find a symbol for z . Υ happened not to be needed in its proper A.S. value of ea , and moreover to be the last letter of the non-Northumbrian futhorc. It was therefore taken over, but its original name ear discarded in order to avoid the confusion which would arise if the initial of the name of a letter were other than the letter itself. Naturally it inherited the name ziu which in its shifted form was no longer appropriate to its original possessor \uparrow .

ii. 57 n. 4. Recent articles on 'Jupiter-columns' are listed by W. Deonna in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1917 xxx. 348, *ib.* 1918 xxxi. 434. Add F. Hertlein 'Zu älteren Funden des Juppitergigantenkreises' in *Germania* 1917 i. 101—105 with 2 figs., *id.* 'Der Zusammenhang der Juppitergigantengruppen' *ib.* 1917 i. 136—143 with 9 figs. R. Forrer 'Zur Frage der Juppitergigantensäulen' in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1912 v. 60 f. questions Hertlein's Germanic interpretation of the columns on two grounds ((1) 'dass an vielen Orten, so z. B. in Zabern, die neben Juppitergigantenresten auf Inschriften gefundenen Personennamen nicht germanische sondern keltische sind'; (2) 'dass schon auf vorrömisch gallischen Münzen eine verwandte Darstellung Platz gegriffen hat').

ii. 86. On the group from *Luxeuil* see now É. Espérandieu in the *Rev. Arch.* 1917 i. 72—86 with two figs. (summarised in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1918 xxii. 220). Espérandieu argues that the rider was Jupiter with an astral wheel, that the horse should be restored in a rearing or galloping posture, and that the human head supporting its foot was part of a giant with snakey legs.

ii. 90. Mr C. D. Bicknell notes a second example—*British Museum: A Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain* London 1922 p. 20 f. fig. 10 'Half of a stone octagon, with reliefs in niches of the deities presiding over the days of the week, was found by Horsley in the mill at Chesterford, Essex, where it had been used by the local blacksmith as a water-trough for cooling his iron.'

ii. 90. The 'Jupiter-column' had a long history in front of it as well as behind it—witness the sacred pillars revered by thousands today in France and Spain. Miss J. E. Harrison 'The Pillar and the Maiden' in the *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 1907 v. 65—77 has drawn attention to the cult of La Vierge du Pilier at Chartres and to the multiplied pillar-shrines of her Cathedral (bibliography by U. Chevalier *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge* Montbéliard 1895 p. 661 ff.). Similarly at Zaragoza the Apostle James (Santiago) built a chapel on the spot where he had seen a vision of the Virgin poised on a pillar of jasper and attended by angels (A. F. Calvert *Valladolid, Oviedo, Segovia, Zamora, Avila, & Zaragoza* London 1908 p. 158 ff. with pls. 348 and 349 Our Lady del Pilar).

ii. 93 ff. The Column of Mayence continues to provoke discussion. To the bibliography (ii. 93 n. 3) add F. Quilling 'Zur grossen Jupitersäule von Mainz' in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1913 vi. 49—53, K. Körber *Die grosse Jupitersäule im Altertumsmuseum der Stadt Mainz* Mainz 1915 pp. 1—28 with 10 pls. and 9 figs. (reviewed by K. Wigand in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1915 viii. 47 f.), F. Drexel 'Zur Mainzer Jupitersäule' in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1915 viii. 67—69, F. Quilling 'Zur grossen Jupitersäule in Mainz' in *Germania* 1917 i. 43—45, *id.* *Die Jupiter-Säule des Samus und Severus* Leipzig 1918 pp. 1—236 with many figs. (reviewed by F. Drexel in *Germania* 1919 iii. 28—32, J. P. Waltzing in *Le Musée Belge* 1921 xxv. 221—226, cp. *Class. Rev.* 1922 xxxvi. 141), F. Quilling *Die Nerosäule des Samus und Severus* Leipzig 1919 pp. 1—32 with 2 figs. ('Nachtrag' to the 1918 volume by the same author), *id.* *Die Jupiter-Votivsäule der Mainzer Canabarii. Eine neue Erklärung ihres Bildschmuckes* Frankfurt 1919 pp. 1—16 with figs. and 2 pls. (reviewed by F. Drexel in *Germania* 1919 iii. 127 f.).

Of points made since my section on the subject (*supra* p. 93 ff.) was written the most important is the discovery by P. T. Kessler, assistant of the Mayence Museum, that two

drums of the column have hitherto been incorrectly placed. Kessler observed that in its first, fourth, and fifth drums the run-holes for lead ('Gussrinnen') were contrived at the back of the shaft. If the same rule was followed for the second and third drums, we must suppose that their front figures were Volcanus and the goddess with the scales. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that a lance-tip carved beneath Ceres' altar on the lower edge of the second drum is now seen to be the point of Neptunus' staff on the first drum—an adjustment further certified by an incised mark ('Versatzmarke') on the two adjacent edges. Another mark above the helmet of Virtus on the second drum is likewise found to fit on to its prolongation below the figure of Pax on the third drum. The whole rearrangement may be set out as follows:

UPPER PLINTH	SHAFT OF THE COLUMN	IVNO <i>Regina</i>	Luna	Sol
	Genius Neronis	Lar	Bacchus	Lar
	VENVS	Pax	Iuno <i>Sancta</i>	VESTA
	VOLCANVS	Virtus	CERES	Honos
	Victoria	MARS	DIANA	NEPTVNVS
	Inscription	Castor	APOLLO	Pollux
	LOWER PLINTH	IVPITER	MERCVRIVS and Maia (?)	Hercules
	FRONT	LEFT SIDE	BACK	RIGHT SIDE

Quilling now maintains that the entire monument refers to its dedicators, the Canabarii. Virtus and Honos are (as Maass suggested) personifications of Mayence and Castel. Victoria between Mars and Neptunus denotes the success of the fourteenth legion, formerly stationed at Mayence, over the British Boudicca in 61 A.D. Volcanus is there to avert the risk of fire from the corn-ears of Ceres, who represents the harbour-quarter. The goddess with the scales is the patron of Mayence market. She that sets foot on the cow's head and she that has the horse (?) stand for cattle-breeding. Pax is for petty trade. The Genius Neronis becomes the Genius Canabensium. Apollo hails from the Vicus Apollinensis. Etc., etc. But Quilling's views succeed one another at such a pace that the foregoing identifications are, for aught I know, already superannuated.

ii. 97 n. o. H. Mattingly in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1920 x. 38 described an aureus of Nero, which has *rev.* IVPITER LIBERATOR Iupiter enthroned to left with a thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his left—a thin disguise for the emperor himself. Mr Mattingly supposed that this coin was struck at Corinth (?) in 67 A.D. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Emp. i pp. clxxxiii f., 214 no. 110 pl. 40, 15), but he is careful to state that its authenticity has been very seriously questioned (*ib.* p. clxxxiv n. 1). Coppers of Patrai, issued under Nero, show *rev.* IVPITER LIBERATOR Iupiter, nude, standing to left with an eagle on his right hand and a sceptre in his left (Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² ii. 243, 256, B. Pick in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1890 xvii. 180 ff.).

ii. 98 n. 3. On the statuette from Woodchester see also Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 529 pl. 31, a ('must be a fragment of a statue of Artemis Tauropolos, standing on the bull and carrying a torch'), and S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 29 fig. 3 ('Cérés'), i. 422 ('Déméter-Cérés').

ii. 106 n. 2. Add R. Traquair and A. J. B. Wace 'The Base of the Obelisk of Theodosius' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 60—69 with 7 figs.

ii. 121 ff. on Thracian tattooing. P. Wolters in *Hermes* 1903 xxxviii. 265—273 explains the name 'Ελαφστικτος (*Lys. or.* 13. 19 Θεόκριτον τὸν τοῦ Ἐλαφστικτοῦ καλούμενον)

as appropriate to a Thracian painted or tattooed. See further O. Crusius in *Philologus* 1903 lxii. 125—132 (reported in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 477 f.).

At *Dikili-Tasch* near Philippoi have been found terra-cotta figures of prehistoric (neolithic?) date, which show male heads tattooed, with pointed beards (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1921 xlv. 543 fig. 15).

ii. 131 n. 1. W. B. McDaniel 'The Holiness of the Dischi Sacri' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1924 xxviii. 24—46 figures and discusses eleven such disks; he sees in them (p. 44) 'a sort of compound seal, a composite of signets, peculiar in its design to Tarentum, used for commercial purposes'... 'Pressed in the wax of Tarentum or upon a seal of clay or gypsum.'

ii. 136 ff. Anent the 'Ladder of Salvation' Mr G. G. Coulton kindly refers me to a passage in the *vita fratris Leonis* (*Analecta Franciscana* Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) 1897 iii. 71, 19 ff.) semel etiam frater Leo vidit in somnis, quod divinum iudicium parabatur, et in prato quodam Angelis tubicinantibus congregabatur gentium innumerabilis multitudo. et ecce duae scalae, quarum una erat alba, altera rubea, fuerunt positae, una ab una parte illius prati, altera ab alia, quarum proceritas usque ad coelos a terra tendebatur. apparuit autem Christus in summitate scalae rubeae quasi offensus graviter et iratus; et beatus Franciscus erat aliquantulum inferius prope ipsum. qui amplius descendens, fratres suos fortissime clamando vocabat dicens: 'venite, fratres, venite, accedite ad Dominum, qui vos vocat. confidite, ne timeatis.' fratres autem multi currebant ex admonitione Patris et incipiebant ascendere scalam rubeam confidenter. cum autem sic ascendenter, unus cadebat de tertio gradu, alius de quarto, alius de decimo, alii de medio, alii de summo. beatus autem Franciscus ad tantam fratrum ruinam motus compassione, pro filiis iudicem precabatur. Christus vero ostendebat manus et latus, in quibus plagae eius renovari videbantur; et inde sanguis recentissime distillabat, et dicebat: 'ista fecerunt mihi fratres tui.' et dum beatus Franciscus perseveraret misericordiam pro filiis postulando, post brevem morulam aliquantulum per scalam rubeam descendebat et clamabat dicens: 'confidite, fratres, ne desperetis, currite ad scalam albam et ascendite, quia ibi suscipiemini et per eam intrabitis coelum.' currentibus autem fratribus ad scalam albam ex admonitione paterna, ecce beata Virgo apparuit in summitate scalae et recipiebat eos; et ingrediebantur regnum sine labore. Cp. Bartholomaeus de Pisis *de conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Iesu Redemptoris nostri* 8. 2 *de fratre Leone* (*Analecta Franciscana* Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) 1906 iv. 191, 18 ff.), S. Alfonso de' Liguori *Glories of Mary* (extr. from *The Christian Remembrancer* Oct. 1855) London 1856 p. 25 f., *The Church Quarterly Review* 1902—1903 lv. 55.

ii. 146. A similar sacred trunk adorned with the spoils of the chase was to be seen at Autessiodurum (*Auxerre*), a town of the Senones in Gallia Lugudunensis, as late as the beginning of 5. v. A.D. (*Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Maius i. 57 C—E (Stephanus Africanus Presbyter *vita S. Amatoris Episcopi Autissiodorensis* 4. 24) Eo autem tempore quo haec gesta sunt, Germanus quidam nomine, nobili germine procreatus, territorium Autissiodorensis visitatione propria gubernabat: cui mos erat tiruncolorum potius industriis indulgere, quam Christianae religioni operam dare. Is ergo assiduo venatui invigilans, ferarum copiam insidiis atque artis strenuitate frequentissime capiebat. Erat autem arbor pyrus in urbe media, amenitate gratissima, ad cuius ramusculos ferarum ab eo deprehensarum capita pro admiratione venationis nimiae dependebant. Quem celebris vir ejusdem civitatis Amator Episcopus, his frequens compellabat eloquiis: Desine, quaeso, vir bonorum splendidissime, haec jocularia, quae Christianis offensa, Paganis vero imitanda sunt, exercere. Hoc opus idololatriae culturae est, non Christianae elegantissimae disciplinae. Et licet hoc vir Deo dignus indesinenter perageret, ille tamen nullo modo admonenti se acquiescere voluit aut obedire. Vir autem Domini iterum atque iterum eum hortabatur, ut non solum à consuetudine male arrepta discederet, verum & ipsam arborem, ne Christianis offencilum esset, radicibus extirparet. Sed ille nullatenus aures placidam applicare voluit admonenti. In hujus ergo persuasionis tempore, quadam die praefatus Germanus ex urbe in praedia sui juris secessit. Tunc B. Amator, opportunitatem operiens, sacrilegam arborem cum radicibus abscidit; & ne aliqua ejus incredulis esset memoria, igni concremandam illico deputavit: oscilla vero, quae tamquam trophæi cujusdam certaminis umbrâ dependentia ostentabant, longius à civitatis terminis projici præcepit. Protinus autem [aliquis], gressus suos ad aures sæpediti Germani retorquens, dictis animum incendit; atque iram suis suasionibus exaggerans, ferocem effecit: ita ut oblitus sanctae religionis, cujus fuerat ritu atque munere consecratus, mortem viro beatissimo minitaret: & ne ei aliquo modo quorundam Christianorum conventus furenti resisteret, turbam secum agrestem coadunans civitati improvisus advenit. The upshot was unexpected. Amator, to escape the wrath of Germanus, fled the town, made his way to Augustodunum (*Autun*), and besought Julius, governor of the province, to sanction the

nomination and consecration of Germanus to the episcopal throne of *Auxerre* in the room of himself. 'For,' said the saint, 'God has revealed to me that my life draweth to a close.' A few days later Amator died, while Germanus became bishop in his stead and ruled the see well (S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints*² Edinburgh 1914 v. 13 f.). Amator's festival falls on May 1).

There are points about this curious narrative which suggest that we have here in an attenuated, Christianised, form a Gallic parallel to the cult of Diana *Nemorensis*.

ii. 157 n. o. F. Courby *Les vases grecs à reliefs* Paris 1922 pp. 509—513 ('Oenochoés à portraits de reines') enumerates four examples and sundry fragments, which commemorate Arsinoë ii, Berenike ii, and Ptolemy iv Philopator. With unimportant variations, all repeat the same type, derived—according to Courby—from a statue of Arsinoë ii with the attributes of Tyche set up by Ptolemy ii Philadelphos (Athen. 497 B—C) in her temple at Alexandria (Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 108) together with an obelisk eighty cubits high (*id. ib.* 36. 67 f.).

ii. 174. In the *Rev. Arch.* 1920 i. 172 C. Picard attempts to discredit the *omphalos* found by F. Courby within the temple of Apollon. He suggests that it is perhaps a mere weight and that its inscription may not after all be archaic. But Mr C. T. Seltman, who at my request has made a careful examination of the original stone, sends me (Jan. 11, 1923) the following report: 'After our trip to Delphi, from which we returned four days ago, I must write and tell you what I think about the *Omphalos*, which is now placed in the Museum there. It seems to me that the suggestion of its being a forgery can only be born of madness or malice! The thing is smaller than one expected it to be, but it is to my thinking impossible that it should be a fake. The $\Pi\Pi$ upon it is clear as are $\Lambda\Delta$; but the *sigma* of $\Lambda\Delta Z$ is so mutilated by a large fracture in the stone that it might be almost any letter.'

ii. 176 n. 1. On Themis at Delphoi see also F. Courby in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 81, who notes the inscription restored by G. Colin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903 xxvii. 107 no. 684 B, 14 f. ἐφιορκούντι δὲ [Θέμυς] καὶ Ἀπόλλων Πύθιος καὶ Λατώ καὶ Ἀρτεμῖς καὶ Ἔστια καὶ πῦρ ἀθάνατον καὶ θεοὶ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι κακίστωι ὀλέθρῳ τὴν | σωτηρίαν μοι [ἀφέλωσι]ν, κ.τ.λ.

In the hymn composed by Aristonoös of Corinth and inscribed on the Athenian Treasury at Delphoi we read how Apollon first occupied the oracular seat *πέισας Γαίαν ἀνοτρύφον* | *Θέμυν τ' εὐπλόκαμον θεάν* (G. Colin in the *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 2. 213 ff. no. 191, 18 f.).

ii. 176 n. 2. W. H. Roscher 'Die Bedeutung des E zu Delphi und die übrigen γράμματα Δελφικά' in *Philologus* 1900 lix. 21—41 labours to prove that the mystic *ε* is for *πρόσει*, *εἰσει*, "komm her" oder "Willkommen." This, to my mind, is quite impossible Greek.

ii. 190 n. o. Further references for the history of *rhyta* are given by F. W. von Bissing in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 106—109.

ii. 193. On the evolution of the tripod see now K. Schwendemann 'Der Dreifuss' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1921 xxxvi. 98—185 with figs. 1—30. *Id. ib.* p. 183 f. discusses the relation of the tripod to Zeus on vases and coins.

ii. 193 n. 2. Cp. the twelfth-century fonts at Winchester etc. (C. H. Eden *Black Tournaï Fonts in England* London 1909 pp. 1—32 with good plates), which in appearance at least perpetuate this ancient form of libation-table.

ii. 195 n. 1. A. Furtwängler 'Zum plataischen Weihgeschenk in Delphi' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1904 pp. 413—417 (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 477) figures the upper surface of the highest extant step of the Plataean tripod, and explains three symmetrically arranged slots in it as due to tenons which passed through the top step of the base and thus tethered the tripod-feet to the second step. If so, we must suppose that the legs of the tripod were drawn somewhat closer together than I have placed them (*supra* p. 194 fig. 134). Furtwängler's inference, however, is not quite secure, since the serpent-coil, which he too takes to have been the central support of the caldron, has left no trace whatever on the second step. It may be that the three slots in question served merely for dowels fastening this step to the one above it, in which serpent-coil and legs were alike embedded.

Re the Plataean tripod see now R. M. Dawkins in *Folk-Lore* 1924 xxxv. 234 f., 380.

ii. 208 f. In this connexion Miss H. Richardson of Newnham College drew my attention (Oct. 24, 1924) to Plout. *de sera num. vind.* 22 566 D ἅμα δ' ἐπειράτο προσάγων ἐπιδεικνύειν αὐτῷ τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ τρίποδος, ὡς ἔλεγε, διὰ τῶν κόλπων τῆς Θέμιδος ἀπειροδύ-

μενον εις τον Παρνασον· και προθυμουμενος ιδειν ουκ ειδεν υπο λαμπροτητος, αλλ' ηκουε παριων φωνην δεξιαν γυναικος εν μετρω φραζουσαν αλλα τε τινα και χρονον, ως ειουκε, της εκεινου τελευτηης. We have here, apparently, Themis on the Delphic tripod impregnated by the central pillar of light (= Apollon: cp. *supra* p. 178).

ii. 222 n. 2. On Iason swallowed by the snake see further P. Ducati 'Giasone e il serpente' in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1920 xxix. 52—64 (p. 53 fig. 1 *kylix* from *Cervetri*, p. 61 fig. 3 bronze *kyathos* from Felsina).

ii. 229 n. 7. Zeus as Artemis wooing Kallisto is the subject of a painting by F. Boucher (1703—1770 A.D.) (W. Hausenstein *Der nackte Mensch in der Kunst aller Zeiten* München 1918 p. 122 fig. 84).

ii. 281 n. 4. For the golden vine overhanging the entrance to Herod's temple Mr G. C. Armstrong quotes also Ioseph. *de bell. Iud.* 5. 5. 4.

ii. 282. Mr B. F. C. Atkinson has kindly supplied me (Apr. 28, 1922) with a *Note on the Name Sabazios* :—

'I suggest the following etymology for *Sabazios*. The second part I believe to be *Zios*, *Dios*, the Phrygian Zeus. The change of *d* to a sound represented by *zeta* in Thracian is frequent and seems regular, whether it be, as Kretschmer suggests (*Einleitung* p. 196), due to "Assibilation des *d* vor *t*," or whether, as is perhaps more probable, a change of *d* to the voiced dental spirant *ḍ* took place over the whole Illyrian—Thracian—Phrygian language area. The disappearance of intervocalic digamma may be due to conscious assimilation by Greek transcribers to Gk. *Δια*, *Διός*, etc., although it is well to remember in this connection that there is a form of the stem that contains no *μ* (Skt. *dyām*, Gk. *Ζῆρ*, Lat. *diem*).

The first part of the compound adapts itself with surprising regularity to the root given by Brugmann as **h₂eyā*, which appears with varying ablaut in Skt. *śvidiṣṭhas*, *śvātrās*, *śvidyati*, *śhras*, Gk. *κύος*, *κύρος* and Bœotian *πάπᾶματα*. The root has the general meaning of "swell," "be important," "be master," "possess." *Sabazios* would thus mean originally "Lord Zeus."

There seems to be another possible etymology for the first part of the compound. The root occurring in Skt. *śāvis*, Gk. *κόω*, Lat. *caueo*, Goth. **us-skāus* may be in evidence here. If this is the case, the initial *s* can be explained in two ways. It may represent an *s*-sound and illustrate the Thracian treatment of the I.-E. combination *sq*-. More probably we have in Thracian that form of the stem that shows no initial sibilant (as in the examples cited from Skt., Gk., and Lat.), in which case concealed beneath *sigma* is the sound *ts* (final in Eng. *thatch*). The Messapian and Lycian inscriptions, if correctly interpreted by Deecke, throw light on this view. There we find *sigma* or *zeta* used for a sound that represents the I.-E. velar (Messap. *zis* for **quis*, a proper name *Plaxtas* with genitive *Plaxtas*; Lyc. *sittüre*, "four," etc.: vd. Deecke in *Bezz. Beit.* Vols. xii, xiii, xiv), though it is true that it is the labialised velar that in these cases undergoes palatalisation. In this case *Sabazios* would mean "Zeus the wise one" with a hint at prophetic power (cf. *caueo*), somewhat resembling "augur Apollo." Then we could regard the *Sauadii* or *Saboi*, whose connection with the god seems obvious, as his "wise ones" or "seers."

The former of these two etymologies is perhaps the more straightforward: but there is no real barrier to the second (though it would scarcely have been possible apart from the evidence of the Messapian and Lycian inscriptions). In either case the *beta* represents a *β*-sound, as the alternative forms (*Sauuzios*, *Sauazios*, *Sauuzios*, *Sauuzios*, *Sabadius*) make clear, and this derives almost certainly from an earlier *μ*. The *a* of the first syllable, whether it represent older *e* or *o*, is assimilated to the following *a*, a practice which seems regular in Illyrian and Thracian (cf., for example, *Delminium* but *Dalmatic*, *-poris* but *-para*). Thus the former etymology would give us *Savaḍios*, the latter *Tzavaḍios*.

ii. 282 n. 2. P. Roussel—J. Hatzfeld in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1909 xxxiii. 511 no. 29 publish a marble slab, from a house N.W. of the *agorá* of Theophrastos in Delos, inscribed in late lettering *Δειε Σαβαζιω(ι) --- | καρ' εχην Μο --- | του γεγοροτος --- | εν Δηλωι Αλ[ιου?] ---*. See also P. Roussel *Delos Colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 276 n. 7.

ii. 285 n. o no. (3). The relief from Philadelpheia (*Ala-Shehir*) in Lydia, hitherto incorrectly described, is figured from a photograph (= my fig. 1011) by J. Keil—A. von Premerstein 'Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1911 ii Abh. p. 84 no. 2. A bearded man standing erect, in *chiton* and *himation*, holds

his garment with his left hand. With his right hand he pours a libation from a *phidle* into a *kratér*, set on the ground, about which two snakes are twined, apparently drinking out



Fig. 1011.

of it. Behind the *kratér* is seen a tree (oak ??), from which a snake lowers itself towards the *phidle*.

ii. 290 n. o. Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie 'Funereal Figures in Egypt' in *Ancient Egypt* 1916 pp. 151—162 draws attention to the existing African custom of treasuring in the family the head of the deceased father and uses it to elucidate certain sepulchral practices of the ancient Egyptians. He shows that in many burials of prehistoric times the head was removed and later replaced in the grave, if not lost or buried elsewhere; that in tomb-shafts of the fourth dynasty a stone image of the head was provided in case the actual head should be lost or injured; that at the break-up of the Old Kingdom a stone image of the mummy came into vogue; and that the addition of hands, arms, etc. led on to the fully developed *ushabti* figures of the seventeenth and following dynasties.

P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 303 notes relevant facts in the Scandinavian area.

ii. 295 n. 1. On "Ἀδάμνα" = Ἄττις see now W. Vollgraaf 'De voce thracica ἀδαμναίς' in *Mnemosyne* 1921 xlix. 286—294 (summarised by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 406 f.).

ii. 322 n. 6. In the Hesychian gloss on the word *κυνακίας* J. Alberti rightly conjectured *διδόμενοι* for *διδόμενον*. He is followed by Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 68.

ii. 326. See now Miss M. A. Murray *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* Oxford 1921.

ii. 345. The *formula* of the Cretan mystics (*βοῦς μέγας*) may help to clear up an obscure epigram of Kallimachos—'οὗτος ἐμὸς λόγος ὅμμων ἀληθινός' *εἰ δὲ τὸν ἥδ' ἴδ' ἢ βούλει, Πελλαίου βοῦς μέγας εἰν' Αἰδῶν'* (Kallim. *ep.* 15. 5 f. with A. W. Mair's note *ad loc.*).

ii. 345 n. 6. On the survival of this *formula* into the middle ages see some interesting remarks by W. Deonna in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 412.

ii. 386. The *petasos* as a sky-symbol possibly meets us again on the tomb of Porsenna at Clusium as described by Varro *ap. Plin. nat. hist.* 36. 91—93 (92 pyramides stant quinque...ita fastigatae ut in summo orbis aeneus et petasus unus omnibus sit inpositus, ex quo pendent exapta catenis tintinabula, etc.). For discussion and attempted restorations see Quatremère de Quincy and the Duc de Luynes in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 i. 304—309, *Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 13, G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*³ London 1883 ii. 345—358, J. Martha *L'Art Étrusque* Paris 1889 p. 206 ff., Durm *Baukunst d. Etrusk.*² p. 140 ff. fig. 165.

ii. 388 n. 4. Janiform busts of Zeus and Hermes are implied by the word Διέρμαι (Prokl. in Plat. *Alcib.* i. 68 f. Creuzer *καὶ περὶ ἑκάστον τῶν θεῶν πλήθος ἐστὶ δαιμόνων ἀμύθητον καὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐπωνυμίαις ἀποσεμννόμενον τῶν γηγόμενων θεῶν*: 'Ἀπόλλωνες γὰρ καὶ Δίες καὶ Διέρμαι καλοῦμενοι χαίρουσι, αἵτε δὴ καὶ τὴν ἰδιότητα τῶν οἰκείων θεῶν ἀποτυποῦμενοι).

ii. 397 n. o. R. B. Onians in the *Class. Rev.* 1924 xxxviii. 5 takes Zeus 'Ἡλακατεῖς to mean Zeus 'of the Spindle,' who spins the thread of fate (cp. *Od.* 4. 207 f. *ρέϊα δ' ἀργυροῦτος γόνος ἀνέρος ὃ τε Κρονίων | ὄλβον ἐπικλώσῃ γαμέοντι τε γενομένῳ τε*).

ii. 465. For horned female deer see L. P. Hatch 'A Doe with Horns' in *The American Naturalist* 1870 iii. 279, W. J. Hays 'Does with Horns' *ib.* 1870 iii. 548—550 and in *The Academy* 1870 i. 103.

ii. 479 n. 8. J. Kohler 'Bräuche und Mythen der Arandas' [=the Arunta] in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1916 xxvi. 283 'hier bildet die Milchstrasse einen grossen Fluss: sie ist mit hohen Bäumen besetzt und von Wasserquellen umgeben, wo Beerenfrüchte in Hülle und Fülle wachsen.'

ii. 479 n. 10. See also D. A. Mackenzie in *Folk-Lore* 1922 xxxiii. 159.

ii. 482. For the Milky Way conceived as a tree cp. W. Gundel *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* Bonn—Leipzig 1922 p. 46: 'Für sich steht die Auffassung der Bakairi die einen gewaltigen Trommelbaum darin erblicken' (citing K. von den Steinen *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens* Berlin 1894 pp. 360, 436).

ii. 483. Mr R. Campbell Thompson, in a letter passed on to me by Mr Sidney Smith, says: 'The *kiskani* is not a common plant, and is rarely, if ever, used in the medical texts. Yet there are three kinds of it—*šalmu*, *pišu*, and *samu*—black, white, and red? (or yellow). I doubt it being the *astragalus* now. I looked about always in Mesopot for anything which would coincide and I confess I am baffled. There is nothing at Eridu now—which is as flat and bare, save for low scrub growth in parts, as one's hand. It can hardly be a very special tree, since it is to be found at the mouth of the rivers.'

ii. 484. A. Nehring in the *Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* 1916 xviii. 23 argues that the original form of the name was the vocative *Ἀπείλων, because only in the vocative is the ε unaccented, and only unaccented ε becomes ο under the influence of a following ω (ο). This argument was cited by A. H. Krappe in a letter to J. Kendell Harris, who comments: 'He should have added that, with the second syllable unstressed, it was easy to explain the Thessalian *Ἀπλον' (F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 172).

ii. 486. The ultimate acceptance of the bay as the tree *par excellence* of Apollon can be well illustrated from a unique *statèr* of s. iv B.C., struck by some uncertain town in Crete and now preserved in the Hunterian collection at Glasgow (P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 165 pl. 9, 15 and 16, J. N. Svoronos *Nuismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 331 pl. 31, 8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 200 pl. 43, 7, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 479). *Obv.* Apollon, seated to right on the trunk of a bay-tree, holding a wreath in his left hand. *Rev.* Apollon, seated to right on the trunk of a bay-tree, holding a lyre in his left hand. Fig. 1012 is drawn from a cast kindly supplied to me by Mr G. Macdonald.



Fig. 1012.

ii. 493. I am indebted to Mr B. F. C. Atkinson for the following important communication (Feb. 25, 1922):—'Note on Apollo and the Apple. It seems to me that the philological obstacles to this connection are not insurmountable. Professor E. H. Sturtevant (*Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, Chicago 1920 pp. 91 ff.) has shown that, while in Greek the unvoiced stops were *lenes*, that is, pronounced without force, and the voiced stops were *fortes*, the reverse was true in Latin. This is the reason why in certain cases of

transliteration from one language into the other $g(\gamma)$ and $k(\kappa)$, $d(\delta)$ and $t(\tau)$, $b(\beta)$ and $p(\pi)$ are interchangeable: for references and examples see my article on "Apollo and the Apple" in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 1922 vii. 138—140. I have in this article tried to show that in respect of the sets of stops which are *fortes* or *lenes* there is a probability of the Illyrian dialects agreeing with Latin rather than Greek. If then, as I have ventured to surmise, the god's name were borrowed by the Greeks from an Illyrian dialect, in which the form had a voiced stop and was connected with the stem meaning "apple," which runs through the northern languages and appears probably in the name of *Abella* in Campania, the unvoicing of the stop in transmission, that is to say, the change from b to p , need cause us no surprise. The suggestion is somewhat strengthened by the occurrence of the proper names *Abellio* (dat. *Abellioni*) in an inscription from Salona on the Dalmatian coast (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 2169, 3) and *Abello* (gen. *Abellonis*) in another from Mursa in Pannonia Inferior (*ib.* iii no. 10271, 3).¹

ii. 496 n. o. On Zeus Περφερέτας or Φερφερέτας as worshipped by the Phrouroi (originally conservators of a particular stretch of the Sacred Way?) see now F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 90 n. 7.

ii. 498 n. 2: 'Has it been noticed etc.?' The answer is, Yes. See Campbell Bonner in the *Am. Journ. Philol.* 1900 xxi. 433—437.

ii. 500 f. I have doubted, and still doubt, Artemis' northern *provenance*. But see, on the other side, an interesting paper by Mr J. Whatmough 'Inscribed fragments of stags-horn from North Italy' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1921 xi. 245—253. He would equate Ἄρτεμις, not only with Βριτόμαρτις (= Φριτόμαρτις), but also with *Rehtia* at Este and *Rit-* in Magrè.

ii. 542. W. Gaerte 'Die Bedeutung der kretisch-minoischen Horns of Consecration' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1922 xxi. 91 n. 2 interprets the problematic object between the horns of my fig. 415 f. as the sun between the peaks of an 'Erdsymbol' (mountains).

ii. 575 n. 4. The coin of Euromos that shows the local Zeus with a stag (cp. ii. 575 n. 1) suggests that Zeus has here replaced Artemis Ἐφεσία. Note that the similar Zeus on coins of Mylasa was, like Artemis at Ephesos (ii. 408 n. o), linked to the ground with fillets (ii. 574), and that the Zeus of Euromos is covered with dots, which may represent breasts (ii. 592 ff.).

ii. 578 n. 4. Add A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 330 ff. no. 146, A 17 ff. ἵνα δὲ καὶ διαμνημονεύηται τὸν δει χρόνον καὶ τηρηθῆται τὰ δεδομένα, συνέταξαν τὰ περὶ τούτων ἐψηφισμένα ἀναγράψαι ἐν τοῖς ἐανῶν ἱεροῖς πῶι τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς | τοῦ Λαβραῖνδου· συνετέλεσαν δὲ καὶ εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας | τοῖς τε προσηρμομένοις θεοῖς καὶ τῆι Ἑστίαι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Διδυμεί, B 71 ff. ὅπως δὲ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου | τίμια μνημονεύηται εἰς τὸν δει χρόνον, ἀναγράψαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐ[ν] | τοῖς ἱεροῖς πῶι τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραῖνδου. ἵνα ἔ[σ] | ἕκαστα γίνηται μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐμελείας, τὸμ μὲν στεφανηφόρον | μετὰ τοῦ ἱέρω τῆι Ἑστίαι θύσαι καὶ τὸν ἱέρω τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Διδυμείως καὶ τοῖς ἱερείς τὸν τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραῖνδου προσαγαγέιν θυσίαν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ εὐχὰς ποιήσασθαι συνενεργεῖν | ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀμφοτέρας τὰ ἐψηφισμένα (in a treaty between Miletos and Mylasa, 209/8 B.C.).

ii. 583. E. W. Fay in the *Class. Quart.* 1917 xi. 215 derives Ποτ-ειδᾶζω from *ποτι-, 'lord,' and eid, 'to swell.'

ii. 587. Unexpected confirmation of O. Höfer's conjectural Zeus Σπάλαξος has recently come to hand. The British Museum has acquired an imperial bronze coin of Aphrodisias in Karia, on which he actually appears. Mr G. F. Hill kindly allows me to illustrate it here for the first time (fig. 1013). *Obv.* ΚΡΙΣΠΕΙΝΑ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑ Bust of Crispina to right. *Rev.* ΣΕΥΣΣΠ Α Λ[Α]ΕΘΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙ [Ε]ΩΝ Zeus Σπάλαξος (less probably Σπάλωξος) enthroned to left with Nike in right hand and long sceptre in left.



Fig. 1013.

ii. 596 fig. 499. In J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* iii) Bruxelles 1910 i. 161 f. no. 146 H. Grégoire gives a photographic cut of the whole relief, a facsimile of its inscription (which he transcribes as Ζώβη (or Ζώβη) | θεᾶ (or θεαῖς) | σι though various other letters are visible in lines 4, 5, 6), and a commentary.

ii. 619 n. 4. On the Mithraeum of Allmendingen, excavated 1824—1825, see further Lohner in *Der Schweizerische Geschichtsforscher* 1834 viii (wrongly numbered ix). 430 ff. pl. 5, F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles

1896 ii. 505 figs. 450—455. Seven little hatchets of bronze were found, inscribed IOVI, MINERVAE, etc.

iii. 625 n. 3. Mr A. J. B. Wace, lecturing to the Classical Society at Cambridge on Nov. 27, 1922, described how in the last season's 'dig' at Mykenai the British School had excavated various tombs outside the town. In the entrance to tomb no. 515 were found two seal-stones, dating from s. xv B.C., with an almost identical device. Above a stepped base stands a 'Minoan' goddess, flanked by a pair of lions erect upon their hind legs. On her head she supports a double axe, which rises from the centre of a couple of two-headed snakes connected by cross-bars—apparently a serpentine substitute for the more usual 'horns of consecration' (cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 54 f. no. 762 pls. 6 and 7). Fig. 1014 is enlarged $\frac{2}{3}$ from a cast supplied to me by the British Museum. The main difference between the two stones is that on this one the lions' tails curl upwards, on the other downwards. Mr Wace aptly drew attention to Hesych. s. *vv.* κύβηλις· μάχαιρα. ἀμεινον δὲ πέλεκυν, ὃ τὰς βούς καταβάλλουσι, κυβηλίαι· πελεκίσαι· κύβηλις γὰρ ὁ πέλεκυς, and accordingly proposed to call the goddess Kybele (*id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 264 'Kybele or Rhea').



Fig. 1014.

ii. 632 n. 6. Add an axe of dark brown schist, decorated with zigzags and spirals and ending in the forepart of a lioness, found in a 'Middle Minoan iii' vase at Mallia (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1925 p. 23 f. fig.).

ii. 633 ff. The axes borne by Roman lictors may be illustrated from a fragmentary marble relief now affixed to a wall of the Cryptoporticus on the Palatine. Fig. 1015 is from a photograph taken by my friend and colleague Mr A. Munro, Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge. It will be observed that the haft of every axe is surmounted by a head (lion, man, ram).

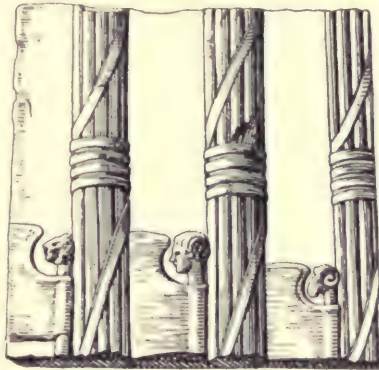


Fig. 1015.

The 'Tomb of the Lictor' at Vetulonia takes its name from an iron double axe (0.27^m long) hafted on to an iron rod surrounded by eight hollow rods of iron (last published by D. Randall-MacIver *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* Oxford 1924 p. 145 fig. 56 after O. Montelius *La civilisation primitive en Italie depuis l'introduction des métaux* Stockholm 1904 Série B pl. 194, 5). Cp. *Sil. It.* 8. 483 ff.

ii. 637. Four fine examples of carving in amber (Eros *v.* Anteros, Bacchant, female bust, 'Tiergruppe') are figured by H. Maionica in the *Führer durch das K. K. Staatsmuseum in Aquileia* Wien 1910 p. 71 ff. Finer still (c. 0.40^m high) is the archaic *kolthos* of Fiumicino (S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1924 ii. 237).

ii. 645 n. 4. See now Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 53 ff.

ii. 660. A small double axe of ivory (fig. 1016: scale $\frac{1}{4}$), now in my possession, is said to have come from Pharsalos, but was more probably found at Pherai. With it were an ivory *fibula* of 'spectacle'-type and two bronze pendants of the Hallstatt period.



Fig. 1016.

ii. 667. Cp. Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 312 no. 8514 pl. 71 a red jasper of imperial date showing a crab with a comic mask as its carapace.

ii. 693 n. 4. See now an interesting study by W. R. Halliday 'Picus-who-is-also-Zeus' in the *Class. Rev.* 1922 xxxvi. 110—112.

ii. 716. F. J. M. De Waele 'ΧΡΥΣΑΩΡ' in *Le Musée Belge* 1924 xxviii No. 1 (January) holds that *ωρ* in this compound retains its original sense, 'arrow.' See *Class. Rev.* 1924 xxxviii. 92.

ii. 725 figs. 660, 661. A. della Seta *Italia antica* Bergamo 1922 p. 252 fig. 281 shows this statue as it stands in the Galleria dei Candelabri of the Vatican, with a bow restored in its right hand and an eagle in its left!

ii. 739. On statuettes of Zeus the thunderer see now S. Casson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1922 xlii. 211 f. figs. 4—6. He claims that a crude example of the type from Dodona (C. Carapanos *Dodone et ses ruines* Paris 1878 p. 32 no. 16 pl. 13, 4, S. Casson *loc. cit.* p. 211 f. fig. 4 (b) = my fig. 1017) is 'of the Geometric period.' If so, this would be the earliest known representation of Zeus in the round. Unfortunately it is not quite certain that Zeus was intended. The subject *may* be a fighting man, not a thundering god. The holes in his hands would suit spear and shield at least as well as they would suit thunderbolt and eagle. The absence of a helmet, however, tells in favour of Zeus.

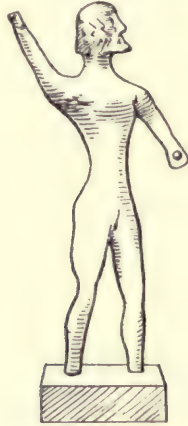


Fig. 1017.

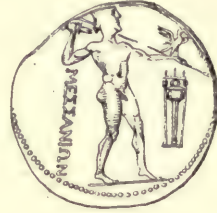
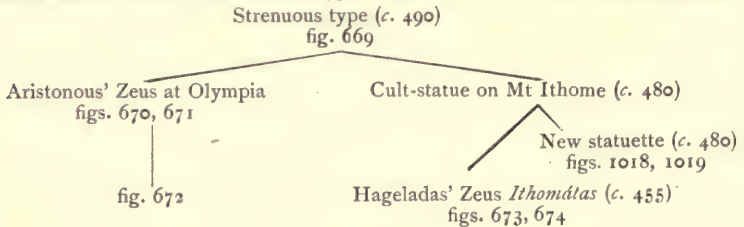


Fig. 1020.

ii. 741 f. K. A. Rhomaïos in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1920—21 vi. 169—171 figs. 3—6 (of which figs. 5 and 6 = my figs. 1018 and 1019) publishes an archaic bronze statuette of Zeus, found in a wonderful state of preservation at Ambrakia in Aitolia and now installed in the National Museum at Athens (no. 14984. Height 0.165 m; with base, 0.188 m. Patina, blackish green). The god advances brandishing a bolt in his raised right hand and supporting an eagle on his outstretched left. Yet the action of his legs and arms is by no means strenuous. It agrees rather with the pose of Hageladas' Zeus on the coins of Messene (ii. 742 fig. 673 f.). Accordingly Rhomaïos regards the new statuette as made under the influence of Hageladas' work, which he dates c. 480 B.C. (cp. C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 92 ff. and Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 318). But that is definitely to reject the testimony of Paus. 4. 33, 2 (see Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*). It is safer to conclude that the new statuette was an early faithful copy (c. 480 B.C.), Hageladas' masterpiece a later improved copy (c. 455 B.C.), of the same cult-stature on Mt Ithome, which itself was a modification of the ancient strenuous type (c. 490 B.C.). We thus obtain the *stemma*:



ii. 741 f. fig. 674. A rare variety of this Messenian tetradrachm shows Zeus holding, not only an eagle, but also a long sceptre in his left hand. Fig. 1020 is from a well-preserved specimen formerly in the Mavrocordato collection (J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 29 no. 2052 pl. Z', 8) and now in mine. A second



Fig. 1018.



Fig. 1019.

example from the same dies, as I am informed by Mr C. T. Seltman, was in the collection of E. F. Weber (*Sammlung Consul Eduard Friedrich Weber† Hamburg München* 1908 i. 136 no. 1983 pl. 25). The variation of type is presumably due to the die-sinker and does not reproduce the original aspect of Hageladas' work.

ii. 743 n. 5. More complete is a later example now in my collection (fig. 1021). Zeus, with abundant hair and wreath of large bay-leaves, advances brandishing a three-spiked thunderbolt (one end broken) in his right hand and supporting an eagle erect on his left wrist. Height 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Careful work of the Hellenistic age.

ii. 744 n. 3. The Pourtalès *amphora* is now in the Louvre (G 204): see E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre 3^{me} Série* Paris 1922 p. 204 f. pl. 129, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 38 ('in the style of the Berlin painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 65 no. 45.

ii. 757 fig. 700. A second and better preserved specimen of this important coin has lately come to light. I am indebted to Mr C. T. Seltman for the casts from which my



Fig. 1021.

illustration of it (fig. 1022) is drawn. The obverse is from the same die as that of fig. 701; the reverse, from the same die as that of fig. 700.

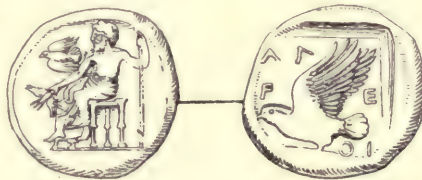


Fig. 1022.

ii. 771 fig. 735. For Zeus enthroned with a lotos in his hand cp. an Arabian imitation of a tetradrachm of Alexander, showing a beardless god enthroned to left with a flower instead of an eagle in his right hand (B. V. Head in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1880 xx. 303 ff. pl. 15, 3, G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Arabia* etc. p. lxxxii pl. 50, 5).

ii. 774 n. 4. Miss M. E. H. Lloyd tells me (Oct. 7, 1922) that at Pitigliano in Grosseto during May and June the leaves of the *giglio* (*iris florentina*) are hung up outside the windows as a charm against lightning. The plant in leaf, before being hung up, is taken to the church to be blessed by the priest.

ii. 798. Mrs A. Strong 'Treasure from Vatican Rubbish' in *The Illustrated London News* 1922 clxi. 380 fig. 1 (=my fig. 1023) publishes, among other fragments of sculpture

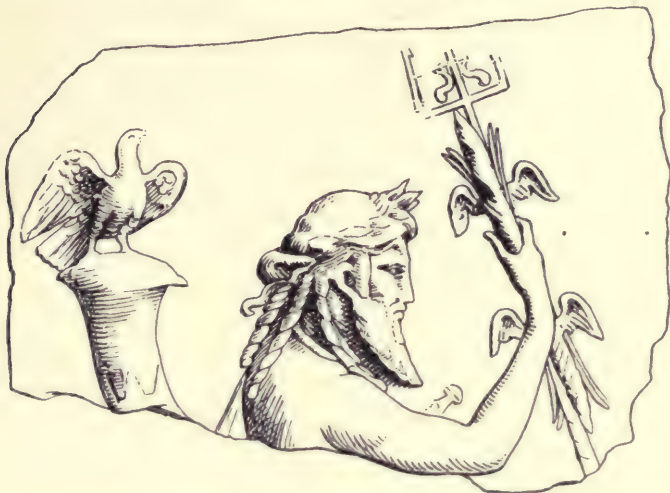


Fig. 1023.

found by W. Amelung in *magazzini* of the Vatican, a neo-Attic relief of s. i A.D., which shows 'a composite divinity, carrying the thunderbolt of Zeus, the trident of Poseidon, and the sword of Ares, while behind him an eagle perches upon a large cornucopia.' See also S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1923 i. 176.

ii. 799 n. 2. A fine bronze trident, which can be converted at will into a bident, was found in the Tomba del Tridente at Vetulonia and is figured by Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1905 iii. 85 fig. 415 a, b.

ii. 800 n. 1. A photograph of this vase with the restorations removed is now published by H. Schaaf *Griechische Vasen aus frankfurter Sammlungen* Frankfurt am Main 1923 pl. 30, a.

ii. 802. Mr E. J. Seltman kindly informs me (Aug. 24, 1923) that he has recently seen a terra cotta of the same questionable sort on sale at Naples. He describes it as being 'About 6 inches high, and 4 broad. Hollow. On the back, in the centre, a round boss with T. A. On the front appear at the top, from left to right, the heads of Poseidon, Zeus, and Hades. Below [Zeus] is the thunderbolt, the trident below Poseidon, and below Hades his bidens. Underneath, an inscription of three short lines beginning DIS—'

ii. 805 n. 6. For recent discussion of the three-bodied monster see A. Brückner in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 113—115.

ii. 807 n. 5 no. (3). V. Chapot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 168 no. 8 publishes the following inscription from a marble block, hollowed out to serve as a trough, in the village of *el-qābišije* (Seleukeia Pieria): ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ προβουλὴ (perhaps a misreading of [ε]ρ[ά] βουλῆ) ᾧ [Γ]νάϊον Πιομπήϊον Ἰήγωνα, τὸν διὰ βίου νεακῶρον τοῦ Νευκηφόρου Κεραυρ[ί]ου καὶ πατέρα τῆς πόλεως, κ.τ.λ. with date ἔτους 85' = 95 or 155 A.D.

ii. 818. G. Kazarow 'Nouvelles inscriptions relatives au Dieu Thrace Zbelsourdos' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 340 ff. adds two from the village *Goldmo-S'lo* in the district *Dupnitza*: (1) Κυρίω | θεῷ προγονικῶ Ζβελ|σοῦρδω Φλ. Ἄ μάτοκος Φλ. Ἄ[μ]ατόκου υἱὸς | εὐξά[μ]ερος ἀνέθηκεν. (2) Τῶ κυρίω | Διὶ Ζβελ|σοῦρδω | ἀνέθηκεν | Τ. Φλα. Ἄμὰ το[κ]ος Τ. | Φ[λ. Ἄματόκου υἱός].

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt 'Der thrakische Gott Zbelsurdos' in *Klio* 1921 xvii. 283—285 notes also V. Dobrusky *Archäol. Bericht des bulgar. Nationalmuseums* 1907 i. 152 no. 203 an inscription from the village *Chatrono* in the district *Dupnitza* Διὶ Ζβε[λ]σοῦρδω | τῶ κυρίω Βελβαβρι[η]νοὶ κωμῆται | ἀνέθηκαν.

ii. 822 n. 13. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt *loc. cit.* proposes Cic. *in Pis.* 85 a te Iovis *Zbelsurdi* fanum etc.

ii. 823. *J. Whatmough 'The *Iovilae*-dedications from S. Maria di Capua' in the *Class. Quart.* 1922 xvi. 181—189 would connect them with the cult of Iuno *Lucina* as goddess of motherhood and procreation.

ii. 826 n. 3. With the gong at Dodona cp. those discussed by J. Jüthner 'Die Schelle im Thiasos' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1904 vii. 146—150.

ii. 837 n. 1. The Phrygian Zeus ἐξ αὐλῆς is hardly to be connected with Plat. *Axiach.* 371 A—B εἰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον βούλει λόγον, ὃν ἐμοὶ ἡγγεῖλε Γαβρύνης, ἀνὴρ μάγος· ἔφη κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν τὸν πάππον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμώνυμον, πεμφθέντα εἰς Δῆλον, ... ἐκ τινῶν χαλκένων δέλτων, ἃς ἐξ Ἑπερβορέων ἐκόμισαν Ὀπίς τε καὶ Ἐκαέργη, ἐκμεαθηκέναι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος λύσιν τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸν ἀθλον χωρεῖν τόπον, κατὰ τὴν ὑπέγειον οἴκησιν, ἐν ἧ βασιλείᾳ Ηλιούτανος οὐχ ἦττω τῆς τοῦ Διὸς αὐλῆς, ἅτε τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐχοῦσης τὰ μέσα τοῦ κόσμου, τοῦ δὲ πλόου ὄντος σφαιροειδοῦς, οὗ τὸ μὲν ἕτερον ἡμισφαίριον θεοὶ ἔλαχον οἱ οὐράνιοι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον οἱ ὑπένευθεν, οἱ μὲν ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες, οἱ δὲ ἀδελφῶν παῖδες.

ii. 869 n. 2. For Mt Pelion and its cults see now F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 pp. 41—43.

ii. 873 n. 2. Cp. Zeus *Karabós* of Akarnania (K. A. Rhomaios in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1918 iv. 117 ff. = *Suppl. Epigr. Gr.* i. no. 213 (near Astakos) *ἱεραπόλοι* Διὸς *Καραοῦ* | κ.τ.λ. of s. ii B.C.).

ii. 874 n. 2 (on p. 875). *Φάλακρον* in Epeiros is not to be distinguished from *Φάλακρον* in Korkyra.

Schrader *Reallex.*² ii. 245 compares Zeus *Φαλακρός* with the ancient Roman Divus Pater Falacer (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 84, cp. 7. 45), on whom see G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1967 f. or in his *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² p. 240 n. 4.

ii. 892 n. 4 line 9. The word *ἔθυσεν* is well corrected by A. Meineke to *ἴθυσεν*, i.e. ran in the Nemean games (K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 622).

ii. 897 n. 5. Mr C. W. Blegen has kindly furnished me (Aug. 16, 1924) with the following note:—'Trial excavations conducted by the American School in 1923 and 1924 brought to light near the summit of Mt. Hymettus a large deposit of ancient pottery. It seems to have been deliberately placed in a great heap and carefully covered with earth and ashes, and is probably, therefore, formed of votive offerings discarded from a small shrine or altar. These vases, of many different shapes and sizes, date almost exclusively from the Geometric Period; and some of them bear incised inscriptions. The material is sadly fragmentary, only one inscription being sufficiently preserved to give an idea of its content. It is of a coarsely vituperative nature, recalling the archaic inscriptions of Thera, and unfortunately gives no clue to the character of the shrine. A slight scattering of sherds of classical pottery and a few fragments of Roman lamps were also found.'

The small mountain sanctuary which once occupied this lofty position accordingly appears to have flourished chiefly during the Geometric Age, though it continued to be visited in a small way till Roman times.

Since no trace of a building has yet been discovered, it is possible that the cult possessed merely an open altar.

Until further evidence is forthcoming there can be no certainty in identifying definitely this cult; but it is tempting to conjecture that we have here the site of the worship of Zeus Ombrios, which, according to Pausanias, was somewhere on Mt. Hymettus.'

See now *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1924 xxviii. 337 (citing *Art and Archaeology* 1924 xvii. 285 f. and *Archaeological Institute of America: 42d Annual Report of the Managing Committee of the American School at Athens, 1922—1923* p. 16 f.) and *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xlv. 255 f.

ii. 903 n. 2. For Mt Oite see now F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 192 ff.

ii. 904 n. 1. W. Vollgraff in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907—1908 xiv. 225: 'Two hours south-east of Almyró, near Paralia, are the insignificant ruins of a large building of the classical period, within a rectangular temenos. It seems to me that these can only be the remains of a temple belonging to the neighbouring city of Halos. Mr. [N. I.] Giannopoulos' view that this is the sanctuary of Zeus Laphystios may perhaps be correct, though no proof can at present be adduced. In the small trial excavation which I made here, a few fragments of black-glazed pottery were found, but nothing of the prehistoric age.'

ii. 904 n. 3. For Mt Ossa and its cults (no sign of Zeus) see F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 40f.

ii. 904 n. 4. F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 46f. describes Homolion and states that on its *akropolis* (233^m above sea-level), beneath the unroofed chapel of St Elias, remains of a temple have come to light together with glazed sherds of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Close by was found the foot of a colossal statue (c. 5^m high) with a thunderbolt represented on its sandal. This is now preserved in the Museum at Volo, and may fairly be taken as implying the local cult of Zeus [*Ἰουλιώσις*?].

ii. 904 n. 6. H. Scheffel 'Eine antike Opferstätte auf dem Olymp' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1922 (published 1924) xlvii. 129f. reports that in the summer of 1923 he climbed the highest peak of Mt Olympos and found there no trace of ancient cult, but that on one of the neighbouring summits (c. 2900^m high, *i.e.* c. 100^m below the true top) he recognised remains of an altar and, strewn among the stones of the peak, some hundreds of sherds, badly weathered and broken. Perhaps one half of their number showed traces of ancient black glaze, and the fragments collected must have come from several dozen vessels—small cups, jugs, bowls, etc., mostly of late classical times. Scheffel justly identifies this with the altar of Zeus mentioned by Solin. 8. 6 (*supra* i. 103 n. 1).

F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 pp. 5—11 gives a good description of the mountain with concise geological, topographical, and historical notes.

But by far the most important source for exact knowledge of Olympos is now M. Kurz *Le Mont Olympe (Thessalie)* Paris—Neuchâtel 1923. This well-written and brilliantly illustrated monograph contains a historical introduction (pp. 7—35), a full record of successive explorations (pp. 37—157), chapters on cartography (pp. 159—186) and toponomy (pp. 187—207), with sundry appendixes (pp. 209—232). Its illustrations include 3 photographic panoramas, 14 plates, and 2 coloured maps, one of which (scale 1 : 20,000) is a special survey made by the author (*supra* p. 906 n. 0).

ii. 910 n. 1. B. Pace 'Il tempio di Giove Olimpico in Agrigento' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1922 xxviii. 173—252 with pls. 1—3 and figs. 1—31 gives a historical account of the temple and of the attempts hitherto made to recover its arrangements (pp. 175—198), a fresh discussion of its plan, elevation, roof, doors, Atlantes, and sculpture (pp. 199—236), and an Appendix on ancient buildings with *façades* involving an uneven number of columns (pp. 237—252). The main conclusions reached by the author are as follows. The temple had a central nave and two side aisles (*κρηττοί περὶπατοί*, cp. Athen. 206A). The cross-wall at the western end of the nave marked the beginning of an *adyton*, which could be entered also from the aisles. The building was hypaethral, the central nave being left open like an *atrium*, though the *adyton* and the side aisles were roofed over. Whether it had pediments is doubtful (R. Pierce on p. 208 ff. is clear that it had not, and on pl. 3 restores it without them). The metopes at either end were carved; those of the long sides were plain. The Atlantes and Caryatids were not placed in the external intercolumniations (*supra* p. 914 fig. 827), but engaged in the internal pilasters of the hypaethral nave (N. Maggiore 'Nota sulla collocazione dei così detti giganti nell' Olimpico agrigentino' in *Due opuscoli archeologici* Palermo 1834 p. 21). No ramps are assumed.

ii. 920 n. 0. C. Picard in 1923 reconstructed from remains of sculpture in the Artemision at Delos two lionesses with heads raised in attendance on the goddess. He supposes that this group was set up near the Keraton or altar of horns (G. Glotz *La civilisation égéenne* Paris 1923 p. 476).

ii. 922 n. 0. See now Rubensohn 'Das Delion von Paros' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 118—121.

ii. 929 n. 0. W. Aly *Der kretische Apollonkult* Leipzig 1908 p. 47 n. 4 regards the hound of Praisos (Theophr. *περὶ ἔρωτος frag.* 113 Wimmer *ap.* Strab. 478, cp. *Ant. Lib.* 36 (*supra* i. 720 n. 4), schol. *Od.* 19. 518, schol. *Pind. Ol.* 1. 91 a) as a sort of Kerberos, guardian of the Dictaeon Zeus.

ii. 933 n. 0. See now M. M. Gillies 'The Ball of Eros (Ap. Rhod. iii. 135 ff.)' in the *Class. Rev.* 1924 xxxviii. 50f.

ii. 957 n. 2 on Zeus at Sardeis. E. Littmann in *Sardis* vi. 1. 13 (cp. *ib.* pp. 42, 70) quotes from two Lydian inscriptions the four following phrases:

no. 4 (inv. 1), b 4f. *fakmūt Hūdāns | Artemuk vqbahēnt*, 'then him may Hūdāns and Artemis destroy.'

no. 23 (inv. 7), 1 *Hūdān. Artimuu daquwe.st*, 'is sacred to Hūdāns and Artemis' (?).

no. 23 (inv. 7), 3 f. *Hūdāns Tavśas* | *Artimuk Ibsīmsis katsarlokid*, 'Hūdāns Tavśas and Artemis of Ephesos will punish.'

no. 23 (inv. 7), 10 *Hūdānk Artimuk katsarlokid*, 'Hūdāns as well as Artemis will punish.'

W. H. Buckler *ib.* p. 13 very acutely suggests that *Hūdāns Tavśas* is Ζεὺς Ἰδηνός. He observes: 'Hyde was the ancient, or one of the ancient names, of Sardis (STRAB. XIII, 4. 6), and as in the third century B.C. one could speak of the Carian god Komyros without also calling him Zeus (LYKOPH. Al. 459: καραίων θύσθλα Κομύρω, and TZETZES *ad loc.*), so one could probably have mentioned Hūdāns without the additional name *Tavśas*. The Old-Indian god Dyaus (*Dyāvít*) is the same as Zeus, and since *í* in Lydian often takes the place of *á*, *Tavśas* might represent *D(y)avít-as*, and this would be very similar to Dyaus. In the big stele (No. [23]) sacred to *Hūdāns* and *Artemis*, the god mentioned before Artemis must be an important one. We know that Zeus' temple shared the precinct of Artemis at Sardis, that Tmolos disputed with Crete the honor of Zeus' birthplace, that Zeus was very important in Lydia, being mentioned and depicted on coins of Sardis and many other towns, in short that next to Artemis he was by far the most important local deity.... The termination of *Hūdāns* does not seem to be found in any other Lydian adjective denoting origin, but we cannot be sure that it is not a possible form, and it certainly suggests the Greek termination Σαρδι-ανός, or -ηνός. Or perhaps *Hūdāns* is no adjective, but the original name of the Lydian Zeus.'

Id. ib. vi. 2. 11 and 44 retains *Tavśas*=Ζεῦσις (Hesych. *s.v.* Μηδινέσις cited *supra* p. 312 n. 5), but now transliterates *Pndāns* (not *Hūdāns*) and refers to O. A. Danielsson 'Zu den lydischen Inschriften' in the *Skrifter utgifna af Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala* 1917 xx. 2. 24 f., who compares *Tavśas* with the man's name *Ταυσάς, gen. Ταυσάδος (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 46 a 64 = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 743 ff. no. 5727 a 64 from Halikarnassos), and equates *Pndāns* with Ἀπόλλων (-λδ-=-λλ-, cp. Carian Ἰσσωλλδος = Ἰσσωλλος in the last-mentioned inscription).

Mr Buckler informs me (May 19, 1924) that his identification of *Tavśas* with Ζεὺς has been accepted by Professors A. H. Sayce and J. Fraser. Dr P. Giles, whom I consulted on the point (Dec. 27, 1924), sees no objection.

The Zeus-cults of Lydia in general are listed by J. Keil 'Die Kulte Lydiens' in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* edd. W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder Manchester 1923 pp. 259—261. The list includes no fewer than twenty-five appellatives, eight of which are epithets in -ηνός.

ii. 962 n. 0 on the Zeus-cults of Miletos. Add A. Rehm in *Milet* i. 7. 290 ff. no. 203 b 12 f. (cult-regulation of c. 130 B.C.) the priest τοῦ Δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης must have been τελεσθεὶς Διὶ | Τελεσιουργῶ, *ib.* i. 7. 299 ff. no. 204 a 13 f. (cult-regulation of s. i A.D.) the priest of Asklepios must have been τελεσθεὶς Διὶ Τελεσ[ε]ουργῶι with remarks on p. 297 f., *ib.* i. 7. 347 nos. 275 ('in der zweischiffigen Halle') small altar of white marble decorated with a double axe, to left and right of which is inscribed in late Hellenistic lettering Δε||δς Λα||βρα||υ||δ||έ||ω||ς, 276 ('in der zweischiffigen Halle') small altar decorated with a double axe, beneath which in late Hellenistic letters is Διὸς Λαβραῦνδου, 277 ('in der zweischiffigen Halle') small altar of grey-blue marble decorated with a double axe, to left of which is Λέων | Ἰεροκλείου | Διὶ | Λαβραῦνδου, 278 ('in der Füllung der Justiniansmauer') small altar of white-grey marble decorated with a double axe, round which is inscribed Δε||δς | Κε||ρα||υ||λιου.

ii. 970 n. 0. Other inscriptions relating to Agdistis are as follows: (1) P. Jouguet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 398 f. = Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 28 small slab of white marble, on sale at Gizeh in 1896 but possibly brought from the Fayum, in lettering of reign of Ptolemy ii Philadelphos ὑπὲρ βασιλείου Πτολεμαίου | τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης Μόσχος ὁ ἱερεὺς | τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ τέμενος | Ἀγδίστει ἐπηκῶι | ἰδρύσατο.

(2) J. Keil—A. v. Premerstein 'Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1914 i. Abh. p. 18 ff. no. 18 = O. Weinreich 'Stiftung und Kultsatzungen eines Privatheiligtums in Philadelpheia in Lydien' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1919 Abh. xvi. 1—68 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 985 a *stèle* of whitish marble, found at Philadelpheia in Lydia and containing in late Hellenistic script (s. i or ii (?) B.C.) the regulations of an οἶκος, or private sanctuary, of Agdistis established by one Dionysios in accordance with a dream vouchsafed to him by Zeus. The inscription enumerates the deities who have altars in the 'house' (vv. 1—11), gives a long list of ritual and moral prescriptions (vv. 12—50), mentions Agdistis as the guardian and mistress of the 'house' (vv. 50—60), and ends with a

solemn prayer to Zeus Σωτήρ (vv. 60—64). The first and last portions are as follows: I ff. ἀγαθῆι τ[ύχηι]. | ἀνεγράψασαν ἐφ' ἡγείαι κα[ὶ κοινῆι σωτηρίαι] | καὶ δόξῃ τῆι ἀρίστηι τὰ δοθέντα παραγγέλλ[ου]τα Διονυσίω καθ' ἕπνον π[ρόσοδον διδόν]τ' εἰς τὸν ἐναντοῦ οἶκον ἀνδρά[σιν] καὶ γυναῖξιν | ἐλευθέρους καὶ οἰκέταις· Διὸς [γὰρ ἐν τούτοις] | τοῦ Εὐμενοῦς (supra p. 960 n. ο) καὶ Ἐστίας τ[ῆς] παρέδρου αὐ[τῆς] τοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Σωτ[ήρων] καὶ Εὐδαί[μωνίας] καὶ Πλούτου καὶ Ἀρετῆς [καὶ Ἑγείας] | καὶ Τύχης Ἀγαθῆς καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ [Δαίμονος καὶ Μνή]μης καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Νίκης εἰσὶν ἰδ[ρυμένοι βωμοί]. | τούτ[ω] δέδωκεν ὁ Ζεὺς παραγγέλλ[ου]ματα τοὺς τε ἄ[γχι]μοῖς καὶ τοὺς καθαροῖς κα[ὶ τὰς] θυσίας ἐπι[τελεῖν] κατὰ τε τὰ πάτρια καὶ ὡς νῦν [ἐλθίσται]. κ.τ.λ. 50 ff. [τὰ παραγγέλλου]τα ταῦτα ἐτέθησαν παρὰ Ἀγχιδιστῆν [τὴν ἀγχιδιστῆν] | φύλακα καὶ οἰκοδέσποιναν τοῦδε τοῦ οἴκου, ἧτις ἀγαθὰς | διανοίας ποιείτω ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναῖξιν [ἐλευθέρους καὶ] | δούλοις, ἵνα κατακολουθῶσι τοῖς ὡδε γεγραμμένοις, καὶ ἐν | ταῖς θυσίαις ταῖς τε ἐμμήνοις καὶ ταῖς κατὰ ἐναντὸν ἄ[γχι]πτεθωσαν, ὅσοι πιστεύουσιν ἐα[υτοῖς] ἄνδρες τε καὶ | [γυν]ναῖκες, τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης, ἐν ἧι τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ παραγγέλλ[ου]ματὰ εἰσὶν γεγραμμένα, ἵνα φαῖεροί γίνωνται οἱ κατα[[κολου]θοῦ[ν]τες τοῖς παραγγέλλ[ου]μασιν καὶ οἱ μὴ κατακολου[[θοῦν]τες. [Ζεῦ] Σωτήρ, τὴν ἀφήγησιν ταύτην ἰλέως καὶ | [εὐμεν]ῶς προσδέχου καὶ προσ[space for c. 18 letters] | [πάρ]εχε ἀγαθὰς ἀμοιβὰς, [ἡγείαν, σωτηρίαν, εἰρήνην, ἀσφάλεια]ν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης ἐμοί τε καὶ τοῖς | [εἰσπορευο]μένοις ὁμοίω[s].

(3) J. Keil 'Denkmäler des Meter-Kultes' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. Arch. Inst.* 1915 xviii. 73 f. fig. 45 republishes (cp. A. Conze in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1880 xxxviii. 4 pl. 3, 3) a fragmentary votive relief of grey-blue marble, now in the Estense collection at Vienna, which represents a goddess (Agdistis) standing, with a *kálathos* on her head, a *phiale* in her right hand, and a large *tympanon* in her left, between two lions. To her right stands a youthful god (Attis) in short *chiton* and *chlamys*. To her left (now missing) stood an elderly god (Zeus), whose hand held a sceptre. On the left margin of the relief is a small torch-bearing maiden. Below, in lettering of s. iii B.C., is inscribed Ἀναξιδόλη [- -] [Ἀ]γχιδιστῆι ἀνέθηκεν]. I am indebted to Mr B. F. C. Atkinson for a notice of this inscription.

ii. 1059 on burial in the house. See further H. J. Rose *The Roman Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1924 p. 202 (note on *quaestt. Rom.* 79).

ii. 1065 n. ο. H. Bolkestein 'The Exposure of Children at Athens and the ἐγχυτρίστραι' in *Classical Philology* 1922 xvii. 222—239 (summarised in the *Class. Quart.* 1923 xvii. 206), arguing 'that the current idea as to the normality of *expositio* is totally unfounded,' interprets ἐγχυτρίσειν 'to throw into a pit (χέτρος = βόθρος), to sacrifice in a pit to the dead' and so 'to burn up, to destroy,' ἐγχυτρίστραι 'women who sacrificed to the dead.'

ii. 1089. G. Seure 'ΤΕΛΕΣΦΟΡΟΣ-ΤΙΛΕΣΠΟΡΟΣ' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1918 xxxi. 389—398, following up a suggestion of S. Reinach 'Télesphore' *ib.* 1901 xiv. 343—349 = *id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1906 ii. 255—261, contends that Télésporos, though Greek in appearance, was Thracian in origin. He points out that a Thracian name *Τιλε-σπόρις, *Τιλε-σπόρος, of legitimate formation but of unknown significance, might well have been Hellenised into Τελεσφόρος.

ii. 1101 n. 3. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1921 p. 442 publishes an inscription from the western slope of the *Akrópolis* at Athens, where it was built into the wall of a later *Lásche*: *ἕπερον | Διὸς Ζεῦ]ο Θυμαίτιδος φρα]τρίσας*. He infers that the phratry Thymaitis had a sanctuary of Zeus *Ξένιος* near the *Lásche*.

ii. 1102 n. ο. On the relief in the Terme Museum (fig. 939) see further P. Perdrizet 'D'une certaine espèce de reliefs archaïsants' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 211—218 with pl. 13.

ii. 1118. G. Welter 'Das Olympieion in Athen' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1922 (published 1924) xlvii. 61—71 with pls. 7—10 marks an important advance in our knowledge of the Olympieion.

(1) Within the eastern portion of its foundations there has come to light the lowest course of a pre-Peisistratic *peristasis*, of which the N. wall was uncovered by F. C. Penrose, the W. by Welter. The wall was 2.50^m thick, and the *peristasis* measured 30.50^m broad by c. 60^m long. This was τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν built by Deukalion (Paus. i. 18. 8).

(2) The temple of the Peisistratidai, begun c. 515 B.C., was a more ambitious structure, having the same proportions, size, and plan as its Hellenistic—Hadrianic successor. It was designed as an Ionic dipteral building with eight columns on the short side and twenty on the long side. Its length and breadth (107.70^m × 42.90^m) make it comparable

with the great Ionic temples of eastern Greece—the Artemision at Ephesos ($109.20^m \times 55.10^m$) and the second Heraion at Samos ($108.73^m \times 52.41^m$). The foundations, continuous for the outermost columns, separate for the inner rows, are laid in neat polygonal courses of Akropolis-limestone and Kara-stone with a *euthynteria* of hard *póros*. The stylobate had three steps of *póros*. No column-bases have been found. But unfluted drums of *póros* show a lower diameter of 2.42^m and enable us to conclude that the height of the shafts was *c.* 16^m .

Welter suggests that the Peisistratidai, as a counterbast to the Delphic activities of the Alkmaionidai, not only rebuilt the Telesterion at Eleusis (520—515 B.C.), but also tried to establish a panHellenic Zeus-cult at Athens. He thinks that these two enterprises were not unconnected. Hippias dealt in oracles (Hdt. 5. 93, cp. 90), Hipparchos in dreams (Hdt. 5. 36); and Hipparchos was at one time under the influence of Onomakritos (Hdt. 7. 6). Such men might well honour Zeus as the supreme god of the Orphic cosmogony. But, with the fall of the mystically-minded Peisistratidai, the vast temple was left unfinished, and the democracy reverted to the worship of Athena.



Fig. 1024.

ii. 1133 n. 1. With fig. 957 cp. the Roman mural relief of Mars and Apollo with an oracular bird on a pillar in a cage (G. P. Campana *Antiche opere in plastica* Roma 1842—1851 pl. 19, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 381 no. D 507, Von Rohden—Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 20f. figs. 29—32).

ii. 1143 fig. 964. A specimen in the British Museum (fig. 1024 from a cast) shows the type somewhat more clearly.

CORRIGENDA

- ii. 19 line 2. For 'Kynados' read 'Kounados.'
- ii. 67 n. 3. For 'p. 377^t' read 'p. 57.'
- ii. 115 n. 2 line 4. For 'οπερ' read 'δπερ.'
- ii. 120 n. 1 last quotation. For 'Ομηρος' read "Ομηρος."
- ii. 133 n. ο. For 'Gaulminus' read 'Gualminus' *bis*.
- ii. 182 n. 1 line 5. For 'Nationalmus.' read 'Nationalmus.'
- ii. 209 n. 2 line 10. For 'Ολμων' read "Ολμων."
- ii. 241 n. 4 line 6 from bottom of page. For 'Pherekyde' read 'Pherekydes.'
- ii. 298 n. 2. For 'Modius' read 'Modius.'
- ii. 423 n. 3 *sub fin.* For 'Riðbenhavn' read 'Kiðbenhavn.'
- ii. 436 n. 7. For '376 f.' read '22 ff.'
- ii. 547 n. '2' should be numbered n. '4,' and n. '3' should be numbered n. '5.'
- ii. 565 n. 2 line 5. For 'η' read 'ἦ.'
- ii. 664 n. 1 line 10. For 'syrinx' read 'sφrinx.'
- ii. 714 n. 2 line 2. For 'Εκάτης' read 'Εκάρτης.'
- ii. 729 n. ο line 15 from bottom of page. For 'ii 208 f.' read 'ii. 208 f.'
- ii. 774 n. 1 line 7. For 'Vishna' read 'Vishnu.'
- ii. 784 n. 7. For 'Kentoripai' read 'Kentouripai.'
- ii. 806 n. 8. For 'άστεροπητής' read 'άστεροπητής.'
- ii. 808 n. ο line 11. For 'δ' read 'δ.'
- ii. 829 line 23. For 'they delay' read 'thy delay.'
- ii. 868 n. 6 line 4. For 'puđ' read 'apud.'
- ii. 874 n. 2 last line. For '874' read '873.'
- ii. 916 n. ο line 15. For 'Ολύμπιος' read 'Ολύμπιος.'
- ii. 960 n. ο line 13 from bottom of page. For 'Hadrianas' read 'Hadrian as.'
- ii. 968 n. ο line 2. For 'νεωκόρ[ος]' read 'νεωκόρ[ος].'
- ii. 975 n. ο line 7 from bottom of page. For 'Πεπειτλου β' read 'Πεπειτλου ιβ'.'
- ii. 977 n. ο line 14. For 'historica' read 'historical.'
- ii. 1088 line 14 from bottom of page. For 'inscr. Gr. i' read 'inscr. Gr. ii.'
- ii. 1093 n. 1 line 5. For 'recques' read 'grecques.'
- ii. 1128 n. ο line 1. For 'Αγαθόν' read 'Αγαθόν.'
- ii. 1140 n. 3 line 4. For 'Lyaea' read 'Lyaea).'
- ii. 1178 line 7. For 'Greek' read 'Great.'



Bronze medallion of Commodus,
struck 185 A.D. (Gnechi *Medagl.*
Rom. ii. 59 f. no. 74 pl. 83, 2).
Supra p. 1209 n. 2.

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 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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 Adrastos (Adrestos), s. of Gordios (Gordies)
 311₈
 Adriana or Adriania See Hadrianea
 Adrianoi in Mysia
 Cult: Zeus 127
 Aëdon
 Myth: Polytechnos 693
 Aedui
 Rites: burial within the house 1059
 Aeneas 472 1071 See also Aineias
 Aenona
 Cult: Ianus Augustus 325
 Aeolians
 Cult: Zeus' Ὀμολόιος 901₀
 In relation to Achaeans 1123₆ Minyai
 1149₃
 — in Thessaly and Central Greece
 regard king as Zeus 1088
 Aequi 404₄
 Aequitas 99₁
 Aer
 Genealogy: f. of Mot by Chaos 1038
 f. of Motos (?) by Aura 1036 1038
 m. of Oulomos by Aither 1037 f. s.
 of Pothos and Omichle 1036 1038
 Aesculapius (sc. Aesculapius) 1086
 Aescolapius (sc. Aesculapius) 1086
 Aesculapius
 Cults: Etruria 1085 f. Narona 1086
 Praeneste 1086 Rome 1080 1083
 1086 Sardinia 1086 Tiber-island
 1083 1086
 Epithets: Deus Bonus 724₀ *secundus*
 1088 *tertius* 1089
 Genealogy: b. of Mercurius secundus
 1088
 Aesernia, coins of 831₁₍₂₎
 Aeternus
 Cult: Taurini 306₄
 Aëtios, king of Troizen 414₂
 Aetna, Mt See Aitne, Mt
 Aetna
 Genealogy: m. of Palicus by Volcanus
 909₀
 See also Aitne, nymph
 Aetos
 Myths: serves Zeus in Idaean Cave
 933₀ transformed by Hera into eagle
 933₀
 Genealogy: s. of Ge 933₀
 Africa, Roman
 Cult: Ba'al-hammân 554₃
 Agamedes
 Function: hypostasis of Zeus (?) 1075
 — *bêthros* of, at Lebadeia 1075 sleep
 of, at Delphoi 232₄
 Agamemnon
 Epithets: ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων 1209₇
 ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν 1070 εὐρυκρείων 1069
 Myths: Briseis 726 dedicates ship of
 stone to Artemis Βολοσία 906₃
 sceptre of Zeus 547₂ 956₂ f. Tegea
 in Crete 1147₆
 Genealogy: f. of Elektra 1132₆ f. of
 Orestes 1179 s. of Atreus 957₀
 Functions: aithér 1069 buried king
 1130₁ human Zeus 1179
 Etymology: 1069 f.
 Compared with Zeus 1069 f.
 In relation to Menelaos 447₅
 — sceptre of 1132₄ 1132₆ soul of,
 becomes eagle 1132
 Agamemnon, the god (?) 1069
 Agasthenes 712
 Agatha, St, of Catania 347₀
 Agathe
 Cult: Epidauros 1126₀
 Associated with Agathos Theos 1126₀
 Agathe Tyche
 Cults: Athens 1125₁ 1129₀ Delos 1128₀
 Peiraieus 1104 f.
 Genealogy: w. of Zeus Φιλίος 1104 f.
 Attributes: cornu copiae 1128₀ *oinochôe*
 1128₀
 Types: Euphranor 1127₀ Praxiteles
 1127₀

Agathe Tyche (*cont.*)

Associated with Agathos Daimon 1125₁
1128₀ cp. 1228

See also Tyche Ἀγαθή

Agathodaemones 1127₀

Agathodaimoniastai 925₀ 1129₀

Agathodaimonistai 1129₀

Agathoi Daimones

Cult: Alexandria 1127₀

Type: snakes 1127₀

Agathos Angelos

Cult: Stratonikeia 880₍₀₎

See also Theios Angelos

Agathos Daimon

Cults: Alexandria 1127₀ 1128₀ Athens

1125₁ Delos 1128₀ Eumeneia in

Phrygia 970₀ Kentoripa (?) 1129₀

Philadelphieia in Lydia 1229 Phoi-

niké 1127₀ Rhodes the town 925₀

Teos 1066 Thespiasi 1125₁ 1161

Epithet: Νέος 98₀

Rite: cup of unmixed wine drunk

after dinner 1125 1129₀

Personated by Antinoos 1128₀ Nero 98₀

1128₀ Philippus i of Rome 970₀

Functions: chthonian 1129₀ fertility

1125₁ 1129₀ male ancestor 1125₁

wealth 1125₁

Attributes: corn-ears 98₀ *cornu copiae*

1117₇ (?) 1125₁ 1128₀ eagle 1125₁

phiale 1125₁ 1128₀ poppy-heads 98₀

sceptre 1125₁ *skhent* 98₀

Types: animal and human 1128₀

bearded 1125₁ beardless 1126₀ Eu-

phranor 1126₀ 1127₀ Praxiteles 1127₀

snake 98₀ 1127₀ 1128₀

Identified with Dionysos 1129₀ Kneph

1127₀ 1128₀

Assimilated to Zeus 1125₁

Associated with Agathe Tyche 1125₁

1128₀ cp. 1228 Zeus Ἀγαβύριος 925₀

Compared with Zeus Ἐπιτέλειος Φίλιος

1163 Zeus Φίλιος 1161

In relation to Dionysos 1129₀

— toast of 1129₀

Agathos Deos (*sic*)

Cult: Athens 985₀

Agathos Theos

Cults: Athens 1129₀ Epidauros 1126₀

Megalopolis 1125₁

Function: a sort of Zeus 1126₀

Attributes: *cornu copiae* 1126₀ sceptre

1126₀ snake 1126₀

Associated with Agathe 1126₀

Agathyrsi tattooed 123₀

Agauē 347₀ (?)

Agdestis (?) 970₀

Agdistios (?) 970₀

Agdistis

Cults: Egypt 1228 Ikonion 970₀ Panti-

kapaion 970₀ Pessinous 970₀ Phila-

delpheia in Lydia 1229 Phrygia 970₀

Epithets: Ἐπήκοος 1228 [τῆν ἀγρωτάτην]

φύλακα καὶ οἰκοδόσποιαν τοῦδε τοῦ

[ἱκον] 1228

Agdistis (*cont.*)

Myths: 969₄ 970₀ castrated by himself

969₄ castrated by the gods 969₄

Liber 969₄

Attributes: *kálathos* 1229 *phiale* 1229

týmpanon 1229

Type: standing between two lions

with *kálathos* on head, *phiale* in

right hand and *týmpanon* in left,

flanked by Attis and Zeus 1229

Identified with Kybele 970₀ Mother of

the gods 970₀ Rhea 970₀

Associated with Attis and Zeus 1229

Agdos, Mt

Myths: Agdistis 969₄ 970₀ Deukalion

970₀ 971₀ Zeus and the Magna

Mater 969₄

Agedincum

Cults: Mars 99₃ Vesta 99₃ Vulcanus

99₃

Agesandros (= Hades) 1113₍₂₎

Agesilaos (= Hades) 1113₍₂₎ 1168₅

Agesipolis 7

Agis 7

Agis, f. of Amphikles 421

Aglaopes (*sc.* Asklepios) 1085

Aglaophamos 1024

Aglapios (*sc.* Asklepios) 1085

Aglibolos

Cult: Emesa 814₃

Agnes, St 1050

Agnostoi Theoi

Cult: Olympia 1100₁

Agnostos Theos

Cult: Athens 942₀

Agon

Cult: Kaulonia (?) 1042

Agonium 19₀

Agra

Cults: Meter 554₂ Meter ἐν Ἄγρας

1142₃ (?) Zeus Μελίχιος 1142₃ (?)

Rites: Lesser Mysteries (c. Anthes-

terion 20) 1139

Agreus 715₄ 1037

Agrigentum

Cults: Athena 910₁ Zeus Ἀγαβύριος

910₁ Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 911₀ ff. 1227

Zeus Ποσειεύς 910₁

— coins of 667 667₃ Olympion at

911₀ ff. *Porta Aurea* at 910₁ tombs

for horses at 1146₀

Agrionia 164₀ 924₀

Agyieus See Apollon *Epithets* Ἀγυιεύς

and Zeus *Epithets* Ἀγυιεύς

Agyieus, the Hyperborean 169

Agyrion 1146₀

Ahriman

Attributes: key 1054 sceptre 1053

thunderbolt 1053

Types: lion-headed 664₁ 1053 with

wings on shoulders and haunches,

snake coiled about him, key in

right hand, sceptre in left, and

thunderbolt on breast or at side

1053 f.

- Ahura Mazdāh**
Myth: cosmic egg 1036
Function: creator 1036
Identified with Zeus Στράτιος 976₀
- Aia** 904₁
Aiakidai 894₃
Aiakos
Myth: drought 894₃, 895₁
Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Aigina d. of Asopos 894₃
- Aias** 1137₂
Aietes 108
Aigai in Aiolis
Cults: Apollon Χρηστήριος 954₀, Istia Βολλαια (? Βόλλαια) 259₀, Zeus Βόλλαιος 259₀
- Aigai in Makedonia**
Cult: Zeus Ὑψιστος 878₀(9), 906₂
- Aigaion, Mt**
Cults: Aphrodite (?) 927₀, Ariadne (?) 927₀, Zeus 925₁, 926₀, 927₀
Myth: birth of Zeus 925₁
 — cave on, identified with Psychro Cave 925, cave on, wrongly identified with Dictaeon Cave 926₀
- Aigeirotomoi** 497₅
Aigesthios (?) 970₀
Aigeus consults Themis 206 sword of 627₆
Aigialos, katabásion at 14
Aigina
Cults: Apollon 184, Poseidon 184₆, Zeus Ἐλλάδιος 894₃, Zeus Πανελλήνιος 894₃, 895₀, 895₁
- Aigina, d. of Asopos** 187₈, 189₀, 894₃
Aigion
Cults: Hera 210₀, Herakles 742₅, Zeus Παῖς 742 f. 749 826₆
- Aigipan**
Myth: sinews of Zeus 449₀
In relation to Aigokeros 932₁, 933₀
- Aigle (Aigla), m. of Asklepios** 488₀(10), 1086
Aigokeros
Myths: foster-brother of Zeus on Mt Ide in Crete 932₁, 933₀, 938₀, helps Zeus against Titans 933₀, invents shell-trumpet 933₀, 938₀, transformed into constellation by Zeus 933₀
Genealogy: s. of Aix 933₀
Associated with Zeus 938₀
In relation to Aigipan 932₁, 933₀
 — derived from Mesopotamia 938₀, reaches Crete by same route as Zagreus 938₀
- Aigolios, a Cretan** 929₀
Aigyptos See Egypt
Aigyptos, the river Nile
Epithet: Διπετής 481
- Aineias**
Myth: sacra of Troy 1068
Etymology: 384₀
 See also Aeneas
- Ainianes**
Cult: Zeus Ὀρομπάτας 869₀
 — coins of 869₀
- Ainos in Thrace**
Cults: Asklepios 1079, Hermes Περφεραῖος 496₀
 — coins of 1079
- Ainos, Mt**
Cult: Zeus Αἰνήσιος 907₂
Myth: Boreadai pursue Harpyiai 907₂
 — ascent of 907₂, 908₀
- Aiolos**
Genealogy: 1088 b. of Boiotos 317 f. of Athamas 904₁ f. of Sisyphos 1150₄
 — kings descended from, pose as human Zeus 1088 1122 1159
- Aion**
Epithets: ἄμβροτος 830₇, καμπύλος 831₀
Festival: Jan. 5 337₂
Genealogy: 981₁ s. of Ianus 337
Type: lion-headed (See Ahriman)
Identified with Ianus 337
- Aischlabios (sc. Asklepios)** 1085
Aisclapius (sc. Aesculapius) 1085 f.
Aiscolapius (sc. Aesculapius) 1086
Aisculapius (sc. Aesculapius) 1086
Aisklapius (sc. Asklepios) 1085
Aisklapios (sc. Asklepios) 1085
Aison 211
Aison, the vase-painter 206₁ (?)
- Aither**
Epithets: νοερός (Lobeck cj. νοτερός) 1022
Genealogy: f. of Eros by Nyx 315₄, 1051 f. of Oulomos by Aer 1037 f. f. of Zeus 941₀ s. of Chronos 1024 s. of Chronos or Herakles by Ananke or Adrasteia 1022 s. of Erebos and Nyx 315₄
- Aithiops tattooed** 123₀
Aithra, d. of Pitheus 800 (?)
- Aitnaia** 908₁
Aitne (formerly Inessa)
Cult: Zeus Αἰτναῖος (?) 908₁
Aitne (formerly Katane)
Cults: Silenos 908₁, 909₀, Zeus Αἰτναῖος 908₁, 909₀
Festival: Aitnaia 908₁
 — coins of 908₁, 909₀
- Aitne, Mt**
Cults: Hadran 630, Hephaistos 630, Zeus Αἰτναῖος 908₁, 909₀, 910₀
Myths: Polyphemos 909₀, Silenos 909₀, Typhon 449₀
- Aitne, nymph**
Genealogy: m. of Palikoi by Zeus 909₀
- Aix**
Myth: transformed into constellation by Zeus 933₀
Genealogy: m. of Aigokeros 933₀
- Aix, s. of Python** 217₂
- Aixone**
Cults: Demeter 730₀, Poseidon 730₀, Zeus 730₀
- Aizanis (?)** 964₃
Aizanitis 964₃
Aizanoi 964₃
Cults: Dioskouroi 313, Hadrian 1120₀

- Aizanoi (cont.)**
 1121₀ Iupiter *Aezanensis* 968₀ Iupiter *Aezaniticus* 968₀ Theos Ἱψιστος 882₀₍₂₃₎ 968₀ Zeus 965₀ ff. Zeus (?) Ἱψιστος 882₀₍₂₃₎
Festival: Megala Panhellenia 1121₀
Priest: νεωκόπος 967₀
Rite: sacrifice of fox and hedgehog 964₃
Myths: Aizen, s. of Tantalos 964₃ Azan, s. of Arkas 964₃ Euphorbos 964₃
 — coins of 313 964₃ f. 968₀ named Exouanoun 964₃ priestly kings at 964₃ f.
- Aizen, s. of Tantalos** 964₃
Akakallis 218₀
Akakesion
Cult: Despoina 231₈
 — reliefs in precinct near 231₈
- Akamas (?)** 280₁
Akarnania
Cults: Artemis 412 Zeus 743₇ Zeus Καραός 1226
 — coins of 412 743₇ 'one-eyed' monsters of 993₂
- Ake** See Ptolemaïs in Phoinike
Akmon, founder of Akmonia 312₆
Akmonia
Cults: Dioskouroi 313 Μάνης Δάος (or Δάης) Ἡλιοδρόμος Zeus 312₆ Theos Ἱψιστος 882₀₍₂₃₎ 968₁
Myths: founded by Akmon 312₆ Zeus nursed by Rhea under protection of Kouretes 968₁
 — coins of 313
- Akragas** See Agrigentum
Akraï in Sicily
Cults: Zeus [Ἀγο]ραῖος (?) 873₀₍₁₁₎ Zeus [Ἀκ]ραῖος 873₀₍₁₁₎ Zeus Ἀκραῖος 915₁
- Akraiphia**
Cults: Apollon Ἡρώϊος 238₀ Zeus Ἐλευθέριος (= Nero) 97₀ Zeus Ὀπωρεύς 1074
- Akrisias**
Cult: Phrygia 1155 f.
Functions: doublet of Akrisios 1155 mountain (?) 1156 Pbyrgian Kronos 1155 f.
Etymology: 1156₆
Identified with Arkesios (?) or Arkeios (?) 1156
- Akrisios**
Cult: Larissa in Thessaly 1155
Myths: Proitos 1146₀ slain by Perseus 1155
Functions: doublet of Akrisias 1155 king personating sky-god 1156 mountain (?) 1156
Etymology: 1156₆ 1156₆
Type: bearded king 1155
Identified with Arkesios (?) or Arkeios (?) 1156
- Ak Tash in Lydia**
Cult: Hypsistos 881₀₍₂₀₎
 See also Temenothyraï
- Aktor, reputed f. of Kteatos and Eurytos** 1015₈
- Alabanda**
Cults: Apollon Ἐλευθέριος Σεβαστός (= Augustus) 97₀ Apollon Κισαῖος (less probably Κισσέος) 247₀ 248₀
 — coins of 247₀ 248₀
 See also Antiotheia in Chrysaoris
- Alaisa (Halaesa)**
Cult: Zeus Ἐλευθέριος 1158₆
 — coins of 1158₆ Meilichieion at 1158
- Alaisiagae**
Cult: Borcovicium 51₁
- Alalkomeneus** 898₆
- Alani**
Cult: sword of Mars 548₀
- Alba Longa, kings of, crowned with oak** 417₅
- Alban Mt**
Cults: Iupiter *Latiaris* 46₃ Zeus Κεραῖνιος 808₀₍₁₆₎
- Albania, Kyklopes in folk-tale from** 999 f.
- Albano** 1146₀
- Albanon** 694₀
- Alektrona** See Elektryone
- Aleos**
Genealogy: f. of Kepheus 1083 1148 f. of Minyas 1150₅ gf. of Antinoe 1083
In relation to Athena: Ἄλεα 1147
- Alexander (sc. Alexandros of Abonou Teichos)**
Cult: Blatsche 1084
- Alexander the Great adopted by Zeus** Ἄμμων 986₀ coins of 760 f. lily grows on statue of 773₀ receives Celts of the Adriatic 55 reverts to pre-Pheidiaic type of Zeus 760 f.
- Alexandra, the goddess** 1069
- Alexandreia**
Cults: Agathoi Daimones 1127₀ Agathos Daimon 1127₀ 1128₀ Arsinoe ii 1216 Caesar Ἐπιβατήριος 1180₄ Helios 889₀₍₃₃₎ Heros 1127₀ Nemeseis 889₀₍₃₃₎ Nemesis 864₀ Nero 1128₀ Sarapis 1158 Theos Ἱψιστος καὶ πάντων Ἐπόπτης 889₀₍₃₃₎ 984₂ Zeus Μελιχίος 1158 Zeus Νέμειος 1187₀ Zeus Οὐράνιος 1158
Rites: torch-lighting 1158 wheaten meal offered to snakes 1127₀
Myth: foundation 1127₀ 1183
 — coins of 102₀ 773₀ 986₀ 1128₀ 1131₁ 1136₄ 1187₀ Sebastion at 1180₄ personified 1128₀ (?)
- Alexandreia in Troas, coins of** 485
- Alexandros**
Myth: judgment of Paris 949₅
- Alexandros of Abonou Teichos** 225 1083 ff.
- Alexis, St** 134
- Algidus, Mt**
Cult: Diana 404
- Alinda, coins of** 572
- Aliphera**
Cults: Athena (?) 782 Myiagros 782

- Alkamenes 1078
 Alkmaionidai 1229
 Alkyone
Myth: claims that her h. Keyx is Zeus 1088
Genealogy: d. of Aiolos 1088 d. of Atlas 414₂ m. of Hyperes and Anthas by Poseidon 414₂
 Alkyoneus 463₁
 Allmendingen
Cults: Iupiter 619 1221 Matres 619
 Matronae 619 Mercurius 619
 Minerva 619 1221 Neptunus 619
 — Mithraeum at 1220
 Allobroges
Cults: Baginatiae 570₀ Baginus 570₀
 Iupiter *Baginas* 570₀
 Almedba, St 325₃
 Alopeke
Cults: Athena (Athenaia) 1115 Ge 1115 Zeus Μολχίος 1115
 Alopekos 421
 Althaimenes
Cult: Rhodes 923₀
Myths: Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes 923₀
 Rhodes 922₀ 923₀
 Altheos 414₂
 Altyntash in Phrygia
Cult: Zeus Βέννιος 883₀₍₀₎
 — tombstones from 886
 Alysis, Mt (?)
Cult: Zeus "Αλσειος (?) 945₁ Zeus "Αλύσειος (?) 945₁
 Amadokos 452
 Amaltheia
Myth: nurses Zeus 928₀ 932₁
Genealogy: m. of the nymphs Adras-teia and Eide (Ide) by Melissos 933₀
Functions: goat 932₁ Naiad 932₁
Types: carrying infant Zeus 863₁ (?) goat 746₂ (?)
 Amaseia
Cult: Zeus Σπράσιος 975₀ f.
 — coins of 975₀ f.
 Amasis, the vase-painter 794₀
 Amastris
Cults: Hera 707 Zeus Πανκλήσιος 1067
 Zeus Στρατηγός 707 848 918₀
 — coins of 707 918₀
 Amathous
Cults: Theos "Ψίστος 879₀₍₁₆₎ 980₃
 Zeus Λαβράνιος 598 f. Zeus "Ορομ-πάρας 869₀
 Amazons
Myth: Ephesos 405
Attributes: battle-axe (σάγαρις, securis) 560 double axe (λάβρος, πέλεκυς, ἀμφιπέλεκκυς (?), bipennis) 560
In relation to Hittites 560
 Ambrakia
Cult: Zeus 1222
 — bronze statuette of Zeus from 1222 coins of 162 f. 499
 Ameirake, former name of Penelope 691
 Amen
Cult: Thebes in Egypt 774₀
 See also Amen-Râ, Ammon, Amon, Amoun
 Amen-Râ
Attributes: plumes 926₀ solar disk 492₀₍₀₎
Type: ithyphallic 772₁
Identified with Zeus 926₀
 See also Amen, Ammon, Amon, Amoun
 Amenti 1212
 Ammon
Cult: Egypt 767₂
 — horn of 773₀ masks of 808₀₍₁₇₎
 See also Amen, Amen-Râ, Amon, Amoun
 Amnisos 942₀
 Amon 767₂
 See also Amen, Amen-Râ, Ammon, Amoun
 Amor 862₁₀
 Amorgos
Cult: Zeus Εὐβουλεύς 258₃
 — head from 122₀
 Amoun
Cult: Egypt 293₀ 889₀₍₀₎
 See also Amen, Amen-Râ, Ammon, Amoun
 Amphiaraois
Cults: Hellenes 1070 Oropos 1070 ff.
Epithet: ἀναξ 1070
Myth: 1070 f.
Genealogy: descended from Aiolos 1088 f. of Amphilochois 489₀₍₄₎ s. of Oikles 1071
Function: chthonian 1070
Etymology: 1072
Attributes: snake 1071 snake coiled round staff 1071
Types: bearded 1071 beardless (?) 1071 enthroned 1071 laureate 1071
Assimilated to Asklepios 1072
Associated with Hygieia and Pan 1072
Compared with Aeneas 1071 Erech-theus 1071 Latinus 1071 Theodoris the Great 1071 Trophonios (Trophonios) 1075
 — chariot of 815₇
 Amphiareion near Oropos 1071 f.
 Amphictionic πυλαία 903₂
 Amphikles 421 673₃
 Amphilochois
Myths: fights Mopsos 489₀₍₄₎ 490₀₍₀₎ 1130₁ founds Mallos in Kilikia 489₀₍₄₎
Genealogy: s. of Alkmaion 489₀₍₄₎ s. of Amphiaraois 489₀₍₄₎
 Amphion
Cult: Antiocheia on the Orontes 428
Myths: Dirke 1013 1015 1019 Lykos 1019₂
Genealogy: b. of Zethos 317 s. of Zeus by Antiope 1013 s. of Zeus or Epopeus 445

- Amphion** (*cont.*)
Functions: harp-player 1013 one of the Theban Dioskouroi 317 1014
Etymology: 445 673₃ 1072
Attribute: lyre 1013
- Amphios**, s. of Merops 1072
- Amphios**, s. of Selagos 1072
- Amphis**, clipped form of Amphiaraios 1072
- Amphissos** 486
- Amphisthenes** 421 673₃
- Amphithea** 673
- Amphithea** (?) 353₃
- Amphitrite**
Type: with head-dress of crab's-claws 665₃
- Amphitryon**
Function: human Zeus 1072
Etymology: 1072
- Ampsactus** (Amsactus) 328₄
- Amulius** 1016
- Amyklai**
Cult: Apollon 458 894₀
- Amymone** 800 (?)
- Anagnia**
Rites: priests wear fleece as head-dress 377 procession of Salii 375
 — marble relief from 375
- Anakeion** 1063 f.
- Anaktes**
Cult: Athens 1135₄
- Ananke**
Genealogy: m. of Aither, Chaos, and Erebus by Chronos or Herakles 1022 st. of Dike 316₀
Function: cosmic 316₀
Type: androgynous 1022
Identified with Adrasteia 1022
 — spindle of 45 66₀ throne of 129₁ way (Milky Way) of 42 (?)
- Anaphe**
Cults: Aphrodite 1066 Apollon Αἰγλήτης 816₄ Apollon Ἀσγελάτα; 1066 (Zeus) Κτήσιος 1066
Myth: Apollon 816₄
- Anat** 807₃₍₁₎ (?)
- Anatolian** association of Mother-goddess with youthful páredros, at once her consort and her child 294
- Anaxagoras** 11 1024
- Anaximandros** 1024 1033
- Anaximenes** 386
- Anazarbos**
Cults: Phersephone 14₃ θεὸς Καταβάτης 14₃ Zeus Ὀλύβριος or Ὀλύβρις 980₁
- Anchesmos**, Mt
Cult: Zeus Ἀγχέσμος 897₄
- Anchiale**, m. of Idaean Daktyloi 929₀
- Anchialos** in Thrace
Cults: Asklepios 1079 Zeus Ἐπίστως Ἐπόπτης (?) 878₀₍₁₀₎ 949₂
 — coins of 1079
- Anchises**
Myth: sacra of Troy 1068
- Andraimon** 486
- Andrew**, St
Type: on chalice of Antioch 1202₀ (?)
- Andromeda**, picture of 986₀
- Andros**
Cult: Zeus Μερίλιχος 1156
- Anemoi**
Cult: Orphists 141, 827
- Anemos** in Phoenician cosmogony 1037 f.
- Angdistis** See Agdistis
- Angela**, St 135 f.
- Angelion** 232₀
- Angeloi Theou** 880₀₍₁₉₎
- Angelos** See Agathos Angelos, Theios Angelos
- Angistis** See Agdistis
- Ani** (= Ianus)
Cult: Etruria 338₃
- Anien**, the river-god 1016
- Anigemius**
Cult: Noricum 338₃
- Anios** 670 f.
- Ankyra** in Galatia
Cults: Zeus 971₁ Zeus Βροντῶν 835₅ Zeus Ταουανός 754₁
 — coins of 491₀₍₀₎
- Ankyra** in Phrygia
Cult: youthful hero on horseback bearing double axe 566
 — coins of 566
- Anna**, St 1157
- Anogeia** 935₀
- Antaios** 134₁
- Antandros**
Cult: Zeus Ἀστραπαῖος 815
- Antauges**
Identified with Phanes 1026 1051
- Anteros**
Type: with Eros 1221
- Anthas**, king of Troizen 414₂
- Anthesteria** 1139
- Antho** 1016
- Anthos** of Arkadia 414₂ 1092
- Anthos**, s. of Autonooos and Hippodameia 414₂
- Antigoneia** on the Orontes
Cult: Zeus 1188
- Antilibanos**, Mt 981₁
- Antinoe**, d. of Kepheus 1083
- Antinoos**
Personates Agathos Daimon 1128₀
Types: with lotos-flower on head 773₀ with lotos-wreath 773₀
- Antiocheia** in Chrysaoris (= Alabanda)
Cults: Apollon Ἰσότιμος 714₂ Zeus Χρυσαιορέας 714₂
- Antiocheia** on the Maiandros
Cult: Zeus Βουλαῖος 259₀
 — coins of 259₀ f.
- Antiocheia** on the Orontes
Cults: Amphion and Zethos 428 Apollon (?) 1192₅ Athena 1197 Boule (?) 1193₃ Demos (?) 1192 Dionysos 428 1197 Iupiter *Capitolinus* 1188 Triptolemos 981₁ Tyche 1196₃ 1197 Zeus 1197 Zeus Bor-

- Antiocheia on the Orontes** (*cont.*)
ταῖος 1187 f. Zeus Βώτριος 1188
 Zeus Καπερώλιος (=Iupiter *Capitolinus*) 1188₄ Zeus Κεραύνιος 428
 Zeus Φίλιος 1178 1186 1196 f.
Myths: founded by Alexander the Great 1187 founded by Kasos and Belos 981, founded by Seleukos i Nikator 1188
 — chalice from 1197 ff. coins of 1192 ff. 1196₀ 1209 1209₆ (?)
 'Golden' Basilica of 1198₁
- Antiochos i of Kommagene**
Personates Tyche 1136₄
- Antiochos iv Epiphanes**
Epithets: Θεός Ἐπιφανής 1189 Θεός Ἐπιφανής Νικηφόρος 1189
Personates Zeus 1188 f.
- Antion** 1123
- Antiope**
Myth: 1013 1015
Genealogy: d. of Nykteus 1013 m. of Zethos and Amphion by Zeus 1013 cp. 428₄ w. of Epopeus 1013
 — Dionysiac character of 1019₂
- Antoninus Pius**
Personates Zeus 101, 343₀
 — house of, struck by lightning 10
- Anxia**, helmet from 1159₁
- Apameia in Phrygia**
Cults: Artemis Ἐφεσία 408₀ Dioskouroi 313
Myth: Zeus nursed by Rhea under protection of Kouretes 968₂
 — coins of 313 408₀ 610
- Apameia on the Orontes**
Cult: Zeus 1192
 — coins of 1192
- Apate**
Epithets: ἀλλοκράσθαλος ὀρεστίας... δαίμων 942₀
Myth: birth of the first Aphrodite 1029
Type: Fury 854
- Apelles** 828
- Apellon** See Apollon
- Apemosyne**
Myth: Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes 923₀ 924₀
- Apesas, Mt**
Cults: Zeus Ἀπεσάντιος 892₄ Zeus Ἀπέσας 892₄ Zeus Ἀφέσιος 892₄
Myths: Deukalion 892₄ Nemean Lion 892₄ Perseus 892₄
Etymology: 892₄
- Aphareus** 437
- Apharidai** 438₂
- Aphesas** 892₄
- Aphrodisias in Karia**
Cults: Aphrodite 573₇ Eros 572₁₀ Zeus Λαβράινδος 585₃ Zeus Μέγιστος 585₃ Zeus Σπάλαξος (less probably Σπάλωξος) 1220
Rite: tree threatened 681 f.
Myth: Myrrha (?) 681 f.
 — coins of 572 f. 681 1220
- Aphrodisiastai Syroi** 1157₃
- Aphrodite**
Cults: Mt Aigaion (?) 927₀ Anaphe 1066
 Aphrodisias in Karia 573₇ Argos 1156₅ Athens 985₀ 1043 Delos 922₀ Dorylaeion 281 Elis 68₁ Epidauros 1144₃ Gortyna 723₀ Halikarnassos 872₀₍₅₎ Hierapytna 723₀ Jerusalem 984₁ Kition in Kypros 807₅₍₄₎ Kypros 424 Libye 987₀ Lyttos 723₀ Megalopolis 1178 Megara 257₄ Nisyros 1157₃ Paphos 783₃ 944₀ Paros 875₁₍₅₎ Pergamon 424 Philadelpheia in Lydia 363 Priansos 723₀ Sardeis 424 Sikyon 1165₁ Skythia 292₄ Smyrna 729₀ Troizen 872₀₍₅₎ 944₀
Epithets: Ἀγνή 922₀ Ἀκράτα 872₀₍₅₎ Ἀκρία 1156₅ Ἀρμιμήσασα 293₀ ἀφρογενής 1029 ἐγερογένεως 1029 Ἐπιστροφία 257₄ Ἐπιτυμβία 1165₁ Κατασκοπία 944₀ Μιλχία 1144₃ Οὐρανία 68₁ 292, 854 985₀ Παφία 424 Στρατονικίς 729₀ Σώζουσα 987₀ Ψήθυρος 1043
Rites: emergence from sea 132₂ taboo on garlic among priests of Aphrodite in Libye 987₀
Worshippers: Ἀφροδισιασταὶ Σύροι 1157₃
Myths: reared amid *aphrōs* arising from genitals of Ouranos 448₀ cp. 448₁ sprung from seed of Ouranos falling into sea 1029 sprung from seed of Zeus falling into sea 1029
Genealogy: d. of Aphros by Astynome 693₄ 694₀ d. of Ouranos 1029 d. of Zeus 1029 w. of Adonis 694₀
Functions: cosmic 316₀ summer 557₁
Attributes: apple 491₀₍₆₎ 1165₁ doves 710 myrtle 1165₁ poppy 1165₁ rose 1043 water-mint 1166₀ wreath 573₇
Types: with Eros standing on her arm 1043 with Eros stepping down from behind her shoulder 1044 face with flower in hair 710 with foot on tortoise 68₁ holding apple 491₀₍₆₎ holding poppy and apple 1165₁ Kanachos 1165₁ on ladder 124₂ (?) Pheidias 68₁ terminal goddess 854 under arch 363
Identified with Artimpasa (Artimeasa, Argimpasa, Arippasa) 293₀
Associated with Hermes 146₂ 872₀₍₅₎ 1043 Peitho 261 1044 (fig. 893) Tammuz (Adonis) 984₁
In relation to Adonis 293 552₁
- Aphrodite**, as ship's name 987₀
- Aphroi** (Africans) 693₄
- Aphros**, forefather of Aphroi
Genealogy: f. of Aphrodite by Astynome 693₄ 694₀ s. of Kronos by Philyra 695₀
- Apia** (Api), the Scythian Ge 293₀
- Apidanos**, river in Thessaly 1025
- Apis**
Cult: Egypt 942₀
Type: double bust (with Isis) 392

Apollo

Epithet: Delphicus 927,Associated with Hercules and Diana
59₀In relation to Castor and Pollux 95 f.
Diana 99 f.

Apollon

Cults: Achaeans (?) 458 Acharnai 163
Aigai in Aiolis 954₀ Aigina 184
Akraiphia 238₀ Alabanda 97₀ 247₀
248₀ 714₂ Amyklai 458 894₀ Anaphe
816₂ 1066 Antiocheia in Chrysaoris
(= Alabanda) 714₂ Antiocheia on the
Orontes (?) 1192₅ Ardettos 1135
Argos 163 173₄ Athens 163 163₄
184 255 730₀ 875₁₍₂₎ 985₀ 1121
Aulai 249₂ Axos 816₄ Babylonia (?)
456 Badinlar, in Phrygia 567 f. Bassai
405₂ Bilkon 948₀ Branchidai 920₀
Byzantium 167 f. Corinth 210₀
915₂ (?) 916₀ Crete 457 948₀ Daldeia
250 f. Daphne near Antiocheia on the
Orontes 1188 Delos 223₃ 249₂
452 ff. 854 Delphoi 457 839 1216
Didyma near Miletos 317 f. 317₂
Dorylaeion 281 Eleutherna (Eleutherna)
456₇ 491₀₍₆₎ 492₀₍₁₀₎ Epidauron 487₂₍₁₁₎
Erythrai in Ionia 730₀ Eumeneia in
Phrygia 571 970₀ Gortyna 723₀ 731₀
Gryneia 489₀₍₄₎ Halikarnassos 163 Hiera
in Lesbos 488₀₍₂₎ Hierapolis in Phrygia
567 Hierapytna 723₀ Mt Hymettos 897₅
Hyperboreoi 501 844 Illyria 458
Itanos 929₀ Kalymna 808₀₍₁₁₎ Karia
573₁₀ 574₁ 574₂ 574₃ Katane 486₅
Kaulonia 1042 f. Keratia in Attike
237₀ Klaros 489₀₍₄₎ Knidos 729₀
Koloe 568 f. Korkyra 730₀ Kroton
237₀ Kypros 246₁ Lakonike 322 322₀
Larisa on the Caystrian Plain 958₀
Lebadeia 899₂ Mt Lepetymnos 832
Leukas 782 Lopta 971₂ Lykia 453
458 f. Lykoreia 901₂ 902₀ Lyttos
723₀ 934₀ Magnesia ad Maeandrum
249₂ 948₀ Magnesia ad Sipylum 729₀
Magnesia in Thessaly 730₀ Make-
donia 458 Cape Malea (Maleai)
488₀₍₁₀₎ Megalopolis 160₅ 163 Megara
165₃ 185 Messene 458 Miletos 237₀
250 255 457 486₅ 1220 Mykonos
1092₂ Myrrhinous 730₀ Mytilene
488₀₍₂₎ Neapolis in Campania 486₅
Olbia 493₀₍₇₎ Olymos 586₂ Orchia (?)
in Lakonike 439 Oropos (?) 1071
Panormos near Kyzikos 882₀₍₁₀₎
Patara 210 921₀ Peiraikeus 487₃₍₁₎
Pergamon 729₀ Phlyeis 251 Praisos
731₀ Prasiai in Lakonike 487₃₍₁₁₎
Priansos 723₀ Mt Ptoion 455
Rhegion 680 Rbithymna 492₀₍₁₀₎
Samos 223₃ Selinous 489₀₍₁₀₎ Skias
in Arkadia (?) 439 Skythia 292₄
Sparta 255 246₁ 487₃₍₁₁₎ Stelai in
Crete 731₀ Sybrita 731₀ Tarentum

Apollon (cont.)

1064 Tarsos 570 Tegea 163 Thera
920₀ 921₀ Mt Thornax in Lakonike
893₂ Thrace 458 Thyateira 562
Tilphossa 439 Tralleis 958₀ Trikke
487₃₍₁₎ 1088 Troy 453 Tyana (?)
570

Epithets: άγριος 971₂ Άγριεύς 163 f. 456₇
Άγριεύς Άλεξίκακος 163₄ Άγριεύς
Προστατήριος Πατρώος Πύθιος Κλάριος
Πανιώνιος 163₄ Αιγλήτης 816₄ Άκτιος
255 782 Άμάρδοκος (?) 452 Άμυκλαίος
255 άναξ 252₁ Άρχηγέτης 237₀ 567
Άσγελάτας 1066 Άσκραίος 255 486₅
άστρων ήγεμών 255₃ Αύλαειτης (Αύ-
λαίτης, Αύλατης, Αύλητης) 249₂ άφή-
τωρ 180 841 βακχείος (?) 253₂ Βάχκος
253₃ Βελκώνιος 948₀ βοδώτης 252₀
Βοζήνης 568 ff. Βραγχιάτης 255 Γενέ-
τωρ 223₃ Γοιτόσυρος 293₀ Γρύνειος
954₀ Δαφναίος 265₀ 1189₀ Δαφνη-
φόρος 265₀ Δαφνίτας 265₀ Δειραδωίτης
173₁ 210₁ Δελφίνιος 189₄ 205₁ 230
237₀ 456₇ Δήλιος 255 Διδυμαίος 317 f.
Διδυμείς 317₂ 1220 Διδύμων γενάρ-
χης 317₂ Διονυσόδότης (less probably
Διονυσόδωτος) 251₂ Δονάκτας (?) 249₃
Δουαστάς (?) 249₃ Δουνητής (?) 249₃
Δρομαίος 456₇ Δρύμειος 486₅ Δρύμας
486₅ Έβδομαγενής 237₀ έβδομαγέτης
237₀ Έβδομειος 237₀ 238₀ Εικάδιος
456 Έκκεργος 1042 εκατηβελέτης
1042 εκατηβόλος 1042 Έκατόμβαιος
1092₂ Έκατος 1042 Έκβάσιος 1180₄
έκτηβόλος 1042 Έλευθέριος 97₀ έπι-
δωδωίτης 252₀ Έμβάσιος 1180₄ ένόλ-
μιος, ένολμής, ένολμος 209₂ έν Πιάνδος
729₀ Έπιβατήριος 1180₄ Έπικουριος
405₃ Έπόβιος 1130₇ Έρεθίμος 630
εύλυρος 253₃ έάθεος 204₁ ζηλοδοτήρ (?)
204₁ 252₀ ζηνοδοτήρ 204₁ 252₀ ζηνό-
φρων 204₁ ζωρογιος 204₁ Θορνάκιος
893₂ Θούιος 250 ίλιος 246₁ Ίσότιμος
714₂ Καρινός 167 f. Κάρνειος 456₇
458 κισσοχαλτης 246₁ κισσός 253₂
Κισσίος (less probably Κισσείος) 247₀
248₀ Κλάριος 489₀₍₄₎ 954₀ Κοροπαίος
730₀ 871₃₍₁₎ Κόρυδος 458 Κουρίδιος
322₅ Κτίστης 98₀ κυνηγέτης 237₀
Λαιρμηνός (Λαρμηνός, Λαρβρηνός, Λει-
μηνός, Λυρμηνός) 567 f. Λαδόκος (?)
452 Λαρσηνός 958₀ Λάφριος 599
Λητοίδης (Λητοίδας) 455 490₀₍₅₎ Λο-
ξίας 204₁ Λύκειος 255 453 458 λυκη-
γενής 455₀ Λυκηγενής (?) 453 Λύκιος
453 729₀ 902₀ Λυκαρεύς 901₂ Μαλε-
άτας (Μαλεάτης) 487₃₍₁₎ 1088 Μαλε-
άτας Σωτήρ 487₃₍₁₎ Μαλόεις 488₀₍₂₎
μάντις (?) 253₂ Μοιραγέτης 237₀ 231
1137₀ (?) Μουσηγέτης 237₀ Μύλας
or Μυλάντιος 260₀ Μύστης 250 f.
Νόμος 252 Νουμήνιος 456 Νυμφη-
γέτης 237₀ ξυνοδοτήρ 252₀ ό έκ Λοπ-
τών 971₂ ό προπάτωρ θεός Ήλιος
Πύθιος... Τυρμναίος 562 Όρχιεύς 439

Apollon (cont.)

Παιών 253₃ Παιών 223 Πατρώος 255
 730₀ 1135 πλουτοδοτήρ 252₀ Προηγέ-
 τής 237₀ Προφύσιος 897₀ Προστατήριος
 163₄ Πτώσιος 238₀ Πυθαεύς 458 893₂
 Πύθιος 183 184₆ 185 f. 223 223₃ 233
 240 255 457 731₀ 816₄ 929₀ 1216
 Πύσιος (= Πύθιος) 723₀ 934₀ Σκισσής
 439 Σμινθεύς 250₂ Σμίνθιος 255
 Στυρακλής 492₀₍₀₎ Σωτήρ 875₁₍₂₎
 Ταρσεύς 569 f. 571 Τετράχειρ or
 Τετράχειρος 322₀ Τετράωτος 322 Τιλ-
 φούσιος 439 Τύριμος 562 Ἰπερβόρειος
 223 Ἰπέροχος (?) 452 φιλόδαφνος
 253₃ Φοῖβος 234 Φύσιος 902₀ Χρηστη-
 ριος 954₀ χρυσάορος 716 χρυσάωρ 716
 ψυχοδοτήρ 252₀ ὤρεσιδώτης 252₀
Festivals: birthday (Bysios) 7) 236
 Boedromia 237₀ Daphnephoria 455₈
 Ebdomaia 237₀ first day of month
 456 frequent in Asia Minor and
 islands, rare on Greek mainland
 455 Hyakinthia 246₁ 455₈ Karneia
 237₀ 455₈ Pyanopsia or Pyanepsia
 237₀ seventh day of month 456
 commemoration of Skephros 164₆
 455₈ Thargelia 237₀ 455₈ twentieth
 day of month 456
Rites: bay brought from Tempe to
 Delphoi 249₂ ἐβδομαίων at Athens
 on seventh day of some month 237₀
 first-fruits sent to Apollon Πύθιος
 every eight years 240 Hyperborean
 offerings brought to Delos 249₂
 249₃ 497 ff. paeon 234 f. passes
 night in temple with prophetess
 210 περφερέες 495₀ πυροφορήσας
 487₃₍₁₎ sacrifice of asses 463 f. 843
 sacrifice of a bull and ten lambs to
 Apollon Ἐκατόμβαιος 1092₂ sacri-
 fices at Kroton on seventh day of
 month 237₀ sacrifices by *thiasoi* in
 Kypros 246₁ Spartan kings sacrifice
 on first and seventh days of every
 month 237₀ straps from hide of ox
 sacrificed to Apollon Τετράχειρ
 given as prizes 322₀ sword washed
 in water from the Kydnos 570 f.
 worshippers turn towards ground
 256
Priests: *λεπείς* 562₂ *λεπείς* 322₆ νεωκόρος
 199₂
Priestess: the *Pythia* 203 ff. 238 322₇
 441 841 the *Pythia* as bride of
 Apollon 207 ff. *thyiads* 199₂ virgin
 210₀
Worshippers: ἀρχίχορος καὶ ἱεροκάρυξ
 τῶν λεπέων 488₀₍₂₎
Personated by boy 241₃ Nero 98₀ 254
 1128₀ Pythagoras 221 ff.
Myths: Anaphe 816₄ Anios 670 Ari-
 staios 1042 (?) arranges the limbs
 of Dionysos or Zagrens 1031 arri-
 val at Delphoi 262 ff. boiled in a
 caldron and pieced together again

Apollon (cont.)

225 born at Araxa 455 born in
 Arkadia 252 buries Dionysos at
 Delphoi 218 ff. carries off Kyrene
 460₂ chases Hermes 1042 (?)
consorts with Aigle (Koronis)
 488₀₍₀₎ Akakallis 218₀ Pythais 222
 Themis 1217
 contest with Marsyas 248₀ 249₀
 Cygnus 477; Daphne 265₀ 460₂ 486
 Daphnis 1042 (?) destroys mice in
 Rhodes 250₂ Dryope 485 f. 486₅
 exiled by Zeus to land of Hyper-
 boreoi 484 493 Hyakinthos 491₀₍₀₎
 1042 (?) Hyperboreoi 459 ff. invents
 the art of playing flute and *kithára*
 249₂ Kleinis 463₁ Koronis 210₀
 Kyknos 477 Kyparissos 981₁ Makro-
 bioi 500₁ Marpessa 439₄ Molpadia
 671 nursed by Leto 252 Orestes
 453 1042 (?) Parthenos 671 Periphas
 1121 f. purified by Chrysothemis
 190₀ purified by Karmanor 190₀
 Pylades 453 restores Dionysos 251₂
 Rhoio 670 sends raven to get water
 832₇ serves Admetos 240 a seven-
 months' child 237₀ sheds tears of
 amber 484 slain by Python and
 buried in Delphic tripod 221 ff. slays
 Hyakinthos with *diskos* 1156 slays
 Kyklopes or their sons 241₄ slays
 Python 217₂ 239₀ taught by Athena
 to flute 249₂ Telephos 671 Trojan
 War 459 winters in Lykia 455
Metamorphosed into snake 486 tortoise
 486
Genealogy: f. of Amphissos by Dryope
 486 f. of Anios by Rhoio 670 f. of
 Asklepios 1077 1083 f. of Asklepios
 by Aigle (Koronis) 488₀₍₀₎ f. of
 Dryops 486₅ f. of Idmon 471 f. of
 Kentauros by Stilbe 1134 f. f. of
 Lapithes by Stilbe 684₂ 1134 f. f. of
 Lykoros by Korykia 901₂ f. of
 Phylakides and Philandros by Aka-
 kallis 218₀ f. of Platon 237₀ f. of
 Pythagoras by Pythais 222 not *ab*
initio the twin b. of Artemis 501
 s. of Dionysos by Demeter 252 s. of
 Leto (Lato) 237₀ 456 484 s. of Leto
 (Lato) by Zeus 453 s. of Silenos
 221 252
Functions: ancestral god of Attic no-
 bility 730₀ destiny 231 fire 234 flocks
 and herds 457 heaven, earth, under-
 world 256 f. lighting 816₄ lustration
 1042 (?) mills 260₀ oracles 457
prophétes of Zeus 203₀ 204₁ 841
 song 244₄ sun 338₄ 457 495 1156
 sun and moon (?) 318 *tela* (bow and
 arrows) 244₄ transition from sky-
 god (?) to sun-god 500
Etymology: 234₂ (*a + πολός*) 484 500
 (*ἀπελλόν*) 487 ff. 1219 f. ('apple'-
 god)

Apollon (*cont.*)

Attributes: agonistic urn 562 apple (?) 487 ff. 844 three apples 490₍₆₎ five apples 490₍₆₎ 491₍₀₎ arrow 1192₅ arrows 257 ball of resin (?) 492₍₀₎ bay 244₄ 264₂ 841 1219 bay-branch 186 203₀ 207₀ 562 bay-tree 486 844 bay-wreath 388 black-poplar 486 black-poplars 500 844 bow 202₁ 1192₅ bow-case and quiver 160₀ car drawn by four winged horses 453₃ car drawn by swans 459 f. Charites 249₂ crow 490₍₆₎ *diskos* 1156 double axe 562 571 eagle 246₁ 247₀ 248₀ flutes 246 golden *mitra* 459 griffin 160₀ 257 ivy-leaves 246 *kálathos* 493₍₇₎ *kithára* 882₍₀₎ lion 920₀ 921₀ lyre 160₀ 256 459 1219 Nike 246₁ oak-wreath 486₅ 486 oil-flask 493₍₇₎ *omphalós* 1189₃ *omphalós* twined with snake 882₍₀₎ palm-branch 246₁ palms 262₅ pan-pipes 246 pomegranate (?) 493₍₇₎ poplar-trees (?) 485 ram 247₀ 248₀ raven 160₀ 571 scroll (?) 246₁ stone (?) 491₍₀₎ sword 570 f. 716 trident 570 f. tripod 160₀ 193 ff. wreath 1219

Types: archaic 169₂ archaic 'Apollon'-torso from Dyrhachion 499₀ archaic statuette from Naxos 493₍₇₎ archer 459 with attributes of Zeus 246₁ Bryaxis (?) 921₀ in car drawn by swans 460₂ with Charites in left hand 249₂ with Charites in right hand 232₀ Dionysiac 244 246 ff. double bust (with Silenos) 388 erect with double axe and agonistic urn 562 erect with double axe and bay-branch 562 erect with double axe and raven 571 four-eared 322 322₀ four-handed 322₅ Gigantomachia 973₁ grasping deer 264₃ head in radiate circle 491₍₀₎ with *himation* wrapped about his legs 203₀ Pheidias (?) 921₀ pillar 163 ff. 167 ff. pillar of light 1217 playing lyre 163₄ 165₀ 181 184 f. pyramid 168₁ radiate 562 riding on swan 460₂ seated on bay-trunk holding wreath or lyre 1219 seated on *omphalós* 207₀ 1189₃ 1192₅ seated on tripod 201 ff. 921₀ slaying Niobids 475₇ in solar chariot 562 square 160₅ 164₇ standing by *omphalós* 882₍₀₎ standing by tripod 196 205₀ standing on throne 894₀ standing with *phiale* in right hand and *kithára* in left 882₍₀₎ standing with three Charites on his right hand 232₀ youthful 234

Identified with Asklepios 241₄ Chrysaor (?) 457 Dionysos 252 ff. Helios 164₁ 562 568 Helios and Dionysos 253 f. Horos 252 255 Ianus 330₅ Lairbenos 566 ff. Lairmenos 566 ff.

Apollon (*cont.*)

Liber 244₄ Mithras 250 Oitoyros (Goitoyros, Gongosyros) 293₀ Sol and Liber Pater 256 f. Tyrimnos 561 f. Velchanos 948₀

Assimilated to Dionysos 244 246 ff. Zeus 246₁

Associated with Artemis 164₆ 181 f. 488₍₂₎ 586₂ Artemis and Leto (see Leto and Artemis) Asklepios 487₃₍₁₎ Asklepios *Σωτήρ* 487₃₍₁₎ Azosioi Theoi 487₃₍₁₎ Dionysos 164 233 ff. Herakles 241₁ Leto 567 Leto and Artemis 202₁ 203₀ 317₂ Maenads 461₀ Maleates 487₃₍₁₎ Satyroi 461₀ Zeus 317 317₂ Zeus and Athena 458 1094₀ Zeus, Athena, Herakles 875₁₍₂₎ Zeus and Themis 730₀

Compared with Dionysos 252 Zeus 201 ff.

In relation to Artemis 452 ff. Dionysos 267 Erinyes 1102₇ Pythagoras 223₁ Zeus 267 730₀

Supersedes Dionysos 243 ff. 839 841 Rhea 921₀ Zeus 816 902₀

Superseded by Helios 730₀

— *ἀποδημαί* and *ἐπιδημαί* of 233 ff. 238₂ as migratory god 459 cave of, at Aulai near Magnesia ad Maendrum 249₂ epiphanies of 455 f. epithets of, often derived from place-names 455 five Apollons 252 gold statue of 220 in the plural 252₃ 1219 *provenance* of 453 ff. 843 soul of 1042 tomb of 221 225 wrath of 1042 (?)

Apollonia in Aitolia 499

Apollonia in Akarnania 499

Apollonia in Illyria

Cults: Apollon (?) 499₀ Helios 485 Nymphs (? Heliades) 485

— coins of 161 ff. 485 499 *Nymphaion* at 485

Apollonia in Makedonia 500

Apollonia in Thrace 500

Apollonia, later name of Eleuthernaí 492₍₀₎

Apollonia on Mt Athos 500

Apollonia (Tripolis) in Lydia

Cult: youthful hero (?) on horseback bearing double axe 563

— coins of 563

Apolloniatis, a Tegeate tribe 1148 1149₀

Apollonios of Tyana 569₄

Aprospathia 867

Apsinthos

Cult: Dionysos Πλεσιτωπος (?) 270

Apsyrtes 1097₂

Apteroi 190₀

Apulia, persistence of 'Minoan' motifs in 541 ff.

Apulum

Cults: Glykon 1084 Iupiter *O(ptomus)*

M(axinus) Tavianus 754₁

Aquarius 43₄ 430₀ (?) 430_(?) 664₁ (?)

- Aquila 477₀ 933₀ 938₀
 Aquileia in Venetia
Cults: Iupiter *Ambisagrus* 842 Iupiter
Dianus 328 842 Iupiter *Optimus*
Mazimus Co(nservator) et Am-
bisagrus 328
- Aquincum
Cult: Iuno *Caelestis* 62₂
- Aquitania
Cult: Fagus 402₁
- Aquites 471
- Ara 664₁
- Arabia
Cults: Azizos and Monimos 428 f.
 Zeus (?) 1224
 — coins of 1224
- Arachnaion, Mt
Cults: Hera 894₁ Zeus 894₁
- Arachova 505₆ 993₂
- Arai 1101
- Arantides 1101 1102₄
- Aratos, s. of Asklepios (not Kleinias) by
 Aristodama 1082
- Araxa 455
- Arbios, Mt 945₂
- Arbios, Mt
Cult: Zeus "Αρβιος 945₂ 946₀
Etymology: 946₀
- Arbor intrat 303₂
- Arcadians, common hearth of, at Tegea
 1148 See also Arkadia
- Archelaos (= Hades) 1168₅ (?)
- Archemoros 245₅ 490₀₍₅₎
- Archonides, head of, consulted by Kleo-
 menes 290₀
- Ardettos
Cults: Apollon Παρθῶς 1135 Demeter
 1135 Zeus Βασιλεύς 1135
Rite: oath of *dikastai* 730₀
- Areimanios or Areimanes See Ahriman
- Areion 892₄
- Areios the Argonaut 1072
- Ares
Cults: Athens 729₀ Gortyna 723₀ Hiera-
 pytna 723₀ Karmania 464 Kyaneai
 101₁ Lyttos 723₀ Magnesia ad Sipy-
 lum 729₀ Olympia (?) 706₅ Pergamon
 729₀ 955₀ Priansos 723₀ Skythia
 292₄ 547₃ Smyrna 729₀ Sparta
 729₀
Epithets: θούρος 876₀₍₈₎ κλαινερχής
 438 Μέγας 101₁
Rites: human sacrifice 548₀ sacrifice
 of asses 464 yearly sacrifice of
 sheep and horses 548₀
Myth: Kaldene 973₁
Genealogy: f. of Minyas 1150₅ f. of
 Solymos by Kaldene d. of Pisias
 (Pisides?) 973₁
Attributes: chariot 436₁ sword 1225
Type: iron scimitar 548₀
Identified with Azizos 428 430 Zeus
 and Poseidon 1225 Ziu 50
In relation to Dionysos 565₂
 — horses of 436₁
- Ares, the planet
Myth: slays the giant Kaukasos 694₀
Identified with Thourous and Baal or
 Bel 694₀
- Arete
Cult: Philadelpheia in Lydia 1229
Identified with Athena 1029
- Argaios, Mt 977₇ ff.
Cults: Dioskouroi 980₀ emperor (?)
 978₀ 980₀ Sarapis (?) 978₀ Zeus 980₀
Etymology: 977₁
 — eagle on 978₀ 980₀ flanked by
 radiate pillars 980₀ held by Sarapis
 978₀ hound chasing goat or stag on
 978₀ image of, on altar 978₀ image
 of, as head-dress 978₀ image of,
 within temple 978₀ oath by 978₀
 radiate figure on 978₀ 980₀ rock-cut
 habitations on 978₀ snake guards
 plant on 977₁ 980₀ surmounted by
 Egyptian symbol (lotos?) 978₀
 See also Kaisareia in Kappadokia
- Argarizon, Mt See Gerizim, Mt
- Arge See Hekaerge
- Argenidas, relief of 1062 ff.
- Arges 828 1023
- Argimasa See Artimasa
- Argo, the constellation 477₈
- Argonauts
Epithet: Μινῶαι 1150₅
Myths: Eridanos 484 Heliades 484
 Idmon 471
- Argos
Cults: Aphrodite 'Ακρῖα 1156₅ Apollon
 Ἄγνιεύς 163 Apollon Δειραδιώτης
 173₄ Artemis 1144₂ Artemis 'Ακρῖα
 1156₅ Athena 892₅ 893₀ 1144₂
 Athena 'Ακρῖα 1156₅ Athena Ὁξυδερ-
 κής or Ὁξυδερκῶ 502₂ Epidotas 321₁
 Hera 290₀ 515 1144₂ Hera 'Ακρῖα
 1156₅ Leto (Lato) Ἀσιᾶτις 455
 pillars set up by Danaos (?) 1144₂
 Zeus 1230 Zeus Ἀφέσιος 179 1144₂
 Zeus Κεραύνιος 808₀₍₁₄₎ Zeus
 Λαρισαῖος 892₅ 893₀ 1144₂ Zeus
 Λαρισσεύς 1144₂ Zeus Μελίχιος
 1143 f. Zeus Μηχανεύς 1144₂ Zeus
 Νέμειος 1143₅ Zeus Σωτήρ 1144₂
 Zeus Ὑτίσιος 164₃ 164₆ 1144₂ Zeus
 "Υψιστος 878₀₍₄₎ 1144₂ Zeus Φαλακ-
 ρός 874₂ 893₁ 1099₀ 1144₂ Zeus
 Φύσιος 1144₂ Zeus with three eyes
 892₅ 1144₂
Myths: Amphilochos 489₀₍₄₎ Areios
 1072 Danaos 1144₂ Pelasgos 1144₂
 Pelopidai 956₂ 957₀
 — coins of 1079 1143 *omphalós* at
 173
- Argos, watcher of Io
Myths: Nemea 892₄ slain by Hermes
 379 f.
Function: sky 379
Attributes: club 380 lion-skin (?) 380
 panther-skin 380 *pétasos* 380 386
Types: bifrontal 341₁ 379 f. Janiform

Argos, watcher of Io (*cont.*)
(bearded + beardless) 387 with numerous eyes 380

Compared with Zeus 379

Atiadne

Cult: Mt Aigaion (?) 927₀

Myth: Daidalos 600 f.

Attributes: ivy-wreath 390 (?) sceptre 788₀ (?)

Type: double bust (with Dionysos) 390 (?) 391 392₁ (?)

Associated with Dionysos 245₀ 245₅ 261 390 (?) 391 661 (?)

Aricia

Cults: Diana 420₁ Diana *Nemorensis* 147

Aries 16₁ 103₀ 664₁

Arignote 1024

Arima

Myth: Typhon (Typhoeus) 826 909₀

Arimian Cave 449₀

Arippasa See Artimpasa

Aristaios

Cult: Arkadia 1112₀

Myth: Apollon 1042 (?)

In relation to Zeus 1112₀

Ariste Chthonia (= Hekate) 1114₀₍₄₎

Aristodama, m. of Aratos by Asklepios (not Kleinias) 1082

Aristodemos 436

Aristogeiton 1172

Aristomenes sacrifices 300 persons to Zeus
'*ἰθωμάτας* 891₀

Aristonous of Aigina 740 1222

Aristophanes on Zeus 2

Aristophanes, the painter 902₂ (?)

Aristotle 805₀

Arkadia

Cults: Aristaios 1112₀ Artemis 412
Kallisto 1114₀₍₆₎ Zeus 'Ερεχθεύς 793
Zeus Λύκαος 760 f. 849

Myths: Arkas 228₅ birth of Apollon
Νόμιος 252

— coins of 757 760 849

Arkas 212 228₅ 964₃ 1148

Arkeisios

Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Euryodeia
(Euryodia) 1152₄

Arkesilaos (?) 1156

Arkesine

Cults: Dionysos *κισσοκόμος* 246₁ Muses
1157₀ Zeus 'Αναδότης 1157₀ Zeus
'Αποτρόπαιος 1157₀ Zeus Μελίχιος
1156 Zeus Σωτήρ 1156₁₃ Zeus
Τέλειος 1156₁₃

Arkesion, a cave on Mt Ide in Crete

Myth: Kouretes hide from Kronos
549₁ 939₀

Etymology: 939₀

— to be identified with the Idaean
Cave, not with the Kamares grotto
939₀

Arkesios (?) or Arkeisios (?) 1156

Armenios 54 114

Arnaia, former name of Penelope 691 f.

Arnakia, former name of Penelope 691 f.

Arne in Boiotia, apsidal temple of 900₀

Arne, a spring near Mantinea 692

Arnea (?) See Arnaia

Arnepolis (? in Mesopotamia)

Cult: Herakles 469₁

Arpi, coins of 1159₁

Arsalos 972₀

Arsinoe, d. of Leukippos 1089

Arsinoe ii

Cult: Alexandria 1216

— personates Tyche 1216 wears
horn of Zeus 'Αμμων 773₀ 1136₄

Arsippos 1089

Arslan Apa, in Phrygia

Cult: Theos 'Ψίστος (= Zeus Βένιος
or Βεννείος) 883₀₍₁₀₎ 969₃

Artemiche, d. of Kleinias 463₁

Artemis

Cults: Achna 157₁ Akarnania 412

Apameia in Phrygia 408₀ Argos

1144₂ 1156₅ Arkadia 412 Athens

115₂ 163₄ 410₁ Delos 452 f. 501

1227 Delphoi 1216 Divlit near Koloë

975₀ Eleuthernai 492₀₍₁₀₎ Ephesos

405 f. 962₂ 1082 Epidauros 413;

Geraistos 906₃ Gortyna 723₀ Hali-

karnassos 164₄ Heleia 93₀ Hiera

in Lesbos 488₀₍₂₎ Hierapytna 723₀

Hittites (?) 410, Hyperboreoi (?) 501

Kadoi 408₀ Korkyra 457 Mt Kory-

phon (Koryphaion) 869₁ Kyrene

1177₃ Lousoi 646 Lykia 681₁ Lyttos

934₀ Magnesia ad Sipylum 729₀

Magnesia in Thessaly 730₀ Miletos

410₁ Mounychia 115 Myra (?) 681₁

Olymos 586₂ Pagai, port of Me-

gara (?) 488₀₍₃₎ Paionia 500 Panor-

mos near Kyzikos 881₀₍₂₁₎ Pergamon

729₀ 955₀ Pogle (?) 363 Prianos

723₀ Rhegion 680 Sardeis 1227 f.

Smyrna 729₀ Sparta 421 f. 457 640,

647 Styμφhalos 692 Syracuse 1140

Thebes in Boiotia 412 Thrace 411

500 f. Troizen 413 ff. Troy 453

Epithets: 'Αγροτέρα 1177₃ 'Ακρία 1156₅

'Αναίτις ('Αναίτις?) 975₀ 'Αργη (?)

452 Βασίλεια 495 500 f. Βολοσία

906₃ Βούσβατος (See Bousbatos)

Βρανρώνια 228₄ Δίκτυνα 414₀ δρυ-

μονή 412₄ 'Εκαέργη 452 'Εκβατηρία

1180₄ 'Ελευθέρα 681₁ ἐν ὄρει δρυογύ-

νοισι κόραν... ἀγροτέραν 412₅ Εἰκλεια

118₃ 'Ερφesia 405 ff. 962₂ 1220 ἢ

κατέχεις ὄρειω δρυμοῖς 412₄ ἰοχέαιρα

405₃ ἰπποσία 465 501 'Ιωλκία 730₀

871₃₍₁₎ Καλλιστη 228₄ Λαφρία 599

Λοχία 183 Λαία 1140₃ Λυγοδέσμα

421₅ μεγάλη 963₀ 'Ορθία 421 f.

501 (?) 640₀ 647 'Ορθωσία 422₁

Περγαία 363 (?) Πηνελόπη (?) 691 f.

Σαρωνία 413₇ 414₀ Σαρωνίς 413 417

Στυμφαλία 692 Σώτειρα 488₀₍₃₎ Ταυ-

ροπόλλος 729₀ 955₀ 1214 (?) Φακελίτις

or Φακελίνη 680 Φωσφόρος 115

Artemis (cont.)

- Χιτώνη 409 410₁ Χιτώνια 410₁
 χρυσάρεος 716² Ὀπις 452
- Festivals*: Marathon (Boedromion 6)
 854 Saronia 413₇
- Rites*: βωμονικά 421₃ contest of rustic
 singers wearing stag-horns 1140
 διαμαστυγῶσις 421₃ wheaten straw
 used in sacrifice by women of
 Thrace and Paionia 500 f.
- Priestess*: Kallisto 228₄ pursues a man
 as Artemis pursued Leimon 164₆
 virgin 210₀
- Worshippers*: ἀρχιχορος καὶ λεροκάρυξ
 τῶν λεπέων 488₀₍₂₎
- Myths*: Astrabakos and Alopekos 421
 Atalante 412 born at Araxa 455
 born at Ortygia near Ephesos 962₂
 Bouthagos 894₀ Hippolytos 393
 Hyperboreoi (?) 501₅ Kallisto 228₅
 Kleinis 463₁ Orestes 421₃ 680 Saron
 413 f. wooed by Otos 130
- Metamorphosed into doe* (?) 413₃
- Genealogy*: d. of Demeter 1032 d. of
 Dionysos by Demeter 252 d. of Leto
 (Lato) 456 465 501 d. of Zeus 164₃
 342₀ d. of Zeus by Leto (Lato) 453
 not *ab initio* the twin sister of
 Apollon 501
- Functions*: fertility 457 growth 421 f.
 moon 854 motherhood 410₀ nature
 457 vegetation 411 younger form of
 Anatolian mother-goddess 501 844
- Etymology*: 1220
- Attributes*: bee 407₀ birds (?) 457 bow
 202₁ 453₃ bull 1214 (?) crab 407₀
 crown 147₁ doves (?) 457 fawn 152₀
 griffin 406₀ f. horned doe 854 lion
 406₀ f. lions (?) 457 two lionesses
 1227 mountains (?) 457 necklace of
 acorns 405 407₀ 410₀ ox 407₀ *phiale*
 882₀₍₀₎ quiver 453₃ ram (?) 488₀₍₃₎
 rosette 407₀ Skylla 407₀ snakes (?)
 457 Sphinx 407₀ 409₀ (?) stag 406₀ ff.
 453₃ sword 716 torch 412 882₀₍₀₎
 1214 (?) torches 488₀₍₃₎ (?) Victories
 407₀ 409₀ wreath of flowers 405 407₀
- Types*: archaic 152₀ Διοπερές 963₀
 Ἐφεσία not descended from πότνια
 θηρῶν 410₀ with fillets hanging from
 hands 409₀ f. with fillets tethering
 hands 408₀ f. filling *phiale* of Apol-
 lon 181 fire 115₂ holding torches
 187₄ (?) many-breasted 406₀ ff.
multimamma 410₀ πολύμαστος 410₀
 riding horned doe 854 shooting
 arrow 473 492₀₍₀₎ slaying Niobids
 475₇ standing with *phiale* in right
 hand and torch in left 882₀₍₀₎ with
 temple on head 406₀ ff.
- Identified with Bendis* 501 Boubastis
 252 Bousbatos 501₃ Hekate 1029
 1032
- Associated with Apollon* 164₆ 181 f.
 488₀₍₂₎ 586₂ Apollon and Leto 317₂

Artemis (cont.)

- Asklepios 1082 Hippolytos 149 Zeus
 and Athena 1144₂
- In relation to Apollon* 452 ff. bear 680
 Hippolytos 414 417 Leto 501 Saron
 413 f.
- Superseded by Zeus* 1220
 — effigy of, carved on trees near
 Thebes 412 elm-tree of 405₃ image
 of, made from fruitful oak-tree
 409 f. image of, set up beneath
 oak-tree 405 oak-tree of 405 ff. *pro-*
venance of 453 ff. sacred grove of
 975₀
- Artemisa in Euboea 854
- Artimeasia See Artimpasa
- Artimpasa (Artimeasa, Argimpasa, Arip-
 pasa), the Scythian Aphrodite Οὐ-
 ραβία 293₀
- Artimuk (= Artemis)
Cult: Sardeis 1227 f.
Epithet: *Ibšimsis* (= Ἐφεσία?) 1227
- Arvi, 'Minoan' settlement at 945₂ 946₀
- Arvi, the cleft at 945₂
- Aschlapios (sc. Asklepios) 1085
- Ashur, the god
Attributes: flowers (?) 771₀ lightnings (?)
 770₂
- Asia personified 854
- Askalaphos
Genealogy: descended from Aiolos
 1088
- Askalpios (sc. Asklepios) 1085
- Asklapios (sc. Asklepios) 1085 1088
- Asklepieion at Trikke 1088
- Asklepios
Cults: Ainos 1079 Anchialos 1079
 Athens 1065 1078 Bizye 1079 Bon-
 onia 1085 Delos 1088 Epidaurios
 413₇ 1076 ff. 1085 1177 f. Epidaurios
 Limeria 1082 Gortyna 1085 Gortys
 1090 Herakleia Salbake 1080 Kos
 1088 Kyllene 1078 Lakonike 1085
 Lebena 1082 Mantinea 1078 Mega-
 lopolis 1090 Miletos 1228 Mytilene
 259₀ 1079 Neapolis in Samaria 1080
 Orhomenos in Boiotia 1085 Pana-
 marea 1066 Peiraietos 487₃₍₁₎ 1105
 1107₆ (?) 1107₆ (?) 1173 Pergamon
 954₀ 956₀ 1077 1079 f. Phlious 1090
 Rome 1088 1090 Serdike 1079 Sik-
 yon 1080 f. 1082 1090 Sparta 1085
 Thalamai 1085 Thelpousa 1090
 Trikke 1079 1088 Troizen 1085
- Epithets*: ἀναξ 1088 βασιλεύς 1088 δεύ-
 τερος 1089 Ζεὺς Τέλειος 1076 f. 1089
 ἠπιόδωρος 1086 ἠπιόδοτος 1086 ἠπιος
 1086 ἠπιόφρων 1086 ἠτήρ θεῶν...
 κλειτός 954₀ ἠτήρ νόσων... λυγρῶν
 954₀ Καῖσαρ (= Claudius) 1088 Παι-
 ῆων 954₀ Σατήρ 487₃₍₁₎ 956₀ 1076 f.
 Τελεσφόρος (?) 1089 τρίτος 1089
- Oracles*: 1083 f.
- Rites*: incubation 1082 preliminary
 sacrifice to Apollon Μαλέτας 1088

Asklepios (*cont.*)

πυροφορεῖν 413; 1076 sacrifice of three-year-old ox 287₂ 954₀

Priest: Alexandros of Abonou Teichos 1083 ff.

Personated by Claudius 1088

Myths: buried in Arkadia 1089 buried in Epidauros 1089 buried at Kynosoura in Lakonike 1088 f. Ophiuchus 1087 raises dead at Delphoi 241₄ raises Glaukos from dead 1087 raises Hippolytos from dead 394₂ 1087 rears his snake on Mt Pelion 1087 slain by Zeus at Delphoi 241₄ struck by thunderbolt 23 f.

Metamorphosed into snake 1082 ff.

Genealogy: descended from Aiolos 1088 f. of Aratos by Aristodama (w. of Kleinias) 1082 h. of Epione (Epio) 1086 s. of Aigle 1086 s. of Apollon 1077 1083 s. of Apollon by Aigla (Koronis) 488₀₍₁₀₎ s. of Arsippos by Arsinoe d. of Leukippos 1089 s. of Ischys by Koronis 1089 s. of Koronis 833₀

Function: healing 127 954₀

Etymology: 1085 ff.

Attributes: dog 1079 globe 1082 goose 1079 human-headed or lion-headed snake (Glykon or Khnemu) 1084 Nike 1080 pine-cone 1080 f. ram's-head 1080 raven (?) 1084 sceptre 1079 snake 1077 1079 1111 snake coiled round sceptre 1080 snake coiled round staff 1075 1082 wreath 1076 ff.

Types: Alkamenes 1078 bearded 1078 beardless 1080 1090 infant 1090 on couch, feeding snake 1077 Kalamis 1080 f. Phylomachos 1079 seated 1078 ff. seated with goose in right hand and sceptre in left 1079 seated with pine-cone in right hand and snake round sceptre in left 1080 standing 1078 1084 standing with serpent-staff in right hand and Nike in left 1082 Thrasymedes of Paros 1078 f. with sceptre and pine-cone 1081 Xenophilos and Straton 1079

Identified with Apollon 241₄ Ophiuchos 241₄ Zeus 1076 ff.

Associated to Zeus 1078 ff.

Associated with Apollon Μαλεάτας 487₃₍₁₁₎ Artemis 1082 Herakles 241₄ Hygieia and Telesphoros 1078 Telesphoros 1082

Compared with Herakles 241₄ Trophionios 1075

Contrasted with Zeus 1081 f.

In relation to Zeus Φάιος 1178

— grave of 1088 f. underground ádyton of 1088 variant forms of the name 1085 f.

Askles 1086

Asopos, the river 898₀

Asopos, the river-god 898₀ 1151₃

Asklepios (*sc.* Asklepios) 1085

Assos

Cults: (Athena) Παρθένος 728₀ Octavianus 728₀ Zeus Ὁμονῶος 857₆
Zeus Σωτήρ 728₀

Assyria

Cult: Baal or Bel 694₀

Assyrioi (= Syrioi)

Cult: Adonis 296₄

— tattooed 123₀

Astakos, s. of Poseidon 665₃

Astakos in Akarnania 666₀

Astakos in Bithynia, coins of 665₃

Astarte

Cult: Chytroi 157₁

Type: riding lion (?) 869₀

Asterioi 663

Asterion 663

Astrabakos 421

Astraios 230

Astrapai

Cult: Bathos 827

Astrape, personification of lightning 828
851

Astros 1145₁₍₅₎

Astyagia 1122

Astynome, m. of Aphrodite 693₄ 694₀

Astyoche, w. of Telephos 281₄ 1184₃

Ataburus 588₁

Atabyrion, Mt, in Rhodes

Cults: Athena (?) 923₀ Zeus Ἀραβύριος 922₅ 923₀ 924₀ 925₀

Myths: Althaimenes 923₀ Apemosyne 923₀ Katreus 923₀

Atabyrion, Mt, in Sicily See Agrigentum

Atabyris (Tabyris) See Atabyrion, Mt, in Rhodes

Atalante

Myth: dedicates oak to Artemis in Arkadia 412

Ate 1099₂ 1100₀

Atella, coins of 831₁₍₂₎

Athamas

Myths: founds Halos 904₁ golden ram 899₁ plots death of Phrixos 904₁

Genealogy: h. of Ino 904₁ s. of Aiolos and f. of Phrixos 904₁

— eldest descendant of, must never enter Prytaneion 904₁

Athanaïstai 925₀

Athaneatis, a Tegete tribe 1148 cp. 1149₀

Athens

Cults: Achaeans (?) 458 Agrigentum

910₁ Aliphera (?) 782 Alopeke 1115

Antiocheia on the Orontes 1197

Argos 502₂ 892₅ 893₀ 1144₂ 1156₅

Assos 728₀ Mt Atabyrion in

Rhodes (?) 923₀ Athens 259₀ 729₀

730₀ 757 875₁₍₂₎ 922₀ 944₀ 1147

1169₄ 1230 Boiotia 731₀ Chersonesos

Taurike 729₀ Delos 919₀ 920₀ 921₀

922₀ Delphoi 231 Eileia 625

Athena (cont.)

Elateia in Phokis 1158₁₀ Elis 291₀
 Emesa 814₃ Epidauros 502₂ Erythrai in Ionia 1157₀ Gonnoi 870₀
 Gortyna 723₀ 731₀ Heleia 931₀
 Hierapytna 723₀ Ilios 950₀ Itanos 929₀
 Kolonos 1152₅ Mt Kynthos 919₀ 920₀ 921₀ 922₀ Larisa at Argos 892₅ 893₅ Larissa in Thessaly 1155
 Lindos 346₀ 923₀ 925₀ Lyttos 723₀
 Magnesia ad Sipylum 729₀ Megalopolis 164₇ Olympos in Lykia 972₁
 Ouxenton (?) 386₁ Oxyrhynchite nome 625 Paros 922₀ Pergamon 287₂ 729₀ 882₀₍₀₎ 954₀ 955₀ Phlyeis 1066 Phokis 731₀ Praisos 731₀
 Priansos 723₀ Rhodes (?) 923₀ Selinous 489₀₍₀₎ Skythia 925₀ Smyrna 729₀ Sparta 261₀ 502₂ 729₀ 739₁ 1101₃ Stelai in Crete 731₀ Sybrita 731₀ Tegea 593 f. 1147 Tralleis 958₀ Troizen 416₃

Epithets: ἀγνή 728₀ Ἀκρία 1156₅ Ἀλέα 593 f. 1147 Ἀμβουλλα 261₀ Ἀποροπαία 1157₀ Ἀρεία 729₀ 955₀ ἀτυρωμένη 954₀ Βαλενίκη 833₇ Βελονίκη 833₇ Βελονίκη 833₇ Βουλαία 259₀ caesia 503₀ γλαυκῶπις 502₂ 954₀ γοργῶπις 502₂ Ἐργάνη 164₇ ἡγεμῶν τῶν Κουρήτων 1029 Ἰλιάς 950₀ Κραναία 1158₁₀ Κτησία 1065 Κυνθία 919₀ 920₀ 921₀ 922₀ Λινδία 925₀ Νικηφόρος 287₂ 955₀ Ξενία 1101₃ ὀβριμοδερκής 502₂ Ὀμολαίς 901₀ Ὀξυδέρκα 502₂ Ὀξυδερκής or Ὀξυδερκῶ 502₂ Ὀπλοσμία 290₀ 291₀ Ὀπτιλέτις or Ὀπτιλία 502₂ Ὀφθαλμίτις 502₂ Παλλάς 1031 1130₁ Παρθένος 728₀ 729₀ 757 πάτριος 728₀ πολεμηδῶκος 954₀ Πολιάς 723₀ 870₀ 923₀ 929₀ 1147 Πολιούχος 731₀ 1152₅ Προναία 231 Πτελλία (See Ὀπτιλία) quarta 869₁ Σαλωονία 723₀ Σθενιάς 416₃ Σώπειρα 1169₄ τετάρτη (See quarta) Τιθρωνή 1066 Τριτογένεια 954₀ Τριτώνη (?) 1066 Ἰπάτη 875₁₍₂₎ Φρατρία 730₀ Χαλκίκοικος 739₁ Ἰλερία 723₀

Festival: Panathenaia 1121₀

Rites: πέπλος at Athens 1136 πέπλος at Tegea 1148 sacrifice of cow 902₂ sacrifice of two-year-old heifer 287₂ 954₀

Priests: boy at Tegea 1147 ζακῶρος 921₀ λειψῶς 921₀ κλειδοῦχος 921₀

Priestess: virgin 210₀

Personated by Demetrios Poliorketes (?) 1136₄ Helene, consort of Simon Magus 726₀

Myths: Aleos 1147 birth from head of Zeus 709 721₂ 753₃ 785 1029 Epeios 625 Kepheus s. of Aleos 1148 Medousa 1148 Orestes 1098₄ puts on chiton of Zeus 744₄ rescues the heart of Dionysos or Zagreus 1031 Sterope, d. of Kepheus 1147₁₁

Athena (cont.)

teaches Apollon to flute 249₂ teaches Kouretes to dance 1029

Genealogy: d. of Brontaios 833₇ d. of Bronteos 833₇ d. of Zeus by Koryphe 869₁ (cp. i. 155)

Functions: dancing 1029 second self of Zeus 502₂ spinning 66₀ 1029 virtue of the leading gods 1029 weaving 66₀ 1029 wisdom of the creator 1029

Attributes: aigis 903₀ chariot 721₂ couch 1147 double axe 625 f. 847 helmet 90₂ lance 794₀ owl 955₀ snakes 1111 spear 903₀ sword 713 716

Types: bearing Nike and double axe 625 birth from head of Zeus 709 753₃ 785 in crested Corinthian helmet 162₁ Διοπερὲς Παλλάδιον 963₀ with double axe 625 f. Gigantomachy 713 introduction of Herakles to Olympos 735 f. Janiform (?) 386₁ Myron 1078 spears Enkelados 777₂ square 164₇

Identified with Arete 1029 Tefēntē 626₀

Associated with Hephaistos 1137 Zeus 259₀ 920₀ 923₀ 955₀ 1101₃ Zeus and Apollon 458 1094₀ Zeus and Artemis 1144₂ Zeus and Hera (= Capoline triad) 319₇ Zeus and Herakles 1078 Zeus, Herakles, Apollon 875₁₍₂₎ Zeus Ἀραβύριος and Dionysos 925₀ Zeus Μιλίχιος and Ge 1115 Zeus Σαβάζιος 287₂ Zeus Σωτήρ 1169₄

In relation to Cretan mother-goddess 625 Erikepaios (Erikapaios) 1032 Gorgon 502₂

Superseded 'Minoan' goddess (?) 922₀

Superseded by St Maria de' Greci 910₁

Athens

Cults: Acheloios 1092₂ 1117 1118 Agathe Tyche 1125₁ 1129₀ Agathos Daimon 1125₁ Agathos Deos (sic) 985₀ Agathos Theos 1129₀ Agnostos Theos 942₀ Anaktes 1135₄ Aphrodite Οὐρανία 985₀ Aphrodite Ψύθυρος 1043 Apollon 730₀ 985₀ 1121 Apollon Ἀγυειὸς 163 Apollon Ἀγυειὸς Ἀλεξίκακος 163₄ Apollon Ἀγυειὸς Προστατήριος Πατρός Πύθιος Κλάριος Πανώνιος 163₄ Apollon Πατρώος 255 730₀ Apollon Προστατήριος 163₄ Apollon Σωτήρ 875₁₍₂₎ Ares 729₀ Artemis 163₄ Artemis Φωσφόρος 115₂ Artemis Χιτώνη (?) 410₁ Asklepios 1065 1078 Athena 729₀ 730₀ 922₀ 944₀ 1230 Athena Ἀρεία 729₀ Athena Βουλαία 259₀ Athena Παρθένος 757 Athena Πολιάς 1147 Athena Σώπειρα 1169₄ Athena Φρατρία 730₀ Athena Ἰπάτη 875₁₍₂₎ Bendis 1032 f. Demeter 729₀ 730₀ Dionysos 985₀ Dionysos Μελπόμενος 245₀ Dioskouroi 1135₄ Erechtheus

Athens (*cont.*)

793 f. Eros *Ψιδυρος* 1043 Ge 729₀
 Hadrian 1120₀ 1121₀ Harpokrates
 985₀ Helios 729₀ 1114 Hera 1119₄
 Herakles 163₄ 875₁₍₂₎ 1116 f. Hermes
 1117 Hermes *Καταιβάτης* 14 Hermes
Χθόνιος 14 Hermes *Ψιδυριστής* 1043
 Heroës 1123 Hestia *Βουλαία* 259₀
 Horos 985₀ Isis *Ταποσειριάς* 985₀
 Kallirrhoe, d. of Acheloius 1117 (?)
 Kronos 554₂ Leto 163₄ St Marina
 1114 Meter *ἐν Ἄγρας* 1119₀ 1142₃ (?)
 Moirai 231₂ Mother of the gods
 985₀ Nymphs 1118 *Παναγία εἰς τὴν*
Πέτραν 1119₀ Philia 1163 St Pho-
 teine 1116 Poseidon 729₀ 730₀ Psi-
 thyros the hero 1044 (*Sarapis*) *ἐν*
Κανώπῳ 985₀ ἡ *ὑπεραγία Θεοτόκος*
 1119₄ Tyche *Ἀγαθή* 1163 Zeus 729₀
 730₀ 817 1229 Zeus *Ἀγαμέμνων* (?)
 1061 Zeus *Ἀστραπαῖος* 815 Zeus
Βασιλεὺς 730₀ Zeus *Βουλαῖος* 259₀
 Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος* 1135₄ Zeus *Ἐλευ-*
θέριος (= Domitian) 97₀ Zeus *Ἐλευ-*
θέριος (= Hadrian) 98₀ Zeus *Ἐλευ-*
θέριος Ἀντωνίνου Σωτήρ Ὀλύμπιος (?)
 (= Antoninus Pius) 101₁ Zeus
Ἐξακεστήρ 1093₁ Zeus *Ἐπιτέλειος*
Φίλιος 1163 Zeus *Ἐπόφιος* 1121
 1123 Zeus *Ἐρεχθεύς* 793 Zeus
Ἐρκεῖος 730₀ Zeus *Ἰκέσιος* 1093₁
 Zeus *Καθάριος* 1093₁ 1100₁ Zeus
Κάσιος 985₀ Zeus *Καταιβάτης* 20 f.
 Zeus *Κήραιος* (*Κηραῖος*) 903₀ Zeus
Κτήσιος 1065 Zeus *Μειλίχιος* 1091 f.
 1103 1114 ff. 1121 1123 1149 1151
 1161 Zeus *Μοιραγέτης* 231₂ Zeus
Μόριος 20 Zeus *Νάιος* 1117 (?) Zeus
Ξένιος 1229 Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* 20 1078
 1118 1123 Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* (= *Hadrian*)
 (?) 959₀ Zeus *Πανελλήνιος*
 1119₄ 1120₀ Zeus *Πατρῶος* 111₀
 Zeus *Πολυεύς* 897₂ Zeus *Στράτιος*
 976₀ Zeus *Σωτήρ* 1121 1123 1147
 1169 Zeus *Τέλειος* 1123 1147 1163₂
 Zeus *Τροπαιῖος* 111₀ Zeus *Ἰππῶος*
 163₄ 875₁₍₂₎ 897₂ Zeus *Ἰψιστος*
 876₁₍₁₎ 897₃ Zeus *Φίλιος* 1161 ff.
 Zeus *Φράτριος* 730₀

Festivals: Anthesteria (*Anthesterion*
 11—13) 1139 City Dionysia 244₂
 Diasia (*Anthesterion* 22 or 23)
 1137 ff. Lenaia 244₂ Megala Pan-
 hellenia 1121₀ Panathenaia 1121₀
 Panhellenia 1119₄ 1121₀ Pyanopsia
 or Pyanepsia 237₀ Thargelia 237₀

Rites: Bacchants cover their breasts
 with iron bowls 346₀ burial within
 the house 1060 1065 *ἐγχυτρίστρια*
 1065 *ἐφυγον κακόν, εἶδον ἄμεινον*
 1166₁ first-fruits taken to Delphoi
 816 f. need-fire brought from Del-
 phoi 816 f. *πιθαιγία* (*Anthesterion*
 11) 1139 procession to Delphoi
 headed by axe-bearers 628 817 847

Athens (*cont.*)

sacred tripod fetched from Delphoi
 816 f. sacrifice of pig to Zeus *Φίλιος*
 1161 sacrifice of white ox to Zeus
Κτήσιος 1065 1067 *χόδες* (*Anthesterion*
 12—13) 1139 *χύτροι* (*Anthesterion*
 13) 1139 wearing of white-poplar
 470 women slide down rock to
 obtain children 1114

Priestess: *κυρφόρος* 817₀

Myths: Akropolis struck with trident
 by Poseidon 793 Deukalion 1118
 1139 1229 Erichthonios 944₀
 Kekrops 875₁₍₂₎ Periphas 1121 ff.
 sea-water on Akropolis 581

— Asklepieion at 1078 coins of 232₀
 674₁ 675₁ 1078 Erechtheion at 24
 789₇ 792 965₀ 1148 Kyklops in folk-
 tale from 990 ff. old Hekatompedon
 at 757₁ Olympieion at 1118 ff. 1135
 1229 ff. Parthenon at (See Parthenon)
 Prytaneion at 1094₀ 1095₀ Python
 at 201₁ 202₁ 1135 Stoa Basileios at
 1094₀ 1095₀ 1135₄ Stoa Poikile at
 1135₄ Stoa of Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος* at
 1135₄ talisman of 1148

Athos, Mt

Cult: Zeus *Ἀθῶος* 906₁
 — altars on 906; Macrobian on 500
 monasteries on 906₁

Athribis

Cult: Theos *Ἰψιστος* 889₀₍₃₃₎ 984₃

Athtar 430₁

Atlas

Cult: Heleia 931₀
Genealogy: f. of Alkyone 414₂
 See also Index II Atlantes

Atlas, Mt

Myths: garden of Hera 1021 Hes-
 perides 1021

Atreus

Myth: sceptre of Zeus 547₂ 956₂ 1132₄
 1132₆
Genealogy: s. of Pelops and f. of
 Agamemnon 957₀

Etymology: 569₂

Atropos 1023

Attabokaoi 310₂

Attaleia in Pamphylia

Cult: Zeus *Τροπαιούχος* 111₀

Attalos

Etymology: 569₂

Attes 292₃ 296₄ 297₀

See also Attis

Attes, s. of Kalaos 444

Attike

Cults: Zeus *Ἀγαμέμνων* (?) 1069 Zeus
Μειλίχιος 291₂
Myth: Theseus purified by Phylalidai
 at altar of Zeus *Μειλίχιος* 291₂

Attis

Cults: Hierapolis in Phrygia 306₁
 Ostia 297 ff. 303₂ Pessinous 970₀
 Phrygia 313 Rome 303₂ 306₅
Epithets: *Aeternus* (?) 306₄ *αἰπόλος*

Attis (cont.)

296₄ 307₁ ἄκαρπος 296₄ βασιλεὺς 303₂
 βουκόλος 307₁ bubuleus 307₁ Christianus (!) 307 formosus adolescens
 307₃ Inviclus 303₂ Μηνοτύραννος
 303₂ Menotyranus (Menoturanus,
 Minoturanus) 303₂ νέκυσ 296₄ Πάπας
 or Παπάς 292 ff. pastor 307₁ Pileatus
 307 ποιμήν 307₁ ποιμήν λευκῶν
 ἄσπρων 296₄ 297₀ Sanctus 303₂
 σαρκατός 296₄ Τῆς 292₃ χλοερός
 στάχυς ἀμυθελίς 296₄

Festivals: arbor intrat 303₂ Hilaria
 306₁

*Rites: those polluted with wine may
 not enter his sanctuary* 969₄
criobolium 306 effigy affixed to
 pine-tree 303 effigy worn by votaries
 299 ff. *formula* of exhortation 306
 illumination 306 lamentation over
 prostrate body 303 *taurobolium* 306
 unction 306₁

Myths: betrothed to Ia 970₀ conceived
 by Nana after putting fruit in her
 bosom 969₄ loved by Agdistis 969₄
 loved by Mother of the gods 969₄
 Lydian version (Attis killed by boar)
 969₄ mutilates himself under pine-
 tree 970₀ nurtured on goat's milk
 969₄ Phrygian version (Attis mutil-
 ated under pine-tree) 969₄ 970₀
 tended by he-goat 969₄

Genealogy: s. of almond-tree 295 s. of
 Kronos 294 s. of Nana, d. of
 Sangarios 969₄ s. of Rhea 294 296
 s. of Zeus 294

Functions: divine king 303₂ emblem
 of resurrection 309 rain 292 rebirth
 of Πάπας (Παπάς) 294 ripe corn 295₂
 shepherd of his devotees 306 f.
 spring flowers 295₂ tree-spirit (?)
 303₂ young corn 295₂

Etymology: 293 969₄

Attributes: almonds 298 corn-ears
 297 ff. flowers 297 f. fruit 297
lagobólon 300 moon 298 Phrygian
 cap 298 *pileum* 307₃ pine-cones 298
 pine-tree 951₀ pomegranates 298
 poppy-heads 298 starry *pilos* 386

Types: duplicated 300 f. 308 ff. effem-
 inate youth reclining on rock 297 f.
 goatherd 295 green ear of corn 295
 half-length figure 301 piper 295
 radiate 298 recumbent 300 shepherd
 296

Identified with Adamna 295 1218
 Adonis 294 f. 298 Dionysos 294
 296 298 Korybas 295 Men 295 298
 Osiris 294 f. Pan 296 Zeus 292

Assimilated to Cautes and Cautopates
 309

Associated with Agdistis and Zeus 1229
 Kybele 301₁ Mater deum 306₅

Compared with Adonis 293

In relation to Christianity 303 ff.

Attis (cont.)

Dioskouroi 307 ff. Kybele 293 842
 Papas 317
 — *formula* of devotion to 278₂

Attis, priest of the Mother of the gods
 310 f.

Attouada

Cult: Zeus 742₇
 — coins of 743₇

Atys, s. of Kroisos 311

Atys, s. of Manes 311 f. with Kotys as
 Dioskouroi (?) 312

Augeias

Etymology: 384₀

Augustine, St 140

Augustus

Cults: Assos 728₀ Dorylaeion 281 Pa-
 phlagonia 729₀ Pergamon 1179 1182
 Termessos (Termessus Maior) 973₁

Priest: ἀρχιερεύς 973₁

Personates Iupiter 1091 Zeus 97₀ 260₀

— birthday of 419₁ house of 147
 statue of, struck by lightning 10
 tree at Nemi planted by 418 419₂
 419₃

Aulai

Cult: Apollon 249₂

Aule

Cult: Pan 249₂

Aulikomis 1141

Aura

Genealogy: d. of Pothos and Omichle
 1036 1038 m. of Motos (?) by Aer
 1036 1038

Aurelii 321

Auriga 477 477₈

Autessiodurum, sacred pear-tree at 1215 f.

Autochthon Οὐρανός See Epigeios Οὐρανός

Autonoë 347₀ (?)

Autonoos, a Delphic hero 452

Autonoos, f. of Anthos 414₂

Auxesia

Cults: Bryseai 890₂ Epidauros 487₃(1)
 Sparta 890₂

Axenos See Euxeinos

Axieros

Cult: Thrace 314 f.

Function: rebirth of Axiokersos 314 f.

Etymology: 315 664

Identified with Demeter (?) 314₂

Axiokersa

Cult: Thrace 314 f.

Function: earth 315

Etymology: 314 664

Identified with Persephone (?) 314₂

Axiokersos

Cult: Thrace 314 f.

Function: sky 315

Etymology: 314 f. 664

Identified with Hades (?) 314₂

Axios, f. of Pelegon 588₀

Axos

Cults: Apollon 816₄ Zeus 816₄

— coins of 816₄

Azan, s. of Arkas 964₃

- Azizos**
Cults: Arabia 428 f. Baitokaike 431
 Edessa 428
Etymology: 428
Type: male figure on column 429 f.
Identified with Ares 428 430
- Aziosi Theoi**
Cult: Epidauros 487₃₍₁₎
- Ba'al (Baal, Bel)**
Cults: Assyria 694₀ Berytos 886₀₍₃₀₎
Function: solar 886₀₍₃₀₎
Identified with Kronos 558₀ Thourous
 and the planet Ares 694₀ Zeus
 "Ορειος 869₀
Superseded by Zeus 1192 (?)
 — axe dedicated to 510₅ distinguished
 from Belos 694₀
- Ba'al-hammān**
Cults: Kypros 1208₂ Roman Africa
 554₃
Type: enthroned between two rams
 1208₂
Identified with Kronos 554₃ Saturnus
 554₃
- Ba'al Milik (Melek, Molok)**
Cults: Peiraieus (?) 1108 Phoinike 1108
Identified with Milichus (?) 1110₀ Zeus
 Μειλίχιος (Μιλίχιος) (?) 1108
- Ba'al Qarnaim** 554₃
- Ba'al-Samin**
Identified with Zeus "Τψιστος 886₀₍₁₀₎
 889
- Ba'al-tars**
Cult: Tarsos 761 f.
Type: seated with eagle in right hand
 and sceptre in left 762
- Babylon**
Cults: Adad 769₁ god with dagger and
 double axe 714₁ Marduk 128₂ 769₁
 Zeus Βήλος 128₄ 675
Rites: sacrifice of asses 463₁ sacrifice
 of goats, sheep, and oxen 463₁
Myth: Kleinis 463₁
 — Hittite relief from 766₁ pillars of
 Herakles beyond 422
- Babylonia**
Cults: Apollon (?) 456 fire 34₁
- Bacchus**
Identified with Jehovah 1197
 — on the column of Mayence 96
- Badinlar, in Phrygia**
Cults: Apollon Λαιρμηνός (Λαιρμηνός,
 Λαρθηνός, Λειμηνός, Λυρμηνός) 567 f.
 Helios Apollon Λερμηνός (Λυερμηνός)
 568 Lairmenos 567 Μητηρ Leto 567
 568₀
- Baganda** 450₁
- Baginatiae**
Cult: Allobroges 570₀
- Baginus**
Cult: Allobroges 570₀
- Bagis** 570
- Baitokaike**
Cult: Azizos and Monimos 431
- Bakchappollon (?)** 253₃
- Bakchoi** See Zeus *Worshippers*
- Bakchos**
Etymology: 268₄
Identified with Zeus 287 1184
- Balder** See Baldr
- Baldr**
Myth: stabbed by Hqdhhr with lance of
 mistletoe 305₀
Genealogy: h. of Nanna 305₀ s. of
 Odhin 305₀
Identified with Apollo (?) 110₅ 844
 Phol (?) 110₅ 844
- Ballenaion, Mt** 270₅ 271₀
- Ballenaion, a Phrygian festival** 270₅
- Ballenaïos, s. of Ganymedes** 270₅
- Barbillea** 962₂
- Bargasa** 958₀
- Bargylia** 721₂
- Baris**
Cult: double Herakles 446 f.
 — coins of 446 f.
- Barnabas, St** 1096₄
- Type:* on chalice of Antioch 1202₀ (?)
- Baronga** 434
- Basil the Great, St** 116 891₀
- Basileia** See Queen of the Under-
 world
- Basileia, festival of Zeus Βασιλεύς** 900₀
- Bassai**
Cult: Apollon Ἐπικούριος 405₃
- Bastarnae** 55
- Batavi**
Cults: Haeva 64₀ Hercules *Magusanus*
 64₀
- Bathild, St** 135
- Bathos**
Cults: Astrapai 827 Brontai 827 Thy-
 ellai 827
Myth: Gigantomachia 827
- Bathykolpos**
Cult: Saron 414₁
- Baton, charioteer of Amphiaraios** 1071
- Battakes, priest of the Mother of the gods**
 310 f.
- Baubo**
Cult: Paros 131
Genealogy: m. of Protogone and Misa
 131 w. of Dysauls 131
Function: Underworld 132
Attribute: ladder 131
Type: seated on pig 131
Associated with Zeus, Hera, Demeter
 Θεσμοφόρος, Kore 259₀
- Baucis** 1096₄
- Bavian, rock-carving at** 769₀
- Bazis** 569
- Beda, a goddess of the Frisii**
Cult: Borcovicium 51₁
- Bejad in Phrygia**
Cult: (Zeus) Πάρας or Παράς 292₄
- Bel** See Ba'al
- Belchania** 948₀₍₄₎
- Belchanos (?) = Velchanos**
Cult: Lyttos (?) 948₀₍₄₎

- Bellerophon (Bellerophon) 720 f. 1129₁
Myth: Pegasus 721₀ 1018
Type: on horseback 717₂
- Belos
Cult: Emesa (?) 814₃
Genealogy: s. of Inachos and b. of Kasos 981₁ s. of Nebrod (Nimrod) Orion Kronos by Semiramis Rhea 693₄ 694₀ s. of Pikos who is also Zeus by Hera 694₀ 695₀
 — distinguished from Ba'al (Baal, Bel) 694₀
- Bendis
Cults: Athens 1032 f. Imbros 314₀ Lemnos 314₀ Mounychia 115 Paionia 500 f. Samothrace 314₀ Thasos 314₀ Thrace 303₂ 314₀ 411 501
Rite: oak-wreath 411 f.
Etymology: 303₂
Identified with Artemis Βασίλεια 501 Hekate 314₀ Kabeiro 314₀
Associated with Maenads 314₀
- Beneventum by euphemism for Maleventum 1112₇ Trajan's Arch at 1181₀
- Benneitai 883₀₍₁₀₎
- Bennis See Zeus *Epithets* Βεννέος
- Berekyndai 587₇
- Berekyntes 587₇ 970₀
- Berekynthos
Etymology: 587₆
- Bernard Ptolemy, St 135
- Beroe, nurse of Semele 1031
- Berouth, w. of Elionn "Τψιστος 886₀₍₃₀₎
- Berytos
Cults: Ba'al 886₀₍₃₀₎ Theos "Τψιστος 983₅
- Bes
Cults: Egypt 457 Gaza 674
Types: facing 674 mask 674
Supersedes Zeus 675
- Besso, oracle of Dionysos among 269
- Bethel 127 f.
- Bethlehem
Cult: Tammuz (Adonis) 984₁
- Beuyuk Evlia near Amaseia
Cults: St Elias 975₀ Zeus Στρατίος 974₁ ff.
Rite: dramatic shows 976₀
- Biaros, Mt See Viarus, Mt
- Bibracte 1059
- Bilkon
Cult: Apollon Βιλκόνιος 948₀
- Bios
Attributes: knife 866 868 scales 865 f.
Type: naked or half-naked runner with wheels beneath his feet 865 ff.
Identified with Kairos 864
- Bithynia
Cults: Phyllisthe river-god 904₁ Theos "Τψιστος (?) 883₀₍₂₄₎ Zeus 'Αστρακαίος 815 Zeus Βάλλης 271₀ Zeus Βροντών 835₅ Zeus 'Επιδήμιος 1180₄ Zeus Πάρας or Παπᾶς 292₄
Myth: Bormos 295₂
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- Bituriges
Cult: sword (?) 548₀
 — coins of 548₀
- Bizye 282₁
Cult: Asklepios 1079
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- Blasios, St 1104₂
- Blatsche, between Skoupoi and Stoboi
Cults: Alexander (sc. Alexandros of Abonou Teichos) 1084 Draccena (= Δράκαινα) 1084 Dracco (= Δράκωρ, i.e. Glykon) 1084 Iuno 1084 Iupiter 1084
- Blandos in Mysia
Cult: Zeus Σαδξίος (for Σαδξίος = Σαβάξίος) 284₀
- Blaundos
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- Boaz 426 f.
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Cults: Athena 731₀ Dan 842₀ Demeter 716₅ Dionysos "Ενδενδρος 946₀ Hera Βασίλεια 731₀ Poseidon 583₃ 731₀ Zeus Βασίλειός 731₀ Zeus 'Ελευθέριος 238₀ Zeus Καραίος 873₂ Zeus Κάριος 873₂ Zeus 'Ομολώιος 900₁ Zeus "Τραπος 875₁₍₁₎
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- Boiotos 317 1150
- Bologna, gongs from 649 ff.
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- Bombos (Bombros) 214₃
- Bona Dea
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Type: Praxiteles 1127₀
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Types: Euphranor 1126₀ 1127₀ Praxiteles 1127₀
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- Borcovicium
Cults: Alaisiagae 51₁ Beda 51₁ Fim-milena 51₁ Mars *Thingus* 51₁ Mithras 1053 numina Augustorum 51₁

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Myth: pursue Harpyiai 907₂
- Boreas**
Cult: Thrace 380
Myth: pursues Oreithyia 380
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Compared with Zeus 444
— land beyond blast of 465
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- Bosporos**
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Rite: clay loaves etc. (?) 1187₄
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- Brahmā**
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- Centaurus
Attributes: branch 615 tree 615
Types: attacked by Theseus 628 fighting Herakles 615₂ (?) fighting Lapiths 615₂ (?) fighting Zeus (?) 614 f.
- Centaurus, the constellation 477₃
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Epithet: *Eleusinia* 928₀
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Functions: one of the Penates 1059 plenty 99
Etymology: 549₆
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Identified with Luna, Diana, Iuno, Proserpina 256 Virgo 734₃
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Cult: sceptre of Zeus 547₂ 1132
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- Chalcea, m. of Olympus (?) 973₁
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Cults: Hera 981₀ Zeus *Μεελίχιος* 1157 Zeus *Παλαμναίος* 1098₇
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Cult: Zeus 981₀
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- Chalon-sur-Saône, bronze statuette from 747₁
- Chalybes 472 617 715
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- Chaos
Epithet: *ἄπειρον* 1022
Genealogy: child of Chronos 1024 child of Chronos or Herakles by Ananke or Adrasteia 1022 m. of Mot by Aer 1038
Function: primeval power 315
Etymology: 1039 1051
Identified with Ianus 335₉
- Charalambos, St 1150₉
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- Charites
Cults: Orchomenos in Boiotia 238₀ 1150₁₀ Philadelpheia in Lydia 1229
Rite: libation from second *kratér* (?) 1124₀
Attributes: lyre, flutes, pan-pipes 249₂ 249₃

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Types: in bay-wreath 1193 three small females on hand of Apollon 232₀ three small females on hand of Zeus 232₀

Superseded by ἡ Θεοτόκος 1150₁₀

Charon

Cult: Etruria 627₃ 803

Functions: ferryman of the dead 641₂ Underworld 641

Etymology: 641

Attributes: fork (?) 803 hammer 627₃ 641

Contrasted with Zeus 641₂

— eyes of 642₀

Charos 641₂ See also Charon

Chartres

Cult: La Vierge du Pilier 1213

Charun 641₂ See also Charon

Chedworth, Roman villa at 604 f.

Cheiron

Cult: Mt Pelion 869₂ 871₀

Myth: teaches Peleus to use double spear 799

Genealogy: s. of Kronos by Philyra 695₀ 871₀

Cheleidon, eponym of the Chelidoniai Islands 971₂

Chelidoniai

Myth: Polytechnos 693

Chersonesos Taurike

Cults: (Athena) Παρθένος 729₀ Ge 729₀ Helios 729₀ heroes 729₀ Zeus 729₀

Cherubim 1203₇

Chiliokomon 596

Chimaira, Mt, fire springing from ground on 972₁

China 66₀ 479 495

Chios

Cults: St Anna 1157 Dionysos 'Ωμάδιος 667 f. Herakles 1157₁ Zeus Μελιχίος 1157₁ Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 1157₁ Zeus Ηελιωνάιος 922₄

Rite: human sacrifice 667 f.

Type: under winged arch 362

Choes 1139

Chonai, cleft of 115

Chous (Cush) 693₄ 694₀

Chousor (?) 1037

Chousoros

Genealogy: s. of Oulomos 1037 f.

Function: opener of cosmic egg 1037

Christ

Epithet: Αἰθέριος 945₀

Types: bearded man 1050 beardless man 1050 1199 1200₄ 1202₀ 1206 1207 boy 1199 1200₄ 1202₀ 1206 on the cross 305₀ descent into Hell 305₀ Dionysos 1197 Good Shepherd seated 1208 Good Shepherd standing 1050 1208 half-length figure flanked by sun and moon 138₀ harrowing of Hell 138₀ Orphic 1208 Scopaic 1206 seated between two lambs (sheep) 1208 seated with a

Christ (cont.)

lamb (sheep) beside him 1199 shepherd 305₀ youth raising right hand to bless 288 f. Zeus 1197

Attributes: eagle 1199 1209 lamb 1199

lyre 1208 roll 1199 vines 1199 1210

Associated with St Peter and St Paul 1209₂

Compared with Phanes 1026

Supersedes: Dionysos 1209 f. Theos Hypsistos 879₀₍₁₇₎ Zeus 1209

— resurrection of 941₀

Christopher, St 1076

Chronos

Epithets: ἀγήραος 1022 1024 τετραπόπος 831₀

Myth: makes cosmic egg 1026 1051

Genealogy: f. of Aither and Chaos 1024 f. of Aither, Chaos, and Erebos by Ananke or Adrasteia 1022

Attribute: knife 864

Types: globe beneath foot 864 Ly-sippos (?) 864 snake with heads of god, snake, lion 1023 winged snake with heads of god, bull, lion 1022

Identified with Herakles 1022 Kairos 861 864 Kronos 374 861

Associated with Zas and Chthonia (Chthonie) 351₁

— chariot of 831₀ in Phoenician cosmogony 1036 1038

Chrysaor, the Carian hero 714 f. 720

Chrysaor, twin-b. of Pegasus

Epithet: μέγας 716

Myth: birth from neck of Medousa 716 ff.

Genealogy: b. of Pegasos 317 1018 f. of Geryoneus by Kallirrhoe, d. of Okeanos 716 s. of Medousa 457

Function: lightning (?) 721 f.

Etymology: 715 f. 1222

Attribute: sword 716

Chryses, s. of Zeus by Hesione d. of Danaos 1150₂

Chrysiippos 855₂

Chryso gone, d. of Halmos 1150₄

Chrysor, the Phoenician Hephaistos

Identified with Zeus Μελιχίος 715 1037

Chrysaoreis 714

Chrysaoris 714

Chrysothemis, s. of Karmanor 190₀

Chrysothemis, w. of Staphylos 670

Chthonia (Chthonie)

Function: primeval power 316

Identified with Ge 351₁

Chytroi

Cult: Astarte 157₁

Chytroi, the festival 1139

Cimhri 799₅

City Dionysia 244₂

Çiva

Cult: India 790 f.

Attributes: bull 791₂ trident 790 f. wreath 791₂

Type: three-faced 791₂

- Clunia in Spain
Cult: Iupiter *Augustus Ultor* 1102₅
 Clusium, tomb of Porsenna at 1219
 Collorgues, carved slabs from 690
 Commodus
Cult: Pergamon 1185
Personates Zeus 1185
 Compitalia 1171₂
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 Cordelia (Cordalia) 325 f.
 Corinium in Dalmatia
Cult: Ianus *Pater* 325
 Corinth
Cults: Apollon 915₂ (?) 916₀ Apollon
Δειραδιώτης 210₀ Iupiter *Liberator*
 (Nero) (?) 1214 Zenoposeidon (?)
 878₀₍₃₎ Zeus 878₀₍₃₎ Zeus *Καπετώλιος*
 (= *Κορυθαίος*) 869₁ Zeus *Ἰολύμπιος*
 916₀ Zeus *Ἰψίστος* 878₀₍₃₎ 892₃ Zeus
Χθόνιος 878₀₍₃₎
 Corne, Mt
Cult: Diana 403
 Corneto, *Tomba del Letto funebre* at 1170₅
 Corvus 664₁
 Corycian Cave 449₀
 Crater 664₁
 Crete
Cults: Apollon *Βαλκάνιος* 948₀ Apollon
Πύθιος 457 Diktynna 986₀ Kronos
 548 f. Pikos who is also Zeus (?)
 697₀ Talos 890₂ 948₁ Tan 342₀
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τέριος 230₀ Zeus *Βορτιαίος* (?) 1187₄
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 and buried in Crete 522 727
In relation to Delphoi 189₈ Rhodes
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- Daai (Daai, Dahae), a Scythian tribe
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Myth: makes dancing-ground for Ari-
 adne 600 f.
Genealogy: f. of Iapyx 30
Function: sculptor 322₇ 739₁
 Daimon
Epithets: ἡγήτορα φρικτόν, | μείλιχιον
Δία, παγγενέτην, βιοδώτορα θνητῶν, |
Ζῆνα μέγαν, πολύπλαγκτον, ἀλά-
στορα, παμβασιλῆα, | πλουτοδότην,
 κ.τ.λ. 1160₄
Identified with Zeus 1160₄ Zeus *Μει-*
λίχιος 1160₄
 — Orphic hymn to 1160
 Daimones
Cult: Thespiai 1150₀
Epithets: ἐσθλοί, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες
θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, [...] πλουτοδότα
 1130₁ 1160
Function: buried kings (?) 1150₀
Etymology: 1159₁
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εδροι | μητέρος *Ἰδαίης* 232₀
Rites: head wrapped in fleece of black
 ram 934₀ lying prone beside sea and
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 ing from Mother of the gods 949₅
Genealogy: sons of Aigesthios (Ag-
 destis?) by Ide 970₀ sons of Anchiale
 929₀
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- Daldea
Cult: Apollon *Μύσσης* 250 f.
 — coin of 251₁
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 Damaskos
Cults: Zeus *Κεραύνιος* 807₅₍₂₎ Zeus
Μέγιστος Ἰψίστος 886₀₍₀₎
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Myth: Argos 1144₂

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Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes

Cults: Apollon Δαφναῖος 1188 Nemesis 1191₅ Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 1188 f. (?) 1191 Zeus Σωτήρ 1191

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Rite: resurrection (?) 1191₂

Daphnephoria 158₁ 242₁ 455₈

Daphnis

Myth: Apollon 1042 (?)

Daphnis the mountain-nymph 176₁

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Genealogy: b. of Iasos 317 s. of Zeus 8

Dasimos (Dazimos) 1159₁

Dasios (Dazios) 1159₁

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Dea Augusta Vocontiorum

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Deana 339₅ See Diana

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Functions: mower 868 reaper 868

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Type: straw puppet 868

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Festivals: birthday of Apollon (Bysios

7) 236 Boukatia 235 brumal rites

of Dionysos 235 Charila 240 242

Herois 240 242 Pythian games 240

Soteria 232 f. Steperion 240 242

vernal rites of Dionysos (Theoxenia?)

235 244₂

Rites: caldron of apotheosis 210 ff.

241₄ dance of young men round

tripod 460 incubation 231 f. paean

460 procession from Athens headed

by axe-bearers 628 817 847 πῦρ

ἀθάνατον 1216 sacrifice sent by

Pythaïstai 815 ff. tent with cosmic

roof 178₇

Priestesses: Thyiads 242

Myths: Asklepios raises dead 241₄

Asklepios slain by Zeus 241₄ death

and burial of the Orphic Dionysos

218 ff. 841 Dionysos gives oracles

from tripod 239₀ Dionysos torn in

pieces and boiled in caldron 239

foundation of oracle 169 Hyper-

boreans 452 Hyperochos and Ama-

dokos 452 Hyperochos and Lao-

dokos 452 Neoptolemos 170₂ Nyx

238₄ Pagasos and Agyieus 169 177

499 Phylakos and Autoñoōs 452

Python 1087 Python slain by

Apollon 239₀ Themis gives oracles

239₀ Themis on tripod impregnated

by pillar of light (= Apollon) 1217

Theseus 628 Trophonios and Aga-

medes 232₄

In relation to Crete 189₅

— as centre of earth 167 as vital

centre of Greek religion 841 calendar

at 235 f. Cnidian *Lésche* at 122₀

Delphoi (*cont.*)

coins of 176₂ 218₀ 267₁ 490₀₍₅₎ E at 176₂ 178 1216 eagles at 179 ff. frieze of Siphnian Treasury at 831₁₍₄₎ inhabitants of, called Lykoreis 901₂ inner chapel in temple of Apollon at 239 inscribed axe from 628 *omphalós* at 169 ff. 841 1216 pediments of temple at 267₁ Plataean tripod at 170₂ 193 ff. 1216 precinct of, represented in archaistic reliefs 199 ff. stepped pyramid on plinth near 1146₀₍₁₀₎ succession of cults at 231 239 266 f. trophy from spoils of 'Marathon' at 1137₂ votive double axes from 629 669₃

Delphos 176₁Delphyne 449₀Demaratos, oath of 728₀

Demeter

Cults: Aixone 730₀ Ardettos 1135 Athens 729₀ 730₀ Boiotia 716₅ Dotion 497₅ 683 f. Eleusis 314₀ 314₂ 730₀ Erythrai in Ionia 730₀ Eteonos 1152 Hermione 1077 Kios 815₅ Kolonos 1152₅ Korkyra 730₀ Megalopolis 1178 Mostene (?) 564 Myrrhinous 730₀ Nisaia, port of Megara 488₀₍₃₎ Pagai, port of Megara (?) 488₀₍₃₎ Paros 131 Pergamon 729₀ 955₀ Pheneos 1136₄ Phlyeis 1066 Prostanna (?) 973₀ Samothrace 314₀ 314₂ Selinous 489₀₍₁₀₎ Sparta 729₀ Tegea 1140₅ Thebes in Boiotia 900₁ 901₀

Epithets: 'Ανησιδώρα 1066 'Ενναία 1075 'Ερινύς ('Ερινύς) 1075 'Ερκυννα 1075 (See also Herkyna) Εὐρύδεια 1152 Θεσμοθέτις 268₂ Θεσμοφόρος 131 259₀ Καρποφόρος 815₅ Κιδαρία 1136₄ Μαλοφόρος 488₀₍₃₎ 489₀₍₁₀₎ Μηλοφόρος 489₀₍₁₀₎ ξιφηφόρος 716₅ Όμολφα 900₁ ep. 901₀ Χθονία 1077 Χλόη 413₂ χρυσόδορος 716

Festivals: Herkynia 1075 τελετή μείζων at Pheneos 1136₄

Myths: boiling of Pelops 212₅ consorts with Zeus 1029 Erysichthon 497₅ 683 f. Iambe 821 851 reveals fig to Phytalos 291₂ 1092₀ 1103

Metamorphosed into snake 1029

Genealogy: m. of Artemis 252 m. of Artemis or Hekate 1032 m. by Zeus of Persephone or Kore 1029 w. of Poseidon 584₀

Functions: Corn-mother 295₂ earth 584₁ 585₁ 1152

Etymology: 584₀ 584₁ 585₁ 1159₁

Attributes: corn-ears 564 (?) double axe 564 (?) *drépanon* 448₀ *hárpe* 448₀ *kálathos* 564 (?) oak-tree 683 f. pig 1140₅ poplar-tree 683 poppies 1165₁ ram (?) 488₀₍₃₎ snake 1111 sword 716 716₅ torches 488₀₍₃₎ (?)

Type: with *kálathos*, corn-ears, and double axe (?) 564

Demeter (*cont.*)

Identified with Axieros (?) 314₂ Isis 252₀ Rhea 1029 1032

Associated with Kore 1113₀₍₃₎ 1178 Kore and Zeus 258₃ 259₀ Zeus, Hera, Kore, Baubo 259₀

In relation to bees and honey 1142₇ Persephone 501

Demetrios Poliorketes

Personates Athena (?) 1136₄

Demoi of Antiocheia on the Orontes (?) and Seleukeia Pieria (?) 1192

Demokritos of Abdera 701₀

Demos

Cults: Antiocheia on the Orontes (?) 1192 Kaulonia (?) 1042 Seleukeia Pieria (?) 1192

— in Aristophanes 212

Demos of Rome

Cult: Miletos 1228

Demotionidai, oath of 728₀Den 344₀ 583₀ 583₃

See also Zeus

Denderah

Cults: Horos 773₀ Osiris 773₀ Zeus 'Ελευθέριος Σεβαστός (= Augustus) 97₀

Deo

Myth: Zeus 132₂

Rite: union with Zeus 132₂ 345₀₍₂₎

See also Demeter

Deonysos 271

See also Dionysos

Deos (Dios), the Phrygian Zeus 278 ff.

Function: sky 279 f.

Associated with Semele 279 f.

— tribe Deia named after (?) 281

Despoina

Cult: Akakesion 231₈

Deukalidai 892₄

Deukalion

Myths: takes stones from Mt Agdos to people the world 971₀ Athens 1118 1139 1229 builds altar of Zeus 'Αφείσιος 892₄ Lykoreia 901₂ Mt Par-nassos 902₀

Genealogy: h. of Pyrrha 971₀ s. of Minos, s. of Zeus 793₇

Etymology: 892₄

— grave of 1118

Deunysos 272₀

See also Dionysos

Deus 344₀

See also Zeus

Deus Altissimus

Cult: Hadrumetum 889₀₍₃₄₎

Epithets: Pelagicus Aeriús 889₀₍₃₄₎

Identified with Iao 889₀₍₃₄₎

Deus Casius

Cult: Heddernheim 983₀

See also Zeus *Epithets* Κάσιος (Κάσιος)

Deus Magnus Pantheus

Associated with Vires 306₄

Deverra 643₈

- Deviana 339₀
 See Diana
- Dexia 619₃
 Dexasiva
Cult: Cadenet 619
- Dia, d. of Lykaon 486₁
 Dia, old name of Tralleis 587₂ 958₀
 Dia, w. of Ixion
Myth: wooed by Zeus 1088
- Dian (?), consort of Diane (?) 351₀
 Diana
Cults: Mt Algidus 404 Aricia 420₁
 Mt Corne 403 Kolchoi 411 Nemi 149 393 399 f. 403₁ 842 f. Nemus 417 ff. Rome 400 f. 421 Mt Tifata 404 Tusculum 403
Epithets: *Facelitis* 421₃ *Latonia* 412₇ *Lyaea* 1140₃ *nemoralis* *Delia* 412₆ *Nemorensis* 146 411₃ (?) 414 417 841 1216 *Trivia* 412₆ *virgo potens nemorum* 412₆
Rites: *liknon* 149 puppies wreathed 149 oak decked with weapons and spoils of chase 412₆ weapons laid aside 149
Priests: Caligula 403₁ *rex Nemorensis* 146 f. 394 f. 399 f. 403₁ 417₅ 418
Myths: Actaeon 144 Virbius 393
Genealogy: consort of Dianus (Ianus) 363 394 399 405
Functions: birth 339₀ chase 69 moon 338₄ 339₆
Etymology: 338 ff.
Attributes: crown 147₁ hound 69 hounds 144 *modius* 148 oak 400 ff. sceptre 148
Types: club-like pillar 147 149 841 herm 149 huntress 144 log 146 three-faced 411 triune 412₇ (?) with *modius* 149
Identified with Egeria (?) 418₀ Luna, Ceres, Iuno, Proserpina 256 Vesta 417₅
Associated with Apollo and Hercules 59₀ Dianus (Ianus) 363 394 399 405 Mercurius 67 (?)
In relation to Virbius 414 417 842
Survives as country demon 339₁
 — oak-tree of 400 ff. on column of Mayence 96 99 f. pillars of 143 ff. tree of, at Nemi 417 ff.
- Dianus
Etymology: 339₁ 352
Type: archway 363 405
Associated with Diana 363 394 399 405
 See also Ianus
- Dias, a form of Zeus 352
 See also Zeus
- Dias, one of the Pelopidai 352₂
 Dias, one of the Titans 352
 Diasia 1138 ff.
 Di certi 13₁
 Dictaeon Cave, votive double axes from 639₂
 See also Dikte, Mt
- Dido 1059
 Didyma near Miletos
Cults: Apollon *Διδυμαῖος* 317 f. Apollon *Διδυμῆος* 317₂ Zeus *Διδυμαῖος* 317 Zeus *Σωτήρ* 317₂ Zeus *Ἰέτιος* 318_{0a}
Rite: *βοργία* 318₀
- Diermai 1219
 Dies 3₀
 Diespiter
Function: thunder 830₆
Etymology: 277₂ 341₀
 See also Jupiter
- Diias See Dias, one of the Titans
- Dike
Epithets: *πᾶσιν ἀρωγός* 1033₁ *πολύποιος* 1033₁
Genealogy: st. of Ananke 316₀
Functions: cosmic 316₀ gate-opener 316₀ justice 931₀ laws 1095₀
Attribute: *Διὸς μάκελλα* 806₁
Associated with Zeus 1029 1033₁ Zeus and Themis 897₃
- Dikte, headland on south coast of Crete 928₀
 Dikte, Mt
Cult: Iupiter *Dictaeus* 927₁ Zeus *Δικταῖος* 927₁ 928₀ 929₀
Epithet: *Κορυβαυτιδῶς...πέτρος* 942₀
Myths: Anchiale bears Idaean Daktlyloi 929₀ birth of Zeus 928₀ 986₀ Britomartis 939₁ city founded by Zeus 928₀ 929₀ Epimenides sleeps in Dictaeon Cave 929₀ infancy of Zeus 928₀ 929₀ Kouretes rear Zeus 928₀ Meliai 933₀ Minos descends into Dictaeon Cave and returns with laws of Zeus 929₀ Zeus consorts with Europe 929₀
Etymology: 928₀
 — identified with mountain-range south-west of Praisos 929₀ identified wrongly with Mt Lasithi 929₀ Dictaeon Cave on, identified wrongly with Psycho Cave 929₀ Dictaeon Cave on, not yet discovered 929₀ Dictaeon Cave on 928₀ 929₀
- Dikton, cape near Mt Ide in Crete 945₁
 Diktyinna
Cult: Crete 986₀
- Diktys
Myths: drowned in river while reaching for onions 986₀ nursed by Isis 986₀
Etymology: 986₀
- Dindymene 970₆
 Dings
Identified with Ziu (?) 50 f.
- Dinos 2₄
 Diobessi, a Thracian tribe 276₇
 Diocletian
Personates Iupiter 1194
 Diogenes of Apollonia 1024
 Dioi, a Thracian tribe 276₇
 Diokaisareia in Kilikia
Cults: thunderbolt 810 Zeus (?) 810
 — coins of 810 851

Dion, an early Laconian king
Myth: entertains Apollo and Liber
 Pater 353

Dion (?), consort of Dione

• *Cult*: Dodona 350₆
Function: sky 350₆
Superseded by Zeus 353

Dion in Makedonia

Cult: Zeus 1111
 — coins of 1111

Dione

Cults: Dodona 350 350₆ 353 Termessus
 (Termessus Maior) 974₀

Myth: consorts with Zeus 1029

Function: sky 350₆
Etymology: 341₄ 350

Type: laureate and veiled 162₁
Associated with Zeus 974₀ 1029

Dionnyssos 272

See also Dionysos

Dionysalexandros 253₃ 277₃

Dionysiastai 925₀

Dionysiastai Eurythemidioi 1157₃

Dionysopolis in Phrygia

Cults: youthful hero (? Lairmenos) on
 horseback bearing double axe 566
 Zeus Πορνης (accent unknown) 285
 — coins of 285₁ 566

Dionysos

Cults: Antiocheia on the Orontes 428
 1197 Apsinthos 270 Arkesine 246₁
 Athens 245₅ 985₀ Bessoi 269 Boi-
 otia 946₀ Chios 667 f. Delphoi 218 ff.
 233 ff. 250 257₄ 839 841 Dorylaeion
 280₁ Elis 823₁ 932₀ Euromos 575₁
 Hagia Triada (?) 522 524 Hierokai-
 sareia in Lydia 1025 Imbros 314₀
 Karia 565₂ Kaulonia (?) 1041 Kras-
 tonia 114 f. Kypros 599₂ (?) Mt
 Laphystion in Boiotia 899₁ Lemnos
 314₀ Lerne 599₃ Lesbos 1021 Lindos
 925₀ Maidike 270 Megara 257₄
 Mytilene 238₀ 1022 Naxos 250 1092₀
 1093₀ Nisyros 1157₃ Nuserat in
 Mysia 882₀₍₀₎ Odrysai 269₁ Odry-
 sai (?) 661 f. Orchomenos in Boiotia
 899₁ Pagasai 660 Paionia 250₁ 270
 Panormos near Kyzikos (?) 882₀₍₀₎
 Pergamon 287₂ 288₀ 954₀ 1184₁
 Phigaleia 244₄ Rhodes 250 Saboi
 270 Samos 1021 Samothrace 314₀
 Satrai 269₁ Synnada (?) 362 f. Tene-
 dos 522 658 ff. (?) 662 667 f. Thasos
 314₀ Thespiai (?) 599₂ Thrace 269 ff.
 314₀ 821 851 Thraco-Phrygians
 268 ff. Tralleis 960₀ Troizen 599₂
Epithets: άγριος 661₁ Άγριεύς 164 Άκρα-
 τοφόρος 244₄ άναξ 243₃ (?) 246₁ 659
 Άθροωπορραίστης 243₃ 522 662 άρ-
 ρητος 661₁ Άσδούλης 270 Αύαλος 251₀
 270 Βακχεύς 1093₀ Βάκχος 243₃ 250₄
 957₂ 1030 Βάλω or Βαλών 270₅ 271₀
 Βαλιός (?) 271₀ βοτρυόκοσμος 250₄
 Βότρυς 413₂ βραχίτης (?) 243₃ Βρόμιος
 219 243₃ 838 852 882₀₍₀₎ δεύτερος

Dionysos (cont.)

άλλος...ύέτιος Ζεύς 276₁ *Delius* 250₄
 Διθύραμβος 243₃ Δικερως 661₁ Διμορφός
 661 Διός φώς 273 *Dryalos* (?) 250₄
 Δύαλος 250₄ 270 Έβδομοεύς 238₀
 Egyptian 29 εραφιώτης 957₂ Έλευ-
 θεριεύς 97₀ Ένδέντρος 946₀ Ένώρχης
 1021 1022 έρίβρομος 957₂ Έδαίος
 (leg. Εδίοσ) 275₃ Εύβουλεύς (?) 119₀
 Ευκίλιος 250₄ εβίος 234₅ 243₃ (?)
 246₁ Εύρυβάλνδος 270₅ 271₀ ζεί-
 δωρος 275 Έρικεπαίος 1025 Έρωσ
 823₁ θυροερχής (?) 250₄ θυροήρης (?)
 243₃ Ίαμβαδούλης 820₃ 821 851
 Ίατρούς 250 Ίσοδαίτης 234 Καθηγε-
 μών 287₂ 288₀ (?) 1184₁ κισσοκόμης
 (κισσοκόμας) 246₁ Κισσός 413₂ κισσο-
 χαίτης 243₃ (?) 246₁ κρύφιος 661₁
 λαθικηδής 954₀ Λαφύστιος 899₁ μαι-
 νομέναις άνθόντα τιμαίσι 234₅ Μάσα-
 ρις 565₂ Μελίχιος 1092₃ 1093₀ 1112₀
 Μελπόμενος 245₅ μαιφόνος 275
 Μουσαγέτης 250 Νέος 96 Νυκτέλιος
 234 257₄ νυκτέριος 257₄ νυκτίπολος
 257₄ νυκτιφαής 257₄ όρσιγύνακα
 (acc.) 234₅ Παίδν 250 Παιώνιος 250₄
 Πέλεκυς (not Πελεκάς or Πελεκίνος,
 nor Πελάγιος) 660 Πλείστωρος (?)
 270 πολύνυμος 1022 Πολύνυμος (?)
 1022 Σαβάγιος 270 Σάβος 270
 Σαώτης 599₃ Σμίνθος (?) 250 Συκεί-
 ατης 488₀₍₀₎ Ύγιάτης 250₃ Ύτης 275
 ύποκάλπιος 250₄ Φαλλήν 522₀ φυσι-
 ζώς 954₀ χρυσερχής 250₄ Όμάδιος
 667 f.

Festivals: brumal rites 235 discussed
 by Pherekydes of Leros 275 Lenaia
 236 Phallagogia 1022 Rural Diony-
 sia 236 vernal rites (Theoxenia?)
 235

Rites: advent in spring 243 f. a-
 wakened from annual sleep by axe
 striking caldron (?) 660₀ Bacchants
 put bowls of bronze or iron over
 their breasts 346₀ βουφόνων...θερά-
 ποντα 659₁ death and resurrection
 234 dithyramb 234 f. human sacrifi-
 ce at Apsinthos 270, human sacrifi-
 ce in Chios 667 f. human sacrifice
 in Lesbos 1022 human sacrifice at
 Orchomenos in Boiotia 899₁ human
 sacrifice in Tenedos 667 f. human
 sacrifice in Thrace 1022 mysteries
 1030 nocturnal 257₄ sacrifice by
 Labyadai 235 243 f. wearing of
 white-poplär 471

Priests: Euneidai 245₅ ιερείς διά γένους
 1184₁ ιεροφάντης 1025 Vologaisos
 269₁

Priestess: πρόμαντις 269₁

Worshippers: Διονυσιασταί 925₀ Διο-
 νυσιασταί Εύρθεμεδίοι 1157₃ θιαύδες
 1022 θυστάδες 1022

Personated by Antinoos 97₀ Antiochos
 vi 97₀ M. Antonius 97₀ Caligula 97₀

Dionysos (cont.)

Cretan prince (?) 522 Demetrios Poliorketes 97₀ Hadrian (?) 97₀ kings of Thrace 271₀ Mithradates vi Eupator 96₃ 245₀ Nero 96₃ (?) 97₀ 254 (?) 1128₀ Ptolemy xiii Auletes 96₃ various scions of the imperial house 97₀

Myths: Brasiai 671 brings Semele up from spring at Lerna 1022 buried by Apollon at Delphoi 218 ff. cut up, boiled, roasted, and eaten by Titans 218 f. 239 1030 f. Delphoi 239₀ descent to Hades 1022 destroys mice in Rhodes 250₂ guarded by Apollon and Kouretes 1030 his heart placed in a gypsum image by Zeus 1031 his heart rescued by Athena 1031 his limbs arranged by Apollon 1031 instructed and equipped by Mystis 346₀ invades India 7₂ invents wine 250₃ nursed by Dryades 276 nursed by Hyades 274 f. nursed by Ma 565₂ nursed by Maenads 347₀ nursed by Nymphs 1030 nursed by Polyhymno 1022 Polyhymnos 1022 put together again by Rhea 1032 reborn as Thyonianus (?) 393₀ restored by Apollon 251₂ resurrection 1032 a seven-months' child 237₀ sits on throne of Zeus 1030 slain in bovine form 1030 Telephos 1184₃ Titans 199₂ 218 ff. 251₂ 841 1030 f.

Metamorphosed into bull 932₀ ep. 1030 jay (?) 524 Zeus, Kronos, babe, youth, lion, horse, horned snake, tiger, bull 1030

Genealogy: s. of Semele 220 s. of Zeus 317 1098₀ s. of Zeus by Persephone 1135₄ s. of Zeus by Phersephone or Kore 1029

Functions: chthonian 471 1029 figs 1092₀ 1098₀ health 250₃ rain 274 ff. rebirth of Zeus 381 823₁ snow 275 thunder 852 wine 557₁

Etymology: 271 ff.

Attributes: ass 464 bay-wreath 244 390 (?) double axe 661 drinking-horn 661 grape-bunch 960₀ ivy-wreath 388 jay 275₂ 524 *kántharos* 661 960₀ 1133₁ lyre 244 838 *nebris* 270₃ nightingale (?) 275₂ panther 261 270₃ *φρυγίλος* (?) 275₂ swallow (?) 275₂ *thýrsos* 261 ff. tripod 841 vine-branch 1133₁

Types: Apolline 244 ff. 838 bearded 388 661 in car drawn by panthers 245₀ double bust (with Ariadne) 390 (?) 391 392₁ (?) ep. 661 double bust (with Hermes) 388 double bust (with Satyr) 388 double bust (with Zeus) 388 fire 114 f. horned 244₄ horned babe 1029 on horseback 270₃ 821 infant nursed by Nymph

Dionysos (cont.)

245₀ Janiform (bearded + beardless) 387 light 114 f. with lyre in art, but not in literature 246₀ pillar 164 riding on bull 661 seated as child amid Kouretes 1210 seated as lyre-player 245₂ standing with grape-bunch in raised right hand and *kántharos* in lowered left 960₀ two bearded masks hung back to back on pillar 381 with wings on head 388 youthful head 575₁ Zeus-like 662 f. 847

Identified with Agathos Daimon 1129₀ Apollon 252 ff. Apollon and Helios 253 f. Attis 294 296 298 Esmun 314₀ Hittite god bearing grape-bunches and corn-ears 565 Jehovah 1197 younger Kabeiros 664₁ Liber 1031 Liber *Pater* 220₀ Osiris 252 Phanes 1026 1051 Sabazios 275 Zagreus 234 1029 Zeus 282 287 f. 288₀

Assimilated to Apollon 244 ff. Thracian rider-god 821 823

Associated with Apollon 164 233 ff. Ariadne 245₀ 245₂ 261 390 (?) 391 661 (?) Athena and Zeus 'Αραβύριος 925₀ the Egyptian Herakles 7₂ Kore 120₁ Maenads 115 246₀ 262 f. 265 Nero 97₀ Oistros (?) 1041 Satyrs 245₂ 246₀ 262 f. 265 314₀ Silenoi 661 Zeus and Themis 261 f.

Compared with Apollon 252

In relation to Agathos Daimon 1129₀ Apollon 267 Ares 565₂ mankind 1032 Semele 663 Zeus 267 ff. 522 1210

Superseded by Apollon 243 ff. 839 841 Christ 1209 f.

— as one of the first three Dioskouroi 1135₄ attendants of, boiled by Medea 212 effigy of, dedicated to Zeus 958₀ epitaph of 220 mystics of 124, mysteries of 882₀₍₁₀₎ nurses of 347₀ pillars of 423 in the plural 252₃ sceptre of 1026 tomb of 219 231 239 toys of 1030 tripod of 231

Diōnyssos 272

See also Dionysos

Diopetes See Artemis *Types* Διοπέτης

Dios, island off coast of Kephallenia 908₀

Dios, the Thracian Zeus

Cults: Thrace 277 ff. 288 313 824 Thracio-Phrygians 277 ff. 313 842

Epithets: *Nῆσος* (hence the Hellenic Δῆνυσος) 277 288 313 842 Πάρας 277

Functions: sky 277 842 twofold, as Father and Son 288 842

Etymology: 824

Superseded by Zeus Δίος 280 f.

Diosatabyriastai 924₀ 925₀ 1129₀ 1157₃

Dios Bous 318₀

Dios Elpides

Cult: Miletos 962₀

Dios Gonai in Boiotia 961₀

Dios Gonai in Lydia 961₀

Dioskouroi

Cults: Aizanoi 313 Akmonēia 313
Apameia 313 Mt Argaios 980₀
Athens 1135₄ Bria 313 Etruria 431 f.
1064 Euromos 574 f. Sparta 261₀
436 ff. 1062 Synnada 313 Tarentum
1064 Taunon 1064 Temenothyrai
313 Themisonion (?) 313 Therapne
1064 Tusculum (?) 368₂ Tyndaris
918₀

Epithets: Ἀμβούλιοι 261₀ Ἀνακτες 311
1135₄ Λαπέρσα 1069

Festival: Theoxenia 443 1064

Rites: lectisternium 443 sacrifice of
oxen 606₃

Personated by Aristomenes and friend
436₀ Atys and Kotys (?) 312 L.
Aurelius Commodus and Antoninus
443 Epiphanes and Kallinikos 442 f.
kings of Sparta 436 440 Nero Caesar
and Drusus Caesar 442 Tiberius
and Germanicus 441 f.

Myths: alive and dead on alternate
days 433 their descendants found
temple on Mt Kasion in Egypt 984₄
feud with sons of Aphareus 437
Gigantomachy 435 in *Iliad* 436 in
Kypria 438 f. in Lykophron 439
in *Odyssey* 437 in Pindar 437 f. life
underground 1064

Genealogy: sons of Tyndareos 918₀

Functions: anthropomorphic sky-
pillars 980₀ both mortal men 436
one mortal, the other immortal
437 f. 440 halves of the sky 432 ff.
843 ἡ συμφωνία τῶν ἀπάντων 434₃
incarnate in kings of Sparta (?) 436
440 living and dead on alternate
days 437 ff.

Attributes: amphorae 1062 ff. black
and white *piloi* 435 caps with stars
313₂ 313₄ 313₅ 433 574 f. 1062
dagger 432₃ *dōkana* 160 f. 436₃ 841
1063 f. horses 313₂ 313₅ 313₃ knife
432₃ Phrygian caps 432₂ (See also
caps with stars) *piloi* 307 1063 (See
also caps with stars) semicircles
434 sepulchral jars 436₃ 1062 ff.
stars 980₀ (See also caps with stars)

Types: aniconic pillars crowned with
rays 980₀ bearded and beardless
451 on short column or altar 606₃
driving two-horse chariot 1064
Etruscan 160 with heads connected
by forked bar 432₃ with heads con-
nected by pediment 431 432₂ on
horseback 442 479 1064 male and
female 451 with one arm apiece
432 with one wing apiece 432
radiate 432₃ reclining in cave 1064
reclining at least 1064 standing
with horses 1064 standing without
horses 1062 1063 1064

Dioskouroi (cont.)

Associated with Helene 1003 ff. Zeus
1209₂

Compared with children in 'Expul-
sion' tales 1014

In relation to Attis 307 ff.

Superseded by St Peter and St Paul 606

— in folk-tales 1003 ff. jars of 1062 ff.

Diosmilichiaiai 1157

Diosphoros (?) 970₀

Diotima 130, 1167

Diphilos 1167

Dipoinos 739

Dipsakos 904₁

Dirke, the spring 1013

Dirke

Myths: Antiope 1013 1015 Zethos and

Amphion 1013 1015 1019

Type: dragged by bull 1019

Dis (Δίς) 344₀

See also Zeus

Dis

Cult: Celts 326

Rite: drink-offering of honey and pure
wine 1142₇

Dius

Cults: Rome 724₀ ff. Tiber-island 726₀

Epithets: *Fidius* 724₀ ff. 849 *Sancus*

724₀ *Sancus Sanctus Semo* 724₀

Semo Sancus 724₀ *Semo Sancus*

Sanctus 724₀ 725₀

Rites: *aenei orbes* 724₀ 725₀ (?) oath

under open sky 724₀

Functions: lightning 726₀ 849 sky 724₀

725₀

Type: archaic 'Apollon' 725₀ op. 1222

Identified with Herakles (?) 724₀ Simon

Magus 726₀

Diviana 338₄

See also Diana

Divitia

Cults: Mercurius 64₀ Victoria 64₀

Divlit near Kolōē

Cults: Artemis Ἀναίτις ('Αναίτις?')

975₀ Zeus Σαβάσιος 975₀

— sacred trees at 975₀

Dodona

Cults: Dione 350 350₅ 353 Ge (Gaia)

350₁ Zeus 350 353 693₃ 855₂ 960₀

Zeus Δωδωναίος (= Hadrian) 959₀

Zeus Νάιος 350₆ 763₁ 826

Epithet: *δυσχέλμερος* 960₀

Rites: caldron of hot water 214 ff.

Hyperborean offerings 497 oracular

caldron 214 priests go with un-

washen feet 960₀ priests sleep on

ground 960₀

Priests: Ἐλλοί 677 f. Σελλοί 960₀ τό-

μαροι (τόμοιροι) 693₃

Priestesses: 'Fly' 215₁ Πελειάδες 350

693₃

Myth: Hellos 677 f. 848

— bronze statuette of Zeus from

739 1222 (?) Corcyraean whip at

826 851 double axe of iron from 678

- Dodona** (*cont.*)
gong at 133₀ 214₁ 826 1226 oak at 413₂ 677 692 848 painting of 677 small votive axes from 648 677
- Dogs-heads** 679
- Dokimeion**, coin of 756₂
- Doliche**
Cult: Zeus Δολιχάϊος 745₁
- Domitian**
Personates Zeus 97₀ 1194 cp. 811₅
- Domitilla**, Catacomb of 1205 f.
- Donar**
Functions: autumn 62 f. fertility 63₁ thunder 63₁
Etymology: 63₁
Attributes: hammer 64₀ 609 birch (?) 642₃
Identified with Hercules 62 f. 63₁ 64₀ 94₁ Iupiter 64₀ 95₂ Volcanus 63₁
- Donatus** as author of the scholia P. Danielis on the commentaries of Servius 1059 cp. 468₁
- Donuca**, Mt 55
- Dorians**, *Agyieús*-pillars of 165 f. originally an Illyrian tribe 341
- Dorylaeion**
Cults: Aphrodite 281 Apollon 281 Augustus 281 Dionysos 280₁ Homonoia Σεβαστή 280₁ Mother of the gods 281 Poseidon 281 Sarapis 281 Zeus Βροντών 280₁ 835₄ 836 Zeus Δίος (rather than Δίος) 280 f. Zeus Μεληρός 280₁ Zeus Παρίας Σωτήρ 292₄ Zeus Πατρώος 280₁ Zeus Σημαντικός 280₁
— bust of Zeus Βροντών from 836 coins of 280₁ seven tribes at 281
- Dorylaos** (?) 280₁
- Dotion**
Cult: Demeter 497₅ 683 f.
Myth: Erysichthon 497₅ 683 f. 848
- Douris** 122₀
- Draccena** (= Δράκαινα)
Cult: Blatsche 1084
- Dracco** (= Δράκων, i. e. Glykon)
Cult: Blatsche 1084
- Drakon**, king of Thebes in Boiotia 1087
- Drakon**, the river See Orontes
- Drepanon** in Achaia
Myth: so called after the δρέπανον of Kronos 448₀
- Drepanon** (Drepane) in Bithynia
Myth: so called after the δρέπανον of Zeus 448₀
- Drepanon** (Drepane) = Phaiakia or Korkyra 448₀
- Drepanon** = Zankle in Sicily 448₀
- Dreros**
Cult: Zeus Ταλλαῖος 948₁
— oath of 730₀
- Drios**, Mt, in Naxos
Cult: Zeus Μηλωσῖος 918₁
- Droiophori** 411₆
- Druids** regarded oak-mistletoe as fallen from heaven 643
- Dryades** 276 683 f.
- Dryope**
Myth: loved by Apollon 485 f. 486₅
Metamorphosed into black-poplar 486 lotus-tree 486₂
Genealogy: m. of Amphissos by Apollon 486 w. of Andraimon, s. of Oxylos 486
Superseded by Daphne 486
- Dryopes**
Cult: πόποι 293₀
— migration of 458 (?) 1123 (?)
- Dryops**
Genealogy: s. of Apollon by Dia, d. of Lykaon 486₁ 486₅ s. of Spercheios by the Danaid Polydora 486
- Dryos** 972₀
- Duana** 339₀ See Diana
- Durocortorum** 359₃
- Dyauš** 1228
- Dyrrhachion** by euphemism for Epidamnus (?) 1112₇ coins of 1159₁
- Dysaules** (= Hades?) 131 f.
Genealogy: f. of Eubouleus and Triptolemos 132 f. of Protogone and Misa by Baubo 131
- Ebal**, Mt, and Mt Gerizim as two-peaked cosmic mountain (?) 888₀₍₁₀₎
- Ebdomaia** 237₀
- Ebimi** near Amaseia
Cult: Zeus Σπράτιος 976₀
- Echekrates** 209₃
- Edessa**
Cults: Helios 428 Monimos and Azizos 428 Tyche 428 f.
— coins of 429 f. columns of 428 ff.
- Eétion** 317
- Egeria**
Etymology: 418₀ (?)
Identified with Diana (?) 418₀
- Egesta** See Segesta
- Egypt**
Cults: Agdistis Επήκοος 1228 Ammon 767₂ Amoun 293₀ 889₀₍₁₀₎ ape 987₀ Apis 942₀ baboon 987₀ benefactors of society 1132₆ Bes 457 cat 987₀ crocodile 987₀ double axe 545₀ fire 34₁ HA of the Double Axe 545₀ Hermes 382₂ Horos 255 ibis 987₀ Kneph 1127₀ Min 767₂ Mouth (= Isis) 1038 Tefēnet 626₀ Zeus 1023
Rite: head buried separately from body and replaced by stone image 1218
Myths: anthropogony 1023 cosmic egg 1035 flight of the gods from Typhoeus 449₀ zoögonny 1023
— Homer indebted to 481₉ pyramids of 1145_{1(a)} 1145_{1(b)}
- Eide** (Ide), a Cretan Nymph
Genealogy: d. of Meliasos by Amaltheia and st. of Adrasteia 933₀
Function: protectress of laws 933₀

- Eikthyrnir 305₀
 Eileithya
Cults: Gortyna 723₀ Hierapytna 723₀
 Megara 168₁ Phaloron 183 Priansos
 723₀ Tegea (?) 1148₁
Epithets: Βενάρια 723₀ ἠπία 184₂ λυσί-
 ζωνος 184₂
Function: child-birth 709
Attributes: girdle 184 torch (?) 1148₁
- Eilenia
Cult: Athena 625
 — Epeios' axe in temple at 625
- Eirene
Cult: Eumeneia in Phrygia 970₀
Epithets: εὐσεβειστῆρ Σεβαστῆ 970₀
 λιπαρῆ 954₀ φιλόλοφος 931₀
Personated by Marcia Otacilia Severa,
 w. of Philippus i 970₀
- Eisenlaci 224₁
- Ekbatana, axe-head from 632₀ Ktesias on
 832
- Ektenes 824₀
- El
Identified with Kronos 558₀
- Elagabalos
Cult: Emesa (?) 814₃
- Elaiia in Aiolis
Cults: Theos Βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης Σωτήρ
 (= Eumenes ii) 960₀ Zeus Σωτήρ
 955₀
- Elakataion, Mt, in Thessaly
Cult: Zeus Ἡλακαταῖος or Ἡλακαρεύς
 397₀
- Elaphebolia 1140₄
- Elasson in Thessaly
Cult: Zeus Κεραύνιος 808₀ (13)
- Elateia in Phokis
Cult: Athena Κραναία 1158₁₀
- Elaton, charioteer of Amphiaraios 1071
- Elatos, f. of Ischys 1089
- Elatos, Lapith chief 471
- Elchanos (?) = Velchanos
Cult: Knossos 948₀ (3)
- Elektor
Etymology: 397₀ 947₀
 See also Helios *Epithets* ἠλέκτωρ
- Elektra, d. of Agamemnon 1132₀
Etymology: 397₀ 947₀
- Elektryon
Etymology: 397₀
- Elektryone (Alektroina)
Cult: Ialysos 499
Rite: precinct must not be entered
 by horse, ass, mule, etc., nor by
 any one with sandals or articles
 made of pig-skin 499₅
- Eleos
In relation to Zeus 875₁ (2)
 — altar of 875₁ (2)
- Eleusis
Cults: Demeter 314₀ 314₂ 730₀ Hades
 314₀ 314₂ Kore 314₀ 314₂ Persephone
 132₂
Rites: burial within the house 1060
 exhibition of corn-ear 291₂ 292₀
- Eleusis (*cont.*)
 295₂ myrtle-wreaths 1165₁ mysteries
 132₂ poppy-heads 1165₁
Priest: Ιεροφάντης 291₂ 292₀
 — *katabásion* at 14 Telesterion at
 1229
- Eleuther 190₀
- Eleutherai
Myth: Antiope 1013
- Eleutheria
Cult: Kyaneai 101₁
Epithets: Ἀρχηγέτις Ἐπιφανής 101₁
- Eleutheria, the festival 974₀ (?) 1121₀
- Eleuthernai (Eleutherna)
Cults: Apollon 456₇ Apollon Στυρακίτης
 491₀ (6) 492₀ (0) Artemis 492₀ (0)
Myth: Eleuther (?) 190₀
 — coins of 491₀ (6)
- 'El 'Óliám
Identified with Jehovah 1037
- Elias, St
Cults: Beuyuk Evlia near Amaseia
 975₀ Mt Helikon 898₅ Homolion
 1227 Mt Hymettos 897₅ Lebadeia
 899₂ Paros 875₁ (5)
Epithets: Dry 251₀ Wet 251₀
Attribute: chariot 820
Supersedes Zeus 875₁ (5) 894₁ 894₃ 897₅
 898₅ 899₂ 902₁ 906₀ 922₄ 1073
 1227
 — ascends to heaven by the Milky
 Way 38₅
- Elijah 138₀
- Elioun
Cult: Byblos 886₀ (30)
Epithet: Ψύσσος 886₀ (30)
Genealogy: f. of Epigeios (Autochthon)
 Οὐρανός and Ge by Berouth 886₀ (30)
- Elis
Cults: Aphrodite Οὐρανία 68₁ Athena
 Ὀρλοσμία 291₀ Dionysos 932₀
 Dionysos Ἡρώς 823₁ Hera Ὀρλοσ-
 μία 291₀ Myiacoeres 783 Sosipolis
 1151 Zeus Ἀπόμνιος 783 Zeus
 Ὀλόμπιος 728₀
Myth: Salmoneus 825
- Elisha 1134₄
- Elmo, St, fires of 980₀
- Elnes (?) 1149₂ (1)
- Elpides See Dios Elpides
- Elysian Plain (Fields) 22₄ 117 465 469
- Elysian Way 36 ff. 117 840
- Elysium 22 133 840
- Emathia, hill at Antiocheia on the Orontes
Cult: Zeus Βορτιαῖος 1187 f.
- Emesa
Cults: Aglibolos 814₃ Athena 814₃
 Belos (?) 814₃ Elagabalos (?) 814₃
 Iarebolos 814₃ Keraunos 814₃ Mala-
 chbelos (?) 814₃ Seimia (?) 814₃
 Semiramis (?) 814₃
 — relief from 814₃
- Emmeram, St 135
- Emona
Cult: Laburus 609₃

Empedokles 358₈ 432 (?) 505₁ 852 1024
1033

Emporia 94₃ (?)

Emporion

Cults: Eros 1040 Persephone 1040
— coins of 1039 f.

Endoios 410₀

Enhodia

Cult: Larissa in Thessaly 1155
Epithet: *Φαστικά* (? from Thracian
tribe 'Ασταί) 1155₄
Associated with Zeus *Μειλίχιος* and
Polis 1155

Eniautos (?) 1029 (in Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.*
p. 110, 20 Pasquali *ἐνιαυτός* Kern
would read 'Ενιαυτός)

Enipeus 460

Enkelados

Myths: Athena 713 777₂ 909₀ Zeus
909₀
— in town-arms of Girgenti 915₀

Enneakronous 1119 1119₄

Ennius, the twelve deities of 100

Enoch 38₈ 138₀

Enorches

Myths: born from egg laid by Daita or
Daito (Daiso) w. of Thyestes 1021
founds temple of Dionysos 'Ενώρχης
1021

Etymology: 1021

Enyeus, f. of Homoloia 900₁

Eos See Heos

Eapaphos

Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Io 961₀

Epeios

Myth: wooden horse 625

Attribute: axe 613 625

Epeiros

Cult: Hadrian 1121₀
— coins of 763₁ folk-song from 828 f.
folk-tales from 671 f. 1006 f.

Ephesos

Cults: Artemis 1082 Artemis 'Εφεσία
405 ff. 962₂ Nyx 1021 Zeus 728₀
743₇ 962₂ Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 962₂

Festivals: Barbillea 962₂ Hadrianeia
1121₀ Hadrianeia (Adriana, Adria-
nia) Olympia 962₂

Rites: oath by Zeus taken over boar
728₀ thigh-pieces of oxen sacrificed
to Zeus 962₂

Myths: Amazons 405 Hippo 405₃
— Artemision at 580₇ 637 f. 1230
coins of 408₀ 409₀ 743₇ 962₂ 963₀
columns dedicated by Kroisos etc.
at 580₇ oak-tree at 405 Olympieion
at 962₂

Ephesos, personification of the town 319₅

Ephialtes, b. of Otos 129 f. 130₄ 317 712

Ephka, sacred spring at Palmyra 885₍₂₉₎

Ephraem the Syrian, St 116

Epidamnus See Dyrrhachion

Epidaurus

Cults: Agathe 1126₀ Agathos Theos
1126₀ Aphrodite *Μελίχια* 1144₃

Epidaurus (*cont.*)

Apollon *Μαλεάτας* (*Μαλεάτης*) 487₃₍₁₎

Apollon *Μαλεάτας* *Σωτήρ* 487₃₍₁₎

Artemis *Σαρωνία* 413₇ Asklepios

413₇ 1085 1177 f. Asklepios Zeus

Τέλειος 1076 f. Athena 'Οξυδέρκα

502₂ Auxesia 487₃₍₁₎ Azosioi Theoi

487₃₍₁₎ Ourania, the Carthaginian

goddess 487₃₍₁₎ Tychai 487₃₍₁₎ Zeus

'Αποτρόπαιος 1157₀ Zeus 'Ασκληπιός

1061 1076 f. Zeus 'Ασκληπιός *Σωτήρ*

1076 f. Zeus Κάσιος 894₂ Zeus

Κήσιος 1066 Zeus *Μελίχιος* (?) 1144₃

Zeus Φίλιος 1177 f.

Rite: *πυροφορήσας* 1126₀

Priest: *ιεραπολήσας* 1126₀

Myth: Askles 1086

— coins of 1078 f. metopes (?) from

temple of Asklepios at 1081 f.

Epidaurus Limeria

Cult: Asklepios 1082

Myth: Asklepios arrives as snake on

shipboard 1082

Epidotai

Cult: Pagasai 321₁

Epidotas

Cult: Argos 321₁

Epigeios (Autochthon) *Ούρανός*, s. of Eliouon

'Τψιστος by Berouth 886₀₍₃₀₎

Epigonos 955₀

Epikouros, portrait-herm of (with Metro-
doros) 390

Epimenides 191 222 451 929₀ 933₀ 934₀

940₀ (?) 941₀ 942₀

Epio, short form of Epione 1086

Epione, w. of Asklepios 1086

Epona 99₄ (?)

Epopous

Personates Zeus (?) 1146

Myth: 1013

Genealogy: f. of Marathon f. of Sikyon

1146

Identified with Zeus 445

Epula Iovis (Sept. 13 and Nov. 13) 1172₀

Er, ancestor of Joseph 54₁

Er, s. of Armenios 54 114

Er, the Germanic sky-god

Cult: Bavaria 51 1212

Identified with Ziu 50 f. 114

Erato, w. of Malos 488₀₍₀₎

Erebos

Epithet: *ὀμιχλωῶδες* 1022

Genealogy: child of Chronos or Hera-
kles by Ananke or Adrasteia 1022

f. by Nyx of Aither, Eros, Metis

315₁ ep. 1050 f.

Erechtheion at Athens 24 789₇ 792 965₀

1148

Erechtheus

Cult: Athens 793 f.

Myths: slain by Poseidon 794 slain by

Zeus 794 struck by thunderbolt 24

Genealogy: f. of Metion f. of Sikyon

1146 f. of Oreithyia 444 f. of Sikyon

1146 f. of Thespios 1151

Erechtheus (*cont.*)

Functions: king regarded as lightning-god 794 1071 lightning 793

Etymology: 793 1146

Identified with Poseidon 793 Zeus 793

Compared with Aeos 1147 Amphiaraios, Latinus, Aeneas 1071

Eresos

Cults: Helios 729₀ Zeus 729₀

Eretria

Cult: Zeus Ὁμολώσιος 901₀

— coin of 903₀

Erichthonios

Myth: buried in precinct of Athena at Athens 944₀

Eridanos

Myths: Phaethon and Heliades 472 ff. set in sky as constellation Eridanus or Flumen 476

Etymology: 481 483 (?) 1025

Attributes: branch 479 poplar 468 snake 479

Identified with Padus 476 Rhodanus 476

— at first none other than Milky Way 481

Eridanos, as original name of Phaethon 476₅

Eridanus, the constellation 476 481 483₂

Identified with Neilos 481 1025 Okeanos 481 1025

Eridu 482 f.

Erikepaios (Erikapaios)

Cult: Thrace (?) 1025

Myth: swallowed by Zeus 1027

Functions: ἐτέρας ἐφόρος δυνάμεως 1025 ζῶή 1024 ζωδοτήρ 1024

Etymology: 1025

Identified with Eros 1039 Metis (masc.)

1024 1039 Phanes 1024 1039 Protonogon 1027 1039

In relation to Athena 1032

— sceptre of 1026

Erineos 1103

Erinyes

Epithets: Ἀβλαβίαι 1113₀₍₁₎ Εἰμενίδες 1112₇ 1113₀₍₁₎ Σεμναί 1112₇ 1113₀₍₁₎

Rites: offerings without wine 1097₂

Myth: sprung from blood of Ouranos falling on Gaia 447₈

Type: deformed 1100₀

Associated with Zeus, Ge, and Helios 728₀ f.

— euphemistic titles of 1112₇ 1113₀₍₁₎ increasingly subordinated to Zeus 1102₇

Erinyes

Epithets: ἡεροφίτις 1102₇ νυμφόκλαντος 1102₇ ὄρπα 315₃ ὑπερόποιος 1102₇

Functions: angry ghost 207₀ soul of murdered man 1100₀ 1101

Associated with Zeus and Moira 1102₇

In relation to Apollon 1102₇ Eros 315₃ Jupiter 1102₇ Pan 1102₇ Zeus 1102₇

Eriza, coins of 565

Ermine Street 91

Eros

Cults: Aphrodisias 572₁₀ Athens 1043

Emporion 1040 Plarasa 572₁₀

Epithets: Ἄρπυς 315₃ Βακχεύς 316₆

θεῶν πάτερ ἡδὲ καὶ υἱὲ 316₆ πολυτερ-

πῆς 316₆ 1028 στίλβων ῥῶτον πτερό-

γων χρυσαῖν 1020 1050 Φῆλιος (?)

1176₃ Ψίθυρος 1043

Rite: mysteries 1167 f.

Myths: judgment of Eros 949₅ springs from egg laid by Nyx 1039 Typhoeus

449₀ Zeus transforms himself into Eros when about to create the world 316

Genealogy: a bone of contention 316₀

s. of Aphrodite (?) and Ouranos

316₀ s. of Aphrodite and Zeus 316₀

s. of Ge and Ouranos 315₄ s. of Nyx

1020 s. of Nyx and Aithēr 315₄ 1051

s. of Nyx and Erebus 315₄ 1050 f. (?)

Functions: cosmogonic 316 1019 ff.

1038 ff. funerary 309 male Erinyes

315₃ male Harpy 315₃ primeval

power 315 f. soul 1039 ff. 1050 soul

of the sky-god 315₃ specialised form

of Ker 315₃

Etymology: 315₃

Attributes: chlamys 1045 club 1046

globe 1047 lion-skin 1046 thunder-

bolt 1045 f. torch 309

Types: with Anteros 1221 with attri-

butes of Herakles 1046 with attri-

butes of Herakles and Zeus 1046 f.

with attributes of Zeus 1045 ff.

babe 1045 with bird-wings 1050

boy 1044 breaking thunderbolt 1045

bust 572₁₀ Byzantine 1050 carrying

globe 1047 chasing butterfly 1047

child 1045 clinging to swan 1045

in cosmic egg 1048 with crossed

legs and torch reversed (= Thanatos)

1045 embracing Psyche 1050 emerg-

ing from head of Pegasos 1040

genre 1045 ff. Graeco-Roman 1045

Hellenistic 860 1044 f. holding

thunderbolt 1045 hovering youth

124₃ 261 737 on ladder 124₃

Lysippos (?) 1046 modern 1050

nursed by Hermaphroditos 152₀

pantheistic 1047 planting foot on

globe 1047 psychostasia 734₃

Renaissance 1050 riding horse 1040

riding Psyche round race-course

1047 sailing on wine-jar 1047

schoolboy 1048 schoolmaster 1048

sitting on globe 1047 soul 315₃

standing on Aphrodite's arm 1043

steering murex-shell 1047 stepping

down from behind shoulder of

Aphrodite 1044 stripping Hera-

kles of his weapons (?) 1046 torch-

bearing 309 vintage 1050 winged

mannikin 1039 ff. wingless (?) 1050

- Eros** (*cont.*)
 as Zeus with thunderbolt and sceptre (?) 1045
Identified with Erikepaïos 1039 Metis (masc.) 1039 Phanes 1026 1039 Protagonos 1039 Zeus 1028
Assimilated to Herakles 1046 Zeus 1045 f.
Associated with Psyche 1045
In relation to Ker 315₃ Psyche 315₃ Wind 1039 Zeus 316₂ 316₅
Survives as early Renaissance *putto* 1050
- Erotos**
Types: coining money (?) 1047 f. fulling clothes 1048 *genre* 1047 f. making oil 1047 in nest 1049 selling wine 1048 twining garlands 1047 winged 1050 wingless 1050
Associated with Psychai 1047 f.
- Erymne**, old name of Tralleis 587₂
- Erysichthon**
Myths: Dotion 497₅ 683 f. 848 Prasiai 497
 — hunger of 683 f.
- Erysichton** the Giant 684₄
- Erythrai** in Ionia
Cults: Ablabiai 1113₀₍₁₎ Apollon 730₀ Athena 'Αποτροπαία 1157₀ Demeter 730₀ Zeus 730₀ Zeus 'Αποτρόπαιος 1157₀
- Esculapius** (*sc.* Aesculapius) 1086
- Esmun**
Cults: Kition 1095₀ Phoinike 314₀
Type: obelisk 1095₀
Identified with Dionysos Σαβάσιος 314₀ Kadmilos 314₀
- Esquilinus**, Mons 401
- Essir-keui** in Bithynia
Cult: Zeus Βροττων 835₅
- Este**
Cult: Rehtia 1220
- Esus**
Cults: Gallia Belgica 547₀ Gallia Lugudunensis 547₀ 619
Attribute: axe 619
Associated with Iovis and Volcanus 547₀ 619 Mercurius and Rosmerta (?) 547₀
- Eteo-Cretans** at Praisos 930₀
- Eteokles**
Genealogy: f. of Orchomenos and Minyas 1150₅ s. and b. of Oidipous 825₂
- Eteonos**
Cults: Demeter Εθρυόδεια 1152 Oidipous 1151 f.
Myth: Oidipous 1152
- Etruria**
Cults: Aesculapius 1085 f. Ani (= Ianus) 338₃ Charon 627₃ 803 Culśaná 378 Dioskouroi 431 f. 1064 god of the Underworld 805 f. 850 Tina (= Iupiter) 338₃ Tiv 339₀ Uni (= Iuno) 338₃ Usil 339₀
 — gold necklace from 528
- Etrusci**, lightning-lore of 5₅ 805 mirrors of 160
- EuBoia**, three golden children in folk-tale from 1007 f.
- Eubouleus** (= Hades) 118₄ 1113₀₍₂₎
Functions: one of the first three Dioskouroi 1135₄ s. of the nether Zeus (?) 119₀
Identified with Phanes 1026
- Euboulos** 190₀
- Euchaites** (= Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎
- Eudaimonia**
Cult: Philadelpheia in Lydia 1229
- Eudoxos** 222
- Eueides** (= Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎
- Euhemerus** 342₀ 554₃ 588 927₁ 928₀ 981₁ 1087 1135₄ cp. 940₀
- Eukleia**, the goddess 118₃
- Eukleia**, the festival 118₃
- Eukleides**, s. of Kleagoras 1106 f.
- Eukles** (= Hades) 118₃ 1113₀₍₂₎
 See also Euklos
- Euklos** (= Hades) 118₃
 See also Eukles
- Eukoline** (= Hekate) 1114₀₍₄₎
- Eumeneia** in Phrygia
Cults: Agathos Daimon (= the emperor Philippus i) 970₀ Apollon 571 970₀ εὐσεβεισάτη Σεβαστή Ειρήνη (= Marcia Otacilia Severa, w. of Philippus i) 970₀ Men 'Ασκαηνός 970₀ Meter Theon 'Αργιδιστις (= 'Αγδιστις) 970₀ Zeus Σωτήρ 970₀
 — coins of 565 f. 571
- Eumenes i** divinised as Zeus Εὐμένης 960₀ 1228 f.
- Eumenes ii** divinised as Theos Βασιλεύς Εὐμένης Σωτήρ 960₀
- Eumenides**
Rites: libation of μελικρατον (water and honey) 1142₀ νηφάλια 1142
Genealogy: daughters of Nyx 825₁
Function: avenge bloodshed 1130₁
 — euphemistic names of 1113₀₍₁₎
- Eumolpos**, a flute-player 670
- Euneidai** 245₅
- Euneos** 245₅
- Eunomia** 954₀
- Euphorbos**, priestly ruler of Aizanoi 964₃
- Euphranor** 1126₀ 1127₀
- Euphronios** 121₃
- Euripides**, portrait-herm of (with Sophokles) 389 tomb of, struck by lightning 9
- Euromos**
Cults: Dionysos 575₁ Dioskouroi 574 f. Zeus 572₇ 573₄ 574 f. 1220 Zeus Εὐρωμειός (?) 589₀
Priests: dedicate temple-columns 580
 — coins of 572 ff. 1220 site of 588₇
- Europe**
Myth: Zeus 348 929₀ 1131₁
Compared with Themis 267₅
- Euros**
Type: horse 830₇

- Euryale 718
 Eurydike
Myth: Orpheus 211₂ 1022
 Eurykomis 1141
 Eurymede, m. of Bellerophon 721₂
 Euryodeia (Euryodia)
Genealogy: m. of Arkeisios by Zeus 1152₄
Function: earth 1152₄
 Eurypylos 281₄
 Eurytos
Genealogy: b. of Kteatos 317 s. of Molione, nominally by Aktor, really by Poseidon 1015₈
 Eusebeia, former name of Kaisareia in Kappadokia 978₀
 Eustasia 954₀
 Euthymos, statues of, struck by lightning 9
 Euxeinos by euphemism for Axenos 1112₇
 Exouanoun, old name of Aizanoi 964₃
 Eyuk, Hittite sculptures at 620 f.
- Fagus
Cult: Aquitania 402₁
 Fagutal 401 403₀
 Falacer
Cult: Rome 1226
Epithet: *Divus Pater* 1226
 Falerii
Cult: Ianus 373
Festival: Struppearia 1171₁
 Fama 915₀ (?)
 Faolan 683
 Fata
Attributes: baskets 862₁₀ scales 862₁₀
Types: spinning 862₁₀ weighing 862₁₀
 Fauna
Epithet: *Bona Dea* 724₀
 Faunus
Associated with Picus 400
 Faunus, king of Aborigines 404₀
 Faustulus 1016
 Felicitas 71 (?) 98₁
 Fenians 682
 Fenrir (Fenris-wolf) 62₁ 305₀
 Feralia 19₀
 Fimmilena
Cult: Eorcovicium 51₁
 Fin 682 f.
 Fintra 682
 Fisos (Fisovios)
Cult: Umbria 724₀
Epithet: *Sancios* 724₀
 Fiumicino, *koiros* of 1221
 Florianus, M. Annius, statue of, struck by lightning 10
 Flumen, the constellation 476
 Fons
Cults: Ianiculum 368₃ Lambaesis 369₀
Associated with (Aqua) Ventina and Vires 306₄
 See also Fontus
 Fontei 368₂
- Fontes
Cult: Rome 369₀ 401₀
Associated with Jupiter *Optimus Maximus Caelestinus* 369₀ Jupiter *Optimus Maximus Caelestinus* and Minerva 401₀
- Fontus
Cult: Tusculum (?) 368₂
Genealogy: s. of Ianus 368 394₃
Type: bifrontal 368
 See also Fons
- Forrinae See Nymphs
- Fortuna
Cult: Rome 1195₂
Function: one of the Penates 1059
Attributes: *cornu copiae* 95₁ globe beneath foot 862₁₀ steering-paddle 95₁ wheel 57₆
Associated with Jupiter 1195₂ Minerva 95₁ 96
In relation to Minerva 95
 — on Jupiter-column (?) 71
 Frampton, Roman villa at 604
 Freyia 682
 Frija
Attribute: necklace 61₀
Identified with Iuno 59 94₁
Differentiated into Iuno and Venus 67
- Furiae 808₀(17) 1102₇
 Furi 368₂
 Furii 862₁₀
 Furrina
Cult: Rome 808₀(17)
- Gabriel 793₁
 Gadeira
Cult: Herakles 423
- Gaia
Cults: Delphoi 500 1216 Dodona 350₁ Laodikeia on the Lykos 1186 Pergamon 1185
Epithets: *ἀνοστρόφος* 1216 *εὐρύστερνος* 176₁ *Μήτηρ* 350₁
Rite: drink-offering of honey and pure wine 1142₅
Myth: birth of Zeus 925₁
Genealogy: d. of Phanes by Nyx 1026 m. of Kronos 447₈ w. of Ouranos 447₈
Function: primeval power 315
Attributes: corn-ears 1186 *cornu copiae* 1185 1186 turreted crown 1185
Types: recumbent 1885 standing 1185 f.
 See also Ge
- Gala 40₃ 43₄
 See also Galaxias, Milky Way
- Galaria or Galarina
Cults: Dionysos 1133₁ Zeus *Σωτήρ* 1133₁
 — coins of 1133₁
- Galatia
Cult: Zeus *Βροντῶν* 835₅
- Galaxias 42₃ 42₄ 43₄
 See also Gala, Milky Way
- Galba 7

Galerius

Personates Iupiter 1194

Galla Placidia, Mausoleum of 1208 1208₆

Galli

Rite: use vervain for casting lots and chanting oracles 395₂

Gallia Aquitania, coins of 1040

Gallia Belgica

Cults: Esus 547₀ Mercurius 547₀
Rosmerta (?) 547₀

Gallia Lugudunensis

Cults: Esus 547₀ 619 Iovis 547₀ 619
pear-tree 1215 f. Volcanus 547₀
619

— burial within the house in 1059
tombstones dedicated *sub ascia* in
547₀

Gallos, king of Pessinous (?) 970₀

Ganymedes

Myths: buried on Mt Olympos in
Mysia 953₂ Mt Gargaron (Gargara)
950₀ golden vine 281₄ Tantalos
212₈ 953₂ Zeus 188₀ 281₄ 933₀

Genealogy: f. of Ballenaïos by Medesigiste 270₆

Types: with eagle 188₀ 189₀ with eagle
and golden vine (?) 281₄

Gargaris, the district 949₅

Gargaron (Gargara), Mt 949₅ ff.

Cult: Zeus 950₀ ff.

Myths: Ganymedes 950₀ Paris 950₀
Zeus consorts with Hera 950₀

Gargaros, the town 950₀ 951₀ f.

Gargaros, s. of Zeus at (by?) Larissa in
Thessaly 950₀

Gaza

Cults: Bes 674 Janiform god and
goddess 673 f. Kronos (?) 675 Mar-
nas 675 Rhea (?) 675 Satyric god
674 Zeus 'Αλδήμιος or 'Αλδος 675
1187₀ Zeus Κρηταγενής 675

— coins of 673 ff. cosmic picture at
828

Gazaka

Cult: fire 34₁

Ge

Cults: Alopeke 1115 Athens 729₀
Bosporos Kimmerios 729₀ Cher-
sonesos Taurike 729₀ Delphoi 176₁
841 Dodona 350₁ Karia 729₀ Knidos
729₀ Magnesia ad Sipylum 729₀
Paphlagonia 729₀ Pergamon 729₀
955₀ Phaselis 729₀ Smyrna 729₀
Sparta 487₃₍₁₎ 729₀ Thermos in
Aitolia 729₀

Epithets: Εὐρυστέρνα 176₁ Εὐρύστερνος
176₁ Θεμέλη (= Σεμέλη) 279₃ Θέμις
176₁ 266 f. (?) 268₀ 841 (?) Θνώνη
279₃ Καρποφόρος 21₄ μᾶ 294₀ μέλαινα
176₁ μήτηρ 1023

Rite: οὐλαί, οὐλόχνηαι 18₆

Myths: golden apples 1020 f. Palikoi
909₀ sends up fig-tree to shelter
Sykeas or Sykeus 1103₈

Genealogy: d. of Eliouon Ἐψιστος by

Ge (cont.)

Berouth 886₀₍₃₀₎ d. of Phanes by
Nyx 1026 m. by Ouranos of Klotho,
Lachesis, Atropos, the Hekaton-
cheires Kottos, Gyges, Briareos,
and the Kyklopes Brontes, Steropes,
Arges 1023 m. of Aetos 933₀ m. of
Eros by Ouranos 315₄ m. of Kekrops
1121 m. of Manes by Zeus 312 m.
of Okeanos and Tethys by Ouranos
1020 m. of Titanes by Ouranos 1023
m. of Typhon by Tartaros 448₂ m.
of Zeus 294₀ w. of Zeus 292₄

Functions: fertility 267 crops 350₁

Attributes: *kteis* 268₀ lamp 268₀ mar-
joram 268₀ *omphalós* 231 239 841
sword 268₀

Type: praying Zeus to rain 21₁

Identified with Apia (Api) 293₀ Chthonie
351₁ Semele 279₃ Themis 176₁

Associated with Poseidon 176₁ Zeus
266 f. 292₄ Zeus and Helios 729₀
884₀₍₀₎ Zeus, Helios, and Athynes
728₀ f. Zeus Μελίχιοι and Athenaia
1115

— *omphalós* of 231 239 1216

See also Gaia

Gebeleizis

Cult: Getai 227 805 822

Etymology: 227₁ 805 822 f.

Identified with Salmoxis (Zalmoxis)
227 822

See also Zibebeizis

Gela

Myth: Entimos and Antiphemos are
bidden to beware of τὸν Τετράωτον
322₀ 322₇

Gelas, the river in Sicily

Type: bull 910₁

Geloni tattooed 123₀

Gemini 430 477₈

— Didyma named after (?) 318

Genes, river in Pontos 617

Genetaean headland

Cults: Zeus Γενηταῖος 616 Zeus Εἰ-
ξείνος 617 1097₀ Zeus Ξείνιος 617

Genii

In relation to Manes, Lemures, Larvae,
Lares familiares 1059

Genius

Cult: Mogontiacum 96₂

Epithet: *generis nostri parens* 1059

Genealogy: f. of Tages 1060 s. of
Iupiter 1060

Attributes: *acerra* 1060 *patra* 1060

Types: anthropomorphic 1060 snake
1060

Identified with Iupiter 1060 Lar
1059

Assimilated to Nero 1060

— of a man corresponds with Iuno
of a woman 1059 on Iupiter-
columns (?) 71

Genius Caeli Montis

Cult: Rome 400₁₁

- Genius Canabensium (?) 1214
 Genius Fontis
Cult: Lambaesis 369₀
Associated with Iupiter *Propagator*
Conservator 369₀
- Genius huius loci
Cult: Sirmium 1194₄
Associated with Iupiter *Optimus Maximus* 1194₄
 See also Genius loci
- Genius Iovialis
Function: one of the Penates 1059
- Genius Iovii Augusti
Cult: Rome 1194₄
- Genius Iovis 1060
- Genius loci
Cults: Divitia 64₀ Mogontiacum 620₂
 See also Genius huius loci
- Genius Neronis 96 98 cp. 1060
- Genzano 419 f. 420₁
- George, St 925₀
- Geraistos
Cult: Artemis Βολοσία 906₃
- Geraistos, Cape
Cult: Zeus (?) 903
- Geraistos, eponym of Cape Geraistos
Genealogy: s. of Zeus and b. of Tainaros 903₁
- Gerania, Mt
Cult: Zeus (?) 897₁
Myth: Megaros (Megareus) 897₁
- Gerizim, Mt
Cults: Iupiter *Peregrinus* 887₀₍₃₁₎
 Iupiter *Sarapis* (?) 888₀₍₁₀₎ 983₉
 Jehovah 887₀₍₃₁₎ mountain-top 888₀₍₁₀₎ the Virgin 888₀₍₁₀₎ Zeus Ἐλληῖος 887₀₍₃₁₎ 983₉ Zeus Ἐένιος 887₀₍₃₁₎ 983₉ Zeus Ἐψιστος 887₀₍₃₁₎ 888₀₍₁₀₎ 983₉
 — Antiochos iv Epiphanes and 1189₁ and Mt Ebal as two-peaked cosmic mountain (?) 888₀₍₁₀₎ ruins on 888₀₍₁₀₎
- Gerlando, St
Supersedes Zeus Ἀταβύριος or Πολεύς 910₁
- Germanicus Caesar
Personates Zeus 260₀
 — house of 147
- Germans, divination of 635
- Germanus, St 214₀
- Geryones or Geryoneus
Myth: Milky Way 37₂
Epithet: τρικέφαλος 716
- Geta
Cult: Pergamon 1186
Personates Zeus 1186
- Getai
Cults: Gebeleizis 227 805 822 (See also Zibelezis) Salmoxis (Zalmoxis) 227 822 851 Zibelezis 822 851 (See also Gebeleizis)
 — spoils of 982₀ tattooed 123₀
- Ghél-Ghiraz near Amaseia
Cult: Zeus Σράπιος 976₀
- Giant
Attributes: club 80 82 pair of clubs 80
Types: bovine 953₃ with snaky legs 76₀ 82
- Gigantes
Myths: attempt to reach heaven in folk-tale from Zakynthos 505 f. Gigantomachia 82 712 f. 752₄ 830₇ 831₁ 911₀ 953₃ 973₁ men made from their blood 1032 sprung from blood of Ouranos falling on Gaia 447₈
Types: hoplites 712 with horns 399₁ with leaf-shaped ear 399₁ with snaky legs 399₁ 973₁ 1213
 — as arms of Girgenti 911₀ 915₀
- Girgenti, arms of 911₀ 915₀ See also Agrigentum
- Gjölde in Lydia
Cult: Thea Ἐψιστη 881₀₍₂₀₎
- Glanuk 359₂
- Glaukos of Anthedon 414₁
- Glaukos, s. of Minos
Myths: Iapyges 30 raised from dead by Asklepios 1087
- Glaukos, s. of Sisyphos 720 721₂
- Glykon
Cults: Abonou Teichos 1083 ff. 1114₀₍₇₎ Apulum 1084 Nikomedeia 1084
Epithets: βασιλεύς 225 *Dracco* (= Δράκων) 1084
Oracles: 225 1083 f.
Rite: mysteries 1084
Priests: δαδοῦχοι 1084 *λεροφάνται* 1084
Types: snake with human head 1084 snake with more or less human face 1084
Identified with Khnemu-snake 1084
- Gnathia, terra-cotta group from 831₁
- Gnossus See Knossos
- Gnostics, amulets of 625 f. 938₀ (?) 1084 double axe survives in teaching of 611 ff. *formulae* of 1084 tattooed 123₀
- Goitosyros See Oitosyros
- Golgoi
Cults: Theos Ἐψιστος 879₀₍₁₅₎ 980₃ Valc(h)anos (?) = Velchanos 948₀₍₅₎ Zeus Φαλκάνος (?) or Φαλχάνος (?) = Φελχάνος 948₀₍₅₎
 — *sarcophagus* from 717 f.
- Gomphoi
Cults: Zeus Ἀκράιος 871₃₍₂₎ Zeus Παλάμιος 1099₀
- Gonai Dios Hyetiou (later Deusiuo?), on Mt Tmolos 957₂
 See also Dios Gonai
- Gongosyros See Oitosyros
- Gongyle (?) 824₇
- Gonnoi
Cult: Athena Πολιάς 870₀
- Gordios (Gordies), s. of Midas 311₈
- Gorgippia
Cult: Theos Ἐψιστος 883₀₍₂₇₎ 884₀₍₁₀₎ 948₂

Gorgon

Type: with two snakes rising from shoulders and two others held in hands 930₀

Compared with 'Minoan' snake-goddess 930₀

In relation to Athena 502₂

See also Gorgoneion, Gorgones, Medousa

Gorgoneion 123₀ 375 377 457 717 757₆ 808₀₍₁₇₎ 930₀ 1155₇

See also Gorgon, Gorgones, Medousa

Gorgones 718

Gortyna

Cults: Aphrodite 723₀ Apollon Πόθιος 731₀ Apollon Πύθιος (= Πόθιος) 723₀ Ares 723₀ Artemis 723₀ Asklepios 1085 Athena Πολιούχος 731₀ Athena 'Ωλερία 723₀ Eileithyia Βιρατία 723₀ Europe 946₀ 947₀ Hera 723₀ Hermes 723₀ Hestia 723₀ Korybantes (Kyrbantes) 723₀ Kouretes (Korettes) 723₀ Leto (Lato) 723₀ Nymphs 723₀ 731₀ Velchanos (?) 947₀₍₂₎ Zeus 947₀ Zeus Βιδάτας 723₀ Zeus Δικταίος (?) 723₀ (Zeus) Φελχάνιος (?) 947₀₍₂₎ Zeus Κρηταγενής 731₀ Zeus 'Οράτριος 723₀ Zeus Σκόλιος 723₀

Festival: Velchania (?) 947₀₍₂₎

Myths: Zeus and Europe 947₀

— coins of 946₀ Python at 948₀ treaties of 934₀

Gortynia, district of the Morea, Kyklops in folk-tale from 993

Gortys

Cult: Asklepios 1090

Gosforth, the sculptured cross at 805₀

Gothia

Cult: Iupiter (Thor) 620

Goths 107₃

Gournia, 'Minoan' shrine at 538

Graeco-Libyans

Cult: Zeus 1111

Graeco-Scythian kings, coins of 607 f. 613

Greece, burial within the house in 1060 f. Sun, Moon, and Star in folk-tale from 1003 f.

Greuthungi 107₀

Gryneion (Gryneia)

Cult: Apollon 489₀₍₄₎

Myth: contest of Kalchas with Mopsos 489₀₍₄₎

— *omphalós* at 167

Gümbet in Phrygia

Cult: Zeus Βροντών 835₄

— altar from 836

Günjarik in Phrygia

Cult: Zeus Βροντών 835₄

Gunther 447₅

Gwydion 52

Gyges 559 561 1023

Gythion

Cults: Helios 259₀ Selene 259₀ Zeus Βουλαίος 259₀ Zeus Τεράστιος 31

HA of the Double Axe

Cult: Egypt 545₀

Type: a mountain with two or more crests 545₀

Hades

Cults: Eleusis 314₀ 314₂ Samothrace 314₀ 314₂

Epithets: 'Αγεσίλαος 1113₀₍₂₎ 'Αγησανδρος 1113₀₍₂₎ 'Αγησίλαος 1113₀₍₂₎ 1168₅ 'Αρκεσίλαος (?) 1156 'Αρχέλαος (?) 1168₅ Δυσούλης (?) 131 δυσκίνητος 1164₀ Εύβουλεύς 118₃ 1113₀₍₂₎ Εύειδής 118₃ 1113₀₍₂₎ Εύκλειής (?) 118₃ Εύκλής (?) 118₃ Εύκλης 118₃ 1113₀₍₂₎ Εύκλος 118₃ Εύκολος (?) 118₃ Εύχαιτης 118₃ 1113₀₍₂₎ 'Ηγεσίλαος 1113₀₍₂₎ 'Ηγησίλαος 1113₀₍₂₎ Κλύμενος 1113₀₍₂₎ 'Ισοδαίτης 1113₀₍₂₎ Κλύμενος 1113₀₍₂₎ 1113₀₍₃₎ κρατερός 1113₀₍₂₎ μέγας 666₂ Πασιάναξ 1113₀₍₂₎ Περικλύμενος 1113₀₍₂₎ Πιλότων 1113₀₍₂₎ Πολύαρχος 1113₀₍₂₎ 1168₅ Πολυδαίμων 1113₀₍₂₎ Πολυδέγμων 1113₀₍₂₎ Πολυδέκτης 1113₀₍₂₎ Πολύξενος (?) 1113₀₍₂₎ πολυξενώτατον Ζήνα (v. l. Δία) τῶν κεκμηκότων 1113₀₍₂₎ Πολυπήμων (?) 627₃ Πυλάχοις 1113₀₍₂₎ πυλάτης 1113₀₍₂₎ πυλάτης κρατερός 1113₀₍₂₎ τοῦ κατὰ χθονός | Διός (αἰδου codd.) νεκρῶν Σωτήρης 1125₀

Attributes: fork (?) 227₄ 798 ff. 850 1225 horn (?) 785 rod 166₄ trident 806₃ two-pronged spear (?) 798 ff. white-poplar 471

Identified with Axiokersos (?) 314₂ Milky Way 42 43 Zeus 1058 Zeus καταχθόνιος 582₄

Associated with Zeus and Poseidon 785

— in Greek epitaphs 1164₀ marriage with 1164 ff. name of, taboo 1114₀

Hadran

Cults: Mt Aitne 630 Syria 910₀

Genealogy: f. of Palikoi 910₀

Identified with Hephaistos 630

Hadrian

Cults: Aizanoi 1120₀ 1121₀ Athens 1120₀ 1121₀ Epeiros 1121₀

Epithets: νέος Πύθιος 1120₀ 'Ολύμπιος 1120₀ 1121₀ Πανελλήνιος 1120₀ 1121₀ Πύθιος 1120₀ Zeus Δωδωναίος 1121₀

Festivals: Hadrianeia 1121₀ Hadrianeia (Adriana, Adriania) Olympia 962₂

Priest: president of Panhellenic council 1120₀ 1121₀

Personates Zeus 260₀ 280₁ 343₀ 956₀ 959₀ f. 962₂ 1120₀ 1121₀

— as favourite of Zeus Κάσιος 986₀

Hadrianeia 1121₀

Hadrianeia (Adriana, Adriania) Olympia 962₂

Hadrumetum

Cult: Deus Pelagicus Aeriis Altissimus 'Ιδώ 889₀₍₃₄₎

- Haeva**
Cult: Batavi 64₀
- Hageladas** 741 ff. 749 890₀ 1222 1223
- Hageladas, the younger** (?) 742₃ 742₄
- Hagia Triada**
Cults: Dionysos (?) 522 524 double axe
 522 Velchanos 947₀₍₁₎ Zagreus (?)
 522 (Zeus) *Φευχάνος* 947₀₍₁₎
Rite: sacrifice of bull 517 522
 — *sarcophagus* of painted limestone
 from 516 ff. 652 657 677 692 845
- Hagios Onuphrios**, spear-head from 799
- Haimonioi**
Cult: Korybas 295
- Haimos**, Mt 108
Myth: Zeus fights Typhon 449₀
- Halaesa** See Alaisa
- Halieus** 715₄ 1037
- Halikarnassos**
Cults: Aphrodite (*Ἀκραία*?) 872₀₍₅₎
 Apollon *Ἀγυιεύς* 163 Artemis 164₈
 Hermes 872₀₍₅₎ Zeus *Ἀκραίος* 872₀₍₅₎
 cp. 872₀₍₆₎ 963₃ Zeus *Ἀσκραίος*
 872₀₍₅₎ Zeus *Κώμυρος* 1228 Zeus
Λαβράνδος 585₃
Myth: Pegasus 721₂
 — coins of 721₂ 872₀₍₅₎ the Mausoleion at 1146₀₍₆₎
- Hallowmas** 326₄
- Hallstatt**, axe-heads from 618 632₀ 635
- Halmos**, s. of Sisyphos and f. of Chryso-gone 1150₄
- Halos**
Cult: Zeus *Λαφόστιος* 904₁ 1226
 — coins of 904₁
- Ham** 35
- Hamar (Hamer)** 660₁
- Hapi Kema** 772₁
- Hapi Mehit** 772₁
- Hariasa** 57₃
- Harii** tattooed 123₀
- Harma** near Mykalessos 815₇ 816₀
- Harma** near Phyle 815 831₀ 898₀
- Harmodios** 1172
- Harpasa** 958₀
- Harpasos**, s. of Kleinis 463₁
- Harpe** = Phaiakia or Korkyra 448₀
- Harpe**, w. of Kleinis 463₁
- Harpokrates**
Cults: Athens 985₀ Pelousion 986₀
Function: youthful Horos 986₀
Attributes: hem-hem crown 986₀ pomegranate 986₀ sceptre 986₀
Associated with Pan 986₀
- Harpolykos** 713 (?)
- Harpy**
In relation to Eros 315₃
- Harpyiai**
Myth: pursued by Boreadaï 907₂
- Hathor** 409₀
- Hati** 305₀
- Hebe**
Epithet: *πότνια* 584₀
Type: introduction of Herakles to Olympos 737
- Hebrews** 115₂
- Hecate**
Cult: Rome 835₀
Genealogy: m. of Ianus by Caelus 368₃
 See also Hekate
- Heddernheim**
Cult: Deus Casius 983₀
- Hegesilaos** (= Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎
- Heimdallr** 305₀
- Hekaerge** (Arge) 452 452₁₁ 501 1226
- Hekaergos** 452 f.
- Hekate**
Cults: Lagina 714₂ Panamara 879₀₍₁₇₎
 Panormos near Kyzikos (?) 882₀₍₁₀₎
 Rome 307₀ Stratonikeia 714₂ 714₃
Epithets: *Ἀρίστη* *Χθονία* 1114₀₍₄₎
Δαδοφόρος 714₃ *Εὐκόλῃη* 1114₀₍₄₎
θεῶν μήτηρ 328₇ *καλλιγένηθλος* 328₇
Καλλίστη 1114₀₍₄₎ *Κράταις* 1114₀₍₄₎
μεγασθενής 328₇ *πολυώνυμος* 328₇
προθυραία (προθύραιε?) 328₇ *Σώτειρα*
 879₀₍₁₇₎ *Χθονία* 1114₀₍₄₎ *Χθονική (sic)*
 695₀
Festival: *πανηγύρις* 714₂
Rite: libation of honey 1142₈
Priest: *hierofanta* 307₀
Genealogy: d. of Demeter 1032
Attributes: *kálathos* with crescent 714₂
 torch 714₂
Types: *Hecatae* 307₀ holding torches
 187₄ (?)
Identified with Artemis 1029 1032
 Bendis 314₀ Kabeiro 314₀ Semiramis 695₀
Associated with Zeus 714₂ 714₃ (Zeus)
Βρονῶν 835₀ 838
 See also Hecate
- Hekatoncheires**
Genealogy: sons of Ouranos by Ge 1023
- Hektor**
Cult: Thebes in Boiotia 961₀
Myths: Apollon 459 buried at Ophry-nion 961₀ sacrifices to Zeus 950₀
 cp. 8
In relation to Paris 447₆ Zeus 8
- Heleia** 930₀
Cults: Artemis 931₀ Athena 931₀ Atlas 931₀ Hera 931₀ Leto (?) 931₀ Nike 931₀ Poseidon (?) 931₀ Zeus 931₀
 Zeus *Δικραίος* 930₀ 931₀ 932₀
 See also Palaikastro
- Helene**
Cult: Tyndaris 918₀
Myths: brought up as d. of Leda 1015
 dedicates euctrum cup, modelled on her own breast, in temple of Athena at Lindos 346₀ Menelaos 1044
Genealogy: d. of Tyndareos 918₀ d. of Zeus by Leda and st. of Klytaimestra 1015₇ d. of Zeus by Nemesis 1131₁
Type: radiate 432₂ (?)

Helene (cont.)

Associated with Dioskouroi 432₂ (?)
1003 ff.
— in folk-tales 1003 ff.

Helenos

Myth: founts Bouthroton (Bouthrotos)
in Epeiros 348₆

Heliadai 479

Heliades

Myths: escort Parmenides up Milky
Way 42 f. 476 shed tears of amber
484 499₃

Metamorphosed into alders 472 black-
poplars 472 484 f. larches (?) 402₀
472₀ oaks 472₁₀ poplars 472 483 495

Types: mourning 479 transformation
into trees 473 ff.

Helikon, Mt

Cults: St Elias 898₅ Zeus 'Ελικώνιος
898₆

Myths: Muses dance round Hippo-
krene and altar of Zeus 898₅ singing-
match with Mt Kithairon 899₀

Heliopolis in Syria

Cults: Iupiter 886₀₍₃₀₎ Inpiter *Heliopo-*
litanus 745₁ Zeus 886₀₍₃₀₎

Helios

Cults: Alexandria 889₀₍₃₃₎ Apollonia
in Illyria 485 Athens 729₀ 1114
Badinlar, in Phrygia 568 Bosphoros
Kimmerios 729₀ Chersonesos Tau-
rike 729₀ Edessa 428 Eresos 729₀
Gythion 259₀ Karia 729₀ Magnesia
ad Sipylum 729₀ Paphlagonia 729₀
Pergamon 729₀ 955₀ 1185 Phaselis
729₀ Rhodes 469 Sahin in Phoi-
nike (?) 886₀₍₃₀₎ Smyrna 729₀ Sparta
729₀ Mt Taleton 890₂ Thermos in
Aitolia 729₀

Epithets: 'Ανέκτρος (?) 886₀₍₃₀₎ ἠλέκτωρ
499₂ 499₃ 499₄ Νέος 98₀ ὁ προσπάτωρ
θεός... Πύθιος 'Απόλλων Τυρριμαῖος
562 ὁς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπα-
κοῦεις 728₀ πατήρ 1130₁

See also Elektor, Hyperion

Festival: Tlapolemeia 469

Rite: sacrifice of horses on Mt Taleton
890₂

Priest: *λεπείς* 562₂

Personated by Nero 98₀ 254 254₆

Myths: Auriga 477₇ Cygnus 477₇
Eridannus 477₇ Hyades 477₇ Phae-
thon 473 ff.

Genealogy: f. of Elektryone (Alek-
trona) 499 f. of Pasiphae 947₀ f. of
Phaethon by Klymene 473₃ f. of
Triopas by Rhodos 684₂ forefather
of Idomeneus 947₀

Attributes: cock 947₀ torch 478 wreath
of white-poplar 469

Types: bust 1185 bust on couch 1171₃
colossal 254₅ in four-horse chariot
975₀ on horseback 473 475 475₆ 478
radiate bust with crescent (!) 664₁
radiate head, facing 469; seated 479

Helios (cont.)

Identified with Antoninus Pius 321 f.
Apollon 164₁ 562 568 Apollon and
Dionysos 253 f. Lairmenos 568
Mithras 886₀₍₃₀₎ (?) Phanes 1051
Theos Hypsistos 882₀₍₀₎ Tyrinnos
562

Associated with Monimos and Azizos
428 Selene 1171₃ Zeus and Ge 729₀
884₀₍₀₎ Zeus, Ge, and Erinyes 728₀ f.
Zeus, rivers, earth, and chthonian
powers 728₀ Zeus Μελίχιος 1114

Supersedes Apollon 730₀

Superseded by Phoibos 'Απόλλων 500
— connected with Aurelii 321 gates
of 41 horses of 828 851

Hell

Types: gaping monster 138₀ harrowing
of Hell 138₀

Hellanikos 1023

Hellas personified 853

Helle

Myth: golden ram 899₁

Hellenes, the Thessalian tribe 894₃

Helloi 677

Hellos 677 f. 848

Hemitheia

Cults: Kastabos 670 f. Tenedos 670 f.
847

Myths: sent to sea in a coffer 669 ff.
swallowed by earth 670

Functions: childbirth 671 cures 671
earth 670 f. 673

Henny-penny 54₃

Heos (Eos)

Myths: *psychostasia* 734 supplicates
Zeus 753₃

Genealogy: m. of Memnon by Tithonos
281₄ cp. 734

Hephaistia in Lemnos

Cult: 'Επήκοος Theos 'Ψύιστος 878₀₍₇₎

Hephaistion (Hephaistia) in Lykia 972₁

Hephaistos

Cults: Mt Aitne 630 Olympia 706₅
Olympos in Lykia 972₁ Siderous
972₁

Epithet: 'Ολύμπιος in Lykia 972₁

Myths: presents Polytechnos with
double axe 693 sceptre of Zeus
547₂ 956₂ 1132₄ 1132₆ shield of
Achilles 972₁

Genealogy: f. of crabs 665 667 f. of
Palikoi 910₀ f. of Thaleia and gf.
of Palikoi 909₀

Attributes: blue *pilos* 386₅ dogs 630
double axe 709 f. perpetual fire 630

Identified with Chryros 715 Hadran
630 Ptaḥ 34; Zeus Μελίχιος 715

Associated with Athena 1137 Zeus 972₁
— road-making sons of (= Atheni-
ans) 817 cp. 628₄

Hephaistos, Mts of, in Lykia 972₁

Hera

Cults: Aigion 210₀ Amastris 707 Mt
Arachnaion 894₁ Argos 290₀ 515

Hera (cont.)

- 1144₂ 1156₅ Athens 1119₄ Boiotia 731₀ Chalkis in Euboia 981₀ Elis 291₀ Gortyna 723₀ Heleia 931₀ Hierapytna 342₀ 723₀ 1157₄ Itanos 929₀ Kebrenioi 130 Mt Kithairon 898₆ 899₀ Mt Kokkygion 893₂ Kroton 1021 Lebadeia 899₂ Lyttos 723₀ Messene 728₀ Mykenai 515 Mylasa 592 Olympia 706₅ Orchomenos in Boiotia 1150 Panionion 259₀ Paros 131 Phokis 731₀ Plataiai 899₀ Priansos 723₀ Mt Pron 893₂ Sparta 515 Sykaiboai 130 Tenedos (?) 662 Thebes in Boiotia 899₀ Thespiiai 899₀ Triphylia 291₀
- Epithets:* Ἀκρία 1156₅ Βασιλεία 731₀ Βασιλῆς 900₀ Ἐξακροστηρία 1093₁ Ζυγία 60₀ 695₀ 723₀ 954₀ Ἰσοτελής 1029 Κιθαίρωνία 899₀ Λακινία 291₀ 1021 Λευκώλεος 343₀ Μηλιχία (= Μειλιχία) 1157₄ Ὀπλοσμία 290₀ 291₀ πόντια 583 584₀ Τελεία 893₂ 1150
- Rite:* libation from first *kratér* to Zeus and Hera 1123₇ 1124₀
- Priests:* among Kebrenioi 130 among Sykaiboai 130
- Priestess:* virgin 210₀
- Personated by* Alkyone 1088
- Myths:* consorts with Zeus on Mt Gargaron 950₀ consorts with Zeus on Mt Oche 902₁ consorts with Zeus in Rhapsodic theogony 1029 golden apples 1021 Iason 1088 Kallisto 228₈ Merops (?) 1132, reconciled to Zeus on Mt Kithairon 898₆ retires to Euboia 898₆ rouses Titans to attack Zagreus 1030 sends crab to attack Herakles 665₃ taken by Rhea to Okeanos and Tethys 1020 transforms Aetos into eagle 933₀ wooed by Ephialtes 130 wooed by Ixion 1088 wooed by Zeus clandestinely 1020 wooed by Zeus on Mt Kokkygion 893₂
- Genealogy:* d. of Phanes by Nyx 1026 w. of Zeus 584₁ 954₀
- Attributes:* cuckoo-sceptre 893₂ lilies 515 lion-skin 515 sceptre 707 1178 (See also cuckoo-sceptre) sword 713 716 vervain 395₂ vine-wreath 515
- Types:* branch of tree 899₀ enthroned 706₅ Gigantomachy 713 introduction of Herakles to Olympos 771 Janiform head (with Zeus) (?) 662 lopped tree-trunk 899₀ Polykleitos 893₂ 1143, 1178 with vine-wreath and lion-skin 515
- Identified with* Semiramis 695₀
- Associated with* Zeus 259₀ 592 707 776₃ 893₂ 894, 900₀ 1137 1144₂ 1150 1157 Zeus and Athena (=Capitoline triad) 319₇ Zeus, Demeter Θεσμοφόρος, Kore, Baubo 259₀

Hera (cont.)

- In relation to* Zeus 693
- Supersedes* Rhea 515
- Superseded by* ἡ ὑπεραγία Θεοτόκος 1119₄
- garden of 1021 meadow of 1021 tear of (vervain) 395₂
- Heraia 757
- Herakleia ad Latmum
- Cult:* Zeus Λαβράνδος 585₃
- treaty of, with Miletos 318₀
- Herakleia Pontike
- Cult:* Zeus Στράτιος 976₀
- Myth:* Herakles plants two oaks 976₀
- coins of 560₃
- Herakleia Salbake
- Cult:* Asklepios 1080
- coins of 1080
- Herakleitos 12 13, 130₇ 805₆ 852 855₂ 856₉ 858₆ 1024 (?) 1033
- Herakles
- Cults:* Acharnai 163₃ Aigion 742₅ Arnepolis (? in Mesopotamia) 469₁ Athens 163₃ 875₁₍₂₎ 1116 f. Baris in Pisidia 446 f. Chios 1157₁ Gadeira 423 Kaulonia (?) 1041 f. Mt Laphysation in Boiotia 899₁ Mt Oite 903₂ Rhodes 469 Rome 783 Selge 492₀₍₀₎ Selinous 489₀₍₀₎ Senones (?) 445 f. Skythia 292₄ Tarsos 560 Tyre 423 f.
- Epithets:* Αἰγύπτιος 7₂ ἀνίκητος 292₄ Ἀπόμμυος 783 Διὸς παῖς 273 Χάρου 899₁
- Personated by* Nero 98₀
- Myths:* Antaios 134₁ apples of Hesperides 134₁ brings white-poplar from banks of Acheron 469 brings wild-olive from land of Hyperboreoi to Olympia 466 brings wild-olive from Istrian land 501 Cerynean hind 465 f. 843 cuts club from wild-olive on Saronic Gulf 466 Geryones 37₂ Hesperides 1017 Hippolyte 559 f. Hydra 665₃ Hyperboreoi 1041 (?) Kerberos 469 899₁ Kerkopes 1041 f. (?) Kyknos 274₀ makes wild-olive spring up at Troizen 466 Omphale 559 560₅ pillars 422 f. plants two oaks beside altar of Zeus Στράτιος at Herakleia Pontike 976₀ pyre 23 903₂ rape of Delphic tripod 199₂ sacks Oichalia 902₂ sacrifices to Zeus on Mt Kenaion 902₂ sacrifices to Zeus at Olympia 467 slays Kalchas, of Siris in Lucania 490₀₍₀₎ Tarsos 570₄ worried by flies at Olympia 783
- Genealogy:* b. of Iphikles 317 1017 f. of Tlepolemos 469
- Functions:* ἡ δύναμις τῆς φύσεως 434₃ time 469, world-creating 1023
- Attributes:* apple (?) 445 bow and club 446 knife (?) 445 lion-skin 1116 sword, bow, and club 446 wreath of poplar 388₈ wreath of white-poplar 469

Herakles (cont.)

Types: bearded 742₅ dicephalous 445 ff. double bust (with Hermes) 388 fighting Centaur 615₂ (?) four-armed 446 Gigantomachia 777₂ Hageladas 742₅ introduction to Olympos 735 ff. 771 1167 Janiform (bearded + beardless) (?) 388₈ Lysippos 1046 Myron 1078 snake with heads of god, snake, lion 1023 stripped of weapons by Eros 1046 winged snake with heads of god, bull, lion 1022 with club and bow (?) 903₂ with Theseus and Peirithoos 211₂ wreathed with white-poplar 469

Identified with Dius *Fidius* (?) 724₀ Ophiouchos 241₄ Sandas 560

Associated with Apollon 241₁ Asklepios 241₄ Zeus 492₀₍₁₀₎ Zeus and Athena 1078 Zeus, Athena, Apollon 875₁₍₂₎ Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 1157₁ Zeus Παρίας Σωτήρ 292₄

Compared with Asklepios 241₄

In relation to Iphikles 445 447₆

— hunger of 683 pillars of 422 f. pyre of, on Mt Oite 903₂

See also Hercules

Heracleum, paintings from 143 f. 1202 f.

Hercules

Cults: Batavi 64₀ Rome 400₁₁ 469 783 Thessalonike 1194₄ Tibur 328₃

Epithets: Augustus 65₀ 1194₄ Barbatus 64₀ Deuonienensis 57₃ Iulianus 400₁₁ Magusanus 57₃ 64₀ Maliator 64₀

Personated by Commodus 255₀ 400₁₁ (?) 903₂ Maximian (*Herculius*) 903₂

Myth: Myiagrus 783

Function: autumn 62 f. 94₁

Attribute: club 62 f.

Types: bearded 62 64₀ colossal 254₅

Identified with Donar 62 f. 63₁ 64₀ 94₁

Associated with Apollo and Diana 59₀ Iuno, Mercurius, Minerva 57 ff.

Iupiter 1194₄ Minerva and Iuno 89

In relation to Iupiter 95₂

— on column of Mayence 96

See also Herakles

Hercynian Forest 466

Herkyna

Cult: Lebadeia 1073 1075

Myth: Kore 1075

Function: stream-goddess 1075

Attributes: goose 1075 snake coiled round staff 1075

Associated with Zeus 1073 1075

Compared with Demeter 1075 Hygieia 1075

Herkynia 1075

Hermaizontes 1157₃

Hermaon See Hermes

Hermaphroditos

Myth: reared by Naiades on Mt Ide in Crete 933₀

Types: herm 1091 nursing Eros 152₀

Hermeias See Hermes

Hermeracrae 388

Hermes

Cults: Ainos in Thrace 496₀ Athens 1043 1117 Egypt 382₂ Gortyna 723₀ Halikarnassos 872₀₍₅₎ Hierapytna 723₀ Kaulonia (?) 1042 Kyzikos 834 Magnesia ad Sipylum (?) 957₀ Metapontum 118₃ Mostene 563 Nisyros 1157₃ Olympia 231₈ 859 878₀₍₅₎ Orchomenos in Boiotia 1150₀ Peirraeus 487₃₍₁₎ Polyrrhenion 1042 Priansos 723₀ Tallaia range 948₁ Thespiai 1150₀ Troizen 466 Volaterrae (?) 383

Epithets: Ἀγώνιος 1042 (?) Ἀργειφόντης 385₀ ἀργειφόντης 384₀ 956₂ διάκτορος 384₀ 954₀ 956₂ διπρόσωπος 382₂ Δρόμιος 1042 ὄπιον ἕδων (ἕδων) 385₀ Ἐραγώνιος 859 Εὐκόλος 118₃ θέσιμος 876₀₍₈₎ θυραῖος 955₀ Καραβάτης 14 κερδῶνος 31₇ Κτάρος 384₀ οἰνιος (?) 1042 Περφεραῖος 496₀ Πολύγος 466 Τρισμέγιστος 611 943₀ χαριδῶτα 385₀ Χθόνιος 14 1130₁ Ψευδιστής 1043 ψυχοκομῆς 563

Rite: libation from first *kratēr* 1124₀

Worshippers: Ἐρμαιζόντες 1157₃

Myths: Amphion 1013 conducts goddesses to judgment of Paris 266 conducts Io to Zeus 961₀ consorts with Apemosyne 923₀ 924₀ Lykos 1013 sceptre of Zeus 547₂ 956₂ sinews of Zeus 449₀ slays Argos 379 f. steals oxen of Apollon 1042 (?) uses Typhon's sinews as lyre-strings 450₀ Zethos and Amphion 1019₂

Genealogy: f. of Pan by Penelope 691 s. of Pikos who is also Zeus 942₀ s. of Polyktor 384₀ s. of Zeus 385₀

Functions: bearer of oblations to the dead 384₀ chthonian 385₀ 1068 1075 dispenser of treasures 385₀ divinised ancestor (?) 1068 messenger 479 phallic 1068 pillar 383 slayer of Argos (?) 385₀ slayer with lightning-flash (?) 385₀

Etymology: 383₇

Attributes: caduceus 1117 endromides 713 lance 713 oinochoe 1117 pétasos 383 386 388 713 snakes 1111 vervain 395₂ winged caduceus 718 winged cap 718 winged hat 388 winged sandals 718

Types: bifrontal 341₀ 382 f. column or pillar of stone 384₀ double bust (with Dionysos) 388 double bust (with Herakles) 388 double bust (with Hestia) 392 double bust (with Zeus) 388 (?) Gigantomachy 713 heap of stones 383₇ 384₀ herm 152₀ 384₀ 834 955₀ Janiform head (with Zeus) 1219 Lysippos (?) 859₈ phallic post 384₀ Pheidias 479₀ psychostasia 733 resting 859₈ seated 751₁

- Hermes (cont.)**
Identified with Kasmilos 314₂ Monimos 428 Phaunos 694₀ 943₀ Thoth 611 Trophonios (Trepthonios) 1075
Associated with Aphrodite 146₂ 872₀₍₅₎ 1043 Daimones 1150₀ Polis 1155₅ Zeus 957₀ (?)
Compared with Plouton 385₀ Zeus 385₀ Zeus Κτήσιος 384₀ Zeus Κτήσιος and Penates 1068 Zeus Πλουτοδότης 385₀
 — blood of (vervain) 395₂ sceptre of 1132₄ 1132₆
- Hermes, the planet**
Function: λόγος 558₀
- Hermione**
Cults: Demeter Χθονία 1077 Trajan 1180₄ Zeus 'Ασκληπιός 1077 Zeus 'Ασκληπιός 1061 Zeus 'Εμβατήριος (= Trajan) 100₈ 1180₄
- Hermippe, d. of Boiotos** 1150
- Hermopolis**
Cults: ogdoad 701₀ Ostanos 701₀
- Herodotos, portrait-herm of (with Thonkydides)** 389 f.
- Heroës**
Cult: Athens 1123
Rites: food fallen on floor reserved for them 1129₂ libation from second *kratér* 1123
- Heroës** 240 242
- Heros**
Cults: Alexandria 1127₀ Megara 896₀ 897₀ Olympia 897₀
- Hesiod, portrait-herm of (with Homer)** 389
- Hesione, d. of Danaos** 1150
- Hesperides**
Epithet: αγρόφωνοι 1030
Myth: golden apples 1017 1021
- Hesperos** 261 430₄ 430₅
- Hestia**
Cults: Aigai in Aiolis 259₀ Athens 259₀ Delphoi 1216 Gortyna 723₀ Hierapytna 342₀ 723₀ Kos 19₀ 238₀ Lyttos 723₀ 934₀ Miletos 317₂ 1220 Paros 875₁₍₅₎ Pergamon 259₀ Phaleron 183 f. Philadelpheia in Lydia 960₀ 1229 Priansos 723₀ Skythia 292₄ Sparta 259₀ Syracuse 916₀
Epithets: Βολλαία (? Βόλλαια) 259₀ Βουλαία 259₀ 317₂ Δημήτη 875₁₍₅₎ Ταμία 19₀ 238₀
Rite: meal burnt 19₀
Personated by Agrippina, w. of Germanicus Caesar 260₀
Function: cosmic 43 316₀
Types: double bust (with Hermes) 392
Identified with Tabiti 293₀
Associated with Zeus 259₀ 317₂ 960₀ Zeus Εὐμένης 1228
- Heudonos** 587
- Hiera in Lesbos**
Cults: Apollon Μαλδεῖς 488₀₍₂₎ Artemis 488₀₍₂₎
- Hierapolis in Phrygia**
Cults: Apolline hero 571 Apollon Αρχηγέτης 567 Attis 306₁ emperor 571 Lairbenos 566 Mother of the gods 306₁ youthful hero (? Lairbenos) on horseback bearing double axe 566 Zeus Βοῖτος (Βαῖτος) 570 Zeus Τρώιος 571₀
Festival: Hilaria 306₁
 — coins of 565 f. 571 1158₉ *katabasion* at 14
- Hierapytna**
Cults: Aphrodite 723₀ Apollon Πύσιος (= Πύθιος) 723₀ Ares 723₀ Artemis 723₀ Athena Πολιάς 723₀ Athena Σαλαμωνία 723₀ Athena 'Ωλερία 723₀ Eileithyia Βαναρία 723₀ Hera 342₀ 723₀ Hera Μηλιχία 1157₄ Hermes 723₀ Hestia 342₀ 723₀ Korybantēs (Kyrbantēs) 723₀ Kouretēs (Koretēs) 723₀ Leto (Lato) 723₀ Nymphs 723₀ Zeus Βιδάτας 723₀ 934₀ Zeus Δικταῖος 342₀ 723₀ 929₀ cp. 930₀ Zeus Μηλιχίος 1157₄ Zeus Μονίτιος 723₀ Zeus 'Οράτριος (= Φράτριος) 342₀ 723₀ Zeus Σκόλιος 723₀
 — coins of 342₀ oath of 723₀ 731₀ 929₀
- Hiera Syke** 1103
Rite: exhibition of fig (?) 291₂ cp. 292₀ 1103
Myth: Demeter reveals fig to Phytalos 291₂ 1092₅ 1103
- Hierokaisareia in Lydia**
Cults: Dionysos 'Ηρκεπαῖος 1025 Theos "Γψιστος 881₀₍₂₀₎
Priest: ιεροφάντης 1025
- Hieron Oros in Crete** 945₂
- Hieron, the potter** 777
- Hieronymos** 1023
- Hiketesia** 1040
- Hilaeira**
Cult: Sparta 1015₇
Associated with Phoibe 1015₇
- Hilaria** 306₁
- Himera, coin of** 558₁
- Hippa** See Hipta
- Hippodameia, d. of Danaos** 1150₂
- Hippodameia, d. of Oinomaos** 706₅
- Hippodameia, w. of Autonooos** 414₂
- Hippokrene** 895₅
- Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons**
Myth: Herakles 559 f.
- Hippolytos**
Myths: Artemis 393 buried beside temple of Aphrodite *Καρασκοπία* at Troizen 944₀ death 414 f. Nemi 149 Phaidra and Theseus 1043 raised from dead by Asklepios 394₂ 1087
Genealogy: s. of Theseus 1087
Functions: mythical prototype of rex Nemorensis 399
Type: Janiform (with Virbius) 392 f.
In relation to Artemis 149 414 417

- Hippochoitis, a Tegeate tribe 1148 1149₀
 Hippothoon 1137₂
 Hippothoos, s. of Lethos 1154₃
 Hipta 347₀ (?) 957₂ (?)
 Hiram 425
 Hiranyagarbha 1035
Identified with Brahmā 1035 Prajāpati
 1035
 Histie See Hestia
 Hittites
Cults: Artemis (?) 410₁ bull of bronze or iron or silver 910₁ dagger-god (akin to Kronos?) 550 f. 845 god with grape-bunches and corn-ears 564 f. lion-god (akin to Kronos?) 550 f. Sutekh 621 f. 623 Tešub 766₁ 767₀ 910; winged deities 457 youthful god bearing double axe 599₂ youthful god on lioness (?) 552
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 Holle 66₀
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Cult: Zeus 'Ομολώσιος (?) 900₁
 Homonoia
Cult: Dorylaeion 280₁
Epithet: Σεβαστή 280₁
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Type: with sheathed sword and captured armour 99
 — on column of Mayence 96 100
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Associated with Ianus 336₀
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Genealogy: daughters of Zeus by Themis 37₁ 94₂
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Types: four Seasons pass over starry globe beside Tellus reclining under vine 373 four Seasons sent forth from the orbis annuus held by Iupiter 372 f.
Associated with Apollon and Pan (?) 165₀ Zeus 94₂
 — as attribute of Zeus 1138₆ symbols of 1054
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Cults: Athens 985₀ Denderah 773₀ Egypt 255 Koptos 450₀
Myths: eye swallowed by Typhon 450₀ nursed by Isis 986₀
Genealogy: s. of Isis 126
Etymology: 255
Types: child seated on lotos 773₀ hawk on lotos 774₀ holding genitals of Typhon 450₀
Identified with Apollon 252 255
 — ladder of 126 soul of, identified with Orion 450₀
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Cult: Sardeis 1227 f.
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Myth: sword of Mars 548₀
 Hyades 274 f.
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 Hyacinthia 246₁
 Hyakinthos
Myth: slain by *diskos* of Apollon 1156
In relation to Apollon 491₀₍₆₎ (?) 1042 (?)
 Dioskouroi 435 (?)
 Hyde, old name of Sardeis 1228
 Hydisos
Cult: Zeus 'Αρειος 705 f. 848
 — coins of 705 f.

- Hydra**
Myth: Herakles 665₃
- Hygieia**
Cults: Oropos 1072 Philadelpheia in Lydia (?) 1229
Epithet: *θεσπεσίη* 954₀
Attributes: sceptre 1077 snake 1075
Type: seated 1072 1077
Identified with Salus 94₃
Associated with Amphiaraios and Pan 1072 Asklepios and Telesphoros 1078
Compared with Herkyna 1075
- Hyllos** 902₂ (?)
- Hymenaios** 1164₀
- Hymettos, Mt**
Cults: Apollon *Προβόλιος* 897₅ Zeus 873₁ Zeus *Ὀμβριος* 897₅, 1226 Zeus *Ἐμψήριος* 897₅
- Hynnaron, Mt**
Cult: Zeus *Ἐνναρεῖς* 987₁
Etymology: 987₁
- Hypaipa**
Cult: youthful hero with double axe and bay-branch in guise of Apollon *Τύρμνος* 564
- Hypata**
Cults: Hermes 1155₅ Polis 1155₅
- Hypatios, St** 32 f.
- Hypatos, Mt**
Cult: Zeus *Ἐπατος* 875₁₍₁₎ 898₂
- Hyperbios** 712
- Hyperborean Land** 465
- Hyperborean Maidens, arrival of, in Delos** 453₃ bring bronze tablets to Delos 1226 grave of, in Delos 466 names of 452 f.
- Hyperboreoi** 493 ff.
Cults: Apollon 501 844 Artemis *Ὀρθία* (?) 501
Epithets: *δάμων*... *Ἀπόλλωνος θεράποντα* 465 *χολιερεῖς* 465 500₄
Rites: offerings sent to Apollon at Delos 497 ff. with pl. xxvi *περφερέες* 495₆ sacred things wrapped in wheat straw 497 498₂ 500 f. sacrifice of asses to Apollon 463 f. 843
Myths: Apollon 459 ff. 484 493 843 Delos 452 f. Delphoi 169 452 499 844 Herakles 466 1041 (?) Kroisos 465
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- Hyperes, king of Troizen** 414₂
- Hyperion**
Epithet: *ἠλέκτωρ* 499₂ 947₀
Function: sun 947₀
- Hyperoche** 452 f. 466 501
- Hyperochos** 452
- Hyperphas** 1122₇
- Hypnos**
Cult: Sikyon 321₁
Epithet: *Ἐπιδώτης* 321₁
- Hypnos (cont.)**
Genealogy: b. of Thanatos 317
Attribute: horn 1127₀
Types: 1127₀
- Hypseus** 1123
- Hypsistarioi** 885₀₍₂₈₎
- Hypsistanoi** 885₀₍₂₈₎
- Hypsistos**
Cults: Ak Tash (Temenothyrai?) in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎ Ioudaia 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎ Kappadokia 885₀₍₂₈₎ Sari-Tsam in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎
Epithet: *Παντοκράτωρ* 885₀₍₂₈₎
Rite: lamp-lighting 881₀₍₂₀₎
Worshippers: *Ἐψιστᾶριοι* or *Ἐψιστιανοί* 885₀₍₂₈₎
 See also Eliou, Theos Hypsistos
- Hypsouranioi** 715₄ 981₁ 1037
- Hyria** 30
- Hysmine** 1141
- Hysminias** 1141
- Ia, betrothed to Attis** 970₀
- Iakehos**
Epithet: *Νέος* 97₀
Personated by Antinoos 97₀
- Ialysos**
Cult: Elektryone (Alektro) 499
- Iambe**
Myth: Demeter 821 851
- Ian**
Identified with Zan 341 344 353 842
 — in the Salian hymn 330₀ 331₀ 341
 See also Ianus
- Iana**
Epithet: *Arquis* 339₆
Functions: arches 339₆ moon 339₆
Etymology: 338₆ 340₂
 See also Diana
- Ianiculum** 368₃
- Ianos** See Ianus
- Ianus**
Cults: Aenona 325 Corinium in Dalmatia 325 Etruria 378 Falerii 373 Iulia Apta 325 Lambaesis 369₀ Noricum 324 Ouxenton (?) 386₁ Philadelpheia in Lydia 374 Rome 364 ff. Salonae (?) 325 Tusculum (?) 368₂ Volaterrae (?) 383
Epithets: *anni origo* 336₁₀ *annorum nitidique sator pulcherrime mundi* 336₁₀ *antiquissimus divom* 335₁ *Augustus* 325 *biceps* 336₁₀ *Cameses* or *Camises* (?) 330₀ 331₀ *Conseruator* (?) 327 327₁₁ *Culsanē* 378 *Curiatius* 364 *deorum deus* 337₄ *divom deus* 337 *duonus* (*duenos*?) 330₀ 331₀ *duonus Cerus* (*duenos Ceros*?) 330₀ 331₀ 724₀ *εφόρος πάσης πράξεως* 338₃ *εφόρος του παντός χρόνου* 336₈ *Geminus* 324 337₄ 338₃ 358 360 365 *lucifer annorum* 336₁₀ *Iunonius* 336₈ *Matutinus* 338 *Pater* 325 335₁ 336₅ 337₄ 338 369₀ 377₁ *Pater Augustus* 325 *Ποπάνων* 338₃

Ianus (cont.)

προπάτωρ 328₇ πρώτος τῶν ἀρχαίων θεῶν 335₃ quadrifrons 360₃ Quirinus 364₁ 377₂ temporis auctor 336₆ θεὸς ἀρχαιότατος τῆς Ἰταλίας 335₂ ἕπατος Ζεὺς 328₇ (See also Ζεὺς ἀφθίτος) Vaeosus 325 veterum promerios recum (vetesom promesios recom?) 330₀ 331₀ Zeu Loidorie (Ieu Loidosie?) 330₀ 331₀ Ζεὺς ἀφθίτος 328₇ (See also ἕπατος Ζεὺς)

Festivals: Kalendae Ianuariae 336₀
Kalendae Octobres 364

Rites: archway at entrance of Roman Forum closed in peace, opened in war 341₀ 358₅ cakes (πίπτανα) offered on the *Kalendae* 338₃ *Ianuli* chanted by *Salii* 375 f. passing under the yoke (?) 359₆ twelve altars to suit twelve months 336₈

Personated by Caracalla 371 *Commodus* 370 *Cn. Pompeius Magnus* 371 *Salii* (?) 375 f.

Myths: drives Sabines out of Rome by flood of water 394₃ first king of Italy 368₃ founds *Ianiculum* 368₃

Genealogy: f. of Aion 337 f. of *Canens* 394₃ f. of *Fontus* 368 394₃ f. of *Tiber* 394₃ h. of *Iuturna* 368₃ 394₃ s. of *Caelus* and *Hecate* 368₃

Functions: air 335 *archway* 330₀ bright sky combined with dark sky (?) 378 chaos 335 cosmic power 336 day 336 doorway 340₂ eternity 336 *initiator* 1090 *Kalendae* 336₈ king 330₀ months 336 an older *Iupiter* 335 ff. oldest god of Italy 335 seasons 336 sky 335 337 ff. 338₀ 354 f. 842 sun 336 time 336 universe 335 year 336

Etymology: pétasos 338 ff. 340₂

Attributes: pétasos 383 (?) 386 staff 385

Types: archway 354 ff. 405 842 bearded bifrontal head 326 ff. 331 ff. bearded and beardless bifrontal head 387 (?) cp. 842 beardless bifrontal head 331 334 368 ff. bifrontal god 341₀ 367 ff. 378 bifrontal god standing beneath arch 365 f. 842 face of *Alexander* combined with face of *Antoninus* 371 face of *Commodus* combined with face of *Iupiter* (?) 370 quadruple 373 triple (?) 373₅ vault (See archway)

Identified with Aion 337 *Apollon* 339₆ Celtic Janiform god 324 ff. Chaos 335₆ *Iupiter* 328 365 *Kronos* 374 *Llyr* 326 *Saturnus* 374 *Zeus* 328₇

Associated with Horae 336₉

In relation to Iupiter 328₆ 331 335 ff. 353 842 *Penates* 335 *Zan* 842

Superseded by January 373 f.

— and *Iupiter* on coins 331 ff. and *Iupiter* in the *Salian* hymn 328 ff. archway of, at entrance of *Roman*

Ianus (cont.)

Forum 341₀ 355 ff. in the plural (=anni) 336₁₀ significance of the double face of 378 ff. transformed into *Persephone* 370

See also *Ani*, *Anigemius*, *Ian*

Ianus, an Italian king 330₀

Iao

Identified with Adonai 889₀₍₁₀₎ *Deus Altissimus* 889₀₍₃₄₎ *Theos Hypsistos* 889₀₍₁₀₎

Iaon, river in *Peloponnesos* 413₁

Iapetos 894₀

Iapheth (*Japheth*) 694₀

Iapodes tattooed 123₀

Iapyges 29 ff. 559

Iapygia 29 f. 559

Iapyx

Genealogy: s. of Daidalos 30

Iardanos, river in *Crete* 1025

Iardanos, river in *Elis*, 1025

Iardanos, river in *Lydia* 1025

Iarebolos

Cult: Emesa 814₃

See also *Iaribolos*

Iaribolos

Cult: Palmyra 885₀₍₂₀₎

See also *Iarebolos*

Iason

Myths: caldron of apotheosis 211 *Hera* 1088 *Kirke* 1097₂

Genealogy: descended from Aiolos 1088

Type: swallowed by snake 222₂ 1217

Iasos

Cults: Zeus 879₀₍₁₇₎ *Zeus Ὑψιστος* 879₀₍₁₇₎ 963₅

Iasos, b. of *Dardanos* 317

Iberians 340₃

Idaean Cave, excavation of 935₆ ff. in relation to *Hagia Triada* 522₄ rock crystal from 927₀ *týmpana* from 697₀ 770₂

See also *Ide*, *Mt*, in *Crete*

Idaean Daktyloi See *Daktyloi*

Idaia, as name of *Crete* 940₀

Idaia, w. of *Zeus* 940₀

Idalion, silver bowl from 553

Idas

Myths: Leukippides 438₂ *Marpessa* 439₁₄ *Tyndaridai* 437 ff.

Genealogy: b. of Lynkeus 317

Ide, *Mt*, in *Crete* 932₁

Cults: Daktyloi 232₀ 929₀ *Holy Cross* (*Timios Stauros*) 935₆ *Zagreus* 838 934₀ *Zan* 934₀ *Zeus* 941₀ *Zeus B-dáras* 934₀ *Zeus 'Idaios* 549 838 932₁ ff. 980₅

Festival: trieteric 934₀

Rites: annual dance of modern Cretans on summit 939₀ funeral offering to *Zeus* 934₀ 942₀ thrice nine days spent in *Idaean Cave* 934₀ 942₀ throne strown annually for the god 934₀ 942₀ cp. 940₀ wearing of black wool 934₀ 942₀

Ide, Mt, in Crete (*cont.*)

Myths: Hermaphroditos reared by Naiades 933₀ Kouretes 549 Kronos 549 Telchines 933₀ Zeus 230 932₁ 933₀

Etymology: 932₁

— Arkesion, a cave on 549 939₀ ascent of 939₀ fruitful poplar (or willow) in mouth of Idaean Cave on 932₁ Idaean Cave on 230 933₀ ff. 935₀ ff. Idaean Cave on, visited by Epimenides 933₀ 934₀ Idaean Cave on, visited by Pythagoras 933₀ 934₀ plateau of Nida on 935₀ 937₀ summit of called Psiloriti 935₀

See also Daktyloi, Idaean Cave

Ide, Mt, in Phrygia 949₅ ff.

Cults: Kybele 950₀ Mater *Idaea* 950₀ Meter *Idaia* 950₀ Zeus 855₂ Zeus *Idaios* 297₅ (?) 950₀ ff. Zeus Πατρώος 950₀

Epithets: μητέρα θηρών 950₀ πολυπίδαξ 949₅ 950₀ πολύπτυχος 950₀ σκολο-πενδρώδης 949₅

Myths: birth of Daktyloi 949₅ Daktyloi sons of Aigesthios (Agdestis?) by Ide 970₀ Διὸς ἀπάτη 1021 Ide, d. of Melissens 949₅ judgment of Eros 949₅ judgment of Paris 949₅

Etymology: 932₁ 949₅

— in relation to Hyperboreoi (?) 453 solar phenomenon on 949₅

Ide, personification of Mt Ide in Phrygia

Type: wreathed with fir 949₅

Ide, d. of Melisseus 949₅Ide, m. of Idaean Daktyloi 970₀

Idmon 471

Idomeneus

Myth: Phaistos 947₀

Genealogy: descended from Helios 947₀ s. of Deukalion, s. of Minos, s. of Zeus 793₇

Idrieus 715

Iguvium

Cult: Iupater Sancius 724₀ f.

Iki kilisse in Galatia

Cult: Zeus Βροντών 835₅

Ikonion

Cults: Agdistis (Angdistis) 970₀ Meter Βοηθηγή 970₀ Meter Theon 970₀ Theoi Σωτήρες 970₀

— *stèle* from 799

Ilia 1016

Ilion

Cults: Athena *Ilιάς* 950₀ Zeus *Idaios* 950₀ f.
— coins of 950₀

Ilissos 1115 ff. 1123 1135 1138₅ 1139

— small Ionic temple on 1118₄ 1119₀

Ilissos-‘island’ 1119₄

Illyrioi

Cults: Apollon 458 sky-god (Ianus, Zan) 349 (?) 353 (?) 842 (?)

In relation to Dorians 341 Leleges 354₀ Ligures 340₃

Illyrioi (*cont.*)

— *Agyieis*-pillars of 165 f. eight-year cycle of 440₂ tattooed 123₀

Ilos

Myths: foundation of Troy 349 Pal-ladion 8

Genealogy: gf. of Priamos 8

Imbros

Cults: Bendis 314₀ Dionysos 314₀ Zeus *Τψιαστος* 878₀₍₈₎ 922₁

Inachos

Myth: drives Io from home 503

Genealogy: f. of Kasos and Belos 981₁

India

Cults: Brahmā 774₁ Çiva 790 f. iron tridents and stone axes 790 792 850 Kāma 774₁ Krishna 774₁ Lakshmi 774₁ Rudra 791 Sarasvatī 774₁ Vishnu 774₁

Myths: cosmic egg 1035 f. Egyptian Herakles and Dionysos 7₂

— pillars of Herakles and Dionysos in 423

Inessa 908₁

Inhissar in Phrygia

Cult: Zeus Βροντών 835₄

Ino

Myths: lashes Maenads with ivy-sprays 1041 plots death of Phrixos 904₁

Type: Bacchant milking herself 347₀ (?)

Inōnū in Phrygia

Cults: Zeus Βροντών 835₄ Zeus ἐξ Αὐλῆς 249₅ Zeus ἐξ Αὐλῆς Ἐπήκοος 0εὸς 836 ff. 1226 Zeus Τελεσφόρος 838 1089

— altars from 836 ff.

Intercidona 643₅Invidia 505₂

Io

Myths: bride of Zeus 961₀ driven from home by Inachos 503 pursued by Zeus as fly (?) 782₁

Genealogy: m. of Epaphos by Zeus 961₀

Types: heifer 379 horned maiden 379

Ione

Cults: fire (πῦρ ἀθάνατον) 1187 Zeus Ἐπικάρπιος 1186 Zeus Κεραύνιος 1187 Zeus Νέμειος 1186

Myths: Perseus 1186 f. Triptolemos 1186

Iopolis 1187₂ 1188

Ioudaia

Cults: Hypsistos 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎ Jehovah 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎ Theos *Γψι-στος* 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎

— coins of 1202

Iovilae See Iūvilas

Iovis

Cult: Gallia Lugudunensis 547₀ 619 *Associated with Esus and Volcanus* 619

Iphikles

Genealogy: b. of Herakles 317 1017

Iphikles (*cont.*)

- In relation to Herakles* 445 447₅
 See also Iphiklos (=Iphikles)
 Iphiklos (=Iphikles) 451 f.
 See also Iphikles
 Iphiklos, s. of Phylakos
Myth: cured by Melampous 452 684 f.
 Iphithea (?) 353₃
 Iphitos, king of Elis 466 f.
 Ipsara See Psara
 Irbos (=Virbius?) 421
 Iring
Identified with Ziu (?) 51 f.
 — road of 52
 Iris
Type: with spread wings and out-stretched arms 473
 Irmin
Etymology: 52₆ 1212
Identified with Ziu 52 114
In relation to Armenios (?) 54 114
 Irminsûl 50 ff.
 — as effigy of sky-god 57 as link between earth and heaven 82 as prototype of column at Mayence 109 as support of sky 56 as vehicle of sky-god 56 f. as wooden trunk 74 1212 compared with *Agyieûs*-pillar 166 178 compared with *Diana*-pillar 157 166
 Isaurroi 973₁
 Ischys, s. of Elatos 1089
 Isinoe (?), d. of Danaos 1150₂
 Isis
Cults: Athens 985₀ Delos 922₀
Epithets: *Pharia* 928₀ *Tarcoeipiás* 985₀
Rites: effigy of Osiris buried in pine-tree 303₂ libation of milk from golden bowl shaped like female breast 347₀
Myths: founds Pelousion 986₀ nurses Diktys 986₀ nurses Horos 986₀ nurses Pelousios 986₀
Function: earth 557₁
Attributes: leafy spray (?) 1129₀ *modius* (?) 1129₀ poppy 1165₁
Types: bust on couch 1171₃ double bust (with *Apis*) 392 enthroned under arch 362
Identified with Demeter 252 Tethys 481₀
Associated with Sarapis (*Serapis*) 1128₀ (?) 1171₃ Zeus *Kónthios* and *Sarapis* 922₀
 — soul of, identified with *Kyon* by Greeks, with *Sothis* by Egyptians 450₀
 Isityche 1128₀ (?)
 Islands of the Blest 36 117 465
 Isodaites (=Plouton) 1113₀(2)
 Isopata, gold ring from 49₁
 Istar
Attribute: axe (*i.e.* woodpecker?) 696₀
Associated with Sin and *Sibitti* 545₀
 Isthmia, the festival 490₀(15) 951₀

Istia See Hestia

Istros, springs of 465 494

Italy

Cults: Lares 1059 Penates 1059 Picus 696₀*Rite*: burial within the house 1059

— coins of 1063

Itanos

Cults: Apollon *Πύθιος* 929₀ Athena *Πολιάς* 929₀ Hera 929₀ Zeus *Ἀγοραῖος* 929₀ Zeus *Δικταῖος* 929₀ ep. 930₀ Zeus *Ἐρῶπιος* 1130₇
 — coins of 1130₇ oath of 929₀Ithake, coins of 706₅ the cave in 42Ithomaiã (Ithomaiã, Ithomais) 741, 890₆

Ithome, Mt

Cult: Zeus *Ἰθωμάρας* 741 ff. 890₆ 1222*Festival*: Ithomaiã (Ithomaiã, Ithomais) 741, 890₆*Rites*: human sacrifice 890₆ water from Klepsydra brought daily to sanctuary of Zeus 890₆*Myth*: Zeus brought up by nymphs Ithome and Neda 890₆Ithome, the nymph 890₆

Iulia Apta

Cult: *Ianus Vaecosus* 325

Iuno

Cults: Aquincum 68₂ Blatsche 1084 Mogontiacum 96₁ 96₂ Rome 364 Thibursicum Bure 68₂ Urbs Salvia (?) 803*Epithets*: *Augusta* 61₀ *Caelestis* 68₂ *Cinxia* 899₀ *Lucetia* 61₀ *Lucina* 59₃ 60₆ 61₀ 1226 *Pronuba* 61₀ *Regina* 59₃ 87₃ 95₁ 96 96₁ 96₂ 98 *Sancta* 96 98 *Sororia* 364*Festivals*: *Kalendae Martiae* 61₀ *Kalendae Octobres* 364*Rite*: brandishing torches 61₀*Metamorphosed into Berce* 1031*Functions*: *Kalendae* 336₈ light 61₀ marriage 61₀ motherhood 1226 procreation 1226 spring 59 61₀ 94₁*Attributes*: flower 61₀ girdle (?) 61₀ iris (?) 61₀ lily 61₀ peacock 60₆ 67 sceptre 98 f. torch or torches 59 61₀ two snakes (?) 61₀*Types*: bearing babe and flower 61₀ bearing babe and lily or iris (?) 61₀ bearing babe and torch 60₆ bearing *patra* and sceptre 60₆ bearing torch or torches 59 clad in goat-skin (?) 60₆ grouped with children 60₆ 61₀ standing on cow 99₀ veiled 60₆ with foot on head of cow 98 f. with foot on head of ox 98₃*Identified with Frija* 59 94₁ Luna, Diana, Ceres, Proserpina 256*Associated with Hercules* and *Minerva* 89 *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* 96₁ 96₂ *Mercurius* and *Ceres* 1181₀ *Mercurius*, *Hercules*, *Minerva* 57 ff. *Mercurius* and *Minerva* 89

Iuno (cont.)

In relation to Fria 67

— breasts of 37₂ of a woman corresponds with Genius of a man 1059

Iupiter

Cults: Iguvium 724₀ f. Umbria 724₀

Epithet: Sancius 724₀

Rite: calf offered by man holding wheel 724₀ f.

See also Diespiter, Iupiter

Iupiter

Cults: Aizanoi 968₀ Alban Mt 46₃ Allmendingen 619 1221 Allobroges 570₀ Antiocheia on the Orontes 1188 Apulum 754₁ Aquileia in Venetia 328 842 Blatsche 1084 Brixia in Cisalpine Gaul 726₀ Clunia in Spain 1102₃ Corinth (?) 1214 Mt Dikte 927₁ 928₀ Mt Gerizim 887₀(31) 888₀(40) 983₀ (?) Gothia 620 Heliopolis in Syria 745₁ Jerusalem 984₁ Kassiope 906₃ Mt Ladicus in Gallicia 320₀ Lambaesis 369₀ Luxovium in Germania Superior (?) 1213 Matilica 401₀ Mogontiacum 96₁ 96₂ Naissos 948₄ Napoca 754₁ Pannonia 823₁(2) Patrai 1214 Pergamon 1179 f. Pompeii 1158 Ravenna 1091 Rome 45 46 46₀ 111₀ 369₀ 400₁₁ 401₀ 403₀ 546₀ 601 708 708₅ 835₈ 838 f. 1102₈ 1103₀ 1172₀ 1181₀ 1195₁ Salonae 69₀ 401₀ Mt Silpion (?) 1188 Sirmium 1194₄ Spolegium 803₂ Tiber-island 726₀ Tomoi 823₁(1) Urbs Salvia 803 ff. Venafrum 69₀ 401₀ Vichy 285₀

Epithets: *Aepilofius* (= *Ἐπιλόφιος*) 948₄ *Aezanensis* 968₀ *Aezaniticus* 968₀ *Ambisagrus* (= *Ambisacerus* rather than *Ambisager*) 328 421₀ 673₃ 842 *Amicalis* (= *Zeus Φιλίας*) 1177₂ 1179 f. 1186₀ *Ataburius* 588₁ *auctor bonarum Tempestatium* 94₂ *Augustus Ultor* 1102₈ *Baginus* 570₀ *Bronton* 835₀ *Caelestinus* 369₀ 401₀ *Caelestis* 69₀ 400₁₁ 401₀ *caelipotens* 401₀ *Caelius* 400₁₁ *Caelus* (?) 400₁₁ *Capitolinus* 601 1188 *Casius* 588₁ *Casius* (*Cassius*) in Korkyra 906₃ *Cenaeus* 902₃ *Conservator* 88₁ 327 328 369₀ 1195₁ *Custos* 367₁ (?) 1181₀ *Dapalis* 1172 *Deus* 958₀ *deus unus et idem* (?) 1060 *Dianus* 328 842 *Dictaeus* 927₁ 928₀ *Dictaeus rex* 928₀ *divom pater atque hominum rex* 1070 *Dolichenus* 99₀ 609 614 f. *Epulo* 1172₀ *Fagutalis* 403₀ *Farreus* 1172 *Feretrius* 111₀ 546₀ 601 613 *Fulgur* 46₀ *fulgurator* 815₄ *Genetaeus* 616₅ *Heliopolitanus* 745₁ *Heros* 823₁(1) 823₁(2) *Hospitalis* (= *Zeus Ξένιος*) 1101₃ 1177₂ *Idaeus* 950₀ *Imperator* 708 848 917₀ *Iurarius* 726₀ *Iutor* 803 ff. 850 *Labryandius* 588₁ *Ladicus* 320₀ *Lapis* 260₀ 546₀ *Laprius* 588₁ 599 *Latiaris* 46₃ *Liberator* (Nero) 1214 *matutinus*

Iupiter (cont.)

338₁ *Milichius* 1158 *Militaris* 706 848 *Molio* 588₁ *omnipotens rerum regumque repertor* (?) 1060 *Optimus Maximus* 10 87₂ 87₃ 88₁ 88₂ 89₀ 89₈ 90 f. 91₁ 93 95₁ 96 96₁ 96₂ 328 361 620 1194₄ 1196 *Optimus Maximus Caelestinus* 401₀ *Optimus Maximus Celestis Patronus* 401₀ *Optimus Maximus Conservator* 88₁ *Optimus Maximus Heros* 823₁(1) 823₁(2) *Optimus Maximus Paternus Aepilofius* 948₄ *Optimus Maximus Tavianus* 754₁ *Paternus Aepilofius* (= *Zeus Πατρῶος Ἐπιλόφιος*) 948₄ *Patronus* 401₀ *Peregrinus* 887₀(31) *Pistor* 260₀ *prodigialis* 19₀ *progenitor geneticusque deum* 1060 *Propagator* 369₀ 706₈ (?) *Propugnator* 707₀ *Ruminus* 365₄ *Sabasius* (= *Sabazius*) 285₀ *Sabazius* 1197 *Sanctus Bronton* 835₆ 836 838 *Sarapis* 888₀(40) (?) 983₀ (?) *Stator* 46₀ 422₁ 708₅ *Summanus* (?) 319 725₀ *Summus* (?) 319 *Svelsurdus* (?) 822₁₃ *Tanarus* 32 *Tarnicus* 32 *Tavianus* 754₁ *Tempestatium divinarum potens* 94₂ *Terminalis* 1090 f. 1133₁ (?) *Terminus* 1090 *tertius* 940₀ *Tigillus* 110₅ 363 365 *Tonans* 39₁ 60₀ 111₀ 505₂ 811 835₆ 1041 (?) *Triumphator* 706₈ *Tropaeophorus* 706₈ *Ulor* 1102₈ 1103₀ *Urius* (?) 822₁₃ *Velsurus* (?) 822₁₃ *Victor* 708 848 *Zbelsurdus* (?) 1226

Festivals: *Epula Iovis* (Sept. 13 and Nov. 13) 1172₀ May 94₂ *Quinquennialia* 601

Rites: feast of roast flesh and wine 1172₄ *lectisternia* 1170₀ 1171 oath by Iupiter *Lapis* with flint in hand 546₀ ox as *piaculum* 803₂ *spolia opima* 601 *summanalia* 725₀ table swept with vervain 395₂ 397₀ treaty struck with flint of Iupiter *Feretrius* 546₀

Priest: *flamen Dialis* 341₀ 828

Personated by Antoninus Pius 811 Augustus 1091 Diocletian (*Iovius*) 903₂ 1194₄ Domitian 338₁ 811 emperor 100 ff. forefather of family 1059 Galerius 1194 king 633 847 1059 Licinius 1195 Licinius Iunior 1195 Maximinus ii 1194 f. Nero 1214 Romulus Silvius 24₄ Titus (?) 810 Trajan 810 f. triumphing general 361 Vespasian (?) 810

Myths: consorts with Semele 1031 drives Saturnus from his kingdom 448₁ mutilates Saturnus 448₁ *Palicus* 909₀

Genealogy: f. of Genius 1060 f. of Liber by Proserpina 1031 f. of Olympus (?) by the nymph Chalcea 973₁ gf. of Tages 1060 s. of Caelus 941₀ s. of Saturnus 940₀ 941₀

Iupiter (cont.)

Functions: aether 1090 celestial 1090 (See also sky) chthonian 1090 container and sustainer of the world 110₅ earth 803 father and mother of the gods 1060 flesh, wine, and bread 1173 (?) good weather 94₂ holder of scales 734₃ lightning by night 725₀ nocturnal sky 725₀ nurture 365₄ oak-tree 570₀ sea 803 sky 337 340 f. 373 803 (See also celestial) thunder 830₀ Thursday 70 treaties 725₀ universe 335₅ a younger Ianus 335 ff.

Attributes: bay-wreath 751₂ dog (?) 367₁ dolphin 803 f. double axe 609 eagle 400₁₁ 751₂ 812 eagle on globe 95₂ feretrum 601 f. 613 fork 850 mallet 620 sceptre 400₁₁ 812 spear 711 f. 848 thunderbolt 803 f. 810 ff. 860 trident 803 f. 850 trophy 1195₂ two-pronged fork 803 ff. violet mantle 803 wheel 57₀ 1213

Types: advancing with thunderbolt, trident, and fork 803 f. bearded head 331 334 bundle of herbs clothed as puppet 1171 bust 1133₁ bust with thunderbolt in right hand and spear in left 712 on column 46 eating sacrificial meal (?) 1172₀ enthroned on a pillar 47 flint (unhafted neolithic celt?) 546₀ grasping or hurling thunderbolt in chariot 82 831₁ cp. 76₀ handing thunderbolt to Trajan 1181₀ on horseback with uplifted bolt 82 Janiform 326 ff. protecting emperor 104₁ seated with thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre in left 1103₀ 1194₄ 1214 seated with Victory in right hand and sceptre in left 1103₀ (fig. 940) sending forth the four Seasons from the orbis annuus 372 f. standing with eagle on right hand and sceptre in left 1214 standing with sceptre in raised right hand and thunderbolt in lowered left 751 standing with spear (sceptre?) in raised right hand and thunderbolt in lowered left 708₅ standing with thunderbolt in lowered right hand and sceptre in raised left 70₁ standing with thunderbolt (?) in outstretched right hand and spear in raised left 711 f. standing with thunderbolt, sceptre, and eagle 285₀ 1194₄ standing with thunderbolt and sceptre under arch 367 standing with thunderbolt and sceptre in four-horse chariot driven by Victory 331 334 831₁₍₃₎ tree-trunk 109

Identified with Donar 64₀ 95₂ Genius 1060 Ianus 328 365 Jehovah 1197 Sucealus 620 Theos Hyspistos

Iupiter (cont.)

886₀₍₃₀₎ Thor 620 Vediovis (?) 726₀ Assimilated to Hercules 95₂

Associated with Fontes 369₀ Fontes and Minerva 401₀ Fortuna 1195₂ Genius Fontis 369₀ Genius huius loci 1194₄ Hercules 1194₄ Iuno Regina 96₁ 96₂ Lares 751 Mater Phrygia 950₀ Victoria 1195₂

In relation to emperor 708 Erinyes 1102₇ Furiae 1102₇ Hercules 95₂ Ianus 328₀ 331 335 ff. 353 842

— acorn of (walnut) 775₀ beard of (silver-bush) 775₀ chariot of 76₀ 82 331 334 830₀ 831₁ flame of (a flower) 775₀ footprints of 372₂ stallus Iovis 35₀ regalia of 811 f. state of, made of armour 46₃ throne of 1102₇ and Ianus on coins 331 ff. and Ianus in the Salian hymn 328 ff.

See also Diespiter, Iupater

Iupiter, the planet 480₅

Iustitia 99₁

Iuturna

Genealogy: w. of Ianus 368₃ 394₃

Iūvilas 823 1226

Ivrlz 564 f.

Ixion

Myths: Hera 1088 Zeus 1098₄

Genealogy: descended from Aiolos 1088 s. of Antion s. of Periphas s. (or f.) of Lapithes 1122 f.

Jachin 426 f.

Jacob and Esau 451, ladder of 127 f. 129₁ 136

Jains, sacred column of 150₂

James, St, b. of the Lord

Type: on chalice of Antioch 1202₀

James, St, s. of Zebedee

Type: on chalice of Antioch 1200₄ 1202₀

Janina

Etymology: 350

— folk-tale from 678 f.

Jehovah

Cults: Mt Gerizim 887₀₍₃₁₎ Ioudaia 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎

Epithets: Κύριος Ἰψίστος 888₀₍₃₂₎ Theos Ζῶν 1102₈ Theos Ἰψίστος 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎ Ἰψίστος 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎

Rite: θυσιαὶ ἐντελεῖς ὀλοκαυτοὶ...καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν 888₀₍₃₂₎

Priest: ἀρχιερεὺς 889₀₍₀₎

Function: hills 887₀₍₃₁₎

Identified with Bacchus 1197 Dionysos 1197 'El 'Olām 1037 Iupiter Sabazius 1197 Liber Pater 1197 Zeus Ἰψίστος 889

Jerusalem

Cults: Aphrodite (Venus) 984₁ Liber Pater (supposed) 282₀ Zeus (Iupiter) 984₁

— Antiochos iv Epiphanes and 1189₁ 'cup-marks' at 793₄ golden vine

- Jerusalem (*cont.*)
 at 281₄ pyramids built by Helene of Adiabene near 1146₀ tomb of 'Zechariah' near 1146_{0(d)}
- Jews
Cult: Theos Ἰησοῦς 884₀₍₀₎
 — of the Dispersion propagate the cult of Theos Hysistos 889 f. use gentle formula ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆν, Ἡλίον 884₀₍₀₎
- Jodute See Tiodute
- John, St
Type: on chalice of Antioch 1200₄ 1202₀
Supersedes Zeus Ἀραβύριος in Rhodes 923₀
 — on the marriage supper of the Lamb 1168
- John Klimax, St 134 f.
- Jordan, as name of Milky Way 480
- Jude, St
Type: on chalice of Antioch 1202₀
- Juktas, Mt
Cults: Authentēs Christos 945₀ Panagia 945₀ Rhea (?) 944₀
Festival: Transfiguration (Aug. 6) 945₀
Rite: annual pilgrimage to church on summit 945₀
Myths: Britomartis pursued by Minos 939₁ burial of Minos (?) 944₀
Etymology: 939₁
 — profile of Zeus (originally Minos?) on 939₁ 940₀ remains on summit of 943₀ 944₀ tomb of Zeus on 940₀ ff.
- Kabeirion, apsidal temple of Theban 900₀
- Kabeiro
Identified with Bendis 314₀ Hekate 314₀
- Kabeiroi
Cults: Lemnos 663 ff. Pergamon 953₃ f. Phoinike 314₀ Samothrace 313 842 Thrace 313 ff.
Epithet: Μεγάλοι Θεοί 313 f. 954₀
Rite: mysteries 314₂ 953₃ f.
Myth: witness birth of Zeus 954₀
Genealogy: sons of Ouranos 954₀
Functions: control storms 953₃ Father and Son 317 Mother (Axiokersa), Father (Axiokersos), and Son (Axieros) conceived as rebirth of the Father 314
Etymology: 313₁₁ 313₁₂
Attributes: double axe 953₃ ram's head 954₀ sword 953₃
Types: two youthful males 953₃ two youthful warriors 953₃
Identified with crabs 664 f. Zeus and Dionysos 664₁
Associated with Zeus Σαβάζιος (?) 664₁
 Kabeiros, a Pergamene *prytanis* 953₃
- Kadmilos
Cults: Phoinike 314₀ Samothrace 314₀
Identified with Ešmun 314₀
 See also Kasmilos
- Kadmos
Myths: helps Zeus against Typhoeus 449₀ seeks Europe 449₀ takes charge of Semele's child 28 f.
- Kadoi
Cult: Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσία 408₀
 — coins of 408₀
- Ka-Hegal 483
- Kaikias 488₀₍₂₎
- Kaineus
Myth: sets up his spear as a god 547₂
- Kairos 859 ff.
Cult: Olympia 859
Genealogy: youngest s. of Zeus 859 861
Etymology: 860 f.
Attributes: butterfly 860 globe 860 mirror (?) 863₁ razor 859 f. 861 f. rudder 862 wheel 863 863₁ whip 863₁
Types: bearded runner 860 f. female figure (Occasio) on little wheel 863 Lysippos 859 f. 864 Pheidias (?) 862 f. winged runner in military dress (?) 863₁ youthful runner 859 f. 861 f.
Identified with Bios 864 Chronos 861 864
Assimilated to Kronos 861
- Kaisareia in Kappadokia
Cults: Mt Argaïos 977₁ ff. Sarapis 978₀ Tyche (Tranquillina) 978₀
 — coins of 978₀ ff. 983₀ earlier names of 978₀
- Kalaïs
Genealogy: s. of Boreas by Oreithyia, d. of Erechtheus 444
Etymology: 444
- Kalaos, f. of Attes 444
- Kalaureia
Cult: Zeus Σωτήρ 728₀
- Kalchas, of Siris in Lucania
Myth: slain by Herakles 490₀₍₀₎
- Kalchas, s. of Thestor
Myth: contest with Mopsos 489₀₍₄₎
- Kalchedon
Cult: Zeus Βουλαῖος 259₀
 — coins of 461₀
- Kalchedonia, m. of Solymos 973₁
- Kalchos, king of Daunia 490₀₍₀₎
- Kaldene, d. of Pisias (Pisides?) 973₁
- Kalikantzaraioi See Kallikantzaroi
- Kallikantzaroi
Myth: attack the tree or column or columns supporting the earth or sky 56₂
- Kalliope
Genealogy: m. of Orpheus 1024
- Kallirrhoe, spring adjoining Ilissos 1116 1119 1119₄
- Kallirrhoe (Kalliroe), d. of Acheloius
Cults: Athens 1117 (?) Phaleron 183
Attributes: cornu copiae and *phiale* 1117 (?)
Type: Caryatid 184

- Kallirrhoe** (Kalliroe), d. of Acheloius (*cont.*)
Associated with Acheloius and Zeus
Μειλίχιος (?) 1117 Hestia, Kephisos, Apollon *Πύθιος*, Leto, Artemis *Λοχία*, Eileithyia, Acheloius, the Geraistian birth-nymphs, Rhapsod 183
- Kallirrhoe**, d. of Okeanos 716
- Kalliste** (= Hekate) 1114₀₍₄₎
- Kallisto**
Cult: Arkadia 1114₀₍₆₎
Myth: Zeus 228₁, 228₇, 1217
Metamorphosed into bear 228 f.
Function: bear-goddess (?) 1114₀₍₆₎
- Kalydon**
Myth: Kalydonian boar 799
- Kalymna**
Cults: Apollon 808₀₍₁₁₎ Zeus *Κεράνιος* 808₀₍₁₁₎
- Kāma**
Cult: India 774₁
Function: love 774₁
- Kamares**, Mt
Cults: Rhea (?) 934₀ Zeus *Ἰδαῖος* (?) 935₀
 — Maurospeilaion on 934₀ 935₀
- Kameiros**, relief-ware from 614 f.
- Kamikos** 30
- Kamise**, st. and w. of Ianos 330₀
- Kanachos** 1165₁
- Kanai** (Kane)
Cult: Zeus *Καναῖος* 902₂
- Kanake** 684₂
- Kandaules** 559
- Kane** See Kanai
- Kanobos** (Kanopos)
Cult: Sarapis 985₀
Myth: Io, touched by Zeus, becomes m. of Epaphos 961₀
- Kapaneus**
Myth: struck by lightning 23 824 f.
Genealogy: f. of Sthenelos 824₅ 892₅
- Kappadokia**
Cults: Mt Argaios 977₁ ff. Hypsistos 885₀₍₂₈₎ Zeus *Δακηνός* 616 Zeus *Στράτιος* 594₃ 595₀
 — coins of 296₀ Kyklops in folk-tale from 992 f.
- Kar**, s. of Phoroneus 168₁ 257₄
- Karbina** 29
- Karia**
Cults: Apollon 573₁₀ 574₁ 574₂ 574₃ Dionysos *Μάσαρις* 565₂ Ge 729₀ Helios 729₀ Zeus 573 f. 705 729₀ 745₁ Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος* 763₁ Zeus *Κάριος* 577 Zeus *Λαβραδεύς* 559 f. 572
 — coins of 573 f.
- Karia**, *akropolis* of Megara 168₁ 257₄
- Karia**, personification of the district 320₀
- Karien**, near Mt Pangaion
Cults: Zeus *Ἐρκείος Πατρῶος* 1066 Zeus *Κτήσιος* 1066
- Karkinar** 666₂
- Karko** 666₂
- Karmania**
Cult: Ares 464
- Karmanor** 190₀
- Karme** 190₀
- Karneades** 237₀
- Karneia** 237₀
- Karousa**
Cult: Zeus *Δικαίουστος Μέγας* 1092₈
- Karyanda**
Festival: bull-sports 582₅
- Karystos**
Rite: Hyperborean offerings 497
- Kasion**, Mt, in Egypt 984₁ f.
Cult: Zeus *Κάσιος* 907₀ 984₁ f.
Myth: temple founded by descendants of Dioskouroi 984₁
Etymology: 981₁
- Kasion**, Mt, in Syria 981₁
Cults: Triptolemos 981₁ Zeus *Κάσιος* 907₀ 981₁ ff. 1191 f.
Rites: hecatomb 982₀ incubation 982₀ (?)
Myths: Kyparissos 981₁ *Seleucides aves* 981₁ Zeus fights Typhon 449₀ 981₁
Etymology: 981₁
 — injured by earthquake 1191
- Kasion**, town in Egypt 984₁ f.
- Kasios**, eponym of Mt Kasion in Egypt
Cult: Pelousion 986₀ 987₀
Epithet: *ὁ ναύκληρος* 987₀
- Kasios**, eponym of Mt Kasion in Syria 981₁
- Κασιu**, an Aramaean god 983₀
- Kasmilos**
Identified with Hermes 314₂
 See also Kadmilos
- Kasos**, f. of Kleomachos 981₁
- Kasos**, one of the Kyklades 981₁
- Kasos**, s. of Inachos 981₁
- Kassiope**
Cults: Iupiter *Casius* (*Cassius*) 906₃ Zeus (?) 907₀ Zeus *Κάσιος* (*Κάσιος*) 906₃ 907₀
- Kastabos**
Cult: Hemithea 670
Myth: Staphylos and his daughters Molpadia, Rhoio, Parthenos 670 f.
- Kastalia** 460
- Kastalios** 190₀
- Kastor**
Epithet: *ἰππόδαμος* 436
Genealogy: b. of Polydeukes 317 1015₇ cp. 1097₂ s. of Zeus by Leda 1015₇
Type: fights Kalydonian boar 799
 See also Dioskouroi
- Katabasion** of Trophonios at Lebadeia 1075 f. 1088
- Katane** 908₁
Cult: Apollon 486₅
 — coins of 486₅
 See also Aitue
- Kato Zakro**, clay seal-impression from 623 652
- Katreus**
Myth: 923₀ 924₀
Genealogy: s. of Minos and f. of Althaimenes and Apemosyne 923₀

- Kaukasos**, the giant 694₀
Kaulon or **Kaulos** 1042 (?)
Kaulonia
Cults: Agon (?) 1042 Apollon 1042 f.
 Demos (?) 1042 Dionysos 1041 (?)
 Herakles 1041 f. (?) Hermes Ἄγώριος (?) 1042 Hermes Δρόμος (?) 1042
 wind-god (?) 1042 Zephyros (?) 1042
Festival: Hiketesia 1040
Myth: Kaulon or Kaulos 1042 (?)
 — coins of 1040 ff.
- Kebrenioi** 130
Kekrops
Myth: founds altar of Zeus Ἰπτατος 875₁₍₂₎
Genealogy: s. of Ge 1121
- Kelaino** 176₁
Keleos, a Cretan 929₀
Keltoi
Cult: Zeus 570₀
Myths: Apollon sheds tears of amber 484 843 Kyknos 477
In relation to Sabines 340₃
 — poplar in land of 468
- Kenaion**, Mt
Cults: Zeus Κηναίος (Κηναίος) 902₂
 Zeus Πατρώος 902₂
Myth: Herakles 902₂
- Kenchreai** 1145₁₍₆₎
Kenelm, St 116 f.
- Kentauros**
Genealogy: s. of Apollon by Stilbe 1134 f.
Type: marine, with head-dress of crab's-claws 665₃
 See also Centaurs, Centaurus
- Kentoripa** (Kentouripai)
Cult: Agathos Daimon (?) 1129₀
 — coins of 784₇
- Keos**
Myth: Oidipous 1152
- Kephallenia**
Cult: Zeus Αινήσιος 907₂
- Kepheus**, s. of Aleos 1083 1148
- Kephisos**, river in Attike near Athens 1091 1139₅
- Kephisos**, river in Attike near Eleusis 1103
Kephisos, the river-god
Cult: Phaleron 183 f.
Type: horned (?) 184
- Kephissos**, river in Phokis 460
- Ker**
In relation to Eros 315₃
- Keramos** in Karia
Cults: long-haired god (Zeus?) with double axe and sceptre or spear 575 f. Zeus 575 f. Zeus Ααβράνδος (?) 599₂
 — coins of 575 f. 599₂
- Keraunia** 807₃₍₁₎
Keraunios
Cult: Kition 807₃₍₁₎ Mytilene 807₃₍₃₎
 Syria 807₃₍₂₎
Epithet: Ἰψιστος 807₃₍₃₎
 See also Zeus *Epithets* Κεραύνιος
- Keraunos**
Cult: Emesa 814₃
Epithet: ἀστροβλήτρα (?) 119₁
Types: god in oriental military costume 814₃ small male figure embodying thunderbolt (?) 784
Identified with Zeus 12 f. 119,
 See also Index II s.v. 'Thunderbolt'
- Kerberos**
Myths: Dionysos 256 Herakles 469 899₁
Rite: offering of honey-cake 1142₁₀
Type: three-headed 802
Compared with golden hound 1227
- Kerberos**, a Cretan 929₀
- Kerdylion**
Cults: Theos Ἰψιστος 878₀₍₉₎ Zeus Ἰψιστος 906₂
- Keres**
Functions: avenging deities 1101 souls 1101
- Kerkidas** 290₀
- Kerkopes**
Myth: Herakles 1041 f. (?)
- Kerkops**, the Pythagorean 1024
- Keteus** 228₅
- Keyne**, St 117
- Keyx**
Myth: claims that his w. Alkyone is Hera 1088
- Khem**
Type: ithyphallic 772₁
- Khnemu**
Attribute: snake 1084
Type: lion-headed snake with radiate crown 1084
- Khonsu** 126
- Kibuka** 450₁
- Kibyra**
Cult: Zeus 771
 — coins of 771
- Kierion**
Cult: Zeus 743₇
 — coins of 743₇
- Kilikia**
Cult: Zeus Βόρειος 380
 — coins of 1210
- Kinyras**
Myths: buried in sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos 944₀ Myrrha and Adonis 680 848
Genealogy: f. of Adonis 694₀ f. of Myrrha 680
- Kios**
Cults: Demeter Καρποφόρος 815₅ Zeus Ὀλύμπιος καὶ Ἀστραπαίος 815₅
- Kirke**
Myths: Iason 1097₂ Medeia 1097₂
 Odysseus 18₆
- Kithairon**, Mt
Cults: Hera Κιθαιρώνια 898₆ 899₀ Pan 899₀ Sphragitides 899₀ Zeus 581
 Zeus Κιθαιρώνιος 898₆
Festival: Daidala Megala 977₀
Rites: burning of oaken images (δαί-

Kithairon, Mt (*cont.*)

δαλα) on altar of wood piled with brushwood 898₆ 977₀ sacrifice of bulls to Zeus and cows to Hera, these victims being filled with wine and incense 898₆

Myths: singing-match with Mt Helikon 899₀ Zeus pretends marriage with Plataia, d. of Asopos 898₆

Kithairon, king of Plataiai 898₆

Kition in Kypros

Cults: Aphrodite 807₅₍₄₎ Esmun 1095₀ Keraunios and Keraunia 807₃₍₁₎ Theos "Τψιστος 879₀₍₁₆₎ 980₂ Zeus Κεραύνιος 807₅₍₄₎ (Zeus?) Κεραύνιος and (?) Κεραυνία 807₃₍₁₎

Klareotis, a Tegeate tribe 1148 ep. 1149₀

Klaros

Cults: Apollon Κλάριος 489₀₍₄₎ Zeus Κλάριος 873₂

Myth: contest of Kalchas with Mopsos 489₀₍₄₎

Klazomenai, *sarcophagi* of 521₅

Kleagoras 1106

Kleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* 854 ff.Klearchos of Rhegion 739 875₁₍₄₎Kleinis 463₁ 501

Kleite, m. of Kaulon or Kaulos 1042

Kleomachos, s. of Kasos 981₁Kleonai, coins of 892₄ 1079KleopHEMA, w. of Phlegyas 488₀₍₆₎

Kleophrades 733

Kleostratos 1151

Klepsydra, spring on Mt Ithome 890₆Klodonos 133₀Klotho 212₅ 1023Klymene, m. of Phaethon 473₃ 479 (?)Klymenos (= Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎

Klymenos, f. of Erginos

Function: hypostasis of Zeus (?) 1075

Klytaimestra

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Leda and st. of Helene 1015₇

— ghost of, seen in mirror 206₂

Kneph

Cult: Egypt 1127₀

Type: hawk-headed snake 1127₀

Identified with Agathos Daimon 1127₀ 1128₀

Knidos

Cults: Apollon Λύκιος 729₀ Ge 729₀ Zeus 729₀ Zeus Μέγιστος (?) 1157₆ Zeus Μελιχίος 1157

— Triopion at 684₂

Knossos

Cults: Elchanos (?) = Velchanos 948₀₍₃₎ Rhea 520₅ 548 Theos "Τψιστος 879₀₍₁₄₎ two double axes 537 Zeus Έλχάδος (?) = Φελχάδος 948₀₍₃₎

Myths: founded by Hestia 940₀ founds Brundisium 30₃

— ancient grove of cypresses at 520₅ clay seal-impressions from 552₁ 652 coins of 491₀₍₆₎ gold ring from 49 f. incised gem from 623 oath of 731₀

Knossos (*cont.*)

road from, to Idaean Cave 933₀ tomb of Zeus at 695₀ wall-painting from 528 f.

Kodros

Myth: dressed as woodman with double axe or bill-hook 627₆

— on trophy at Delphoi 1137₂

Koios 915_{0(?)}

Kokkygion, Mt

Cults: Hera Τελέια 893₂ Zeus 893₂

Myth: Zeus married to Hera 893₂ — formerly called Thronax (Thornax?), later Kokkyx 893₂

Kokynthos, headland of Brutti 1042 (?)

Kolechis

Cult: Phasis 471

Myth: Phrixos 904₁

Kolechoi

Cult: Diana 411

Myth: Orestes 421₃

— Egyptian *kýrbeis* of 1095₀

Kolikantzaroi See Kallikantzaroi

Koloe

Cults: Apollon Βοζηνός 568 Apollon Ταρσεύς 568 f. Theos "Τψιστος 881₀₍₂₀₎ Zeus Κτήσιος 1067 Zeus Σαβάγιος 285₀

Koloniai

Myth: Kyknos, s. of Poseidon 669

Kolonos

Cults: Athena Πολιούχος 1152₅ Demeter 1152₅ Zeus (?) 1152₅ Zeus Χθόνιος 1154 f.

Myth: Oidipous 1152₅

Kolophon

Myth: Polytechnos 693

Kolotes 1078

Komana in Kappadokia

Cult: Ma 616

— priestly kings at 965₀

Komana in Pontos, priestly kings at 965₀

Koptos

Cult: Horos 450₀

Korakoi (= Philioi Daimones)

Cult: Skythia 1179₁

Etymology: 1179₁ (?)

Kore

Cults: Eleusis 314₀ 314₂ Megalopolis 1178 Megara 1117₇ Nysa in Lydia (?) 564 Paros 131 Phlyeis 1066 Samothrace 314₀ 314₂ Selinous 489₀₍₆₎ Tegea 1140₅

Epithets: Μελιβιοία (?) 1113₀₍₃₎ Παισικράτεια 489₀₍₆₎ Πρωτογόνη 1066

Rite: bridal hymn 132₂

Myths: carried off by Plouton 345₀₍₂₎ consorts with Zeus 1029 Herkyna 1075 Plouton 1103

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Rhea or Demeter 1029 m. by Zeus of the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus 1029 w. of Klymenos (=Hades) 1113₀₍₃₎

Function: Corn-maiden 295₂

- Kore (cont.)**
Attributes: double axe (?) 564 pig 1140₅
 snake (?) 564 torches 1117₇
Type: horned, four-eyed, two-faced 1029
Identified with Phersephone 1029
Associated with Demeter 1113₀₍₃₎ 1178
 Dionysos 120₁ Zeus and Demeter 258₃ 259₀ Zeus, Hera, Demeter Θεσμοφόρος, Baubo 259₀
 — *Kόρης θήρα* (?) near Lebadeia 899₂
 See also Persephone, Phersephone, Proserpina
- Koressos, Mt**
Cult: Zeus 962₃
 — rock-cut throne on 962₂
- Koretas 190₀**
- Korkyra**
Cults: Apollon 730₀ Artemis 457 Demeter 730₀ Zeus 675 f. 730₀ Zeus "Ψάρος 879₀₍₁₂₎ 907₁
 — coins of 906₃ 907₀ coins struck in 675 f. 'Corcyraean whip' at Dodona 826 851
- Koronis**
Myths: bears Asklepios to Apollon at Lakereia 484 bears the second Asklepios to Ischys s. of Elatos 1089 cp. 210₀
Genealogy: d. of Phlegyas 463₁ m. of Asklepios 833₀
- Korybantes (Kyrbantes)**
Cults: Gortyna 723₀ Hierapytna 723₀ Priansos 723₀
Myths: drown cries of infant Zeus 928₀ hide Zeus from Kronos 940₀
- Korybas**
Cult: Haimonioi 295
Rite: Eleusinia 133₀
Identified with Attis 295
- Korykia 901₂**
- Koryphon (Koryphaion), Mt**
Cult: Artemis Κορυφαία 869₁
- Kos**
Cults: Asklapios Καῖσαρ (= Claudius) 1088 Hestia (Histie) Ταμία 19₀ 238₀ Theos Ψύστος 880₀₍₁₂₎ 964₁ Zeus Ίκέσιος 1095₀ Zeus Πολιεύς 238₀
Rite: wearing of white-poplar 470
Myth: Merops 1132₁
- Kosingas 130 505₅**
- Kosmos**
Cult: Orphists 141₁ 827
Type: four-pillared 141₁ 827
- Kotiaieion**
Cult: Zeus Βροντῶν 835₄
- Kottos 1023**
- Kotys, s. of Manes 311 f. with Atys as Dioskouroi (?) 312**
- Koujounlou in Bithynia**
Cult: Zeus Βροντῶν 835₅
- Koula See Koloe**
- Kounados, Mt, in Paros**
Cults: Aphrodite 875₁₍₅₎ Histie Δημίη
- Kounados, Mt, in Paros (cont.)**
 875₁₍₅₎ Zeus Καραβάρης 20₁ (Zeus) "Ψάρος 875₁₍₅₎ 918₂
- Koures**
Rite: Eleusinia 133₀
 — Epimenides as 191 934₀
- Kouretes (Koretēs)**
Cults: Gortyna 723₀ Hierapytna 723₀ Lyttos 723₀ Mylasa 586 f. Priansos 723₀
Epithet: Ἰδαῖοι 296₄
Rites: personate Zagreus 549 sacrifice children to Kronos 548
Myths: clash shields about infant Zeus 961₀ clash weapons to aid Leto against Hera on Mt Solmissos 962₂ drown cries of infant Zeus 928₀ flee from Kronos 549 Labrandos, Panamoros, and Palaxos or Spalaxos 587 rear Zeus on Mt Dikte 929₀ receive infant Zeus from Rhea 931₀ taught to dance by Athena 1029 Mt Sipylos 956₂ wreathed with olive 1029
Genealogy: sons of Zeus 940₀
Function: δαίμονας ἢ προπόλων θεῶν 931₀
Types: Assyrian 938₀ grouped about the child Zeus or Dionysos 1210
Associated with Zeus 938₀ Zeus Κρηταγνής 587
- Kourion in Kypros, silver-gilt bowl from 553**
- Kragaleus 163₀**
- Kragasos 669**
- Kragos, Mt 971₂**
Cults: Kragos 971₂ Theoi "Αγριοι 971₂
 Kragos, eponym of Mt Kragos
Cults: Mt Kragos 971₂ Lykia 972₀
Epithet: ἀστεργής 972₀
Genealogy: f. of Cheleidon 971₂ s. of Tremilos (Tremiles?) by the nymph Praxidike, b. of Tloos and Pinalos 971₂
Identified with one of the Theoi "Αγριοι 971₂ f. Zeus 972₀ 974₀
- Krannon**
Cult: Zeus 833
Rite: rain-charm 831 ff.
Myth: two ravens 832
 — coins of 832 f.
- Krariotai See Klareotis**
- Krastonia**
Cult: Dionysos 114 f.
 Krataiis (= Hekate) 1114₀₍₄₎
 Krateuas, herbal of 395₂
- Kres, eponym of Crete, hides Zeus on Mt Dikte 928₀**
- Kresion, Mt 1147₆**
- Kretenia 922₅ 923₀**
- Krishna**
Cult: India 774₁
Function: solar (?) 774₁
Attribute: lotos 774₁
- Kroisos 311₈ 465**

Kronia, island in Ionian Gulf 555₀
 Kronia, later called Hierapolis 554₃
 Kronion, in Sicily 555₀
 Kronion, Mt, at Olympia 554₂
 Kronion, Mt, in Lakonika 554₂
 Kronos

Cults: Athens 554₂ Byblos 887₀₍₉₎
 Crete 548 f. Delos (?) 920₀ Gaza (?)
 675 Mt Kynthos (?) 920₀ Lebadeia
 899₂ Olympia 554₂ Phrygia 1155 f.
 Sicily 910₀ Solymoi 972₀

Epithets: ἀγκυλομήτης 549 845 Ἀκρι-
 σίας 1156₁ ἀστράπτων καὶ βροντῶν (?)
 558₀ 558₁ βροντοκεραυνοστάτωρ 558₁
 ἡερέεις 557₁ ῥέας πόσι, σμυνέ Προ-
 μηθεύ 549₁ ὑψίπολος 557₁ ὑψίπορος (?)
 557₁

Rites: human omophagy (?) 549 sacrifi-
 ce of children by Kouretes 548
 sacrifice at spring equinox by Ba-
 σιλαι 554₂

Priests: Βασίλαι at Olympia 554₂
Personated by magician (?) 558₀

Myths: bound beneath oak-trees by
 Zeus 1027 buried in Sicily 555₀
 consulted by Zeus 1027 devours
 his children 549 928₀ 933₀ driven
 out by Zeus 941₀ 942₀ driven out of
 Assyria by Zeus, reigns over Italy
 693₄ 694₀ 943₀ founds Byblos in
 Phoinike 552 founds Kronia (= Hie-
 rapolis) 554₃ made drunk on honey
 by Zeus 1027 mutilated by Zeus
 448₁ 685 1027 mutilates Ouranos
 447₃ pursues Kouretes 549 receives
 from Rhea stone instead of Zeus
 793₃ 901₁ reigns over Italy, Sicily,
 most of Libya, and the west 554₃
 reigns over the west 695₀ seeks to
 destroy Zeus 928₀ slays Arsalos,
 Dryos, and Tosobis 972₀ swallows
 stone in place of Zeus 191₁₀ thrust
 down by Zeus below earth and sea
 1020 yields the kingship of Italy to
 Zeus 694₀

Genealogy: f. of Aphros and Cheiron
 by Philyra 695₀ f. of Attis 294 f. of
 Cheiron by Philyra 871₀ f. of Zan
 940₀ f. of Zeus 943₀ f. of Zeus by
 Rhea 941₀ f. of Zeus, Poseidon,
 Hades 785 forefather of Pikos who
 is also Zeus 695₀ h. of Rhea 548
 673 845 s. of Okeanos by Tethys
 1020 s. of Ouranos by Gaia 447₃
 s. of Phanes by Nyx 1026

Functions: dark air 557₁ lightning 558
 mountain 554 pole 557₁ rain 557
 557₁ 558₀ rain, hail, wind, and
 thunderstorms 558₀ sea 557₁ 558₀
 sky 601 1156₂ solar (?) 552 thunder
 and lightning 558₁ water 557₁ winter
 557₁

Etymology: 549 557₁ 660₁ 845 861
Attributes: bulls 553 f. corn-grains (?)
 558₁ disk 552 double axe 553 f.

Kronos (cont.)

601 ἀρέπανον 448, *hárpe* 447₃ 549 f.
 550 553 f. 845 861 head-dress of
 feathers 552 f. sceptre 552 thunder-
 bolt (?) 558₁

Types: aged 861₆ 1030 bald-headed
 861 four-winged 552 f. Janiform 552
 lion-headed (See Ahriman) six-
 winged 552 stabbing lion 553 stand-
 ing with double axe and *hárpe*
 between two bulls 553 f.

Identified with Adonis (?) 886₀₍₃₀₎ Ba'al-
 hammán 554₃ Bel 558₀ Chronos 861
 El 558₀ Ianus 374 Prometheus 549;
 Saturnus 555₀ Tholathes (?) 558₀

Compared with Zeus 554 f.

Confused with Chronos 374

Superseded by Saturnus 550 Zeus 554
 601 845

— imitated by Marcus Aurelius 105₀
 laws of 933₀ pillars of 422 sceptre
 of 1026 sweat of 558₀ tear of 557₁
 tomb of 555₀ 556₀ tower of 36
 52

Kronos, the planet

Functions: δάκρυ 558₀ rain, hail, wind,
 and thunderstorms 558₀ 558₁

Identified with Nebrod (Nimrod) and
 Orion 693₄ 694₀

Kroton

Cults: Hera Λακίω 1021 Muses 1021
 Pythagoras as Apollon Ἱεραβόρειος
 223

Rite: sacrifices to Apollon on seventh
 day of month 237₀

Myth: Pythagoras' eagle 222₄

In relation to Pythagoreans 45

— coins of 225 f. garden of Hera
 Λακίω 1021

Kteatos

Genealogy: b. of Eurytos 317 s. of
 Molione, nominally by Aktor, really
 by Poseidon 1015₃

Ktesios (?) 1066

Kurshumlu in Phrygia

Cults: Phoibos 839 Zeus Βροντῶν 839

Kurtkōi in Phrygia

Cult: Zeus Βροντῶν 835₄

Kyaneai

Cults: Ares Μέγας 101₁ Eleutheria
 Ἀρχηγέτις Ἐπιφανής 101₁ Zeus
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τίτος Αἰλιός
 Ἀδριανός Ἀντωνεῖος Σεβαστός Εὐ-
 σεβής (= Antoninus Pius) 101₁

Kybele

Cults: Mt Ide in Phrygia 950₀ My-
 kenai (?) 1221

Rites: effigy worn by votaries 299 f.
 tat'ooing 123₀

Priests: Archigallus 299 ff. Gallus
 298 f.

Priestesses: chief priestess 301 f.

Genealogy: w. of Zeus 298

Function: mountain-mother 298

Attributes: lion 299 lions 970₀ 1221 (?)

- Kybele (cont.)**
 mural crown 300 pine-tree 951₀
 timbrel 300
Types: seated in *aedicula* with two lions 970₀ standing between two lions with double axe and ritual horns (serpentine?) on her head 1221 (?)
Identified with Agdistis 970₀ Meter Theon 970₀ Rhea 970₀
Associated with Attis 301₁
In relation to Attis 293 842
- Kyklopes**
Myth: slain by Apollon 241₄
Genealogy: sons of Ouranos by Ge 1023
Function: underground smiths 784 805₆
Attribute: lightning 805₆
Types: one-eyed 828 four-eyed 999 monstrous giants 851
 — two, in Albanian folk-tale 999 f.
- Kyklops**
Myth: Odysseus 990 997
Functions: sky (?) 989 f. sun (?) 989 f.
Compared with Zeus 990
 — in folk-tales 988 ff.
- Kyknos, king of Liguria 477 ff.**
Kyknos, s. of Ares
Myth: Herakles 274₀
- Kyknos, s. of Poseidon**
Myth: Hemithea (Leukothea) and Tennes (Tenes) 669 ff.
Genealogy: h. of Philonome 669 h. of Prokleia 669
- Kylikranes tattooed 123₀**
Kyllene
Cult: Asklepios 1078
- Kylon 1138**
Kymak in Phrygia
Cult: Zeus Βροντων 835₄
- Kynados, Mt See Kounados, Mt**
Kynon (leg. Κυνών, sc. πόλις)
Cult: dog 987₀
- Kynortion, Mt 487₃₍₁₎**
Kynosoura in Lakonike 1088 f.
Kynosouris in Thessaly (?) 1089
Kynthos, Mt
Cults: Athena Κυνθία 919₀ 920₀ 921₀ 922₀ Kronos (?) 920₀ Rhea (?) 920₀ 921₀ Zeus Κύνθιος 919₀ 920₀ 921₀ 922₀
 — cistern-mosaic on 919₀ 920₀ 922₀
- Kyparissos**
Myth: 981₁
- Kypris**
Epithet: Διωνάλα (Διανάλα) 351₀
Function: maddens the lover 1164₀
- Kypros**
Cults: Aphrodite Παφία 424 Apollon 246, Ba'al-hammán 1208₂ Dionysos Σαώτης (?) 599₂ Janiform god and goddess 673 tree 157₁ Zeus Ζητήρ 444₇ 1102₈ Zeus Σαώτης (?) 599₂ Zeus Τιμωρός 874₂ 1099₀
- Kypros (cont.)**
 — coins of 424 three-eyed ogre in folk-tale from 995 f.
- Kypselos, chest of 451 739₀ golden Zeus dedicated at Olympia by 737 vow of 737₆**
- Kyrene**
Cults: Artemis 'Αγροτέρα 1177₃ Zeus Εὐβουλεύς 259₀ (Zeus) Φίλιος 1177₃
Festival: Karneia 237₀
 — coins of 708₂ leaden anchor from 876₀
- Kyrene, eponym of the town**
Myth: carried off by Apollon 460₂
- Kyrios Sabaoth 884₀₍₀₎**
- Kyrrhos**
Cult: Zeus Καταιβάτης 15 f. 745₁ 983₁
- Kys**
Cult: Zeus 'Ελευθέριος (= Augustus) 97₀
- Kytissoros 904₁**
Kyzikos
Cults: Hermes 834 Theos "Τψιστος 953₁ Zeus 743₇ Zeus Βρονταίος 833 ff. 852 Zeus "Τψιστος 881₀₍₂₁₎ 953₁ Zeus "Τψιστος Βρονταίος 833 ff. 882₀₍₀₎
Myth: nurses of Zeus 227 f.
 — coins of 180 319₅ 460₂ 743₇
- Kyzikos, personification of the town 319₅**
- Labaro (?)**
Cult: Norba in Lusitania 609₃
- Labranda**
Cults: Zeus Λαβράνδος (Λαμβράνδος, Λαβράνδος, Λαβραδώνδος (?), Λαβραίνδος, Λαβραίνδος (?), Λαβράνδος, Λάβρενδος, Λάβρανδος (?), Λαβρανδέυς, Λαβραδέυς, Λαβρανθηνός) 576 f. 585 ff. 597 846 Zeus Στρατίος 576 ff. 585 591 594 713 722 846 976₀
Priests: distinguished citizens priests for life 576 f.
Etymology: 586 600
 — remains of temple at 588 ff. sacred plane-trees at 590 976₀
- Labrandos, the Koures 587**
Labrantidai 881₀₍₂₀₎
Labrayndos, god of Mylasa 586 ff.
 See also Zeus *Epithets* Λαβράνδος
- Labryandos, the king 588**
Laburus
Cult: Emona 609₃
- Labyadai**
Etymology: 629
 — oaths of 233 233₇ 730₀ sacrifice of 243 f.
- Labyrinth**
Myth: Daidalos 600 f.
Etymology: 600 846
In relation to double axe 600 f.
 — as circular maze-like structure 943₀ as mediaeval maze 601
- Labys 629**

- Lachesis**
Genealogy: d. of Ouranos by Ge 1023
Function: cosmic 316₀
- Lactora** in Aquitania
Rites: *vires escepit* 306₁ *vires tauri*
consacravit 306₄
- Ladicus**, Mt, in Gallaeia
Cult: Iupiter *Ladicus* 320₀
- Ladon**, the dragon 1017
- Lagina**
Cults: Hekate 714₂ Zeus "Τυσιτος 963₆
 Zeus "Τυσιτος και Θεός ο βασιλικός
 879₀₍₁₇₎
- Laïos**, a Cretan 929₀
- Laïos**, f. of Oidipous
Myth: Oidipous 923₀ 1154₃
- Lairbenos**
Cult: Hierapolis in Phrygia 566
Types: radiate bust 566 youthful hero
 on horseback bearing double axe (?)
 566
Identified with Apollon 566 ff. 845
- Lairmenos**
Cults: Badinlar, in Phrygia 567 Dionysopolis
 in Phrygia (?) 566
Type: youthful hero on horseback
 bearing double axe (?) 566
Identified with Apollon 566 ff. 845
 Helios 568 845
- Lakereia** 484
- Lakonike**
Cults: Apollon Κουριδός 322₀ Apollon
 Τερράχειρ or Τερράχειρος 322₀ Apollon
 Τερράωρος 322 Asklepios 1085
- Lakshmi**
Cult: India 774₁
Genealogy: w. of Vishnu 774₁
Attribute: lotos 774₁
- Lambaesis**
Cults: Fons 369₀ Genius Fontis 369₀
 Ianus Pater 369₀ Iupiter Propagator
 Conservator 369₀
- Lamia** 666₂ 828 f. 994₂ 1131
- Lamis** 694₀
- Lammas** 325₃ 326₄
- Lamponeia** 951₀ f.
- Lampsakos**
Cults: Meter Theon Τηπειη 697 Priapos
 464
 — coins of 674₁ Xenophon at 1106 f.
- Laodike** 452 f. 466 501
- Laodikeia** Katakekaumene
Cult: Zeus Βροντών και 'Αστράπτων
 817
- Laodikeia** on the Lykos
Cults: Caracalla 1186 Gaia 1186 Thalassa
 1186 Theos "Τυσιτος (sic)
 882₀₍₂₃₎ Theos "Τυσιτος 968₃ Zeus
 319 f. 319₇ 745₁ Zeus (= Caracalla)
 1186 Zeus 'Αρείς 321₀
Festivals: Deia 320₀ Deia Sebasta Oikoumenika
 320₀
Myth: Zeus nursed by Rhea under
 protection of Kouretes 968₃
 — coins of 319₇ 571 f. 933₀ 1186
- Laodikeia**, personification of the city on
 the Lykos
Types: seated with statuette of Zeus
 in right hand and cornu copiae in
 left 320₀ seated with statuette of
 Zeus in right hand and sceptre in
 left 319₇ standing with phiale in
 right hand and statuette of Zeus
 in left 320₀
- Laodikeia** on the sea
Cult: Zeus 1192
Myth: shepherd struck by lightning
 886₀₍₃₀₅₎
 — coins of 1192 formerly called
 Leuke Akte, and before that Ramitha
 886₀₍₃₀₎
- Laodokos** 452
- Laomedon** 892₅
- Laonoë** See Laonome
- Laonome** (Laonoë) 472
- Lapersai**
Cult: Zeus 'Αγαμέμνων 1069
- Laphystion**, Mt, in Boiotia
Cults: Dionysos Λαφύστιος 899₁ Herakles
 Χάρωψ 899₁ Zeus Λαφύστιος 899₁
- Lapithai**
Myths: Ixion 1088 Periphas 1122 f.
Type: fighting Centaurs 615₂ (?)
 — migration of (?) 1123
- Lapithes**, eponym of the Lapithai
Genealogy: f. (or s.) of Periphas 1122
 1134 s. of Apollon by Stilbe 684₂
 1134 f.
- Lapps**
Cult: Thor (?) 423₃ 533₂
Rites: erection of beam pierced by
 iron nail 423₃ 533₂ sacrifice of bare
 bones 423₃ world-pillars 57₁
- Lar**
Epithet: familiai...pater 1059
Rite: meal 19₀
Genealogy: Larunda progenitus 1059
Identified with Genius 1059
- Larasa** in Media 958₀
- Lares**
Cults: Italy 1059 Rome 401
Epithets: familiares 1059 Querquetulani
 401
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Cult: Apollon *Λαοιστηνός* 958₀
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Cult: Zeus *Λαράσιος* 958₀ ff. Zeus *Λα-
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Cult: Allmendingen 619
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- Megaros**
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Identified with Melqart or Melgarth 1109₀
- Melindia (?)** (= Persephone) 1113₀₍₃₎
- Melindia**, m. of Persephone by Aides king of the Molossoi 1113₀₍₃₎
- Melinoe (?)** 1114₀₍₅₎
- Melinoia (?)** (= Persephone) 1113₀₍₃₎

Melissa*Metamorphosed into bee* 928₀**Melisseus** 928₀ 949₅**Melissos***Genealogy*: f. of the nymphs Adrasteia and Eide (Ide) by Amaltheia 933₀ cp. 928₀**Melitodes** (= Persephone) 1113₀₍₃₎**Melitone** (?) (= Persephone) 1113₀₍₃₎**Melos***Cults*: Theoi Ouranioi 808₀₍₁₂₎ Tyche 1136₄ Zeus Καταιβάτας 16 f. Zeus Κεραίνιος 808₀₍₁₂₎ — coins of 788₀ 1136₄ incised gem from 544 622 terra-cotta relief from 717**Melqart or Melqarth***Identified with Herakles* 762 Melikertes 1109₀ Zeus Μελίχτιος (?) 1109₀**Memnon, s. of Heos***Myths*: golden vine 281₄ *psychostasia* 733 f.**Memphis***Cults*: Nefer-Tem 774₀ ox 987₀*Priest*: Ostanes 701₀**Men***Cult*: Eumeneia in Phrygia 970₀*Epithet*: Άσκαρνός 970₀*Function*: lunar 285₀*Attributes*: moon 285₀ starry pilos 386winged caduceus 285₀*Identified with Attis* 295 298*Associated with Zeus* Σαβάγιος 285₀**Menelaos***Myth*: Helene 1044*In relation to Agamemnon* 447₅— sceptre of 1132₅**Menestratos** 1151**Mercurius***Cults*: Allmendingen 619 Divitia 64₀Gallia Belgica 547₀ Praeneste 397₀*Epithet*: secundus 1088*Genealogy*: b. of Aesculapius secundus 1088*Functions*: summer 62 94₁ Wednesday 70*Attributes*: caduceus 70₁ cock 94₃ goat 70₁ purse 70₁ 94₃ winged cap 70₁ (?)*Types*: running 69₃ running on pillar 69*Identified with Wodan* 59 63₀ 69 94₁ 386₆*Associated with Diana* 67 (?) Iuno and Ceres 1181₀ Iuno, Hercules, Minerva 57 ff. Maia (?) 94 96 Minerva and Iuno 89 cp. 57 ff. Rosmerta 94₃ 547₀ (?) Venus 67**Meridies** 74**Merops, king of Kos***Myths*: Hera (?) 1132₁ Rhea (?) 1132₁Zeus 1132₁*Metamorphosed into bee-eater* (?) 1132₁eagle 1132₁ 1134₀**Merops, seer of Perkote** 1072**Mesraim** See Mizraim**Messana***Cult*: Poseidon 795

— coins of 794

See also Zankle

Messapians 30 31₁ 1159₁**Messene***Cults*: Apollon Κόρυδος 458 Hera 728₀Zeus 1223 Zeus 'Ιθωμάτας 728₀ 741 ff.*Festival*: Ithomaia 741₄

— coins of 741 f. 1222 1223

Messenians of Naupaktos 741**Messogis, Mt***Cult*: Meter 'Ισοδρόμη 957₃**Metaneira** 821₃**Metanoia** 862 f. 863₁**Metapontum***Cult*: Hermes Εἰκόλος 118₃*In relation to Pythagoreans* 45— coins of 667₃**Meter***Cults*: Agra 554₂ 1142₃ (?) Athens 1119₀1142₃ Mt Ide in Phrygia 950₀ Ikonion970₀ Magnesia ad Sipylum 729₀ MtMessogis 957₃ Mt Sipylos 956₂Smyrna 729₀*Epithets*: Βοηθική 970₀ Διόνυμῆνη 970₀ἐν Ἄγρας 1119₀ 1142₃ (?) 'Ιδαία 950₀970₀ 'Ισοδρόμη 957₃ Πλαστήνη 956₂Σιπυληνή 729₀ 970₀*Associated with youthful páredros, at**once her consort and her child* 294Zeus 950₀ Zeus Μελίχτιος 1142₃

See also Mater, Mater deum, Meter

Theon, Mother of the gods

Meter Theon*Cults*: Eumeneia in Phrygia 970₀Ikonion 970₀*Epithets*: "Αγγιστις (= "Αγδιστις) 970₀"Ανγδιστις (= "Αγδιστις) 970₀*Identified with Kybele* 970₀

See also Mater, Mater deum, Meter,

Mother of the gods

Methydrion*Cult*: Zeus 'Οπλόσμος 290₀*Myth*: Hopiadamos (Hoplodamos?)protects Rhea against Kronos 291₀**Metion** 1146**Metis***Myth*: swallowed by Zeus 12 348₂*Genealogy*: d. (?) of Erebos and Nyx 315₄**Metis (masc.)***Epithet*: πρώτος γενέτωρ 1028*Function*: βουλή 1024*Etymology*: 1025*Identified with Erikepaios* 1024 1039

Eros 1039 Phanes 1024 1026

1032 1039 Protogonos 1039 Zeus

1028

In relation to Protogonos (?) 1025 Zeus

1025

Meton, the astronomer 1130₀**Metrodoros, portrait-herm of** (with Epi-

kourous) 390

Michael, St

Epithets: "Άγιος Ἀσώματος 894₃

Myth: cleft of Chonai 115

Types: pillar of fire 115 weighing souls 138₀

Supersedes Zeus 894₃ 895₀

— well of 115

Midas

Myth: Attis 969₄ 970₀

Etymology: 312₅

Midgardh-serpent 305₀

Mid-Lent, folk-celebrations of 863

Miletos

Cults: Apollon 457 Apollon Βραχχιάτης 255 Apollon Δελφίνιος 237₀ Apollon Διδυμεύς 1220 Apollon Δρύμας 486₅ Apollon Θύϊος 250 Artemis Χιτώνη 410₁ Asklepios 1228 Demos of Rome 1228 Διός Ἐλπίδες 962₀ Ἀγιώπατος Theos Ἰψιστος Σωτήρ 879₀₍₁₇₎ Hestia 1220 Hestia Βουλαία 317₂ Roma 1228 Zeus Βουλαῖος 317₂ Zeus Δουσάρης Σωτήρ (?) 317₂ Zeus Καταιβάτης 962₀ Zeus Κεραίνιος 1228 Zeus Κεραίνιος Σωτήρ 962₀ Zeus Λαβραῖνδεις 1228 Zeus Λαβραῖνδιος 962₀ Zeus Λαβραῖνδος 1228 Zeus Λαβρένδιος 962₀ Zeus Λαράσιος 962₀ Zeus Λέψυνος 962₀ Zeus Νόσιος 317₂ Zeus Ὀλύμπιος Πεισαῖος 962₀ Zeus Ὀμοβούλιος 962₀ Zeus Σωτήρ 317₂ Zeus Τελεσιουργός 1228 Zeus Τερμινθεύς 962₀ Zeus Ἰψιστος 879₀₍₁₇₎ 963₂

Festivals: Διός βοῦς 318₀ Ebdomaia 237₀

Myth: Neleus, s. of Kodros 405 ff.

See also Didyma near Miletos

Miletos in Crete, *lárnaξ* from 49 f.

Miliche

Cult: Thespiai 1151

Milichus

Genealogy: s. of a Satyr by the nymph Myrice 1110₀

Type: horned 1110₀

Identified with Ba'al Milik (Melek, Molok) (?) 1110₀

Milky Way 37 ff.

Myths: Furious Host 62₁ golden rope 1211 Gwydion 52 Iring 52 Kyknos 477 ff. milk-white lily 49₁ Phaethon 476 ff.

Types: hoop 39₀ starry circle 39₀ wavy band 48 f.

Identified with Hades 42 43

In relation to sky-ladder 476 sky-pillar 476 sun 40₃

— conceived as celestial counterpart of terrestrial road 497 844 conceived as celestial river 479 ff. 516 1219 conceived as celestial road 36 ff. 476 f. 1028 conceived as celestial tree 482 f. 1219 conceived as crown 119 f. conceived as original course of sun 40 conceived as path for

Milky Way (cont.)

gods 117 conceived as path for souls 37 ff. 840 conceived as reflection of solar rays 40 conceived as road of the birds 38 462 conceived as rope 44 1211 conceived as source of all rivers 481 conceived as track made by falling star 40 40₁ 43₁ 476 conceived as two golden bull's-horns 117 1028 constellations traversed by 477₃ names of 37 f. 52 62₁ 66₀ 119 f. 464 479 ff. 480₀ 482 482₂ 484 497₁

Milon, the physicist 11

Miltiades

Associated with Athena and Apollon 1137₂

Mimallones 133₀Mimir 305₀

Min

Cult: Egypt 767₂

Functions: heaven 767₂ thunder 767₂

Minerva

Cults: Allmendingen 619 1221 Rome 369₀ 401₀ Urbs Salvia 803

Personated by Sali (?) 376₁

Assimilated to Athena 66₀

Associated with Fortuna 95₁ 96 Hercules and Iuno 89 Iuno, Mercurius, Hercules 57 ff. cp. 89 Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Caelestinus* and Fontes 401₀ Liber and Hercules 1181₀ Mercurius and Iuno 89 cp. 57 ff.

Functions: spinning 65 66₀ weaving 66₀ winter 65 94₁

Identified with Holda 65 66₀ 94₁

In relation to Fortuna 95

— helmet of 95₁

'Minoans' in Iapygia 30 f. snake-goddess of, compared with Gorgon 930₀ thalassocracy of 830₁

Minorca 541

Minos

Epithet: Διός μεγάλου βασιστής 940₀

Myths: buried in precinct of Rhea on Mt Juktas (?) 944₀ dedicates cup to Athena Πολιάς and Zeus Πολιεύς at Lindos 923₀ descends into Dictaeon Cave and returns with laws of Zeus 929₀ killed at Kamikos 30 prays Zeus for an omen 8 pursues Britomartis 939₁

Metamorphosed into Mt Juktas 939₁

Genealogy: f. of Glaukos 1087 f. of Katreus and gf. of Althaimenes and Apemosyne 923₀ s. of Zeus 8 793₇ s. of Zeus by Europe 342₀ 929₀

Functions: human Zan (?) 945₀ human Zeus (?) 940₀ 944₀ lawgiver 929₀ 940₀ priestly king of Knossos 944₀

Superseded by Zeus 940₀

— tomb of 940₀ 945₀

Minotaur

Type: stone-throwing 491₀₍₆₎

Minyans as Aeolians 1149₃ at Orchomenos in Boiotia 924₀

Minyas

Cult: Orchomenos in Boiotia 1150₉
Personates Zeus (?) 1150
Myth: Orchomenos in Boiotia 1150
Genealogy: f. of Orchomenos 1150₅ s. of Aleos 1150₅ s. of Ares 1150₅ s. of Eteokles and b. of Orchomenos 1150₅ s. of Orchomenos 1150₅ s. of Poseidon by Chrysoگونه d. of Halmos 1150₄
 — *thēlos*-tomb of 1150

Misa 131

Mithras

Cults: Borcovicium 1053 Carnuntum 1194₄ Persai 255 Rome 307₀ 835₆ 838f. Sahin in Phoinike 886₀₍₃₀₎
Epithets: *Deus Sol Invictus* 835₆ 1194₄
Rites: ladder 129₁ women excluded 1053
Worshippers: *heliodromus* 312₅ *pater* 312₅ *pater patrum* 307₀ *Perses* 312₅
Attribute: starry *pilos* (?) 386
Types: emerging from rock with egg-shell above him, knife in right hand, torch in left, all within oval zodiac 1053 slaying bull 511 (fig. 390)
Identified with Apollon 255 Helios (?) *Ἀνίκητος* (?) 886₀₍₃₀₎ *Sol Invictus* 307₀ 1194₄

Mizraim 35

Mneme

Cult: Philadelpheia in Lydia 1229

Mnemon 670

Mnemosyne

Genealogy: m. of Muses by Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* 1157₀

Mochua, St 214₀

Modena, Orphic relief at 1051

Modin 1146₀

Moesia

Cult: Theos *Ἐψώστος* 878₀₍₁₁₎ 949₁

Mogontiacum 93

Cults: Genius 96₂ Genius loci 620₂ Iuno Regina 96₁ 96₂ Iupiter *Optimus Maximus* 96₁ 96₂ Suaeclus 620

Moirai

Function: cosmic 316₀
Attribute: roll 479
Type: reading roll 479
Associated with Keraunos 119₁ Zeus and Erinys 1102₇

Moirai

Cults: Athens 231₈ Delphoi 231 Olympia 231₈ 878₀₍₅₎
Myths: Dictaeon Cave (?) 929₀ Themis 37₁
Genealogy: daughters of Ouranos by Ge 1023
Type: two standing figures 231
Associated with Apollon 231 Themis 37₁ 929₀ Zeus 231
 — as attribute of Zeus 1138₆

Molione

Genealogy: d. of Molos 1015₈ m. of Kteatos and Eurytos, nominally by Aktor, really by Poseidon 1015₈

Moliones

Epithets: *λευκίππους κόρους... ἄλικας ἰσοκεφάλους* (A. Meineke cj. *ἰσοφάλους* J. M. Edmonds cj. *ἰσοκαρέας*), *ἐνιγυῖους* 1015

Myth: born in silver egg 1015

Genealogy: sons of Molione, nominally by Aktor, really by Poseidon 1015₈

Type: with two heads, four hands, four feet, one body 1015₈

Moloch

Cult: Byblos 887₀₍₀₎
Rite: sacrifice of first-born 1108₂
Functions: human king regarded as divine (?) 1108₂

Molos, f. of Molione 1015₈

Molpadia

Myth: Kastabos 670 f.

Molpos 670

Moneta 99₁

Monimos

Cults: Arabia 428 f. Baitokaike 431 Edessa 428

Etymology: 428

Identified with Hermes 428

Mopsion (?) in Pelasgiotis

Cult: Zeus *Περφερέτας* or *Φερφερέτας* 496₀

Mopsos

Myths: contest with Kalchas 489₀₍₄₎ fights Amphilochos 489₀₍₄₎ 490₀₍₀₎ 1130₁ founds Mallos in Kilikia 489₀₍₄₎

Morges 934₀

Morsynos 260₀

Morychos 1093₀

Mosa See Mousa

Moses 889₀₍₀₎ 972₁

Mossynoikoi tattooed 123₀

Mostene

Cults: Demeter (?) 564 Hermes *ψυχοπομπός* (?) 563 f. youthful hero on horseback bearing double axe, with cypress-tree before him, sometimes radiate, or flanked by sun and moon, or escorted by Hermes 563 f.
 — coins of 563 f. 657₅

Mot

Genealogy: child of Aer and Chaos 1038 parent of Zophasemin 1038

Etymology: 1023 1038

Mother of the gods

Cults: Athens 985₀ Dorylaeion 281 Hierapolis in Phrygia 306₁ Pessinous 310 f. 310₂ Phrygia 697 970₀
Epithets: *Διὸς σύνθωκος* 298₂ *μεγάλη* 298₂ *παρθένος ἀμήτωρ* 298₂ *Πεσσινουρίας* 970₀ *Ἐρηϊή* 697
Festivals: *arbor intrat* 303₂ Hilaria 306₁
Priests: *ἀρχιερείς* 311₃ Attis and Baktakes 310 f. *ἱερεῖς* 311₃

- Mother of the gods (cont.)**
Worshippers: Ἄραβοκαὶ 310₂
Myth: instructs Idaean Daktyloi in iron-working 949₅
Genealogy: m. and v. of Zeus 298₂
Identified with Agdistis 970₀ Rhea 970₀
 — mysteries of 310₂
 See also Mater, Mater deum, Meter, Meter Theon
- Motos (?)**
Genealogy: child of Aer and Aura 1036 1038
- Mounychia**
Cults: Artemis 115 Bendis 115
- Mousa**
Cult: Thespiai 238₀
 See also Muses
- Mouth**
Cult: Egypt 1038
Etymology: 1038
- Muhammed** 793₄
Mukasa 450₁
- Muses**
Cults: Arkesine 1157₀ Kroton 1021 Makedonia 255₃ Megara 1139₀ Mt Pelion (?) 870₀
Genealogy: daughters of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος by Mnemosyne 1157₀
Type: Lysippos 1139₀
Associated with Zeus 898₅
 See also Mousa
- Myiacoires**
Cult: Elis 783
- Myiagros**
Cult: Aliphera 782
Myth: Hercules 783
- Myiagrus** See **Myiagros**
- Myiodes**
Cult: Olympia 783
- Mykale** See **Panionion**
- Mykenai**
Cults: Hera 515 Kybele (?) 1221 Rhea (?) 515 525 1221
Rite: cannibalism 1021
 — gold *bucrania* from 538 652 654 gold rings from 47 ff. 49₁ 652 head from 123₀
- Mykonos**
Cults: Acheloius 1092₂ Apollon Ἐκατόμβαιος 1092₂ Zeus Βουλεύς 258₃ 1105
- Mylanteioi Theoi** 260₀
- Mylasa**
Cults: Hera 592 Kouretes 586 f. Tyche Ἀγαθή 879₀₍₁₇₎ Zenoposeidon (Zanopoteidan) 578₄₍₁₁₎ 582 663 846 963₇ Zeus 574 1220 Zeus Ἀρσηλῆς (?) 559₆ Zeus Κάριος 577 Zeus Κρηταγενής 586 f. Zeus Λαβράνδος 663 848 963₇ 1220 (See also Labranda *Cults*) Zeus Ὀσογῶα 576 ff. 578₄₍₃₎ 579₀₍₈₎ (10–12) (14–16) (1–5) 580₀₍₇₎ 663 846 963₇ 1220 Zeus Ὀσογῶα Ζηροποσειδῶν (Ζανποσειδῶν) 578₄₍₂₎ (4) Zeus Ὀσογῶα Zeus Ζηροποσειδῶν
- Mylasa (cont.)**
 578₄₍₃₎ (5–7) 579₀₍₉₎ Zeus Ὀσογῶα Σωτήρ καὶ Εὐεργέτης τῆς πόλεως 579₀₍₁₃₎ (?) Zeus Ὀσογῶος (?) or Ὀσογῶου (?) 579₀₍₁₁₎ (1) Zeus Ὀσωρονδέων 579₀₍₂₎ 580 f. 580₁₀₍₁₎ 581₀₍₅₎ (1–5) Zeus Στράτιος (Στρατεῖος) 591₂ 963₇ (See also Labranda *Cults*) Zeus Ὀψιστος 879₀₍₁₇₎ 963₇
Festival: Taurophonía 582
Priests: dedicate temple-columns 580 νεωκόροι 582
Myth: sea-water appears inland 581 — as Carian place-name 958₀ coins of 572 ff. 577 f. 592₄ 597₃ 1220 head of Zeus from 597 f. relief at 592 stepped tomb at 1146₀₍₆₎
- Mylasos** 715 720₄
- Mylitta** 960₀
- Myndos**
Cult: Zeus Ἀκραῖος 872₀₍₆₎ 963₄
- Myra**
Cult: Artemis Ἐλευθέρα (?) 681₁
Rite: tree threatened 680 ff.
Myth: Myrrha (?) 681 f.
 — coin of 680 f.
- Myrice**, m. of Milichus 1110₀
- Myrike**, d. of Kinyras 681₁
- Myrmidones**
Cult: Zeus Ἐλλάδιος 894₃
- Myron** 742 1078
- Myrrha**
Myth: Kinyras 680
- Myrrhinous**
Cults: Apollon 730₀ Demeter 730₀ Zeus 730₀
- Mysia**
Cults: Phanakes 1025 Zeus Κάριος 577
- Mystis** 346₀
- Mytilene**
Cults: Apollon Μαλόεις 488₀₍₂₎ Asklepios 259₀ 1079 Dionysos 1022 Dionysos Ἐβδομεύς 238₀ Theoi Akraioi (?) 873₀₍₁₀₎ Theos Κεραῖνος Ὀψιστος 807₃₍₃₎ 882₀₍₂₂₎ Theos Ὀψιστος 882₀₍₂₂₎ Zeus 882₀₍₂₂₎ Zeus Ἀκραῖος 922₃ Zeus Βουλαῖος 259₀ 873₀₍₁₀₎ (?) Zeus Ἐλευθέριος Φιλόπατρος (=Theophanes) 97₀
Rite: human sacrifice 1022
 — coins of 259₀ 1079 votive ladders at 130
- Naassene hymns** 294 ff.
- Nabu**, statue of, at Calah 1089
- Naiades** See **Nymphs: Naiades**
- Naiissos**
Cults: Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Pater-nus Aepilofius* 948₄ Zeus Ἐπιλόφιος 875₀ Zeus Πατρόφος Ἐπιλόφιος (?) 948₄
- Nakoleia**
Cults: Theos Ὀψιστος 882₀₍₂₃₎ 969₁ Zeus Ἀβοζήνός 570 Zeus Βροντῶν 835₄ Zeus Βροντῶν καὶ Πατήρ Θεός

Nakoleia (cont.)

836₂ Zeus Βροντῶν Νευήτων Πατήρ
836₃ Zeus Πάπας or Παπᾶς 292₄

Nana, d. of Sangarios 969₄

Nandi 791₂

Nanna, w. of Baldr 305₀

Napoca

Cult: Jupiter *O(ptimus) M(aximus) Tavianus* 754₁

Narce in the Faliscan district, celt from 509

Narona

Cult: Aesculapius 1086

Násatia 313

Nastrand 305₀

Nauplia

Cult: Zeus Κραταιβάτης 32 1211

Nauplios 691

Naxos

Cults: Dionysos Βακχεύς 1093₀ Dionysos Μελίχιος 1092₀ 1093₀ Dionysos Μουσαγέτης 250 Zeus Μηλώσιος 918₁

Festival: Megala Dionysia 250₁

Neapolis in Campania

Cults: Apollon 486₅ Virbius 421

— coins of 486₅

Neapolis in Karia

Cult: Zeus 260₀

— coin of 260₀

Neapolis in Samaria

Cults: Artemis Ἐφεσία 408₀ f. Asklepios 1080

— coins of 408₀ f. 887₀₍₃₁₎ 1080

Neapolis in Skythia (?) 925₀

Neaule (= Nea Aule)

Cult: Zeus Σαουάξιος (= Σαβάξιος) Νεαυλείτης 285₀

Nebrod See Nimrod

Neda, the nymph 890₆

Nefer-Tem

Cult: Memphis 774₀

Function: rising sun 774₀

Attribute: lotos 773₀ 774₀

Type: with lotos-flower on head 774₀

Nehemāuit 409₀

Neilos

Epithet: πολύγονος 1023

Identified with Eridanus the constellation 1025 Okeanos 1025

— as seed of Osiris 482₀

Nekhen, spirits of 126

Neleus, b. of Pelias 317

Neleus, s. of Kodros

Myth: Miletos 405 f.

Nemausus, ham-shaped coins from fountain at 1141₀

Nemea

Etymology: 892₄

Nemea, the festival 490₀₍₅₎ 1226

Nemeseis

Cults: Alexandria 889₀₍₃₃₎ Smyrna 524 864₀

Type: drawn by griffins 524 two draped females touching bosom of dress

Nemeseis (cont.)

with right hand and holding short rod in left 863₁ 864₀

Nemesis

Cults: Alexandria 864₀ Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191₅ Sinope 363

Epithets: *multiformis* 695₀ ὑπέρδικος 464

Metamorphosed into goose 1015 1131₁

Genealogy: m. of Helene by Zeus 1131₁

Function: *stádion* 1191₅

Attributes: crown with stags 146 griffin 146₇ knife 863₁ scales 860 f. 863₁ stag 146₇ wheel 863₁ 1095₀

Types: trampling on Hybris 863₁ under arch 363

Identified with Semiramis 695₀

Assimilated to Kairos 863₁

Compared with Spes, Amor, Furor, Occasio, Fortuna, Fata 862₁₀

Nemi

Cults: Diana 393 399 f. 403₁ Diana *Nemorensis* 149 417 ff. 842 f. Virbius 392 ff.

Rite: rule of succession to office of king-priest 394 f.

Priest: *rex Nemorensis* 394 f. 399 f.

ξιφήρης 680₃

— Diana's tree at 417 ff.

Nemroud Dagh

Cults: Tyche Νέα 1136₄ Zeus Ὀρομάσδης 980₆

Neo-Platonists 41 f. 256 f. 557₁

Neoptolemos

Myth: Delphoi 170₂

Neo-Pythagoreans 1032 f.

Neptunus

Cult: Allmendingen 619

Associated with Vires 306₄

— on column of Mayence 96 99

Nereus

Attribute: trident 788₀

Nero

Cult: Alexandria 1128₀

Epithets: Ἀπόλλων 98₀ Ἀπόλλων Κτίστης 98₀ Ἡρακλῆς 98₀ νέος Ἄγαθος Δαίμων 98₀ 1128₀ νέος Ἥλιος 98₀ δ' Ἄγαθος Δαίμων τῆς οἰκουμένης 98₀ 1128₀

Personates Agathos Daimon 98₀ 1128₀

Apollon 98₀ 254 1128₀ Dionysos 96₃

97₀ 254 1128₀ Zeus 97₀ 1194

— contorniate medal of 1128₀

Nerthus 82

Nerva

Personates Zeus 1194

Nestor 1203₃

Netteia

Cults: Zeus Ἀταβύριος 925₀ (Zeus) [Ἰκέ]σιος (?) 1096₀

New Year's Day, pagan rites of, denounced by Christians 374₂

Nida See Ide, Mt, in Crete

- Nikaia in Bithynia**
Cults: Pan 349 Zeus Ἄσ(σ)τραπαῖος 815₅ Zeus Αἰταῖος 1099₂ 1100₀ Zeus Μήλιος 918₁
 — coins of 349 918₁ 1099₂
- Nike**
Cults: Heleia 931₀ Olympia 1100₁ Philadelphia in Lydia 1229
Attributes: palm 866 wreath 866 1082
Types: bearing wreath 964₂ fastening helmet to trophy 110₆ flying with fillet 197₁ hovering 261 multiplied for decorative purposes 309 on globe 860₈ 964₂ on ship's prow 254₄ Paionios 86 Pheidias 758 849 wreathing city's title 1193₁
Associated with Zeus 853 1100₁
In relation to Zeus 982₀
 — of gold 1190
- Nikolaos, St**
Cult: Palaikastro 931₀
Function: sea-faring 997
- Nikomedeia**
Cult: Glykon 1084
 — coins of 1084
- Nikopolis in Moesia**
Cults: Souras (?) 818₂₍₂₎ 822₁₂ Zeus Κεραῖνος 808₀₍₉₎
- Nile** See Neilos, Nilus
- Nilus, the constellation** 481
- Nimrod (Nebrod)**
Myth: Zoroastres 33 f.
Identified with Orion and the planet
 Kronos 693₁ 694₀
- Nineui (Nineveh)** 693₄
- Ninos**
Genealogy: h. of Semiramis Rhea 693₄ 694₀
Identified with Pikos who is also Zeus 695₀
- Niobids** 475 475₇
- Nisaia, port of Megara**
Cult: Demeter Μαλοφόρος 488₀₍₃₎
- Nisyros**
Cults: Aphrodite 1157₃ Dionysos 1157₃ Hermes 1157₃ Zeus Μιλιχίος 1157₃
Worshippers: Ἀφροδισιασταὶ Σύροι 1157₃ Διονυσιασταὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι 1157₃ Διοσμυλχιασταὶ 1157 1157₃ Ἐρμαῖζοντες 1157₃
Myth: Poseidon 713
- Noah, axe of** 609 f.
- Nomos**
Associated with Zeus 1029
- Norba in Latium, celt from** 509
- Norba in Lusitania**
Cult: Labaro (?) 609₃
- Noricum**
Cult: Anigeminus 338₃ Ianus Geminus 324
- Norsemen** 57₁
- Notion** 958₀
- Notos**
Type: horse 830₇
 — in Phoenician cosmogony 1037 f.
- Nox** 74
- Nuada Argat-lám** 224₁ 450₀
- Numa Pompilius** 23₂
- Numina Augustorum**
Cult: Borcovicium 51₁
- Nuserat in Mysia**
Cult: (Dionysos) Βρόμιος 882_{0(w)}
- Nut** 1035
- Nykteus**
Genealogy: f. of Antiope 1013 f. of Kallisto 228₅
- Nymphs**
Cults: Athens 1118 Gortyna 723₀ 731₀ Hierapytna 723₀ Lyttos 723₀ Prianosos 723₀ Sybrita 731₀
Associated with Acheloios 1118 Vires 306₄
 — Dodonides: Polyhymno 1022 Dryades 276 683 f. Epimelides 31₁ Forrinae 808₀₍₁₇₎ Geraistian 183 f. Hamadryades 486 Heliades 42 485 (?) Hesperides 134₁ 1017 1021 1030 Hyades 274 f. Ithome and Neda 890₀ Meliai 447₈ 933₀ Naiades 124₄ 394₃ 933₀ Naiades: Amaltheia 932₁ Nysai 272 f. Okeanides 473₃ Phryxonides 928₀ Querquetulanae Virae 402₀ Sithnides 897₁ 1117₇ Sphragitides 899₀ Thourides 255₃ Tritonides 898₈ as nurses of Dionysos 1030 as nurses of Zagreus 1030 transform two maidens into fir-trees 486
- Nymphs' Hill at Athens** 1114
- Nysa, Mt** 449₀ cp. 272
- Nysa in Lydia**
Cult: Kore (?) with snake (?) and double axe 564
 — coins of 564 801
- Nysa, the nymph** 272
- Nysai** 272 f.
- Nysaia** 273
- Nyseia** 273
- Nysus**
Myth: rears Liber 1031
- Nyx**
Cults: Ephesos 1021 Megara 257₄
Epithet: μελανόπτερος 1020 1050
Myths: consulted by Zeus 448₁ 1027 1029 cosmic egg 1039 1050 Delphoi 238₄ Kronos 448₁
Genealogy: d. and w. of Phanes 1026 m. by Erebos of Aither, Eros, Metis 315₄ m. of Eros 1020 m. of Eros by Aither 1051 m. of Eros by Erebos (?) 1050 f. m. of Furies 825 m. by Phanes of Ge or Gaia and Ouranos, Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus 1026
Functions: prophecy 257₄ 448₁ 1027 1029 queen 1026
Type: archaic 1021
 — oracle of 257₄ sceptre of 1026
- Oaxes, 929₀**

Oaxos 929₀ See also Axos

Oecasio 862 f.

Oceanus, the constellation 481

Oche, Mt

Cult: Zeus superseded by St Elias 902₁

Myth: union of Zeus with Hera 902₁

Oerisia

Etymology: 1156₅

Octavianus See Augustus

Odessos in Thrace

Cult: Theos Megas 1126₀

— coins of 1126₀

Odhin

Myths: fights the fire-demon Surtr 305₀ hangs on the tree as a sacrifice to Odhin 305₀ overcomes by Fenrir 305₀ rides down to Mimir's well 305₀ rides through the hall of serpents on Nastrand 305₀

Genealogy: f. of Vidharr 305₀

Attribute: broad hat 386

Type: one-eyed 682

Odrysi

Cult: Dionysos 269₁ 661 f. (?)

— coin of 661 f.

Odysseus

Myths: axes as marriage-test 690 Kyklops 990 997 offers meal to dead 18₈ prays Zeus for omen 8 Telegonos 676 923₀ Telephos 1184₃ tree-bed 690

Functions: fire-god (?) 697 hero 698

sun-god (?) 697

— raft of 906₃

Oea in Tripolitana 360₂

Ogur (Ogut) in Galatia

Cult: Zeus Βροντων 835₅

Ogygos 824₆

Oichalia 902₂

Oidipodeion at Eteonos 1152 1154

Oidipodes (= Oidipous) 1154₃ 1154₅

Oidipous

Cult: Eteonos 1151 ff.

Myths: as explained by S. Freud 451₀

Eteonos 1152 Keos 1152 Kolonos

1152₅ Laïos 923₀ summoned by

Zeus Xθόνιος 829 Thebes 1152

Metamorphosed into snake (?) 1155

Genealogy: f. and b. of Eteokles and

Polyneikes 825₂ s. of Laïos 1154₃

Function: hypostasis of Zeus Xθόνιος (?) 1154

Etymology: 1152 f.

Type: anguiform 1152 ff.

Compared with Melampous 1153₁ Zeus

Μελίχιος 1154

— grave of 1154

Oineus 1137₂

Oinoanda

Cult: Theos Τψιστος 879₀₍₁₆₎

Oinomaos, house of, at Olympia 706

808₀₍₁₅₎ sacrifice of 706

Oistros (?) 1041

Oite, Mt 903₂ 1226

Cults: Herakles 903₂ Zeus 903₂

Myths: Dryope 486 pyre of Herakles

941₀ (?) (T. Faber *op. cit.* *Afrvns*)

— meadows that might not be mown on 903₂ pyre of Herakles on 903₂

Oitosyros (Goitosyros, Gongosyros), the Seythian Apollon 293₀

Okeanos

Epithets: ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν γένεσιν θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων 481₀ ἀψόρροος 481₈ θεῶν γένεσις 481₀ καλλιρροος 1020 μέγας 1027 δς περ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται 481₀ πατήρ 1021

Myths: Hera 343₀ Themis 37₁

Genealogy: f. of Leuke 468 f. of

Phorkys, Kronos, Rhea, etc. by

Tethys 1020 h. of Tethys 473 cp.

343₀ s. of Ouranos by Ge 1020

Functions: celestial river 516 seed of sky-god (?) 481₀

Types: recumbent with head-dress of crab's-claws 665₃

Identified with Eridanus the constellation 1025 Neilos 1025 Osiris 481₀

— at first none other than Milky Way 481 garden of 1021 woods of

Persephone beyond 472

Olaf, St 135

Olbia

Cult: Apollon 493₀₍₇₎

— coins of 493₀₍₇₎ leaden bucrania and double axes from 540

Olbia, m. of Astakos 665₃

Oleiai 924₀

Olen 455

Olenos in Aitolia

Cult: Zeus 933₀

Myth: Zeus nurtured by goat Amaltheia 933₀

Olenos, s. of Zeus by Hippodameia d. of Danaos 1150₂

Olor, the constellation 477 477₈

Oloous

Cult: Zeus Ταλλαίος 948₁

— oath of 730₀ treaty of 934₀

Olymos

Cults: Apollon 586₂ Artemis 586₂

Olympe, coins of 161 ff. 499

Olympia

Cults: Agnostoi Theoi 1100₁ Ares (?)

706₅ Hephaistos 706₅ Hera 706₅

Hermes 231₈ 878₀₍₆₎ Hermes Έναγώνιος 859 Heros 897₀ Kairos 859

Kronos 554₂ Moirai 231₈ 878₀₍₆₎

Myiodes 783 Nike 1100₁ Pelops 471

Zan 349 Zeus 349 757 ff. 849 916₀

947₀ 955₀ 1078 1222 1224 Zeus

Ἀρῆμιος 783 Zeus Ἀρειος 706 Zeus

Ἐρκείος 808₀₍₁₅₎ Zeus Καθάρσιος

1100₁ Zeus Καταιβάτης 21 Zeus

Κεραύνιος 808₀₍₁₅₎ (Zeus) Μοιραγέτας

231₈ Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 758₀ 761 Zeus

Ὀρκιος 722 726 f. Zeus Τψιστος 231₈

878₀₍₆₎ 891₂ Zeus Xθόνιος 1100₁

Olympia (cont.)

- Rites*: altar of Zeus made of ashes from thighs of victims 955₀ at first no victor received wreath 466 bull sacrificed to Myiodes 783 oath on cut pieces of boar 726 f. ox sacrificed to flies 782 victor receives wreath of wild-olive 467
- Priests*: *μάντεις* 466₀ *ξύλεός* of Zeus 471
- Myths*: Herakles and the flies 783 Herakles brings wild-olive from land of Hyperboreoi 466 Pythagoras' eagle 222₄ Pythagoras' golden thigh 224₀
- altar of Zeus at 21 *Áltis* at 915₂ coins of 741 757 ff. 780 f. 849 1224 house of Oinomaos at 706 808₀₍₁₅₎ *Zâves* at 349
- Olympia, the festival at Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191 f.
- Olympia, the festival at Olympia 490₀₍₆₎
- Olympia, the festival at Prousa ad Olympum 964₂
- Olympieion at Athens 1118 ff. 1135 1229 f.
- Olympieion at Megara 1138₅
- Olympieion at Polichna near Syracuse 916₀ 917₀
- Olympion at Agrigentum 911₀ ff.
- Olympos, Mt, in Arkadia 761
- Olympos, Mt, in Elis
- Cult*: Zeus (?) 758 891₁
- Olympos, Mt, in Kilikia 980₂
- Olympos; Mt, in Kypros 980₄
- Olympos, Mt, in Lykia, fire springing from ground on 972₁
- Olympos, Mt, in Makedonia 904₀ 905₀ 906₀ 1227
- Cults*: St Elias 906₀ Zeus 904₅ 1227 cp. 760
- Epithet*: *μακρός* 1026
- Myths*: heaven and earth once met on its summit 905 Otos and Ephialtes 129 stars come down at night upon it 905₀ 1211 Zeus binds golden rope to it 1211
- gods on summit of 853 remains of altar on 1227
- Olympos, Mt, in Mysia
- Cult*: Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 953₂
- Myth*: boar 311₈
- Olympos, town in Lykia
- Cults*: Athena 972₁ Hephaistos 972₁ Zeus 972₁
- coins of 972₁
- Olympus (?), s. of Iupiter by the nymph Chalcea 973₁
- Omichle
- Genealogy*: m. of Aer and Aura by Pothos 1036 1038
- Omphale
- Myth*: Herakles 559 560₈
- Omphalian Plain 190
- Omphalos in Crete 190
- Onatas 947₀
- Onetor 950₀
- Onnes 569₂
- Onomakritos 1229
- Onoskelis 666₂
- Ophiouchos See Ophiuchus
- Ophis, king of Salamis 1087
- Ophites 307₂ 558₀ 653
- double axe in diagram of 610 f.
- Ophiuchus 241₄ 1087
- Ophrynon
- Myth*: Hektor's bones 961₀
- Xenophon at 1107 1157
- Opis (fem.) 452 501 1226
- Opis (masc.) 452 f.
- Orchia (?) in Lakonike
- Cult*: Apollon 'Ορχιεύς 439
- Orchomenos in Arkadia, coins of 228₅
- Orchomenos in Boiotia
- Cults*: Asklepios 1085 Charites 238₀ 1150₁₀ Dionysos 899₁ Hera *Τελέια* 1150 Hermes 1150₀ Minyas 1150₀ Zeus *Καπατός* 873₂ 898₄ Zeus *Μελιχχος* 1149 Zeus *Σωτήρ* 1151 Zeus *Τέλειος* 1150
- Festival*: Agrionia 164₈ 924₀
- Rite*: burial within the house 1060
- Myth*: Minyas 1150
- Orchomenos, eponym of Orchomenos in Boiotia
- Genealogy*: f. of Minyas 1150₅ s. of Eteokles and b. of Minyas 1150₅ s. of Minyas 1150₅
- Orchomenos, s. of Zeus by Hesione or Hermppe 1149 f.
- Ordion 1015
- Oreithya
- Myth*: Boreas 380
- Genealogy*: d. of Erechtheus 444 m. of Zetes and Kalais by Boreas 444
- Oresteion near Megalopolis 1178 in Skythia 1178 f.
- Orestes
- Epithet*: *Ξιφήρης* (?) 680₃
- Myths*: Apollon 206₂ 1042 (?) Artemis 680 Athena 1098₄ Delphoi 206₂ exile in Oresteion near Megalopolis 1178 Kolchoi 421₃ pursued by Furies 206₂ Rhegion 680 848 Telephos 1179₈ 1183
- Genealogy*: s. of Agamemnon 1179
- Functions*: human Zeus (?) 1179 hypostasis of Apollon (?) 453
- Etymology*: 453 1179
- Associated with* Pylades 1179
- Orestia, a division of Megalopolis 1178
- Orgas, river-god 408₀
- Orikos, coins of 161 ff. 499
- Orion
- Cult*: Persia 35
- Epithet*: *Ξιφήρης* 680₃
- Identified with* Nebrod (Nimrod) and the planet Kronos 693₄ 694₀
- Orion, the constellation 430 483₂ called *Σκεραπνέα* 547₀

Ormelle

Cult: Zeus Κτήσιος 1067
— astragalomantic inscription from
807₆₍₅₎ 1067

Orontes, personification of the river
1209₅

Orontes, the river in Syria

Myth: Kyparissos 981,
— formerly called Drakon 1187

Oropos

Cults: Amphiaraios 1070 ff. Apollon (?)
1071 Hygieia 1072 Pan 1072 Zeus
Ἀμφιάραος 232 1061 1070 ff.

Rite: incubation 232

— Amphiareion near 1071 f. coins of
1071 f. temple-inventory of 346₀

Oros, king of Troizen 414₂

Orpheus

Epithet: χρυσάωρ 716

Myths: Eurydike 1022 head floats to
Lesbos 290₀ slain by Thracian
women 121

Genealogy: s. of Kalliope 1024 s. of
Polymnia 1022

Attribute: sword 716

Types: death 121₃ head 290₀ in
Christian art 1208 Polygnotos 122₀
with Eurydike and Hermes 211₂

Orphic Dionysos See Dionysos

Orphic Eros See Eros

Orphic Herakles See Herakles

Orphic Zeus See Zeus

Orphists 117 ff. 131 ff.

Cults: Anemoi 141, 827 Brontai 141,
827 Kosmos 141, 827

(See also Aither, Chronos, Demeter,
Dionysos, Erikepaïos (Erikapaïos),
Herakles, Kouretes, Nyx, Ouranos,
Pan, Phanes, Phersophone, Proto-
gonos, Rhea, Titanes, Zagreus,
Zeus, Zeus ἀσραπίος, Zeus Κερα-
νίος, etc.)

Myth: Zagreus 838

Rites: ladder 124 ff. seething in milk
217

— gold tablets of 118 ff. numerical
speculation of 236₅ soul-path of
114 117 ff. theogonies of, shown in
conspicuous 1033 f.

Orthosia, coins of 572 572₂

Ortygia near Ephesos

Myth: birth of Artemis 962₂

Ortygios, s. of Kleinis 463₁

Oscan road-makers' tablet 1158

Oschophoria 1092

Osiris

Cults: Denderah 773₀ Philai 773₀

Rite: effigy buried in pine-tree 303₂

Myths: attacked by Titans 1030 cut
up by Typhon 1030 head floats to
Byblos 290₀ ladder of Râ 126 wooden
phallós 224₁

Genealogy: s. of Râ 126

Function: moisture 557₁

Attribute: lotos 773₀

Osiris (cont.)

Type: mummy 773₀

Identified with Attis 294 f. Dionysos
252 Liber 244₁ Nu 126 Okeanos

481₉ Ptah 34₁

— seed of 482₀

Ossa the messenger of Zeus 904₃

Ossa, Mt 1227

Cult: Zeus "Οσσαίος (?) 904₃

Myth: Otos and Ephialtes 129

Ostanes 699₇

Cult: Hermopolis 701₀

Osthanes See Ostanes

Ostia

Cults: Attis 297 ff. Attis Μηρορύπανος
303₂

— hall of Dendrophori at 297 Me-
troion at 297 298

Othin See Odhin

Othryades 111₀

Otokondeis 581

Otos 129 f. 130₁ 317

Otos (?) See Motos (?)

Ouiaros, Mt See Viarus, Mt

Oulomos

Genealogy: f. of Chousoros 1037 f. s.
of Aither and Aer 1037 f.

Etymology: 1037

Oupis = Opis (fem.) 452₁₁

Ourania, the Carthaginian goddess

Cult: Epidauros 487₃₍₁₎

Ouranios 889₀₍₆₎

Ouranos

Epithets: ἀσραπέος 1023 μέγας 1023

Myths: flings his sons into Tartaros
1023 mutilated by Kronos 447₈
Titanes 1023

Genealogy: b. of Zeus 940₀ f. of Aphro-
dite 1029 f. of Eros by Ge 315₄ f.
by Ge of Klotho, Lachesis, Atropos,
the Hekatoncheires Kottos, Gyges,
Briareos, and the Kyklopes Brontes,
Steropes, Arges 1023 f. of Kabeiroi
954₀ f. of Kronos 447₈ f. of Oke-
anos and Tethys by Ge 1020 f. of
Titanes by Ge 1023 h. of Gaia 447₈
s. of Phanes by Nyx 1026

Function: ἐκπύρωσις 557₁

— sceptre of 1026

Ousoös 981₁ (?)

Ouxenton

Cults: Ianus (?) 386₁ Janiform

Athena (?) 386₁ Janiform Roma (?)

386₁

— coins of 386

Oxylos 486

Oxyrhynchite nome

Cult: Athena 625

Padus 476

Paenitentia 863

Pagai, port of Megara

Cults: Artemis Σώρεια (?) 488₀₍₃₎

Demeter (?) 488₀₍₃₎

— coin of 488₀₍₃₎

- Pagasai**
Cults: Dionysos Πέλεκυς (not Πελεκᾶς or Πελεκῆνος, nor Πελάγιος) 660
 Epidotai 321₁
- Pagasos** the Hyperborean 169
- Paiones**
Cults: Dionysos Ἀυαλός (?) and Δύαλος 270
- Paionia**
Cults: Artemis Βασίλεια 500 Bendis 500 f. Dionysos Δύαλος 250₄
- Paionios** 86
- Palaia Gargaros** 951₀ f.
- Palaikastro**
Cult: St Nikolaos 931₀
 — excavations at 930₀ 931₀ 932₀
 hymn to Zeus Δικταῖος from 931₀ 932₀ *lárnax* of painted earthenware from 524 529 845 stone moulds from 623 ff. 654
- Palaimon** 490₀₍₅₎
- Palaistinos**, s. of Malkandros 986₀
- Palamedes** 691 902₀
- Palaxos** or **Spalaxos**, the Koures 587
- Palazzola** (Palazzuolo) 1146₀
- Pales** (masc.)
Function: one of the Penates 1059
- Palestine**
Rite: burial within the house 1059
- Palicus**
Metamorphosed into eagle 909₀
Genealogy: s. of Volcanus by Aetna 909₀
- Palikoi**
Cult: Sicily 909₀
Rite: human sacrifice 909₀
Myth: 909₀
Genealogy: sons of Adranos (the Syrian Hadran) 910₀ sons of Hephaistos 910₀ sons of Zeus by Aitne 909₀ sons of Zeus by Thaleia, d. of Hephaistos 909₀
Functions: *nautici dei* 909₀ volcanic springs 909₀
Etymology: 909₀
 See also Palicus
- Palladion** 963₀ 1044
- Palmyra**
Cults: Iaribolos 885₀₍₂₉₎ Theos Μέγας Σαλλοντος (? J. H. Mordtmann ej. Ἀμμονδάτω: see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 290) Ἐνεουάρης (?) 885₀₍₂₉₎ Zeus Μέγιστος Κεραίνιος 807₅₍₁₎ Zeus Μέγιστος Ἐψιστος 983₂ Zeus Ἐψιστος 885₀₍₂₉₎ 983₂ Zeus Ἐψιστος καὶ Ἐπήκοος 885₀₍₂₉₎ 886₀₍₁₎ 983₂ Zeus Ἐψιστος Μέγιστος Ἐπήκοος 885₀₍₂₉₎ 983₂
- Palodes** 348
- Pan**
Cults: Aule 249₂ Mt Kithairon 899₀ Megara 1117 Nikaia in Bithynia 349 Pelousion 986₀
Epithets: Μέγας 347 ὀρεβάρης 869₀ death of Pan 347 ff.
- Pan** (*cont.*)
Genealogy: s. of Hermes by Penelope 691
Types: androgynous with golden wings and heads of bulls and snake 1022 f. double bust (boy-Pan with girl-Pan) 392 double bust (with Maenad) 392 goat-footed 270₃ with goat's legs and horns 124₂ horned 1117₇ playing lyre 157₀
Identified with Attis 296 Phanes 1051 Protoponos 1023 1039 Zeus 349 1023 1024 1039
Associated with Amphiaraios and Hygieia 1072 Harpokrates 986₀
In relation to Erinys 1102₇
Supersedes Zan (?) 347 ff.
 — cave of, at Aule in Arkadia 249₂
- Panakra** 933₀
- Panamara**
Cults: Asklepios 1066 Hekate Σώτεια 879₀₍₁₇₎ Tyche 1066 Tyche of Antoninus Pius 879₀₍₁₇₎ Zeus Καπετώλιος 879₀₍₁₇₎ Zeus Κτήσιος 1066 Zeus Παράμαρος 587 963₈ Zeus Πανήμερος 963₈ Zeus Πανήμερος 963₈ Zeus Ἐψιστος 879₀₍₁₇₎ Zeus Ἐψιστος 963₈
- Panamoros**, the Koures 587
- Panathenaia** 1121₀ 1135 ff.
- Pandion**
Genealogy: f. of Teuthras 1151
- Pangaion**, Mt
Myth: Orpheus taught by Kalliope 1024
 — oaks on 411₆
- Panhellenia** 1119₄ See also Megala Panhellenia
- Panionion**
Cults: Hera 259₀ Zeus Βουλαῖος 259₀
- Pannonia**
Cult: Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Heros* 823₁₍₂₎
 — coin of 323₂ (?)
- Panope** in Phokis 1132₆
- Panormos** near Kyzikos
Cults: Apollon 882₀₍₁₀₎ Artemis 881₀₍₂₁₎ Dionysos (?) 882₀₍₁₀₎ Hekate (?) 882₀₍₁₀₎ Persephone (?) 881₀₍₂₁₎ Zeus Ἐψιστος 881₀₍₂₁₎ 882₀₍₁₀₎
- Pantikapaion**
Cult: Angistis (= Agdistis) 970₀
Etymology: 1025
 — leaden *bucrania* and double axes (?) from 540
- Pantikapes**, river in Sarmatia 1025
- Pantokrator**, Mt
Cult: Zeus (?) 907₀
- Papaio**
Cult: Skythia 889₀₍₁₀₎
 See also Zeus *Epithets* Παπαῖος, Πάπας or Παπᾶς, Παπῆας, Παπῶος
- Papanios**, a Scythian river 295₀
- Papas**
Cult: Phrygia 292 ff. 313 836

- Papas (cont.)**
Identified with Zeus Βροντῶν 836 883₀₍₁₀₎
In relation to Attis 317 Kybele 842
 See also Zeus *Epithets* Παπαῖος, Πάπας
 or Παπᾶς, Παπίας, Παπῶος
- Paphlagonia**
Cults: Augustus 729₀ Ge 729₀ Helios
 729₀ Zeus 729₀
- Paphos**
Cult: Aphrodite 783₃ 944₀
Myth: Kinyras 944₀
- Pappas** 296₄
 See also Papas
- Papylos** 1101₃
- Paramythia**, bronze statuettes from 503₀
 746₂ 752 f.
- Parasū-rāma** 660₁
- Paris**
Myths: judgment 262 266 Mt Gargaron
 (Gargara) 950₀
In relation to Hektor 447₅
 Parmenides 120₃ 315₃ 316₀ 432
 — journey of 42 f. 43₁ 476
- Parnassos, Mt**
Cults: Apollon 257 453 Dionysos 257
 Zeus Λυκῶπειος 901₂ 902₀ Zeus
 Φύξιος 902₀
Myths: Deukalion 902₀ Semnai 19₀
 — view from summit of 901₂
- Parnes, Mt**
Cults: Zeus Ἀπήμιος 897₀ 898₀ Zeus
 Ὀμβριος 897₀ 898₀ Zeus Παρνήθιος
 897₀ Zeus Σημαλέος 4 897₀
 — Harma on 831₀
- Paros**
Cults: Aphrodite 875₁₍₅₎ Athena Κυ-
 θία 922₀ cp. 1227 Baubo 131 Demeter
 Θεσμοφόρος 131 St Elias 875₁₍₅₎
 Hera 131 Histie Δημήτη 875₁₍₅₎ Kore
 131 Zeus Εὐβουλεύς 131 259₀ Zeus
 Καταυβάτης 19 f. (Zeus) Ἴπταρος
 875₁₍₅₎ 918₂
Rite: uninitiated persons and women
 may not enter precinct of Zeus
 Ἴπταρος 875₁₍₅₎
 — Delion at 1227 rock-carvings at
 1117₇
- Parthenon**, east frieze of 1135 ff. east
 pediment of 261 710₁ 753 f. metope
 from north side of 1044
- Parthenopaios**
Myth: swears by his spear 131 547₂
 Parthenos = Virgo, the constellation 399₁
 Parthenos, d. of Staphylos
Myths: Boubastos 671 Kastabos 670
- Pas (Pa?)** as equivalent of Πατήρ, Pater
 293₄
- Pasargadaī** 974₁ 1145_{1(c)}
- Pasianax** (= Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎
- Pasikrateia** See Kore *Epithets* Πασι-
 κράτεια
- Pasiphae (Pasiphaa)**
Cult: Thalamai 31
Genealogy: d. of Helios 947₀
- Pasiteles** 1101₃ (?)
- Passaron**
Cult: Zeus Ἀπειος 706
- Passienus Crispus** 403₁
- Patara**
Cults: Apollon 210 921₀ Zeus 921₀
 — coin of 186 *omphalos* at 167 votive
 lions at 921₀
- Patrai**
Cult: Iupiter Liberator (Nero) 1214
 — coins of 1214
- Paul, St**
Types: 'Dioscuric' 606 1209₂ on cha-
 lice of Antioch 1202₀ on gilded
 glass 1207
Associated with St Peter 606 1207 1209₂
 — alludes to Sandas (?) 571₂ is taken
 for Hermes 1096₄
- Pautalia**
Cult: Zeus 743₇
 — coins of 743₇ 821
- Pax**
Attributes: caduceus 98 olive-branch 98
Identified with Virgo 734₃
 — on column of Mayence 96 98
- Paxoi** 347
- Pe, spirits of** 126
- Pedasa** 958₀
- Pegasus, the horse**
Myths: Bellerophon (Bellerophon-
 tes) 721₂ 1018 birth from neck of Me-
 dousa 716 ff. flight upward to Zeus
 716 718
Genealogy: b. of Chrysaor 317 716 ff.
 1018
Functions: bearer of thunder and
 lightning for Zeus 716 721 828 830-
 7 1017 rain 721₅ thundercloud (?) 721₆
Types: winged horse 1040 winged
 horse approaching constellation
 1017₄ winged horse with Eros
 emerging from its head 1040 wing-
 less horse 717₂
- Pegasus, the constellation** 1017₄ 1018₀
- Peion, Mt** 962₂
- Peiraeus**
Cults: Agathe Tyche 1104 f. Apollon
 487₃₍₁₎ Asklepios 487₃₍₁₎ 1105
 1107₅ (?) 1107₆ (?) 1173 Hermes
 487₃₍₁₎ Maleates 487₃₍₁₎ Zeus Κρή-
 σιος 1065 f. Zeus Λαβράδυνδος 585₃
 Zeus Μειλίχιος 1104 ff. 1117 1142
 1173 ff. Zeus Φῶλιος 1104 1173 ff.
- Peirene** 1018
- Peisistratidai** 1229 f.
- Peitho**
Associated with Aphrodite 261 1044
 (fig. 893)
- Pelagones** 588₀
- Pelargus or Pelasgus**
Myth: 1096₄
- Pelasgians**
Cult: Zeus Ἐρεχθεύς (?) 793₈
Etymology: 588₀
 — at Dotion 683 at Knidos 683 in
 Thessaly 683 681₂

- Pelasgos**
Myth: buried at Argos 114₂
Genealogy: f. of Lykaon 109₆₄
- Pelasgus** See Pelargus
- Peleg** 588₀
- Pelegon**, s. of Axios 588₀
- Pelethronion** 1087
- Peleus**
Myths: fights Calydonian boar 799
 teaches Achilles to use double spear
 799 Thetis tests his sons in caldron
 of apotheosis 212
- Pelias**
Myth: caldron of apotheosis 211
Genealogy: b. of Neleus 317
- Pelinnaion**, Mt
Cult: Zeus Πεlinnaίος 922₄
- Pelion**, Mt 869₂ 869₃ 1226
Cults: Cheiron 869₂ 871₀ Muses (?)
 870₀ Zeus Ἀκραῖος 869₃₍₁₎ (on p.
 871) 904₂ Zeus Ἀκραῖος 869₂ 870₀
 904₂
Rite: procession of men clad in fleeces
 to sanctuary of Zeus Ἀκραῖος 870₀
Myths: Asklepios 1087 Otos and Ephialtes
 129
 — remains on summit of 870₀ 871₀
- Pella** in Makedonia
Cult: Zeus 1187₄
 — Alexandros of Abonou Teichos at
 1083 coins of 1187₄
- Pelops**
Cult: Olympia 471
Rite: wood of white-poplar used for
 sacrifices at Olympia 471
Personates Zeus (?) 1147
Myths: caldron of apotheosis 211
 ivory shoulder 224 224₁ sceptre of
 Zeus 547₂ 956₂ f. Mt Sipylos 956₂
Genealogy: f. of Atreus 957₀ f. of
 Sikyon 1146 f. of Thyestes 1021 f.
 of Troizen and Pittheus 414₂ s. of
 Tantalos 438 957₀
 — sceptre of 956₂ 1132₄ 1132₆ throne
 of 956₂
- Pelousion**
Cults: Harpokrates 986₀ Kasios 986₀
 987₀ onion 987₀ Pan 986₀ Zeus
 Κάσιος 985₁ ff. Zeus Κάσιος Μέγιστος
 (?) 985₁
Rite: taboo on onions 986₀ f.
Myth: founded by Isis 986₀
 — coins of 986₀
- Pelousios**, eponym of Pelousion
Myth: nurtured by Isis 986₀
Genealogy: s. of Malkandros 986₀
- Penates**
Cults: Italy 1059 Lavinium 1068 Rome
 1181₀
Epithet: *Publici Populi Romani* 1181₀
Rite: meal 19₀
Function: divinised ancestors (?) pro-
 tecting the *penus* 1068
Type: *caducei* of iron and bronze
 together with Trojan pottery 1068
- Penates** (*cont.*)
Identified with Fortuna, Ceres, Genius
 Iovialis, and Pales (masc.) 1059
Compared with Agathos Daimon 1127₀
 Hermes 1068 Zeus Κτήσιος 1068
In relation to Ianus 335
 — rendered by θεοὶ Πατρῶοι or Γε-
 νέθλιοι or Κτήσιοι or Μύχιοι or
 Ἐρκιοὶ (*leg.* Ἐρκεῖοι) 1068
- Peneios**, f. of Stilbe 684₂
- Penelope** (Penelopeia)
Cult: Mantinea (?) 691 f.
Myths: axes as marriage-test 690 848
 rescued from sea by wild ducks 691
Genealogy: m. of Pan by Hermes 691
Functions: a divinised duck 691 f. 697
 a form of Artemis (?) 691 heroine
 698
Etymology: 691
Identified with Artemis (?) 691 f.
- Penelope** (Penelopeia), a nymph 691₀
- Penteskuphia**, votive *pinakes* from 786
- Penthesileia** 303₂
- Pentheus**
Function: divine king 303₂
Etymology: 303₂
- Penthilos** 303₂
- Pepromene** 1138₅
- Peratai** 558₀
- Perephoneia** See Persephone
- Pergamon**
Cults: Aphrodite Παφία 424 Apollon
 729₀ Ares 729₀ 955₀ (Artemis) Ταυρο-
 πῆδος 729₀ 955₀ Asklepios 954₀ 956₀
 1077 1079 f. Asklepios Σωτήρ 956₀
 Athena 882₀₍₀₎ 954₀ 955₀ Athena
 Ἄρεια 729₀ 955₀ Athena Νικηφόρος
 287₂ 955₀ Augustus 1179 1182 Com-
 modus 1185 Demeter 729₀ 955₀
 Dionysos 954₀ Dionysos Καθηγεμῖν
 287₂ 288₀₍₀₎ (?) 1184₁ Gaia 1185 Ge
 729₀ 955₀ Geta 1186 Helios 729₀
 955₀ 1185 Hestia Βουλαία 259₀ Ju-
 piter *Amicalis* (= Zeus Φίλιος) 1179 f.
 Kabeiroi 953₃ f. Poseidon 729₀ 955₀
 Roma 1179 1182 Selene 1185 Tha-
 lassia 1185 Theos Ἐψιαστος (= Zeus?)
 882₀₍₀₎ 956₀ Trajan 1179 ff. Zeus
 729₀ 882₀₍₀₎ (?) 954₀ ff. Zeus (= Com-
 modus) 1185 Zeus (= Geta) 1186
 Zeus Ἀσκληπιός 1061 1077 f. Zeus
 Βάκχος (= Zeus Σαβάξιος) 287 287₂
 288₀ 954₀ 1184 Zeus Βουλαῖος 259₀
 Zeus Εὐαγγέλιος 956₀ Zeus Κεραῖνιος
 808₀₍₈₎ 956₀ Zeus Κτήσιος 1067 Zeus
 Μέγιστος 956₀ Zeus Μέγιστος Σωτήρ
 956₀ Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 956₀ Zeus
 Σαβάξιος 287₂ 954₀ 1184 (See also
 Zeus Βάκχος) Zeus Σωτήρ 955₀ Zeus
 Τροπαῖος 110₀ 956₀ Zeus Φίλιος 956₀
 1178 1179 ff.
Festival: Traianeia Deiphileia 1180
Rites: altar of Zeus made of ashes
 from thighs of victims 955₀ sacrifice
 of two-year-old heifer to Athena,

Pergamon (*cont.*)

three-year-old ox to Zeus, to Zeus Βάχχος, and to Asklepios, and feast of bull's flesh 287₂ 954₀

Priest: *ιεροφάντης* 1067

Myths: birth of Zeus 954₀ Pergamos 1184 Telephos 1179

— aqueducts of 956₀ art of 862 Asklepieion at 1077 coins of 260₀ 424 633₂ 953₃ 955₀ 956₀ 1079 f. 1082 1181 f. 1184 ff. great altar at 399₁ 684 831₁₍₄₎ 953₃ 1179₆ open-air altar of Zeus Φίλιος at 1180 paraphernalia of diviner from 512 riddance of plague at 954₀ temple of Zeus' *Ἀσκληπιός* at 1077 Traianum at 1179 f.

Pergamos, eponym of Pergamon 1184

Perikles

Personates Zeus 816₁

Periklymenos (= Plouton) 1113₀₍₂₎

Periklymenos, f. of Erginos

Metamorphosed into eagle 1134₀

Function: hypostasis of Zeus (?) 1075

Periklymenos, s. of Poseidon 1071

Perillos 924₀

Perinthos

Cults: Zeus *Λοφέιτης* 874₁ 949₃ Zeus *Σάραπς* 773₀

— coins of 560₃ 665₃ 773₀

Periphas

Personates Zeus 1121 ff.

Myth: 24, 1061 1121 ff.

Metamorphosed into eagle 1122 1131 1134₀

Etymology: 1122 1122₅ 1122₇

— both Attic autochthon and Thesalian king (?) 1123

Periphas, s. or f. of Lapithes 1122 f. 1134

Perkúnas

Cult: Romöve 93

Perpetua, St 133 f.

Persephassa See Persephone

Persephatta 132₂

See also Persephone, Phersephone, Proserpina

Persephone

Cults: Eleusis 132₂ Emporion 1040

Panormos near Kyzikos (?) 881₀₍₂₁₎ Sicily 1040 Tarentum 1141₀

Epithets: *εἰαρωή* 295₂ *ἐπαινή* 893₀ *Μελνδία* (?) 1113₀₍₃₎ *Μελίνοια* (?) 1113₀₍₃₎ *Μελιτώδης* 1113₀₍₃₎ *Μελιτώνη* (?) 1113₀₍₃₎ *ξανθή* 1164₀

Rites: tree decked as maiden, brought into town, mourned forty nights, and then burnt 303₂ union with Zeus 132₂

Myth: consorts with Zeus 132₂ 1029

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Rhea or Demeter 1029 m. by Zeus of Meilinoe (?) or Melinoe (?) 1114₀₍₆₎ m. by Zeus of the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus 1029 m. by Zeus of the

Persephone (*cont.*)

first three Dioskouroi (Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, Dionysos) 1135₄

Functions: chthonian queen 132₂ spring 557₁

Etymology: 295₂

Attributes: corn-wreath 370 pig 1141₀ vervain 395₂

Types: bifrontal 370 head with flowing hair 110₀ rape by Plouton 801

Identified with Axiokersa (?) 314₂

Associated with Zeus *καταχθόνιος* 893₀

In relation to bees and honey 1142₇ Demeter 501

— marriage with 1164 ff. name of, taboo 1114₀ plant of (vervain) 395₂ woods of 472

See also Persephatta, Phersephone, Proserpina

Perseus 108

Perseus

Myths: Akrisios 1155 1155₇ Danaë 671 1018 Hyperboreoi 463 f. Ione 1186 f. Medousa 716 ff. 1018 sacrifices to Zeus' *Ἀκροδάντιος* 892₄ Tarsos 570, teaches Persians to worship fire 1187

Genealogy: s. of Danaë 464 s. of Pikos by Danaë 1187₂ s. of Pikos who is also Zeus 694₀ s. of Zeus 665₁ s. of Zeus by Danaë 694₀

Function: solar 1156

Attributes: *disks* 1155 f. *hárpe* 721₇ 1084 *kibisis* 718 lobster 665₁ sickle 721₇; sword 721₇; winged *caduceus* 718

winged cap 718 winged sandals 718

Assimilated to Hermes 718

Perseus, the constellation 464 477₈

Persia

Cults: fire 33 ff. Mithras 255 sky 354 Zeus 33

Rite: sacrifice of horses 890₂

Myth: cosmic egg 1036

— kings of, regarded as divine 853

r for l in 588₀

Perun

Attribute: iris 774₄

Pessinous

Cults: Agdistis 970₀ Attis 970₀ Magna Mater 969₄ Mother of the gods 310 f. 310₂

Myths: Agdistis 969₄ 970₀ Attis 969₄ 970₀

— priestly kings at 965₀

Petelia

Cult: Zeus 708 f.

— coins of 708 f.

Peter, St

Attribute: keys 1200₃ 1200₄

Types: 'Dioscuric' 606 1209₂ in Catacombs 1200₄ on chalice of Antioch 1200₄ 1202₀ on gilded glass 1207

Associated with St Paul 606 1207 1209₂

Petrachos, Mt

Cult: Zeus 901₁

Petrachos, Mt (*cont.*)

Myth: Kronos receives from Rhea stone instead of Zeus 901₁

Petrus and Marcellinus, Catacomb of 1207
Phaethon

Myths: fall from chariot of Helios 40 43₁ 484 Milky Way 40 43₁ 476 ff. parallel from Pomerania 483 f. sisters turned into larches 402₀

Genealogy: s. of Helios by Klymene 473₃

Type: fall from chariot of Helios 473 478 479

Identified with Phanes 1026 1051

In relation to Milky Way 40 43₁ 483

Phaiakia

Myths: called Δρεπάρη, Δρέπανον, Ἄρρη after the δρέπανον of Kronos or Zeus, or after the δρέπανον or ἄρρη of Demeter 448₀, peopled from blood of Ouranos 448₀

Identified with Korkyra 448₀

— river in 481₆

Phaidra

Myth: Theseus and Hippolytos 1043

Phaistos

Cults: Velchanos 946₀ 947₀ Zeus Φελχάνας 946₀ 947₀

Myth: Idomeneus 947₀

— celt from 509 coins of 491₀₍₆₎ 946₀ 947₀ double axe at 600₃

Phalakrai, a promontory in Euboea 874₂ (on p. 875)

Phalakron, a mountain near Argos (?) 874₂ (on p. 875) 893₁

Phalakron, a promontory in Korkyra 874₂ (on p. 875) 1226

Phalakron (Phalakra, Phalakrai), the summit of Mt Ide in Phrygia 874₂ (on p. 875)

Phalaris, bull of bronze made for 910₁ 924₀

Phalces, the Corallian 108 f.

Phalces, s. of Temenos 110₄

Phalces, the Trojan 110₄

Phaleron

Cults: Acheloios 183 f. Apollon Πύθιος 183 Artemis Λοχία 183 Eileithyia 183 f. Geraistian birth-nymphs 183 f. Hestia 183 f. Kallirhoe (Kalirroe), d. of Acheloios 183 Kephisos 183 f. Leto 183 Rhapsos 183 f.

Phallagogia 1022

Phanakes

Cult: Mysia 1025

Phanes

Cult: Thracο-Phrygians (?) 1025

Epithets: αὐτόγονος 1026 μονογενής 1026 πρωτόγονος 1026 (See also Protogonos)

Myths: sprung from cosmic egg 1023 f. swallowed by Zeus 1027

Genealogy: f. by Nyx of Ge or Gaia and Ouranos, Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus 1026 f. of Zeus 1051 parent and h. of Nyx 1026

Phanes (*cont.*)

Functions: creator 1026 1033 εφόρος τῆς ζωογένου δυνάμεως 1025 light 1024 1026 light or daylight or sunlight 1025

Etymology: 1025

Attributes: sceptre 1051 thunderbolt 1051

Types: αἰδοῖον ἔχων ὀπίσω περὶ τὴν πυγὴν 1024 f. androgynous 1026 nude youth standing in oval zodiac with egg-shell above and below him, wings on his shoulders, crescent on his back, heads of lion, goat, ram attached to his body, cloven hoofs, and snake coiled about him, bearing thunderbolt and sceptre 1051

Identified with Antauges 1026 1051 Dionysos 1026 1051 Erikepaïos 1024 1039 Eros 1026 1039 Eubouleus 1026 Helios 1051 Metis (masc.) 1024 1026 1032 1039 Pan 1051 Phaethon 1026 1051 Priapos 1026 Protogonos 1026 1039 1051

Assimilated to Dionysos (?) 1051 Helios 1051 Pan (?) 1051 Zeus 1051

Compared with Christ 1026

In relation to Zeus 1051

— sceptre of 1026

Phanotos 217₂

Phaselis

Cults: Ge 729₀ Helios 729₀ Zeus 729₀

Phata in Lydia

Cult: Theos Ὑψίστος 881₀₍₂₀₎

Phaunos

Genealogy: s. of Zeus 694₀ 943₀

Identified with Hermes 694₀ 943₀

Phaidias 475₇ 479₆ 598 737 746₀ 753 757 ff. 760 f. 849 862 f. (?) 916₀ 921₀ 1078 1135 1137₂ 1138₅ 1188 f.

— career of 757₈

Phemonoe 350₁

Phene

Metamorphosed into vulture 1122 1122₄

Etymology: 1122₅

Pheneos

Cult: Demeter Κίδαπλα 1136₄

Festival: τελετή μελίζων 1136₄

Rite: beating of Underground Folk with rods 1136₄

Pherekydes of Syros 315 f. 344₀ 351 852

Phersephone

Cult: Anazarbos 14₃

Type: horned, four-eyed, two-faced 1029

Identified with Kore 1029

— bridal chamber of 1164₀ 1164₂

See also Persephatta, Persephone, Proserpina

Phigaleia

Cult: Dionysos Ἀκρατοφόρος 244₄

Philadelpheia in Lydia

Cults: Agathos Daimon 1229 Agdistis (Angdistis) 1228 f. Aphrodite 363 Arete 1229 Charites 1229 Eudai-

Philadelphiea in Lydia (*cont.*)

monia 1229 Hestia 960₀ 1229
Hygieia (?) 1229 Ianus 374 Mneme
1229 Nike 1229 Ploutos 1229 Theoi
Σωτήρες 960₀ 1229 Theos "Υψιστος
881₀₍₂₀₎ Tyche 'Αγαθή 1229 Zeus
Εὐμένης (= Eumenes i) 960₀ 1229
Zeus Κορυφαῖος 285₀ 869₁ 957₁
1217 f. Zeus Σωτήρ 1228 f.

Rite: procession of Ianus on *Kalendae
Ianuariae* 374
— coins of 363 869₁

Philai

Cults: Osiris 773₀ Zeus 'Ελευθέριος
(= Augustus) 97₀

Philandros, s. of Apollon 218₀

Philemon

Myth: 1096₄

Philia

Cult: Athens 1163

Genealogy: m. of Zeus 'Επιτέλειος
Φίλιος 1163 1169

Associated with Zeus 'Επιτέλειος Φίλιος
and Tyche 'Αγαθή 1163

Philioi Daimones (Orestes and Pylades)

Cult: Skythia 1179

Philioi Theoi 1177₂

Philip of Macedon

Associated with the twelve gods 1137₁

Philippopolis in Thessaly See Gomphoi

Philippopolis in Thrace, coins of 490₀₍₆₎Philoktetes 903₀

Philomela

Metamorphosed into swallow 693

Philonome 669

Philyra

Genealogy: m. of Aphros and Cheiron
by Kronos 695₀ m. of Cheiron by
Kronos 871₀

Phlegyāi

Etymology: 1134

Phlegyas 463₁ 488₀₍₀₎

Phlious

Cults: Asklepios 1090 Zeus Μειλίχιος
1106 f.

Phlox 931₁

Phlyeis

Cults: Apollon Διονυσιοδότης (less prob-
ably Διονυσόδωρος) 251₂ Athena
Τιβρωνή 1066 Demeter 'Αησιδώρα
1066 Kore Πρωτογόνη 1066 Semnai
1066 Zeus Κτήσιος 1066

Phobos

Cult: Selinous 489₀₍₀₎

Phoenicians

In relation to 'Minoan' culture 662

— sacred pillars of 423 425

See also Phoinike

Phoibe

Cults: Delphoi 500 Sparta 1015₇

Function: earth 500

Type: Gigantomachia 399₁

Associated with Hilaieira 1015₇

In relation to Gaia and Themis 500

Phoibe, one of the Heliades 500₁₁

Phoibos

Cults: Delphoi 839 Kurshumlu in
Phrygia 839 Lykoreia 901₂

Epithets: 'Απόλλων 500 844 Λυκώρειος
or Λυκωρείς 901₂ 902₀

Functions: interpreter of Zeus 500 sky
500

Etymology: 500 500₁₂

In relation to Zeus 500 844 Zeus Βρον-
τῶν 839

Supersedes Helios 500

Phoinike

Cults: Apathos Daimon 1127₀ Ba'al

Milik (Melek, Molok) 1108 bene-

factors of society 1132₀ Ešmun

314₀ Kabeiroi 314₀ Kadmilos 314₀

Rešef (Rešup) 630 Theos "Υψιστος

886₀₍₃₀₎ Zeus "Ορειος 868₈

Myth: cosmic egg 1036 ff.

— snake sacred in 1111₁

Phoinike, old name of Tenedos 662

Phoinikous, a name of Mt Olympos in

Lykia 972₁

Phokis

Cults: Athena 731₀ Hera Βασιλεια 731₀

Poseidon 731₀ Zeus Βασιλεύς 731₀

Phol 844₆

Etymology: 110₅

Identified with Apollo (?) 110₅ 844

Balder (?) 110₅ 844 St Paul (?) 110₅

Pholoe, Mt 894₀

Phorkys

Genealogy: s. of Okeanos by Tethys
1020

Phoroneus 168₁ 257₄Phos 931₁Phosphoros 430₄ 430₅ 478₂ (?) 609₁

Proteine, St 1116

Phrixos

Myths: golden ram 899, 904₁ received

by Dipsakos 904₁ Zeus Λαφύσσιος

904₁ Zeus Φύξιος 902₀

Genealogy: s. of Athamas and f. of

Kytissoros 904₁

— tomb 471

Phrygia

Cults: Agdistis 970₀ Akrisias 1155 f.

Attis 313 Deos (Dios) 278 ff. Kronos

1156 Mother of the gods 970₀

Mother of the gods Τηρείη 697

Papas 292 ff. 313 836 Rhea 970₀

Semele 279 Zeus Βαγαῖος 294₀ (?)

295₂ 569 Zeus Βένιος or Βενεύς

883₀₍₀₎ 969₃ Zeus Βροντῶν 835 f.

838 f. 852 Zeus Δίος 836 Zeus

Κεραύνιος 807₆₍₅₎ Zeus Ηάπας or

Ηαπᾶς 292₄ Zeus Σαβάζιος 252

Zeus Τεράτωτος 322 842

Festivals: arbor intrat 303₂ Ballenaion
270₆

Rite: man bound in sheaf 498₂

Priests: Βενεῖται 883₀₍₀₎

Myth: Lityerses 295₂

— coins of 296₀

Phrygia, Mt, pyre of Herakles on 903₂

- Phrygia, personification of the district 320₀
- Phrygians conceive of the Father as re-born in the Son 294
- Phrynos, the potter 785 788₀
- Phryxonides 928₀
- Phthonos (?) 1098₅
- Phylake in Phthiotis
Myth: Melampous cures Iphiklos 684f. 848
- Phylakides, s. of Apollon 218₀
- Phylakos, f. of Iphiklos 452 684 f. 848
- Phyle 815 897₆ 898₀
- Phyleus 1137₂
- Phyllis, the river-god
Cult: Bithynia 904₁
Myth: receives Phrixos 904₁
Genealogy: f. of Dipsakos 904₁
- Phyromachos 1079
- Phytalidai 291₂ 1091 ff. 1103 1114
- Phytalos
Myth: Demeter 291₂ 1092₀ 1103
- Picti tattooed 123₀
- Pictones, coins of 1040
- Picus
Cult: Italy 696₀
Myth: Canens 394₃
Types: king 696₀ woodpecker 696₀
Associated with Faunus 400
Compared with Benhadad (?) 697₀
- Pikos who is also Zeus 693₄ 694₀ 695₀ 696₀ 697₀ 1222
Cult: Crete (?) 697₀
Myths: buried in Crete 696₀ 697₀ 943₀ king of Assyria 694₀ 695₀ king of Italy 694₀ 695₀ reigns over the west 695₀ 696₀ 942₀ 943₀
Genealogy: b. of Belos, Ninos, Hera, and Aphros 693₄ 694₀ f. of Belos by Hera 695₀ f. of Hermes 942₀ f. of Perseus by Danaë 1187₂ great-gs. of Kronos 695₀ s. of Nebrod (Nimrod) Orion Kronos by Semiramis Rhea 693₄ 694₀
Functions: deceiver 694₀ 695₀ magician 694₀ 695₀ tie between east and west 696₀
Identified with Ninos 695₀ Ploutus 'Αἰδώνιος 695₀ Poseidon Χθόνιος 695₀ 'Serafin' (Serapis?) 695₀ Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 695₀
Compared with Hadadrimmon (?) 697₀
— tomb of 220₀ 342₀
- Pikúlas
Cult: Romove 93
- Pilumnus 643₈
- Pinalos, eponym of the Lycian town Pinara 971₂
- Pindos, Mt
Cult: Zeus 'Ακραῖος 871₃₍₂₎ 904₅
- Pirot
Cult: Theos 'Επήκοος Ἐψιστος 878₀₍₁₁₎ 948₅
- Pisces 434 103₀ 664₁
- Pisias (Pisides?), eponym of Pisidai 973₁
- Pisidai 973₁
- Pisidia
Cults: Zeus Πορεύς (or Πόρης or Πόρις) 285 287₁ Zeus Σολυμεύς 973₁ f.
- Pithoigia 1139
- Pittakos 130
- Pittheus 414₂ 1091
- Plain of Zeus 1021
- Plakia
Cult: Theos Ἐψιστος 882₀₍₀₎
Etymology: 588₀
- Plakiane 588₀
- Plarasa
Cults: Eros 572₁₀ Zeus 573
— coins of 572 f.
- Plastene 956₂
- Plataia, d. of Asopos 898₀
- Plataiai
Cults: Hera Κιθαιρωνία 899₀ Zeus 'Ελευθέριος 238₀ 763₁
Festivals: Daidala Megala 898₀ Daidala Mikra 898₀ Eleutheria 1121₀
- Platon 505₁ 672₁ 840 852 1015₈ 1033 1033₁ 1060 1065 1118 1132₃ 1167 f. 1168₂
— as s. of Apollon 237₀ portrait-herm of (with Sokrates) 390 (?)
- Πλάνας (= Apollon?)
Cult: Sardeis 1228
- Plouteus
Epithets: 'Αἰδώνιος 695₀ κοίρανος 1164₀
Identified with Pikos who is also Zeus 695₀
See also Plouton
- Plouton
Cult: Delos (?) 1128₀
Epithets: 'Αγέλαστος (?) 1113₀₍₂₎ 'Αγησίλαος or 'Αγεσίλαος 1113₀₍₂₎ Εὐβουλεύς 259₀ 'Ισοδαίτης 1113₀₍₂₎ Κλυμένος 233₀ Περικλύμενος 233₀ 1113₀₍₂₎ Πολυδαίμων 1113₀₍₂₎
Myths: Kore 345₀₍₂₎ 1103 Leuke 468 f.
Attributes: cornu copiae 1117₇ (?) fork (?) 801 f. four-horse chariot 801 modius with oak-leaves and acorns 802 sceptre 801
Types: rape of Persephone 801 seated with Kerberos beside him 802
Associated with Zeus and Poseidon 802 (?)
Compared with Hermes 385₀ Zeus 1105 Zeus Πλουτοδότης 385₀
— palace of 1226 tomb of 348
- Ploutos
Cult: Philadelpheia in Lydia 1229
- Pnyx 876₁₍₁₎
- Podaleia 451₁
- Podaleiriros
Genealogy: b. of Machaon 317
Function: physician 451₁
Etymology: 451₁
- Pogla
Cult: Artemis Περγαία (?) 363
— coins of 363

Poinai 1101

Pola

Cult: Venus *Caelestis* 68₂

Polichna 916₀ 917₀

Polis

Cults: Larissa in Thessaly 1155 Skiathos 878₀₍₆₎

Associated with Hermes 1155₅ Zeus Μειλιχίος and Enhodia 1155 Zeus "Τψωστος 878₀₍₆₎

Pollux 96

See also Polydenkes, Dioskouroi

Polyarches 317

Polyarchos (=Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎ 1168₅

Polybios, the Giant 713

Polyboia 670

Polybotes 713

Polydaimon (=Plouton) 1113₀₍₂₎

Polydegmon (=Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎

Polydektes (=Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎

Polydenkes

Epithets: ἀεθλοφόρος 439₁ ἕξος "Αρμος 438₃ πύκτης 1097₂ πῶξ ἀγαθός 436

Genealogy: b. of Kastor 317 1015₇ s. of Zeus by Leda 1015₇

See also Pollux, Dioskouroi

Polydora 486

Polygnotos, the painter 122₀

Polygnotos, the vase-painter 197₁

Polyhymno 1022

Polyhymnos

Myth: 1022

Polykleitos 389₂ 711₃ (?) 742 749 749₁ 893₂ 1143 f. 1178

Polykleitos, the younger 1143₁ (?) 1178 (?)

Polyktor 384₀

Polymnia 1022

Polyneikes

Genealogy: s. and b. of Oidipous 825₂

Polypemon 627

Polyphas 1122₇

Polyphemos

Myth: Mt Aitne 909₀

Functions: sky (?) 989 f. sun (?) 989 f.

— in folk-tales 988 ff.

Polyphemos, s. of Elatos 471

Polyrrhenion

Cult: Hermes Δρόμιος 1042

— coins of 342₀

Polytechnos

Myths: presented with double axe by Hephaistos 693 pursues Aëdon and Chelidonis 693

Metamorphosed into woodpecker 693

Polyxene 117

Polyxenos (?) (=Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎

Pompeii

Cult: Iupiter *Milichius* 1158

Pontos

Cults: Poseidon 975₀ Zeus Σηράριος 974₁ ff.

Rite: sacrifices to Zeus Σηράριος on mountain-tops 974₁ ff.

— pillars of Herakles in 422

Popoi

Cults: Dryopes 293₀ Skythai 293₀

Type: underground effigies 293₀

Poros

Myth: drunk on nectar sleeps in garden of Zeus 1027

Porphyriion, s. of Sisypchos 1150₄

Porsenna, tomb of 1219

Poseidon

Cults: Aigina 184₃ Aixone 730₀ Athens 729₀ 730₀ Boiotia 583₃ 731₀ Delphoi 176₁ 177₀ Dorylaeion 281 Heleia (?) 931₀ Mantinea 581 Messana 795 Pergamon 729₀ 955₀ Phokis 731₀ Pontos 975₀ Praisos 731₀ Selinous 489₀₍₀₎ Skythia 292₄ Sparta 729₀ Stelai in Crete 731₀ Syracuse 916₀ Cape Tainaros 890₅ Tralleis 959₀ Zankle 795

Epithets: ἀπότροπος 959₀ ἀργής 959₀ ἀσφάλιος 959₀ εἰνάλιος...Κρονίδης 959₀ ἐνοσίχθων 789₃ Ἴππιος 581 Ἴππιος 959₀ Ἴππιος πόντομέδων ἀναξ 786₁ κορυφαῖος ἐπ' Οὐλύμπιοι καρῆμων 869₁ ναυμέδων 798₀ Σεισίχθων 959₀ τεμενοῦχος 959₀ Χθόνιος 693₀

Rites: chariot with white horses plunged into sea 975₀ sacrifice of two bulls 902₂ sacrifice of wheat and crops 959₀

Myths: Aithra (?) 800 Amymone (?) 800 Erechtheus 794 Kleinis 463₁ strikes with trident the Akropolis at Athens 793

Genealogy: f. of Altheos by Leis, d. of Oros 414₂ f. of Astakos by the nymph Olbia 665₃ f. of Boutes 793₁₂ f. of Hyperes and Anthas by Alkyone, d. of Atlas 414₂ f. of Kteatos and Eurytos 1015₈ f. of Kyknos 669 f. of Minyas by Chryso-gone d. of Halmos 1150₄ f. of Triopas by Kanake 684₂ h. of Demeter 584₀

Functions: earthquakes 959₀ lightning 794 ff. 850 originally a specialised form of Zeus 31₈ 582 786 846 850 893₀

Etymology: 582 ff. 1220

Attributes: bident 806₀ eagle 798 Nike 798 rock 713 scaled cuirass 713 sea-monster 798 sword 789 thunderbolt 794 ff. 798 trident 713 785 786 ff. 850 tunny 786

Types: advancing with thunderbolt in raised right hand and left outstretched 794 f. 850 advancing with trident in raised right hand and left outstretched 795₃ Gigantomachy 713 syncretistic 850 with attributes of Zeus 796 ff.

Identified with Erechtheus 793 Pikos who is also Zeus 695₀ Thamimasadas (Thagimasada) 293₀ Zeus 582 ff. Zeus and Ares 1225

- Poseidon (*cont.*)
Associated with Ge 176₁ Zeus 959₀
 Zeus and Hades 785 Zeus and
 Plouton 802 (?)
In relation to Zeus 582 ff. 850
 — crabs sacred to 665₂ 'sea' of, on
 Akropolis at Athens 793 trident-
 mark of, on Akropolis at Athens
 789 792 ff.
- Poseidonia, coins of 795₃
- Poseidonios 805₆
- Pothos
Genealogy: f. of Aer and Aura by
 Omichle 1036 1038
 — in Phoenician cosmogony 1038
 1039
- Potrympus
Cult: Romove 93
- Praeneste
Cults: Aesculapius 1086 Mercurius
 (Mircurios, Mirqurios) 397₀
- Praetextatus, Catacomb of 1206
- Praisos
Cults: Apollon Πῦθιος 731₀ Athena
 731₀ pig 782₅ Poseidon 731₀ Zeus
 Ἀκραῖος 871₃₍₄₎ Zeus Δικραῖος 731₀
 871₃₍₄₎ 930₀
Myth: golden hound 1227
 — coins of 871₃₍₄₎
- Prajapati
Myth: birth 1035 f.
Identified with Hiranyagarbha 1035
- Prasiai in Attike
Rite: Hyperborean offerings 497
Myth: Erysichthon 497
- Prasiai in Lakonike
Cult: (Apollon) Μαλέατας 487₃₍₁₎
- Praxidike, w. of Tremilos (Tremiles?) 971₂
- Praxiergidai 1137₀
- Praxiteles 196 598 599₂ 749 1018 1101₃
 1127₀
- Priamidai 1102₇
- Priamos
Myths: death 1069 golden vine 281₄
 1184₃ prays to Zeus Ἰδαῖος 8 950₀
 three-eyed Zeus 892₅
Genealogy: gs. of Ilos 8
- Priansos
Cults: Aphrodite 723₀ Apollon Πῦθιος
 (Πῖτος) 723₀ Ares 723₀ Artemis 723₀
 Athena Ὠλερία 723₀ Eileithyia
 Βαρία 723₀ Hera 723₀ Hermes
 723₀ Hestia 723₀ Korybantes (Kyr-
 bantes) 723₀ Kouretes (Koretēs)
 723₀ Leto (Lato) 723₀ Nymphs 723₀
 Zeus Βιδάτας 723₀ 934₀ Zeus Δικ-
 ραῖος (?) 723₀ Zeus Ὀράτριος 723₀
 Zeus Σκύλιος 723₀
- Priapos
Cult: Lampsakos 464
Epithet: ἀναξ 1026
Rite: sacrifice of asses 464
Type: double bust (with Maenad) 392
Identified with Phanes 1026
 — shrine of 154₀
- Priene
Cult: Zeus Κεραῖνιος 808₀₍₇₎
- Prinophoroi 411₆
- Prinophoros
Cult: Thessalonike 411₆
Priestesses: ἐπέλα 411₆ θύσα 411₆
Worshippers: πρινοφόροι 411₆
- Proculus Iulius 24
- Procyon 477₈
- Prognaos (?) 353₃
- Proitos
Myth: Akrisios 1146₀
- Prokleia 669
- Prokne
Metamorphosed into nightingale 693
- Prokoptes 626 f.
- Prokroustes 626 f.
- Prometheus
Epithet: ἀγκυλομήτης 549₇
Myths: receives ring from Zeus 990
 thrusts torch into solar wheel 990
Identified with Kronos 549₇
 — in folk-tale from Zakynthos (?)
 505₅ picture of 986₀
- Pron, Mt
Cult: Hera 893₂
- Pronnoi
Cult: Zeus Αιθήσιος 907₂
 — coins of 907₂
- Pronoia 863₁ (?)
- Proserpina
Genealogy: m. of Liber by Iupiter 1031
Identified with Luna, Diana, Ceres,
 Iuno 256
 See also Persephatta, Persephone,
 Phersephone
- Prostanna
Cults: Demeter (?) 973₀ Mt Viarus (?)
 972₂ f. Zeus 973₀
 — coins of 972₂ f.
- Proteus, pillars of 422
- Protogone 131
- Protogonos
Epithets: πολύμητις 1025 ταυροβόας
 1023
Myth: swallowed by Zeus 1027
Type: androgynous with golden wings
 and heads of bulls and snake 1022 f.
Identified with Erikepaios (Erikapaios)
 1027 1039 Eros 1039 Metis (masc.)
 1039 Pan 1039 Phanes 1026 1039
 1051 Zeus 1039 1051 Zeus or Pan
 1023
In relation to Metis (masc.) (?) 1025
- Protogonos in Phoenician cosmogony 981₁
- Prousa ad Olympum
Cults: Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 964₂ Zeus Παπ-
 πῶς 292₄
Festivals: Olympia 964₂ Pythia 964₂
- Prousiās, eponym of Prousa ad Olympum
 964₂
- Prymnessos
Cult: Zeus Βροντῶν 835₄
- Psara, blind Kyklops in folk-tale from
 996 f.

- Pseira, vases from 526 f. 654
 Psiloriti See Ide, Mt, in Crete
 Psithyros, the god
Cult: Lindos 1044
 Psithyros, the hero
Cult: Athens 1044
 Psoloeis 924₀
 Psychai
Types: coining money (?) 1047 f. furling clothes 1048 *genre* 1047 f. making oil 1047 twining garlands 1047
Associated with Eros 1047 f.
 Psyche
Types: embraced by Eros 1050 Hellenistic 860 ridden by Eros round race-course 1047 vintage 1050 with butterfly-wings 1050
Associated with Eros 1045
In relation to Eros 315₃
 Psychro Cave on Mt Lasithi 925₁ 926₀ 927₀
 — bronze votive tablet from 927₀
 Ptah
Function: fire 34₁
Type: potter 1035
Identified with Hephaistos 34₁ Osiris 34₁
 Ptelea 405₃
 Pteris 190₀
 Ptoion, Mt
Cult: Apollon 455
 — apsidal temple of 900₀
 Ptolemais in Phoinike
Cult: Kronos 553 f.
 — coins of 553 f. 845
 Purgatory 138₀
 Puteoli
Cult: Venus *Caelestis* 68₂
 Pyanopsia or Pyanepsia 237₀
 Pylades
Etymology: 453
Associated with Orestes 207₀ 1179
 — as hypostasis of Apollon (?) 453
 Pylaios (Pyleos), s. of Lethos 1154₃
 Pylaochos (= Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎
 Pyr 981₁
 Pyrakmon 784
 Pyrkon 176₁
 Pyrrha, w. of Deukalion 971₀
 Pyrrhos, s. of Achilles 452₁₂ 915₂
 Pythaeus 173₄
 Pythagoras
Myths: brought up with Astraios 230 eagle at Kroton 222₄ eagle at Olympia 222₄ exhibits golden thigh at Kroton 223 purified with thunderstone 835 934₀ visits Idaean Cave 933₀ 934₀ 942₀
Metamorphosed into cock 223₁
Functions: as rebirth of Apollon 221 ff. as son of Apollon 222 as specially related to Apollon 223₁ 225 as Apollon *Hyperboreos* or *Hyperboreios* 223 as Apollon *Paión* 223 as Apollon *Pýthios* 223 as emanation from mind of Zeus 225 distinguished from god and man 223₅
Etymology: 223₃
 — on cycle of life's changes 120₁ on food fallen from table 1129₂ on sound of beaten bronze 649 on tomb of Apollon 221 cp. 252 on tomb of Zeus 345₁ 354 934₀ 942₀
 Pythagoreans
 — at Kroton 225 burial rites of 472 earliest traditions of 223 *ἱεροὶ λόγοι* of 1024 imbued with Orphism 131 1024 numerical speculation of 236₅ on averting thunderstorms 827₇ on Delphic E 177₀ 178₁ on Delphic tripod 178₁ on Delphoi 177 f. on Milky Way 40 ff. 476 840 on sea 557₁ on semicircles of Dioskouroi 434 on spherical earth 432 on tower of Zan 354 primitive lore of 222₁ 223 silence of 7₁ use of meal by 13₀ use of symbol Y by 227₄
 Pythaištai 815
 Pythia, the festival
 at Ankyra 491₀₍₀₎ at Delphoi 490₀₍₅₎ at Philippopolis in Thrace 490₀₍₅₎ at Prousa ad Olympum 964₂ at Thyateira 562 at Tralleis 491₀₍₀₎ 959₀
 — oak-wreath precedes bay-wreath at 486 originally celebrated once in eight years 240
 Pythia, the priestess
Rite: caldron of apotheosis 210 ff.
Type: seated on tripod 213 841
 — impregnated by mantic *πνεύμα* at Delphoi and elsewhere 208₁ 208₂ 209₁
 Pytho 816
 See also Delphoi
 Python
Myths: slain by Apollon 217₂ 239₀ slays Apollon 221 ff.
Functions: king 1087 oracular *daimónion* 210₁
Type: snake 196 239₀
 — bones and teeth of, kept in Delphic tripod 221 changes from holy snake to unholy dragon 241₃
 Queen of the Underworld 118 119₀ 119₂ 132
Rite: human consort 132 f. cp. 1164 ff.
 Quinquennalia 601
 Quirinus
Cult: Rome 1165₁
Identified with Romulus 24
 Râ
Myth: ladder 126
Types: hawk-headed 774₀ phoenix 1035
 — nostrils of 773₀ 774₀
 Râma-čandra 660₁

- Ramah 1059
 Ramitha 886₀₍₃₀₎
 Ramman
Etymology: 886₀₍₃₀₎
Types: seated with lightning-fork 765₁ standing on bull with lightning-fork 766₁ standing on bull with lightning-fork and scimitar (?) 765₁ standing on bull with two lightning-forks 765₁
Identified with Theos Hypsistos 886₀₍₃₀₎
- Ravenna
Cult: Iupiter Ter(minalis) 1091
- Rehtia
Cult: Este 1220
Etymology: 1220
- Remus
Myths: infancy 1016 nursed by she-wolf 46 443 1016 reigns with Romulus 440 thrown into Tiber 671 1016
Function: one of the Roman Dioskouroi 1014
Attributes: star 443 f. wolf 46 443
 See also Romulus
- Rerir 682
- Rešef (Rešup)
Cults: Kition in Kypros 807₃₍₁₎ (?) Phoinike 630
- Rešef Heš See Rešef (Rešup)
- Rhapsō
Cult: Phaleron 183 f.
- Rhea
Cults: Delos 920₀ 921₀ Gaza (?) 675 Mt Juktas (?) 944₀ Mt Kamares (?) 934₀ Knossos 520₅ 548 Mt Kynthos (?) 920₀ 921₀ Mastaura 565₂ Mykenai (?) 515 525 1221 Phrygia 970₀
Epithets: Ma 565₂ μεγάλη 296₄ Φρυγία θεός μεγάλη 970₀
Rites: human consort in Crete (?) 522 524 mysteries of Zeus 'Iθαίος 932₁ sacrifice of bull 565₂ torches carried over mountain 934₀
Myths: bears Zeus in Dictaeon Cave 928₀ consorts with Zeus 1029 entrusts infant Zeus to Kouretes 931₀ gives Kronos stone instead of Zeus 798₃ 901₁ hides infant Zeus in cave on Mt Aigaion 925₁ Merops (?) 1132₁ protected by Hopladamos (Hoplodamos?) against Kronos 291₀ puts Dionysos or Zagreus together again 1032 rescues Zeus from Kronos 928₀ takes Hera to Okeanos and Tethys 1020
Metamorphosed into snake 1029
Genealogy: d. of Okeanos by Tethys 1020 d. of Ouranos by Gaia 925₁ d. of Phanes by Nyx 1026 m. of Attis 294 296 m. of Phersephone or Kore by Zeus 1029 m. of Zeus 830 925₁ 1029 m. of Zeus by Kronos 941₀ w. of Kronos 548 673
Function: earth 515 548 557₁
- Rhea (cont.)
Etymology: 557₁
Attributes: cypress 932₁ double axe (?) 601 griffins (?) 524 lilies (?) 525 lion 920₀ 921₀ poppies 1165₁ poppy-head 515₅
Types: drawn by griffins (?) 524 f. with plumed head-dress (?) 524 standing between two lions with double axe and ritual horns (serpentine?) on her head 1221 (?)
Identified with Agdistis 970₀ Demeter 1029 1032 Kybele 970₀ Ma 565₂ Mother of the gods 970₀ Semiramis 693₄ 694₀ 695₀ Tyche 675 (?)
In relation to Zeus 552₁
Superseded by Apollon 921₀ Hera 515 — thickets of, in Crete 941₀
- Rhegion
Cults: Apollon 680 Artemis Φακελίτης or Φακελίση 680
Myth: Orestes 680 848
- Rheneia
Cult: Theos "Τψιστος 880₀₍₁₉₎
- Rhipai 495
- Rhithymna
Cult: Apollon (Στυρακίτης?) 492₀₍₀₎ — coins of 492₀₍₀₎
- Rhizenia 934₀
- Rhodaun 476
- Rhode, in Spain
Cult: axe-bearing god (?) 547₀ — coins of 547₀
- Rhodes
Cults: Althaimenes 923₀ Athena (?) 923₀ Dionysos Σμίνθιος (?) 250 Elektryone (Elektrona) 499 Helios 469 Herakles 469 Hermes Καταβάρης 14 Hermes Χθόνιος 14 Tlepolemos 469 Zeus 615 Zeus 'Αταβύριος 922₅ 923₀ 924₀ 925₀ Zeus 'Ενθενόρος 946₀
Festival: Tlepolemeia 469
Rites: human sacrifice to Zeus 'Αταβύριος (?) 924₀ statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton invited to banquet 1172
Myths: Althaimenes 922₅ 923₀ Apollon and Dionysos destroy mice 250₂
In relation to 'Minoan' Crete 923₀ — coins of 253 f. 469₇ 924₀ colossus of 254₅
- Rhodes, the town
Cults: Agathos Daimon 925₀ Zeus 'Αταβύριος 924₀ 925₀
Worshippers: Διοσαραβυριασταί 924₀ Διοσαραβυριασταί 'Αγαθοδαιμονιασταί 925₀
- Rhodos, w. of Helios 684₂
- Rhoikos 1021
- Rhoio, d. of Staphylos
Myth: Kastabos 670
- Riqqeh 1145_{1(a)}
- Rit-
Cult: Magrè 1220
Etymology: 1220

Robigus 630

Roma, the personification of Rome

Cults: Miletos 1228 Ouxenton (?) 386₁
Pergamon 1179 1182 Teos 1066

Types: Janiform (?) 386₁ seated 103₀
standing 361₅ 1181₀

Associated with Penates Publici Populi Romani 1181₀

Rome

Cults: Aesculapius 1080 1083 1086

Asklepios 1088 1090 Attis 306₅

Attis *Menotyranus* (*Menoturanus*,

Minoturanus) 303₂ Attis *Meno-*

tyranus Invictus 303₂ Attis *Sanctus*

Menotyranus 303₂ Diana 400 f.

421 *Dius Fidius* 724₀ ff. *Divus Pater*

Falacer 1226 Falacer (See *Divus*

Pater Falacer) Fontes 369₀ 401₀

Fortuna 1195₂ Furrina 808₀₍₁₇₎

Genius Caeli Montis 400₁₁ Genius

Iovii Augusti 1194₄ Hecatae 307₀

Hecate 835₀ Herakles Ἡρακλῆς 783

Hercules 469 783 Hercules *Julianus*

400₁₁ Ianus *Curvatus* 364 Inno

Sororia 364 Iupiter 45 46 Iupiter

Caelius 400₁₁ Iupiter *Capitolinus*

601 Iupiter *Conservator* 1195₁ Iu-

piter *Custos* 1181₀ (Iupiter) *Deus*

Bronton 835₆ Iupiter *Epulo* 1172₀

Iupiter *Fagutalis* 403₀ Iupiter *Fere-*

trius 111₀ 546₀ 601 Iupiter *Fulgur*

46₀ Iupiter *Lapis* 546₀ Iupiter

Optimus Maximus Caelestinus 369₀

401₀ Iupiter *Sanctus Bronton* 835₆

836 838 f. Iupiter *Stator* 46₀ 708₅

Iupiter *Tonans* 111₀ 835₆ Iupiter

Ultor 1102₈ 1103₀ Iupiter *Victor*

708 Lares *Querquetulani* 401 Liber

307₀ Magna Mater 969₄ Mater deum

301 f. 306₆ Minerva 369₀ 401₀ Mith-

ras 307₀ 838 f. Mithras *Deus Sol*

Invictus 835₀ Penates *Publici*

Populi Romani 1181₀ Quirinus 1165₁

Semo Sancus Sanctus Deus Fidius

725₀ spear of Mars 547₂ Theos

Ἰουλιανός 879₀₍₁₃₎ *tigillum sororium*

363 ff. Venus *Caelestis* 68₂ Vesta

1148₀ 1172₄ Victoria 1195₂ (Zeus)

Θεός Ἐπιήκοος Βροντῶν 835₀ 836

(Zeus) Θεός Μέγας Βροντῶν 835₀

836 Zeus Κεραύνιος 808₀₍₁₇₎ Zeus

Ἥλιος (= *Dius Fidius*) 724₀ Zeus

Ἰκάρως 876₀₍₆₎

Festivals: Epula Iovis 1172₀ Ludi

Plebei 1172₀ Ludi Romani 1172₀

Rite: sacrifice to *tigillum sororium*

364

Myths: Asklepios arrives as golden

snake on shipboard 1083 Horatii

and Curvatus 363 f.

— bronze plaque from 664₁ coins of

105 f. 110₈ 331 ff. 336₈ 357 f. 360 f.

362 366 ff. 631 ff. 707₀ 708 708₅

810 f. 850 f. 903₂ 1080 1082 1083

1091 1102₈ 1103₀ 1126₀ 1133₁ 1134₀

Rome (cont.)

1171 1194₄ 1195₁₋₃ 1214 Columna

Rostrata at 9 Dianium on Aventine

at 400 Dianium on Caeliolus (Mons

Querquetulanus) at 400 Dianium

on Clivus Virbius at 400 f. Kyklops

in folk-tale from 1001 f. Mons

Caelius at 400₁₁ Mons Querquetu-

lanus at 400₁₁ pyramids of 1145₁₍₁₀₎

Tigillum Sororium at 363 ff.

Romove

Cults: Perkúnas 93 Pikúlas 93 Potrym-
pus 93

— oak of 92 f.

Romuald, St 135

Romulus

Myths: birth 1059 1089 caught up to

heaven 24 dedicates spoils to Iupiter

Feretrius 111₀ infancy 1016 nursed

by she-wolf 46 443 1016 reigns with

Remus 440 reigns with Titus Tatius

441 thrown into Tiber 671 1016

Function: one of the Roman Dios-

kouroi 1014

Attributes: star 443 f. wolf 46 443

Identified with Quirinus 24

See also Remus

Romulus Silvius 24

Roodmas 325₃ 326₁

Rosarno, pinax of terra cotta from 1043

Rosmerta

Cult: Gallia Belgica 547₀ (?)

Identified with Maia 94₃

Associated with Mercurius 94₃

Rudra

Cult: India 791

Rugiwit 386

Rural Dionysia 236

Russia

Festival: Feast of the Golden-reindeer-
horn 465

Sabaoth 889₀₍₁₀₎

Epithet: ὑψικέρανος 1212

Identified with Adonaïos 1212

Sabas, St, founder of monastery near

Jerusalem 116

Sabas, St, the Gothic martyr 1104₃

Sabas, St, the Greek martyr 1104

Sabazios

Epithets: Ἰας 275₈ Ἰεύς 275₀ Ἰης 275₇

Rites: ἐφρονον κακόν, εὐρον ἀμεινον 1166₁

mysteries 133₀

Function: dreams 283₀

Etymology: 1217

Type: on horseback 283₀

Identified with Dionysos 275₀ Zeus

275₅ 1184

— as link between Zeus and Kyrios

Sabaoth 884₀₍₁₀₎

Sabians 129₂Sabines 340₃

Saboi

Cult: Dionysos Σάβος or Σαβάσιος 270

Sabus, s. of Sancus 724₀

- Sadoth, St 134
 Saeculum Aureum 373₂
 Sæhrímnir 214₀
 Sagittarius 477₈
 Sahin in Phoinike
Cults: Helios (?) Ἁλκίητος (?) Mithras 886₀₍₃₀₎ Theos Ἱψίστος Οὐράνιος Ἰπάρτος 886₀₍₃₀₎ 983₈
- Sahsnot
Cult: Saxons 51
Identified with Ziu 5 f.
- Salamis
Cult: Zeus Ἰσουλός 110₉
Myth: Ophis 1087
 — full moon at battle of 854
- Salapia, coins of 1159₁
 Salia, m. of Salios 338₃
 Salii 375 ff. 470
Rites: *axamenta* 376₁ *Iunonii* 376₁ *Minervii* 376₁
 — hymn of 294₀ 328 ff. 337
- Salios, eponym of Salii 338₃
 Salmakis 872₀₍₆₎
 Salmones
Personates Zeus 24₁ 1122
Myths: comes from Thessaly to Elis 825 1088 imitates thunders of Zeus 8 833
Genealogy: s. of Aiolos 1088
- Salmoxis (Zalmoxis)
Cult: Getai 227 822 851
Rite: messenger sent once in four years 227
Myth: underground retreat in Thrace 226
Etymology: 227
Identified with Gebeleizis (Zibeleizis) 227 822
- Salonae
Cults: Ianus *Pater Augustus* (?) 325
 Iupiter *Caelestis* 69₀ 401₀ Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Caelestis Patronus* 401₀
- Salus 94₃
 See also Hygieia
- Samaritans
Cult: summit of Mt Gerizim 888₀₍₁₀₎
- Samarra, spiral tower of 128
- Šamaš 49₃ 483
- Same or Samos in Kephallenia 354₀
 Samemroumos 981₁
 See also Hypsouranios
- Samos
Cults: Apollon Πόθιος 223₃ Dionysos Ἐνὸρχης 1021 Zan (?) 354₀
Etymology: 354₀
 — second Heraion at 1230
- Samos or Samothrace 354₀
 See also Samothrace
- Samos in Karia 354₀
 Samos (Samia, Samikon) in Triphylia 354₀
- Samothrace
Cults: Adamna 295 Bendis 314₀ Demeter 314₀ 314₂ Dionysos 314₀
- Samothrace (*cont.*)
 Hades 314₀ 314₂ Kabeiroi 313 842
 Kadmilos 314₀ Kore 314₀ 314₂
- Samuel 1059
- Samus 93
- Sanchouniathon 553 715 886₀₍₃₀₎ 981₁ 984₄
 1021 1023 1037 f. 1109₀
- Sancus See Dius
- Sandas
Cult: Tarsos 560
Attributes: bow-case 571 double axe 571 sword 571
Identified with Herakles 560
 — pyramid of 983₀
- Sandon 560 See Sandas
- Sangarios, river-god in Galatia 969₄
- Sappho 8
- Saqqâra 1145_{1(a)}
- Sarapis
Cults: Alexandria 1158 Mt Argaios (?) 978₀ Athens 985₀ Delos 922₀ Dorylaeion 281 Kaisareia in Kappadokia 978₀ Kanobos (Kanopos) 985₀
Epithet: ἐν Κανώπῳ 985₀
Rite: *lectisternium* 1171₃
Function: healing 127
Attribute: *kálathos* 1171₃
Types: bearded god 1128₀ (?) bust on couch 1171₃ double bust (with Zeus) 388 (?) holding Mt Argaios 978₀ snake with bearded human head 1128₀ (?)
Identified with Pikos who is also Zeus (?) 695₀ Zeus 714₃ (?) 745₁ 773₀ 1158
Associated with Isis 1171₃ Zeus Κύνθιος and Isis 922₀
- Sarasvati
Cult: India 774₁
Genealogy: w. of Brahmâ 774₁ w. of Vishnu 774₁
Types: in lotos-wreath 774₁ seated on lotos 774₁
- Sardanapalos 694₀
- Sardeis
Cults: Aphrodite Παφία 424 Artimuk (= Artemis) 1227 f. Artimuk Ἰβσίμσις (= Artemis Ἐφεσία?) 1227 Hūdānās (= Ἱδηνός?) 1227 f. Πλδανés (= Ἀπόλλων?) 1228 Ταννάés (= Zeus?) 1227 f.
 — coins of 424 957₂ formerly called Hyde 1228
- Sardinia
Cults: Aesculapius 1086 Sardopator or Sardus *Pater* 143
 — bronze statuettes from 446₁ 805 coins of 143
- Sardopator See Sardus *Pater*
- Sardus *Pater* (Sardopator)
Cult: Sardinia 143
Functions: rain 143 sky 143
Type: in feathered head-dress 143
- Sari-Team in Lydia
Cults: Hypsistos 881₀₍₂₀₎ Theos Ἱψίστος 881₀₍₂₀₎

Sarmatai, 'Jupiter-columns' among 108
tattooed 123₀

Saron, the hunter 413 f.

Cults: Bathkolpos 414₁ Megara (?)
414₁

Function: sea 414₁

In relation to Artemis 413 f.

Saron, the place-name or river-name 414₀

Saronia 413₇

Saronic Gulf 412

Satan

Type: harrowing of Hell 138₀

— euphemistic names of 1112₇
throne of 955₀

Satrai

Cult: Dionysos 269₁

Saturn, the planet 139

Saturnus

Cult: Carthage 554₃ 555₀

Epithets: Augustus 555₀ Augustus

Balcaranensis 555₀ Balcaranensis

Augustus 555₀ Balcaranensis (Bal-

haranensis, Balcharanensis, Balk-

haranensis) 554₃ deus magnus Bal-

caranensis 555₀ Dominus 555₀ Do-

minus Balcaranensis Augustus 555₀

Sanctus 555₀

Priest: sacerdos 555₀

Myths: driven out by Iupiter 448₁ 941₀

mutilated by Iupiter 448₁

Genealogy: 1. of Iupiter 940₀ 941₀

Functions: cold 557₁ moisture 557₁

Saturday 70

Attributes: bill-hook 550 555₀ bull's

head 70₁ hárype 70₁ 550 845 patera

555₀ sickle 550

Type: bust in pediment 555₀

Identified with Ba'al-hammán 554₃

Ianus 374 Kronos 555₀

Supersedes: Kronos 550

Satyroi

Myths: a satyr caught asleep and

brought to Sulla 485₃ Milichus s.

of a Satyr by the nymph Myrice

1110₀

Attributes: ass 464 ivy-wreath 388

Types: ἀποσκοπέων 461₀ dancing 476

double bust (with Dionysos) 388

double bust (with Maenad) 392

double bust (with Zeus) 388 Jani-

form 388₀ playing *styrinx* 165₀ with

pointed ears 95

Associated with Dionysos 245₅ 246₀

262 f. 265 Maenads 929₀

— on votive tablet 903₀

Scandinavia, rock-carvings of 687 the

Volsung saga of 682 848

Scironian Rocks 895₁

Scorpio (Scorpius) 43₄ 477₃ 483₂ 558₀

Scoti tattooed 123₀

Scythia See Skythia

Scythians See Skythai

Sdan (?) 342₀

Seasons See Horai

Seb 1035

Sebastion at Alexandria 1180₄

Sebastopolis

Cult: Theos (?) "Τψιστος 883₀(26)

Sebeda 662

Segesta by euphemism for Egesta (?)
1112₇

Seimia

Cult: Emesa (?) 814₃

Seirios, rising of 949₅

Sekhem, the Great 774₀

Sekhhet-Hetep 126

Selagos 1072

Selene

Cults: Gythion 259₀ Pergamon 1185

Myth: Nemean Lion 892₄

Types: bust 1185 bust on couch 1171₃

bust with crescent 664₁ on horse-

back 261

Associated with Helios 1171₃

— on vase 777₂

Selenkeia, a later name of Tralleis 958₀

960₀

Selenkeia Pieria

Cults: Demos (?) 1192 Theoi Soteres

869₁ thunderbolt 809 Zeus 1192

Zeus Κάσιος 810₀(?) 981₁ f. Zeus

Κεραύνιος 807₅(3) 809 Zeus Κορυ-

φαίος 869₁ 983₃ (Zeus) Νικηφόρος

(Νεικηφόρος) Κεραύνιος 1225 Zeus

Ὀλύμπιος 869₁

Priests: κεραυνοφόροι 809

Myth: eagle guides Selenkos i Nikator

to site 981₁ f. 1188

— coins of 809 f. 850 982₀ f. 1192

Selge

Cults: Herakles 492₀(0) Zeus 492₀(0)

— coins of 492₀(0)

Selinous

Cults: Apollon 489₀(0) Athena 489₀(0)

(Demeter) Μαλοφόρος 489₀(0) Hera-

kles 489₀(0) (Kore) Πασικράτεια

489₀(0) Phobos 489₀(0) Poseidon

489₀(0) Tyndaridai 489₀(0) Zeus

489₀(0)

Selinous in Kilikia, coins of 101₀

Selloi 960₀

Selymbria

Cult: Theos "Άγιος "Τψιστος 878₀(10)

949₄

Sem (Shem) 693₄ 694₀

Semea 814₃

Semele

Cults: Synnada (?) 362 f. Thraco-

Phrygians 842

Epithets: Θυώνη 251₀ "Τη 274

Myths: Brasiai 671 brought up from

spring at Lerna by Dionysos 1022

drinks potion containing heart of

Zagreus and thereby conceives

Dionysos 1031 Iupiter 1031 struck

by lightning 24 f. 1031 Zeus 187₈

189₀ 731 ff. (?) 956₂

Genealogy: m. of Dionysos 220

Function: earth 279₃

Etymology: 279₃

- Semele** (*cont.*)
Type: carrying Dionysos (?) with goat at her feet 363
Identified with Ge 279₃
Associated with Deos (Dios) 279 f.
In relation to Dionysos 663 Zeus 663
 — ascent of 242 nurse of 1031 picture of 828
- Semiramel** 666₂
- Semiramis**
Cult: Emesa (?) 814₃
Identified with Hekate Χθονική (*sic*) 695₀ Hera Ζωγία 695₀ Nemesis 695₀ Rhea 693₄ 694₀ 695₀
 — and Stabrobates 7
- Semiramis Rhea**
Genealogy: w. of Nebrod (Nimrod) Orion Kronos 693₄ 694₀ w. of Ninus 693₄ 694₀
- Semites**
Cult: snake 1111₁
- Semnai**
Cult: Phlyeis 1066
 — as euphemistic title of Erinyes 1112₇ 1113₉₍₁₁₎
- Semnai of Parnassos, the three mantic** 19₀
- Semo Sancus** See **Dius**
- Seneca, portrait-herm of (with Sokrates)** 390
- Senones**
Cult: dicephalous Herakles (?) 445 f.
- Sept 126**
- Serapis** See **Sarapis**
- Serdike**
Cults: Asklepios 1079 Zeus 744₀
 — coins of 744₀ 821 1079
- Serea in Phrygia**
Cult: Zeus Βροντων και Βεννης Σερεως 883₀₍₁₀₎
- Seriphos**
Rite: burial of lobster 665₁
Myth: Akrisios slain by Perseus 1155₇
 — idol from 122₀ lobster held sacred in 665
- Servius Tullius**
Myth: birth 1059 1089
- Set, ladder of** 126
- Sethlans**
Etymology: 709₀
- Severus, s. of Venicarus** 93
- Shi-Dugal** 483
- Sibitti**
Associated with Istar and Sin 545₀
- Sicily**
Cults: Acheloius 667₃ Kronos 910₀ Palikoi 909₀ Persephone 1040 Zeus Κεραυνος 808₀₍₁₈₎ 812 ff.
Myths: burial of Kronos 555₀ burial of Kronos' sickle 448₀ 555₀
 — Kyklops in folk-tale from 1000 two sons with apples and daughter with star in folk-tale from 1008 ff.
- Siculo-Punic coins** 1040
- Siderous, harbour in Lykia**
Cult: Hephaistos 972₁
- Sidon**
Cult: Astarte 869₀ (?)
 — coins of 869₀
- Sidyma**
Myth: founded by Sidymos, s. of Tloos by Cheleidon d. of Kragos 971₂
 — speech on mythology and ritual of 455₂
- Sidymos, eponym of Sidyma** 971₂
- Siegfried** 447₅
- Siggeir** 682
- Sigmund** 682
- Signy** 682
- Signyn** 305₀
- Sikanoi**
Cult: Tetraktos (?) 322
- Sikeloi** 795 908₁
- Sikyon**
Cults: Aphrodite 1165₁ Asklepios 1080 f. 1082 1090 Hypnos 'Επιδωρης 321₁ Zeus 'Ελευθεριος (= Nero) 97₀ Zeus Μειλιχιος 1144 ff.
Myths: Antiope 1013 Asklepios arrives as snake drawn by mules 1082 Asklepios becomes f. of Aratos by Aristodama (w. of Kleinias) 1082 Demeter discovers poppy 1165₁ Epopeus 1013
 — coins of 1145₀ formerly called Mekone 1165₁
- Sikyon, the eponymous hero**
Genealogy: s. of Erechtheus 1146 s. of Marathon s. of Epopeus 1146 s. of Metion s. of Erechtheus 1146 s. of Pelops 1146
- Silandos**
Cult: Theos "Υψιστος 881₀₍₂₀₎
- Silchester, diminutive bronze axes from** 699
- Sileno**
Types: kneeling 199₂ with wreaths of ivy and vine 95
Associated with Dionysos 661
- Silenos**
Cult: Aitne (formerly Katane) 908₁ 909₀
Myth: Polyphemos 909₀
Genealogy: f. of Apollon 221 252
Attributes: ass 464 ivy-wreath 388 909₀
Types: double bust (with Apollon) 388 Janiform (archaistic + Hellenistic) 387 vintager 270₃
- Sillyon**
Cult: Zeus 572₁₁ (?)
 — coins of 572 (?)
- Sillyos, in Pamphylia** 573₀
- Silpion, Mt**
Cults: fire (πῦρ ἀθανατον) 1187 Iupiter Capitolinus (?) 1188 Zeus 'Επι-καρπιος 1186 Zeus Καπετωλιος (= Iupiter Capitolinus) (?) 1188₁₄ Zeus Κεραυνος 428 1187 Zeus Νεμειος 1186
- Silvanus** 64₀
- Silvii** 417₅

- Sima 814₃
 Simon Magus
Personates Zeus 726₀
Associated with Helene as Zeus and Athena 726₀
Confused with Semo Sancus 726₀
- Sin
Associated with Ištar and Sibitti 545₀
- Sinis
Myth: Theseus 627₀ 1091
- Sinjerli, Hittite relief from 767₀ *stèle* of Esar-haddon from 769₀
- Sinope
Cults: Nemesis 363 Theos Μέγας Ἰψιστος 883₀₍₂₅₎ Theos Ἰψιστος 883₀₍₂₅₎ Zeus Σάραπις 1171₃
 — coins of 363 493₀₍₇₎ 1171₃
- Siphnos
Cult: Zeus Ἐπιβήμιος 897₃ 1180₄
- Sipyrene 970₀
- Sipylos, Mt
Cults: Meter Πλαστήρη 956₂ Zeus Ἰπταρος (?) 876₀₍₈₎ 956₂
Myths: Kouretes 956₂ Pelops 956₂ Tantalos 956₂ Zeus born 956₂ Zeus consorts with Semele 956₂
 — throne of Pelops on 956₂
- Sipylos, personification of the mountain 957₀
- Sirens 178₁
- Siris, town in Lucania
Myth: Herakles and Kalchas 490₀₍₀₎
- Sirmium
Cult: Genius huius loci 1194₄ Iupiter Optimus Maximus 1194₄
- Siscia, coins struck at 604
- Sisyphos
Genealogy: f. of Halmos and Porphyryon 1150₄ s. of Aiolos 1150₄
- Sithnides 897₁
- Skamandria, coins of 949₅
- Skamandros 481₆
- Skarphe See Eteonos
- Skephros 164₆ 455₆
- Skepsis
Cult: Zeus Ἰδαῖος (Εἰδαῖος) 951₀
 — coins of 949₅ 951₀
- Skias in Arkadia (?)
Cult: Apollon Σκιαστής 439
- Skiathos
Cults: Polis 878₀₍₆₎ Zeus Ἰψιστος 878₀₍₆₎ 922₂
- Skiron
Myths: Theseus 627₆ tortoise 895₁
- Skirtos 430₁
- Skoll 305₀
- Skopas 405₃ 469 476₃ 594 1206
- Skopeloi Kronioi 554₂
- Skylla 407₀
- Skyllis 739
- Skythai, deities worshipped by, with their Greek equivalents 292₄ 293₀ divination of 635 driven out of Thrace 107₀ underground effigies of the gods called πόποι 293₀
- Skythia
Cults: Achilles 'Lord of the Island' (sc. Leuke) 925₀ Aphrodite Οὐρανία 292₄ Apollon 292₄ Ares 292₄ 547₃ Athena Λυδία 925₀ Herakles 292₄ Hestia 292₄ iron scimitar 547₃ 680 Korakoi (= Philioi Daimones) 1179₁ Papias 889₀₍₆₎ Philioi Daimones (Orestes and Pylades) 1179 Poseidon 292₄ Zeus Ἀταβύριος 925₀ Zeus Παπαῖος 292₄
Rite: Hyperborean offerings 497
Myth: Ἐρυσίχθον 684
 — axe-heads from 632₆
- Sleipnir 305₀
- Slingsby and the Snapping Turtle 1151
- Sminthe 250₂
- Sminthia 250₂
- Smyrna
Cults: Aphrodite Στρατονικίς 729₀ Ares 729₀ (Artemis) Ταυροπόδος 729₀ Athena Ἀρεία 729₀ Ge 729₀ Helios 729₀ Meter Σειφυληνή 729₀ Nemeseis 524 864₀ Zeus 729₀ Zeus Ἀκραῖος 319 873_{0(s)} 962₁ Zeus Πατρῶος 280₁
Festival: Hadrianeia 1121₀
 — bronze medallion from 629 f. coins of 319 873_{0(s)} in folk-tale from Psara 997 f.
- Smyrna, old name of Ephesos 962₂
- Smyrnaioi, old name of Ephesians 962₂
- Soa
Cult: (Zeus) Βεννεύς 883₀₍₀₎
- Sokrates and Phaidros 1118 and Strep-siades 2 portrait-herm of (with Platon?) 390 portrait-herm of (with Seneca) 390
- Sol
Epithet: Invictus 307₀ 1194₄
Function: Sunday 70
Types: colossal 254₅ driving chariot 96 radiate bust 555₀
Identified with Apollo and Liber Pater 256 f. Mithras 307₀ 1194₄
Associated with Luna 59₀ 98 1050
 — in hymn of Sallii (?) 329₀₍₁₎₍₃₎₍₆₎₍₈₎
- Solmissos, Mt
Myth: Kouretes aid Leto against Hera 962₂
- Solomon sends golden pillar to Souron 424₀
 — temple of 425 f. 888₀₍₀₎ 1204₀
- Solon, oath of, by (Zeus) Ἰκέσιος, Καθάριος, and Ἐξακεστήρ 1093₁
- Solyma See Solymos, Mt
- Solymoi
Cults: Kronos 972₀ Zeus Σολυμεύς 973₁ f.
- Solymos, Mt
Cult: Zeus Σολυμεύς 973₁ f.
- Solymos, eponym of Solymoi 973₁
Genealogy: s. of Ares by Kaldene d. of Pisias (Pisides?) 973₁ s. of Zeus by Chaldene 973₁ s. of Zeus by Kalchedonia 973₁
Identified with Zeus (?) 974₀

- Sophokles, portrait-herm of (with Euripides) 389
 Sosias, the potter 1167
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Cult: Elis 1151
 Sotades, the potter 346₀ (?)
 Soteria 232 f.
 Souras (?)
Cult: Nikopolis in Moesia 818₂₍₂₎ 822₁₂
 Sousa
Cult: god with bovine horns, axe, and double lightning-fork 769₀
 Spain, celts from 509
 Spalaxos or Palaxos, the Koures 587
 Sparta
Cults: Apollon 246₁ Apollon Ἀκρίτας 487₃₍₁₎ Apollon Ἀμυκλαῖος 255 Apollon Μαλεάτης 487₃₍₁₎ Ares 729₀ Artemis 457 Artemis Λυγοδέσμα 421₅ Artemis Ὀρθία 421 f. 640₀ 647 Asklepios 1085 Athena Ἀμβουλία 261₀ Athena Ἀρεία 729₀ Athena Ξενία 1101₃ Athena Ὀπτιλέτις or Ὀπτιλία 502₂ Athena Ὀφθαλμίτις 502₂ Athena Χαλκίους 739₁ Auxesia and Damoia 890₂ Demeter 729₀ Dioskouroi 1062 Dioskouroi Ἀμβούλιοι 261₀ Ge 487₃₍₁₎ 729₀ Helios 729₀ Hera 515 Hestia [Βουλαία] 259₀ Hilaieira and Phoibe 1015₇ Poseidon 729₀ Zeus 729₀ Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων 1061 1069 Zeus Ἀμβούλιος 261₀ Zeus Βουλαῖος 259₀ Zeus Ἐλευθέριος 1096₁ Zeus Ἐλευθέριος (= Antoninus Pius) 98₀ Zeus Ἐλευθέριος Ἀντωνείνος Σωτήρ (= Antoninus Pius) 101₁ 343₀ Zeus Ἐλευθέριος καὶ Ὀλύμπιος Ἀντωνείνος Σωτήρ (= Antoninus Pius) 101₁ Zeus Ἐπιδάτας 321₁ (Zeus) Ἐπιδάτης (Ἐπιδάτης) 321₁ Zeus Ἐρκείος 728₀ (Zeus?) Ἰκέσιος 321₁ Zeus Ἰκέτας 1096₁ Zeus Λακεδαίμων 436 Zeus Ξένιος 1101₃ Zeus Οὐράνιος 436 Zeus Ταλετίτας 890₂ 948₁ Zeus Τροπαῖος 110₀ Zeus Ἰπτατος 739₁ 875₁₍₄₎ 890₃
Festival: Hyakinthia 246₁
Rites: kings sacrifice to Apollon 237₀ octennial probation of kings 440₂
Myths: Astrabakos and Alopekos 421 Dioskouroi 436 ff.
 — idol from 122₀
 Spercheios 481₀ 486
 Spes 862₁₀
 Sphinx 407₀ 409₀ (?) 718 1082
 Sphragitides
Cult: Mt Kithairon 899₀
 Spolegium
Cult: Iupiter 803₂
 Stabrobates 7
 Staphylos 670
 Stektorion, coins of 566
 Stelai in Crete
Cults: Apollon Πόθιος 731₀ Athena 731₀ Poseidon 731₀ Zeus Δικταῖος 731₀
 Stephen, St 924₀
 Stepterion 240 242
 Sterope, d. of Kepheus 1147₁₁
 Sterope, horse of Helios 828 851
 Sterope, personification of lightning 828 851
 Steropes 784 828 851 1023
 Sthenelos 824₅ 892₅
 Stheno 718
 Sthenobioia 1129
 Stilbe, d. of Peneios
Genealogy: m. of Kentauros by Apollon 1134 f. m. of Lapithes by Apollon 684₂ 1134 f.
 Stoics 256 432 852 854 ff.
 Straton, the sculptor 1079
 Stratonikeia
Cults: Agathos Angelos 880₀₍₀₎ Hekate 714₂ Hekate Δαδοφόρος 714₃ Theios Angelos 880₀₍₀₎ Zeus Λαβράνδος 585₃ (cp. 586₃) Zeus Νάκρασος (?) 714₃ Zeus Παπαμαρος 714₃ Zeus Ῥεμβήνδος (?) 714₃ Zeus Σέραπις (?) 714₃ Zeus Ὑψιστος 879₀₍₁₇₎ 880₀₍₀₎ 963₃ Zeus Ὑψιστος καὶ Θεῖος 879₀₍₁₇₎ 880₀₍₀₎ Zeus Χρυσσαορεύς or Χρυσσαύριος 714 ff. 848
 — coins of 573 714₂
 Strepsiadēs 2
 Strongyle 824₇
 Struppearia 1171₁
 Stymphalos
Cult: Artemis Στυμφαλία 692
 Styrakion, Mt 492₀₍₀₎
 Sucaelus
Cult: Mogontiacum 620
Attribute: mallet 620
Identified with Iupiter Optimus Maximus 620
 Šurdh, St 822
 Surtr 305₀
 Surus (?) 822 823₀
 Sutekh
Cult: Hittites 621 f. 623
 Suwasa, in Kappadokia
Cult: Zeus Σαράτιος (?) 594 f. 846
 Svayambhū 1036
 Sybrita
Cults: Apollon Πόθιος 731₀ Athena Πολιοῦχος 731₀ Nymphs 731₀ Zeus Κρητταγενής 731₀
 Sykaiboi 130
 Sykea
Myth: Sykeas or Sykeus 1103₃
 Sykeas or Sykeus 1103₃
 Syllion, in Kibyratīs 573₀
 Symaitchos, eponym of the river Symaitchos 909₀
 Symaitchos, the river in Sicily 909₀
 Synaos, coins of 566
 Synesios, hymn of 307₂
 Synnada
Cults: Dionysos (?) 362 f. Dioskouroi 313 Semele (?) 362 f.
Myth: Zeus nursed by Rhea 969₂
 — coins of 313 362 f.

Syracuse

Cults: Artemis *Avala* 1140₃ Hestia 916₀ Poseidon 916₀ Zeus Ἐλευθέριος 763₁ Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 915₂ 916₀ 917₀ Zeus Οὐριος 708 917₀ 918₀

Rite: contest of rustic singers wearing stag-horns 1140

Priest: ἀμφίπολος of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος as eponymous magistrate 916₀

— celt from 509 coins of 110₆ 708 918₀

Syria

Cults: Hadran 910₀ Keraunios 807₃₍₂₎ Zeus 745₁ Zeus Καταβάτης 15 f. (Zeus ?) Κεραύνιος 807₃₍₂₎ Zeus Ἐψίπτος 886₀₍₀₎

— coins of 761 816₄ 1189 f. Sun, Moon, and Morning-Star in folk-tale from 1004 f.

Syrna 451₁

Sytos

Cult: Zeus Κτήσιος 1066

Tautos See Thoth

Tabai

Cult: Zeus 743₇
— coins of 743₇

Tabala

Cult: youthful hero, radiate, on horse-back bearing double axe 564

Tabiti, the Scythian Hestia 293₀

Tabyris See Atabyris

Tachnepsis

Cult: Delos 985₀

Tacitus, M. Claudius, statue of, struck by lightning 10

Tages

Genealogy: s. of Genius and gs. of Jupiter 1060

Tainaros, Cape

Cults: Poseidon 890₅ Zeus (?) 890₅

Tainaros, s. of Zeus 890₅

Taleton, Mt 890

Cult: Helios 890₂

Rite: sacrifice of horses to Helios 890₂

Tallala range

Cults: Hermes 948₁ Zeus Ταλλαῖος (?) 948₁

Talos

Cult: Crete 890₂ 948₁

Myth: nail and vein 645₀

Function: sun 890₂ 948₁

Type: stone-throwing 491₀₍₀₎

Compared with Zeus 948₁

Talthybios

Myths: Agamemnon and Briseis 726

Tegea in Crete 1147₆

Tammuz

Cults: Bethlehem 984₁ Eridu 483

Associated with Aphrodite (Venus) 984₁ Samsā 483

Compared with Adonis and Zeus 345 Zeus 347

Tan

Cults: Crete 662 Hierapytna 342₀ Polyrrhenion 342₀

Tan (cont.)

— tomb of 342₀

See also Zeus

Tanagra, vases from 123₀

Tanais

Cults: Theos Ἐψίπτος 884₀₍₀₎ 948₃

Theos Ἐψίπτος Ἐπήκοος 884₀₍₀₎

Tanit

Cult: Carthage 69₀

Identified with Iuno Caelestis 68₂ Venus *Caelestis* 68₂

Tantalos

Myths: Ganymedes 953₂ golden hound 212₅ Pelops 212₅ perpetual thirst 134₁ Mt Sipylus 956₂

Genealogy: f. of Aizen 964₃ f. of Pelops 438 957₀ s. of Zeus 957₀

Tauion See Tauion

Taranis 32

Tarantos in Bithynia

Cult: Zeus Ταρανταῖος 32₃

Taranucenus 32

Taras

Etymology: 31 f.

Tarentum 31

Cults: Apollon 1064 Dioskouroi 1064 Persephone 1141₀ pillar 29 45 131 161 166 Venti 464 Zeus 762 f. 1064 Zeus Ἐλευθέριος 763₁ Zeus Καταβάτης 29 ff. 45 131 161 559 845

Festival: Theoxenia 1064

Rite: sacrifice of asses to the Winds 464

— cake-moulds(?) from 131 802 1064 1215 coins of 763₁ 1064 compound seals (?) from 1215 Dioscuric reliefs from 1064 disk from 462₀ gold sceptre from 763₁ persistence of 'Minoan' cult at 543

Tarentum in the Campus Martius 32

Tarraco (Tarragona), coins struck at 604

— painted tablet from 2₄ 481₀ 1039 1211

Tarragona See Tarraco

Tarsos

Cults: Apollon Ταρσεύς 570 Ba'al-tars 761 f. Herakles (Sandas) 560 845 Sandas (Herakles) 560

Rite: sword of Apollon washed in water from the Kydnos 570 f.

Myths: Herakles 570₄ Perseus 570₄ Titanes 570₄

— coins of 101₁ 550₃ 571 761 f.

Tartaros (Tartara) 827; 1023 1032

Epithet: εὐρώετρα 1028

Tartaros

Genealogy: f. of Typhon by Ge 448₂

Tat (= Thoth)

Genealogy: s. of Hermes Τρισμέγιστος 943₀

Tauion

Cults: Dioskouroi 1064 Zeus 754₁

— coins of 754₁ 789₀ 1064

Taurini

Cult: Aeternus 306₄

Rite: viribus Aeterni taurobolio 306₄

- Taurophonia 582
 Tauros, Mt 449₀
 Taurus, the constellation 103₀ 664₁
 Tavium See Tauion
 Tavsás (= Zeus?)
Cult: Sardeis 1227 f.
Epithet: *Hũdãns* (= 'Γδηνός?) 1227 f.
 Taygeton, Mt 890₂
Myth: Lynkeus 437 f.
 Tchatal Tepe in Lydia
Cult: Theos 'Γψιστος 881₀₍₂₀₎
 Tefenet
Cult: Egypt 626₀
Identified with Athena 626₀
 Tegea
Cults: Apollon 'Αγυειός 163 Athena 'Αλέα 593 f. 1147 Demeter 1140₅ Eileithyia (?) 1148, Kore 1140₅ Zeus Κεραυνοβόλος 807 Zeus Κλάριος 807₂ 873₂ 892₁ 1148 f. Zeus Μέγιστος 807₂ Zeus Μελάχιος (= Μειλχιος) 1147 1149 Zeus Στορπάος 815 850 Zeus Τέλειος 1147
Festivals: ἀγῶνες 'Ολυμπιακοί 807₂ of Apollon 'Αγυειός 164₀ of Skephros 164₆ 455₈
Myths: Aleos 1147 Skephros and Leimon 164, Sterope, d. of Kepheus 1147₁₁
 — coins of 1147 common hearth of Arcadians at 1148 four tribes at 1148 pyramid-on-pillar as form of deity at 1147 relief from 593 talisman of 1148
 Tegea in Crete 1147₆
 Tegeates, f. of Skephros 164₆
 Teiresias 488₀₍₂₎ 489₀₍₄₎
 Tektaios 232₀
 Telamon in Etruria, coins of 383
 Telauges 1024
 Telchines
Myth: work 'in Idaean caves' 933₀
 Telegonos
Myth: slays Odysseus 676 923₀
 — a parallel to the story of, from the Torres Straits 676₄
 Telephidai (= Pergamenes) 954₀
 Telephos
Myths: Achilles 1184₃ Auge 671 Dionysos 1184₃ Odysseus 1184₃ Orestes 1179₆ 1183 Pergamon 1179
Genealogy: h. of Astyoche 281₄
Etymology: 1183₃
 Telesphoros
Function: procreative power of Asklepios 1089
Etymology: 1229
Types: child 1082 *phallós* draped as man or boy 1089
Associated with Asklepios 1082 Asklepios and Hygieia 1078
 Telete Meizon at Pheneos 1136₄
 Tellus
Epithet: *stabil(ita)* 373₃
Type: reclining beneath vine, while
 Tellus (*cont.*)
 four Seasons pass over starry globe 373
 Tembrogios or Tembrios, river in Phrygia 969₃
 Temenothyrari
Cult: Dioskouroi 313
 — coins of 313 566
 See also Ak Tash
 Temnos
Cult: Zeus 'Ακραίος 873₀₍₉₎ 956₁
 — coins of 873₀₍₉₎
 Tempe 457₁₃ 458
 Tempestates 94₂
 Tempus 862
 Tenedos
Cults: Dionysos (?) 658 ff. Dionysos 'Αθρωποραίστης 522 662 Dionysos ('Ωμάδιος?) 667 f. double axe 522 Hemithea 670 f. 847 Hera (?) 662 sky-god passing from older (Dionysiac Zeus) to younger (Zeus-like Dionysos) form 663 Tennes (Tenes) 673 847 two axes 668 Zeus (?) 662
Rites: human sacrifice 667 f. sacrifice of bull-calf 522
Myths: Hemithea 669 ff. Tennes (Tenes) 669 ff.
Etymology: 662
 — coins of 654 ff. 668 673 847 double axes of 654 ff. formerly named Leukophrys 669 formerly named Phoinike 662 proverbs *Τενέδιος ἀθρωπος*, *Τενέδιος ξυτήγορος*, *Τενέδιος πέλεκυς* 668 f. seal-stone from 663 weights of 658
 Tenedos, on borders of Lykia and Pamphylia 662
 Tenes 662
 See also Tennes (Tenes)
 Tennes (Tenes)
Cult: Tenedos 673 847
Myths: Achilles 669 f. Tenedos 669 ff.
Function: sky 673
Etymology: 662
Types: handsome statue 673 Janiform head (with Hemithea) 673
 Tennes, king of Sidon 662
 Tenos
Rite: Hyperborean offerings 497
 Teos
Cults: Agathos Daimon 1066 Roma 1066 Zeus Καπελώιος 1066 Zeus Κρήσιος 1066
 Terentum in the Campus Martius 32
 Tereus
Myth: pursues Prokne and Philomela 692 f.
Metamorphosed into hoopoe 693
Attributes: shield and lance 693₁ spears 693₁ sword 693₁
 Termessos (Termessus Maior)
Cults: Augustus 973₁ Dione 974₀ Theos 'Επήκοος 'Γψιστος (?) 879₀₍₁₆₎ Zeus Δωτήρ (?) 'Ιδαίος (?) 321₁ Zeus 'Ελευ-

- Termessos** (Termessus Maior) (*cont.*)
θέριος 974₀ Zeus *Σολυμεύς* 973₁ f.
 Zeus *Σόλυμος* 974₀
Festival: Eleutheria (?) 974₀
 — coins of 973₁ 974₀
- Terminus**
Rite: offerings placed in hole 1090
Function: terminator 1090
- Terra**
Myth: Palici 909₀
- Tesub**
Cults: Hittites 766₁ 767₀ 910₁ list of 910₁
Attributes: axe 767₀ lightning-fork 767₀
Type: standing with axe and lightning-fork 766₁ 767₀
- Tethys**
Myth: nurses Hera 343₀
Genealogy: d. of Ouranos by Ge 1020 m. of Phorkys, Kronos, Rhea, etc. by Okeanos 1020 w. of Okeanos 473
Identified with Isis 481₀
- Tetraotos, a god**
Cult: Sikanoi (?) 322
 See also Apollon *Τετράωτος*, Zeus *Τετράωτος*
- Tetraotos, a Phoenician freebooter** 322₀
 323₀
- Teukros** 472
- Teuthras**
Genealogy: f. of Thespios 1151 s. of Pandion 1151
- Thagimasada** See *Thamimasadas*
- Thalamai**
Cults: Asklepios 1085 Pasiphaa 31 Zeus *Καβάρης* 17 f. 31
- Thalassa**
Cults: Laodikeia on the Lykos 1186 Pergamon 1185
Attributes: crab's-claws 665₃ 1185 dolphin 1186 steering-paddle 1185
Types: androgynous 558₀ recumbent 1185 standing 1185 f. with head-dress of crab's-claws 665₃ 1185
- Thalath** 558₀
- Thaleia, d. of Hephaistos**
Genealogy: m. of Palikoi by Zeus 909₀
- Thales** 1021
- Thalna** 709 f.
- Thamimasadas** (Thagimasada), the Scythian Poseidon 293₀
- Thanatos**
Genealogy: b. of Hypnos 317
Type: Eros with crossed legs and torch reversed 309 1045 1166
- Thanr** 709 f.
- Thargelia** 237₀
- Thasos**
Cults: Bendis 314₀ Dionysos 314₀ Zeus *Κεραύνιος* 808₀₍₁₀₎
 — antefix from 123₀ coins of 388₀ relief from 863₁
- Thea Hypsiste**
Cult: Gjölda in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎
- Theai Megalai** See *Megalai Theai*
- Theanor** 1024
- Thebarma**
Cult: fire 34₁
- Thebes in Boiotia**
Cults: Artemis 412 Demeter *Ἰουλοφά* 900₁ ep. 901₀ Hektor 961₀ Hera *Κιθαιρωνία* 899₀ Meilichioi 1154₆ Zeus *Ἰουλωίος* 900₁ Zeus *Ἰψιστος* 878₀₍₂₎ 898₃
Festivals: Daphnephoria 455₈ Homoloia 900₁
Myths: Drakon 1087 Ogygos 824₆ Oidipous 1152
 — coins of 110₇ *Ἰουλωίδες πύλαι* at 900₁ 901₀ 904₄ *Ἰψισται πύλαι* at 878₀₍₂₎
- Thebes in Egypt**
Cults: Amen 774₀ Zeus *Θηβαιεύς* 960₀
Rite: *παλλακίδες* of Zeus *Θηβαιεύς* 960₀
 — relief from 863₁
- Theios Angelos**
Cult: Stratonikeia 880₀₍₁₀₎
 See also *Agathos Angelos*
- Thelpousa**
Cult: Asklepios 1090
- Themele (= Semele)** 279₃
- Themis**
Cult: Delphoi 176₁ 500 1216
Epithets: *ἀρχέγονος* 954₀ *Βουλαία* 258₃ *εὐβουλος* 37₁ 258₃ *εὐκταία* 723₀ *εὐπλάκαμος θεά* 1216 *ικεσία* 873₂ *καλή* (?) 931₀ *ὀρθόβουλος* 258₃ *ὀρκία* 723₀ *ὀυρανία* 37₁ *πινυτή* 258₃ *προφήτις καρτερόβουλος* 954₀
Rite: leap 931₀
Myths: Boucheta 267₅ 348₅ consorts with Zeus 37₁ Delphoi 239₀ Deukalion 267₅ 348₅ 971₀ gives oracle to Kronos 928₀ impregnated by pillar of light (= Apollon) 1217
Genealogy: m. of Horai by Zeus 37₁ 94₂
Function: supports orator 893₃
Etymology: 268₁
Types: riding on ox 348₅ seated on tripod 206₁ 1217
Identified with Ge 176₁
Associated with Moirai 929₀ Zeus 258 723₀ Zeus and Apollon 730₀ Zeus and Dike 897₃ Zeus and Dionysos 261 f.
Compared with Europe 267₅
In relation to Zeus 873₂
 — a possible doublet of Thetis 268
- Themisonion**
Cults: Dioskouroi (?) 313 Lyk(abas) (?) *Σώζων* 312₅ 313₈
 — coins of 312₅ 313
- Theodaisia** 948₀₍₄₎ 1021
- Theodoric the Great** 1071
- Theodoros, sculptor of *tabula Iliaca*** 45₁
- Theodotos, St** 1186₁
- Theognetos, the Thessalian** 1024
- Theoi Agnostoi** See *Agnostoi Theoi*

- Theoi Agrioi**
Cult: Mt Kragos 971₂
Identified with Kragos and his kin
 971₂ f. Titanes 971₂
- Theoi Akraioi**
Cult: Mytilene (?) 873₀₍₁₁₀₎
- Theoi Ktesioi** 1068
- Theoi Ouranioi**
Cult: Melos 808₀₍₁₂₎
- Theoi Skirroi** See Theoi Skleroi
- Theoi Skleroi**
Cult: Lykia 972₀
- Theoi Soteres**
Cults: Ikonion 970₀ Philadelpheia in Lydia 960₀ 1229 Selenkeia Pieria 869₁
- Theophanes**
Personates Zeus 97₀
- Theos**
Etymology: 234₁
- Theos Agnostos** See Agnostos Theos
- Theos Basileus Eumenes Soter** (= Eumenes ii)
Cult: Elaia in Aiolis 960₀
- Theos Epekoös** See Theos Hypsistos
Epithets 'Επήκοος
- Theos Hagios** See Theos Hypsistos
Epithets 'Αγιος
- Theos Hypsistos**
Cults: Aizanoi 882₀₍₂₃₎ 968₀ Akmonia 882₀₍₂₃₎ 968₁ Alexandria 889₀₍₃₃₎ 984₂ Amathous 879₀₍₁₅₎ 980₃ Arslan Apa in Phrygia 883₀₍₀₎ 969₃ Athribis 889₀₍₃₃₎ 984₃ Berytos 983₅ Bithynia (?) 883₀₍₂₄₎ Bosphoros Kimmerios 883₀₍₂₇₎ 884₀₍₀₎ 885₀₍₀₎ Golgoi 879₀₍₁₅₎ 980₃ Gorgippia 883₀₍₂₇₎ 884₀₍₀₎ 948₂ Hephaistia in Lemnos 878₀₍₇₎ Hierokaisareia in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎ Ioudaia 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎ Kerdylion 878₀₍₉₎ Kition 879₀₍₁₅₎ 980₃ Knossos 879₀₍₁₄₎ Koloe 881₀₍₂₀₎ Kos 880₀₍₁₈₎ 964₁ Kyzikos 953₁ Laodikeia on the Lykos 882₀₍₂₃₎ 968₃ Miletos 879₀₍₁₇₎ Moesia 878₀₍₁₁₎ 949₁ Mytilene 882₀₍₂₂₎ Nakoleia 882₀₍₂₃₎ 969₁ Oinoanda 879₀₍₁₆₎ Pergamon 882₀₍₀₎ 956₀ Phata in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎ Philadelpheia in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎ Phoinike 886₀₍₃₀₎ Pirot 878₀₍₁₁₎ 948₅ Plakia 882₀₍₀₎ Rheneia 880₀₍₁₉₎ Rome 879₀₍₁₃₎ Sahin in Phoinike 886₀₍₃₀₎ 983₃ Sari-Tsam in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎ Sebastopolis (?) 883₀₍₂₅₎ Selymbria 878₀₍₁₀₎ 949₄ Silaudos 881₀₍₂₀₎ Sinope 883₀₍₂₅₎ Tanais 884₀₍₀₎ 948₃ Tchatal Tepe in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎ Termessos (?) 879₀₍₁₆₎ Thyateira 881₀₍₂₀₎ Tralleis 880₀₍₀₎ 962₀
Epithets: 'Αγιος 878₀₍₁₀₎ 949₄ 'Αγιώτατος 879₀₍₁₇₎ 'Επήκοος 878₀₍₇₎ 878₀₍₁₁₎ 879₀₍₁₆₎ (?) 884₀₍₀₎ 948₅ Εύλογητός 883₀₍₂₇₎ 884₀₍₀₎ 'Ιάω 'Αδωναί 889₀₍₀₎ Κεραύνιος 807₃₍₃₎ 882₀₍₂₂₎ κύριε ὀ
- Theos Hypsistos** (*cont.*)
pánta éphorōn 880₀₍₁₉₎ κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός 880₀₍₁₉₎ Μέγας 883₀₍₂₅₎ Οὐράνιος 886₀₍₃₀₎ Οὐράνιος Ἰάπωνος 983₈ Παντοκράτωρ 883₀₍₂₇₎ 884₀₍₀₎ πάντων Ἐπόπτης 889₀₍₃₃₎ 984₂ Σωτήρ 879₀₍₁₇₎ Ἰάπωνος 886₀₍₃₀₎
Rite: lamp 879₀₍₁₀₎
Priests: ἱερεὺς 879₀₍₁₇₎ προφήτης 879₀₍₁₇₎
Worshippers: ἀδελφοί 883₀₍₂₅₎ θιασοὶ or σύνοδοι, comprising πρεσβύτεροι and εἰσποικητοὶ ἀδελφοί, under control of ἱερεὺς, πατήρ συνόδου, συναγωγός, φιλάγαθος, παραφιλάγαθος, γυμνασιάρχης, νεανισκάρχης, γραμματεὺς 883₀₍₀₎
Attribute: eagle 884₀₍₀₎ 889
Identified with Adad or Ramman, the Zeus or Iupiter of Heliopolis 886₀₍₃₀₎ Adonai 889₀₍₀₎ Helios 882₀₍₀₎ Iao 889₀₍₀₎ Zeus 882₀₍₂₂₎ 883₀₍₀₎ 884₀₍₀₎ Zeus Βένιος or Βεννεὺς 969₃
Superseded by Christ 879₀₍₁₇₎
 — cult of, propagated by Jews of the Dispersion 889 f. sacred light (φῶς) of 889₀₍₀₎
 See also Hypsistos, Zeus *Epithets* Ἰψίστος
- Theos Kataibates** 14₃
- Theos Megas**
Cults: Delos 985₀ Odessos in Thrace 1126₀ Palmyra 885₀₍₂₀₎
Epithets: Σαλλοντος (? J. H. Morde-mann cf. Ἀμμονόταυρ see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 290) Ἐνεουάρης (?) 885₀₍₂₀₎
Attributes: cornu copiae 1126₀ *phiale* 1126₀
- Theos Zon** 1102₃
- Theoteknos** introduces cult of Zeus Φίλιος at Antiocheia on the Orontes 1186 1196
- Theoxenia** 243, 244, 1064 1136₀ (?) 1170
- Thera**
Cults: Apollon 920₀ 921₀ Melichios (See Zeus Μηλιχίος) Zeus Βροντῶν καὶ Ἀστράπτων 817 (Zeus) Ἰκέσιος 1095₀ Zeus Καταιβάτας 17 Zeus Κτήσιος 1066 Zeus Μηλιχίος τῶν περὶ Πολύξενον 1156₁₀ Zeus τῶν περὶ Λάκιον 1156₁₀ Zeus τῶν περὶ Ὀλυμπιδωρον 1156₁₀
 — archaic inscriptions of 1226 votive lions in 920₀ 921₀
- Therapia** 996 998 f.
- Therapne**
Cult: Dioskouroi 1064
Myth: Dioskouroi 437
- Therma** (s? -ios?), river-god 408₆
- Thermos** in Aitolia
Cults: Ge 72₀ Helios 729₀ Zeus 729₀
- Theseus**
Festivals: Meilichia 1091 f. Oscho-phoria 1092

Theseus (cont.)

Myths: clears road to Delphoi 628
 Damastes 626 f. Phaidra and Hippolytos 1043 Phyalidai 291₂ 1091
 1103 Prokoptes 626 f. Prokroustes
 626 f. Sinis 627₆ 1091 Skiron 627₆

Genealogy: f. of Hippolytos 1087 gs.
 of Pittheus 1091

Attributes: double axe 626 ff. 847
 sword 627₆

Type: attacking Centaur 628

Associated with Kodros and Phyleus
 1137₂ Peirithoos and Herakles 211₂

Thespia, d. of Asopos 1151₃

Thespiai

Cults: Agathos Daimon (Demon)
 1125₁ 1161 St Charalambos 1150₉
 Daimones 1150₉ Dionysos Σαώτης(?)
 599₂ Hera Κιθαρωνια 899₆ Hermes
 1150₉ Milioche 1151 Mousa (Mosa)
 238₆ Zeus Κρήσιος 1061 1066 Zeus
 Μάχχος 1151 Zeus Σαώτης 599₂
 1151

Myth: snake slain by Menestratos 1151

— apsidal temple of 900₉

Thespios, eponym of Thespiai

Genealogy: s. of Erechtheus 1151 s.
 of Teuthras s. of Pandion 1151

Thesprotia, caldron of 133₉

Thessalonike

Cults: Hercules Augustus 1194₄ Prino-
 phoros 411₆

— coins of 411₆

Thessaly

Cults: pillar 166₂ (?) Zeus Κάριος 873₂
 Zeus Αφύστιος 899₁ Zeus Όμολώσιος
 900₁ Zeus Τραπος (?) 876₆₍₇₎ Zeus
 Φύσιος 902₉

Rites: burial within the house 1061
 φοιβονομείσθαι 500₁₂

Myth: Salmoneus 825 833 1088

— kings of, personate Zeus 1087 ff.

Thetis

Myths: Mnemon 670 supplicates Zeus
 45₁ 753₃

Etymology: 268₂

Type: with head-dress of crab's-claws
 665₃

Compared with Metis 12

Thibursicum Bure

Cult: Iuno Caelestis 68₂

Thmouis

Cult: he-goat 987₉

Thoas 421₃Tholathes (?) 558₉

Thor

Cults: Gothia 620 Lapps (?) 423₃ 533₂
Rite: erection of beam pierced by iron
 nail (?) 533₂

Myths: brings to life his goats when
 cooked in caldron 63₁ 213₉ leads
 Thorolfr Mostrarskegg to Iceland
 533₂

Genealogy: f. of Magni 64₉ s. of
 Hlóðyn 66₉

Thor (cont.)

Functions: fertility 63₁ thunder 547₉

Etymology: 32

Attributes: club 64₉ hammer 547₉
 mallet 620 sword 305₉ thistle 775₉

Type: bearded 64₉

Identified with Iupiter 620

— carved on high-seat pillar 533₂
 temple of 533₂

Thorikos

Rite: burial within the house 1060

Thornax, Mt, in Lakonike

Cult: Apollon Θορνάκιος or Πυθαεύς
 893₂

Thornax, w. of Iapetos 894₉

Thothis

Epithet: Astennu 700₉

Myth: gives wings etc. to the gods
 553

Identified with Hermes Τρισμέγιστος
 611

See also Tat

Thoukydides, portrait-herm of (with
 Herodotos) 389 f.

Thourioi 118₂ 119

Thouros

Identified with the planet Ares and
 Baal or Bel 694₉

Thrace

Cults: Apollon 458 Artemis 411
 Artemis Βασίλεια 500 f. Axieros
 314 f. Axiokersa 314 f. Axiokersos
 314 f. Bendis 303₂ 314₉ 411 501
 Boreas 380 Bousbatos 501₃ Dionysos
 269 ff. Dionysos Βάλιν 270 (Diony-
 sos) Ταμβαδούλης 820₂ 821 851
 Dionysos Σαβάξιος 314₉ Dios 277 ff.
 288 313 824 842 Dios Νύσος 313
 Erikepaivos (Erikapaivos) (?) 1025
 Kabeiroi 313 ff. Κύριος Θεός Προγον-
 κός Ζηβελσοῦρδος 1225 Κύριος Zeus
 Ζηβελσοῦρδος 1225 rider-god 821 823
 Zeus Διώνσος 282 (Zeus) Ζάλλιο-
 ξις(?) 230 822 Zeus Ζηβελσοῦρδος
 817 ff. 833 851 Zeus Ζηβελσοῦρδος ὁ
 Κύριος 1225 (Zeus) Ζηβελείξις (?) 822
 (Zeus) *Ζηβελσοῦρδος (?) 822

Rite: human omophagy 1022

Myths: Kosingas 130 Salmoxis 226

Tereus 692 f.

— as link between Germany and
 Greece 114 coins of 1133₁ (?) kings
 of 271₉

See also Thracians, Thraco-Phrygians

Thracians tattooed 121 123₉

Thraco-Phrygians

Cults: Dionysos 268 ff. 663 673 Dios
 277 ff. 663 842 Dios Νύσος 842
 Erikepaivos (Erikapaivos) (?) 1025
 Father and Son 313 Phanes (?)
 1025 Semele 673 842 Zeus 1111

Myth: death and burial of Dionysos
 at Delphoi 218 ff.

— prepared to accept Christianity
 288

- Thrakidai 231 268
 Thrasyllus, monument of 245₅
 Thrasymedes of Paros 1078 f.
 Thronax (Thornax ?), Mt, in Argolis 893₂
 Thunders See Brontai
 Thunor 32
 Thyateira
Cults: Apollon Τύριμνος 562 Theos
 "Ψύμιστος 881₀₍₂₀₎ Tyrimnos 561 f.
 Zeus 'Αέριος 808₀₍₀₎ Zeus Κεραύνιος
 808₀₍₀₎ Zeus Φίλιος (=Trajan) 1184 f.
 — coins of 561 f. 845 coin of, in
 alliance with Pergamon 1184 f.
- Thyellai
Cult: Bathos 827
 Thyestes, a storm-god (?) 1022
 Thyestes, f. of Enorheas
Myth: 1021
Etymology: 1022
 Thyestes, s. of Pelops
Myths: banquet 1021 sceptre of Zeus
 547₂ 956₂
Etymology: 1022
 — sceptre of 1132₄ 1132₆
- Thyiad, the principal 242
 Thyiads 242
 Thymaitis, an Athenian phratry 1229
 Thyone 29 279₃ 1022
 Thyonianus as rebirth of Dionysos (?) 893₀
 Tiamat 1038
Type: lion-headed monster (?) 769₀
- Tiberis, the river-god
Genealogy: h. of Ilia 1016 s. of Ianus
 394₃
Attributes: reed 1083 urn 1083
Type: reclining 1083
- Tiber-island
Cults: Aesculapius 1083 1086 Dios
 Fidius 726₀ Iupiter Iurarius 726₀
 Simon Magus 726₀
- Tibur
Cult: Hercules 328₃
- Tifata, Mt
Cult: Diana 404
Etymology: 404
- Tiflis, *kántharos* found near 1204
- Tigillum Sororium See Rome
- Tilphossa
Cult: Apollon Τιλοφούσιος 439
- Time
Attributes: hour-glass 867 f. scythe
 867 f.
Types: ancient, medieval, and modern
 868₁
- Tina (Tivna)
Cult: Etruria 338₃ 662
Identified with Iupiter 338₃ Zeus 709
- Tinia See Tina
- Tiodute (Jodute) 1212
- Tiora Matiene
Cult: Mars 1133, 1230
- Titanes
Myths: attack Dionysos or Zagreus
 218 f. 251₂ 549 1030 f. attack Liber
 1031 attack Osiris 1030 flung into
- Titanes (*cont.*)
 Tartaros by Zeus 1032 men made
 from their ashes 1032 reduced to
 powder (*τίτρανος*) 1032 smear their
 faces with gypsum 1030 struck
 with thunderbolt by Zeus 1031
 Sykeas or Sykeus pursued by Zeus
 1103₈ Tarsos 570₄ Titanomachia
 827₇
Genealogy: sons of Ouranos by Ge
 1023 cp. 1103₈
Function: chieftains or kings 971₂
Etymology: 1023
Identified with Theoi Agrioi 971₂
In relation to the Cretan Zeus or
 Zagreus 352
- Tithonos 281₄
- Tiu See Ziu
- Tiv
Cult: Etruria 339₀
Function: moon 339₀
- Tiw See Ziu
- Tlapolemeia 469
- Tlepolemos 469
- Tloos, eponym of the Lycian town Tlos
Genealogy: f. of Sidymos by Cheleidon
 d. of Kragos 971₂ s. of Tremilos
 (Tremiles ?) by the nymph Praxi-
 dike, b. of Kragos and Pinalos 971₂
- Tmolos, Mt
Cults: Zeus Δεύσιος (?) 957₂ Zeus
 Κορυφαίος (See Philadelphieia in
 Lydia) Zeus 'Ετέριος 957₂
Myths: birth of Zeus 957₂ 1228 Zeus
 Σαβάζιος brings the babe Dionysos
 thither 957₂
 — place called Γοαλ Διός 'Τερίου,
 later Δεύσιον (? Δευσίον) on 957₂
- Tomaris in Lydia
Cult: youthful hero on horseback
 bearing double axe 563
 — coins of 563
- Tomis (Tomoi)
Cult: Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Heros*
 823₁₍₁₎
 — coins of 114₀
- Torcello, relief at 865 f.
- Tosobis 972₀
- Tottes 569₂
- Trachis
Myths: Alkyone 1088 Keyx 1088
- Traianeia Deiphileia 1180
- Traianeum at Pergamon 1179 ff.
- Traianopolis in Kilikia, coins of 101₀
- Traianopolis in Phrygia, coins of 566
- Trajan
Cults: Hermione 1180₄ Pergamon
 1179 ff.
Epithet: *Optimus* 1181₀
Festival: Traianeia Deiphileia 1180
Personates Zeus 100₆ 1180 1180₄
 — Arch of, at Beneventum 1181₀
- Tralleis 957₃ ff.
Cults: Apollon 958₀ Athena 958₀
 Dionysos 960₀ Poseidon 959₀ Theos

Tralleis (*cont.*)

"Τυμιστος 880₍₁₀₎ 962₀ Zeus 958₀ Zeus
 Εὐμένης (= Eumenes i) 960₀ Zeus
 Λαράσιος 958₀ ff. Zeus Λαράσιος
 Σεβαστός Εὐμένης (= Hadrian) 959₀ f.
Festival: Pythia 959₀
Rites: ἀμυπτόποδες 959₀ f. παλλακίδες
 959₀ f.
Priests etc.: θεοκλόι 958₀ ιεροί 958₀
 ιερομνήμονες 958₀ priest of Zeus
 Λαράσιος (?) has brick palace 958₀
 — coins of 491₍₁₀₎ 957₃ 960₀ 961₀ f.
 jewelry from 638 f. reliefs or fres-
 coes at 961₀

Tralleus, eponymous founder of Tralleis
 957₃

Tralioi, a Thracian tribe 957₃

Tranquillina as Tyche of Kaisareia in
 Kappadokia 978₀

Transfiguration (Aug. 6) 945₀

Trapezous in Arkadia

Cult: Zeus Ἀκραῖος 871₃₍₃₎ 892₂

Tremilos (Tremiles ?), eponym of Tremile
 (= Lykia) 971₂

Trephon (?) 1074 1076

Trikke

Cults: Apollon Μαλεάρας 487₃₍₁₎ 1088

Asklepios 1079 1088

Myths: Asklepios 833₀ Koronis 833₀
 — coins of 1079 underground *adyton*
 at 1088

Triopas (Triops), f. of Erysichthon 683

Genealogy: s. of Helios by Rhodos
 684₂ s. of Lapithes, s. of Apollon
 by Stilbe, d. of Peneios 684₂ s. of
 Poseidon by Kanake 684₂

Triopidai 683

Triops See Triopas, f. of Erysichthon

Triphyllia

Cult: Hera Ὀπλοσμία 291₀

Tripolis in Lydia See Apollonia (Tripolis)

Triptolemos

Cults: Antiocheia on the Orontes 981₁
 Mt Kasion in Syria 981₁

Myth: Ione 1186

Genealogy: s. of Polymnia 1022

Triton

Types: double bust (with Libye) 392
 with head-dress of lobster's or
 crab's claws 665₃

Tritonides 898₀

Tritopatrens as one of the first three
 Dioskouroi 1135₄

Troilos 475

Troizen

Cults: Aphrodite Ἀκραία 872₀₍₅₎ Aphro-
 dite Κατασκοπία 944₀ Artemis
 Σαρωνία 413₇ Artemis Σαρωνίς 413 f.
 Asklepios 1085 Athena Σθενιάς
 416₃ Dionysos Σαώτης 599₂ Hermes
 Πολύγυιος 466

Myths: Hippolytos 414 ff. 944₀ Saron
 413 f.

— coins of 416 797 kings of 414

Troizen, s. of Pelops 414₂

Trokmoi 754₁

Tropaeum Traiani 114₀

Trophonios (Trophonios)

Cult: Lebadeia 232₄ 899₂ 1073 ff.

Rite: incubation 232₄

Myths: sleep at Delphoi 232₄ swal-
 lowed by earth 1075

Genealogy: descended from Aiolos
 1088

Function: hypostasis of Zeus (?) 1075

Attribute: snake coiled round staff 1075

Identified with a chthonian Hermes
 1075 Zeus 1075

Associated with Agamedes 232₄ Zeus
 Βασιλεύς 1073 f.

Compared with Amphiaraios 1075 As-
 klepios 1075

In relation to Zeus 900₀

Perspered by St Christopher 1076

Troy

Cults: Apollon 453 Artemis 453 Zeus
 8 950₀

Myths: birth of Zeus 951₀ capture
 911₀ Ilos founds the city where cow
 lies down 349 wooden horse 625
 — axe-hammers from 635 f.

Trygaios 909₀

Turin, relief at 861 f.

Tusculum

Cults: Castor 1170 f. Diana 403 Dios-
 kouroi (?) 368₂ Fontus (?) 368₂
 Ianus (?) 368₂

Tyana

Cults: Apollon Βοζήνός (?) 570 Zeus
 Ἀσβαμαῖος 569 Zeus Ὀρκιος (?) 569₄
 722₆

Tychai

Cult: Epidauros 487₃₍₁₎

Tyche

Cults: Antiocheia on the Orontes
 1196₂ 1197 Athens 1163 Edessa
 429 f. Kaisareia in Kappadokia 978₀
 Magnesia ad Sipylum 729₀ Melos
 1136₄ Mylasa 879₀₍₁₇₎ Nemroud
 Dagh 1136₄ Panamara 879₀₍₁₇₎ 1066
 Peiraieus 1104 f. Philadelphia in
 Lydia 1228

Epithets: Ἀγαθή 879₀₍₁₇₎ 1104 f. 1163
 1229 (See also Agathe Tyche) Νέα
 1136₄

Personated by Antiochos i of Komma-
gene 1136₄ Arsinoe ii 1216 bene-
 factor of Melos 1136₄ Tranquillina
 978₀

Attribute: pillar 1136₄

Types: holding infant (Ploutos?) 1136₄
 seated with Orontes at her feet 1209₀

Identified with Rhea 675 (?)

Associated with Zeus 879₀₍₁₇₎ Zeus
 Ἐπιτέλειος Φίλιος and Philia 1163
 — of Antoninus Pius 879₀₍₁₇₎ of
 Selenkos ii Kallinikos 729₀

Tyndareos

Genealogy: f. of Dioskouroi and Helene
 918₀

- Tyndaridai**
Cults: Selinuos 489₀₍₆₎ Sparta 436
Myths: buried at Therapne 437 feud with Idas and Lynkeus 437
Genealogy: affiliated to Zeus 918₀
Type: supporters of sky 432
- Tyndaris**
Cults: Dioskouroi (Tyndaridai) 918₀
 Helene (Tyndaris) 918₀ Zeus 917₁ 918₀
 — coins of 917₁ 918₀
- Tynnichos** 906₃
- Typhoens** 826 839₆
 See also Typhon
- Typhon**
Myths: Arima 826 909₀ crushed by Zeus under Mt Aitne 909₀ cuts out sinews of Zeus 228 448₂ cuts up body of Osiris 1030 fight with Zeus 448₂ 722₂ 731 826 839₀ Hermes uses his sinews as lyre-strings 450₀ pursued by Zeus to Mt Kasion in Syria 981₁ swallows eye of Horos 450₀ tastes mortal fruit 449₀
Genealogy: s. of Ge by Tartaros 448₂
Functions: chthonian 805₆ warmth 557₁
Attribute: thunderbolt (?) 805₆
Types: three-bodied 805₆ winged 448₂ with serpent-legs 448₂ with two wings and snake tails 731₁
Identified with Arktos 450₀
- Tyr**
Myth: Fenrir 450₀
 See also Ziu
- Tyre**
Cults: Herakles 423 f. Zeus 424₀
 — coins of 665₃ 1036 f. 1209₅
- Tyrimneia** 561
- Tyrimnos**
Cult: Thyateira 561 f. 845
Epithets: ὁ προπάτωρ 561₇ ὁ προπάτωρ θεός 561₈
Festivals: Tyrimneia 561 τῶν μεγάλων Σεβαστῶν Τυριμνήων ἀγῶνων 561₀
Priest: ιερεὺς 561₃
Type: youthful rider with double axe 561
Identified with Apollon 561 f. 845 Helios 562 845
- Umbria**
Cults: Fisos (or Fisovios) Sancios 724₀
 Iupater Sancius 724₀
- Underworld** See Index II
- Uni** (= Iuno)
Cult: Etruria 338₃
- Urbs Salvia**
Cults: Iuno(?) 803 Iupiter Iutor 803 ff. Minerva 803 Victoria 803
 — painted tiles from 803 ff.
- Ursa Maior** 336 928₀ 1017₄
- Ursa Minor** 336 928₀
- Usil**
Cult: Etruria 339₀
Function: sun 339₀
- Vale(h)anos** (?) (= Velchanos)
Cult: Golgoi 948₀₍₆₎
 See also Velchanos
- Van**, axe-head from 632₆
- Vaphio**, incised gem from 621
- Varpelev**, *skýphos* from 1204 f.
- Vediovis**
Identified with Iupiter Iurarius (?) 726₀
- Velchania** (?) 947₀₍₂₎
- Velchanos**
Cults: Gortyna (?) 947₀₍₂₎ Hagia Triada 947₀₍₁₎ Phaistos 946₀ 947₀
Etymology: 947₀
Identified with Apollon 948₀ Volcanus (?) 947₀ Zeus 946₀ ff.
- Venafrum**
Cult: Iupiter *Caelestis* 69₀ 401₀
- Venasa**
Cult: Zeus 616
- Venti**
Cults: Kaulonia (?) 1042 Lithuania 445₁ Tarentum 464
Epithet: *bonarum Tempestatum potentes* 94₂
Attributes: cock 445₁ fish 445₁ small cask 445₁
Types: four winged heads 1051 Janiform 445₁
- Ventina** (sc. Aqua)
Associated with Fons and Vires 306₁
- Venus**
Cults: Bovianum Undecimanorum 68₂ Jerusalem 984₁ Pola 68₂ Puteoli 68₂ Rome 68₂
Epithets: *Caelestis* 68₂ *Libitina* 1165₁ *Verticordia* 98 f.
Myth: sprung from blood of Saturnus and foam of sea 448₁ cp. 448₀
Function: Friday 70
Attributes: mirror 70₁ scales 98 f. 100 tortoise 68₁ water-mint 1166₀
Types: standing with foot on footstool 67 f. with apple in hand 491₀₍₆₎ with apple, sceptre, star, and child 68₂
Associated with Mercurius 67 Tammuz (Adonis) 984₁
In relation to Frija 67
 — mirror of 609₁ on column of Mayence 96
- Venus**, the planet, symbol of 608 f.
- Verbio** (= Virbius) in folk-tale of the Romagnoli 420
- Verelde** 66₀
- Vespera** 74
- Vesta**
Cults: Agedincum 99₃ Lugdunum 99₃ Rome 1148₀ 1172₄
Festival: Vestalia 20₀
Rites: feast of roast flesh and wine 1172₄ meal 19₀ perpetual fire of oak-wood 417₅
Priestesses: *virgines Vestales* 1148₀
Attribute: ass 99₄
Identified with Diana Nemorensis 417₅

Vesta (cont.)

Associated with Mars and Volcanus 99₃ Volcanus 99
— on column of Mayence 96 99 100

Vestalia 20₀

Vettersfelde, celt from 509 f.

Vettii, frescoes from house of 1047 f.

Vetulonia, 'Tomb of the Lictor' at 1221
'Tomb of the Trident' at 1225

Via Egnatia 495

Viarus, Mt

Cult: Zeus (?) 973₀
— on coins of Prostanta 972₂ f.

Vichy

Cult: Iupiter Sabasius (= Sabasius) 285₀
— silver bratteae from 285₀

Victoria

Cults: Divitia 64₀ Rome 1195₂ Urbs Salvia 803
Attributes: palm-branch 99 811₅ wreath 811₅
Types: on globe 1196₀ writing on shield 57₆ (fig. 22, 3 b)
Associated with Iupiter 1195₂
— on column of Mayence 96 98 on Iupiter-columns 57₆ 59₀ 71

Vidharr 305₀

Virae

Epithet: Querquetulanae 402₀

Virbius

Cults: Neapolis in Campania 421 Nemi 392 f.
Priest: flamen Virbialis 421₁
Myth: Diana 393
Functions: consort of Diana 392 f. 842 growth 421 f. mythical prototype of rex Nemorensis 399
Etiymology: 397₀ 398₀ 399 399₅ 421 f.
Type: Janiform (with Hippolytos) 392 f. 420 f. 842
In relation to Diana 414 417 842 Irbos (?) 421

Virbius, Clivus, at Rome 400 f. 421

Virbius, river in Lakonike (?) 394₂ 421

Vires

Function: testicles personified 306₄
Associated with Deus Magnus Pantheus 306₄ Fons and (Aqua) Ventina 306₄ Lymphae 306₄ Neptunus 306₄ Nymphae 306₄

Virgin, the

Cults: Athens 1119₀ 1119₃ Chartres 1213 Mt Gerizim 888₀₍₀₎ Mt Juktas 945₀ Zaragoza 1213
Epithets: *δευράρθεοις* 888₀₍₀₎ *del Pilar* 1213 *du Pilier* 1213 *ἡ ὑπεργία Θεοτόκος* 1119₄ *Θεοτόκος* 888₀₍₀₎ 1150₁₀ *Παναγία* 891₀ 945₀ *Παναγία εἰς τὴν Πέτραν* 1119₀
Festival: Aug. 15 891₀
Supersedes Charites 1150₁₀

Virgins, the Seven, of Ankyra 1186₄

Virgo

Epithets: spicifera, iusti inventrix,

Virgo (cont.)

urbium conditrix, ... lance vitam et iura pensitans 734₃
Identified with Mater divum, Pax, Virtus, Ceres, dea Syria 734₃

Virtus

Type: with banner 99
Identified with Virgo 734₃
— on column of Mayence 96 100

Virvinus, spring in Lakonike (?) 394₂

Vishnu

Cults: India 367 774₁
Myths: Brahmā 774₁ in bubble as Brahma 1036 Parāsu-rāma 660₁ Rāma-bandra 660₁
Genealogy: h. of Lakshmi 774₁ h. of Sarasvati 774₁
Function: solar (?) 774₁
Attribute: lotos 367 774₁
Types: four-handed 774₁ seated beneath starry arch 367
— sixth incarnation of 660₁ seventh incarnation of 660₁

Vitellia, goddess 404₀

Vitellia, town in Latium 404₀

Vitellii 404₀

Volaterrae

Cults: Hermes (?) 383 Ianus (?) 383
— coins of 382 f.

Volcanus

Cults: Agedincum 99₃ Gallia Lugdunensis 547₀ 619 Lugdunum 99₃
Genealogy: f. of Palicus by Aetna 909₀
Function: elemental fire 100
Etiymology: 947₀
Identified with Donar 63₁ Velchanos (?) 947₀
Associated with Esus and Iovis 619 Mars and Vesta 99₃ Vesta 99
— on column of Mayence 96 100 on Jupiter-columns 57₆ 59₀ smithy of 784

Volsung 682

Vulci, tomb-painting at 641

Vulturnus 368₃

Weaving Damsel 66₀

Wind-gods See Venti

Winds See Anemoi

Wodan

Rite: sacrifice at beginning of summer 62₁

Myth: contest with Fenris-wolf 62₁

Functions: leader of Wild Hunt or Furious Host 62₁ sky-god 62₁

Attributes: chariot or coach 62₁ gold helmet 62₁ gold ring 62₁ 990 throne 62₁

Type: one-eyed 62₁

Identified with Mercurius 59 63₀ 69 94₁ 386₀

In relation to Ziu 62₁

Woodchester, statuette from 98₃ 1214

Xenioi Theoi 1177₂

- Xenokles, the potter 785 789₀
 Xenokrateia, dedication of 182 ff. (pl. x)
 Xenokrates 222
 Xenophilos, the sculptor 1079
 Xerxes
 Personates Zeus 853₄
- Yahwe See Jehovah
 Yggdrasil 305₀
 Yorkshire, Kyklops in folk-tale from 1002 f.
- Zagreus
 Cults: Crete 352 667 Hagia Triada (?)
 522 Mt Ide in Crete 838 934₀ 938₀
 Mt Zagros (?) 980₅
 Rites: 932₁ devoured by Thracian
 kings 271₀ 667 omophagy 934₀
 thunder-making 934₀ ep. 838 f. 852
 torches carried over mountain 934₀
 Worshippers: Bakchoi 934₀ Kouretes
 934₀
 Personated by Cretan prince (?) 522
 Kouretes 549
 Myths: 1030 ff. attacked by Titans
 549 1030 f. guarded by Apollon and
 Kouretes 1030 his heart placed in
 gypsum image by Zeus 1031 his
 heart rescued by Athena 1031 his
 limbs arranged by Apollon 1031
 nursed by Nymphs 1030 put to-
 gether again by Rhea 1032 reborn
 as Dionysos 1031 resurrection 1032
 sits on throne of Zeus 838 1030
 slain in bovine form 1030
 Metamorphosed into Zeus, Kronos,
 babe, youth, lion, horse, horned
 snake, tiger, bull 1030 ep. 861₅
 Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Phersephone
 or Kore 1029
 Function: annual rebirth of Zeus 934₀
 938₀
 Etymology: 268₄
 Types: Assyrian 697₀ horned babe
 1029
 Identified with Dionysos 234 1029
 Associated with Zeus 1113₀₍₂₎ (?)
 Compared with Zeus *Βροντῶν* 852
 In relation to Titans 352 Zeus 522 980₅
 — derived from Mesopotamia (Mt
 Zagros) 938₀ reaches Crete by same
 route as Aigokeros 938₀ toys of
 1030
- Zagros, Mt
 Cult: Zagreus (?) 980₅
- Zakynthos, Gigantes in folk-tale from
 505 f. golden crab in folk-tale from
 666₃ Kyklops in folk-tale from 994 f.
- Zalmoxis See Salmoxis
 Zalmoxis See Salmoxis
 Zamama 938₀
 Zamis, b. of Rhea 694₀
 Zan 344₀ 353 f.
 Cults: Crete 344 f. Mt Ide in Crete
 934₀ 942₀ Olympia 349 Samos (?)
 354₀
- Zan (*cont.*)
 Epithet: Μέγας 341₀ 344 f. 842
 Rite: eaten annually by his wor-
 shippers in form of a divine bull
 354
 Myth: buried in Crete 345
 Genealogy: f. of Minos by Europe 344
 s. of Kronos 940₀
 Functions: an older Zeus 340 ff. sky
 353 f. 842 thunder 341₀ 344
 Type: Ζᾶνες at Olympia 343₀ 349 354
 Identified with Great Ox 354 Ian 341
 344 353 Zeus 220₀ 341₀ 342₀ 345
 942₀
 In relation to Ianus (Ian) 842 Zeus 353
 Superseded by Pan (?) 347 ff. Zeus
 349 f. 842
 Survives as Zanos (Ζᾶνος) in modern
 Crete 353
 — in the plural (Ζᾶνες) 343₀ 349 354
 tomb of 341₀ 354 934₀ tower of 178
 354 watch-tower of 354
 See also Zeus
 Zanes, consecrated men despatched to the
 gods 343₀
 Zanes, plural of Zan 343₀ 349 354
 See also Zan, Zeus
 Zanides, Roman empresses (?) so called
 343₀
 Zankle
 Cult: Poseidon 794 f. 850
 Myth: called Δρέπανον after δρέπανον
 of Kronos 448₀
 — coin of 794 f. 850
 See also Messana
 Zanos 353
 Zaragoza
 Cult: Our Lady del Pilar 1213
 Zas 344₀ 351 f. 353
 See also Zeus
 Zbelsourdos
 Etymology: 822 ff. 824₁ 851
 See also Zeus *Epithets* Ζβελσούρδος
 Zelos 1029
 Zemela See Semele
 Zen 259₀ 293₀ 341 344₀ 582₄ 855₂ See also
 Zeus
 Zenoposeidon
 Cults: Corinth (?) 878₀₍₃₎ Mylasa 582
 663 846 963₇
 Festival: Taurroponia (?) 582
 Priest: νεωκόρος 582
 Zephyros
 Cult: Kaulonia (?) 1042
 Myth: Kyparissos 981₁
 Type: horse 830₇
 Zes 344₀ 352₁ See also Zeus
 Zeter See Zioter
 Zetes
 Genealogy: s. of Boreas by Oreithyia,
 d. of Erechtheus 444
 Etymology: 444
 In relation to Zethos 445
 Zethos
 Cult: Antiocheia on the Orontes 428

Zethos (cont.)

Myths: Dirke 1013 1015 1019 Lykos 1019₂

Genealogy: b. of Amphion 317 s. of Zeus by Antiope 1013 s. of Zeus or Epopeus 445

Functions: herdsman 1013 one of the Theban Dioskouroi 1014

Etymology: 445₂

Type: on column 428

In relation to Zetes 445

Zeus

Cults: Abédan in Phoinike 886₀₍₃₀₎ 983₄
 Achaeans 458 Adrianoi in Mysia 127
 Aeolians 901₀ Azra 1142₃ (?)
 Agrigentum 911₀ ff. 1227 Aigai in
 Aiolis 259₀ Aigai in Makedonia
 878₀₍₉₎ 906₂ Aigina 894₃ 895₀ 895₁
 Aigion 742 f. 749 826₀ Ainianes 869₀
 Mt Ainos 907₂ Mt Aitne 908₁ 909₀
 910₀ Aitne (formerly Katane) 908₁
 909₀ Aixone 730₀ Aizanoi 882₀₍₂₃₎ (?)
 965₀ ff. Akarnania 743₇ 1226 Ak-
 moneia 312₅ Akrai in Sicily 915₁
 Akraiphia 97₀ 1074 Alaisa (Halassa)
 1158₃ Alban Mt 808₀₍₁₀₎ Alexandraia
 1158 1187₀ Alopeke 1115 Altyntash
 in Phrygia 883₀₍₆₎ Mt Alysis (?)
 945₁ Amaseia 975₀ f. Amastris 707
 848 918₀ 1067 Amathous 598 f.
 869₀ Ambrakia 1222 Amorgos 258₃
 Anaphe 1066 Anazarbos 980₁ Mt
 Anchesmos 897₄ Anchialos in
 Thrace 878₀₍₁₀₎ 949₂ Andros 1156
 Ankyra in Galatia 754₁ 835₅ 971₁
 Antandros 815 Antigoneia on the
 Orontes 1188 Antiocheia in Chry-
 saoris (= Alabanda) 714₂ Antio-
 cheia on the Maiandros 259₀ Antio-
 cheia on the Orontes 428 1178
 1186 ff. 1188₁₄ 1196 f. Apameia on
 the Orontes 1192 Mt Apesas 892₄
 Aphrodisias in Karia 585₃ 1220
 Arabia (?) 1224 Mt Arachnaion 894₁
 Mt Arbios 945₂ 946₀ Ardetos 1135
 Mt Argaios 980₀ Mt Argarizon (See
 Mt Gerizim) Argos 164₅ 164₀ 179
 808₀₍₁₄₎ 874₂ 878₀₍₄₎ 892₅ 893₀ 893₁
 1099₀ 1143 f. 1143₅ 1144₂ 1230
 Arkadia 760 f. 793 849 Arkesine
 1156 1156₁₃ 1157₀ Arslan Apa in
 Phrygia (?) 883₀₍₆₎ Assos 728₀ 857₀
 Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes 922₅ 923₀
 924₀ 925₀ Mt Atabyrion in Sicily
 910₁ Athens 20 f. 97₀ 98₀ 111₀ 231₈
 259₀ 729₀ 730₀ 793 815 875₁₍₂₎
 876₁₍₁₎ 897₂ 897₃ 903₀ 976₀ 985₀
 1061 (?) 1065 1078 1091 f. 1100₁
 1103 f. 1114 ff. 1121 ff. 1135₄ 1147
 1149 1151 1161 ff. 1169 1229 Mt
 Athos 906₁ Attaleia in Pamphylia
 111₀ Attike 291₂ 1069 (?) Attouda
 743₇ Axos 816₄ Babylon 128₄ 675
 714₁ Bejad in Phrygia 292₂ Beuyuk
 Evlia near Amaseia 974₁ ff. Bithy

Zeus (cont.)

nia 271₀ 292₄ 815 835₅ 1180₁ Blau-
 dos in Mysia 284₀ Boiotia 238₀ 731₀
 873₂ 875₁₍₁₎ 900₁ Bosporos 707
 Bosporos Kimmerios 729₀ Böttia on
 the Orontes 1187₄ Bouthroton
 (Bouthrotos) 348 Bruttii 709 Bunar-
 bashi in Phrygia 835₄ Byblos
 887₀₍₆₎ 983₃ Celts (See Keltoi)
 Chaironeia (sceptre of Zeus) 547₂
 Chalkis 1098₇ Chalkis in Euboia
 1157 Chalkis sub Libano 981₀
 Chersonesos Taurike 729₀ Chios
 922₄ 1157₁ Corinth 869₁ 878₀₍₃₎
 892₃ 916₀ Crete 230 344 f. 352 354
 599 697₀ 727 743₇ 925 ff. 1169₅
 1187₄ (?) Damaskos 807₅₍₂₎ 886₀₍₆₎
 Daphne, near Antiocheia on the
 Orontes 1191 Delos 259₀ 907₀ (?)
 919₀ 920₀ 921₀ 922₀ 985₀ 1095₀ 1096₀
 1105 1217 Delphoi 179 f. 231 ff. 244
 816 841 901₂ 902₀ Demotionidai
 728₀ Denderah 97₀ Didyma near
 Miletos 317 317₂ 318₀ Mt Dikte
 927₁ 928₀ 929₀ Diokaisareia in
 Kilikia (?) 810 Dion in Makedonia
 1111 Dionysopolis in Phrygia 285
 Divlit near Koloë 975₀ Dodona 214
 350 350₀ 353 693₃ 763₁ 826 855₂
 960₀ Doliche 745₁ Dorylaeion 280 f.
 280₁ 292₄ 835₄ 836 Dreros 948₁
 Mt Drios 918₁ Ebimi near Amaseia
 976₀ Egypt 1023 Elaia in Aiolis
 955₀ Mt Elakataion in Thessaly
 397₀ Elasson in Thessaly 808₀₍₁₃₎
 Elis 728₀ 783 Emathia, hill at
 Antiocheia on the Orontes 1187 f.
 Ephesos 728₀ 743₇ 962₂ Epidauros
 894₂ 1061 1066 1076 f. 1144₃ (?)
 1157₀ 1177 f. Eresos 729₀ Eretria
 901₀ Erythrai in Ionia 730₀ 1157₀
 Essir-keui in Bithynia 835₅ Eu-
 menea in Phrygia 970₀ Euromos
 572₇ 573₄ 574 f. 589₀ (?) 1220 Ga-
 laria or Galarina 1131₁ Galatia
 835₅ Mt Gargaron (Gargara) 950₀ ff.
 Gaza 675 1187₀ Genetsaan head-
 land 616 f. 1097₀ Cape Gerastos (?)
 903 Mt Gerizim 887₀₍₃₀₎ 888₀₍₆₎
 983₀ Ghel-Ghiraz near Amaseia
 976₀ Golgoi (?) 948₀₍₅₎ Gomphoi
 871₃₍₂₎ 1099₀ Gortyna 723₀ 731₀
 947₀₍₂₎ (?) Graeco-Libyans 1111
 Gumbet in Phrygia 835₄ Günjarik
 in Phrygia 835₄ Gythion 31 259₀
 Hagia Triada 947₀₍₁₎ Halikarnassos
 585₃ 872₀₍₅₎ 963₃ 1228 Halos 904₁
 1226 Heleia 930₀ 931₀ 932₀ Mt
 Helikon 898₅ Hephaestia in Lemnos
 878₀₍₇₎ (?) Herakleia ad Latnum
 585₃ Herakleia Pontike 976₀ Hermi-
 mione 100₀ 1061 1077 Hierapolis
 in Phrygia 570 571₀ Hierapytna
 342₀ 723₀ 929₀ cp. 930₀ 1157₄ Mt
 Homole (Homolos) (?) 904₄ Homo-

Zeus (cont.)

lion 1227 Mt Homoloion near Thebes in Boiotia (?) 900, Hydissos 705 f. Mt Hymettos 873, 897, 1226 Mt Hynnaron 987, Mt Hypatos 875₍₁₎ 898₂ Iasos 879₍₁₇₎ 963₅ Mt Ide in Crete 549 838 932₁ ff. 941₀ 980₅ Mt Ide in Phrygia 855₂ 950₀ ff. Iki kilisse in Galatia 835₅ Ilion 950₀ f. Imbros 878₍₈₎ 922₁ Inessa (?) 908, Inhissar in Phrygia 835₄ Inönü in Phrygia 249₂ 835₄ 836 ff. 1226 Ione 1186 f. Itanos 929₀ cp. 930₀ 1130, Mt Ithome 741 ff. 890₀ 1222 Jerusalem 984, Kalaureia 728₀ Kalchedon 259₀ Kalymna 808₍₁₁₎ Mt Kamares (?) 935₀ Kanai (Kane) 902₂ Kappadokia 594₈ 595₀ 616 Karia 559 f. 572 ff. 705 729₀ 745, 763, Karien near Mt Pangaion 1066 Karousa 1092₈ Mt Kasion in Egypt 907₀ 984₄ f. Mt Kasion in Syria 907₀ 981₁ ff. 1191 f. Kassiope 906₃ 907₀ Katane (See Aitne) Keltoi 111₀ 570₀ Mt Kenaion 902₂ Kephallenia 907₂ Keramos 599₂ Kerdylion 878₍₉₎ (?) 906₂ Kibyra 771 Kierion 743, Kilikia 380 Kios 815₆ Mt Kithairon 581 898₈ Kition in Kypros 807₃₍₁₎ (?) 807₅₍₄₎ Klaros 873₂ Knidos 729₀ 1157 Knossos (?) 948₍₃₎ Mt Kokkygion 893₂ Koloë in Lydia 285₀ 1067 Kolonos 1152₅ (?) 1154 f. Korkyra 675 f. 730₀ 879₍₁₂₎ 907₁ Kos 238₀ 1095₀ Kotiaëion 835₄ Koujounlou in Bithynia 835₅ Mt Kounados 918₂ Krannon 833 Kurshumlu in Phrygia 839 Kurtköi in Phrygia 835, Kyaneai 101, Kymak in Phrygia 835, Mt Kynthos 919₀ 920₀ 921₀ 922₀ Kypros 444₇ 599₂ (?) 874₂ 1099₀ 1102₃ Kyrene 259₀ 1177₃ Kyrrhos 15 f. 745, 983, Kys 97₀ Kyzikos 743₇ 833 ff. 852 881₍₂₁₎ 882₍₀₎ 953, Labranda 576 f. 585 ff. 594 597 713 722 976₀ Lagina 879₍₁₇₎ 963₆ Laodikeia Katakekakumene 817 Laodikeia on the Lykos 319 f. 319₇ 745₁ 1186 Laodikeia on the sea 1192 Lapersai 1069 Mt Laphystion in Boiotia 899, Larisa at Argos 892₅ 893₀ Larisa on Mt Messogis 957₃ ff. Larissa in Thessaly 1155 f. Lebadeia 233₀ 899₂ 900₀ 1061 1073 ff. Leuktron or Leuktra in Lakonike 891₀ Mt Libanos 983, Lindos 923₀ 925₀ Lucania 709 Lydia 312₅ 577 807₅₍₆₎ 872₍₁₅₎ 1228 Mt Lykaion 423 761 891₃ Lykaonia 835₅ Lykia 972₀ Lykoreia 901₂ Mt Lykoreion 901₂ 902₀ Lyttos 723₀ 934₀ 948₍₄₎ (?) Magnesia ad Maeandrum 873₍₇₎ 963₁ Magnesia ad Sipyllum 729₀ 957₀ Magnesia in Thessaly 730₀ 871₃₍₁₎ Maionia 745₁ Make-

Zeus (cont.)

donia 878₍₆₎ Cape Malea (Maleai) 483₍₀₎ 890₄ Mantinea 12 f. 259₀ 321₁ 807 Marathon 875₍₃₎ 898₁ Mastaura 587 Megalopolis 1178 f. 1183 Megara 179 257₄ 895₁ 896₀ 897₀ 1138₅ 1139₀ Melos 16 f. 808₍₁₂₎ Messene 728₀ 741 ff. 1223 Methydrion 290₀ Miletos 317₂ 879₍₁₇₎ 962₀ 963₂ 1228 Mopsion (?) in Pelasgiotis 496₀ mountains 868 ff. Mykonos 258₃ 1105 Mylasa 559₆ 574 576 ff. 663 879₍₁₇₎ 963₇ 1220 Myndos 872₍₆₎ 963₄ Myrmidones 894₃ Myrrhinous 730₀ Mysia 577 Mytilene 97₀ 259₀ 873₍₁₀₎ (?) 882₍₂₂₎ 922₃ Naissos 875₀ 948₄ (?) Nakoleia 292₄ 570 835₄ 836₂ 836₃ Nauplia 32 Naxos 918, Neapolis in Karia 260₀ Neaule (= Nea Aule) 285₀ Nemroud Dagh 980₆ Netteia 925₀ 1096_(?) Nicopolis on the Danube 808₍₉₎ Nikaia in Bithynia 815₅ 918₀ 1099₂ 1100₀ Nisyros 1157₃ Mt Oche 902₁ Ogur (Ogut) in Galatia 835₅ Mt Oite 903₂ Olenos in Attolia 933₀ Olous 948₁ Olympia 21 231₈ 349 706 722 726 f. 757 ff. 758₀ 761 783 808₍₁₅₎ 849 878₍₅₎ 891₂ 916₀ 947₀ 955₀ 1078 1100₁ 1222 1224 Mt Olympos in Elis (?) 891₁ Olympos in Lykia 972₁ Mt Olympos in Makedonia 904₆ 1227 Mt Olympos in Mysia 953₂ Orhomenos in Boiotia 873₂ 898₄ 1149 1150 1151 Ormelle 1067 Oropos 232 1061 1070 ff. Mt Ossa (?) 904₃ Palmyra 807₅₍₁₎ 885₍₂₉₎ 886₍₀₎ 983₂ Panamara 587 879₍₁₇₎ 963₈ 1066 Panionion 259₀ Panormos near Kyzikos 881₍₂₁₎ 882₍₀₎ Mt Pantokrator (?) 907₀ Paphlagonia 729₀ Mt Parnassos 901₂ 902₀ Mt Parnes 4 873₁ 897₈ 898₀ Paros 19 f. 131 259₀ 871₍₅₎ 918₂ Passaron 706 Patara 921₀ Pautalia 743₇ Peiraieus 585₃ 1065 f. 1104 ff. 1117 1142 1173 ff. Mt Pelinnaion 922₄ Mt Pelion 869₂ 870₀ 871₀ 871₃₍₁₎ 904₂ Pella in Makedonia 1187₄ Pelousion 985₁ ff. Pergamon 110₀ 259₀ 287 287₂ 729₀ 808₍₈₎ 882₍₀₎ (?) 954₀ ff. 1061 1067 1077 f. 1178 1179 ff. 1184 Perinthos 773₀ 874₁ 949₃ Persia 33 Petelia 708 f. Phaisstos 946₀ 947₀ Phaselis 729₀ Philadelpheia in Lydia 285₀ 869₁ 957₁ 960₀ 1217 f. 1228 f. Philai 97₀ Phlious 1106 f. Phyeis 1066 Phoinike 868₈ Phokis 731₀ Phrygia 282 ff. 292₄ 295₂ 322 569 807₅₍₅₎ 835 ff. 842 852 883₍₀₎ 964 ff. Mt Pindos 871₃₍₂₎ 904₅ Pisidia 287 Plarasa 573 Plataiai 238₀ 763₁ Pontos 974₁ ff. Praisios 731₀ 871₃₍₄₎ 930₀ Priansos 723₀ 934₀ Priene 808₍₇₎ Pronnoi 907₂ Prostanna

Zeus (cont.)

973₀ Prousa ad Olympum 292₄ 964₂
 Prynnessos 835₄ Rhodes 615 922₅
 923₀ 924₀ 925₀ 946₀ Rhodes the
 town 924₀ 925₀ Rome 724₀ 808₀₍₁₇₎
 835₆ 876₀₍₆₎ Salamis 110₉ Sardeis
 1227 f. Seleukeia Pieria 807₅₍₃₎ 809
 869₁ 981₁ f. 983₃ 1192 1225 Selge
 492₀₍₀₎ Selinous 489₀₍₀₎ Selymbria
 878₀₍₁₀₎ (?) Serdike 744₀ Serea in
 Phrygia 883₀₍₀₎ Sicily 808₀₍₁₈₎ 812 ff.
 Sikyon 97₀ 1144 ff. Sillyon 572₁₁ (?)
 Mt Silpion 1186 f. 1188₁₄ (?) Sinope
 1171₃ Siphnos 897₃ 1180₄ Mt Sipy-
 los 876₀₍₈₎ 956₂ (?) Skepsis 951₀
 Skiathos 878₀₍₀₎ 922₂ Skythia 292₄
 925₀ Smyrna 280₁ 319 729₀ 879₀₍₈₎
 962₁ Mt Solymos 973₁ f. Sparta 98₀
 110₀ 259₀ 261₀ 321₁ 436 728₀ 729₀
 739₁ 875₁₍₄₎ 890₂ 890₃ 948₁ 1061
 1069 1096₁ 1101₃ Stelai in Crete
 731₀ Stratonikeia 585₃ (cp. 586₃)
 714 ff. 714₃ 963₉ Suwasa in Kappa-
 dokia 594 f. Sybrita 731₀ Syracuse
 708 763₁ 915₂ 916₀ 917₀ 918₀ Syria
 745₁ 807₃₍₂₎ (?) 886₀₍₀₎ Syros 1066
 Tabai 743₇ Cape Tainaros (?) 890₅
 Tallala range (?) 948₁ Tarantos in
 Bithynia 32₃ Tarentum 29 ff. 45 131
 161 559 762 ff. 763₁ 1064 Tavium
 754₁ Tegea 807 815 850 873₂ 892₁
 1147 ff. Temnos 873₀₍₉₎ 956₁ Tene-
 dos (?) 662 Teos 1066 Thermessos
 (Thermessus Maior) 321₁ 973₁ f. the
 tetropolis of Marathon (See Mara-
 thon) Thalamai 17 f. 31 Thasos
 808₀₍₁₀₎ Thebes in Boiotia 878₀₍₂₎
 898₃ 900₁ Thebes in Egypt 960₀
 Thera 17 817 1066 1095₀ 1156 Ther-
 mos in Aitolia 729₀ Thespia 599₂
 1061 1066 1151 Thessaly 873₂
 876₀₍₇₎ (?) 899₁ 900₁ 902₀ Thrace
 230 (?) 282 817 ff. 833 851 1225
 Thraeo-Phrygians 1111 Thyateira
 808₀₍₀₎ 1184 f. Mt Tmolos 957₂
 Tralleis 958₀ ff. Trapezous in Ark-
 kadia 871₃₍₃₎ 892₂ Troy 8 950₀
 Tyana 569 722₅ Tyndaris 917₁ 918₀
 Tyre 424₀ Venasa 616 Mt Viarus (?)
 973₀

Epithets: 'Αβροζήνρος 570 'Αγαμέμων
 1061 1069 f. 1112 'Αγαμήδης (?) 233₀
 1075 'Αγιος 1092₈ ἀγκυλομήτης 549₇
 ἀγρός 1122₉ 'Αγοραίος 51₁ 260₀ 929₀
 1177₂ 'Αγνιεύς 165 'Αγχεύμιος 897₄
 'Αέριος 808₀₍₀₎ 'Αθώς 906₁ αἰγίλοχος
 830₇ Αἰθέριος 727₃₍₃₎ Αἰνήσιος 907₂
 Αἰτναίος 908₁ 909₀ ἀκαμάτου πυρός
 ὁρμή 1027 ἀκοντιστήν κεραναῶ 705₃
 'Ακραίος 319 730₀ 869 871₃ 872₀ 873₀
 892₂ 904₂ 904₅ 915₁ 922₃ 956₁ 962₁
 963₁ 963₃ 963₄ ἀκρολοφίτας (See also
 Λοφείτης, 'Επιλόφιος) 343₀ 'Ακταίος
 869 904₂ ἀλάστροπος 1098 ἀλάστρος
 1098 1101 'Αλδήμιος or 'Αλδος 675

Zeus (cont.)

1187₀ ἀληθής Ζεὺς ὁ κεράστης (=Pan)
 1023 "Αλσειος (?) 945₁ 'Αλύσιος (?)
 945₁ 'Αμβούλιος 261₀ ἀμβροτος (ἀφ-
 θιτος) νύμφη 1027 f. 'Αμμων 388 986₀
 1136₄ 'Αμφιάραος 232 794 1061
 1070 ff. 1076 1112 ἀμφιθαλής 1072
 ἀναδωδωναίος (sic) 855₃ 'Αναδότης
 321₁ 1157₀ ἀναξ 855₂ 950₀ 956₂ 960₀
 ἀναξ ἀνάκτων 337₄ 'Απεσάντιος 892₄
 'Απέτας 892₄ 'Απήμιος 897₆ 898₀
 'Απόμνιος 781 ff. 850 'Αποτρόπαιος
 1157₀ ἀποτρόπαιος 1099₁ 'Αρβίος 945₂
 946₀ 'Αργαίος (?) 980₀ ἀργής 980₀
 ἀργικέρανος 806₈ 858 1027 f. "Αρειος
 705 ff. 848 ἀριστοτέχνης 693₃ 'Αρνεῖος
 918₁ 'Αρσηλιος (?) 559₆ ἄρσην 1027 f.
 ἀρχή 1033₁ ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων ἀργικέ-
 ρανος 1027 'Ασβαμαίος 569 'Αρείς
 321₀ ἀσελγής 348₂ 'Ασκληπίος 1077
 'Ασκληπίος 794 1061 1076 ff. 1112
 'Ασκληπίος Σωτήρ 1076 f. 'Ασκραίος
 872₀₍₆₎ 'Αστέριος 230 ἀστεροπητής
 723₀ 727₃₍₁₎ 806₈ 954₀ 1177₃ 'Αστρα-
 παίος 815 850 'Αστράπιος 1122
 ἀστράπιος 806₃ 815₄ 1100₁ 'Αστράπ-
 των 817₂ 817₃ 850 ἀστράπτων 817₃
 'Αταβύσιος in Rhodes 922₅ 923₀
 924₀ 925₀ Ataburius 588₁ αὐξητής
 1100₁ αὐτὸς ἀπάντων ἀρχιγένηθος
 1028 'Αφείσιος 179 266 f. (?) 841 892₄
 895₁ 896₀ 897₀ 1144₂ ἀφίκτωρ 1096₂
 1098 1101 Βαγαίος 294₀ (?) 295₂ 569
 Βάκχος 287 954₀ 1184 Βάλιος 271₀
 βαρύγδουπος 204₁ Βασιλεύς 727₃₍₁₎
 730₀ 731₀ 869₁ 899₂ 900₀ 1073 f.
 1076 1135 1135₄ (?) βασιλεύς 954₀
 1027 f. 1095₀ βασιλεύς μέγιστος 1122₉
 βασιλικός 879₀₍₁₇₎ Βελχάνος (?) = Fel-
 χάνος 948₀₍₄₎ Βεννεύς 883₀₍₀₎ 969₃
 Βέννιος 883₀₍₀₎ 969₃ Βήλος 128₄ 210₂
 675 Βιδάτας 723₀ 934₀ Βοξίος (Βωξίος)
 570 Βόλλαιος 259₀ Βόρειος 380 Βορ-
 τιαίος 1187 f. Βουλαίος 259₀ 260₀
 317₂ 824₄ 824₃ 873₀₍₁₀₎ 897₃ 1076
 1177₂ Βουλεύς 258₃ 1105 Βρονταίος
 833 ff. 852 882₀₍₀₎ 1100₁ 1177₂ Βρον-
 τήσιος (=Iupiter Tonans) 111₀ 835₆
 βροντοποιός 807₂ Βροντῶν 280₁ 805₆
 835 f. 838 f. 852 883₀₍₀₎ Βροντῶν
 (=Iupiter Tonans) 835₆ Βροντῶν καὶ
 'Αστράπτων 817 Βροντῶν καὶ Πατῆρ
 Θεός 836₂ Βροντῶν Νεικήτωρ Πατῆρ
 836₃ Βωξίος (Βοξίος) 570 Βώττιος
 1187₄ 1188 Γαιβόλιος (?) 18₃ Casius
 588₁ γενέτης (sc. Διονυσίου) 616₄
 γενέτωρ 1177₂ Γενηταίος 616 Γιγαν-
 τοφόνος 449₀ Γογγυλάτης 260₀ 824₄
 824₇ Γοναίος (?) 961₀ Δάης (?) 312₅
 δαίμων 856 Δακηνός 616 Δακίης (?)
 616₁ Δάκιος (?) 616₁ Δάος 312₅ Δει-
 πάτuros (See Deirapaturos) Διδυμιαίος
 317 Διδύμων γενάρχης 317₂ Δικαιό-
 σσνος 1092₃ Δικαιοσσνος Μέγας 1092₃
 δικηφόρος 806₁ Δικταίος 342₀ 723₀

Zeus (cont.)

731₀ 871₃₍₄₎ 927₁ 929₀ 930₀ 931₀
 1227 Δινδυμαῖος (?) 317₁ (See Διδυ-
 μαῖος) Διώνυσος 282 Δίος (rather
 than Δίος) 280 f. 836 842 Δελιχαῖος
 614-745₁ Δουσάρης 317₂ Δωδωναῖος
 693₃ 855₂ 960₀ 1121₀ Δωδωναῖος
 (= Hadrian) 959₀ Δωτήρ (?) 321₁
 δάτωρ ἀπημονίης 321₁ δάτωρ εἰδών 321₁
 ἐγγχειέρανος 704 Εἰδαῖος (See Ἰδαῖος)
 εἰς δαίμων 1028 Ἐκτωρ 8₇ ἐλασι-
 βρόντης 830₂ ἐλατήρ ὑπέρατρε βροντᾶς
 ἀκαμαντόποδος 94₂ 830₄ Ἐλάφριος
 599₇ Ἐλαφρός 599 Ἐλευθέριος 97₀
 118₁ 238₀ 343₀ 344₀ 763₁ 974₀ 1096₁
 1135₄ 1158₆ Ἐλικάνιος 898₅ Ἐλλάνιος
 894₃ Ἐλλήνιος 887₀₍₃₁₎ 895₀ 983₉
 Ἐλχάνος (?) = Φελχάνος 948₀₍₃₎ Ἐμ-
 βατήριος (= Trajan) 100₆ 1180₄ ἐνά-
 λιος 878₀₍₃₎ (?) 893₀ ἐν δέμας βασιλειον
 1028 Ἐνδονδρος 946₀ ἐν κράτος 1028
 ἐξακέσας (?) 1095₀ Ἐξακιστήρ 1093₁
 Ἐξακιστήριος 1093₁ ἐξ Αὐλῆς 249₂
 836 f. 1226 ἐξ Αὐλῆς Ἐπήκοος Θεός
 837₁ Ἐπάκριος 873 Ἐπερνύτιος (See
 Ἐπερνύτιος) Ἐπήκοος 249₂ 837₁
 885₀₍₂₀₎ 886₀₍₁₀₎ 886₀₍₃₀₎ 983₂ 983₄
 Ἐπήκοος Βροντῶν 835₆ 836 Ἐπι-
 βήμιος 897₃ 1180₄ Ἐπιδήμιος 1180₄
 Ἐπιδότης (?) 321 Ἐπιδότης 321₁
 Ἐπιδότης (Ἐπιδότης) 321₁ Ἐπι-
 κάρπιος 260₀ 1065 1177₂ 1186 Ἐπι-
 λόφιος (?) 875₀ 948₄ Ἐπερνύτιος 946₀
 Ἐπιστάσιος (= Jupiter Stator) 708₅
 Ἐπίστιος 311₈ (See also Ἐφέστιος)
 Ἐπιτέλειος Φίλιος 1163 1169 ἐπι-
 τιμήτωρ ἱκετῶν τε ξέλων τε 1097₀
 Ἐπόπτης 878₀₍₁₀₎ (?) cp. 889₀₍₃₃₎
 949₂ (?) Ἐπόπιος 697 1121 1123
 1130 f. 1130₃ 1130₇ 1159 ἐπόπιος
 1130₄ 1130₅ Ἐρεχθεύς 793 1146
 ἐρίγδουπος 723₀ 727₃₍₁₎ 1099₂ 1177₂
 ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης 584₁ 728₀
 ἐρισμάρατος 954₀ 1122₀ Ἐρκείος 723₀
 728₀ 730₀ 808₀₍₁₅₎ 893₀ Ἐρκείος Πα-
 τρώος 1066 Ἐταιρείος (Ἐταιρείος)
 1175₄ 1176₄ 1177₁ ἔταιρείος (ἔταιρείος)
 260₀ 723₀ 727₃₍₁₎ 1177₂ Ἐταιρήσιος
 311₈ (See also Ἐταιρείος) Εὐαγγέλιος
 956₀ Εὐβουλεύς 119₀ 131 258₃ 259₀
 1076 1105 Εὐβουλος (?) 1076 Εὐ-
 βουλεύς 259₀ Εὐεργέτης τῆς πύλης
 579₀₍₁₃₎ (?) Εὐκλείος 118₃ Εὐμένης
 (= Eumenes i) 960₀ 1229 Εὐμένης
 (= Hadrian) 959₀ f. Εὐξείνος 617
 1097₀ εὐρύ ἀνάσσειν 271₀ εὐρυμέδων
 1069 εὐρυνεφής 902₂ εὐρύοπα 1089
 Εὐρωμεύς (?) 589₀ Εὐρυπτος 231 f.
 Ἐφέστιος 1176₄ ἐφέστιος 723₀ 727₃₍₁₎
 1177₂ Ἐφόρκιος 723₀ Ἐφόρος 1130₁
 Φαλκάνος (?) or Φαλχάνος (?) = Φελ-
 χάνος 948₀₍₅₎ Φελχάνος (?) 947₀₍₂₎
 Φελχάνος or Φελχάνος 599₇ 947₀ Φευ-
 χάνος 947₀₍₁₎ Ζάλομοις (?) 230 822
 Ζβελθιοῦρδος 819 Ζβελθοῦρδος 817 ff.

Zeus (cont.)

822₂ 833 851 Ζβελθοῦρδος ὁ Κύριος
 1225 (See also Κύριος Ζβελθοῦρδος
 and Κύριος Θεός Προγονικός Ζβελ-
 θοῦρδος) Ζβερθιοῦρδος (?) 818₂₍₁₎
 Ζβερθοῦρδος 820₃ 821 Ζberturdus
 822₄ Ζητήρ 444₇ 1102₈ Ζιβελεῖζις (?)
 822 *Ζιβελεσοῦρδος (?) 822 Ζιβε-
 σοῦρδος 822₂ Ζλεθοῦρδος 822₃ ζῶον ἐκ
 ζῶων 1028 f. Ἡλακαταῖος 397₀ Ἡλα-
 κατεὺς 397₀ 1219 Ἡλιοδρόμος 312₅
 ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη 1027 Θεῖος 879₀₍₁₇₎
 Θεός 958₀ θεός ἐκ θεῶν 1028 f. Θεός
 Ἐπήκοος Βροντῶν 835₆ 836 Θεός Μέγας
 Βροντῶν 835₆ 836 θεὸν βασιλῆα καὶ
 ἀνδρῶν 1070 Θεὸν τὸν ἄριστον... ἠδὲ
 μέγιστον 1089 ὁμοβαῖος 210₂ Θυ-
 ἐστήης (?) 1022 Ἰδαῖος 321₁ (?) Ἰδαῖος
 in Crete 549 838 932 ff. 980₅ Ἰδαῖος
 in Phrygia 950₀ ff. Ἰδηθον μεδέων
 728₀ 855₂ 950₀ Ἰθωμάτας 728₀ 741
 743 890₆ 1222 Ἰκέσιος 321₁ (?) 1093
 1093₁ 1095₀ 1096₀ (?) 1097₀ 1098₄
 1101 1176₄ 1177₂ ἱκέσιος 1097 1097₁
 Ἰκέτας 1096 1101 ἱκετήσιος 1040 f.
 1097 1101 ἱκαῖος (?) 1098 1101 ἱκτηρῆ
 1098 1101 ἱκτιος (?) 1098₁ Καβάτας
 17 f. 31 Καθάριος 311₈ 1093₁ 1095₀
 1097₂ 1099 f. 1103₇ Καναῖος 902₂
 Καπετώλιος 879₀₍₁₇₎ 941₀ 1066 1188₁₄
 Καπετώλιος (= Κορυφαῖος) 869₁ Κα-
 ραῖς 873 894₁ Καραῖς 1226 Κάριος
 577 591₁ 598₁ 873₂ καρπῶν τροφείος
 1074 Κάσιος 941₀ Κάσιος in Egypt
 984₄ ff. Κάσιος at Epidaurus 894₂
 Κάσιος (Κάσιος) in Korkyra 906₃
 907₀ (See also Iupiter Casius (Cas-
 sius)) Κάσιος (Κάσιος) in Syria
 810₀ (?) 982₀ 983₀ 1191 f. Κάσι(ο)s
 Σῶζ[ων] 987₀ Κάσις (See Κάσι(ο)s)
 Καταιβάτας 16 f. Καταιβάτης 13 ff.
 45 131 161 502₂ 559 745₁ 793 840
 845 869₁ 962₀ 983₁ 1075 καταχθόνιος
 582₄ 893₀ Κατεβάτης (= Καταιβάτης)
 16₁ κελαινεφής 858 950₀ 982₀ κεράστιος
 (= Pan) 1023 κεραινεγχής 704 κε-
 ραῖνειος 9₅ 806₈ 807₄ Κεράνιος 428
 807 ff. 850 941₀ 956₀ 983₀ 1100₁
 1187 1225 1228 Κεράνιος Σωτήρ
 962₀ Κερανοβόλος 807 850 κερανο-
 βόλος 807₂ κερανοβρόντης 806₈ Κε-
 ρανός 11 ff. 807 814 840 850 κεφαλή
 1027 f. Κήνιαος (Κηναῖος) 902₂ 903₀
 Κιθαιρῶνιος 898₆ Κλάριος 807₂ 873₂
 892₁ 1148 f. Κλάριος 873₂ Κλύμενος (?)
 1075 κοίρανος ἀθανάτων 982₀ Κόνιος
 (not Κρόνιος, nor Κώνιος, nor Σκότιος,
 nor Χθόνιος) 257₄ 1139₀ Κορυφαῖος
 285₀ 868 f. 869₁ 957₁ 983₃ 1218 f.
 (See also Καπετώλιος) κορυφαῖος τῆς
 τῶν ἄστρων περιφορᾶς καὶ διηγήσεως
 καὶ χορείας καὶ δρόμου 869₁ κουρίζων
 928₀ κοῖρος 928₀ (See also Μέγιστε
 Κοῦρε... Κρόνιε) Κράγιος 972₀ Κραται-
 βάτης 32 1211 κρείων 1089 Κρητα-

Zeus (cont.)

γενής 238_c 587 675 731₀ Κρονίδης
204₁ 321₁ 954₀ 1095₀ Κρόνιος (See
Μέγιστε Κούρε... Κρόνιε) Κρονίων
734₃ 831₀ 950₀ 956₂ 1028 1099₂
1219 Κρόνου παῖς 908₁ Κρόνου υἱός
957₂ Κρεβάτης (= Καταβάτης) 16₁
Κτήσιος 3₀ 321 384₀ 1054 f. 1112
1140 κύδιμε δαίμων 957₂ κύδιστ' ἀθαν-
άτων 855 κύδιστος 728₀ 950₀ Κύνθιος
919₀ 920₀ 921₀ 922₀ Κύριος Ζηελ-
σοῦρδος 1225 Κύριος Θεός Προγονικός
Ζηελσοῦρδος 1225 Κώμνος 1228
Λαβραδεύς 559 f. 572 Λαβράνιος 598 f.
Λαβραῦνδείς 1228 Λαβραῦνδιος 962₀
Λαβραῦνδος (Λαμβραῦνδος, Λαβραῦ-
νδος, Λαβραῦνδος (?), Λαβραῖνδος,
Λαβραῖνδος (?), Λαβρανένδος, Λά-
βρενδος, Λάβρανδος (?), Λαβρανδεύς,
Λαβραδεύς, Λαβρανδηνός) 576 f. 585 ff.
585₃ 597 ff. 598₁ 614 663 846 848
884₀₍₀₎ 963₇ 1220 1228 Λαβρένδιος
962₀ Labrios (?) 599₅ Labryandius
588₁ Λακεδαίμων 436 Laodicensis (?)
320₀ Laodicenus (?) 320₀ Λαοδικεύς (?)
320₀ Λαοδικηνός (?) 320₀ Λαπέρσιος
599 Laprius 588₁ 599 Λαράσιος
958₀ ff. 962₀ Λαράσιος Σεσατός Εὐ-
μενής (= Hadrian) 959₀ f. Λαριασαίος
892₅ 958₀ 1144₂ Λαρίσιος 957₃ f. Λα-
ρισσεύς 893₀ 1144₂ Λατάρσιος 941₀
Λάφριος (?) 599 Λαφρίστιος in Boiotia
899₁ Λαφύστιος in Thessaly 904₁
1226 Λέψυσιος 962₀ Λίθος (= Iupiter
Lapis) 546₀ λιμενοσκόπος 343₀ Λι-
ταῖος 1099 1100₀ Λοφέτης 873 f. 949₃
Λύκαιος 187 761 849 891₃ 927₁ 1013
1092 1105 1167 Λυκάρσιος 901₂ 902₀
Μαζεύς (?) 294₀ 570₀ μακάρ 954₀ 955₀
μακάρων μακάρτατε 337₄ Μαλειαῖος
488₀₍₀₎ 890₄ Μάνης 312 312₅ μαντικός
1097₂ μεγαβρόντης 727₃₍₁₁₎ Μέγας
344 f. 350₁ μέγας 295₂ 298₂ 321₁ 342₀
569₇ 727₃₍₃₎ 925₁ 940₀ 1099₂ 1122₀
1130₁ 1160 1160₄ μέγας ἀρχός ἀπάν-
των 1028 μέγας βουῖς 345₄ Μέγας
βροντῶν 835₈ 836 μέγασθενής 693₃
Μέγιστος 585₃ Μέγιστε Κούρε...
Κρόνιε 931₀ Μέγιστος 807₂ 885₀₍₂₀₎
956₀ 983₂ 985₁ (?) 1157₅ (?) (See also
Μέγιστε Κούρε... Κρόνιε) μέγιστος
728₀ 950₀ Μέγιστος Κεραῖνιος 807₅₍₁₁₎
Μέγιστος Σωτήρ 956₀ Μέγιστος Ἰψί-
στος 886₀₍₀₎ 983₂ Μελίχιος 291₂
321 (?) 715 1037 1061 1091 ff. 1154
1155 1156 ff. 1159 f. 1161 1173 ff.
1177₂ Μελίχιος 1149 1160 μελίχιος
1092₃ Μεληνός 280₁ Μελισσαῖος 928₀
1112₆ Μελίχιος (= Μελίχιος) 1147
1149 μέσσα 1027 f. 1033₁ Μηδεύς
(Μηδινεύς) 312₅ Μήλιος 918₁ Μηλίχιος
(= Μελίχιος) 1156 1157₄ Μηλώσιος
918₁ μητίετα 1025 1147 μητίετης
259₀ μητιεύς 716 721₃ 1017 1147
Μητιών (?) 1146 Μηχανεύς 1144₂

Zeus (cont.)

Μελίχιος (= Μελίχιος) 1105 1108
1115 1142 1144₂ (?) 1157₁ Μελίχιος
(= Μελίχιος) 1151 Μοιραγέτας 231₈
Μοιραγέτης 187₁ 231 1137₀ Μολί-
588₁ Μοννίτιος 723₀ Μόριος 20₄ 502₂
Μυλεύς 260₀ 824₄ 824₉ Νάσιος 350₆
763₁ 826 869₀ 1117 (?) Νάκρασος (?)
714₃ Νευαλείτης 285₀ 1217 f. Νευκή-
τωρ 836₃ Νέμειος 259₀ 1143₅ 1186
1187₀ νεφεληγέρετα 723₀ 727₃₍₁₁₎ 950₀
1177₂ Νικηφόρος (Νευκηφόρος) Κεραῖ-
νιος 1225 νόμος μέτα πάντα κυβερνῶν
855 Νόσιος 317₂ Νωδαῖος (?) 932₁
ξείνιος 1097₂ ξείνιος, ὅς ξείνοιαν αἰ-
αῖδοῖσιαν ὀπηδεῖ 1097₀ 1101 Ξένιος
260₀ 617 723₀ 727₃₍₁₁₎ 887₀₍₃₁₎ 983₉
1097₂ 1101 1102₀ 1102₇ 1142 1169₅
1176₄ 1177₂ 1229 Ξένιος καὶ Φίλιος
1177₂ οἰκοφύλαξ ὄσιων ἀνδρῶν 1125₀
δλβιος 337₄ 955₂ ὄλοπτος 1030 Ὀλύ-
βριος οἱ Ὀλύβρις 980₁ Ὀλύμπιος 348₀
695₀ 723₀ 727₃₍₂₎ 941₀ 1074 1157₀
Ὀλύμπιος at Akragas 911₀ Ὀλύμπιος
at Athens 1078 1118 1118 1121₀ 1123
Ὀλύμπιος in Bithynia 815₅ Ὀλύμπιος
in Chios 1157₁ Ὀλύμπιος at Corinth
916₀ Ὀλύμπιος at Daphne, near
Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191
Ὀλύμπιος at Elis 728₀ Ὀλύμπιος at
Ephesus 962₂ Ὀλύμπιος in Lykia
972₁ Ὀλύμπιος in Mysia 953₂ Ὀλύμ-
πιος at Olympia 18 758₀ 761 1188
Ὀλύμπιος at Pergamon 956₀ Ὀλύμ-
πιος at Prousa ad Olympum 964₂
Ὀλύμπιος at Seleukeia Pieria 869₁
Ὀλύμπιος at Syracuse 915₂ 916₀ 917₀
Ὀλύμπιος (= Hadrian) 959₀ Ὀλύμ-
πιος Πισαῖος 962₀ Ὀμβριος 897₅ 897₆
898₀ 1226 Ὀμοβοῦλιος 962₀ Ὀμόγνιος
1176₃ 1176₄ 1177₂ Ὀμόγνιος 723₀ 1177₂
Ὀμολώσιος 857₆ 900₁ 901₀ 904₄ 1227
Ὀμολώσιος 857₆ Ὀμονώσιος 857₆ Ὀμό-
ριος (?) 1090 ὁ πᾶς κόσμος 1028 f.
Ὀπλόσμος 290₀ Ὀπωρεῖς 1074 Ὀρά-
τριος (= Φράτριος) 342₀ 723₀ Ὀρειος
868 Ὀρέστης (?) 1179 1183₃ Ὀρθώσιος
(= Iupiter Stator) 422₁ 708₅ Ὀριος
(= Iupiter Terminus or Terminalis)
1090 Ὀρκιος 569₄ 722 722₅ 726 f.
727₃₍₁₁₎ 1176₄ 1177₂ ὄρκιος 723₀ Ὀρομ-
πάτας 869₀ Ὀσογῶα 578₄₍₃₎ 579₀₍₀₈₎
(10-12) (14-16) (11-5) 580₀₍₇₎ 598₁ 616₁
663 715 790₀ 846 963₇ 1220 Ὀσο-
γῶα Ζηνοποσειδῶν (Ζανοποσειδῶν)
578₄₍₂₎₍₄₎ Ὀσογῶα Σωτήρ καὶ Εὐε-
ργέτης τῆς πόλεως 579₀₍₁₃₎ (?) Ὀσο-
γῶα Zeus Ζηνοποσειδῶν 578₄₍₃₎₍₅₋₇₎
579₀₍₀₎ Ὀσογῶσιος (?) οἱ Ὀσογῶσιος (?)
579₀₍₁₁₎₍₁₁₎ Ὀσσαῖος 904₃ ὁ τὰ περὶ
τῆς φιλίας ἐπισκοπῶν 1176₅ 1177₀ ὁ
(τῆς) φιλίας ἐφορος 1176₅ 1177₀ ὁ τῆς
φιλίας προστάτης 1177₀ ὁ τῶν θεῶν
κορυφαῖος 1188₇ ὁ τῶν θεῶν ἑπατός
τε καὶ ὑπέρατος 891₀ Ὀτωρκονδέων

Zeus (cont.)

579₀₍₂₎ 580 580₁₀₍₁₎ 581₀₍₅₎₍₁₋₅₎ Ου-
δαίος (= Plouton) 343₀ Ουράνιος 436
869₁ 1065 1158 Ουράνιος "Υψιστος
Σααρραίος "Επήκοος 886₀₍₃₀₎ 983₄ Ου-
ριος 707 f. 917₀ 918₀ πᾶ (?) 294₀
570₀ παγγενέτης 1122₉ παγκρατῆς αἰεὶ
855 παγκρατῆς γάνος 931₀ Παγχαίος
342₀ (?) Παῖς 742 f. 749 826₆ Παλαμ-
ναίος 260₀ 1097₂ 1098 1098₅ 1099₁
1101 παλαμναίων τιμήρον ικεσιδίων
1097₂ Παλάμνιος 1099₀ πάμμεγας
349₂₀ Πανάμαρος 587 714₃ 963₈ 1195₃
(See also Πανήμεριος, Πανήμερος)
πάνδωρος 858 Πανελλήνιος 894₃ 895₀
895₁ 1119₄ 1120₀ Πανήμεριος 963₈
Πανήμερος 963₈ (See also Πανάμαρος)
Πανκτήςσιος 1067 Παννύχιος 941₀
Πανομφαῖος 1097₂ 1211 Πανόπτης
1130 πανοτινάκτης 1100₁ πάντων
διατάκτωρ καὶ ὄλου τοῦ κόσμου 1023
1051 πανπέρτατος 321₁ Παπαῖος 292₄
Πάπας or Παπᾶς 292 Παπίας 292₄
Παπῶος 292₄ Παρηθῖσιος 897₆ πασι-
άναξ 1113₀₍₂₎ Πόσιος 1095₀ πάτερ
(voc.) 271₀ 584₁ 693₃ 728₀ 855₂ 858
922₂ 950₀ 957₂ 1094₀ 1130₁ πάτερ
εἰρήνης βαθυκ[ῆ]ρου] 875₁₍₂₎ Πατήρ
836₂ 836₃ πατήρ 1023 1030 πατρα-
λοῖας 942₀ Πάτριος 1141 Πατρίως
233 244 280₁ 723₀ 902₂ 950₀ 1066
1095₀ Πατρίως "Επιλόφιος (?) 948₄
Παυσίλυπος 1123₃ 1124₀ Πεισαῖος 962₀
Πελασγικός 960₀ Πελιναῖος 922₄
Περικλύμενος (?) 1075 περὶφαντος 1122
Περίφας (?) 1122 Περφερέτας 496₀
1220 Πίκος 697₀ (See further Píkos
who is also Zeus) Πίστιος (= Fídios)
724₀ Πλουτοδότης 251₂ 385₀ πνοιή
πάντων 1027 Πολιεύς 260₀ 869₁ Πολ-
ιεύς at Athens 897₂ 897₃ Πολιεύς at
Delphoi 231 Πολιεύς in Kos 238₀
Πολιεύς at Lindos 923₀ Πολιοῦχος
941₀ πολύξενος (?) 1113₀₍₂₎ πολυξενώ-
τατος 1113₀₍₂₎ πολύσταχυς 295₂ 569₇
Πολύτεχνος (?) 693 πολυώνυμος 855
πόντου ῥίζα 1027 Ποσειδῶν (or Πότις
or Πότις) 285 287₁ Ποτῆος (accent
unknown) 285 πρευμενής 1098₄ Προ-
γονικός 1225 Προπάτωρ 941₀ προσ-
τρόπαιος (προστροπαῖος) 1097₂ 1098 f.
1099₀ 1101 πρώτος 1027 f. πυθμῆν
γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερῆεντος
1027 f. "Ρεμβήνοδος (?) 714₃ Σαάζιος
(for Σαάζιος = Σαβάζιος) 284₀ Σααρ-
ραῖος 886₀₍₃₀₎ 983₄ Σαβάζιος 282 285₀
287₂ 664₁ (?) 745₁ 954₀ 957₂ 975₀
1184 1217 Σαουάζιος (= Σαβάζιος)
285₀ 1217 f. Σάραπις 1171₃ op. 773₀
(See also Σέραπις) Σαώτης 599₂ 1151
Σεβαστός (= Hadrian) 959₀ f. σει-
σίχλων 1100₁ Σέραπις 714₃ (?) (See
also Σάραπις) Σεραναῖος 883_{0(w)} Ση-
μαλέος 4 897₆ Σημαντικός 280₁ σκαται-
βότης (?) 15₁ 1211 Σκύλιος 723₀

Zeus (cont.)

Σκυλοφόρος (= Iupiter Feretrius)
111₀ Σολυμεύς 973₁ f. Σόλυμος 974₀
Σπάλαξ (less probably Σπάλωξ)
1220 Σπάλωξος 587 Στάτωρ (= Iupiter
Stator) 708₃ στεροπηγερέτα 806₃
Στήσιος (= Iupiter Stator) 708₅
Στορπάσιος 815 850 1099₀ Στρατιεύς
591₂ Στρατηγός 707 f. 848 918₀
Στράτιος 111₀ 585 591 591₂ 594 594₂
595 (?) 595₀ 598₁ 705 713 715 722
846 848 884_{0(w)} 963₇ 974₁ ff. Συκάσιος
1103 σφέλιος 727₃₍₁₎ Σώζων 987₀
Σωσίοπολις (?) 1151 (op. i. 58) Σωτήρ
233 292₄ 317₃ 321₁ 343₀ 434₃ 727₃₍₃₎
728₀ 763₁ 884_{0(w)} 955₀ 962₆ 970₀ 1121
1123 1129₀ 1133₁ 1141 1142₁ 1144₂
1147 1151 1156₁₃ 1159 1162 1169
1191 1228 f. [Σωτήρ ἄπαντος ἀνθρώ-
πων γένε[us]] 280₁ [Σωτήρ] τοῦ σύμ-
παντος ἀνθρώπειου γένους] 280₁ Σω-
τήρ Τέλειος 1123₇ σωτήριος 1123₇
1124₀ Ταλαῖος 948₁ Ταλετίτας 890₂
948₁ Ταλλαῖος 948₁ ταμῆς πολέμοιο
734₃ Ταραναῖος 754₁ Ταραναῖος 32₃
Τέλειος 1076 f. 1089 1123₇ 1124₀ 1147
1150 1156₁₃ 1159 1162 1163₂ 1175
Τέλειος Σωτήρ 1124₀ Τελεσιουργός
1228 Τελεσφόρος 838 1089 τελεσ-
φόρος 1089 τέλειων τελεῖσθαι τον κρέτος
337₄ Τεράστιος 81 1211 Τερμινθεύς
962₀ τερπικέρανος 502₂ 779 f. 806₃
822 1067 1070 1097₀ Τετράρωτος 322
842 Τηρέως (?) 693 697 Τιμωρός 874₂
1099₀ 1101 τοῦ κατὰ χθονός | Διὸς
νεκρῶν Σωτήρος 1125₀ Τρεφώνιος or
Τροφώνιος 233₀ 794 1061 1073 ff.
1112 Τριφύλιος 1095₀ Τροπαῖος 110₀
111₀ 956₀ Τροπαιοῦχος 111₀ Τρο-
παιοῦχος (= Iupiter Feretrius) 111₀
Τροπαιοφόρος (= Iupiter Feretrius)
111₀ Τροφώνιος (See Τρεφώνιος)
Τρώσιος 571₆ τῶν περὶ Λάκων 1156₁₀
τῶν περὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρον 1156₁₀ τῶν
περὶ Πολύξενον 1156₁₀ τῶν φιλικῶν
καθηκόντων ἔφορος 1177₀ "Τήνης (?)
1227 f. "Τέτιος 164₅ 164₈ 318₀ 869₁
1144₂ ἔτιος 276₁ "Τμήτιος 897₅
"Τνναρεῖς ("Τνναριεῖς?) 981₁ "Τπατος
163₄ 737 875 890₃ 897₂ 898₁ 898₂
956₂ (?) ὕπατος 271₀ ὕπατος βασιλεύς
διὰ παντός 856 ὕπατος θεῶν 1125₁
*Τπερβερέτας 496₀ ὑπερμενής 1028
"Τπερφερέτης (= Iupiter Feretrius)
111₀ 496₀ ὕστατος 1027 f. ὑψιβρεμέτης
830₁ 838 ὑψίδρομον (Pierson) cj. ὑψί-
δρομον) πυριανγέα κόσμον ἐλαύνων
830₁ ὑψίζυγος 830₁ ὑψιμέδων 875₁₍₂₎
907₂ "Υψιστος 231₈ 293₀ 876 876₁ ff.
891₂ 892₃ 897₃ 898₃ 906₂ 907₁ 922₁
922₂ 953₁ 956₀ (?) 963₂ 963₅₋₉ 983₂
983₄ 983₆ 983₀ 1144₂ ὕψιστος 890₁
"Υψιστος Βρονταῖος 834 f. "Υψιστος καὶ
"Επήκοος 885₀₍₂₉₎ 886_{0(w)} 983₃ "Υψιστος
"Επόπτης (?) 949₂ "Υψιστος Μέγιστος

Zeus (cont.)

Ἐπήκοος 885₀₍₂₀₎ 983₂ Φαλακρός 874₂ 893₁ 1099₀ 1144₂ 1226 Φερέτριος (= Iupiter *Feretrius*) 111₀ Φερέρετας 496₀ 1220 Φηγός (?) 413₂ φιλάνθρωπος 1177₂ Φίλιος 260₀ 723₀ 727₃₍₁₎ 727₃₍₂₎ 728₀ 956₀ 1061 1092₈ 1119₀ 1141 1160 ff. 1173 ff. 1186 1196 f. φίλος 1167 φίλτατος 1167₅ φοινικοστερόπας 806₃ Φάρτριος 723₀ 728₀ 730₀ 1177₂ Φύξιος 902₀ 1097₂ 1144₂ 1177₂ φύσεως ἀρχηγέ 855 φιντάλιος 1100₁ φιντάλιμος 260₀ 1177₂ Χαριδότης 1065 Χρόνιος 829 878₀₍₃₎ 1100₁ 1119₀ 1155 Χρυσασαρεύς οἱ Χρυσασάριος 714 ff. 722 848 Χρυσασαρεύς 884₀₍₀₎ ὠδαῖος (?) 932₁ Ὀρομάσσης 386 980₆

Festivals: Aitnaia 908₁ Basileia 900₀ Boukatia 235 Daidala Megala 977₀ Deia 320₀ Deia Sebasta Oikoumenika 320₀ Diasia 1138 ff. Διὸς βοῦς (See *Rites*) Eleutheria (?) 974₀ Homoloia 900₁ Ithomaia (Ithomais) 890₆ Megala Panhellenia 1121₀ Meilichia 1091 f. 1092₅ New Year's Day 931₀ Olympia 964₂ Panhellenia 1119₄ *pentacteria* 1179 Traianeia Deiphileia 1180 *trieteria* 934₀ Xanthikos 23 981₁ f. yearly sacrifice and *panegyris* 576₂

Rites: altars at Olympia and Pergamon made of ashes from thighs of victims 955₀ ἀνιπτόποδες at Tralleis 959₀ f. banquet for all present at sacrifice to Zeus Σπράτιος 974₁ bovine omophagy 539 cp. 934₀ burial of bull 345 539 ceremonial purity 934₀ communion-feast 1173 daily oblation to sceptre of Zeus at Chaironeia 547₂ Διὸς βοῦς 318₀ Διὸς κώδιον 1065 effigy worn by votaries 299 ff. first-fruits 872₀₍₅₎ funeral offering in Idaean Cave 934₀ 942₀ god killed and eaten in form of bull 345 hecatomb sacrificed to Zeus Κάσιος on Mt Kasion in Syria 982₀ 1192 hecatomb sacrificed to Zeus Νέμειος at Argos 1144₂ human consort 128₄ 210₂ (See also *infra* παλλακίδες) human sacrifice to Zeus Ἀταβύριος in Rhodes (?) 924₀ human sacrifice to Zeus Ἰθωμάτας 890₆ human sacrifice to Zeus Λαφύστιος at Halos 904₁ (?) human sacrifice to Zeus Λαφύστιος on Mt Laphystion 899₁ human sacrifice to Zeus-like deity Θυέστης at Mykenai (?) 1022 incubation 232 982₀ (?) initiation 1186 jars of Zeus Κτήσιος 1054 ff. libation from first *kratér* to Zeus and Hera 1123₇ 1124₀ libation from first *kratér* to Zeus Ὀλύμπιος and the Olympians 1123 libation from third *kratér* to

Zeus (cont.)

Zeus Σωτήρ 1123₇ 1124₀ 1125₀ libation from third *kratér* to (Zeus) Σωτήρ and Ὀλύμπιος 1124₀ libation from third *kratér* to Zeus Σωτήρ or Τέλειος 1123 libation from third *kratér* to Zeus Σωτήρ Τέλειος 1123₇ libation to Zeus Διδυμαῖος with ivy-leaves 317₁ libation and prayer to Zeus Ἰδαῖος 950₀ libation to Zeus Κτήσιος 1058 libation to Zeus περπικέρανος 1097₀ love-feast 1197 lying prone 835 mysteries at Antiocheia on the Orontes 1186₆ mysteries in Crete 345 mysteries at Pergamon 288₀ new fire (?) 1149₂₍₁₎ νηφάλια 1142₃ no wine- or animal-offerings on altar of Zeus Ἰππας at Athens 875₁₍₂₎ oak-brides burnt on Mt Kithairon 977₀ oath taken over boar 726 f. 728₀ offering of meal (?) 18 omophagy 934₀ cp. 539 παγκάρπεια 1058 παλλακίδες at Thebes in Egypt 960₀ παλλακίδες at Tralleis 959₀ f. (See also *supra* human consort) πέλανος 1058 procession up Mt Pelion 870₀ processions at Pergamon 288₀ purification by figs (?) 1103₄ 1103₇ purification in cult of Zeus Φίλιος 1186 sacrifice by Labyadaia (Boukatia) 235 sacrifice of bull to Zeus Βρονταῖος 835 sacrifice of bull to Zeus Σπράτιος 975₀ sacrifice of nine bulls to Zeus Κήραιοι 902₂ sacrifice of cakes moulded into forms of animals 1138₂ 1140 sacrifice of seven cakes to Zeus Πολιεύς 238₀ sacrifice of goat to Zeus Ἀσκραῖος 872₀₍₅₎ sacrifice of humped bull to Zeus Σολυμείς 973₁ sacrifice of milk, honey, wine, oil, incense to Zeus Σπράτιος 974₁ 977₀ sacrifice of ox to Zeus Ἐρκείος 728₀ sacrifice of three-year-old ox to Zeus 287₂ 954₀ sacrifice of three-year-old ox to Zeus Βάκχος 287₂ 954₀ sacrifice of pig to Zeus Βουλεύς 1105 sacrifice of pig to Zeus Εὐβουλεύς 1105 sacrifice of pig to Zeus Λύκαιοι 1105 sacrifice of pig to Zeus Μελίχιος 1105 ff. 1140₂ (?) 1142 1157 sacrifice of pig to Zeus Φίλιος 1161 sacrifice of ram to Zeus Λαφύστιος 904₁ sacrifice of ram to Zeus (? Μελίχιος ? Φίλιος) 1175 sacrifice of sheep to Zeus Μελίχιος 1138₂ 1140 sacrifice of white ox to Zeus Κτήσιος 1065 1067 (See also white victims) sacrifice of singled victim to (Zeus) Μηλίχιος 1156 sacrifice to Zeus at Olympia on logs of white-poplar 467 sacrifices to Zeus Σπράτιος on mountaintops 974₁ ff. taboo on onions among devotees of Zeus Κάσιος at Pelou-

Zeus (cont.)

sion 987₀ thigh-pieces of oxen burnt for Zeus at Ephesos 962₂ thigh-pieces of oxen burnt for Zeus on Mt Ide in Phrygia 950₀ thigh-pieces of oxen burnt for Zeus at Troy 950₀ throne strown annually in Idaean Cave 934₀ 942₀ cp. 940₀ thunder-making 838 f. 852 934₀ *θυσία ἀπυρος παγκαρπείας* 1058 torch-lighting 1158 uninitiated persons and women may not enter precinct of Zeus "Τπατος in Paros 875₁₍₅₎ union with Deo and Persephatta at Eleusis 132₂ water from Klepsydra brought daily to sanctuary of Zeus 'Ιθωμάτας 890₆ white victims sacrificed to Zeus 'Ακραίος 871₃₍₁₎ (See also sacrifice of white ox)

Priests: ἀμφίπολος of Zeus 'Ολύμπιος as eponymous magistrate of Syracuse 916₀ ἀρχιερεύς 579₀₍₁₀₎ 973₁ at Adrianoi in Mysia 127 at Dodona go with unwashen feet and sleep on ground 960₀ at Mylasa dedicate temple-columns 580 at Mylasa distinguished citizens priests for life 576 f. Βεννείται 883₀₍₀₎ φακόρος 921₀ 922₀ head of priest of Zeus 'Οπλόσμος denounces murderer 290₀ ιερεύς 578₄ 921₀ 922₀ ιερεύς διὰ βίον 111₀ 616₁ 973₁ 976₀ cp. 576 f. ιεροποιοί 921₀ κλειδοῦχος 921₀ 922₀ νεωκόρος 967₀ 976₀ νεωκόρος διὰ βίον 967₀ cp. 1225 ξυλεύς at Olympia 471 of Zeus 'Ακραίος as eponymous magistrate of Magnetes 871₃₍₁₎ of Zeus Βῆλος 128₄ of Zeus 'Ιθωμάτας 743 890₆ of Zeus Παῖς 743 of Zeus Τροπαιοῦχος 111₀ Onetor 950₀ ὀνικῶν κάλλει 742₅ πατήρ ιερῶν 1177₃ Σελλοί 960₀ Spartan kings 353 τόμαροι (τόμουροι) 693₃ ὑποφῆται 960₀

Priestesses: buried near temple of Zeus "Τψιστος 878₀₍₄₎ Diotima 1167 'Fly' at Dodona 215₁ κανηφόρος 900₀ πελειάδες 350 693₃ προφήτις 214 ff.

Worshippers: akin to Zeus 950₀ Βάκχοι 934₀ Διοσαταβυριασταί 1157₃ Διοσμυλιχιασταί 1157₃ ἐρανισταί 1161 θιασῶται 585₃ ιερόδοιοι 616₁ Κουρήτες 934₀ Σαίι (?) 328 ff. συνμύσται 282₁

Personated by Agamemnon 1069 f. Aleos (?) 1147 Amphiaros 1070 ff. Amphitryon 1072 Antiochos iv Epiphanes 1188 f. Antoninus Pius 101₁ 343₀ Athenian kings 1135 1142 Augustus 97₀ 260₀ Caracalla 1186 1209 Commodus 1185 Cretan prince (?) 522 Domitian 97₀ 1194 cp. 811₅ (fig. 777 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 48, 4, ii. 229) Epepeus (?) 1146 Eumenes i 960₀

Zeus (cont.)

1228 forefather of family 1061 Germanicus Caesar 260₀ Geta 1186 Hadrian 260₀ 280₁ 343₀ 956₀ 959₀ f. 962₂ 1120₀ 1121₀ Ixion (?) 1088 Keyx 1088 king 24 192 192₅ 794 833 897₀ 940₀ 944₀ 945₀ 1061 1065 1069 f. 1070 ff. 1073 f. 1076 1088 ff. 1121 ff. 1159 f. 1185 f. kings descended from Aiolos 1159 kings of Delphoi (?) 192₅ kings of Orchomenos in Boiotia (?) 1150 kings of Sparta (?) 353 kings of Thessaly 1087 ff. kings struck by lightning 24 local champion 1070 Marathon (?) 1146 Minos (?) 940₀ 944₀ 945₀ Minyas (?) 1150 Nero 97₀ 1194 Nerva 1194 Pelops (?) 1147 Perikles 816₁ Periphas 24₄ 1121 ff. Roman emperors 100 ff. 320₀ (?) 1209 Salmooneus 24₄ 1088 1122 Simon Magus 726₀ Theophanes 97₀ Trajan 100₆ 1180 1180₄ 1209₅ Xerxes 853₄

Myths: Aetos 933₀ Amphiaros 1071 Asklepios 23 Auriga 477₇ bids Apollon to serve Admetos 241₄ binds Kronos beneath oak-trees 448₁ 1027 birth of Athena 721₂ 1029 born in a cave of Mt Aigaion 925₁ 932₁ born in a cave of Mt Dikte 928₀ 932₁ 986₀ born in a cave of Mt Ide in Crete (?) 230₆ 932₁ 951₀ born in a cave of Mt Ide in Phrygia 951₀ born at Dios Gonai in Boiotia 961₀ born at Dios Gonai in Lydia 961₀ born on Mt Sipylos 956₂ born on Mt Tmolos 957₂ brings the babe Dionysos to Mt Tmolos 957₂ brought by Kouretes to Idaean Cave 932₁ cp. 928₀ buried in Crete 219 345 556₀ 694₀ 943₀ causes Trojan war 261₁ his chariot followed by procession of souls 63₀ childhood 899₀ chooses the eagle 752₄ comes from Crete to Naxos 187₈

consorts with Aigina d. of Asopos 187₈ 894₃ Aitne 909₀ Amaltheia 229₁ Chaldene 973₁ Danaë 694₀ 1131₁ Demeter 1029 Deo (= Demeter) 132₂ 345₆₍₂₎ Dia 1088 Dione 1029 Europe 187₈ 848 929₀ 947₀ 1131₁ Euryodeia (Euryodia) 1152₄ Hera 343₀ 893₂ 902₂ 950₀ 1020 1029 Hermippe d. of Boiotos 1150 Hesiodeia d. of Danaos 1150 Hippodameia d. of Danaos 1150₂ Idaia 940₀ Io 961₀ Kalchedonia 973₁ Kallisto 228₄ 228₅ 1217 Lamia 1130 f. Leda 1015₇ 1131₁ Magna Mater 969₄ Manthea (?) 229₁ Medeia 1088 Nemesis 1015 1131₁ Persephatta (= Kore) 132₂ Persephone 1114₀₍₅₎ Phersephone or Kore 1029 Pluto 449₀ Rhea 1029 Semele 187₈ 956₂ one of the Sithnides 897₁ Thaleia

Zeus (cont.)

909₀ Themis 37₁ willow-goddess (?) 947₀

consults Nyx 1029 consults Nyx and Kronos 1027 creates the world anew inside himself 1027 deposited by Typhon in Corycian Cave 449₀ Deukalion builds altar of Zeus Ἀφείσιος 892₄ Deukalion sacrifices to Zeus Φύξιος 902₀ Dionysos sewn up in thigh of Zeus 957₂ Διὸς ἀπάρη 1020 f. Dirke 1019 drives out Kronos 933₀ 941₀ 942₀ drives Kronos out of Assyria 693₄ 694₀ Erechtheus 24 794 exiles Apollon to land of Hyperboreoi 484 493 Flumen 477₇ founds city on Mt Dikte 928₀ 929₀ Ganymedes 188₀ 189₀ 281₄ 933₀ Gigantomachia 752₄ 830₇ gives Dionysos to Ma to nurse 565₂ gives golden vine to Tros 281₄ gives ring to Prometheus 990 golden hound 1227 golden ram 899₁ golden rope 1029 1211 golden vine 281₄ has Aigokeros or Capricornus for foster-brother 932₁ 933₀ has sinews of his hands and feet cut out by Typhon and hidden in a bear-skin under the care of Delphyne 228 449₀ Hektor 950₀ helped by Aigokeros or Capricornus against Titans 933₀ hidden from Kronos by Korybantēs 940₀ hidden from Kronos by Kres 928₀ infancy in Dictæan Cave 928₀ 929₀ infancy on Mt Ide in Crete 932₁ infancy on a Phrygian mountain 968₁₋₃ 969₂ Io 782₁ Ixion 1098₄ jars of good and evil 1067 f. Kapaneus 23 824 f. Kasios 981₁ Kekrops founds altar of Zeus Ἰπάρως 875₍₂₎ Korybantēs drown cries of infant Zeus 928₀ Kouretes drown cries of infant Zeus 928₀ 961₀ 968₁₋₃ leaps upon Phanes and swallows him 1027 Leda 941₀ lets fall drops of blood, from which men arise 1032 lets fly eagles from west and east 179 makes cosmic mantle 351₁ makes Kronos drunk on honey 448₁ 1027 Melissa 928₀ Merops 1132₁ mutilated by Typhon 448₂ mutilates Kronos 448₁ 685 1027 nurses transformed into bears 227 f.

nursed by Adrasteia 933₀ Amaltheia 928₀ Ithome and Neda 890₈ Nymphs on Mt Ide in Crete 932₁ Rhea 961₀ 968₁₋₃ 969₂

nurtured by bears 928₀ 939₀ bees 928₀ 929₀ 1112₆ doves 928₀ eagle 928₀ goat 928₀ 961₀ 968₀ goat Amaltheia 932₁ 933₀ pig 928₀

Oidipous 829 Omphalian Plain 190 Ophiuchus 1087 Periphas 1121 ff. Perseus sacrifices to Zeus Ἀπεσάντιος 892₄ piles Mt Aitnè on

Zeus (cont.)

Enkelados 909₀ piles Mt Aitne on Typhon 909₀ places heart of Dionysos or Zagreus in gypsum image 1031 Polytechnos 693 pounds heart of Zagreus into potion and gives it to Semele to drink 1031 prince slain by wild boar and buried in Crete 522 cp. 727 *psychostasia* 733 ff. quitting Assyria follows Kronos and becomes king of Italy 694₀ 943₀ reared by Kouretes on Mt Dikte 928₀ 929₀ refitted with his sinews by Hermes and Aigipan 449₀ Rhea gives Kronos stone instead of him 793₈ 901₁ Rhea, pregnant with him, is protected against Kronos by Hopladamōs (Hopladamōs?) 291₀ Rhea rescues him from Kronos 928₀ Salmoneus 833 1122 *Seleucides aves* 981₁ Semele 24 ff. 731 ff. (?) succeeds Kronos as king of Italy 694₀ swallows Metis 12 348₂ Sykeas or Sykeus 1103₈ Thetis 45₁ thrusts Kronos down below earth and sea 1020 Titanes 218 1031 f. 1103₈ transforms Aigokeros or Capricornus and his mother Aix into stars 933₀ transforms Aigolios into owl 929₀ transforms himself into Eros when about to create the world 316 transforms Kallisto into bear 228₇ transforms Keleos the Cretan into green woodpecker 929₀ transforms Kerberos the Cretan into bird 929₀ transforms Laos the Cretan into blue thrush 929₀ Typhon (Typhoeus) 228 448₂ 722₂ 731 826 839₆ 981₁ Ursa Maior 928₀ Ursa Minor 928₀ visits Hera clandestinely 1020 wraps *aithēr* round the world and ties up the bundle with golden cord 1029

Metamorphosed into Apollon 228₇ Artemis 228₇ 1217 bear 229 bull 348 449₀ 929₀ 1131₁ 1167₅ cuckoo 893₂ 1144₂ eagle 187₈ 228₇ 752 909₀ (?) 941₀ 1133 f. Eros 316 fly 782₁ gold 1131₁ hoopoe 697 1130 f. human lover 941₀ snake 941₀ 1029 1061 1151 stranger 1096₄ swan 941₀ 1015 1015₇ 1131₁ vulture 909₀ woodpecker 524 693 (?) 693₄

Genealogy: b. of Ouranos 940₀ f. of Aiakos by Aigina d. of Asopos 894₃ f. of Aphrodite 1029 f. of Apollon and Artemis by Leto 453 f. of Apollonios of Tyana 569₄ f. of Arkas by Kallisto 228₆ f. of Arkeisios by Euryodeia (Euryodia) 1152₄ f. of Artemis 164₈ 342₀ 453 f. of Athena by Koryphe 869₁ cp. i. 155 f. of Attis 294 f. of Atys and Kotys (?) 312 f. of Chryses by Hesione d. of Danaos 1150₂ f. of Dardanos 8 f.

Zeus (cont.)

of Dionysos 317 1098₀ f. of the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus by Phersephone or Kore 1029 f. of the first three Dioskouroi (Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, Dionysos) by Persephone 1135₄ f. of Epaphros by Io 961₀ f. of Eros by Aphrodite 316₀ f. of Gargaros at (by?) Larissa in Thessaly 950₀ f. of Geraistos and Tainaros 903₁ f. of Helene 343₀ f. of Helene by Leda 1015₇ f. of Helene by Nemesis 1131₁ f. of Herakles 343₀ f. of Hermes 385₀ f. of Horai by Themis 37₁ 94₂ f. of Kairos 859 861 f. of Kastor 437 f. f. of Kastor and Polydeukes, Klytaimestra and Helene, by Leda 1015₇ f. of Kouretes 940₀ f. of Litai 1097₂ 1098₀ 1099₂ 1100₀ f. of Malos 488₀₍₁₀₎ f. of Manes by Ge 312 f. of Megaros (Megareus) by one of the Sithnides 897₁ 1117₇ f. of Meilinoe (?) or Melinoe (?) by Persephone 1114₀₍₅₎ f. of Metis 348₂ f. of Minos by Europe 8 342₀ 344 929₀ f. of Minos, f. of Deukalion, f. of Idomeneus 793₇ f. of Muses by Mnemosyne 1157₀ f. of Olenos by Hippodameia, d. of Danaos 1150₂ f. of Orchomenos by Hesione, d. of Danaos, or by Hermippe, d. of Boiotos 1149 f. f. of Palikoi by Thaleia, d. of Hephaistos 909₀ f. of Perseus 665₁ f. of Perseus by Danaë 694₀ f. of Phaunos 694₀ 943₀ f. of Phersephone or Kore by Rhea or Demeter 1029 f. of Polydeukes 437 f. f. of Solymos by Chaldene 973₁ f. of Solymos by Kalchedonia 973₁ f. of Tainaros 890₅ f. of Tantalos 957₀ f. of Zethos and Amphion 445 f. of Zethos and Amphion by Antiope 1013 gf. of Eros 516₀ h. of Ge 292₄ h. of Hera 584₁ h. of Hera Ζωγία 954₀ h. of Idaia 940₀ h. of Kybele 298 h. of Tyche Αγαθή 1104 f. s. of Aither 941₀ s. of Ge 294₀ s. of Kronos 943₀ s. of Kronos by Rhea 941₀ s. and h. of the Mother of the gods 298₂ s. of Phanes 1051 s. of Phanes by Nyx 1026 s. of Rhea 830 1029 youngest child of Rhea 925₁

Functions: aēr 351₀ aithēr 557₁ allotments 873₂ all-seeing 258₃ ancestral god of Attic nobility 730₀ ancient king 1135₄ author of days and years 94₂ avenger of impious deeds 1130 bees 1112₆ bright sky 1 840 bringer of a curse 1098 bringer of young folk to maturity 1159 buried king 1139 1142 1159 celestial lights 840 chthonian 18 (?) 31 (?) 119₀ 233₀ 258₃ 836 893₀ 1058 1105 1107 1113₀₍₂₎ 1117 1118 1124₀ 1125₀ 1125₁ 1126₀

Zeus (cont.)

1131 1142 1149 1150 1155 f. 1157₀ 1159 1161 1169 f. 1175 1178 chthonian (Zeus Οὐδαίος=Plouton) 343₀ clear air 557₁ clouds 3 corn and wine (?) 1178 cosmic 117 855₂ 1028 f. 1185 cosmic law 855₂ cosmogonic 1230 counsel 317₂ creator of the world 316 1027 crops 1065 1074 1187₀ daylight 436 1013 day-light sky 840 deceased founder of club 1162 deceased kinsman 1163 deceiver 694₀ 695₀ destiny 231 Dionysiac 281 ff. 836 847 852 dispenser of good and evil 1067 f. divinised ancestor 1068 dreams 283₀ 1175 1228 dust 257₄ earth 823 father 292 ff. father of mankind 855 fertility 591 1142 1149 fighter 590 f. figs 291₂ (?) 1092 f. 1103 f. 1112 1114 food and drink 754₂ food-supply 434₃ forefather 258₃ forefather of clan 1162 generous giver 321₁ giver of animal and vegetable life 1189 giver of wealth 1065 good tidings 956₀ government 855 ff. guardian of friendship 1176 guardian of harbour 343₀ hail: 1 healing 877₀₍₁₀₎ 1061 hearth 873₂ (?) 1149₂₍₁₎ (?) holder of scales 734₃ inspirer of orator 1181₀ justice 852 justice and injustice among men and animals 1130₁ law-giver 1095₀ life 352₁ 352₄ 1023 lightning 1 4 385₀ 502 ff. 722 ff. 815 ff. 840 850 f. 954₀ 1146 lot 1148 f. (?) love 1176 magician 258₃ 694₀ 695₀ 1147 mills (?) 260₀ mind 258₃ 1028 f. moisture 351₀ 352₄ moon 840 mountains 554 868 ff. 1149 1179 1183 nourishment 594 oak 570₀ 872₀₍₅₎ oaths 233 569₄ 706 722 ff. 727₃ 849 955₀ 1175 f. observer of right and wrong 1130 1130₁ old corn (?) 295₂ omniscience 763 the one God, of whom all other Gods are but parts and manifestations 855₂ oracular 1061 1073 ff. pantheistic 1027 ff. 1051 πνεύμα 1023 prayers 1099 preserver of the tribe 1159 primeval power 315 f. protector of the bloodguilty 1098 f. protector of descendants 1130 protector of his people 1159 protector of laws and treaties 723₀ protector of suppliants 1093 1097 f. 1130 protector of suppliants and strangers 1097₀ 1101 providence 764 849 purification 1099 f. 1103 purifier of the bloodguilty 1092 ff. 1104 1112 1114 1143 rain 1 3 4 179 (?) 274 (?) 275 f. 318₀ 351₀ 591 833 894₁ 897₅ 897₀ 898₀ 941₀ 957₂ re-creator of the world 1033 ruler 731 848 ruler of gods 266 ruler of sky, sea, and earth 893₀ rumour 904₃ sea 663 893₀ sea-

Zeus (cont.)

faring 987₀ sender up of souls 1058
sky 298 344 353 458 601 663 823
sleep 231 f. snow 1 343₀ solar 285₀
840 948₁ 1130 1130, specialised into
Poseidon 786 850 spinner of fate
1219 starry sky 436 stars 840 869₁
storm 267 591 705 848 streams
869₀ sun (See solar) suppliant 1096
1098 1101 suppliant-boughs 1149₂₍₂₎
thunder 1 4 344 833 ff. 851 f. 941₀
945₂ 1155 thunder and lightning
280₁ 817 thunderbolt 179 722 ff.
850 f. trees 946₀ trophy 110₀ 111₀
turnips (?) 260₀ underworld 1158
(See also chthonian) universe (See
cosmic) upper world 1158 victor 758
victory 489₀₍₀₎ 812₁ 813₂ violence
1098 war 705 ff. 848 water 1117₃ (?)
weather 1 ff. 840 894₃ wind 444₇ (?)
witness 728₀ f. world (See cosmic)
a younger Zan 340 ff.

Etymology: 259₀ 855₂ 928₀ 1102₂ 1228

Attributes: *agrenón* 574 592 *agris* 781
1187₀ apple (?) 831₁ bay-wreath 266
597₃ 714₂ 756₁ 924₀ 1187₄ 1192 f.
1223 bronze bulls 924₀ bronze
oxen 924₀ buskins 1178 1184 car
(*benna*) (?) 883₀₍₀₎ chariot 436, 851
Charites (Moirai? Horai?) 232₀
chitón 597 f. 744 744₄ *chlamýs* 731₁
744 ff. cock 946₀ 947₀ corn-ears 754₁
cornu copiae 1105 1162 crab 577 f.
cup 1178 cypress 932₁ dagger 714₁
722 diadem 597₃ double axe 283₀
559 ff. 601 614 615 (?) 664₁ (?) 705
714₁ *drépanon* 448₀ eagle 283₀ 575 f.
577 f. 707 751 f. 808₀₍₀₎ 833 836 838
956₀ 961₀ 968₀ 1133₁ 1143 1161 1185 f.
1188 1208 eagles 231 239 841
Egyptian head-dress (?) 987₀ female
breasts 592 ff. flower 1224 (?) goat
987₁ (?) globe 980₀ golden ball 933₀
golden calf 354 golden *líknon* 933₀
golden vine (?) 281₄ grapes 281 287₁
883₀₍₀₎ hammer 945₂ *hárpe* 449₀ hel-
met 705 f. *himátion* 1082 *himátion*
of gold 916₀ *himátion* of wool 916₀
Horai 1138₅ jar 1054 ff. jug 1117
kílatbos 577 592 f. 593 (?) 597 597₃
598 *kratér* 283₀ leaf-shaped lance
709 *líknon* 933₀ lily-wreath 740
lion (?) 575 f. lioness (?) 575 599₂
lion-skin (?) 947₀ lotos 771 1224
mattock 806₁ Moirai 1138₅ moon
980₀ necklace 593 Nike 873₀₍₂₎ 1143
1145₀ 1190 1192 1193₁ oak-branch
1177 (?) oak-wreath 348 388 763₁
1187₄ olive-branch 1177 (?) olive-
wreath 323₁ palm (?) -tree 284₀
panther (?) 575 599₂ pectoral 574
phiale 881₀₍₂₁₎ 906₃ 1105 1116 (?)
1143 1145₀ 1161 f. 1175 1184 pillar
818 pine-wreath 951₀ plane-trees
590 976₀ plough 281 836 pome-

Zeus (cont.)

granate 986₀ radiate crown 980₀
scales 734₃ sceptre 258 266 547₂
709 731 ff. 763 788₀ 1105 1116 1143
1145₀ 1188 *sélinon* (?) -wreath 1187₀
shield 578 705 712 silver knife 354
skýphos 754₁ snake 283₀ 284₀ 285₀
819 820 823 1111 spear 577 f. 704 ff.
722 848 957₀ stag 575 1220 star
980₀ 1187₀ stars 980₀ stick 1102₀
sun 980₀ sword 591 615 (?) 705
712 ff. 722 848 tall head-dress 980₀
(See also tiara) thunderbolt 283₀
722 ff. 785 848 ff. 1145₀ *thýraos* sur-
mounted by eagle 1178 tiara 386
(See also tall head-dress) tortoise
895₁ trident 577 798 two doves (?)
872₀₍₅₎ two eagles 179 f. two oaks
872₀₍₅₎ two ravens (?) 872₀₍₅₎ two
spears 283₀ two thunderbolts 722
726 f. vervain 396₀ 397₀ vine 836
838 vine-staff 909₀ whip 851 willow
946₀ 947₀ winged chariot 43 321₁
woodpecker 518₃ (See further Pikos
who is also Zeus)

Types: advancing with thunderbolt in
lowered right hand and eagle on
outstretched left 745 advancing
with thunderbolt in raised right
hand 26₀ 795₃ advancing with
thunderbolt in raised right hand
and eagle on outstretched left 739 ff.
818 f. 963₀ 1139₀ 1143 1222 f. ad-
vancing with thunderbolt in raised
right hand, eagle on outstretched
left, and snake at his feet 851 advanc-
ing with thunderbolt in raised right
hand and sceptre as well as eagle
in outstretched left 1223 advancing
with thunderbolt in raised right
hand and sceptre in outstretched
left 26₀ 26₀ 27₀ 709 733 advancing
with thunderbolt in raised right
hand and spear (?) in left 708 f.
amours with Leda, Semele, Kallisto,
and Ganymedes 228₇ androgyn-
ous (?) 292₄ 594 androgynous with
golden wings and heads of bulls
and snake 1022 f. archaistic 744₁
Aristonous 1222 Assyrian 697₀ 938₀
bearded head as pendant 302 bearded
head at either end of whip-handle
301 beardless 285₀ 742 748 946₀ f.
1224 (?) birth of Athena 709 f. 753₃
785 boy with whip (?) 826₆ bronze
statuette of 'Geometric' age repre-
senting Zeus fulminant (?) 1222
bronze statuettes inlaid with silver
eyes 503₀ Bryaxis (?) 921₀ bull (?)
924₀ bust as medallion on wreath
301 bust as support for arm of Attis
297 bust between horns of crescent
712₃ bust facing, with thunderbolt
and sceptre to his right and left
887₀₍₀₎ bust supported on eagle

Zeus (cont.)

with spread wings 1209 in chariot drawn by two eagles 462₀ in chariot drawn by one horse 830 in chariot drawn by two horses 820 823 cp. 285₀ in chariot drawn by four horses 436₁ 825 830₆ 831₁ (See also driving) in *chiton* and *chlamys* 283₀ in *chiton* and *himation* 574 577 597 f. 745₀ 745₁ 881₀₍₂₁₎ 887₀₍₀₎ 957₀ colossal 754₁ conical stone 981₀ Dionysiac 1178 double 316 ff. with double axe and sceptre 573 ff. with double axe and spear 574 ff. double bust (with Dionysos) 388 double bust (with Hermes?) 388 double bust (with Sarapis?) 388 double bust (with Satyr) 388 driving chariot 950₀ (See also in chariot) driving two-horsed vehicle 285₀ driving winged chariot 321₁ duplicated on coin (standing and seated) 319 duplicated on gem (both seated) 318 ff. with female breasts 592 f. 846 1220 (?) fighting Centaur (?) 614 f. four-eared 322 842 fulminant in two-horse chariot 820 851 fulminant in four-horse chariot 825 831₁ fulminant on pillar 45 Gigantomachia 712 f. 777₂ 820 825 831₁ 973₁ gilded eagle 423 with golden bay-wreath 258 with golden bull's-horns 1028 grasping or hurling thunderbolt in (sometimes beside) chariot 831₁ grasping thunderbolt in each hand 722 726 f. Hageladas 741 ff. 749 890₆ 1222 f. hero-feast 1163 holding cult-image in his hand 950₀ 962₂ holding eagle and thunderbolt 741₃ (See also advancing) on horseback 664₁ (?) infant asleep on mountain 961₀ infant carried by Amaltheia (?) 363₁ infant seated on ground 957₂ instructing Apollon 265 introduction of Herakles to Olympos 735 ff. 771 Janiform 322 ff. 326 ff. Janiform head (with Hera) (?) 662 Janiform head (with Hermes) 1219 with *kálathos* 597 f. 597₂ with *kálathos*, double axe, and sceptre 592 with *kálathos*, double axe, and spear 577 593 (?) linked to ground by means of fillets 574 long-haired 573 575 f. (?) Lysippos 45 762 1139₀ 1143₅ 1145₀ Myron 1078 oak-tree 111₀ 570₀ with olive-wreath 323₁ Papylos 1101₃ Pheidias 475₇ 598 757 ff. 849 921₀ (?) 1078 1138₅ pillar capped by pyramid (See pyramid-on-pillar) Polykleitos 1143 f. 1178 Polykleitos the younger (?) 1178 pot 3₀ pouring rain from right hand and holding thunderbolt in left 962₂ *psychostasia* 734₀ 734₃ pursuit of

Zeus (cont.)

Semele 731 ff. 735₃ pyramid 1144 ff. pyramid-on-pillar 814 f. 1095₀ 1147 (?) radiate 872₀₍₅₎ raising hand in attitude of *benedictio Latina* 291 recumbent on couch 1162 1171₃ recumbent on eagle 102₀ rushing forward with thunderbolt in raised right hand 731 sacred stone 982₀ f. (?) seated as child amid Kouretes 1210 seated on eagle 102₀ 462₀ (See also upborne on eagle) seated on mountain 853 962₂ 982₀ seated on rock 983₁ seated on rock with eagle flying from right hand and sceptre leaning against right shoulder 758 seated on tree 946₀ f. seated to hurl thunderbolt 473 475 seated to pour rain 962₂ seated with Artemis 'Eφεια in right hand and sceptre in left 962₂ seated with three Charites (Moirai? Horai?) in right hand 232₀ seated with eagle flying from him 757 758 seated with eagle flying to him 757 seated with eagle in hand 1139₀ 1143 seated with eagle in right hand and sceptre in left 871₃₍₄₎ seated with flower in right hand and sceptre in left 1224 (?) seated with jug in both hands above head of Acheloiros 1117 seated with Nike in right hand and sceptre in left 319₄ 758 760 (?) 873₀₍₁₈₎ 956₀ 961₀ 1139₀ 1143 1189 1192 1192₆ 1220 seated with *phiale* in right hand 1161 seated with *phiale* in right hand and *cornu copiae* in left 1105 seated with *phiale* in right hand and sceptre in left 1105 1116 f. (?) 1143 1145₀ 1175 seated with *phiale* in right hand, sceptre in left, and eagle behind 280₁ seated with right hand raised to head 762 849 seated with sceptre in left hand 737 1173 seated with sceptre in left hand and *phiale* in right 736 seated with sceptre in right hand 755 f. (?) seated with sceptre in right hand and Athena 'Ιλιάς in left 950₀ seated with sceptre in right hand and Nike in left 964₂ seated with sceptre in right hand and sometimes *phiale* in left 906₃ seated with sceptre in right hand and thunderbolt in left 756 seated with thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre in left 280₁ 318 753 ff. 757 f. seated with thunderbolt in right hand, sceptre in left, and eagle flying before him 1224 seated with thunderbolt and sceptre in right hand and *phiale* in left 735 seated with vine-staff in right hand and thunderbolt in left 909₀ shouldering axe 621 (?) snake

Zeus (cont.)

1061 1107 ff. 1174 soldier 705 f. standing with Artemis Ἐφεστία in right hand 962, standing with eagle in left hand 751₅ standing with eagle in right hand 751₅ standing with eagle in right hand and sceptre in left 319₄ 951₀ 957₀ 968₀ standing with Nike in right hand and sceptre in left 1145₀ standing with *phiale* in right hand and sceptre in left 280₁ 881₀₍₂₁₎ standing with sceptre (?) in raised right hand and *phiale* (?) in left 752 f. standing with sceptre in raised right hand and thunderbolt in lowered left 749₁ 820 f. standing with sceptre in right hand and eagle beside him 1143 1230 standing with spear or sceptre in raised right hand and left covered by *himation* 918₀ standing with spear in right hand and eagle at his feet 707 standing with spear in right hand and thunderbolt in left 957₀ standing with thunderbolt in lowered right hand 280₁ standing with thunderbolt in lowered right hand and sceptre in left 734 f. 745 ff. 1145₀ standing with thunderbolt in outstretched right hand and sceptre in left 917₁ standing with thunderbolt in raised right hand and eagle on outstretched left 737 739 819₀₍₅₎ standing with thunderbolt in raised right hand and sceptre in lowered left 833 standing with wreath in outstretched right hand 1192 statuette held by Laodikeia 319, 320₀ with supported foot 266₁ surrounded by seven stars 238₀ syncretistic 850 *τετραγώνος* 1147₈ Theokosmos 1138₅ theriomorphic 1151 three-eyed 892₅ 1144₂ traveller 1102₀ with trident, eagle, and crab 577₂ with trident, thunderbolt, and eagle 798 with trident, thunderbolt, and sea-monster 798 trophy 111₀ upborne on eagle 951₀ (See also seated on eagle) upborne on eagle between horns of crescent 712₃ winged 1028 *χόανον* 1196 youthful 861₅ 1030 1185 youthful figure holding pomegranate 986₀ *Zâves* at Olympia 349

Identified with Adad 983₇ Adonaios 293₀ Agamemnon, the god (?) 1069 Ahura Mazdâh 976₀ Amen-Râ 926₀ Amoun 293₀ Asklepios 1076 ff. Attis 292 Baal 869₀ Ba'al Milik (Melek, Molok) (?) 1108 Ba'al-šamin 886₀₍₁₀₎ 889 Bakchos 287 1184 Celtic Janiform god 323 Chrysor, the Phoenician Hephaistos 715 1037 Daimon 1160₄ Dionysos 282 287 f. 288₀ Epopeus 445 Erechtheus 793 Eros

Zeus (cont.)

1028 Great Ox 354 Hades 582₄ 1058 Hephaistos 715 Ianus 328₇ Jehovah 889 elder Kabeiros 664₁ Kasin 983₀ (?) Keraunos 12 f. 119₁ Kragos 972₀ 974₀ Mars 50 Melqart or Melqarth (?) 1109₀ Metis (masc.) 1028 Pan 349 1023 1024 1039 Papas 836 Pikos 220₀ 342₀ 693₄ 694₀ 695₀ 696₀ 697₀ Poseidon 582 ff. Poseidon and Ares 1225 Protogonos 1023 1039 1051 Roman emperors (See *Personated by*) Sabaoth 293₀ Sabazios 275 1184 Sarapis 714₃ (?) 745₁ 773₀ 1158 Solymos (?) 974₀ Theos Hypsistos 882₀₍₂₂₎ 883₀₍₁₀₎ 884₀₍₁₀₎ 886₀₍₃₀₎ 969₃ Trophonios (Trephonios) 1075 Velchanos 946₀ ff. the world 1028 f. (See also *Functions cosmic*) Zan 220₀ 341₈ 342₀ 345 942₀

Assimilated to Apollon 986₀ Chaos 1051 Dionysos 1178 Poseidon 327₂ (?) (See also *Identified with*) Zagreus 980₅

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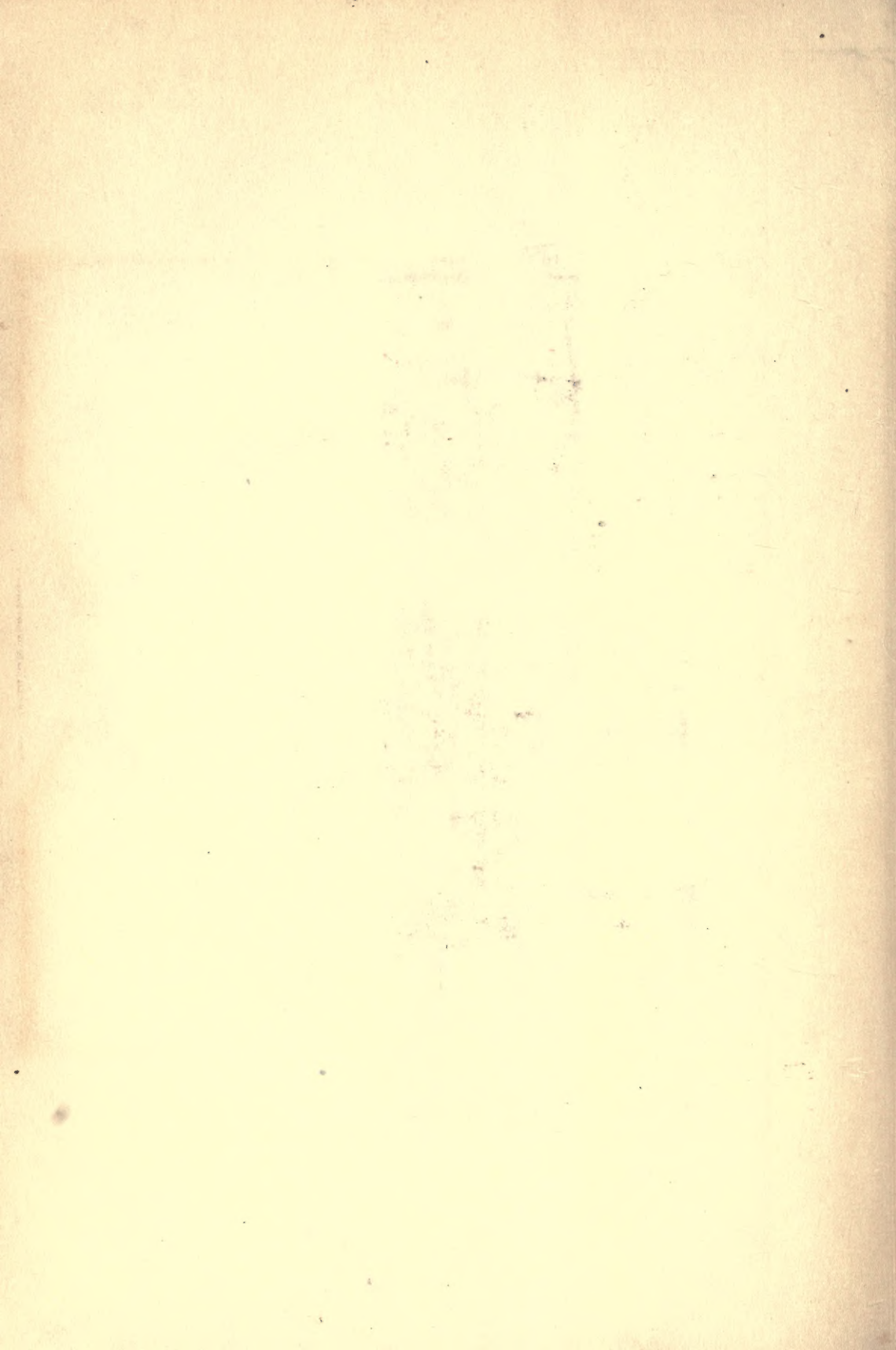
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